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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES, PH.D., 1978

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

The One String Fiddle in West Africa: A Comparison of Hausa and Dagomba Traditions

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in Music

by

Jacqueline Delores Cogdell DjeDje

1978

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The dissertation of Jacqueline Delores Cogdell DjeDje is approved.

Max Harrell

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Roy Travis

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J.H. Nketia, Committee Chairman

University of California, Los Angeles

1978

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In memory of my paternal grandmother

who first encouraged me

to study music

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given to all of the one string fiddle performers who allowed me to interview them as well as make recordings of their music. Finally, how can a project of this kind not be produced without the support of friends, family, and my faithful husband--a personal note of gratitude goes to all of them.

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1976	Book review: African Music: A People's Art by Francis Bebey. The Black Perspective in Music Vol. 4, No. 3 (Fall 1976): 332-334

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The One String Fiddle in West Africa:
A Comparison of Hausa and Dagomba Traditions

by

Jacqueline Delores Cogdell DjeDje
Doctor of Philosophy in Music
University of California, Los Angeles, 1978
Professor J.H. Nketia, Chairman

The one string fiddle is found in West Africa, North Africa, East Africa, and some parts of Central Africa. In each area it differs somewhat in construction. The West African tradition, a one string type, is found in the savannah belt. The North African fiddle is extremely similar to the rebab of the Near Eastern Arabic cultures, while in East African cultures spike fiddles and tube fiddles are predominant. In Central Africa the one string type is rare, but there are varieties of two and three string bowed lutes in a few places.

This dissertation is a comparative study of the instrument in two West African cultures--the Hausa culture of the Kano area of Northern Nigeria and the Dagomba culture of Northern Ghana. It begins with a survey of the instrument in the savannah region in respect to its history, distribution, and organological features. Against this background the traditions of the two selected areas are examined in

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depth with particular reference to the history, social, and cultural aspects as well as the role of the performer. A detail analysis of the music is given, taking particular notice of those features that characterize the one string fiddle such as interplay of fixed and free forms; ambitus; gamut, scale and mode; melodic phrasing and ornamentation; texture; rhythmic background; and dynamics.

Historically, the Hausa and Dagomba people have had intercultural contacts through trade and Islam; they, also share a number of social institutions. The one string fiddle traditions in the two areas differ in certain respects. For example, the Hausa instrument is larger in size and the performer uses a different playing style. While the Hausa do not trace their instrument to outside sources, the Dagomba musicians state that their tradition originated from Gurma country in Upper Volta. Furthermore, Hausa musicians perform almost entirely for the general public. In Dagomba the musicians are attached to the royal court.

Differences in musical usage are apparent in the two cultures not only in respect of form and structure but also in the details of performance practice and contextual organization. But there are also common areas of agreement which affirm the historical interaction of the two cultures and the factors which lead to stability and change.

Materials for the analysis are based on field research in West Africa in 1972-74 as well as documentary sources particularly those concerning the history of caravan trade routes, Islamic and Arabic influences. Use is also made of relevant sources from oral tradition, linguistics, anthropology and ethnomusicology--e.g., Bebey, Chottin, Dufourcq, Farmer, Greenberg, Hause, Murdock, Nketia, Oppong, Palmer,

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Tamakloe, Trimingham, and Wilks. The few available recordings that were used include OCORA (OCR 15, OCR 17, OCR 20, OCR 29, OCR 35, OCR 38, SOR 4, and SOR 10), Barenreiter Musicaphon (BM 30L 2305 and BM 30L 2306), and Folkways (FW 8860).

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Introduction

The aims and objectives of this study are (a) to examine the distribution of the one string fiddle style in African traditions, (b) to provide a detailed comparative analysis of two of these traditions which are believed to be related--the Hausa and Dagomba one string fiddle, and (c) to establish a basis for the critical examination of other one string fiddle traditions in the West African region in particular and Africa as a whole.

My interests in the African one string fiddle tradition began as early as the Spring of 1971 in my African music class at UCLA. At that time my research was focused on East African fiddle playing by the Luo of Kenya. Obviously, Professor Nketia, my professor at UCLA, remembered my meager attempts to tackle the problem when he suggested during the fall of 1972, while taking a course in African culture at the University of Ghana (Legon), that I pursue the study of the one string fiddle in northern Ghana which subsequently led to my research in Hausaland the following year. As a result I spent 1972-74 conducting interviews, collecting musical material, doing library research, and traveling to eight West African countries (Ghana, Togo, Benin, Nigeria, Niger, Upper Volta, Ivory Coast, and Liberia) in an effort to obtain as much information as possible concerning not only the one string fiddle among the Dagomba of northern Ghana and Hausa of northern Nigeria, but about other societies who have cultivated this tradition.

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Introductory material is presented in the first section (chapters one-four). In Chapter One a general review of the savannah belt as a culture area is provided to enable the reader to gain a comprehensive view of the contacts, developments, and changes that have taken place. In the following chapter, attention is focused on the instrument--the one string fiddle. As the problem of distribution is one that is generally treated very scantily in the literature on African music, a great deal of attention is given to this.

The impact of Arabic culture on societies in the Sudan is discussed in the third chapter. A review of linguistic, ethnographic, and musical data on this subject as it relates to the one string fiddle and other instrumental types is provided, and attention drawn to the music structures that have evolved as a result of contacts with Arabs and the Islamic religion.

Turning from the general to the more specific, the historical and cultural background of the two societies in question is presented in Chapter Four. From the analysis of oral tradition,historical, and anthropological studies, it becomes apparent that although the two societies are located within the same latitude, two to three hundred miles apart, the social environment of each of these peoples is unique due to differences in culture contacts.

Material concerning aspects of performance practice is presented in section two (chapters five-nine), including

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information about the organology of the instrument, the performer, musical performance, dance, and text. In each of these five chapters, an attempt is made to show how music and culture are interrelated. Chapter Five examines not only the physical description, performance technique, and tuning system of Hausa goge and Dagomba gondze, but considers at length the history, meaning, and value of the two instruments. By studying the socio-cultural environment of the performer, which is the subject matter for Chapter Six, one gets to know why and how individuals pursue the fiddling profession and the extent of the impact such an institution makes on a community.

In Chapter Seven details of specific one string fiddle performances within Hausa and Dagomba societies are discussed. This particular approach is taken a step further by analyzing the dance and song text aspects of the performance in Chapters Eight and Nine, respectively.

Section three, the music analyses, has been divided into four parts--form, melody, rhythm, and dynamics. In each of these four chapters a systematic and comprehensive analysis of various music structures introduces the reader to specific stylistic features of the two fiddle traditions. A summary of the results of the analyses is given in Chapter Fourteen.

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SECTION ONE

HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND

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Chapter One

Savannah Belt As a Culture Area

The one string fiddle is most commonly found in the savannah belt or Sudanic area of Africa--that is, roughly the territory of 10° North Latitude to 17° North Latitude, extending across the African continent from Senegal to Ethiopia. The term Sudan should not be confused with the country located in northeast Africa nor the area called West Africa. West Africa encompasses parts of the savannah belt, but it more correctly refers to the land stretching from Senegal to Lake Chad.[1]

In this study, only the West and Central Sudan areas[2] will be considered at length since it is here that the Hausa and Dagomba are located. East Sudan will not be discussed except in reference to its influence on the former areas.

The savannah belt may be divided into two sections: the Guinea Savannah, the southernmost of these divisions, and the Sudan Savannah. The former "has a heavier type of woodland, with many varieties of tree...It coincides strikingly with the mean annual rainfall belt of 45-60 inches. The more northerly division, the Sudan Savannah, is a zone of lighter woodland...It coincides with the 30-45 inch rainfall belt" (Stenning 1965:371). The seasonal year is divided into a long dry season (October to March) followed by a rainy season from approximately April to

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October. "The period between November and February is marked by the northeast winds from the Sahara, which also fill the atmosphere with dust particles that cause haze" (Obichere 1971:18).

EARLY INFLUENCES

The Sudan areas have been influenced by external cultures throughout history. As early as the fifth and fourth millennium B.C., peoples of the Mediterranean civilizations came in contact with the Sudan for the purpose of trade. "In antiquity the Sudan provided the Mediterranean lands with a certain amount of gold and slaves and in exchange received cloth, copper, and tools..." (Trimingham 1962:13). Due to famine in Southwest Asia when Egypt and Ethiopia (third-fourth century A.D.) controlled areas in that part of the world, a number of Asians emigrated across the Red Sea into the Sudan.

To know the ethnic groups involved in the caravan trade is important, for these peoples eventually settled in the Sudan, thus creating a new cultural enclave. Among those people from Southwest Asia were the Persians, Arabs, Syrians, Lebanese, and, at a later date, some Indians. Also, the advent of the camel into Africa (fourth century A.D.) provided a new mode of transportation, which undoubtedly caused even more migration into the savannah belt. By the time Islam reached Africa (seventh century A.D.) the characteristic cultural groupings of the Sudan were already

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clearly differentiated. "These were, proceeding from west to east: Senegalese (Serer-Tokolor), Soninke, Manding, Mossi-Gurma, Songhay, Nupe, Hausa, Kanem, and the Waday-Bagirmi-Darfur region. All present clear differences having evolved separately and under different influences. Some were orientated towards Morocco, Tripoli, Egypt, or the Nilotic Sudan, whilst others in the south developed with a minimum of external contacts" (Trimingham 1962:15).

Because similarities are apparent in the social, political and economic organization of kingdoms and states in the savannah, some scholars (Oliver and Fage 1962:44-49) state that the people who comprise the Sudanic civilization must have derived from a common source.

> Essentially the 'Sudanic' state was a parasitic growth, fastening itself upon the economic base of pre-existing agricultural societies. To these societies it contributed certain new ideas of political organization, and certain new techniques, notably in the field of mining, metallurgy, and trade. Its early propagators seem to have moved south-west from the Nile Valley, and to have established themselves probably with the aid of the horse and of cavalry warfare, among the agricultural peoples immediately to the South of the Sahara, at points where they could control and develop the trans-Saharan trade-routes leading to Roman, Byzantine, and later to Muslim North Africa[3] (Oliver and Fage 1962:51-52).

Although documentation is available for the early Western Sudanic kingdoms (Ghana, Mali, Songhay), information concerning political systems in the Central Sudan and other existing empires is scarce. This is because the Central Sudan area did not attract the attention of literate people

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in the outside world, such as Arab writers who were more acquainted with the Western Sudan with the exception of Kanem in the Central Sudan. As Trimingham puts it, while "the west Sahil ports and Sudanese trading towns were full of white traders, their number was considerably less until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, for they operated mainly from intermediary Sahara centres" (Trimingham 1962: 108).

Although peoples of the Mediterranean civilization with the aid of Berbers were the first to initiate trade in the Sudan, it was the Muslim trader who really developed the commercial enterprise. The major exports were gold, slaves, ivory, ostrich feathers, hides, and kola nuts. "These large luxury exports were exchanged for the more utilitarian imports of horses, salt, cloth, copper, some metal weapons as well as cowrie shells, heads, and trinkets" (Lewis 1966:21). Several routes were used to connect the Sudan with various parts of the outside world.

> The main routes followed in the expansion of Muslim trade were often those which already linked tropical Africa with the Mediterranean and Arabia, and which in previous ages had carried some Mediterranean influence as far as the Gulf of Guinea. Thus, by the tenth century the interior of the continent lay exposed to trade and to Islam along three principal axes: through North Africa, through the Red Sea coast, and through the ports of the Indian Ocean. From North Africa the caravan routes fanned out in three main directions. In the west the desert tracks ran from southern Morocco to Mauritanian and Ghana by way of Taodeni, and from southern Algeria to Timbuktu via Tuat. In the centre, Tunisia was connected with Gao by way of Ghadames and Air, and from this route subsidiary tracks led towards

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> Tripoli, and in the south towards Chad. To the east, the Nile Valley was connected with Darfur through Assiut, and through Darfur with Kanem, while another route led from Cyrenaica through Kufra to Darfur (Lewis 1966:20-21).

See Maps 1, 2, and 3 of caravan routes in Appendix A.[4]

As trade continued to flourish, Islam eventually penetrated into certain areas. Even though the spread of the religion into Africa began as early as the seventh century A.D., Sudanese peoples were not introduced to Muslim practices until the tenth and eleventh centuries. "The first reference to its spread to the Niger is by al-Muhallabi (A.D. 985) who says that the ruler of Kawkaw or Kuku had made a profession of Islam, possessed a royal mosque and an open space for the congregational prayer" (Trimingham 1962: 28). According to Trimingham the Tukulor were the first blacks converted to Islam: "they have been missionaries extending it among Wolof, Susu, Mandinka groups, Fulbe, Hausa, and Kanuri"(1962:47). During the tenth and eleventh centuries Islam was only nominally accepted by merchants and the royal elite. Prior to the introduction of Islam, Sudanese heads of state were believed to have functioned as religious and political leaders, "to whom divine honours were paid, and to whom divine powers were attributed" (Oliver and Fage 1962:44-46). Kings and traders saw economic advantages in the adoption of the religion. Acceptance among the Sudanese masses hardly occurred. "Where Islam was professed by the ruler it was merely as an addition-

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al religious safeguard, running parallel to his traditional religion but not displacing it, whilst the masses of the people did not and were not expected to adopt even a veneer of Islam" (Trimingham 1962:29). What Muslim traders and craftsmen did during the tenth and eleventh centuries, however was to prepare the ground for a later expansion of the faith. Traders formed settlements in the commercial centres where they exchanged goods. Certain of these intermarried with the Sudanese and gained political and social influence within the societies. "It is possible that the aristocracies of some Sudan kingdoms were due to such a white or mixed family taking the lead" (Trimingham 1962:26).[5]

During the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries A.D. holy men and teachers, who accompanied and followed traders, were given the task of consolidating the process of religious conversion. The new method of islamization "soon gave rise to thriving local centres of Muslim learning and scholarship, of which the best known were Djenne and Timbuctu in the west and Haran in the east" (Lewis 1966:28). More people became followers of the religion at this time because "it often provided...a new line of social advancement, especially for those of traditionally low status" (Lewis 1966:28). In most cases the Sudanese (Soninke, Manding, and others) acted as agents in spreading the religion to nonaffiliates.

In spite of the efforts made during the fourteenth century a number of Africans clung to traditional religious

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beliefs and practices. For example, although Mande merchants were Muslims, "the majority of loosely organized Mande peoples were unaffected by Islam. East of them in the centre of the Niger bend the Gurmanshe and the two Mossi kingdoms (Wagadugu founded c. 1050 and Yatenga founded c. 1170), covering roughly all the region belonging to the basin of the Volta north of present-day Ghana, resisted Islam and blocked its extension to the south and east" (Trimingham 1962:32).

In describing the spread of Islam during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Trimingham observes that in that era Islam was not only new but "intolerant and militant."

> Clerics made their appearance (the first in Futa Jalon in 1725) who waged the jihad or holy war and formed a number of theocratic states as they are usually called, though they should really be called divine nomocracies, since they all claimed to be ruled by divine law. These states appeared throughout the Sudan belt from Guinea (Futa Jalon, 1776) and Senegal (Futa Toro, 1776) through Masina (1818) and Sokoto (1802) to the Mahdia of the Nilotic Sudan (1881). These states degenerated, and most of them were conquered or came under the rule of a new type of despot... (Trimingham 1966:128-129)

The despot to whom Trimingham refers was usually the Fulani holyman. The Fulani, who were closely associated with the Tukulor of the lower Senegal until about the fourteenth century A.D., began to migrate eastwards across the Sudan as pastoralists, infiltrating themselves and their herds between the agricultural villages. By the sixteenth century they had settled in Massina, Hausaland, and

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Adamawa in the northern Cameroons. Some Fulani adhered to their traditional religion; others became Muslims and were leaders in Islamic scholarship and clerical work.

The Fulani felt that the jihads were necessary because the practice of Islam during the 1800's had begun to decline. "Scholars of the western Sudan (mainly Fulani) attributed this decay to the abandonment of the moral standards, simple living habits and purity of faith of their ancestors" (Webster and Boahen 1967:3).

From the eleventh century to the present the spread of Islam in the savannah belt has been most successful because it was compatible with African religious outlook. Yet, the Sudanese have not totally discarded traditional social practices; rather, traditional and Islamic elements have been combined to form an African Islamic view, which is different from that of North Africa and Arabia. As Trimingham puts it, there was "the process of reciprocal change whereby Islam as a universal religion moulded African life and at the same time was moulded by Africans in all strands of the triple cord of myth, cult, and fellowship" (Trimingham 1962:220).

Due to Arabic, Islamic, and Mediterranean influences the economic situation of the Sudan has changed drastically. Traditionally, agriculture has been the major means of subsistence. A few scholars believe that agriculture was a genuine invention of the Sudanese, not a borrowing from

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another peoples. According to Murdock

> The assemblage of cultivated plants ennobled from wild forms in Negro Africa ranks as one of the four major agriculture complexes evolved in the entire course of human history. Interestingly enough the innovators have belonged to four distinct races. Along with the Caucasoids who developed the Southwest Asian complex, the Mongoloids who achieved the Southeast Asian complex, and the American Indians who elaborated the Middle American complex, we must now align the West African Negroes as one of mankind's leading creative benefactors (Murdock 1959:64-65).

Murdock, also, contends "that the invention of agriculture in Negro Africa is most probably to be credited to the Mande peoples around the headwaters of the Niger in the extreme western part of the Sudan less than 1,000 miles from the shores of the Atlantic Ocean" (1959:67).

Some of the cultivated plants that were developed in the Sudan include: fonio, millet, sorghum, Guinea yam, okra, gourd, watermelon, kola, cotton, oil palm, Bambara ground nut, cow pea, shea tree, and others (Murdock 1959: 68-70). In addition the Sudanese adopted other agricultural complexes; they "have borrowed onions from Egypt, rice from the Arabs, bananas and yams from Southeast Asia and a substantial number of plants from the New World: haricot and lima beans, maize, manioc, peanuts, peppers, squash, sweet potatoes, tobacco, and tomatoes" (Murdock 1959:73).

Animal husbandry is not an indigenous means of subsistence for the Sudanese. Contact with people of North Africa and other areas of the world, however, helped to introduce a number of domestic animals into the savannah

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belt. "Cattle are thought to have been introduced into Africa between the fifth and fourth millennium B.C. and it was during the period when the dessication of the Sahara was becoming more pronounced that man, finding it increasingly difficult to live by fishing, hunting, and agriculture alone, became a stockbreeder" (Trimingham 1962:10). Other domesticated animals that are presently found in the Sudan include goats, sheep, horses, donkeys, dogs, chickens and in recent times, ducks and guinea fowl.

The Sudan is also rich in mineral resources. Some of the more important minerals include gold, silver, iron, bronze, manganese, antimony, and cobalt.

Through trade, another means of subsistence in the Sudan, new ideas have been incorporated into the culture to make it distinctive from other parts of the African continent. The agents who participated in the trade contributed certain innovations. For example, the distinction between the sedentary and nomadic Berber was intensified with the expansion of Mediterranean civilization. Those nomadic Berbers of the desert, who are also known as Tuareg, differed from th: sdentary kinsmen. "While both the social and political organization of the sedentary Berbers were fundamentally democratic, those of the Tuareg were hierarchical, with distinct casts of nobles, vassals, and slaves" (Oliver and Fage 1962:63). As a result, in many Sudanese societies a distinct social stratification is

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evident. Murdock states that "the major classes [are] (1) a privileged nobility, often headed by a royal lineage; (2) free commoners, frequently divided into wealthy merchants, artisans, and peasant farmers; and (3) slaves, including debt slaves. In addition, endogamous depressed castes of smiths, leatherworkers, hunters, and griots are commonly differentiated in the westernmost provinces" (1959:143-144). It was in the Western and Central Sudanese areas that Berbers had more influence. The Eastern Sudanese were introduced to Islam and had trade connections with a different source.

Because the power of kingdoms and states in the Sudan rested on wealth produced by the utilization of natural resources (gold, ivory, etc.) and their sale outside the society rather than the usual formation that is based on agriculture or cattle, the peoples were able to develop the social, economic, and cultural aspects of the culture. First, with the wealth that the states maintained the peoples could bring in foreign specialists, scholars and craftsmen; they could erect important public buildings, maintain a well-equipped professional army, and import raw materials which were lacking in their society. Secondly, these varied activities created an urban setting--that is, the creation of an administrative city where all people associated with power gathered and a commercial city where those who participated in economic exchange stored, transferred, bought, and sold their merchandise. Thirdly, the

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relations between urban dwellers and peasant masses were not as close as in other civilizations because neither group's existence was solely dependent upon the other. Finally, the cultural and linguistic diversity of the Sudanese states was much greater than in other kingdoms because of their contact with Islam and their constant relationship with foreigners who either passed through the cities or took up permanent residence (Macquet 1972:151-152).

Most important external contacts helped to create a new individual--the assimilated/acculturated African Sudanese. "For the Sudanese, to be a Muslim is to be an Arab. It is this assimilation of Islam and identification with Arab culture and society which is expressed in the universal claim to Arab ancestry and the overwhelming currency of Arabic" (Lewis 1966:5).

For the Muslim knowledge of the Koran is imperative.[6] Children, at an early age, go to Koranic school where they are required to memorize and copy the entire Koranic text. In addition children are taught Muslim law, ethics, and values in the home.

Most of the savannah belt people have incorporated Arabic vocabulary into their languages. The Hausa language is also widely used in areas of the Sudan partly because of the Hausa's interest in trade but also because the Sultan (highest Muslim leader in Sudan Africa) is located in Hausaland at the Fulani caliphate of Sokoto.

The Sudan area is composed of two strata with

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divergent outlooks. On the one hand urban dwellers are oriented toward Islam and foreign influences, while peasants live by agriculture and herding in a very limited economic sphere. The latter have maintained traditional religious and cultural practices to a greater extent than the former. The overlay of Islam and Arab culture is so great in all areas of the Sudan, however, that traditional elements are hardly recognizable because in outward appearances the peasants look, speak, and act like the assimilated Sudanese.

MODERN WESTERN INFLUENCE

Western culture contributed very little to the early development of Sudanese civilization. Trimingham states that

> Until the fifteenth century Europe had no contact with West Africa, but even after contact was made the activities of Europeans were confined to the coast and it was not until the nineteenth century that they began to penetrate into the interior. The reasons for the lack of contact during the first period were both geographical and historical. There were natural barriers to penetration, seas and deserts, problems of navigation, and the unhealthiness of the coastal regions. But without minimizing these to human factors, the most important being the political spread of Islam power over the eastern and southern shores of the Mediterranean interposed a barrier between Europe and the rest of the world, not only in space, but in mentality. Eastern and African Christian Churches fossilized and Christianity became the local religion of Europe, creating a cultural system whose mental outlook and psychological attitude was totally alien from that of the African world. Islam, on the contrary was in continuous contact with Africans (Trimingham 1962: 220).

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One other reason can be given for the lack of early Westernization in the savannah belt--that is, lack of interest on the part of Europeans. "The period from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries was that of merchant adventurers who had no incentive to penetrate into the interior since Africans brought the slaves to their coastal factories" (Trimingham 1962:221). As a result economic and political establishments were set up on the coastal areas, causing a great influx of Western ideas to coastal residents.

An organized plan by Europeans to infiltrate and gain control of the West African hinterland began in the late nineteenth century (1885-1905). The French and British, two leading European powers in the scramble for West African occupation, used two different approaches to the problem. "French penetration was planned by military men on continental lines and was entirely different in conception and development from that of the British, planned and developed along lines of economic expediency" (Trimingham 1962:222). By the turn of the twentieth century all available lands had been occupied and divided between the competitive powers.

The immediate effect of European control brought peace to the Sudanese who had been living in a perpetual state of insecurity, harassed by holy wars or the raids of slave hunters (Trimingham 1962:224). On the other hand Westerners, not understanding the nature of authority

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among Africans, gave political power to former Muslim leaders of the nineteenth century Fulani theocracy. This led to the islamization of many peoples who probably would not have been converted. "During the preceding phase [early 1800's] Islam had been spread primarily by political conquest. This in itself only imposed a veneer of Islam, but if the occupation were permanent other factors came into play to deepen it. European conquest ended the era of forcible islamization, but its effects led to its consolidation or its spread into pagan regions" (Trimingham 1962: 225).

For example, the British used the pre-existing political structure of the Fulani Caliphate in Northern Nigeria as a basis for indirect rule policies. Europeans even recognized Islam as the religion of the state. Through the policy of indirect rule vast numbers of traditional religious believers were left under Muslim rulers and insulated against influences such as Christian missions which, though they would not have converted Muslims, would have introduced Western-type education and minority problems (Trimingham 1962:229-230). According to statistics by Trimingham "fifty percent of the Hausa are said to have been pagan at the time the British occupied the emirates, today probably 80 per cent are Muslim. The occupation simply accelerated a process already under way. Not more than one-third of the Nupe were even nominally Muslim in 1880,

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today two-thirds at least would claim Islam as their religion. Similarly Islam has made great gains among Yoruba and other peoples of Ilorin Province" (Trimingham 1962:230).

The fact that early European officials showed special consideration for Muslims as people of a higher civilization; set up Islamic law courts; employed Muslims in subordinate administrative positions which brought them into close contact with traditionalists enhanced the prestige of adherence to the religion and provided the Islamic agents with facilities for the exercise of propaganda and various forms of pressure. "Brought suddenly into contact with Western civilization and faced with the decay of their hereditary religions many [traditional religious believers] felt the need for adherence to a system which would integrate to their needs" (Trimingham 1962:226). Africans who were attracted to the religion as a result of the situation included not only the Yoruba and Nupe of Nigeria but also ethnic groups in the Sierra Leone, Guinea, Senegal and Mali areas--Temne, Mende, Wolof, Mandinka, Bambara, and others. Other societies, in spite of contacts with Muslim agents, did not show signs of breaking down their highly organized religions--e.g. Fon of Dahomey and Ashanti of Ghana.

Critics of European policies in the Sudan believe that all of these factors combined to isolate northerners from the great twentieth century world movement. For

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example, concerning policies in northern Nigeria Webster and Boahen state that

> By the middle of the nineteenth century the trans-Saharan routes began to decline as a result of the trade contacts opened up on the Niger river by British merchants. Thus when the Muslim world was beginning its modern transformation the caliphate began to lose contact with it. Colonial boundaries completed this isolation.
>
> In the surrender terms the British promised not to interfere with the Muslim religion and this was interpreted by both parties to mean that Christian missionaries would not be encouraged. This increased the isolation of Northern Nigeria for it thus missed an influence which was having such a pronounced effect in southern Nigeria. While it was therefore not expected that the British should favour Christianity over Islam, it was not foreseen that shielding the people from the stimulating influence of Christianity would slow down the process of change. The British did allow mission activities in the non-Muslim areas, many of which had not been brought within the caliphate in the nineteenth century. These relatively backward areas of the nineteenth century, through their acceptance of the education brought by the missionaries, became some of the most progressive areas by twentieth-century standards (1967:244-245).

When the British eventually began to build up a northern civil service, when the railway system came, and when postal services and commercial firms began to employ a clerical staff, workers were recruited from southern Nigeria because the Hausa-Fulani western educated class was very small. Such conditions led to problems that were unavoidable when Nigeria like other countries obtained independence. Therefore, "cut off from the Maghreb and Middle East, and protected from southern Nigerian ideas and movements, Northern Nigeria presented a picture of tranquility strangely out of

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place in the general upheavals of the twentieth century" (Webster and Boahen 1967:245).

African leaders of newly independent African countries (many obtained self government status around 1960) have the same attitude about the savannah belt as the above critics. Heads of states are increasingly concerned about the lack of Western development and industrialization within the Sudan; they are, therefore, making a concerted effort to re-educate, rebuild, and revitalize Sudanese culture into a Western mould.

Recently, government projects have been started in various parts of Sudan to develop agricultural products. Irrigation systems have been installed, new techniques in plant and soil science have been incorporated, and city dwellers are being encouraged to return to the village rather than reside in over-crowded cities.

Some children are beginning to attend Western schools. They either give up their Koranic learning entirely or go to Koranic school at an early age before attending the Western primary school. A few children (especially males) pursue both educations simultaneously. In most cases males are the only ones who take advantage of Western education, while females attend only the Koranic schools.

As a result of westernization two opposing ideologies exist in Sudanese culture--a desire to become progressive, accepting Western values, but a subconscious fear of opposing tradition is also apparent. Westernism in a

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Muslim country, because of the social nature of Islam, therefore, does not have a disruptive effect on the social and cultural organization of the society as is evident in non-Muslim areas.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter attention has been focussed on the early influences in the savannah belt, in particular those arising from the contacts that were initiated with the North and East for the purpose of trade, the eventual Islamic and Arabic influences that became apparent, and the creation of a new and different Sudanic civilization, all of which provide part of the historical and cultural background needed for understanding the introduction and subsequent development of the one string fiddle tradition in the savannah belt. Because of the nature of westernization in the Sudan, European elements have not drastically changed the social structure and values of Sudanese civilization. All of these external influences, which the people have marginally adopted to some degree, have contributed to the unique social environment that is characteristic of the Sudan.

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Chapter Two

Arabic Musical Influence in the Sudanic Belt

The interaction of the peoples of the Sudanic belt with North Africa and the subsequent penetration of Islam mainly from the East--Arabia, Egypt, and other countries--led to the subjugation of the peoples of North Africa to foreign domination. In conquests of this kind individuals react differently: some rebel against the invaders; others submit, although unwillingly, without physical retaliation; and a few flee to seek refuge elsewhere. The last factor caused immigrations into Africa south of the Sahara, which continued between the seventh and eleventh centuries A.D. When people interact, cross-cultural influences arise. Musical ideas and resources, for example, are interchanged, giving rise to the development of new traditions within an established musical culture.

Arabic musical influences have been documented by several scholars of music and other disciplines. In Meek's account of the history and tradition of the Hausa states, for example, he states that the founder of the dynasty of Kano, Bagauda "the grandson of Abayejidu, arrived from Daura with thirteen thousand foot-soldiers and thirteen hundred horsemen. Incidentally they brought with them the instrument known as the algaita--an oboe" (1921:88). The Abayajidu/Bagauda figures are believed to have been those

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people who migrated from North Africa to the Sudan establiching political control over the indigenous inhabitants of the Hausa states (see pages 7 and 79-82).

Nikiprowetzky similarly states that "the characteristics" of Mauritanian music "reflect, surely, the geographical position of the country, which forms a sort of link between the Maghreb and Black Africa. Mauritanian music has, over the centuries, absorbed and blended the influences of the Near-East--through Islam, as well as those of the Berbers and of Black Africans. Arabic and North African musics are well known, and it is comparatively simple to assess the debt which Mauritanian music owes to them, particularly the ornate character of certain melodic forms and the extraordinary rhythmic movement which is the hallmark of the mountain folklore of the Atlas" (1962:53). Mauritania's music is essentially monodic; considerable freedom is given to the individual inventiveness of the performer, who improvises on traditional lines. Mauritanian griots (musicians), belonging to a social endogamous caste that is based on a patrilineal system of kinship, do not allow women to become musicians (Nikiprowetzky 1962:54).

In Senegal and Toucouleur (Tukulor) country the one string fiddle, known respectively as riti and nyanyur (gnagnour), is a common instrumental type for the griot. "A griot may be attached to a prince's court, and be a member of his household; or he may be independent and able to charge for his services as he chooses" (Nikiprowetzky

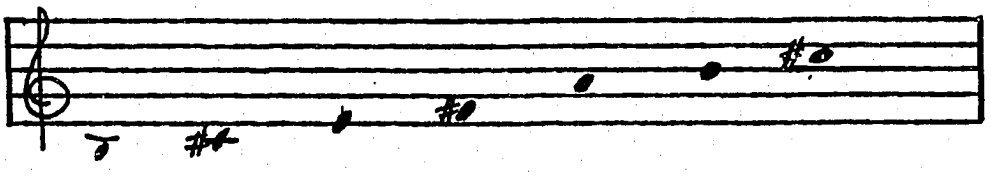
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1963:79). Musicians in Senegal, grouped into one of the lowest social castes, are most appreciated for their artistic performances. Occasions for the performances usually include birth, circumcision, marriage, and so forth. The training of the griot, "exclusively oral, involves a long apprenticeship with an older man--usually father or uncle. Several years are needed to master the technique of an instrument, or to learn the songs indispensable to their profession" (Nikiprowetzy 1963:80).

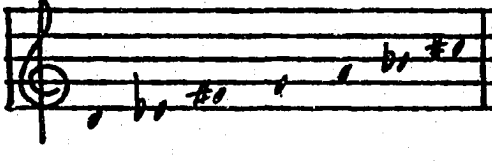
Among the Tuareg people, the one string fiddle is usually performed by women and slaves. In some cases the men sing with the accompaniment of the fiddle. Nikiprowetzky has analyzed songs by Tuareg performers and gives the following findings:

1. Strong ornamentation of the melodic line
2. Scales based on a pentatonic mode
3. Predominance in some pieces of the augmented second interval
4. Emphasis on continued variation of the melody
5. Examples of scales:

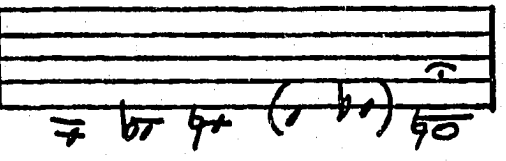
Example 1.



Example 2a.



Example 2b.



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One composition is based on two scales; the body of the song is composed of the tones in Example 2a, while the coda is based on Example 2b.[1] Nikiprowetzky concludes that music of the Tuareg owes much to oriental and Near Eastern music--that is, Arabian influence (Nikiprowetzky 1964:83).

Michael Powne, in Ethiopian Music, An Introduction, states that "the masenqo [name for the one-string fiddle in Ethiopia] and the Arabian rebab are obviously blood-brothers, and it is probably that the Ethiopian instrument owes its origin to the Arabian. Unlike other stringed instruments, these two have remained one-string fiddles to this day. Again unlike many other stringed instruments, the masenqo has never been developed in various sizes, playing at different pitches" (Powne 1968:42). The masenqo consists of a wooden body or sound box, sometimes square but usually diamond-shaped. Cowhide is used to cover the box, and no resonator hole is placed on the body. The instrument has primarily a secular function in Ethiopian culture, usually associated with the troubadour, azmari--wandering singers in the service of princes and nobility (Powne 1968:61). The masenqo player performs songs on the subjects:

1. Wedding songs
2. Praise songs (eulogies of the virtues of the master)
3. Epics of victories in war
4. Conquests in love
5. Mockery songs (insult songs)
6. Epics of the past

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Masengo musicians, therefore, function as singer, masengo-player, historian, political and social commentator, and entertainer. Also see Kimberlin 1976 for additional discussion of the Ethiopian fiddle.

Of course, cross-cultural influences occurred in the process of interaction and interchange between the Sudanese and Northerners. Those elements that are predominant in the North are found in the South, and elements that characterize music south of the Sahara are evident in the North. In Landau's discussion of Moroccan arts he outlines the different external influences in the music culture:

> Aldulasian music [Moroccan art music] has much in common with the early music of Spain.
>
> In its rhythms and syncopation Berber music moves closer to that of Africa south of the Sahara.
>
> The arts and intellectual aspects have kinship with those of the Arab Middle East and of Muslim Asia as well as with those of Spain.
>
> (Landau 1963:45)

Occasions for Moroccan music include weddings, circumcisions, harvest festivals, national holidays, and so forth. According to Landau the blending of Middle Eastern, African, and European strains in Moroccan arts is the result of the following:

1. Morocco's geographical position is at one of the world's great crossroads.
2. Morocco is based on a cosmopolitan structure in which Arabo-Islamic naturally dominates.

(Landau 1963:45)

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Alan Merriam also supports the theory of Islamic or Arabic influence in African music; he divides West Africa into two musical areas--West Coast and Sudan Desert. The Sudan Desert area is further subdivided into the Sudan and Desert areas (see Merriam 1959:78-79). "The peoples of the Desert subarea employ musical styles which are far more Arabic than Negro African, although Negro African influence can perhaps be detected" (Merriam 1959:79). Arabic influence in other parts of Africa is also indicated:

> In Saharan Africa there is no question of the influence, and in the Guinea Coast region, the Eastern Sudan, and the Horn they are also clearly recognized. Farther south, the influences are neither clear nor so well known, although they are strong in the northern part of the East Africa area, along the east coast, and in the northern portions, at least, of the Central Africa area. In these areas the modified version of the Arabic rebec, or ndingiti as it is named in northeastern Congo, may be cited; in addition, the vocal style of the Tutsi in Ruanda and the Hima in Uganda shows clearly defined Islamic influences in 'the use of a hummed introduction which sets the general modality for the music and text which follow, clearly akin to the Arabic magam. The style of voice production, ornamentation of melodic line, general melodic characteristics, and the use of intervals smaller than half tones all suggest Arabic influence'. Thus Islamic characteristics in both musical styles and musical instruments are found farther south than is sometimes suspected. Although still unstudied as far as is known, it may be that Arabic influences on the sociology of music have also influenced African patterns (Merriam 1959:83-84).

Lois Anderson, in a discussion of African and Arab musics, outlines a number of features characteristic of music south of the Sahara, that have infiltrated into North African music culture-e.g. modal constructions,

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instrumental types, song texts, rhythm patterns, and so forth (see Anderson 1971:143-169). On the other hand Akin Euba (1971:171-181) presents evidence to show that the pure traditional music of the contemporary Yoruba is a synthesis of the music of pre-Islamic Arab culture and that of the original aborigines of Yoruba country. Further, he demonstrates that it is the Yoruba Muslim rather than the Yoruba Christian who has not only maintained the cultivation of Yoruba traditional music, but has incorporated influences from Arab music culture. "In accepting Christianity the Yoruba have also emulated the general culture of the people who converted them. Christianity has opened the door to Western education, and being well-educated in Western terms also means being able to understand the language of Western artistic culture...there are far fewer Christians than Muslims among professional traditional musicians. However, of the Yoruba musicians that practice Western art music professionally, none, so far as I am aware, is a Muslim" (Euba 1971:174-175).

Musical influences from the Arab world, which have been presented in the above, tend to substantiate the theory that the one string fiddle tradition is not indigenous to the Sudan nor West Africa. That the Sudanese instrument is different in physical appearance from the Arab or North African violin is not a valid reason for the nonacceptance of Arab origin. "Musical instruments, while they change

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more slowly in their formal structure than songs and dances, often have to depart from their original climate and migrate with their masters or are taken over by foreign ones who tend to alter their spiritual as well as their regional qualities" (Gerson-Kiwi 1952:16). Climatic conditions, unavailability of materials, and change in masters, therefore, are all factors that may have altered the physical characteristics of the Sudanese one string fiddle.

In spite of differences in physical appearance scholars have shown definite similarities in the function of the Arab and Sudanese one string fiddle tradition and presented facts to prove the importation of the instrument from North Africa. Fracis Bebey, in Musique de l'Afrique, states that

> L'instrument à corde frottée le plus connu est la vièle monocorde, qu'utilisent les musiciens d'Afrique occidentale, surtout dans les régions islamisées (1969:57).

Helen Hause's linguistic data support the derivation of the term goge, which is used by the Hausa to refer to the one string fiddle, from the Arabic term ghugha (see Chapter Three for full discussion).

Definite similarities are apparent in the role and function of the instrument in Arabic and Sudanese culture. Compare the descriptions that are given below with information in Chapter Five (see page 137).

> The refined and dazzling court of al-Rashīd patronized music and singing, as it did science and art, to the extent of becoming the centre

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> of a galaxy of musical stars. Salaried musicians accompanied by men and women slave singers thrived in it and furnished the theme for numberless fantastic anecdotes, immortalized in the pages of the Aghāni, 'Iqd, Fihrist, Nihāyad, and above all, the Arabian Nights. Two thousand such singers took part in a musical festival under the caliph's [king's] patronage.
>
> These and other virtuosi of the halcyon days who won undying fame as companions to the caliphs were more than musicians; they were endowed with keen wits and retentive memories well stocked with choice verses of poetry and delightful anecdotes. They were singers, composers, poets, and scholars well versed in the scientific lore of the day. Under them stood the instrumentalists (sing. dārib), among whom the lute was generally most favored; the viol (rabbāb) was used by inferior performers. Then came the singing girls (sing. qaynah), who as a rule performed while concealed behind curtains. Such girls came to be a necessary adornment of the harem and their keeping and training developed into an important industry (Hitti 1970:425-426).

According to Dufourcq the Arabs used a one string bowed instrument that was covered with skin and called rabab-al-chair (rebec du poete). The playing of the instrument was usually given to slaves and women (Dufourcq 1946:74). In addition Dufourcq mentions some of the characteristics of Muslim music:

> 1. L'usage de modes multiples, basés sur chacun des sept degrés de la gamme.
> 2. L'emploi frequent du chromatisme à base de seconde augmentée mais non exclusif.
> 3. Le sens du rhythme complexe matérialisé par une percussion quasi-indépendante de la melodie.
> 4. La difficulté d'accueillir tout mélange sonore, toute polyphonie, quelle soit d'order 'vertical' (harmonie ou 'horizontale' (contrepoint).
> 5. La préférence de l'Oriental pour tout instrument individuel de sonorité intime; sont peu de goût pour l'éclat des cuivres son effarement devant nos ensembles instrumentaux.
>
> (Dufourcq 1946:80)

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Jacques Porte, in Encyclopedia des musiques sacrés, mentions that the rebab-al-chair with the douff (tamborine) were used to accompany Bedouin Odes in Arab culture. Prior to the introduction of Islam the Arabs excelled in improvisation and poetry (Porte 1968:409).

The performance of music was not accepted by Islam. "Al-Ghazāli considered it a pious action to enter a house where profane music and songs were being performed in order to smash the instruments and scatter the singers. But in spite of this rigorism, the refined atmosphere of the courts of the caliphs was often lulled by the sound of harps, lutes, rebecs, and flutes, and they were accompanied by profane songs" (Gardet 1970:581).[2]

Even "in the early days of Islam, Mecca was one of the centres of Arabian musical culture, and many of the celebrated virtuosi mentioned in Kitāb al-aghānī belonged to the Holy City and among them Ibn Misjah, Ibn Murriz, Ibn Suraij, and Yahya al-Makki, the first being the systemizer of of the Arabian musical theory and practice of classical times, and the last being the author of a Kitāb fī'laghānī... In the sixteenth century, the rabāb [the earliest viol that was used by the Arabs] was to be found even in the Meccan cafés" (Farmer 1929b:490 and 493).

Islamic scholars fought the acceptance of musical practice in religious worship because "in pre-Islamic Arabia it was thought that the jinn[3] and the spirit world could be called up by music, and it was even claimed that some music

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was derived from the jinn and even shaitān[4] himself. Both the pagan magicians and the poets, who were also soothsayers, 'hummed and chanted their oracles and verses,' practices which were forbidden by the legal authorities of Islam, Thus, it was necessary to make a clear distinction between music associated with Islam and secular music, in order to avoid the connotations of secular music. According to H. G. Farmer, the term ta'bīr (interpreting) was adopted for the singing of religious music to distinguish it from ghinā (singing in secular life). Ammon Shiloah gives a more restricted definition of ta'bīr, stating that it is used to distinguish the reading of the Koran from ghinā (singing), which was applied to secular music" (Anderson 1971:146-147).

In a discussion of the character of Persian music, Phyllis Ackerman, who quotes from an eleventh century manuscript, states that

> According to Persian tradition the dangerous and wicked use of music played an important part in the Original Sin, for Adam and Eve were charmed by the song of Satan issuing from the Serpent's belly and thereby induced to eat of the seed of the wheat, which in the Islamic version is the Forbidden Fruit, not the apple. 'God addressed Satan:' 'If men have apostles, the fortune-teller and the singer of songs are thy [Satan's] apostles; if they have callers to prayer, the musician is thy caller; if they have mosques, the markets are thy mosques; if they have sciences, the lay, the lie, and the ode are thy sciences; if they have a beverage, whatever is intoxicating is thy beverage; and if they have entertainment, all the sins are thy entertainments' (1964:2805).

Even when singing and other instrumental types were partially accepted by Islamic adherents, the use of string

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instruments was and is still somewhat escluded because of its connection with metaphysical elements. "This conceit is understandable. The voice of the jinn was termed 'azf, and when we know this, we can appreciate the occult significance of the word 'azif or mi'zaf for a harp-lie instrument. We read in the 'Iqd al-Farid (tenth century) that David the Prophet played a mi'zaf when he wanted to gather the jinn unto himself. Even today the Arabic name for a instrumentalist is 'azzaf" (Farmer 1952:60). Also, Hause mentions the significance of the one string fiddle in the bori cults among North Africans and Hausa (see Hause 1948: 20).

From the above discussion the following conclusions can be made:

1. From the documentation concerning the period of Arabic and Islamic influences in the Sudan, it is evident that the introduction of the one string fiddle may have occurred after the migrations by North Africans and the spread of Islam in the Sudanic areas of Africa.

2. The use of the instrument in certain areas of Africa that are predominantly Islamized somewhat supports the theory of Arab origin. Why was the instrument not adopted by people of non-Islamic religious faith and practice?

3. The function of the instrument in the two cultures--Arab and Sudanese--has definite similarities:
   a. With the exception of Hausaland instrument players receive patronage from the king in Senegal, Ghana, Upper Volta, and other members of the society.

   b. The instrument is separated from Islamic occasions; it is primarily used for secular functions.

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c. Occasions for performance of the instrument are similar--life cycle, entertainment, enactment of history, spirit occultism, and so forth.

d. Types of songs used in performance are similar in both cultures.

4. The physical form of the instrument is similar--that is, a one string attached to a stick fixed into a resonating body and bowed. The materials used for the construction of the instrument depends on what is available in the geographical area of use. In Iran sometimes a coconut shell is used for the resonating body, while a calabash is used in the savannah region of Africa. Coconuts are easier to obtain along the coastal regions of Iran just as gourd calabashes are more abundant in the desert and savannah regions of Africa.

5. Structural elements in the music(s) are similar as will be seen in our discussion of the musical analyses--e.g. ornamentation, use of augmented seconds, chromaticism, scale types, and so forth.

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Chapter Three

Distribution of the One String Fiddle in West Africa

It will be evident from our review of Arabic influence on the musical traditions of the Sudanic belt that the one string fiddle traditions of Hausa and Dagomba form part of a larger West African complex. Documented information concerning the distribution of the instrument in this region, however, is limited. Although a few scholars have briefly discussed fiddles in West Africa,[1] none of them has tackled the problem of distribution in a systematic manner. Data on distribution have had to be compiled from: (1) commercial recordings that were available to me,[2] (2) existing published and unpublished materials by scholars in music and other disciplines, which make some reference to the existence of the instrument in specific locations, and (3) a limited amount of personal field research that was done in West Africa. I am aware that the information may not yield a complete picture, since nothing short of an extensive field observation in the whole region--which is almost a life-time task--can provide this. The picture that emerges from available data is, nevertheless, interesting and valuable and should provide a basis for further contributions to our knowledge of this subject.

GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION

As already stated, Arabic musical influence sweeps

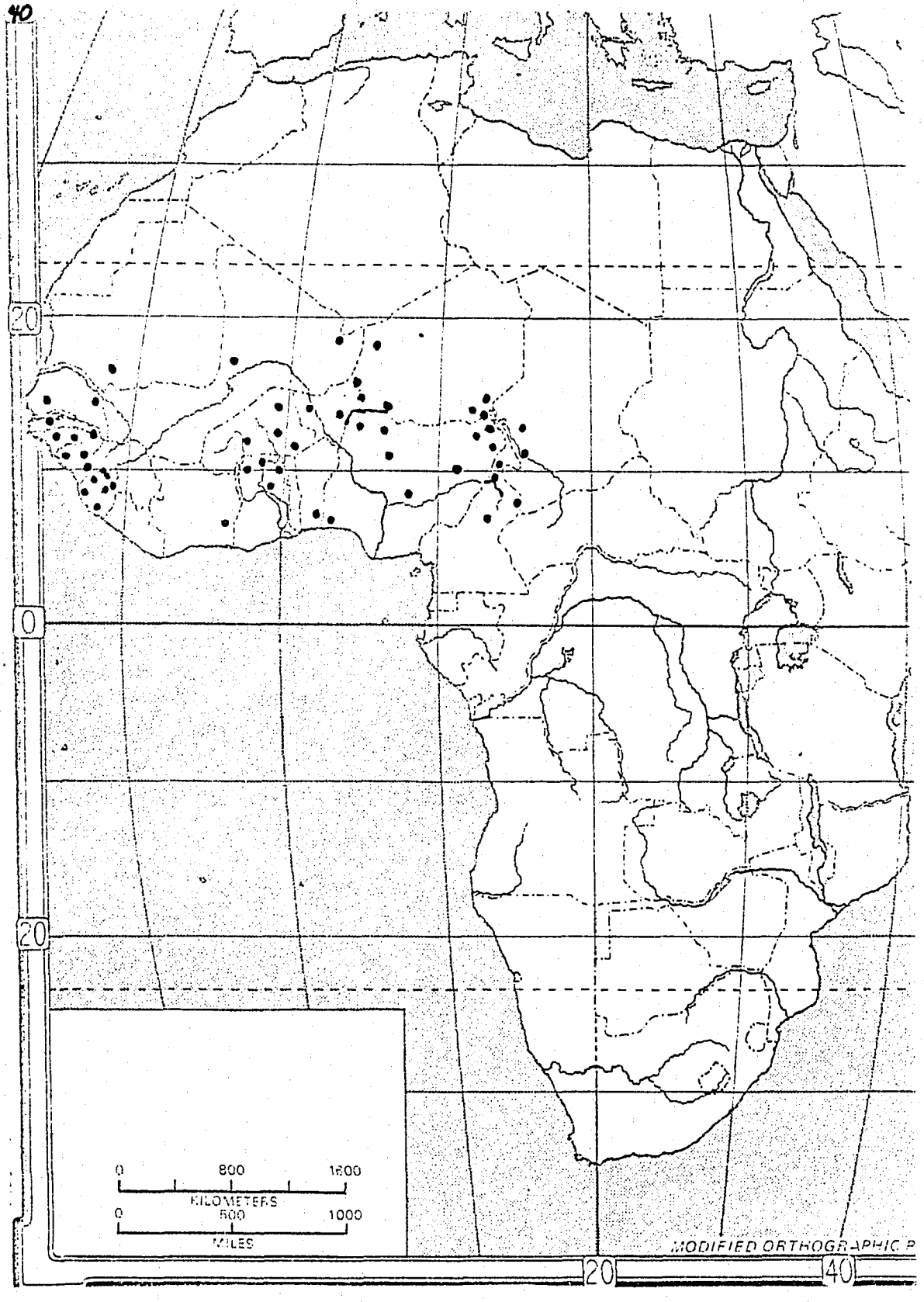
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across the Sudan or savannah belt region of West Africa including the following countries: Mauritania, Senegal, Gambia, Mali, Guinea (Guinea-Bissau and the Republic of Guinea),[3] Sierra Leone, Upper Volta, Ghana, Benin (formerly known as Dahomey), Nigeria, Niger, Chad, and Cameroon (see Maps 4 and 5). Therefore, we should expect to find the one string fiddle in these areas. Secondly, the correlation between Islam and Arabic presence suggests on the surface that it might be found principally in Muslim areas. Yet, this hypothesis does not hold true for <u>all</u> Muslim areas in West Africa or the Sudan. For example, no evidence of the tradition is documented for the northern Ivory Coast, northern Togo, or for most of Mali--areas in which Muslim affiliates undoubtedly do exist. The <u>alghaita</u>, an aerophone of the double reed family used in several Muslim areas of West Africa, is found in northern Togo, but only within Hausa colonies of the region. It can be inferred then that the original inhabitants of these areas usually do not use any form of musical expression that is Arabic-derived.[4]

Possibly the means by which societies made contact with Islam may give some explanations for the exclusion of the fiddle. Some people did not become converted Muslims until the early twentieth century with European occupation (see pages 18-20). With the introduction of new cultural elements into an established society, some variables of the "whole" will not be adopted in entirety. Only those

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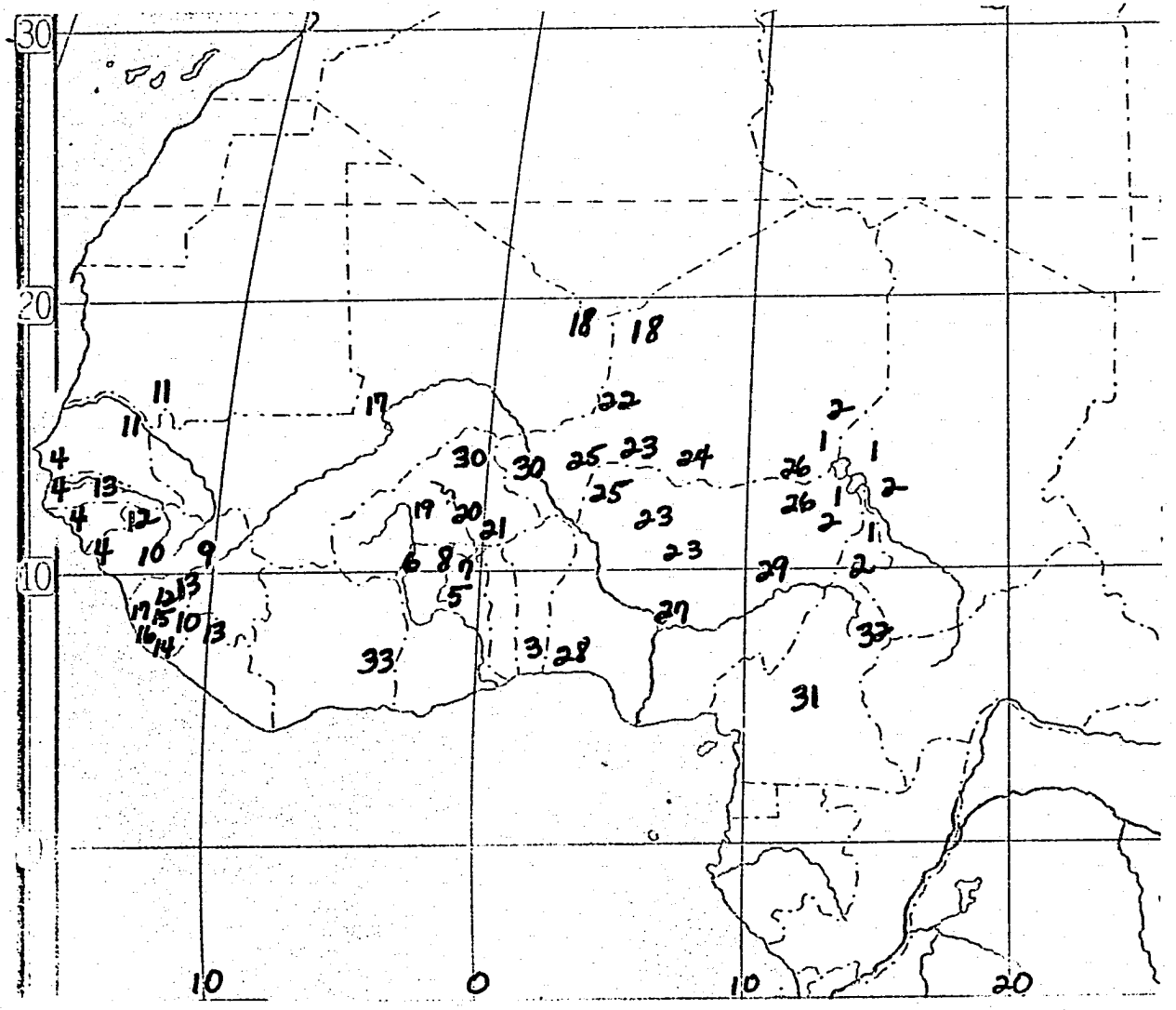
Map 4 - Location of the Fiddle



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Map 5 - Location of Ethnic Groups



1. Bilala
2. Bournauan
3. Nago
4. Wolof
5. Dagomba
6. Frafra
7. Mamprusi
8. Kusaisi
9. Malinke
10. Soso
11. Tukolor
12. Fula (Foulah)
13. Mandingo
14. Sherbro
15. Susu (10)
16. Temne
17. Sarakole
18. Tuareg
19. Mossi
20. Bisa
21. Gurma
22. Djerma
23. Hausa
24. Macuri
25. Peul
26. Sonrai
27. Tiv
28. Yoruba
29. Jukun
30. Songhai
31. Foulbe (12)
32. Kirdi
33. Agni

remnants of the foreign culture that will enhance or have some useful purpose to the inhabitants will be adopted. An analogy of the process of assimilation can be observed from the conquests of American Indians during the early sixteenth century A.D. into various regions of Central America:

> Under Spanish influence a mixed culture developed, consisting of indigenous traits which the Indians could not or would not give up, together with a number of traits of foreign origin. Some of the latter were sought by the aborigines, for example metal tools and other articles, which replaced the aboriginal ones as fast as the supply permitted. Many domesticated crops, especially bananas, sugarcane, rice, coffee, and oranges, and animals, particularly pigs and chickens, were quickly adopted. Some features, including social and religious concepts, were forced upon the Indians. The process of mixing and adjustment was not the same everywhere, however; each tribe reacted in its own peculiar manner, and the various leaders different approaches. Moreover, some Indian groups submitted to Spanish domination more readily than others (Johnson n.d.:195).

The many layers or degrees of influence of a foreign culture upon a given society should not be mistakenly oversimplified to assume that the indigenous culture accepts everything in total.

Along the Guinea coastal region of West Africa--from Libera to the Cameroons--the fiddle tradition sporadically occurs within a few societies. No direct evidence of Islam exists in Liberia except for those affiliates who have migrated into the area since the actual spread of the religion, such as the Mandingo people. As a result the one string fiddle tradition can be attributed to the coming of the Mandingo (on the border of Sierra Leone and Liberia),

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who are kinsmen to the Malinke--the people who formed the ancient Mali Empire.

Among the Nago and Yoruba of southeast Benin and southwest Nigeria, the fiddle is used in traditional as well as popular music (see Chapter Two, page 30). The Ashanti of central Ghana and Fon of central Benin did not adopt the fiddle[5] although Muslim scribes were residents in Ashanti country at an early stage in the history of Islam in northern Ghana.[6] According to Hause, however, the Agni of the Ivory Coast, who along with the Ashanti, belong to the Akan linguistic subdivision (cultural group) incorporated the fiddle tradition (1948:20). Evidently, differences in musical elements were so extreme or social affiliations with the music were so unattractive that Arab musical influence is minimal in coastal areas.

DISTRIBUTION

A chart indicating the approximate geographical location, names of the people practicing the tradition, and terms that are used for the fiddle is given on the following pages (see Chart I). Based on the available sources thirty-one different ethnic groups that have incorporated the one string fiddle tradition are represented in West Africa. The instrument, however, is not exclusive to West Africa. Nketia describes the three types of fiddles in Africa:

One type, found in Ethiopia, is the masinko, which

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CHART I

ONE-STRING FIDDLE DISTRIBUTION

West African Countries	People	Location on Map 5	Term for Fiddle
Benin (formerly Dahomey)	Nago and Yoruba	3*	godie
Cameroon	Bilala	1	coucouma
Cameroon	Bournauan	2	coucouma
Camerocn	Foulbe	31	?
Cameroon	Kirdi	32	?
Chad	Bilala	1	coucouma
Chad	Bournauan	2	coucouma
Gambia	Wolof	4	riti
Ghana	Dagomba	5	gondze (gonje)
Ghana	FraFra	6	durungu
Ghana	Kusasi	8	?
Ghana	Mamprusi	7	?
Guinea	Foulah	12	lélé
Guinea (Includes Guinea-Bissau)	Malinke	9	soko

*Numerals refer to location on Map 5

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West African Countries	People	Location on Map 5	Term for Fiddle
Guinea	Soso (Susu)	10	kundye
Guinea	Wolof	4	riti
Ivory Coast	Agni	33	godye
Mali	Sarakole	17	ngime
Mali	Tuareg (Touareg)	18	amz'ad (imzad, inzad)
Mauritania	Tukulor (Toucouleur)	11	rebec, nyanyur, gnagnour
Mauritania	Peul	11	?
Niger	Bilala	1	coucouma
Niger	Bournauan	2	coucouma
Niger	Djerma	22	godie, godjie, vièle gogué
Niger	Hausa (Haoussa)	23	vièle gogué, godjie, gogue, godie
Niger	Maouri	24	gogué
Niger	Songhai	30	godie, godje
Niger	Sonrai	26	godjie, godie

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West African Countries	People	Location on Map 5	Term for Fiddle
Niger	Tuareg (Touareg)	18	amz'ad (imzad, inzad)
Nigeria	Bilala	1	coucouma
Nigeria	Bournauan	2	coucouma
Nigeria	Hausa	23	goge, kukuma
Nigeria	Jukun	29	?
Nigeria	Peul	25	?
Nigeria	Tiv	27	goga
Nigeria	Yoruba	28	goge, kukuma
Senegal	Tukulor (Toucouleur)	11	nyanyur
Senegal	Wolof	4	riti
Sierra Leone	Fula (Foulah)	12	kalande, nyanyaru, nyayaru
Sierra Leone	Madingo (Mandingo)	13	kalande, ngime, karaning, juru-kele, soke
Sierra Leone	Sarakole	17	ngime
Sierra Leone	Sherbro	14	bondobai
Sierra Leone	Susu (Soso)	15 (10)	kundye

West African Countries	People	Location on Map 5	Term for Fiddle
Sierra Leone	Temne	16	rafon, angbulu
Upper Volta	Bisa	20	doudouga
Upper Volta	Gurma	21	goge (?)/gonje, cohorougou
Upper Volta	Mossi	19	duuduga, duduga, rebec
Upper Volta	Songhai	30	godie, godje

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> resembles the spike fiddle (a lute with a spike fixed to the resonator, played vertically). The resonator, made of wood, is diamond-shaped and covered with goat skin. At important festivals, about fifteen to twenty of these may be played together.
>
> Second, there is the one string fiddle which has a family resemblance to the rebec, an Arabic version of the bowed lute. It has a wide distribution in the savannah belt of west Africa, where it is called the riti by the Wolof of Senegal, and the goge, goje, or gonje by the Hausa of Nigeria, the Songhai and Djerma of Niger, and the Dagomba of Ghana. It has a round or oval resonator, usually made of gourd or calabash, and is covered with the skin of the water lizard. The string is made out of a bundle of horse hair, the bow of similar material.
>
> A third type of one-string fiddle is found in eastern and central Africa: the sesa or zeze tube fiddle of Zaire, Kenya, and Tanzania, or the endingidi of Uganda. The resonator may be made out of gourd or a hollow piece of wood or bamboo, and covered with skin (such as that of the duiker). The string may be made out of sisal fiber and may be played with a bow of similar material (Nketia 1974:102-103).

Mention should be made of the fiddle in Malagasy Republic, which is known as heravo. Also, the one string fiddle is common in the north African Arabized countries: Algeria (gughe among the Tuareg), Egypt (rababa, rabab ash-sha'ir, kananja a'guz, arnaba), Morocco (ribab among the Shluh people), Tunisia (kamanja), and others.

From the distribution on Map 4 it appears that the societies that cultivate the one string fiddle are located in pockets or clusters of concentration--that is, from west to east--Mauritania, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Guinea; Mali, Upper Volta, central Ivory Coast, northern Ghana, Niger, northern Nigeria, central Nigeria, southwest Nigeria; and

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northeast Nigeria, Chad, northern Cameroon. It is interesting that the distribution is formed in such a way that it has a semblance of correlation with another distribution, namely the settlements of the Fulani people, who are also known as Fellani, Fellata, Filani, Foulah, Ful, Fulbe, Foulbe, Peul, and Pullo (Murdock 1959:413). Also see Map 6 in Appendix A.

> For the most part they (Fulani) reside in the midst of other peoples. Particularly large groups live as ethnic minorities among such populous nations as the Bambara, Gurma, Hausa, Malinke, Mossi, Soninke, and Zerma, and others are dispersed among many smaller Voltaic and Plateau Nigerian tribes. Only in a few discontinuous districts do they constitute the dominant element in the population. These are shown in ... [Map 6] and include from west to east, the Senegal Valley, Fouta Roto, Fouta Djalon, Kita, Masina, Kiptako, Sokoto, Bauchi, and Adamawa (Murdock 1959:413).

Is such a correlation a mere coincidence? Could the Berbers have acquired the fiddle tradition during pre-Islamic contacts with the East or during the seventh century (first Islamic raid in North Africa) before escaping from the second Arab invasion in the tenth and eleventh centuries? Even if the tradition persisted within Berber culture, would the Fulani--a fanatically "holy" people of the Islam religion--have adopted such a musical instrument when Islam prohibits music making? String music is one of the worst evils to the Muslim (see pages 33-35). In most cases one would logically have to give a negative answer to the above propositions.

The only alternative to the unique distribution of

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the fiddle is the caravan trade routes in West Africa (see Maps 1, 2, and 3 in Appendix A). However, even this does not seem to be foolproof, for while it could account for three areas in West Africa, it leaves the far western area of the Senegal Valley in doubt. Could the substitute route that extends to Kaedi have been the link to Mauritania and Senegal? Also, could the Timbuctu route have reached Upper Volta and northern Ghana?

It should be remembered that practically all West African societies had a direct or indirect contact with Arabic influences. The most important question that must be considered is the reason for the tradition sustaining in one area as opposed to another. It is safe to state that both the Fulani expansion and caravan trades had influential developments in the Sudan. The caravan trades were the beginning of an initial contact, while the Fulani interventions were a sustaining, permanent force. Not all Fulani were religious advocates, just as all are not cattle herders. Many were probably traders and political opportunists who desired a means for permanent residence in a particular area. It is, therefore, not unlikely that cultural exchanges from both sides did occur.

Environmental conditions must also be considered a factor for the unique distribution. Because of certain geographical and climatic conditions that existed, human beings (especially those who migrated) could better adapt to the environment in the savannah belt as opposed to the

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northern desert or southern forest regions. As a result the people who resided in the Sudan at that particular time in history were exposed to foreign influences to a greater degree than those in the forest regions.[7] The Sudanic people, therefore, are culturally similar because of their direct contact with Arabic culture and their assimilation of the same external elements. It is from these that the few people on the coast or southern regions--Nago and Yoruba of Benin and Nigeria or Temne and Sherbro of Sierra Leone--adapted certain elements of Arabic culture.

The mode of living of societies that use the one string fiddle varies from sedentary to nomadic. Within the sedentary groups agriculture and animal husbandry are the most important traditional occupations, while nomads prefer animal husbandry to farming, hunting, fishing or gathering. Because of the varied number of foreign influences in the region, the sedentary people have incorporated a variety of crops, partaking foods of the Sudanic, Malaysian, Indian, American, and Greco-Roman complexes (see Chapter One, pages 12-13). The use of cattle among peoples in the Sudan differs. Only half of the thirty-one ethnic groups that have cultivated the one string fiddle tradition use cattle for dairy products; otherwise the animal is used for food and sacrifice. All groups usually regard their cattle as a symbol of wealth and prestige. It is interesting to note that many of those peoples who milk their animals had an

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earlier and more direct contact with Arabic culture--e.g. Bilala, Djerma, Fulani, Hausa, Madingo, Malinke, Peul, Sarakole, Songhai, Sonrai, Soso, Tuareg, Wolof, and others.

TERMS FOR THE ONE STRING FIDDLE

A number of terms are used for the one string fiddle. According to Hause the term ghūghā of Algeria and Morocco has been taken over by peoples of West Africa--goge and guge among the Hausa, gogeru among the Ful, and godye in Agni culture. Hause supports her hypothesis that the term was borrowed by drawing attention to other Arabic terms for instruments present in the region. The ghaita of North Africa is recognized by the Hausa as a borrowed instrument; the kuba (hourglass drum) developed into kalangu among the Hausa and lunga in Dagbon society. In conclusion Hausa admits the limitation in her usage of Arabic derivatives for the names of instruments because (1) Arabic contacts in the Sudan were limited and not the kind that substantially influenced musical practices, and (2) the mediators between Arabs and some peoples in the savannah belt caused generic terms to be altered or not to have been passed on at all. For example, the Mossi, who at first resisted Islam, would not have passed on Arabic practices much less musical terms to other Sudanese, while the Hausa and Mandingo were probably strong advocates of Arab culture and contributed greatly to the spread and use of Arabic terms for musical instruments (Hause 1948:20 and

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64).

The term goge as Hause suggests, is widespread in certain areas. Of course, a different phonetic variant occurs among the ethnic groups. For example, the form godie occurs among the Nago of Benin; gonje (gondze) among the Dagomba of Ghana; godie, godjie, and goge in the Djerma, Hausa, Maouri, and Sonrai societies of Niger; goge and goga in Nigeria among the Yoruba, Hausa, and Tiv peoples; and goge and gonje (not certain) in the Gurma culture of Upper Volta. Another variant that may possibly have a correlation with the term goge is kundye, which is used among the Susu (Soso) of Sierra Leone and Guinea.

Kukuma is another term that is fairly widespread in distribution. Kukuma is the name for a smaller species of the goge among the Hausa and Yoruba of Nigeria. Also, coucouma (French spelling) is used by the Bilala and Bournauan of the Cameroon, Chad, Niger, and Nigeria. Doudouga, duuduga, and duduga are common terms among the Bisa and Mossi of Upper Volta. In Ghana the term durunga, a possible variant, is used by the FraFra people.

The most dispersed variety of terms for the one string fiddle occurs in the Western Sudan--that is, Mauritania, Senegal, Gambia, Guinea, Sierra Leone, and Mali. Among the Tukulor (Toucouleur) people of Mauritania and Senegal, and the Fula (Foulah) of Sierra Leone, the instrument is known by the terms nyayur (gnagnour), nyanyur, nyanyaru, and nyayaru. The term riti is predominant among

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the Wolof of Senegal, Guinea, and Gambia. Throughout the Sahara and savannah regions the Tuareg use the term amz'ad (imzad, inzad), In Sierra Leone ten different terms (see Chart One) which tally with names used in Mali and Guinea are used for the instrument by those people who have migrated from their original homeland to Sierra Leone, such as the Malinke and Sarakole of Mali and Soso of Guinea.

In summary it appears that the generic term goge, which is linguitically similar to the North African ghūghā, is most widespread in the Central savannah region, while a variety of terms are used in the Western Sudan. The similarity of terminology in the Central Sudan may be due to the fact that a term of similar linguistic structure was also used by those people who introduced the instrument into that area. Since the Hausa have been extremely mobile in the Central Sudan (Hause demonstrates that the Hausa are most responsible for the spread and use of the alghaita in parts of West Africa--see page 38), evidence tends to suggest that they were the agents or intermediaries in the introduction of the fiddle tradition; this is the reason why the goge linguistic variant is most common among the Central Sudanese.

From the above discussion, the possibility still arises that the instrument has a significant Arabic affinity. That the location of the one string fiddle tradition coincides with the distribution of the Fulani people--the most recent propagators of the Islamic religion

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as well as the overlay of caravan trade routes therefore should not be totally disregarded.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE ONE STRING FIDDLE

In The Music of Africa Nketia gives a brief summary of one string fiddles that can be found in Africa:

1. Spike fiddle type (a lute with a spike fixed to the resonator, played vertically)--resonator, made of wood, is diamond-shaped and covered with goat skin.

2. Rebec type--round or oval resonator usually made of gourd or calabash and is covered with skin of the water lizard; the string is made of horse hair.

3. Tube fiddle type--resonator is made of gourd or a hollow piece of wood or bamboo and covered with skin, such as the duiker (African antelope); string is made of sisal fiber

(Nketia 1974:102-103)

As far as the author can ascertain, no instruments of the first and third types are found in West Africa (see Chart Two for a distribution of the physical description and construction of one string fiddles in West Africa). Usually West African one string fiddles are performed in the horizontal position similar to that of the rebec. Most of the body-resonators are made of gourd or calabash. A few are constructed out of coconut shells, such as those of the Madingo and Soso (Susu) of Sierra Leone. Only one example is known to be made of a tin box--the bondobai of the Sherbro in Sierra Leone. Bebey (1974:42) states that the Tukulor and Wolof of Senegal use wood of the silk-cotton tree for the resonator.

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CHART II

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION AND CONSTRUCTION

OF ONE-STRING FIDDLES

ETHNIC GROUP	TERM FOR INSTRUMENT	CONSTRUCTION								
		RESONATOR					BOW		STICK	BRIDGE
		Shape	Material	Skin	String	Hole*	Material	String		
Agni	godye	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Bilala & Bournauan	coucouma	round	calabash	lizard	horse hair	skin	wood	horse hair	wood	?
Bisa	doudouga	round	calabash	reptile ?	horse hair	skin	?	horse hair	wood	?
Dagomba	gondze (gonje)	round	calabash	alligator	horse hair	skin	wood (covered with goat skin)	horse hair	wood (covered with goat skin)	solid
Djerma	godie, godjie, gogue	round	calabash	lizard, iguana	horse hair	skin	wood (covered with goat skin)	horse hair	wood (covered with goat skin)	solid wood
Foulah	lélé	round	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Foulbe	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?

*Refers to location of the resonating hole--in the skin or sound-box

ETHNIC GROUP	TERM FOR INSTRUMENT	CONSTRUCTION								
		RESONATOR					BOW		STICK	BRIDGE
		Shape	Material	Skin	String	Hole*	Material	String		
FraFra	durungu	round	calabash with ornamental designs	reptile ?	horse hair	skin	wood (covered with goat skin)	horse hair	wood (covered with goat skin)	?
Fula	kalande, nyanyaru, nyayaru	round	calabash	lizard, snake	horse hair	sound box	wood, iron	horse hair	wood	?
Gurma	goge (?) gonje cohorougou	round	calabash	alligator	horse hair	skin	metal (iron)	horse hair	wood (covered with goat skin)	solid wood
Hausa	goge, gogue, godie, godjie, kukuma	round	calabash	lizard, iguana	horse hair	skin	metal (iron)	horse hair	wood, metal	solid wood
Jukun	?	round	calabash	?	horse hair	skin	?	horse hair	?	?
Kirdi	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Kusasi	?	round	calabash	?	horse hair	skin	?	horse hair	wood	?

*Refers to location of the resonating hole--in the skin or sound-box

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ETHNIC GROUP	TERM FOR INSTRUMENT	CONSTRUCTION								
		RESONATOR					BOW		STICK	BRIDGE
		Shape	Material	Skin	String	Hole*	Material	String		
Mandingo (Madingo)	kalande, ngime, karaning, jurukele, soke	round	calabash, coconut shell	?	horse hair	sound box	wood	horse hair	?	calabash
Malinke	soke, soko	round	calabash	?	?	?	?	?	?	tuning ring (?)
Mamprusi	?	round	calabash	?	horse hair	?	wood	horse hair	wood	?
Maouri	gogue	round	calabash	?	horse hair	skin	metal (iron)	horse hair	?	?
Mossi	duuduga, duduga	round	calabash	?	horse hair	skin	?	horse hair	?	?
Nago	godie	round	calabash	?	horse hair	skin	?	horse hair	?	?
Peul	?	round	calabash	?	horse hair	?	?	horse hair	?	?
Sarakole	ngime	round	calabash	?	horse hair	?	?	horse hair	?	?
Sherbro	bondobai	rectangular	tin box	?	?	?	reed, light stick	?	wood	?

*Refers to location of the resonating hole--in the skin or sound-box

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ETHNIC GROUP	TERM FOR INSTRUMENT	CONSTRUCTION								
		RESONATOR					BOW		STICK	BRIDGE
		Shape	Material	Skin	String	Hole*	Material	String		
Songhai	godie, godje	round	calabash	?	horse hair	?	?	horse hair	?	?
Sonrai	godjie, godie	round	calabash	?	horse hair	?	?	horse hair	?	?
Soso (Susu)	kundye	round	calabash, coconut shell	lizard	?	?	?	?	wood	?
Temne	rafon, angbulu	round	calabash	?	horse hair	?	?	horse hair	?	?
Tiv	goga	round	calabash	?	horse hair	skin	?	horse hair	?	?
Tuareg	amz'ad	round	calabash	goat	horse hair	skin	wood	horse hair	wood	slender, made of two crossed pieces of wood
Tukulor	gnagnour	round	wood of silk-cotton tree	lizard	horse hair	sound box	?	horse hair	wood	small piece of wood
	nyanyur	round	calabash	snake	horse hair	sound box	iron	horse hair	wood	?

*Refers to location of the resonating hole--in the skin or sound-box

ETHNIC GROUP	TERM FOR INSTRUMENT	CONSTRUCTION								
		RESONATOR					BOW		STICK	BRIDGE
		Shape	Material	Skin	String	Hole*	Material	String		
Wolof	riti	heart	calabash	?	horse hair	sound box	?	horse hair	wood	?
	riti	round	wood of silk-cotton tree	lizard	horse hair	sound box	?	horse hair	wood	small piece of wood
Yoruba	goge, kukuma	round	calabash	lizard, iguana	horse hair	skin	?	horse hair	?	?

*Refers to location of the resonating hole--in the skin or sound-box

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The majority of body resonators consist of a hemispherical gourd with a membrane stretched over it. Only the tin resonator (an open sardine can) is rectangular in shape. The type of skins used over the resonators vary from culture to culture. Many of the membranes are the skins of reptiles--lizard, alligator, or iguana. The amz'ad, the Tuareg one string fiddle, is made with the skin of a goat rather than that of a reptile. In some cultures, e.g. FraFra and Hausa, ornamental designs are drawn on the calabash resonators.

The placement of the resonating hole appears to be a distinguishing feature of the one string fiddle tradition. Francis Bebey describes one such instrument:

> In Niger, there is a type of one-stringed fiddle called Inzad that is usually reserved for female musicians. It has a wooden neck that is inserted into a half-calabash, covered with goatskin. A small circular opening in the skin, close to the bridge, is the feature that distinguishes the Inzad from other Instruments of the same type, in particular from the two Senegalese fiddles mentioned above--the Wolof Riti and the Tukulor Nyanyur (Bebey 1974:42).

Nikiprowetzky describes the Senegalese counterparts:

> Riti is the Ouoloff name for a one-stringed bowed handle-lute. In the Toucouleur country the same instrument is called gnagnour. Its hemispherical belly is made from the wood of the silk-cotton tree, and covered with lizard-skin, stretched and nailed. There are two openings at the back (Nikiprowetzky 1963:81).

Judith Ann Lamm gives an account of one string fiddles in Sierra Leone:

> One-stringed bowed lutes are found in Sierra

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> Leone among the Fula, Madingo, Sherbro, Susu and Temne. The one-string lute called nyanyaru or kalande by the Fula, kalande or ngime by the Madingo, and kundye by the Susu has a half calabash covered with skin for its sound-bowl. A rectangular sound-hole is cut in the upper surface of the sound-bowl, in back of the neck (Lamm 1968:14-15).

In the Central Sudan (northern Ghana, Upper Volta, northern Nigeria, and Chad regions) usually the resonator hole or opening is cut in the skin, while the Western Sudanese (people from Senegal, Mauritania, Sierra Leone, and others) place the opening in the sound-box (see Plates 1-4 in Appendix C).

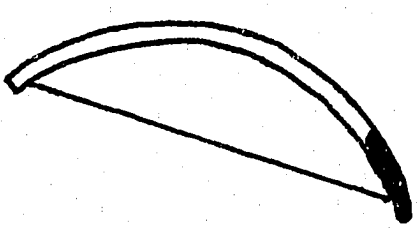
In most cases the bow is made of wood. The Dagomba musicians of northern Ghana cover their bows with the skin of a goat, while others such as the Tuareg leave the wood bare. In some societies such as Hausa, Gurma, and Maouri peoples, a piece of metal iron is used as a bow. The Sherbro of Sierra Leone use a reed material or a light stick for the bow of the bondobai.

The length of the bow varies from performer to performer even within the same culture. The shape of the bow is usually of two types:

Example A.



Example B.



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In most cases the metal bow is constructed in the shape of Example B, while those leather covered bows are usually made in the shape of Example A. Musicians who do not cover their wooden bows use either of the above two shapes.

The stick or neck that is fixed within the resonator is usually made of wood. Like the bow, it may or may not be covered with leather. The length of the neck is left to the discretion of the performer. Among a few of the Hausa performers in Kano, an iron- or bronze-back material is used as the neck. In all cases the performers who used such necks said that they preferred the iron material because it lasts longer, and not because of the difference in sound quality.

The bridge, which is placed on top of the membrane and fixed so that the vibrating string passes over it, is made of various materials. Tuareg women prefer a rather slender bridge composed of two crossed pieces of wood. The Madingo people use a bridge that is made of gourd, while the Malinke are said to use a tuning ring (material and exact form of the tuning ring are not known) (see Lamm 1968:14-15).

The type of material used for the vibrating string distinguishes the West African fiddle from the tube fiddle, used primarily in East Africa. In West Africa the string is made with hair from a horse's tail and is stretched from one end of the neck to the base of the resonator. Horse

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hair is always used on both the wooden and metal bows. Sisal fiber or plastic string from a tennis racket may be used as the vibrating string in East Africa.

PLAYING TECHNIQUE

The playing technique of the one string fiddle--that is, the rubbing of the horse hair on the bow across the horse hair of the body resonator just to the left of the bridge (performer's position)--is similar throughout West Africa. If the performer is right-handed, the bow is manipulated with the right hand; the left hand is used to stop the horse hair string by pressing the finger along the hair of the neck. If the performer is left-handed, the same procedure is used in reverse (See Plates 2-4, 9-12, 14-15, 18-24, and 26-27 in Appendix C for various hand positions).

The performer either stands or sits when playing the one string fiddle. Placement of the body resonator may be (1) in the center of the abdomen, (2) on the side, (3) in the cup of the bended arm, or (4) on the shoulder[8] (see Plates 2-4, 9-12, 14-15, 18-24, and 26-27).

MUSIC THEORY

Unfortunately, the traditional music theory of these cultures has not been investigated. Although a few Western trained musicians and scholars, using European terminology, have theorized about one string fiddle music, to my

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knowledge none of them has taken into account such considerations as the role of song texts, socio-cultural factors, or aesthetics in formulating their theories concerning the Sudanese one string fiddle tradition. Moreover, in some of the cultures, such a theory must also take into account the numerical system (numbers which are repeated more often than others), colors, geometric and symbolic designs, or times of the day (time that a particular event may take place).

In the Tuareg music of Niger the music of the inzad is based on a modal structure with melismatic variation on the principal pitches of the mode:

> ...the instrument does give the singer effective support when playing voluble gracenotes which in turn set off the notes essential to the mode in use (Nikiprowetzky n.d.:83).

In discussing the amzhad Holiday states that "the instrument is pitched on the open string usually at an approximate middle 'C', though this can vary since an 'E' above middle 'C' frequently becomes the tonic note. Its range is roughly an octave and a third, accompaniments often being played in the top part of the register. Intervals approximating to perfect intervals predominate during performance" (1956:50).

Very little published information concerning the rhythmic organization of one string fiddle music exists. Most sources only refer to the types of percussive accompaniments--rattles, gourds, calabashes, drums, and so

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forth. They do not tell us whether these instruments are used to delimit the time span (if such a conception is used in the culture) for the fiddle player.

The performance organization of the one string fiddle tradition varies. Some societies use a large ensemble, while others prefer the solo medium.

The Tuareg women usually perform the amz'ad without any type of accompaniment; in some cases, however, the men sing with the accompaniment of the fiddle. Among the Hausa of Niger and Nigeria, the Yoruba of Nigeria, and Nago of Benin, the one string fiddle is usually the only chordophone in the ensemble; other instruments such as membranophones and idiophones are included. The sakara ensemble of the Nago includes: three membranophones (medjo, yahilon, and omile) and two idiophones--aguidigbo (a sanza) and igba (a half-calabash struck with a stick). Within some Yoruba and Hausa goge ensembles one other chordophone, the kukuma may occasionally be used. The kukuma is similar in construction to the Yoruba and Hausa goge, only smaller in size. Some performance groups in Kano include one fiddle with only two or more half calabashes. The Bisa of Upper Volta organize their one string fiddle ensemble in the following: four duuduuga, one two-string lute (konde), and one or more calabash rattles (sissaka). The Fula ensemble in Sierra Leone is composed of flutes, oboes, sistra, and calabash idiophones (Lamm 1968:16). Most of the ethnic groups in

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northern Ghana (Dagomba, FraFra, Kusasi, and Mamprussi), the Jukun of Nigeria, and Maouri of Niger use an ensemble of one or more fiddles with the accompaniment of gourd rattles. Usually one fiddler performs the lead or master role, while other fiddlers along with rattlers function as accompanying musicians. In general one would find the following patterns of organization in one string fiddle music:

1. Solo one string fiddle with no accompaniment
2. Solo one string fiddle with vocal accompaniment
3. Solo one string fiddle with vocal, idiophone, and membranophone accompaniment
4. Ensemble of one-string fiddles with either vocal, idiophone, aerophone, and/or membranophone accompaniment

(see Chart III for distribution)

SONG TYPES

The song types of the one string fiddle tradition fall into four categories:

1. Love songs
2. Praise songs
3. Possession songs
4. Political songs

Love songs are characteristic of the Tuareg culture:

> Most of the songs of the men are love songs, such as are sung during the 'ahals' and it is logical to deduce that the 'amzhad', which is used exclusively for love songs, is the female voice, the necessary complement to a declaration of love and, indeed, the phrasing of the 'amzhad' is more that of obbligato than of counter-melody (Holiday 1956:51).

Praise songs are found in practically all one string fiddle cultures in the form of genealogies, histories, or

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CHART III

Distribution of Accompaniment

for One-String Fiddles

People and Location	Instrument	Accompaniment
Agni (Ivory Coast)	godye	?
Bilala/Bournauan (Cameroon, Chad, Niger, & Nigeria)	coucouma	?
Bisa (Upper Volta)	doudouga	Ensemble of other one-string fiddles (approximately four), one chordophone (konde--two string lute), and one idiophone (sissa-ka--rattle)
Dagomba (Ghana)	gonje (gondze)	Ensemble of other one-string fiddles (approximately two to four) and idiophones (rattles)
Djerma (Niger)	godie, godjie, gogue	Idiophone (half-calabash struck with a stick)
Foulah (Guinea)	lélé	Idiophone (struck, calabash), aerophone (flute)
Foulbé (Cameroon)	?	Idiophone (rattle)
FraFra (Ghana)	durungu	Idiophone (rattles)
Fula (Sierra Leone)	kalande, nyanyaru, nyayaru	Aerophones (flute, oboes) and idiophones (sistra--stick rattles, calabash struck with metal rings)
Gurma (Upper Volta)	goge (?) gonje (gondze) cohorougou	Idiophones (half-calabash struck with a stick)

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People and Location	Instrument	Accompaniment
Hausa (Niger, Nigeria)	goge, gogue godie, godjie, kukuma	Idiophones (half-calabash struck with a stick), Membranophones, and other chordophones (kukuma or goge--not usually).
Jukun (Nigeria)	?	Idiophone (rattles)
Kirdi (Cameroon)	?	Idiophone (rattles)
Kusasi (Ghana)	?	Idiophone (rattles)
Madingo (Sierra Leone)	kalande, ngime, karaning, jurukele, soke	?
Malinke (Guinea)	soke, soko	?
Mamprusi (Ghana)	?	Idiophone (rattles)
Maouri (Niger)	gogue	Idiophone (djandama--rattles)
Mossi (Upper Volta)	duuduga, duduga	?
Nago (Benin)	godie	Sakara ensemble Membranophones (medjo, yahilon, omile) idiophones (sanze--aguidigbo, half-calabash struck with a stick--igba)
Peul (West Africa)	?	?
Sarakole (Mali, Sierra Leone)	ngime	?
Sherbro (Sierra Leone)	bondobai	?
Songhai (Niger, Upper Volta)	godie, godjie	?
Sonrai (Niger)	godjie godie	?
Soso, Susu (Guinea, Sierra Leone)	kundye	?

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People and Location	Instrument	Accompaniment
Temne (Sierra Leone)	rafon, angbulu	Idiophones (eseke--metal shakers that are attached to the bow)
Tiv (Nigeria)	goga	?
Tuareg (Mali, Niger)	amz'ad, imzad, inzad	Vocal singing
Tukulor (Mauritania, Senegal)	gnagnour, nyanyur	?
Wolof (Gambia, Guinea, Senegal)	riti	?
Yoruba (Nigeria)	goge	Sakara ensemble (see Nago)
	kukuma	Chordophones (One larger one-string fiddle), Membranophones (half-calabash struck with stick) See Hausa.

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praises to important people in the community. Possession songs are used primarily in cult ceremonies such as bori, while political songs are generally songs created for special political events or elections.

CREATION OF NEW SONGS

Fiddle music is usually created as a result of inspiration from the audience. When musicians are requested to perform praise songs for people, they are compelled to create new songs or adaptations of familiar ones. Important events or occasions which take place in the community also stimulate the creation of new songs. That performers are able to create music so prolifically is one of the reasons for the continuous interest in the one string fiddle tradition.

FUNCTION OF THE ONE STRING FIDDLE

The ceremonies or occasions for the one string fiddle vary. Francis Bebey states that among the people of Niger, the fiddle is used as a "talking" instrument at numerous occasions as well as an accompanying instrumental type for courting. Moreover, "the one stringed fiddle can also have the purely functional role of creating and maintaining a suitable atmosphere for the performance of certain rites. The magical incantations used in Mauri and Djerma music to invoke the genii, Babai or Zatau, are excellent examples of this usage" (1974:44). The Nago and Yoruba of Dahomey (Benin) and Nigeria use the fiddle in

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modern dance bands, while musicians in Ethiopia sing the news to the accompaniment of a masengo fiddle (1974:44).

Occasions for the use of the one string fiddle, therefore, can be categorized into the following:

A. Rites of the life cycle
   1. naming ceremonies (baptism)
   2. marriage ceremonies
   3. funeral ceremonies

B. Entertainment
   1. courting events
   2. beer bar parties
   3. dances
   4. festive occasions

C. Court music
   1. homage paying to kings during public ceremonies
   2. private entertainment for kings
   3. festive occasions at king's palace

D. Cult ceremonies (Bori)
   1. praise songs to bori spirits in order to induce trances

E. Reporting of history and current events within the society
   1. political songs
   2. genealogies and histories

F. Work
   1. songs to accompany people at work on the farm (Warren 1970:80)

Historically, string music has been correlated with metaphysics and psychic phenomenon. Within Arabic society, one of the first cultures to use strings, chordophones have always been associated with magic and the spiritual unknown. As Farmer tells us:

> ...the singing-girls and stringed instruments (ma'azif) are given signs of the end of the world. Musical instruments are declared to be

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among the most powerful means by which the devil seduces men (Farmer 1929a:24-25).

Fiddles that can be used as speech surrogates are used for the reporting of current events. Without using the voice, messages can be transmitted just as some membranophones are used for communication.

One string fiddle music is appreciated by practically all people within the society: kings, nobles, businessmen, politicians, cult members and individuals who enjoy various forms of entertainment--dances, beer bar parties, festivals, and so forth. Some people, such as the Muslim scribes in Kano or other Muslim advocates, may not publicly listen to one string fiddle music because of Islamic laws. Recordings of fiddle music, however, may be heard in the private homes of these individuals.

Within some societies that cultivate the one string fiddle tradition other types of chordophones are used. For example, the Wolof, Madingo, and Malinke peoples of Senegal, Gambia, Mali, and Guinea regions perform the kora, a harp lute. In many instances the popularity of the kora overshadows that of the one string fiddle (see Knight 1973). The Wolof use four other types of plucked lutes: disassaré, bappe, n'dere, and molo. Among the Hausa such chordophones as garaya, gurmi, kwabsa, molo, and kuntigi are sometimes substituted for the goge. The Peul people of West Africa are most widely known for their performance of tidinit, ardin, and arab; the one string fiddle is only

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occasionally used. In Upper Volta the konde, direnguela, and orozo are used. The peoples of Sierra Leone use a large variety of chordophones (see Lamm 1968).

Among the Dagomba and Gurma of northern Ghana and Upper Volta on the other hand, one string fiddle music is always used for performance at court ceremonies; other instrumental types may be included with the fiddle, such as membranophones, but no other chordophones are substituted for this occasion.

ROLE OF THE PERFORMER

There is no single word to describe the role of the performer in West African societies. Knight, commenting on this problem states that "it is...clear that no single word in English can suffice to identify the (griot): he is an oral historian, a genealogist, a counselor, interlocutor, entertainer, musician, and praiser. A selection might be made on the basis of which role he performs most frequently, in which case 'praise' or 'entertainer' would be most appropriate, the latter especially so in view of the predominance of this role in the present day" (1973: 33-34).

Although the performer of the one string fiddle gains substantial subsistence from his role in the community as a performer, he supplements his profession by participating in other occupations such as, farming, trading, or designing artistic handicrafts. Many fiddlers,

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especially in rural areas, discover that other means of subsistence is necessary, for financial benefits from praising and entertaining are limited. When fiddlers acquire other vocations, they do not quit the fiddling occupation. Usually, the status of performer is fixed at birth; a musician, therefore, cannot give up the profession even if he/she desired to do so. Musicians in modern times, however, are not obligated to adhere to traditional customs, primarily because the impact of westernization on many societies has greatly changed ancient laws and values.

A period of training is required for most one string fiddle performers; education is obtained either from a close kin or an outsider. Those who are trained by family members are individuals who are members of the prescribed endogamous caste. Some fiddlers acquire the profession even though they are not born into the family. In this case the outsider must utilize someone within the profession to give him instruction, which is not an easy task. Monteil describes an interesting arrangement that existed in Mali during the seventeenth century:

> Au Mali, le village de Keyla, près de Kanagaba, qui fut le dernier refuge des empereurs du Mali au XIIe siècle, est habité par des griots dyabaté et devenu le centre de la tradition historique. Les griots y viennent du Doudan, du Sénégal et de Guinée, pour y suivre des stages de six mois a un an. C'est là que l'histoire mandingue est enseignée dans la case dite kalambolon, construite par le Mansa Soleyman, après son retour de La Mekke en 1352...(Monteil 1971:280).

From the above discussion, there is no doubt that

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performers of the one string fiddle and other instruments possess a social distinction that is different from other members in the society. The performer is known throughout the community; his/her status is similar to that of famous musicians and entertainers in present day Western culture. Monteil gives certain instances in which the griot is distinguished because of his profession:

> Les griots du Senegal sont particulierement celèbres. Chez les Wolofs, ils portent les noms de leurs patrons...(Monteil 1971:278).

Griots are criticized publicly, which also initiates recognition of the profession:

> Dans une lettre à Dakar-Matin (10 décembre 1962), Amadou Tall proteste contre les abus des réunions nocturnes (khawarê), au cours desquelles se réunissent 'griots chanteurs, guitaristes, flatteurs, publicistes, et tambour-major', pour l'exploitation des donateurs (qui déboursent au moins 20 000 F chacun) et de leurs 'supporters' (mavlêkat), qui doivent donner au moins 500 F chacun. Les donateurs paient ainsi les louanges que chantent pour eux les griots. Les femmes donnent souvent, a cette occasion, leurs bijoux aux griots. La recette d'une soiree--cinq tours de chang--peut depasser 300 000F.
>
> A Mâtam, sur le Fleuve, en février 1962, l'Imâm de la grande mosquée a transmix aux Musulmans les plaintes des griots sur l'application du pacte matrimonial, réprimant les abus à l'occasion des mariages et des baptêmes...(Monteil 1971:278).

Because griots constitue their own endogamous caste, they are not allowed to be buried in the regular cemetary. Rather, the dead corpse is placed within a baobab tree trunk (a well-known tree that is widely distributed in West Africa). "Selon la tradition, les griots ne devaient

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pas être enterrés, mais enfouis dans un baobab. Aujourd' hui encore, en pays sérère, selon le P. Gravrand, en cas de sécheresse persistante, on déterrera le griot du cimetière pour le mettre dans un baobab et faire pleuvoir" (Monteil 1971:279).

Although Monteil does not explicitly state that the above circumstance applies to one string fiddlers, we can assume that the same treatment is given to all griots; it does not matter if he/she is a fiddle, drum or wind player. The performer's influence in all aspects of the society is unlimited--the profession causes him to become an integral figure in not only music but also the social and political organization of the culture. Gilbert Vieillard, in the following poem, summarizes the total impact a griot or musician can have in a society:

> fade est le riz sans la sauce,
> plat le recit sans mensonge,
> ennuyeux le monde san griot
> (Monteil 1971:279)

CONCLUSION:

The following conclusions can be made concerning the distribution of the one string fiddle tradition:

1. Although the one string fiddle is found in several West African cultures, the distribution pattern indicates that the peoples who perform the instrument are located in specific clusters of concentration in the Sudan. The reasons for such a distribution may be the result of Islamic and caravan trade influence.

2. Socially and culturally, the ethnic groups who perform the one string fiddle are similar. Past

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contacts and external influences may account for the almost uniform cultural appearances.

3. Even though the most widely used term for the one string fiddle is goge or its variant (goje, gonje, godie, etc.), other names are given to the instrument. It is interesting that the distribution of terms divides the West African region into two halves: Western Sudan (Senegal, Mauritania, Gambia, Guinea, Mali, and Sierra Leone) and Central Sudan (Cameroon, Chad, Nigeria, Niger, Benin, Upper Volta, and Ghana). A variant of goge and kukuma is predominant in the latter area, while a variety of terms is used in the former.

4. The physical appearance or construction of the one string fiddle is invariably the same. Only a few differences exist:
   a. Type of membrane for the open half of the body resonator--skin of a reptile or goat
   b. Material for the bow--wood or metal
   c. Material for the body resonator--calabash, coconut shell, wood of a silk-cotton tree, or tin can.
   d. Placement of the resonating hole--in the skin or soundbox (The placement of the resonating hole also indicates a regional distinction. Performers in the Western Sudan place the opening in the soundbox; an opening in the skin is characteristic of the Central Sudan.)

5. The one string fiddle playing technique is uniform throughout West Africa. The placement of the resonator varies within cultures; therefore, no ethnic nor regional distinction is evident.

6. No traditional music theory has been formulated for societies that cultivate the one string fiddle tradition. Only a few Westernized theories, which are questionable, have been presented by Western scholars.

7. Organization of the one string fiddle ensembles vary. Four types of instrumental arrangements are used. (see pages 65-66).

8. No noticeable distinctions occur in song types and methods of composing among performers who use the one string fiddle.

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9. The meaning and value of the instrument and the performer vary. Cultures that are more Islamized than others make use of the one string fiddle tradition somewhat differently from nominal Muslim affiliates. For example, because of the impact of Islam in Kano, string musical instruments are not included in the king's court. Also, string music is not usually performed at religious activities.

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Chapter Four
Historical and Cultural Background of Hausa and Dagomba Societies

After considering the general characteristics of the savannah belt area in respect of its people, culture, and musical traditions, we shall now turn our attention to the detailed examination of the one string fiddle tradition within two Sudanic culture areas--Hausa of northern Nigeria and Dagomba of northern Ghana, beginning in this chapter with a brief outline of the history and culture of two ethnic groups. Particular attention will be paid to the oral traditions of these societies as well as their language, demography, ecology, and economy; territorial, political and social organization; and religion and education since the one string fiddle traditions of the two societies are influenced by all these.

HISTORY, LANGUAGE, DEMOGRAPHY, ECOLOGY, AND ECONOMY

The discussion in this dissertation concerns those Hausa who reside in the Kano area of northern Nigeria, not the semi-nomadic Hausa who have migrated and settled in other locations in Sudanic West Africa. The history of the Hausa people in the Kano State of the Federal Republic of Nigeria is mixed with the oral traditions and histories of other people in West Africa. For example, the historical account entails the first men who smelted iron in West

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Africa; the Great Empires of Ghana, Mali, Songhai, and Bornu; the caravan trades with North Africa; the Fulani invasions; and modern Western influences.

Many versions of Hausa oral tradition are in existence. H. R. Palmer has translated one of the oldest accounts--the "Kano Chronicle," but points out that its authorship is unknown. The original may perhaps have been written by some stranger from the north who settled in Kano, and collected the stories of former kings handed down by oral tradition" (Palmer 1928:93). The manuscript must have been written between 1883-93, "but it probably presents some earlier record which has now perished. The Fulani destroyed many old records when they came to Hausaland, on the grounds that they were the books of 'kafurai,' for their casus belli was that the Hausa Sarkis were infidels, and as such deserved to be destroyed with all their works" (Palmer 1928:92).

> According to oral tradition; the earliest inhabitants of Kano were a race now referred to as Abagayawa. A few families in Kano, the men of which are generally blacksmiths, still call themselves by this tribal name. Their legend is that one of their ancestors, a smith called Kano, came from Gaiya (east-south-east of Kano) in search of iron-stone and settled near Dalla hill when the present site of the town was uninhabited. The date of the foundation of Kano is altogether uncertain, but that the site of the town was selected by a primitive population with a knowledge of iron-working appears not improbable...The Western Sudan furnishes numerous instances where an iron-working population has been conquered by a nomadic or semi-nomadic race, ignorant of the art. And it seems that the necessity for preserving a craft so important in furnishing weapons of war

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> and implements of agriculture appealed strongly to the invaders.
>
> The iron-workers referred to were not, of course, the first inhabitant of Kano. Stone implements of neolithic type are found in abundance in the neighborhood. But so far as any tradition which approaches history can be traced, the Abagayawa may be looked on as the earliest inhabitants (Gowers 1921:8).

Today, the Hausa speaking peoples who are referred to in the tradition go under various names, such as Arna or Azna, Bunjawa, Maguzawa; and they are still believed to be the "true" descendants of Abagayawa society.[1]

The exact date at which foreign invasions occurred in Hausaland is not known; Palmer, however, suggests that:

> ...Between A.D. 900 and A.D. 1513, the date of Leo's visit to the Sudan, certain peoples represented in the text by Bayajidda (Bayazid) arrived at Daura and conquered the indigenous inhabitants of the Hausa States. The native tradition as to who they were varies. The Fulani Sarkin Muslimi Muhammad Bello, says that they were 'slaves of the Sultan of Bornu.' The well-known Daura legend, preserved in writing says they came from Bagdad, and introduced the horse into Hausaland. Bayajidda, the ancestor of the Kings of Hausaland...is represented as having arrived in Daura, slain a snake which inhabited a well, and married the Queen of Daura.[2] He had previously escaped from the treachery of the Sultan of Bornu, who, having tampered successfully with the loyalty of his men, was plotting against his life, when he fled.
>
> Vast ethnographical changes resulted from the rise of the Fatimids in North Africa about A.D. 900 and the revolts and rapine which succeeded, culminating the devastation of Fezzan by the Hillal and Soleim Arabs about 1050 A.D. must have caused fundamental changes in the habitats of the Saharan races, extending to Asben, Damergu and regions south of them.
>
> The certain fact is that about A.D. 1000, the

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> Hausa States were occupied by Barbar races coming from the east and north. These races or peoples ruled, though at different periods tributary to Songhay and Bornu, until displaced by the Fulani in 1807 (Palmer 1928:95).

A list of the names and length of reign for the Hausa kings (sarkis) is included in Appendix B.

"The term Hausa, like that of Bantu, is primarily linguistic, and also to a considerable extent religious and cultural, but historically and physically the Hausa are not a race at all" (Meek 1921:27). The Hausa language belongs to the Chad subfamily of Afro-Asiatic, along with Kotoko, Yedina, Mubi, and Musgu, found in the Chad Basin farther east. A fourth of the Hausa vocabulary is of Arabic derivation and many terms for basic institutions and skills are of Kanuri origin, the Kanuri of Bornu, west of Chad, having dominated the Hausa, politically and culturally, from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century. Since 1900, the Hausa have acquired yet another layer of loanwords from English, and so their language reflects their cultural history (Smith 1965:122-123).

Other ethnic groups who are represented in the Kano area include the Fulani, Kanuri, Nupe, Tuareg, Yoruba, Igbo, and others. The Maguzawa and other minority animists are few within Kano City; rather, their settlements are located usually thirty to forty miles from the city. To a large extent each ethnic group has sustained its traditional and cultural characteristics. For example, a resident of Kano can easily distinguish a Hausa from a Fulani, or an Igbo

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from a Yoruba because of cultural distinctions.

Kano State, located in the northern area of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, covers an area of approximately 16,630 square miles (see map of Nigeria, Map 7, in Appendix A for exact location). According to the 1963 census[3] Kano State had a population of 5,774,842 or more; the number of persons per square mile was 347. The state is divided into four emirates: Gumel, Hadejia, Kano, and Kazaure; each emirate has its own capital. Kano City is the largest commercial and political (administrative) capital in the state (Anon 1973:27).

Kano State, like other northern states in the Nigerian federation, is situated in the savannah region. "The Savannah area covers about 209,000 of the 356,669 square miles of the country. Here the tree vegetation varies in accordance with the rainfall. They are usually stunted twisted in appearance and with hard corky bark to reduce evaporation" (Anon 1973:27). The land consists of "flat or gently undulating plains; its rivers--as a rule dry for seven or eight months of the year--flow in almost imperceptible valleys and sand channels" (Gowers 1921:5).

The climatic year may be divided into two: a rainy season, extending from April or May to September or October, and a long dry season, lasting from October till April. The harmattan winds, beginning around November, usually continue till February.

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"Kano is the ground nut centre of Nigeria. A large part of this is increasingly used locally by the oil mills in the State. A sizeable quantity of cotton, cowpeas, wheat, and tobacco is also produced. It is estimated that gross agricultural production is in the region of £70 million per annum. About 800,000 heads of cattle and more than twice that number of sheep and goats graze in the State's grasslands" (Anon 1973:135). The meat produce from these animals is used by Canning Companies for exportation and sold locally. Two piggeries and a number of poultry farms are located in Kano. Mining products include tin, columbite, and cassiterite. Over 180 industries have been established with a combined annual output of over £40 million and employing over 25,000 Nigerians. Their chief products include wood and steel furniture, enamel ware, cosmetics, drinks, stationery, canvas and leather shoes, carbon dioxide and dry ice. "Cottage industry covering weaving, dyeing and leather is still an important source of employment for thousands of craftsmen" (Anon 1973:135). In 1974 the state government was developing tourism as major industry. The tele-communication and transport systems in Kano are relatively good in comparison to other states; the Kano International Airport is one of the busiest in West Africa.

Most Hausa are economically poorer than those Nigerians in the southern states of the country. Traditionally, the Hausa have attained economic benefits through agriculture, animal husbandry, some hunting and

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fishing, occupational crafts, and trade. Besides the crops already mentioned, Hausa cultivates a number of roots such as kaffir potatoes, Bambara ground nut, cassava, and where conditions permit yam, cocoyam, as well as onions, chile and other peppers, okras, Indian hemp, pigeon peas, and indigo. Apart from a very few cattle employed in farming, livestock raised by Hausa consist of horses, donkeys, goats, sheep, turkeys, and other poultry. For meat, milk, and butter, the Hausa depend on the pastoral Fulani who graze their herds near village markets. Hunting and fishing yield very little, though monitor lizards and guinea hens add variety to the diet (Smith 1965:124).

Craft specialization is highly developed in Hausa society and has influenced the culture's social organization:

> A simple list of the more important traditional male occupations will indicate the level of economic and technological complexity in Hausa society. Hausa classify men as hunters, fishers, builders, thatchers, butchers, tanners, leather-workers, saddlers, weavers, dyers, woodworkers, blacksmiths, brass and silversmiths, calabash-workers, potmakers, drummers, musicians of various types, praise-singers, barber-surgeons, tailors, embroiderers, washermen, porters, commission agents, traders of various kinds, including fatauci (specialists in long-distance overland trade), makers of sweetmeats, makers of baskets or mats, tobacco grinders, specialists in herbal medicines, clerics, rulers, officials, and their agents. Though incomplete, and excluding all recently developed specializations, this catalogue indicates high levels of technological self-sufficiency within a chiefdom and of economic integration among its various communities (Smith 1965:124-125).

Hausa women also have occupational specialties. They pro-

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cess foods for local sale; weave and sew local products; raise some livestock; trade in small commodities, medicines, vegetable oils, cigarettes; maintain the cult of spirit possession (bori) and are its main devotees and exponents. An unmarried woman may act as a praise-singer, female messenger, or as a prostitute, in which case she either enters the local guild or works independently (Smith 1965: 125).

In Dagbon the lunsi, who play the closed double membrane hour-glass-shaped drum, are the court historians, archivists, and recorders of the political system: in performance they "recite and transmit from one generation to the next the massive body of oral literature and genealogical material, in which the agnatic (sometimes uterine) ties between all dead and living royal chiefs are traced, right back to the mythical founders of the kingdom and their exploits and praise names recorded" (Oppong 1966b:71). According to lunsi oral history the Dagomba are ethnically related to the Hausa; see the following:

> The beginning of the Dagomba Kingdom dates around about the eleventh century, at the times when the Mohammedan Invasions were going on in Africa. The Dagomba tribe, or strictly speaking, the Head of the ruling family of the Dagomba tribe was than at a place called Tunga, or Kanga, as the historians call it. This town or village lay [sic] somewhere to the east of Lake Chad, on the road to Wadai on Wadi. The head of this noble family was called Toha-zee a tall, stout, and copper coloured person, having one eye, and one nostril. He was forced to move from there as a result of the disturbances created by the Mohammedan Invasions.

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> From Wadi, Toha-zee migrated to Zamfara a pagan tribe of the Hausas living somewhere north-west of Northern Nigeria, There is a persistent tradition among the pagan tribes who were displaced by the Hausas that they were driven south by invaders who wore baggy trousers. It is a fact that even to this day the Zamfara people speak Hausa, but their tribal marks are identical with that of the Dagombas. Further still the Dagombas regard them as their play-mates (Daehihili) (Osumanu n.d.:1).

During the southwestward migration the mythical ancestral hero, also known as the Red Hunter, moved to the Mali Kingdom around 1119 where he married a daughter of the king of Mali. Toha-zee and the daughter bore a son, Kpogonumbo, who subsequently became the first king (Ya Na) of Dagbon society. Kpogonumbo left Mali and traveled "to the kingdom of Fadan Grumah a country inhabited by a tribe known as Grumas. This was in about the year 1150. To this day members of the Dagomba Royal Family, as well as all Dagombas generally regard the people of Fadan Gruma as their grandfathers. Even most of the Dagombas have the tribal marks resembling that of the Gruma tribe. This country lies north-east of Ghana, within the French Upper Volta" (Osumanu n.d.:4).

Kpogonumbo settled in Grumaland, married two women, and had seven sons--five of his children became Ya Na's. Na Gbewaa, Kpogonumbo's son, "is believed to have been the common ancestor of the related Mossi, Mamprusi, and Namumba royal dynasties, while Naa Gbewaa's son, Sitobu was the founder of the Dagomba royal dynasty and the first king within the present area of the kingdom. Some of Sitobu's sons

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are said to have settled in Sunsom, Karaga and other villages, while Nyagse, the son who succeeded him, is reputed to have conquered much of the region at the head of his armed cavalry, killing the indigenous Land Priests and replacing them with members of the royal dynasty. Throughout the region the indigenes were slain, absorbed or fled further eastwards. The first capital, Naya is recorded as having been built near present Diari in the West, before it was moved to its present site in the east of the Kingdom" (Oppong 1973:13-14). A list of the Dagomba kings is included in Appendix B.

Dagbon, the name for the traditional state of the Dagomba people, covers an area of about eight thousand square miles of the Northern Region of Ghana (see map of Ghana and Dagbon, Maps 8 and 9, in Appendix A). The people speak the Dagbane (or Dagbani) language, which belongs to the Mossi or Mole-Dagbane sub-group of the Gur language and their culture has many features in common with the other peoples of the Voltaic area (Oppong 1973:13). Hausa, Arabic, and English also have been constantly added to the language as a result of external influences.

Rouch has learned from researches by Rattray and Ward that the peoples of northern Ghana, Mossi and Dagomba, have been settled for a fairly long time in their present areas of habitation. "Only their ruling families received exterior influences which modified the culture of the whole

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group, (the tradition of Tohajie, the Hunter from Mande), or those more mysterious, of the Hausa, Zamfara, in Dagomba" (Rouch 1954:3).

The population of Dagbon is approximately 263,000; the number of inhabitants per square mile range from twenty in the eastern region to over six hundred in the urban area of Tamale in the west. "Tamale, a town of little importance in the original political hierarchy of chiefdoms, achieved its present prominence through being chosen as the district headquarters of the British Colonial administration in the first decade of the century. Yendi, the capital, in the eastern region is a fairly small market town" (Oppong 1973: 16). Oftentimes, Tamale is looked upon as the commercial capital of Dagbon, while Yendi serves as the traditional administrative headquarters. Although the largest ethnic group in Dagbon consists of Dagombas, the area includes such groups as the Namumba, Konkomba, Gonja, Chakosi, Mamprussi, Mossi, Grunshi, Dagarti, Wala, and others.

The Dagomba Kingdom lies in a fairly well wooded plain of the savannah orchard type of Ghana Savannah woodland, watered by the White Volta and its tributaries to the west, the Oti and its tributaries to the east" (Oppong 1973:16-17). Like other savannah belt areas the seasons are divided into a dry season, which lasts from October till March, while most of the total year's rain falls during the rest of the year. "Among the trees of economic importance,

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common in the area, are the Shea Butter tree, Dawadawa, Baobab, Kapok, and Mango. These trees are normally left standing, even when the land is cleared for farming. Trees are of considerable significance in Dagbon, for as well as providing fruits, oil and other commodities, not least firewood for cooking and warmth as well as shade, they are of ritual and spiritual importance.[4] Tall baobabs are often the sites of sacred shrines" (Oppong 1973:17).

Like the Hausa most Dagomba are economically poorer than those ethnic groups who reside in southern Ghana. As a result quite a few young men move south to gain employment. Traditionally, the Dagombas are agriculturalists, depending more upon their crops than their livestock for food. Some of the major crops grown are yam, maize, guinea corn, millet, rice, groundnuts, and Bambara beans. A cash income is usually earned by selling surplus foodstuffs, mainly maize, yam, youngnuts, and shea butter (Oppong 1973:18). Some livestock are kept--horses, cattle, sheep, goats, and fowl. Other means for obtaining capital are discussed at length by Oppong:

> Trade, domestic crafts and wage labour, are the main sources supplementing, but seldom replacing, a living from the land. Over ninty-five percent of male adults are farmers. Trades and crafts may be full-time occupations, for those who have sons and nephews to work their farms for them, but they are generally part-time jobs. Professional skills, which are only practised by relatively exclusive groups of people and entail considerable apprenticeship and training, include drumming, fiddling, smithing and divining and those of the barber and butcher. Trades which do not include such a specialized and lengthy apprenticeship or

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> membership of an exclusive kin group, include tailoring, Pito brewing, shea butter making, and more generally petty trading, especially of cooked and fresh foods are widely practised by women. Other part-time domestic occupations, which earn women extra coppers, are spinning and groundnut oil extraction (1973:18).

Mention should also be made of the numerous mechanics who are beginning to gain enterprise in the community. Those nursing, teaching, clerical, administrative positions in the community are usually held by a small minority of Western educated Dagomba or other ethnic groups (Fanti, Ewe, Akwapim, Ashanti, and so forth). In most cases people from the southern areas of Ghana are assigned to governmental posts in Dagbon.

TERRITORIAL, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Kano City, the area in which most of my Hausa research has been conducted, is one of several large commercial centers in the savannah belt. The city attained renown during the pre-colonial caravan trade era and has remained an important commercial and administrative center for the Nigerian colonial and independent governments. The pattern of Hausa settlement is compact, and the people classify their settlements as cities, towns, or hamlets. Residence in cities carries most prestige, in hamlets least. Each state has one pre-eminent city, the birni (capital) where the ruler (sarki or emir) and senior officials live, the main administrative and economic institutions of the state are located, and learning, crafts,

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and communications are most advanced (Smith 1965:129). Enclosed within ancient walls Kano City, the birni for Kano State, houses the large Hausa population. Separate wards in the city, e.g. Brigade and Hasarawa, are reserved for visiting immigrant groups, including Tuareg, Arabs, Nupe, Kanuri, Fulani, and others. Nowadays large settlements of Southern Nigerians have grown up around these old cities, living in an area that is called Sabon Gari (new town). A European suburb, occupied mainly by commercial and administrative personnel, is also set apart from birni. Because of its ethnic diversity some Nigerians describe Kano City as the "Lagos of the North," inferring that Kano is a melting pot of different peoples and ideas.

The basic principles of Hausa government have been established since the sixteenth century. Traditional as well as modern government proceeds through a system of titled offices (sarautu, singular, saraute), "each of which is in theory a unique indissoluble legal corporation having definite rights, powers and duties, special relations, to the throne and to certain other offices, special lands, farms, compounds, horses, praise songs, clients, and, formerly, slaves. Until the British occupation of 1900-1903, the principal offices of any Hausa state were distributed among the dynasty, noble lineages (most of which were Fulani), certain clerical groups, the ruler's clients, eunuchs, and throne slaves. An order of occupational

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officials, which was mainly reserved for commoners, had little direct political importance though of value administratively" (Smith 1965:132-133).

The political structure which was created under British rule has influenced that of the independent government. Since Nigerian independence in 1963 the traditional political structure as an entity within itself has gradually disintegrated. Rather the two systems--traditional and military[5]--have integrated their resources and institutions. For example, traditional leaders who were formerly known as either sarki, hakimi, dagaci, and mai-unguwa, are now referred to as emir, district head, village head, and ward head. These persons are usually appointed by the military government, but the Hausa regard them as traditional leaders rather than military administrators. Although the Emir of Kano is nothing more than a figurehead in the modern political structure, he maintains some direct influence in the traditional affairs of the state, settling litigation disputes, sitting in state at homage paying ceremonies, and so forth.

In spite of the military government's efforts to combine the traditional with the modern, most Hausa see their society as an association of rulers and ruled, nobles and commoners, or in ethnic terms, Fulani and Hausa. Within these dichotomies there is also a social stratification that is based on occupational specialization. "This model applies

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mainly to males, since females are jural minors, having differing occupations and modes of ranking themselves, and marrying several times, do not take their husband's status. Among men, occupation tends to be hereditary, sons learning their father's craft or trade during youth. Thus a system of occupational ranking ensures high social stability while accomodating individual movement and some shifts in the relative status of the differing occupational groups"(Smith 1965:139). Exceptions that deviate from the above scheme are evident, but these small discrepancies do not diminish the importance of the occupational craft as a useful guide to the social order of Hausa society.

Within the scheme of social organization "sarauta (ruling) is an occupation and outranks all others. Mallanci (Koranic learning) and kasuwanci (successful trading), which have universalitic emphases, rank next. Below these comes the great majority of the traditional Hausa occupations; ranking lowest of all are butchers, praise singers, drummers, blacksmiths, house servants, and hunter" (Smith 1965:139). The basis for the social order of the society correlates with Hausa distinctions between the rich and powerful (those who are economically independent and observe Islam) and the economically unstable strata (the poor, powerless, nominal Muslims).

Hausa living pattern is based on the extended family structure where two or more men, their wives and families, who work a common farm, live in the same com-

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pound. The patrilineal system of kinship is used for inheritance and other titles.

The Dagomba kingdom is divided and subdivided into a number of hierarchically ranked divisions, each composed of a number of villages. The village community, a fairly compact nucleated settlement of circular compounds in which the king's house is the center, "is usually subdivided into several wards or quarters, Fona, each characteristcally inhabited by one largely interrelated social, professional or religious group" (Oppong 1973:24).

Each village ward is defined by the naming of each area according to the head of its inhabitants such as king's quarters (Nayili Fong), Mallam's quarters (Limam Fong), the Land Priest's quarters (Tindan Yili), and so forth. Such territorial divisions also exist for tradesmen and occupational craftsmen, including the drummers, butchers, barbers, blacksmiths and others. Those occupational groups--such as the fiddle players, leather workers, weavers or timpana[6] beaters--which are too few to form a separate ward, usually live near the king's quarters, in order to serve him, or within the wards of other occupational specialists (Oppong 1973:24-25).

In pre-colonial politics the sovereign leader of the Dagomba State was the Ya Na, resident of Yendi. "He was the commander of the Dagomba army; he was the highest judicial authority; he appointed chiefs and elders, who conducted the administration of the state. The Ya-Na was

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also lineage head of the dynasty, head of the royal patriclan, and a figure surrounded by rituals of avoidance and deference" (Staniland 1972:16-17). The next in the hierarchy were the three divisional chiefs of Savelugu, Karaga, and Mion.

The Ya Na, like the Emir of Kano, does not have much political influence in the military government state of affairs in Ghana. A District Administrative officer, who also resides in Yendi, is the military government's representative. In spite of the District Officer's presence, however, the Dagomba still regard the Ya Na as the foremost leader in administrative affairs. Therefore, the District Officer rules indirectly through the Ya Na. For example Yendi, like other Dagomba villages, still retains its ward leaders who are appointed by the Ya Na. In addition to the ward leaders a mallam leader, who is also a Ya Na appointee, is needed to perform the religious functions within each ward. The District Administrative Officer uses the same ward divisions and leaders to represent the military government. Thus, the three offices--traditional, religious, and military--are commonly performed by the same individuals for different purposes.

In Oppong's discussion of social stratification she learns from other scholars (G. and R. Goody, 1962, etc.) that "the different social groups of the kingdom which we may term 'estates' (including the royals, muslims and commoners) trace their origins to different regions and that they became welded into the social organization at

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different points in time. The autochthones, who consider themselves to be the original inhabitants of the land, form the commoner estate, whose priests officiate at the Land Shrines. The king, royal chiefs and princes form the ruling estate, comprising the descendants of the mounted invaders, who came from the north-east four hundred years ago and with their military prowess formed a kingdom. These marauding warriors were a scourge to the surrounding stateless communities, the inhabitants of which they seized to swell the unfree class of slaves. Some of the members of the third estate of muslims come from old Wangara and Hausa trading stock. Their numbers have been increased by conversion. Meanwhile some of the smaller professional groups have their own stories of origin, for instance the drummers, Iunsi, beaters of the double-skinned arm-pit drum, according to one version, claim to be descended from princes at an early state in the kingdom's history, while according to another account the Gondzenema, fiddlers, players of the single stringed lute, originated from Fadan Gruma in Upper Volta a few generations back" (Oppong 1973:15-16).

Dagomba society is based on a patrilineal system of kinship. The household is made up of two or more men, related agnatically, with their wives and other dependants: that is, father and son (or sons), grandfather with married son (or sons), or brothers with their dependants. The senior man acts as household head and in this role exercises authority in such matters as agricultural work,

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negotiations over marriage, and prayer to the ancestors (Staniland 1975:14).

RELIGION AND EDUCATION

For the Hausa and Dagomba Islam constitutes a way of life as well as a set of beliefs in Allah and his Prophet. "The five daily prayers, attendance at mosque on Fridays, the three main annual festivals, the yearly grain tithe, the Annual Fast of Ramadan, and the recurrent fact of pilgrimage together" (Smith 1965:15) represent local Hausa and Dagomba Islam most forcefully.

Islam has influenced the entire cultural structure of Hausa society that no distinctions are made as to traditional or Hausa customs. Within the family and other social institutions, e.g. birth, puberty, marriage, death, inheritance, one sees the remnants of Islam. In fact most Hausa would "find it very difficult to discriminate all their own institutions from the Islamic overlay" (Smith 1965:150).

Islam reached Hausaland from the north via the Kanuri people during the fourteenth century. "As caravans came to Kano and Katsina, the number of its inherents increased. In 1804-1810, the Fulani under Othman dan Fodio as Sarkin Musulmi (Chief of the Muslims) came into conflict with the Hausa chief of Gobir, and launched a jihad (holy war) for the purification of Islam in the seven Hausa states by conquest. The jihad was successful, partly be-

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cause assistance from Muslim Hausa and Fulani settled in these areas. Dan Fodio's lieutenants administered as his emirs the chiefdoms they had conquered. His successors, as sultans of Sokoto, maintained this empire until the British under Lord Lugard established their Protectorate of Northern Nigeria in 1900-1903. Throughout this century and the last, the ruling Fulani have justified their dom- ion over the Hausa in terms of maintaining, extending, and strengthening Islam, the same motives that underlay the Shehu's jihad of 1804-1810" (Smith 1965:151).

As a result of Fulani domination most Hausa strongly adhere to Islamic doctrine. Dagombas are considered to be only "nominal" Muslims when compared to most Hausas. The overlay of Islam has not had as great an impact on the entire cultural and social sphere in Dagbon as one would find in Hausaland. Complete Muslim converts in Dagbon are still in the minority. Animism and the cult of ancestors continue to permeate Dagomba culture, but they have been partially complemented or supplanted by Islam. The 1960 census indicated that 42 per cent of Dagombas were animists and 53 per cent Muslims. According to Staniland "Islam is strongest in the towns and at the courts of the king and his chiefs: it has not penetrated village culture to the same extent, and even within the ruling class the two forms co-exist and blend" (1975:16). Roughly 80 to 85 per cent of the Yendi population are "nominal" Muslim affiliates, while the rest either strongly adhere to their traditional

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religions or have partially accepted some of the popular Western religions which have been spreading throughout Ghana--Catholic, Presbyterian, Anglican, Baptist, Methodist, Assemblies of God, Jehovah's Witness,Pentecostal,or Apostolic.

The introduction of Islam into Dagbon did not occur until the late seventeenth/early eighteenth century with Ya Na Zangina, who as a young man, according to some accounts, traveled as a trader to Timbuktu and Hausaland (Staniland 1975:5). The Dagomba, like other groups in the Volta Basin, resisted the early spread of Islam in the eleventh and fourteenth centuries (Chapter One, pages 9-11): their contact with the Wangara and Tukulor (the early agents in spreading the religion) was minimal. Islamization in Dagbon was no doubt assisted by the location of Yendi on the trade route from Salaga to Kano. In spite of contacts with Hausa traders the religion was by no means universally adopted, even at the court; as stated in the above the rulers and ruled strongly adhered to their traditional religion which fits into a four-fold classification of Supreme Being (Naawine), nature spirits, lesser gods, and ancestral spirits (Seyere 1968:i).

In Hausaland "today, the overt deviance of Islam is limited to the spirit-possession cult, which draws support mainly from women, butchers, hunters, blacksmiths, praise-singers, and prostitutes, the latter providing the continuous organization on which cult activities and survival

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depend...Muslim Hausa bori (spirits) have pagan Hausa antecedents, but also include certain Arabic elements derived from the jinn, together with the practice of spirit-possession. By appealing to spirits, women particularly seek benefits or personal relief as well as entertainment. The women's exposure to Islam having been restricted severely by those conditions that subordinate them to men while segregating them from men, women's greater interest in the traditional cult is easy to understand" (Smith 1965: 151-152). Many of the rural Kano State dwellers, e.g. the Maguzawa, are strong believers in bori in spite of the partial overlay of Islamic ideas and customs. Elements of bori and other possession-cults are present in Dagbon but not to such a degree as is the case in Hausaland, for, as stated in the above, many Dagombas still retain their beliefs in Naawine and Land Priests.

The presence of Islam in both societies has greatly affected the education. Hausa and Dagomba children at an early age go to Koranic school to acquire skills in reading, writing, and reciting the Koran text. Students are also taught "the principles of the Islamic religion - the performance of religious ablutions, the prayer rites, fasting, and so forth" (Odoum 1968:70). In addition to the knowledge of Muslim law, ethics, and values children are trained to work in their family occupational craft. In both cultures the "learning of traditional skills entails

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a more or less long and arduous 'apprenticeship.' Some crafts require concentrated application from early childhood if proficiency is to be acquired, while a few years of part-time training are adequate for others" (Oppong 1966a:19).

In Dagbon "the general rule is for all children to be gainfully employed at an early age in house, farm, market, smithy, etc. In fact, children contribute an important share of the labour force by carrying out many of the more monotonous time-consuming jobs such as bird-scaring, baby-minding, water-carrying, cattle herding, horse-grooming, as well as helping in specialist craft activities, so that they give their parents and guardians leisure to pursue their own activities, to attend markets and meetings and to do the more arduous and skillful chores" (Oppong 1966a:19).

Western education has developed very slowly in both areas (Chapter One, pages ( ). The Nigerian government has been a little more successful in their endeavors to incorporate Western educational facilities into the Kano area. A number of institutions for primary and secondary levels are available; several colleges and universities have been constructed in northern Nigeria; and some Hausa adults are realizing the need to acquire Western skills in a Western oriented political and social system.

The adults in Dagbon are still somewhat reluctant to send their children to Western schools. Dagomba adults, especially in Yendi and other rural areas in Dagbon, have not

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been encompassed by westernization to such an extent as the Hausa in Kano. The Dagomba, therefore, believe that a workable system of education already exists and that traditional training is important to the economy of the villages; the adults feel that children are not only being trained to perform adult roles but they are performing indispensable services within the community (Oppong 1966a:22). The only thing that Western education does, according to some traditional Hausa and Dagomba, is cause children to loose respect for their elders and cultural aspects of the society. Most Muslims also feel that knowledge if Islamic teaching is more beneficial to the child; Muslim "education is geared to preparing man for the life hereafter than for the present world" (Odoom 1968:i).

CHANGE AS A RESULT OF EXTERNAL INFLUENCES

The foregoing discussion on Dagomba and Hausa culture has been based on elements that existed prior to Western colonialization. Also very little has been mentioned concerning the far-reaching developments that occurred as a result of contact with Arabic culture. It is important to note that cultures and peoples never remain stagnant, therefore, a brief mention of acculturation must be included in this section.

Islam has had the greatest influence in the development of Hausa society; the discussion in Chapter One, pages 14-17 best exemplifies the changes that occurred due

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to arabization and islamization. Because Kano has been an important trade, cultural, and administrative center through its history, it is no wonder that Kano City has retained many of its urban characteristics. The unique circumstance in Kano is that urban elements from pre-colonial times have been combined with colonial and post-colonial modernization. Smith describes some of the changes which occurred in Kano in recent years:

> With the introduction of railroads, automobiles, and adequate roads, telegraphs, airplanes, and radio, the urban Hausa populations have acquired a modern communications system that has influenced the direction and the nature of trade. For example, cotton and ground-nuts, shea nuts, hides and skins, and kapok are sent south on freight cars for export, as are Fulani cattle, locust beans, some grain, and other Northern products. In return, Hausa purchase palm oil, kolas, ginger, and Yoruba cloth from Southern Nigeria, and import an increasing number of manufactures from abroad. By air they go to Mecca in increasing numbers; the wealthier Hausa have their own motor vehicles, including some for commercial purposes. These innovations have encouraged the spread of mechanical skills, particularly in the large cities, but the countryman still knows only the old technology. Literacy, likewise, though low everywhere, is mainly found in the towns. A Roman script introduced by the British is now in official use. Christianity has made little headway in this population, Lugard [former British colonial leader] having guaranteed the preservation of Islam; but Christian missionaries have helped to spread Western attitudes toward health, child care, and education. Currently the Hausa rulers are greatly concerned to increase elementary education and adult literacy (Smith 1965:152).

Islamic and Arabic elements have not been completely lost or discarded in the process of modernization and Westernization. This is one of the problems facing the Hausa

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people; they now have to find ways of using the old in modern surroundings. One finds, then, that the Hausa not only have to function in the world of Islam but have to cope with the demands of Europeanization. These developments, as will be shown below, play an interesting role in the development of the one string fiddle tradition.

On the other hand the Dagomba have been somewhat protected from or have intentionally avoided all of the external elements that the Hausa have encountered--Islam, Western technology, and even the over-shadowing effort of trying to maintain its greatness from the past. This does not mean, however, that the Dagomba have not had their share of outside influences to jar their traditional ideas. Islamization of Dagbon, although minimal, has had far reaching developments in that it entailed the attachment of Muslim officials to the courts at Yendi and other areas (Staniland 1975:6). Other influences that have developed from contact with Islam could be mentioned--e.g. the wearing of clothing, reading, and writing Arabic text, etc.--but this goes beyond the scope of this discussion. From contacts with the Gurma of Fada N'Gurma[7] the one string fiddle tradition, according to oral history, had its beginnings. The Ashanti, southern neighbors to the Dagomba, have influenced the Dagombas; they helped to create Ashanti-trained musketeers (kambonse) within the Dagomba state army and introduced the timpani (see Note 6) into Dagomba

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music culture. Contact with the Hausa should not be overlooked because their influence in Dagbon is still very evident; much Dagbani includes Hausa loanwords and the Dagomba acquire trade commodities from Hausa traders. Westernization in Dagbon has by no means created extensive changes in the lifestyle of most Dagomba as has been shown in Kano. Yendi, in comparison to Kano City, is only a small traditional rural settlement with few Western facilities, such as modern commercial enterprises, communication and transportation systems, or inductries. The mode of living in Tamale (see discussion on page 89) is more similar to that of Kano City.

The different social and cultural elements that have influenced both societies have also played an important role in the use and development of the one string fiddle tradition. Even though both the Hausa and Dagomba have cultivated tradition, the meaning and value of the instrument differs in each culture primarily because of the external elements which have caused the societies to differ.

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SECTION TWO

ASPECTS OF PERFORMANCE PRACTICE

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Chapter Five

The Instrument

Although the Arabic origin of the one string fiddle appears indisputable, the circumstances surrounding the introduction and spread of the instrument in different territories are by no means clear because of the absence of reliable documentary evidence. In both Hausa and Dagomba societies, one must draw largely on oral tradition, and this presents difficult problems. In most cases the oral tradition "cannot always be taken at its face value, for it has a function in society which must be interpreted against the circumstance under which it is given and the situation of the person who gives it. The evidence it provides must be checked against versions by different informants or from different places and where possible, against other sources of historical data discussed subsequently" (Nketia n.d.:4).

In spite of this limitation, however, a wealth of information can be gained from oral history. Included in some of it are "traditions that govern performance. They include statements about when a musical type may be performed, when a musical instrument may be played, who may perform, what particular item may be performed in a given situation, how it should be performed, and so on" (Nketia n.d.:3).

HISTORY AND ORIGIN

HAUSA

As far as the author can ascertain no written docu-

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mentation concerning the history of goge has been recorded. It appears that very few people in Hausa society have even considered the possibility of investigating such a history.[1] Because of the impact of Islam the history of such secular traditions, activities, and institutions, which are not in conformity with the laws and ethics of the religion, has been discarded and usually forgotten.

Several theories concerning the origins of goge, however, have been propagated by various individuals. Garba Leo,[2] one of the most famous goge musicians in Nigeria, gave the following account:

> The Maguzawa people who lived in Dala, probably one of the oldest sections of Kano, had a king whose name was Bagauda. During Bagauda's reign, which was before the introduction of Islam into Hausaland, the people worshipped a juju [spirit] called Sarbrubura.[3] In worshipping the juju the people used a musical instrument called the sunsuma.
>
> The sunsuma was made of a gourd calabash. The gourd was so large that two men played on the calabash simultaneously.[4] A rattle, called the shambara, was used to accompany the sunsuma. The shambara, known today as the sam'bara--an accompaniment for the garaya[5] instrument--is made from guinea corn stalks and is roled in the hands to make the vibrating sound.
>
> When the sunsuma was played, the music caused a spiritual communication between the god and its priest. The god would give messages through the king [priest] concerning farming practices and other activities within the life of the people. After harvesting of the farm crops the people would honor the juju by playing the sunsuma.
>
> During the course of time another instrument evolved to replace the sunsuma. This instrument was called the gadangama. The gadangama was much smaller in size and different in physical appearance from the sunsuma; this instrument was in the shape of

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> a lute or violin. Horse hair was used for the vibrating strings rather than leather. A bow, also, with horse hair strings, was rubbed against the strings of the calabash.
>
> After the gadangama the goge appeared in somewhat its present size; the neck, however, was longer than today's goge. Gradually the instrument developed to its present physical appearance.[6]

Garba Leo believes that string instruments have spiritual or metaphysical powers. For this reason goge is used in bori; he doubts that a trance could be obtained without goge music.

The director[7] of the School of Music in Kano State[8] believes that the one string fiddle must have come from northern Africa during the caravan trades and other interactions between the Hausa and northerners. The materials used for the construction of goge indicate that the instrument could not have originated in West Africa. For example, he emphasizes that the horse, whose hair is essential to the sound production of goge, is not indigenous to West Africa; Berbers are believed to have introduced the animal into sub-Saharan Africa. To verify his theory he suggested that I contact one of the oldest goge performers in Kano City. Unfortunately, the goge musician, mai Gogen Maza Shuaibu, had travelled to the Northeastern State. No one knew of his exact destination nor when he planned to return to Kano.[9]

In The Northern Tribes of Nigeria C. K. Meek does not specifically discuss the origin of goge, but gives a

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possible theory concerning the first usage of string instruments in Africa:

> Stringed instruments of the fiddle and lute type have a widespread distribution, and are notably found among the Hausa and Gwari. The fiddle is sometimes, as among the Kamu and many other tribes, only used by Hunters, and this fact might appear to confirm the belief that the fiddle originated among hunters who converted their bows into music-producing instruments. The musical bow, it may be noted, is found among the Igbira. The string is made of palm-leaf, and the bow is held close to the lips and tapped with a piece of guinea-corn stick held in the left hand. The musical bow would also appear to be used by the Kentu and Zumper; and when we come to speak of harps we shall find a harp-like instrument, used by some of the Benue tribes, which appears to be an instrument intermediate between the musical bow and the West African harp. The ordinary fiddle is made with a calabash resonator and a membrane of a monitor's skin.
>
> The Beri-Beri have a two-stringed fiddle known as the kukuma, which has a membrane of red leather. The bow-string is always made of horsehair. The fiddle-strings are attached to the handle by binding, no tuning-pegs being used. There are several varieties of lute, among which we may note the Hausa three-stringed molo, the two stringed garaya used by hunters, and the large Gwari kaburu. The latter generally have a sistrum fixed on to the handle. Among lutes may also be classed the gurmi of the Hausa--a calabash instrument covered with leather and strings made from palm-rat gut. The bridge is a piece of guinea-corn stalk filled with indigo pods, which rattle as the instrument is played.
>
> The Ningi, and no doubt some other tribes also, have a lyre known as the zunguru (Meek 1921:156-157).

Finally, H. E. Hause, in "Terms for Musical Instruments in the Sudanic Languages," gives the following account concerning the origin of the one string fiddle in West Africa:

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The ghūghā of Algeria and Morocco, like the ghaita, was taken over by some of the West Africa peoples. Among the Hausa this one stringed fiddle is called goge, the Arabic ġ as usual becoming a g and the vowels u and a becoming o and e. Daumas gives the variant guge which is closer to the Arabic and may be an older pronunciation. That it is dialectical is doubtful since a Hausa, also from Katsina, recently pronounced it as goge. This instrument is of considerable importance both in Hausa and North Africa because of its intimate association with the Bori cult.

The Ful have borrowed the term and, as pointed out earlier for algaita and will be shown later for other instruments, they suffixed -ru, which is, according to Westermann, a class denoting suffix. Thus, this fiddle is called gogeru among the Ful. Westermann defines it as a guitar but elsewhere as a fiddle and all other sources are in agreement with the latter.

That this term was borrowed by the Mandingo or Gur languages would seem a probability but there is the same gap as in the case of bandir. It occurs among the Agni as godye. Since in Agni there is a tendency to palatalize d, t, g, etc., goge > godye seems a legitimate development (Hause 1948:20).

DAGOMBA

According to Dagomba oral history the term goondze (gondze or gonje) was derived from the Gourmanche language of the Gurma people in Upper Volta. The mythological and legendary account of the origin of the instrument, as told by a Dagomba informant, is as follows:

> "Goondze" (violin) playing started in the Gruma land in a town called Yambi. And was introduced in Dagbon by Naa Sigli son of Naa Gorigu Lana. The originator of goondze is called Yantsebli. He was the first to introduce and to start playing the violin.
>
> Yantsebli's father[10] as a child always chose to sit and converse amongst his colleagues. On one

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of such days whilst he was seated with his other colleagues there was a strong whirlwind which took him away into the bush and the inhabitants of Yambi searched for Yantsebli days upon days all in vain.

For almost seven years Yantsebli was no where to be found and it was later on revealed that he had been carried away by fairies. These fairies had their own music which they played and danced, shaking small guards [sic] filled with pebbles and playing on a designed musical instrument later to be known as the violin. These fairies it was further told played and danced this music on Mondays and Fridays at dawn.

It was also told that the fairies could use their music to treat madness. So throughout the seven years period Yantsebli was staying with the fairies they taught him how to play the goondze and how to use it in treating madness. He was also taught all the taboo.

The inhabitants of Yambi were just seated one day when Yantsebli arrived home holding a violin and a guard ("zabia"). During his period of absence from home his father had died and he happened to be the father's first or eldest issue. Yantsebli's hair had not been shaven for the seven years he was away so the elders of Yambi summoned a local barber ("wanzam") and he came and shaved all the hair from his head and he then looked like a normal person.

Yantsebli's father's funeral was then performed and he was installed the Yambi-Naa to occupy the vacant post of his late father. Yantsebli then took his violin into his hands and said that from that day any of his descendants who would learn to play the violin should make it a point to praise the "wanzama" or local-shavers for it was only the "wanzam" who loved him so well. Yantsebli always played upon his goondze each Monday and Friday. Anyone who became insane and was brought before Yantsebli the Yambi Naa, was cured of his madness. Sooner many other lands got to hear of this power. At one time the chief of Gruma himself became insane and Yantsebli was well informed.
When Yantsebli arrived he found the madness to be a very serious one and he prepared certain talismans ("saba") of "juju" for wearing around the neck of the chief of Gruma. When the madness descended upon the chief of Gruma, Yantsebli was summoned and he gave him some medicine and played his violin at the

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same time. Soon other charms in the form of waist bands ("guruma") were also prepared and worn around the waist of the insane chief. He also put certain charms into a large hat and wore this on the insane chief whilst Yantsebli played his violin majestically.

This was how he played it:--"Burusoo-burusoo" and sung a particular song.

When the chief of Gruma recovered he gathered all his descendants and told them that if ever Yantsebli and his descendants did any wrong or committed any offence they should not be beheaded nor should they be asked to labour for any chief by way of farming. Their clothing had remained the burden of the chief and his descendants.

From the time onwards the violinists went every Monday and Friday at dawn to wake up the chief by way of playing their "goondze" and later brought him out amidst the same music after sunrise to receive homage from his people.

It was at one time that Naa Sigli, paramount chief of the Dagomba Traditional area travelled to the Gruma land. On arrival he soon got to enjoy the strange music played at the palace of the chief of Gruma and had to confess before the chief that his instruments produced very good music so it would be very proper for the Yaa-Naa to have that type of music in Dagbon.

He therefore brought one of the violinists on his return to Dagbon and he always played at his palace on Mondays and Fridays whenever the elders and subjects went to pay homage to the Yaa-Naa.

After the death of the violinist in Dagbon the people of Yambi delegated one Abudulai to trace him without knowing of his death. On arrival he neither met the violinist nor did he meet Naa Sigli again. He only met the successor of Naa Sigli in person of Naa Saa Lana Ziblim.

Naa Saa Lana Ziblim therefore told him of the death of the violinist and of his father Naa Sigli. So all the "Yendi-kpamba" were assembled and told the mission of Abudulai. It was therefore agreed that the violinist's funeral be performed in Dagbon and information sent home to confirm it. So Abudulai remained in Dagbon to continue the work of his uncle

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--that is to play the violin.

> For many years Abudulai remained in Dagbon until it was his turn in the "nam" of Yambi. The king-makers in the Gruma land sent bearers to escort Abudulai home customarily to occupy the vacant post. This compelled the Yaa-Naa to summon all his elders and informed them of how the king makers of Gruma land had sent for Abudulai to occupy the skin of his ancestors; but he was objecting it. Therefore he would enskin him with his father's title the chief of his place, and send back bearers to inform the king makers of the Gruma land his action.
>
> Abudulai was therefore installed the Yamba-Naa in front of the shed at the Yaa-Naa's palace and actually became the first Yamba-Naa in Dagbon. Now that he had been installed the chief of the violinists, all young lads were trained or taught how to play on the "goondze." Each Monday and Friday, they actually went to the Yaa-Naa's palace to perform. Festive occasions and other days when the Yaa-Naa was on the move were later to follow up (Sulley 1971:48-53).

Not all gonje players in Dagbon know the history of the instrument in such detail. All of them, however, recognize the fact that the instrument was imported into Dagbon from another culture--that the fiddle is not indigenous to Dagomba culture. That Grumaland is considered to be the homeland for the instrument is the result of several factors. From oral history concerning the founding of the Dagomba State, it is stated that the ruling family (Ya Na and his ancestors) migrated from the Upper Volta area into their present location (see Chapter Four, pages 86-87). After the establishment of the Dagomba State, the people of Dagbon maintained close ties with societies in Upper Volta.

According to Staniland the Dagomba summoned aid

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from people in Upper Volta in dealing with Ashanti demands during the mid-nineteenth century:

> Probably in the early 1860's, Ya-Na Abudulai began to employ number of Zabarima horsemen from the region of Fada N'Gourma in Upper Volta, to help in capturing people to make up the annual consignment of slaves for the Asantehene. According to Cardinall, the Zabarima were difficult to get rid of. They eventually settled to the north of Dagomba, in the 'Gurunsi' area, where they continued raiding (Staniland 1975:9).

The Gurma and Dagomba had trade contacts for "Gurma was of considerable importance in the commercial activities of the Dahomey-Niger hinterland. It was traversed by seven principal trade routes, connecting the Niger and the kingdoms to the south of Gurma, as well as the Niger, Sokoto, and Kano with Nagudugu. These trade routes were as follows, according to Lolex:

1. Say--Matiacuali--Fada N'Gurma
2. Dori--Bilanga--Yamba--Fada N'Gurma
3. Nagadugu--Kupela--Fada N'Gurma--Say--Kano
4. Fada N'Gurma--Yanga--Djebiga--Samka
*5. Fada N'Gurma--Gambaga--Yendi--Salaga--Krachi
6. Say--Botou--Matiacuali--Madjori--Pama--Sansanne--Nango
7. Ilo--Kandi--Baniguara--Kodjar--Kouande"

(Obichere 1971:12)

Note the asterick (*) that has been placed next to the fifth trade route. Obviously, Gurma and Dagomba merchants and heads of states, who primarily controlled or most benefited from the trade caravans, had ample opportunity to exchange ideas since Yendi was on the trade route between Krachi and Fada N'Gurma.

Another factor to substantiate the Gurma theory is

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found in the song repertoire for Dagomba fiddle music. Included in the genealogy repertory is a praise song, which is still currently performed by Dagomba fiddlers, in honor of Banchendi (Bantchande),[11] a Gurma chief. Obichere states that "in the 1890's Gurma was in the grips of civil war, with the central throne at Fad N'Gurma claimed by rival princes. The main contestants were Bantchande and Yacom-Bato; the latter refused to recognize the former's authority and challenged him militarily. The chiefs of certain districts allied themselves with one or the other claimant. This state of affairs reduced the effectiveness of the central authority and tended to foster independent action by the chiefs. With three out of the eleven provinces of Gurma in revolt against the central authority, the power of Bantchande over the rest of the kingdom was shaky, if not in jeopardy" (1971:12).

All of the above information tends to substantiate that the Dagomba are probably or partially correct in their belief that the Gurma played a role in the introduction of the one string fiddle tradition within Dagbon. Most Dagomba fiddlers emphatically disagreed with the hypothesis that the Hausa people may have introduced the instrument into Dagomba society. Musicians are aware that the Hausa also perform the one string fiddle, because some Hausa have settled in Dagomba areas.

Certain factors, however, must be considered before

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completely dismissing the Hausa theory. First of all, the text of most Dagomba fiddle songs is composed of three different languages--Dagbani, Gourmanche, and Hausa (see Chapter Nine). If the Hausa had nothing to do with the fiddle tradition in Dagbon, why is the Hausa language included in Dagomba songs? When Dagomba fiddlers were asked this question, no one had a plausible explanation. One other factor, which must be considered, is that the Hausa were one of the first ethnic groups in the Central Sudan area to adopt the Islamic religion;[12] this occurred during the mid-fourteenth century. Hausa society, therefore, had early contacts with Arabic culture. Peoples in the Volta Basin resisted the acceptance of Islam and other cultural concepts of Arabic origin. Thus, the Voltaics were not influenced by Arabic culture to such a degree nor as early as the Hausa. Evidence shows that the Hausa played an important role in the spread of Islam and other cultural elements in the Central Sudan. Trimingham, in discussing phases of Islamic expansion, compares Western Sudanese influence with that of the Central in the spread of Islam in West Africa:

> Tokolor and Soninke, the first Sudanese converted to Islam, have left their mark upon it. In certain ways West Sudan clergy have had a deeper influence than those of the central cycle in spite of the excessive worship of the Law in the latter. The difference can be seen if their effect upon new Islamized areas is contrasted; for instance, the effect of Tokolor and Mande clergy upon pagans in western Guinea and the effect of Hausa upon pagans in the northern territories of Ghana,

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Togo, Dahomey, and Nigeria (1966:134-135).

Also, the Hausa had trade contacts with peoples in the Central Sudan, and, more specifically in this case, with the Gurma. Observe the third route that Obichere includes in his work (Nagadugu--Kupela--Fada N'Gurma--Say--Kano see page 116). If the Hausa and Gurma had an opportunity to exchange commercial and possibly cultural ideas, the former could have introduced the one string fiddle tradition into the music culture of the latter. In that case, the Hausa indirectly aided in the beginning of the fiddle tradition, and this is the reason most Dagomba fiddle songs include three languages. That the Hausa could have played a more direct role in the Dagomba fiddle tradition should be more seriously considered (see Chapter Three, page 53). Perhaps the Dagomba do not want to give credit to the Hausa for a number of reasons--personal grudge, envy, and minor hostilities between the two ethnic groups. Dagomba musicians would rather recognize the contributions made by the Gurma because of previous political, commercial, and ancestral ties. It is interesting that the Hausa fiddle music text is comprised of only <u>one</u> language--that is, Hausa. Until a textual analysis of Gurma fiddle songs has been completed, the paradox cannot be finally resolved.

CLASSIFICATION AND DESCRIPTION

The one string fiddle is a chordophone that should be more technically classified as a spike bowl lute,

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sounding by bowing with a bow; the Hornbostel-Sachs code figures for such an instrument are 321.311-71 (Hornbostel and Sachs 1961:23).

According to most musicians the construction of the fiddle is not extremely difficult. Most Dagomba fiddlers usually make their own instruments; only three to seven days are needed to complete the entire construction process. Only half the Hausa musicians who were interviewed (Leo, Mohammadan, and Nabarau) had constructed their own instrument; most Hausa musicians, according to Haruna (a Hausa gone musician), purchase fiddles from instrument makers. This is significant because it exemplifies the aesthetic value that may be placed on the instrument by performers in the two cultures. A detailed description of the construction process is given below:

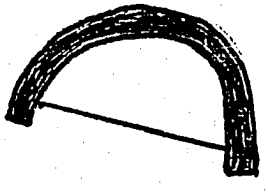
> A gourd/calabash approximately seven to ten inches in diameter is cut in half. Before the calabash resonator is completely dried, two holes are cut on each side of the gourd for placement of the neck, and a short stick, which serves as a brace for sides of the resonator is placed inside the body of the hallowed calabash (see Plates 5 and 6 in Appendix C and Drawings 2 and 4 in Appendix D). After the gourd has dried, the skin of a Nile monitor or alligator is nailed to the open half of the calabash with small tacks (see Plate 19 for tacks) and a leather strip or band made from the skin of a goat, which has been dyed to suit the taste of the owner, is glued around the edges of the gourd to cover the nails (see Plate 7). A smooth egg-shaped stone or cowrie-shell is inserted under the membrane covering of the body resonator to increase tension of the former (see Drawings 2 and 4 in Appendix D). A resonating hole about two to three inches in diameter is then cut in the alligator skin (see Plate 7), and a wooden neck approximately two to two-and-one-half feet in length, which may or may not be covered with dyed

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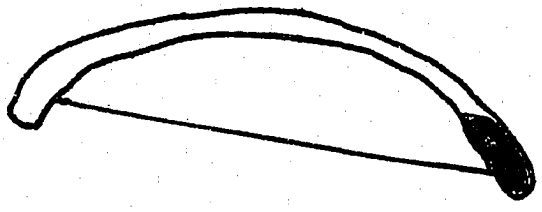
skin of a goat, is fixed longitudinally within the two side holes of the body resonator. Strings from hair of a horse's tail that have been twined together are (1) attached to a ball of cord, (2) connected to a piece of leather twine, and (3) stretched from the lower end (base of the body resonator) to the upper end of the neck and tied or secured with leather binding thongs. Finally, a three-pronged twig of the urkure tree ( ), which serves as the bridge, is placed between the string and membrane of the body resonator. Most Dagomba fiddlers attach a shoulder strap made of hand-woven material to the two ends of the neck (see Plate 8), while Hausa fiddlers rarely, if ever, use a shoulder strap of any kind.

Construction of the Dagomba and Hausa bow and neck differs. Whereas the Dagombas use a wooden neck approximately ten to twelve inches in length in the shape of an arc and covered with skin of a goat, the Hausa bow is made from iron or bronze. The iron- or bronze-backed bow is longer (approximately 18 to 20 inches) and not as curved as the Dagomba bow. Also, the Hausa bow is not completely covered with leather; only the end portion, which is held in the hand, has a leather covering (see the following drawings):

Dagomba bow



Hausa bow



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Many Hausa musicians have begun to use a metal chrome bar (similar to material of a bicycle handle-bar) as the neck rather than one that is made of wood and covered with leather. Fiddlers state that the metal chrome neck sustains less wear and tear than the latter. To my knowledge no Dagomba musicians use such a metal type neck for the gondze (see Plates 8-12, 14-15, 18-24, and 26-27 in Appendix C for photographs of Hausa and Dagomba one string fiddles).

Unfortunately, only general information is known about the dimensions for fiddles in both societies. Because instrument-makers construct fiddles to suit the taste of the buyer or personal preferences, no kind of systematic analysis of size and pitch frequency can be discussed for documented material is either not available or too varied. Whereas the over-all length of a Hausa fiddle is twenty-six inches with a vibrating string of fifteen inches (Ames and King 1971:41), the Dagomba fiddle, constructed with a fifteen to twenty inch vibrating string, extends anywhere from twenty-two to thirty inches in length. Usually the size of the Dagomba calabash resonator is approximately six to ten inches in diameter; the size of Hausa resonators is not exactly known, but those which have been observed by the present author seem to be eight to ten inches in diameter.[13]

Materials for the construction of the one string

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fiddle are not always readily available. The most difficult items to obtain, according to some musicians, are the alligator or monitor skin and the resin (gum) that is used for the body and bow strings.

As stated in the above most Dagomba musicians make their own instruments in the event one has not been passed down from a father, uncle, or elder brother. To have the fiddle made by an instrument maker is not common in Dagbon. If, however, a musician feels that he cannot master the necessary leather binding, he might send all the leather works to a professional leather craftsman. One of the Hausa musicians (Ieo) who partially constructed his own instrument needed assistance in electrical wiring for he wanted to connect the goge to an amplication system. Although minor problems might arise in the construction of the fiddle in both societies, it is well worth the musician's while to solve the difficulty, because a musician may use an instrument anywhere from three to twenty years.

The shape of the instrument is invariable. Most one string fiddles in the Western and Central Sudan have the same shape that is used by Dagomba and Hausa musicians. Musicians in the Eastern Sudan areas, however, use varieties of shapes--diamond-shape and tube.

The size of the one string fiddle depends upon the performer. A child or young person uses a much smaller instrument than an older individual. The small instrument

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is not permanent, rather it is a training tool to prepare the performer with technical capabilities that are necessary to become a good professional player. Adult players do not always use the same size, for sometimes size is also indicative of status in the fiddle group. The leader of the group undoubtedly will use a larger instrument than someone who is a novice in the field.

In Dagbon the appearance of ornamental designs on the one string fiddle is not common in spite of the fact that neighboring peoples, such as the FraFra, place designs on their resonator. Dagomba people use a calabash that is usually bare of ornamentation. Simple designs in the sewing of the goatskin on the neck and bow are used. Leather that is used to attach the skin of a reptile to the resonator may be dyed orange or light red, while leather to cover the neck is usually dyed black with white thread trimmings. Sometimes the Dagomba may fix a metal top to the end of the neck as a decorative motif (see Plates 18-24 and 26-27 in Appendix C). Both Dagomba and Hausa musicians commonly tie one or more scarves to the neck of the fiddle for added color and adornment.

The Hausa do not have any standard ornamental designs for their one string fiddle. Some Hausa, like the FraFra, intricately ornament the calabash resonator with drawings. In Muslim homes the calabash serves a variety of functions--utensil in the kitchen or bedroom, wall

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decoration, and so forth. The decorated calabashes, which may be seen in the homes, are similar to those that are used by some Hausa performers for body resonators. Unlike the gondze, a metal top is never fixed to the upper end of the goge neck for decoration; rather, the leather strip that is used to secure the hair of the horse's tail to the neck is often allowed to hang loosely from the upper end of the neck (see Plates 9-12 and 14-15 in Appendix C).

The terms for parts of the goge and gondze are not identical because of the differences in languages of the ethnic groups. One exception, however, does exist; the gum (resin) that is used to rub against the bow and resonator string is referred to as k'ara in Hausa, while the Lagomba call it kaalo. See Appendix D for drawings and a detailed description of the parts for goge and gondze.

PERFORMANCE TECHNIQUE

For the most part the performance or playing technique of goge and gondze is similar. If the player is right-handed (the opposite is true for a left-handed performer--see Plates 11 and 12), the instrument is "held at the neck-end by the left hand with the fingers in position to stop the string; the body-resonator rests against the player's waist, or in his lap if seated, and the string is bowed with a nearly vertical up and down action by the right hand bow" (Ames and King 1971:42). Where the performer places the body-resonator seems to differ in the two

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cultures. The Dagomba fiddler, who uses a shoulder strap over his left shoulder and arm (strap is placed over the right shoulder and arm if performer is left-handed) to support the fiddle, usually places the body-resonator toward the right side of his abdomen. On the other hand those goge players, normally without the use of a shoulder strap, hold the resonator underneath his left bended arm (right arm if left-handed). Whereas the former tends to hold the instrument in front of his body (similar to the most common playing position for the Western guitar), the latter performs with the fiddle to his side (similar to the performance position of the Western violin, only with the resonator under the arm rather than on the shoulder). Compare Hausa photographs of fiddle performers (Plates 9-12 and 14-15) with those of Dagomba players (Plates 18-24 and 26-27).

Only four fingers of the left hand are used to play the instrument, namely 1, 2, 3, and 5:[14]



1--thumb
2--index finger
3--tall finger
4--ring finger
5--small finger

The thumb of the left hand is placed on top of the string near the upper end of the neck--that is, near the gbandaa or kallabi. The three fingers (2, 3, and 5) are placed underneath the string (see Plates 10, 12, 15, 20-21, and 24 in Appendix C). The ring or fourth finger is not often

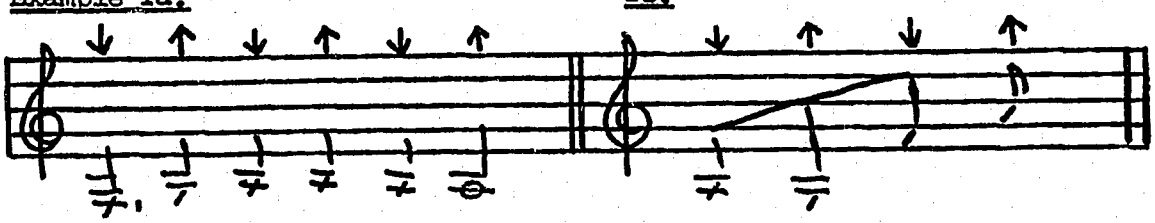
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used, but on some occurrences it may be employed with the small finger to obtain a slight variation in pitch frequency from the normal fifth finger tone. The thumb remains stationary on the string of the instrument to create tension--that is, simultaneously from beneath (2, 3, and 5) and from above (1, the thumb). This technique helps to produce a clearer pitch. The thumb pressure, however, is not often used with the fifth finger; this tone requires pressure or tension from only one direction.

Bowing should be done as close to the bridge of the instrument as possible. If the bow is played towards the middle of the string, the tone quality is displaced and the volume of sound decreases. Also, the bow should be held vertically straight toward the mid-chest of the performer. To have the bow slightly bent towards the right arm of the player is acceptable, but never towards the left arm of the player (all descriptions are given in terms of the player holding the instrument, not the audience looking at the performer).

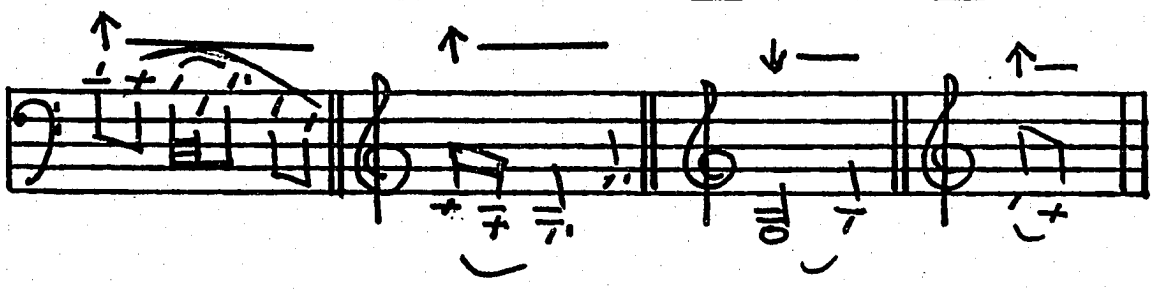
Tones are produced in two ways: (1) one single pitch to one stroke of the bow and (2) two or more pitches to one single stroke (see Examples 1 and 2).

Example 1a. 1b.



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Example 2a. 2b. 2c. 2d.



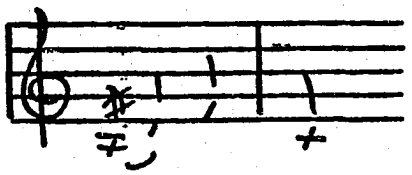
Notice that the syllabic passage, Example 1a, has a repetition of pitches. With each repeated note, the bow is given the same number of strokes. The arrows above the pitches show the direction of the bow. Because six pitches occur in the passage, six different strokes are made. In Example 1b the pitches are not repeated, but the same bowing technique is used--one stroke to a single pitch. Again the arrows indicate the direction of each stroke.

A different bowing technique is used in Examples 2a and 2b--the melismatic passages. Only one stroke of the bow is used to play the entire musical phrase. The upward direction of the arrow indicates the position of the stroke. Mention should be made that melismatic passages are usually performed with an upward stroke rather than a downward stroke in Dagomba fiddle tradition.[15] A short melisma of two pitches, however, may have either an upward or downward stroke (see Examples 2c and 2d). No chords are consciously or intentionally performed on the instrument. Nevertheless, the rapid passage from one pitch to another with a slight delay or pause in releasing the first pitch

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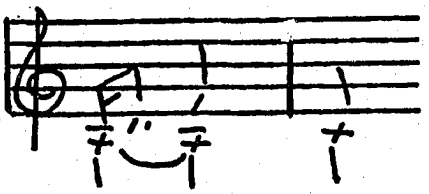
before continuing to the second pitch may sometimes be mistaken for multipart playing. Also, the overtones from the initial sound are sometimes sustained, causing a chordal sound effect. See Examples 3 and 4.

Example 3a.

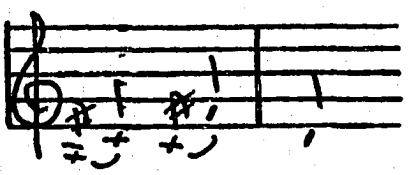


may sound like

3b.

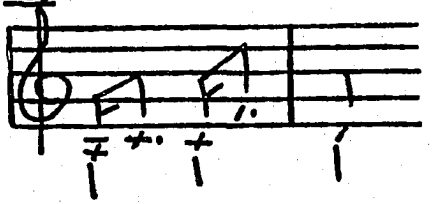


Example 4a.



may sound like

4b.



The application of pressure on the string should also be considered as an element of performance practice in the one string fiddle tradition. Performers use varying amounts of bowing pressure on the string to control the dynamics or volume of the instrument's acoustical sound. Both Hausa and Dagomba fiddlers apply three different degrees of tension/pressure on the string depending upon the function of the instrument during the performance:

Amount of pressure	Volume	Section of Composition
1. Light pressure (I)	Very soft volume (pp)	Vocal solo
2. Medium pressure (M)	Medium volume (mf/p)	Vocal chorus response

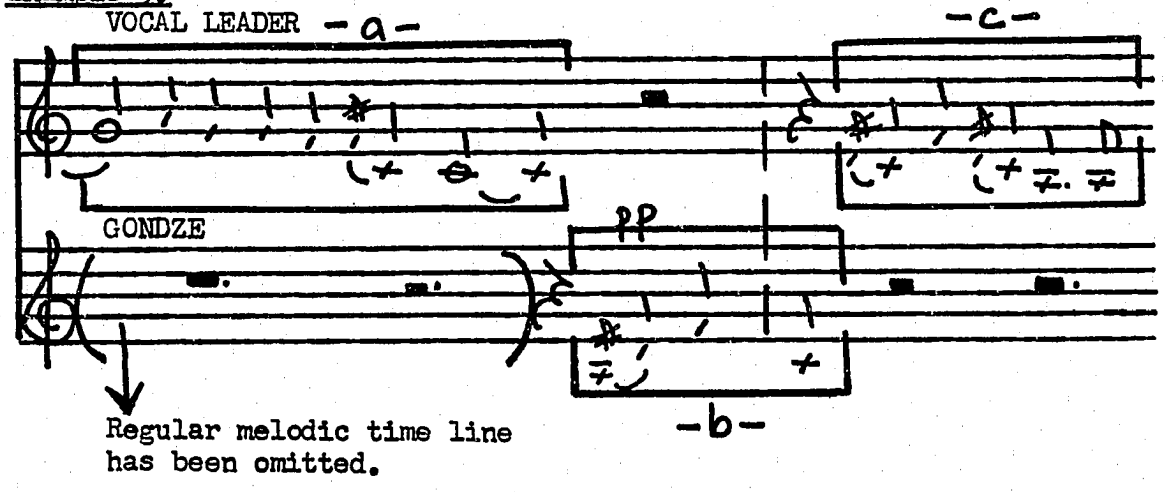
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3. Hard pressure (H) Loud volume (f or ff) Instrumental solo

Dagomba

During the instrumental introduction, interlude(s), or closing statement of a composition, the instrumentalists use a loud volume; therefore, heavy or strong tension is placed on the string. When the lead singer performs,[16] the instrumentalist (especially if the lead vocalist and lead gondze player are the same person) plays only fragments of the entire melodic time line (see Example 5):

Example 5.



In section a of Example 5 the vocal leader, who is also the sole fiddler in this performance, omits the melodic time line; rather he plays a fragment of the time line (see section b). Actually the fragment is similar in construction to the following statement by the lead vocalist (see section c). When the vocal chorus responds, a slightly louder volume (H) is used.

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Hausa

Among the Hausa, who include only one fiddle during a performance, the instrumentalist performs loudly during his solo section; the volume, however, is decreased to mf whenever the vocalists perform. It can be concluded, then, that in both societies less tension is placed on the string during the vocal portion of the composition. Further, when a lead vocalist performs alone, the least amount of pressure is used; medium pressure or tension is placed on the string during the vocal chorus response, and when fiddlers perform without vocal accompaniment, the strongest tension and loudest volume are used (see Chapter Thirteen).

TUNING

The tuning system of the one string fiddle is relative; it is left to the discretion of the performer. A song may be transposed a semi-tone higher or lower depending upon the player's taste at any given moment. As a result no absolute pitch can be given for the open string of either one string fiddle tradition. In most cases, however, both Hausa and Dagomba fiddlers tune their instruments between the range of F below A 220 and E above A 220; a complete discussion of tonality and tuning is found in Chapter Eleven.

The tuning of the fiddle is controlled by a small wedge-shaped wooden peg (Dagomba) or a small horn-like wedge (Hausa) that is inserted between the lower end of the

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string and body resonator (see Drawings 2 and 3 in Appendix D). By inserting or releasing the small wedge to increase or decrease the tension of the string, the performer obtains the desired tuning for the instrument.

MEANING AND VALUE OF INSTRUMENT IN CULTURE

In Hausaland eight different types of chordophones are used. The goge, therefore, does not have a permanent exclusive performance occasion; it is a freelance instrumental type. Other chordophones may be easily used to replace the goge at a performance. Also, the goge does not have an exclusive patron or occupational group, such as the hunters who use the garaya; the wrestlers, who have the gurmi, or the warriors, the molo. An individual patron--businessman or politician--may use the goge for praises, but this individual might also include other instrumental types for advertising or public relations. One of the most important places for the goge is the beer bar. It may also be performed for other types of entertainment activities. Entertainment institutions, however, are not an exclusive domain for the one string fiddle. As a result overlapping of instrumental types constantly occur (see the chart on the following page for some of the different types of chordophones and their social usage in Hausa society.)

The chordophone in Hausa culture is the lowest ranked instrumental type. Membranophones and possibly aerophones have the highest status. In most cases the

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	ENTERTAINMENT	HUNTERS	POLITICS	POSSESSION	PRAISE	WARRIORS	WRESTLERS
	Nightclubs Weddings Naming ceremonies						
Garaya	Garaya	Garaya	---	Garaya	Garaya	---	---
Goge	Goge	---	Goge	Goge	Goge	---	---
Gurmi	---	---	---	---	---	---	Gurmi
Jita (Western guitar)	NO	SPECIAL	SOCIAL	USAGE			
Komo	---	Komo	---	---	---	---	---
Kukuma	Kukuma	---	Kukuma	Kukuma	Kukuma	---	---
Kuntigi	Kuntigi	---	Kuntigi	---	Kuntigi	---	---
Molo	---	---	---	---	---	Molo	---

social usage of an instrument influences its aesthetic value. For example, drums are the most highly regarded and valued instruments among the Hausa. They are most often played by royal musicians for the Emir; the Chief of court musicians is a drummer; and more drums are in existence than any other instrument in Hausa culture. Yet, a drum that is used to accompany girls dancing or as entertainment in a harlot house (sometimes the kalengu[17] is used for this purpose) is ranked lower than goge.

The strongest factor that has contributed to the low status of the chordophone is religion.[18] No string instruments are used in the Emir's court of musicians because such music, according to Islamic doctrine, is considered to be wicked. Muslim scholars "consider many kind of Hausa music to be wicked, particular goge music which is called music of the devil" (Ames and King 1973:141). The instrument, therefore, is primarily used at those secular occasions that do not include religious worship. If a religious ceremony takes place, for example a wedding, the activities are divided into two parts: (1) sacred, according to Islamic laws and attended by the Iman, who sometimes presides and (2) the festive occasion, not strongly supported by religion but accepted by traditional laws. During the second part goge music may be performed because neither the Iman nor any other religious leader is present.

The goge instrument is not used to perform the

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royal historical traditions of Hausa society--that is, in recalling the genealogy of the Emir. The only social usage for goge, which can be considered indigenous or traditional to Hausa culture, is its performance at bori ceremonies. Goge usage at these ceremonies, however, is a recent innovation; the garaya is the most widely used instrument for bori performances. See the following comments by Besmer:

> For possession to occur at a boorii ceremony spirits must be summoned by means of special melodies and rhythms played on one of a number of combinations of instruments. The most popular boorii ensemble in Kano consists of a garaayaa (two-stringed, plucked lute) and two or three buutoocii (sing. buutaa; gourd-rattle). One other combination, a googee (single-stringed, bowed lute) and kwaryaa gourds (hemispherical in shape, placed open-side down, and beaten with two sticks), may be heard in a ward outside the Old City walls. Garaayaa informants claim that their instrument is the original one of the cult and that the googee is a recent addition. However, Tremearne writing 60 years ago claimed that the 'violin' and 'upturned calabash' are usually the only instruments used, thereby casting doubt on informants' chronology (Besmer 1972/1973:4)[19]

Also, the village suburban residents of Kano City[20] believe that the use of staccato rhythms of the garaya is more successful in inducing a trance than the melodic and flowing rhythms of goge.

Whatever instrument is used, the underlying reason for performing bori is entertainment (see Besmer 1972/1973: 2), and this demonstrates yet another instance in which the goge is used as an entertainment medium. Many young people in Hausa culture regard the goge as symbolic of the

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Western guitar; they associate the instrument and its performers with the "James Brown" (a popular Black American performer of "soul" music) stereotype.

Goge music is rarely performed in the village.[21] Usually, only when a goge player is especially invited will he go to rural areas for a performance at a naming or wedding ceremony, festive occasion, and so forth.

That goge is more acceptable in the secular elements of Hausa culture has its advantages for the goge musicians. The instrument is a money-making device. No musician is concerned with whether he or his instrument has a low or high status within the society, when the material and monetary wealth he obtains are enough consolations to obliterate these other disadvantages.

The status or socio-cultural value of an instrument is sometimes reflected in the references to it in oral literature and proverbs. The following are references that have been made about the goge instrument:

> Yazgar mariayayi ko malan ba ya cewa ba da'di sai dai ya ce babu kyan. "Hairs of the dead horse, not even a religious teacher can say you are not sweet to the ear, he can only say you are not edifying."
>
> Goge mai kashe wa molo kaifi.
> "Goge who silences the mob" (i.e., it is louder).
>
> Goge ki'dan 'yan duniya ne.
> "Goge is the music of worldly people."
>
> Goge kan bidi'a ke nan.
> "Goge is the source of heresy."
> (Ames and King 1973:43).

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To my knowledge gondze is the only type of bowed chordophone that is used in Dagbon. The Dagombas use fewer instruments in their society than the Hausa. Although the four major classifications are represented, the number of instruments within each system is smaller when compared with the larger number in Hausa culture. For example see the following chart for the number of instruments in each classification:

	Dagomba	Hausa
Idiophone	2 or 3	18
Membranophone	5 or 6	22
Chordophone	2 or 3	8
Aerophone	3 or 4	9

The gondze instrument has an important and somewhat restricted function in Dagomba culture. Because a Dagomba king introduced the one string fiddle tradition into the culture (according to oral history), the gondze is performed almost entirely for his pleasure; everyone in the culture recognizes that the fiddle exists primarily to serve chieftaincy. Because most Dagomba--royalty and commoners--are only marginal Muslim affiliates, the presence of the string instrument does not conflict with the more moderate practices of the semi-Islamic/traditional religion in the society.

The gondze is the second most important instrument in Dagbon as a result of its attachment to royalty; the

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lunsi (hour-glass drum) is the only instrument that probably ranks higher than the fiddle. Gondze is most highly regarded not only by its performer, but also by its most important patrons--the king and the community. Because few, if any, competitive chordophone types exist, the performers are not afraid of possible disinterest or discontinuity of the tradition. Along with the lunsi the one string fiddle is used for the recording of royal genealogy as well as at birth, marriage, funeral ceremonies, festive occasions, and other entertainment activities. Thus, a permanent place for gondze will always exist especially as long as the traditional government is retained in Dagbon.

Had the instrument not been introduced into the culture by royalty, its status probably would be just as low as the goge in Hausaland. Probably the tradition would have been in a state of deline or discontinued because patrons would not be over-enthusiastic about the music. Such a possibility is not unlikely; the very fact that only few chordophones are used in the culture demonstrates that the Dagombas do not have a great preference for string music. It appears that Dagbon is a culture that prefers membranophones since this is the largest instrumental type in the culture. Membranophones may possibly be the indigenous instrumental type to not only the Dagomba but also the Sudan. Cultures that have been greatly influenced by the Arab world tend to have more chordophones--e.g. Hausa, Ma-

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Hinke, Tuareg, and others--than those societies which have had less Arab influence. Few string instruments in Dagbon, therefore, indicates the limited amount of Arabic influence on the culture.

It should be noted that the most important instruments in Dagbon are not indigenous to Dagomba culture; they are usually imports from neighboring peoples. The lunsi, the highest ranked instrumental type, was introduced into Dagbon, according to oral tradition, during the seventeenth century by Ya Na Luro. The drummers claim to be descended from princes at an early state in Dagomba kingdom's history (Oppong 1973:22); possibly they are referring to Ya Na Luro's reign.

Historians have discovered that Luro had contacts with the Hausa during his reign. Note the following account by Staniland in his discussion of Muslims at the Dagomba court:

> Although Islam only became the court religion in the eighteenth century, with the conversion of Zangina, at least one of the principal Muslim families, the Yidan Nambara, was prominent at the time of the move to Yendi, that is, in the reign of Na Luro. This family, of Hausa origin, became responsible for washing the corpses of paramount and other chiefs (Staniland 1975:32).

Hypothetically, the hour-glass drum could have been a direct result of the close contacts between Ya Na Luro and Hausa residents at the court during the seventeenth century. The drum, known in Hausaland as kalengu, is performed at similar occasions in both cultures; it is the

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traditional instrument for the butchers occupational craft, one of the royal instruments for the king (Emir and Ya Na), and used as an entertainment medium for recrea-- tional occasion. Although the kalengu does not have as high a status at the Emir's royal court (this position is given to the tambura drummers) as the lunsi in Dagbon, the similarities of the two instrumental types in construction, social usage, and date of appearance in Dagomba culture is too great to be overlooked as just coincidental.

The timpani, which is probably the third most important instrument in Dagbon, was introduced into Yendi as a result of Ashanti influence during the nineteenth century (see Chapter Four, page 105). The drum language of the Dagomba timpani is extremely similar to that of the atumpan (Ashanti name for the same drum type as the timpani). No one questions the fact that timpani is of Ashanti origin because of the obvious similarity of the two instruments in both societies.

There is no need to further discuss the introduction of the one string fiddle in Dagbon; most evidence indicates that the fiddle is a foreign import. If the above information is correct, it appears that foreign instruments are more important among the Dagomba than the indigenous ones. Did the Dagomba adopt the new instruments because they liked what they saw and merely desired to use a similar mode of expression or was it because of force on

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the part of conquerors? Could the alien instrumental types--*lunsi*, *gondze*, and *timpani*--be highly valued because they demonstrate that the Dagomba have incorporated elements from their conquerors or allies? This situation is not uncommon among world cultures. The conquered commonly identify with their conquerors by adopting foreign traditions, which sometimes become more important than the indigenous tradition; many times the conquerors may incorporate elements from the conquered; and finally, new ideas are exchanged simply through interaction with other peoples without force being involved. For example, the Western violin in Iran has begun to replace traditional string instruments; the Ashanti currently use an hourglass drum (*donno*) which is similar in construction to the Dagomba *lunsi*; and American Indians of Central America have taken over the African xylophone tradition (known as *marimba* in Central America) even though African slaves are known to have introduced the idiophone into the area. Much information in regard to acculturation and assimilation can be presented. However, this is going beyond the subject matter of this discussion. What is important is that similar occurrences constantly take place in such situations; the Dagomba, therefore, are not alone in incorporating foreign or new instrumental types into their culture.

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

It can be assumed that the one string fiddle tradi-

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tion has existed for some time in Dagomba and Hausa societies. Possibly this is the reason that the Hausa, who are not certain about the existence of a history, have no general concensus concerning historical facts of goge. Let us assume that the instrument was introduced into Hausaland around the same time that Islam was developed in the area--that is, with interactions from caravan trading between Sudanese and Northerners during the fourteenth century. At that time the instrument was not brought into Hausaland by a particular group or individual; also, it was never attached to a professional occupational craft in Hausa society. The instrument, therefore, was used as a free agent for anyone--performers and audience. Because no special individual claimed the tradition, at that time, the instrument still is not a reserved profession for any group of people. In this case the fiddle evolved into the culture without any special recognition or person to record its entry.

The goge is most used among city dwellers, therefore, in order to retain a minimal means of existence the fiddle tradition has been somewhat modified to fulfill the demands of its changing audience. Below are listed some of the changes that have occurred:

1. The goge has become a commercial commodity. More people are interested in performing the fiddle because of financial benefits rather than for personal enjoyment.

2. Musicians purchase their instruments from

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instrument makers, therefore increasing the commerciality of the fiddle. The tradition provides a means to gain money. Also, the function and role of the one string fiddle contribute to the impersonality of the instrument.

3. Ornamental designs are used on the fiddle to give a personal distinguishing feature for the performer.

4. The body resonators are constructed with a larger calabash in comparison to some of the goge instruments that were used in the past. It is believed that the sound is considerably amplified when the calabash is larger and strings are longer.

5. An electronic goge has been invented--that is, an electrical amplification system has been attached to the body resonator.

6. About twenty years ago the neck of the goge was shorter. Some musicians believe that the sound is more melodious with a longer neck.

7. Material for the neck is sometimes of metal chrome rather than wood that has been covered with leather. The metal is smooth (similar to the material of a bicycle handle-bar).

8. Additional instruments are included in the organization of goge ensemble (see more discussion in Chapter Eight). Today's ensembles are larger including at least two k'waryas (drum calabashes), one kalengu (hour-glass drum), three of four chorus members, and possibly two marok'a (praise singers who speak or say praises to patrons and collect the money and gifts). The kalengu was added approximately fifteen years ago.[22]

Many of these changes are a result of Westernization. The fact that the changes have occurred so rapidly conveys the general mood or attitude of the Hausa people. Westernization is just like other foreign elements that the Hausa have integrated into their society; assimilation

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and acculturation of external influences are common and have been the basis of Hausa civilization.

Also, these changes are apparent because of the instability of the goge tradition in Hausa culture. The performer must constantly seek new patrons in order to gain employment and a livelihood. Musicians, therefore, are willing to make adjustments if it pleases the public or audience. Since many of the political parties, which were extremely common in northern Nigeria during the 1960's, have been abolished since the military government's takeover, goge performers have begun to attract the young as patrons. The young, of course, are interested in Western ideas; thus, this is the reason so many Western elements have been attached to the instrument in recent years (see more discussion in Chapter Six).

On the other hand continuity has been the sustaining element in the gondze tradition. The instrument is associated with royalty; as long as chieftaincy exists in Dagbon there will be a gondze tradition. The instrument already has an important place and patron in the society--performers, therefore, do not have the urge or need to change the fiddle tradition. In fact the audience and patrons would probably protest if the instrument were drastically altered.

Westernization has not had a strong impact in Dagbon. As a result one does not see Western elements attached to the one string fiddle tradition. What the

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Dagomba have added are scarves that are used to decorate the neck of the instrument (see drawings and photographs in Appendix C and D). This addition has not changed the tonal production, construction, or aesthetic value.

So much has affected Hausa culture that it is not surprising that the goge tradition is a freelance profession--a profession in which goge performers have to be concerned with restrictions from the Islamic community and also be aware of new ideas from Westernization. What Hausa fiddlers have done is to integrate the two ideologies. The Dagomba have not been bothered or troubled with either of these external influences to a large degree; the gondze tradition, therefore, has remained primarily the same since its introduction into Dagbon approximately two hundred years ago.

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Chapter Six

The Performer

After considering the history, function and value of the one string fiddle in Hausa and Dagomba societies, let us now examine the role of the performer within the two traditions. Much of the material for the following discussion was obtained from personal interviews with one string fiddle musicians in Hausaland (Haruna, Landi, Leo, Mohammadan, Kabarau, and Samunaka) and Dagbon (Abu, Alhassan, Iddrisu, Lali, Mahama, Salifu, and Samunaka); photographs of these musicians are included in Appendix C (see Plates 9-26).[1] Their response to such questions as personal background, inheritance, training, attitude toward the profession, and so forth, in most cases, appeared to be straightforward and without exaggeration. To avoid as much distortion of fact as possible, which sometimes arises out of research of this sort, a comparison of my personal notes and observations with material by other researchers (Ames 1973a and 1973b; Ames and King 1971; and Oppong 1973) is included.

The apparent complexity of Sudanese social structure is most evident from the discussion in Chapters One and Four. The Sudanese system of occupational and social stratification has remained intact because of the means by which individuals are recruited for various duties in the culture. Oppong, who agrees with the views of F. S. Nadel,

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indicates that the allocation of professional roles can be categorized into three types: "recruitment roles, in which the individual is compelled to assume the role or at least compelled to make a restricted choice; achievement roles in which the actor voluntarily choses to assume the role and ascriptive roles, which are transitional, in that though apparently based upon achievement yet they have some of the compulsive character of recruitment rules, the degree of compulsion varying. Though the person with the necessary qualities may not be necessarily compelled to assume the role, the preconditions may restrict eligibility" (1971:62).

Merriam, quoting from Ralph Linton, refers to a similar method by which a society assures that the requisite number of people is recruited to fill specialized and professional roles. In this case only two categories are used to define terms of allocation:

> 'Ascribed statuses are those which are assigned to individuals without reference to their innate differences or abilities. They can be predicted and trained for from the moment of birth. The achieved statuses are, as a minimum, those requiring special qualities, although they are not necessarily limited to these. They are not assigned to individuals from birth but are left open to be filled through competition and individual effort' (Merriam 1964:130-131).

Those professional and specialized duties that are essential to the stability of the society usually require more extensive training; students, therefore must begin schooling at an early age. Thus, the profession is almost

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exclusively specialized--that is, only the ascribed individuals are allowed to pursue the profession--and persons are compelled to undertake the necessary duties. Oppong discusses this particular aspect of occupational specialation:

> It would appear that the degree of compulsion of the recruitment mechanisms is partly a function of the indispensability to the state of the continuity of the role, of the assumption and the transmission of the particular 'social capital' involved. It has already been pointed out that in the case of drummers continuity of a vital tradition is at stake. The arduous learning of such a body of partly esoteric material, which takes years to absorb, cannot be left to chance or the individual's whim. Whereas in the case of the butcher or barber, it is only acquisition of a relatively simple skill which is at stake (1971:64).

When the allocation of the profession is recruitment (Oppong's definition) or ascribed (Merriam's definition)--that is, compelled at birth--to deviate from the prescribed laws of inheritance causes shame for not only the person involved, but also the family and community. "A young man who leaves his inherited craft or trade suffers verbal abuse from members of the community and sometimes is even beaten by his father and flees the community. Such persons are commonly abused in the following manner: 'You are without shame! Your father was a potter and yet you chose to take up another craft!' The strength of this precription of occupational inheritance was illustrated by some who steadfastly continued to perform music despite the fact that they relied a great deal more on some other

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kind of work to earn their living and/or spent a greater portion of their time on it" (Ames 1973b:130). In recent years, however, traditional African laws (especially in urban areas) have not been enforced due to contacts with the West and an adoption of new economic and social values.

The musician has one of the lowest positions or statuses in most Sudanese societies (see Chapter One, page 15 ; and Chapter Two, pages 33-35). Further, those performers of string instruments usually possess an even lower status than non-chordophone players (see Chapter Five, pages 132-134). Yet, this situation is not common to all cultures in the savannah belt as is evident in comparing Hausaland and Dagbon. Because of the different histories of culture contact the entire institution of musicianship among the Dagomba and Hausa, more specifically the one string fiddler, differs and exemplifies an exception to the previous conjecture concerning the Sudanese musical performer.

The following points will be closely examined in the comparison of Hausa and Dagomba one string fiddle musicians: recruitment, inheritance, training and organization; professionalism, usage and patronage; and socio-cultural value and status.

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Hausa

To become a Hausa one string fiddler is void of any requirements or qualifications. Any individual who has the will and desire to perform goge is free to choose the profession. According to Hausa fiddlers who were interviewed no prerequisites are used to control the number or type of persons who become Hausa goge musicians.

When asked if the goge performer had to be a Muslim, since most fiddlers in Hausaland are Muslims, informants emphatically stated that religion has nothing to do with the profession. Mohammadan gave the following response to the question concerning fiddling and religion: "Goge musicans do not connect religion and work. It [goge profession] is a business, it is what you do at work" (1974:n.p.) Such a response infers that whether the person is Muslim or non-Muslim is not the determining factor for recruitment into the profession. Mention should be made, however, that very few non-Muslims, if any, have become goge players in Hausaland. Those Maguzawa residents, who are believed to be the "true" descendants of the Hausa and have not adopted Islam, do not use the goge in their music culture; rather, the garaya is the only chordophone type that is used (personal communication with the Maguzawa of the Wudil District in Kano State).

Also, no specific socio-economic group of people

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become goge players. Most performers usually claim another profession in addition to goge playing--half of the performers gave farming as an additional occupation; one-third stated that goge was their sole occupation, while the remaining said that they were traders.

Hardly any females enter the goge profession in Hausaland. Rather, women perform another type of one string fiddle called the kukuma (see Ames and King 1971:44-45). Even though both men and women professionals and non-professionals take up the kukuma, according to Mohammadan some listeners prefer women fiddlers to male. Kukuma players "most often perform for wealthy merchants (attajirai), officialdom (sarakuna), and for harlots and their patrons. Some also perform at political party functions, ajo, buku and kalankuwa celebrations. Non-marok'a (young men and women, and married women) also play kukuma for pleasure" (Ames and King 1971:85).

In most cases the basis for recruitment of the Hausa goge profession is achievement. Very few performers inherited the profession from a family member. Leo and Iandi stated that they acquired the skill from their fathers, while the remaining informants learned to perform the fiddle from non-family members. Mohammadan, whose father originally taught him how to perform the garaya-- a plucked chordophone, switched to the goge profession later in life. He states that "my father taught me how to play garaya. But the time came that I found I enjoyed goge

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and felt that people liked goge more than garaya. So I went to learn goge from that man [Chautan Baya of Lina]" (1974:n.p.). No indication was made either by Leo or Landi that they were compelled to become goge musicians. From personal observation of the goge profession, it appears that neither of these performers would have brought shame to their families had they chosen another occupation besides goge, even though every father is proud to have siblings pursue the family's profession.

Mention should be made about the offspring and family members of the interviewed goge performers. None of the musicians' children perform the goge instrument. In fact many of the fiddlers were pleased to say that their children go to school and do not have time to play the fiddle. Other kinsmen do play the instrument; Nabarau and Leo stated that they had taught their younger brothers how to perform the fiddle, while Landi's uncle (father's younger brother) had also learned the art of playing goge. Knowing these factors suggests that the goge profession is not an essential element to Hausa society. As will be discussed below, however, a paradox or conflicting attitude exists in regards to the indispensability of performers to Hausa music culture.

Not all musicians in Hausaland enter the music profession through achievement. A greater number, especially the membranophone and aerophone players, are compelled to continue the tradition of their fore-fathers. Not sur-

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prisingly both the membranophone and aerophone are more highly valued in Hausa society than chordophones and included in the Emir'r court of musical instruments (see discussion in Chapter Five, pages 132-134).

Formal training, a necessity to the goge profession, is defined here as "conscious instruction, involving demonstration by the teacher and observation and correction of the learner" (Ames 1973b:152). Since the majority of the goge players become professionals through achievement, the training for the profession differs from other recruited/ascribed occupational groups. If goge children were compelled to enter the profession, training would probably begin at an early age--five or six years old. Even those interviewed goge performers, who were taught by their fathers, did not begin at such an early age. According to Leo his training began at age nine, while Landi said that he began to play the fiddle at age fifteen. Other interviewed goge performers gave the following responses in regard to initial age of training--Haruna, 27; Mohammadan, between 20 and 25; Nabarau, 19; and Samunaka, 14.[2]

The most common method of training for performing any type of musical instrument is imitation. Merriam states that "there is...evidence to indicate that imitation forms an important part of music learning and that it may well be a universal first step in the process" (1964:147). This particular step in the music learning "tends to be

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limited to early learning, though this is not always the case" (Merriam 1964:146). If children, therefore, were born into the goge profession, they, probably, at an early age would imitate their elders in a performance occasion or at a practice session. The above information suggests that most goge performers did not experience the imitation method of training at an early age. Their teachers may have used this particular technique in a different context when the students were adolescents or young adults.

Those musicians who did not obtain training from a close kin commonly took formal lessons from an established musician. In one sense this method of instruction may be considered an apprenticeship. Ames describes apprenticeship among the Hausa:

> Another form of training is apprenticeship to nonkinsmen. Apprenticeship involves no verbal or written contract between the apprentice or his parents and the musician. While learning, the apprentice not infrequently lives with his master, who feeds and clothes him. As soon as he becomes expert enough, the apprentice plays in his master's band and may receive a small share of its earnings. At first he plays the type of instrument given to young musicians, although he starts to learn the master's instrument whenever possible. The apprentice is expected to go on errands, do odd jobs around the house, and work on his master's farm if he has one. After leaving his master, he may return from time to time to pay his respects, and perhaps to give a gift, though payment for the training, other than the work he does while an apprentice, is not compulsory (1973b:153-154).

It is my opinion that this particular method is most applicable to adolescents or very young adults; for example,

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Samunaka and possibly Nabarau may have received their goge schooling through this process. Such people like Haruna or Mohammadan may or may not have experienced the above apprenticeship. Since these individuals were fairly old when they learned to perform goge and already skilled in another profession (Mohammadan was a garaya performer before becoming a goge player), they probably entered into a more formal contract agreement with their teacher to acquire skills in performing goge. Maybe they paid their teachers or agreed to pay them when and if the pupil succeeded in the new profession. According to Ames and King some calabash drummers ('yan kwarya) "are often apprentice goge players and also act as...'the chorus'" (1971:71) in a goge ensemble. Perhaps Haruna and Mohammadan learned the goge profession in this manner since most calabash drummers appear to be adult age (age 20 and older).

Some of the more important skills that a goge student must acquire to become a successful performer, among other things, are songs in the bori repertoire. Each of the songs for the different spirits or gods in the bori pantheon (each spirit has a different song) should be memorized and performed in such a way that the instrument "talks."[3] A possession medium must be able to recognize the music in order for a trance to take place. Also, the goge performer must acquire information concerning the genealogical facts of his future patrons. The musician

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must find out as much information as possible and be able to use it to his own advantage--that is, to praise or ridicule patrons. Students need to memorize and learn improvisational and variation techniques in playing the fiddle, which can be integrated into new and old compositions. Patrons admire a highly improvisational and virtuoso style of playing (see Ames 1973b:151).

The length of time that it takes from initial instruction to the formation of ones own goge ensemble is not known. Time probably varies from performer to performer. Sometimes musicians who have played the instrument for more than thirty years may never acquire the skills that performers who have studied for only six to eight years have attained. The following chart indicates the length of time that the interviewed performers have played goge:

Name of Performer	Length of Time Performer Has Performed Goge
Haruna	8 years
Landi	20 years
Leo	32 years
Mohammadan	30-35 years
Nabarau	30 years
Samunaka	28 years

Once the performer has obtained sufficient training, he is then ready to form his own goge ensemble. All of the above performers have formed their own goge groups.

The goge musician is only one of maybe two to six-

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teen performers in a goge ensemble. The goge player is the administrative and musical leader of the group. In the goge tradition the responsorial technique or call-and-response form is constantly used--that is, the goge leads or performs a melody and the vocal chorus repeats the same melodic phrase. In such situations the choral and goge performers must coordinate their musical utterances, maybe through non-musical gestures or by a clue or hint in the melody. Vocalists must know when the goge performer wants to play an improvisatory interlude, when he wants to conclude the songs, and so forth. Rehearsals and practicing are necessary for the group to perform well and gain prosperous patrons.

Learning or training is a continuous process for a musician. Merriam discusses this aspect of the music profession:

> ...learning does not cease once a particular instrument, song, or style has been mastered initially. We have previously had occasion to call attention to the fact that learning must be a continuing process since the response of the listener to music sound determines, ultimately, the form which that sound must take. If the product is rejected, the musican must 're-learn' his music in order to satisfy his audience, and thus it is through the continuing learning process that a link is formed between the product on the one hand and the concepts and behaviors of the musician on the other. Acceptance or rejection of the product is, of course, phrased in cultural terms, but the canons of correctness and taste in any society can and do change both internally and externally; the musician must be constantly alert to the rest of society if he is to retain its respect. Music performance, as well, requires constant practice if techniques are to be kept at

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maximum flexibility and skill (1964:158-159).

The goge performer must always be alert if he hopes to succeed in the profession for several reasons: (1) goge performers are not attached to a particular occupational group; they, therefore, have to constantly seek new and old patrons, and (2) the profession is relatively profitable and competitive so musicians have to maintain old and create new skills and ideas to preserve some amount of continuity in the tradition.

Hausa goge musicians are not formed into an organized family bureaucratic structure as the Dagomba--that is, one based on kinship. In Dagomba culture each gondze believes that he is the father, son, brother, uncle, or nephew to another gondze player; no matter the location in Dagbon. Among the Hausa a person may be called "baba," a term used to symbolize father or leader, because of age and long experience in the profession; but this is the extent that kinship ties exist.[4]

Some informants inferred that some sort of goge association had been formed among fiddle players. Mohammadan explains the nature of the goge organization in an interview:

Question: Is there a goge clan or family in Kano State?

Answer: Yes.

Question: How do you become a member?

Answer: The society does not exist in that way; they just come together and select a

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chief and that's all.

Question: What are the duties of the goge chief?

Answer: The chief can nominate a goge man to go and play at a certain ceremony. But the chief still plays goge; he plays at ceremonies, too. If they [the community or patrons] call the chief for an occasion and he can't go, he [the chief] has the right to call on any goge man to go there.

Question: Are you the chief of the goge players?

Answer: I am not, but the man who is the goge chief here is Mamman Dobi and he's dead now. But they [goge musicians] have not elected another chief.

Question: Are there any sub-chiefs in other towns outside of Kano City--that is, in small villages surrounding Kano? Or do the goge musicians have another chief altogether different from the organization in Kano?

Answer: Those ones [goge players] in the villages do not have a chief because most of them do not stay where they are; they [goge performers] move all about--they don't really stay in the villages.

Question: Do the Hausa people have a king in Kano? And does this king have any relationship with the king of goge? Do they have any contacts?

Answer: The king of goge may go and pay homage to the Emir [king of the Hausa people in Kano] and that's all.

Question: What does the homage paying entail?

Answer: The Emir does not really call goge musicians to play. There are special gatherings when they [goge musicians] have to play a special ceremony in the palace. They [palace officials] might tell all sorts of musicians to come and play, and at this point they will play--but not really calling them special (1974:n.p.).

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Other informants stated that the goge musicians in Kano are not organized into an association of any sort; see the following responses by other interviewed goge performers in regard to the question of organization:

Landi: No clan or organization exists but goge musicians may meet for temporary discussion (1974:n.p.).

Leo: No. But I have made efforts to form a club for goge; other goge people have not been cooperative (1974:n.p.).

Samunaka: No. (1974:n.p.).

Nabarau: No. (1974:n.p.).

Haruna: There is no goge clan or organization in Kano. A goge chief exists, but this is a title of respect. The title is usually given based on age and experience but no established code is made as to this. Sometimes money and the social magnanimity of the fellow would assert him to be selected irrespective of age (1974:n.p.).

Another sort of unanimity exists among goge musicians, one that appears to be based on religious elements. Before performing several goge fiddlers usually make a statement in honor of God (Allah), if not God, they perform a song in praise of Sarkin Makada (chief of musicians). For example,

(1) Ibrahim mai Goge kofar Nassaraw'Yan bita Kano. Zanyi kidan Sarkin Makada.

Ibrahim Goge player of Kofar Nassarawa 'Yan bita Kano. I will play "chief of player" (Mohammadan 1974:n.p.).

(2) Ni Alhaji Mamman Nabarau zanyi kidan Sarkin Makada. Alhamadu lillahi.

I, Alhaji Mamman Nabarau, will play the music of "chief of musicians." Thanks are due to God alone (Nabarau 1974:n.p.).

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(3) Bismillahi Rahmani Rahini.

In the name of God the Beneficient, the Merciful.

Nine Haruna Yaron Goge.

It's me, Haruna, the servant of Goge.

Zan fara goge ni de mutane na da jama'a la.

I will start playing goge with my band.

The title, Sarkin Makada, is used in several ways among Hausa musicians. In the spirit possession cult, bori, Sarkin Makada refers to one of the head spirits of the bori pantheon. See the statement by Ames and King:

> The initiates, mostly women, are possessed while dancing by various spirits or gods of the bori pantheon, which is headed by the spirit called Sarkin Maka'da ("The Chief of the Drummers") in contradistinction to the status hierarchy of real life (Ames and King 1971:117).

In addition each musical group that has a leader refers to that head as Sarkin Makada; the term, therefore, might refer to the chief of the maroka, gangar, algaita, or kalangu performers (see discussion in Ames and King 1971: 101-102). Also, the Emir's head court musician may be referred to as Sarkin Makada, since he is the leader of all royal musicians in the Emir's court.

The context of the musical performance determines whether the musician is praising a bori spirit or the head of any of the other musical occupational crafts. It appears that Mohammadan and Nabarua, when they used Sarkin Makada, were referring to the bori spirit, for all of the songs performed during the course of the interview were bori songs.

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Many Hausa musicians possess titles, giving the impression that they are officialdom or leaders within a goge political structure. Ames and King explain how a musician might obtain office and title.

> Though titles are much more common among court musicians of officialdom than among musicians of the general public, not all musicians (particularly assistant) have titles. These are usually named by the addition of the prefixes mai (sing.) and masu (pl.) to the name of their instruments, e.g., mai banga, or masu banga. Some non-court musicians have been turbanned by officialdom and hold titles, e.g., Sarkin Maka'da, and they are usually found among drummers of farmers (masu gangar noma) and drummers of butchers (masu kalangu). In addition, some heads among court musicians have 'acting' titles, i.e., they have not yet been turbanned, usually because they have not accumulated enough wealth to do so. Among other kinds of musicians, one occasionally encounters a musician who has a self-appointed office and title, though the public is aware that they have not been properly installed in office (Ames and King 1971:98).

It is a common practice for goge musicians to attach themselves to patrons of importance, patrons who will become prosperous individuals. Therefore, as the patron rises in social importance, adding titles to their names, the goge musicians will similarly add a title to his name to accommodate that of his patron.

In spite of conflicting views among the performers it appears that some sort of political framework is used among goge musicians in Kano City, though their structure does not appear to be a stable and an integral feature of the goge tradition as is the case among the Dagomba. The fact that all goge musicians are not members and aware of the association demonstrates the lack of importance it

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plays in Hausa music culture.

Dagomba

The entire tradition or institution of musicianship among the Dagomba differs markedly from that of the Hausa. Dagomba fiddlers, rather than having a low status in the society, are some of the most important people in the culture mainly because of their close attachment to the king of Dagbon. As a result of a different status the recruitment, inheritance, training and organization of the Dagomba musician also differ drastically from the Hausa one string fiddler.

The one string fiddle tradition in Dagbon is based on a family monopoly. No individuals are allowed to play the instrument unless they are members of the gondze family. Oppong explains the recruitment and inheritance system among Dagomba fiddlers:

> Fiddlers consider themselves to be kinsmen and it is said to be only those who have fiddlers among their forebears, either traced through their mother or father, who may learn to play. There is an apparent tendency for all of a fiddler's sons to learn to play, though it is not obligatory and some learn who do not later practise the art. Daughters may be taught to play rattle accompaniments though this skill lapses when they marry. The loss of daughters' musical skills however should be replaced in the next generation, for one of a daughter's sons should learn the art, the son who in a sense is considered to have inherited it. If such a son does not begin to learn he may be troubled by bad dreams. If however, a boy does not want to play the fiddle he may simply go to his mother's brother or another teacher, learn to play the rattle and then run away. After that all his mother's children will be free from any form of retribution. (1973:58).5

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This tradition is maintained because no instruments are made by non-family members, and instruments are not sold in the market; thus fiddles are not easily accessible to non-gondze members. No such controls exist in Hausa culture, for anyone can easily purchase a fiddler from the market, have one made by an instrument maker, or construct one himself. To obtain formal training from an established musician is not difficult as long as the individual is able to pay for services rendered.

Like the Hausa one string fiddle tradition, religion is not a determining factor in the profession--that is, a gondze does not have to be a Muslim. Yet, most Dagomba fiddlers are at least nominal Muslims affiliates. Salisu Mahama stated that "the Muslim religion or Mohammadism is not at all linked with gondze playing. It should not be concluded that a gondze player or rattler is a Muslim by sect. Even though most Dagombas who learnt how to play the gondze are indeed Muslims, this should not hold that any other tribe who learnt to play the gondze or rattle should come from the Muslim religion" (1972:n.p.).

In Dagomba culture no women enter the gondze profession, which is obviously different from the Hausa who allow women to play the kukuma, a smaller size one string fiddle. All of the interviewed musicians stated that women do not perform the fiddle in Dagbon either because such practices do not exist in the gondze tradition; women are

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not interested; or they were never encouraged to do so.

Below are some of the actual responses to this question:

Salifu, the Yamba Na (chief of all gondze musicians in Dagbon) stated the following:

Question: Are females allowed to learn to play the gondze?

Answer: It has been our experiment to let them learn or to encourage them to learn how to play the instrument. But it's surprising that anyone who is given the go ahead fails.

Question: Is there a specific rule or custom which prohibits them from playing the fiddle or is it the choice of the individual?

Answer: It is only the playing that has defeated them, but they have done well with the songs and even some take part in leading songs while the rest answer as the performance goes on.

Question: Do they play any type of instrument when they sing songs?

Answer: They rattle and sing (1973:n.p.).

Abu Gondze, one of the urban Dagomba fiddlers who shows evidence of not always following tradition, gave the following response:

Question: Have your females ever attempted to learn the gondze?

Answer: None of them has learned to play the gondze.

Question: Why haven't they learned to play the gondze? Is this a direct order from you or is this a choice of their own?

Answer: It looks as if, more or less, it all generated from our great grandfathers who did not encourage them to play the instrument. If they had encouraged and given them the go ahead, they would have taken to the playing of the instrument (1973:n.p.).

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Alhassan Gondze, the eldest fiddler interviewed for this study (he was eighty years old at that time), stated that:

> They [my daughters] are even married and since they are married they don't even rattle. If they were in my compound, it is compulsory for them to rattle. But with the playing of the instrument...it has not been the occasion from the very start (1973:n.p.).

Such an investigation would be biased if a female did not have a chance to comment on this aspect of the fiddle tradition. One of Salifu's daughters stated that:

> It is with some physical fitness that one can play the gondze instrument. So the men, since they are well built for that, they are good at playing that (Salifu 1973:n.p.).

Because the Dagomba are traditionalists and only nominal Muslims, they by custom, follow the tradition of their forefathers rather than the rules or laws of Islam. Thus, probably the primary reason females have not yet learned to perform the fiddle is because of traditional practices. It is doubtful that Islamic laws are the determining factor in their opinion of women and music. If religion were the ultimate reason, then the string instrument would not be ranked as high in Dagbon society. The statement by the female that much energy is needed to play the instrument appears to be merely a justification that Dagomba females and males have given to each other. To say that rattling is physically easier than fiddling is not entirely accurate. I learned to play the fiddle without any physical difficulty. Most Dagomba fiddlers when informed that I, a female, played the fiddle accepted this fact, mainly

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because I am an outsider and not a member of the Dagomba society.

Most gondze players pursue an additional profession to subsidize their income, for gifts from fiddle patrons are not sufficient to care for large families. In small villages the gondze is usually a farmer, less often a trader. Approximately forty-three percent of the interviewed performers stated that farming was their primary means of subsistence, while the remaining fifty-seven said that gondze playing was the most important means of subsistence with farming as secondary. In urban areas usually the gondze depends entirely on the income he receives from functions, such as naming, marriage, and funeral ceremonies, and other activities. Such occasions occur more often within commercial areas; the gondze player, therefore, is occupied with enough work to support him and his family. Nevertheless, Abu Gondze, the performer from Nyohini, a suburb of Tamale, gave farming as a subsidiary means of obtaining money.

Because the farmer and housewife traditionally are regarded as recruitment roles, every male in Dagbon becomes or should become a farmer. This is probably the reason most musicians indicated farming as a primary or secondary means of subsistence; see the following discussion by Oppong:

> Regarding the roles of farmer and housewife, in a society which subsistence farming is the general rule and professionals are only part-time specialists,

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> almost every boy learns to farm, if he is physically fit. And in a society in which to be a single adult is to be a deviant, almost every woman becomes a housewife for much, if not all, of her life and is trained with this in view while she is still very young (1973:62).

The gondze profession, like becoming a farmer or housewife, is based on the recruitment (Oppong's definition) or ascribed (Merriam's definition) role. One enters the profession by force simply because one is born into the family. All of the interviewed Dagomba fiddlers inherited and learned the profession from a close kin, usually the father; Iddrisu and Lali were taught to perform the gondze by an elder brother. No one acquired skills in the art of fiddling from an outsider--that is, a nonkinsman. Because the profession is not only profitable, but also highly respected, several outsiders usually aspire to become gondze-members. In that case the outsider can marry a gondze player, since the marriage system is exogamous, and their offspring would become gondze. A woman who marries a gondze, however, will not automatically become a gondze player--she would not be allowed to even rattle. Likewise, a man who marries a gondze female would not be allowed to perform the fiddle because by birth he is not a gondze. Only the offspring of such a union has the right to take part in gondze activities.

All of the Dagomba musicians who were interviewed stated that their children had learned to perform some type of gondze instrument--women, the rattle, and men,

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either the fiddle or rattle. Everyone had taught his own children to perform except Mahama who had sent his children to close kin for training. According to most performers it really does not matter from whom the child obtains training as long as the individual is a fair and good teacher. Some parents feel that they are not good teachers because the children might become spoiled and not learn the tradition, whereas a brother or uncle would be stricter in the training. Some gondze performers are recognized as outstanding players among their kinsmen; thus family members would send their children to these individuals for training since an outstanding player would probably do a better job (Lali 1973:n.p.). Practically all of the performers felt that it was a duty on the part of their children to keep up the gondze tradition and would have been displeased if the child had not continued to participate in some aspect of the musican performance.

Only male performers are actually compelled to continue the profession (see above statement by Oppong, page 163 Females are relieved of their obligations once they are married--that is, they are not compelled to continue rattling after they are married. It is expected, however, that at least one of the female's children will enter the profession to replace her absence. Other siblings of the gondze female are not compelled to perform a gondze instrument; rather, they can enter the profession of their father. Male gondze members are not relieved of their duties once they are

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married and all of the male's children are expected to enter the profession--none is allowed to pursue the occupation of the mother's family.

This situation exists among practically all musicians in Dagbon. The lunsi (hour-glass drummers) family is based on an endogamous marriage system; their inheritance customs are even more rigid than those for the gondze. Because the music profession is extremely important to the continuity and stability of the society, the compulsive characteristics that surround the musician in Dagbon are not uncommon. Evidence of the fiddler's importance will be discussed below (see page 175); yet, mention should be made of the obvious differences that are apparent in the musician in Hausa and Dagomba cultures. The Hausa performer, who is sometimes culturally ostracized, enters the goge profession through achievement, while the Dagomba's ascribed profession is highly valued.

All of the Dagomba fiddlers interviewed for this study began their training at an early age and as a result have been in the profession much longer than the average Hausa fiddler; see the following:

Name of Performer	Age Performer Began to Play the Fiddle	Length of Time Performer Has Played Gondze
Abu	8 years old	37 years
Alhassan	6 years old	74 years
Iddrisu	6 years old	50 years

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Name of Performer	Age Performer Began to Play the Fiddle	Length of Time Performer Has Played Gondze
Lali	4 or 5 years old	37 years
Mahama	7 years old	30 years
Salifu	15 years old	52 years
Sulemana	5 years	40 years

Because of the compulsive and demanding nature of the gondze profession, children are required to begin training at a much earlier age than Hausa performers. From birth, the child and parents know what the child is expected to do to serve his community; to waste time for the child to choose a suitable occupation is not necessary. Since the Hausa profession is allocated through achievement, students begin training at a later age, for they need time to decide if fiddling is the profession they really want to pursue. Even those Hausa musicians who inherited the profession from their fathers (Landi and Leo) did not begin at such a young age as the Dagomba children. Possibly the Hausa parents wanted the children to be sure if they wanted to continue in their father's footsteps before commencement of training.

In any case the age at which training commenced for the above Hausa and Dagomba performers differ drastically. The oldest age that Dagomba children began to learn to play the instrument was 15, whereas the oldest Hausa student was 27. The youngest age for Dagomba training was

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4, while the youngest for the Hausa was 9 years. Taking all of these factors into consideration the average or median age for Dagomba child to begin training for the fiddle profession is 7; the average age for a Hausa person is 18. Looking at this evidence in terms of Western education, it appears that the Dagomba begins training for his adult duties in primary school, while the Hausa does not begin schooling for his adult specialization until college age.

Since Dagomba children begin training at an early age, the most common and first method of training is imitation. To see young four or five year old children accompany their elders at a performance occasion on a small one string fiddle or a rattle is a common occurrence in Dagbon. Some young males do not begin their training by learning to fiddle in public. They may accompany their elders in public by rattling, while they take formal training on the fiddle in private. Some males never learn to play the fiddle. This is not a reflection of the student's lack of ability to perform the fiddle. Rather, other factors may have influenced the child. For example, as a child the individual may have decided that he wanted to rattle rather than fiddle. Mention should also be made that in recent years those gondze males who have been allowed to enter western schools tend to rattle rather than perform the fiddle, for they do not have the time to acquire the technical skills to become a good fiddler in addition to attending a western school. In such cases

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the young men have not totally relinquished the gondze profession; they participate by pursuing a role which does not demand as much tedious and constant training. The parents and gondze elders are not totally dismayed when such situations occur, for as long as the child participates in some capacity in the tradition (it does not matter the type of instrument) they feel that all is not totally lost. Thus, on a performance occasion, although most males perform the gondze a small percentage rattle (approximately 70% on gondze and 30% on rattle). All of the females rattle (100%).

If a child, however, does not become a good fiddler or rattler, most fathers state that it is not the fault of the teacher or parents. Some children, says one performer, will not always obey their elders and become interested in other things. See the following interview excerpt by Lali:

> Question: Are your children compelled to learn how to play the gondze or rattle?
>
> Answer: It is our custom that anyone who is brought up in the family should at least try his hand on the instrument or the rattle. And if a female issue of mine can't rattle, it is probably that I have given her up for bringing-up to a female relative of mine who is probably at a place where gondze is not played or rattling done. Well, with that I can't be blamed much. Also if a male issue can't play on the gondze, it could happen that at an earlier age, the child has taken to school studies--that is, education and has no ample time to stay in the house and learn to play the gondze. Or he is attached to a Muslim somewhere to be taught Koranic studies and all its

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doctrines where the instrument is not available for him to learn how to play.

Question: So it is more or less left up to your children to decide if they want to play the instrument or not? Or is it your sole decision?

Answer: Your statement holds because not all children can be good children. Some are bad, others are good, but I always take it upon myself that anyone I bring up, whether male or female, should know how to play or rattle (1973:n.p.).

Oppong gives a detailed description of the training that is required of fiddlers in Dagbon:

> A child can begin to learn to play the fiddle when he is quite small, about five or six years old. The first step is simply to learn to move the bow up and down while sitting next to the father or other teacher, who performs the finger movements with his left hand. Words and music are always learnt simultaneously, so that if the player does not sing aloud while he plays he tends unconciously to mouth the words at the same time. As in the case of drummers, talents differ so that while one has a good memory for songs and praises another has a sweet voice and a third may be a skillful player. Some boys born into fiddlers' families are said to be able to play by instinct and this seems to be proved by the fact that one boy may be able to learn to play in a matter of months, while another takes years to become a mediocre performer. For example one boy, Abu, was sent to his mother's older brother for training at about twelve, because he was misbehaving at home and had refused to stay with his father. He learnt to play with considerable competence in a mere five months, his performance being better than that of many pupils after three years' training. A boy practices playing at any time when he is free and if his father or teacher is at hand and hears him playing badly he will call him and demonstrate the correct way. By the age of nine or ten a boy with aptitude may be quite a competent player and be called by neighbouring musicians to accompany them to play at celebrations in neighbouring villages, as well as going to play with his father or teacher (1973:57-58).

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Much of the training for both Dagomba and Hausa fiddlers is similar: both students usually begin with a smaller size instrument. When they are able to master the smaller size, a bigger one is provided. Yet, differences in the traditions are also apparent. The type of material that the Dagomba fiddlers are required to learn compels them to begin early. Their duties in the society are very similar to that of the lunsi: "they play an important part in all rituals involving royals including those performed at installation, naming and funeral ceremonies. The unbroken historical narrative and royal genealogy which they remember and recite is the charter of the political structure of the kingdom, and the story of the origins of the people, and as such is vital to the continuity of the traditional system. The task of learning this massive oral body of historical material is an arduous and painstaking one, requiring long hours of patient application and practice on the part of the teacher as well as the pupil. It is a case 'in which specific roles played later by particular individuals makes it imperative to ensure they have acquired the necessary techniques and knowledge' (Nketia, 1964)" (Oppong 1973:54). Besides the royal genealogy, gondze must commit to memory information concerning other community members--praise names and other characteristics of the people. To learn all of this material in addition to recording their own gondze genealogy repertoire is not an easy task and

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requires constant training and practicing.

Hausa musicians are not required or compelled to learn any specific material to function in Hausa culture. If musicians, however, want to become prosperous fiddlers, they realize that the knowledge of some material is imperative, such as the bori songs. But a Hausa goge who does not want to specialize in bori may easily forego learning the bori material and concentrate on the genealogy of certain patrons. Another fiddler may not see the necessity in learning either bori or genealogical facts; rather, he prefers to become an itinerant player, creating songs about the nation, social commentary, and so forth as he feels the desire. Therefore, the Hausa are not compelled to learn anything that they personally do not feel is necessary.

Although both traditions demand that a musician must learn a certain amount of technical musical material, as will be discussed later, the Dagomba tradition does not demand as much improvisation or spontaneous creativity on the part of the fiddle player as the Hausa musician. In Dagomba culture the leader of the ensemble is the vocalist; he is the one who determines what should be performed and what should be said. The fiddlers only respond to what the lead vocalist states--that is, they repeat the same melodic line throughout the composition (see Section Three). Very little variation or improvisation is apparent in

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Dagomba fiddle playing when compared to the Hausa tradition.

Other apparent differences concerning the training method used by the Dagomba and Hausa should be mentioned. First of all, children in the Hausa goge tradition do not perform on a performance occasion as is found in the Dagomba performance. A well-established goge musician may have an apprentice to accompany him on tours to perform during the intermission, but this apprentice is at least fifteen or sixteen years old. Therefore, it is not a common practice among the Hausa to include children (age fourteen and younger) in performance occasions for training or any other reason; the performance is strictly a working situation for adults. Secondly, no females are trained to perform instruments in the goge ensemble. Women may be included in the dance group, which accompanies the ensemble, but they do not perform instruments (see discussion in Chapter Eight). Thirdly, all types of instruments that are included in the gondze ensemble are taught to and by gondze family members--both the fiddle and rattle. In Hausa culture this may or may not be the case; each instrumental type is regarded as a separate entity (fiddle, calabash drum, hourglass drum, and so forth) and one acquires training from whomever is qualified in that particular craft. In that case, the training is not a situation in which all members of the ensemble learn the same techniques at the same time, and anyone can switch roles during

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a performance occasion--that is, a Dagomba fiddler can play the rattle in the rattler's absence since all of this material was made available to all males during the practice and training sessions. Rather, among the Hausa musicians, each learns his specific instrumental functions from an established musician of that profession. Once each individual has become professional or good enough to form or join a goge ensemble, then this is when all members of the ensemble come together for rehearsals. The Dagomba tradition includes all the necessary ingredients from the beginning. Fourthly, the training that is required of the leader of the two traditions differs. For the Dagomba leader, the textual material is most important; he must be able to remember all of the textual facts, have a pleasing voice, and know how to arrange the text so that it would attract the attention of the audience. Knowing how to make the instrument talk is of utmost importance for the Hausa goge, because the fiddler actually leads the performance and the vocal chorus responds to what the fiddler has performed on the instrument. Also, to be able to vary and improvise on the fiddle attracts more attention from the Hausa audience (see more discussion below on page 219).

Even though gondze performers do not have to worry about competition to such a degree as Hausa musicians, the Dagomba realize that they must continue to train and

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practice the fiddle after their initial instruction. Once they have become professional musicians their training does not cease. Before performance occasions gondze performers are known to gather and rehearse certain songs that they may possibly use during the performance. It appears, therefore, that some routine rehearsal and practice sessions are common. The rehearsal may possibly coincide with the training period for the children at the end of the day, but the session is not a regimented type of atmosphere; rather, performers just come together whenever they believe it is necessary. Below are some responses that were given in regard to rehearsals and practicing by Dagomba musicians:

(1) Question: Does your gondze group practice before any performances? In other words, do you come together at your home and sometimes rehearse before you go to play a performance? If so, how often do you usually do this?

Answer: Well, besides the house where we sit to play on our usual days, or just when we feel like doing so, the rest of the function comes from an automatic reaction. For instance, if I'm featuring at the chief's palace Monday or Friday, or any festival or even during an occasion involving outdooring (naming, wedding, or funeral ceremony), the number of people around with me just come out and then we start playing and moving around.

Question: But is there a set practice session or rehearsal session where the family comes together and they practice old songs and maybe learn new songs?

Answer: For instance, we are gifted in one sense. When there is an occasion like a festival or wedding, a funeral, or even just a naming ceremony, during our function a person might just come before us and say:

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"This is my praise name," or "This is my title," or "This is my proverb--play it in praise of me." Well, we might strike just some strings out of it and mostly people will "boo" us with laughter or just create some laughter out of it. Well, it's left unto us to build up on this when we come back home. On occasions like that, when we come back, we find suitable time and rehearse just to build up on the new name the fellow has given to us so that we might become perfect with it (Lali 1973; n.p.).

(2) Question: I'd like to find out if there are any practice or rehearsal sessions within the gondze family where members practice before they go to play before the Ya Na, Is there any time when you get within your home or compound and you practice certain songs before going to play before the public?

Answer: Well, it is actually in practice that we do come around and practice, and even teach our children how to play the praise names of the various chiefs and various people in town (Sulemana 1973:n.p.).

Unlike the Hausa fiddle organization a hierarchical bureaucracy exists within the one string fiddle tradition in Dagbon. In Yendi, the traditional capital, the Ya Na (king) chooses and installs one person to function as chief or leader of the gondze for the entire Dagomba state. This title is called Yamba Na (chief of the gondze's). The Ya Na does not enskin a person with the Yamba Na title entirely because of hereditary factors; his decision is primarily based on age and experience of the gondze. Usually the eldest person within the gondze family in Yendi is given the title. Some of the details of this nomination process were discussed by Salifu (who held the title

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of Yamba Na at the time of the interview) and Sulemana; see the following:

(1) Question: Was your father at one time the Yamba Na as you are the Yamba Na now?

Answer: My father has once occupied the title as Yamba Na as I'm holding today.

Question: Is the title always inherited from father to son or is there another type of inheritance system used?

Answer: We actually ascend to the throne of Yamba Na with almost the same seniority, but... it is the function of the Ya Na to install a Yamba Na. When the time comes for one to be elected--no matter whether you are the son or you are the present son of the late Yamba now or not--you might be eligible for elections or nomination by the Ya Na provided (1) your father has held the title or (2) your age group has weighed you as eligible for the vacant post (Salifu 1973:n.p.).

(2) Question: How was the present Yamba Na chosen for this title?

Answer: After the death of the late Yamba Na Abudullai, we all gathered and went to the chief's palace as custom demands, and there the nomination was done that he was to succeed the late Yamba Na Abudullai.

Question: How long does this process take? For instance, when did the late Yamba Na die and how long did it take for you to choose a new Yamba Na?

Answer: It was less than a year,

Question: During this span of time when there wasn't a Yamba Na, who acted as Yamba Na--as leader of the gondze's during that time?

Answer: Yamba Na Abudullai's eldest son, known as Mousa, was installed as a regent acting for the late father until a new one was chosen.

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Question: Is this person still within the gondze family here in Yendi now? And what is his position in relationship to the present Yamba Na?

Answer: The regent of the late Yamba Na, Abudullai, who is Mousa, is not present in Yendi here; he is at Gushiegu--a town about thirty-eight miles north of Yendi. And he is related to the present Yamba Na in the sense that his father's junior brother is the present Yamba Na (Sulemana 1973:n.p.).

In surrounding villages and towns the same type of bureaucracy exists; the chief or Na of that village chooses the leader for the gondze family according to the same procedures that are used by the Ya Na in Yendi. Gondze families and gondze members, therefore, are found all over the Dagomba kingdom--the highest title of Yamba Na is always held by the person in Yendi.

Besides the honor and prestige that surround the head gondze position, monetary factors also make such a position somewhat attractive. The Yamba Na collects customary dues "saluja" during funerals of chiefs in Dagbon, including the Ya Na. Also, when installations and enskinments take place, he harvests a lot of wealth (Sulley 1971:53).

Only one official title has been designated for the one string fiddle tradition in Dagbon, and that is the title given to the Yamba Na. Fiddlers in other areas, even though they are attached to a king in the village, do not have a title as such. They may be referred to only as Abu Gondze, Alhassan Gondze, Idrissu Gondze, and so forth. The

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"gondze" which is attached to their names might be considered a title; actually it is a label to signify that the individual belongs to the gondze occupational group.

For a fiddler to achieve rank and status depends a great deal upon his chief patrons--the royal family. A fiddler who attaches himself to a prince achieves rank as the prince is assigned to more responsible duties in the kingdom. When a prince moves from a small village to rule a larger area, he is usually accompanied by the same fiddler. By the same token when a royal leader is demoted or relieved of more responsible duties to take on lesser assignments, the fiddler also, in most cases, looses his rank and status. Evidence of such a situation was apparent in Yendi during the culmination of Yendi Skin Crises in May 1974. When Na Mohamadu Abudulai IV lost all claims to the skins of Dagbon, he left Yendi to reside in Accra, the capital of Ghana. Yamba Na Salifu and Sulemana accompanied the king to Accra in spite of the fact that the newly enskinned Ya Na, Yakubi Andani, and other gondze members in Dagbon did not see any reason for their departure. Thus, the new king had to appoint a new gondze leader; a decision had not been made by my departure from Ghana in July 1974 (see more discussion below on pages 222-223).

In each Dagomba village the gondze performers comprise a family unit; the family may be composed of two to three households, living adjacent to each other in a

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section of town that is near the Ya Na's or chief's palace (see Chapter Four, page 95). Usually, the eldest male is the head or leader of the extended family unit. His sons, brothers, and their wives may live within his compound or build a home nearby. All sons and brothers, therefore, usually remain in the family unit unless one decides to move to another village. Oppong seems to think that mobility among Dagomba fiddlers is a common occurrence:

> He [the gondze musician] may travel to be trained by a relative or friend of his father and during this training period he will travel frequently in the district where he is staying to play at numerous social functions. After leaving his original teacher he may follow an experienced player on his travels or go alone, combining itinerant trade with his music, attaching himself to a royal patron as he finds expedient. His fictitious or real kinship relationship with every other fellow player in the kingdom and beyond and his ready supply of musical entertainment to suit any occasion make him welcome wherever he goes. This high degree of mobility leads to a wide dispersal of kin and may be associated with the apparently high divorce rate and small size of compounds found amongst a few fiddlers' households (1973:57).

Whenever the eldest gondze male in an extended family unit dies, the next oldest male is automatically chosen to be the leader. This position usually correlates with the action that is taken by the king of a village in the choosing of a head gondze for the royal court.

Such a family or bureaucratic structure does not exist in Kano as was indicated in the above. Also, Hausa fiddlers do not reside in one particular area of Kano City that

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might be referred to as a goge ward, If musicians do live adjacent to each other, it is probably coincidental and not intentional.

Professionalism and Patronage

The above discussion suggests that goge or gondze playing is a profession. Before continuing the examination of the musican in Hausa and Dagomba societies a definition should be given for the term "profession." Both Merriam and Ames have presented some excellent views on this subject. Merriam seems to think that professionalism "is usually defined in terms of whether the musician is paid for and supported economically by his skill" (1964: 124). Merriam goes on to state that if the criterion is economic, "there must be a number of degrees of professionalism; in fact, professionalism seems to run along a contin uum from payment in occasional gifts at one end to complete economic support through music at the other. It is difficult to know at what point professionalism begins and ends...If...professionalism means total devotion to the profession of music and the receipt of total economic income from music, there would be few individuals in any society who could truly be called 'professional'" (Merriam 1964:125).

It can be concluded, then, that various degrees of professionalism are used by different societies. A criterion that is of utmost importance to the music specialist

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or professional is the acknowledgement or acceptance of the musician by the society. "Although the individual may regard himself as a professional, he is not truly so unless other members of the society acknowledge his claim and accord him the role and status he seeks for himself" (Merriam 1964:125). The means by which the musician is acknowledged for his services varies from occasional gifts to actual payment; this topic will be discussed in more detail below under "patronage."

Ames defines the term profession by taking into consideration the use of the word in Western society. "In the West these terms [profession and professional] have been used for occupations outside commerce,mechanics, and agriculture--usually in medicine, law, education or one of the arts. The terms imply formal training, technical competence and full-time economic specialization..." (1973b:131).

Combining the above material suggested by Merriam and Ames, it appears that definite criteria must be considered before a musician is regarded as professional; these are:

a. economic support
b. devotion to the profession
c. formal training
d. technical competence
e. acknowledgement and acceptance by the society

If the above five criteria were used as a standard, can it be safely concluded that the Hausa and Dagomba one string fiddlers are professionals? Care must be taken in the use of the criteria, for as Merriam states, an individual

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rarely receives total economic support and only a few musicians can devote all their time to the profession of music. Keeping those limitations in mind, we can now examine professionalism within the Hausa and Dagomba one string fiddle traditions.

Hausa

According to Ames "the Hausa consider musicianship to be one of many traditional occupations or crafts (sana'a), like blacksmithing or weaving. A great majority of whom derive all or a major portion of their income from their pursuit. One hundred and twenty-four or 81 percent of a sample of 153 musicians derived most or all of their income from music and, not surprisingly, urban musicians were more often full-time specialists than were rural musicians" (1973a:256). This evidence accounts for the first two criteria of a professional musican--economic support and devotion to the profession. Since most of the Hausa goge musicians are urban dwellers, they probably receive a greater portion of their income from fiddling. Even though many of them, when asked about their occupation, stated that either farming or trading (see page 151) were additional means of subsistence, most often these trades were considered a secondary occupational craft--not primary. Goge musicians, therefore, devote most of their time and receive a greater portion of their income from the performing of music.

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From the above discussion concerning training, it is apparent that formal training, practicing, and technical competence are needed to become an established and prosperous fiddler. Any number of musicians can attempt to pursue the trade but only a few who seriously study all of the many aspects of fiddling attain any reknown. Hence, only the last criterion leaves some doubt as to the professional status of the Hausa goge musician.

Although the Hausa fiddler does not perform for an exclusive occupational craft, several performance occasions in Hausa society are noted for goge playing. Before discussion the specific occasions for goge music, mention should be made of the major divisions for professional musicians. "The major categories for 'musicians' (maroka) of the Hausa are masu kida ('drummers' of string instruments as well as percussion [membranophones and idiophones]), masu busa ('blowers'), mawaka ('singers'), marokan baki ('acclamators'), and 'yan magana' ('talkers'--i.e., users of fast metric speech)" (Ames 1973a:257).

Ames subdivides the occasions and patrons for Hausa professional musicians into five categories:

1. The Musicians of Occupational Classes. Musical groups tied by tradition to one of the following who act as their patrons--butchers, blacksmiths, hunters, and farmers. Musicians themselves have a special class of low-ranking musicians (karen maroka) tied to them.

2. Musicians in Political Life. There are (a) ordinary court musicians of the Emir and high officials residing in the capital city of Zaria, and District heads; (b) famous singers and their bands

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(often court musicians), who travel through the emirates of northern Nigeria; and (c) musicians who primarily play--or did, at least, until recently--for functions of modern political parties.

3. Musicians of Recreational Music. In this group may be found many kinds of free-lance musicians who play for the general public, including famous singers (see above) and their bands who perform primarily for the titled nobility, high office-holders, and wealthy merchants. Others concentrate on drumming for secular activities, such as dancing, boxing, wrestling and play-associations of the young. Still others, chiefly single-stringed fiddle players or lutanists, often play in harlots' houses, hotels, and in gambling places.

4. Musician-Entertainers. This group is made up of itinerant entertainers and comedians of various sorts, who perform with musical accompaniment in market places and at other large public gatherings.

5. Musicians for the Bori Spirit-Possession Cult. As has already been indicated, these are the only professional Hausa musicians who regularly play music as an integral part of a religious ceremony. Some of the Bori musicians--lutanists (masu garaya) and fiddlers (masu goge)--also perform at naming and marriage ceremonies, and the latter performed often for modern political party functions until they were outlawed in January 1965 (sic) (1973a:257-258).

In the discussion in Chapter Five (pages 132-136) mention was made about the occasions for goge music. However, no detailed analysis was made of the patrons for each of these occasions. Most professional goge performers obtain prominence for performances in politics, recreation and bori[6]--that is, categories 2, 3, and 5 in the above. Goge musicians do not commonly perform for any particular occupational class nor do they entertain in the capacity as described in the above.

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Also, goge fiddlers rarely, if ever, perform in the capacity of royal court musicians for the Emir and other royal officials. Ames and King, however, describe an annual occasion, hawan salla, in which Zaria goge musicians perform in the presence of high officialdom. Hawan salla, a royal cavalcade from the palace of the Emir to the praying grounds outside the city walls or to the central mosque and back again, is made of high-ranking officialdom and their clients (Ames and King 1971:120). Musical accompaniment for hawan salla usually includes "marok'an sarakuna--many of whom are on horseback--plus some other classes of musicians: masu komo, maka'dan 'yan tauri, masu goge, mawak'an Caji, and zabiyoyi" (Ames and King 1973:120). Since hawan salla usually occurs at the annual Muslim feasts of K'aramar Salla ('Id el Fitr) and Babbar Salla ('Id el Kabir)[7], one wonders why goge or komo musicians are included in the parade, for string instruments have been historically scorned by Muslim affiliates. Probably the chordophone players and other low-ranking musicians are included not because of their religious significance to the occasion, rather because of their attachment to a patron who may have an important function at the ceremony.[8] This is the only instance in which documentation is available for the usage of goge on an occasion involving the Islamic religion and high officialdom.

Goge musicians were noted for their performance at

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the activities of political parties--that is prior to the 1966 coup. The most celebrated goge musicians for these occasions were: Audu Yaron Goge, at first a supporter of N.E.P.U. (The Northern Elements Progressive Union) before finally changing his support to the N.P.C. (Northern Peoples Congress), and Garba Liyo (also known as Garba Leo), like Audu Yaron Goge a performer on goge but always a staunch supporter of N.P.C....(Ames and King 1971:144). Fiddlers used to play for party dance teams which performed in the beer gardens of the hotels in the cities of Hausaland. The dance teams would do a popular dance called rawan kashewa or rawan banjo. The goge players was the head of the band and had the title of "chief of the drummers" plus the name of the political party e.g.,Sarkin Ki' dan NPC ("Chief of the Drummers of the NPC") (Ames 1973b: 138).

About half or more of the Hausa goge musicians in Kano perform recreational music. Goge and kukuma fiddlers and their calabash drummers often play in the houses of prostitutes and in beer drinking places. They are also found at wasan misisi [a drama or play for youth] or kalankuwa [harvest-time festival], at the naming and wedding feasts of the wealthy and at any large public gathering (Ames 1973b:140).

Finally, goge and garaya musicians obtain a great deal of support from bori initiates. The extreme impor-

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tance of fiddle music to bori ceremonies should not be ignored. In other words bori constitutes the occupational group or patron that appears to be lacking in the goge profession. Although questions arise as to the indigenous, original, or most effective instrumental type for bori (most people usually think that the garaya is best suited and more appropriate for the ceremony), the goge also has its place at possession performances and is preferred by some initiates. Some goge performers are actually bori initiates--e.g., the lead vocalist and praise singer indicates in the text of Barahaza that Haruna is a medium for the Barahaza spirit (see lines 28 and 29 of the Barahaza text in Appendix E). The inclusion of musical instruments and music at bori differs drastically from Hausa Islamic practices. "Musical instruments are not played in the mosque, and music is excluded from everyday Islamic ritual with the exception of unaccompanied chanting of religious poems and Muslim hymns" (Ames 1973b:140). At bori ceremonies the situation is completely different:

> Bori adherents believe in a host of spirits (iskoki) which possess their initiates while dancing to bori 'drumming' and singing. Bori musicians are the only ones who regularly play music as an integral and necessary part of Hausa religious ceremony. Bori is concerned with curing sundry physical, social, and psychological ailments. It also functions simply to provide exciting entertainment; namely the 'drumming,' singing and dancing which is basic to a bori performance. The most important spirit is called the 'chief of the drummers' (Sarkin Maka'da) and musicians consult this spirit when they have professional difficulties. It is interesting to note that the musician's rank in the bori spirit

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world is the antithesis of the real world (Ames 1973b:141).

One of the ultimate criteria a professional musician must meet is the acceptance and acknowledgement of his profession by society--that is, people in the culture must accept and recognize that he or she is professional. Merriam discusses the way in which a society may show recognition to a professional as opposed to a non-professional:

> Such acknowledgement may be forthcoming in a number of ways. Most visible, of course, is payment--either in the form of the abstraction of wealth represented by money tokens or in the form of basic economic goods--which, if sufficient to support the musician totally, acknowledges complete professionalism. 'Payment' may also be in the form of gifts given to the performer, in which case total economic support may not be forthcoming; and in some societies, the musician's contribution may be acknowledged only by recognition of ability unaccompanied by any form of emolument. Complete acceptance, however, depends upon public recognition of the musician as a musician, whether or not this is accompanied by any sort of payment, and the granting by society of the privilege of behaving as a musician is expected to behave (1964:125).

The above discussion concerning the acknowledgement and acceptance of a musician in a society leads to the question of patronage. At what point is overt acknowledgement or acceptance understood to be "patronage"? It appears that only a thin line of distinction exists between "acknowledgement" and "patronage." For example, several members of Western society may accept the fact that Andre Watts, Aretha Franklin, or Miles Davis are each professional musicians in their own right--the first a concert pianist,

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the second a "soul" female vocalist, and the latter a jazz trumpeter. Yet, all members in Western society may not be patrons of the three professionals. A person who does not attend a concert, buy records, rarely verbalize support or verbal influence for a given performer would not actually be considered a patron. Patron means "one who uses his wealth or influence to help an individual, an institution, or a cause" (Webster 1974:841).

If the above definition is used as the basis for the discussion of patron and patronage, not all individuals in Hausa society are patrons of goge music even though practically all Hausa acknowledge and accept that the goge musician is a professional. Patronage is an absolute necessity to the continuity of the goge tradition in Hausaland. Without patronage the goge musician would not have had any means of subsistence. The fiddler's status would be even lower without patronage, for goge music as mentioned above, is not performed for a specific and exclusive occupational group. Without patrons, who would have supported the idea of having goge players? It can be assumed, then, that patronage is and has been one of the necessary factors contributing to the continuity of the goge tradition. If no one had supported the fiddler, he would not have pursued the profession since recruitment is based on achievement. And with the commercial attitude of the Hausa musician, one rarely goes into the musical

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profession primarily for personal pleasure (except possibly for those who inherited the profession)--some type of payment must be received for such a low ranking job.

In all of the examples mentioned in the above--politics, recreation, and bori--goge musicians are accepted and acknowledged for their services by patrons through payment. Goge patrons may include all types of people--the youth who like to create and perform drama and dance teams, the bori initiate, political parties, nightclub goers, harlots, and prominent persons such as officialdom, politicians, and wealthy merchants. Although the persons who become patrons of the goge profession are diverse in age, social and political affiliations, they have one thing in common; all have some means of rewarding the fiddler for services or the goge probably would not perform for the patron.

Some patrons initiate contact with the artist, especially in cases when the artist is highly reknown, celebrated and recognized for his fiddle playing. Probably it is not uncommon for politicians and wealthy merchants to contact someone like Garba Leo or Audu Yaron Goge for services. Such occurrences happen in all societies. Because patrons are primarily concerned about their own personal interests, at public performances they may initiate music for themselves by sending money to the goge during the performance.

On the other hand a number of Hausa musicians ini-

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tiate the contact with patrons. If the goge musician sees a patron in the audience of a public occasion, the goge may play music in praise of that individual. Traditionally obligated to show his appreciation or satisfaction for such a gesture, the patron pays the musicians. Some fiddlers play songs for clients who are not present at performances. Usually the client hears about the goge's song and honors the musician by giving gifts of money. Ames states that "the Hausa musician may be characterized as a sort of 'hunter' who is always looking for 'game.' Shrewdly, he selects, stalks and literally studies his 'prey' by learning his genealogy, personal history, strengths and weaknesses. If rebuffed, this hunter 'fires' away at his 'prey's' vulnerable parts" (1973a:266). Because respect and social recognition are associated with an individual who has a song performed in his/her honor, the client is still willing to finance the income of the fiddler in spite of recriminations. Thus, the praise music not only enhances the patron's ego and prestige in the community but also provides economic gains for the goge musician.

As has been pointed out, neither the patron nor the society gives total economic support to a professional, although in some urban areas a substantial amount of a musician's total source of income may come from gifts or payments from his patrons. In many cases the type of payment a musician receives is not the type that would cover all of his family expenses even though the gift is

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highly valued. According to Ames "in gift-giving, a fine gown is valued more highly than other goods of an equivalent value--perhaps only the gift of a wife, a horse, or in former times, a slave would be appreciated more. Emirs and other persons of rank and wealth constantly give gifts of clothing..." (1973b:143). Because the production and wearing of clothing is a form of artistic expression among the Hausa, musicians are often satisfied with an expensive gown. Fashions constantly change especially among the youth; therefore, to give a fashion conscious musician who is constantly in the public's eye a gown is not uncommon. Another acceptable gift is money. Cash gift is probably used much more often by a patron at a public gathering such as beer bars, harlot's house, and so forth. Also, these patrons who demand only short-lived services[9] would probably give money as opposed to a gown or clothing; a musician who has a long and continuing relationship with a patron may receive both clothing, money, as well as other means of support such as verbal recognition and praise of the musician to wealthy friends.

Woe be unto a patron who does not pay or give according to his means. Because musicians demand a handsome reward for their services, "there is a lot of indirect as well as direct urging to give generously in Hausa song lyrics. The 'customer' is particularly vulnerable if he is wealthy because he is expected to

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validate his status in society by lavish giving..." (Ames 1973a:266). Ames further states that Hausa musicians make no secret of the fact that they are primarily interested in material gains. "Hausa musicians joke about their 'greediness' without shame; for example, when a musician with the title 'chief of the drummers' (Sarkin Makada) is addressed by the epithet, 'the great frightening one' (babban dodo), used for emirs and more important 'chiefs,' he replies jokingly, 'the great craving [one]!' (babban kwadai)" (1973a:266).

It appears as if the Hausa fiddlers have passed the professionalism test. From the above examination of the goge tradition most fiddlers (1) receive a major portion of their income from performing goge; (2) devote a large portion of their time to the profession, even though some take time to involve themselves in other types of employment (farming and trading); (3) take a rigorous and technical course in learning to perform goge either from a close kin or well-established musician; (4) receive and must demonstrate technical competence on the instrument before obtaining any type of recognition; and (5) are acknowledged and accepted in Hausa society as professional by both patrons and non-patrons. Whether the Dagomba fiddler should be regarded as a professional musician will be examined below.

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Dagomba

The Dagomba fiddler receives less economic support from performing the gondze when compared to the Hausa musician. Only a few of the gondze in Tamale (e.g. Abu Gondze who lives in Nyohini, a suburb of Tamale) receive enough support that would be considered comparable to that of the goge musician. As a result, this is the reason a number of gondze musicians, when asked about their occupation, sometimes stated that farming was their primary means of subsistence (see discussion in Chapter Six pages 167-168). Yet, this criteria must not be over-emphasized, because rarely does any musician receive all support from the music profession. In other words the fact that Dagomba musicians do not receive as much support as Hausa musicians does not mean that the Dagomba are non-professional, while the Hausa are professional; other points must be taken into consideration.

Although the Dagomba does not receive much economic gains for gondze playing, he devotes a great deal of his time to the profession. The manner in which the instrument became a part of Dagomba culture sheds some light on the significance of the instrument to the tradition and continuity of the Dagomba state. Goge playing is extremely important to the sustenance of not only the gondze people but the entire Dagomba kingdom. As will be shown later, the instrument has an extremely important function; thus, the musicians must devote a large portion of their time to

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performing.

From the discussion concerning training and technical competence among gondze performers, it has been established that to become a Dagomba fiddler does indeed require much schooling. In some ways the gondze profession demands more training or rather a different type of technical know-how from that of the Hausa. Whereas the Dagomba begin their training at age seven, for they must learn the genealogies of royalty as well as that of other members in the society, the Hausa do not begin training until approximately age eighteen and are not compelled to learn anything as demanding if they did not desire to do so themselves. Characteristics of a good performer in Dagomba society differ from that of the Hausa (see pages 174-177 and 227-230) so one cannot actually say one musician is more technically competent than the other. Only the culture is able to determine such values.

Because to perform gondze is a highly respected and valued profession, no question arises as to whether the society accepts and acknowledges fiddlers as professional. The social visibility or awareness of the gondze as a professional is even more apparent in Dagomba culture because of the gondze bureaucratic organization. This exclusive occupational group does not allow any and everyone to become members; more people in the society realize and recognize that those people are gondze. Even though

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there is no doubt that the gondze are accepted and acknowledged, let us examine this aspect of the tradition, the functional aspects of the profession, more carefully.

Similar to the Hausa, the performing of music in Dagbon is a craft and forms the basis of an occupational group, comparable to those of the butcher, barber, blacksmith, drummer, diviner, mallam, and so forth. To my knowledge no word exists in Dagbani which describes or signifies the musician. Each musical type or musician is given the name of the instrumental type, e.g., people who perform the fiddle are referred to "gondze," persons who perform the hour-glass drum are called "lunsi," and so forth.

No written documentation is available in regard to the types of professional musicians that are in existence in Dagbon. Salisu Mahama, in a personal interview, briefly discussed this aspect of musicianship. Mahama seems to think that professional musicians can be divided into three ethnic groups:

> Answer: First and foremost of all is the ethnic group known as ban-yegu. He was [they were] the first and foremost ethnic group in the whole of Dagbon. Secondly was the luntali--that is, the drummer. And thirdly, the gondze. Each of these three ethnic groups I've counted should be classified as follows:
>
> 1. Ban-yegu ethnic group...they began during the reign of Na Gbewaa.
> 2. The luntali--that is the drummers... they began during the reign of Na Luro.

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3. The gondze...they began during the reign of Na Andani.

...each of these three groups have various parts to play [in a social or ceremonial occasion].

Question: This first group that you mention, exactly what do they play?

Answer: Well, this first ethnic group, known as the ban-yegu; he neither uses drum nor sings. All that he does is recitation; he recites. He recites past events of the Dagombas such as chieftaincy, and before commencing, he traces from the very first to the present on the skins. That day of recitation! Woe betides him if he gets wrong somewhere. It is even a belief that he can never go wrong or else he meets a misfortune. And during the period of recitation, or reciting, indeed, if the crowd should number even up to thousands, they've all got to keep quiet and listen to him alone.

Question: Are all of these three groups of people present at one time? Do the ban-yegu perform at the homage paying of the Ya Na on Monday's and Friday's? In other words are all three groups present at one time--the drummers, the gondze players, and the reciters?

Answer: The first ethnic group--that is the ban-yegu--has no fixed place to perform. Though we might say, besides the Ya Na, he can perform to any other group. But there is another occasion where he can perform; that is, during the death rites of a relative within the ban-yegu family. He has a chance to perform. And during this performance, it does not hold that only the ethnic groups should be present. Any other group could be present; even the layman who does not have any ability to perform on any instrument, could be present. But all of them have got to sit quietly and listen to only the performer--that is, the ban-yegu (1972:n.p.).

Since Mahama did not mention the wind-blowers, I am

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not sure if they are recognized and accepted as professional musicians; they do perform for the Ya Na on some occasions--festive occasions, homage paying, and possibly others. Also, no mention was made of the rattle and gong players, timpani, and other types of drummers. Perhaps, in all cases, these musicians are not considered professional because they do not form a separate body in the society. Most rattle and gong players are normally attached to and solely dependent upon other instrumentalists, e.g., the rattler depends on the fiddlers and do not have an independent function in the society. Perhaps other types of drums--timpani, gongon, frame drum, daligu (Kinney 1970: 258)--were not included in Mahama's statement because either they are foreign imports and do not have an integral function in the traditional system of Dagbon or they have fallen out of use in recent years. Most of these drum types could be discontinued and probably their absence would not have that much of a damaging effect on the continuity and stability of the Dagomba state. Then, Mahama, perhaps speaking on the spur of the moment, forgot to mention these other musicians and did not mean to exclude them from professional status in the society.

The manner in which Ames divides Hausa musical activity into five different categories can also be applied to the Dagomba music tradition--that is, music for occupational classes, political life, recreation, enter-

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tainment, and bori spirit-possession cult. In Dagbon, however, certain occasions are not as developed as in Hausaland. For example, very few musicians, if any, perform for these occasions that are described in 2b and 2c (see pages 188-9).[10] Only those musicians in Tamale might travel to various places in their community or in the North of Ghana to perform without accompanying a royal patron. Also, to my knowledge no traditional Dagomba musicians have been attached to modern political parties. Of course, musicians may have composed songs in praise of a modern head of state (Nkrumah was a favorite among the Dagomba), but no patron-client relationship or formal contract agreement was ever made between a political party and the musician for the purpose of propaganda. Finally, the spirit-possession cult is not a highly organized institution in Dagbon even though some residents consider themselves to be bori initiates. Mahama, when performing bori music for a personal recording session, stated that bori "music is not played on any occasion and there is no special tune for playing it. ... it is not played always because some classes of people among the Dagomba are affected by it" (see text of Barrhaza by Salisu Mahama in Appendix E).

Gondze musicians are most popular for performing in categories 1, 2, and 3--occupational classes, politics, and recreation. Some clarification must be made concerning the occupational class category. If royalty or people who are

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related to the Ya Na can be considered a distinct social class, then the gondze do in fact perform for an exclusive occupational group. On the other hand if royalty cannot be looked upon as a distinct group, then the gondze, like the goge musicians, are not attached to a specific occupational group to whom they owe all of their services. If the latter is the case, royalty in Dagbon can be viewed in the same manner as the bori affiliates in Hausaland. The goge normally play for the bori cult, but other musicians may be used. Likewise, in Dagbon other types of musicians perform for the king besides the gondze musicians. There is no question about the duties and responsibilities that are required of the gondze in regard to the king of Dagbon; fiddlers are court musicians (see category 2a on page 188). Because the king's ancestors are believed to have introduced gondze into Dagbon, the gondze player owes allegiance to his chief before any other personal responsibilities. Not only the playing but the entire life of the gondze is closely connected with chieftaincy. To use the instrument to heal and entertain royalty is still in practice in most Dagomba villages and towns.[11] Those gondze players in urban areas, however, do not adhere to traditional rules in regard to allegiance to chiefs; they are more interested in personal and private benefits.[12]

Before requesting permission to perform at other functions, the fiddler must fulfill all of his duties that are connected with chieftaincy. In case of conflict, either

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the gondze foregoes his private appointment or asks permission from the chief to allow some of the younger members to perform at the royal function. Sometimes the chief specifically wants the entire family of gondze players.[13] If other gondze activities do not conflict with royal functions, a gondze is allowed to perform on other entertainment occasions, such as at naming, wedding, and funeral ceremonies for commoners, festive occasions, and public gatherings.

Musicians in Dagbon perform at practically all of the Islamic feasts. No restrictions prohibit the musician from performing. The only moment he should not perform is when the chanter (muezzin) sings the call to prayer. At that time the only music that is heard is produced by the chanter and congregation who sing hymns and chants. Except for this religious occasion, all Dagomba musicians, including gondze, participate in the parades, feasts, and other rituals that may be performed at the Ya Na's palace (see more discussion in Chapter Seven).

Patronage in Dagbon is somewhat similar to that in Hausaland. In both cultures the society as a whole acknowledges that fiddlers are professional and have specific duties and functions in the society. Yet, in both cultures, not all members of the society overtly support one string fiddle music whether it be through gifts or verbal praise. Like the Hausa, basically two types of patrons are found: (1) the person who maintains a long and continuous patron-

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client relationship with the fiddler; this individual may call on the musician at any time for services because a pre-arranged contract or agreement has been established between the two parties and (2) the person(s) who only initiate the fiddler's services for a short period--at a particular festive occasion, naming, wedding, or funeral celebration, or at public gatherings.

The Ya Na and any of the kings in other villages in the Dagomba state are the primary and foremost patrons of gondze music. This relationship has existed since the introduction of the fiddle in Dagbon. Patronage described in the former example (see above) best exemplifies the relationship between the gondze and his king. The gondze, as long as he performs the fiddle, is required to serve the king at all times--for personal relaxation; on travel to other kingdoms; at meetings attended by regional and national heads of states, installation ceremonies, homage paying, and royal naming, marriage and funeral ceremonies. The gondze obtains a great deal of his income from royalty, receiving gifts of clothing, money, food, land, cattle or slaves. Because the musician realizes that if it were not for chieftaincy the fiddle would not have been introduced into Dagbon, the gondze willingly accepts anything that the king offers. As a result of such a close relationship, a gondze is sometimes considered to be a son of the king so musicians never think that (that is, not openly) the king

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is not being generous enough in his gift-giving.

Other members in the society would fall into the latter example of patronage described on pages 206-7. This type of patronage probably developed later--that is, whenever the king gave the gondze permission to perform at other functions. No long-term contract agreement is made; rather, the gondze performs for the patron periodically, whenever he is requested. For example, if a member of the society decides to have a wedding ceremony, the family would invite the gondze to perform music for dancing and recreation. At the ceremony people give money to the gondze as he performs different songs. The whole process of gift-giving in this context is done in a certain prescribed way (see Chapter Seven). Because the musician receives substantial payment from other people attending the occasion, the family who invites the gondze may or may not pay the fiddler for his services. None of the people at the ceremony, as a result of gift-giving, expects a long-term client-relationship to be established. If the same individuals were in attendance at a naming ceremony, the gondze would not feel obligated to perform a praise song in that person's honor unless a request were made--that is, money given at one ceremony does not warrant future services or guarantee future obligations on the part of the fiddler.

Even though both the Hausa and Dagomba perform for the same type of patrons, patronage in Dagomba does differ from that of the Hausa. First of all, most Dagomba do not

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hunt or beg for money; this, however, is not true for all gondze fiddlers. Those gondze in urban areas like Tamale look for and personally initiate contacts with patrons in much the same manner as the Hausa. The majority of gondze who reside in rural areas, however, do not normally initiate a contract agreement with patrons. Most people know that the gondze owe all of their services to the king, so they actually are not supposed to perform for others in the community. If a member of the society would like to hire a gondze, and makes an offer to him, the gondze may not accept it if the request conflicts with his royal duties. In Hausaland on the other hand, in most cases, it is the goge musician who initiates the contact; he rarely turns down an offer that would benefit him. Whoever makes the best offer could obtain his services.

Secondly, payment made to Dagomba musicians differs somewhat from that made to the Hausa. The gondze never demands more payment than what the patron can offer; he does not publicly or verbally shame the patron if the person does not give generously or according to his means, as can be seen from the following interview on the question of amount of payment:

(1) Question: On an occasion when you play the gondze instrument, for instance, in the chief's palace, on festive occasions, or for naming and wedding ceremonies, how much payment do you receive?

Answer: I can't tell you precisely how much I will earn at the end of the playing, but all that

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I know is whatever comes my way is what I'm content with (Salifu 1973:n.p.).

(2) Question: I'd like to know something about your salary at a particular gondze function. For instance, on a festive occasion or at a naming ceremony, different people may give you certain gifts of money. On the average, approximately how much do you make at one of these functions?

Answer: It is a common saying that any item you hold to sell that you cannot precisely tell how much you've sold it after your sale. Now the gondze instrument, during our functions, we don't go on salary or on wages. We only collect or receive whatever amount we are presented. So we could be presented with a large sum of money on a particular occasion, on another occasion it could be very less. For instance, one could present me with a five cedi note (Ghana currency), while someone chooses to present me with a pesewa or a ten pesewa coin. I've got to receive this and this wouldn't barely account for what I'm to receive on that particular day--no! What I'm offered is what I receive.

Question: I realize that, but what is the general range or the amount you might receive?

Answer: Well, with everything I receive, I count it as a blessing from God. I can't be precise and I can't just give you a fixed sum (Sulemana 1973:n.p.).

The Hausa does not have this attitude about his profession; he is performing a job, and he expects the patron to give accordingly. In fact the Hausa goge prepares himself for such a circumstance. When learning the genealogy or history of a patron, he memorizes both the strengths and weaknesses. In the event that the musician feels he has been cheated, he knows how to get his money--by publicly singing information that is harmful to the client's reputation.

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Socio-Cultural Value of the Performer

In the analysis of a music culture, an examination of the way in which members of a particular society judge or determine the good and bad of its musical tradition is of utmost importance. The researcher must discover the method by which a society evaluates its music culture and find answers to such questions as, what is a good musician; why do people go into the music profession; what are the pros and cons of being a musician based on the viewpoint of the performer and the audience (in this case the community) and so forth.

Several problems arise in attempting to analyze such aspects of the music profession, especially in Dagomba and Hausa culture. First of all, in a society where people do not discuss the aesthetics of a musician outside the realm of his/her cultural context, much difficulty occurs in obtaining information. For the Dagomba and Hausa, to discuss the socio-cultural value of a performer serves no purpose and is not necessary. Hence the researcher may be tempted to apply or use Western criteria as the basis of his observation and discussion.

Another problem in the examination of values and aesthetics is to determine who is right. To avoid the difficulty of emphasizing only one side of an issue, the researcher must analyze and consider several points of view. Keeping the above problems and limitations in mind, in the

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following discussion of socio-cultural values of the one string fiddler two viewpoints will be included--the musician's and the audience or non-musician's opinion. The following topics or aspects of the musician will be analyzed:

Musician's viewpoint on:

1. Reason for being or becoming a musician
2. Attitude toward the profession
3. Value or importance of profession to the society
4. Attributes of a good musician
5. Way to succeed and retain one's professional status in the society

Society's viewpoint on:

1. Attitude toward the profession
2. Value or importance of musician to society
3. Attributes of a good musician
4. Way to show appreciation to a musician

Hausa

Because the recruitment of people into the goge profession is based on achievement, definite aspects of the occupation must be appealing for the individual to pursue such a career. As already pointed out, most Hausa fiddlers emphatically state that playing goge is a type of employment--that is, they entered the profession primarily for economic gains. Many of the musicians probably would not have become goge fiddlers if financial rewards were not available. In other words, few, if any, individiauls pursued the career because of personal or aesthetic reasons. Ames, who conducted a survey among some Hausa in Zaria, Nigeria, concerning reasons for being or becoming a mu-

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sician, found that "by far the greatest number stressed earning their living, with pleasure and prestige coming out a poor second and third" (1973a:267). In another document Ames says, "most informants indicated that they would not play for their own pleasure if they shifted to another occupation and some asked, 'What would be the use of it?'" (1973b:152).

Since most Hausa gain a substantial amount of income from the profession, none cares about the low status or rank of a musician. Although prestige is something that everyone admires and would like to possess, the commercial attitude about the profession counterbalances any feelings of shame in being a musician. In fact the musicians see their profession as a necessary part of the society in spite of their low status. Even though this is not explicitly stated, musicians view their profession as a necessity, because who else would be able to publicly criticize an individual for his wrong or good. Non-musicians traditionally do not comment on moral or social issues in the society; rather, they hire a musician to do the dirty work. The musician, in most cases, is not concerned about the nature of the job as long as he is rewarded for his services. On several points musicians speak honestly about themselves: that is, they realize that they must continue to create new ideas, to solicit new patrons, and to be somewhat cautious in the marketing of their commodity

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to Muslims to maintain some degree of discreteness in the community.

The musician must always be acutely aware of the feelings of the audience to retain his professional status in the society. Individualism and competition are extremely important to the goge tradition. Each fiddler's primary aim is to acquire enough patrons so that he and his family will always be financially taken care of. Also, many musicians desire personal recognition--to be known as a "star" among the people. This is done through various means; to obtain such a status some musicians specialize in one aspect of the tradition. Similar to the Western/American philosophy on education, it appears that Hausa fiddlers feel that a basic or general knowledge of the fiddle tradition is satisfactory, but to specialize in one particular musical type tends to further one's chances of becoming more successful. Perhaps, this is the reason the social organization of Hausa society is based on specialization of the crafts. A goge musician, therefore, after acquiring the basic skills in performing, may emphasize one special technique or idea. For example, prior to the disintegration of politicial parties, Garba Leo and Audu Yaron Goge were the specialists in performing at such occasions. Today, Leo is a celebrated nightclub entertainer and recording artist. The goge music that he performs has made him a popular entertainer all over Nigeria; thus, giving him an opportunity to obtain clients in

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important community positions. He commonly makes tours all over the country, as well as Niger, Chad, and Benin (formerly known as Dahomey). The nightclubs where he performs are more or less places that a middle class Hausa would attend for recreation (see Chapter Seven, pages 269-271). One of Leo's marok'a (praise singers) stated that Leo's group never performs with bori initiates. Since they (the group) regard themselves as professional, they only perform in hotels and clubs where bori ceremonies are not commonly performed (personal communication with mardk'a).

Mohammadan appears to be a specialist of bori music; he is probably well known among initiates in the Kano area and possibly as far north as Niger for bori playing. His playing has not given him national fame like Leo; at the time of our interview in 1974 he had not recorded any records and had not performed in other places in Nigeria besides the North where bori affiliates are most prevalent.

Nabarau and Haruna appear to be most popular in beer bars, which are frequented by people of the lower socio-economic group, and among bori affiliates. They, like Mohammadan, had not achieved national reknown that could be compared to the popularity of someone like Leo.

Landi has become popular for performing national and topical songs--e.g., social commentary about the youth, government, education, and people of Nigeria. Because of his nationalistic approach he was chosen as one of the representatives to perform goge music outside of Nigeria in

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a number of European countries. His is so inventive that he was also chosen to be a member of the national troupe representing the musical traditions of northern Nigeria to perform at FESTAC in January 1977 (see photograph of troupe in Appendix C, Plate 35). In addition Landi performs for clients at naming and wedding ceremonies. In order to survive financially in a competitive commercial-oriented profession, each goge player, therefore, has specialized in one aspect of the tradition or created a gimmick or idea that makes him different and unique from his counterparts.

Most members of the Hausa community regard the music profession as something which extremely derogatory. Perhaps many do not feel as strongly intolerable about court musicians for the emir and aristocracy accept them, but all non-court musicians are viewed harshly in the society. This attitude is apparent especially in the community relationship or lack of interrelationship with the musician. As Ames points out in the extract below, many Hausa parents would disapprove of their daughter's marriage to a musician or any other persons who were ranked low in the social organization of the society.

> ...the lack of social acceptance can also be seen in the refusal of many nonmusicians to eat of the same bowl with a musician or to lodge in the same dwelling with him. There is even a stronger feeling about marrying musicians. Most, according to a survey made among more than 300 nonmusicians of varying occupations, would also refuse to permit their daughters to marry a musician. In actual fact, however, musicians cannot be considered an endogamous group since their life histories indicate that they frequently marry the

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> daughters of nonmusicians--though those are often persons of low social status, such as butchers. Musicians stated repeatedly that marriage between musicians and members of the aristocracy are unheard of. I did, however, record one instance of a daughter of a district head marrying a musician (1973b:155).

Another reason for the lack of social acceptance of the musician and his profession is that many Hausa regard "musicians as lazy, guileful, dishonest, adulterous and obsequious..." (Ames 1973a:271).

In spite of the fact that the profession and performer are looked upon in a derogatory sense, the community or audience tolerate the presence and actions of the musician because of the damage or praise he may perhaps inflict on individuals in the community. Further discussion of toleration and value of the musician will be presented later (see pages 233-235).

Because of the highly competitive nature of the goge profession, there is evidence that most fiddlers feel that they need to specialize in one aspect of the occupation to attain reknown. Even though the musician has certain views on what he believes is most appealing to patrons, the audience or community also has certain ideas concerning the "ideal" musician. The latter's opinions, perhaps, determine whether a fiddler becomes a famous celebrity. The audience expects certain attributes from various types of musicians. In Hausaland a court musician might be highly respected, but he would not be popular. As Ames puts it:

> ...they [court musicians] may be respected as such in their communities; yet there is little that is original

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or unusually exciting in their playing, and this is reflected in the response of the community to them. Many nonmusicians indicated that they would not walk across the street to hear the ordinary court musicians of the Emir play; few, if any, were observed listening to them when they played weekly in front of the Emir's palace. However, if a famous singer or one of the other artists mentioned below starts playing, he immediately attracts a crowd willing to pay money to hear him. The ordinary musicians of the Emir and of other members of the aristocracy most often play only the traditional songs of praise associated with office held by their masters. Those are the same songs, essentially unchanged that were played and sung by their fathers and grandfathers. However, they do not feel inferior because of their lack of inventiveness; for deviation from the prescribed manner of playing these songs is viewed with alarm. Moreover, these traditional practitioners have the highest status among all types of Hausa musicians (1973b:146-147).

Hausa goge performers are especially appealing to the community for several reasons:

1. Use of goge music for dancing. "The dancers and the audience are for the most part young, and since they are receptive to change and interested in things modern, it is not surprising that innovations are frequently made by the players of these instruments. An expert player has an almost endless repertoire of dance rhythms but because there are fads in these, he usually is asked to play only a limited number of them during any given year. The urban young people are leaders in innovation, with their rural counterparts lagging behind, still playing the older rhythms. For example, one of the fashionable rhythms when I first arrived in Zaria was the twist (pronounced tuwis); by the time I left it had already declined in popularity in the city though it was a 'hot' item in rural hamlets (Ames 1973b: 148 and 150).

2. Incorporation of elements from foreign cultures, e.g., East India. East Indian films have become famous in recent years because the young like the East Indian dances, dance rhythms, and songs. Hausa musicians do not blatantly imitate the Indians. "First the elements are selectively borrowed and then reworked utilizing local instruments, styles, and techniques. The emergent forms are not a simple mixture of East Indian and Hausa elements,

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but a unique and creative amalgam" (Ames 1973b: 150).[14]

3. Creation of new styles which are of local derivation. The music that goge musicians play reflect changes in Hausa society e.g., "the goge tunes which incorporate fragments of the Nigerian army bugle calls. Goge rhythms and songs are also created for a new and exceedingly popular dance form (rawan banjo) which has developed with the growth of modern political parties in northern Nigeria" (Ames 1973b:150).

4. Ability to improvise with technical virtuoso competency. Ames, who was impressed by the playing of Audu Yaron Goge, describes a performance occasion at a political party rally: "He [Audu] kept his performance exciting and interesting. As a veteran listener to Western jazz and classical chamber music, I was impressed with his ability to improvise endless variations on any tune, and at the same time, to produce a variety of unusual tones and percussive effects. The nearest parallel to the Hausa fiddle music in Western music are the 'hot violins' of Joe Venuty and Eddy South who played with American hot jazz ensembles in the nineteen twenties and thirties" (1973b:151).

5. Sex appeal among Hausa girls. Musicians are famous because of their sex appeal very similar to Western contemporary rock and roll and soul musicians. Some performers give up their profession because "they no longer had their youthful good looks and consequently the girls would not come out to listen to them...Some older goge and kalangu drummers also mentioned that they can't play for the young people because they can't play the popular new tunes and rhythms" (Ames 1973b:151).

If a goge musician possesses all of the above attributes he is usually graciously rewarded by his patrons. The size of the audience and the gifts given to a musician best indicate the opinion of the audience. "The donor quietly gives a gift to a professional praise shouter who announces it to the crowd and transmits it to the musician" (Ames 1973b:146). In the event that the audience is displeased with the per-

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former's playing or the performer does not have a high standing among goge patrons, such non-approval would be demonstrated by not attending the performance or not giving gifts.

Dagomba

The primary reason most Dagomba fiddlers enter the gondze profession is because of their obligation to continue the tradition of the society. As we saw in the discussion of recruitment of fiddlers in Dagbon, most musicians have no other alternative but follow the profession of one's father unless the individual does not mind bringing shame and ridicule not only to himself but to the entire gondze family and Dagomba community. However, some of them perform not only out of obligation but also for personal pleasure. Sulemana emphasizes this in my interview with him:

> I've got to tell you that with my instrument, I'm mainly for the instrument or I'm solely responsible for this instrument. There are moments when I'm laying and relaxing, I feel like getting up. Something pricks me, 'Get up, take your instrument and play upon it.' It doesn't generally mean I've got to sum up my own courage and get up and take it. No! I have my own desires. This is the period I feel I should handle my instrument and play upon it. That is why I get up when I'm relaxing or even at night I get up and take this instrument and start playing upon it. Sometimes I accompany myself with music or singing (1973:n.p.).

It can be assumed, therefore, that even if the gondze did not receive any payment or rewards for playing gondze, some fiddlers would continue to play the instrument for their

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personal enjoyment.

Unlike the Hausa, most gondze do not enter the profession for economic gains and few attempt to commercialize the occupation. Some exceptions to this attitude might be seen among the fiddlers in urban Dagomba areas, primarily Tamale. To be a gondze is a highly respected honor in addition to it being a well paid profession within Dagomba culture. Fiddlers are recognized by the king and the community as part of the royal family with certain privileges. Within public life and interactions with other people in the community, certain allowances are given to the gondze player because he is a part of the royal family.

Most Dagomba fiddlers are not strongly concerned about their popularity; rather, they want to perform well to satisfy the audience. When this question was asked to Sulemana, his response somewhat summarizes the attitude or feeling most gondze players want to communicate to the audience:

Answer: Well, first of all I've got to please my audience, for they have me to perform. And when I see that they are happy, I equally grow happy or I grow happy too because I know what I'm featuring or what I'm performing pleases them.

Question: So their satisfaction comes before your satisfaction?

Answer: Definitely so! Their satisfaction precedes mine. Right now as we are seated, if you invite me to accompany you to wherever you are passing in this town; all that I do is call up my people and start following you playing this instrument, no matter where you are passing. All that I know is that I am your

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> follower and I'm to provide you with the music to please you (Sulemana 1973:n.p.).

Because commercialization and the accompanying elements that are attached to such a tradition--competition, individualism, rivalry--are almost nonexistant in Dagbon, very few musicians worry about their own status and wealth in the community. Rather, the group or the communal aspects of the culture are more emphasized--that is, the gondze belong to a family and the leader of the group is always predetermined by rules and customs in the society. Very few, if any, fiddlers compete with each other for the same job. To my knowledge two exceptions to this situation exist but they must be looked upon as unique cases and not the norm. First of all, during the Yendi Skin Crises (1966-1974; see full discussion in Staniland 1975), which disrupted the entire traditional, social, and emotional system of Dagbon, some elements of rivalry were apparent in the gondze organization. Such rivaly is only apparent when two different sons may desire a post that was held by the father of the two sons. In this case the gondze members who are attached to the two different competitors indirectly become rivals, and would attempt to praise his master in such a way to make the master appear more capable or deserving of the post than his competitor.

During the climax of the Yendi Skin Crises such a situation was evident. Abudulai IV, who took the skins (throne) from Andani III in 1969, also inherited the ser-

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vices of the gondze players in Yendi. When Abdulai IV was removed from office by the Ghana government and replaced by Yabuku Andani III, the Yendi fiddlers felt committed or loyal to the cause of Abudulai and followed him to Accra rather than serve the new Ya Na Yabuku Andani who had been appointed by the Ghana government. Even though the gondze family members in Dagbon (fiddlers in all of the villages and towns) felt that the Yendi fiddlers should remain, they gave up their status to follow their master. As a result a new Yamba Na had to be chosen for the king since the old Yamba Na was in Accra.[15] In this case the gondze members did not initiate the rivalry between the parties, but they were victims of circumstance.

What Dagomba fiddlers say about non-Dagomba gondze exemplifies another instance or circumstance in which rivalry or competition is evident. Musicians in Dagomba are very critical of non-Dagomba fiddlers. In fact they commonly state that the gondze from Dagbon perform better than other neighboring fiddlers. This competitive attitude is most apparent when the discussion concerns Hausa and Dagomba fiddlers. Salisu Mahama in a personal communication has stated several times that Hausa fiddlers do not play well because they are not able to sing and play simultaneously. The Dagomba, who feel that the text is the most important element in the tradition, cannot praise or see any worth in a fiddler who cannot sing and fiddle

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at the same time.

The above examples constitute the only situations in which rivalry is most apparent in the Dagomba fiddle tradition. In both cases, competition has not been the result of actions initiated between gondze members; rather, fiddlers are victims of circumstances initiated by their patrons or only supporting the merit of their tradition over that of others. The lack of competition among musicians causes varying effects. The most obvious is the limited amount of new ideas or innovations that are incorporated into the tradition. No one attempts to change performing techniques, songs, and other elements of the tradition which have been passed down from past generations. Continuity is the element that distinguishes the Dagomba from the Hausa. If a gondze wants to maintain his status and prestige, deviating from former and existing practices would only result in adverse opinions about him on the part of patrons (see the following statement by Salifu):

> I know that all of us in Ghana, here, we play this instrument in the same way... No matter where one is staying, whether in Accra, Kumasi[16] or anywhere else Once you are a Dagomba, how I handle the instrument here is how it is handled over there (1973:n.p.).

Dagomba fiddlers, among themselves ridicule or criticize each other in regard to performance technique--that is, they expect certain standards from their fellow professionals. If a fellow musician does not understand the language of another musician, the performance would be

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criticized within the gondze family. Salisu Mahama, who aided in the translation of Dagomba songs into English, commented on several performances by Abu Gondze. Salisu said the following about Abu: "He does not sing well; that is not good." What Salisu ridiculed was the way Abu arranged the text, rather than the vocal production of the musician. Because Abu did not sing in such a way that Salisu could understand, even though his technical competency on the instrument was satisfactory, Salisu inferred that Abu was a poor performer.

From the above discussion it is apparent that because Dagomba fiddling is a highly respectable vocation, very few people in the community ridicule or ostracize gondze musicians. Instances have already been demonstrated that some people admire the profession so much that they encourage their daughters to marry a gondze so that they would be connected with the gondze organization. The only disadvantage in marrying a fiddler is the mobility factor. Some musicians are constantly on the move and never permanently settle in one place (see page 184), although this is not common among all fiddlers. Yet, the problem is one that must be solved either by divorce or other means. Knowledge of these factors, however, does not appear to discourage the non-gondze females for polygymy is a common practice within the gondze family system.

Though the musician is highly respected in the community, members of the society still disapprove of certain actions

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committed by fiddlers. Similar to the Hausa, but to a lesser degree, the Dagomba look upon the gondze as lazy, lacking in character, and somewhat proud. Many things that a gondze is allowed to do would not be tolerated if performed by non-gondze members in the community. The Dagomba tolerate or accept unethical actions on the part of the fiddler because of musician's relationship to royalty. Whereas in Hausaland people are afraid of the damage fiddlers may inflict on their reputation through songs, the Dagomba musicians do not spitefully harm individuals for personal revenge. Rather, members of the community know that in many cases the king regards the fiddlers as his own children and responsibility. Even if the gondze were involved in a crime or offence, no punishment would be inflicted on the gondze. This situation has existed since the introduction of the fiddle in Dagbon, which, therefore, re-enforces the reason for its present existence. In the gondze oral history such a statement is made in regard to treatment of fiddlers;

> When the chief of Gruma recovered he gathered all his descendants and told them that if ever Yantsebli and his descendants did any wrong or committed any offence they should not be beheaded nor should they be asked to labour for any chief by way of farming. Their clothing had remained the burden of the chief and his descendants (Sulley 1971).

Lali's comments on his status in Bimbilla is similar to the oral tradition:

> Question: What do people in your community think of you as a gondze player? Do they regard you as having a very, very high position within

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the culture, or do they give less respect in comparison to another person? How do they regard you within your social group in the culture?

Answer: As I am based here in Bimbilla, if I should give birth to a new issue or fresh baby, this baby is more or less regarded a direct son of Bimbilla Na because they highly regard me with my profession that they feel I have some command even in the palace of the Bimbilla Na. So I'm highly regarded in all nooks and corners of Bimbilla (1973:n.p.).

Salisu Mahama tells how gondze members were treated in Dagbon in the past:

> In the past the ethnic group [the gondze] knew nothing besides going to sing praises to the Ya Na or to the chief. Having performed this the very aims for which the gondze was introduced had been fulfilled because the gondze did not go on the land to farm. The gondze, even involved in a case, was not to be charged. The gondze, on the clothing side, was not all that heavily taxed as an individual. All these were the burden of the chiefs of the land (1972:n.p.).

Since the fiddlers have such an opportune and special position in the society, members of the community have no other alternative except to accept the wishes of the king because he is the sole leader of the Dagomba community.

People who personally patronize the gondze profession do so for different reasons when compared to motives used by Hausa supporters. Ames best explains the musical ability of court musicians (see pages 217-218). The society admires and respects court musicians, not for their originality or ability to perform, but because they symbolize the authority of the king and his position in the community. In Dagbon the musician's position is highly regarded because fiddlers serve as recorders of the Dagomba past and

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act as counselors and advisers to the king. On occasion, however, Dagomba fiddlers are requested to perform non-courtly functions such as naming, wedding, and funeral ceremonies for commoners. In these cases the hosts and guests invite the musician either because he possesses certain qualities they admire or is able to perform competently on the instrument. Some favorable attributes that may aid the fiddler in his popularity include the following:

a. Wit
b. Knowledge of genealogical history of hosts and guests
c. Ability to interpret historical material so that it is understandable and appealing to the audience
d. Ability to create a new song spontaneously when requested
e. Pleasing voice
f. Ability to perform music that is suitable for dancing

In Dagbon emphasis is placed on the art of manipulating textual material rather than virtuoso dexterity in playing the instrument; the latter appears to be the most appealing to goge supporters. Both Dagomba royalty and commoners first would like to see how well the musicians can recite or report the historical facts in the patrons' favor, thus resorting to some distortion of the truth. That a musician emphasizes the heroic deeds and exploits of his master's lineage that completely contradicts with material stated by a rival faction is common and acceptable. During the Yendi Skin Crisis possibly musicians omitted certain facts in the history that would have proven or justified that Abudulai IV should not be on the skins, for this would have

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been an act of treason. An overt display of disloyalty to the present ruler would have resulted in unfavorable consequences. Likewise followers of the Andani faction almost certainly related facts through music in reference to the illigitimacy of Abudulai's claim to the Yendi Skins. A musician, therefore, must know how to interpret these facts so that they are pleasing to the audience and concerned patrons.[17]

If a musician has performed well, the community shows its appreciation in a number of ways: (1) attendance at the occasion; (2) overt response to music by dancing, ululation, snapping of fingers, and so forth; and (3) gift-giving. Attendance at the occasion may or may not be the best indication of approval of a performer. At large feasts the community members may not attend the gondze playing because they already know what to expect. Appreciation, by those attending the performance, can be shown by dancing. When a song is played that any member of the audience likes, the community member can join the performance by dancing, which differs from the Hausa who usually include only professional dancers--the audience often is not encouraged to actively participate. But in Dagbon, some women, to show appreciation, may scream, yell, or ululate. When money is given, the size or quantity is never publicly announced. Rather, the donor personally gives the money to the fiddler by placing it on the fiddler's or dancer's forehead (see more discussion in Chapter Seven).

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Sex appeal and other commercial, non-musical gimmicks, which are attached to the Hausa goge tradition, are not so important to the Dagomba. Yet, if the musician has a good reputation for playing and is attached to an important king, he will be considered a "star" in the Western sense of the term without making a major effort to create new ideas, which he thinks would be appealing to the community.

Social Visibility/Economic Status/ Toleration of the Musician

Obvious differences in the fiddle tradition among the Hausa and Dagomba have been indicated. In spite of distinctions in recruitment, training, function, patronage, value some similarities are also evident. Types of elements which are similar in both cultures include (1) social visibility, (2) economic status, and (3) tolerance of musician in the community.

In both societies one string fiddle musicians are easily recognizable mainly because of the musical instrument they carry on their person; the clothes they wear; the deference they show to persons of higher rank; and their manner of speech (Ames 1973a:269). Both Dagomba and Hausa musicians often carry the fiddle with them since it is small and portable so that the instrument would always be available in case they need to use it. Also, both the Dagomba and Hausa fiddlers appear to take great pride in dressing. Expensive clothing is easily accessible to them

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from their patrons. In Hausaland where wearing clothes is an expression of an art form in itself, the Hausa musicians feel they must dress well in order to attract patrons and appear attractive to their fans and supporters. Hausa, rarely spend all their income on clothing; this is the reason the musician "often wears gowns made of brightly colored and richly patterned cloth. The items of clothing seldom match since they have been received as payment from different clients and patrons" (Ames 1973b:154).[18] In comparison to other members in the community the Dagomba appear to be well-dressed. In fact some community members mistake a gondze musician for the son of a king--see comments by Mahama:

> In the gondze family, we might say that actually in this past besides the chief or the circle of the chief--that is, his children or grandchildren, no one was acclaimed to be all that wealthy. But if it so happened that you once saw a party walking just along the street or any other corner, the first and foremost question that came up to that party's mouth was: "Is this person a son of a chief, a daughter of a chief, or in short a gondze--that is, from the gondze ethnic group." Because the gondze were given the wisdom to sing and play their instruments to the rich, and if during the performance a rich or a great man like a chief so desired, he presented to the musician any of his best suiting or costumes or even wealth, such as cattle or even slaves for money so that the gondze stand a wealthier chance in the community (1972:n.p.).

Both Hausa and Dagomba musicians have a peculiar manner of greeting and speaking to certain community members who are ranked higher than the musician. Even Dagomba musicians, regardless of their respectable position in Dagbon, have to show respect to those of higher rank. The description that

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Ames gives for the Hausa musician exemplifies the manner of greeting that is also common for most Dagomba fiddlers:

> First of all, they are expected to go to the homes of their patrons to greet them, since Hausa generally expect persons of lower[19] rank to visit them (rather than vice versa) as a token of respect. They squat down on their haunches (durk'usa) before these persons and as an additional token of respect, they initiate the greeting with more pious blessings than usual. Non-musicians do the dur'usa too--e.g., junior kin before senior kin--but I observed that they ordinarily do not squat so low or so often, especially to nonkin. Some of the older musicians even make a point of soiling their gown on the bare ground while squatting (1973b: 154).

Another aspect of the fiddle tradition which is similar in both cultures is that one string fiddlers and many of the other musicians in both societies have a substantial salary when compared with others in the community. In other words musicians, financially, maintain a higher income than the average Dagomba or Hausa. Because musicians have a number of means to gain money and material wealth--gifts from patrons and a secondary occupation--they are fairly well off. Perhaps this is another reason some community members dislike the goge performers, for in spite of their low social standing, they are economically wealthier than many people who are ranked higher. Possibly members of the community resent that a person of low social standing is wealthier than an individual of higher standing. The Dagomba, however, are not as resentful as some Hausa, for the Dagomba performers are not only rich, but they are recognized in the community as possessing a high position.

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Thus, whereas the Dagomba fiddlers are socially and economically in a better position than their fellowmen, "the position of the musician in Hausa society poses two striking paradoxes: 1) through they have very low rank, they are functionally important; 2) their economic position is often higher than their social rank--in fact, certain famous musicians enjoy a very high standard of living" (Ames 1973b: 155-156).

The above contradiction that has been suggested by Ames leads to another paradox and further discussion--that is, the toleration of the musician in the community in spite of his alleged character, bad qualities and vices. No matter how much the community dislikes the actions, character, or musical performance, the musician is an integral part of the society; all of the ill-effects which surface because of his presence must be tolerated for they do not outweigh the advantages. In Dagbon the importance of the fiddler to the Dagomba state is most evident. In addition because the commander of the Dagomba community personally supports the gondze tradition and is its primary patron, community members, undoubtedly, must accept the fiddler and his position.. Hausa goge are not as fortunate to have an important patron or function in Hausaland; other means must be used to protect themselves against those who try to discredit or cheat them. Fiddlers, because of the animosity that they provoke among community members, are often cautious in

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their accusations against "enemies" for musicians "have been viewed as 'pests'--so much so that a series of ordinances were passed through-out Hausaland in the nineteen fifties designed to restrict their activities and to lessen their numbers" (Ames 1973b:156).

Yet, in spite of the antagonism that exists between the musicians and nonmusicians, musical performers provide an important service to the society; rarely are musicians exiled from the community. Merriam, in discussing the function and behavior of musicians in several cultures, makes the following statement about the toleration of musicians in society:

> Life in a village without musicians is not to be considered, and people spoke of leaving the village were not musicians present. This reaction cannot be taken lightly, for the bonds of kinship and economics which tie an individual to his village are extremely difficult to break. The fact of the matter is that without musicians a village is incomplete; people want to sing and dance, and a number of important village activities simply cannot be carried out without musicians (1964:136).

In conclusion Merriam states that "there is some evidence, at least to suggest that this pattern of low status and high importance, coupled with deviant behavior allowed by the society and capitalized upon by the musician, may be fairly widespread and perhaps one of several which characterizes musicianly behavior in a broad world area" (1964:137). After analyzing the position of the fiddler and his profession in Dagbon and Hausaland, it appears that there is some truth in Merriam's generalization, for the

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fiddlers' situation correlates almost perfectly with what has been described in the above quotation. The reason that a community retains the musician might differ, but in essence his function is so important he must be present.

Beyond these factors is another reason for the low status of Hausa fiddlers—namely the impact of Islam in Hausaland. If the goge musicians were not under the controls and limitations of Mohammadism, probably their social status would not be as low. The Dagomba, who have not totally accepted all of the laws and practices of Islam, rank their musicians and fiddlers on a higher level. As has been evident throughout this work, the extent of the influence of Islam in both cultures is the principal factor that brings about many differences in the two fiddle traditions.

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Chapter Seven

The Musical Performance

After considering the performers of the one string fiddle in Hausa and Dagomba societies, we can now turn to the examination of the goge and gondze musical performance or the mode of presentation. A number of different elements are integral to the production of a fiddle performance in both cultures. One must consider for example the number and type of instruments used; role of each instrument in the group; number and type of people who perform the instruments; the musical drama that is enacted by each member of the group; and the time and venue of the performance. For the purposes of this discussion these will be examined under the following heads: (1) occasions and styles of musical performances, (2) organization and description of performances, and (3) meaning and value of the performance to members of the society.

Occasions for a One String Fiddle Performance

Occasions for the performance of the one string fiddle and the usages associated with the instrument have been fully discussed throughout this work (see Chapter Three, pages 70-73 ; Chapter Five, pages 132-141 ; and Chapter Six, pages 185-210). What remains to be examined in this chapter are the various performance styles that are used. Although the manner in which a person presents one string fiddle music is basically the same for all occasions, minor

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variations are apparent. In most cases the audience is the determining factor for the different performance styles that are used. For example, a gondze naming or weddi: performance in honor of royalty would be slightly different from similar ceremonies for a commoner. If the audience at a ceremony in Hausaland expects dancers to fall into a trance, the fiddler will provide appropriate performance style.

Hausa

Occasions for goge performances are much more varied than those for gondze. The Hausa are extremely eager to perform music for any activity that provides money; they, therefore, are not "fussy" about the type of occasion or the work required. As it will be recalled one string fiddle music is used on the following occasions:

a. Events of the life cycle--naming and wedding
b. Bori
c. Nightclub
d. Beer bar
e. Harlot house
f. Political rally (discontinued after the January 1966 coup)
g. Other public gatherings--festivals, parades, town square, markets, hotels, harvest seasons, national holidays, celebration of first rain, and so forth

Generally, no specific performance style is used for any of the different occasions. In other words what a performer does at a wedding would be acceptable at a beer bar and the mode of presentation at a bori ceremony may be used on a festive occasion. The only distinguishing element that may

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make a difference in the performance is the type of songs used. At the nightclub or beer bar the fiddler would perform praise songs for individual patrons at the bar, whereas at the bori ceremonies a large number of bori songs in honor of the various spirits would be performed.[1] Nevertheless, this does not mean that bori songs could not be played at the nightclub in the event that a bori patron is present. Because bori is regarded as a form of entertainment, (see pages 252-253), cult members might perform on any of the other six occasions if requested. It is not uncommon to have a bori performance at a naming or wedding ceremony or even at low-level nightclubs, beer bars, and harlot houses if this is the type of entertainment that the audience prefers for that occasion.

Some musicians feel that the performance style for goge music has changed over the years. It appears that the mode of presentation is much more elaborate and complex in terms of orchestration, usage, and song types. Drummers have been just recently added to the orchestra. Landi says that he added the kalengu only fifteen years ago, while Samunaka stated that he added the hour-glass drum more than ten years ago. Like the kalengu, the kuntuku is a recent innovation.[2] As the music becomes more commercialized, all of these new innovations continue to occur. New features help the performance to be modern and exciting to the public. Because the popularity of goge is secondary to other instruments in the culture, new elements are needed to attract the

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public's attention.

Dancers are a new innovation, becoming a feature of the goge orchestra possibly ten to fourteen years ago.[3] The dancers are needed to illustrate a particular dance step of a musical type. For example, "tuwis," the Hausa pronunciation for the Western word "twist," was a very popular dance in American culture more than twenty years ago. A special song called the "twist" was composed and dance was choreographed for the song. The same idea appears to have been incorporated in Hausaland. Dance entertainers, however, are a usual occurrence in Arab and Indian music. One goge player admitted that the dancers were added because other performers had added them. Unconsciously or unknowingly, the foreign influences are integrated into the performance style without the musician realizing their origin.

Other innovations that have been established include the following:

1. Goge musicians in the past performed for "big men" uninvited, but today, musicians are more cautious about visiting unknown houses.

2. Singers have begun to perform songs on a wider variety of subject matter--moral, protest, and topical songs concerning the city, town, country, and world. Since the late 1960's the government has stressed national unity among the Nigerian ethnic groups, thus some musicians have composed songs on these themes (Landi 1974:n.p.).

Mention should be made that other performance groups have not added new instrumentation or new members (such as dancers) to their groups. For example, the kalengu musicians have not added goge. Although a detailed investiga-

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tion has not been made concerning this usbject, goge musicians admit that the goge orchestra is the only group that has added different instrumentation. In fact according to some sources, the goge ensemble was composed of several fiddlers (two or more) with only calabash beaters accompaniment. The integration of other instruments to the exclusion of other fiddlers, leaving one in the entire group, seems to have occurred in the past ten or twenty years (personal communication with Ingawa--a Hausa informant).

From these statements it appears that the goge performance did not consist of such an elaborate production, which is common to today's tradition. In the past the ensemble probably consisted of only one or two calabash drummers who also performed as vocal chorus members. No other drums were used; the kalengu, which was added fifteen to eighteen years ago, and the kuntuku are all new. Also, in the past emphasis was placed on listening, rather than a visual display of choreographed dancers. Mention should be made, however, that not all goge musicians are able to support such a vast production. Only the very wealthy goge performers use all of the new innovations and this occurs only occasionally.[4] In other words, formally goge musicians were more or less itinerant players who made a living similar to the present day entertainment performers (see Chapter Six, page 189).

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Dagomba

Gondze musicians do not perform on as wide a variety of occasions as goge players. Because the musician is obligated to serve royalty to the exclusion of outsiders, most of the occasions for gondze music are related to chieftaincy. Occasions for one string fiddle music in Dagbon include:

a. Events of the life cycle for royalty and commoners--naming, wedding, and funeral ceremonies
b. Royal homage paying
c. Recreation for royalty
d. Other public gatherings--durbars, Muslim and non-Muslim feasts, parades, and market place.

Similar to the Hausa, the gondze perform at some of the events of the life cycle, including funeral ceremonies. The Dagomba who have nominally accepted and incorporated Islamic laws and doctrines, have integrated their traditional funeral ceremony with Islam. Since music was probably an essential elements of the pre-Islamic funeral ceremony, they saw no reason to exclude it from death rites even if the desceased was a Muslim. Even at royal funerals all types of music(s) are used to commemorate the death--string, wind, drums, and so forth. Neither the Hausa nor the Dagomba perform at puberty or circumcision ceremonies.

Other occasions for fiddle ensembles in both societies include music at public gatherings--that is festive occasions, parades, and market places. The market place is not the most common place or occasion for fiddle music; however, young musicians do perform at such places when they are in training or are just entering the profession. Rarely does

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a well known, celebrated fiddler perform in the market place unless he is accompanying a wealthy and important patron--e.g. a king, wealthy merchant, or politician.

Dagomba fiddlers perform at both Muslim and non-Muslim feasts--e.g., Ramadan, Tsimsi-Tsugu, Damba, and so forth. Ames and King have indicated that goge musicians sometimes perform at the hawan salla (parade)[5] during the Muslim feasts of 'Id ad-Fitr and 'Id al-Kabir (see Ames and King 1971:120). Yet, goge music is used only to accompany parade participants from the palace ground to the praying grounds outside the city walls or to the mosque and back to the palace grounds. Dagomba gondze not only accompany the cavalcade to and from the palace grounds, but they are allowed to enter the royal palace and entertain the king on all Muslim festive occasions. Such music might continue from two to four hours after the actual prayers. Goge musicians, to my knowledge, are never allowed to perform in the royal palace for the purpose of entertainment at a non-Muslim or Muslim festive occasion.

In addition to accompanying the cavalcade, gondze along with lunsi drummers perform at the Ya Na's palace on the eve of any important event or festive occasion to sing genealogical songs for the community. Goge musicians rarely, if at all, are allowed to perform at such occasions in Kano (Besmer 1974); in fact no string instruments are included in this ceremony.

Dagomba fiddlers, to my knowledge, do not perform at

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bori ceremonies, nightclubs, beer bars, harlot houses, political rallies, and other public gatherings. Although some bori affiliates exist in Dagbon, they are not encouraged to perform at cult ceremonies or for entertainment as is the case in Kano. In fact the playing of bori music in Dagbon is discouraged because of the effect it has on certain individuals (see Chapter Six, page 204).

Like Hausa musical performances, the performance style for gondze music varies slightly from occasion to occasion. Gondze performances on certain occasion--such as recitation of royal genealogy songs on the eve of a festival and royal homage paying--do not include as much movement and dancing during the musical drama as would be evident at ceremonies, such as naming, wedding, funeral, or in situations in which relaxing music is played for the king and commoners. Other than these distinctions the same music a Dagomba might hear at homage would be heard at the market place or at a naming, wedding, or funeral ceremony. What would possibly vary is the range of repertoire. At a royal performance musicians would sing songs that are more directly related to chieftaincy--that is, genealogical praise songs about the royal family. At a wedding or funeral ceremony for a "commoner" praise songs for the invited guests would be performed along with other types of recreations songs and those royal praise songs that are a favorite among commoners.

Occasions for gondze music have also changed since the introduction of the fiddle in the eighteenth century. Ac-

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cording to Mahama, in the past. . . the gondze knew nothing besides going to sing praises to the Ya Na or to the chief. Having performed this, the very aims for which the gondze was introduced had been fulfilled. . . (1972:n.p.). In other words, the fiddlers performed exclusively for the royal family. Unlike the Hausa who are more restricted in the choice of those for whom they perform (see comment by Landi on page 239). Perhaps growth of the tradition caused the situation to change both in Dagbon and Hausaland. When the Dagomba gondze family unit grew so large, family members probably needed more economical support to sustain their way of life. The only way to do this was to begin farming and perform on more occasions. In Hausaland growth in the tradition has had the opposite effect. So many goge musicians are in existence that patrons have become more selective about whom they hire for praises; the patron does not accept the praises from any individual who just happens to show up, for this would be too costly. In that case all goge musicians would be "knocking at his door" for they would know where to find easy money. Thus, the situation has probably become more restricted because of pressure from patrons; the patron has learned how to protect himself from too much exposure to musicians.

Dagomba musicians did not indicate if any changes in the organization and structure of the ensemble had occurred in recent years. It appears that the ensemble has always consisted of only the one string fiddler and gourd rattler. No

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other instrumental types have been added.

Organization of One String Fiddle Performances

In order to more closely compare the performance styles of the two fiddle traditions, an analysis of actual performances is necessary--that is, to describe events that usually take place at a performance occasion.

Hausa

The goge band or orchestra is usually composed of the following (see Plate 34):

one goge
two k'warya[6]
one kuntuku[7]
one or more kalengu[8] and 'dan karbi[9] (each player uses both drums)
two or more chorus members--masu amshi[10]
two or more praise singers--marok'a[11]

In addition there may be six or eight dancers (three or four females and three or four males). The full band is not used for every performance. Some goge players cannot afford such a large group; even the more prosperous performers do not use all participants on every occasion.

In every band, the goge player is the leader and the focus of attention. The band's name or title is derived from his name. Usually, one goge is used during a given performance. However, other goge fiddlers may be added to serve as a response group for the lead goge player.[12] The goge player does not sing; his role is to perform on the instrument. This affects the style of playing. The instrument functions as a talking instrument in the absence of a

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solo vocal leader. Whenever there is a break in the singing, the goge player can improvise or concentrate on the sound quality and playing technique of the instrument. A person who sings and fiddles may become distracted causing less musical development on the instrument in comparison to that for the voice. It appears to be rare for a goge player to stand, dance or even sing during a performance; he quietly guides or directs the event with no obvious overt physical movement besides playing the instrument. This is not to say that some type of communication does not occur between the string player and his chorus. As will be later demonstrated, this communication is of utmost importance because the chorus and drummers must respond orally to the goge's music.

The k'warya players define the "time line." Their role in the group is similar to rattle players in the Dagomba gondze performance. Many of the k'warya rhythms are invariable--that is, the same accompanying rhythms are used for each musical song type. Within a given musical composition tempo also can be varied. Generally during the opening section of the song, the rhythm is slower in tempo as opposed to the middle and closing sections, which are played at faster speed. In addition k'warya players usually sing with the chorus--the masu amshi.

The masu amshi are a vital part of the performing group. They interpret or translate into words what the goge player has stated on the instrument, for they under-

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stand the language of the instrument and know the corresponding response patterns for each statement. Usually, they obtain their cues either from the music alone or from a physical gesture (nod of the head, movement of the eye, arm, etc.) by the string player, for he is the conductor of the entire event. A call and response pattern, therefore, is used by the fiddler and the choral group. Included in the group is a lead singer who performs the following duties: (1) He shouts praises of encouragement to the goge player.[13] (2) In the absence of the marok'a, he sings praises to individuals who may or may not be present at the performance. (3) He starts the chorus response and indicates when the chorus should stop. Because of this, the interaction between the lead singer and the goge player is usually closer than that between the goge and other members of the group.

The marok'a are found at all performances of traditional Hausa musical types. Their number depends upon the size of the audience for the marok'a serve as a link between the audience and the orchestra. Depending upon their qualities they may add or detract from the total performance. They are important to the goge player materially because a witty marok'i can get a lot of money from the public. He advises the goge player on the song types for a particular performance. Because he has personal contact with the people, the marok'i knows what the audience prefers. Also, he knows the general ambiance of the audience

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from his interaction with them. During the musical performance the marok'a move about on stage or in the audience calling praises to various individuals. If an important person enters the audience, a marok'i publicly introduces him to the audience and orchestra by shouting his praises. In recognition of this act, the individual gives the praise singer a gift of money. The marok'i then cries out to the audience and orchestra, and the music is stopped. The marok'i announces the name of the donor of the gift and the amount given--mentioning also the additional small "tip" that the donor may have given to him personally. After this statement, the goge player performs a song in honor of the donor. If the donor is a patron of the goge player, the goge will perform the patron's praise song or compose a song spontaneously for him.

Dagomba

The orchestration of most gondze performances consists of the following:

one or more gondze
one or more zaabia (gourd rattle)

The size of the group varies from two to twenty-five (see Plates 27 and 28 for photographs of a typical gondze ensemble). In special cases the fiddler participates alone without rattle accompaniment: this is characteristic of ensembles in small villages, e.g., Tampion. The primary reason for the small size is because the gondze family unit is not very large. Iddrisu, the only gondze in Tampion during

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January 1973, had one daughter to accompany him on the rattle (when she was available). His wife was not allowed to perform for she was not a "gondze," and his brothers had died or left the village to pursue a career in a larger town. When and if the family members increase, then possibly the ensemble will become larger.

Among the Dagomba, the orchestra includes more than one fiddler at a time. The leader of the group, therefore, is not always determined by the instrument that he plays; age must also be considered. Whoever is the eldest fiddler in the gondze family in a town is automatically the leader of the ensemble. Rarely does a rattler become the leader of the group, if at all. The head fiddler is responsible for leading all songs, while the chorus (rattlers and other fiddlers) responds. The lead gondze also leads the fiddle players--that is, gives cues for them to start or stop a song, increase or decrease the tempo, selects the repertoire, and so forth. He sometimes leads in a slight fiddle variation of the fiddle time-line whenever he momentarily stops in leading the singing.

The lead gondze sometimes does not perform in the capacity described above. On many occasions the eldest rarely leads songs or decides on the repertoire. Rather, one of his protégé's (son, nephew, or younger brother) assumes this role; thus, the eldest fiddler only accompanies the others. For example, the above situation was apparent during my Yendi field research project in January 1973. Although

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Yamba Na Salifu was the recognized and accepted leader of the gondze family in Yendi, he performed as leader of the group only once during my stay; he led all of the songs at the homage paying ceremony on Friday morning after the Tsimsi Tsugu festival. His nephew, Sulemana, who assumed the leading role during all of the festival events, only accompanied in singing and fiddling during the homage ceremony. In an interview with Sulemana I questioned him about this matter:

> Question: I've noticed on several occasions that you... usually lead all of the songs and gondze players. I want to know why you do this rather than the Yamba Na.
>
> Answer: Actually, the Yamba Na is the eldest in the gondze family. And since he's of age, it's the custom that his deputy, who is still younger, should lead in all songs or whatever function the gondze will feature. It is equally the practice that if the landlord or the head of the family has a farm, automatically the boys or the young men and even the females in the house all go to farm for him in this farm. He will only accompany them to the farm when he feels like doing so. Or if at all he's in the farm, he's there just to inspect or help guide them, and give them some sort of company. So the Yamba Na, since he's of age, he sits down and I lead in all the songs (Sulemana 1973:n.p.).

Zaabia players serve two functions in the ensemble. They act as time keepers, very similar to the k'warya players in Hausaland, and chorus members. The rhythms that they play help to establish the time span for the fiddle melodic time line (see Chapter Twelve). The gondze do not use different individuals to serve as chorus members. In fact, everyone who participates in the group, except for the lead gondze

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player, acts as chorus member. In most cases adult women and young girls and boys perform in this capacity. Some young adult men, who have not pursued the fiddle, also serve as rattlers, but they are few in comparison to the number of women and children.

Dagomba gondze have not included any membranophone players in their tradition. Also, they do not use any professional dancers to demonstrate dance steps or provide added entertainment. Audience members are normally encouraged to participate by dancing and when this does not occur, the gondze and rattlers dance themselves. Praise singers are not considered to be a part of the fiddle tradition. If they are present during a performance, they are freelance professionalists. When gifts are given to Dagomba fiddlers, members of the fiddle chorus (rattlers and other fiddlers) usually collect this without announcing the amount or the donor. The money is simply placed inside the eldest gondze's instrument (money is always given to the eldest whether or not he acts as leader).

In comparison to the Hausa the Dagomba do not use as large a variety of instrumental types, but the size of both groups are about equal. On special occasions the Dagomba, similar to the Hausa tend to add more people to the performance group. The average size of a gondze ensemble is eight or ten--half fiddlers and half rattlers. On the other hand the average goge ensemble is composed of possibly eight or nine players.

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Description of One String Fiddle Performances

Hausa

To understand more clearly the way in which individuals in a goge band work together as a complete unit, let us look at two occasions at which goge music is used: bori and night-clubs. According to Besmer "the spirit-possession cult, boorii,[14] is an aspect of Maguzawa (Hausa-speaking animists) religion which has survived the influence of Islam. While private and communal practices involving iskookii (sing. iskaa; supernatural spirit) can be found in isolated rural areas only the spectacular is evident in Hausa cities. Urban people such as in Kano do not practice boorii as part of a larger and comprehensive Maguzawa religious system. Rather, they are people who have fully accepted Muslim beliefs and justify spirit-possession as totally within the framework of Islam" (1972/73:1). Since the cult has been totally accepted in Hausa Islam, the Kano Hausa do not use the native Hausa term, iskookii, to describe spirits, rather they prefer to use the Arabic-derived term, aljanuu (sing. aljan). In addition "performances in Kano City begin with addu'aa a Muslim dedicatory prayer in praise of Allah" (Besmer 1972/73?1-2).

Besmer further states that "cult activities fall into two categories: those connected with the demand for boorii as an entertainment for such social events as weddings, namings, and festivals; and those concerned with the ritual healing of maladies or ill-fortunes believed to have been

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caused by iskookii" (1973:27-28). The first category is divided into two parts in which (1) kidan boorii (drumming for spirits) includes a demonstration of trance by cult-adepts and (2) kidan waasaa (drumming for play) does not include trance. The number of sections used in ritual healing, the second category, depends upon the seriousness of the illness to be treated. In the case of a minor illness "the boorii consultant may prescribe the sacrifice of some small animal or portion of food symbolically connected with the spirits causing the trouble, or a boorii performance in which some course of action may be sought from the spirits through trancers acting as mediums. If the illness is judged serious, initiation into the boorii cult may be prescribed. If the victim and his family accept this prescription, an initiation is conducted by people with cult statuses who themselves suffered similar illnesses and were cured by boorii methods" (Besmer 1973:27-38).

People from all walks of life take part in bori; a large portion of the affiliates are female. Some say females have become bori cult members because their role in the Islam religion is extremely limited.[15] Quite a few musicians[16] and others who do not have a high social status in Hausa society have joined bori cults; many have joined because of serious illnesses and the belief that the religion would help alleviate some personal social problems. Lewis believes a number of factors have contributed to the existence and vitality of spirit-possession cults in African

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societies:

> The continuing vitality of these spirit-possession cults, notwithstanding their official disfavour, is only partly explicable in terms of the fact that Islam does not deny the existence of the powers, however malignant, upon which they depend. Of at least equal significance is the positive attraction which they have for all those who are excluded from full participation in the public rituals of orthodox Islam. Hence their popularity with women, and through women their association in many cases with prostitution. Their appeal, however, is not limited merely to those who are subject to regular discrimination and for whom they offer some sort of compensation. they also attract those who seek relief from afflictions which the orthodox rituals and prophylactics of Islam have failed to remedy (1966:64-65).

A number of different spirits are in existence. "While cult members believe that the actual number of spirits is unknown, they are able to name many more than are considered active in the real world" (Besmer 1973:28). In a footnote Besmer adds that "there are said to be 99 spirits active enough to require trancers as mediums, but when informants are asked to name them the list nearly reaches 175. I consider 99 to be an important Muslim number rather than a boorii one, since there are 99 beads on the Muslim rosary, symbolic of the names of Allah known to man" (1973:48).

In order for a trance to take place special melodies and rhythms are used to call the various spirits. "Like all Hausa, each of the spirits has at least one praise-song (taki, kirari); and the number and elegance of the praise-songs reflect the prominence of the person addressed, human or spirit. To call a particular spirit, one keeps on playing through its series of praise-songs until it possesses

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one of the persons present, usually one who is already dancing. In theory, the same spirit may prefer different songs on different occasions, momentary preference being expressed by its response. After its arrival the spirit controls the selection of tunes, until, as sometimes happens with unimportant spirits, the audience requires its departure. As with humans, so with spirits, it is most improper to play anyone's praise-song unrequested when addressing someone else. This is one of the means by which maroka insinuate disrespect at a public gift-giving, and when applied to spirits it normally leads to their departure in a huff" (Smith 1973:564-565).

During my research informants performed songs in praise of eleven different spirits:

Names of spirits	Names of Performers Who Played Possession Songs
1. Badakuwa (wife of Kunnau, brother to Rafi)	Mohammadan
2. Barrahaza (Fulani spirit)	Haruna, Mahama, and Mohammadan
3. Bole	Mahama
4. Danko (snake)	Nabarau
5. Doguwa (black tall-woman)	Mahama
6. Kawranzugu	Mohammadan
7. Ruwa Ruwa (water animal)	Mohammadan and Nabarau
8. Sarkin Makada (chief of musicians)	Mohammadan and Nabarau
9. Sarkin Rafi (chief of the stream or well-watered land)	Haruna and Nabarau
10. Uban Dawaki (giant)	Mohammadan
11. Wanzami (barber)	Haruna, Mahama, and Mohammadan

Similar songs in praise of bori spirits sound differently when performed by different fiddlers. Variation techniques used by each performer could be one reason for the

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differences in certain elements of the same songs. Songs performed by Mahama, a Dagomba fiddler, differed even more greatly from songs by performers in Hausaland. For example, the way in which Mahama performed "Barrhaza" differs drastically from the same composition by Haruna (see transcriptions in Appendix F).

Possession melodies may be played on either of the following instrumental ensembles:

1. One garaayaa (two stringed plucked lute) and two or three buutoocii[17] (gourd rattles)
2. One googee and one or more kwaryaa gourds (hemispherical in shape, placed openside down, and beaten with two sticks)
3. One or more kwaryaa gourds (Besmer 1972/73:4).

The garaya and goge ensembles, composed of only males, are performed "outside compound walls, usually in a cleared place immediately in front of a sponsor's house. K'waryaa gourds played by women. . . take place within secluded compounds and are rarely attended by men" (Besmer 1972/73:5).

Against this background, I would now like to give a detailed account of two bori performances that I saw during my stay in Nigeria: bori at a wedding ceremony, and bori at a festival.

Wedding

The wedding took place in a small Hausa village, Gardun Albasa, in the suburbs (outside the city walls) of Kano City on Friday, February 9, 1974, around five o'clock in the evening. The bori ensemble consisted of: one garaya player,

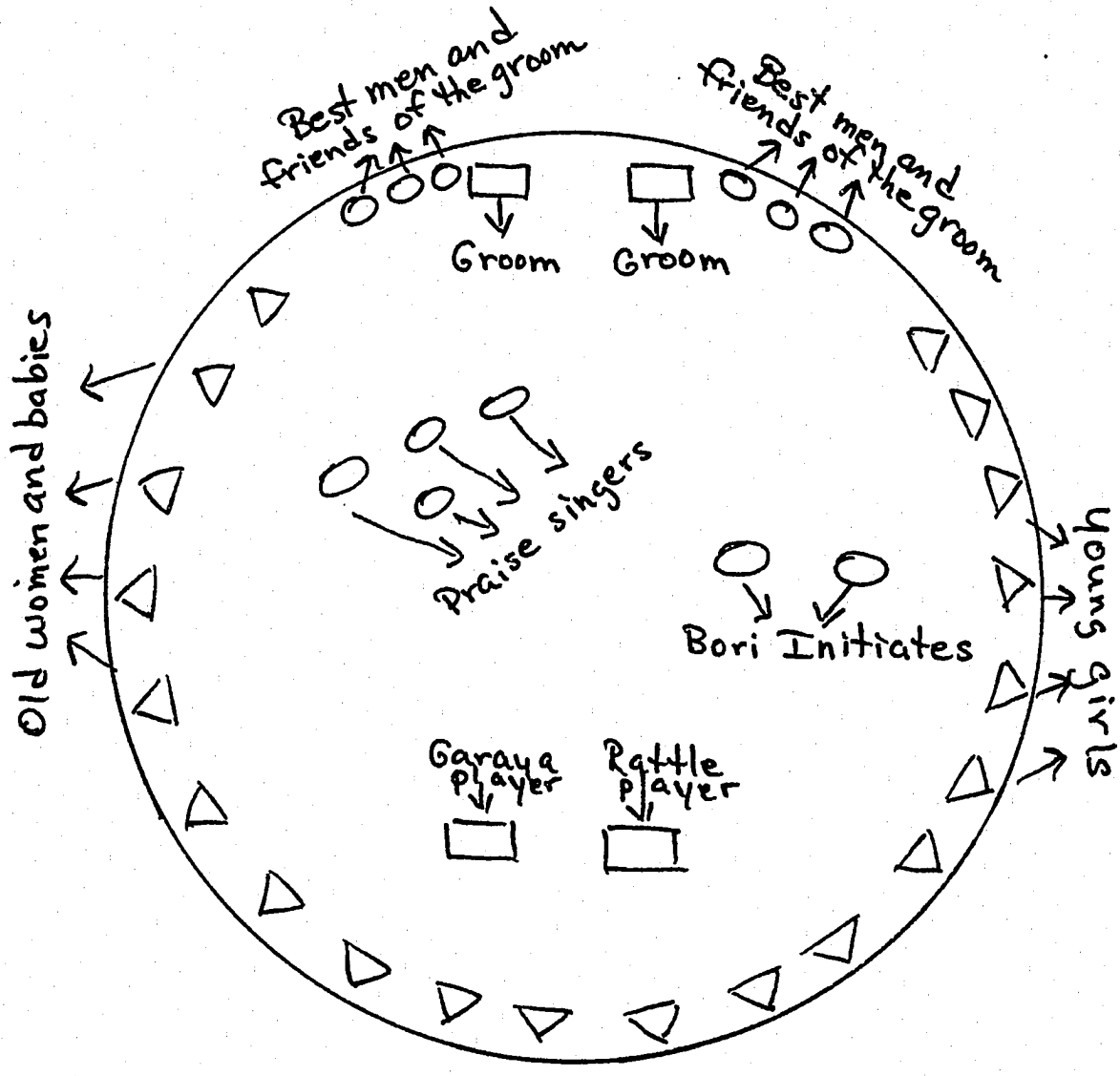
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one rattle player, two bori dancers (initiates) and four praise singers. This activity was only one event of the wedding ceremony--the entire celebration lasts for about a week. The performance took place in an open area in the village square and about fifty to eighty community members congregated in the open area. Chairs were arranged in a circle to accommodate some guests. Those who did not have chairs either sat in front of the seated person (usually small children) or stood behind the chairs (adults). The guests were spatially arranged in a prescribed pattern that is common for events of this type--that is, individuals were located in specifically assigned places; see the diagram on the next page. The bori initiates, described collectively as 'yam bori, on this particular occasion did not go into a trance; this was probably decided before the performance (see page 262).

Argungu Festival

The other occasion at which I saw a bori performance took place in Argungu, a town in the Northwestern State of Nigeria, approximately sixty miles southwest of Sokoto, the state capital. The Argungu Annual Fishing and Cultural Festival was held between February 13-16, 1974. The bori ceremony took place took place during the evening of February 14, 1974, around nine o'clock at the festival village area. The bori performance was only one event among other traditional cultural activities that were organized to provide entertainment for the guests at the Festival Village. Spec-

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Performance Area for

Hausa Wedding Celebration

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tators, therefore, did not go to the performance especially to see bori; rather, they went to see all kinds of recreational activities.

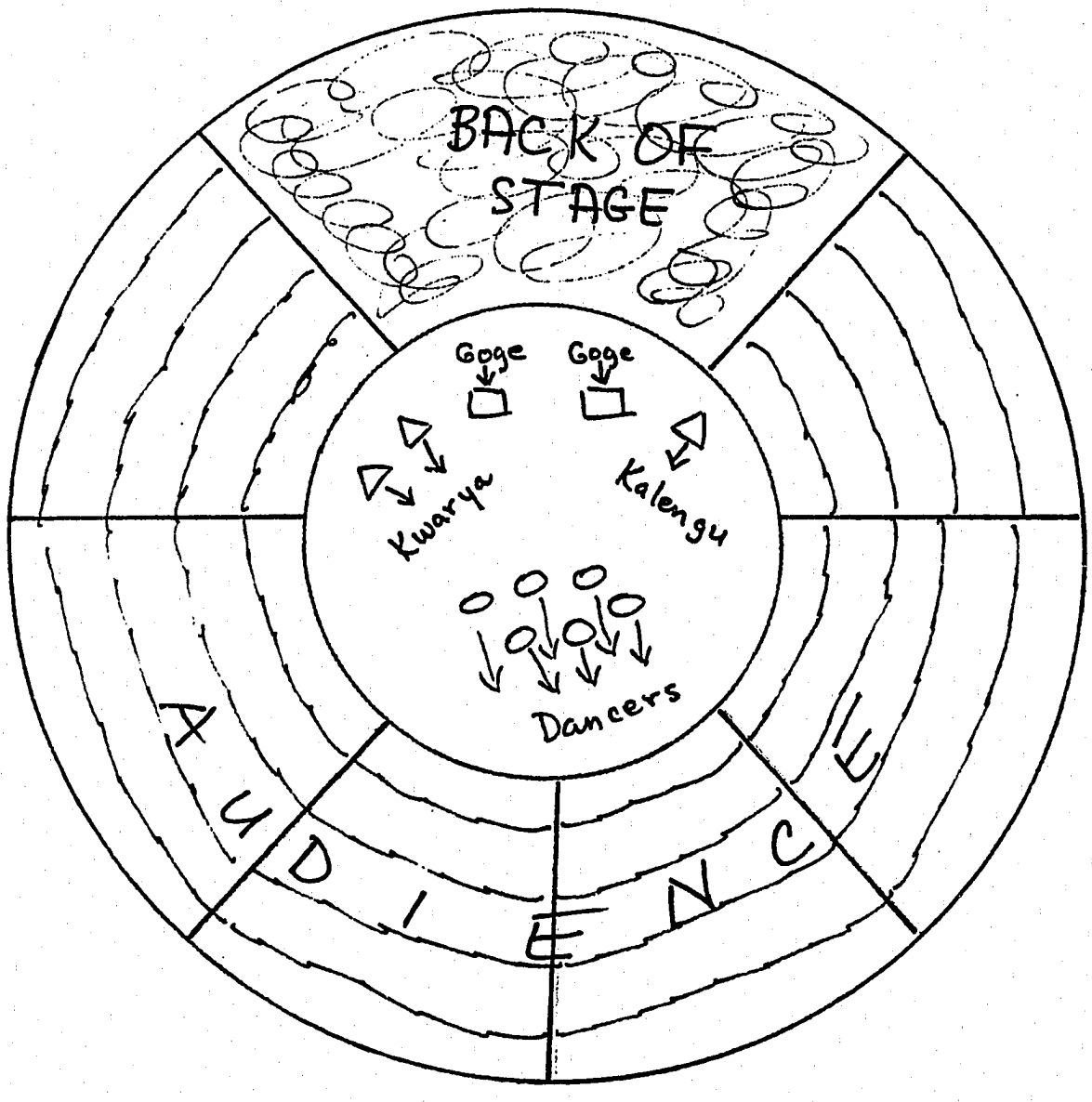
Performers in the bori ceremony included: two goge players, two kwarya players, one kalengu player, and six female dancers (initiates). The festival setting differed from the wedding in several ways: (1) more people were in attendance at the event--two to three hundred; (2) the audience was seated in an open-air theater--that is, ascending rows of seats were arranged around the circular ground area where the players performed (see diagram on the next page); and (3) the bori initiates at this ceremony did fall into a trance. The necessary preparations were probably made to invite the trancers along with the goge players. At this ceremony there was more movement on the part of the bori dancers, performing acrobatic dance steps as they became more engrossed in the trance.

The men instrumentalists were dressed in turquoise colored outfits, while the women wore navy blue. The top cloth over the women's skirt was held with the hands outstretched as if they were imitating birds. As a prelude to the trance the women did some simple basic steps. Then towards the end of the ceremony there was screaming and dance movements became more violent and larger rather than regularized repetitive patterns which had occurred during the prelude. Toward the climax women would plop on the ground as other women helped each other up. The music

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Diagram of

Argungu Festival Village Area



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ended when the women were fully excited and had reached their spiritual concentration (personal fieldnotes, February 14, 1974).

At the time of my field research I had no idea that two types of bori performances could be used during a performance occasion--that is, one that includes trance and the other without trance. According to Besmer "emperical evidence supports the contention that the two events are different and that this difference is deeper than the mere presence or absence of trance. However, it is worth noting that nearly all the constituents found in waasaa (lit. 'play', i.e., no trance) appear in boorii (performance with possession). It would be easy to conclude on an analytic level, therefore, that boorii is merely an expanded form of waasaa, but this is not the way the taxonomy is viewed by the participants. At least one difference exists in the attitude with which each is performed; certainly, the expectations are different" (1972/73:7).

Although Besmer's document (1972/73)[18] is based on a garaya performance, he seems to think that "the underlying principles for possession when it occurs, are the same [for the other instrumental types--goge and kwarya] as for kidan garayaa" (page 5). A number of activities take place during the course of a bori ceremony: "shirin kidaa ('preparation for drumming'),kidaa ('drumming'), and rarrabaa ('to share out' gifts and money at the end of the performance)" (Besmer 1972/73:11). Actually the musical presenta-

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tion constitutes only one-third of the total performance occasion. During the shirin kidaa gifts are given to the performers and a formal or ritual invitation to guests takes place. What occurs during the gift-gifing ceremony (gooron kiraa) determines whether the performance will be with or without trance. If the goge or garaya player accepts the gifts (kola nuts, cash of 10 or more kobos,[19] and two or three bags of hard candy), he is obligated to reciprocate with his services. "At the time the gift is given the (mai kiraa) (caller) specifies what kind of performance is required: either entertainment without trance (waasaa), or a boorii ceremony with trance. It is customary for the gooron kiraa to be slightly larger when trancers are expected to attend the event than when they are not asked to demonstrate possession" (Besmer 1972/73:12).

At wasaa the instrumentalists during the first section of the event begin their performance with a song for the spirit Sarkin Makada and usually end in praise of the spirit Nakaada. Besmer disagrees with the assumption that Sarkin Makada is performed first because he is the most important bori spirit. Rather, Besmer believes "Sarkim Makadaa is first because of his low status as a musician. The symbolism is that of a Hausa parade: musicians ride in front, but the chief or most important person is found somewhere in the middle" (1972?73:18).

Once the music begins guests begin giving gifts of money and clothing to the group through the praise singers

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who describe the gift and the giver in most elaborate detail. While the gift is being announced the music stops, it begins again when the praise-singer presents the gift to the goge or garayaa player.

After the music in praise of Sarkin Makada and Nakada have been performed, the order of songs is somewhat unpredictable, but the normal order usually consists of:

1. kidan manyaa (drumming for the important ones)
2. kidan samaarii (drumming for the young ones of the speaker's own generation or one generation lower)
e. kidan 'yan kankanaanaa (drumming for the very young ones)

The above order may change if special requests are made by guests; such requests are usually accompanied by small cash gifts. Also, when special guests or bori patrons arrive, the goge or garaya player may very likely play songs he knows that the special guest likes. Such an initiation on the part of the instrumentalist is often rewarded with a gift of appreciation (Besmer 1972/73:20).

When bori initiates are invited to the performance, such as the case at Argungu Festival, the event is performed differently. According to Besmer "performances with trance are described by informants as having three components: kidaa na farkoo (the first drumming), kidam boorii (drumming for spirits), and kidan kulleewaa (drumming to lock-up)" 1972/73:22).

The first boorii component is very similar to wasaa in that this is when gifts are given to the performer to

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formally ask the musicians to play. If the performers do not receive the prescribed gifts, they probably would not unpack their instruments. Other aspects of the first component which are similar to the non-trance ceremony include: (1) the playing of Sarkin Makada to open the ceremony, and (2) when gifts are given, the instrumentalists momentarily stop the playing so that the praise singer can announce the gift and giver. "Actually the only structural difference between waasaa and boorii at this level is that a performance with possession may not include kidan Nakaada while waasaa may. It should be added that there is another distinction based on an expectation of what is to come in the boorii event. Informants claim that the rhythm or pace of a trance performance is different from waasaa. This is confirmed by the observation that possession, when it occurs, usually begins within one-to-three hours after kidan Sarkim Makadaa" (Besmer 1972/73:24).

During the second component, kidan boorii, music for the trance sequence consists of three constituents: kidan zawan aljanuu (drumming for the arrival of spirits), possession, and saukan aljanuu (the departing of spirits). The instrumentalists play special melodies and rhythms while the praise singers or chorus recite praise-epithets to invoke the various spirits. After the arrival of spirits, which is frequently marked by behavior resembling catalepsy or epileptic seizure, "the 'yam boorii dance and move about consistent with the character of the spirits on their necks.

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Some aljaanuu treat their 'mounts' most roughly, causing them to beat their bodies, throw themselves to the ground, or crash violently through spectators. Others ride quietly, and their 'yam boorii move around as though in a somnabulistic state. When a 'mount' sneezes or otherwise returns to himself this is the sign the the spirit which has possessed him has left (saukan aljanuu)" (Besmer 1972/73: 25-26).

Sometimes musicians must go through a series of melodies before the trance begins, beginning with lesser spirits. If this does not work, the instrumentalist may resort to playing for the leader of the spirit world Sarkin Aljan (Besmer 1972/73:27). In some cases it is not the fault of the spirit nor the musician when a trance does not take place; rather, the bori initiates may be the problem. In that case Besmer states that the garaya or goge player may hit the trancer's forehead with his own forehead, thus allowing the person to be ridden. Besmer further states that if none of these options works, the ceremony is postponed and everyone simply goes home (page 27).

Bori initiates usually fall into trance in much the same way and at about the same time. Normally seated on the ground in front of a kerosene pressure-lamp between them and the musicians, "their eyes reveal a blank stare as the pace playing increases. Soon after, they begin to perspire and then to slap the ground with their fists, occasionally spinning around in the dust. This thrashing-about

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becomes more and more violent as trance deepens, and they begin to cough, frothing at the mouth and nose. Finally, trance is complete when they crumple to the ground, shaking violently, or when they begin movements characteristic of a particular spirit. When the spirit which has possessed a boorii-adept requires that the mount be dressed in a particular costume during the second level of trance, the trancer is partially revived (the mechanisms for this are not clear) and taken away from the immediate area by one or more attendants, usually women. Where the spirit requires only damaruu (sing. damaraa; medicine belt) and a a gwado (a white, hand-woven cloth used as a wrapper) or other simple clothing these are fixed onto the dam boorii at the possession site" (Besmer 1972/73:27-28).

When possession is complete the bori-adepts become mediums for the spirits that possess them. As trancers dance in a semi-revived state, the instrumentalist plays songs for the individual spirits; songs for superior spirits normally precede songs for inferior spirits. As this happens bori sympathizers give gifts to the spirits, symbolizing their obedience to the spirits that have touched their lives. Usually, the gift-giving does not stop the performance but is integrated with it (page 29).

When a spirit leaves the trancer, this is signalled by sneezing, coughing, or rattling in the throat. Besmer states that "Saukar aljanuu (lit. 'dismounting of the spirit') is not usually accompanied by any special garaayaa

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playing nor any special attention. It is not uncommon for spirits which travel together. . . when both have ridden 'yam boorii in the same event, to leave together, their dawaakii (horses) sitting close to each other and sneezing in unison" (page 30-31).

The third and last component, kidan kulleewaa, of the bori ceremony does not always occur. When the trance sequence is completed sometimes guests will want the performance to continue with music for dancing. Yet, this depends upon the amount of small gifts the goge or garaya player receives for his efforts during the course of the bori ceremony. This final event is optionally concluded with kidan Nakaadaa, "but more often than not the song for the final spirit is never heard" (page 31).

The final event in both wasaa and bori is the sharing out of money and gifts, which is not accompanied by the playing of music. This event is significant for it exemplifies the relationship which the musicians and trancers have with each other. Because the goge or garaya player is the leader of the group, he is responsible for counting and distributing of payment to the various participants. Divisions are made at two venues, the place of the performance and the house of the goge or garaya player. The money is divided into the individual amounts given for each spirit. "These totals are identified by the name of the aljanuu for which they were given and not by the 'yam boorii who acted as their mounts" (page 32). Besmer describes

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the distribution of gifts as follows:

> He [goge or garaya player] collects the gooron kidaa, including kola nuts, bottles of perfume, bolts of cloth, clothing, and cash, and gives two shillings to each of the marookaa (praise-singers) present, whether or not they 'worked' during the performance. Predictable, those who worked receive slightly more than those who did not. The mai garaayaa then gives the rest of the gooron kidaa, uncounted, to an especially trusted member of his group, and this becomes the makadaa's (drummers') share. The sharing-out at the fiilin waasaa completed, everyone leaves the performance site.
>
> The final division is made at the gidam mai garaayaa (the garaayaa-player's house) where all gifts are counted and inventoried. The garaayaa-player gives each of the buutaa- (gourd-rattle) players a share of the cash, kola nuts, and candy, their combined claims not generally exceeding fifty per-cent of the take, and keeps the remainder for himself. From his own share he gives one or two shillings to each of the marookaa who live near or with him. Payments of this latter type constitute part of his personal obligation to the community (Besmer 1972/73:33).

From the above description it is evident that the chordophone player is the central figure in both events--wasaa and bori. Because he is the one who (1) decides whether the event will be with or without trance, depending upon the amount of payment proposed to him; (2) plays the special melodies and gives cues for the rhythms to invoke the bori spirits, and (3) ultimately determines when and how the event should end, again depending upon his payment, no one can dispute the importance of the string player to the ceremony. Mention should be made that rarely do the music makers--string players, rattle players, drummers, and chorus members--become involved in the physical musical drama. Remaining still, they lead or guide the other par-

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ticipants--dancers/trancers and praise singers--depending upon the reaction of the audience. Their role is to lead rather than to become actively involved.

Nightclub

In most nightclub performances the event is not as systematically organized and structured as the bori performance. Much more freedom is allowed for the instrumentalist to perform songs for individual patrons and guests rather than having to arrange material according to the entrance of bori spirits. Also, the audience does not expect a prescribed order of events to take place as in the case of bori, but certain activities do recur in every nightclub performance.

Three types of nightclubs are found in Kano City--lower, middle and upper. Some individuals (Hausa informants) believe that the occurrence or non-occurrence of a fight or duel between individuals at the club is a basis for the different types, but other factors must also be taken into consideration. From the chart on page 270, an insight into the relationship of class structure with the types of music that are preferred by the various socio-economic levels is apparent. The information presented should not be misinterpreted; well-respected Hausa of high social standing do enjoy traditional music. They listen to it, however, in the seclusion and privacy of their homes on hi-fi's or tape recorders; the well-to-do never attend tra-

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Basis for Categories	Lower Level	Middle Level	Upper Level
Number of fights and disagreements between guests	High	Low	None
Closing hour	2:00-3:00 a.m. or later	2:00-3:00 a.m. or later	12:00-1:00 or later on weekends
Socio-economic status of guests	Lower	Upper-lower and Middle	Middle and Upper
Type of ethnic groups in attendance	Northerners	Northerners and Southerners	Foreigners (expatriots), Southerners, and a few Northerners
Occupation of guests	Manual laborers and other traditional occupations	Clerks, civil servants, teachers, chauffeurs, etc.	Well-established businessmen, politicians, civil servants, teachers, clerks, etc.
Music types for entertainment: -Hausa -Western -Other	Hausa traditional music--kalengu and goge musical performances are most popular; unknown or unfamiliar local performers are usually the guest artists	Mixture of Hausa traditional; Western (Black American "soul"); and some "juju" (southern Nigerian highlife); performers are normally well known musicians from various parts of Nigeria and neighboring countries	No traditional Hausa music; Western ("pop" and Black American "soul"); some "juju" (southern Nigerian highlife); music is commonly played from discs
Occurrence of dancing	Rarely done by guests	Occasionally on Western and "juju" music	Club divided into two sections: one for listening and another for dancing

ditional performances at public places such as nightclubs. In public, respected Hausa regard this music as degrading mainly because of their religious affiliation--Koranic law does not adhere to music, especially string or any type of music performed for the purpose of pleasure.

Sometimes private musical performances of Hausa traditional music are organized in the community. For example, during February 1974, students at Abdullahi Bayero College organized traditional activities for their Hausa Week celebrations, which attracted well-educated and respected Hausa individuals. All of the activities were organized by the academic institution and the Emir of Kano was invited as one of the honored guests at the opening session. Although the Emir's presence gave a symbolic sign of approval for other Hausa to attend, he did not attend any of the traditional musical performances that were held during the evenings of Hausa week. It was interesting that only high quality performers were invited to perform; musical types that were tolerated by Islamic law were more appreciated and had a larger attendance (e.g., kotso, taushi, and so forth) rather than string music. Several chordophone performers were invited--a gurmi, kuntigi, and goge player; but it was obvious that the audience preferred the gurmi and kuntigi performances because there was a larger attendance. Even though kalengu music is sometimes avoided by the royalty in Kano (see Note 6 in Besmer 1974:77), Shata, a very famous singer of kalengu music, was well received,

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especially by the young. Shata's fame, personality, style of singing, and controversial song text contribute much to the audience's interest in his performance. In most cases it appeared that the artist was more important than the type of instrument used; this is the case with Shata and some of the other string players--gurmi and kuntigi performers. Certain people were invited because of their notoriety as public figures and not because of the music they would play.

The two nightclub performances that I attended were both held in Kano City:

1. Railway Nite Club, Nassarawa-Kano City, February 19, 1974

2. Kings Garden Club, Brigade-Kano City, February 25, 1974

The guest artist on both occasions was Garba Leo. Because both clubs were attended by both middle class northerners and southerners (clerks, civil servants, teachers, and so forth),[20] it can be inferred that both clubs should be placed in the middle level category. Other factors such as the low incidence of fights, club hours, music types, all seem to suggest that the club would fit into the middle level.[21]

At each of Leo's performances he had the following types of performers:

a. Two goge players (Leo and his apprentice)
b. Two kalengu players (each player had two drums--one 'dan karbi and one kalengu)
c. Two k'warya players

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d. One kuntuku player
e. Five masu amshi (chorus members)
f. Six marok'a (praise singers)

Leo's presentation, like most nightclub performances in Kano City, took place in the open air. The instrumental ensemble was located on a round stage; at some clubs, if the stage is not available, chairs are arranged to give the circular appearance. For an arrangement of the event see the diagram on the next page.

All of the musicians were seated except the marok'a. Even most of the audience were seated and rarely entered the performance circle or stage. The audience was expected to listen without handclapping or other overt responses except for gift-giving to the praise singer. Many times the audience did not listen to the music; rather, they enjoyed the conversation of the other guests until the marok'a interrupted the music to announce a gift, which occurred periodically throughout the performance.

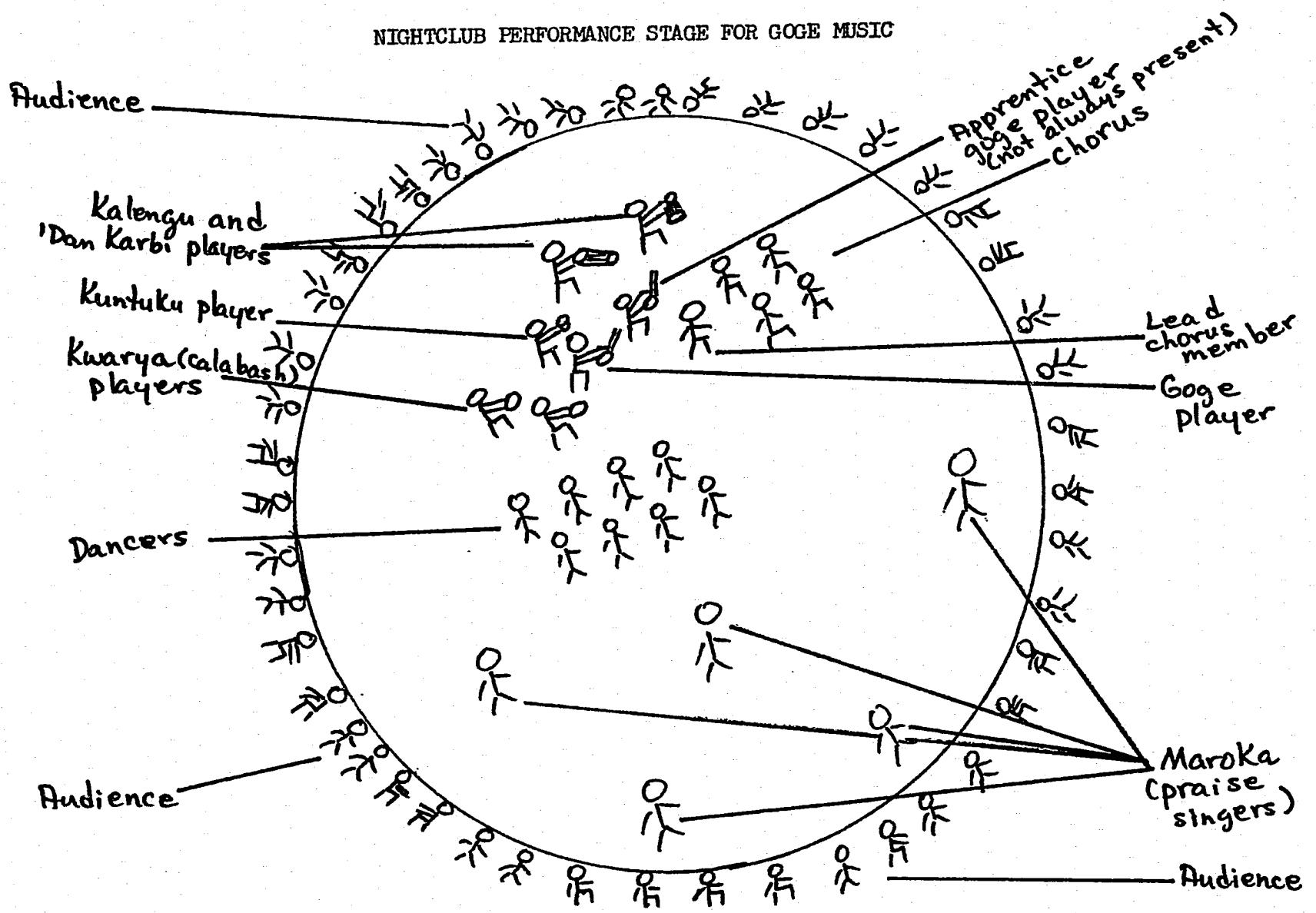
Although some of his comments concerning the goge tradition are questionable, Randall Grass gives a fairly vivid but subjective account of a typical goge nightclub performance:

> On the night of performance by Garba Leo in Kano you will likely find Alh. Leo seated on a mat outside the Niger Club. He will sit conversing with friends and well-wishers, take some food, and sometimes drink magani (local 'medicine' for strength).
>
> Around ten o'clock, he will enter the club and have some drinks at a table. Some of his drummers and a student of goge will be playing in a tentative way, as if flexing musical muscles. People in the club will be sitting and drinking, greeting friends and

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NIGHTCLUB PERFORMANCE STAGE FOR GOGE MUSIC



sometimes doing little spontaneous jig-like dance steps in the large open space of the open-air club. The shrill sound of the amplified goge is like a call to the faithful as the initiatory tunes are played. By ten-thirty, Alh. Leo himself will begin to play with all his musicians, the drummers, calabash players, singers clustered around him, his student at his immediate left with his own instrument. The music has little momentum as yet--he will stop in the middle of songs to smoke, drink or be greeted (people will bow before him according to their status in Hausa society). He begins to improvise praise songs as the singers praise people in the audience. Some of his supporters will dance in the middle of the open area and then rush over to sing in front of the person being praised. This person is expected to contribute money to keep the music going. Anyone who contributes money will have music played for him--whether the contribution is 20 kobo (30 cents) or ten Naira ($15). As soon as money is contributed the supporter will rush in mock haste to the musicians --waving the money high in the air--seize the microphone from the singers and stop the music. He will shout into the microphone, telling Alh. Leo who has contributed, how much, and why. Then the musicians explode into action after a short invocatory phrase from Garba Leo.

As the contributions become more frequent, the music becomes more intense. By 2:00 AM, the contributions are dwindling. There is a short break and then the six dancers appear, sometimes in stage uniforms, sometimes in ordinary clothing, with bright cloths, headties, and waist sashes on the women. The music begins in a medium tempo and the dancers (men and women in separate groups) begin to walk rhythmically in a big circle. Little-by-little, the dancers begin adding movements--turns, twists, undulations--which increase as the music develops. After some time, the male dancers begin leaping high into the air and making fast turns while the women begin to vibrate their bodies and shake their hips as they skip around the circle. By now the musicians are playing hard, the drummers' eyes wide with excitement, and Garba Leo lost in a kind of dreamy trance, rocking back and forth in his chair, trading progressively faster, higher, more complex licks with his student. The rhythm becomes climactic and some of the dancers are literally rolling on the ground, shaking, with the musicians sweating and playing hard and fast. Then suddenly its over as the music stops and the spell is broken (Grass 1976:Record notes from Folkways FW 8860).

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Some of the events that Grass has included in his description did not occur during my attendance at Leo's nightclub appearances in 1974 namely (1) the presence of Leo outside the club before the performances, (2) dancing by the audience, and (3) the semblance of a bori presentation by dancers toward the end of the performance. The only occasion that I observed goge dancing occurred at the Hausa Week celebrations at Abdullahi Bayero College. During that performance the dancing was choreographed with repetitive group movements without trance-like characteristics described by Grass. My one observation, however, does not establish enough evidence to discredit Mr. Grass' documentation.

Differences are bound to occur from performance to performance by an artist. The main factor is the similarities of the activities that are apparent in the role of the performers at the bori and nightclub performances. On both occasions the goge player is the silent leader and conductor of the event. On occasion he might lead a line of the song, especially when chorus members make mistakes or do not understand the verbal message from the fiddle. Other than these exceptional occurrences he silently controls the entire group, while the other units respond accordingly.

Dagomba

Let us now examine more specifically musical per-

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formances at which gondze music is used. For the purposes of this study two Dagomba occasions will be analyzed: Tsimsi Tsugu (festive occasion) and homage paying.

Festival

People who have adopted (even nominally) Islam seem to take pride in celebrating Muslim holidays. This is one act of faith in which all normally participate; non-Muslims who live adjacent to Muslims become involved in the feasting. (Maguzawa are known to celebrate Muslim holidays even though they have not been converted.) Muslim feasts that are most commonly celebrated in Africa include:

1. Ramadan Festival--commemorates the end of the fast (ninth) month; usually celebrated the first three days of the succeeding month--Shawwal
2. Great Feast--month of pilgrimage to Mecca; also month to commemorate the sacrifice made by Ibrahim (Abraham) to God; celebrated either the 10th or 12th day of the twelfth month
3. Mawlid--anniversary of Mohammed's birthday; usually celebrated either the 18th or 19th day of the third month

Festivals celebrated in the northern region of Ghana are interesting in that both traditional and Islamic elements have been integrated into the activities. Ghanaian scholars who have analyzed such events admit that elements from both traditions have been fused, but doubt if the average northerner realizes such has occurred. On this subject see the introductory statement made by the Ministry of Culture in Tamale concerning festivals in northern Ghana:

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> The following festivals which are common to the Dagombas, the Gonjas, Mamprusis and Chakosis, all have a background which is Moslem. It is true however that the ceremonies attached to these festivals are not as can be found in pure Moslem societies, e.g. in Northern Nigeric, etc., but have been mixed with pagan practices showing how cleverly the Moslems treated their religion in such a way as to adapt it to local customs which are pagan in origin (Anon [b] n.d.:1).

A number of such festivals are celebrated in northern Ghana: Damba, Kpini, Kongus, Chimsi (Tsimsi), and Bugum (Anon [b] n.d.:1). All of these have a religious basis, but this is not always evident from observation. Some of the same festivals are celebrated in other areas of Africa around the same time of the year but are known by various names. Even though most cultures have adopted the months of the Muslim lunar calendar, societies prefer to use local terms for the different feasts. (See the table on the following page for a sample of the variety of terms that are used.) The only way in which an observer can tell whether feasts are the same is by examining the dates when they are celebrated during the Muslim lunar calendar year. Moreover, this factor is not always constant, for some cultures use different days to celebrate the feast. Notice the different days used to celebrate the "Great Feast" and prophet's birthday on the chart.

Although the sacrificial aspect of the "Great Feast" (known as Tsimsi among the Dagomba) appears to have some importance in Dagbon, many also refer to the event as the beginning of a new year. Even Sulley, a Dagomba informant,

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Names of Months in Mohammadan Calendar (Morse Vol. 23, 1955:8551)	Number of Days in Month	Gregorian Dates Used for Months in Ghana During 1972/73 A.D.	Dagomba (Anon b n.d.)	Hausa (Ames and King 1971)	Arabia and Africa (Lewis 1966)	Arabia and Western (Morse 1955)
1. Muharram	30	Feb. 15, 1972				
2. Safar	29	Mar. 16, 1972				
3. Rabia I	30	Apr. 14, 1972	Damba (celebrated 12th-18th day of month	Sallar Takutufa (celebrated 18th-19th day of month)	Mawlid	
4. Rabia II	29	May 14, 1972				
5. Jumada I	30	June 12, 1972				
6. Jumada II	29	Jul. 12, 1972				
7. Rajab	30	Aug. 10, 1972				
8. Shaban	29	Sep. 9, 1972				
9. Ramadan (Month of Fast)	30	Oct. 8, 1972	Konyur (celebrated first three days of Shawwal)	K'aramar Salla (celebrated close of fast month)	'Id al-Fitr	Eed al-Fetr or Eed es-Sagheer (celebrated first three days of succeeding month)
10. Shawwal	29	Nov. 7, 1972				
11. Zu'lkadah	30	Dec. 6, 1972				
12. Zu'lhijjah (Month of Pilgrimage and Sacrifice)	29	Jan. 5, 1973	Tsimsi Tsugu (celebrated eve of 12th and following two days)	Babbar Salla (celebrated 10th day of month)	'Id al-Kabir & Tabaske in Western Sudan (celebrated 12th day of month)	Eed al-Kebeer or Eed al-Kuban (celebrated 10th day of month)

gave me this information and did not mention the pilgrimage nor Ibrahim's sacrifice as being significant to the festival (this information was obtained later from library research). In addition the Dagomba use this opportunity to commemorate traditional elements of their culture--that is, to reaffirm their allegiance to the Ya Na, leader of the Dagomba State. Lewis indicates that the celebration of 'Id al-Kabir in many Sudanese societies provides the opportunity for public payment of homage to kings and chiefs and serves as a "display of kingship" and a "confirmation of political allegiance" (1966:71). These people(s), therefore, have developed a means by which to honor both their religious and political institutions.

Tsimsi is the actual name of the festival; Tsugu, in Dagbani, means festival. All of the festivities usually occur during a three day period. The Tsimsi celebration that I observed took place between January 15-17, 1973:

I. First Day, Monday, January 15, 1973 8:30 p.m.
   A. Announcement that the celebration has officially begun
   B. Recitation of royal genealogy

II. Second Day, Tuesday, January 16, 1973
   A. Morning collective prayers (without Ya Na) 9:00 a.m.
      --cavalcade by Imam and Elders to praying grounds (on horse back)
      --prayers of faith by Imam, muezzin, and congregation
      --almsgiving (money)
      --sacrifice and slaughter of goat
      --cavalcade by Imam, Elders, and congregation back to town
   B. Afternoon collective prayers (with Ya Na) 3:00 p.m.
      --royal cavalcade by Imam, Ya Na, Elders, musi-

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cians and congregation from town to praying grounds.
--prayers of faith by Imam and muezzin
--payment of homage to Ya Na
--sacrifice and slaughter of goat
--royal cavalcade back to Ya Na's palace

C. King's feast outside and inside palace grounds 4:00 p.m.
D. Community feast 6:00 p.m.

III. Third Day, Wednesday, January 17, 1973
A. Morning 9:00 a.m.
--distribution of sacrificed meat to friends and relatives
B. Afternoon 3:00 p.m.
--public display of kingship
--community display of allegiance to Ya Na and Dagomba kingdom by warriors and other groups

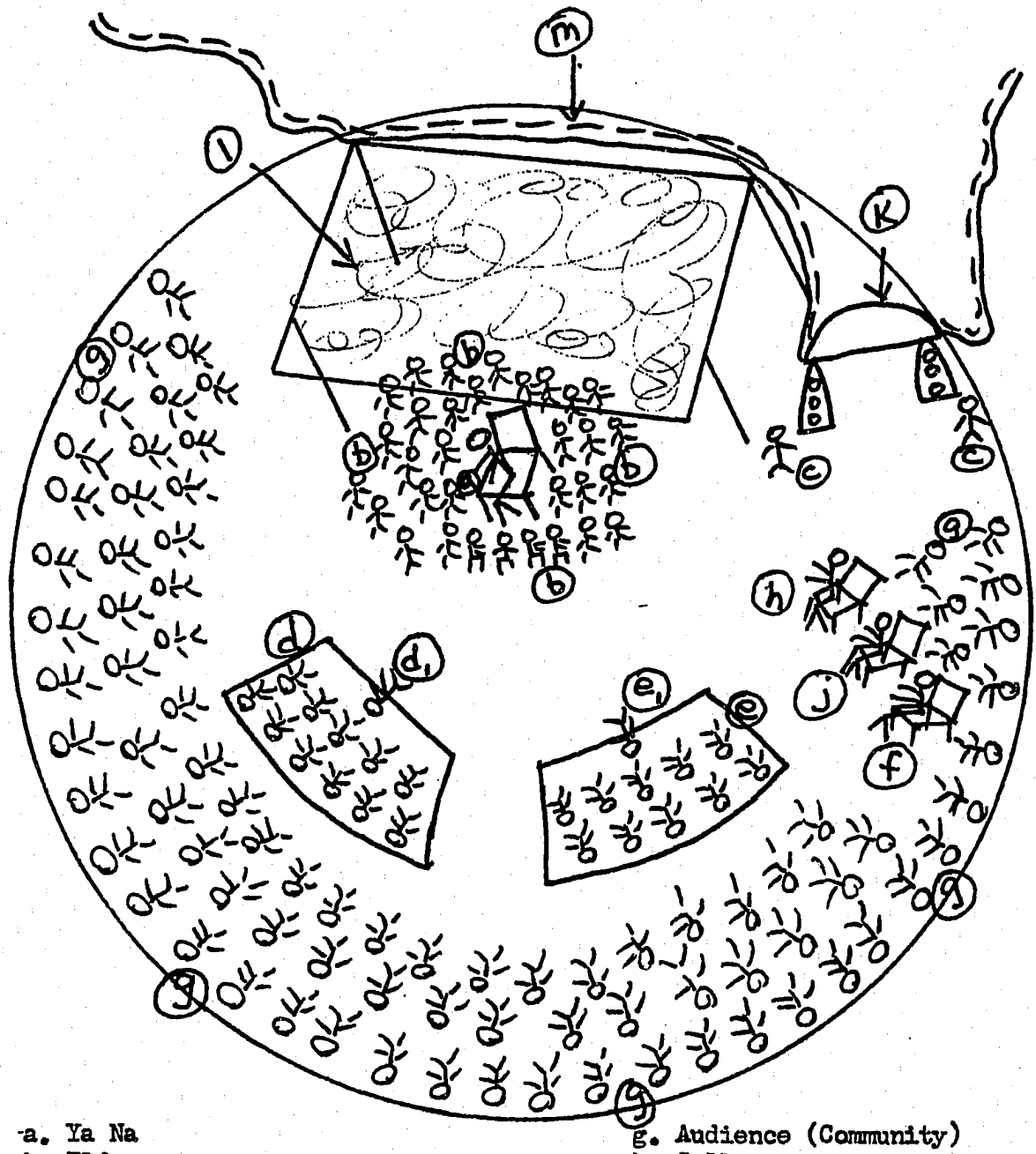
The two gondze performances that will be analyzed in detail are those which occurred on Monday evening and Tuesday afternoon. These two examples clearly demonstrate the scope of musical involvement by the gondze at most festive occasions.

On the eve of either 'Id al-Fitr or 'Id al-Kabir the Hausa, similar to Dagomba, organize a ceremony to officially announce the beginning of the festive occasion. In Hausaland the ceremony on the eve of such feasts is called Kidan Daran Salla; see Besmer 1974 for a detail description of this event. I do not know the Dagbani term for the event, but similar activities usually occur in both cultures.

Monday's performance took place immediately outside the Ya Na's palace right on the edge of the zana.[22] The area was not very large but was arranged in such a way to accommodate up to five to six hundred people. See the diagram on the next page.

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Diagram of Monday Evening's Performance
January 15, 1973
Edge of Ya Na's Zana



a. Ya Na
b. Elders
c. Flute Players
d. Lansi d_1. Sampahi-Na
e. Gondze e_1. Sulemana Gondze
f. Queen Mother (Ya Na's eldest sister)
g. Audience (Community)
h. Sulley, my informant
j. Me, Jackie
k. Door of palace
l. Tin covering over zana
m. Palace wall (=======)

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The Ya Na, at all times was accompanied by the Elders (Chief Council of the Dagomba State in Yendi) and court attendants. They either sat or stood around the king as he sat in state, something that they do at all royal gatherings whether the king is present or not. Although the Dagomba refer to their king's throne as the "skins," the Ya Na does not actually sit on the skins when in the presence of commoners as was the case for this performance. Rather, a chair (locally built recliner), covered with a richly red decorated cloth, was placed on a platform for the Ya Na' throne. A top covering, whether it be a tin shelter or large umbrella, is normally used for the king whenever he is in public; such paraphernalia is not used inside the palace grounds unless the king is preparing for a procession.

Like the Hausa performances, the area for most Dagomba musical activities is arranged in a circle with musicians and other performers (dancers and praise singers) located in the middle. The only musicians who do not perform in the circle are the flute players. Either a pair of them stand on each side of the king or they are located on each side of the door of the king's palace.

At about eight-thirty o'clock in the evening fourteen lunsi drummers, led by the Sampahi-Na (lead drummer), began playing to officially announce the commencement of Tsimsi Tsugu. As they performed members of the community began to gather near the palace. By nine o'clock three to four

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hundred had arrived and the crowd was composed of about five hundred by the end of the performance.

After about forty-five minutes of drumming the Ya Na and Elders entered the gathering and took their reserved seats. Their entrance was not accompanied by a musical procession except for drumming and wind blowing. With the Ya Na's arrival the actual reciting of the royal genealogy began. The Sampahi-Na did not begin his recitation with the first Dagomba king (this undoubtedly would have caused the event to last till morning), but started with Ya Na Yanzoo, the eighteenth Dagomba king (see Appendix B). The lunsi's recitation was sung responsorially, with the Sampahi-Na singing the lead--that is, giving the actual historical accounts concerning the kings--while the other drummers performed a repetitive rhythmic response on their lunsi. The only verbal sounds were made by the Sampahi-Na; no verbal choral response was performed by other drummers. The reciting by the lunsi continued for about three hours. During the course of their presentation certain activities took place:

1. At ten o'clock the Ya Na with a few of his elders left the gathering and returned inside the palace for about fifteen minutes; he returned at 10:15 p.m.

2. During the Ya Na's brief absence the gondze players arrived and took their reserved places inside the circle (all the musicians sat on the ground).

3. At eleven o'clock men and women dancers entered the circle for the "victory dance." Men, carrying long sticks to symbolize weapons, and women, also carrying heavy loads on their backs,[23] danced to the accompaniment of the lunsi drumming, moving counter-

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> clockwise inside the circle. Screams and hollers were heard symbolizing victory in war. The dance according to Sulley, is enacted as part of the royal genealogical history where one of the Dagomba kings, Ya Na Luro, won a victory over the Gonja people. They danced twenty to thirty minutes and left the gathering.

After about twenty-thirty minutes of accompanying the dancer, the Sampahi-Na and lunsi drummers then continued their previous style of performing the royal genealogy.

Around twelve o'clock in the early morning the gondze players, consisting of fifteen to twenty (half fiddlers and half rattlers) men, women, and children, began their recitation of the royal genealogy. With the entire group standing in a semi-circle and facing the Ya Na, Sulemana, nephew to Yamba Na Salifu, began the recitation of praises with Ya Na Yakuba (praise song is entitled "Nantoh"--see Appendix F for transcription), the thirty-fifth Dagomba king[24] and continued to Ya Na Mohamadu Abudulai IV, the reigning king at that time (see Appendix E for text of all gondze songs performed at this ceremony).

The formal musical organization of the gondze recitation differed from the lunsi in that all members of the group sang--fiddlers and rattlers. Of course Sulemana actually led and sang the historical accounts and deeds of the various kings, while the remaining members sang a short repetitive musical phrase as a choral response. The formal music structure was similar to the lunsi in that the gondze, like the lunsi who played a repetitive rhythm, also played a

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repetitive melodic statement. A different melodic phrase was performed as the choral response for each of the eight songs changed. The lunsi rarely changed their rhythmic pattern except during the victory dance--that is, the same rhythm was used for all of the praise songs for various kings.

When the gondze performed, a different mood was apparent among the audience members. During the drumming people were seated attentively, listening to the recitation with occasional comments of laughter, nods of the head, and other sounds of agreement, approval or satisfaction (saying "naa" or with screams of ululations). Some noise was heard (talking) from people seated some distance from the gathering. When the gondze began their presentation, persons began to disperse and a few joined partners and danced all around the outside of the circle. It appeared as if the gondze music caused a jovial atmosphere, not as serious as the lunsi presentation.[25]

The gondze players, themselves, did not dance or make any unnecessary movements not connected with the motor responses of playing their instruments. As will be shown later, the gondze normally participate in the performance with lots of physical gestures and dancing. Also, no gifts were given to either performance groups--that is, no audience members entered the circle to place money on the forehead of the players. This usually occurs, as will be described below, on performance occasions.

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The entire gondze presentation took approximately fifteen to twenty minutes. Praise songs varied in length; each, however, lasted for about one to two minutes. After performing the final praise song in honor of Ya Na Mohamadu Abudulai IV, the Elders showed appreciation by snapping their fingers (way in which Dagomba applaud). Then processional music, used for all reigning Dagomba leaders,[26] was played as the Ya Na walked back to the palace surrounded by Elders and court attendants. When the Ya Na entered the palace, the ceremony was officially ended and everyone returned to their homes. Neither the gondze nor wind players accompanied the Ya Na inside the palace on this occasion.

The Tuesday afternoon ceremony took place at the praying grounds outside the town (different from location of Tuesday morning prayers). It differed greatly from the event of the morning because although Islamic elements were included, traditional practices overshadowed the purely Muslim ritual. At three o'clock participants in the royal cavalcade gathered in front of the Ya Na's palace for the processional to the praying grounds. Unlike the Tuesday morning congregational prayers, the king participated in this cavalcade along with his royal courtiers (people who carried the royal insignia--throne, umbrella, fans, and so forth), Elders, and musicians--lunsi, gondze, bell players, and flute players. All of the royal and religious leaders--king, Imam, and Elders--rode on horseback behind the musi-

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cians, while other participants either stood alongside the road to the praying grounds (see Plate 27 for example of gondze involvement of a royal cavalcade).

Once they arrived at the praying grounds (one thousand or more attended, a larger attendance than the morning service), everyone formed a circle; the Ya Na sat on his throne underneath a large umbrella while the Elders sat in front of the king on the ground. The royal courtiers (umbrella holders, fanners, and others) stood immediately alongside and in back of the king. The physical arrangement was somewhat similar to Monday evening's genealogy recitation except for the following: (1) more courtiers were in attendance and took up some of the space previously occupied by the Elders, (2) the gondze players stood to the complete right of the king, while the lunsi were on his left, (3) no one sat on the ground except the Elders, and (4) no one sat or stood in the middle of the circle.

The service began with prayers by the Yidan Moli (head Imam) and muezzin (caller). Neither of these persons were on the high platform as they had been during the morning prayer service. Only the Yidan Moli and Elders knelt to the east and prayed; neither the Ya Na nor other community members participated in the prayers as had occurred during the morning. After the prayers of faith (much shorter than the morning--about five to ten minutes), people paid homage to the king by giving money;[27] they threw money on a rug placed in front of the king as the Elders counted

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it. Similar to the morning service, a goat was then sacrificed and slaughtered in the middle of the circle. After the sacrificial rituals were completed, the king, Imam, and Elders mounted their horses for the cavalcade back to the palace, while others (courtiers, musicians, and community members) processed on foot, dancing and parading to gondze and lunsi music. Some people stood along the road and looked on as participants passed. As mentioned earlier such traditional activities (singing and dancing to music during the parade) did not occur during the morning events.

Once participants arrived at the palace, a semi-circle was formed by community members. The king dismounted his horse and sat on his throne under the zana near the entrance of the palace (same area where the royal genealogy took place).[28] Much music-making continued from the gondze, who were seated under the shelter with the Elders, and wind players, who each stood on either side of the Ya Na. The drummers (lunsi and timpani) performed at another location--twenty to thirty feet on the other side of the circle facing the king. Community members would enter the circle to dance as the king sat in state and watched the performance.

This continued until about 4:45 p.m. when the king entered the palace grounds dancing to processional music by the gondze ("Bruso/Taakaa sannu"). At this time certain community members remained on the outside and continued their feasting to the accompaniment of drum and bell music. Only the fiddlers and flute players entered the inside pa-

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lace grounds with king, Elders, and royal family members. Upon the king's entrance inside the palace, he continued to dance before retiring to his private chambers to change into a more relaxing attire.[29] The gondze and flute players continued to play in the Ya Na's absence, while the Queen Mother (king's eldest sister) and other family members danced--even some gondze players danced. Individuals normally danced individually, not in a group (see Chapter Eight). As each person danced in the circle, which had been formed in the courtyard, various people in the audience (only twenty-five to thirty were present) would show appreciation for the dance and music by either placing money on the forehead of the dancer or the lead gondze singer (in this case Sulemana). Although all of the money would eventually go to the gondze players (each dancer would turn over all of his/her money to the gondze when he/she had finished), more excitement was created through giving gifts to the dancer (see photo of gift-giving to Queen Mother in Plate 28).

When the king returned to his small private party inside the courtyard, he first gave gifts of money to his subjects. This gift-giving imparted more excitement to the musical drama that had already been taking place in his absence. As subjects (relatives, flute and gondze players) received their honoraria, they would kneel before the king while he placed the money on their foreheads (see photo of Ya Na Mohammadu Abudulai IV giving gifts to Queen Mother in Plate 29). During the course of the gift-giving the gondze

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continued playing. Honoraria given to the fiddlers appeared to create the most excitement for all involved. Before giving money to the gondze the king danced in the circle, but wanted special music for his dance. If the gondze did not play the correct tune, the king just stood still, shaking his head in disapproval. This little drama continued between the king and lead gondze until the fiddler commenced the desired song. When this was done the Ya Na began dancing again and everyone was happy. The members of the audience either screamed, ululated, clapped hands, or danced in place with excitement over the musical drama between the king and musicians. The gondze, as a reward, then obtained his honorarium; Sulemana knelt on the ground while the king danced and then placed the money on Sulemana's forehead--this was the largest honorarium given to anyone. As the coins (he had about NC5.00 worth of 20 piece pesewa coins) fell to the ground, the other fiddlers and rattlers (one or two) picked up the money and gave it to the Yamba Na who looked on.

Around six o'clock the king's private feasting ended when he returned into his private chamber and everyone left the inner palace yard. The community feasting, however, had not ceased. Most of the children in the community--mostly girls--paraded the streets cheering in celebration of the festive activities. One small boy (about ten or twelve years of age) with an hour-glass drum played for the girls as they sang and danced through the town. A group of

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elder people followed and gathered around the gondze players as the gondze returned to their home. Some lunsi drummers accompanied prominent townspeople to entertain them in their homes, while other drummers played for people who remained in front of the palace for festivities.

Tsimsi is an event when fiddlers have an opportunity to display their talents. On this occasion the entire gondze family members (about twenty to twenty-five) participate in the performance occasion. A variety of songs were used by gondze and lunsi at Tsimsi in 1973. In most cases they performed royal genealogy songs (probably the most favorite ones) along with other types of proverbial and recreational praise songs. The gondze regularly played the Ya Na's processional tune--they often performed two or three other songs and then returned to the royal processional music. Women and young children as well as adult men all participated in the event. And the audience and community members actively responded to the music by dancing and doing whatever they felt.

Homage Paying

The bi-weekly homage ceremony is not as elaborate in presentation as the festival described above. Homage paying appears to be one of those traditional elements of Dagomba culture that has been sustained and integrated with Islamic practices. The fact that homage occurs as often as it does demonstrates the importance of the king and Dagomba politi-

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cal state to the people.

The homage event as it exists in Dagbon differs from a similar activity practiced by the Hausa. In Hausaland waza (also called sara or ki'dan daren juma'a), a weekly, obligatory performance by musicians of officialdom outside their patrons' place of residence, usually takes place on Thursday evenings. In Zaria some of the royal musicians play other nights of the week (Ames and King 1971:129). Hausa fiddlers, however, do not take part in this weekly homage to officialdom; only royal court musicians perform on such occasions.

Among the Dagomba the above event takes place not once but twice a week. "At dawn on the mornings of Mondays and Fridays including days falling with certain festivals these violinists go to play in the Yaa-Naa's palace. Later, by 9:00 a.m. they are back to the palace to escort out the Yaa-Naa to receive homage from his elders and subjects" (Sulley 1973:52). At the nine o'clock performance all of the Ya Na's royal musicians participate, including the gondze, lunsi, timpani, and flute players.

The homage ceremony which I observed took place on Friday morning, January 19, 1973, outside the entrance of the Ya Na's palace under the zana where the king sat during the Tuesday afternoon's events. Although it was later learned that the Ya Na would not preside at the ceremony, for kings never sit in state on the morning of a Friday market day (he would be present later in the day around four o'clock),[30]

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participants continued with the ceremony in the king's absence. The major participants included: elders, musicians (gondze, lunsi, timpani, and flute players), and community members--only thirty to forty persons. Possibly few people attended because they knew of the Ya Na's absence.

When Sulley and I arrived at 9:15 a.m. (a little late), timpani drummers had already begun their performance. The two drummers, one standing on opposite sides of the zana, played praises on the two talking drums for each person who arrived at the ceremony--in that way, the Ya Na knew who was attending the occasion and the person's time of arrival. If a praise song was played, the praised individual was obligated to give both drummers gifts of money or something else. Sulley, my informant, gave a couple of ten pesewa coins for his praise song when we arrived.

Around 9:30 a.m. the gondze players arrived--Yamba Na Salifu, Sulemana, and three other small boys--and were greeted by the timpani drummers. After giving a few coins they entered the circular entrance hall (zong)[31] of the palace (place where horses are also tied) and immediately began singing and playing royal genealogy songs (see Appendix E for text of some of the songs). The seven of them (two young females about five years of age arrived late) were seated on the floor amongst grass left for the horses. For the first time during my stay in Yendi Yamba Na Salifu vocally led all of the gondze songs. The two fiddlers and five rattlers continued their playing, entertaining the king

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who was in one of the interior rooms of the palace.

The lunsi drummers arrived around 9:45 a.m.; they did not enter the palace but sat on the ground under a shelter about forty feet from the palace entrance.[32] Upon arrival the lunsi did not immediately begin to play; rather, they waited ten to fifteen minutes before drumming.

As the lunsi were arriving one of the Ya Na's attendants placed the king's throne in state. Even though the Dagomba leader would not be present at the function, by tradition his chair must always be present in his presence or absence.[33]

Around ten o'clock the timpani drummers announced the arrival of the elders, who went immediately inside the palace. At 10:05 a.m., led by the gondze (at this time the gondze group was composed of nine players--one additional fiddler and rattler had arrived late) and wind players, the elders walked slowly out of the palace. Gondze, timpani, flute, and lunsi music was played simultaneously as the elders processed and arranged themselves around the king's throne. During the procession the lunsi left their shelter to join the others at the palace door.

After the elders were seated, only the lunsi continued to play as the Sampahi-Na recited genealogy praises. Elders, who arrived late, took their places as the lunsi performed. When the lunsi completed their recitation, they returned to their shelter to deposit their drums before sitting with others in front of the king's throne. As this was done,

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flute music was played. After the completion of the flute music, the elders snapped their fingers in appreciation.

Then the gondze continued their playing of royal genealogy songs. The elders snapped their fingers after each praise song. As gondze and timpani (they simultaneously played praises) music was being played, kola nuts were distributed to guests--lunsi, elders, gondze, timpani, and flute players (this was done by one of the elders in the Ya Na's absence). When everyone had received and paid homage, the function ended without any further ritual. Everyone went their separate ways. If the Ya Na had been present, probably a recessional into the palace by the gondze, flute players, elders, king and his attendants would have taken place (personal Yendi field research notes, 1973, pages 47-52).

Similar to the other activities that have been described, each participant in the homage ceremony, it appeared, had been assigned a specific location. The elders were seated around the king's throne, which had been placed on a platform at the rear of the zana with its front facing the audience. Flute players (two) were standing on either side of the king's throne. The gondze were seated on the right facing the throne, while the lunsi sat on the left. The timpani remained in their respective places at opposite ends of the zana. Other audience members sat or stood behind the seated drummers and fiddlers.

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Throughout the homage ceremony the gondze performed only royal genealogy songs led by Yamba Na Salifu. Similar to the festival celebrations on Monday evening, the gondze only sat and played without many physical gestures--no dancing or gift-giving occurred. In fact the occasion appeared to be more solemn, for none of the audience members danced as had occurred at the royal genealogy ceremony on Monday evening. Participants probably were not inspired to involve themselves in verbal or physical behaviour behaviour because the event occurs so often; the event regularly takes place each Monday and Friday. .

At some point during the performance each group of musicians performed alone; probably each, by tradition, recited some of the Dagomba history since the purpose of the homage is to reaffirm and pledge their faith and allegiance to the Dagomba kingdom and its leader. This is most artfully done by reiterating events of the past. The timpani performed their historical praises during the beginning, in between the praises they played for individuals who arrived, and throughout the course of the ceremony. The gondze gave their presentation before the ceremony in the zong and during the distribution of kola nuts. The lunsi and flute players, respectively, performed their genealogy songs right after the procession to the zana and before the distribution of kola nuts.

Now let us look more closely at the similarities and differences of the performance occasions in the two socie-

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ties (see chart on the following pages). The most interesting factor in the performance occasions is the lead fiddler. In Dagbon the lead gondze player, also the lead vocalist, is the central figure at a performance. Of course, this may not have been most apparent because of the nature of the performance occasions described above. At homage and festive occasions other instrumental groups perform at the same event; the authority of the lead fiddler, therefore, is not prominent. Yet, if the gondze were the sole entertainment at a wedding performance, the leadership role of the lead fiddler would be most evident as in the case of the Hausa fiddler.[34] Like the fiddler in a goge group, the lead gondze player is the conductor; he is the one who takes all of the decisions concerning song types, rhythm, and text. But unlike the Hausa fiddler, the Dagomba leader physically and verbally becomes involved in the musical drama. He is the one who conducts, but he also is the main actor. Many times he dramatically sings the text, using facial and body expressions to tell the story of the text. If the gondze group were performing at a wedding, it is not uncommon for the lead fiddler to stop singing and playing to dance among the guests, who are then encouraged to dance more enthusiastically at the performance. More involvement by the audience also enhances the gift-giving, although I am not sure if this is the primary purpose for such actions by the gondze. When more people dance during the performance, the audience tends to show their appreciation by

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Similarities and Differences
of Hausa and Dagomba One String Fiddle Performances

Hausa	Dagomba
Instrumentation	
1. Have a larger variety of instruments--at important occasions the group is composed of one or two chordophones, two idiophones, and two membranophones.	1. Only two instrumental types are ever used at a performance--one or more chordophones and one or more idiophones. No membranophones are ever used.
Organization	
1. Even though the size of the group may or may not be larger, a wider variety of participants are included: fiddler(s), drummers, chorus members, praise singers, and dancers.	1. The size of the group may or may not be smaller, but types of participants are not as varied: fiddler(s)/vocalist(s) and rattler(s)/vocalist(s).
2. The sole fiddler is always the performance and managing leader of the group.	2. Performance lead fiddler may not always be the managing leader; whoever is eldest assumes the managing leadership role.
3. Rarely are children included in the ensemble for performances.	3. Children normally participate in all performances usually as rattlers/chorus members, but some males also fiddle.
Mode of Presentation	
1. Actions performed by the fiddler are not as diverse as the performance by the lead gondze fiddler. The goge leader rarely sings or dances during a performance. In most cases he is always seated during the entire performance.	1. Actions performed by the lead fiddler during a performance are quite varied; he sings the lead vocal part and leads in fiddle playing. On occasion he momentarily stops playing the fiddle to sing improvisatory textual phrases or dances for or with the audience. Also, he is the main actor in the musical drama that takes place between performers and audience. He, therefore, rarely sits during a performance unless demanded by the occasion.

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2. Other members in the group have specified functions. Chorus members respond verbally to the fiddler's playing. Drummers provide the rhythmic accompaniment and sometimes sing the choral response. Praise singers recite praises to the audience, collects gifts, and then announces the amount and donor to the public. Professional dancers are used to provide added dancing entertainment.	2. Other members fiddle, rattle, and sing the choral response to the lead fiddler/vocalist. A couple of rattlers or fiddlers are responsible for collecting gifts. No professional praise singers are used to sing and announce praises; the lead fiddler/vocalist assumes this role. Also, no professional dancers are included; members of the ensemble dance if the audience is reluctant to participate.
3. Audience is not always encouraged to actively participate in performances except for gift-giving. Only professional dancers/trancers sometimes participate in the musical drama.	3. Audience is encouraged to participate--especially in dancing and musical drama between performer and audience.

Gift-Giving

1. Giving of gifts is emphasized. Fiddler bases the length and mood of performance on the amount of payment received.	1. Giving of gifts is not as emphasized by the group. Amount of gift does not have as much effect on the length and type of performance.
2. Musicians play special requests solely to receive more gifts.	2. Musicians play special requests not especially for the monetary reward but to give pleasure to the audience.

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placing coins and bills on the forehead of the dancer, who then gives all of the money to the lead fiddler (see Chapter Eight). One might say the Dagomba more subtlely inspire gift-giving, which is different from the more blunt and direct tactics used by the Hausa. Documentation shows that Hausa fiddlers will not even unpack their instruments at some ceremonies if they are not satisfied with the proposed payment agreement (Besmer 1972/73:11-18) or will publicly ridicule a donor if payment is not readily or handsomely given (see Chapter Six, pages 197-198).

Meaning and Value of Musical Performance

An examination of a musical performance is not complete without some discussion of the aim and purpose of such occasions or musical events and meaning of the music to the performers, patrons, and society. Each of these groups may have a different reason for performing or patronizing fiddle music. Since the types and styles of performing differ in the two societies, differences are bound to exist in the purpose of musical occasions.

To the Performer

Most goge musicians primarily see the musical performance as a means for gaining monetary benefits and are not conscious of the historical significance and value of the performance--that is, the way the mode of presentation is very similar to Arabic culture (e.g., entertaining patrons and rich clients with songs and dance in beer bars, night-

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clubs, and harlot houses even though such activities are prohibited by Muslim law). Quite a few fiddlers, however, are aware of the significance of their performance for the future. It appears that more and more the performance has taken on Western characteristics--e.g., the use of the amplification systems that are commonly used by Western popular bands; the borrowing of Western names for certain dances ("tuwis" is the same as "twist"); and the incorporation of certain musical and stylistic characteristics in an attempt to emulate certain Western performers (Haruna's performance of "Jabula" is his interpretation of a James Brown performance). According to Haruna "goge is popular because people see that they have something in their own culture which is similar to Western culture--the guitar and popular music" (1974:n.p.). In fact many regard the instrument as being similar to the guitar; this is the reason that the fiddle is sometimes referred to as "banjo" and a composition has been composed with the same name (personal communication with Ingawa, a Hausa informant). All of these examples suggest that the performers see their performances as serving those necessary links with Western society and modernization.

Other performers may regard their performances as contributing a social and moral function for society. Landi, who composes a number of moral and national songs concerning the ethics of people and what is best for the future of Nigeria and the Hausa people, regards his performances as

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a patriotic function. He made mention of his extreme concern for the young of Nigeria; Landi believes that young folk "must not toally forget about the good of the past just to accept the ways of the 'new society'."

Those performers who specialize in bori regard their performances as serving a religious and emotional need for certain individuals. Through the bori performance, people are healed from harmful diseases or wrongs they have encountered or committed. Many, who do not receive all of the spiritual rewards from the acceptance of Islamic faith, are able to fulfill this emptiness at a goge bori performance.

Since the goge fiddler realizes the importance of the performance to the people, possibly this is the reason he tires to capitalize financially from musical events. He realizes that he alone is able to satisfy a need. This fact coupled with the attitude of most Hausa musicians, thus, causes a useful social function to become a profitable commerical enterprise.

Although most Dagomba fiddlers regard their performances as serving some of the same functions (interlink with the past and future or providing social norms for the society), they also see their music as performing a different purpose from those described for the Hausa. Sulemana, Lali, and others seem to think that communication between performer and audience during a performance is an end in itself--not necessarily for a subsequent reward or for personal satis-

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faction--but to please the audience. See the comments by Sulemana on page 221 and the following by Lali:

> Question: I'd like to know your particular emotions when you play the gondze instrument. Exactly how do you feel when you play the fiddle? Do you play to satisfy yourself or do you play to satisfy the audience?
>
> Answer: Besides my allegiance or the rights I've got to pay to the traditional ruler or chief, I do not go to feature in anybody's house. For instance, if one is not happy and has not invited me to perform, I would not just walk to him with a startleness and start playing unless the party concerned invites me. So I play first of all to please the audience then to please myself.
>
> Question: How do you feel when you play?
>
> Answer: I feel highly (sic) when I see the one to whom I'm playing my instrument equally feels happy. That is, if he's pleased, I become pleased too. And when he's not happy, well.. I feel I'm not needed in his society. So I turn back home (Lali 1973:n.p.).

In addition, that the performance serves a political function is extremely important to the Dagomba. Most of them feel that their first allegiance is to the Ya Na and the Dagomba kingdom, and they attempt to rally this point to members of the society. At practically all occasions praise songs in honor of present and past kings are constantly performed, indirectly reminding the society of their solidarity for the king and their state.

The Dagomba, like the Hausa, I believe, are aware of the importance of their performances to the society. What differs is that most Dagomba do not try to capitalize on their positions to such a degree as the Hausa; rather, a

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large number of Dagomba regard their profession as a duty. Without their performances the continuity and stability of the state would be jeopardized, therefore, not only causing harm and hardship to the gondze tradition but to the entire Dagomba society.

To Patrons and Society

All that has been suggested as functions for the musical performance from the performer's perspective is probably realized by nonmusicians in the culture. Yet, what people in both societies presumably regard as most important is the entertainment element. Hausa and Dagomba fiddlers perform at a variety of occasions in which recreational activities are emphasized, such as events of the life cycle, festive occasions, and other public events. The Hausa sing praises for clients as a form of entertainment at certain occasions in addition to providing advertisement media for the prominent and wealthy. Dagomba sing praises for royalty and commoners at different events mainly for entertainment purposes. The way in which the performances are displayed differ because the Hausa and Dagomba prefer different forms of entertainment, but the purpose for the occasion is the same--to provide enjoyment and pleasure for the audience.

What the public probably does not immediately realize or value are the more meaningful functions that these performances serve--that is, to maintain traditional elements of the culture. In Hausaland the bori fiddle performance has probably had the most impact on traditional Hausa culture. Among the

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Dagomba performing for chieftaincy has provided greater meaning and value for the gondze tradition; this is the reason most people in Dagbon highly respect the fiddler and his music. Therefore, although nonmusicians in both societies highly value fiddle for its entertainment function, this is not the factor which has motivated the people to retain the fiddle tradition. Serving as only an entertainment medium provides no continuity, for the public's likes and dislikes change rapidly; in addition other types of instrumental groups can always be used to replace the fiddle at an entertainment occasion. But if the fiddler has a client-patron relationship with a traditional social group or institution in the society, the chances of substitution or replacement are more unlikely.

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Chapter Eight

The Dance

In the following three chapters--eight, nine, and ten--a more detailed account of the various components of the one string fiddle performance will be examined. From the preceeding chapter we saw that a number of combined elements are necessary for the total production of the fiddle event. Emphasis is not placed on the fiddle music alone, but its inter-relationship with physical and verbal responses have equal importance. In fact the people in the culture do not separate the three-whenever a gondze performance is presented, the audience automatically regards the dance and song text as being just as much a part of the event as the music. For analysis purposes, however, the three behavioral responses will be separated. A discussion of the dance constitutes the subject matter for Chapter Eight, the text for Chapter Nine, and finally a comprehensive analysis of musical structure will be presented in Chapters Ten to Thirteen.

To discuss dance presents problems for the present author because of my lack of vocabulary and expertise in the discipline. A systematic and theoretical discussion of dance, therefore, should not be expected because of my limitations in the area. Another problem is that very little research, to my knowledge, has been done on dances that are performed with one string fiddle music. The

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Ministry of Culture in Tamale, Ghana, has only briefly discussed the subject. Ames and King have included some mention of the dance in their works (Ames 1973b and Ames and King 1971), but information will be primarily based on personal accounts and observation of the music events during my research project in Ghana and Nigeria. The examination of the subject will be divided into three parts: (1) Description of Dance(s); (2) Background of the Dancer(s); and (3) Meaning and Value of the Dance.

Description of Dance(s)

Hausa

Several different types of dances are used at one string fiddle performances in Hausaland. According to Ames "an expert player has an almost endless repertoire of dance rhythms but because there are fads in these, he usually is asked to play only a limited number of them during any given year. The urban young people are leaders in innovation, with their rural counterparts lagging behind, still playing the older rhythms. For example, one of the fashionable rhythms when I first arrived in Zaria was the twist (pronounced tuwis); by the time I left it had already declined in popularity in the city though it was a 'hot' item in rural hamlets"[1] (1973b:150).

The following are some of the dance forms that have been documented for one string fiddle music in Hausaland:

a. tuwis (also known as tiwis)

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b. rawan kashewa or rawan banjo
c. soja (Hausa term for soldier)
d. bori possession dances

The tuwis or tiwis is a Hausa variation of the Western twist; the twist became popular in America during the 1960's, when a young Black man, Chubby Checker, recorded a composition called "The Twist." Yet, Checker was not the first to introduce this dance craze to Western audiences. "The original recording of 'The Twist' by Hank Ballard and the Midnighters, appeared in the spring of 1959 but it never sold extensively in the Pop field. In the summer of 1960 Chubby Checker's version of the song was released, and it reached the top of the best-selling Pop charts. It did not provoke special interest. The record was a commercial success, but it was merely an addition to the growing list of dance-oriented songs" (Belz 1969:93).

Black artists in America have always invented and introduced dances to the public that might be performed with their hit tunes--e.g., the Harlem Shuffle, the Mashed Potato, the Watusi, the Loco-Motion, and so forth (Belz 1969: 92). Of all the dances, however, the twist has received the most enthusiastic popular attention probably because the dance caught on, not only among teenagers but among the middle and older generations, who found that it was simple (Shaw 1970:98-99 and Belz 1969:92).

The twist craze did not really become a national phenomenon until 1961. Other twist recordings were introduced --

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"The Peppermint Twist," "Twistin' the Night Away," and "Twist and Shout;" the twist was taught in dance studios in America; and it inspired films--one of which was Twist All Night (Belz 1969:94). With such a massive exploitation of the dance in the United States, it was no wonder that the craze reached other parts of the world such as Africa.

In Hausaland, fiddle performers have created a song, also called the tuwis and somewhat imitative of Black American popular music, that is used as accompaniment for the dance. Performed by professional dancers, the tuwis is sometimes included as an adjunct to a more organized dance style--that is, as dancers are doing a choreographed routine, for variation, they might pair off (male and female) to do the tuwis in a free dance style.

The basic movements of the tuwis consist of twisting or moving the entire lower portion of the body back and forth (shoulder and hips moving in opposite directions). That is when arms, held slightly away from the body, and shoulders are twisted toward the left, the hips, thighs, legs, and feet should be twisted toward the right. Normally dancers stand on the ball of their feet with knees slightly dropped. Because this is a free dance style, dancers do as they wish by adding more intricate movements to the basic steps, such as doing splits, jumping, sliding across the dance floor, or moving up and down while standing in place and twisting the body.

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Rawan kashewa or rawan banjo (the same dance known by different names) is of local derivation. This dance became popular with the growth of modern political parties in northern Nigeria during the 1960's (Ames 1973b:150). Although Ames does not give a detailed description of the movements and formation of the dance, the following includes excellent information in regard to the context of the dance. He states that rawan kashewa/rawan banjo is:

> A dance by a group of young men and women hired for this purpose by a political party and said to have originated in the city of Jos. Most of the large cities in Hausaland had such dance teams, which travelled and competed with one another, performing often in outdoor courtyards of hotels. Admission was charged to view these competitions, which were called rawan kashewa or rawan banjo; however, the same dance was done in combination with other forms of entertainment at pre-election campaign meetings (wasan N.P.C. or N.E.P.U.). A dance team consisted of separate lines of female and male youths who danced a series of intricate steps in unison and each line of dancers was identically costumed in Western dress. Occasionally the male and female dancers paired off to dance the twist (tuwis) in the Western manner (Ames and King 1971:124).

Soja (Hausa term for the word "soldier"), the least known of all the listed dances, is also of local derivation. No documentation is available concerning the movements, context, and style of this dance. What is known is that like the dances mentioned in the above, soja reflects some of the modern ideas and attitudes which are developing in Nigeria (Ames 1973b:150).

Rawan kashewa/rawan banjo and possibly soja differ from the tuwis in that they are organized dances. The pro-

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fessional dance teams usually dance in a linear formation of perhaps six or eight dancers. The equal number of male and female dancers, all dressed in Western clothes, might enter the state in one time and then separate into two lines (males in one line and females in the other). Sometimes in doing the choreographed steps they face each other and then pair off before returning to the single line formation to leave the stage.[2]

At some one string fiddle bori performances special dancers/trancers are invited--that is bori initiates. In "Boori: Structure and Process in Performance" Besmer describes some of the more important aspects of bori dancing:

> Boorii initiates are described collectively as 'yam boorii (lit. 'children of the boorii') and divide on the basis of sex into dam boorii (lit. 'son of the boorii') and 'yar boorii (lit. 'daughter of the boorii'). Only people who have been initiated and have a cult status see themselves in these terms. Both King... and Greenberg...note that women predominate in cult membership, and informants in Kano generally agree.
>
> The relationship between devotee and spirit is expressed in terms of horse, either dookii (male) or goodiyaa (female), and rider. At the beginning of possession spirits are said to ride (hau) their disciples, and at the end they dismount (sauka). The former (hawaa; riding) is signalled by such behavior as violent thrashing and jumping about, frothing at the mouth and nose, sweating, and wide-eyed staring, pupils dilated. Sauka is usually accompanied by sneezing and/or coughing, although some spirits appear to leave quietly (1972/73:3-4).

Dressed in traditional clothes[3] (males sometimes in one color and females another--see Chapter Seven, page 259) with additional paraphernalia that is associated with the various spirits, the dancers perform simple foot and arm

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movements before falling into trance. Many times they wander all over the dance area without any prearranged plan or just sit in one place with eyes staring blankly. On the occasion that I saw the performance, trancers' heads were held upward with eyes facing the sky. As dancers fall deeper into the trance movements are marked by behavior resembling catalepsy or epileptic seizure (see Chapter Seven, pages 264-267). After falling into the trance dancers begin to emulate the movements of the spirit which has possessed them. For example, if the spirit Sarkin Rafi (Chief of the Stream) possesses an initiate, the trancer would attempt to enter water if a stream is near the performance area. In another instance if the spirit Wanzama (associated with barbers) possessed the initiate, the trancer is expected to swallow razor blades (personal communication with Salihu Ingawa, a Hausa informant). After the dancer sneezes, coughs, or rattles her throat, the spirit is believed to have left or dismounted the initiate.

The bori possession dance is not just a simple formation of organized or free movements as was the case with rawan kashewa or the tuwis. Rather, a dance drama of worship is enacted by dancers and musicians. Dancers take their cues from the fiddlers, who play special melodies and rhythms for the various spirits. Upon hearing these cues the trancers begin to enact prescribed bodily movements which are associated with the spirit. On occasion

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the fiddler can regain control over the arrival and departure of certain spirits by changing the melody or selecting a new tune for a different spirit. Communication, therefore, between the musician and dancer is of utmost concern; dramatic movements on the part of the dancer and melodic and rhythmic phrases on the part of the musicians must correlate.

Dagomba

Only one type of dance style is known to be associated with gondze performances in Dagbon. The Tamale Division of the Ministry of Culture in Ghana has released the following infonmation concerning Dagomba one string fiddle dance styles:

> Gonje is a string dance which is widely performed within Dagbon. It originated from Gurima [sic] and Hausa Land but has now been taken up by both members of the 'Royal family' and young men and women. It has no religious background and is mainly performed during marriages, final funeral rites, merry-making and on market days. It is a dance that has many steps and people give their names in proverbs to play on the string on occasions. Chiefs are remembered in history by their Gonje proverbial [sic] names (Anon[b] n.d.:n. pag.).

The dance, performed to the accompaniment of Dagomba fiddle music, is a simple free dance style. The basic movements of the gondze dance is based on a four-beat dance rhythm. Even though the gondze melodic time span usually consists of twelve beats, the rattler places more emphasis on the first, fourth, seventh, and tenth beat of the time line by hitting the rattle in the palm of his hand on these

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beats (see Chapter Twelve). The dance rhythmic structure, therefore, is derived from the four emphasized (stressed) beats by the rattler. For the purposes of this discussion the dance-rhythm will be explained from a four-beat perspective. The four beats in the dance-rhythm actually correspond to the following beats in the melodic time line:

Beats of the Melodic Time Line	Beats of the Dance Rhythm
Beat one	Beat one
Beat four	Beat two
Beat seven	Beat three
Beat ten	Beat four

The gondze dancer may begin with either his left or right foot. If he begins with the left, while standing in a straight upright position, he lifts his left foot and takes a short step to the left on the first beat of the dance-rhythm. Then he slides the right foot over to join the left on the second beat of the dance-rhythm. On the third beat of the dance-rhythm the left foot is slightly raised again and the dancer takes another short step to the left. For the final beat of the dance-rhythm, the dancer, this time, lifts (rather than slides) his right foot and places the ball of his right foot next to the left. The whole process begins again only this time moving to the right side and using the right foot on the first and third beats of the dance-rhythm, while the left foot is used for the second and fourth beat movements as described in the above. The

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dancer continues in this way alternating movements to the left and right. During the foot movement the arms, slightly bent, are swayed in and out to the beat of the four-beat dance rhythm. Normally the arms and hands are swayed away from the body on the first and third beats. On the second and fourth beats the arms and hands are swayed inwardly, coming together right below the abdomen with elbows slightly bent.

Variations are added to these basic movements by female and male dancers. If a female dances, she would also use the top cloth over her skirt as part of the dance costume. The cloth is held loosely over the shoulders or around the arms of the female. If a very fancy cloth is used (material made of nylon, rayon, or silk), it may be placed loosely around the neck with the two ends hanging freely around the wrists or hands of the dancer. This top cloth is to be used with the swaying arms and hands. Using this item tends to give more grace, smoothness, and roundness to the dance. In addition the female might make half 180° turns as she goes back and forth to the right and left. She moves all over the dance ring, adding other individual characteristics to the dance as she sees fit, such as always holding the head slightly downward and not looking anyone in the eye, carrying a calm facial expression, as if she were about to smile but not really smiling, and so forth.

When males perform the gondze dance, certain differences

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are apparent in dress and basic movements. A common attire for males who live in the north is the large ornately hand-woven smock, which is worn over a long pair of trousers or a long pair of flowing pantaloons. When male dancers perform, emphasis is placed on making sharp, angular, vigorous turns to cause or allow the bottom edge of the smock to flow in the air. When performing the dance, therefore, a lot of right and left 360° turns are used (see photographs of male dancer in Appendix C Plates 30 and 31). Not much emphasis is placed on the swaying of the arms and hands for this would distract from the movement of the smock. Like the females, however, male dancers do not gaze into the audience. Their facial expressions are not as calm as the female, some dancers may even grin in proud display of his talents.

The gondze is primarily a social dance, therefore, no extraordinary symbolic physical behavior is used as in the case of bori dancers. The dance is primarily a free improvisatory solo dance. No special communication or drama is enacted between the dancers and fiddlers except for the change in tempo that is used for certain songs. In the giving of gifts a small gesture or communication is evident between donor and dancer. The dancer, especially females, might cup her hand below the abdomen to catch the money as it falls from the forehead to the ground. At this time the dancer may smile and lower the eyes to show appreciation.

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The male dancers move about so vigorously that it is difficult to give him money personally, so the donor usually gives the money directly to the lead gondze vocalist as the male dancer performs.

In Dagbon certain praise songs have been created for various occupational craft groups. For example, whenever the gondze play a song in honor or praise of butchers, hunters, or warriors, then members of these occupational groups would enter the dance ring to dance to their praise song. The dancers do not dramatize any physical behavior that might be symbolic of their work; they only perform the gondze dance as described in the above.

A special song, called "Bruso" by some and "Taka Sannu" by others, is always played by the gondze musicians as processional music for the reigning Ya Na. This song evidently was created some time ago in Dagomba history to symbolize or praise the reigning king. When I conducted my research project .n Yendi during January 1973, Yamba Na Salifu and his associates always performed this song in the presence of Ya Na Mohammadu Abudulai IV during a royal processional in and out of the palace and during the royal cavalcade from the Ya Na's palace to the afternoon praying grounds. On a return trip to Yendi in May 1974 to observe the installation ceremony of the newly installed Ya Na Yakubu Andani, the same music was played by the gondze as musical accompaniment for royal processions.

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During a procession the Ya Na proudly walks to the music of "Bruso"/"Taka Sannu." A note should be made that "Bruso" is the only composition in the gondze song repertoire, to my knowledge, that is based on a nine-beat melodic time span (see discussion in Chapter Ten and transcriptions of composition in Appendix F). Thus, the rattlers emphasize only three beats (the first, fourth, and seventh) of the rhythmic structure, creating a three-beat dance rhythm for the king's dance music. The Ya Na walks very proudly and stately to the three-beat dance rhythm. On occasion the Ya Na might add a sliding or a slight skip to the stately walking procession. In essence, the king's dance differs drastically from the gondze dance performed by commoners. Perhaps this is the reason that the various music structures in this composition differ--because the music is symbolic of royalty.

In the king's private quarters "Bruso" is rarely performed except when he is preparing for a procession. When the Ya Na, for instance, performed in the dance ring during the Tsimsi Tsugu Tuesday afternoon feast (see Chapter Seven, pages 289-292), the gondze played music from their standard repertory of royal genealogy, proverbial, and praise songs--those based on a twelve or twenty-four beat melodic time span, and the king performed the "gondze dance" in the manner described above. His dance style was not as vigorous or sharp as that of

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other males, but it also was not as calm as that of the females. Certain gestures that might be used to befit a king were performed--a median between the two extremes of the male and female dance style. He performed proudly and stately, movements that are normally associated with kingship and royalty.

Certain characteristics of one string fiddle dance performances in Hausa and Dagomba societies are similar. First of all before the dance commences, normally a prelude or introduction is performed by musicians. The length of this part of the performance varies. In Hausa culture musicians want to perform the entire first section of the composition and then the dancers would enter during or after the goge player's improvisatory interlude (see more discussion concerning form of goge compositions in Chapter Ten). Among the Dagomba, musicians play the entire composition and dancers begin to enter the dance ring after they feel musicians have warmed-up and the music becomes exciting. In all cases, however, some type of preparatory emotion is needed before affective motor response by dancers.

Secondly, the speed of the dance depends upon the tempo used by musicians. At the beginning of a performance the tempo is slow to moderate; toward the climax and end of the song the speed would have increased tremendously. As both parties are stimulated by the per-

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formance, more excitement develops and the music and dance become more intensified.

Thirdly, the length or duration of the dance which may last one, two, or three hours, also depends upon the musicians. Whenever the lead fiddler decides that a composition should end, he alone gives the cue. In Hausaland usually the composition and dance performance by professional or semi-professional dance teams cease simultaneously. Because the dance has been planned and choreographed the goge player will not end before all movements and variations have been presented. On some occasions musicians perform two or three compositions while the dancers remain on stage. Afterwards the dancers would leave and rest on the subsequent two or three compositions and enter at a later time during the performance. A different circumstance is involved during bori dance performances, which are freer in interpretation. The amount of time taken for the falling into trance, arrival of spirits, communication with spirits, and spirits' departure must be taken into account. Normally, the duration of a performance with trancers is longer than those without. The lead goge fiddler has the final decision in bori performances, just as in dance team performances, but the mood of trancers and spirits must be taken into consideration before he finally terminates a dance.

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In Dagbon the dancers enter and leave the ring at random; their entrance and departure are not directly related to the beginning or end of a composition. Sometimes musicians might repeat the same song ten to fifteen minutes, while two or three series of dancers would have entered and left the dance ring during this time. Some dancers remain for more than one song; others do not stay for the completion of one composition. The dance style in Dagbon is much freer than the organized dances by dance teams in Hausaland.

Finally, both the Dagomba and Hausa fiddle dance performances normally take place in the open air in a circular area. Musicians usually stand or sit in the middle of the dance ring with dancers, or the audience sometimes form a semi-circle around the musicians, allowing the dancers to perform alone in the middle of the dance ring.

Background of Dancer

Hausa

In Hausaland most of the dancers who perform to goge music would have to be classified as professionals. Many of them obviously have been trained to dance with the dance teams. The way in which the choreographed dance is performed demands constant practice and rehearsals; an amateur, therefore, would not be able to meet the standards that are expected of a dance team member.

Once the dancers become members of a dance team; they

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are not obligated, at all times, to perform with only goge musicians. Dancers are also hired by other types of instrumental groups--performers of kalengu, kwairma, kuntuku, kwarya, and other instrumental types.

Bori dancers must become initiates of the bori possession cult before being allowed to dance. "During a boorii performance spirits are said to reveal themselves through the disciples they possess. Thus, when called upon to do so, aljanuu provide practical advice for the solution of domestic problems and special instructions for the cure of illnesses they are believed to have caused" (Besmer 1972/73:3). Bori dancers/trancers, to my knowledge, are recruited by either one of two means: (1) the individual voluntarily seeks membership without other circumstances being involved and (2) membership into the cult is sometimes prescribed by initiates especially when a person has fallen victim to a serious illness and the only cure is believed to be initiation. "If the victim and his family accept this prescription, an initiation is conducted by people with cult statuses who themselves suffered similar illnesses and were cured by boorii methods. During his training, the initiate is instructed on how to establish an equilibrium between the spirit 'on his neck' and himself, achieved primarily through his willingness to accept ritual knowledge about iskookii and to perfect trance skills" (Besmer 1973:28). The following is addi-

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tional information initiates must learn concerning spirits:

> Part of the esoteric knowledge an initiate is expected to learn is the 'census' of the spirits' invisible city of Jangare. While cult members believe that the actual number of spirits is unknown, they are able to name many more than are considered active in the real world. Informants do not try to remember spirits as unrelated individuals; rather, they divide them into a small number of houses or compounds, each unit based on some identifying characteristic or characteristics common to all its members. Theoretically, there are twelve compounds in Jangare, but many of these consist of two or three sub-sections. Thus, for example, the zauren kutaaree (lit. 'entrance-hut for lepers'; the lepers' section) includes both lepers and snakes. The zauren Sarkin Aljan Zurkaleene (the section headed by a sub-chief of the spirits, Zurkalcene) includes Fulani spirits, musicians and praise-singers, and butchers. However, it is difficult to get a consensus of opinion on the way in which the houses and sub-sections are ordered. Everyone is convinced about the truth of the twelve houses, but since there are nearly half-again as many sub-sections informants sometimes disagree on the appropriate combinations (Besmer 1973:28-29).

Some novice or amateur dancers are in existence in Kano. Those people who individually learn popular dances such as the tuwis or rawan kashewa to perform privately in their homes or at an occasion in which dancing by the audience is not discouraged do not expect any payment for their expertise. Even while performing in public I doubt that they would receive much reward, because they would not have affiliated themselves with the goge players and professional praise singers who normally receive payment for their services. The only reward they could expect is just the personal enjoyment they might receive from becoming physically involved in the performance.

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Dagomba

In Dagbon the gondze players do not include professionally-trained dancers in their performances. Only the amateurs and novices from the audience, who do not receive any payment, dance at gondze performances. Many might regard the fiddlers and rattlers as professional dancers for they perform in this capacity during a performance occasion. So when the audience comes to the center of the dance ring to reward performers, actually they are paying for the dance and musical entertainment combined.

Since none of the dancers are professional no recruitment and training of dancers take place. Young children in the gondze family often learn dances, songs, and lessons in playing the fiddle from elder gondze players during training. No formal training, however, is given to those audience members who are brave enough to enter the dance ring. They have practiced on their own in the privacy of their homes before displaying their talents to the community.

Meaning and Value of Dance

Nketia, in the conclusion of his chapter on "The Dance Drama," in essence has given some of the basic functions of dance in many African societies--"that the dance may be regarded not only as an avenue for bodily response to music or a means of communication, but also as a serious art form" (1974:230). Since the one string fiddle in Dagbon and Kano primarily serves an entertainment function, what

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stimulates or adds even more to the recreational atmosphere of such performances is affective motor response on the part of the participants. An African musical performance without some type of affective response to the music on the part of the audience is rare. As Nketia puts it "for the African, the musical experience is by and large an emotional one: sounds, however beautiful, are meaningless if they do not offer this experience or contribute to the expressive quality of a performance"(1974:206).

Dance, used as a means of communication, is evident in fiddle performances, especially in bori among the Hausa and music for royalty in Dagbon. Whenever bori initiates fall into a trance the spirits then communicate with dancers, musicians, and audience members by showing or demonstrating his/her presence through characteristic behavior befitting the spirit. Upon hearing "Bruso" or "Taka Sannu" and seeing the dance by the king, members of the Dagomba Community know that the leader of the Dagomba state is at hand. Also, through dancing the performer learns whether or not the audience is enjoying the musical performance; dislike would be known by the lack of physical response on the part of the audience.

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Chapter Nine

The Song Text

The study of field collections of song texts in a language one does not speak presents a number of problems. First, when one is not completely comfortable in conversing in the language, like the present author, dependence on interpreters and translators is inevitable. One only hopes that what the interpreter has translated is actually the meaning that was intended by musicians. One way of assuring oneself of competence and fidelity of the interpreter or translator is to have a musician present at all translating sessions--one who knows a little English. Such was the case with the translation of Dagomba song texts. Salisu Mahama, my foremost Dagomba informant and assistant, was present during all translation sessions by various individuals: Fuseini Abdullahi, M. Iddi, and Abdullahi Yakubu. If Mahama were not present, none of the translations could have been completed because of the complex linguistic construction of Dagomba gondze songs.

The entire translation process included three to four steps. First, Mahama gave the actual text of the song as it was performed. The second step was to translate the first version into simple Dagbani--one that the layman could understand. Then, the simple Dagbani version was translated into English, literally. If the literal English translation did not make sense--that is, if it was pro-

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verbial and understandable to only English speaking Dagomba--the text was then translated in such a way that the non-Dagomba English-speaking person could comprehend. In some cases the final step was omitted. This is the reason when reading certain parts of the Dagomba song texts, the words make no sense--e.g. lines five to eight of "Nantoh" by Sulemana. For the step-by-step process used in translating the first line of the song "Makada" performed by Lali and Mahama during the installation of Ya Na Yakubu Andani in May 1974, see the following:

Step one: Makada waatsee kadaa mini gondze baakai.

Step two: Lunsi ŋunlee yela naamini gondze pala yini.

Step three: Drummers, who has told you that you and gondze musicians are not the same?

Step four: Lunsi, is it not true that you and gondzes are equals?
(See Appendix E for continuation.)

The above process was used for all of the translation. None of the translators, even though they belong to the Dagomba ethnic group and Dagbani is their first language, could do the job without Mahama's aid. Note should be made then, that the song text included in Appendix E consists of material from steps one, three, and sometimes four. Step two has been completely omitted.

In the above excerpt elements from the Hausa language are apparent. In Hausa, makada is "a generic term which embraces all sorts of 'drummers.' Players of membranophones, chordophones and idiophones are all conceived of

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as 'drummers.'" (Ames and King 1971:62). To the Dagomba gondze, makada in Dagbani is synonymous to lunsi--players of the double-membrane hour-glass pressure drum. A similar interpretation is used in both languages.

Hausa fiddlers, however, were not present during the translating of goge songs. Yet, this factor did not deter the Hausa translator as in the case of Dagomba compositions, for all the Hausa songs are based on the Kano dialect of the Hausa language. Since Salihu Ingawa, a Fulani-Hausa and student of Hausa languages at Abdulai Bayero College resided in Kano, no extraordinary difficulties arose in his interpreting the material. Also, the linguistic constructions and word imagery of the goge songs, according to Ingawa, are performed in such a way that even the ordinary layman would understand.

Second, another danger that sometimes arises from the analysis of song texts is that the analyst tends to subject his/her own classification or categories to songs. To the people being studied such divisions are insignificant and erroneous. Before attempting such an evaluation, though the analyst should have learned or gained an insight into the culture to such a degree that what he/she does devise would be acceptable to most people in the society.

The examination of song text is divided into three parts: (1) Cultural and Historical Background of Language Used for Song Text, (2) Classification of Song Text, and

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(3) Role and Meaning of Song Text to the Performance and Community.

Cultural and Historical Background of Language Used for Song Texts

According to some sources (Kraft and Kraft 1973:12) Hausa, the first language of the more than twelve million members of the Hausa ethnic group, is spoken as a second language by perhaps ten to fifteen million non-Hausas having become the lingua franca of Northern Nigeria and contiguous areas of Niger Republic; it is the largest and generally regarded as the most important West African language. The Krafts (1973:12) and Greenberg (1959:19) confirm that because Hausa is classified as a member of the Chadic group of the Afro-Asiatic family of languages, it differs from most sub-Saharan African languages:

> Hausa...is more closely related to Arabic and Hebrew (also members of the Afro-asiatic family) than are most of the rest of the languages of sub-Saharan Africa. In addition, there has been extensive Muslim influence on Hausa language and culture and, as a result, considerable vocabulary borrowing from Arabic (Kraft and Kraft 1973:12).

Like many African languages, Hausa is a tone language; each word consists of two elements--a given Consonant-Vowel (CV) pattern plus an assigned pitch pattern (Kraft and Kraft 1973:29).

Dagbani, the language for many in Northern Ghana, is not as widespread. Actually Dagbani has incorporated several loanwords from Hausa. Unlike Hausa, some scholars

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(Anon 1968) believe that Dagbani is not a tone language though there are certain word-tones which are important. "As a general rule accented syllables are on a higher tone than unaccented ones. The sentence tones however may alter this. It is to be noted that all questions end on a falling tone" (Anon 1968:5). Yet, Greenberg seems to think that "tone is almost universal in Africa outside of the important Afro-Asiatic family. Even here, most--perhaps all--members of the Chad subgroup have tonal languages under the influence on neighboring languages" (1959:23). Also, from the analysis of some songs, tonal inflections in the language are evident in the music. For example the word lafiyà, in speech normally is spoken with two high syllables and a falling low tone on the last syllable. These tonal inflections are also used in the music.

The use of linguistics for the analysis of historical origins of people is not new to scholars. For example, through linguistic analyses Greenberg and other leading linguists have complemented historical and archaeological findings concerning the origins of "first man." Africa, on the evidence of paleontology, has been inhabited by hominids from very early times and rivals Asia as a possible home for earliest man. Some of the details of this long and varied historical development. . . can be deduced from the language classification. . ." (Greenberg 1959:20). To examine the context and background of the language used for one string fiddle songs, therefore, is not such a remote idea when one

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considers the vast knowledge that might be obtained from such an analysis.

Because of the impact of Arabic influences on Hausa society, it is not surprising to find numerous references to Allah and the use of Arabic names for individuals in goge songs texts (see Appendix E). Although Islam has been adopted by many in Hausaland, the pre-Islamic religion has not been destroyed in the minds of the people. Thus, the names for bori spirits and the word "Allah" are used contigously in song texts. For example, included in Haruna's performance of "Barrahaza" is the following:

Allah ne ya baka, Aljana ta baka.

God gave you, the jinn gave you.

Both Allah and aljana, the name for a female spirit in Kano-Hausa dialect, are inferred as the only ones who can give or take away money, clothes, luck, life, a profession, and so forth. All things are believed to come from not only Allah but also the bori spirit aljana. Ingawa, the Hausa translator, explains that in this case the spirit is the mediator between God and man and that the word aljana more specifically refers to Barrahaza, a female Fulani spirit.

Evidence of Western influence within Hausa society is also apparent. For example several English loanwords have been incorporated into goge texts: Sitaf Saje or Sataf Saje refers to Staff Sargeant (see "Banjo" and "Jabula" by Haruna in Appendix F); Samanja indicates Sargeant Major (see "Jabula"); soja refers to soldier; in Hausa, James Brown, a Black

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American singer, is known as Jabula; shime means "show me," something that James Brown might say while performing; tuwis means twist; and banjo[1] is used in reference to the Western banjo and guitar.

According to Ingawa the Hausa language as it is performed in goge songs can be understood by the Hausa masses. A special language that is comprehended by only the fiddlers and its patrons does not exist. To some degreee, however, certain people may not understand the text because of their unfamilarity with certain praise names for individuals or spirits used in the text. Some proverbs are used but not to the extent found in Dagomba songs. For example, comprehending the following might give some problems:

> Shoot of the deleb,[2] you didn't come out until you were ready. (From Banjo by Haruna)

This proverb, in praise of Staff Sargeant Mamman Gusau, means that the Sargeant is a man of his own will--in society he is well-off. Similarly without a knowledge of the culture, one might not readily understand the implications of second half of the following proverb:

> The name of God, the remedy of Fetish.
> (i.e. God is the ruler of all.)

Apart from these, the songs analyzed for this study are straightforward and do not contain a lot of word imagery and philosophical aphorisms, even though in some cases they magnify or exaggerate the status of individuals in praises by listing their occupation, business associates, and so forth. In comparison to some Dagomba gondze songs the linguistic

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construction is much simpler.

The historical past of the Dagomba is also apparent in the gondze text, for example in the use of Arabic names for persons (Abudullahi, Yakubu, Sulemana, and so forth) and references to Allah, although the frequency of the latter is limited. In the sixty-six songs reference to Allah occurs only twelve times, for the Dagomba use the Dagbani term for God, Nawuni, more often than Allah and make metaphorical comparisons to the Ya Na with strong animals.

In addition to Arabic names, some of the gondze songs contain Hausa and Gurmanche (the language of the Gurma people of Upper Volta). The latter is found in the "old" songs as the following interviews by Yamba Na Salifu of Yendi and Lali Gondze of Bimbilla testify:

(1) Q. How has westernization affected the gondze instrument and the performance of the gondze in Dagbon culture? Have there been any changes from long ago?

A. Civilization has modernized our way of performance. When our greatgrandfathers introduced this instrument in Dagbon, they sang mostly in the language of the Gurma's--Gurmanche. And since then, we have developed it so much to suit our own taste of singing; we have created two more languages to sing with it--mostly the Hausa and Dagbani.

Q. Are there any performances in which you still use the old language of the Gurma style when you perform gondze music?

A. It is we who are very old who can still perform and sing in the language of the Gurmanche. The present young man cannot recite a statement or a verse in the Gurmanche language.

Q. Do you compose any of your own songs or are the songs passed on from history?

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A. We still keep to the old songs but, besides the old songs, we also introduce new songs in our functions of everyday life. Because of westernization, one might call a name in Dagbon--a praise name in Dagbani, but this person would not know how to compose a song so it is left to us to bridge the gap and complete it with our own sense of feeling or material which will be needed to polish the song. Equally, someone might just give a proverb or adage in Dagbani or Hausa, and it is left to us to compose a full sense out of this to play on the gondze (Salifu 1973:n.p.).

(2) Q. How has westernization affected the gondze music within the culture--its function within the culture?

A. For instance, it looks as if those days [when] we were almost in [the] dark ages. . ., [for] one nation or tribe was not free or almost not at close contact with another nation. We were cut off [from] means of contact. But today, the means of contact are very easy and not only Dagbani is used today in singing accompaniment of the instrument, but Hausa has come into being too.

Q. So you perform songs that are in Dagbani and Hausa today, when long ago you only sang songs of maybe a different language. What was that language?

A. Well, formerly, it was only the olden Dagbani language which was used to sing. Today Hausa has become the additional dialect to be used. But formerly, this was not so. And even today, I can boast by telling you that some Hausa's who are by-passing or even at the place of the performance listen so attentively to our singing in the Hausa that they might appreciate and rejoice with us when we are playing.

Q. Do the Hausa's also perform songs in the Dagbani?

A. The Hausa's even find it a problem to play and then accompany their playing with songs mostly. And it is even impossible. . . if they can't be all that expert in their accompanying songs, how do they even get to learn Dagbani or even accompany Dagbani on the instrument? (Lali 1973:n.p.).

The incorporation of Hausa and Gurmanche languages in songs means that very few people, outside of the Dagomba fiddlers, understand the text. Mention should be made, however, that the use of the three languages is more apparent in the

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Ya Na and Yamba Na royal genealogy. As Salifu and Lali indicated in the above, the most recently composed songs are structured in such a way that they can understand--even though some Hausa might be included with the Dagbani.

Mahama even doubts that the Ya Na or other royal officialdom understands the language of old gondze songs. What has occurred is that people have associated the melody of songs with the praise name--e.g., the song "Nantoh" is always associated with Na Yakuba and "Bawuna" ("Baona") with Na Abdulai I. If a Dagomba were asked to give the word-for-word meaning of the text, few, if any, could do this. In some cases fiddlers from different areas of Dagbon do not understand each other. Mahama was not able to translate the songs by Abu of Nyohini-Tamale because of the differences in dialect or inclusion of expressions with which Mahama was unfamiliar; Mahama said that he did not know the songs but knew a different version of the same song. For that reason the translation of "Dan-mo" and "Bandama" is very scanty or incomplete[3] (see Appendix E).

Classification and Themes of Song Texts

The song texts used for Hausa fiddle performances can be classified into four categories:

1. Entertainment song (wak'ar nasha'di). This category includes a large number of songs, for all types of songs can be used for recreation and entertainment. All of the categories listed below--political, possession, and praise--are often performed at entertainment occasions. The two specific types of entertainment songs included in Hausa song texts are:

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a. dance--e.g., banjo, tuwis, and Jabula
b. topical--Ames and King (1971:138-143) indicate various types of subject matter upon which entertainment songs might be based. For example, a song in satire or ridicule of an individual or group of people, or censure of his or their conduct might be called zambo (1971:139). Songs by Landi--"Maginin zaman banza" and "Wakakai"--fit into this category.

Although "Jabula" is listed as a dance, it can equally be categorized as simply a recreation song.

2. Political song (wak'ar siyasa).
A song propagandizing for a political party, sung prior to the collapse of the political system after the first military coup of January, 1966. . . . By an extension of the meaning the term wak'ar siyasa may now be taken to include any song in praise of a governmental authority other than those of the traditional Emirate (Ames and King 1971:144).

No political songs as such are included in this study; however, mention of Staff Sargeant Mamman Gusau Ahmed in "Banjo" and "Jabula" and reference to the names, Sargeant Major Labbo Zuru and Staff Sargeant Tanko Margi in "Jabula" might give a basis for calling these two songs political.

3. Possession song (wak'ar bori).
"Song in honour or praise of an iska ('spirit or god'), and normally performed by musicians specializing therein either as part of an entertainment/spectacle, or to invoke the possession of a 'dan bori or 'yar bori (male or female possession-dancers) by the iska invoked" (Ames and King 1971:138). Songs performed by Haruna ("Barrahaza," "Sarkin Rafi," and "Wanzami"), Mohammadan ("Ruwa ruwa," "Sarkin Makada," and "Wanzami"), and Nabarau ("Danko" and "Sarkin Makada") fit in this category.

4. Praise song (wak'ar yabo).
Song in which the subjects vary from traditional rulers (Emirs and their officials) to important commoners (e.g., wealthy merchants, owners of transport companies), though even an unimportant commoner may be occasionally made the subject of a praise-song (Ames and King 1971:145). In actuality all of the above song types can be categorized as praise songs, for they are normally performed in honor or praise of a person or group of people. Only the songs by Haruna ("Gagara Sarki"), Landi ("Kidan Kanawa" and "Kidan Sarkin Kano") and Leo ("Ali mai sai da mai Shell BP" and "Sarkin Mallamai Garba Kaita") should

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be specifically categorized as songs of praise.

Although not a specific song type, kirari, a vocal text in praise and identification of a patron, should be included here. At Hausa goge occasions the acclamatory performance by the maroki or lead chorus member may occur in isolation or at the same time as a song or instrumental performance in honor of the patron. Songs by Haruna (see "Banjo" measures 80-90 and "Barrahaza" measures 51-63) contain kirari.

With the exception of political songs the same categories used for classifying Hausa fiddle songs can be applied to the gondze tradition. No political parties in Ghana, to my knowledge, solicited the aid of traditional fiddle groups for propagandizing. As mention in the above, however, Kwame Nkrumah was well-liked by most Dagomba.[4] Some fiddlers, therefore, may have composed a song in Nkrumah's honor, but I doubt if Nkrumah actually paid for the praise as was the case in Hausaland. Most of the Dagomba fiddle compositions used for analysis in this study would have to be categorized as praise songs. Songs in honor of the Ya Na and other officials seem to be most frequently used--see compositions by Abu, Alhassan,[5] Iddrisu, Lali, Salifu, and Sulemana.[6] Occasionally musicians perform recreation or entertainment songs (dance and topical). Some of these include "Torani," another name for the "Tora" dance and several topical songs--"Sakpaleinga," "Kuntag zaa," "Yeda binbeim zugu," Dunia taali," "Manirinum taa gilma," "Nimbiegu kabalama," and "Naanigoo."

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The context of the performance to some degree influences the type of songs used. Most of the occasions that I attended were associated with chieftaincy; thus, many of the song texts contain references to royal genealogies. Yet, on the few occasions which were non-political such as wedding and funeral ceremonies for commoners, praise songs also predominated the repertoire. The only difference was that songs in praise of commoners were performed. Possession songs are rarely, if ever, performed in Dagbon. Only Salisu Mahama, because of my insistence, performed a few bori songs during an interview session--"Wanzamwa," "Barrhaza," "Doogua," and "Bole."

Spoken kirari, used by the Hausa, is also incorporated in Dagomba fiddle songs. See examples of kirari in songs by Lali ("Bachendi" measure 6) and Iddrisu ("Allah yaa" measures 7, 9-10, 14-15, and 18-21). This technique is not as often used in Dagbon as in Hausa performances, because the gondze player has to perform all three functions--lead in fiddling, lead in singing, and speak or shout praises. In Hausaland each function is performed by three different members of the group who have been professionally trained for each role.

In addition to the four categories mentioned in the above, the song repertoire on a given performance occasion can be further classified according to themes. Nketia explains the subject matter of some songs:

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> . . . the themes of songs tend to center around events and matters of common interest and concern to the members of a community or the social groups within it. They may deal with everyday life or with the traditions, beliefs, and customs of the society. This is true not only of serious songs of the court and songs associated with ceremonies and rites, but even of simple tunes, like cradle songs sung to children who may not have mastered their mother tongue enough to appreciate the meaning of the texts (1974:189).

Using the limited amount of material gathered for this project, it is evident that several themes appear to be commonly used in Hausa texts. First, songs performed by Haruna are religious in nature; constant references to God (Allah) as the being who can solve all problems is a common theme. For example,

Idan kana nema nemi ga Allah

If you are searching, want, want from God

is often repeated in Barrahaza. Although not in the exact words, the same idea is found in other compositions by Haruna.

Secondly, the profession or occupation of an individual seems to be significant. To have a profession, which the Hausa regard as a gift from God, is not only of deep concern to performers in Haruna's group but others in the society. In both the bori and entertainment songs Shehu Babayo, Haruna's lead vocalist, constantly refers to the occupation of the individual who is being praised. In "Barrahaza" mention is made of the following individuals and their professions:

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a. Yakubu mai injin, Yakubu na Ladi.

Yakubu, owner of the grinding machine, Yakubu of Ladi.

b. A kira Juma makanike. . . .

Call Juma, the mechanic. . . .

Both of these individuals, undoubtedly some of Haruna's patrons and fellow bori cult members, have probably paid Haruna to use their names whenever "Barrahaza" is performed. In "Banjo" and "Jabula" references are made to Haruna's military patrons.

The use of these two themes--religion and profession/occupation--somewhat reflects the general attitude of Hausa residents in Kano. It is common knowledge that the Hausa have been greatly influenced by Islam, that many non-Hausa regard the Hausa as more puritanical than other West Africans because of their strict adherence to the rules and laws of Islam, and that the Hausa are great traders. Personal experience by the present author confirms that they are deeply concerned about making money.[7] Money, to some, is more valuable than prestige, for with money prestige can always be obtained.

The religious theme is also prominent in Landi's song texts. Landi infers that only God can (1) help Kano State, (2) give popularity to the Emir of Kano City, and (3) make Kano people wealthy. What Landi also emphasizes is that man should make some contribution to the good or success of the community--that is, God cannot perform miracles, man

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must also help. His songs are, therefore, performed with the intention of informing, advising, mildly insulting, and warning the people of Kano. Some (my informant for one) regard his songs as stimulating the spirit of nationalism as in the following example:

> Youths of the world, stop sleeping.
> Youths of the world, let's wake up and stop sleeping.
> For if the world gets loose, we will regret it.
> Youths of the world let's wake up and stop sleeping.
> Sleeping doesn't pay; we better take.
> The time has all changed, idle stay has ceased.
> We must farm, pray, and go back to school. . . .
> (From "Maganin zaman banza" by Landi)

Some doubt arises concerning his use of the word "world." The most logical interpretation is that he is speaking of Hausaland, more specifically Kano State. Yet, in some Hausa performances, the use of the word "world" or something similar usually contains a larger implication. At one of the performances during Hausa Week celebrations at Abudulahi Bayero College during February 1974, musicians spoke of American space ships and other characteristic features of other Western nations. Mention of such subjects, according to Ingawa, was to encourage the Hausa not to model their world entirely on that of outsiders, but to develop their own ideas and traditions. Landi, therefore, may have been referring to youth all over the world rather than limiting his criticisms to Hausaland.

Dagomba seem to express deep-seated feelings not permissably verbalized in other contexts in song texts. In gondze songs any of the following subjects may be included

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in the text: attributes and issues which are unhealthy to the society (gossip, greed, envy, worldliness, and so forth) and topics that would aid in promoting social control, cultural and moral values.

The following song text by Mahama demonstrates the way in which a performer attempts to discourage people from gossiping:

> They can only gossip; they can't catch me.
> They can only talk out of sight; they can't catch me.
> They can only be angry; they can't catch me.
> I say, a swallow does not eat millet.
> They can only talk in secret; they cannot catch me.
> They can only talk out of sight; they can't catch me.
> They can only gossip; they can't catch me.
> He is a trap Mahama.
> (From "Sakpaleinga" by Mahama)

The Dagomba, who are also religious, believe in a supreme being. The theme of the following, which includes mention of Naawuni, seems to be that God's word is law and unchangeable.

> Ndan Naawun zallo zalgu, Nawun zalgu.
>
> What the Lord, God has written is written.
> (From "Kuntag zaa" by Mahama)

To the Dagomba material gains are supposed to be insignificant compared to the respect one obtains from an individual; therefore, this theme is used in "Manirinum taa gilma":

> He who respects you is better than he who gives you gold.
> He who respects you is better than he who gives you jewellery.
> He who respects you is better than he who gives you gold.
> What harm does respect cause?

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It's better than he who gives you gold.
What harm does respect cause?

Rarely do Dagomba mention anything about the profession or occupation of individuals in songs--at least not in songs included in this study. Rather, the genealogy of the family may be recounted. In praises, what Dagomba tend to do, which is found rarely in Hausaland, is compare the individual to an animal. Or perhaps the tale or behavior of the animal might be described to make a point about the behavior of individuals. In a number of song texts, past and present Ya Na's are often compared to the elephant, lion, or bushcow--see the following:

a. You, the elephant among bachelors, walk slowly.
(From "Taakaa Sannu" by Lali)

b. The dog does not go near the playground of lions.
(From "Taakaa Sannu" by Lali and Sulemana)

c. Humble king walk slowly, slowly.
You, like the forehead of a bushcow, slowly, slowly.
(From "Taakaa Sannu" by Lali)

In "Yeda binbeim zugu" the behavior of two animals, which are obvious enemies, are described. The question the song text poses is how did the two animals come in contact. In essence, this tale advises that individuals should beware of people in whom they have faith, trust, or confidence, for sometimes friends betray friends.

Hyena has caught monkey; how then has he caught the monkey?
Hyena does not roam by day; hyena has caught monkey.
(How then, rattler?)
Hyena has caught monkey; how did he catch him?
Hyena has caught monkey; how did they meet?
Hyena does not roam by day.
I say, hyena has caught monkey; hyena has caught monkey.

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Hyena has caught monkey; how did he catch him?
Hyena does not roam by day; hyena has caught monkey.
(From "Yeda binbeim zugu" by Mahama)

Constant mention of animals may in part be an extension of the usage of animal taboos, which are sacred in certain parishes of the kingdom; see the following explanation by Oppong:

> While legal control of the land is vested in the chiefs, ritual control is in the Land Priests. The land is divided into a series of ritual areas or parishes. . . . Each 'parish' may be distinguished by reference to the animal taboo within its bounds, which is neither slain nor eaten in the area. Such an animal is in a sense the symbol of the mystical aspect of the earth. The sacred animal in the Yendi area is the lion, which is also the symbol of kingship. In some 'parishes' more then one animal is taboo. Within each 'parish' are sacred shrines, Buga, groves of trees, tall baobabs and mud mounds. These are in the care of the Land Priests, who perform the necessary rituals and sacrifices for the prosperity of the land. Thus chiefs and priests are linked together in their dual control of the different aspects of the land, and the sacrifices performed by the priest are provided by the chief (1973:17).

Another theme in Dagomba song texts, which appears to be absent in Hausa fiddle texts, is that of history. Nketia describes some aspects of historical songs:

> They remind people of the past and of the values of a society, and require some knowledge of oral tradition before one can understand them. They have been described as historical songs in the literature on African music, even though, with a few exceptions, what they generally provide is not detailed narration of events, but brief allusions to significant incidents and genealogies.
>
> The cultivation of historical songs usually finds its highest expression at the courts of chiefs and princes. Here, chronicles of kings and genealogical references that link the present generation of royalty to their ancestors help to strengthen the position of those in authority or to legitimize their claim to power. But such songs are also intended to exhort the king, to

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encourage him to emulate his predecessors, and to chare in their glories and learn from their defeats; they may also be intended as praise songs (1974:196-197).

The titles of praise songs are derived either from the praise name of the individual or a proverb or favorite adage associated with the person. For example, nantoh, a poisonous snake, and baona, a bushcow, are praise names for Yakuba I and Abdulai I, respectively. "Nantoh"[8] appears to be a favorite historical song among many gondze.[9] See the following song text used by Alhassan Gondze of Savelugu:

Apart from God, is there any Lord other than you?
You, Nantoh, son of God, Master of the universe!
Is there a chief other than you?
Nantoh, Yakubu's son, Nantoh!
Your kill cannot be eaten by vultures (i.e. Dagbɔŋ has come into your hands and wars cannot come.)
Nantoh, Yakubu! Nantoh, Yakubu, the rightful judge.
Nantoh, whose kill cannot be touched by insects!
Is there any king other than you?
(From "Nantoh" by Alhassan)

Sulemana's version of the same song is much longer for it was performed during a festive occasion, while the former was recorded during an interview session, out of context. In addition, the rendition by Sulemana includes more historical and genealogical material--that is, he recounts the names of former Dagomba kings. The following is the middle portion; see the complete song text in Appendix E.

Oh King, there is no other king besides you (except God).
The first born is Naa Abudu (Nagbiegu).[10]
The second born of Yakubu is Andani (Naanigoo).[11]
The third son, Mahami, the king of Korr, the will of God reigns.
The fourth son of Yakuba Bileima, King of Kuukon (his name was the good path will be full of travellers).
The fifth son, King Mahama of Miong (his name was) the majestic walks of a king will gather people.

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A short life can't be transfered to a son, the son of Nantoh.
The sixth son, Sayibu, King of Diko, son Nantoh.
He does not inform the oracle will not consult the oracle.
The next was Bukali, King of Savelugu, (his name was) "If you care little for your dog during the rainy season, you will miss him during the dry season."
The next is Dahamani, King of Savelugu, (his name was) a bangle made of straw will never be as beautiful as that of metal.
The next was Sayibu, King of Tampion; (his name was) the highly prized waist beads for slim-waisted person still belongs to her and no other has the right to the bead.
The next was Aduna, King of Zangbalin, (Nantoh).
Oh, You, descendant of Gariba, we have come to find out how you slept last night.
He is the king of this existing universe, the descendant of Mahama (Na Abdulai).
We have come to find out how you spent last night.
Oh, You, the descendant of Mahama.
This universe belongs to you, the descendant of Na Gariba.
Oh, You, descendant of Gariba, we have come to find out how you slept last night.

(From "Nantoh" by Sulemana)

From close examination of "Nantoh" by Sulemana evidence seems to indicate that actually, a praise or historical song can be divided into parts: opening, middle, closing. In the opening the performers usually address or salute the king by briefly relating his immediate family background (lines 1-4), introducing proverbs that exhort his position and conduct (lines 5-8), giving advice (not included in Sulemana's version), and showing concern about his well-being (lines 9-10). The middle section consists of historical and genealogical material (lines 11-22), while the closing (lines 23-28) is a recapitulation of the opening, but slightly modified. The length of each section varies, and sometimes a section may be entirely omitted from the

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composition, especially if time does not permit the performer to develop each division. For example, hardly any genealogical material is found in Sulemana's version of "Bawuna."

In the Dagomba fiddle tradition, certain songs automatically follow others for musical material correlates with song text. That is the recitation of the royal genealogy text normally corresponds with the order of kings ascending to the throne. In fact, this is the way history is orally transmitted, musicians memorize the order of songs according to the way certain events occurred in history. For example, normally the songs Nantoh, when performed at an occasion, is always followed by Bawuna, for according to Dagomba history Na Yakuba I who ascended the throne in 1829 was succeeded by Na Abdulai I in 1845 (see information in Appendix B). Thus, the song in honor of Yakuba I (Nantoh) normally precedes the one in praise of Abdulai I (Bawuna).[12] Occurrence of the same practice is evident in the performance of the following songs:

Praise Name or Title of Song	Name of King
Dan-mo	Na Gariba
Bandama	Na Ziblim II
Adan su. . .	Na Ziblim I

What differs in this case is that the order of the songs does not correlate with the order of kings succeeding to the throne (skins). Most historical documents on Dagomba society (Tamakloe, Osumanu, Staniland) indicate the Dagomba

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Ya Na's should be listed as follows:

Name of King	Approximate Dates of Reign
Gariba	1752
Ziblim I (Naa Saa)	1764
Ziblim II (Bandama)	1778

Unfortunately, it is not known if the historian or the gondze is correct in their facts. If such an order had occurred only once during a performance occasion, one could confidently say that a mistake was made by fiddlers. Yet, two different performers on two different occasions both performed the fiddle songs in the same order--that is, Dan-mo and then Bandama; see performances by Abu and Lali (installation rites). In light of these findings perhaps Dagomba oral history needs to be rechecked.

Because goge players do not perform in royal courts, they do not have the opportunity to compose and perform historical songs unless they refer to the genealogy of non-royal patrons. This feature, however, is not extensively developed in any of the analyzed songs. Rather, only a brief mention of the praiser's family background is included (place of birth, mother and/or father's name) along with references to the occupation or profession of the individual. Such textual preferences again demonstrate difference in attitude of the two cultures primarily because of differences in the degree of external influences and development.

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Role and Meaning of Song Text to Fiddle Performance

In Hausaland the song repertoire on a given occasion includes all categories of song texts. At a naming ceremony or nightclub performance in Hausaland, praise, entertainment, and possession songs might be heard; also, songs might cover a wide variety of themes--insult, satire, and so forth. To perform possession songs at a wedding is not uncommon; bori performers provide welcomed entertainment for guests at various events of the wedding celebration. It should be remembered, however, that instrumental accompaniment would not be included at the exchange of marriage vows, for this part of the ceremony is based on Islamic practice (Ames and King 1971:114-116). The marriage feast and other events, which are more secular in nature because of the inclusion of musical performances such as bori, do not take place until six to eight weeks or up to a year after the exchange of vows.

In Dagbon, songs on all sorts of themes would be acceptable at a funeral ceremony. No special funeral music, as is known in the West, is used for funerals in Dagbon or Hausaland. The mourning family, however, may request certain songs in memory of the deceased. If the deceased, for instance, liked the "Tora Dance"--an entertainment song--this would be played and individuals would dance to the music. On other occasions in Dagbon--e.g., naming and wedding ceremonies, festivals, market events, and so forth--the au-

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dience directly or indirectly decides on the song repertoire. The gondze players know from the appearance and response of the audience the type of songs to play; if not, the audience would request special songs (information obtained from personal communication with Salisu Mahama).

The way in which the audience responds to the performance is directly related to the meaning of the song text to the performance. In Hausaland it appears that the goge performance is one in which the audience tends to respond with less emotion. Rather, audience members are expected to listen. Mohammadan says he knows the audience is pleased with his performance when they sit, listen attentively, and give gifts. In that case the music, dance, and song text must be appealing to attract and hold the audience's attention. Possibly this is the reason the song text is presented in a simple, straightforward manner, without complex proverbs, poetic allusion, and so forth. The song text is used for information as well as listening.

Since some of the audience members do not understand the Dagomba song text, their response to the performance differs from that of the Hausa; audience tend to show emotion by physical motor response. Other gestures used by the fiddlers are made to stimulate more reaction from the audience. All of this is done for the fiddlers know or realize the difficulty of certain textual passages in some songs. Therefore, a Dagomba fiddler, Sulemana, says he knows that the performance is a success when the audience actively par-

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ticipates in the event with physical response--dancing, ululating, clapping hands, and so forth.

In cultures that place much emphasis on social control, behavior, and values of members of the community, one finds that song texts are a device for relieving psychological tension and for correcting erring members of society (Merriam 1964:207). Among the Hausa, Islam seems to be the means by which attitudes and actions are controlled and molded. In Dagbon the number of people having totally accepted Islam is minimal; to stress the ideology of Allah probably would not enculcate the desired ideals of the community. Rather, elements which have contributed to the continuity and stability of the traditional state are more emphasized in Dagomba texts.

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SECTION THREE

MUSIC ANALYSES

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Chapter Ten

Formal Structure of One String Fiddle Compositions

For convenience all of the fiddle songs have been transcribed into Western staff notation[1] and transposed to pitch G[3]--that is, G below middle C constitutes pitch one for both Dagomba and Hausa songs. By doing this it is more clearly possible to see the relationship of the various songs. All songs performed by interviewed fiddlers have not been transcribed and will be not be discussed. For example, the Hausa song collections represented in Appendix F does not include compositions by Samunaka. Also, only one or two compositions by each Hausa is presented; four songs by Haruna are included for his performance style in each was so different. The texts of some non-transcribed songs, however, are found in Appendix E. In the Dagomba collection no songs by Salifu have been included in the analysis,[2] and only one to three songs have been transcribed for other gondze performers except Salisu Mahama. About twenty-five songs by Mahama have been transcribed and analyzed.[3]

When referring to specific pitches during the course of the analysis discussion, the allocation of tones will be based on the ambitus of the Western pitch C. The lowest C in the range of Western pitches will be indicated here as C^1 (32.7 hertz), therefore, any pitches between C^1 and C^2 (65.4 hertz) will always be represented with the upper

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case number one--e.g. A^1 (55 hertz). For the entire compass of the Western pitch with hertz representation[4] see Figure 1.

Figure 1.

Range of Western Pitch C	Hertz[5] Representation for Pitch C
c^7	2092.8
c^6	1046.4
c^5	523.2
c^4	261.6
c^3	130.8
c^2	65.4
c^1	32.7

Thus middle C on the Western piano will be referred to by the symbol C^4. If the discussion concerns A-220 or A-440, these pitches will be labeled respectively as A^3 or A^4.

Explanations of signs used in the transcriptions and analyses may be given here. A (↑) over a tone indicates that the pitch is slightly higher (not more than 100 cents) than the notated pitch, while a (↓) indicates that the tone is lower (not more than 100 cents) than the notated pitch. A (x) on the staff indicates a note that has no definite pitch. Rising attack is indicated by slanting line to the left of a tone (/) while a slanting line to the right (\) indicates a falling release; when between two tones (/ or \) or (\ or /), a glissando is indicated. A (>) above or below a note indicates accent.

The legend of each song in the transcriptions is partially based upon a system used by G.R. Hicks (1960)[6] in which pertinent information is abbreviated. For example,

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in the heading of Haruna's Banjo (H1:4d:80 ♩.) the first figure (H1) indicates that the song is number one in the Hausa song collection; the designation of H3 would indicate song three; D1 and D3, songs one and three in the collection of Dagomba songs. The second figure (4d) indicates that the original is four semitones (400 cents) lower; the figure 3u would indicate that the original pitch is three semitones (300 cents) higher; and (0) means that the composition is notated in its original pitch. The third figure (80 ♩.) indicates that the tempo is 80 beats per minute based upon the dotted-half note; the figure 126 𝅗𝅥 would indicate the the tempo is 126 beats per minute based on a half note.

Hausa

The Hausa one string fiddle ensemble consists of melodic (goge) and percussive (kwarya, kalengu, 'dan karbi, and kuntuku) instruments. Scholars (see Nketia 1974:115) often categorize the fiddle ensemble as a solo tradition, for the fiddler is the primary music artist; drummers are only included as accompaniment to provide the percussive effect that is so much a part of most African music cultures. Notice from Chart I on the following page that of the twelve compositions, only one includes all of the available instruments (see "Ali mai. . ." by Leo). In other cases no accompanying instruments are used; see compositions by Haruna (Gagara Sarki and Jabula), Mohammadan,

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CHART I

Documentation of Goge Songs

Title of Compositions	Song Type	Name of Performer	Form	Instrumentation	Length
1. Ali mai sai da mai Shell BP	Praise	Leo	Call and response	One goge Two kwarya Two kalengu Two 'dan karbi One kuntuku Seven masu amshi	5:20
2. Banjo	Entertainment	Haruna	Call and response	One goge Two kwarya Two masu amshi	8:35
3. Banjo	Entertainment	Nabarau	Free	One goge	1:55
4. Barrahaza	Possession	Haruna	Call and response	One goge Two kwarya Two masu amshi	7:15
5. Gagara Sarki	Praise	Haruna	Call and response	One goge One mai amshi	2:05
6. Jabula	Entertainment	Haruna	Call and response	One goge One maroki	4:55
7. Kidan kanawa	Praise	Landi	Call and response	One goge One mai amshi/ drummer	2:05
8. Ruwa ruwa	Possession	Mohammadan	Free	One goge	:25

9.	Sarkin Makada	Possession	Mohammadan	Free	One goge	2:20
10.	Sarkin Makada	Possession	Nabarau	Free	One goge	:55
11.	Sarkin malla-mai Garba Kaita	Praise	Leo	Call and response	One goge Two kwarya Two kalengua Two 'dan karbi Seven masu amshi	3:35
12.	Wakakai	Entertainment	Landi	Call and response	One goge One mai amshi/ drummer (see note 7)	4:00

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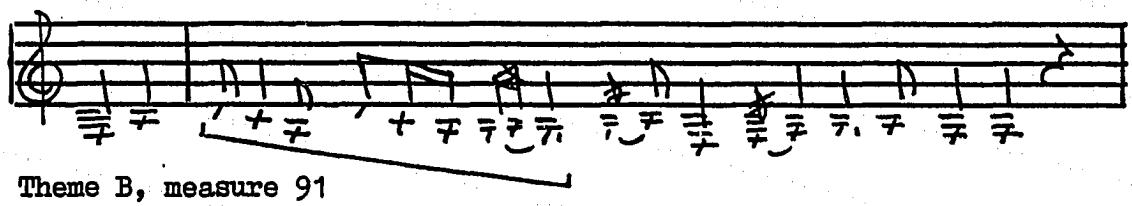
and Nabarau.[9] Other performers have included only the kwarya or a combination of the kwarya and kalengu. The kuntuku appears to be the least used instrumental type. Thus, the fiddle functions as the lead or principal instrument, while others play a subordinate role as accompanying or ostinato instruments. The kalengu, 'dan karbi, and kuntuku help to enrich the texture of the density of a composition; the primary use for the kwarya, which is the most common accompanying instrumental type in the goge tradition, is to emphasize or articulate the pulse structure.

From the analysis of the goge songs in this study it appears that the Hausa make use of two types of forms: (1) call and response and (2) free improvisation. The call and response technique is normally used when the fiddler is accompanied by a chorus. After the fiddler has played a phrase, the chorus responds by repeating the statement (sometimes with minor variations). Based on one or more different themes (theme refers to the melodic material normally introduced by the goge and is the basis upon which melodic variations are developed), goge statements are variably performed during the composition. Sometimes subsequent themes are developed from former themes that may have been initially used during the composition. For example, themes B, C, and D in Haruna's Banjo are obvious motives that are derived from theme A of the same composition; see Figure 2.
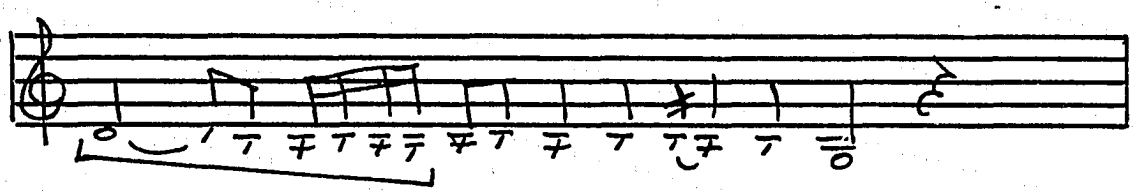
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Figure 2. Themes used in Banjo by Haruna (H1)

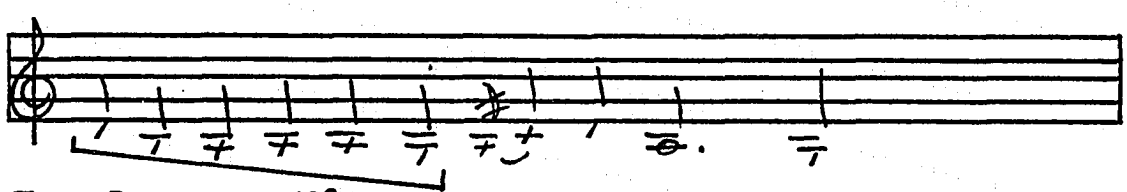
Theme A, measure 8-9



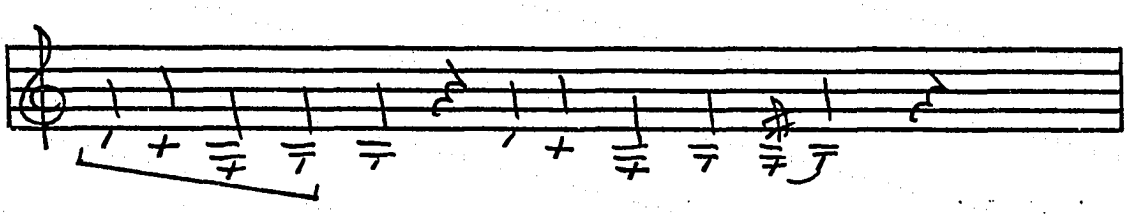
Theme B, measure 91



Theme C, measure 101



Theme D, measure 108

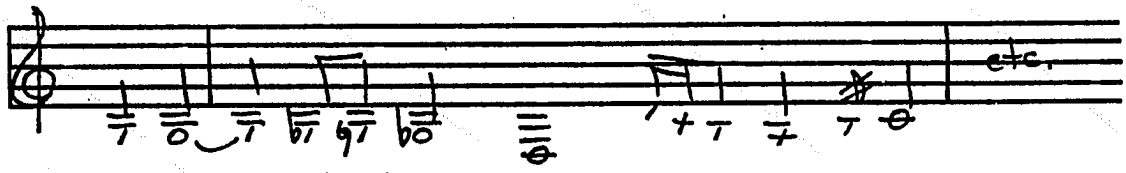


On the other hand themes B and C from Haruna's version of Barrahaza differ completely from theme A of the same composition (see Figure 3). Performers, therefore, do not always use the same methods of organizing compositions.

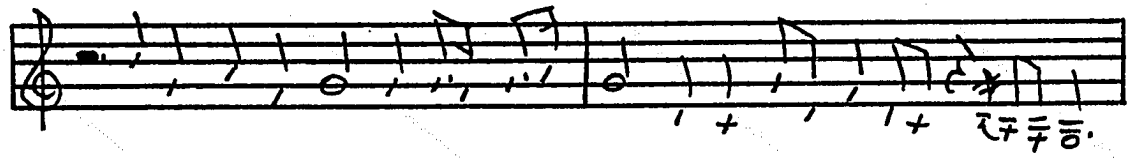
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Figure 3. Themes used in Barrahaza by Haruna (H2)

Theme A, measures 8-9



Theme B, measures 14-15



Theme C, measures 30-31

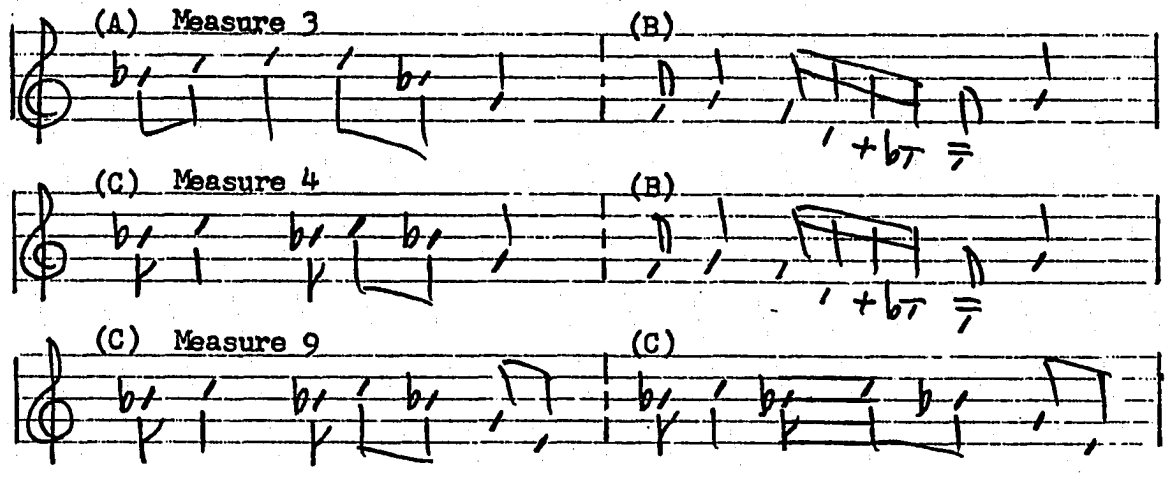


The call and response is not always manifested between the fiddler and chorus. Occasionally the fiddler performs both roles. For example, when performing the Jabula, the performer plays a melodic phrase as the call and then follows with a fiddle response. Sometimes he uses similar motives for the statement and response; other times completely different motives are used for each part; see Figure 4.

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Figure 4. Themes used in Jabula by Haruna (H4)

Fiddle Call Fiddle Response



Gagara Sarki (H3) differs from other responsorial patterns in that the melodic line is based entirely on a praise epithet that is normally performed on the kakaki. Ames and King describe kakaki as a long, metal, lip-vibrated, end-blown pipe in two detachable sections. The overall length extends between eight and fourteen feet, depending upon the area. For example, an average kakaki in Katsina (a northern Nigerian city) has an overall length of 97 inches--length of mouthpiece section, 48 inches; length of bell-end section, 49 inches; bore at mouth-piece, 1 inch; bore immediately before actual bell-end, 2.75 inches; and maximum diameter of bell-end, 4 inches. The instrument is commonly used by musicians of an Emir for performances in honour of their patron or his associates. Sometimes, it may be owned by a lesser official but, if so, only with the approval of the Emir (Ames and King 1971:50-51).

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The kakaki is either performed solo, with one or more other kakaki, or combined with gangar and tambura drum ensembles. To play the instrument the pipe is held to the mouth in a near-horizontal position with the right hand near the mouthpiece and the extended left arm towards the bell-end (see photograph in Appendix C, plate 35). Normally, the aerophone is "blown to produce two notes approximately 750 cents apart; a third note at an interval of approximately 100 cents below the lowest of the two previous notes, is less commonly used. When a group of kakaki are used for solo and chorus type performance, the 'chorus' instruments are approximately 100 cents higher in pitch than the 'solo' instrument throughout their range" (Ames and King 1971:51).

The call and response technique then may be based on a combination of three types of melodic material:

a. Within a prescribed rhythmic pattern or pulse structure statements and responses are performed by fiddler and chorus.

b. Within a prescribed pulse structure statements and responses are performed by only the fiddler.

c. Without regard for the underlying pulse structure melodic statements and responses by fiddler and chorus are performed and based entirely on praise epithets.

Most of the call and response compositions are based on a--that is, melodic statements and responses by fiddler and chorus--except for Jabula and Gagara Sarki by Haruna. Jabula is a solo fiddle composition without choral response; therefore, responsorial material is based on motives per-

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formed by the fiddler. Actually, Haruna performed Gagara to demonstrate how the fiddle can be used as a "talking" instrument. In so doing he imitated the melodic structure which is commonly played on the kakaki. Although an exchange of dialog between fiddler and vocalist takes place, Gagara differs most prominently from other call and response compositions in that an underlying repetitive pulse structure is not manifested; rather, phrases are asymmetrically arranged according to the text (see more discussion below).

Hausa Call and Response Form

Most goge compositions that are based on a call and response form have three sections--opening, middle, closing. In the opening section various themes that will be presented and developed in more elaborate forms in the middle sections are introduced. Normally opening material is highly improvisatory and much more florid than the material that will be established later in the composition. In some cases performers do not present complete themes in the opening; rather, short motivic phrases are stated. On other occasions performers introduce music that is totally unrelated to the major themes of the composition. The development of this unrelated or contrasting material is usually reserved for the improvisatory interludes and closing sections.

The middle section constitutes the body of a composi-

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tion and is normally much longer in length than the opening and closing. Any number of different or similar themes are presented--some based on material introduced in the opening, others are not. Besides the thematic material performers usually perform short transitional melodic phrases or longer improvisatory interludes during the middle section.

The closing, like the opening, is much more florid and improvisatory than the middle. In many cases the performer restates some of the material that had been presented in the middle section. Often times he may just develop motives that were stated in the opening and interludes.

To some degree Hausa musicians conceptualize the structure of their songs in a similar manner that I have proposed in the above. For example, during one of the interludes in Banjo by Haruna, the lead singer (maroki) states the following:

> I wish you a peaceful journey to and from Haru, the beloved of Dije. (twice)
>
> I wish you a happy journey that of Umma, Agadasawa Kano State, (From Banjo by Haruna, measures 82-84)

The statements can be interpreted in two ways. First, because bori initiates, when entering and leaving a trance, are believed to mount and dismount a horse, the journey might symbolize entrance and departure from a trance since Haruna is a bori affiliate. A second interpretation for "journey" is that Haruna at this point in the composition

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begins his improvisatory interlude and the maroki interjects a note of encouragement by hoping that he performs successfully--"peaceful journey to and from" and "happy journey." Ingawa, my Hausa translator, suggested and agrees with the second interpretation. Whether the first or second interpretation is more plausible does not matter. What is important is that the musicians themselves verbalize that musical utterances at that point are different from previous melodic material, inferring that the composition is divided into various units or sections.

A formal analysis of compositions by Haruna--Banjo, Barrahaza, Gagara Sarki, and Jabula--appear respectively in Figures 5, 6, 7, and 8. The numerals in the left-hand column enclosed in parenthesis indicate the relative length of the various themes as defined by the number of beats (quarter notes). The capital letters (A,B,C,D) under the heading "theme" refer to the various melodic themes introduced in the composition. Any letter with a number indicates that the theme is a variant of the main theme, e.g., the themes stated in A^1 and A^2 are variants of theme A. A capital letter followed by another capital letter in the upper case indicates that the theme is similar to another theme. For example in measures 113-116 of Haruna's Banjo, the melodic material,which has been labeled E, is very similar to theme D of the same composition but too different to be labeled as D^1. Therefore, the letter E^D means that theme E includes elements from theme D. Be-

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Figure 5. Formal Analysis of Banjo by Haruna

Opening Section (rubato style)			1 - 6
Introduction of motives and themes to be used in middle section			
Middle Section			
	Themes		
(12)	A	$Goge_1$ (call)	7 -
		$Chorus_1$ (response)	8
		Goge	9
		Chorus	10
		Goge	11
		Chorus	12
(24)	A^1	$Goge_1$	13 - 14
		$Chorus_1$	15 - 16
		Goge	17 - 18
		Chorus	19 - 20
	A	Goge	21
		Chorus	22
		Goge	23
		Chorus	24
	A^1	Goge	25 - 26
		Chorus	27 - 28
		Goge	29 - 30
		Chorus	31 - 32
	A	Goge	33
		Chorus	34
		Goge	35
		Chorus	36
		Goge	37
		Chorus	38
	A^1	Goge	39 - 40
		Chorus	41 - 42
		Goge	43 - 44
		Chorus	45 - 46
		Goge	47 - 48
		Chorus	49 - 50
	A	Goge	51
		Chorus	52
		Goge	53
		Chorus	54
		Goge	55
		Chorus	56
	Interlude I	$Goge_6$	56 - 65
	(Improvisation of motives in opening)		
	A	$Goge_1$	66
		$Chorus_1$	67
		Goge	68
		Chorus	69
		Goge	70
		Chorus	71
	A^1	$Goge_1$	72 - 73
		$Chorus_1$	74 - 75

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	A	Goge	76
		Chorus	77
		Goge	78
		Chorus	79
	Interlude II	$Goge_{12}$	79- 90
		(Improvisation of motives in opening and Theme A)	
(12)	B	$Goge_1$	91
		$Chorus_1$	92
		Goge	93
		Chorus	94
		Goge	95
		Chorus	96
		Goge	97
		Chorus	98
	Transition I	$Goge_2$	99-100
		(Variation of Theme B)	
(12)	C	$Goge_2$	101-104
	Transition II	$Goge_{2-6}$	105
		(Includes brief introduction of Theme D)	
	C	$Goge_8$	105
(6)	C^1	$Goge_8$	106
(6)	D	$Goge_2$	107-109
	Transition III	$Goge_8$	109-110
		(Improvisation of Theme C)	
	C_1	$Goge_2$	110-111
	C^1	$Goge_2$	111-113
(6)	E^D	$Goge_4$	113-116
	Interlude III	$Goge_4$	116-121
		(Improvisation of motives in opening)	
	C_2	$Goge_3$ (variated)	121-122
(12)	C^2	$Goge_2$	122-123
		$Chorus_5$	123-124
		$Goge_2$	124-125
		$Chorus_5$	125-126
	C_3	$Goge_2$	127-128
(12)	C^2	$Goge_2$	128-130
	C^2	$Goge_2$	130-132
	C_4	$Goge_2$ (variated)	132-133
(6)	C^4	$Goge_9$	133-134
	C^1	$Goge_3$ (variated)	135-138
		Chorus (C^1 and C^2)	136-138
	C	$Goge_3$	138-139
		$Chorus_{11}$	138-139
		$Goge_3$	139-140
		$Chorus_8$	140-141
	C^4_1	$Goge_8$ (variated)	140-144
(12)	D^1	$Goge_2$	144-145
		$Chorus_2$	145-146
		$Goge_2$	146-147
		$Chorus_2$	147-148
	Interlude IV	$Goge_2$	148-161
		(Development of opening and Theme D)	

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(12) F Goge$_3$ 161-166
(6) F^1 Goge$_3$ 166-171

Closing Section 171-177
(Development of rhythmic time line by kwarya)

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Figure 6. Formal Analysis of Barrahaza by Karuna

Opening Section			1- 8
		Introduction of themes by fiddler	
Middle Section			
		Themes	
(15-18)	A	$Goge_{10}$	8- 9
		Goge (variated)	10- 12
		$Chorus_{10}$	12- 13
(21-24)	B	Goge	14- 15
		Chorus	16- 17
		Goge	18- 19
		Chorus	20- 21
		Goge	22- 23
		Chorus	24- 25
(24)	B^{1A}	Goge	26- 27
		Chorus (slightly different from call by Goge)	
(96)	C	Goge	30- 37
		Chorus	38- 45
		Interlude I Goge	46- 51
		(Development of Theme B)	
(24)	B^2	Goge	52- 53
		Chorus	54- 55
		Goge	56- 57
		Chorus	58- 59
(24)	C^1	Goge	60- 61
		Goge	62- 63
		Chorus	64- 65
(24)	D	Goge	66- 67
		Chorus	68- 69
	C^1	Goge	70- 71
		Chorus	72- 73
(24)	A^1	Goge	74- 75
		Chorus	76- 77
		Interlude II Goge	78- 81
		(Development of Theme B)	
(24)	B^3	Goge	82- 83
		Chorus	84- 85
(24)	C^2	Goge	86- 87
		Chorus	88- 89
		Goge	90- 91
		Chorus	92- 93
(24)	B^4	Goge	94- 95
		Chorus	96- 97
		Goge	98- 99
		Chorus	100-101
		Interlude III Goge	102-107
		(Development of Theme A)	
	C^1	Goge	108-109
		Chorus	110-111
		Goge	112-113
		Chorus	114-115

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	A^1	Goge	116-117
		Chorus	118-119
	B^4	Goge	120-121
		Chorus	122-123
		Goge	124-125
		Chorus	126-127
	Interlude IV Goge		128-131
		(Development of Theme C)	
(24)	B^5	Goge	132-133
		Chorus	134-135
	C^1	Goge	136-137
		Chorus	138-139
(24)	B^{6C}	Goge	140-141
		Chorus	142-143
	Interlude V		144-145.
		(Development of Theme B)	
(24)	C^{2B}	Goge	146-147
		Chorus	148-149
	A^2	Goge	150-151
		Chorus	152-153

Closing Section

(Improvisation of new and old material by goge) 154-160

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Figure 7. Formal Analysis of Gagara Sarki by Haruna

Text	Melodic Theme		Measure
Opening Section			
	A	Goge	1
Gagara bajimin Sarki		Maroki	1
Middle Section	A^1	Goge	2
Gagara gagara bajimin (Sarki bagimin)		Maroki	2
	A^1	Goge	3
Allah ya dade **da Sarki**	B	Maroki	3
		Goge	4
Allah ya dade **da Sarki**		Maroki	4
		Goge	5
Allah ya dade **da Sarki**		Maroki	5
	A	Goge	6
Gagara Sarki bajimin Sarki		Maroki	6
		Goge	7
Gagara Sarki bajimin Sarki		Maroki	7
		Goge	8
Gagara Sarki bajimin Sarki		Maroki	8
		Goge	9
Gagara Sarki bajimin Sarki		Maroki	9
	A^1	Goge	10
Allah shi dade **da Sarki**		Maroki	10
	A	Goge	11
Gagara Sarki bajimin Sarki		Maroki	11
	B	Goge	12
Allah ya dade **da Sarki**		Maroki	12
		Goge	13
Allah ya dade **da Sarki**		Maroki	13
	A	Goge	14
Gagara Sarki bajimin Sarki		Maroki	14
	A^1	Goge	15
Gagara Sarki bajimin Sarki		Maroki	15
	A	Goge	16
Gagara Sarki bajimin Sarki		Maroki	16
	B	Goge	17
Allah shi dade **da Sarki**		Maroki	17
		Goge	18
Allah shi dade da Sarki		Maroki	18
	A^1	Goge	19
Gagara Sarki bajimin Sarki		Maroki	19
		Goge	20
Sarki zullahi	C	Maroki	20
	A	Goge	21
Gagara Sarki bajimin Sarki		Maroki	21
		Goge	22
Gagara Sarki bajimin Sarki		Maroki	22
		Goge	23
Gagara Sarki bajimin Sarki		Maroki	23
	A^1	Goge	24
Allah ya dade **da Sarki**	B	Maroki	24

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		Goge	25
Allah ya dade da Sarki		Maroki	25
		Goge	26
Sarki zullahi	C	Maroki	26
	A	Goge	27
Gagara Sarki bajimin Sarki		Maroki	27
		Goge	28
Gagara Sarki bajimin Sarki		Maroki	28
	A^1	Goge	29
Gagara Sarki bajimin Sarki		Maroki	29
		Goge	30
Gagara Sarki bajimin Sarki		Maroki	30
	B	Goge	31
Allah shi dade da Sarki		Maroki	31
		Goge	32
Allah shi dade da Sarki		Maroki	32
	A	Goge	33
Gagara Sarki bajimin Sarki		Maroki	33
		Goge	34
Gagara Sarki bajimin Sarki		Maroki	34
	B	Goge	35
Allah shi dade da Sarki		Maroki	35
		Goge	36
Allah shi dade da Sarki		Maroki	36
Closing Section	A	Goge	37
Gagara Sarki bajimin Sarki		Maroki	37

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Figure 8. Formal Analysis of Jabula by Haruna

Opening Section	1- 2
Middle Section	
Motives (Each motive consists of four quarter-note beats.)	
AB	3
CB	4
AB	5
DB	6- 7
CB	8
CC	9
C^1C^1	10-11
AA	12
AC^2	13
C^2C^2	14-15
AC	16
CC	17
CA	18
AC^2	19
C^2C^2	20-21
AC^2	22
AC^3	23
CC^3	24-25
CA	26
C^2C^2	27-30
C^2A	31
A^1C^3	32
CC^3	33-34
CC^2	35
C^2A	36
AC^2	37
C^2C^2	38-39
AB	40
EB	41
ED	42
D^1D	43
C^4B	44
CB	45-46
AB	47-49
DD	50
DC^3	51
CC	52
C^2C^2	53-56
C^2A	57
AA	58-60
C^2C^2	61-66
CC	67
CC^2	68
C^2C^2	69
C^2A	70

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AA_2 71
C^2C^2 72
C^5C^5 73-74
AA_5 75-76
AC^5 77
C^5C^5 78
BB_1 79
BB^1 80
B^1B^1 81-83
B^1B 84
C 85

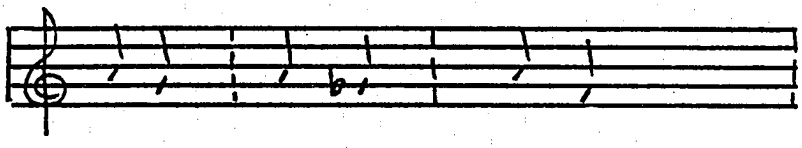
Closing Section
Closing remark by maroki 85

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cause most themes are presented in a call and response form, the term "goge" means that the theme is stated by the fiddler, while "chorus" indicates the response is sung by the chorus. Any numeral immediately following the terms "goge" and "chorus" refers to the particular beat (quarter-note) of the measure concerned; the absence of a numeral means that the theme begins on beat one. The numerals in the right-hand column refer to the serial number of the "measure" in the transcription in Appendix F.

The structure of Haruna's Banjo rests principally on the variation of one basic theme (see Figure 2A). In the opening section Haruna does not explicitly state the theme but hints at it (see measures 3-6). In measures 1-2 he presents a motive (see Figure 9) that is subsequently developed in each interlude section of the composition (see measures 56-65, 79-90, 116-121, and 148-161).

Figure 9.



The call and response technique is most evident in the middle section of the composition. Whatever theme the fiddle performs, the chorus responds. Haruna modifies the formal structure by including (1) a longer variant (A^1) of the main theme; (2) four interludes that are basically a development of material in the opening section; (3) three short transitional phrases, usually not more than twelve

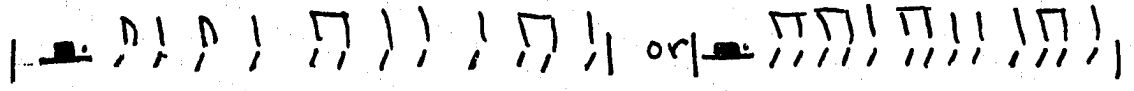
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beats in length; and (4) new themes (B,C,D,E,F), which are variants of theme A.

The closing section is performed entirely by the kwarya. They repeat and modify the basic rhythmic pulse structure of the composition. Thus, the over-all form of Haruna's Banjo may be indicated as a three section form in which: (1) a short opening section (6 measures) introduces the themes and motives in their shortest form; (2) a long middle section (165 measures) establishes themes with variation and introduction of new material; and (3) a short closing section (7 measures) provides the opportunity for development of the rhythmic time line.

The unifying basis of this composition is manifested in the similar intervallic and motivic structure of various themes. Also, similar motives that were initially presented in the introduction are developed in each interlude section. The beginning of each interlude includes the motive, but the motive may or may not be further developed during the course of the improvisatory section. What also unifies this and other Hausa fiddle compositions is the function of each performing medium in the ensemble. The kwarya players perform a 12-beat repetitive rhythmic pattern which establishes a 12-beat time line or time span (see Figure 10).

Figure 10. Rhythmic pattern used in Banjo by Haruna



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This is the reason why most of the themes are based on derivatives of the number twelve: either six beats (one-half time line), twelve beats (one time line), or twenty-four beats (two time lines); see more discussion in Chapter Twelve. Only the percussive section then provides the ostinato, while the fiddler and chorus improvise over the underlying structure.

In contrast to the preceding example the themes used in Barrahaza are more independent of each other. Occasionally, however, certain elements of one theme may be used in another. To indicate this in the formal analysis a second capital letter representing the similar theme is included with the lower case capital--e.g. B^{1A} indicates that the variant of theme B is also similar in melodic structure to theme A (see formal analysis of Barrahaza on pages 370-371).

Similar to Banjo, Barrahaza can be divided into three different sections: short opening, longer middle, and short closing. In contrast to the preceding, the basis for the form does not rest principally on one specific theme; rather, several different themes are used. In the opening section the fiddler introduces in an improvisatory style, several of the motives that are developed in the middle section. Like Banjo, the call and response form between fiddler and chorus is most evident in the middle section. Unlike Banjo the chorus do not repeat the exact statement performed by the fiddler; they tend to modify the response, because the

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fiddler's performance style in this composition is more florid and contains more ornamentations than fiddle themes in Banjo, which are simpler in structure. For example, compare the fiddler's statement in Figure 11 with the choral response in Figure 12.

Figure 11. Fiddle statement, Barrahaza, measures 18-19

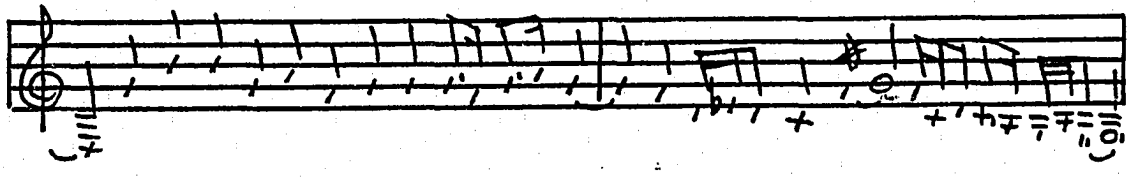


Figure 12. Choral response, Barrahaza, measures 20-21

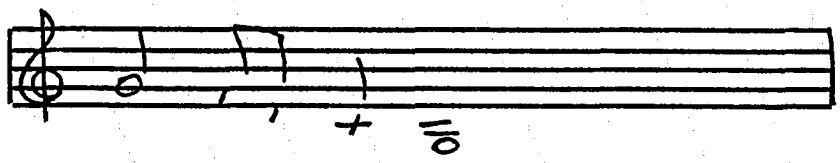


Interludes in Barrahaza also differ from those in Banjo. During interludes the fiddler develops thematic material; interludes I, II, and IV are based on theme B, while theme A appears to be most emphasized in interlude III. In the closing section of Barrahaza new motives and further variation of old themes are performed by the fiddler. The maroki and kwarya perform the final conclusion of this section.

The unifying elements in Barrahaza are: (1) the five-note descending melodic phrase attached to each theme (Figure 13) and (2) the 24-beat rhythmic structure performed by kwarya players.

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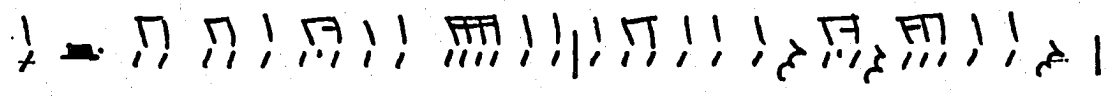
Figure 13. Unifying melodic phrase in Barrahaza



Although the time value for tones in Figure 13 varies during the composition, the phrase is continuously used in the same melodic form. Even the final statement performed by Haruna in measure 159 is based on a modification of the phrase in Figure 13.

The underlying rhythmic time line in this example is based on a 24-beat structure, encompassing two 12-beat measures (see Figure 14).

Figure 14. Rhythmic pattern used in Barrahaza by Haruna



Again variations occur at certain points in the rhythmic pattern, but the final rest at the end of the time line usually signifies the end. Since the underlying rhythmic structure is based on a 24-beat or two twelve-measured time span, most of the themes performed by the fiddler and chorus also consist of 24 beats. A performer, therefore, uses various ways to provide contrast in his song repertoire.

The formal structure of Gagara Sarki differs completely from either of the two preceding examples. The call and response form of this composition is based entirely on three

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textual phrases by the maroki and fiddler without regard for repetitive pulse structure. Each textual statement that is introduced has a corresponding melodic statement; see Figure 15 on the next page for the goge melody and its corresponding text.

Since the text is the primary basis for the organization of Gagara, bar lines are used only at the end of textual phrases. The thirty-seven measures, therefore, correspond to the number of statements in the text. In the formal analysis the left-hand column indicates the text as stated by the maroki (praise singer), while the capital letters refer to the melodic phrase played by the fiddler (see Figure 7).

The opening and closing A themes (see measures 1 and 37) can be regarded as introductory and concluding phrase, for both of these sections are performed in a slower tempo than the middle statements, creating subtle differences. The over-all form of this composition may be indicated as:
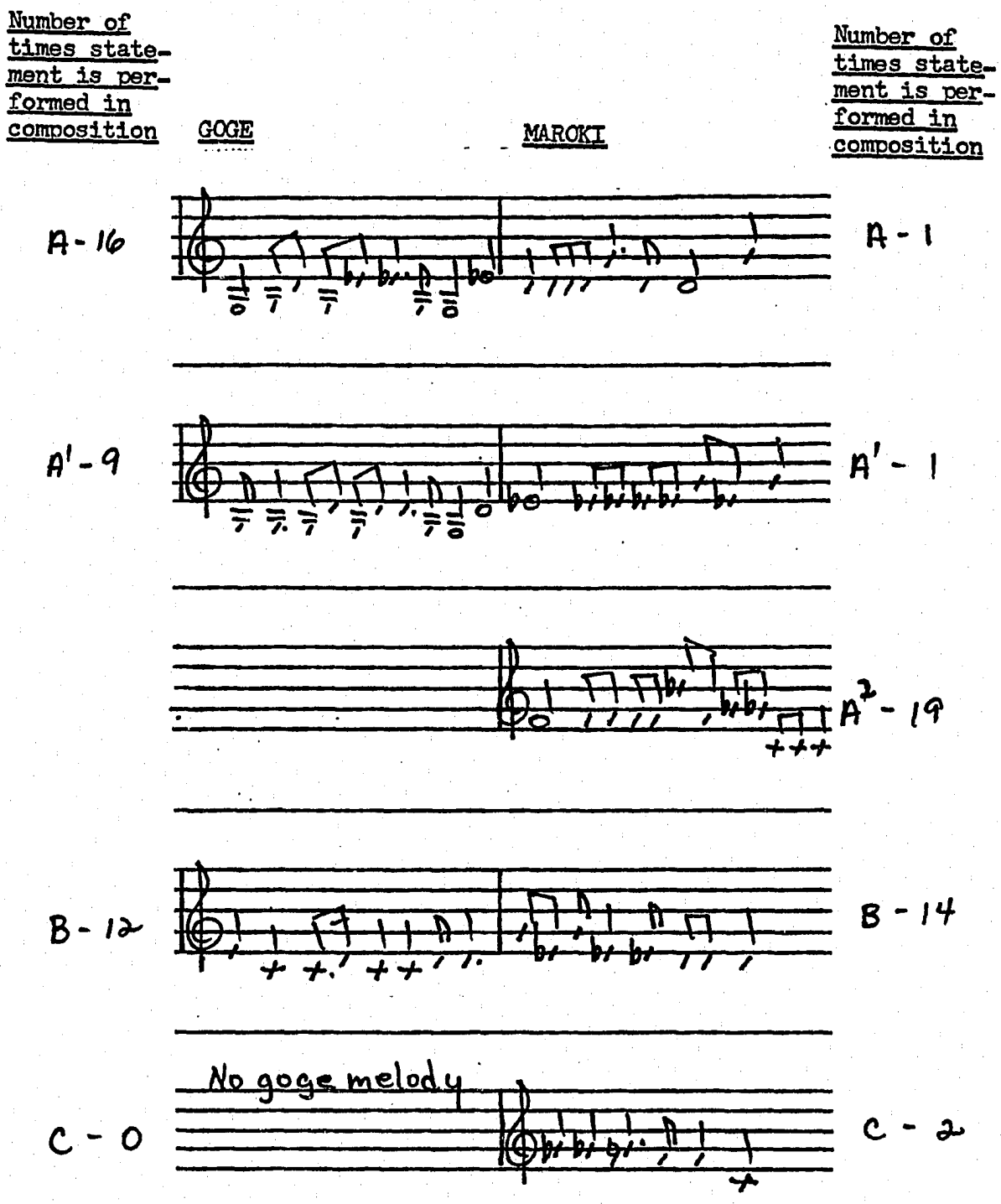
AA'A'BAA'ABAA'AB | A'CAA'BCAA'BABA

Looking more closely melodies in Gagara can be divided into sections. The first section is based on the scheme AAAB, which is repeated three times. The last half can also be regarded as three separate units: ACAA, BCAA, and BABA.

In addition, except for four occurrences in Gagara, the fiddler leads in all statements--that is, the fiddler plays the call and the maroki sings the response. In those

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Figure 15. Goge Melody and Song Text Used in Gagara Sarki (H3)



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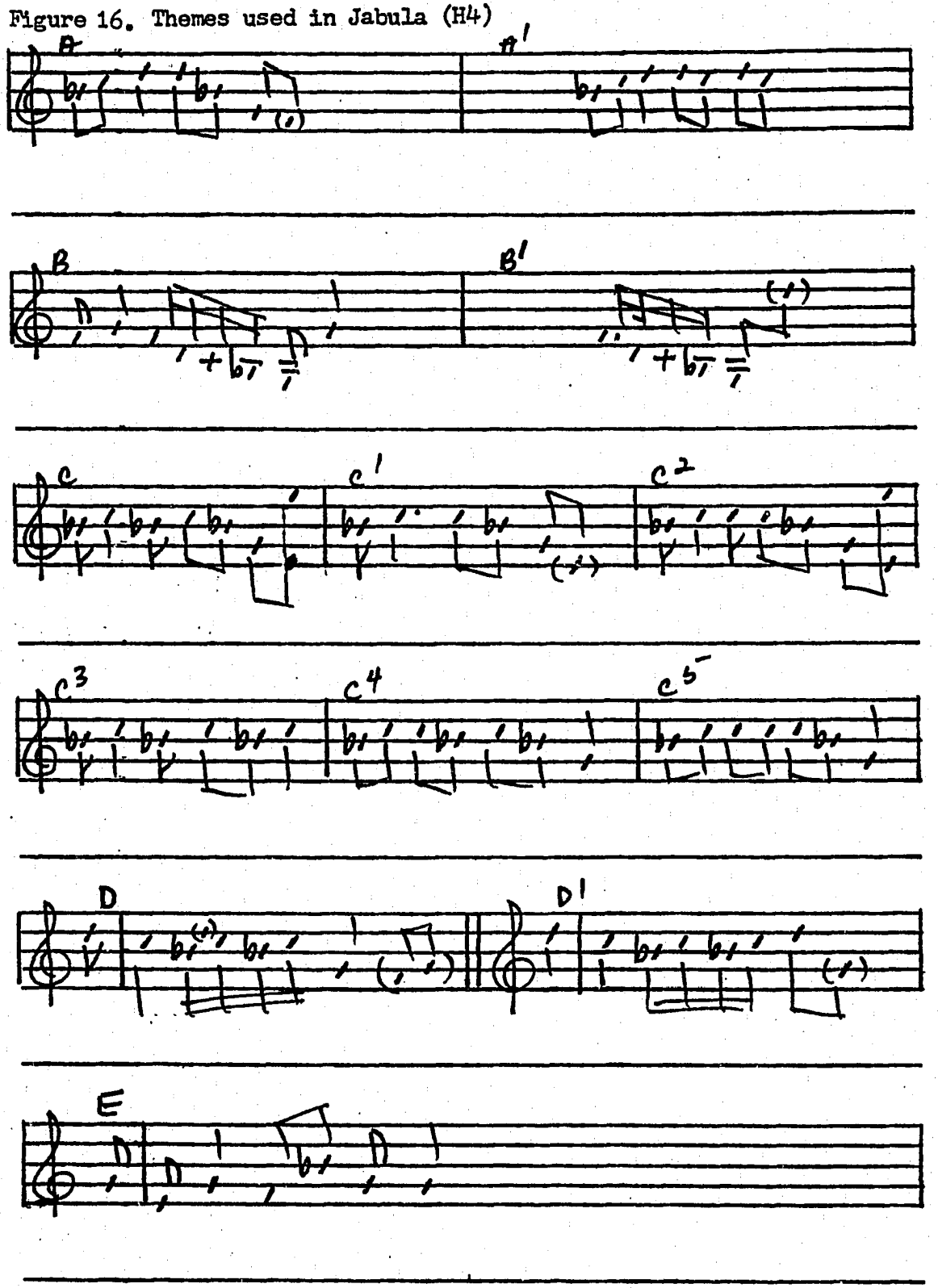
exceptional cases, the maroki leads with the text and the fiddler subsequently responds (see measures 3 and 24). Other times the fiddler does not perform a corresponding melodic statement for the text (see measures 20 and 26). The unifying element in Gagara is based on the repetitive goge melody. With each statement by the fiddler the maroki performs a set response. The responses are not exact melodic repetitions of the goge's statements; rather, the text is semi-spoken and sung.

Haruna's performance of Jabula with fiddler and maroki demonstrates another version of the call and response form. In this composition the fiddler functions as both the lead and response media. Five different themes and their variants (see Figure 16) are the basis for the organization of Jabula. The fiddler variably chooses one of these themes or variants as the call or response. Since the time span or pulse structure for Jabula is based on an eight-beat pattern, a combination of two four-beat phrases constitutes an eight-beat melodic statement. In the formal analysis the capital letters indicate the goge melodic phrases as listed in Figure 16. Any capital letter with a number refers to the variant of that theme.

The form of Jabula can be divided into three different sections in which: (1) a short opening section briefly introduces or hints at themes to be presented, (2) a long middle section establishes all of the five different themes and variants (A,B,C,D,E); and (3) an extremely brief closing

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Figure 16. Themes used in Jabula (H4)



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section in which the maroki makes a closing remark "come along" on the fifth beat of the final measure. Similar to other examples by Haruna the call and response form is manifested in the middle section of the composition. Unlike other performances besides Gagara, no interlude nor short improvisatory material is performed during the middle or closing sections. The small amount of florid material that is apparent occurs only in the opening section.

The most obvious unifying basis for this composition is (1) the eight-beat time line and (2) four-beat melodic phrases. Although the percussive instruments are not included, the short phrases are organized so that they sound complete in themselves; each is a unit that can stand alone but also can be adjoin with another to form a combination unit.

The call and response form of compositions by Landi and Leo demonstrates individual stylistic elements in the goge tradition; for analysis of these compositions, see Figures 17-20 on the following pages. Landi's three-section presentation of Wakakai (see Figure 17) is similar to Banjo in that the unifying basis for the composition is seen in the performance of the same concluding motivic phrase at the end of each theme. The phrase in Figure 21 may be rhythmically arranged in a number of ways, but the descending intervallic structure of the melody is always the same.

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Figure 17. Formal Analysis of Makakai by Landi

Opening Section			
	Goge improvisation (rubato rhythm)		1- 6
	Introduction of themes used in interlude and closing by goge		
(8)		a	7- 8
(8)		b	9-10
		a	11-12
		b	13-14
		a_1	15
(8)		a^1	16
(8)		a^2	17
(8)		a^3	18
(8)		c	19-20
		a	21-22
Middle Section			
	Themes		
(8)	A	Goge	23
		Chorus	24
		Goge	25
		Chorus	26
(16)	B	Goge	27-28
		Chorus	29-30
(16)	B^1	Goge	31-32
		Chorus	33-34
	Interlude (Goge improvisation)		
		(Development of themes presented in opening)	
(8)		a^4	35-36
(4)		a^5	37
(8)		b^1_2	38
(8)		b^2	39
		b^1	40
(4)		b^3	41
		a	42
(16)	B^2	Goge	43-44
		Chorus	45-46
(24)	C	Goge	47-49
		Chorus	50-52
(8)	D	Goge	53
		Chorus	54
(40)	E^B	Goge	55-59
		Chorus	60-64

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Closing Section

Goge Improvisation
(Development of themes presented in opening and interlude)

(4)	a^6	65-66
	a_2	67
	a^2	68
	a^1	69
(16)	b^4	70-73
	a	74
	d_{12} (Introduction to Kidan Kanawa)	74-76

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Figure 18. Formal Analysis of Kidan Kanawa by Landi

(No formal opening section is performed, for the fiddler played the opening at the end of Wakakai [see mm. 74-76 of Wakakai])

Middle Section

	Themes		
(12)	A	Goge	1
		Chorus	2
		Goge	3
		Chorus	4
(3)	B	Goge	5
(9)		Chorus_4	5
(3)		Goge	6
(9)		Chorus_4	6
(6)	C	Goge_{12}	6- 7
(8)		Chorus_{5+}	7- 8
		Goge_{1+}	8
(6)		Chorus_{5+}	8
	Interlude	(Goge improvisation)	8-14
		(Introduction and development of new material)	
	A	Goge	15
		Chorus	16
	B	Goge	17
		Chorus	17
		Goge	18
		Chorus	18
(7)	A^1	Goge	19
(6)		Chorus	19
		Goge	20
		Chorus	20

Closing Section (Goge improvisation) 21-26
(Development of material presented in interlude and introduction of new material)

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Figure 19.
Formal Analysis of Ali Mai Sai Da Mai Shell BP
by Liyo

Opening Section			1-11
		Introduction of thematic material by goge	
Middle Section			
		Themes	
(12)	A	$Goge_{3+}$	12-13
		$Chorus_3$	13-14
		$Goge_{3+}$	14-15
		$Chorus_3$	15-16
(6)	B	$Goge_{2+}$	15
(8)		$Chorus_6$	16-17
		Goge	17
		$Chorus_6$	17-18
(18)	A^1	$Goge_{1+}$	18-19
		$Chorus_7$	19-20
(6)	B^1	$Goge_{1+}$	21
(7)		$Chorus_7$	21-22
		Goge	22
		$Chorus_6$	22-23
		Goge	23
		$Chorus_6$	23-24
(12)	A	$Goge_{3+}$	24-25
		$Chorus_3$	25-26
(6)	B	$Goge_{2+}$	26
(8)		$Chorus_6$	26-27
(9)		Goge	27
		$Chorus_6$	27-28
(6)		Goge	28
(8)		$Chorus_6$	28
(6)		Goge	29
(8)		$Chorus_6$	29
(12)	A^2	$Goge_3$	30-31
(17)		$Chorus_9$	31-32
		Interlude I (Goge improvisation)	33-37
	A^{A2}	(Development of Theme A)	
(12)		$Goge_7$	37-38
		$Chorus_7$	38-39
(6)	B	$Goge_7$	39
(8)		$Chorus_{12}$	39-40
(5)		$Goge_8$	40
(8)		$Chorus_{12}$	40-41
(5)		$Goge_8$	41
(8)		$Chorus_{12}$	41-42
(16)	C^A	$Goge_8$	42-43
(20)		$Chorus_{12}$	43-45
(6)	D^A	$Goge_{6+}$	45
(8)		$Chorus_{12}$	45-46
(6)	B	Goge	46
(8)		$Chorus_{12}$	46-47

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(6)		$Goge_{6+}$	47
(8)		$Chorus_{12}$	47-48
(4)		$Goge_{8}$	48
(8)		$Chorus_{12}$	48-49
(12)	A	$Goge_{7}$	49-50
		$Chorus_{7}$	50-51
(12)	B^2	$Goge_{7}$	51-52
		$Chorus_{7}$	52-53
(6)	B^3	$Goge_{6+}$	53
(8)		$Chorus_{12}$	53-54
(6)		$Goge_{6+}$	54
(8)		$Chorus_{12}$	54-55
(7)	B	$Goge_{6+}$	55
(8)		$Chorus_{12}$	55-56
(5)		$Goge_{8}$	56
(8)		$Chorus_{12}$	56-57
(5)		$Goge_{8}$	57
(8)		$Chorus_{12}$	57-58
(17)	E^A	$Goge_{8+}$	58-59
(20)		$Chorus_{12}$	59-61
(6)	B	$Goge_{6+}$	61
(8)		$Chorus_{12}$	61-62
		$Goge_{6+}$	62
		$Chorus_{12}$	62-63
(19)	A	$Goge_{7+}$	63-65
		Chorus	65-66
(6)	D^A	$Goge_{6+}$	66
(8)		$Chorus_{12}$	66-67
(6)	B^2	$Goge_{6+}$	67
(8)		$Chorus_{12}$	67-68
(7)		$Goge_{6+}$	68
(8)		$Chorus_{12}$	68-69
(17)	E^A	$Goge_{8+}$	69-70
(20)		$Chorus_{12+}$	70-72
(7)	B	$Goge_{6+}$	72
(8)		$Chorus_{12}$	72-73
(6)		$Goge_{6+}$	73
(8)		Chorus	73-74
(12)	A	$Goge_{7+}$	74-75
(12)		$Chorus_{7}$	75-76
	Interlude II (Goge improvisation) (Development of motives in D^A and A)		76-81
(12)	A	Goge	82
		Chorus	83
(6)	B	Goge	84
(8)		$Chorus_{6}$	84
(6)		Goge	85
(8)		$Chorus_{6}$	85-86
<u>Closing Section</u>			86
(7)		Goge Development of Theme B	

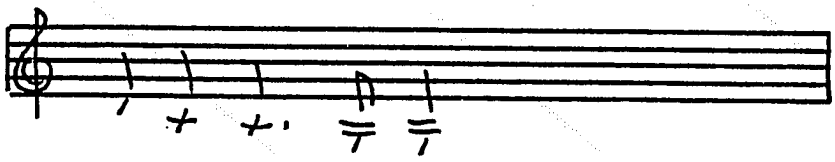
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Figure 20.
Sarkin Mallamai Garba Kaita by Liyo

Opening Section			1- 2
	Introduction of motives in Theme A		
Middle Section			
	Themes		
(36)	A	$Goge_2$	3- 5
		$Chorus_2$	6- 8
(24)	B	$Goge_{12}$	8-10
		Chorus	11-12
		$Goge_{2+}$	13-15
		$Chorus_2$	15-16
(11)	B^1	$Goge_{11+}$	16-17
(12)		$Chorus_{10}$	17-18
(11)		$Goge_{11}$	18-19
(18)		$Chorus_7$	19-20
(34)	C	$Goge_{4+}$	21-24
(35)		$Chorus_2$	24-26
(60)	D	$Goge_{2+}$	27-31
		$Chorus_2$	32-36
(6)	C^1	Goge	37
(16)	C^2	Chorus8+	37-38
(9)	C^1	$Goge_{1+}$	39
(16)	C^2	Chorus	39-40
(36)	E^B	Goge	41-43
		Chorus	44-46
(24)	E^{2B}	$Goge_{10+}$	46-48
(18)		$Chorus_7$	48-49
	A	$Goge_2$	50-53
		$Chorus_2$	53-55
	C^1	Goge	56
	C^2	Chorus	56-57
	C^1	Goge	58
	C^2	Chorus	58-59
	C^1	Goge	60
	C^2	Chorus	60-61
	C^1	Goge	62
	C^2	Chorus	62-63
(11)	A^1	$Goge_{11}$	63-64
(14)		$Chorus_{10}$	64-65
		$Goge_{11}$	65-66
		$Chorus_{10}$	66-67
(11)	B^2	$Goge_{11}$	67-68
(14)		$Chorus_{10}$	68-69
(12)		$Goge_{10+}$	69-70
(15)		$Chorus_{10}$	70-71
Closing Section			72-76
	Development of Theme C by goge and chorus and Restatement of rhythm by percussion		

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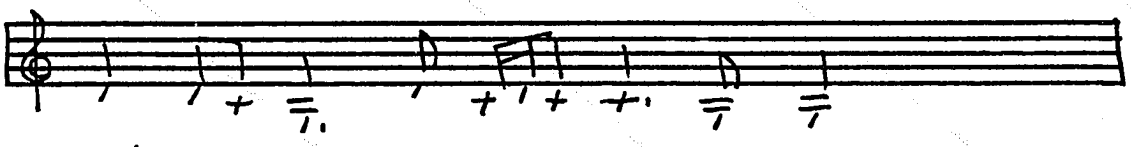
Figure 21. Unifying melodic phrase in Wakakai by Landi



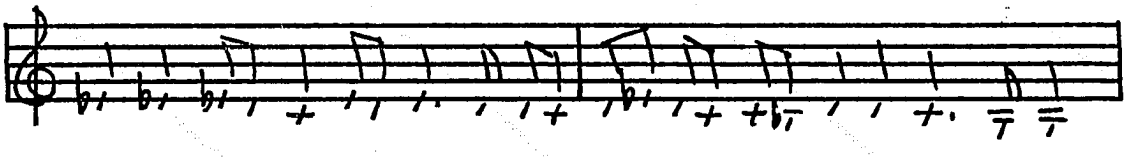
To demonstrate this unifying technique compare the endings in the following themes of Wakakai (see Figure 22-A,B,C,D, and E):

Figure 22. Themes used in Wakakai by Landi (H7)

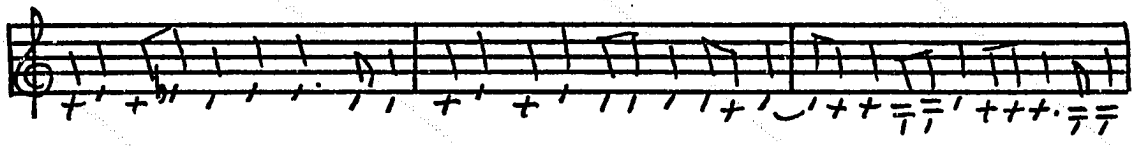
Theme A, measure 24



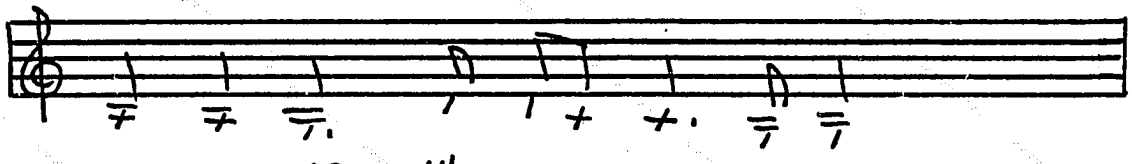
Theme B^1, measures 29-30



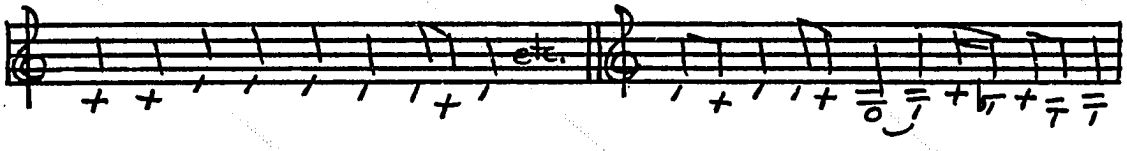
Theme C, measures 50 — 52



Theme D, measure 54



Theme E, measures 60 and 64



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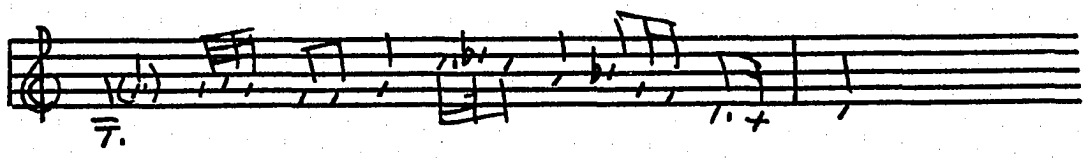
Organization of the lengths of themes is also similar in compositions by Haruna and Landi. In Barrahaza and Banjo Haruna introduces themes with varying lengths--one theme in Barrahaza consists of eight 12-beat measures (96 beats). Landi uses a similar method in Wakakai; he,however, uses the length to gradually build to a climax. Theme A consists of 8 beats (one measure), theme B (16 beats--two measures), theme C (24 beats--three measures) and theme E (40 beats--5 measures). The interesting feature of this technique is that no matter the length of the fiddle statement, the chorus always respond with the same length.

Something that Landi does which differs from both of Haruna's compositions is the inclusion of similar themes in the opening, interlude, and closing sections of Wakakai. Haruna briefly introduces this idea in Banjo with the same motives--intervallic structure--in the closing, interlude and closing sections (see Figure 9).

The first six measures of Wakakai are more or less improvisatory in a free rubato style. In measures 7-22 (the a tempo part) Landi, however, introduces thematic material which differs completely from themes in the middle section. These themes are indicated in the formal analysis with small letters (a, b, c, d, e). What is more interesting is that this introductory thematic material always begins and/or ends with the same concluding motivic phrase (see Figure 23).

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Figure 23.



The above theme or its variant is performed at the beginning and end of (1) the a tempo part of the opening section (see measures 7 and 22); (2) the interlude section (see measures 35 and 41-42); and (3) the closing section (see measures 65-66 and 73-74). The theme, therefore, can be regarded as another means for unifying the composition.

Technically the conclusion of Wakakai ends with beat 11 and 12 of measure 74. In other words the closing 12-beat melodic phrase at the end of Wakakai (see measures 74-76) is a transitional or connecting statement to Kidan kanawa, the next song performed by Landi. Since Kidan kanawa is based on a 12-beat time span, this is the reason the concluding phrase of Wakakai is based on a 12-beat structure rather than arranged in an 8-beat pulse.

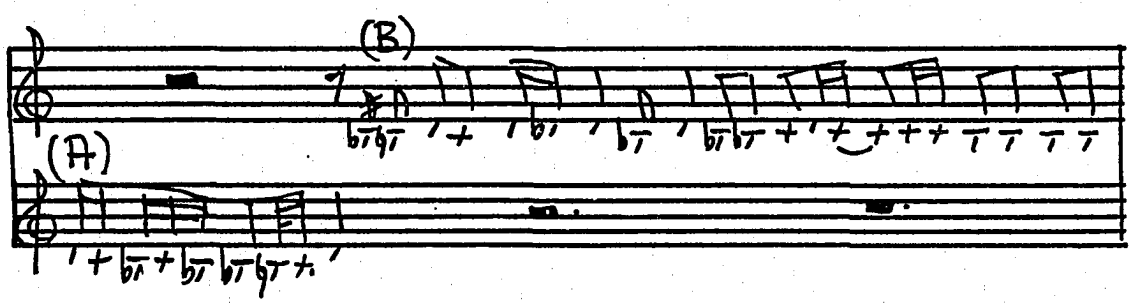
The structure of Kidan kanawa by Landi differs from all of the preceding call and response compositions in that no formal opening section is performed (see formal analysis in Figure 18). The primary reason for the exclusion of an opening is that Kidan kanawa is performed right after Wakakai. As mentioned in the above, the final 12-beat melodic phrase of Wakakai is actually the opening section for Kidan kanawa. Therefore, since Landi had already performed a semi-opening,

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he probably felt no need to repeat the same material.

Several other differences are apparent. First, the concluding melodic phrase at the end of each theme is not always the same; each theme appears to be structured characteristically different from the other. Secondly, the fiddler's statement in some cases is much shorter than the choral response. It appears as if the fiddler only hints at the theme, while the chorus completes the whole statement. For example, compare the fiddler's statement with its choral response in Figure 24A and 24B.

Figure 24. Kidan Kanawa, measure 6



Thirdly, the improvisatory material in the interlude (measures 8-14) and closing (measures 21-26) seems to be more emphasized, for the themes and improvisation are almost equal in length. In other compositions the thematic material is much longer.

Yet, some similarities are also evident in the structure of compositions by Landi. Like Wakakai, the interlude and closing sections include similar improvisatory material that differs completely from material in themes A, B, or C. In both songs--Wakakai and Kidan kanawa--a repetitive

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rhythmic pattern is used to establish the time span. Although the former is based on an eight-beat structure, while the latter a twelve-beat, the fact that this technique is performed as a means of unifying the compositions is significant for it appears to be a distinguishing feature in one string fiddle music of both cultures.

In many ways compositions by Leo (Liyo) are similar to all of the preceding examples--especially in the case of Ali mai (see Figure 19). Although the performance group includes more instrumentation--fiddler, chorus, kwarya, kalengu, 'dan karbi, and kuntuku--the basic formal structure is no different from Haruna's compositions. The over-all form can be divided into three parts in which: (1) a short opening section (11 measures) introduces themes, (2) longer middle section (74 measures) establishes and develops themes, and (3) brief closing motive (1 measure) restates old material. Similar to previous compositions the opening is more florid than subsequent material. Themes in the middle section are interrelated because of: (1) the concluding descending motive at the end of each statement and (2) the melodic structure of each theme appears to have been derived from one basic theme--see melody in theme A. What differs is the closing; in this composition the chorus continue their responsorial right to the very end, which differs markedly from choruses in preceding forms. In the two interludes no new material is presented as in the case of Landi's performance; rather, Leo further develops material

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from theme A.

A number of distinguishing elements are promient in Leo's performance of Sarkin mallamai (see Figure 20). Although the kuntuku drummer is not used the percussive section in this performance is similar to the of Ali mai in that they both maintain a 12-beat rhythmic pulse, which is the basis for melodic phrases. In Sarkin mallamai, however, the entire rhythmic pattern is based on 24 beats (two 12-beat time lines) rather than twelve as in the case of the former (see Figures 25 and 26 for rhythmic structure of the two compositions).

Figure 25. Rhythmic pattern used in Ali mai by Liyo

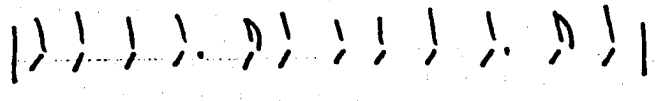
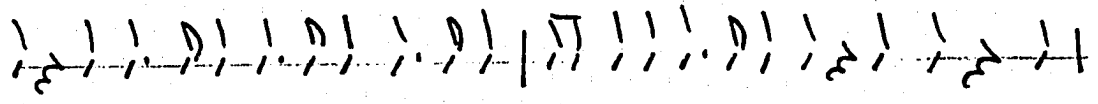


Figure 26. Rhythmic pattern used in Sarkin mallamai by Liyo



What distinguishes Sarkin mallamai from other compositions by Haruna (Banjo and Barrahaza), Landi or Ali mai is that although the form can be divided into three parts--opening, middle, and closing--the middle section does not include any interludes. Each statement made by the fiddler has a corresponding choral response. One way in which the fiddler displays his virtuoso talents, which seems to be the primary reason for interludes, is by including a number of long thematic statements. Although using various lengths

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for the organization of themes is not uncommon in the goge tradition, other performers (Haruna and Landi) usually include interludes between themes in the middle section.

Something else which differs but is also not uncommon is the short statement made by the fiddler and a longer response by the chorus--see measures 37-40. Theme C^1, the fiddler's statement, consists of six beats, while the choral response, theme C^2, is based on approximately twelve beats. A similar technique is used by Landi (see discussion in the above).

In the closing section, which is rather short in comparison to compositions by other fiddlers, no new material is presented; rather, theme C is further developed. Both factors appear to be distinguishing features of Leo's performance style--that is, to use a very short closing as the conclusion for the composition and to develop only the material used in the 'theme-proper' as music for improvisation in the opening, interlude, and closing sections. As a result of the latter feature, all of the musical material is interrelated.

Like most of the preceding compositions the similar motivic ending for themes is used as a basis for unity in Sarkin mallamai. Unlike the others, however, the motive is not arranged in a descending pattern; the phrase is centered around one pitch--the rhythm of this unifying end seems to be just as important as the pitch structure (see the end of melodies in the transcription).

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After examining all of the pieces which are based on a call and response form, the following can be said about the formal structure of Hausa fiddle songs:

1. Most compositions consist of three sections--opening (introduction of themes), middle (establishment of themes), and closing (restatement of material). Only one song--Kidan kanawa--was performed without a formal introduction; yet, this was due to mechanical problems in the recording, not performance style.[10]

2. Usually the middle section consists of several themes that may be interrelated or completely independent of each other. The interludes, which are variably performed between thematic material, may or may not be based on themes performed in the middle section but can be used to develop material presented in the opening (see 4b below).

3. Most statements by fiddler and subsequent response by the chorus are equal in length. Occasionally the fiddler does not perform the entire melodic statement but plays an abbreviated version; Sarkin mallamai and Kidan kanawa include examples of the latter arrangement.

4. Performers use several devices to unify compositions:
   a. Use of the same concluding motive at the end of each thematic statement by fiddler and chorus (see Barrahaza, Ali mai, Sarkin mallamai, and Wakakai).
   b. Use of the same thematic material in the improvisatory sections (opening, interludes, closing); this music, however, differs completely from material in the 'theme-proper' (see Wakakai and Kidan kanawa).
   c. Establishment of a time line in the percussive section that is continuously repeated, creating a time span or rhythmic framework upon which to base all melodic material by fiddler and chorus.

5. Performers use varied methods for the construction of compositions. Although similar musical elements are apparent, each performer, within the three part framework, introduces distinguishable stylistic features, consisting of differences in rhythm, melody, instrumentation, and so forth.

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Hausa Free Form

The formal structure of compositions by Mohammadan and Nabarau differ completely from those by the above fiddlers. In both performances no accompanying parts are used--neither vocalists nor percussion. Mohammadan and Nabarau performed in this manner for the author specifically asked them to demonstrate fiddle playing without percussion.[11] Since performers played in this way under controlled conditions, the analysis should not be misinterpreted as a norm for the Hausa fiddle tradition.

The structure of the following (see Figures 27-30 for formal analysis of compositions by Mohammadan and Nabarau), is very similar to the improvisatory section of the call and response compositions--that is the opening, interlude, and closing sections of compositions by Haruna, Landi, and Leo. What Mohammadan and Nabarau did was to play only an excerpt of the actual composition, in the absence of percussion accompaniment; the excerpt that they performed demonstrates their virtuoso talents rather than the formal structure of the composition.

In the very short presentation (25 seconds) of Ruwa ruwa it appears that Mohammadan has organized the material into two sections--opening and development. In the opening (measures 1-4) a brief statement of motives and themes is introduced. Themes are not presented in any complete form; rather, certain pitch areas that are important to the themes are emphasized. In the development section themes are pre-

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Figure 27.
Formal Analysis of Ruwa Ruwa by Mohammadu

Opening Section		1-4
	Improvisatory introduction of thematic material and motives	
Development Section		
	Themes	
(12)	A	5-6
(12)	A^1	7
	A_1	8
	A^1	9

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Figure 28.
Formal Analysis of Sarkin Makada by Mohammadu

Opening Section			1- 2
	Introduction of Themes B and C		
Middle Section			
	Themes		
(12)	A		3
(12)	B		4
(12)	C		5
(12)	D		6
	Transition/Interlude		7
	Development of Themes A and C		
	A_{B^1C}	$Goge_4$	7-10
			11-12
	D^1	$Goge_4$	12
	A	$Goge_{12}$	12
	B	$Goge_{9+}$	13
	C_{C^1}	$Goge_8$	14
	$C^1_{A^1D}$	$Goge_7$	15
		$Goge_7$	17
	B	$Goge_{11+}$	18
	C_{A^1D}	$Goge_{11}$	19-21
		$Goge_{3+}$	21-23
	B	$Goge_2$	23
	C_{C^1}	$Goge_{11}$	23
	$C^1_{A^1D}$	$Goge_{11+}$	24-27
		$Goge_4$	27
	B_{C^2}	$Goge_9$	28
		$Goge_6$	29-31
	B_{C^1}	$Goge_7$	31
	$C^1_{A^1D}$	$Goge_{8+}$	32-34
		$Goge_8$	34-36
	B	$Goge_2$	36
	C	$Goge_2$	37-38
Closing Section			39
	Last two beats of the composition		

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Figure 29.
Formal Analysis of Sarkin Makada by Nabarau

Opening Section	1- 2
Development Section	
(Capital letters refer or represent the same themes as indicated in Mohammadan's version of Sarkin Makada)	
Themes	
D Goge$_3$	2
Transition	3
A (not complete)	4
C	5- 6
B	7- 8
D Goge$_{10}$	8
E Goge$_6$	9
A Goge$_3$	11
C Goge$_2$	12-17
Closing Section	
Beat 7 (Final two eighth notes in composition)	17

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Figure 30.
Formal Analysis of Banjo by Nabarau

Opening Section			1
Opening four-beat phrase of composition			
Middle Section			
Themes			
A			2- 3
B	$Goge_{12}$		3- 4
C	$Goge_{9}$		4- 6
Interlude I		$Goge_{5}$	6
A^{1}			7- 8
B_{C}	$Goge_{8}$		8
D^{C}	$Goge_{6}$		9
Interlude II		$Goge_{10}$	10-11
Development of theme in introduction			
A^{2}	$Goge_{6}$		11
B^{1}	$Goge_{4}$		12
E			13-14
F	$Goge_{4}$		14-15
G			16-17
Interlude III		$Goge_{7}$	17
H^{A}	$Goge_{10}$		17-23
C^{1}	$Goge_{2}$		23-25
Interlude IV		$Goge_{5}$	25-26
J	$Goge_{8}$		26
K			27-28
J	$Goge_{9}$		28
K			29
L	$Goge_{10}$		29-30
M	$Goge_{5}$		30
N	$Goge_{5}$		31-33
O	$Goge_{10}$		33-34
Closing Section			34
Final three-beat phrase of composition			

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sented and established in their entirety. In essence one main theme and its variants are alternated (see measures 5-9).

In Mohammadan's performance of Sarkin Makada more themes are introduced and developed, causing the length (2:20) to be longer in comparison to that of Ruwa ruwa, but shorter than other call and response compositions. Here, it appears that Mohammadan has arranged the material into three parts in which: (1) opening section introduces two of the four themes (B and C); (2) development section establishes the material; and (3) brief closing section states a concluding two-note motive. The four themes (A, B, C, and D) are extensively developed in a very florid fashion. In this case the development section is much longer than the opening and closing. Neither of Mohammadan's compositions includes what one would call an interlude section, for as mentioned in the above, the entire composition seems to be an interlude of another composition but taken out of context.

In comparing compositions by Mohammadan and Nabarau a number of similarities are apparent. Nabarau's presentation of Sarkin Makada is not as drastically different from Mohammadan's version in comparison to the two interpretations of Banjo by Nabarau and Haruna. In Sarkin Makada Nabarau, like Mohammadan, has basically arranged the material into sections--opening (measures 1-2), middle or development (measures 3-17) and closing (beat 7 of measure 17). Unlike

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Mohammadan he does not develop or establish themes as extensively nor introduces themes in the same order. Whereas Nabarau begins his presentation of the development section with melodic material that I have labeled theme D, Mohammadan begins with material referred to as theme A--compare Figures 28 and 29. In addition, Nabarau introduces new material that differs completely from melodies in Mohammadan's version (see measures 3 and 9-11). The capital letters in both analyses indicate similar themes--e.g., theme A in Mohammadan refers to the same melodic material as theme A in Nabarau's version. This is not to say that either fiddler is wrong or right; only that performers use material differently to create their version of the song.

Nabarau's rendition of Banjo is totally different from Haruna's version of the same composition. In one instance the instrumentation differs. Not including the percussive or vocal accompaniment, however, should not have warranted the change in melodic structure. For example, although arranged differently, the melodic material in the two Sarkin Makada's is similar; such is not the case in Banjo. Moreover, Banjo appears to be even more improvisatory than the other free form compositions; evidence of this is seen in the number of themes developed in the middle section (see formal analysis in Figure 28). Whereas in preceding examples, the music is performed in such a way that some semblance of regular time line repeats or melodic repetition could be indicated by dotted bar lines, such is not the

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case with Nabarau's Banjo. It appears that Nabarau introduces melodic phrases and then develops the material to its minutest detail without regard for relationship to time elements. The way in which melodies are phrased seems to be of more importance than symmetrical time elements. For that reason although bar lines are indicated in this composition; such divisions should not be regarded as regular pulse units. The author has presented the material into this framework for analysis purposes.

Yet, the over-all form can divided into three sections: opening (first four beat phrase), middle (measures 2-34), and closing (final three beat phrase of composition). Like other free form compositions a lengthy closing section is not included; rather the fiddler performs a closing motive that is based on a descending octave which is similar to his closing in Sarkin Makada. The closing in Sarkin Makada by Mohammadan is based on the interval of an ascending minor seventh--a common occurrence in some Dagomba compositions.[12]

A possible explanation for the differences in formal, melodic, and rhythmic structure and performance style of the two Banjo's has already been presented in the above--that is, Nabarau's performance is actually an improvisatory interlude, opening, or closing section of his version of Banjo which has been taken and performed out of context. When asked to perform under such unusual conditions, he thought he was expected to perform only the most elaborate fiddle part of the composition and not the fiddle/chorus responsorial themes.

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Whatever the case the performance of Banjo is much more improvisatory than any of the preceding examples that have been labeled free form.

In conclusion, goge songs that have been called "free" in structure do not contain through-composed elements--that is new music provided for each time span. Evidence of melodic repetition is definitely apparent, but the repeated material is often performed in a much more ornamented and elaborate fashion. Thus, the criteria for referring to a composition as "free" is based on the following:

1. No call and response pattern is evident.
2. Themes are freely stated without regard for an underlying rhythmic pulse structure. Performers lengthen and shorten themes constantly, for they are not concerned with sustaining a melody that correlates in length with the percussion or about confusing the chorus members.

Dagomba

Similar to the Hausa the Dagomba one string fiddle ensemble is composed of a combination of melodic (gondze) and percussive (zaabia) instruments. Although two instrumental types are included, the gondze group is also commonly regarded as a solo tradition; the principal melodic line is performed by the fiddler, while rattle accompaniment is added primarily to achieve percussive effects, emphasize the pulse structure, and enrich the texture of the composition. Rarely do fiddlers perform without the accompaniment of rattlers. The Dagomba, like the Hausa do not believe the ensemble is complete without some type of percussion accom-

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paniment. Gondze compositions that have been analyzed for this study and do not include rattle accompaniment were performed out of context--that is, under the controlled conditions of an interview performance (see Yenchebli, Bruso, Wanzam waa, and Barrhaza by Mahama and Dunia taali by Sulemana).

Dagomba Call and Response Form

As indicated in the above, both the Hausa and Dagomba make use of call and response. Whereas the entire compositional structure of the former can be categorized as call and response, such is not the case with the latter. The call and response technique in the Dagomba tradition is manifested between the vocal leader and chorus--not fiddler and chorus. The chorus in the gondze tradition does not repeat the exact statement performed by the vocal leader. Rather, one melodic phrase is used as the response to all the lead sections. Actually, the choral response is usually a fragment of the melody performed by fiddlers. In the event that no chorus is used, which is rare, the fiddlers' repetitive statements serve as the response since both are melodically similar in construction. For example, in Sulemana's performance of Dunia taali the music produced on the fiddle serves as the sole response medium in the absence of vocalists. Thus, although the call and response technique is inherent within Dagomba compositions, it is not the basis for the formal structure in the strict sense as with the Hausa.

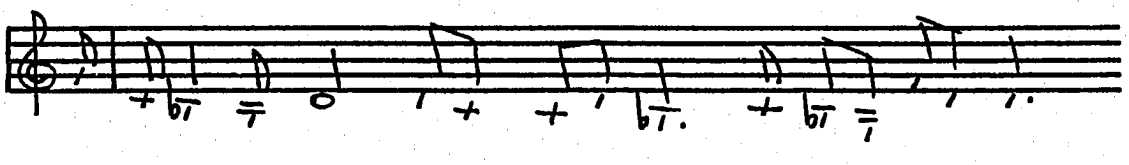
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Dagomba compositions most undoubtedly would have to be referred to as "theme and variations." Normally one theme is performed throughout the composition, sometimes in several varied forms. The vocal leader, chorus, and fiddlers all create variations on one theme, rarely are two, three, or four different themes introduced in one composition as the case in the goge tradition.

Yet, exceptions to the rule are apparent. Of the thirty-eight compositions represented in this study, thirty-seven (97%) would have to be categorized as theme and variations, while one (3%)--Barrhaza by Mahama--can be classified as "free form."

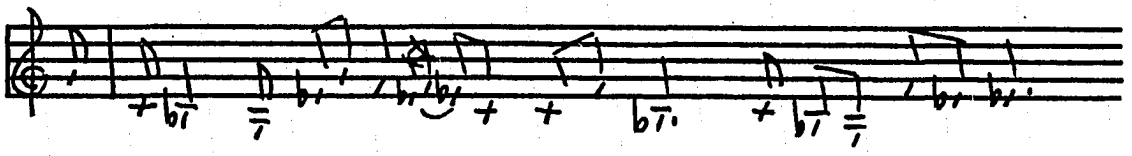
Of the thirty-seven compositions--that is, excluding the one bori example--twenty-eight (76%) of the songs are based entirely on one theme. When variations of the theme are formed, very few changes are made to its melodic or rhythmic structure to justify it as an entirely different theme. For example, only minor pitch changes and added ornaments are apparent when comparing themes in Nantoh by Sulemana (see Figures 31A and 31B).

Figure 31A. Nantoh by Sulemana, measure 3



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Figure 31B. Nantoh by Sulemana, measure 5



The statement in measure 5 (Figure 31B) is the most elaborate development of the theme in that composition. One can see then that variations of themes are not very complex and intricate. The primary reason for the simplicity of variation, as will be discussed in more depth below, is that fiddlers perform as a group, not soloists. If all attempted to vary or develop the theme simultaneously, utter chaos may result. Therefore, absence of variation is not an indication of fiddlers lack of ability or talent; rather, it is a result of the role of the fiddle in the ensemble. When and if a fiddler performs alone, such as the case in Hausaland and is evident to some degree in Mahama's compositions, more improvisation is articulated because the opportunity for virtuoso display of talent and technique is greater.

Mahama, in his performance of Yamba Na genealogy and other Dagomba songs, plays nine songs (24%) with related secondary themes (see Sakpaleinga, Yun [Manirinum] taa gilma, Albanda, Nimbiegu, Oboaboa, Chautan, Ya Sabo, Baba kaman, and Wanzam waa). In most cases not enough variation is introduced to constitute an entire second theme; rather, he develops material from the existing theme A. For example,

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compare the performance of themes in Figures 32A, 32B and 32C.

Figure 32A. Theme A of Sakpaleigna, measure 4

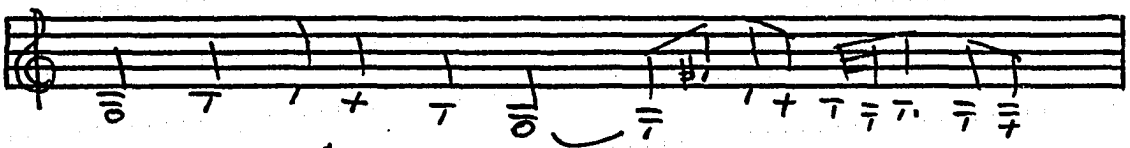


Figure 32B. Theme A^1 of Sakpaleigna, measure 23

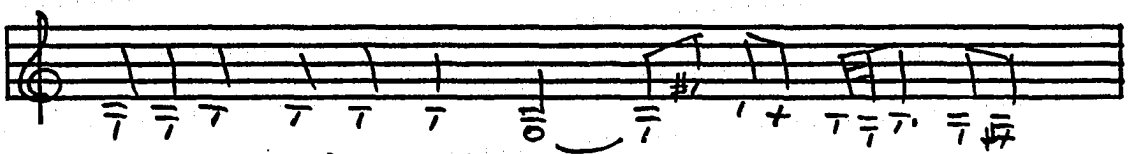
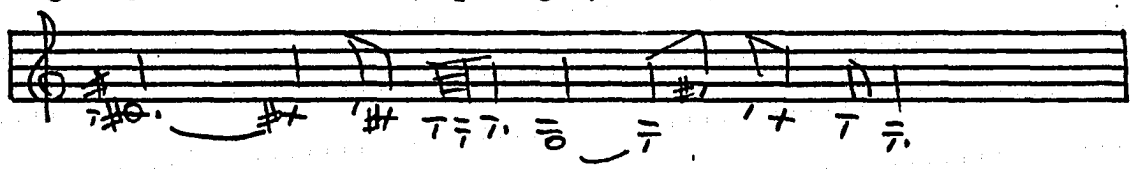


Figure 32C. Theme A^2 of Sakpaleigna, measure 29



In one instance Mahama develops a secondary theme that is entirely different from theme A of that composition (see Figures 33A and 33B).

Figure 33A. Theme A of Oboaboa, measure 4

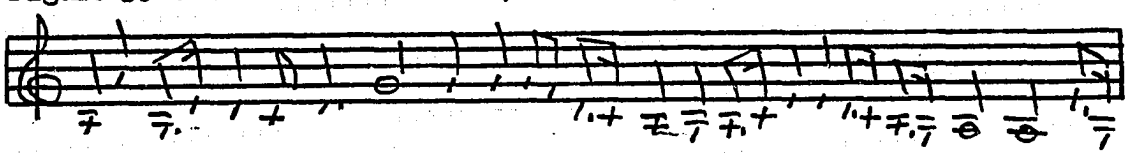
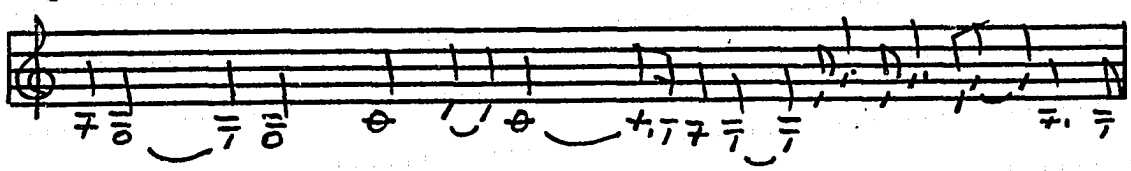


Figure 33B. Theme B of Oboaboa, measure 10



Unfortunately, the performance of two different themes was not the exact intention of Mahama. Some type of confusion occurred between Mahama and his rattler, who also acted as

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chorus, concerning the melodic time line for Oboaboa. Mahama performed and sang the first few phrases alone until he realized he had made a mistake; he then changed to a second theme and the rattler began singing the choral response. It can be concluded then that most gondze songs are based a theme and variation form. The existence of twenty-eight compositions (76%) without secondary themes and nine (24%) with secondary themes substantiates this fact. Fiddlers, when performing alone--that is, without the accompaniment of other fiddlers such as performances by mahama--may on occasion develop secondary themes that usually related to the primary theme A.

The gondze's primary function, therefore, is to introduce and reiterate one theme continuously throughout the song, performing an entirely different role from that of the goge fiddler. Dagomba rattlers, along with fiddlers, help to articulate the time span or ostinato pattern, which is the underlying structure of the compositions. Whereas fiddlers perform a melodic time line, the rattlers' performance constitutes the rhythmic time line. Three important features or elements are manifested in the formal structure of fiddle compositions in both societies--(1) the call, (2) response, and (3) ostinato time line. What differs is the way in which each of these elements are developed within the structure. The chart in figure 34 somewhat graphically conveys these differences:

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Figure 34. Organization of Hausa and Dagomba Compositions

	Hausa	Dagomba
Call	Fiddler	Vocal Leader
Response	Chorus	Chorus
Ostinato	Drummers	Fiddler(s)/Rattler(s)

Most Dagomba compositions, like those of the Hausa, are composed of three different sections--opening, middle, and closing. See the statistics concerning the formal structure of the thirty-eight transcribed Dagomba songs in Figures 35, 40, and 41.

Figure 35. Number of Dagomba songs that include opening sections

Songs with opening section	36	95%
Songs without opening section	2	5%

The opening section of gondze songs usually consists of only one theme frequently repeated not more than three times, which is much shorter than some goge opening sections. The primary theme is normally introduced in a very elaborate fashion; ornaments, florid passages, and rubato rhythms seem to characterize this particular section of gondze compositions. For example, compare the opening sections of the following with subsequent statements of the themes:

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Figure 36A. Statement of theme in opening section of Dan-mo by Abu Gondze

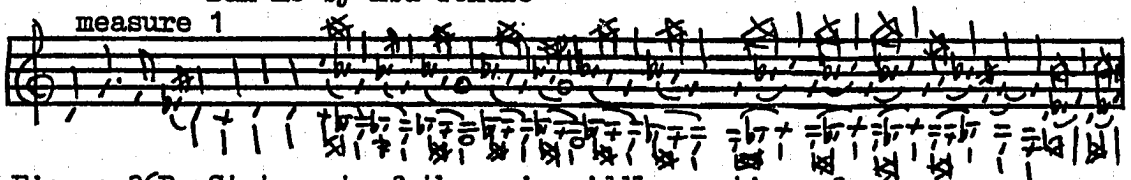


Figure 36B. Statement of theme in middle section of Dan-mo by Abu Gondze

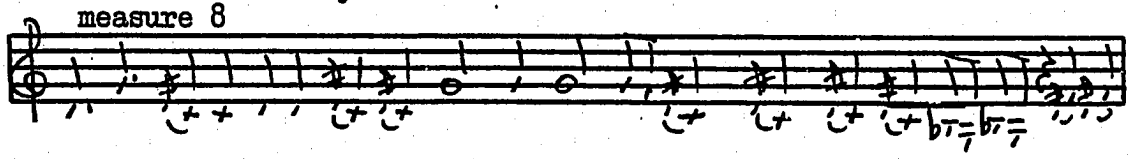


Figure 37A. Statement of theme in opening section of Nantoh by Alhassan
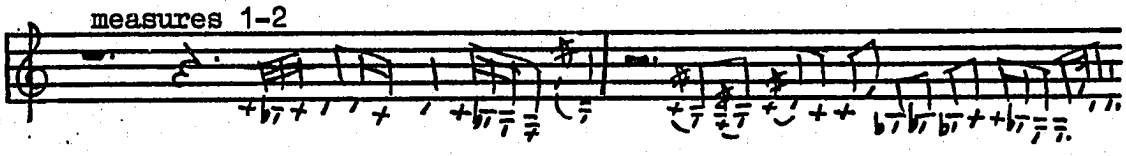


Figure 37B. Statement of theme in middle section of Nantoh by Alhassan

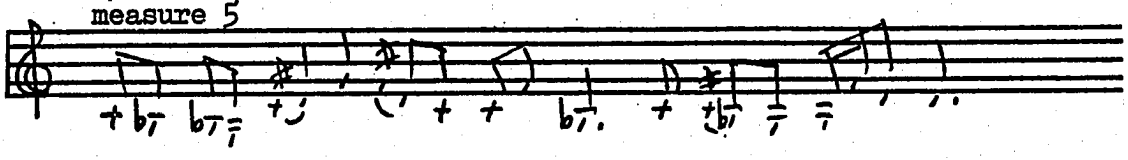


Figure 38A. Statement of theme in opening section of Sakpaleigna by Mahama

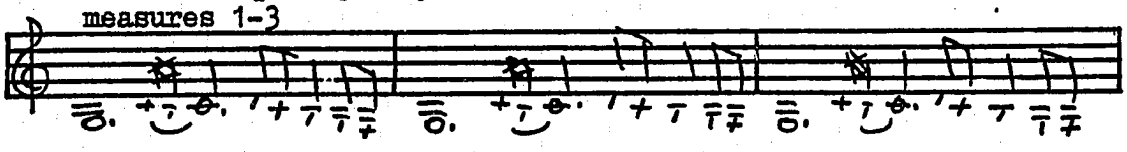
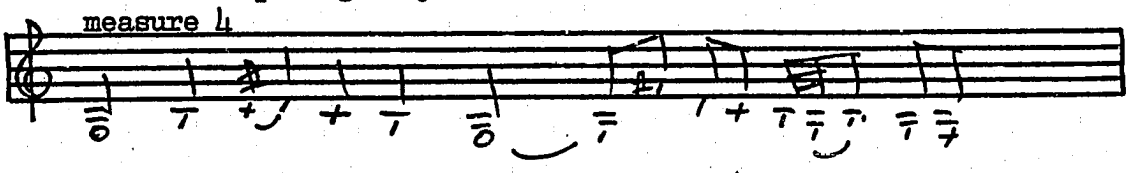


Figure 38B. Statement of theme in middle section of Sakpaleigna by Mahama



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Occasionally, the theme introduced in the opening differs completely from subsequent material. Such is the case in Mahama's performance of Karinbanda (see Figures 39A and 39B).

Figure 39A. Statement of theme in opening section of Karinbana by Mahama

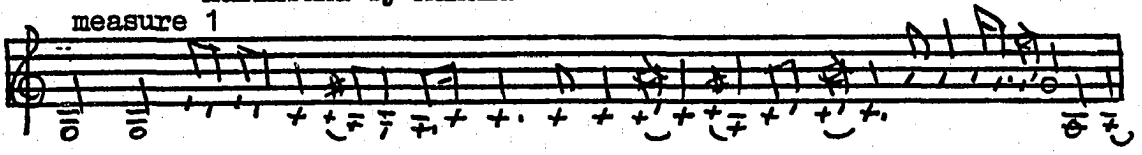
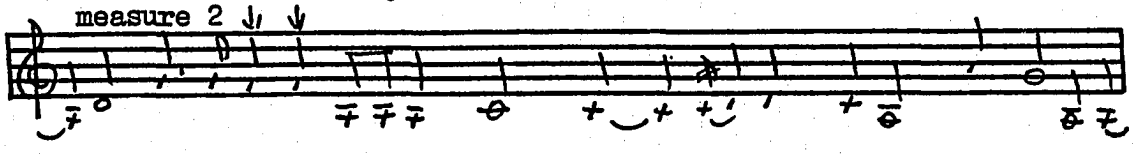


Figure 39B. Statement of theme in middle section of Karinbana by Mahama



Because of the elaborate presentation of the opening, oftentimes rattle accompaniment is not included. Also, rattlers first must hear the tempo and melody of the composition before performing the corresponding rhythmic pattern for that song. Rattle accompaniment, therefore, does not begin until the middle section or toward the middle or end of the opening section.

In the middle section of most Dagomba compositions the theme is established and developed by repeating and introducing variant forms of the primary theme. The statistics concerning material in the middle section of Dagomba songs is found in Figure 40:

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Figure 40. Statistics concerning themes used in the middle section of Dagomba songs that are based on "theme and variation" form

Songs which include one primary theme without related variants	28	75.7%
Songs that include a primary theme with related variants--A^1 or A^2	8	21.6%
Songs that include two different themes--A and B	1	2.7%
	37	100.0%

The closing section of Dagomba fiddle songs is based on a variety of forms. At least four different closings are apparent. The following findings were obtained from the analysis of the thirty-eight transcribed songs:

Figure 41. Statistics concerning the structure of closing sections in Dagomba songs

a. Closing section consists of music by only fiddler and rattler	18	48%
b. The final choral statement constitutes the closing section	16	42%
c. The transition or connective motive serves as the closing section	2	5%
d. Short four- to five-note melodic phrase after the final vocal leader's statement constitutes the closing section	2	5%
	38	100%

The most common type of closing used is one in which only the fiddler and rattler perform. In this case usually instrumentalists restate the melodic and rhythmic time lines that have been established in the middle section. Fiddlers either (1) repeat the entire time line in its exact form (see Allah yaa by Iddrisu, measures 22-24); (2) complete

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the unfinished statement begun by the vocal leader or chorus (see Nantoh by Lali, measures 10-11); (3) introduce a variant form of the theme (see Bawuna by Alhassan, measures 16-17); or (4) reiterate previous transitional material (see Naani goo by Mahama, measures 47-48). For more discussion concerning the transitional technique see below.

An example of the second most widely used closing is found in Mahama's version of Dunia taali, measure 23. In this case the final choral statement with the accompaniment of fiddle and rattle music constitutes the closing section.

Two of the least common ways of concluding Dagomba songs are: (1) short melodic phrase after the vocal leader's statement and (2) use of a connecting motive or transitional phrase. Only two examples of the former were performed by Dagomba fiddlers for this study, suggesting that such a technique is not commonly used (see Figures 42A and 42B on the next page). In Figures 42A and 42B the closing section is not a statement of the melodic time line; rather, fiddlers introduce additional material to conclude the song. This particular motive is often used to conclude Dagomba songs even when a longer vocal or instrumental passage is performed. The intervallic structure of the phrase is similar to closing motives used in some songs; see page 407.

The use of the transitional or connective motive occurs only in songs performed in a cycle or collection such as royal genealogy songs (see pages 348-349). This connecting or transitional phrase can be regarded as the closing sec-

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Figure 42A. Closing section of Yun (Manirinum) taa gilma by Mahama, measures 22-23

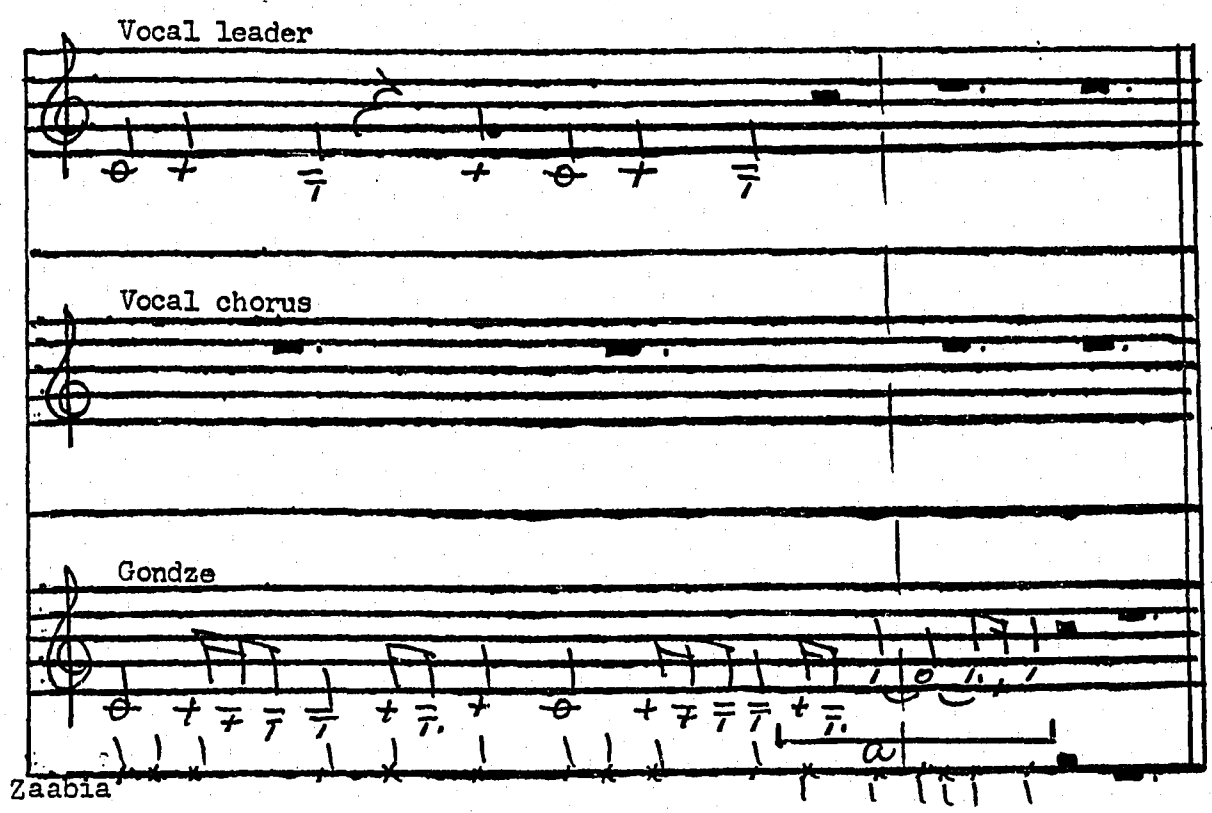
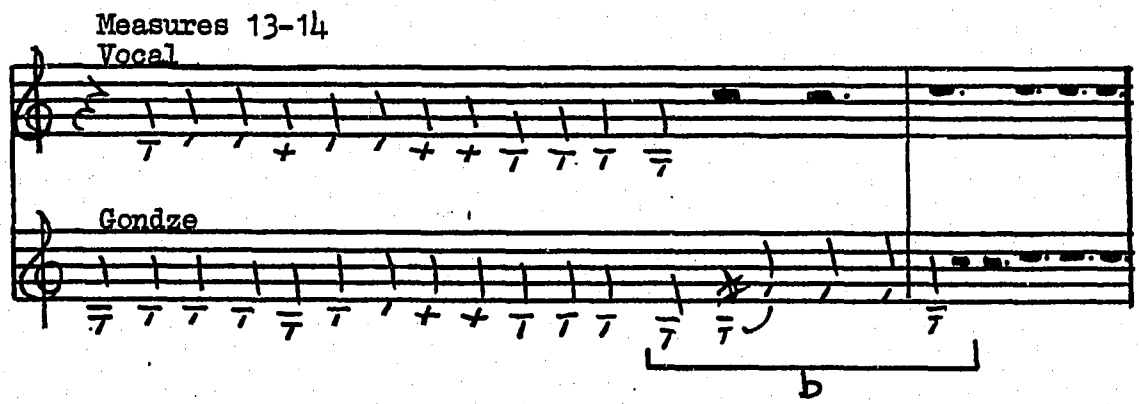


Figure 42B. Closing section of Dunia taali by Sulemana



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tion for the first song or the opening section for the subsequent composition. Based on the character of the melodic material used in the transition, one can usually determine if the passage should be considered as closing or opening material. If the material is similar to both the former and latter song, the passage must be regarded as a closing for the former and opening for the latter. In the case of compositions performed by Abu, the following has been found:

1. The final 15-beat melodic passage in measure 8 of Dan-mo constitutes the closing for Dan-mo as well as the opening passage for Bandama, for the melodic material is similar to time lines in both compositions. See Figures 43A and 43B for closing and opening of the two songs:

Figure 43A. Final time line for Dan-mo by Abu
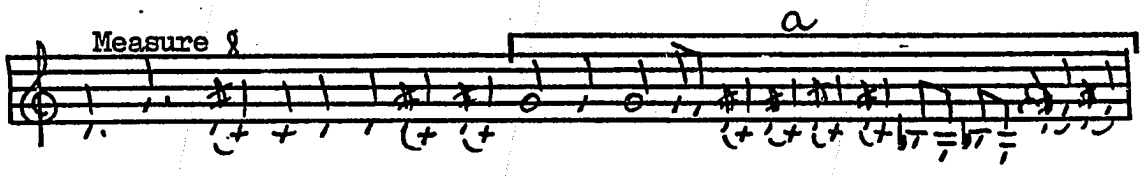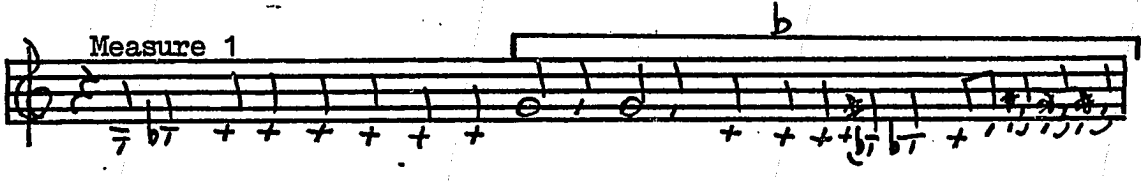


Figure 43B. Opening time line for Bandama by Abu



The music indicated in brackets as a and b are almost identical but have been performed in two different songs. Only the opening nine beats in Figure 43B gives the clue to evidence of a new time line and new composition. Thus, the transition or connecting passage labeled a in Figure 43A is

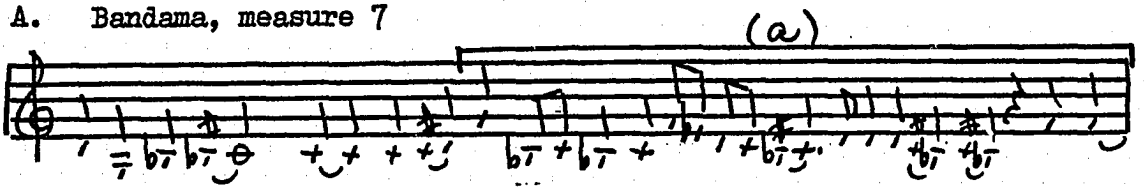
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regarded as the closing for Dan-mo but part of the opening section for Bandama.

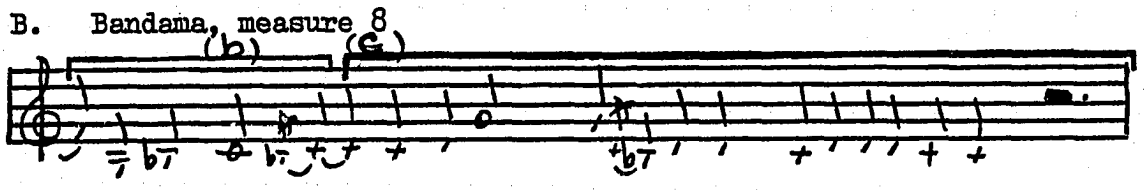
2. The final 15-beat melodic phrase and subsequent material constitute the closing for Bandama and opening for Adan su. See the following in Figures 44A, 44B, and 44C.

Figure 44 Closing for Bandama and opening for Adan su

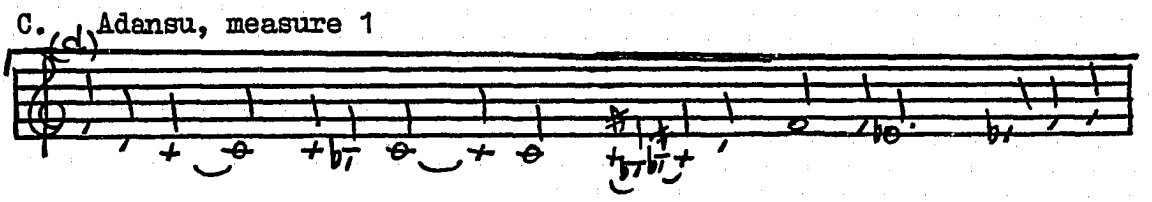
A. Bandama, measure 7



B. Bandama, measure 8



C. Adansu, measure 1



Material presented in measures 7 and 8 (see a and b) constitutes the closing for Bandama and/or connecting passage to Adan su. The opening for Adan su (see c) actually begins on beat 7 of measure 8 with the vocal leader's statement (vocal passage is not indicated in Figure 44--see transcription in Appendix F). Fiddlers, however, do not introduce the new melodic time line until much later (see d). This demonstrates the way in which the vocal leader makes the initial change to a new composition within a song cycle. Notice in the transcription that once the opening to Adan su is intro-

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duced, the vocal leader, who also acts as lead gondze player in the ensemble, stops fiddling to sing the new vocal statement. In other examples (see Figures 45A and 45B) the lead gondze makes the change by introducing new fiddle phrases, not singing new vocal material.

In Sulemana's performance of Nantoh and Bawuna a simpler technique is used to connect the two songs. A short pivot phrase that is similar in construction to the latter composition (Bawuna) is performed, the phrase serves not only as a connecting device but an introduction for Bawuna. Alhassan's method of connecting the two songs is similar--that is, the use of a pivot phrase. In this case, the pivot is different from material in either composition and serves only the purpose of connecting the two songs. Actually the motive constitutes beat 12 for Nantoh (see a) and beats 1, 2, and 3 for Bawuna (see b and c). See Figures 45A and 45B on the next page for a demonstration of the methods used by Sulemana and Alhassan.

Dagomba fiddlers rarely include interludes during the middle sections of gondze compositions--that is, between variant thematic statements. Only Salisu Mahama, in his performance of Naanigoo and Oboaboa, performs musical material which can safely be regarded as an interlude. In Naanigoo, Mahama introduces new transitional material between the statements of the primary theme. He does not use the new material, however, as a transition to a second theme--see Figure 46.

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Figure 45A. Connecting motive for Nantoh and Bawuna as performed by Sulemana

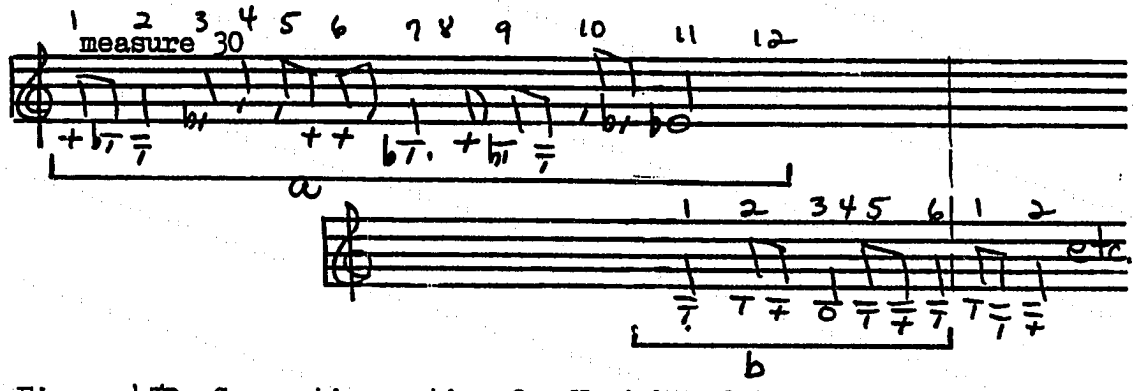


Figure 45B. Connecting motive for Nantoh and Bawuna as performed by Alhassan

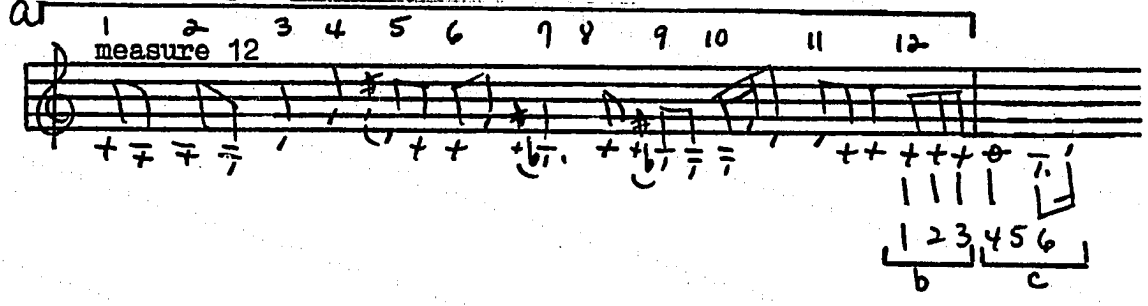
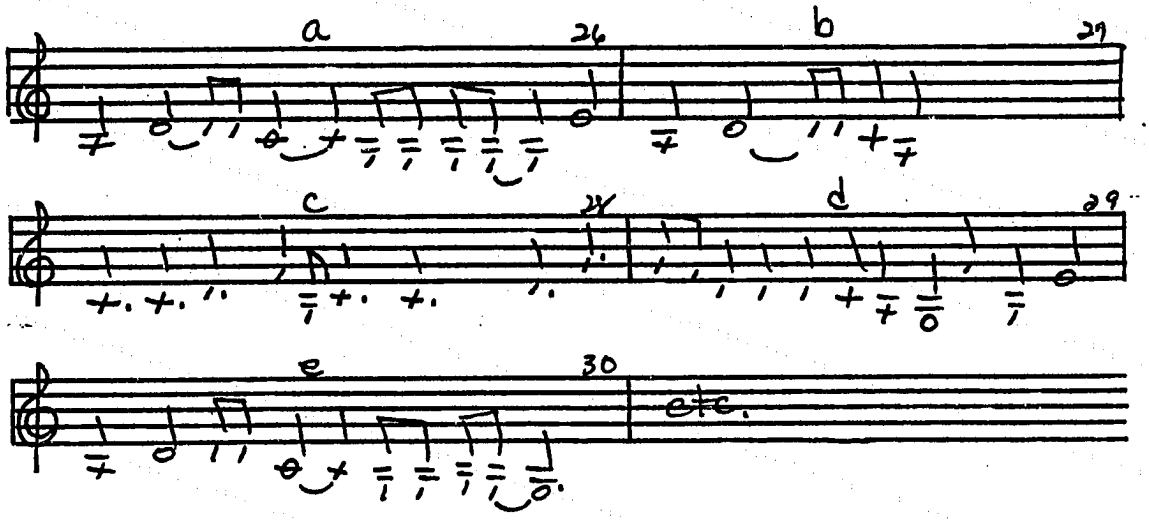


Figure 46. Transition/Interlude between Theme A in Naanigoo by Mahama



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In Figure 46, the passage labeled with the small letter a constitutes the melodic time line for Naanigoo. In measures 27 (b) Mahama does not complete the fiddle statement; rather, he introduces new material (see passages labeled c and d) before continuing with the primary theme in measure 30 (e). Mahama also uses this new transitional music as the basis for the closing section of Naanigoo (see discussion in the above).

In Mahama's performance of Oboaboa he uses a similar transitional passage. Yet, in this case he introduces a second theme B. Thus, the purpose of the transition differs from that described in the above. In order to change from theme A to B Mahama introduces a transitional passage (see Figures 47A, 47B, and 47C on the next page).

Similar to Naanigoo Mahama introduces the transitional passage with music from theme A (compare a with b). The actual transition, which is based on material from theme B (compare c with d), does not begin until beat 7 of measure 9.

These are the only two compositions in which an "interlude" is included within the middle section of the composition. Songs which are a part of a song cycle, usually contain connecting musical passages that serve as interludes between two different compositions--not two different themes within the same composition. The latter type of interlude appears to be more characteristic of the Dagomba fiddle tradition, while the former is commonly used in Hausa fiddle music.

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Figure 47A. Fiddle melody prior to transition to Theme B of Oboaboa by Mahama

measure 8

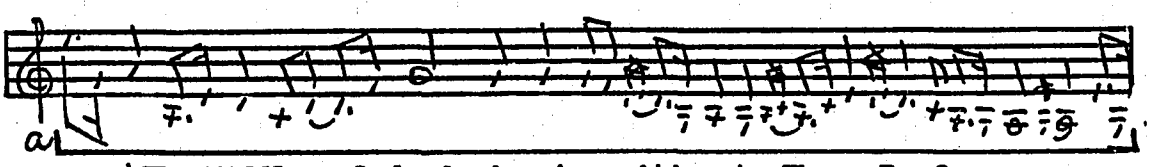


Figure 47B. Fiddle melody during transition to Theme B of Oboaboa by Mahama

measure 9

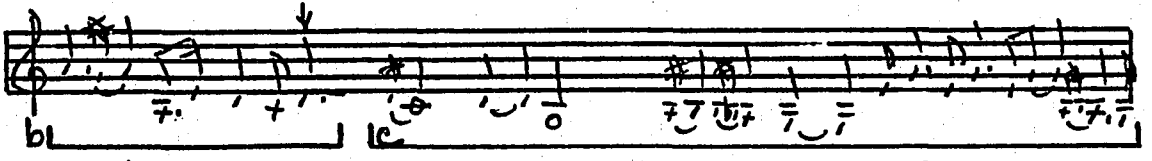
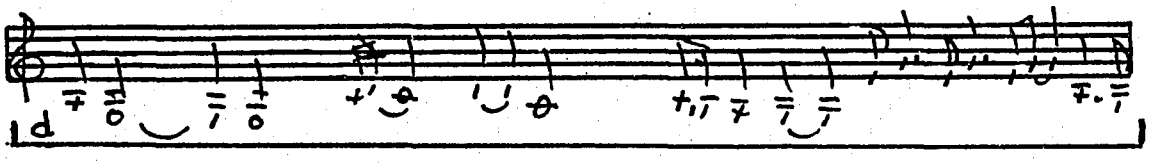


Figure 47C. Fiddle melody after transition to Theme B of Oboaboa by Mahama

measure 10



Dagomba Free Form

The reason for referring to Mahama's version of Barrhaza as free form is based on the following:

a. Several themes are used interchangeably within the composition.

b. A strict melodic or rhythmic time span is not continuously stated--that is, the rhythmic basis for melodies fluctuates.

c. The performance style differs from "traditional" Dagomba fiddle playing--the character of the melodic line is extremely similar to Hausa songs (wide range, florid passages, use of high registers, several interludes, and so forth).

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Similar to other fiddle compositions, Barrhaza includes three sections (see formal analysis in Figure 48), including such characteristics as the following:

1. Opening section includes music that is improvisatory in character and totally unrelated to themes that are introduced in the middle section.
2. In the middle section four different themes are introduced and developed. In addition four short interludes are performed between thematic statements. Some transitions are based on new material others are used to devlop existing material (see Interludes I, III, and IV).
3. The closing section is very short consisting of only one measure.

No similarities are evident in the formal structure of Barrahaza by Haruna and the composition of the same name by Mahama. The former, a call and response form between fiddler and chorus, includes some improvisatory passages and interludes, but they are totally unrelated to the material used in Mahama's rendition. Mahama's Barrhaza is much more similar to possession songs by Mohammadan and Nabarau than Haruna. Neither Mahama, Mohammadan, nor Nabarau include choral or rhythmic accompaniment. The performer is free to develop the material in any way, since he is the artist. He does not have to fit material into a rigid rhythmic time span but is free to augment, diminish, or alter melodies spontaneously.

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Figure 48

Formal Analysis of Barrhaza by Mahama

Opening Section	1- 2
Middle Section	
Themes	
A	3- 7
B $Goge_7$	7-10
Interlude I $Goge_8$ (Development of theme A)	10-11
C $Goge_8$	11-12
D	13-15
C	16-17
Interlude II	18
D	19-24
C	25
Interlude III (Development of themes C and D)	26
D	27-31
C^1	32-34
Interlude IV (Development of themes C and D)	35
Closing Section	36

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Figure 49

Formal Analysis of Wanzami by Mahama

Opening Section	1- 3
Middle Section	
Themes	
A	4-21
A^1	22-33
A^2	34-37
A	38-41
A^3	42-48
A	49-50
Closing Section	51

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The performance style of Wanzam waa (see formal analysis in Figure 49), a bori song, also features musical elements that differ from traditional Dagomba songs. The unique factor in this case, however, is that the composition is based on a theme and variations form. The fact that it is a bori song is probably the reason Mahama used a different playing style.

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Chapter Eleven

Melodic Structure of One String Fiddle Compositions

In Hausaland music produced on the fiddle appears to have more significance than choral and percussion accompaniment, just as the vocalist, also a melodic medium, tends to be more strongly emphasized in the Dagomba tradition than rattle accompaniment. The character and structure of melodies in the two traditions are quite different even though the basic modal structure is similar. That different aspects of the music structure are more emphasized may be the primary reason for distinctions--that is, the character of goge melodies differs drastically from the Dagomba for the gondze do not stress fiddle playing. Similarly, the character of the vocal melody in both traditions differs because of the above fundamental distinctions. For the purposes of this study instrumental and vocal melodies will be examined in terms of the following: ambitus, gamut and mode, interval, melody, texture, and ornamentation.

Ambitus

All of the constituent tones of melodies are not represented on the one string fiddle. The open-string position on the fiddle produces one tone and only through the application of appropriate fingering are other tones produced. Within the Hausa tradition a fiddler sometimes produces tones with a range of more than three octaves. For example, although the open string position of Landi's fiddle is tune to approximately G^3 (transposed 1d) the entire range of pitches for Kidan kanawa covers more than three octaves, extending from G^3 to A^6 (see Graph 1).

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To obtain such a range from one string requires an extremely sensitive fingering technique. As will be shown later the Hausa, who place more emphasis on the fiddle melody, make use of a larger number of fiddle pitches than the Dagomba who tend to emphasize the vocal melody.

In spite of differences in performance style the ambitus of the one string fiddle in both cultures is similar. Whereas the range for the Hausa goge extends approximately from D^{b3} to B^{b6} (three octaves and a major sixth), the compass for the Dagomba gondze songs also covers three octaves and a major sixth, a minor third lower--that is B^{b2} to G^{6}.[1] These findings tend to support the statement that Salisu Mahama made after hearing a tape performance of Hausa one string fiddle music--that the goge is tuned to a higher pitch than the gondze.

Very little difference in ambitus of the two vocal traditions is apparent. The range for Hausa vocalists extends from A^{2} to B^{b4} (two octaves and a minor second), while that of the Dagomba is two octaves (C^{3} to C^{5}). Unlike the fiddle ambitus the former vocal range is lower in pitch (a minor third for the lowest pitch and a major second lower from the highest pitch). Thus, although the Dagomba fiddle appears to be tuned to a much lower frequency, vocalists sing in a higher range in comparison to the Hausa tradition. This correlates with the performance preference of the traditions. Because the Hausa admire the virtuoso fiddle part, the instrumentalist performs much higher pitch frequencies. The Dagomba appear to have more interest in the vocalist's performance, therefore in comparison to the Hausa, Dagomba vocalists perform in a higher range. Oftentimes biological factors also contribute to the differences in vocal pitch frequencies, but such is not the case in the one string fiddle tradition as will be evident from the

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discussion below.

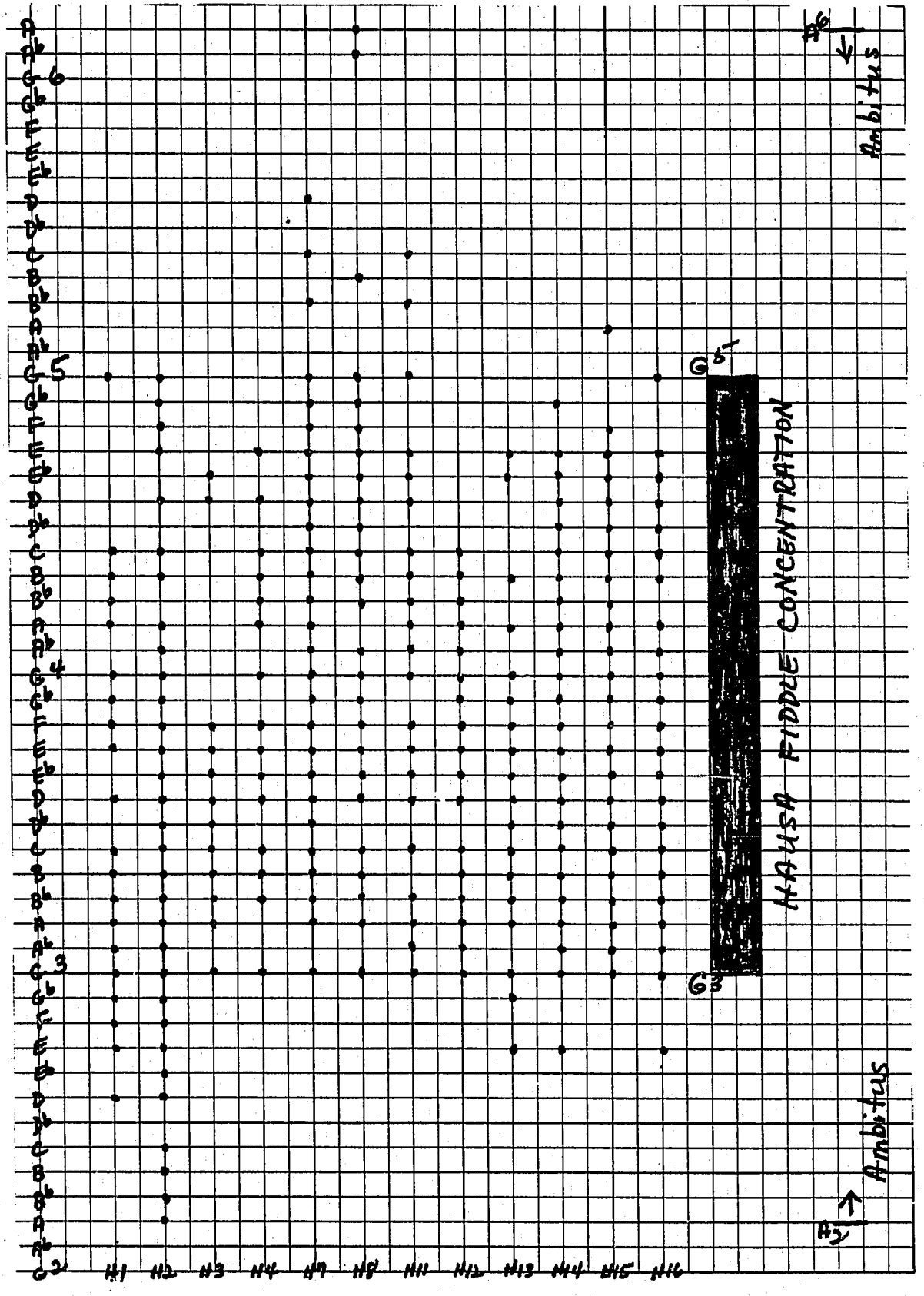
Different results are however apparent when the pitch concentration of fiddle and vocal music for the two cultures is compared. As used in this study pitch concentration refers to the pitch area in which at least fifty percent of the compositions are performed. For example, even though a composition has a three octave range, the pitch concentration for the song may encompass only an octave--that is, most of the music is performed within one octave in spite of the total three-octave ambitus.

Based on findings from compositions performed by informants, the ambitus for the pitch concentration of Hausa fiddle songs extends from G^3 to G^5 (two octaves) whereas the Dagomba use a one octave range (G^3 to G^4).[2] No differences in pitch concentration are evident for vocalists; both Dagomba and Hausa vocalists perform within a one octave range G^3 to G^4 (see Graphs 1, 2, 3, and 4 for evidence of pitch concentration on the following pages).

Further, a comparison of the distribution of pitches within the area of pitch concentration shows that the pitch distribution of Hausa fiddle and vocal parts appear to be chromatic. Songs are normally organized into a five-tone modal pattern. But the Hausa fiddler and vocalists do not limit their musical utterances just to primary modal tones; other secondary tones are freely used.[3] From the graph information it is apparent that only two pitches in the vocal pitch concentration ambitus (A^{b3} and G^{b4}) and three in the fiddle (D^{b5}, F^5, and G^5) are not used as frequently as other tones. Different findings are found in the Dagomba tradition. Most gondze songs are modal in construction--that is, tones performed on the fiddle and by vocalists are based on

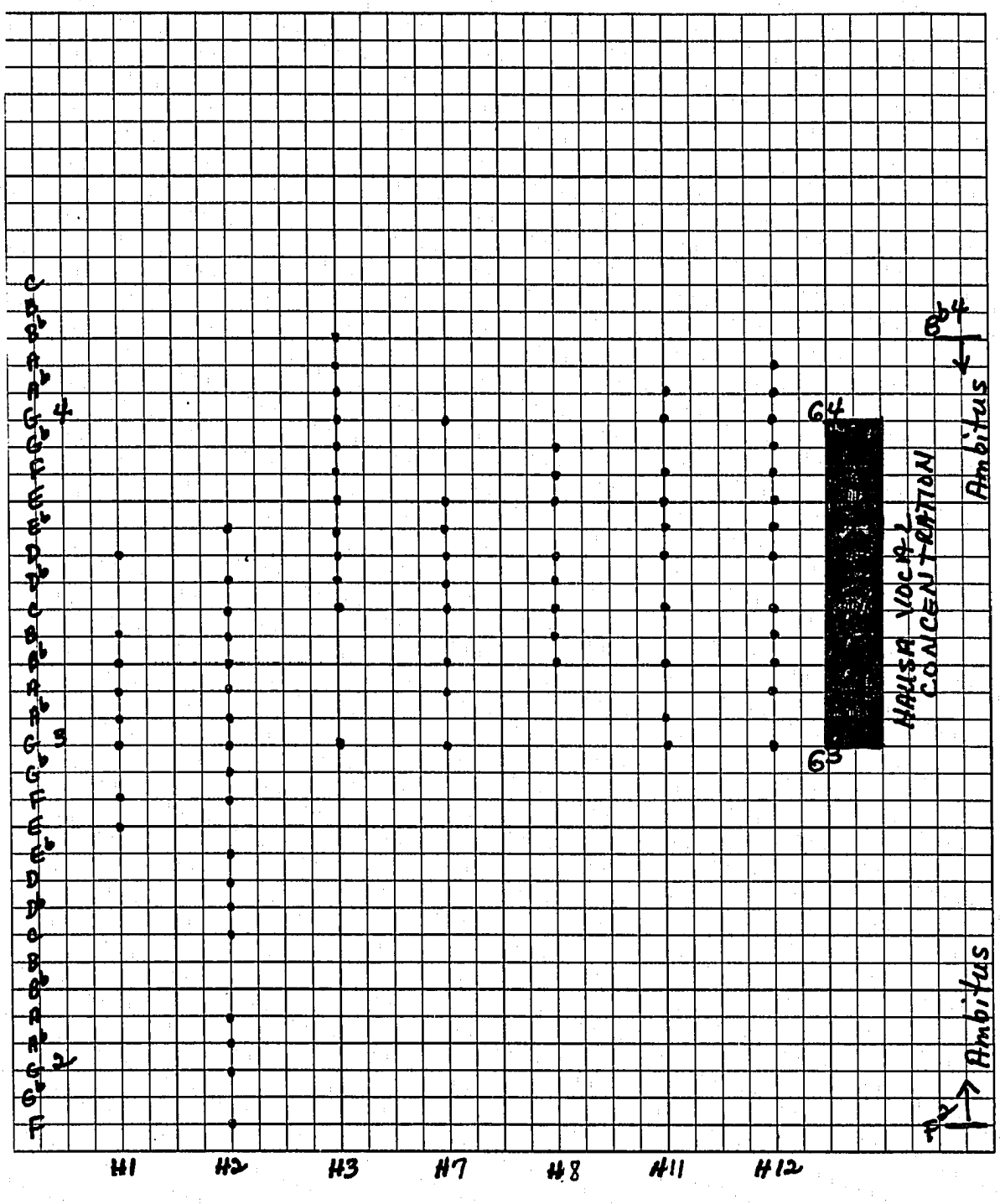
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Graph 1 - Goge Ambitus (transposed pitches)



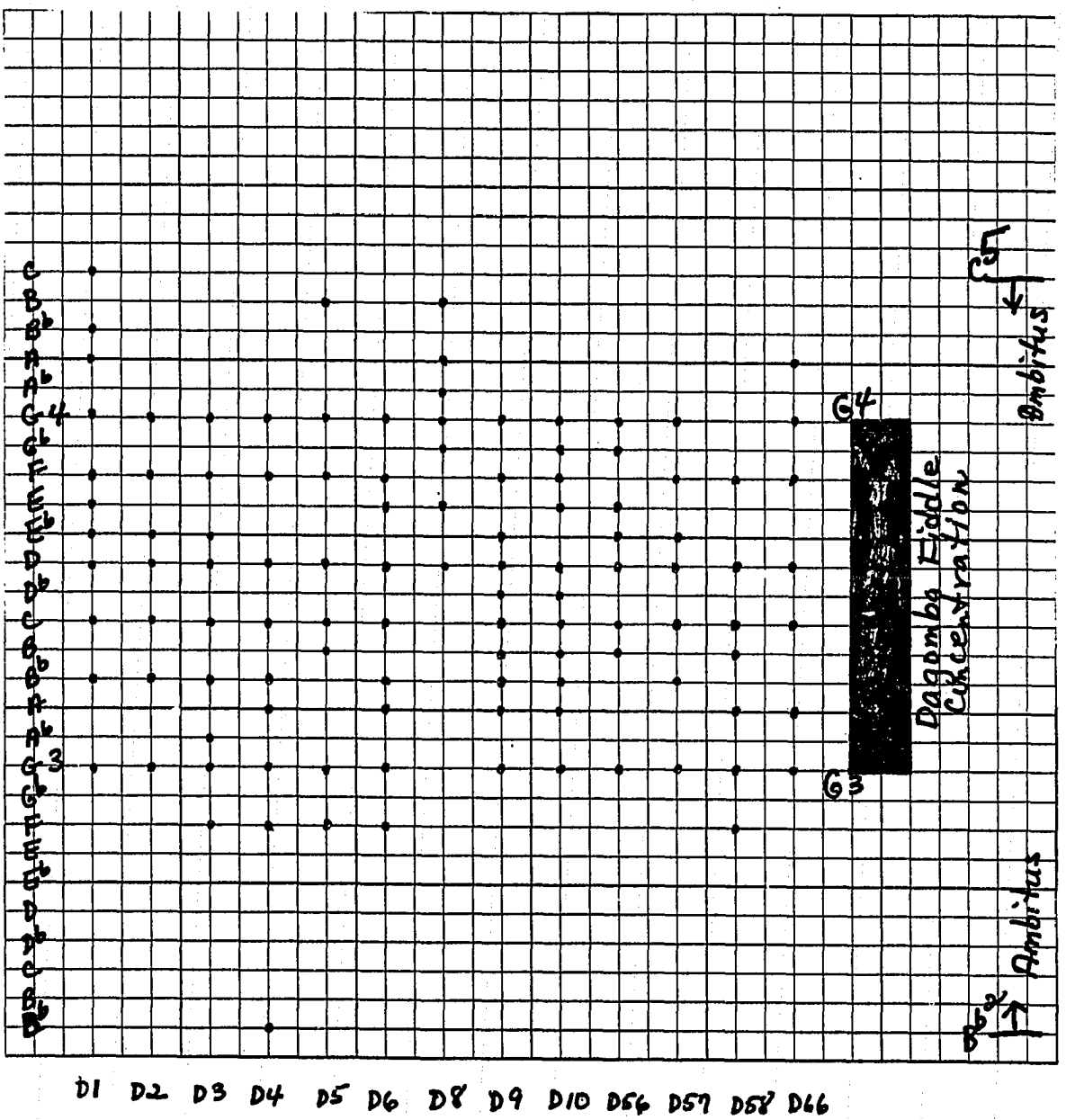
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Graph 2 - Hausa Vocal Ambitus (transposed pitches)



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Graph 3A - Gondze Ambitus I (transposed pitches)



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Graph 3B - Gondze Ambitus II (transposed pitches): Based on compositions by Salisu Mahama

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Graph 4 - Dagomba Vocal Ambitus (transposed pitches)

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the primary modal tones rather than prominent usage of secondary tones. From the graph analysis evidence shows that secondary tones are used less frequently within all thirty-eight compositions. Thus, the character of the ambitus demonstrates interesting facts concerning Dagomba and Hausa fiddle traditions.

Differences in performance style and mode of presentation account for most of the distinctions in ambitus and pitch distribution. Yet, these are not all that must be taken into consideration. Possible reasons that may be given for the distribution, allocation and organization of pitches fall into four categories: biological, environmental, morphological, and socio-cultural.

Biological factors do not play as significant a role in either the vocal or fiddle ambitus of the two traditions as one would possibly think. To place emphasis on biological factors in analyzing the fiddle ambitus would be misleading for females normally do not perform the goge or gondze. The one string fiddle that women do perform in Hausaland, the kukuma, is not discussed in the music analyses. Unlike the Hausa, Dagomba females do take part in singing the choral response in most Dagomba songs. Four compositions analyzed for this study include female participation--Allah yaa by Iddrisu and Nantoh, Bawuna, and Taakaa sannu by Sulemana. Surprisingly, none of these songs were performed with high pitch frequencies; the ambitus or range for these compositions is as follows:

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Figure 50.

Title of Composition	Performer	Ambitus
Allah yaa	Iddrisu	$D^3 - E^4$
Nantoh	Sulemana	$G^3 - B^{b4}$
Bawuna	Sulemana	$G^{b3} - B^4$
Taakaa sannu	Sulemana	$A^3 - A^4$

Mahama, in six performances, reached a C^5 (see Dagomba compositions D30, D37, D41, D42, D45, and D49), something that none of the females in the above compositions performed. That low pitches are apparent in the analysis of both traditions is understandable because of male vocal range. Thus, biological elements are not the significant factors contributing to the distribution of pitch in the vocal ambitus. Whether males or females are used, it appears that the vocal range remains the same. Probably, the major reason for the limited influence that biological elements play in determining pitch distribution is that males usually assume the leading vocal role in the Dagomba tradition. All that females do is accompany the males by rattling and singing--they rarely, if ever, assume a leading role. The age of the performer, also, does not have any correlation with the distribution of ambitus, because very few elderly or young people assume a leading role performing the instrument or in singing.

Environmental factors, also, do not have a significant influence on ambitus. Rather, this determinant possibly influences timbre or tone quality. Depending upon the materials used to construct the instrument (based on environmental factors), the timbre would be affected. For example, a tin can or wooden resonator would produce a different tone quality from a gourd-calabash resonator. Yet, these factors do not

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affect ambitus.

The morphology of an instrument is an important determinant of ambitus. With the one string fiddle the size of the resonator and length of the string are considerations that should be examined closely (see Chapter Five). For example, Mahama performed fiddle compositions on three separate occasions, using three different gondze instruments. On two occasions the instrument was smaller in size in comparison to the third occasion. As a result the pitch frequency of the music from instruments differs drastically; see the following results:

Figure 51.

Date of Performance	Approximate Size of Instrument	Legend of Composition	Pitch Frequency	Ambitus
a. 12-4-72	Length: 22 inches Resonator: 7 inches String: 15 inches	D27	$C^4 - F^5$	One octave, perfect fourth
b. 12-4-72	Same as a	D28	$B^3 - A^5$	One octave, minor seventh
c. 6-11-73	Length: 26 inches Resonator: 10 inches String: 16-17 inches	D29-D49	$E^3 - C^6$	two octaves, minor sixth
d. 6-30-74	Length: 22 inches Resonator: 7 inches String: 15 inches	D50	$C^4 - G^5$	one octave, perfect fifth
e. 6-30-74	Same as d	D51	$B^3 - G^6$	two octaves, minor sixth

The ambitus of compositions performed on the smaller gondze (length 22 inches, resonator 7 inches, and string 15 inches) and larger gondze (length 26 inches, resonator 10 inches, and string 16-17 inches) do not differ. The ambitus for c (compositions performed on the larger gondze) is the same as that for e--that is, two octaves and a minor sixth. What differs is the distribution of pitches produced from the two in-

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struments. Whereas the range for c is E^3 to C^6, the ambitus for the smaller gondze extends from B^3 to G^6. That the two sizes produced tones with an ambitus of a perfect fifth apart is interesting--that is, the lowest and highest pitches of both sizes are a perfect fifth (E^3-B^3) and (C^6-G^6). For a larger size instrument to produce such high frequencies is not uncommon. To produce tones in the higher registers is not difficult for any fiddler because of the advantage of using harmonics. The real difficulty arises in the lower pitches. Usually the open-string position[4] on the fiddle is one of the lowest tones. Perhaps a performer can produce pitches 300 to 400 cents lower than the open-string but rarely anything lower.[5] For example, because the open-string of Mahama's larger instrument is tuned to approximately G^3 (see the original transcriptions of D29-D49), this is the reason all of his compositions never reach a pitch frequency lower than E^3. The same is true for the smaller gondze with the open-string tuned to C^4; thus, music produced on the smaller gondze does not reach a lower pitch than B^3--only 100 cents below the open-string tone. Exceptions to this theory are evident in some Hausa compositions due to improvisational techniques used by goge musicians (see Barrahaza by Haruna).

The discussion of socio-cultural elements examines whether song types have any correlation with ambitus. One would think that such distinctions would be clearly apparent, but analysis shows that this is not always the case. Before comparing the ambitus with song types a general discussion of types and range of ambitus performed in the analyzed compositions should be presented.

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It is evident from the examination of the twelve Hausa compositions included in this study that Hausa fiddle and vocal music can be categorized into respectively nine and seven different ranges; see below:

Figure 52A.

Fiddle Range for Hausa Compositions	Number of Songs
1. Three octaves, major second	1
2. Two octaves, perfect fifth	1
3. Two octaves, perfect fourth	2
4. Two octaves, minor third	2
5. Two octaves, major second	2
6. Two octaves	1
7. One octave, major sixth	1
8. One octave, minor sixth	1
9. One octave, perfect fourth	1

Figure 52B.

Vocal Range for Hausa Compositions	Number of Songs
1. One octave, minor seventh	1
2. One octave, minor third	1
3. One octave, major second	1
4. One octave, minor second	1
5. One octave	1
6. Minor seventh	1
7. Minor sixth	1

Half of Hausa fiddle music is performed within a range of two octaves, perfect fourth and two octaves, major second. Since fifty percent of the music has been performed in this area, it can be safely assumed that most Hausa fiddle music usually encompasses more than two octaves but less than three octaves. Hausa vocal music ranges anywhere from one ocatve, minor seventh to a minor sixth. That the vocal range is much smaller than the fiddle correlates with information indicated in pitch concentration.

Sixteen different Dagomba fiddle and eleven vocal ranges are evident from the thirty-eight songs represented in this study. These

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are listed below:

Figure 53A.

Fiddle Range for Dagomba Compositions	Number of Songs
1. Two octaves, minor sixth	1
2. Two octaves, perfect fourth	1
3. Two octaves, minor third	1
4. Two octaves, major second	1
5. One octave, minor seventh	1
6. One octave, minor sixth	1
7. One octave, perfect fifth	2
8. One octave, augmented fourth	1
9. One octave, perfect fourth	5
10. One octave, major third	3
11. One octave, minor third	1
12. One octave, major second	6
13. One octave, minor second	1
14. One octave	11
15. Minor seventh	1
16. Major sixth	1

Figure 53B.

Vocal Range for Dagomba Compositions	Number of Songs
1. One octave, minor sixth	2
2. One octave, perfect fifth	3
3. One octave, augmented fourth	1
4. One octave, perfect fourth	12
5. One octave, major third	2
6. One octave, minor third	3
7. One octave, major second	5
8. One octave, minor second	1
9. One octave	3
10. Minor seventh	3
11. Major sixth	1

Approximately seventy-nine percent of the Dagomba fiddle songs encompass a range between one octave perfect fifth to one octave. Twenty-nine percent of the gondze songs have a one octave range which correlates with findings for pitch concentration. Not surprisingly, the results for Hausa and Dagomba fiddle ranges drastically differ. Generally,all Hausa fiddle songs are performed with a much wider range in

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comparison to the Dagomba. The widest range for the Dagomba (two octaves, minor sixth) is much smaller than the Hausa three octaves, major second compass. Also, the smallest range for the Dagomba (major sixth) has no comparison to the one octave, perfect fourth by the Hausa. The results for the Dagomba vocal range are very similar to those of the Hausa. The widest and smallest ranges for both are only about 100 cents apart. What is interesting about the Dagomba vocal range is that about one-third (33%) of the compositions are performed with a range of one octave, perfect fourth, which is much larger than the one octave range in which twenty-nine percent of the Dagomba fiddlers performed. Comparatively, although Dagomba vocalists generally perform within a smaller range than fiddlers, the number of songs with such a wide ambitus is great.

What all of this means to song types is somewhat confusing. Based on information in the above, compositions included in the analysis for this project can be categorized into three groups:

Figure 54.

	Hausa	Dagomba
1. Entertainment	1	-
a. Dance	2	1
b. Topical	1	9
2. Praise	4	26
3. Possession	4	2

An equal number of entertainment, praise, and possession songs (four each) are represented from Hausa culture. Not surprisingly, praise and entertainment songs out-number the possession songs for the Dagomba song collection.[6] Types of ranges for the three groups of songs are included below:

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Figure 55.

Entertainment	Range for Fiddle	Number of Songs
Hausa	Two octaves, perfect fifth	1
	Two octaves, perfect fourth	1
	Two octaves, major seventh	1
	One octave, major sixth	1
Dagomba	One octave, minor sixth	1
	One octave, major third	1
	One octave, minor third	1
	One octave, major second	1
	One octave, minor second	1
	One octave	4
	Minor seventh	1

Praise	Range for Fiddle	Number of Songs
Hausa	Three octaves, major second	1
	Two octaves, perfect fourth	1
	One octave, minor sixth	1
	One octave, perfect fourth	1
Dagomba	Two octaves, perfect fourth	1
	Two octaves, minor third	1
	Two octaves, major second	1
	One octave, minor seventh	1
	One octave, perfect fifth	1
	One octave, augmented fourth	1
	One octave, perfect fourth	5
	One octave, major third	2
	One octave, major second	5
	One octave	7
	Major sixth	1

Possession	Range for Fiddle	Number of Songs
Hausa	Two octaves, minor third	2
	Two octaves, major second	1
	Two octaves	1
Dagomba	Two octaves, minor sixth	1
	One octave, perfect fifth	1

As is evident from the above statistics a variety of ranges appear to be used for each category of song types. No specific pattern seems to be apparent, but this in itself demonstrates interesting findings as will be seen from the following conclusions:

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1. Hausa entertainment songs are performed within both a moderately wide and small ambitus. No clear-cut pattern is evident. Most Dagomba entertainment songs on the other hand appear to be performed with a relatively small ambitus of not more than two octaves. The widest ambitus for a Dagomba entertainment fiddle song is smaller than the narrowest of a Hausa entertainment songs.

2. No definite ambitus pattern is evident for Hausa praise songs. One of the widest and narrowest ranges used for goge praise music--extending from more than three octaves to one octave, perfect fourth. Dagomba praise songs--the most numerous type performed by gondze musicians--include ranges of more than two octaves to less than one octave. About seventy-seven percent of gondze praise songs are based on an ambitus of one octave, perfect fourth or less, thus demonstrating that a wide range of pitches is not a norm for gondze praise music.

3. Statistics for the ambitus of Hausa possession songs do not substantiate the assumption that possession or bori songs contain a wider range of pitches than other song types. Surprisingly, most of the Hausa possession songs encompass a medium range of not more than two octaves, minor third and not less than two octaves.

   In Dagomba possession songs on the other hand, the widest represented ambitus is seen in one of the two Dagomba bori songs--Barrhaza--which is based on two octaves and minor sixth range. Wanzami, with a range of one octave, perfect fifth, also is performed with a wide ambitus in comparison to other Dagomba fiddle songs. Even though some Hausa are specialists in performing bori music, it appears that on the few occasions gondze musicians perform possession songs, they use an unusually wide selection of pitches--something which is uncommon for the Dagomba tradition.

Opposite results are apparent in the analysis of vocal ambitus for goge and gondze songs as will be seen from the following statistics:

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Figure 56.

Entertainment	Vocal Range	Number of Songs
Hausa	One octave	1
	Minor seventh	1
Dagomba	One octave, minor sixth	1
	One octave, perfect fifth	2
	One octave, perfect fourth	3
	One octave, major second	1
	One octave	1
	Minor seventh	2
Praise		
Hausa	One octave, minor third	1
	One octave, major second	1
	One octave, minor second	1
	Minor sixth	1
Dagomba	One octave, minor sixth	1
	One octave, augmented fourth	1
	One octave, perfect fourth	9
	One octave, major third	2
	One octave, minor third	3
	One octave, major second	4
	One octave, minor second	1
	One octave	2
	Minor seventh	1
	Major sixth	1
Possession		
Hausa	One octave, minor seventh	1
Dagomba	One octave, perfect fifth	1

What differs from the fiddle findings is that in most cases the Dagomba vocalists perform with a wider range of pitches than Hausa vocalists; see below for conclusions concerning vocal range:

1. Unlike the findings for goge ambitus, the vocal compass for Hausa entertainment songs is smaller than the other two song types, ranging from one octave to a minor seventh. The vocal ambitus for Dagomba entertainment songs is a minor sixth wider than those for the Hausa. Yet, Dagomba vocal and fiddle ranges for entertainment songs are equivalent, extending from one octave, minor sixth to a minor seventh in both cases.

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2. The vocal range of Hausa praise songs is larger than that for Hausa entertainment songs but smaller than bori music. Similar to the statistics for entertainment music, Hausa vocalists do not perform with as wide an ambitus as the Dagomba.

   Dagomba selection of vocal pitches similar to that for entertainment songs, extending from one octave, minor sixth, but in this case to a major sixth. Eighty-four percent of gondze praise songs encompass a one octave, perfect fourth to one octave range.

3. Statistics for both Hausa and Dagomba possession songs in terms of vocal ambitus demonstrate a complete contradiction to that for fiddle range. Whereas the Dagomba fiddler uses a wider fiddle ambitus for possession songs in comparison to the Hausa, in this case Hausa vocalists use a wider vocal range than that for the Dagomba. The difference in the two ranges, however, is only a minor third--that is, the difference between one octave, minor seventh (Hausa) and one octave perfect fifth (Dagomba).

General conclusions that can be made in regard to ambitus and song types include the following:

1. Hausa fiddle song types are both higher and lower in pitch than Dagomba compositions. The lowest pitch (A^2) is performed in a bori song--Barrahaza by Haruna, while the highest pitch (A^6) is found in Landi's rendition of Kidan kanawa.

2. Although the over-all pitch for Hausa songs is both lower and higher than the Dagomba, within certain categories Dagomba fiddlers use both lower and higher pitches. Two Dagomba praise songs have a lower pitch (E^3) than the Hausa (G^3), and one of the two Dagomba possession songs is much higher in pitch (D^6) than the Hausa G^5.

In respect of vocal pitch gamut, the results are similar to that for the fiddle--that is, Dagomba vocal pitches for entertainment and praise songs are both higher and lower in pitch than those for the Hausa. Only with possession songs is the Hausa ambitus both higher and lower in pitch than that of the Dagomba.

Another socio-cultural factor that has some effect on ambitus is a society's performance preferences. Because the Hausa instrument is used primarily as the improvisatory medium and the vocal part as accom-

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paniment, while the Dagomba instrument is the accompaniment and the vocalist the improviser, complete opposite facts are apparent. In Hausa culture a person who is not able to improvise on the instrument or use a great deal of pitch and melodic variation is often not rewarded as generously as a fiddler who can. The same is true for the Dagomba vocalist; the way he manipulates the text and his voice are extremely important in spite of the fact that not all can understand the gondze language. These differences in audience's preferences, thus, affect pitch usage and compass and account for the wide Hausa fiddle ambitus and Dagomba vocal range.

Scales, Gamut, and Modes

After analyzing the entire compass or range of pitches used within Hausa and Dagomba fiddle compositions, we shall now focus our attention on the organization of these pitches into scales and modes. For the purposes of this study "scale" or "gamut" refers to all pitches that appear in the composition, while mode means the hierarchial relationship and arrangement of pitches. What has been done is to place all pitches performed in a composition into a one octave range. Within that one octave both primary and secondary tones are included. The scale or gamut, therefore, contains a variable number of pitches depending upon the amount of ornamental material a performer decides to incorporate in the composition. As will be indicated below, the distinction between primary and secondary is based on the frequency of appearance of pitches in a piece. Primary tones are used with much more frequency than secondary or ornamental tones.

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Gamuts

A variety of gamuts are found in Hausa and Dagomba fiddle music--ranging from as many as five to twelve different pitches (see Appendix G for scale and modal structures of Hausa and Dagomba songs). Most Hausa gamuts, however, contain a larger number of pitches than the Dagomba. Whereas the average number of pitches in the former is eleven, those for the latter consists of six or seven. The average number of pitches in Hausa vocal gamuts is nine and the median for Dagomba vocal gamuts is six.

Hausa

The function of the goge instrument in the ensemble accounts for the larger number of pitches used in the fiddle gamut as opposed to that for the vocal. See Figure 57 for an indication of the number of pitches in goge and vocal gamuts for the twelve different compositions analyzed for this project:

Figure 57.

Title of Composition	Performer	Number of Pitches	
		Goge Gamut	Vocal Gamut
Banjo	Haruna	12	7
Barrahaza	Haruna	12	10
Gagara Sarki	Haruna	10	11
Jabula	Haruna	9	--
Wakakai	Landi	12	8
Kidan kanawa	Landi	12	8
Ali mai sai . . .	Liyo	10	8
Sarkin mallamai . . .	Liyo	11	11

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Ruwa Ruwa	Mohammadan	12	--
Sarkin Makada	Mohammadan	12	--
Banjo	Nabarau	12	--
Sarkin Makada	Nabarau	12	--

As evident from the above statistics (Figure 57), the number of pitches in the Hausa fiddle gamut is larger than those of the vocal except in two cases. Gagara Sarki is composed of eleven vocal pitches as against ten fiddle pitches, and Sarkin mallamai where an equal number of pitches (eleven) for fiddle and voice is found.

More than half of the fiddle gamuts (58%) are based on twelve pitches, while 17% have eleven or ten, and 8% nine pitches (see Figure 58.)

Figure 58.

Fiddle Gamut Type	Number of Compositions	Percentage
12 pitches	7	58%
11 pitches	2	17%
10 pitches	2	17%
9 pitches	1	8%
	12	100%

It should be noted that the composition with the least number of pitches is a recreation song--that is Jabula with nine pitches constituting only eight percent of all the gamuts.

In vocal music, gamuts of eight pitches appears to be more common than any of the larger or smaller vocal gamuts, establishing 43%. For other statistics in regard to vocal gamut see Figure 59.

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Figure 59.

Vocal Gamut Type	Number of Compositions	Percentage
11 pitches	2	29%
10 pitches	1	14%
8 pitches	3	43%
7 pitches	1	14%
	7	100%

Due to less ornamentation on the part of Hausa vocalists, the vocal gamut does not contain many pitches.

It appears that the semitone is the most common interval used in gamuts--that is, an interval equal to approximately 100 cents. A brief note concerning the chromatic character of the Hausa pitch gamut has already been discussed but can be restated here. Ornamentation and improvisation account for wide variety of pitches and small intervals-something which is rarely found in Dagomba compositions and explains the reason for the small number of pitches in Dagomba gamuts.

Dagomba

In spite of the fact that the lead vocalist is the primary improviser in the gondze ensemble, the fiddle gamut of the thirty-nine[7] songs analyzed contains more pitches than the vocal (see Figure 60).[8] What differs in the case of Dagomba fiddle and vocal gamuts is that a larger number of gondze compositions contain vocal pitches that are equal to or more than the number of pitches in the fiddle gamut. Whereas only 29% of Hausa scales include vocal gamuts that contain more or an equal number of pitches to the goge gamut, 50% of the Dagomba vocal gamuts are equal in the number of pitches or more than those in

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Figure 60

Statistics concerning the Dagomba Gamut

Title of Composition	Performer	Number of Pitches	
		Gondze Gamut	Vocal Gamut
Dan-mo	Abu	8	5
Bandama	Abu	6	5
Adan su	Abu	7	6
Nantoh	Alhassan	6	5
*Bawuna	Alhassan	5	5
**Yeda binbeim . . .	Alhassan	7	8
Allah yaa	Iddrisu	7	5
Banchendi	Lali	9	-
Nantoh	Lali	10	7
**Yenchebli	Mahama	5	6
Bruso (Taka sannu)	Mahama	8	7
Sakpaleinga	Mahama	7	6
*Kuntag zaa	Mahama	7	7
Yeda binbeim . . .	Mahama	6	5
** un taa gilma	Mahama	5	6
**Torani	Mahama	6	7
Dunia taali	Mahama	8	6
Albanda	Mahama	9	7
Porivuli bela kpe (Waafu)	Mahama	6	5
*Nimbiegu	Mahama	7	7
*Naanigoo	Mahama	7	7
Banchendi	Mahama	7	6
Oboaboa	Mahama	8	7
*Gobe	Mahama	6	6
*Sabon	Mahama	6	6
Karinbandama	Mahama	8	6
Yeda nai	Mahama	7	6
*Chautan	Mahama	8	8
**Sakoro	Mahama	6	8
**Jugu	Mahama	5	6
**Ya Sabo	Mahama	5	6
*Babu	Mahama	5	5
Wanzami	Mahama	9	5
Barrahaza	Mahama	10	-
Dunia taali	Sulemana	7	5
**Nantoh	Sulemana	6	8
*Bawuna	Sulemana	6	6
*Taka Sannu (Bruso)	Sulemana	5	5

*Number of pitches in Dagomba vocal gamut is equal to that of the fiddle gamut.

**Number of pitches in the Dagomba vocal gamut is more than its fiddle gamut.

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the Dagomba fiddle types. It appears that a larger number of vocal gamuts (ten) are equal in size to their fiddle types, while a lesser number (eight) contain more pitches than those for the fiddle. Other statistics concerning Dagomba fiddle and vocal gamuts are given below in Figures 61 and 62.

Figure 61.

Fiddle Gamut Type	Number of Compositions	Percentage
10 pitches	2	5.3%
9 pitches	3	7.9%
8 pitches	6	15.8%
7 pitches	10	26.3%
6 pitches	10	26.3%
5 pitches	7	18.4%
	38	100.0%

Figure 62.

Vocal Gamut Type	Number of Compositions	Percentage
8 pitches	4	11%
7 pitches	8	22%
6 pitches	13	36%
5 pitches	11	31%
	36	100%

The average number of pitches in a Dagomba entertainment song is composed of six or seven pitches for both the fiddle and vocal gamuts. In both cultures, however, bori songs appear to be composed of a large number of tones. Three of the four Hausa bori songs are based on a twelve-tone gamut--H2, H14, and H16, while the remaining one is composed of eleven pitches--H13. Among the Dagomba the two bori songs included

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in the analysis are based on a nine- and ten-tone gamut--that is D50 and D51 respectively. Like the recreation category, Dagomba praise songs normally consist of six or seven pitches for fiddle and six pitches for vocal.

The intervallic structure of Dagomba gamuts also differs from that for the Hausa. With pitches in the octave arrange in a stepwise ascending and descending order, four types of intervals are found in Dagomba fiddle and vocal gamuts: major and minor thirds and major and minor seconds. Only the major and minor seconds are evident in Hausa fiddle gamuts; the minor third along with major and minor seconds are used in Hausa vocal gamuts. See statistics in Figures 63 and 64 for intervallic patterns used in Hausa and Dagomba gamuts.

Figure 63. Intervallic Structure of Hausa Fiddle and Vocal Gamuts

Interval Type	Quantity Found in Fiddle Gamuts		Quantity Found in Vocal Gamuts	
Minor third	0	0%	2	3%
Major second	9	7%	16	25%
Minor second	126	93%	47	72%
	135	100%	65	100%

Figure 64. Intervallic Structure of Dagomba Fiddle and Vocal Gamuts

Interval Type	Quantity Found in Fiddle Gamuts		Quantity Found in Vocal Gamuts	
Major third	6	2%	8	3.6%
Minor third	29	11%	39	17.6%
Major second	121	47%	110	49.8%
Minor second	103	40%	64	29.0%
	259	100%	221	100.0%

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The minor second interval is found in more than ninty percent of Hausa fiddle gamuts,[9] while almost seventy-five percent of the same interval is used in Hausa vocal gamuts. These statistics substantiate facts that have been previously stated about Hausa pitch structure. Due to the highly ornamental nature of goge melodies, the use of secondary tones is quite common. In Western terminology one would indicate that the music is chromatic. Hausa vocal melodies are not as ornamented; singers tend to sing primary tones. This is the reason why more major seconds and some minor third are apparent in Hausa vocal gamuts, for these intervals are predominant in Hausa modes.

Opposite results are apparent in the thirty-eight Dagomba fiddle and vocal compositions. In both gamuts, the major second interval constitutes almost fifty percent of the interval types. In spite of the fact that the vocal part of gondze music is more emphasized, vocal music appears to be even more modal in structure and not as ornamental when compared to gondze gamuts. This probably accounts for the lesser number of minor seconds (a secondary interval) found in Dagomba vocal gamuts (29%) in comparison to the forty percent in fiddle gamuts. Dagomba fiddle melodies, therefore, seem to be more chromatic in construction than Dagomba vocal music but less ornamental in comparison to Hausa fiddle and vocal melodies.

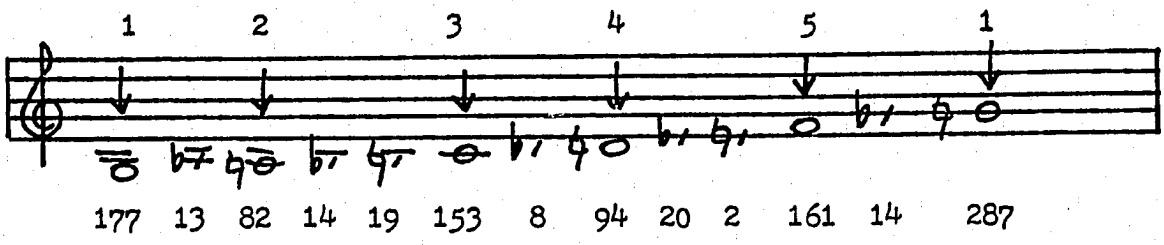
Modes

Both Hausa and Dagomba one string fiddle music is based on a non-equidistant pentatonic mode; some modal constructions are hemitonic (with semitone) others are anhemitonic (without semitone). The means by which modal tones are determined in this project is based on the

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frequency of appearance of pitches irrespective of note value. Thus, the five pitches that appear most frequently in any composition are regarded as constituent tones of the mode. For example, although Haruna's version of Barrahaza (H2) is based on a twelve-pitch gamut, the mode consists of only five tones; see Figure 65.

Figure 65.



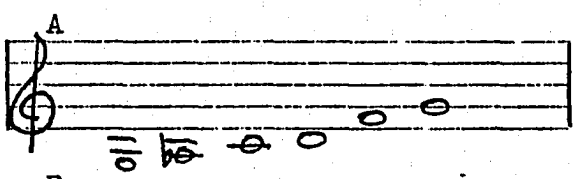
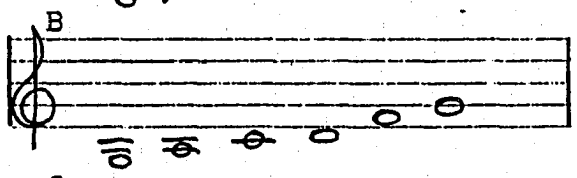
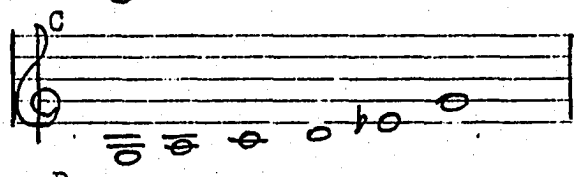
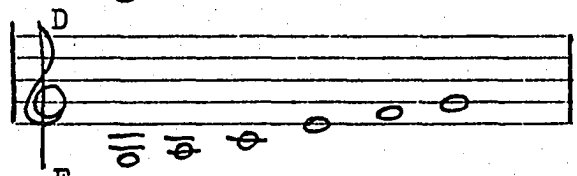
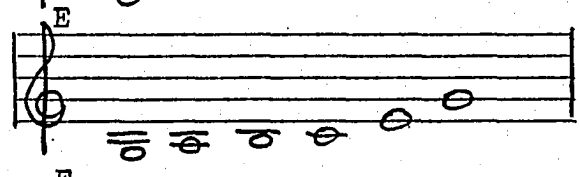
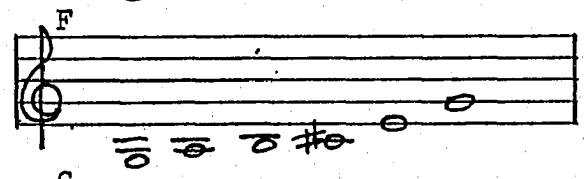
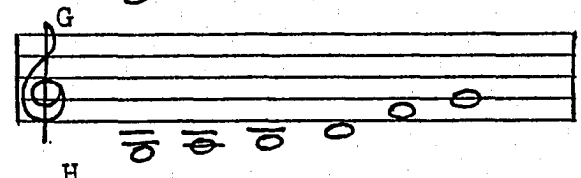
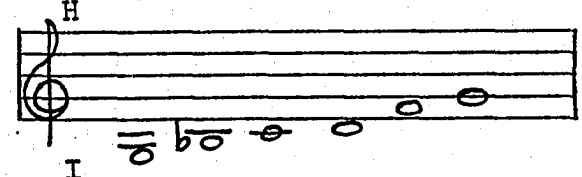
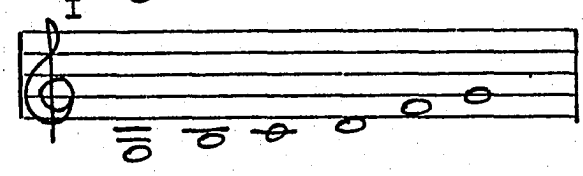
All of the modal or primary tones in the above gamut appeared at least 82 times. Therefore, those that have a frequency of appearance of 82 or more constitute modal tones—these are indicated with the symbol (↓). This method is used for determining both Dagomba and Hausa modes.

As a result of the method used in determining modes, a variety of modal patterns have been derived from both Hausa and Dagomba compositions. Nine different arrangements have been formulated for the twelve Hausa songs and ten modal patterns from the thirty-nine Dagomba compositions.[10] For an indication of the various modal patterns see Figures 66 and 67 on the following pages.

After examining the various pentatonic arrangements in Figures 66 and 67, one modal pattern (BASIC MODE) appears to be more commonly used by both Hausa and Dagomba fiddle musicians. The way in which the BASIC MODE is determined again depends upon the frequency of appearance of certain pitches. In this case, however, the frequency of appearance refers to the number of times a pitch is used in the nine Hausa or ten

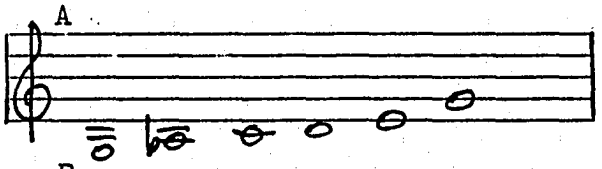
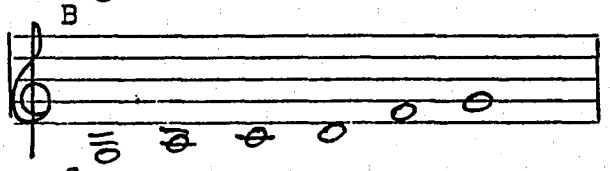
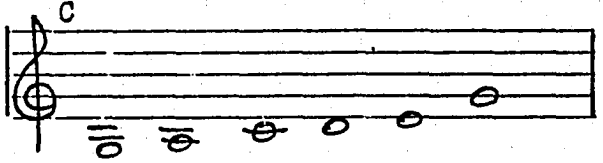
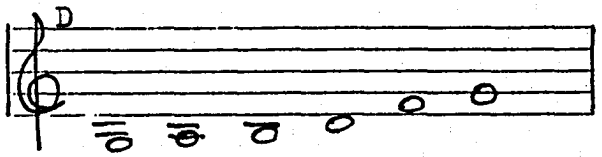
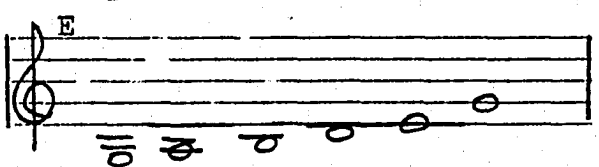
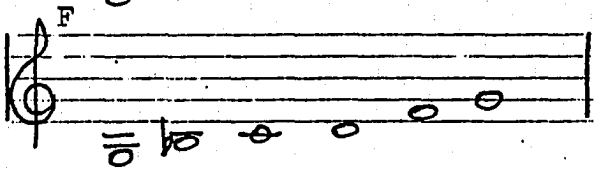
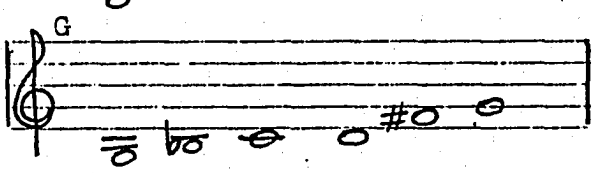
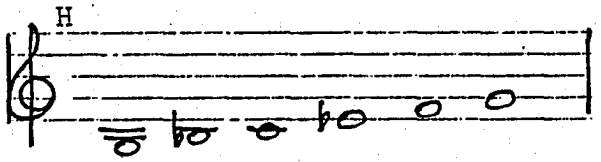
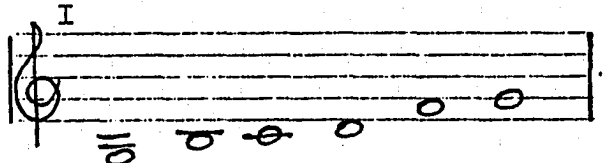
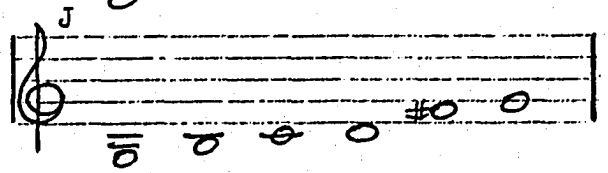
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Figure 66. Hausa Modal Patterns

Modal Types	Number of Compositions	Percentage
	1	8.3%
	2	16.6%
	1	8.3%
	1	8.3%
	1	8.3%
	1	8.3%
	1	8.3%
	3	25.0%
	1	8.3%

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Figure 67. Dagomba Modal Patterns

Modal Types	Number of Compositions	Percentage
A 	1	3%
B 	13	33%
C 	6	15%
D 	1	3%
E 	3	8%
F 	7	17%
G 	1	3%
H 	1	3%
I 	4	10%
J 	2	5%

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Dagomba modal patterns. The BASIC MODE for compositions has been determined from the following:

Figure 68A. Demonstration of the Process Used for Obtaining the Hausa BASIC MODE

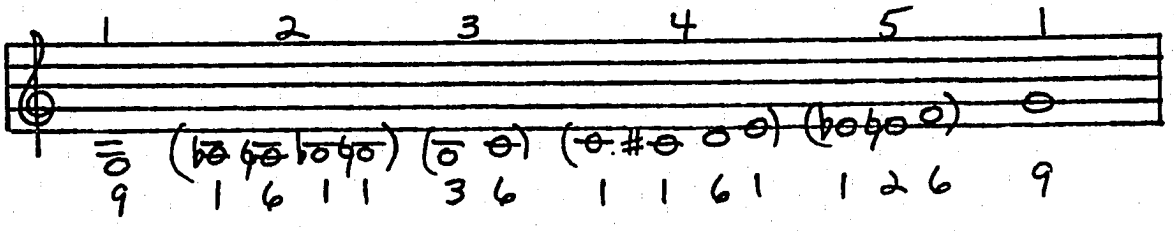
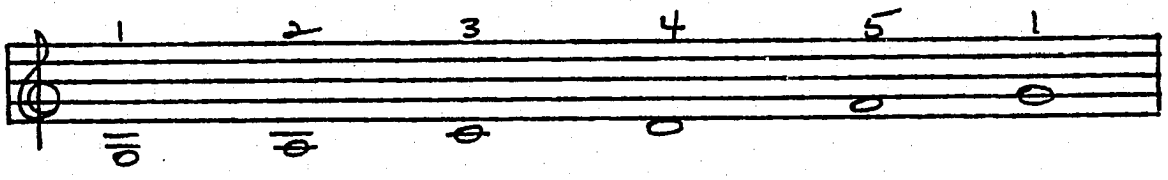


Figure 68B. Hausa BASIC MODE



What has been done is to arrange the various pitches in relationship to their position in the mode. Four different pitches have been performed for the second and fourth tones of Hausa modes (see numbers 2 and 4 in Figure 68A), two different pitches for the third (see the number 3), and three for the fifth degree of the mode (see the number 5). Whichever tone has been more commonly used in the nine modal patterns (see Figure 66) becomes a component of the BASIC MODE.

Such a procedure is used for determining modal patterns because a variety of pitches can be used for a particular degree of the mode; these pitches are referred to as "substitute pitches" or "alternate tones." The range or compass of the substitute pitches is considered the "pitch area." Both Hausa and Dagomba fiddlers are not strictly concerned with "absolute pitch." The concept of absolute pitch has no

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meaning to many fiddlers. Rather, the concept of "variable pitch" (although not actually verbalized by fiddlers) is more acceptable and widely practiced. That a substitute pitch can be used in place of the initial pitch appears to be a norm for many fiddlers--especially as a means for ornamentation and improvisation. Both the audience and performers accept this phonemenon.

The use of variable or substitute pitches obviously accounts for the wide variety of modal patterns apparent in both fiddle traditions in spite of the fact that all modes seem to be derivaties of one BASIC MODE--that is G, A, C, D, and F. Whereas A has been used at least six times as the second degree of a mode, A^b, B^b and B all have been used only once (see Figure 68A). There is no question then that a preference for A has been indicated by performers. The same results are seen in the remaining pitches of the BASIC MODE.

As mentioned in the above, evidence shows that the BASIC MODE for Hausa and Dagomba compositions is the same--see Figure 69.

Figure 69A. Demonstration of Process Used to Obtain the Dagomba BASIC MODE

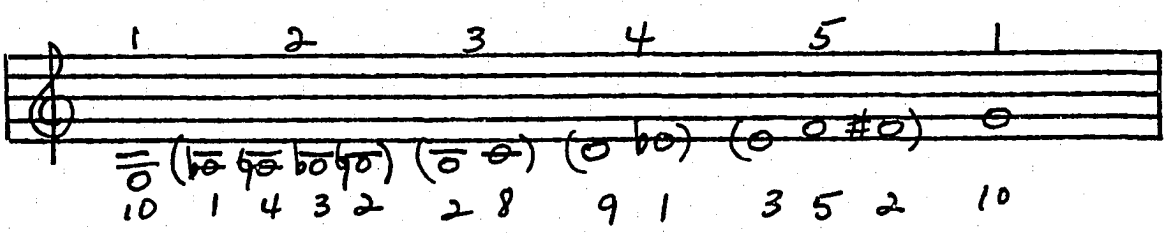
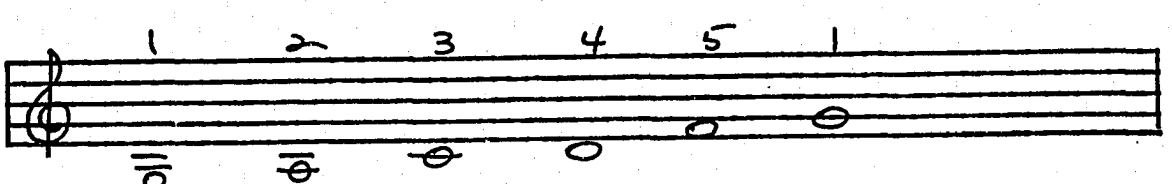


Figure 69B. Dagomba BASIC MODE



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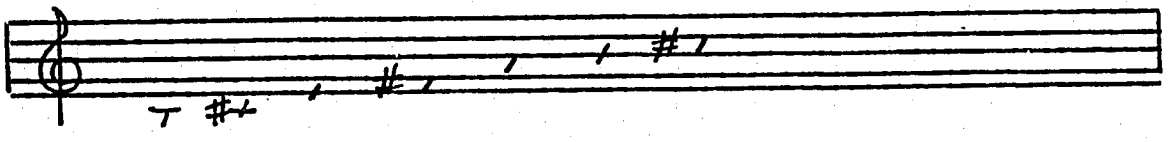
Although similar results are apparent for Dagomba and Hausa patterns, what differs is the possibility of substituting pitch B^b for A. This is not evident in the procedure for determining the Hausa BASIC MODE. The number of appearances of A (six times) in the Hausa tradition has no parallel, but the A (four times) in the Dagomba construction is closely followed by B^b (three times). Evidence also shows that modal patterns including B-flat and A for both goge and gondze songs are more commonly used than other modes. Oftentimes two different modes are used within the one composition. For example, during the first part of Banjo, the GACDF pattern is more prominently used; towards the end, however, B is substituted for A and becomes the dominant tone for the second degree of the mode.

As to the certainty in the usage of pitches C and D for the third and fourth degrees of the BASIC MODE, no questions arise. It is noteworthy that different pitches are used in the pitch areas for the fourth and fifth degrees but are the same for the second and third degrees of the two BASIC MODE patterns. What appears to be evident is that the pitch area may encompass tones ranging anywhere from 100 to 400 cents--that is a minor second to a major third. But certain degrees are allowed more flexibility than others--e.g., fewer variations are found for the third and fifth degrees of the mode as opposed to the second and fourth degrees. Probably the use of certain pitches in melodic phrases determines the amount of flexibility permitted. Also, possibly some tones are supposed to remain more stable than others--to allow too much variation on these specific pitches may cause the composition to loose its melodic character.

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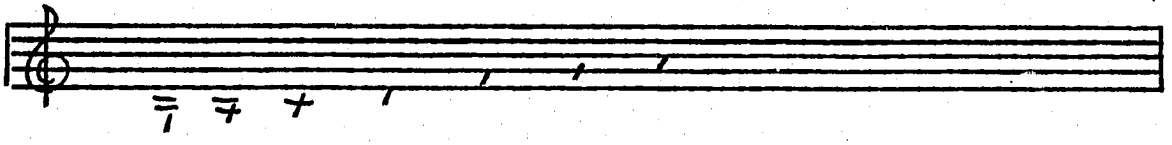
Another factor which makes the concept of the BASIC MODE so interesting is that the pattern is similar in construction to the one used by the Tuareg--that is, the mode Nikiprowetzky has documented for Tuareg music (Nikiprowetzky 1964:81-83). See Chapter Two for discussion. Nikiprowetzky notates Example 1 of the Tuareg mode in the following manner:

Figure 70A. Tuareg mode as documented by Nikiprowetzky 1964:81-83



If transposed to pitch G the mode in Figure 70A is the same as the Hausa and Dagomba BASIC MODE in Figures 68B and 69B; see the transposition in Figure 70B:

Figure 70B. Transposition of Tuareg mode (see Figure 70A) as documented by Nikiprowetzky 1964:81-83.



Nikiprowetzky seems to think that Tuareg music has been greatly influenced by Arabic (oriental or Near Eastern) culture, especially in terms of melodic ornamentation. Such a speculation is not improbable for evidence of Arabic influence is extremely apparent in other aspects of Sudan culture. Whether these influences have affected the melodic organization of Hausa and Dagomba music is not exactly known but possible in light of the above information.

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The intervallic structure of Hausa and Dagomba modes is extremely important to the discussion of melody (see statistics in Figure 71).

Figure 71. Intervallic Structure of Hausa and Dagomba Modes

Type of Interval	Percentage for Hausa		Percentage for Dagomba	
Major third	4	10%	5	10%
Minor third	12	30%	15	30%
Major second	20	50%	25	50%
Minor second	4 / 40	10% / 100%	5 / 50	10% / 100%

Although quantities differ, the percentage of major and minor thirds as well as major and minor seconds are the same. Half of the modes include the major second interval, while thirty percent the minor third. These findings correlate with the intervallic structure of the BASIC MODE, which is based on the following interval pattern: M_2 m_3 M_2 m_3 M_2. Thus, when a mode or scale pattern consists of a large number of minor second intervals, the scale is chromatic in character. A scale or melody that contains more major seconds and minor thirds then can be regarded as modal.

Very few Hausa and Dagomba pentatonic modes are hemitonic. Only four (33%) of the nine Hausa modes and four (21%) of the ten Dagomba modes are hemitonic. Therefore, it appears that fiddlers in both cultures prefer the anhemitonic construction. In addition, no modes are formed with augmented seconds, a feature which some scholars (Nikiprowetzky 1964) believe is characteristic of Arabic influence.

In addition to examining the pitch and intervallic structure of modes and scales, an investigation of the function or use of various pitches (finalis and initial tones) within the composition aids in

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understanding the organization of fiddle melodies. These functional tones are indicated in Appendix G with the letters F (finalis) and I (initial).

Except in one instance only modal tones (G A C D F; B^b is the exception) are used as the finalis in both Hausa and Dagomba compositions. A majority of final tones are situated within the one ocatve range of G^3 to G^4. The beginning or initial tones of the composition are not always composed of modal tones and range anywhere from G^3 to E^5--see the following statistics concerning pitch usage in Figure 72:

Figure 72. Statistics concerning pitch usage in Hausa and Dagomba fiddle compositions

Pitch Frequency	Finalis				Initial Tone			
	Hausa		Dagomba		Hausa		Dagomba	
E^5							1	2.6%
C^5					2	16.7%		
B					1	8.3%		
A			1	2.6%	1	8.3%	2	5.1%
G^4	1	8.3%	5	12.8%	2	16.7%	4	10.3%
F	2	16.7%	5	12.8%	1	8.3%	1	2.6%
E							3	7.7%
D	2	16.7%	1	2.6%	1	8.3%	7	17.9%
C^4	2	16.7%	5	12.8%	2	16.7%	5	12.8%
B^b	1	8.3%					1	2.6%
A			4	10.3%	1	8.3%	2	5.1%
A^b							1	2.6%
G^3								
	4/12	33.3% / 100.0%	18/39	46.2% / 100.1%	1/12	8.3% / 99.9%	12/39	30.8% / 100.1%

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What is noteworthy about information in Figure 72 is that Dagomba fiddlers make use of a wider variety of primary and secondary pitches for both the finalis and initial tones in comparison to the Hausa. Although primarily modal tones are used in the body of Dagomba compositions, the initial tones appear to have been taken from a larger variety of secondary tones.

In conclusion it appears that a far greater similarity exists in the modal practice of Hausa and Dagomba fiddle music than in the use of gamut and intervallic structures. Hausa tend to make use of a greater number of secondary tones and minor second intervals, whereas the opposite is the case for Dagomba musicians. With respect to the use of specific tones in compositions, both traditions emphasize modal tones for the finalis with pitch 1 being used more often than others. Second to pitch 1 are pitches 3 and 5--that is C and F. The Hausa tend to favor pitch 4 and the Dagomba pitch 2 as a possible alternative for the finalis tone. A wider variety of pitches are used for the initial tone of compositions and the Dagomba seem to take advantage of all possible alternatives. Gondze musicians, however, favor pitch 1 (G^3) as the initial tone; the Hausa on the other hand use pitch 1 (G^4) and pitch 3 (C^4 and C^5) with equal frequency. Pitch 4 (D^4) is used much more often by Dagomba musicians with pitch 3 as a third alternative.

What all of this means is that the Dagomba, who appear to be more conservative in the use of pitches in the body of compositions, take more liberties in the introduction--a section of the composition in which the fiddler has an opportunity to demonstrate his versatility.

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In the middle section all that gondze musicians do is repeat the melodic phrase with minimal variation. Hausa fiddlers have numerous opportunities to display virtuosity--during interludes, long introductions, closing sections, and even the solo goge statement. Therefore, to make use of a number of secondary (ornamental) tones at the beginning of the composition is not necessary.

Melody

Intervals Used in Melodies

A variety of interval types are used within both Hausa and Dagomba one string fiddle compositions (see Figure 73):

Figure 73. Types of intervals used in Hausa and Dagomba fiddle compositions

Hausa (29 intervals)	Dagomba (23 intervals)
unison	unison
minor second	minor second
major second	major second
*augmented second	*augmented second
*diminished third	
minor third	minor third
major third	major third
*diminished fourth	*diminished fourth
perfect fourth	perfect fourth
*augmented fourth	*augmented fourth
*diminished fifth	*diminished fifth
perfect fifth	perfect fifth
minor sixth	minor sixth
major sixth	major sixth
minor seventh	minor seventh

*Intervals that are used sparingly.

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*major seventh
octave
*one octave, minor second
*one octave, major second
*one octave, minor third
*one octave, major third
*one octave, perfect fourth
*one octave, diminished fifth
*one octave, perfect fifth
*one octave, minor sixth
*one octave, major sixth
*one octave, minor seventh
*two octaves
*two octaves, perfect fourth

*major seventh
octave

*one octave, major second
*one octave, minor third
*one octave, major third
*one octave, perfect fourth

*one octave, perfect fifth
*one octave, minor sixth
*one octave, major sixth

Fiddlers in the Hausa tradition use compound intervals (intervals larger than an octave) primarily as a means of improvisation or variation in the opening, interlude, and closing sections, not a common occurrence in the organization of thematic material. Within the Dagomba tradition it appears that compound intervals are rarely used, especially among those more conservative and traditional performers who seem to shy away from any drastic changes to the organization of gondze melodies; this is evident for Mahama is the only Dagomba fiddler who has employed compound intervals in melodies.

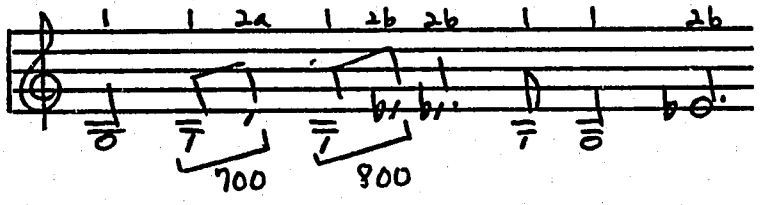
Simple intervals (the octave and smaller) are the most frequently used for both fiddle and vocal melodies. Interval types performed by vocalists normally range from unisons to the major sixth. Minor sevenths and octaves are sparingly used. That the major seventh is not a common interval for either fiddle or voice is noteworthy. A plausible explanation for its lack of usage probably lies in the modal construction of fiddle of fiddle songs. If intervals in the anhemitonic BASIC MODE were were inverted and manipulated in as many ways as possible, the major seventh would not be produced. Rather the minor 7th,

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major and minor sixths, perfect fourth and fifth, major and minor thirds, and major second are more often used. Only with the hemitonic pentatonic arrangement would prominent use of the major seventh be apparent in fiddle songs. Evidence of augmented and diminished intervals in compositions is primarily the result of using secondary tones.

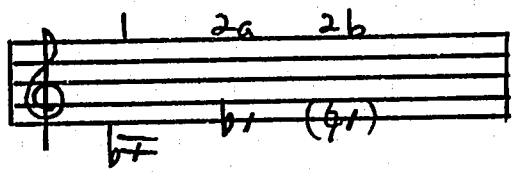
What is noteworthy in reference to intervallic structure is the manner in which melodies have been organized in Gagara Sarki (H3). According to Ames and King two notes approximately 750 cents apart are prominent in a kakaki composition (see pages 362-363). This, therefore, accounts for the fact that the following intervallic figure is continuously played in Gagara by Haruna (see Figure 74).

Figure 74. Melodic phrase from Gagara Sarki by Haruna (H3), measure 1



If the soloist's statement is G^3-D^4/E^{b4}, theoretically the chorus' statement should be the following--that is, approximately 100 cents higher in pitch than the solo instrument (see Figure 75):

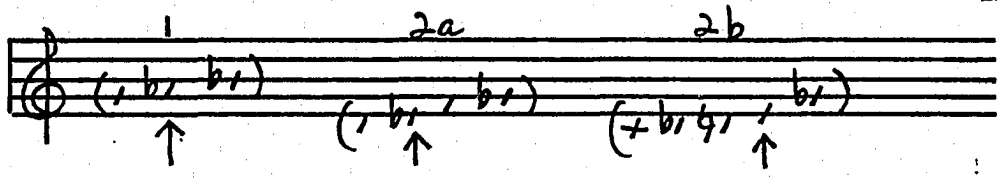
Figure 75.



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At this point the concept of pitch area and substitute pitches come into play, for the vocalist rarely performs the pitches shown in Figure 75. Rather, several alternate tones are substitute (see Figure 76).

Figure 76. Substitute pitches for tones in Figure 75
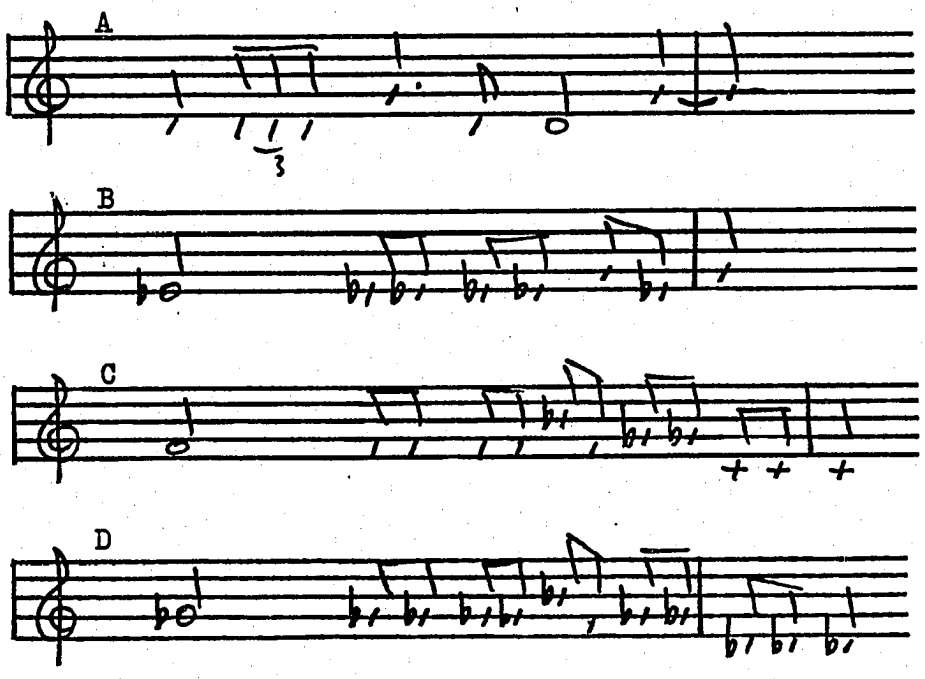


In the first choral response in Gagara Sarki, the maroki does not restate the goge statement exactly. Rather, he performs an inversion of the goge theme, beginning with D^4 (2a) and then rising to G^4 (1). Singing an exact note-for-note inversion in the opening section gives the audience a clue or hint that in subsequent responses, the maroki will always perform an inversion, never an exact repeat. In other words although the pitch movement or melodic contour of the two statements (goge and maroki) are similar, the exact note-for-note representation of the two is totally different.

In subsequent statements not only does the maroki continue to sing inversions of the goge melody but he begins to perform tones that theoretically correspond with Ames and King's findings--that is, approximately 100 cents higher in pitch. In addition to the use of alternate tones further variation is developed as the chorus statement is progressively raised in pitch throughout the composition; see the information in Figure 77.

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Figure 77. Choral Statement in Gagara Sarki



Location in Song

1- 2

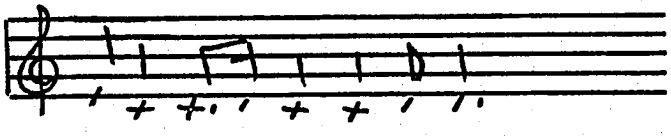
2- 3

6- 7

11-12

What occurs in the fiddle statement in measure 4 (see Figure 78)

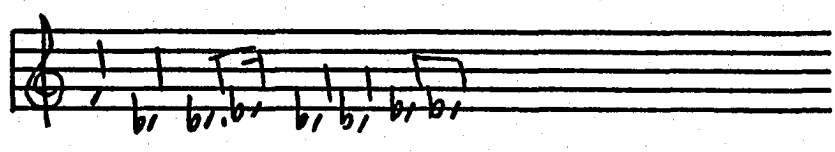
Figure 78. Gagara Sarki, measure 4



is either an additional motif by Haruna or his interpretation of the third note that Ames and King say is sometimes performed on the kakaki ("a third note at an interval of approximately 100 cents below the lowest of the previous note is less commonly used"; see 1971:51). Later in the composition (measure 17), the fiddle statement in measure 4 is changed to the following:

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Figure 79. Gagara Sarki, measure 17



Interestingly, rather than perform the passage within the F^3/G^3 range, Haruna plays it an octave higher.

Melodic Contour

The melodic contour of both Hausa and Dagomba melodies are generally undulating--see Figures 80 and 81 on pages 473-476. Some are in the shape of an arc--that is, with a general ascent of pitches at the beginning and descent at the end of the melody (see Figures 80D, 80E, and 81G). No specific pattern appears to be characteristic of either tradition but noteworthy findings are evident in regard to the beginning and ending of melodies in Figures 80 and 81; see Figure 82 for results of statistics:

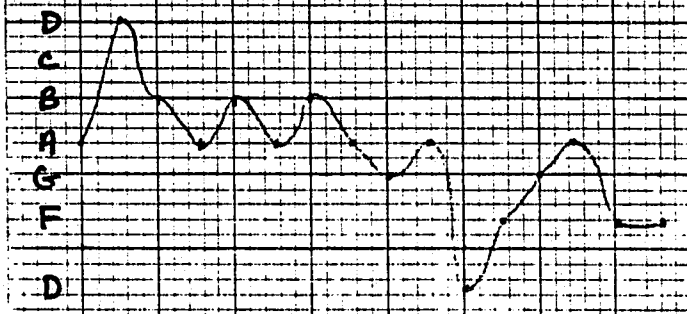
Figure 82. Statistics concerning the beginning and ending of Hausa and Dagomba melodies in Figures 80 and 81

Beginning of Melody		
Hausa	Ascending--81A, C, D, E	4--80%
	Descending 81B	1--20%
Dagomba	Ascending--82A, D, E, F, G	5--71%
	Descending--82B, C	2--29%
Ending of Melody		
Hausa	Ascending	0--0%
	Descending--81A, B, C, D, E	5-100%
Dagomba	Ascending--82A, B, C, D, E, F	5--71%
	Descending--82D, G	2--29%

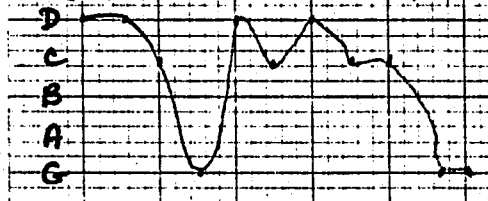
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Figure 80. Melodic Contour of Hausa Melodies

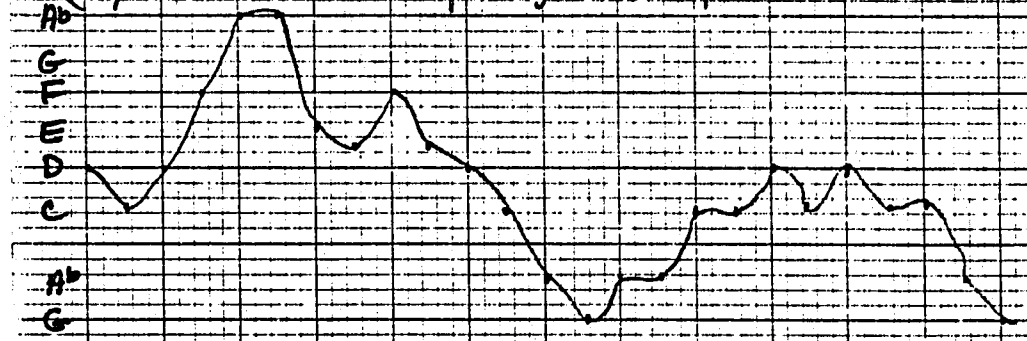
(A) Banjo by Haruna (H1), measure 7



(B) Wakakai by Landi (H7), measure 24



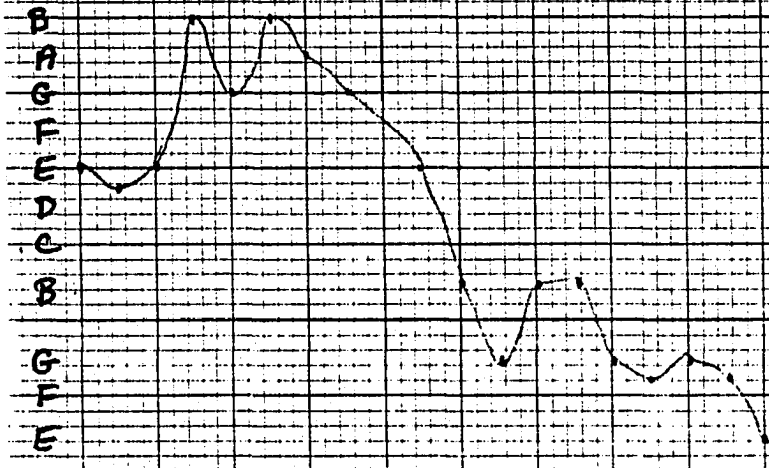
(C) Ali mai... by Liyo (H11), measure 12



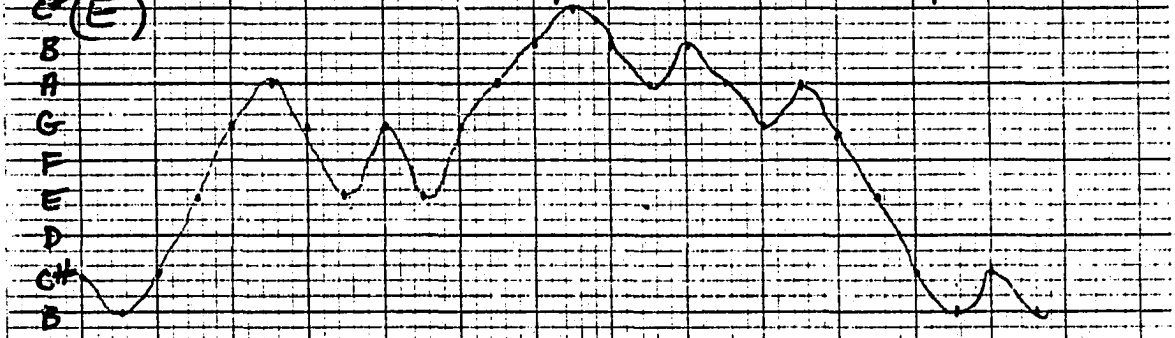
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Figure 8D. (continued)

(D) Ruwa Ruwa by Mohammadan (H13), measure 5



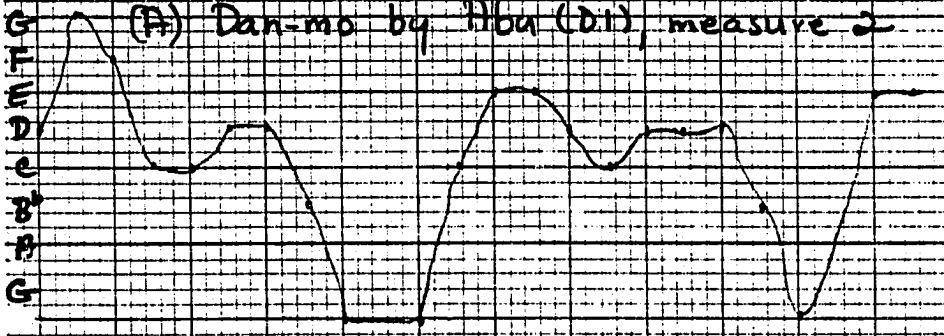
(E) Sarkin Makada by Nabaran (H16), measure 4



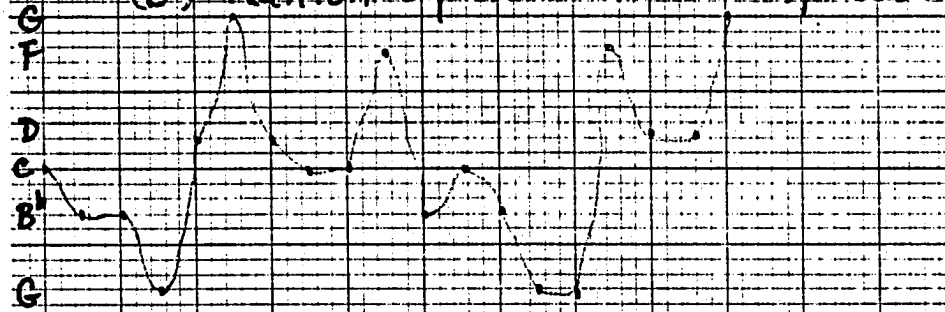
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Figure 81. Melodic Contour of Dagomba Melodies

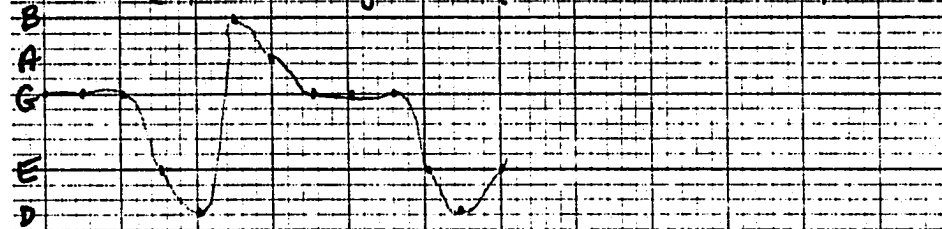
(A) Dan-mo by Abu (D11), measure 2



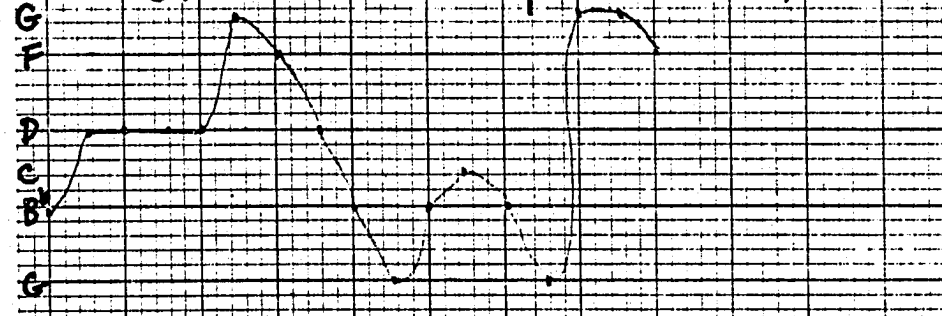
(B) Nantoh by Alhassan (D4), measure 4



(C) Allah yaa by Iddrisu (D8), measure 2

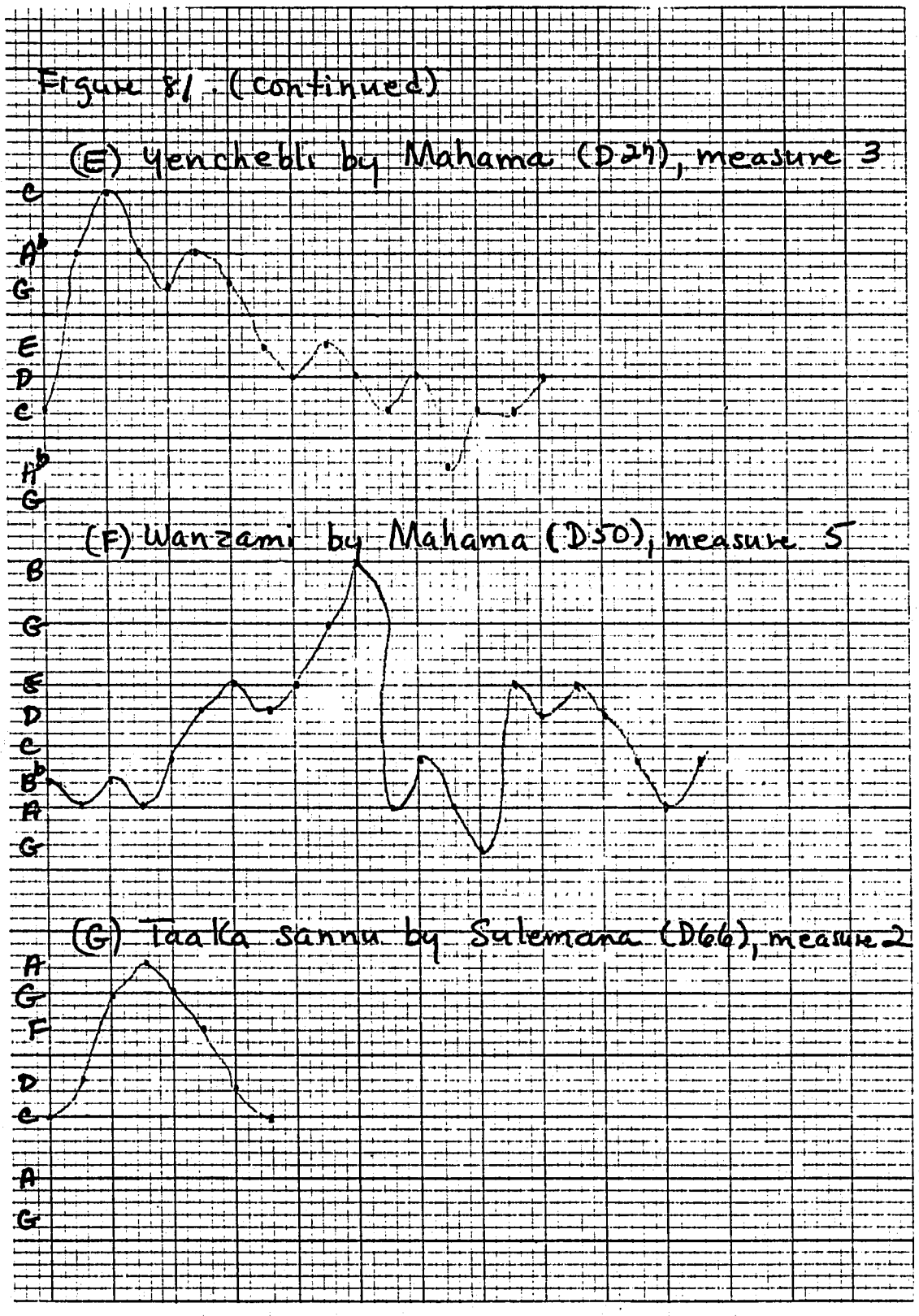


(D) Banchendi by Lali (D9), measure 2



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Figure 81. (continued)

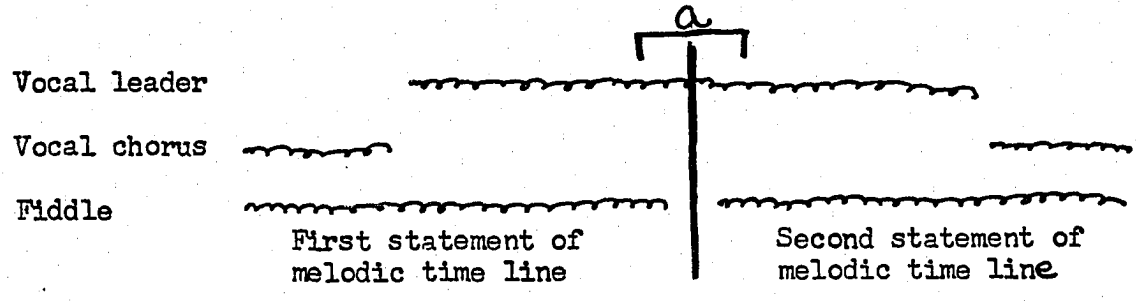


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It is evident from the statistics concerning melodies in Figures 80 and 81 that a large majority of Hausa melodies are performed with a rising and falling contour. Likewise the majority of Dagomba melodies represented in Figure 81 have a rising contour, but the endings show an ascent instead of a descent.

What appears to be the main reason for the descending ending in the few melodies that have been analyzed is the phrasing of fiddle and vocal melodies. As will be discussed below, the beginning and ending of most Dagomba vocal and fiddle melodic phrases do not coincide. Often, vocal phrases begin toward the middle of the fiddle melodic line and end in the middle section of the subsequent statement (see Figure 83).

Figure 83. Diagram of structure used in Dagomba vocal and fiddle melodic phrases



Because Dagomba melodies are based almost entirely on the tonal inflection of the language, the linear pattern of pitches to some degree must correspond with the vocalist's statement. Thus, since the lead vocalist at the end of the fiddle statement (see a in Figure 83) is singing the middle portion of his statement, the only natural thing for the fiddler to do is follow the direction of the voice, which rises instead of falls at a (see D3 measures 1-2 for an example of this technique). Consequently, the endings of fiddle melodies are per-

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formed with an ascent instead of a descent due to vocalists' melodic patterns. When the fiddler ends the melody with an ascent, this gives the effect of incompletion and preparation for the second part of the vocal melody. As a result themes rise in pitch at the end of melodies during the middle section, while different facts are apparent at the end or closing section of Dagomba compositions. See the following statistics concerning the beginning and ending of fiddle melodies:

Figure 84. Direction of Pitches at the Beginning and Ending of Dagomba Melodies

A. Pitch Movement at Beginning of Melodies

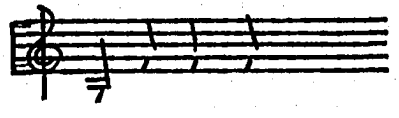
Ascending	28	74%
Descending	10	26%
	38	100%

B. Pitch Movement at Ending of Melodies During the Middle Section of Compositions

Ascending	20	53%
Descending	18	47%
	38	100%

C. Pitch Movement at Ending of Melodies During the Closing Section of Compositions

Ascending	13	34%
Descending	25	66%
	38	100%

The reason that the very same melody which ends with an ascending pitch during the middle section becomes a descending melody in the closing is that falling in pitch as indicated in the above represents finality and completion--a definite point of rest. One of the ways in which some performers create the change or demonstrate a point of finality is to return to pitch one. For example, whereas Sulemana ends the melodic line of Dunia taali with G^3 to F^4  ,

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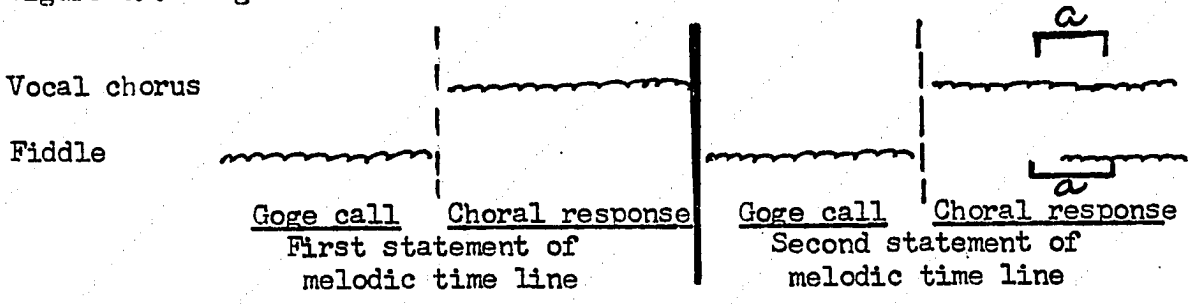
the closing section of the composition returns to G^3 after the F^4



.

Overlapping of vocal and goge statements occurs occasionally in Hausa phrasing but is not essential to melodic organization. Rather, the fiddler usually completes the melodic time line before the vocalists' entrance (see Figure 85).

Figure 85. Diagram of Hausa fiddle and vocal melodic phrase structure



On some occasions the Hausa fiddler enters during the vocal statement by playing in unison or heterophonically with singers (see a in Figure 85). Thus, goge melodies tend to be based on an ascending beginning and descending end. When and if the fiddler enters during the middle of the chorus, more than likely the initial pitch will descend.

In some sections of fiddle compositions, sharp contrasts are seen in the linear pattern of pitches, For example, in many Hausa compositions, especially during fiddle improvisatory sections--opening, interludes, and closing--a sudden change in pitch is evident. See the following examples in Figure 86:

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Figure 86A. Barrahaza by Haruna (H2), measure 4

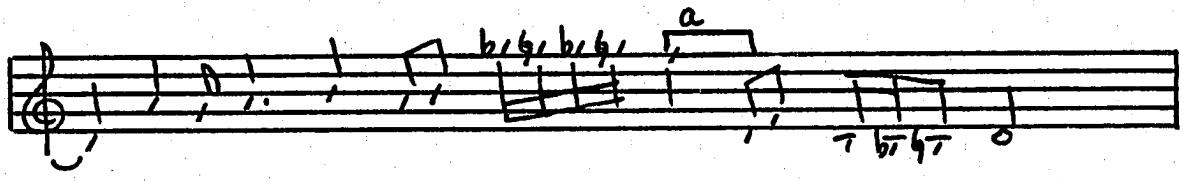


Figure 86B. Wakakai by Landi (H7), measure 4

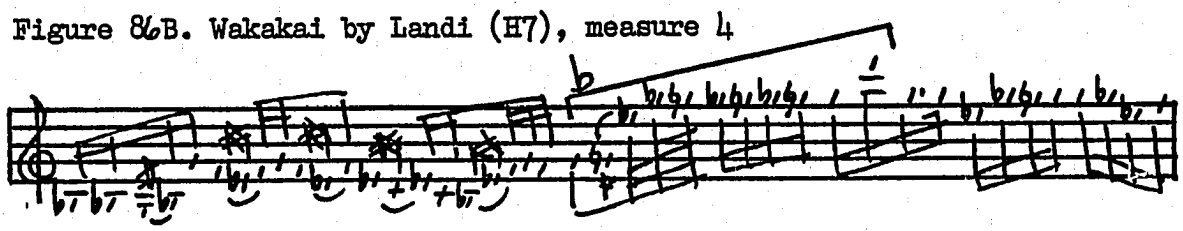
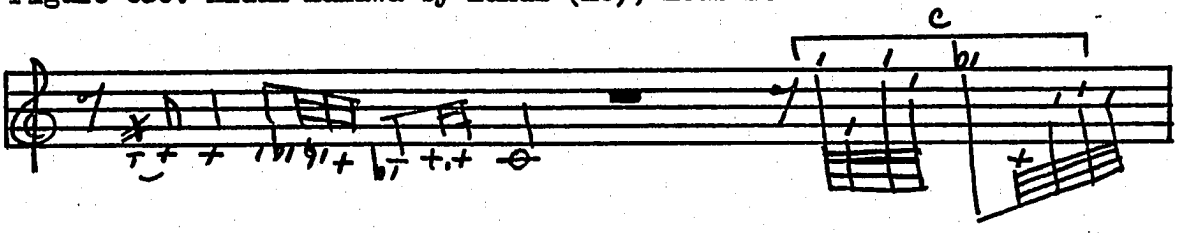


Figure 86C. Kidan kanawa by Landi (H8), measure 8



The above examples demonstrate three ways in which a rapid change in pitch is manifested in the goge tradition. Figure 86A shows a sharp change in contour without any intermediary preparation. In Figure 86B the change in pitch range gradually takes place by a continuous rise in pitch. The back-and-forth change in pitch frequency (see c in Figure 86C), going from G^5-G^4-G^5 and G^{b5}-C^4-C^5, differs markedly from the methods used in Figures 86A and 86B. These three examples, it should be mentioned, represent only samples of this technique--evidence of this melodic organization is also found within compositions by other goge performers.

Such improvisatory techniques in the linear pattern of pitches are not common within the Dagomba tradition. Rather, most melodies are usually performed within a limited range without sharp contrasts. Exceptions to this norm, however, are sometimes performed by Mahama; see below:

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Figure 87A. Yenchebli by Mahama (D27), measure 1

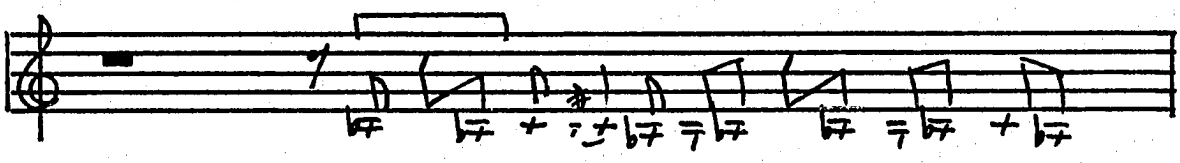


Figure 87B. Bruso (Taaka sannu) by Mahama (D28), measure 3

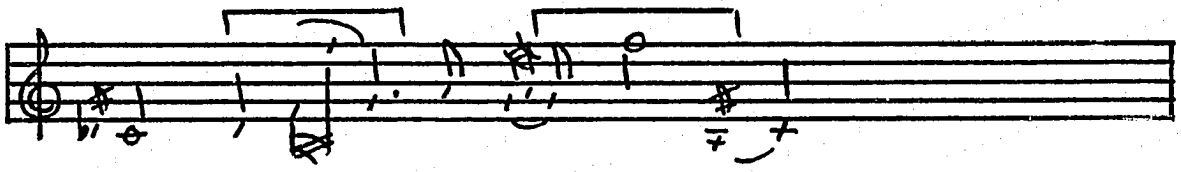
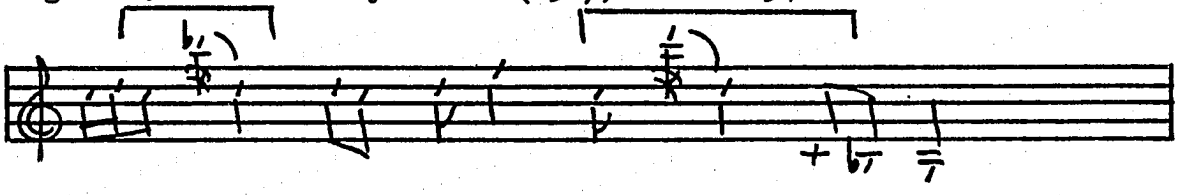


Figure 87C. Barrhaza by Mahama (D51), measure 34



The back-and-forth fluctuation in pitch seems to be more prominent in Mahama's compositions. Mention should also be made that none of the high pitch notes are retained for any length of time.

It can be concluded then that no real distinction is apparent in the contour of Hausa and Dagomba melodies. Both traditions make use of melodies that are generally undulating--some in the shape of an arc, upside-down curve, and so forth. Sharp contrasts in pitch are used in both tradition but much more so in Hausaland. What differs in the melodic contour of the two traditions is the melodic movement at the end of a phrase. Whereas the beginning of most Hausa melodies tends to ascend initially and descend at the end, this is not the case with gondze melodies. The majority of Dagomba melodic phrases ascend at the beginning. The location of the melody in the composition determines whether or not melodic movement descends or ascends at the end of

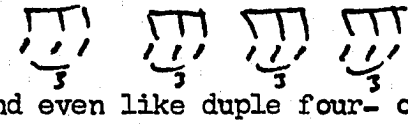
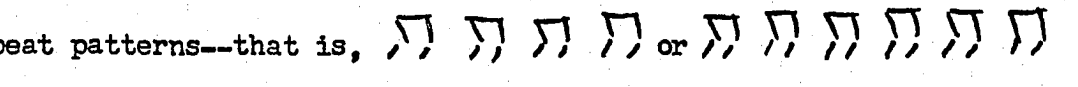
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gondze melodies. More than half of Dagomba themes performed in the middle section of gondze compositions include an ascending end. But these same melodies, when performed at the end or closing section of the song, have a descending end. The primary reason for distinctions is phrasing between fiddlers and chorus which will be discussed below.

Length of Melodies

The length of Hausa and Dagomba fiddle and vocal melodies depends upon the length of the time span and text. Melodies in the goge tradition tend to be more varied in length than those of gondze, for the Hausa appear to take more liberty in the organization of their melodies--sometimes expanding or decreasing the length, other times incorporating drastic melodic changes, while the Dagomba are much more conservative in introducing changes into melodic material.

Hausa

Upon hearing Hausa fiddle music for the first time a Western listener might think that the time span is based on a four-beat pattern--encompassing four triplet beats, e.g.  . In some cases the pattern may appear to sound even like duple four- or six-beat patterns--that is,  . From the way the Hausa fiddler plays his music, it seems that he thinks more in terms of the total twelve- or eight-beat time span rather than in subdivisions of three and two. This enables him to group his notes into different units of articulation instead of confining himself to twos and threes or the beats of the underlying percussion. This gives fluidity to his melodic lines.

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Although the underlying pulse structure of the Hausa time span is generally a twelve-beat pattern (see Figure 88), melodies performed in compositions are sometimes much longer, sometimes twice as long as in Example 89 below.

Figure 88. From Banjo by Haruna (H1), measures 6-7

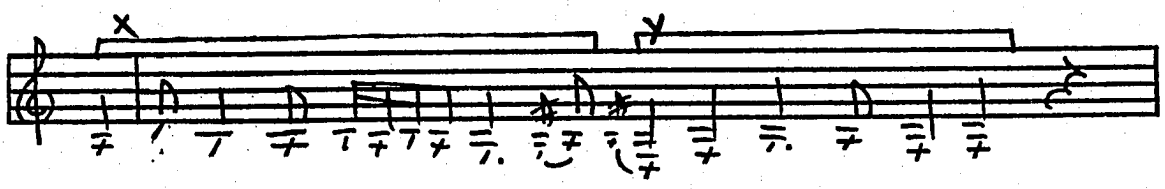
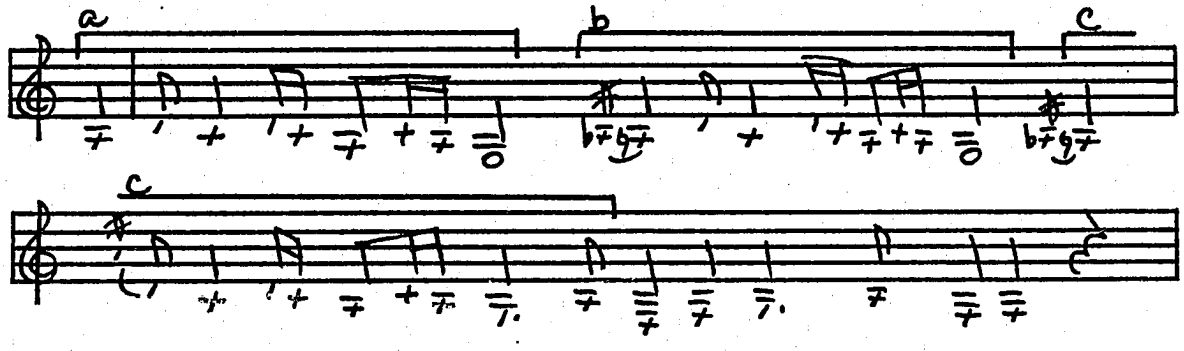


Figure 89. From Banjo by Haruna (H1), measures 12-14
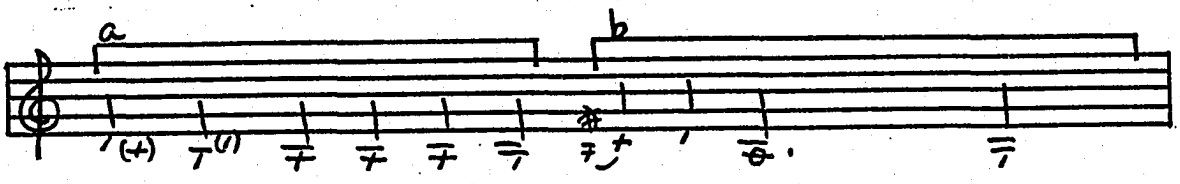


Notice that materials in a, b, and c in Example 89 above are the same except that an additional six beats has been added after c, which is the same as y in Figure 88. In another example Haruna uses a similar technique by extending a twenty-four beat melodic line to a 96-beat thematic statement (see measures 30-37 of Barrahaza, H2). What he does is to repeat the first 24-beat melodic line--that is, measures 30-31 are the same as measures 32-33, only with minor variations. The remaining 48 beats are based on entirely new material. Similar techniques are used by Leo and Landi. Whenever a theme is repeated with expansion in length, more than likely the fiddler has repeated and/or added new

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material to the melody.

Reducing or decreasing a time line from its initial length to a smaller melodic pattern does not appear to be a common feature in the goge tradition. Haruna employs this technique in one of his compositions (Banjo, H1). In measure 101 of Banjo the melody (what I have labeled as theme C--see formal analysis) is stated as follows:

Figure 90. Banjo (H1), Theme C, measure 101



In measures 134 and 135 the above melody is reduced to a 4-6 beat pattern; for other abbreviated forms of theme C see Figures 91A and 91B below:

Figure 91A. Decrease in length of Banjo (H1), measure 134

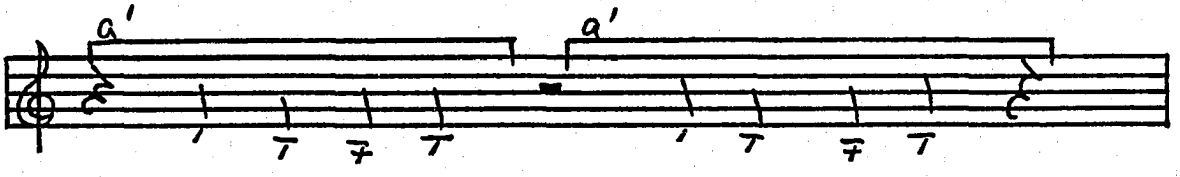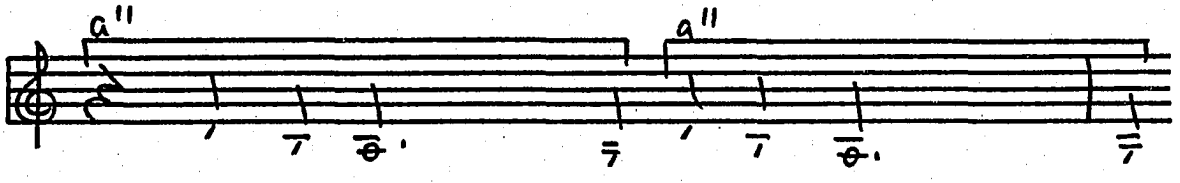


Figure 91B. Decrease in length of Banjo (H1), measure 135



The unique feature in this organization is that Haruna actually restates the same material, only differently. The b portion of Figure 90 is the same as the a portion; the only distinction is that the A^3 is performed as a sustained three-beat note in b rather than as three

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repetitions of A^3 in a (see Figures 92A and 92B).

Figure 92A.

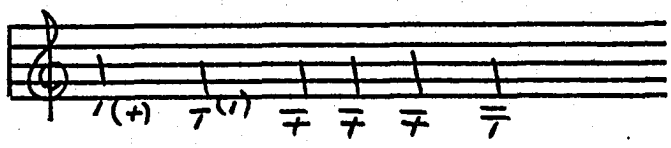
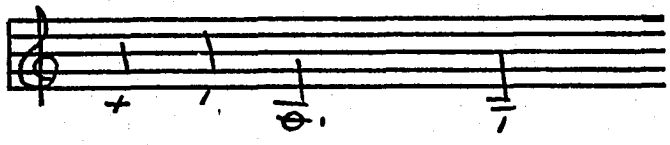


Figure 92B.



Not all Hausa melodies are based on a twelve-beat melodic pattern. A few are based on eight beats. For example, the melodic material in Jabula and Wakakai (H4 and H7) is composed of eight beats. In fact, all of Jabula is formulated from various four-beat melodies that are combined together (see pages 374-375 for formal analysis). The number eight appears to be the basic pattern for melodies in Wakakai--subsequent expansions are 16, 24, and 40 beats, while the diminution verse is cut down to four beats.

Gagara Sarki (H3) is neither based on a twelve nor eight beat pattern. The basis for the time line is the text; therefore, melodic phrases vary from eleven to seventeen beats in length either because some textual phrases are longer than others, or performers prolong some tones during the course of the composition.

It can be stated then that the majority (75%) of Hausa compositions are based on a twelve-beat melodic pattern. If extensions or diminutions are made, the shortened or longer version are also based on a derivative of 12 beats and may be 6, 18, 24, 36, 96, etc. in length. Seventeen percent of goge songs are based on an eight-beat time span,

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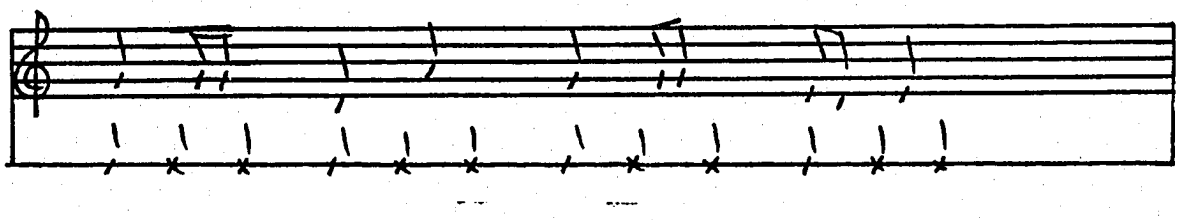
while the free textual time line constitutes only eight percent of our sample of Hausa songs.

Dagomba

Except for four songs, all Dagomba compositions included in this study are organized on either a twelve or twenty-four beat time span. Taakaa sannu (nine beats--see D28 and D66) by Mahama and Sulemana; Iddrisu's performance of Allah yaa (eight beats); and Mahama's version of Barrhaza (12+8 beats) constitute the only exceptions. Why the Ya Na's processional music is based on nine beats is not known. In fact, it is the only composition in the study with a nine-beat melodic pattern.

If Allah yaa were performed by a more accomplished fiddler, it is doubtful that the song would be based on eight beats. For example, if the song were performed by the Yamba Na gondze ensemble, the following changes might be evident:

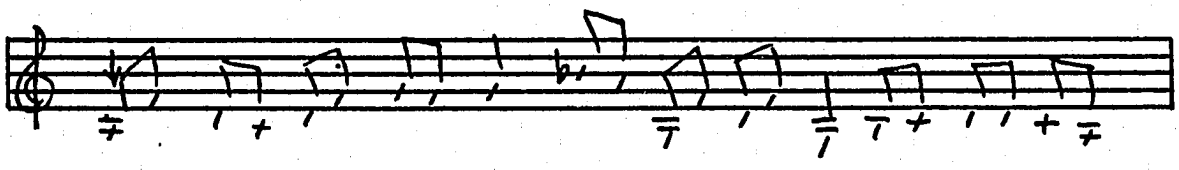
Figure 93. Allah yaa



The performance of Barrhaza is not a norm in the Dagomba tradition. Mahama uses extremely free melodic lines for this composition. For example, most of the first part of the composition is based on the following 12-beat melodic pattern (see Figure 94):

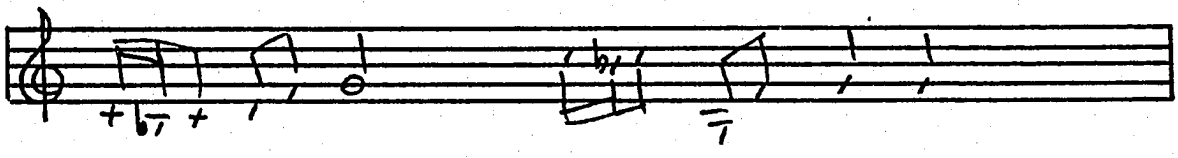
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Figure 94. Barrhaza by Mahama, Theme A, measure 3



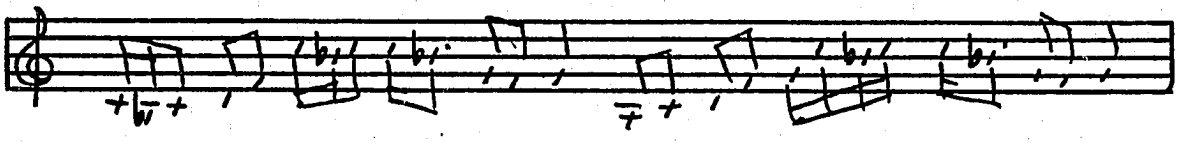
But during the middle section of Barrhaza, another melody based on eight beats, is more prominent (see Figure 95);

Figure 95. Barrhaza by Mahama, Theme D, measure 13



Then towards the end of the composition Mahama extends and modifies the middle section eight-beat pattern (Figure 95) to a twelve-beat arrangement (see Figure 96):

Figure 96. Barrhaza by Mahama, measure 29



Expansions and diminutions of melodic material in the middle section of songs do not appear to be an important aspect of the Dagomba fiddle tradition. Evidence of the diminution technique seems to be limited to the introduction or opening section of gondze compositions. For example, Mahama commonly uses a portion of the main melody to introduce a composition--see Figures 97A and 97B:

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Figure 97A. Opening section of Yeda binbeim (D31), measures 1-2

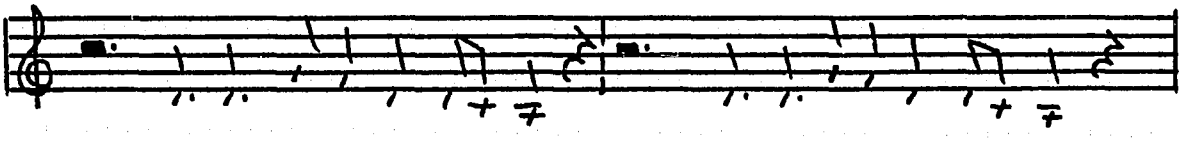
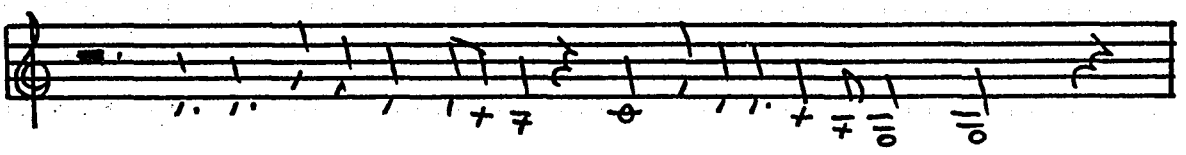


Figure 97B. Theme from Yeda binbeim (D31), measure 3

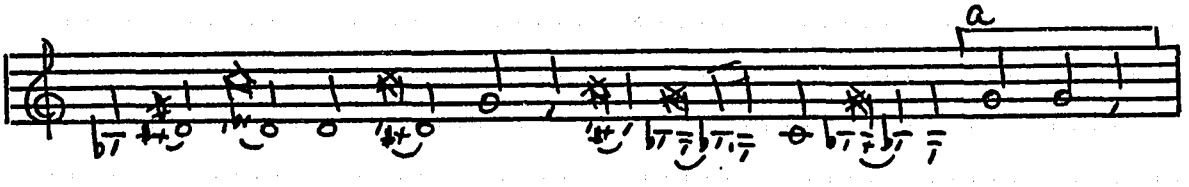


Measures 1 and 2 of the opening section of Yeda binbeim are derived from the first 12 beats of the theme. Rather than present the entire thematic melody, Mahama reduces the figure, a technique characteristic of Mahama's fiddle style. Even Alhassan's group who also performed Yeda binbeim (D6), introduce the song by presenting the entire theme and not a portion of it. Some performers, when introducing a song, tend to begin with the last part of the melody and slide into the "theme-proper" (see Figures 98A and 98B).

Figure 98A. From Banchendi by Lali, measure 1



Figure 98B. From Banchendi by Lali, measure 2



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What Lali has done in the above is to play the last five beats of the "theme-proper" before introducing the first portion of the main melody. In Mahama's rendition of the same song, he uses a different technique (see Figures 99A and 99B). As in Yeda binbeim, he begins by introducing the first portion of the theme, and then modifies and combines that with another phrase from the main melody.

Figure 99 A. From Banchendi by Mahama, measure 1

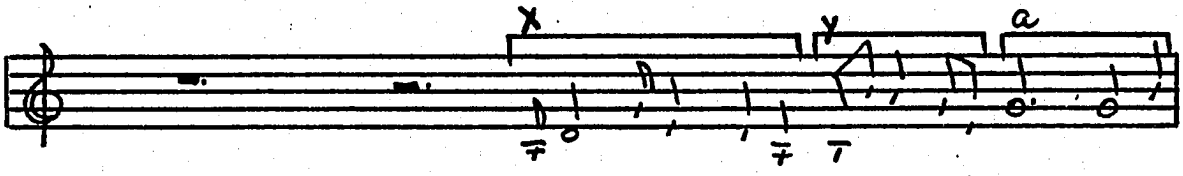
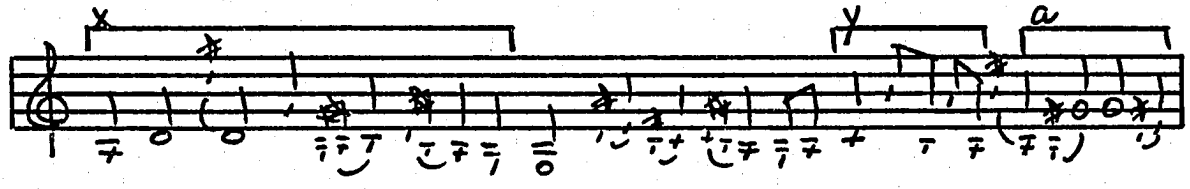


Figure 99 B. From Banchendi by Mahama, measure 2



As is evident from the above, Mahama's version of the opening section is much more elaborate. Whereas Lali performs only the last five beats (see a in Figures 98A and 98B), Mahama extracts certain portions of the melody (x, y, and a) to develop an extremely complex opening section and abbreviated form of the main melody.

Neither diminution nor expansion of the length of melodies is used prominently in the middle section of Dagomba compositions. On occasion certain portions of the melodic line are omitted in gondze songs, especially while the vocalist sings, so as to allow for the vocal part to be heard (see Figures 100A and 100B).

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Figure 100A. Melodic time line from Naanigoo (D38), measure 4
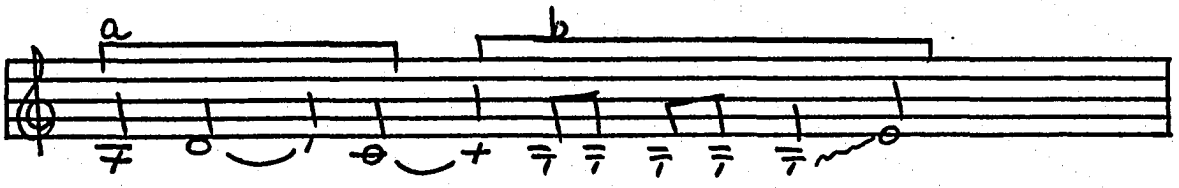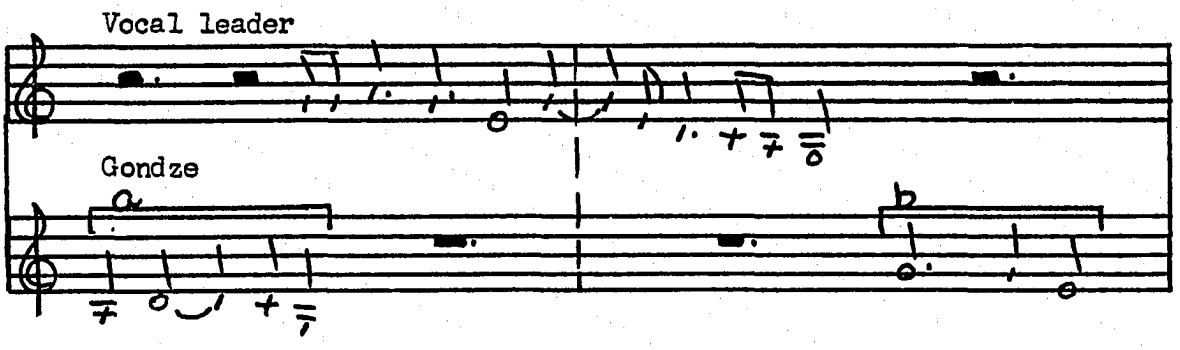


Figure 100B. Naanigoo (D38), measures 5-6



Because of the vocalist's statement, the fiddler omits the b part of the melody in measure 5 and the a part in measure 6. This omission is not regarded as a reduction or abbreviated form of the theme because the ostinato pattern is still used as the framework for the melody. This differs from the opening section of songs in which the melody is reduced and becomes a separate entity within itself without the ostinato pattern being used as the basis for organization.

The only real examples of a diminution or reduction in the length of melodies during the middle section of a gondze song appear in Ya Sabo (D48) and Wanzam waa (D50). In the former Mahama reduces the 24-beat melodic line to 12 beats (see Figures 101A and 101B).

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Figure 101A. Ya Sabo by Mahama, measure 6

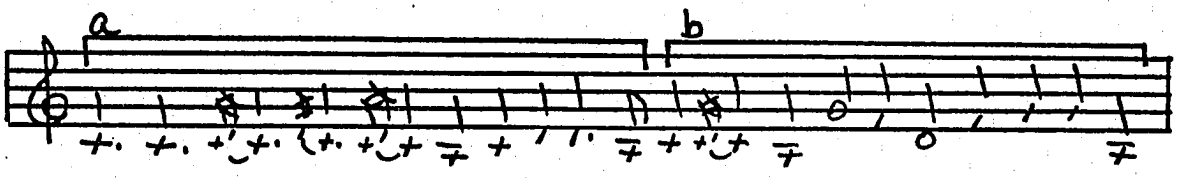
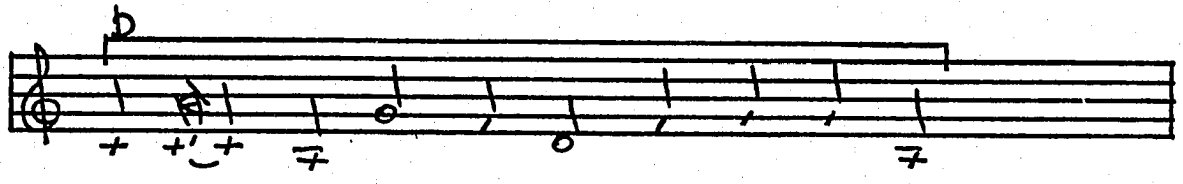


Figure 101B. Ya Sabo by Mahama, measure 7



The abbreviated melody in Figure 101B (see b) is actually the last 12 beats of the "theme proper" and becomes the melody for the new melodic time line in measure 7. Hence, the "theme proper" is no longer based on 24 but 12 beats from measure 7 to the end of the song. In Wanzam waa Mahama reduces a 12-beat melodic line to 8 beats; see Figures 102A and 102B:

Figure 102A. Wanzam waa by Mahama, measure 7

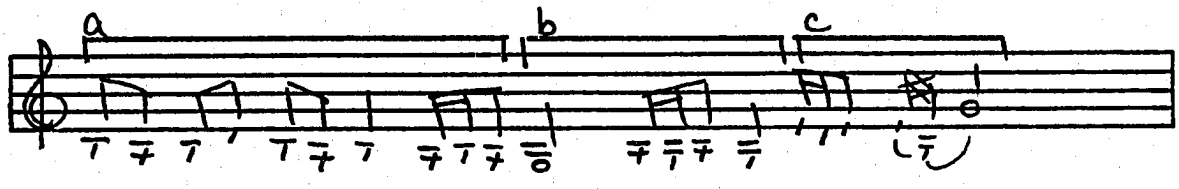
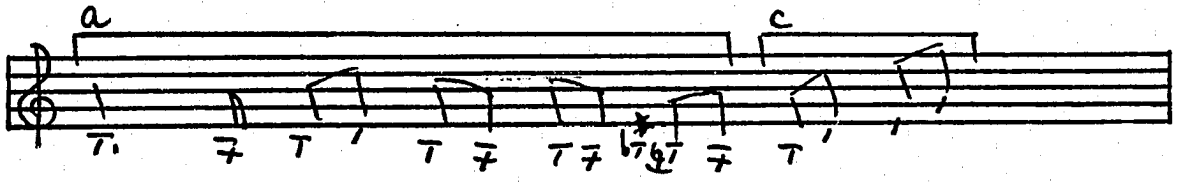


Figure 102B. Wanzam waa by Mahama, measure 42



Mahama, by modifying the a and c sections and omitting the b section of Figure 102A, develops an 8-beat melodic variant (see Figure 102B).

The one example of a theme or melody which has been extended or expanded is evident in Barrhaza by Mahama (see Figures 95 and 96); Mahama increases an 8-beat melodic pattern to 12 beats.

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The above three examples are the only instances in which melodies have been lengthened or abbreviated in Dagomba fiddle songs. That so few examples are evident only demonstrate that such techniques do not appear to be commonly used within the gondze tradition. Moreover, Mahama appears to be the only forerunner of all interviewed fiddlers to use with these techniques.

It can be concluded then that 90% of Dagomba compositions in our sample are based on either a twenty-four or twelve beat time line (45% for each). Only three percent have an eight-beat time span. The nine-beat pattern in Taakaa sannu and Bruso (the same songs with different names), constitutes about five percent of the fiddle songs.

Phrasing

Hausa

Among the Hausa the interchange of phrases between fiddler and vocalists is arranged in such a way that the chorus comes in only afer the fiddler has performed his complete statement. For example, see the phrasing in Figure 103A and 103B below:

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Figure 103A. Fiddle statement, Banjo (H1), measures 8-9

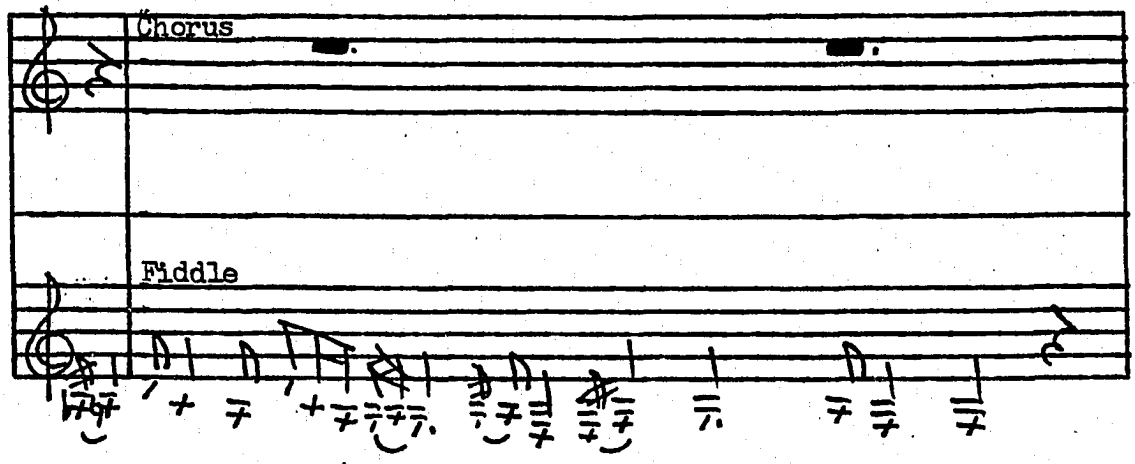
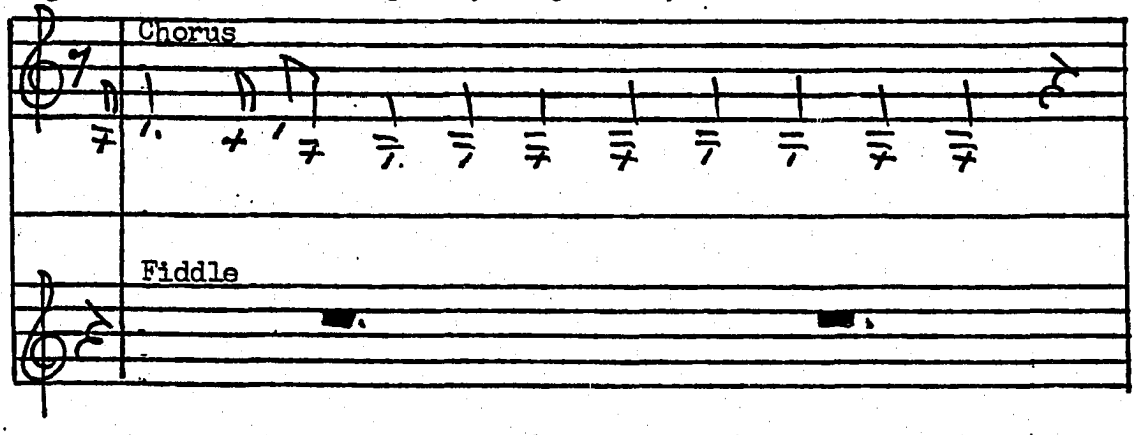


Figure 103B. Choral response, Banjo (H1), measures 9-10



Just as the chorus keep silent for the fiddler, so does the fiddler, except for brief moments here and there or where overlapping of call and response effect is desired (see Figures 104A and 104B). In Figure 104B notice that the fiddler does not repeat the entire choral statement; he enters only during the last eight beats of measure 21 in preparation for his subsequent statement.

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Figure 104A. Fiddle statement, Barrahaza (H2), measures 18-19

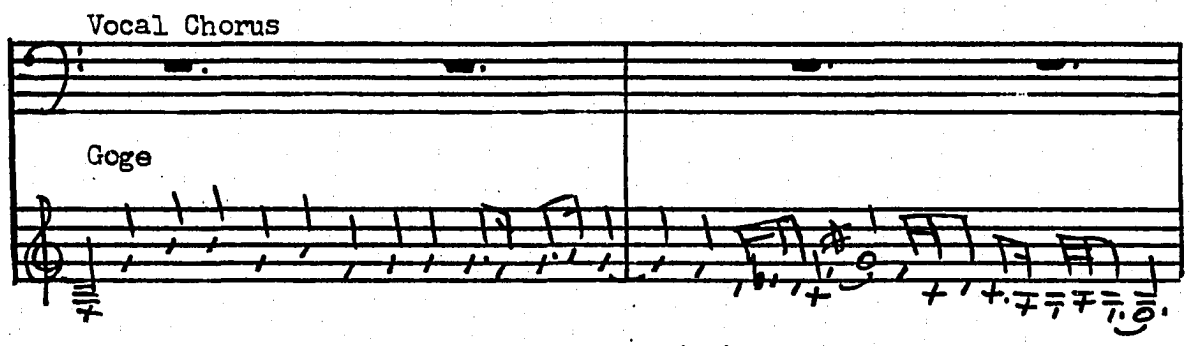
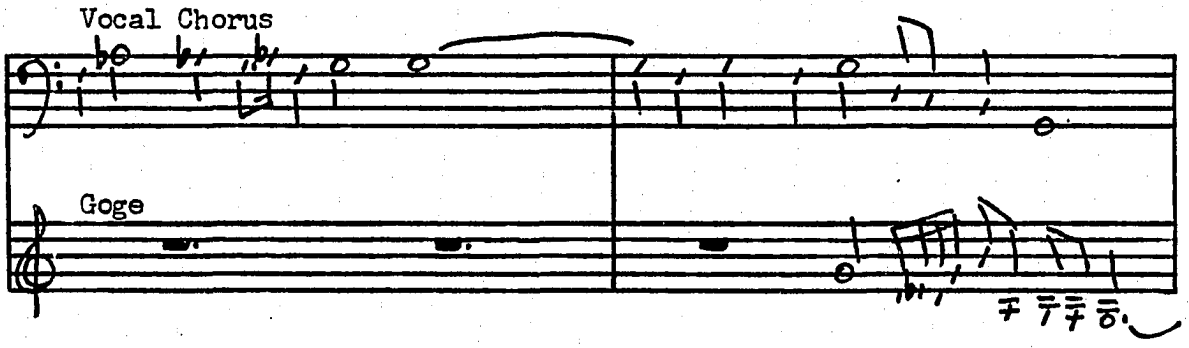


Figure 104B. Choral response, Barrahaza (H2), measures 20-21



Due to the highly ornamental and sometimes florid nature of the goge statement, oftentimes the chorus do not repeat the goge "call" in exactly the same form. They reproduce the basic tones of the phrase or the text from which the fiddle part is derived. Also, when more than one individual performs, variation and modification of the melody has to be limited to avoid confusion or chaos in the choral response (see Figures 104 and 105):

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Figure 105A. Wakakai by Landi (H7), Goge statement, measure 23

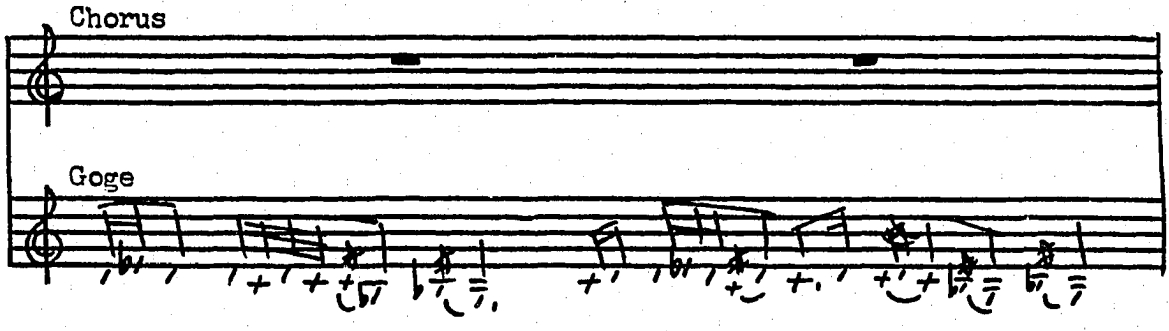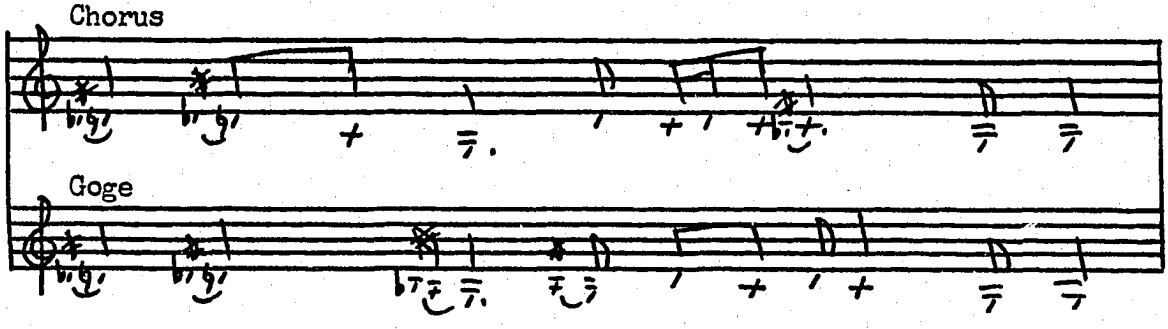


Figure 105B. Wakakai by Landi (H7), Choral response, measure 24



Landi's phrasing in measures 23-24 of Wakakai (Figures 105A and 105B) differs from Figure 104 in that he repeats the entire choral response along with the vocalist. Notice that his melodic accompaniment in measure 24 is much simpler in construction than the initial goge statement in measure 23. In addition, in the fiddler's effort not to overshadow the part of the vocalist, the volume or dynamics of the fiddle sound (although not indicated in the transcription) is much softer in measure 24 in comparison to measure 23 when Landi performs alone.

Other times a goge performer uses both phrasing techniques in one composition. In Leo's performance of Ali mai (H11) he performs the fiddle along with with the chorus approximately six times during the course of the composition (see measures 19-20, 25, 27, 44, 75, and 83).

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It appears that he uses several phrasing techniques in one composition for a number of reasons: (1) a means for variation and improvisation; (2) an opportunity to further develop melodic material; and (3) to give a hint to the chorus that he wants to begin a new theme, variant theme or improvisatory interlude section. In measures 19-20, 25, 44, and 83 the first reason seems to be the primary purpose for playing during the choral response, whereas at measure 27, Leo uses this opportunity to include additional material to his fiddle statement. At measure 75 evidence indicates that Leo gives a hint to the chorus that he is preparing for the interlude, if not the interlude, some type of change from the previous material; notice that between measures 76-81 Leo performs a highly ornamental interlude.

When a fiddler accompanies the chorus during the chorus response, it may not be because he wants to make the music sound aesthetically more beautiful, but because the vocalist does not know the goge statement or appears to have forgotten it. Such was the case in the performance of Kidan Sarki Kano by Landi. At one point Landi played the choral response very loudly on the fiddle along with the vocalist. When this did not bring about the desired result, Landi began to sing and play along with the vocalist. Eventually Landi went into an improvisatory closing section and ended the song.

Another less common technique used by Hausa fiddlers is to present a portion of the melody and let the chorus either continue with the remainder of it (see Figure 106), or repeat the entire melodic passage or an expansion of it (Figure 107).

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Figure 106. Demonstration of Hausa Phrasing
Kidan Kanawa (H8), measure 5

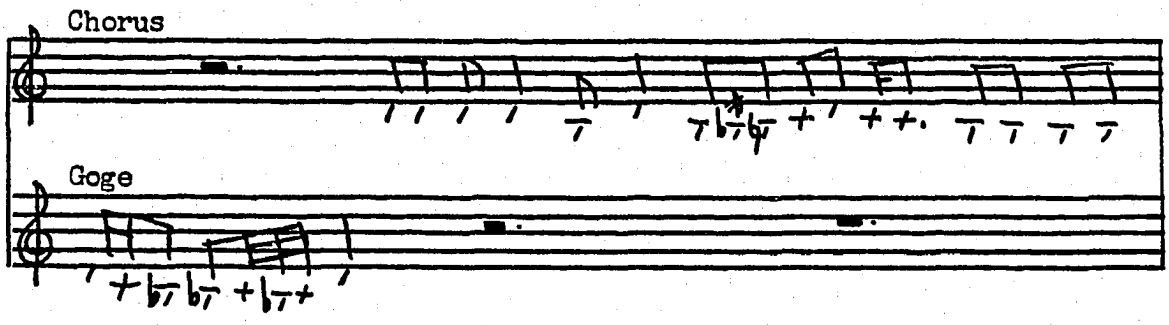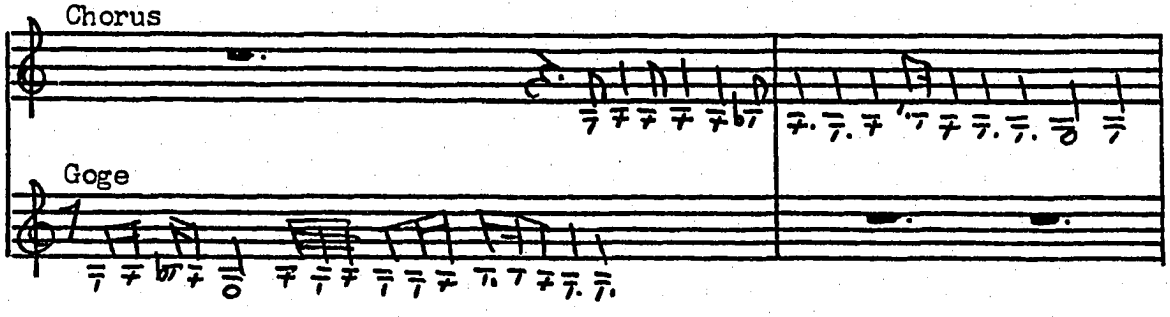


Figure 107. Demonstration of Hausa Phrasing
Sarkin mallamai (H12), measures 39-40



What the chorus do to increase the length of the statement in Figure 107 is to modify both the melodic and rhythmic structure. By using longer note values (eighth, quarter, and dotted-quarter notes) instead of rapid sixteenth notes, the phrase is lengthened from approximately nine (goge) to sixteen beats (chorus). The addition of the D^4-B^3 motive (see beat 5 in measure 40), also increases the length and changes the contour of the melody. That both goge and choral statements in Figure 107 descend in pitch at the end of the melodies demonstrate that the two passages are separate entities.

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Dagomba

In the Dagomba fiddle tradition, melodic phrases are performed in different sections by three participants: fiddler, lead vocal, and chorus. The fiddler's phrase serves as the basis for other melodic phrases; his role in the gondze group might be compared to that of the bell player of the West African drum ensemble who provides a time line, for he usually repeats an ostinato melody from which the lead vocalist and chorus derive melodic motives.

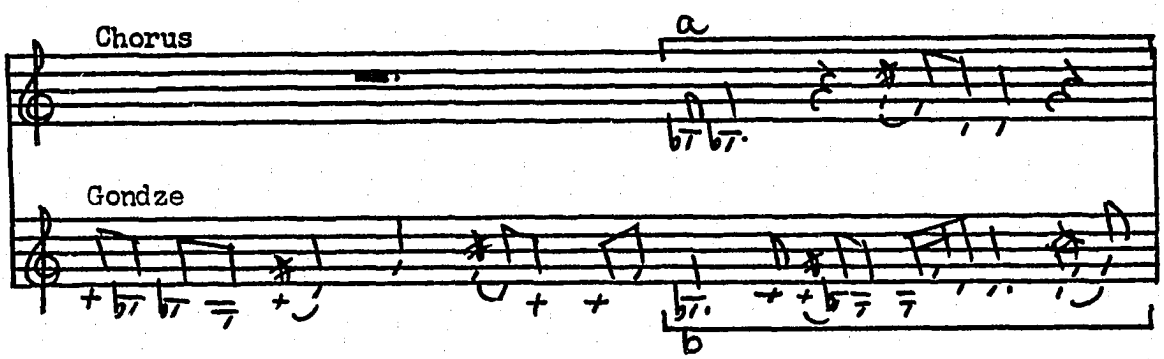
One of the primary reasons for the distinctive differences in musical production by fiddlers in the two traditions is based on logistics. Like the Hausa chorus who has to limit its musical responses to simple utterances because of the number of people participating, Dagomba fiddlers find themselves in the same position. To vary too much from the melodic line would probably result in cacophony to the Dagomba listener. The same is also true for the Dagomba chorus, as will be shown below; their melodic phrases are extremely simple and repetitive because a large number of people participate and cannot all serve as soloists.

Within the gondze tradition the repetitive statement by the chorus is regarded as the "chorus." When Mahama translated the gondze text (mixture of Dagbani, Hausa, and Gourmanche) into Dagbani, he indicated that the melodic passage by singers should be referred to as "chorus." This is the reason that, in much of the text (see Appendix E), some textual lines are labeled "chorus" upon Mahama's directions. Unfortunately, the Dagbani term for "chorus" is unknown to me.[11]

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The role of the chorus in a gondze ensemble might be compared to the secondary drummers in the West African drum ensemble. They, like the fiddler, usually repeat an ostinato melodic phrase which is a variant of the fiddler's line. For example, in all three versions of the Nantoh ostinato melodic line by Alhassan, Lali, and Sulemana--D4, D10, and D57 respectively--the choruses repeat only a short phrase of the entire passage; compare the passage in Figure 108 with similar passages in D10 and D57.

Figure 108. Ostinato patterns by vocal chorus and fiddle in Nantoh (D4) by Alhassan, measure 5



Both the gondze and chorus are performing a given or set melody, but it should also be noted that the melody sung by the chorus (see a) is a derivative from the last six beats of the fiddler's statement (see b in Figure 108).

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Only the lead vocalist has some degree of freedom to develop, modify, or change melodic phrases; his job is somewhat comparable to the lead drummer in the drum ensemble. It must be remembered when discussing the division of labor in gondze ensembles that the lead vocalist also serves as lead fiddler--thus, one individual performs both roles. Observe some of the lead vocalist's statements in Nantoh by Alhassan. Although melodies have been obviously derived from the fiddler's ostinato, the manner in which they are presented demonstrates some degree of freedom and improvisation.

Because three different parts are combined in Dagomba melodies, the structure of phrases is much more complex and varied than that used in Hausa songs, for from the analysis of the thirty-eight Dagomba fiddle songs it appears that at least five phrasing techniques are used.

First, one of the simpler phrasing techniques seems to be the statement of a melodic phrase by the lead vocalist, which is then repeated by the chorus. For an example of this phrase structure see Dan-mo (D1) by Abu, measures 2-4. In measure 2, as fiddlers repeat the 24-beat melodic time span, the lead vocalist begins his statement on beat 17 of measure 2 and continues to beat 11 of measure 3. The chorus repeats the same statement beginning at beat 16 of measure 3 through beat 11 of measure 4. A similar structure occurs in measures 4-6. Of course, during all of the statements the fiddler maintains his ostinato pattern.

This particular phrasing technique is used far more frequently in the Dagomba tradition than the other techniques. Oftentimes a lead vocalist would sing the part for the "chorus" once or twice to ensure

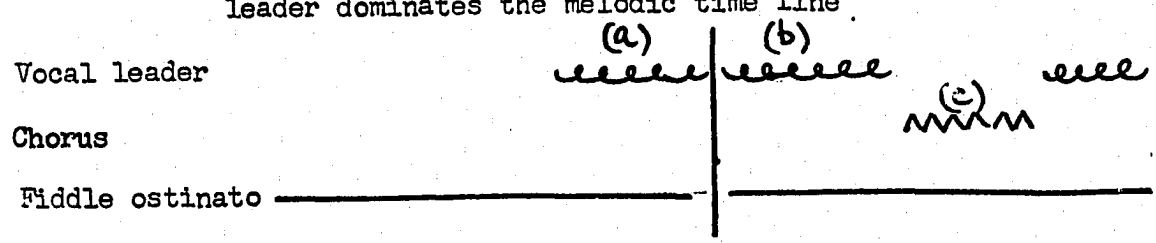
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that everyone in the group knows it and can repeat it at appropriate intervals when he begins to improvise. In a way his his approach is like that of the lead drummer in a West African drum ensemble, who starts by playing the ostinato part for the bell and rhythmic parts for the secondary drummers before commencing his own improvisatory rhythms. As the Dagomba vocal leader also serves as fiddler, he is more or less the conductor of the ensemble.

Although the technique described above is similar to that used by Hausa fiddlers, the underlying purpose of this technique in both traditions differs. Whereas the structure constitutes the basis or foundation for the organization of Hausa melodies, the device is only one of several structures used by the Dagomba. Moreover, its incorporation into the composition serves not only an aesthetic function, but also a practical one--to maintain accuracy during the performance.

A second phrasing technique used in the gondze tradition is the use of a short repetitive motif by the chorus and longer phrases by the lead vocalist. As a result the vocal leader, excluding the fiddle part,tends to dominate the melodic line, while the chorus has a much more subordinate role. For example, if a graphic description of this technique were to be created it might look like the design in Figure 109.

Figure 109. Graphic description of phrase structure in which vocal leader dominates the melodic time line.



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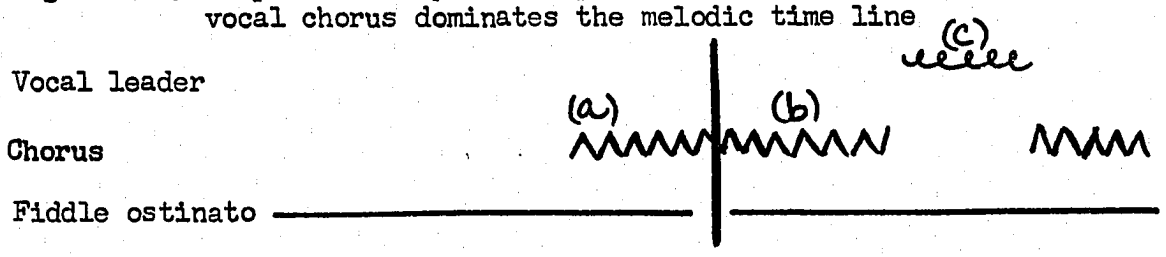
An example of the phrasing diagramed in Figure 109 is found in all three version of Nantoh (D4, D10, and D57). In all examples the chorus repeats a very short phrase (see c), usually derived from the fiddler's statement, while the lead vocalist improvises. What is interesting about the lead vocalist part is that his statement begins towards the end of the fiddler's melodic time line (see a) and overlaps into the beginning of the second time line (see b). The above phrasing is not the only one used. Sometimes the lead vocalist begins in the middle and the chorus' statement overlaps into the fiddler's subsequent time line such as the case with Bawuna by Alhassan. Regardless of the entrances, the main point in this phrasing technique is that the "chorus" is much shorter in comparison to the vocal leader's statements.

To obtain an idea about the improvisatory nature of the lead vocalist's statements, see Nantoh by Lali (D10). At some points the vocal leader performs in a heterophonic style with the fiddle part--see last beats of measure 3 and beats 3-5 of measure 5. Other times the lead vocalist's passage differs completely from the fiddler's time line--see beats 11-12 of measure 2 and 1-3 of measure 3.

In the third phrasing technique used by Dagomba fiddle musicians the chorus dominates the melodic line, while the lead vocalist performs a short motivic phrase. A graphic description of this technique is evident in Figure 110.

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Figure 110. Graphic description of phrase structure in which the vocal chorus dominates the melodic time line

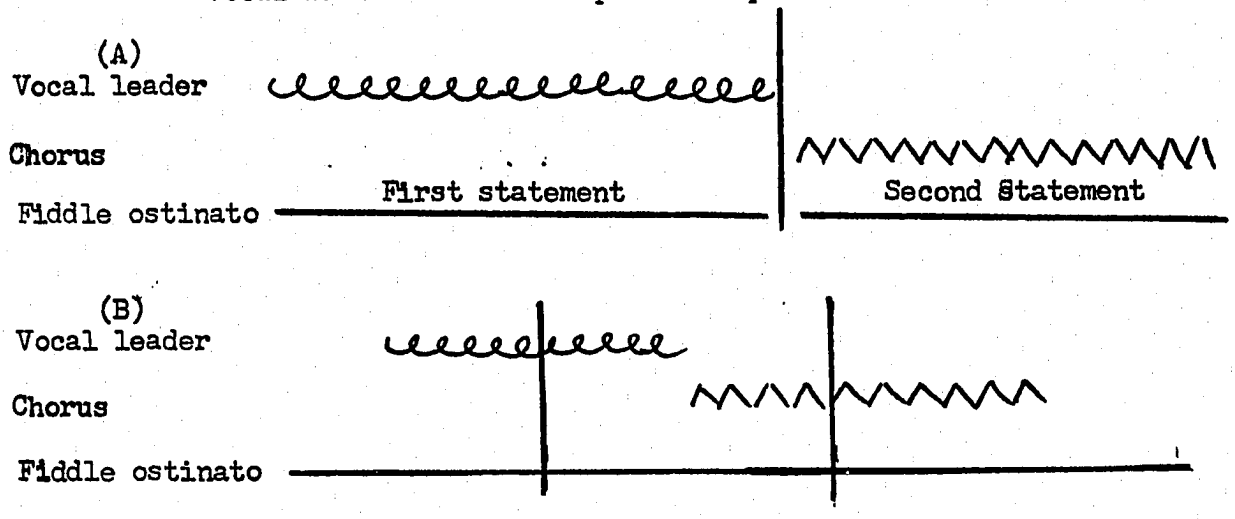


An example of the third technique will be found in Sakoro (D46) by Mahama. The vocal leader performs a very short passage in the time line in comparison to the chorus. This phrasing is similar to the second in that the chorus enters toward the end (see a) of the fiddler's statement, overlapping with the beginning of the gondze subsequent statement (see b). Only once during Sarkoro does the lead vocalist commence his statement at the end of the fiddle line and continues to the subsequent fiddle statement (see measures 8-9). It should be noted, however, that this phrasing is found in only one of the analyzed Dagomba songs.

The most common phrase structure of the thirty-eight samples used by Dagomba musicians is one in which both the vocal leader and chorus assume equal roles and perform passages of the same length. Usually at least two complete fiddler's statements are performed before the vocal parts begin to alternate with the fiddle (see Figure 111).

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Figure 111. Graphic description of Dagomba phrasing in which vocal leader and chorus perform equal roles



The point at which vocalists begin their statements in the fiddler's line varies--some at the beginning as shown in Figure 111A, others towards the middle and overlapping to the following fiddle line as demonstrated in Figure 111B.

With this technique as well as the preceding ones, vocalists are not obligated to sing during each fiddle ostinato pattern. Sometimes the lead vocalist rests while fiddlers play as many as one or more statements. On some occasions the chorus also omit statements and enter only after the lead vocalist has made a statement; this occurs more often when few chorus members perform. When a number of people sing, the "chorus" ostinato is continuously repeated regardless of the lead vocalist's utterances.

Finally, there is the part structure that involves only one fiddler who also serves as vocalist. In this case the fiddler's melodic line represents the "chorus" and the vocal improvisatory part is sung. For example, compositions by Iddrisu (D8), Mahama (D27, D28, D50, and D51), and Sulemana (D56) include this phrase structure. In Dunia taali

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by Sulemana (D56), the melody is first performed on the fiddle followed by a vocal response. This type of alternation occurs throughout the song.

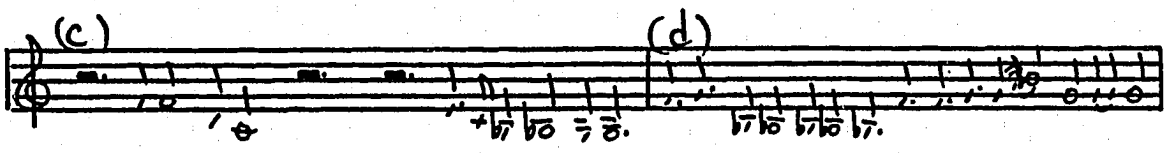
In the above discussion emphasis has been placed on the relationship of vocalists to each other without much mention of what happens to the fiddler's time line. The fiddler may vary the ostinato melody, especially when he serves as the only fiddler and lead vocalist. Secondly, because of the difficulty in performing two roles, the fiddler may create resting points in the ostinato to enable him to sing the lead vocal part. Some performers sometimes leave out the entire passage (see measures 9 and 11 of D6). Evidence of this practice also occurs in several compositions by Mahama (see D27, D30, D31, and D43).

The technique described above may also be used in an ensemble that includes more than one fiddler, for example, in Yeda binbeim by Alhassan (D6) in which three fiddlers performed. The phrasing is demonstrated in Figure 112 below.

Figure 112A. Fiddle ostinato pattern for Yeda binbeim (D6) by Alhassan, measures 1-2
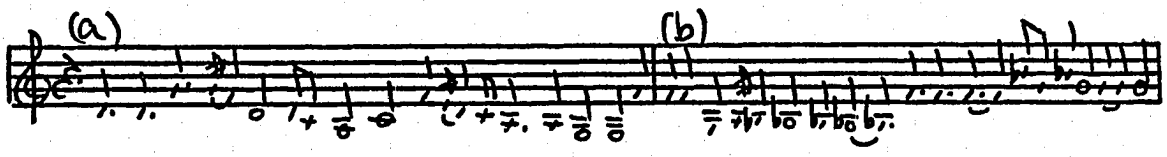


Figure 112B. Fiddle ostinato pattern with omissions (rests) for Yeda binbeim (D6) by Alhassan, measures 7-8



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The passage in (a--see Figure 112) accompanies the lead vocalist's statement, while (b) serves as the "chorus" response. In (c) some portions of the melody have been omitted by the performer, What remains is a mere skeleton which suggests the actual time line. In (d) the "chorus" is repeated almost in tact.

Overlapping of the melodic lines of the fiddler and the vocal leader, or the fiddler and the chorus is a common occurrence in gondze ensembles. What appears to be rare is overlapping between chorus and and lead vocalist. The latter occurs spasmodically in seven of the 38 compositions. In the performance of Bawuna by Sulemana (D58), the overlappings are prominent because the "chorus" sings for the whole duration of the time line. In Alhassan's version of the same song (Bawuna, D5), few overlappings between vocal leader and chorus take place primarily because the "chorus" is not extended in the above manner.

In general because of the number of people who perform melodic roles in Dagomba gondze, phrasing is much more complex and varied in comparison to the usage of the Hausa. Dagomba musicians use the techniques we have noted quite freely. They may incorporate several of them in one and the same composition or apply them individually in particular pieces. For example in Karinbana-dana (D43), we find overlapping between vocal leader and chorus (measure 11), omission by fiddler during the lead vocalist's statement (measures 3, 5, 7, 9, and 11), and the use of phrase of equal length for "chorus" and vocal leader. On the other hand only one technique is used in Dunia taali (D56) by Sulemana--that is, variation by the lead vocalist, while the "chorus" is performed solely by the fiddler.

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In all the forms of the linear phrasing discussed so far attention has been focused on the vertical interrelationship of the melodic parts. It now remains to consider the horizontal arrangement of melodies and the problem of entry points within the fiddle time line. Vocal melodies rarely begin on the strong beat of the time line--that is, either beats 1, 4, 7, or 10. Rather, melodies by both Hausa and Dagomba vocalists begin on beats not emphasized by the percussion. Among the Dagomba, it should be indicated that the vocal leader begins many of his melodies on the weak beat of the time line, while the chorus enters equally on strong and weak beats.

Different results are apparent in fiddle melodies. The goge introduces most of his statements on a weak beat. The majority of melodies performed by Dagomba fiddlers begin on strong beats of the rhythm. Melodies in Jabula (H4) and Sakpaleinga (D29) demonstrate the strong beat entrance for fiddle and chorus. Ali mai (H11) and Bawuna (D5) show evidence of themes beginning on the weak beat of the time line.

A feature in Dagomba melodies, especially vocal parts, which seems to be absent in the Hausa tradition is the use of resting points in the middle of a phrase, or the breaking up of a phrase into two sections with an intervening silence. There is usually a rise in pitch at the end of the first section so the listener automatically knows that the phrase is not complete (see Figure 113).

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Figure 113A. Demonstration of break (pause) in Dagomba vocal phrase, Nantoh by Alhassan (D4), measures 7-8

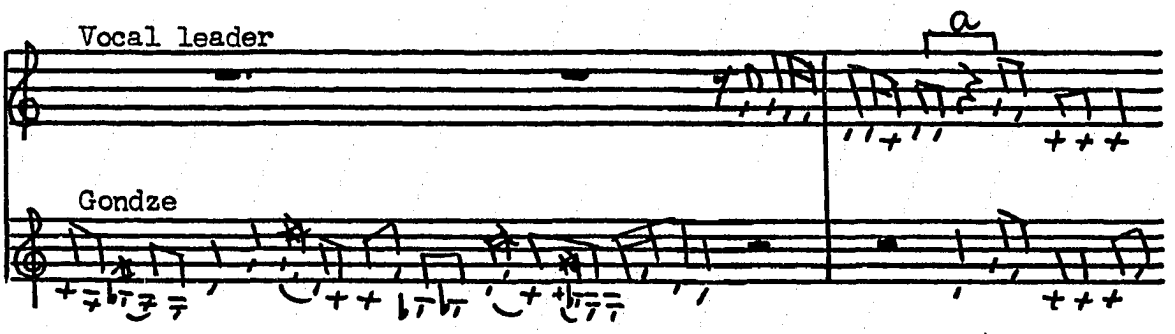
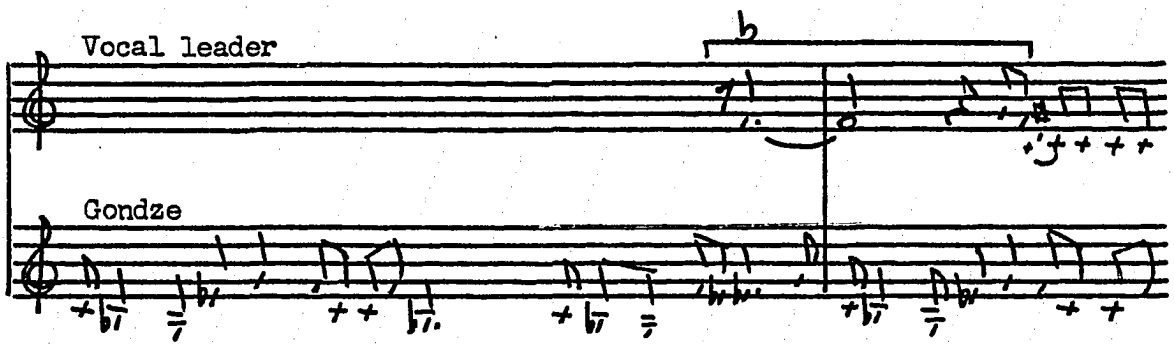


Figure 113B. Demonstration of break (pause) in Dagomba vocal phrase, Nantoh by Sulemana (D57), measures 27-28



At beat three (see a) in measure 8 of Figure 113A, the vocalist pauses before continuing with the passage. If the last passage or section were not performed, the phrase would sound incomplete. The two sections, therefore, must be performed together in order to form a complete statement.

A variant of this technique occurs when the vocalist performs a long sustained note during the entire first section and then sings the final section with a falling melodic movement. Evidence of this can be seen in Figure 133B (see b). A pause or rest also occurs in some choral phrases (see D4 measures 3, 5, 6,; D10 measure 4, and Figure 108).

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Pauses or rests in the melody normally correlate with the end of sense groups in the texts of melodies, and which in speech may be marked by pauses (or commas in the written text). Often, when a musical pause is introduced, the singer is addressing an individual, a group of people, pointing to an object, and so forth. For example, a melodic pause might be used when the following text is sung:

Sulemana, you are powerful.

In the musical rendition the performer could pause or rest between the notes used for "Sulemana" and "you."

Melodic Character

Hausa

In all Hausa songs analyzed for this study secondary tones and embellishments appear more prominently in the improvisatory sections of compositions; see Figures 114-119. Notice that in all improvisatory sections extremely florid melodic passages are used--a lot of 16th, 32nd, and 64th notes. Landi's introduction of Wakakai surpasses all of the examples in terms of the use of secondary tones (indicated with the symbol [x]) and ornamentation. He emphasizes the G^b, embellishing pitch 1 of the mode more than other tones. A similar technique is used in Figure 114 by Haruna, but in this case, only two other secondary tones are used in the passage. Because pitch 1 is more embellished than other tones in these few examples, this does not mean that other notes are not ornamented. In fact pitch one is not embellished at all in Figure 119; rather, other degrees of the mode have been ornamented. What appears to be similar in all of these samples, however, is that one secondary tone is more prominently emphasized than

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Figure 114. Opening section of Banjo by Haruna (H1), measures 1-4
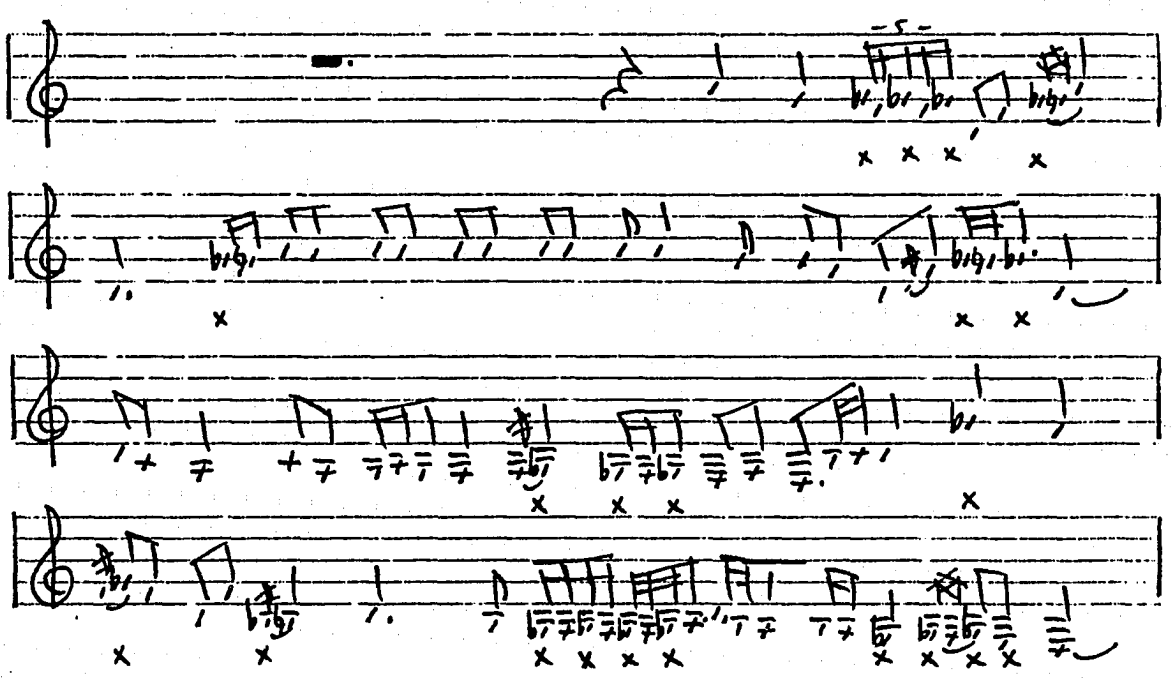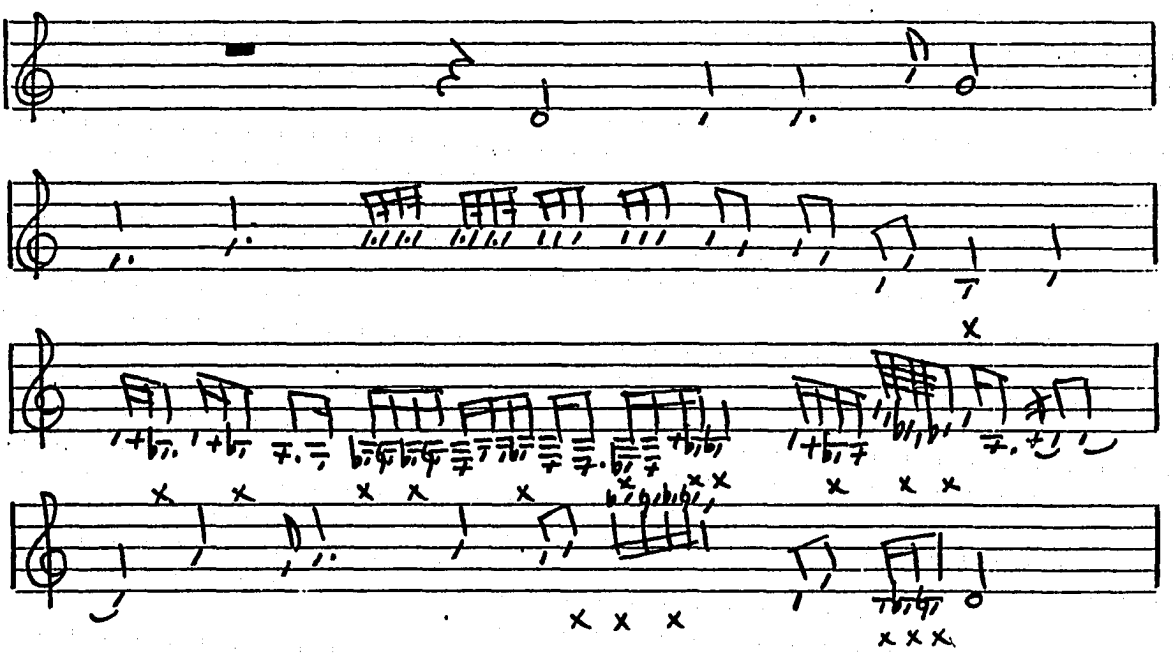


Figure 115. Opening section of Barrahaza by Haruna (H2), measures 1-4



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Figure 116. Opening section of Jabula by Haruna (H4), measures 1-2

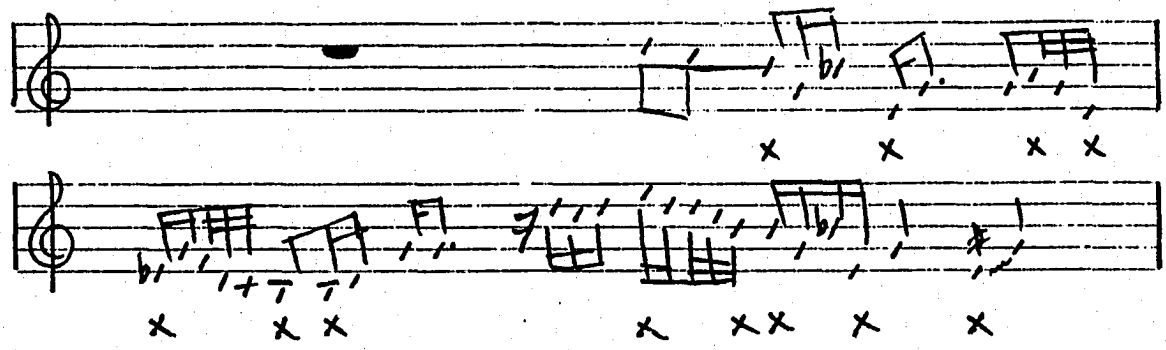
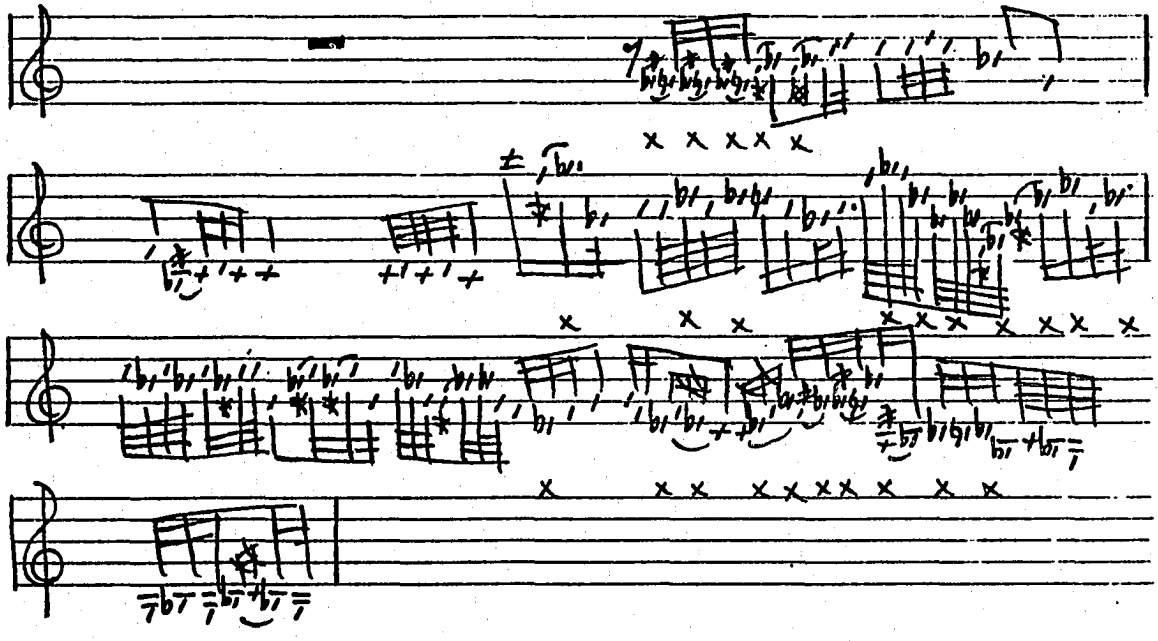


Figure 117. Opening section of Wakakai by Landi (H7), measures 1-3



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Figure 118. Closing section of Kidan Kanawa by Landi (H8), measures 24-26
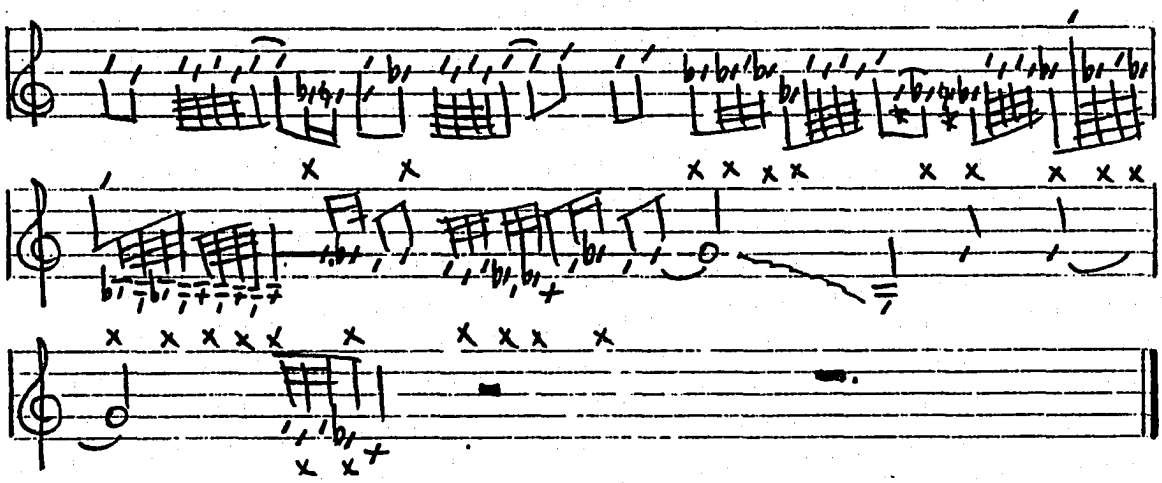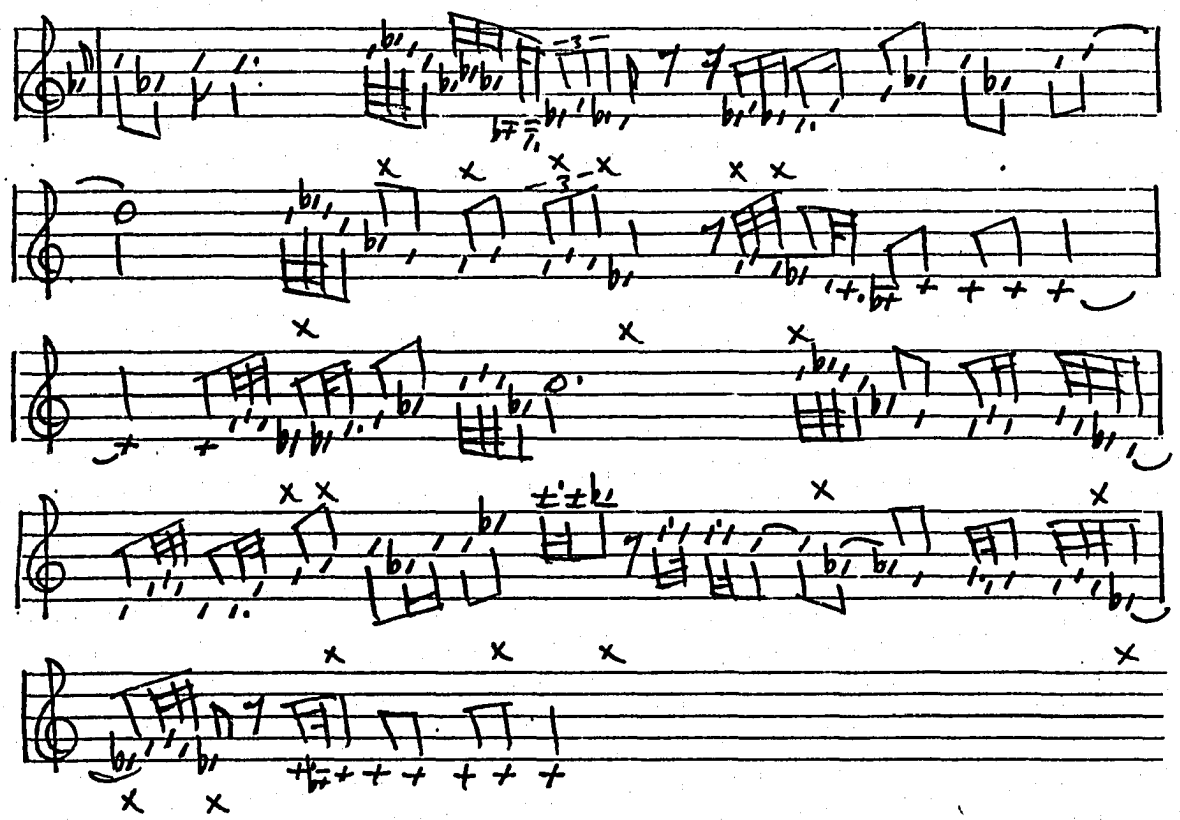


Figure 119. Interlude section of Ali mai. . . by Liyo (H11), measures 33-37



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others in each passage. For example, whereas pitch 1 is most embellished in Figures 114 and 117; pitches 2 and 5 are given more attention in Figures 115 and 119, respectively. Performers, therefore, do give more prominence to specific primary tones of the mode than others--all are emphasized to some degree in the various improvisatory passages throughout the composition.

Fiddle themes occuring in the middle section of Hausa songs are not as ornamented. For example, compare Figure 123 with 117. Not nearly as many florid passages or secondary tones are evident in Landi's theme as in the opening improvisation. Melodies by Haruna appear to be simpler than those by other fiddlers. Compare all of Haruna's themes (Figures 120-122) with themes by other performers (Figures 123-128). From the analysis of phrases it has already been established that vocal melodies are less florid and simpler in construction than fiddle melodies.

Obviously, the individual performer's fiddling style is the determining factor in the complexity of melodies. Yet, in Haruna's case there seems to be something more. His repertoire includes songs from each song type--entertainment (H1 and H4), possession (H2), and praise (H3). The melodic structure of the latter (imitation of kakaki) has already been discussed and need not be recepitulated here (see pages 469-472). But a definite peculiarity of style appears in the entertainment--especially Jabula--and possession song types. The melody and rhythm of the song in honor of James Brown are so simple that they appear out of character for a goge melody. The melody is performed in a limited pitch range, the rhythm is based on a very strict duple meter,

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Figure 120. Theme A from Banjo by Haruna (H1), measure 7

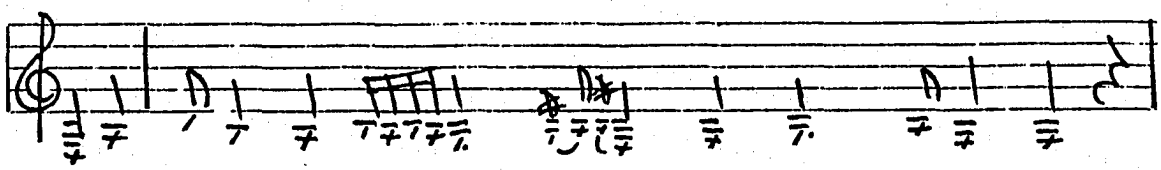
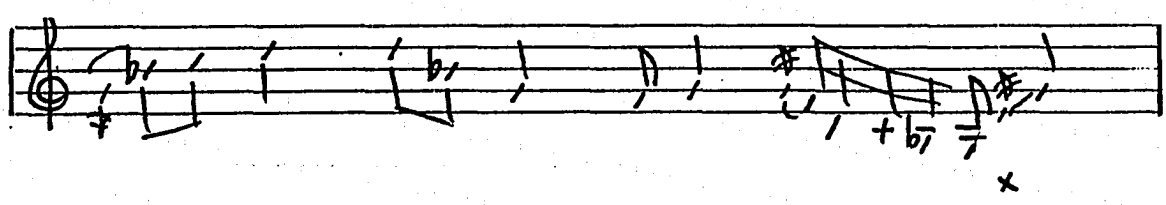


Figure 121. Theme A from Barrahaza by Haruna (H2), measures 8-12
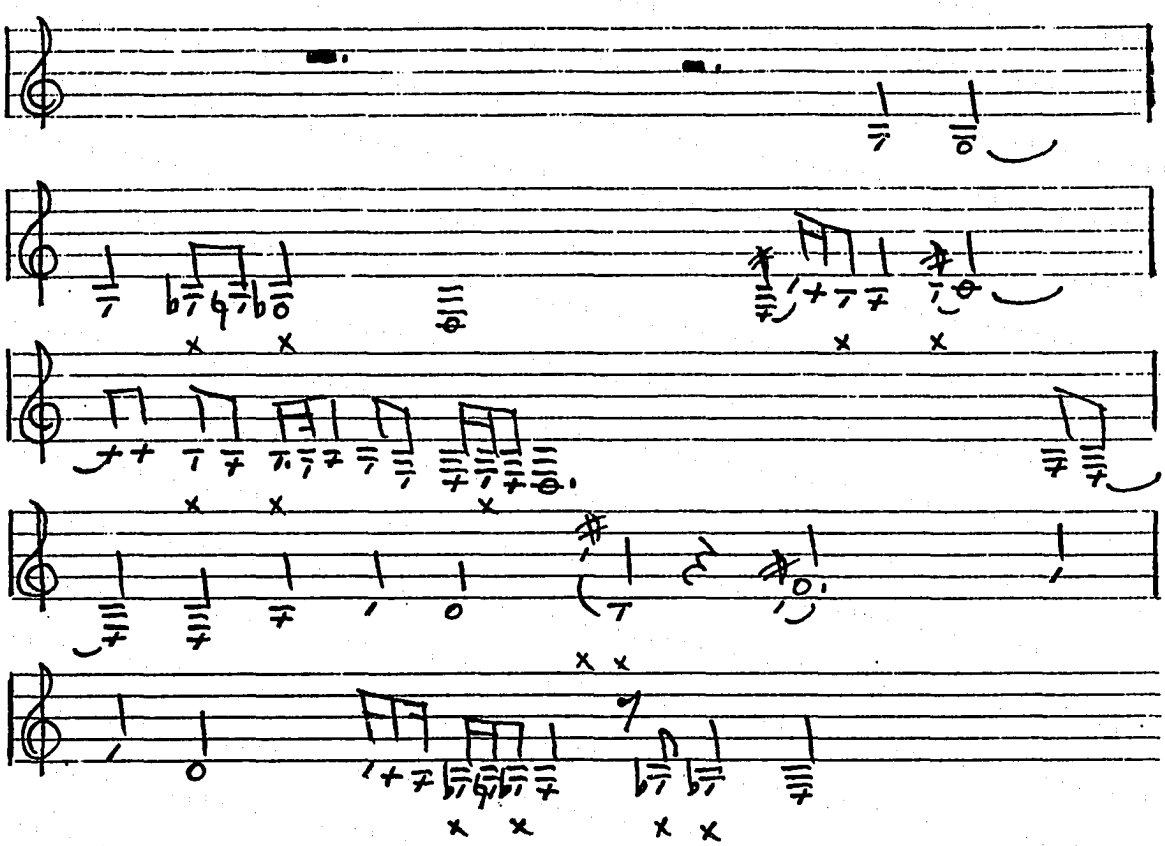


Figure 122. Themes AB from Jabula by Haruna (H4), measure 3



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Figure 123. Theme A from Wakakai by Landi (H7), measure 23

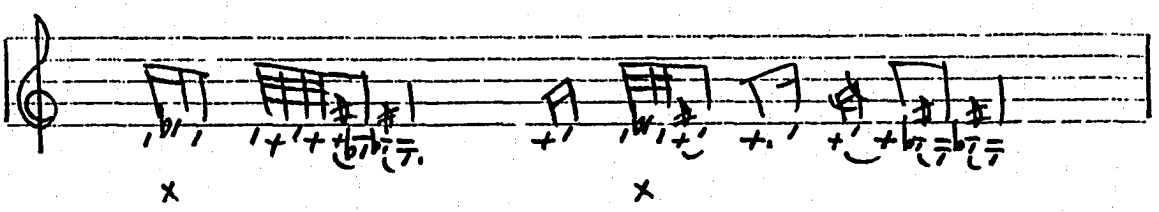


Figure 124. Theme A from Kidan Kanawa by Landi (H8), measure 1

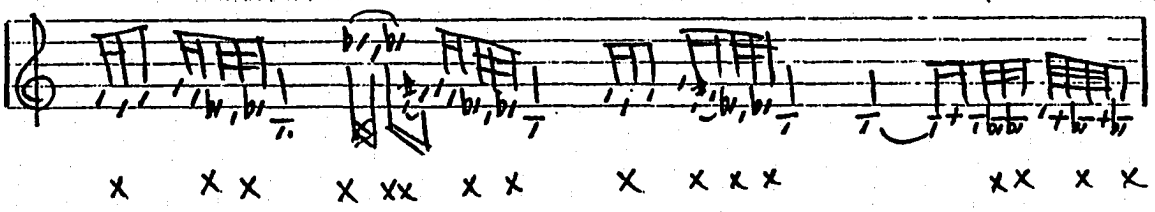


Figure 125. Theme A from Ali mai. . . by Liyo (H11), measures 12-13

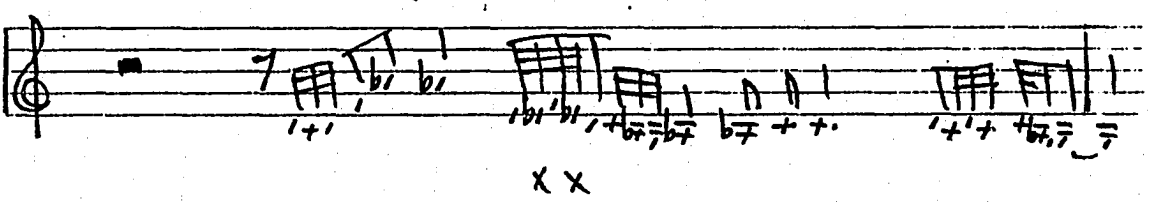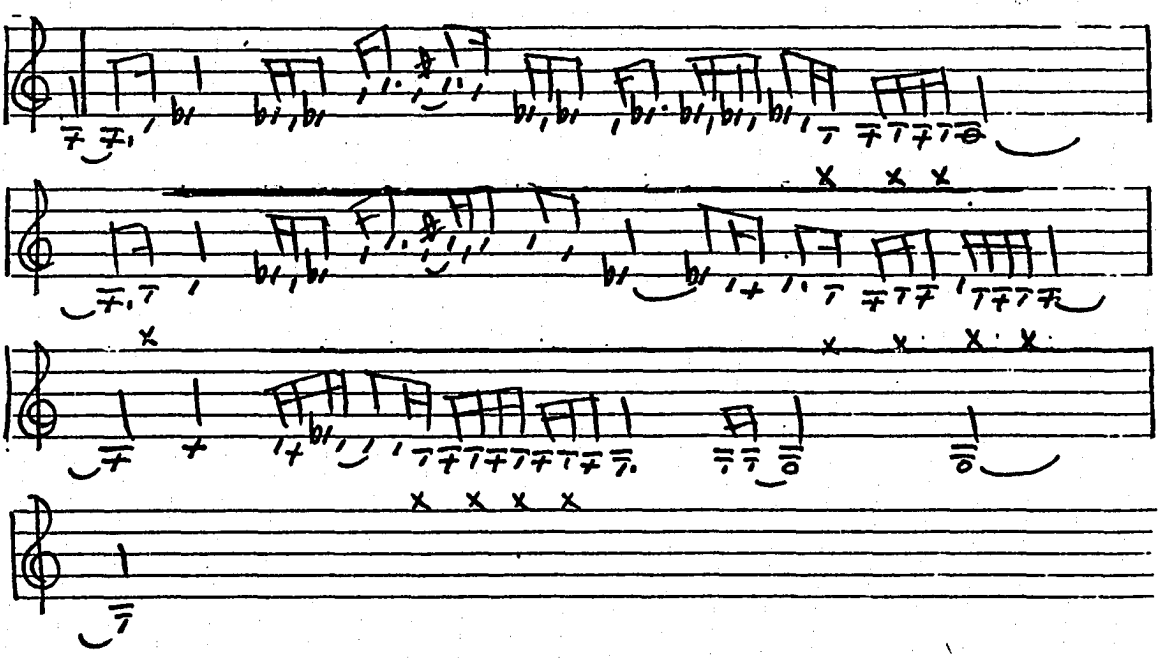


Figure 126. Theme A from Sarkin mallamai by Liyo (H12), measures 2-6



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Figure 127. Theme A from Ruwa Ruwa by Mohammadan (H13), measure 5

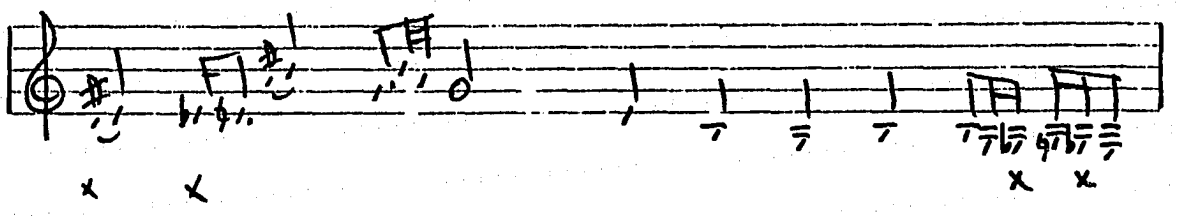


Figure 128. Theme A from Sarkin Makada by Mohammadan (H14), measure 3

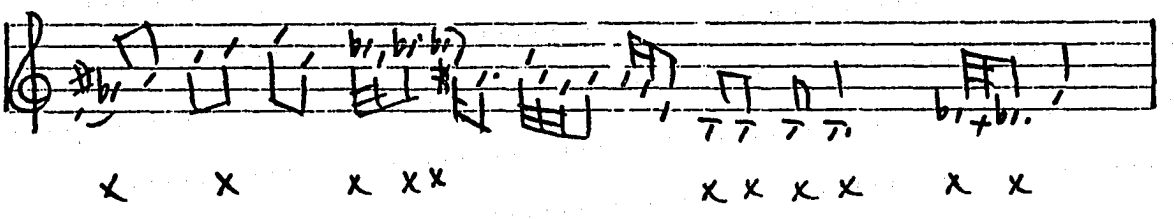


Figure 129. Theme A from Sarkin Makada by Nabarau (H16), measure 11

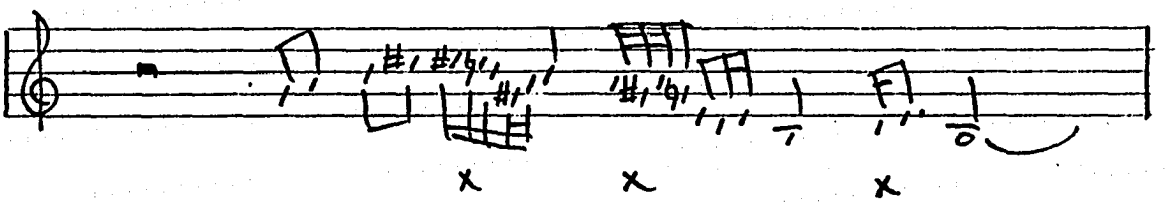
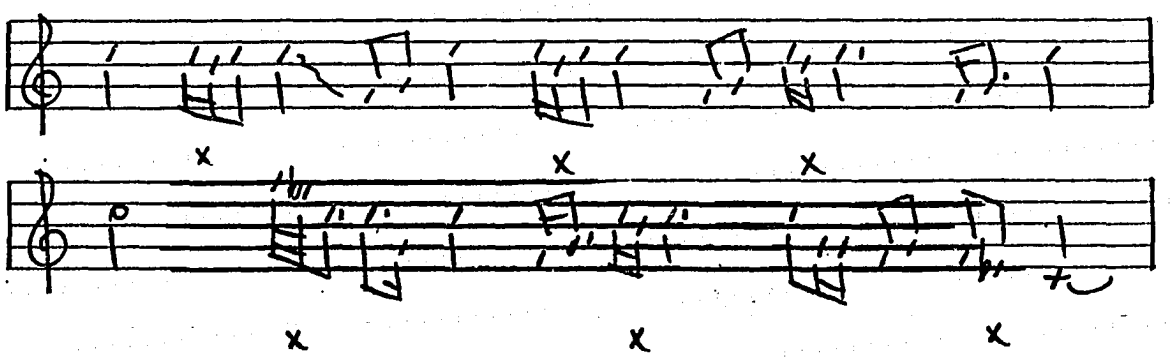


Figure 130. Theme A from Banjo by Nabarau (H15), measures 2-3



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and musical utterances by the maroki are extremely unusual for a goge chorus. The primary reason for the distinctive style is that Haruna is trying to emulate the melody and performance style of the Black American artist, James Brown. The highly repetitive nature of the combined melodic motives AB, BA, CD, and AD is not a common feature of goge music. Melodies are usually much longer than a four-beat phrase. Upon hearing a James Brown performance, Haruna seemed to have been impressed by the constant repetition of short melodic phrases and rhythmic patterns (which he produces with short motives that come in on strong beats) and the use of stock phrases--"come on baby," "yeah," "it's alright," and so forth. Towards the end of Jabula he attempts to reinterpret these stock phrases into the Hausa language, resulting in "cido," "dai dai," "shime," "anko," and so forth

The same is true for his performance of Barrahaza, a possession song. In comparing Banjo--an entertainment song but more in the character of goge music--with Barrahaza, certain differences become apparent. Both the melodic and rhythmic organization of Barrahaza are more complex. The majority of melodies in Barrahaza are longer and encompass a wider pitch range; the rhythmic structure is more complex, based on groups of four quarter notes and extending to 24 beats rather than 12 in Banjo; and multipart organization is evident in the vocal parts. In addition all parts tend to take greater liberties in presenting the material. For example, a comparison of some of the statements by the fiddler and the response made by vocalists shows that although the general rise and fall of the two sets of statements correlate, the exact pitch-for-pitch response is less prominent in Barrahaza than in Banjo. All of these factors lend weight to the hypothesis that

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within the limits of a given individual's performance style, certain differences become apparent when the same individual performs different song types. Haruna uses a distinctive performance style for possession songs as opposed to that for entertainment music such as Jabula and Banjo. Here, it is song type and social usage that provide the primary basis of distinction in performance style, not form, melody, or rhythm. This does not mean of course that when individuals perform the same song type or perform in similar contexts, their performance will be identical in all respects, for some performers are more accomplished fiddlers than others. The manner in which Haruna performs Banjo differs entirely from Nabarau's rendition of the same song. Although it has already been established that the analyzed version of Banjo is probably not the performance Nabarau would use if percussionists and vocalists were included, it can be safely assumed that in spite of these factors, Nabarau's version of Banjo would be more complex melodically than Haruna's primarily because Haruna's shorter experience makes him a mere "novice" in fiddling when compared to the length of time Nabarau has performed in the tradition.

Dagomba

Except for Mahama's performances of Wanzam waa and Barrhaza, neither the fiddle nor vocal melodies in the Dagomba compositions are as florid as those in Hausaland. Many of the opening sections, in which some Dagomba fiddlers perform in a florid or improvisatory style, cannot be compared to the use of embellishments and secondary tones among goge performers. For example, compare the opening section of Dan-mo (D1), Nantoh (D4), Banchendi (D9), or Taakaa sannu (D66)

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(Figures 131-134) with any of the Hausa compositions. Abu's use of E^{b4} and A^{4} as passing tones between pitches 4/5 and 1/2 respectively, causes the introduction of Figure 131 to be much more florid than other examples. In the opening and first fiddle statement of Banchendi Figure 133) Lali also uses several secondary tones: $C^{\#4}$ as a grace note and neighboring tone to pitch 4, E^{b4} as a neighboring tone to pitch 4, and A^{3} as neighboring tone to pitch 2. Although ornamented, no secondary tones occur in Figures 132 and 134. Rather, Alhassan and Sulemana create passages which make use of sixteenth notes and embellishments based on the primary tones of the mode.

On the other hand, in Wanzam waa, Mahama does not use embellishments as an improvisational device. A rapid change in pitch range is employed, resulting in a predominance of compound intervals (see Figure 135). The use of A^{4} and A^{5} in Figure 136 demonstrates the concept of pitch area and substitute pitch--the actual modal tone should be B^{b}. Often when performing in this style involving rapid changes to high notes, consistency in the use of pitches is difficult. In addition, it has been observed that when fiddlers begin a composition, frequently the consistency in pitch usage is not as marked as during the middle of the song, for at the beginning the performer may not have entirely "warmed-up" or obtained a comfortable feeling for the performance. For example, notice Haruna employs B^{3} in the beginning of theme A in Banjo--that is measure 7. In subsequent statements C^{4} is more prominently used in theme A. Of course the possibility that the use of substitute pitches or secondary tones might be the intention of the performer should not be ruled out.

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Figure 131. Opening section of Ban-mo by Abu (D1), measure 1

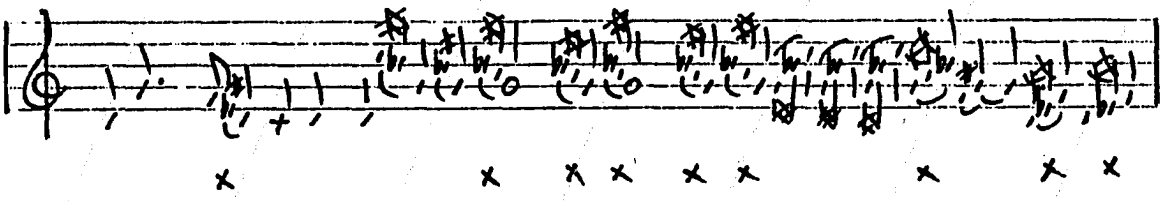


Figure 132. Opening section of Nantoh by Alhassan (D4), measures 1-2
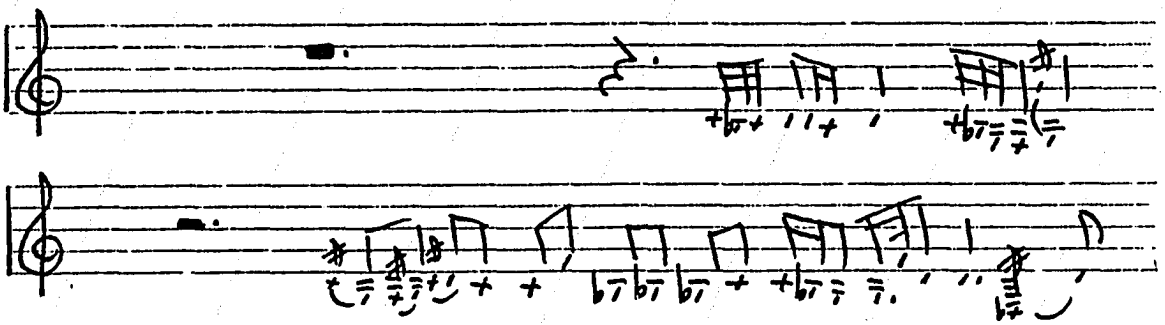


Figure 133. Opening section and first statement of Banchendi by Lali (D9), measures 1-2

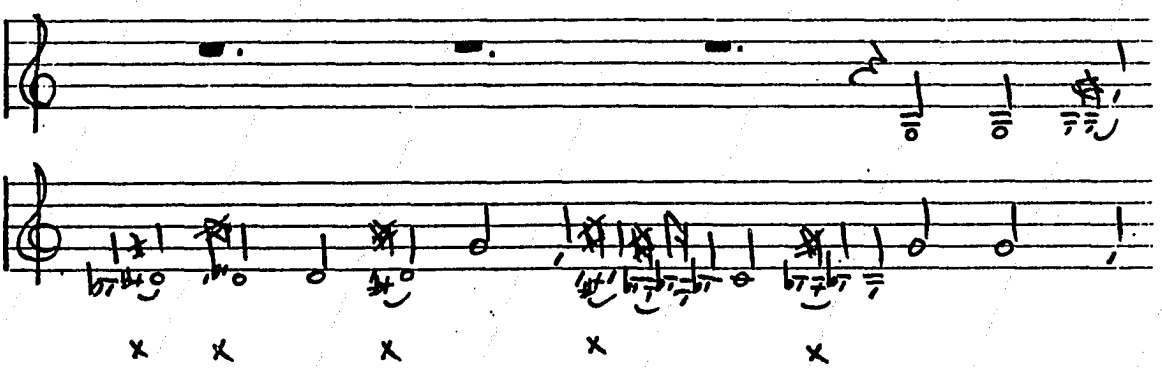
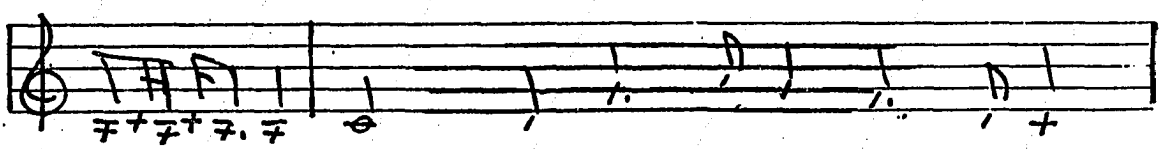


Figure 134. Opening section and first statement of Taaka saanu by Sulemana (D66), measures 1-2

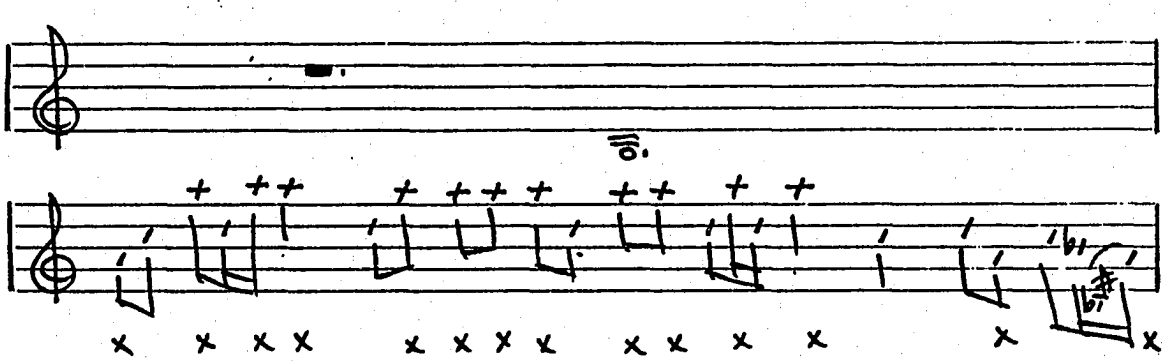


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Figure 135. Opening section of Wanzami by Mahama (D50), measures 1-3
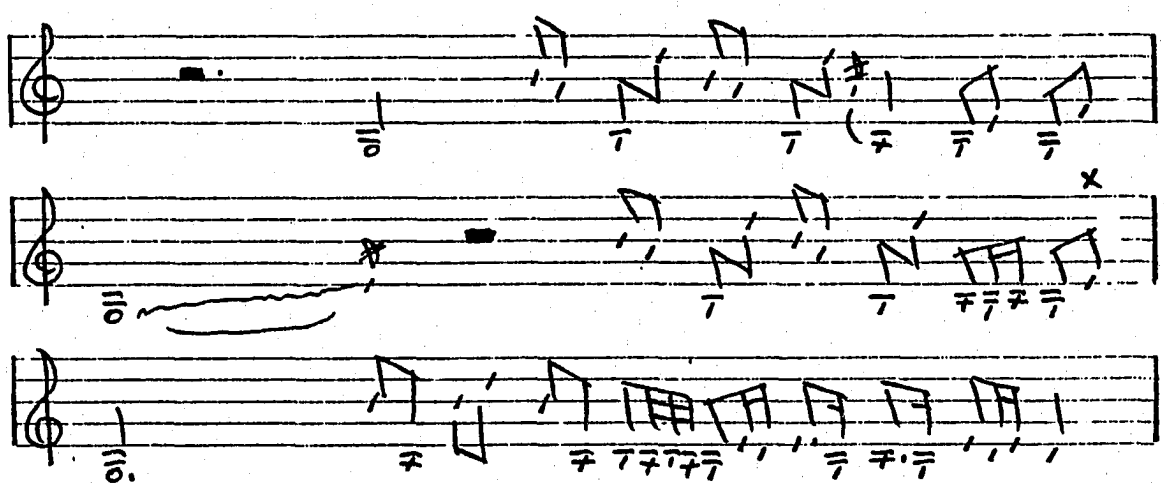


Figure 136. Opening section of Barrhaza by Mahama (D51), measures 1-2



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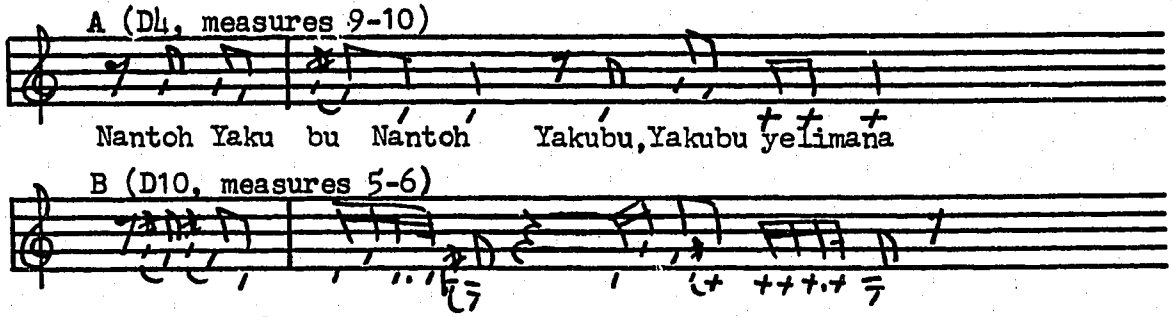
Similar to Hausa usage, in the middle section of Dagomba songs, fiddle melodies are less florid and include fewer secondary tones than the opening section. It should be remembered that Dagomba fiddlers rarely incorporate improvisatory interludes and closing sections in their compositions; the opening is the only opportunity a fiddler has to display his talent for virtuosity. Themes in Dagomba songs usually do not contain any florid sixteenth-notes much less thirty-second-note passages, sudden or gradual changes in pitch range, or any prominent use of embellishments.

It should be noted also that the character of some melodies sung by the lead vocalist is much more complex than those performed by the chorus and fiddler. This is because the lead vocalist is the improviser in the ensemble. For example, compare some of the lead vocal statements in Nantoh (D10) with the fiddle and chorus accompaniment.

In general, in both Hausa and Dagomba traditions, vocal melodies are not very melismatic. Syllabic or neumatic more correctly describes the vocal melodic style. What makes the vocal melody, especially in the case of the Dagomba, somewhat complex is the text, which has to fit into the melodic time line. When the vocalist introduces complicated statements and flattering remarks into the text, they must be arranged so that they fit neatly into the melodic time scheme. This is why the vocal leader's style in Nantoh (D10) is more complex than that in Nantoh (D4) (see Figure 137).

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Figure 137. Comparison of vocal styles in Nantoh (D4 and D10) by Alhassan and Lali



Both examples in Figures 137A and 137B constitute the fourth statement by each vocal leader within the two compositions. Whereas Figure 137A includes only one appogiatura and several eighth notes because of the simple text, the melody in Figure 137B is composed of several sixteenth-note passages and embellishments primarily due to the more complex text. In addition, compare the vocal leader's statements in Torani. Only at measures 5-6 and 15-16 does the vocal leader enter earlier mainly because of the difference in text at that point. It is for the same reason that some Hausa vocal melodies are simpler in construction in comparison to Dagomba vocal melodies. Hausa text structure is simpler, except for the maroki statements.

Evidence shows that song type also affects the performance style of Dagomba performers. For example, what other reason can be given for the unorthodox nature of Wanzam waa and Barrhaza by Mahama? Because these songs are included in the possession song type, Mahama uses as many techniques as possible to demonstrate that they are bori songs. The use of several themes, the sudden and gradual change in pitch and rhythmic structure, and the presence of florid passages give

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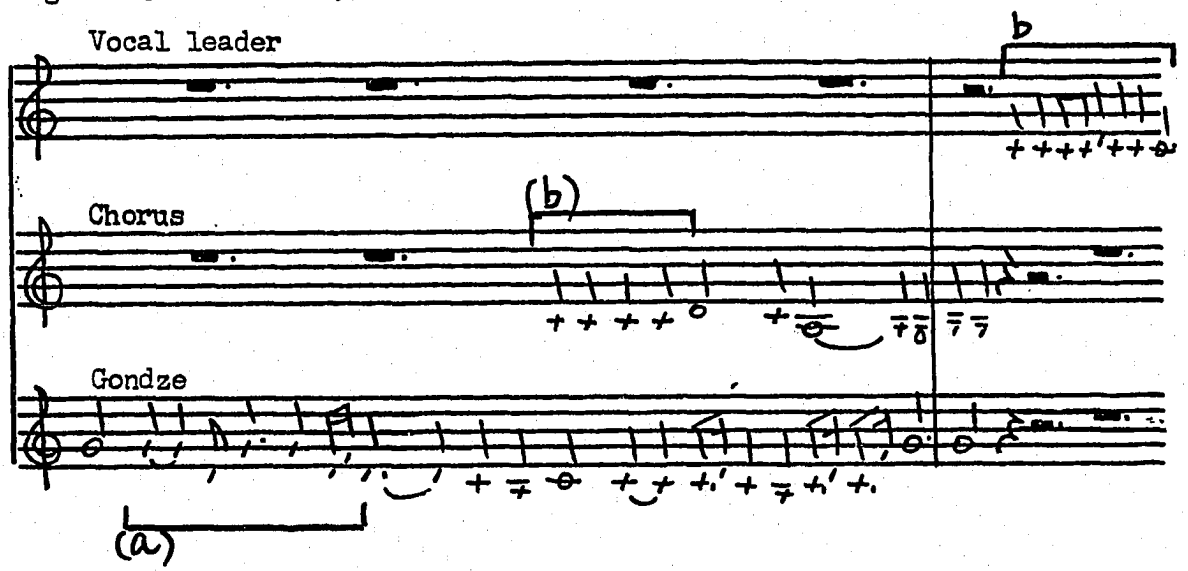
the effect of freedom--that is, the rejection of rules and guidelines of the gondze tradition (limited pitch range, ostinato melodic and rhythmic time lines, conservative use of secondary tones and florid passages, etc.). If another Dagomba musician performs bori, his performance would also differ from his traditional manner of playing, but one cannot say that it would be an exact replica of Mahama's performance. No two musicians are expected to perform in the same manner. Such is the case with the three versions of Nantoh by Alhassan, Lali, and Sulemana, and two versions of Banjo by Haruna and Nabarau. There is no doubt that the three Nantoh's are the same song. The basic formal, melodic, and rhythmic structures of the three are extremely similar. The Banjo performances are not similar primarily because of the social and musical context of Nabarau's Banjo.

Other types of special effects can be incorporated into a performance style. Sometimes a performer can play a theme or melody to symbolize the poetic imagery of the text. For example, in Mahama's performance of Sakoro (D46), the melodic and time elements of the composition in a sense correlate with the text. The term sakoro, in the gondze language, refers to "fufu" one of the main types of staple food in West Africa and the savannah belt. In order to make the dish specific types of cooked vegetables--cassava, cocoyams, plaintain, or yam--are pounded in a wooden mortar with a pestle until a smooth thick texture is obtained. The process of making fufu requires certain physical and rhythmic movements that sometimes give rise to music. The rhythmic pattern of the pound is frequently used to accompany songs as women work. Because "fufu" is the praise name in honor of Yamba Na

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Seidu, the music for Sakoro actually is imitative of the pounding in the mortar. Notice in Figure 138 the uncommon repetitive use of the perfect fourth interval as a motive (a) and when performed in a rapid tempo actually gives the effect of pounding. In addition, the unison motif on C^4 in the voice (see b) performed to the word "patapata"--a nonsensical term to suggest the pounding of pestles in a mortar (see notes in text)--helps to create the desired effects.

Figure 138. Sakoro by Mahama (D46), measures 4-5



Such an interpretation is plausible because in the notes to the text, Mahama refers to certain words that suggest the pounding of pestles. Of course this is not to say that any song that is composed of wide intervals and unison motives will be imitative of fufu pounding. In Yeda Nai (D44), which also contains prominent use of the perfect fourth interval, such an effect is not produced and probably not intended, for the tempo of Yeda na (♩.92) is slower than the rapid speed of Sakoro (♩.126). As a result of the difference in speed, the melodic character does not suggest the sound of pounding.

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Melodic Ornamentation

Melodic ornamentation is an essential feature of both Hausa and Dagomba fiddle traditions. The use of ornaments in each performance style, however, differs in scope and degree of elaboration. Ornaments produced by goge musicians are not only more varied but are more complex in terms of length and construction, while gondze ornaments normally are very simple, with the majority consisting of only two- to three-note motives (compare motives in Figures 139 with those in Figure 140).

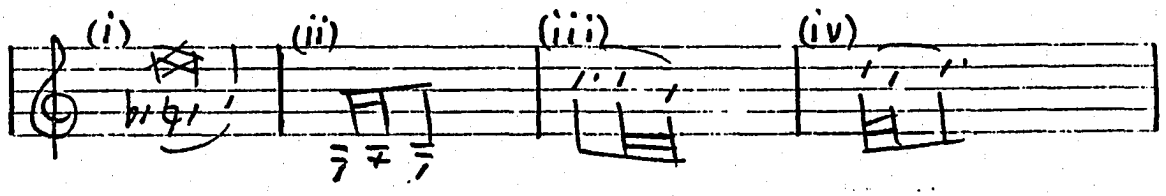
Due to the extremely fast tempi used in performing ornaments in goge songs, many of the motives sound like trills. Only when the speed of a song is reduced (from $7\frac{1}{2}$ ips to 3-3/4 and 1-7/8 ips) does the structure become clear, for what sound like trills are usually configurations of three to nine notes. Some of these ornaments are given in Figure 139. Symbols and figures--e.g., H12:m23:b4--are used to document the source of each ornamental phrase. The symbol H12 indicates that the motive has been taken from song number twelve of the Hausa song collection. The second figure m23 means that the ornament is locaed in measure 23, while b4 refers to the specific beat within the measure that carries it.

It should be noted that the Hausa do employ small motives (i.e. ornaments consisting of two or three notes) in their compositions, especially in fiddle accompaniment of a choral response or even during some goge solo statements. Longer or extended ornamental groups are more commonly found in goge improvisatory sections. The long ornaments used in goge are actually combinations of small motives or different

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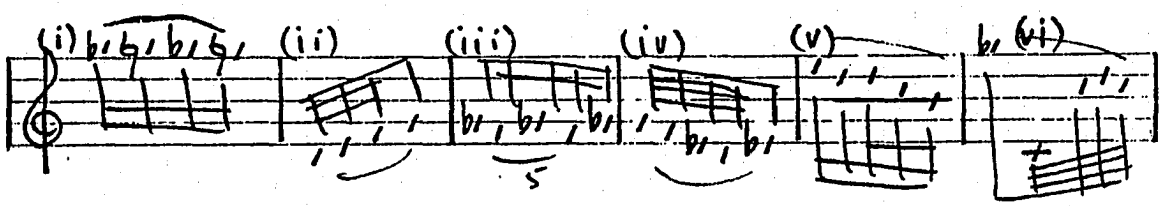
Figure 139. Sample ornamental phrases from Hausa fiddle songs.

A. Three-note motives
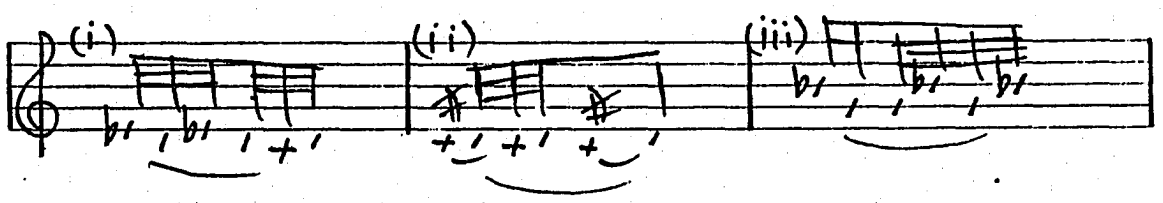


H1:m2:b12 H1:m3:b4 H15:m7:b1 H14:m22:b1

B. Four- and five-note motives



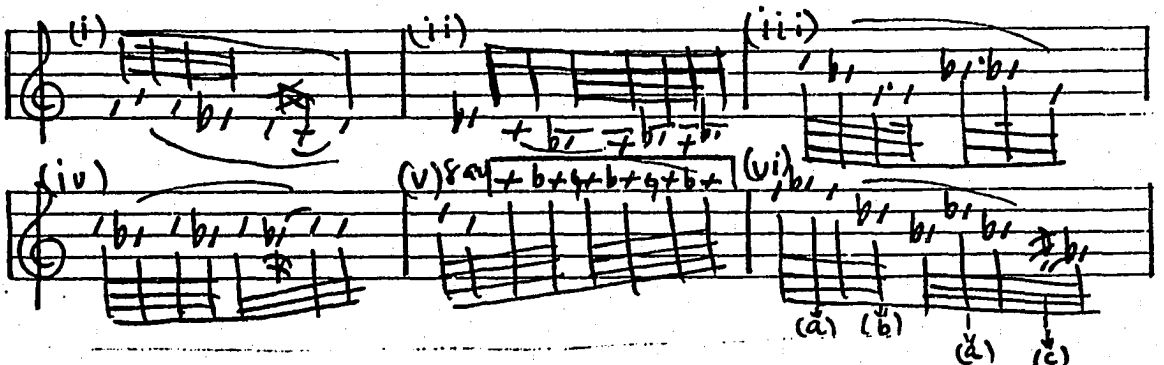
H2:m3:b7 H14:m24:b9 H1:m1:b10 H2:m3:b10 H4:m2:b5 H8:m8:b12

C. Six-note motives



H7:m27:b5 H7:m28:b5 H7:m6:b7

D. Seven-, eight- and nine-note motives



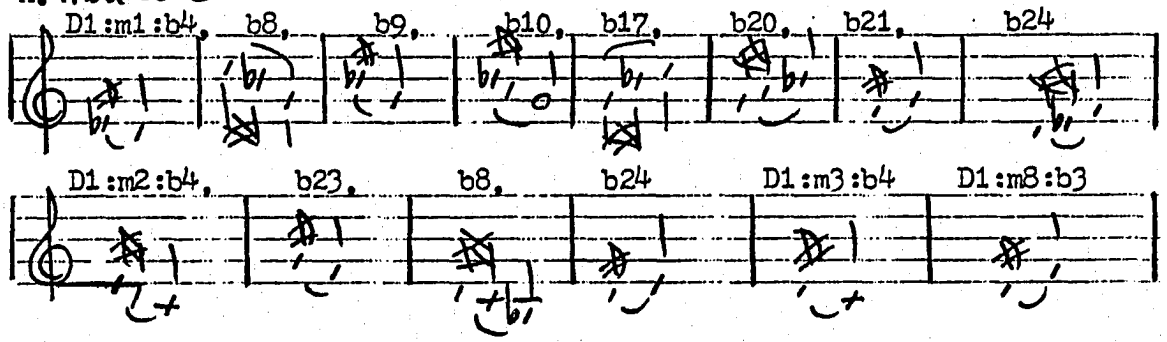
(i) H11:m18:b12 (ii) H15:m28:b1 (iii) H7:m3:b3

(iv) H7:m3:b1 (v) H8:m11:b2 (vi) H7:m2:b7

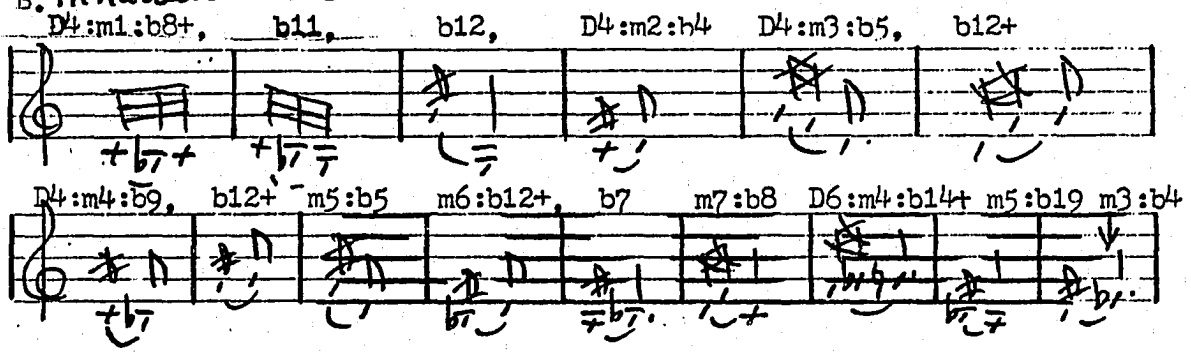
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Figure 140. Sample ornamental phrases from Dagomba fiddle songs

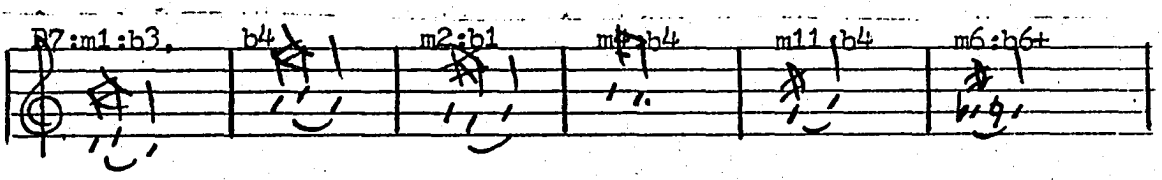
A. Abu Gondze
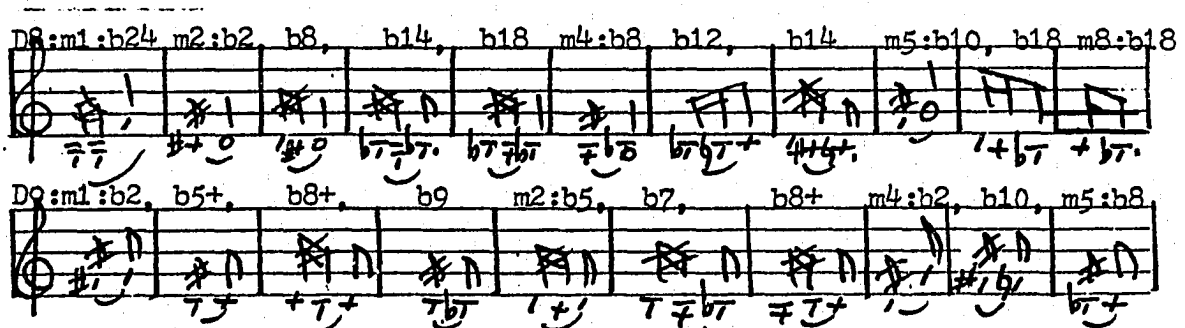


B. Alhassan Gondze



C. Iddrisu Gondze

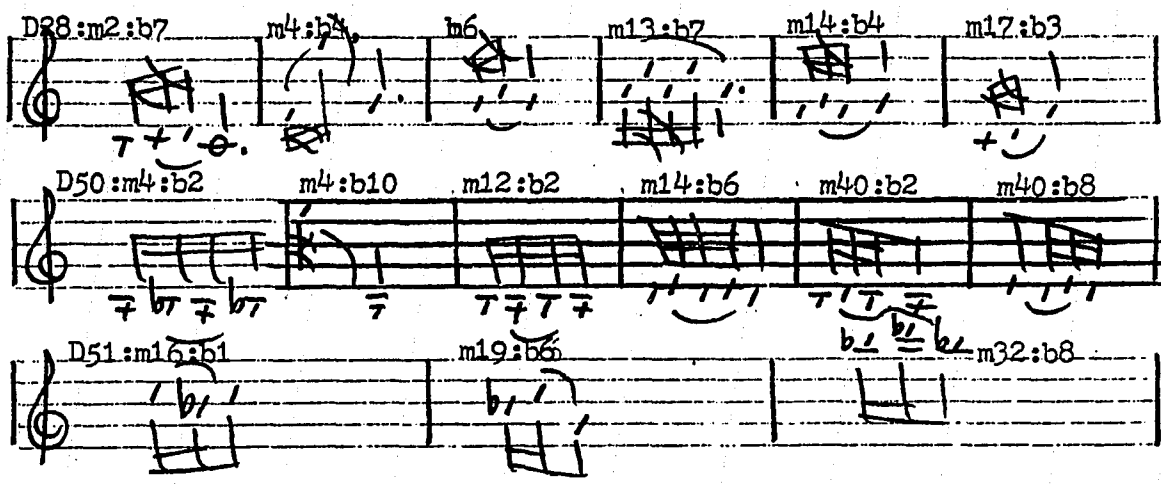


D. Lali Gondze

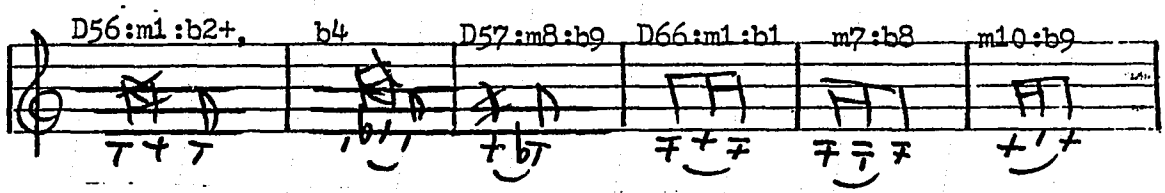


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E. Mahama Gondze



F. Sulemana Gondze

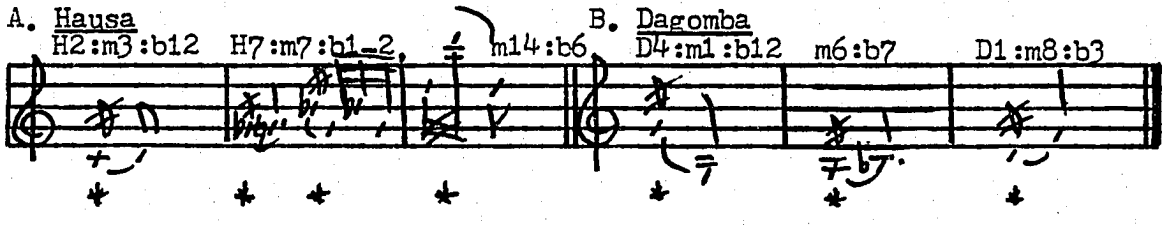


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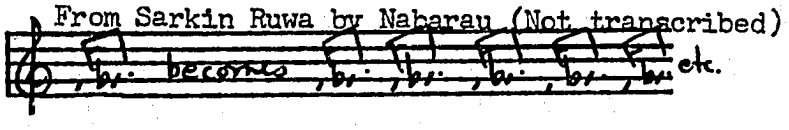
types of ornaments. For example, in Figure 139, the ornaments are made up of at least one passing tone (139Ai), neighboring tone (139Aii and iv), appoggiatura (139Ai), or repeated tones (139Aiii).

The grace note or appoggiatura is used so freely in goge and gondze compositions that one might consider the rising, sliding, or gliding attack as a norm. Although many grace notes approach the principal note from below, forming with it the interval of a rising major or minor second, some approach it from above. In the latter case the appoggiatura need not be placed next to the principal note. Intervals larger than a second may be used (see Figure 141).

Figure 141. Examples of the Grace note Embellishment



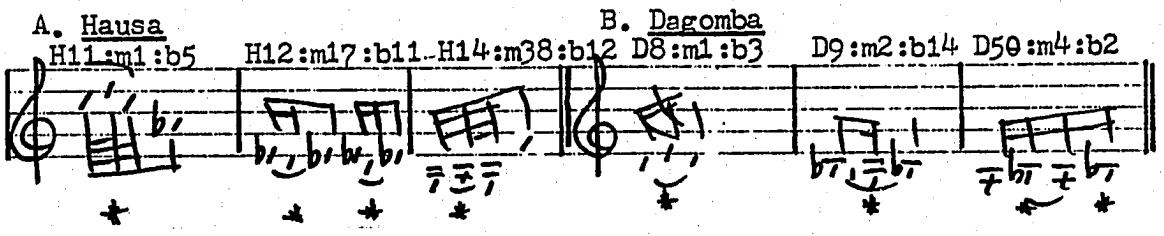
If expanded and repeated very rapidly, the appoggiatura motive and the principal note become a trill as in the following:



The neighboring tone of an appoggiatura which lies up or down can be played with it provided the performer returns to the appoggiatura before proceeding to the principal tone (see Figure 142). The result is a three-note ornament.

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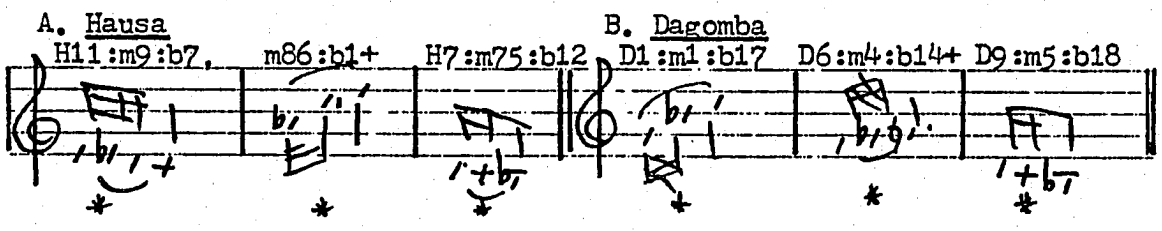
Figure 142.



Sometimes larger intervals may be used in this three note configuration. Secondly the two different notes in the configuration could be repeated very rapidly, resulting in a trill; for examples of this technique, see Figures 139Bi and Biii, 140D (D50:m4:b2 and D50:m12:b2).

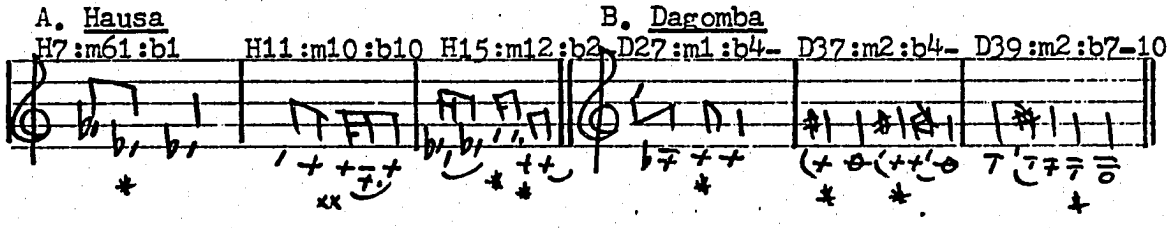
The passing tone may be a principal tone or a secondary tone of the scale. The examples below (Figure 143) illustrate its use in Hausa and Dagomba.

Figure 143. Passing Tone Embellishments



The anticipatory tones, repeated tones, and glissandi are not used as often as previous ornamental devices. Not surprisingly, these devices are more often introduced and subjected to greater modification within goge songs than Dagomba. Examples of each of these embellishments are given below:

Figure 144. Examples of Anticipatory ornaments



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Figure 145. Examples of Repeated-tone ornaments.

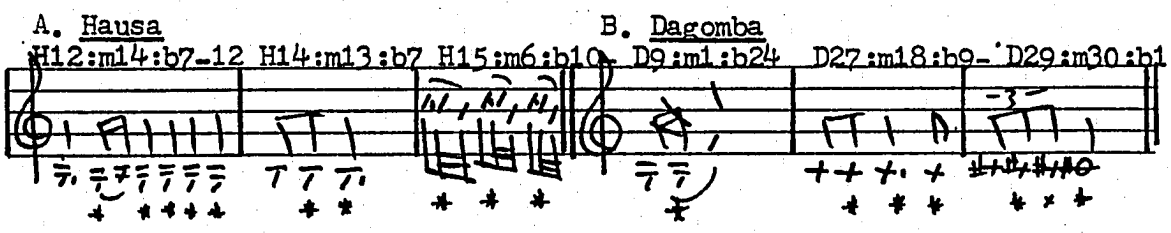
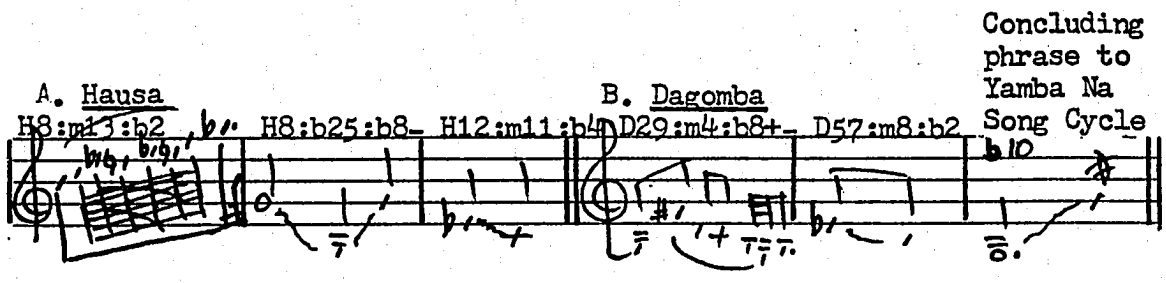
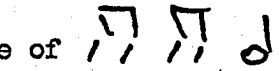


Figure 146. Examples of Glissandi



The use of repeated-tone ornament seems to be a stylistic feature of goge fiddling. Within Haruna's composition repetition of the same pitch at least six to ten times serves as a point of transition in his provisatory sections--opening and interlude sections of both Banjo and Barrahaza (H1 and H2). Although slightly ornamented with grace notes, even Landi begins Wakakai with the repetition of three pitches. A similar motive is found in other parts of the opening (measures 4-5) of Wakakai as well as in the interlude section of Kidan kanawa.

In compositions by Leo and Mohammadan, the repeated-tone ornament is also used within improvisatory material but in a different manner. It appears that the repetition of a pitch three or four times serves as a cadential formula. In Ali mai (H11) the occurrence of  in measures 5, 7, 34, 37, and 77 seems to allow the fiddler time to pause or rest during his improvisation before introducing another melody.

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The same is true for the repeated-tone ornament in Sarkin Makada (H14)--see measures 3, 8, 10, 13, and 22. Nabarau does not employ the repetitive technique but includes a long sustained pitch which seems to be the alternate version of the three or four repeated tones. Interestingly, Mohammadan, also uses the sustained-note idea in his version of Sarkin Makada along with the repeated-tone ornament. For examples of alternative devices that may be used to replace the repeated-tone ornament as a cadential or pause motivic formula see H14, measures 24, 25, 29, 30, 32, and 37-38; H15 measures 4-5, 12, 16, and 26; and H16, measures 5, 7, 8, 11-12, 14, 15, and 16.

Even though glissandi are used in both fiddle and vocal parts, it seems that Dagomba singers use the technique more frequently than Hausa vocalists and Dagomba fiddlers. Primarily because the technique serves as a means for the Dagomba vocalist to modify the gondze melodic line by creating heterophonic passages, the embellishment is integral to gondze vocal style. The sliding technique is sometimes expanded and developed quite extensively by Hausa fiddlers. For example, see the manner in which Landi moves from C^5 to G^{b6} and B^4 to G^{b6} in measures 9 and 13 of Kidan kanawa (H8).

Texture

Music produced from Hausa and Dagomba one string fiddle ensembles can best be described as polyphonic. In each case the music is composed of at least three independent parts--fiddle, voice, and percussion. Occasionally however, at least one or two of the parts are excluded from the performance--e.g., compositions by Mohammadan and Nabarau include only the fiddle; and several songs by Haruna (H3 and H4),

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Mahama (D27, D28, D50, and D51), and Sulemana (D56) do not include percussion.

Each part is developed horizontally or linearly--that is, usually no effort is made to organize parts vertically. In most ensembles normally the fiddler begins the opening section alone, followed by the percussionists, who introduce their rhythmic time line; often vocalists do not enter until the middle section of the composition, after both the melodic and rhythmic time lines have been established.

Hausa

Hausa melodies are based primarily on a monophonic texture with occasional incidences of heterophony and homophonic parallelism. Because each melodic part is normally performed separately within the framework of a call and response form, the result is monophony--a single melodic line, as can be seen in Figures 103A and 103B. In both examples the fiddler first completes his statement before the chorus comes in, thus eliminating the possibility of vertical multipart texture. When overlapping occurs between fiddler and chorus as is apparent in Figures 104B and 105B, the texture can no longer be described as monophonic. In that last six beats of 104B and practically throughout 105B, decoration by the fiddler in the former and by fiddler and vocal leader in the latter give rise to heterophony.

Evidence of heterophony and homophonic parallelism within Hausa vocal parts occurs occasionally. It should be remembered that within the goge chorus sometimes one of the males acts as lead singer and maroki. Although his function differs from that of the lead vocalist in the gondze tradition, his importance in the ensemble should not be

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overlooked. In Haruna's performance of Barrahaza (H2) the lead chorus member makes his position more distinctive when he and other members of the chorus sing different parts during the chorus response. For examples of the division into parts see Figures 147-150.

Figure 147. Multipart organization in Hausa vocal parts, Barrahaza by Haruna (H2)

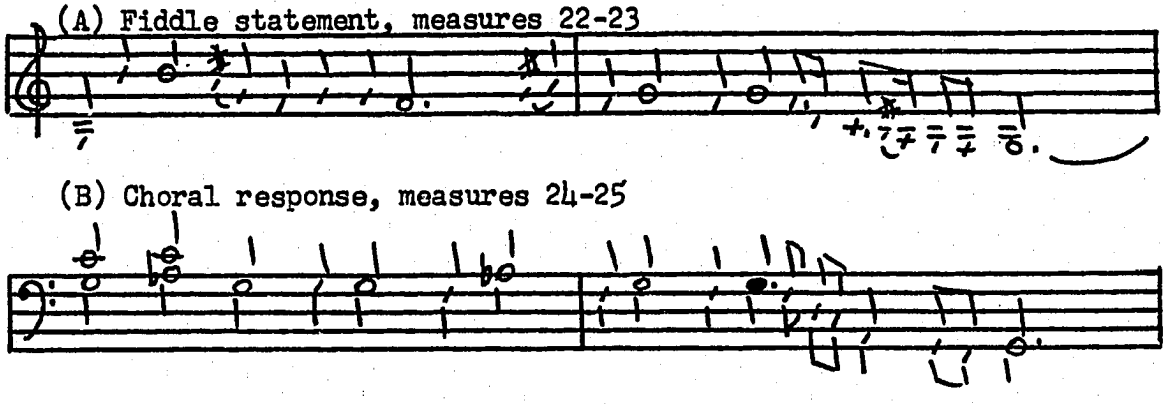
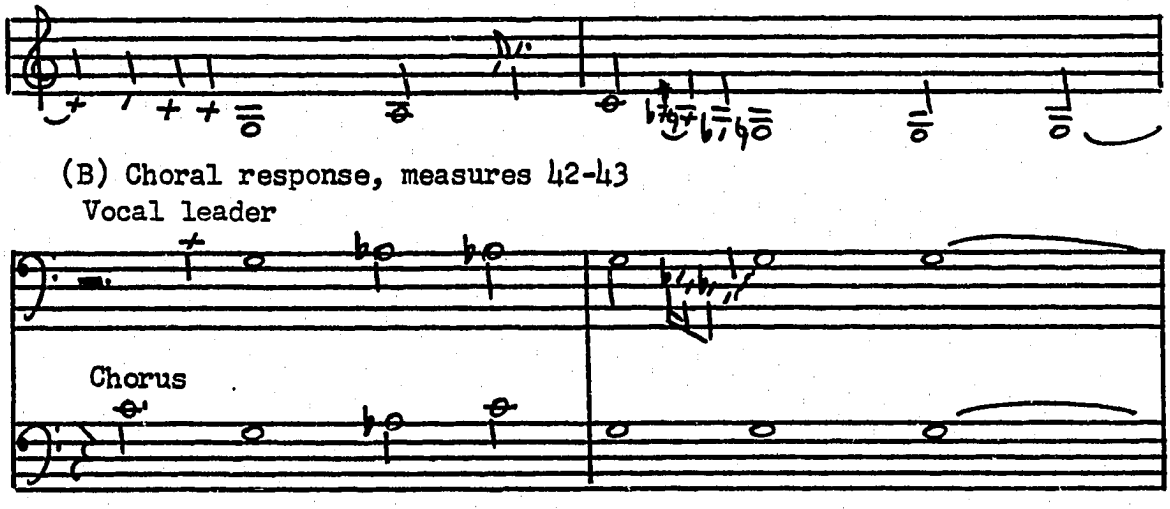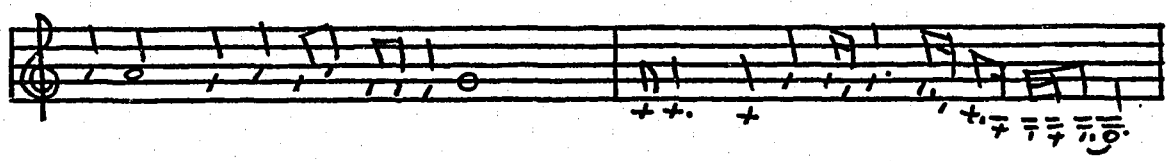


Figure 148. Multipart organization in Hausa vocal parts, Barrahaza by Haruna (H2)



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Figure 149. Multipart organization in Hausa vocal parts, Barrahaza by Haruna (H2)

(A) Fiddle statement, measure 86-87



(B) Choral response, measures 88-89

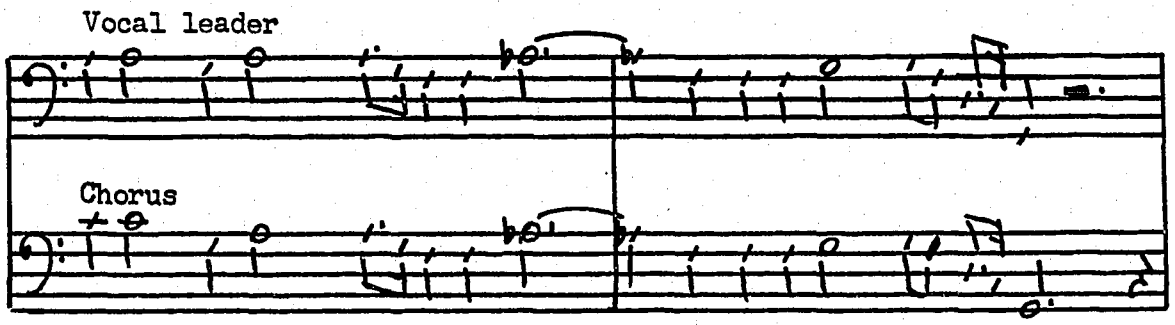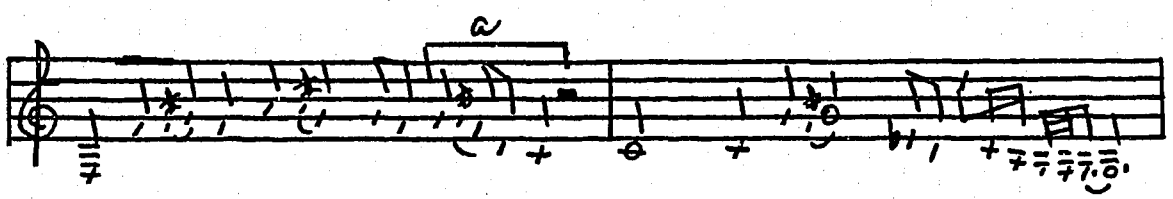
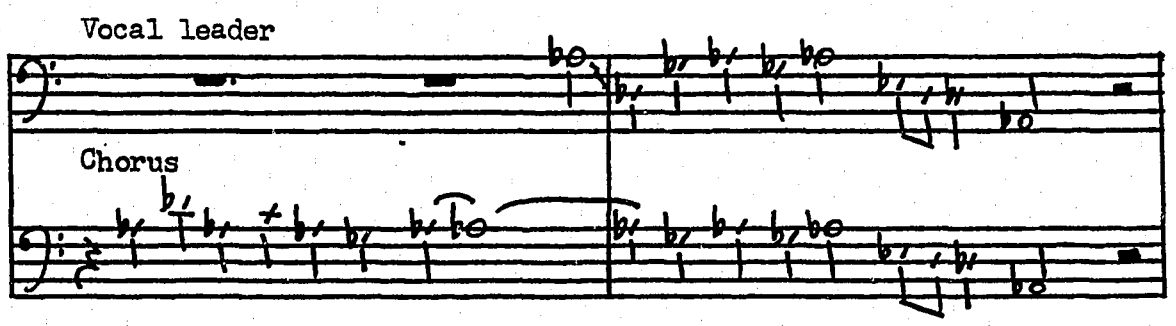


Figure 150. Multipart organization in Hausa vocal parts, Barrahaza by Haruna (H2)

(A) Fiddle statement, measures 124-125



(B) Choral response, measures 126-127



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Examination of Figures 147-150 shows that the lead chorus member in the goge tradition performs a different function from the gondze vocal leader in that the former tends to maintain the melodic line, while the latter improvises or varies on the melody. Note-for-note repetition of the goge statement by either chorus part occurs rarely in Barrahaza. Substitute pitches are used and performed in the general contour of the melody. Occasionally a semblance of the actual goge statement is heard by the lead chorus member. For example, in Figures 147B and 149B the top vocal part is more similar to the goge statement than the part of the other chorus members who sing a perfect fourth and major third below the lead vocalist (Figure 147B) and a minor third above the vocal leader (149B).

In Figure 148A the lead vocalist introduces a descending melodic motive, which is omitted by the chorus. Obviously, the fact that the motive is melodically and rhythmically different from the goge statement is acceptable in the tradition.

To demonstrate the extent the chorus deviates from the goge statement when the lead chorus member does not perform, let us turn to Figure 150. Throughout the first 10 beats of measure 126 the lead chorus member does not perform but enters at the end of the measure with a falling glissando that symbolically represents the descending motive between beats 8-10 in the goge melody (see a). In measure 127 the lead vocalist again attempts to maintain the melodic scheme of the goge statement so he rises in pitch at beat 2 of measure 127, which is in contrary motion to the part of the other chorus members. Only at beat 4 of measure 127 do both parts simultaneously begin to sing

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the melody that corresponds with the goge statement in measure 125.

Multipart organization is not just unique to Haruna's performance; Leo's chorus members in most of their responses also incorporate similar techniques in Ali mai (H11) and Sarkin mallamai (H12). Similar to Haruna, the lead chorus member performs the response that more closely correlates with the goge statement, while the chorus creates homophonic parallelism below and above the vocal leader. Probably multipart organization within vocal parts would have been evident in Landi's performances if more individuals had performed--only one male acts as the chorus in Landi's compositions.

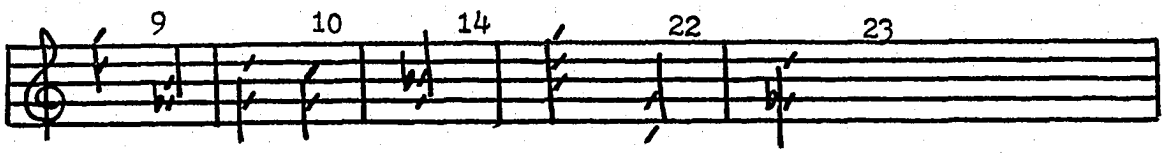
Mention has already been made in Chapter Nine of the combining of music and the speech mode during certain sections of Haruna's compositions. When this occurs, the texture of course becomes polyphonic. Although an integral part of the performance, the spoken dialogue by the maroki contributes little to the melodic organization of the ensemble. What it does is create more rhythmic density as the fiddler performs his florid improvisatory interludes and the percussionists introduce rhythmic variations.

An extremely interesting and unique feature of Hausa fiddle texture is the incidence of multipart organization on the one string fiddle. Due to the whole phenomenon of harmonics, Landi is able to perform several passages that appear like the simultaneous sounding of fourths, fifths, and even thirds and sixths (for playing technique see pages 128-129). For example, examine the interlude and closing sections of Kidan kanawa. In almost each measure evidence of some type of multipart arrangement of the music exists. The chords that are

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most prominent are indicated in Figure 151.

Figure 151. Chords that are found in Kidan Kanawa by Landi (H8)



It is believed that tones of extremely high pitch (see Kidan kanawa, measure 11) and harmonics are produced by lightly touching the string instead of pressing it down as in ordinary stopping (Apel 1970: 370). A light pressure, therefore, is not only used for softer volume and amplitude but also for high pitch frequencies. Unfortunately, the author's knowledge of acoustics limits the discussion of this important feature of Hausa fiddle tradition.

Dagomba

When the fiddle and vocal parts of Dagomba gondze music are examined, the texture that emerges could also be regarded as heterophony in some cases and polyphony in other instances. Although some monophonic passages are performed by the fiddler during the opening and middle sections, they only randomly occur because the vocal leader or chorus has chosen not to perform during that particular time line.

Examples of heterophony in gondze music are given in Figures 108 and 113B. In Figure 108 notice that the choral response is a derivation of the fiddler's time line. Whereas the former limits its phrase to basically three different pitches and an appoggiatura, the latter is much more decoratively presented. Because of the vocal leader's long sustained note and alternation of the fiddle time line in Figure

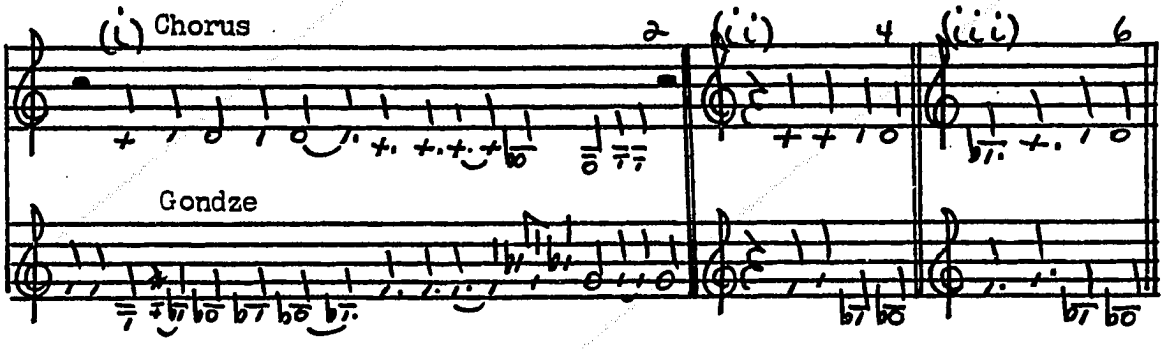
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113B, heterophony arises, the two parts join in unison only two or three times during the entire passage. Sometimes both the vocal leader and the chorus introduce entirely new material during their statements, thus creating polyphony.

Multipart organization within vocal parts is not very common in the gondze tradition, for vocalists--leader and chorus--rarely perform simultaneously. When such occurrences do take place, the result is not homophonic parallelism as is evident in some goge passages. Rather, the parts are developed linearly and polyphony or heterophony results.

A conscious effort to create homophonic parallelism between vocalist and gondze appears in some compositions. For example, in Yeda binbeim (D6 and D31) and Dunia taali (D34 and D56) chordal passages between fiddle and vocalists are apparent (see Figures 152 and 153).

Figure 152A. Chordal passages in Yeda binbeim by Alhassan (D6)



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Figure 152B. Chordal passages in Yeda binbeim by Mahama (D31)

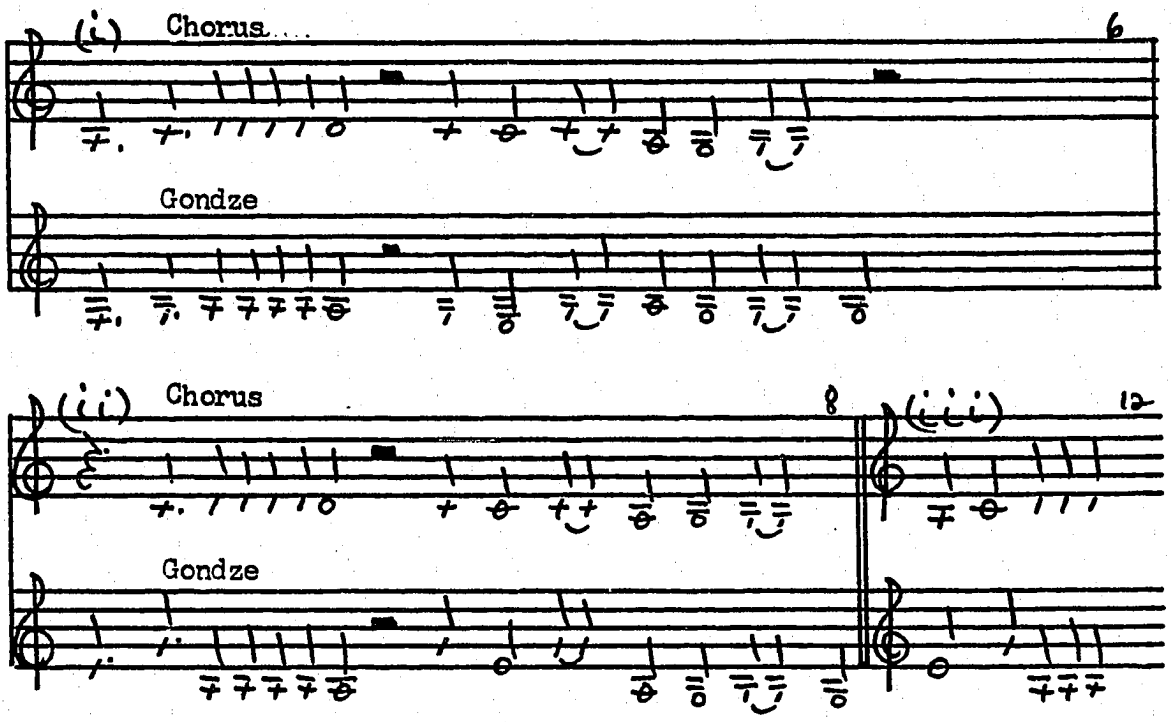


Figure 153A. Chordal passages in Dunia taali by Mahama (D34), measure 7

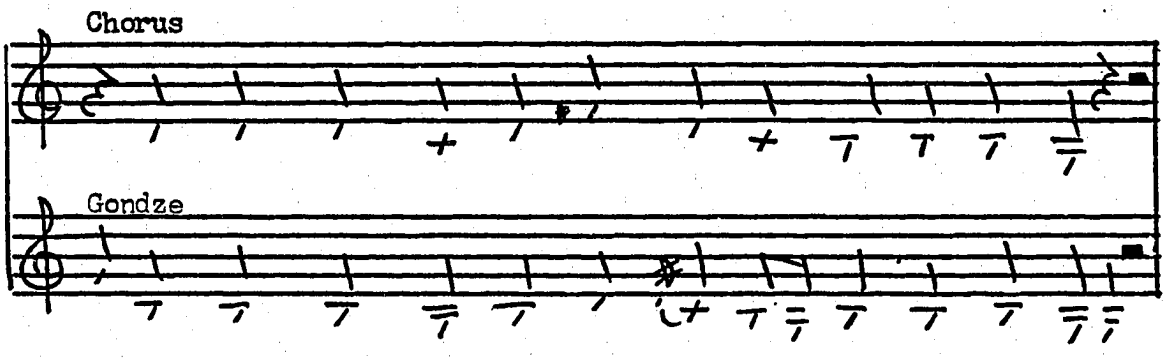
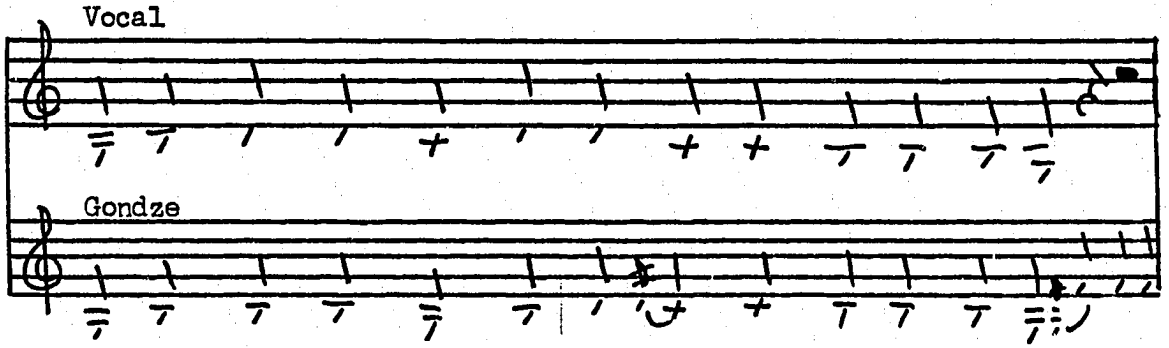


Figure 153B. Chordal passages in Dunia taali by Sulemana (D56), measure 11



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All of the above examples have to be regarded as homophonic parallelism rather than incidences of heterophony because of the regularity of the multipart structure. In Figure 152A harmonizing on a perfect fourth and major third takes place between beats 3-16. In the second and third versions (ii and iii) of the opening part, fiddlers play an octave higher, thus creating the perfect fifth chord at beat 3. The technique for producing chordal harmony is similar in Figure 152B, except for the choice of pitches. Due to the fact that Alhassan and Mahama use different modes--G B^{b} C D F and G A C D F, respectively--the types and location of chords in the passage differ. Chords based on the perfect fourth interval are much more prominent in Figure 152B. Other differences that are apparent in Figures 152A and 152B are as follows:

1. At beat twelve Mahama returns to pitch 1 (G) instead of going to the fifth degree of the mode (F) as in the case of Figure 152A.

2. By introducing a substitute pitch (E) for the fifth degree of the mode at beat 13 in Figure 152B, Mahama creates an entirely different melody from what appears in the fiddle statement in Figure 152B.

Mahama, like Alhassan, performs certain parts of the fiddle passage an octave higher in subsequent statements (see and iii of Figure 152B), demonstrating a change in pitch range and introduction of the perfect fifth interval.

Melodic passages in Figures 153A and 153B are similar; no evidence of modal differences exist. What does differ is that whereas Sulemana returns to unison at beat 7, Mahama performs an ascending/descending melodic phrase (going up to F^{4}) and does not return to unison until beat 10. As a result of the modified phrasing, chords based on a major

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and minor second exist in Figure 153A.

Although the Dagomba make use of harmonics (lightly touching the fiddle string to produce high pitch frequencies--see Barrhaza, D51), no evidence of chordal harmonics constructions are apparent. On extremely rare occasions, however, a semblance of multipart organization on the gondze arises. When motives are performed rapidly, it appears as if chords are produced (see Chapter Five).

In summary evidence shows that similar techniques are used by Hausa and Dagomba fiddle ensembles, although manifested in different parts, in regards to texture. The music in both ensembles is based on a polyphonic texture. Yet, when melodies are examined independently, monophony, heterophony, polyphony, and homophonic parallelism are apparent.

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Chapter Twelve

Rhythmic Background of One String Fiddle Music

The rhythm section of the one string fiddle ensemble adds the percussive effects which are so much a part of the African musical tradition. As discussed earlier in this study, melodic instrumental groups in Africa always find some means of producing some type of rhythmic accompaniment, whether it be the tapping of the foot on the ground or the shaking of pebbles or rattlers that have been attached to the instrument. Rhythm serves not only as rhythmic time keeper but is essential to the sonority of the fiddle sound.

Description of Percussive Accompaniment

Hausa

Any one or more of the following rhythm instruments--kwarya, kalengu, 'dan karbi, and kuntuku--may be included in the goge ensemble. Of these kwarya seems to be the most commonly used. Four of the six pieces which contain percussion accompaniment use the kwarya. Probably the kwarya would have been used in the remaining two instead of a table-top had the performer brought his percussion instruments to the recording session.[1] 'Dan karbi and kalengu are used in two compositions and the kuntuku in only one (see Chart I in Chapter Eleven). The complete group of four rhythm instruments appear in Leo's music recorded by Folkways. During each Kano nightclub performance discussed in Chapter Eight, Leo always performed with the complete set of instruments.

Both the 'dan karbi and kalengu are double-membrane hourglass drums. The former is smaller with the following dimensions: length of body-shell, 9 inches; diameter of ends, 5.75 inches; and diameter of

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waist, 3 inches (Ames and King 1971:14 and 24). When the double-membrane drum is used in an ensemble, one individual, frequently, beats both drums simultaneously. Ames and King clearly describe the performance technique for the kalengu as follows:

> The kalangu, when performed without the 'dan karbi, is "suspended from the left shoulder in a near-horizontal position between the left upper arm and chest with the beaten membrane to the front; the front membrane only is beaten, with the right-hand stick or the fingers of the left hand, pitch alterations being achieved by increasing or decreasing pressure on the tensioning thongs running the length of the body and joining the two membranes" (1971:23).

> When the kalengu drummer beats 'dan karbi at the same time, "he may either suspend the latter from his left shoulder so that it lies below kalangu, or more commonly when seated, place 'dan karbi across his left knee with the shoulder strap around and under his right knee or around the big toe of his left foot. In both of these latter cases the pitch of 'dan karbi is varied by increasing or decreasing the pull on the shoulder strap with the right knee or left big toe, such action being termed tillo" (1971:24-25).

The kuntuku is a single-membrane snared bowl-shaped drum. Approximate dimensions are: length of body-shell, 7 inches and diameter of open-end, 7 inches. "Suspended from the neck so that it lies in a vertical position at waist level, or so that it rests in the lap of a seated player, kuntuku is beaten with the pair of sticks held one in each hand in a rapid staccato-like style" (Ames and King 1971:29-30).

The remaining instrument in the set, the kwarya, is an idiophone consisting of a hemispherical shell of a dried half-gourd. Like the kalengu, various sizes of kwarya are used in the culture. The k'waryar goge ("the k'warya for goge") is a large gourd inverted on the ground and beaten with a pair of sticks (Ames and King 1971:8-9). See plates 33 and 34 in Appendix C for photographs of each instrumental type.

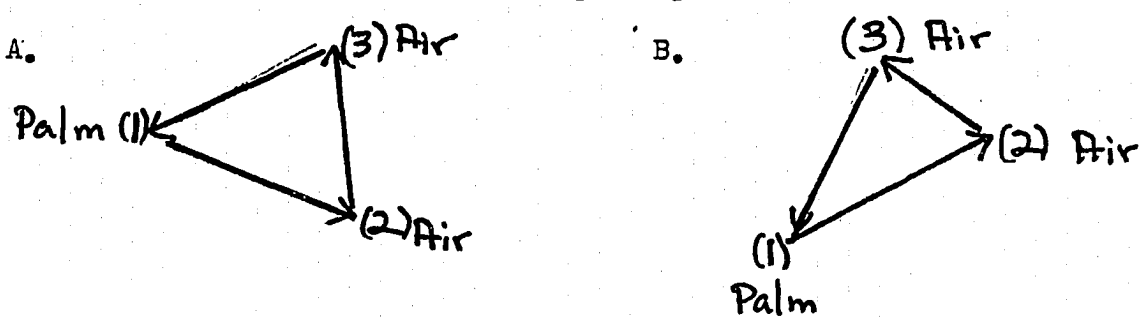
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Dagomba

The percussion section of the Dagomba fiddle ensemble consists of only one instrumental type--zaabia, a rattle. On an important occasion (festival,royal function, etc.), as many as seven, eight, or nine rattlers may perform simultaneously. About nine rattlers took part in the Tsimsi Tsugu recitation of royal genealogy on the eve of the festival.

The rattle, constructed from a hollowed dried gourd, is approximately ten to eleven inches in length and the bell-end extends from about six to eight inches in diameter. Played with both hands, the instrument is held by the neck end usually in the right hand (choice of hands depends upon the rattler). The performance technique frequently involves a three-step kinetic motion; the rattle is struck in the palm of the hand, moved diagonally to the lower or upper right,and raised either perpendicularly (see Figures 154A) or diagonally (see Figure 154B) before the entire pattern is started again. See diagrams in Figure 154.

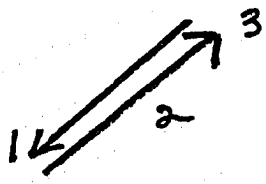
Figure 154. Diagrams for performing the gondze rattle.



In very fast tempi the second step is sometimes omitted: the pattern would then consist of only two motions as shown in Figure 155:

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Figure 155. Alternate version for performing the gondze rattle in fast temp



For a photograph and demonstration of playing technique see plates 18, 26, 27, and 32 in Appendix C.

Linear and Multilinear Organization of Rhythm Section

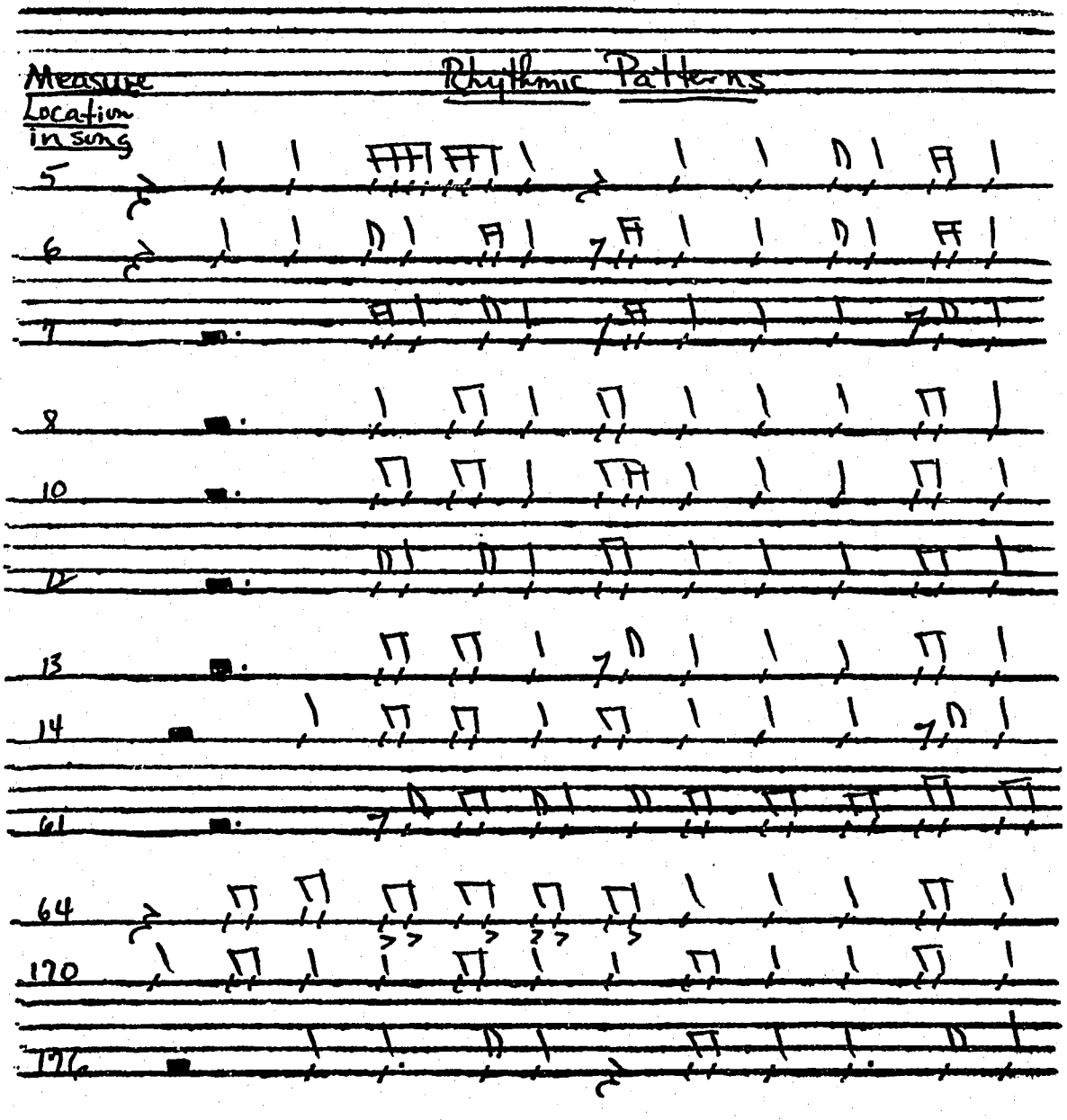
Hausa

The percussion section of Hausa fiddle ensembles is based on a repetitive rhythmic time line with a time span that is very similar in length and function to the gondze melodic time line. The length of the time span varies with each composition. Some are based on twelve, twenty-four, or eight beats (see Figures 156-161). Although twelve and twenty-four-beat patterns appear to be more prominently used, a performer, within his song repertoire, may employ several different types of time spans, interchanging them from composition to composition. For example, in Haruna's performance of Banjo, Barrahaza, and Jabula, a 12-, 24-, and 8-beat time span is used respectively. Landi uses an eight-beat pattern for Wakakai, while a twelve-beat arrangement is employed in Kidan kanawa.

During a performance, the percussion accompaniment does not enter until approximately the middle or latter part of the opening section of the composition. Its point of entry normally follows that of the

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Figure 156. Banjo (H1)- 12-beat pattern



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Figure 157. Barrahaza (H2) – 24-beat pattern
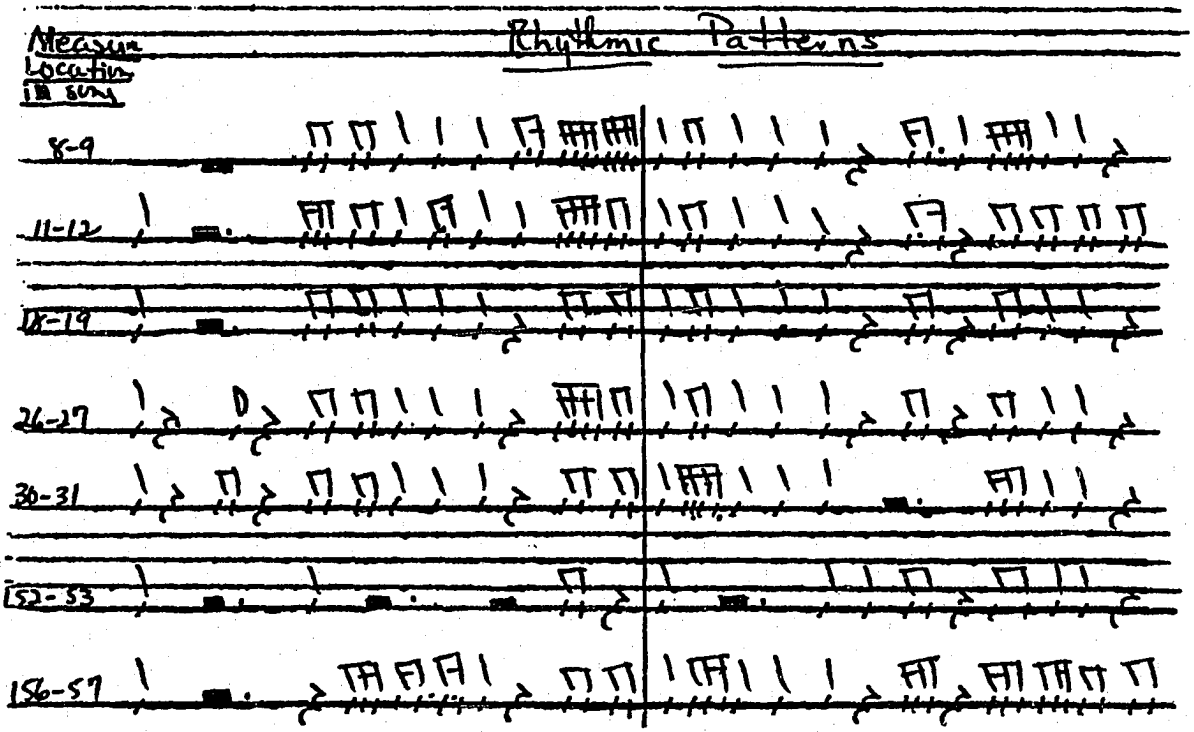


Figure 158. Wakakai (H7) 8-beat pattern

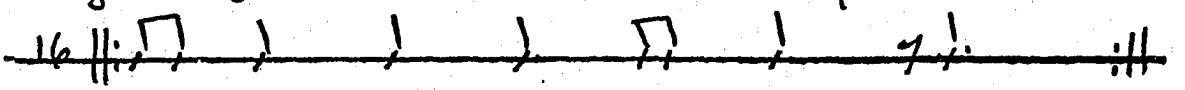
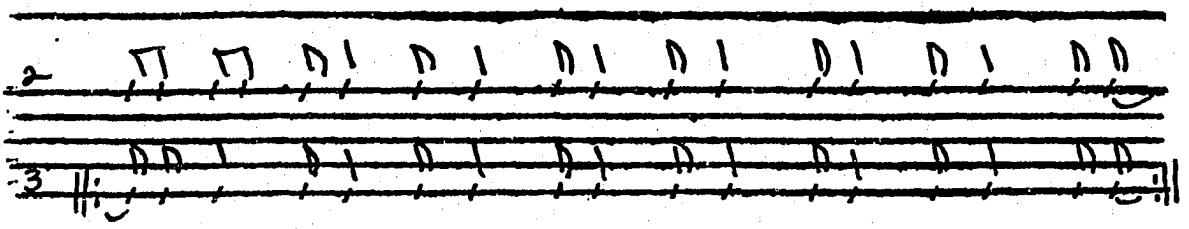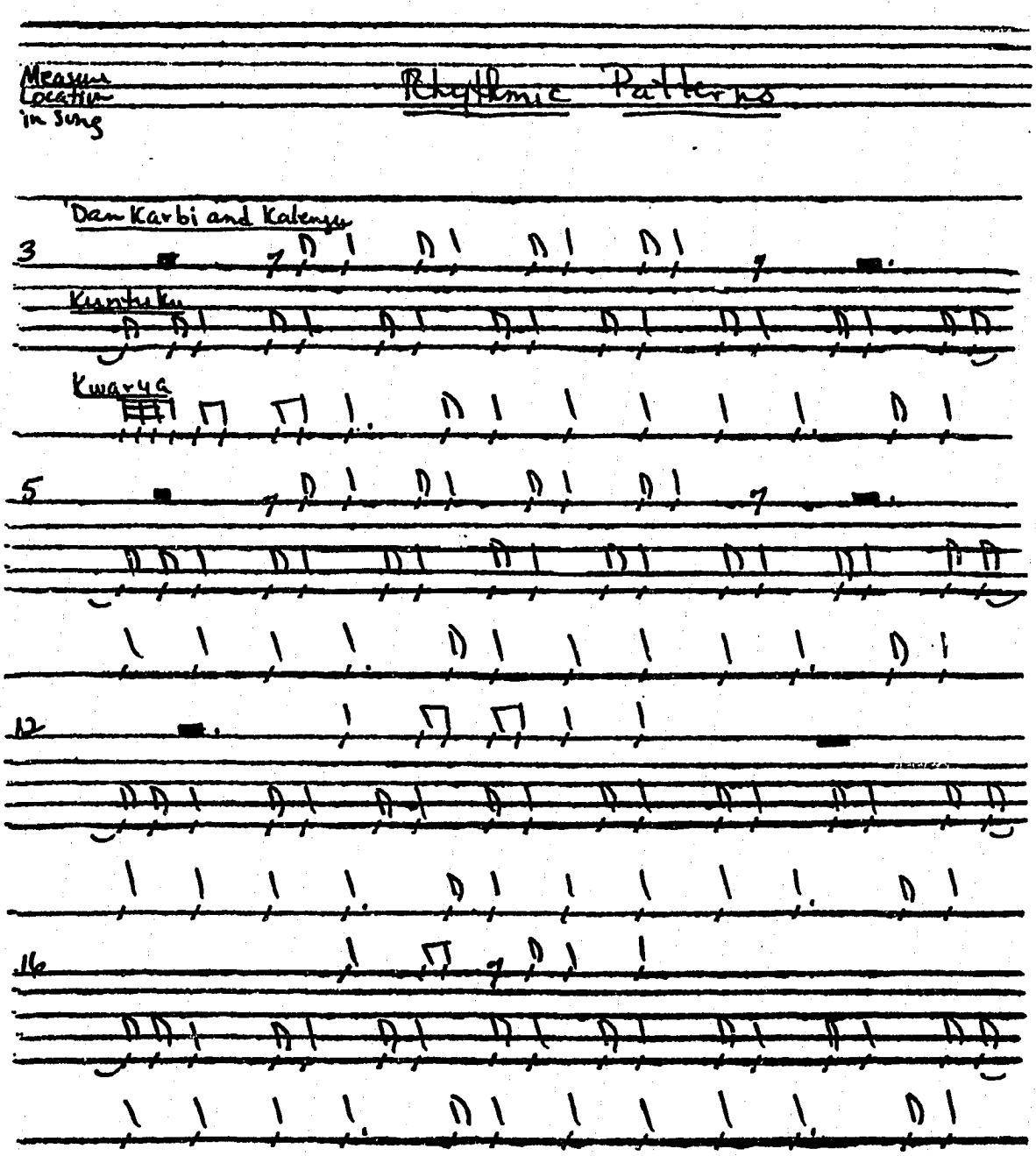


Figure 159. Kidan Kanawa (H8) 12-beat pattern



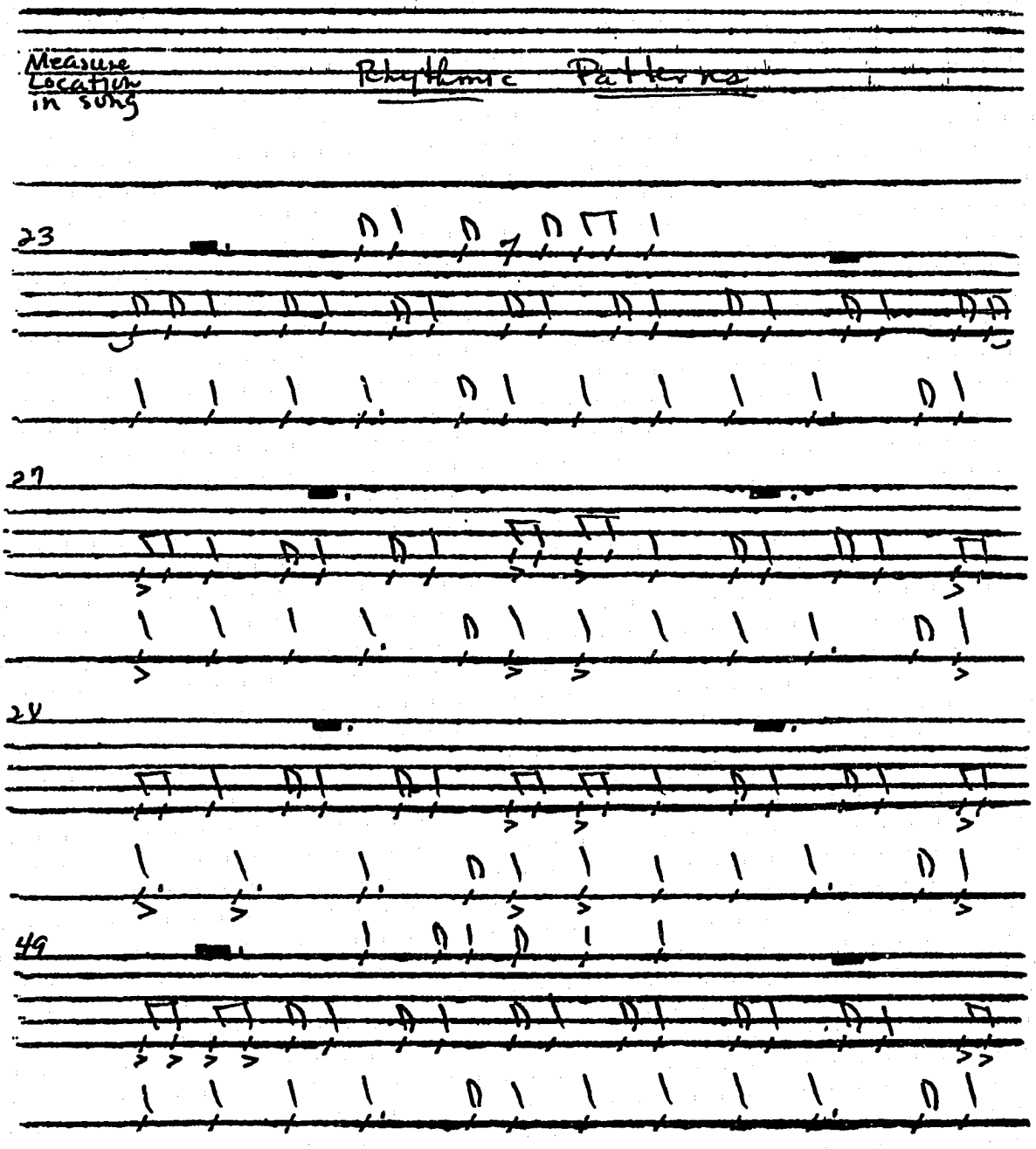
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Figure 160. Ali mai... (H11) 12-beat pattern



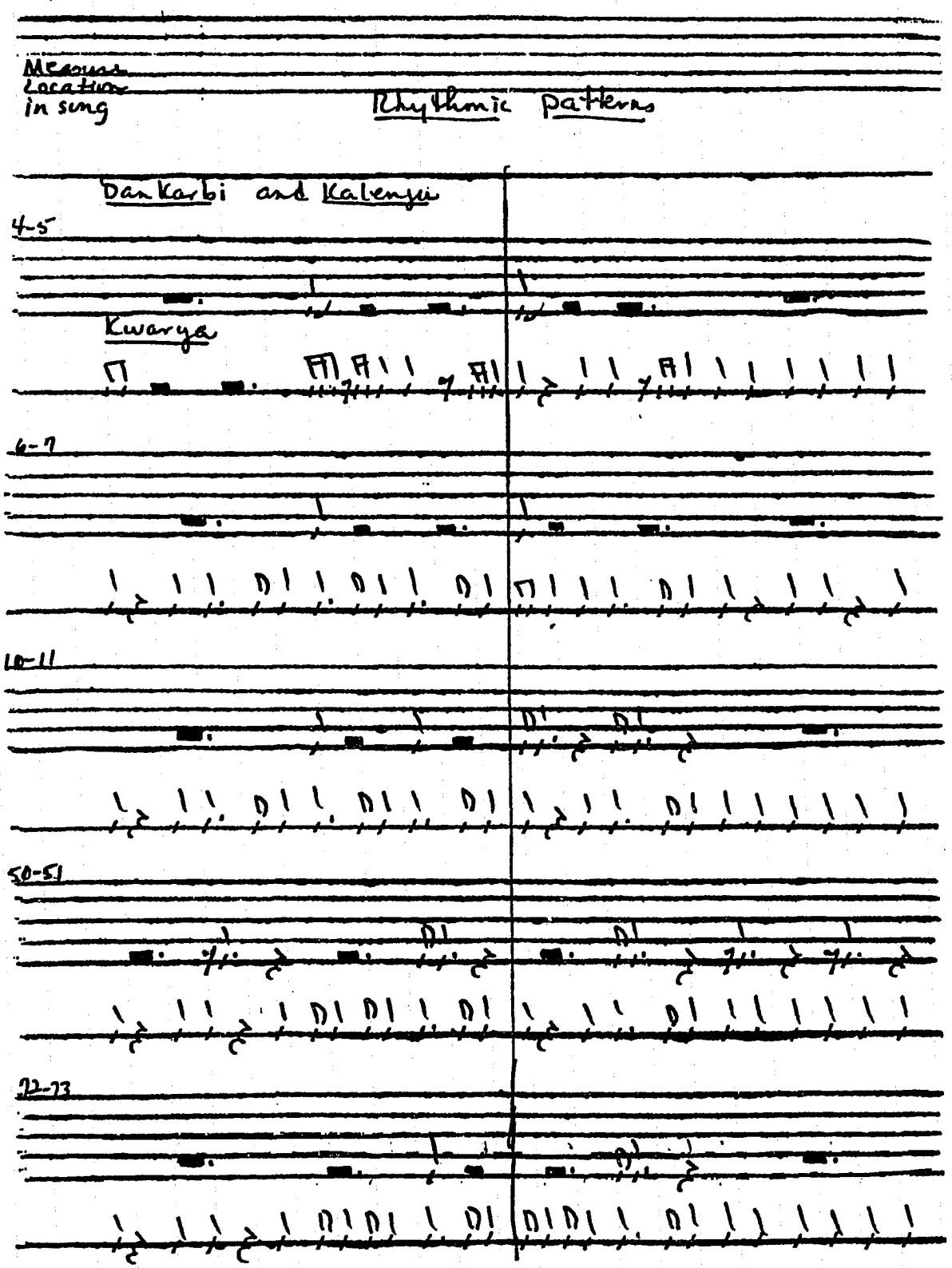
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Figure 160. Continued.



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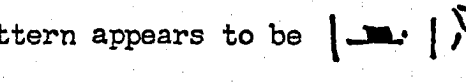
Figure 161. Sarkin mallamai (H12) 24-beat pattern



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fiddle and precedes the vocalists' statements.

Rhythmic patterns used to accompany compositions by Haruna are based on a divisive time structure--that is, accented pulses are articulated during regular divisions of the time span. In Banjo (see Figure 156) the time line is based on four groups of three pulses--1 2 3 | 4 5 6 | 7 8 9 | 10 11 12. Since the time line consists of 12 beats, one probably wonders why the pattern is not organized into three groups of four pulses--that is, 1 2 3 4 | 5 6 7 8 | 9 10 11 12. Upon listening to Banjo the listener becomes keenly aware of periodic accented beats on beats 1, 4, 7, and 10--i.e. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12. During the course of the song, performers sometimes tap these beats with their feet against the floor or the edge of the gourd: calabash beaters are able to articulate these pulses most distinctly because of their playing position. Commonly a kwarya player is seated on the ground with legs spread apart and slightly arched. The gourd is situated between the legs of the calabash beater with feet resting lightly against its sides. Since the arch of the sole rests against the gourd, it is not difficult for the calabash beater to tap the sides of the gourd on the accented beats. The result is very similar to the palm/air rattle technique used by Dagomba rattlers--the palm beat is the strongest and becomes the basis for dance rhythms as well as points of references in the melodic time line.

Throughout the composition one basic construction for each of the four groups of three units is prominent and variations are derived or created from each. For example, the basic pulse for the Banjo rhythmic pattern appears to be  and variations are created for each unit. A unique feature of the Banjo structure

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is the first unit--that is, beats 1 2 3; the opening usually begins with either a one, two, or three beat rest.

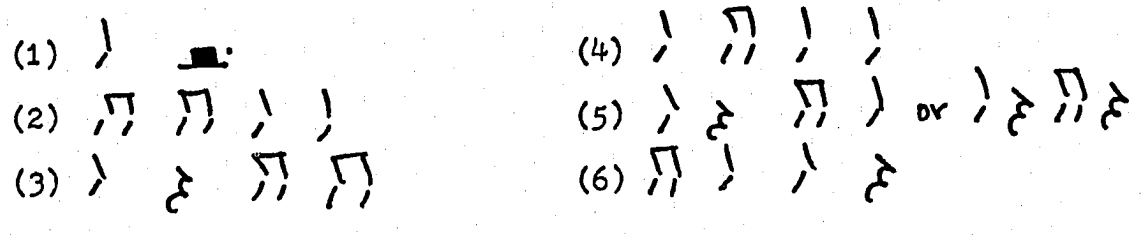
The rhythmic arrangement for Barrahaza is based on a 24-beat time span, just as the length of most themes in Barrahaza is composed of 24 beats. Thus, the rhythmic line is arranged in such a manner that no questions arise as to the beginning or ending of each thematic statement. In other words rhythmic patterns help to reinforce the entire melodic statements. Also, rhythmic patterns aid in indicating to choral members their point of entry. Unlike Banjo, the rhythm in Barrahaza is arranged in groups of four--that is, the three groups of four to the measure or six groups of four to the complete cycle of 24 beats:

1 2 3 4 - 5 6 7 8 - 9 10 11 12 | 13 14 15 16 - 17 18 19 20 - 21 22 23 24

1 2 3 4 - 5 6 7 8 - 9 10 11 12 | 1 2 3 4 - 5 6 7 8 - 9 10 11 12

All the beats of some of the groups are not sounded. Secondly, some of them may be divided into half pulses. The patterns of beat, half beats and rests are standardized for each group as shown in Figure 162. The first group (1 2 3 4) consists of one quarter note and dotted-half note rest; the last group (21, 22, 23, 24) is made up of two half beats, two full beats, and one beat rest. Therefore, when a pause or rest is evident at the end of a pattern, this means that the time line is completed.

Figure 162. Rhythmic units used in Barrahaza (H2)



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One of the interesting features of the percussion performance in Barrahaza is the structure of their rhythmic patterns while performing choral responses. It must be remembered that in addition to playing their instruments, percussionists often sing in the chorus even when specific individuals in the ensemble (masu amshi) have been assigned the function of singing. From the examination of the gondze musician who serves as fiddler and lead vocalist, we already know what sometimes develops in cases like these--the gondze performs a very simple motive during his vocal statements. The same thing happens in the case of kwarya players. Notice that measures 152-153 in Figure 157 contain only a bare skeleton of the actual rhythmic pattern. This is because kwarya players are singing the choral response at measures 152-153.

The answer to why this feature is not apparent in Banjo lies in the organization of themes in Haruna's version of this recreation song. Themes in Banjo are much simpler in construction and are all more or less derived from one central theme. Such is not the case in Barrahaza. Several different themes are performed in Barrahaza; choral members, therefore, have to be more cautious and pay more attention to the job of responding to the different statements of the fiddler. The only repetitive motive that somewhat unifies vocal themes in the possession song by Haruna occurs in the descent in pitch and the sometimes dotted-half note rest at the end of each time line. Since percussionists constantly repeat this ending phrase, they do not need much time to think, allowing them the opportunity to perform the last four beats of the rhythmic time span in their entirety.

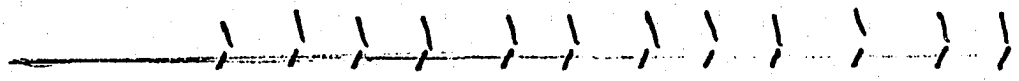
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Rhythmic patterns used to accompany Landi's compositions (see Figures 158 and 159) are continuously repeated throughout the song without variation during choral statements. The pattern is sometimes omitted during choral responses for the very same reason that kwarya players in Barrahaza perform only a skeleton representation of the rhythmic time line during certain portions of the song. The pattern to accompany Wakakai is composed of eight pulses and is based on a divisive form. The percussionist briefly suggests the additive form in the last one and one-half beats of the pattern, for at that point the durational value of the last beat extends beyond the regular time divisions. Not surprisingly, the primary reason for the use of an eight pulse pattern in Wakakai is because themes are composed of eight beats or derivatives of eight.

The additive rhythmic form is even more promient in the Kidan Kanawa rhythmic ostinato. Performing at regular divisions of the pulse does not appear to be of major importance to the percussionist. Rather, the multilinear spacing of the rhythm with the melody seems to be of more importance especially for the purpose of creating rhythmic density. Notice that the rhythmic structure of the 12-beat melodic statements in Kidan Kanawa (more noticeable in the choral response) are extremely simple--composed of regular divisions of quarter notes. The rhythmic pattern of the choral melody looks like the following:

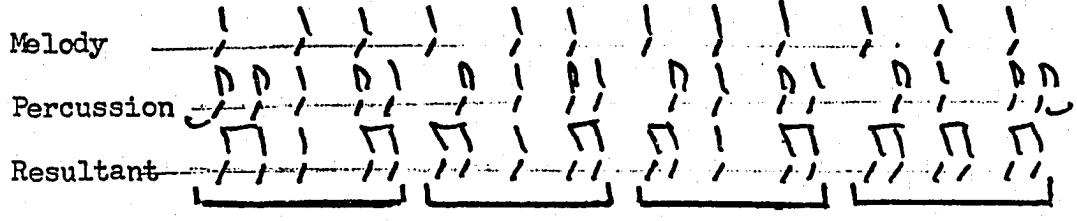
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Figure 163A. Rhythm of melody in Kidan Kanawa



When the percussion pattern is added to the above, the results is as follows (Figure 163B):

Figure 163B. Melodic, percussive, and resultant rhythm(s) in Kidan Kanawa



Through the principle of spacing (sometimes referred to as interlocking--see Nketia 1974:134-138), a much more interesting rhythmic structure is developed. In this case the 12-beat pattern is grouped into units of three pulses primarily because this organization correlates with the melodic scheme of the song. This gives rise to four distinct units in the resultant--that is, the combination of the rhythm of the melody and the percussion. The first three are repeats and the last is the characteristic ending for the pattern. Probably, the reason why spacing, additive forms, and interlocking of rhythms are apparent in Kidan kanawa is that since both melodic and rhythmic structures of the theme are so very simple, something needs to be added to provide the necessary excitement to the performance style.

The percussion section in Leo's compositions can be examined for its linear and multilinear organization of rhythmic patterns. Similar to some of the above examples, the time lines are composed of twelve (Ali mai) and 24 (Sarkin mallamai) beats and organized into groups of

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three pulses--that is 1 2 3 | 4 5 6 | 7 8 9 | 10 11 12. The rhythmic structure in Ali mai (see Figure 160) is the more complex of the two because of the incorporation of three different parts: 'dan karbi and kalengu constitute one part and kuntuku and kwarya the other two.

A number of principles are combined to form the highly complex nature of rhythmic patterns in Ali. What strickes one upon first hearing the percussion accompaniment is the different pitches and timbres of instruments. Each part has a distinguishing sound quality which enables the rhythmic patterns to be distinctly heard. For example, kwarya players in this performance do not beat the calabash with sticks; rather, they use the palms of their hands. This not only provides a different and unique timbre from that of Banjo, Barrahaza, and Sarkin mallamai, but the volume is decreased considerably. The somewhat muffled calabash sound does not drown-out nor overshadow the performance by other percussionists. In addition, the palm-technique cfeates a bass sound that is distinctive from other higher pitched percussion instruments.

Due to the pressure technique used to perform 'dan karbi and kalengu, different tones can be produced from these percussive instruments. Thus, throughout the composition various tunes are performed by the double-membrane performers. For example, between measures 3-11 the pattern performed on the pressure drums is pitched at approximately E^3. At measure 12 the pitch is changed to C^4 followed by G^3 at measure 19.

It is not clear from the recording whether or not the change in pitch indicates a change in instrument--that is, the lower pitches are played on the kalengu, while the higher are played on 'dan karbi. Only through subsequent close observation of the playing technique during

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a performance[2] can this be determined. Rhythms produced on the pressure drums constitute the high pitched sound in the percussive orchestra.

Rhythms performed on the kuntuku are distinctly heard not because of any special playing technique but because the other two instrumental types clearly contrast with it. While the pressure drums perform the highest tones and the kwarya the lowest, the pattern on the kuntuku fits into the middle pitch range.

Another feature of the rhythmic organization of Ali mai is the spacing of rhythmic patterns. Certain parts start and stop at specified points in the time line. The kuntuku maintains a simple but additive ostinato form. Except for the first statements by kwarya players, the bass part is also highly repetitive. Both are usually performed in each time line, but the 'dan karbi and kalengu are performed only during the middle of the pattern at beat $3\frac{1}{2}$ in measures 3-11 and beat 4 in subsequent statements. The patterns by both the pressure drums and kuntuku are the same but a greater density of sound is produced, for they are spaced differently. The  pattern by the kuntuku begins at beat $1\frac{1}{2}$, but the overlapping of the same rhythmic motive by pressure drums never coincides because its entrance occurs at beat $3\frac{1}{2}$.

The principle of grading (see definition and discussion in Nketia 1974:133) to some degree is manifested in Ali mai, but this technique is not articulated entirely in the percussion section. The organization is most evident within the interrelationship of percussion and fiddle. Because instrumental types in the percussion section perform similar roles, each part is based on the same degree of complexity. No one part

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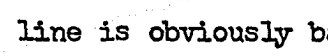
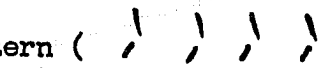
is more complex than the other--the same time values are produced in each line. The time values used in the rhythm, however, are simpler than those performed by the fiddler primarily because the latter is the improvisatory medium in the ensemble.

An examination of percussion pattern in Ali mai (kuntuku and pressure drums) and Kidan kanawa shows that similar rhythmic motives exist. Could the drummer in Landi's composition be playing the kuntuku part, only on a table top? Probably yes. Moreover, does this correlation suggest that specific rhythmic patterns are employed for each instrumental type no matter the composition? That each percussionist maintains a distinctive pattern throughout the song repertoire similar to Dagomba rattlers who perform the same rattle technique (palm/air) in each gondze composition is clear. However, the practice appears to be reserved for players of only certain instrumental types, such as the kuntuku and pressure drum players, while calabash beaters are allowed to modify and vary the rhythmic time since they represent the improvisatory media within the percussion section. It seems that the kuntuku playing technique is based on a repetitive two-part kinetic motion. The performer alternates in striking two beats on the membrane.

The rhythmic performance style of Sarkin mallamai differs from that used in Ali mai. No kuntuku is used and the kwarya is played with sticks. Although differences in pitch and timbre are apparent in the two contrasting instrumental types (kwarya, low; pressure drum, high), by comparison rhythmic patterns produced in the former are much simpler than those expressed in the latter.

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For example, the pressure drum pattern performed in Sarkin mallamai is based on a two-beat motive  which is variably played throughout the composition--sometimes in successions of two's and four's, other times only once during the rhythmic time line. What is interesting is that the first beat is frequently played with a low tone and the second (dotted-quarter note) with a high tone. Again, it is not clear from the recording if the low is played on the kalengu and the high on the 'dan karbi.

More variation on the part of kwarya players is apparent in Sarkin mallamai, perhaps, because few individuals are included in the percussion section. Although the first six beats of each half of the kwarya time line is obviously based on  , performers introduce modifications (see measures 7, 50, 72, and 73 in Figure 161). The last six beats of the time line is based on a six beat quarter note pattern ().

The unique feature about Sarkin mallamai is that the length of the rhythmic time line (24 beats) does not correlate with the length of themes, which range from approximately 12 to 36 beats. As a result the beginning and ending of rhythmic and melodic time lines do not correlate. In measure 11, for example, even though the vocalists are beginning the theme, the percussionist does not start from the beginning of the 24-beat rhythmic time line. He starts from the last half.

The amount of rhythmic density produced in Sarkin mallamai is less in comparison to Ali mai because a smaller number of parts are used. This factor, however, does not seem to diminish the rhythmic complexity of the composition for the interplay of rhythms used in melodies create

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rhythmic interest.

Dagomba

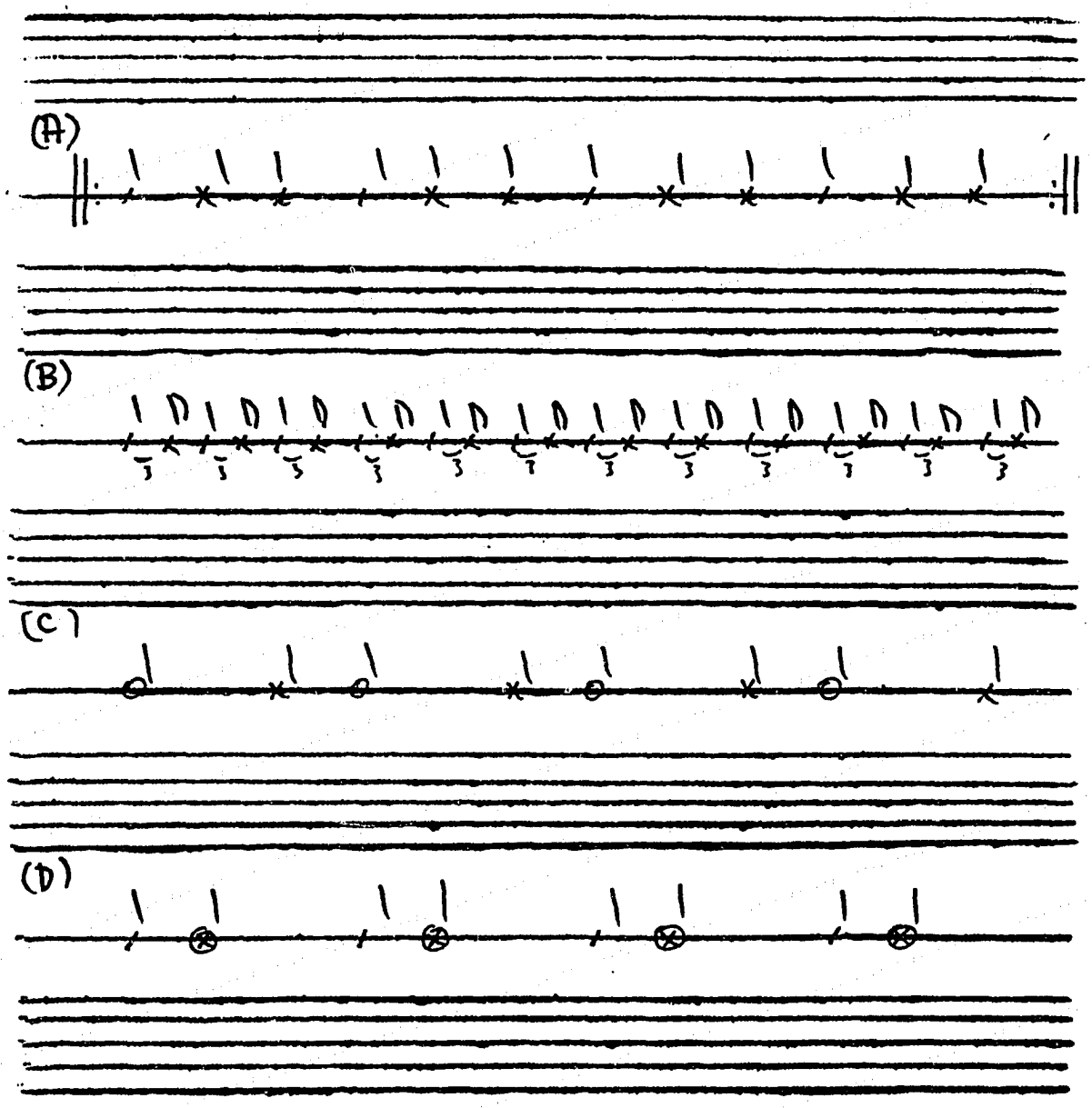
The rhythmic organization of Dagomba compositions in all respects is much simpler than that of the Hausa (see Figure 164). All rhythmic patterns are manifested linearly either in a 12- or 24-beat pattern. The time span in Allah yaa (D7) is composed of eight beats only because the rattler probably was not able to produce the correct version.

The 12- or 24-beat pattern is always organized in groups of three pulses--indicated in the transcriptions by the symbols ⟋ ✕ ✕ . In fact the kinetic motion of playing the rattle helps to produce the desired rhythm (see Figures 154A and 154B). The characteristic feature of the three-pulse motive is strong emphases on beats 1, 4, 7, and 10, which is produced by striking the rattle in the palm of the hand (indicated in the transcription with a quarter note ⟋ ; the ✕ refers to beats in the air).

In fast and some moderate tempos each beat may not be articulated distinctly, giving rise to the omission of the second-beat motion. See Figures 164B and 164C for examples of patterns in which the second-beat has been omitted. Another modified playing technique, although rarely used, is seen in Figure 164D. In this case, the rhythmic pattern is also produced from a two-part motion, but the rattler immediately moves the gourd to the second position rather than delaying the action as in Figures 164B and 164C. The pattern in Figure 164D obviously may be employed in both moderate and fast tempos; Banchendi by Lali is the only composition in this study that is based on patterns indicated in Figure

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Figure 164. Dagomba rhythmic patterns



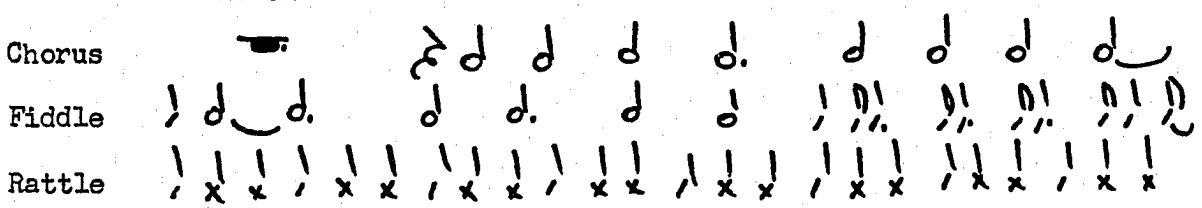
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164D.

As mentioned in the above, one not familiar with the tradition might conceive of most of these patterns as 4/4 with the eighth-note triplet constituting the three-pulse motive. Whether conceived of as 12 or 4, the strong accent is important for several reasons. First, the regular occurrence of strong accents provides the basis for dance and body movements (see Chapter Eight). Secondly, regular divisions of strong accents aid in the rhythmic interplay between the percussion and melodic time line. Fiddlers frequently compose melodies that do not fall on regular divisions of stressed beats. Thus, while the percussion section produces a simple divisive rhythmic pattern, its combination with rhythms in the melodic time line creates an interplay of polyrhythmic movement, producing cross-rhythms, interlocking patterns, and greater density. For example, the vertical interplay of duple (in the melody) and triple (in the rattle) rhythms is prominent in several compositions: Nantoh, Yeda binbeim, Dunia taali, possibly Allah yaa, and others.

Additive rhythmic patterns are also produced in the gondze tradition but not specifically in the percussion section. For an illustration of the manner in which additive forms in Oboaboa (D40) melodies create greater rhythmic density see Figure 165.

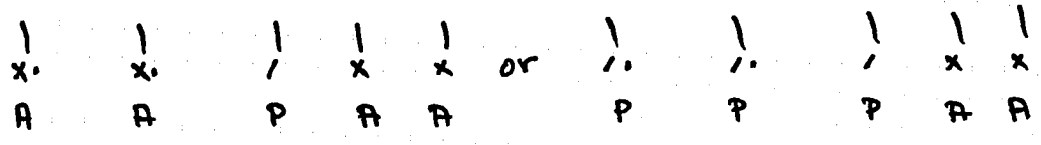
Figure 165. Rhythmic patterns produced in Oboaboa by Mahama (D40), measure 14



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Other means in addition to those discussed in the above are sometimes used to modify a zaabia ostinato. Rattlers occasionally introduce hemiola patterns at some points in compositions (see D4, measure 15 and D10, measure 7). To produce hemiolas, the duple rhythm is created by striking the rattle in the palm of the hand twice, or shaking the gourd in mid-air twice, thereby emphasizing two strong accents right after the other. For example, the following technique (Figure 166) might be used in a hemiola pattern.

Figure 166. Demonstration of hemiola patterns



A - shaking rattle in mid-air

P - striking rattle in the palm

As is evident from the above discussion, (1) more rhythmic variety is employed in the Hausa tradition than in the Dagomba tradition because of the inclusion of several instrumental types. (2) While the rhythmic structure of Dagomba compositions is greatly dependent upon its interrelationship with melody for the creation of density and variation, Hausa percussionists are able to produce complex time patterns solely from the linear and multilinear organization of percussive parts. (3) The vertical interplay between vocal, fiddle, and rattle form the basis of gondze rhythms. In the Hausa tradition the horizontal and multilinear arrangement between membrane and idiophone players as well as vertical spacing in melodic and rhythmic parts create the rich rhythmic expressions of goge music.

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Chapter Thirteen

Dynamics

Various degrees of dynamics are used in both fiddle traditions. Amplitude or volume is produced primarily by the amount of pressure/stress that is placed on the string by the bow. A lot of pressure creates a loud volume and a small amount produces the other extreme.

Sharp contrasts in volume in Hausa vocal and fiddle parts are most apparent at the point of exchange between call and response. In other words, whichever part has the leading role at a particular moment, the volume of that part is increased while other parts decreased in sound. For example, differences in amplitude are evident when the goge player performs his solo statement and during overlaps with the vocal chorus. During his fiddle statement a loud to medium volume is used, for he is the sole attraction at that moment. At the choral response, the fiddler's performance is extremely diminished in sound for he knows that chorus members must be heard. Another occasion in which the fiddler might produce a loud volume is during instrumental improvisatory sections--opening, interludes, and closing. At this point sometimes even gradual crescendos and decrescendos are used as a means of further improvisation. Sudden and gradual changes in volume are prominent techniques in compositions by Nabarau, especially at changes in pitch range and on long sustained notes. These different changes in dynamics have, however, not been indicated in detail in the transcriptions, for to include all of them would only complicate rather than aid in interpretation of goge performance style.

In the gondze tradition, a similar technique is used by the fid-

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dler in spite of the fact that he is performing an ostinato. During the vocal leader's statements, the fiddle volume is soft in contrast to the amount of pressure used during the chorus response. The lead vocalist, therefore, maintains the right to sing louder than either chorus or fiddler even during overlaps because of the function of each medium in the ensemble; the situation does not change as we find in the goge tradition--where the goge player, even though he is the leading performer, usually decreases his volume during overlaps with the chorus. Similarities do exist within the two traditions; fiddlers in both societies normally begin and end compositions with a loud volume.

The amount of pressure or stress placed on the bow also relates to the articulation of ornaments and changes in pitch. Two types of techniques can be used to produce ornaments--heavy and light pressure. For example, because Lali places a lot of pressure on the fiddle string in his performance of Banchendi, a number of grace notes, neighboring tone, and appoggiatura are produced. Mahama uses the opposite approach to obtain many of his ornaments in possession songs. And only through the use of light pressure was Landi able to produce such high pitches and chordal harmonics.

It is evident therefore, that dynamics plays a significant role in fiddle music. Using the proper techniques and volume aid in delimiting structural units as well as in producing the desired effects.

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Chapter Fourteen

Summary of Music Analyses

Based on analytical descriptions of a selected sample of fiddle songs--twelve goge and thirty-eight gondze--presented in Chapter Ten, a comparison of similar and different musical elements within the two styles has been presented, for such an examination not only aids in our understand of the fiddle tradition within the two savannah belt cultures but it also provides criteria for establishing the relationship between other traditions in the area. In so doing, hopefully a clear and concise cross-cultural definition of the basic characteristics of one string fiddle music described at length in this study will emerge, which may be used as a basis for further comparison of the tradition in other world cultures.

Besides obvious similarities in terms of song types and compositional techniques, in Hausa and Dagomba traditions, several differences are apparent, especially in regard to formal, melodic and rhythmic structures. These are now stated in the comparative summary given below.

Hausa	Dagomba
Song Types	
1. Songs included in the analyses can be categorized into three types--entertainment, possession, and praise. Four of each song type are represented in the Hausa song collection.	1. Praise songs (28) constitute the majority of Dagomba songs represented in this study. Only eight entertainment and two possession songs are included.

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Creation of Music

1. Most new creations are often the result of inspiration from the audience, specific patrons, or community. Depending upon the specialization of the performer, the musician may take the initiative to compose new songs. Specialists in praise music feel the need to compose more often than bori professionals. Although both have to "hunt" for new patrons, the latter relies on his ability to re-create existing bori material to entice patrons rather than creating an entirely new composition that might be required of the former.	1. Gondze musicians rarely compose new music without some urge from the community. The pressure to create new songs is not as great, for most gondze are attached to royal patrons. Only a performer who is ambitious or wishes to earn additional monies may take the time to create new compositions.

Formal Structure

1. The call and response form, manifested between fiddle and chorus serves as the basic structure for goge compositions. The form is divided into three sections in which: a short opening introduces themes, a long middle section establishes and develops themes, and a short closing section provides opportunity for further development of melodic and rhythmic material.	1. Because only one theme is normally introduced and developed in gondze compositions, the form is referred to as "theme and variation"; rarely are two, three, or four themes performed in one composition. Regardless of this difference, most gondze songs are divided into three sections in which: a short opening introduces theme(s) in an elaborate fashion, a long middle section restates, establishes, and develops theme(s), and a brief closing section restates material for the final time. The call and response technique in the Dagomba tradition is manifested between the vocal leader and chorus--not fiddler and chorus.
2. What distinguishes the Hausa song from gondze music is the inclusion of several improvisatory sections--opening, interlude(s), and closing--in which fiddler without choral accompaniment develops new and old material.	2. No improvisatory sections are included in gondze songs. Short transitional phrases are sparingly used in songs by Mahama.

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3. Songs in a free style although represented, do not appear to be a norm; rather, they are the result of the performer's attempt to produce their rendition of songs in a solo fashion. The performance style of these songs is very similar to improvisatory sections of a call and response form.	3. Songs in a free style are not a norm. They represent, in this case, the performer's attempt to perform a song type (bori) not normally used within the gondze tradition.

Melodic Structure

Ambitus

1. The ambitus of goge music is the same as that for gondze but pitch distribution differs, extending from D^{b3} to B^{b6}. That for vocal music is two octaves, minor second (A^2 to B^{b4}). The pitch concentration (range in which the majority of songs are performed) is much smaller than the overall ambitus, extending from G^3 to G^5 (two octaves) while that for vocal music is one octave (G^3 to G^4).	1. The range of gondze music extends from B^{b2} to G^5, three octaves, major sixth. Ambitus for vocalists is slightly smaller than Hausa singers--two octaves (C^3 to C^5). The pitch concentration for both gondze and Dagomba vocal music is one octave (G^3 to G^4).

Gamut and Mode

2. The average number of pitches in Hausa fiddle and vocal gamuts is larger than that for the Dagomba--eleven for goge and nine for voice. Although a variety of hemitonic and anhemitonic pentatonic modes are used in goge music, all seem to be a derivative of one basic mode (G A C D F).	2. The average number of pitches used in Dagomba fiddle and vocal gamuts is similar--six/seven for gondze and six for vocal. The same basic mode--G A C D F--used in goge music seems to be the basis for all gondze modes.

Intervals

3. Intervals used in Hausa fiddle songs are more varied and larger in construction than those of Dagomba--ranging from the unison to two octaves, perfect fourth.	3. By comparison, intervals employed in gondze songs are not as large and varied as those in the Hausa tradition; the size of Dagomba intervals extends from the unison to one octave, major sixth.

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Melodic Contour

4. The melodic contour of Hausa songs is generally undulating. Sharp contrast in pitch range is more prominently used in goge songs as an improvisatory device. The beginning of melodies ascend and descend at the end.

4. Undulating melodic contours are common to gondze music as well. Sharp contrast in pitch range is rare. While the pitch movement of melodies normally ascend at the beginning, what occurs at the end of melodies depends upon the location of the phrase in the composition. Melodies performed during the middle section usually include an ascending end, but a descent at the end is more characteristic of melodies performed during closing sections of the composition.

Length of Melody

5. The length of goge melodies is more varied, based on either a duple, triple or free 8-, 12-, or 24-beat pattern.

5. The use of a triple 12- or 24-beat pattern seems to be a stylistic feature of gondze playing. The use of a 9-beat pattern seems to be reserved for royal patrons.

Phrasing

6. Although overlappings by fiddle and vocal parts are accepted practice in the goge tradition, phrasing by each part is organized as separate entities. Normally the fiddler first introduces a somewhat florid statement and choral members respond by repeating the same statement, most often in a simpler form.

6. While the gondze(s) maintain a melodic ostinato, call and response phrases are developed between vocal leader and chorus. Because of the inclusion of more melodic parts, more varied and complex phrasing techniques are used by Dagomba musicians.

Melodic Character

7. Hausa melodies generally are more florid and contain more secondary tones than Dagomba compositions. Evidence shows that specific techniques are used by musicians to correlate song type and melodic character within song styles--entertainment, simple; bori and praise, a little more complex. Such practices are most evident within one individual fiddle style--e.g. Haruna.

7. Except for a few performances by Mahama, neither fiddle nor vocal melodies are as florid as those performed in the goge tradition. Like the Hausa, efforts are made by certain performers (Mahama) to correlate melodic character with song type. Mahama's bori music is much more florid and improvisatory than many of the other compositions.

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Melodic Ornamentation

8. Although the basic motives--grace notes, neighboring and passing tones, anticipatory tones, repeated tones, and glissandi--used by Hausa fiddlers are similar to those in the gondze tradition, ornaments by goge performers are not only more complex in terms of length and construction, but the technique of combining smaller motives to form longer extended groups is a common feature of the goge tradition.

8. Gondze ornaments are very simple, with the majority consisting of only the two- to three-note basic motives. Ornamentation is used less and does not seem to be as important to the performance style as is the case in the goge tradition.

Texture

9. Polyphony best describes music produced by both goge and gondze ensembles. Without rhythmic accompaniment, however, melodies are based on a monophonic texture with occasional incidence of heterophony between fiddle and voice and homophonic parallelism within vocal parts.

9. Even with the exclusion of rhythmic accompaniment, the texture of Dagomba fiddle music must be regarded as polyphonic and heterophonic with occasional incidence of homophonic parallelism between fiddle and voice.

Rhythmic Background

1. Although as many as four instrumental types--kwarya, kalengu, 'dan karbi, and kuntuku--can be included in a goge ensemble, most only contain the kwarya. Rhythmic patterns vary, consisting of triple and duple 12 and 24 beats, and duple eight beats. Occasional use of multilinear rhythmic patterns is not uncommon.

1. Only the gourd rattle--zaabia--is used as percussion accompaniment in gondze ensemble. The most common rhythmic patterns performed by musicians are composed of triple 12 and 24 beats. No multilinear arrangements are performed by gondze; rather, all rhythms are constructed linearly.

Dynamics

The amount of pressure placed on the string by the bow causes distinction in amplitude, in addition to being a major means for producing changes in pitch and embellishments. In both traditions most changes in volume occur at the exchange of call and response in various parts within the ensemble. Whichever part has the leading role at a particular moment, the volume of that part is increased while other performers decrease their volume.

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Conclusion

The primary objective of this dissertation has been to compare and contrast one string fiddle tradition in the Sudanic belt of Africa and to see what insight the actual examination of the usages of two societies can provide into various aspects of its organization, performance practice and related problems. With this in mind, the approach of the study has been not only descriptive but critical and comparative. Supporting data from field observations, interviews, documentary sources as well as recordings have been presented along with analytical observations and discussion in the hope that it will stimulate interest in comparative studies of the tradition of other African societies.

From the evidence presented in this dissertation, it will be evident of the factors that have given rise to the distinctions in the one string fiddle traditions of the Hausa and the Dagomba, the most critical is the degree to which Arabic and western ideologies have changed social and cultural values in each society. The Hausa have not only been among the early propagators and advocates of Arab culture--first through trade and later as Islamic missionaries--but have received and maintained western contacts and influences to a larger extent than the Dagomba. Whereas the people of Dagbon have made numerous attempts thoughout their history to avoid or isolate themselves from foreign interventions such is islamization and europeanization, by comparison, the Hausa have readily accepted these and incorporated them almost totally in the case of Islam into Hausa culture. As a result one finds that Hausaland is becoming progressively more western in terms of technology, education, and some cultural values, but of course within

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the limits of Islamic rules and doctrines. In contrast, the Dagomba have maintained a traditional environment due primarily to their nominal acceptance Islam and dim view of the rewards or europeanization.

When one examines the historical and cultural background of Hausa and Dagomba fiddle traditions, these differences become apparent. Whereas many Hausa fiddlers have no knowledge about the origin and introduction of the goge into Hausaland, such is not the case in Dagbon. Obviously, because emphases on change and acculturation have been the major ingredients that affect the development of the fiddle in Hausaland, historical facts are forgotten, much less given any importance. In Dagbon, continuity best describes the feature that has influenced the development of the gondze. Awareness of where the instrument came from and who is responsible for the tradition is general and is articulated by most gondze, for knowledge of these facts justifies and perpetuates the important role that fiddlers have in Dagomba society. These historical and cultural distinctions have not affected the construction of fiddles in the two culture areas; physically, both fiddles look the same except for the longer bow used by the Hausa. The usage of the fiddle in both societies, however, does differ. The fiddle as well as other chordophones are not regarded as important instrumental types for the laws of Islam discourage the use of string music. Thus, whereas the gondze is one of the most important instruments in the Dagomba state, functioning as a medium for recording royal genealogy, providing entertainment at Islamic rituals and for royalty, the goge instrument is reserved primarily for musical accompaniment at possession cult ceremonies and entertainment occasions for commoners.

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Likewise, differences in culture contact affect the recruitment, training, role, and status of the goge performer in both societies. The basis for recruitment into the goge profession is achievement--that is, anyone who desires to become a fiddler and is willing to acquire the necessary training is accepted within the occupational group. In Dagbon, no individuals are allowed to play the gondze unless they are born into the gondze family. Learning to play the gondze, therefore, begins at a much earlier age and is normally obtained from a close kin. The respect and prestige attached to being a gondze in Dagbon is nonexistant in Kano. Persons entering the goge profession do so for material gain solely; very little respect and honor are attached to such an occupation in Hausaland.

Contrasts in usage among the Hausa and the Dagomba can also be seen in the mode of presentation, dance, song text, and music. Occasions for one string fiddle performances in both societies are quite similar; the only difference that may be apparent is audience preference. Performing at bori ceremonies is much more widespread in Hausaland than at royal functions, which is not the case for gondze musicians. Entertainment occasions constitute the most common social event for fiddle performances in both cultures. However, in terms of instrumentation, organization, performance practice, and gift-giving, no similarities seem to exist in the two performance traditions.

Most dances seen at goge occasions are choreographed and performed by professionals. To allow an amateur audience member to enter the dance ring is rare among the Hausa but is the norm in Dagbon. Since the Hausa regard their entire performance as a work experience for

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material benefits, they feel the need to have a formalized "polished" routine.

The historical and cultural background of the languages of song texts also shows influences from foreign contacts. For example, Arabic, and European contextual references are made in Hausa. The Dagbani language, on the other hand, contains loanwords from Gourmanche, Hausa, and Arabic. Themes used in songs reflect the major concerns of people within the two societies. For example, songs about religion, ethics, and profession/occupation are strongly emphasized by Hausa musicians. Interest in genealogy by Dagomba musicians replaces the profession/occupation theme found among the Hausa; the remaining two subjects--religion and ethics--are however treated extensively in gondze songs. The language used for Hausa songs appears to be much easier to understand, containing fewer poetic allusions, aphorisms, and metaphors than one finds in gondze texts. As goge musicians play primarily on entertainment occasions, they try to make the language as simple as possible so that everyone at the event can understand and enjoy the songs. On the other hand recording royal genealogy requires knowledge of ancient proverbs and adages, all of which are considered to be "sacred."

From the music analyses of Hausa and Dagomba fiddle songs, it is evident that in most cases the formal, melodic, and rhythmic structures used in Hausa music are much more complex than those used in Dagomba music. Whereas the Dagomba have consciously made attempts to preserve traditional elements, maintaining a fiddle style that differs very little from what probably existed one hundred years ago, the

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Hausa have intentionally gone to to the opposite extreme. Attempts to make the goge performance as modern and professional as possible seem to be of utmost importance, for goge performers realize that it is only through innovations that they can attract patrons.

With regard to the Sudanic belt as a whole, the general assumption of Arabic influence on some of the musical traditions of the area seem to be confirmed to some extent in the fiddle traditions of Hausa and Dagomba. Several features of Sudanese music--instrumental types, modal and melodic constructions, song texts, rhythmic patterns, and some performance occasions--have been presumed to be attributable to Arab intervention either because of the culture history of the area or evidence based on comparative linguistics, or because of the apparent stylistic contrast between the music of some of the societies in this area and those further south.

A comprehensive analysis of the distribution of the one string fiddle tradition in West Africa provides even more convincing evidence of Arab influence in this area of the world. What becomes apparent is that fiddle distribution correlates closely with areas of Muslim concentration which also happen to be areas of intensive mobility of people. Moreover, distinctions in construction and terminology for the fiddle are very similar to differences in location. Fiddles with the resonating hole placed in the gourd body are normally found in the Western Sudan, while those with the hole cut in the resonating skin covering are found prominently in the Central Sudan. In addition, while a variety of terms are used for the fiddle in the western half, the term goge or its variant is widespread in the central half. Other aspects such as playing technique, elements of form and

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structure, organization of fiddle ensembles, song types, and socio-cultural values vary slightly from society to society.

It is clear from these variations and what is now known of the Sudanic belt that what is needed in the study of the music of this area is not confirmation of Arabic influence which seems evident but the ways in which this influence has diffused through the mobility of African peoples, or become integrated into different cultural traditions. In other words, much more emphasis need to be laid on the study of the 'local' history of musical types and instrumental resources such as the one string fiddle as well as on comparative stylistic analysis, for the physical details of construction of instruments, social, and performance practice of all savannah belt fiddle societies, for example, are not the same. Such an approach would enable us to view the history of musical traditions from the African standpoint in terms of what is selected, adapted, or rejected as new musical resources and ideas are integrated into the African experience.

It should be noted also that the presence of instruments of foreign origin in a culture may not lead to a change in the style of the entire musical culture. In both Hausa and Dagomba, the one string fiddle is only one of a number of traditions of the two musical cultures. What is of particular interest is how specific roles assigned to the tradition shape and influence its practice within the total musical culture. It is this, among other things, that this dissertation has sought to examine.

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Notes

SECTION ONE

Chapter One

1. Countries in West Africa include the following: Mauritania, Senegal, Gambia, Mali, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Ivory Coast, Ghana, Upper Volta, Niger, Togo, Benin, Nigeria, and the Cameroon.

2. The Western Sudan stretches approximately from 18° West Longitude to 2° East Longitude, while the Central Sudan comprises that area from 2° East Longitude to 18° East Longitude.

3. This theory substantiates the oral traditions of the Dagomba and Hausa who believe that ancestors of the royal families came from the north "red men on horseback."

4. Some discrepancy occurs in the documentation of the caravan routes; therefore, maps from three different sources are included (Murdock 1959:122, Oliver and Fage 1962:87, and Macquet 1972:159).

5. Also see the theory proposed by Oliver and Fage on page 3.

6. The Islamic educational process is still in existence today--especially in those areas which have strong Muslim affiliates, e.g., Sokoto, Kano, Zaria, and so forth.

Chapter Two

1. The scale in Example one, when transposed down a major third, is the same as the basic mode for Hausa and Dagomba fiddle songs (see Chapter Eleven).

2. A similar situation exists, as will be shown later, in the royal courts of kings in Dagomba society.

3. Jinn is the plural of jinnee, a supernatural being in Mohammedan demonology (Garmonsway and Simpson 1969:404).

4. Shaitān in Neil Skinner's Hausa-English Pocket Dictionary is spelled as shaidan, refers to Satan, devil, evil spirit (Skinner 1959:82).

5. According to Dagomba oral history Ya Na Zangina is responsible for the introduction of Islam in Dagbon, while Ya Na Sigli is believed to have introduced the one string fiddle tradition in the area. Interestingly, these facts indicate that the fiddle appeared ten to twenty years after, and not before, the spread of Islam in the Dagomba kingdom, causing one to believe that the sequence of events resulting from Arabic influence contributed to the use of gondze.

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Chapter Three

1. See Francis Bebey 1969:57-60 and 1975:41-44. His information, although limited, is useful.

2. I was able to use the archive collection at the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana and materials from UCLA Ethnomusicology Archives.

3. During this discussion the term Guinea includes both Guinea-Bissau and the Republic of Guinea.

4. Tidiane, an Ivorian student studying in Los Angeles, who is of Dioula descent (an ethnic group in the north of Ivory Coast), confirms that he has seen a fiddle performed by griots from Mali, Upper Volta, and other places in the Sudan; but he has not seen any Ivorians performing the fiddle.

5. The Ashanti, however, do use the donno (hour-glass drum), a membranophone that was originally used in the north of Ghana among the Dagomba people.

6. See Wilks 1961 and Trimingham 1962:230-231 for a discussion of the spread of Islam in Ashanti and Fon societies. The term Benin is the new name for the country that was formally called Dahomey.

7. The western coastal regions are more Westernized than areas in the north, because Western influences infiltrated into the coastal areas before spreading to northern areas (see Chapter One).

8. Judith Ann Lamm, quoting from "A Vocabulary of Temne Musical Instruments," in Sierra Leone Language Review, V (1966), 27-33, states that the Temne perform the fiddle with the resonating body placed on the shoulder and handle pointing away from the player (1968:16).

Chapter Four

1. This information is based on personal interviews conducted with a number of Hausa people in Kano City and some Maguzawa residents in the rural areas of Kano State (Wudil, Kasauni, and Yandoji).

2. Bayajidda and his sons are said to have founded the seven Hausa states--Daura, Kano, Rano, Katsina, Zazzau, Gobir, and Garun Gabas (see Johnston 1967:16-17).

3. A more recent census was taken in November 1973 and the findings were released in May 1974. Ghana's Daily Graphic gives the following report:

> Nigeria, Africa's most populous nation now has a population of 79,760,000 according to figures released in Lagos yesterday.

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This is the result of a census carried out last November. It shows that almost two-thirds of the population is in the Federation's six Northern States (Anon 1974:2).

4. This is extremely significant for pre-Islamic Hausa also worshipped trees. According to Hausa oral tradition Barbushe, the political and religious leader for the Hausa, learned from their tree god, Tchunburburai, that foreigners were going to invade the area (Palmer 1928:97-98).

5. Today, the Federal Republic of Nigeria is controlled by a military government; the military obtained power in 1966.

6. Timpana is the name for a single membrane drum that the Dagomba have borrowed from Ashanti. In Ashanti country the drum is called atumpan.

7. The Dagomba have had continual exchange of ideas and contacts with the Gurma. Before the founding of Dagbon ancestors of the ruling dynasty settled in Fada N'Gurma before moving to their present location. According to gondze oral history Ya Na Sigli visited Gurmaland (purpose of visit is not known) during the early eighteenth century and returned with a gondze musician. In the 1860's Ya Na Abudulai employed horsemen from the regions of Fada N'Gurma to help in capturing slaves for the Ashanti (Staniland 1975:9).

SECTION TWO

Chapter Five

1. Many of the goge performers that I personally interviewed knew nothing about the origin of the instrument. In fact, they were awed that I should even ask such questions. In recent years, however, concerned individuals, e.g., state government administrators in the Ministry of Culture and Information, have attempted to collect available data on non-Islamic or pre-Islamic traditions in Hausa culture.

2. Garba Leo (Liyo) is known all over Nigeria and West Africa for his goge playing. Recently, Folkways produced a recording of his music--Alhaji Garbo Leao and His GOGE Music, Folkways Records FW 8860. He has become prosperous from the goge profession even though he also farms. His permanent residence is Funtua, a town more than fifty miles from Kano City. At the time I met Leo, he was doing a two week performance in northern Nigeria before going to southern Nigeria for another tour.

   Concerning the origin of goge Leo said that he acquired the information from his father. When Leo was learning to play the instrument as a child, his father also told him about the origin and history of the fiddle tradition.

3. In Palmer 1928 the juju is spelled in the following manner: Tchunbur-

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burai.

4. Garba Leo did not explain in detail the physical description of the sunsuma. He somewhat demonstrated the playing technique. Evidently, the gourd was cut in half. Two leather strings were attached to the top of the open half. At this point I am not sure if the two men pulled another string back and forth to rub against the attached string or whether they pulled the leather strings across the open ends of the calabash.

5. The garaya is a two-string plucked lute; see Ames and King 1971:40-41 for a full account of the instrument.

6. The interview took place in Brigade, a suburb of Kano City on February 19, 1974. A research assistant, Duro Oni, from the Centre for Nigerian Cultural Studies in Kano City translated the history from Hausa into English.

7. The gentleman's name is not known.

8. At the time I visited the school (March 1974), it had been in existence for approximately six months.

9. Throughout my stay in Kano he never returned. I left instructions with people in Kano to interview him in my behalf; as of yet I have not heard from anyone.

10. I believe this is an error on the part of the recorder of the oral history. The story concerns Yantsebli, not "Yantsebli's father" as indicated in this account.

11. Salisu Mahama, who is originally from Diali (also known as Diari or Diyare) but now resides in Accra and Salifu Lali of Bimbilla performed this song during a recording session with me; see transcription in Appendix F.

12. Only people of the Kanem-Bornu Empire had accepted Islam prior to the Hausa--that is, in the eleventh century A.D. (See Trimingham 1962:107).

13. Findings are based on personal observation of Kano fiddle performances. Unfortunately, no precise measurements were taken.

14. The following information is a description of performance practice among the Dagomba. I can only logically assume that the Hausa use similar techniques with possibly minor variation, because I was unable to take formal lessons in performing goge.

15. I am not sure about the bowing technique in the Hausa tradition. I should assume that the longer bow allows the goge performer to play longer and more florid melismatic passages than the shorter gondze bow.

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16. In Hausa one string fiddle tradition the vocal leader does not perform an instrument, and the sole fiddle player does not sing.

17. According to Besmer 1974:20 and 77, the kalengu was never observed as part of the royal insignia for the Emir of Kano. In Besmer's description of music for two important Muslim festivals (Id al-Fitr and Id al-Kabir) in Kano, the only drum that was not included in the ceremony was the kalengu. Perhaps the kalengu has been excluded because of its usage at such places as harlot houses--a usage that is taboo in Islamic doctrine. But the kalengu is included in the royal court at other palaces--e.g., Emir of Zaria (see Ames and King 1971).

18. All musicians have a very low status in most Muslim societies; this is the result of Islamic doctrine (see Chapters One- Three).

19. More research has to be done on pre-Islamic religion in Hausaland. For if bori is an aspect of Islamic demonology, possibly goge is the original instrumental accompaniment. In the event that bori is derived from traditional Maguzawa religion, then the garaya is certainly the original accompanying medium. Discrepancies in the origin of the bori must be clarified before theories can be made.

20. I visited several suburban Kano City villages in which bori was prominent. Only garaya performers resided in these areas. In fact, villagers stated that goge musicians do not live in those areas.

21. Goge musicians are almost non-existant in small villages in Kano--see Note 19. The fiddle is primarily an urban instrumental medium.

22. This information was obtained from personal interviews that I conducted with goge musicians in Kano City.

Chapter Six

1. A photograph of Samunaka, a Hausa fiddler, is not included. Mechanical problems with my camera prevented me from photographing him during his performance at Abdullahi Bayero College.

2. Since many Africans are not sure of their actual age, this information is only an approximation.

3. In cultures that have tonal languages the musical instrument is commonly used to speak the language for the tonal and rhythmic elements of the language can be performed on the instrument. This process is called surrogation.

4. Each goge player with whom I spoke saw the need for some type of union to organize music performances in the city. At that time no one had made a great effort to propagate the idea.

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5. Some of the information that Oppong includes does not correlate with material obtained from interviewed gondze performers. She gives the impression that the performer's obligation to fulfill the duty of tradition is not a serious concern and can be disregarded without retribution. Most of the musicians with whom I spoke felt that to disobey elders and traditional laws was a serious action.

6. I am not sure about item four. Although no documentation exists for goge players on this occasion, this does not mean that some do not perform in this manner. Performers of other chordophone types are known to play in this capacity--kuntigi, jitar (guitar), and so forth.

7. K'aramar Salla ('Id el Fitr) marks the closing of the Ramadan (fasting month), while Babbar Salla ('Id el Kabir) falls on the twelfth day of the Muslim month of pilgrimage (Dhu'l-hijja); the latter tends to be the lesser of these two important festive occations (Lewis 1966:70-71).

8. This perhaps may be the occasion that Ibrahim Mohammadan refers to in his interview--that is, when several musicians from the community are called to perform at the Emir's palace.

9. Many goge musicians are asked to praise an individual whom he has not met or knows only casually. In this case the musician spontaneously improvises or composes a song for the patron. Other patrons hire a musician for a longer period of time. For example, a wealthy merchant might demand that the musician accompany him in all public appearances with lavish praises so that people in the community would be interested in the merchant's business. Thus, the musician continuously receives payment from the wealthy patron--gowns, money, referrals to other patrons, and so forth.

10. If such occasions have existed in Dagbon, no documentation or evidence is available to demonstrate this.

11. I learned during my research project in 1973 that both the Savelugu Na and the chief gondze leader, Alhassan, had been ill for some time. These people were often entertained by gondze music as a panacea (personal communication with Salisu Mahama).

12. During my stay in Tamale the gondze players were constantly playing for naming, marriage, and funeral ceremonies. When I visited the gondze's home on Friday morning, January 26, 1973, it was learned that only one gondze attended the homage paying ceremony at the king's palace. Others had gone to various functions.

13. When I conducted my interviews in each village, it was imperative that I meet the chief and state my purpose for obtaining information from the gondze. Although disapproval was never given, I am

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sure, if conflicts arose, that my interview would have been canceled.

14. Possibly this is the reason the performance style of goge music has changed in recent years. Previously, the goge ensemble did not include membranophones nor dance teams.

15. In a personal communication, Salisu Mahama said that the gondze family was split between the two factions; some supported Mohamadu Abudulai IV, while others wanted Yakubu Andani. At the installation of Andani in 1974, Salifu Lali, from Bimbilla, acted as lead gondze but knew he would not be chosen as Yamba Na. Rather, the blood brother of Yamba Na Salifu had been nominated in order to keep the office in the same family.

16. Accra and Kumasi are two of the largest cities in Ghana; the former is the nation's capital, while the latter is the traditional capital for the Ashanti people.

17. A paradox exists concerning the importance of text to the Dagomba. Most Dagomba commoners, including some royalty, do not understand the gondze language because of its mixture with old Dagbani, Hausa, and Gourmanche. Thus, few people, besides the gondze themselves, understand what is actually being stated. Possibly, this is the reason so many new songs have been requested and composed--so that all can enjoy and comprehend the text.

18. It appears as if Ames is using his Western values, judges, and tastes as a norm in describing Hausa clothing. To the Hausa perhaps the attire is in good taste even though a Westener would consider the clothing to be mix-matched. In other words dressing in this manner may have been done intentionally by the musician.

19. The Dagomba usually go to the chief's palace; to my knowledge, they seldom go to the home of other patrons in the community.

Chapter Seven

1. From my observations only changes in the song text and minor differences in the musical constructions make one different from the other. Musical elements--form, rhythm, tonality, and so forth--are basically the same for bori and non-bori songs (see more discussion in Section Three).

2. The date or time of its addition to the ensemble is not known.

3. Information was obtained from an interview (1974) with Ahmadu Samunaka, a goge player.

4. For example, when I saw Garba Leo perform in Kano in 1974, no dancers were included in the ensemble. Only Samunaka who performed for the Hausa Week activities at Abdullahi Bayero College used

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dancers in his performance.

5. Ames and King gave examples for Zaria, not all Hausa Nigerians (see 1971:120).

6. K'warya is a hemispherical shell of a dried half-gourd (Ames and King 1971:8).

7. Kuntuku is a single-membrane snared bowl-shaped drum (Ames and King 1971:29).

8. Kalengu is a generic term for a group of double-membrane hour-glass drums of variable pitch similar to but smaller than jaujo and larger than kolo (Ames and King 1971:23).

9. 'Dan karbi is a double-membrane hour-glass drum, similar to but smaller than kalengu, with which it is customarily combined (Ames and King 1971:14).

10. Amshi is a chorus response to a solo statement in either vocal or instrumental music, the response in almost all cases being in the nature of a refrain. Thus in song, a mawak'i ("solo singer") is answered by the masu amshi (the "chorus"), the latter group either merely supplying the refrain as a stanza marker or else extending and completing the solo section before stating the refrain (Ames and King 1971:132).

11. Maroka, in general, are any persons who acclaim another, whether solicited or not, in the hope of obtaining reward as a means of livelihood. The acclamation may be expressed in song (waka) or speech (kirari), with or without instrumental accompaniment (Ames and King 1971:62-63).

12. In the past it is believed that an ensemble of fiddlers performed simultaneously (personal communication with Ingawa, a Hausa informant).

13. The lead chorus member in Haruna's group interjected praises of encouragement during the recording session (see song text and music transcription of "Jabula" in Appendices E and F).

14. Besmer has used the following conventions in transcribing Hausa terms: "Long vowels are indicated by double letters, whereas single letters are used to indicate short vowels. Low tones are marked with an /\/ over the vowel to which it applies and high tones are left unmarked" (1972/73:38). For further explanation see source.

15. Information was obtained from Salihu Y. Ingawa, a Hausa informant.

16. Haruna admitted that he was a bori affiliate; also Mohammadan, from his actions, appears to be a member of the cult but this is not based on documented evidence.

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17. Ames and King refer to the gourd rattle as the following:
caki (masculine singular)
buta (feminine singular)
duma (feminine singular)
See 1971:5 for more information.

18. Besmer's work will be used as the major reference for the analytical discussion; he is, to my knowledge, the foremost authority on bori in Kano City.

19. The Nigerian currency of naira and kobo replaced the British pound and shilling.

20. The person who accompanied me to both clubs knew some of the guests; therefore, this is the way that I discovered the occupation of most of the audience.

21. The basis for this conjecture is derived from personal observations of all three levels of nightclubs in Kano City.

22. Oppong(1973:29)vividly describes the physical surroundings of a zana: "Outside the entrance of the enclosed compound is the yard, a clear space partly shaded by trees, where children play, old men gossip and horses, hen or goats are tied to feed. Here a chief has his zana, mat shelter, for resting in the afternoon and receiving visitors. ...Often the yard is the scene of animated activities such weaving, mat-making, rope-twining, dancing, playing, while the chief's yard is an important focus for village activities. There he receives his court officials and keeps his powerful medicine shrines. Communal celebrations also take place here" (page 29).

23. I am not sure of what the women's loads symbolized--maybe ammunition or food.

24. I am not sure if the gondze began their praising where the lunsi ended--perhaps this was the case. This would explain why the gondze began with Ya Na Yakuba and not a former or later king.

25. Perhaps such actions demonstrate the people's attitude towards the two performance types. The lunsi is considered the "state" instrument, providing information concerning the history of the people. The gondze, although performs the same function, is rather regarded as recreational music for royalty and commoners. As will be discussed later, the fact that few understand the language of gondze song text constitutes another factor for the jovial atmosphere during gondze performances.

26. Salisu calls the song "Bruso," while Sulemana refers to it as "Taakaa sannu." This same music was used for Ya Na Yakubu Andani when he was installed as the new king in May 1974.

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27. I am not sure if this is the same as almsgiving which had occurred during the morning service.

28. On this occasion the king's throne was placed further to the rear of the zana. The immediate back of the throne was only one or two feet from the palace walls.

29. Mention should be made about the Ya Na's attire; see comments from field notes below:

> According to one of Sulley's brothers, the present Ya Na (referring to Mohamadu Abudulai IV) has changed the mode of dress from previous Ya Na's. Former kings had not worn so much clothing over the shoulders--in the past only a richly decorated cloth was draped around the chest of the Ya Na. But today, the Ya Na wears layers of clothing with long necklaces and turbans. He wears Western-style black leather boots. When he changes into a more relaxing attire, he wears a large traditional smock over long trousers (northern style) (personal fieldnotes from Yendi research project, January 18, 1973).

30. Evidently, that kings do not present themselves on Friday mornings when the market day falls on that weekday is a part of tradition. Sulley promised to tell me the reason for the custom, but we never discussed the matter again.

31. Zong is the Dagbani term for the entrance hall (room) of a compound in Dagbon; it is usually located on the south side of the residence (Oppong 1973:29).

32. As I mentioned in the above drummers normally do not enter the palace walls.

33. If the chair were not placed in state, members of the community would be led to believe that the king was dead (personal communication with Sulley, A Dagomba informant).

34. I had the opportunity to attend a wedding ceremony while in Yendi. A description of the event has not been included in this study for my late arrival (about one hour late) prohibited me from observing all of the activities included in the event.

Chapter Eight

1. In a footnote Ames states that his research study began late in August of 1963 and was terminated in the middle of December 1964 (Ames 1973b:160).

2. These dance movements were observed by the author during a performance by Ahmadu Samunaka in March 1974 at Abdullahi Bayero College in Kano City for Hausa Week celebrations.

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Chapter Nine

1. According to Ingawa some Hausa refer to the goge as a banjo because of its similarity to the Western guitar.

2. Deleb is a type of food that is eaten in Hausaland (personal communication with Ingawa, my Hausa translator).

3. Mahama performed these same songs on another occasion--installation rites for Ya Na Yakubu, May 31, 1974. See his version and translation of song text in Appendix E; musical transcriptions of these songs are not available.

4. According to Sulley, a Dagomba informant, Nkrumah often travelled to northern Ghana and had initiated extensive development programs for Yendi prior to his overthrow.

5. Actually, Alhassan, who was 80 years old at the time of my interview in January 1973, did not participate in the performance. Since he still retained the lead gondze title for Savelugu at the time, his name is used as the leader of the group (actually he only listened while his family members performed).

6. Although Yamba Na Salifu was the lead gondze in Yendi at the time, I felt in this case that Sulemana's name should be indicated as leader because he held such an important position within the gondze family; he was second in command of the gondze family in Dagbon.

7. The Hausa's quest for money could not have been more evident when I was in search of a goge informant in Kano City. Upon reaching the informant's house to discover that he was not at home, my interpreter and I asked the wife to give us information concerning the location of her husband. She promptly requested some type of payment (money) before giving any information. In desperation, I reluctantly paid her and she then answered all of our questions.

8. Nantoh, according to Mahama, is the Dagbani term for a very poisonous little reptile, like a lizard, that bites but once and kills the victim instantly.

9. Four versions of the song are included in this study; see performances by Alhassan, Lali (two), and Sulemana.

10. Nag-biegu (a name signifying the king's strength which is comparable
11. to the bushcow) and Naanigoo (a proverb which states "do not trust your enemy or he will turn into a thorn and prick you") are praise names for Abudu and Andani, respectively. Occasionally praise names for former kings are used to describe the reigning king since he is a descendant of that family.

12. Alhassan, Lali (installation rites), and Sulemana performed these two songs in this order during performances.

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SECTION THREE

Chapter Ten

1. Nketia (1974:117) states that conventional (Western) staff notation is satisfactory or suitable for transcribing certain types of African melodies since this system is familiar to most readers. As Nketia indicates, however, the reader should remember that "notated pitches are approximate, and do not have the exact values of those of the Western tempered scale" (p. 17). The dotted-bar line in transcriptions "is used in accordance with current African practice for indicating regular division of the time span. . . and not for indicating shifts of melodic accents" (Nketia 1974:117).

2. I attempted on several occasions to transcribe songs performed by Salifu. Unfortunately, he was the only musician who did not perform during the interview session. And the compositions performed at the homage ceremony include so much additional material--talking, music by other instrumental types (drums, flute)--that an accurate transcription is impossible to be made.

3. More material by Mahama has been transcribed for several reasons: (a) Music that he performed were songs that I personally learned during formal gondze lessons with Mahama. Because of my knowledge of these songs, I thought that the analyses would be enhanced. (b) Mahama performed, although incomplete, the gondze genealogy--that is, songs concerning the history and background of Dagomba Yamba Na's. (c) With some persuasion Mahama performed bori songs, which are almost non-existant in performances by most Dagomba musicians. (d) Mahama is highly respected in the gondze family as an innovator; he is on the staff at the University of Ghana, a first for a Dagomba fiddler.

4. The author is aware of the system prevalently used by Western scholars (see Anthony Baines, Musical Instruments Through the Ages, 1966, page 23). For reasons which I shall not take the time to explain at this time, however, I have chosen to use my own system.

5. Hertz is a unit of frequency equal to one cycle per second (Webster 1974:537). In subsequent discussion hertz, cycles per second, and frequency will be used interchangeably.

6. According to Hicks the system was first used by Alan P. Merriam, Sarah Whinery, and Behnard Fred in "Songs of a Rada Community in Trinidad," Anthropos (1956) 51:57-174.

7. Randall Grass, in his notes, does not indicate instrumentation used for goge performance (see Folkways FW 8860).

8. Percussionist , who also served as sole chorus member, used a table-top to perform rhythmic patterns.

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9. Accompanying instruments were not used because of the controlled conditions of the recording. I requested that performers leave out the percussion for I had hoped to use the Melograph C to analyze compositions. Mention should be made that musicians prior to the recording expressed verbally that they did not like the idea of performing without percussion.

10. When Landi completed Wakakai and began playing Kidan Kanawa without interruption, one of my assistants suggested that he stop and introduce the new composition. After having played the theme at the end of Wakakai--that is, before he was stopped by my assistant, he probably felt no need to repeat an introduction; thus he began with the establishment and development of themes.

11. My major intention was to gather material that could be transcribed by the Melograph; only a monophonic texture obtains the best results.

12. In fact the descending octave motive in addition to an ascending and descending minor seventh are frequently used in compositions by Lali (Banchendi), Mahama (Manirinum, Nimbiegu, Naanigoo, Sakoro, Jugu, and conclusion of Yamba Na genealogy song collection), and Sulemana (Dunia taali).

Chapter Eleven

1. These statistics are based on the actual pitches of compositions--not transpositions.

2. For comparative purposes the data here are based on information from transposed compositions.

3. Within both Hausa and Dagomba fiddle traditions music is based on five primary tones, but other secondary tones, excluding the primary tones, are used within ornamental motives. Thus, within an octave, as many as 12 different pitches may be included in the gamut (see Appendix G for an indication of Hausa and Dagomba fiddle and vocal scales).

4. Open-string tone is produced when fiddle is bowed without placing any kind of finger-pressure on string.

5. Some performers produce lower pitch frequencies as ornamental phrases (see H2, measure 31 and D4, measure 2) but rarely as normal pitch utterances in themes.

6. As indicated in previous chapters possession songs are rarely performed in Dagbon primarily because possession organizations are not as widespread as in Hausaland.

7. The concluding section of the Yamba Na genealogy accounts for the thirty-ninth song.

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8. It should be remembered that all pitches performed in the composition--primary (modal) and secondary (ornamental)--constitute the gamut structure. If a fiddler uses many ornamental tones in his rendition of a composition, then that gamut would contain more pitches than the same composition performed by a fiddler who prefers not to incorporate so many ornaments. For example, notice that the vocal gamut for the three performances of Nantoh differ primarily (see Figure 60) because Sulemana includes many more ornamental tones than Alhassan and Lali. The same is true for the differences in the number of pitches for the gondze gamut.

9. Due to the unavailability of appropriate equipment the exact measurements of these intervals could not be made. Some are obviously less and more than the intervals indicated. Thus, it should always be remembered that the intervals may not be exactly the same in measurement as the Western equivalents in spite of the use of Western terminology--e.g., minor and major second, etc.

10. The concluding section of the Yamba Na genealogy song cycle is not a complete composition but has been included in the statistics, for the mode of the music in this section is completely different from any of the other modes--that is, G B^{b} C D F#.

11. When translating the text into English I failed to ask translators about the terminology that Mahama uses for this concept. Because I had not begun to do a detail analysis of either text and music at that time, I did not realize the significance of this particular element.

Chapter Twelve

1. I specifically asked Landi not to bring or include percussion in his performance. He rightfully protested against my foolish demands--a compromise was reached so this is the reason the percussion is performed very lightly on a table-top.

2. The composition was taken from a Folkways recording (see FW 8860); no mention is made about the playing technique of these two instruments.

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Discography

Alhəji Gərbo Ləəo and His Goge Music. Recordings and notes by Randall Grass. Folkways FW 8860. 1976.

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Appendix A

Maps

1. Caravan Route (From Murdock 1959:128)

2. Caravan Route (From Oliver and Fage 1962:87)

3. Caravan Route (From Macquet 1972:157)

4. Distribution of One String Fiddles in West Africa
   (See Chapter Three, page 30)

5. Distribution of Ethnic Groups in West Africa That Use the One String Fiddle
   (See Chapter Three, page 31)

6. Distribution of Fulani Settlements (From Mudock 1959:414)

7. Map of Kano, Nigeria

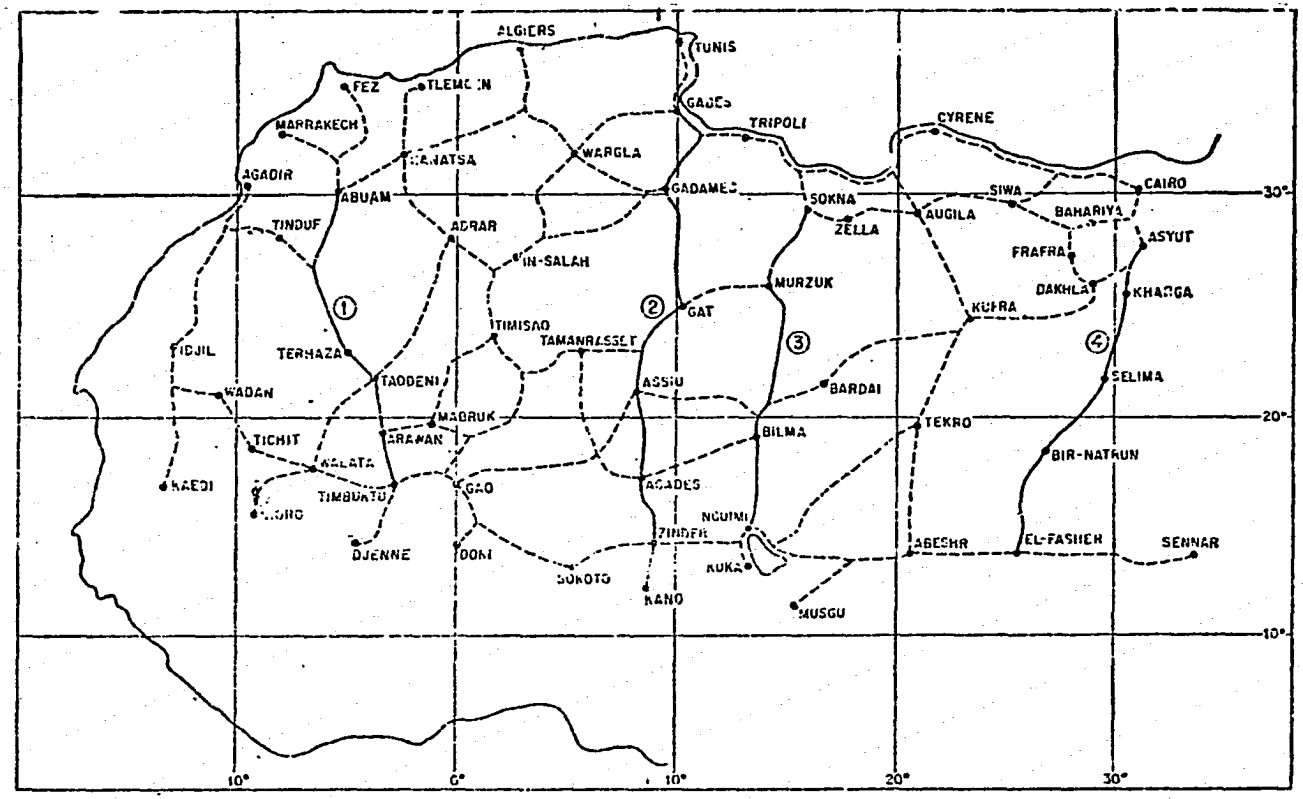
8. Map of Ghana Showing Area Occupied by the Dagomba
   (From Oppong 1973:12)

9. Map of Northern Ghana
   (From Staniland 1975:xiv)

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Map 1
Caravan Trade Route
(From Murdock 1959:128)



Map 12. Trans-Saharan Caravan Routes (1–Taodeni Trail, 2–Gadames Trail, 3–Bilma Trail, 4–Selima Trail)

Map 2
Caravan Trade Route
(From Oliver and Page 1962:87)

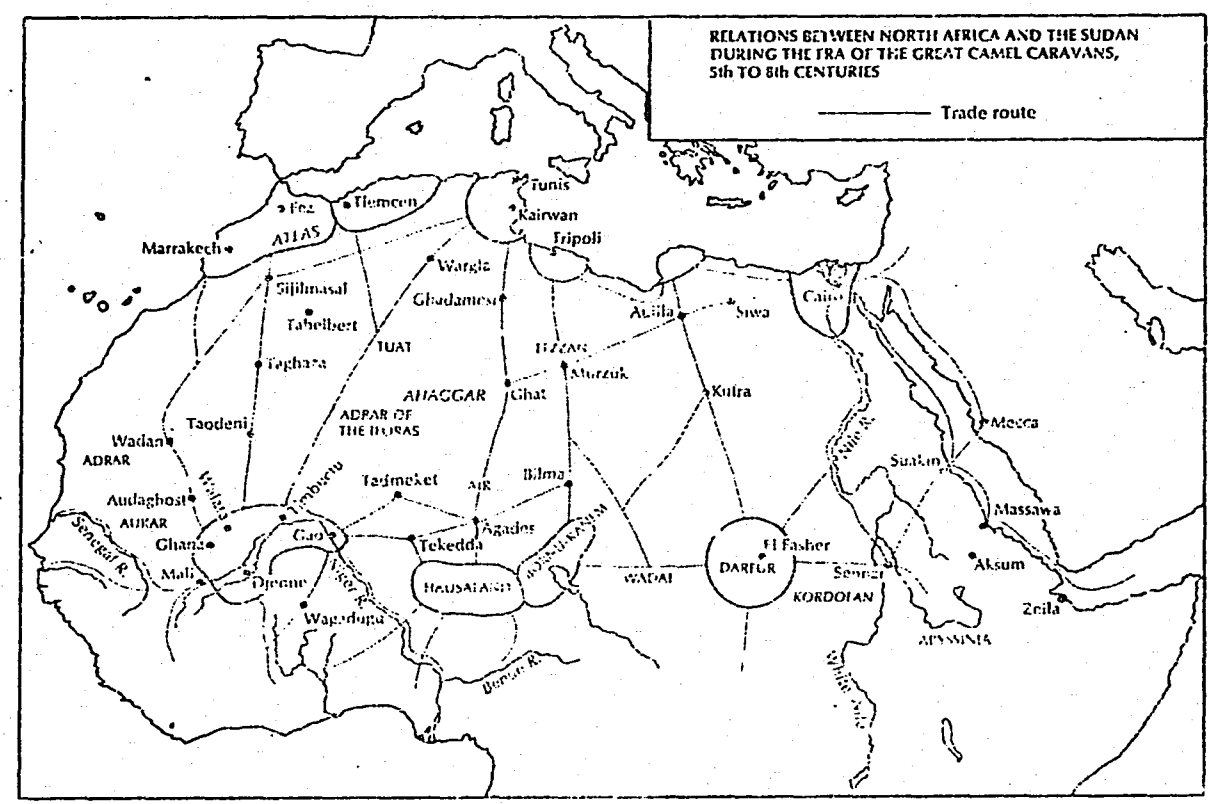
6 West Africa in the Great Age of Islam

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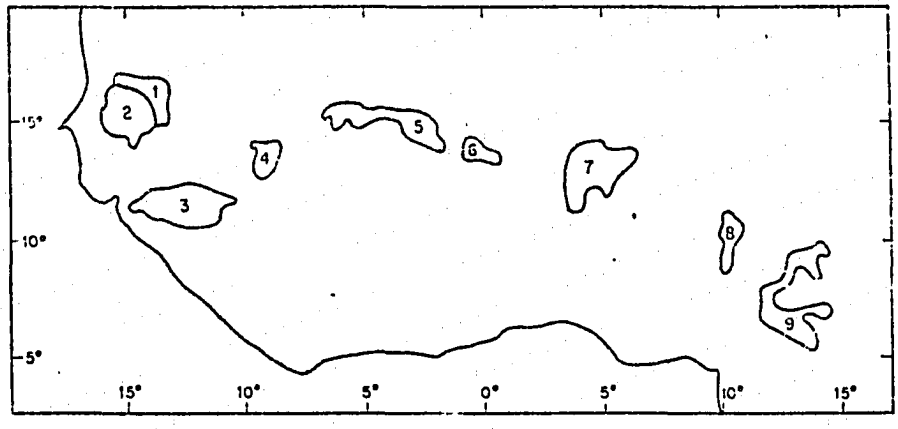
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Map 3
Caravan Trade Route
(From Macquet 1972:157)



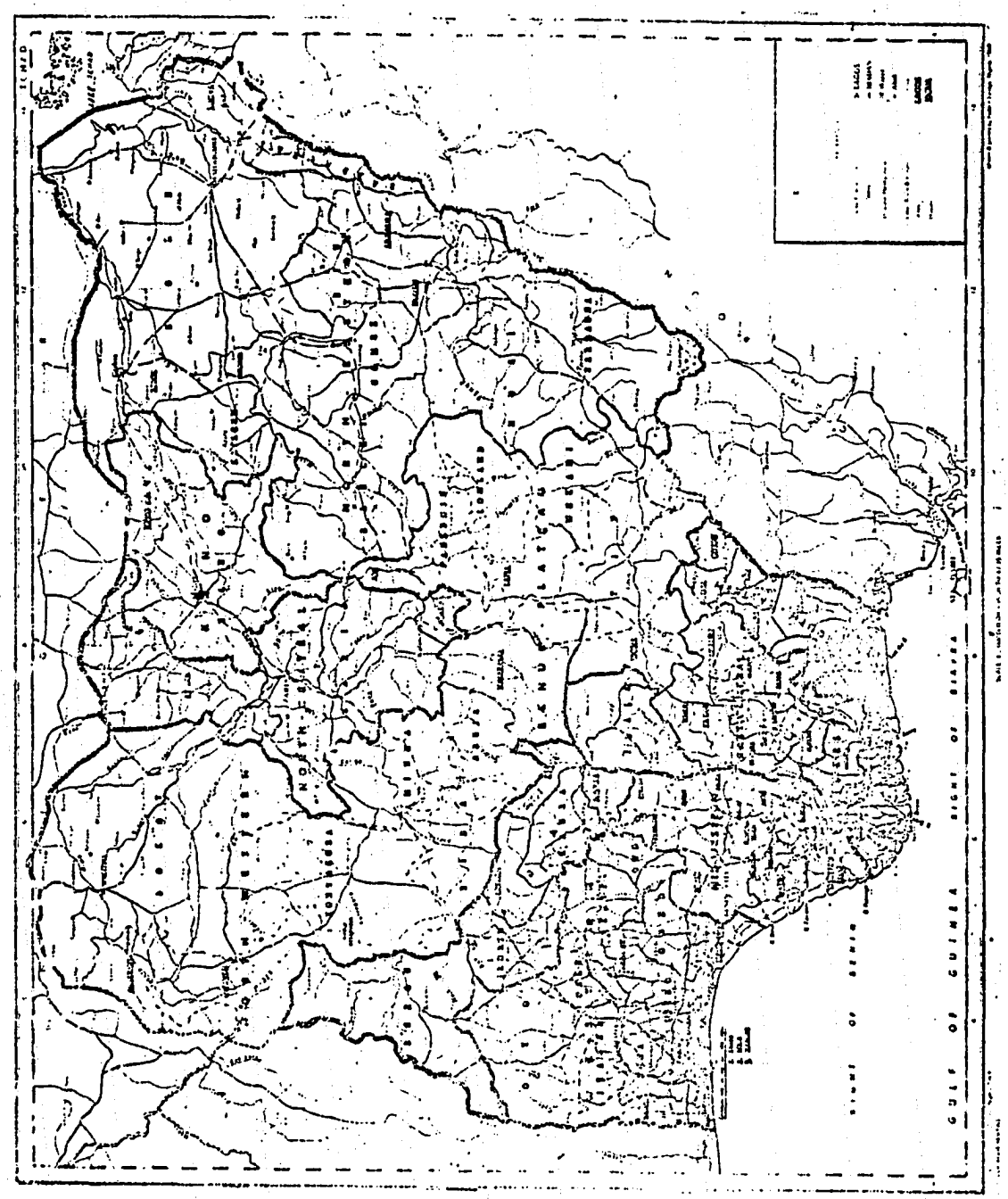
Map 6
Distribution of Fulani Settlements
(From. Murdock 1959:414)



Map 16. Major Concentrations of Fulani (1–Senegal Valley, 2–Fouta Toro, 3–Fouta Djalon, 4–Kita, 5–Masina, 6–Liptako, 7–Sokoto, 8–Bauchi, 9–Adamawa)

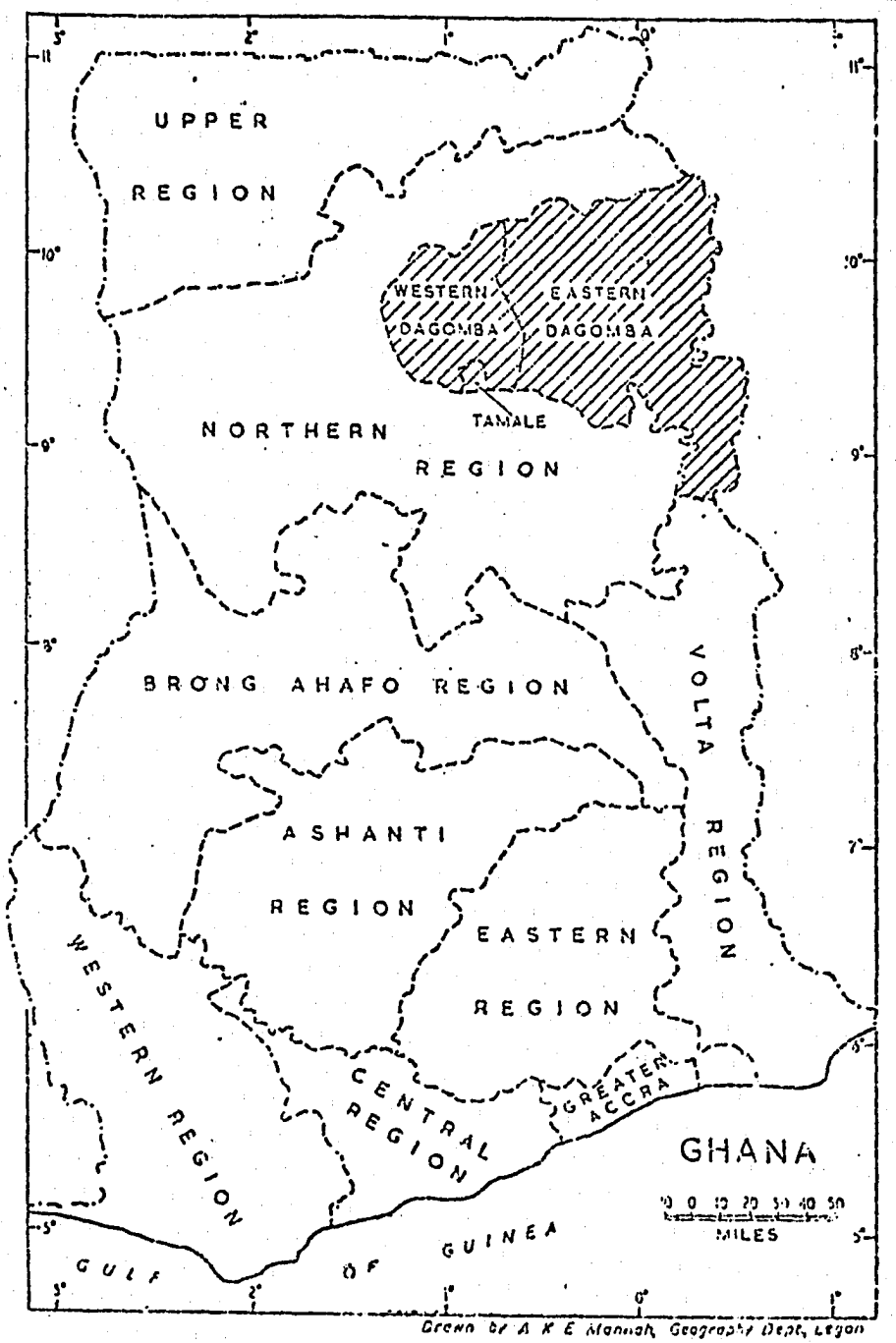
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Map 7
Map of Nigeria Showing Area of Kano State
(From Federal Surveys, Nigeria, 1969)



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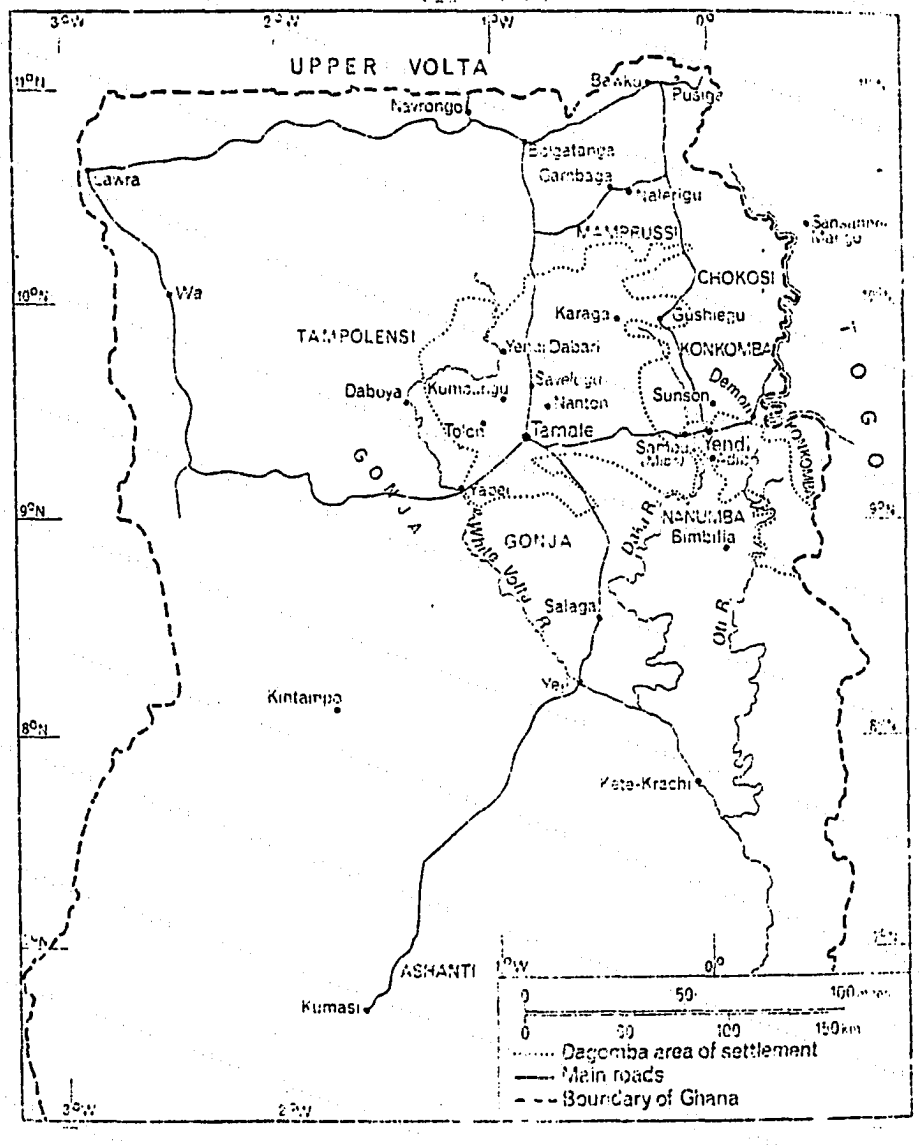
Map 8
Map of Ghana Showing Area Occupied by the Dagombas
(From Oppong 1973:12)



Map of Ghana showing area occupied by the Dagombas

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Map 9
Map of Northern Ghana, 1965
(From Staniland 1975:xiv)



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Appendix B

List of Kano Kings

List of Dagomba Kings

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List of Kano Kings[1]

Name	Entitlement	Dates (approximate)
1. Bagoda	Son of Bauwo	999-1063
2. Warisi	Son of Bagoda	1063-1095
3. Gijimasu	Son of Warisi	1095-1134
4. Nawata and Gawata (Twins)	Sons of Gijimasu	1134-1136
5. Yusa or Tsaraki	Son of Gijimasu	1136-1194
6. Naguji	Son of Tsaraki	1194-1247
7. Gugua	Son of Gijimasu	1247-1290
8. Shekkarau	Son of Tsaraki	1290-1307
9. Tsamia	Son of Shekkarau	1307-1343
10. Osumanu Zamnagawa	Son of Shekkarau	1343-1349
11. Yaji[2]	Son of Tsamia	1349-1385
12. Bugaya	Son of Tsamia	1385-1390
13. Kanajeji	Son of Yaji	1390-1410
14. Umaru	Son of Kanajeji	1410-1421
15. Dauda	Son of Kanajeji	1421-1438
16. Abdulahi Burja	Son of Kanajeji	1438-1452
17. Dakauta	Son of Abdulahi Burja	1452
18. Atuma	Son of Dakauta	1452
19. Yakubu	Son of Abdulahi Burja	1452-1463
20. Mohamma Rimfa[3]	Son of Yakubu	1463-1499
21. Abdulahi	Son of Mohamma Rimfa	1499-1509
22. Mohamma Kisoki	Son of Abdulahi	1509-1565
23. Yakufu	Son of Kisoki	1565
24. Dauda Abasama	Son of Yakufu	1565
25. Abubakar Kado	Son of Rimfa	1565-1573
26. Mohamma Shashere	Son of Yakufu	1573-1582
27. Mohamma Zaki	Son of Kisoki	1582-1618
28. Mohamma Nazaki	Son of Zaki	1618-1623
29. Kutumbi	Son of Mohamma Nazaki	1623-1648
30. Al Haji	Son of Kutumbi	1648-1649
31. Shekkarau	Son of Al Haji	1649-1651
32. Kukuna	Son of Al Haji	1651-1652
33. Soyaki	Son of Shekkarau	1652
34. Mohamma Kukuna (restored)	Son of Al Haji	1652-1660
35. Bawa	Son of Mohamma Kukuna	1660-1670
36. Dadi	Son of Bawa	1670-1703
37. Mohamma Sharefa	Son of Dadi	1703-1731
38. Kumbari	Son of Sharefa	1731-1743
39. Alhaji Kabe	Son of Kumbari	1743-1753
40. Yaji	Son of Dadi	1753-1768
41. Babba Zaki	Son of Yaji	1768-1776
42. Dauda Abasama	Son of Yaji	1776-1781
43. Mohamma Alwali[4]	Son of Yaji	1781-1807
44. Sulimanu[5]	Son of Abasama	1807-1819
45. Ibrahim Dabo	Son of Mohammadu	1819-1846
46. Osumanu	Son of Dabo	1846-1855

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Name	Entitlement	Dates (approximate)
47. Abdulahi	Son of Dabo	1855-1883
48. Mohammed Bell	Son of Dabo	1883-1892
49. Mohamman Tukur	Son of Bello	1893
50. Aliu[6]	Son of Abdullahi	1894-1903
51. Mohammadu Abbas[7]	Son of Abdullahi	1903-1919
52. Usuman	Son of Abdullahi	1919-1926
53. Abdullahi Bayero		1926-1954
54. Sanusi	Son of Abdullahi Bayero	1954-1963
55. Mohammadu Inuwa	Brother of Abdullahi Bayero	1963
56. Ado Bayero	Son of Abdullahi	1963-Present

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List of Dagomba Kings[8]

Name	Entitlement	Dates (approximate)
1. Kpogonumbo	Son of Toha-zee	1150
2. Fogu	Son of Kpogonumbo	1175
3. Zinani	Son of Kpogonumbo	1201
4. Shipupora	Son of Kpogonumbo	1225
5. Nmaligisigi	Son of Kpogonumbo	1252
6. Gbewaa[9]	Son of Kpogonumbo	1277
7. Zirili	Son of Gbewaa	1314
8. Sitobu	Son of Gbewaa	1314
9. Nyagsi	Son of Sitobu	1353
10. Zulandi	Son of Nyagsi	1374
11. Naglogu	Son of Zulandi	1394
12. Datorli (alias Darigudamda)	Son of Zulandi	1416
13. Buruguyomba	Son of Zulandi	1437
14. Zolugu	Son of Datorli	1464
15. Zombila (Zonman)	Son of Zolugu	1466
16. Ningmitoni	Son of Zolugu	1490
17. Dimani	Son of Zolugu	1514
18. Yanzoo	Son of Zolugu	1538
19. Darizigu	Son of Zombila	1561
20. Luro[10]	Son of Zolugu	1584
21. Tutugri	Son of Luro	1605
22. Zagali	Son of Luro	1623
23. Zokuli	Son of Luro	1640
24. Gungobli	Son of Luro	1658
25. Zangina[11]	Son of Tutugri	1689
26. Andani Sigli[12]	Son of Zagali	1710
27. Jingli (alias Bimbiegu; also known as Ziblim Bunbiogo)	Son of Zangina	1736
28. Gariba	Son of Zangina	1752
29. Ziblim Naa Saa	Son of Andani Sigli	1764
30. Ziblim Bandamda	Son of Gariba	1778
31. Andani I	Son of Gariba	
32. Mahama	Son of Ziblim Bandamda	
33. Ziblim Kulunku	Son of Andani	
34. Sumani Zoli	Son of Mahama	
35. Yakuba	Son of Andani I	1829
36. Abudulai I	Son of Yakuba	1845
37. Andani II	Son of Yakuba	1866
38. Darimani (Kukra Adjei)	Son of Yakuba	1899 (deposed)
39. Alhassan	Son of Abudulai I	1899
40. Abudulai II	Son of Alhassan	1918
41. Mahama II	Son of Andani	1938
42. Mahama III	Son of Alhassan	1948
43. Abudulai III	Son of Mahama III	1953
44. Andani III	Son of Mahama II	1968
45. Mohamadu Abudulai IV	Son of Abudulai III	1969
46. Yakubu Andani	Son of Andani III	1974

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Appendix C

Photographs

Plate Number	Description of Photograph
1	Riti from Senegal (From Nikiprowetzky 1963)
2	A one string fiddle played by a man from the Western Sudan (Exact location unknown) (From Bebey 1969:54)
3	Female inzad player (From Nikiprowetzky n.d.)
4	A one string fiddle played by a woman from Mali (From Bebey 1969:59)
5	Interior construction of the Dagomba gondze resonating body
6	Placement of hole for neck on the resonating body of the Dagomba gondze
7	Leather covering on the resonating body of the Dagomba gondze
8	Three Dagomba one string fiddles constructed by Salisu Mahama
9	Haruna Yaron Goge, a Kano one string fiddler
10	Haruna Yaron Goge playing the Hausa one string fiddle
11	Momoh Landi, a goge player living in Kano
12	Momoh Landi playing the Hausa goge
13	Alhaji Garba Leo, a famous Hausa goge musician
14	Ibrahim Mohammadan, a goge player living in Kano
15	Alhaji Mamman Nabarau, a goge player living in Kano
16	Abu Gondze, a Dagomba fiddler living in Nyohini-Tamale
17	Alhassan Gondze, a Dagomba fiddler living in Savelugu
18	Iddrisu Gondze and his daughter, Tampion
19	Iddrisu Gondze holding his Dagomba one string fiddle
20	Salifu Lali, a Dagomba fiddler living in Bimbilla
21	Salifu Lali playing his gondze
22	Salisu Mahama in a fiddle performance at the Ya Na's palace in Yendi
23	Salisu Mahama in a fiddle performance at the Ya Na's palace in Yendi
24	Salisu Mahama (left-front) and Salifu Lali (right-front) in a fiddle performance at the Ya Na's palace in Yendi
25	Yamba Na Salifu Gondze, head of the gondze musicians in Dagbon at the court of Ya Na Mohamadu Abudulai IV
26	Iddrisu Sulemana Gondze inside the inner court yard of the Ya Na's palace in Yendi
27	Ensemble of gondze musicians performing in a royal parade in Yendi
28	Gift-giving by a spectator as a Dagomba queen mother dances
29	Ya Na Abudulai IV giving gift of money following a dance by the queen mother

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30 A Dagomba man preparing to do the gondze dance

31 The gondze dance performed by Dagomba man inside the inner court yard of the Ya Na's palace in Yendi

32 Gondze rattlers (zaabia) at the Ya Na palace in Yendi

33 A goge kwarya player in Kano

34 Alhaji Garba Leo (seated second from the right in chair) and his goge ensemble (From Folkways Records FW 8860 by Randall F. Grass)

35 Ensemble of Hausa musicians

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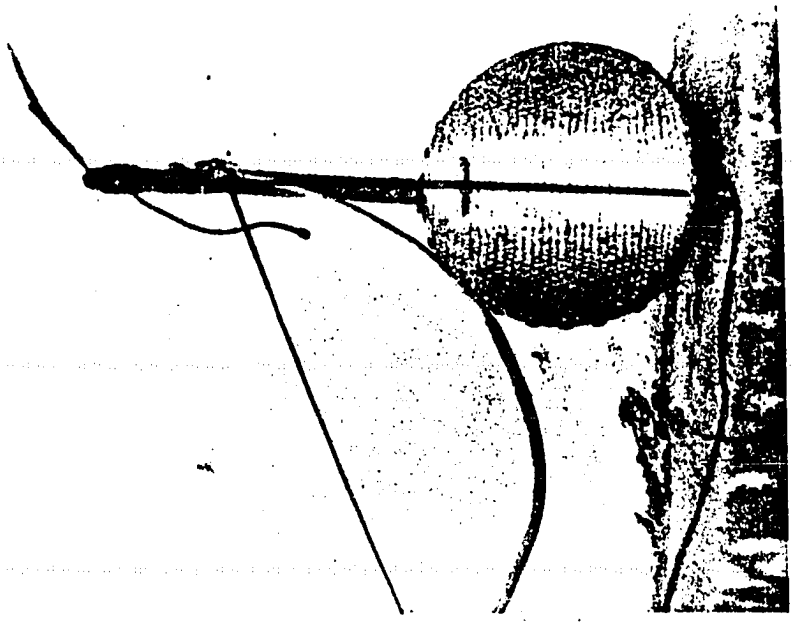


Plate 1.



Plate 2.

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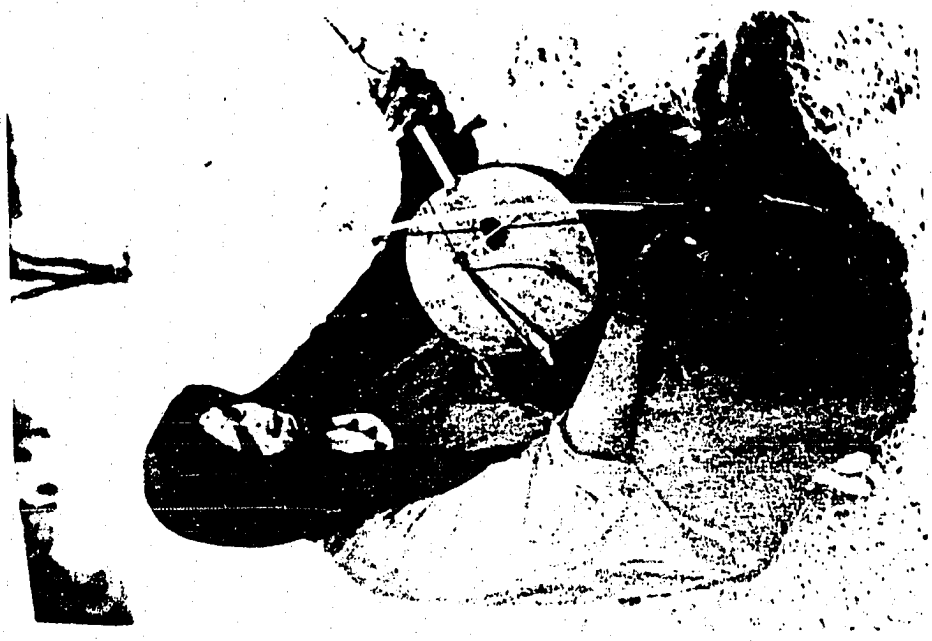


Plate 3.



Plate 4.

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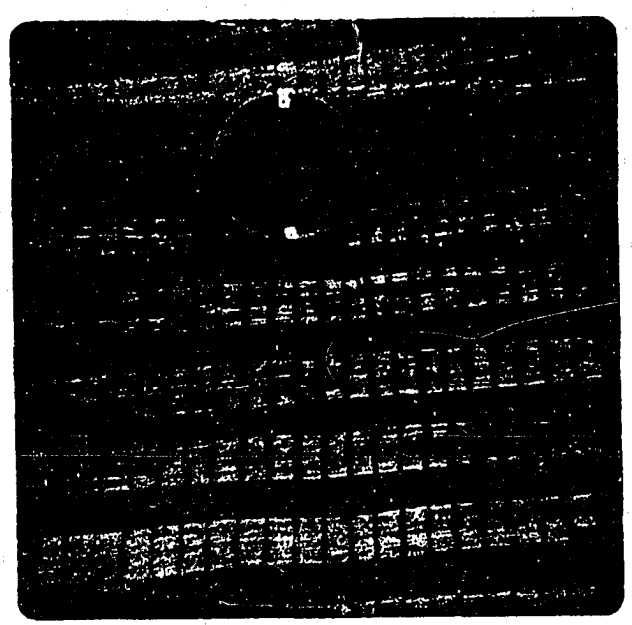


Plate 5.

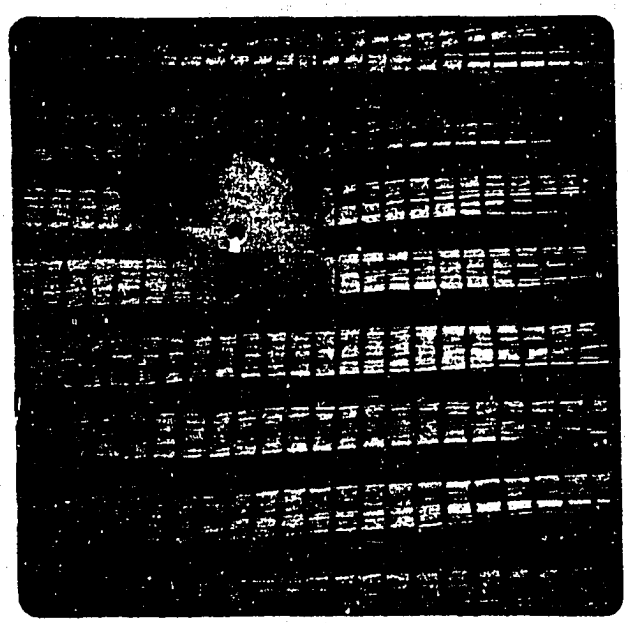


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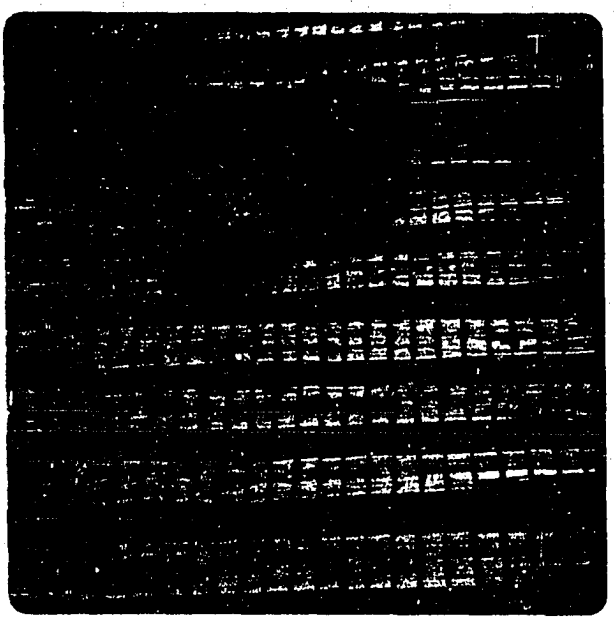


Plate 7.

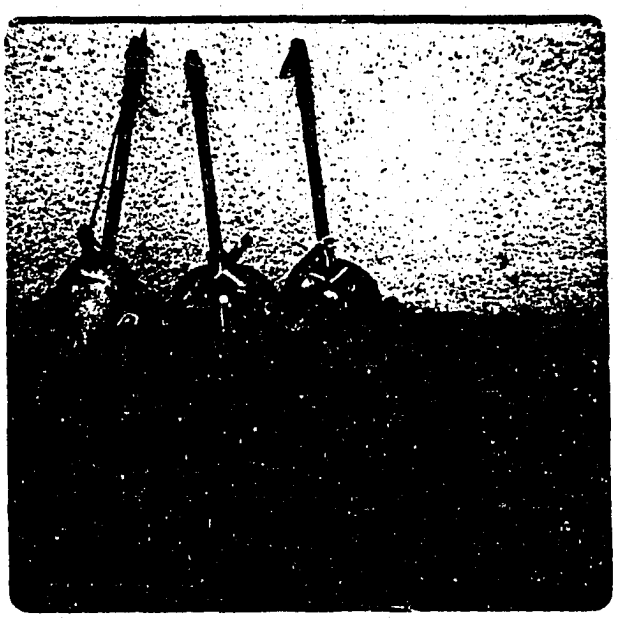


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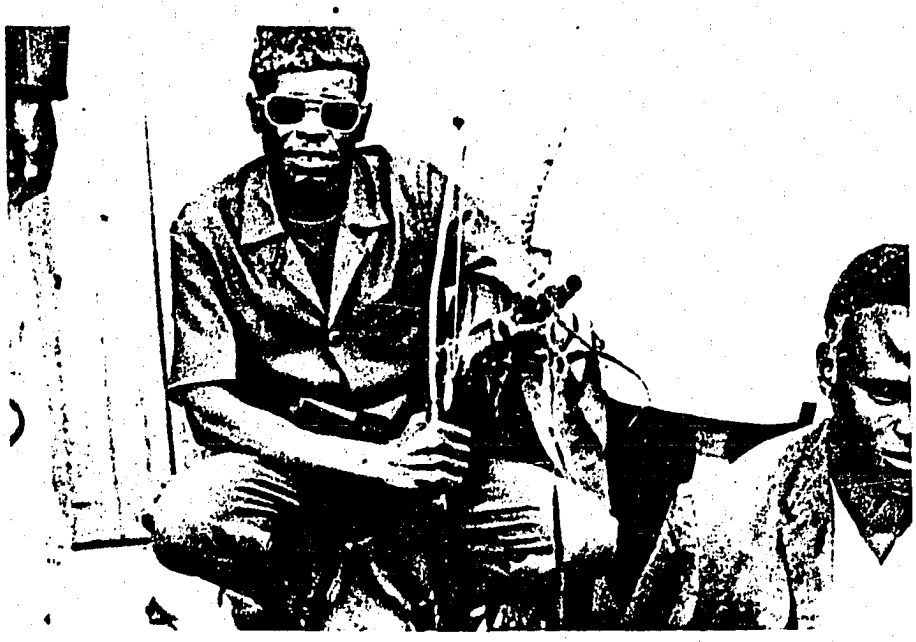


Plate 9.



Plate 10.

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Plate 11.

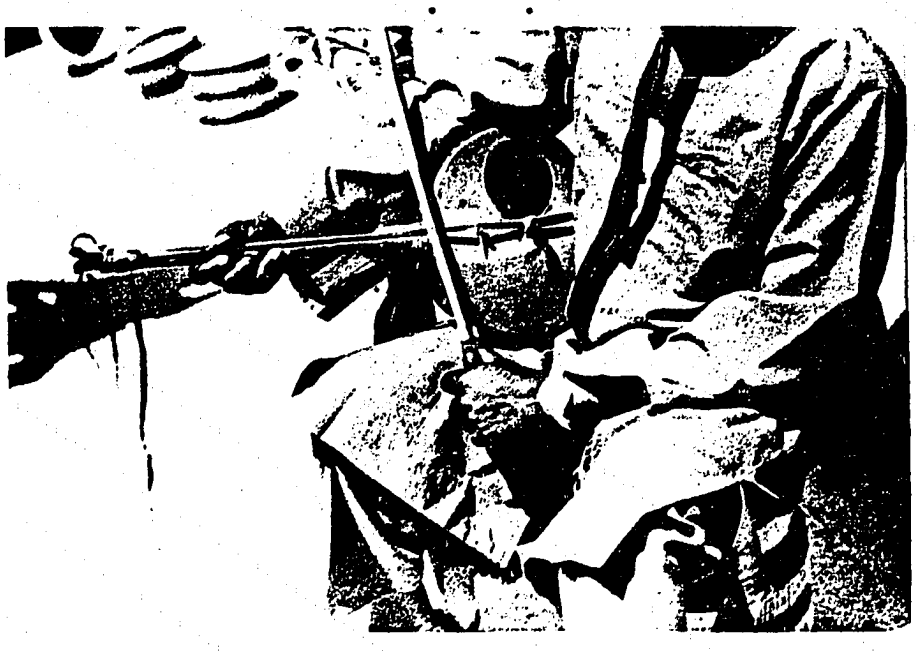


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Plate 13.



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Plate 15.



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Plate 17.



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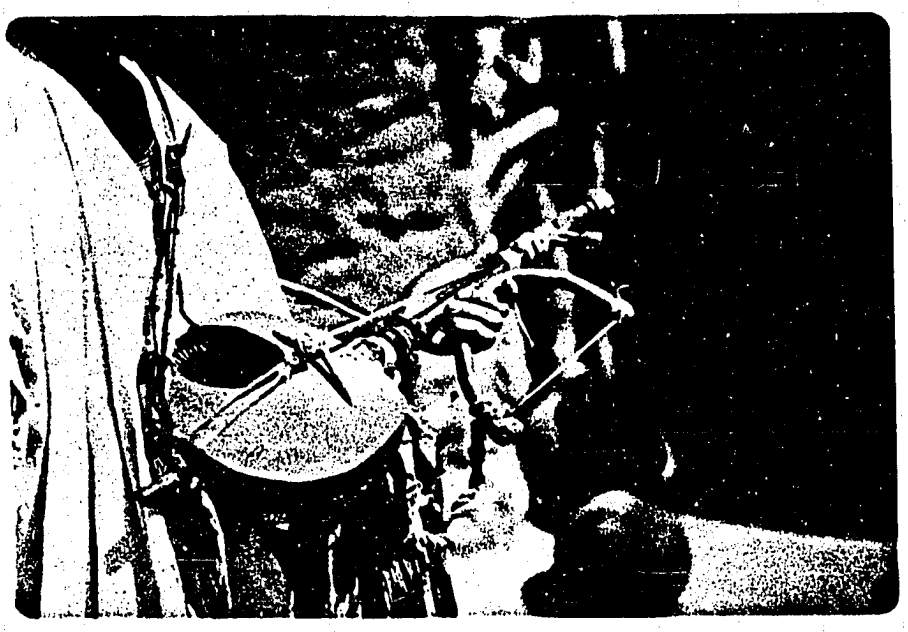


Plate 19.



Plate 20.

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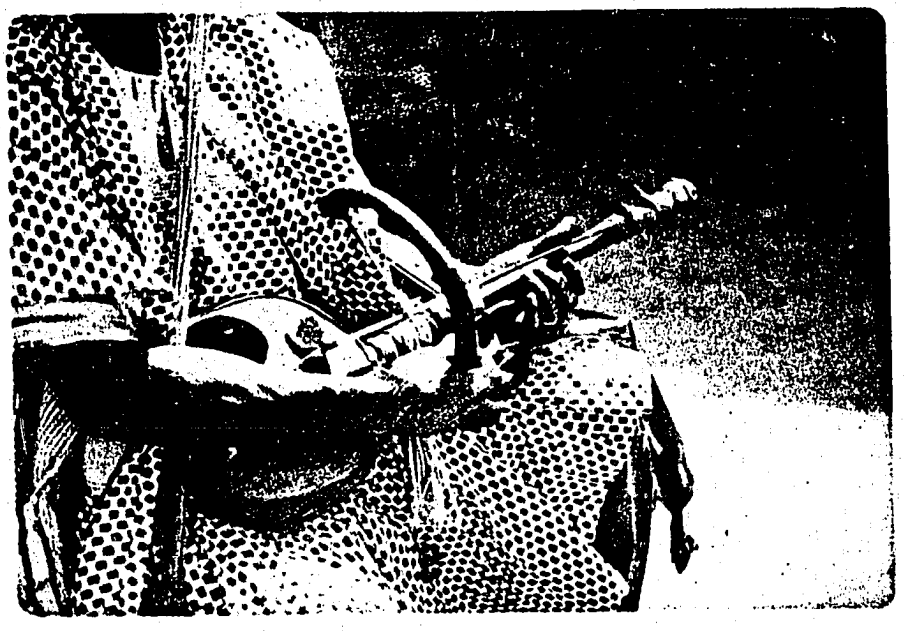


Plate 21.



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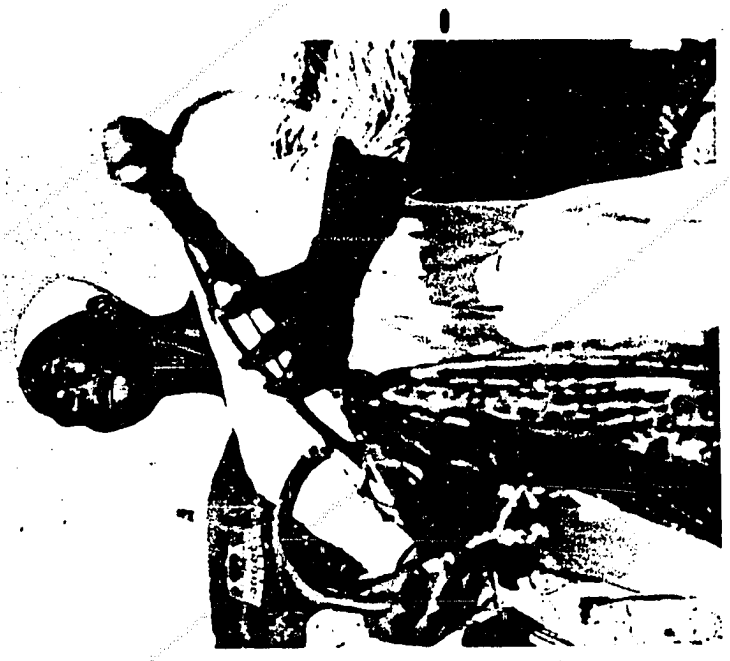


Plate 23.



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Plate 27.



Plate 28.

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Plate 29.



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Plate 31.



Plate 32.

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Appendix D

Drawings and Terms for Parts of One String Fiddle

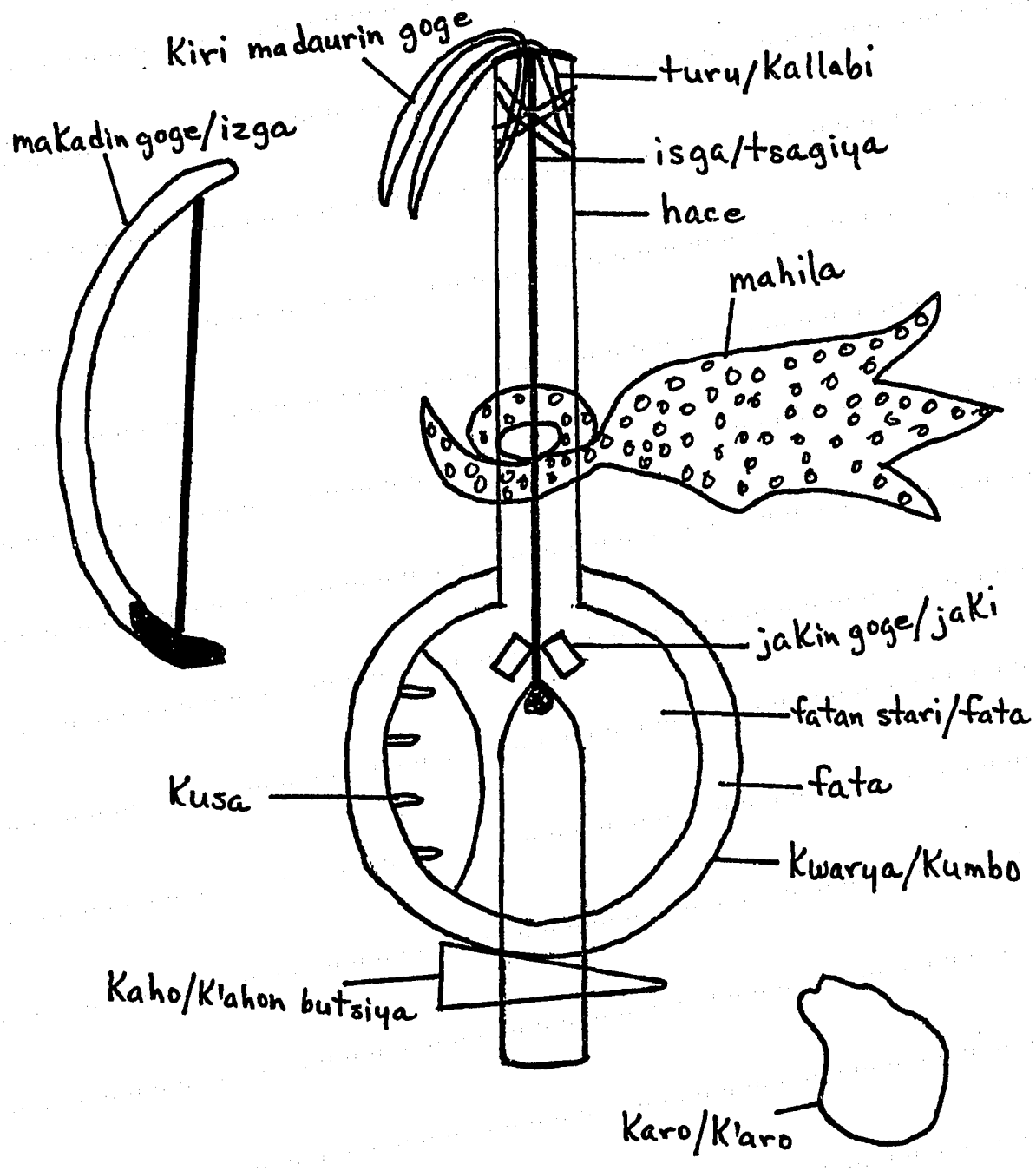
A. Drawings
   1. Hausa Goge
   2. Interior of Goge
   3. Dagomba Gondze
   4. Interior of Gondze

B. Terms for Parts of the One String Fiddle

C. Compilation of Hausa and Dagbani Terms and Definitions for Parts of the One String Fiddle

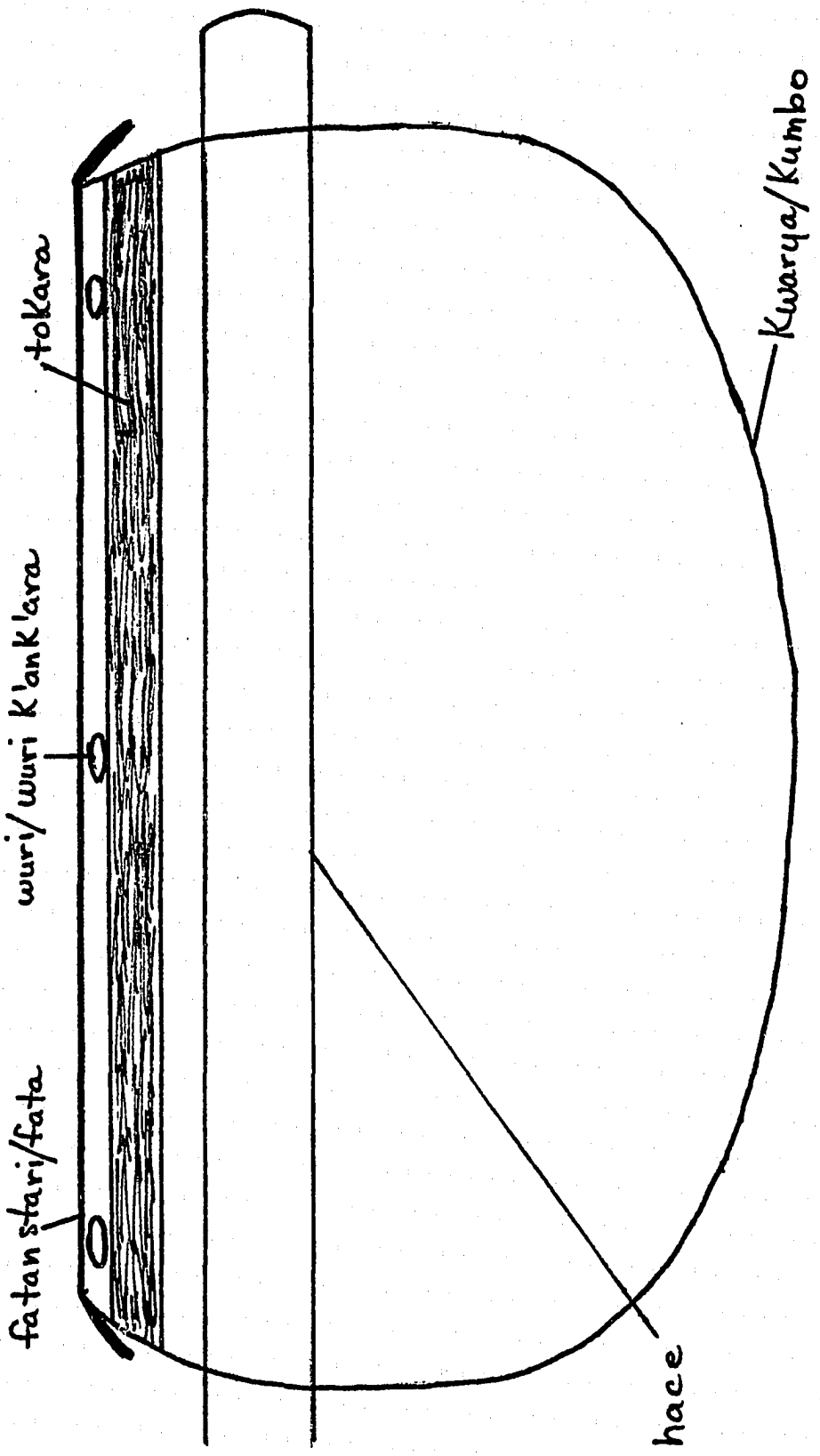
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Drawing 1. Hausa Goge



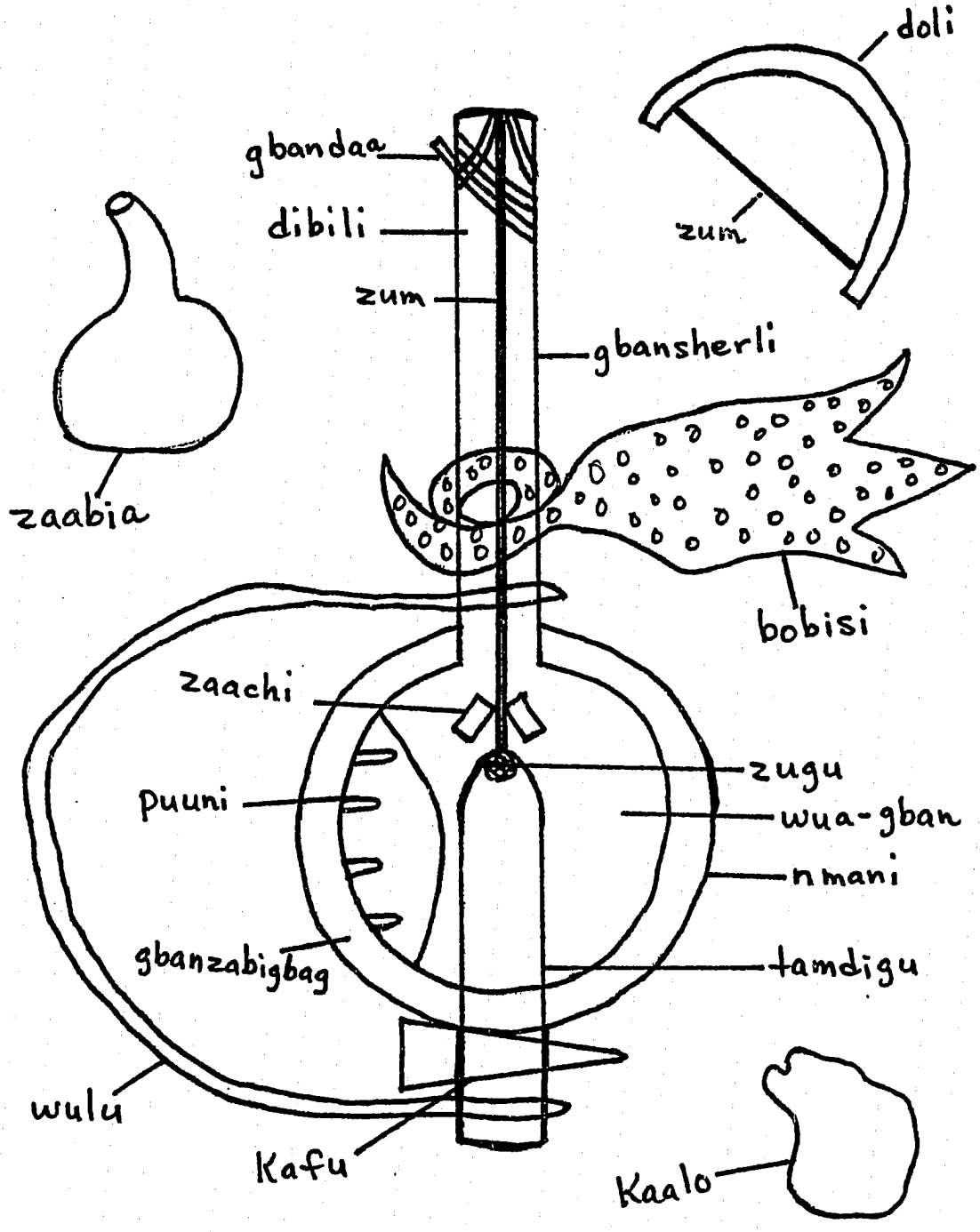
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Drawing 2. Interior of Hausa Goge



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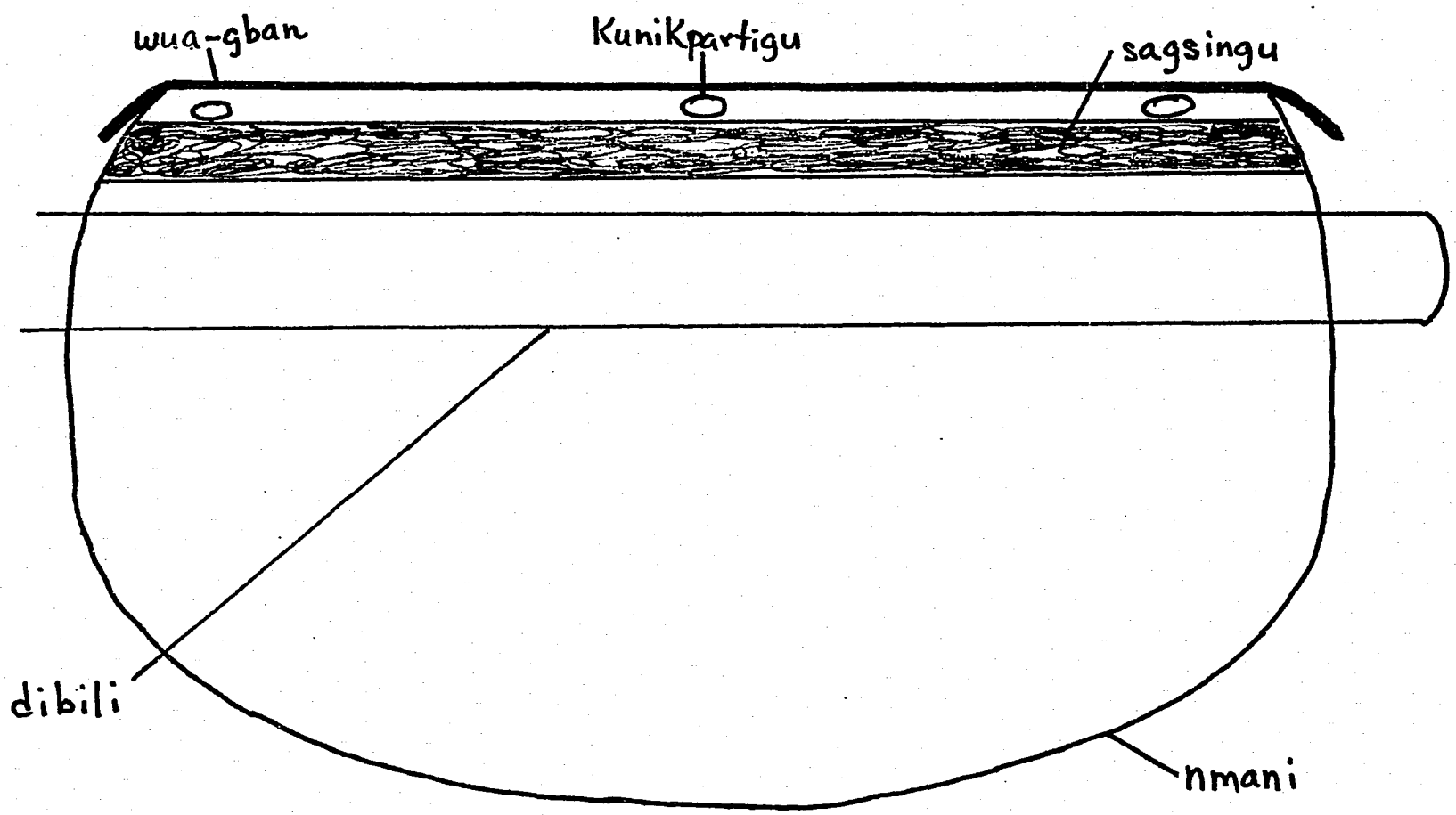
Drawing 3. Dagomba Gondze



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Drawing 4. Interior of Dagomba Gondze



Terms for Parts of the One String Fiddle

English	Hausa		Dagbani
	Mohammadan	Ames and King	
ball of cord (connects string to leather twine)	---	---	zugu
bow	makadin goge	izga	doli (with leather covering) zangurum (without leather covering)
bridge	jakin goge	jaki	zaachi
cowrie shell	wuri	wuri	---
leather binding thongs (secures horse tail string to upper end of neck)	turu	kallabi	gbandaa
leather covering (covers neck and bow)	---	---	gbansherli
leather string (hangs loosely from upper end of neck)	kiri madaurin goge	---	(Not used in gondze tradition)
leather strip (secures membrane to resonator)	fata	---	gbanzabigbag
leather twine (secures horse tail string to lower end of neck)	---	---	tamdigu
membrane	fatan stari	fata	wua-gban
neck	hace	---	dibili
potash	---	kanwa	---
resin	karo	k'aro	kaalo
resonator	kwarya	kumbo	nmani
scarf(ves)	mahila	---	bobisi

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shoulder strap	(Not used in goge tradition)		wulu
stick in interior of calabash	tokara	---	sagsingu
stone(s)	---	k'ank'ara	kunikpartigu
string	isga	tsagiya	zum
tacks (small nails)	kusa	---	puuni
tuning stick (wedge)	kaho	ka'hon butsiya	kafu

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Compilation of Hausa and Dagbani Terms and Definitions for Parts of the One String Fiddle

Terms	Definition
bobisi (Dagbani):	scarves that are attached to the neck of the fiddle and mainly used for decoration.
dibili (Dagbani):	wooden neck which varies from two to two-and-one-half feet in length and is fixed within the resonator of the fiddle.
doli (Dagbani):	wooden bow that is usually covered with the skin of a goat but is sometimes used without leather covering. A bow without leather is called zangurum (name of the tree from which the wood is obtained to construct the bow).
fata (Hausa):	leather skin of a goat used to secure the membrane to the resonator (Mohammadan 1974:n.p.).
fata (Hausa):	membrane covering body-resonator from the skin of the Nile monitor (Ames and King 1971:41).
fatan stari (Hausa):	membrane resonator covering from the skin of a water monitor (Mohammadan 1974:n.p.).
gbandaa (Dagbani):	leather binding thongs used to secure horse tail string to upper end of neck.
gbansherli (Dagbani):	leather skin of a goat used to cover the wooden neck and bow.
gbanzabigbag (Dagbani):	leather skin of a goat used to secure the membrane to the resonator.
hace (Hausa):	neck that extends approximately twenty-six inches in length (Ames and King 1971:41) and is made of wood covered with leather or a metal chrome bar (metal chrome bar is the same material as most bicycle handle-bars) (Mohammadan 1974:n.p.).
isga (Hausa):	string made of horse tail hairs and is stretched from upper to lower end of neck (Mohammadan 1974:n.p.).
izga (Hausa):	iron- or bronze-backed bow with hairs from a horse's tail (Ames and King 1971:42).
jaki (Hausa):	bridge between string and body-resonator from a three-pronged twig of the urkure tree (Ames and King 1971:42).

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jakin goge (Hausa): bridge between string and resonator (Mohammadan 1974: n.p.).

kaalo (Dagbani): resin for body and bow strings.

kafu (Dagbani): tuning stick shaped like a wedge and placed at the lower end of string and resonator to increase tension of the former.

kaho (Hausa): tuning device made of a small horn-like wedge and placed at lower end of string and resonator to increase tension of former (Mohammadan 1974:n.p.).

k'ahon butsiya (Hausa): small horn-like wedge inserted between lower end of string and body-resonator to increase tension of former (Ames and King 1971:42).

kallabi (Hausa): leather binding thongs securing strings at upper end to neck (Ames and King 1971:42).

k'ank'ara (Hausa): smooth egg-shaped stone inserted under membrane-covering of body-resonator to increase tension of former (Ames and King 1971:42).

kanwa (Hausa): potash used to remove the natural oils from the body and bow-strings (Ames and King 1971:42).

karo (Hausa): resin that is rubbed on body and bow strings (Mohammadan 1974:n.p.).

k'aro (Hausa): resin for body and bow string from Copaiba balsam tree (Ames and King 1971:42).

kiri madaurin goge (Hausa): leather strings that hang loosely from the upper end of the neck (Mohammadan 1974:n.p.).

kumbo (Hausa): hemispherical body-resonator from a latitudinally cut half-gourd (Ames and King 1971:42).

kunikpartigu (Dagbani): small stones, rocks, or pebbles placed between membrane-covering of resonator and short interior stick (sagsingu) to increase tension of the former.

kusa (Hausa): small tacks used to attach skin of monitor to the resonator (Mohammadan 1974:n.p.).

kwarya (Hausa): hemispherical resonator made from a cut half-gourd (Mohammadan 1974:n.p.).

mahila (Hausa); scarves attached to the neck; normally used for decoration (Mohammadan 1974:n.p.).

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makadin goge (Hausa): iron- or bronze-backed bow with with hairs from a horse's tail (Mohammadan 1974:n.p.).

nmani (Dagbani): hemispherical resonator made from a cut half-gourd.

puuni (Dagbani): small tacks or nails used to attach the membrane covering to resonator.

sagsingu (Dagbani): short stick placed in interior of resonator to bridge sides of the gourd.

tamdigu (Dagbani): leather twine used to attach hairs from horse's tail to the lower end of neck

tokara (Hausa): short stick plced in interior of resonator to bridge sides of the gourd (Mohammadan 1974:n.p.).

tsagiya (Hausa); string on body-resonator from hairs from a horse's tail (Ames and King 1971:42).

turu (Hausa): leather binding thongs used to secure horse tail string to upper end of neck (Mohammadan 1974:n.p.).

wua-gban (Dagbani): membrane covering resonator from the skin of an alligator.

wulu (Dagbani): shoulder strap made of hand-wooven cloth with each end attached to the lower and upper ends of neck. Usually the wulu is placed around the left arm and across the chest of the gondze player to support the fiddle while performing.

wuri (Hausa): cowrie shells placed between membrane-covering of resonator and short interior stick (tokara) to increase tension of the former (Mohammadan 1974:n.p.).

wuri (Hausa): a cowrie-shell used like k'ank'ara above (Ames and King 1971:42).

zaachi (Dagbani): bridge made of a wooden stick in the shape of a (人) and placed between string and resonator.

zangurum (Dagbani): wooden bow without leather covering; also see doli in the above.

zugu (Dagbani): ball of cord attached to the end of the string right below the bridge and used to connect the tamdigu to the zum.

zum (Dagbani): string on resonator from hairs of a horse's tail.

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

The One String Fiddle in West Africa:
A Comparison of Hausa and Dagomba Traditions

Volume Two

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Music

by

Jacqueline Delores Cogdell DjeDje

1978

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Volume Two

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Volume Two

Introduction

The materials in Volume Two are divided into three parts: (1) Appendix E--song texts, (2) Appendix F--music transcriptions, and (3) Appendix G--scales and modes. Appendix E includes the song texts of Hausa and Dagomba songs in the original African language (always underlined) with English translation; no literal translations are given.

Appendix F contains music transcriptions of twelve Hausa and thirty-eight Dagomba songs (see below for specific titles). The legend of each song is partially based upon a system used by G.R. Hicks (1960) in which pertinent information is abbreviated. For example, in the heading of Haruna's Banjo (H1:4d:80 ♩.) the first figure (H1) indicates that the song is number one in the Hausa song collection; the designation of H3 would indicate song three; D1 and D3, songs one and three in the collection of Dagomba songs. The second figure (4d) indicates that the original is four semitones (400 cents) lower; the figure 3u would indicate that the original pitch is three semitones (300 cents) higher; and (0) means that the composition is notated in its original pitch--that is unison. The third figure (80 ♩.) indicates that the tempo is 80 beats per minute based upon the dotted-half note; the figure 126 ♩ would indicate that the tempo is 126 beats per minute based on a half note.

For convenience all fiddle songs have been transcribed into Western staff notation and transposed to pitch G^3--that is, G below middle C constitutes pitch one for both Hausa and Dagomba songs. Although Western notation has been used, the reader is not expected to examine

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the material in the context of Western music practice. Certain devices, which would be unorthodox in the Western system, have been included.

First, no time signature is used, but the reader should be aware of the fact that the quarter note (♩) constitutes the basic unit of measurement. Second, the dotted bar line at the end of each measure does not serve as an indication of a regular recurrent main beat. Rather, lines are used to divide the repetitive melodic line that is performed by fiddlers. This recurring melodic statement, whether it consists of 8, 9, 12, or 24 beats, constitutes the formal structure upon which further variation is created (see Chapters 10 and 11). Third, symbols used to indicate rhythm in Dagomba transcriptions (♩ x ♩ x ♩) show not only the recurring three-note pattern but indicate the kinetic motion that is used to produce the desired rhythm. The symbol (♩) indicates that the rattle is struck in the palm of the hand, while the symbol (x ♩) refers to beats shaken in the air (see Chapter 12). Fourth, a single rest (𝄻) to accommodate all of the beats within a measure is not used. Instead, rests are presented in accordance with the number of beats that are performed within the measure. For example, a twelve-beat measure in which one part is completely silent would be indicated as | 𝄻. 𝄻. | rather than | 𝄻 |.

Other symbols not normally found in Western notation are used in the transcriptions. The sign (↑) over a tone indicates that the pitch is slightly higher (not more than 100 cents) than the notated pitch, while the sign (↓) indicates that the tone is lower. Rising attack is indicated by a slanting line to the left of a tone (♩), while a slanting line to the right (♩) indicates a falling release; when the sign is between two tones (♩ ♩) or (♩ ♩) a glissando is indicated.

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A above or below a note, of course, means accent.

Information in Appendix G includes the scales and modes used in each music transcription. Primary tones are indicated by (o), while secondary tones are symbolized as (/); also see page for further explanation.

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Legend	Name of Performers and Title of Compositions	Page: Song Text	Page: Music Transcription	Length
	HAUSA	659	790	
	Haruna Yaron Goge			
H 1:4d: 80	Banjo	660	791	8:35
H 2:4d:126	Barrahaza	666	850	7:15
H 3:0 :126	Gagara Sarki	672	904	2:05
H 4:0 126	Jabula	674	923	4:55
H 5	*Sarkin Rafi	676	-	1:05
H 6	*Wanzami	677	-	7:35
	Landi, Mamman			
H 7:1d:144	Wakakai	682	937	4:00
H 8:1d:132	Kidan Kanawa	684	962	2:05
H 9	*Kidan Sarki Kano	686	-	2:45
H10	*Maginin Zaman Banza	688	-	6:05
	Liyo (Leo), Garba			
H11:4d: 66	+Ali Mai Sai da Mai Shell BP	-	971	5:20
H12:4d: 72	+Sarkin Mallamai Garba Kaita	-	1014	3:35
	Mohammadan, Ibrahim			
H13:3d:184	+Ruwa Ruwa	-	1051	:25
H14:3d:120	+Sarkin Makada	-	1052	2:20
	Nabarau, Momman			
H15:2d:132	+Banjo	-	1056	1:55
H16:3d:138	+Sarkin Makada	-	1060	:55
	DAGOMBA	690	1062	
	Abu Gondze (Nyohini-Tamale)			
D 1:2u: 84	Dan-mo (Na Gariba and Dalung-Lana Kukogu Yogu)	691	1063	:50
D 2:2u: 84	+Bandama (Na Ziblim II)	-	1071	:35
D 3:2u:108	Adan sun chi sun so (Na Saa Ziblim I)	692	1079	:40
	Alhassan Gondze (Savelugu)			
D 4:0 :108	Nantoh (Na Yakuba I)	693	1083	1:20
D 5:0 : 76	Bawuna (Na Abdulai I)	694	1089	1:20
D 6:0 :112	Yeda binbeim zugu	695	1098	:50

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	Iddrisu Gondze (Tampion)			
D 7	*Bi Zuhuma (Tugulana Jiri)	696	-	1:30
D 8:1u:108d	Allah yaa fan (Tampionlana Alhassan)	698	1105	1:33
	Lali, Salifu (Bimbilla)			
D 9:3u: 84d.	Banchendi (Gurma king)	699	1113	1:15
D10:3u: 96d.	Nantoh (Na Yakuba I)	700	1118	1:15
D11	*Karinban-dana (Yamba Na Ntoli)	702	-	:53
	(Song cycle performed at the Installation Rites for Ya Na Yakubu Andani--Thursday morning, May 30, 1974)			
D12	*Taakaa sannu	703	-	11:00
D13	*Nantoh (Na Yakuba I)	710	-	1:35
D14	*Uban dodoh--Bawuna (Na Abdulai I)	712	-	1:15
D15	*Baatakaraa (Na Andani II)	714	-	1:38
D16	*Gbambegu dari (Kugu-Na Abdulai)	716	-	2:00
D17	*Bi Zuhima (Tugulana Jiri)	718	-	1:15
D18	*Somoa (Karaga-Na Alhassan)	719	-	3:25+
	(Song cycle performed at the Installation Rites for Ya Na Yakubu Andani--Friday afternoon, May 31, 1974)			
D19	*Allah yaa fan (Tampionlana)	721	-	:35+
D20	*Lagfu	722	-	1:13
	(Song cycle performed at the Installation Rites for Ya Na Yakubu Andani--Friday evening, May 31, 1974)			
D21	*Makada	723	-	1:20
D22	*Alubanda	724	-	2:40
D23	*Damo (Na Gariba and Dalung-Lana Kukogu Yogu)	726	-	2:20
D24	*Bandamda (Na Ziblim Bandamda II)	728	-	1:55
D25	*Baa meyi mizi (Kar'na Mahami)	730	-	2:03
D26	*Somoa (Karaga Na Alhassan)	732	-	2:10+

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Mahama, Salisu (Legon-Accra)

D27:5d:104♩.	Yenchebli	734	1124	1:10
D28:4d: 56♩.	Bruso-Taakaa sannu	735	1133	:55
D29:0 : 92♩.	Sakpaleinga	736	1137	1:40
D30:0 : 92♩.	Kuntagzaa	737	1146	1:30
D31:0 : 92♩.	Yeda binbeim zugu	739	1164	1:30
D32:0 : 80♩.	Jun taa gilma	740	1183	1:10
D33:0 :100♩.	Torani	741	1195	1:15
D34:0 : 92♩.	Dunia taali	742	1211	1:50
D35:0 : 76♩.	Albanda	744	1223	1:45
D36:0 : 92♩.	Porivuli bela kpe (Waafuu)	745	1239	1:25
D37:0 : 92♩.	Nimbiegu kabalama	746	1255	1:35
D38:0 : 92♩.	Naani goo (Na Andani II)	747	1273	1:40
D39:0 : 96♩.	Banchendi	748	1292	1:10
	(Yamba Na Genealogy Song Cycle)			
D40:0 : 92♩.	Oboaboa kulmanche (Yamba Na Butali or Mutari)	749	1299	1:12
D41:0 : 84♩.	Gobe su komo (Yamba Na Bako Abdulai I)	750	1307	1:03
D42:0 : 80♩.	Sabon baba (Yamba Na Mahama)	751	1314	1:00
D43:0 : 88♩.	Karinbana-dana (Yamba Na Ntoli)	752	1319	1:03
D44:0 : 92♩.	Yeda nai ya (Yamba Na Suleman-Ble)	753	1326	:45
D45:0 : 84♩.	Chautan Allah (Yamba Na Iddi)	754	1331	1:40
D46:0 :126♩.	Sakoro (Yamba Na Seidu)	755	1349	:58
D47:0 :104♩.	Jugu yi zem (Yamba Na Mahama II)	756	1357	:55
D48:0 : 92♩.	Ya sabo jilma (Yamba Na Gia)	757	1370	1:05
D49:0 :104♩.	Babu kaman Allah (Yamba Na Fuseini Jabila)	758	1381	:55
	+Concluding phrase of Song Cycle		1393	:07
D50:5d:120♩.	Wanzam waa	759	1394	2:30
D51:5d:120♩	Barrhaza	761	1411	1:25
D52	*Doogua (Kariga Na Bukari)	762	-	1:25
D53	*Bole	763	-	1:52

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	Salifu Gondze (Yendi--served as Yamba Na during research in January 1973)			
D54	*Allah yayi basu bani (Na Zimblim Kulunku III)	764	-	2:30
D55	*Soro dan Amina (Na Siman' Zoli I)	766	-	2:53
	Sulemana Iddrisu (Yendi)			
D56:1u:108♩.	Dunia taali	769	1415	1:00
	(Ya Na genealogy song cycle performed on the eve of Tsimsi Tsugu, Friday evening, January 15, 1973)			
D57:2u:116♩.	Nantoh (Na Yakuba I)	770	1420	3:20
D58:1u: 80♩.	Bawuna (Uban dodoh-Baona) (Na Abdulai I)	773	1435	2:05
D59	*Baataakara (Na Andani II)	775	-	1:15
D60	*Bei nuuna ba (Na Alhassan I)	776	-	1:50
D61	*Halin mutum (Na Abudu)	778	-	1:15
D62	*Allah gaba (Na Mahama II)	780	-	1:00
D63	*Tambeya zaachi (Na Mahama III)	781	-	1:35
D64	*Salnim bori wuni nyebu (Na Abdulai III)	783	-	2:25
D65	*Koomi ye chi (Na Mohamadu Abudulai IV)	785	-	3:15
D66:1u: 84♩.	Taakaa sannu-Bruso	788	1457	1:18

Symbols

*Songs that have not been transcribed.

+Songs that do not include song text.

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Appendix E

Hausa Song Texts

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(H1)
BANJO
by Haruna Yaron Goge

Introductory Statement by Haruna

(Nie Haruna Yaron Goge.

It's me Haruna, servant of Goge.

Zan fara kidan Banjo tare da jama'a ta.

I will start playing Banjo[1] with my group.

Ni na koye shi ba tare da wani ya koye mun ba.

I learnt it without anybody teaching me.)

Sataf Saje Mamman Gusau na Lami (thrice)

Staff Sargeant Mamman Gusau, that of Lami.[2]

Sataf Saje, Sataf Saje, Sataf Saje Mamman Gusau na Lami.

Staff Sargeant of Lami.

Sataf Saje, Sataf Saje, Sataf Saje Mamman Gusau na Lami.

Staff Sargeant of Lami.

Sataf Saje Mamman Gusau na Lami.

Staff Sargeant.

Sataf Saje Mamman Gusau na Lami.

Staff Sargeant.

Sataf Saje, Sataf Saje, Sataf Saje Mamman Gusau na Lami.

Staff Sargeant of Lami.

Sataf Saje Mamman Gusau Ahmed.

Staff Sargeant Mamman Gusau Ahmed.

Muruci kan dutse baka fito ba sauda ka shirye.

Shoot of the deleb,[3] you didn't come out until you were ready.

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Sataf Saje, Sataf Saje, Sataf Saje Mamman Gusau na Lami.

Staff Sargeant Mamman Gusau that of Lami.

Dai dai Haruna Yaron Goge.

That's it Haruna, servant of Goge

Sataf Saje Mamman Gusau na Lami. (twice)

Staff Sargeant Mamman Gusau, that of Lami.

Sojan Nijeriya wan.

The soldier of one Nigeria.

Sataf Saje Mamman Gusau na Lami.

Staff Sargeant Mamman Gusau, that of Lami.

Sataf Saje, Sataf Saje, Sataf Saje Mamman Gusau na Lami.

Staff Sargeant Mamman Gusau, that of Lami.

Hakane Dan Alhaji Nuhu Gwanda.

That's it son of Alhaji Nuhu Gwanda.

Sataf Saje (thrice) Mamman Gusau na Lami.

Staff Sargeant Mamman Gusau, that of Lami.

Sataf Saje (thrice) Mamman Gusau na Lami.

Staff Sargeant Mamman Gusau, that of Lami.

Sataf Saje Mamman Gusau na Lami.

Staff Sargeant Mamman Gusau, that of Lami.

Ga gaisu war Shehu Babayo.

Here's the greetings of Shehu Babayo.

Sataf Saje Mamman Gusau na Lami. (twice)

Staff Sargeant, that of Lami.

Gyara Haruna Yaron Goge.

Mend it, Haruna, servant of Goge.

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Sataf Saje Mamman Gusau Ahmed.

Staff Sargeant Mamman Gusau Ahmed.

Murucin kan dutse baka fito ba sauda ka shirya.

Shoot of the deleb, you didn't come out until you were ready.

Ismun Azim maganin mai tsafi.

The name of God, the remedy of Fetish (i.e. God is the ruler of all.)

Ga gaisu war Usman Babayo.

Here is the greetings of Usman Babayo.

Alherin Allah ya kaimu.

Will the kindness of God save us.

Allah ya taimake mu da yardar sa.

God help us if You so wish.

Dai dai ne. Da kyau.

That's right, good.

Sataf Saje Mamman Gusau na Lami. (thrice)

Staff Sargeant Mamman Gusau, that of Lami.

Sataf Saje. Sataf Saje. Sataf Saje Mamman Gusau na Lami.

Staff Sargeant Mamman Gusau, that of Lami.

Sataf Saje Mamman Gusau na Lami.(thrice)

Staff Sargeant Mamman Gusau, that of Lami.

Dai dai. Da kyau shine goge Haruna.

Hallo! Going about (improvisor of music).

Da kyau Haru Bande. Da kyau shine goge.

That is goge, servant of Goge.

Kaje lafiya ka dawo lafiya Haru bakadiren Dije. (twice)

I wish you a peaceful journey to and from Haru, the beloved of Dije.

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Kaje lafiya ka dawo lafiya na Umma Agadasawa Kano sitat.

I wish you a happy journey that of Umma,[4] Agadasawa[5] Kano State.

Yawo shine goge.

Good, that's goge.

Sana'a sa'a rashin , sana'a rashin sa'a.

Profession is luck, without profession there is no luck.

Haruna Yaron Goge. Sana'a sa'a rashin, sana'a rashin sa'a Haruna Goge.

Haruna, servant of goge. Profession is luck, without profession there is no luck, Haruna Goge.

Dai dai dai Haru Bande.

That's it Haru Bande.

Haru Bande.(twice) Yawo Aha!

That's it Haru Bande

Yauwa, da kyau Haruna.

Yes! Good, Haruna.

Dai dai. Sha'anin ya yi kyau. La lee kyau.

The matter is fine. Yee, good.

Gyara, gyara, gyara, gyara Haru. Dai dai Haruna.

Continue with correcting. Correct, correct, correct Haru. That's it Haruna.

Gyara, gyara, gyara.(twice) Gyara Haru.

Correct, correct, correct. Correct Haru.

Gyara, gyara, gyara Haru. (twice)

Correct, correct, correct Haru.

A dunga gyara dai.

Continue correcting. Good.

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A kula. A kula a rika Yaron Goge.

Be careful. Start correcting Haruna, repair, repair.

Nine Shehu Babayo Dan Hauwa'u, Yauwo.

It's me Shehu Babayo, son of Hauwa'u. Good.

Haruna gyara, gyara, gyara. (twice)

Haruna correct, correct, correct.

To! Dai dai! Dai dai!

Good! That'it! That's it!

A gaisheka Ali Gadanga.[6] (twice)

Greetings Ali Gadanga.

Ali Sankara.[7] Ali mai Kwarya.

Ali Sankara. Ali, the one with the calabash.

Dai dai mai Kwarya.

That's it, that one with the calabash.

A gaisheka Bala Yaro.

Greetings Bala Yaro.

Haka duniya take Haruna.

This is how the world is Haruna.

Dukiya da Hakori duniya muka a duniya zamu barsu.

Wealth and teeth we get in the world. In the world we shall leave them.

A gaishe ka.

Greetings to you all.

La ila ha illal Muhammadu Rasubillahi.

There is none but God, Muhammad is His prophet.

Allah kawo Dala 'yar Cibi Dala 'yar Sale.

God bring Dala, daughter of Cibi, Dala daughter of Sale.

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Mai bindigar giya 'yar Cibi.

Owner of large (strong) beer, daughter of Cibi.

Dai dai ne Sale dai dai ne.

That's it, Sale, that's it.

Translated by Salihu Y. Ingawa
March 1974
Kano, Nigeria

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(H2)

BARRAHAZA

by Haruna Yaron Goge

Introductory Statement by Haruna

(Bismillahi Rahmani Rahini.

In the name of God the Beneficient, the Merciful.

Nine Haruna Yaron Goge.

It's me, Haruna, the servant of Goge.

Zan fara goge ni de mutane na da jama'a la.

I will start playing goge with my band.

Haruna dan mutanen Bande.[8] Kidan Barrahaza.

Haruna, son of the Bande people. Barrahaza song.

Mu muka shirye kidan Barrahaza kuma gashi zamuyi.

We planned the Barrahaza song and here it is; we start.)

Idan kana nema nemi ga Allah. (thrice)

If you are searching, want, want from God.

I Allah ya baka dole ne a baka.

If God gives you, you must be given.

I kuma ya hana ka wa zai baka?

If he refused to give you, who will give you?

Da kyau Haru Bande. (twice)

That's good Haruna Bande.

Dai dai ne Haruna Yaron Goge.

Correct Haruna, servant of Goge.

Sana'a sa'a rashin sana'a rashin sa'a.

Profession is luck (life); without profession there is no luck.

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Allah yasa mu dace. Hakane.

May God befit us (luck in our undertaking).

Zaman dadi mu ya (bujan mu). (twice)

Enjoyable stay has paid us. (i.e. Life is worth living.)

In kana da maso ya gida halinke halin gume ne.

If you have lovers (beloved-ones) at home, then your behaviour is a great behaviour (i.e. you respect yourself).

A kinasu. A kinasu dei Haruna Yaron Goge.

Call them. Call them, Haruna servant of Goge.

Yahaya Damagaram.(twice)

Yahaya[9] Damagaram.[10]

Yahaya Damagaram mai Barrahaza.

Yahaya Damagaram, owner (possessor) of Barrahaza.

Dan helas irin gwanda.

He is to the manner born like the pawpaw. (i.e. He is born of legitimate parents.)

Yahaya Damagaram wande yake banu kudi ya banu futura.

Yahaya Damagaram who gives us money and clothes.

Yahaya Damagaram mai Barrahaza.

Yahaya Damagaram, owner of Barrahaza.

Allah ne ya baka Aljana ta baka.

God gave you, the jinn[11] gave you.

Ga gaisu war Shehu Babayo nan M. Yahaya.

Here is Shehu Babayo's[12] greetings Mr. Yahaya.

Ga gaisu war Haruna Yaron Goge Haruna.

Here is the greetings of Haruna, servant of Goge! Haruna Bande.

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Ga gaisu war Ali Gadanga.[13]

Here is the greetings of Ali Gadanga.

Allah ne ya baka Aljana ta baka.

God gave you, the jinn gave you.

Zama de mai akwai dadi gareshi.

Staying with a wealthy man is a good thing.

In bai baka ba kyaute ya baka bashi.

If he doesn't give you gifts, he will lend you.

Hakane Haruna. (twice)

Yes that's it Haruna.

Yahaya Damagaram mai Barrahaza.

Yahaya Damagaram possessor of Barrahaza.

Hakane Yaron Goge a kira M. Yahaya.

That's it servant of Goge. Call Mr. Yahaya.

Ga gaisu war Shehu Babayo nan. (twice)

Greetings from Babayo.

Zama da mai akwai dadi gareshi.

Staying with a wealthy man is a good thing.

Haruna Yaron Goge mai Barrahaza.

Haruna, servant of Goge, one with (possessor of) Barrahaza.

Shi ma abar sace. Barrahaza abar dace Haru Bande.

It is his thing too. Barrahaza is your thing Haru Bande.

Haruna Yaron Goge mai Barrahaza.

Haruna, servant of Goge, one with (possessor of) Barrahaza.

Yakubu wanne ne Yakubu na Lade.

Yakubu, Yakubu of Ladi.[14]

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Yakubu mai injin mai Barrahaza.

Yakubu, owner of the grinding machine and Barrahaza.

Yakubu mai injin Yakubu na Ladi.

Yakubu, owner of the grinding machine, Yakubu of Ladi.

Yakubu na Ladi, mai Barrahaza.

Yakubu of Ladi, possessor of Barrahaza.

Injin in ba naka ba banze ne Yakubu. (twice)

Any machine if not yours is useless, Yakubu.

Ga gaisu war Shehu Babayo nan Yakubu.

Greetings from Shehu Babayo to Yakubu.

Dai dai. Ismun Azim maganin mai tsafi.

That's it. The name of God terrifies the fetish. (i.e. God is the ruler of all.)

Allah ya baka Aljana ta baka.

God gave you, the jinn gave you.

Dai dai ne Yakubu mai injin na Ladi.

That's right Yakubu, owner of the machine, that of Ladi.

M. Yahaya dai.

Mr. Yahaya, that's it.

M. mai Yahaya. M mai Yahaya Barrahaza.

Mr. Yahaya, possessor of Barrahaza.

M. Yahaya Damagaram.

Mr. Yahaya Damagaram.

M. mai Yahaya mai Yahaya Barrahaza.

Mr. Yahaya, possessor of Barrahaza.

Allah ya bashi Aljana ta bashi.

God gave him; the jinn gave him.

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Yahaya Damagaram mai Barrahaza.

Yahaya Damagaram, possessor of Barrahaza.

Dai dai ne sha'ani yayi kyau. Abin ya dace.

That's right, the affair is fine. It is just right.

Hakane. Yakubu mai Injin.

That's it Yakubu, owner of the machine.

Yakubu mai injin mai Barrahaza.

Yakubu owner of the machine, possessor of Barrahaza.

Yakubu na Ladi. Ga gaisu war ta nam.

Yakubu of Ladi. Here is my greetings.

Nine Shehu Babayo. Yaron Haruna--Aha!

I am Shehu Babayo. The boy of Haruna--Ah!

Yakubu na Ladi mai Barrahaza.

Yakubu of Ladi, possessor of Barrahaza.

Da kyau Haru Bande. (twice)

Good Haru Bande.

Haru Haru Indabawa Kano State.

Haru Indabawa Kano State.

Ga baka mijin Dije. Hakane!

Here is Bala, husband of Dije.

Zama da mai akwai dadi gareshi.

Staying with a wealthy man is a fine thing.

Dai dai Haruna.

That's it Haruna.

In bai baka ba kyauta ya baka bashi.

If he doesn't give you gifts, he will lend you.

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Idan kana nema bawa nemi ga Allah.

If you are searching, want (Oh servant) want from God.

A kira Juma makanike. Juma mijin yaren Awanki.

Call Juma,[15] the mechanic. Juma, husband of Dije.

Juma makanike mai lula. Juma halaliyar mutanen kaba.

Juma, the mechanic. Juma, the legitimate of the Kaba[16] people.

Juma na Dije mai Barrahaza. (twice)

Juma of Dije, possessor of Barrahaza.

(Juma na) Dije Birnin Kudu, mai Barrahaza.

Juma of Dije, birnin Kudu,[17] possessor of Barrahaza.

Nine Shehu Babayo dan Hauwa'u. (twice)

It's me Shehu Babayo, son of Hauwa'u.

Dai dai ne Juma makanike.

That's right Juma, the mechanic.

Juma na Dije mai Barrahaza.

Juma of Dije, possessor of Barrahaza.

Hakane da kayu. Haruna Yaron Goge. To!

That is, good, Haruna servant of Goge.

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March 1974
Kano, Nigeria

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(H3)
GAGARA SARKI
by Haruna Yaron Goge

Gagara bajimin Sarki.

The mighty chief.

Gagara gagara bajimin Sarki.

The mighty chief.

Allah ya dade da Sarki. Sarki ___?___.

May God extend the reign of the chief.

Allah ya dade da Sarki. (twice)

May God extend the reign of the chief.

Gagara Sarki bajimin Sarki. (four times)

(See above)

Allah shi dade da Sarki.

May God extend the reign of the chief.

Gagara Sarki bajimin Sarki.

(See above)

Allah ya dade da Sarki. (twice)

(See above)

Gagara Sarki bajimin Sarki.

(See above)

Gagara Sarki! Gagara Sarki! (twice)

The (mighty) chief!

Allah shi dade da Sarki. (twice)

(See above)

Gagara Sarki bajimin Sarki.

(See above)

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Sarki kamzullahi.

(No translation given)

Gagara Sarki bajimin Sarki. (twice)

Gagara Sarki! Gagara Sarki!

Allah ya dade da Sarki. (twice)

Sarki kamzullahi.

Gagara Sarki bajimin Sarki. (twice)

Gagara Sarki! Gagara Sarki! (twice)

Allah shi dade da Sarki. (twice)

Gagara Sarki bajimin Sarki.

Gagara Sarki! Gagara Sarki! (twice)

Allah shi dade da Sarki. (twice)

Gagara Sarki bajimin Sarki.

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(H4)

JABULA

by Haruna Yaron Goge

Introductory Statement by Haruna

(Nine Haru Bande, zan fara kidan James Buron kwarya ba waka.

It's me Haru Bande, and I will start playing James Brown.)

Shine, shine, shine.

That's him, that's him, that's him.

Dai dai ne.

Correct, it is correct.

Allah kawo Sataf Saje Margi Baban Yakubu.

Oh God, bring Staff Sargeant Tanko Margi, Father of Yakubu.

Da kyau Haru ne Dije wazen Gwamki.

It is good Haru of Dije, the lone buffalo.

Shine dai dai. Da kyau.

That's correct. Good.

Dai dai dai dai dai dai. Hakane.

Correct, correct, correct! That's it.

Allah kawo Samanja Labbo Zuru.

Good, bring Sargeant Major Labbo Zuru.

Sataf Saje Tanko Margi Baban Yakubu.

Staff Sargeant Tanko Margi, father of Yakubu.

Sataf Mamman Gusau Ahmed.

Staff Mamman Gusau Ahmed.

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Note: No translation given for the following (imitation of sounds made by James Brown during a performance).

Dai dai. Shime ai.

Cido, cido, cido, cido, cido, cido.

La le. (thrice)

Shime. (thrice)

Dai dai. (thrice) To.

Dai dai ne Haru. Hakane.

Cido, shime, dai dai, anko, anko.

Cido Bebi to Lido, shime Bebi.

Yaro a'a, shime, dai dai, anko.

Zero, zero, zeero, zeero, zeero, zeero zeero, zeero, zeero, zeero.

Came alone.

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March 1974
Kano, Nigeria

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(H5)

SARKIN RAFI

by Haruna Yaron Goge

Idan kana cin baure bar tonon ciki nasa.

If you are eating a fig, do not dig out its inside.

Saba da maza jari.

Acquaintance with men is capital.

Sarkin Rafi, sarkin rafi, Sharu.

Chief of the stream, chief of the stream, Sharu.

Mai adakar biki 'yar Bawa Lantana.

The one who has loads of gifts, daughter of Bawa Lantana.

Wata damiyo. (twice)

What bothers you? (i.e. I don't care.)

Binta jikar Idi diyar Ali. (twice)

Binta, granddaughter of Idi, daughter of Ali.

Da kyau Haruna.

That's good Haruna.

Ka saba yaba Sarkin Rafi.

You are used to praising chief of the stream.

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March 1974
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(H6)
WANZAMI
by Haruna Yaron Goge

Introductory Statement by Haruna

(Nine Haruna Yaron Goge, mutumin Bande.

It's me Haruna, servant of Goge.

Zan fara kidan Wanzami ba kwarya ba waka.

I will start the song of the barber's spirit (Wanzami) without any support from my group.)

Mai zabera. (twice)

Possessor of the bag.[18]

Carab carab na keji ko ta biyo ta rafi?

I hear charab charab,[19] or has she followed through the stream?

Abin ta Garba jikar Suleman diyar Muhamman Sani, Allah jikanta.

The thing of that of Garba, granddaughter of Suleiman, daughter of Muhamman Sani. May God have mercy on her!

Allah ya sa ta huta, Allah share kasa a goshin ta.

May she rest in peace and may God clean her.

Mai zabera.(twice)

Possesor of the bag.

Abin Yelwa diyar Wanzami.

The thing of Yelwa, daughter of barbers.

Abin Muhamman Sarkin Aska.

The thing of Muhamman, chief of Barbers.

Aska tana kube tana cin gashi.

The knife is in the sheath,[20] yet it is cutting hair.

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Nine Shehu Babayo dan Hauwa'u.

It's me Shehu Babayo, son of Hauwa'u.

Dai dai ne.

That's it.

Wanzami ba - - a tambayeku mata.

The barbers - - you are asked by women.

Wanzami gyara yai koko barna?

Did the barbers repair or spoil?[21]

Na Inna kashin belo da dariya ku kan yi mugunta.

That of the name Inna.[22] The feces of Belo with laughter you do wickedness.[23]

Dan Magaji, jikan Magaji.

Son of Magaji, grandson of Magaji.[24]

Aska tana kube tana cin gashi.

Knife, you are in the sheath yet you are cutting hair.

Da kyau Haruna Yaron Goge.

It's good Haruna, servant of Goge.

Haru na Dije waren Gwanki.

Haru of Dije, the lone buffalo.

Haru baadaren Umma Agadasawa Kano State.

Haru of Umma, Agadasawa Kano State.

Haru dan mutanen Bande.

Haru, the son of Bande people.

Dai dai.

That's it.

Uban gidan Usmanu Shehu Babayo dan Hauwa'a nine ai.

The master of Usman Shehu Babayo, son of Hauwa'u. That's me.

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Yauwa.

Aha!

Makalkalin makalkala aska tana kube.

"Makalkalin makalkala"--knife in the sheath.

Tana cin gashi. Hakane.

Cutting hair. That's it.

Allah jikan 'yar Hauwa ta Garba jikar Sulemanu.

May God have mercy on the daughter of Hauwa of Garba, granddaughter of Sulemanu.

Watsar-watsar mikeji ko ta biyo ta kogi. Hakane.

I hear "watsar-watsar," or has she followed through the stream? That's it.

Makalkalin makalkala.

"Makalkalin makalkala"

Aska tana kube tana cin gashi.

The knife in the sheath cutting hair.

Na Inna kashin belo.

That of "Inna" the feces of "Belo."

Da dariya kukan yi mugunta.

With laughter you do wickedness.

Allah dai. Hakane.

God first, that's it.

Abin ta Garba jikar Euleimana diyar Muhamman Sani.

The thing of, that of Garba, granddaughter of Suleiman, daughter of Muhamman Sani.

Ta garba jikar Sule. diyar Muhamman Sani.

That of Garba, granddaughter of Suleiman, daughter of Muhamman Sani.

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Mai cima zaune da gemu.

Owner of a bearded child.

Allah jikan 'yar Hauwa ta Garba, jikar Suleiman.

God have mercy on the daughter of Hauwa, that of Garba granddaughter of Suleiman.

Allah jikar ta Allah yasata huta.

God have mercy on her, may God give her rest.

Uwar ni Shehu Babayo dan Hauwa'u.

Mother of me, Shehu Babayo, son of Hauwa'u.

Allah jikar 'yar Hauwa ta Garba jikar Suleimanu dijar Muhamman Sani.

God have mercy on the daughter of Hauwa, that of Garba, the granddaughter of Suleiman, daughter of Muhamman Sani.

Ta zama tunbi Allahu. Akbar. kaico.

She is below the ground (i.e. in the grave). God, the greatest, what a pity.

Da kyau Haruna Yaron Goge.

Good Haruna, servant of Goge.

Dai dai ne. Sana'a sa'a rashin, sana'a rashin sa'a.

That's it. Profession is luck, no profession is no luck.

Sana'a tu kamzul Lahi a san mutun a san cinikin sa.

Profession is the work of God. Know a person and know his business.

Dai dai ne Haruna. Dai dai ne Haru halaliyar mutanen Bande.

That's it Haruna. That's it Haru, the legitimate of Bande people.

Dai dai ne Haru na Magaji.

That's it Haru of Magaji.

Hakane. Hakane. Da kyau Haruna.

Correct. Correct. Good Haruna.

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Ja muje ja muje sana'a sa'a.

Let's go, lead on. Profession is luck.

Ja muje Allah sa mu dace. Allah sa mu dace.

Lead and let's go. May God give us luck. May God give us luck.

Nasara, nasara. Nasara dai nasara, nasara Haruna.

Success, success. Success, success, success Haruna.

Nasara minal Lahi wal fatahu kariban.

Success is from God however little or great it may be.

Dai dai ne, da kyau Haruna.

That's it, good Haruna.

Haru Bande, da kyau Haruna.

Haru Bande, good Haruna.

Sana'a sa'a, sana'a sa'a Haru.

Profession is luck, profession is luck Haru.

Sana'a sa'a, Allah sa mu dace.

Profession is luck. God give us luck.

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March 1974
Kano, Nigeria

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(H7)

WAKAKAI

by Mamman Landi

Nine Mamman Landi Panshekara Kano.

I am Mamman Landi Panshekara Kano.

Nine zam taba kidan mutanen kanawa yadda ya kamata.

It is me who is going to play for Kano people as much as possible.

Niye Mamman na A'i, Mamman Sarkin gogen Kano.

Gee up, Mamman of A'i, Mamman the chief of Goge in Kano.

Niye Muhamman Landi Sarkin gogen Kano State.

Gee up, Muhamman Landi, chief of Goge in Kano.

Ya Allah kai mana Arziki. (twice)

Oh! God make us wealthy.

Ya Allah kai mana Arziki saboda wulakan cin gaba.

Oh God! Make us wealthy because of future contempt.

Hasa kai ke kawo Arziki, tsiya bata kawo Arziki.

Cooperation brings wealth, quarreling doesn't bring wealth?

Mu Sabon Pegi za muje a dalilin Barde Shugaba.

We are going to Sabon Pegi[25] because of Barde Shugaba.[26]

Ga dan Birfillo tela nan sannan ga tanko na mai baru aminan barde Shugaba.

Here is Dan Birfillo tena,[27] then here is Tanko[28] na mai Baru, the trusted friends of Barde Shugaba.

Sai Allah Barde Shugaba.

Now more than God, Barde Shugaba.

Umarnin Barde Shugaba maza mata.

The command of Barde Shugaba, male, female.

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Ku taho kuji yara mamya ku taho kuji.

Come and hear, children and adults, come and hear.

Hasa kai ke jawo Arziki, tsiya ba ta sa Arziki.

Cooperation brings wealth, quarreling doesn't bring wealth.

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(H8)
KIDAN KANAWA
by Mamman Landi

Introductory Statement by Landi

(Nine Mamman Landi Sarkin Gogen Kanawa.

I am Mamman Landi, chief of Goge for Kano people.

Yanzu zan yabe Kanawa yadda ya kamata.

Now I am going to praise Kano people as much as possible.)

Sun sanzu, sun bamu, mun gode wa Kano State. (twice)

They get, they give us, we thank Kano State.

Sarki Allah, Allah gyara mana Kano State.

God repair Kano State for us.

Mai sama ya Allah Allah gyara mana Kano State.

Owner of above, Oh God, God repair Kano State for us.

Kaji maza maganin maza sai Kano State.

Remedy for man is man, Oh Kano State.

Sannu (kaji) maza maganin maza sai Kano State).

Greetings to remedy for man is man, Oh Kano State.

Sun samu, sun bamu, mun gode wa Kano State.

They get, they give us, we thank Kano State.

Sarki Allah, Allah gyara mana Kano State.

Almighty God, God repair Kano State for us.

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Mai sama ya Allah, Allah gyara mana Kano State.

Owner of above, Oh God, God repair Kano State for us.

Mun gode wa kano State. (twice)

We thank you Kano State.

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(H9)

KIDAN SARKI KANO

by Mamman Landi

Nine Mamman Landi Panshekara Kano.

I am Mamman Landi Kano.

Yanzun zan taba kidan emiya Sarkin Kano.

Now I will start playing for the Emir of Kano.

Sarkin Kano Ado dan Bayero Ado.

Emir of Kano Ado, son of Bayero, Ado.

Farin jinin sa tun daga Allah yahe Ado dan Bayero.

His popularity is from God, Ado, son of Bayero.

Sarkin Kano Ado dan Bayero Ado.

Emir of Kano, Ado, son of Bayero, Ado.

Farin jinin sa tun daga Allah yahe Ado.

His popularity is from God, Ado.

Ado dan Bayero. (twice)

Ado, son of Bayero.

Farin jinin sa tun daga Allah yahe Ado dan Bayero.

His popularity is from God, Ado, son of Bayero.

Ramar radin sa kowa murna yake Ado.

On his crowning day, everybody was happy, Ado.

Maza murna suhe mata murna suhe Ado dan Bayero.

Males were happy, females were happy, Ado, son of Bayero.

Manya murna suhe yara murna suhe Ado.

The big were happy, the small were happy, Ado.

Dan Bayero Ado dan Bayero Ado.

Son of Bayero, Ado, son of Bayero.

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Farin jinin sa tun daga Allah yahe Ado dan Bayero Ado. (twice)

His popularity is from God, Ado, son of Bayero, Ado, son of Bayero.

Ranar radinsa kowa murna yahe Ado.

On his crowning day, everybody was happy, Ado.

Maza murna suhe mata murna suhe Ado.

Males were happy, females were happy, Ado.

Ado dan Bayero Ado dan Bayero.

Ado, son of Bayero, Ado, son of Bayero.

Dan Bayero Ado.

Son of Bayero, Ado.

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March 1974
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(H10)
MAGININ ZAMAN BANZA
by Mamman Landi

Nine Mamman Landi Panshekara Kano.

I am Mamman Landi Panshekara Kano.

Zanyi man kamar samari wadanda suhe a Najeriya gargadi maganin zaman banza.

I will sing a warning song to the youths of Nigeria--warning on staying idle.

Ya Allah! (thrice) Ya Sarki!

Oh God! Oh King!

Allah abinda na roke ha ye Allah ya sarki.

God what I ask from you of God, the King.

Kaban hikimar waka in samiabin koko.

Give me the wisdom to sing so as to get a living.

Momoh angon Ladi na gefen Lemawa.

Momoh, groom of Ladi, on the side of Lemana.

Momoh Lawal angon Ladi.

Momoh Lawal, groom of Ladi.

Momoh Lawal angon Ladi na Bello gidan gona.

Momoh Lawal, groom of Ladi, that of Bello of the farm house.

Ya bani yadin aiki ya ban garmar shamu.

He gave me a farm.

Damina in ta fadi zani in nome gona ta.

When the rains arrive, I will go and till my farm.

Samazin duniya wallahi a bar barci.

Youths of the world, stop sleeping.

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Samari 'yan duniya kumu tashi mu bar barci.

Youths of the world, let's wake up and stop sleeping.

Gama in ta fadi samari ba'a so ba.

For if the world gets lose, we will regret it.

Samarin duniya kumu tashi mu bar barci.

Youths of the world let's wake up and stop sleeping.

Barci aiku kawai kumu dan garma yafi.

Sleeping doesn't pay; we better take . . .

Zamani duk ya canja an daina zaman banza.

The time has all changed, idle stay has ceased.

Sai mui noma mui Sallah mu koma makaranta.

We farm, pray, and go back to school.

Samarin duniya ku mu tashi mu bar barci. (twice)

Youths of the world let's wake up and stop sleeping.

Barci aikin kawai ku mu dan garma yafi.

Sleeping doesn't pay, we had better take . . .

Zamanin ya aikin kawai.

The time of foolishness has passed.

Sai mui noma mui Sallah mu koma makaranta.

Then we farm we pray, and we go back to school.

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March 1974
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Dagomba Song Texts

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(D1)

DAN-MO

(Na Gariba and Dalung-Lana Kukogu Yogu)

by Abu Gondze

Chorus: Dan-mo taseka doodo na woni baa keeba.

Yugu[1] get up! People are coming. I will not get up. I won't see people's faces and run away.

Bo zooro sukan yawo dare (nawo) daraana sukan yawo.

He-goats do roam about at night, in the day time they do roam together.

Abari zaman bisan dufu, sukan yawon dare, karia ba yankama chen-wa ba.

Avoid sitting in darkness, they do roam at night, (lies cannot catch a cat).[2]

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July 1974
Legon, Ghana

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(D3)

ADAN SUN CHI SUN SO [3]

(Na Saa Ziblim I)

by Abu Gondze

Chorus: Sarauta na taare da su.

Chiefship is together with them.

Adan sun chi sun so, Allah taare da su.

Those who like and those who don't like, God is with either group.

Adan ba chi so ba Allah taare da su.

With those who don't like, God is together with them.

Su na karian banza Allah taare da su.

They tell useless lies; God is with them.

Su na frusin banza.

They get annoyed useless. (i.e. They get annoyed unnecessarily.)

Mi rabo ya saamu, hasada banzaa ni.

If by God's grace one succeeds, evil people can do nothing.

Adan zama suna kariya, sarauta na taare da su.

Even with those who idle and tell lies, chiefship is together with them.

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July 1974
Legon, Ghana

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(D4)

NANTOH (Na Yakuba I)

by Alhassan Gondze

Chorus: Albandaa, teeni boa.

Chief, we have come to see you.

Nantoo boaboa poli nantoo.

Apart from God, is there any Lord other than you?

Nantoo dan Andani kagilisundi boaboa poli nantoo.

You, Nantoo, son of God, Master of the universe! Is there a chief other than you?

Nantoo dan Yakubu, Nantoo, Yakubu Yakubu kagilisundi.

Nantoo, Yakubu's son, Nantoo! Your kill cannot be eaten by vultures. (i.e. Dagbon has come into your hands and wars cannot come.)

Nantoo, Yakubu Nantoo, Yakubu, Yakubu yelimana.

Nantoo, Yakubu Nantoo, Yakubu, the rightful judge.

Nantoo kunimdi kajilisundi, boaboa poli Nantoo.

Nantoo, whose kill cannot be touched by insects! Is there any king other than you?

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July 1974
Legon, Ghana

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(D5)

BAWUNA

(Na Abdulai I)

by Alhassan Gondze

Chorus: Buban dodoh.

Your father is Lord of the Universe.

Bawunaa dagadase.

You Nagbiegu[5] Abdulai.

Dagada magaazin bawuna.

You Dagada, regent of Nagbiegu.

Bawuna mache gudu saa guduu.

Bawuna, he who does not run will not hide.

Mache gani bure idanu.

He who does not want to see him can close his eyes.

Mache gudu saa gudu.

He who does not run will not hide.

Dan Yakubu baalagobaa.

Son of Yakubu, brave man.

Kumikumi dan Bawunan taani.

Unity is strength.

Ashee dan bazini, dan bazinini.

A hero's son, a hero you are.

Dunia yen kwaana ni?

How long does man live?

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July 1974
Legon, Ghana

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(D6)

YEDA BINBEIM ZUGU

by Alhassan Gondze

Chorus: Yeda binbeim zugu ka kunduŋ gbaagi ŋmaanga.

Confidence made the lion to catch the monkey.

Yeda gbaagila ŋmaanga.

Confidence has grabbed the monkey.

Di tsaŋ wula ka ogbagi ŋmaanga.

How did it happen that he grabbed him?

Kunduŋ bi gon wuntaŋni di tsaŋ wula ka o gbaagi ŋmaanga.

The lion does not roam during the day, how then did he grab the monkey?

Kunduŋ bi dudi tra ka di tsaŋ wula ka o gbaagi ŋmaanga?

The lion does not climb trees, how then did he catch the monkey?

Kunduŋ bi pen sima ka di tsaŋ wula ka o gbaagi ŋmaanga.

The lion does not harvest groundnuts, how then did it catch the monkey?

ŋmaanga bi ɣon yuŋ ka di tsaŋ wula ka o gbaagi ŋmaanga?

The monkey does not roam in the night, how then did he catch the monkey?

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(D7)

BI ZUHUMA (Tugulana Jiri)
by Iddrisu Gondze

Chorus: Bi zuhuma.

Uninvited.

Badzisee, yiŋ doo yee.

You, Badzisee, dawadawa[6] tree in the town.

Yee, yiŋ doo yee.

Yes, you dawadawa tree at home.

Yibilsi lagim kobiga kpilkpanga ndaa gan.

Hundred madmen (i.e. a good collection of madmen) cannot make up a fairy.

Mbaman yee.

He was my father's Lord.

Bitem taali kunkoŋ dima.

He who does not falter shall not know his enemies.

Yibilisi lagim kobiga kpilkpanga ndaa gan.

Hundred madmen cannot make a fairy.

Soli diniyela di ni nya tsandiba.

A good king gets many subjects.

Badzisee Naa kuliya ka yuli kunkuli.

Badzisee, Great King, has passed away but his name remains forever.

Bimbingu tampolo kundem baa.

Dogs do not pass by the playground for tigers.

(i.e. Commoners do not pass by the meeting place of kings.)

Sokamo kaania dinvela, di ni mali o yela.

Good plans work for the good of the planner.

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Yiŋ doo yee.

Dawadawa tree at home.

Bitum taali kumbaŋ dima.

He who does no wrong will know no enemies.

Badzisee Naa kuliyaa, Mazaa Yin.[7]

Badzisee, the King has passed away, Great man!

Translated by Abdullahi Yakubu
July 1974
Legon, Ghana

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(D8)

ALLAH YAA FAN

(Tampionlana Alhassan)

by Iddrisu Gondze

Allah yaa fan baa mutum ba.

It is God's will, not the will of man.

Dookoo, Allah yaa fan.

Tall gentleman, it is God's will.

Amaa zikan Alhassan baa logoba ni.

Heir of Alhassan is no coward.

Allah yaa fan baa mutum ba.

It is God's will, not the will of man.

Zikan Alhassan baa lagoba.

Heir of Alhassan is no coward.

Yee, Allah yaa fan.

Oh yes! It is God's will.

Wei! Alhassan Baakom maka.

Yess Alhassan, visitor, welcome.

Woyei, Allah yaa fan.

Oh yes! It is God's will.

uma buga bia, Allah yaa fan.

Son of the priests, it is God's will.

Alhassan baa lagobani.

Alhassan is no coward.

Jiwa yaayi laami, Allah yaa fan.

Hole dug by an elephant, it is God's will. (i.e. A hole dug by an elephant cannot be walked into by smaller animals.)

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July 1974, Legon, Ghana

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(D9)
BANCHENDI
by Salifu Lali

Torobi na kpa klu. (twice)

A big thing begets a big thing.

(i.e. A chief begets a chief.)

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July 1974
Legon, Ghana

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(D10)
NANTOH (Na Yakuba I)
by Salifu Lali

Chorus: Albanda tene boa.

Chief, we have come to see you.

Faplu foa bo chu boanga. (twice)

A heavy object cannot defeat its carriers. (i.e. No matter the weight of an object, its carriers will always carry it.)

Faplu foa bo chu boan ga. Torobi kanfo o yoo.

A heavy object cannot defeat its carriers. A lion's elder's son is a lion.

Albanda dan Andani o teeni bo yemo lafia.

The owner of the world, Andani's son, we have come to see whether you are well.

Boaboa poli klu yem boa poli, yen chilimi boa yemmo lafia.

All of the subjects of this land, commoners and princes alike, recognize you as their overlord, and we have come to see how well you are.

Albanda dan Andani o teeni boa yammo lafia.

The owner of the world, Andani's son, we have come to see whether you are well.

Yenchilimi boa ye - a ma lafia, o teeni bo yemmo lafia.

My Lord, the lord of everything, we have come to see whether you are well.

Boaboa klu yem boa poli yenchilimi boa yemmo lafia.

All the subjects of this land, commoners and princes alike, recognize you as their overlord and we have come to see whether you are well.

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Albanda dan Andani yenchibli boa yemmo lafia.

The owner of the world, Andani's son, we have come to see whether you are well.

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July 1974
Legon, Ghana

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(D11)
KARINBAN-DANA
(Yamba Na Ntoli)
by Salifu Lali

M bi bori kariban-dana, mbi bori kariban-ni.

I don't like a self-conceited person, I hate conceitedness.

Ɲun mali o karinbaani un yim ka ti zaa zani.

Whoever is self-conceited should come so that we stand (i.e. should come for a fight).

So bi bori karinban-dana, so bi bori karinbaani.

Nobody likes a self-conceited person, nobody likes self-conceitedness.

Dasiba bi ni sheli, aninwula karinban-dana.

Good morning has done nothing, good evening self-conceited man.

(i.e. If you say good morning to me and I don't respond, if you say good evening, that will not persuade me to include you in the number of humble men.)

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July 1974
Legon, Ghana

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(D12)

TAAKAA SANNU

(In honor of reigning Ya Na)

by Salifu Lali

Chorus: Taakaa sannu.

Walk slowly and majestically.

Guanan tofo jelima taka lafia.

You the elephant among bachelors, walk slowly.

Farin wata magazin lana.

The bright moon is only a regent of the sun.

Barigaraa zei dan Yakubu yamna lafia.

You the humble king, sit calmly, son of Yakubu.

Lafia nka lafia, wan da Allah yei bai.

Your health is good, it's a gift from God.

Fari wata magazin lana.

The bright moon is only a regent of the sun.

Mei gaya achi wan da Allah yabia.

You the lead of farmers, it's a gift from God.

Gommashara wanda Allah yaa bai.

You Yakubu, it is a gift from God.

Guanan tofo, magani sa chei waya.

To be able to walk around a large farm is pride.

Chei waya daganisa dan Abudu.

But walking round a large farm is not easy. You, the son of Abudu.

Yakubu magazin Abdulai.

Yakubu, you the regent of Abdulai.

Lafia ziikan Ziblilu.

Are you well Ziblilu's descendant?

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Guanan tofo, magani sa chei waya.

To be able to walk round a large farm is pride.

Kei tulmin kasa ma dawlin giiwa.

A natural mortar can fix an elephant.

Mei gayaa sannu bada garazei.

Head of farmers, walk slowly, silently.

Googarima mazim Baona.

How you are here, you are the son of Ya Na Nag-biegu.

Hara zamna lafia.

You, an equivalent of brave men, sit down gently.

Guanan tofa, sannu bari dagara zei.

Head farmer, walk slowly, not with pride.

Gbimgbrigu tampalo kun den baa.

The dog does not go near the playground of lions.

Mei gaya magazin Abdulahi.

Lord of men, son of Abdulai.

Lafia nka lafia dan Andani ziikan Ziblilu.

Your health is sound, son of Abdulai, grandson of Ziblilu.

Magazin Andani ziikan Ziblilu.

Regent of Andani, Ziblilu's grandson.

Guanan tofo maganin nisa si echei wuya.

To walk round hot ash is not to step into it.

Yakubu magazin Andani.

Yakubu, the regent of Andani.

Lafia nka magazin Andani.

To your health, regent of Andani.

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Baga garazei ferin wata magazin lana.

You, the humble king, the bright moon is the regent of the sun.

Kam zaa chi yaa so garin ya wayei.

The follower of the king wishes that it will always be day.

Guanan tofo maganin nisa si echei wuya.

To walk round hot ash is pride.

Tulmin kasa madawlin giiwa.

The natural mortar fixes an elephant.

Gooshin Baona, Yakubu taka lafia.

You are comparable to the forehead of the Lion, untouchable Yakubu,
walk slowly.

Gaurin giiwa ziikan Ziblilu.

You the Lord of brave young men, the descendant of Ziblilu.

Dan Ziblilu zamna lafia.

Son of Ziblilu, sit calmly.

Guanan tofa tara zamna lafia.

Head farmer, the equivalent of nine brave men, sit down calmly.

Kasan chii gusu magazin walei.

In battle when you are defeated those who refuse run to die.

Mai gaya sannu bara garazei.

Lord of men, walk slowly, not with pride.

Atara zamna lafia.

The equivalent of nine brave men, sit with health.

Guanan tofa maganin, sa che waya.

Head farmer, to walk round hot ash is not to step into it.

Lafia nka lafia, wanda Allah yaa bai.

Your health is sound, it is a gift from God.

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Mei gaya achi, magarin Baona.

Lord of men, you the son of Nagbiegu.

Yakubu magazin Andani, dan Andani ziikan Ziblilu.

Yakubu, regent of Andani, son of Andani, descendant of Ziblilu.

Badagarazei, ferin wata magazin lana.

You the humble lion king, moon is regent of sun.

Guana tofa maganin sa chei waya.

Head farmer, to walk round hot ash is not to step into it.

Badagarazei jan ido koro bara.

Humble lion king, a cold welcome drives strangers away.

Kamsachi yaaso gari yaa waaye. (twice)

The follower of the king wishes it to be day always.

Ferin wata magazin lana.

Moon is regent of sun.

Guanan tofa maganin sa chei waya.

Head farmer, walk slowly, not with pride.

Guanan tofo, nei jen ido kore bakoa.

Head farmer, a serious face drives back strangers.

Baadagaraze, damei za ba dagasazei ba.

Humble lion king, you can have a serious outlook on life.

Chi zaaboo jen ido koro bako.

You, the headman of men, a serious face drives away strangers.

Lafia nka lafia wanda Allah yaa bai.

Your health is sound, it is a gift from God.

Goo garima ziikan Baona.

Lion of the world, the descendant of Nagbiegu.

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Magazin Yakubu, ziikan Andani.

Regent Yakubu, descendant of Andani.

Magazin Andani ziikan Ziblilu, lafia nka lafia. (twice)

Regent of Andani, descendant of Ziblilu, your health is sound.

Guanan tofa farin wata magazin lana.

Head farmer, moon is regent of sun.

Mei gaya yechei Allah yaa bai.

Lord of youth, it is a gift from God.

Gooshin Baona sannu sannu.

Like the forehead of a bushcow, gently, gently.

Gooshin Baona ziikan Andani.

Like the forehead of a bushcow, descendant of Andani.

Baadagarazei, atara ba maza kasi.

Humble king, you, the equivalent of nine men, you are not useless.

Chii gudu magazin Alhassan.

A warrior who will never retreat, Alhassan's regent.

Chii gudu magazin Sulemana.

A warrior who will never retreat, Sulemana's regent.

Baadagara sei sannu sannu.

Humble king, slowly, slowly.

Ei! sannu sannu.

I say, walk slowly, slowly.

Kuma ziikan Andani.

And again you are Andani's grandson.

Yakubu magazin Andani.

Yakubu, you are Andani's regent.

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Atara ba maza kaasi bani.

The equivalent of nine brave men, you are not useless.

Baadagarazei, sannu sannu. (thrice)

Humble king, slowly, slowly.

Goozin Baona magazin Mahama.

Like the forehead of a bushcow, regent of Mahama.

Chii gudu magazin Yakubu.

A warrior who never retreats from battlefront, the regent of Na Yakubu I.

Chii garazei, sannu sannu.

One who abhors pride, slowly, slowly.

Lana paso a kan kawnu wata.

You are like the sun who appears and scares away the moon.

(i.e. You are a prince whose appearance scares away other princes.)

Gooshin Baona magazin Yakubu.

You, like the forehead of a bushcow, regent of Yakubu I.

Gooshin Baona magazin Sulemana.

You, like the forehead of a bushcow, regent of Sulemana.

Dan Sulemana sannu.

Son of Sulemana, slowly.

Baragarazei sannu sannu.

Humble king, slowly, slowly.

Gooshin Baona, sannu sannu.

You, like the forehead of a bushcow, slowly, slowly.

Gooshin Baona magazin Mahama.

You, like the forehead of a bushcow, regent of Mahama.

Gooshin Baona, magazin Sulemana.

You, like the forehead of a bushcow, regent of Sulemana.

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Baadagarazei, atara sannu. (twice)

Humble king of the universe, equivalent of nine men, slowly.

Chii gudu magazin Alhassan.

Brave warrior, who never retreats, regent of Alhassan.

Baadagarazei, sannu sannu.

Humble king of the world, slowly, slowly.

Atara ba maza kaasi.

Equivalent of nine men, you are not useless.

Chiizaabo magazin Andani.

Lord of men, regent of Andani.

Gooshin Baona, sannu sannu.

You, like the forehead of the bushcow, slowly, slowly.

Chii gudu magazin Mahama.

Brave warrior who never retreats, regent of Mahama.

Atara ba masa kaasi.

The equivalent of nine brave men is surely not useless.

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June 1974
Legon, Ghana

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(D13)
NANTOH (Na Yakubu I)
by Salifu Lali

Chorus: Albanda tene boa.

Chief, we have come to see you.

Nantoh boa boa poli.

You are like Nantoh.

Albanda, dan Andani uteini boa Yemba lafia.

Lord son of Andani, we have no other king besides you.

Shia zaa mani ziikan Gariba.

Lord of the universe, descendant of Na Gariba.

Yenchilmi boa Yemba lafia.

All your enemies and friends have gathered here before you.

Uban jelima magazin Andani.

The unique regent, regent of Andani.

Kagli sundi boa boa poli.

What a Nantoh has killed, no other living thing eats it.

Shia zaa mani, dan Andani.

Lord of the universe, son of Andani.

Yenchibli boa poli.

No other king lives besides you.

Albanda ziikan Gariba, uteini boa Yemba lafia.

Lord, descendant of Gariba, we have no other king besides you.

Magazin Andani, ziikan Andani.

Regent of Andani, descendant of Andani

Uban jelima magazin Mahama.

The unique regent, regent of Mahama.

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Nantoh, boa boa poli.

You are like Nantoh.

Gomma shara Yakubu, magazin Mahama.

King Yakubu, regent of Mahama.

Yenchibli boa yemba lafia.

Are you well?

Shia zaa mani dan Gariba.

Lord of the universe, son of Gariba.

Yenchibli boa poli.

No other king lives besides you.

Boa boa yei lan yei.

A new king brings joy into every heart.

Uteini boa yemma lafia.

So we have come to salute your health.

Shiaa zaa mani dan Andani.

Lord of the universe, son of Andani.

Yenchibli boa poli.

No king lives besides you.

Albanda ziikan Gariba.

Lord, descendant of Gariba.

Uteini boa yemma lafia.

We have come to salute your health.

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(D14)
UBAN DODOH (Bawuna-Bɑona)
(Na Abdulai I)
by Salifu Lali

Chorus: Uban dodoh

Your father is the king of the Universe.

Guanan tofa magani sa cheiwa.

Like a hot ash, it is best to walk round it.

Oo! Talala da dunia.

Oh king, Lord of the world, move humbly.

Ashei dunia kwaa bakwei.

Oh! Don't you know that the world lasts for seven days.

Dunia ba chiso goni, shei lago.

The world frowns at the proud and smiles at the humble.

Lago yaa chi magani yaa fasa.

If a simpleton is given juju, the juju leaves him without working for him.

Abdulai ziikan Yakubu.

Abdulai, grandson of Yakubu.

Abdulai, magazin Yakubu.

Abdulai, son of Yakubu.

Magazin Abubakari ziikan Yakubu.

Regent of Abubakari, grandson of Yakubu.

Guanan tofa, gonan tofa maganin sache wayayi.

Like hot ash, it is best to walk round it.

Uban dodoh gali sautauni.

Your father the king of the universe, he owns the earth.

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Mei labo yaa saanu asay kaya saya banzani.

When God confers his blessings on you, liars and "meddlers" become useless.

Koomi gilman Kuuka Bagaluwa yaafisi.

No matter how respected a baobab tree's leaves may be, it will not reach that of Bagaluwa.[8]

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(D15)
BAATAKARAA
(Na Andani II)
by Salifu Lali

Chorus: Baatakaraa sei damana.

The world is like a shed of stalks, we don't climb it (because it will break); we sit under it.

Giiwa yaa habo lin gida, baabu yayan gingingisi.

When the elephant becomes mad in the bush, trees begin to fall.

Mei nada chei ga Allah.

I know the day you were born that God gave you the good luck.

Gazere kowa da nasa wei takama yaayi fasa.

A short man, every king and his reign, so please refrain from climbing sheds made of stalks.

Shini giwa yaa habolin daazi,

If an elephant becomes mad in the bush,

Shim salehi yaa habolin giida,

If a king becomes mad at home (a dictator),

Baabu yaaya tarika.

The masses are lost.

Mei nasada mei wiyan kookuwa.

The winner in any case can never be fought.

Mei gaya koowa da nasa.

Head farmer, everyone and his property.

Mei nasara kei gaaga Allah.

Your success is with God.

Lafia nka lafia magazin Yakubu.

Your health is sound, son of Yakubu.

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Taasin ka laafia magazin Mahama.

You got up this morning in sound health, son of Mahama.

Gazere koawa da nasa.

A short man, every king and his reign.

Mei nasara mei wiyan kookuwa.

The winner in any case can never be challenged.

Gazere yaa ku bu waye.

A short man, a dual with him, is dangerous.

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(D16)

GBAMBEGU DARI

(Kugu-Na Abdulai)

by Salifu Lali

Chorus: Gbambegu dari can dari.

You are like a tough piece of meat (everyone pulls with the the teeth).

Alhassan magazin Mahama. (twice)

Alhassan, son of Mahama.

Alhassan magazin Andani.

Alhassan, son of Andani.

Saamazaa gingaga darima can darima.

Brave men pull me and I pull them.

Sog-yelisi zaa darima can darima.

Wangara people all pull me and I pull them.

Abudu dan Braimah.

Abdulai, son of Braimah.

Kulkulsi dan dariman can darima.

Kulkulsi (a tribe) people pull me and I pull them.

Sog-yelisi cumdi Naa Yaaba.

Wangara people hail him grandfather of Ya Na.

Nanumba cumdi Naa Yaaba.

Nanumba people hail him "Grandfather of Ya Na."

Buya kobga naa palya koprum di mali karim baani.

Hundreds of rivers are filled up, stagnant ponds are forgotten.

Yem maza gingagu darima can darima.

Brave men pull me and I pull them.

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Sog-yelsi da darima can darima.

Wangara people pull me and I pull them.

Nanumba da darima can darima.

Nanumba people pull me and I pull them.

Sani ŋun baŋ zinli Zoli Kugli kunkɔŋ dooshei.

A wise stranger will never fail to get a sleeping place (like a stone from the mountain top).

Saa mazaa Sog-yelsi cumdi "Naa Yaaba".

Brave men Wangara people hail him "Grandfather of Ya Na."

Nanumba cumdi Naa Yaaba.

Nanumba people hail him "Grandfather of Ya Na."

Sani ŋun baŋ zinli kukɔŋ doshei, zoli kugli.

A wise stranger will never fail to get a sleeping place (like a stone from the mountain top).

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(D17)

BI ZUHIMA (Tugulana iri)

by Salifu Gondze

Chorus: Kammi zuhiri mmaŋa.

And I invite myself.

Bagishe naanigoo yei.

Like the beard of a lion. (i.e. Untouchable! Do not confide in your enemy or he turns into a thorn and pricks you.)

Chim bie pag-gie Yidisah.

Your maternal side began at Tampiong, Yidisah (name of man).

Ŋum brizamba, ozugni.

A wicked plot catches the plotter.

Chimbei pag-bié.

Your maternal side began at Tampiong.

Andunia buni dagim kobga, suhipelli ngari.

A thousand riches is nothing compared to happiness.

Ŋun dogi zuu Iddi.

He gave birth to Iddi.

Naanigoo yei, zoo Iddi. (thrice)

Do not confide in your enemy, regent Iddi.

Obua fofo bang niri yei.

Lion-like regent, be careful with those you know too well.

Niri dania din vella dini malo yelli, Ŋun dogi zoo Iddi.

Good intentions produce good results, he gave birth to regent Iddi.

Naanigoo yei Bagishé.

Do not confide in your enemy, lion-beard (untouchable).

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(D18)
SOMOA KUZO KA CHE OBA TINGA
(Karaga-Na Alhassan)
by Salifu Lali

Chorus: Daamisa gudu nawia.

It's difficult to see a lion running from danger.

Chiizaabo Allah ye taimaka.

May God help you.

Yaayen daamisa sei kallo adam-baa kallo ba.

Cubs (of a lion) are only viewed or looked at.

Wa azaye taabashe shei yan-nye.

They are touched only by leaves.

Gooshin baona waa za ye taba shi, ka sha kaasi.

The forehead of a lion is untouchable. (i.e. If you touch it, you will eat your excreta--you will be killed.)

Yaayen daamisa sei kallo, adam-baa kallo ba.

Cubs (of a lion) are only viewed or looked at.

Wa azaye taabashe, she gan-nye.

They are touched only by leaves.

Achi aso bazini.

Some hate the great, others love the great.

Yebo bazini yaa zama tiila.

Worshipping of the victorious (by the defeated) is a must.

Hausin lago shi eshiizo bachi rasa.

The worst an angry weakling can do is to bite his fingers.

Baa banzaa Allah ye kara.

Any useful thing is more blessed by God.

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Yaayen daamisa sei kallo, adam-baa kallo ba.

Cubs are only looked at. If you don't look at them,

Waa azaye taabashe?

Who can touch them?

Achi ba zini kaso bazibi.

Some hate and others love a great man.

Gooshin baona waazaa ye taabashi?

Who can touch the forehead of a lion?

Alhassan magazin Yakubu, magazin Andani.

Alhassan, son of Yakubu, son of Andani.

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(D19)

ALLAH YAA FAN (Tampionlana)
by Salifu Lali

Chorus: Allah yaa fadi baa mutumi ba. (twice)

God has said it, not a human being.

(i.e. It is God's design, not that of a world.)

Ti pa iri Na o.

We praise this chief.

Savelugu Na Yakubu chirimaza pa zaa mboro bee.

The chief of Savelugu Yakubu, not everybody likes him.

Munafichi lagini k bga, yelli-lan yubu.

Back-biting piled hundreds, the desire of the designer.

N kpee ku dee selila ka yeli (ni) mandee li.

My neighbour hates something and says I should take it.

Andani bia pazaa mbora bee.

Andani's son, not all like him.

Nyinifa pagbia pa zaa mbora bee.

Nyinfa's wife's son not all like him.

Kutung n nye o ma-yili.

Kutung is his mother's home.

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(D20)
LAGFU
by Salifu Lali

Chorus: Lagfu, Yelzoli lan Lagfu.

Lagfu, Yelzoli Chief Lagfu.

Gazeere dan Yammusah laafani sarkin Yendi.

(Short man) Gazere, son of Yammusah, uncle of the chief of Yendi.

Alhassan magazin Mahama.

Alhassan eldest son of Mahama.

Uban jelima magazin Mahama.

(The unique regent), eldest son of Mahama.

Saachila gaa mizi na, saachila ga mizi na.

(No translation given for this statement)

Zeakan zea, suche pashe koriya zea suche pashe koriya.

Hold it and I hold it too is what breaks the calabash, is what breaks the calabash.

Dagali baaba dan Yakubu Lagifu Gabaa dan doo bi nyay bee.

(No translation given)

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July 1974
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(D21)
MAKADA
by Salisu Mahama

Makada, waachee kadaa mini gondze baaki.

Drummers, who has told you that you and gondze musicians are not same?

(i.e. Lunsi, is it not true that you and the gondze are equals?)

Sarikin Makada waachee kadaa mini gondze bakaiba.

Chief of the drummers (Lunsi), who says that drummers and gondze are not equals?

Makadaa waa saa kabaa mini gondze baikaba.

Drummers (Lunsi), who says that you and gondze are not equals?

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(D22)
ALUBANDA
by Salifu Lali

Chorus: Alubanda maalili.

Taafia kalaafia magaa-zin Musa.

The owner of the world, new chief, son of Musah, have you had sound sleep?

Taafia kaalaafia magaa-zin Andani.

The owner of the world, new chief, son of Andani, have you had sound sleep?

Gore zoo, gore zoo munaa goodeka.

The awful thing of the world we thank you .

(i.e. The awe-inspiring thing of the world, we praise you.)

Chigore zoo, chigoohi zoo muna goodeka, (twice)

Those who have rejected the awful thing. . . we praise you.

(i.e. Even though some have rejected you--the awful thing of the world--we still praise you.)

Kaalaafia dee maadalila.

You, who have people who dislike you, we praise you.

Kwana kalaafi yen den maadalila.

You are up from sleep, we praise you.

Chigoreezoo kaayen mali akile zaaki kayen raakumi akai daukama.

When the Buntaanga[9] feels tired, its load is passed on to the ordinary donkey, but the camel can only pass on its load to another camel.

Falalu Mankaana tabali moa doachi.

The waf (sic) of life of Mahama is like (i.e. can be compared to) a

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bitter stone.

Wani baachi naaduaka wani baaki masewaa.

It is sweet in some people's mouths and bitter in others.

(i.e. Some are comfortable, while others are in pain.)

Chiriban saa muna gaise ka.

Those who had earlier rejected (you) are not greeting.

(i.e. Those who initially rejected you are not repentant and they belatedly wish you well.)

Chiri folinsoo yilidalima.

A prince is like a brass pan.

Wani baachi naadaka wani baachi moosa.

While some people's mouths are pounding, others have their mouths twisted. (i.e. While some people feel at ease, others are not.)

Magaazin Andani muna goode ka.

The eldest son of Andani we greet you.

Sooyeiya ruwan gareni.

Love is the water of the town.

(i.e. Love is something with a long past.)

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(D23)
DAMO
(Na Gariba and Dalung-lana Kukagu Yugu)
by Salifu Lali

Chorus: Damo taase doodo inaan wani bakaiba.

The alligator says he will not see a man and run away.

Saama zaalee mizin gooma mi gooma yaa zama bakaiba.(twice)

When suitors are ten, the woman can only marry one out of the number.

Ziikan Andani maagaazin Andani.

Andani's grandson, the eldest son of Andani.

Buzuuru yau gaawuta taare da dura su che yaawo.

When a he-goat gets bit (fat), it is then that it roams with the wolf.

Taare da kura su che yaawo.

It will roam together with the wolf.

Abinda dubu sukan yaa lomo kali yaa yen mamma gore so akoi zaafi.

A bachelor hugs and holds the breast of a young girl. If he takes hot light soup with equal zest, mind you, it is hot.

Wandansu kuura sukan yaawo dare, naawan daraana suche yawo.

Some wolves roam in the night, others in the afternoon; they roam.

(i.e. If a young man roams late into the night he will one day meet a wolf.)

Buzuuru yaa gaamita tare da kura suche yaawo.

A he-goat who has grown big, they roam with wolves.

Saama zan dalee mizin gooma, mizin gooma ya zama bakaba.

When a girl's suitors are ten, only one out of the number will be the husband.

Tare da kula suche yaawo.

He roams in the company of wolves.

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Abinda dubu sukan waale kariya yen waama goreseba akwai zaafi.

A bachelor hugs and holds the breast of a young girl. If he takes hot light soup with equal zest, mind you it is hot.

Kura min gooma mizin gooma yaa zama baikaiba ziikan Andani.

Out of a hundred (here 10) wolves they all have one wife, grandson of Andani.

Kaama mazalee sukan nyanka shanu kariyaba yenkama Baona ba Yakubu Yenshia luma Busira.

Capture the men,slaughter a cow as you people see, who resemble a bushcow? Today Yakubu's mouth tastes like honey.

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(D24)
BANDAMDA
(Na Ziblim Bandamda II)
by Salifu Lali

Chorus: Mika saama kasunma za.

Those who are men are those who can stand the strain of war.

Bulaa balarabe.(twice)

Our chief resembles an Arab.

Chichire naa kudu dan buɣilaa.

The chief who was a twin did go on a journey.

Yebonee naa gudu dan buɣilaa.

In the battle of Yebo, the Ana Mogiliba chiefs ran away.

Buruuzu na gudu dun buɣilaa.

The he-goat is a man by name, but he did run away.

Bugilan balarabe.

The way of our chief is close to that of an Arab.

Kikali diri kali dan buɣilaa.

Chief of Kikali, you are 'eating' the ritual officers.

(i.e. He is rendering them useless . . .)

Savelugu Labidaani zuukurugu.

Chief of Savelugu, your zuu (eldest son) is the chief of Labani (Laban-dana).

Buzuuru na gudu hoo balarabe.

The he-goat is running way, you are an Arab.

Bugilan balarabe.

The way of our chief is close to that of an Arab.

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Kikaa lan Adiri karili dan buɣilaa.

Chief of Kikali, you are 'eating' the ritual officers . . .

Buzuru na gudu dan buɣilaa, buɣilaa balarabe.

The he-goat is a man but he did run away; the way of our chief is close to that of an Arab.

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(D25)
BAA MEYI MIZI
(Kar'na Mahami)
by Salifu Lali

Chorus: Baa meyi mizi na yaa goode Allah.

Nobody can undo (what has been done) my husband,[10] I thank God.

Migaai yaa, Amadu ziikan Yam-Musah Kalumu-Lahi.

Overlord of the farmers, grandson of Yam-Musah, the Prophet.

Migaai ya bangama kooma, dakaiba bangama kooma dukaiba.

Overlord of the farmers, his presence will assemble many people.

Wanda yaasoo jilima yaso daliri bangama koo dakaiba.

He who 'courts humanity' does so for the benefit of (his) prosperity.

(i.e. A person who is good-natured is an asset to his prosperity.)

Sama za o mi madara suche! Da noono mi abu suche bukata.

The 'old milk' owns the fresh milk, but it is the owner who knows the use he has for his property. (i.e. The sour milk having itself once been fresh knows what will become of fresh milk.)

Wanda ya soo jilima yaso dalire.

He who likes respect; humanity is courting 'advantage.'

Samazao mi madara suche! Da noono mi abu suche bukata.

The sour milk, having itself once been fresh, knows what will become of fresh milk.

Wanda yaso jilima yaso dalili.

He who likes respect (good-naturedness) deserves advantage.

Ahmadu Mankaana . . . .

Mahamadu, who is called Tidoo Dana.

Samazao wan yaaso jilima yaso bukata see jilima kaase da.

(No translation given)

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Ɔun biri nirlim bindi tuhi.

He who sows good-naturedness grows baobab trees.

Sabulu wanka da dauda mi a bu wanche taloushi.

Soap washes away dirt, what washes away poverty?

Wanda yaaso jiliman yaso daliri.

He who is good-natured deserves advantage.

Wanda yaaso jilima kaaso daree Gali kuya Salifu.

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(D26)
SOMOA
(Karaga Na Alhassan)
by Salifu Lali

Chorus: Daamisu gudu na wuya.

Hardly does a leopard take to his heels.

Tabareba mashia anoono Alimatu.

You Tabarebaa who was fed on Alimatu's breast milk.

Zuu Yiri, Dagbani Tugulan yiri be zuhima kan timidi ntoli.

Zuu (eldest son) Yiri Dagbani, Tugulan Yiri, I have not been invited but I help myself.

Kpimbe be paabii yee naani goo yee.

(No translation given)

Tampion pag-nyaŋbia naani goo yee Kpimbe pagabii ee Iddi saa.

(No translation given)

Wai yoo zamba kuliya, zamba kuliya, zamba kuliya.

What a pity evil has gone home, evil has gone home, evil has gone home.

Ŋun biri zam--niri daania velli ni mali oyela.

He who sows evil--(no translation given)

Ŋun dogi zuu yiri.

(No translation given)

Naani goo yee, naani goo ee, naani goo yee.

Don't trust too much, don't trust too much, don't trust too much.

Ŋun biri zamba--simdi simdi ni labisi zamba.

He who 'plants' evil--love can return evil.

(i.e. People do plan evil, but love neutralises it.)

Ŋun biri zamba--andunia buni lagim kobiga suhu pelli n daa gari.

He who plants evil, worldly weather piled in hundreds a white heart is

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the best (choice).

Ɔun ni ndogi Zuu Yiri naani goo.

He begat Zuu Yiri.

Ɔun biri zamba, zamba kulila o lan yili.

He who 'plants' evil, evil goes to his house.

Zamba kulila ya lan yili.

Evil goes to the owner's house.

Kpimbee pagabii yee naani goo yee naani goo.

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(D27)

YENCHEBLI

by Salisu Mahama

Boani, boani boa ŋama lafia.

I have come to find out how you slept last night.

Dan Gariba Yenchebli.

Son of Gariba, called Yenchebli.

Yenkama bucha.

No king is comparable to Almighty God.

Yenchima bucha.

Below God, no other king but You.

Woyei Naa Muudu Kuuda.

Your enemy, Naa Muudu, has a face like that of a hyena.

Boani, boani boa ŋama lafia. (twice)

I have come to find out how you slept last night.

Gruma Dan yen gilma Yenchebli. (twice)

There is no land as sweet and as homely for me, Yenchebli, as Grumaland.

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(D28)
BRUSO (Taakaa sanmu)
by Salisu Mahama

Bruso, bruso.

Walk gently and slowly, You the Lord of the Universe, or else the earth will shake under you.

Yenchima bucha.

Below God, no other king but you.

Yenkama bucha.

No king is comparable to Almighty God.

Boani, boani boa ɲama lafia.(twice)

I have come to find out how you slept last night.

Bileɣu zuɣu bal'm pinda. (twice)

We hold a baby gently in order to shave its hair (like a baby to a chief who must be followed gently).

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(D29)
SAKPALEINGA
by Salisu Mahama

Chorus: Sakpaleinga bidiri chie.

Swallows do not eat millet.

Biyeri ŋuma ŋuma lei kun gbaama.

They can only gossip; they can't catch me.

Biyeri kpana kpana lei kun gbaama.

They can only talk out of sight; they can't catch me.

Biyeri zuŋŋ zuŋŋ kun gbaama.

They can only be angry ; they can't catch me.

Yei! Sakpaleinga bidiri chie.

I say, a swallow does not eat millet.

Biyeri juŋŋ juŋŋ kun gbaama.

They can only talk in secret; they cannot catch me.

Biyeri kpana kpana lei kun gbaama. (twice)

They can only talk out of sight; they can't catch me.

Biyeri ŋuma ŋuma lei kun gbaama. (twice)

They can only gossip; they can't catch me.

Bambarigu Mankana Mahama. (thrice)

He is a trap, Mahama.

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(D30)
KUNTAGZAA
by Salisu Mahama

Chorus: Kuntagzaa Naawun zalgu.

Unchangeable, God's wish.

Ndan Naawun' zallo zalgu Naawun zalgu. (twice)

What the Lord God has written is written.

Batan pag-bia Naawun' zalgu.

Maternally, he comes from Nanton (a village); it was wished by God.

Dikutagzaa, Naawun' zalgu. (twice)

It is unchangeable, God's wish.

Naawun' zallo zalgu, Naawun zalgu.

What God has written is written.

Dikutagzaa Naawun' zalgu.

It is unchangeable, God's wish.

Naawuni zalyaa. (twice)

God has wished it.

Naawuni zalgu.

God's wish!

Anabi zalo zalgu, Naawun zalgu.

The prophets' wish is God's wish.

Naawun' zalgu din ning mi.

God's wish must come to pass.

Kuntagzaa Naawun' zalgu din ming yei. (twice)

Unchangeable, God's wish must come to pass, I say.

Naawun zalo zalgu, Naawun zalgu.

What God has written is written.

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Naawun zalgu.

God's wish!

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(D31)

YEDA BIMBEIM ZUGU

by Salisu Mahama

Chorus: Yeda bimbeim zugu ku kundung gbaa ŋmaaga.

It is for some other reason that the hyena has caught the monkey.

Kundung gbaala ŋmaagaa din chang wula ko gbaa ŋmaaga?

Hyena has caught monkey; how then has he caught the monkey?

Sapili bichen wuntangi nagnyili gbaa ŋmaaga (goola)?

Hyena does not roam by day. Hyena has caught monkey, how then rattler?

Kundung gbaala ŋmaaga di chang wula ko gbaago na?

Hyena has caught monkey, how did he catch him?

Kundung gbaala ŋmaaga di chang wula kabi paai taba?

Hyena has caught monkey, how did they meet?

Sapili bichen wuntangi, nagnyli gbaa ŋmaaga.

Hyena does not roam by day. Hyena has caught monkey.

Woyo nag-nyli gbaala ŋmaaga; nag-nyili gbaala ŋmaaga na.

I say, hyena has caught monkey. Hyena has caught monkey.

Kundun gbaala maaga di chang wula ko gbaago na.

Hyena has caught monkey; how did he catch him?

Sapili be gori wuntungi nag-nyili gbaa ŋmaaga.

Hyena does not roam by day. Hyena has caught monkey.

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(D32)

ŋUN TAA GILMA

by Salisu Mahama

Chorus: Ma niri ŋuntaa gilma din gari ŋuntaa salma.

He who respects you is better than he who gives you gold.

Ma niri ŋuntaa gilma din gari ŋuntaa salma.

He who respects you is better than he who gives you gold. (twice)

Ma niri ŋuntaa gilma din gari ŋuntaa waya. (thrice)

He who respects you is better than he who gives you jewellery.

Ma niri ŋuntaa gilma din gari ŋuntaa salma. (thrice)

He who respects you is better than he who gives you gold.

Gilma taali? (four times)

What harm does respect cause?

Din gari ŋuntaa salma. (thrice)

It's better than he who gives you gold.

Gilma taali? (thrice)

What harm does respect cause?

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(D33)
TORANI
by Salisu Mahama

Chorus: Bagbo boni bei torani.[11]

What do I care about torani?

Zang ma bahi dan chang torani.

Leave me to go to torani.

N-ya nim zaa bela torani. (twice)

All my villagers have gone to torani.

Zang ma bahi kan chang torani.

Leave me to go to torani.

N-ya nim zaa chanda torani. (twice)

All my village people have gone to torani.

Wumbei zang ma bahi kan chang torani. (thrice)

Wumbei, leave me to go to torani.

Meimuna, mbagbom bei torani? (thrice)

Meimuna, what do I care about torani?

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(D34)
DUNIA TAALI
by Salisu Mahama

Chorus: Dunia taali sali kutoo banŋ dunia taali.

No man can tell what the world[12] considers a fault.

Bon-nya nyela dunia.

Wealth is the world.

Bon-nya nyela dunia taali.

Wealth is considered a fault.

Binyeri sunŋ nyela dunia taali.

A fine shirt is considered a fault.

Kpalan sun nyela dunia taali.

Fine shorts are considered a fault.

Bon-nya nyela dunia taali.

Wealth is considered a fault.

Bon-kɔŋ nyela dunia taali.

Poverty is considered a fault.

Bon-nya nyela karimban dana.

A wealthy man is considered proud.

Bon kɔŋ nyela nin chogingu.

A poor man is considered useless (a failure).

Sali kutoo ban dunia taali. (twice)

No man can tell what the world considers a fault.

Bin-yeri sun nyela dunia taali.

A fine shirt is considered a fault.

Kpalan sunŋ nyela dunia taali

A pair of fine shorts is considered a fault.

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Bon nya nyela dunia taali. (twice)

Wealth is considered a fault.

Bon-kɔŋ nyela dunia taali.

Poverty is considered a fault.

Zipli zing nyela dunia taali.

A fine hat is the world.

Kpalan sung nyela dunia taali.

A pair of fine shorts is considered a fault.

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(D35)

ALBANDA

by Salisu Mahama

Chorus: Albanda maa dalla, Abu madala.

We praise you Abu.

Abu koo chang Nantɔŋ labna. (twice)

Abu, he went to Nantɔŋ and returned.

Magazin baona muna goodi ka.

Descendant of Nag-biegu, we salute you.

Koo chang labna. (four times)

He went to Nantɔŋ and returned.

Abu maa dalla. (four times)

We praise you Abu.

Abu koo chang Nantɔŋ labna. (twice)

Abu, he went to Nantɔŋ and returned.

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(D36)

PORIVULI BELA KPE (WAAFUU)

by Salisu Mahama

Chrosu: Porivuli bela kpe waafuu.

Coiling around is here (cf. snake).

Waafuu porivuli bela kpe. (twice)

Snake! Coiling round is here.

Salifu dapala. (twice)

Salifu's son.

Bugli wag-jia.

The short snake of the shrine.

Do yen vulimi.

He's about to coil round.

Salifu dapala.

Son of Salifu.

Bugli wag-jia. (twice)

The short snake of the shrine.

Do yen vulimi. (thrice)

He is about to coil round.

Oh, bugli wag-jia.

The short snake of the shrine.

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(D37)

NIMBIEGU KABALMA

by Salisu Mahama

Chorus: Okala balma nimbiegu kabalma.

He is not to be begged; a wicked man does not deserve begging.

Dibalma nimbiegu kabalma. (twice)

Don't beg him; a wicked man does not deserve begging.

Anti niri bo ko che chalii dunia ni?

What will you give a man to change his character on earth?

Nimbiegu je balma, nimbiegu, nimbiegu je balma oje.

A wicked man hates to be begged; a wicked man, a wicked man, he hates it.

Nimbiegu je balma, nimbiegu, nimbiegu ka balma oje. (five times)

A wicked man hates to be begged; a wicked man, a wicked man does not need to be begged.

Okala balima.

He does not deserve to be begged.

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(D38)

NAANI GOO (Na Andani II)

by Salisu Mahama

Chorus: Naani boo kuhi bera.

Naani goo pricks with pain.

Boligu Yakubu bia yi wam naani goo. (twice)

Son of Yakubu, dance to the tune of naani goo.

Mioŋ Sumani bia yi wam naani goo.

Son of Sumani, king of Mion, dance naani goo.

Kariga Sumani bia yi wam naani goo.

Son of Sumani, king of Kariga, dance to naani goo.

Namlan Ziblim bia yi wam naani goo.

King Ziblim's son, dance naani goo.

Savelugu nye Iddi bia yi wam naani goo.

Son of Iddi, king of Savelugu, dance naanigoo.

Kpatinŋ Yamusa bia.

Son of Yamusa, king of Kpatinŋ.

Sankara nima zom biyerigoriga ngari bugli.

People of Yendi fear a juju man more than a shrine.

Goyeriga Sankara nima yi wam naani goo goyeriga. (four times)

People of Yendi, dance naani goo, a very wicked thorn.

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(D39)
BANCHENDI
by Salisu Mahama

Chorus: Banchendi bi chaari noo che Naba Banchendi.

You chief Banchendi![13] Is there any other chief in the world like you?

Banchendi wochilma noo che Naba.

You Banchendi! God created you and put you at the place you're sitting now as a chief. (i.e. From the beginning you were created to be a chief.)

Boani boa ŋama lafia.

We have come to see how you've got out of bed. (i.e. We've come to see whether you're well and safe.)

Bo chaari noo che Naba Banchendi.

Banchendi! Is there any other chief in the world like you?

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(D40)

OBOABOA KULMANCHE

(Yamba Na Butali or Mutari)

by Salisu Mahama

Chorus: Na yuri Teeŋa n zaŋ Banvim leego.

(No translation given)

Boani boa ŋama lafia oboaboa chilmanko. (thrice)

We have come in search of a land which is good for settlement and also to see whether you well.

Boaboa Teeŋa nkantee moaŋa.

The Na likes Teeŋa and has given him a chiefship. (i.e. Because of the favour Teeŋa has in the eyes of the Na, he [Teeŋa] has been created a chief.)

Boaboa Teeŋa nkantee moaŋa.

The Na likes Teeŋa and has given him a chiefship.

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(D41)

GOBE SU KÕMO

(Yamba Na Bako Abudulai I)

by Salisu Mahama

Chorus: Gobe su komo, muna go de ka.

Tomorrow they should return, we thank you.

Abudulai muna gode ka.

Abudulai, we thank you.

Wache fushi dan yikon Allah? Shai wawa.

Who gets annoyed with the power of God? Except a fool. (i.e. Except for a fool nobody dares get annoyed with the designs [power] of God.)

Wanda ya fushi da kai ban za ne Abudulai.

Who ever gets annoyed with you, Abudulai, does so in vain.

(i.e. It is vain getting annoyed with a superior.)

Abudulai, zikan Mahama de Muktaru.

(You) Abudulai, the grandson of Mahama and Muktaru.

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(D42)

SABON BABA

(Yamba Na Mahama)

by Salisu Mahama

Chorus: Sabon baba a sabon yaro a chi (ki) lasa.

(You) newly arrived stranger may not lack anything you desire.

Komi ya saa mu dan-Adam chi (ka), dangana koofa Uban jisi.

Whatever troubles or befalls man, he should surrender it to Almighty God.

Taalaalaa[14] da dunia, dunia ba chi son gwani sai ragua.

The world, the world hates tough people but rather likes never-do well's.

(i.e. To succeed in life one has to be humble.)

A bari taro da muna fiki, muna fiki ba mutumi ba ni.

Do not assemble with back-biters, back-biters are not good people.

(i.e. Shun the company of back-biters; they are dangerous people.)

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(D43)

KARINBANA-DANA

(Yamba Na Ntoli)

by Salisu Mahama

Chorus: Karibandama man bi bori karibana-dana

(Yes) A conceited man. . . I hate a conceited person.

Ŋun layiri o karinban payba ni kpuyila o karinban payba.

He who befriends conceited women will have to marry (his) conceited women.

Nir ŋun age okarinban a bindi a ni.

A proud person who defacates (eases himself) will have to collect the excreter of conceit. (i.e. A person who is self-conceited should not do anything which will bring disgrace to himself; otherwise he will have to bear the disgrace.)

Mambi bo karinbana-dana a ni va a karina-dana bin.

I hate a self-conceited person. . . . You will collect your excreter of conceit. (i.e. I hate people who are self-conceited. If such a person behaves disgracefully, he should bear it.)

Mambi bori karinban-dan, mbi bori barinbani.

I do not like self-conceited persons; I don't like self-conceit.

Ŋun nye o karinban bindi ŋun vami okarinban bindi.

He who eases himself out of self-conceit should collect the excreter out of conceit.

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(D44)

YEDA NAI YA

(Yamba Na Suleman-Ble)

by Salisu Mahama

Chorus: Yeda nai ya suɣlo ni dee ti.

Trust is come to an end, only patience will deliver us.

Abudulai bia yeda nai ya Sulemana suɣlo.

Abudulai, the son of Sulemana, trust has ended; only patience will deliver us.

Yeda nai ya, yeda nai ya, n dunia nima suɣlo nni de ti.

Trust has finished, trust has finished! People of the world, only patience will deliver us.

Yaanga yeda nai ya, suɣlu ni dee ti, Sulemana.

Sulemana's grandson, trust is finished, only patience will deliver us.

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(D45)
CHAUTAN ALLAH
(Yamba Na Iddi)
by Salisu Mahama

Chorus: Chautan Allah, chauta basu kaare wa.

God's gifts, gifts of God never come to an end.

Mazamaza Iddi gan Sulemana (twice), zikan Muktaru koro maza su yedda kaya.

Man among men, Iddi, son of Sulemana, and grandson of Muktaru, he who harasses men making them leave their property behind.

Jirman Allah ba zaya kaare; dodoo dan Alále koro maza su yedda kaya.

God's greatness will never come to an end; the fearful one, son of Alale harasses men so that they leave their property behind.

Dan Alale, koro maza su . . . dan baba.

Son of Alale harasses men so that . . . son of Baba.

Hazian Allah mi mian dii ba. (twice)

Whatever property God saves cannot be taken by anybody.

Hana diba sarautan Allah naa kara dan Alále koro maza.

The more they take the more it increases--son of Alale harasses men.

Jilma Allah ba zaya kaare maza Iddi.

God's greatness is never going to end 'man of men' Iddi.

Dan Abudulai dan Sulemana, chautan Allah basu kaare wa. (thrice)

Son of Abudulai, son of Sulemana, God's gift never comes to an end.

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(D46)

SAKORO

(Yamba Na Seidu)

by Salisu Mahama

Chorus: Aba Shero Sakoro veeni ka bim ngarigi. (twice)

Ha! Shero fufu is best when the broth goes along with it.

(i.e. Fufu is delicious when the soup is good.)

Patapata[15] din mali ti a. (thrice)

Pounding will repair the town. (i.e. A town where there is plenty to eat is ideal for living.)

Abudu bia Aba Shero, Sulemana dapala.

Abudu's son, ha! Shero, Sulemana's son.

Abudu mma Paani dee moni.

Abudu Madam Paani[16] has been given money for the preparation of a meal.

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(D47)

JUGU YI ZEM BIN POŋ
(Yamba Na Mahama II)
by Salisu Mahama

Chorus: Jugu yi zem bin poŋ oni gbe kum.

When a vulture looks down on something which is decomposed, it will sleep on an empty stomach.

Jugu yi zem bin poŋ oni gbe kum.

When a vulture looks down on a rotten thing, it will sleep on an empty stomach.

Baa yi zem kobli. . . .

If a dog looks down on a bone . . . .

Jugu yi zem bin poŋ la, baa yi zem kobli, oni gbe kum.

(As) a vulture looks down on a rotten thing; when a dog looks down on a bone, it will sleep on an empty stomach.

Naa yi zem bela, jugu yi zem bin poŋ n dunia nima, baa yi zem kobli ŋɔ.

If a chief looks down on something small, if a vulture looks down on a rotten thing, people of the world, if a dog looks down on this bone . . . .

N dunia nima paŋ yi zem kobli. . . .

People of the world, if a woman looks down on a bone . . . .

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(D48)
YA SABO JILMA
(Yamba Na Gia)
by Salisu Mahama

Chorus: Ya zee ya dawo, (da garia) bazini ka che karo da maza.

He's gone and returned. A great man he is, he's a real man.

(i.e. He that goes into battle and returns is a man indeed.)

Mahama dan Sulemana zikan Muktari.

Mahama, son of Suleman, grandson of Muktari.

Karo da maza. (twice)

He's a real man.

Karo - - oo - - oo

He's a real man.

Man nyan dzara ya fi man nya batawa ni. (twice)

Elders who build are better than the elders who ruin.

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(D49)

BABU KAMAN ALLAH

(Yamba Na Fuseini Jabila)

by Salisu Mahama

Chorus: Babu kaman Allah.

There's nothing like God.

Tagwa ye Wole[17] Fuseini babu kaman Allah.

(You) Wole Fuseini, there's nothing like God.

Hazia Allah mi nian dii ba, babu kaman Allah bushe.

What God has saved nobody can, there's nothing like God.

Allah che raba kowa Wole Fuseini. (twice)

It is God who distributes (wealth) to all Wole Fuseini.

Allah che ba kowa. (four times)

God distributes (wealth) to all.

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(D50)
WANZAM WAA
by Salisu Mahama

Hanna asike bawa.

The servant of God begins to shave.

Wanna asike leina bawa.

Those who barb God's servants, do not demean them.

Koowaa da maso yei, bani jei je maayi bani.

Everyone and those who love them, if you want to ask for a favour, do so from one who will grant it.

Kalei kanaa dadan koola zima kadan siimi nama.

If a dog becomes a follower of the lion, before long he becomes the lion's meal.

Wanzami yaa zama liibi mai kube yaa zama beila. (twice)

A barber is like a capock tree and the barbed is like a cattle egret.[18]

Wanna asike leina.

Those who barb God's servants, do not demean them.

Maiza billa.

Son of a barber.

Asiki leina bawa.

Do not demean God's servants.

Koowaa da maso ye, maso ye dan Wanzam.

Everyone with her tastes but I love this little barber.

Zabilla, Zabilla.

Her name is Zabilla, Zabilla.

Wanzami naa goodi kaa. (twice)

Mr. Barber, I salute you.

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Wanzami dan Wanzami. (twice)

A barber begets a barber.

Wanzami ana hasiche leina bawa.

A barber barbs God's servant.

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(D51)
BARRHAZA
by Salisu Mahama

Barrhaza is a form of gondze music among the Dagomba whereby men (sic) people are taught how to dance the music. The music is not played on any occasion and there is no special tune for playing it. However, it is not played always because some classes of people among the Dagomba are affected by it (personal communication with Salisu Mahama).

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(D52)
DOOGUA
(Kariga Na Bukari)
by Salisu Mahama

Doogua inna matah koole doogua. (thrice)

This very beautiful lady, so tall and shapely, is the wife of a butcher.

Gariba, Gariba inna laabadi sachiriba.

Bukari, Bukari, what news have you brought? Brave man!

Gariba, Gariba inna laabadi.

Bukari, Bukari, what news have you brought?

Allah cherebo ba suu ba ni da.

Wealth is not given to others by man.

Daasu cherebo daa su hara.

If man distributed wealth, he would refuse others.

Dele mu chei gudu. (twice)

People hide only at night.

Baa laana ba ni Gariba.

The brave do not light by day, Bukari.

Gariba, Gariba goyou Salimata.

Bukari, Bukari, son of Salimata (his mother).

Gariba dan Mahama, ziikan Yakubu, goyou Salimata.

Bukari, son of Mahama, grandson of Na Yakubu, son of Salimata.

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(D53)
BOLE
by Salisu Mahama

Luwa maraŋa, luwa ba noomi.

This water belongs to orphans; it is not music.

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(D54)

ALLAH YAYI BASU BANI

(Na Zimblim Kulunku III)

by Salisu Mahama

Woyo basi kwana lafia. Allah yayi basu bani.

It is the wish of God, not of men.

Kubari fusi kubari yaazi.

Don't excercise anger and back-biting.

Zikan Gariba saama zaa daa zi.

An ancestor of Na Gariba is a man among men.

Allah ni magani kwaya.

God is the protector of the righteous.

Kulun komi duburi aichi!

A man of war!

Kulunku mei dubuni rasara!

A man of victory!

Kulunku mei dubun' maasi!

A man of bravery!

Allah yaayi basu ba.

It is the wish of God, not men.

Woye Garin' wani da daadi sa yaayi kaman gali naka.

Someone's home is sweet but not as sweet as yours.

Salchin' wan da daadi bei yi kama rana.

Someone's king is great, but not as great as yours.

Uban wani da daadin sa bei yi kama uban nano ka.

The love of another father is not as great as your father's love.

Salchin wani ma soyen sa.

Of your people, who loves you greatest?

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Kumbung' koro ma soyen sa.

Kumbungu Na Koro loves you greatest.

Salchin wani ma soyen sa.

Of your people, who loves you greatest again?

Nantɔŋ Musa na soyen sa.

Nantɔŋ Na Musa loves you greatest.

Salchin wani ma soyen sa.

Of your people, who loves you greatest?

Tɔŋ Yakubu ma soyen sa.

Tɔŋ Na Yakubu loves you greatest.

Hei - - - Ziikan Gariba samazaa yaachi.

You, the descendant of Na Gariba, the great warrior.

Allah ni Magani.

God has power in abundance.

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(D55)
SORO DAN AMINA
(Na Siman' Zoli I)
by Salisu Mahama

Soro dan Amina.

The feared, son of Amina.

Wei manu seini ɔ ana goman kasa. (twice)

Ignorance can put a man in unexpected situations.

Wei zoli kadubu ballin' duda.

Steep hills are climbed with patience.

Ama la sun seini suutani.

Ignorance is a plight.

Aze wabsima baa yaazi.

A joker does not break homes.

Wayo ama dan Mankana baa maata sunyi aichi.

Oh! Son of Mahama, it's not women who go to war.

Wayei ka kooma ka laron' wasa.

On your return assemble your people and rejoice.

Wa lei sun seini suutaa ni.

Ignorance is a plight.

Zoli ka dubu balim duda.

We climb a steep hill with patience.

Balim, balim, balim kano. (twice)

Majestically, majestically, majestically, you walk.

Kale lele ma sun seini suutaa ni.

Ignorance is a plight.

Andunia lana buu bandaa.

Lord of the Universe, gently treated.

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Zoli kadubu balin duda.

We climb a steep hill with patience.

Ali kawlio kayani, wadansu baa kayani.

The qualities of a sincere person are not possessed by the liar.

Wadan su baa ziikan Gariba, karika sachè.

Some say, "You, descendant of Na Gariba, don't give up."

Walei sun seini soroni.

Ignorance should be feared.

Azewabsima bayaasi.

A joker is not a breaker of homes.

A lumaa lu gaa yaasi.

A rich man gives tar to a back-biter.

Weimaa gaa maataa sun yi aichi.

Even women work in this war.

Wei barikata ka taaron wasa.

On your return from war, rejoice with your people for victory.

Ali karuli kayani wadansu baa kayani.

The qualities of a sincere person are not possessed by a liar.

Soran dan Amina.

The feared, son of Amina.

Andunia lana buu banda.

Lord of the universe.

Koobil soli tuu banda.

On your way to war, you have to overcome all difficulties.

Zoli kadubu balim duda.

We climb a steep hill with patience.

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Walei ma sun seini suutaani.

Ignorance is a plight.

Alikasa kasaa kachei.

This land belongs to you.

Wayei yebo Amina kasaa ye chei.

You, the son of Amina who is praised; this land belongs to you.

Yebo Amina karika sachei.

Son of Amina, don't give up.

Ziikan uban Osmana.

Your son Osmana.

Ziikan Guanin Kama daka ni che.

You, the descendant of Ganin Kama.

Kug'bil soli tuu banda.

He who is on the war-path overcomes all difficulties.

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(D56)
DUNIA TAALI
by Sulemana Iddrisu

Baŋ dunia taali, sala ku tooi baŋ dunia taali.

Know the wrath of the world, a human (person) cannot know the world's wrath.

Bon nya nyela bem lana. Lagim zia nyela ninvugu yolim.

If you search and get, it is an offence. (i.e. If you're succesful in life, it is an offence.) Sitting down together is termed bad humanity.

Bon nya neyla dunia taali, bon-koŋ nyela dunia taali.

If you search and get, the world takes offence. If you search and don't get, it's an offence to the world. (i.e. A successful man offends people of the world; a failure offends the world.)

Baŋ dunia taali sala ku tooi baŋ dunia taali.

Know the world's wrath; no person can know the world's wrath.

Dunia taali sala ku tooi baŋ dunia taali.

The world's wrath, no person can know what provokes the wrath of the world.

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(D57)
NANTOH (Na Yakuba I)
by Sulemana Iddrisu

Chorus: Albandei teini boa.

Oh King, there is no other king besides you except God.

Albanda boaboa poli Mankana.

King, you are the descendant of Mahama.

Gu garima maguzim baona boaboa poli Mankana.

King, you are King Abdulai, Nag-biegu's descendant.

Ninuugu yino baga ni Yog-Namo boaboa kuntoh pag-bia.

Poverty is not for a single man, Oh King, you the son of Kuntoh (a lady).

Oh boaboa poli Mankana.

Oh, you the descendant of Mahama.

Nyevuli dim pora, di tori pini boaboa poli Mankana.

A short life cannot be transferred to a son.

Ninvugu yino baga ni Yog-Namo gingem zag-yini di sag-yaa.

If you are born alone, you will be satisfied with one pair of trousers.

Ninvugu yino baga ni Yog-Namo, Kparigu zag-yini sag-yaa.

If you are born alone, you will be satisfied with one shirt.

Ninvugu yino baga ni Yog-Namo, Salnima zag-yino di sag-yaa.

If you are born alone and you have one follower, you will be satisfied.

Albanda ziikan Gariba uteini buu ŋama lafia.

Oh, you descendant of Gariba! We have come to find out how you slept last night.

Wachili baa ŋama lafia, Eh!

We have come to find out how you, Oh King, and your people spent the night.

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Note: (The following is a list of the sons of Na Yakuba.)

Uban bolgu Abudu Yakuba dapal Nag-biegu.

The first born is Na Abudu (Nag-biegu).

Uban bolgu Andani Yakuba dalpal' Naani goo.

The second born of Yakubu is Andani (Naanigoo).[19]

Uban Korr' Naa Mahami Naawun' sutra dang booni.

The third son Mahami, the King of Korr, the will of God reigns.

Uban kuukong Bileima, Yakuba dapal' so chendi.

The fourth son of Yakuba Bileima, King of Kuukon (his name was) the good path will be full of travellers.

Uban Mieng dana Mahama Yakuba dapal' Nam chendiba.

The fifth son, King Mahama of Mieng (his name was) the majestic walks of a king will gather people.

Nyevuli dim pori ku tari bia boaboa pol' Nantoh bia.

A short life can't be transfered to a son, the son of Nantoh.

Uban Diko Sayibu Yakuba dalpal' Nantoh bia.

The sixth son, Sayibu, King of Diko, son Nantoh.

Nunbi yeli buguli, O! ku kpe bugli.

He who does not inform the Oracle will not consult the oracle.

Uban Savelugu Bukali, Shag-baa, boa boa Nantoh bia.

The next was Bukali, King of Savelugu, (his name was) if you care little for your dog during the rainy season, you will miss him during the dry season.

Uban Savelugu Dahamani Kulkar' jei boaboa Nantoh bia.

The next is Dahamani, King of Savelugu, (his name was) a bangle made of straw will never be as beautiful as that of metal.

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Uban Tampiong Sayibu, Yakuba dapal' Nyiri Nyoo lan limli.

The next was Sayibu, King of Tampiong; (his name was) the highly prized waist-beads for a slim-waisted person still belongs to her and no other has the right to the bead.

Uban Zangbal'n Adunai boaboa Nantoh bia.

The next was Aduna, King of Zanbalin, (Nantoh bia).

Albanda ziikan Gariba, uteini baa ŋama lafia.

Oh You, descendant of Gariba, we have come to find out how you slept last night.

Shaa zaa mani magazin Gariba, boaboa poli Mankana.

He is the king of this existing universe, the descendant of Mahama (Na Abdulai).

Albanda ziikan Gariba, uteini baa ŋama lafia.

Oh You, descendant of Gariba, we have come to find out how you slept last night.

Oh - - - - boaboa poli Mankana.

Oh - - - - ! You the descendant of Mahama.

Zia zia naani magaazin Gariba, boaboa hayei.

This universe belongs to you, the descendant of Na Gariba.

Albanda ziikan Gariba, uteini baa ŋama lafia.

Oh You, descendant of Gariba, we have come to find out how you slept last night.

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(D58)
BAWUNA (Uban Dodoh-Baona)
(Na Abdulai I)
by Sulemana Iddrisu

Chorus: Uban dodoh.

Your father is the king of the world.

Baona - - - daa gara baona.

You Abdulai, you are Nag-biegu.

Sache sache, baa wuta baa.

"Leave it! Leave it!" means you are not holding fire.

Mei da boola yei saamu, malan nNabo naa-hausi.

Some are blessed by God,and others are angry.

Mei taa ba 'naa kuukan Yaazi, mei tankwa 'naadaadia.

Mr. Tobacco boasts of his bitterness, and Mr. Pepper laughs on hearing it.

Kalei gooma ikan yimin da koolaa.

Ten dogs cannot stand one hyena.

Taa la la da dunia, dunia baa chi soh goni sei lago.

The world smiles at the humble and frowns at the proud (bluffer).

Asei dunia kwaana bakwei.

How long does a man last? Only seven days.

Dunia kasuaa ni, kasua baa na gida baa.

The world is a market. If you go to market, you will return home.

Lan da Abudu yaa taasi mutaani Basari nnaakuku.

The day Abudu got ready for war people of Basari were weeping.

Kalei le' nna mutu d'a hausi n' koola.

A dog dies with anger against a hyena (because he can't catch it).

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Yaaro nnaa mutu da hausi a sunsu.

A child dies with anger against the bird.

Alkama nnaa bisa dusi wei Allah chei baada loa.

Wheat grown on a rock is watered by God. (God will take care of the army of the Dagombas.)

Baona, daa gara Baona.

You Abdulai! You are Nag-biegu.

Gooyen' gbanzali baa lago baa.

You, the first born of Na Yakuba! You are great!

Taa la la da dunia, dunia baa chiso goni sei lago.

The world smiles at the humble and frowns at the proud.

Deimadie kwana bakwei.

The existence of man is seven days, longest.

Yedan Allah yaa fi yedan koowaa.

A believer in God is better than a believer in any other power.

Mizim mataa baa maata baa.

The queen of the king of the world must be feared and respected.

Kalei nna mutu da hausi a n koala.

A dog dies with anger against a hyena (because he can't catch it).

Baona da gara baona, Mizim mataa baa maata baa.

You Abdulai, you are Nag-biegu! The queen of the king of the world must be feared and respected.

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(D59)
BAATAAKARA
(Na Andani II)
by Sulemana Iddrisu

Chorus: Baataakara, sei damaana kuwei taakara yaati fara.

The world is like a shed of straw. You do not climb on top, you sit under its shade.

Gazere koo waa danaasa achii kafiri banza.

You Andani, every king and his period of reign do not molest the disbelievers with fears.

Lua ba yaa chin goni baa shei kwanan goni yaa kei.

Water does not drown a ferry man, unless the dying day of the ferry man comes.

Andani shii ni magazin Gariba.

Andani, you the descendant of Gariba.

Andani shii ni mabuwiri n'koofa.

You are the pillar of Dagbɔŋ.

Andani, shii ni magachin duumi.

You are the shield of Dagbɔŋ.

Shii ni machei-wuli Dagomba, Andani, ka garan' gari.

You are the gate of Dagomba, Andani, brake beautiful your land.

Wei lua ba yaa chim goon' baa, shei kwanan goni yaa kei.

Water does not drown the ferry man unless the dying day of the ferry man comes.

Gazerli, koo waa danaasa, achii kafiri banza.

You, Andani, every king and his period of reign do not molest the disbelievers with fears.

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(D60)
BEI NUUNA BA
(Na Alhassan I)
by Sulemana Iddrisu

Chorus: Bei nuuna ba.

He could not be well-cooked.

Saa mu zoo chii gudu. (twice)

Among the brave, you are a great man, never turning back.

Alhassan magaazin baona.

Alhassan, you the son of Abdulai Nag-biegu.

Dokoo dan Mahama.

The tall son of Mahama (of Korr'li--a village).

Dagombawa yaa dafa.

Dagombas have cooked him.

Wei sun dafa bei nuuna ba.

The cooked, but he could not be well-cooked.

Anchi sun soo ya.

They hated him, and they crucified him.

Wei an soo yaa bei nuuna baa.

They fried him, but he would not be well-fried.

Wei sun kuma sun dafa.

They cooked him again.

Wei sun dafa bei nuuna baa.

They cooked and he could not be well-cooked.

Alhassan mei kafun karo.

Alhassan, you are like the horn of a bush cow.

Saa mazaa chii gudu.

Among the brave, you are a great man, never turning back.

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Koron maza su yeda kayaa.

Drive the brave away and leave booty behind.

Kayan layan salchi laa yauni kaana jerima la yaani, kaan jerima litaafi.

Princes are comparable to chapters of the Quran. The king himself is comparable to the whole Quran.

Saa mazaa sun gadu.

Men! They have taken to their heels.

Hanun daama maagani makada.

Maternally, he is a muslim.

Mizim mataa baa maata baa.

The queen is not everyone's wife.

Alhassan mei kafun karo.

Alhassan, you are like the horn of a bush cow.

Dokoo dan Mahama.

The tall son of Mahama of Korrili (a village).

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(D61)
HALIN MUTUM
(Na Abudu)
by Sulemana Iddrisu

Chorus: Bakareini halin mutum ba karika so zama da-sii ba.

If you do not know a person's temperament, do not frequent his company.

Jiiwaa Dagara goyen Kazia.

You, Abdulai, you the lion of men, you the son of Kazia (his mother's name).

Ba ka sein sikin matumba, karika so zama da sii ba.

If you don't know the intentions of a person, do not frequent his company.

Dawudu baka sein halin mutum ba karika so zama da sii ba.

Regent, if you do not know a person's temperament, do not frequent his company.

Maa su kalia da baban.

Liars form a group.

Munaa fiki daban.

Traitors form a group.

Munaa fikii ban mutum baa,karikayi zama dasi.

A traitor is no person; do not be in his company.

Chiri bandaa Dagara goyen Kazia.

Son of Kazia (his mother).

A bari zaman dawaa, karikayi zama da siifa.

Do not form a company with a fool. Don't just go near him.

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Dawudu baka sein halin mutum baa karikari zama da sii ba.

Regent, if you do not know a person's temperament, do not frequent his company.

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(D62)

ALLAH GABA

(Na Mahama II)

by Sulemana Iddrisu

Chorus: Allah gaba Anabi inaa baya.

God is first and the Holy Prophet next.

Nayoo Allah gaba Mankana.

God is first and Prophet Muhamed is next.

Dan Andani Allah gaba Mankana.

Son of Andani, God is first and Prophet Muhamed next.

Mahama goyei Naasakei, Allah ye bai baa na son koowa.

Muhamed, son of Nasa kei (his mother), God has given you; it is not the wish of man.

Wayo Allah gaba Mankana.

God is first and the Holy Prophet next.

Jiiwa yayi laami yaa fi kon don gooma gooyen Haasakei.

A skiny elephant is still larger than ten large baskets.

Goyen Haasakei Allah ye bai, bana koowa ba.

Son of Haasakei (his mother), it is the gift of God, not of man.

Yikon Allah, Allah gaba Mankana.

It is the wish of God; God is before you, Mahama.

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(D63)
TAMBEYA ZAACHI
(Na Mahama III)
by Sulemana Iddrisu

Chorus: Tambeya zaachi shei maza.

Only the very brave and bold can confront the lion.

Giiwaa Abali saawada Mankana.

Oh elephant of the earth! Stop asking for too many people's opinion, Mahama.

Afalalu Mankana, goobei yaa fadi ba mu zi baa.

Afalalu Mahama, he will talk tomorrow and we shall not listen.

Afalalu Mankana, tafia da gu du baa deidei ba.

Afalalu Mahama, walking and running are not the same.

Abinda Allah bei yi ba mutum yaa yi, yaa yi karia.

What God has not wished, the wish of man is null and void.

Maagani wata shei luwa.

The cure to a wild fire is water.

Woyei, maagani wuta shei luwa.

I say, the cure to a wild (mad) fire is water.

Giiwa yaa fi koron ka na tafii ya chi, yaa zo.

It is impossible to instruct an elephant to go to work and back.

Tafi tafi su ka tada mutani, Allah yaa bei baa ga da garazei.

"Go fast! Go fast!" does not mean you should step on other's feet.

(i.e. The good gift of God does not mean you should harm others as a result.)

Tafia da gudu baa daya ba.

Walking and running aren't the same.

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Woyei, magani wuta shei luwa.

I say, the cure to a wild fire is water.

Giiwa yaa fi koron kana, tafi aichi ya zo.

It's impossible to instruct the elephant to go to work and back.

Abinda Allah bei ya ba, mutum yaa yi yaa yi karia.

What God has not wished, the wish of man is null and void.

Goobei yaa fadi bamu zi baa.

Tomorrow he will talk and we shall not listen.

Gaa gari machia dan Alhassan, goyen zanabu yaa bia.

The Lord of both lovers and haters, Alhassan, son of Zenaba, he pays all in their own coin.

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(D64)

SALNIM BORI WUNI NYEBU

(Na Abdulai III)

by Sulemana Iddrisu

Chorus: Salnim bori wuni nyebu bi ku toi nye.

People want to see God but they can't.

Ŋmari gaŋ ku zau tiŋa bi bori Naa Wuni nyebu. (twice)

The most useless prince will have a title. They want to see God.

Daŋdaŋ Abdulai yaaŋa bi bori Naa Wuni, bi ku nya.

The first born of Abdulai, they want to see God, they can't.

Ŋunpaya Andani yaaŋa, bi bori Naa Wuni nyebu bi ku nya.

The next, Andani, they want to see God, they can't.

Nama Alhassan yaaŋa, bi bori Naa Wuni nyebu; Dagara.

King Alhassan, they want to see God; Abdulai.

Bag-bugri ba, bi bori Naa Wuni nyebu, bi ku nya.

Soothsayers, they want to see God, they can't.

Oh, o daŋ ba la nyeba, Dagara.

Oh! He saw them first, Abdulai.

Bolgu Yakuba yaaŋa bi bori Naa Wuni nyebu bi ku nya.

Yendi, Yakuba the king, they want to see God, they can't.

Daŋ daŋ Abdulai yaaŋa, bi bori Naa Wuni nyebu, bi ku nye-o.

First born, Abdulai, they want to see God, but they will not.

Ban bugri bagsi, bi bori Naa Wuni nye bu, bi ku nye-o.

Those who consult soothsayers, they want to see God, they shall not.

Bihi ŋmeriba, bi bori Naa Wuni nyebu, bi ku nye-o.

Those who consult mallams want to see God, they shall not.

Wal' ŋmariba, bi bori Naa Wuni nyebu, bi ku nye-o.

Those who consult witchcraft want to see God, they shall not.

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Ei! Bi daŋ ba la nyebu Dagara.

Ei! They saw them first, Abdulai.

Kugsi din do tiŋa, bi bori Naa Wuni nye bu bi ku nye-o.

Stones underground want to see God, they shall not see Him.

Nag pag-kpem bia bi bori Naa Wuni nyebu bi ku nye-o.

The first born of the favourite son, they want to see God.

Woyei o daŋ ba la nyebu Dagara.

I say, he saw them first Abdulai.

Ŋmari ku zau tiŋa, O daŋ bala nyebu Dagara.

The weakest prince, he saw them first, Abdulai.

Bolgu Yakuba Yaaŋa, bi bori Naa Wuni nyebu, biku nye-o

Yendi, Yakuba the king, they want to see God, they will not.

Bihi ŋmeriba bi bori Naa Wuni nyebu.

Those who consult mallams, they want to see God.

Yei! Bi bori Naa Wuni nyebu Dagara.

I say, they want to see God, Abdulai.

Kugsi din do tiŋa, bi bori Naa Wuni nyebu bi ku nye-o

Stones underground want to see God, they shall not.

Dan daŋ Abdulai Yaaŋa, bi bori Naa Wuni nyebu bi ku nye-o.

The first born, Abdulai, they want to see God, they shall not.

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(D64)
KOOMI YE CHI
(Na Mohamadu Abudulai IV)
by Sulemana Iddrisu

Koomi ye chi doo liina ba yaa fita ka daa lua.

No matter how wild a hippo may grow, he cannot drive away the crocodile.

Kaya lacumi, lacumi chei dooka Mankana, ziikan baona.

The burden of the camel belongs to the camel, Mohamadu, you are the descendant of Na Abdulai Nag-biegu.

Goo garima dan Abdulai, Mohamadu, ziikan baona.

Son of Abdulai, the grandson of Nag-biegu, you are like an elephant.

Kuaro nna karia banza wei kada i chei da luwa.

The toad tells a lie, the water is for the crocodile.

Koomi ye chi doolina ba yaa fata ka daa ina.

No matter how wild a hippo may grow, he cannot drive away the crocodile.

Mankana dan Abdulai, Mohamadu ziikan baona.

Mohamadu, son of Abdulai, Mohamadu, grandson of Nag-biegu.

Kuaro nna karia banza wei kada i chei da luwa.

The toad tells a lie, the water is for the crocodile.

Koomi kukan sunsu bayaa lanna gidu nunaa. (twice)

The cry of the bird does not prevent the ripening of millet.

Gagara machia ziikan baona, Mankana ziikan Gbanzalin.

The Lord of his enemies, you are Nag-biegu's grandson. You are Gbanzalin's (first queen) grandson.

Wei Mankana dan Abdulai, Mohamadu gooyen Gbanzalin.

I say, Mohamadu, son of Abdulai, Mohamadu, the son of Gbanzalin (the first queen of Abdulai).

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Woyei Mankana, goyen Samatu, Mohamadu mizin Gbanzalin.

You, Mohamadu, son Samatu, Mohamadu, your first wife is titled Gbanzalin.

Woyei luwa yen kan kari wei kadaa ye chei da luwa.

I say, even if the water in the river is finished, the crocodile still has water in his hole.

Gagari machia goyen Samata, Mankana goyen Gbanzalin.

The Lord of his enemies, you are Samata's son, Mohamadu, you are Gbanzalin's son (his mother).

Wayo Mahama, Mohamadu ziikan baona.

You Mahama, Mohamadu, you are Nag-biegu's grandson.

Googarima dan Abdulai, Mankana goyen Gbanzalin.

Son of Abdulai, descendant of Nag-biegu, you are like an elephant.

Mankana goyen Samata, Mohamadu goyen Gbanzalin.

Mohamadu, son of Samata, Mohamadu, son of Gbanzalin.

Woyei Mankana, Mankana, mizin Gbanzalin.

I say, Mohamadu, Mohamadu, your first queen is dubbed "Gbanzalin" (a title).

Kaya lacumi, lacumi chei dooka, Mankana, ziikan baona.

The burden of the camel is carried by the camel, Mohamadu, grandson of Nag-biegu.

Koonii kukan sunsu ba yaa lana gidu nunaa.

The cry of the bird does not prevent the ripening of millet.

Kuaro nna karia banza,wei kada i chei da luwa.

The toad tells lies, the water belongs to the crocodile.

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Note: (The Dagbani text for the following statement has not been given.)

It is finished. When all the dead kings have been praised, the living one is praised last and then the music for the session finishes.

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(D66)
TAAKAA SANNU (Bruso)
by Sulemana Iddrisu

Chorus: Ooo! Taakaa sannu.

Oh! Talk slowly and majestically.

Oh wandale taakaa lafia. (twice)

Oh! It is dark, walk slowly.

Feri wata magazin lana.

The tail of the sun is the bright moon.

Gbingbrigu tampalo kuu dem baa.

The dog does not go near the playground of lions.

Gagara ma sooma tanlin koofa.

You are the door of the world.

Koro maza su yeda kaya.

You drive away the brave, and they run leaving booty behind.

Jen yido kora bakoo.

A serious face will drive away strangers.

A tambulli ni sagim buni.

Your enemy will give you nothing.

Gagara ma sooma tanlin koofa.

You are the door of the world.

Mugun kafa bata sunna gulbi.

A wild crocodile spoils a beautiful pond.

Chisaabo wandale taakaa lafia. (twice)

Oh! It's dark walk slowly.

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A tambulli ni sagim buni.

Your enemy will waste nothing on you.

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Appendix F

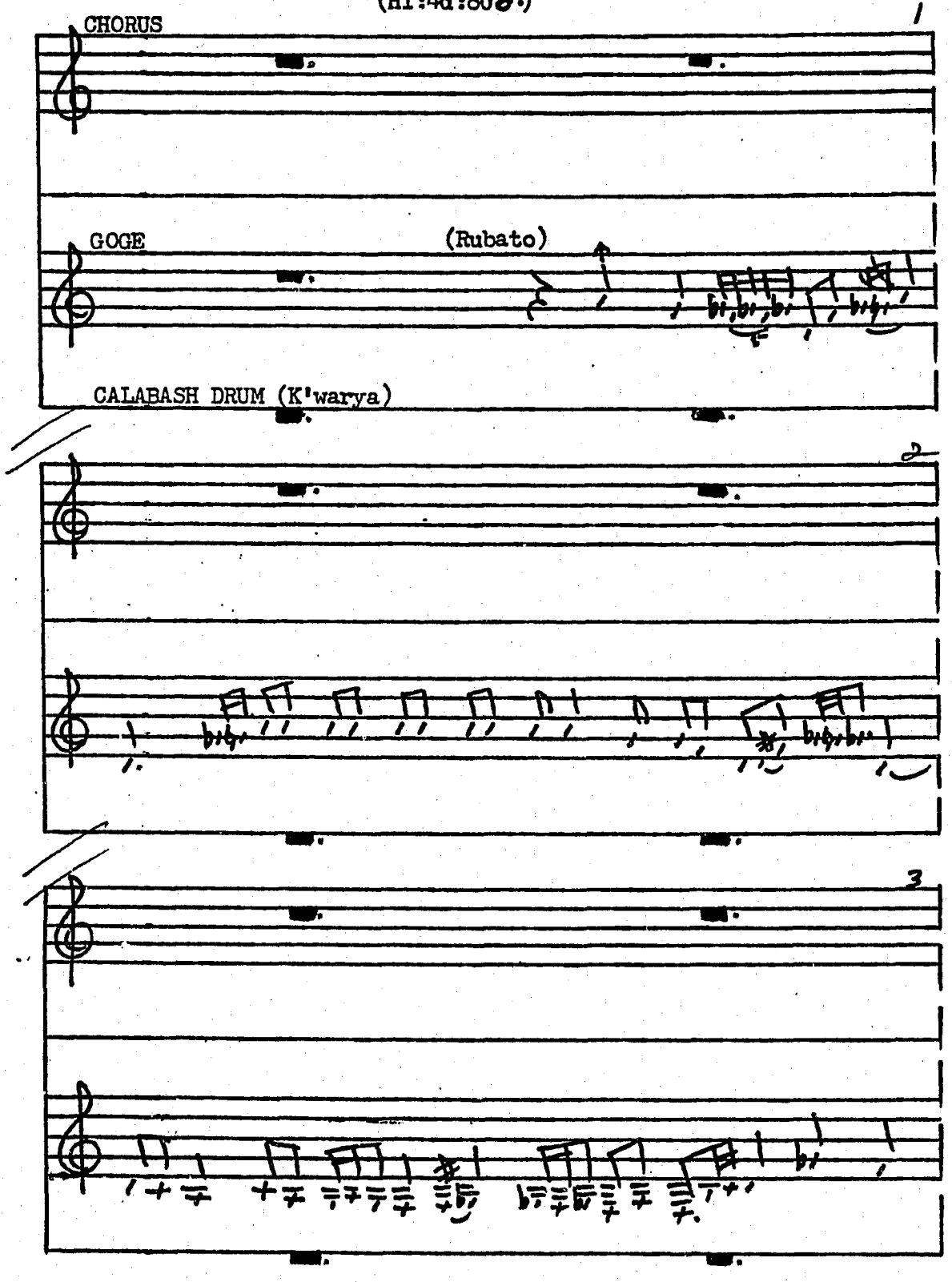
Hausa Music Transcriptions

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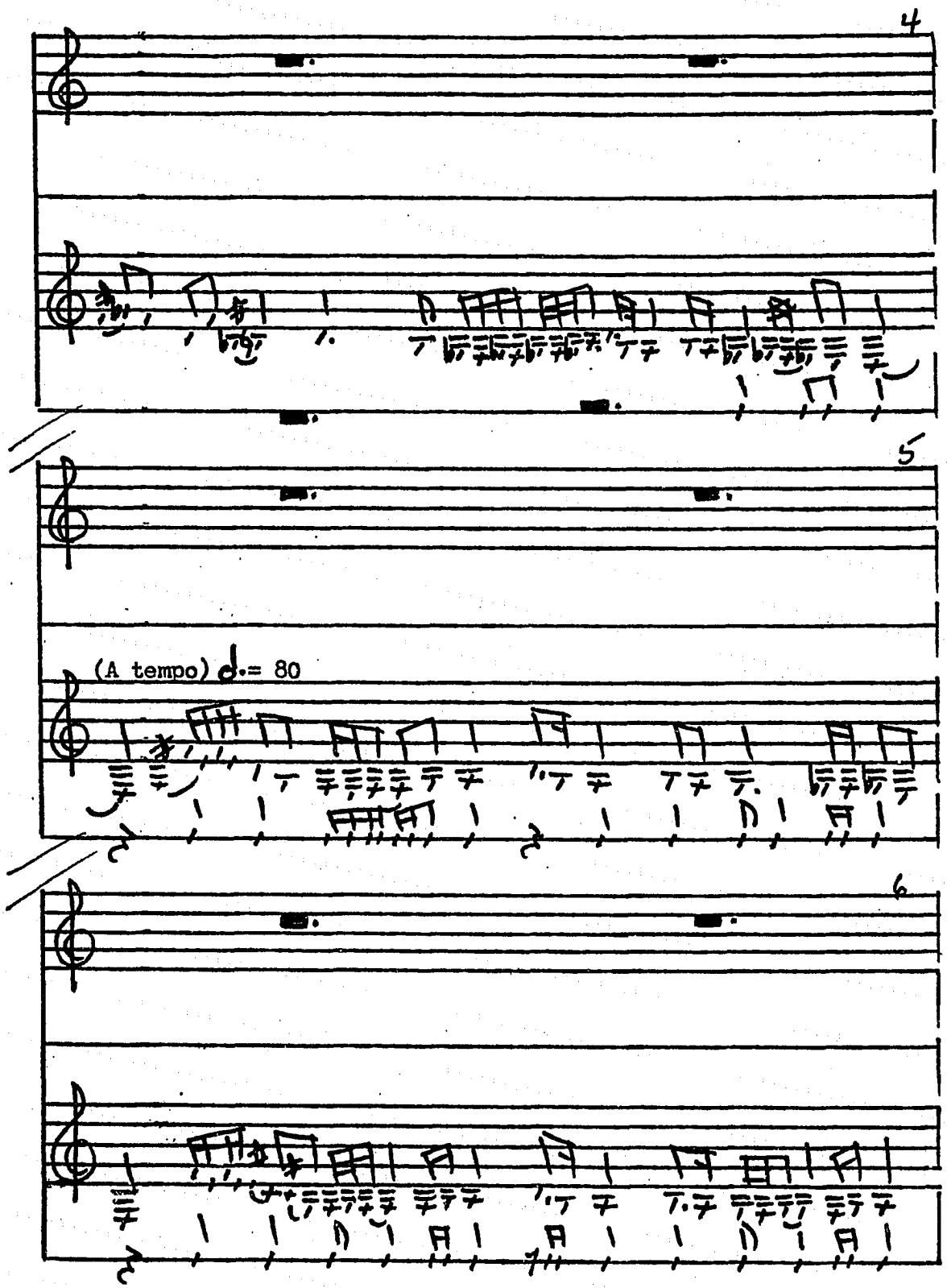
BANJO

by Haruna Yaron Goge

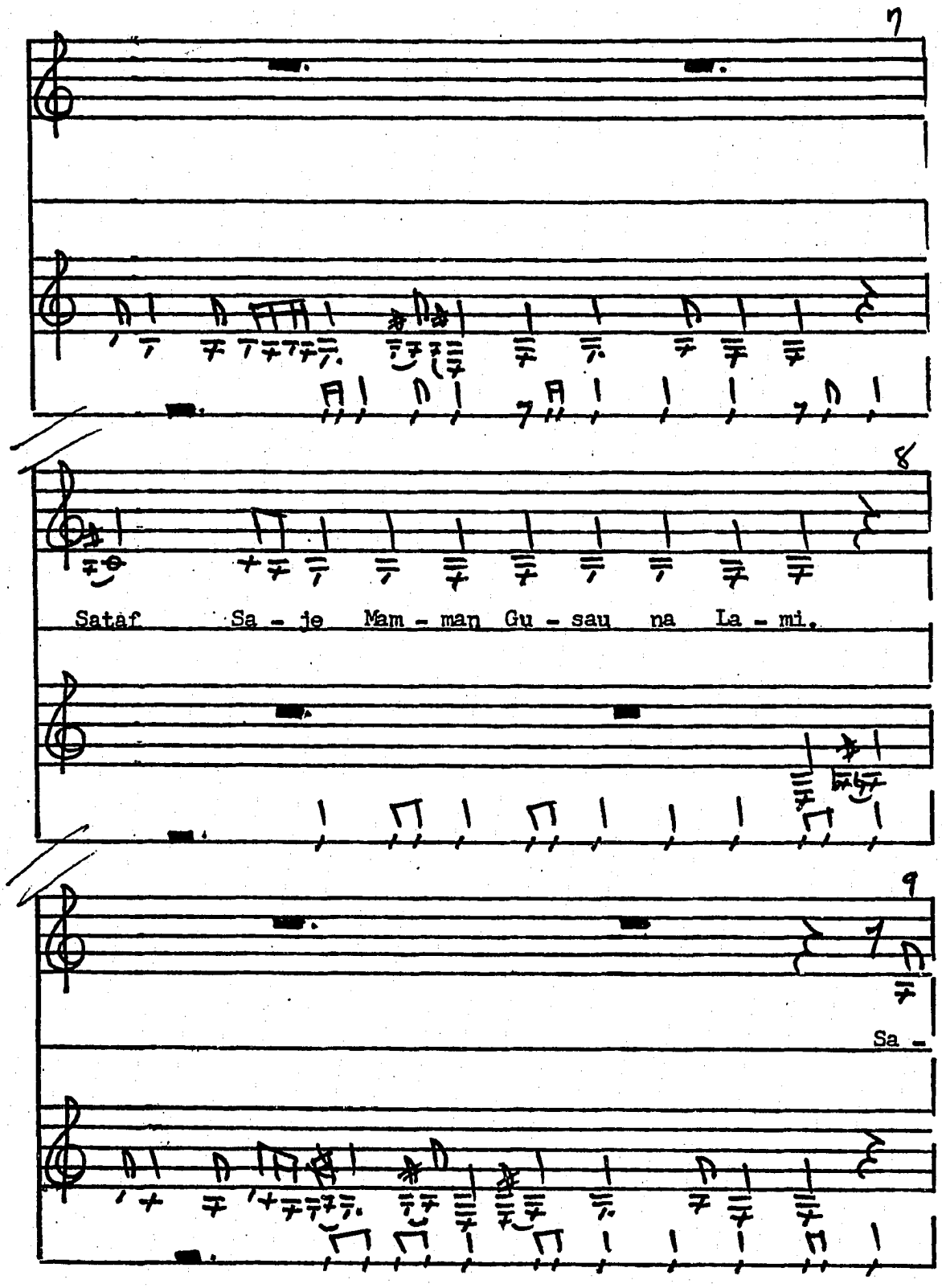
(H1:4d:80♩.)



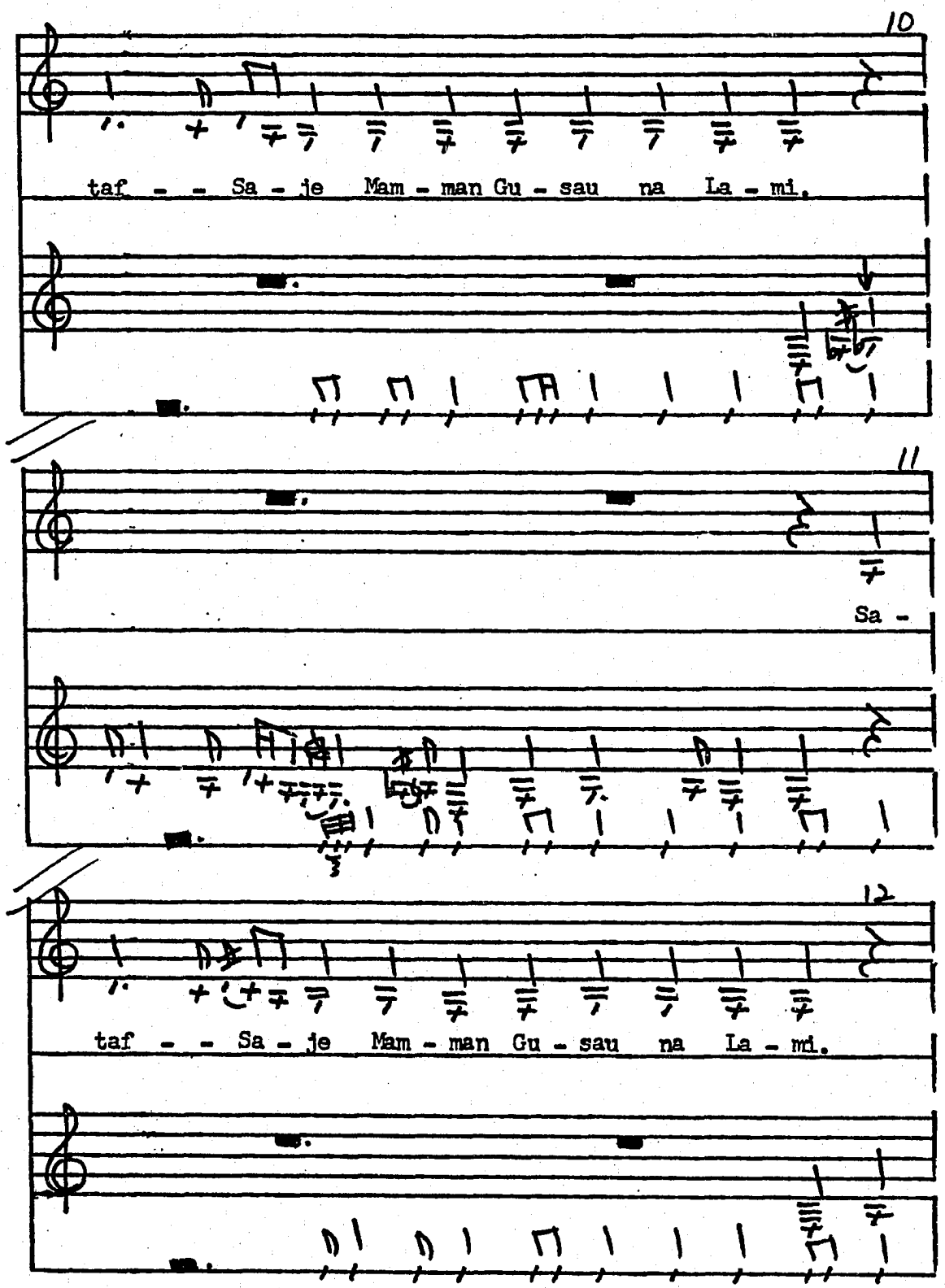
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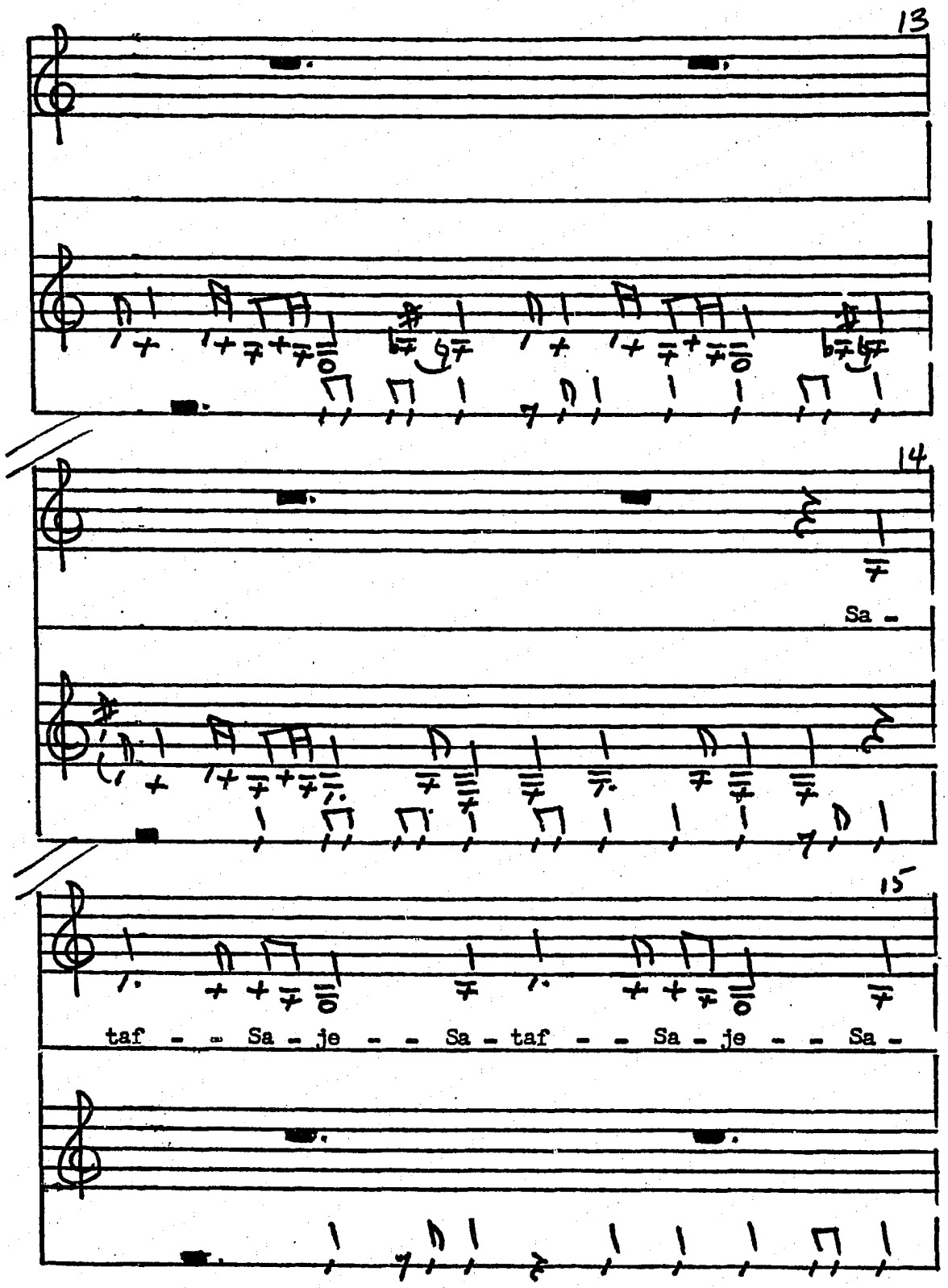
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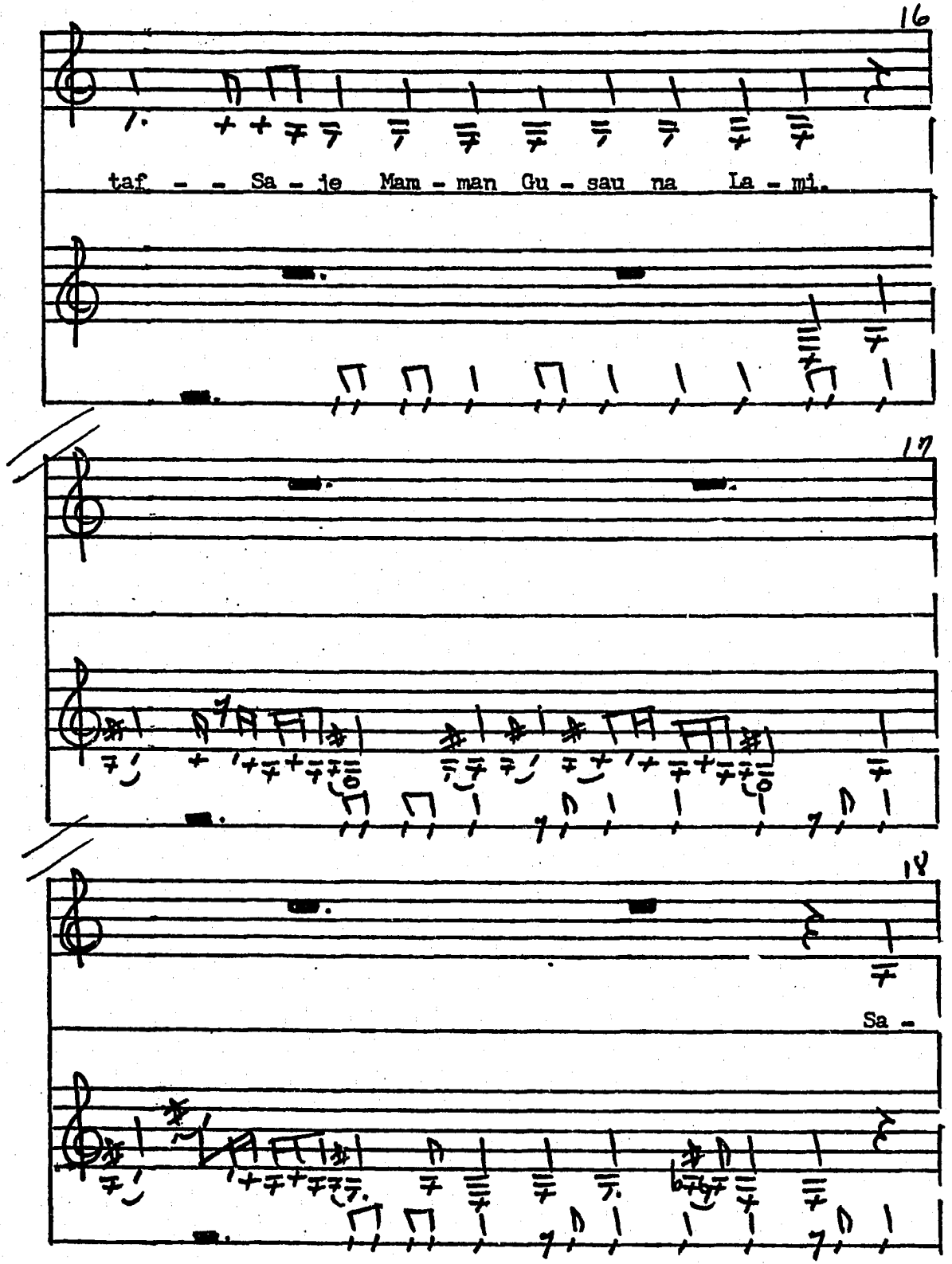
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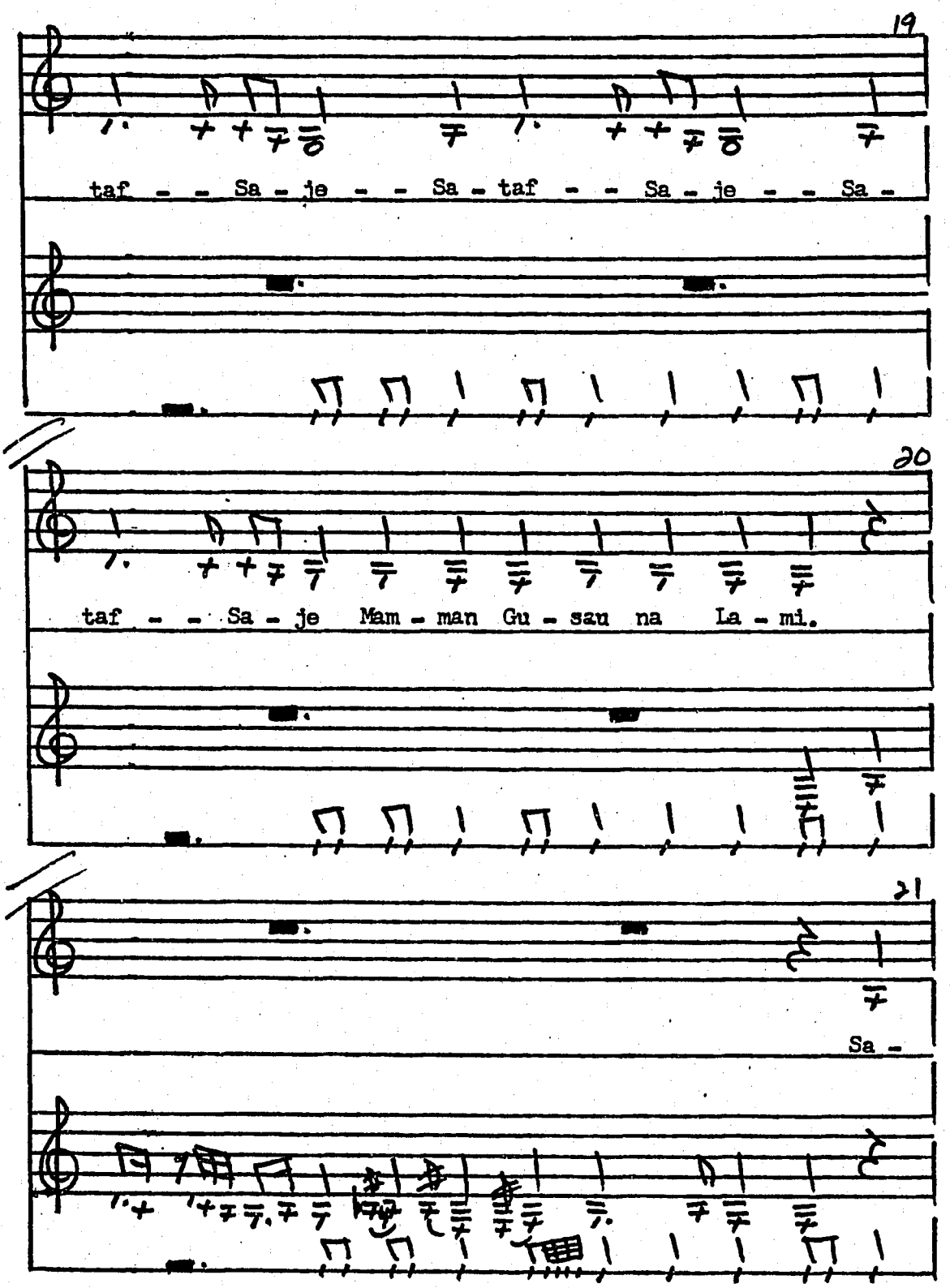
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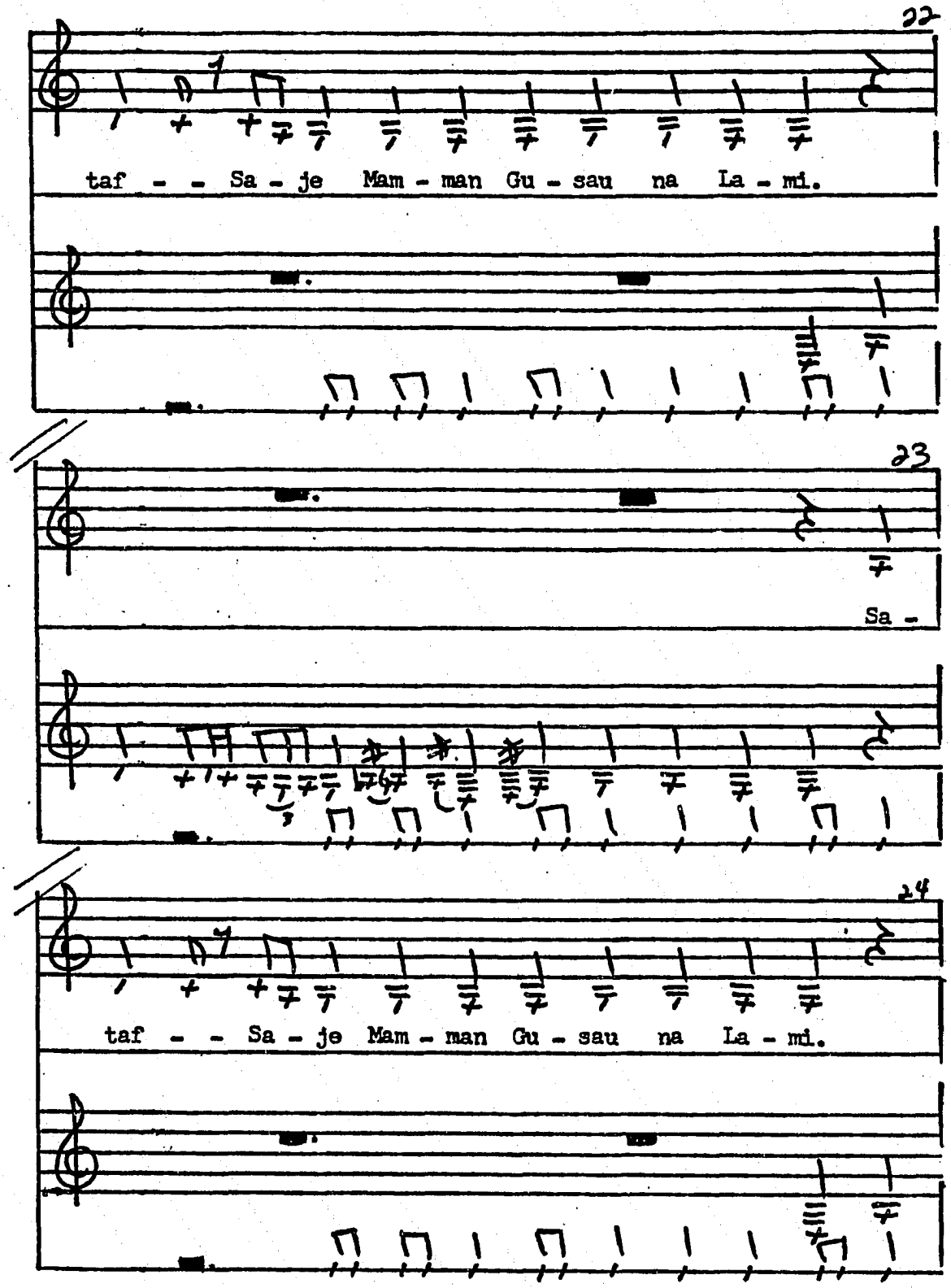
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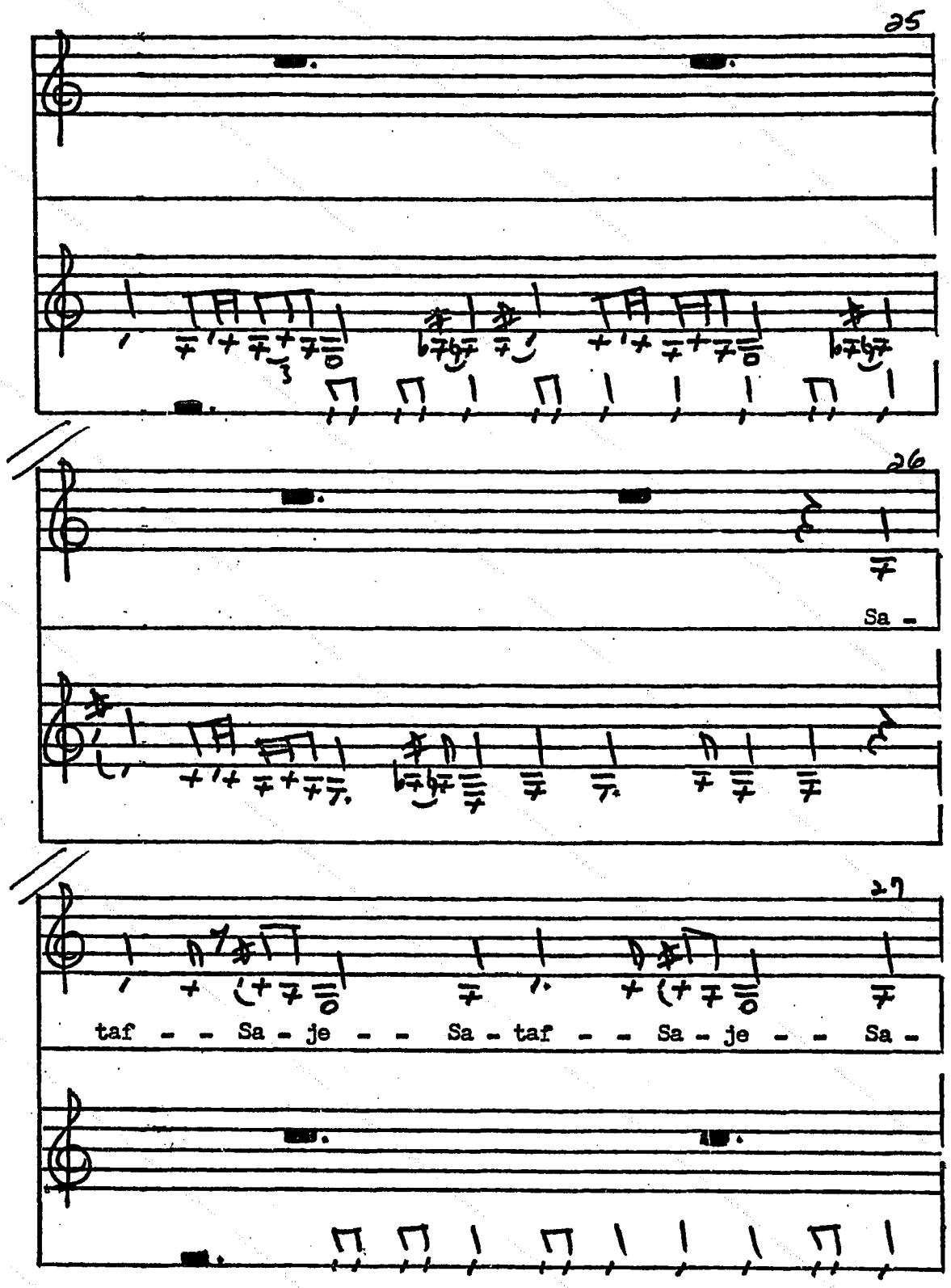
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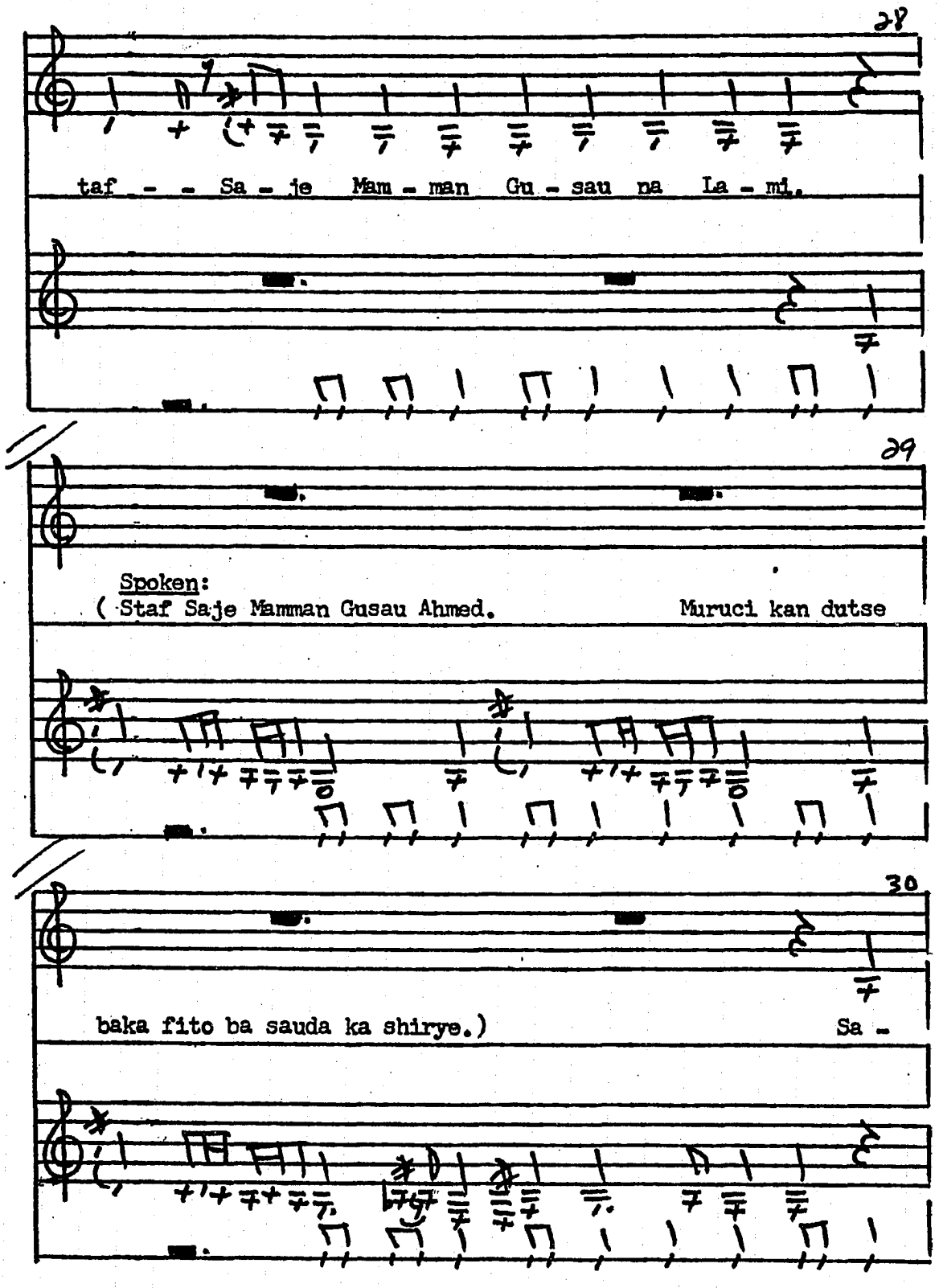
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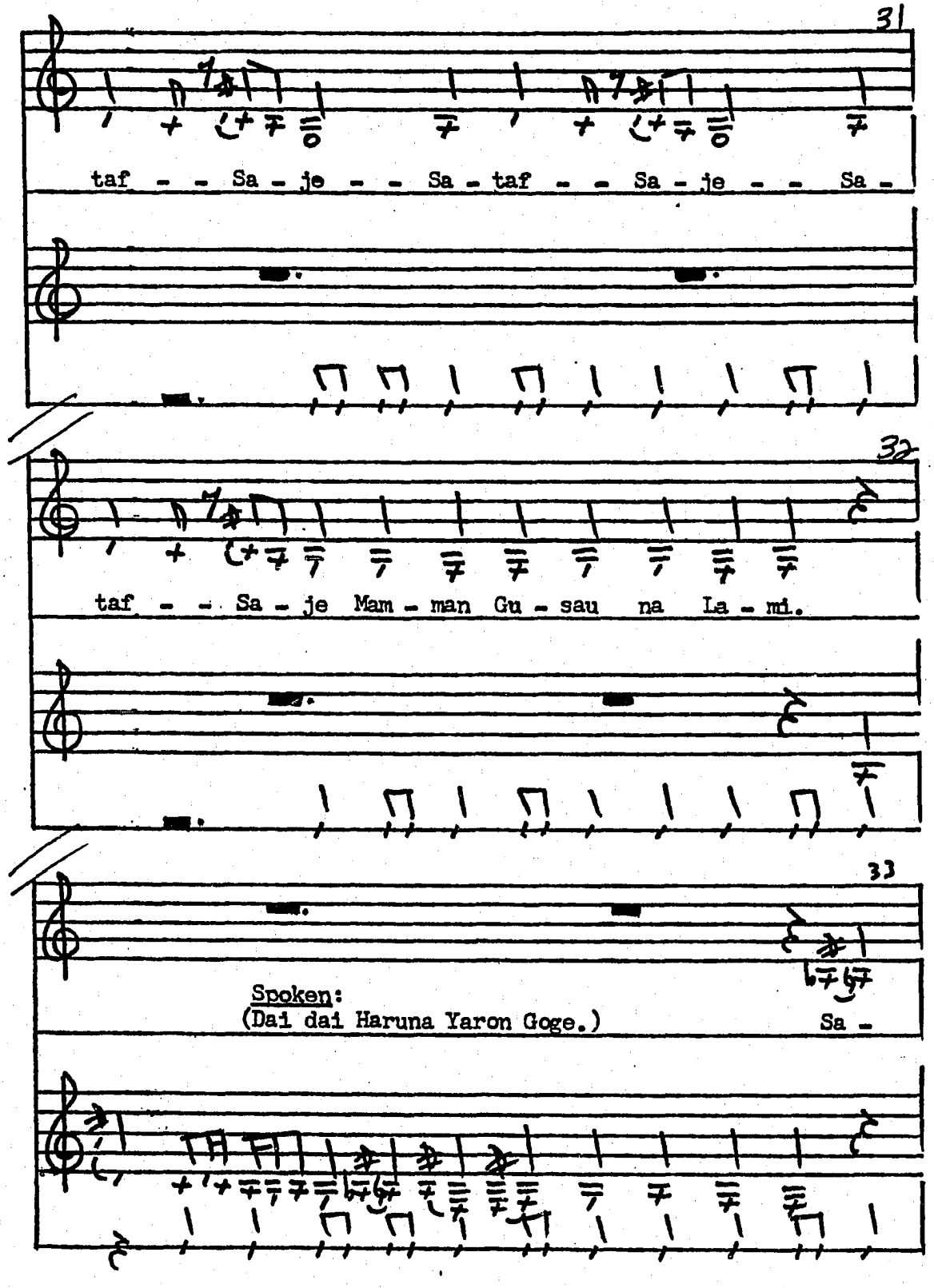
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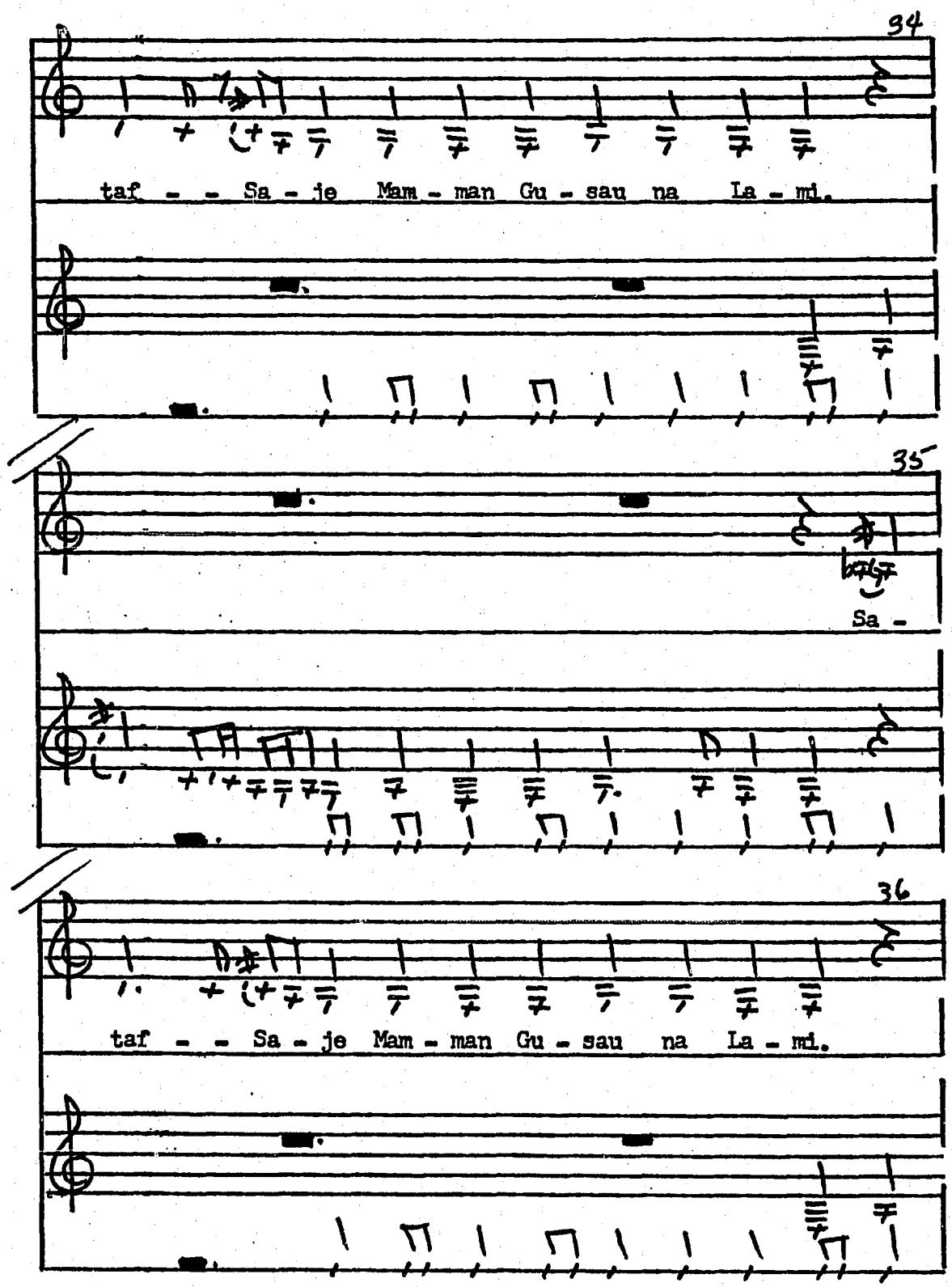
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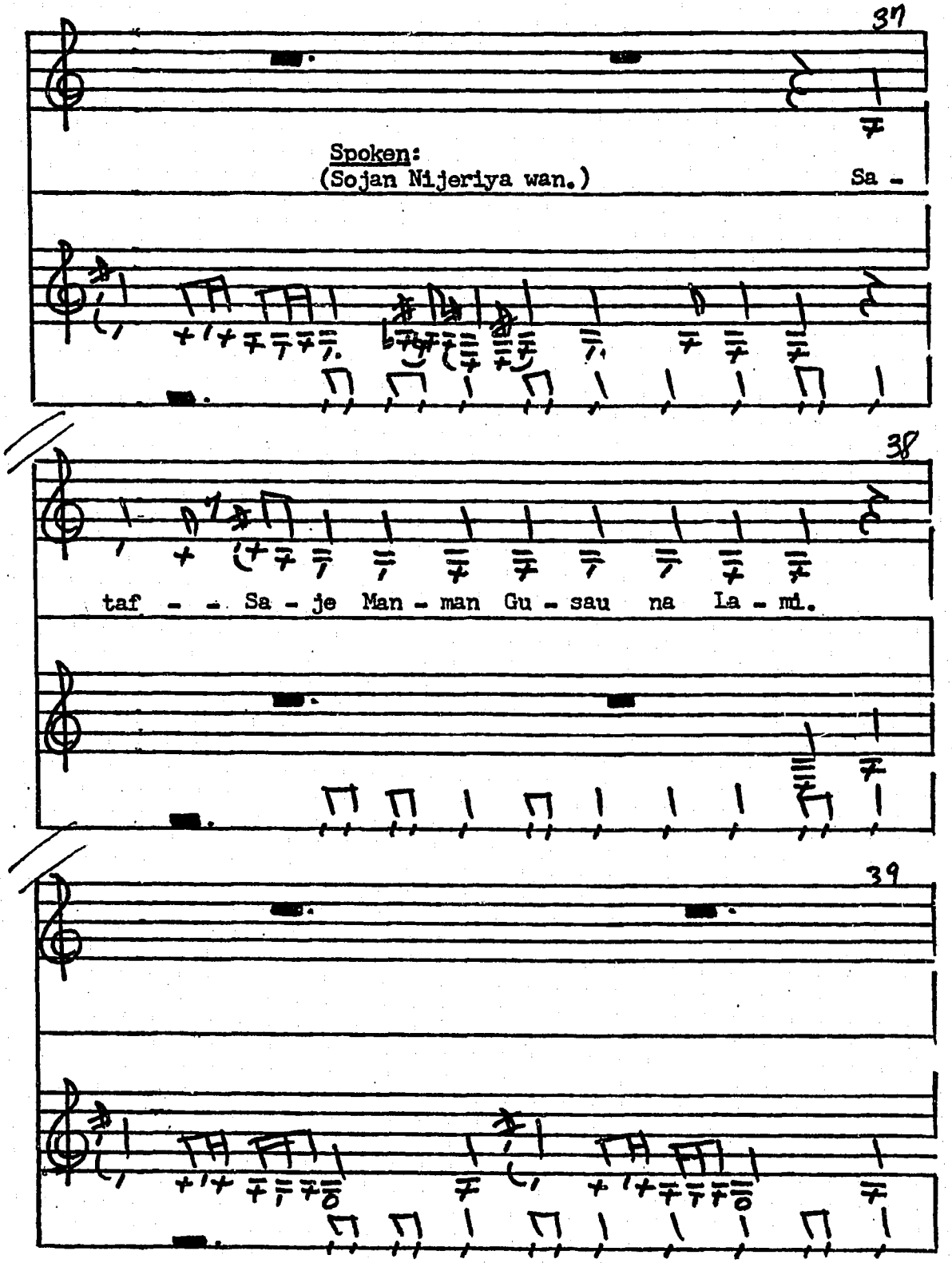
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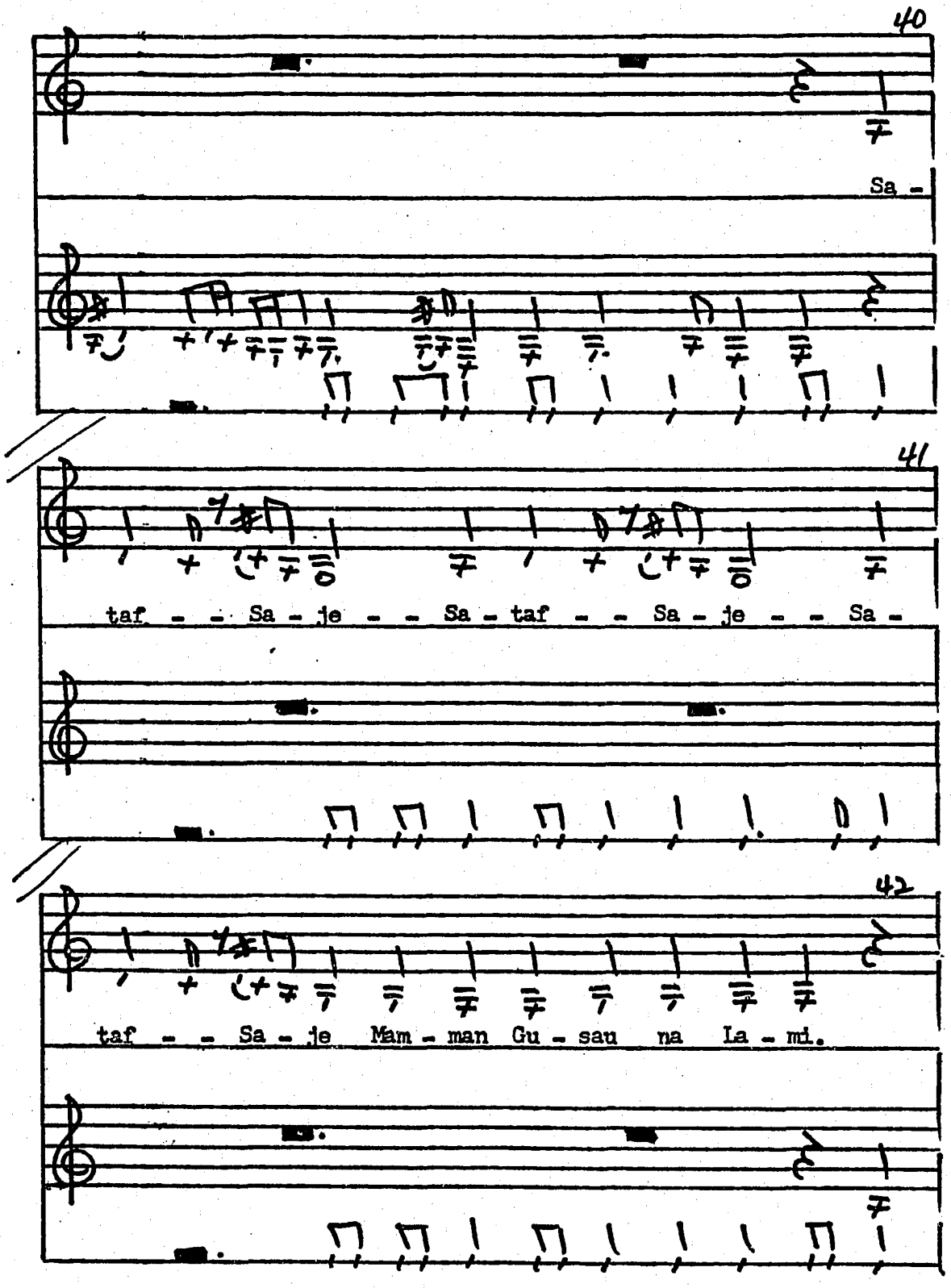
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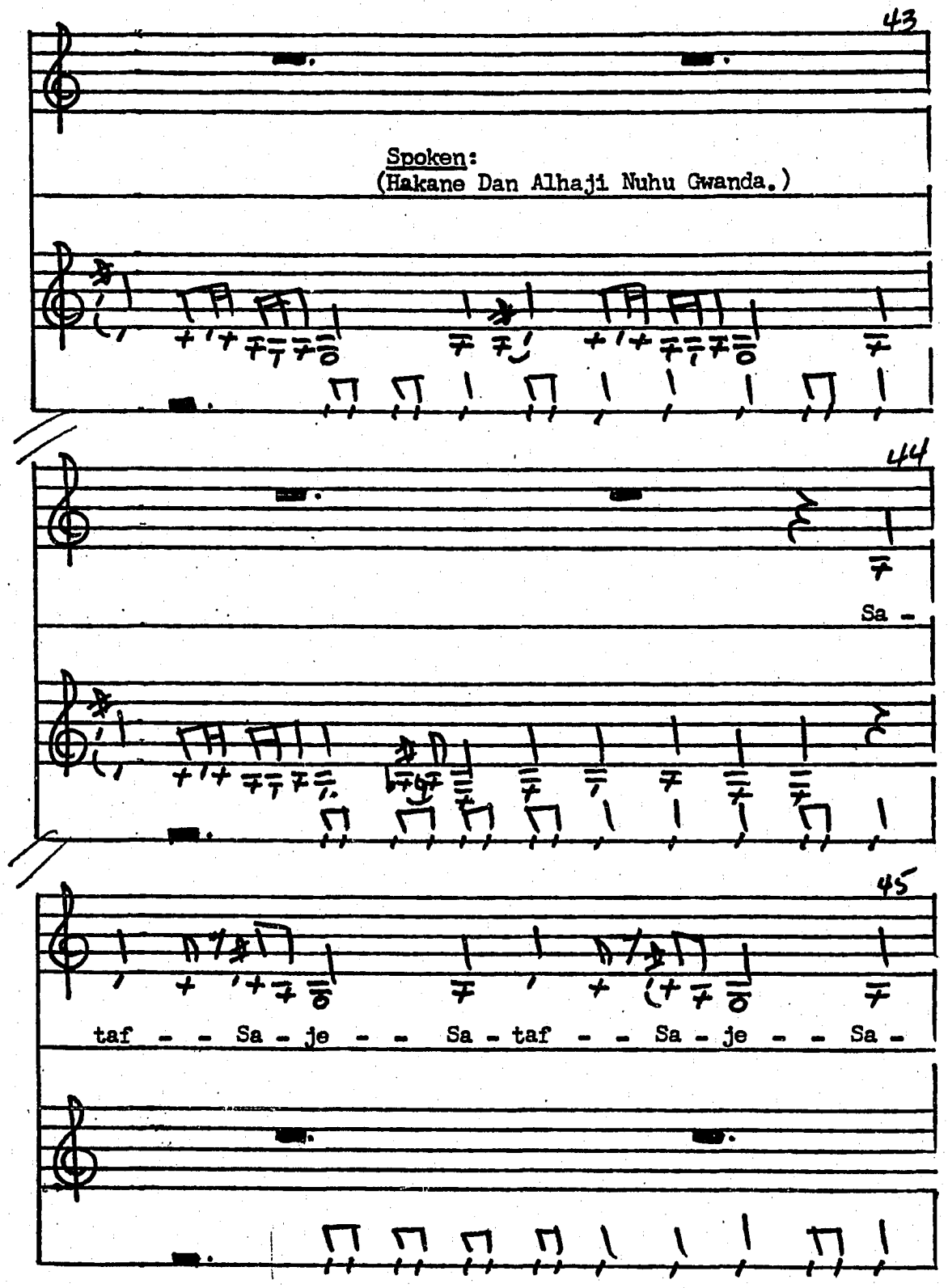
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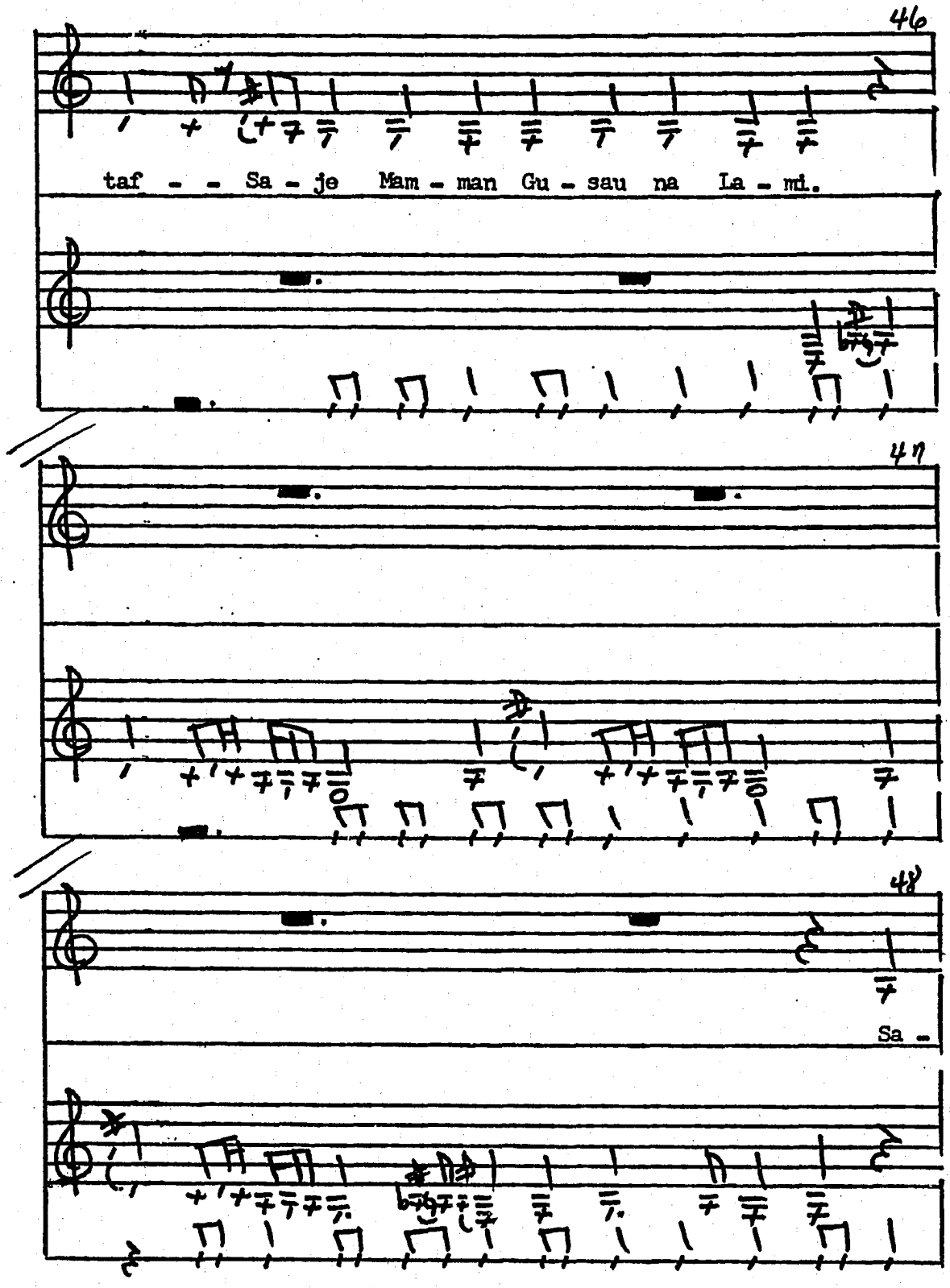
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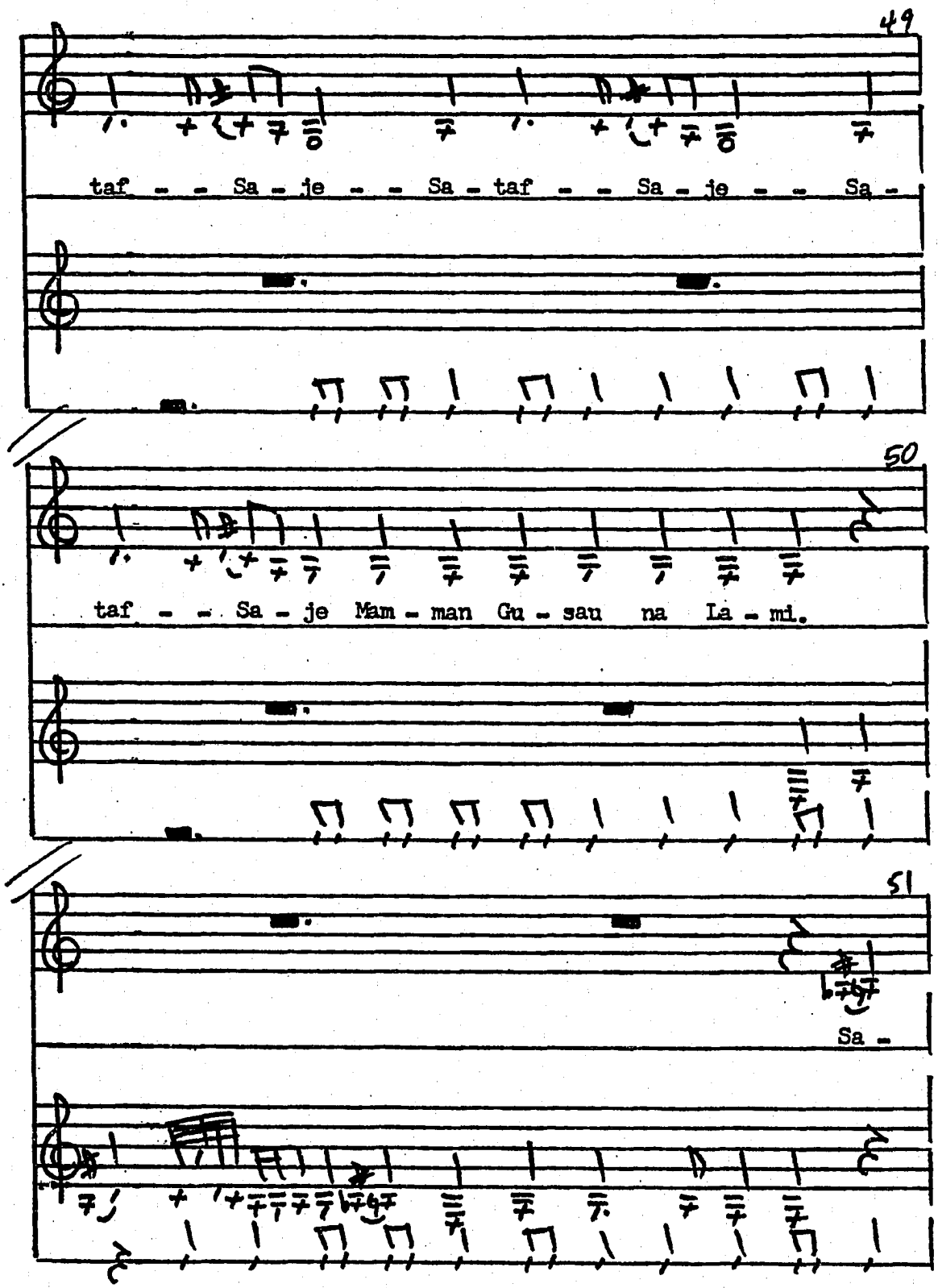
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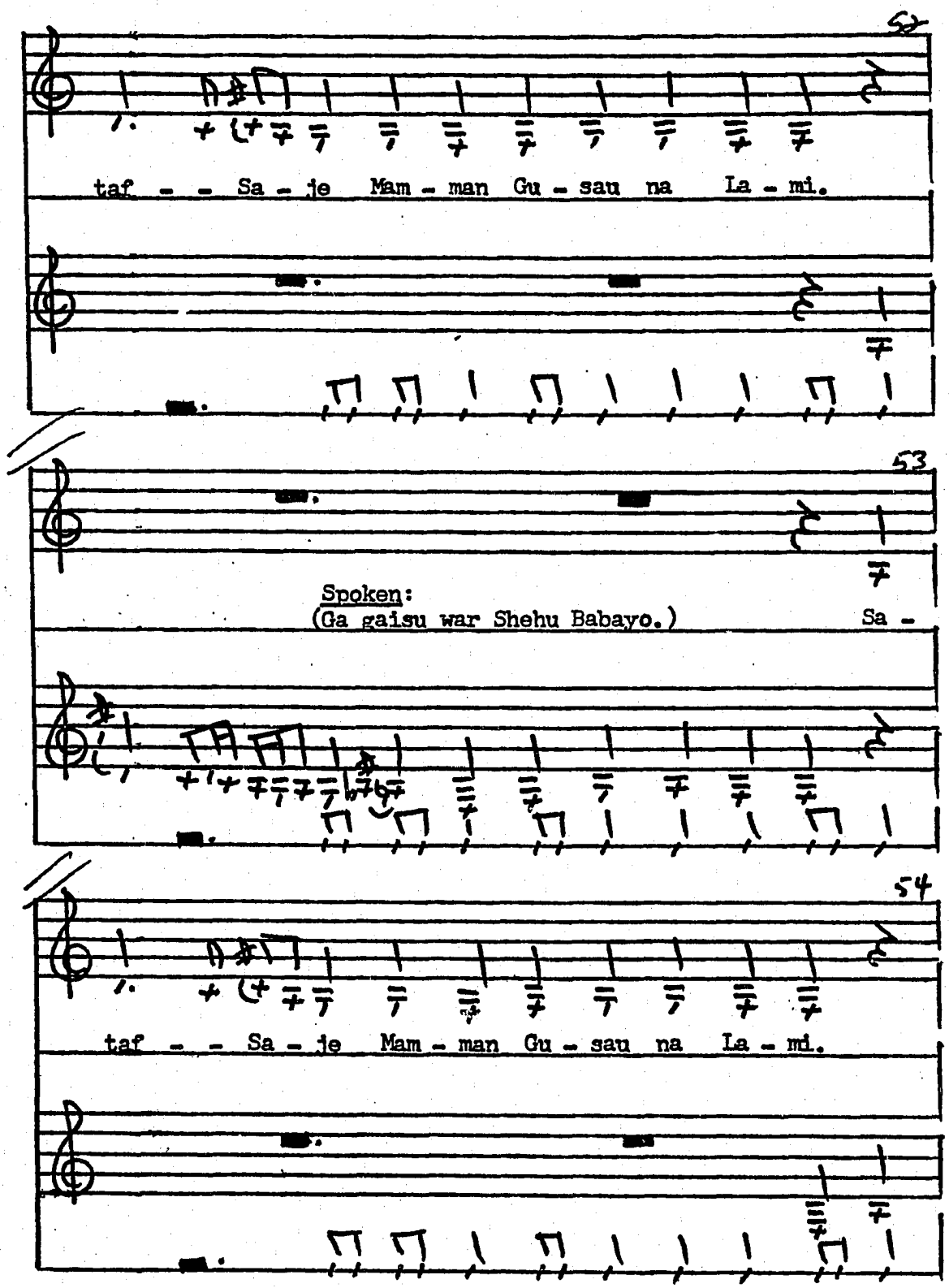
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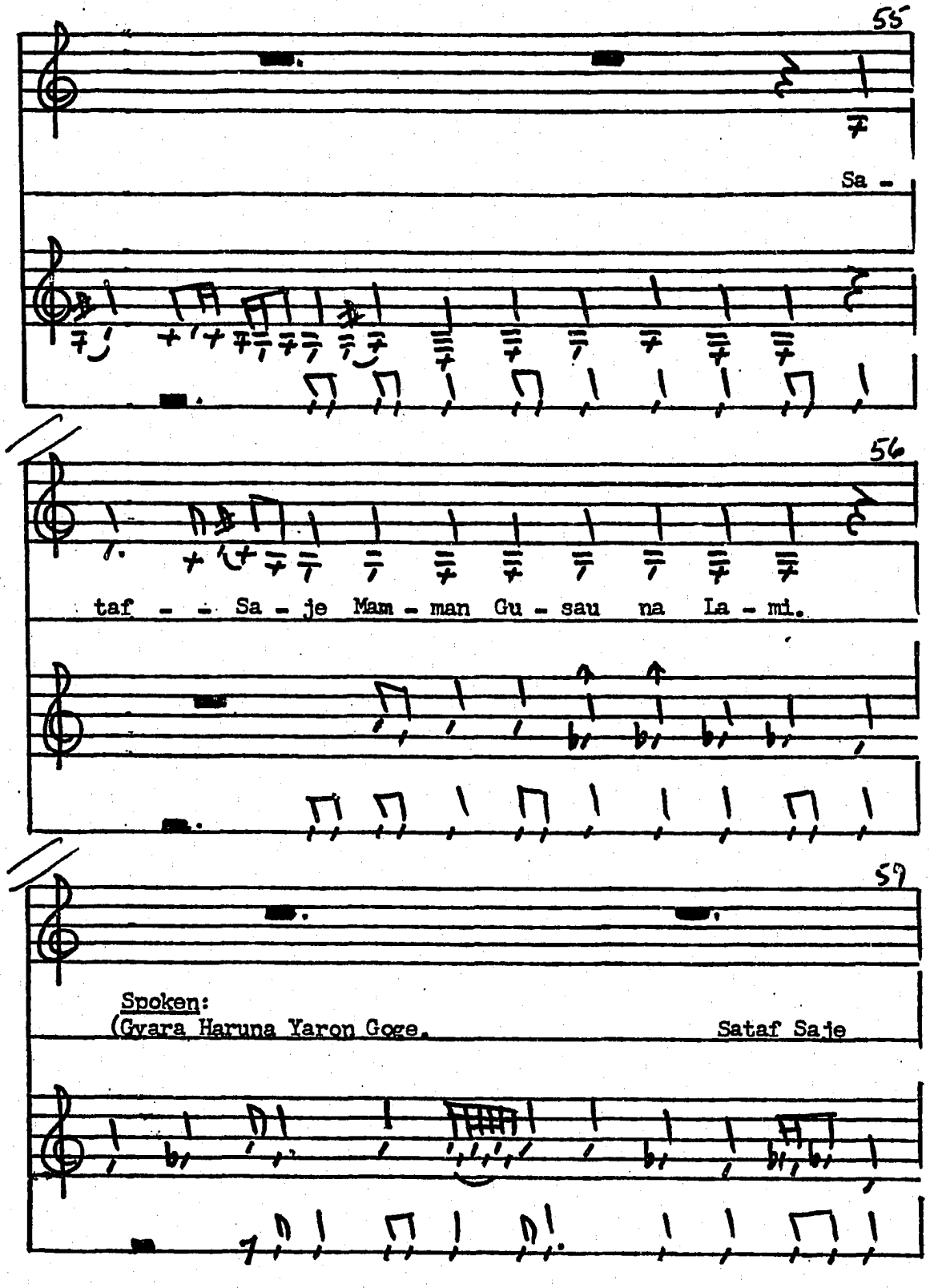
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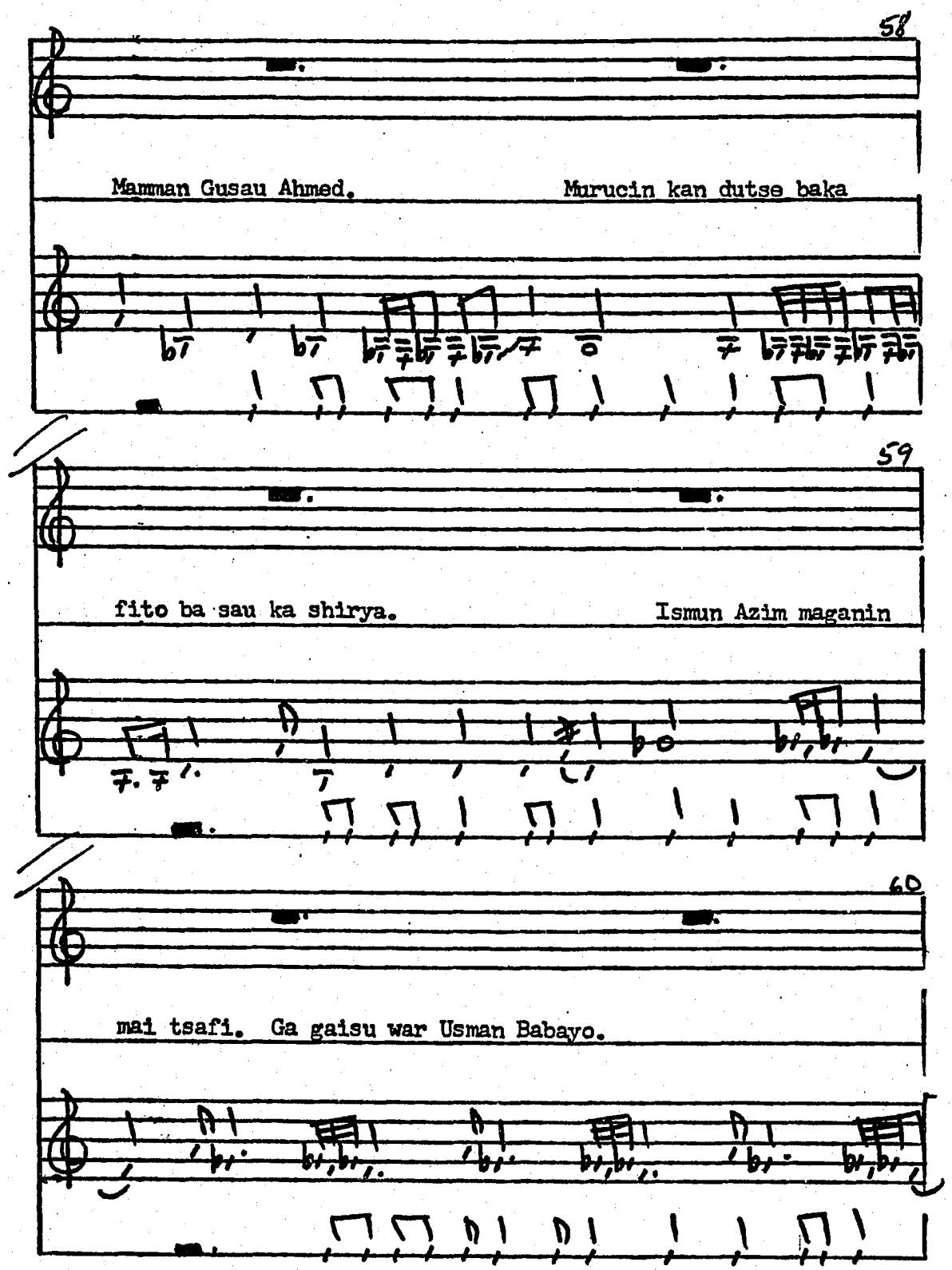
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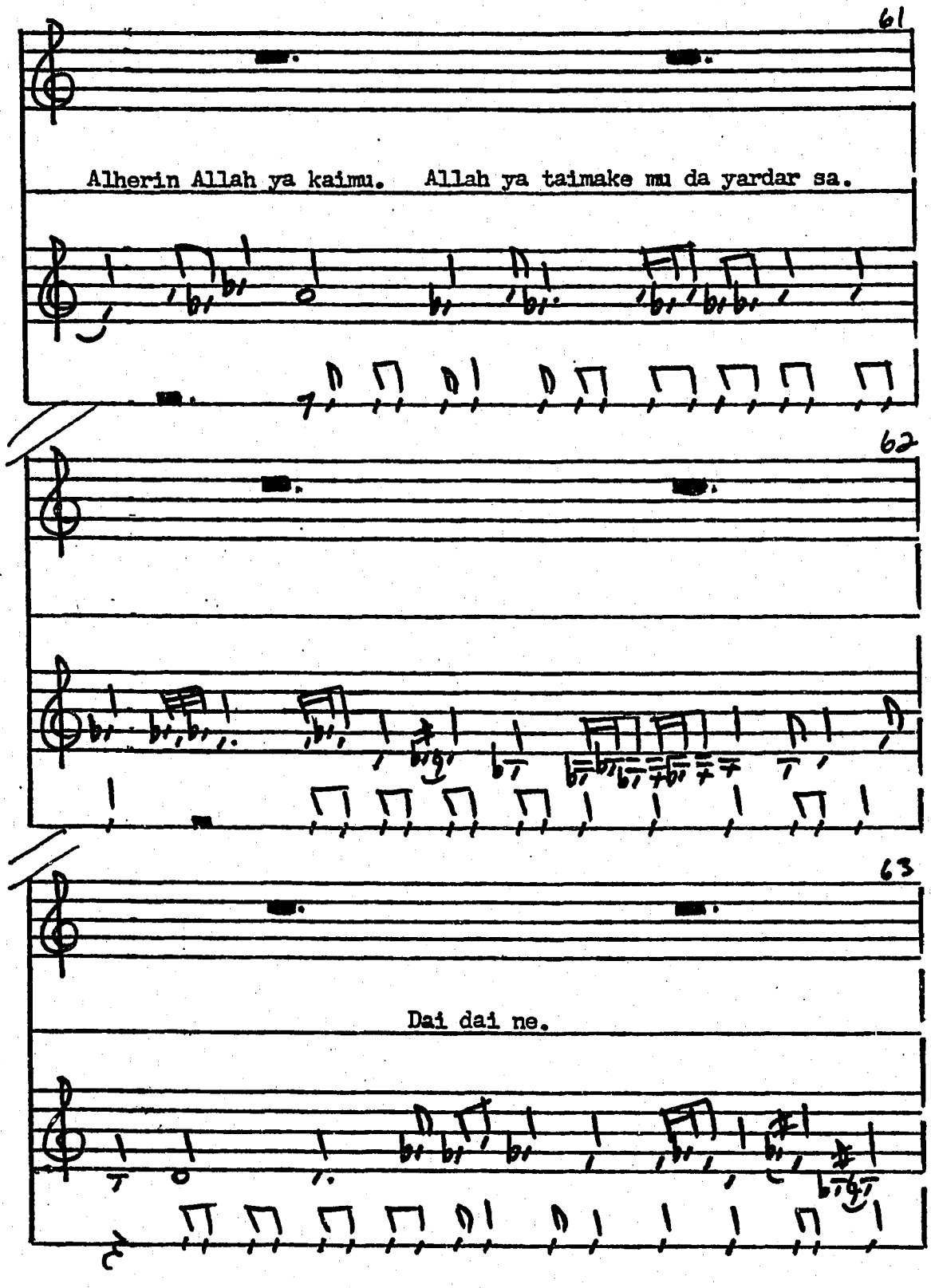
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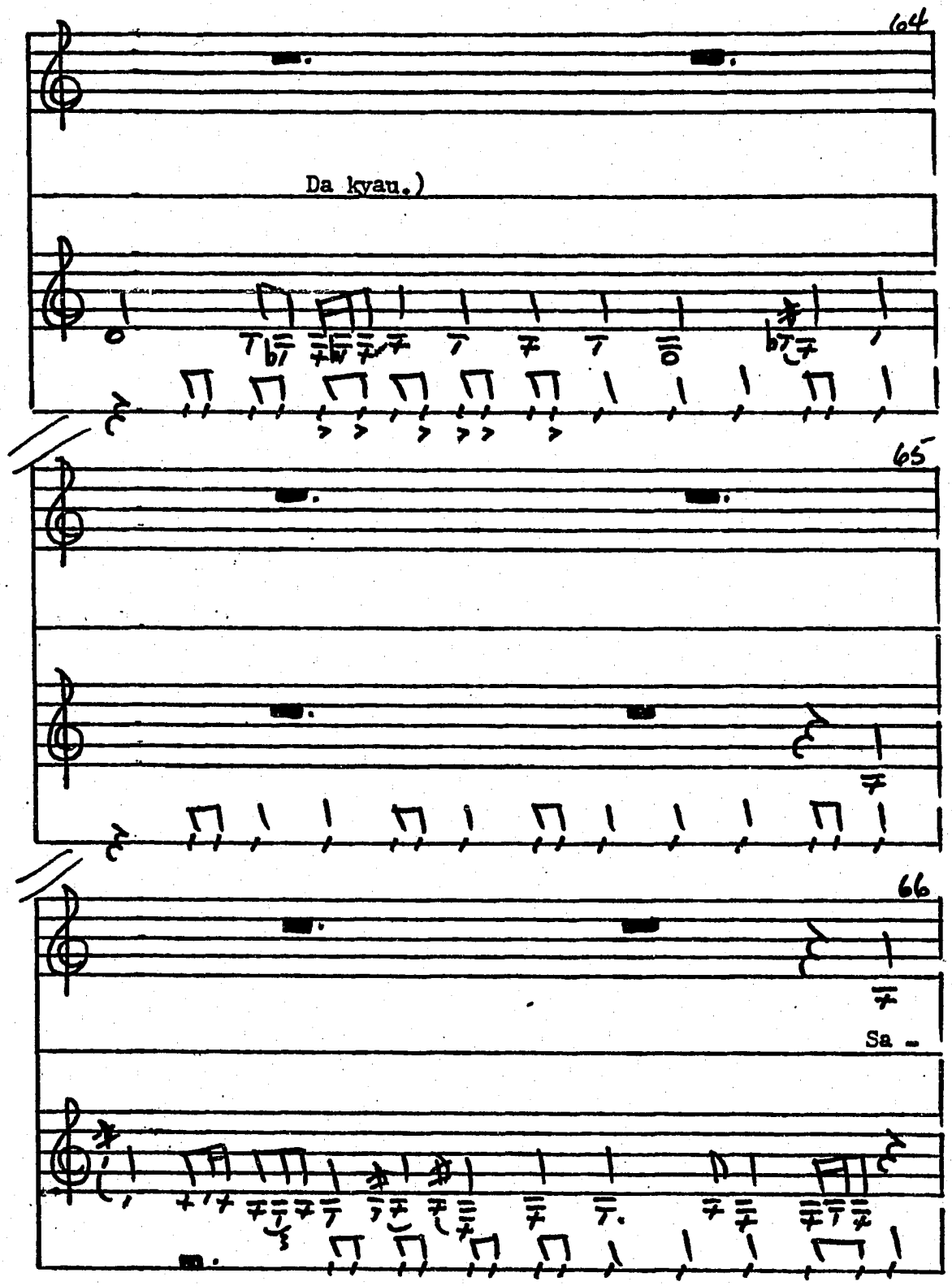
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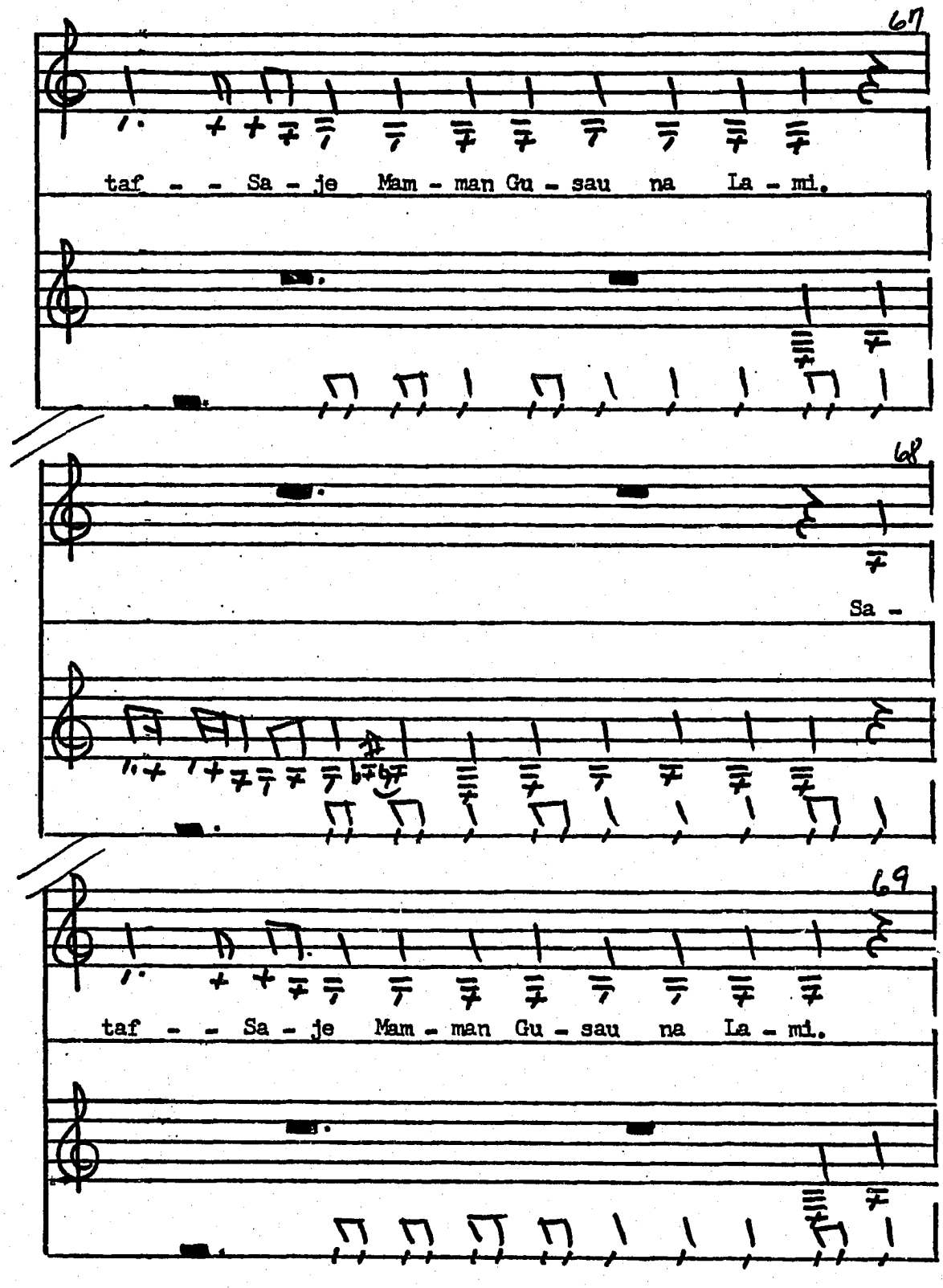
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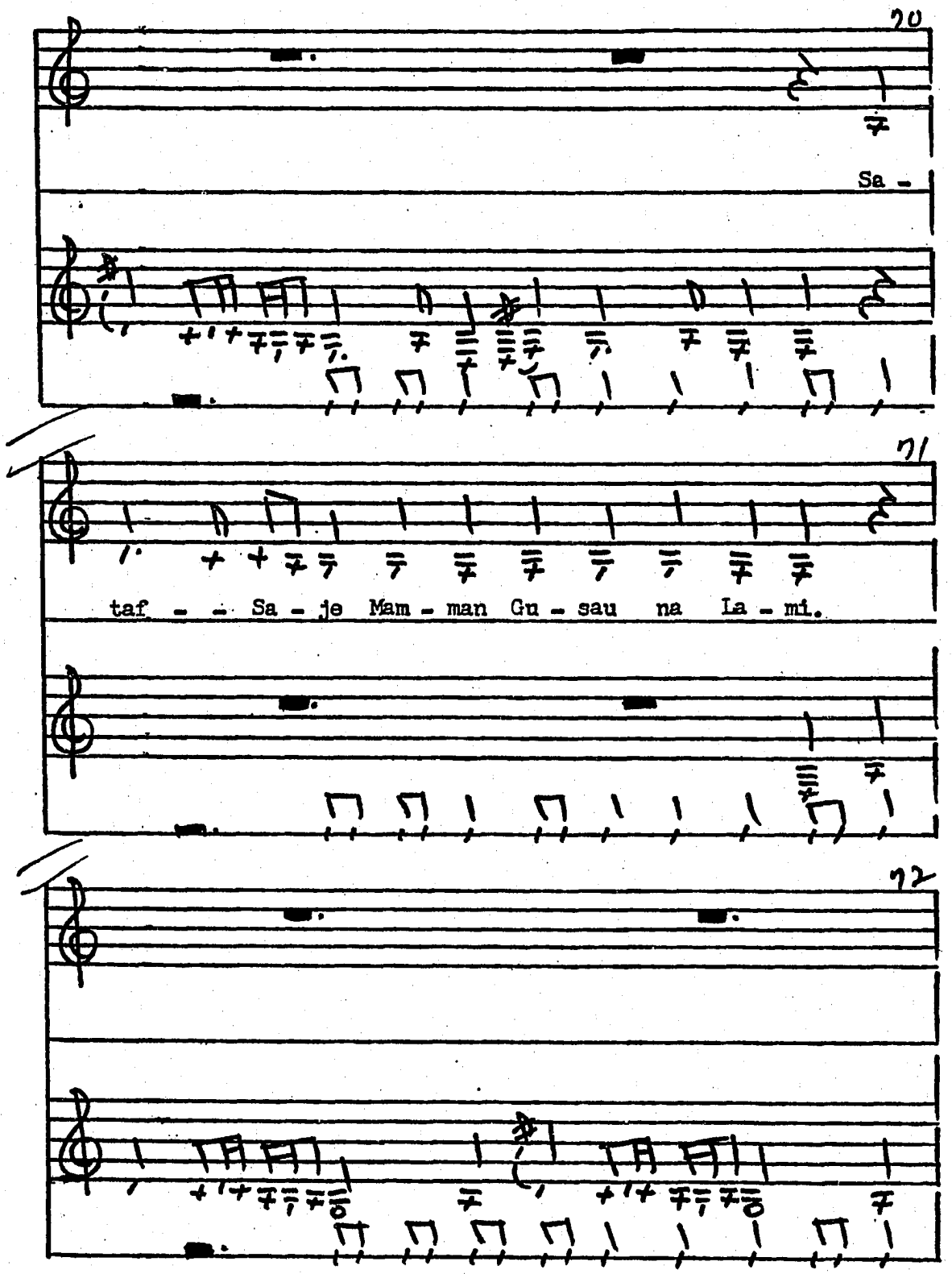
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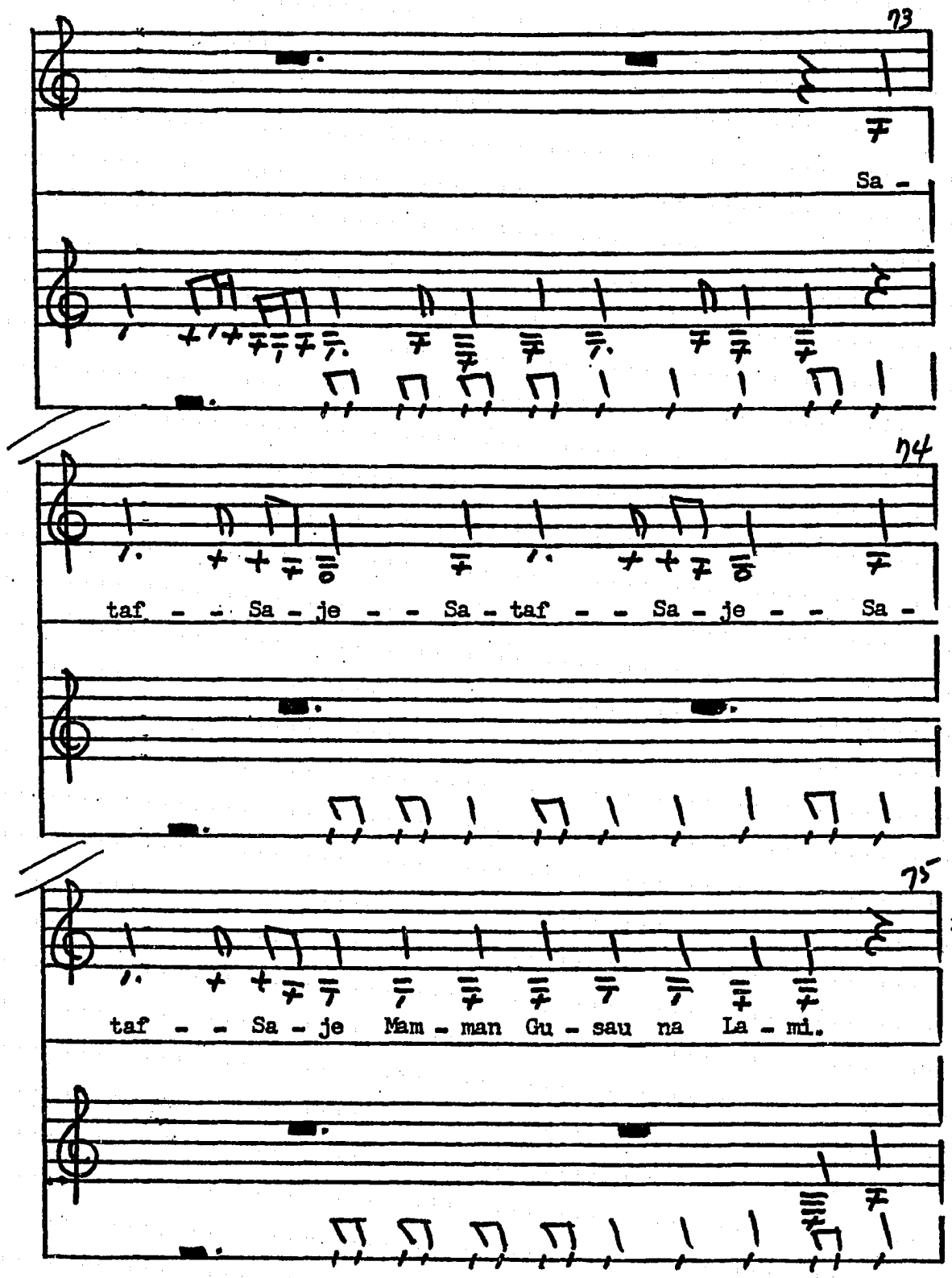
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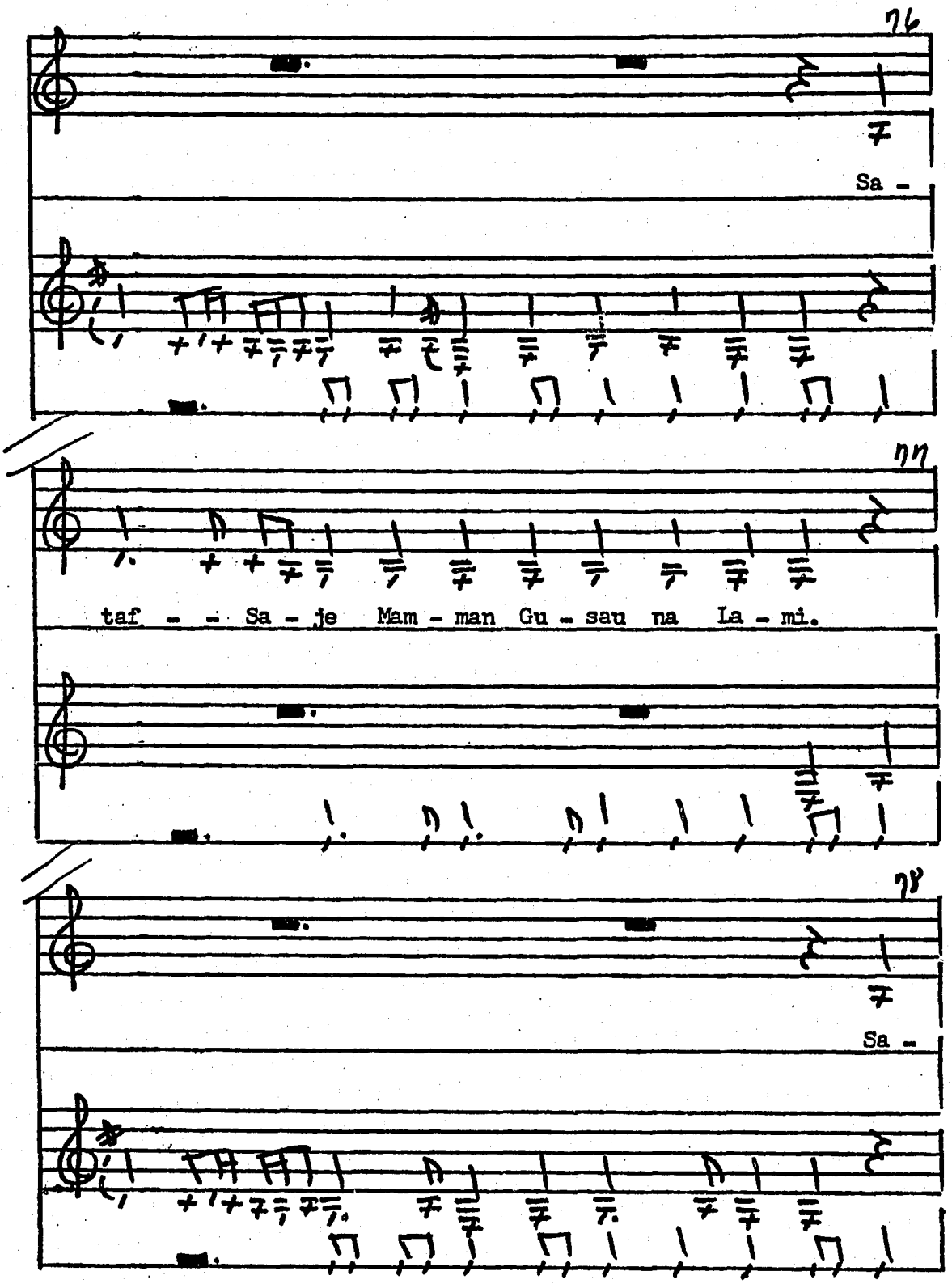
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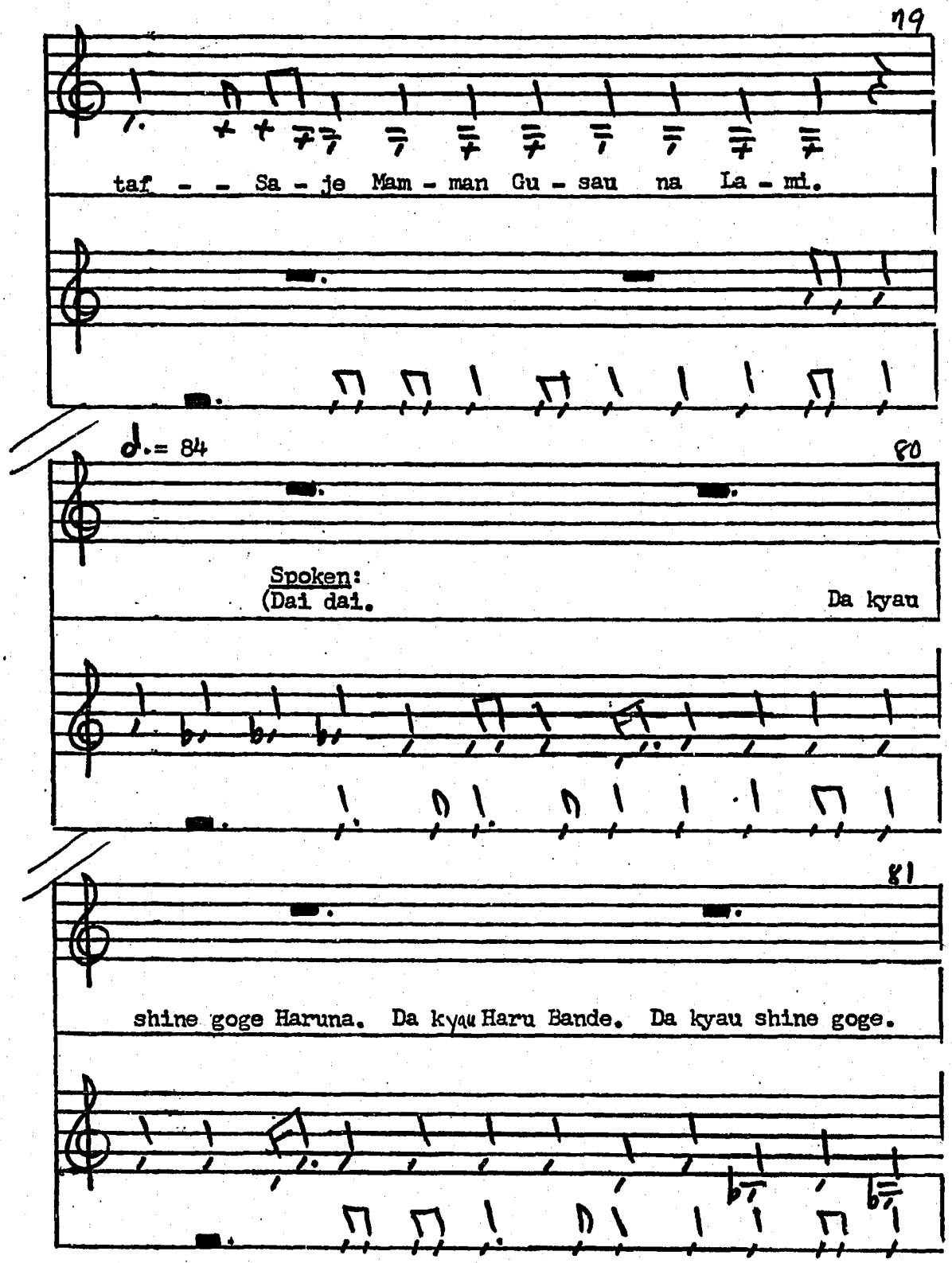
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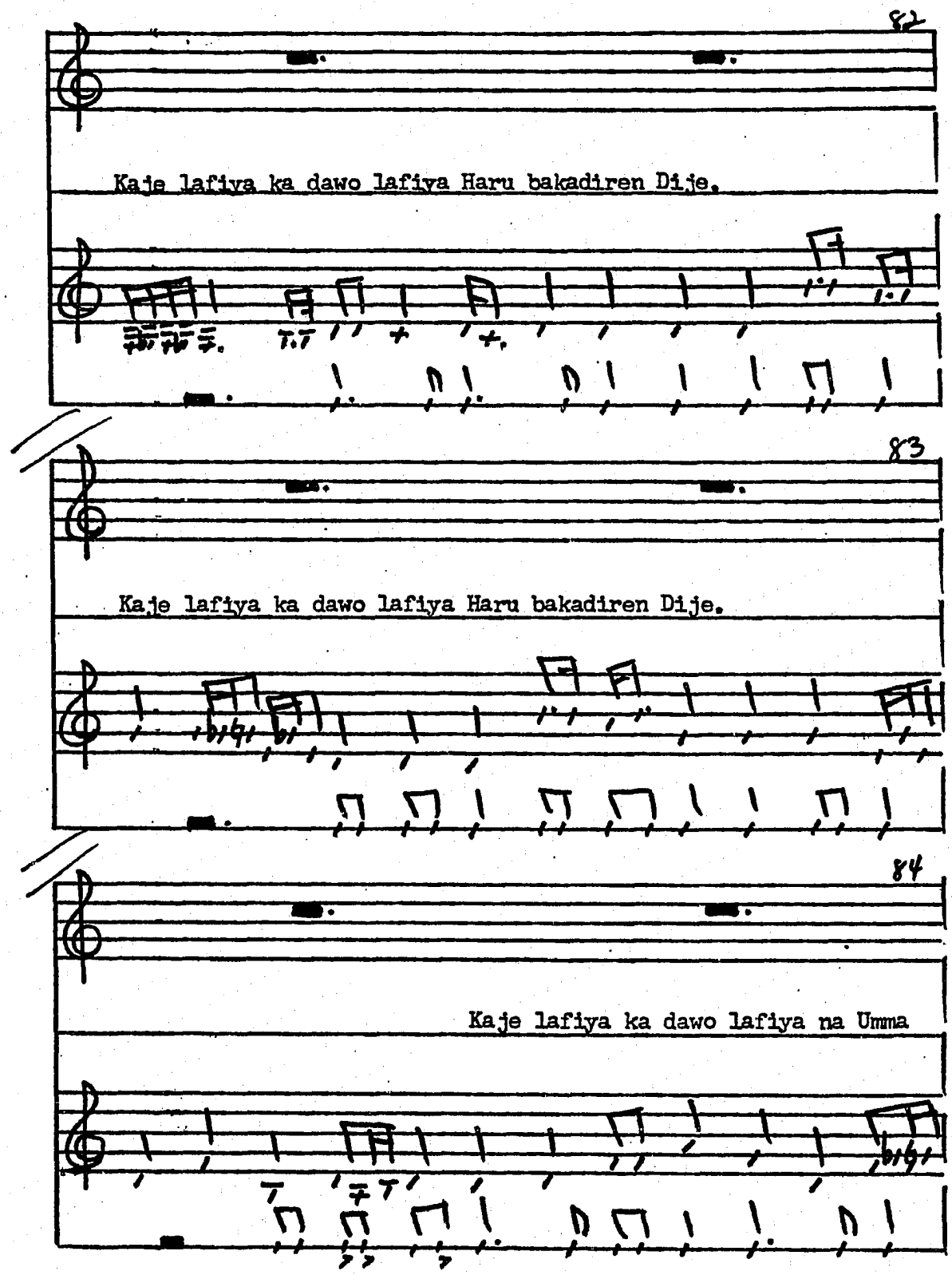
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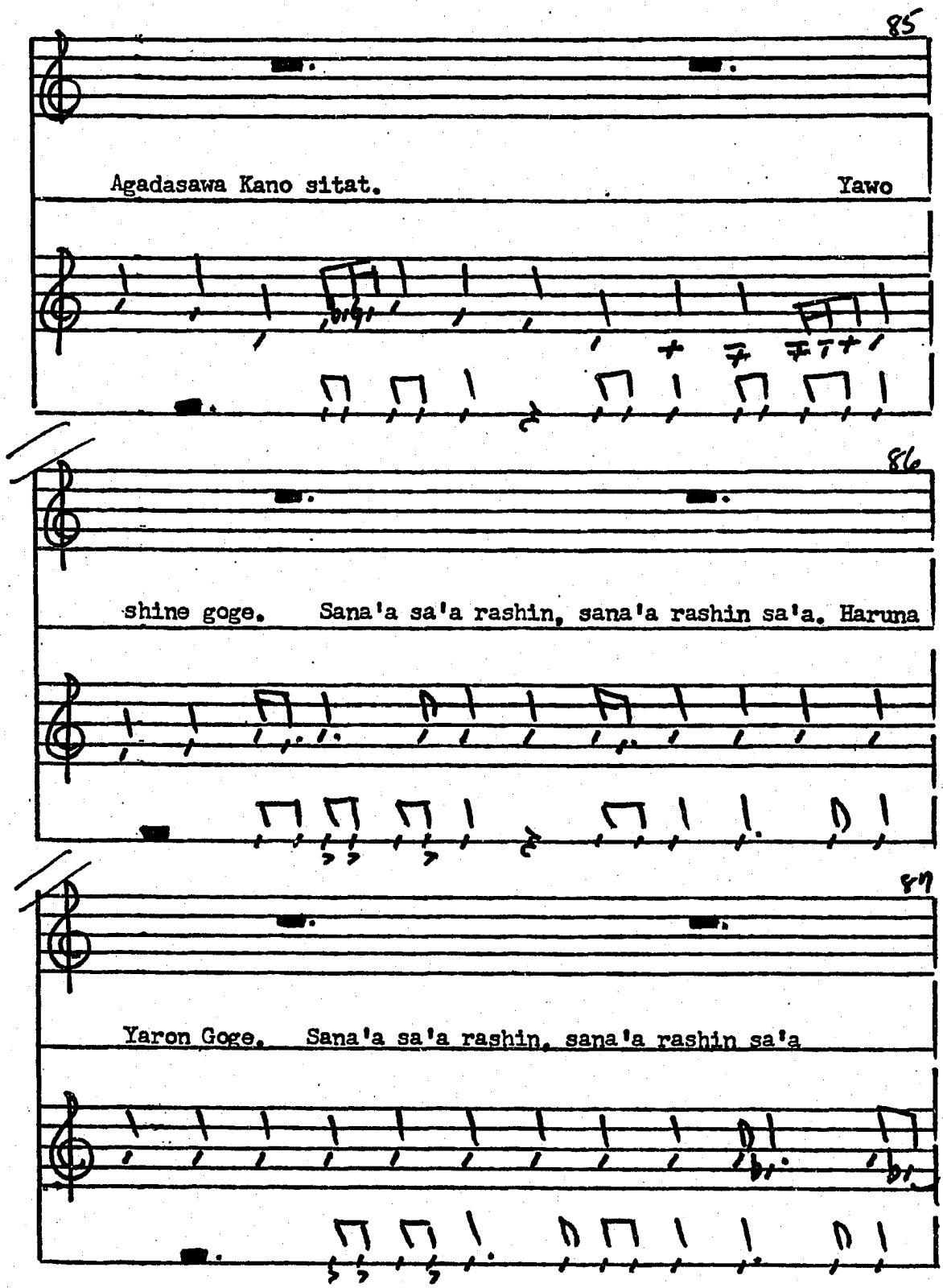


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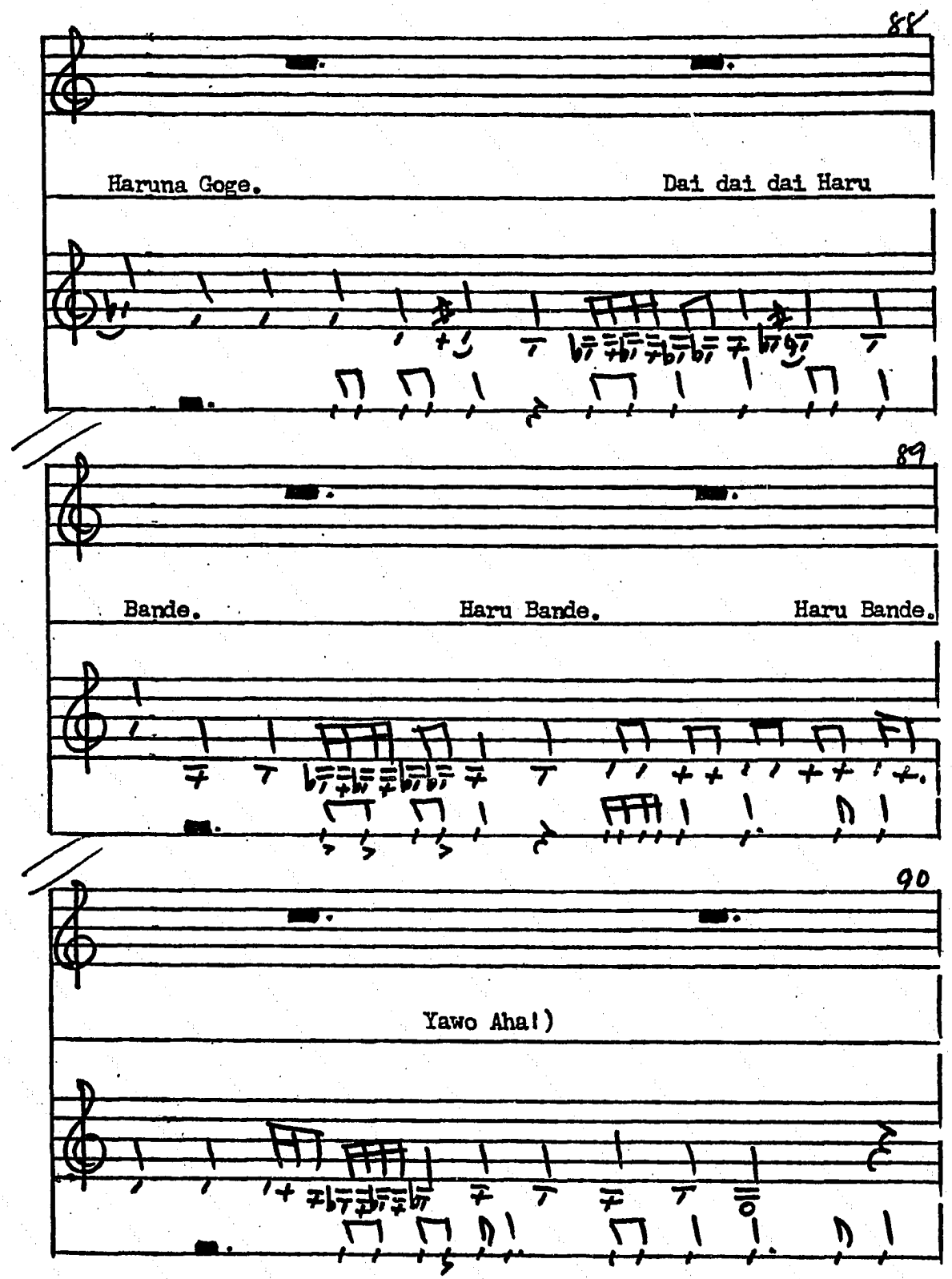
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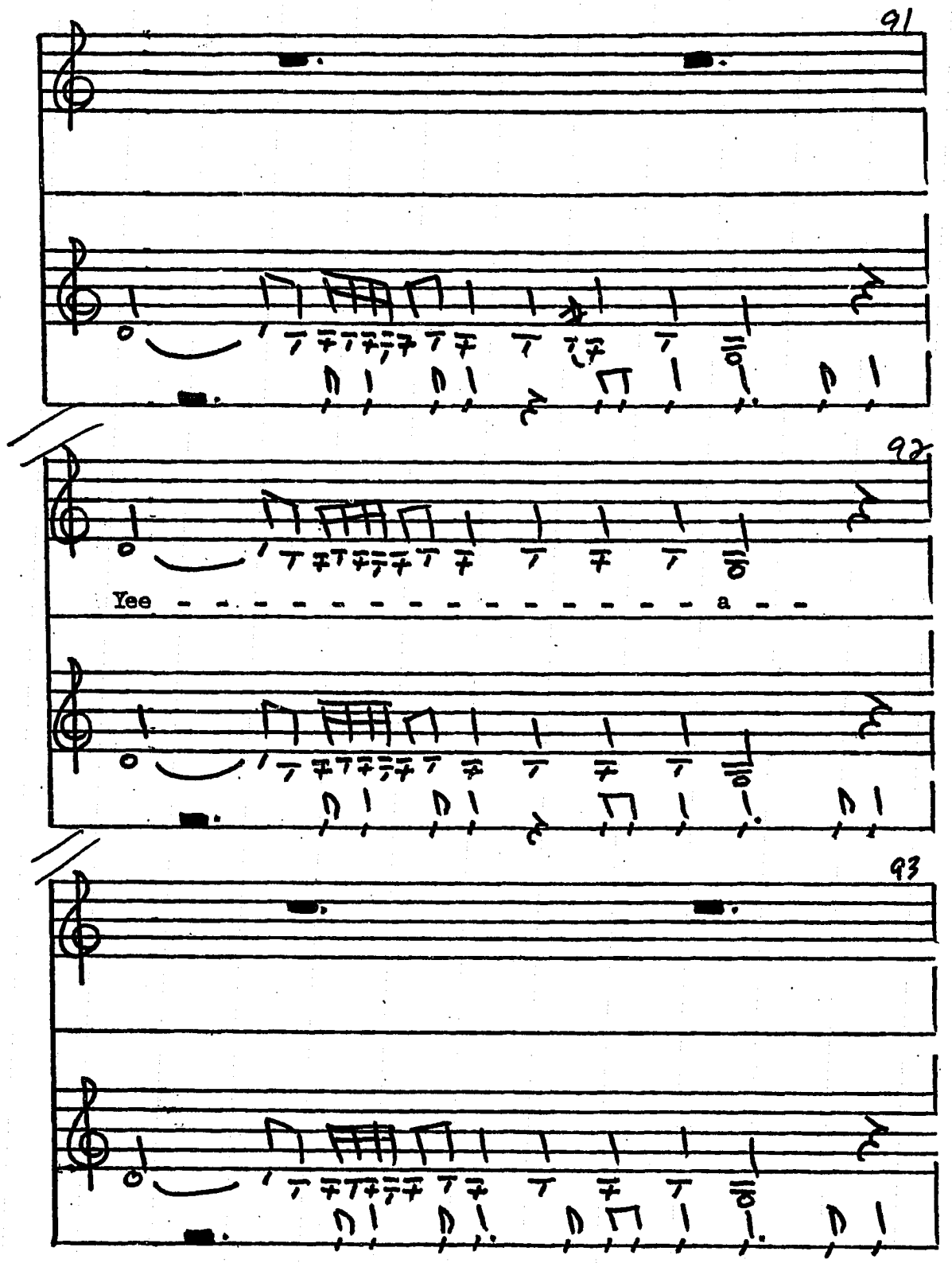
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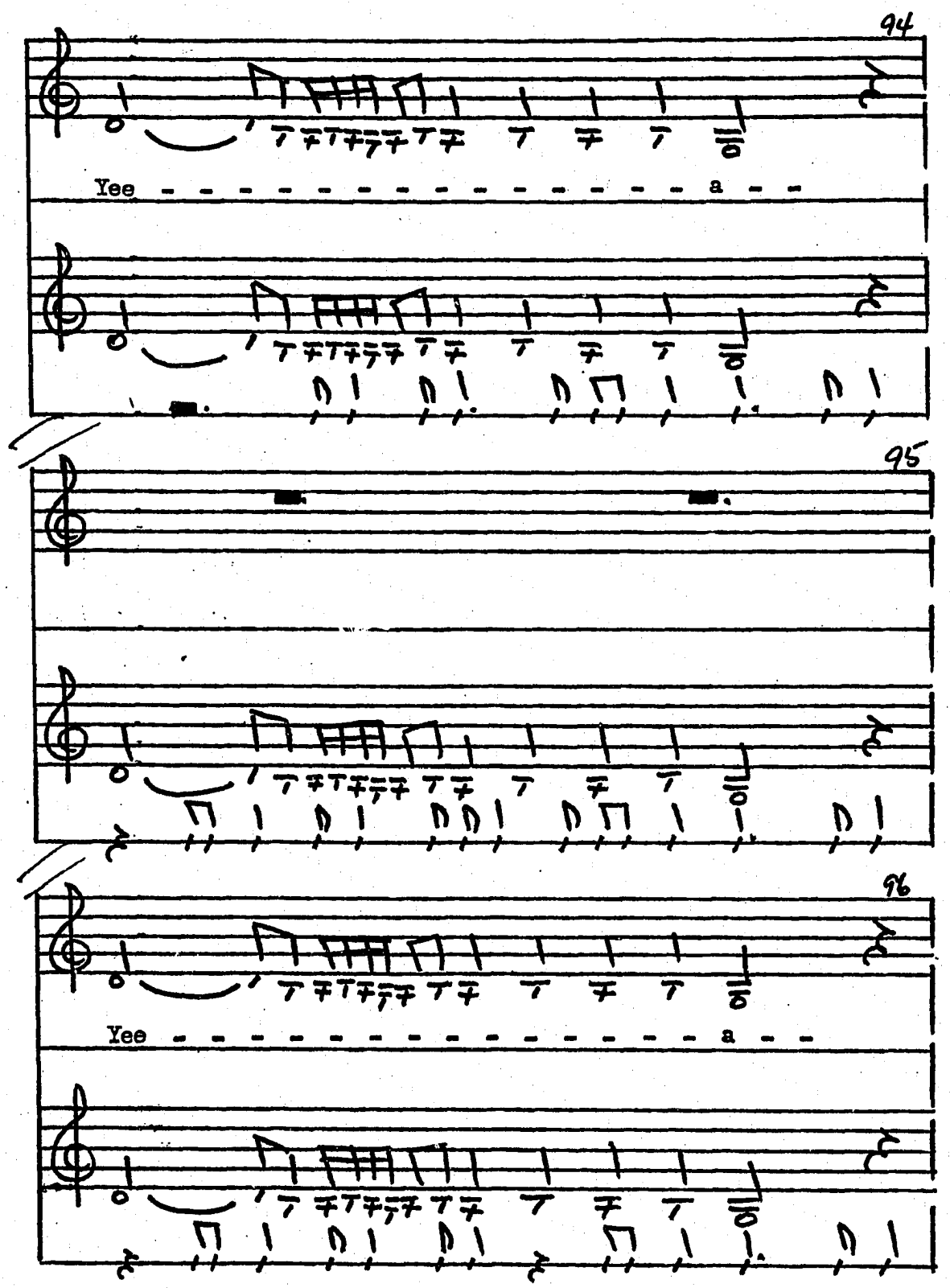
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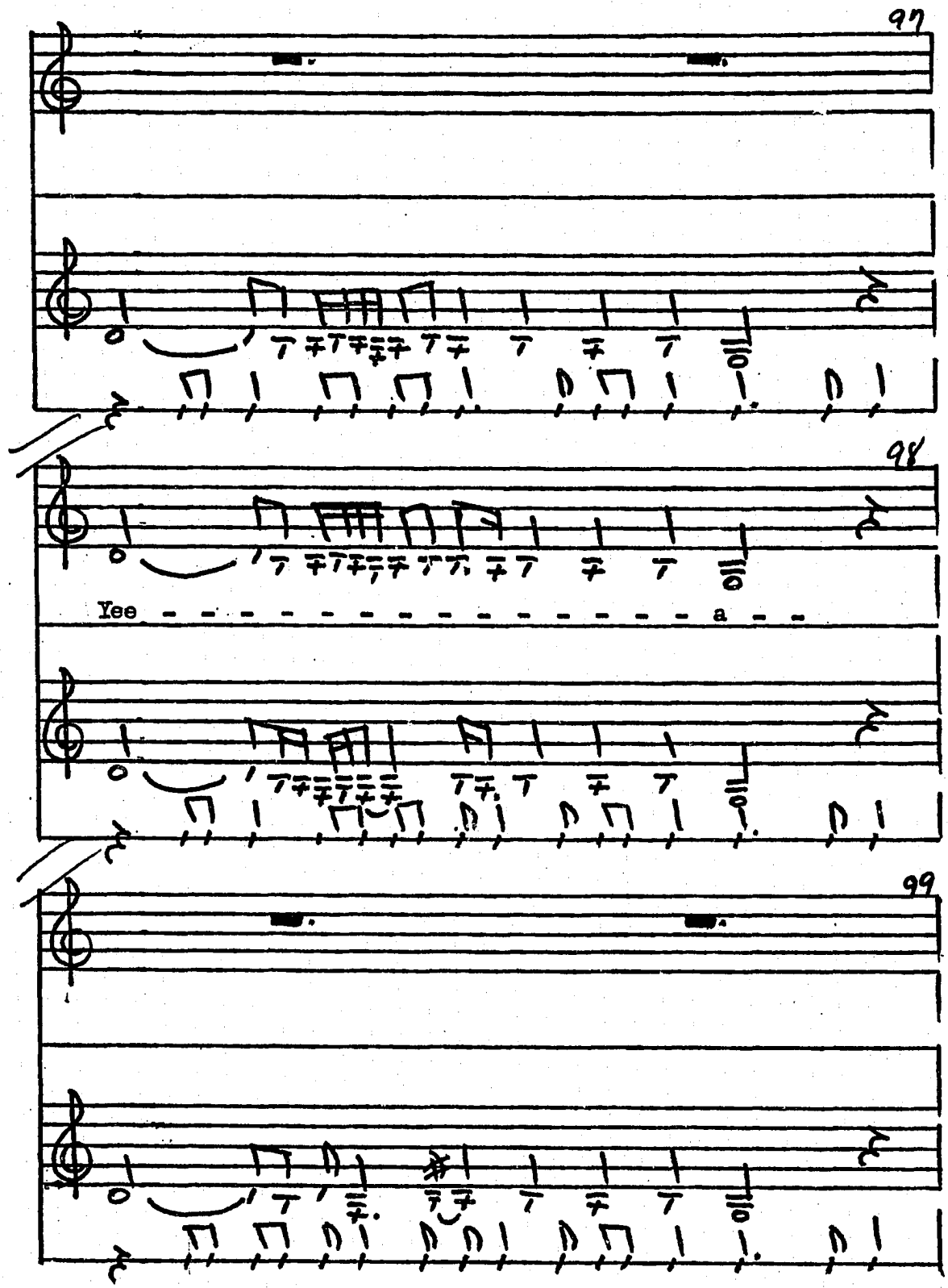
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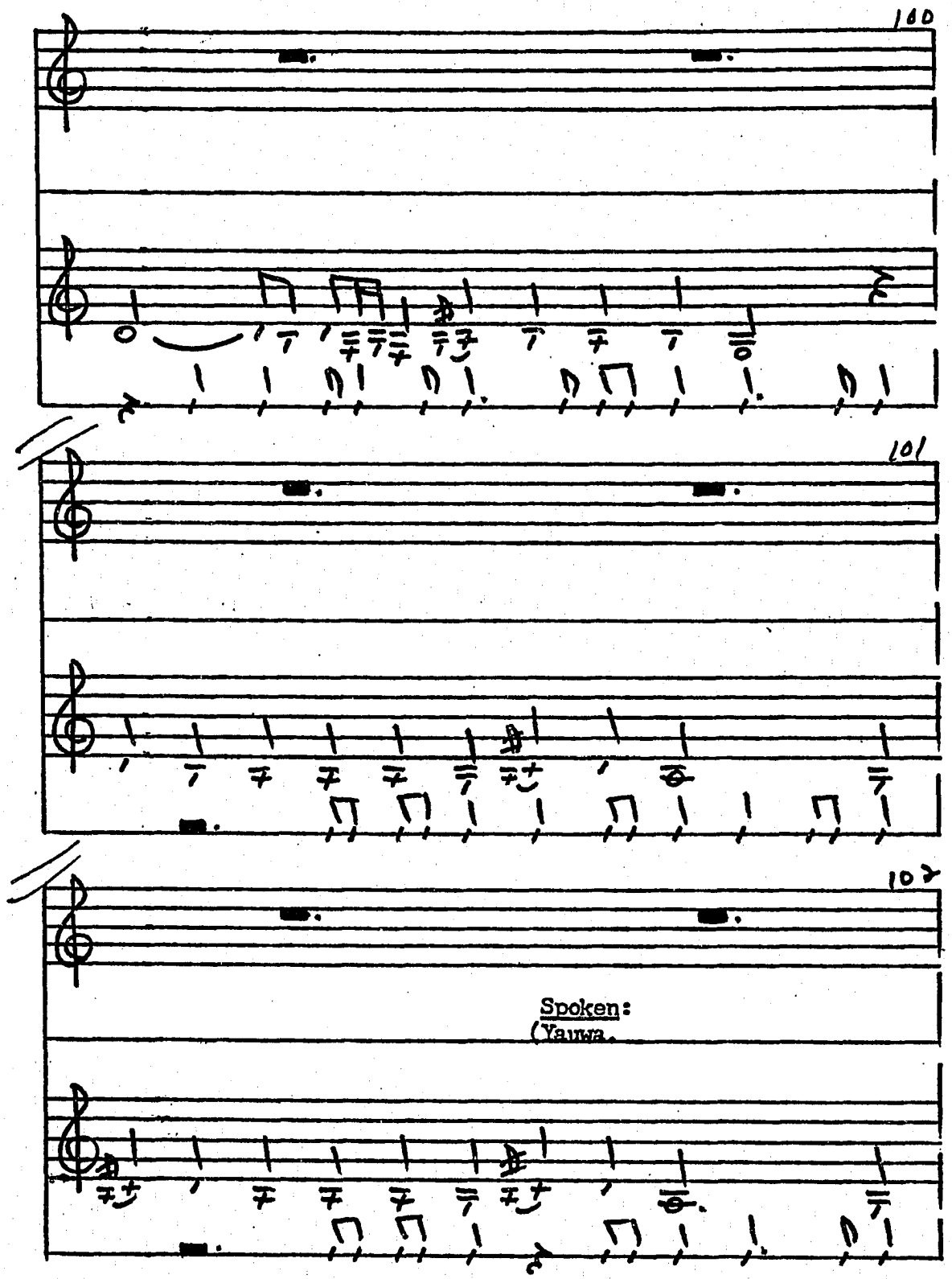
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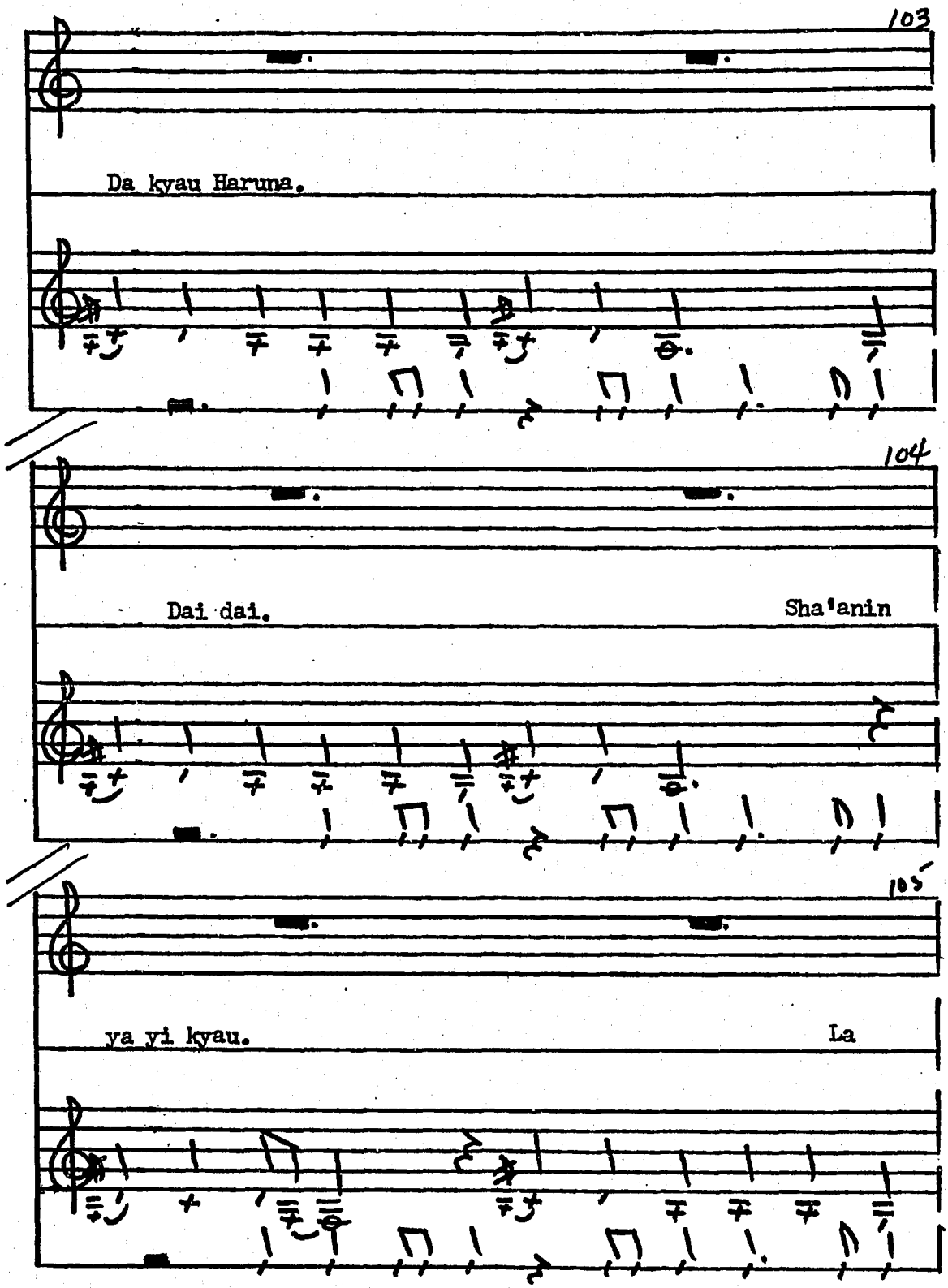
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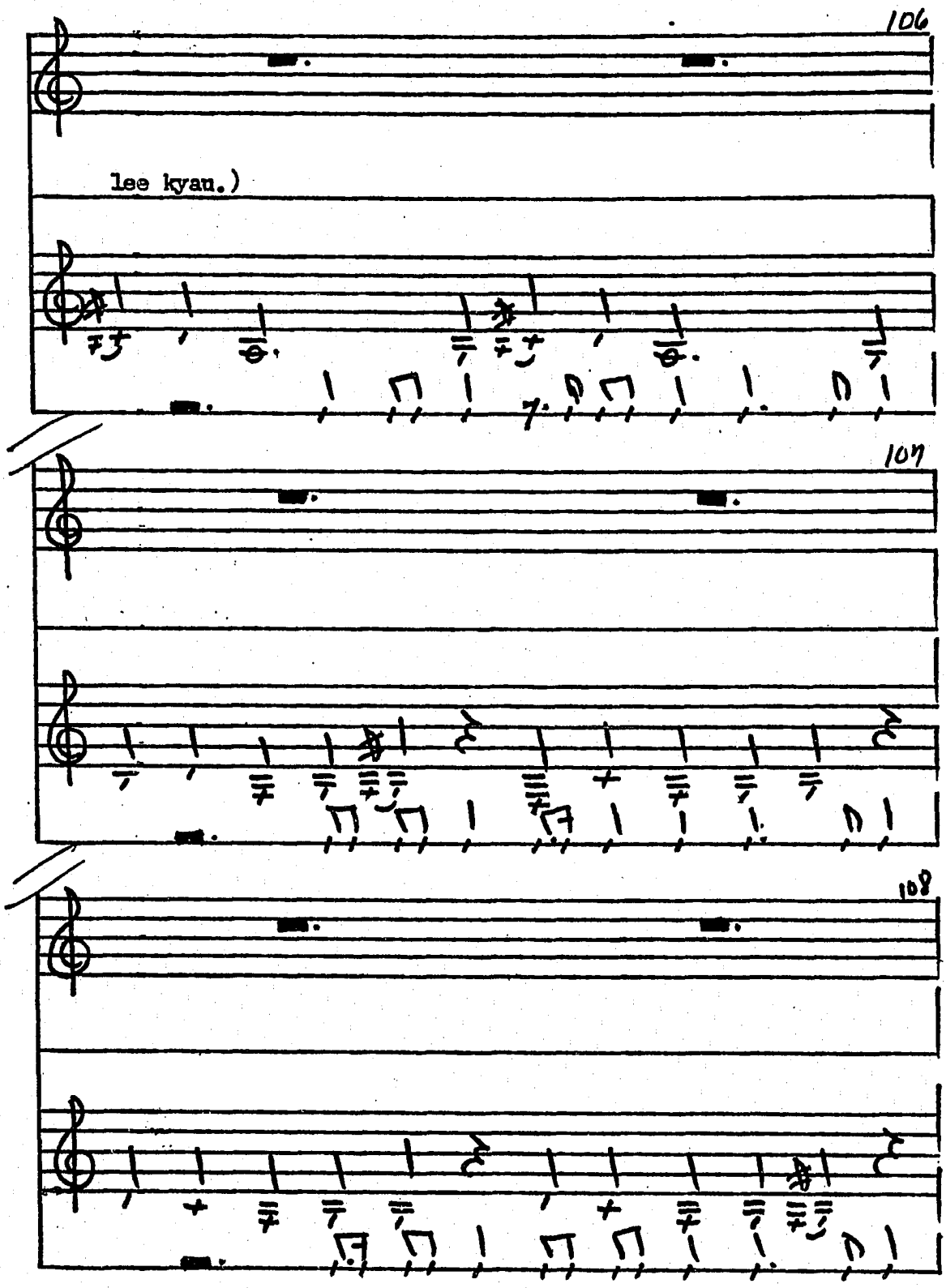
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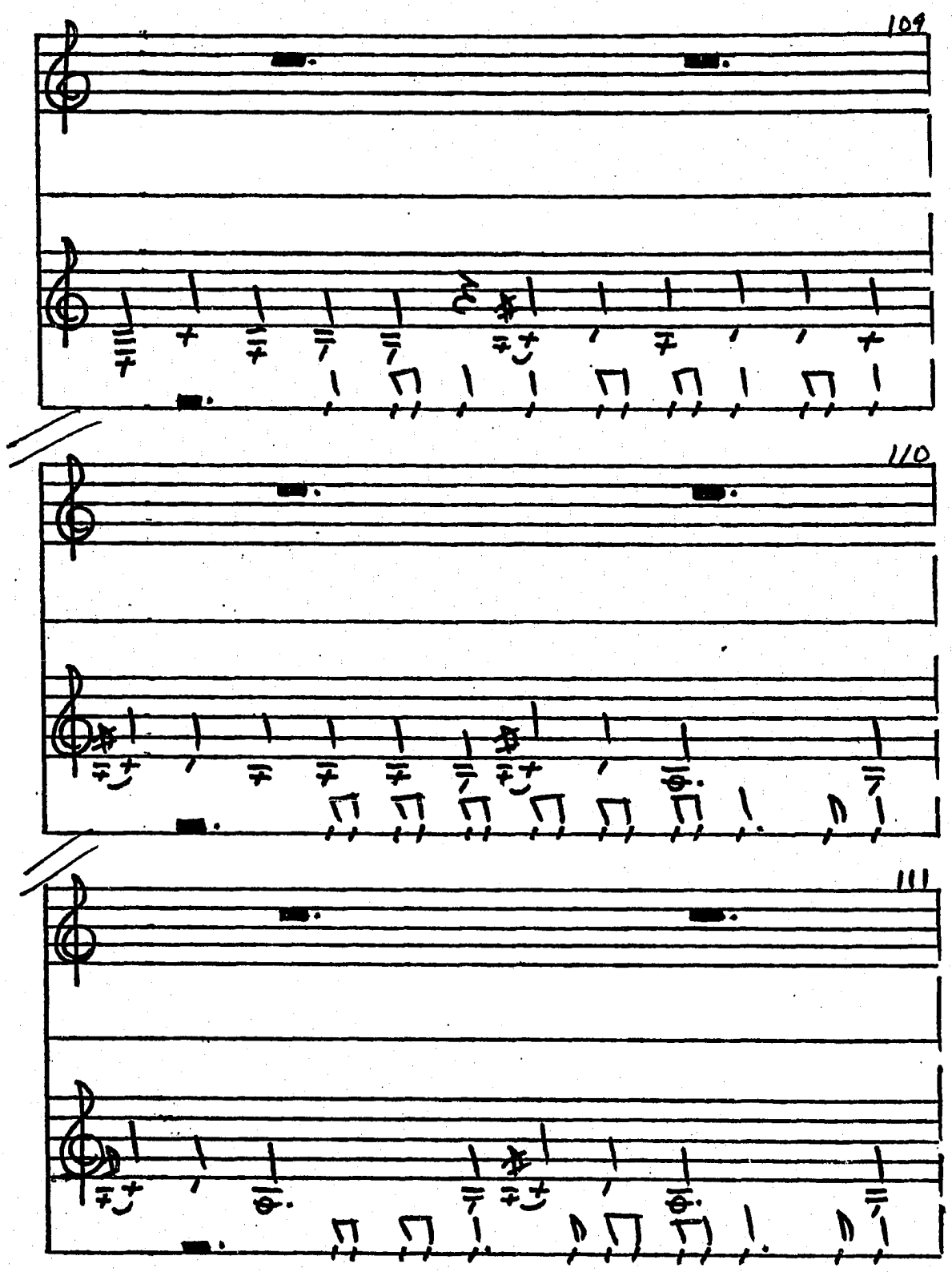
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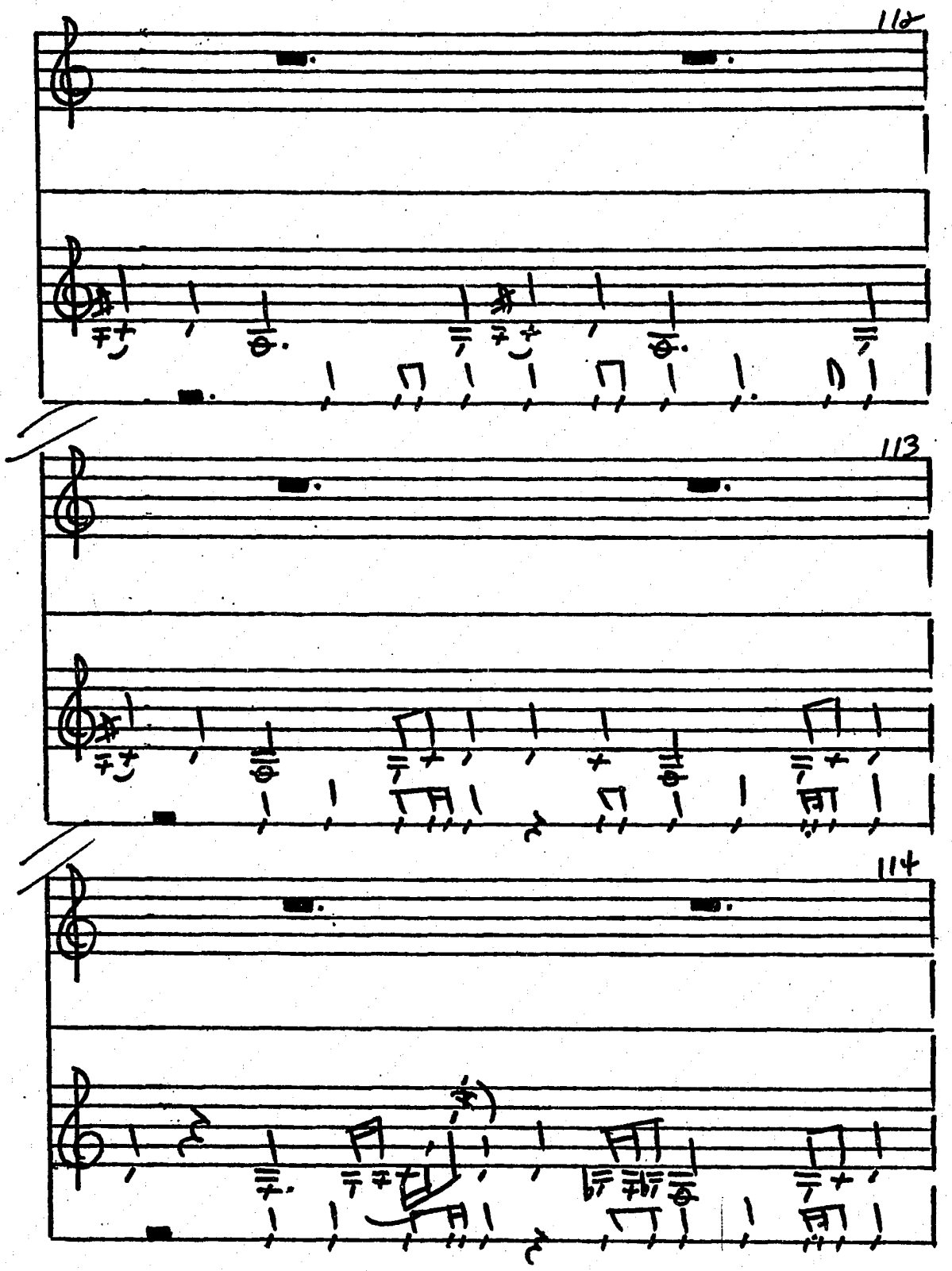
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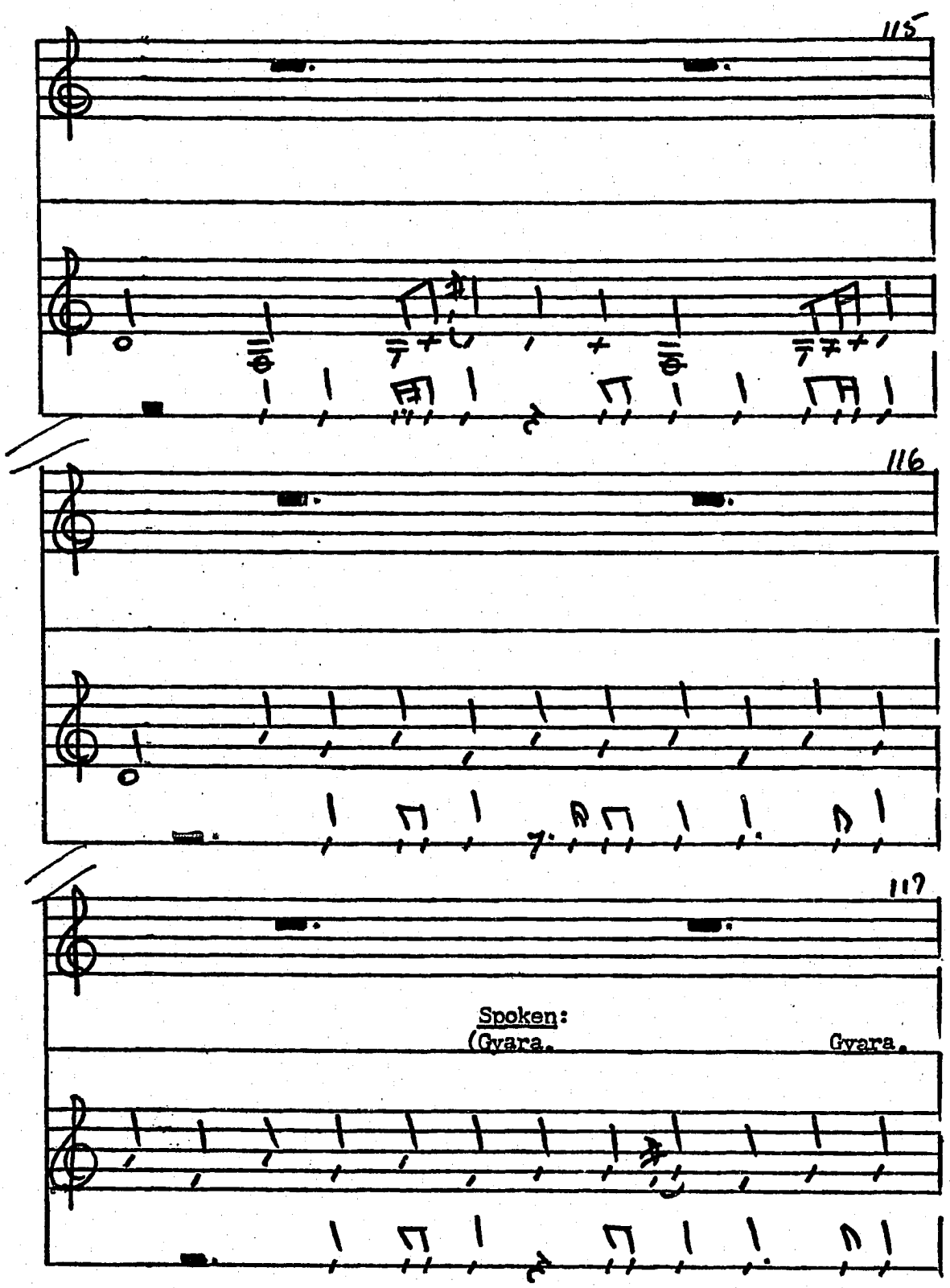
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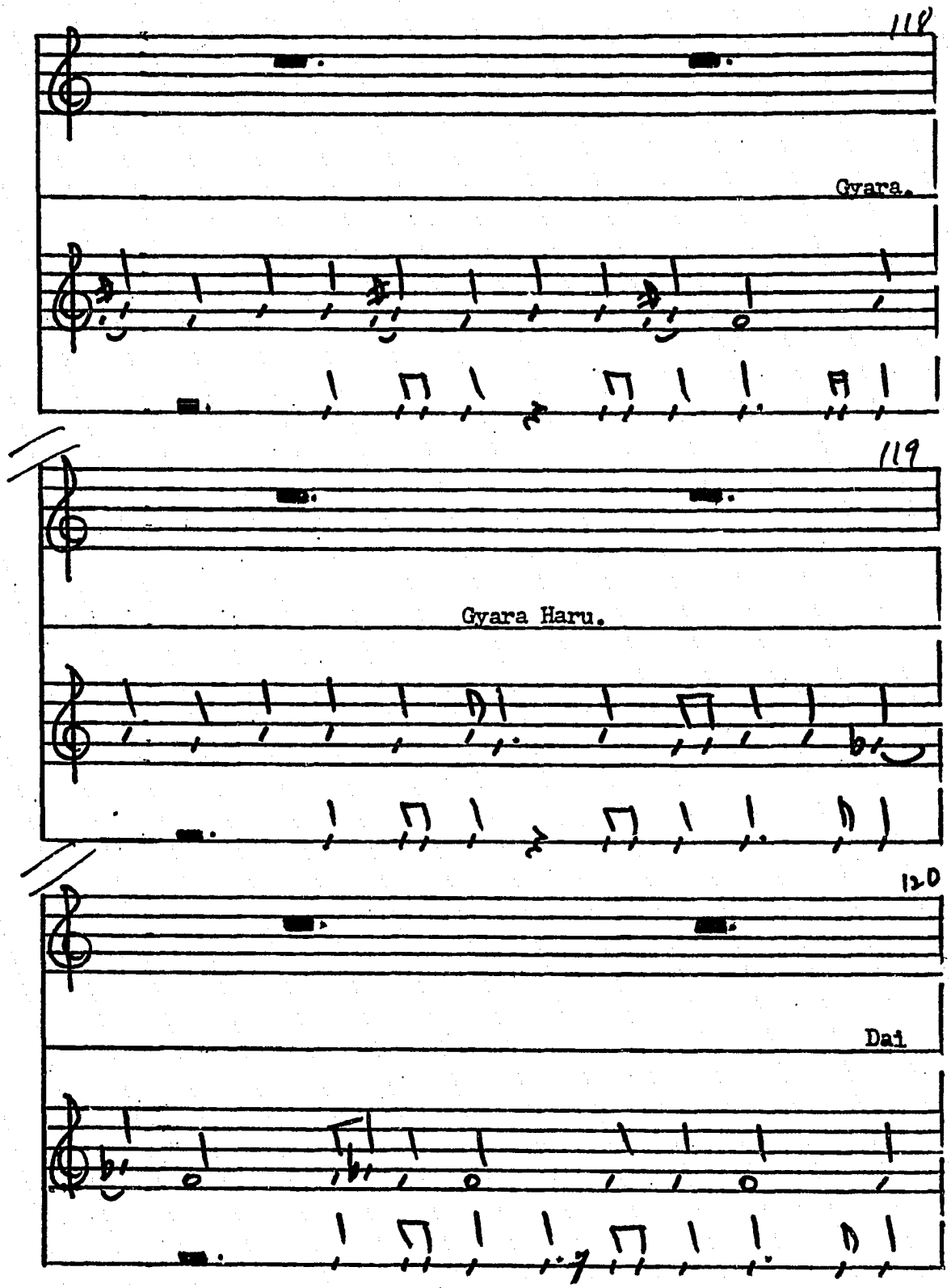
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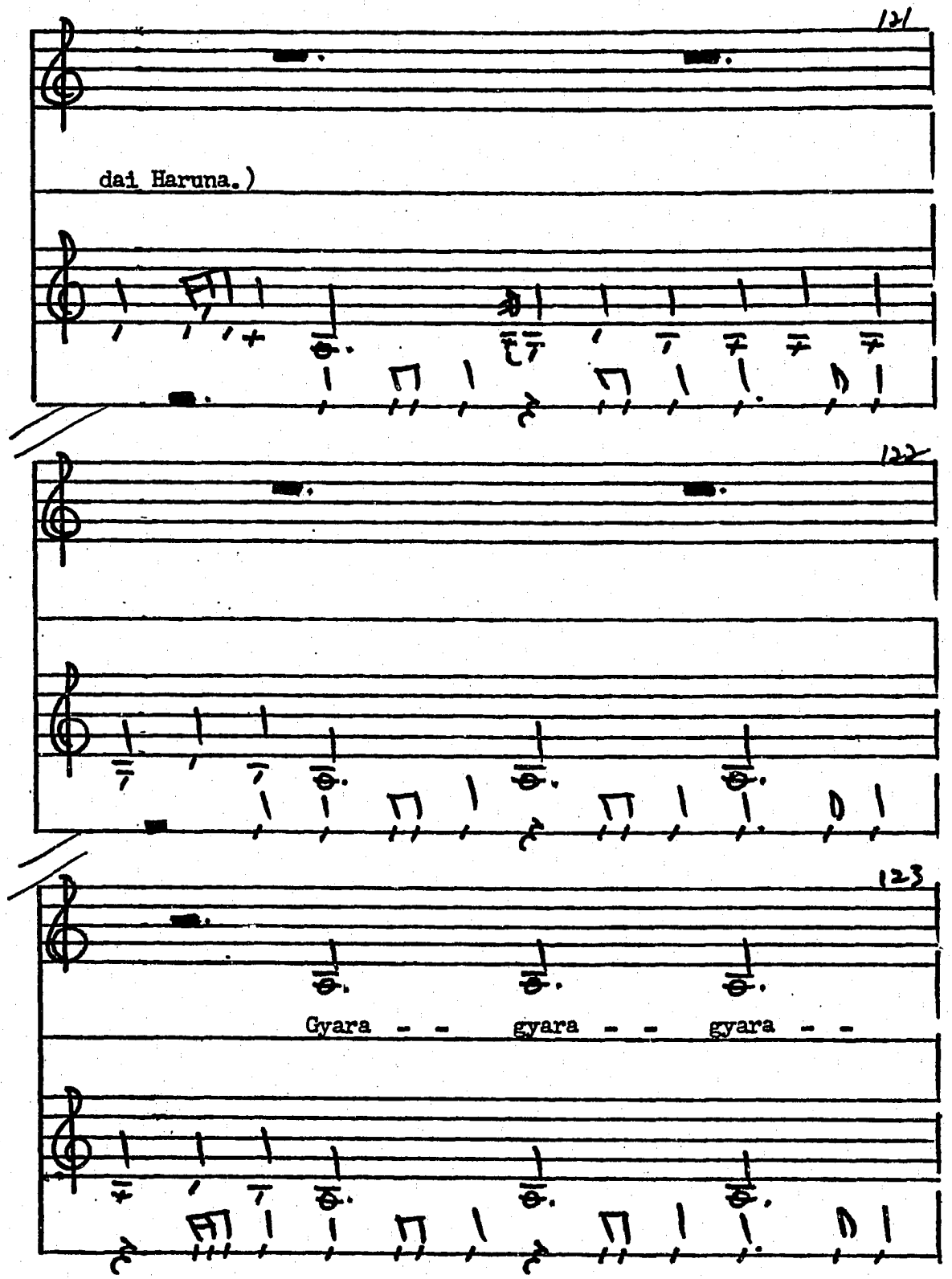
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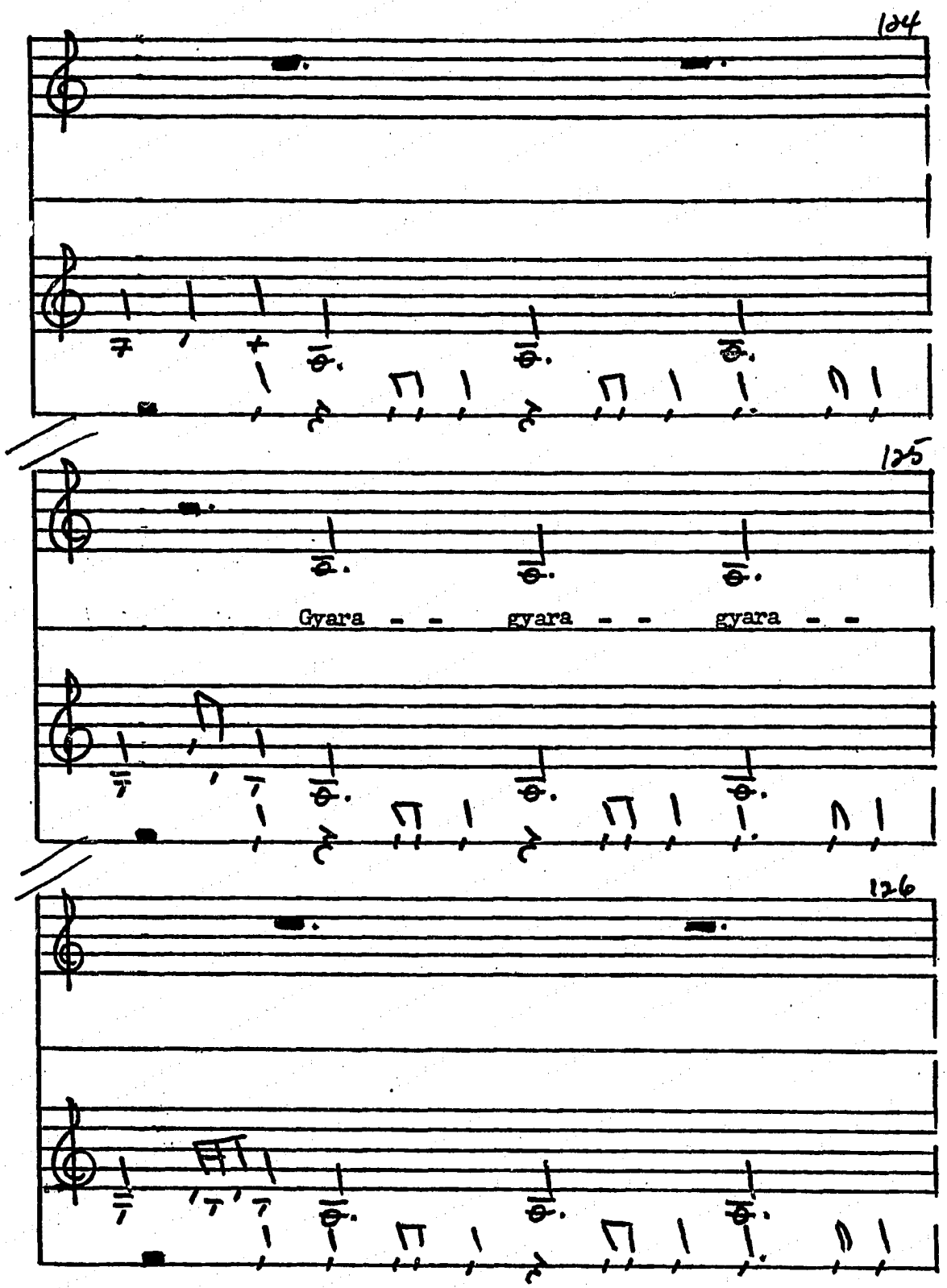
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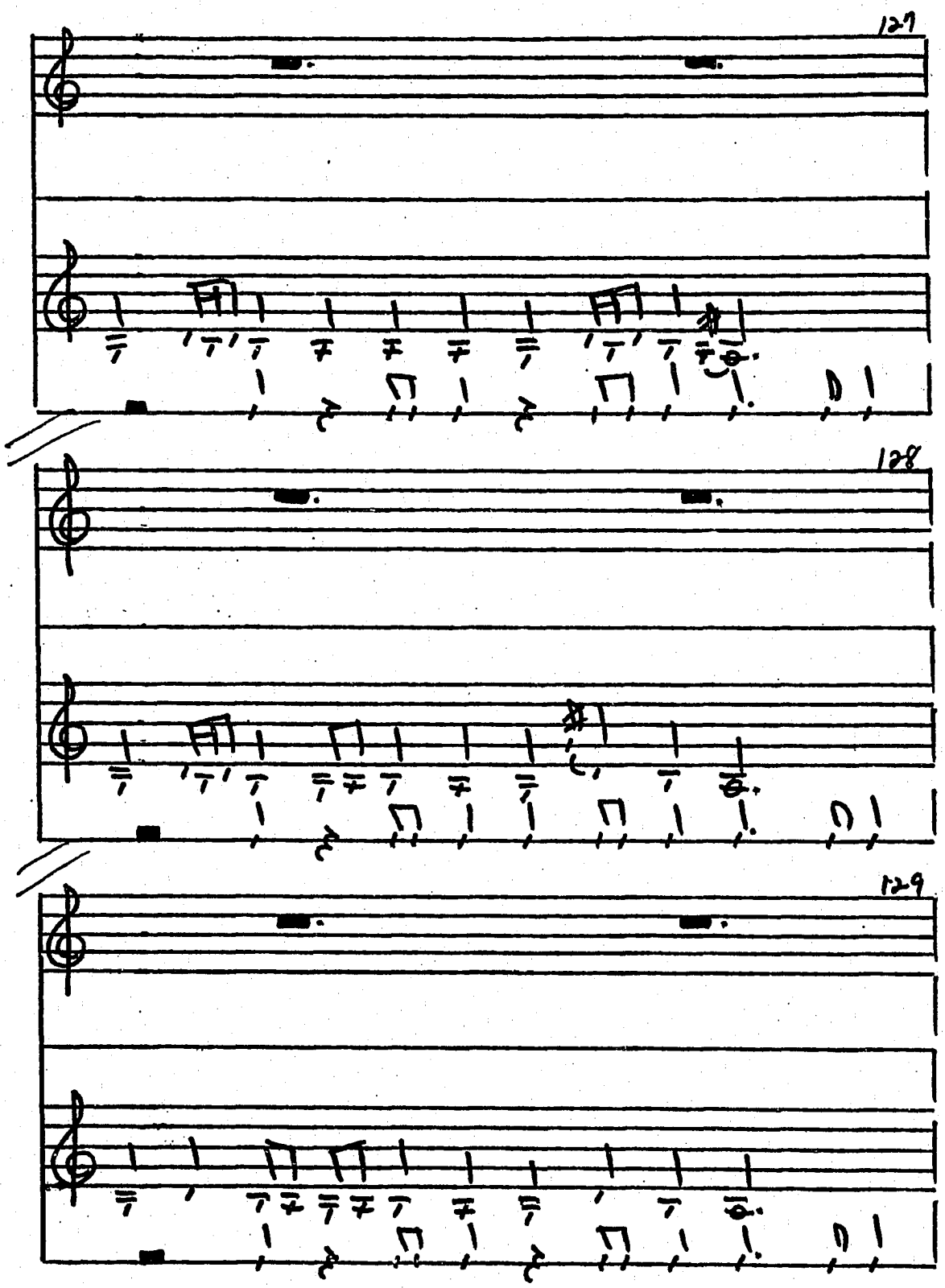
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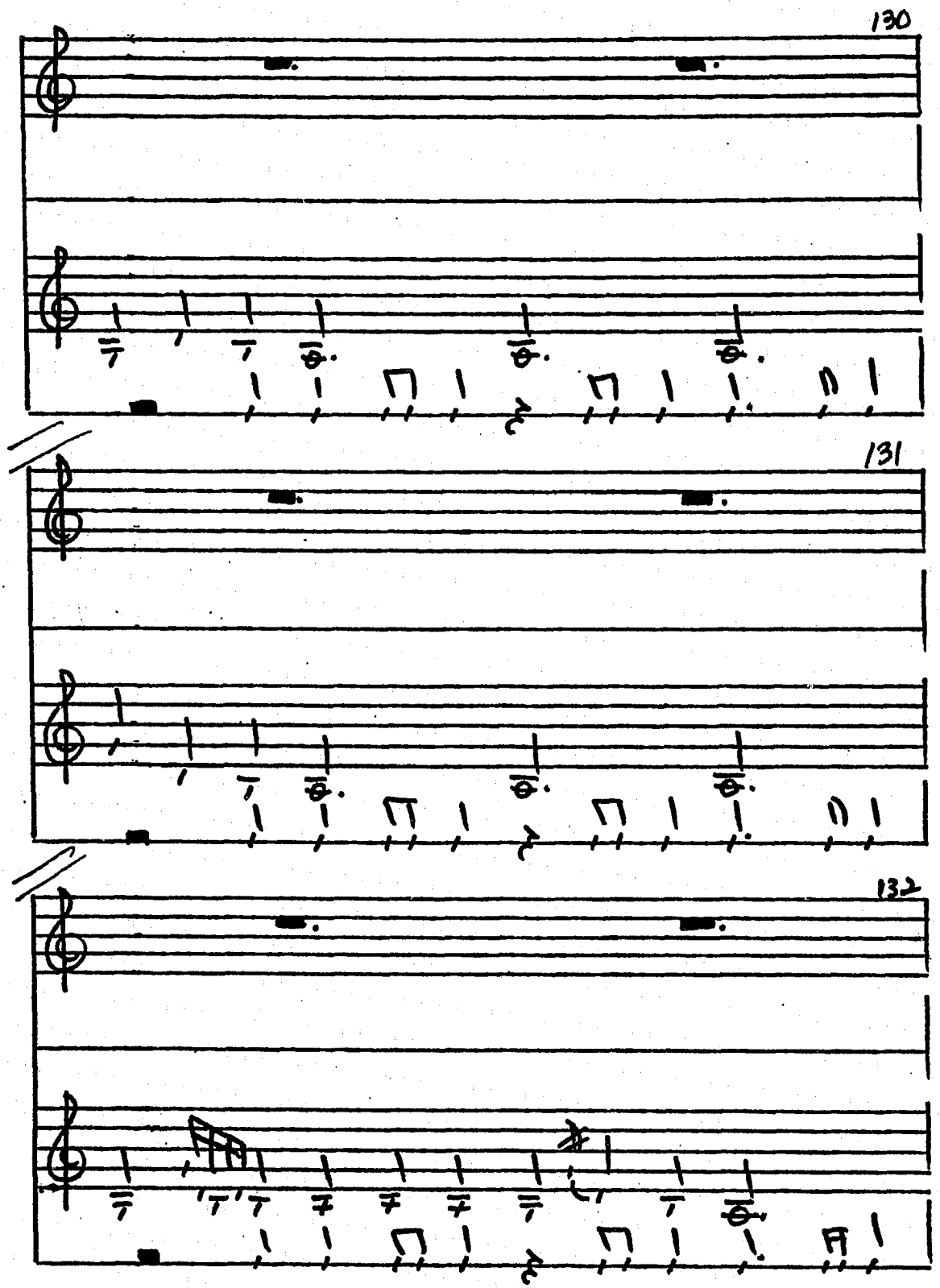
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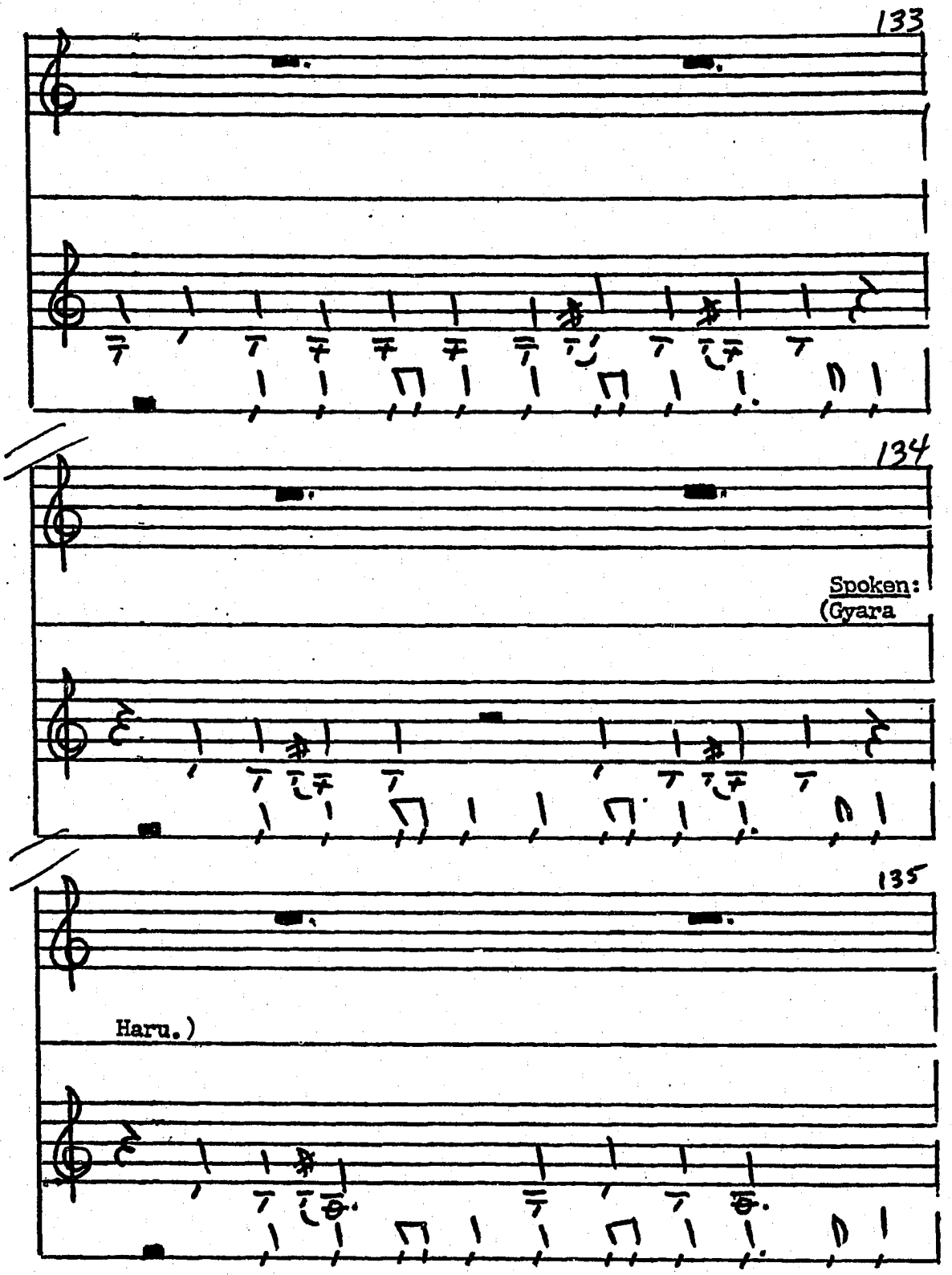
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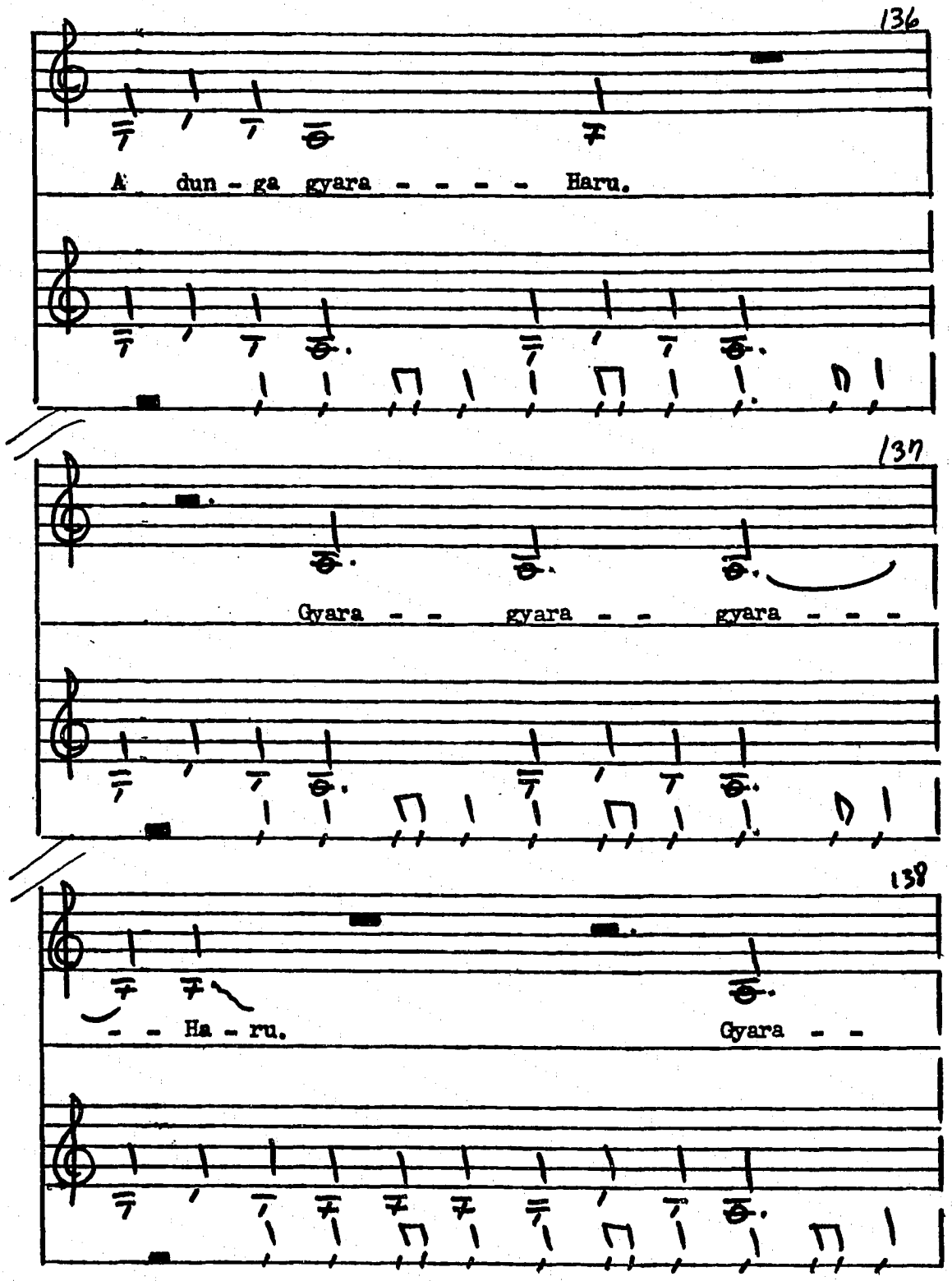
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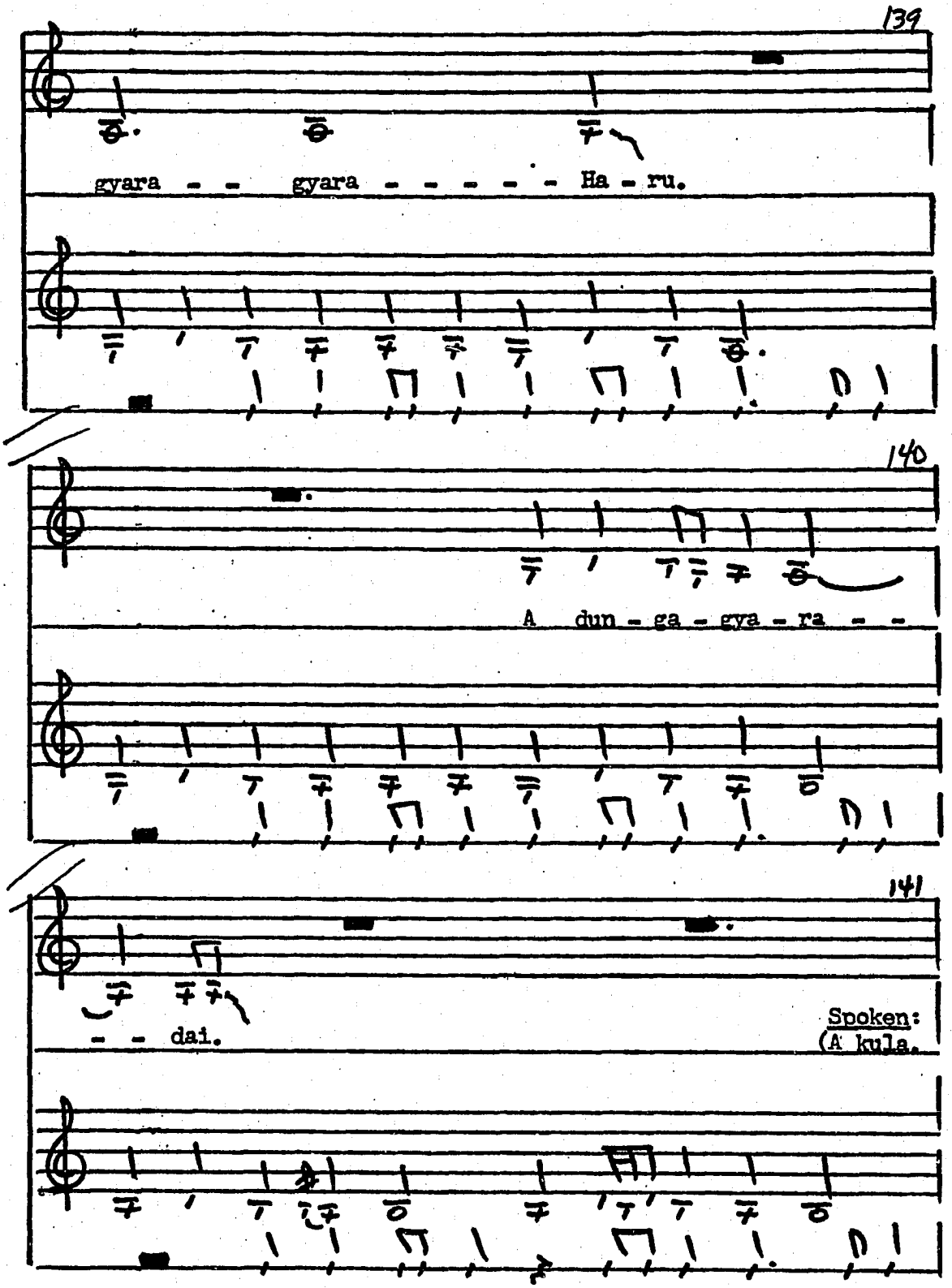
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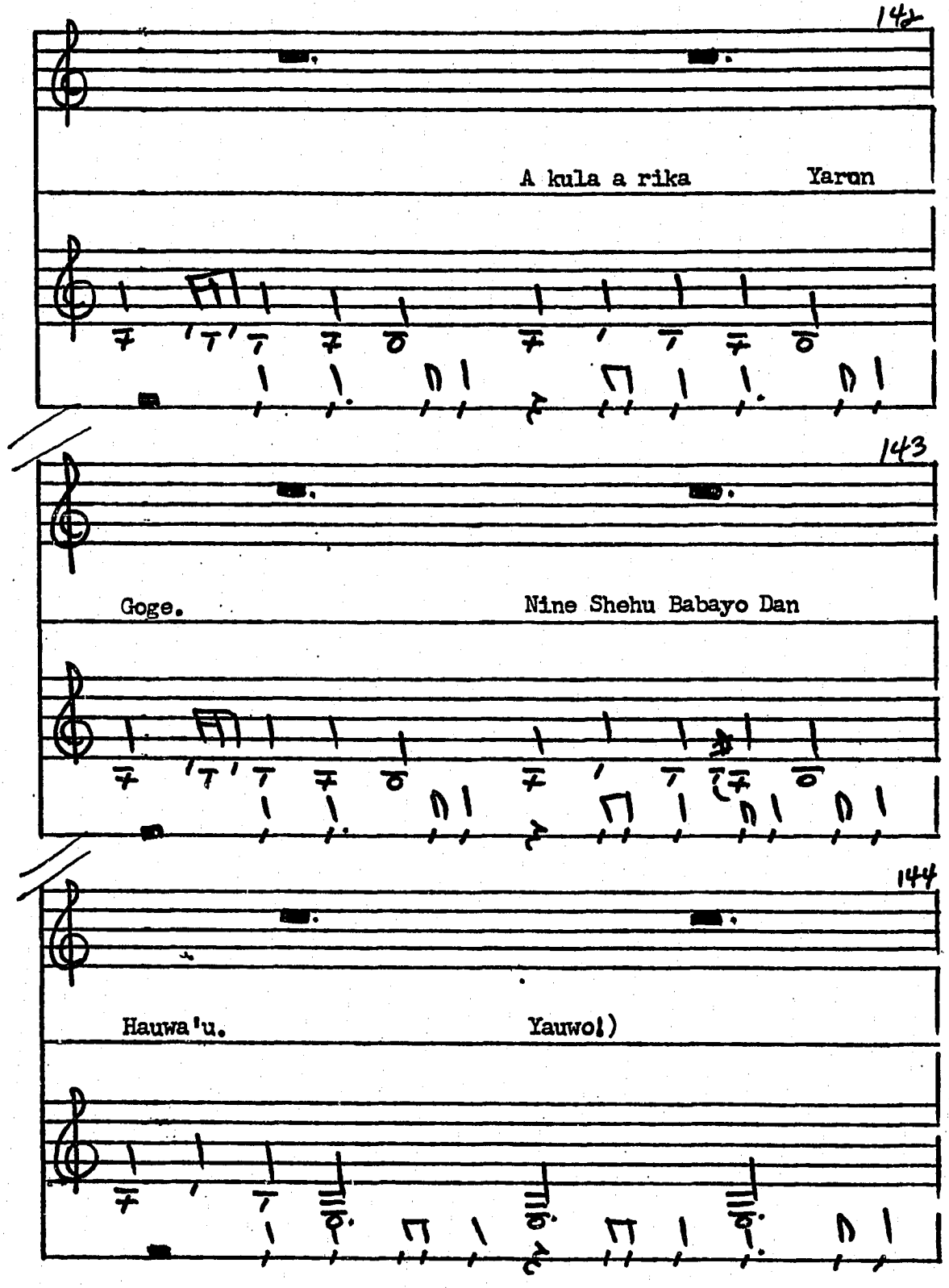
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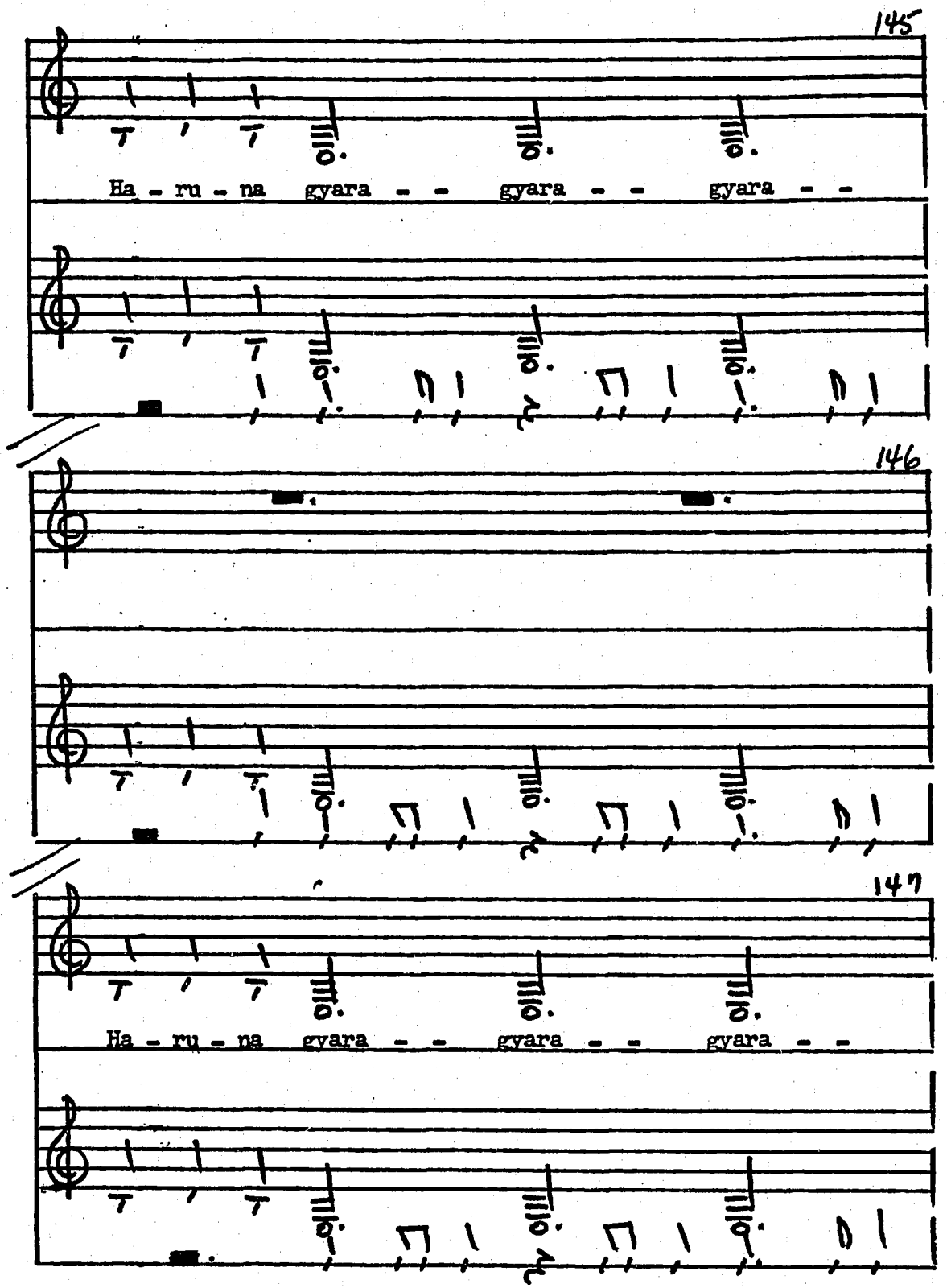
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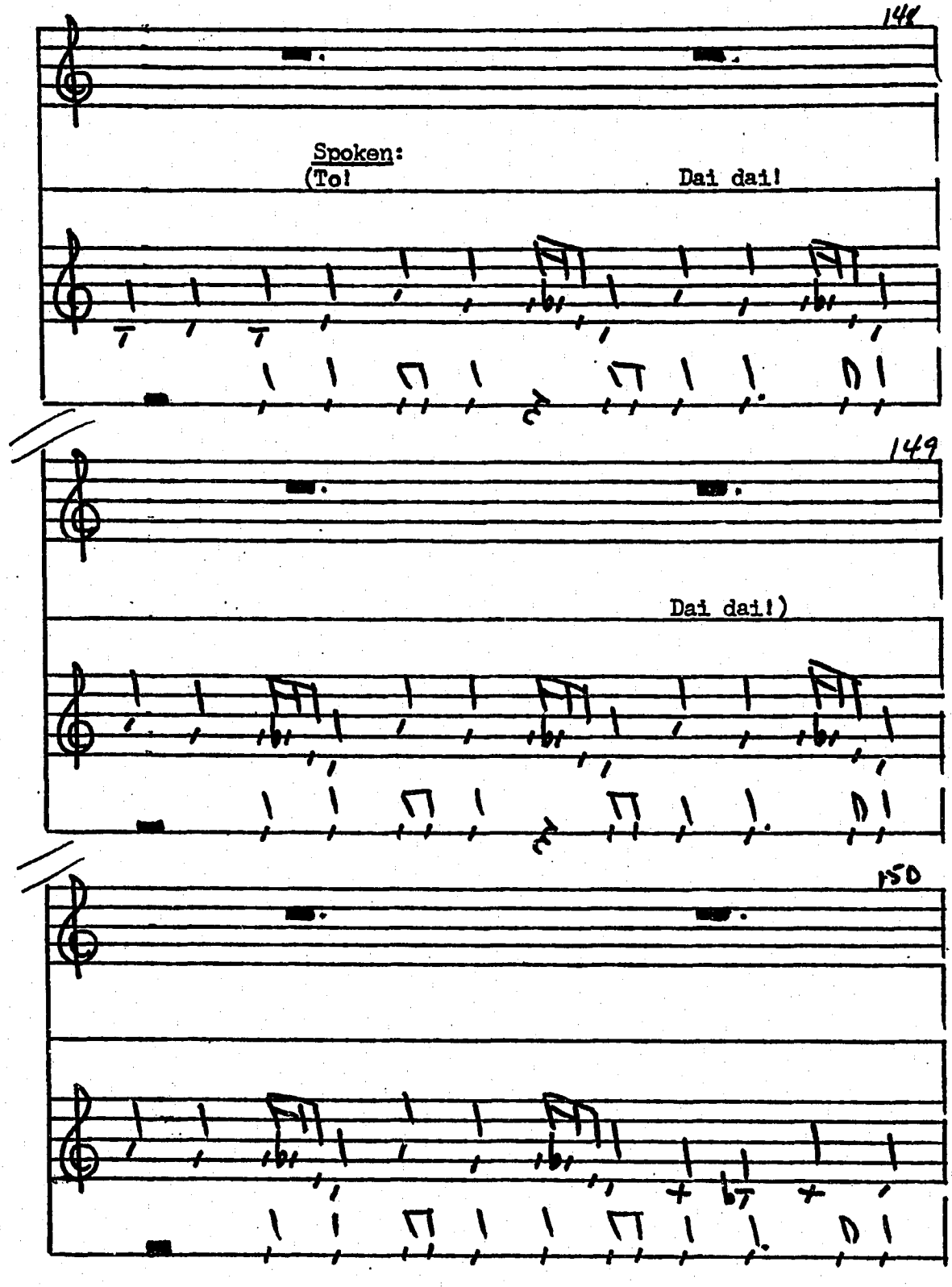
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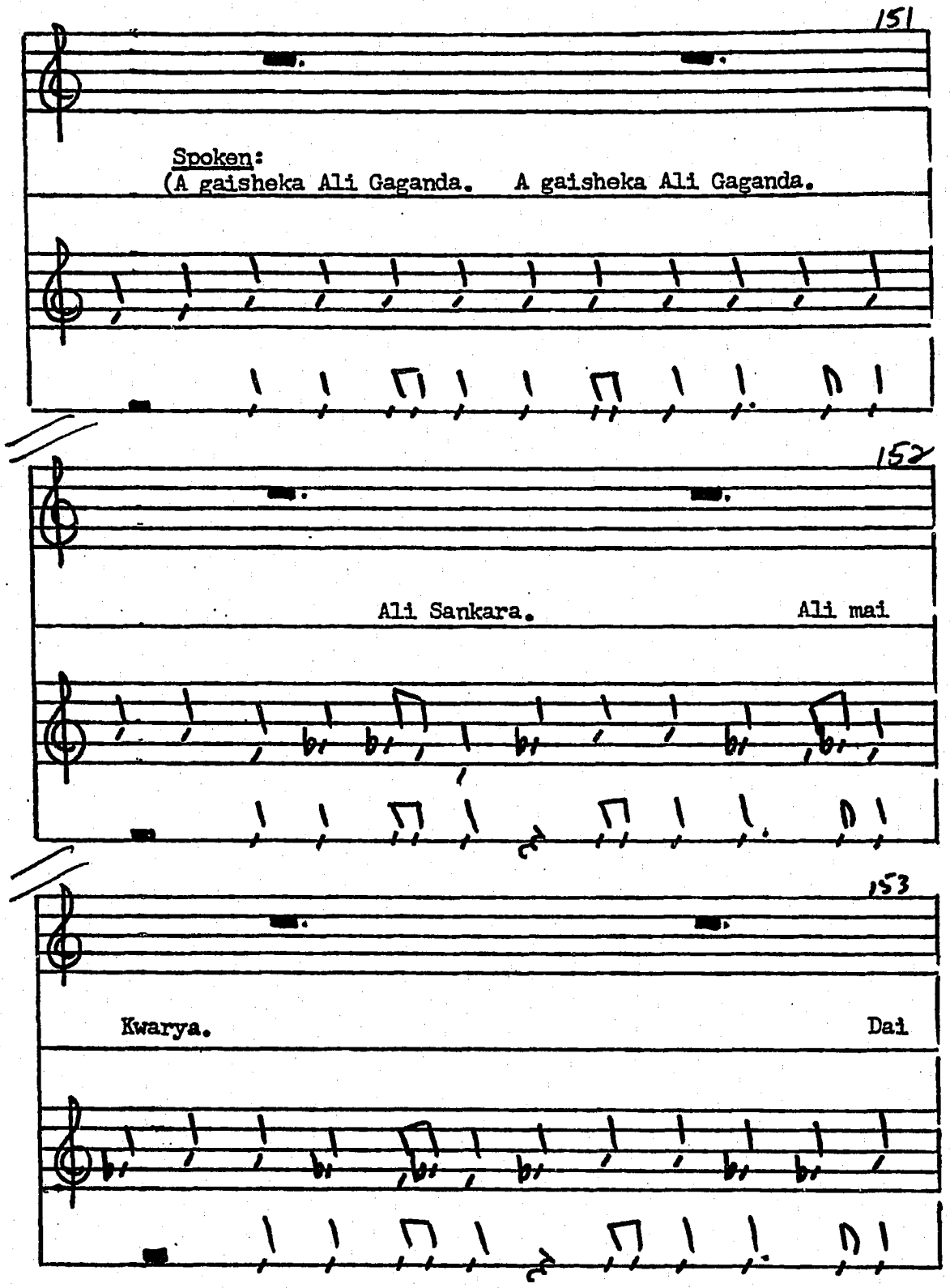
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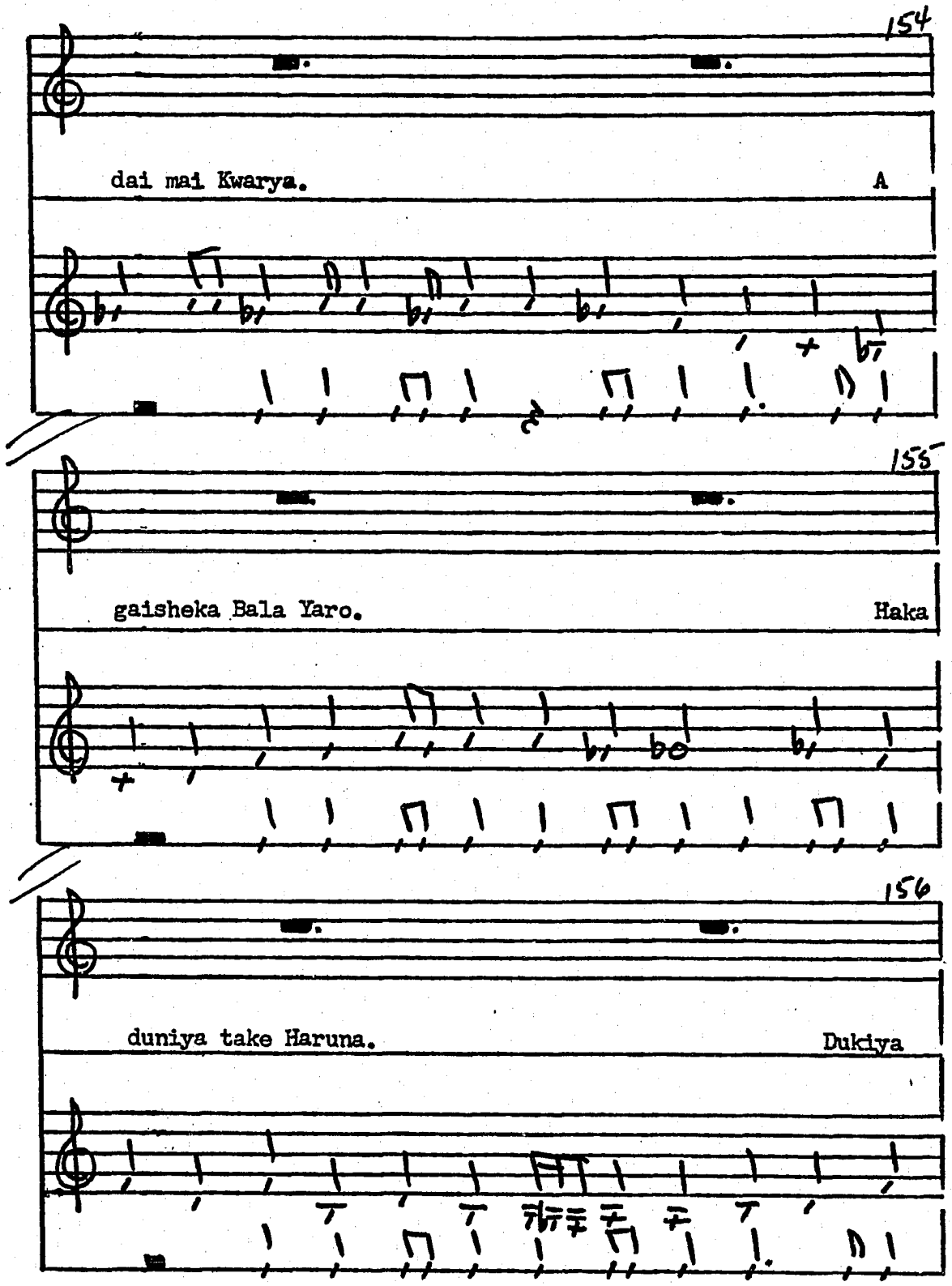
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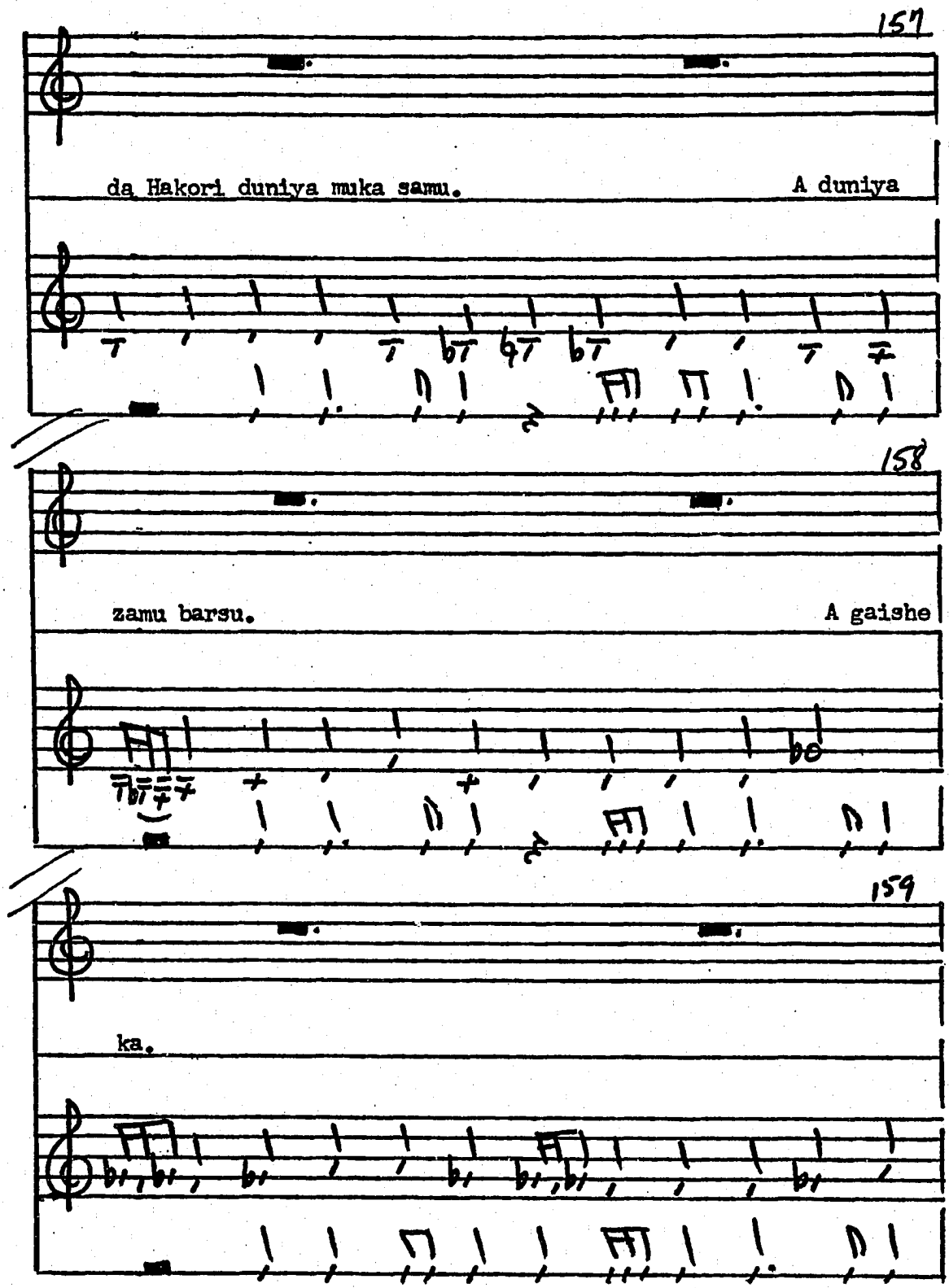
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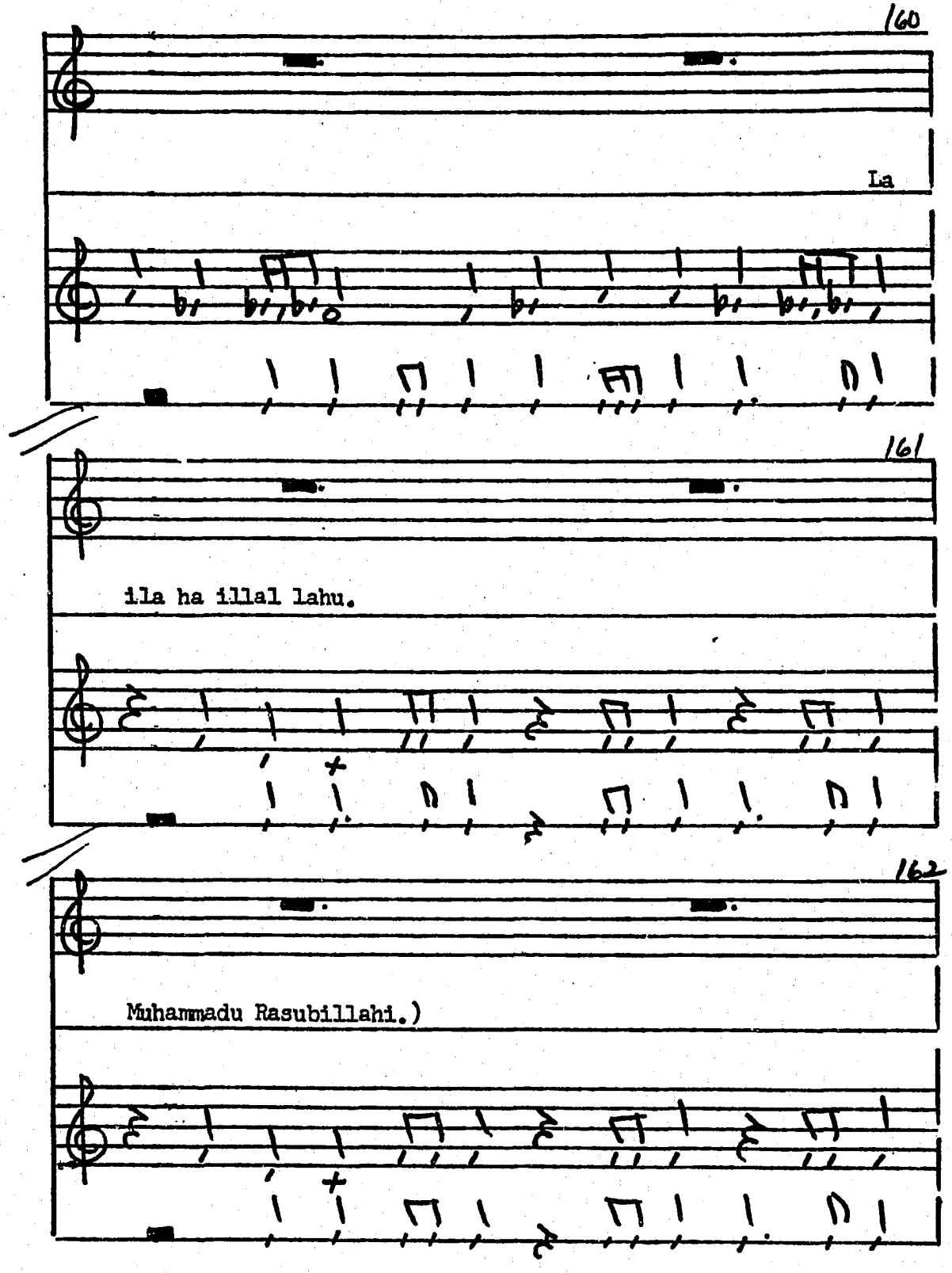
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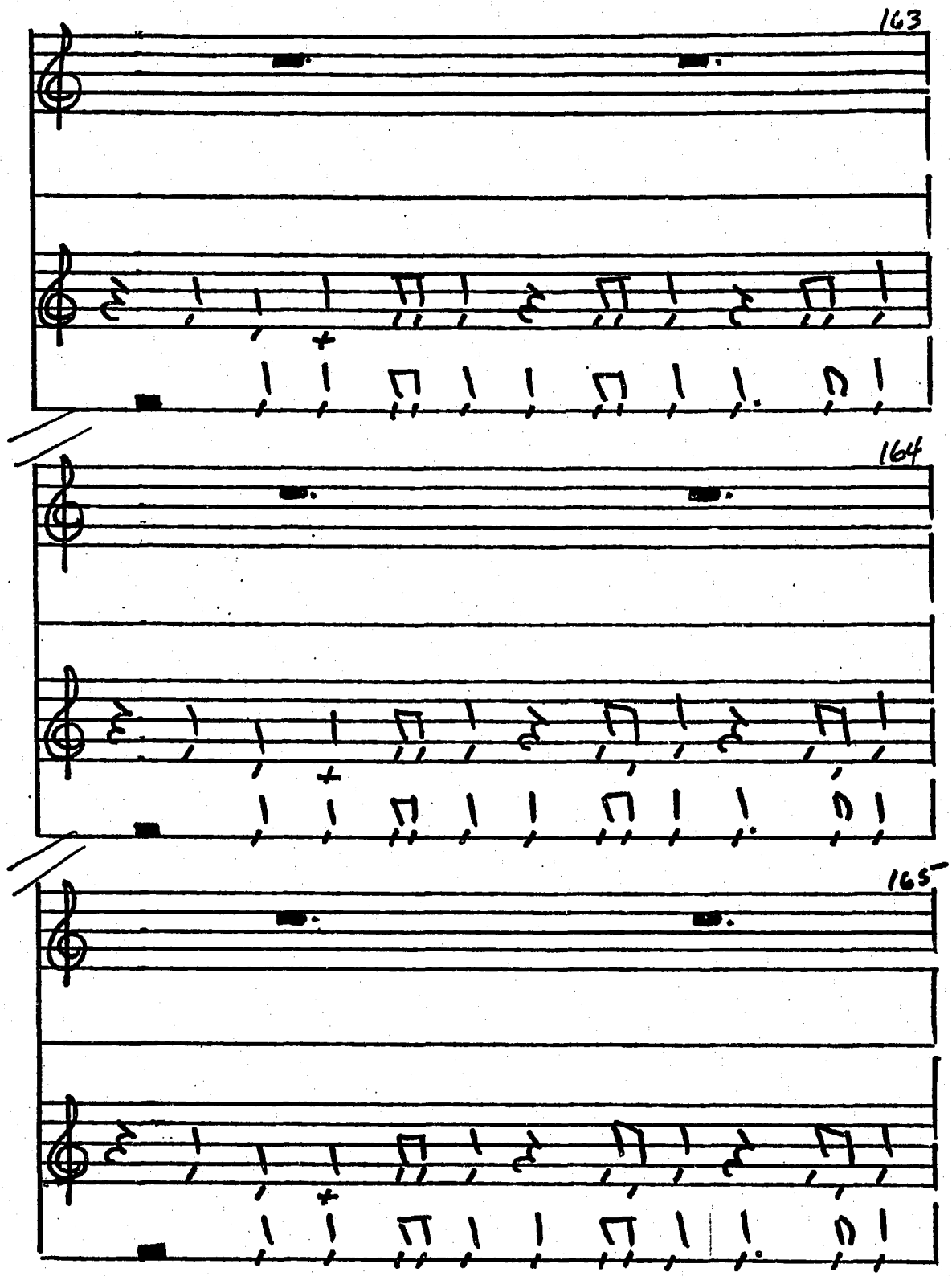
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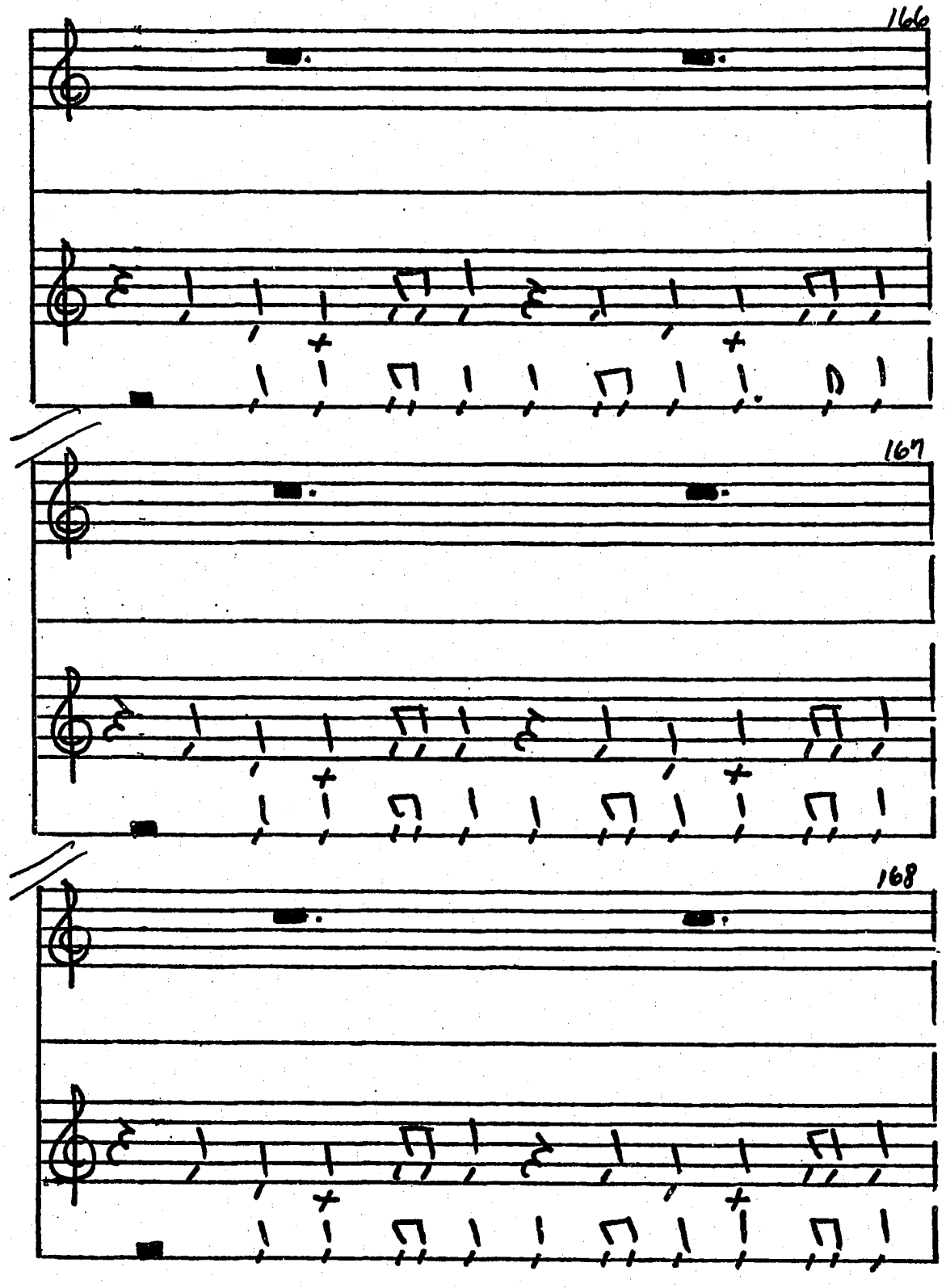
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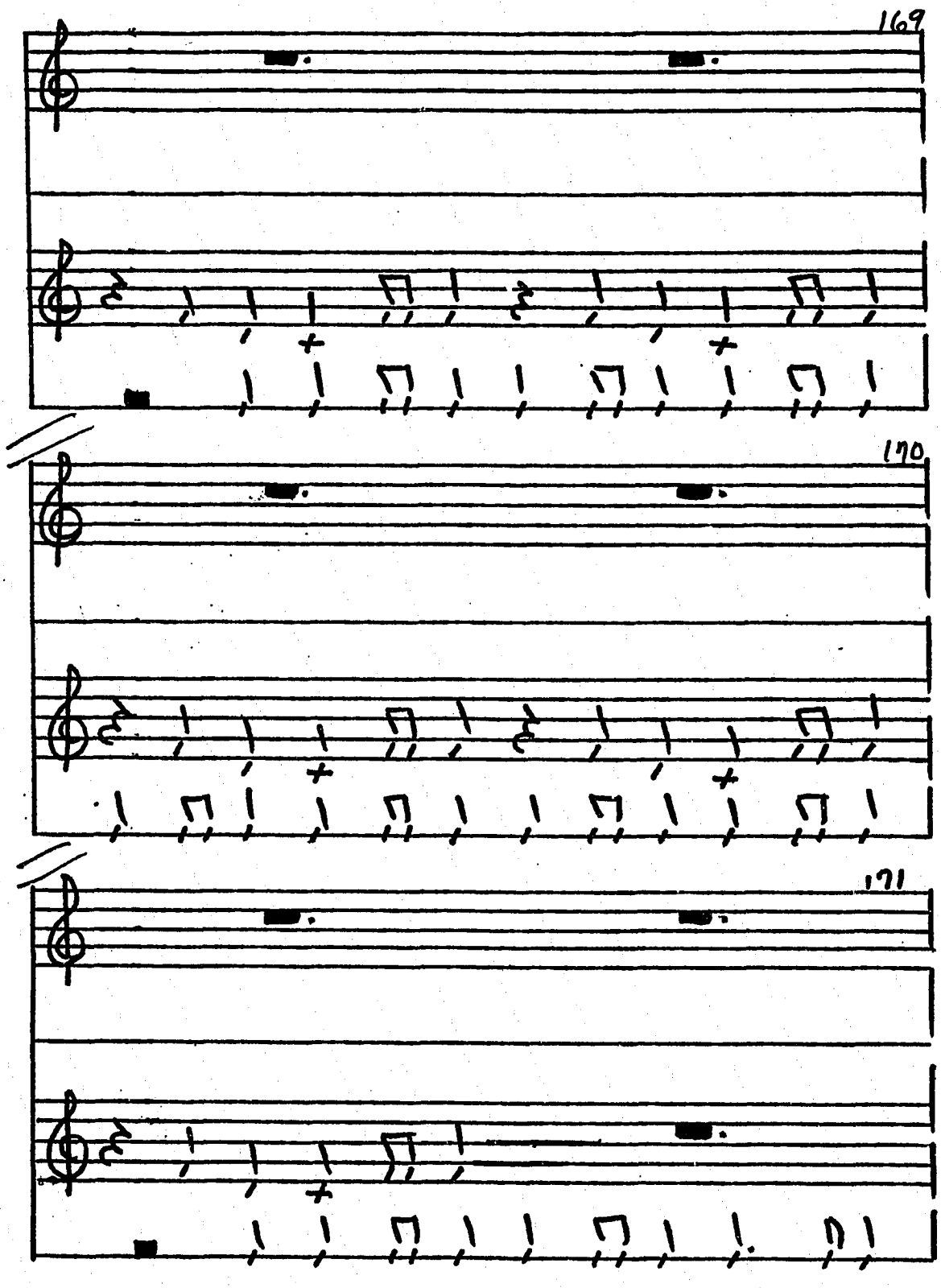
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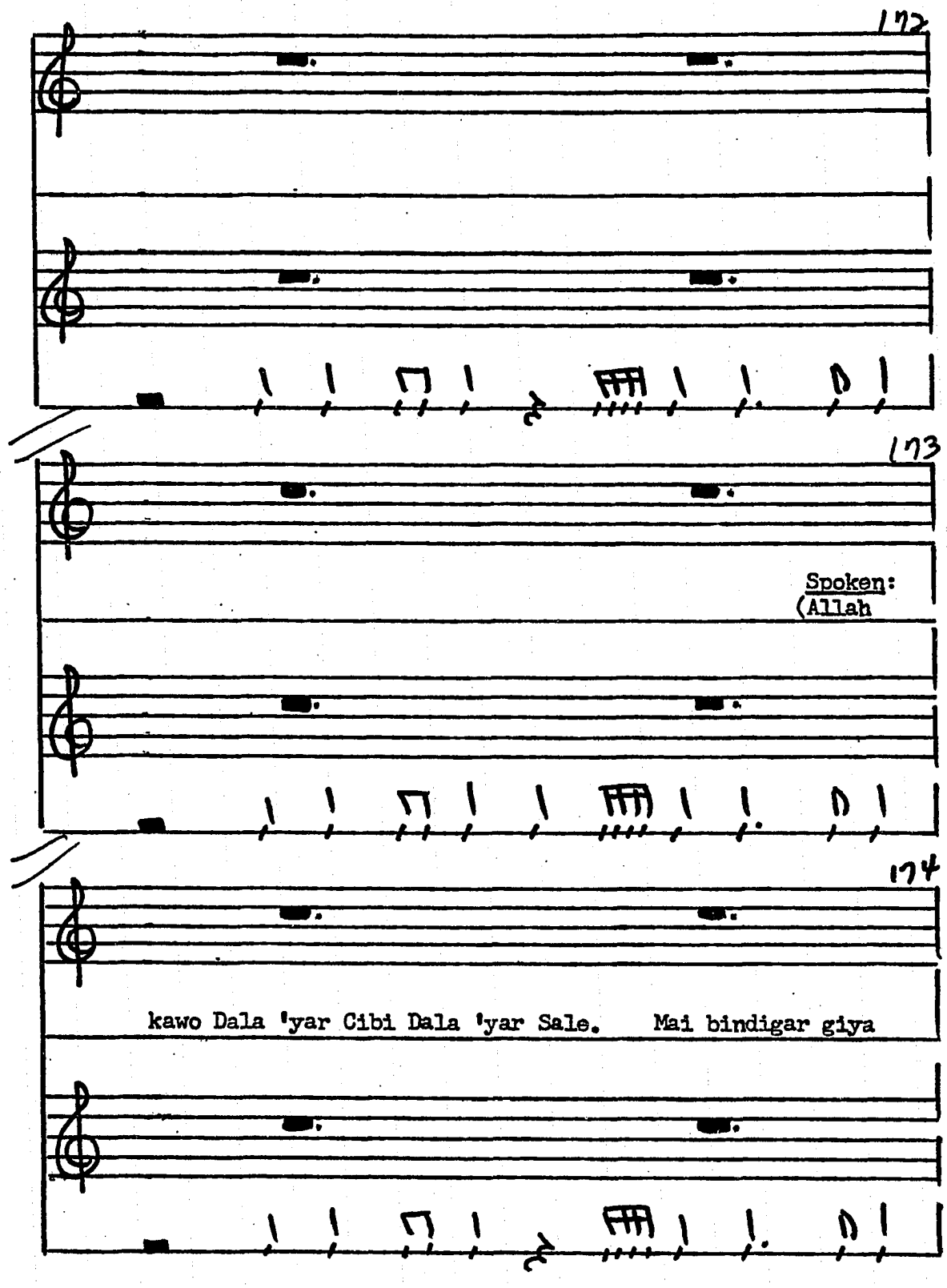
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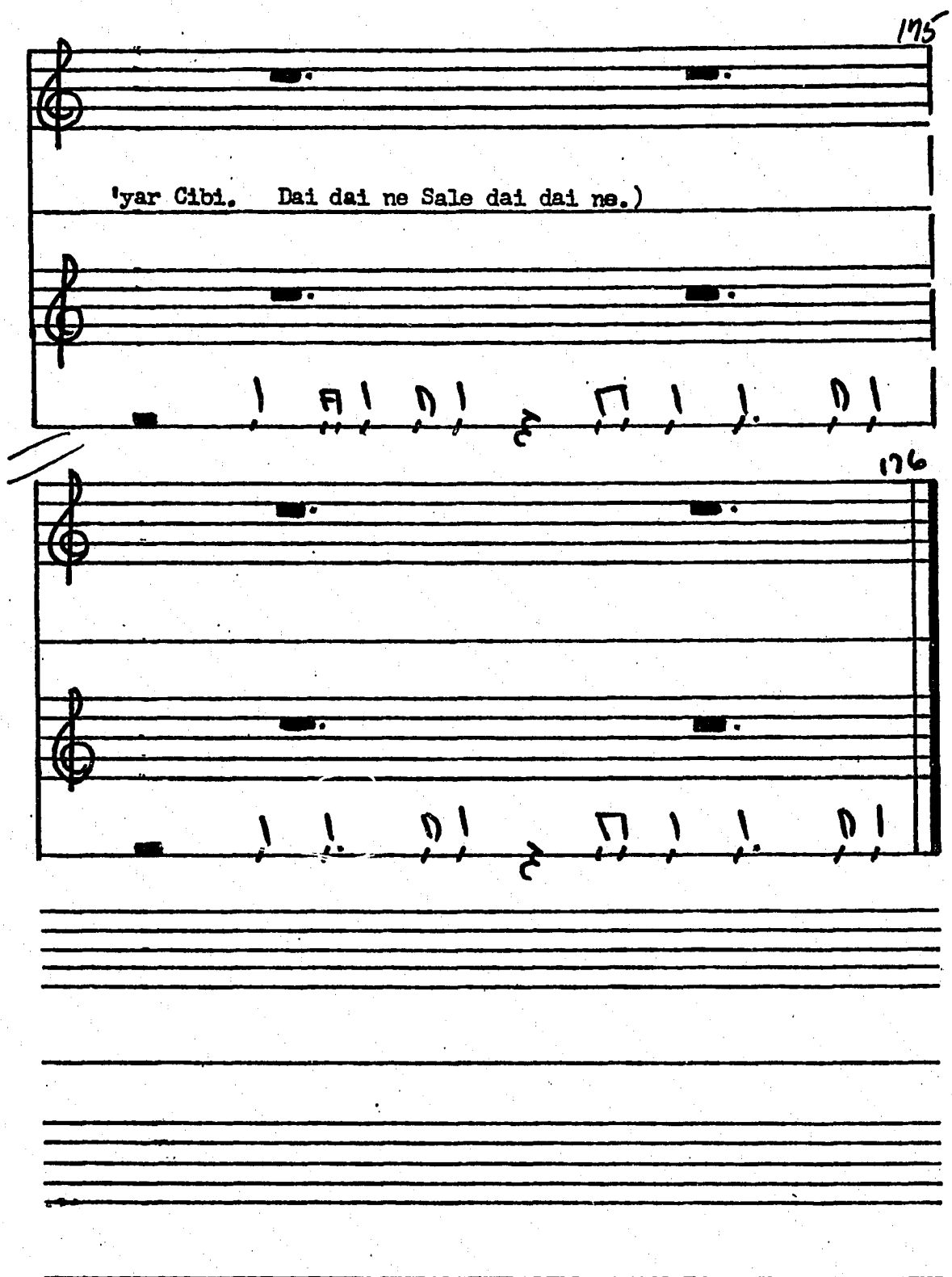
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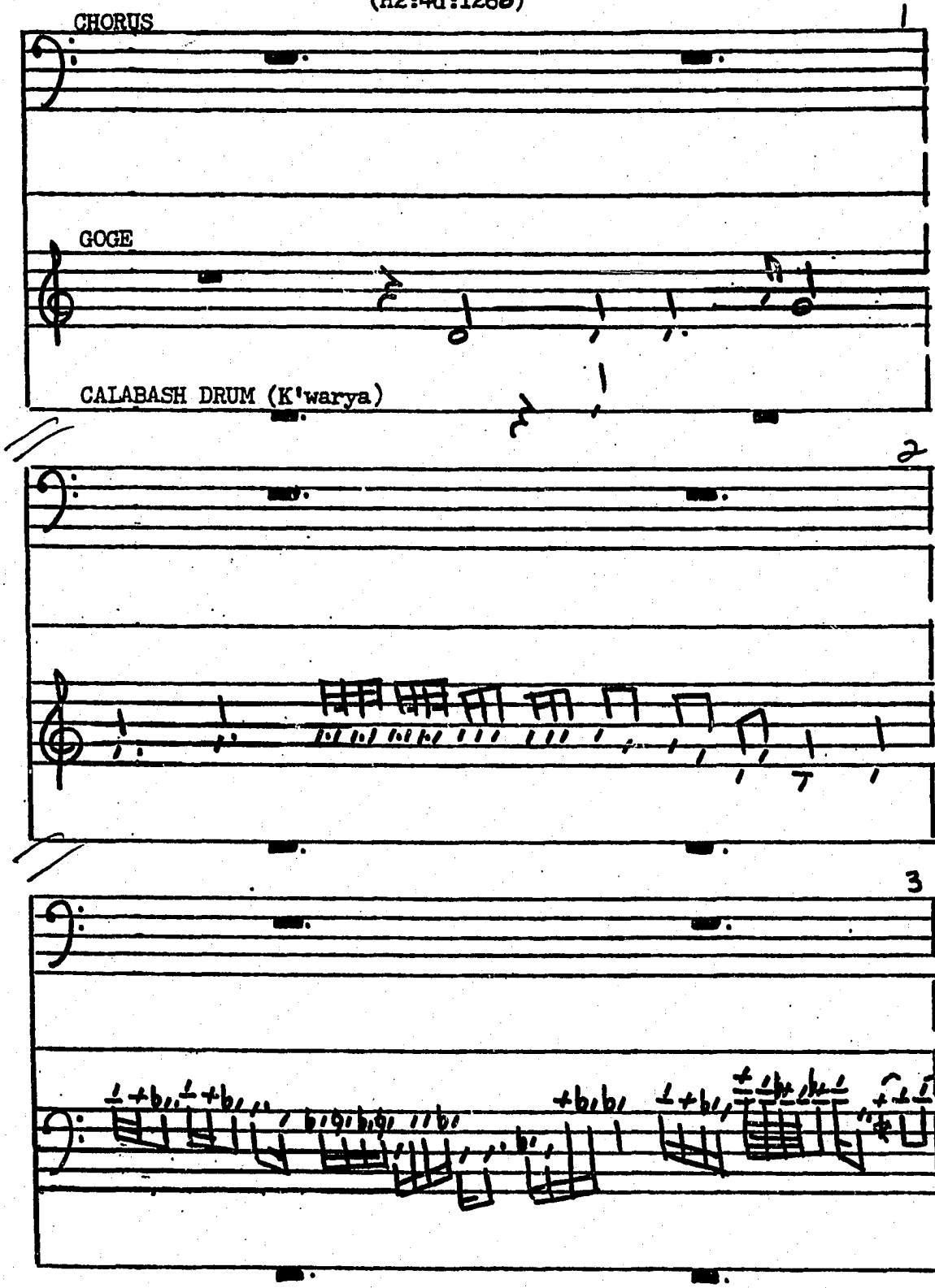


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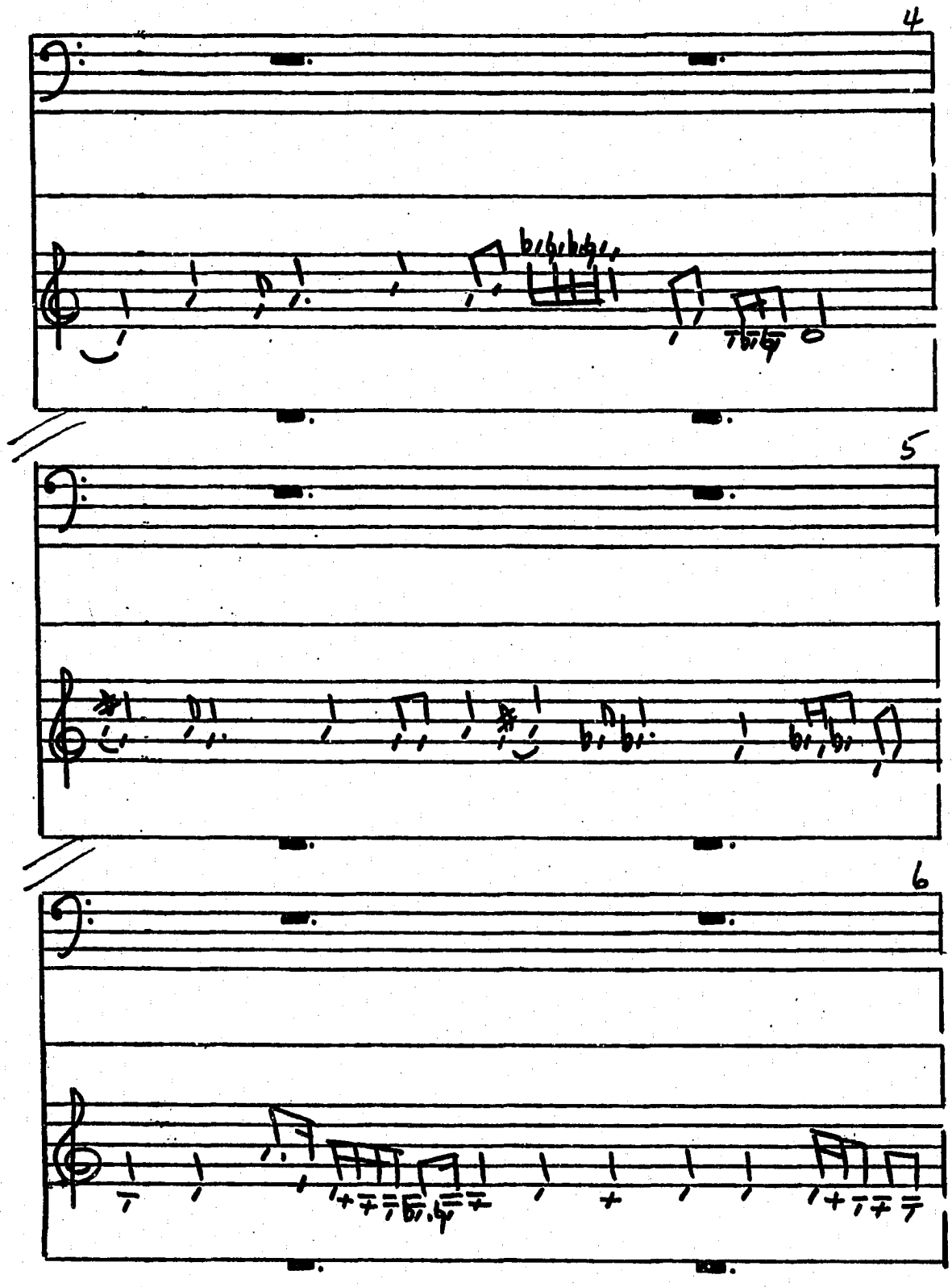


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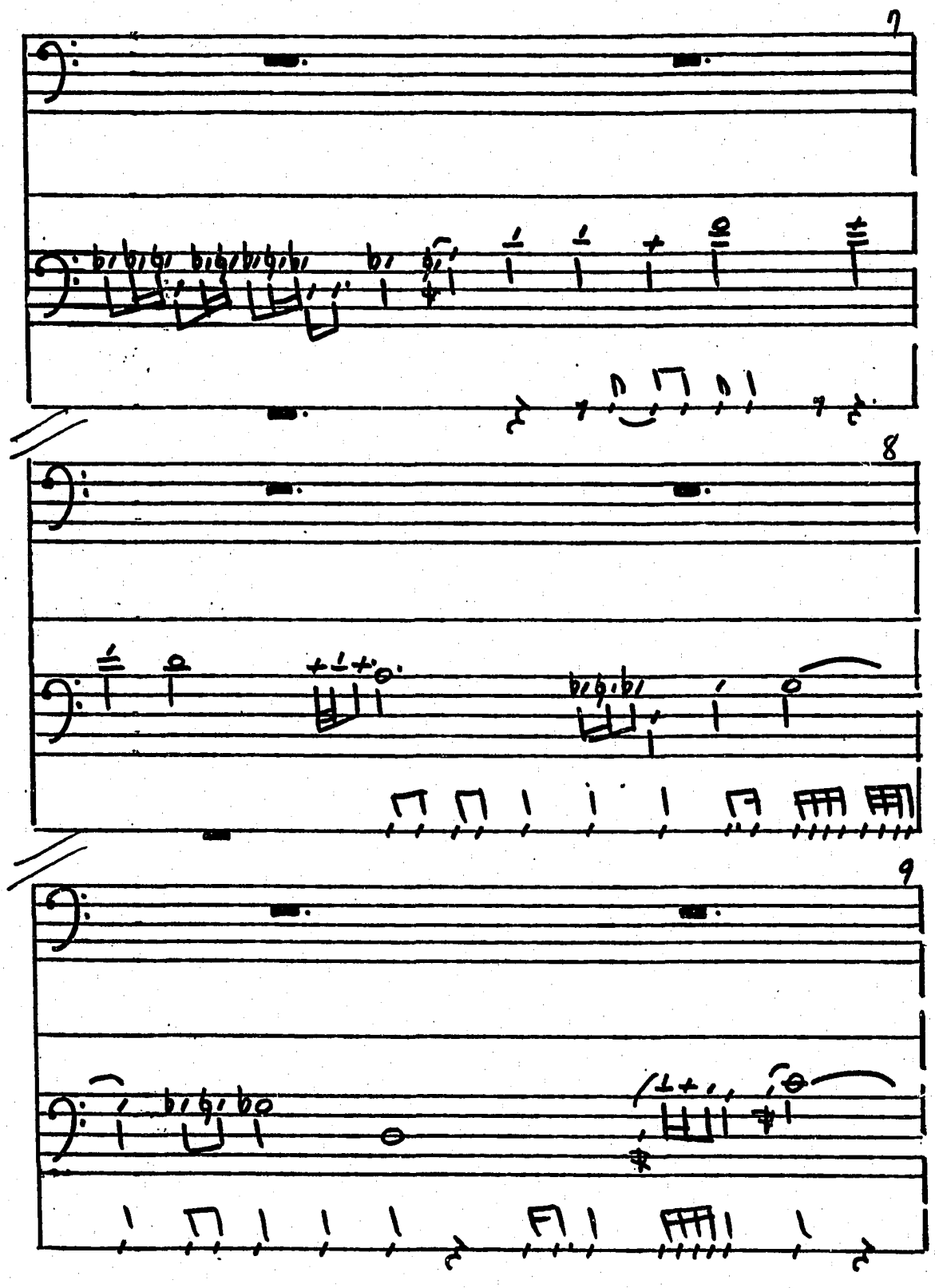
BARRAHAZA
by Haruna Yaron Goge
(H2:4d:126d)



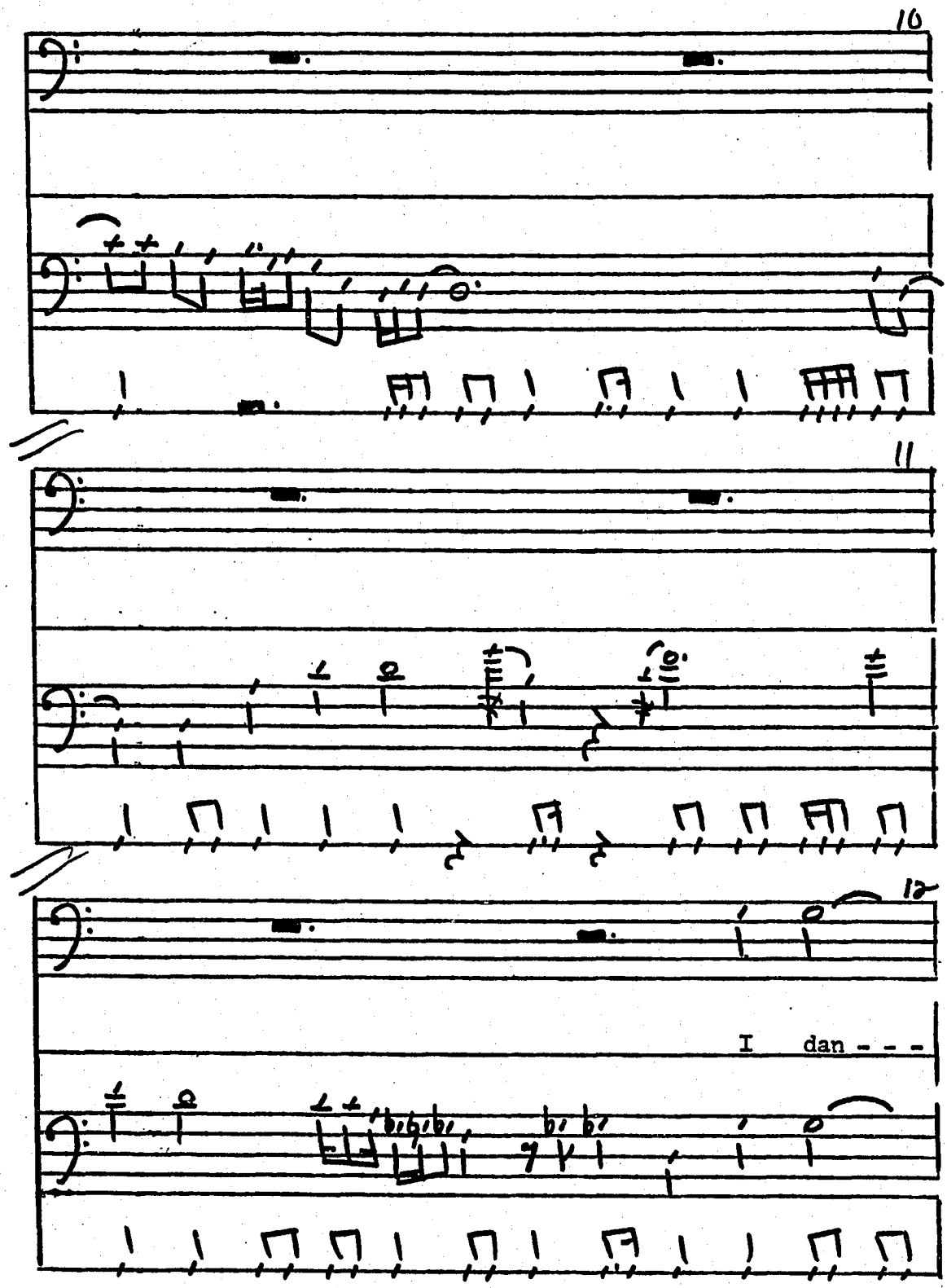
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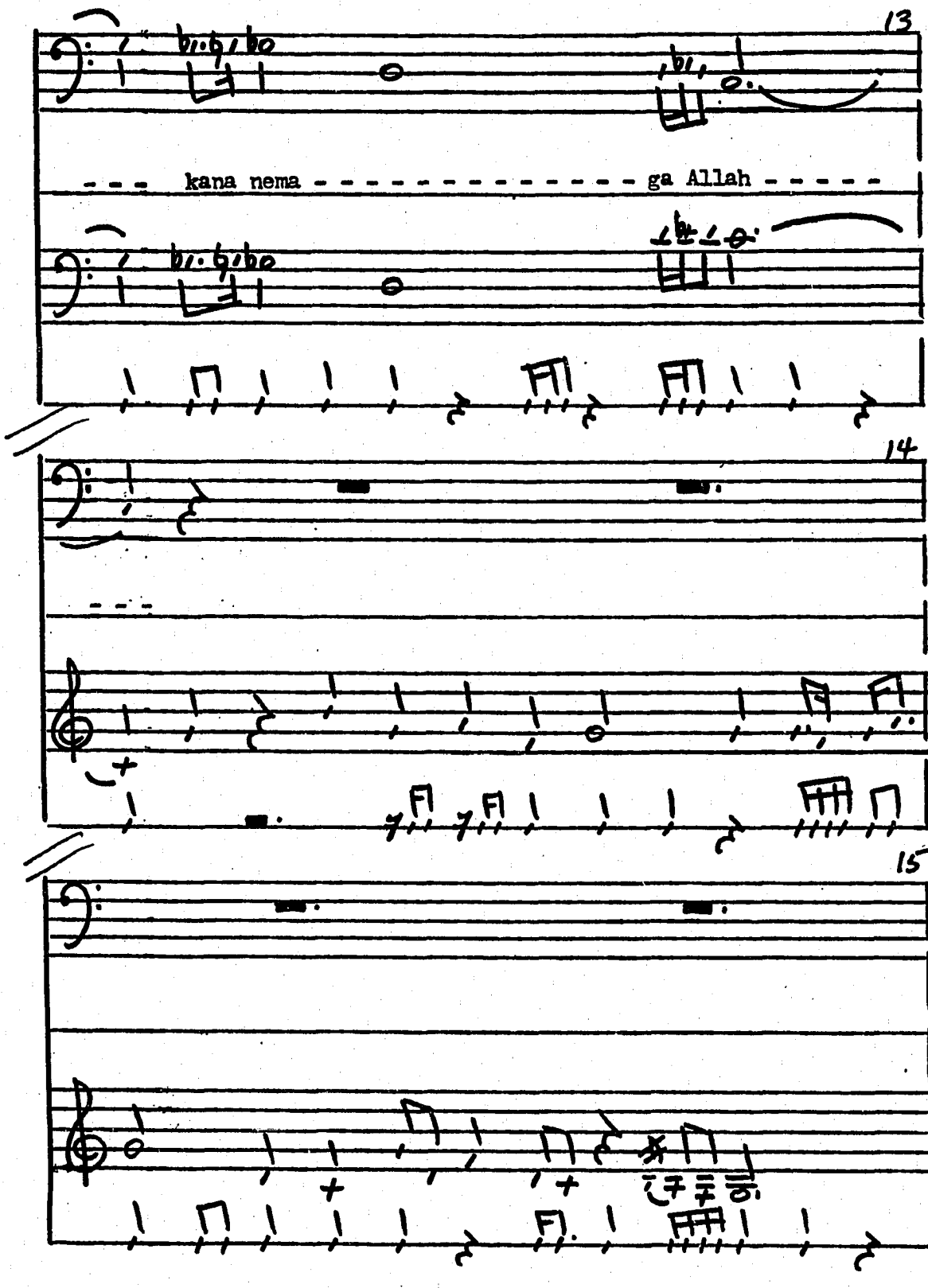


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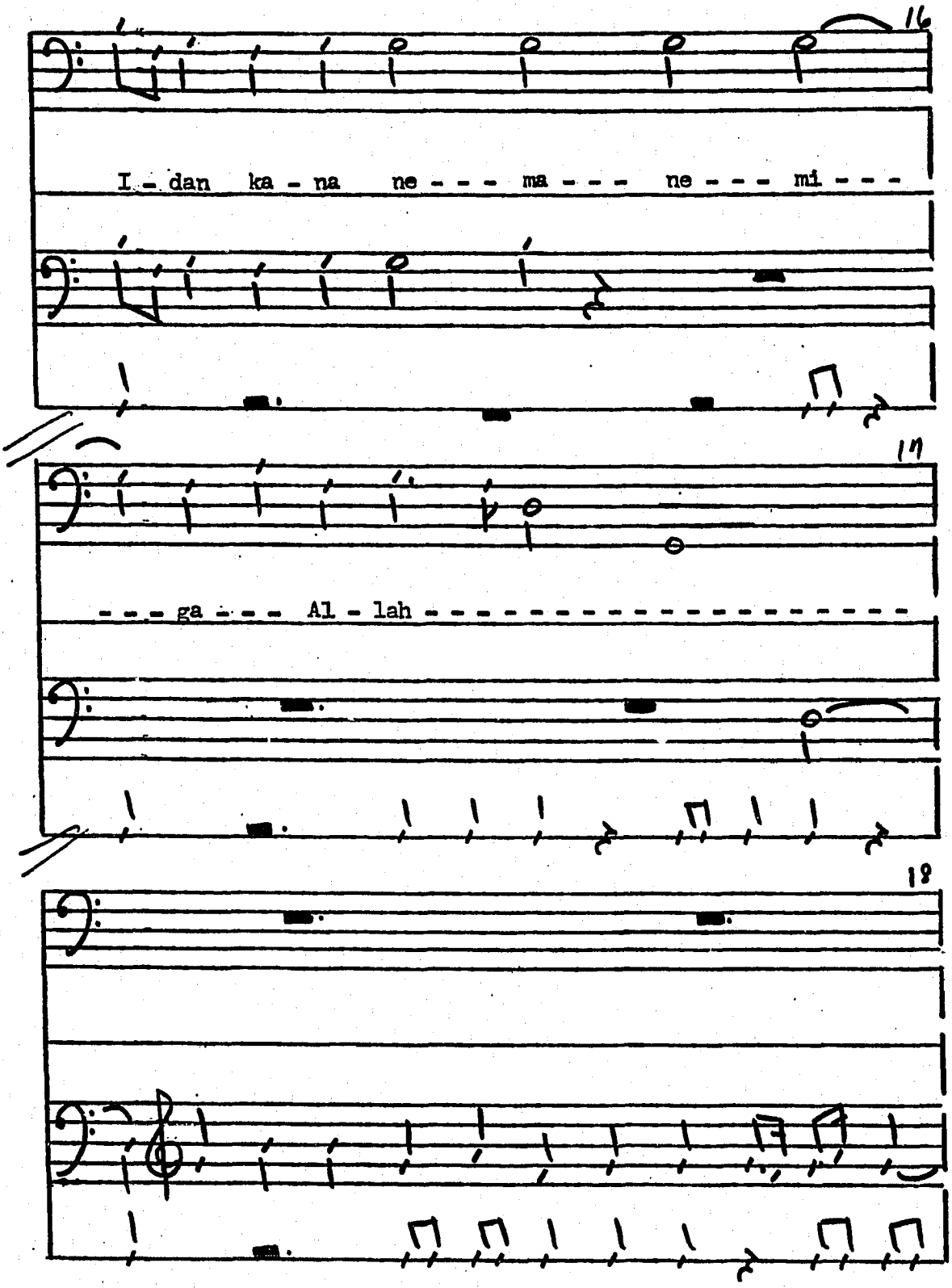
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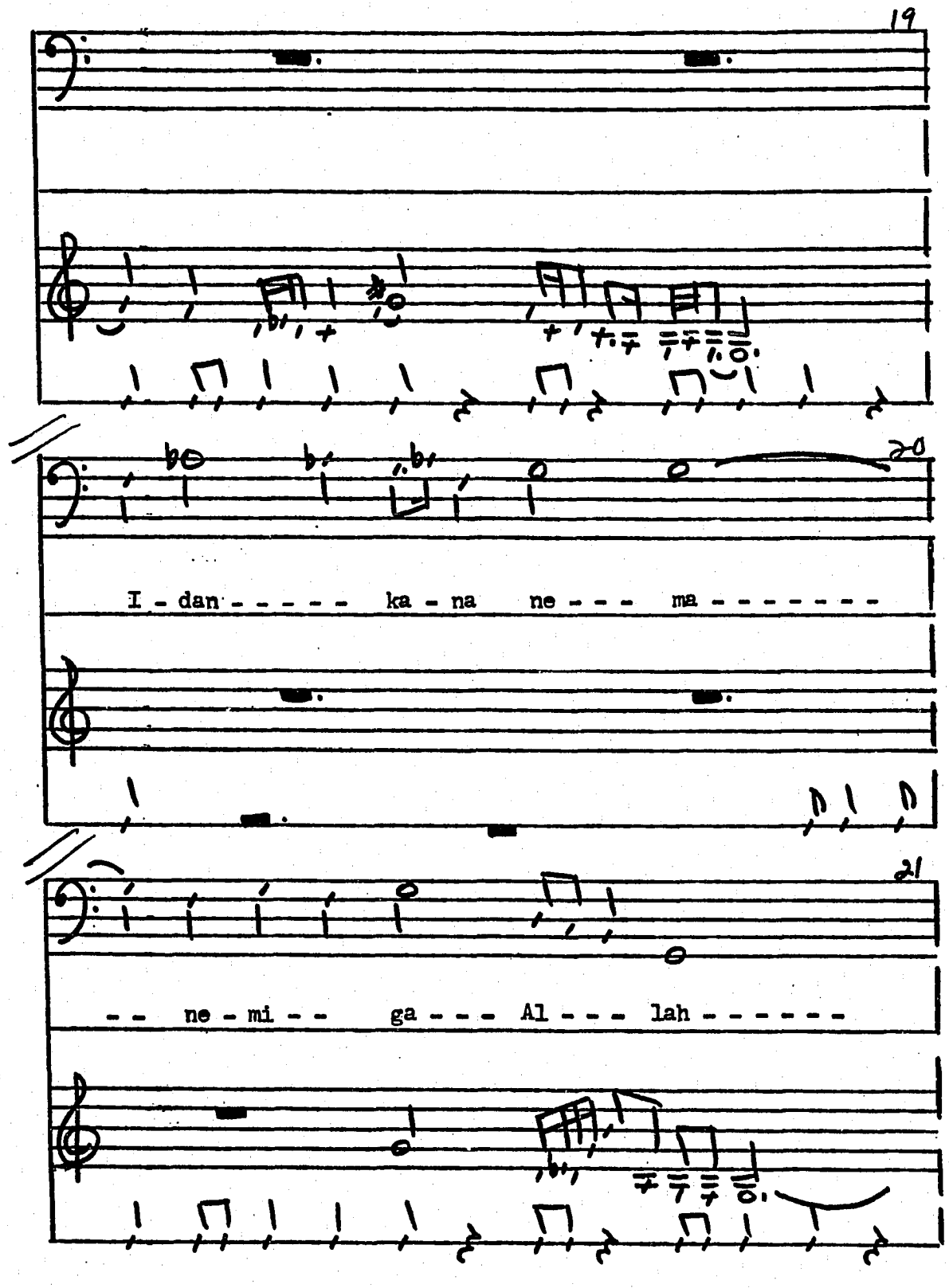


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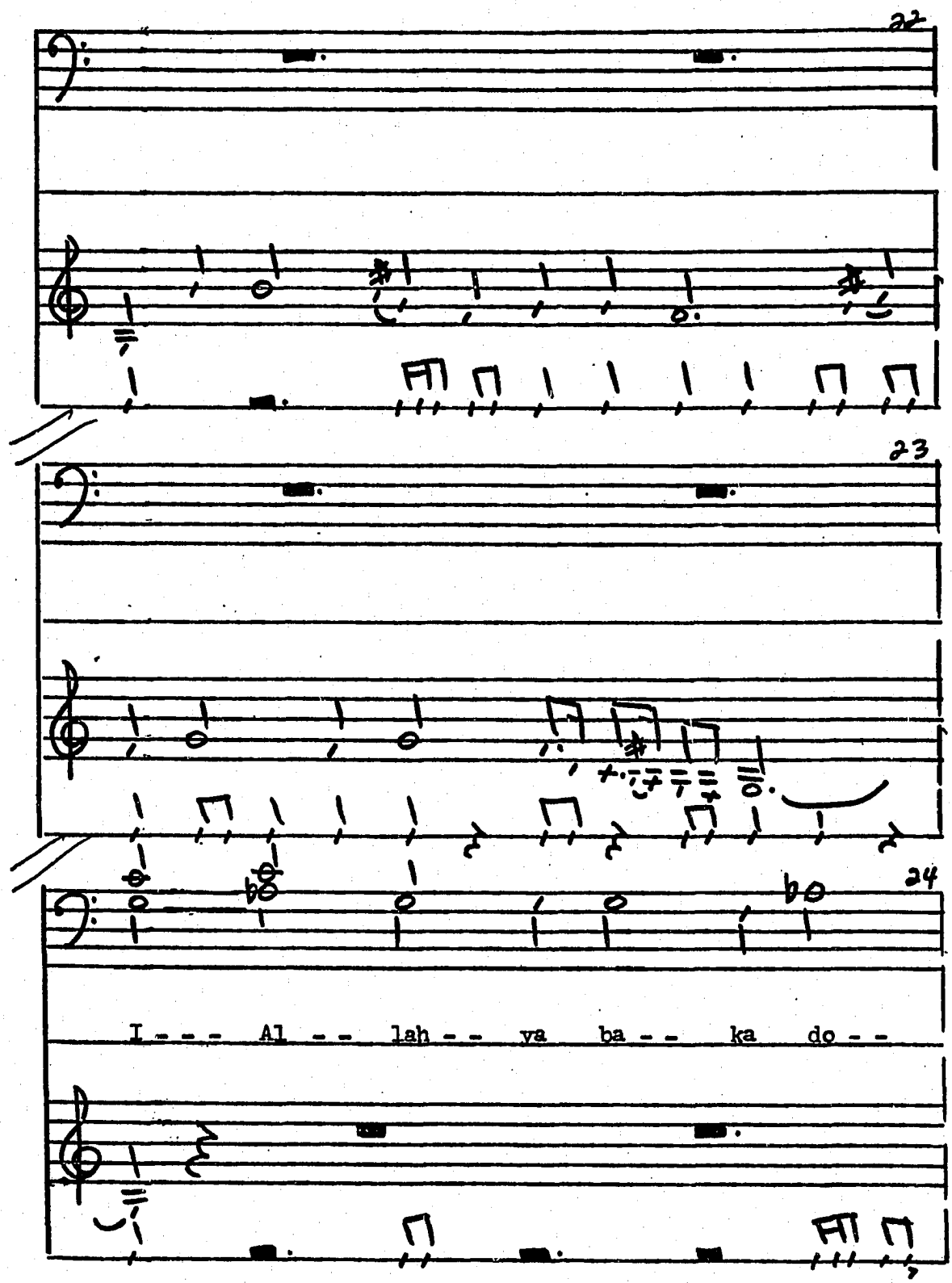


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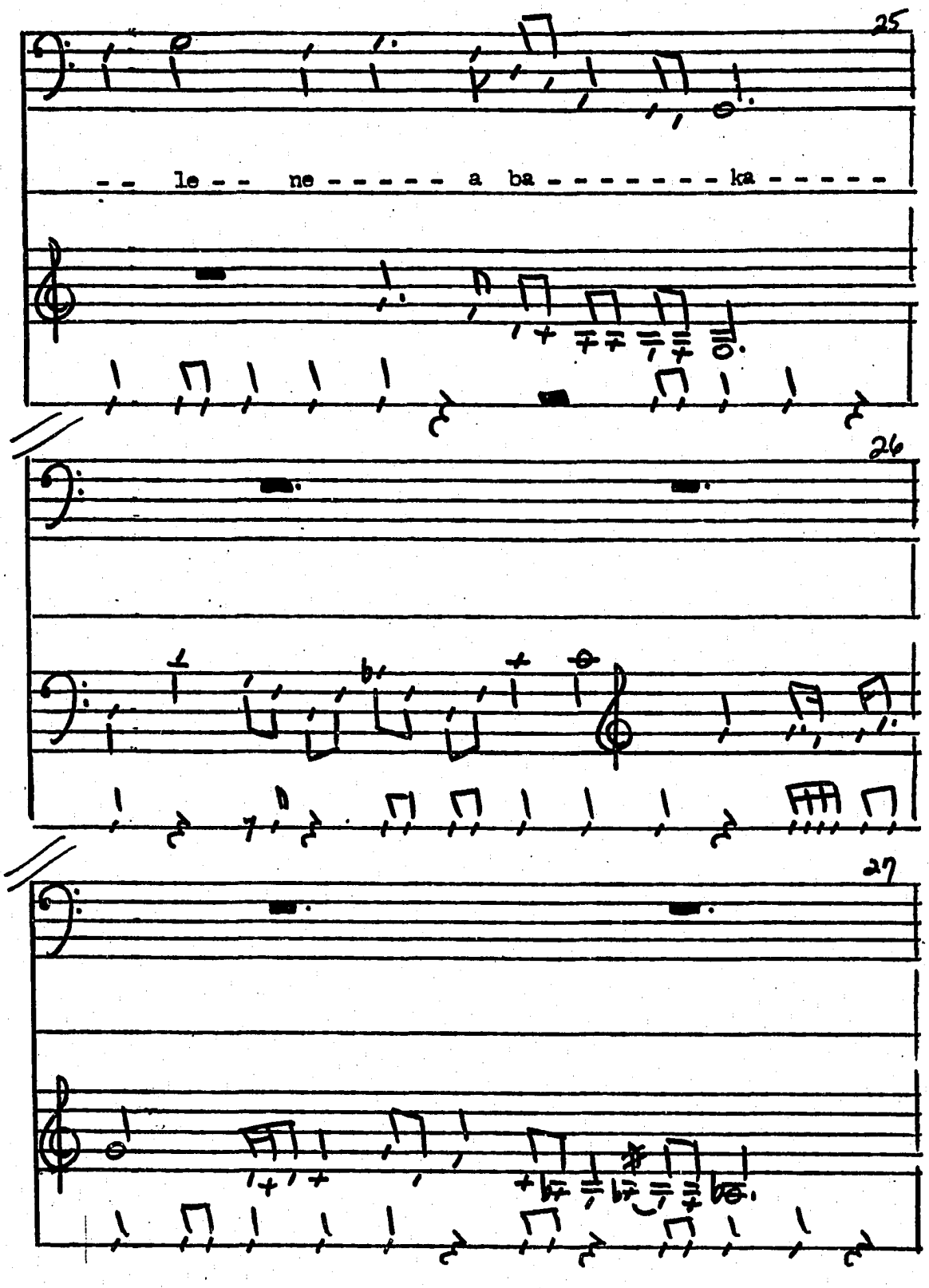


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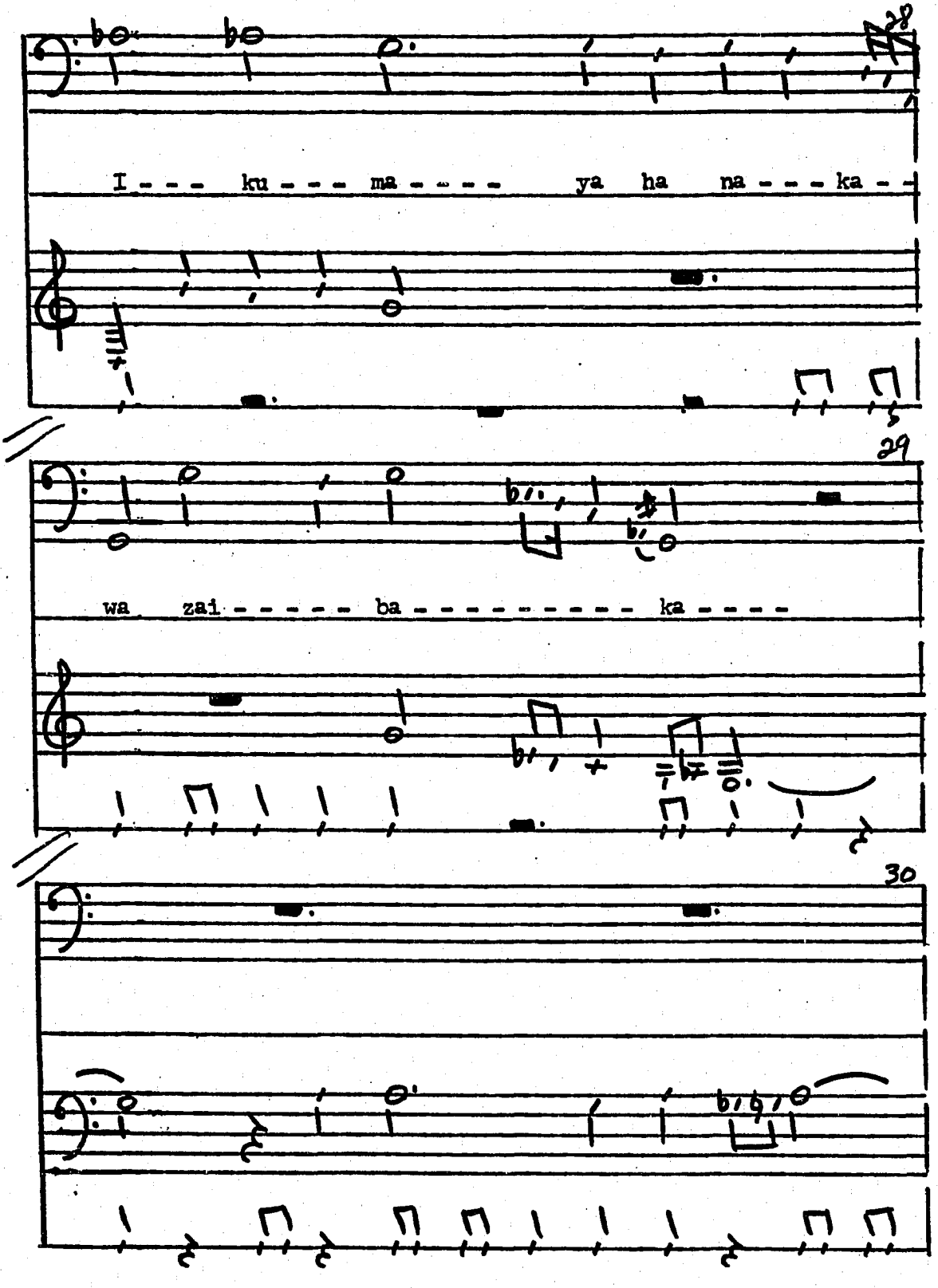
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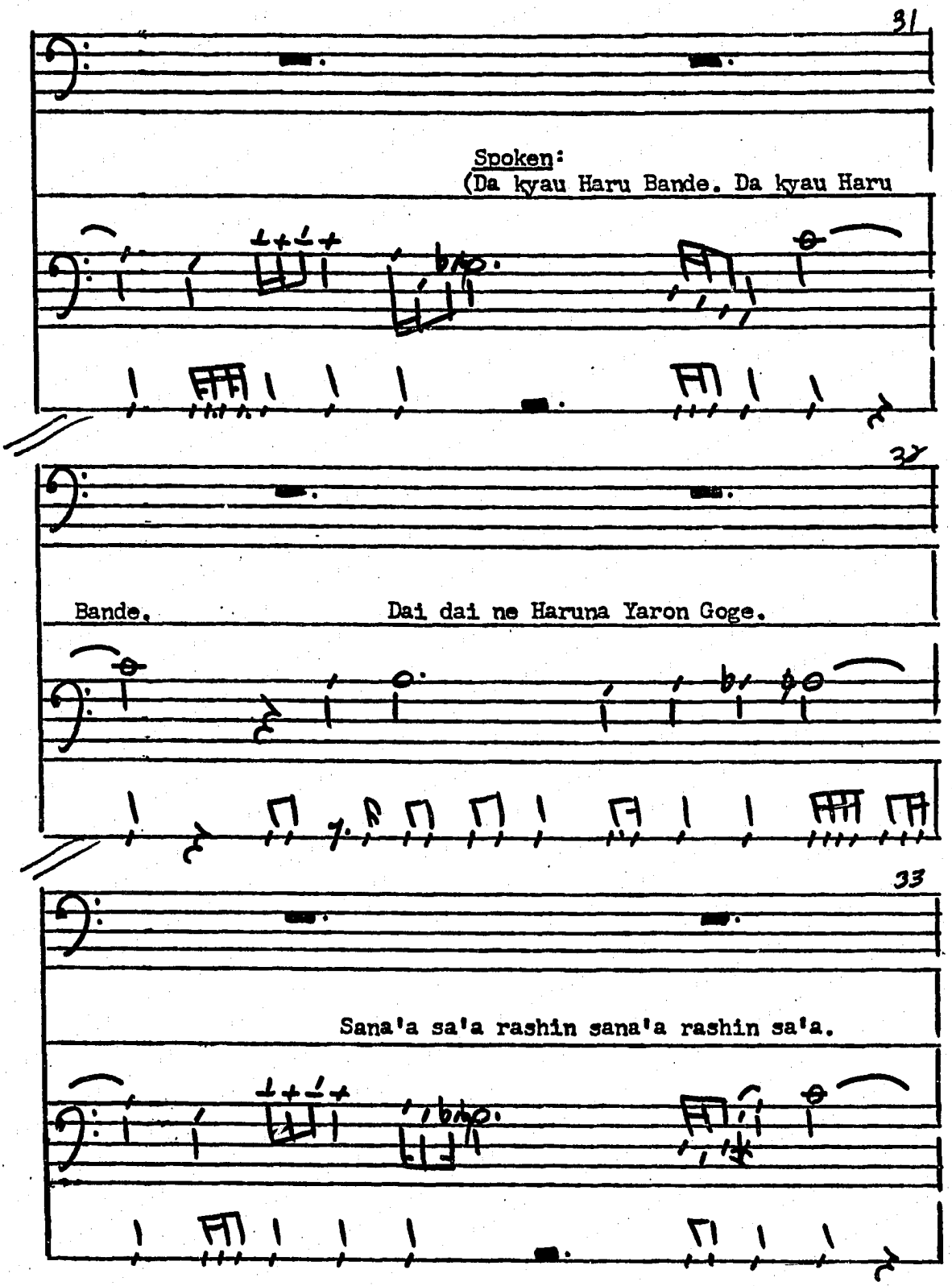
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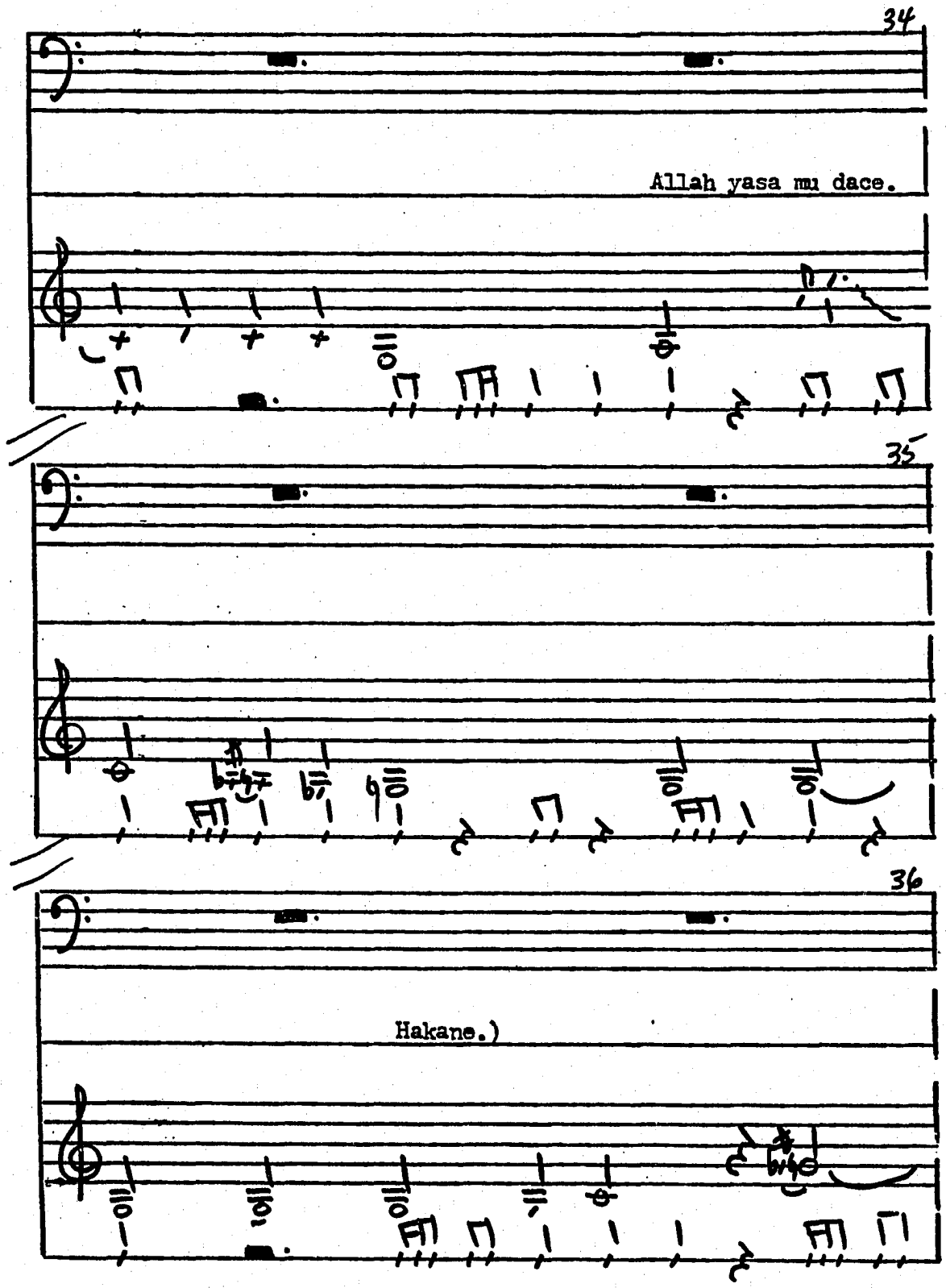
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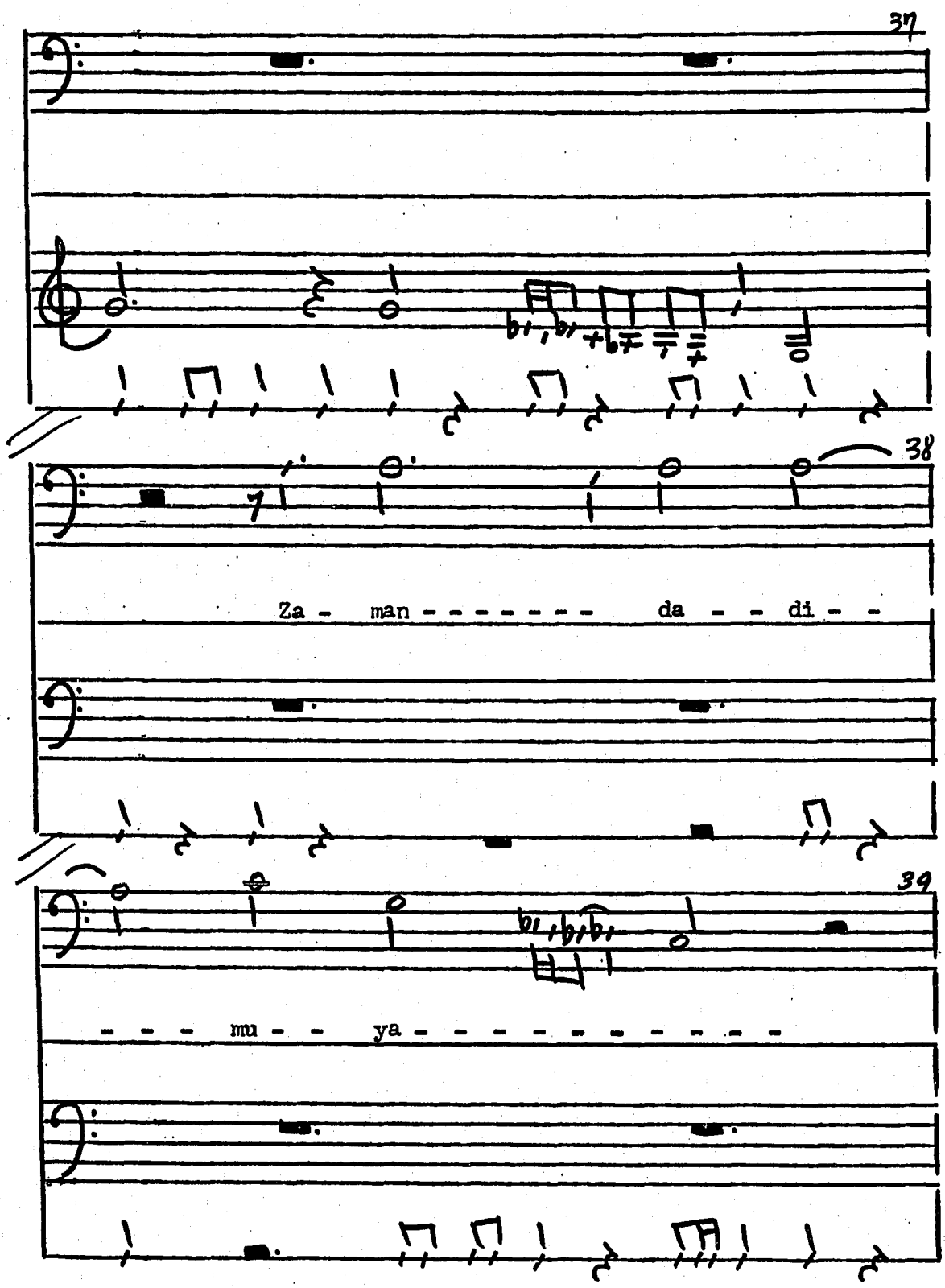


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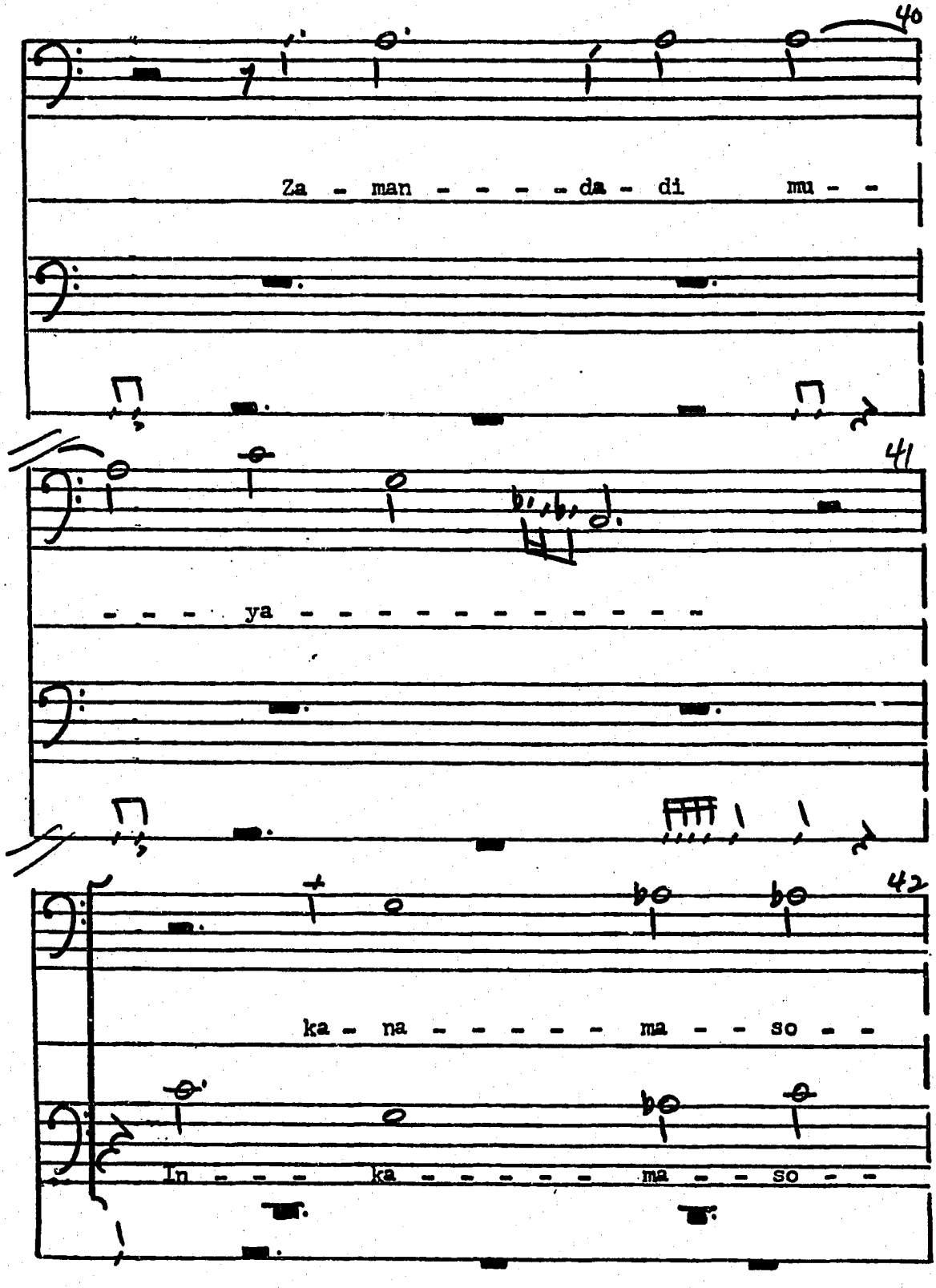
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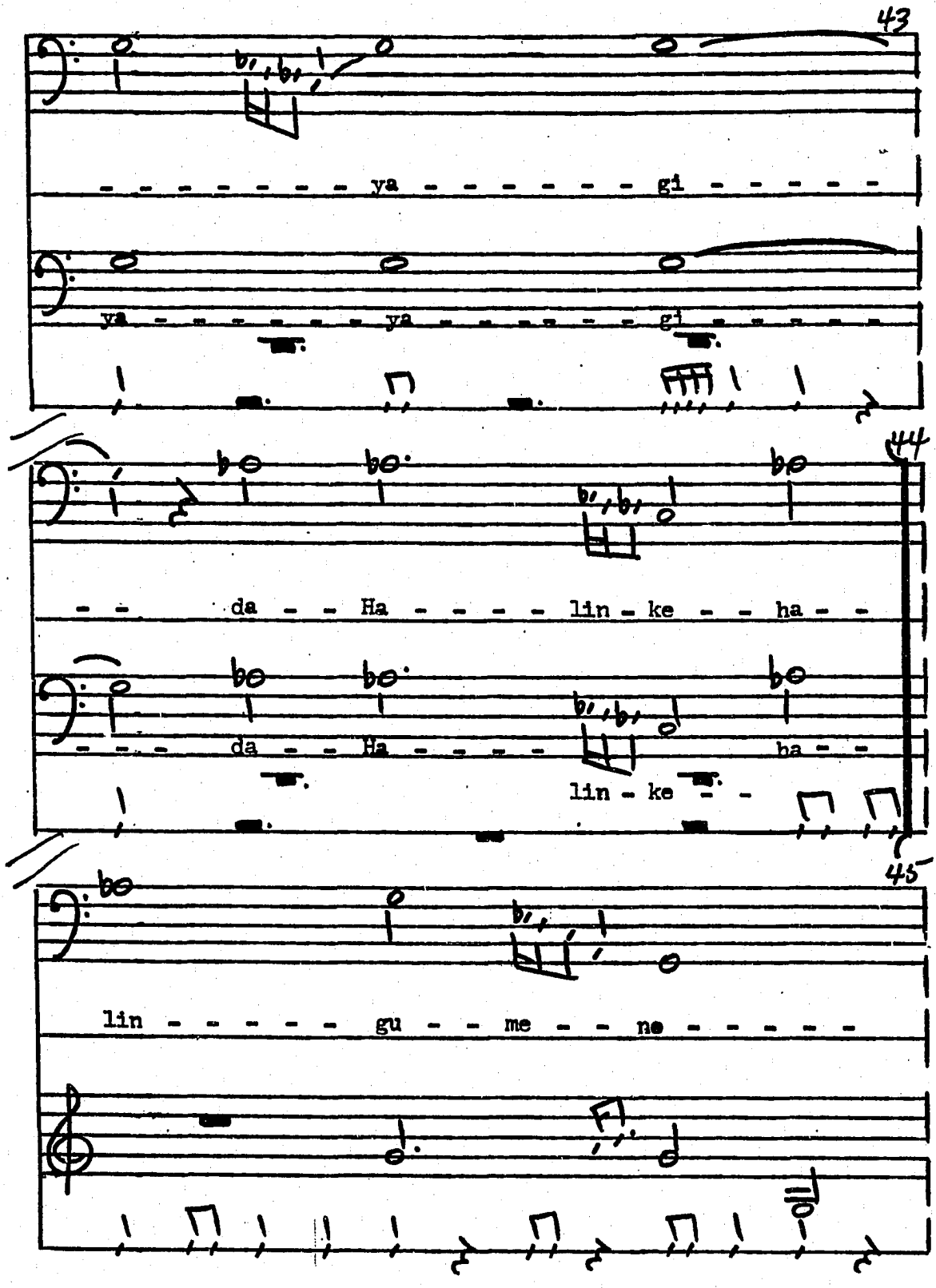
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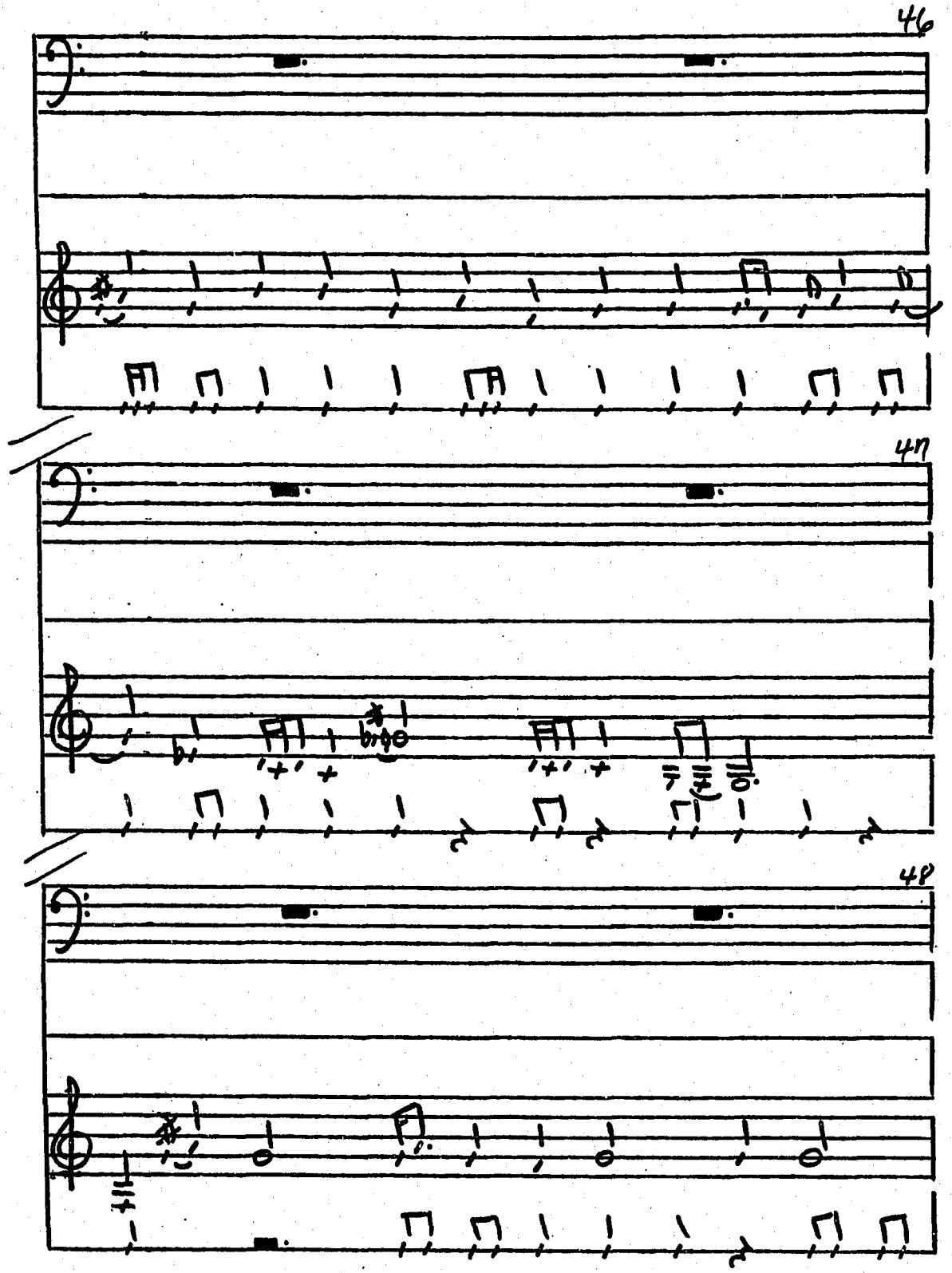
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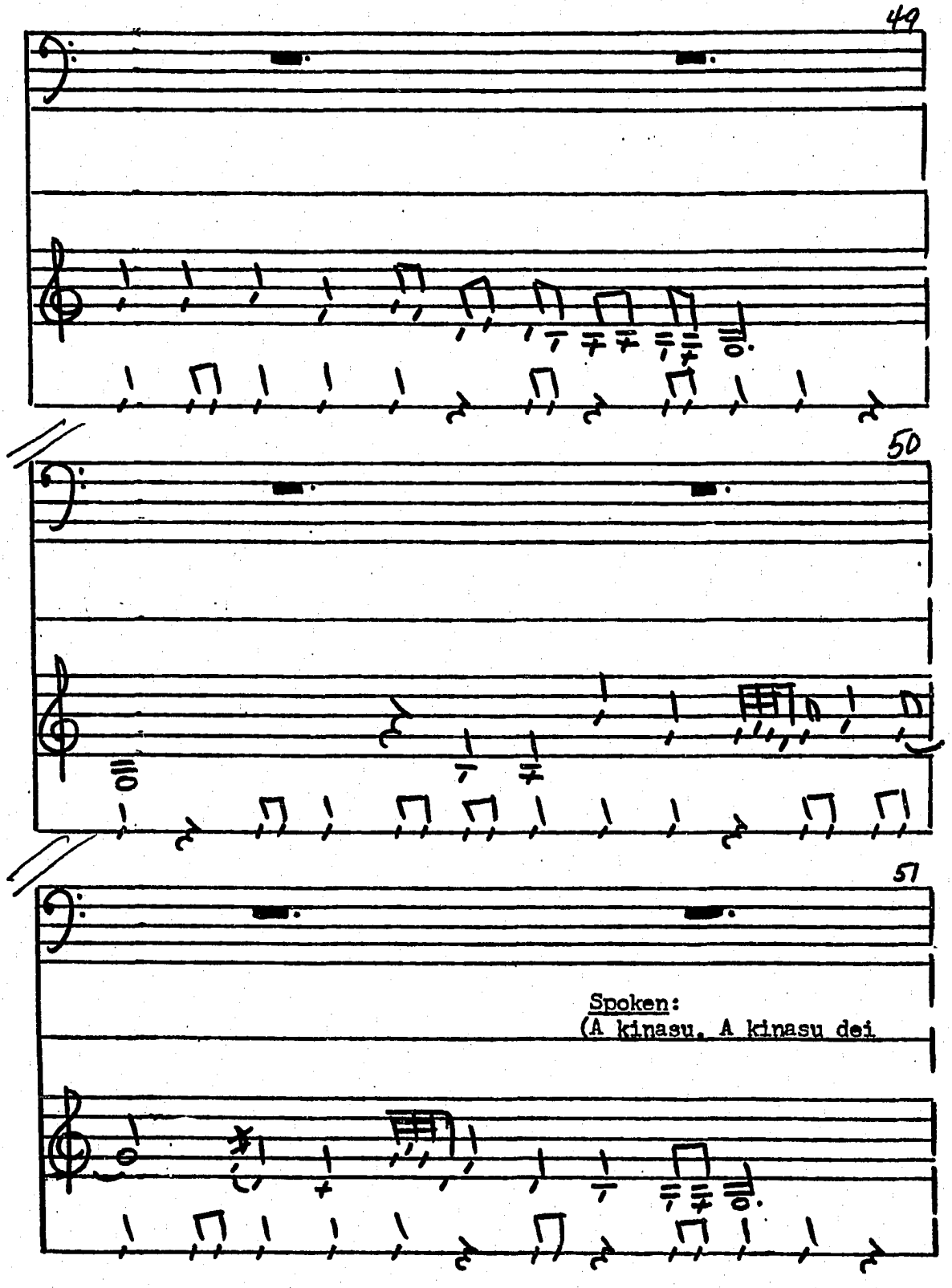
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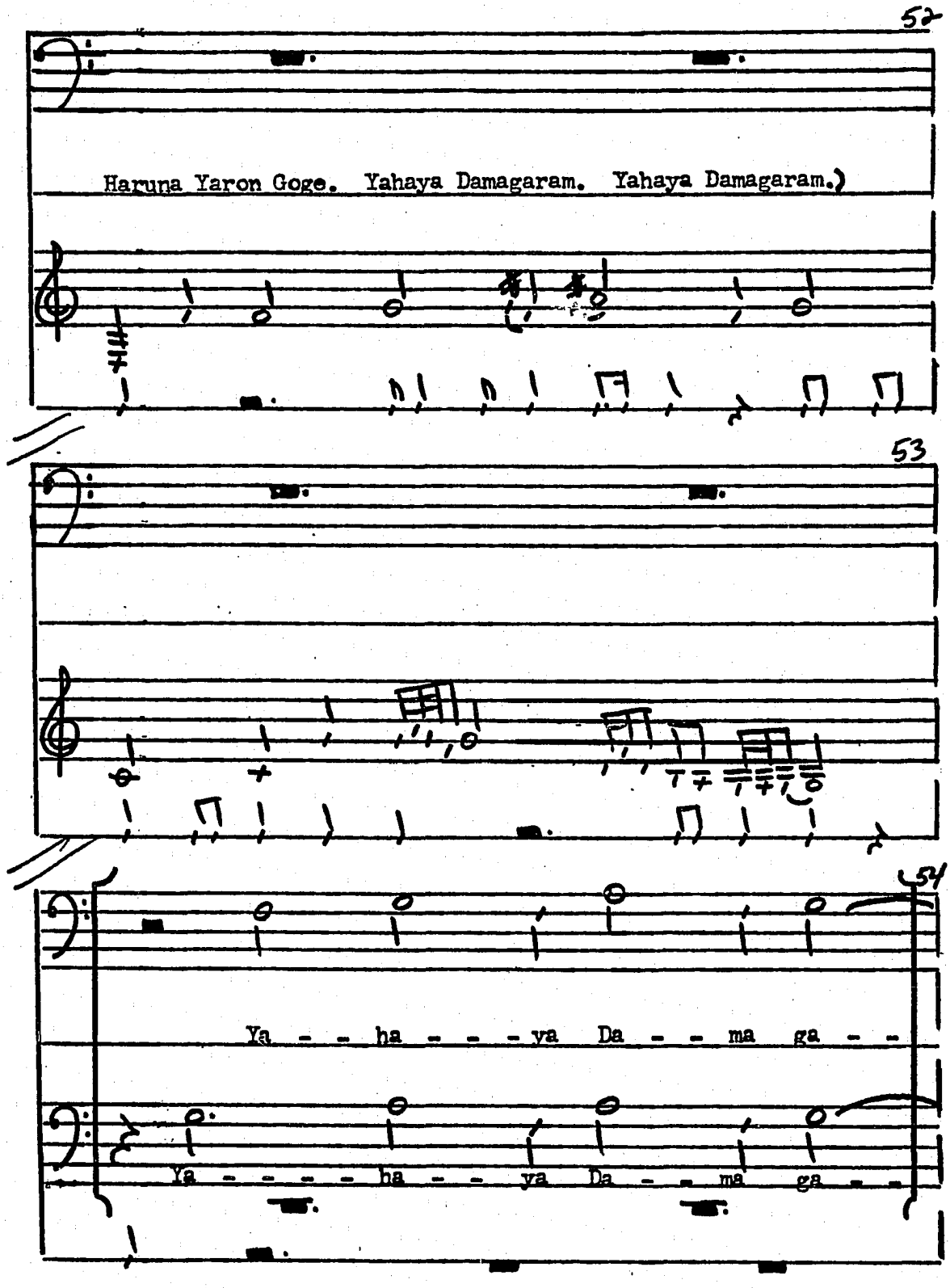


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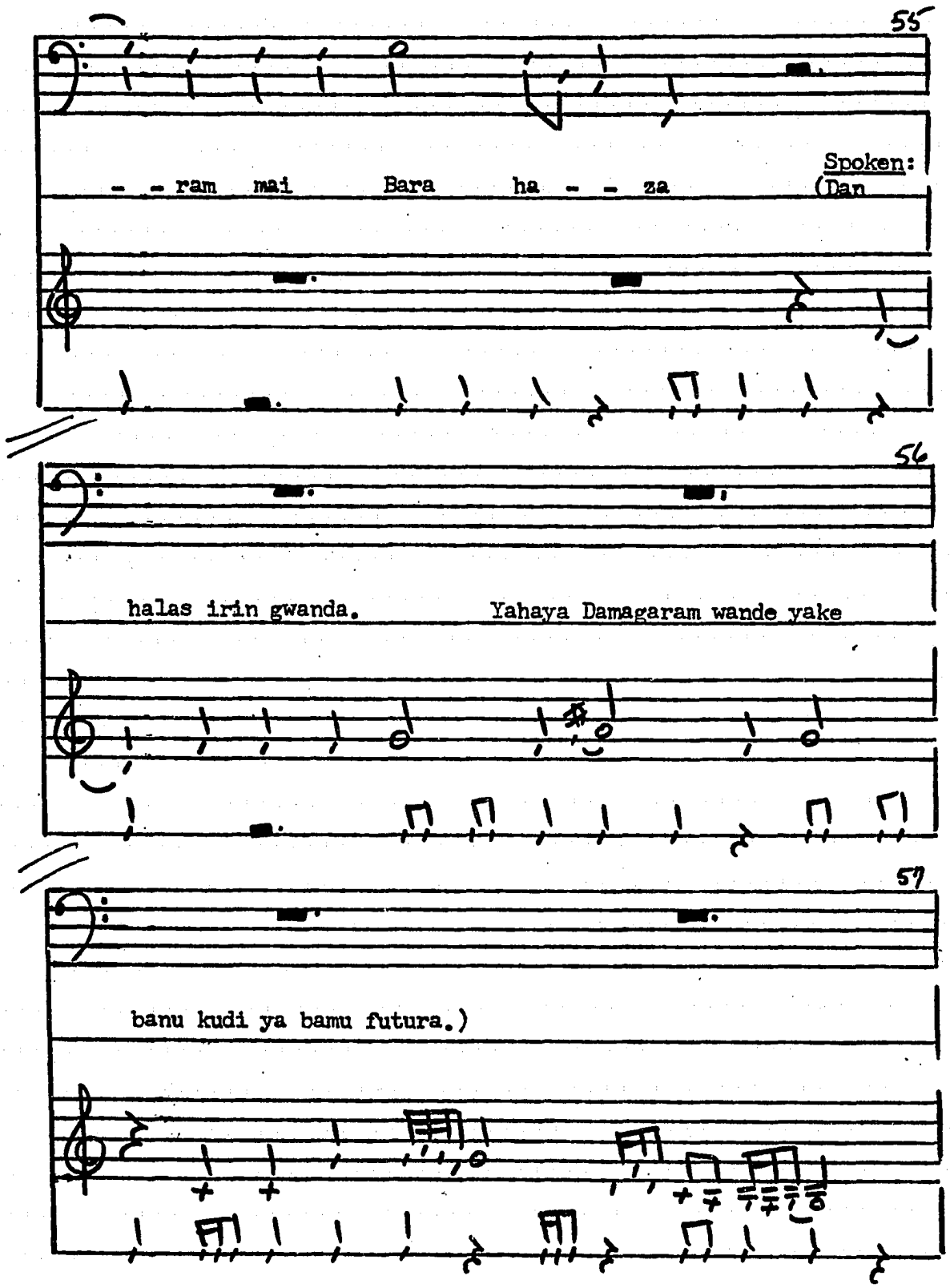
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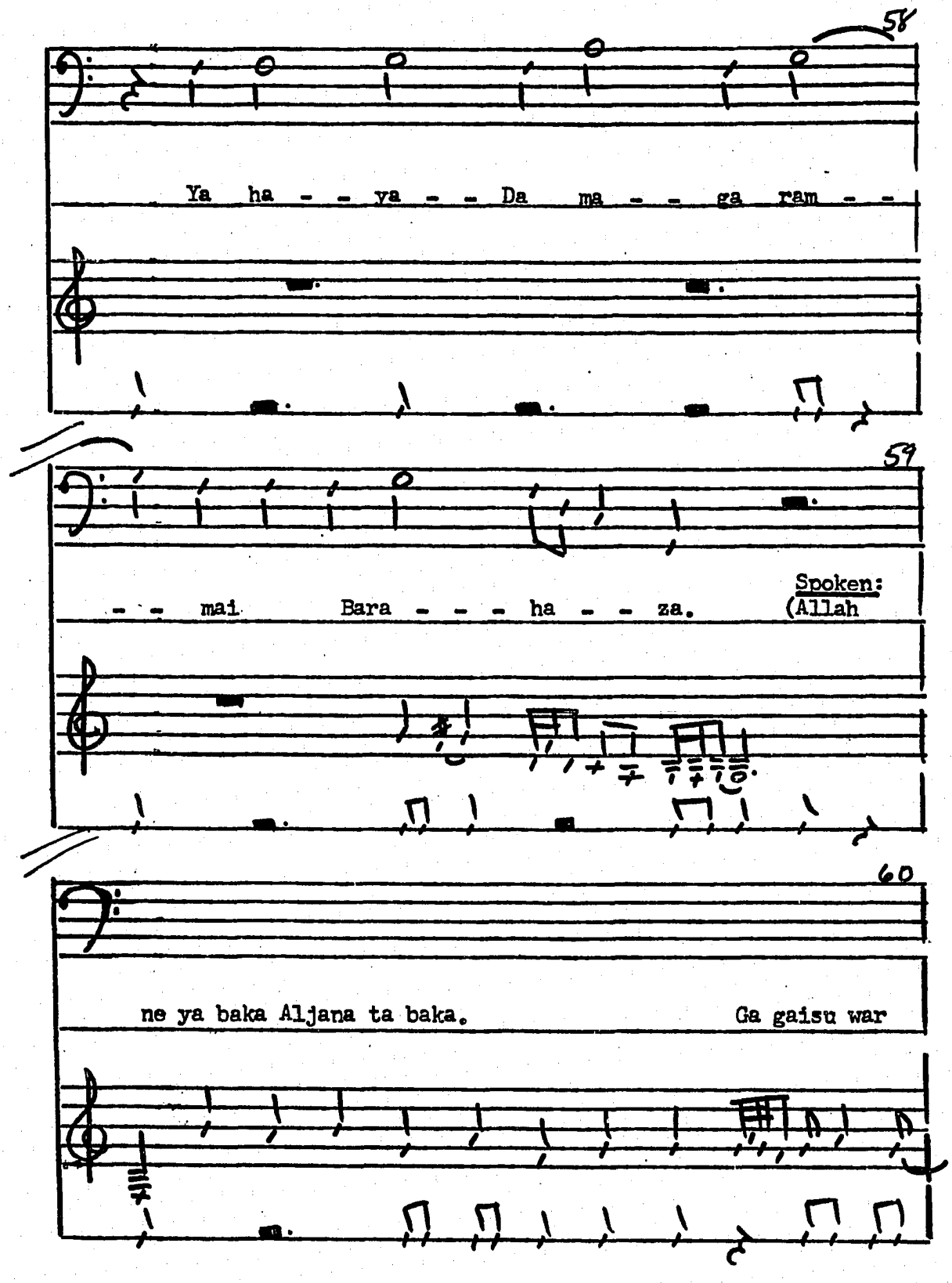
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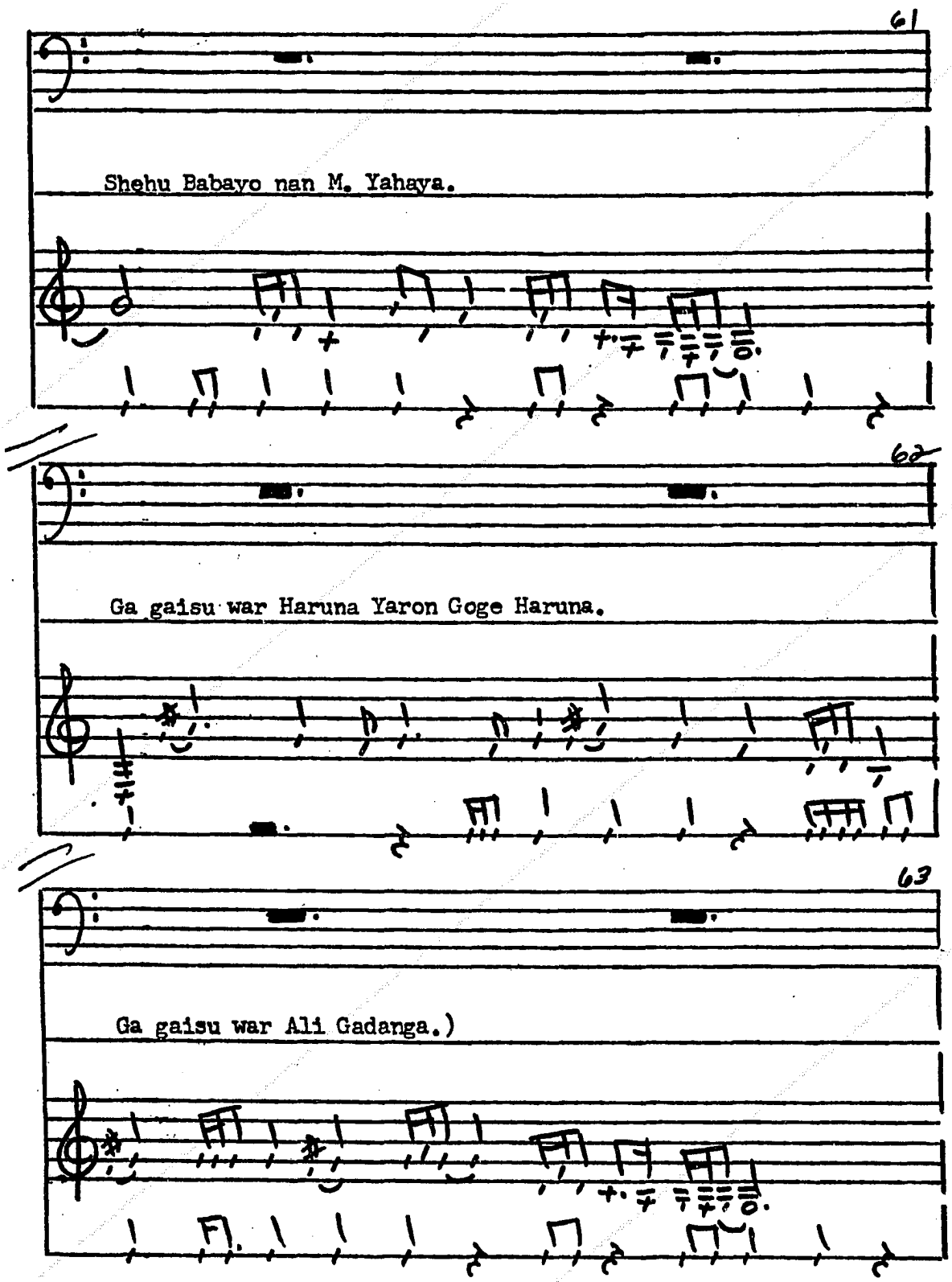
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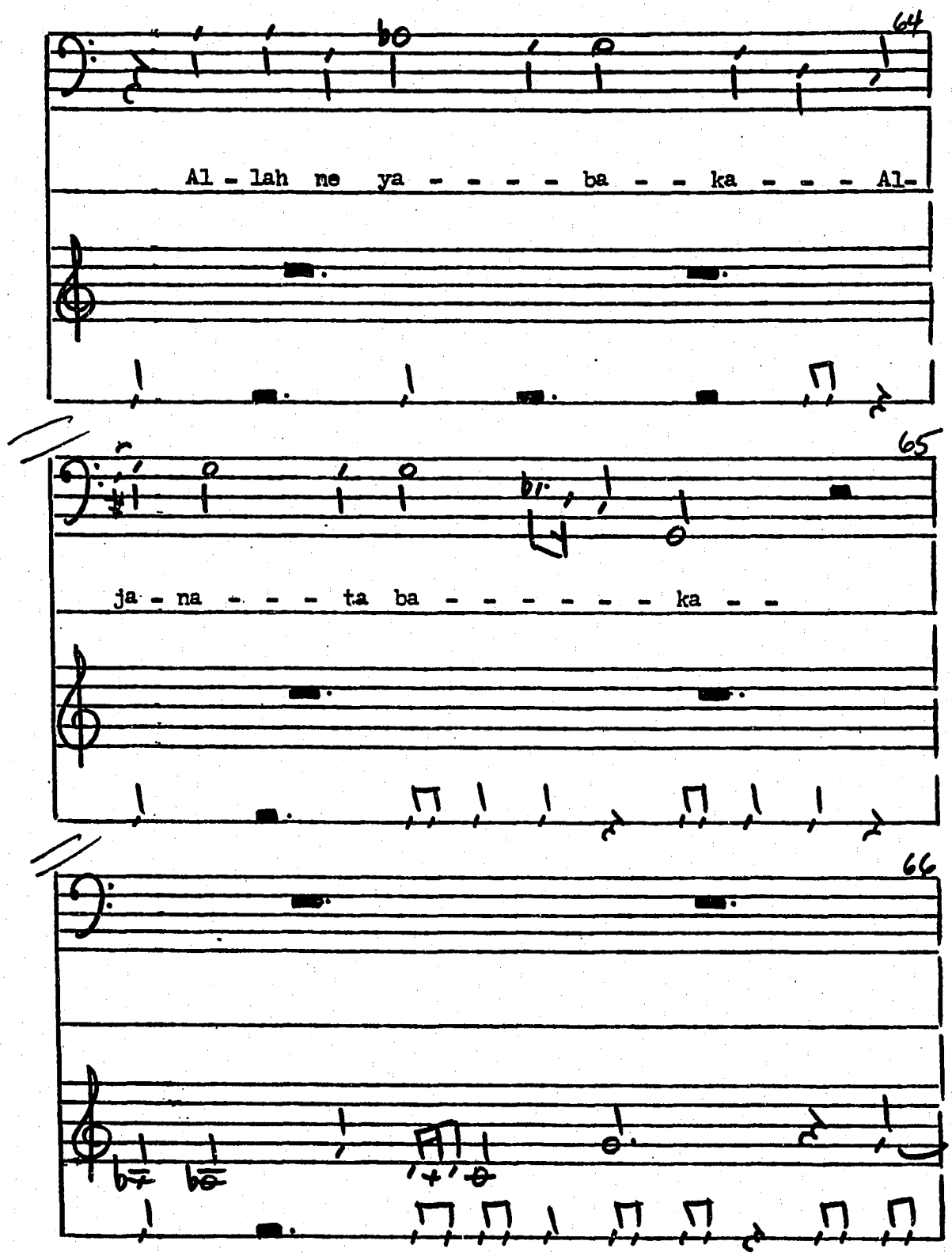
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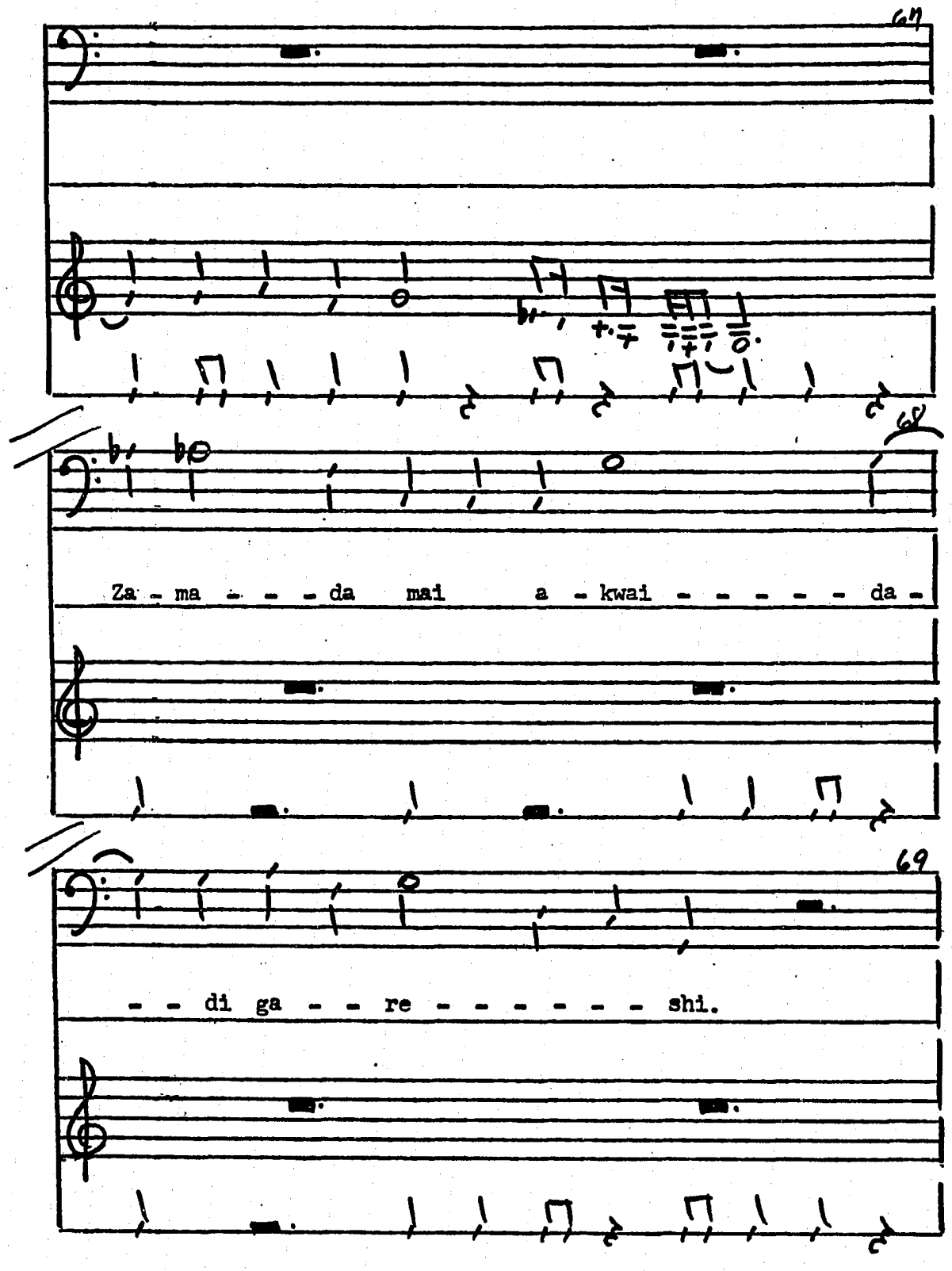
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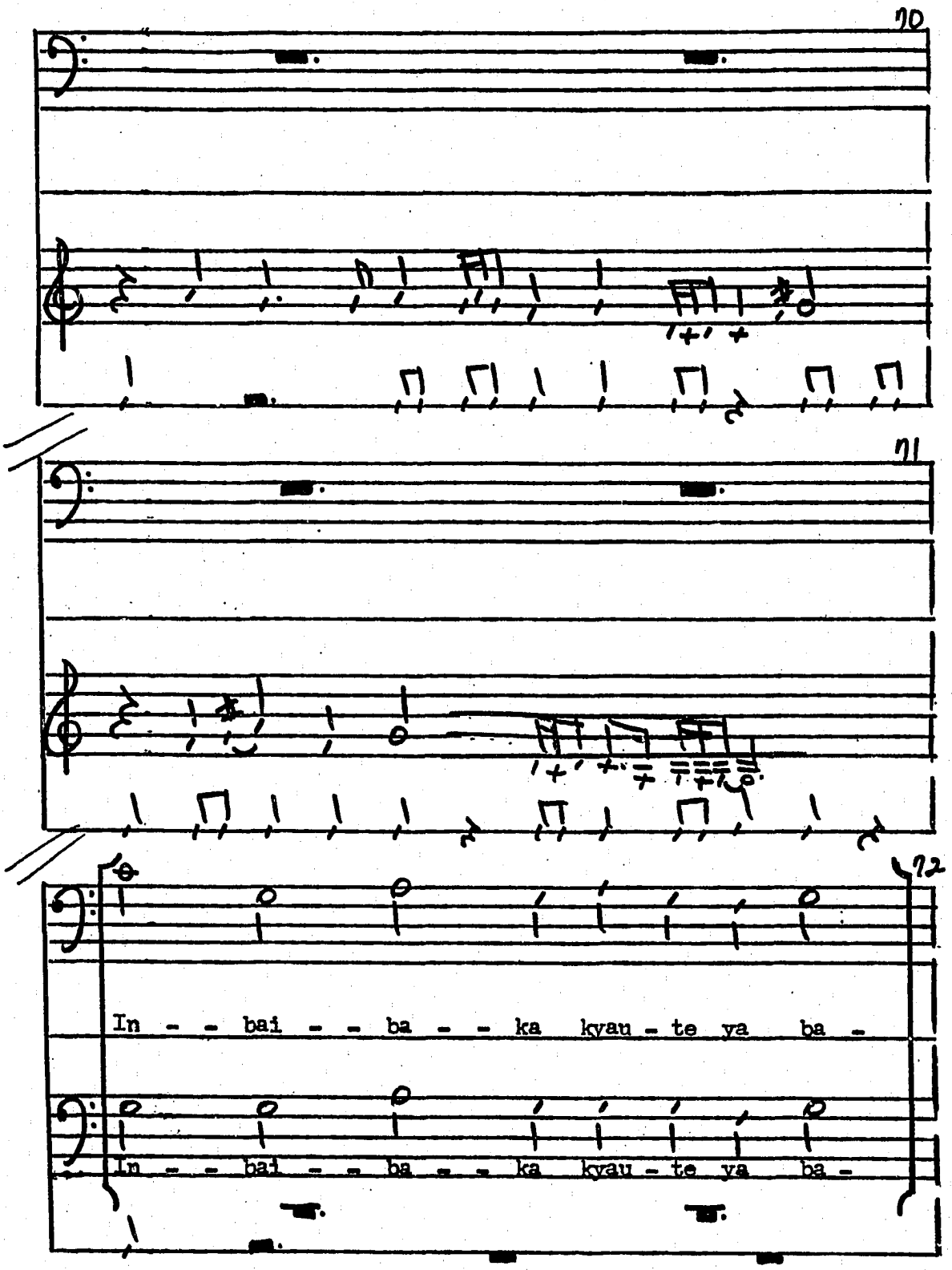


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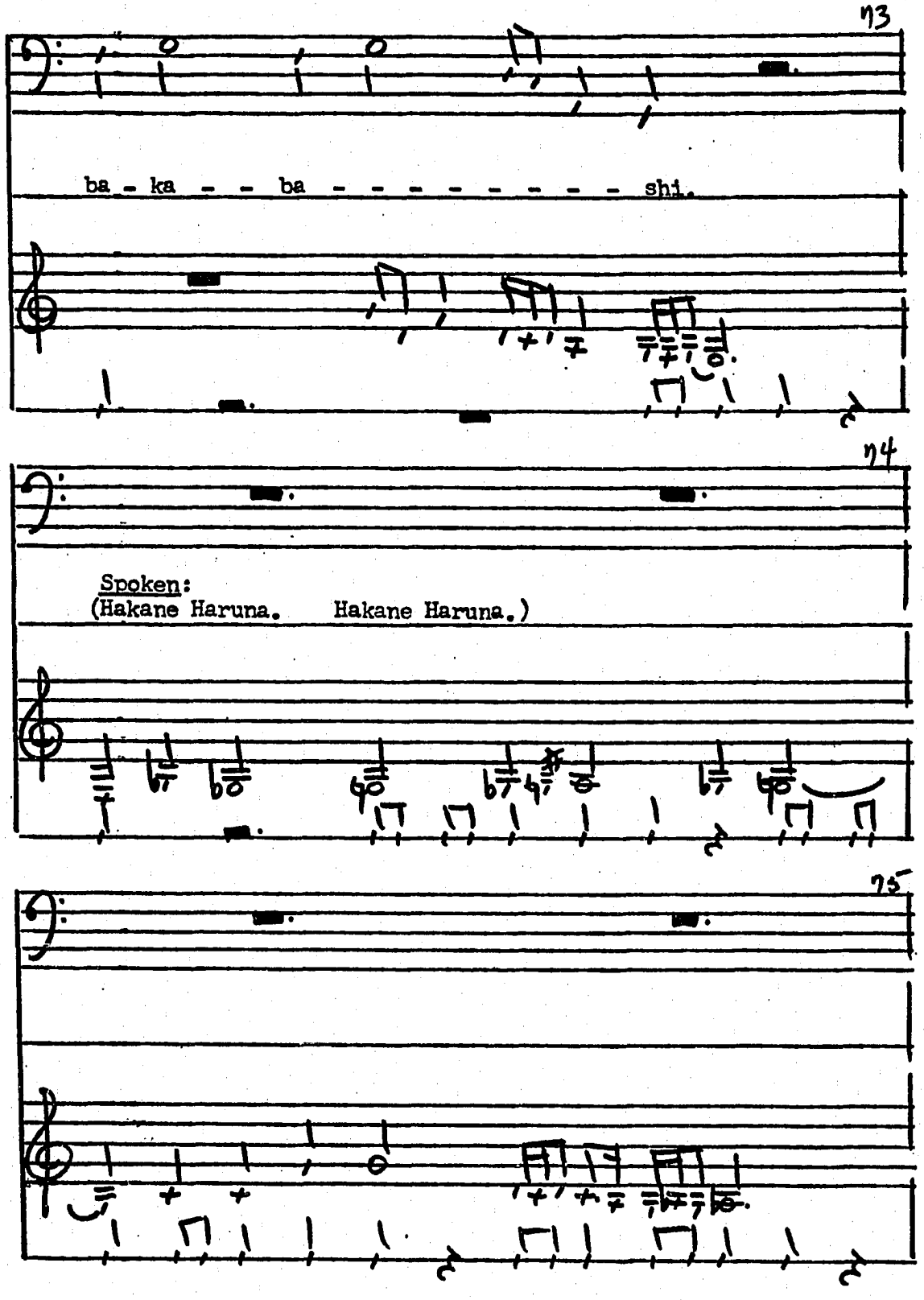
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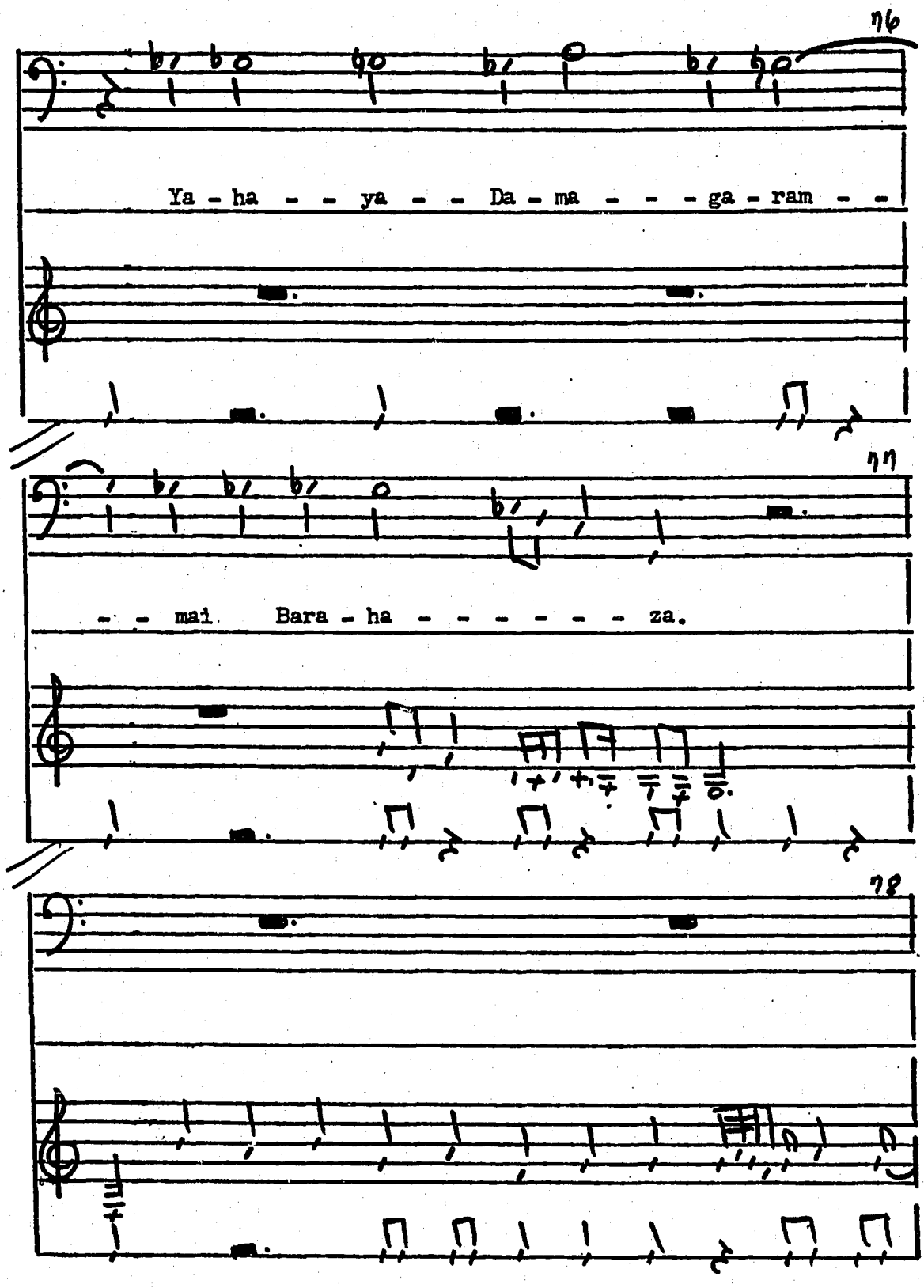
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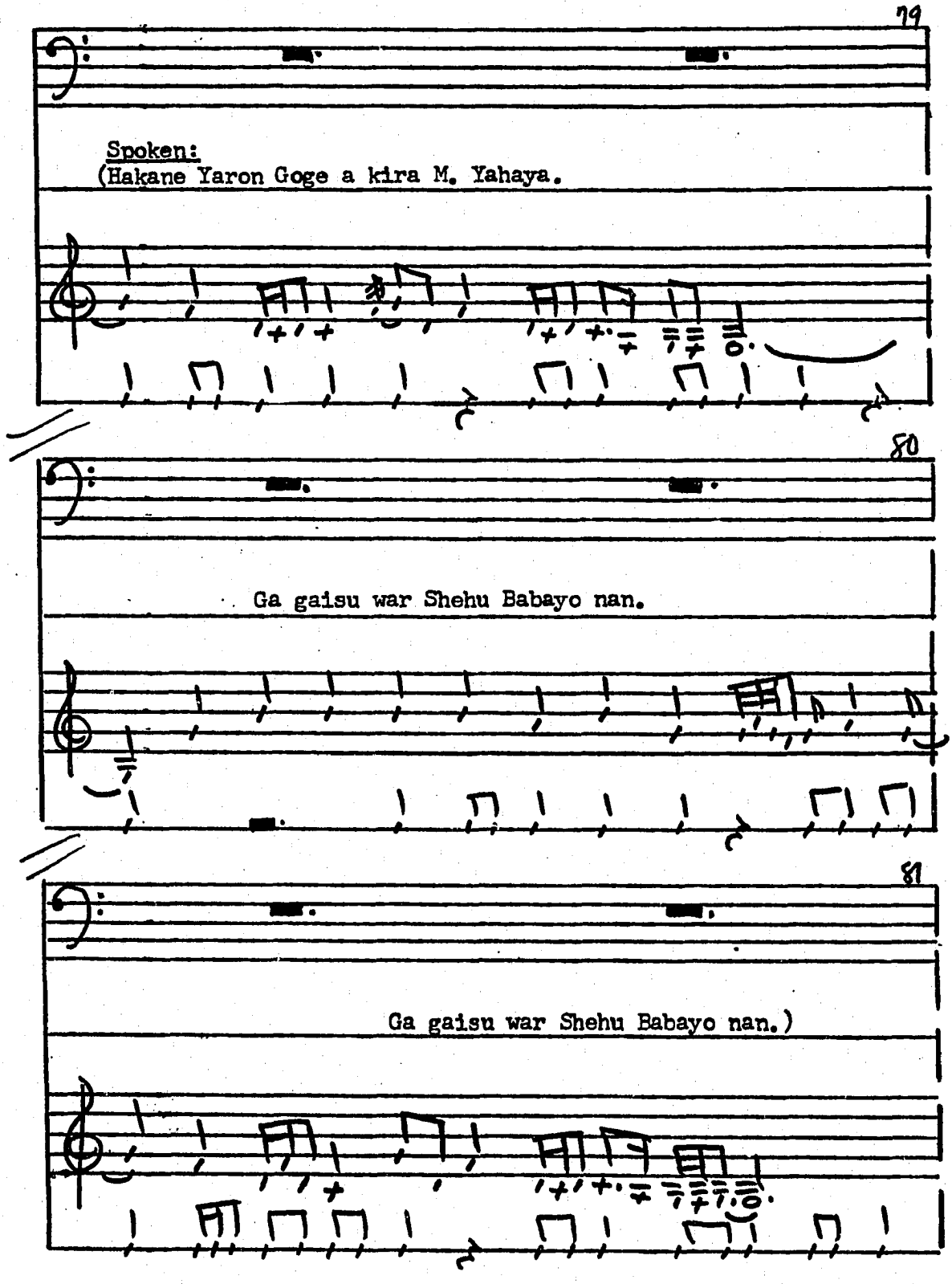
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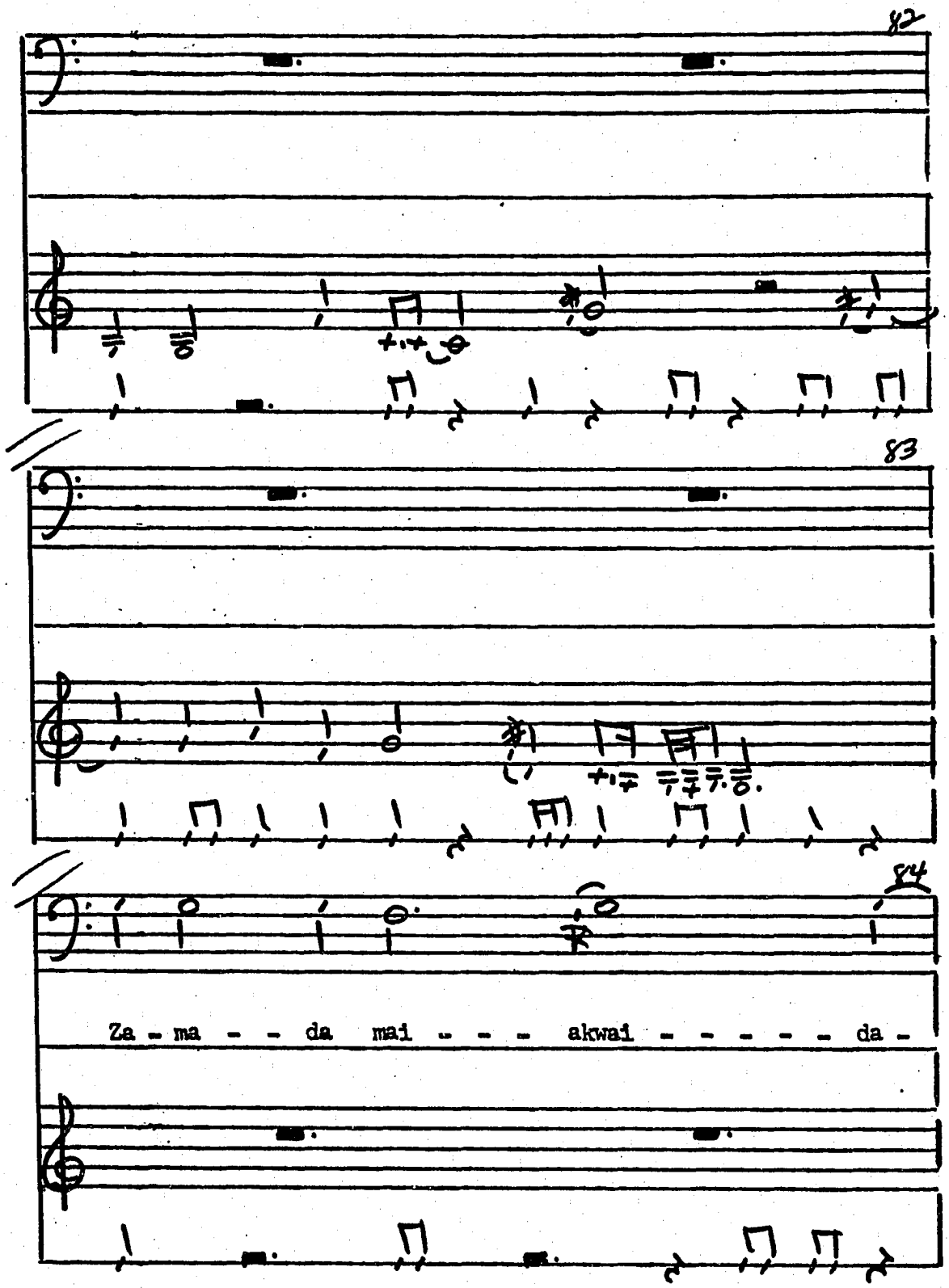
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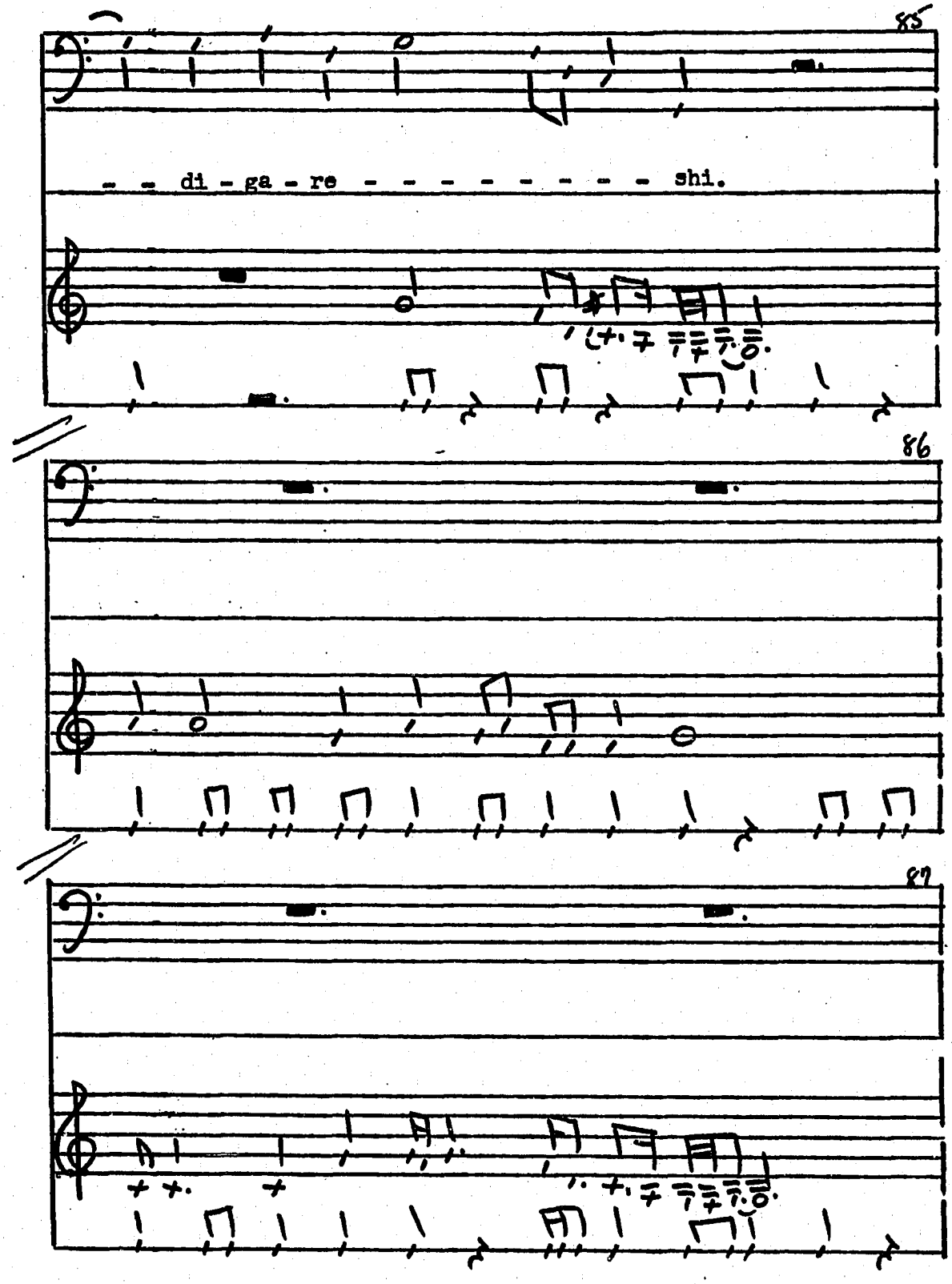


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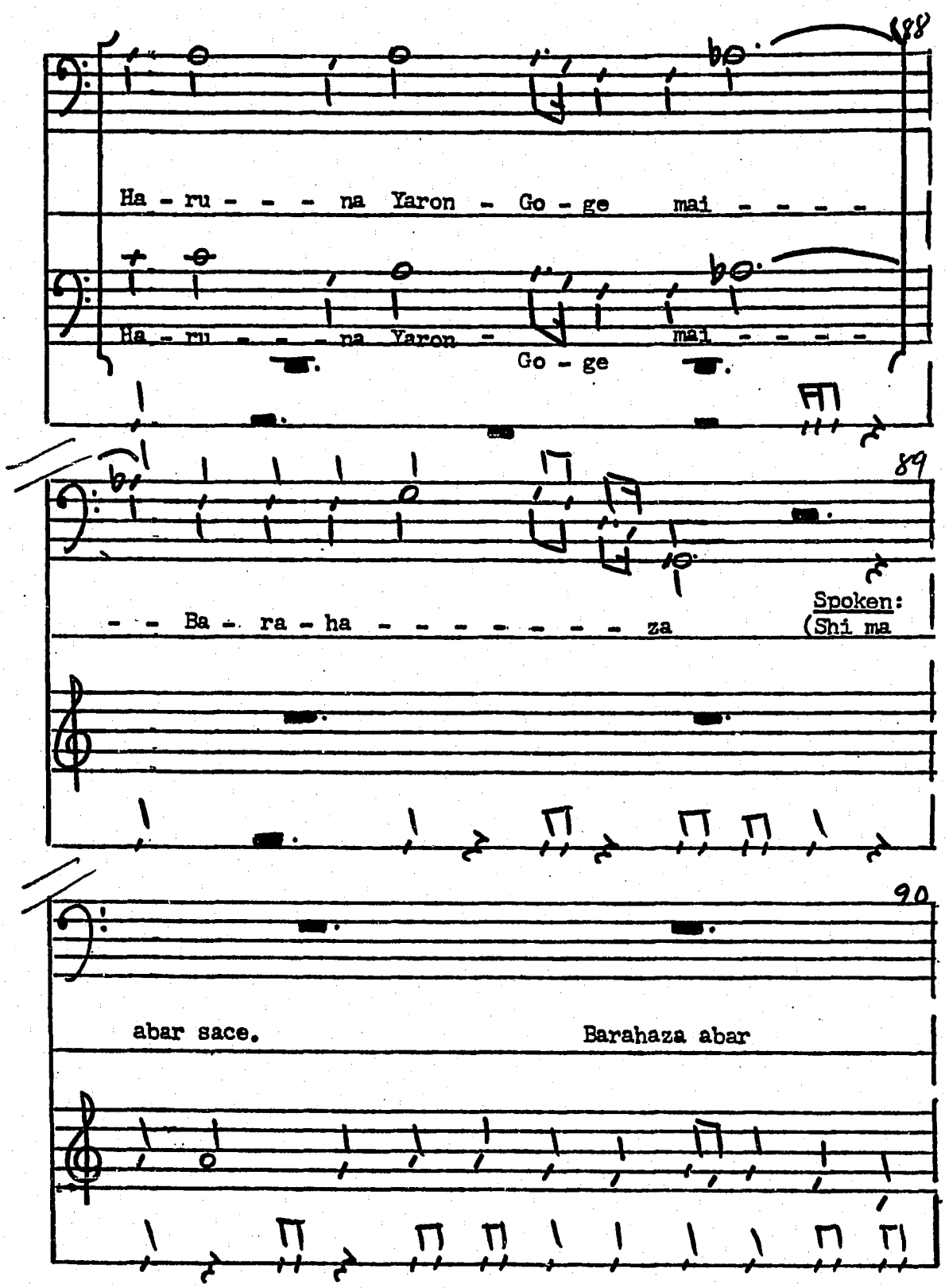
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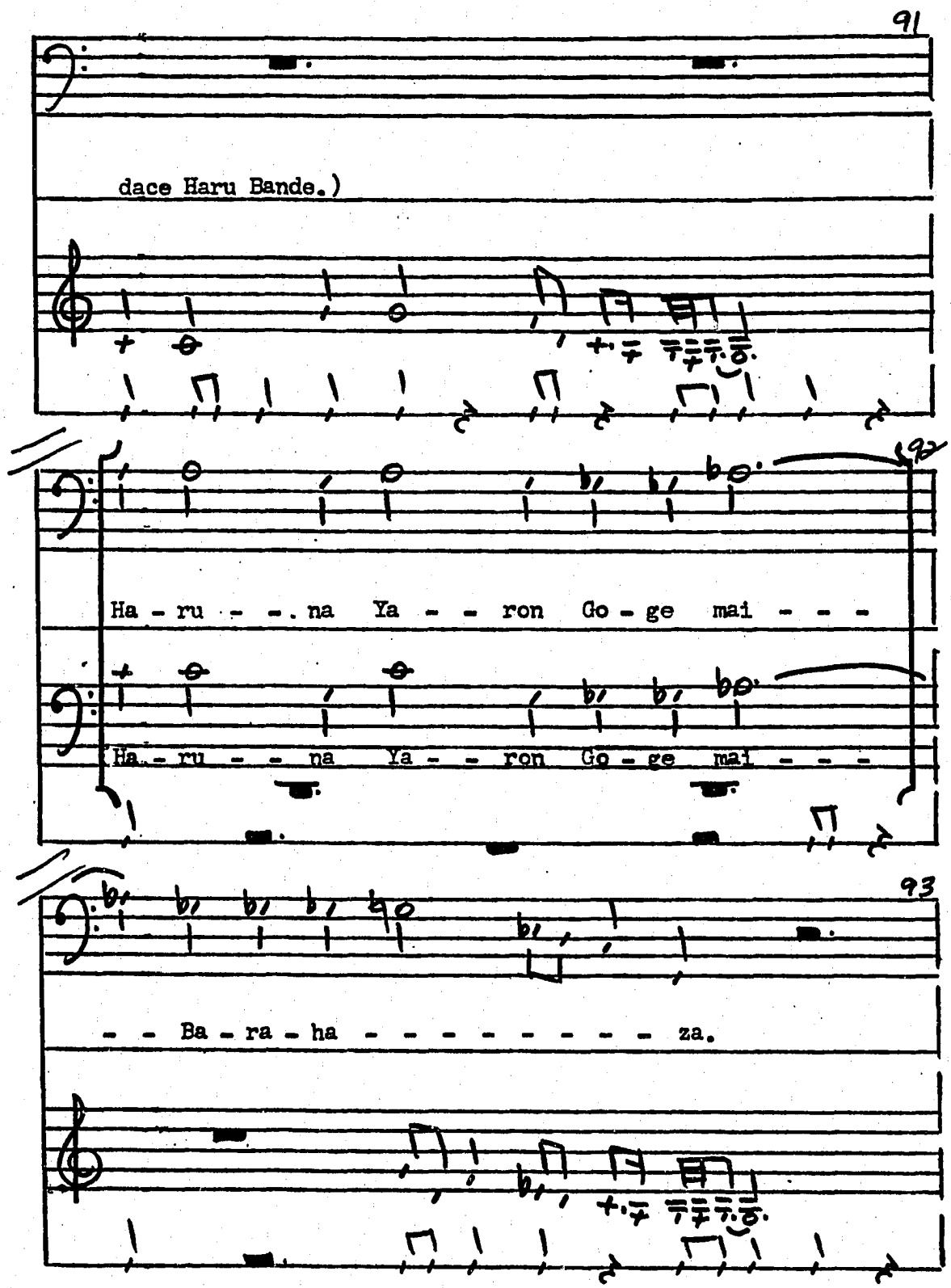


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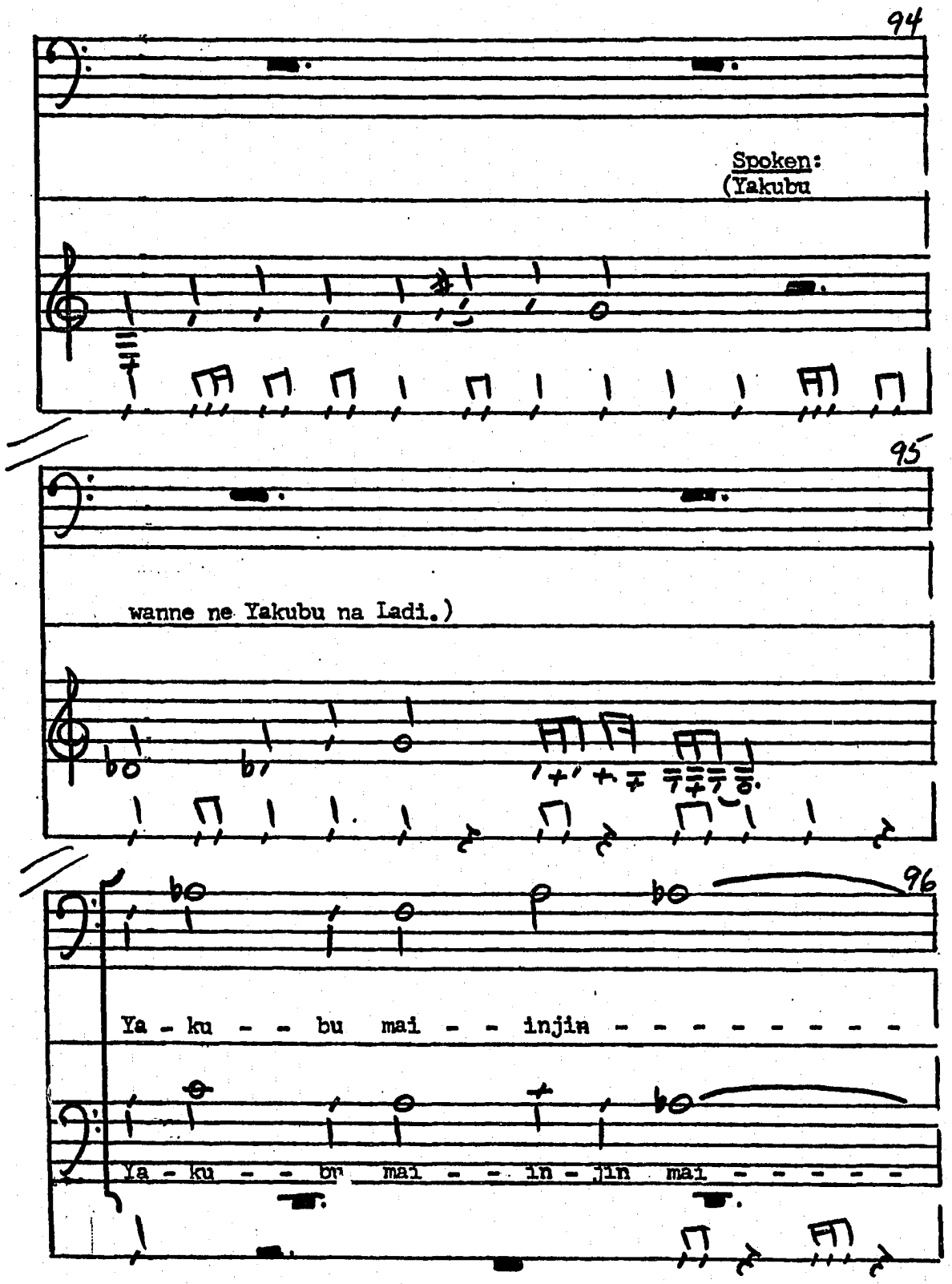
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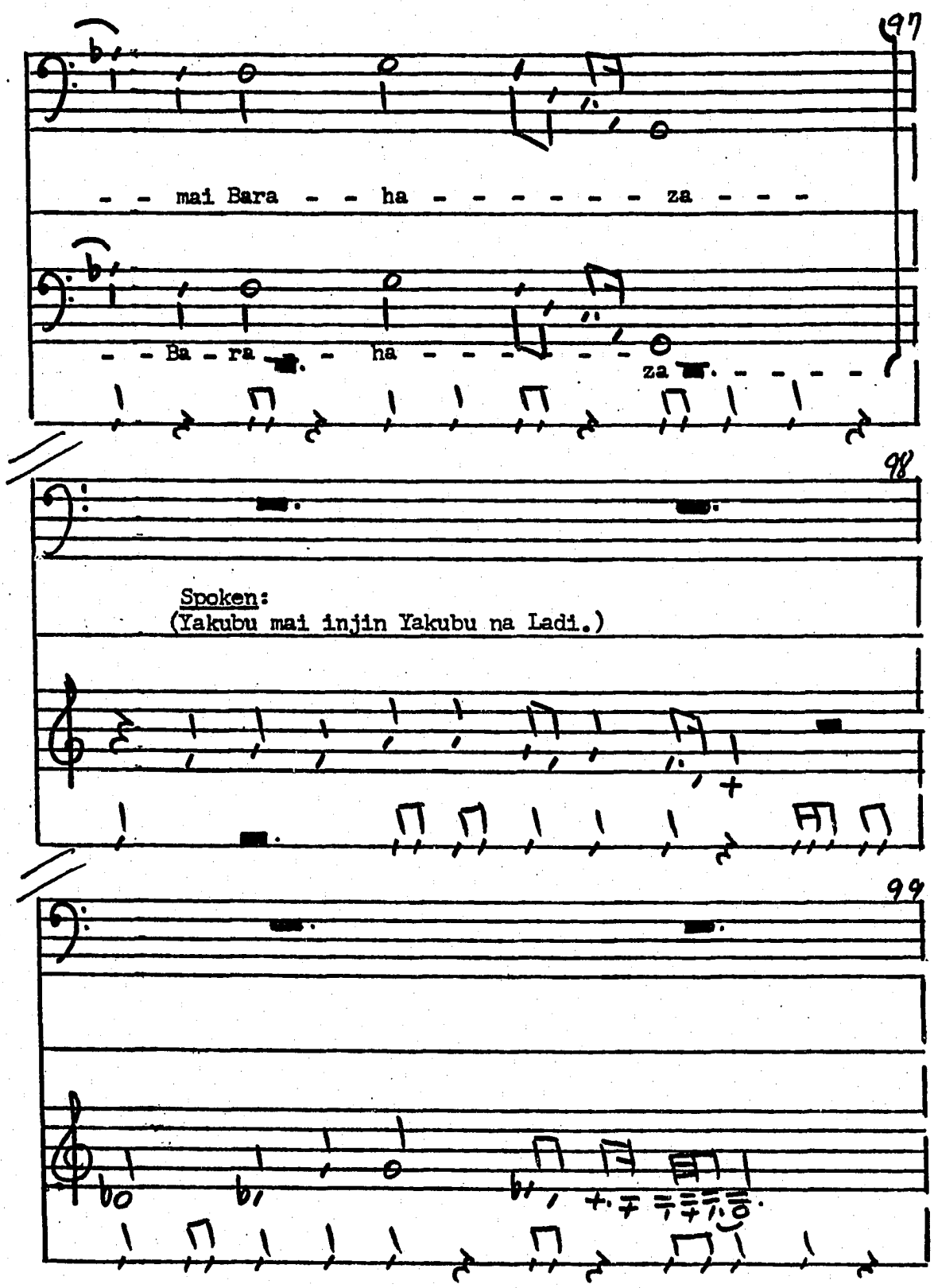
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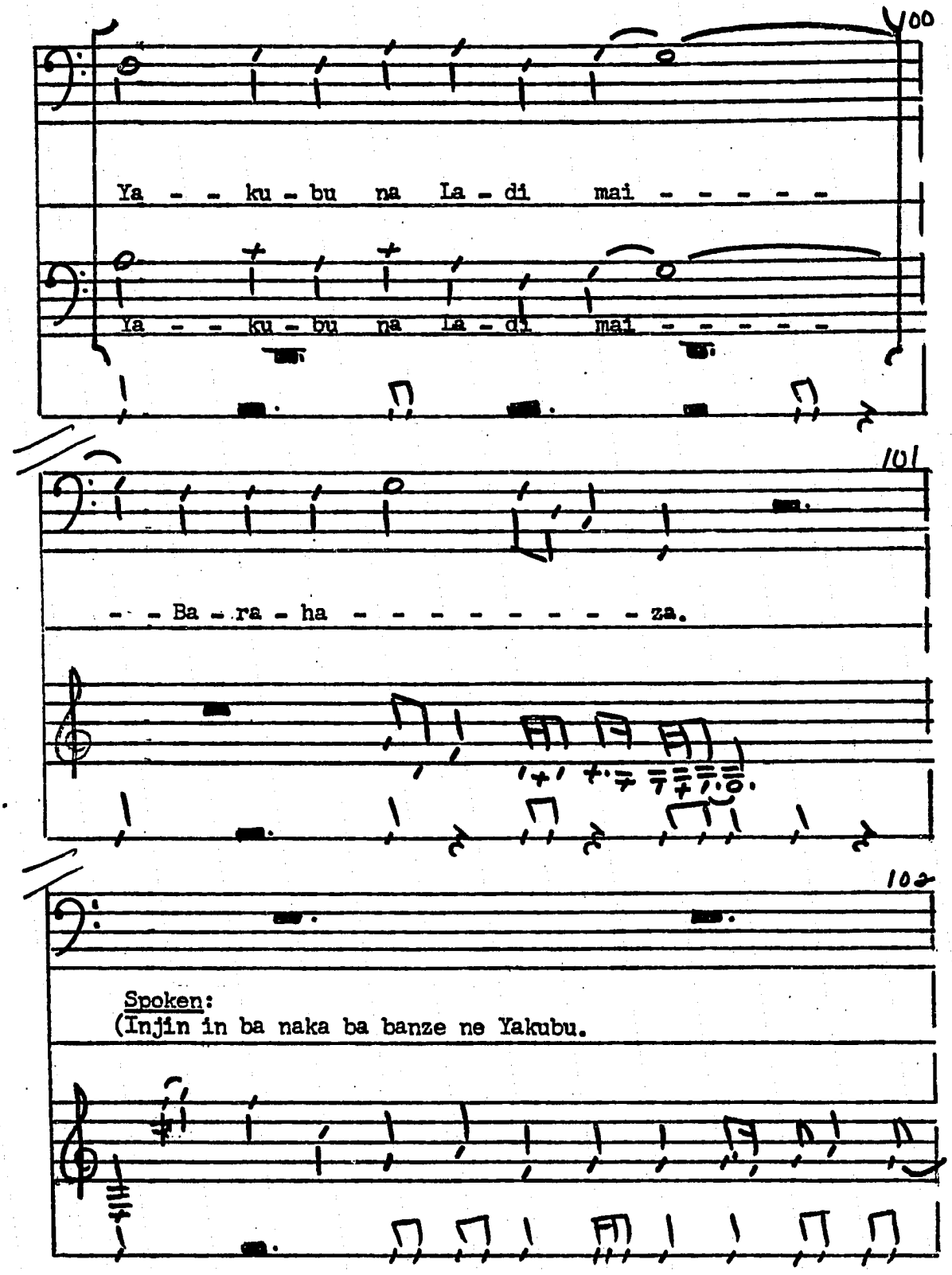
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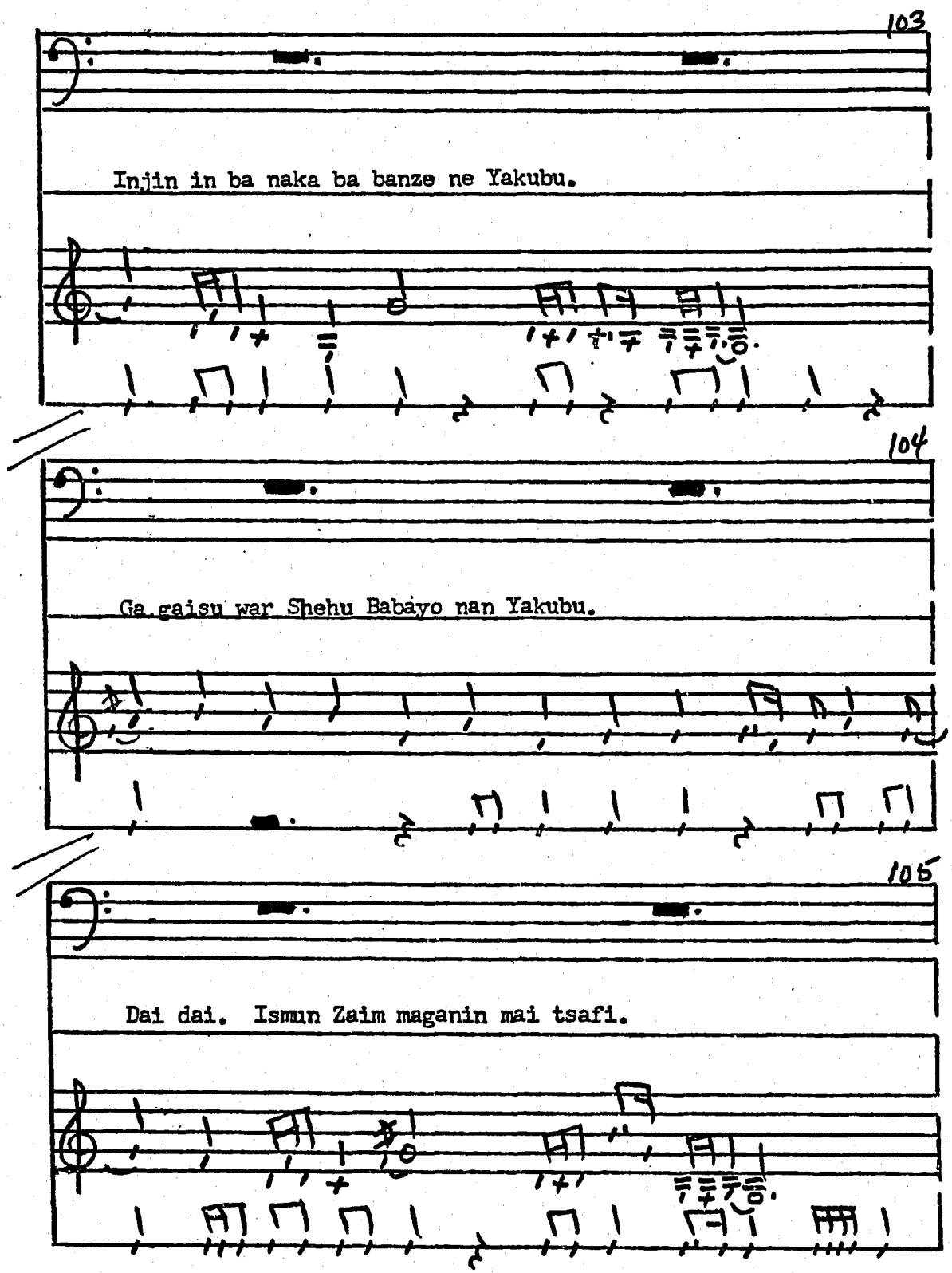
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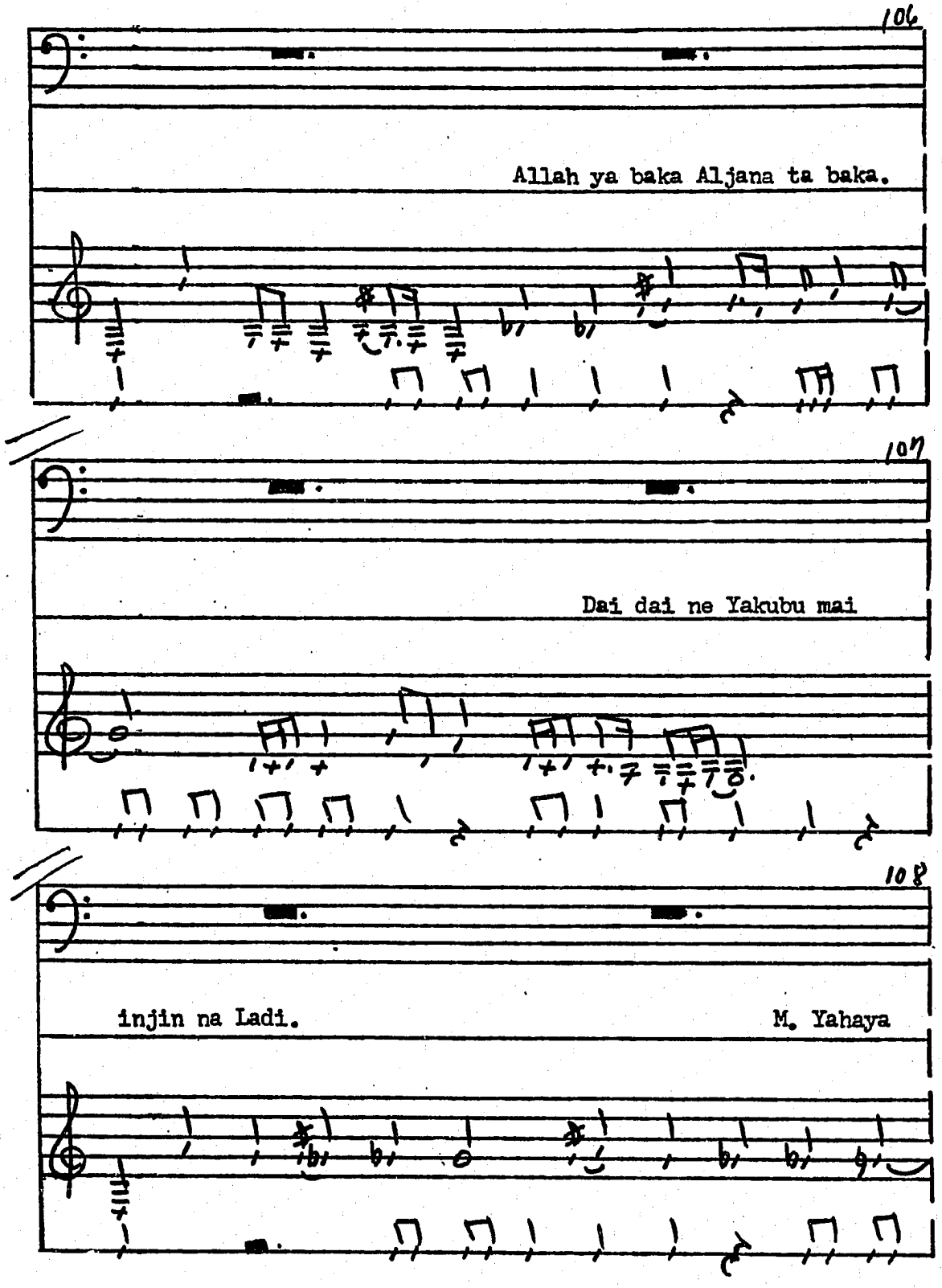
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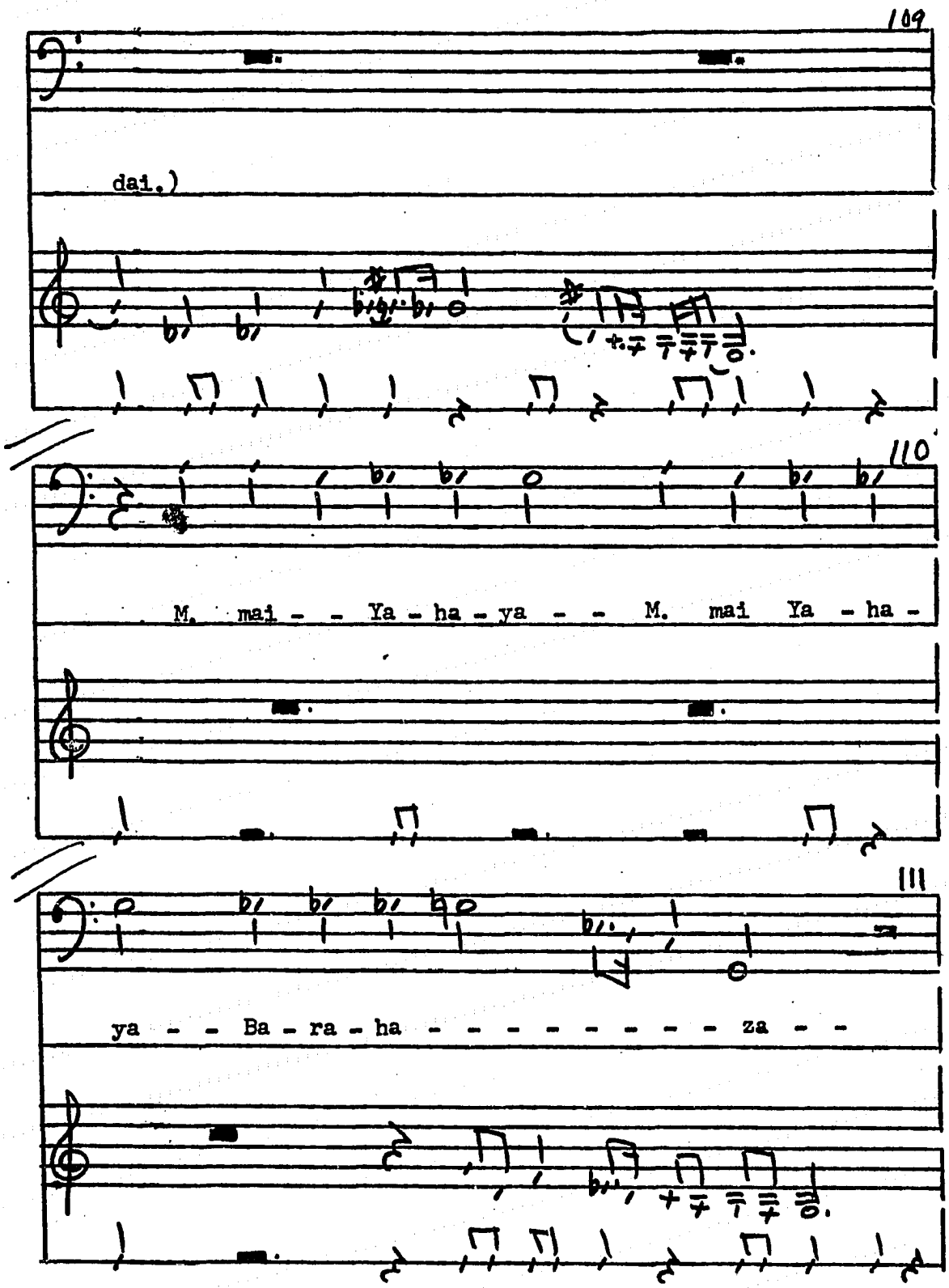
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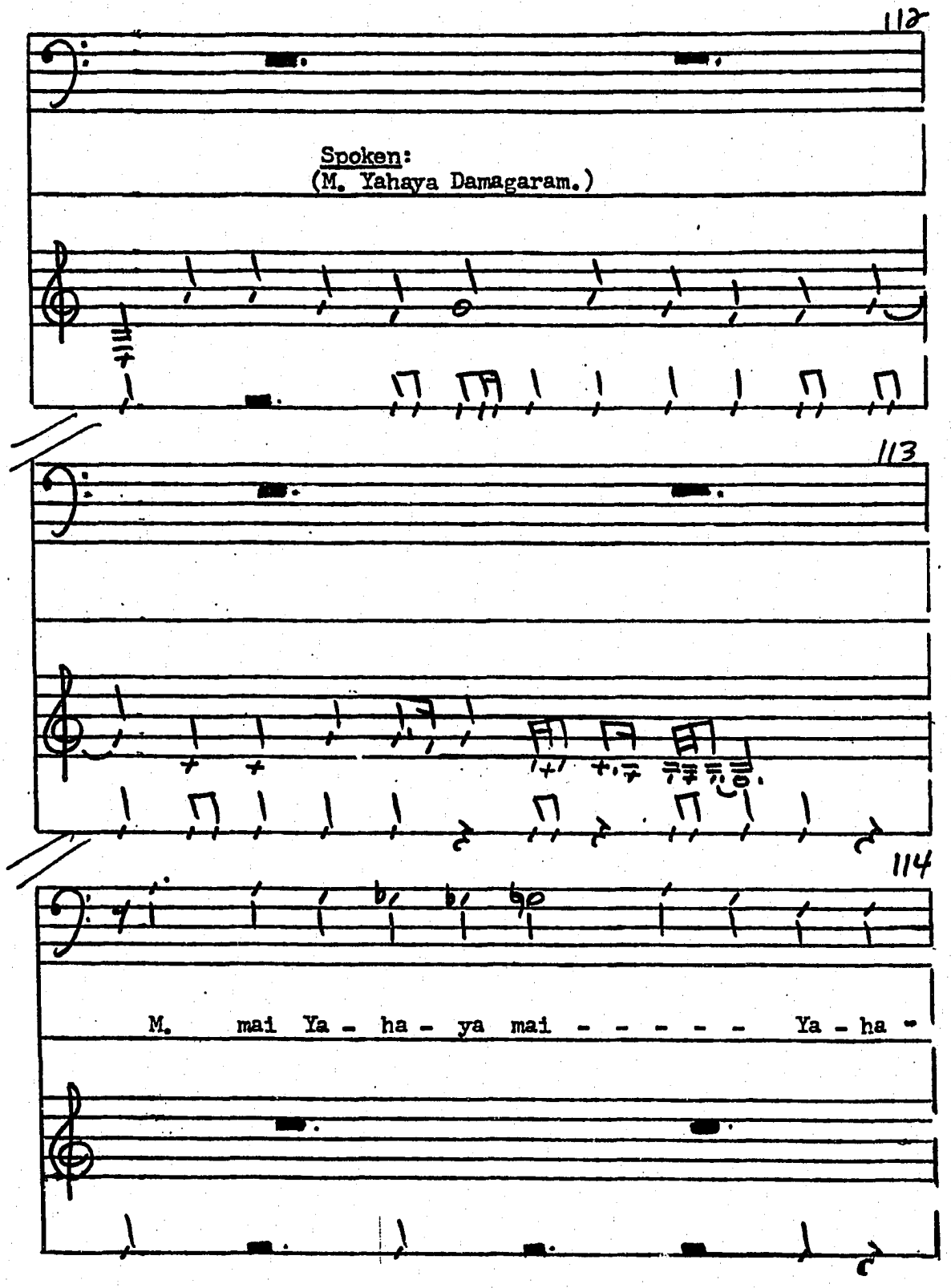
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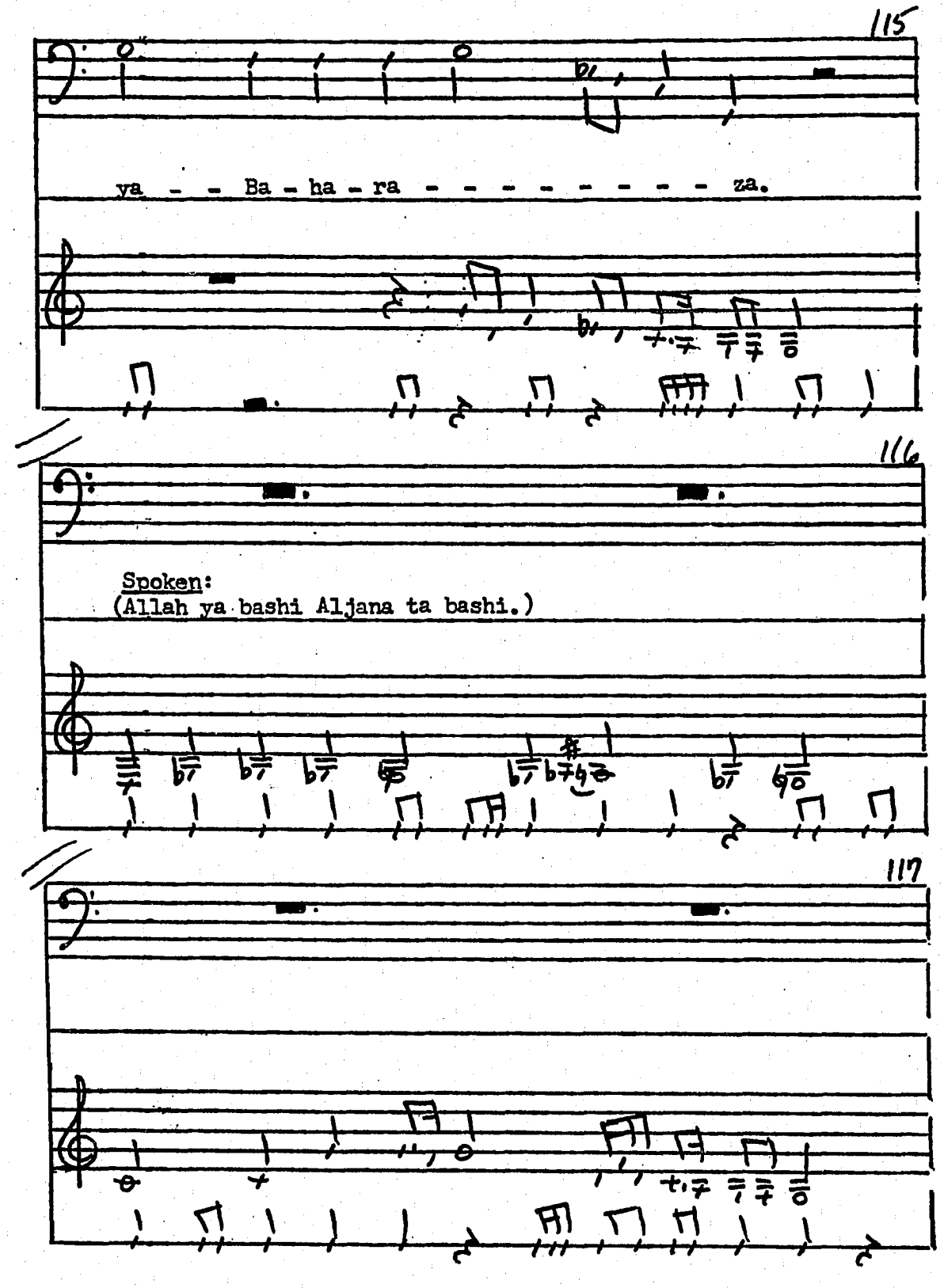
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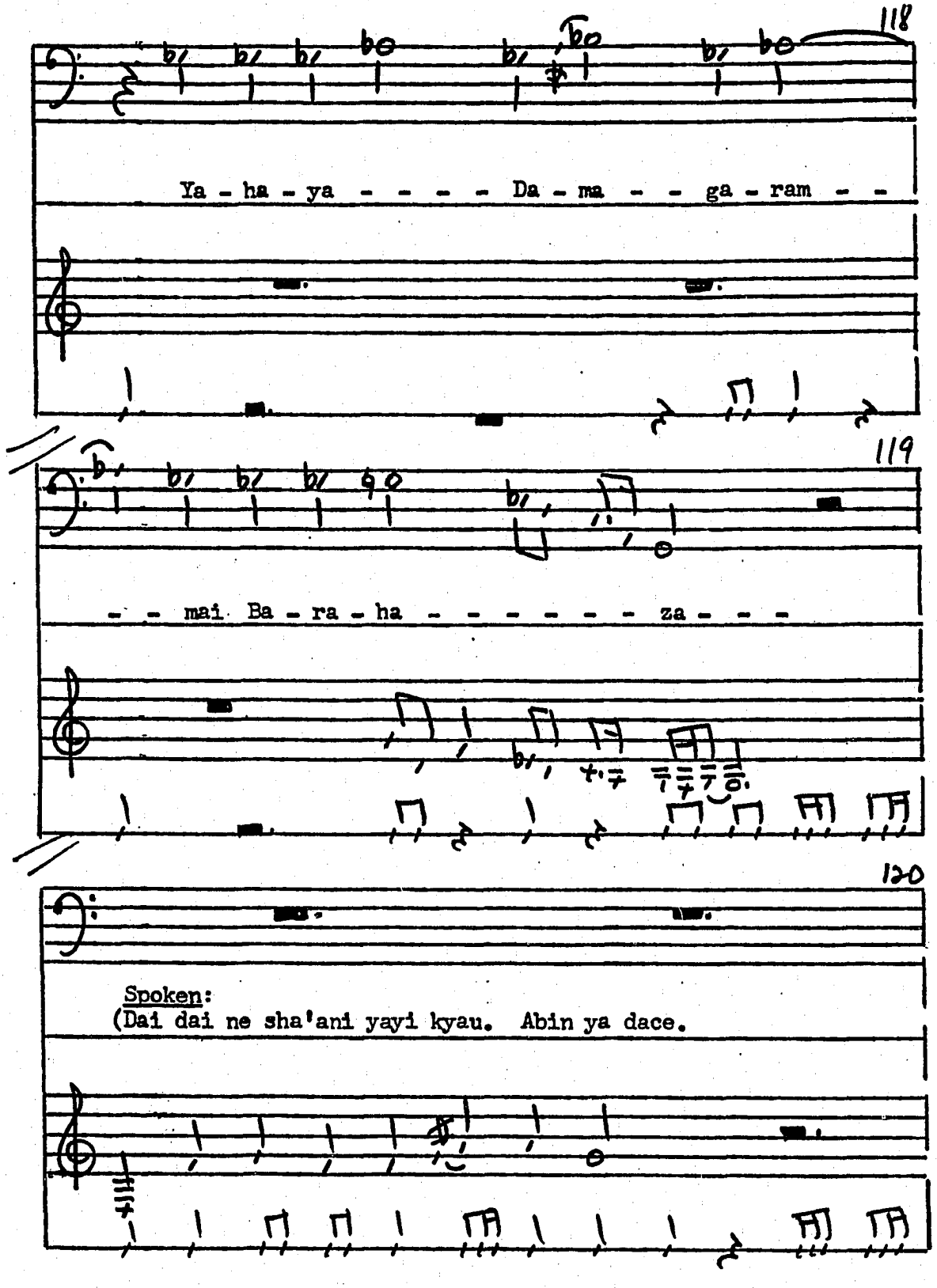
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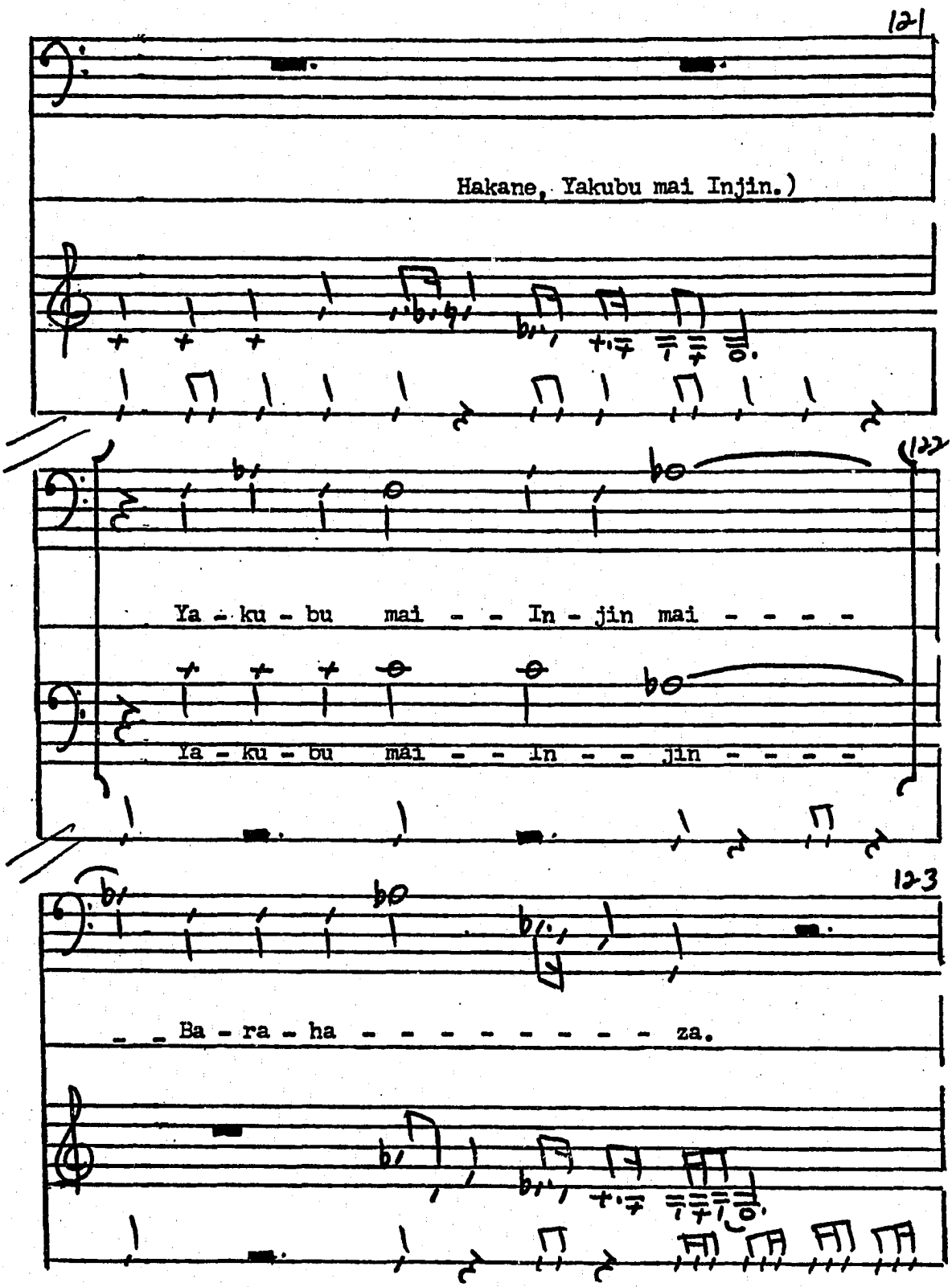
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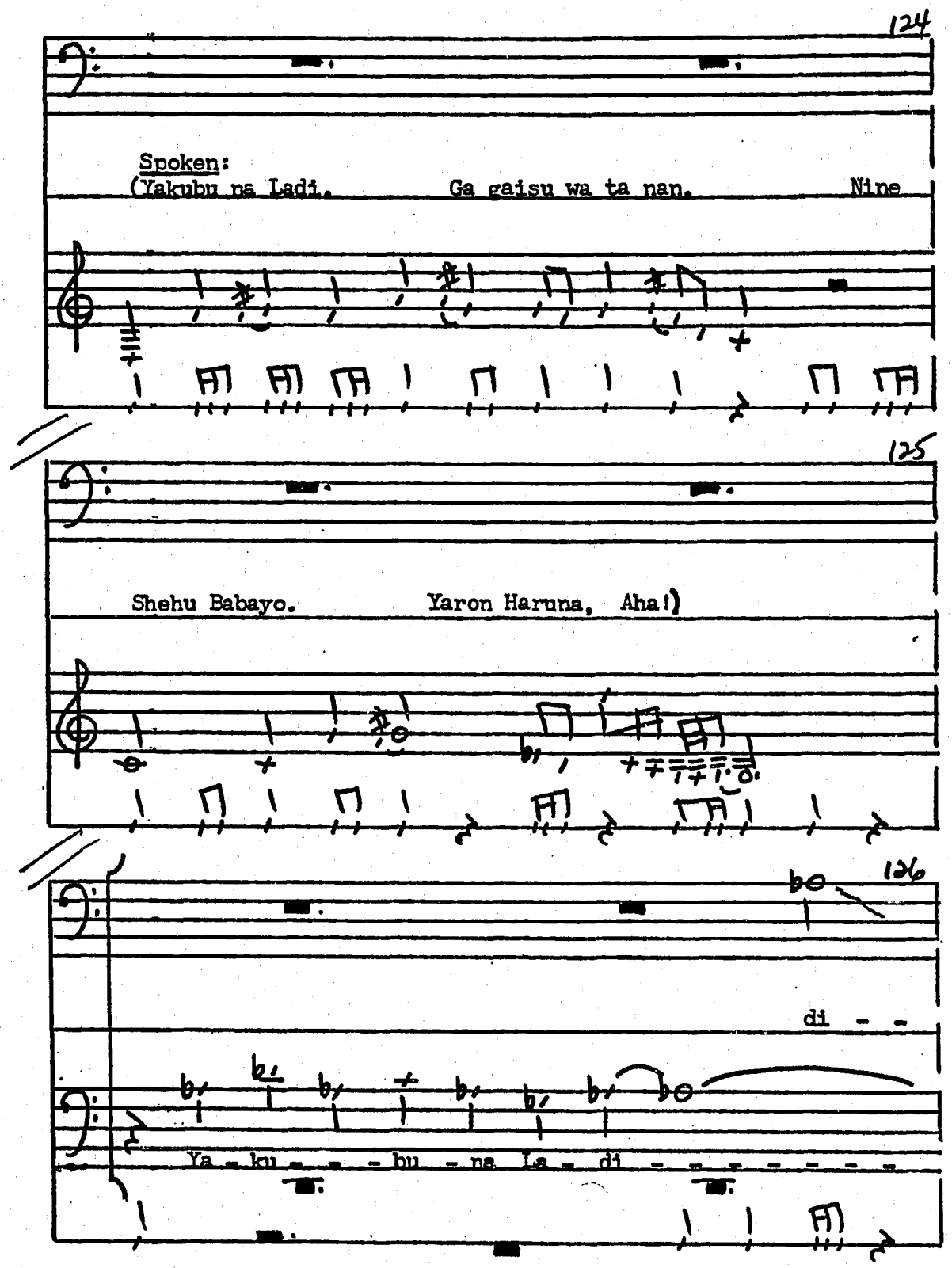
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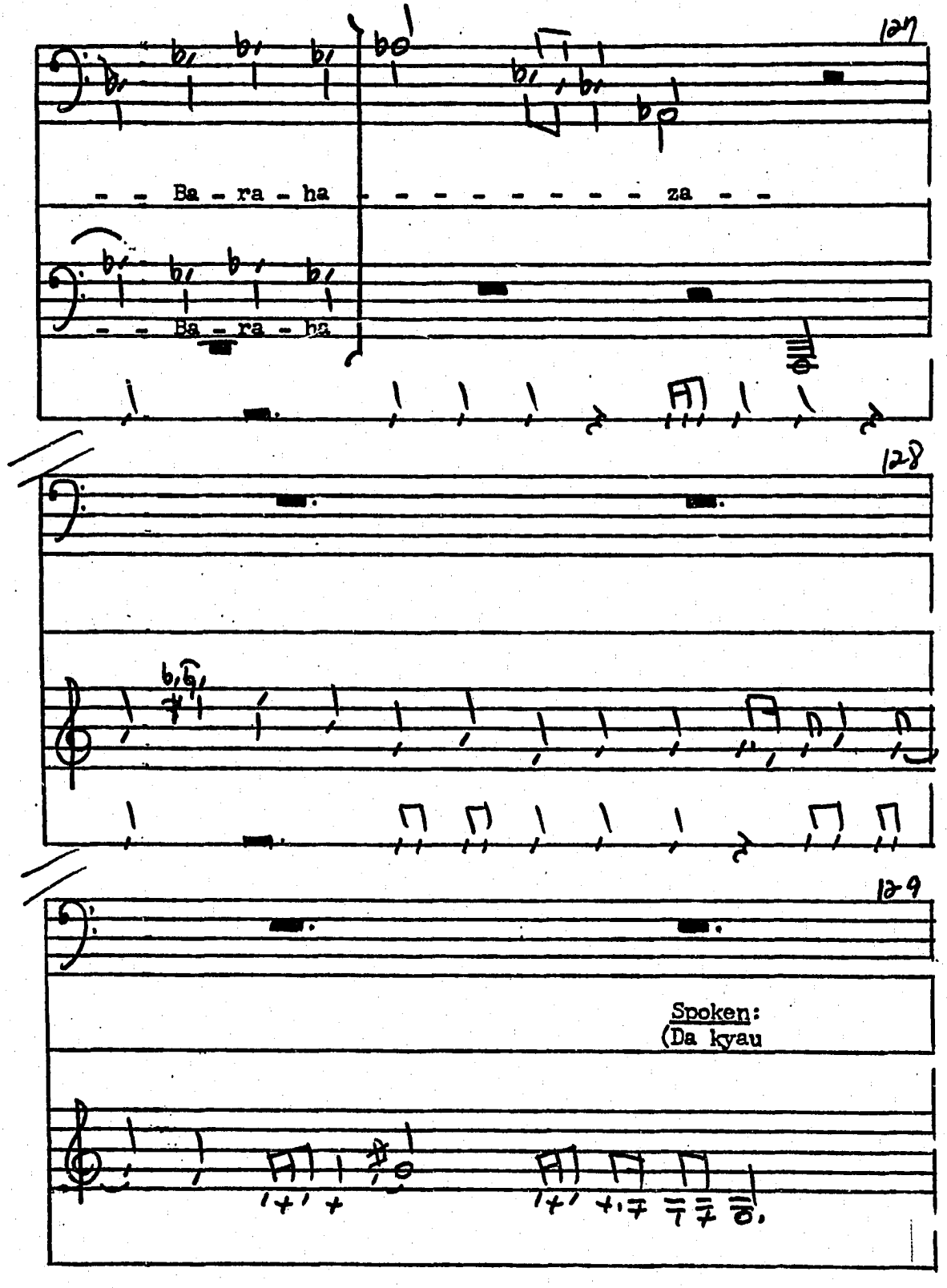


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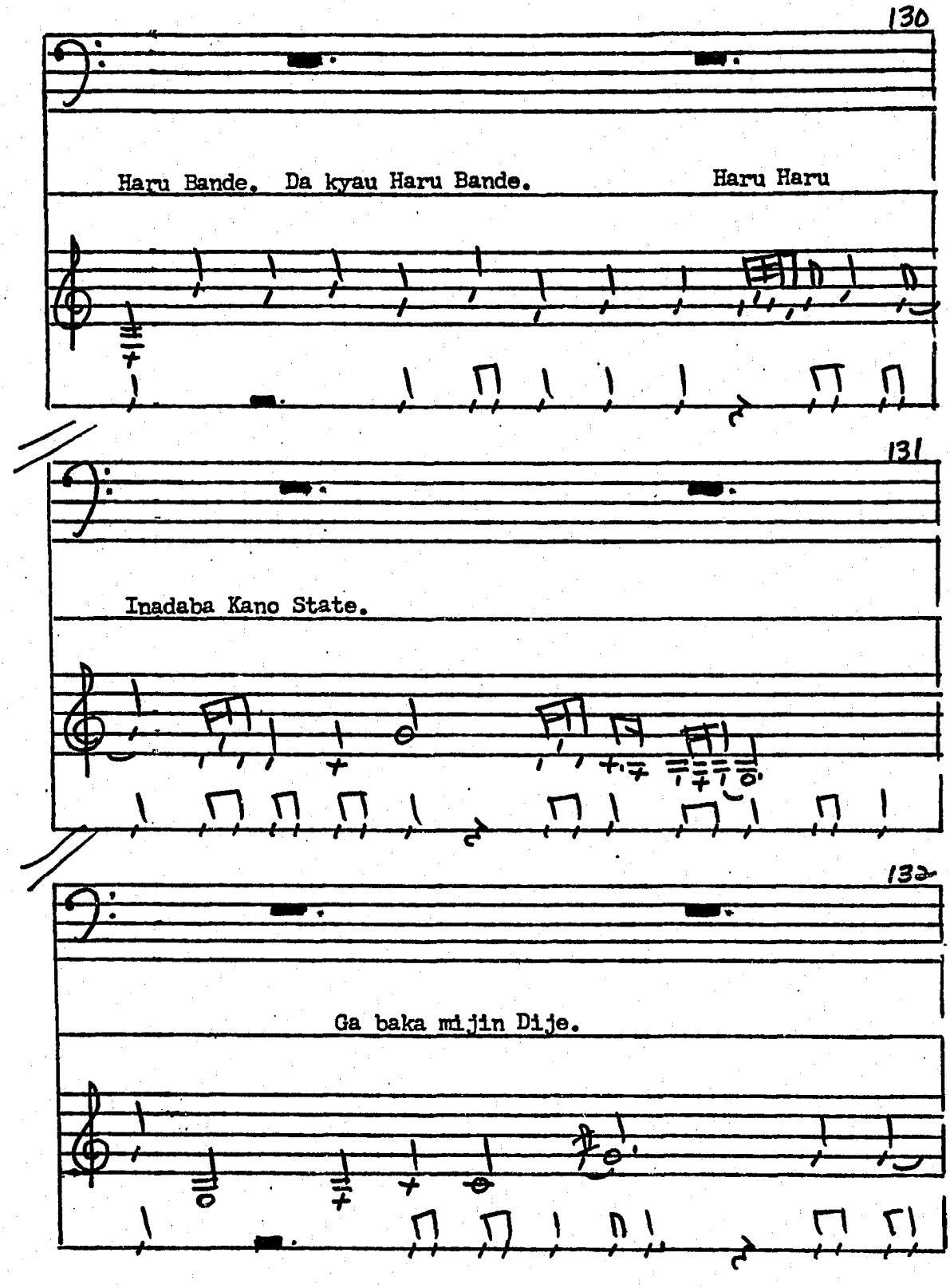
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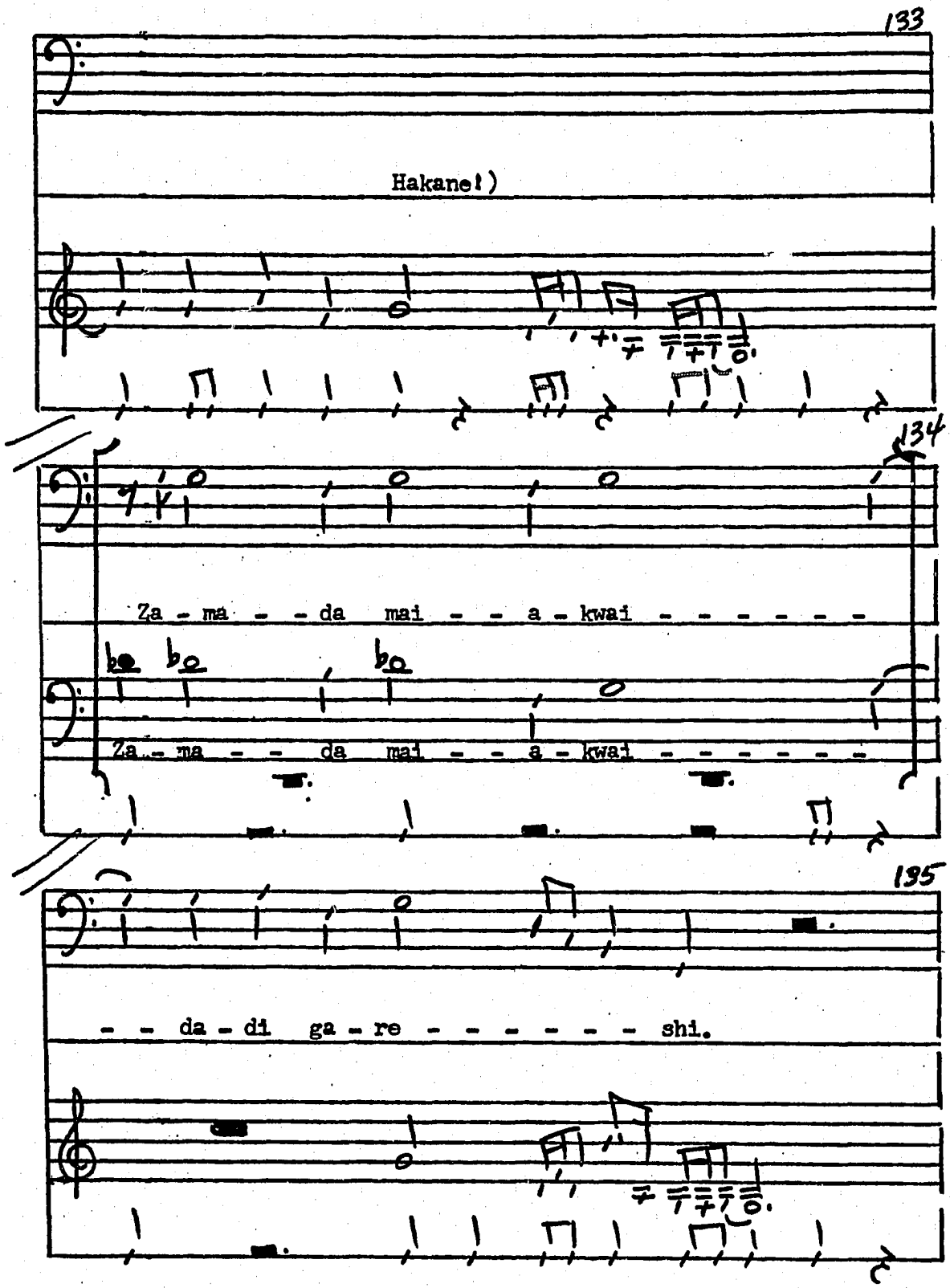
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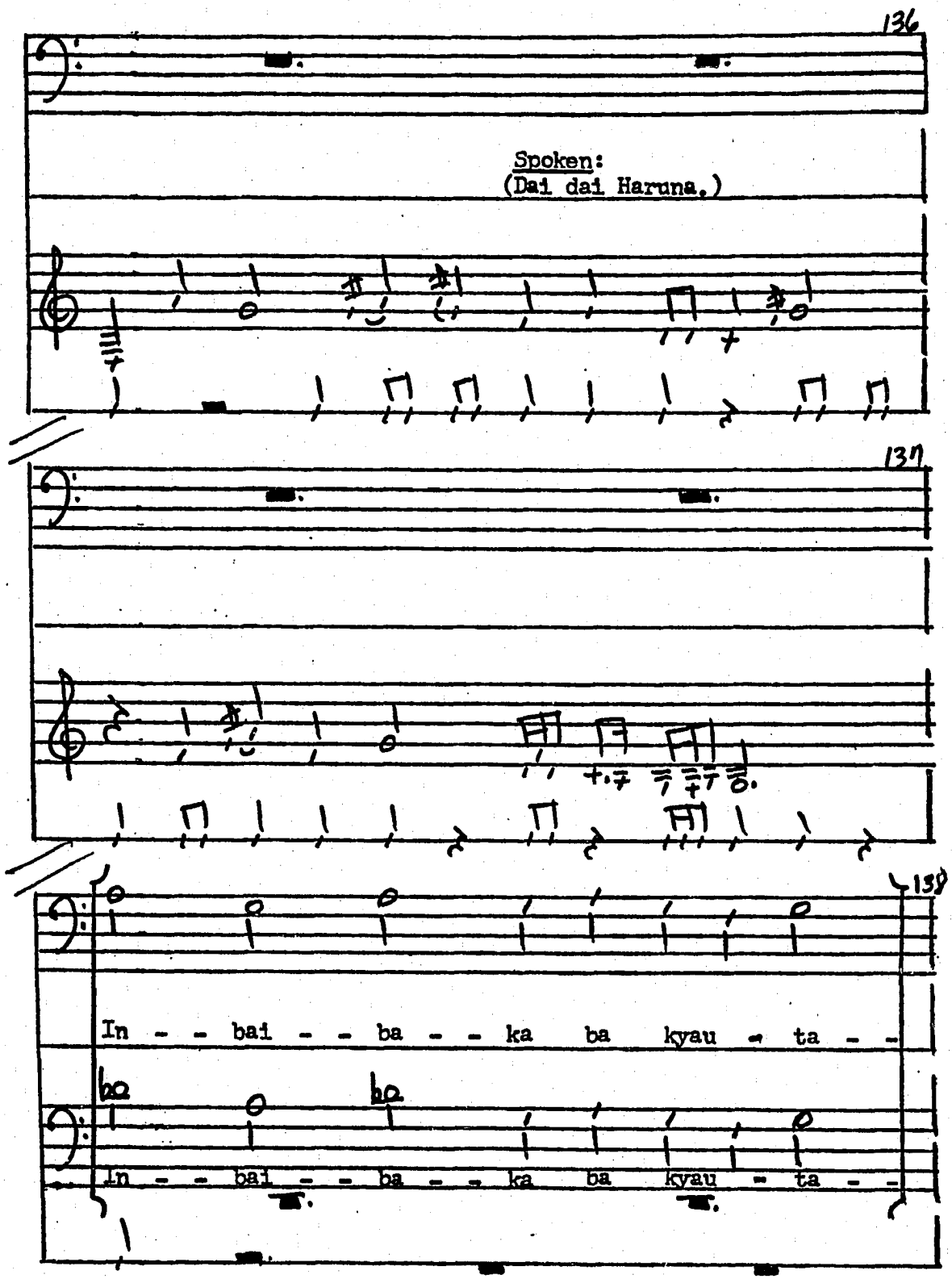
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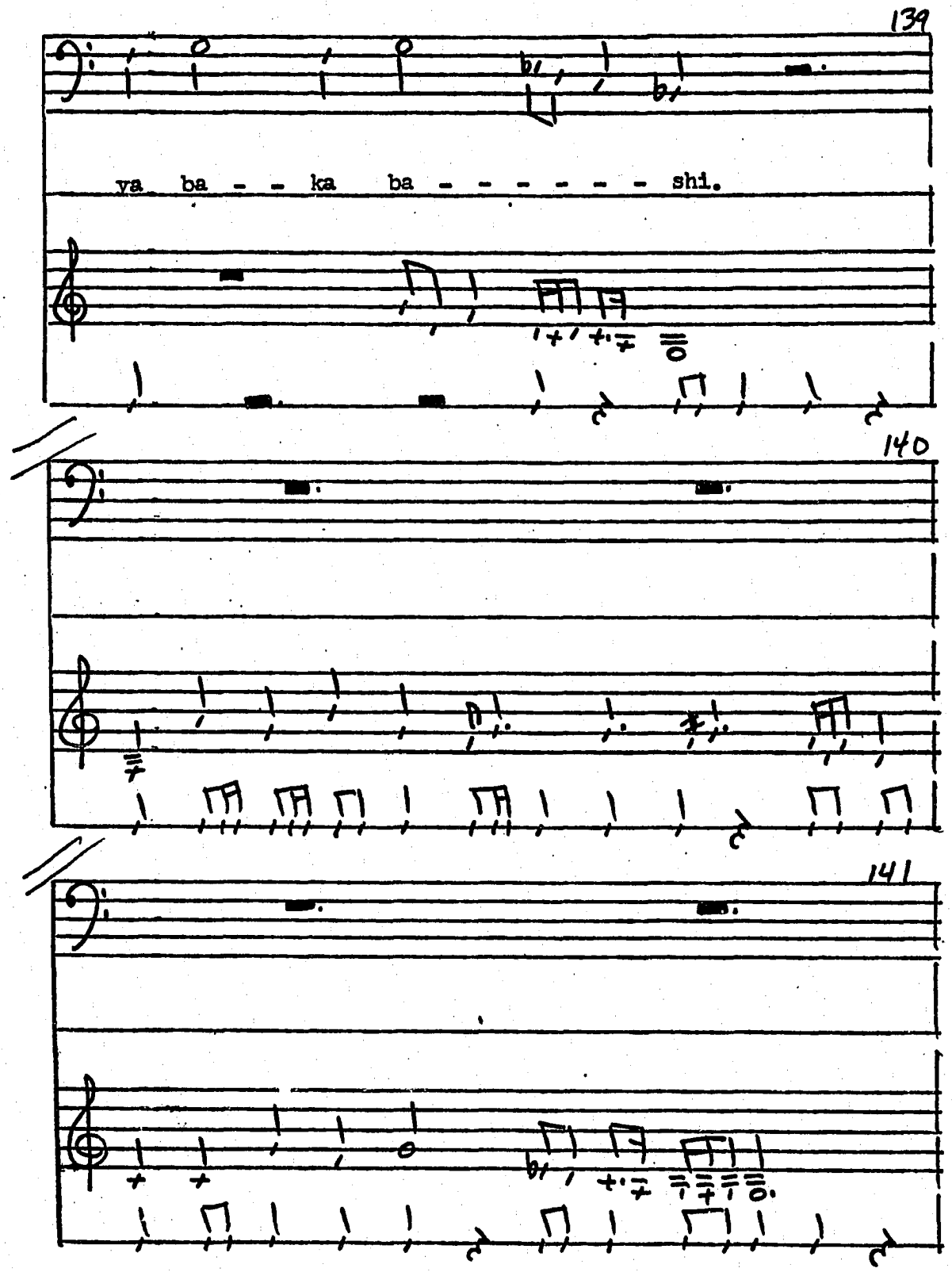


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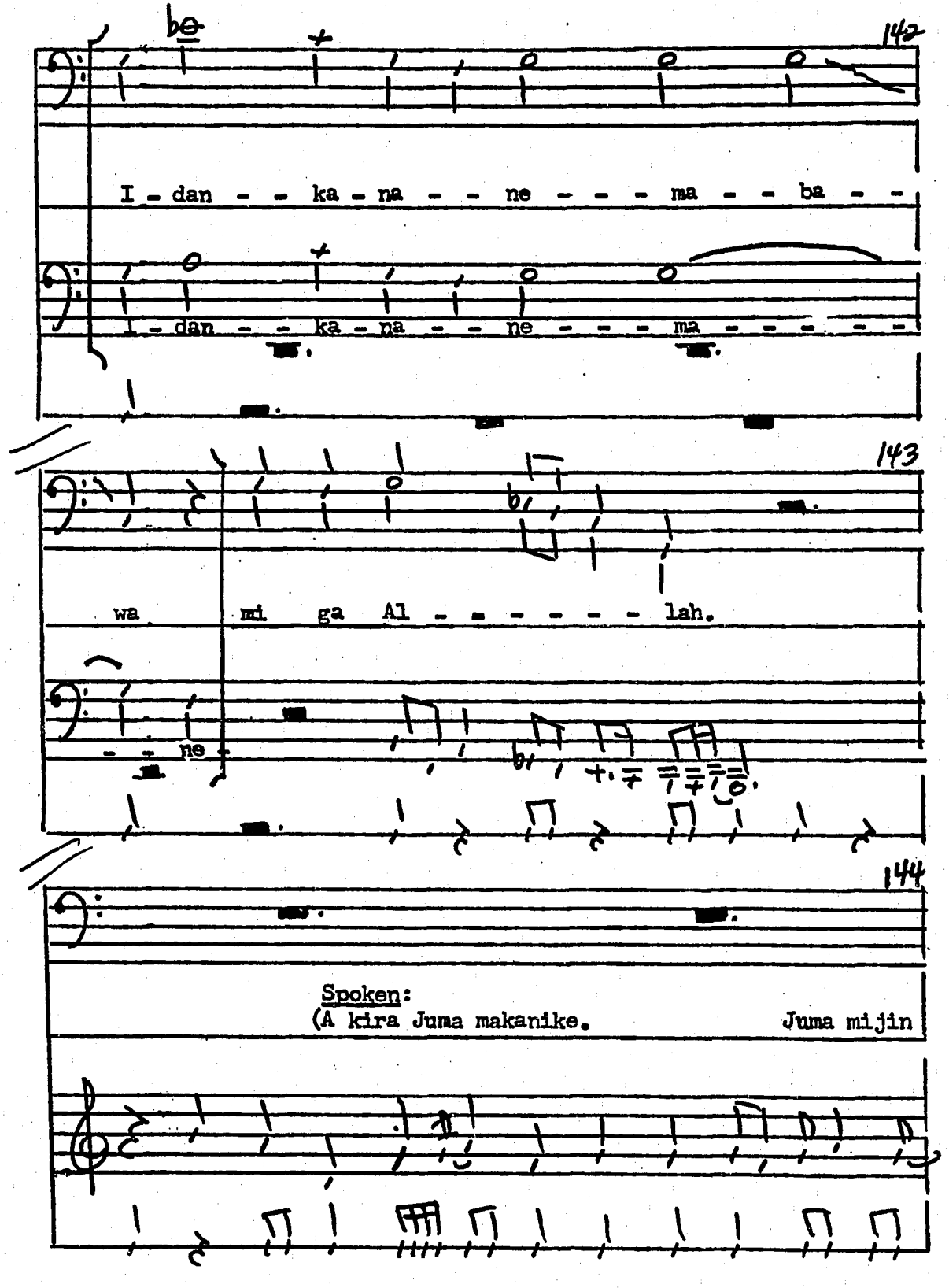
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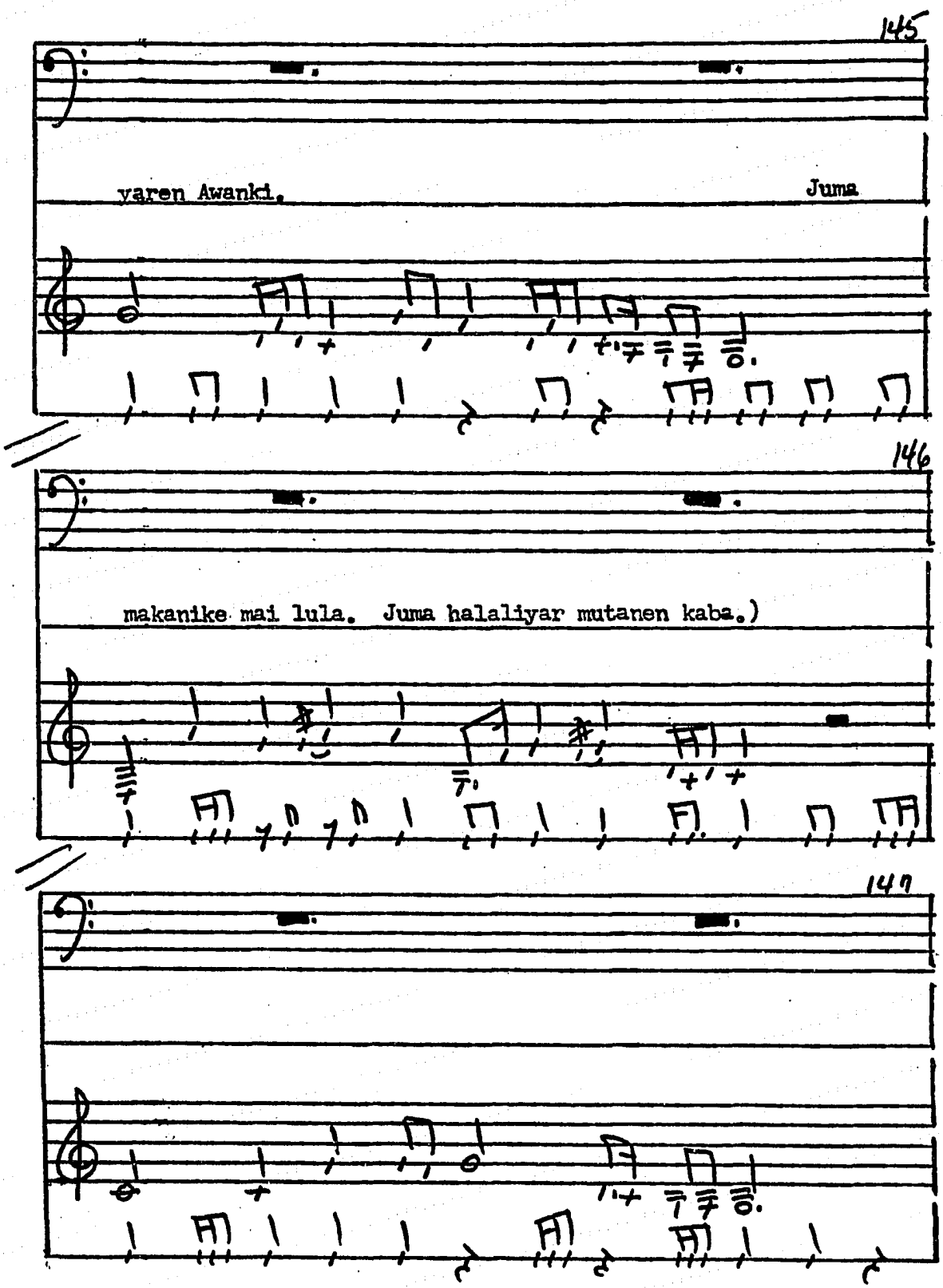
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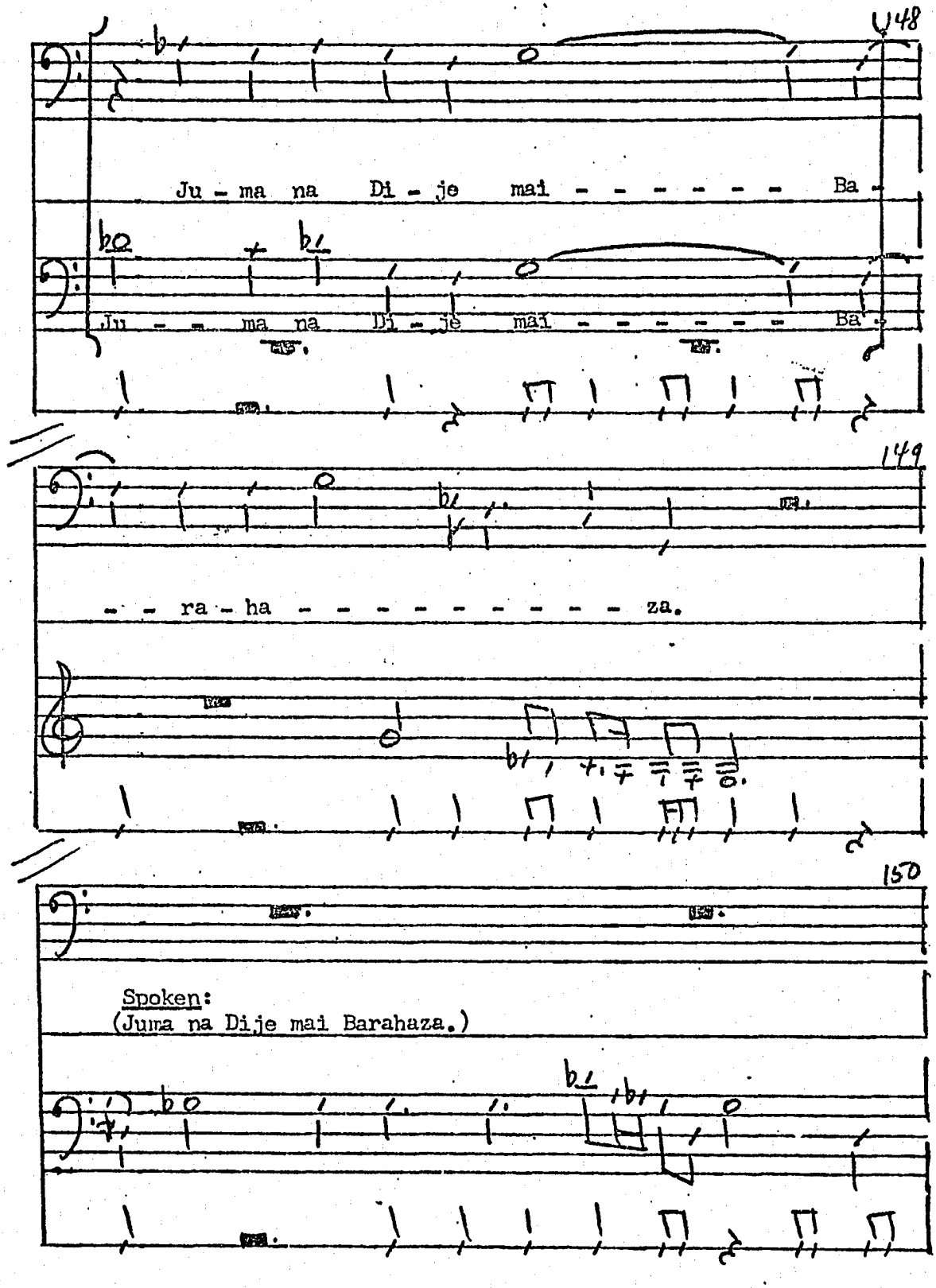
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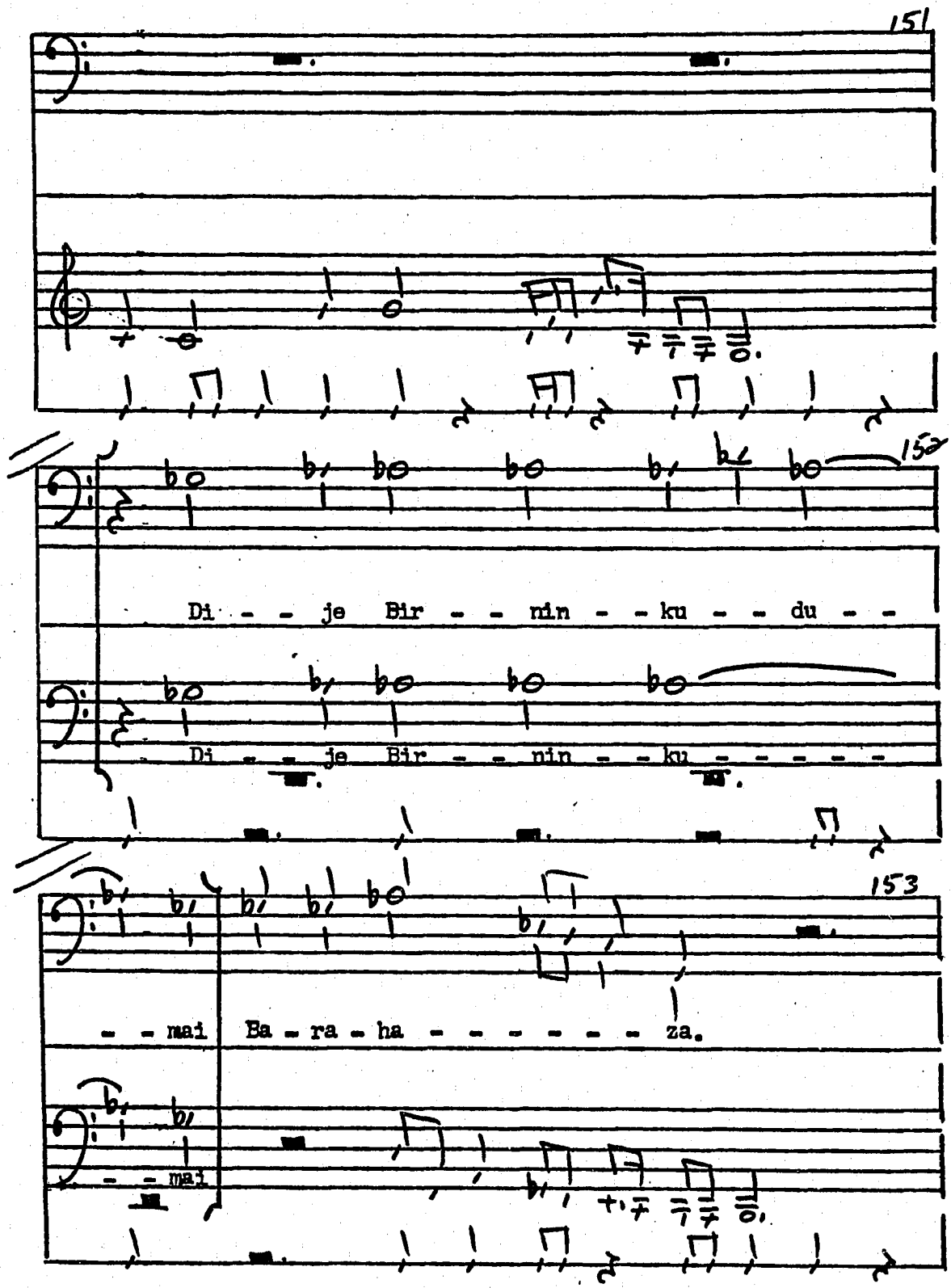


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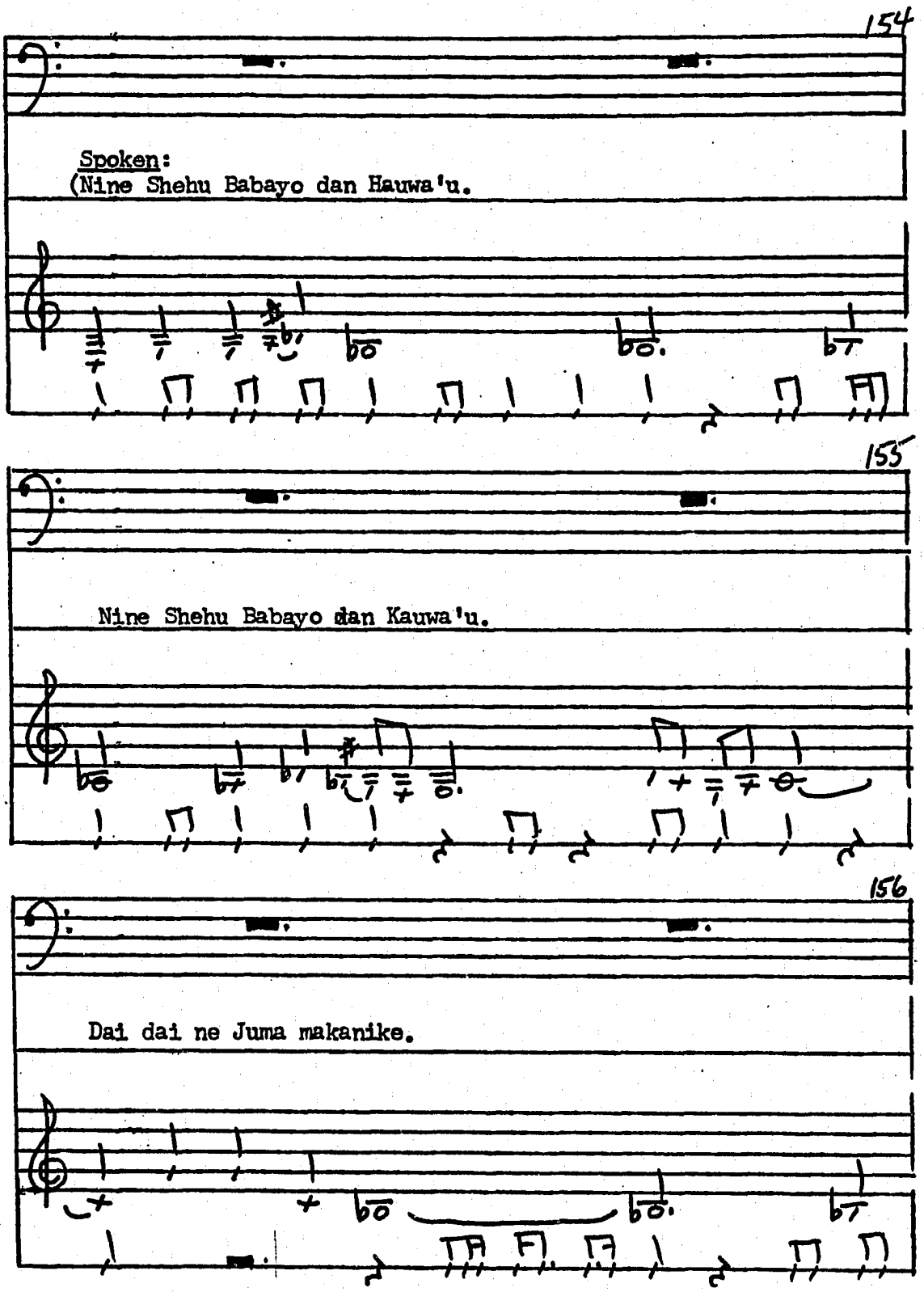
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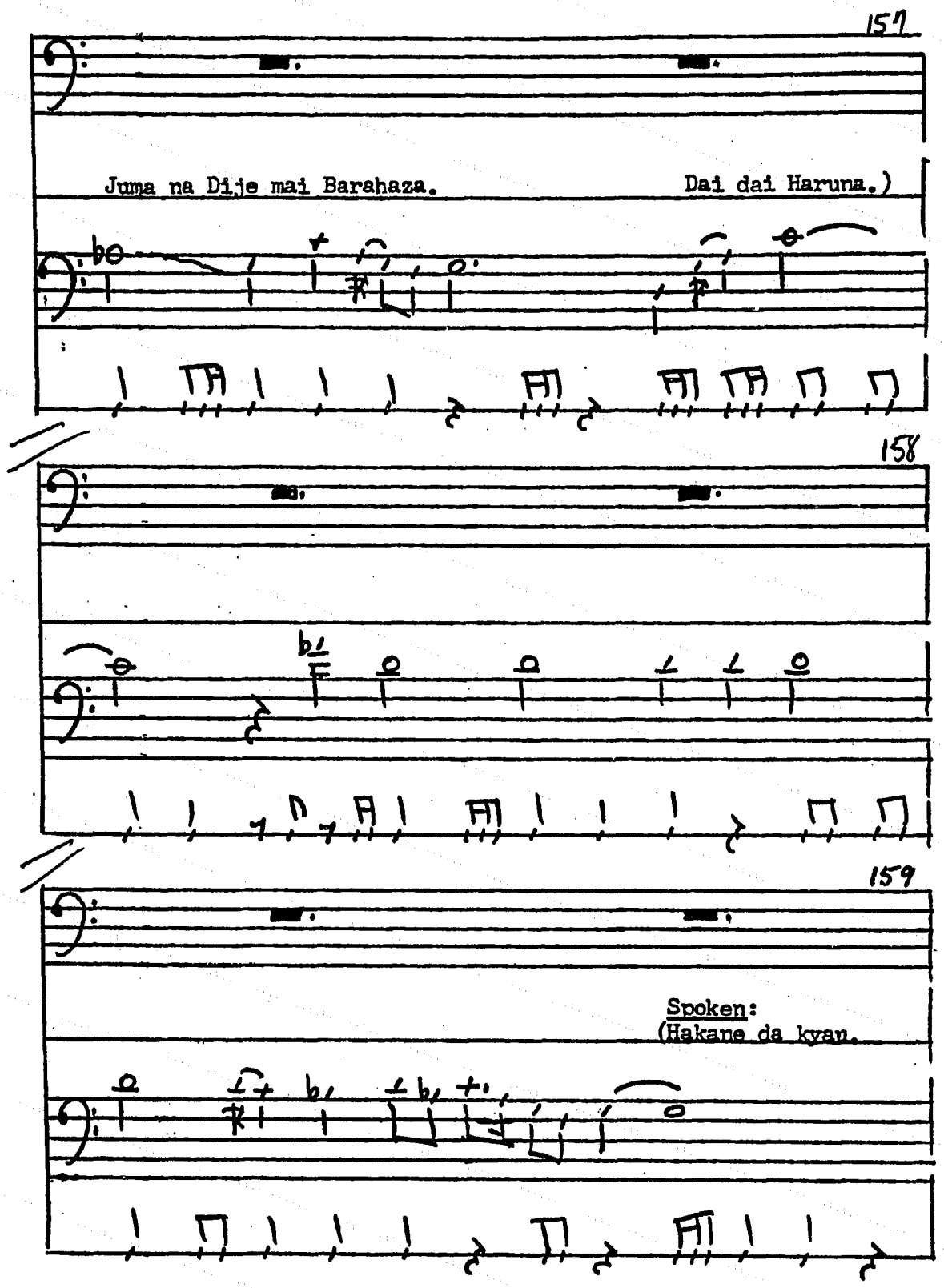
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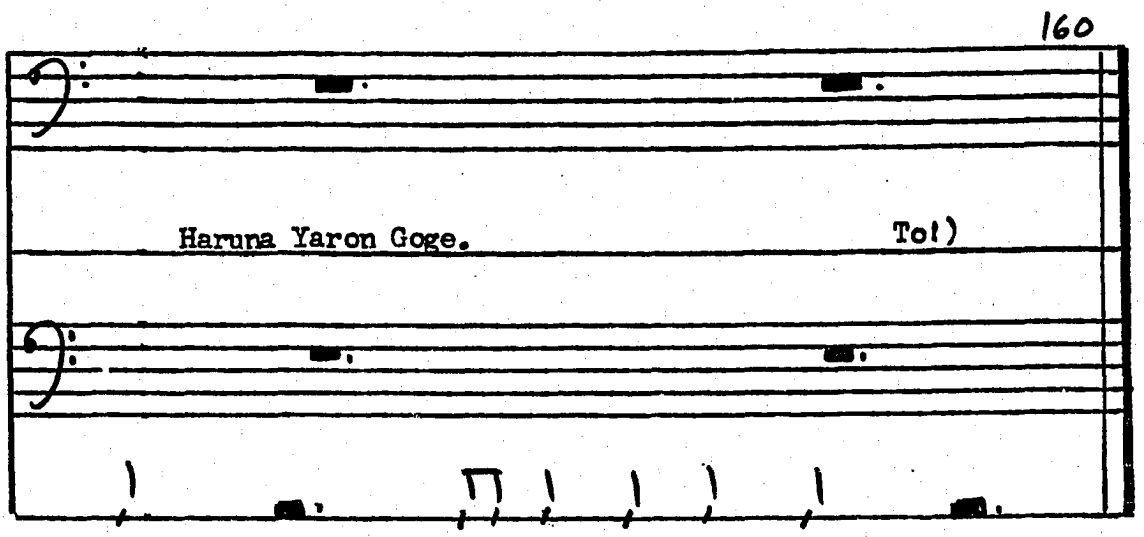
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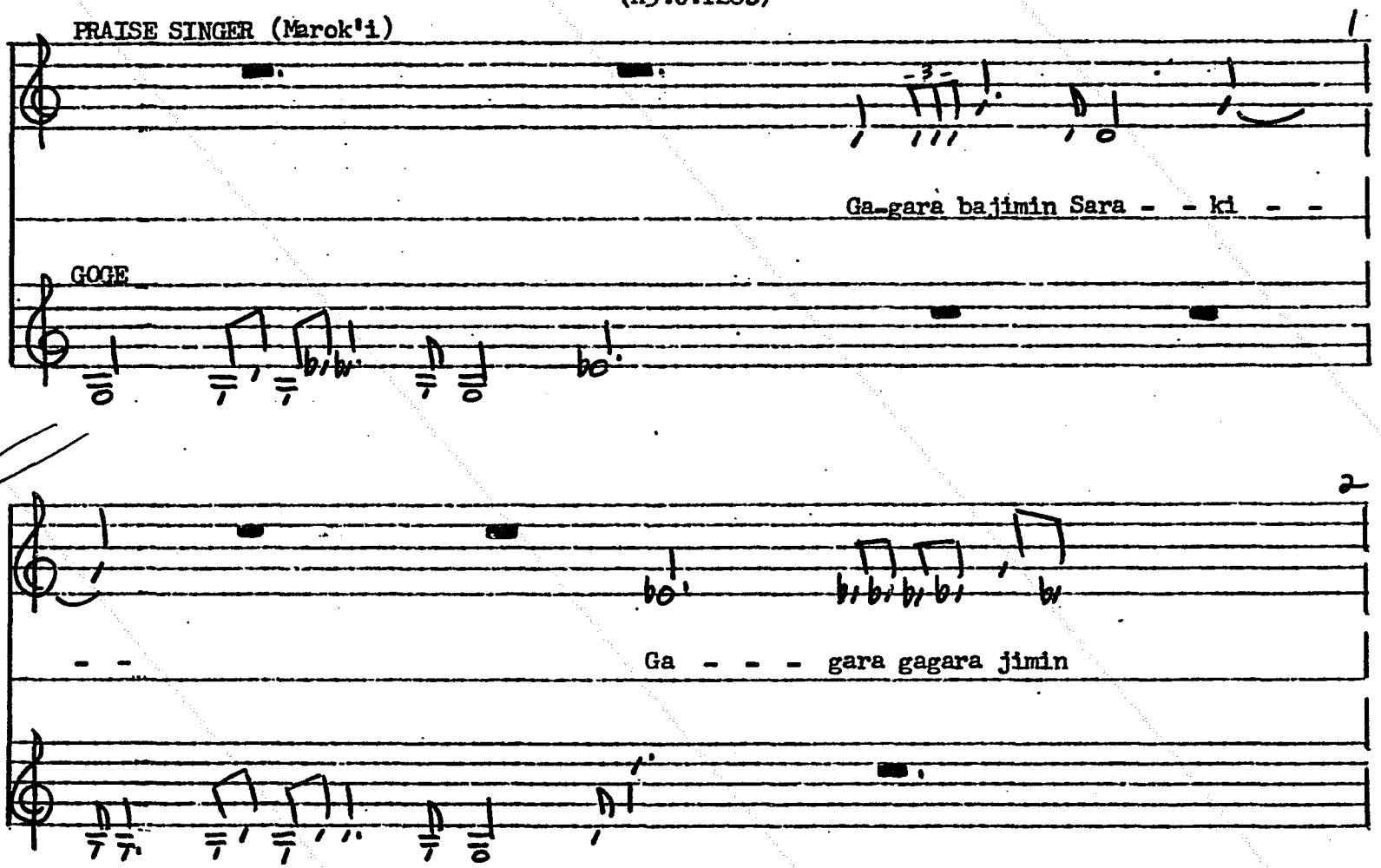
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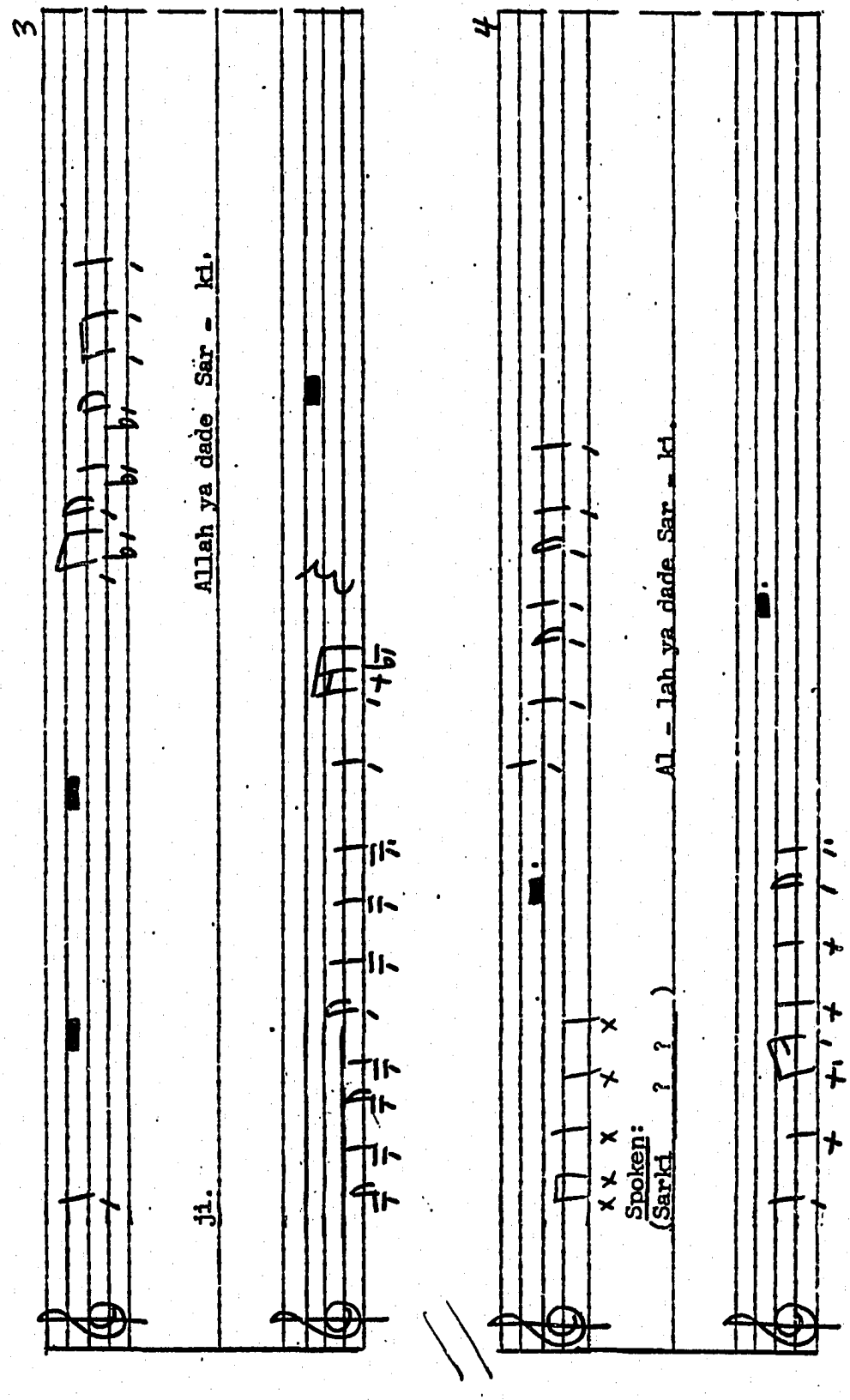


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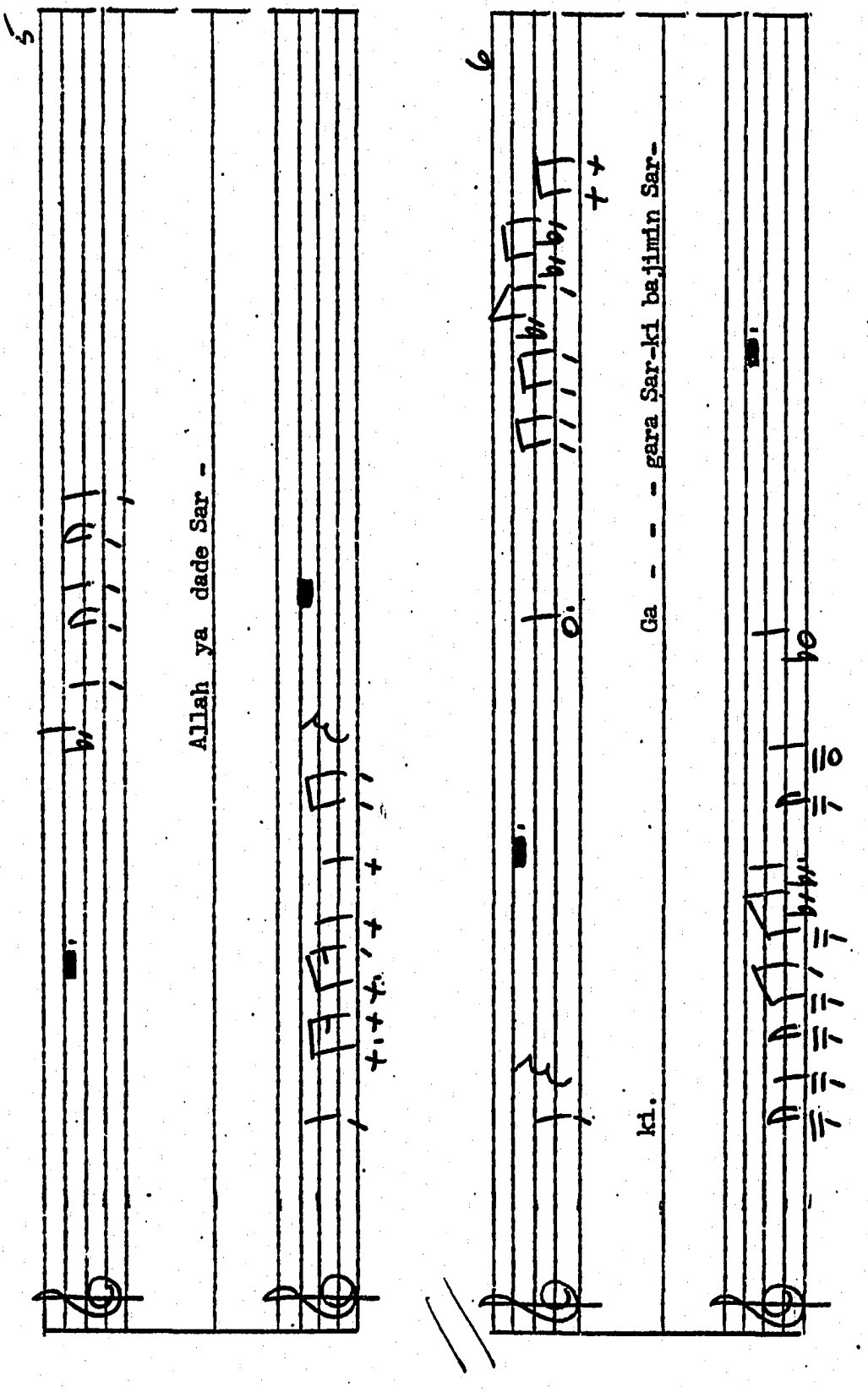
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GAGARA SARKI
by Haruna Yaron Goge
(H3:0:126d)

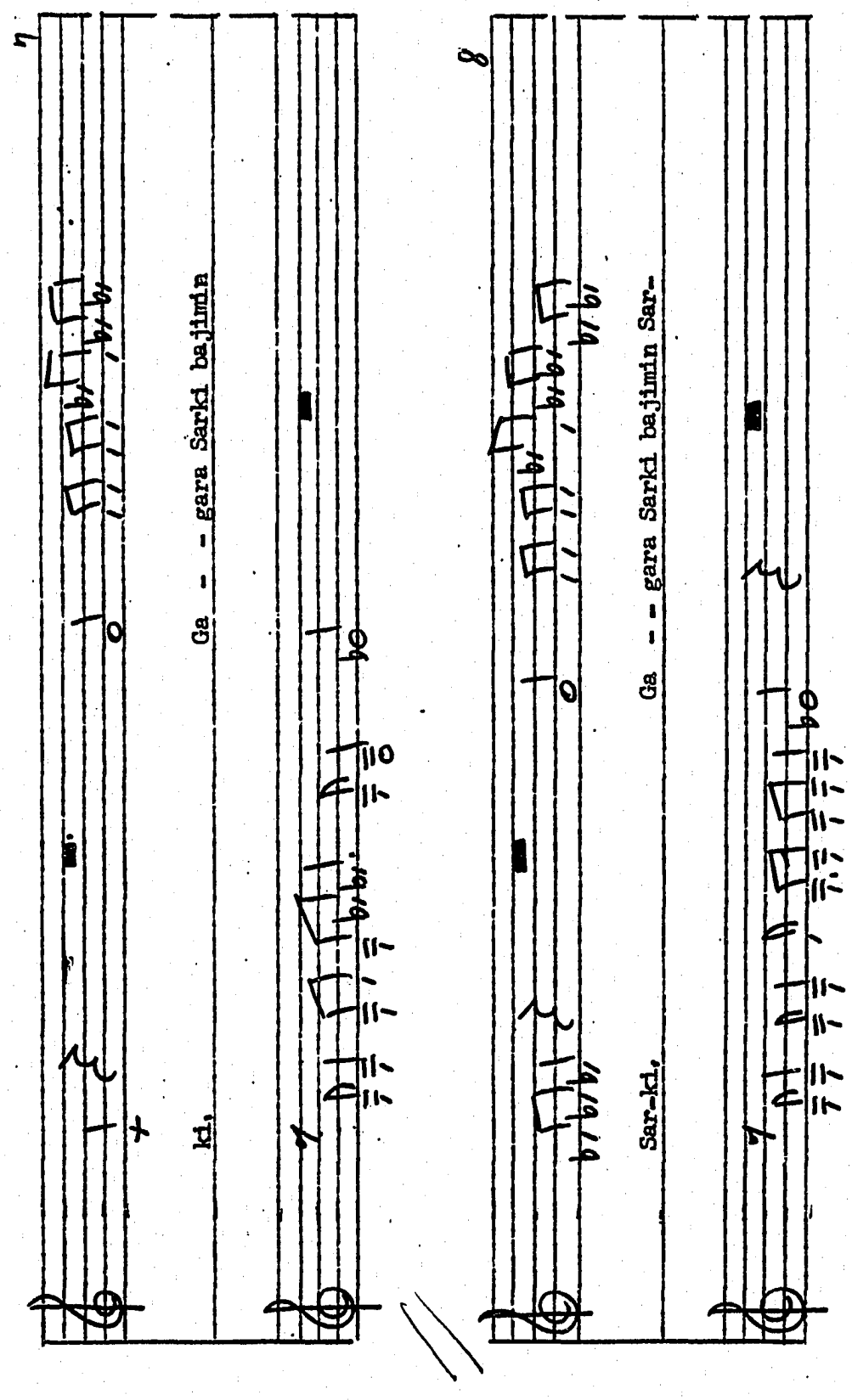




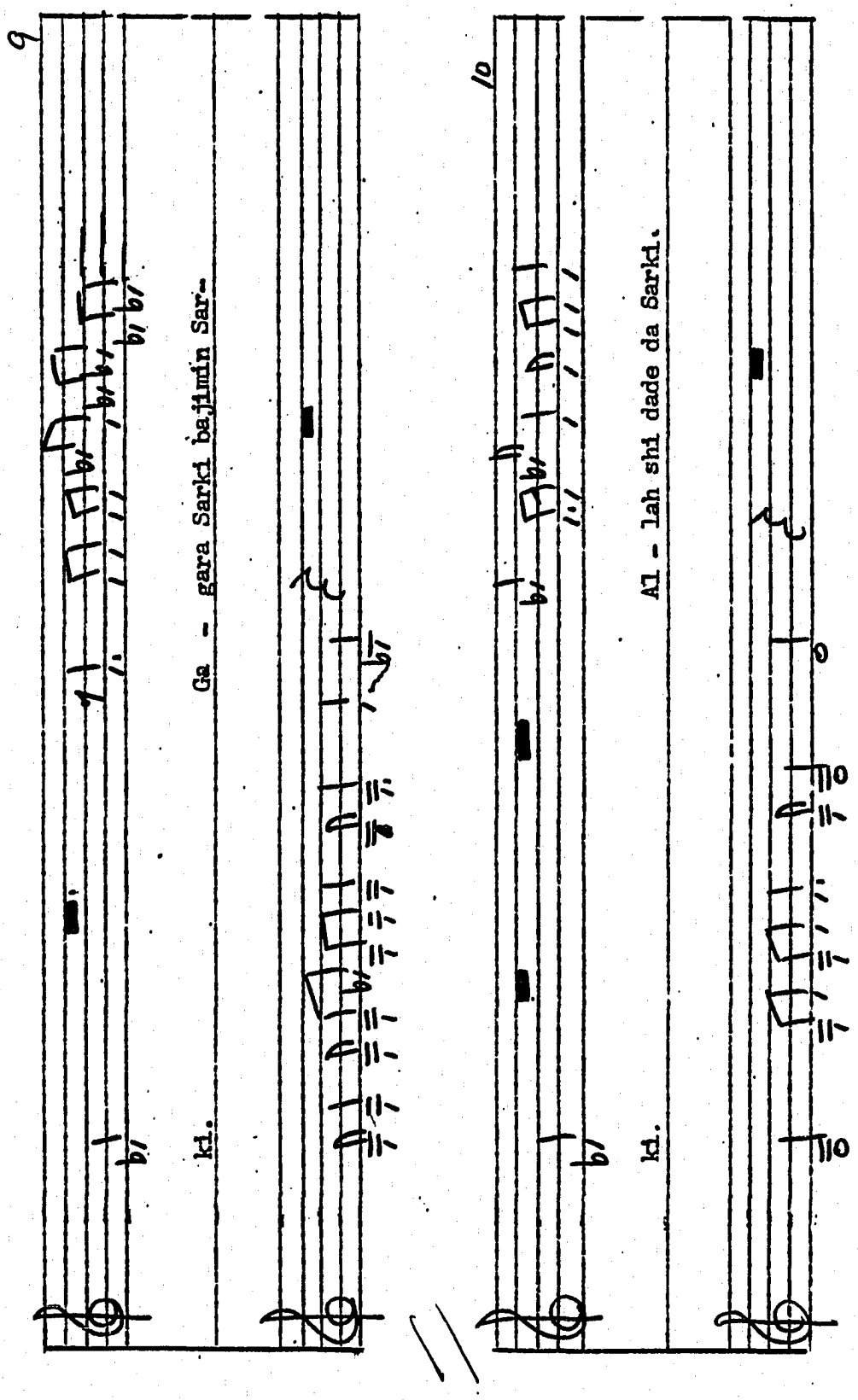
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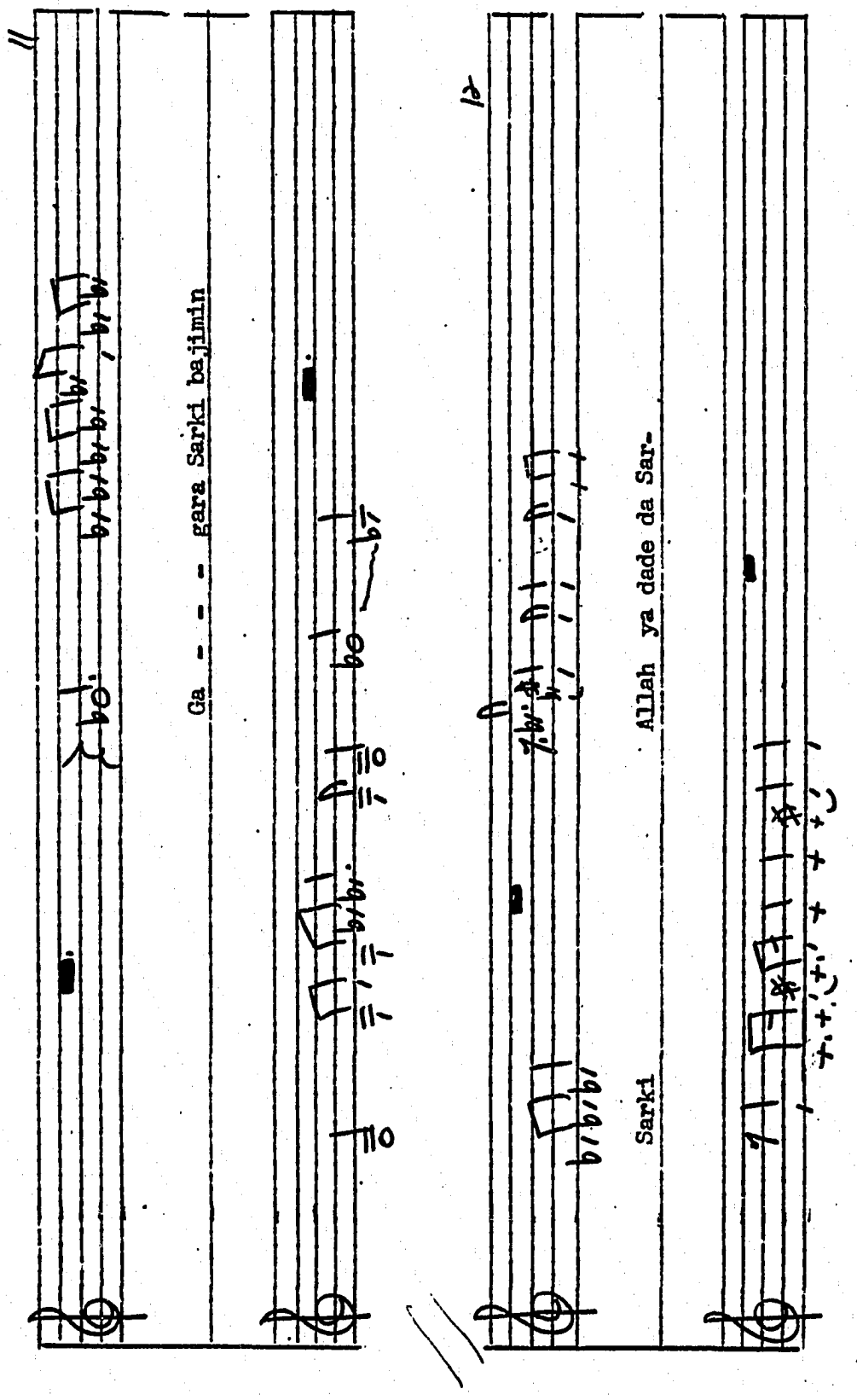
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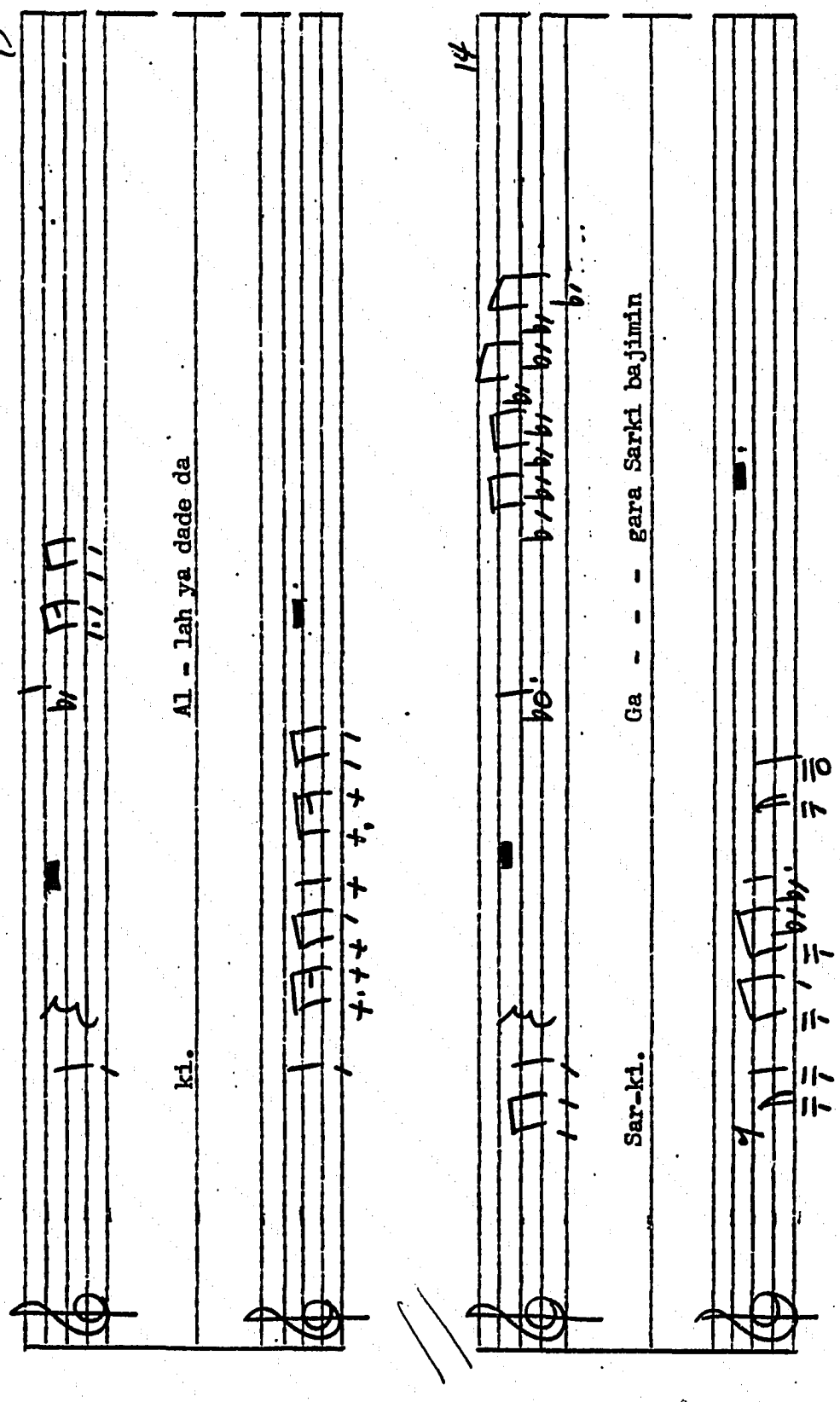
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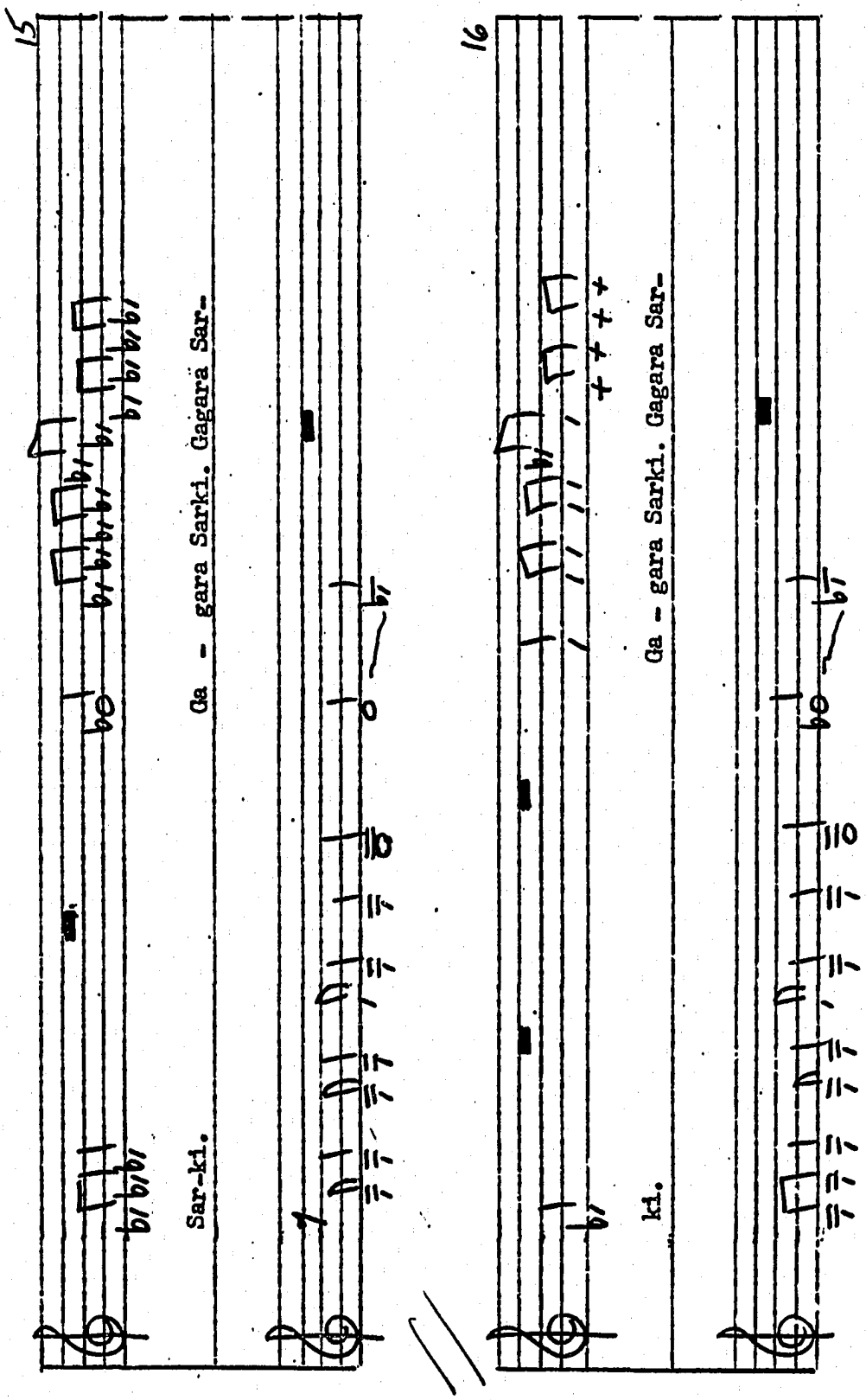
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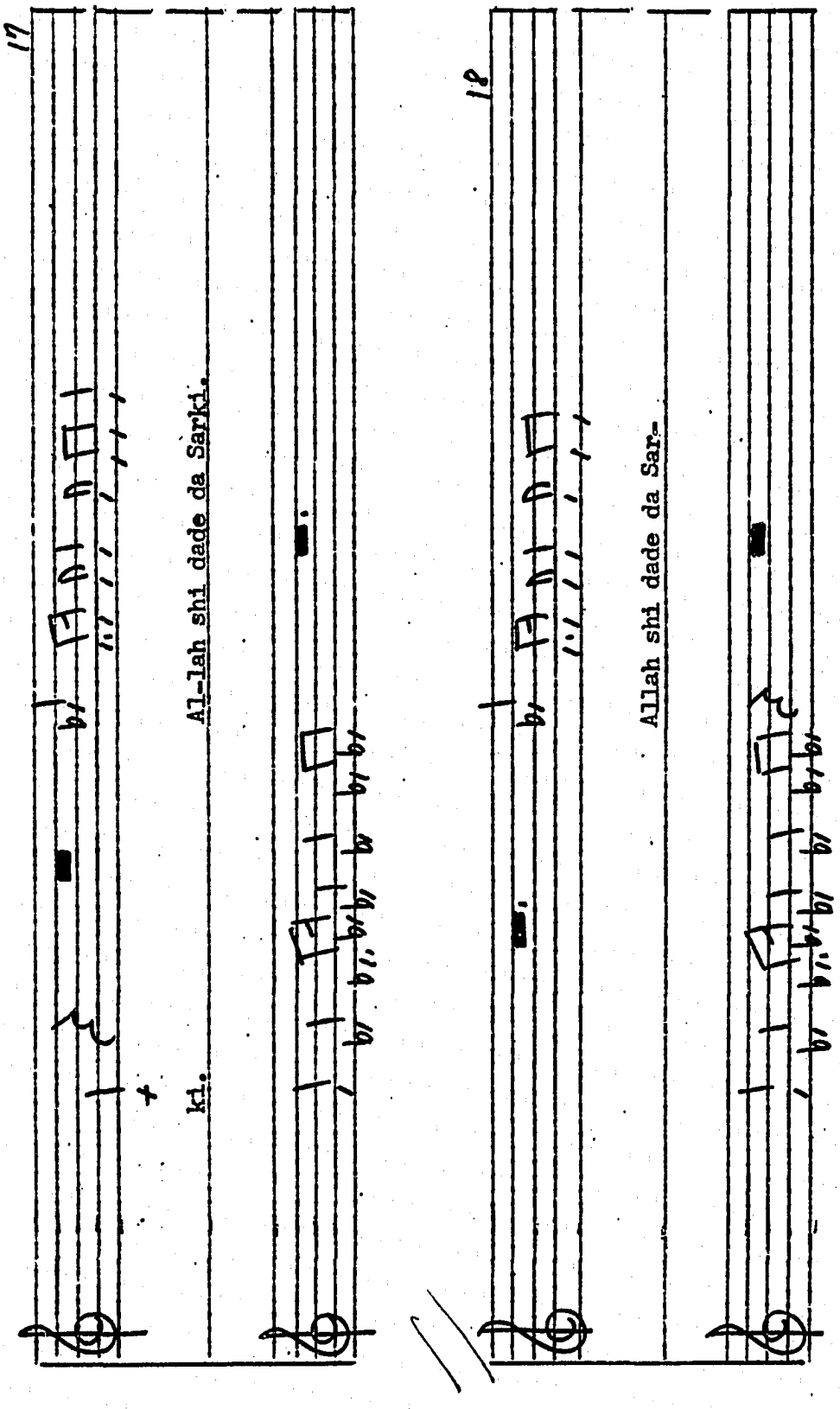
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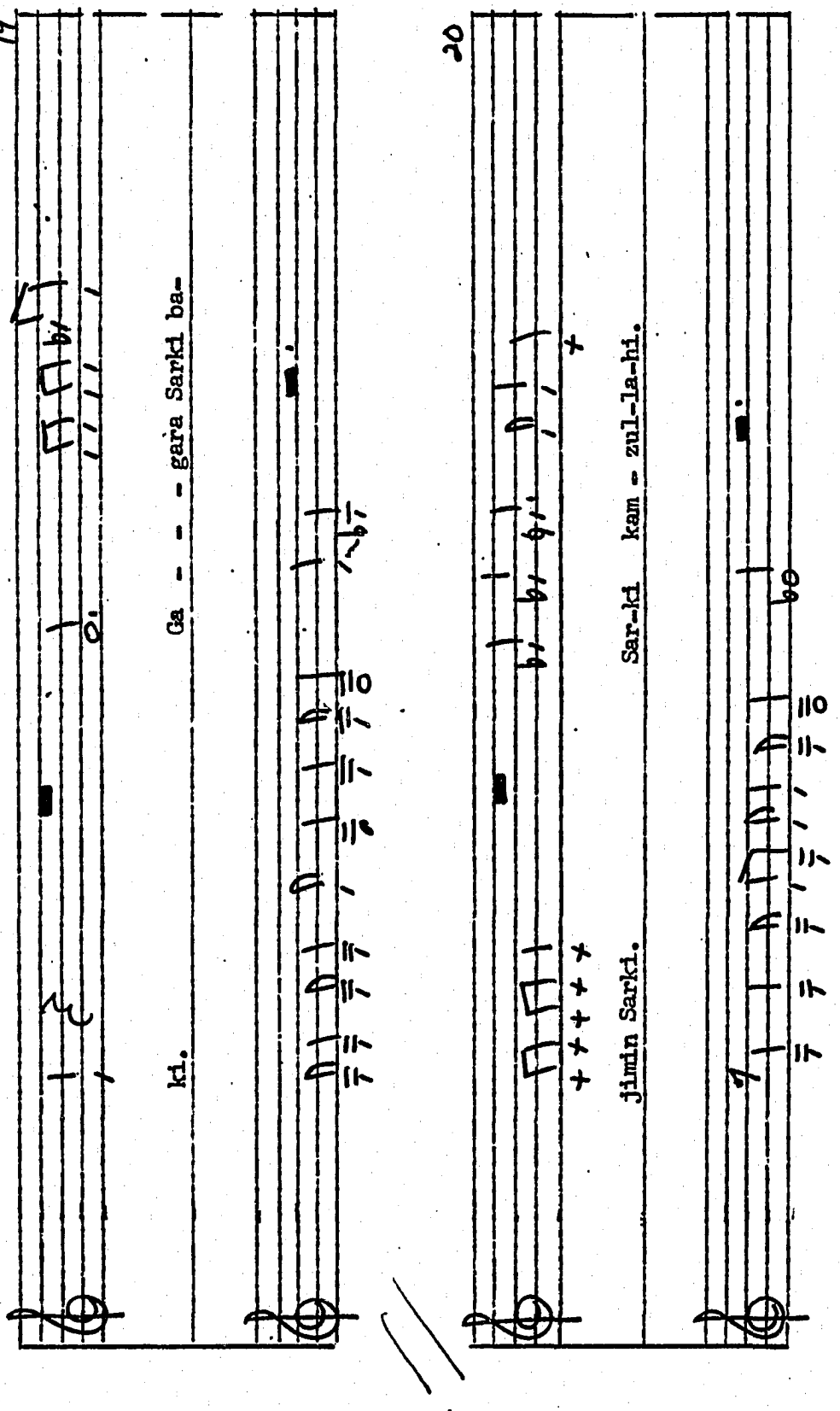
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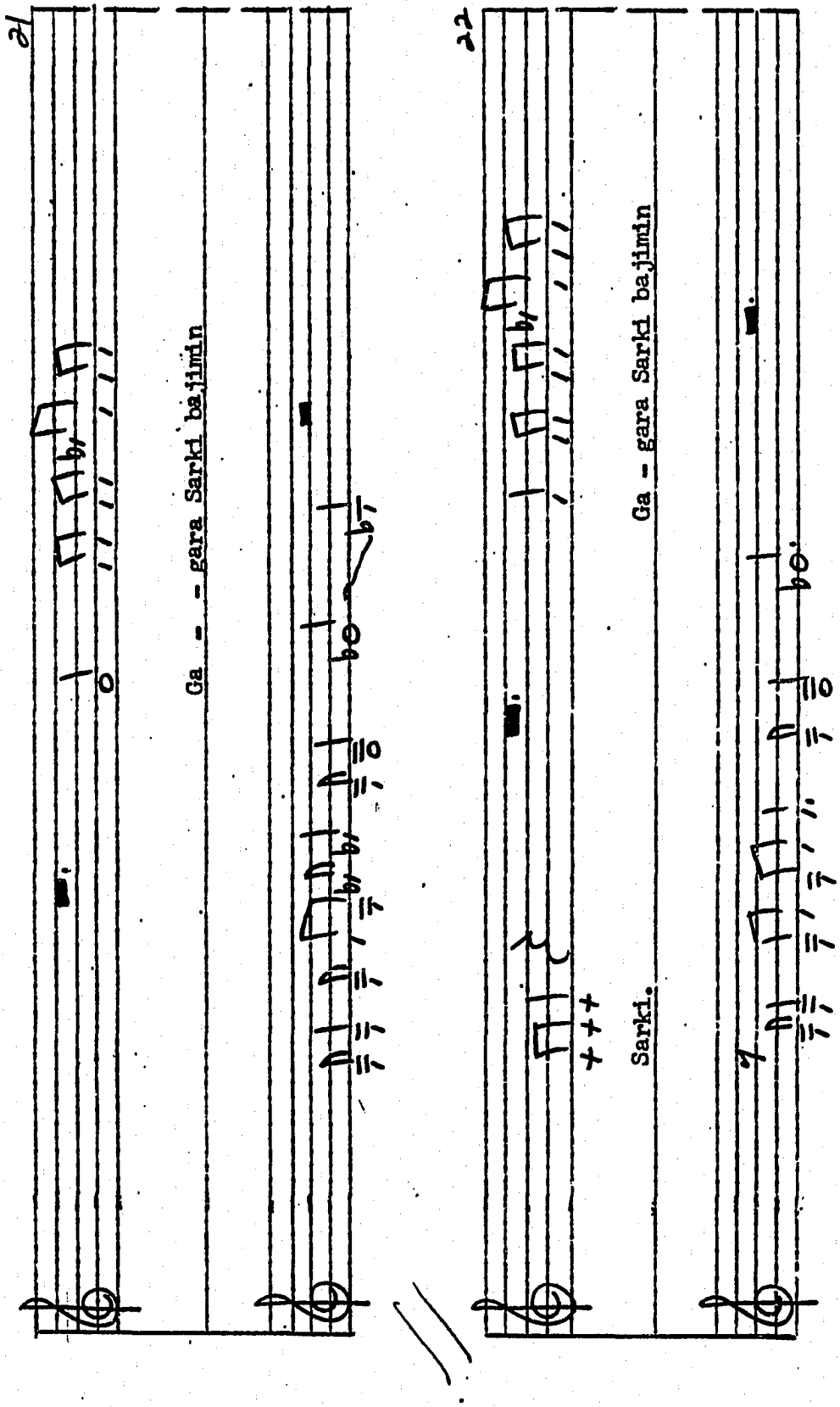
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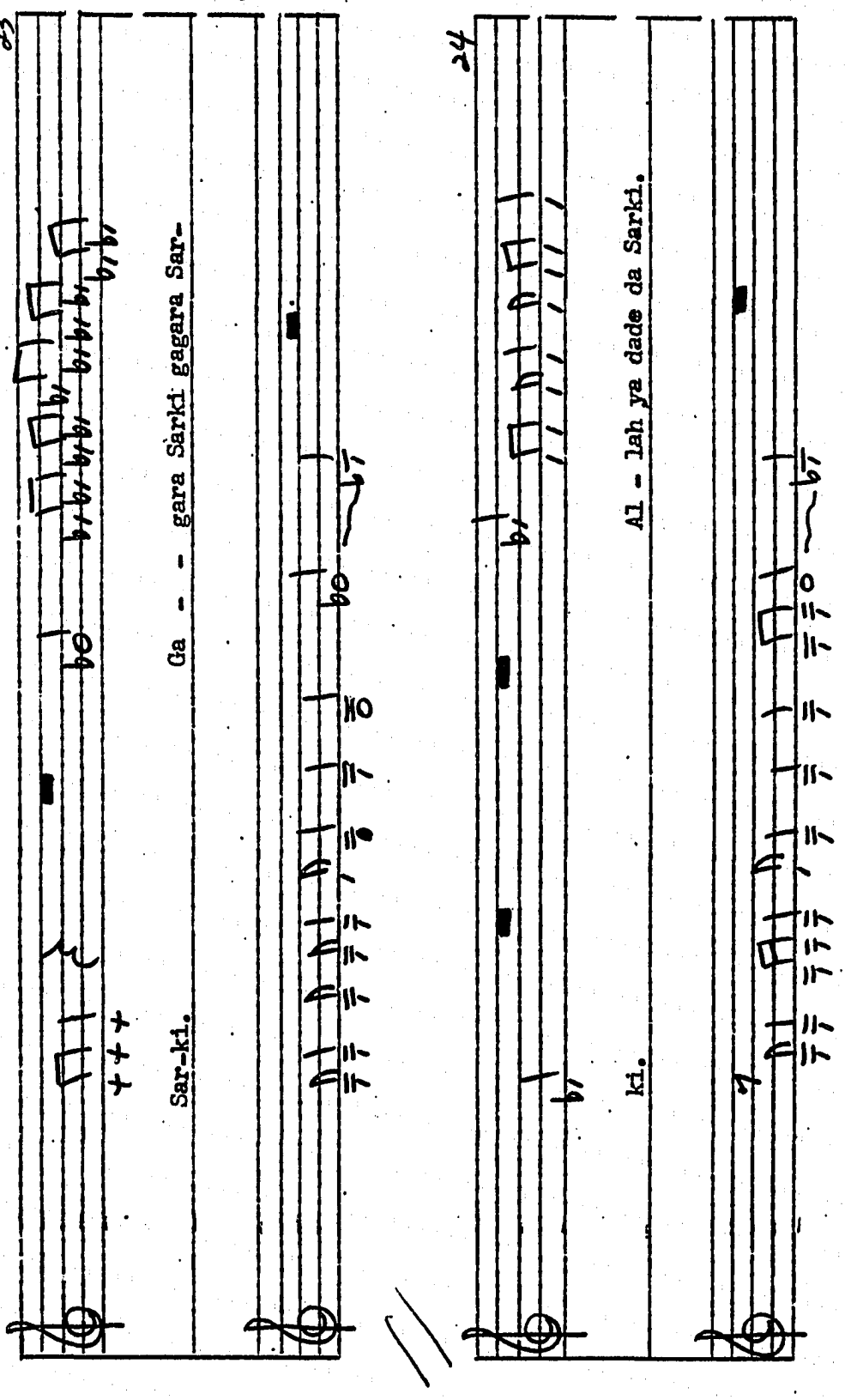
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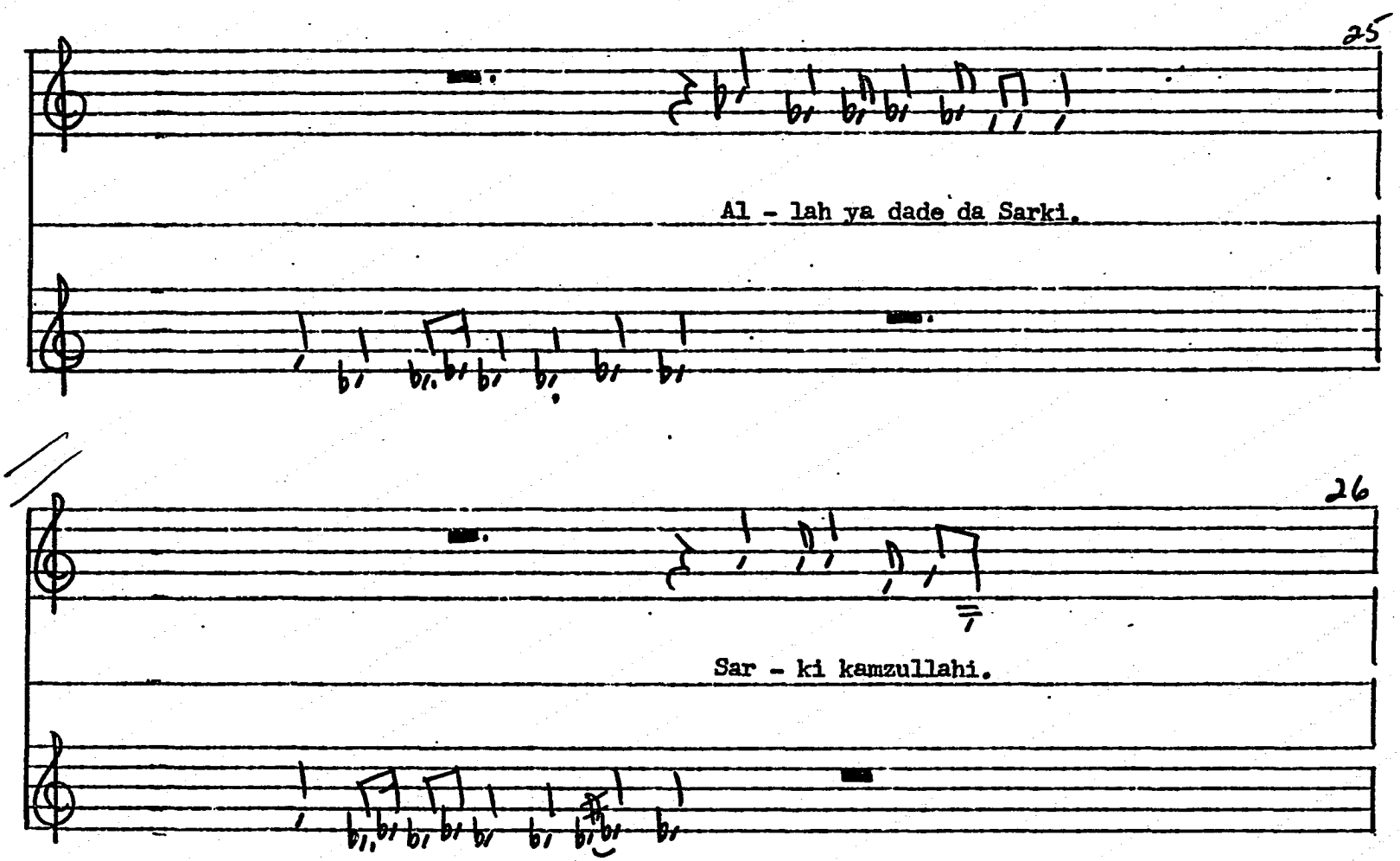


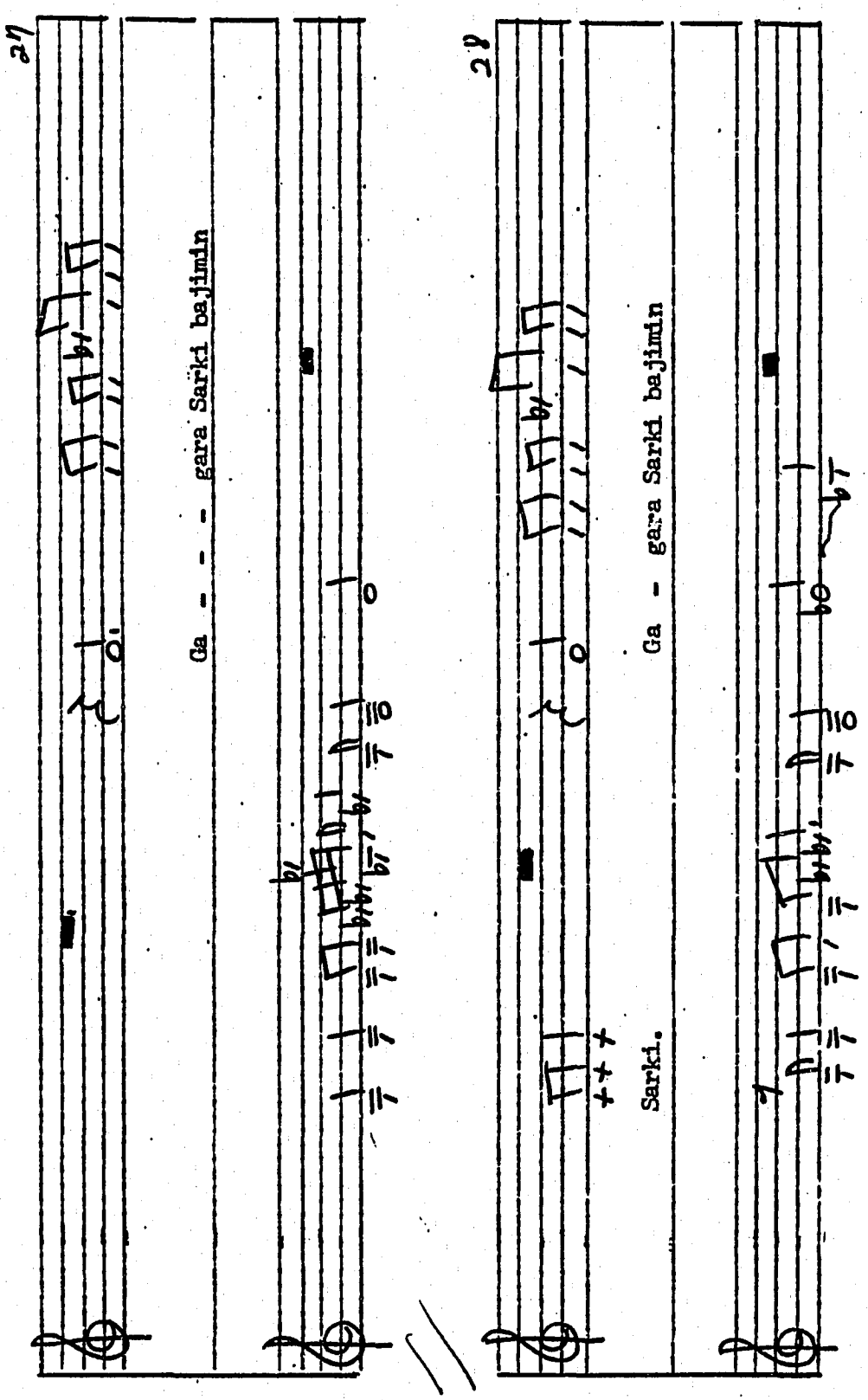
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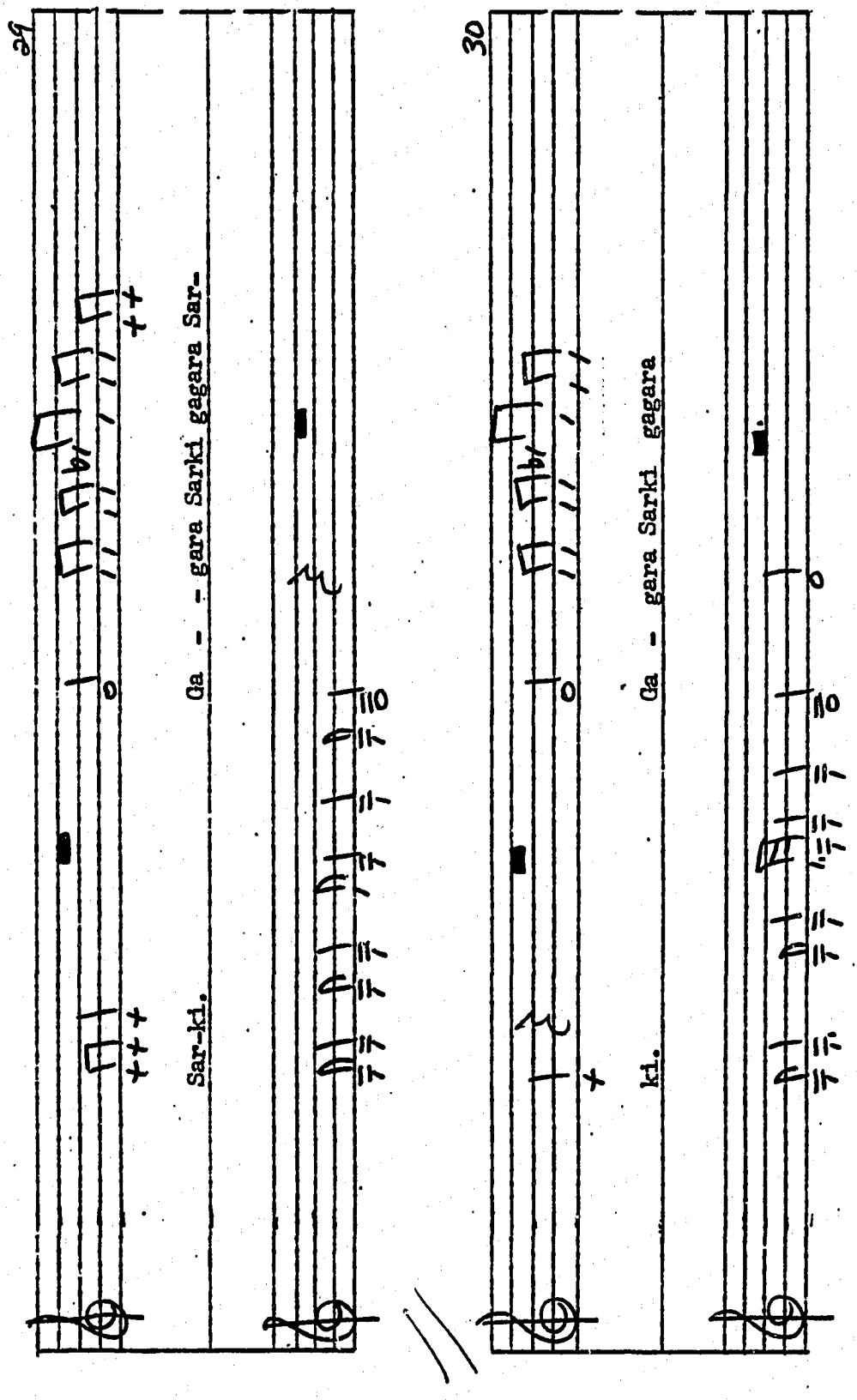
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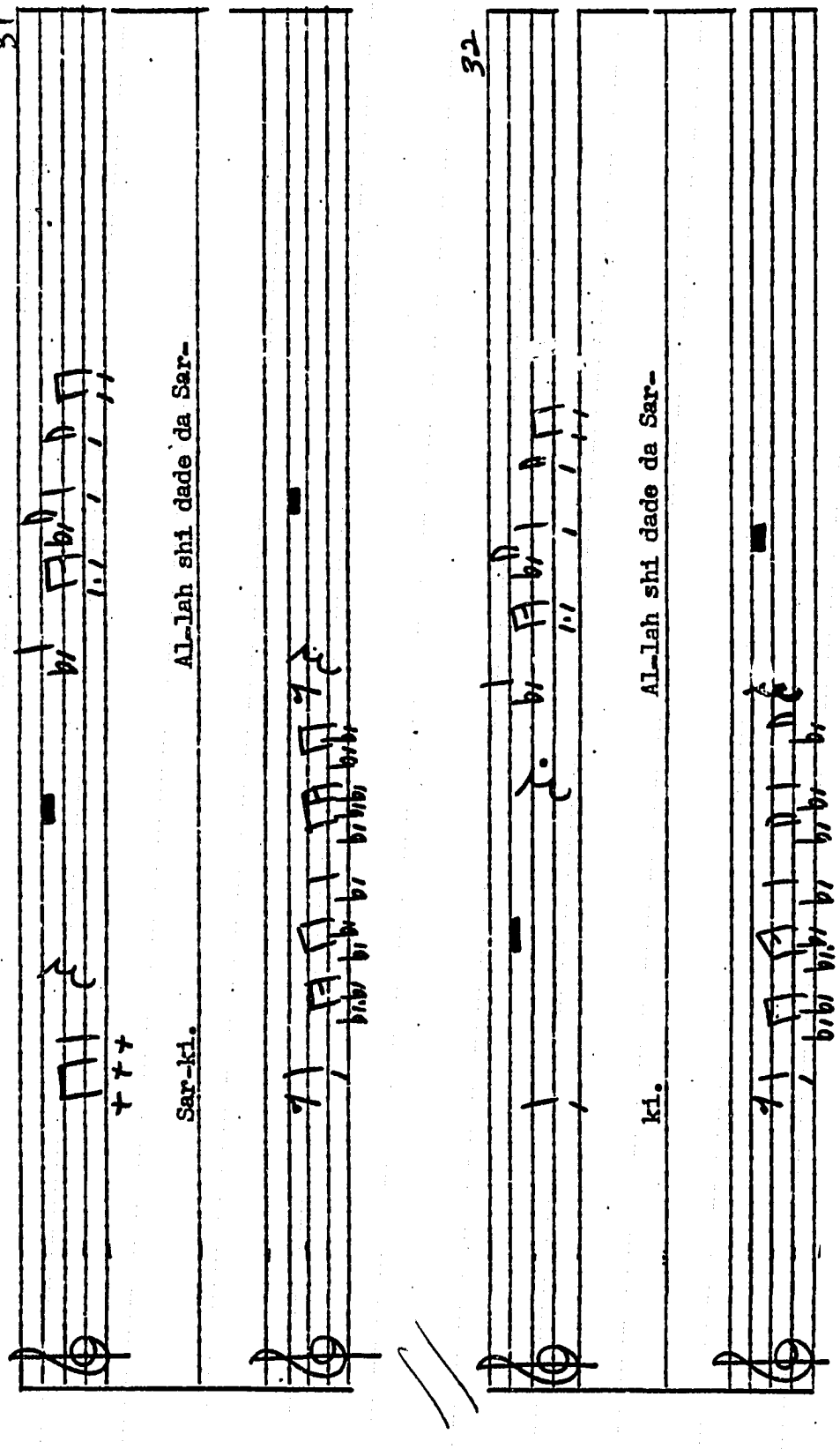




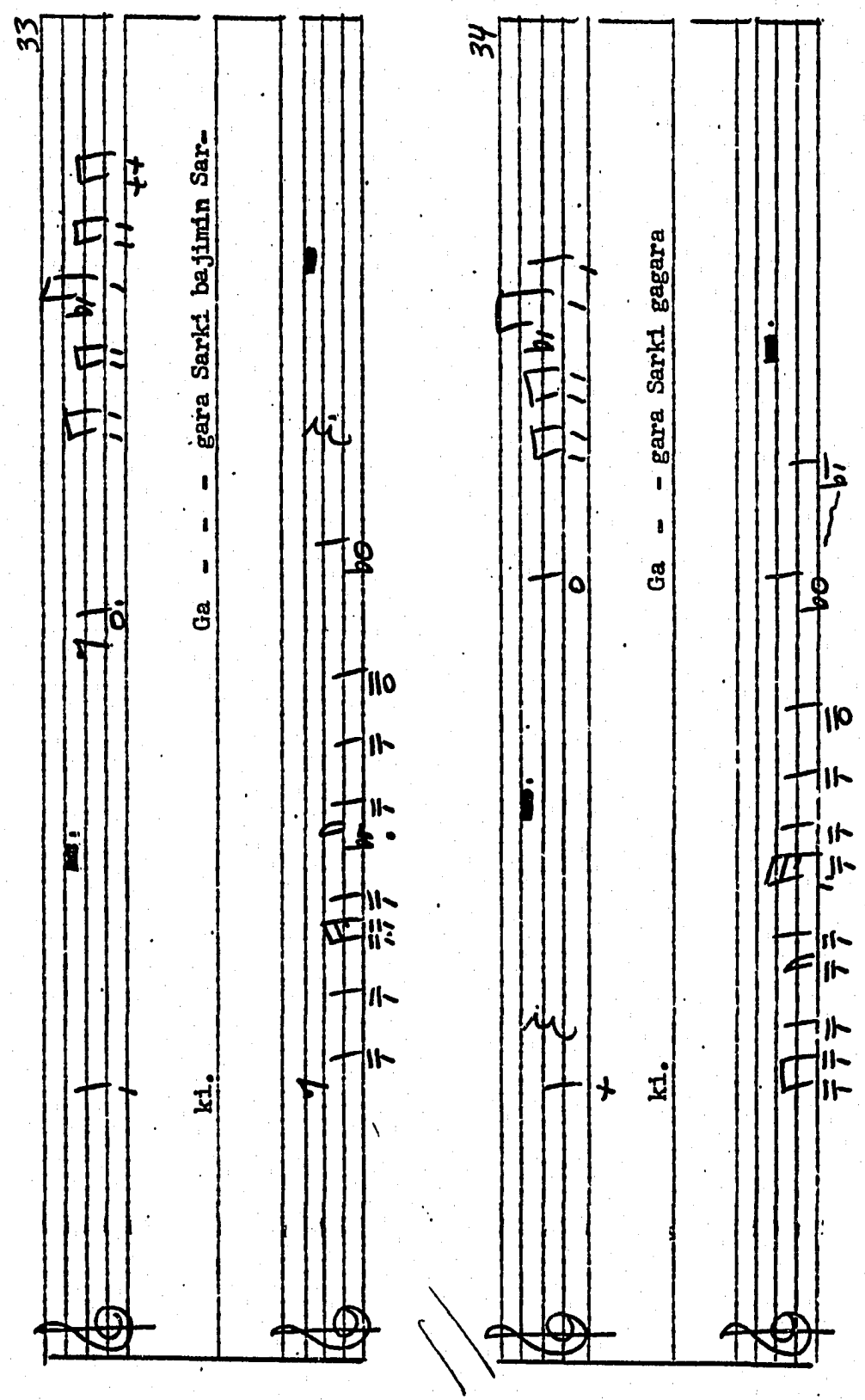
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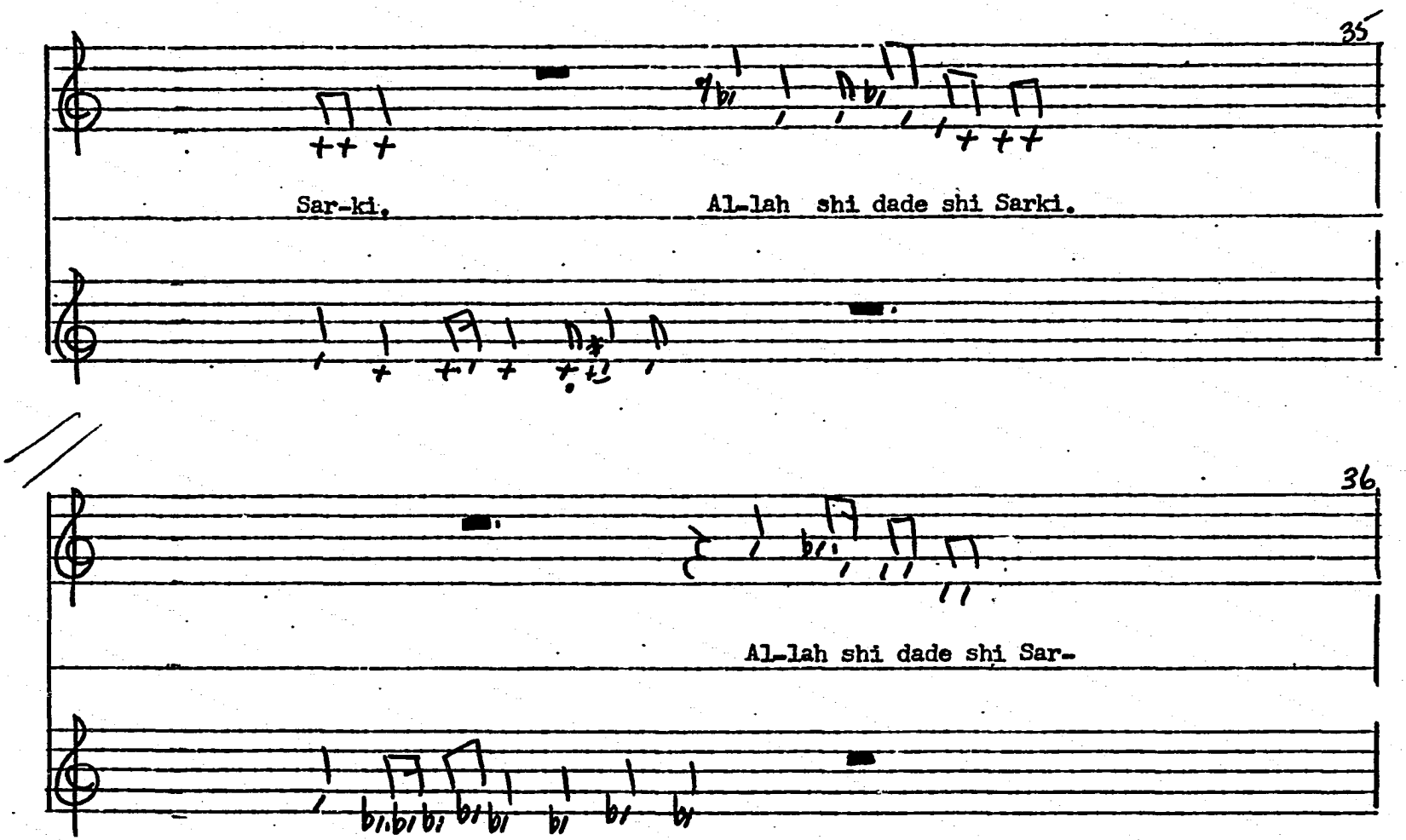


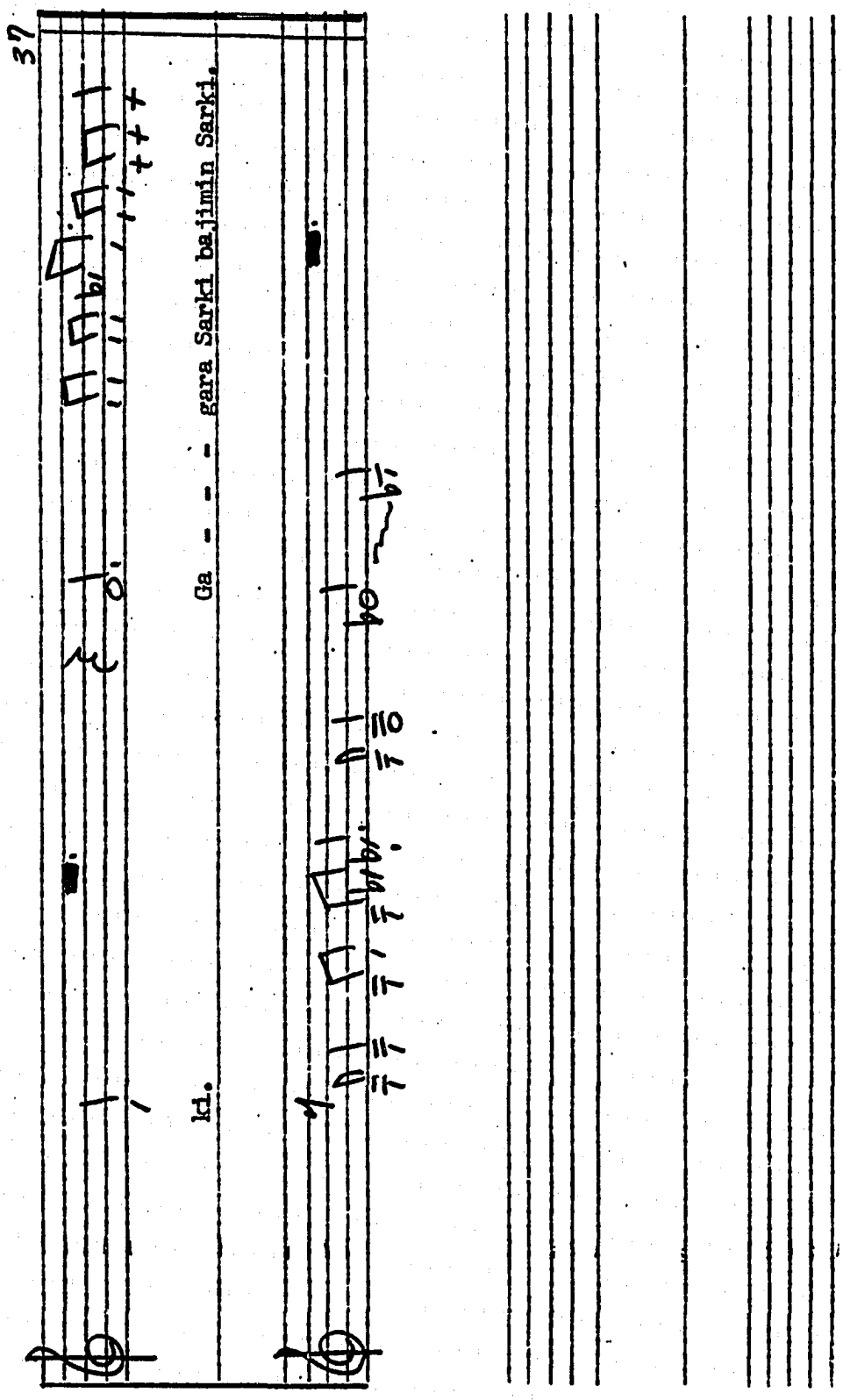
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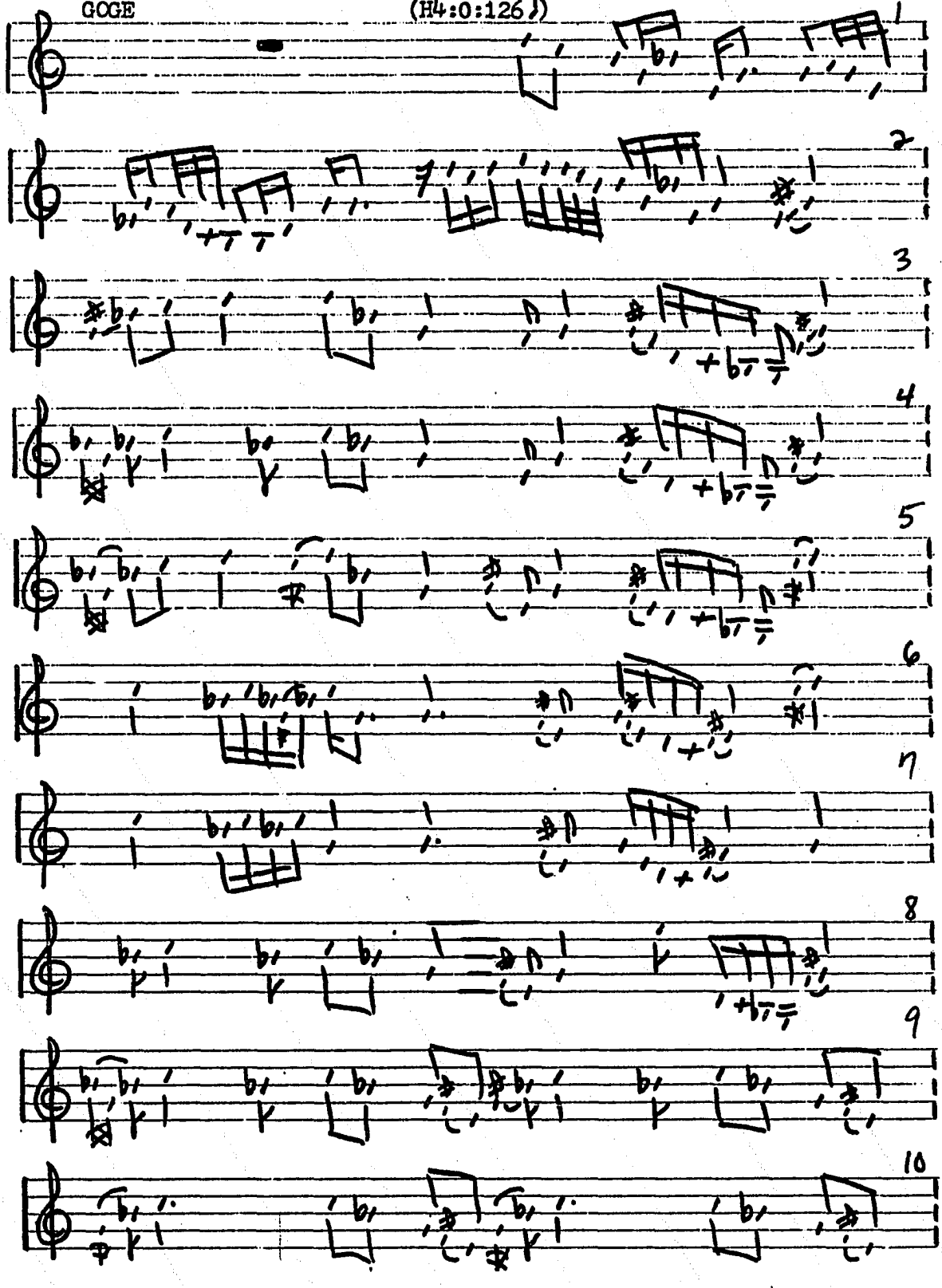




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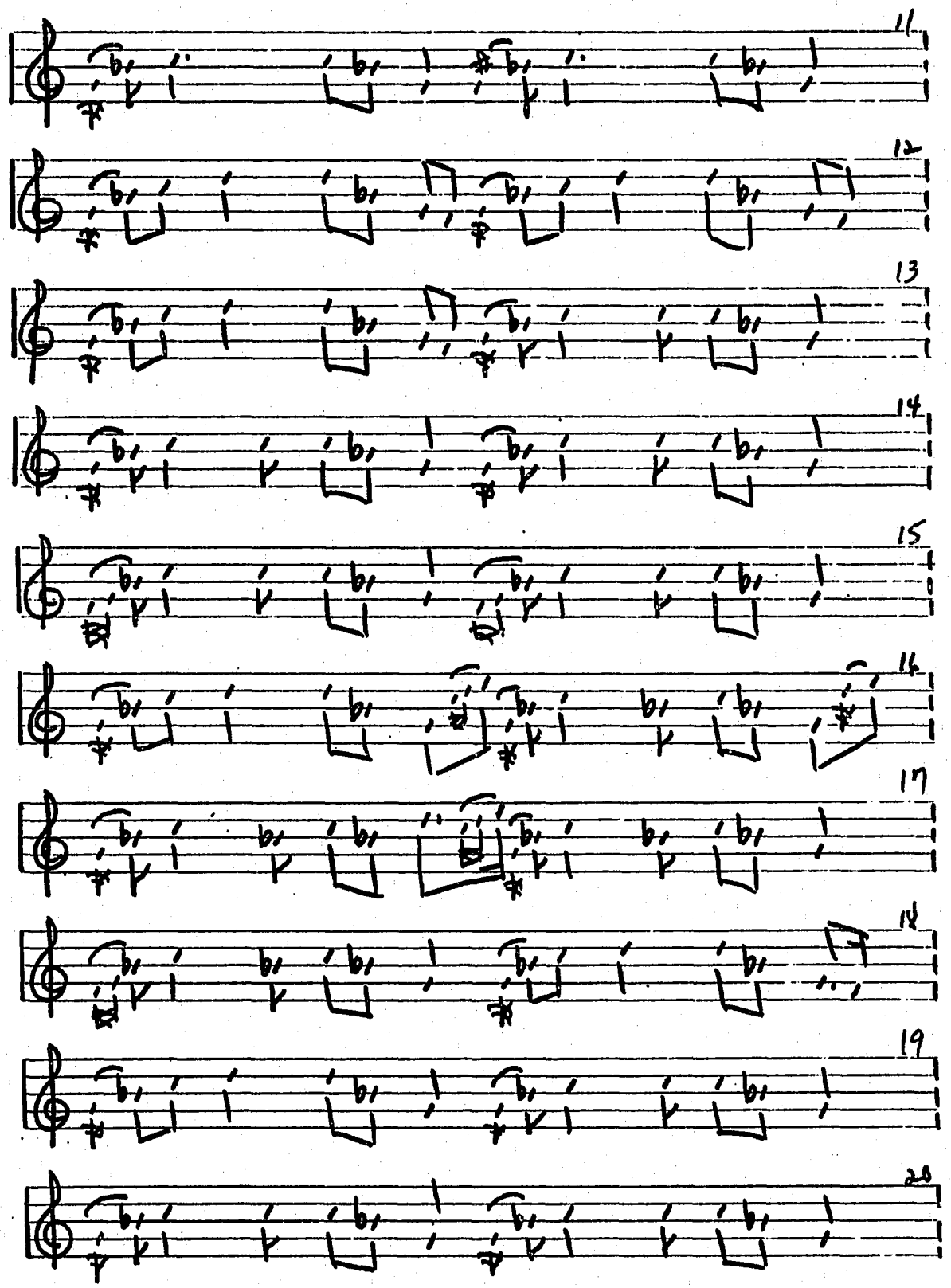
JABULA

by Haruna Yaron Goge
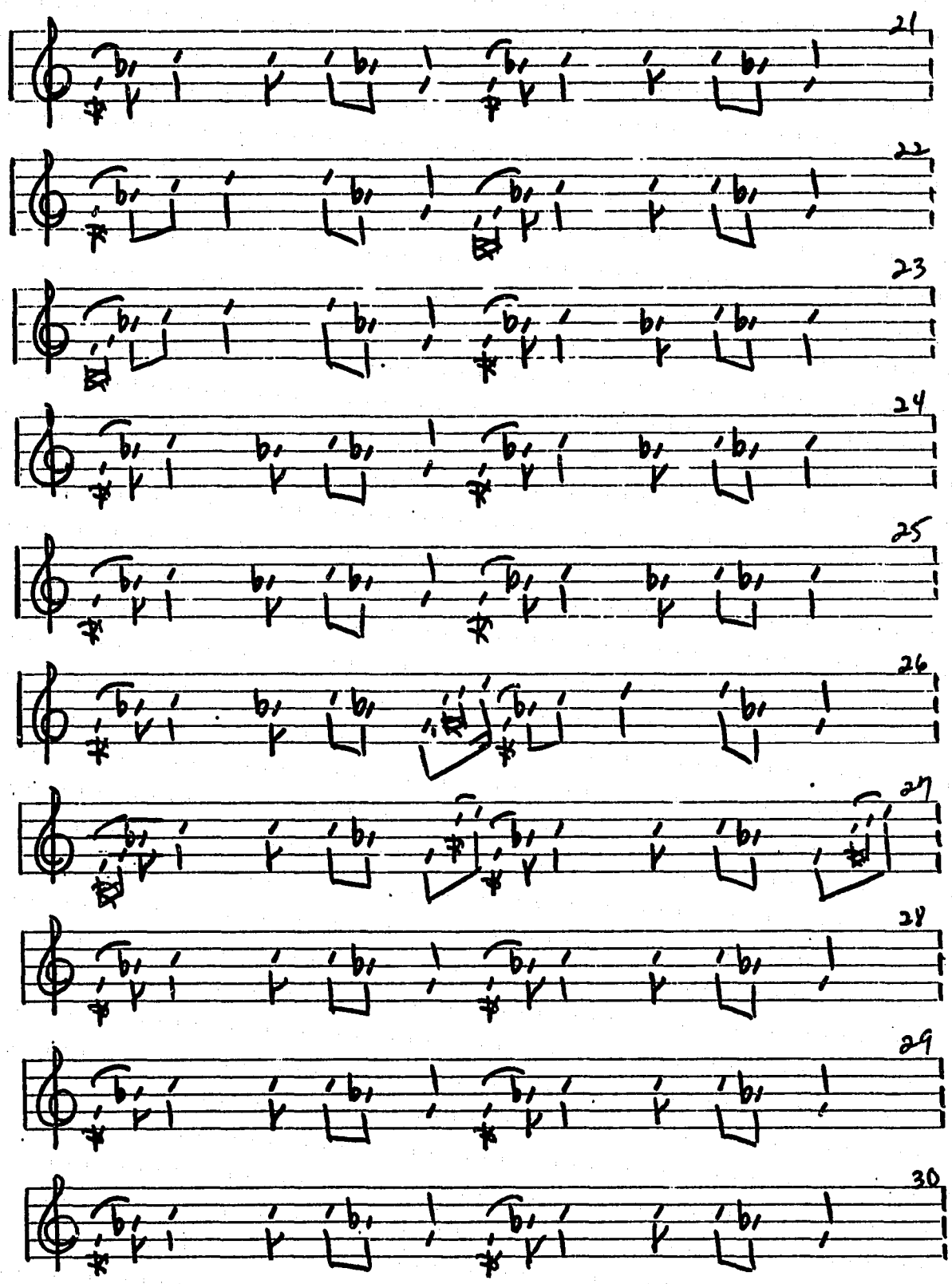
GOGE (H4:0:126♩)



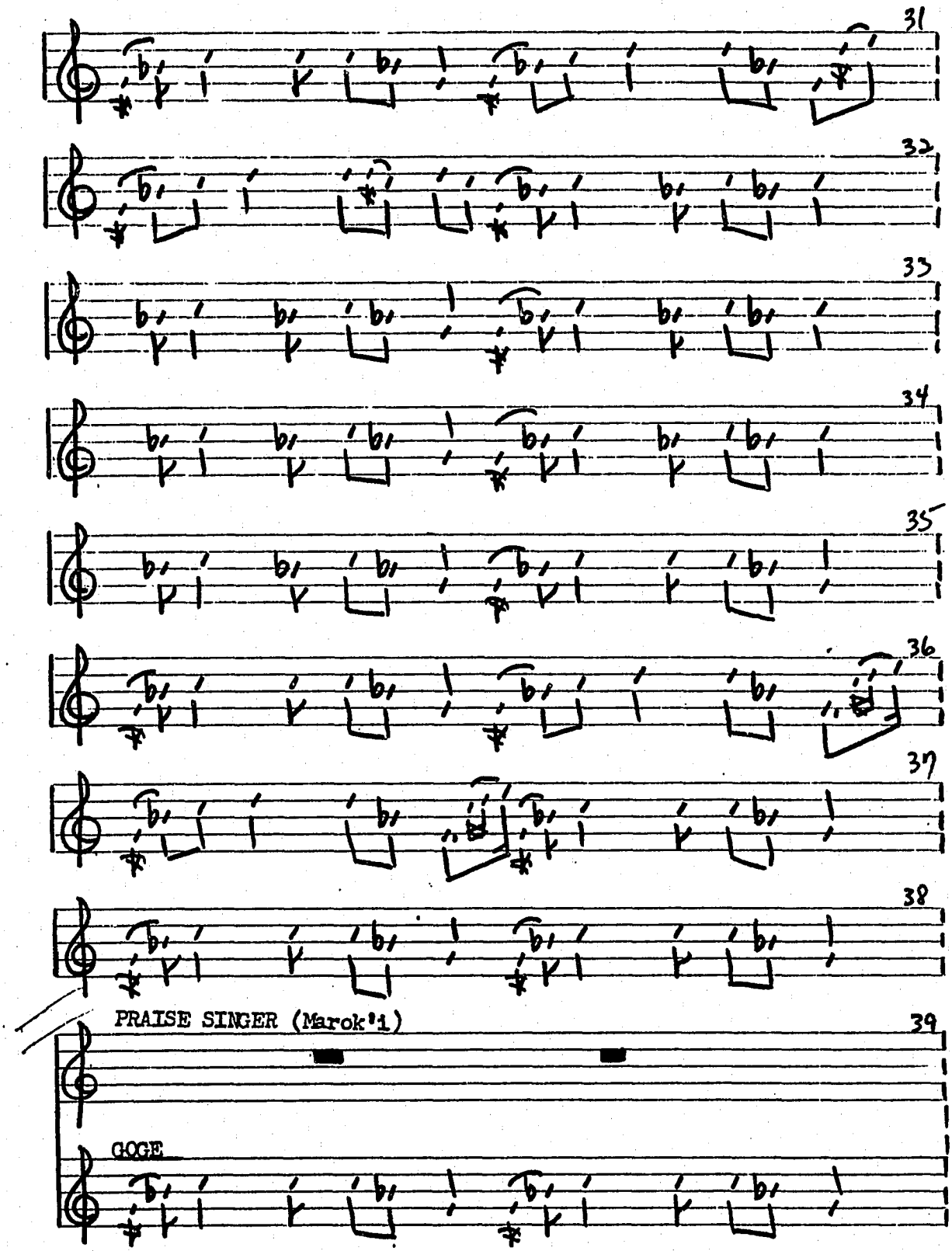
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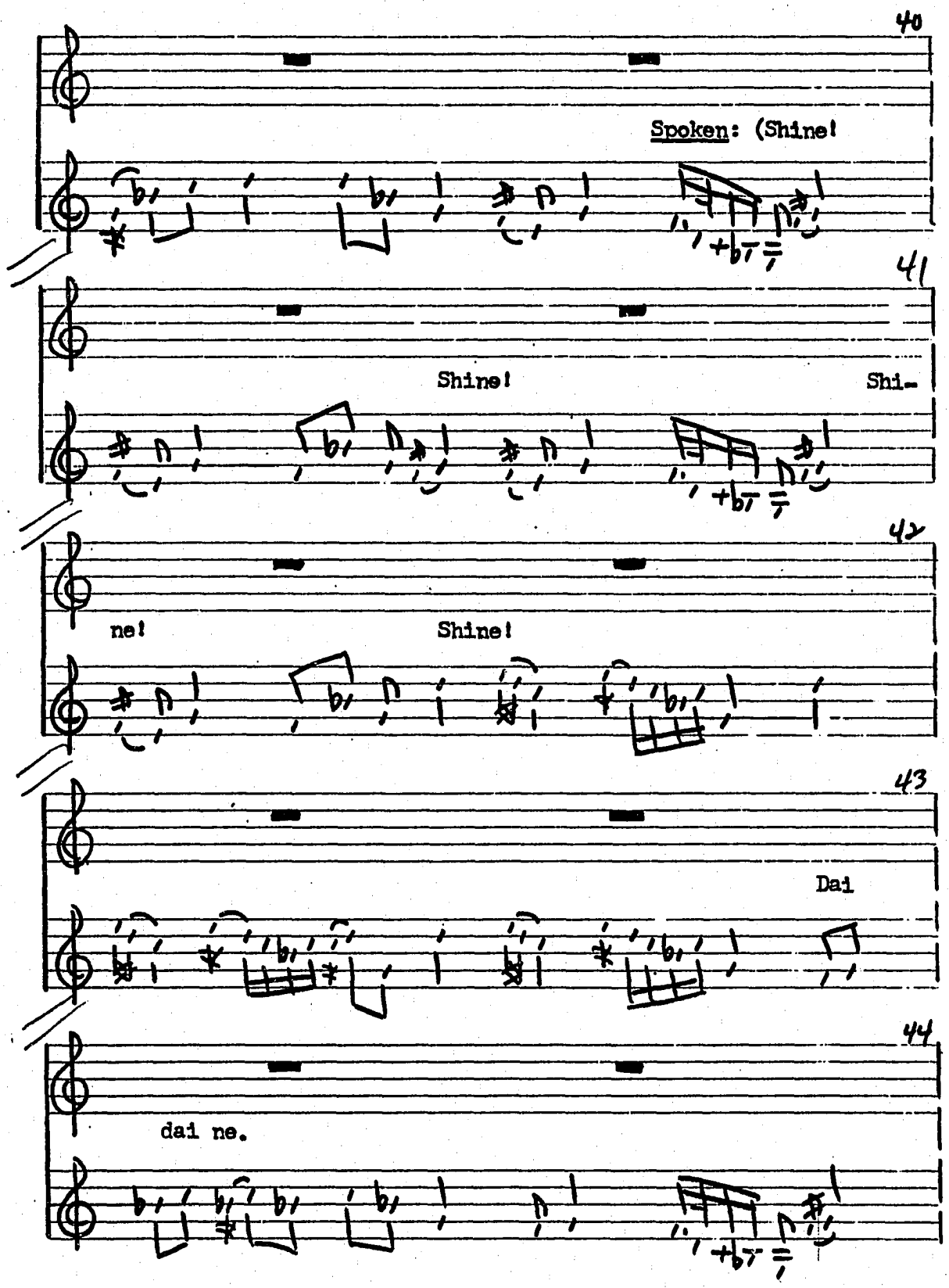
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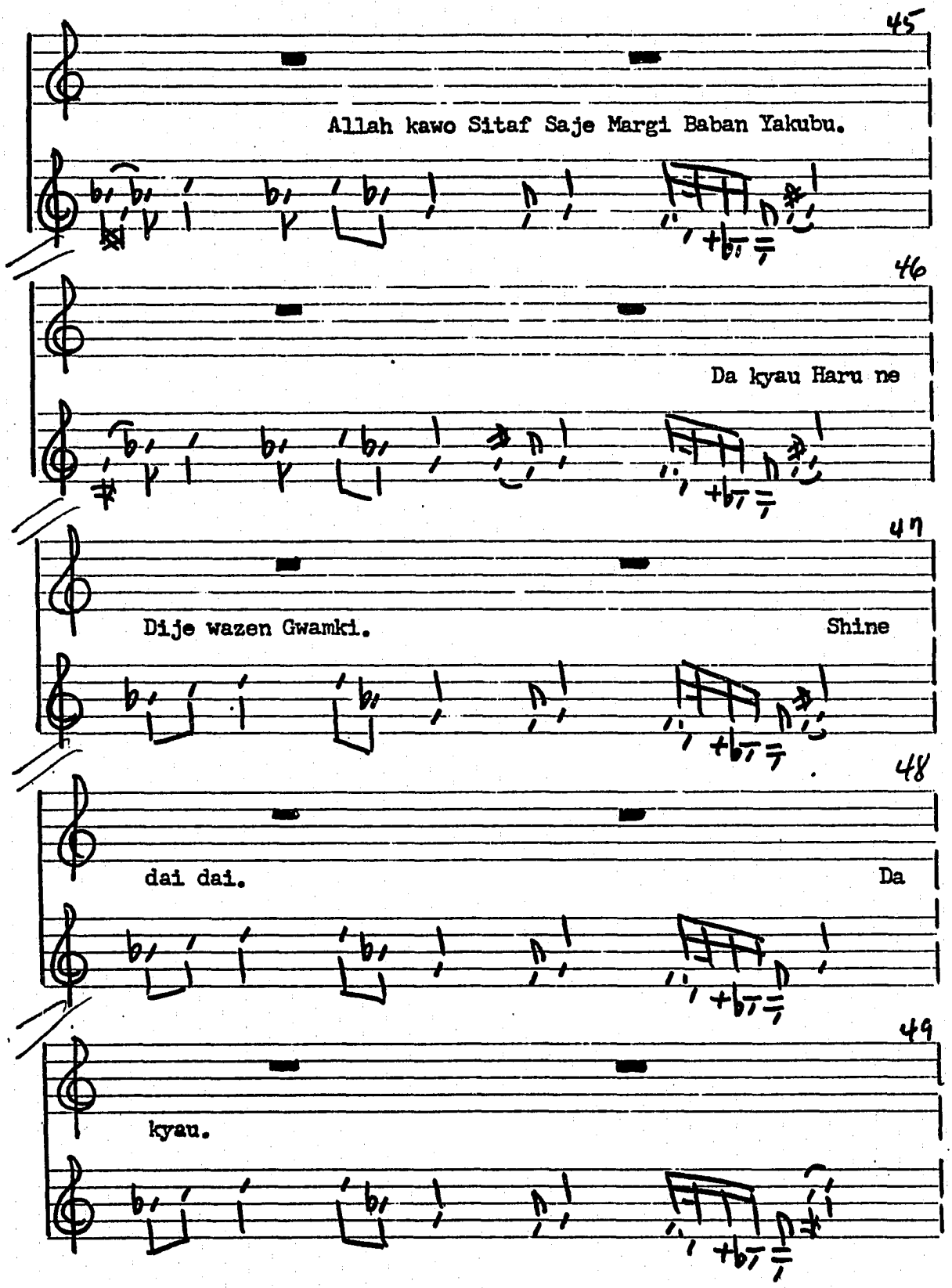


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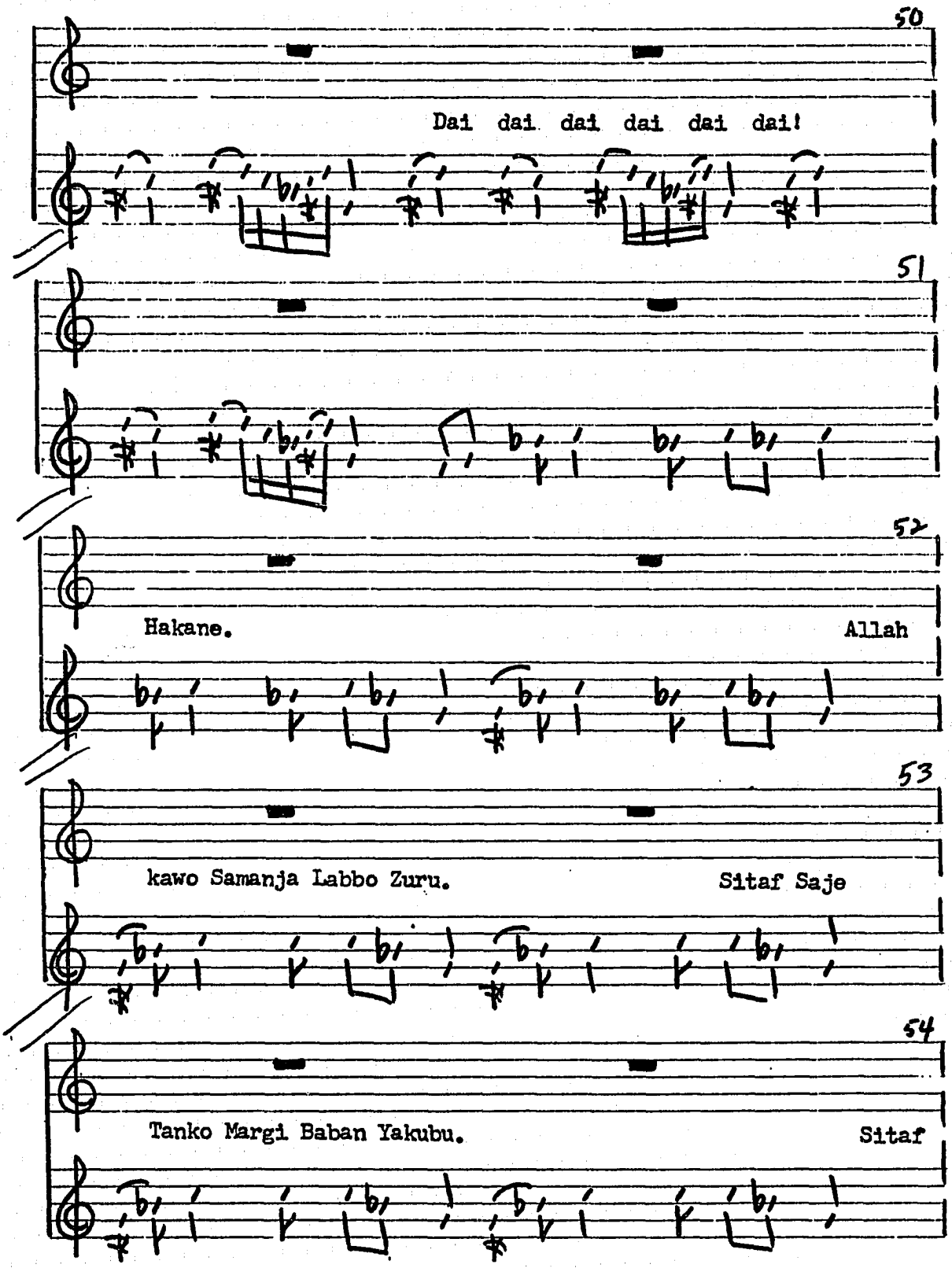
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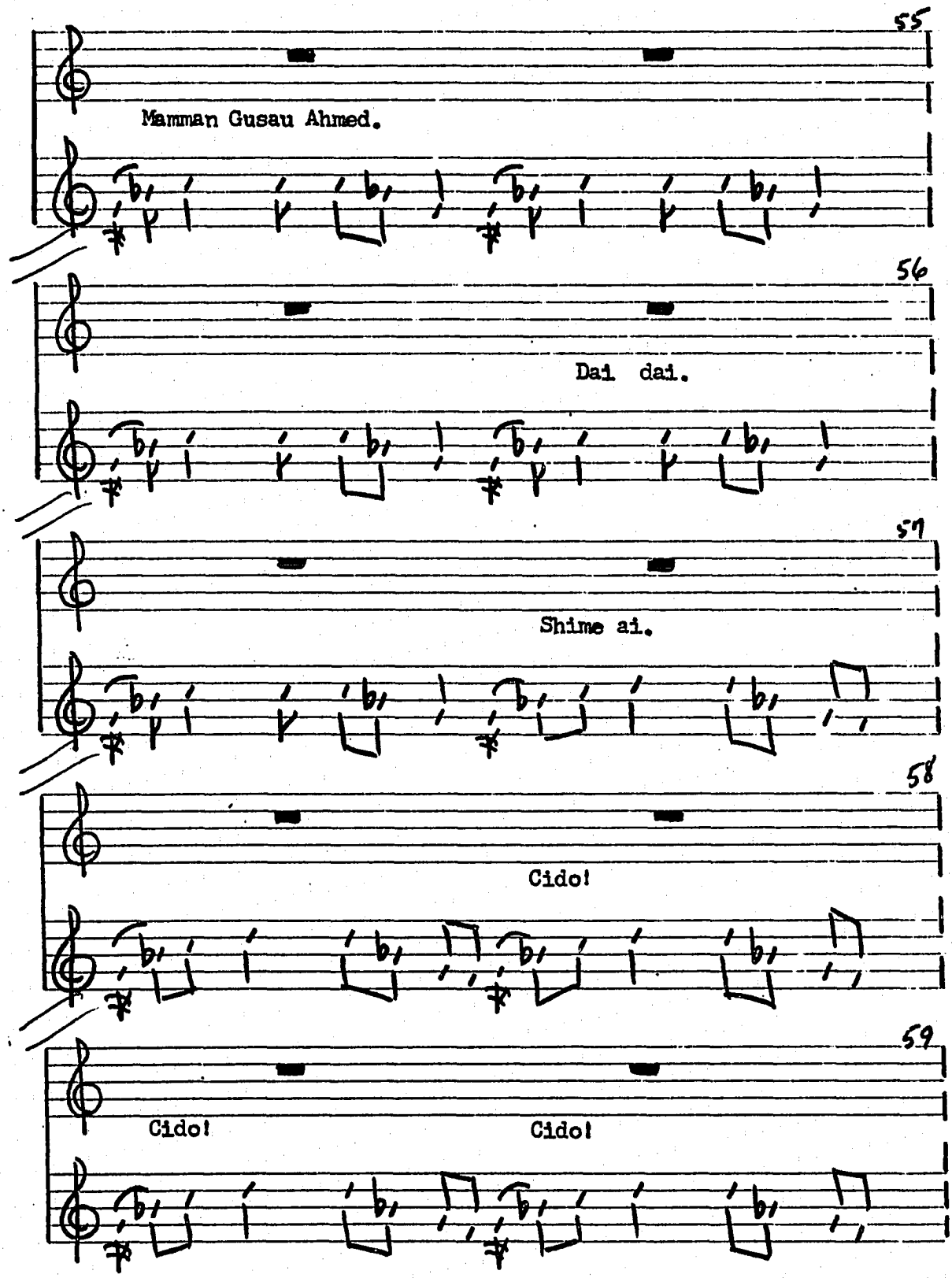
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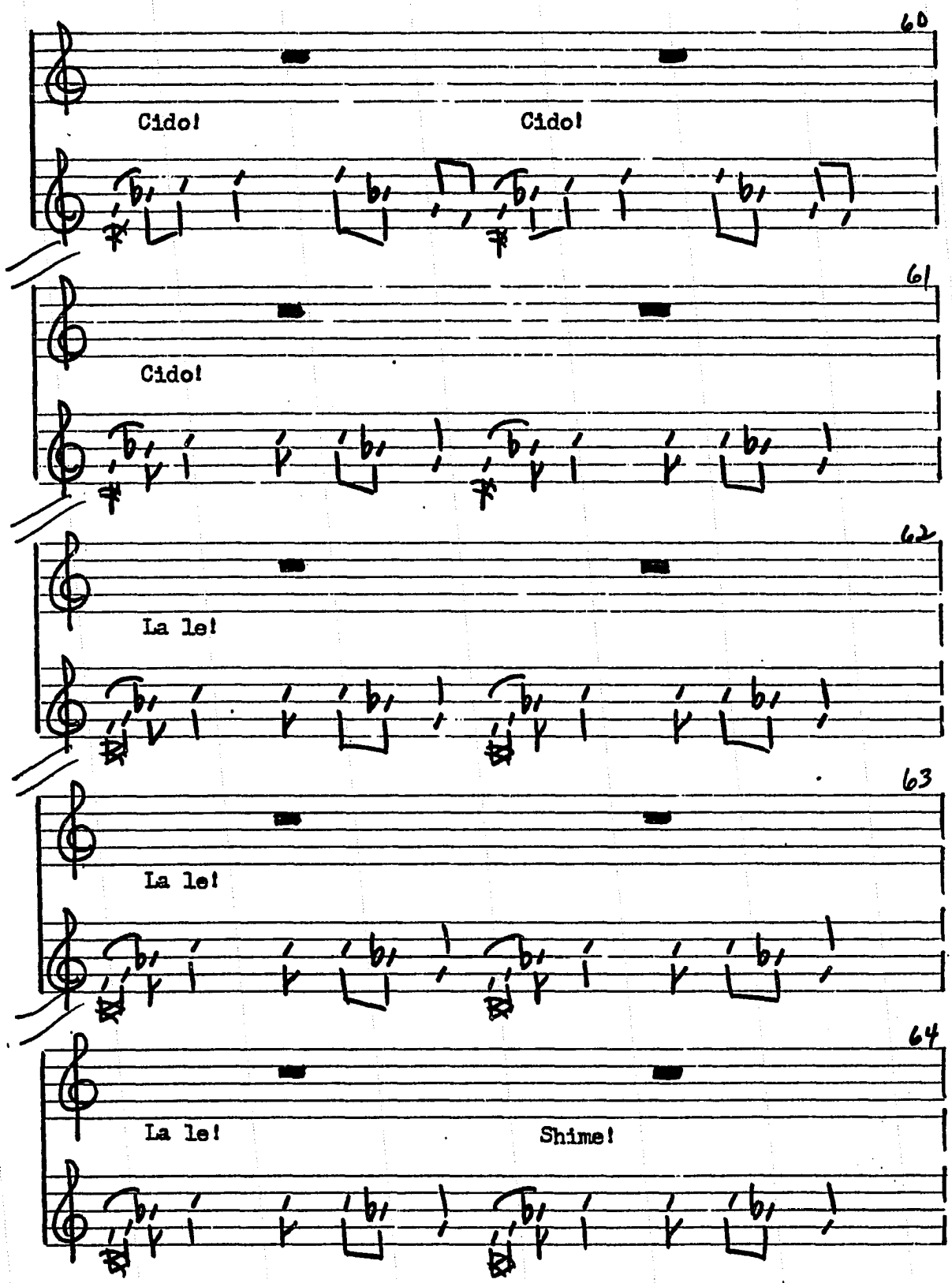
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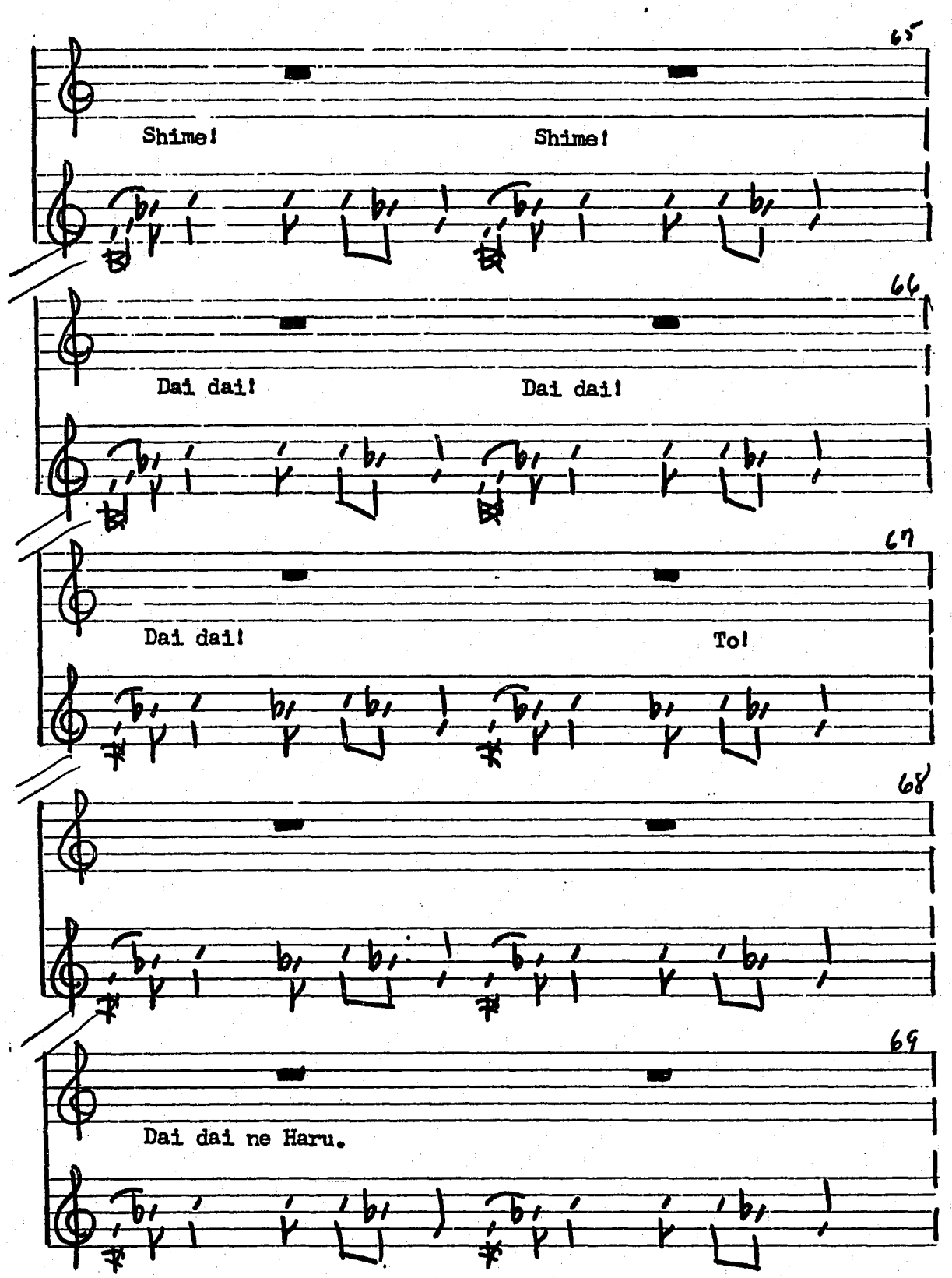
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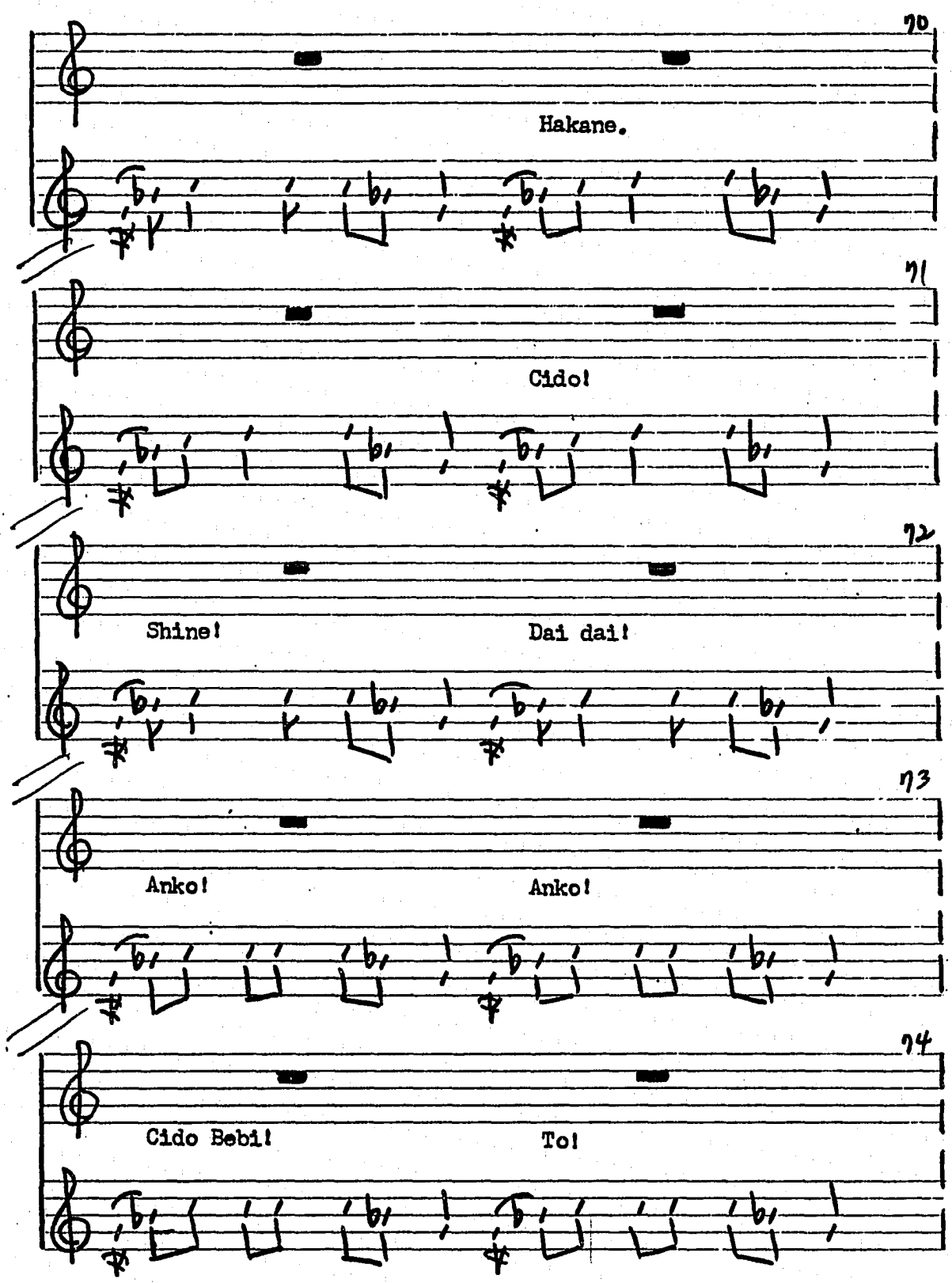
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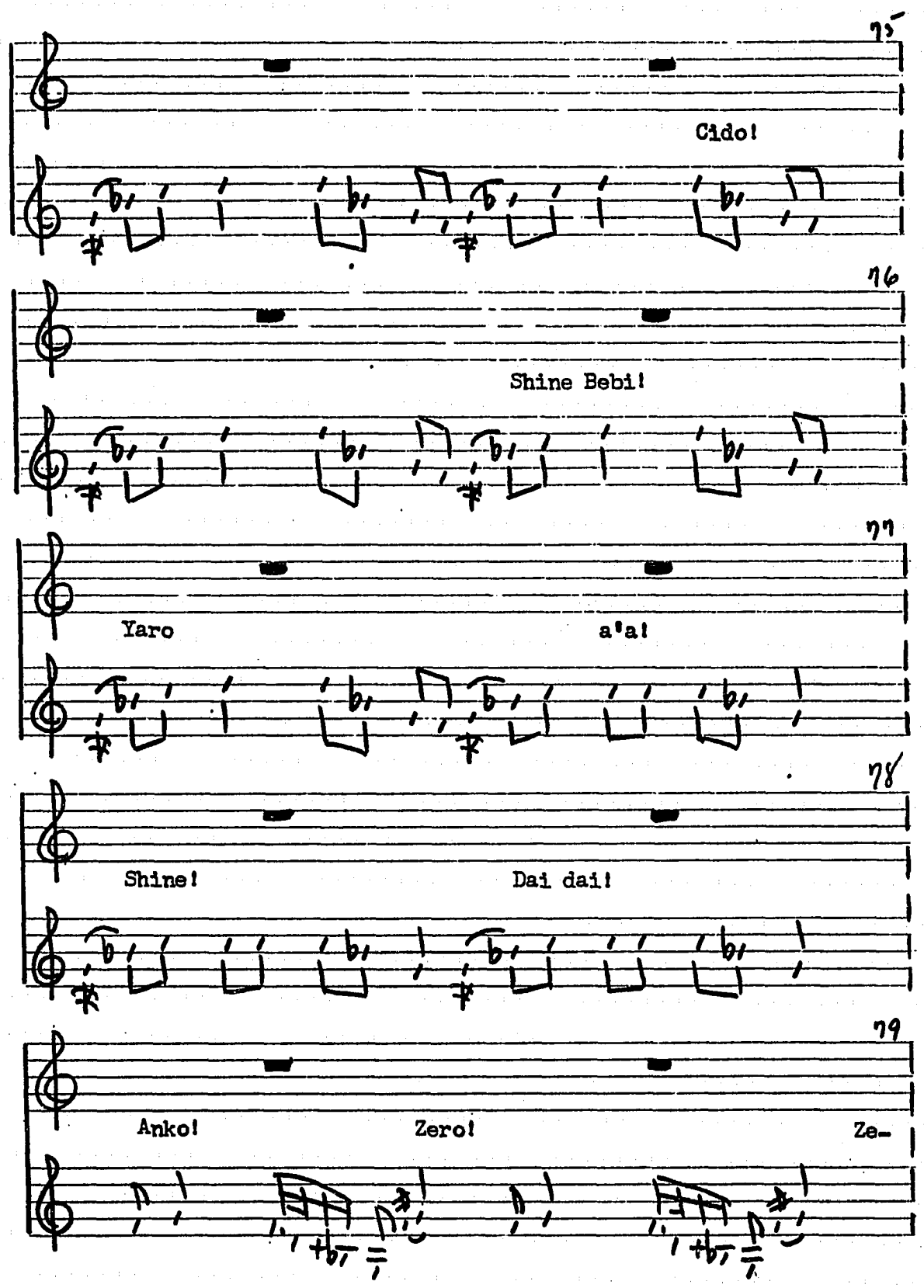
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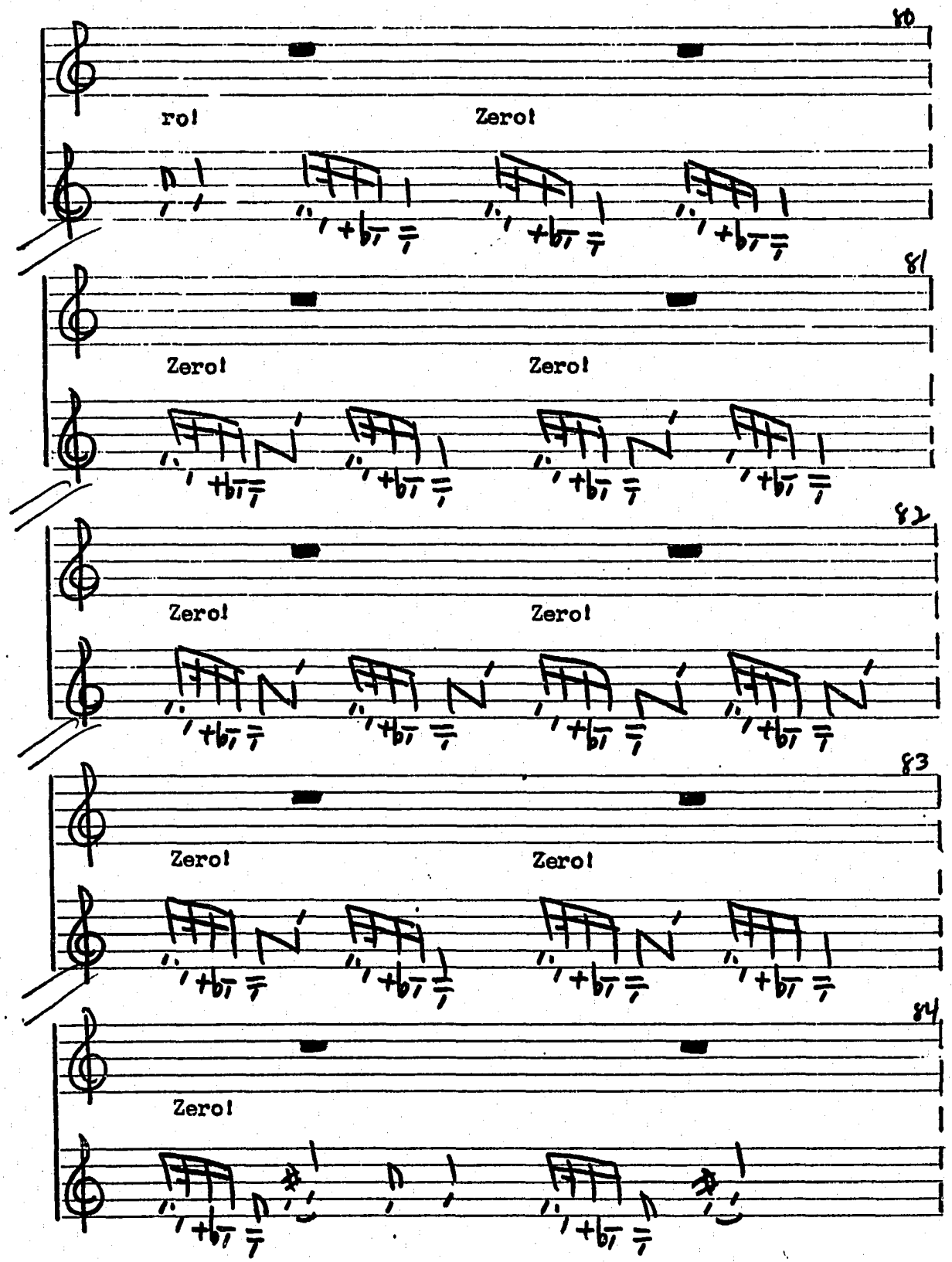
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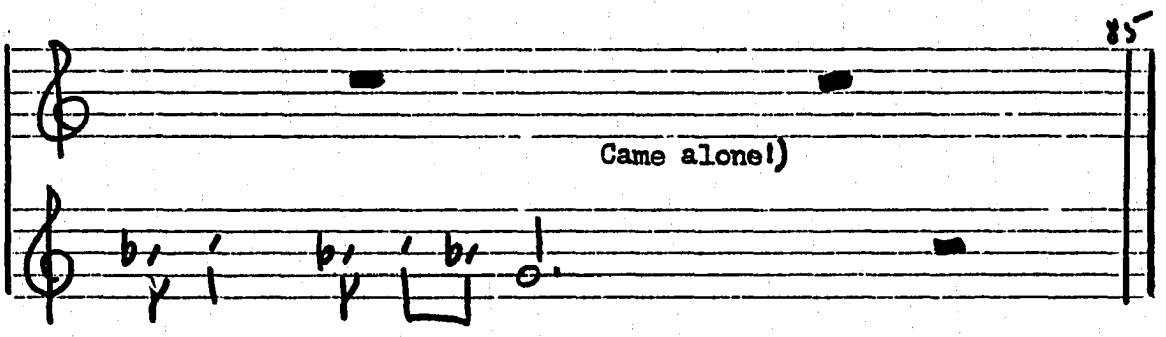
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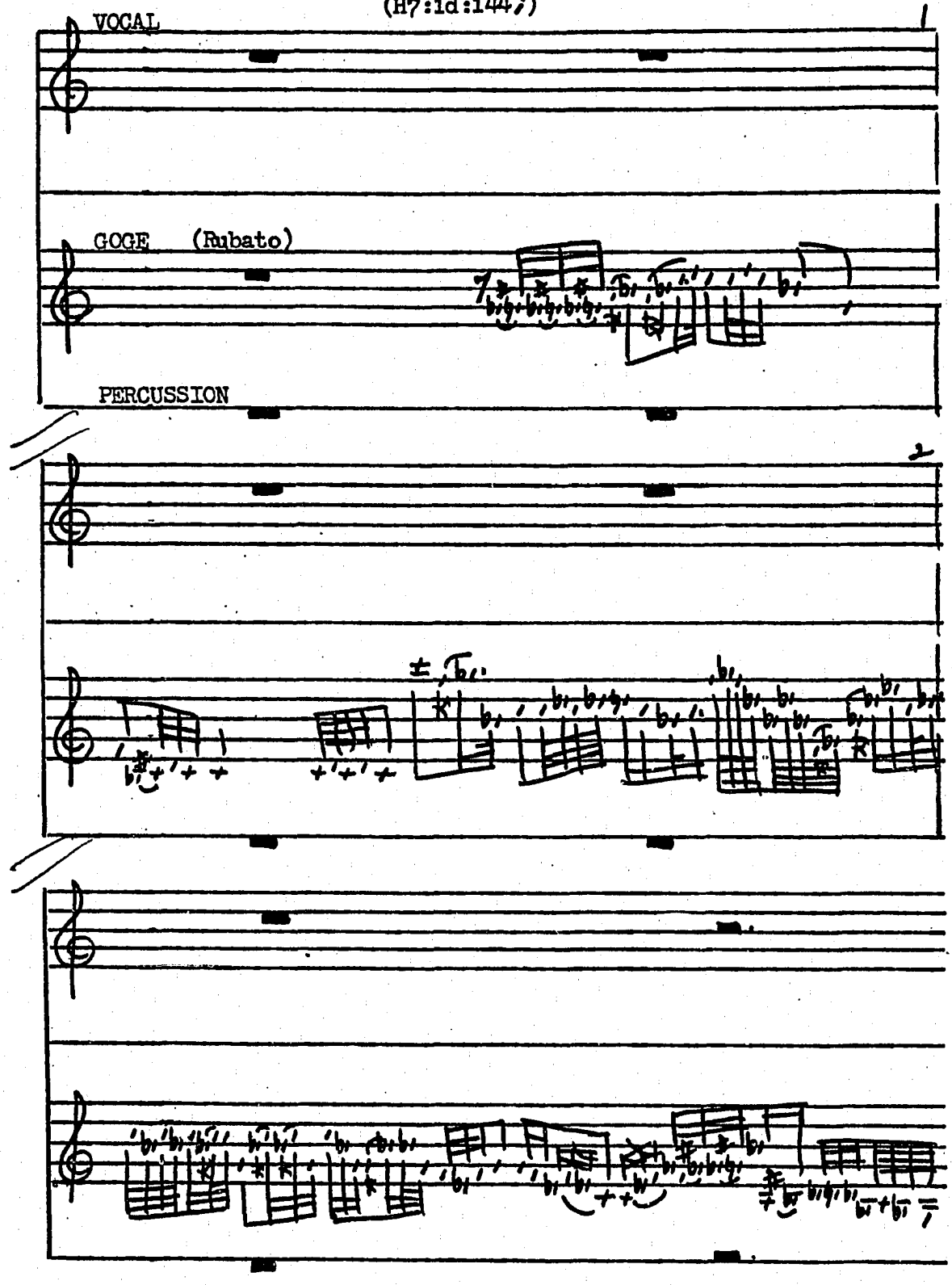


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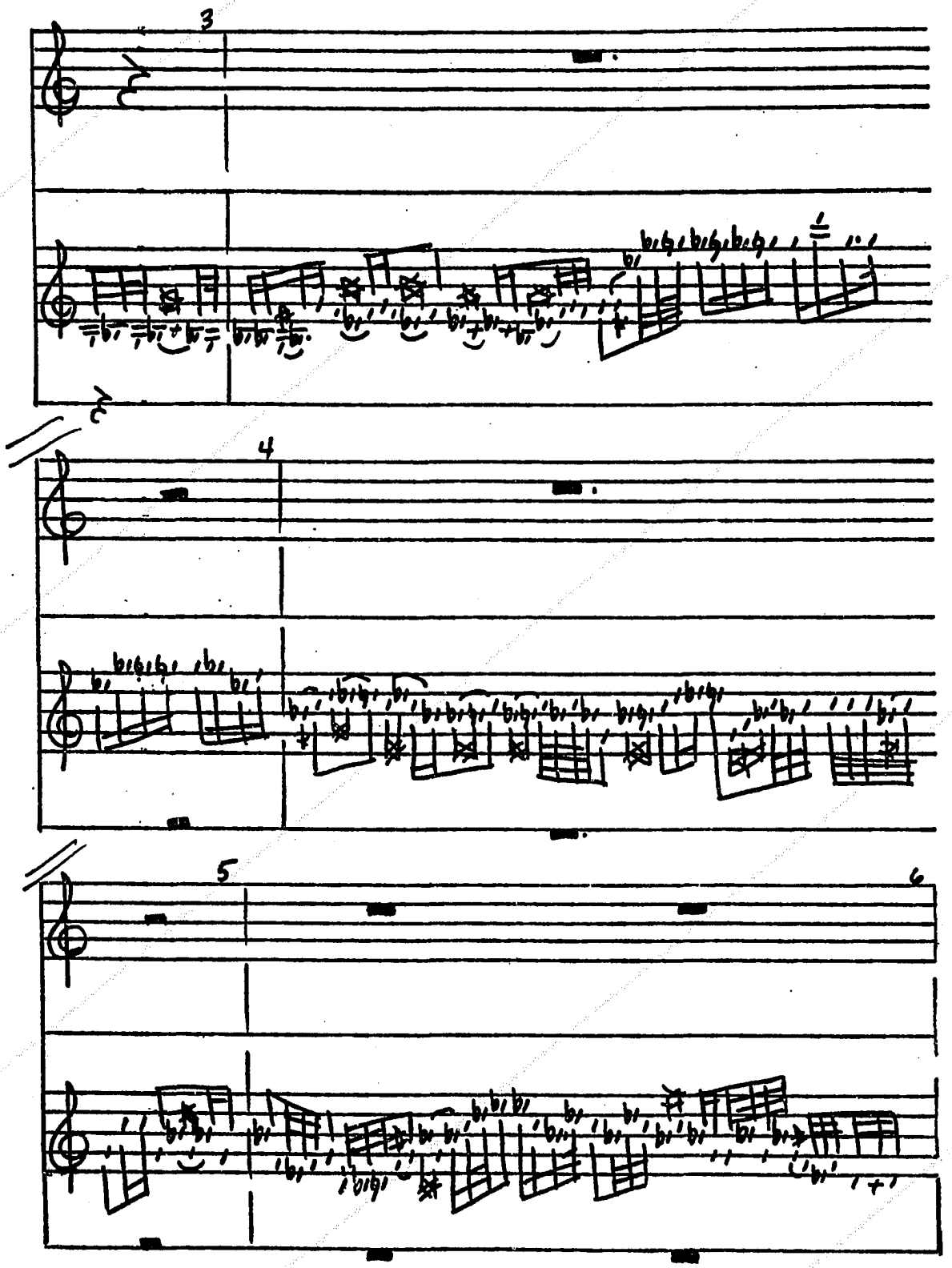


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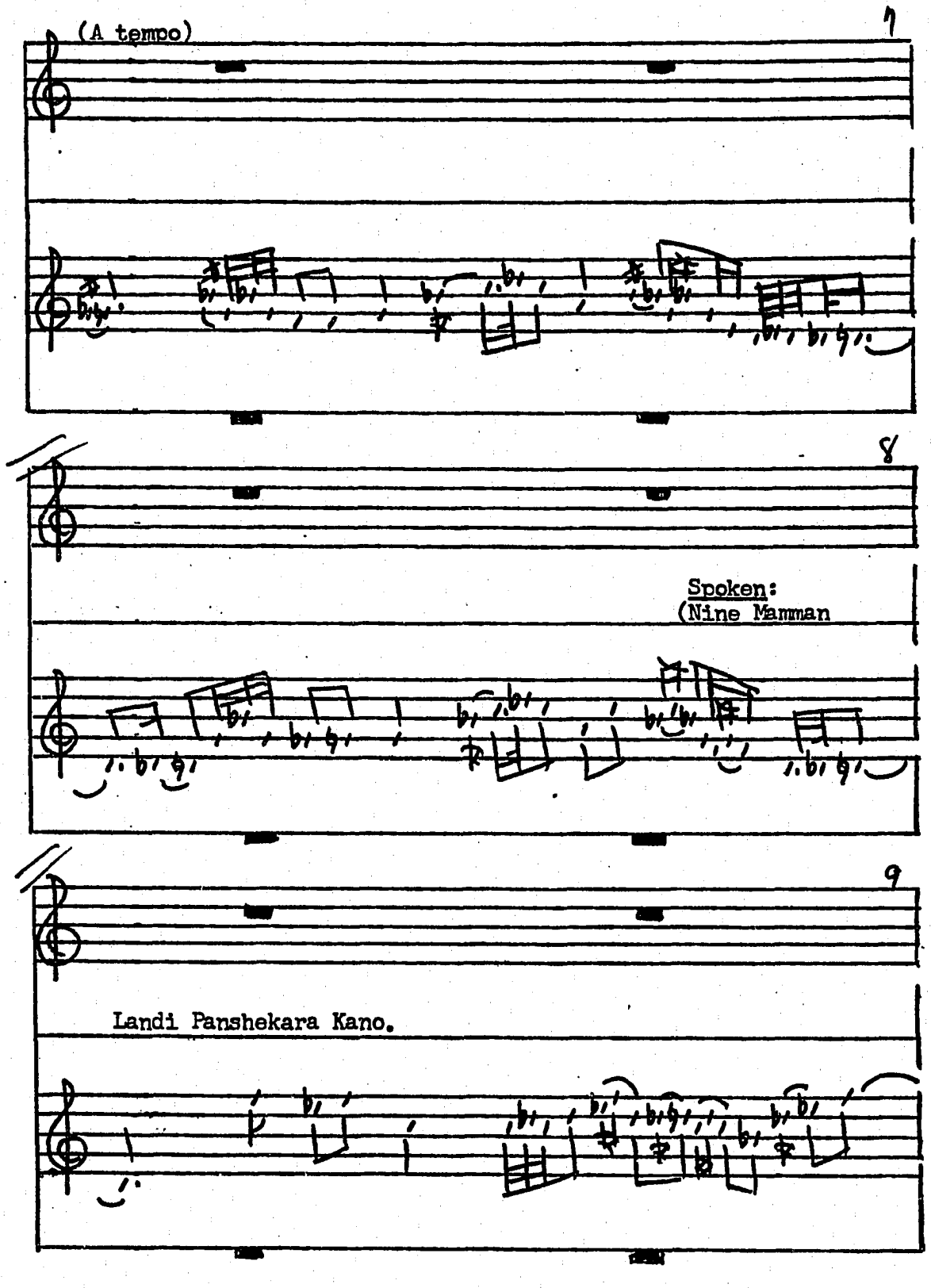
WAKAKAI
by Mamman Landi
(H7:1d:144)



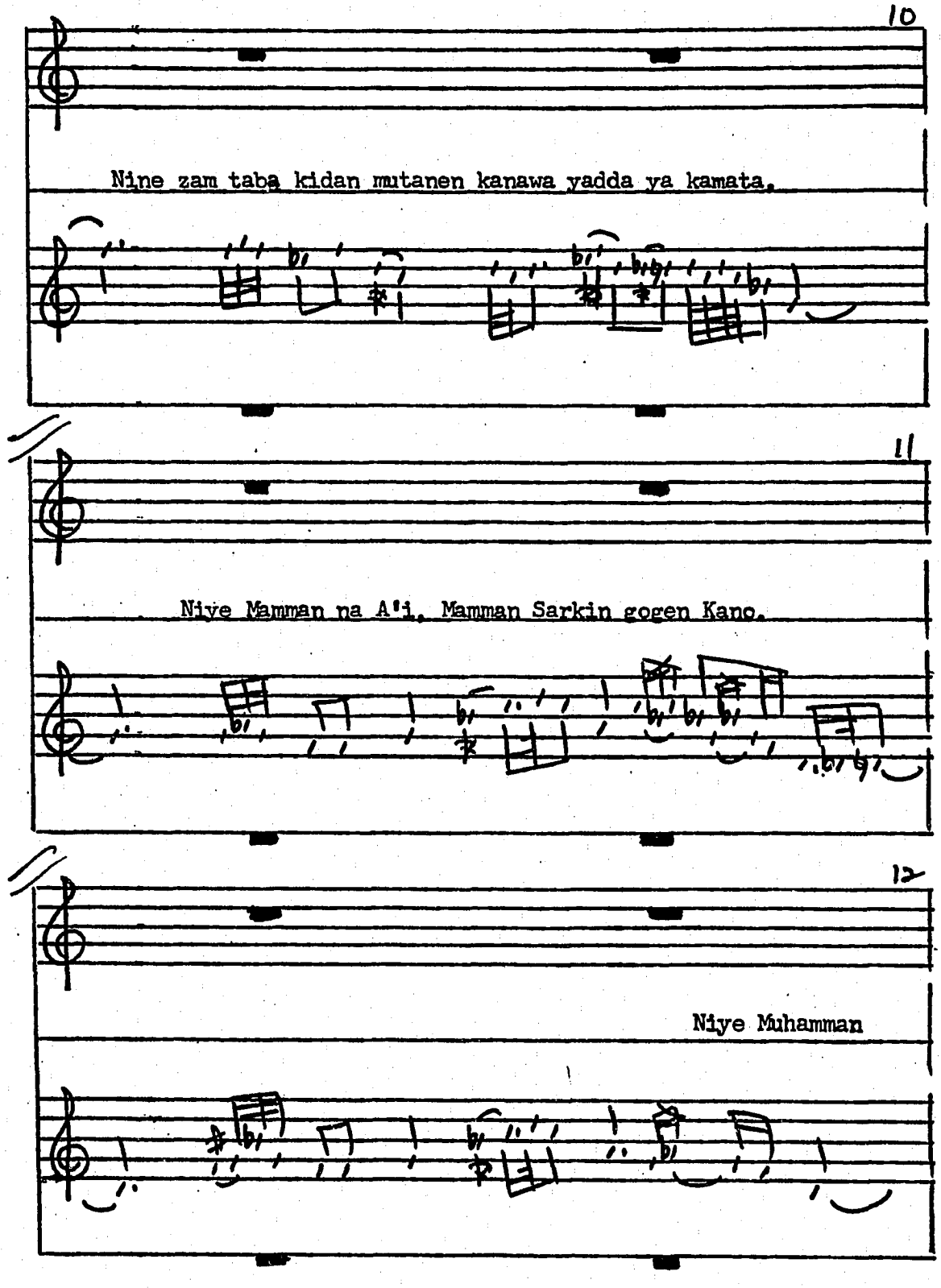
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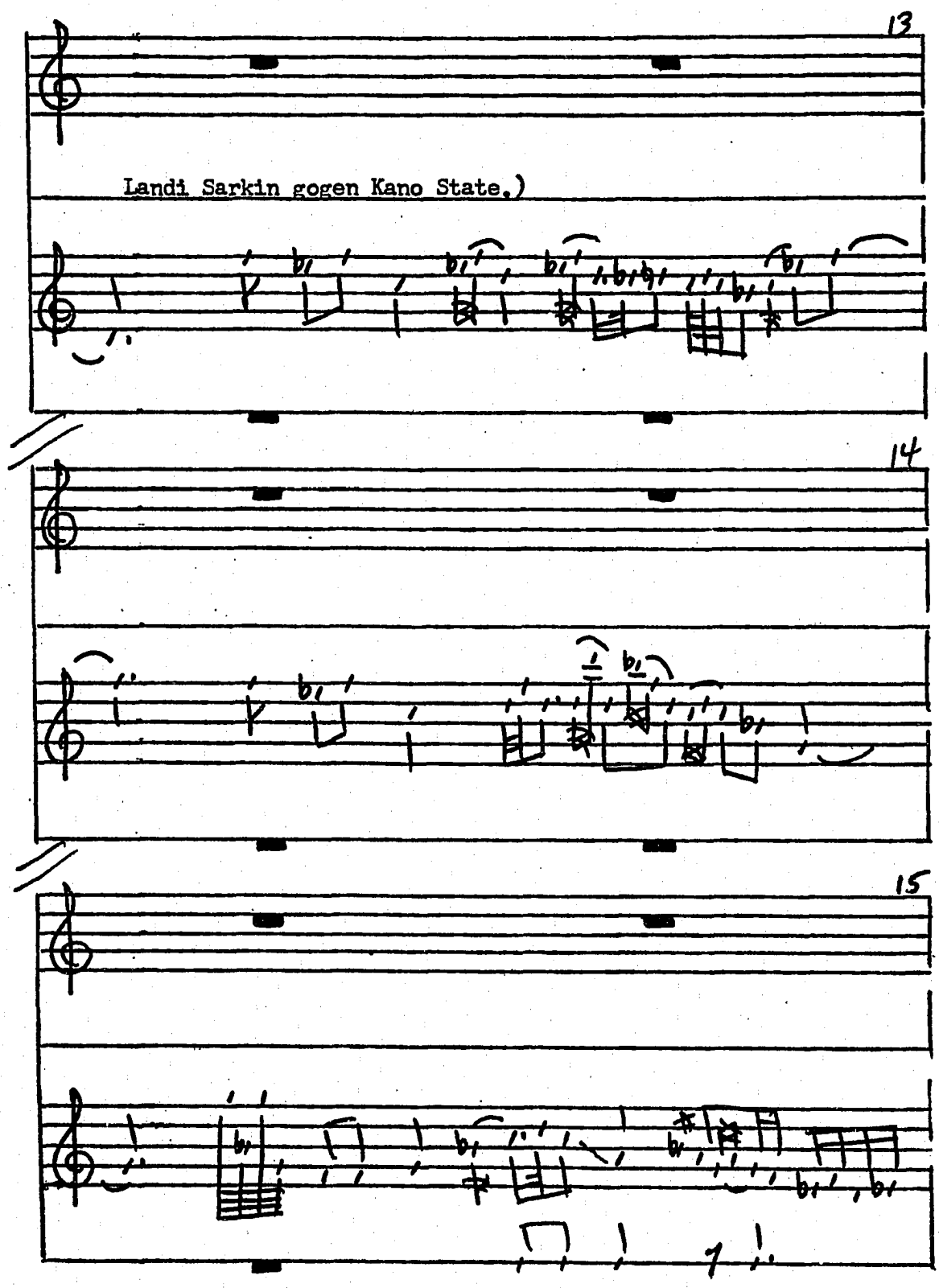
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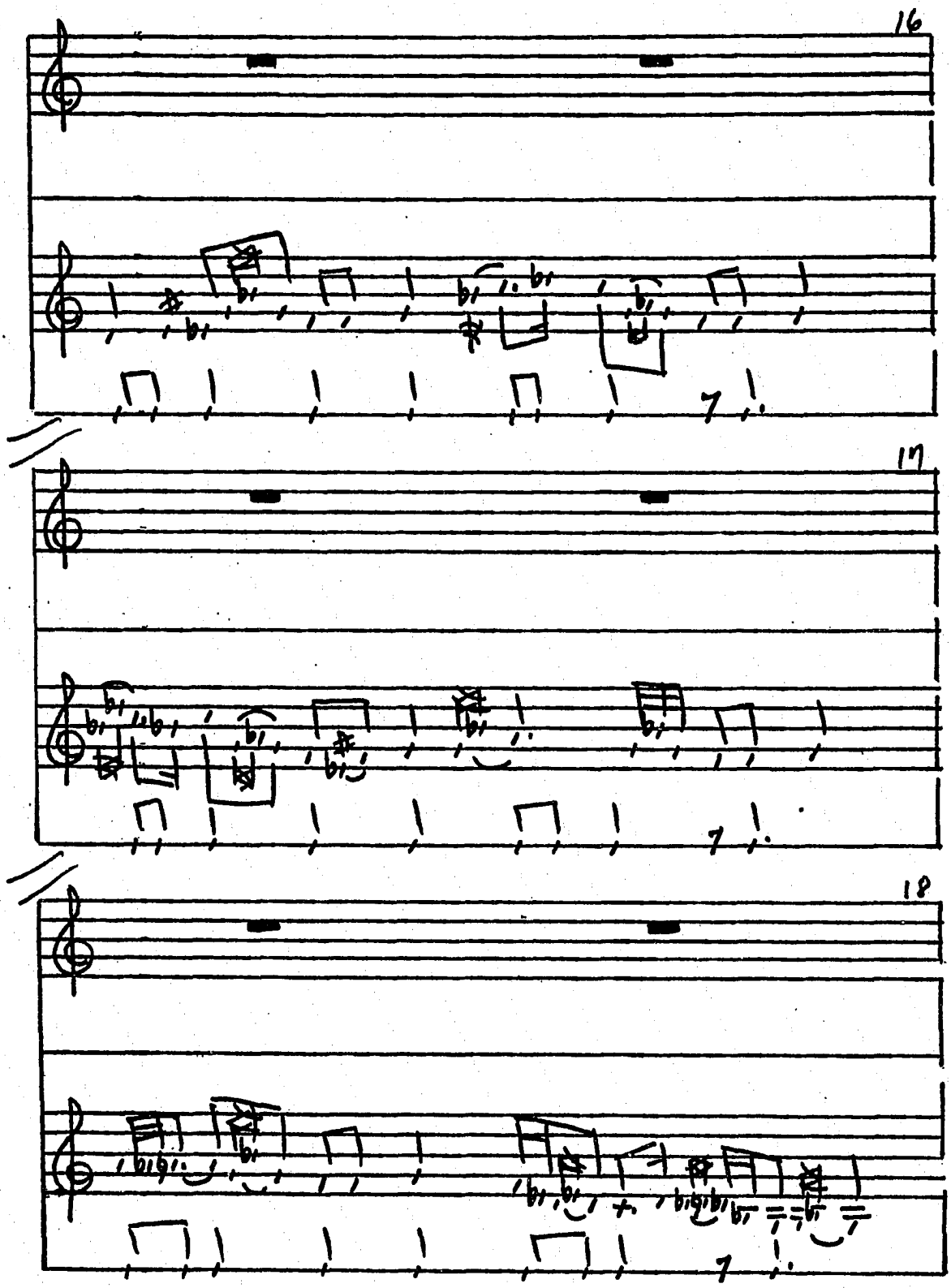


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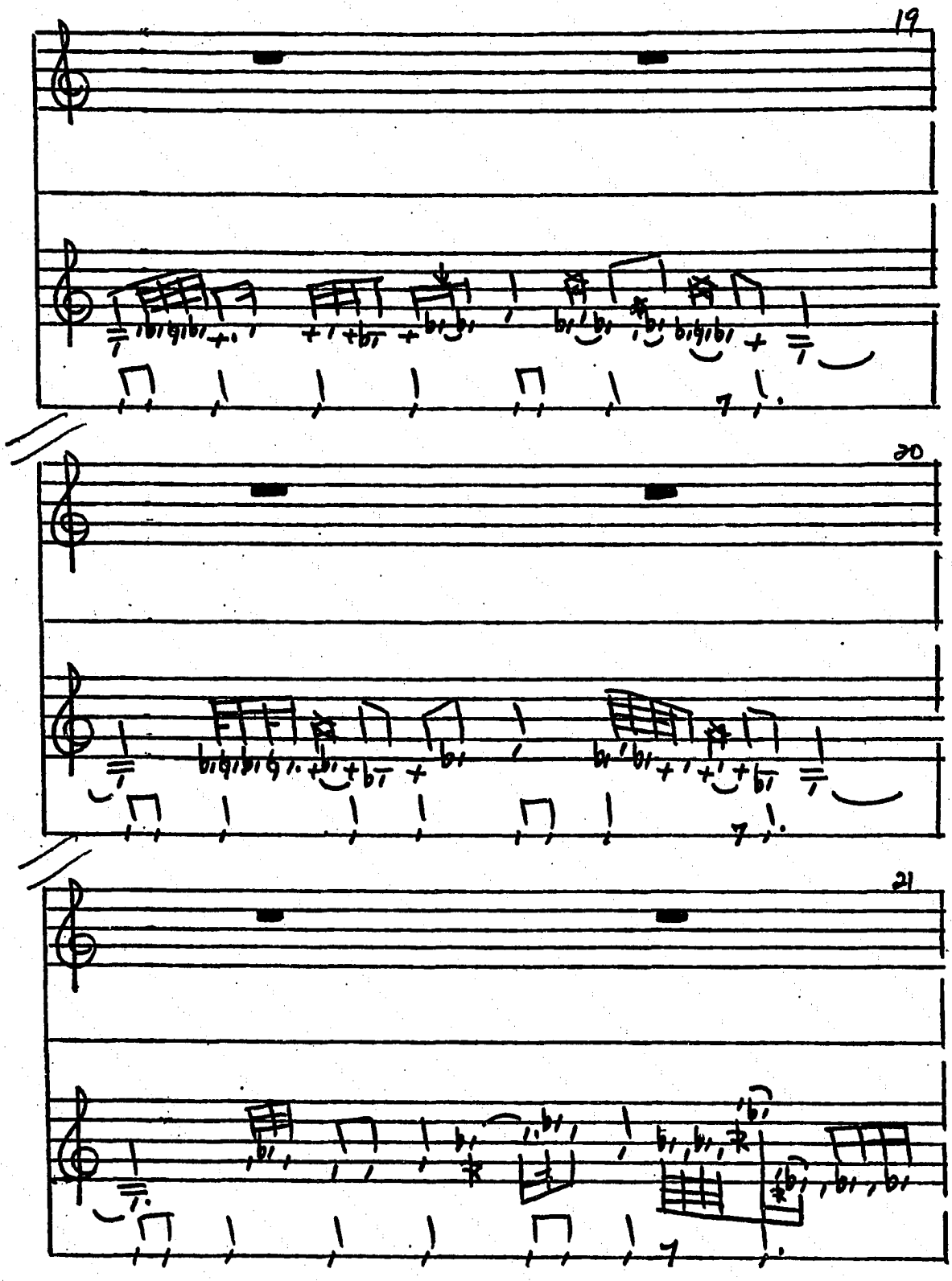


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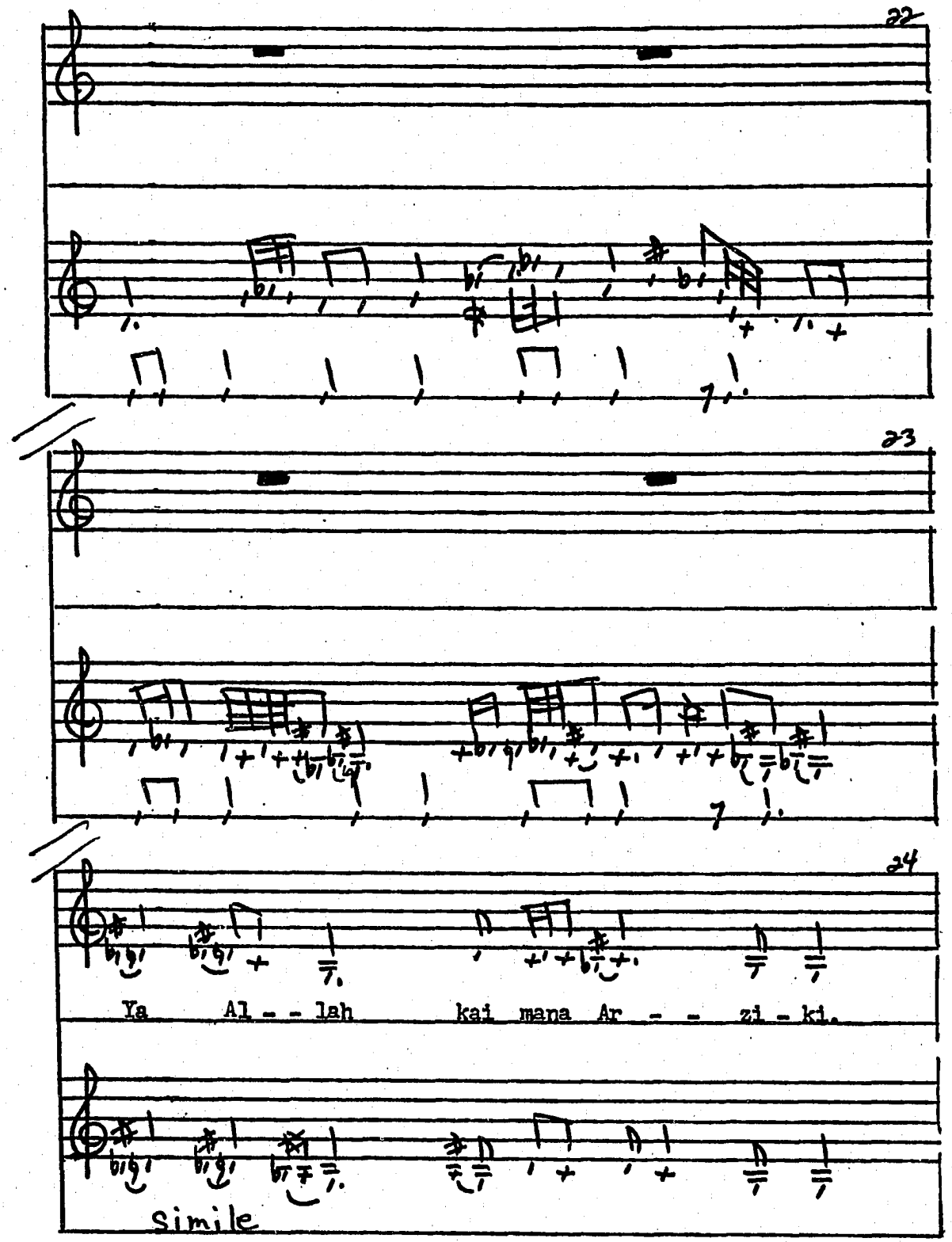


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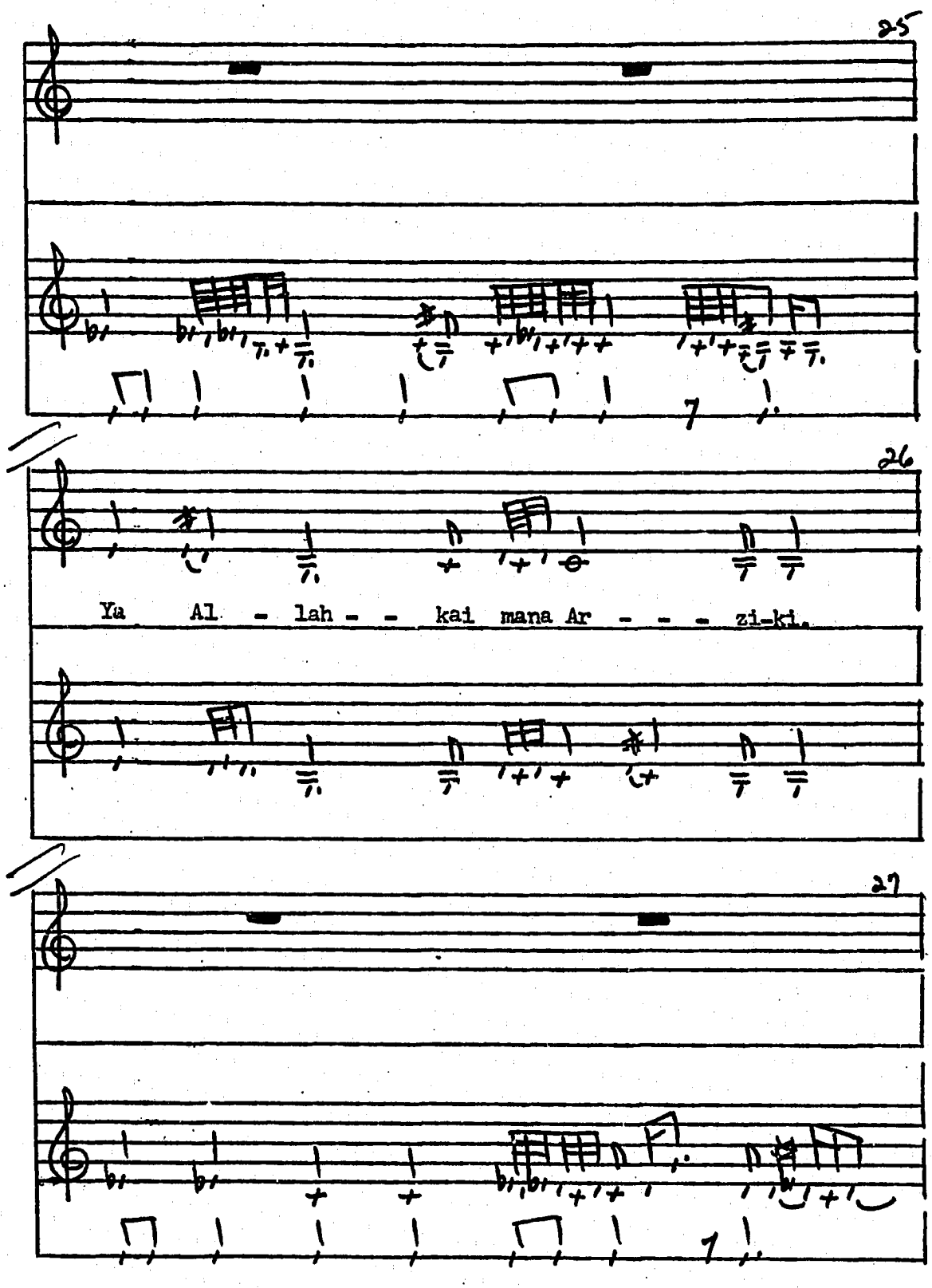
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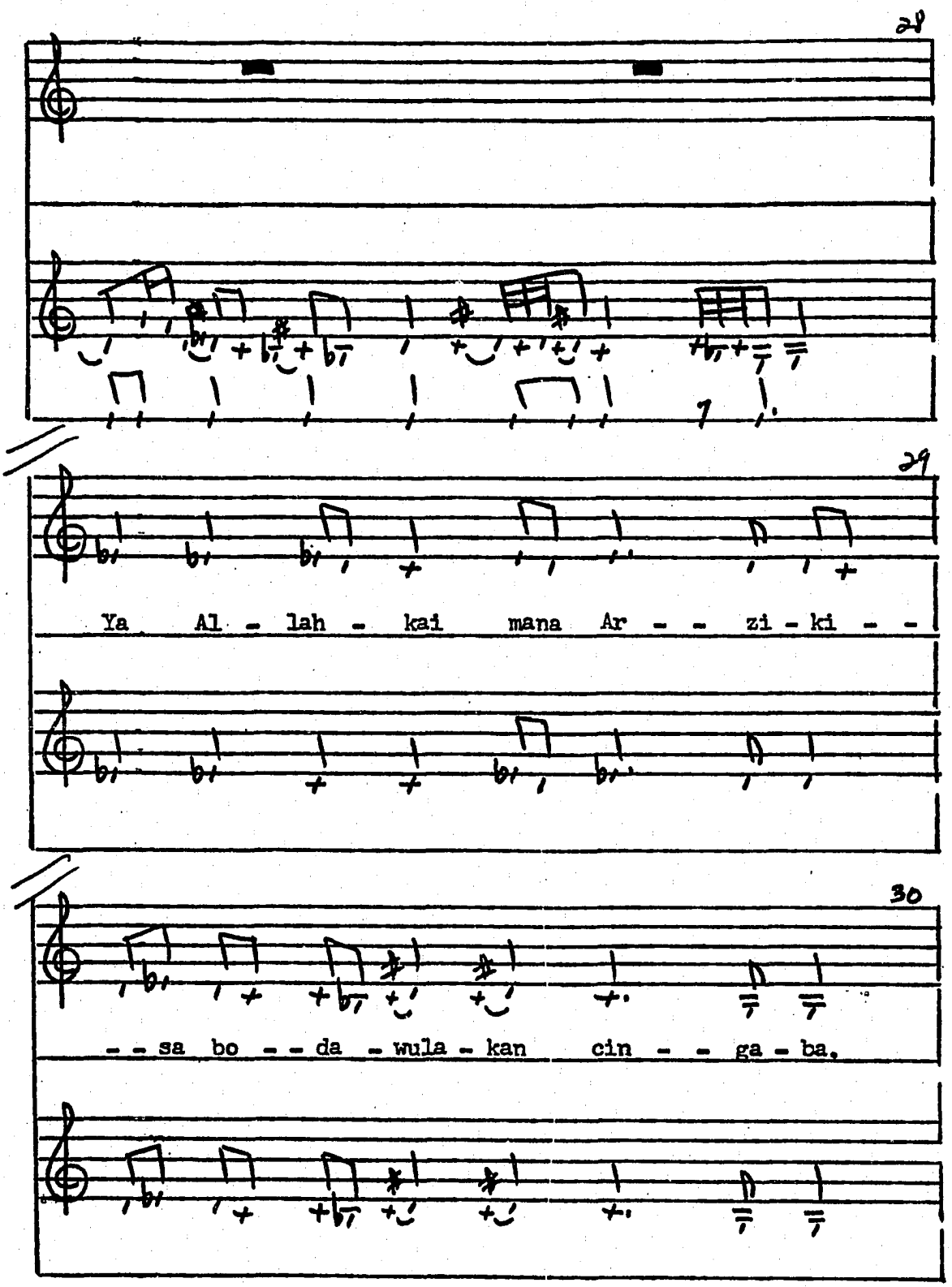
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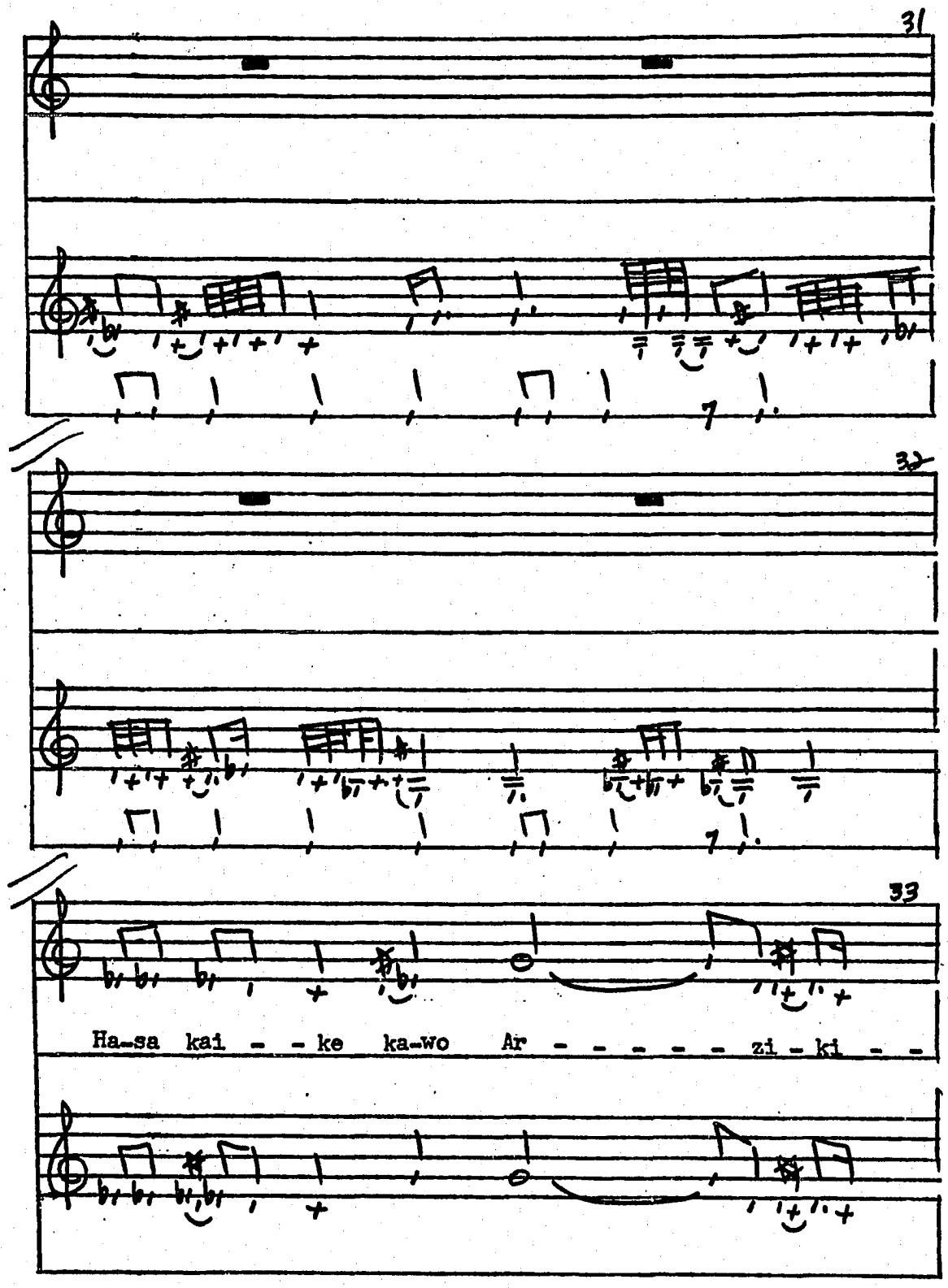
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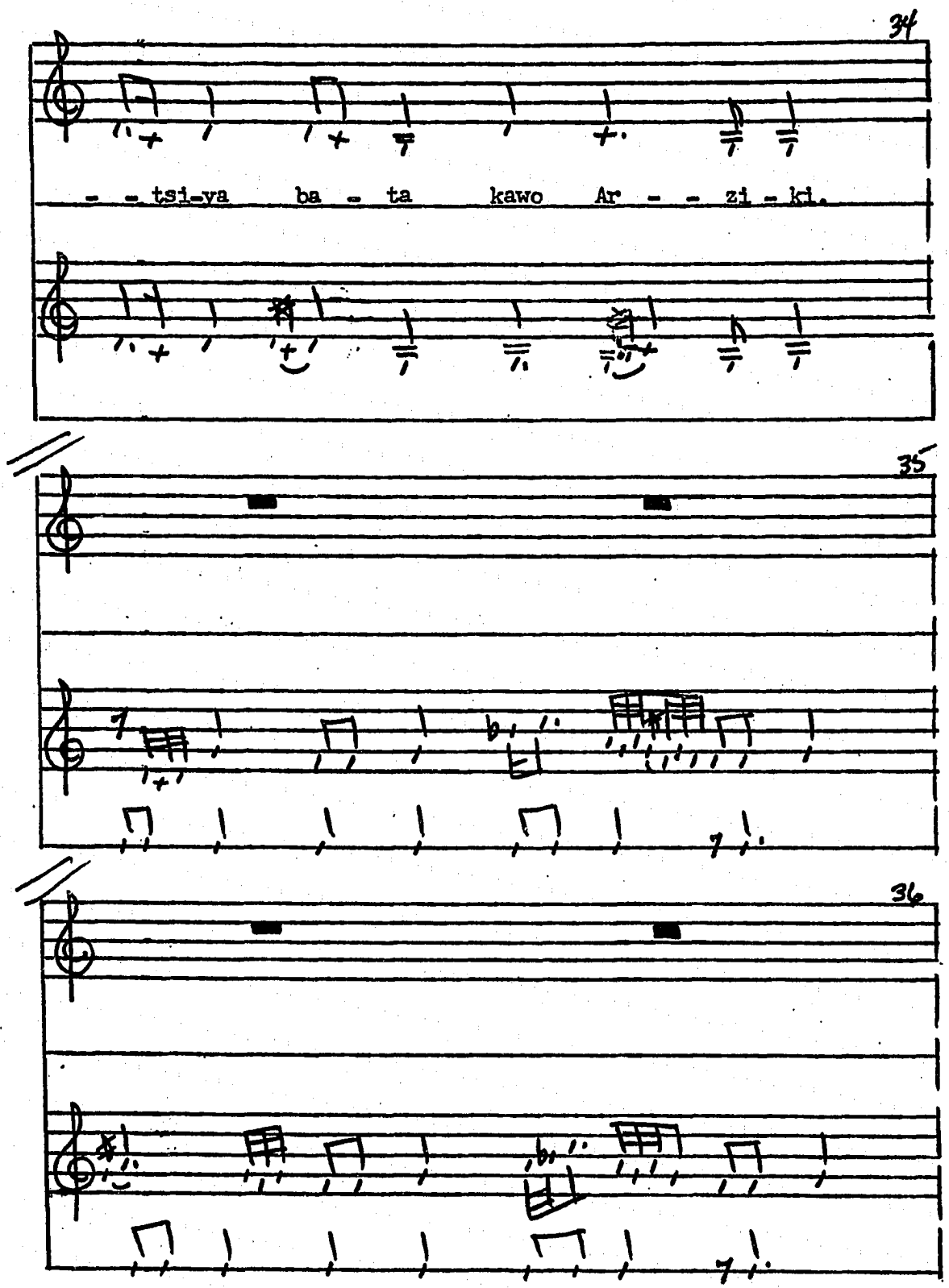


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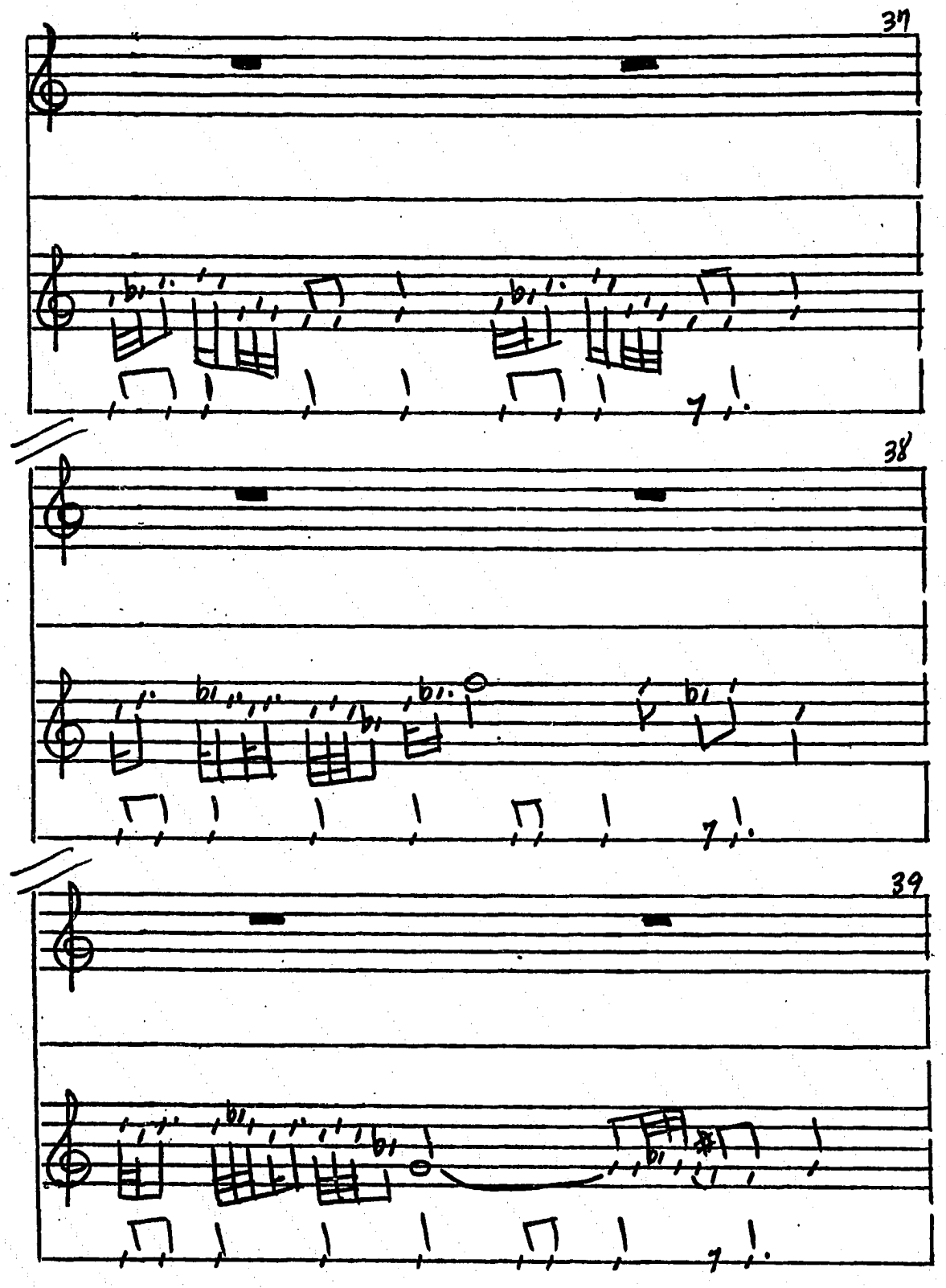


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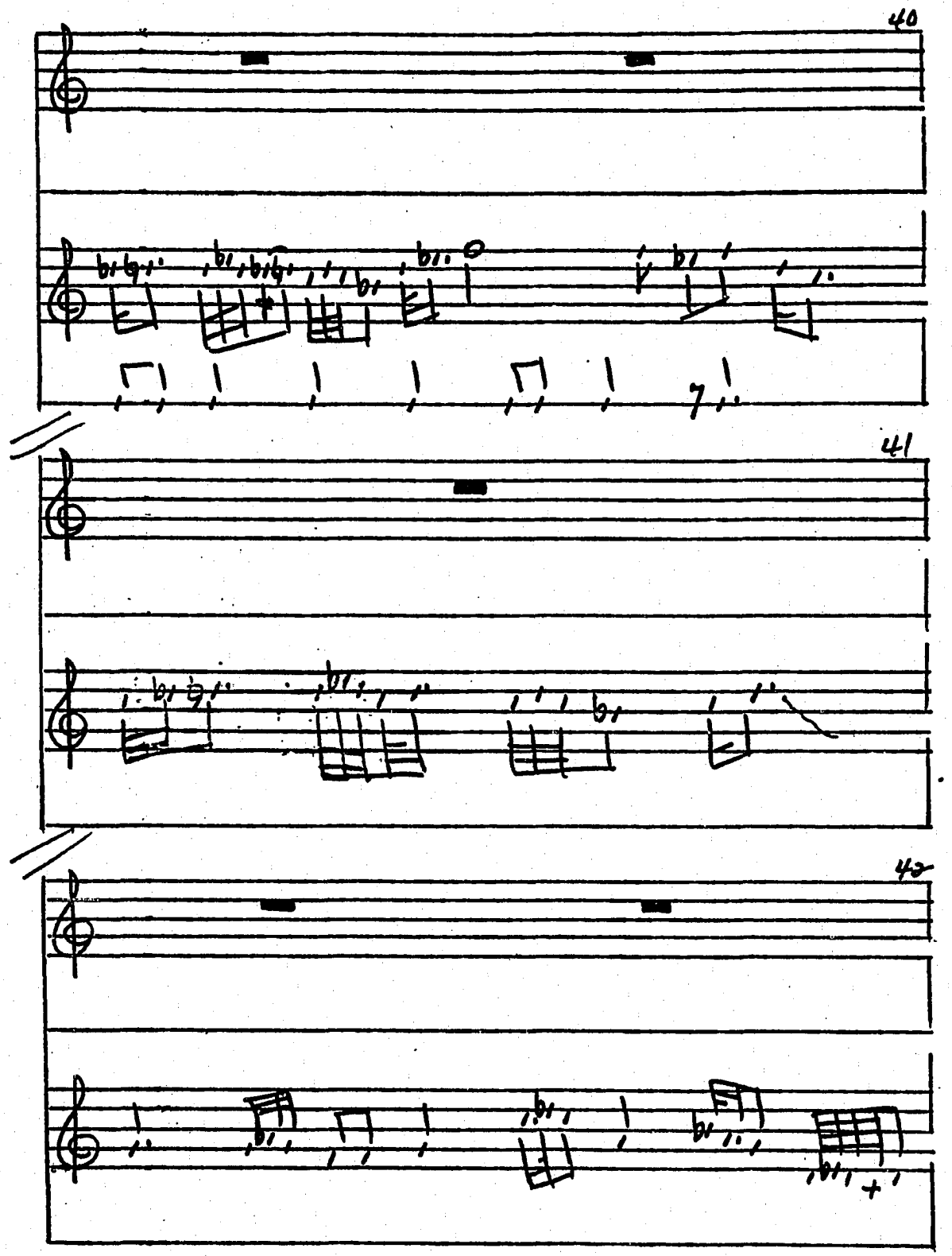
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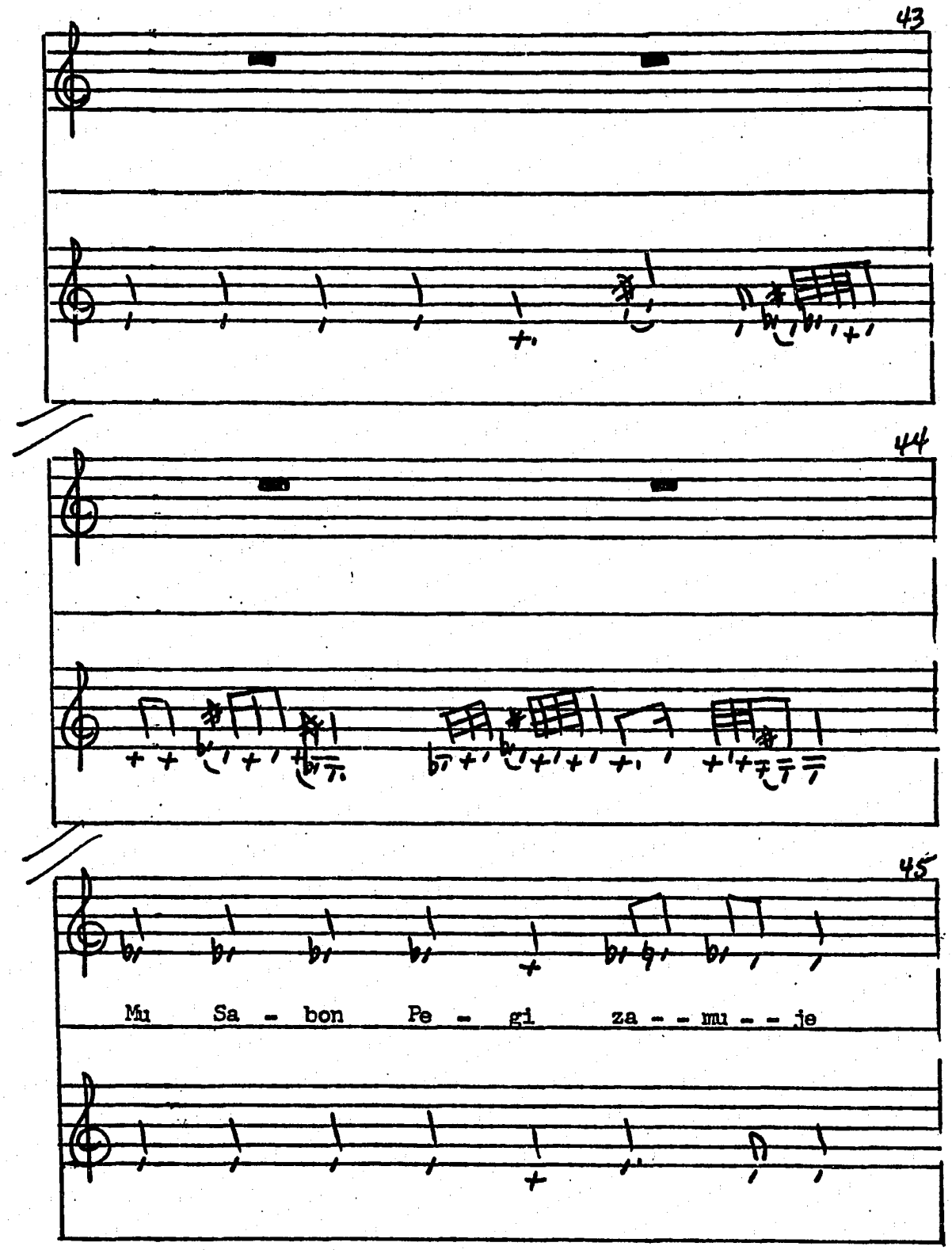
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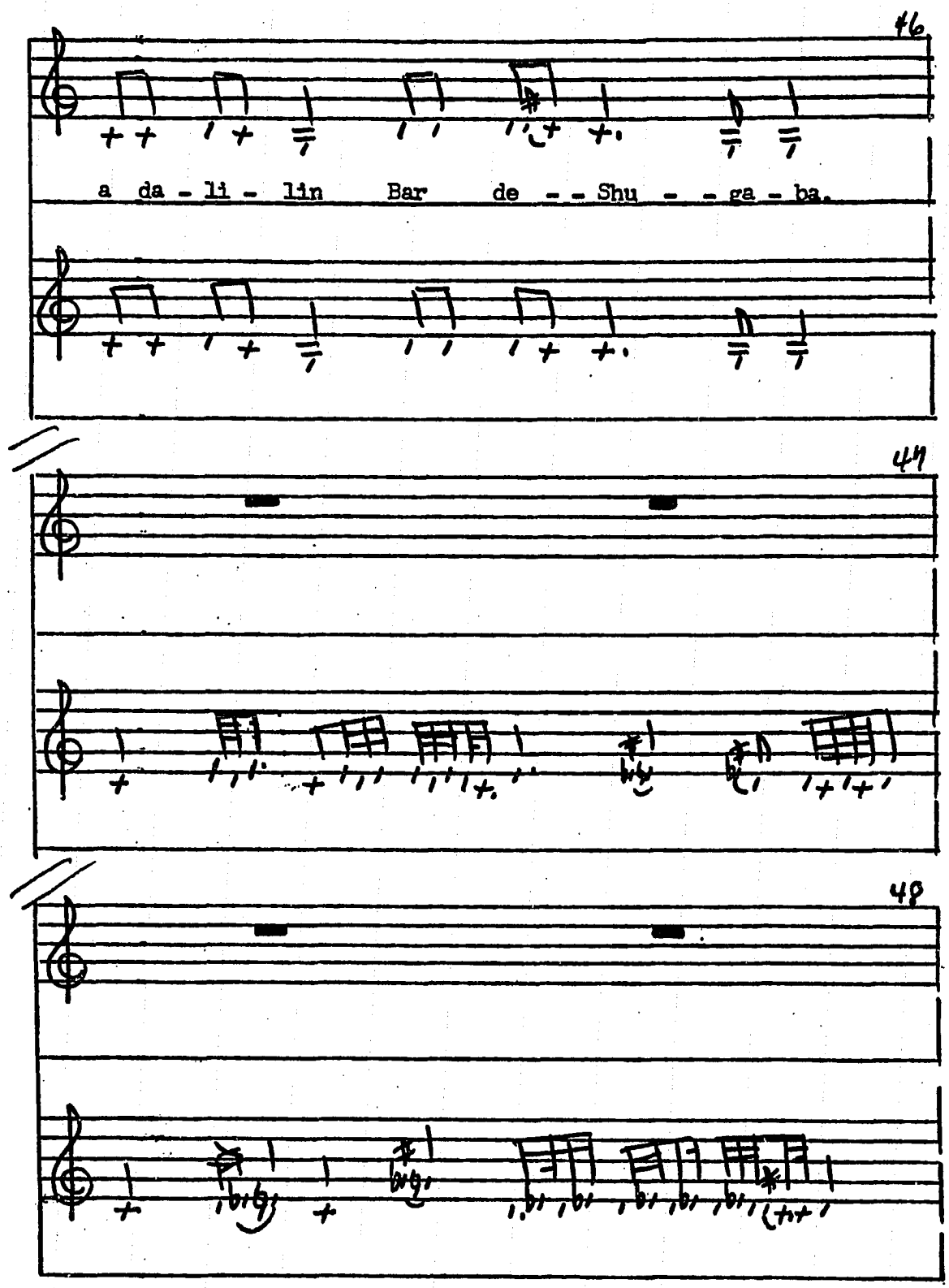
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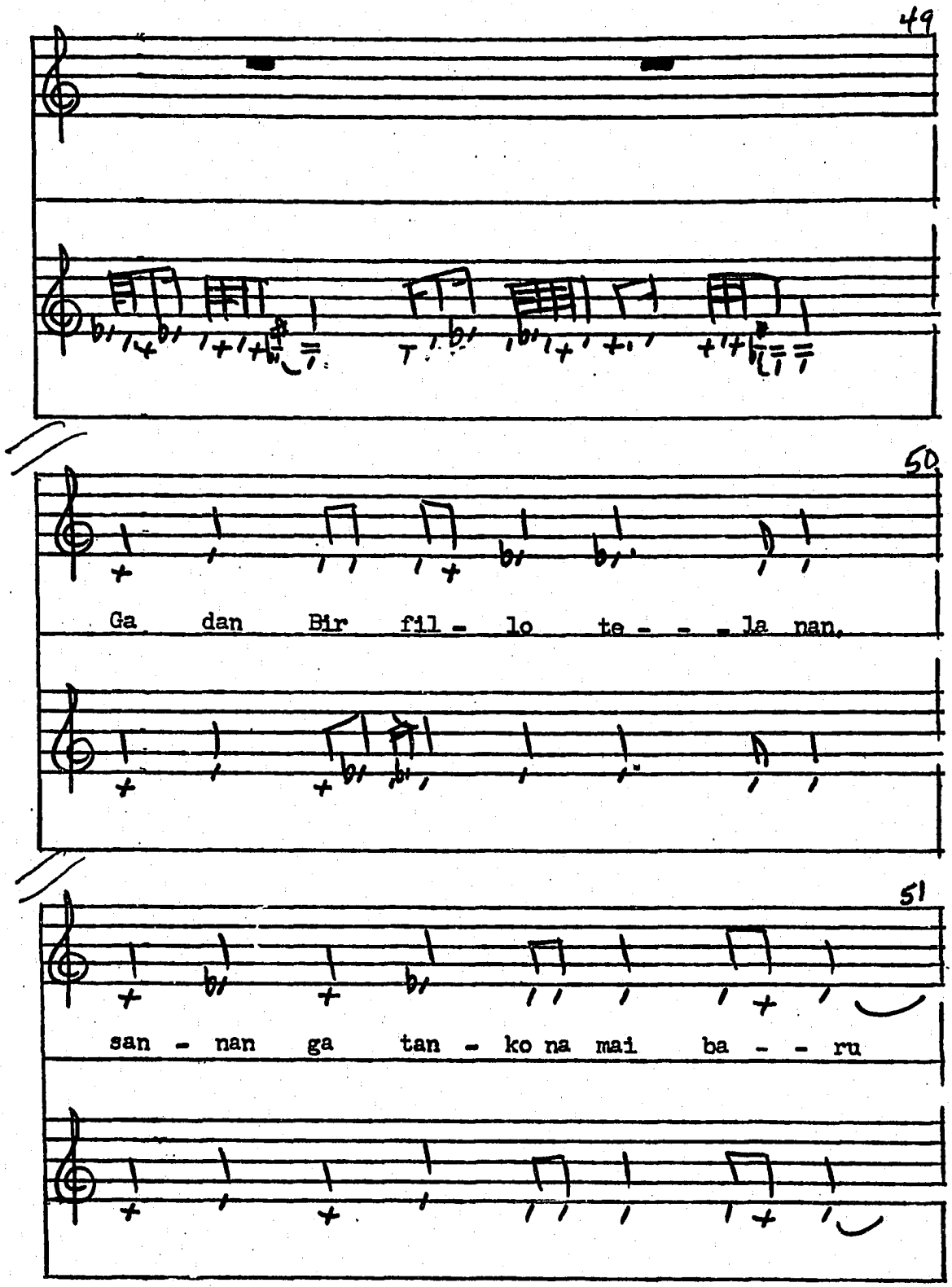
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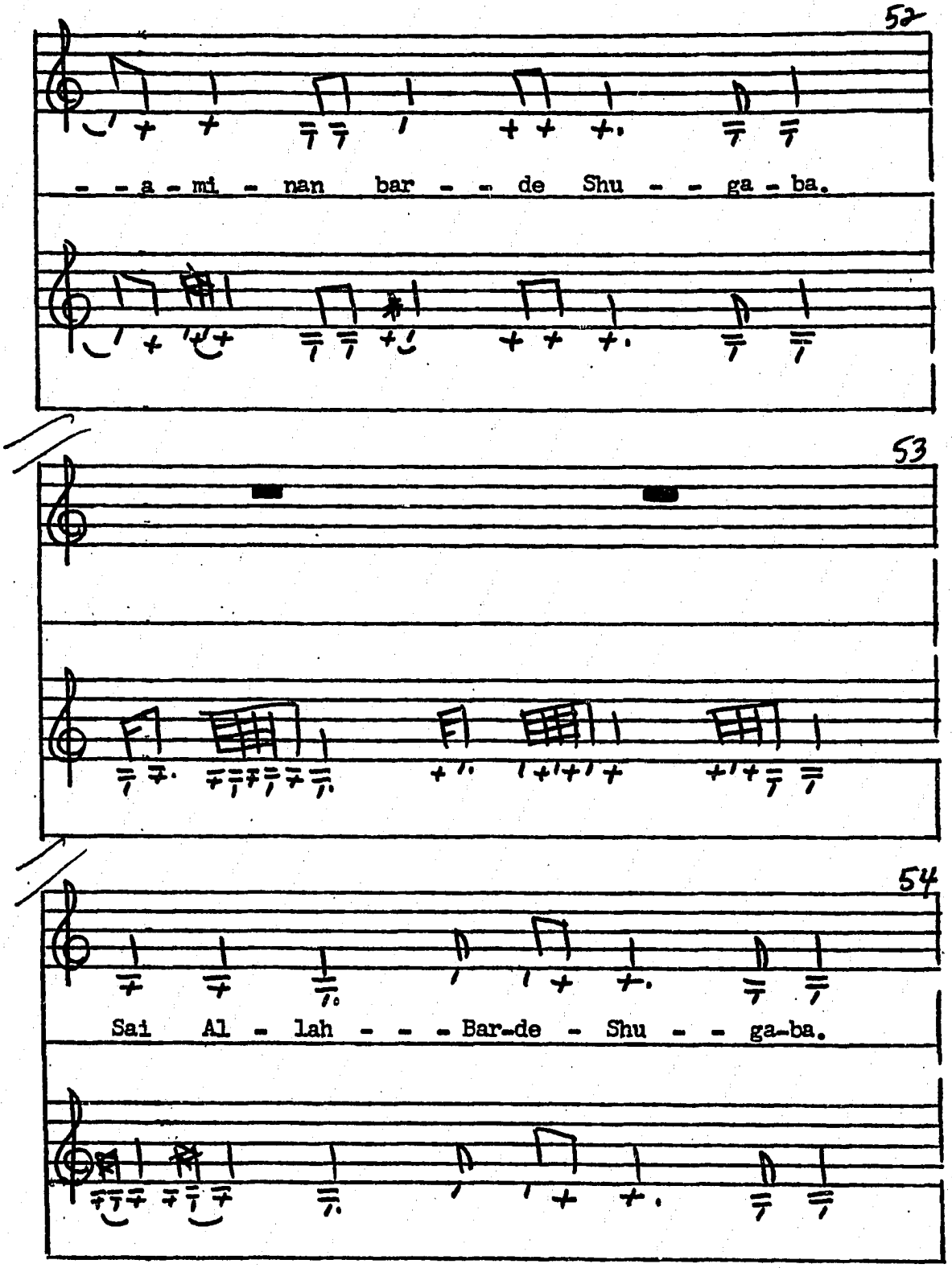
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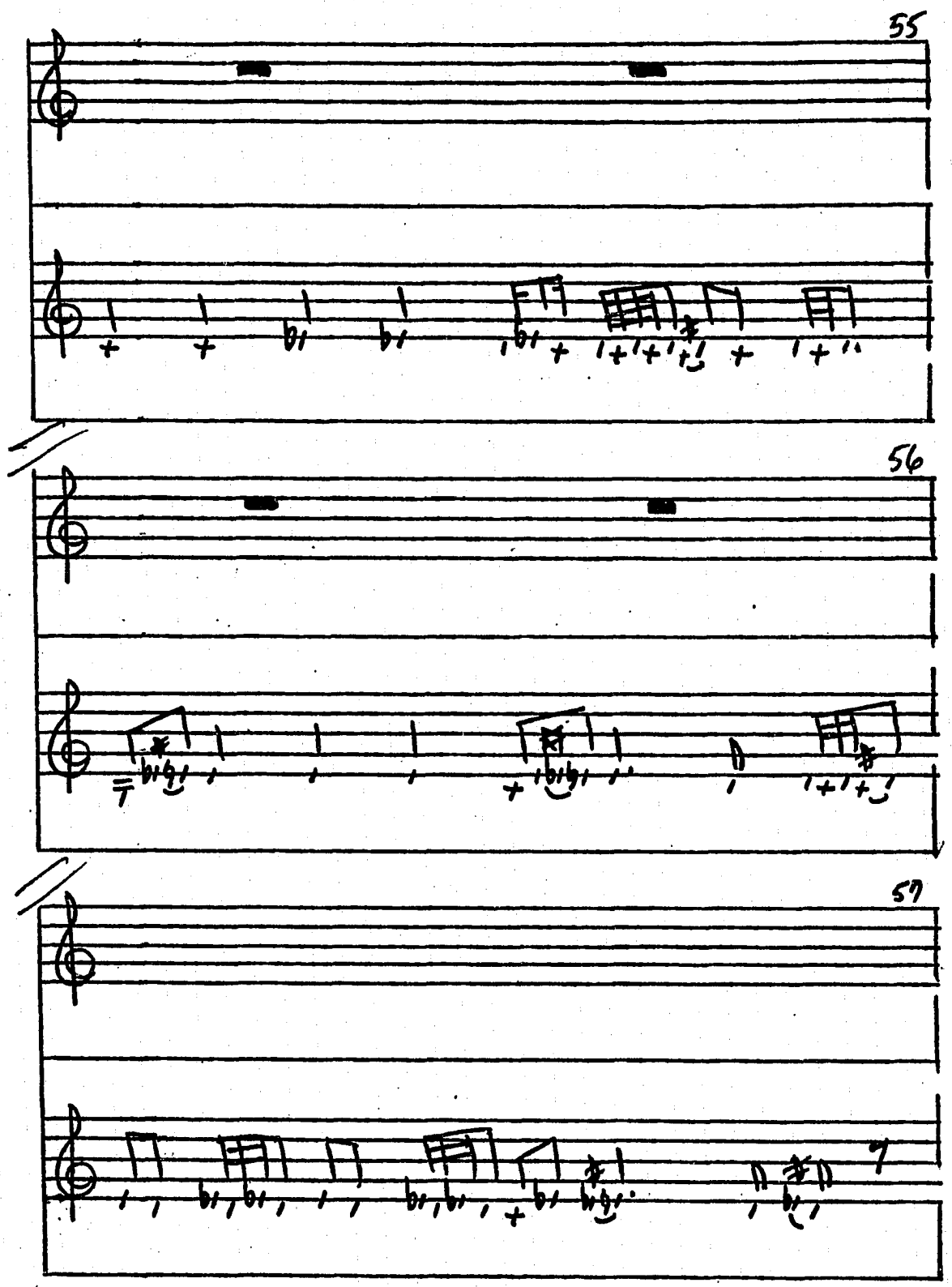
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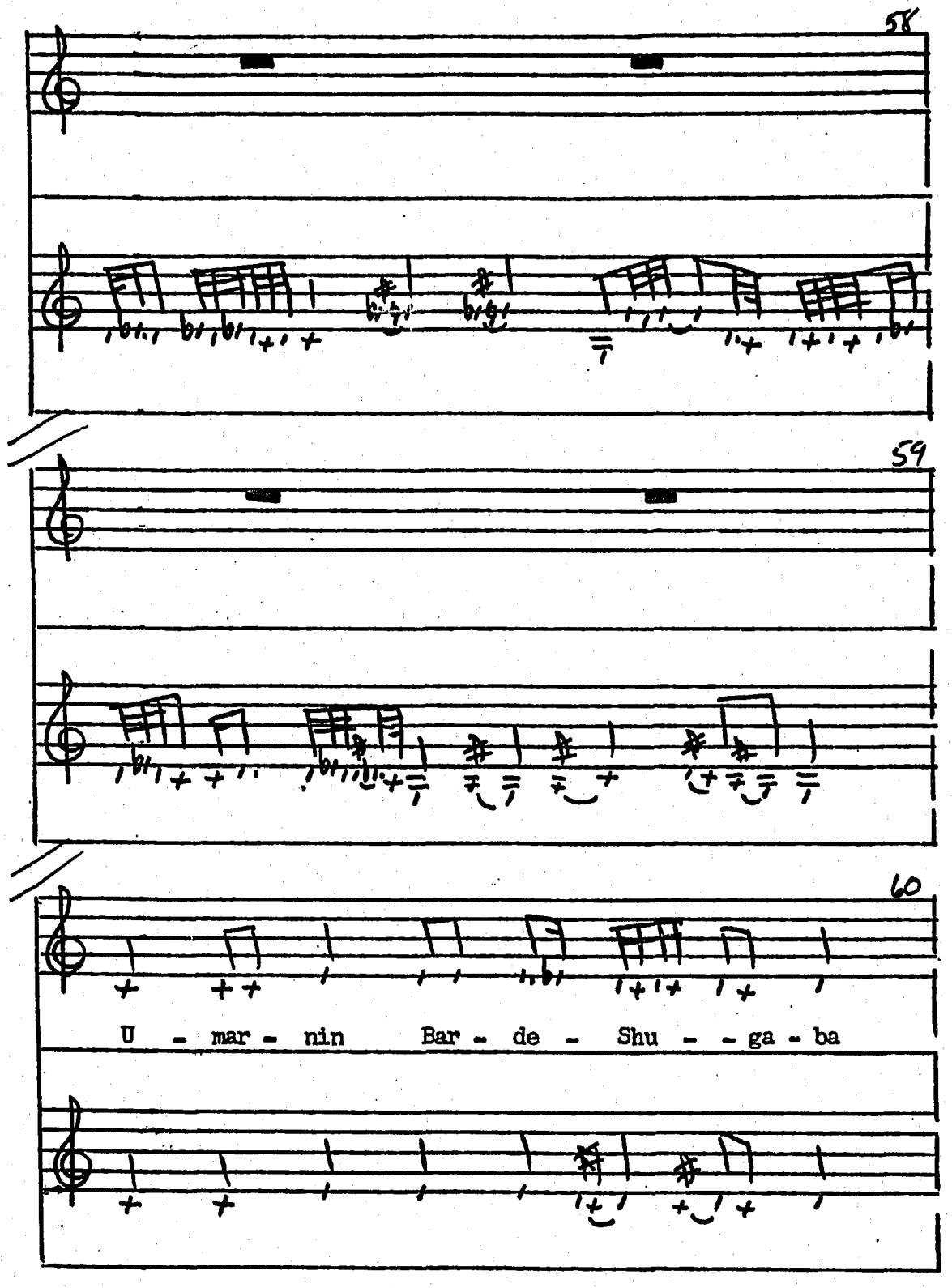
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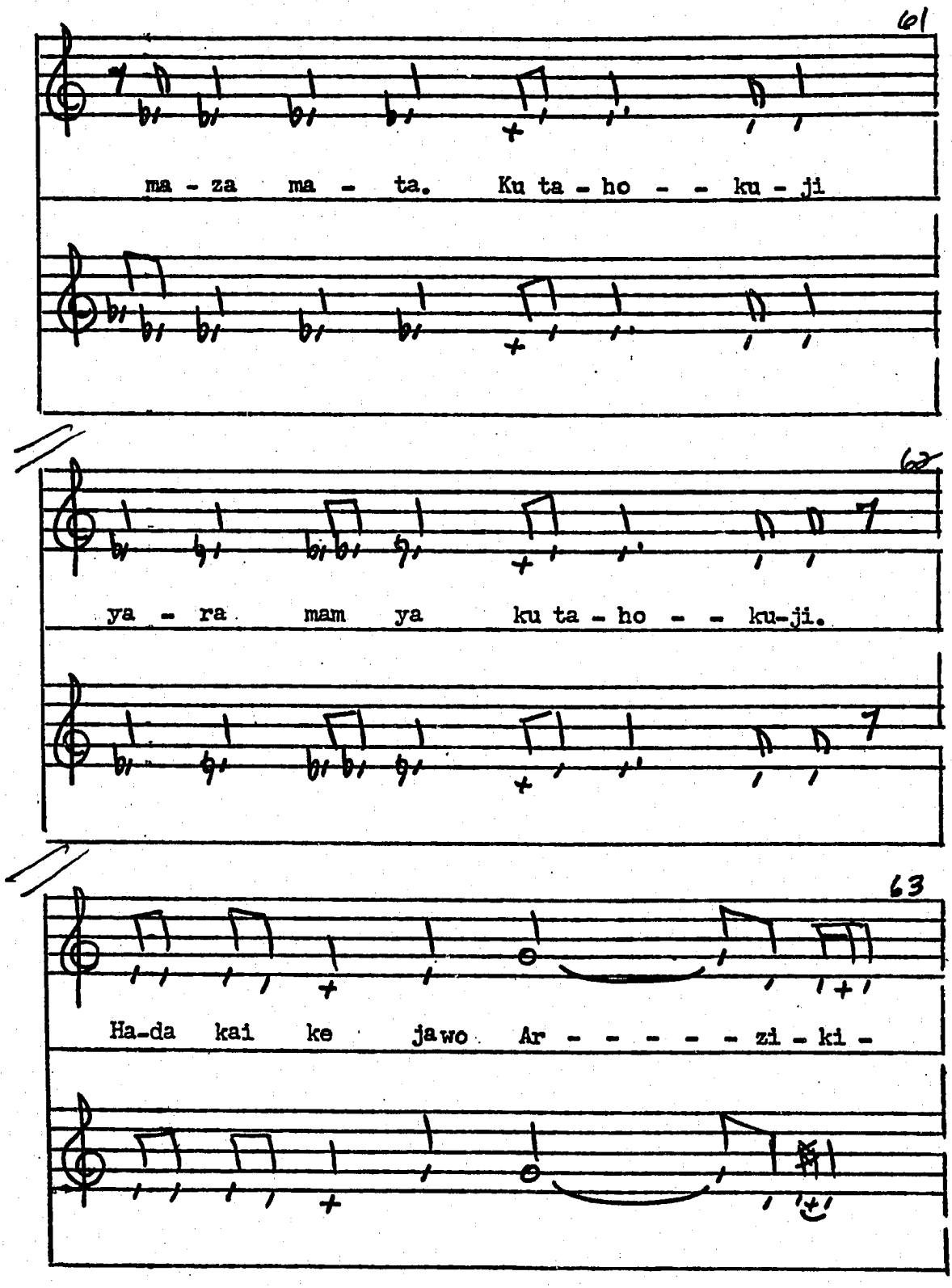
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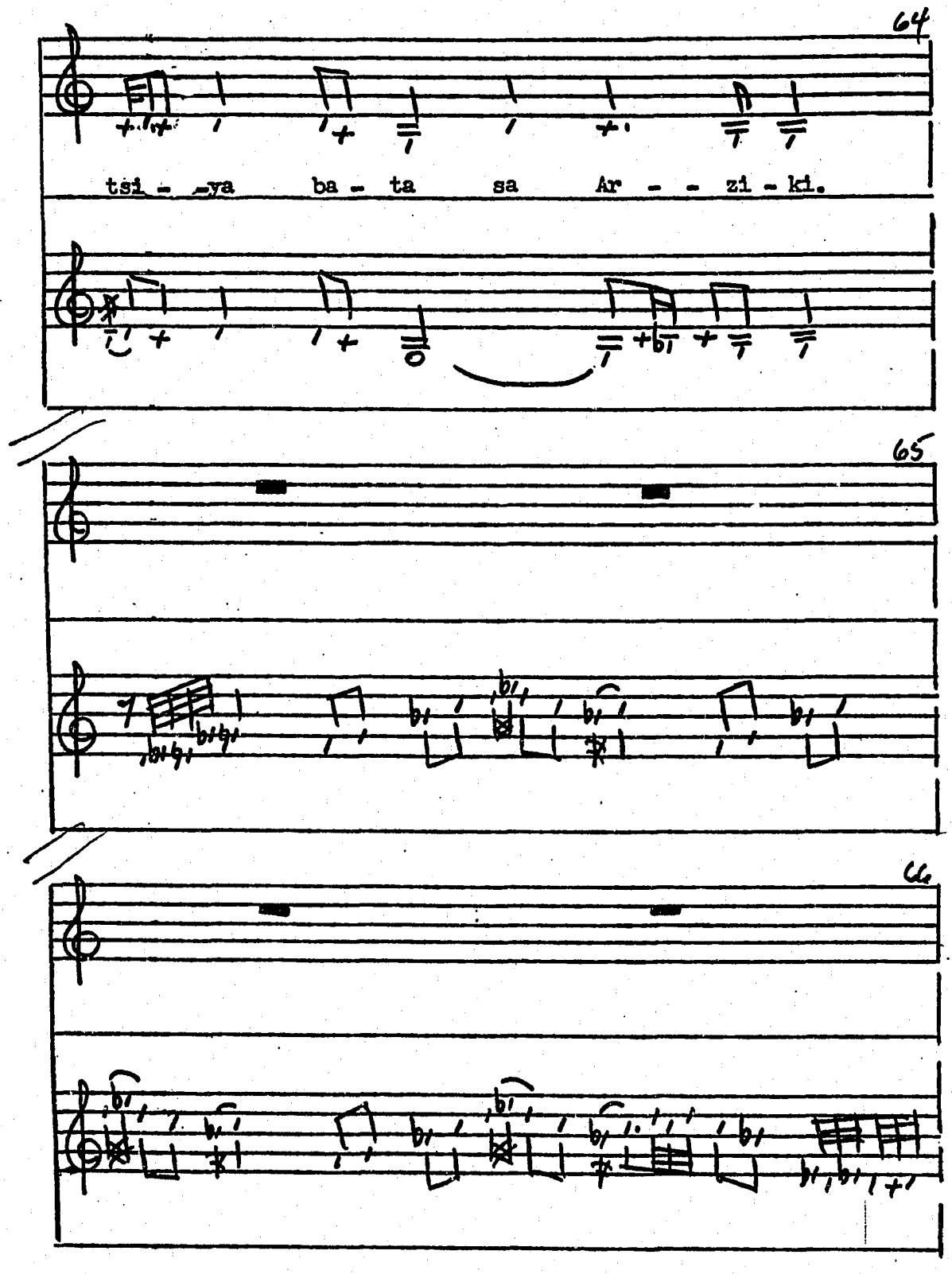
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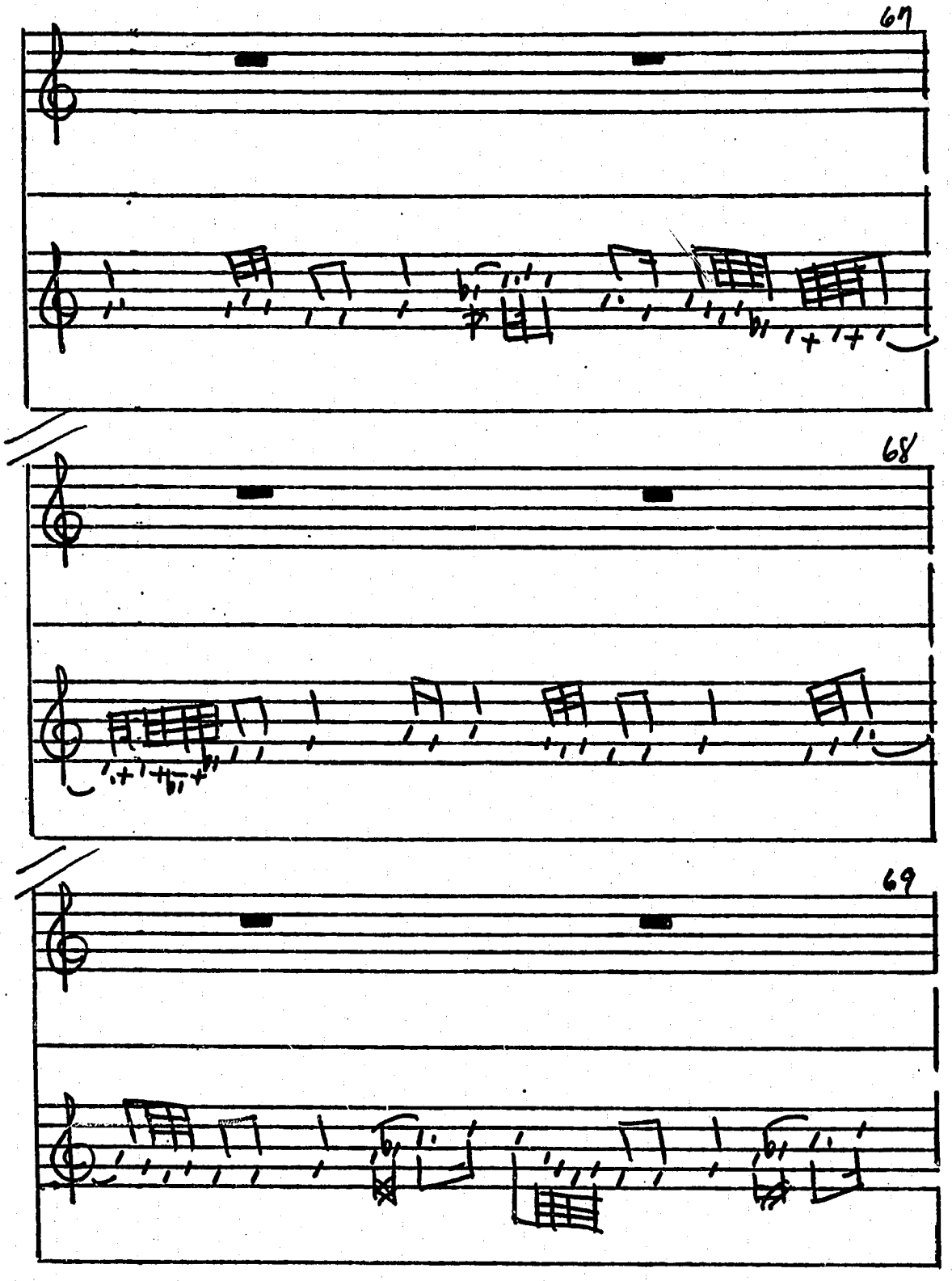
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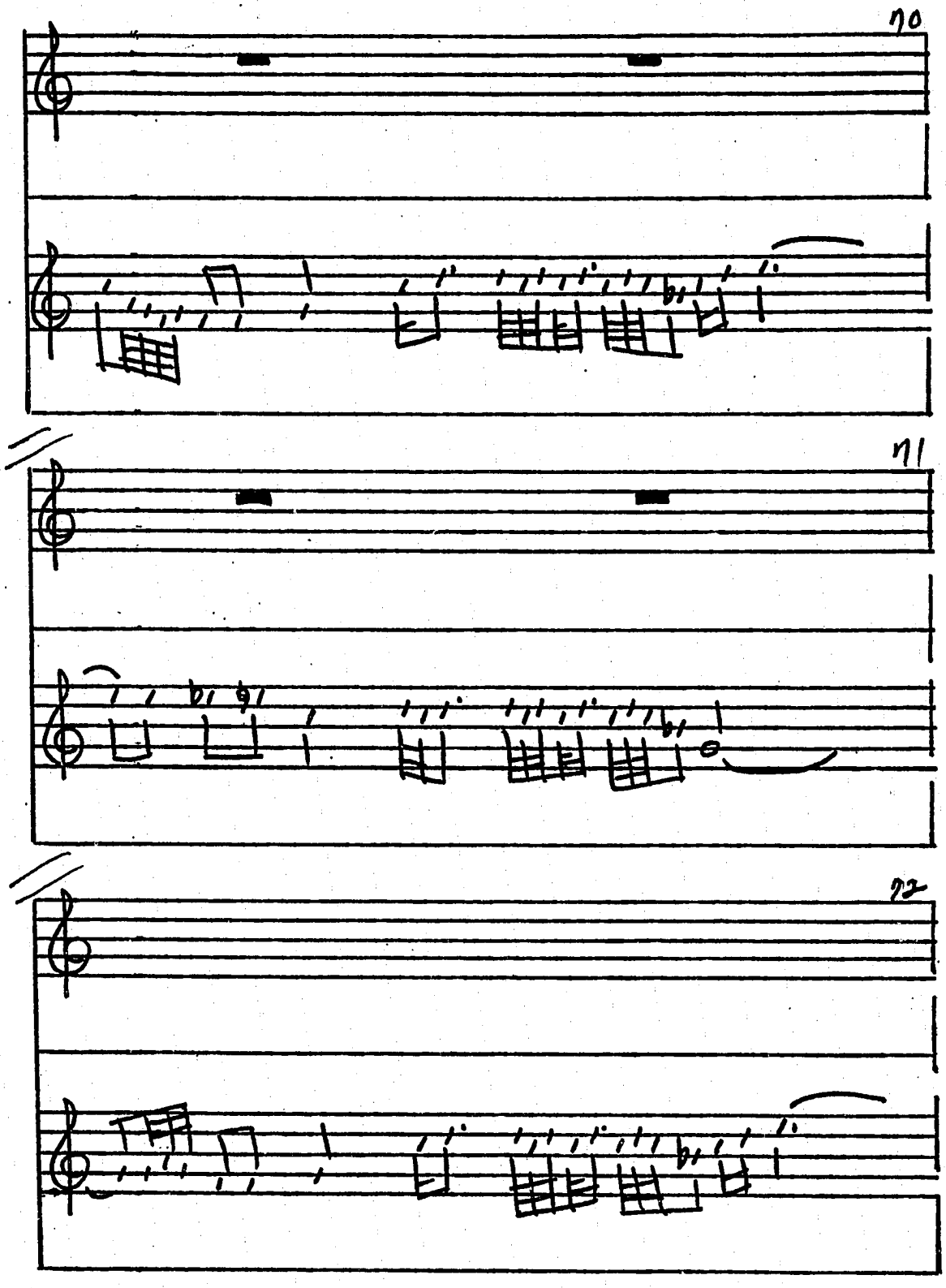
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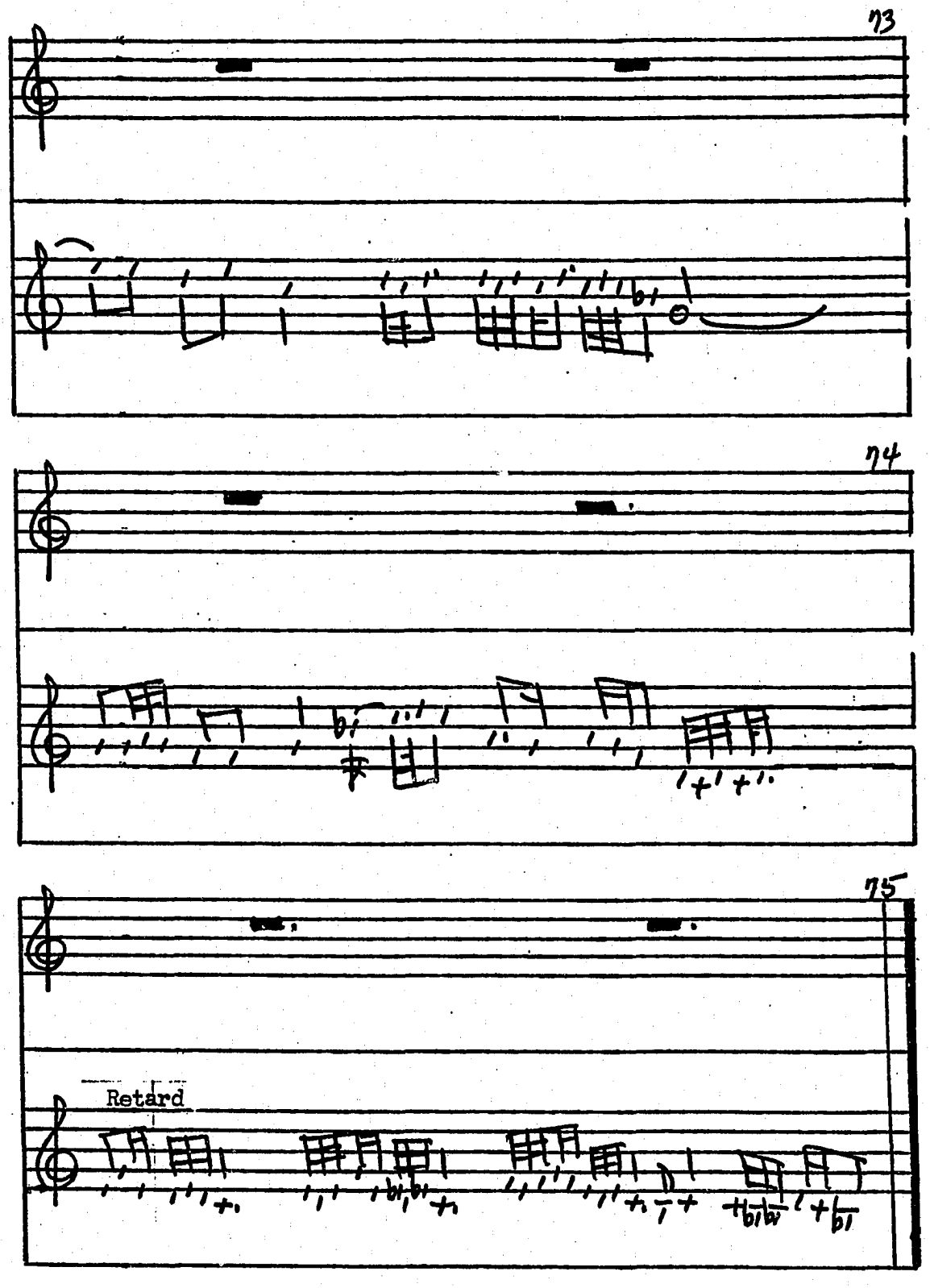
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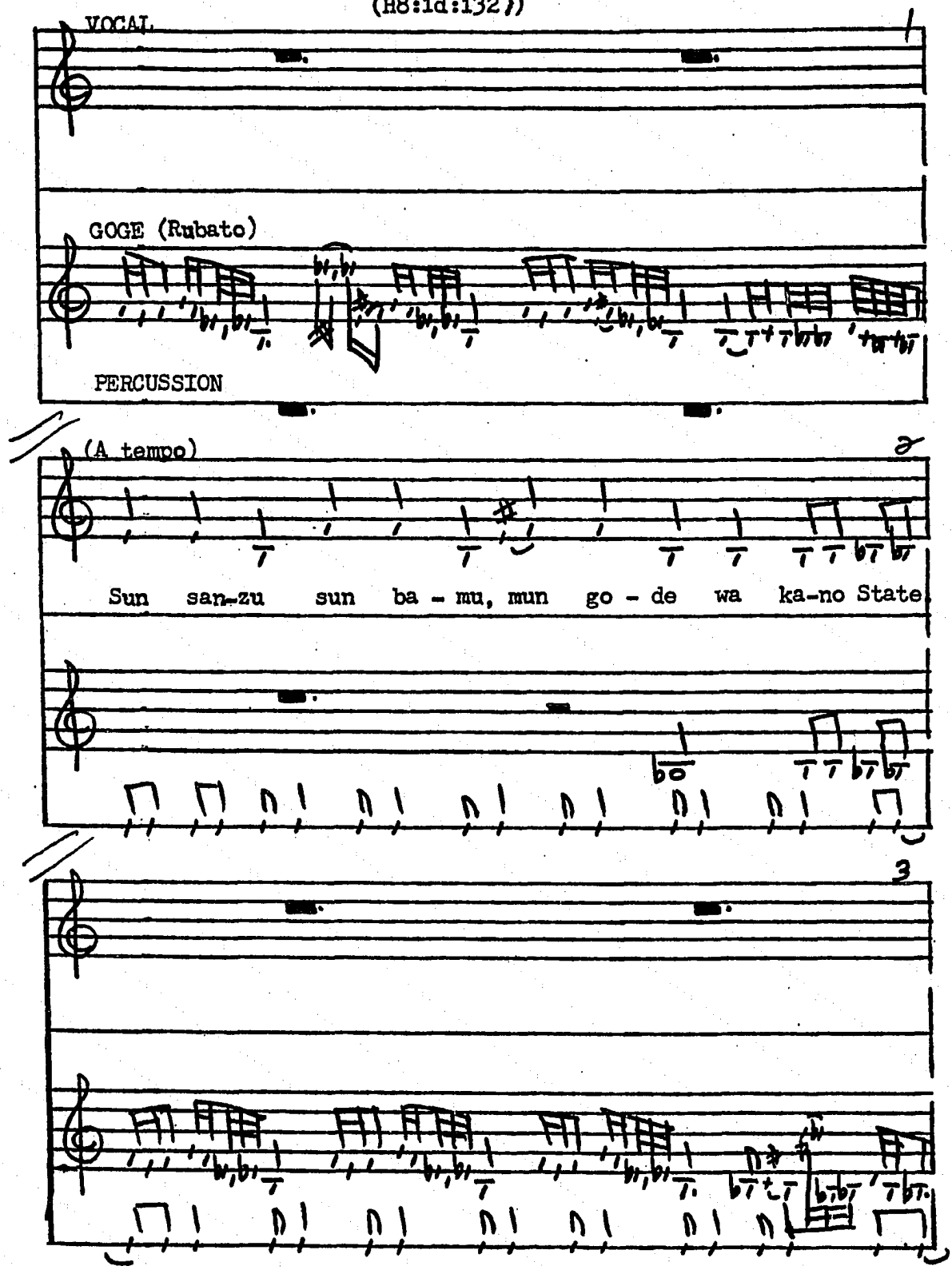


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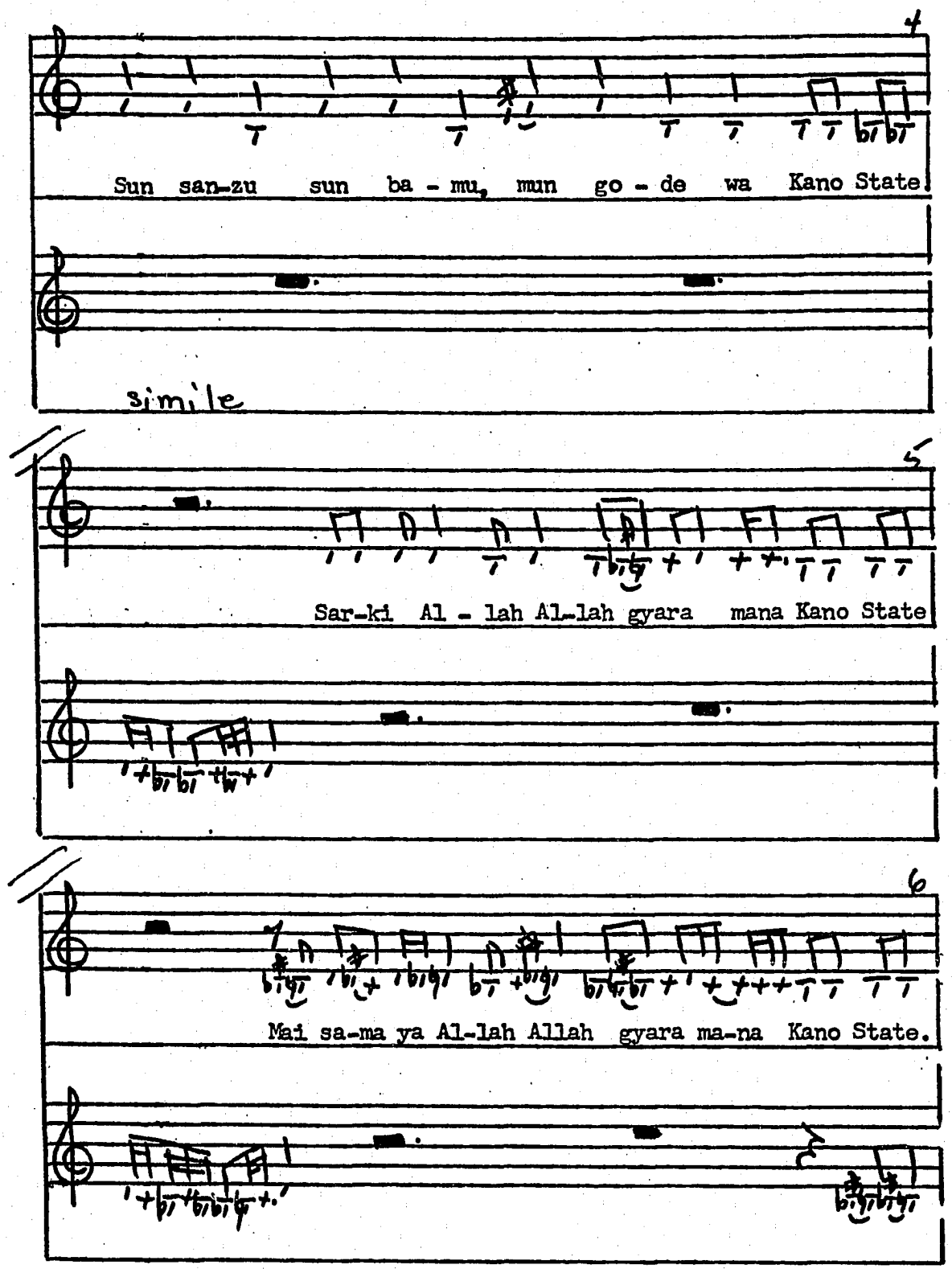


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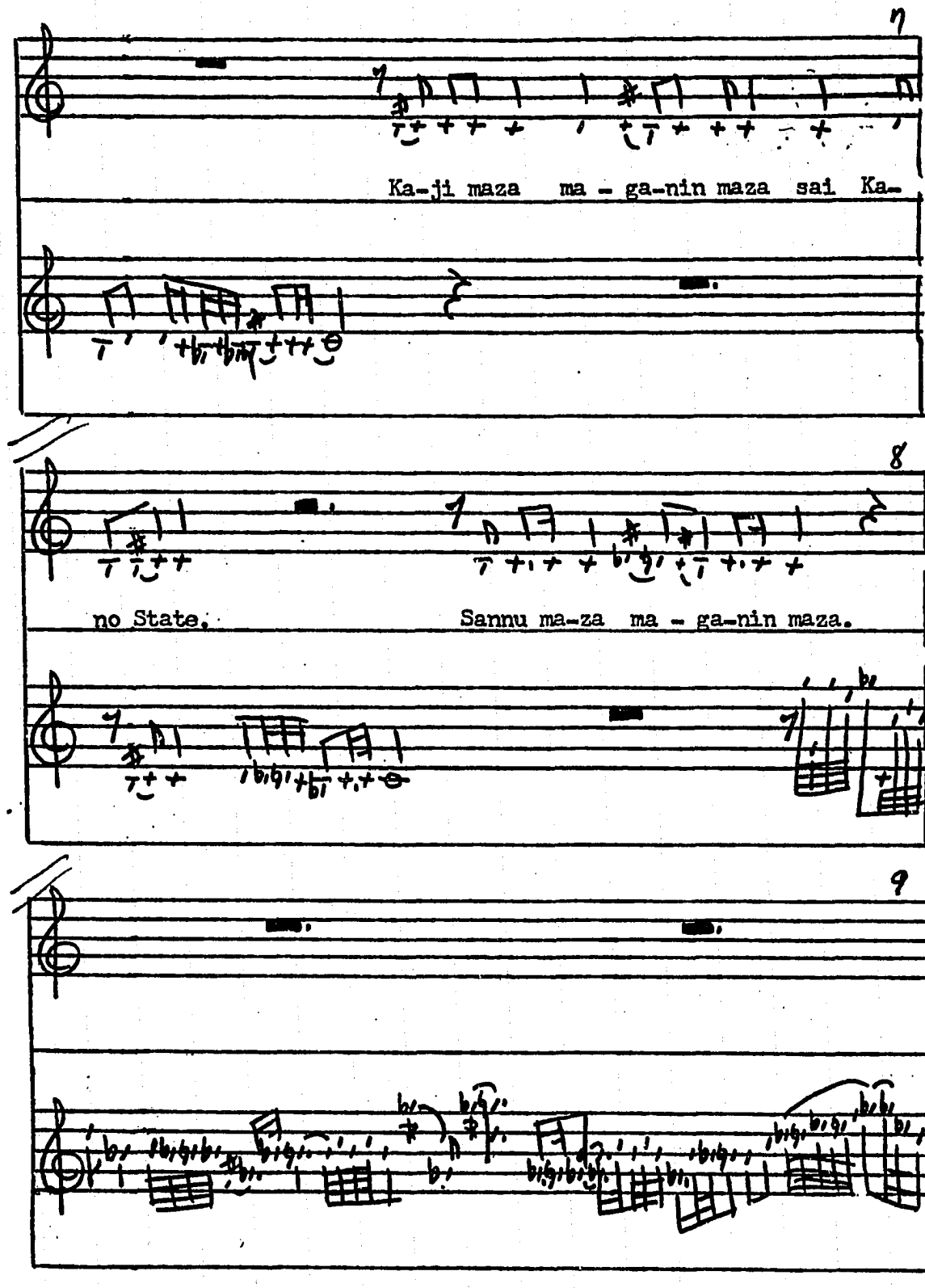
KIDAN KANAWA
by Mamman Landi
(H8:1d:132)



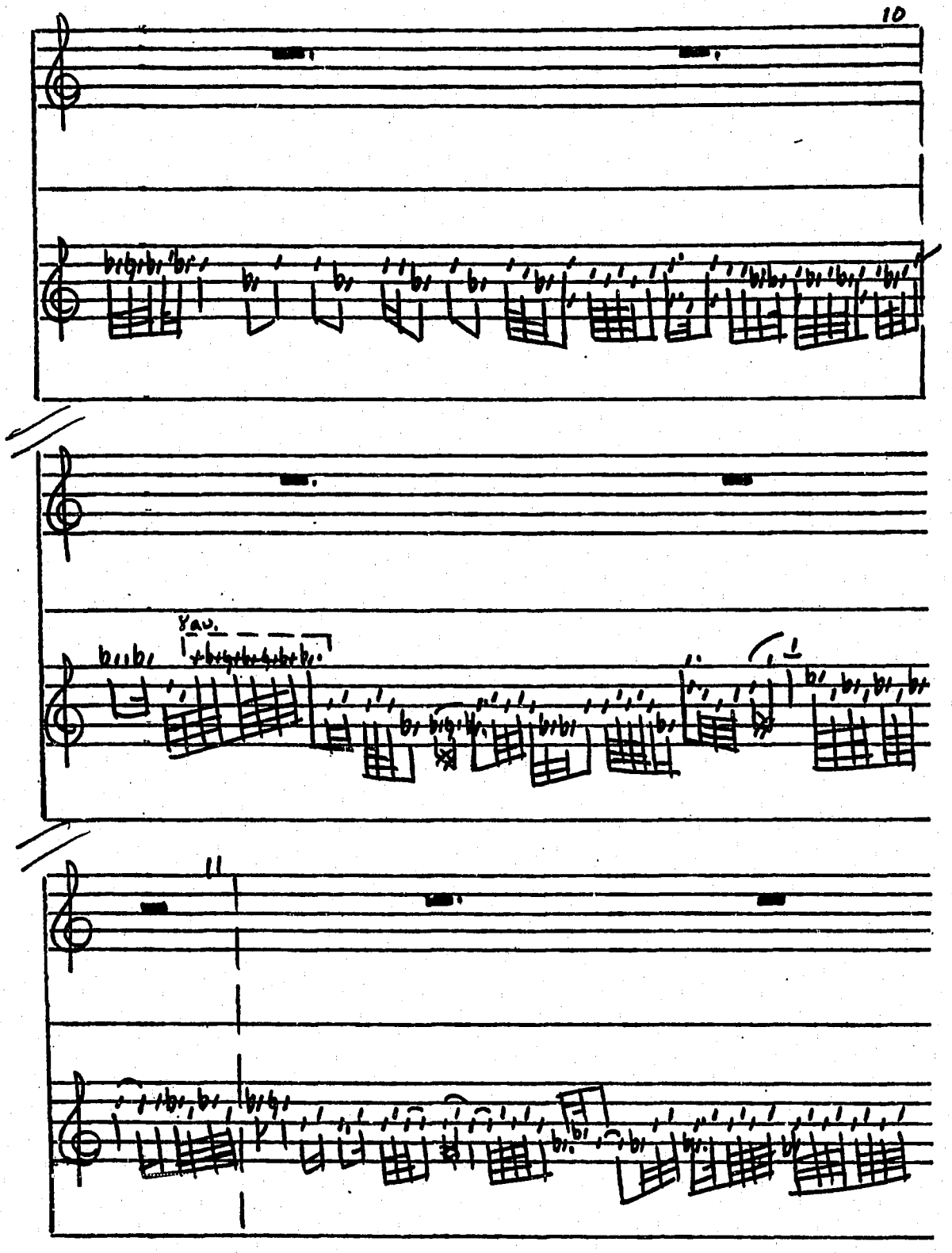
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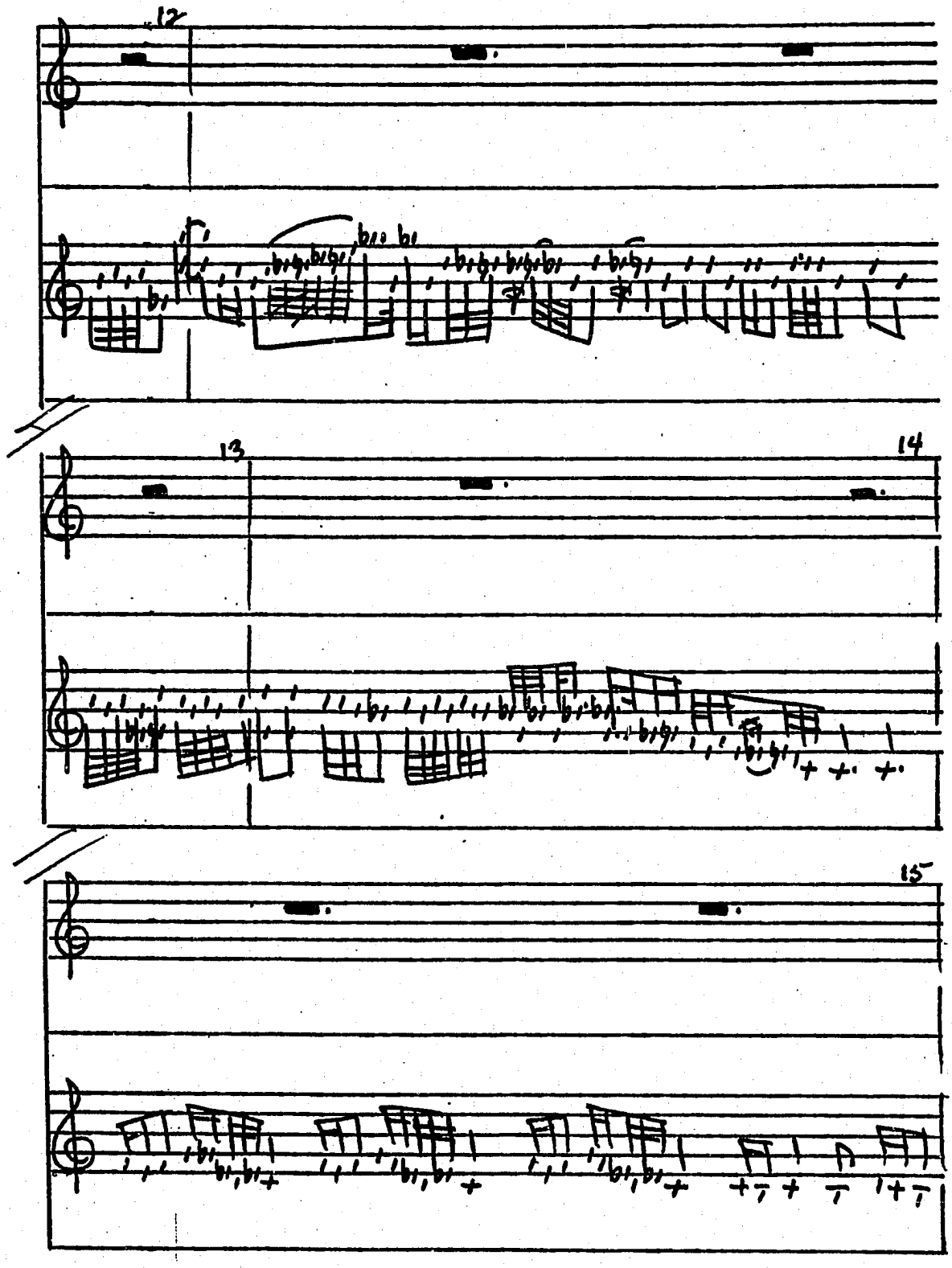
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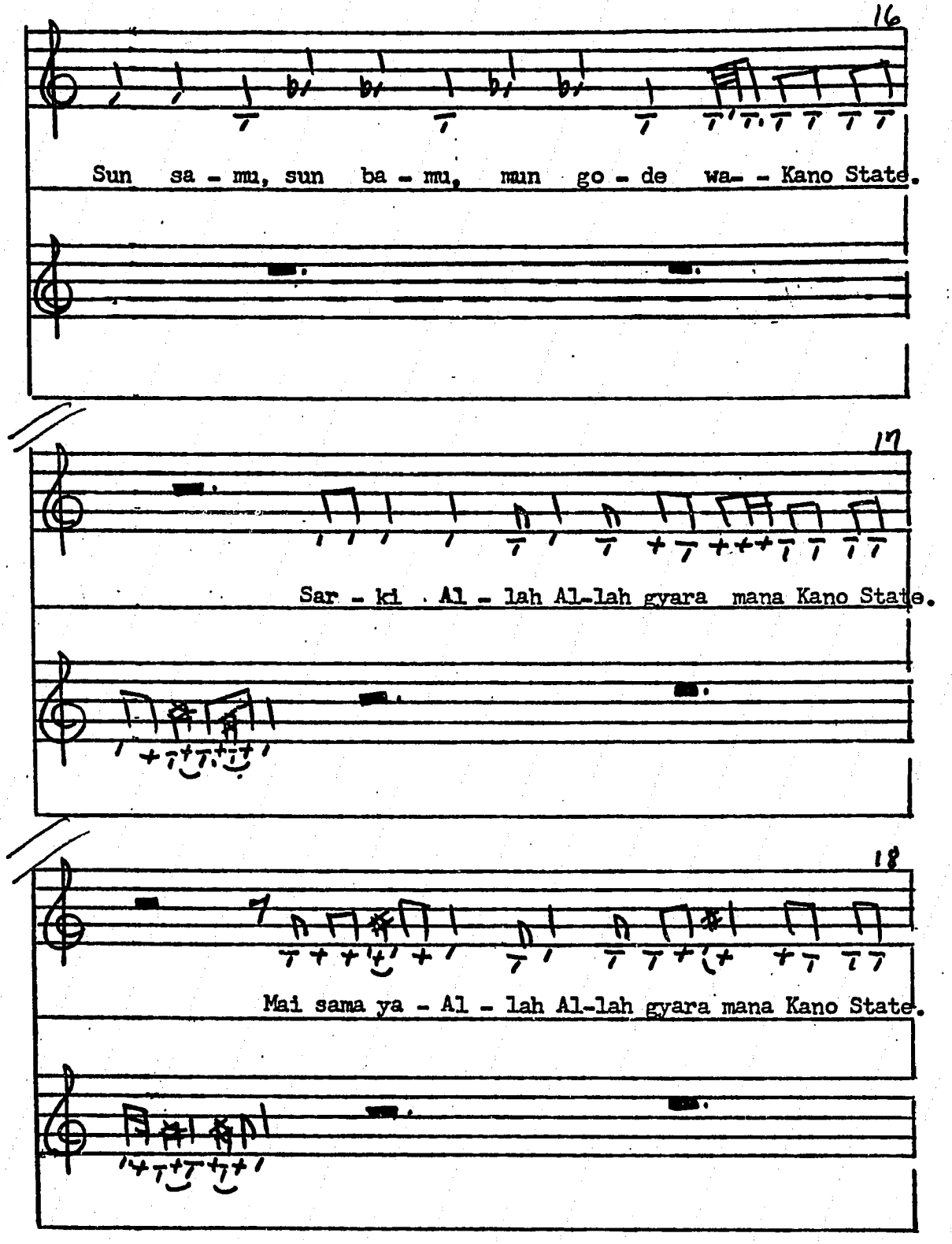


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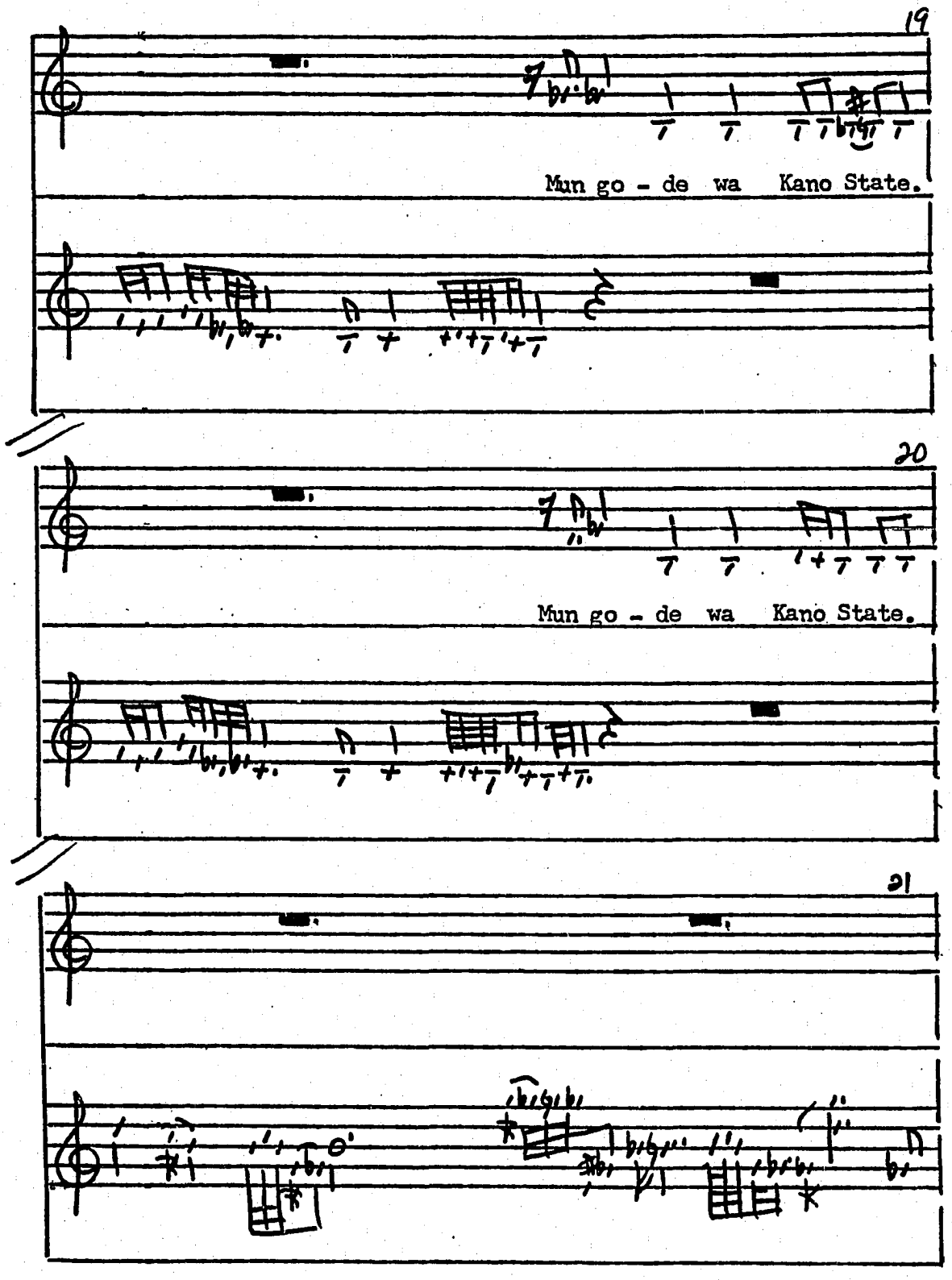
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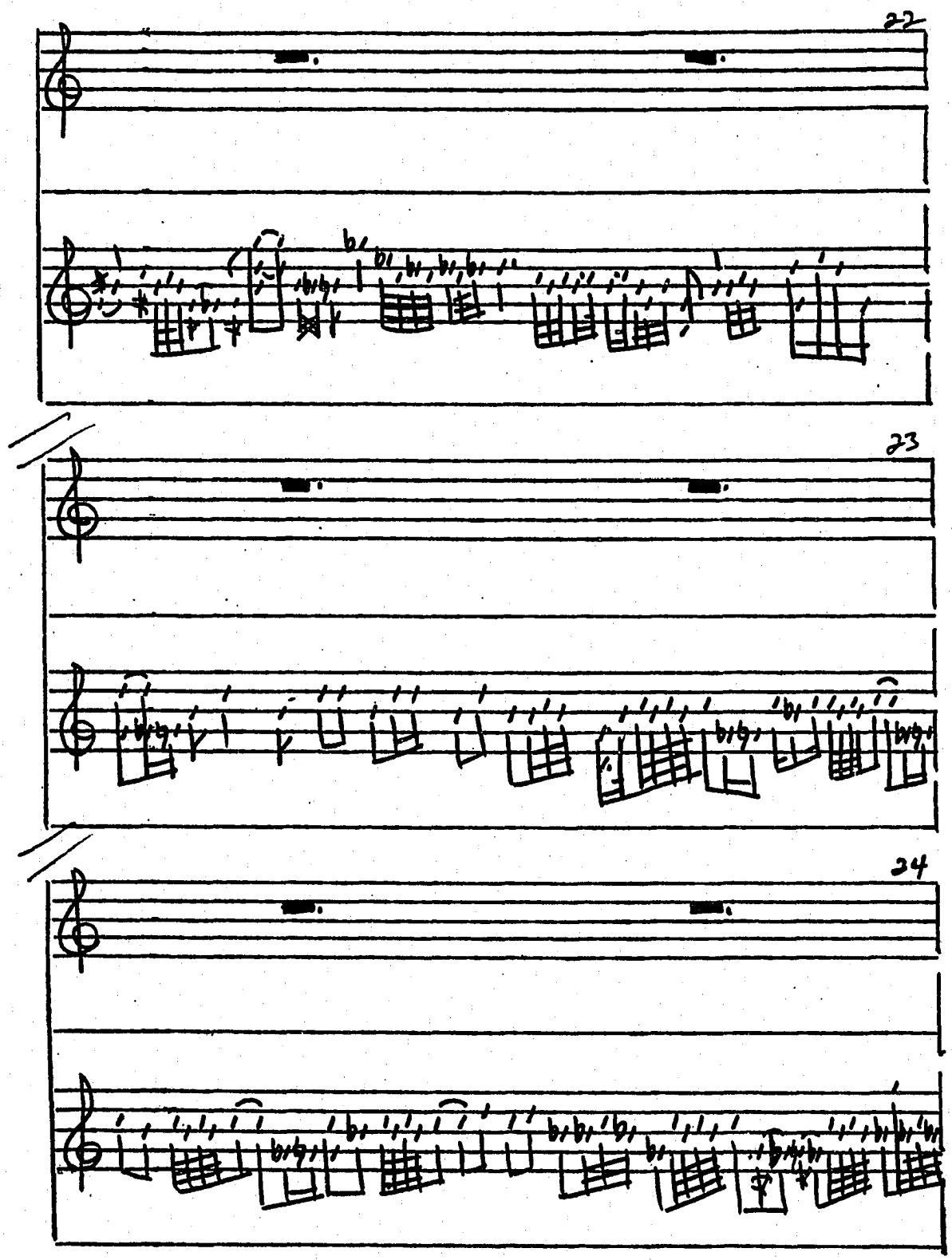
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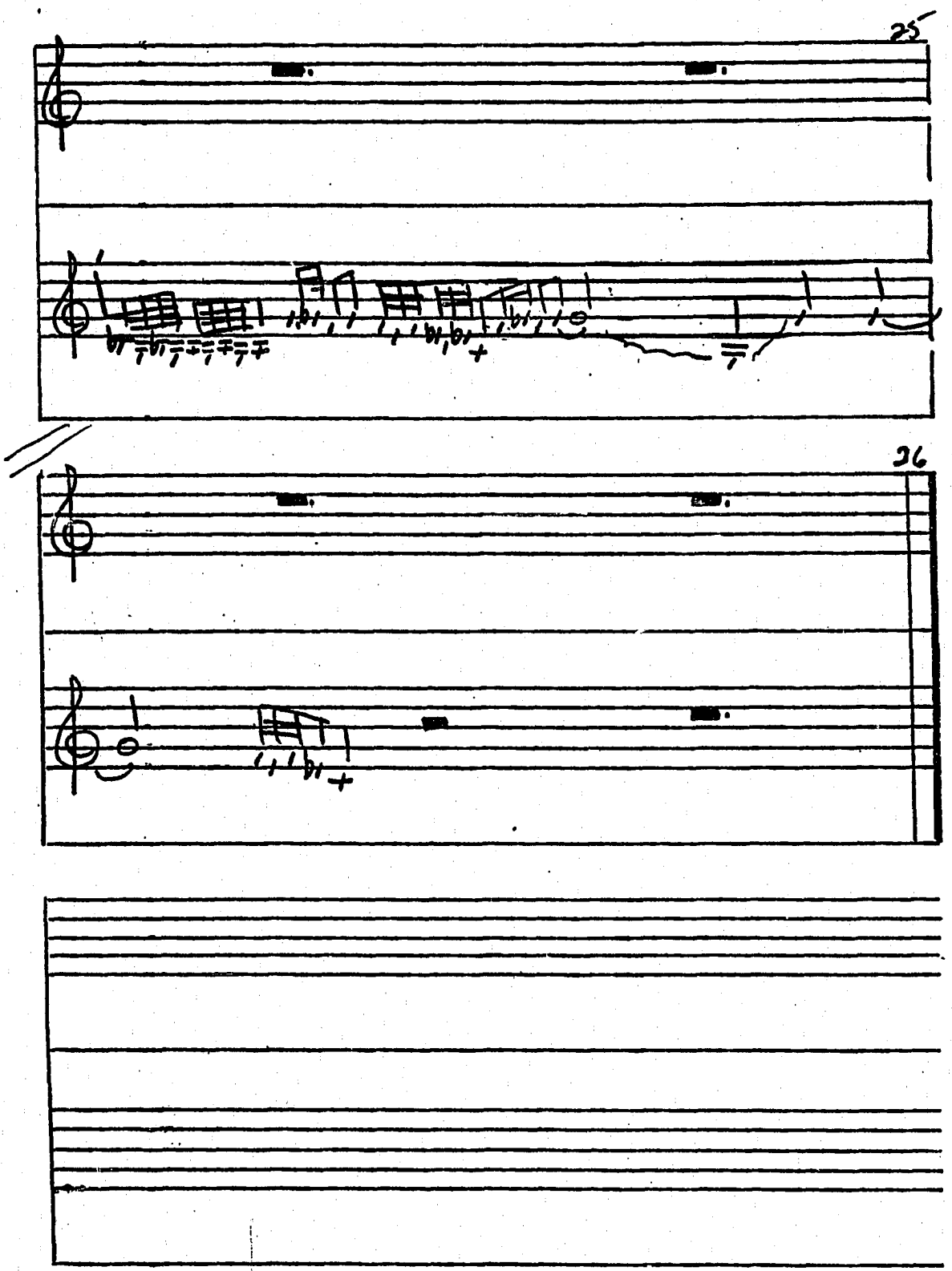
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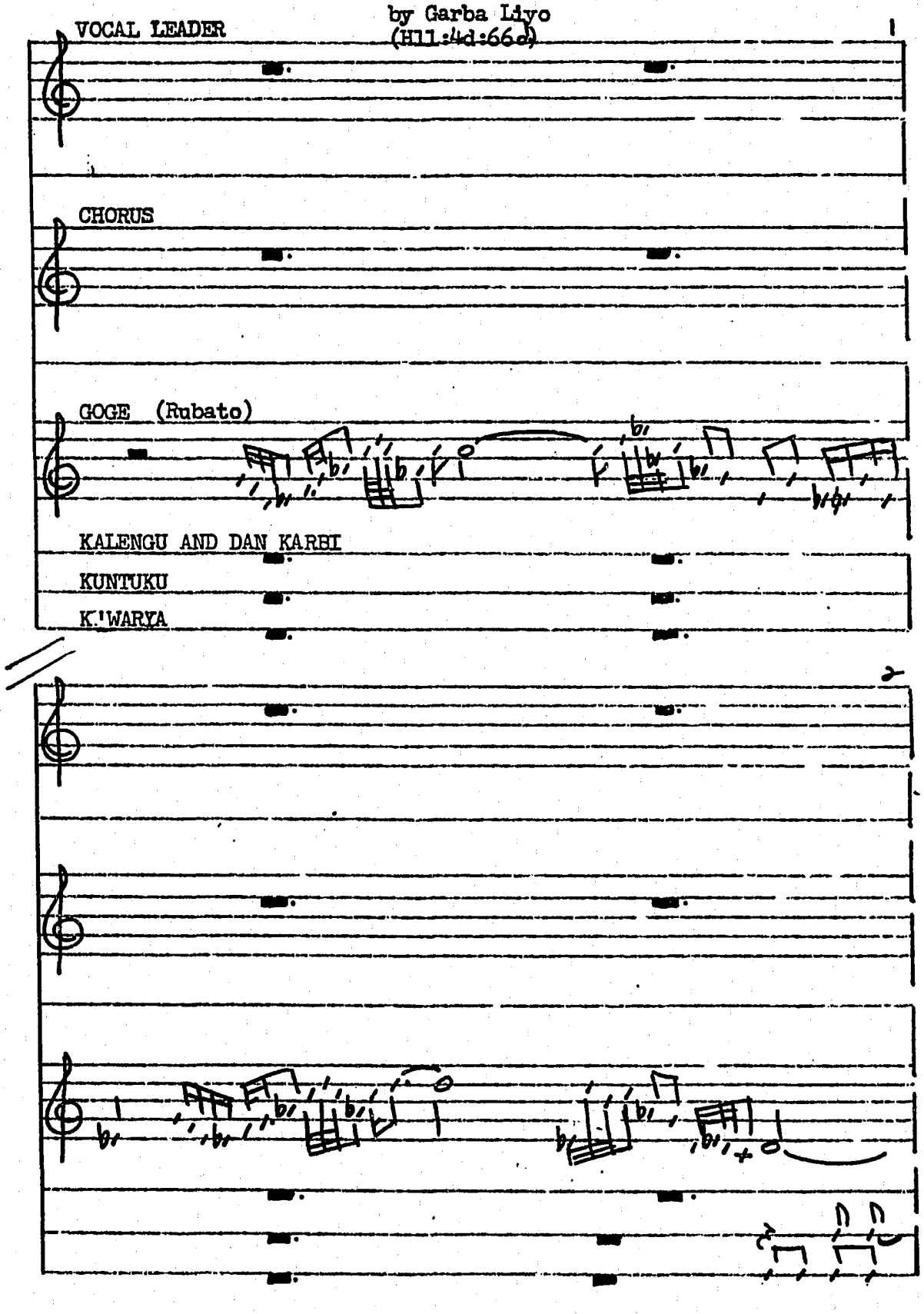


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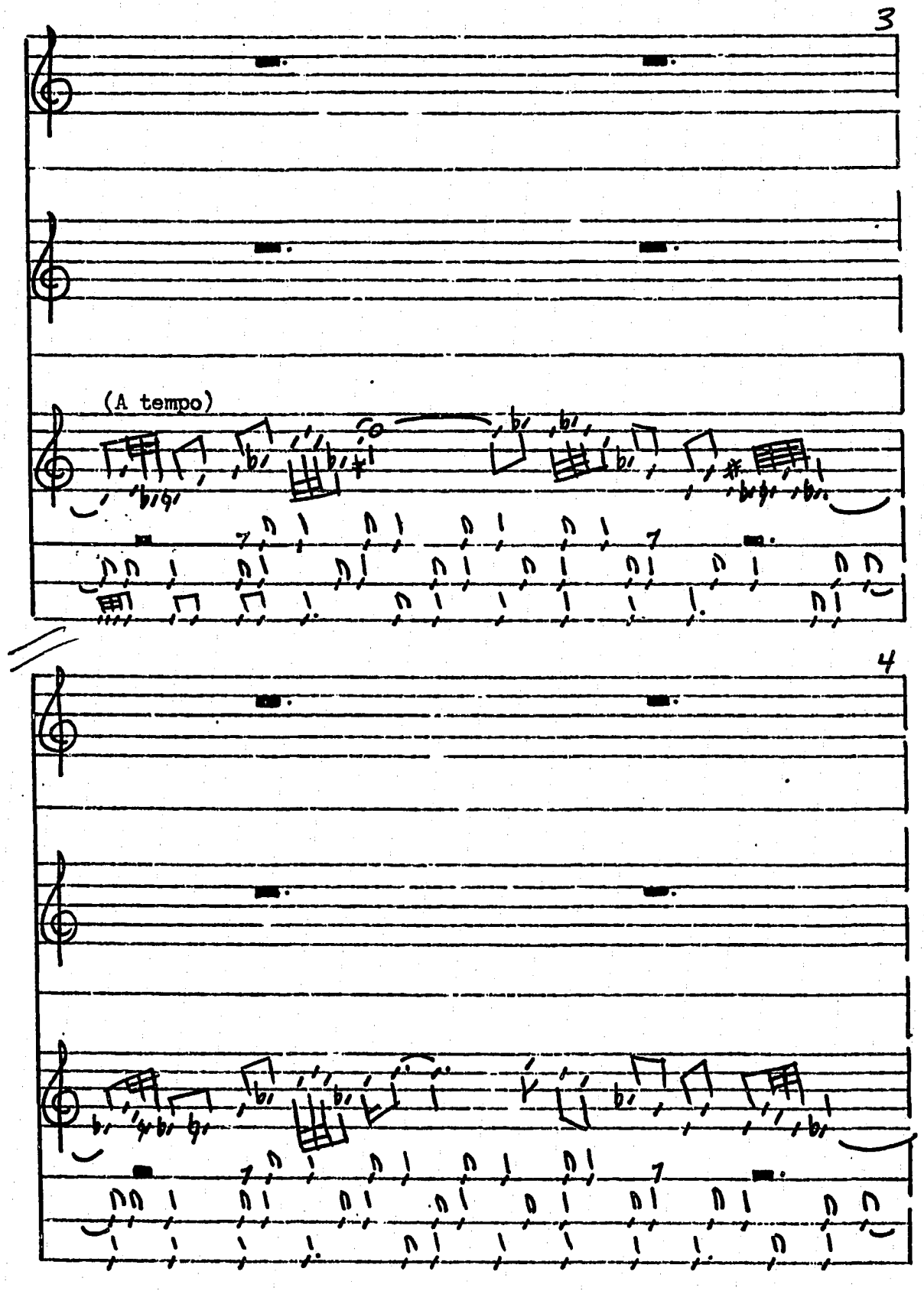


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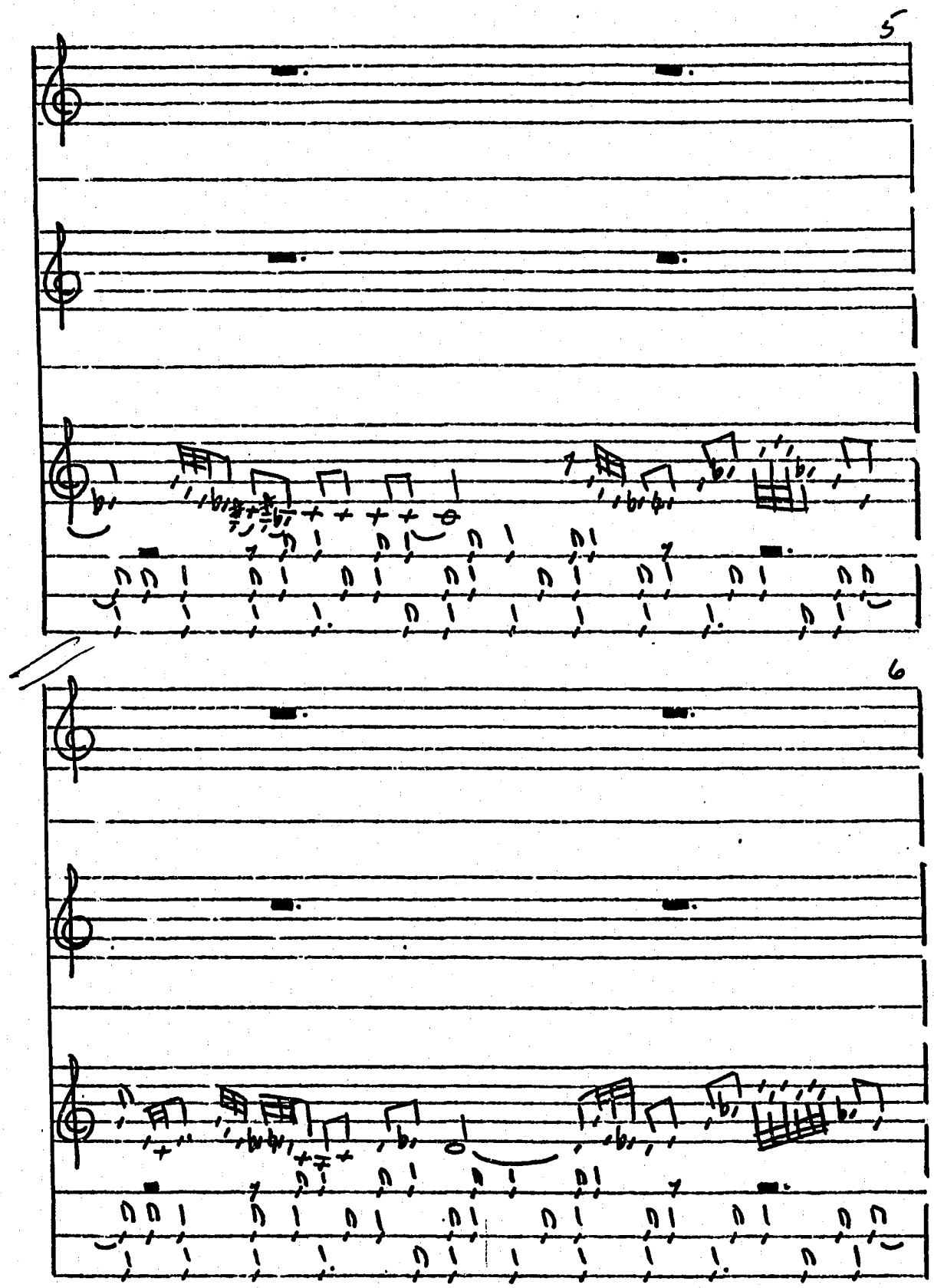
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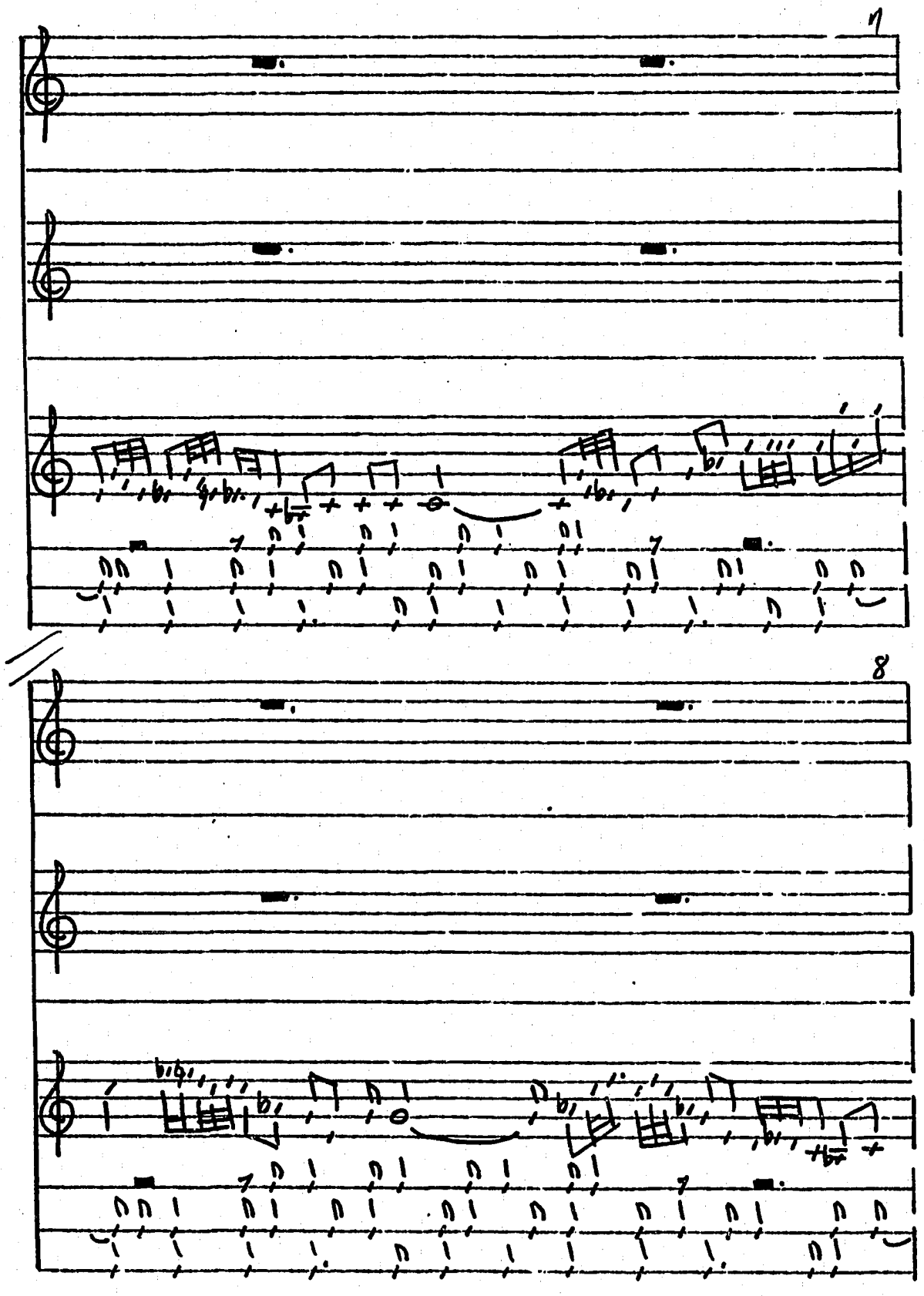


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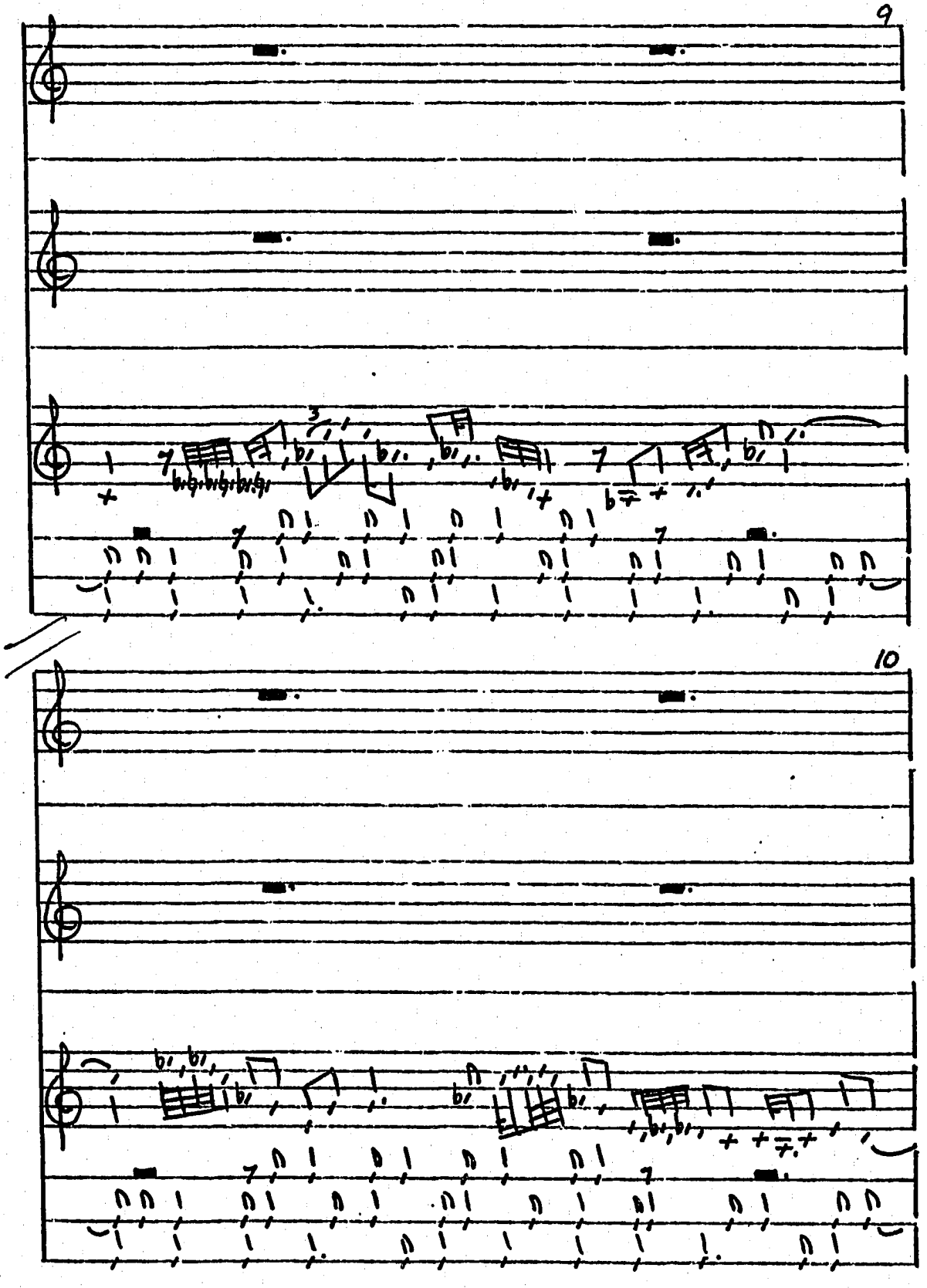
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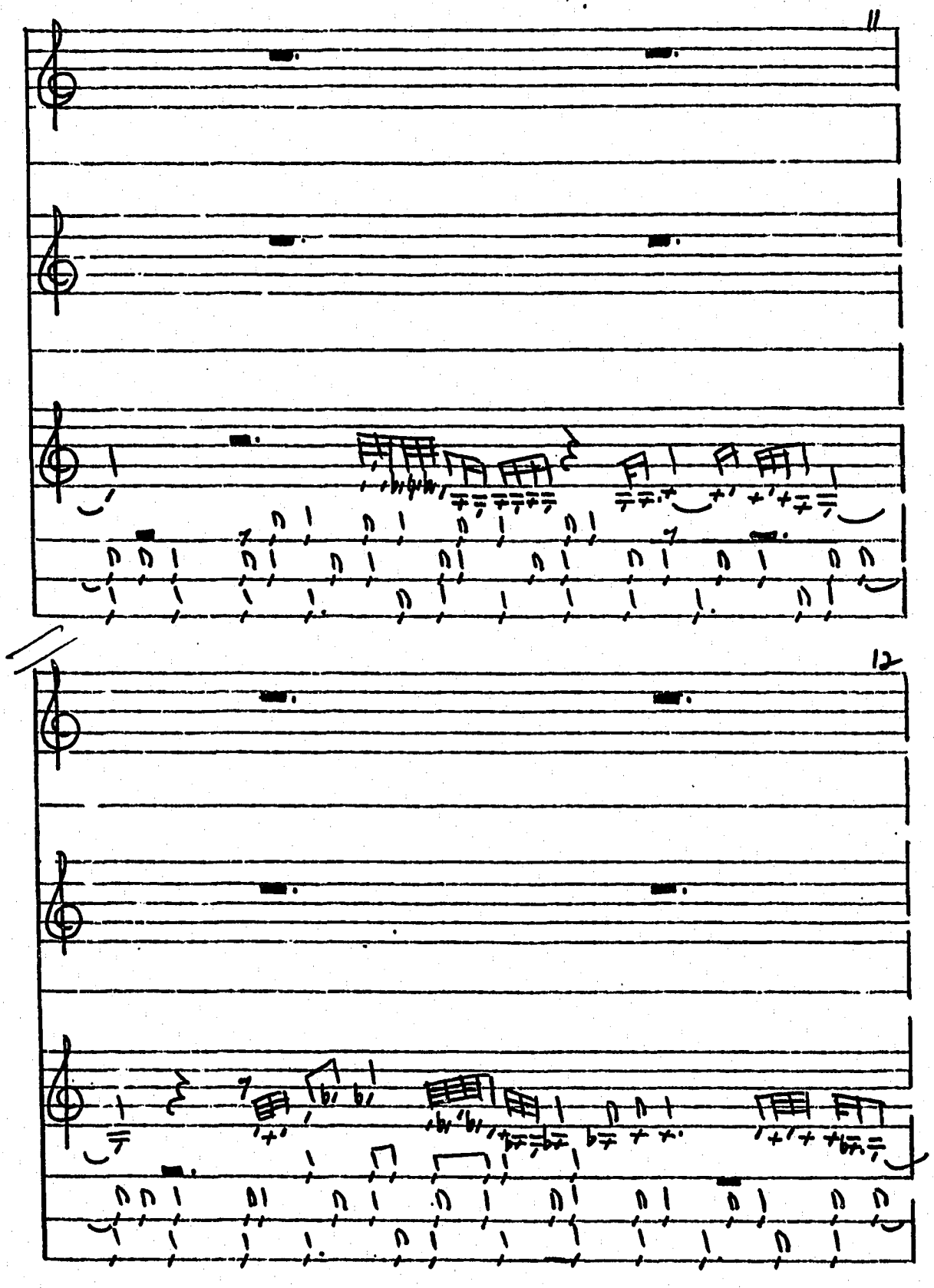


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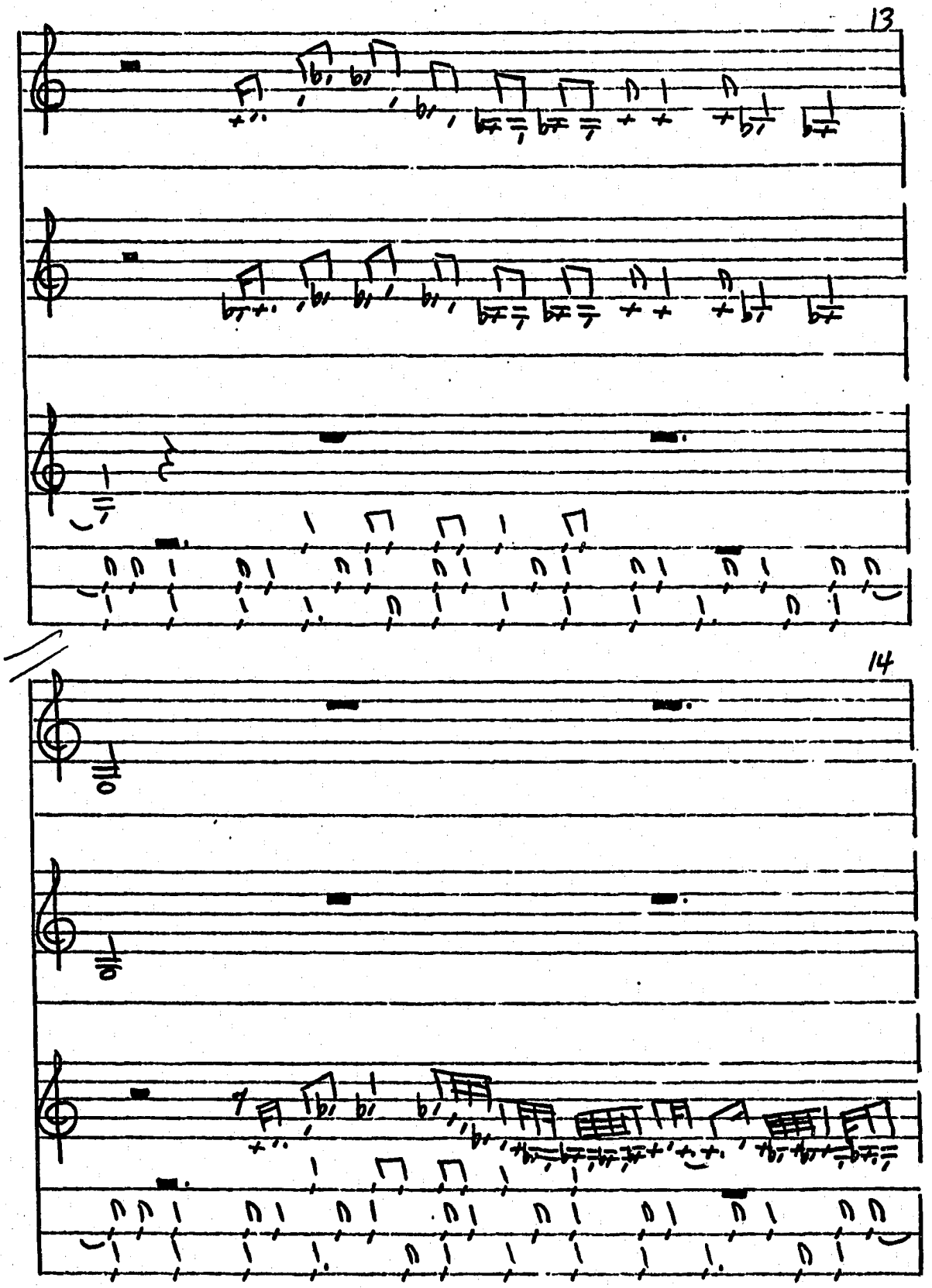
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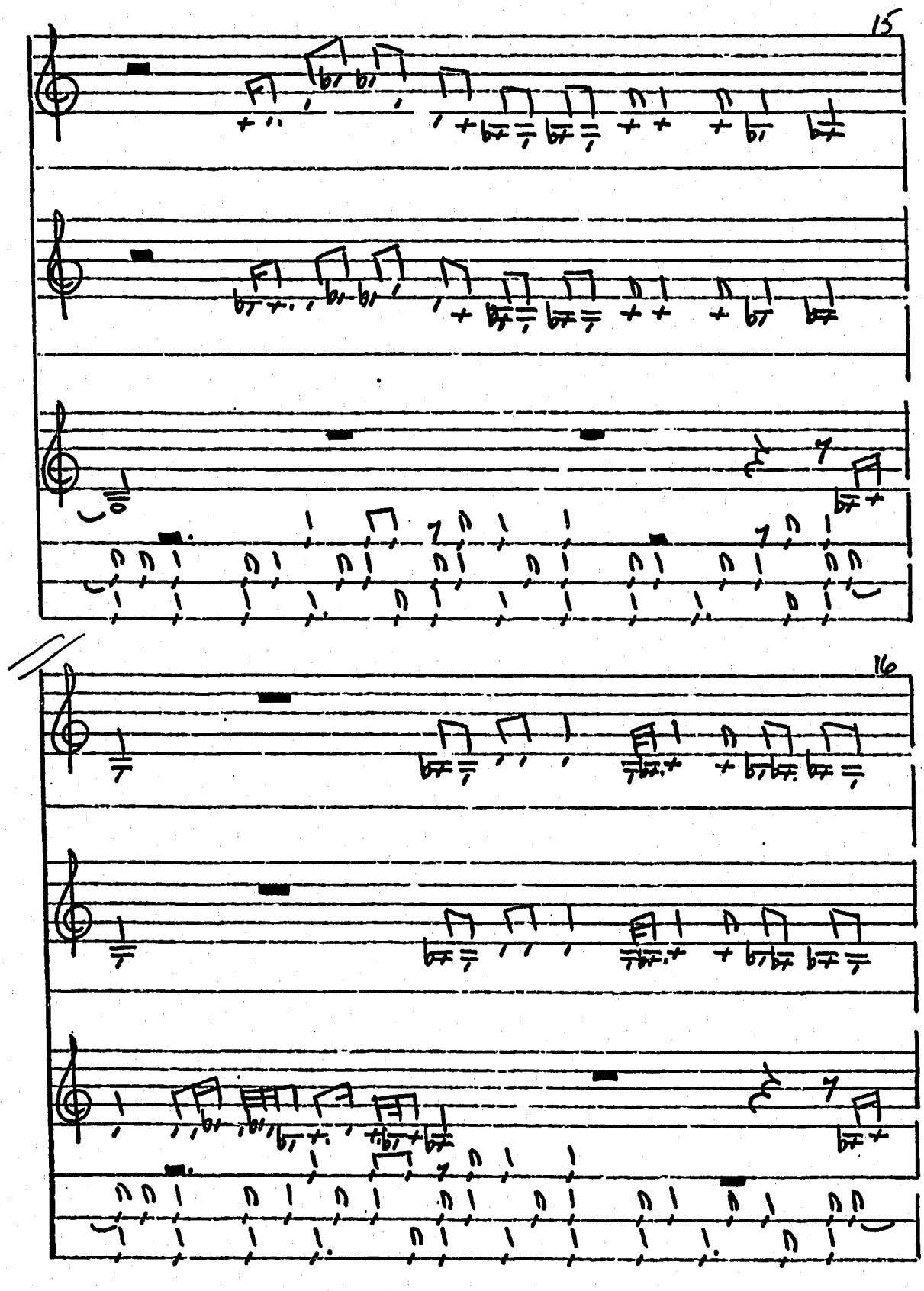


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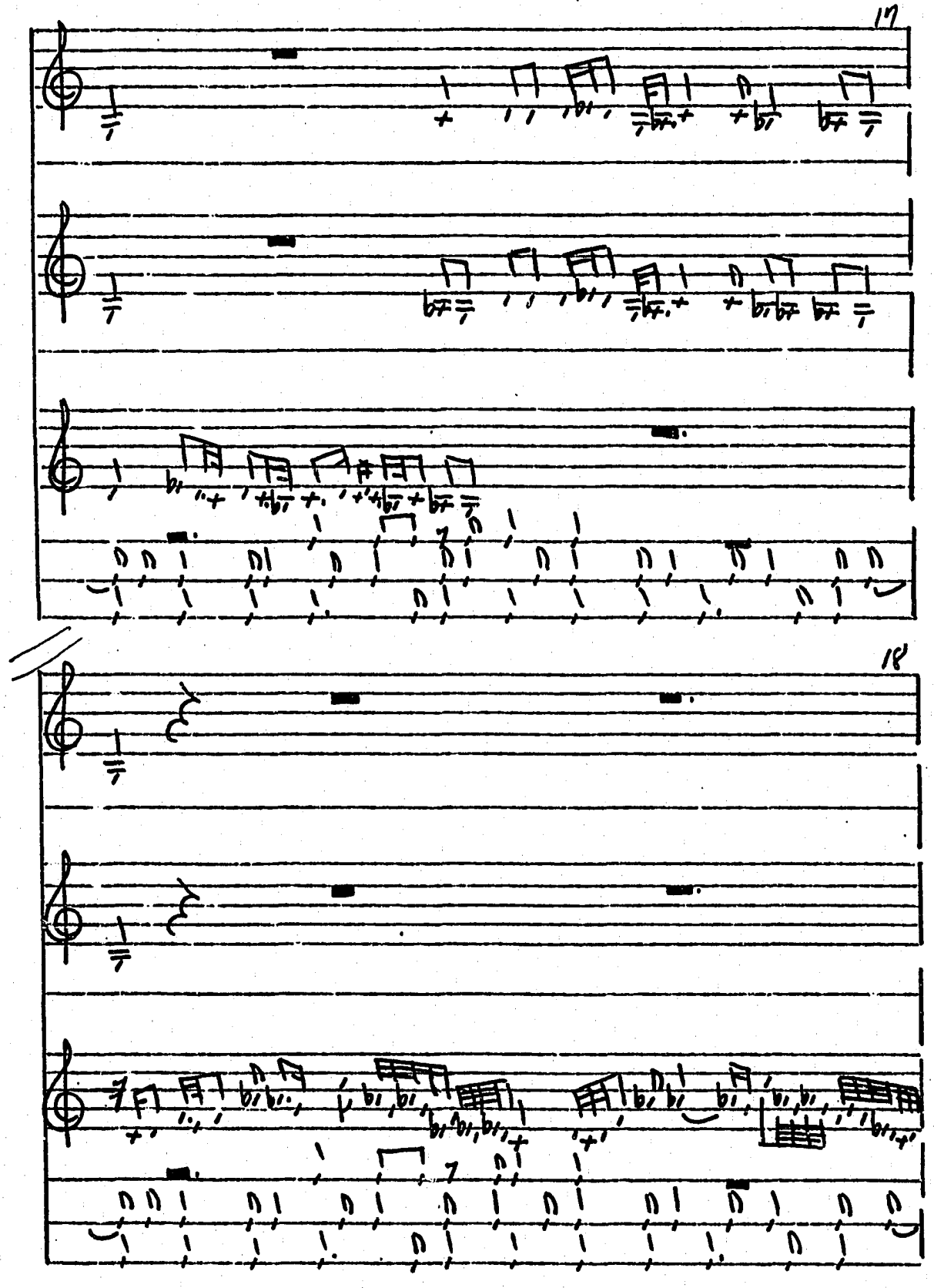


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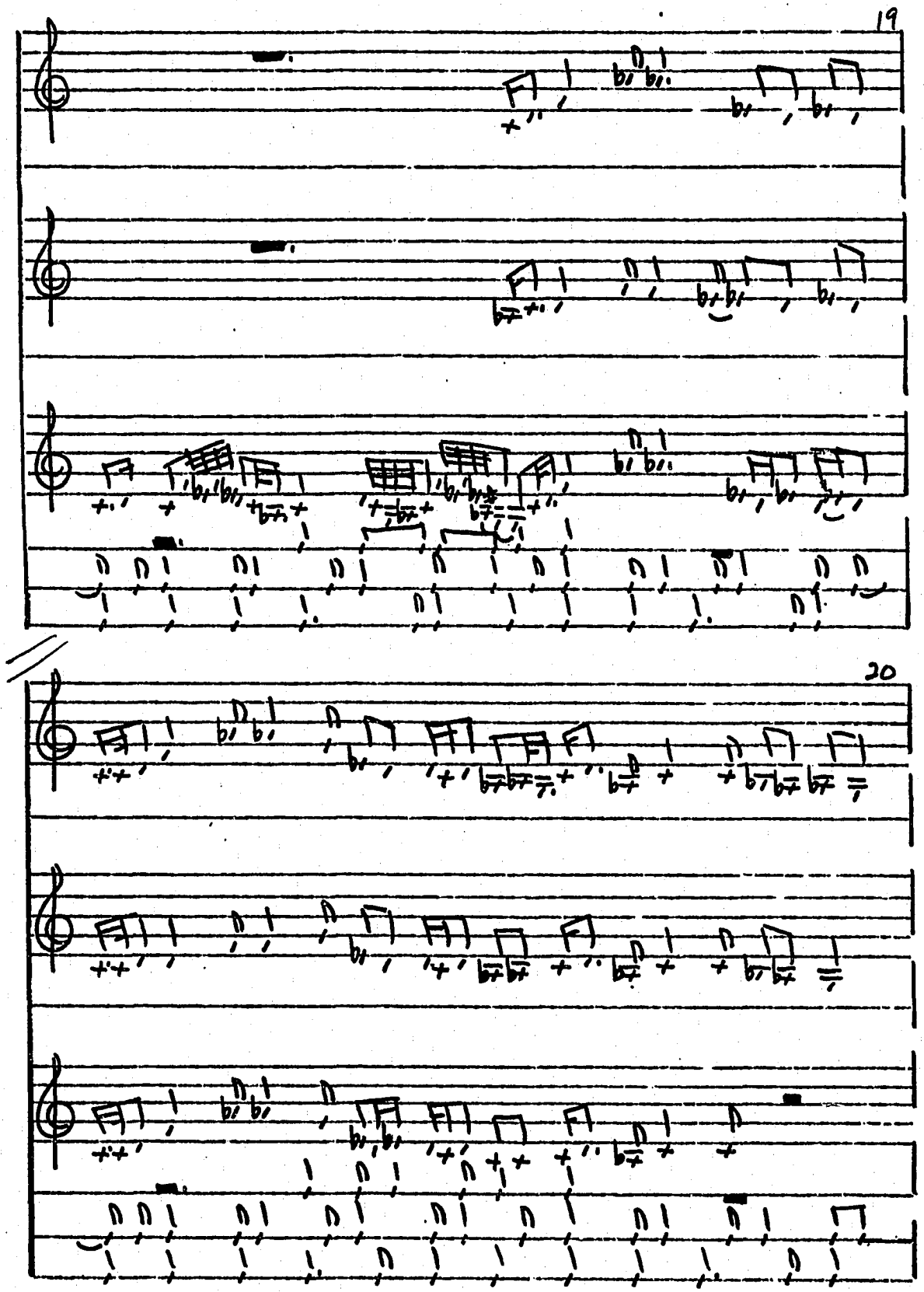
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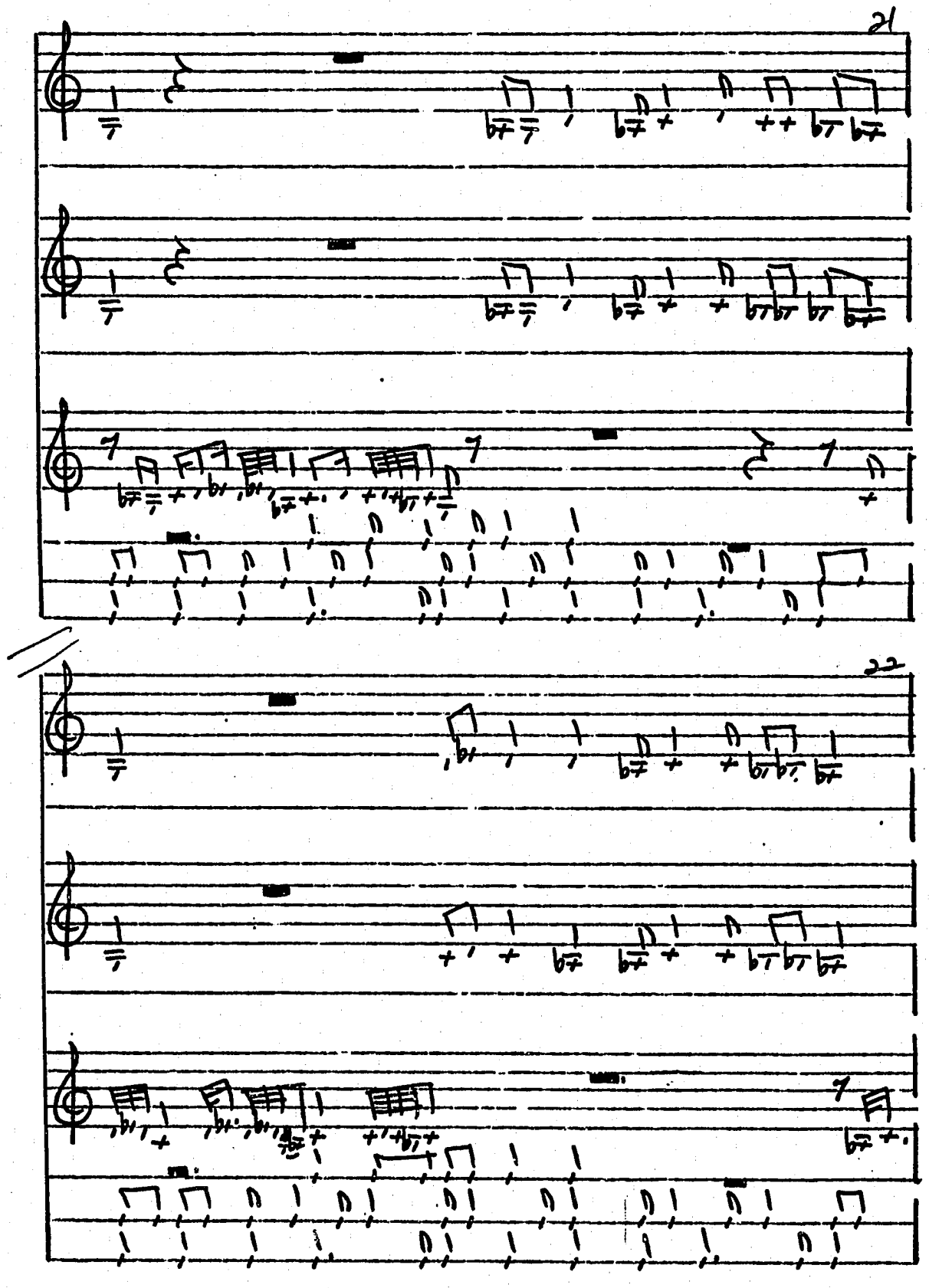


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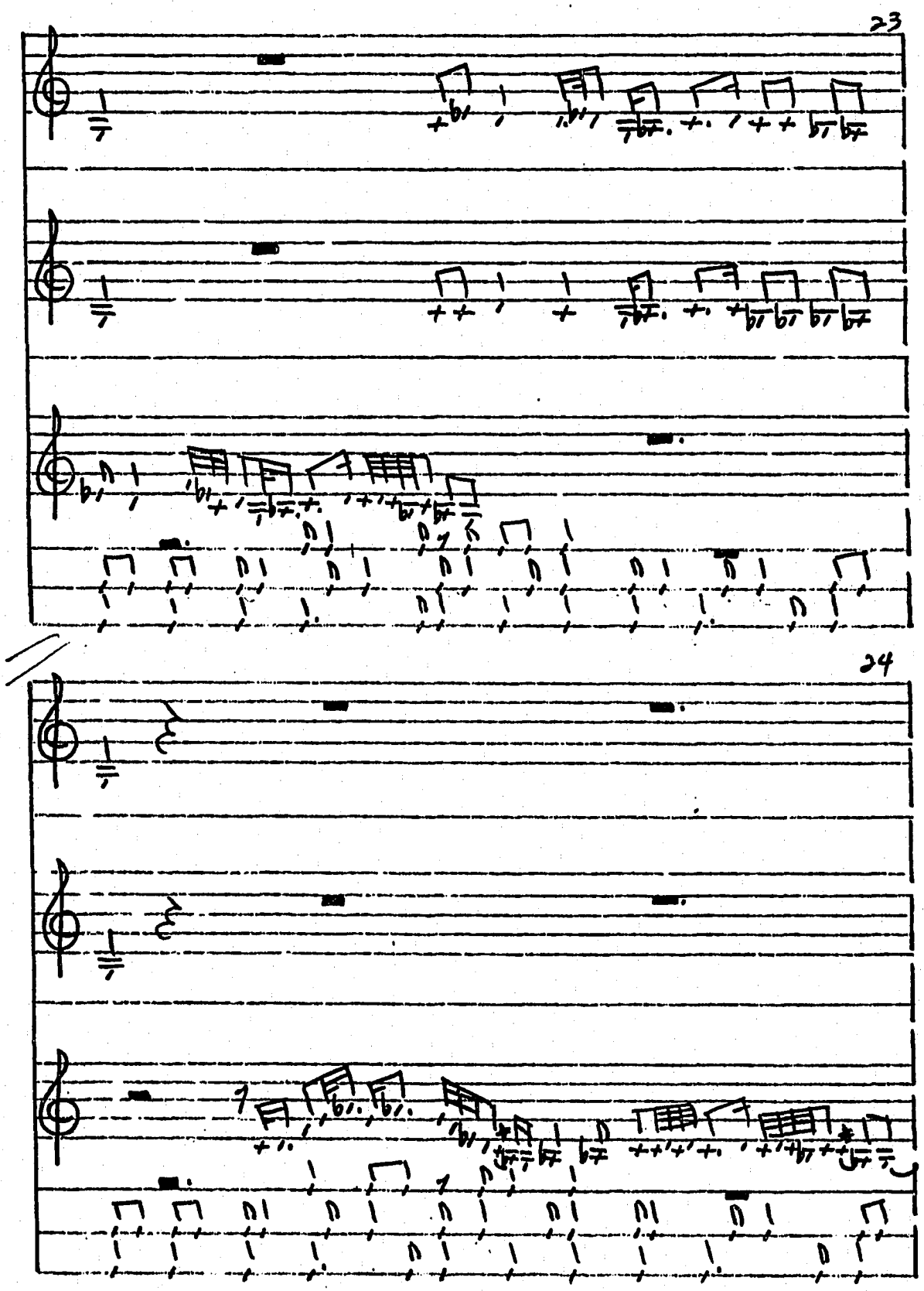


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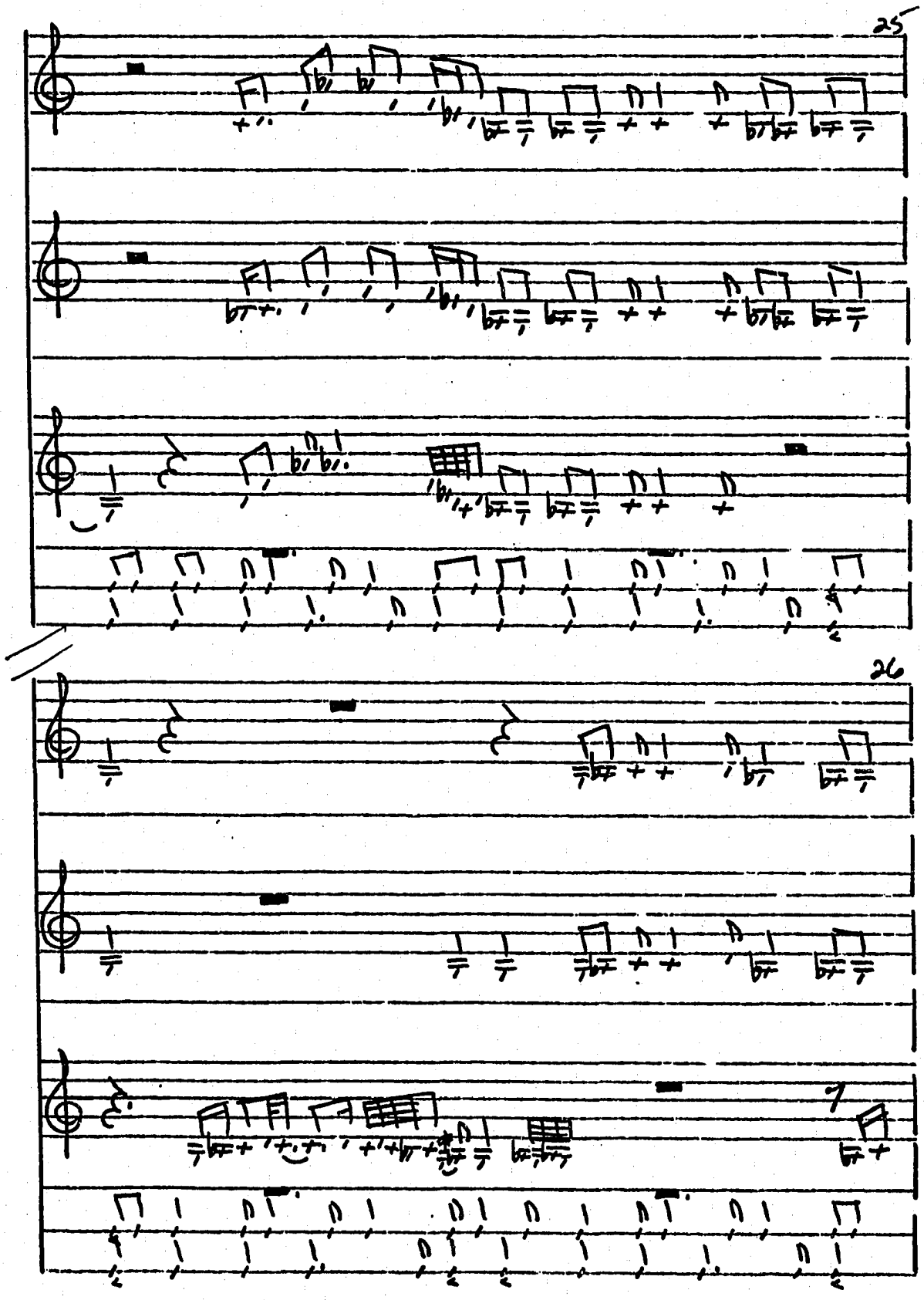


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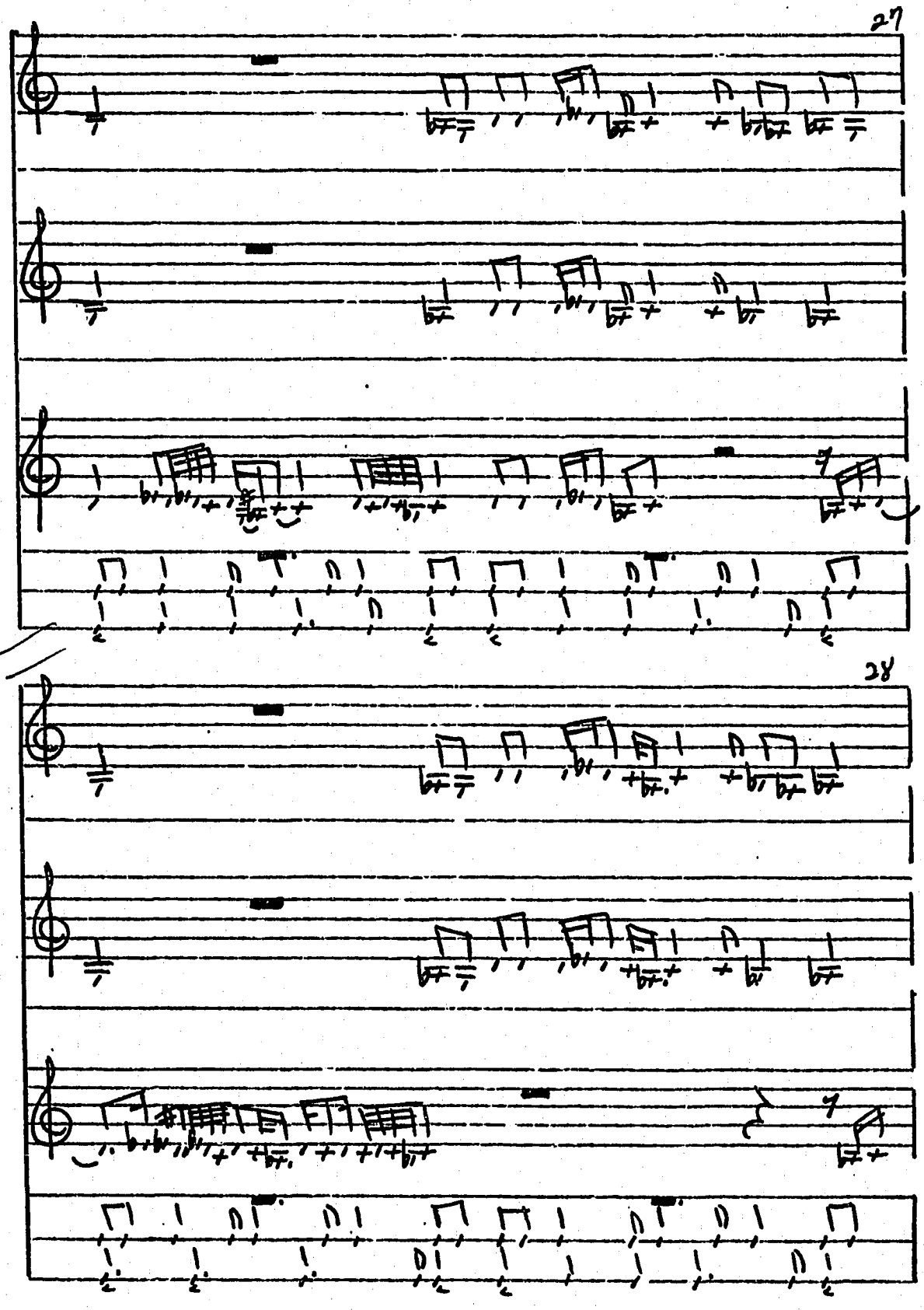


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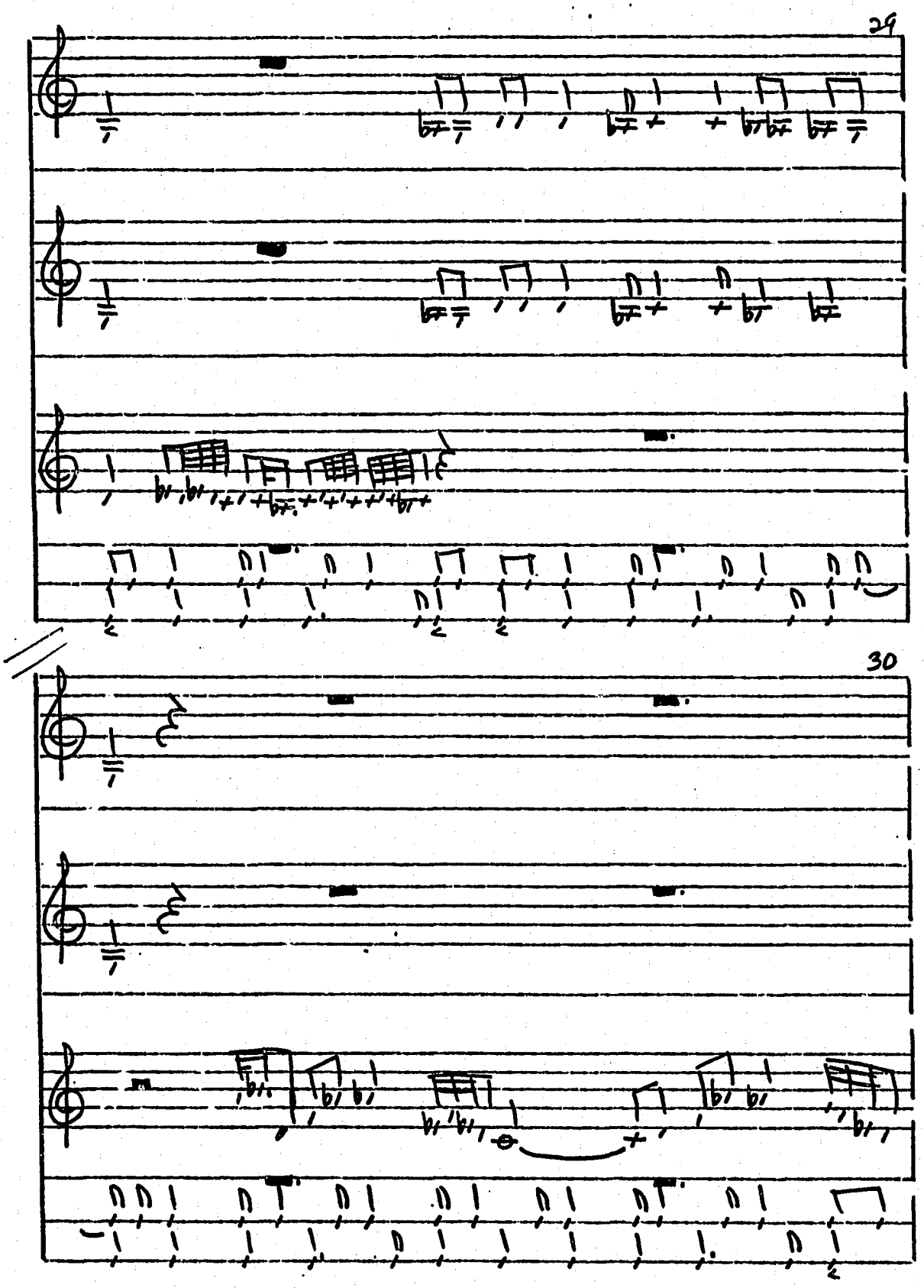


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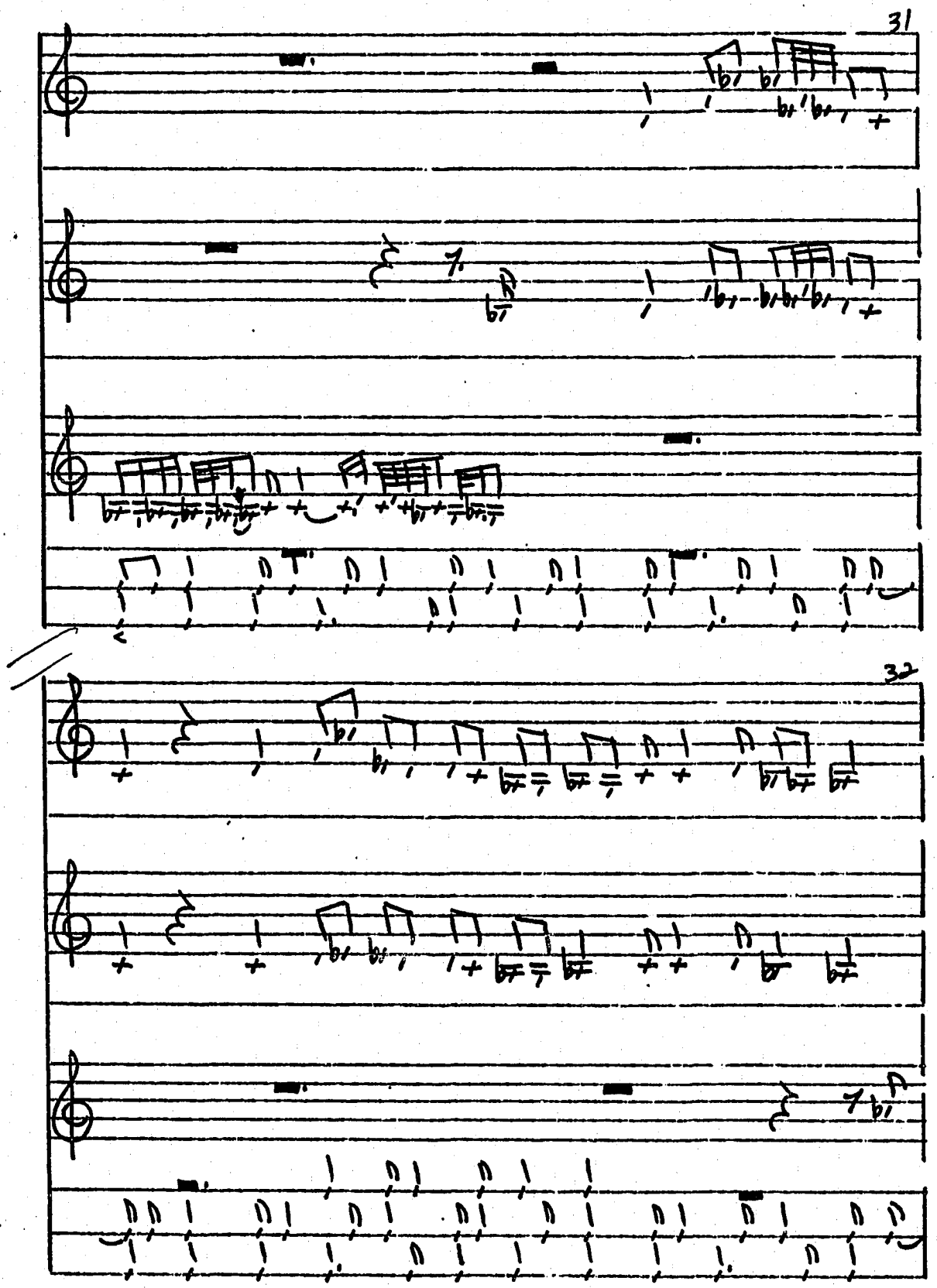


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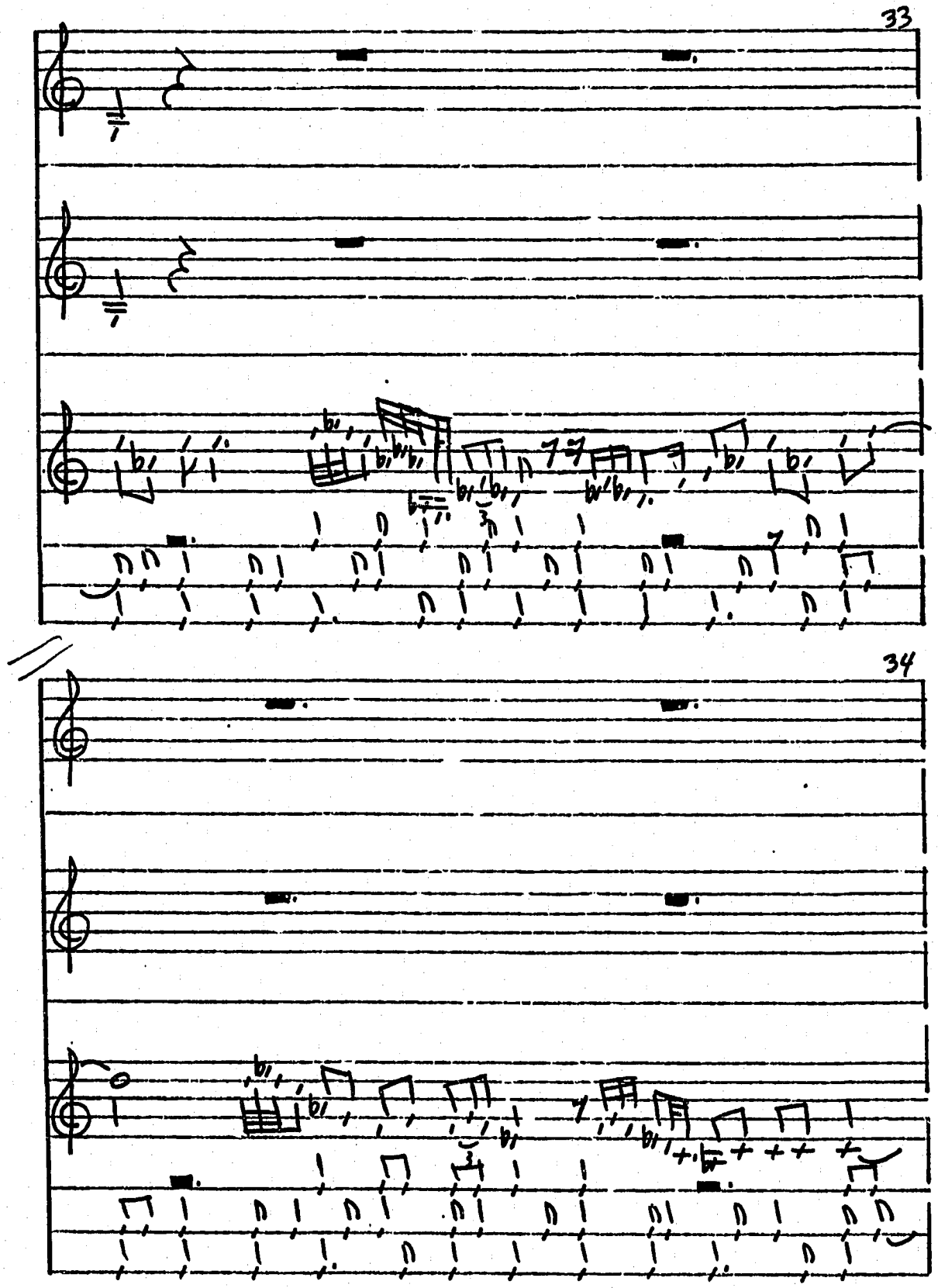


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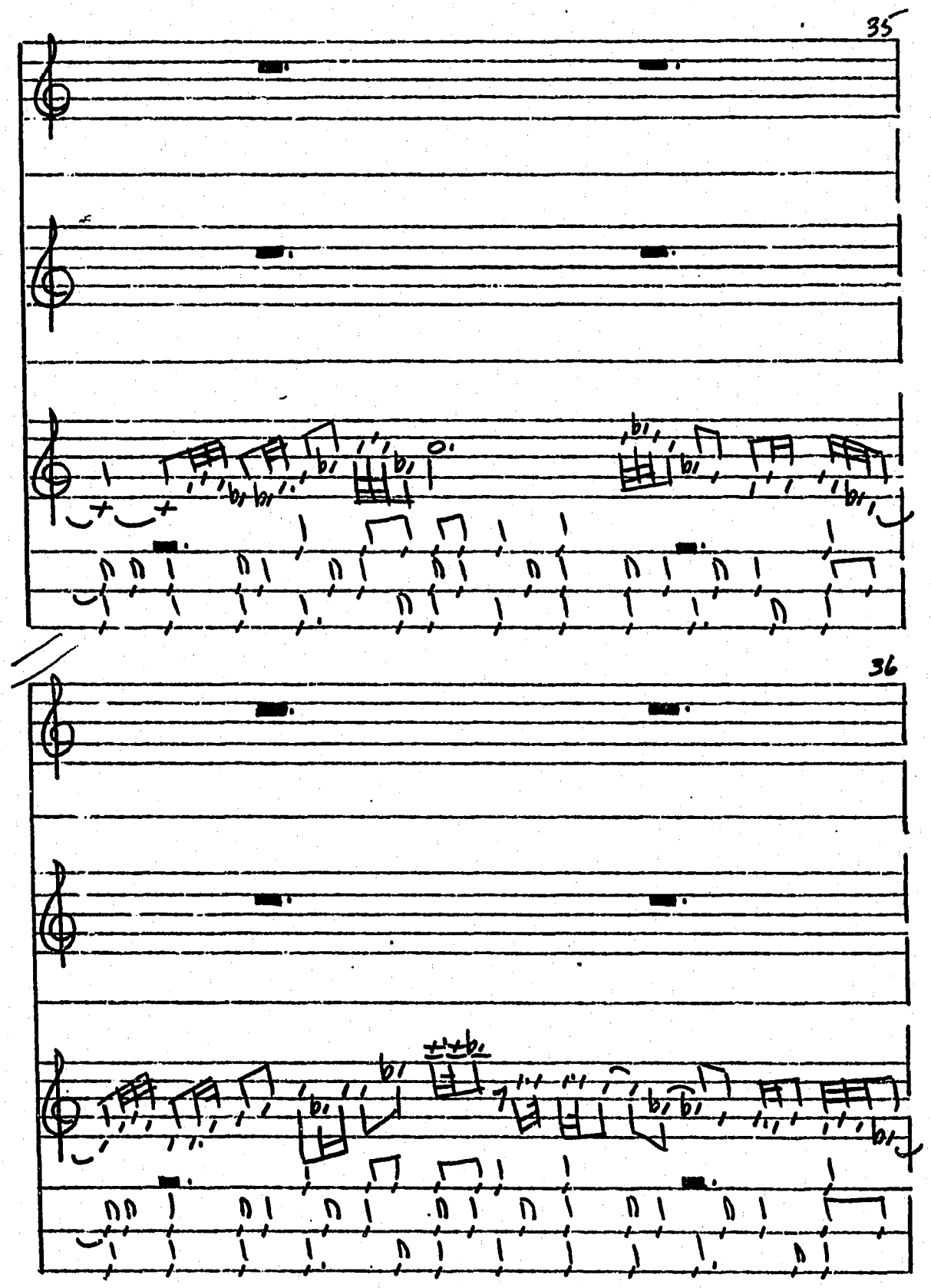
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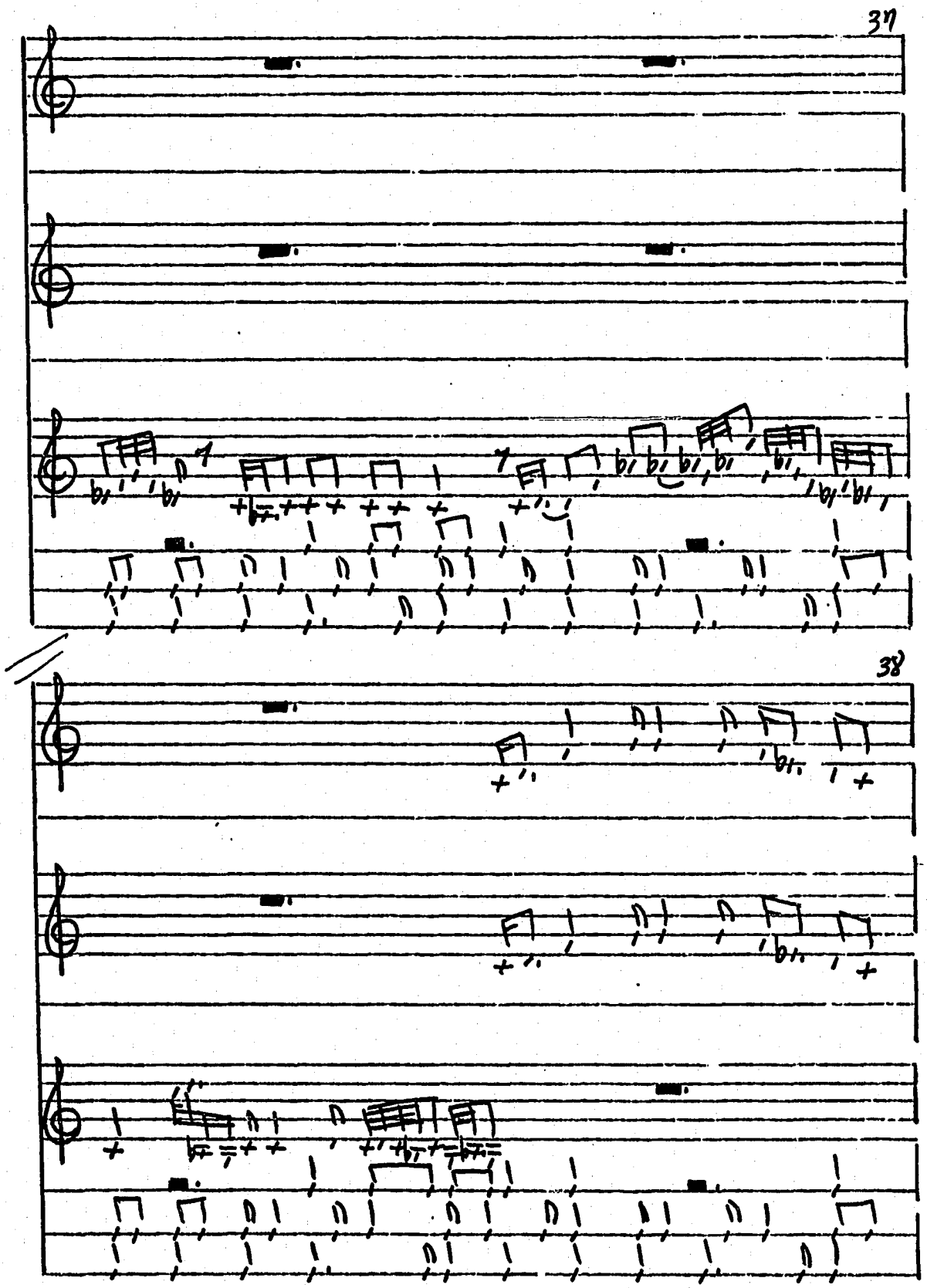
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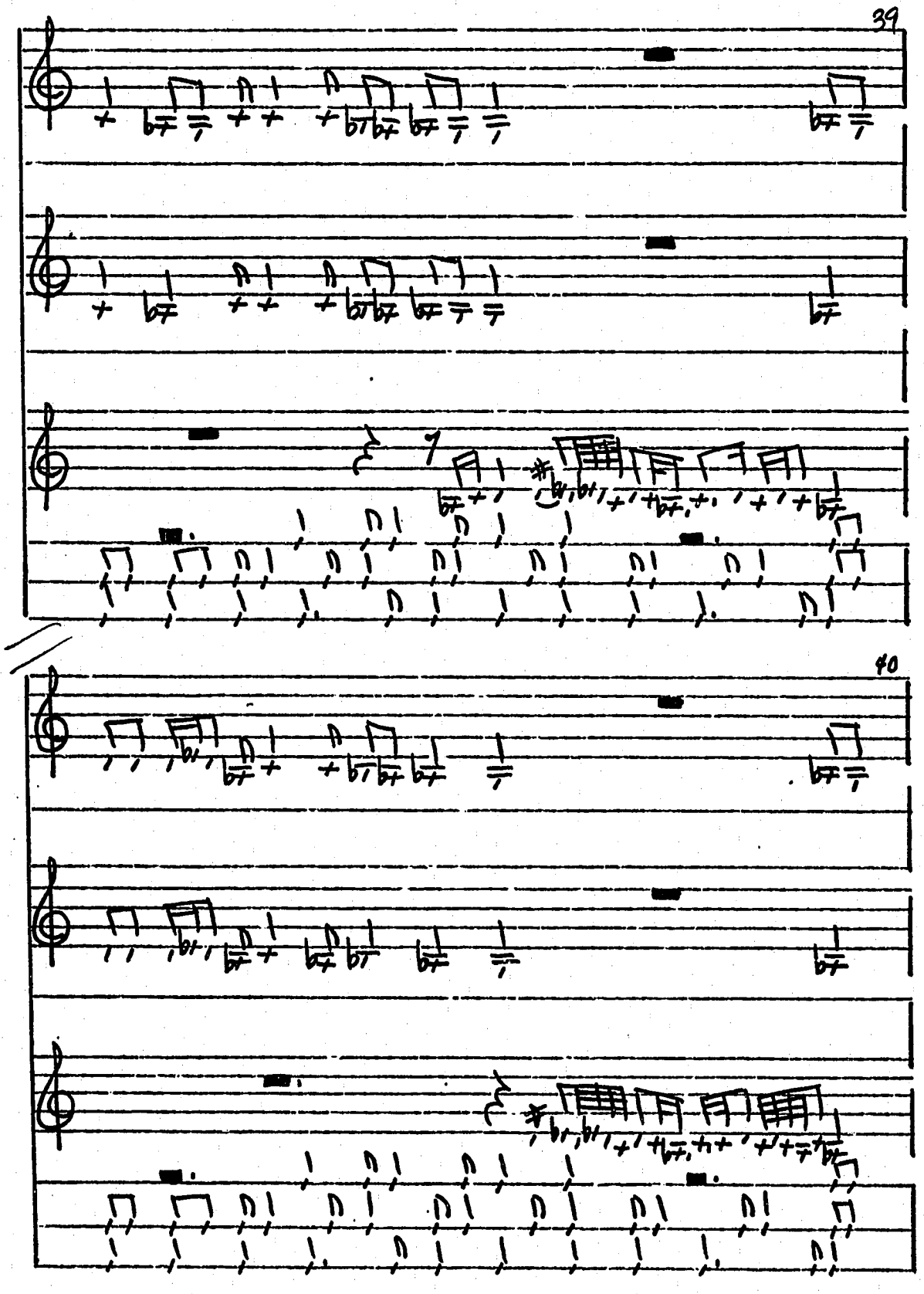
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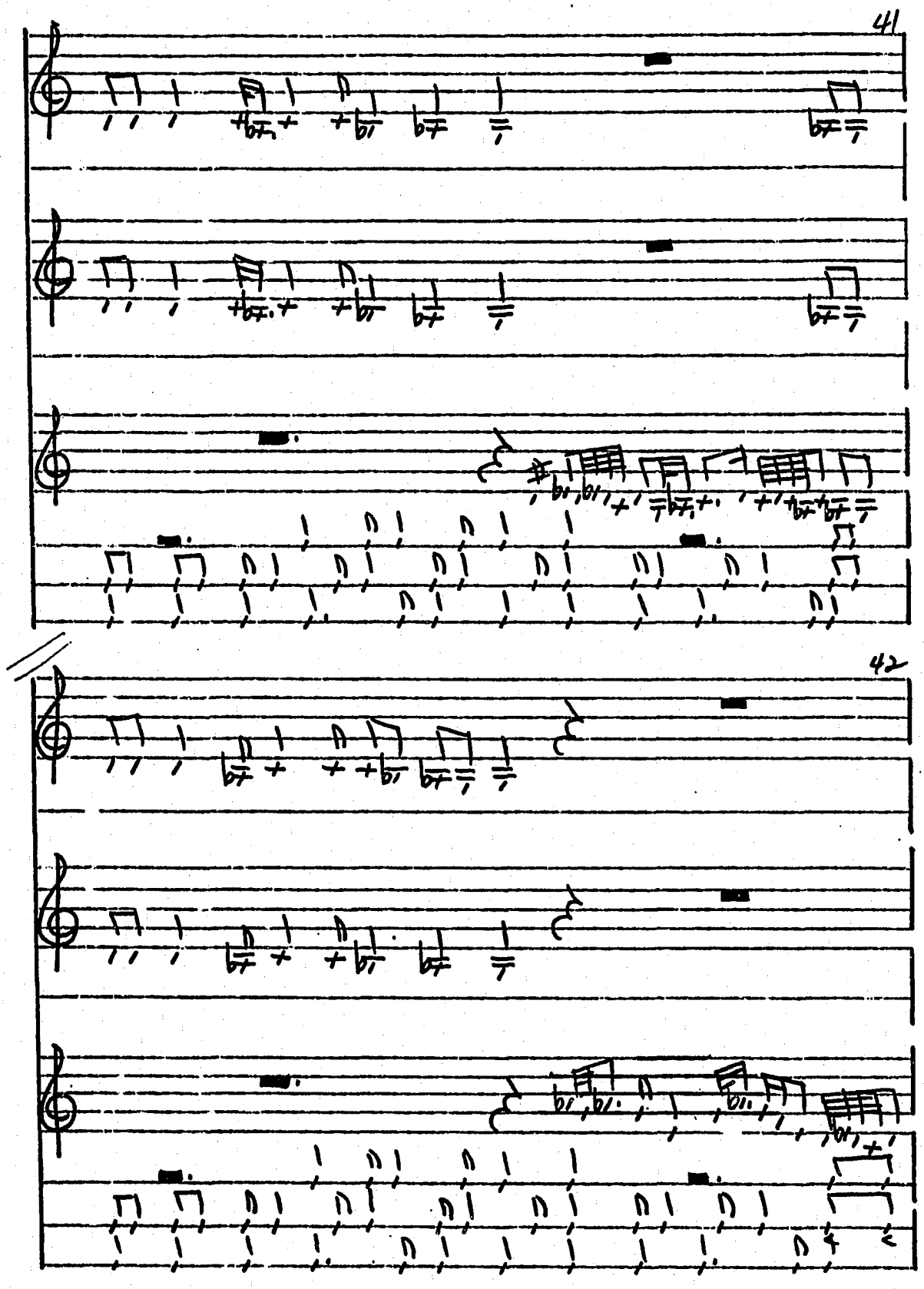


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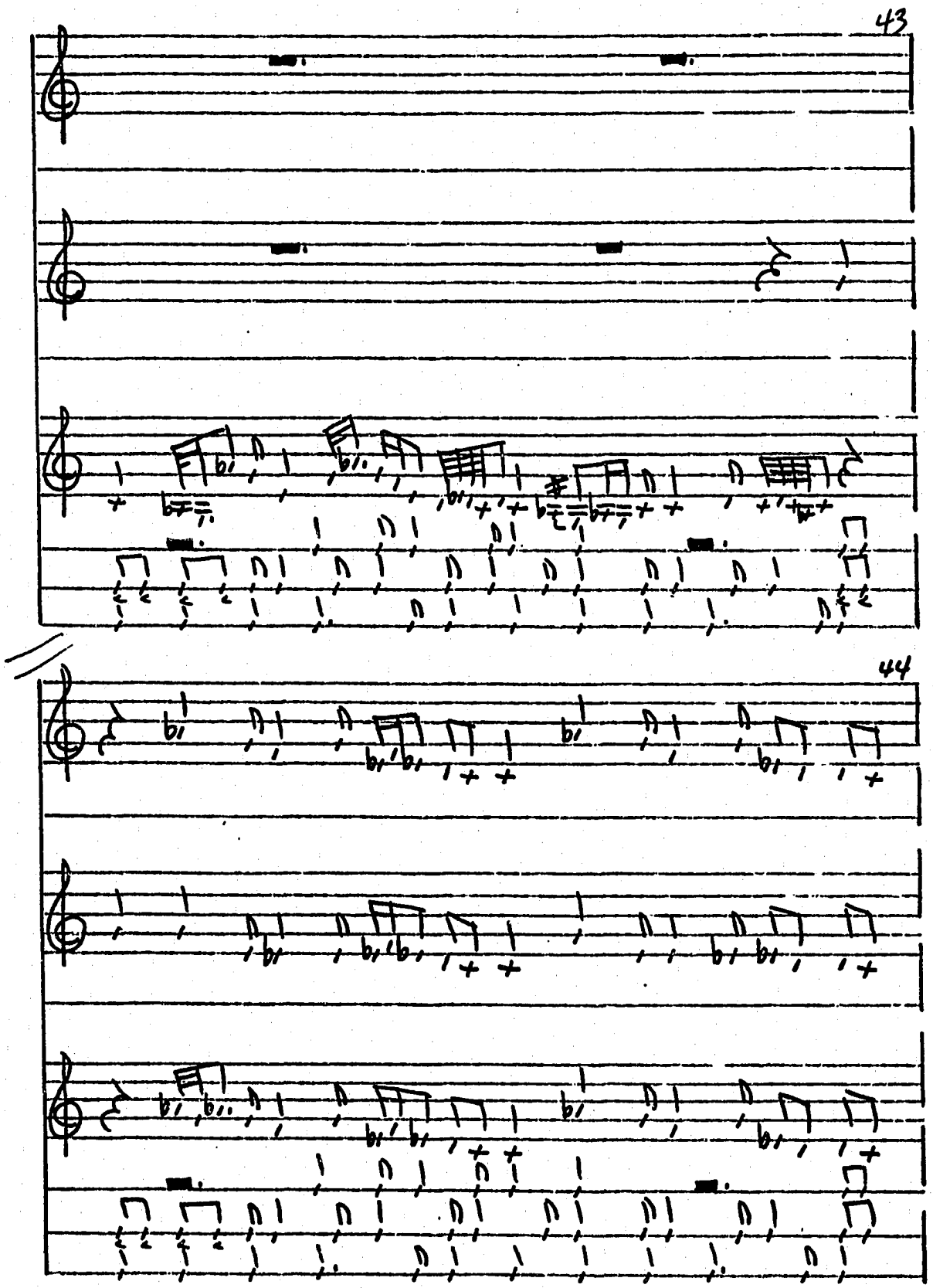


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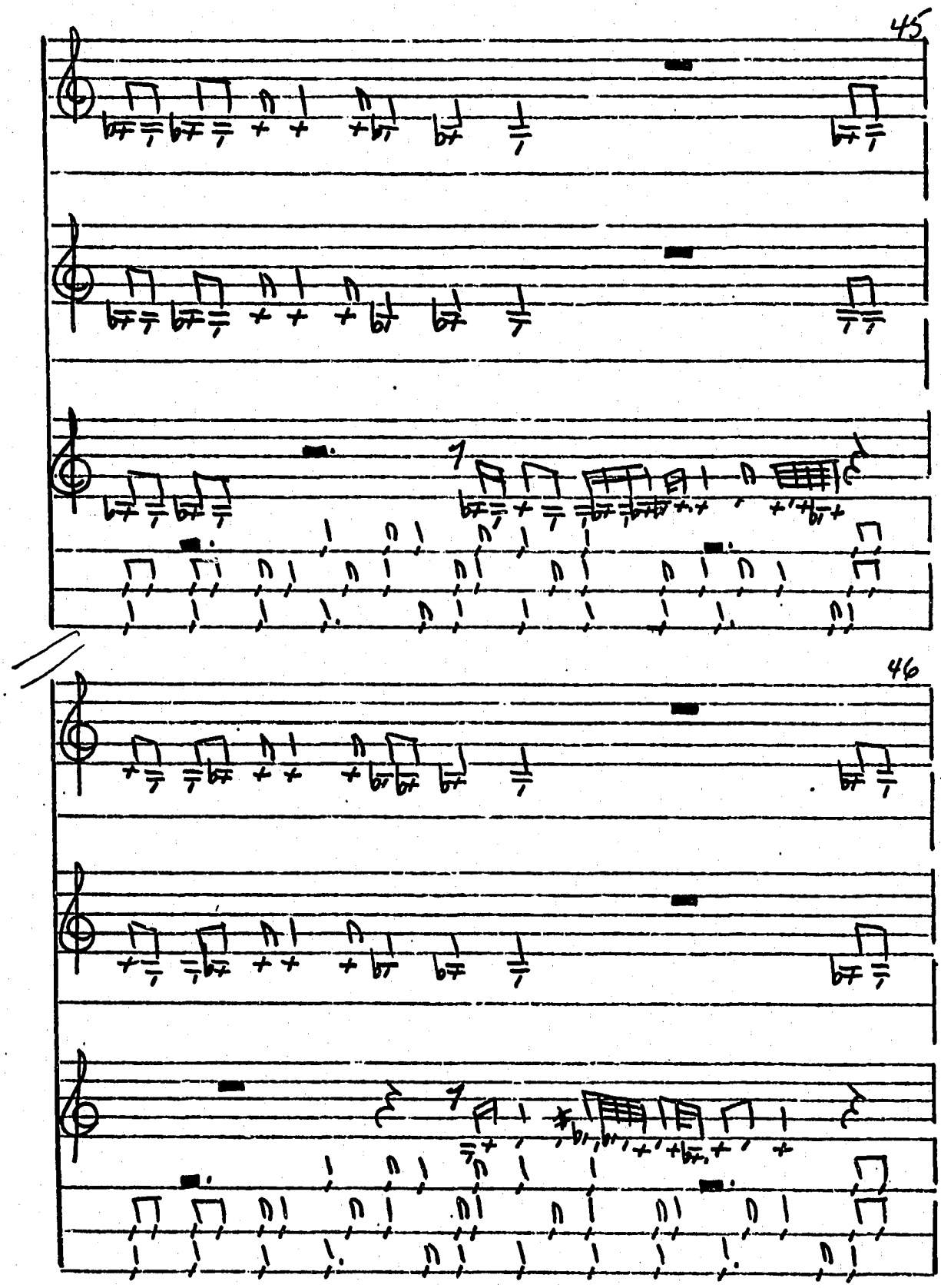


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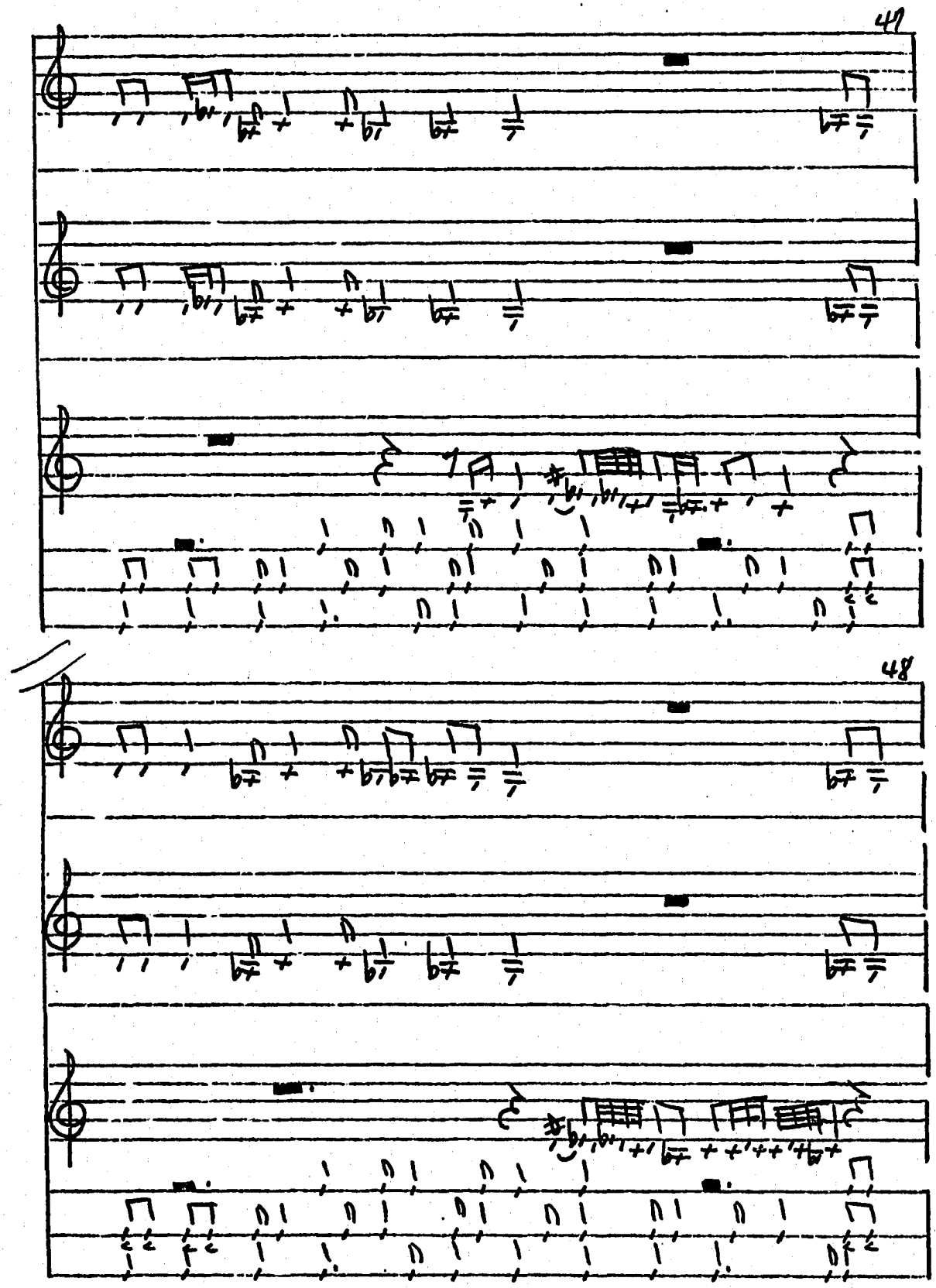


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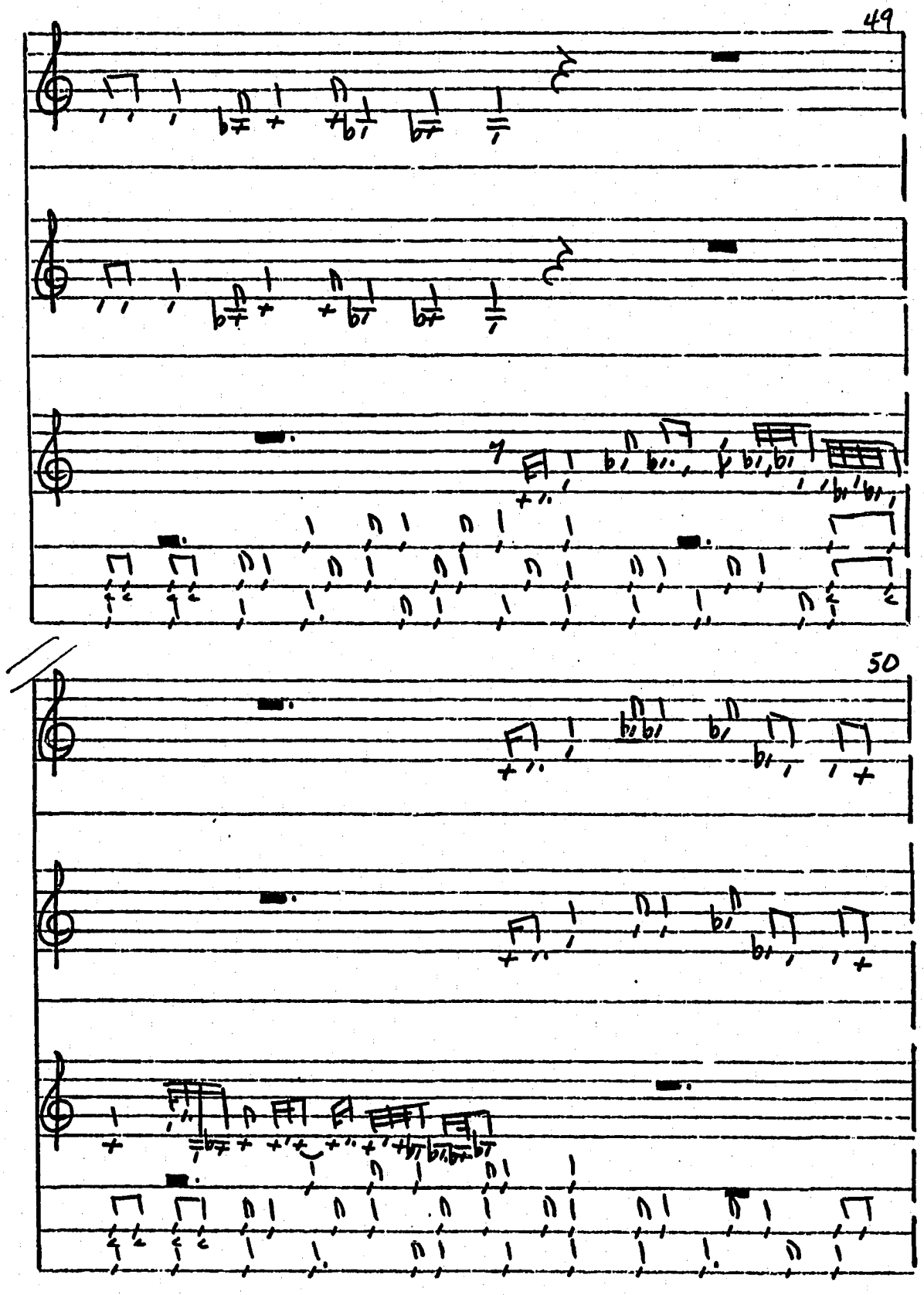
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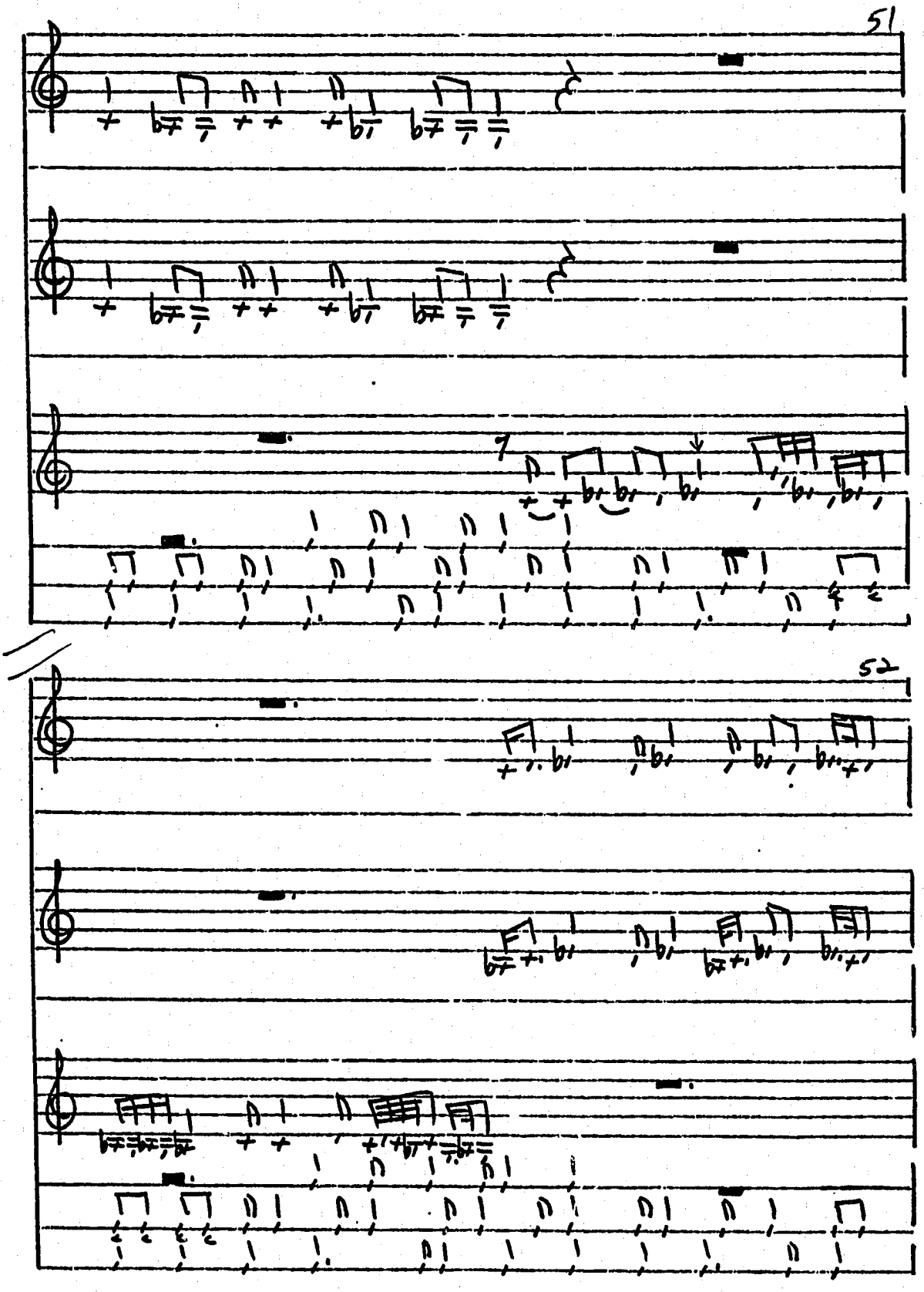


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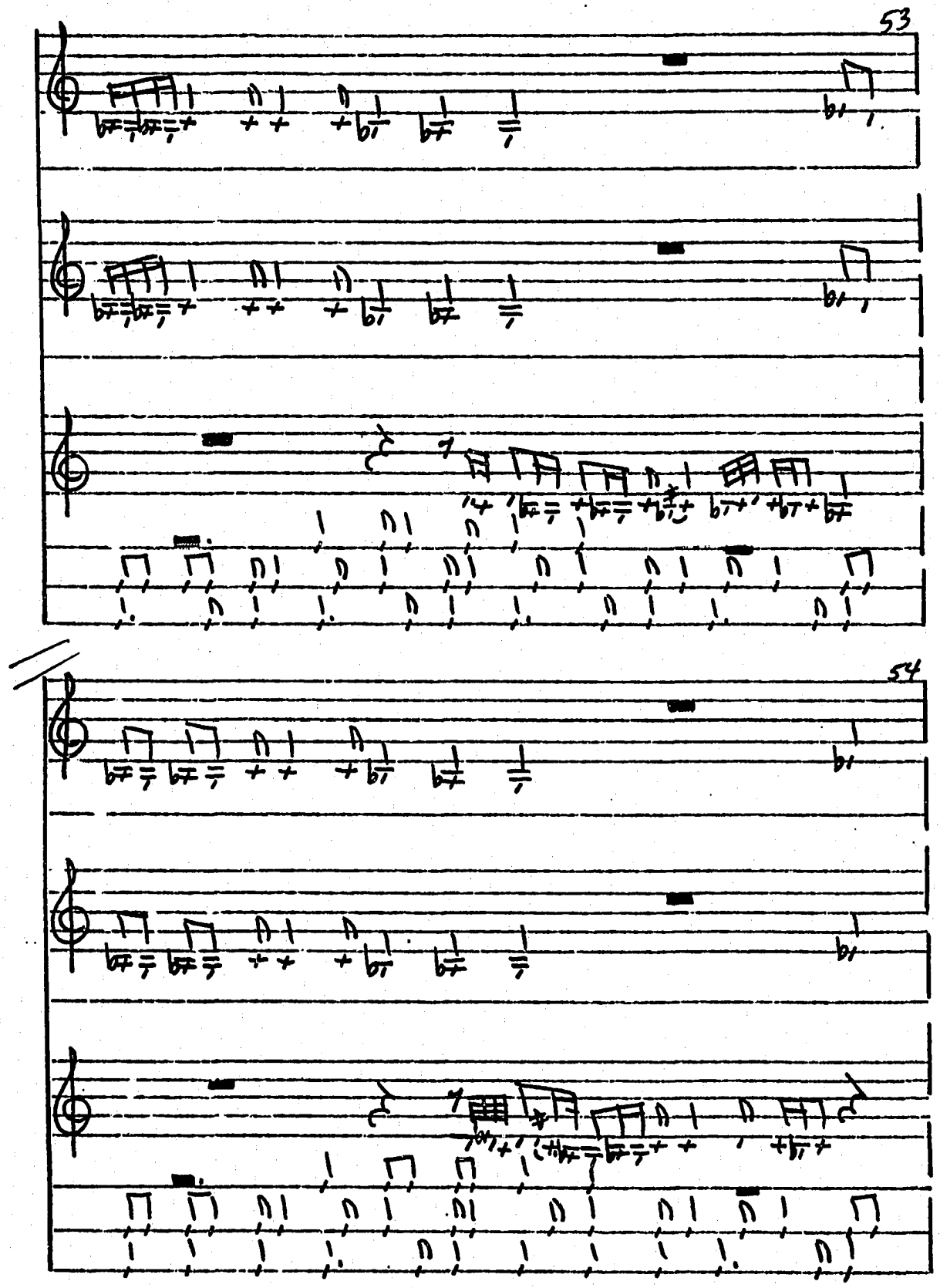


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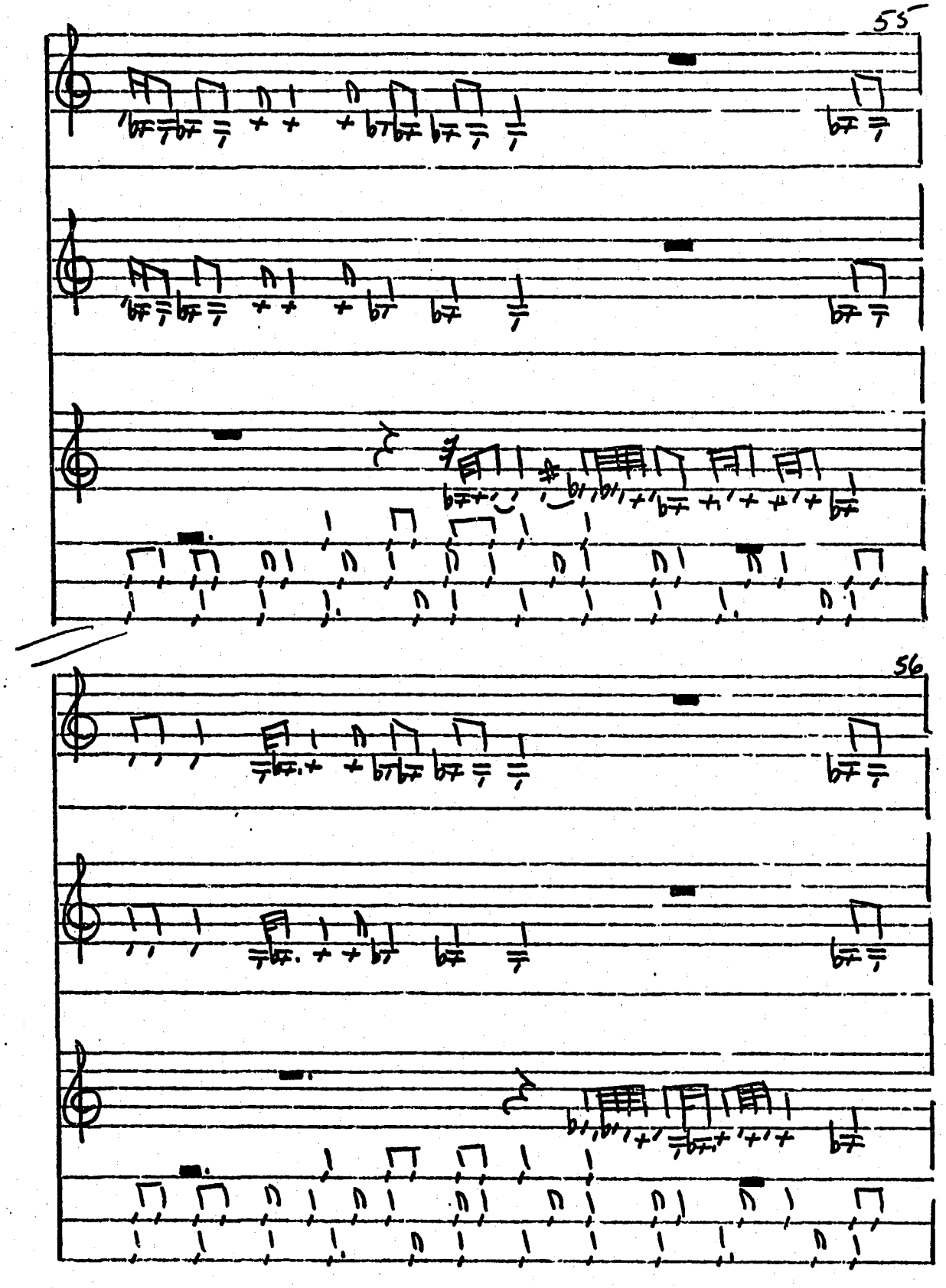


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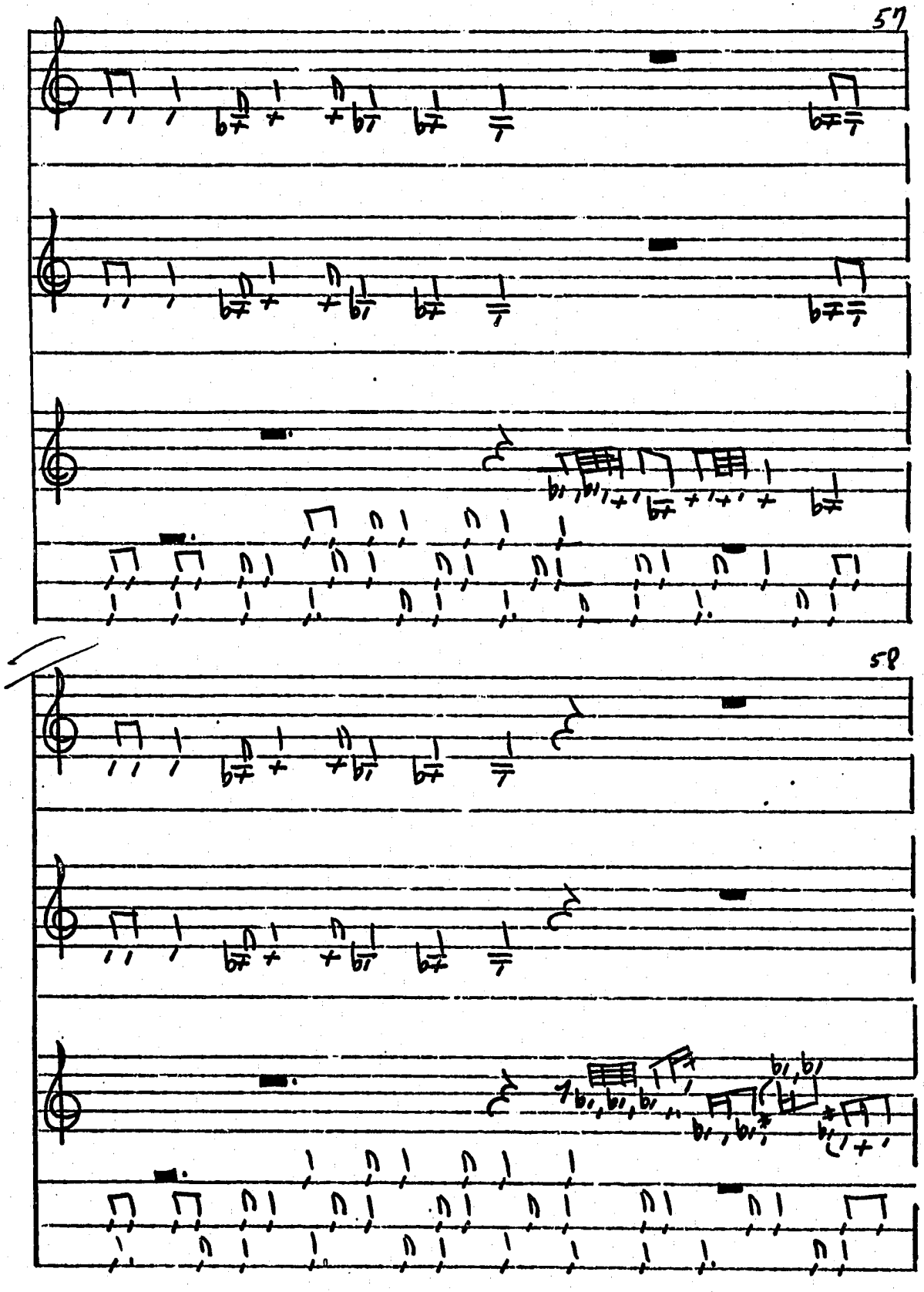


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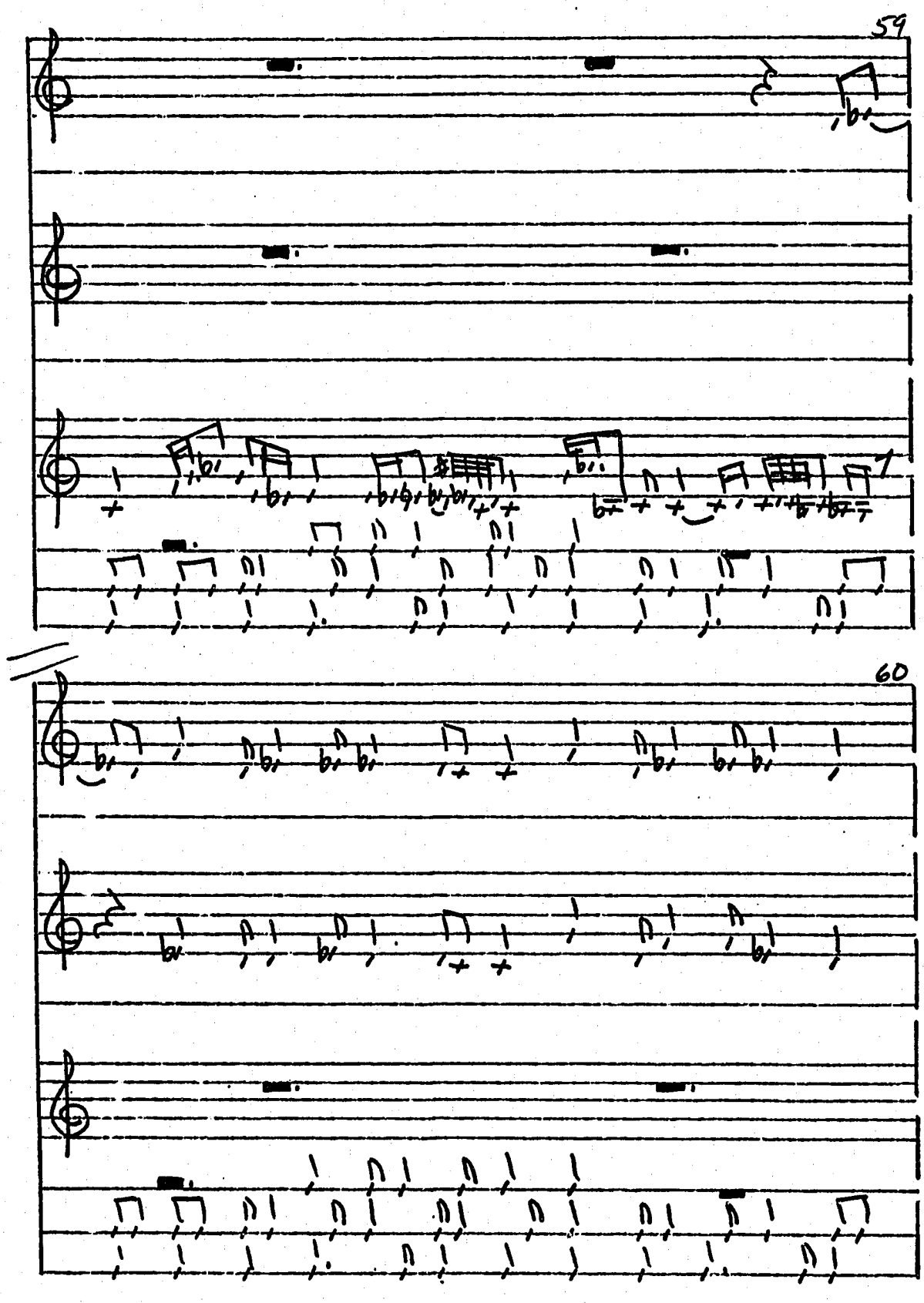
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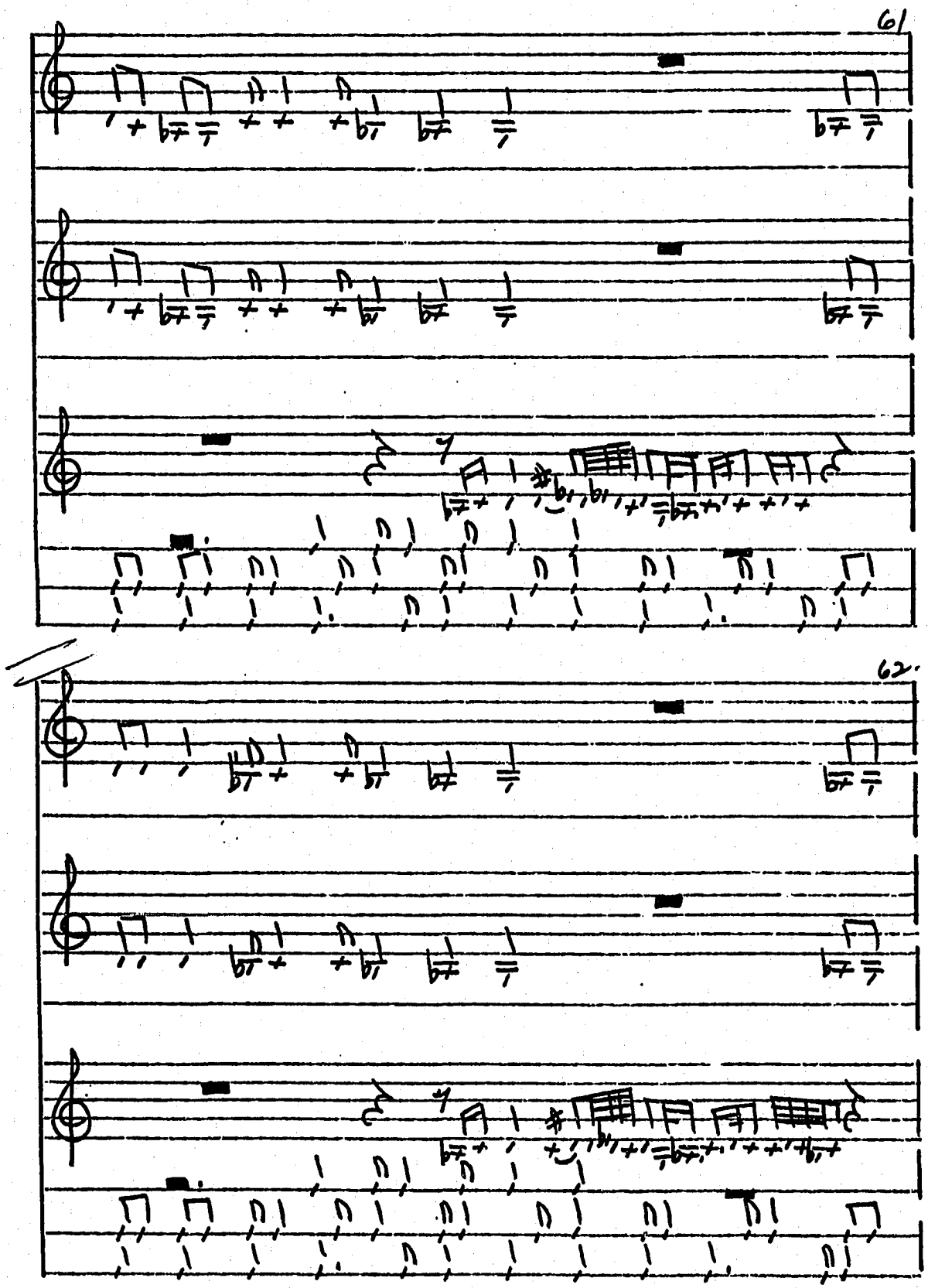


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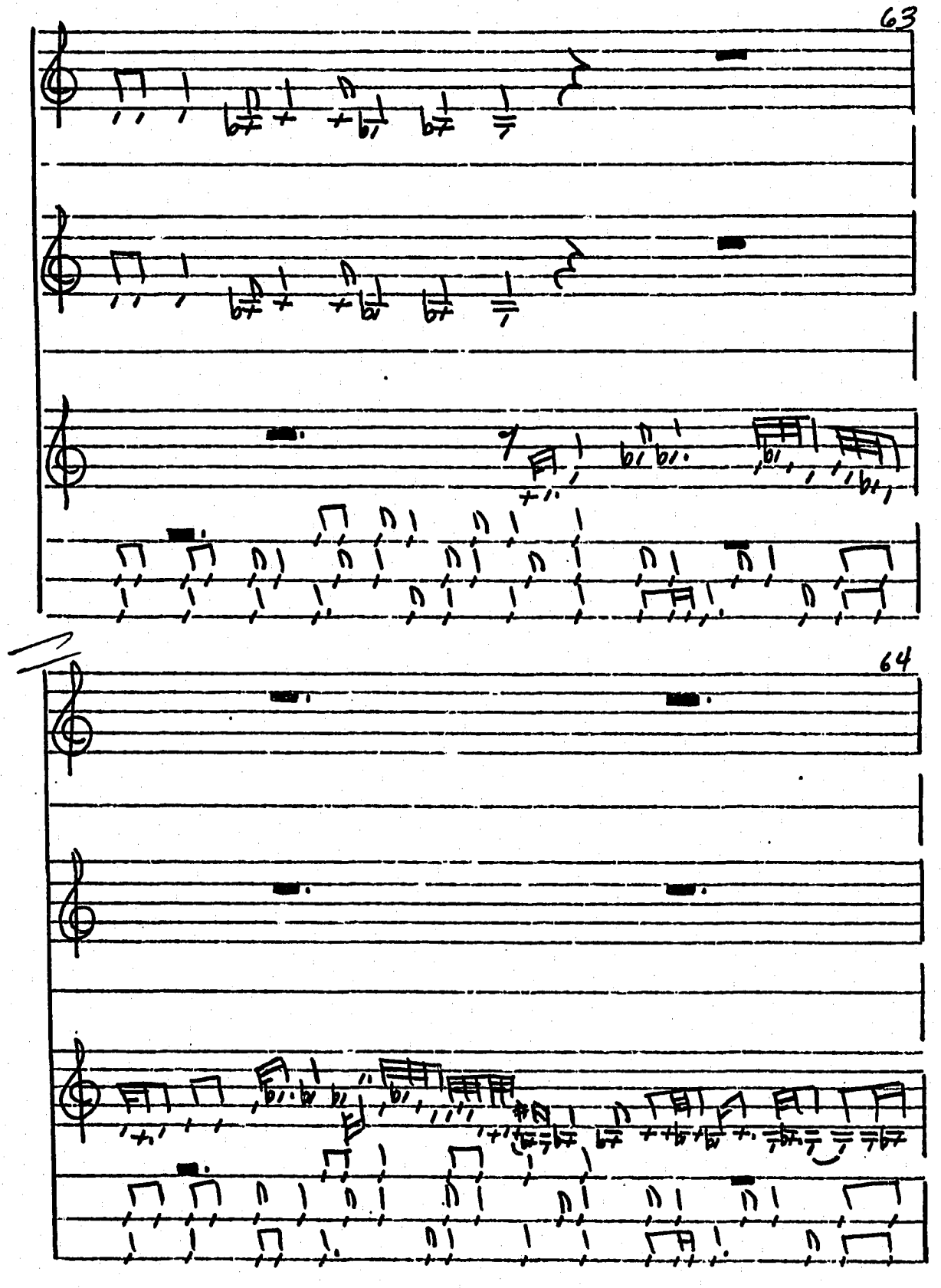
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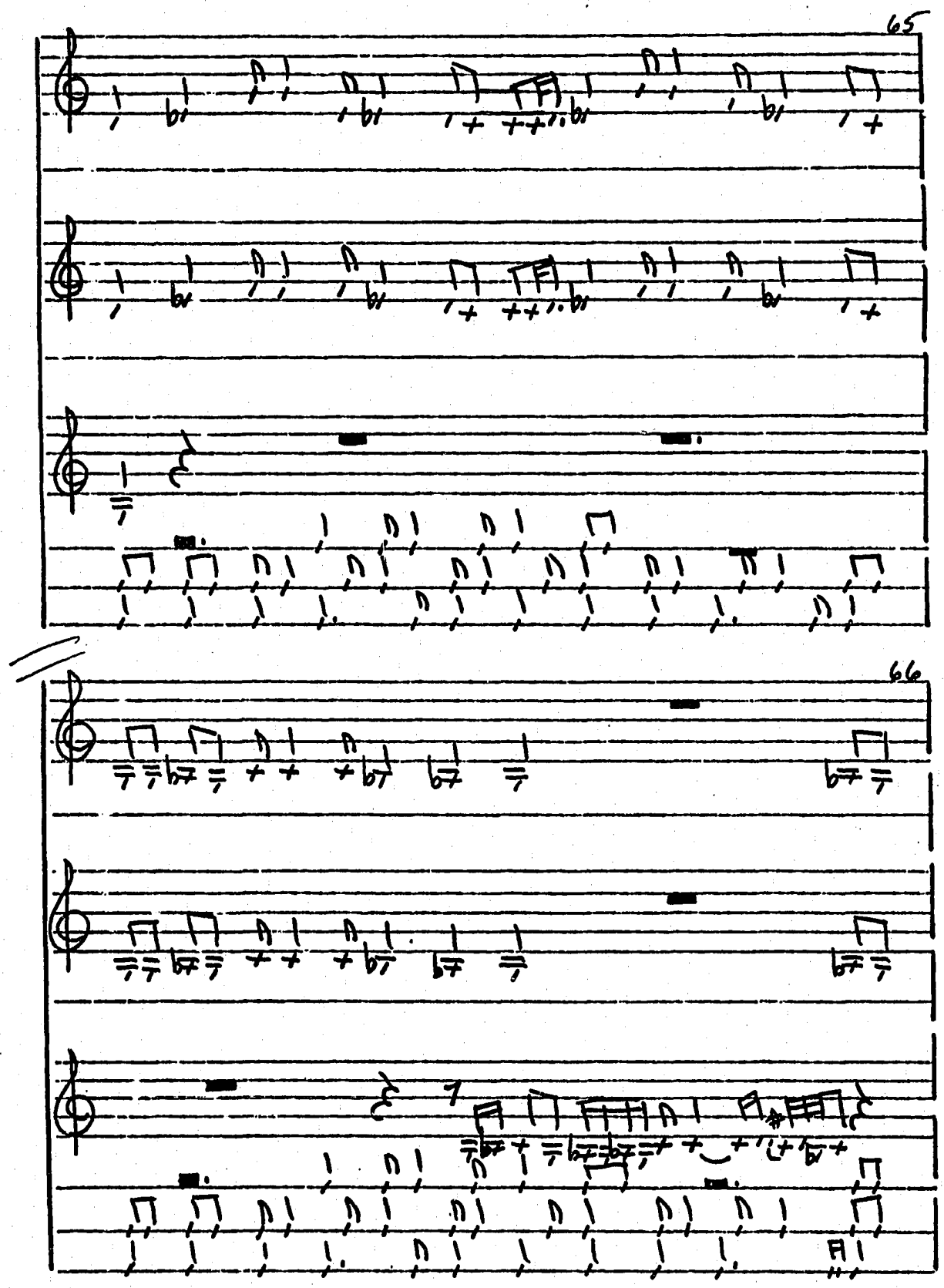


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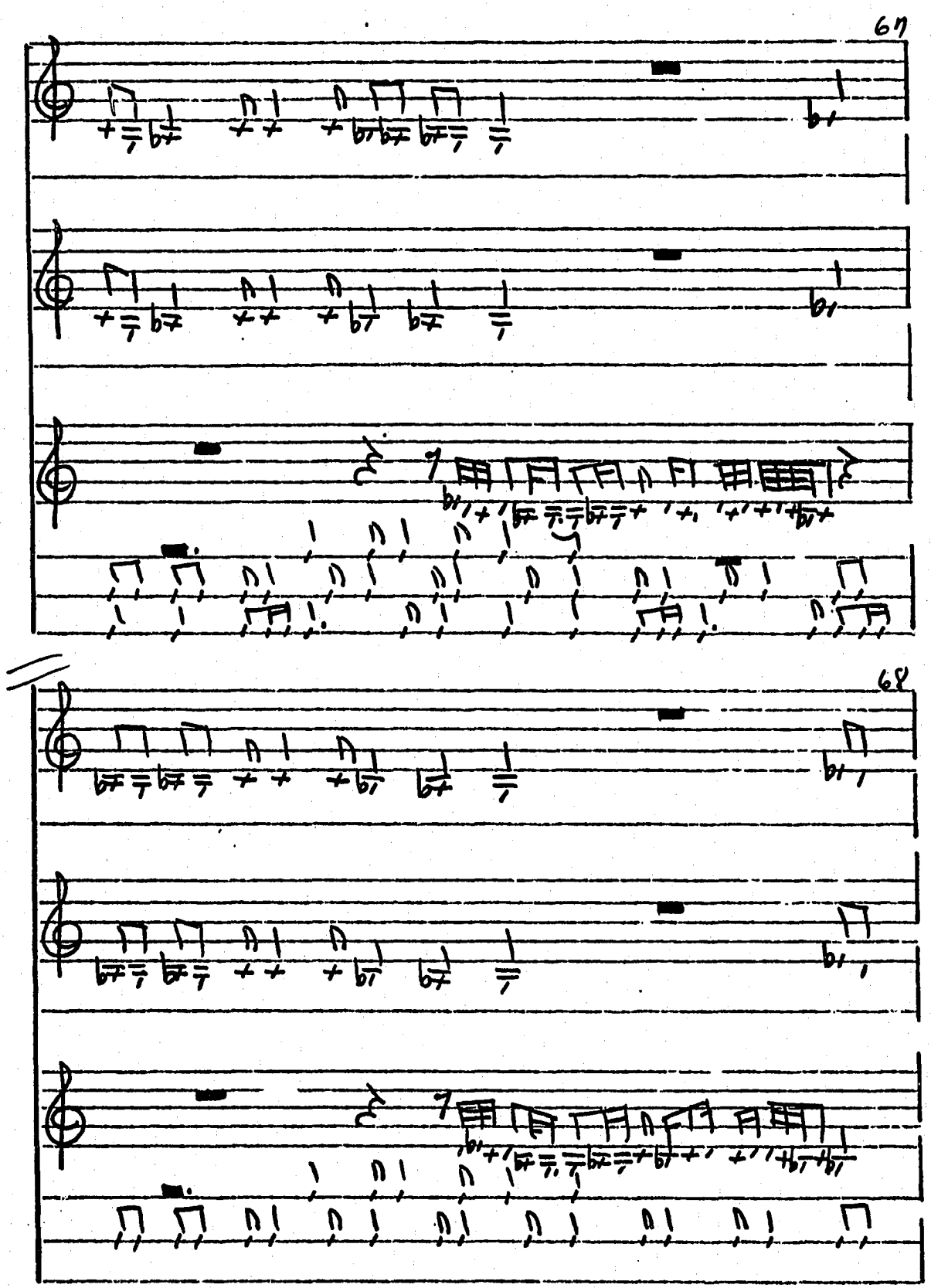


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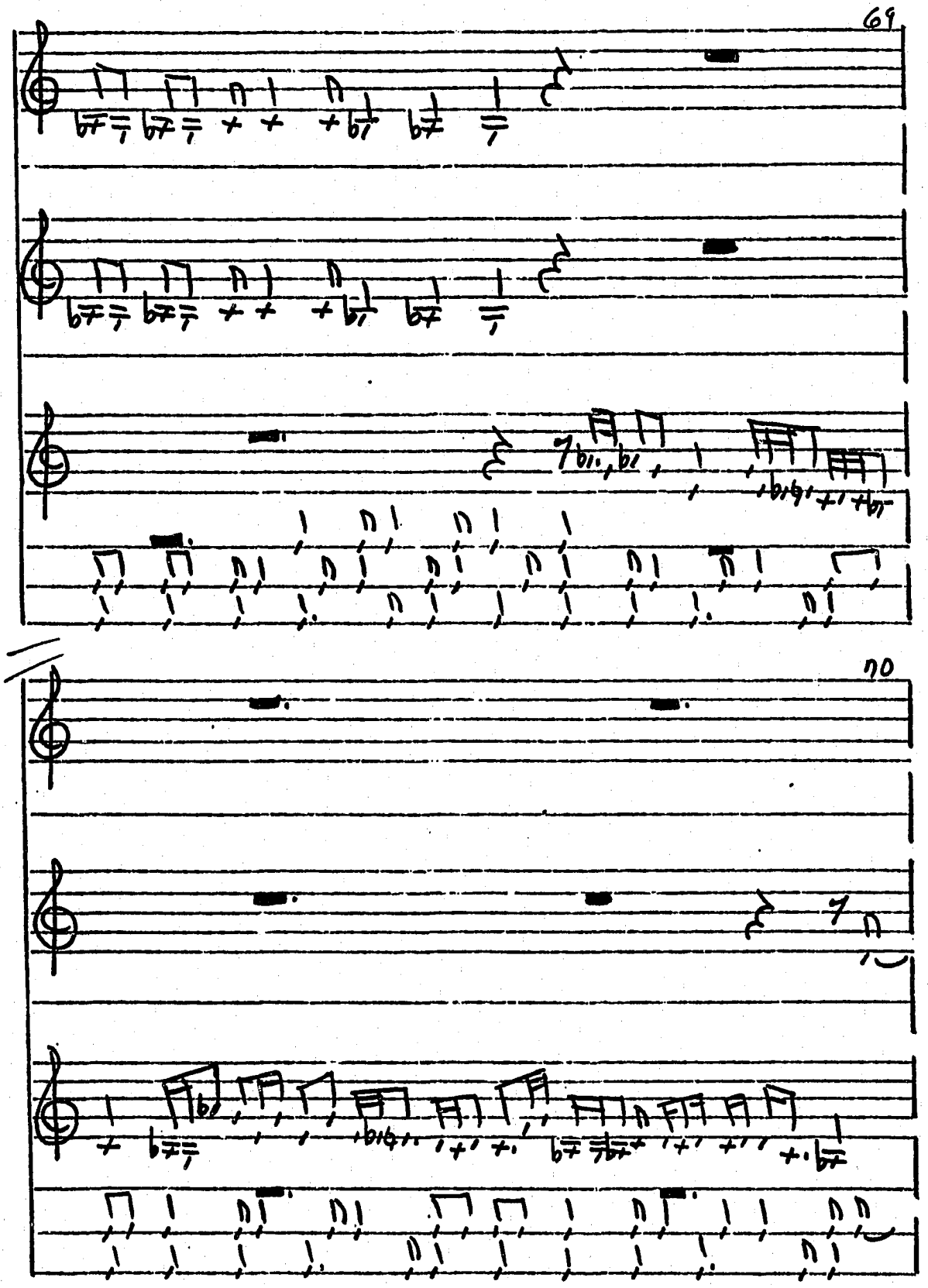


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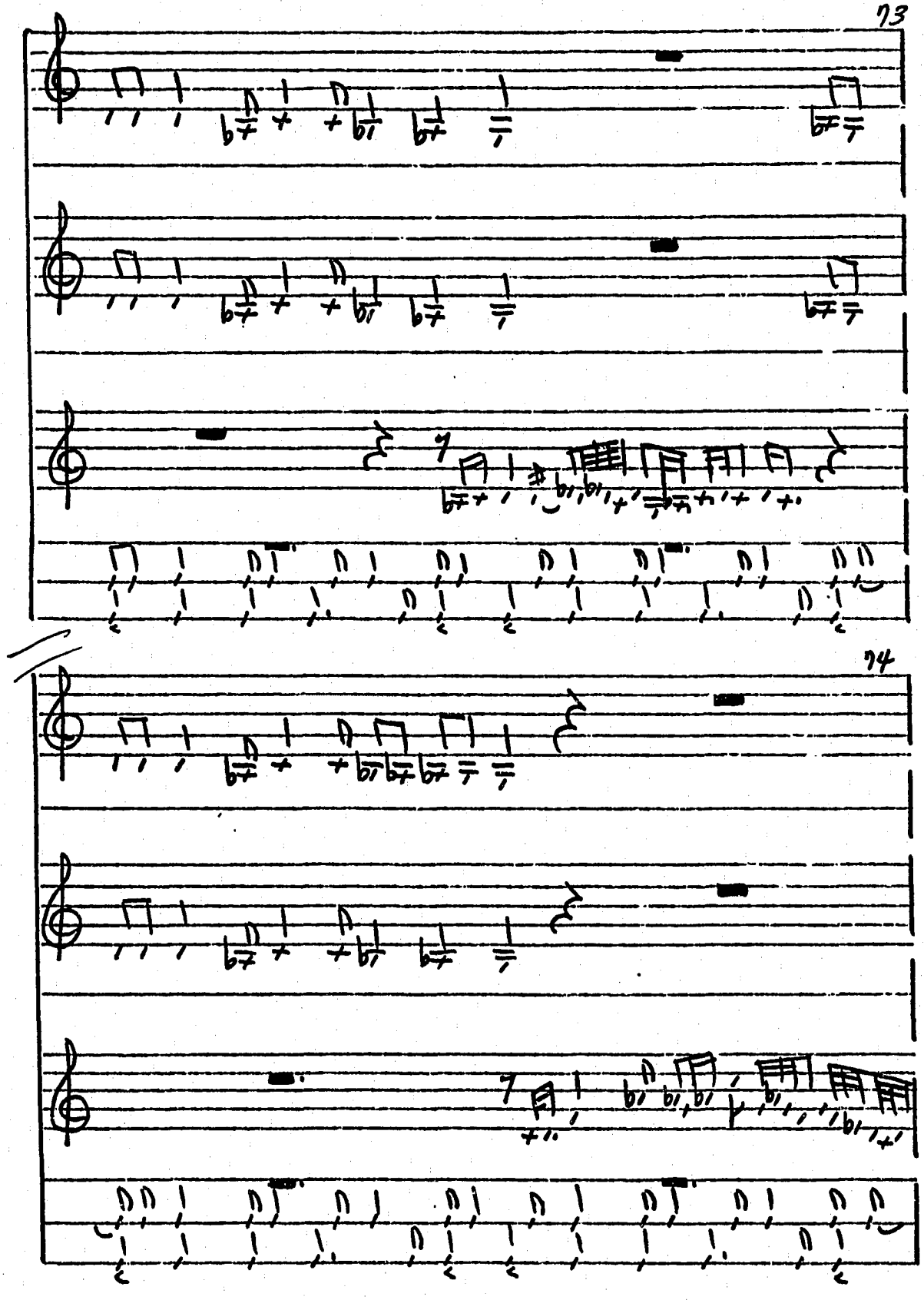


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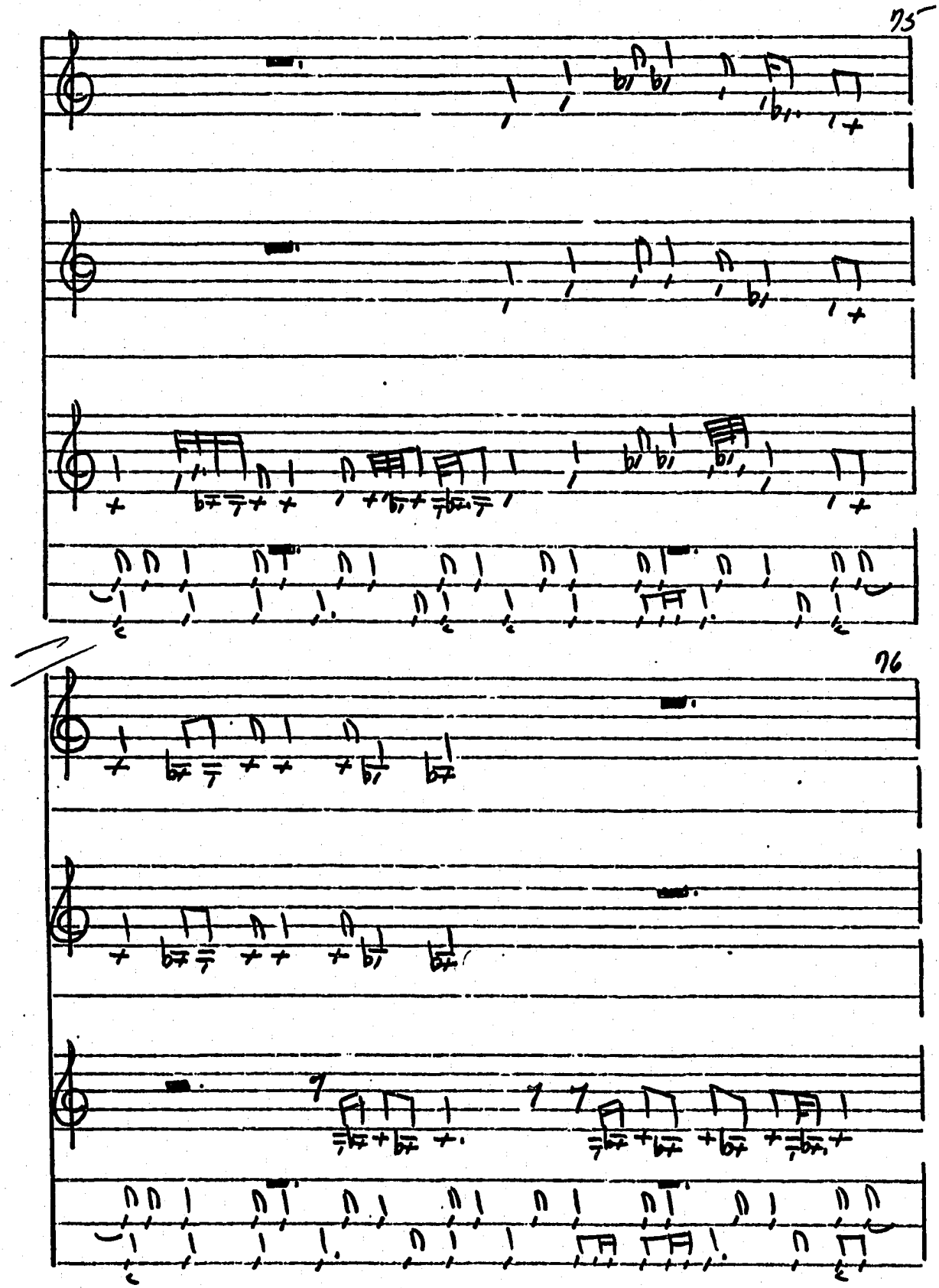


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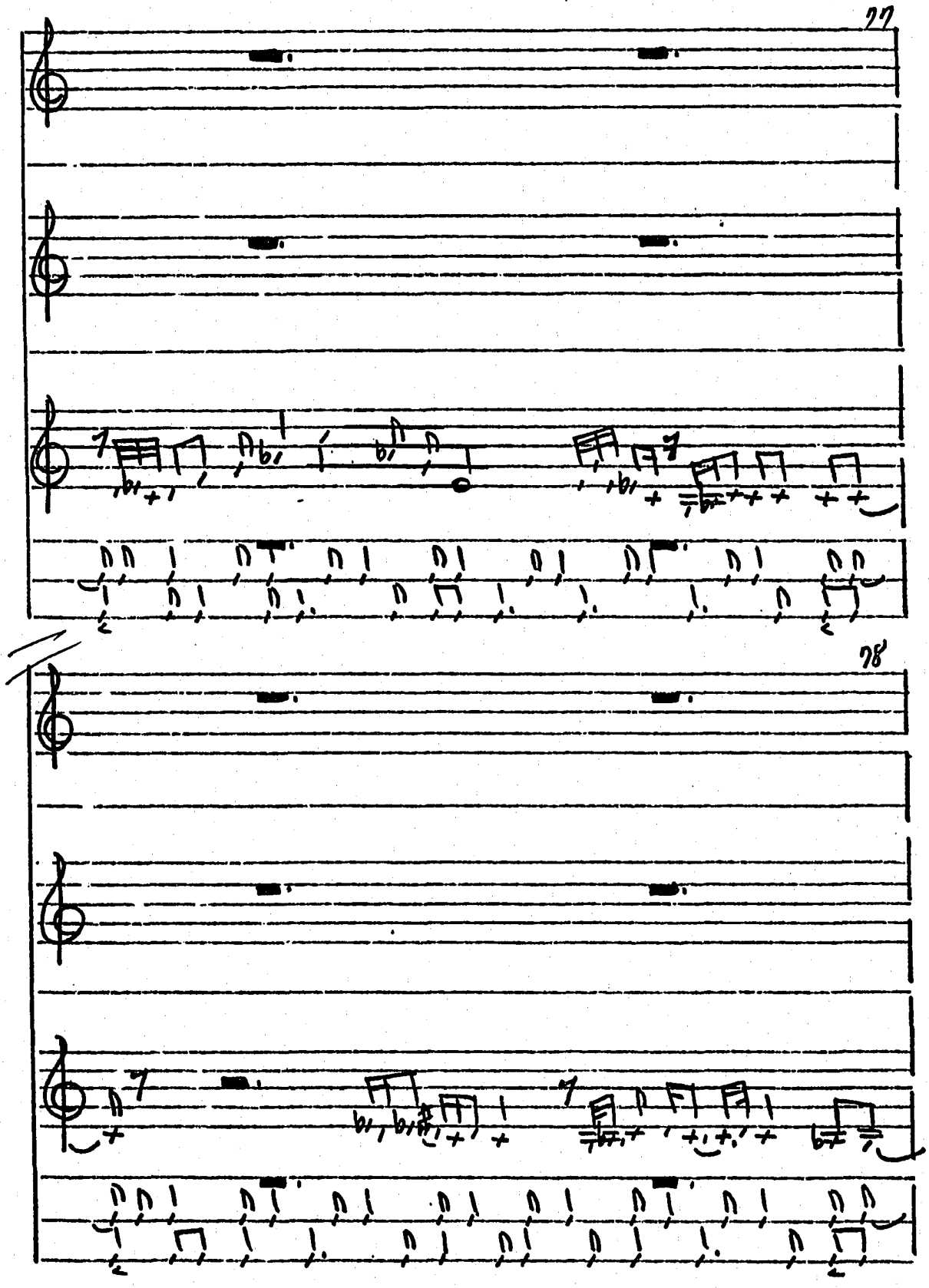
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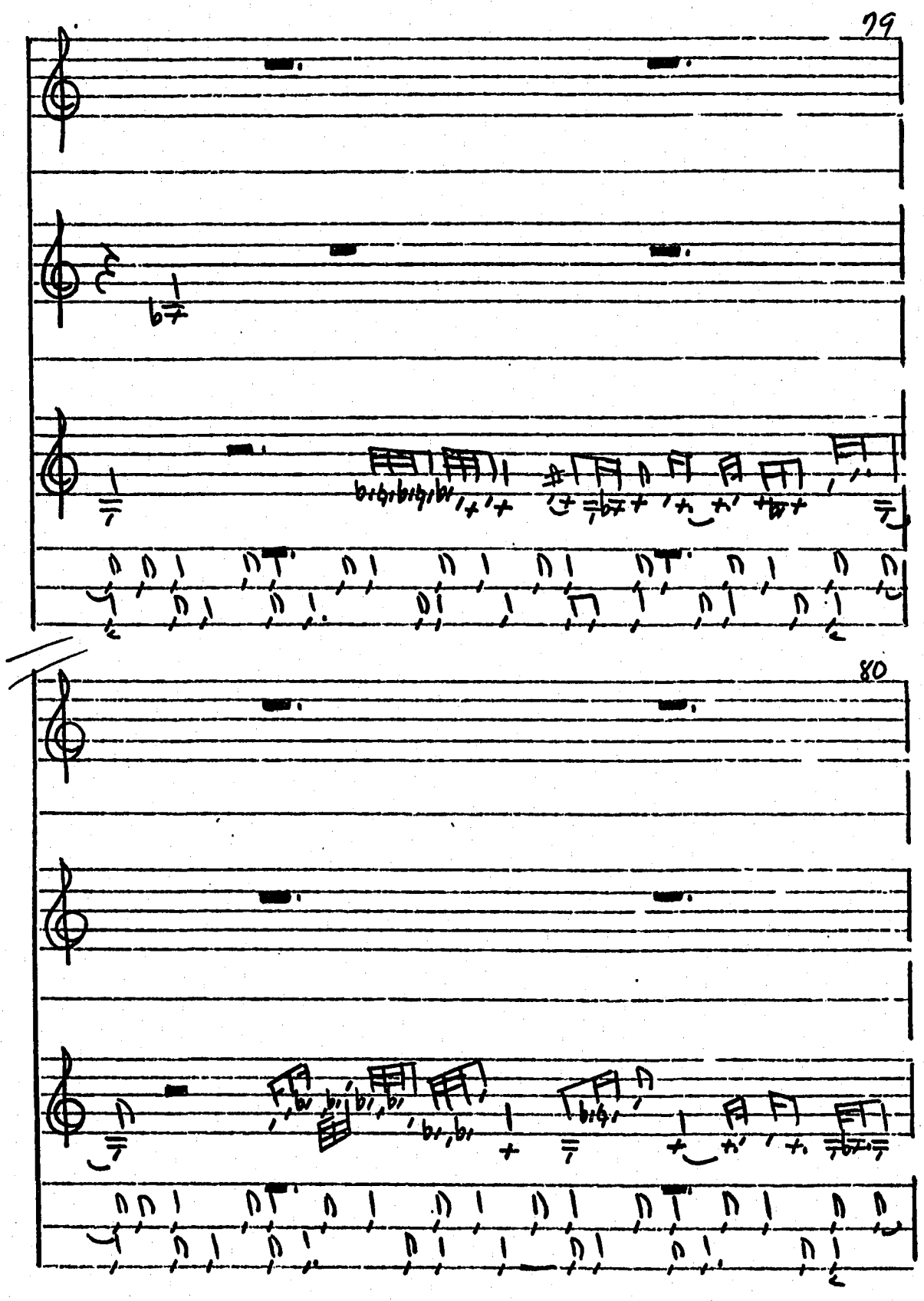


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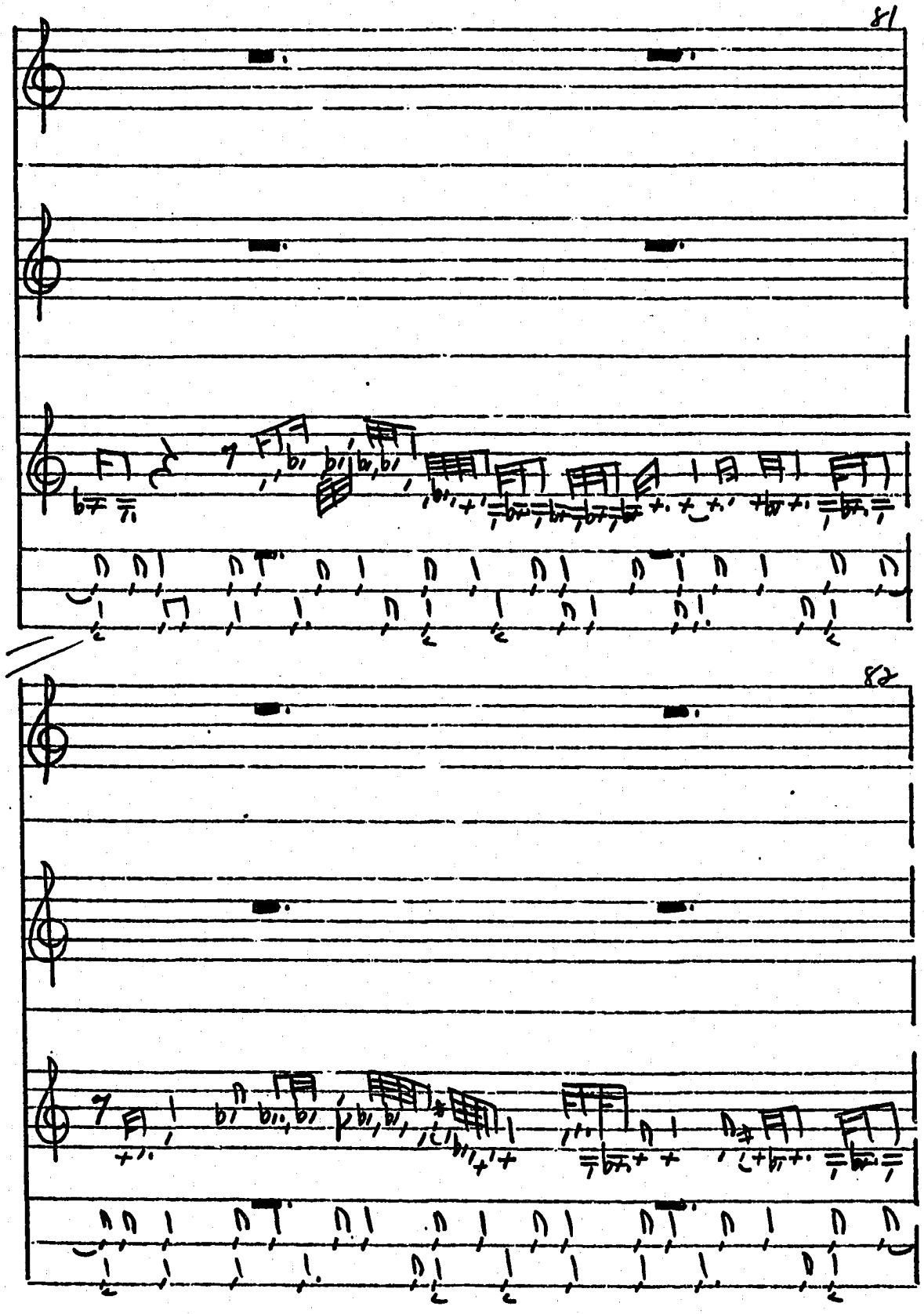
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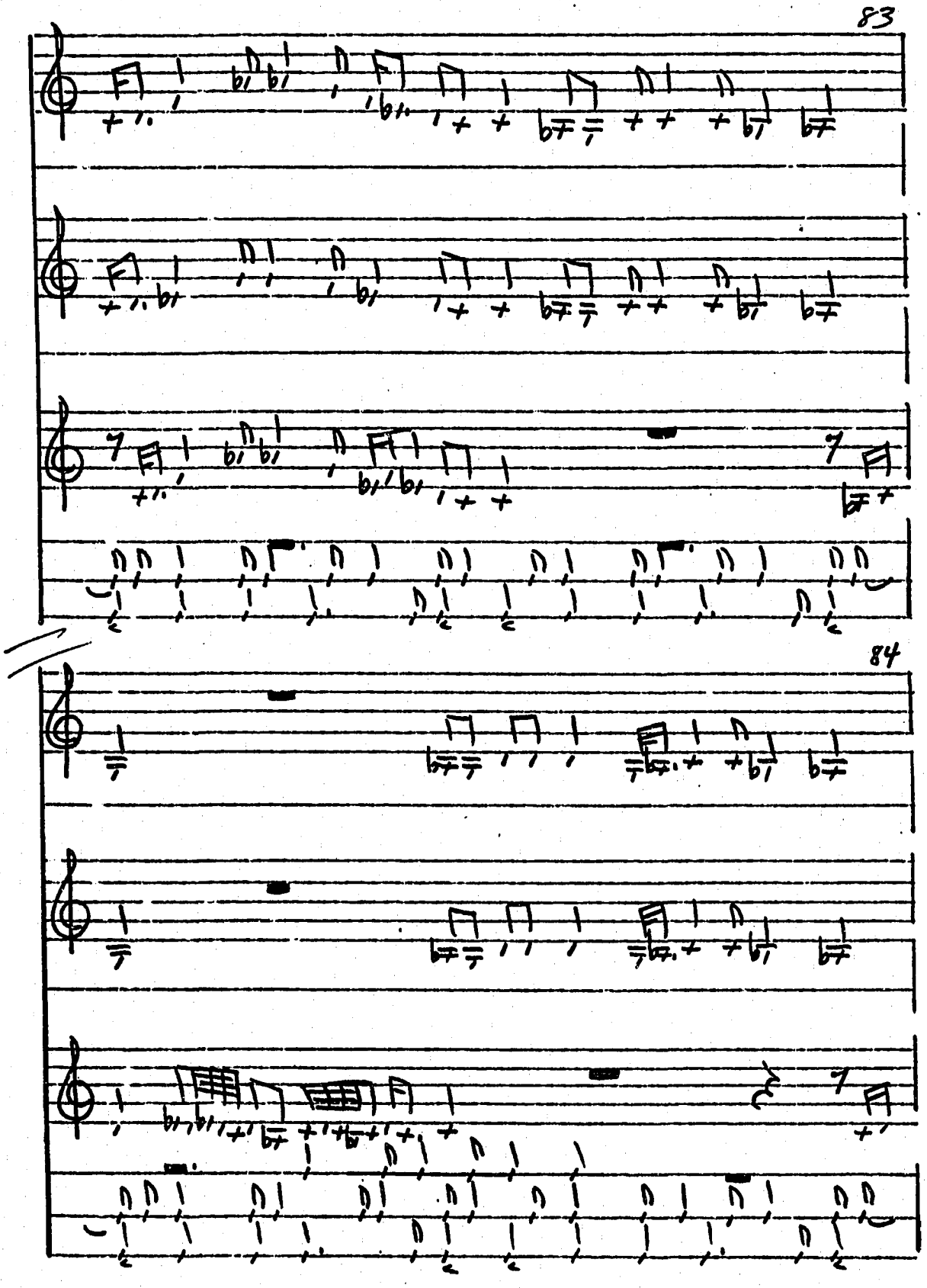


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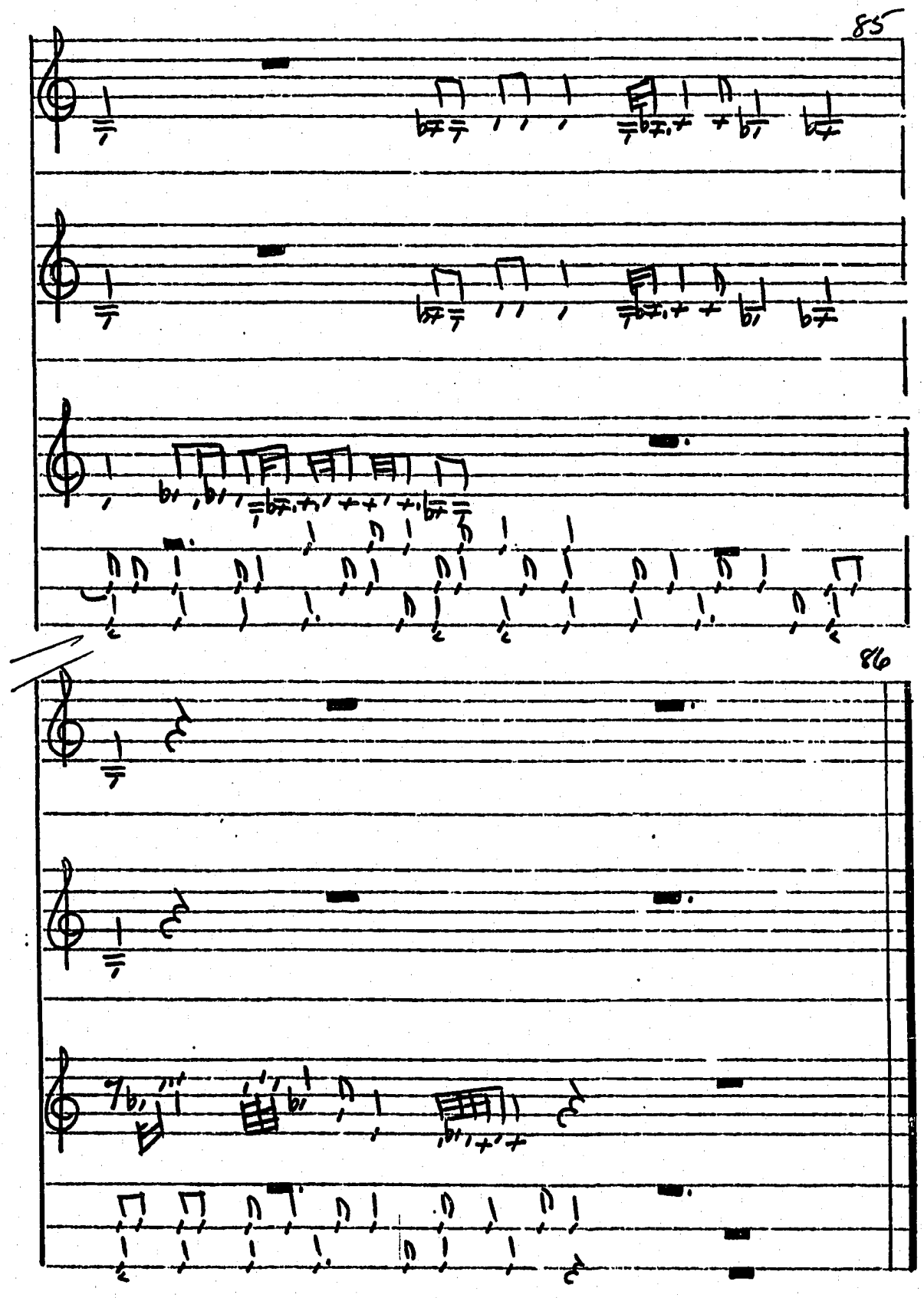


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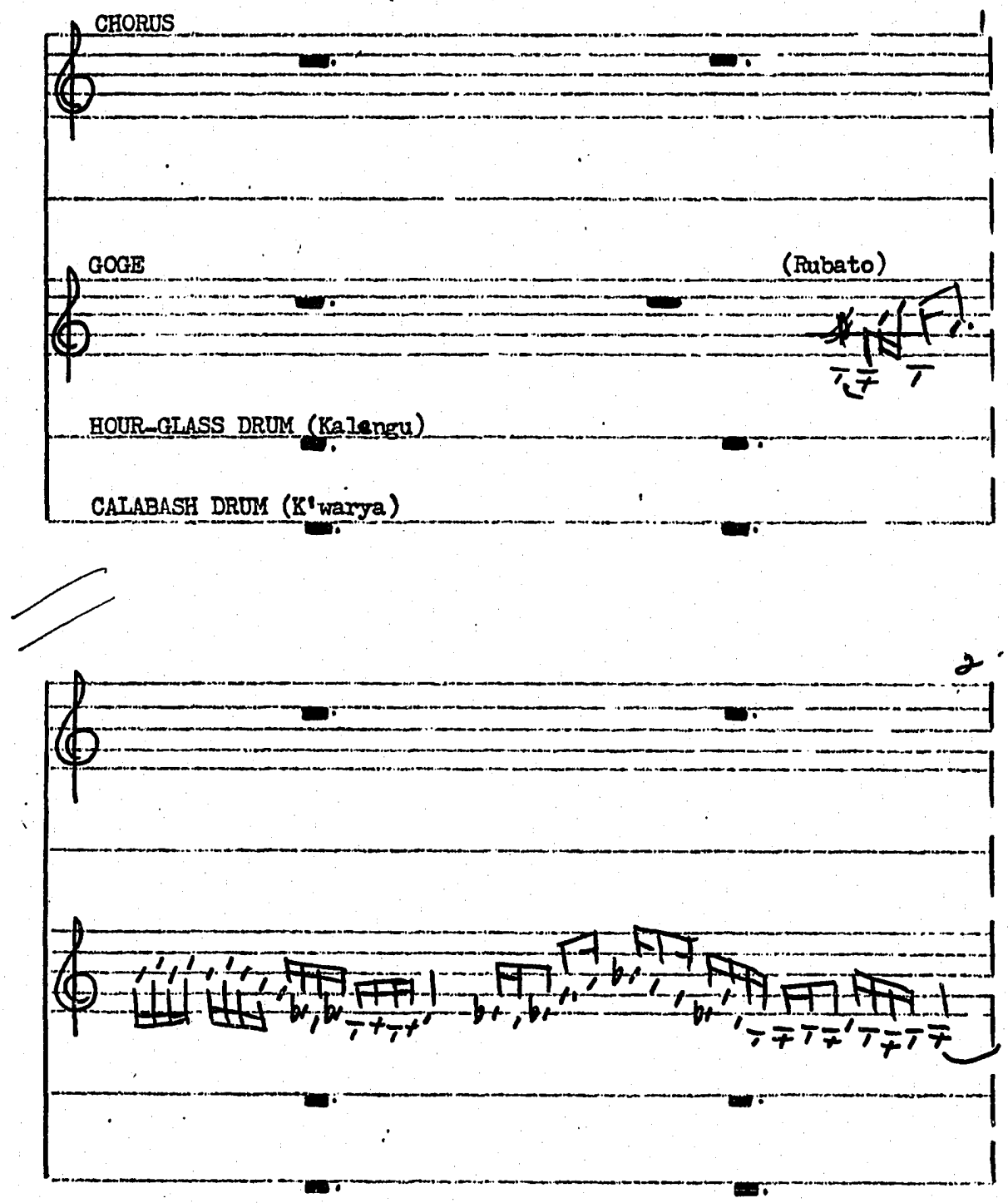


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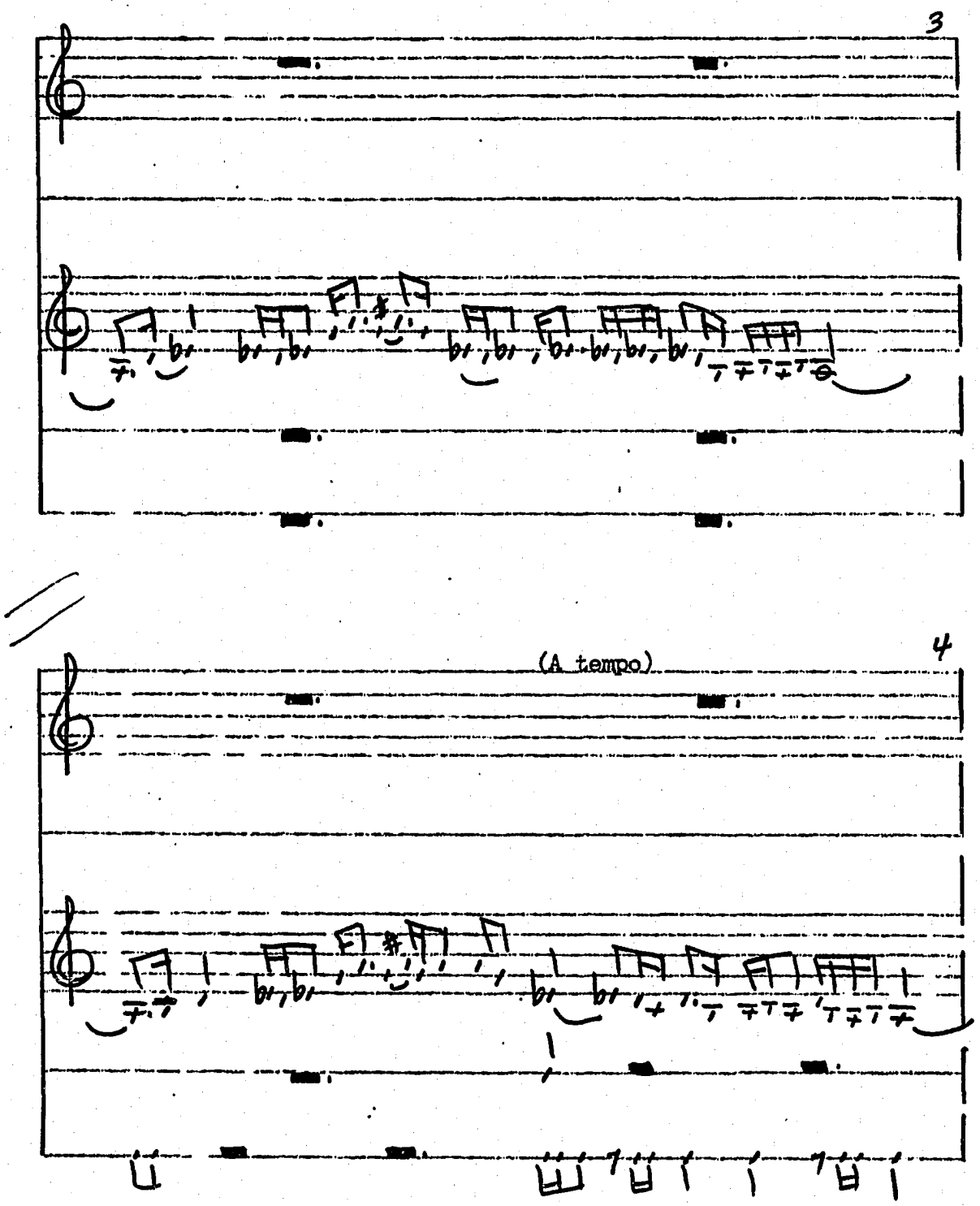


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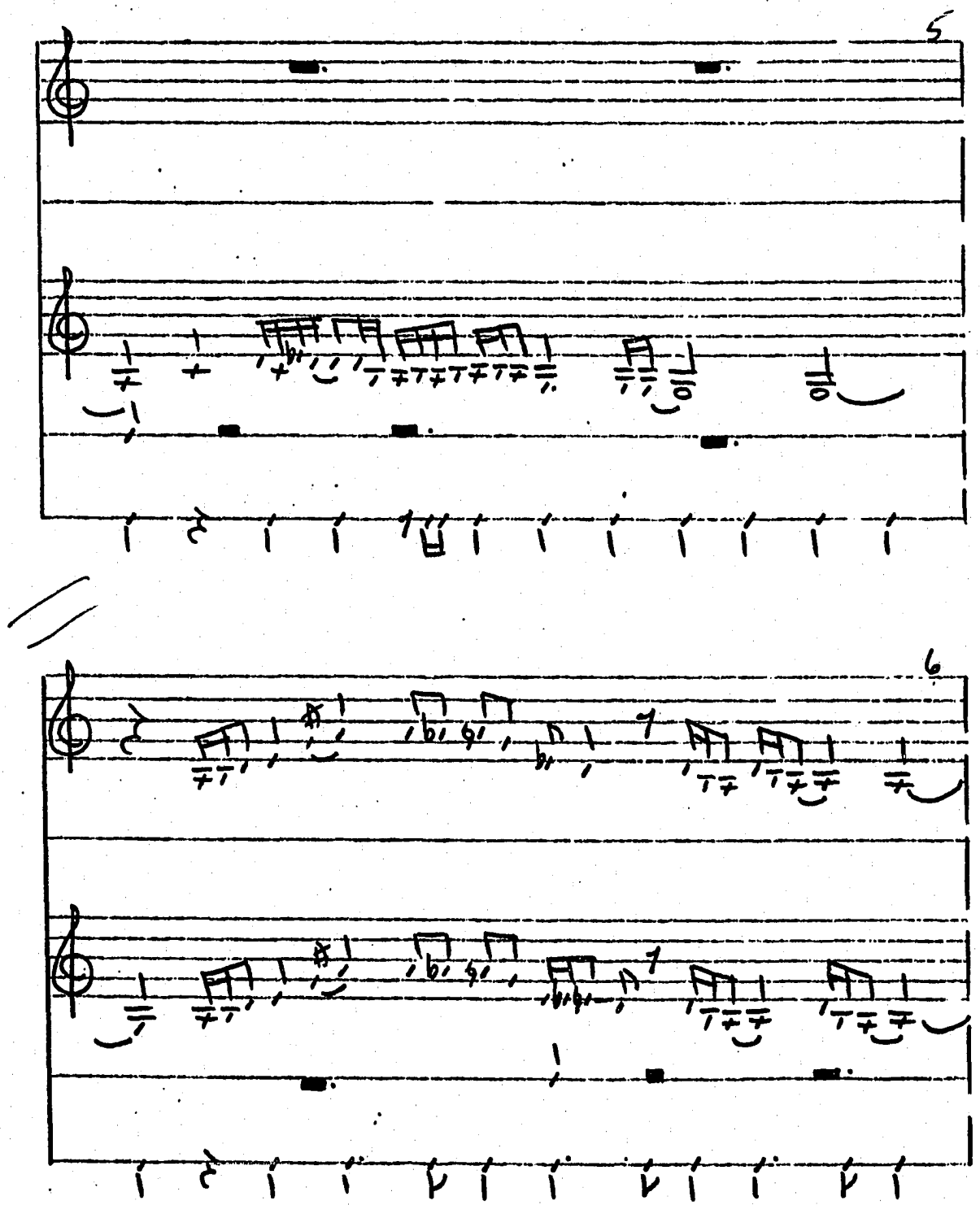
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(H12:4d:72 ♩.)
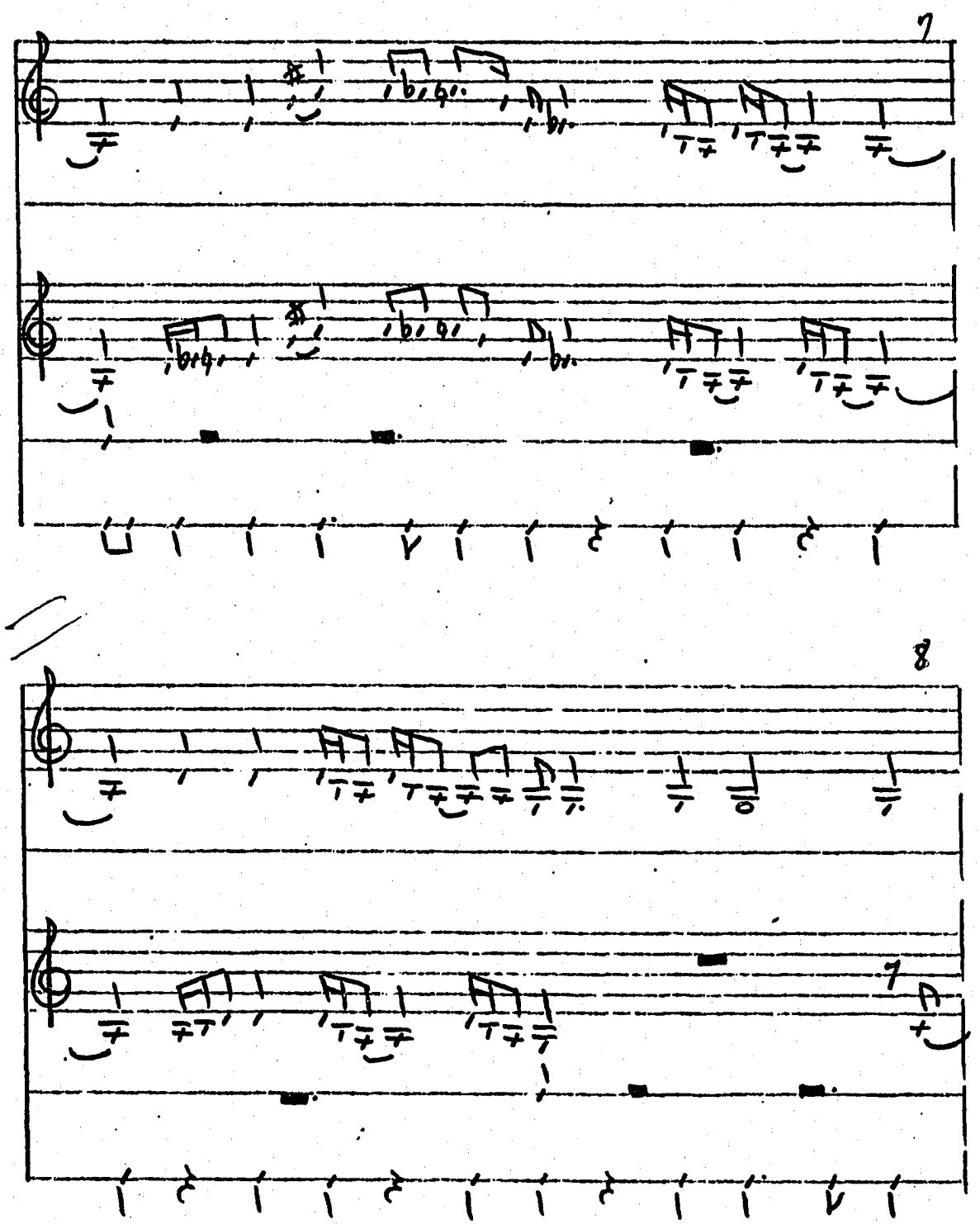


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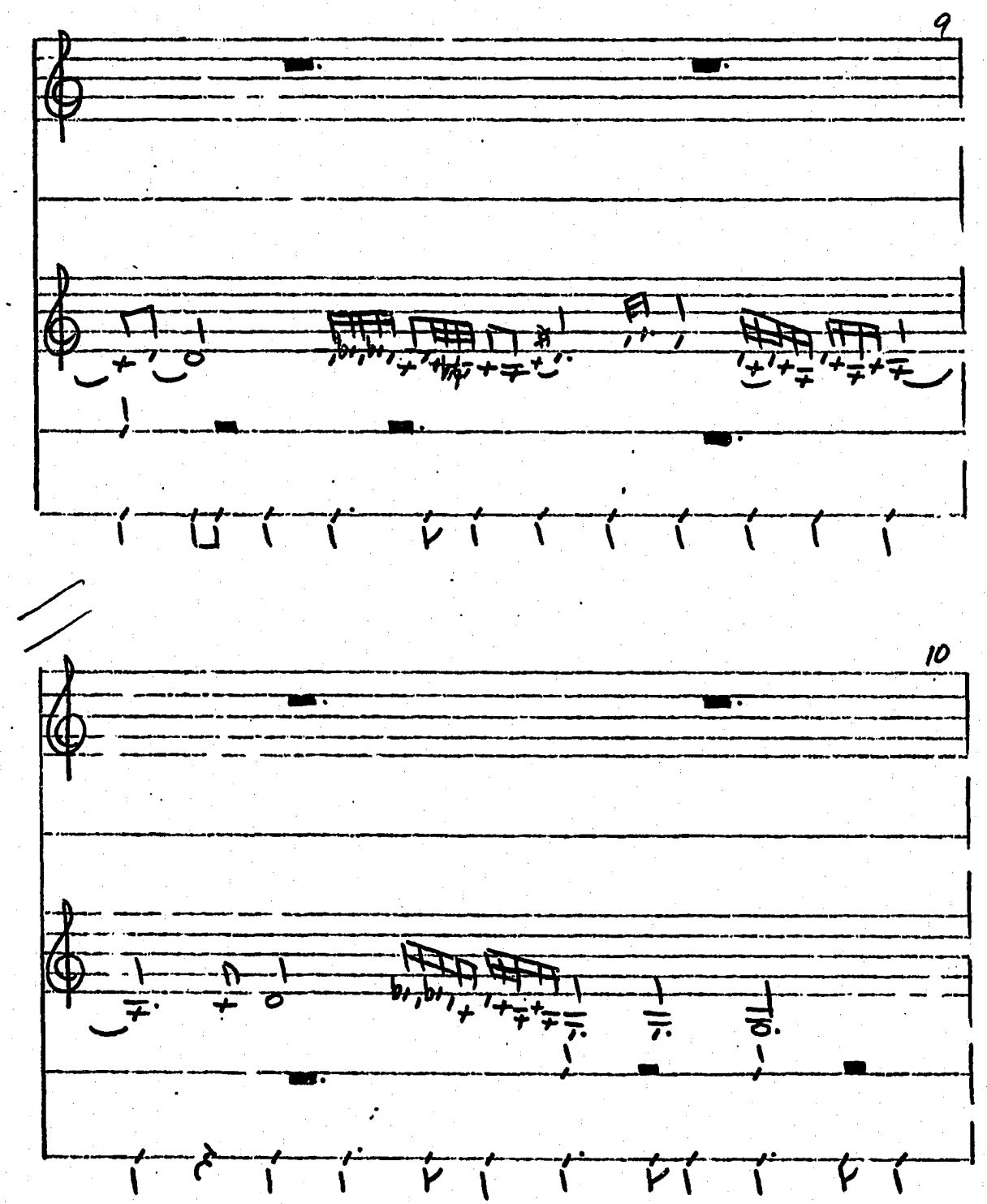
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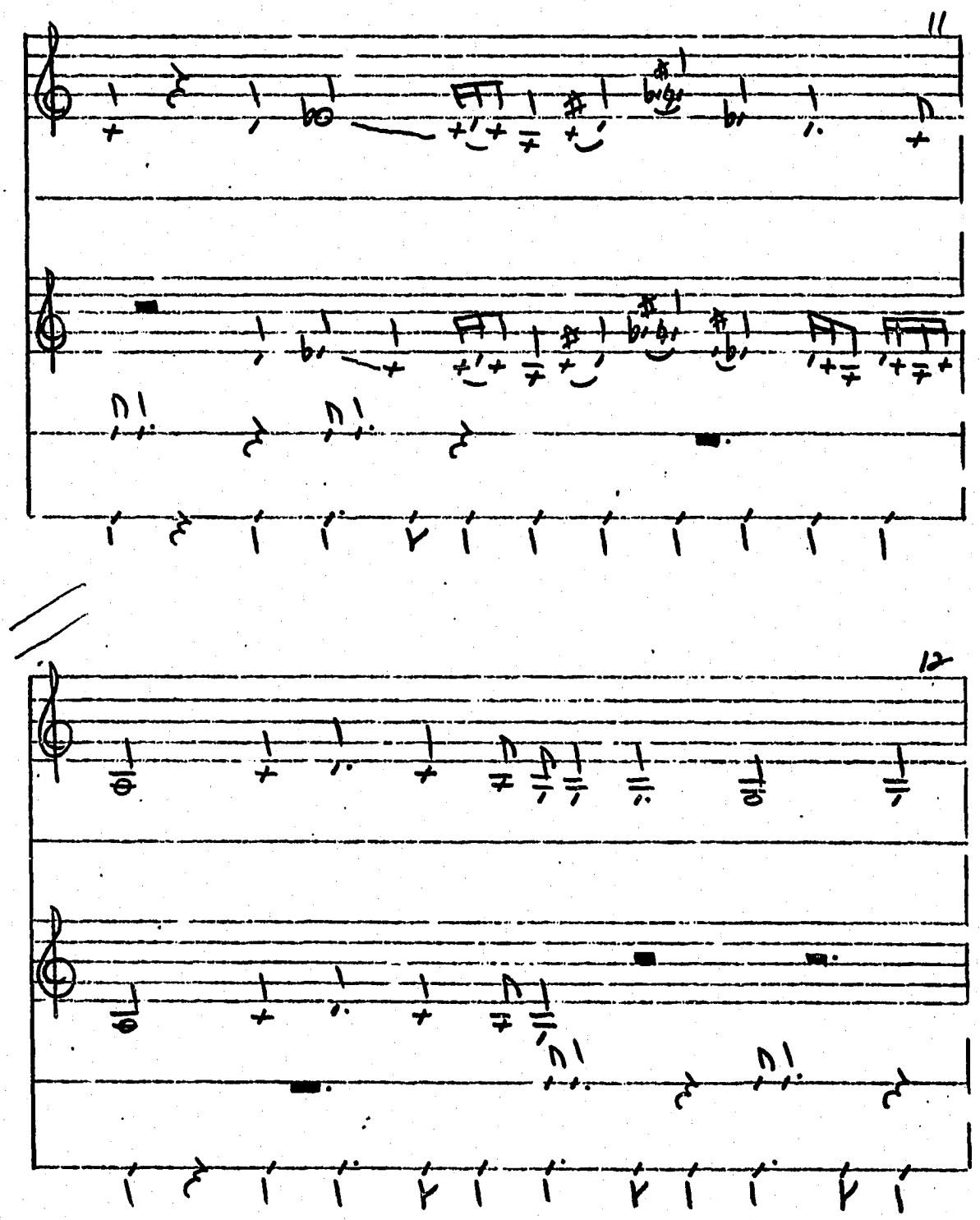


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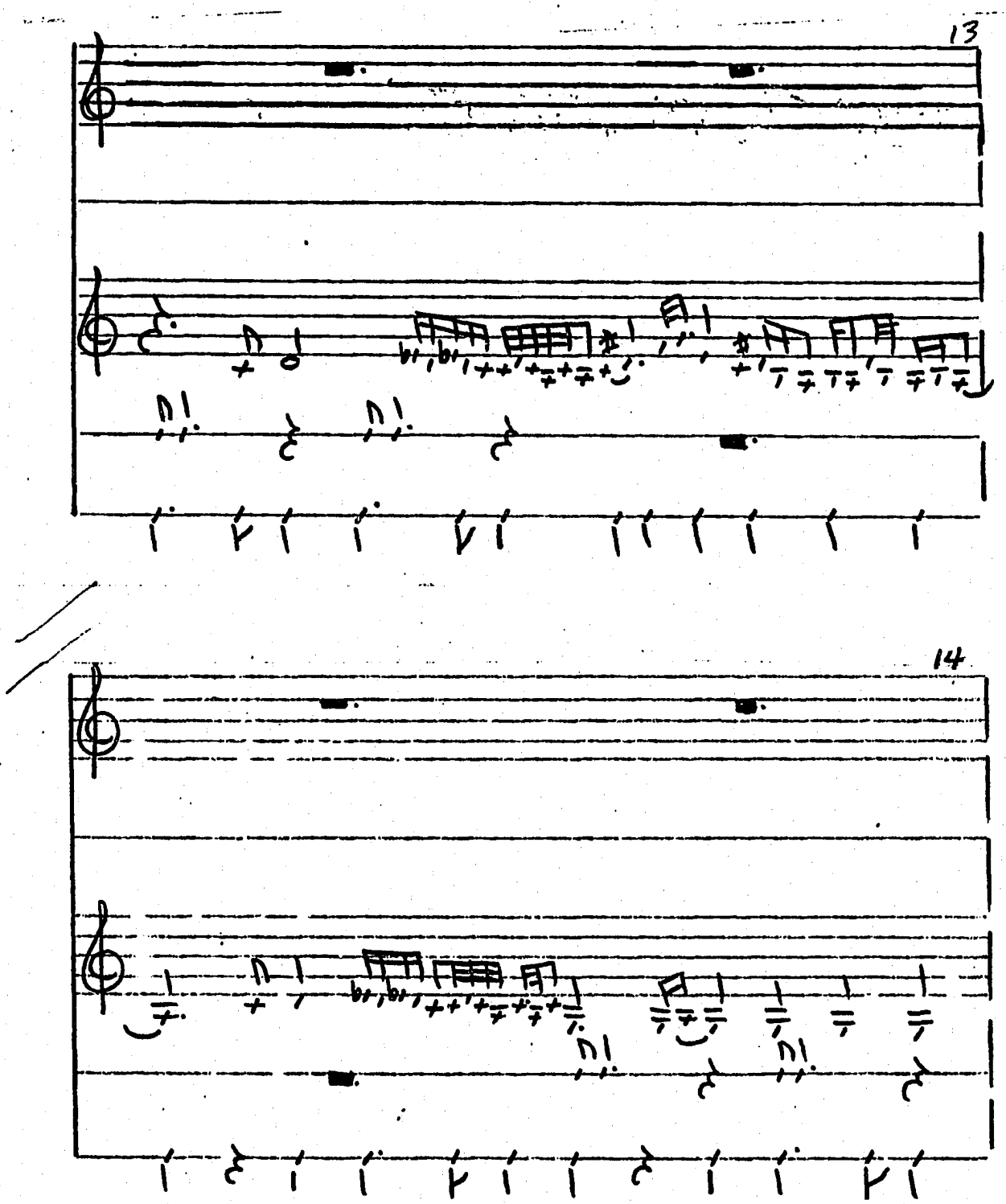
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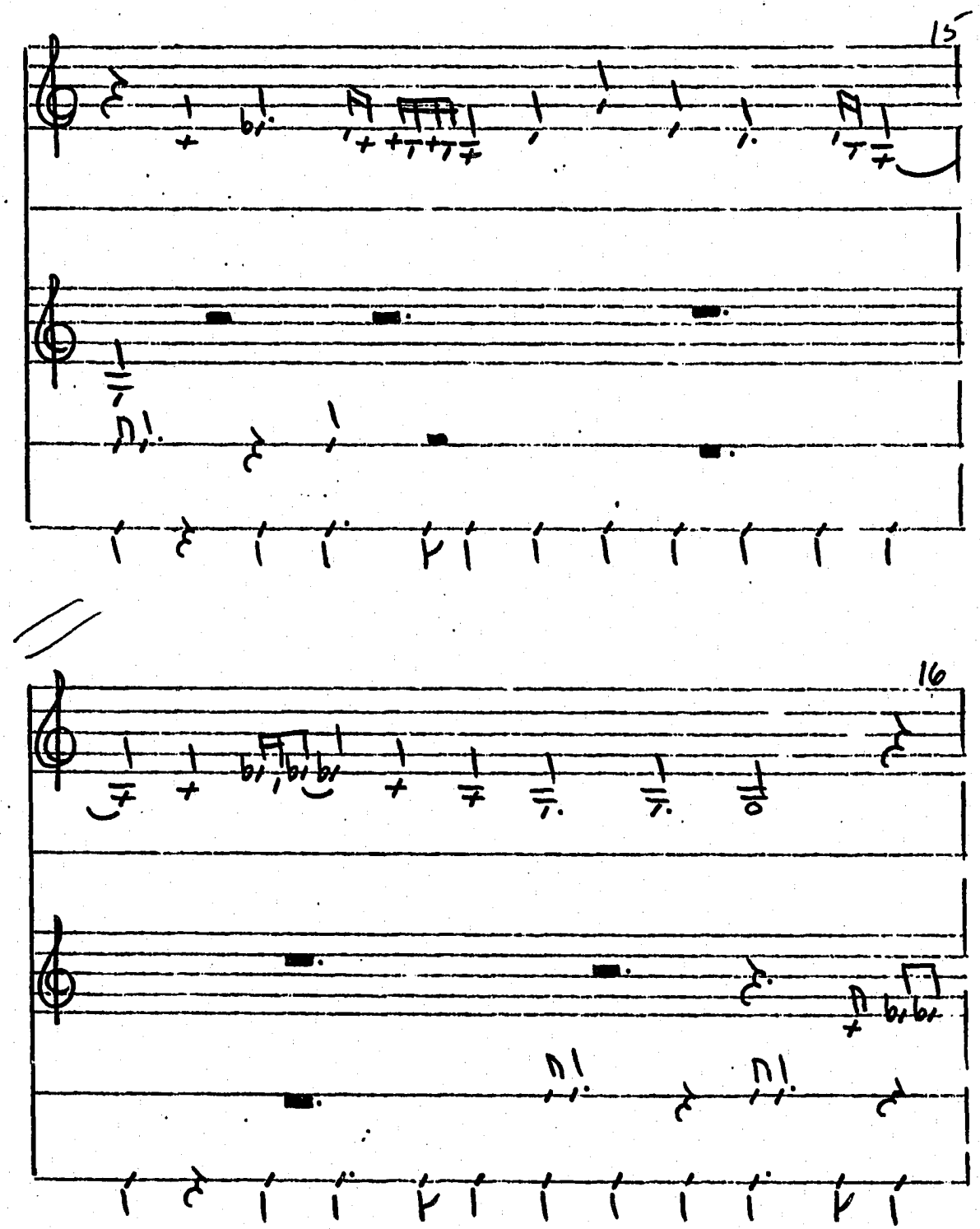
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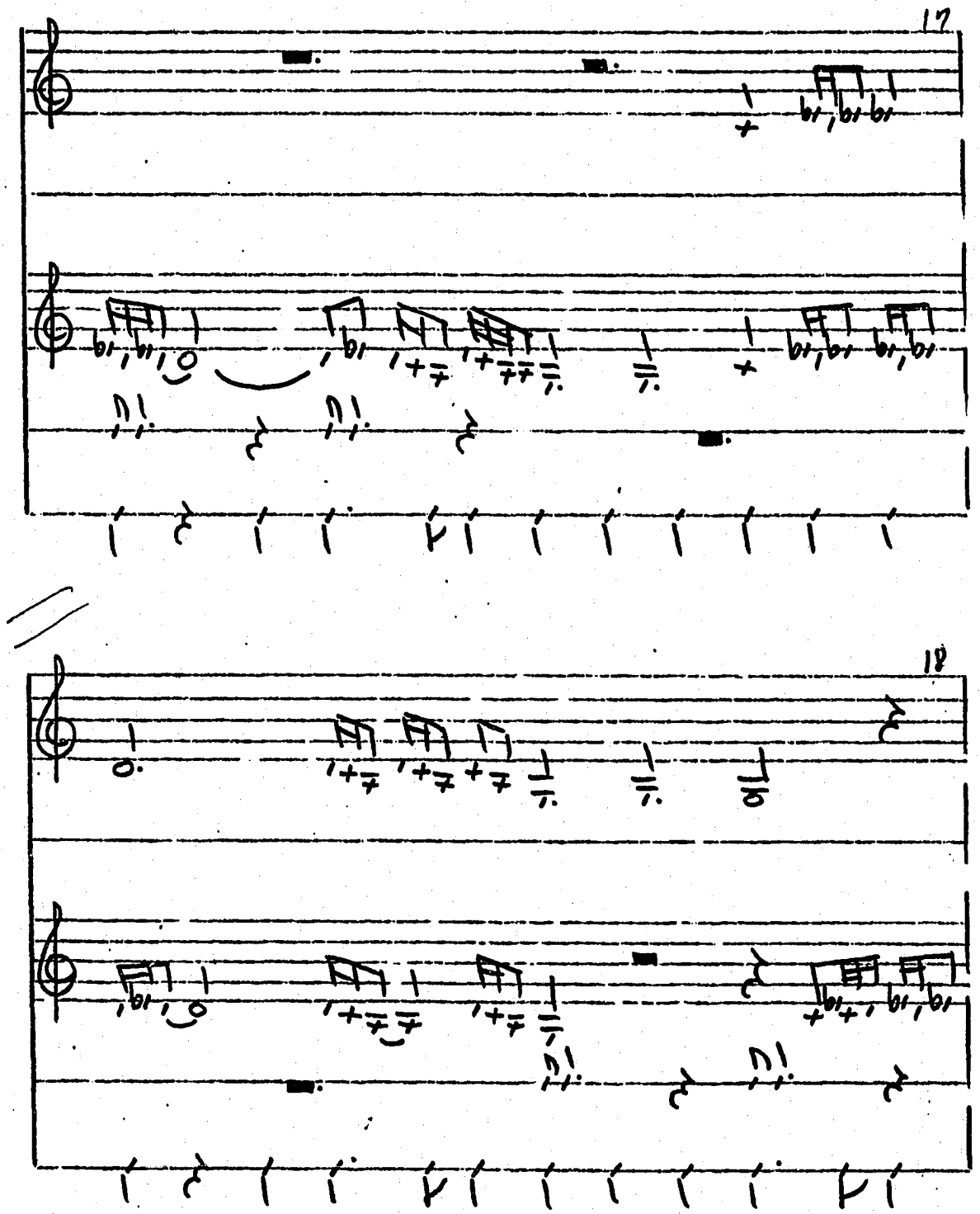


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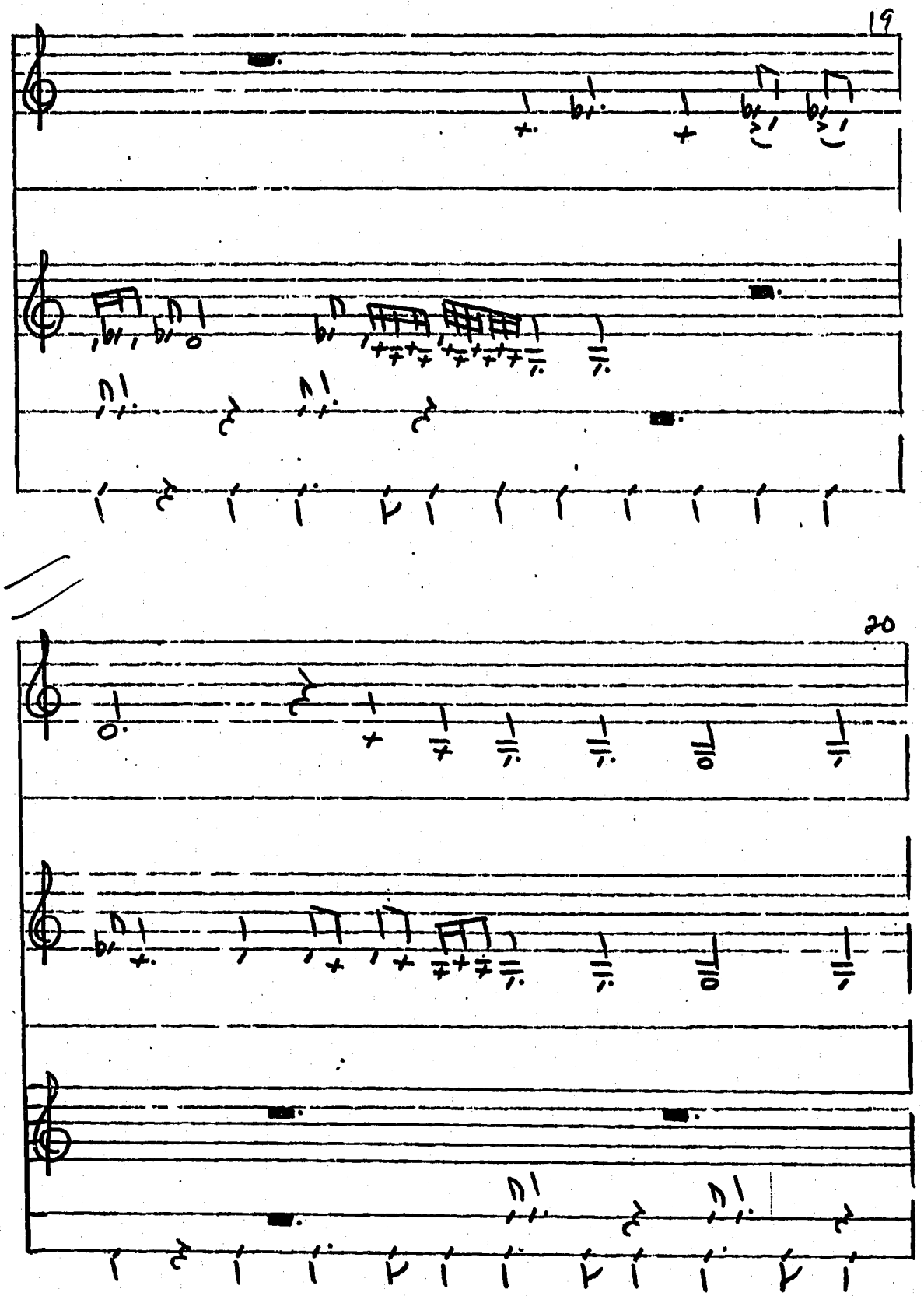
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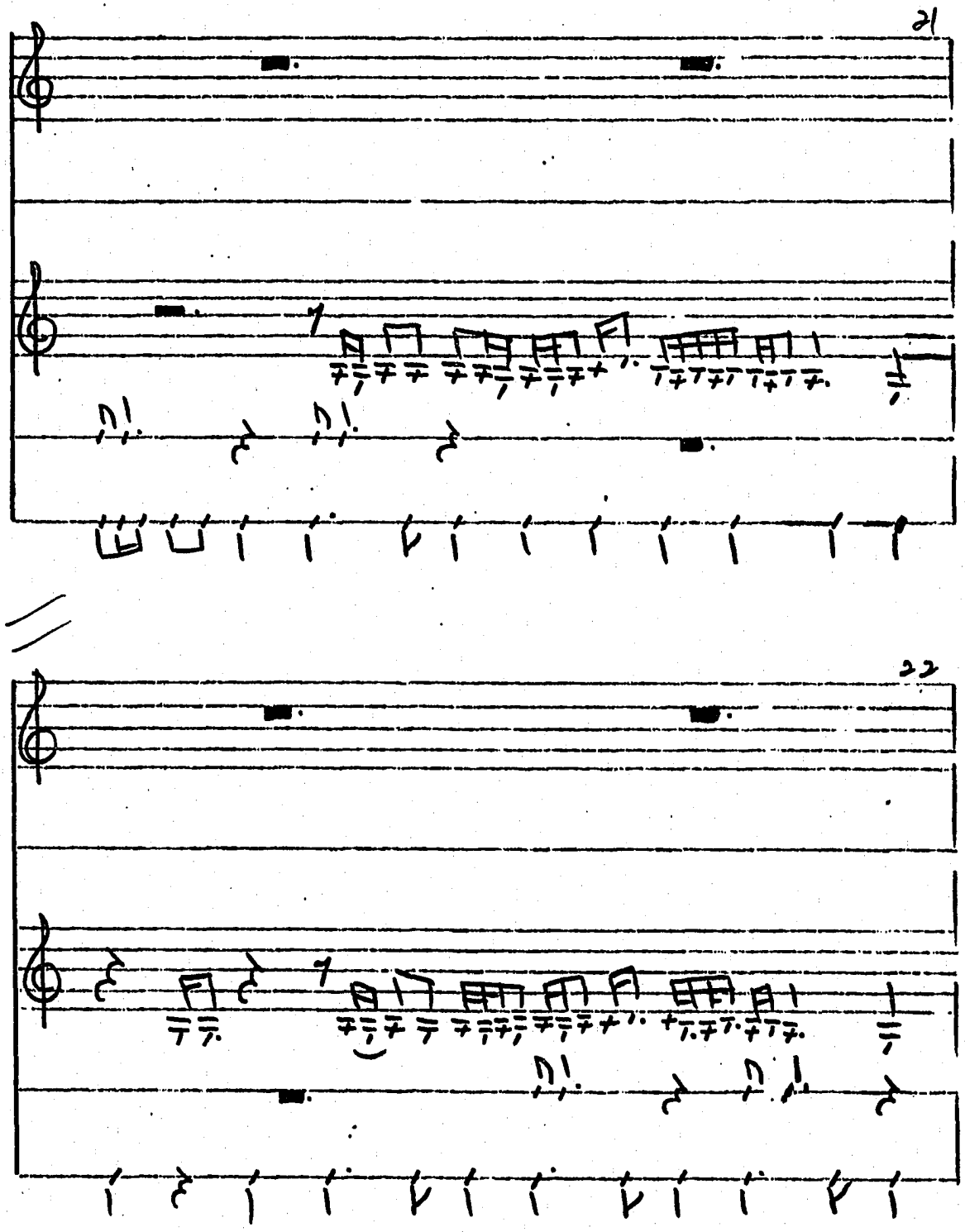
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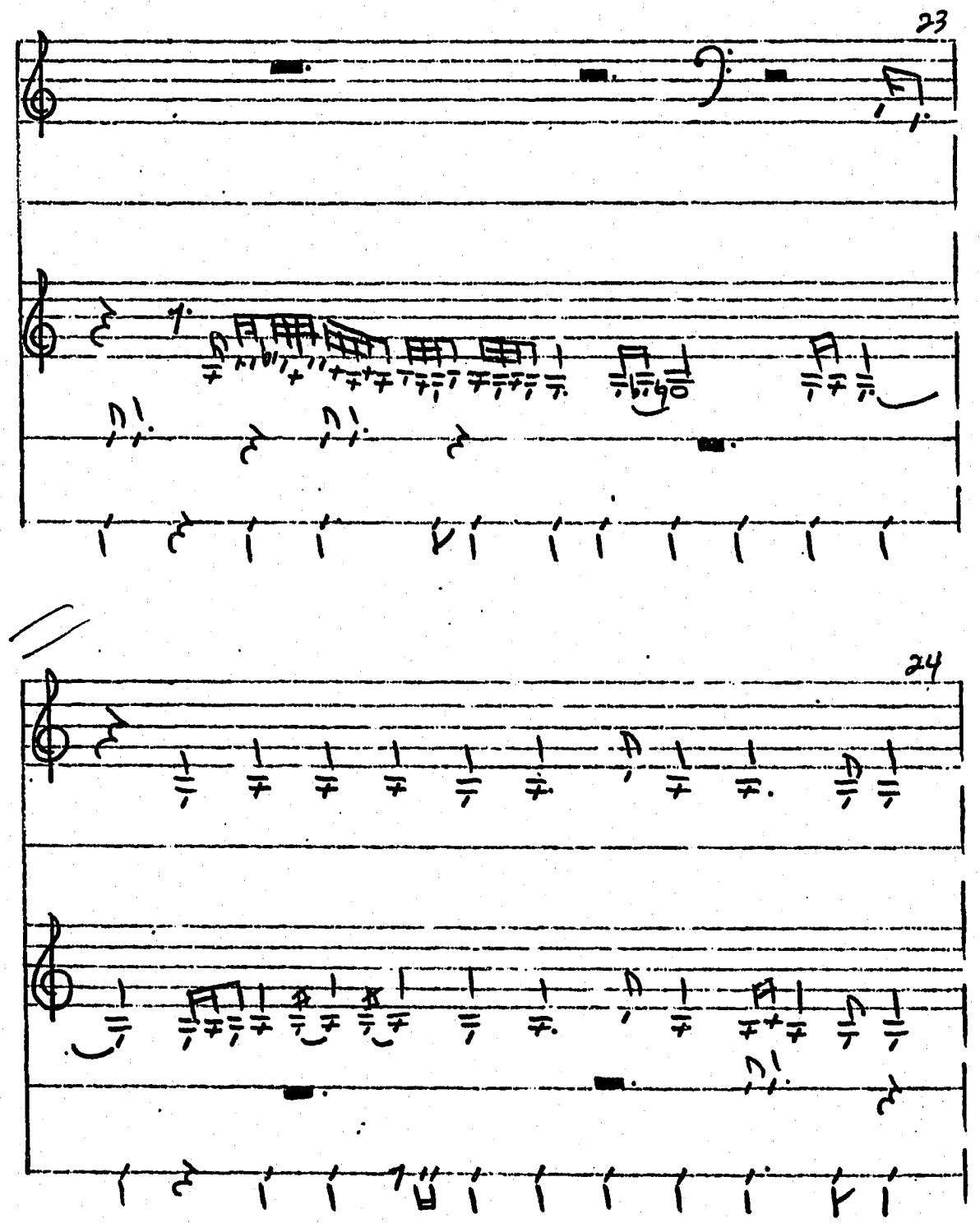
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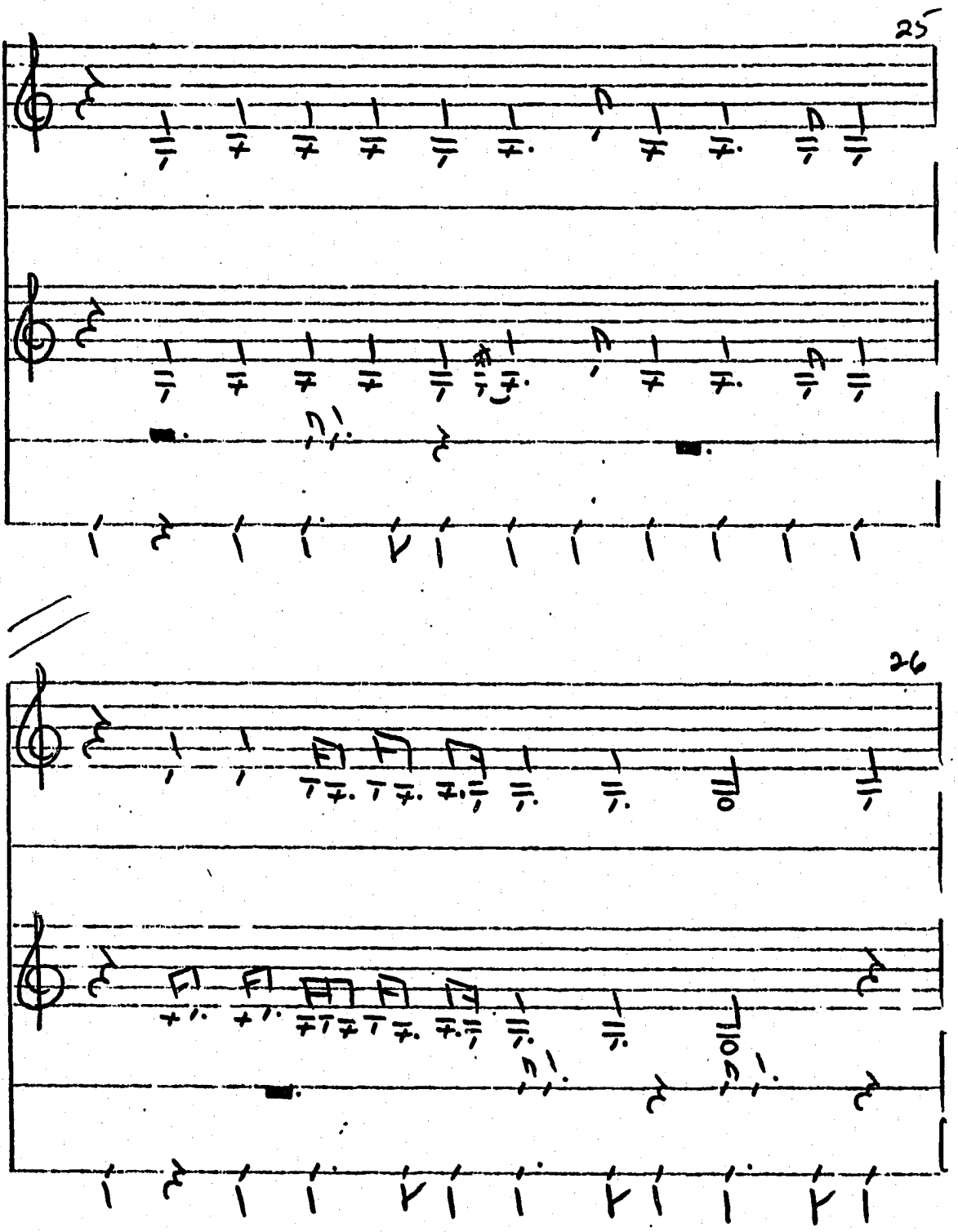
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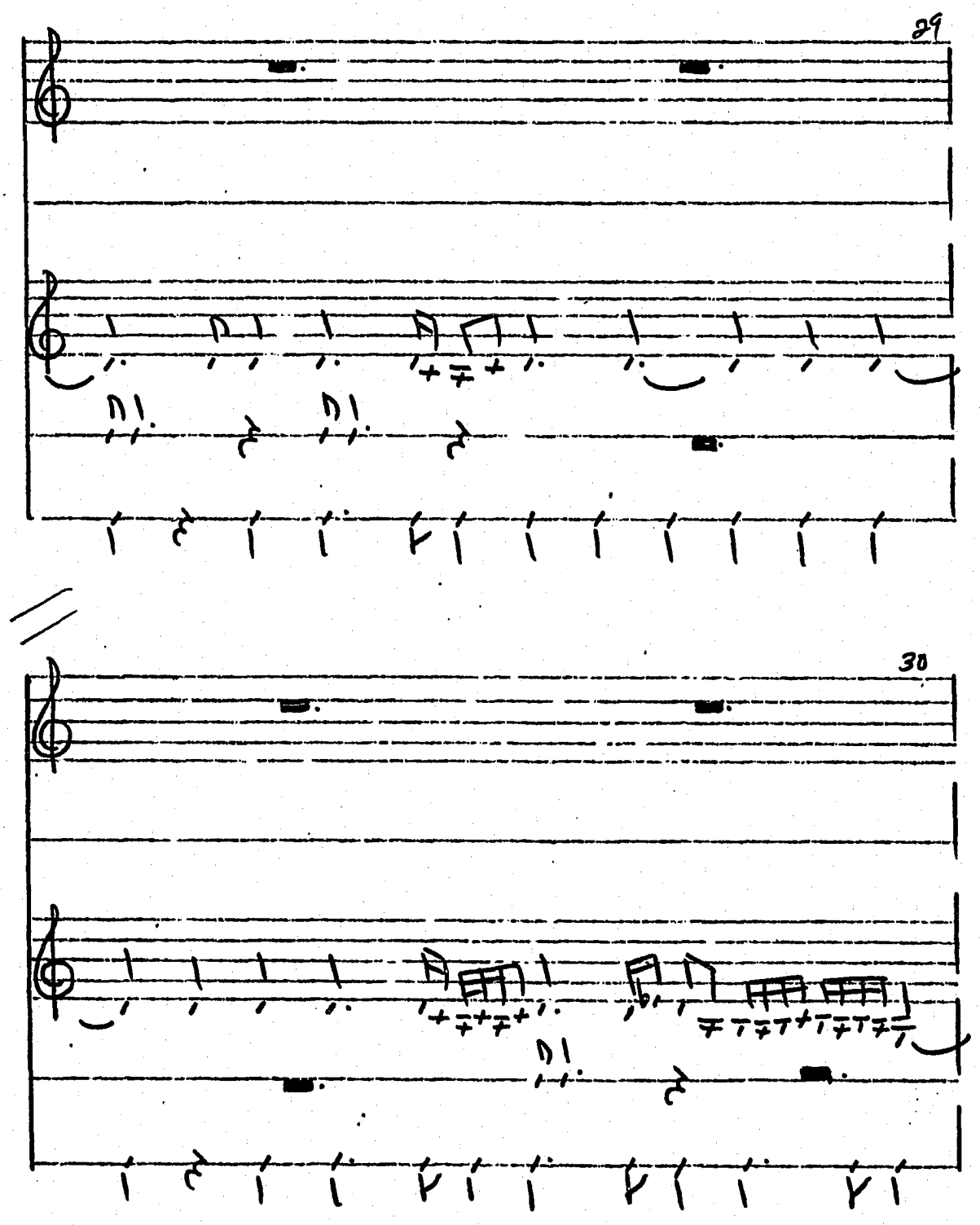


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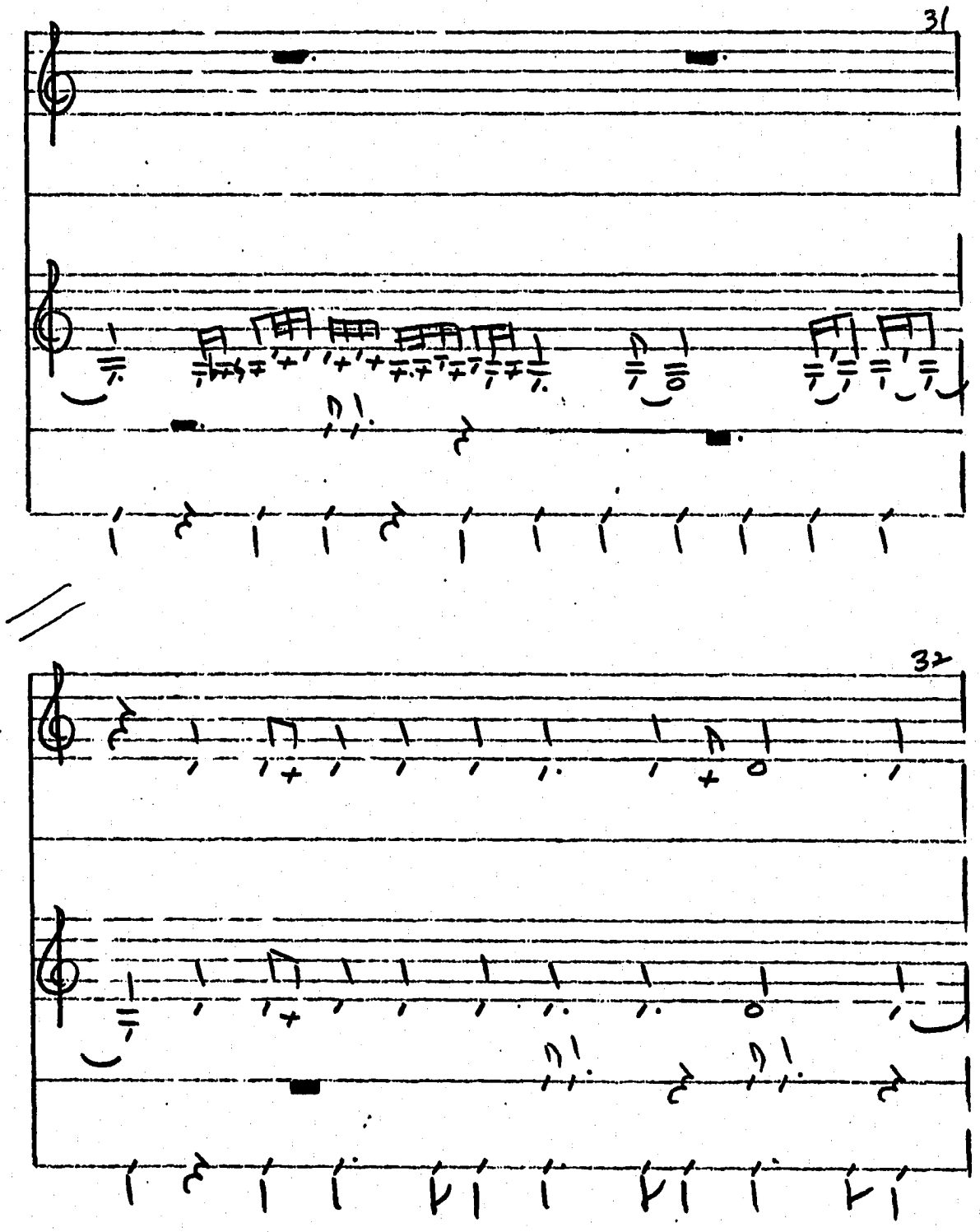


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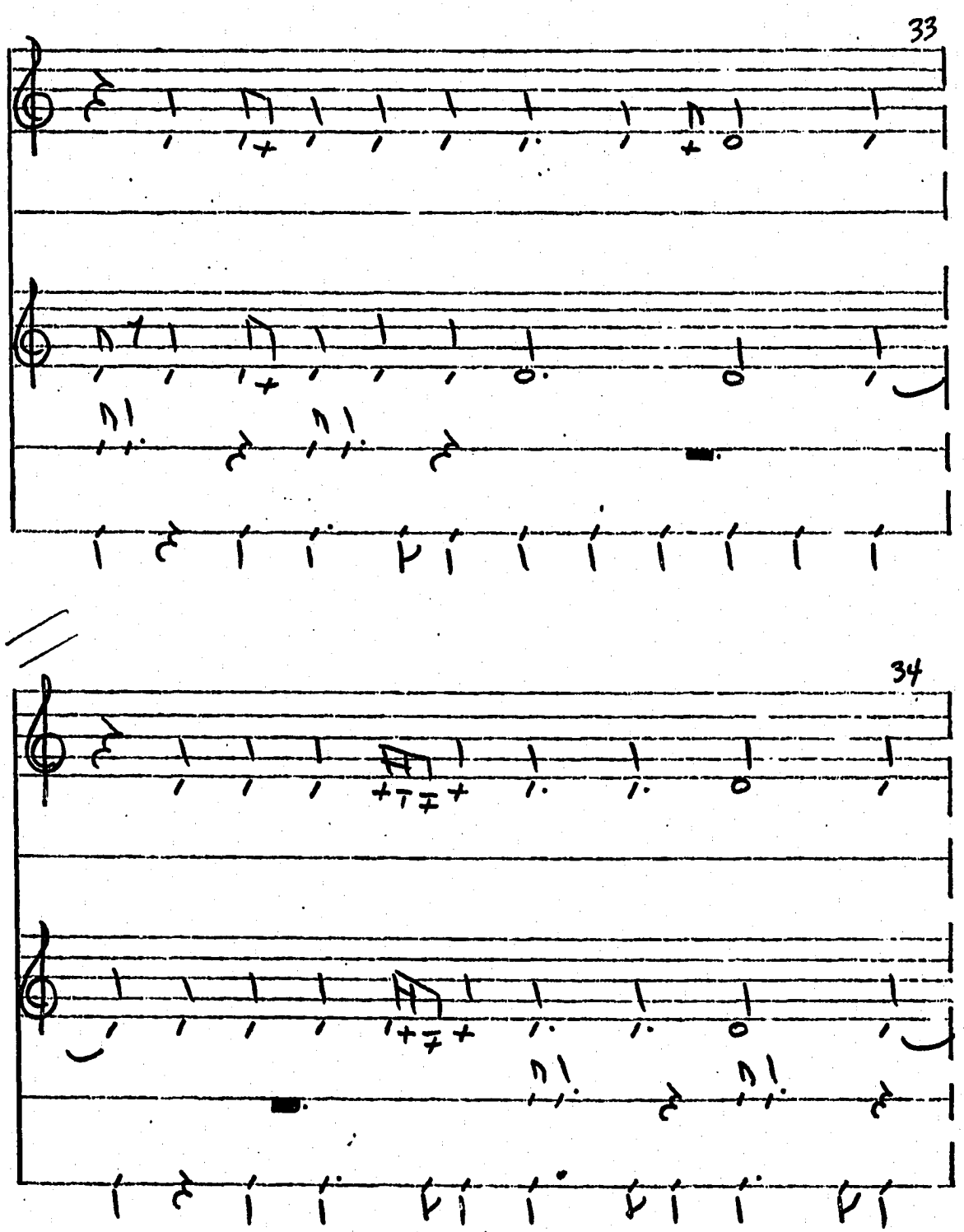
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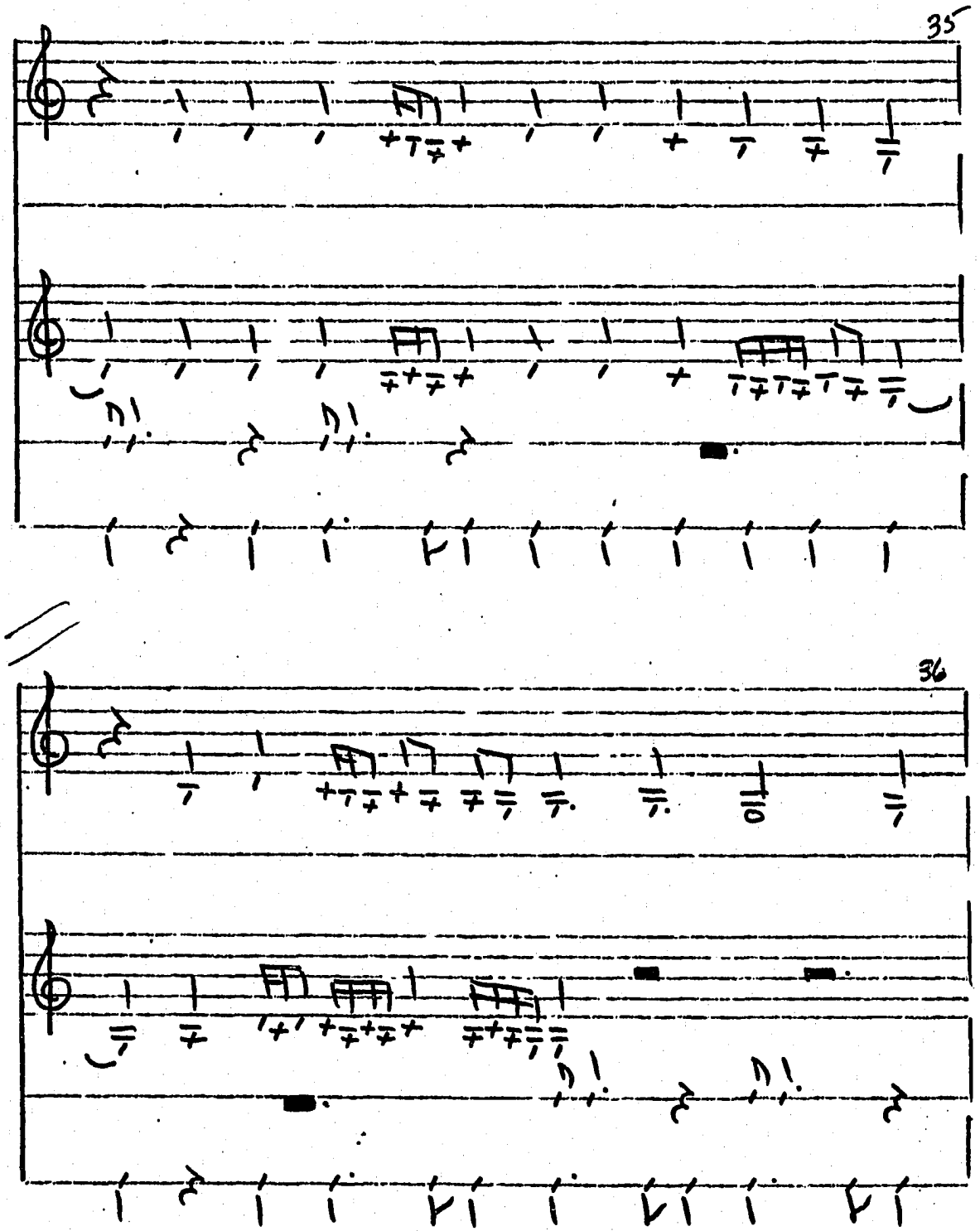
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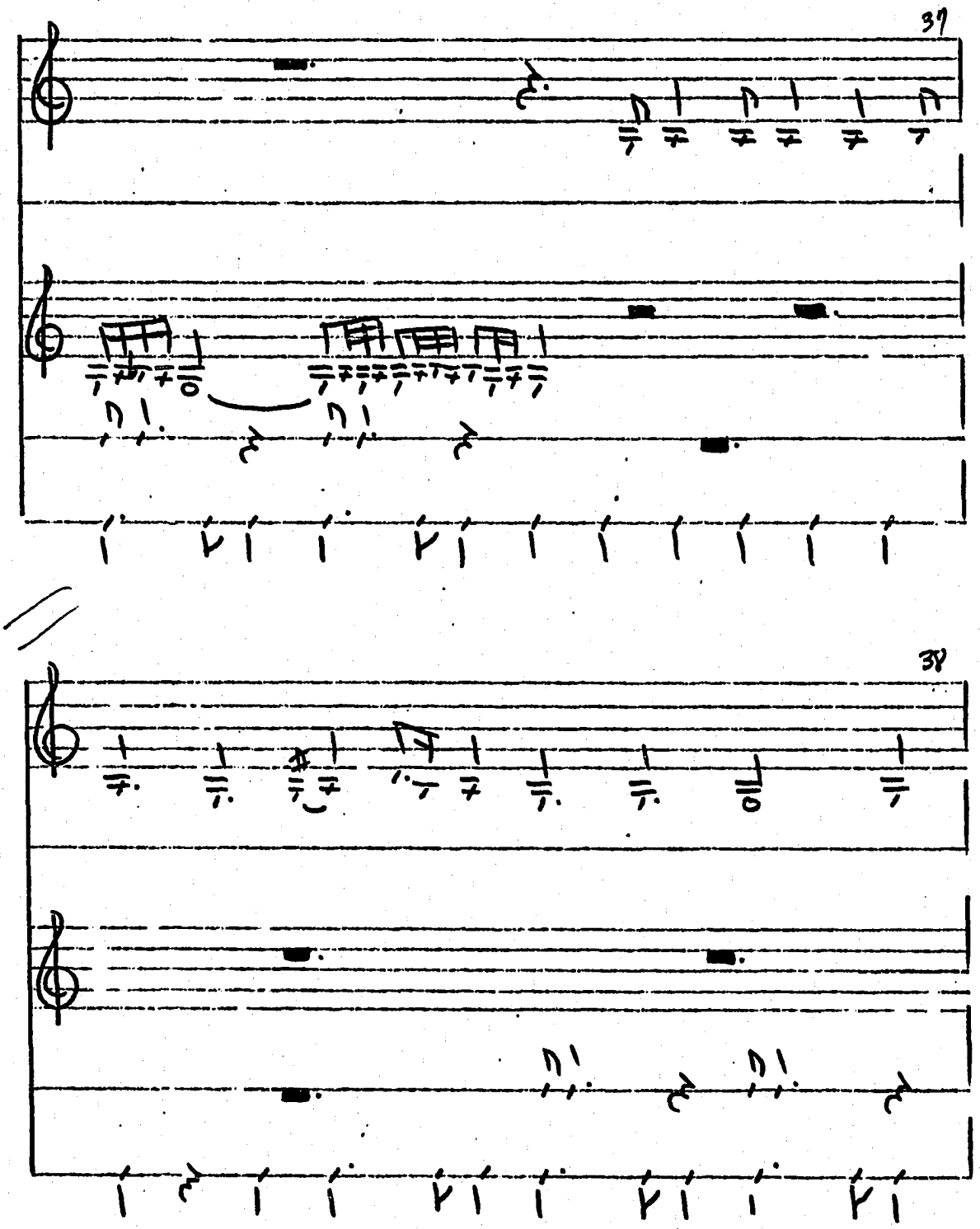
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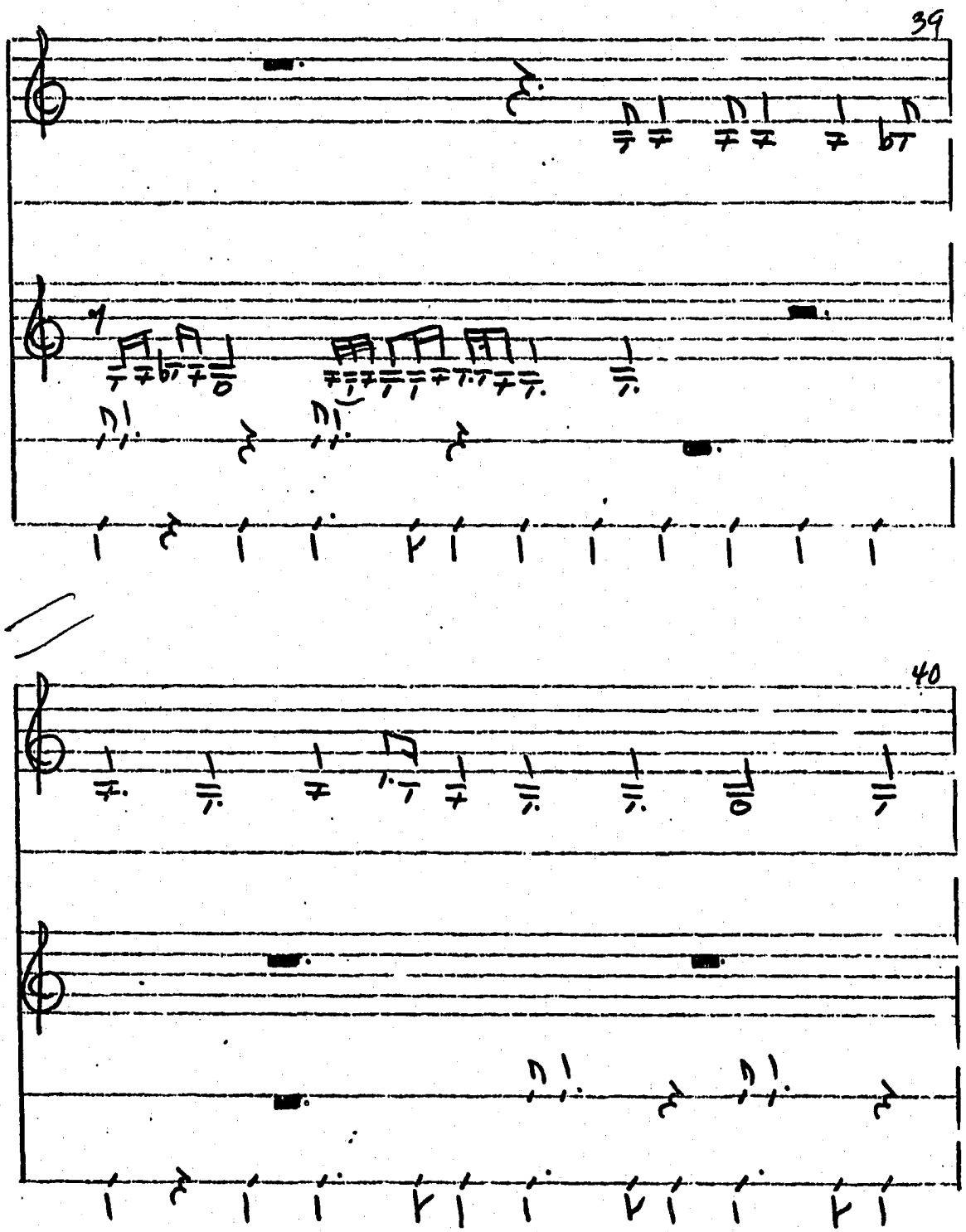
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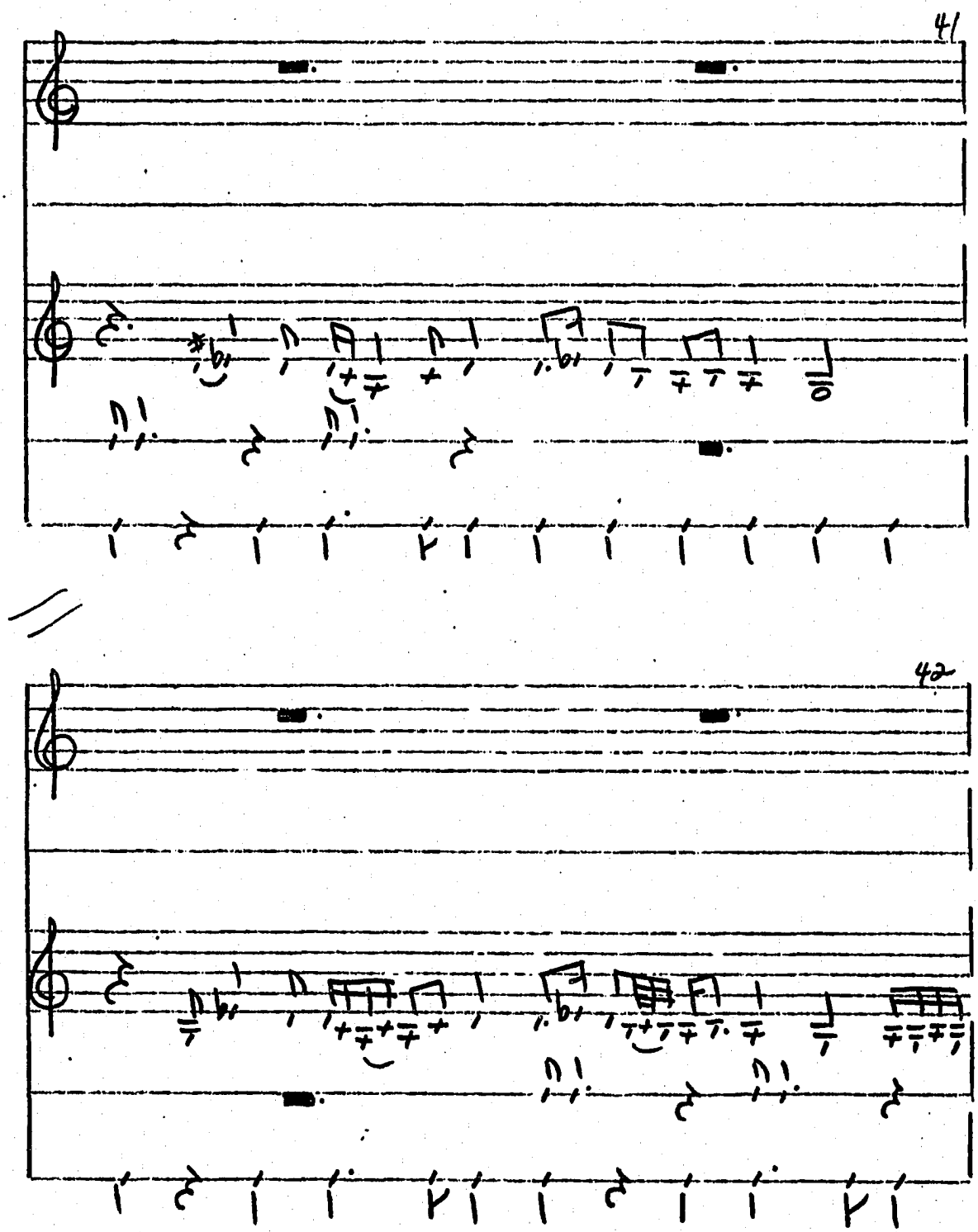


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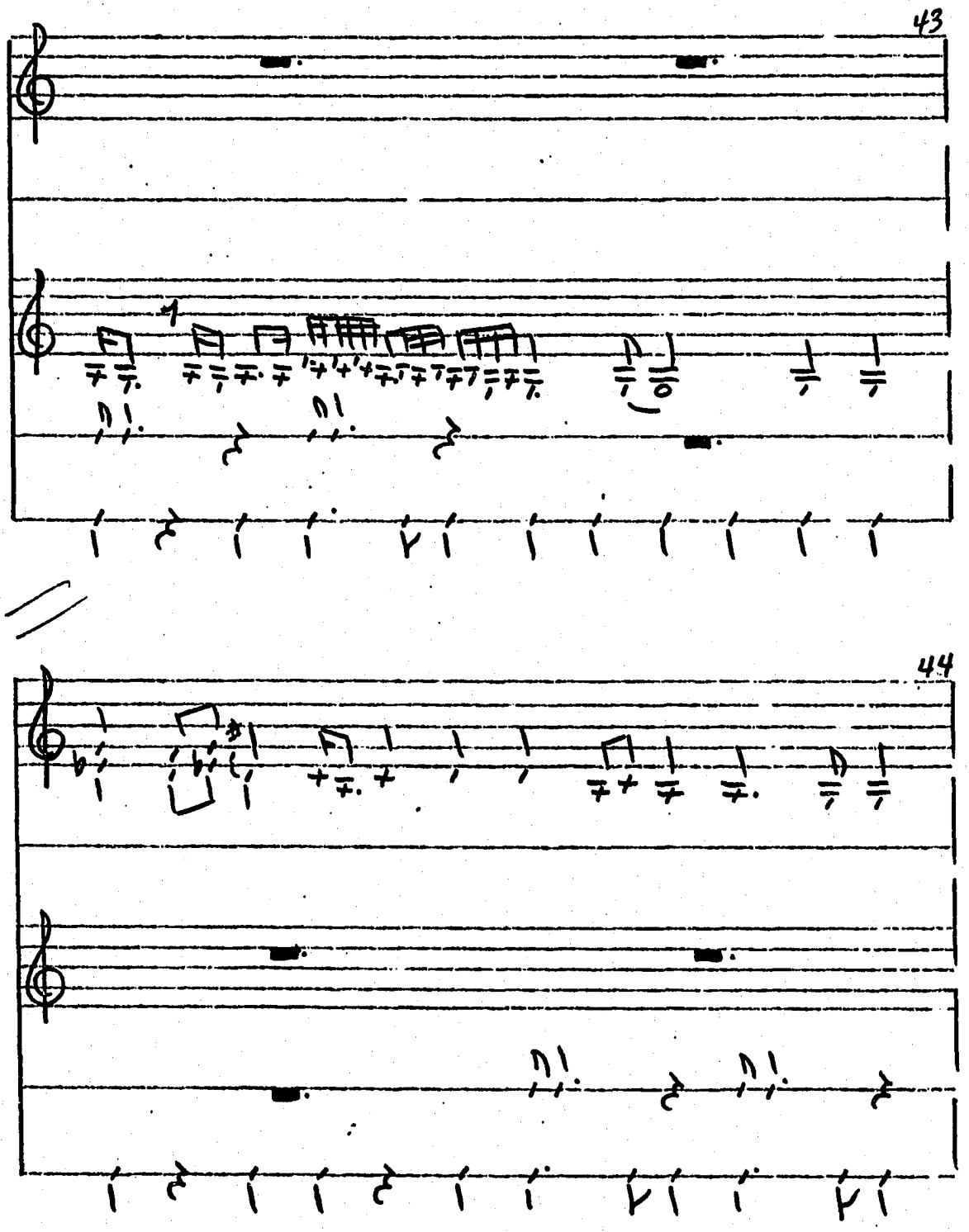


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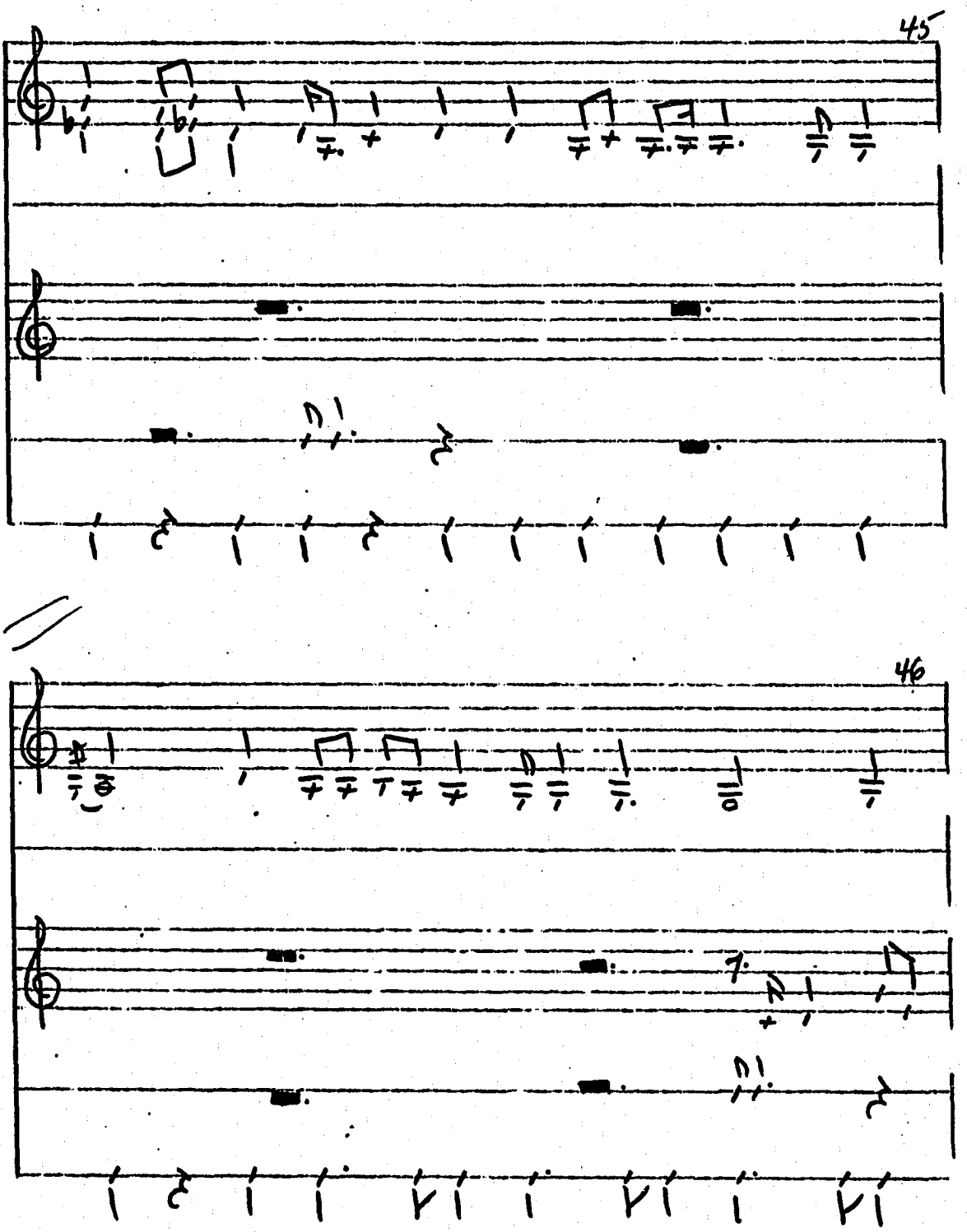
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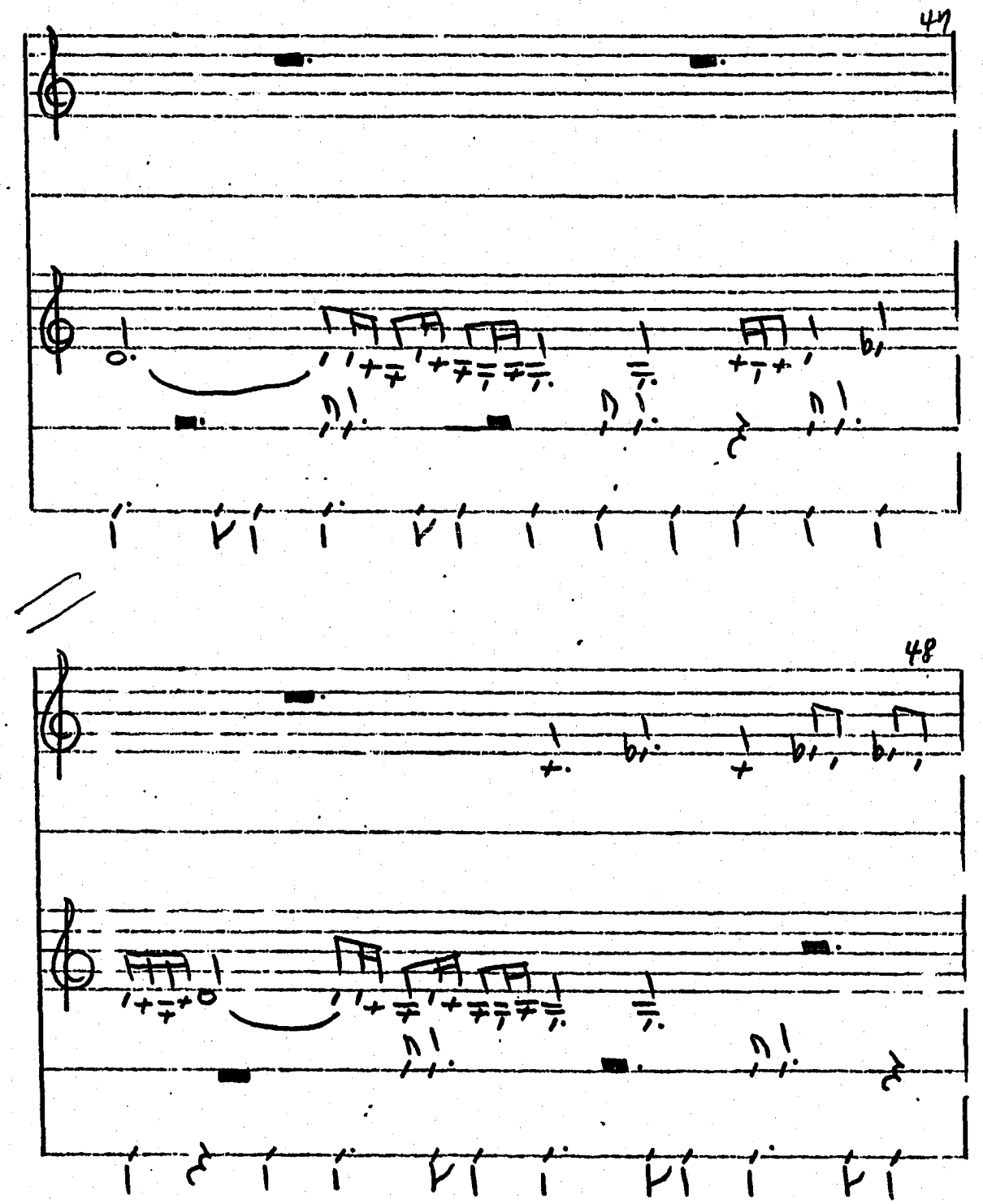
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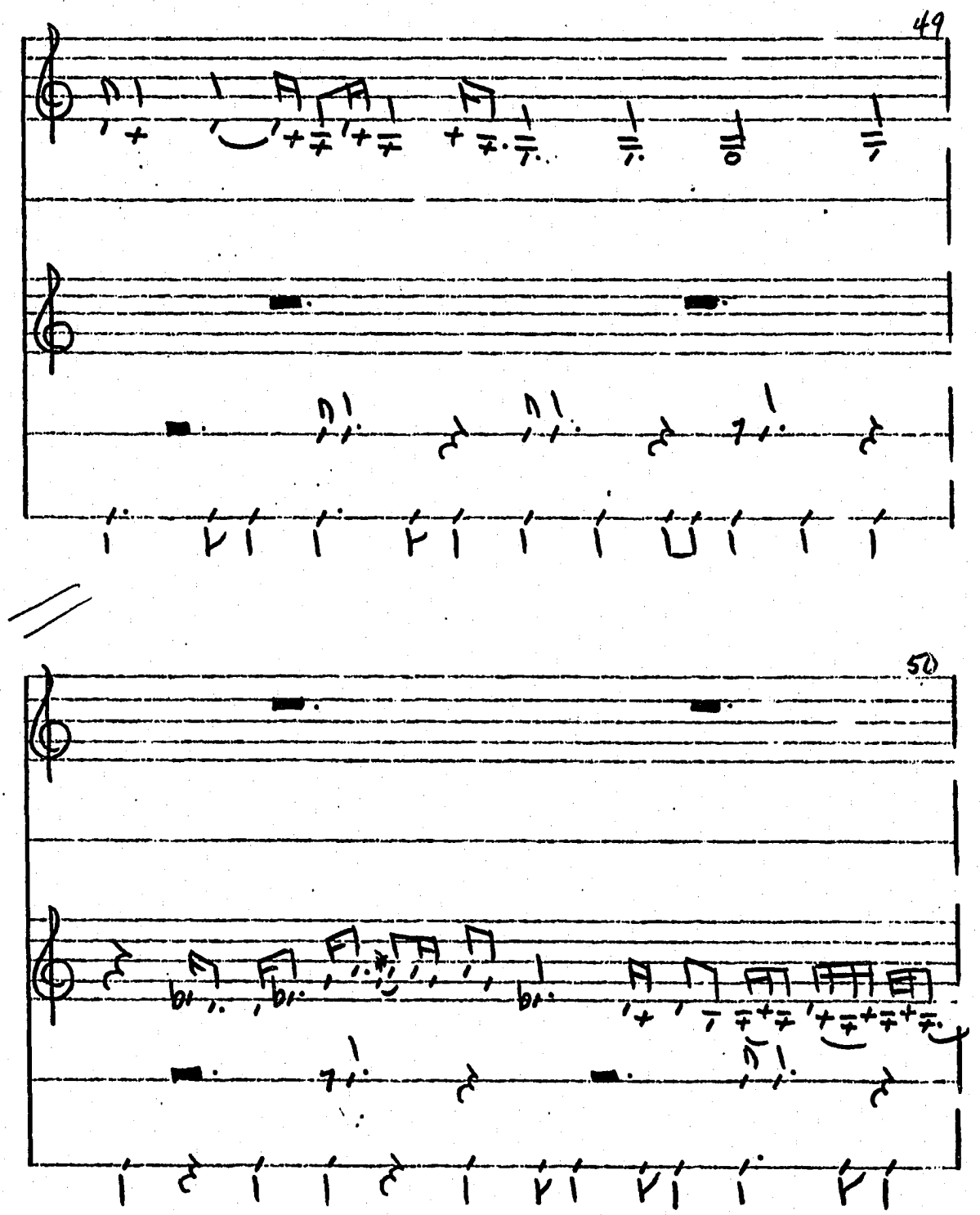
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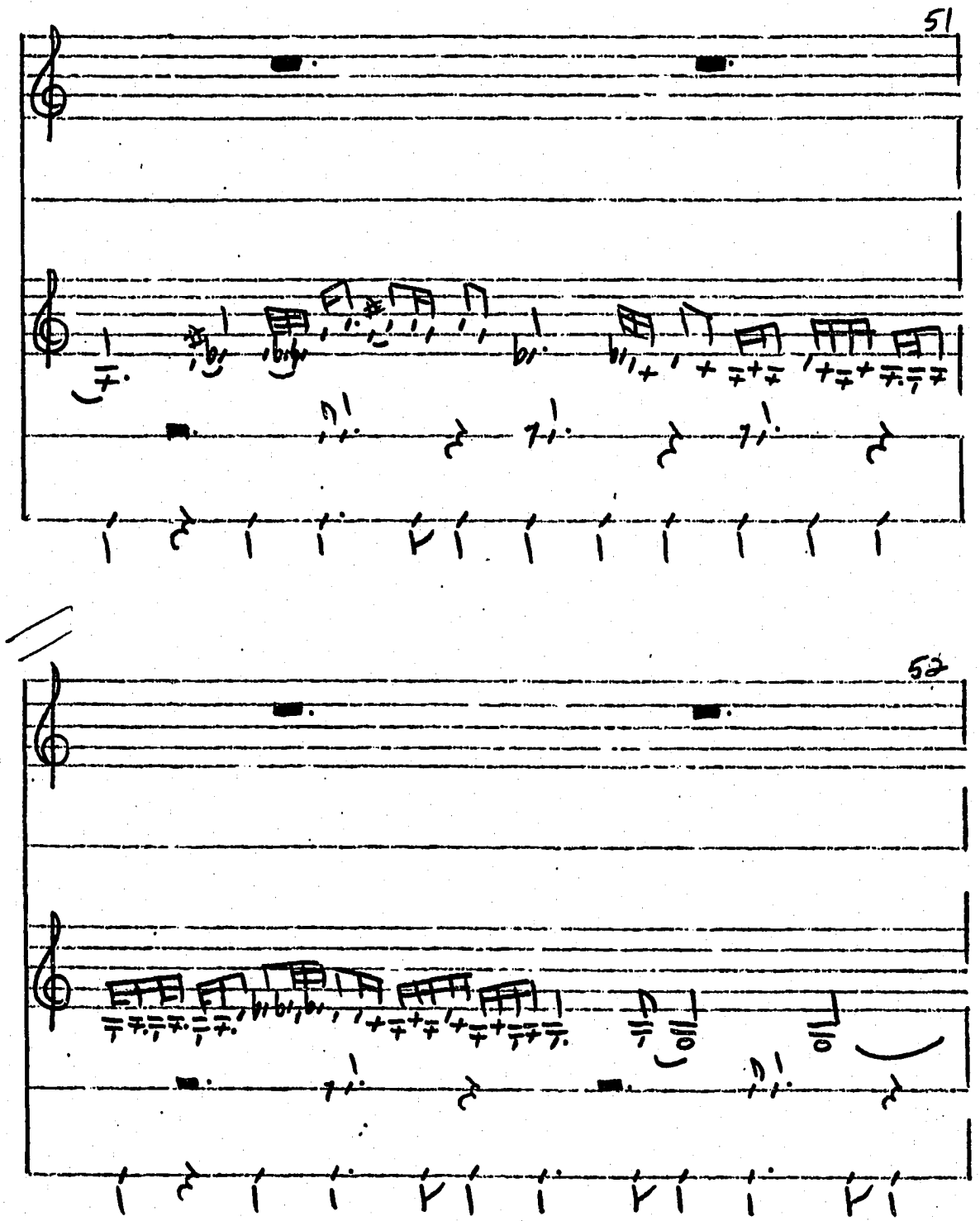


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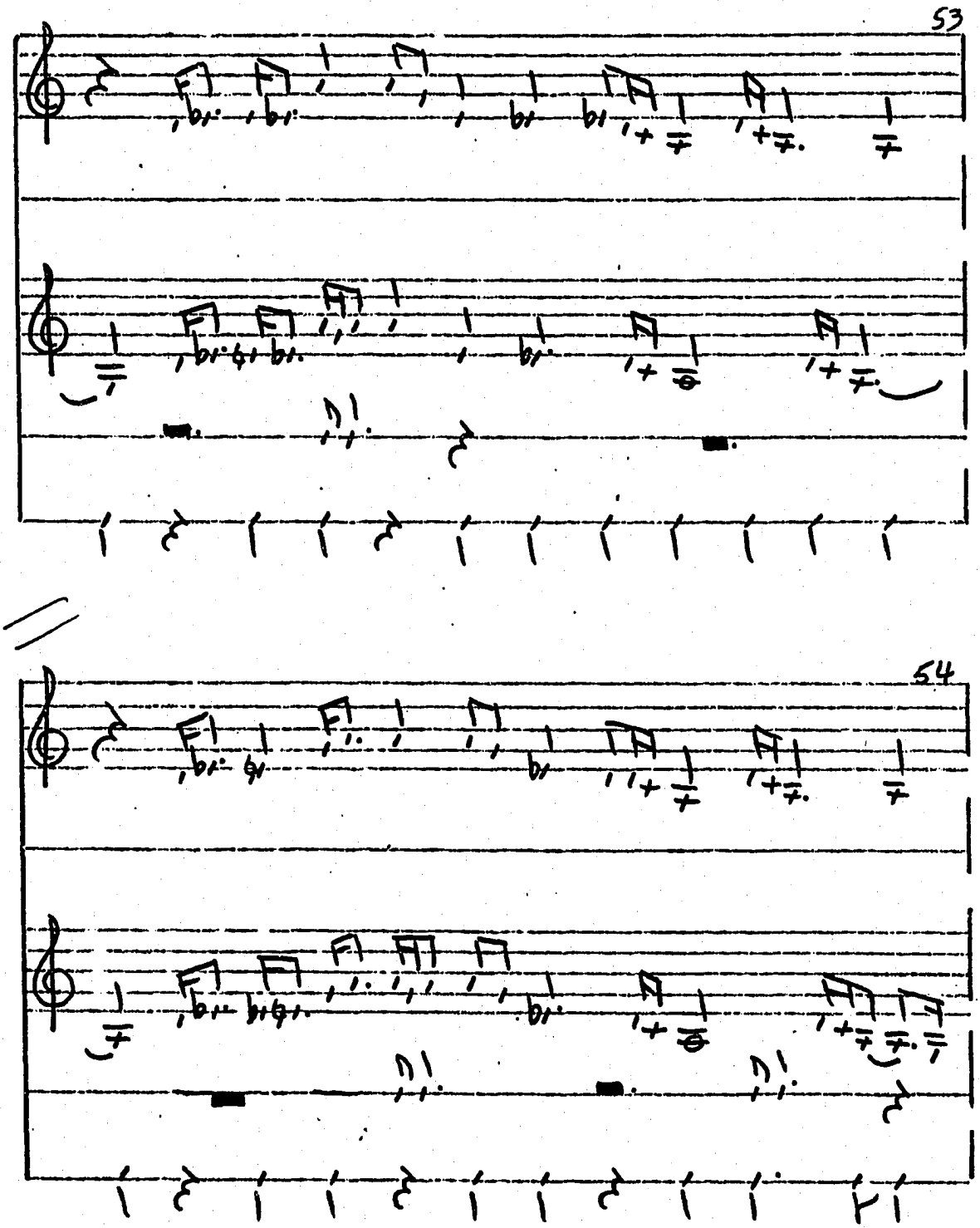


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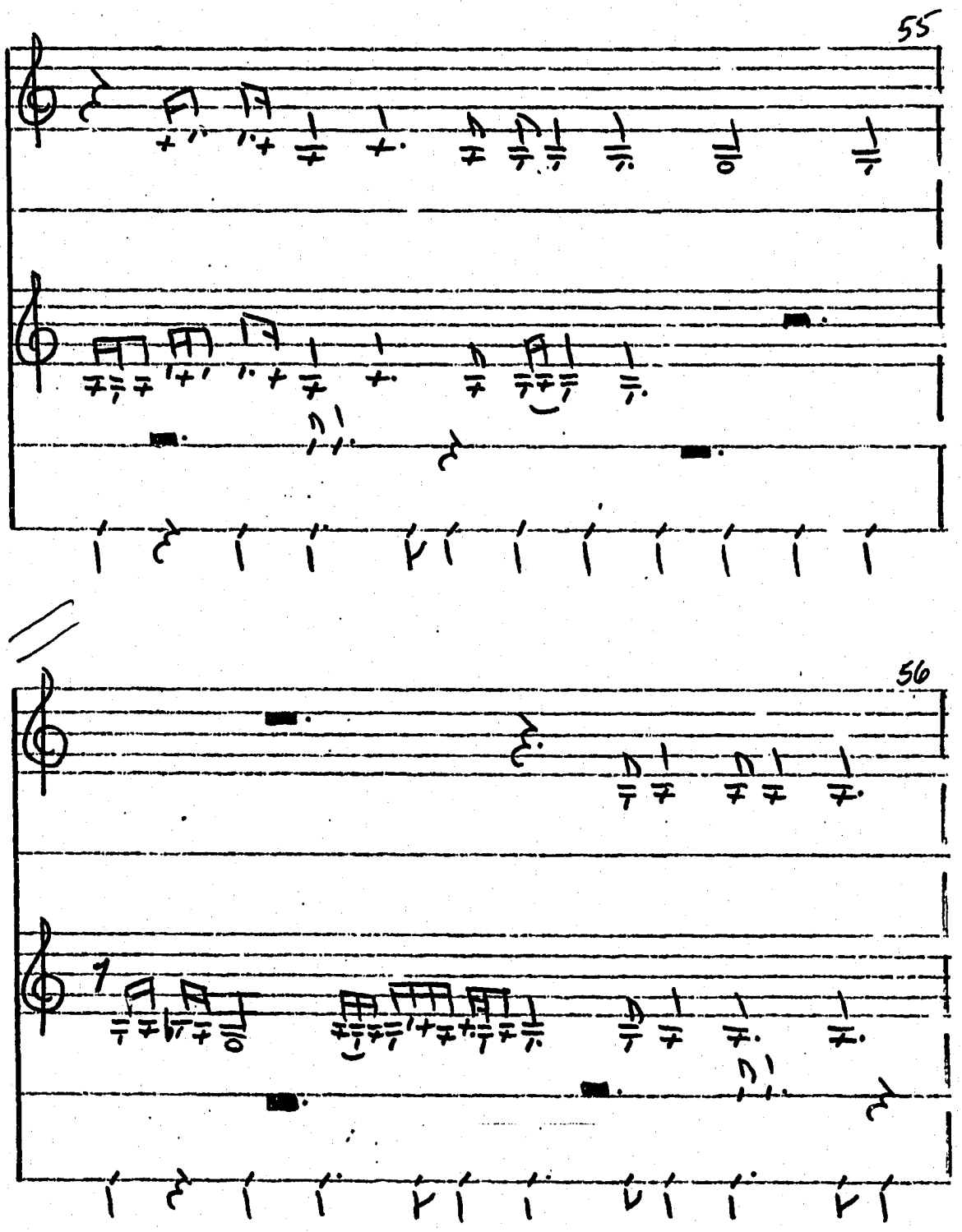
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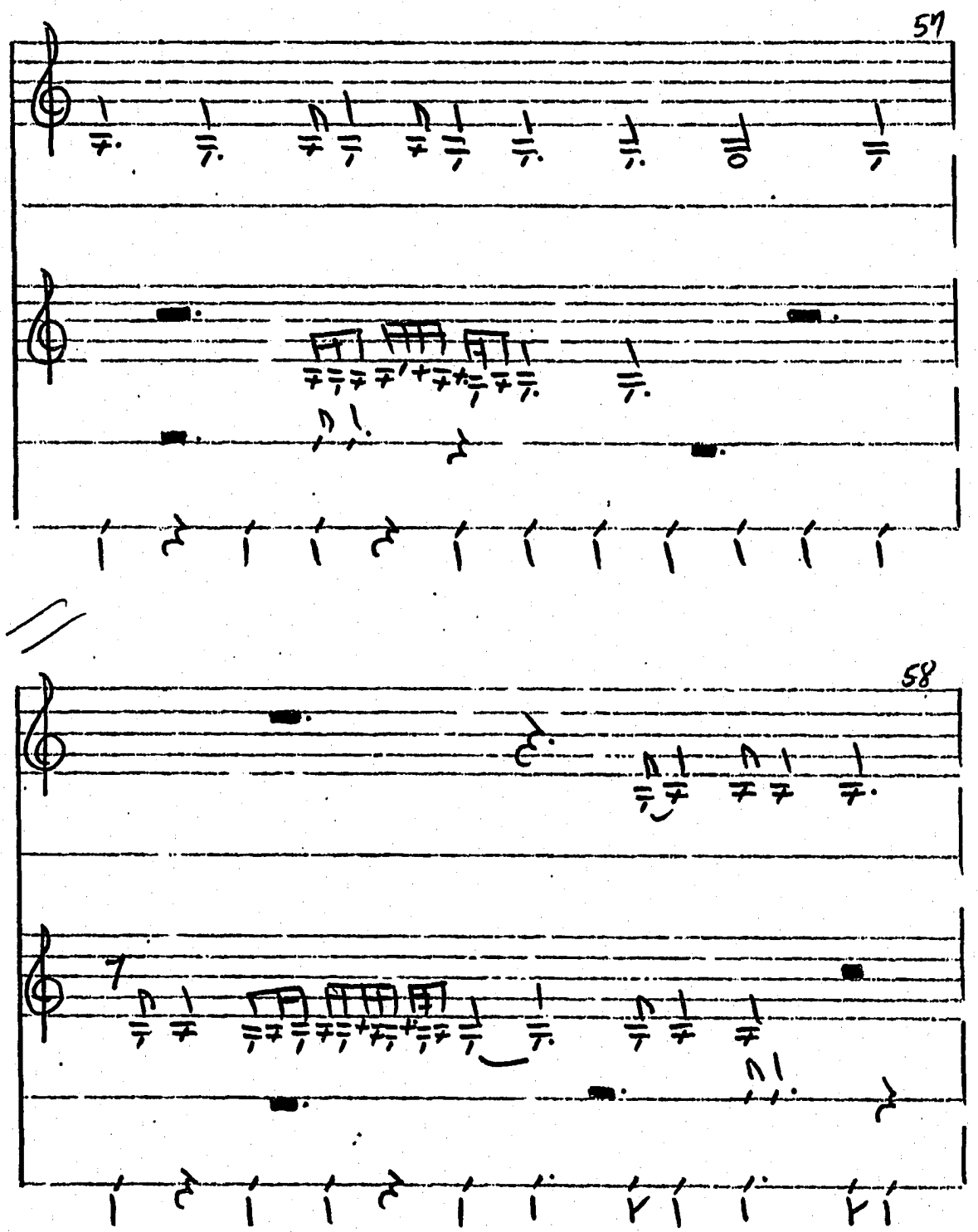
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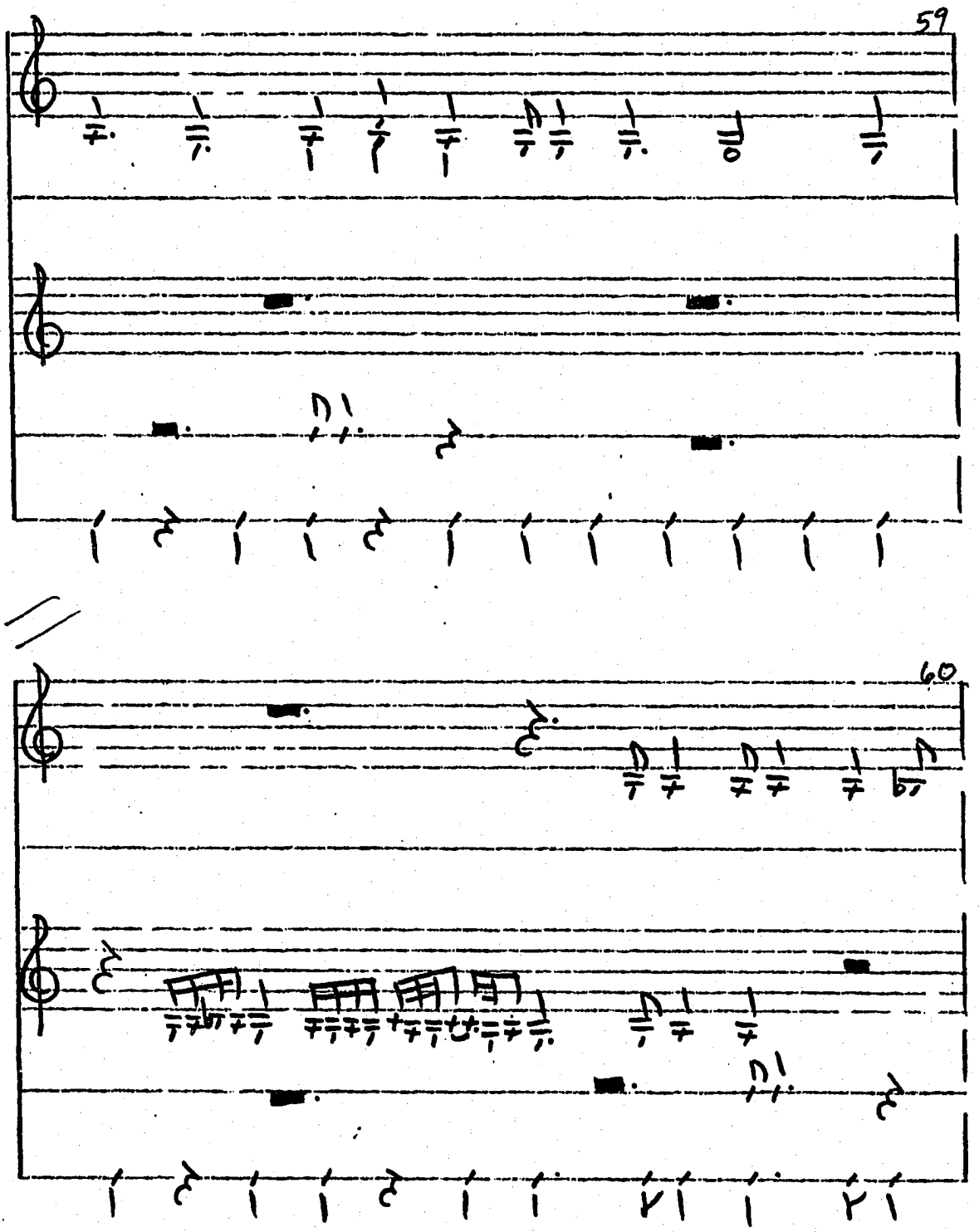
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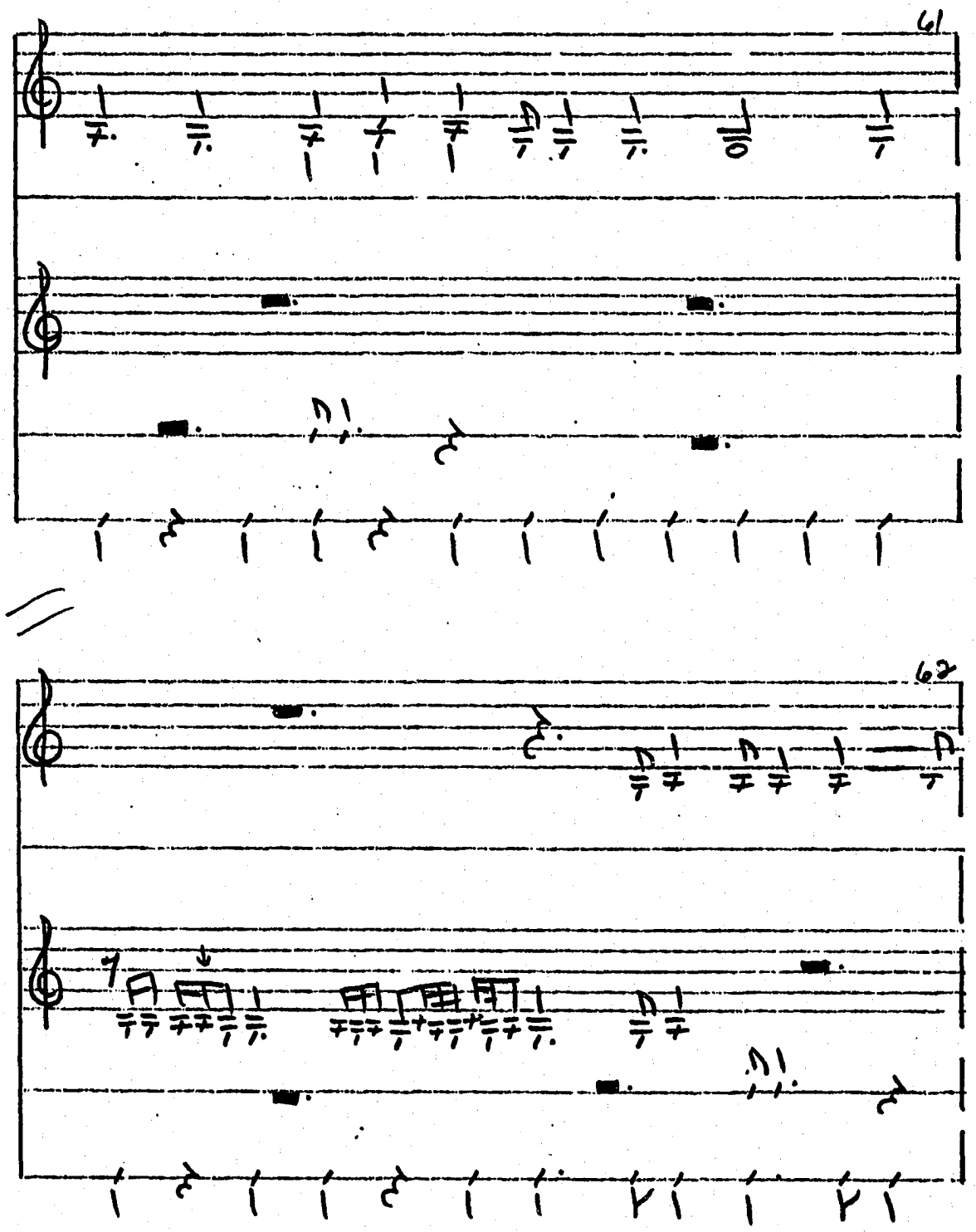


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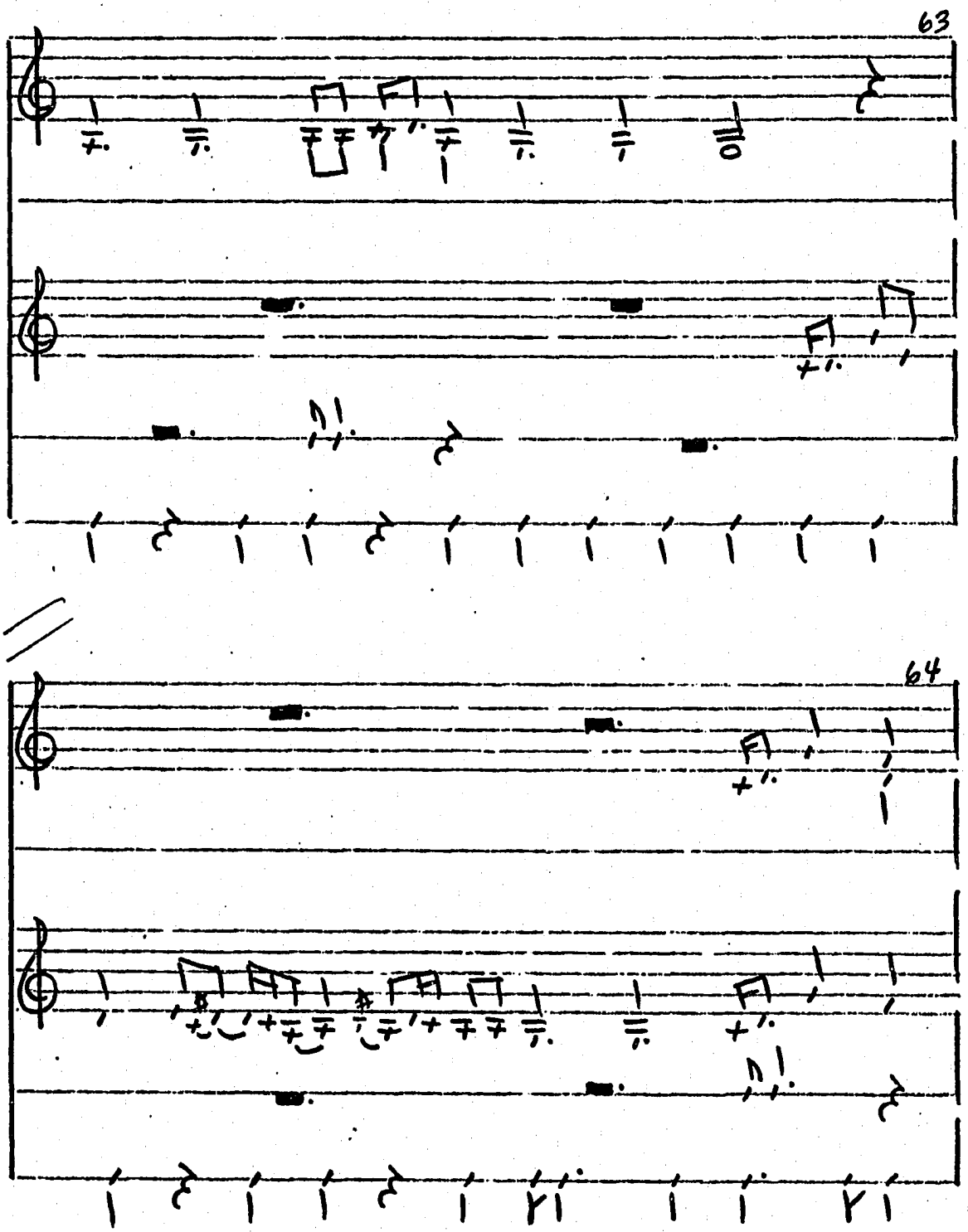
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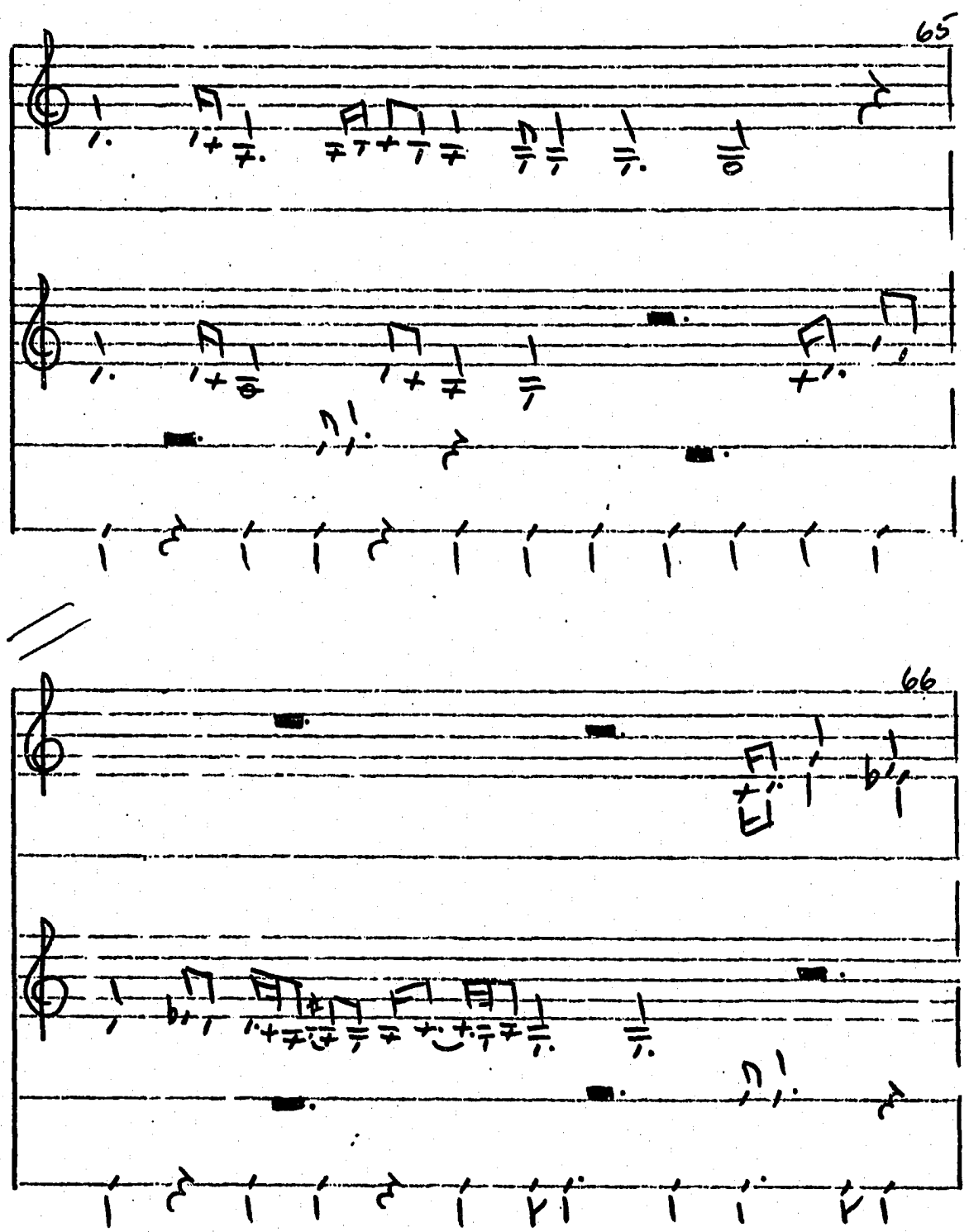


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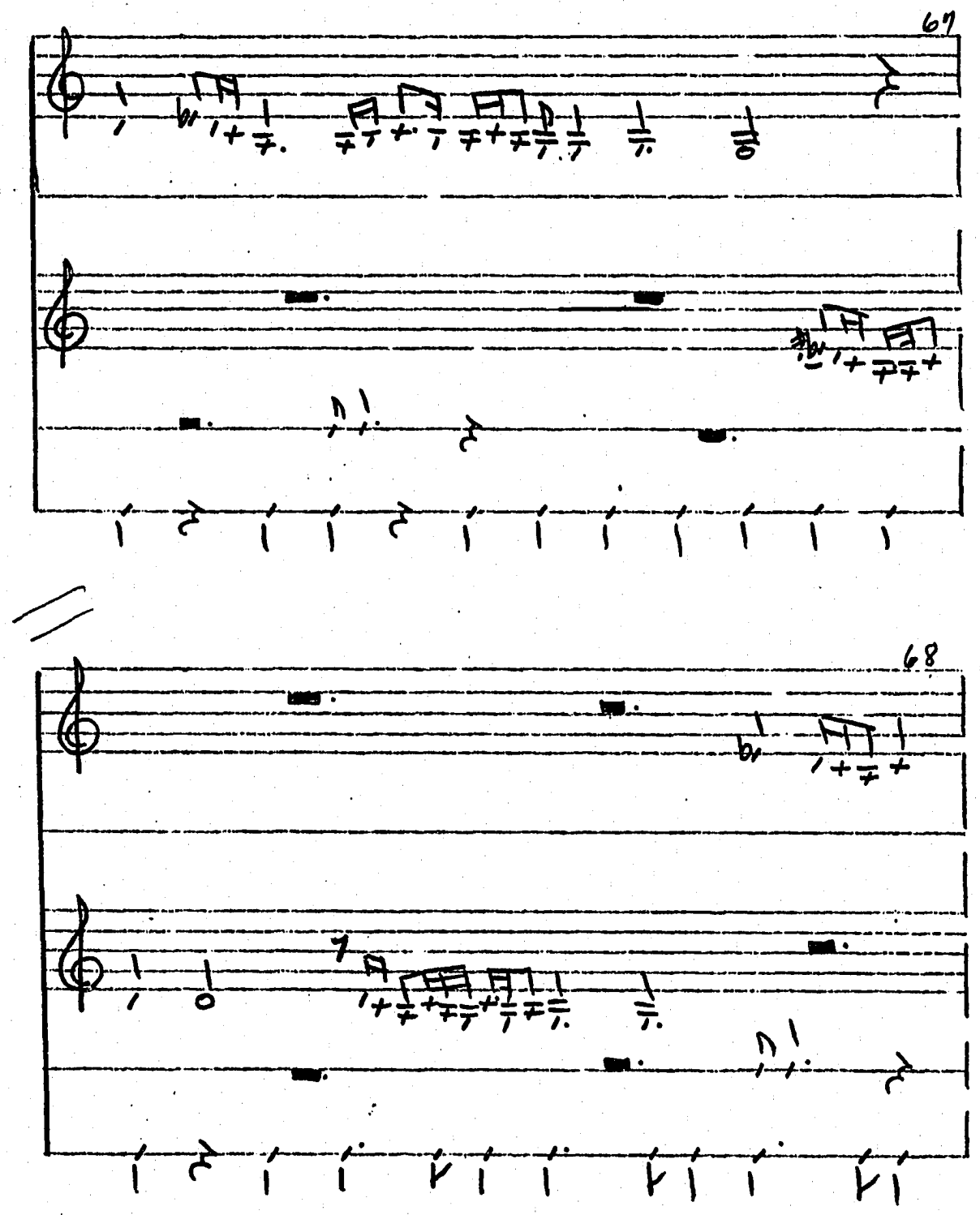


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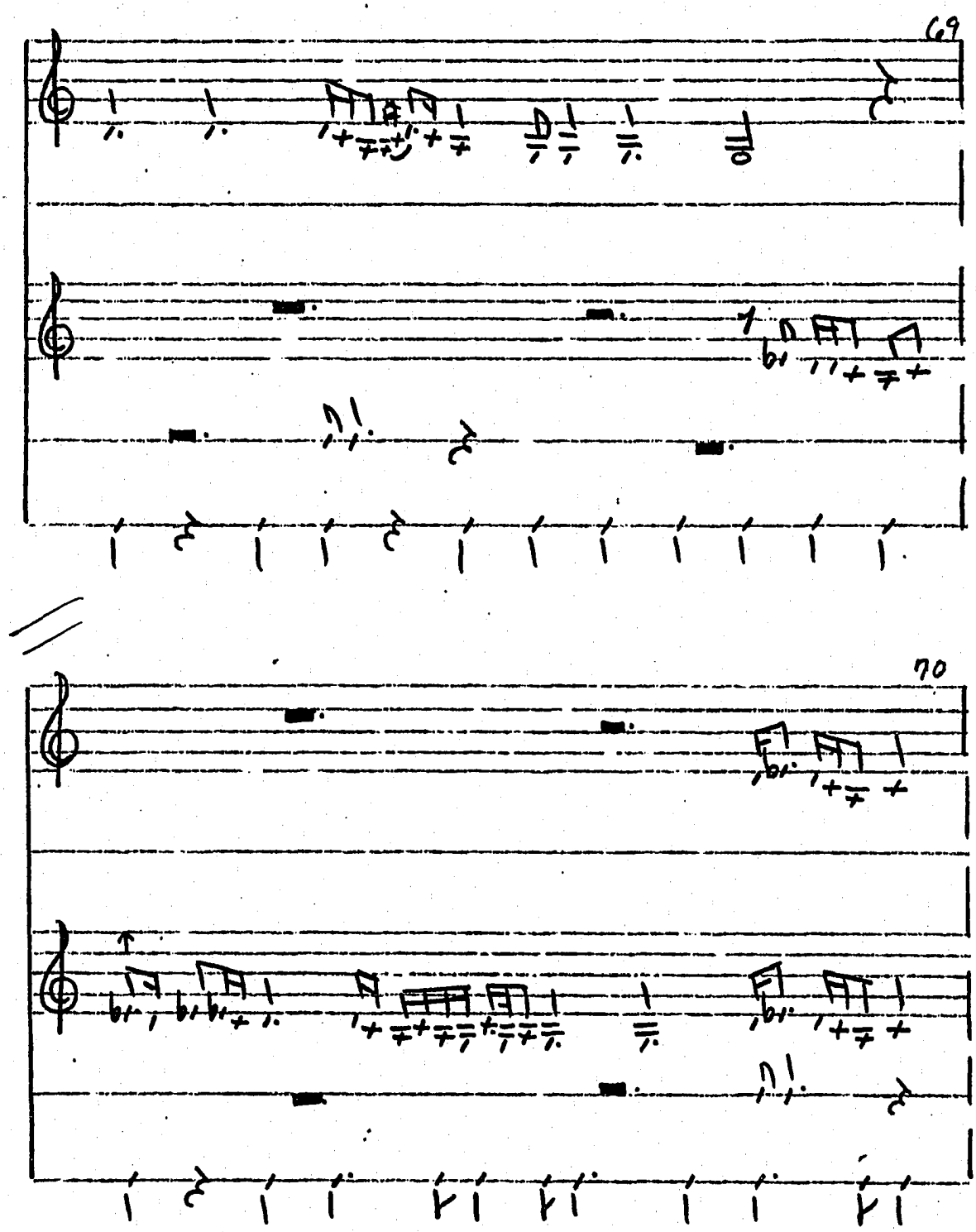


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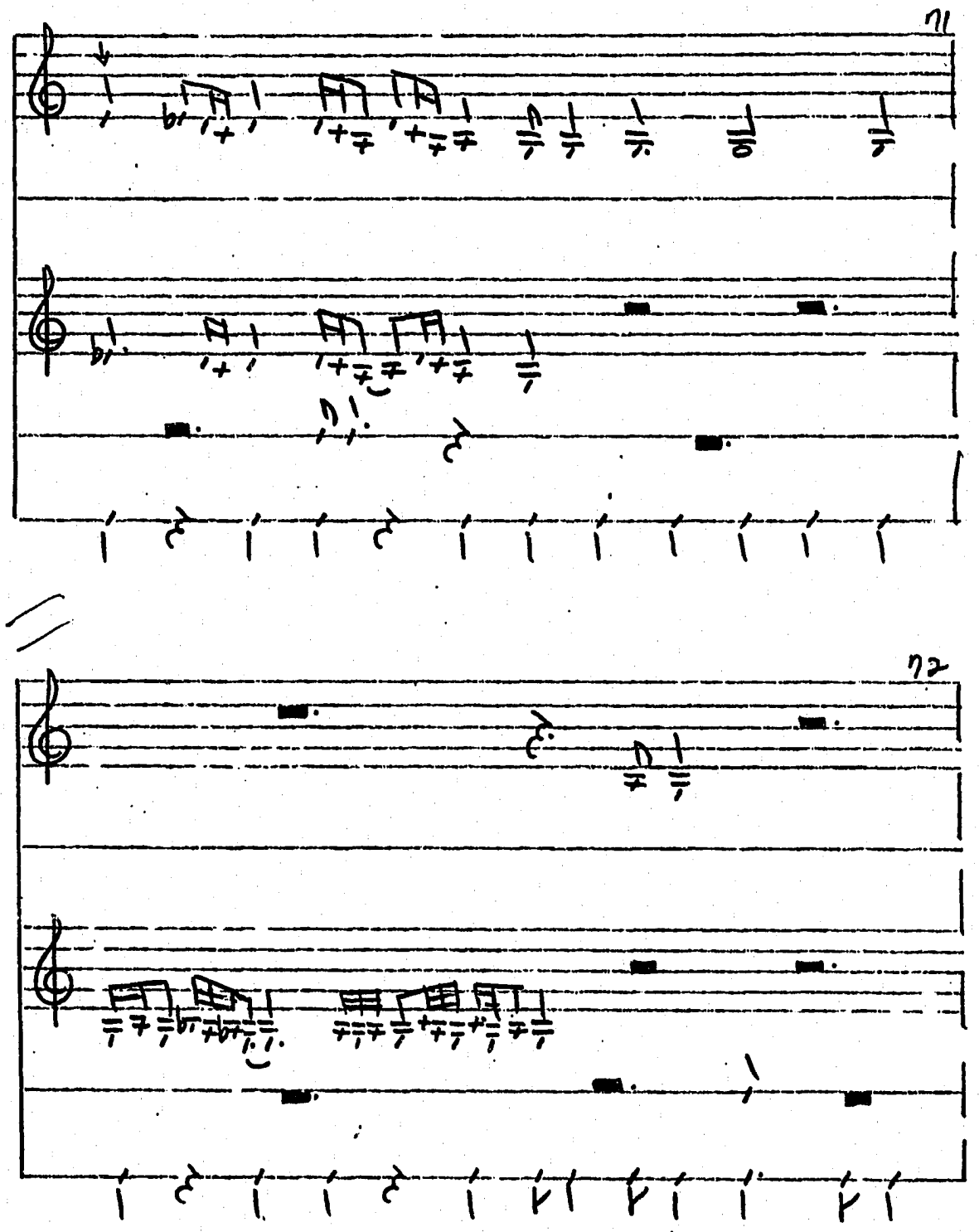


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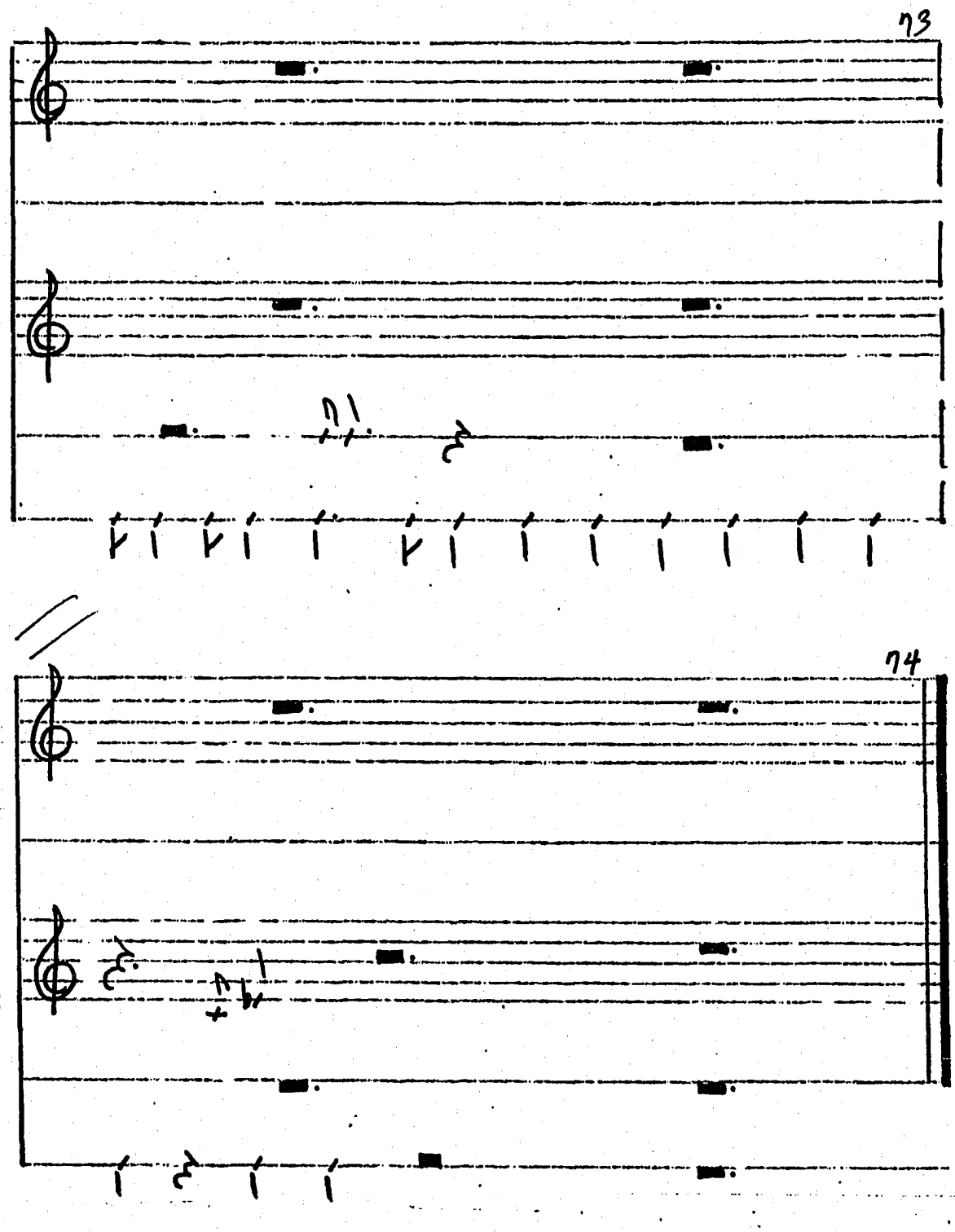
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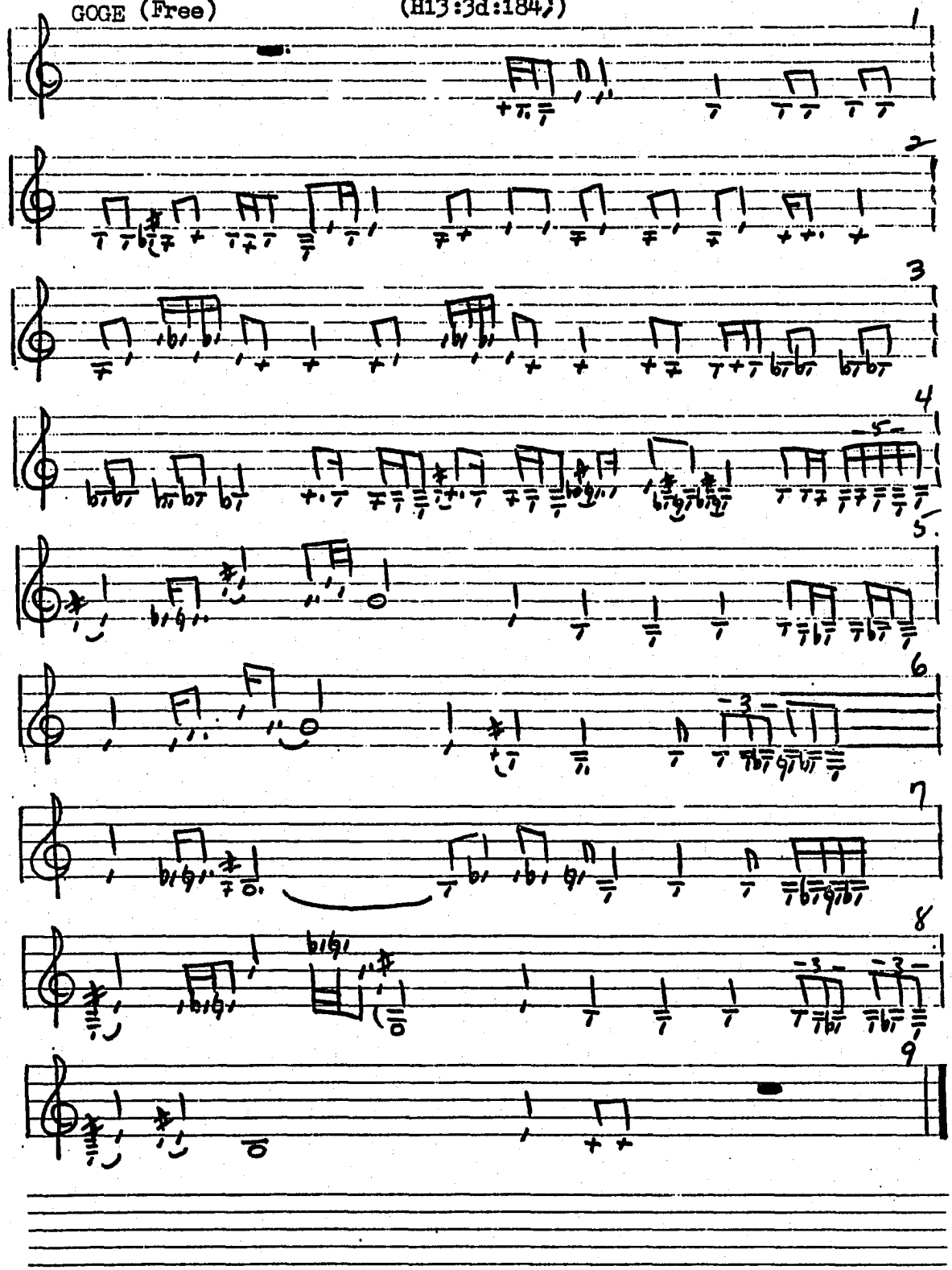


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RUWA RUWA

by Ibrahim Mohammadan

(H13:3d:184)

GOGE (Free)
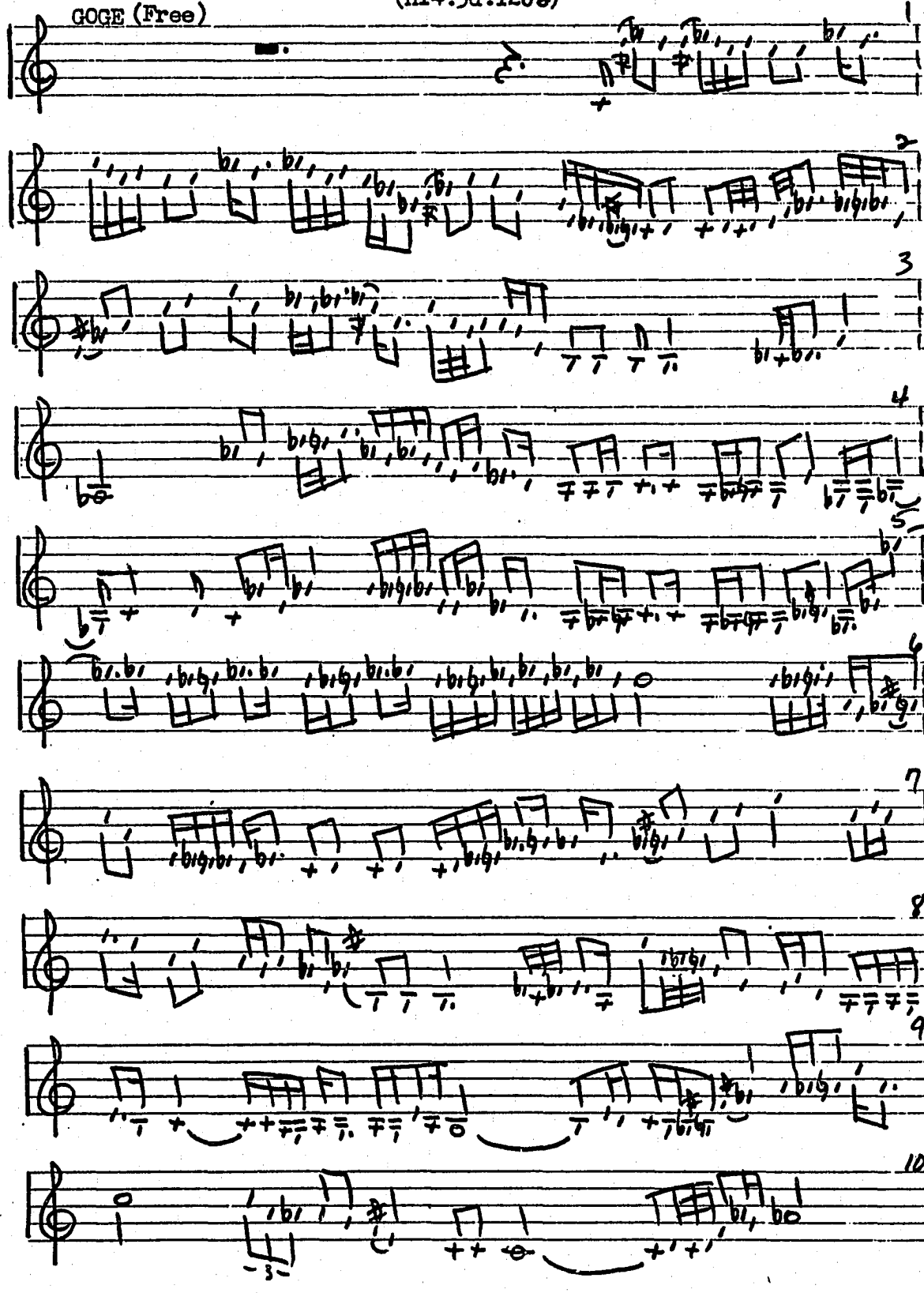


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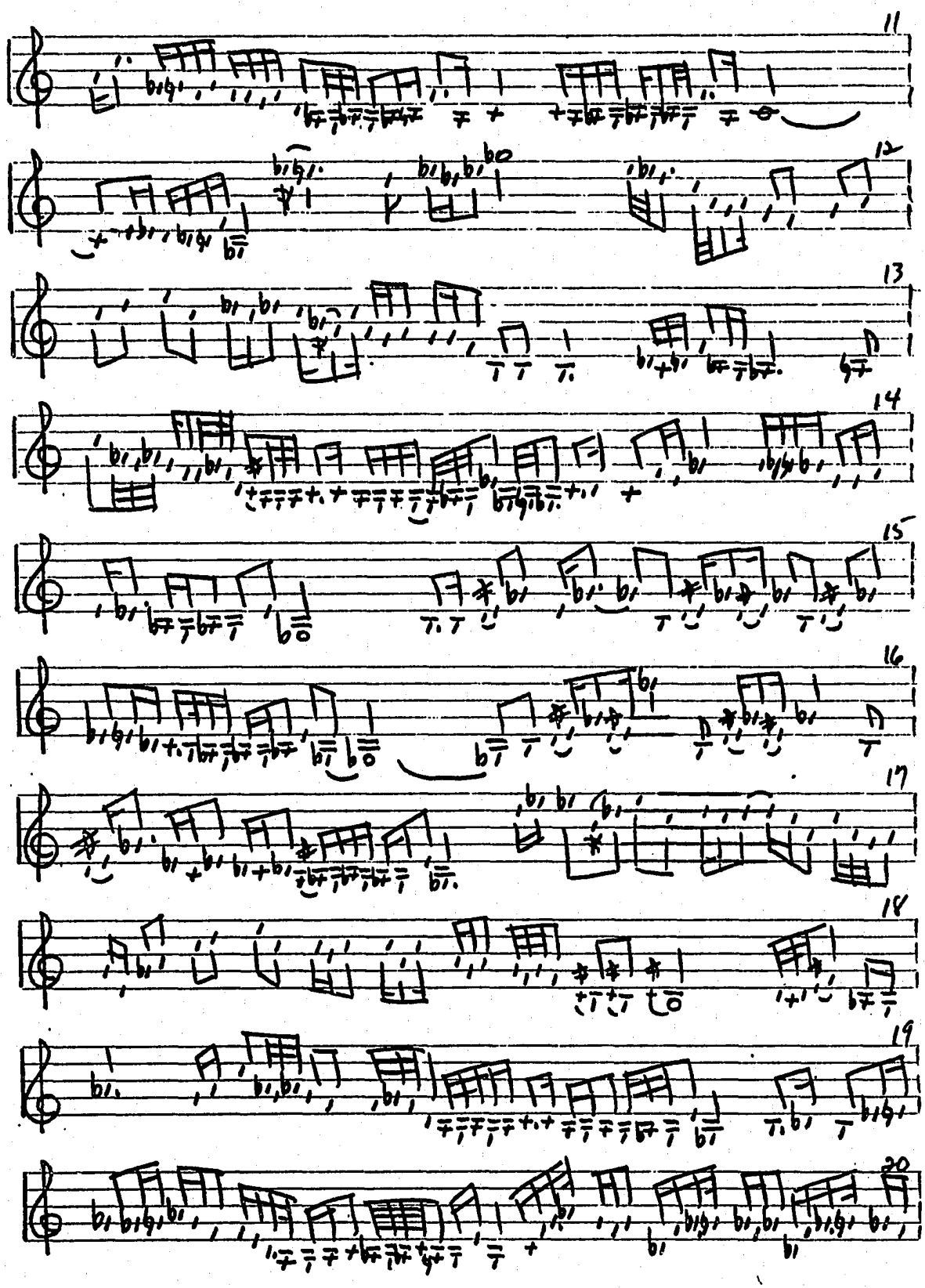
SARKIN MAKADA

by Ibrahim Mohammadan
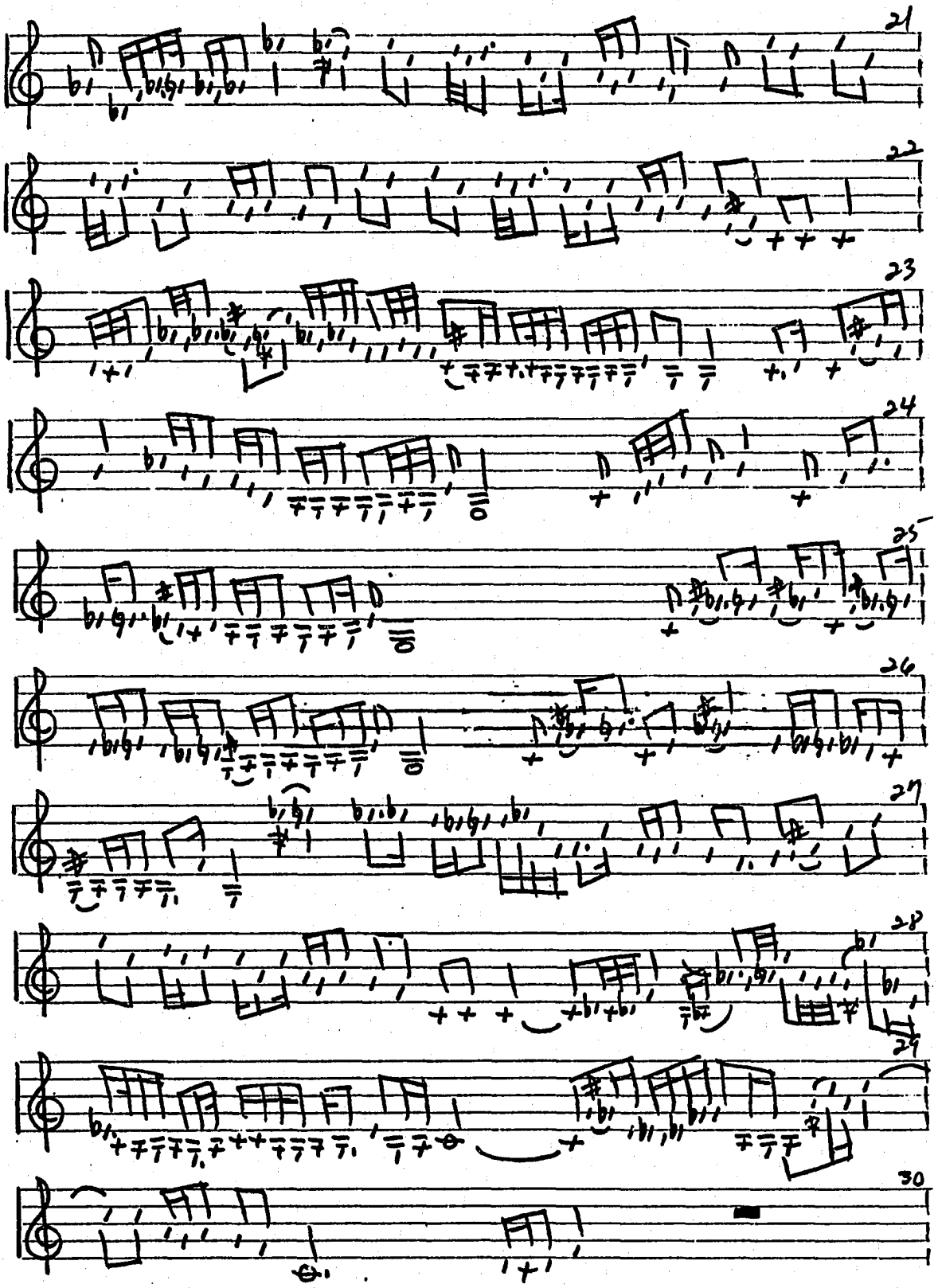
(H14:3d:120♩)
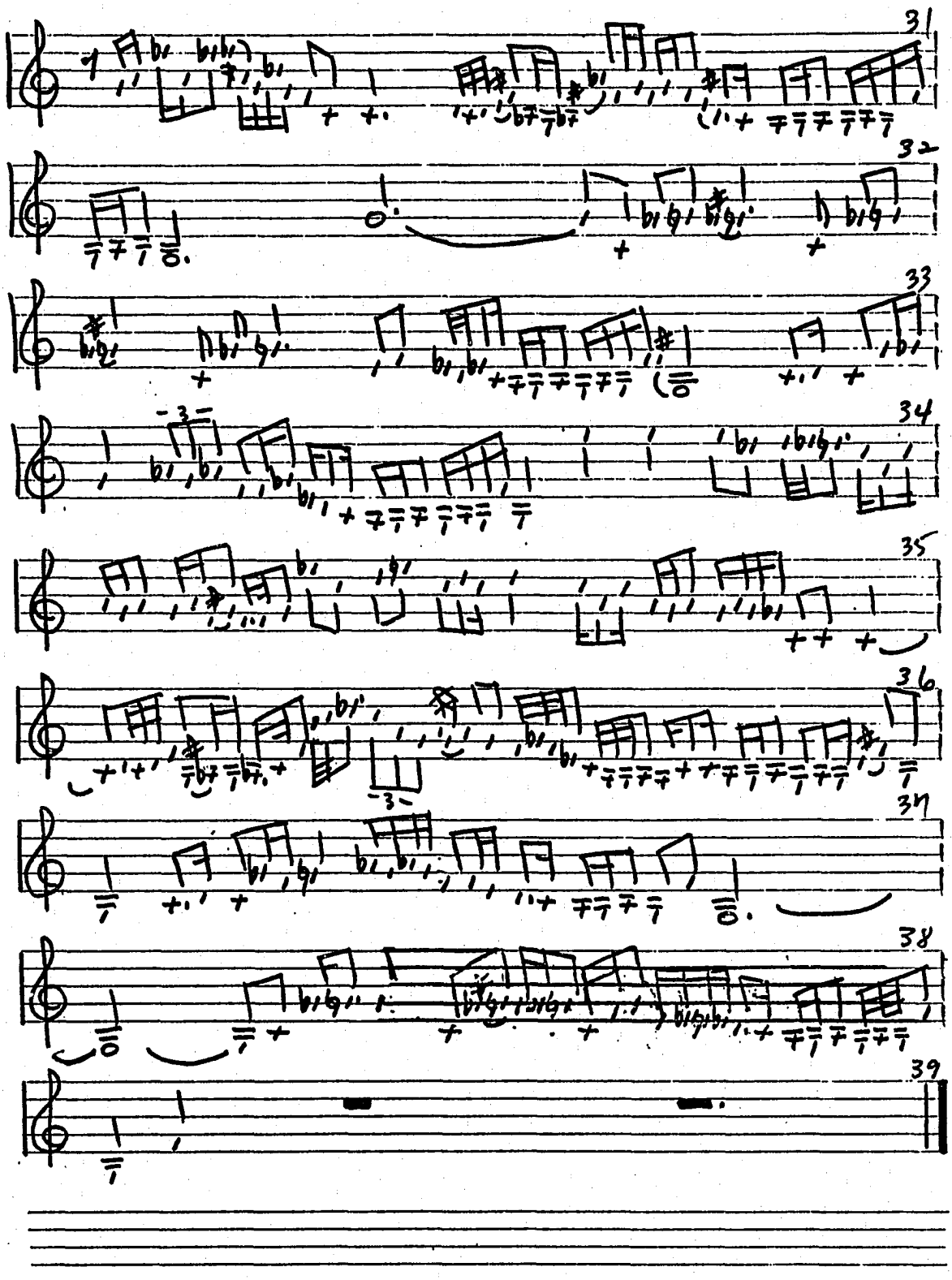


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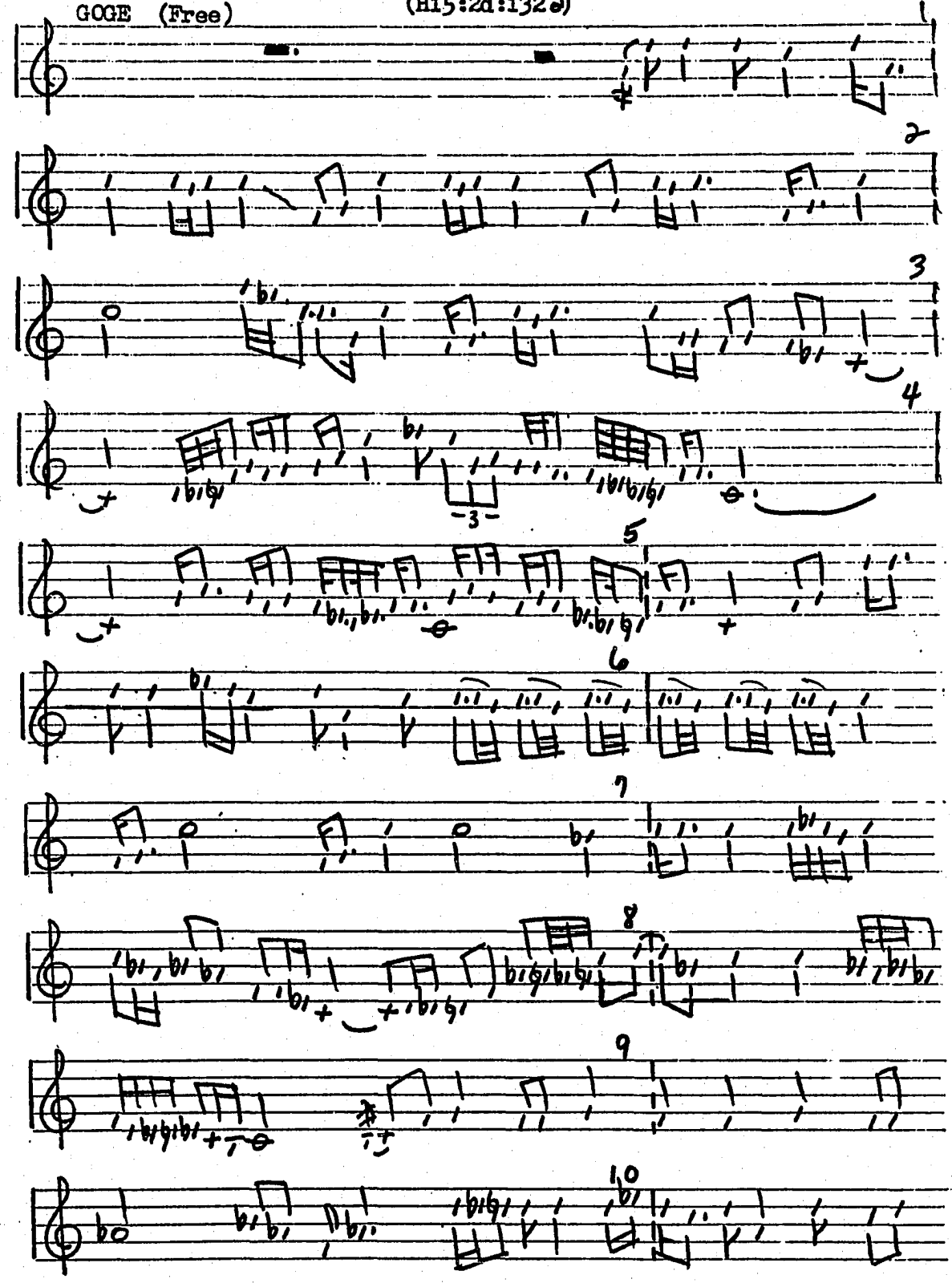
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BANJO
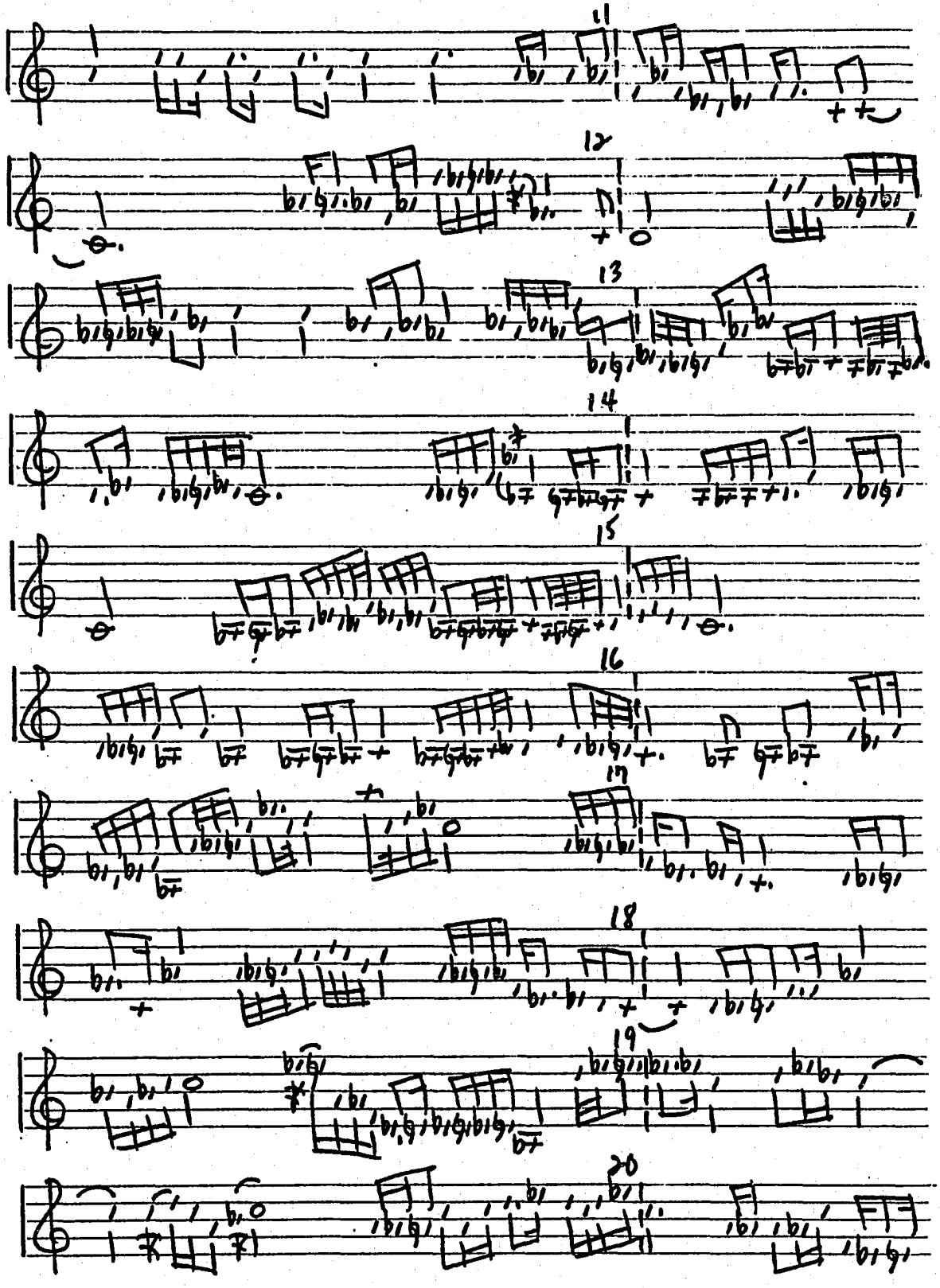
by Momman Nabarau

(H15:2d:132a)
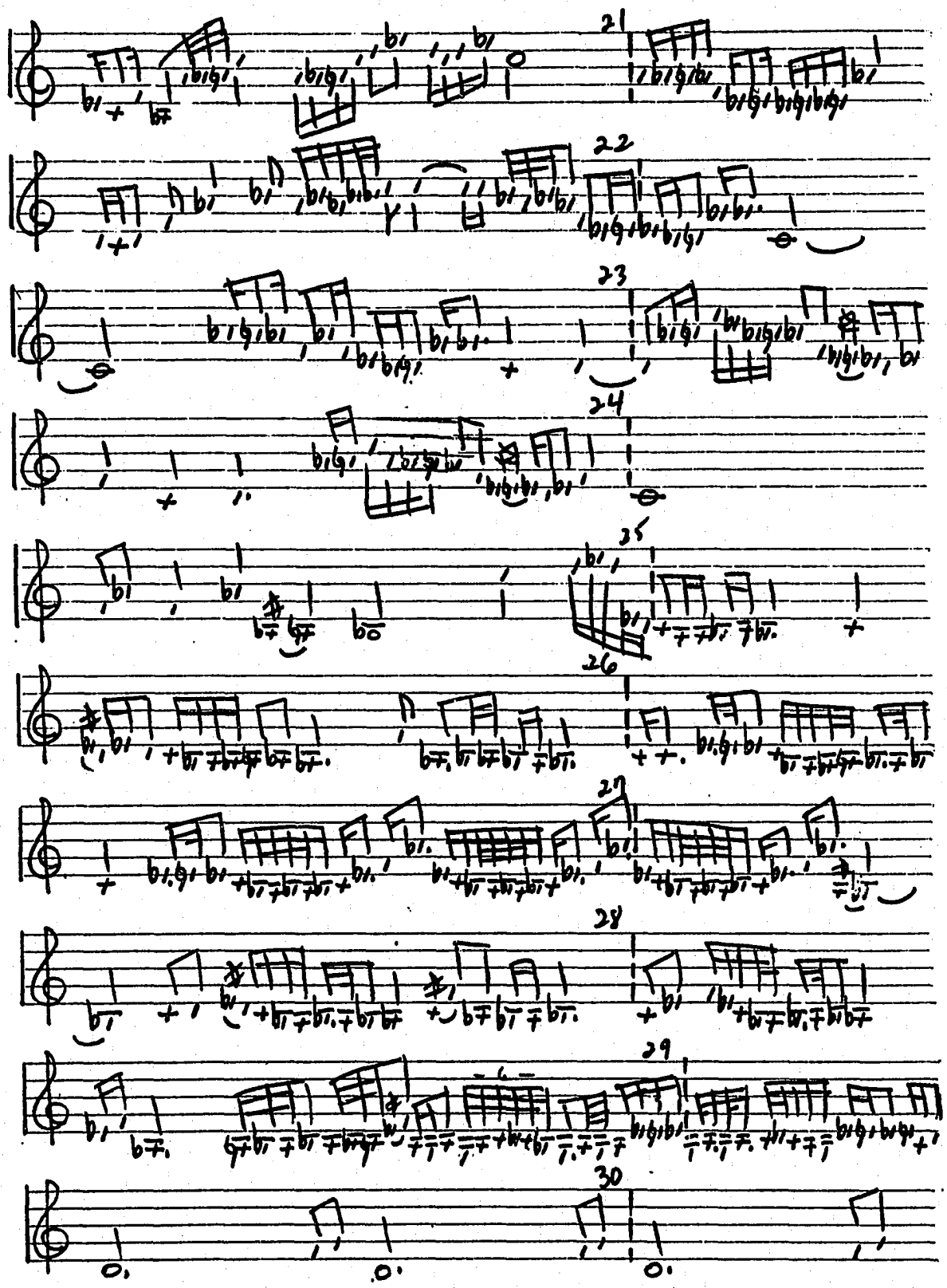
GOGE (Free)
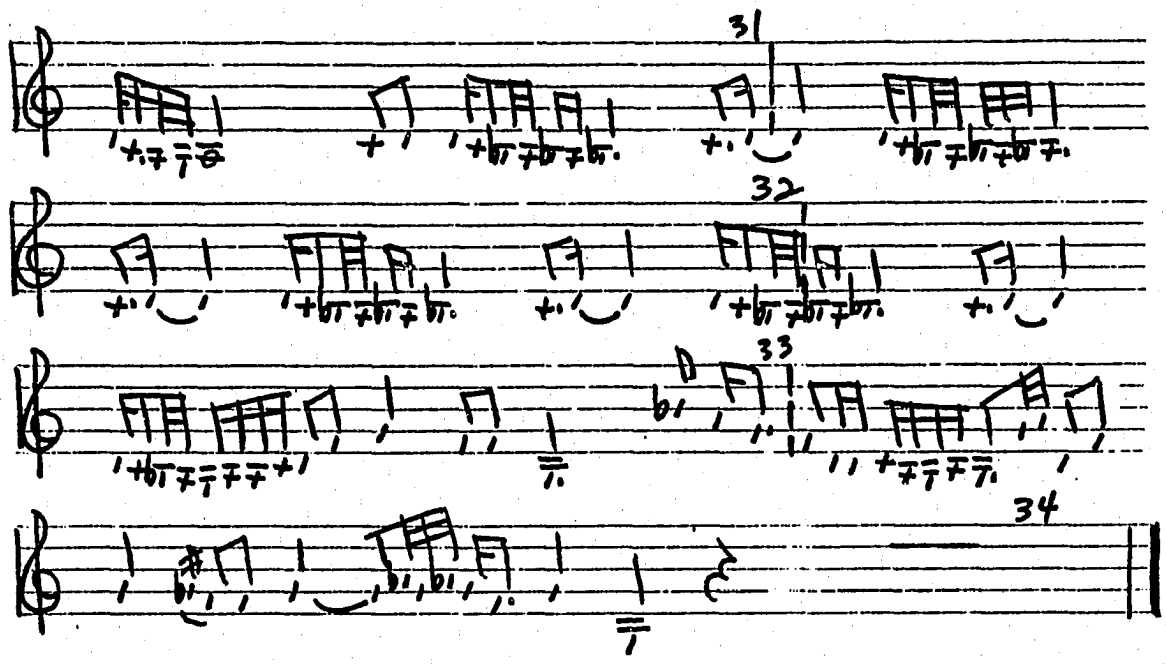


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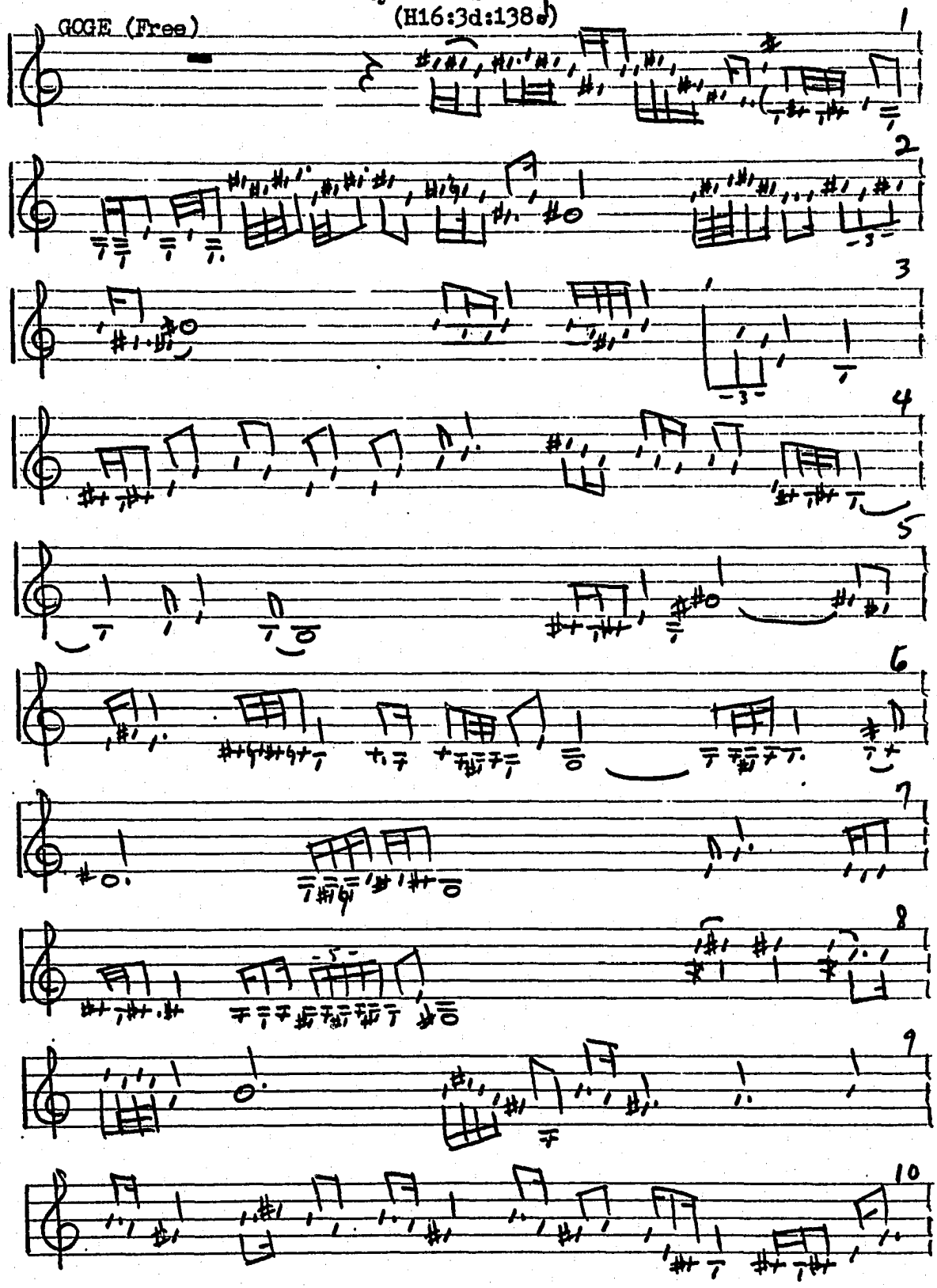


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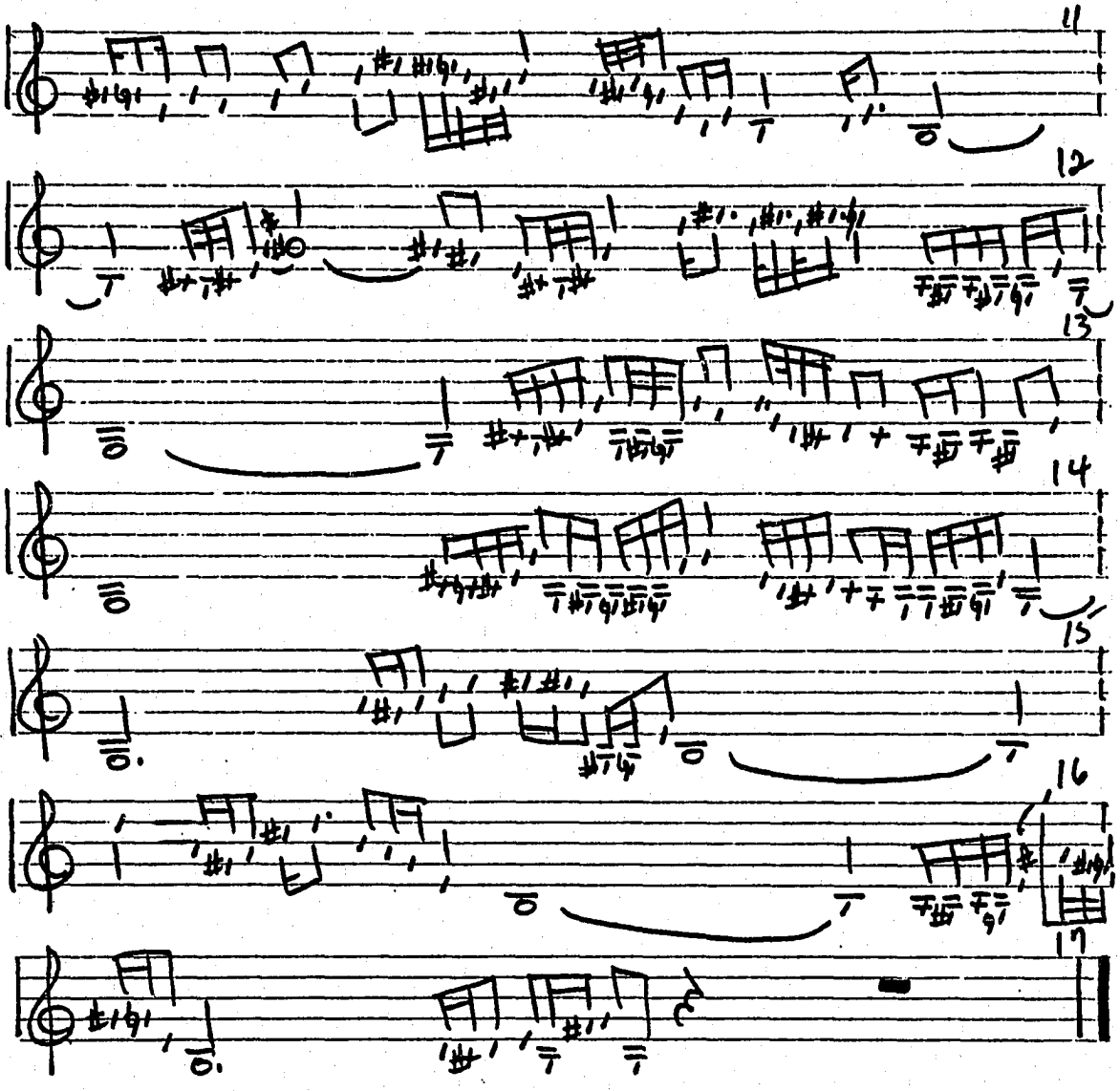
SARKIN MAKADA

by Momman Nabarau

(H16:3d:138♪)



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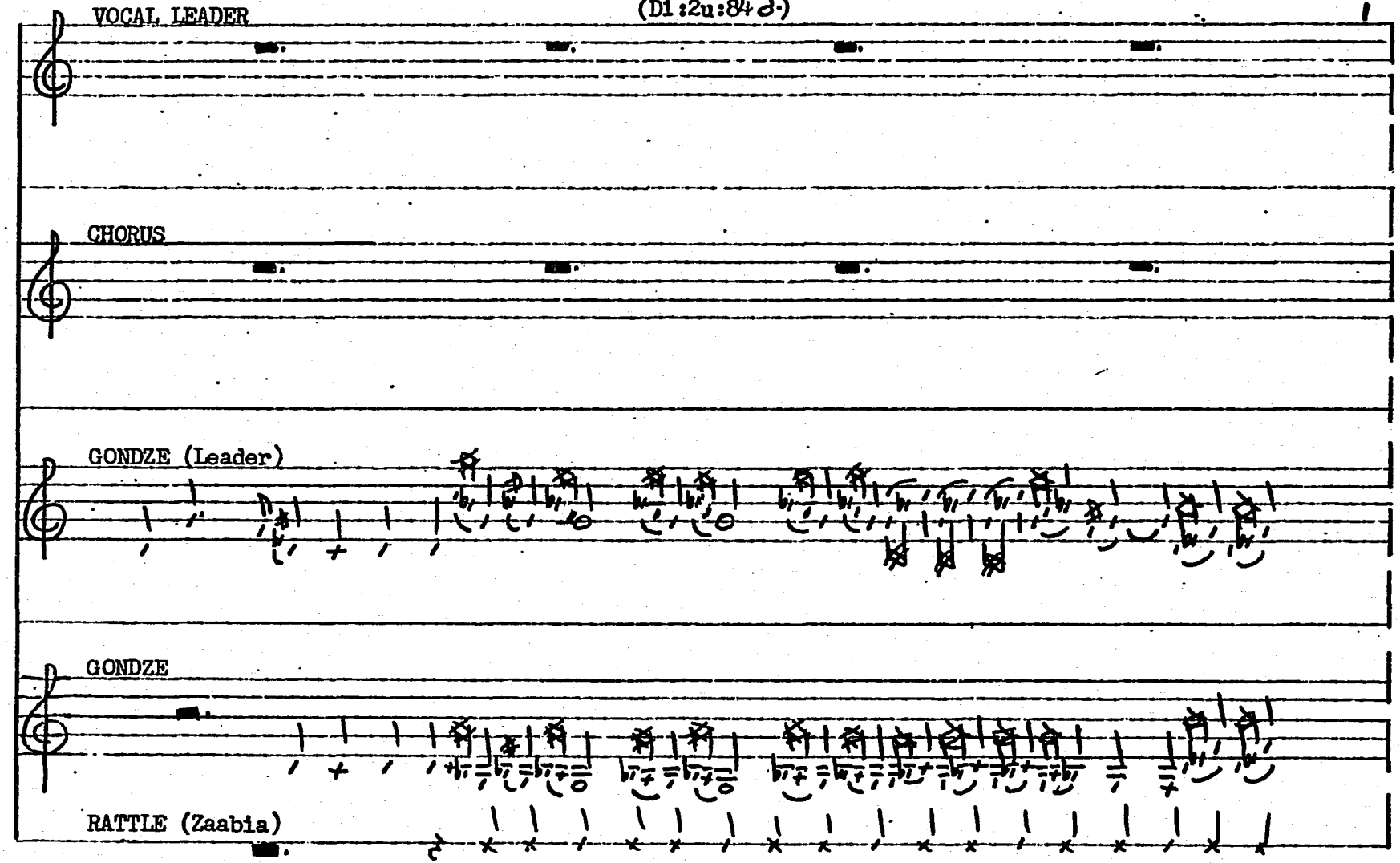


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Dagomba Music Transcriptions

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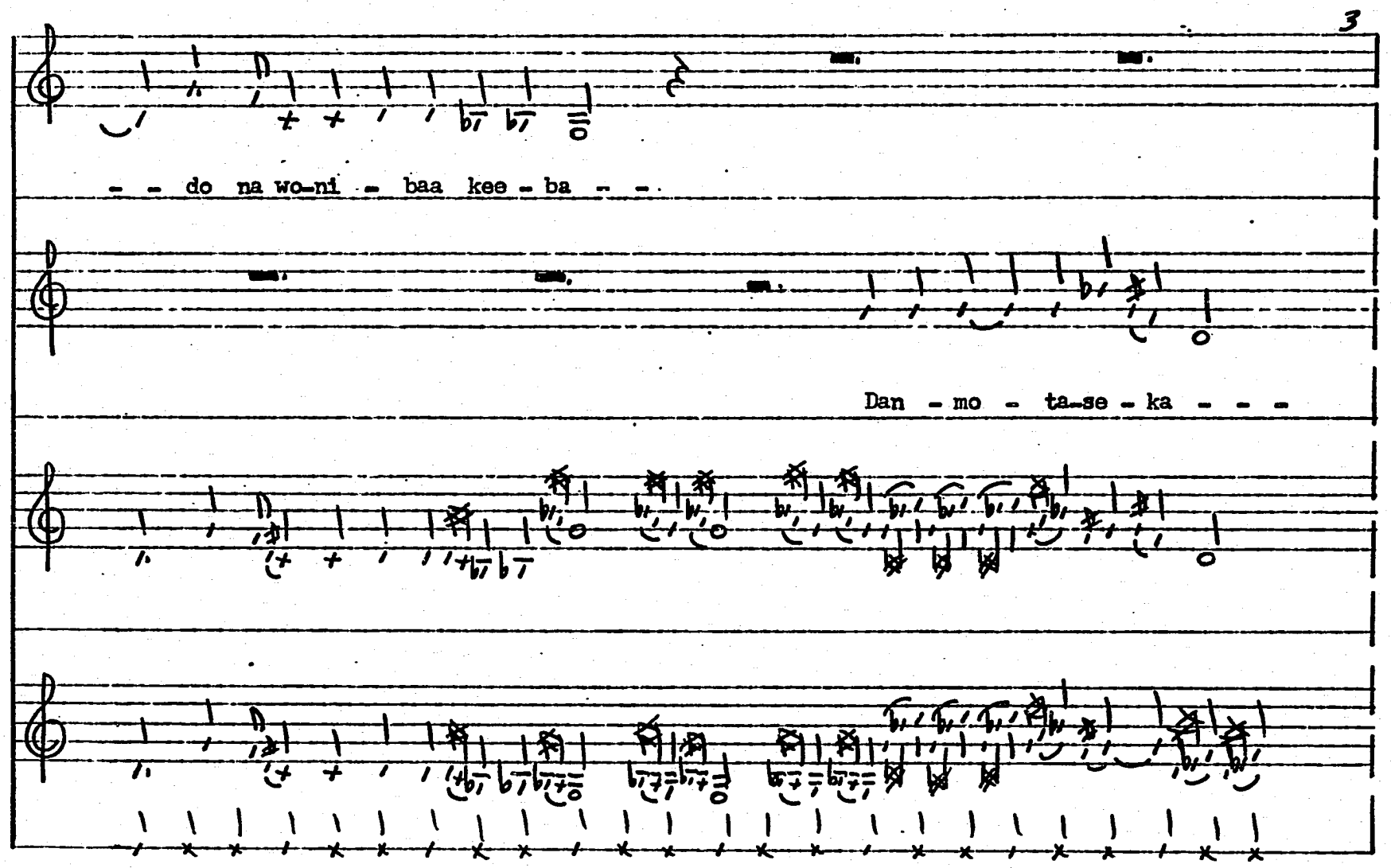
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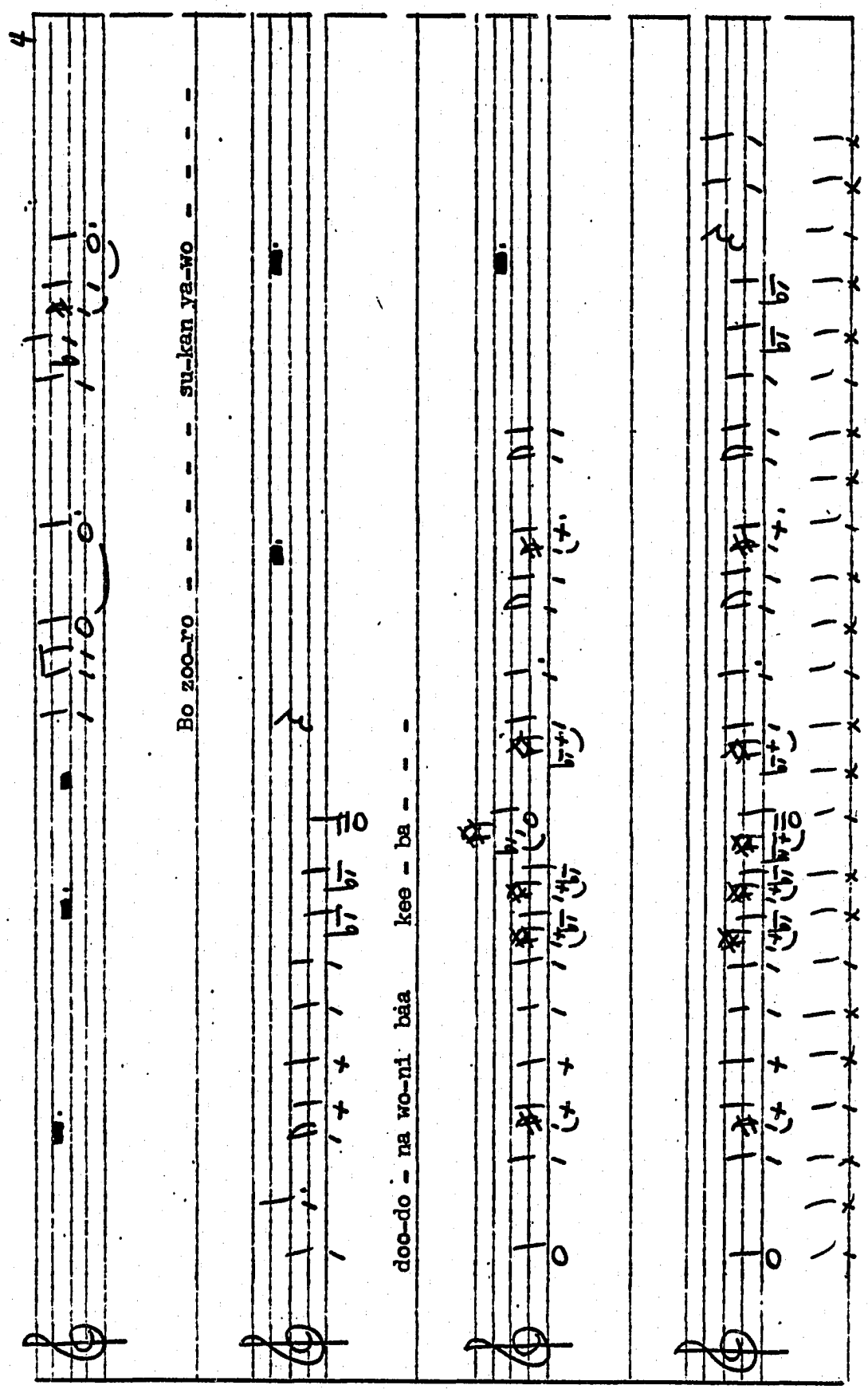
DAN-MO (Na Gariba and Dalung-Lana Kukogu Yogu)
by Abu Gondze
(D1:2u:84♩.)



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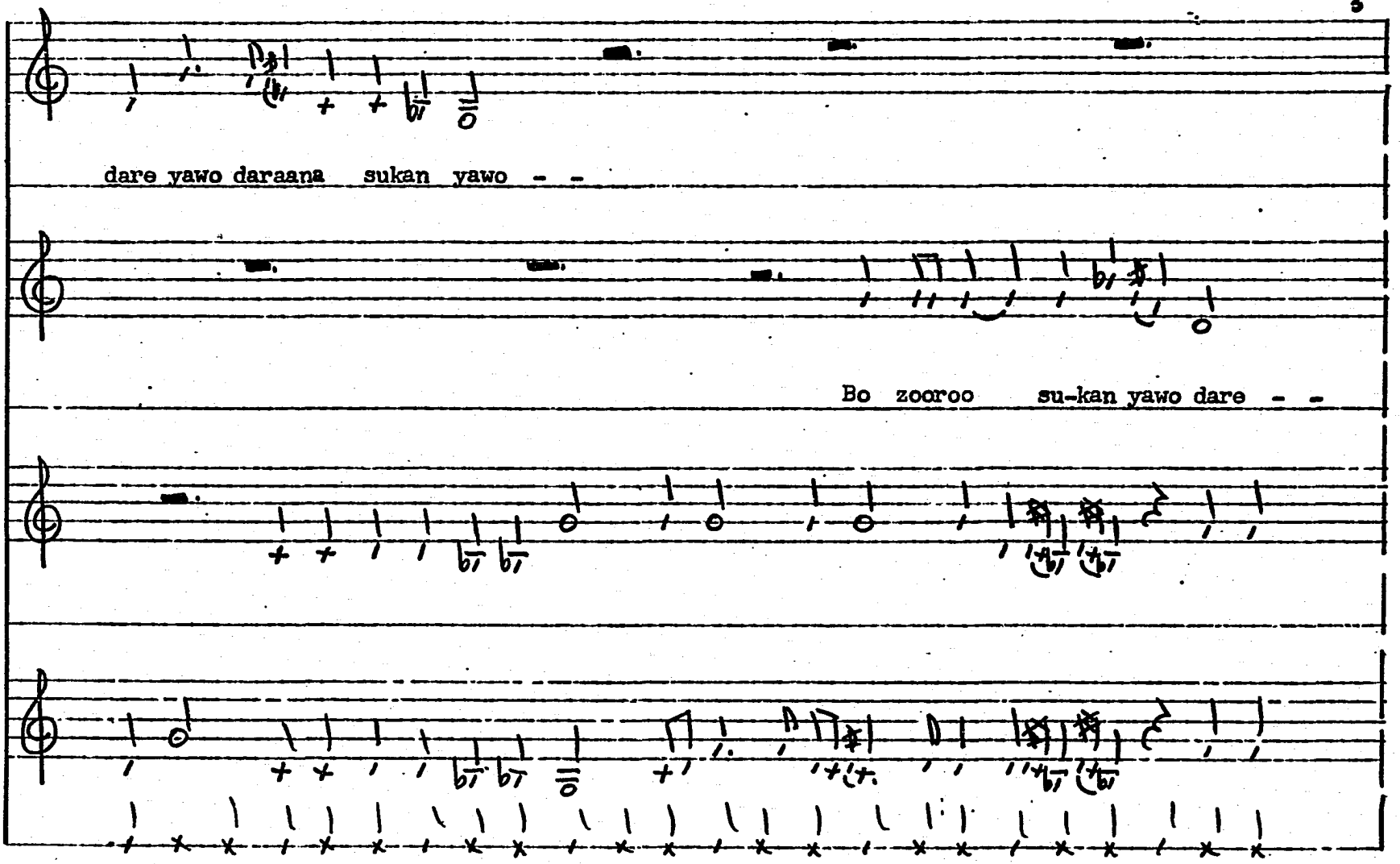
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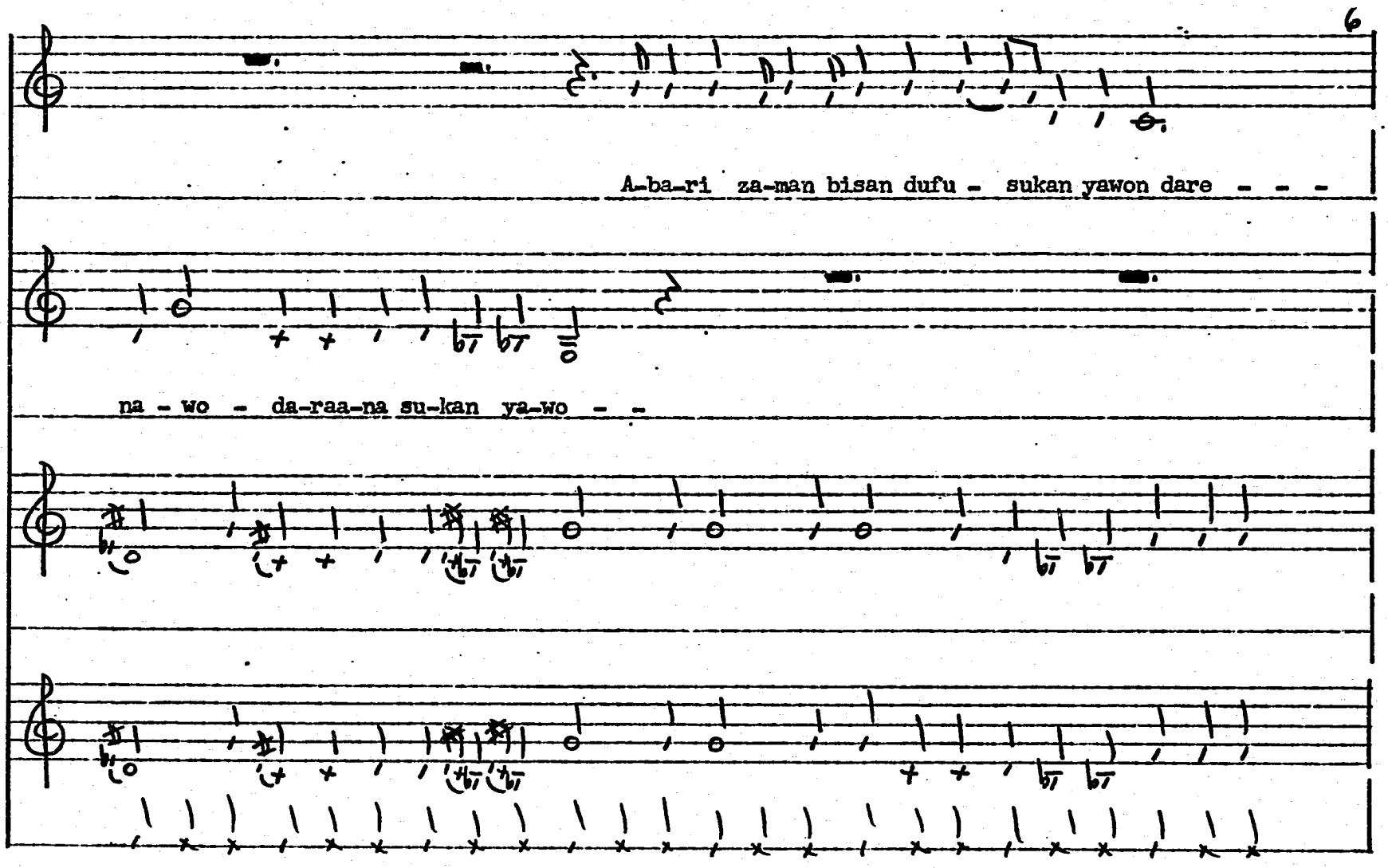
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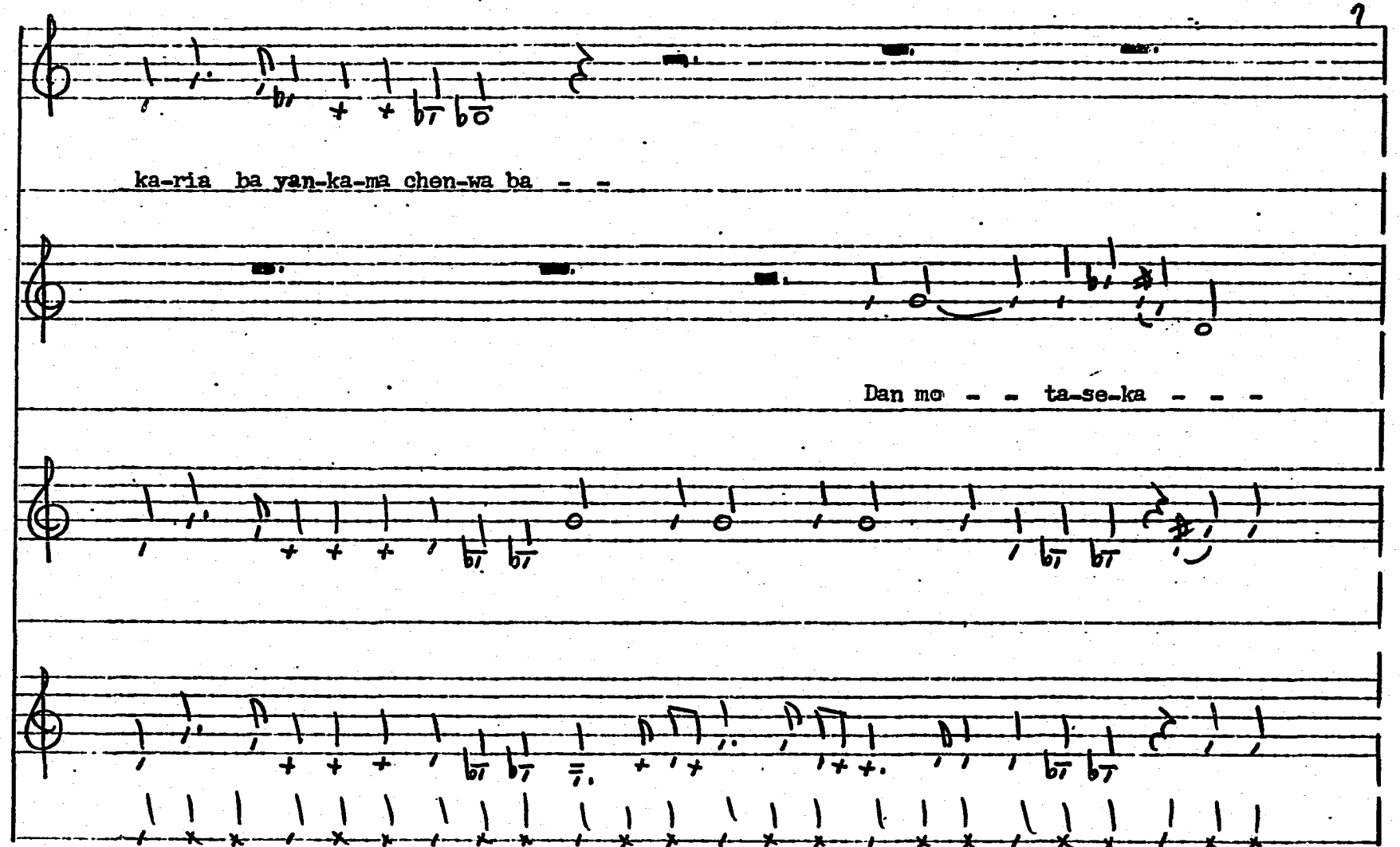


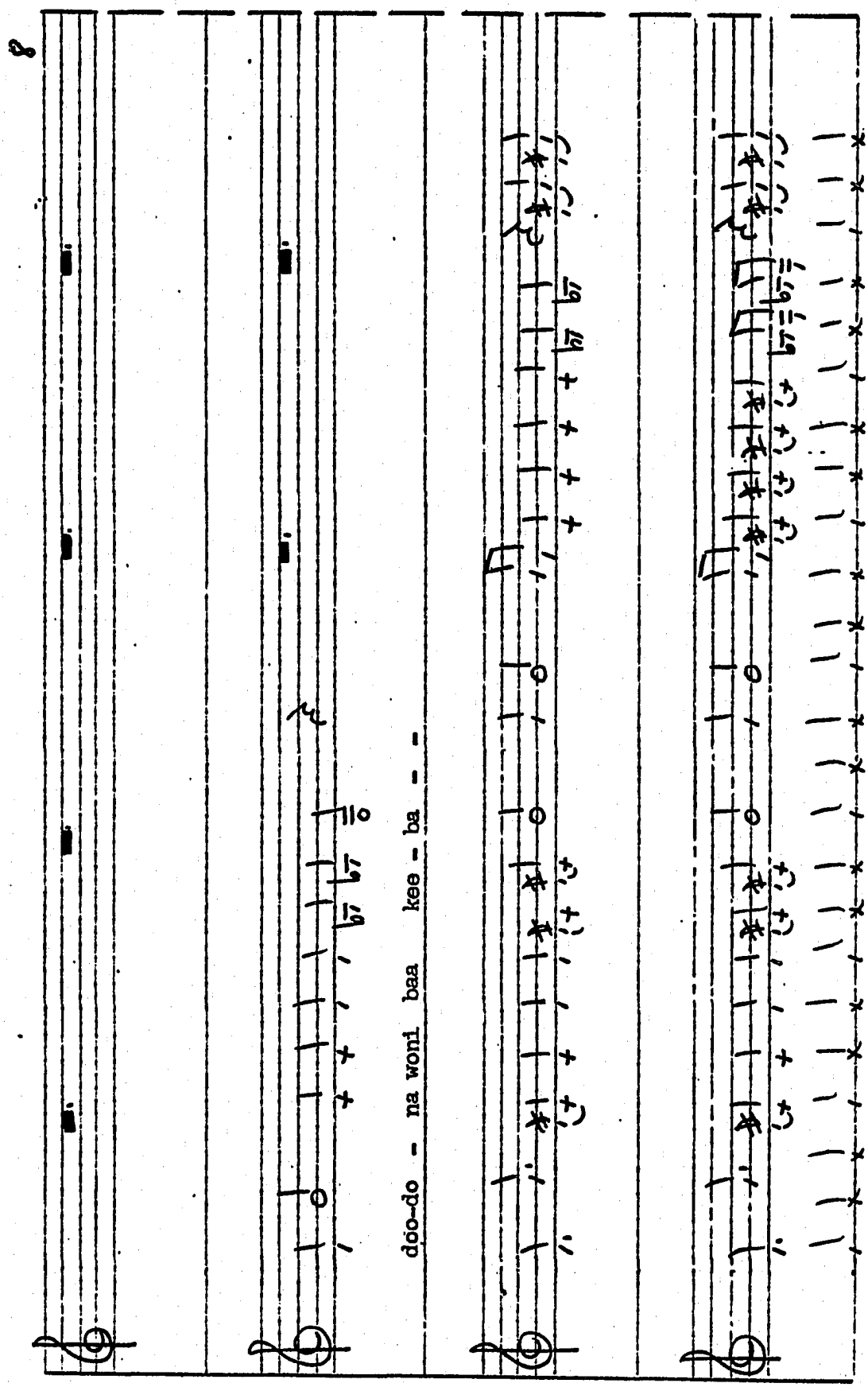
1967

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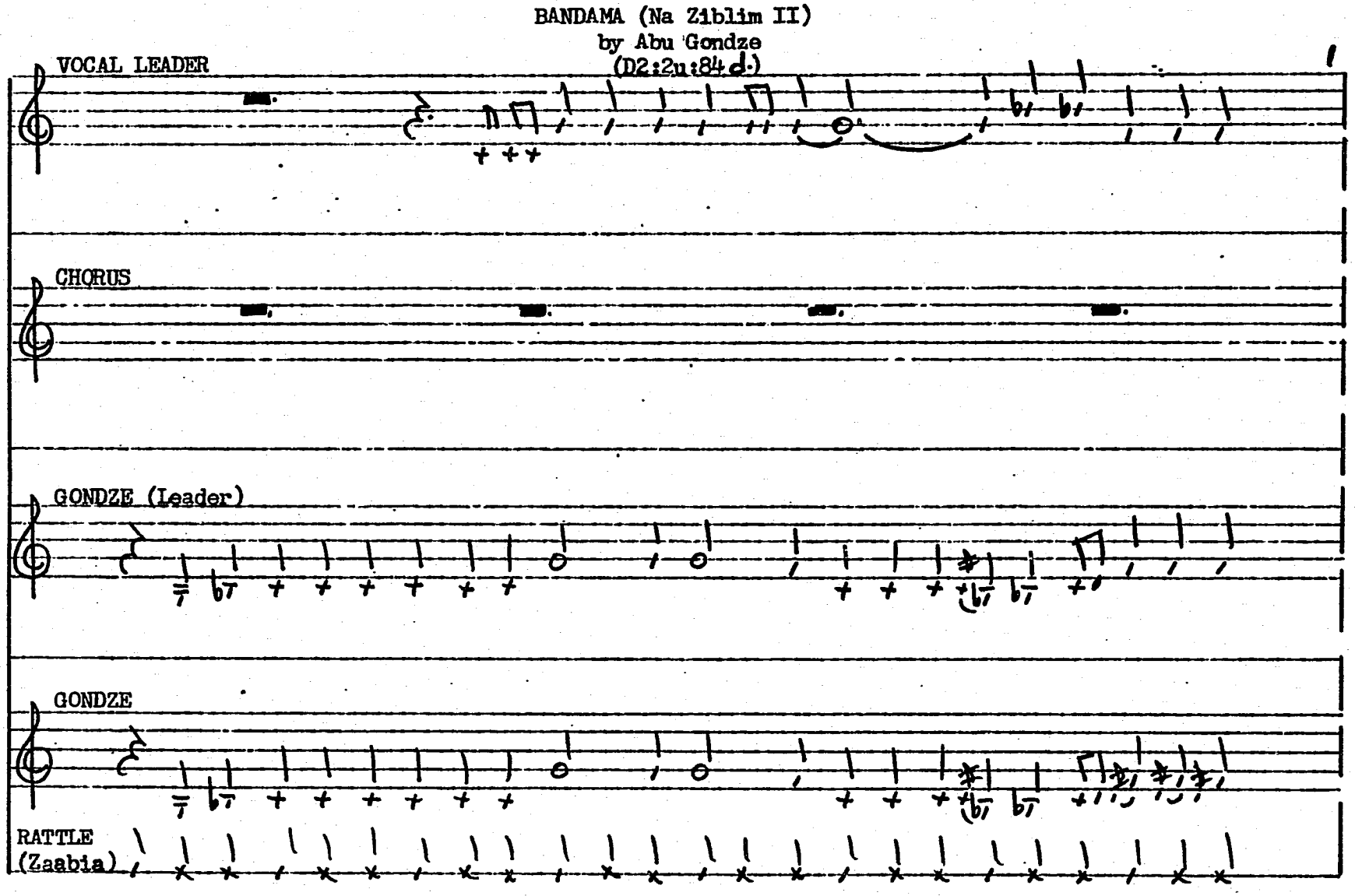
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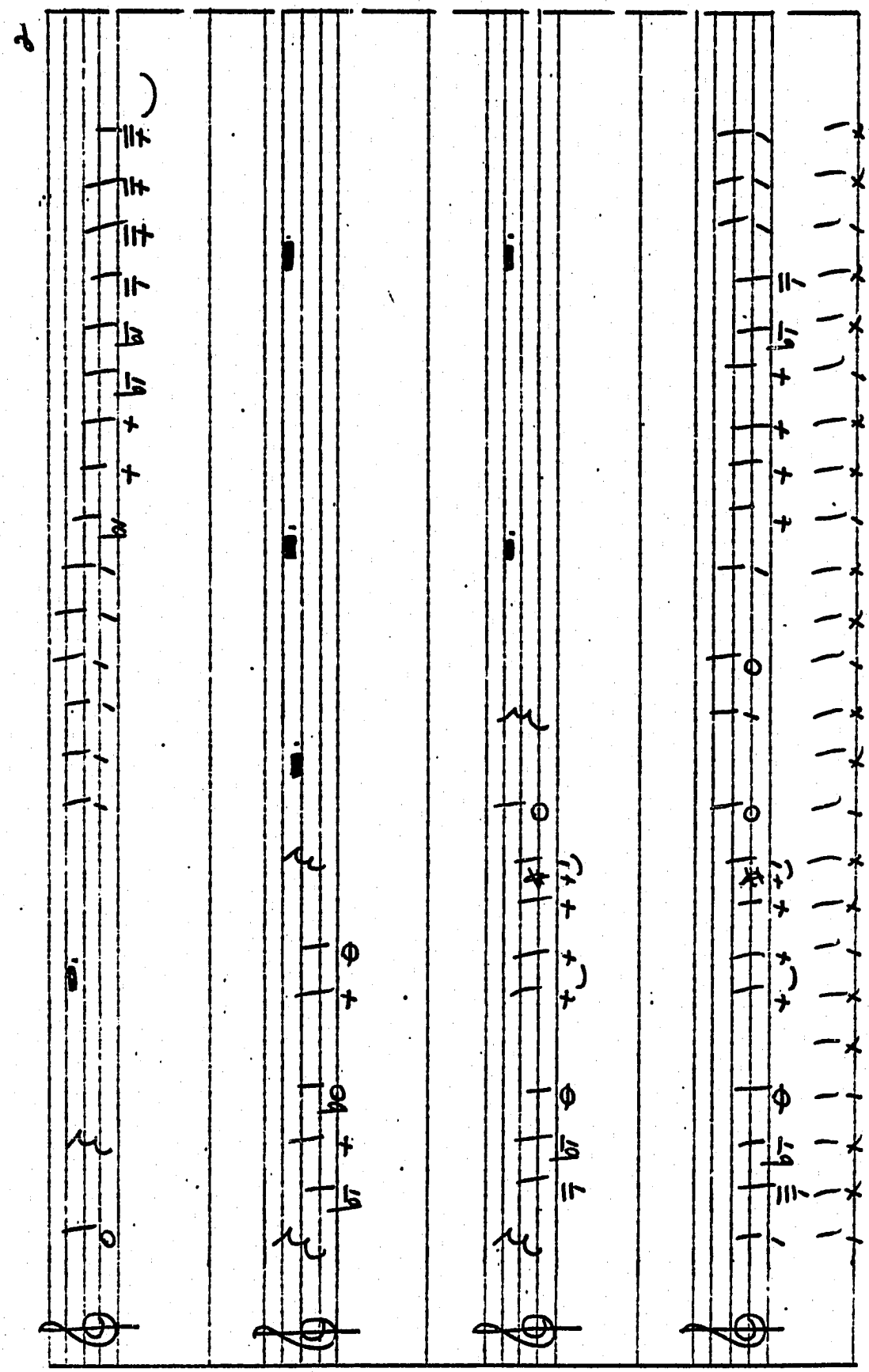




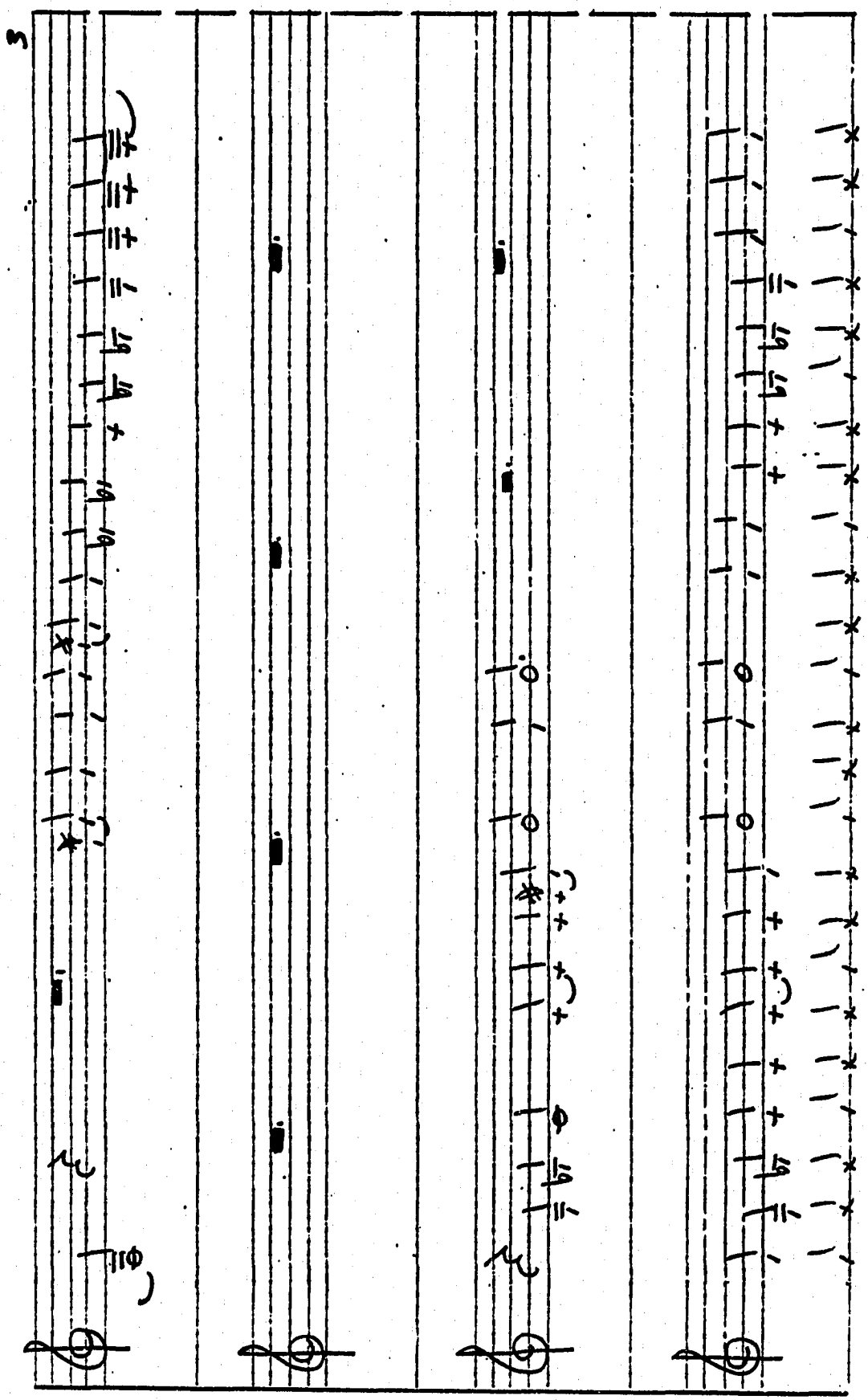
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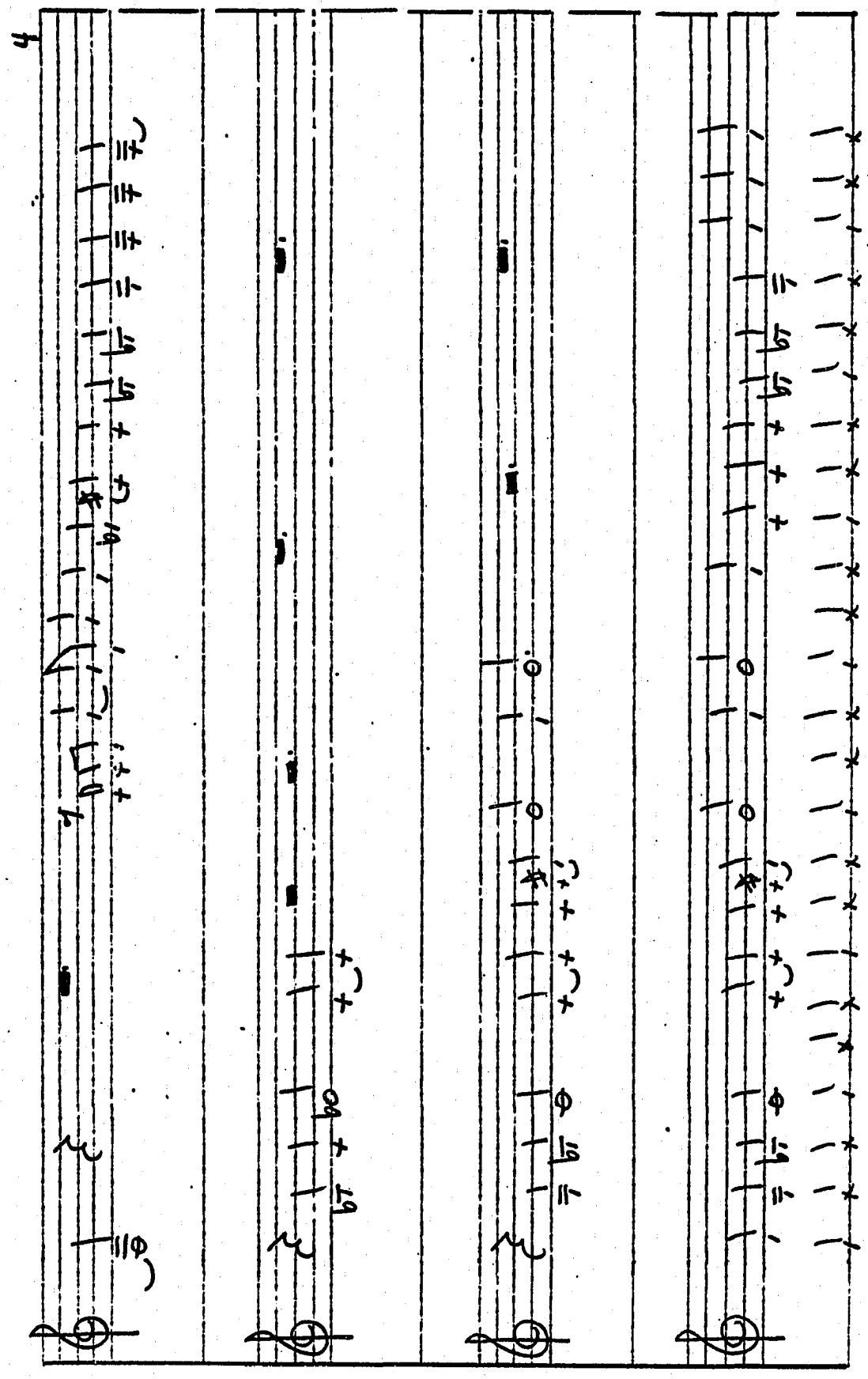




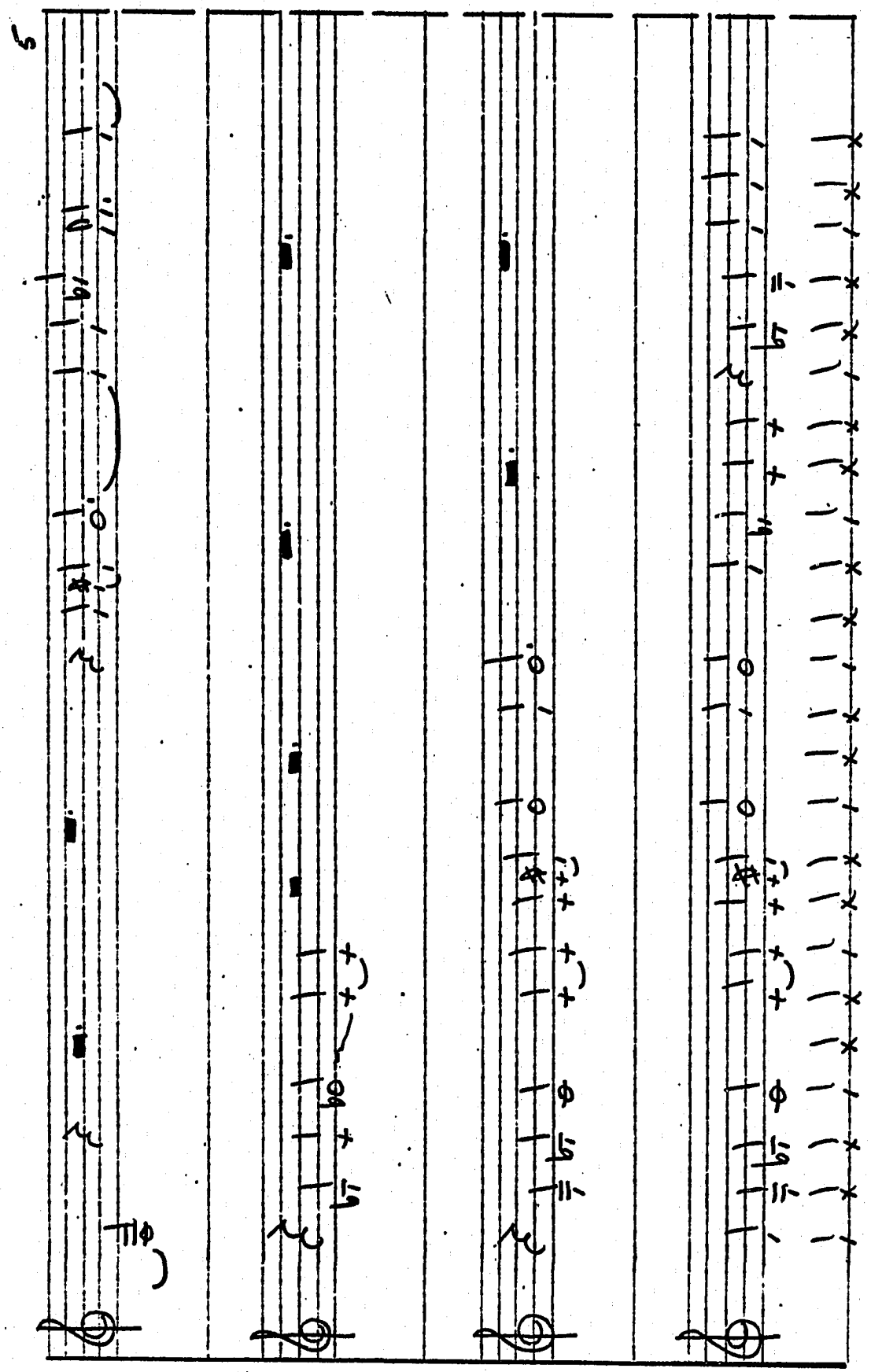
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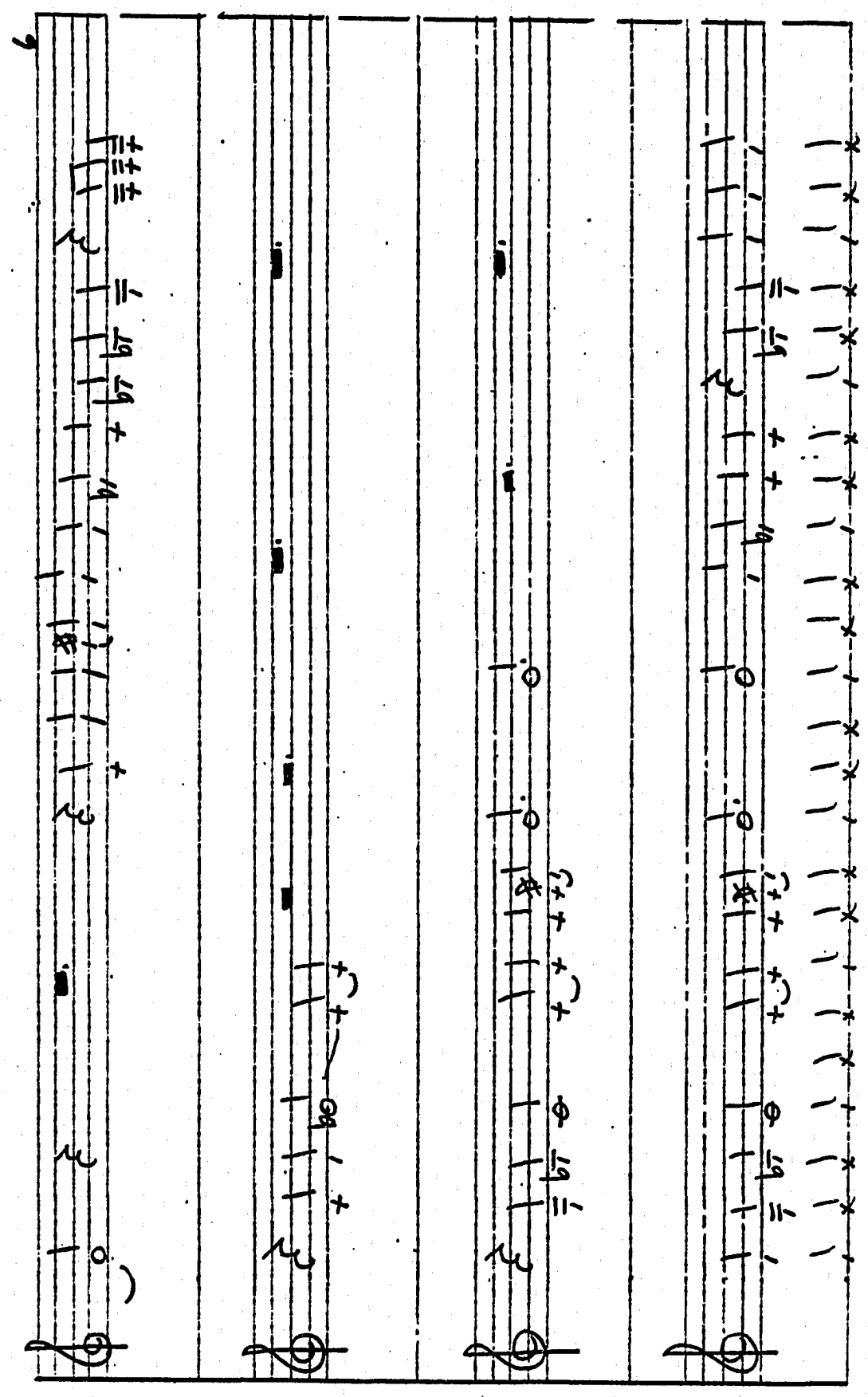
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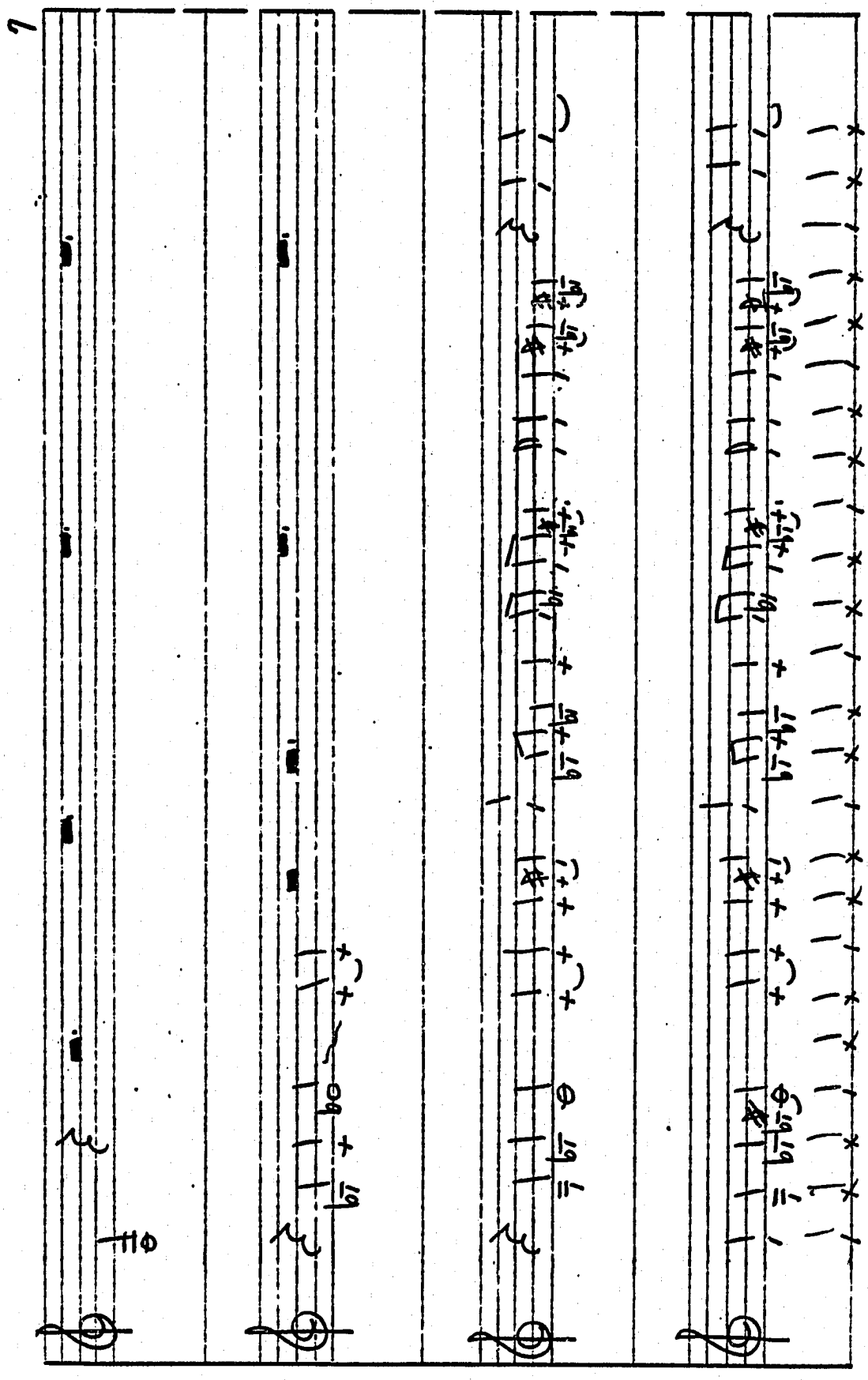
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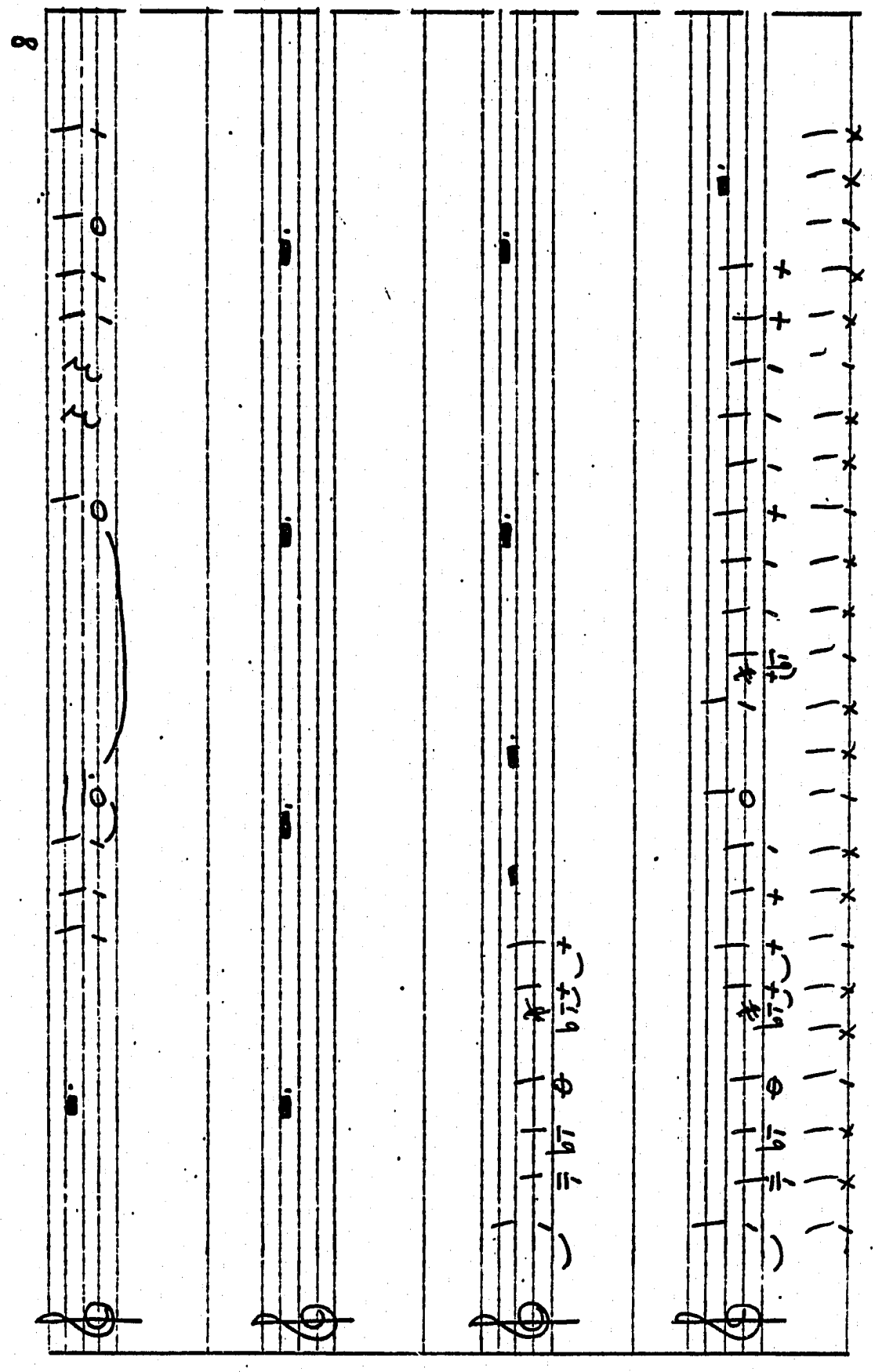
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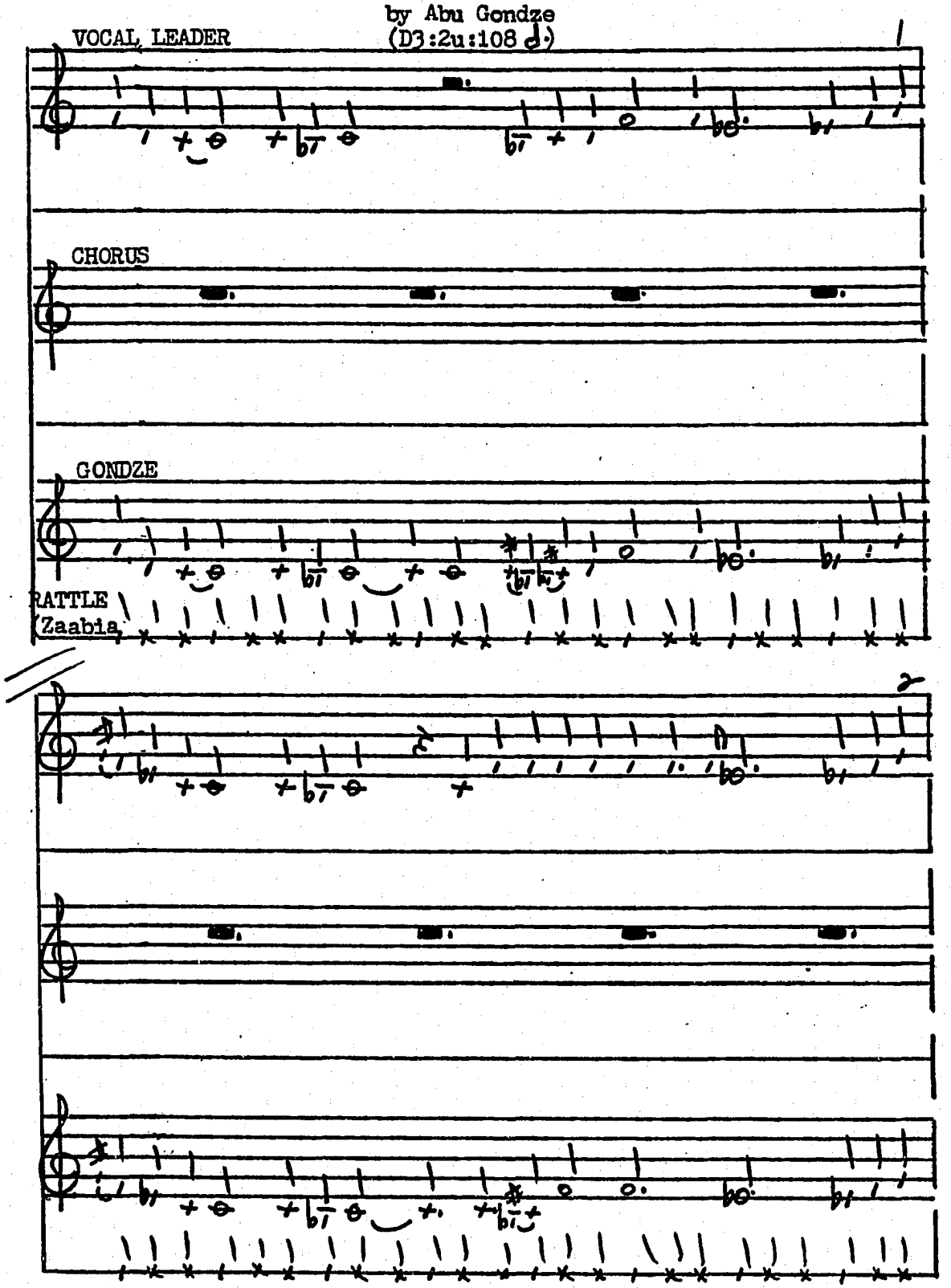


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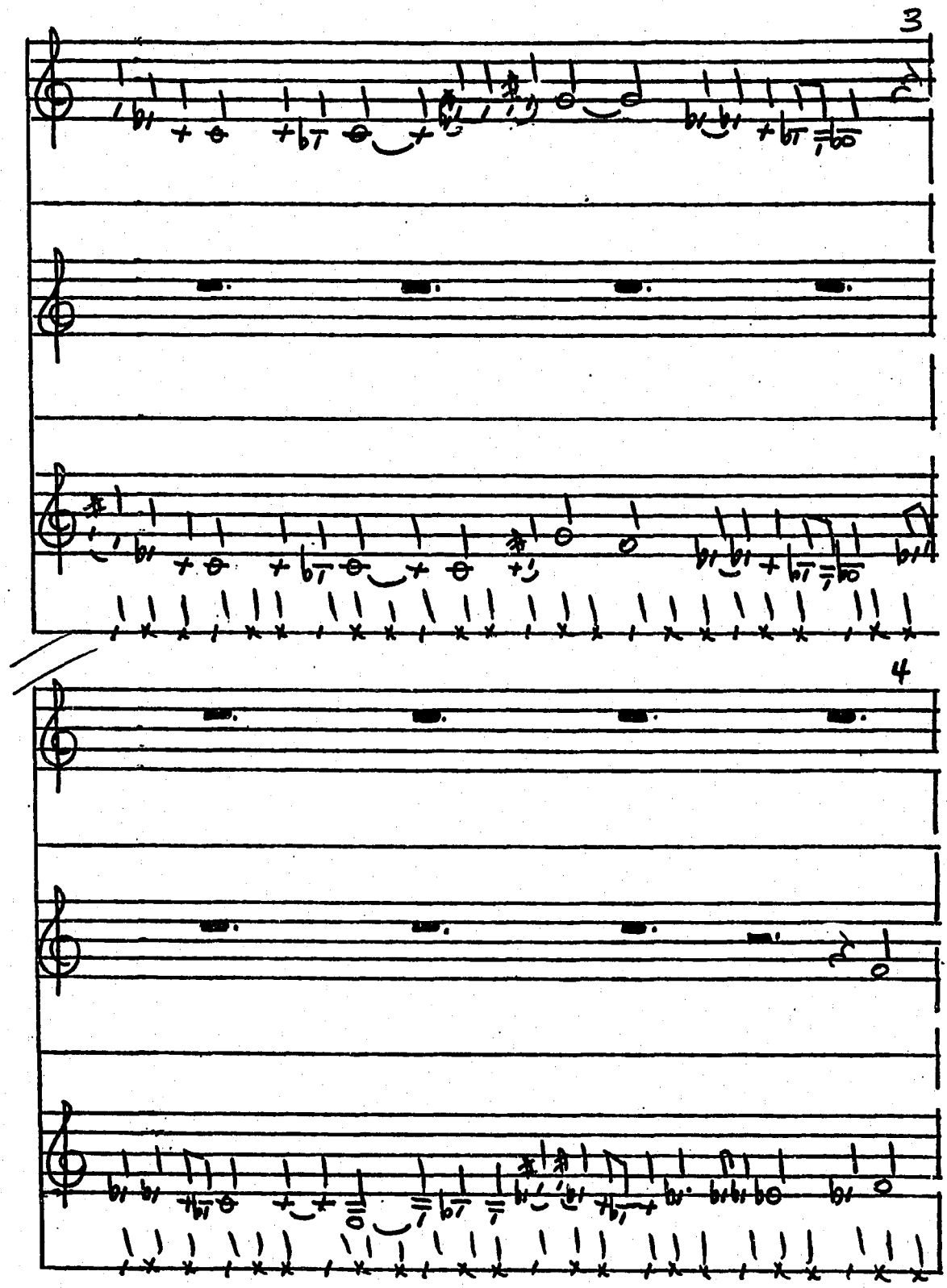


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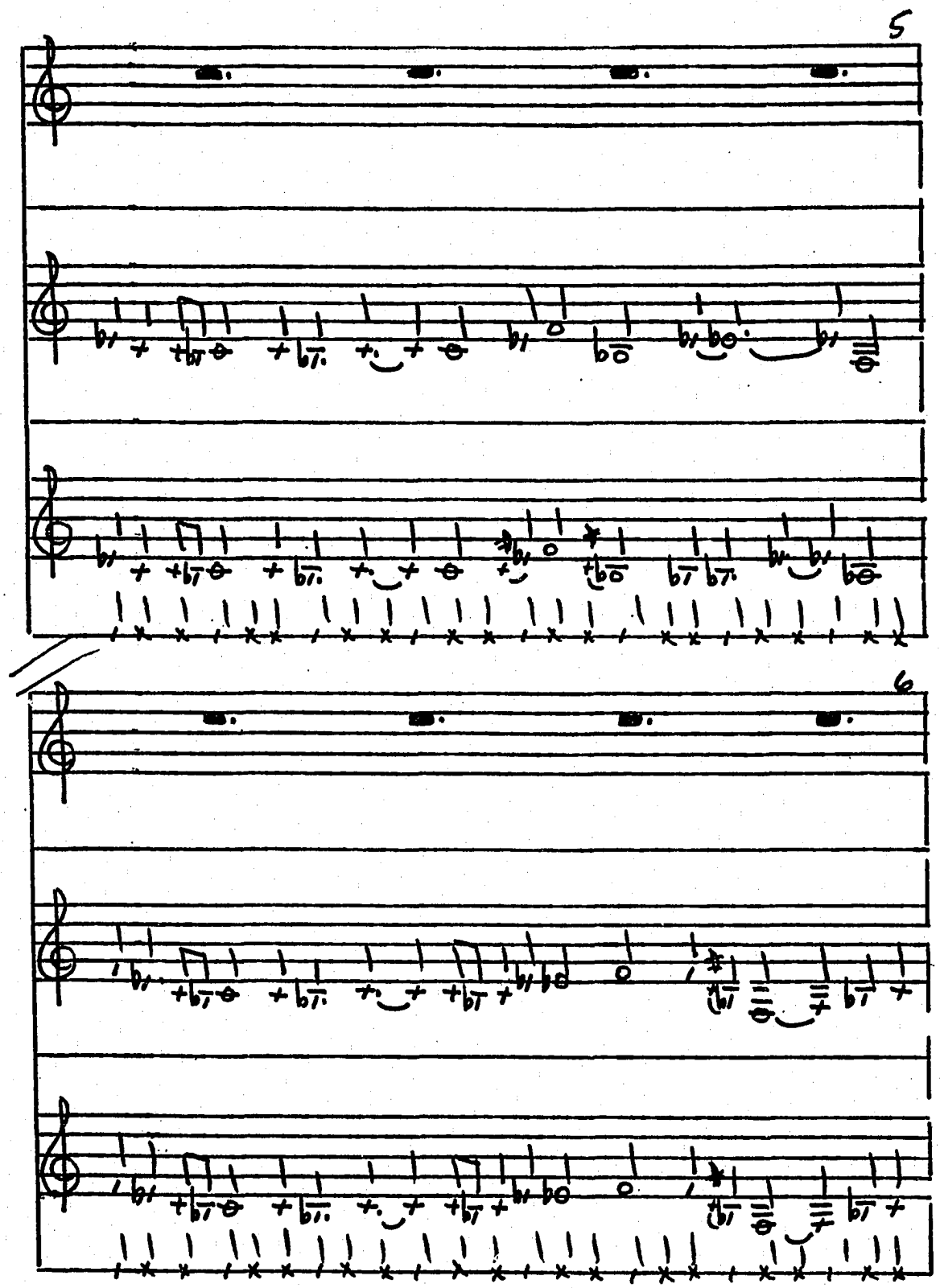
ADAN SUN CHI SUN SO
(Na Saa Ziblim I)
by Abu Gondze
(D3:2u:108 ♩.)



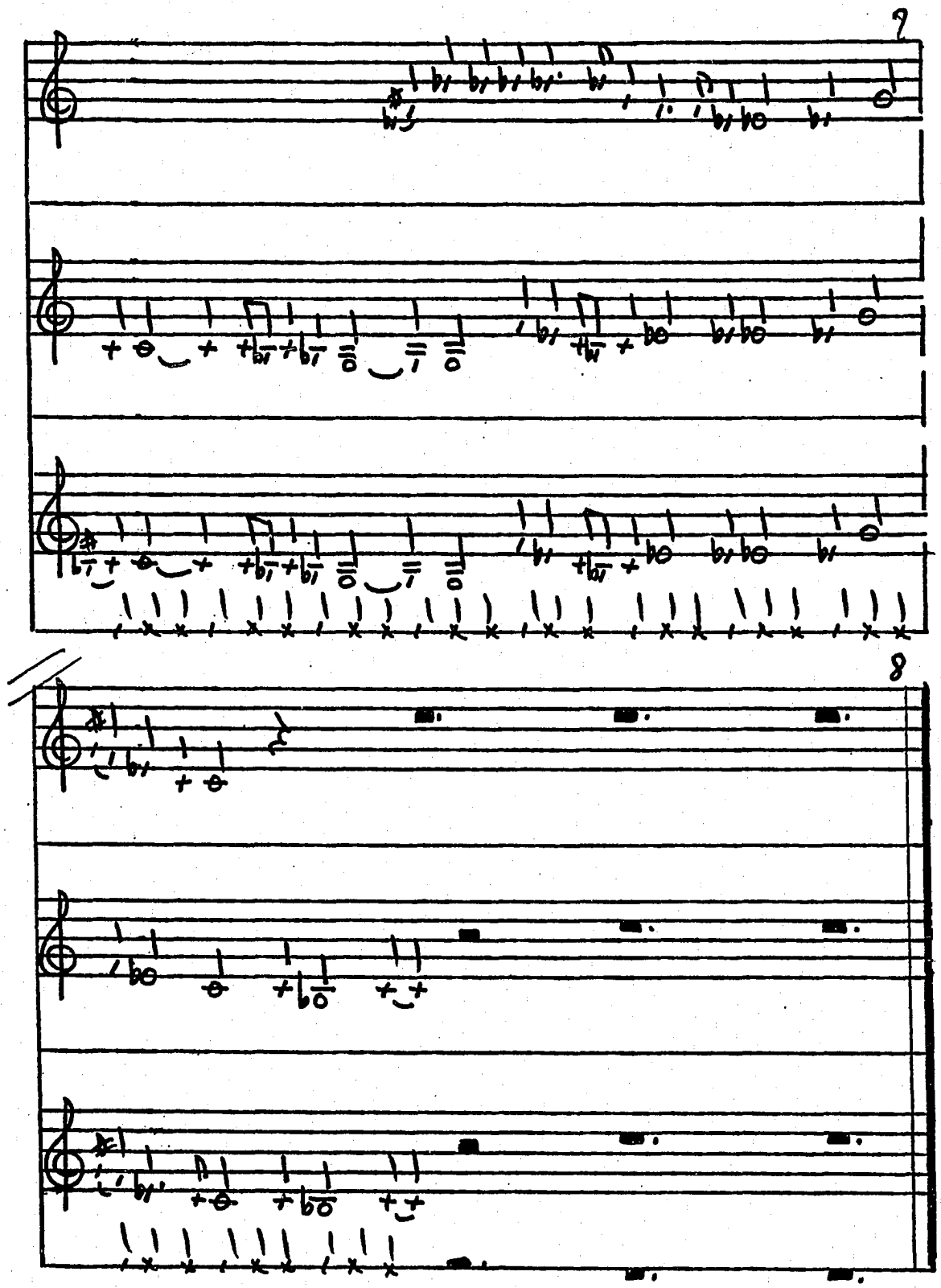
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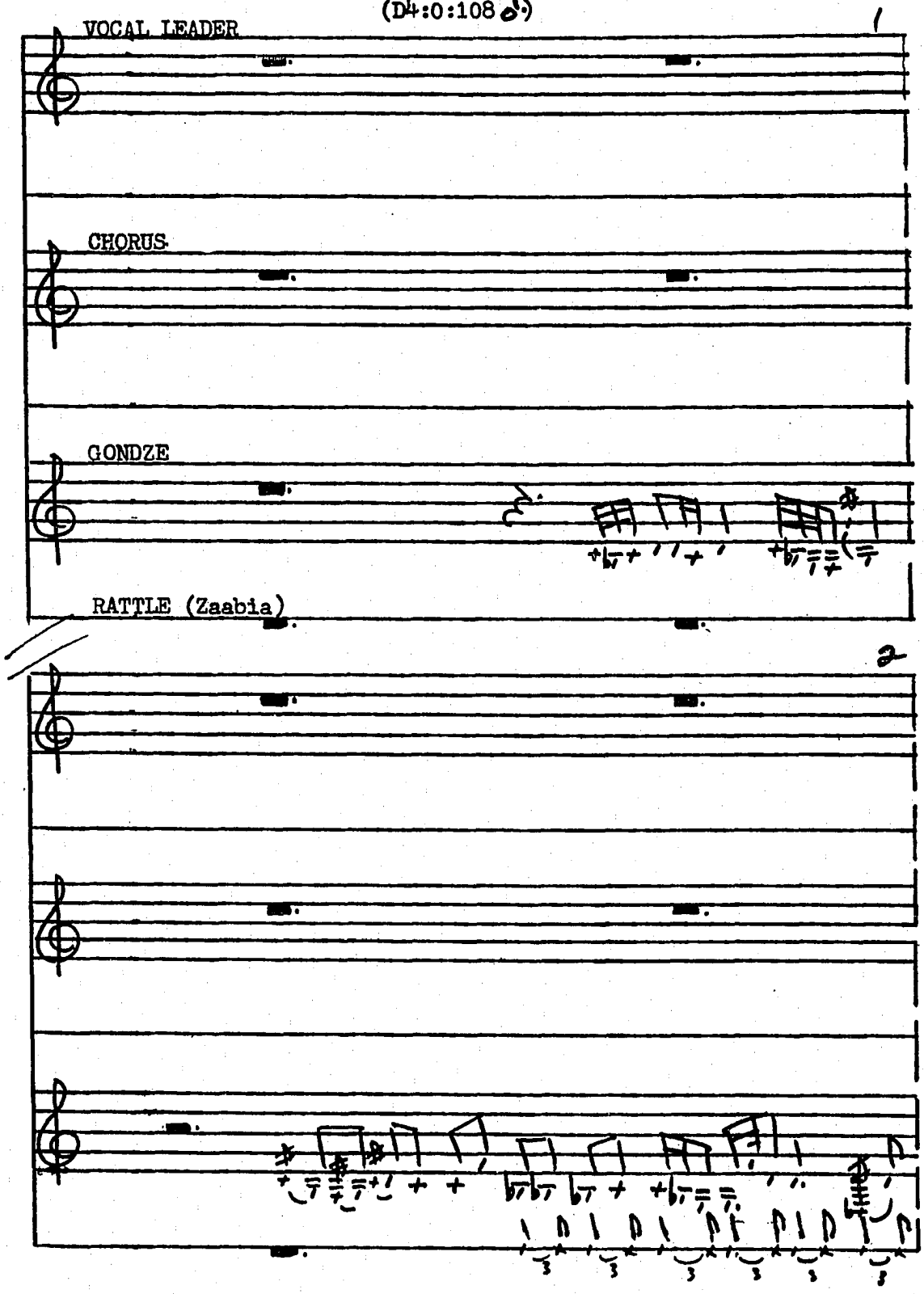


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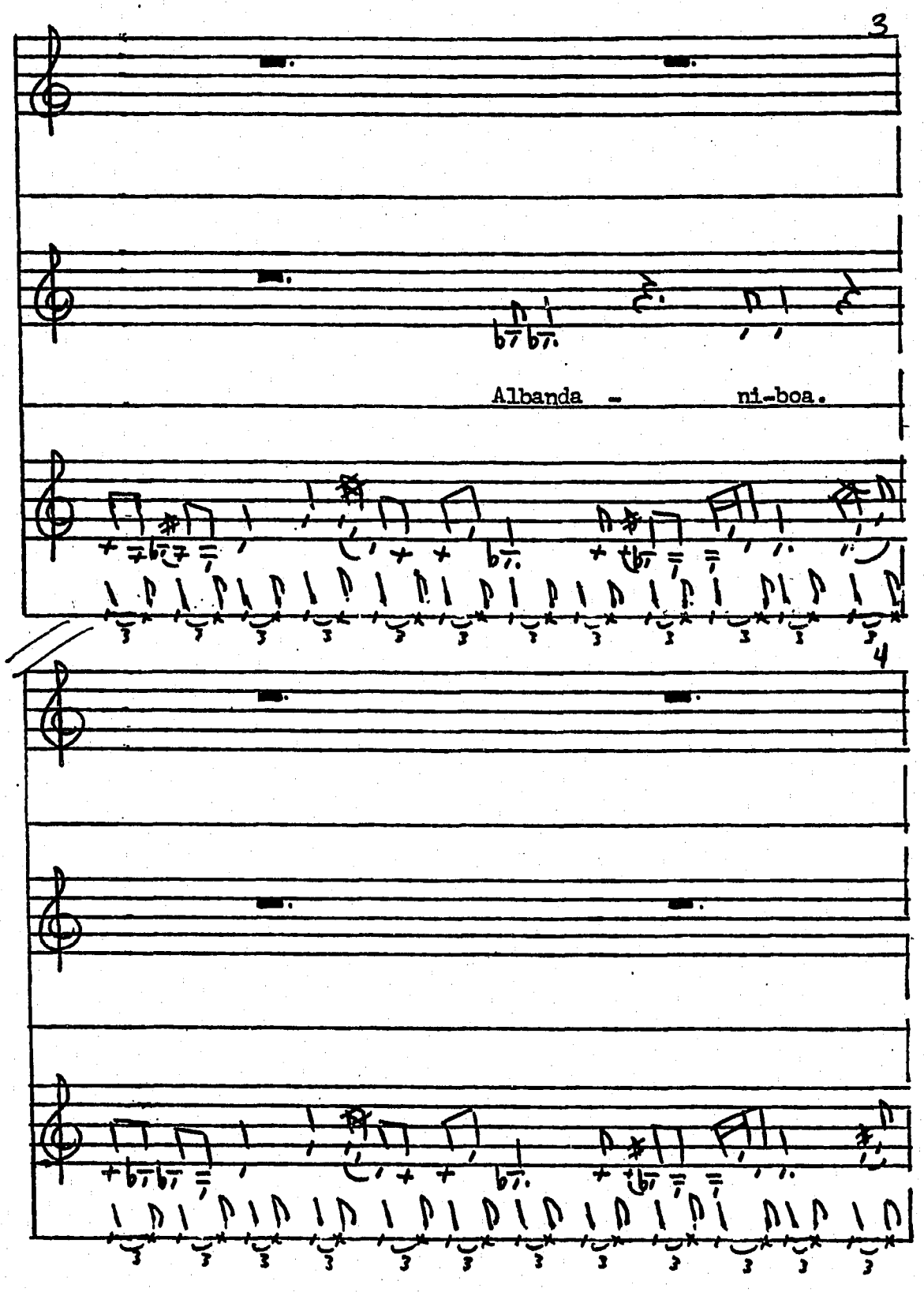


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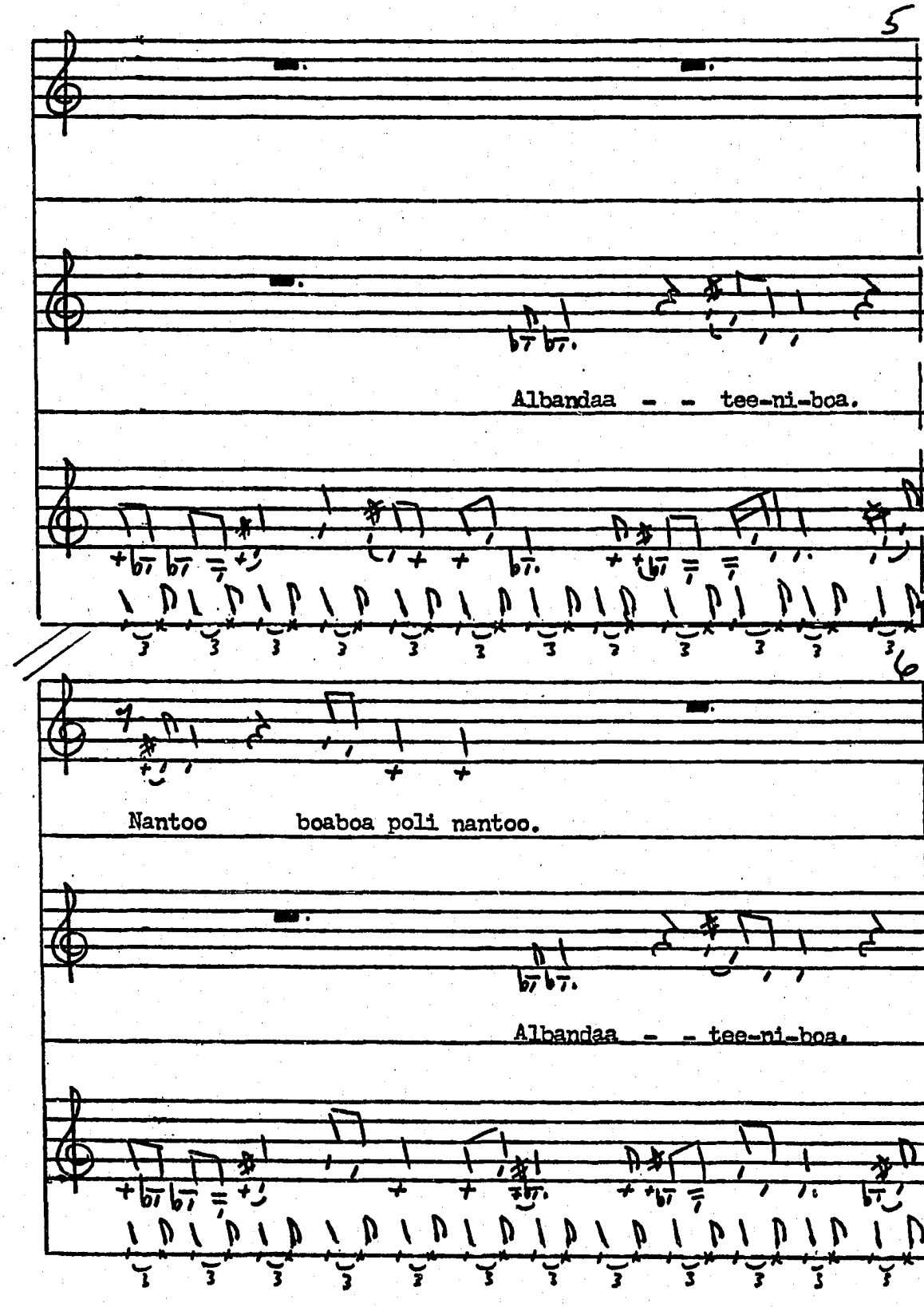
NANTOH (Na Yakuba I)
by Alhassan Gondze
(D4:0:108 ♩.)



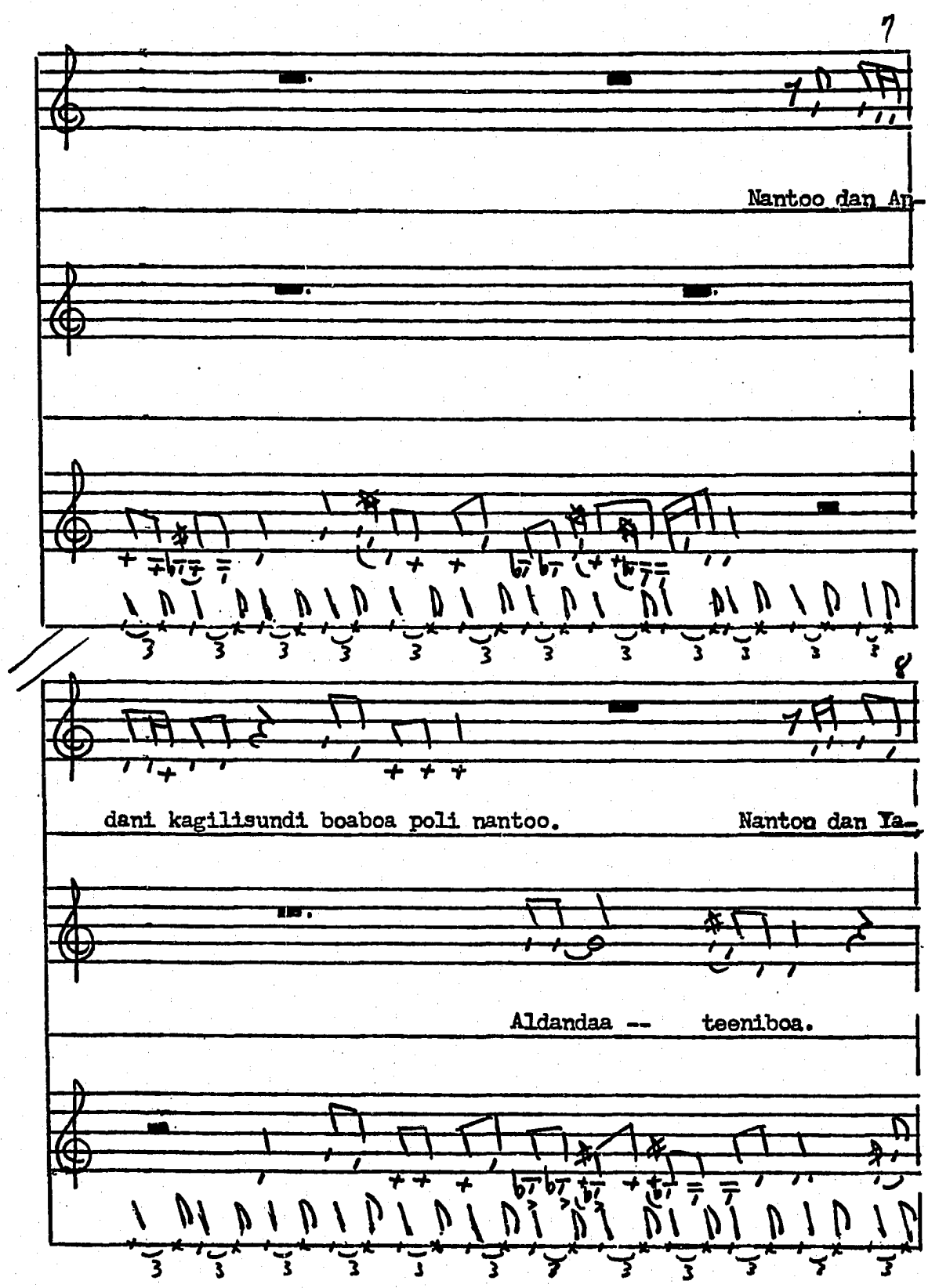
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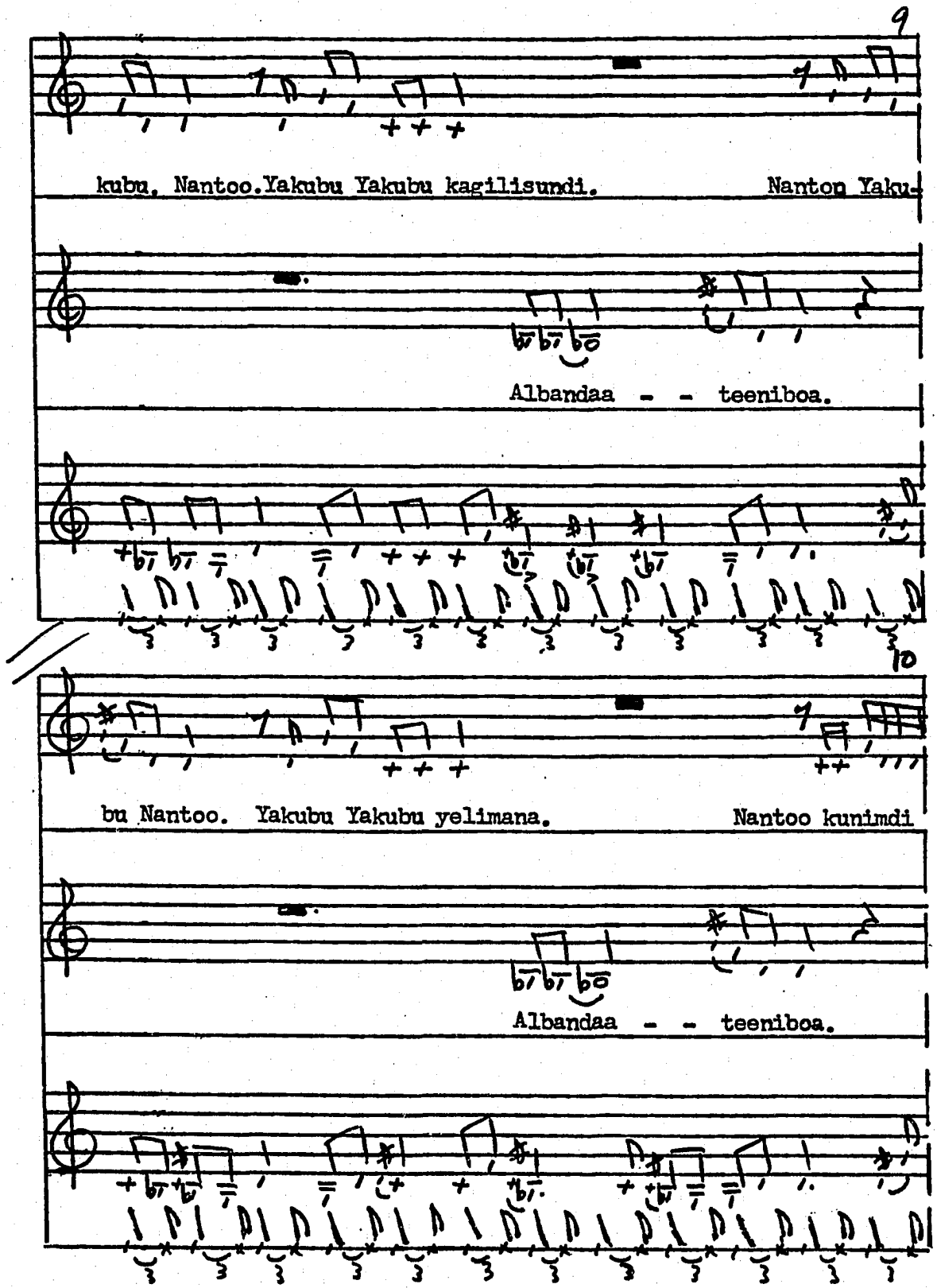
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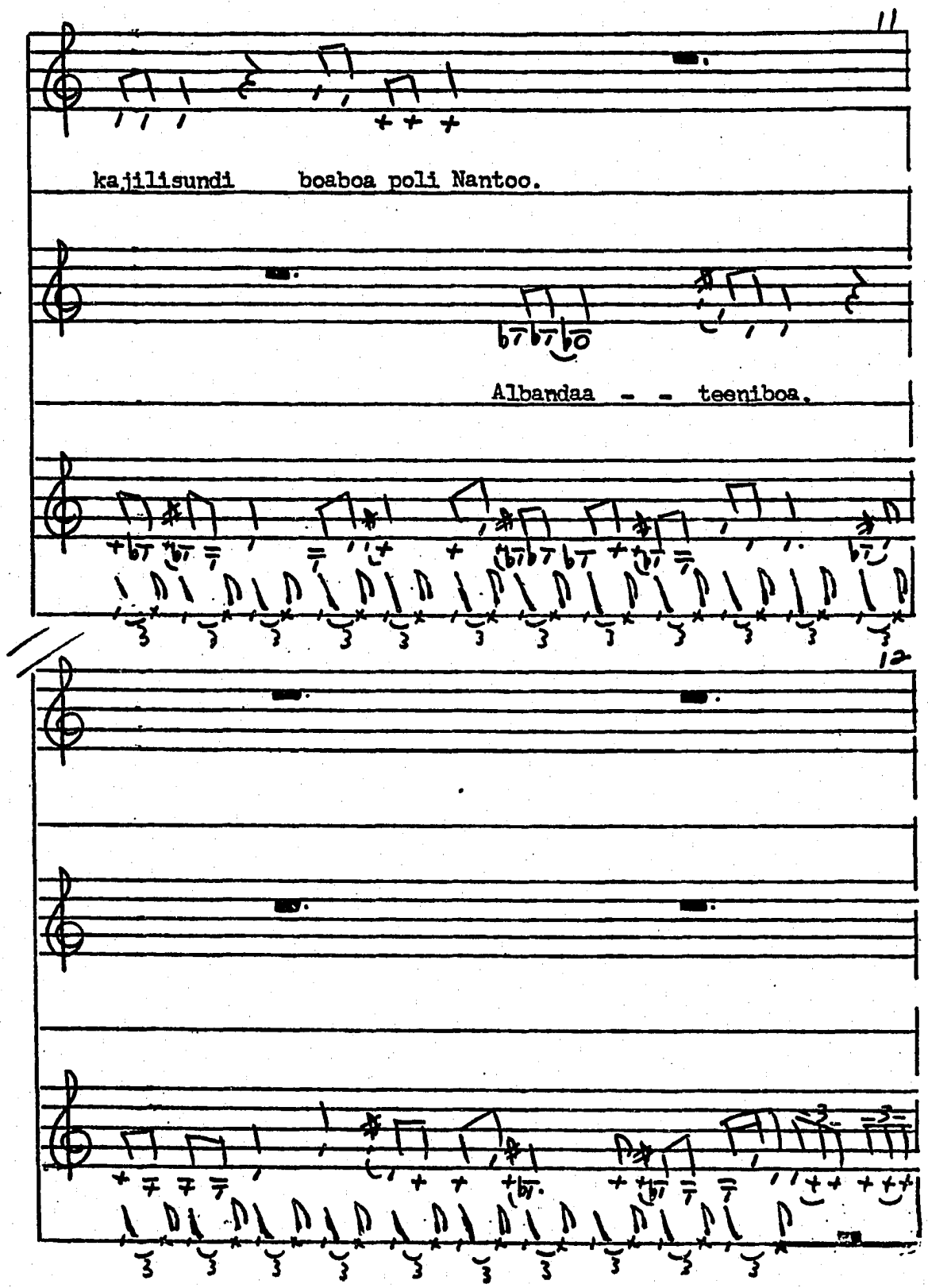
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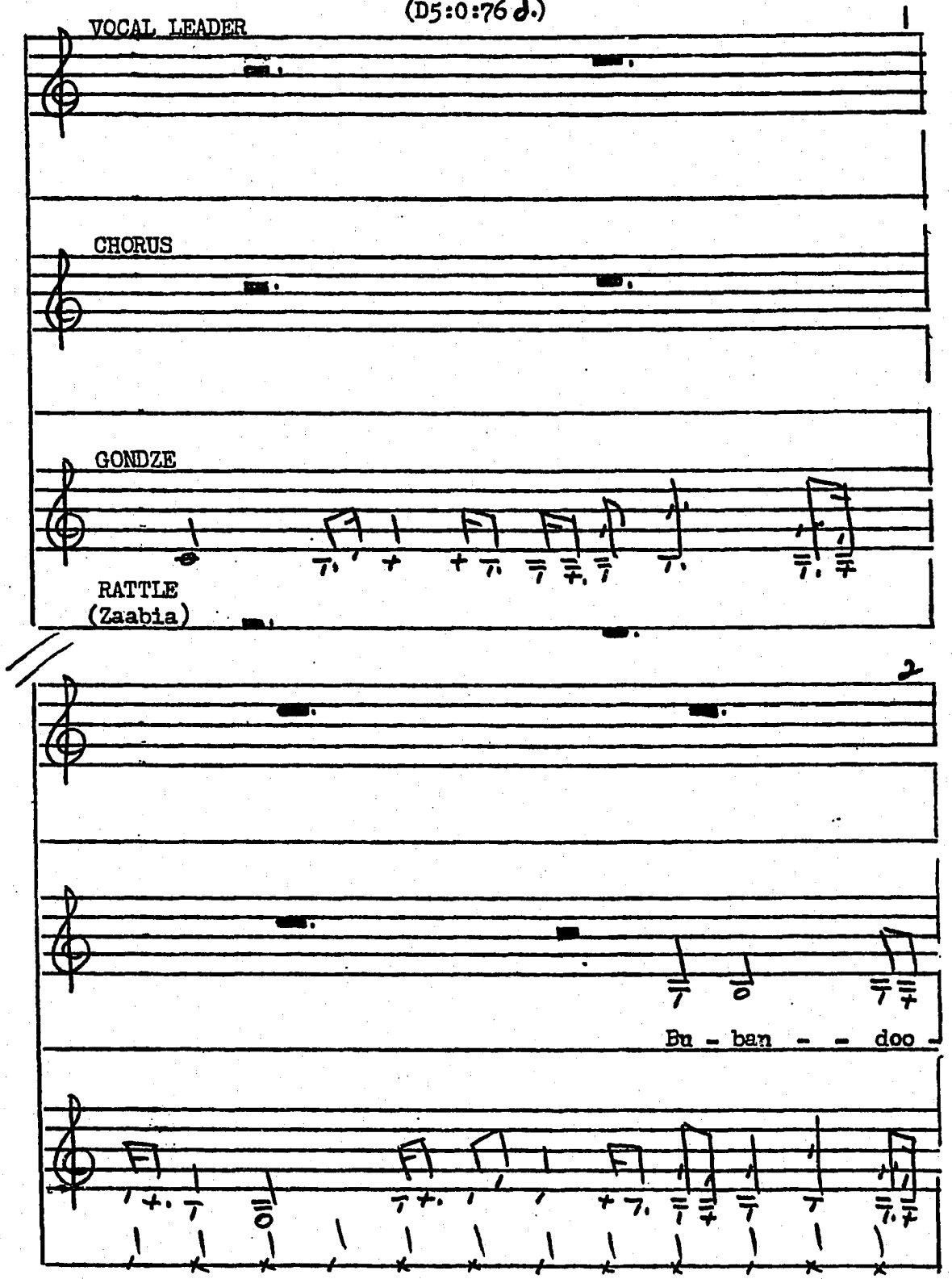


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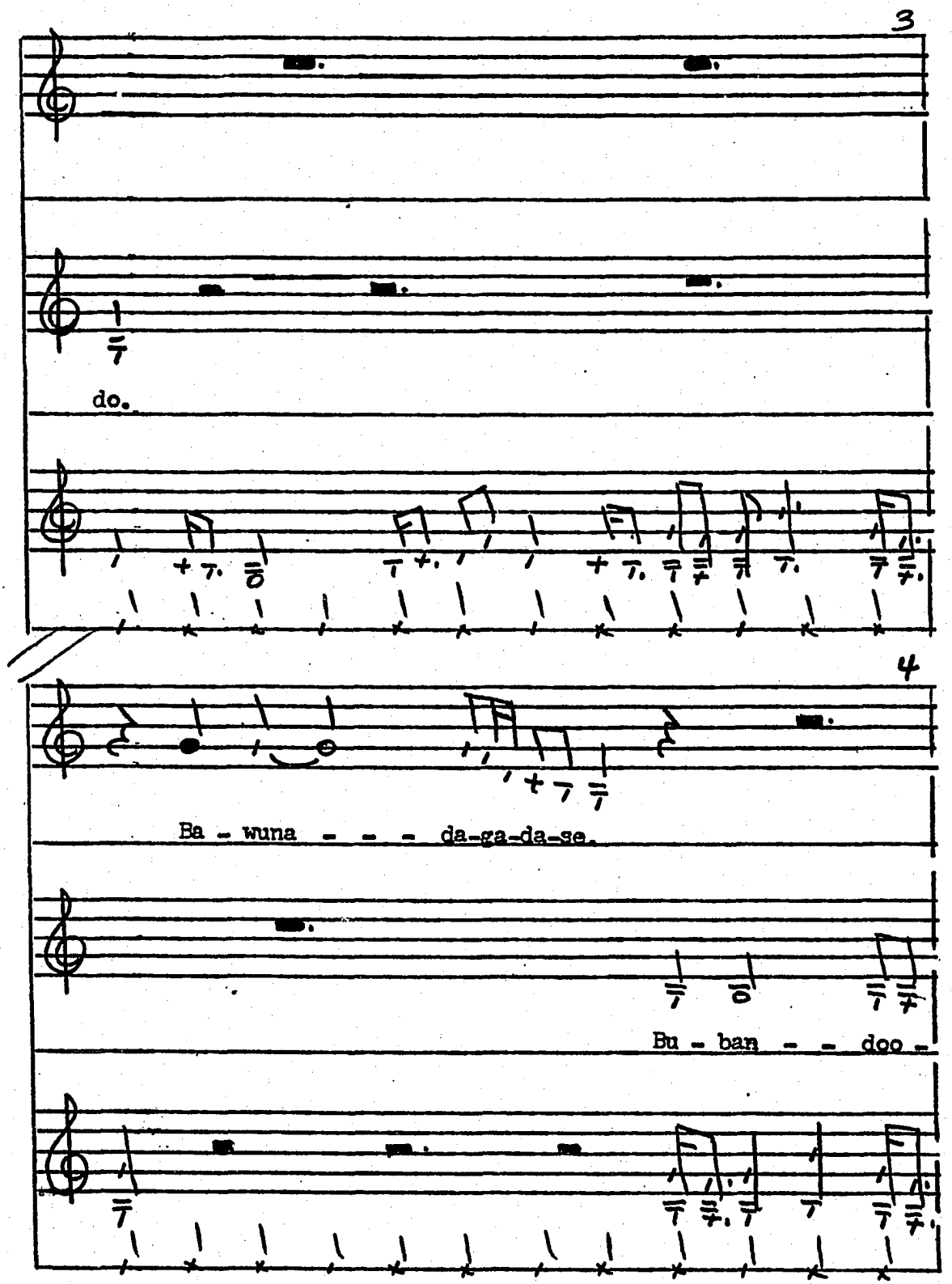


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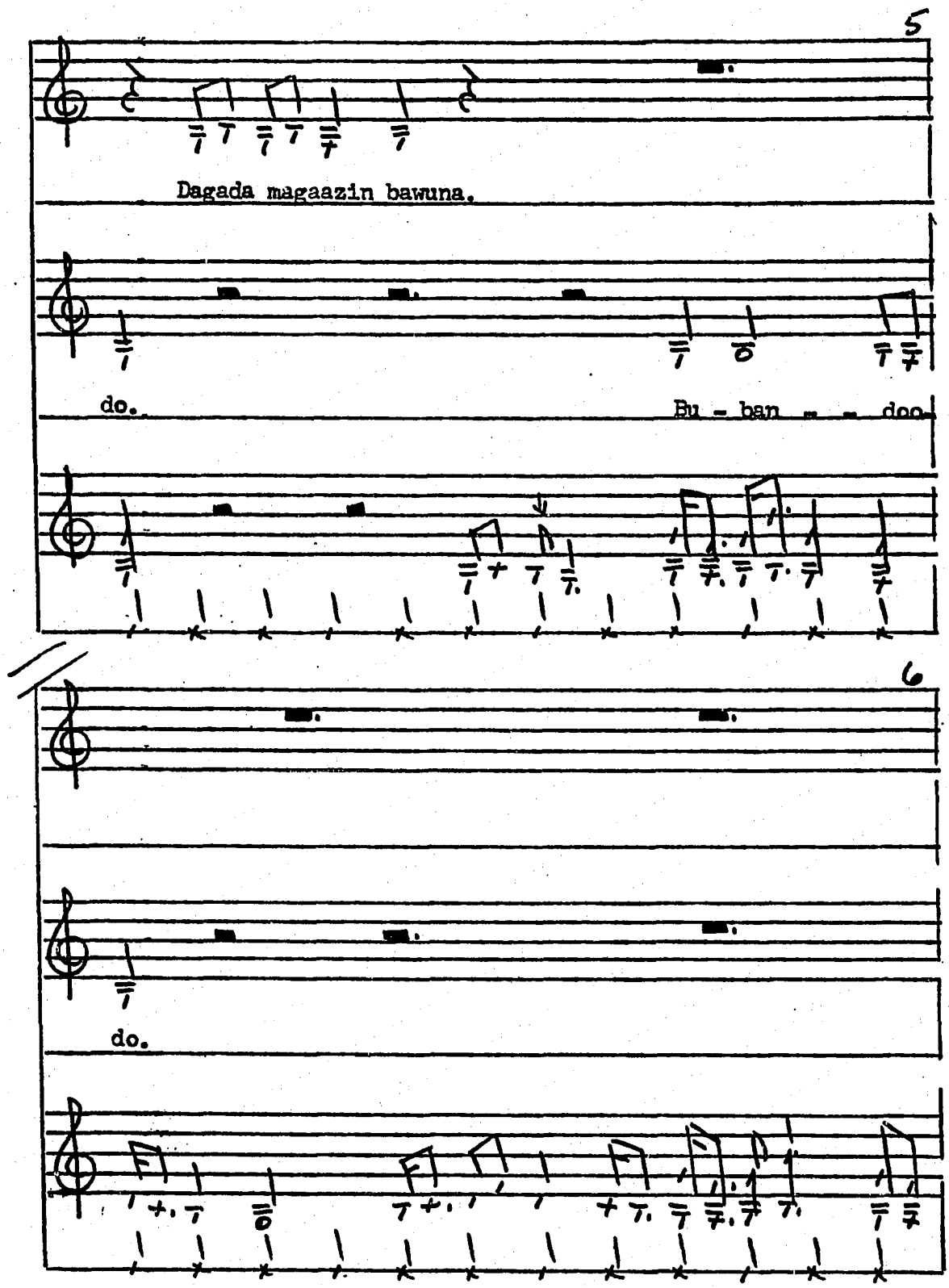
BAWUNA (Na Abdulai I)
by Alhassan Gondze
(D5:0:76 ♩.)



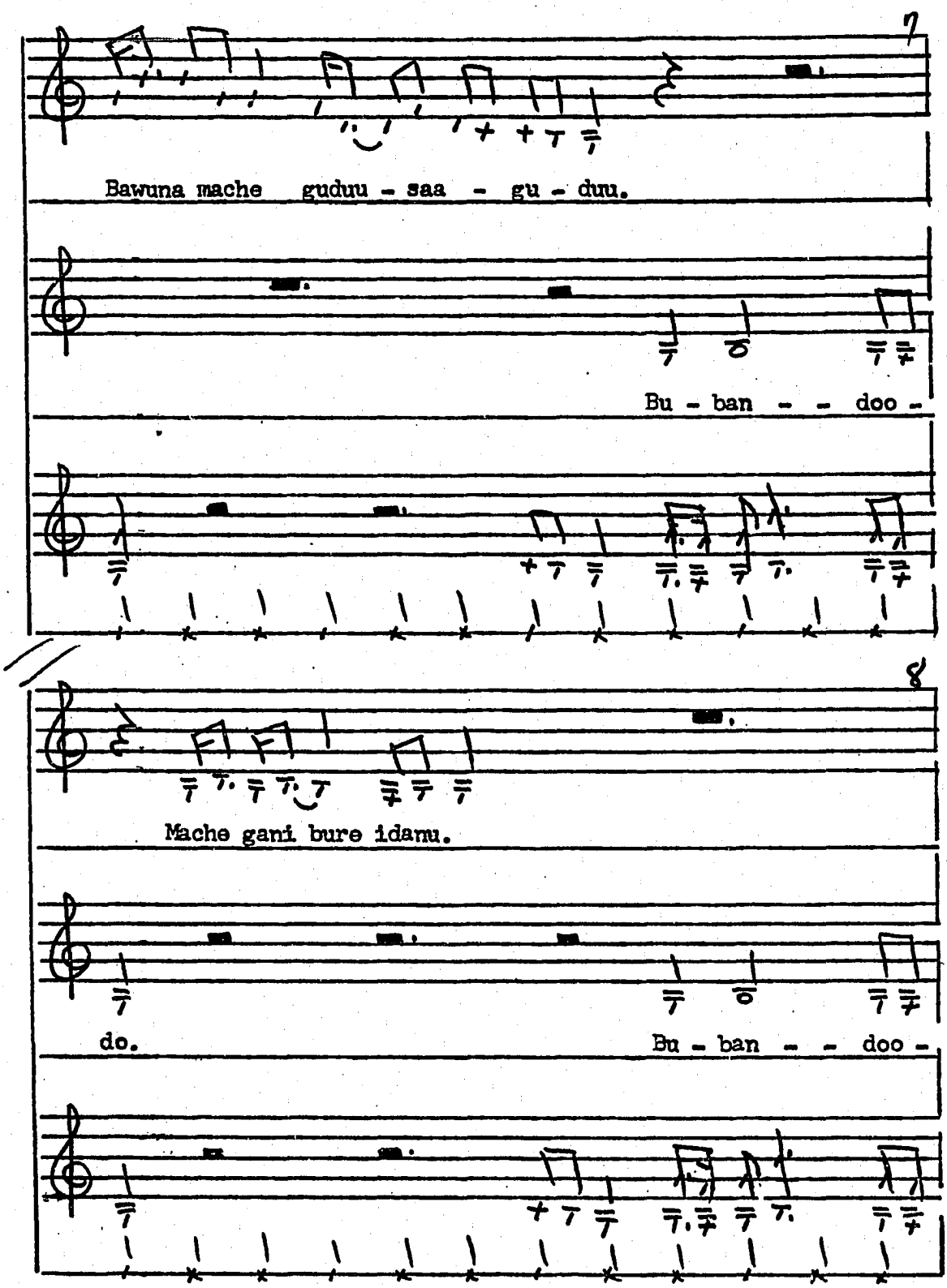
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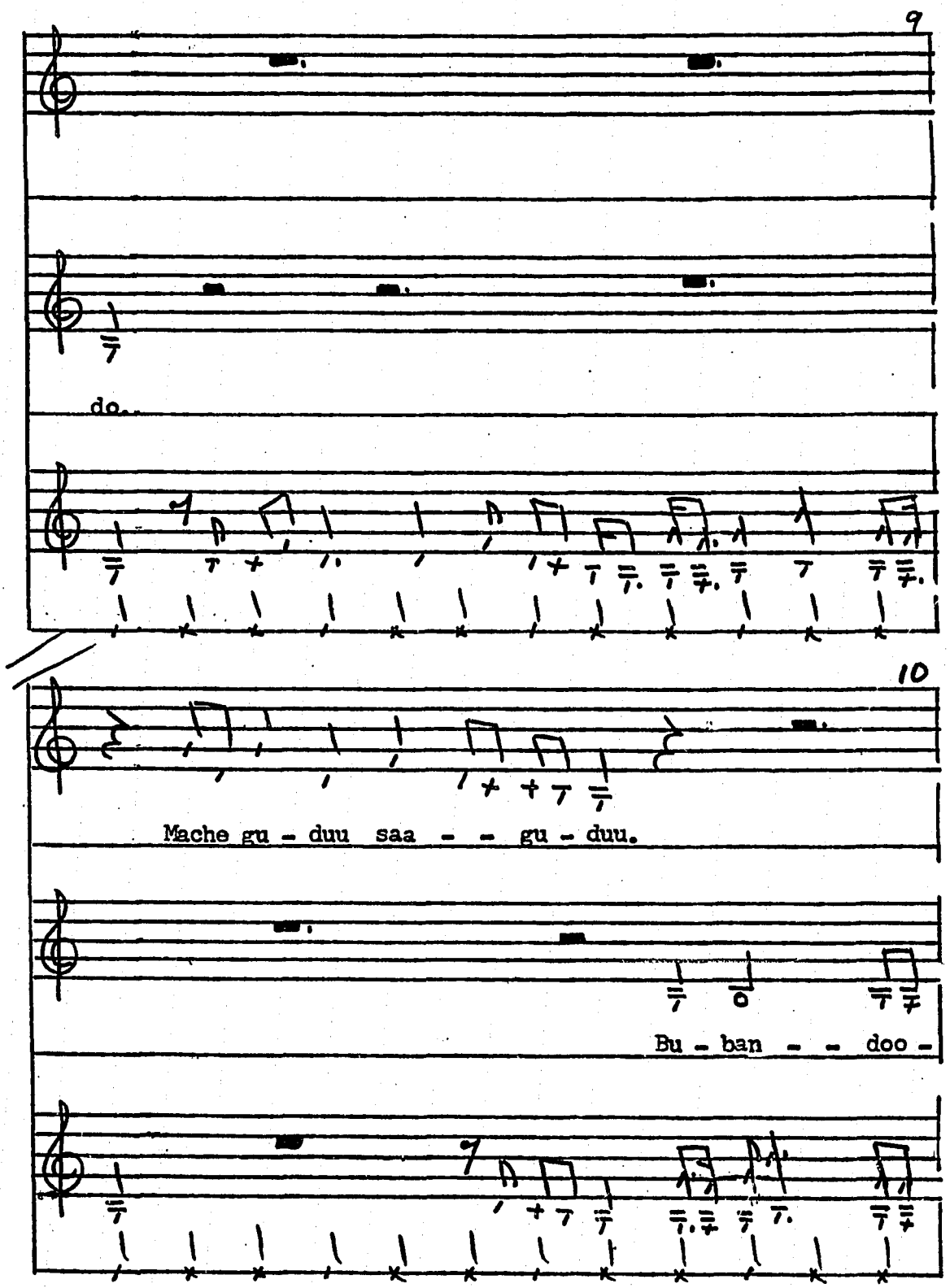
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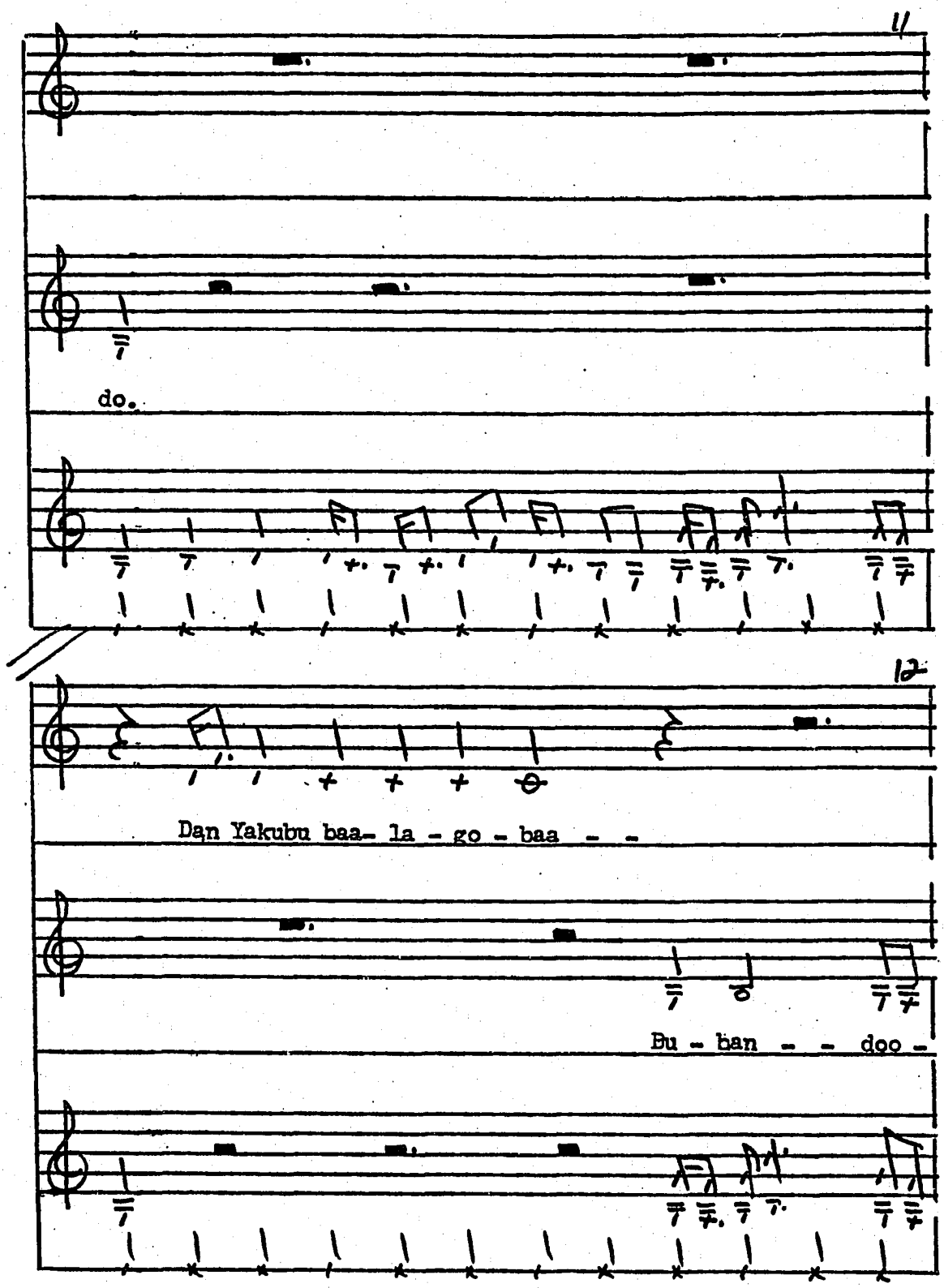
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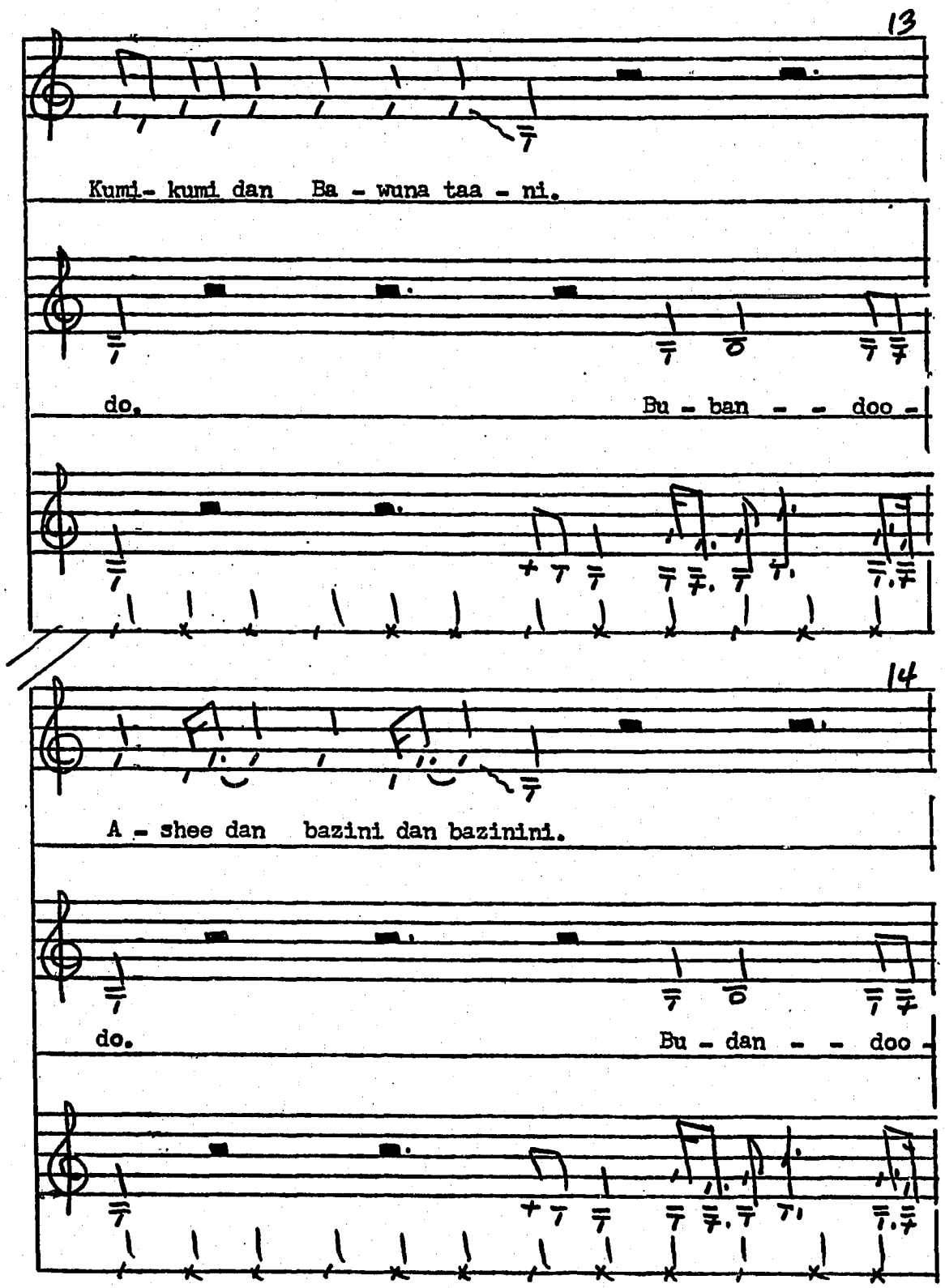
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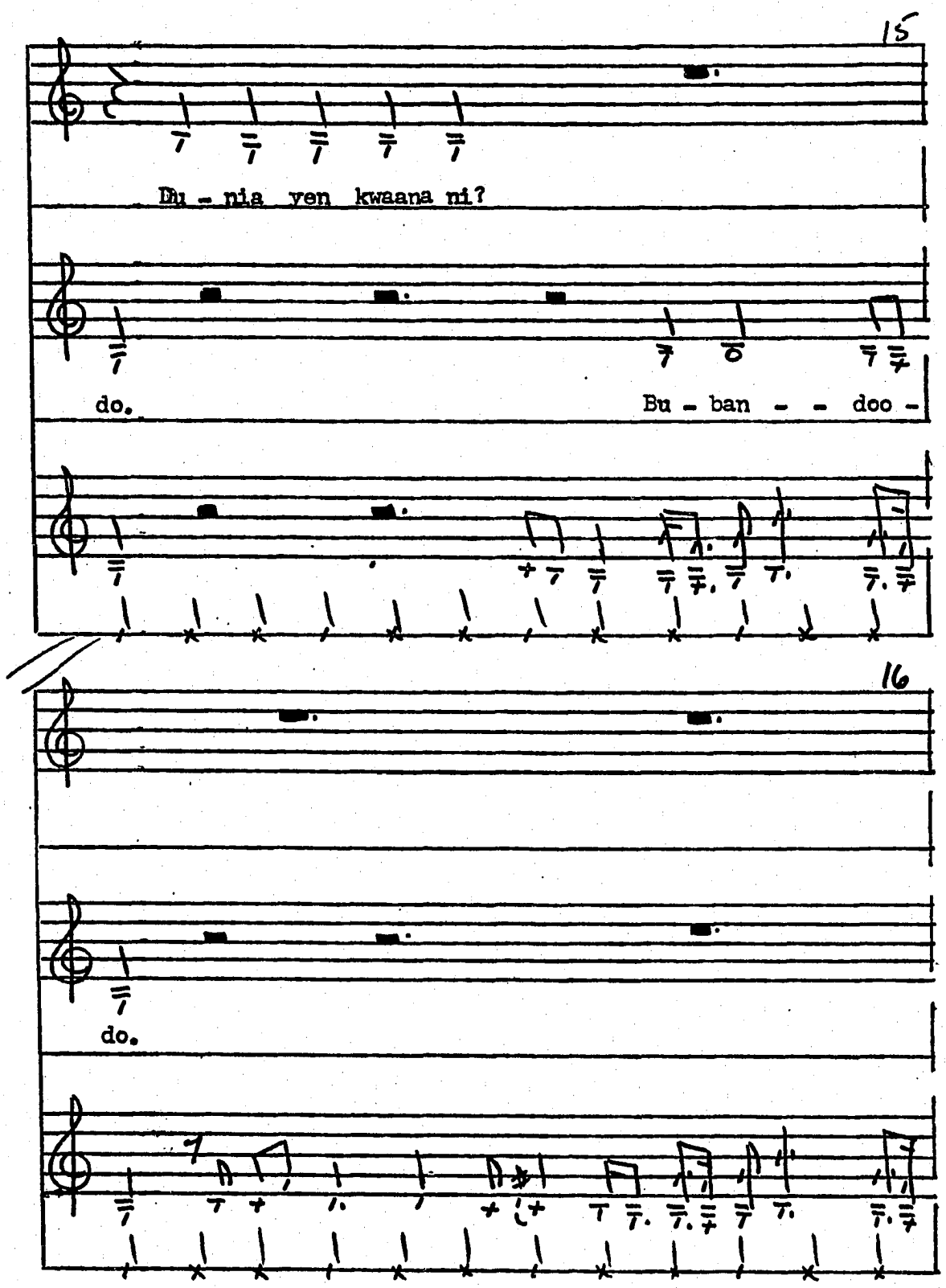
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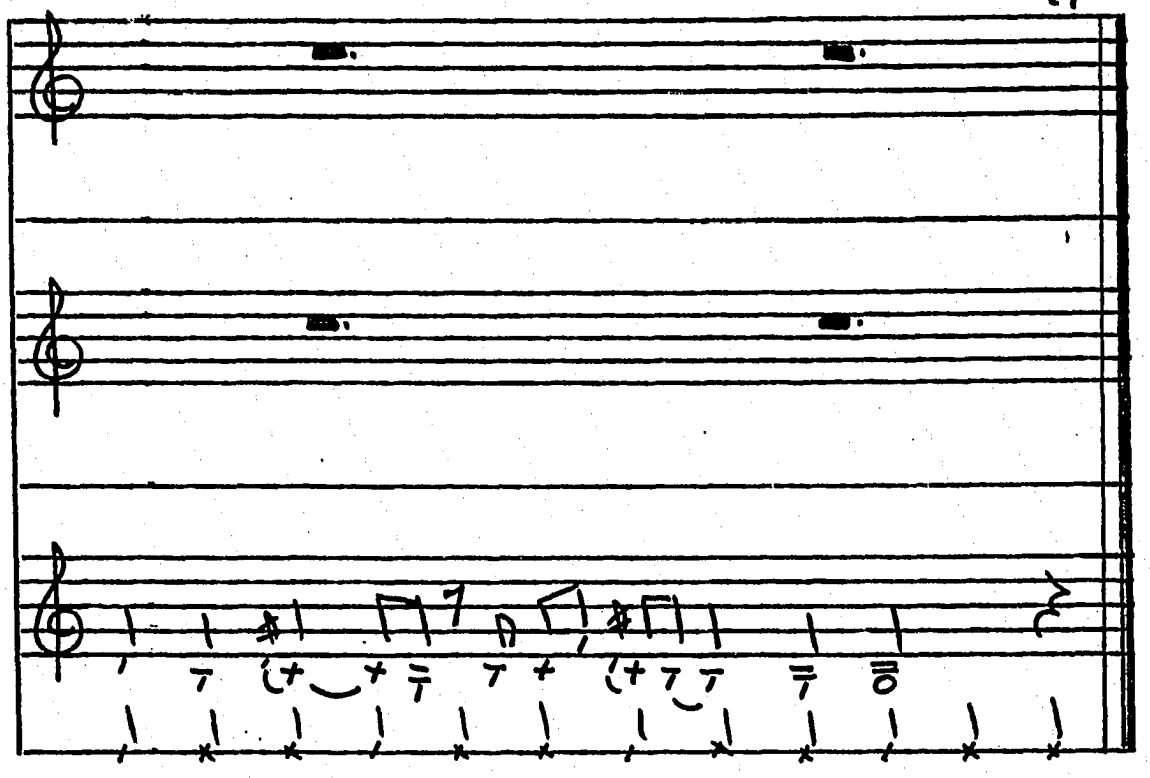


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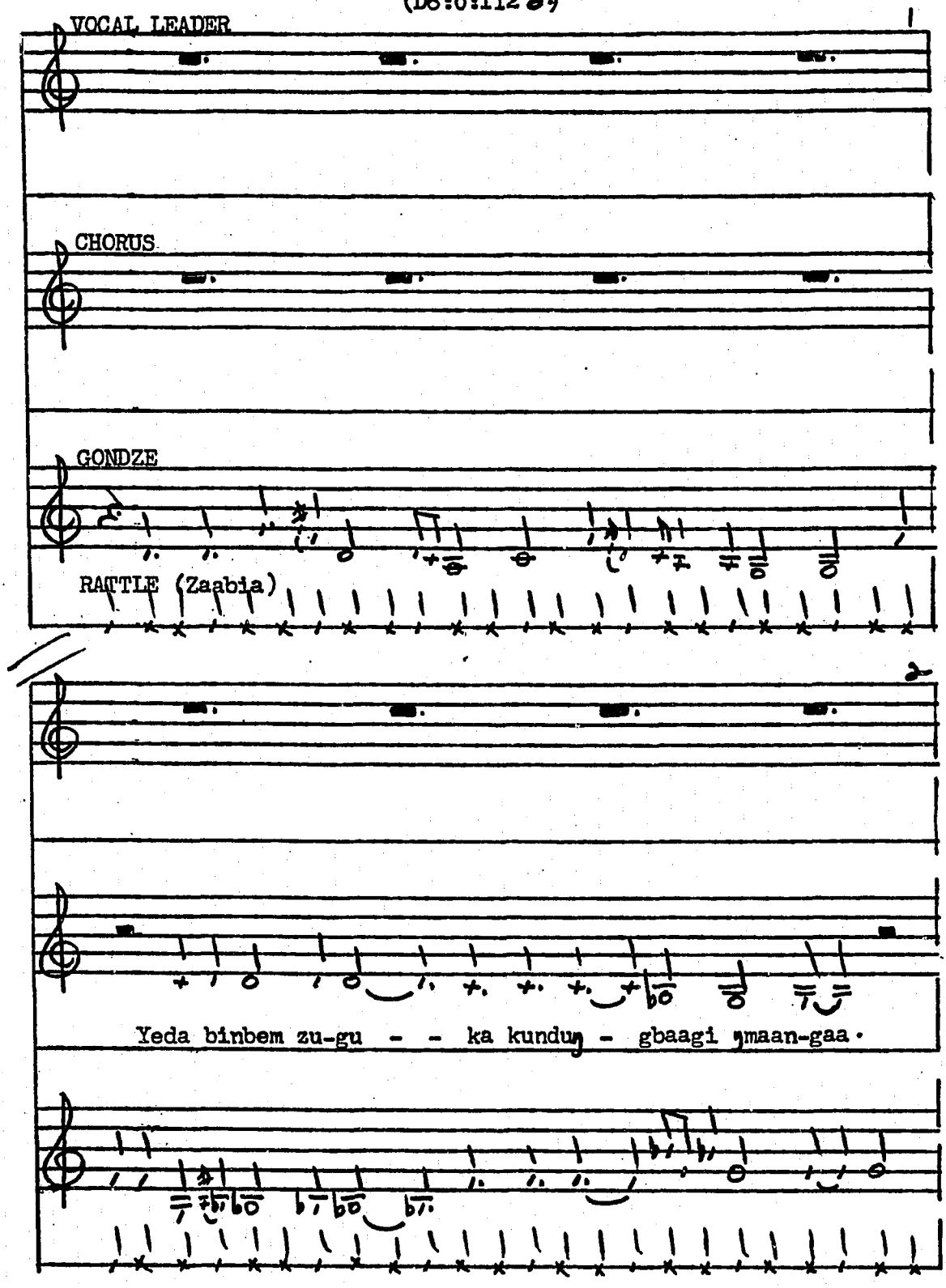


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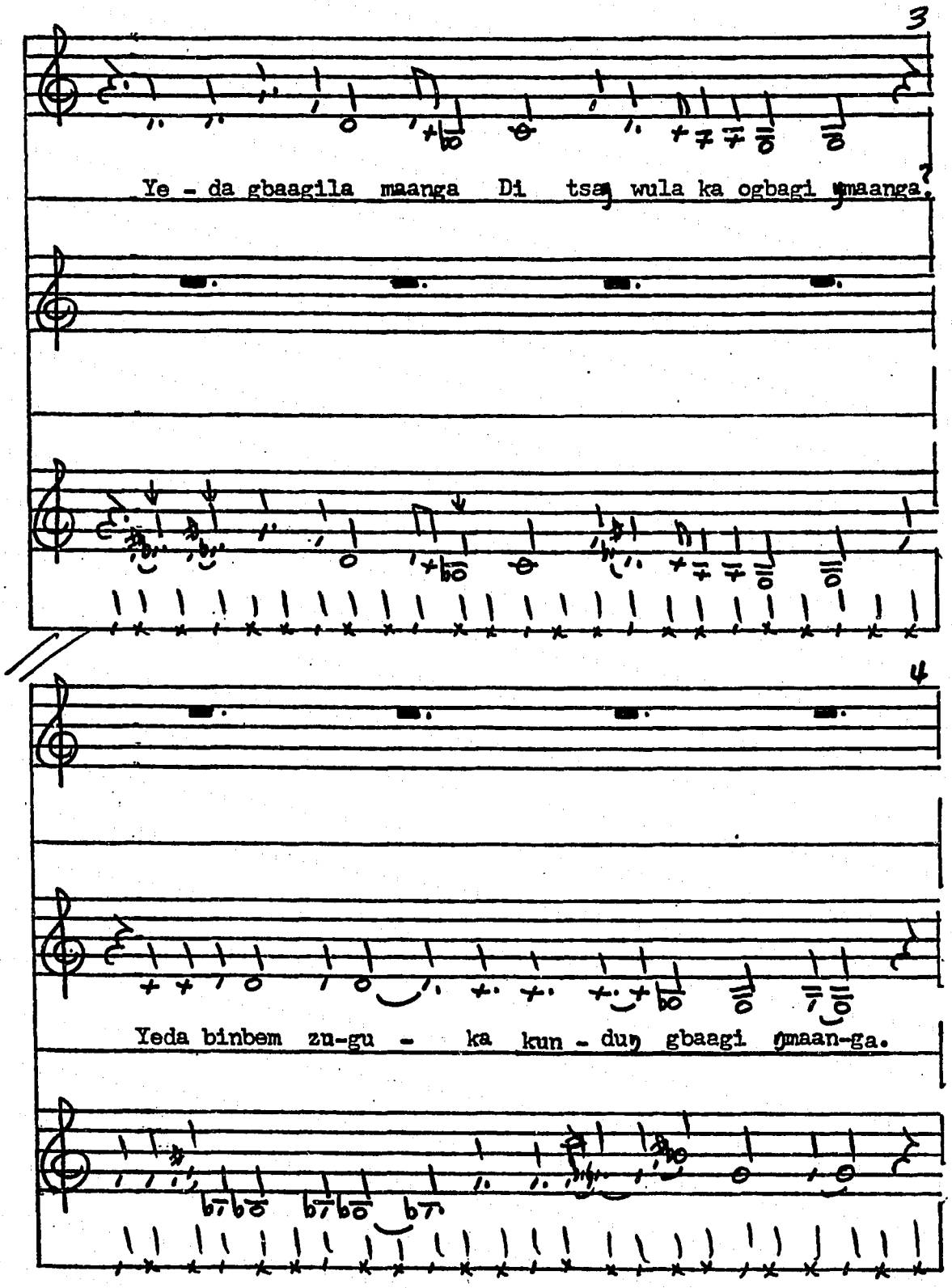


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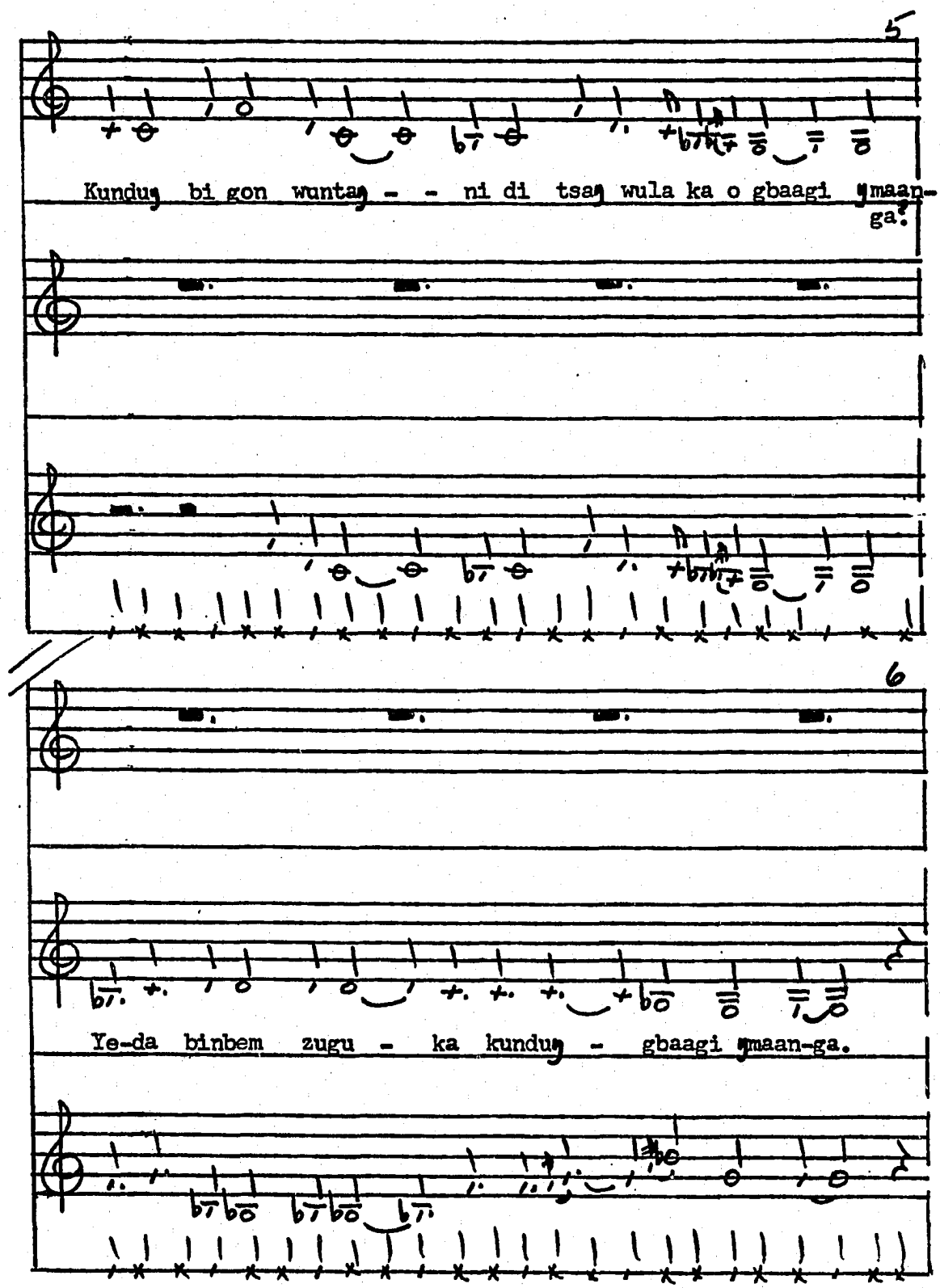
YEDA BINBEIM ZUGU
by Alhassan Gondze
(D6:0:112 ♩.)



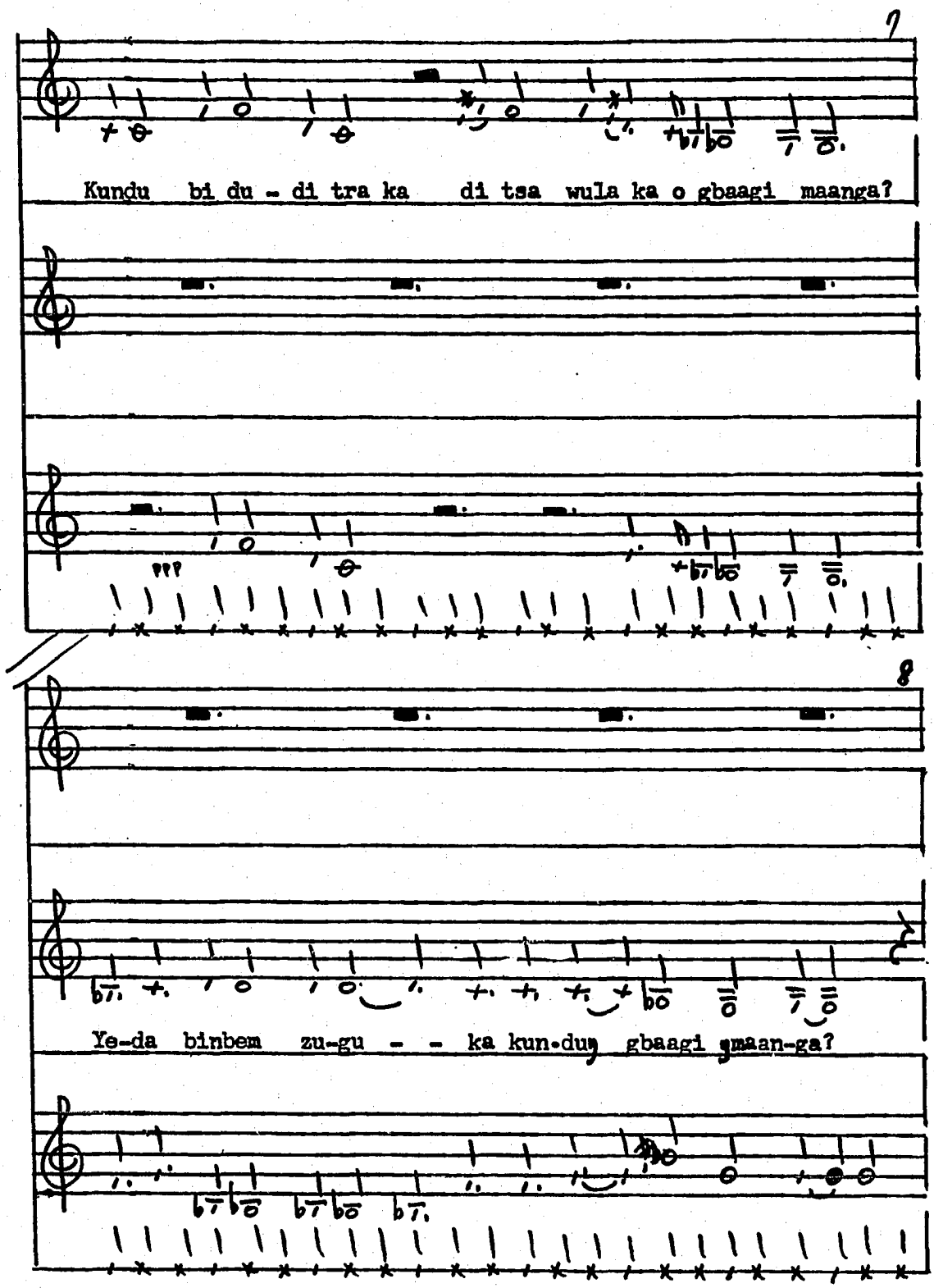
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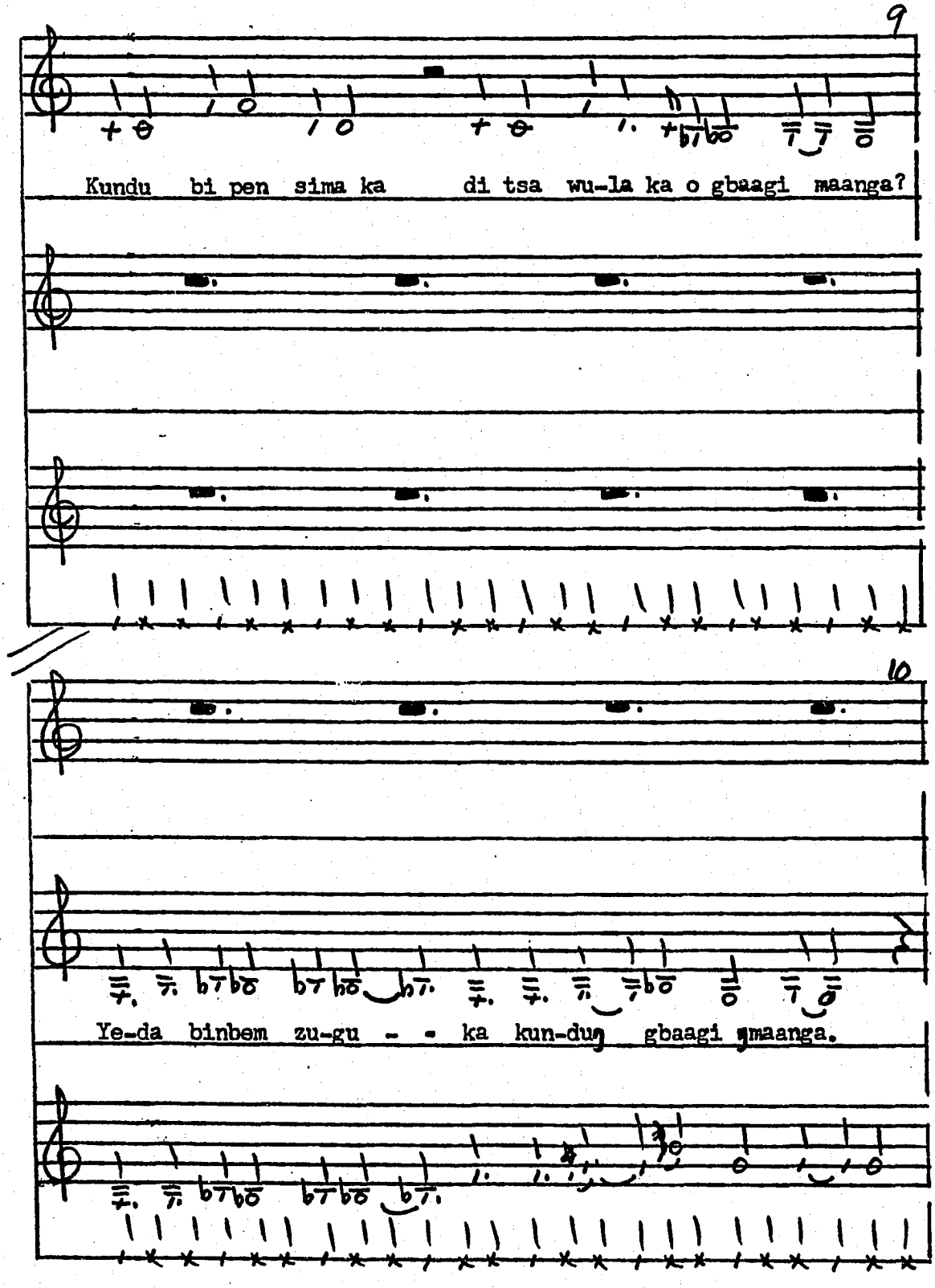
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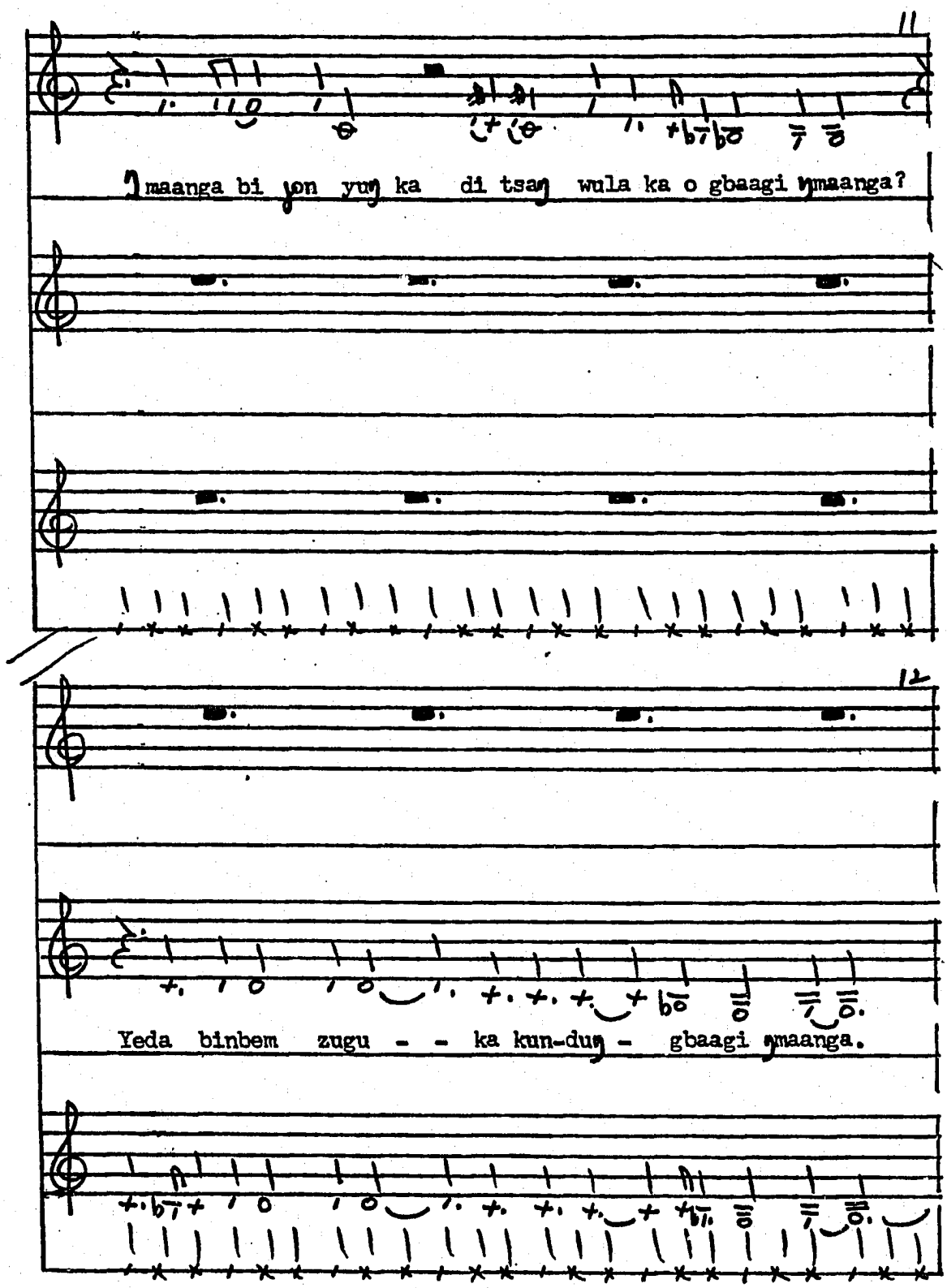
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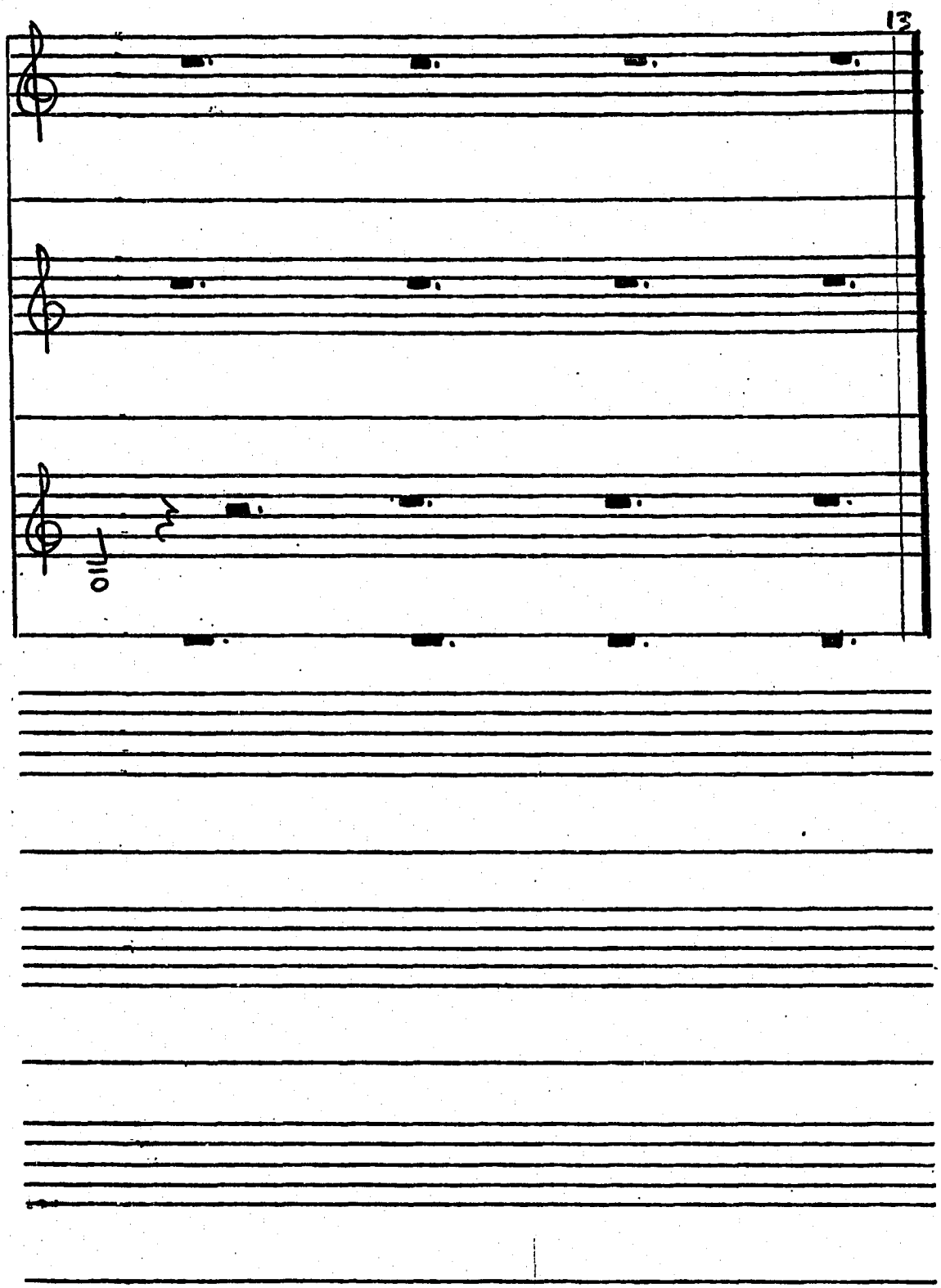
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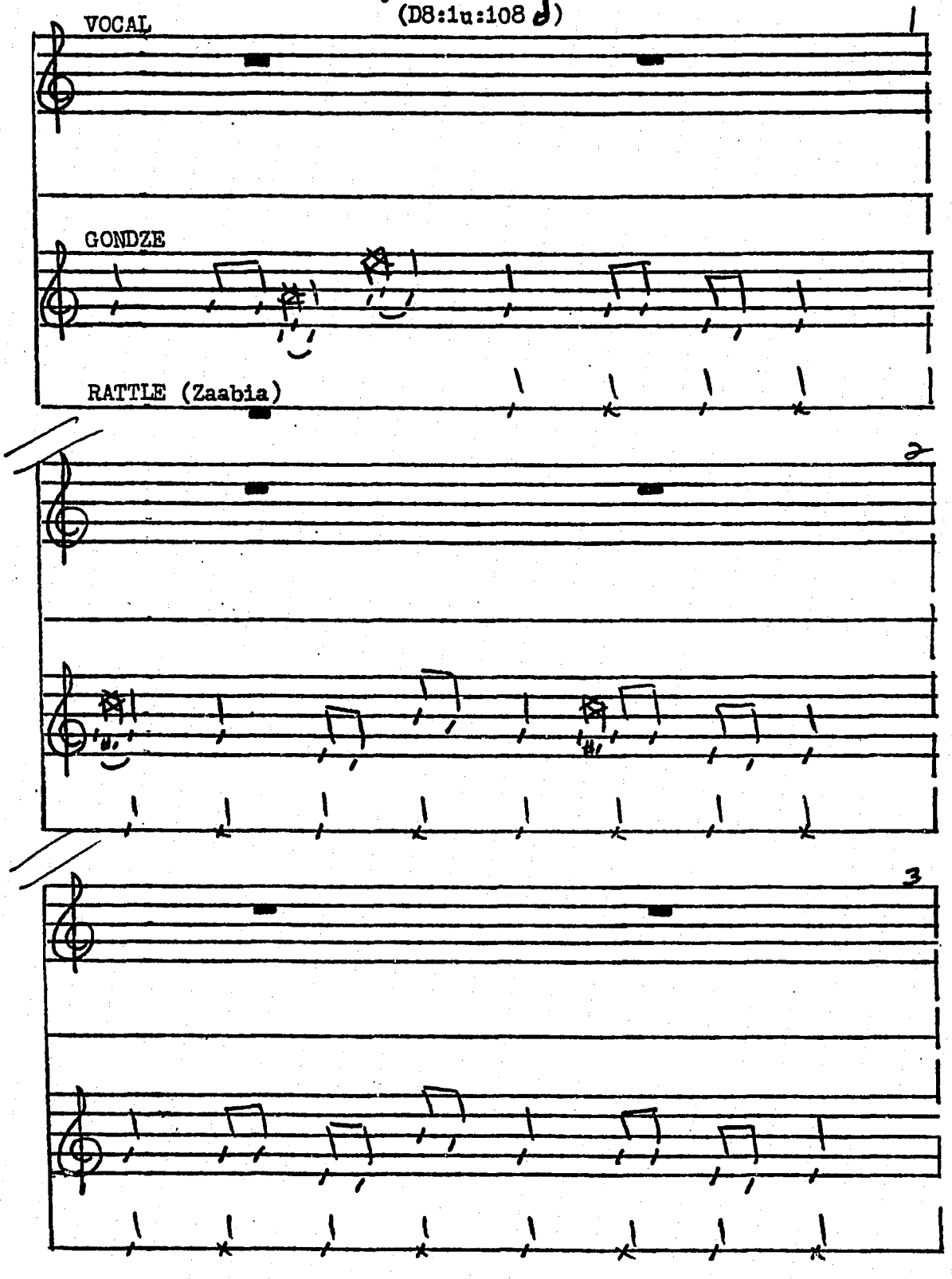


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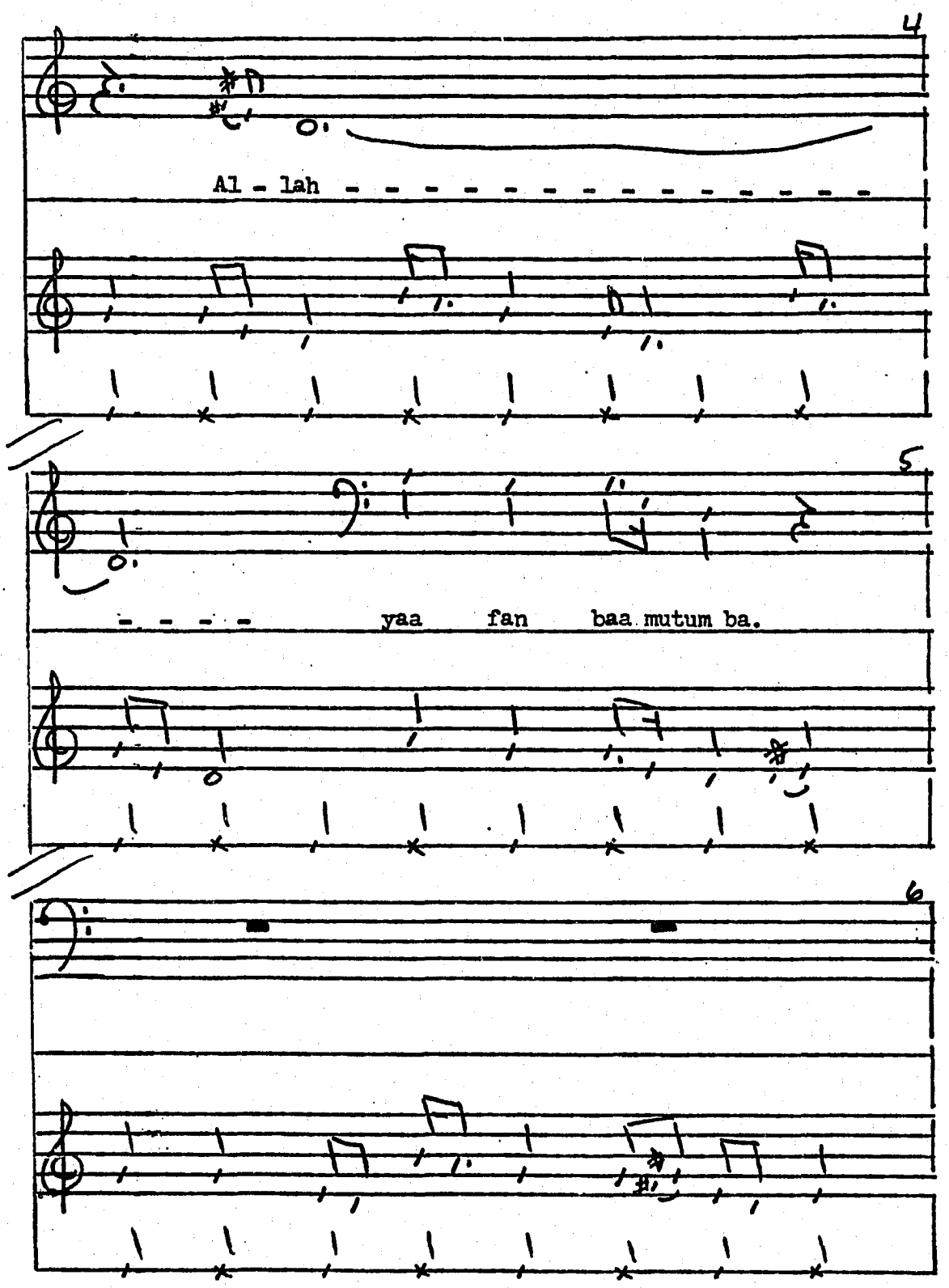


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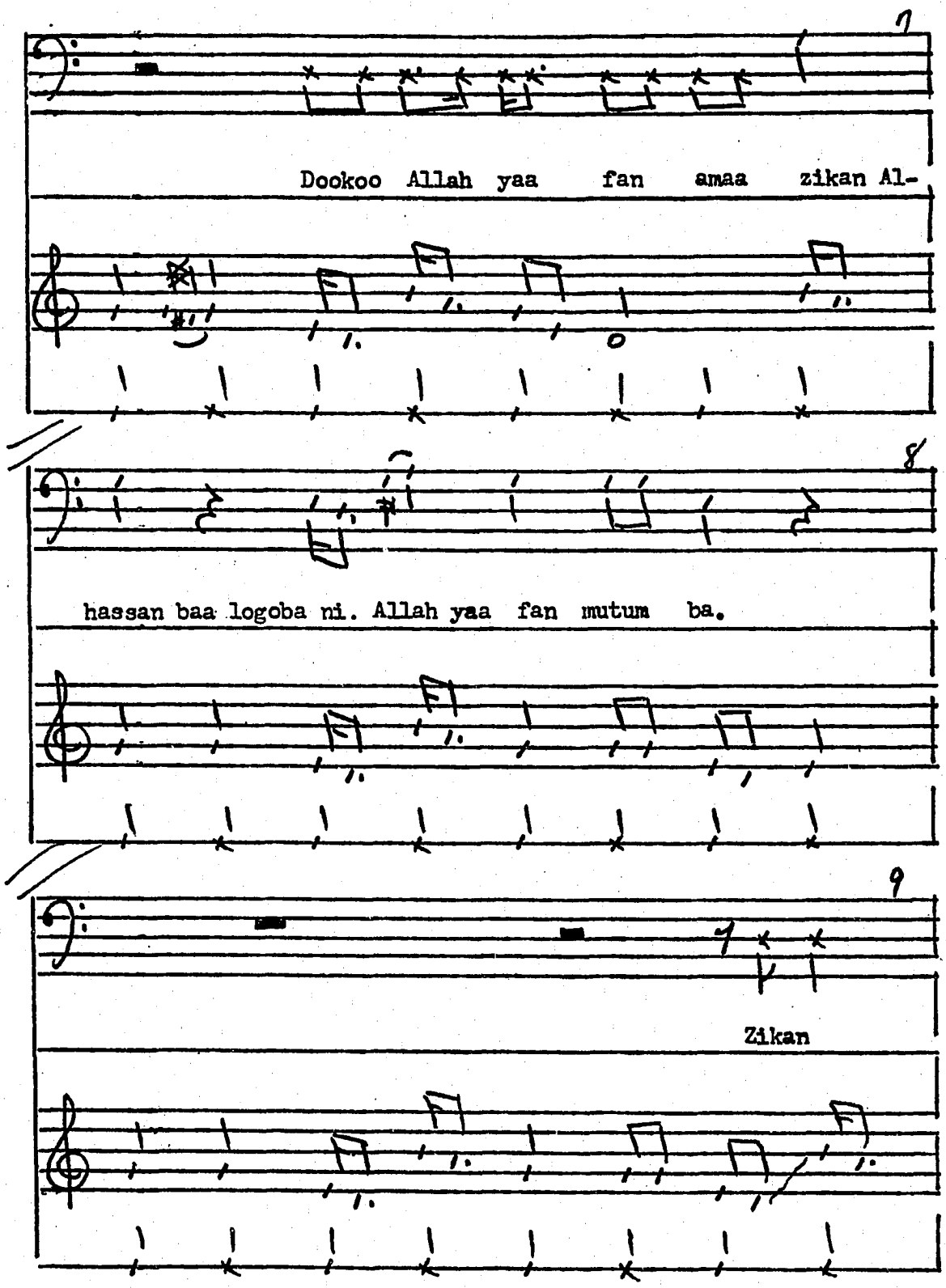
ALLAH YAA FAN (Tampionlana Alhassan)
by Iddrisu Gondze
(D8:1u:108 ♩)



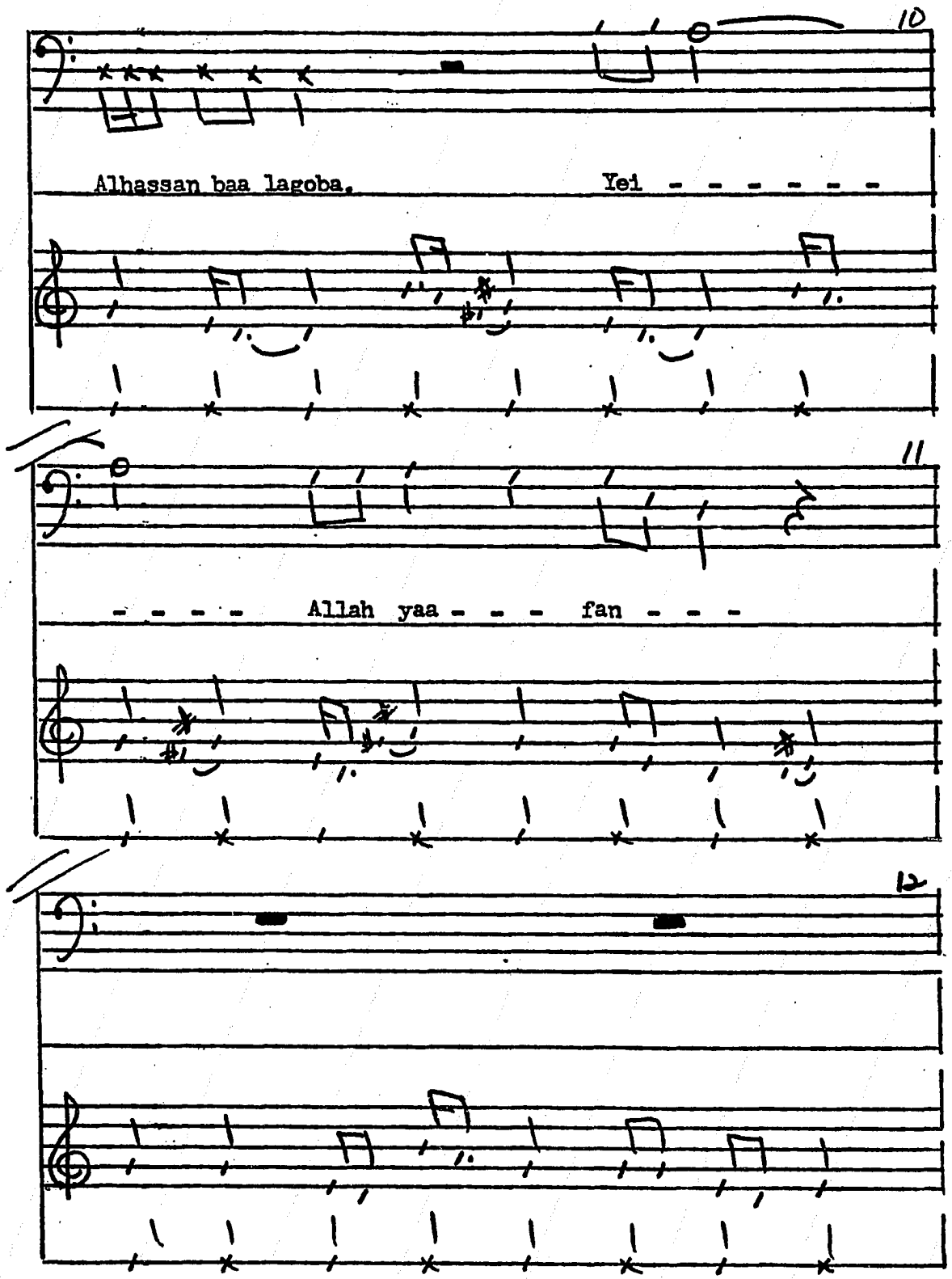
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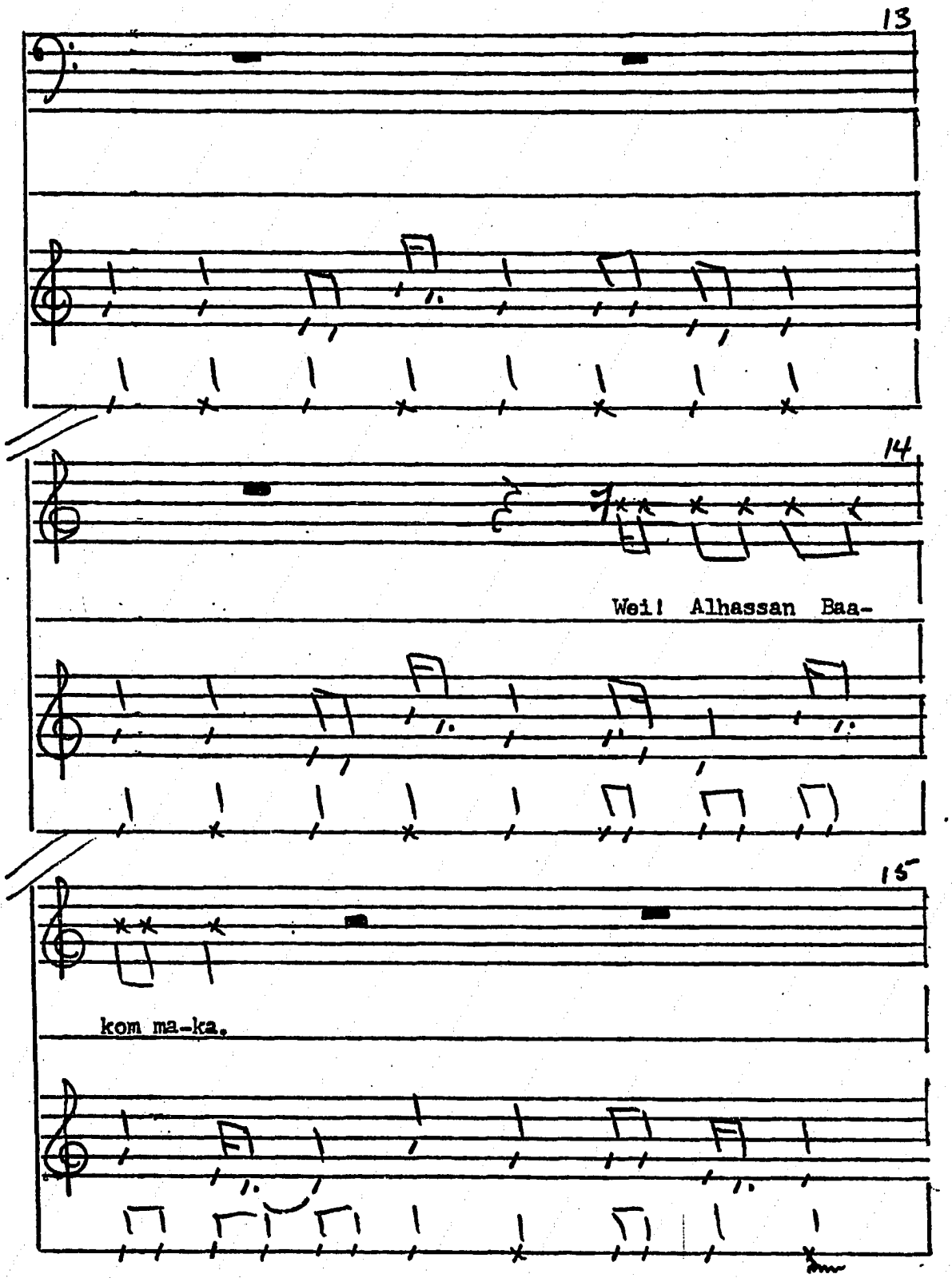
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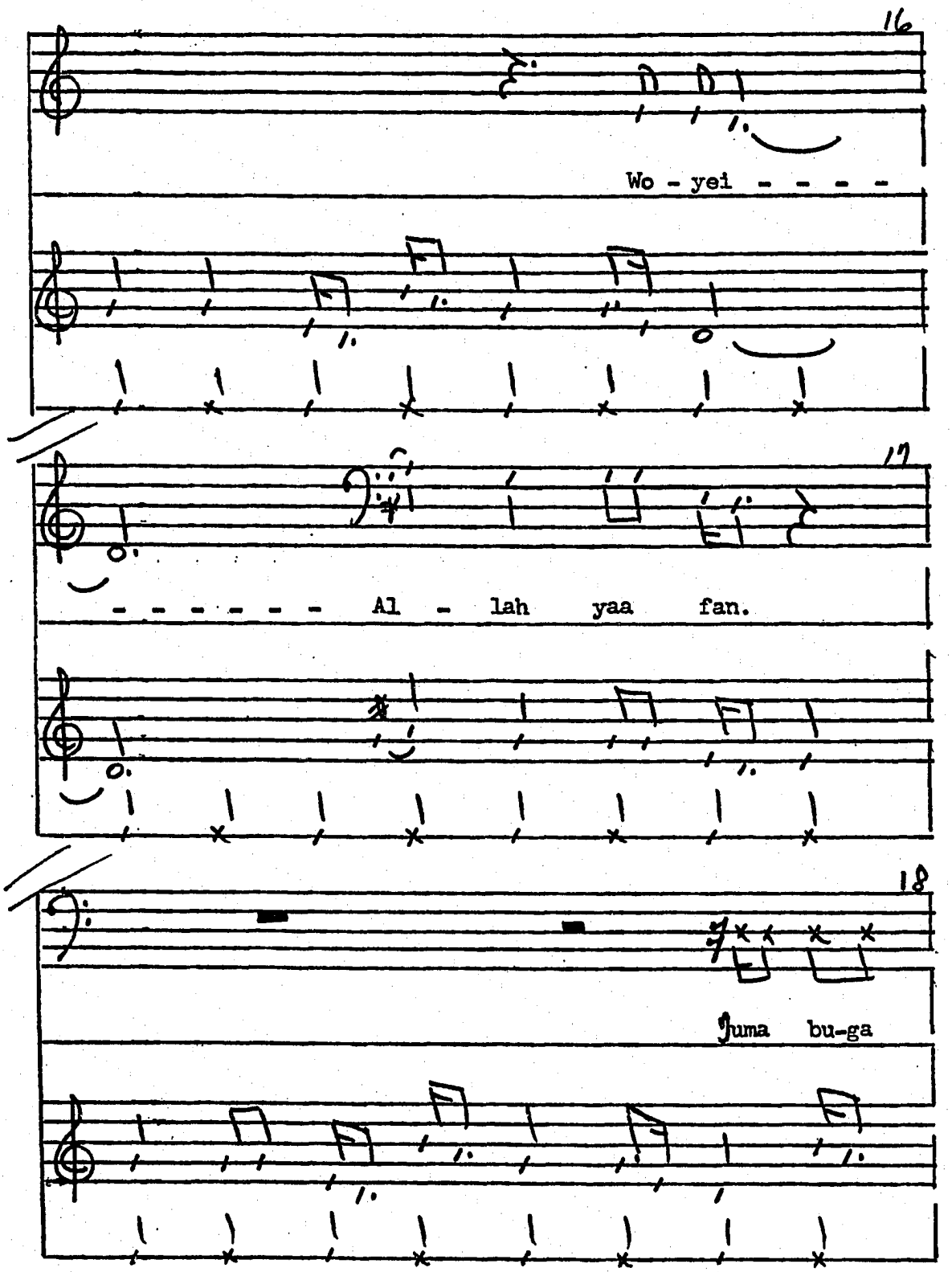
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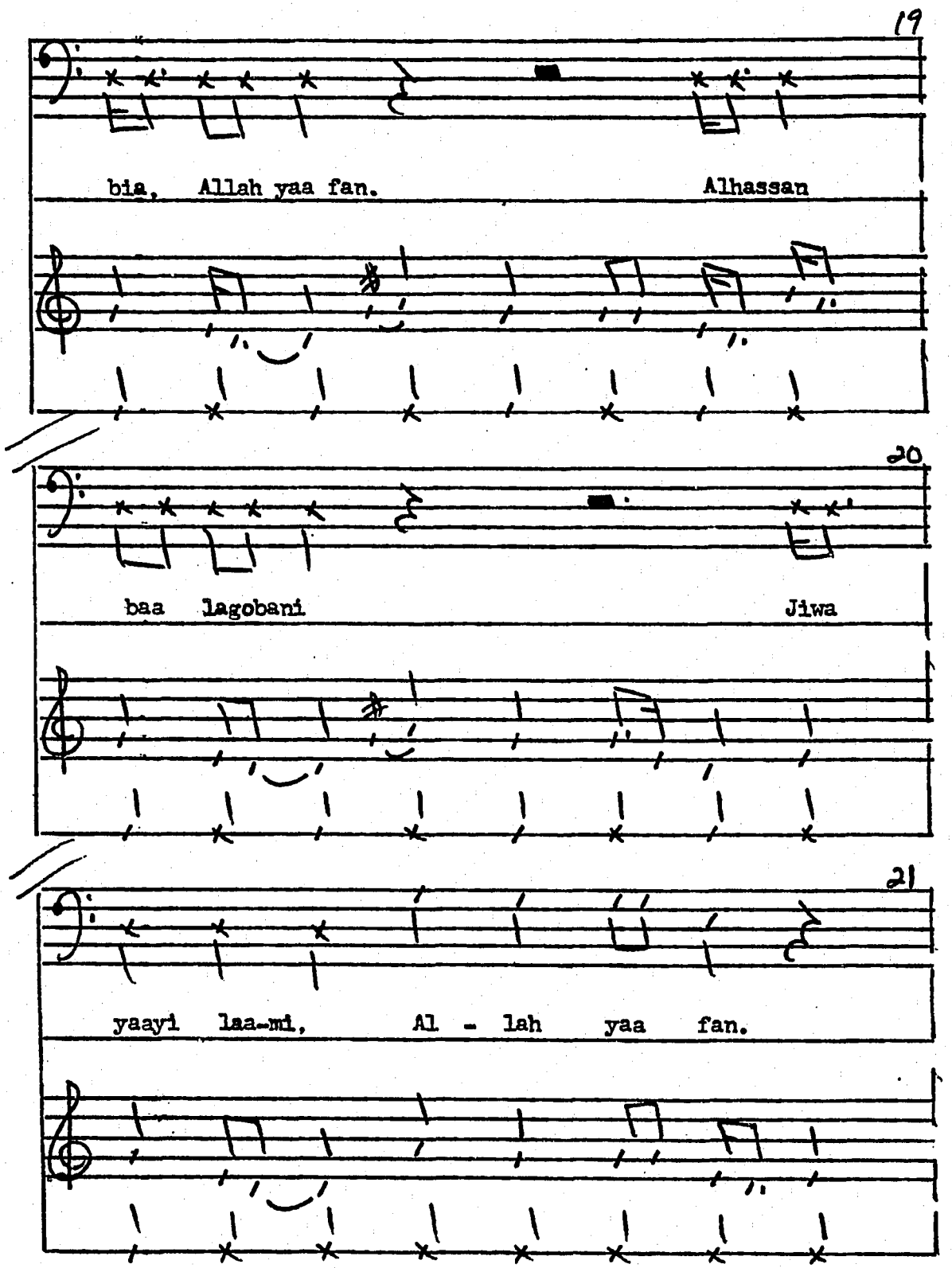
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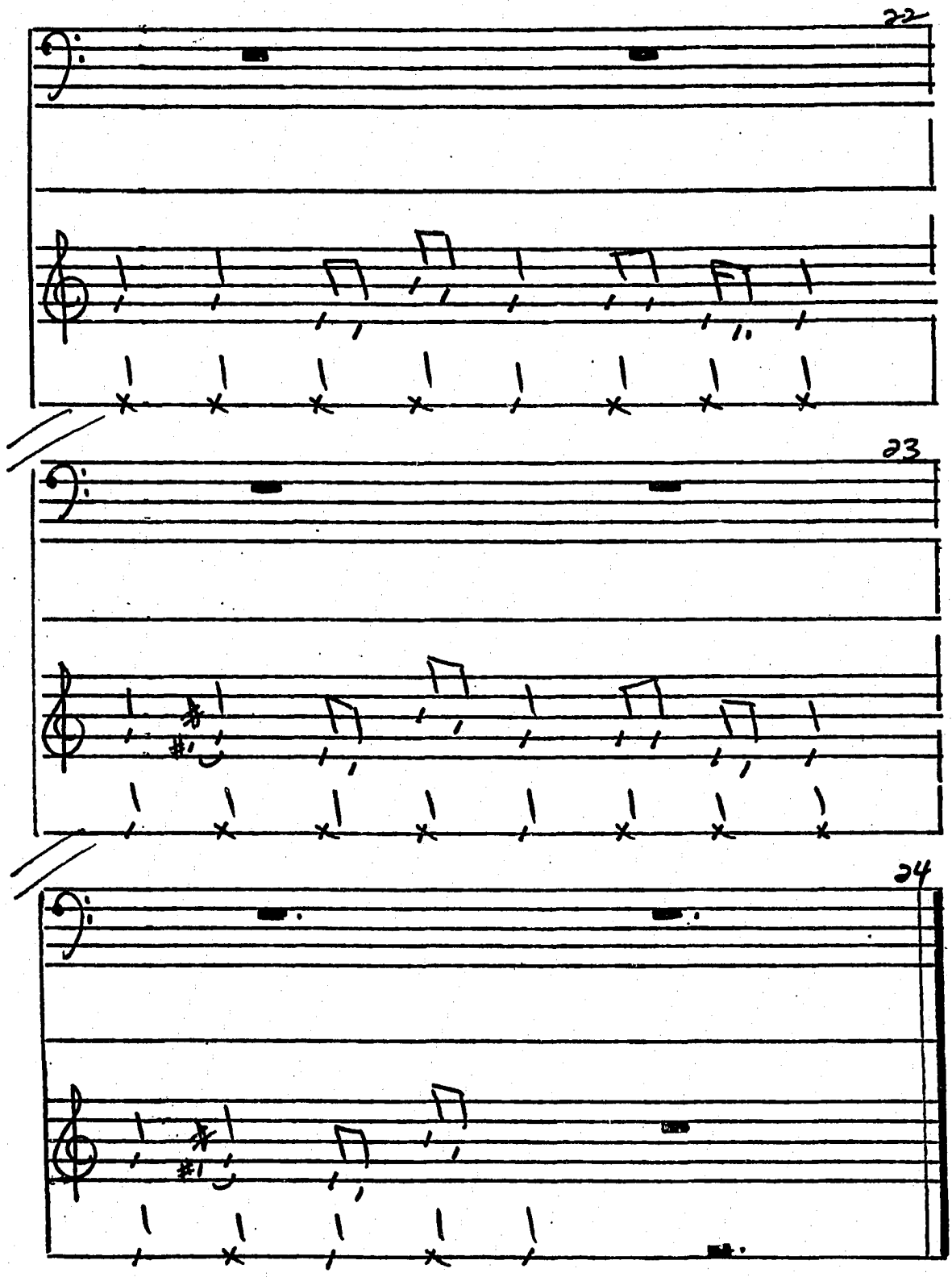
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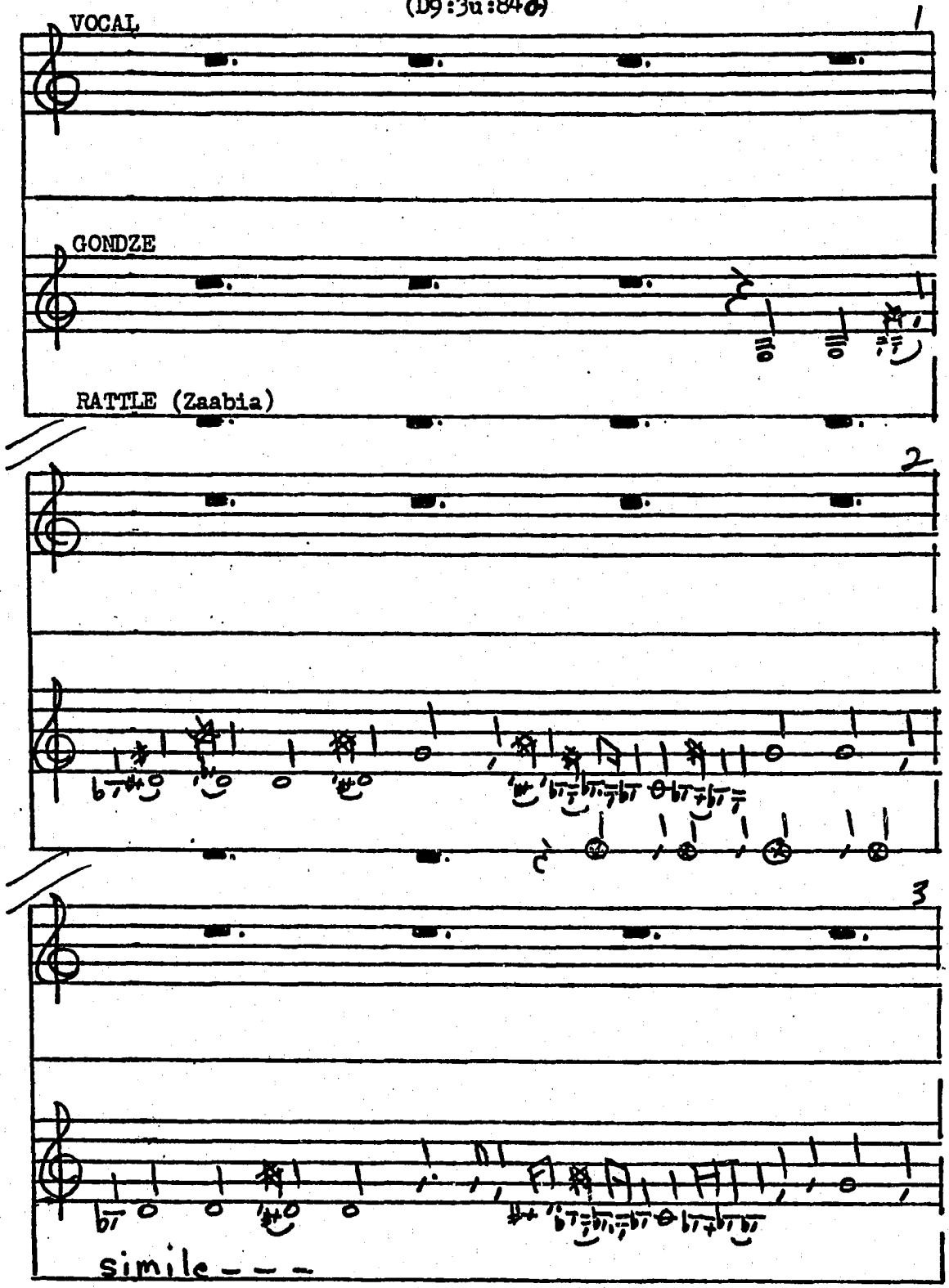


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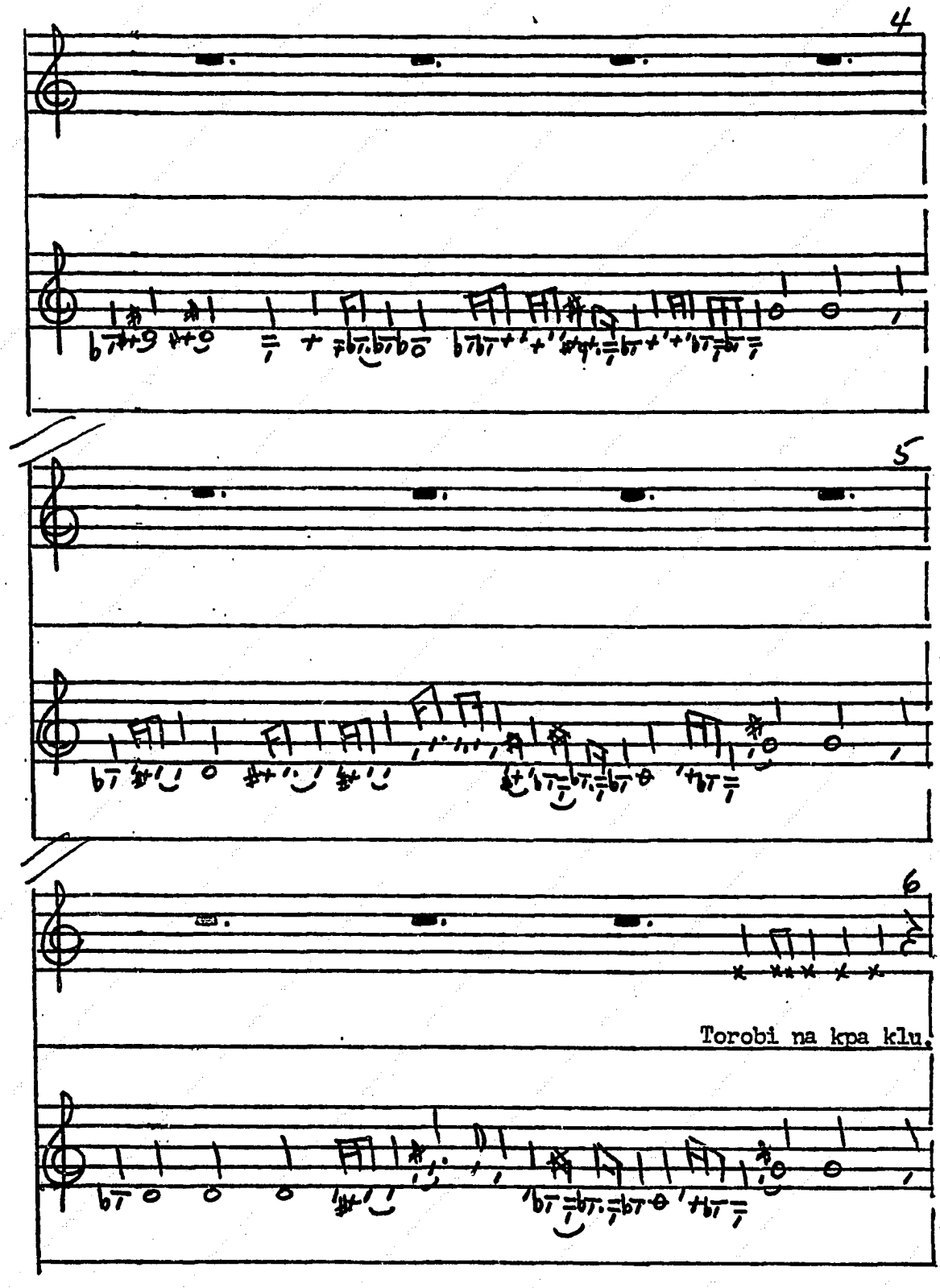


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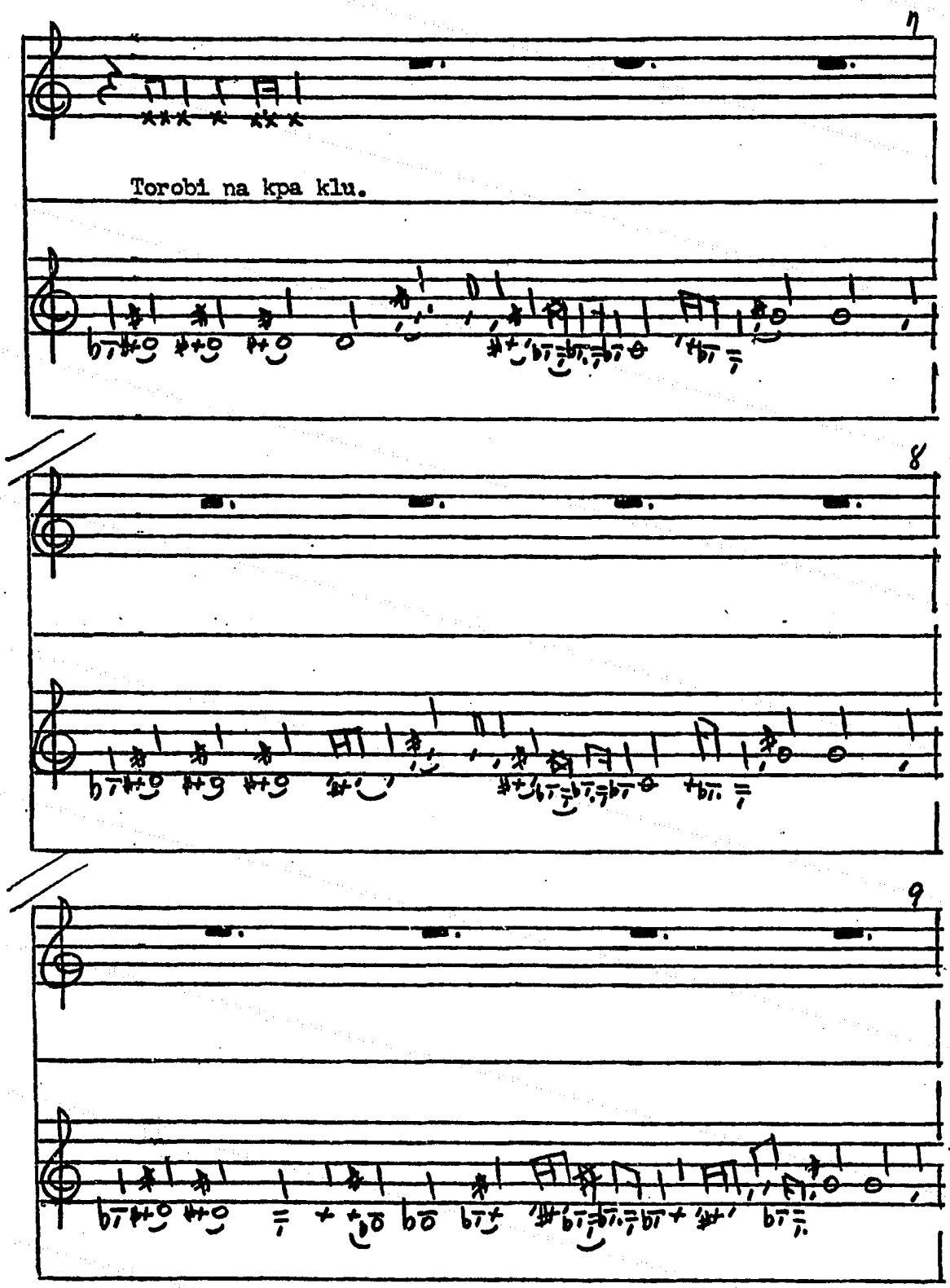
BANCHENDI (Gurma king)
by Salifu Lali
(D9:3u:84d)
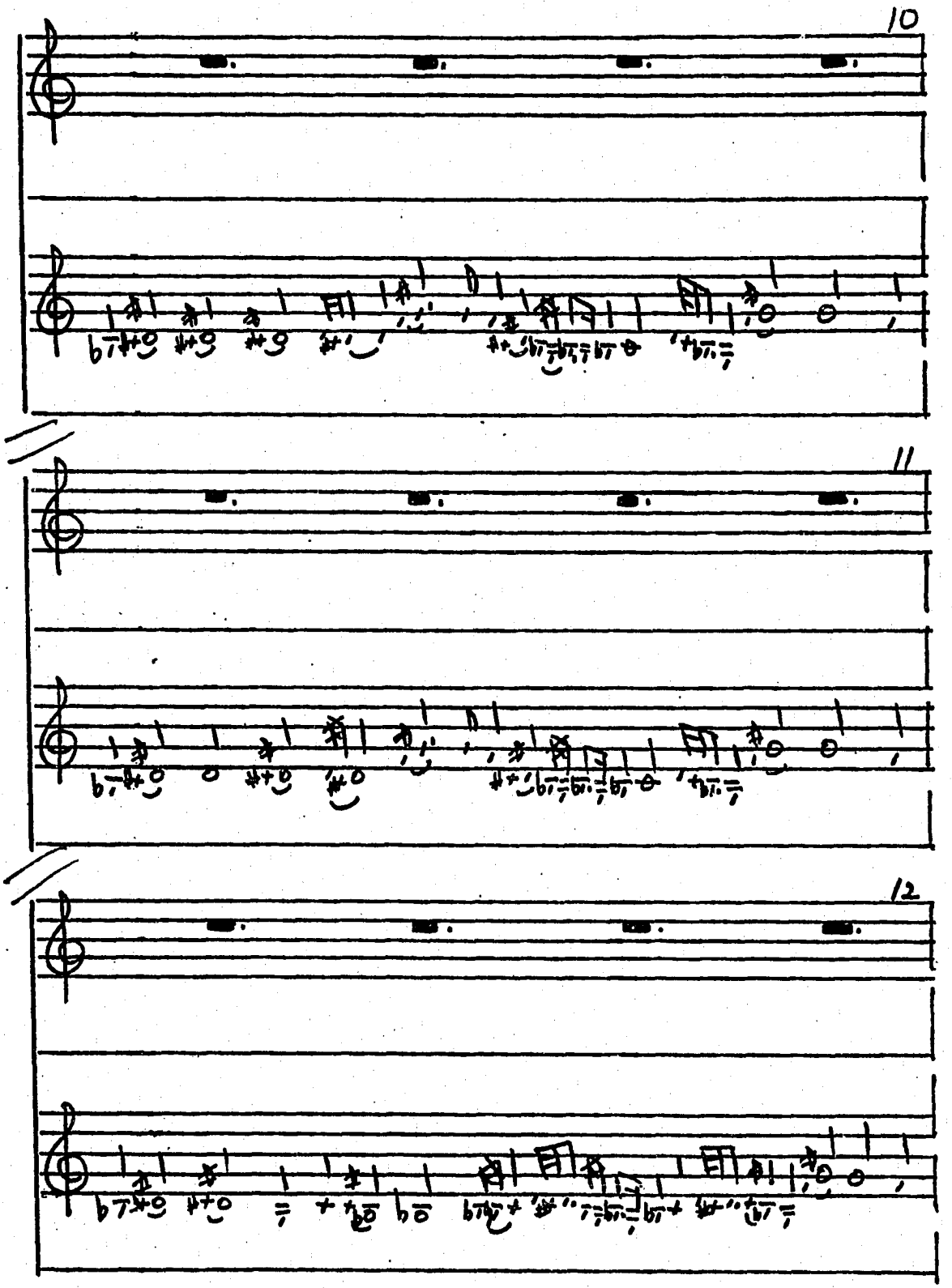


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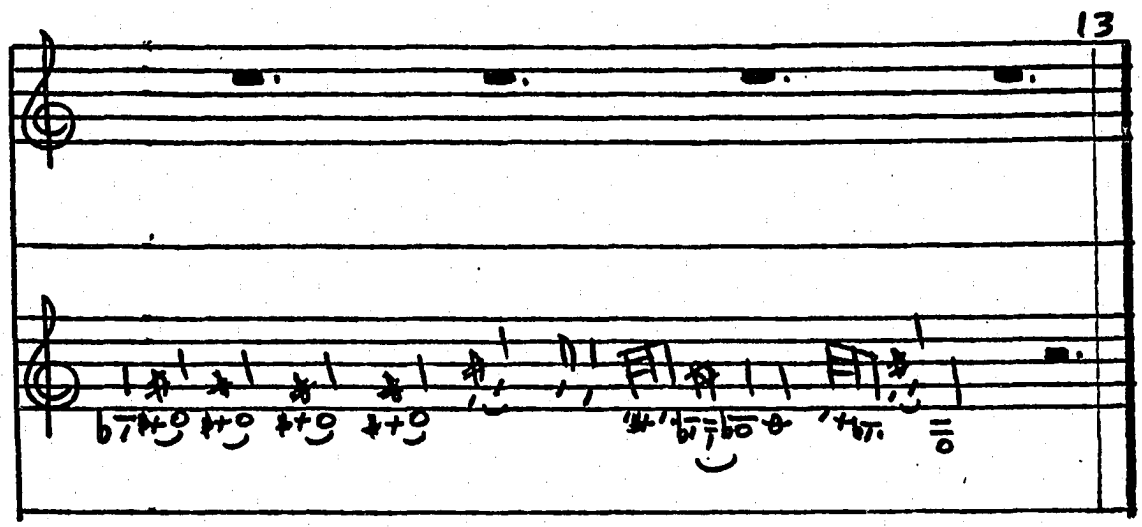
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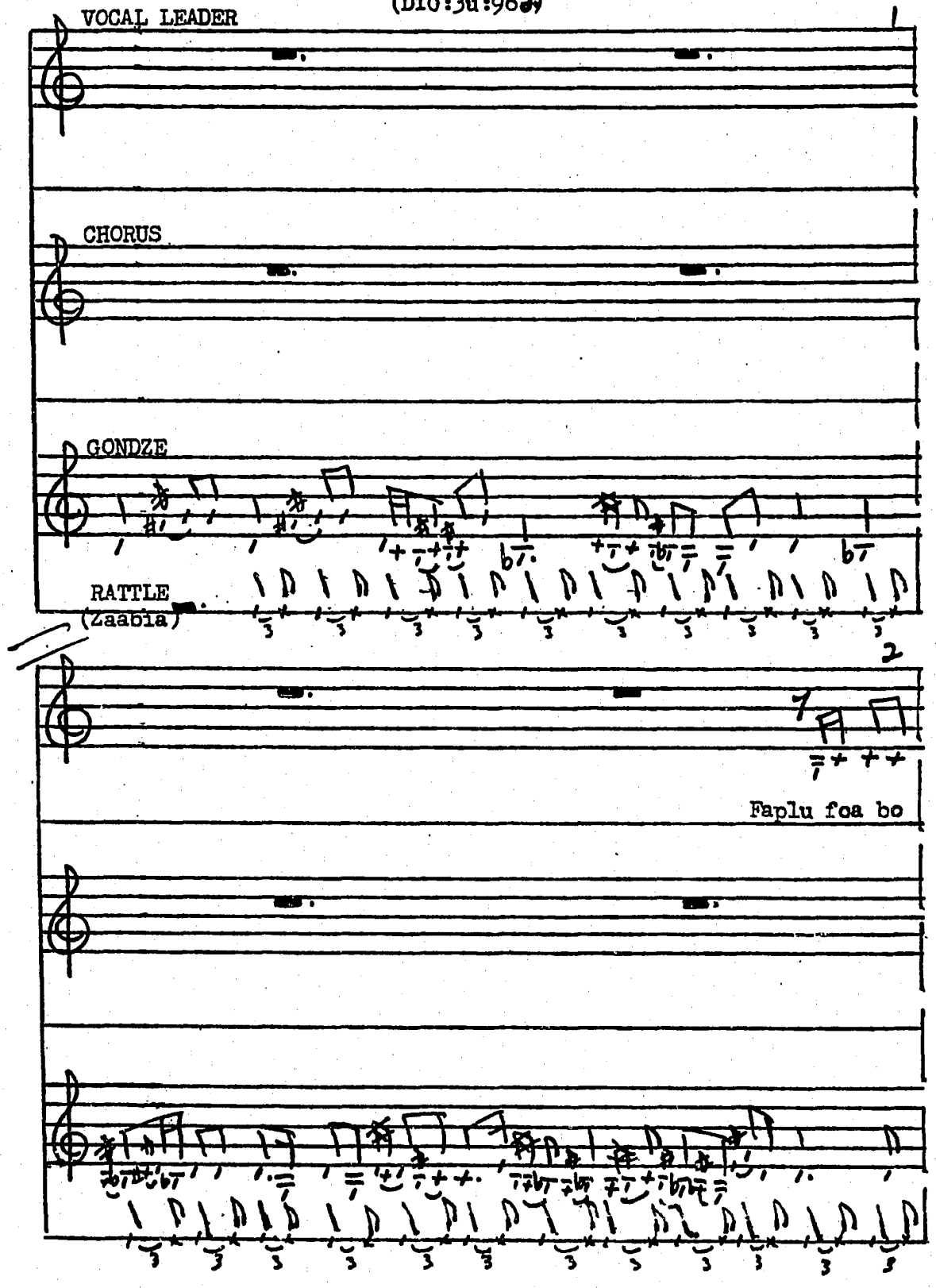


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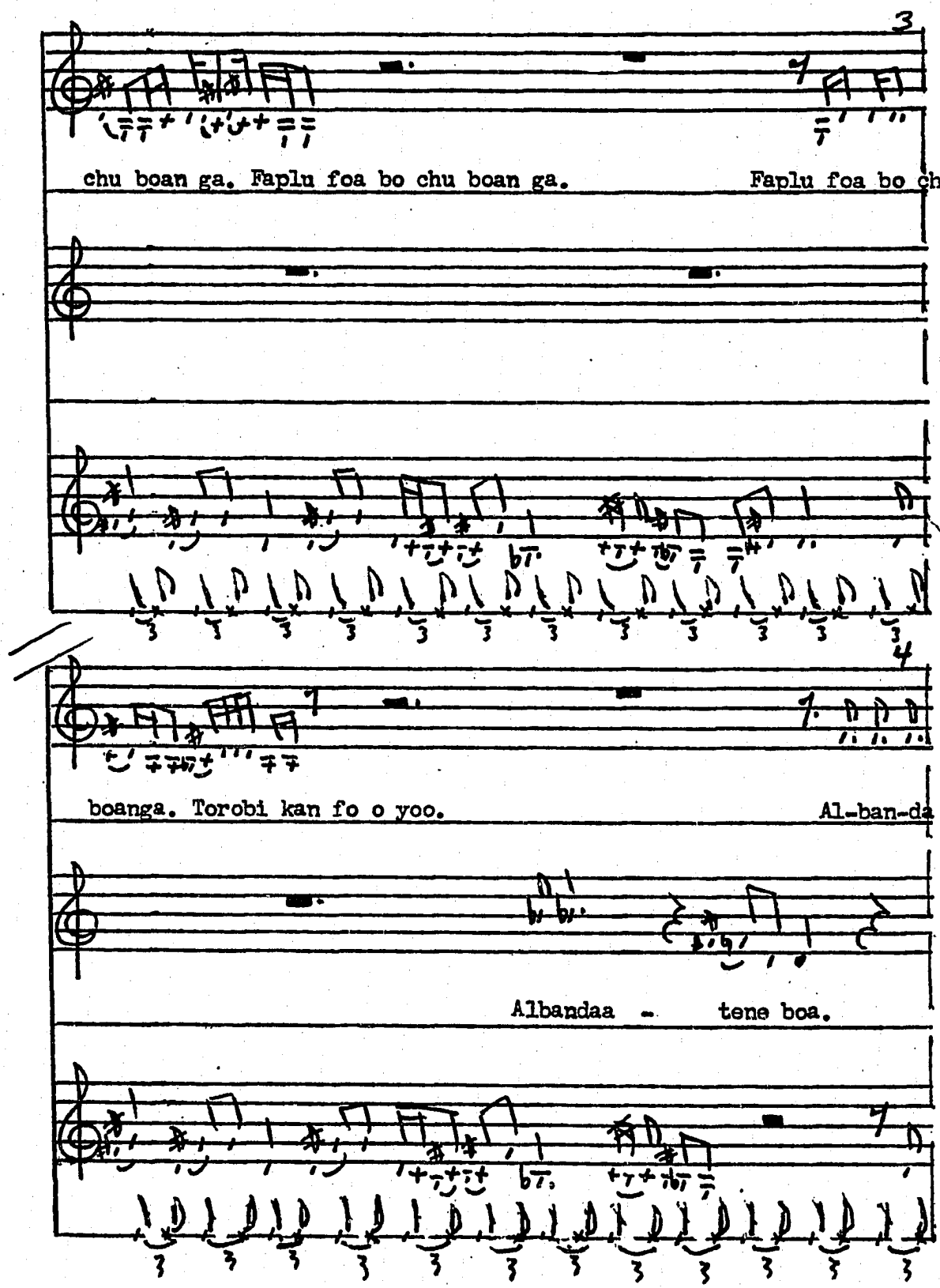


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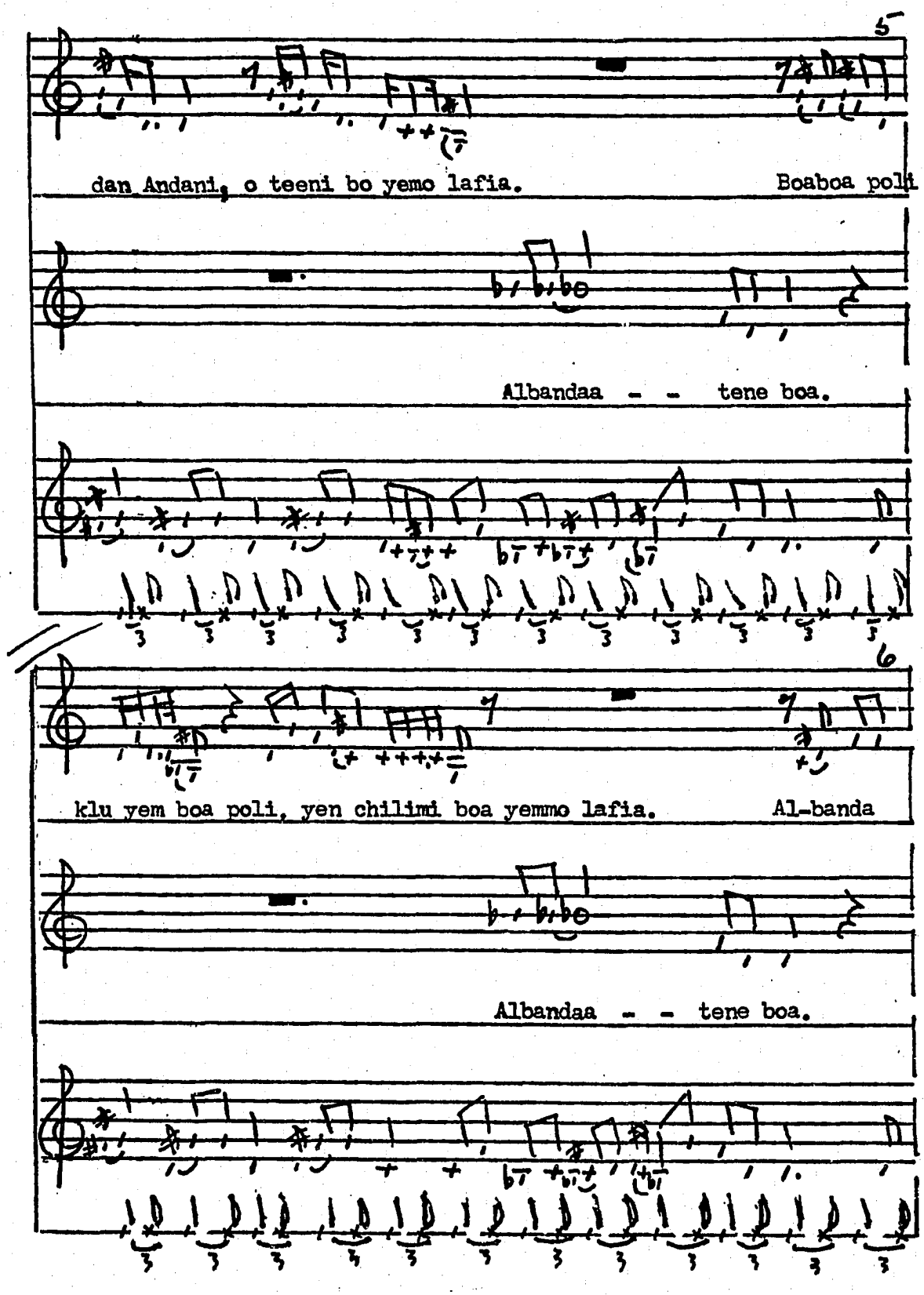
NANTOH (Na Yakuba I)
by Salifu Lali
(D10:3u:96♩)



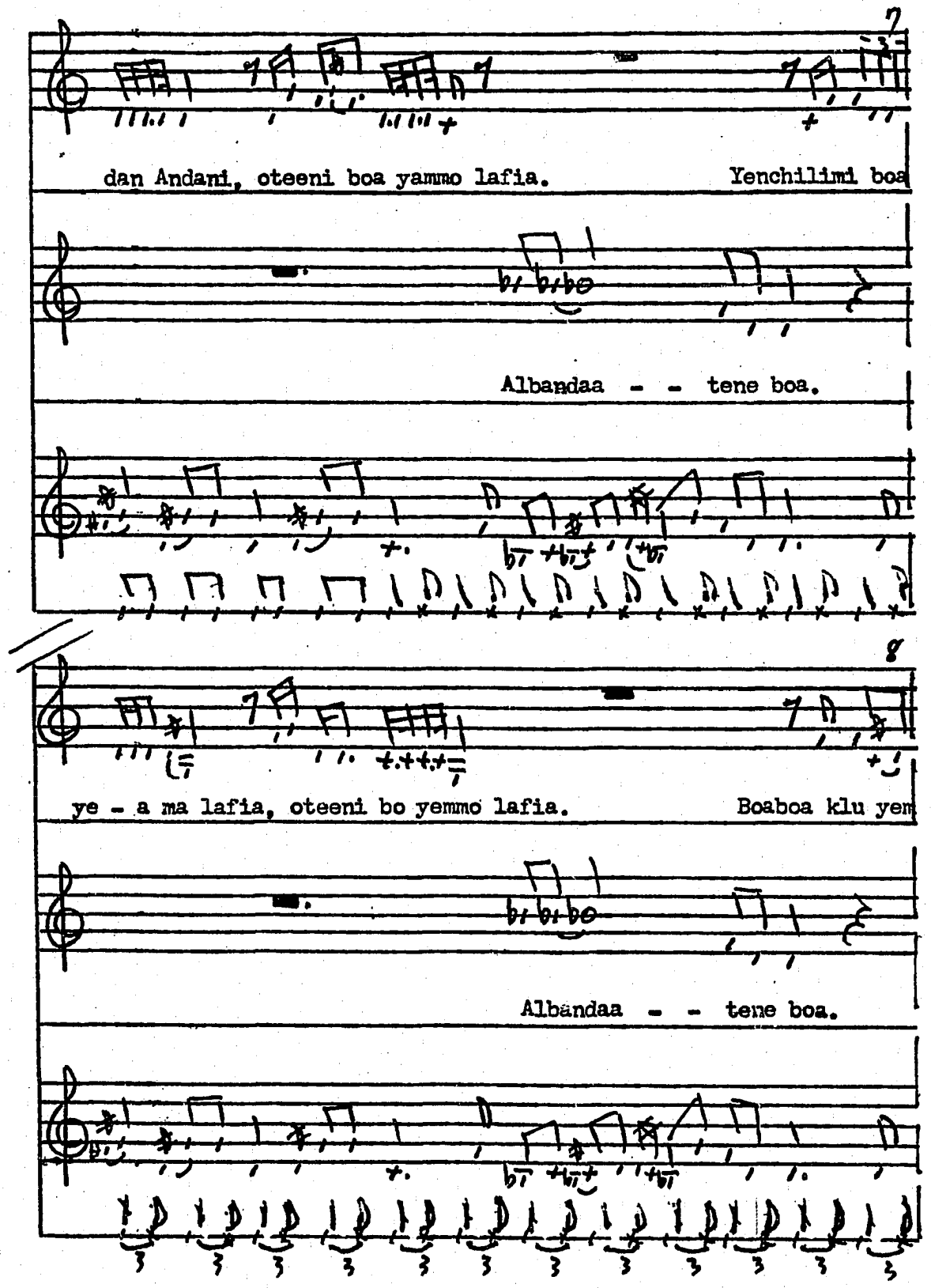
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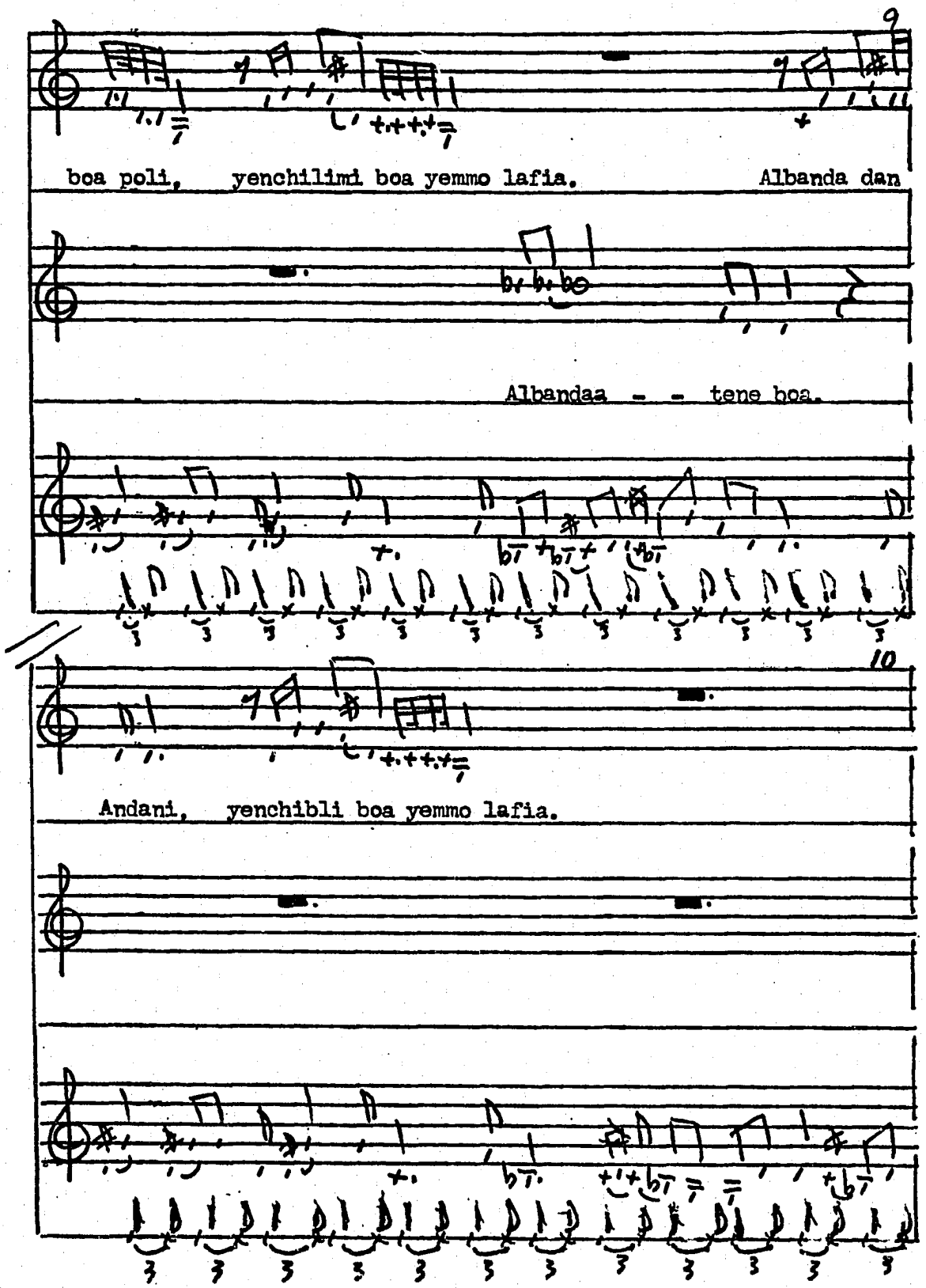
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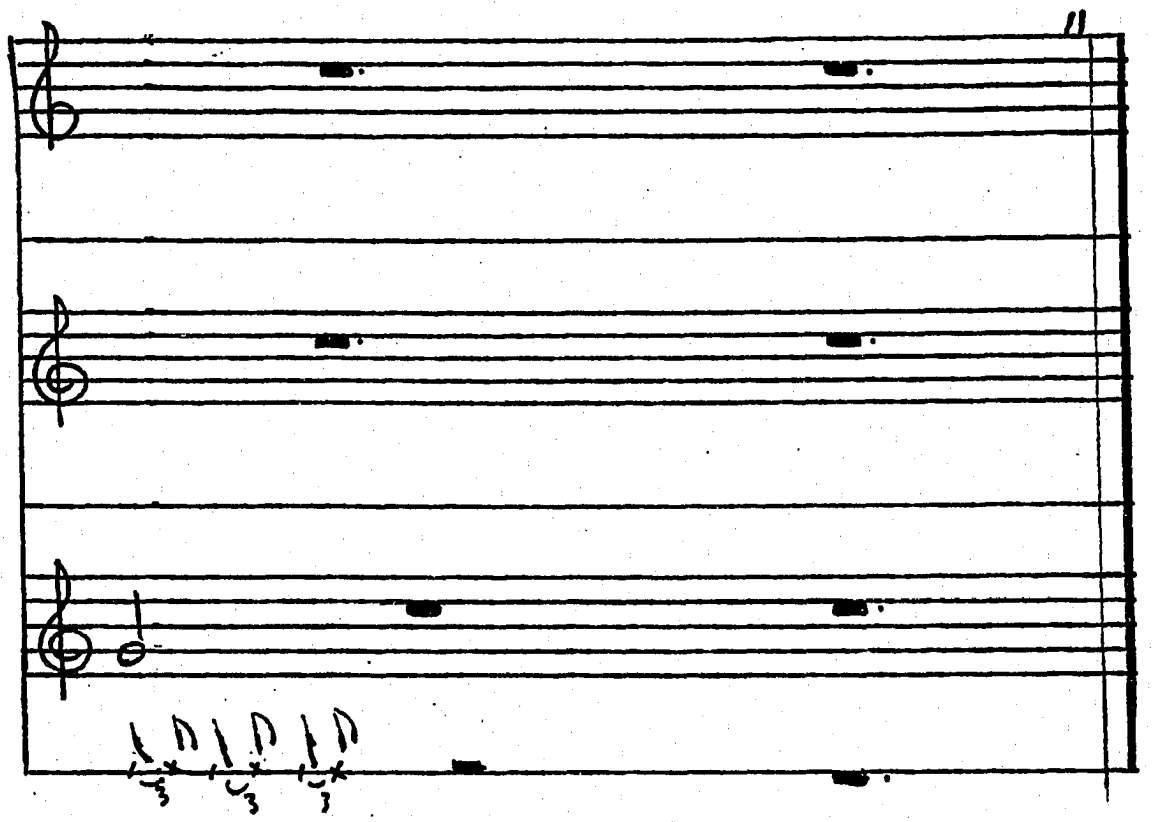


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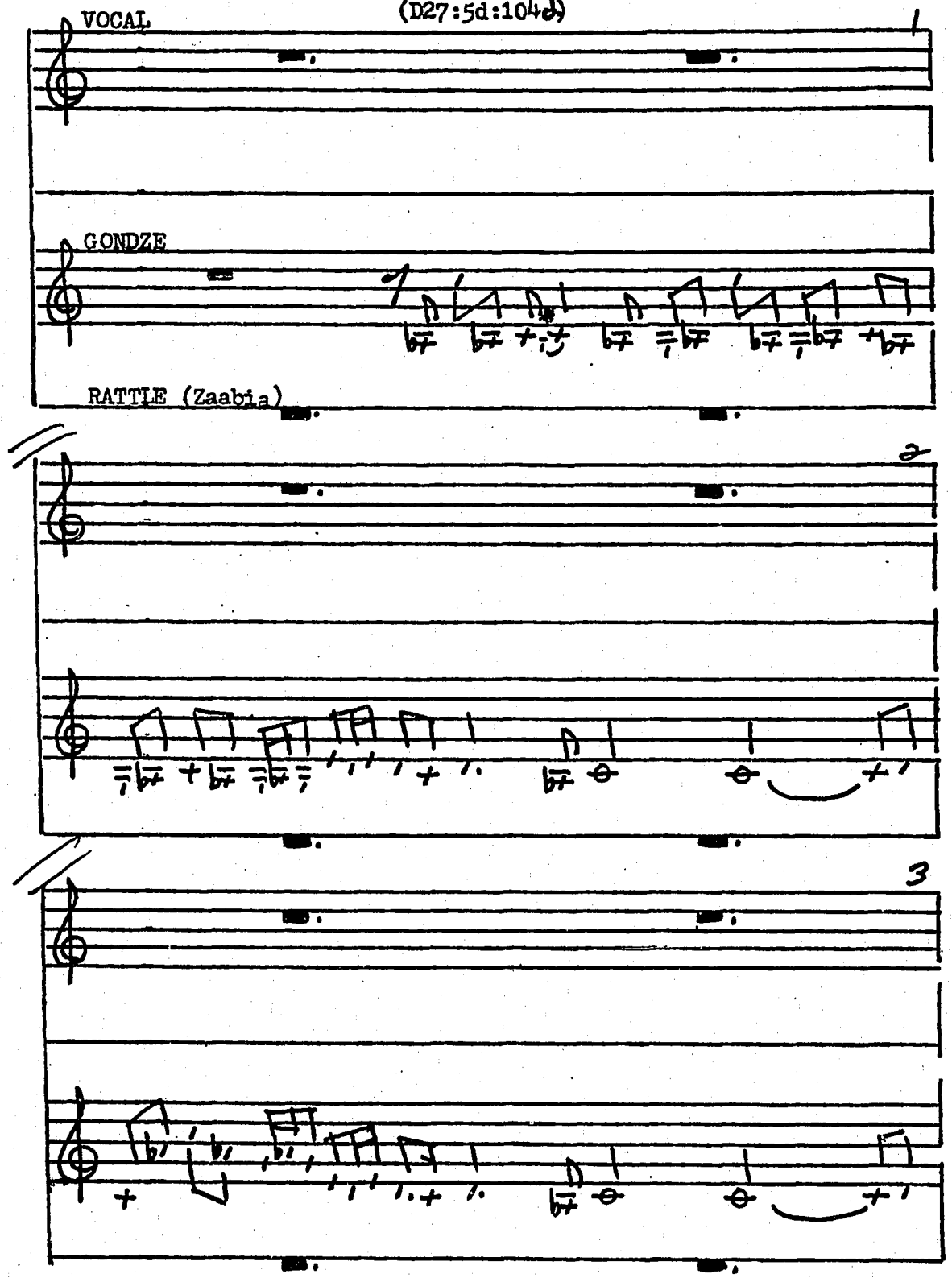


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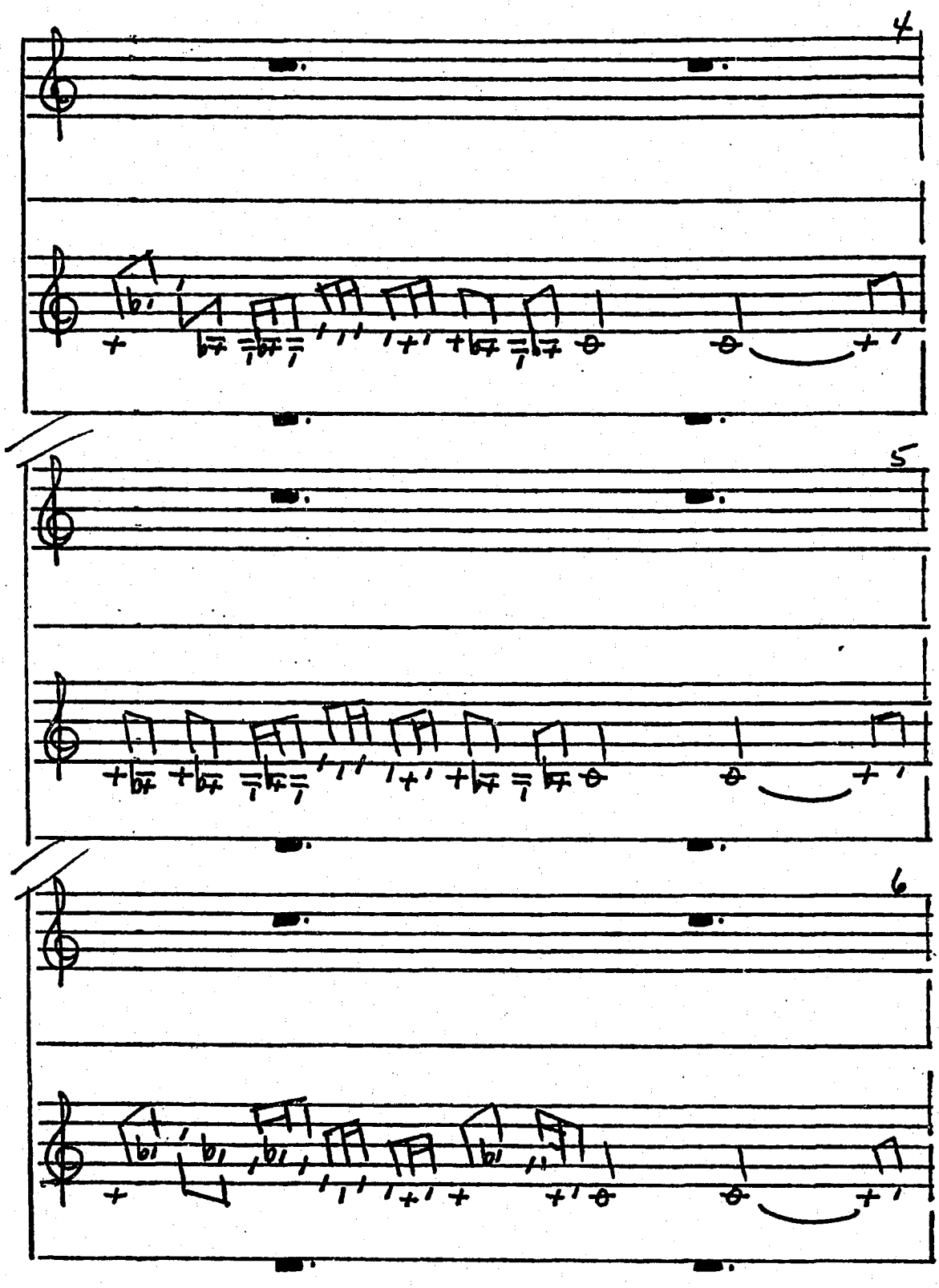


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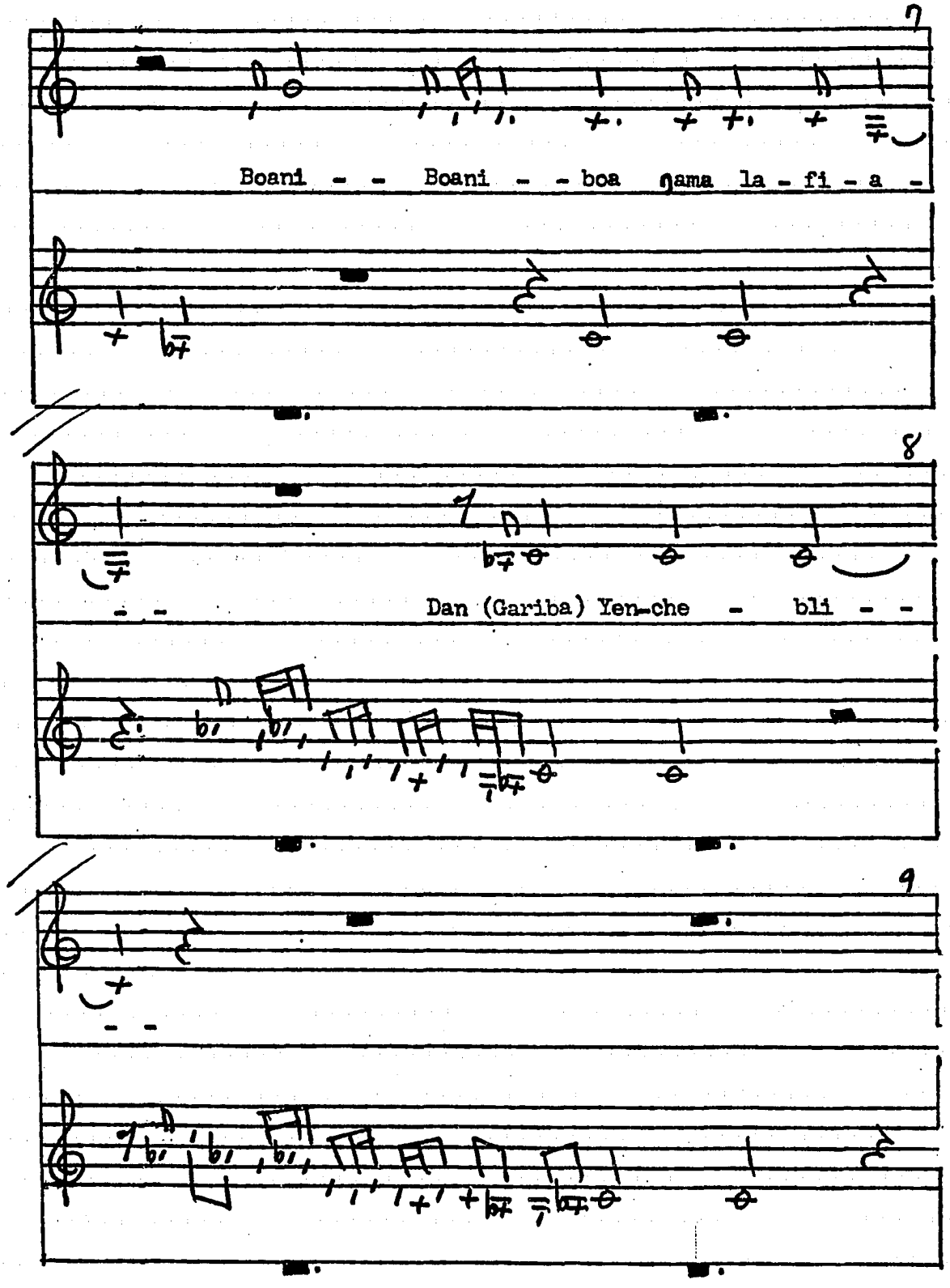
YENCHEBLI
by Salisu Mahama
(D27:5d:104d)



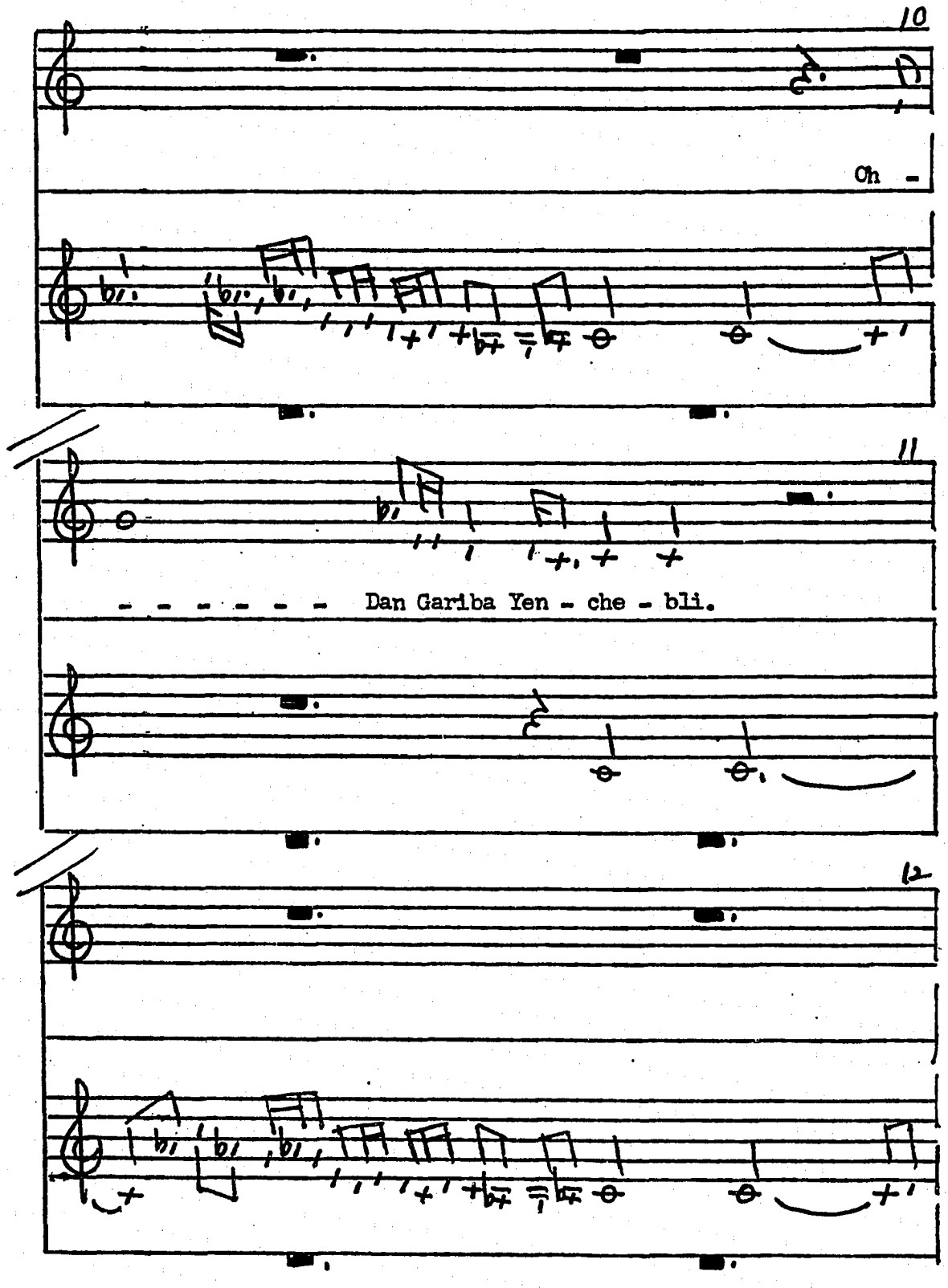
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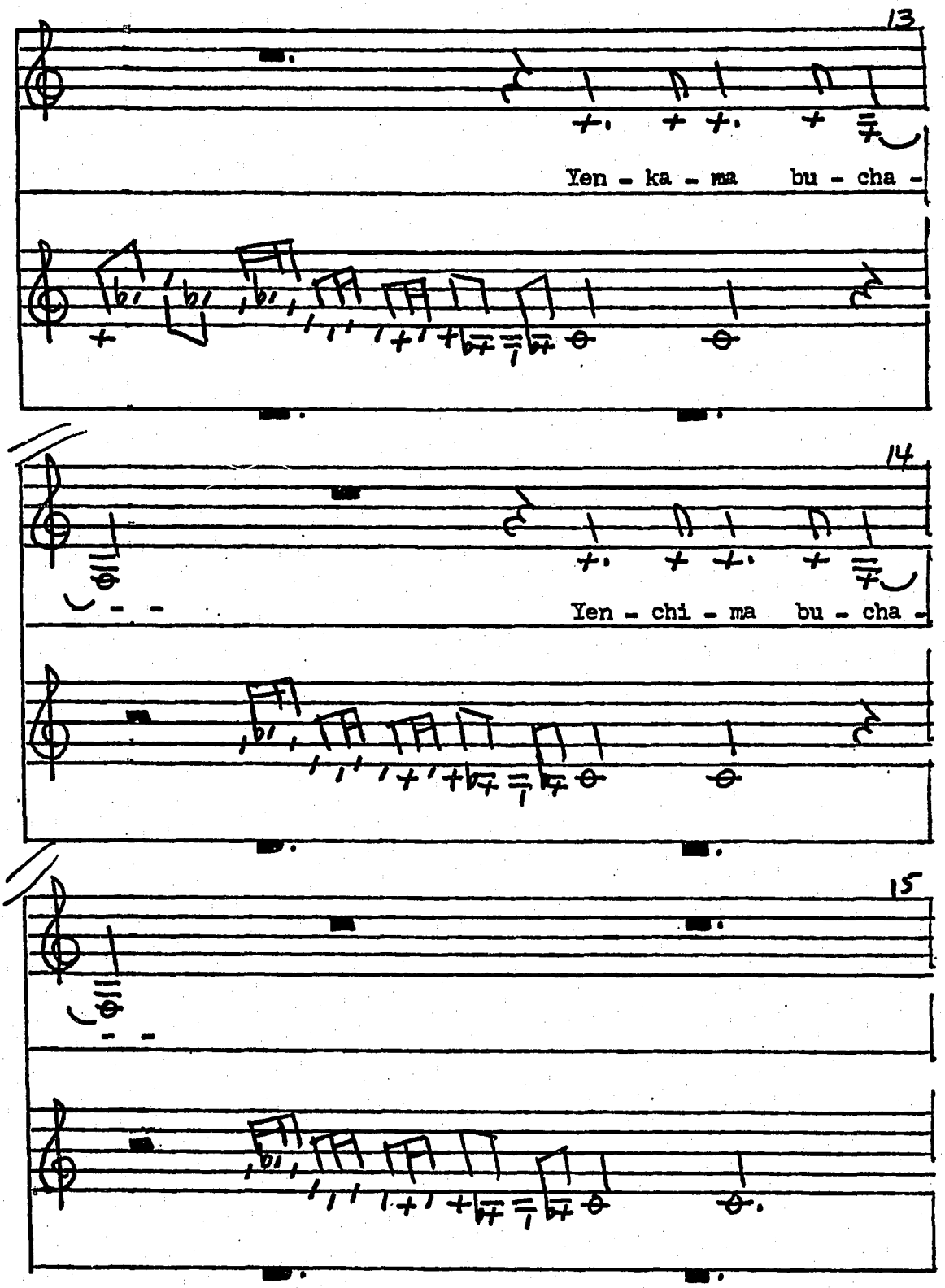
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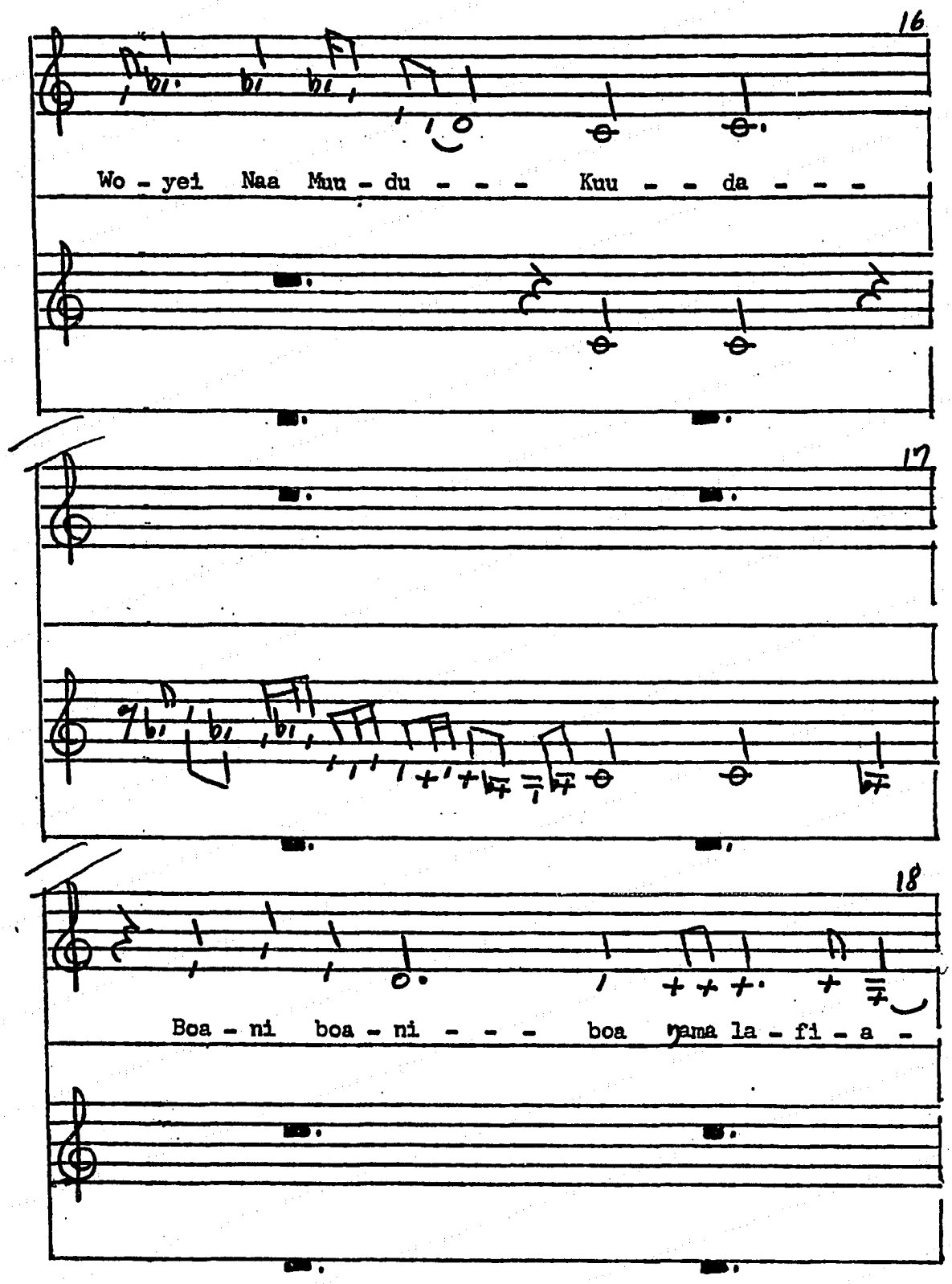
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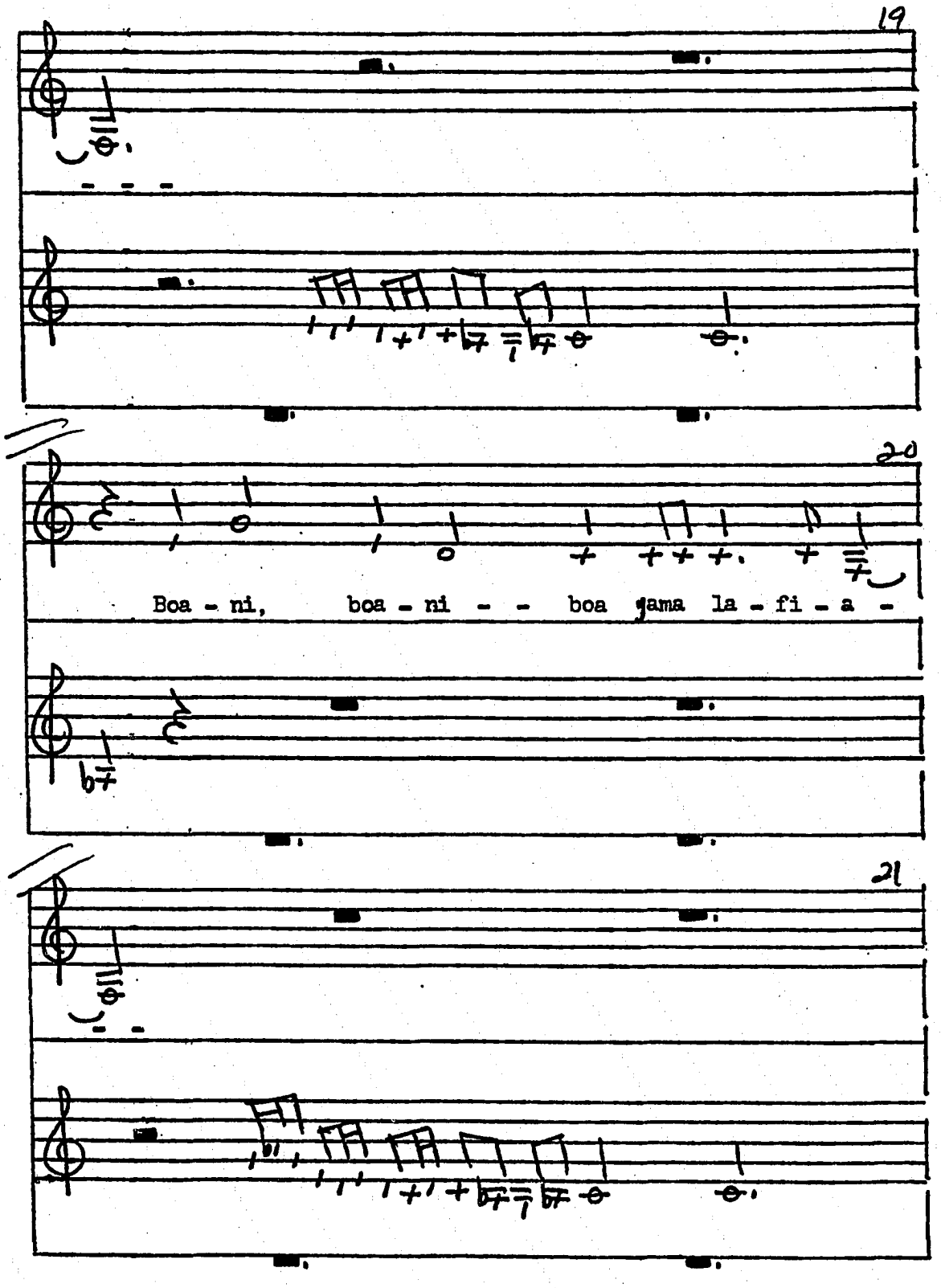
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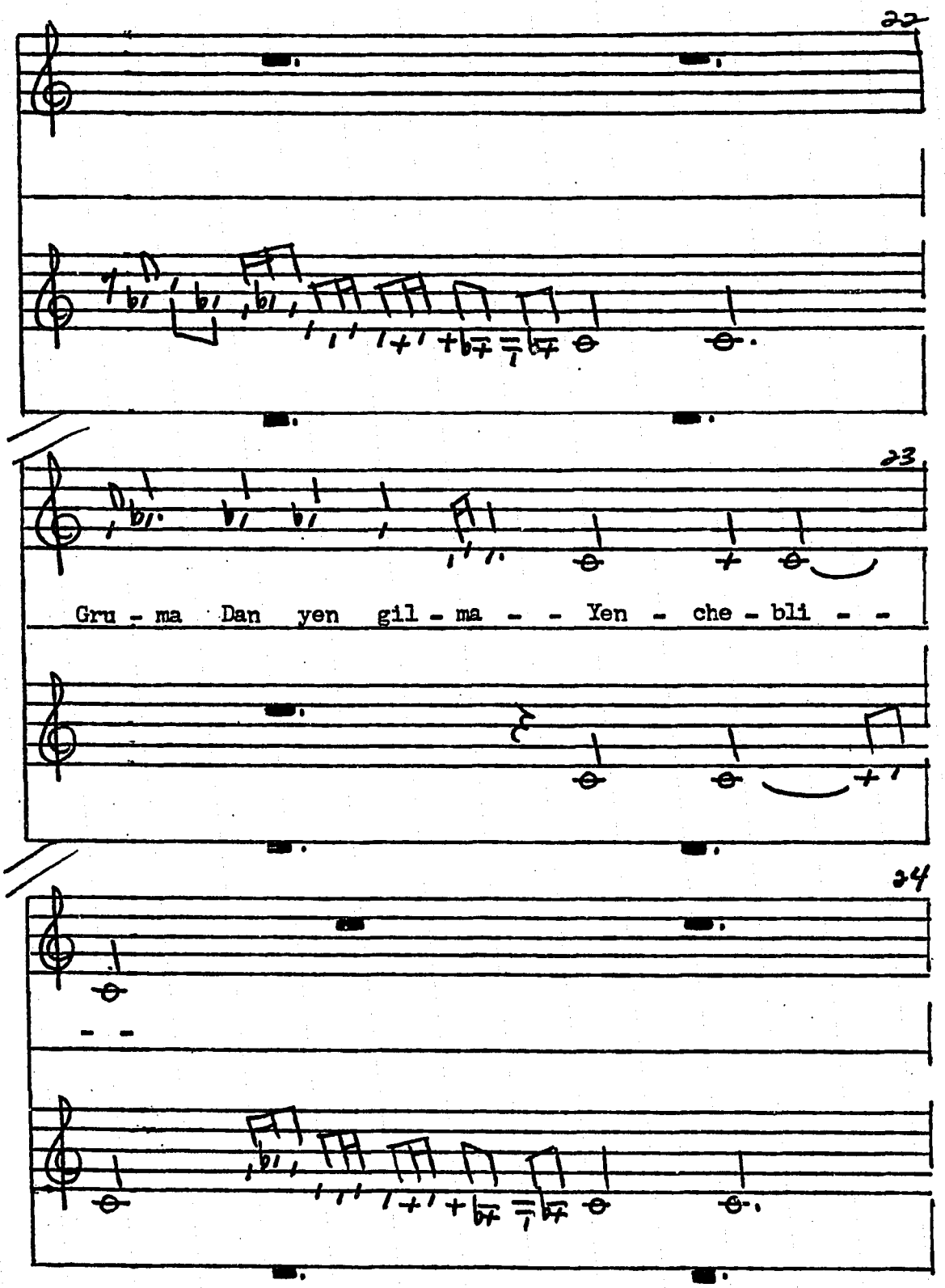
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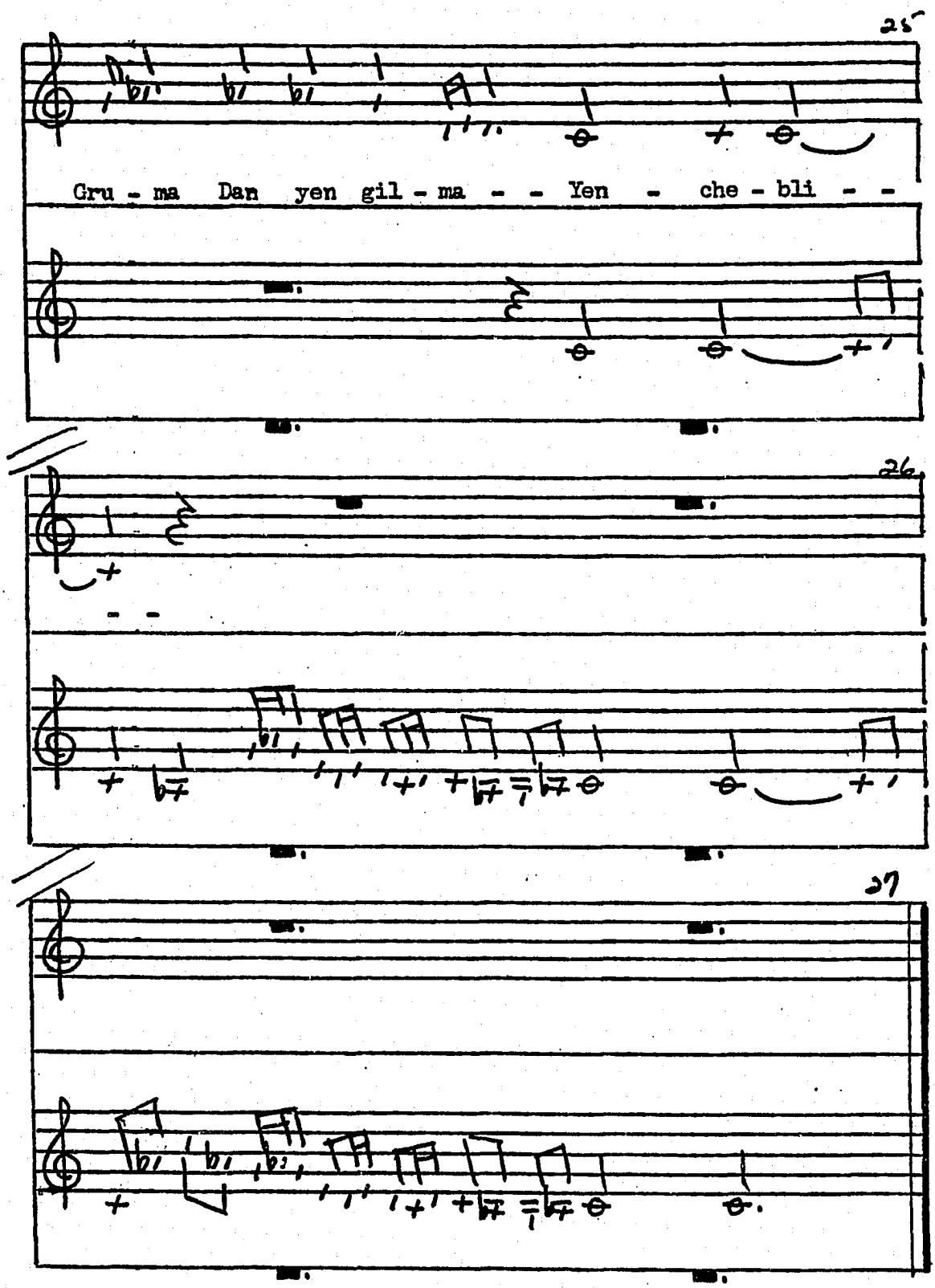
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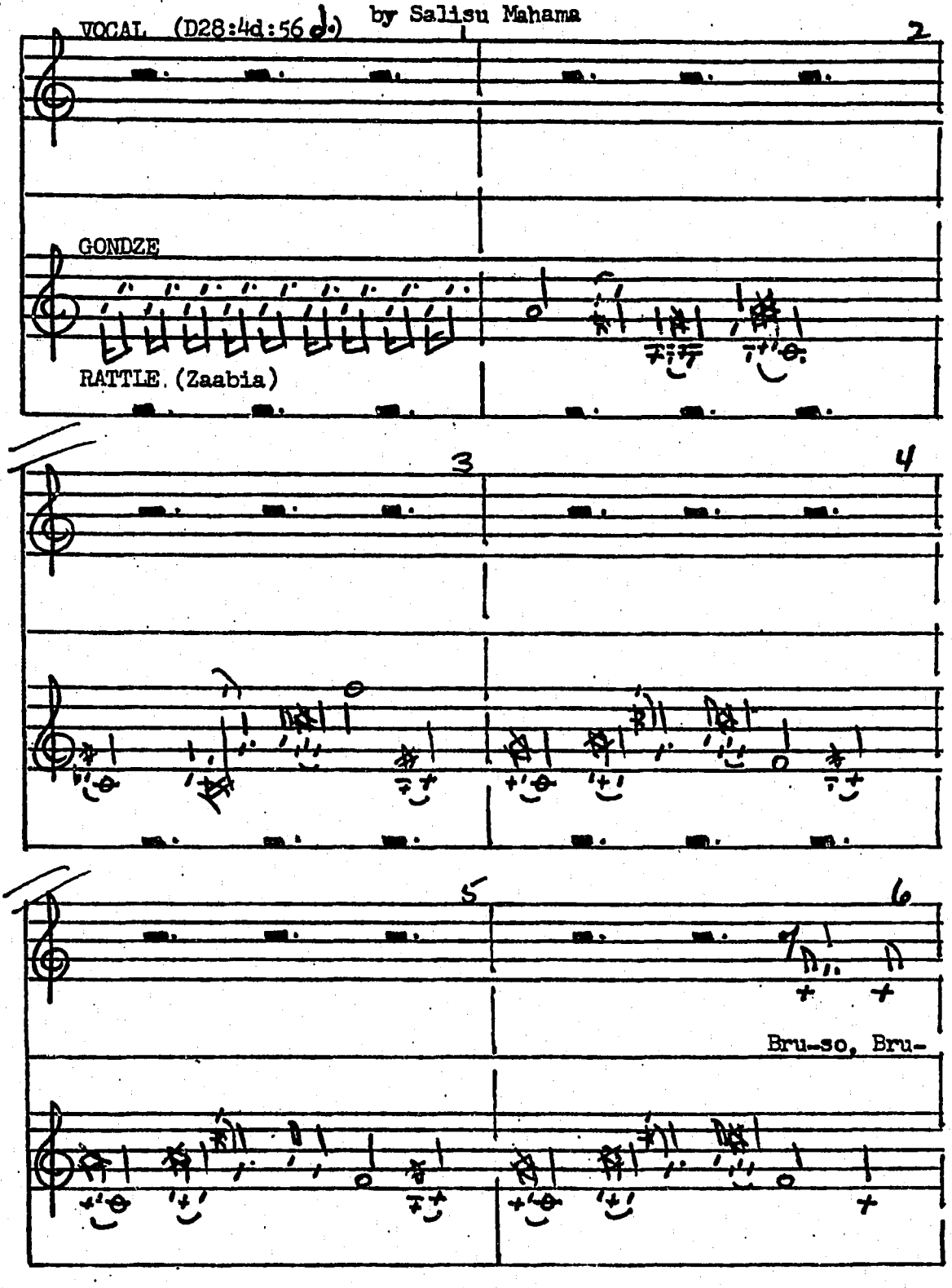


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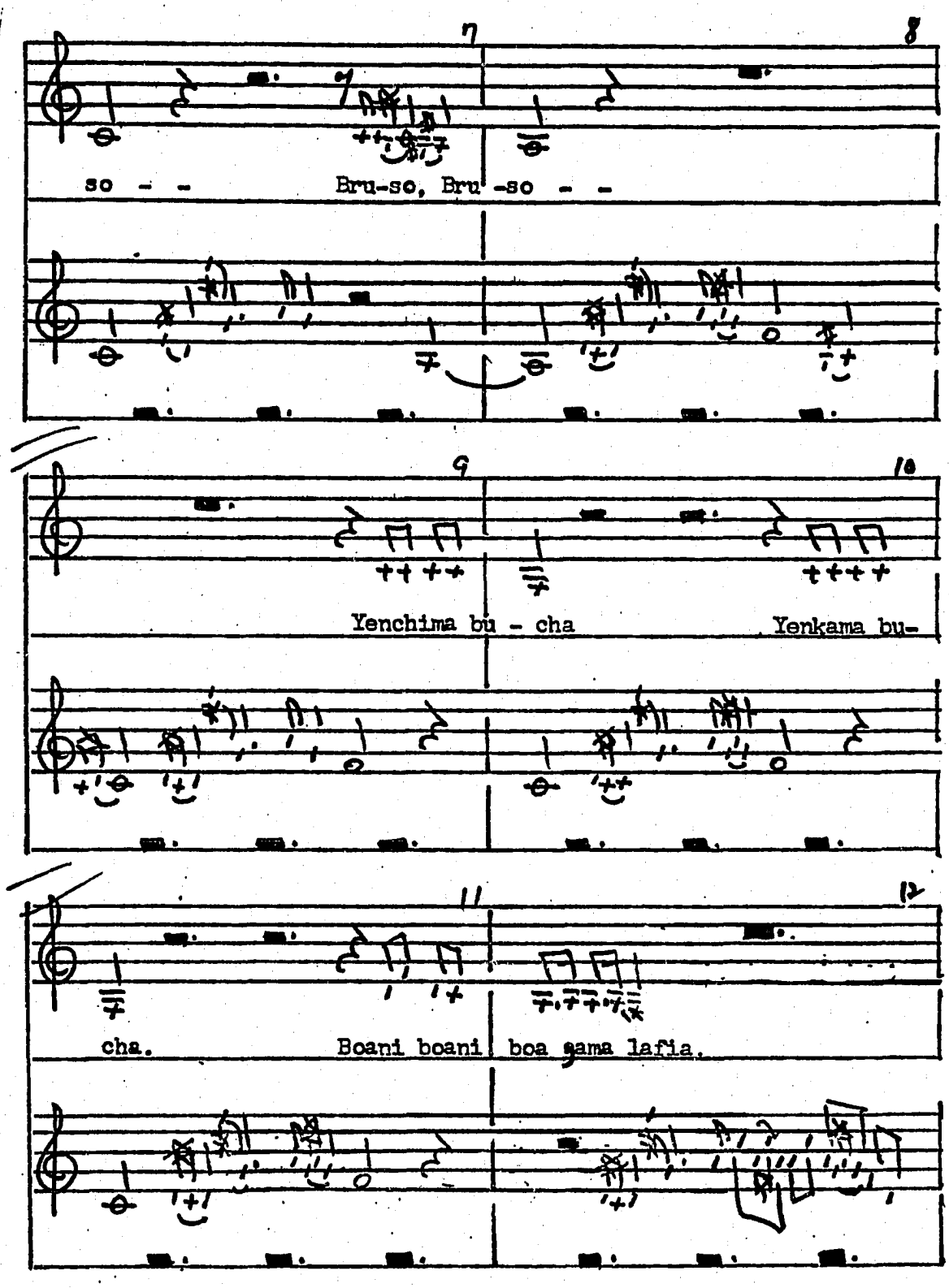


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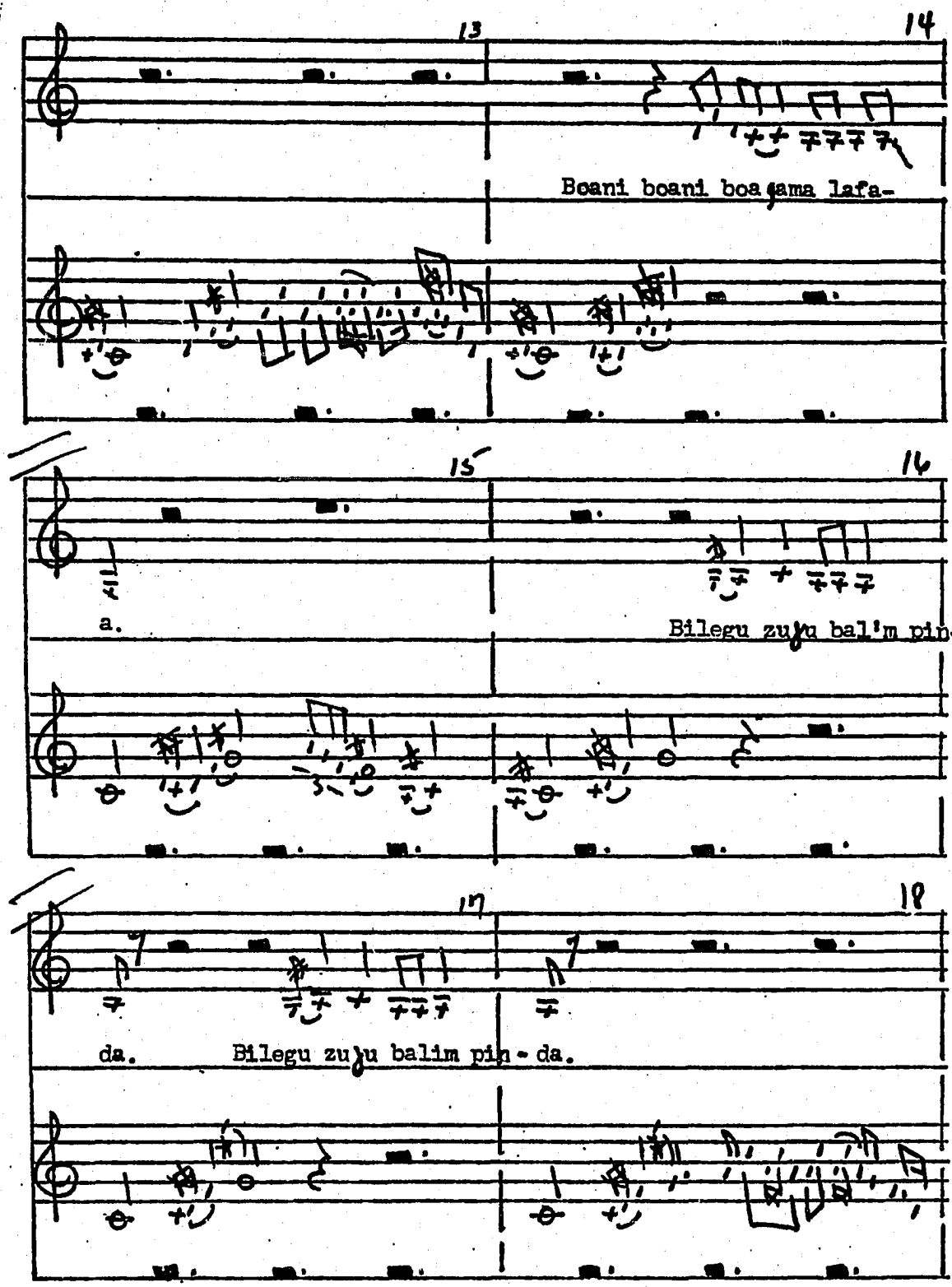
BRUSO-TAAKAA SANNU
by Salisu Mahama



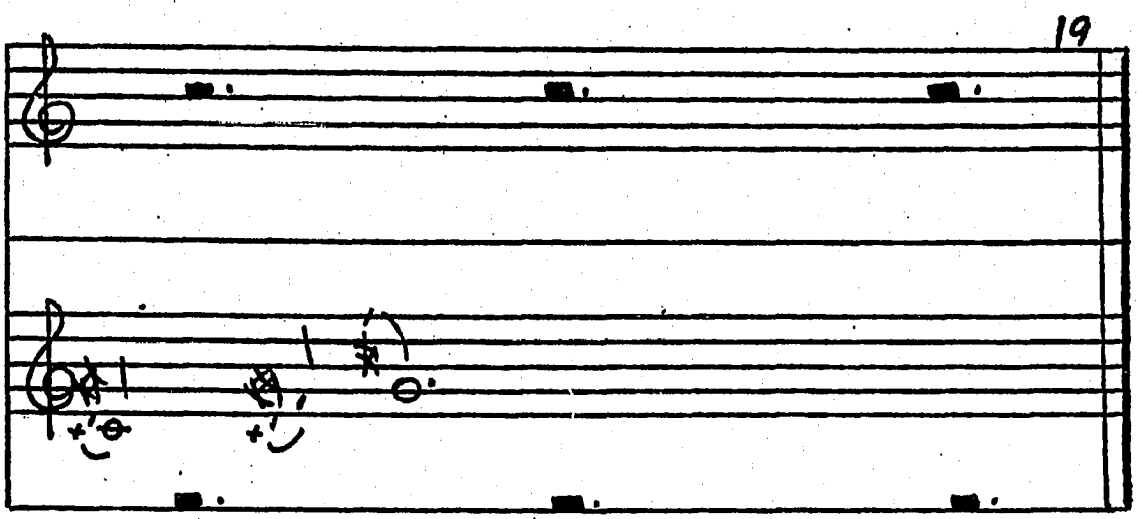
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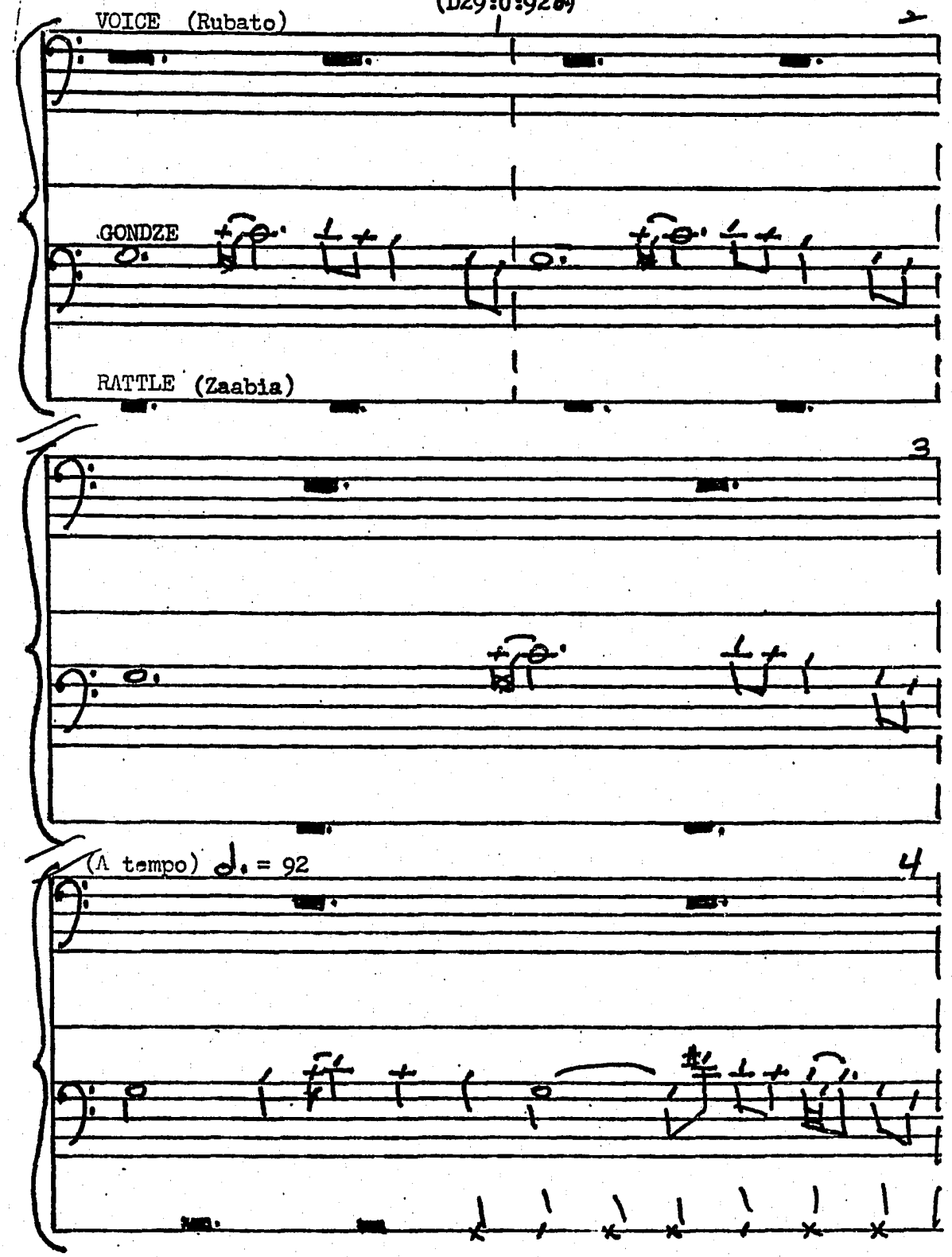


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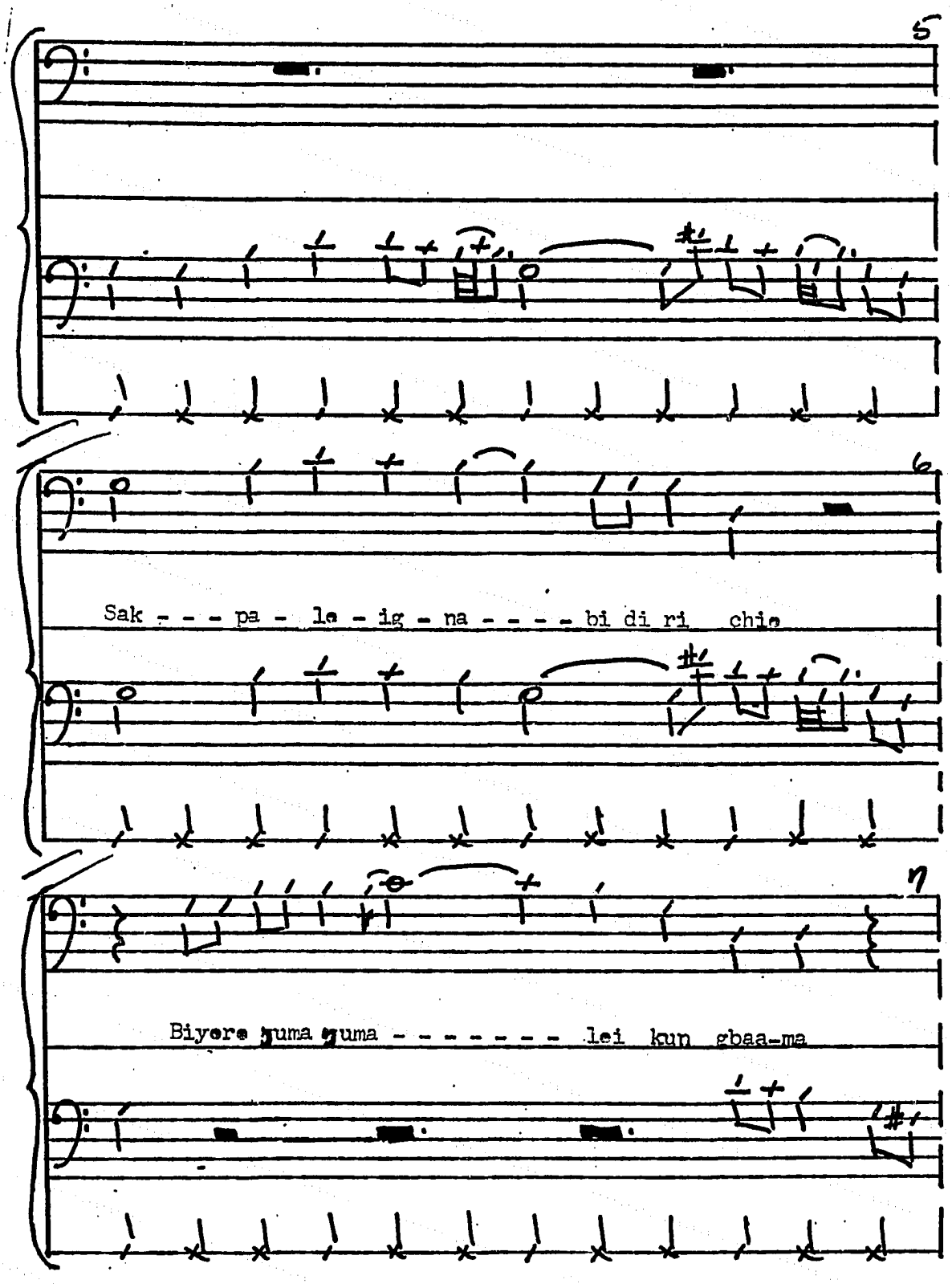
SAKPALEINGA BIDIRI CHIE

by Salisu Mahama
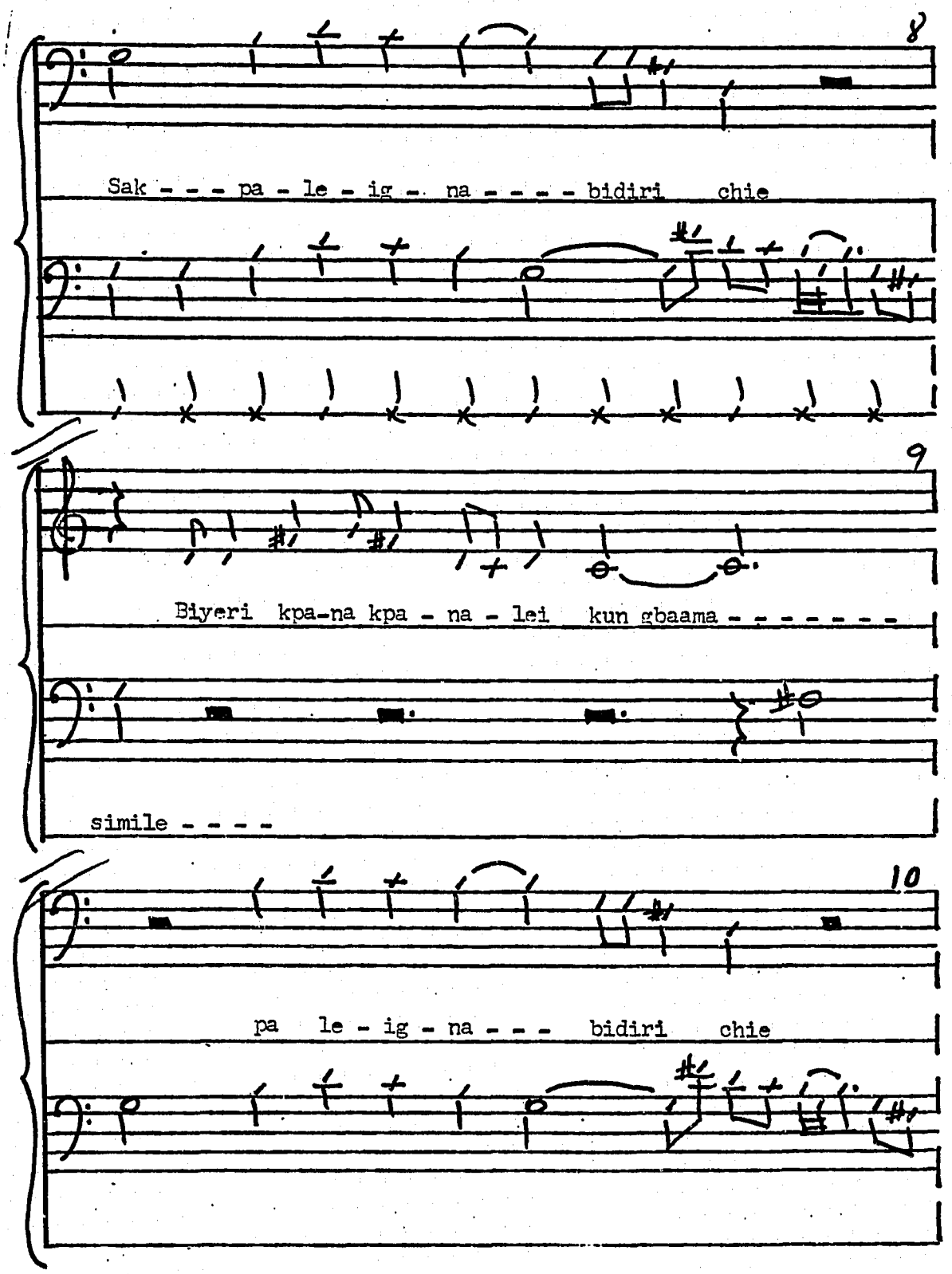
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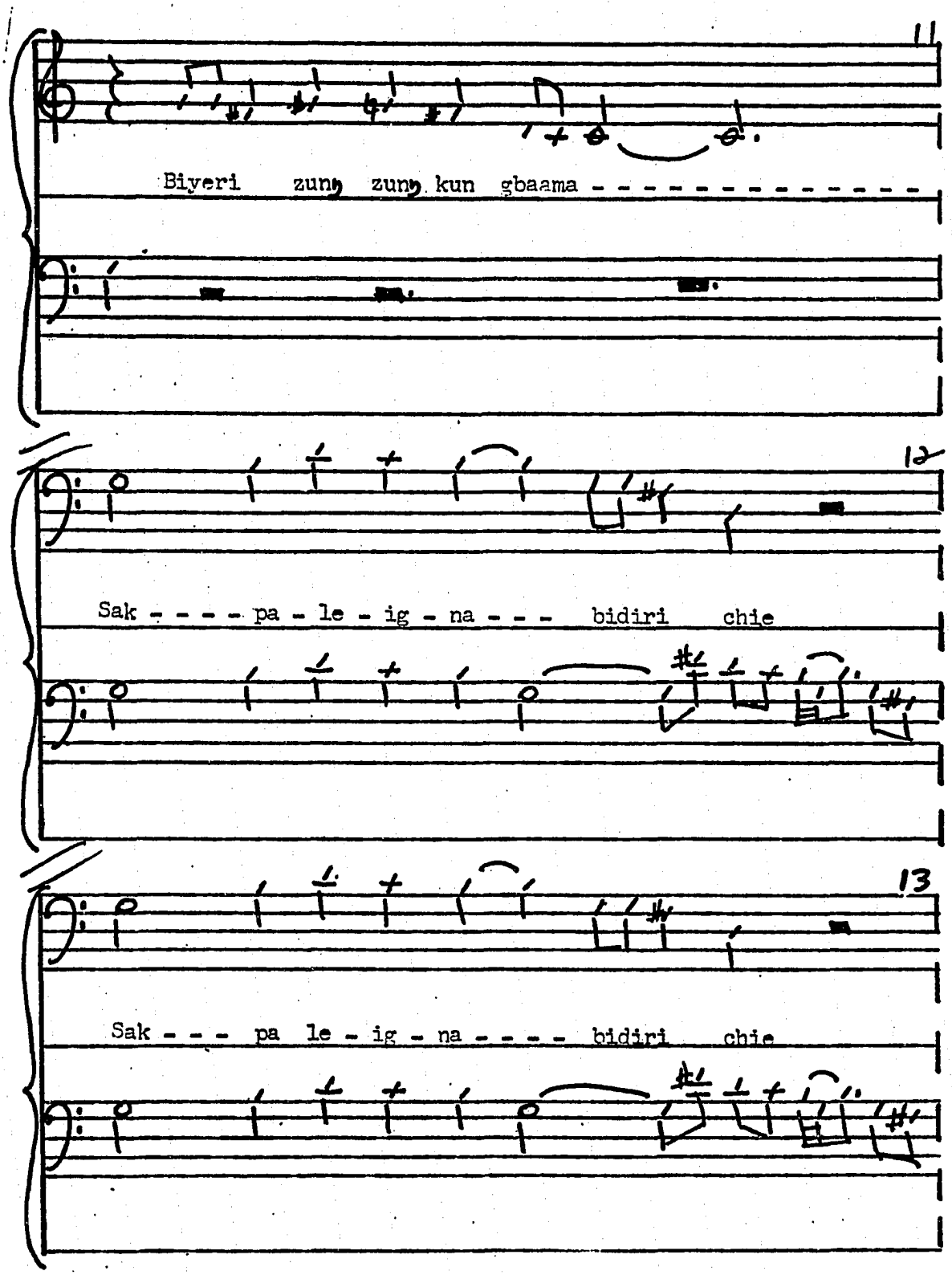
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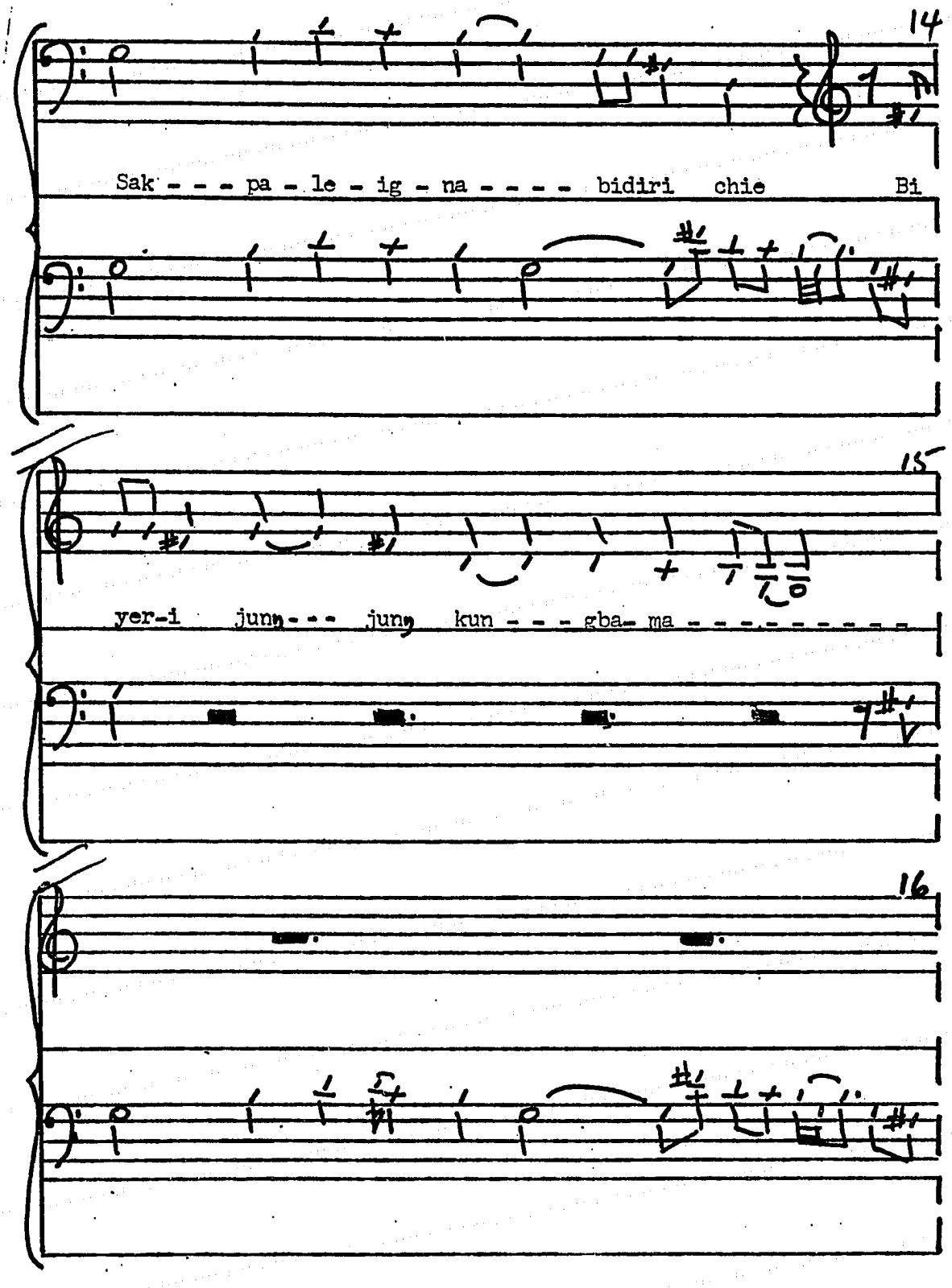
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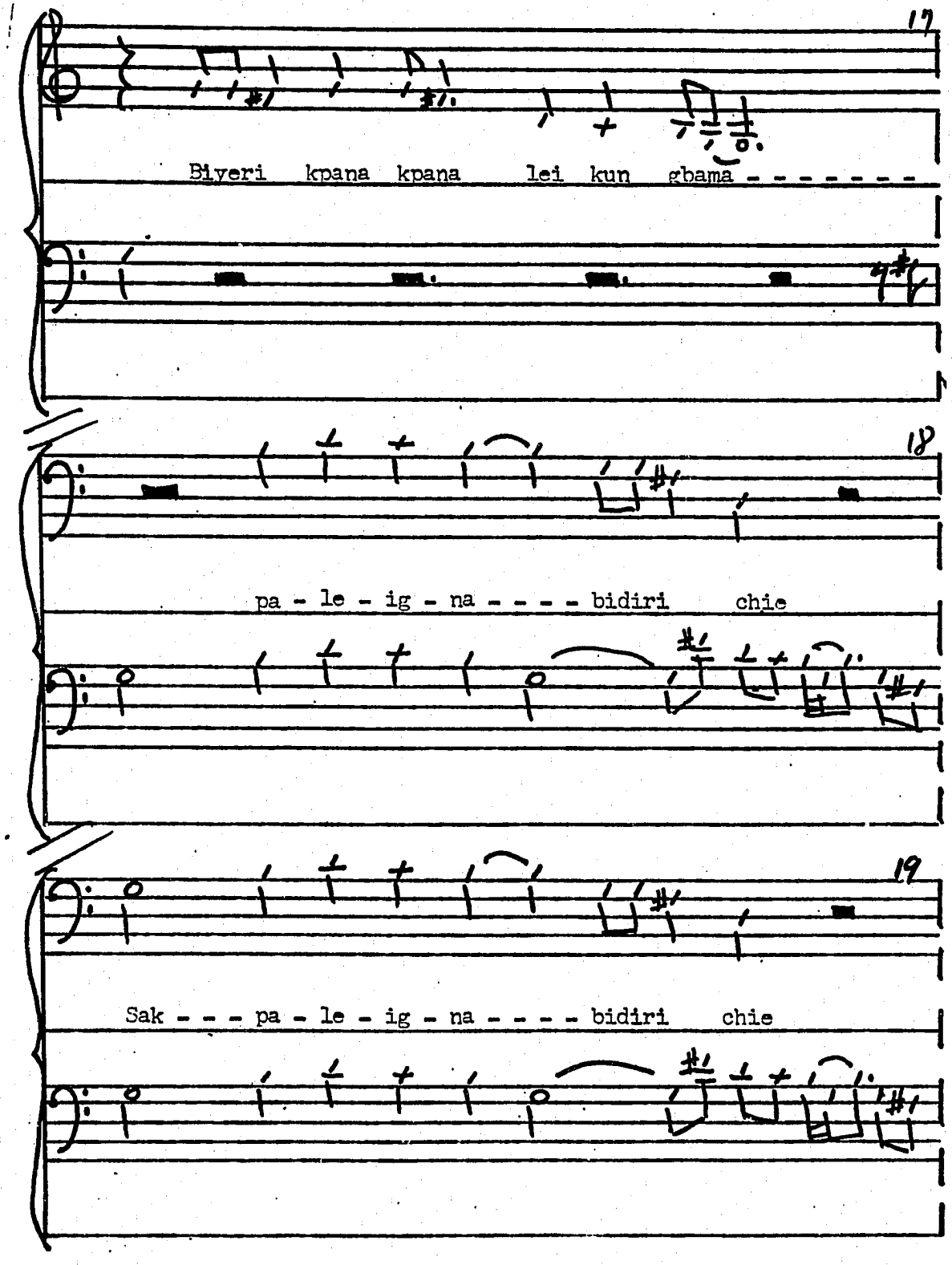
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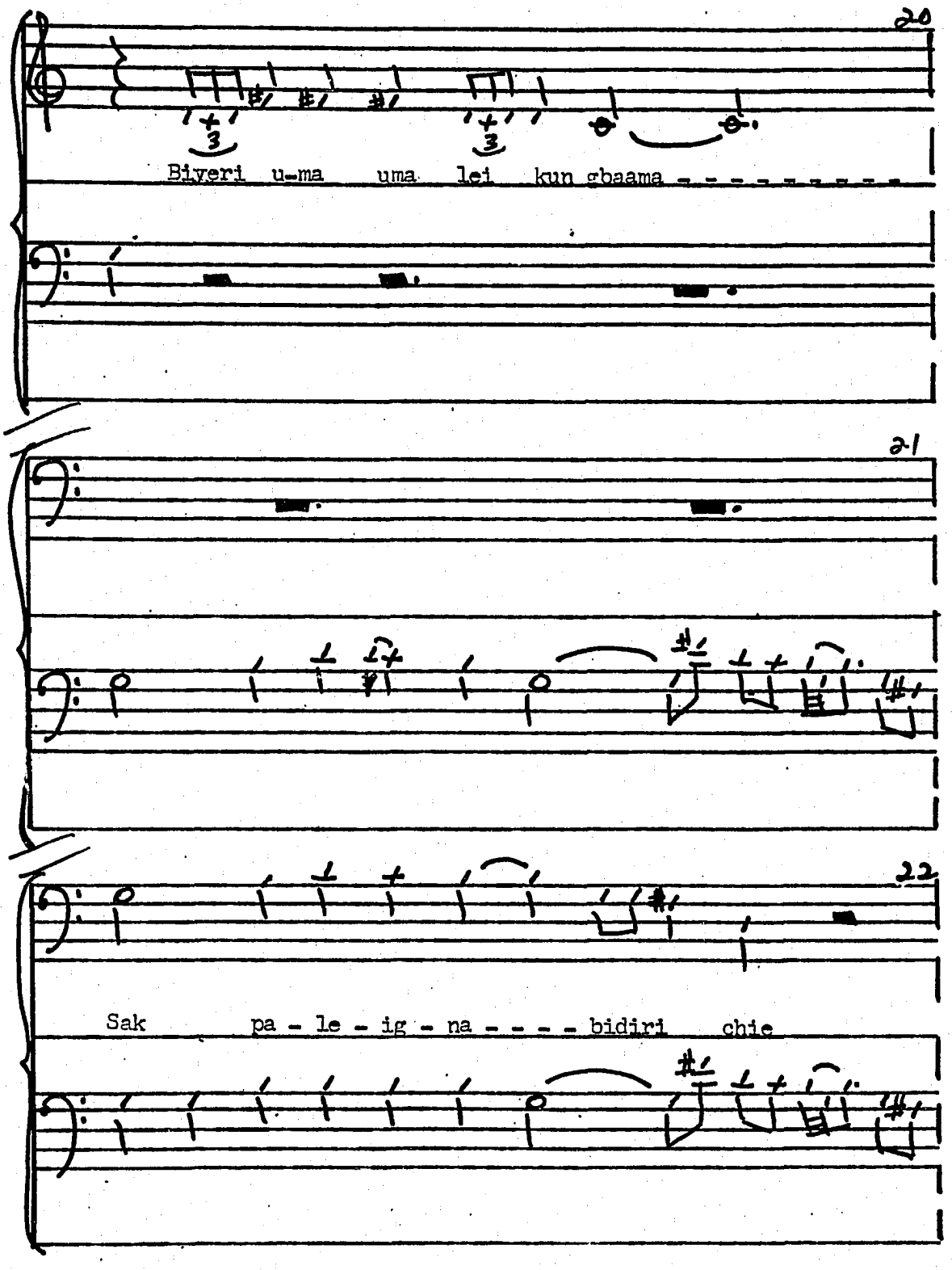
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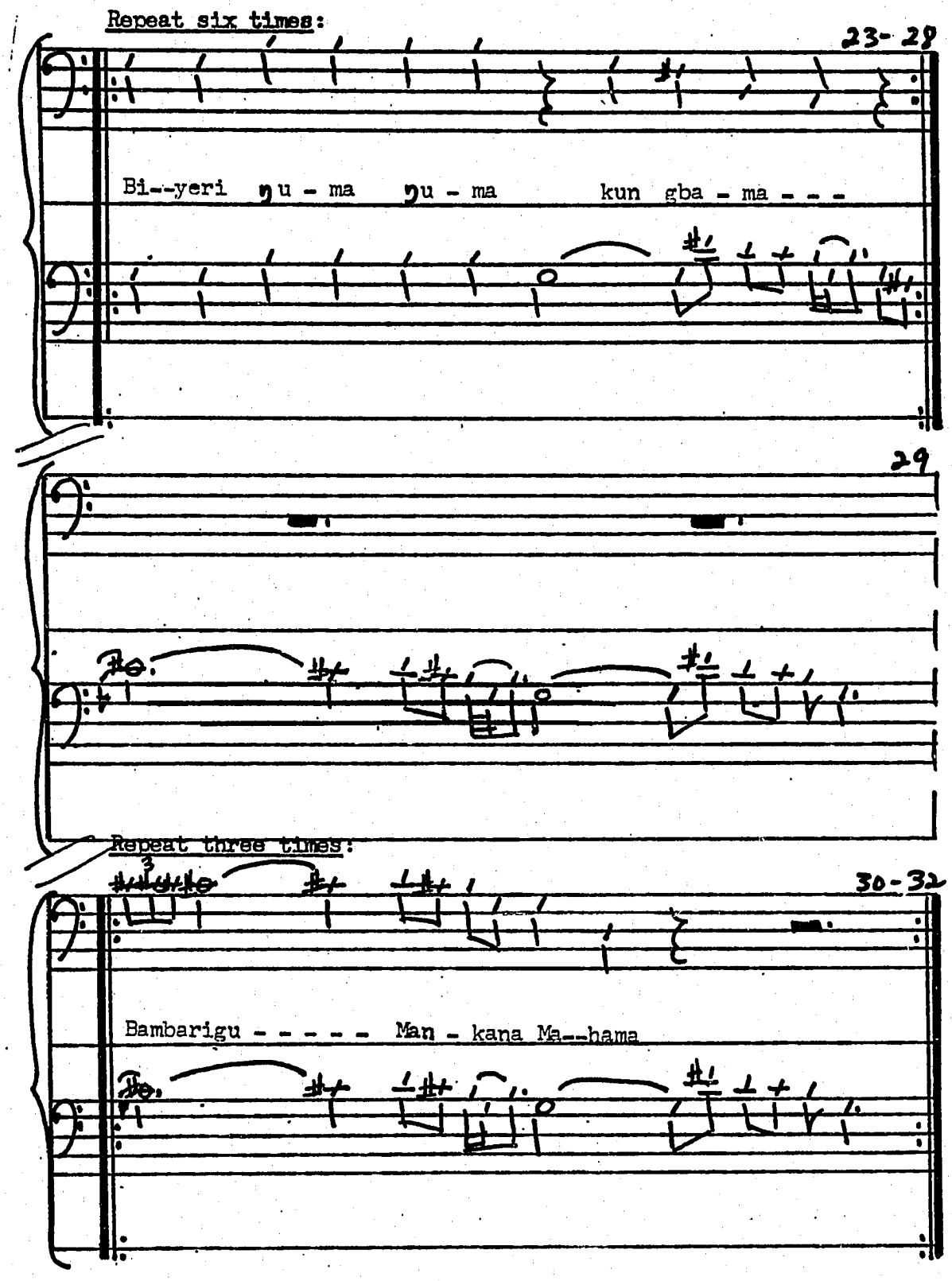
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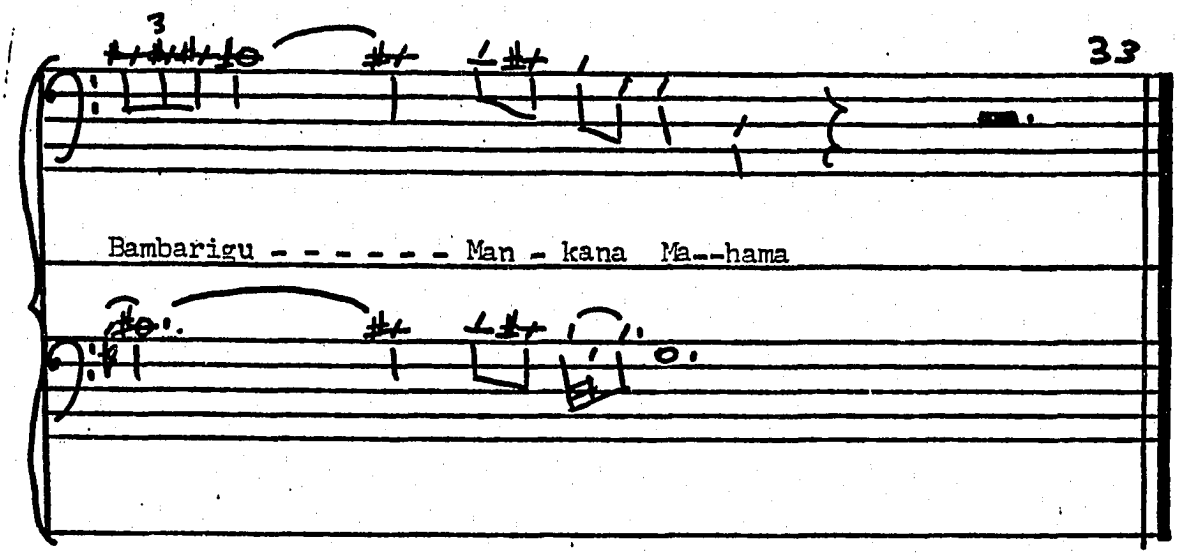
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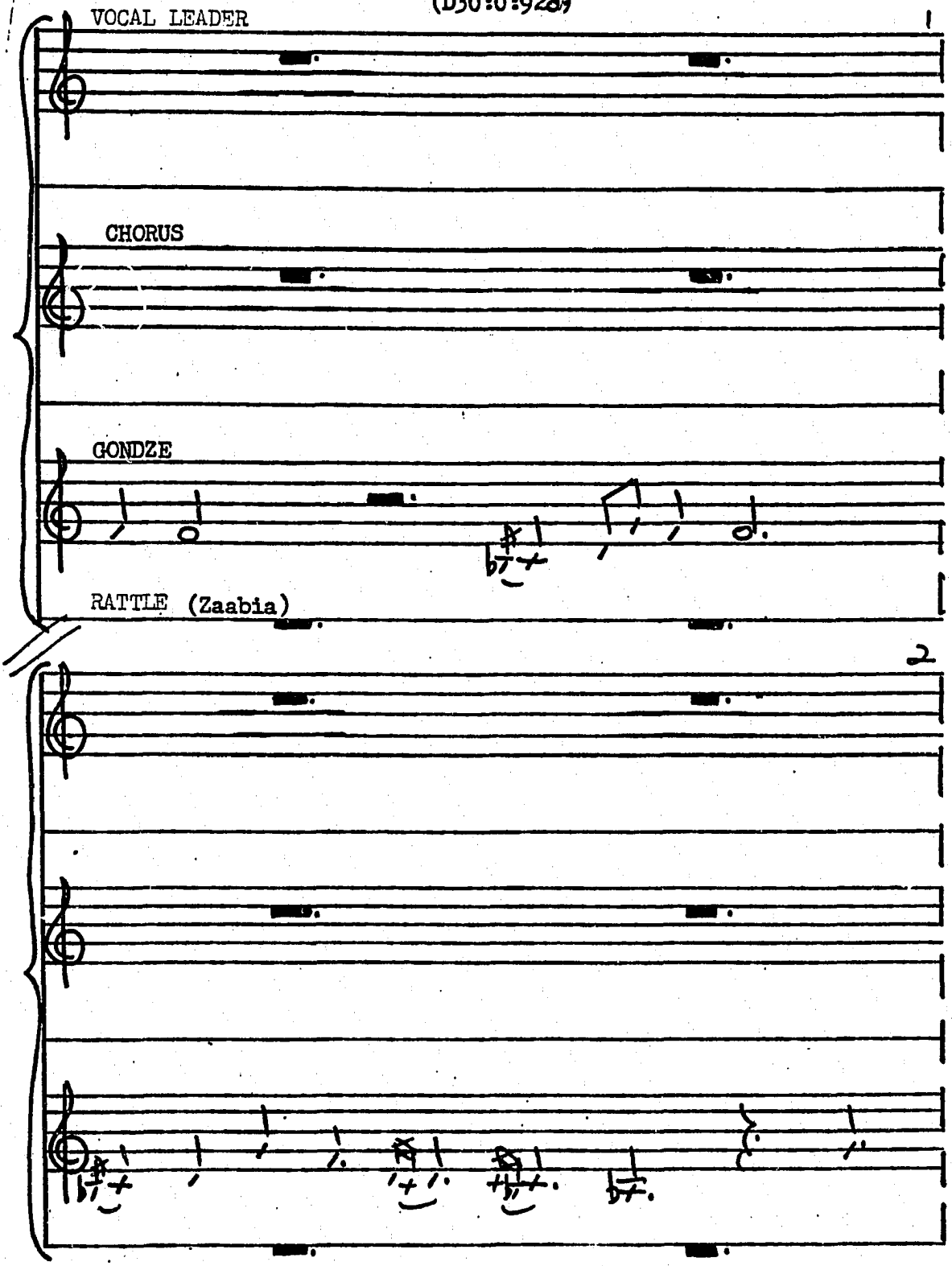


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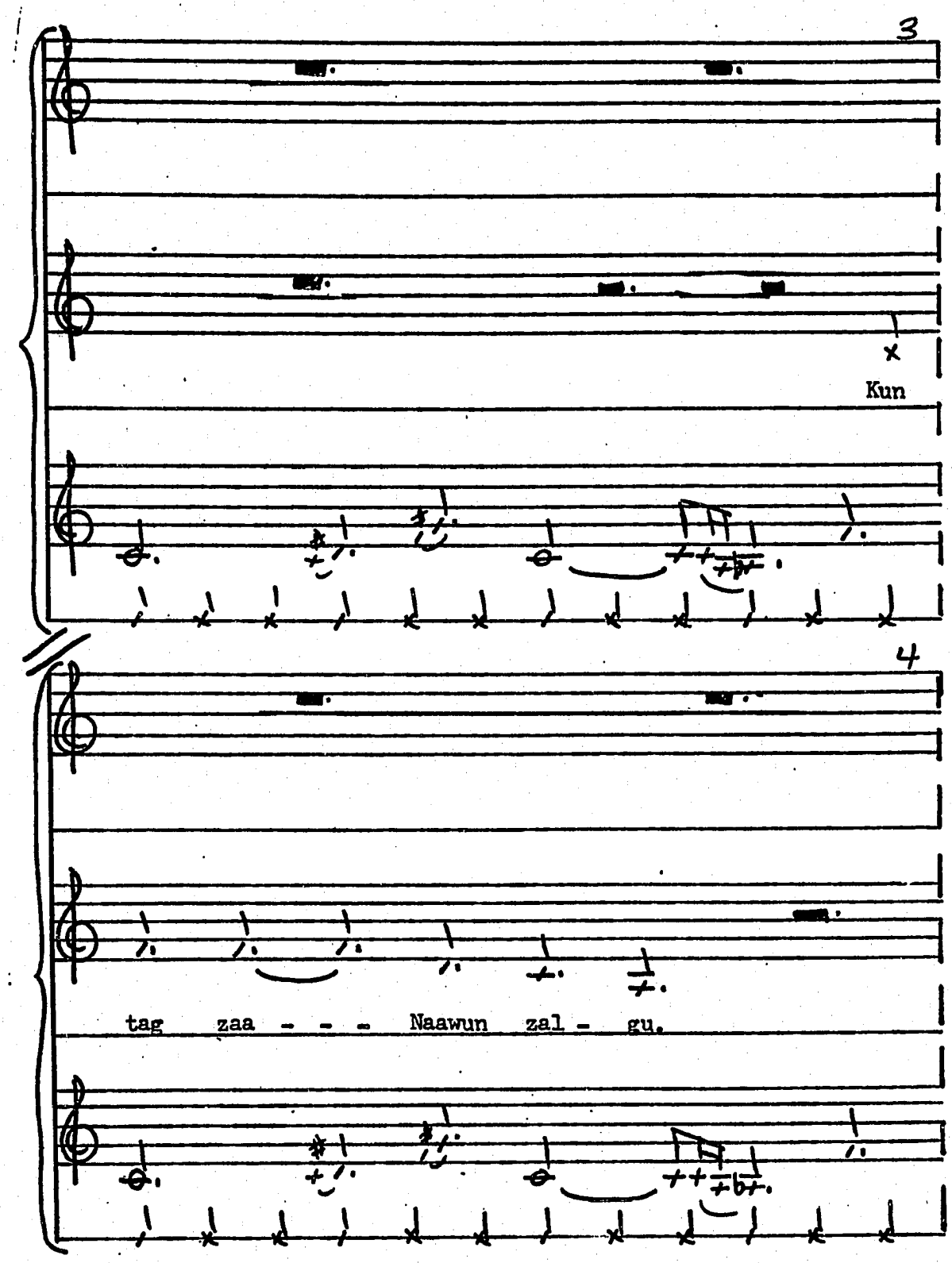


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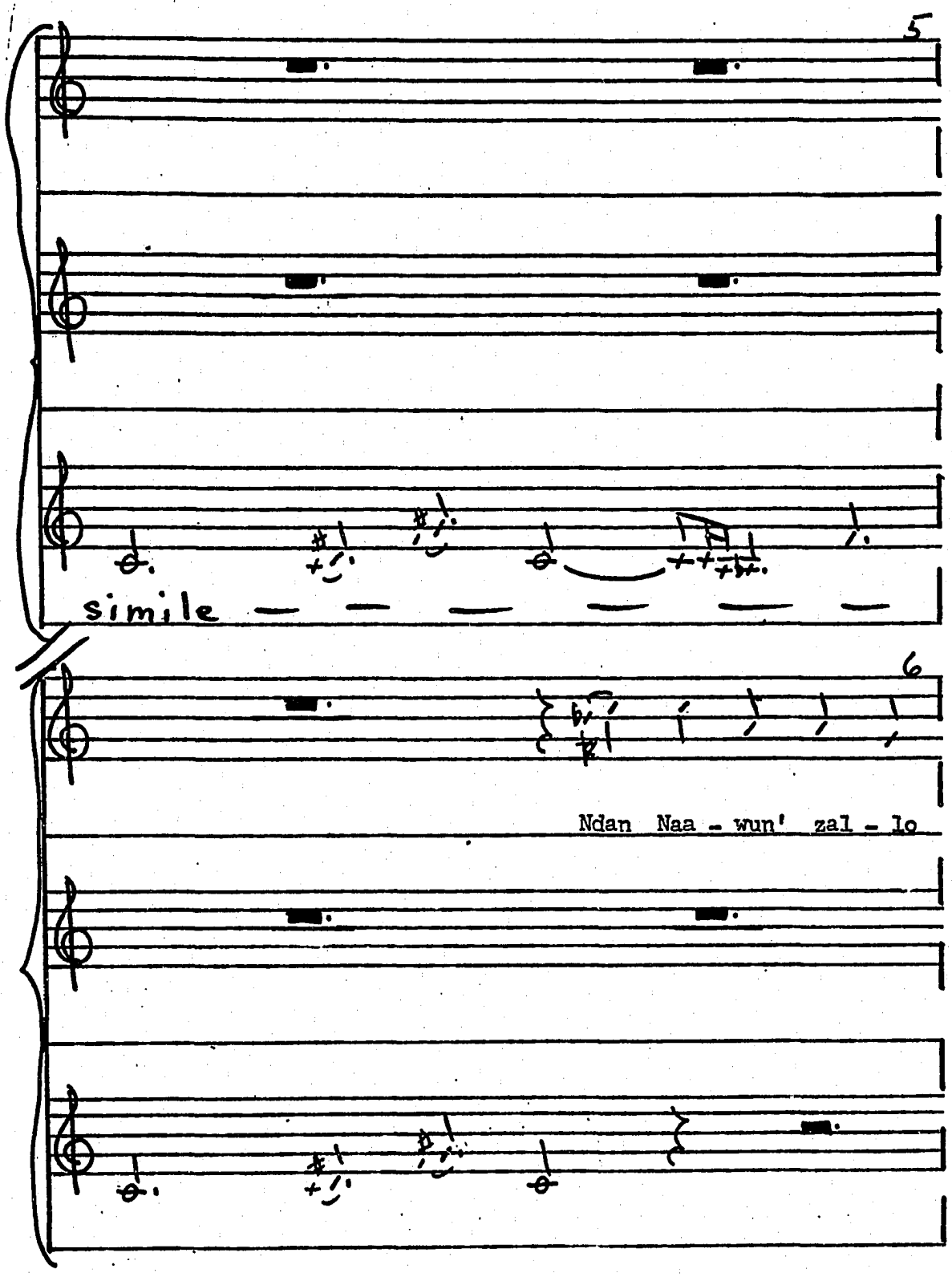
KUNTAGZAA
by Salisu Mahama
(D30:0:92d)



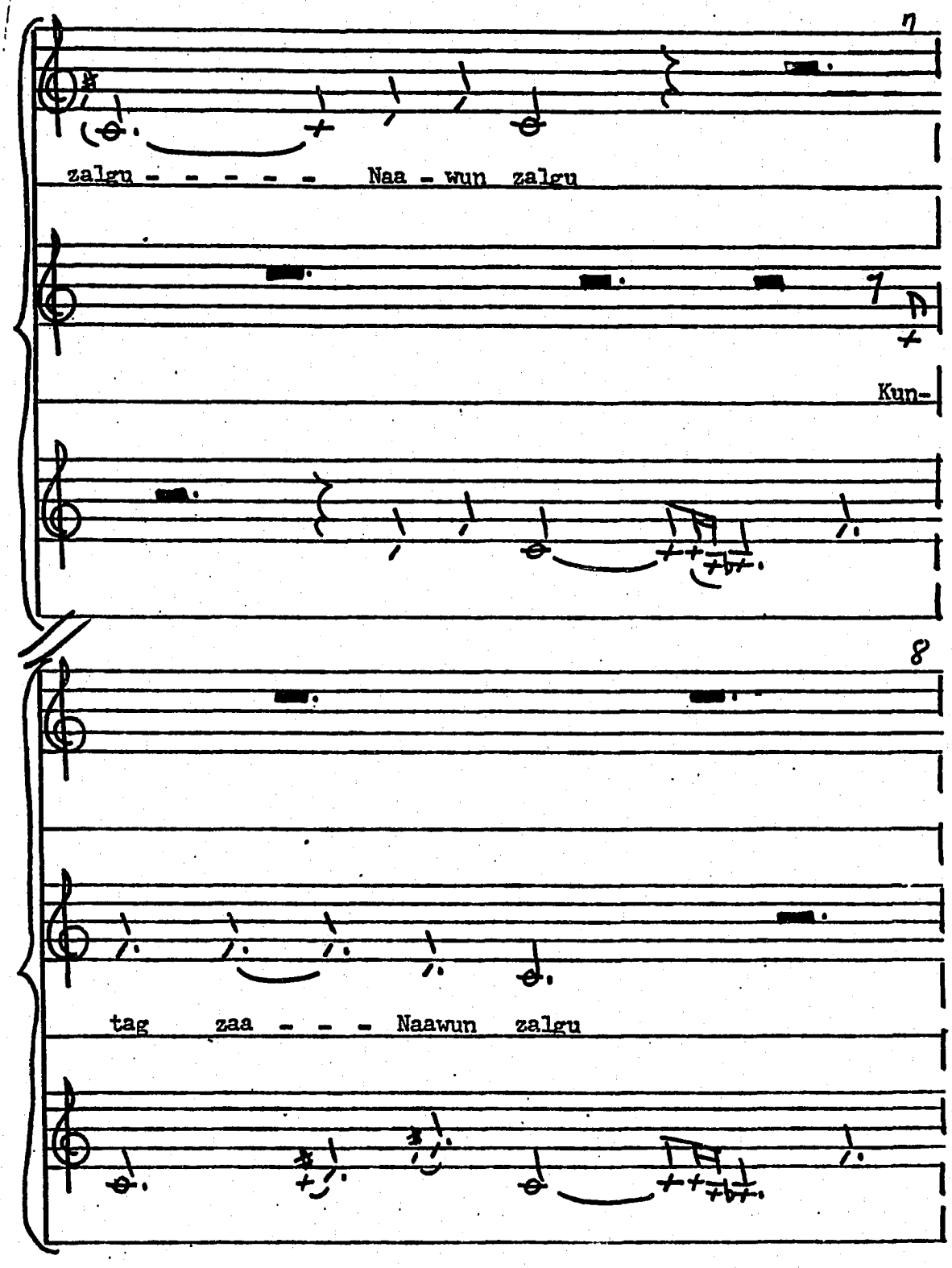
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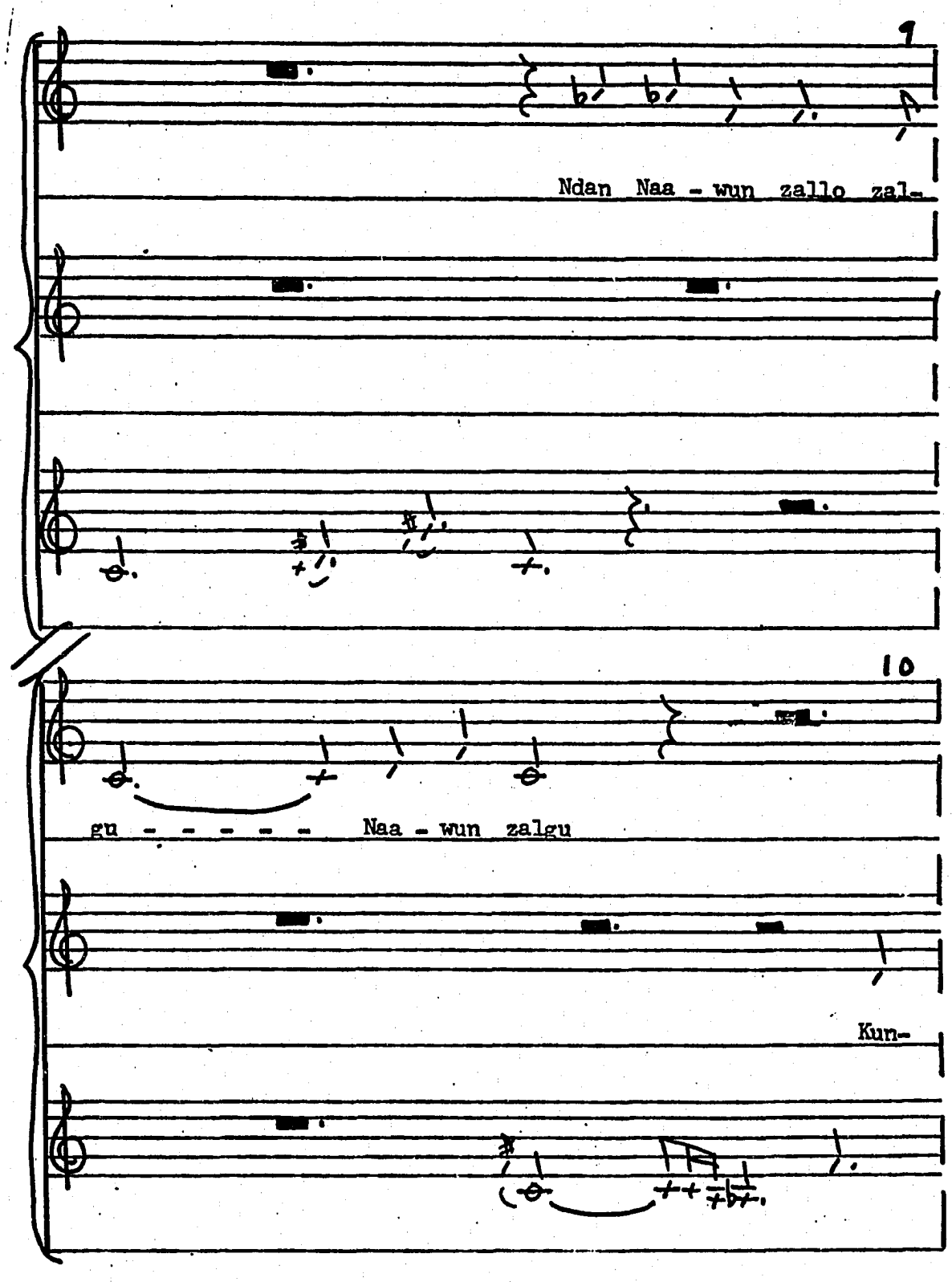
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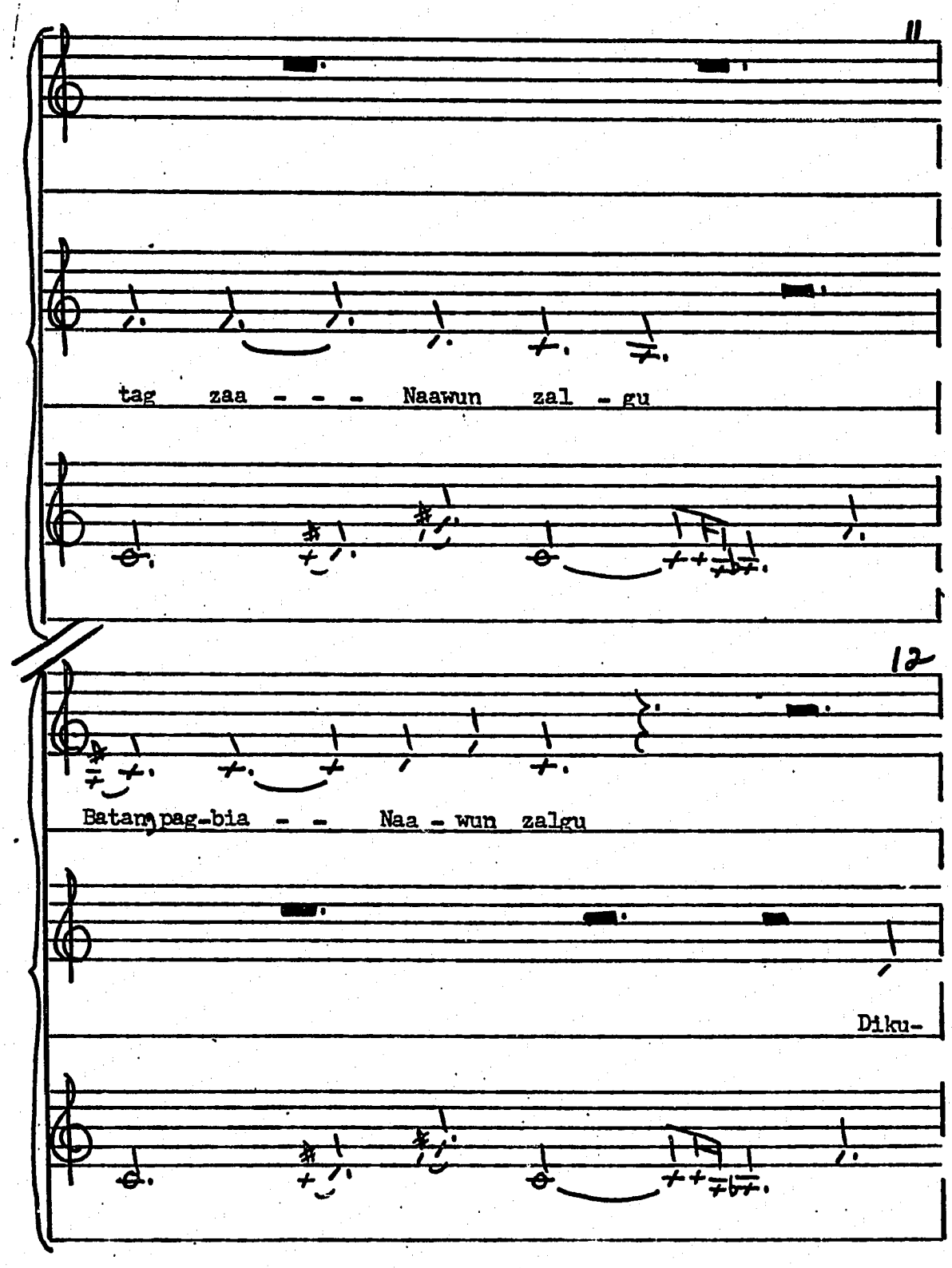
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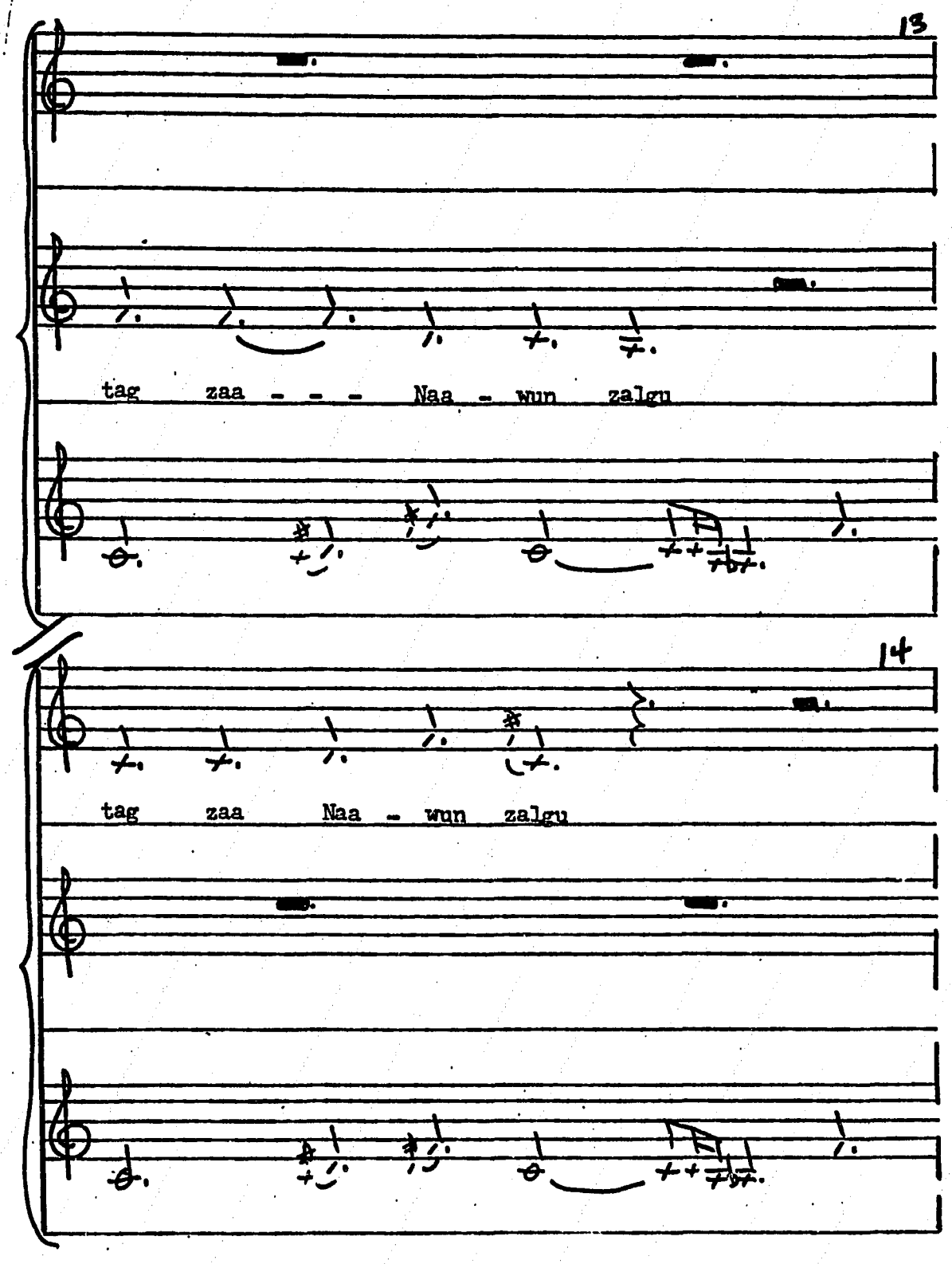
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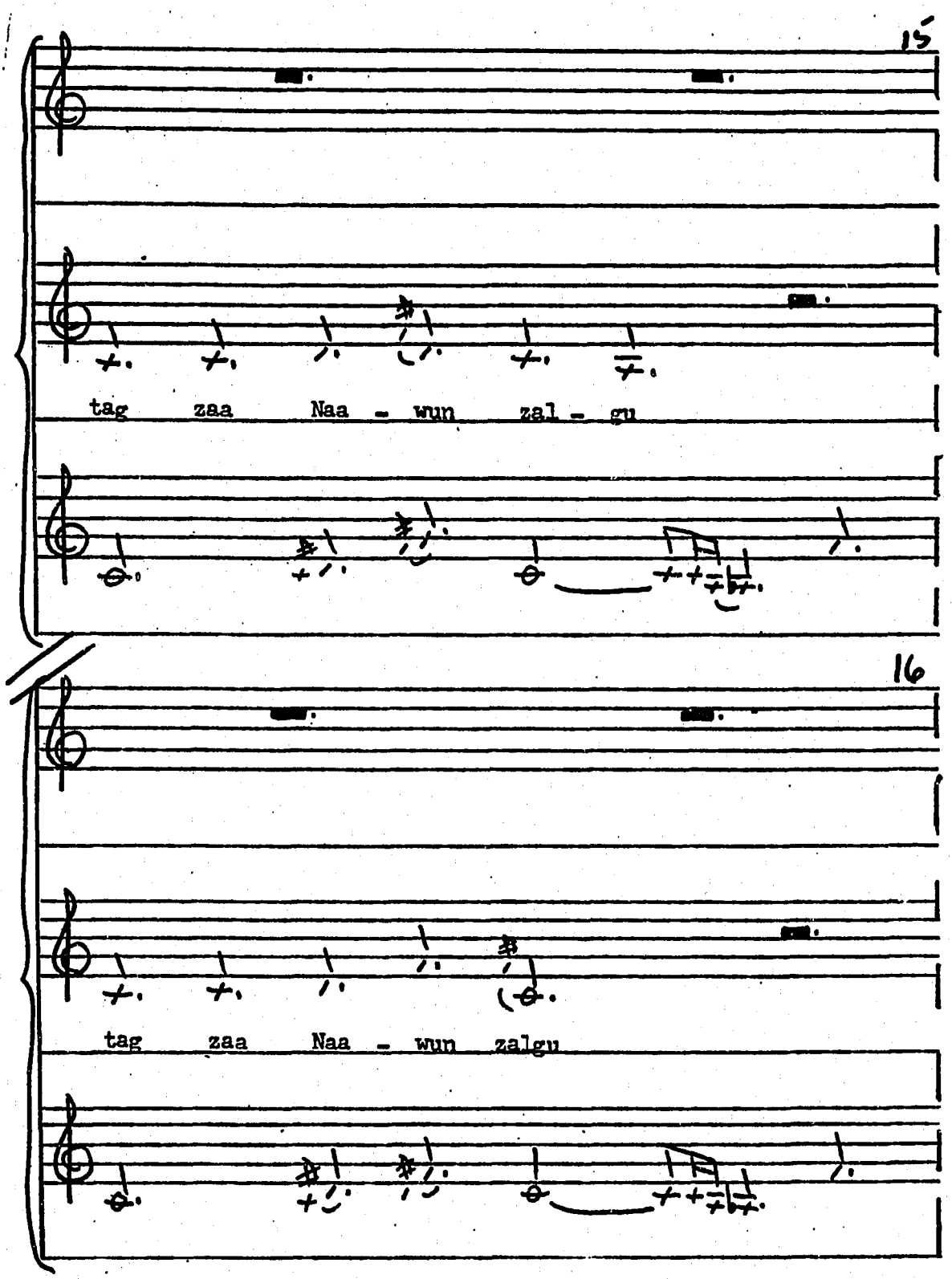
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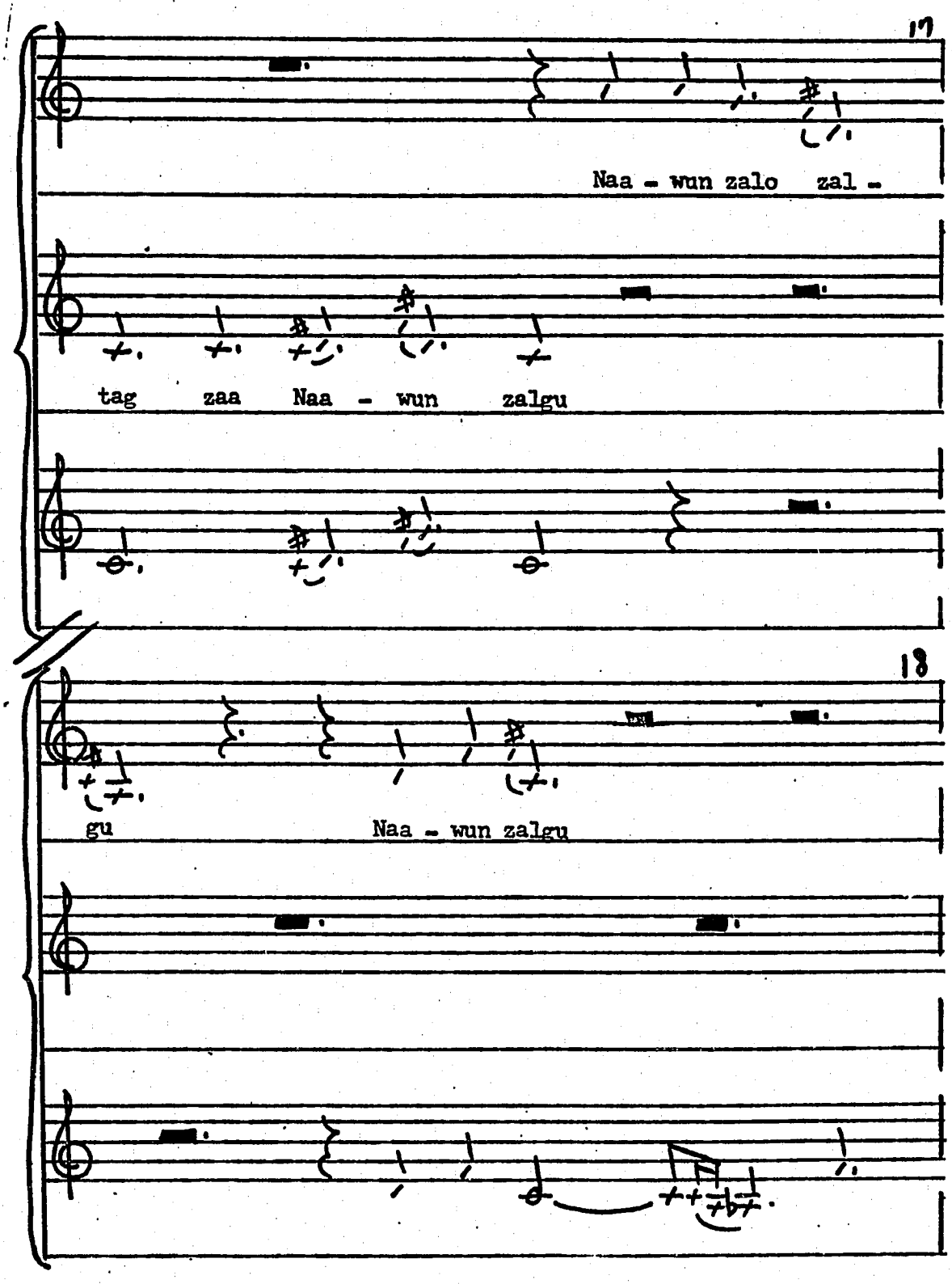
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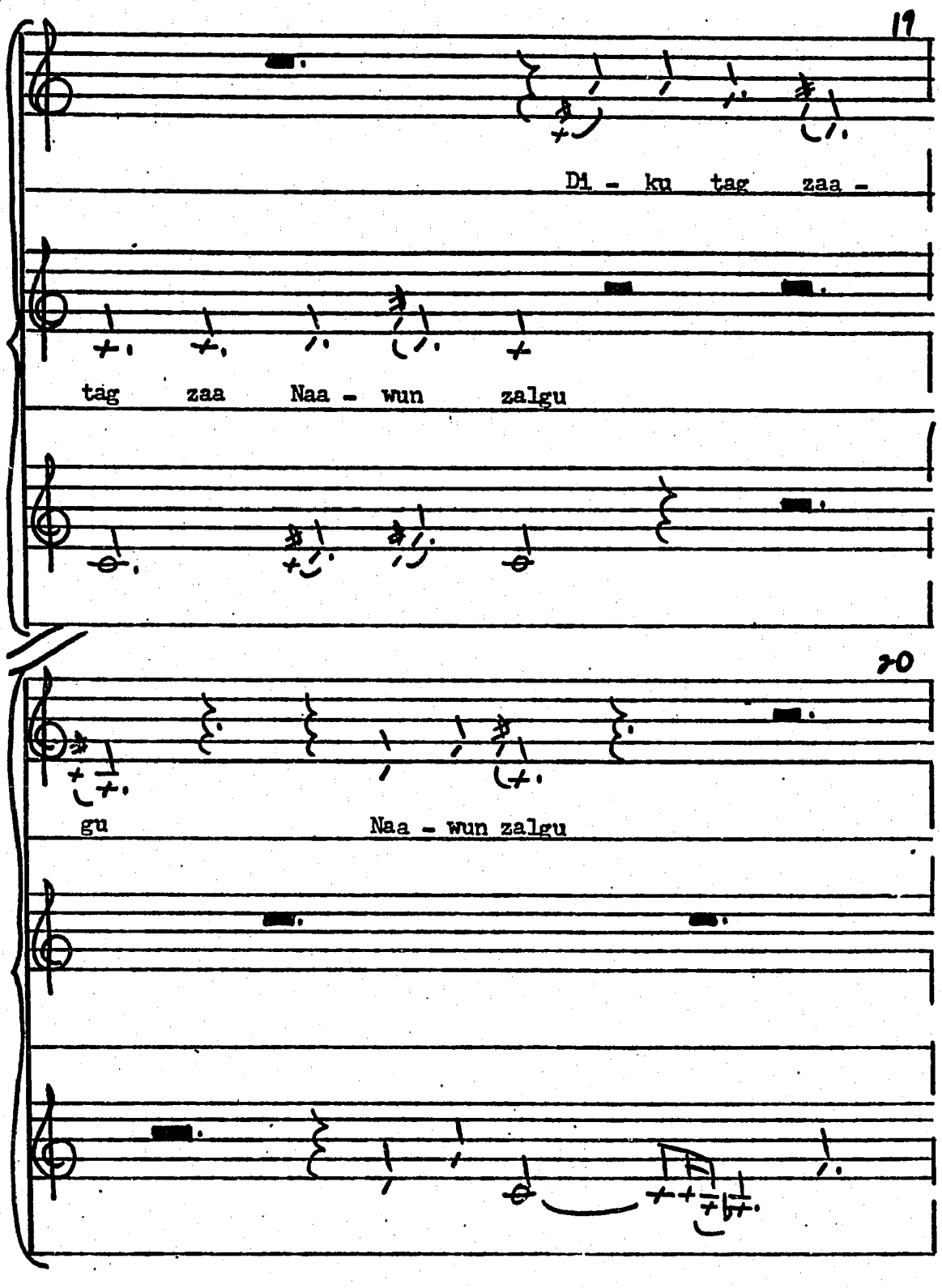
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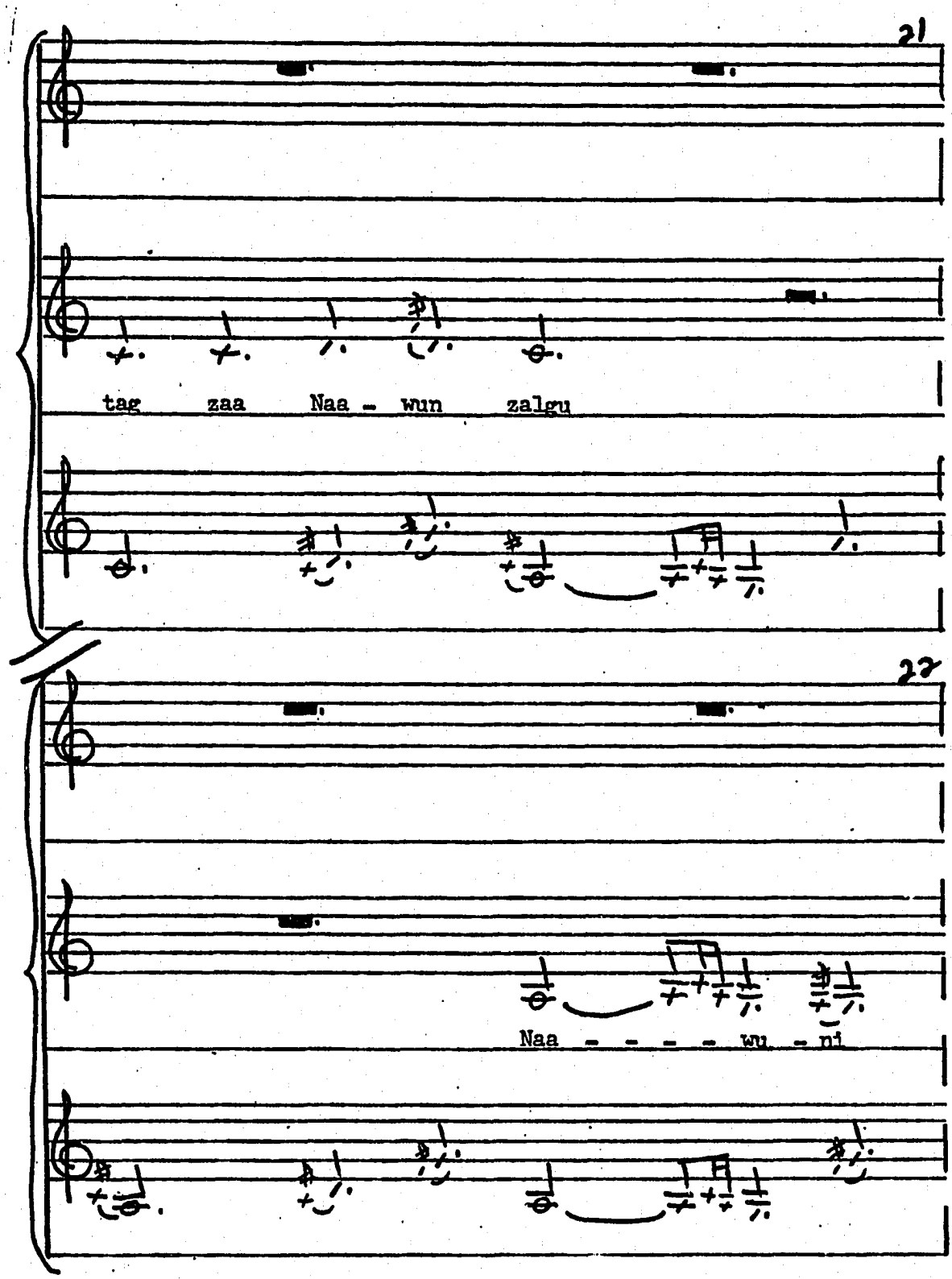
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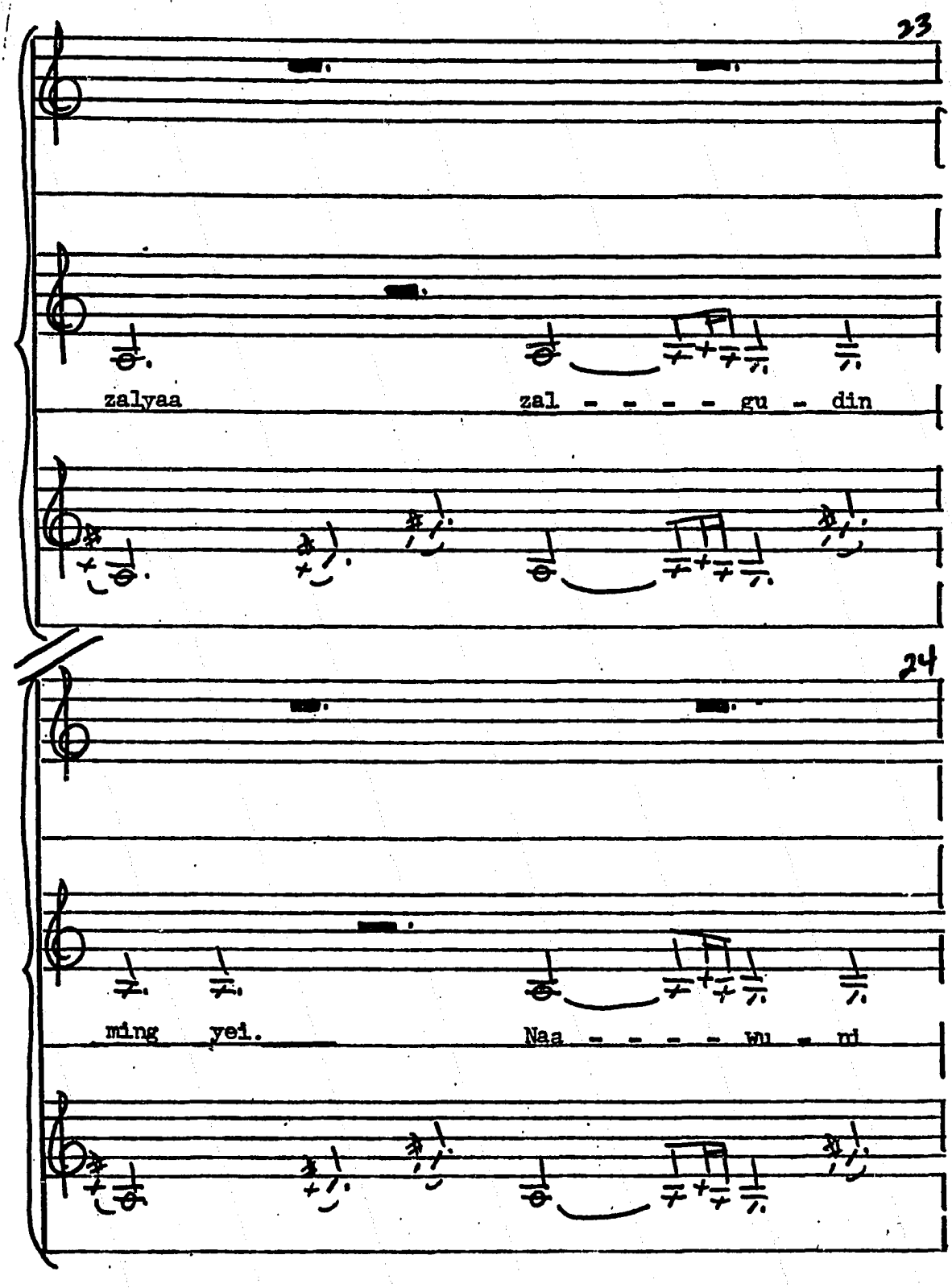
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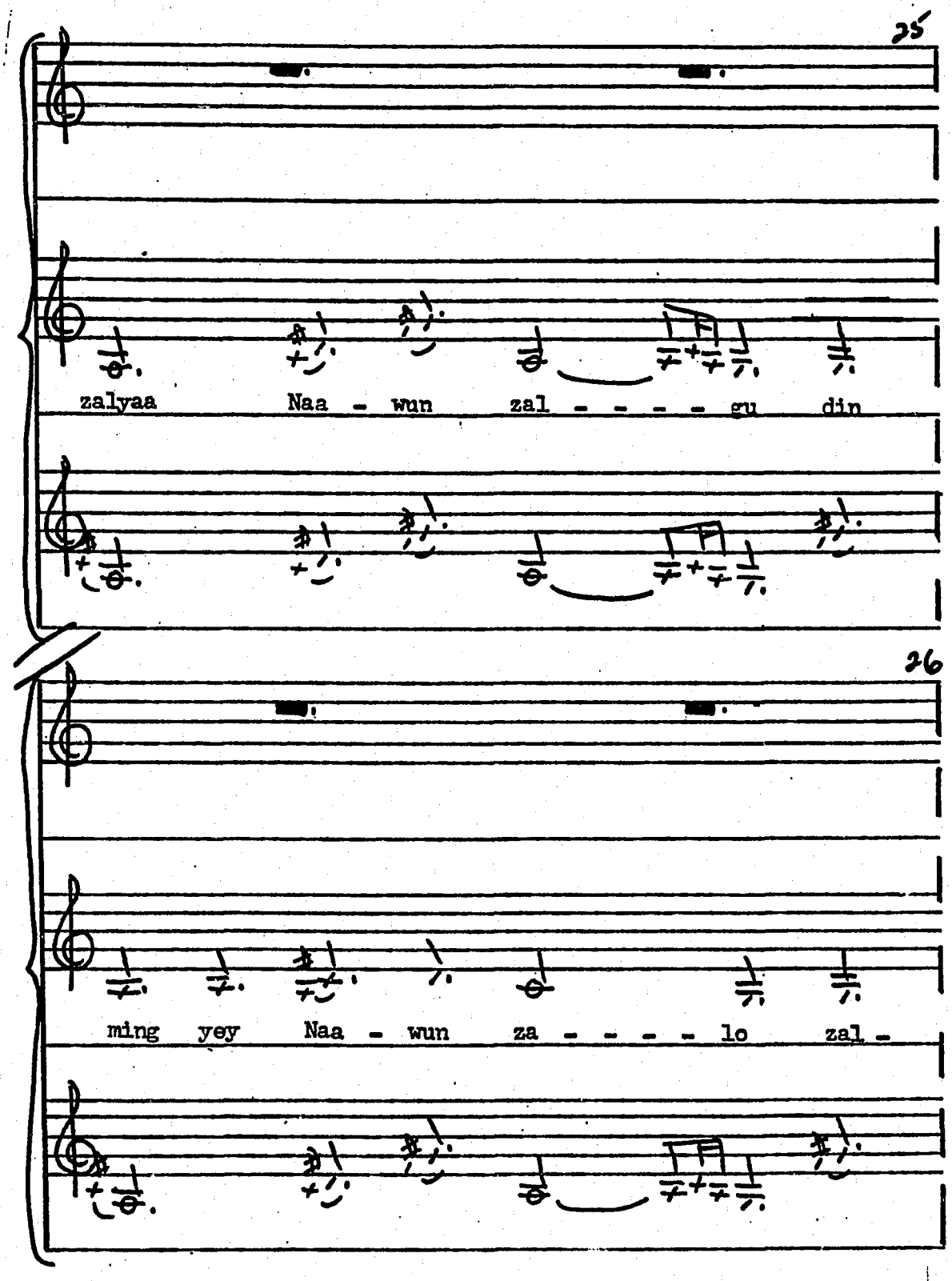
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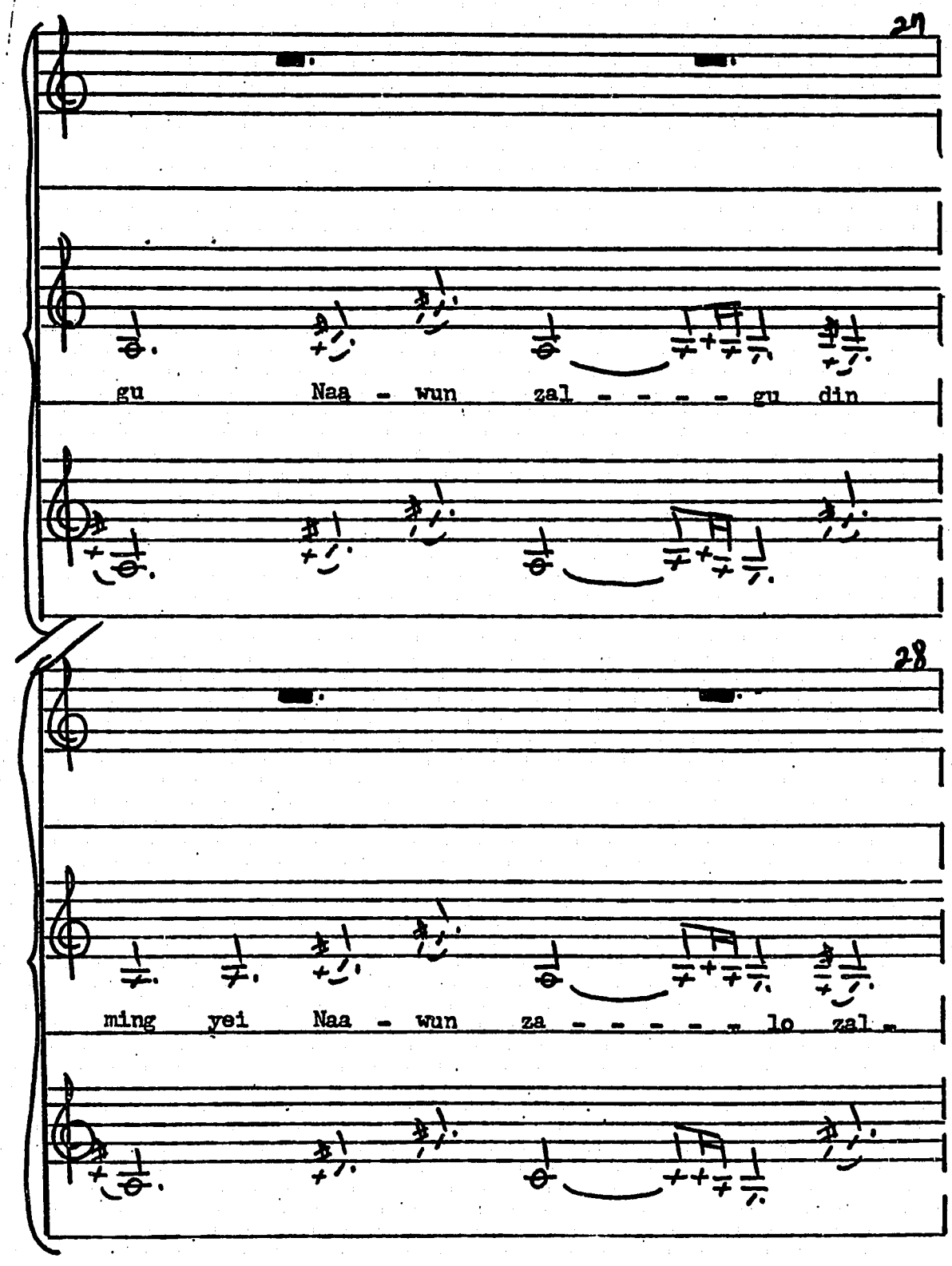


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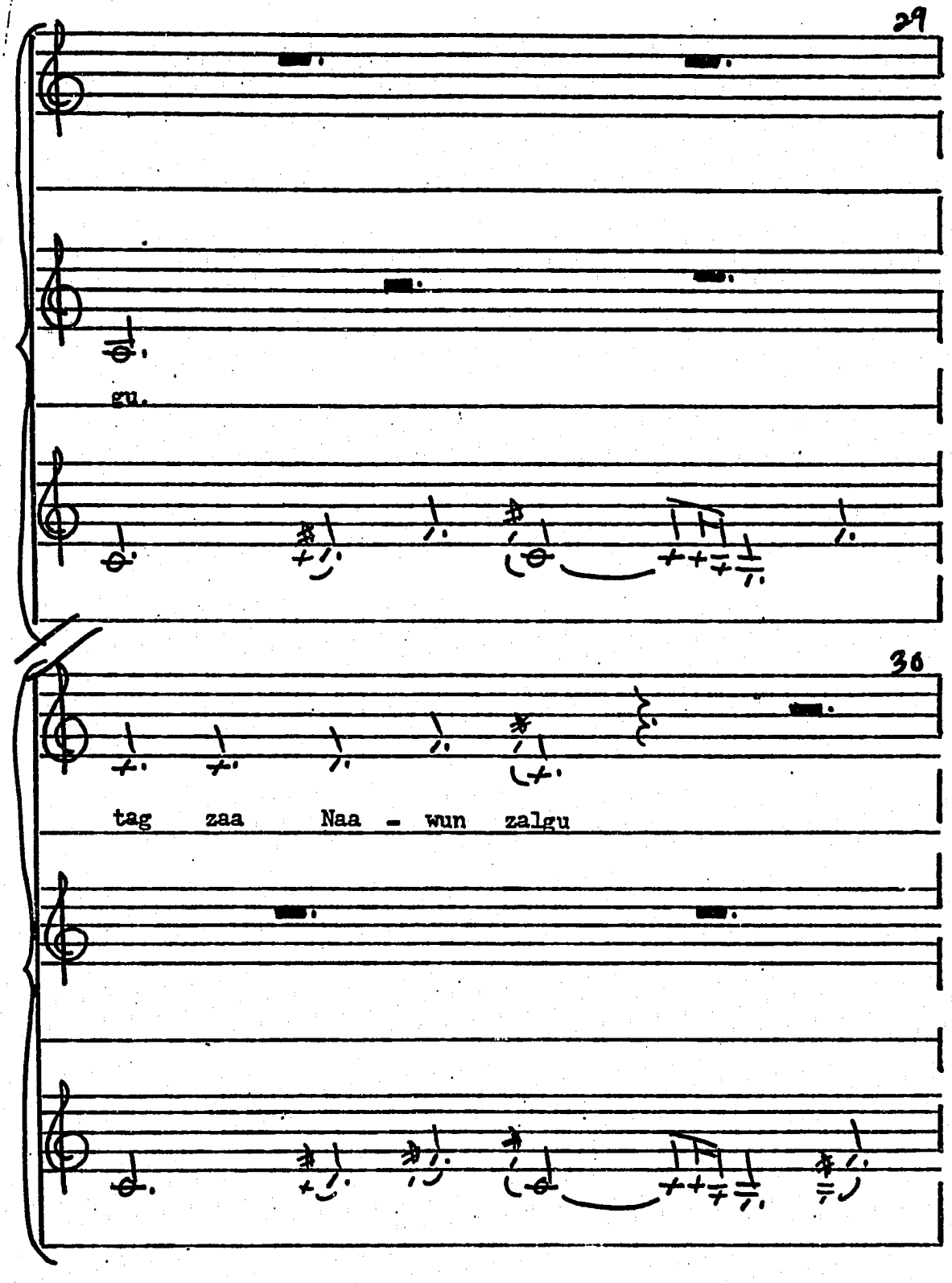
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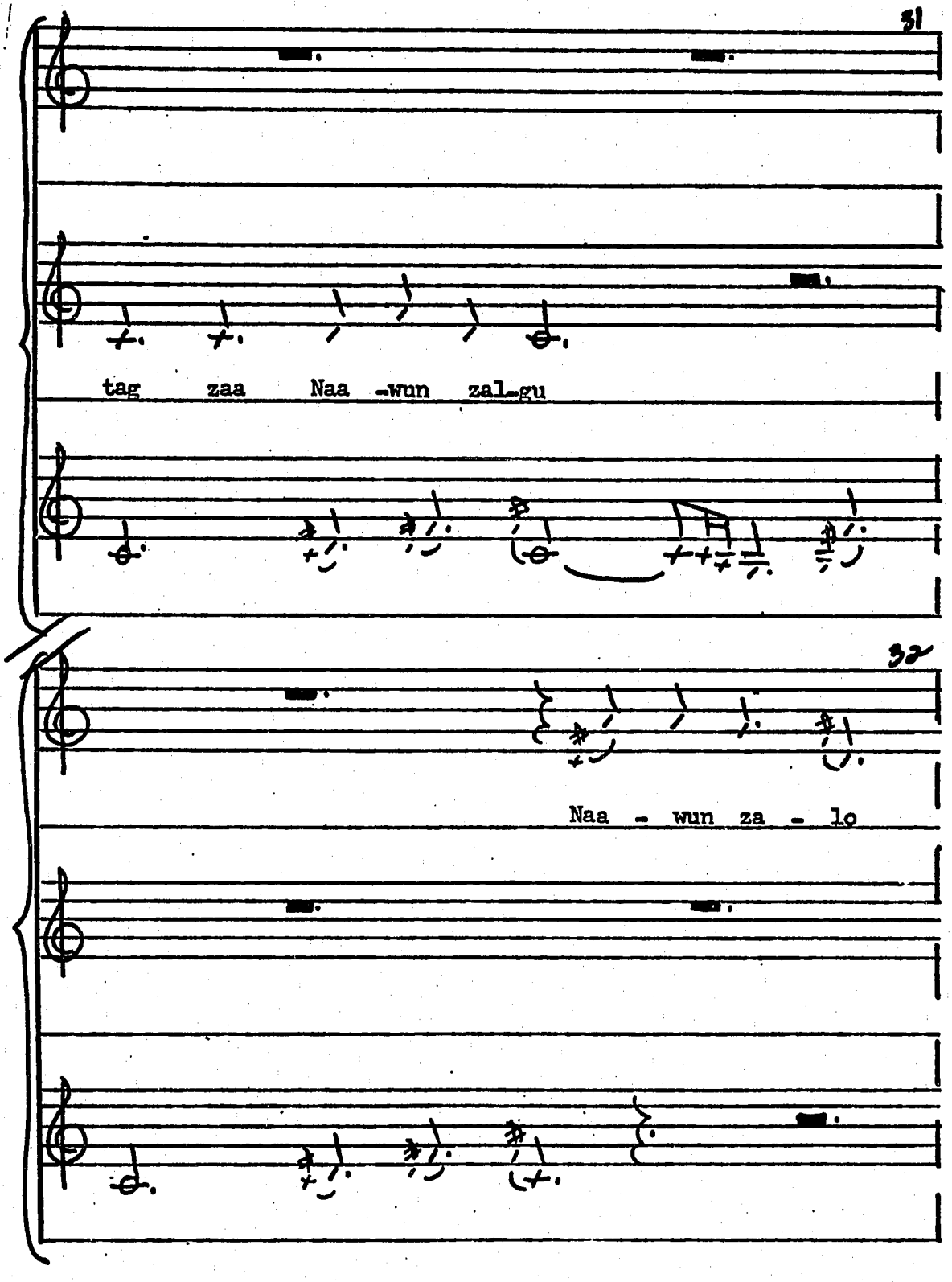
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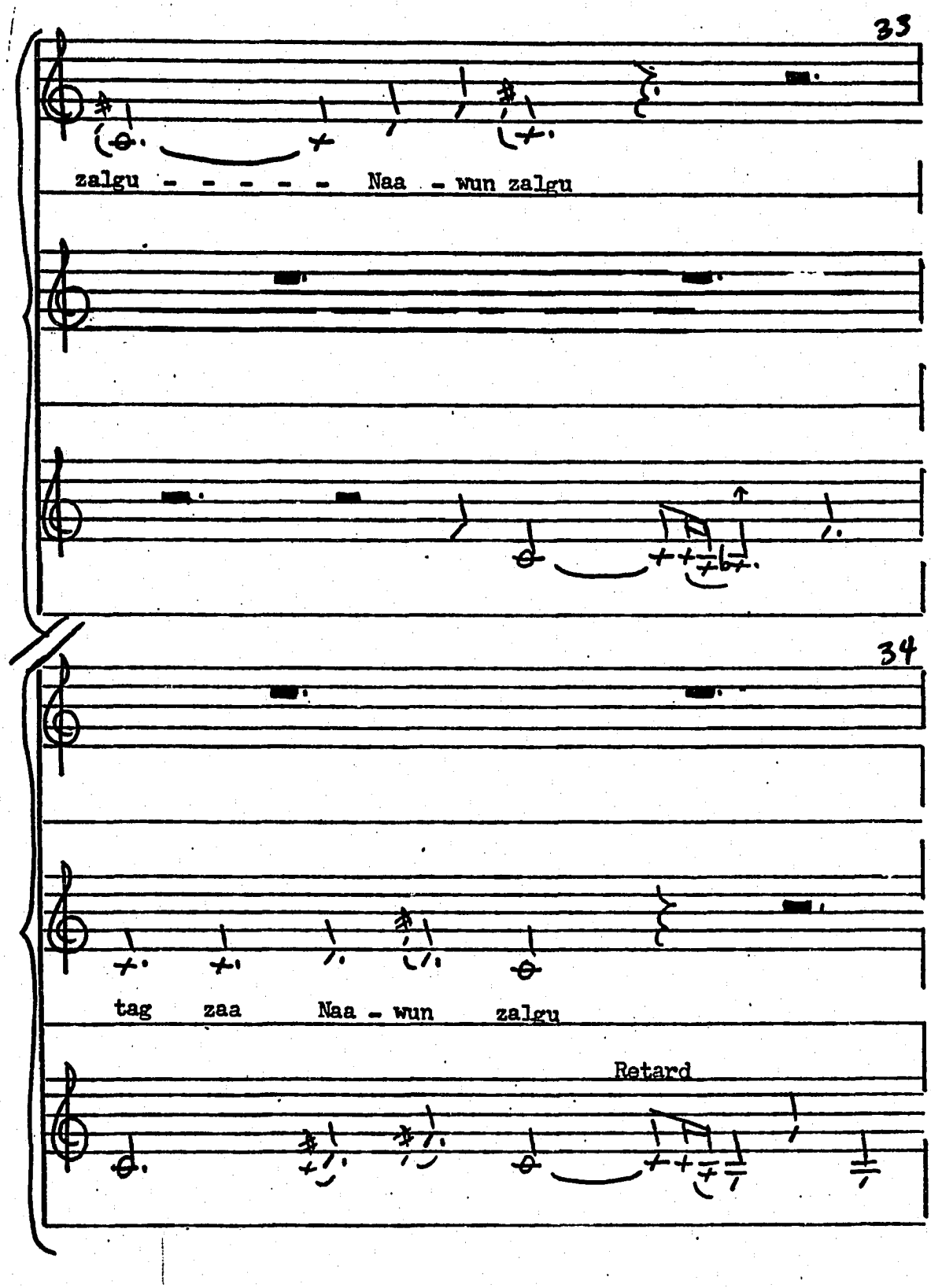
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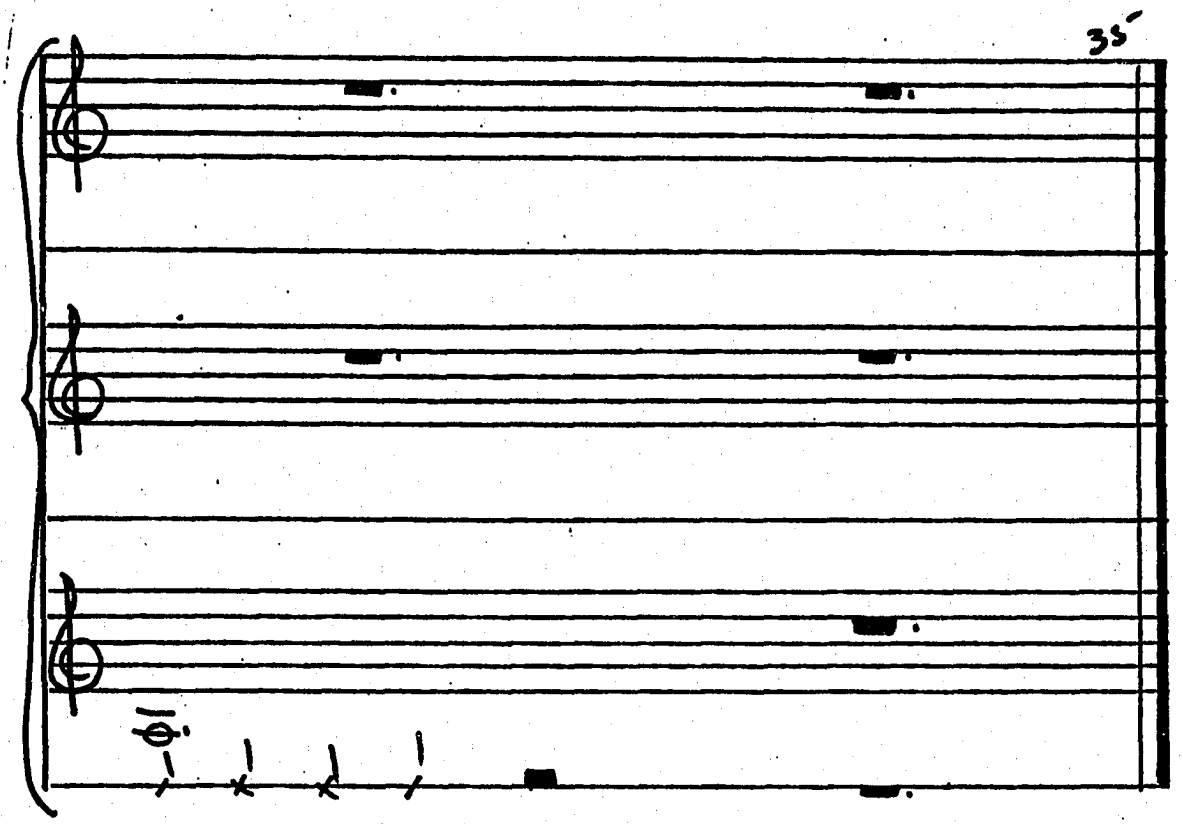
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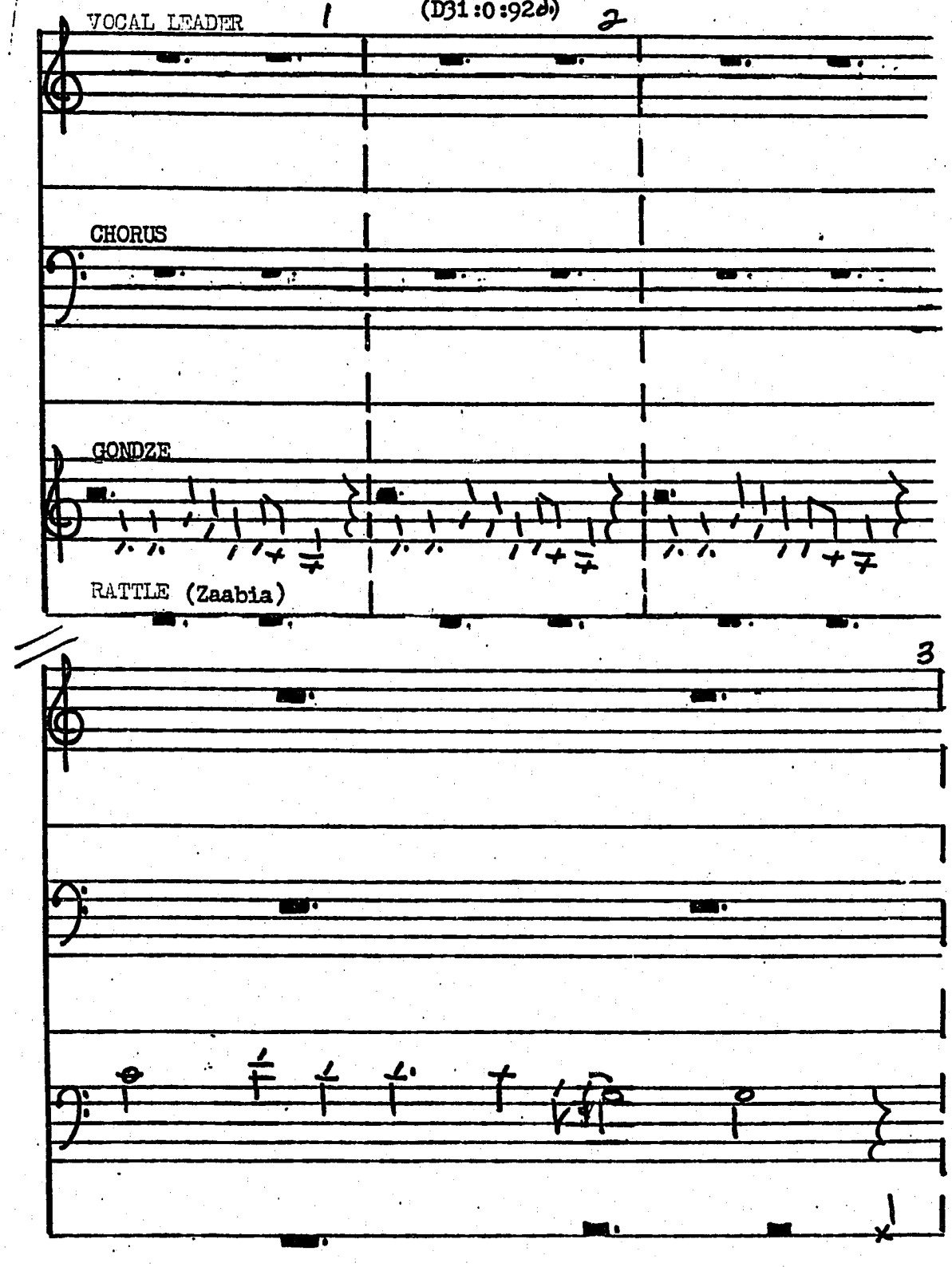


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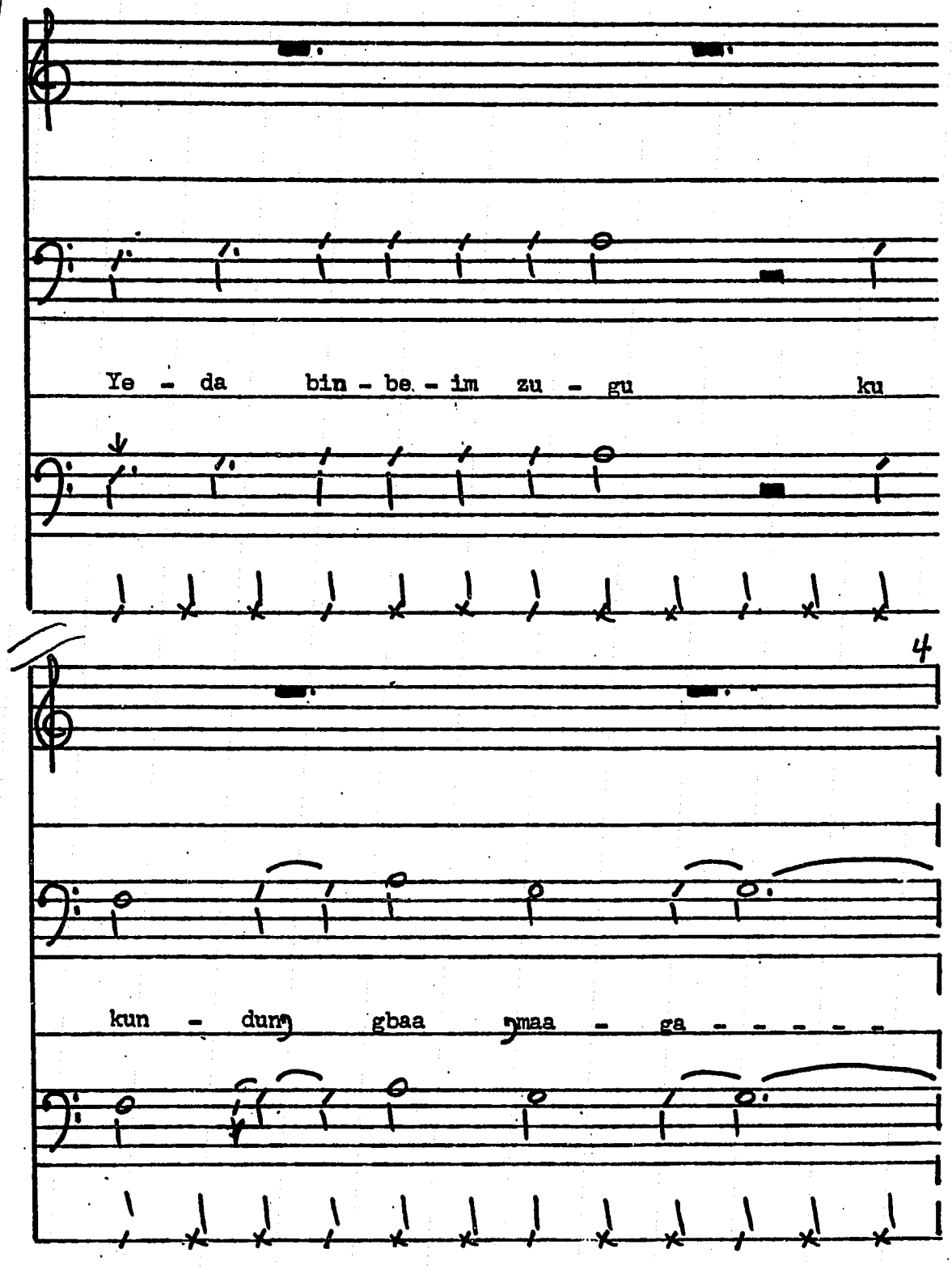


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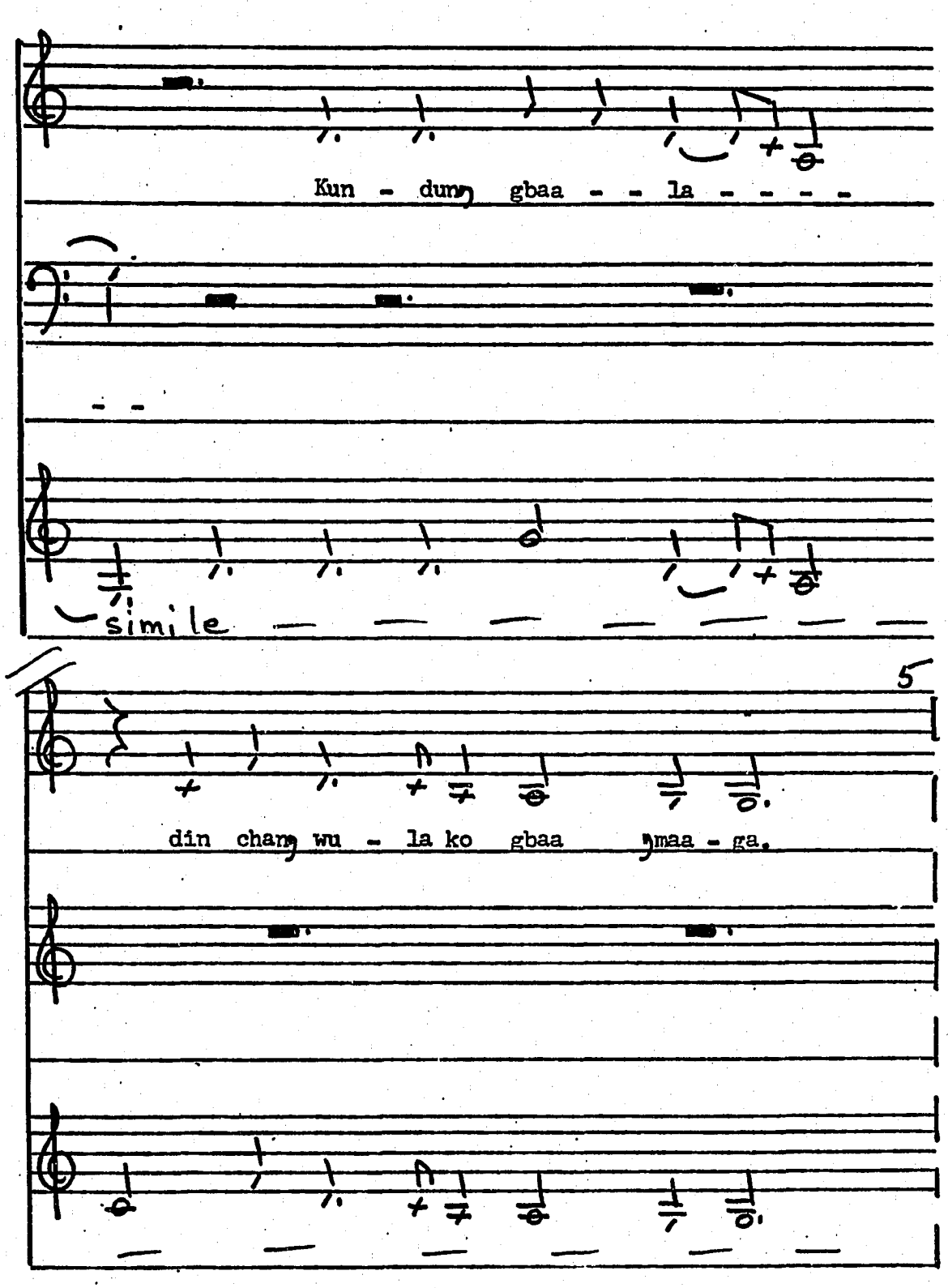
YEDA BIMBEM ZUGU
by Salisu Mahama
(D31:0:92d)



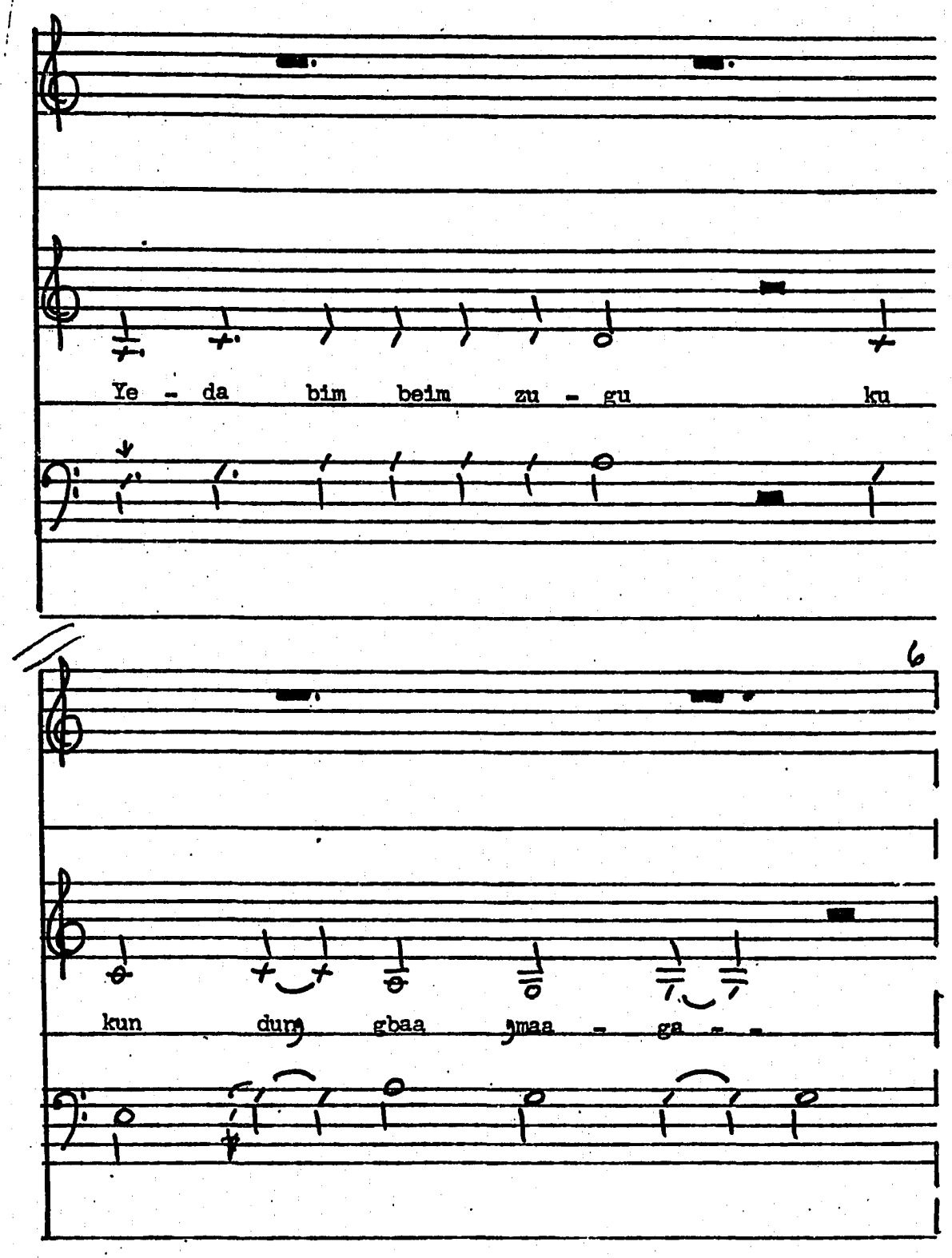
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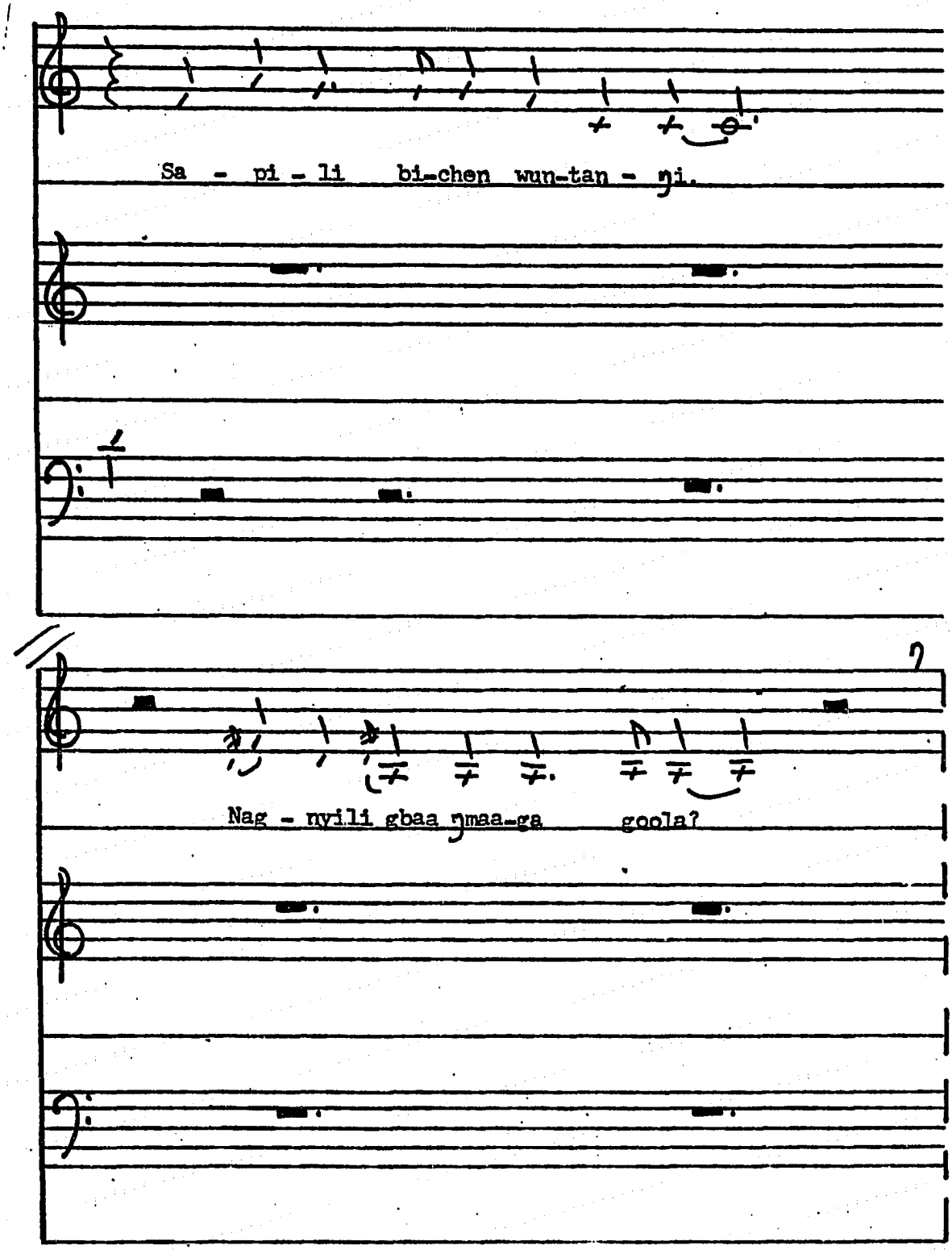


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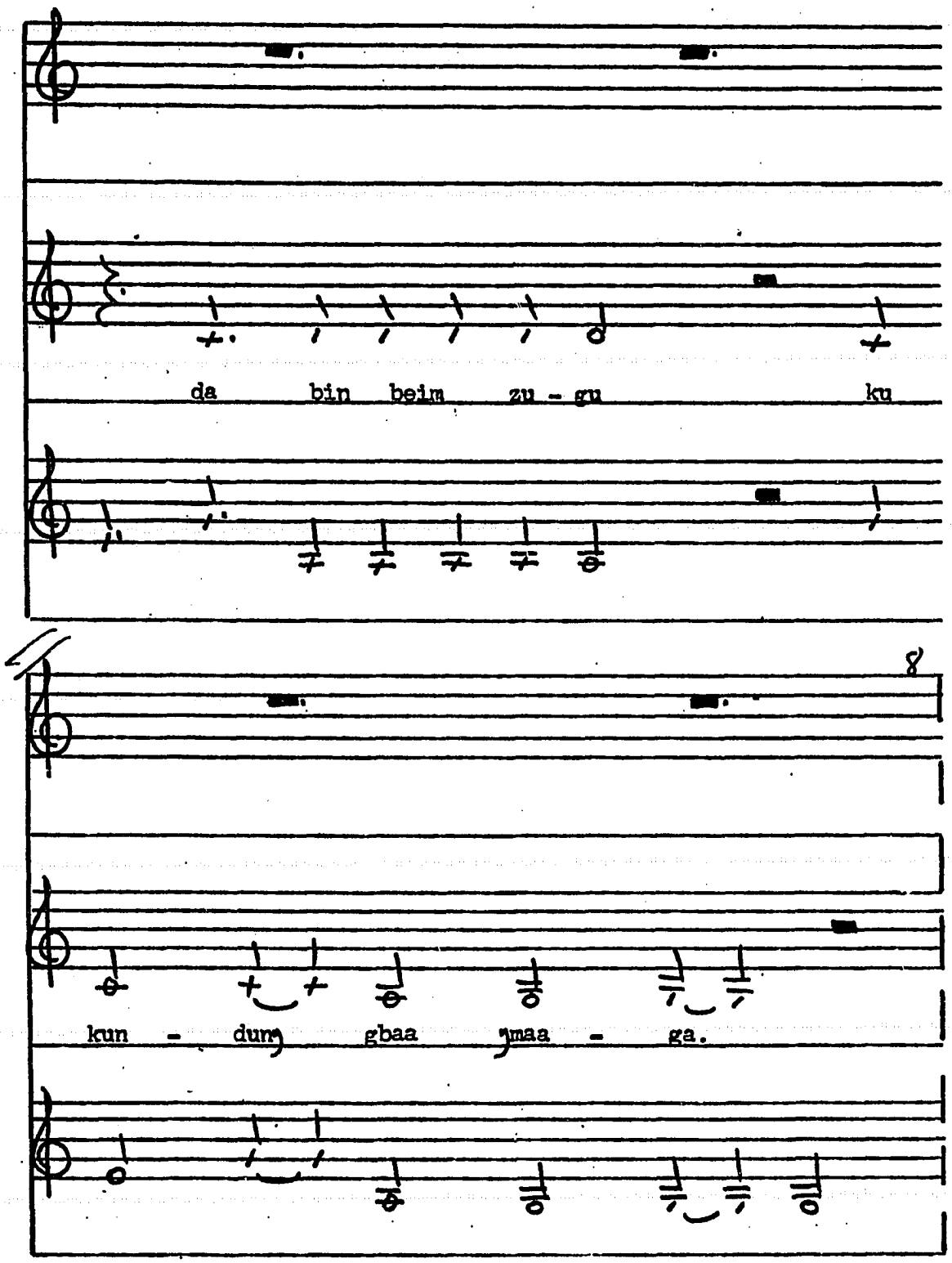
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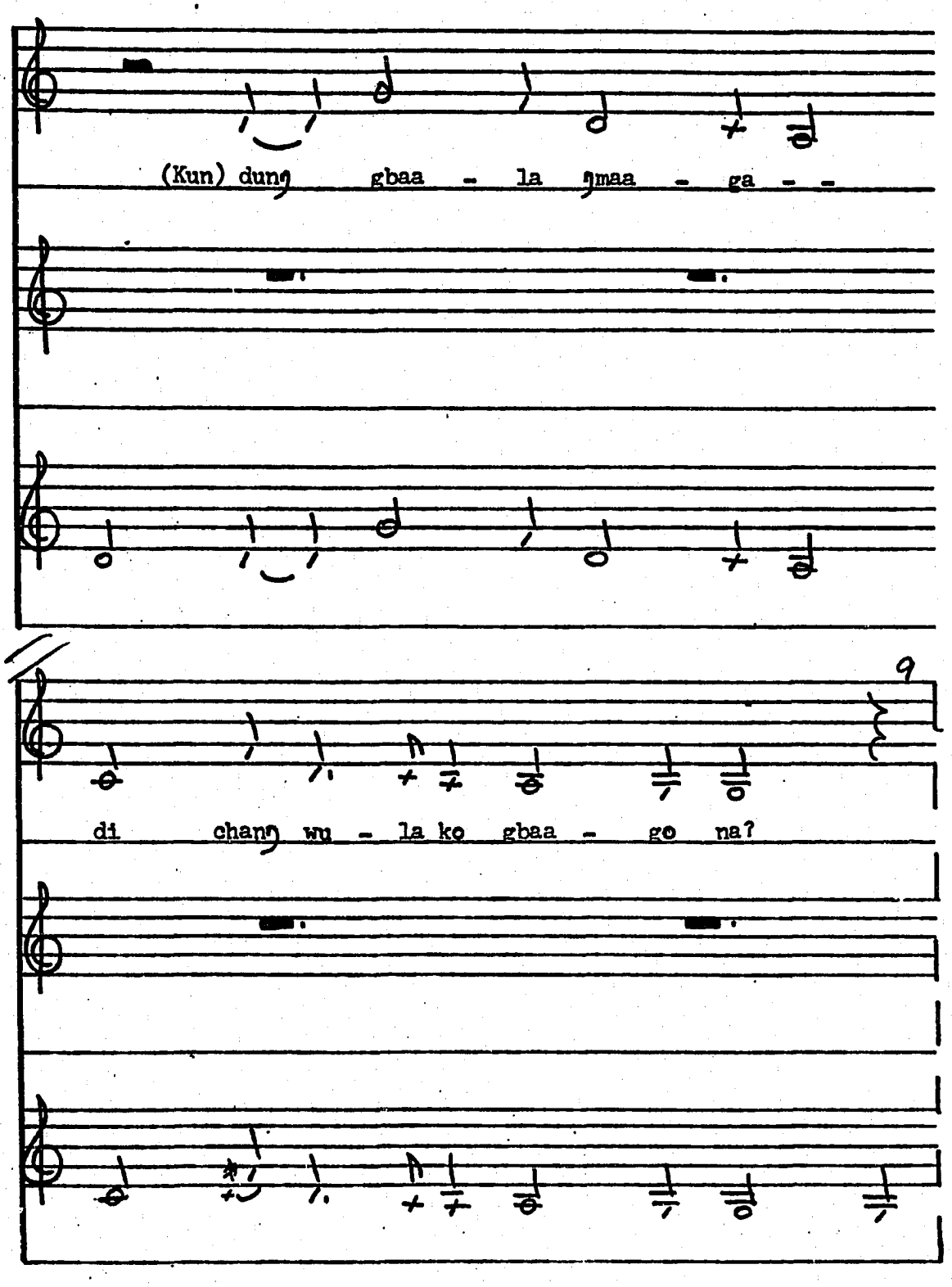
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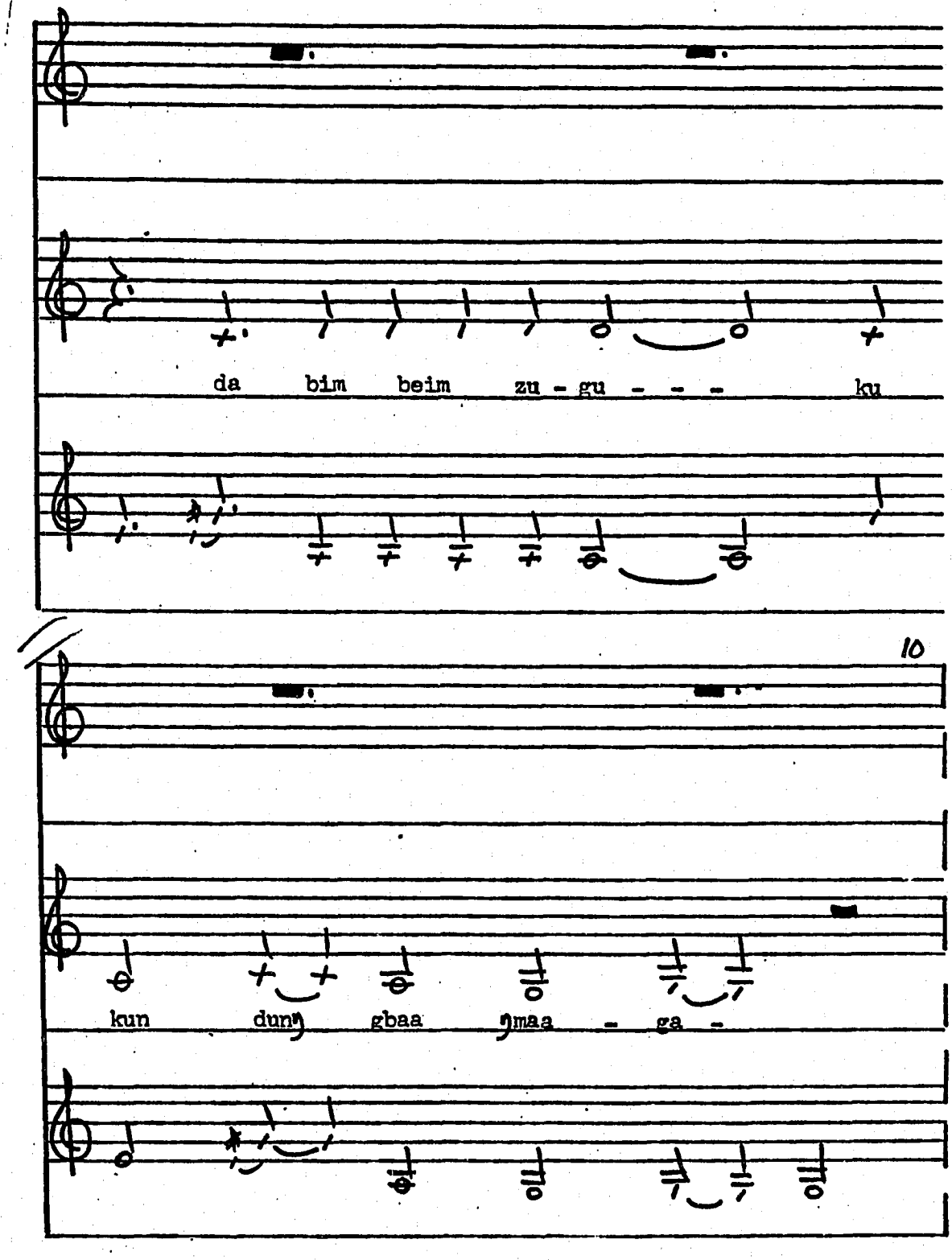
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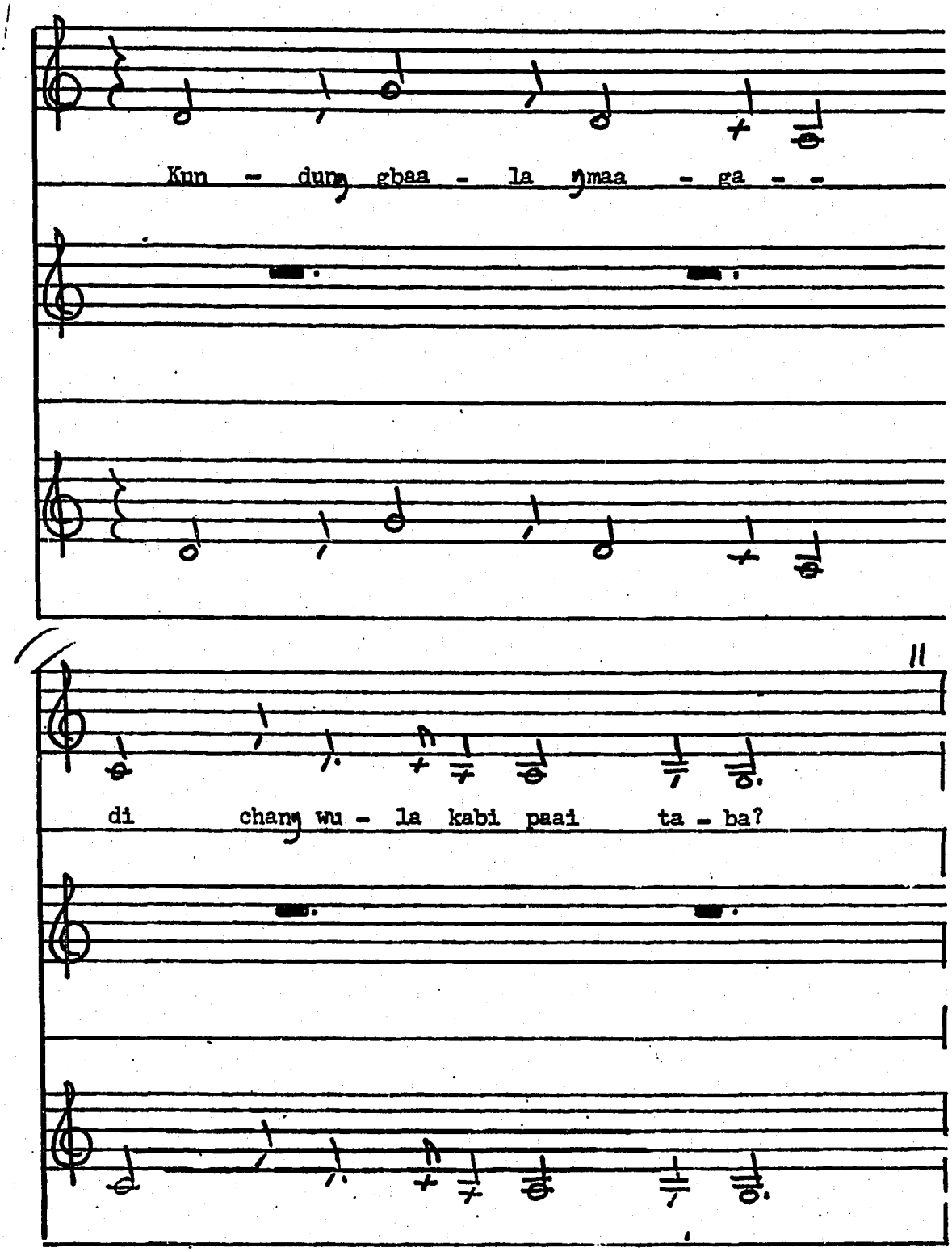
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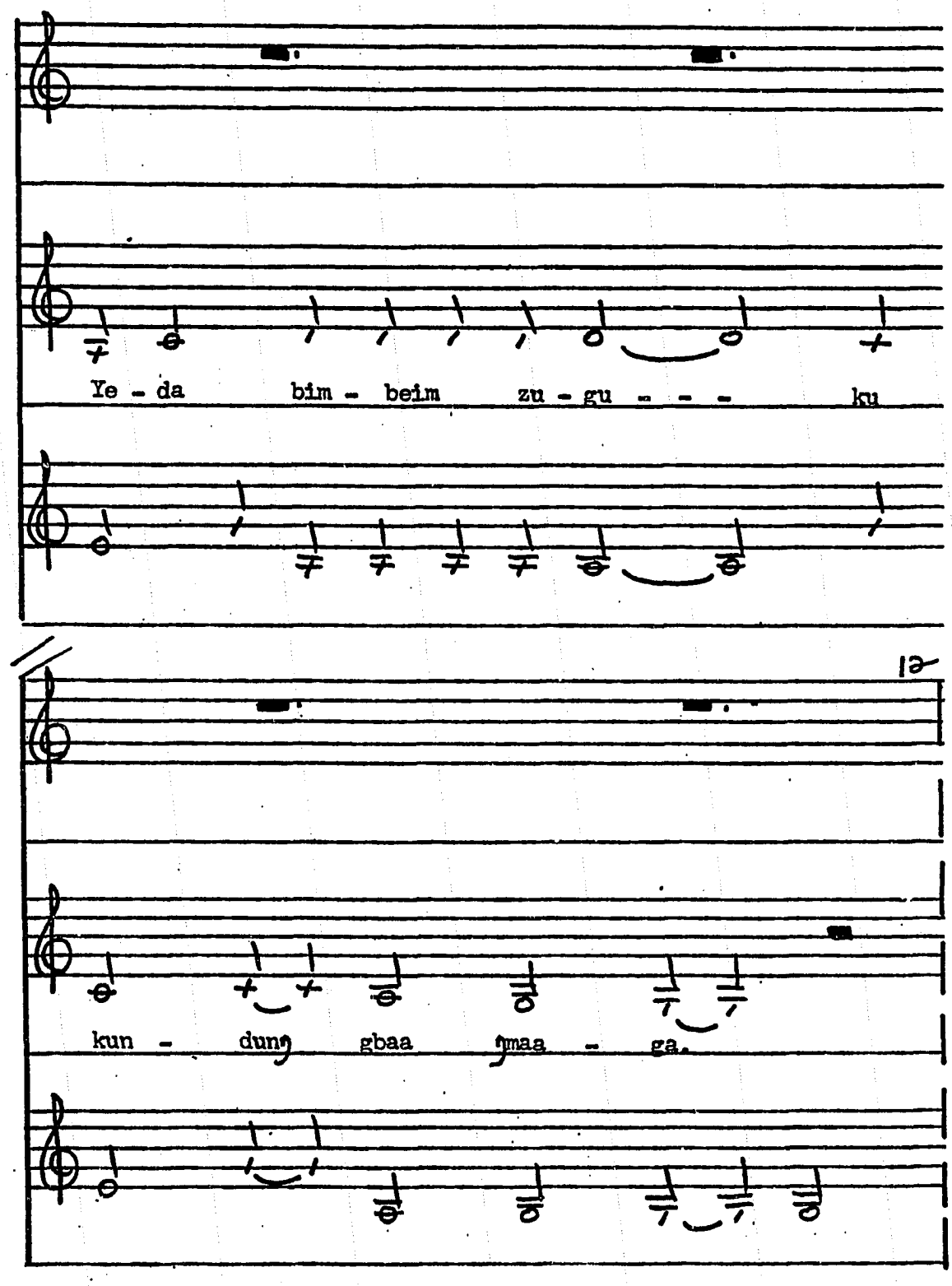
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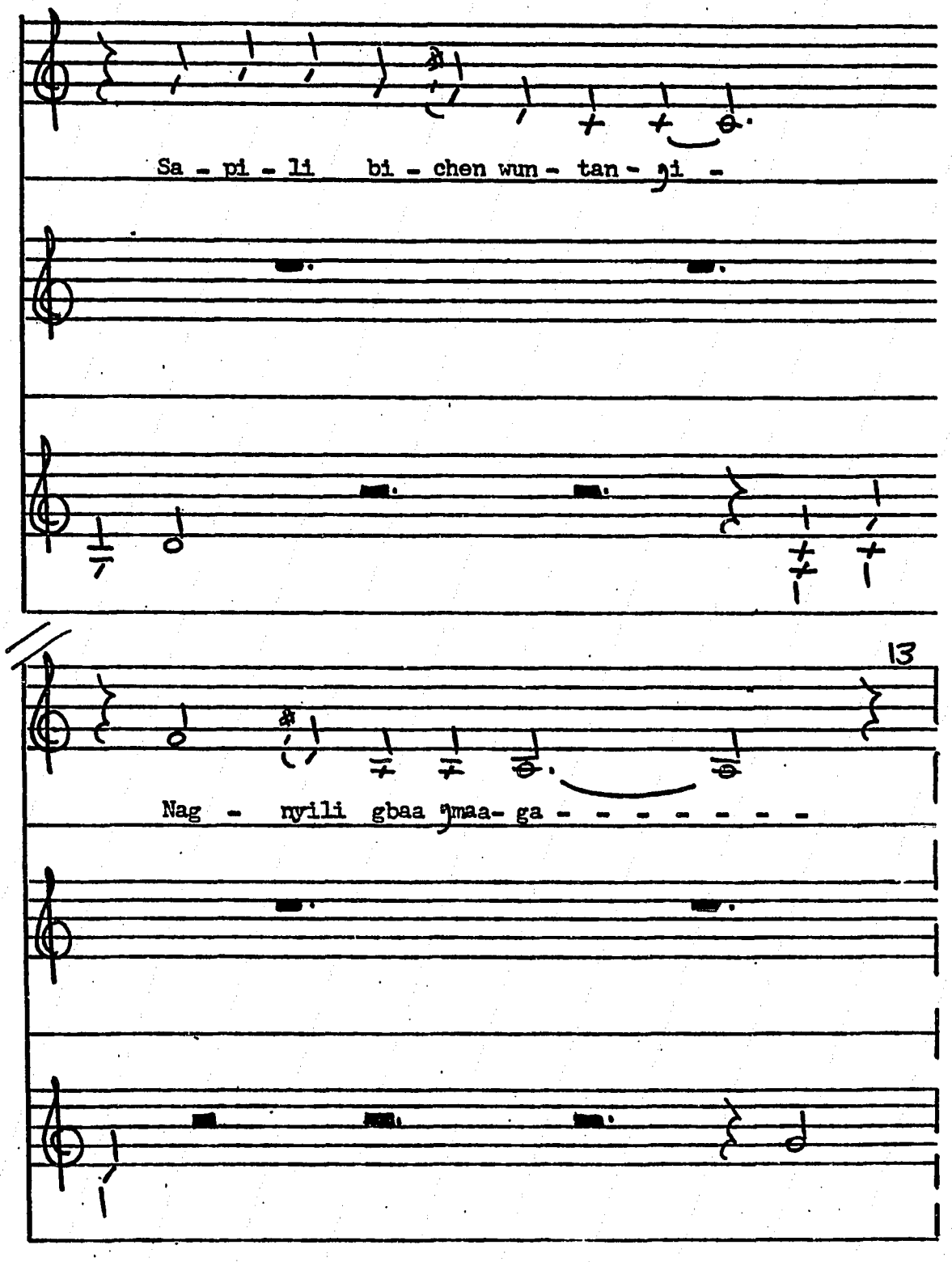
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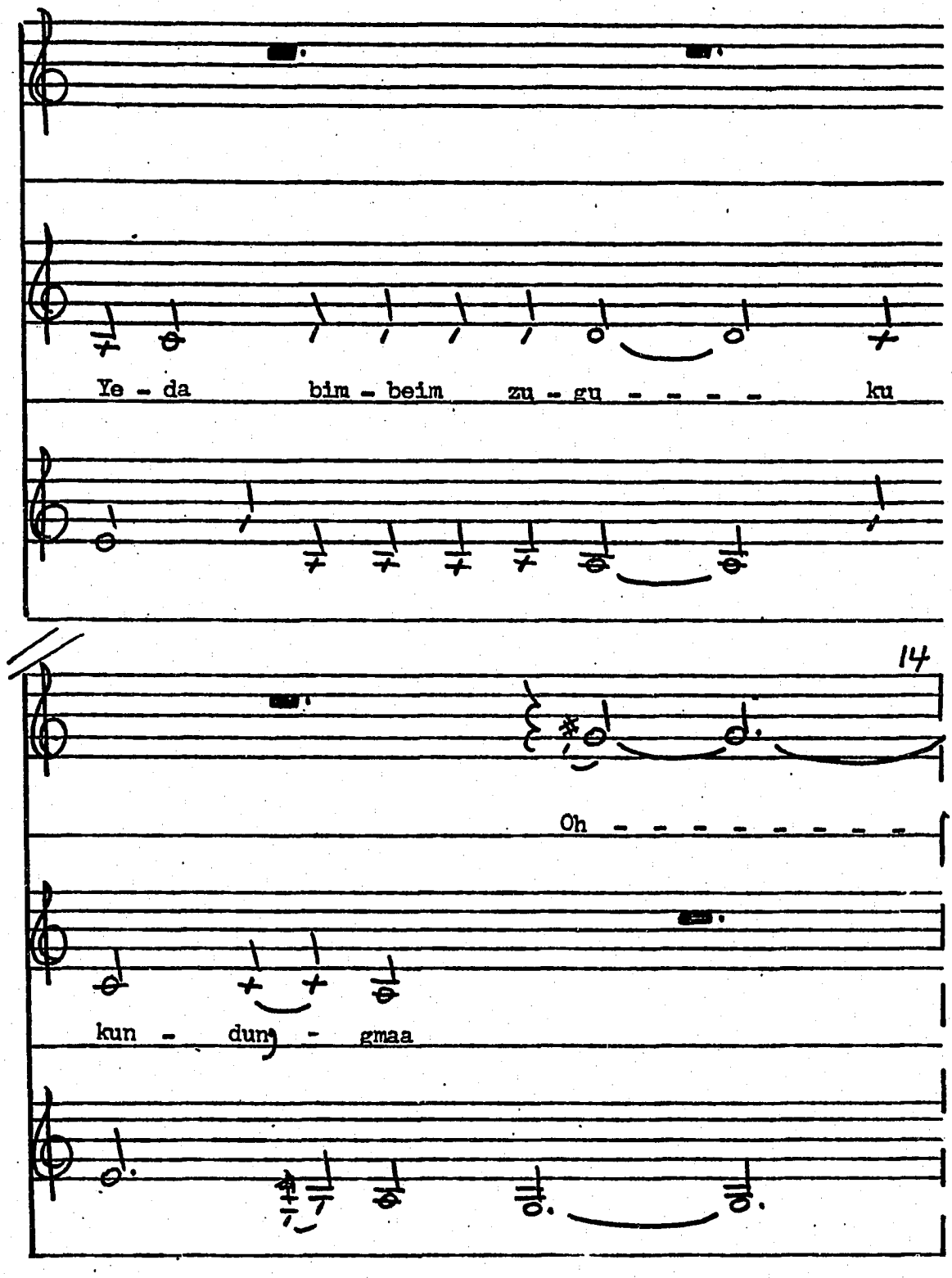
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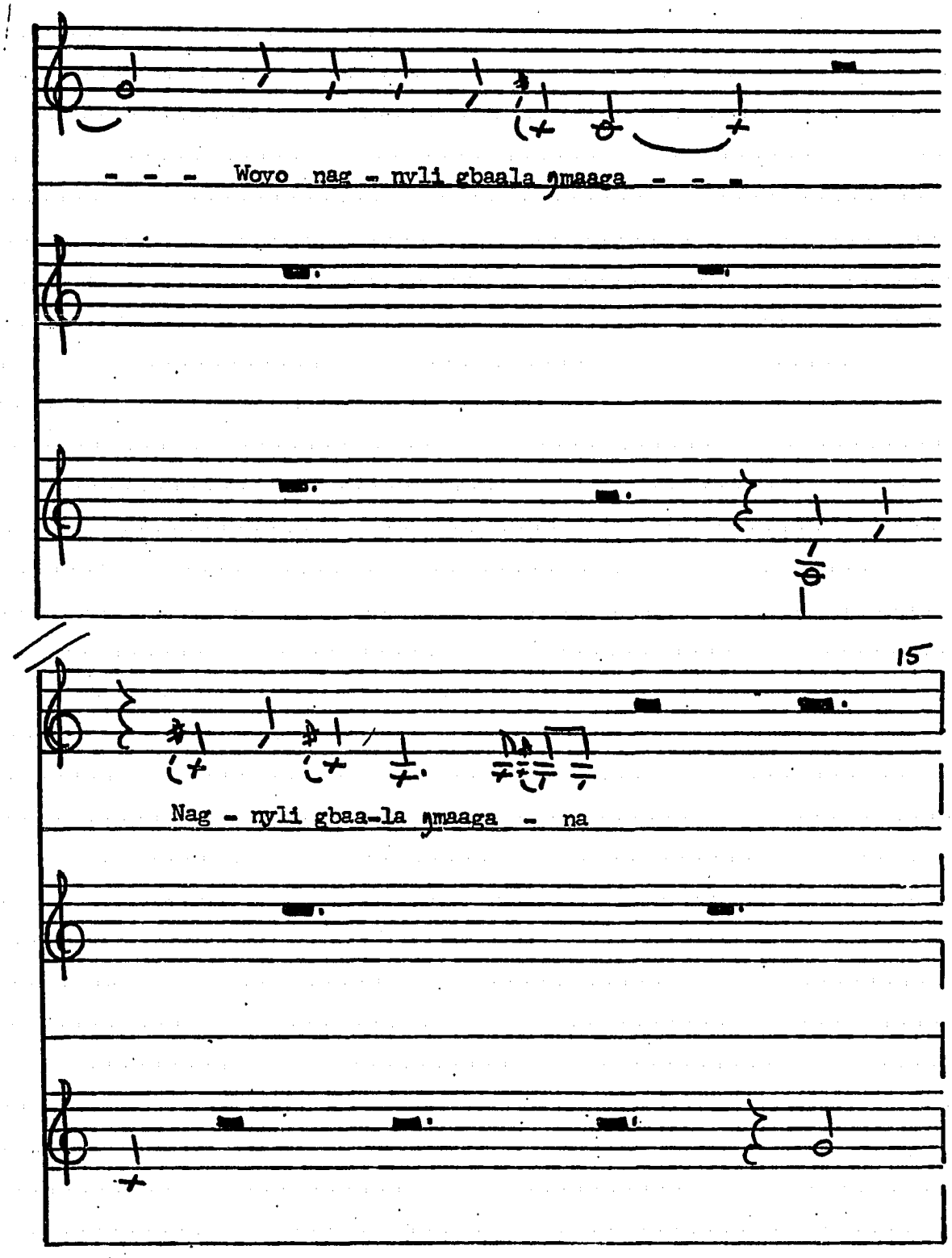


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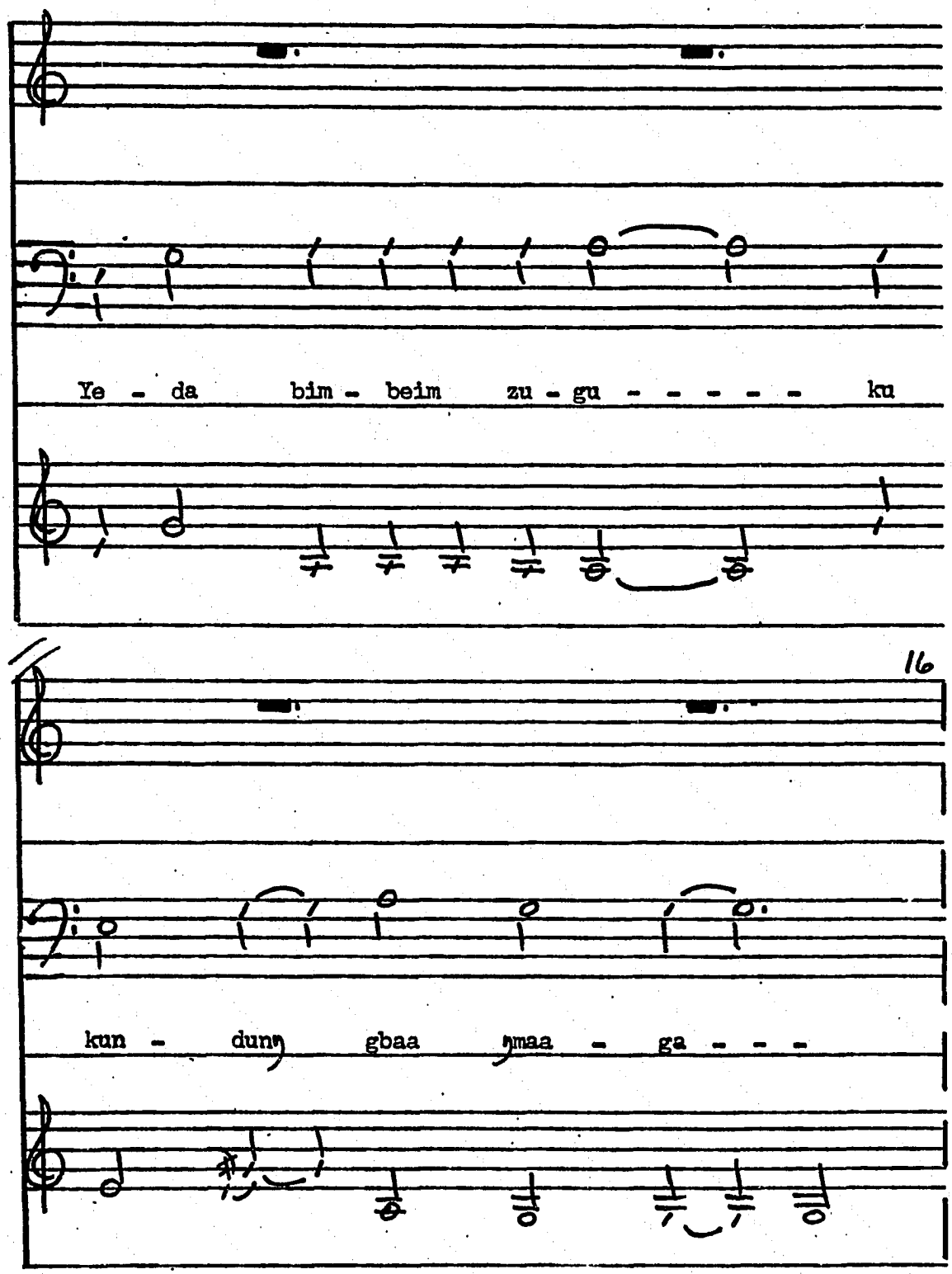
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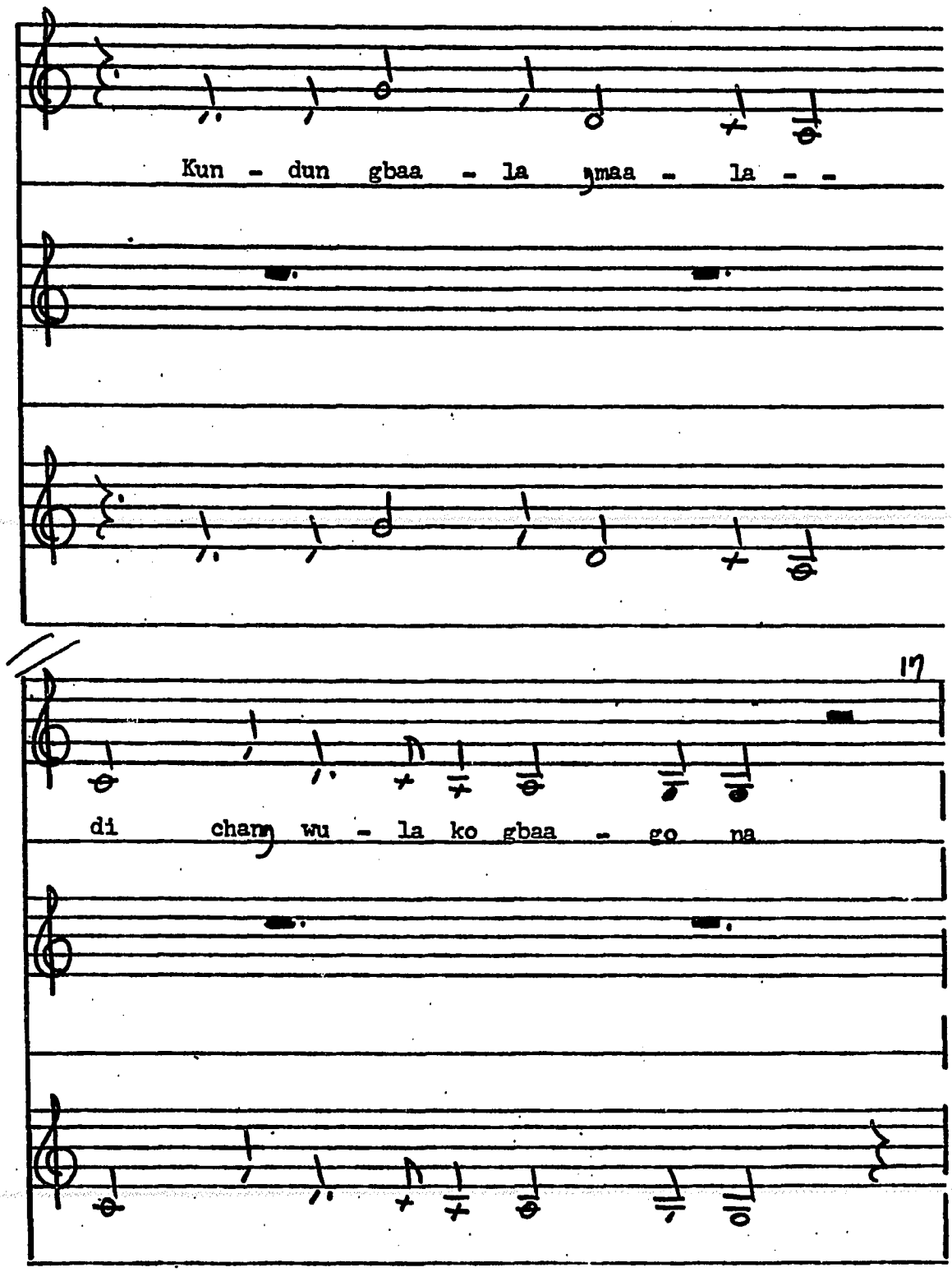
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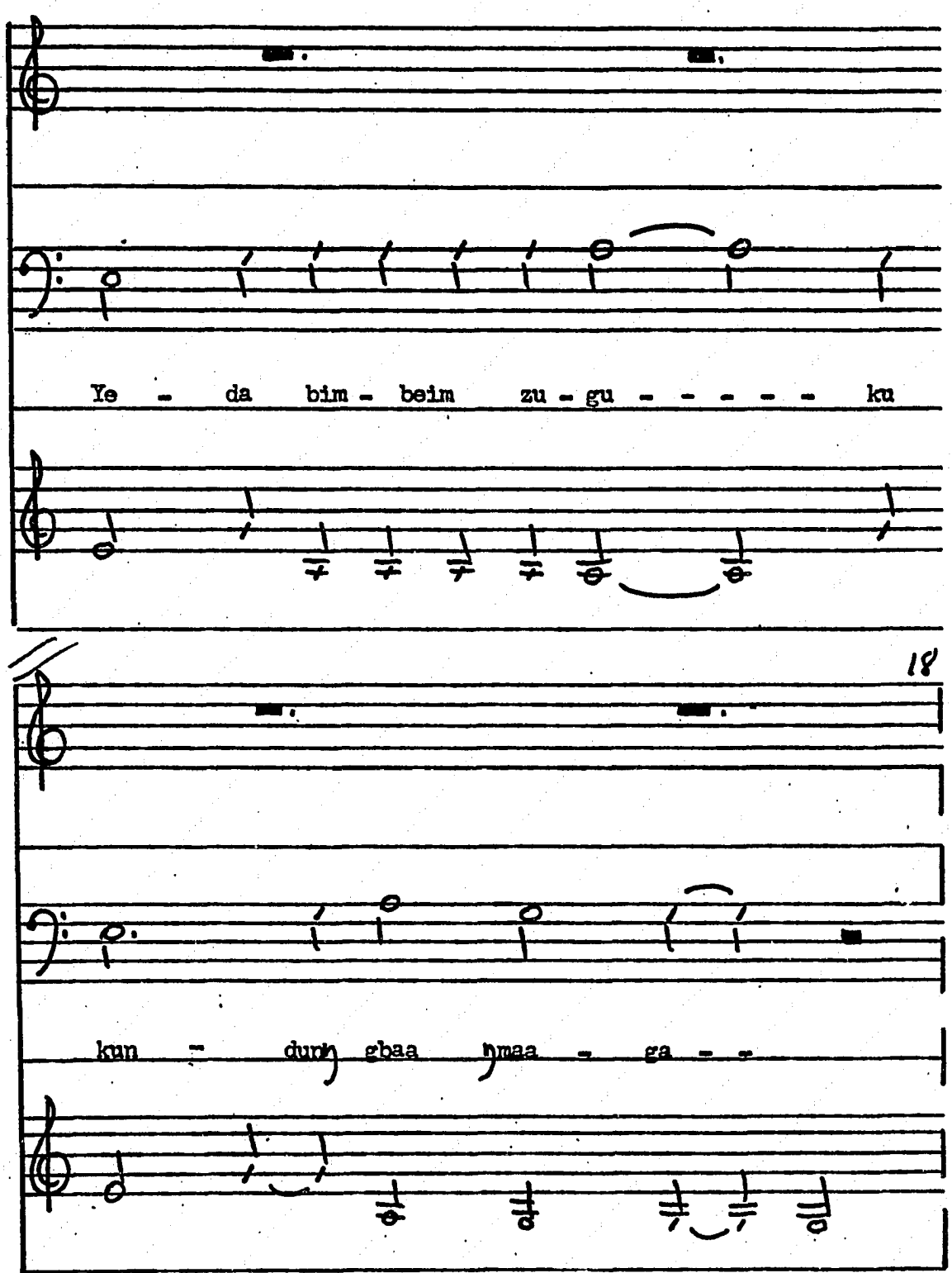
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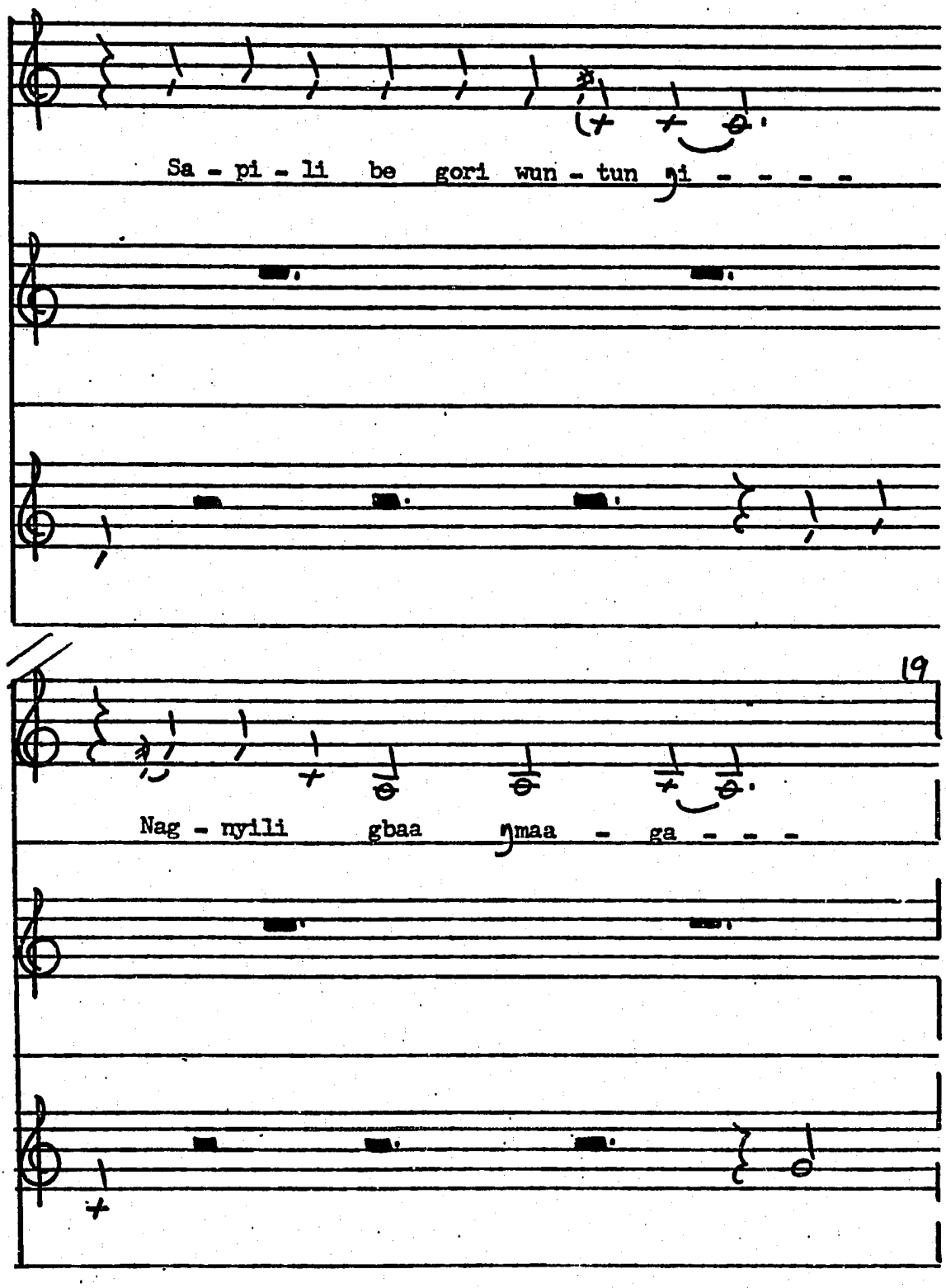
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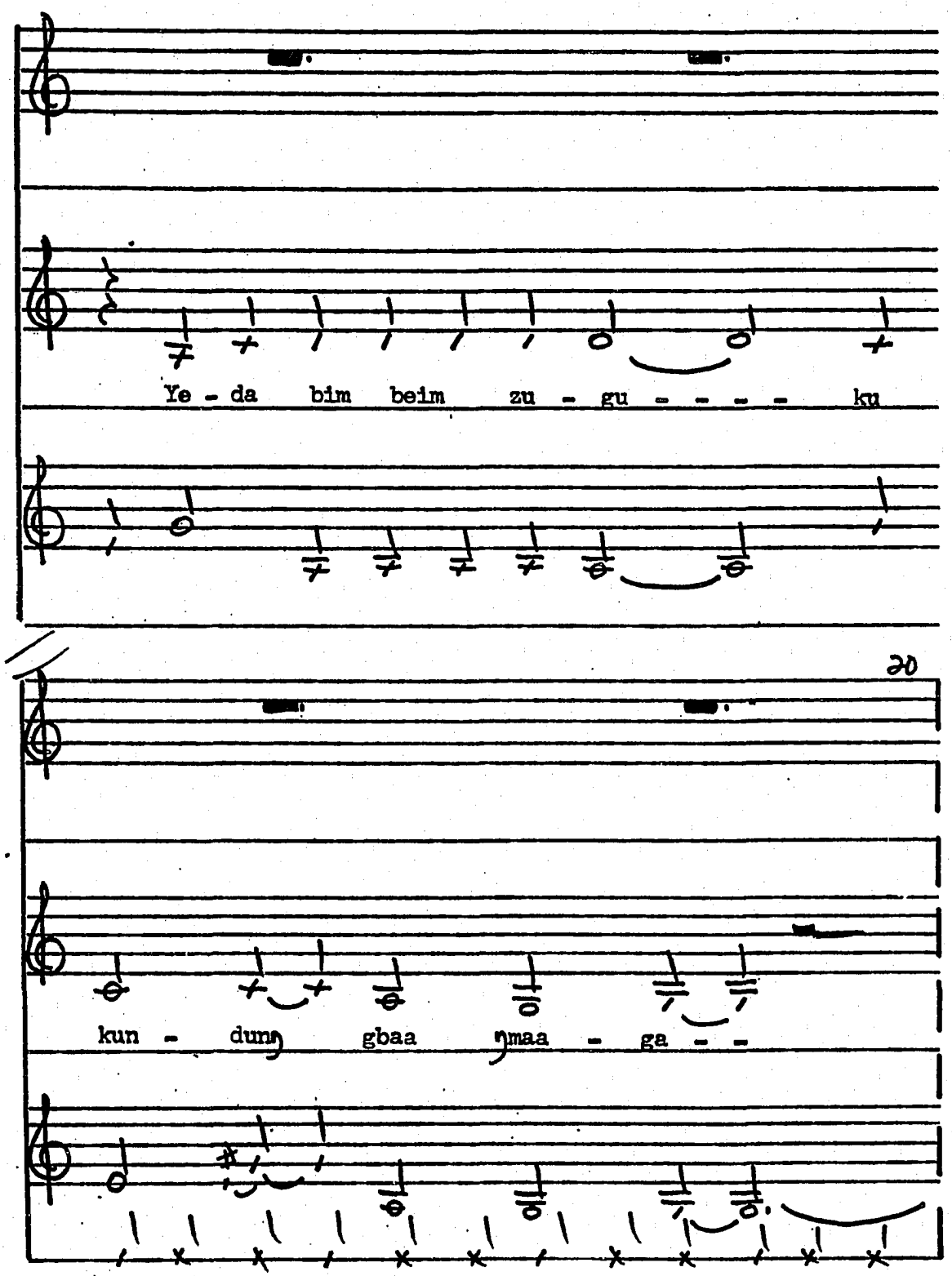
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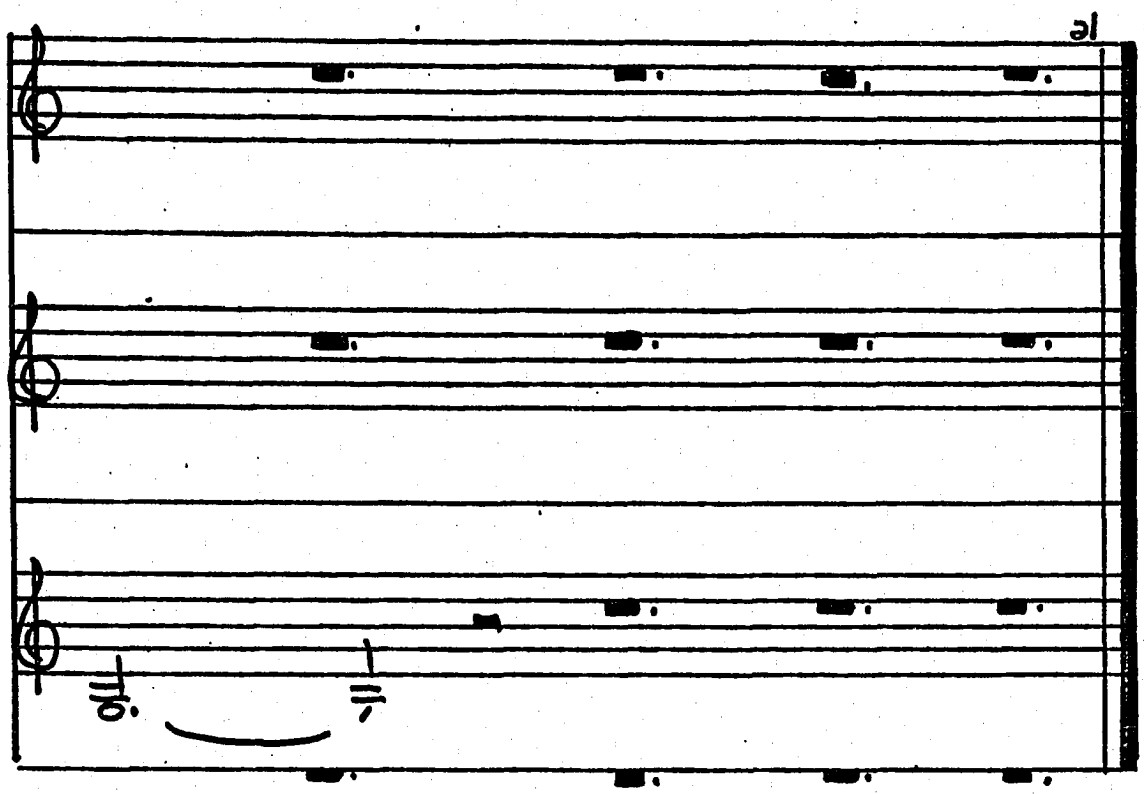
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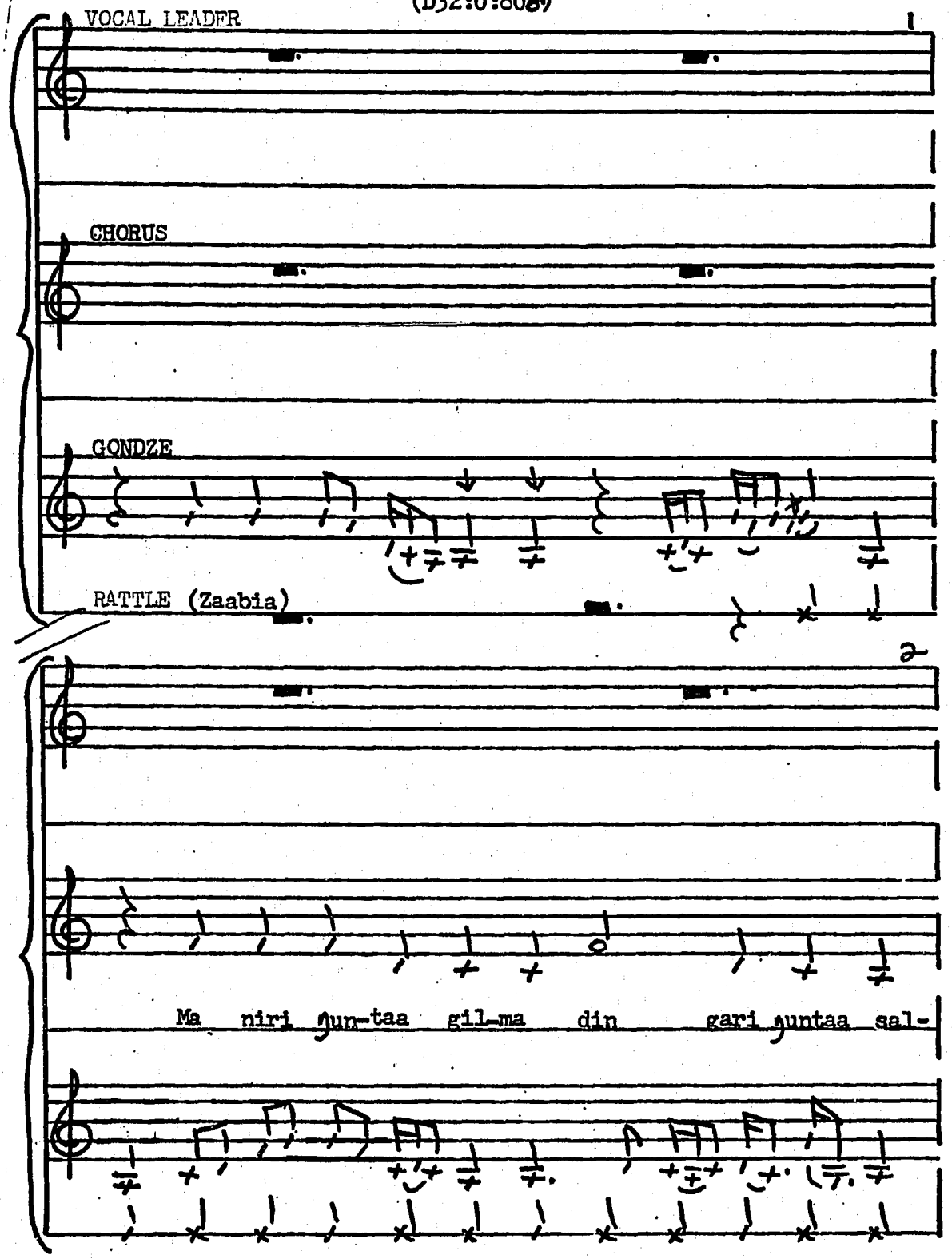


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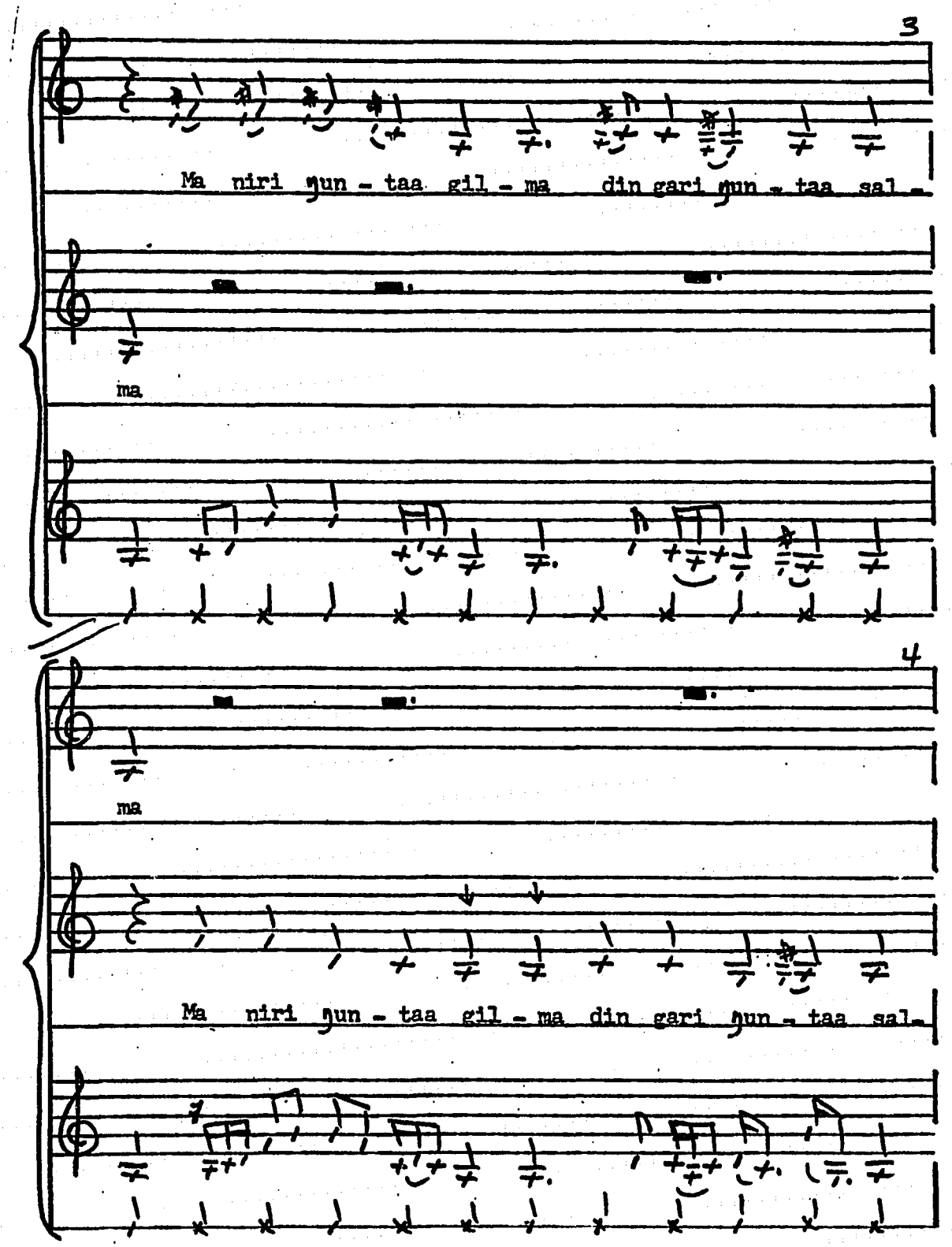


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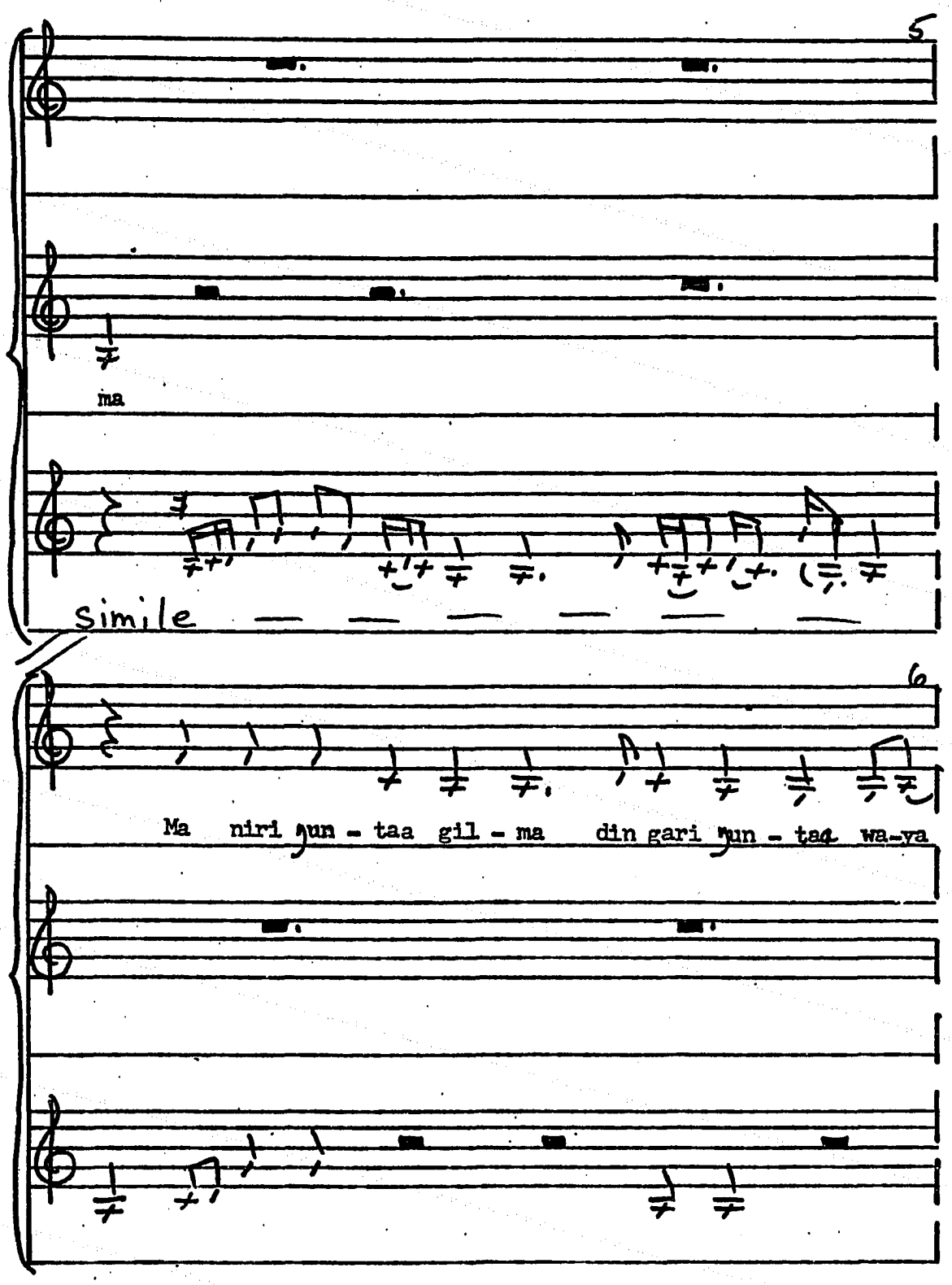
JUN TAA GILMA
by Salisu Mahama
(D32:0:80d)



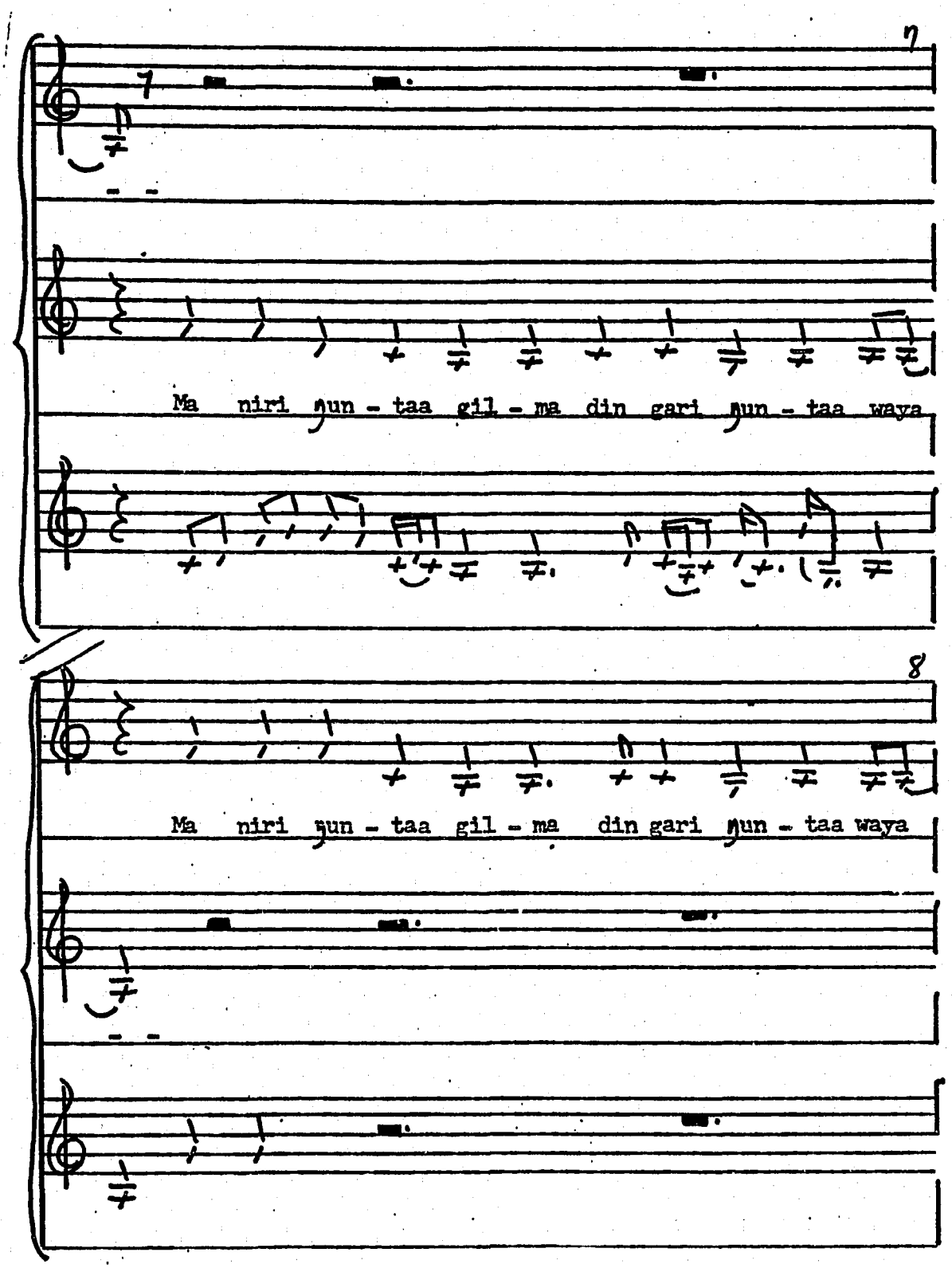
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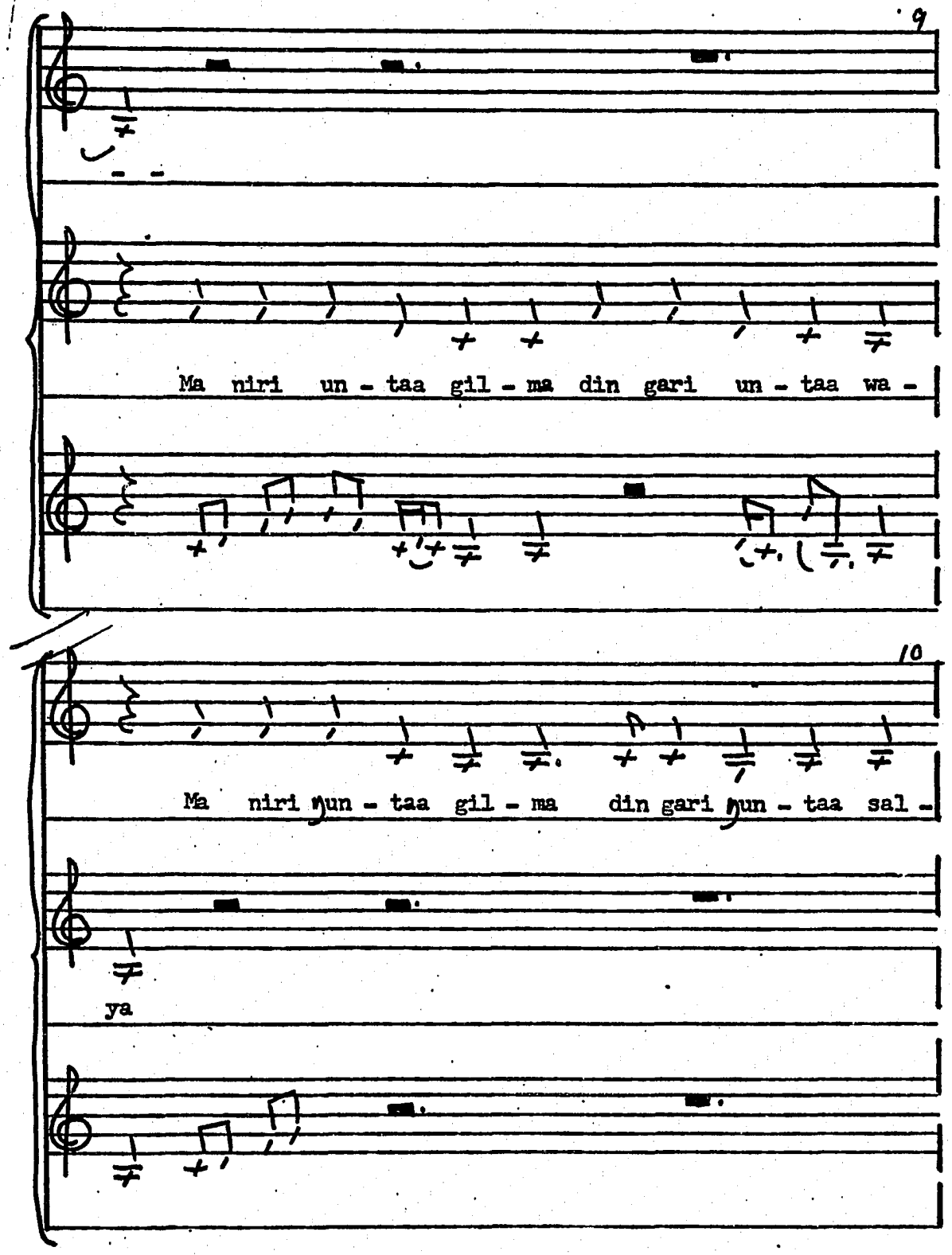
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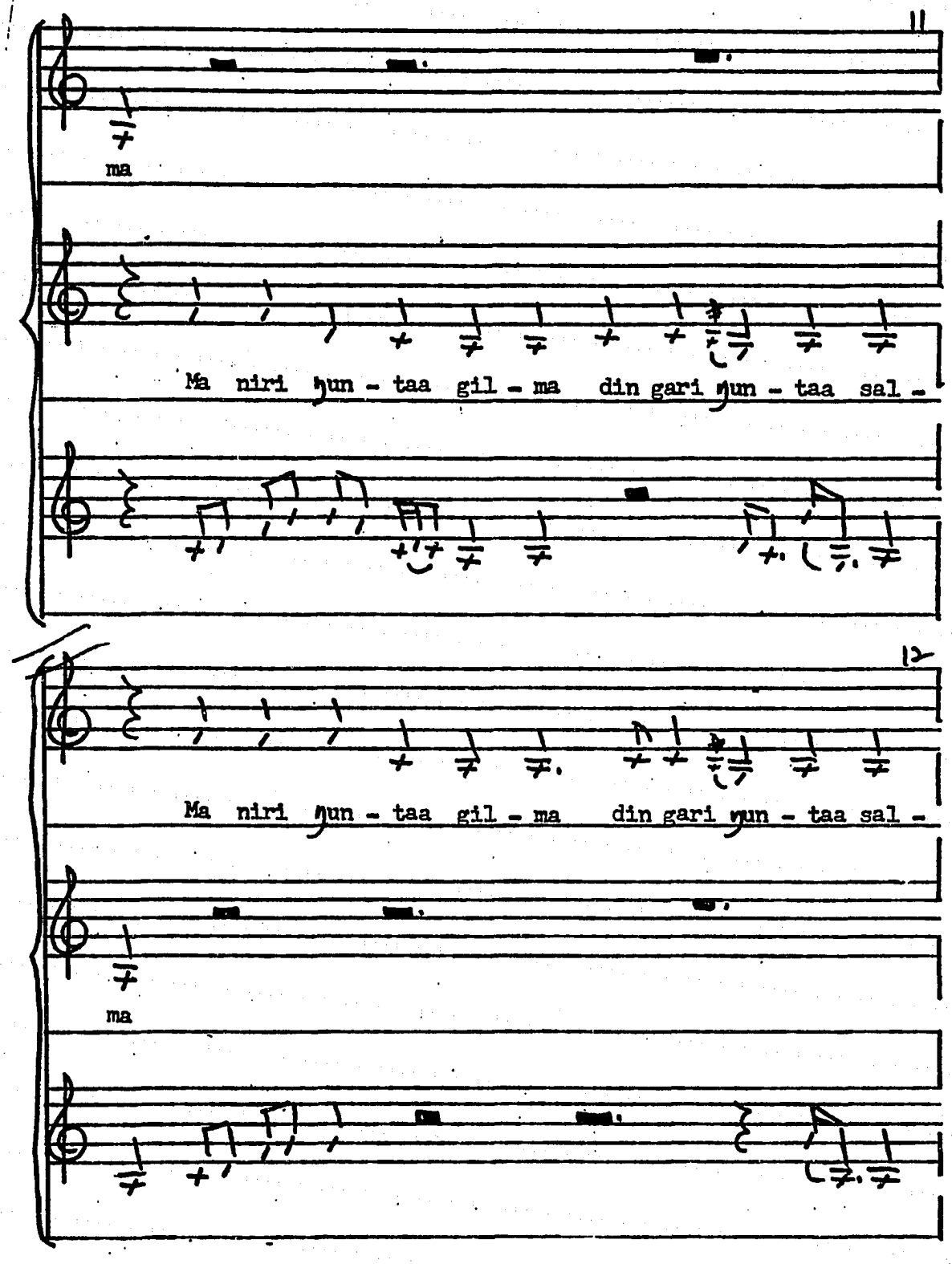
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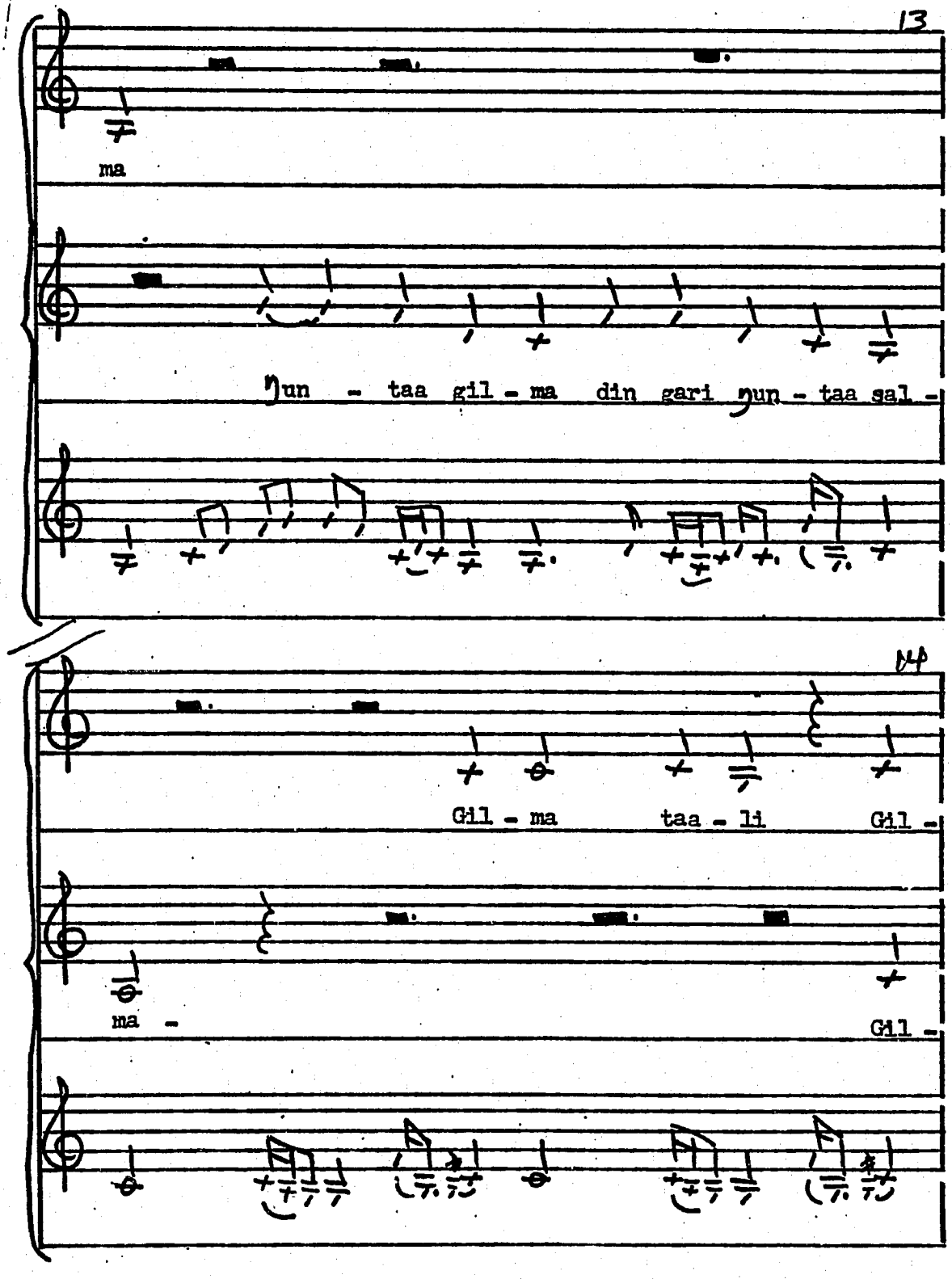
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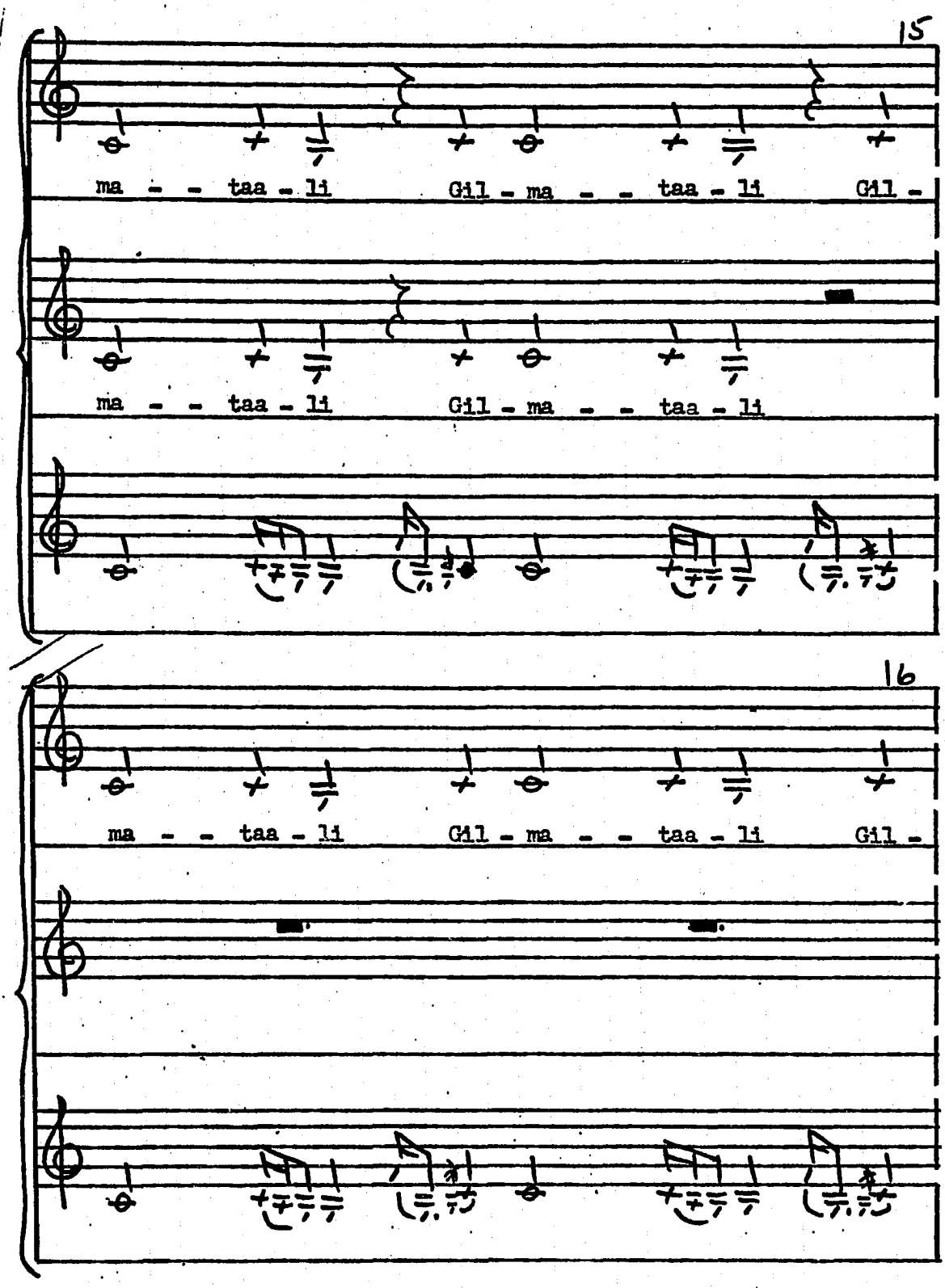
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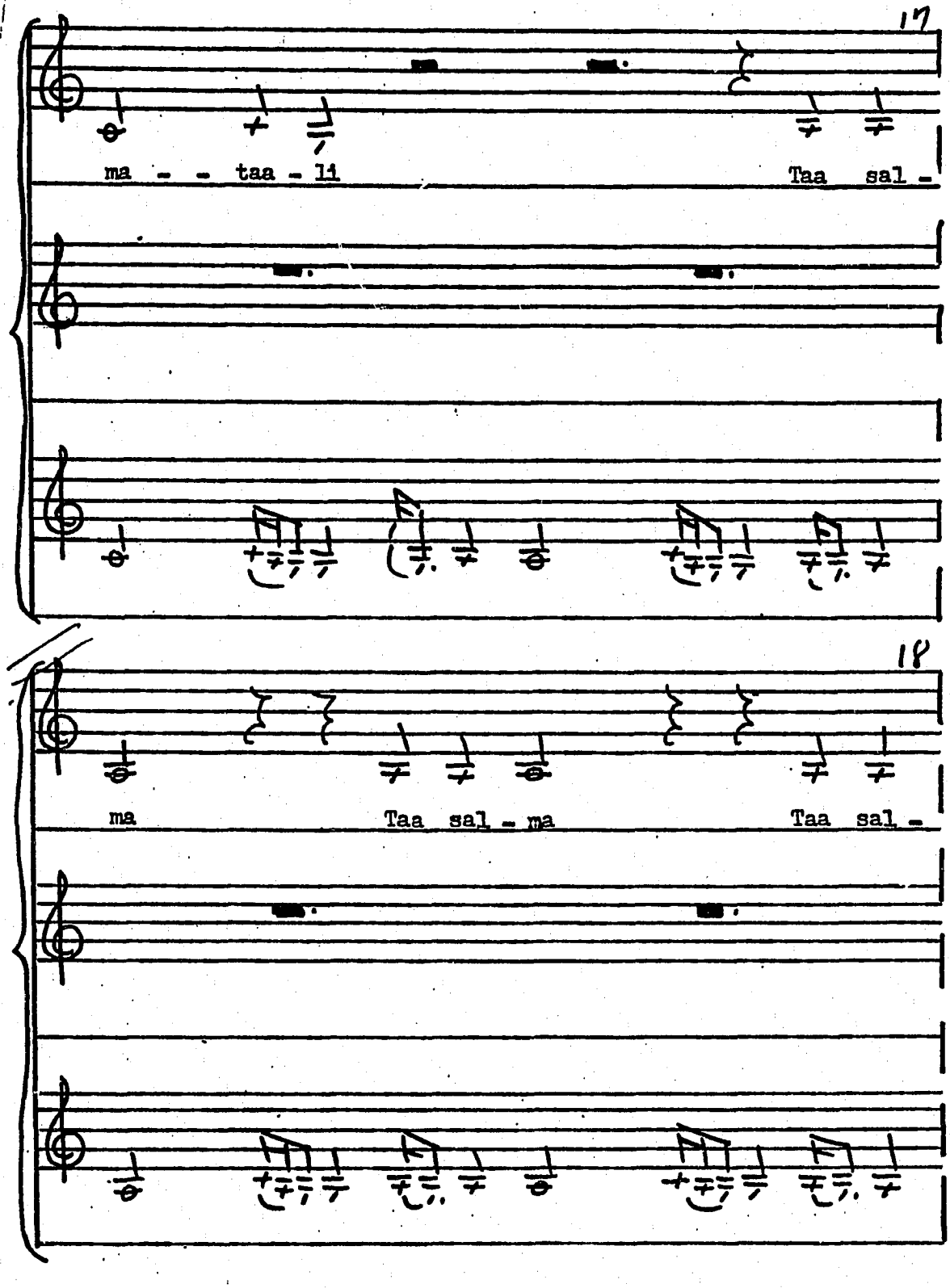
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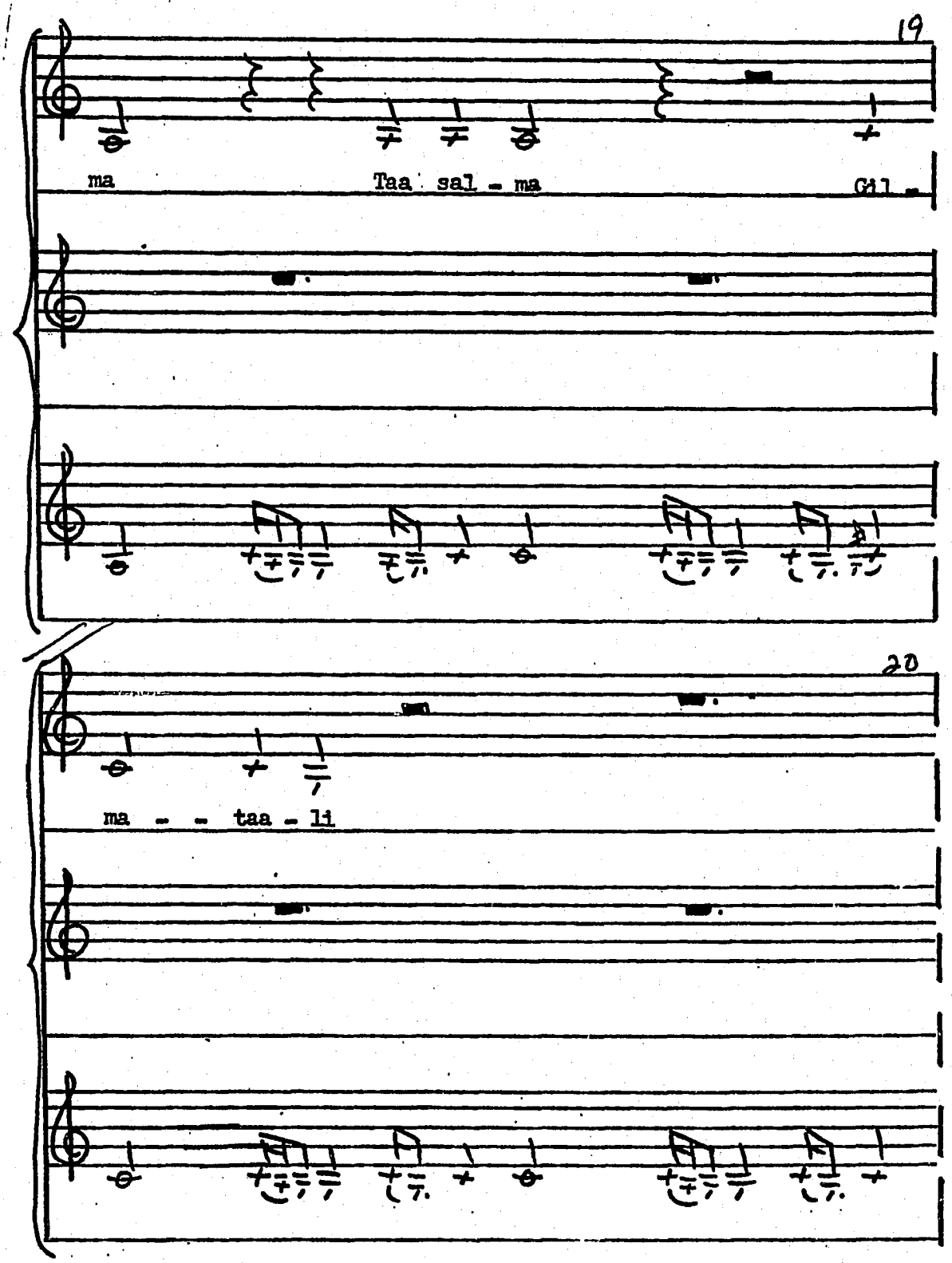
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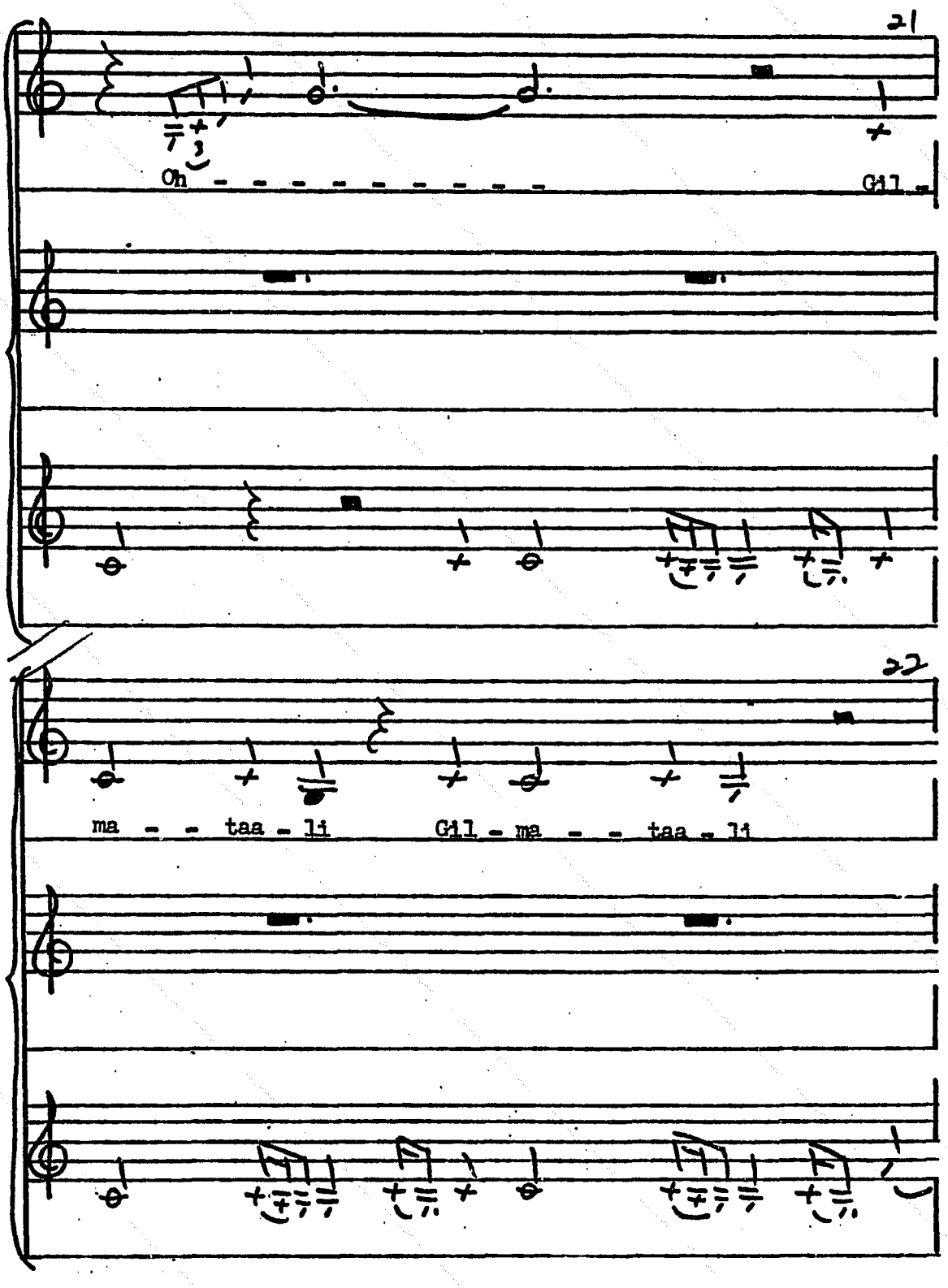
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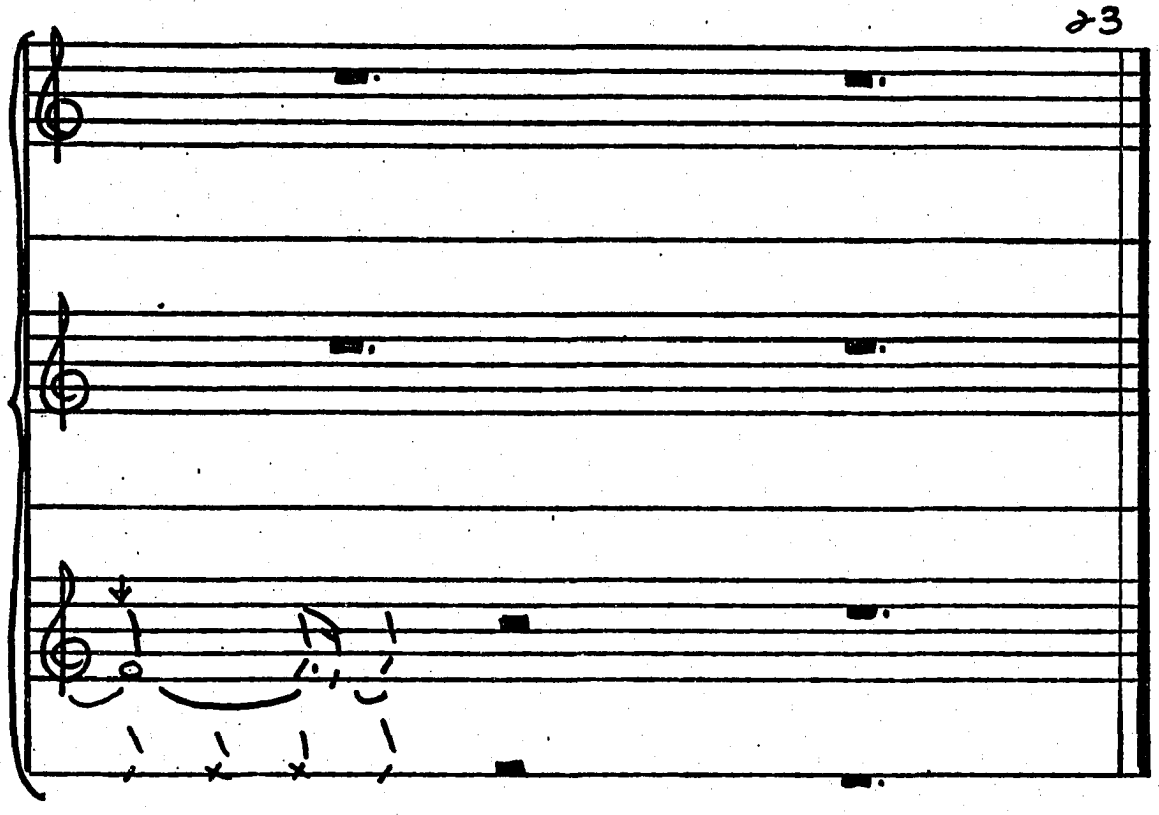
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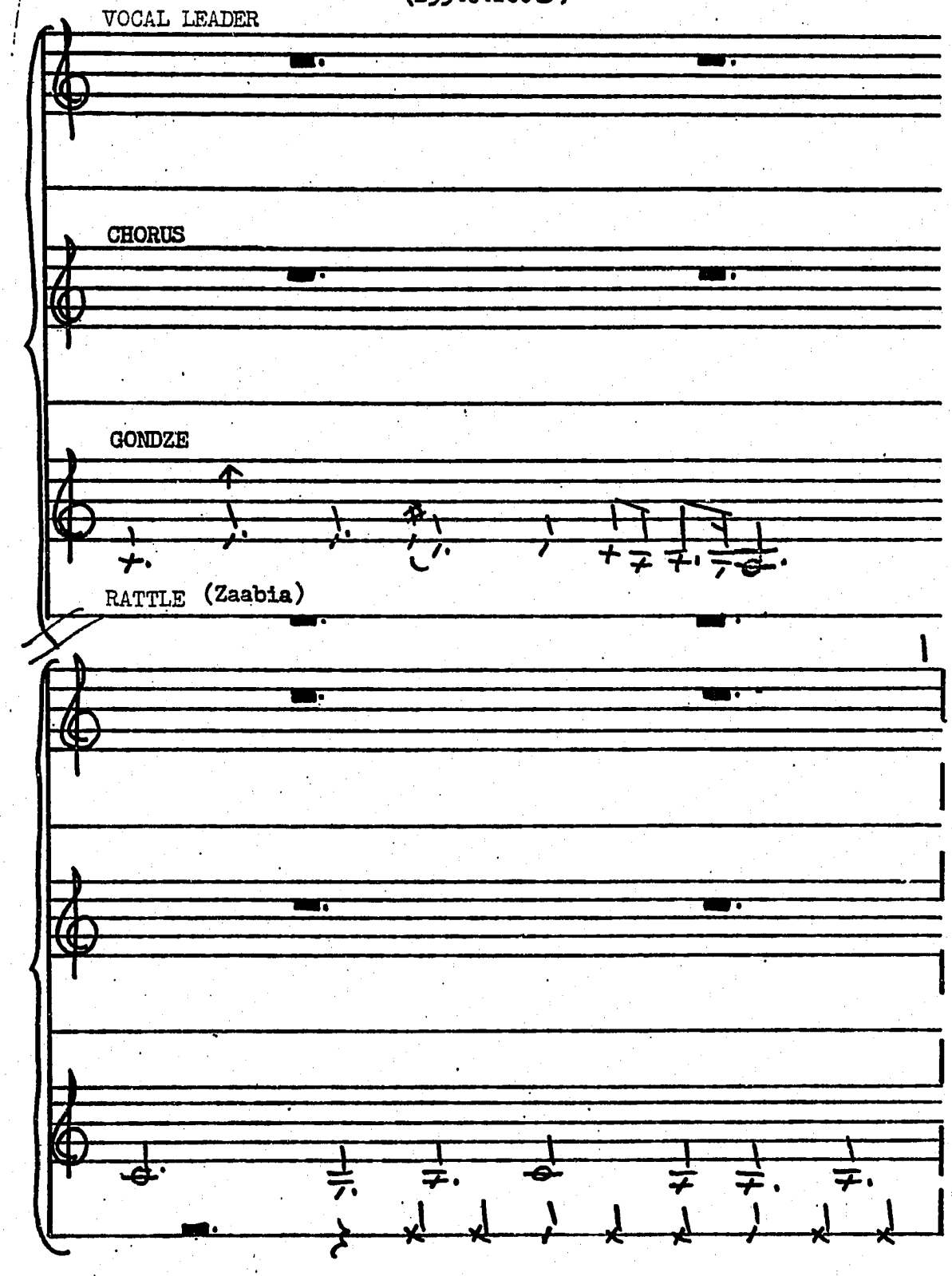


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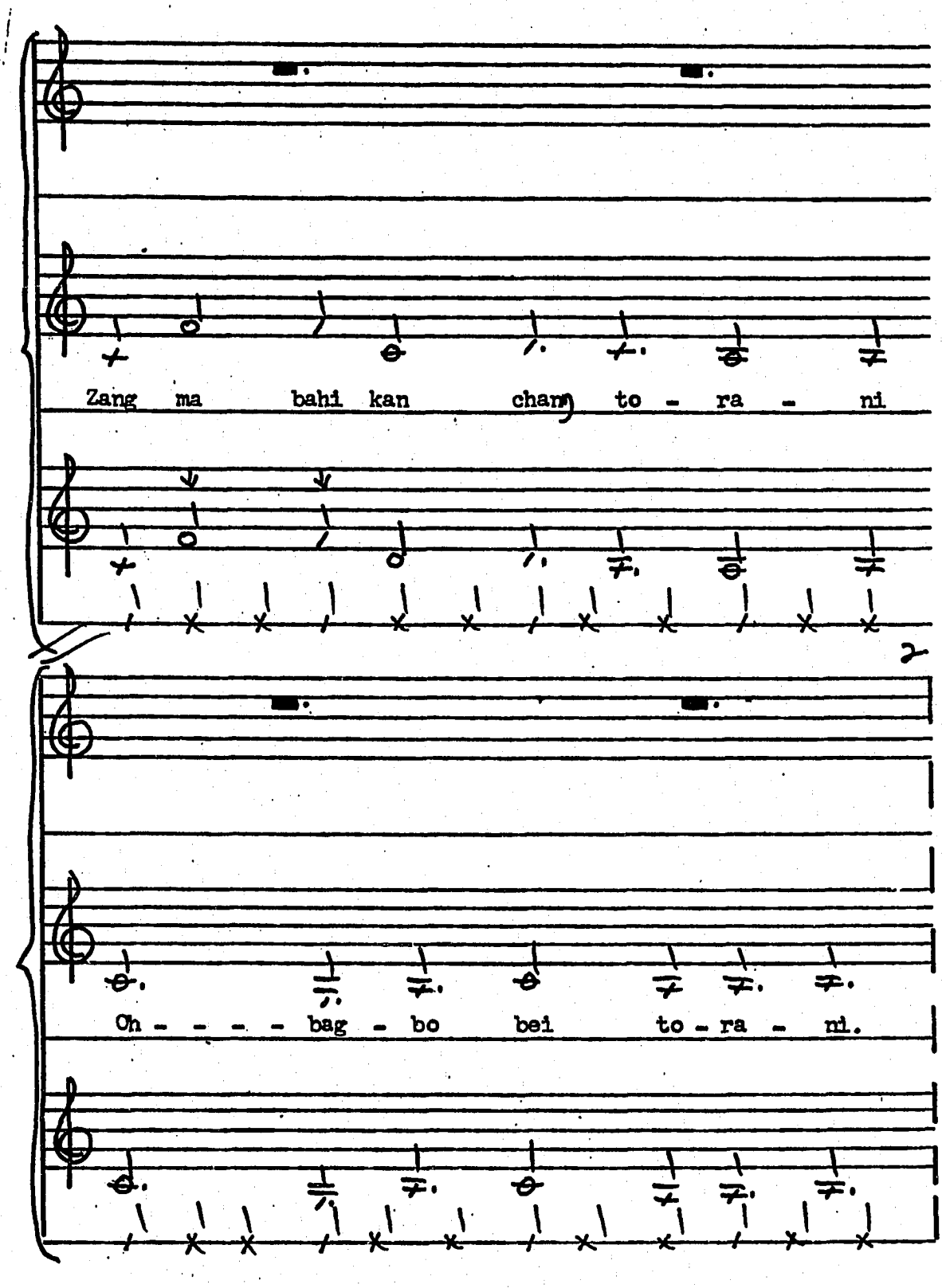


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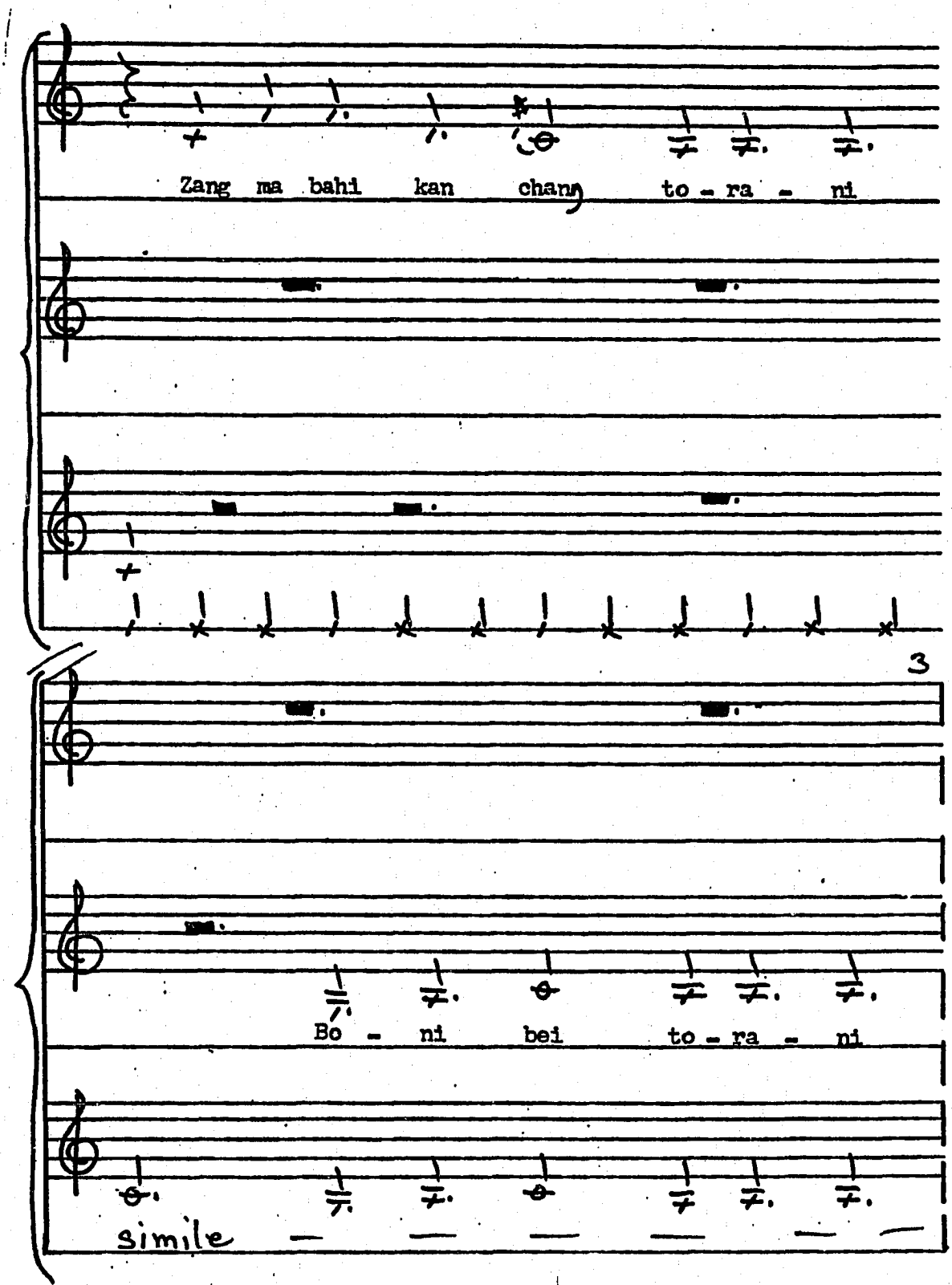
TORANI
by Salisu Mahama
(D33:0:100 d.)



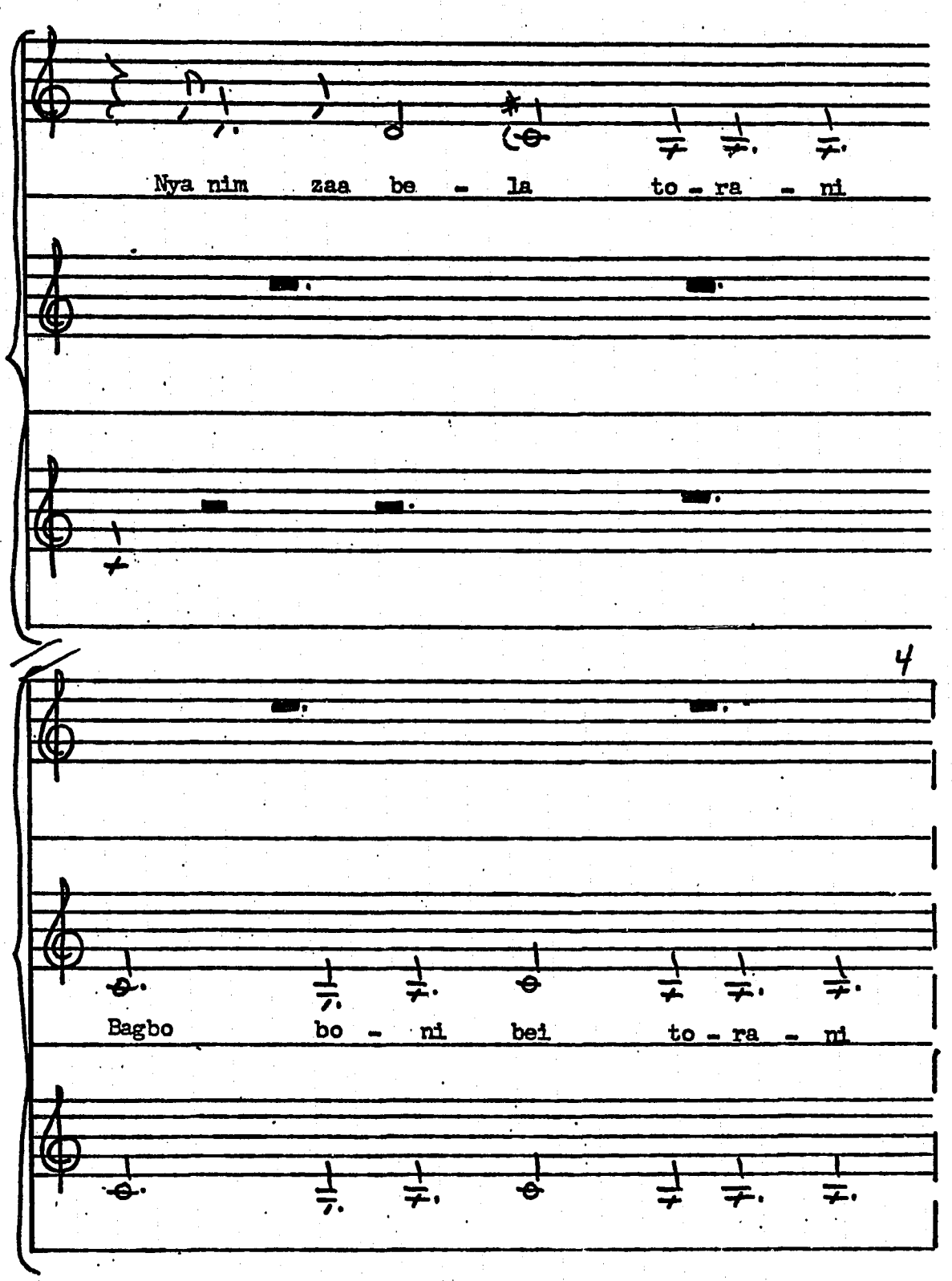
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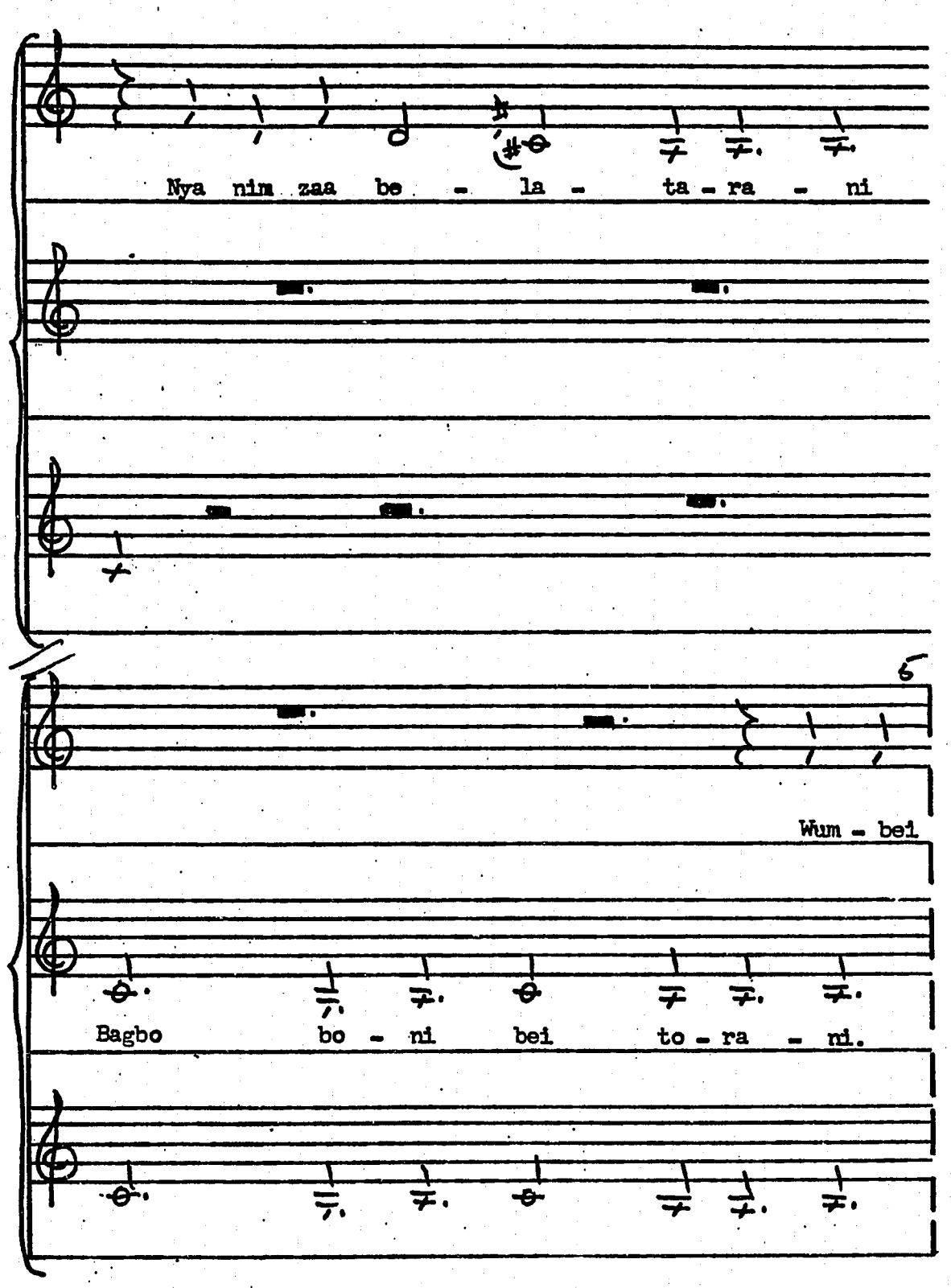
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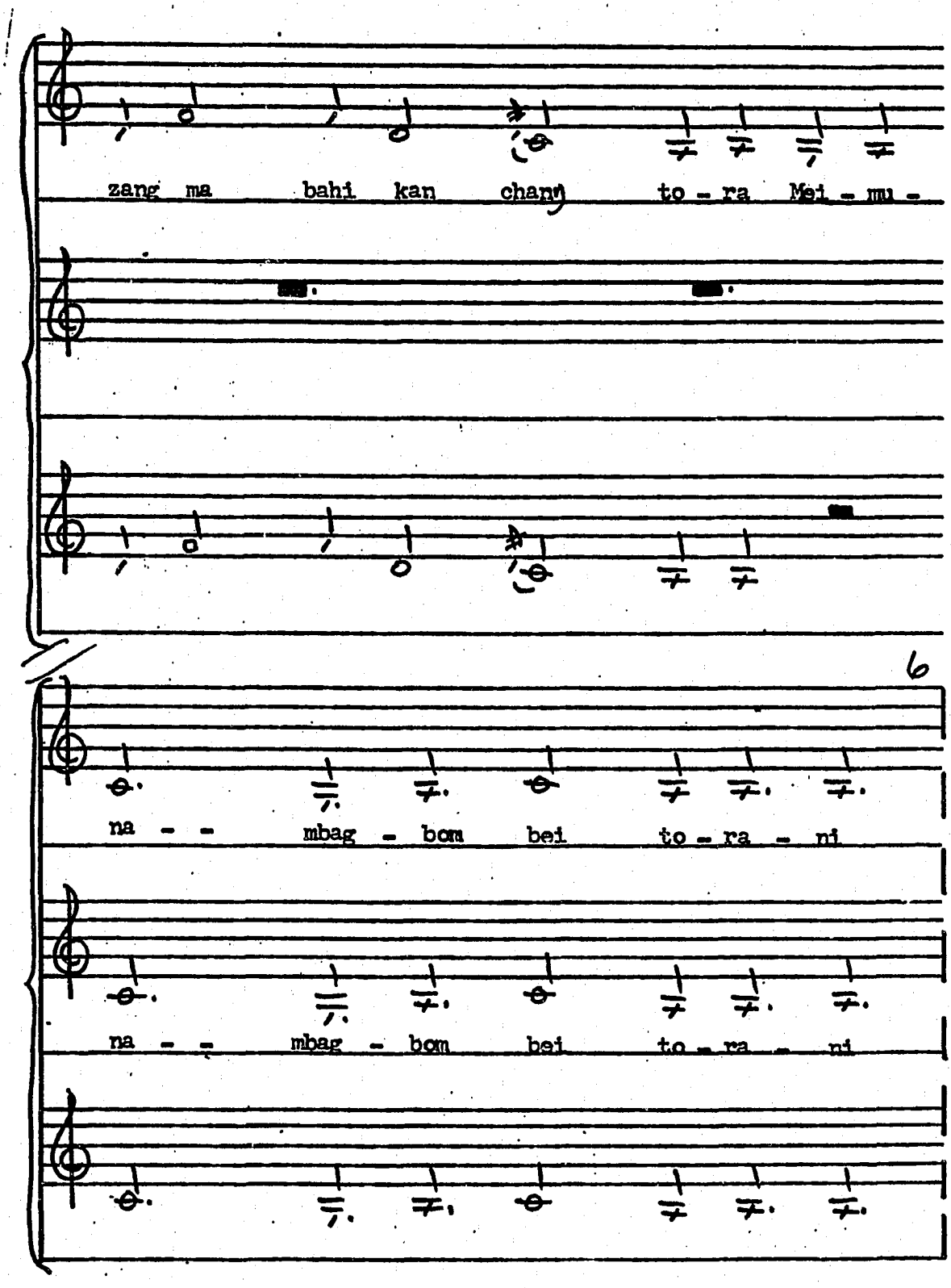
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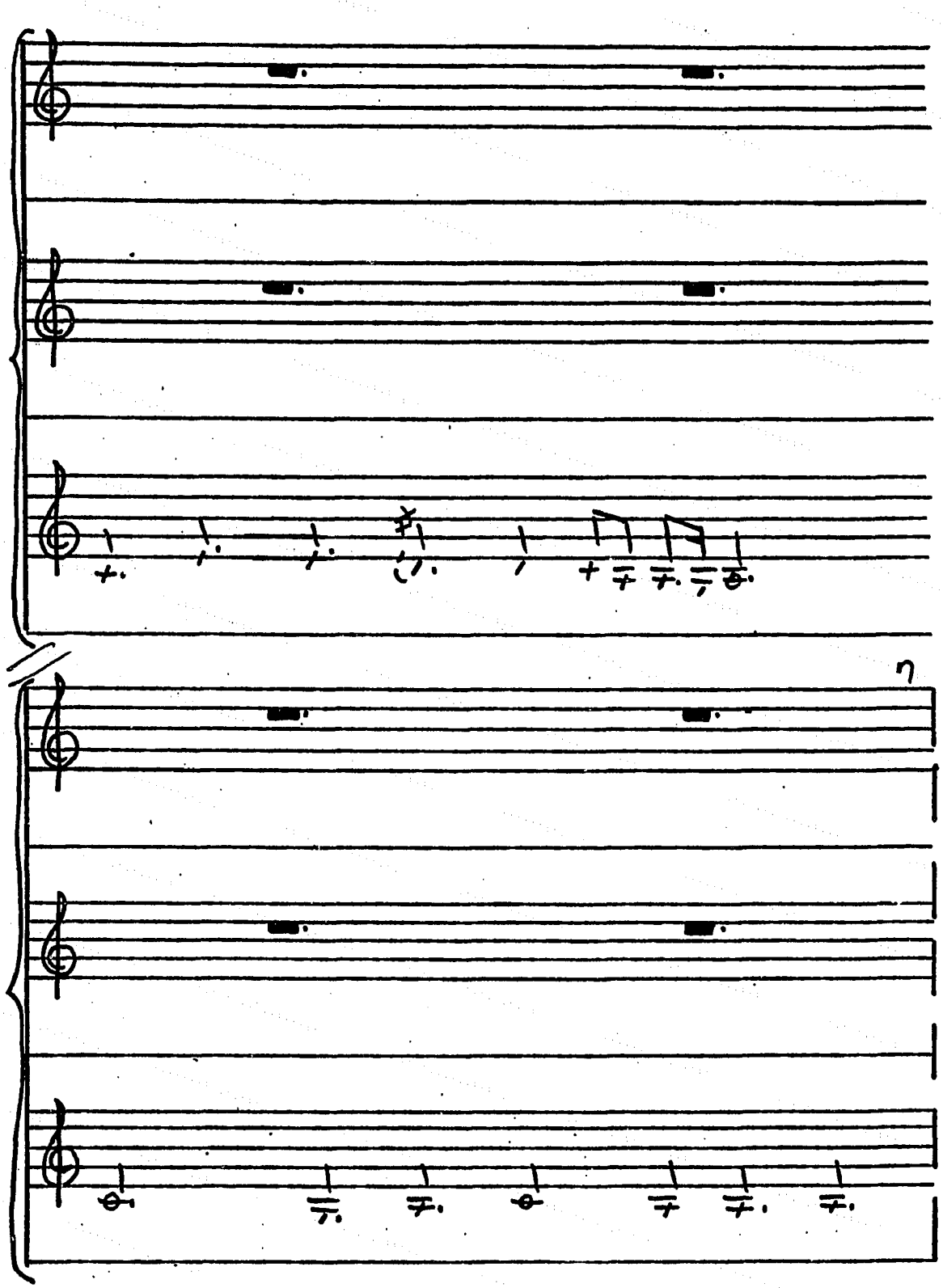
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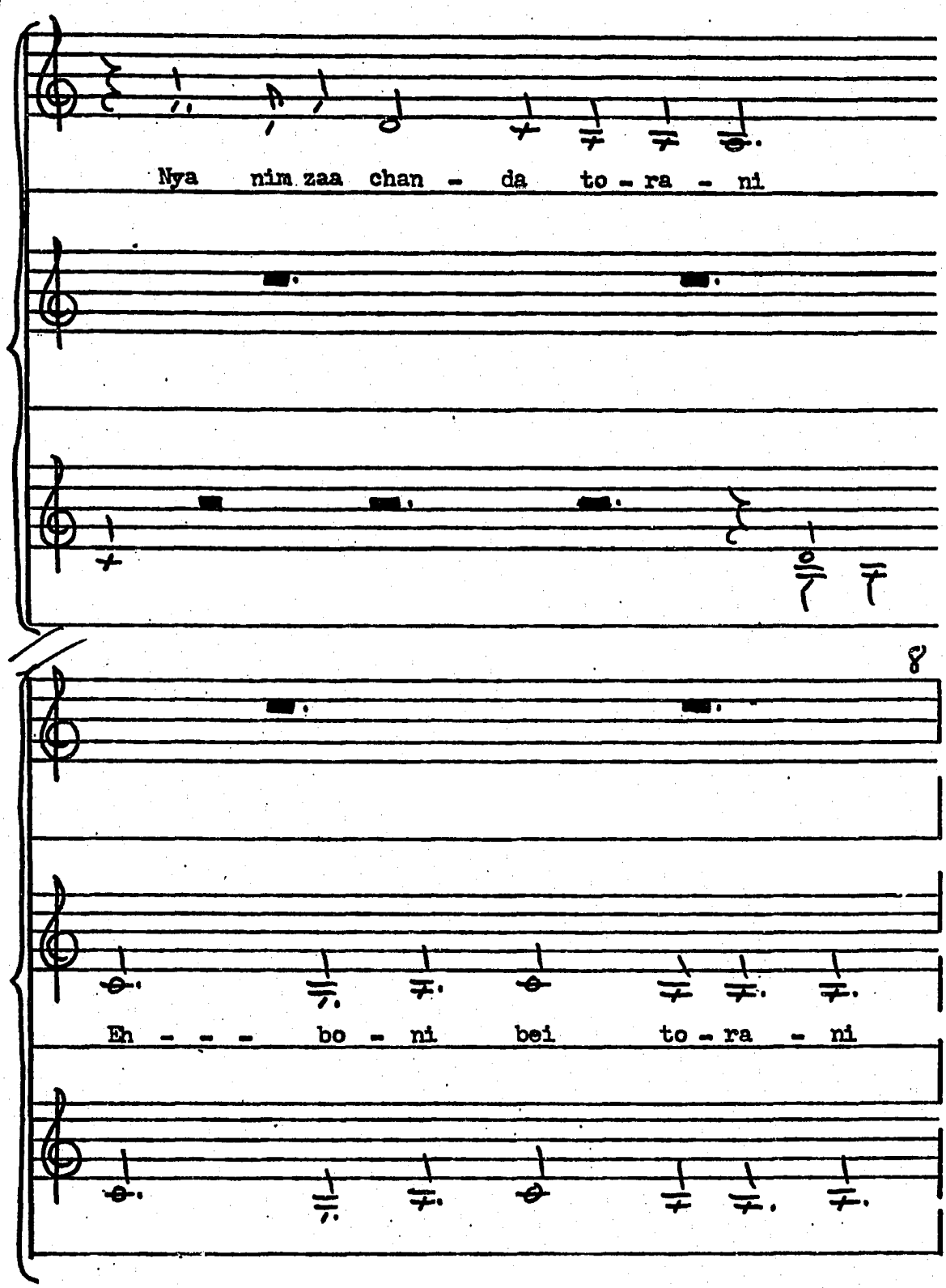
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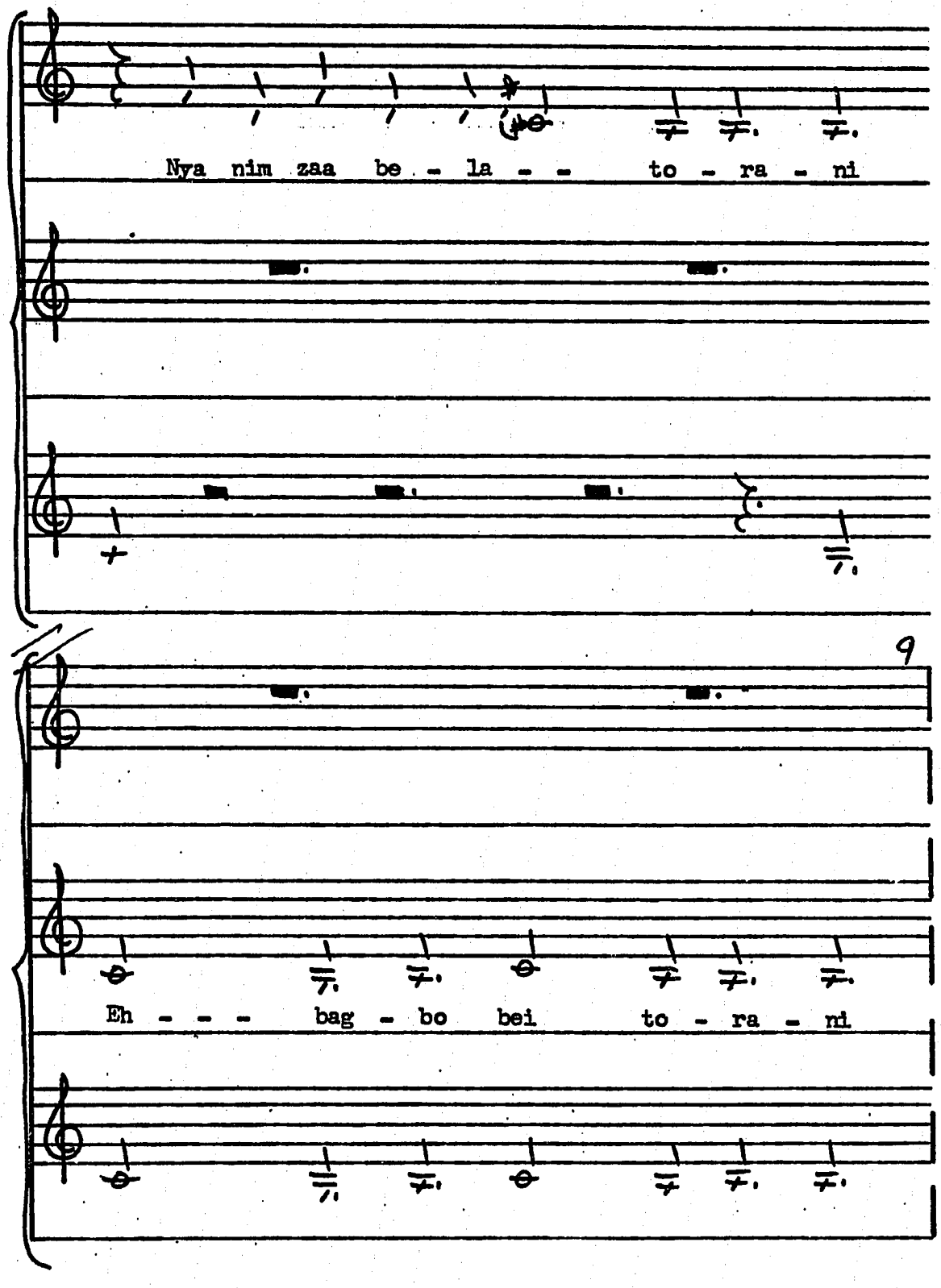
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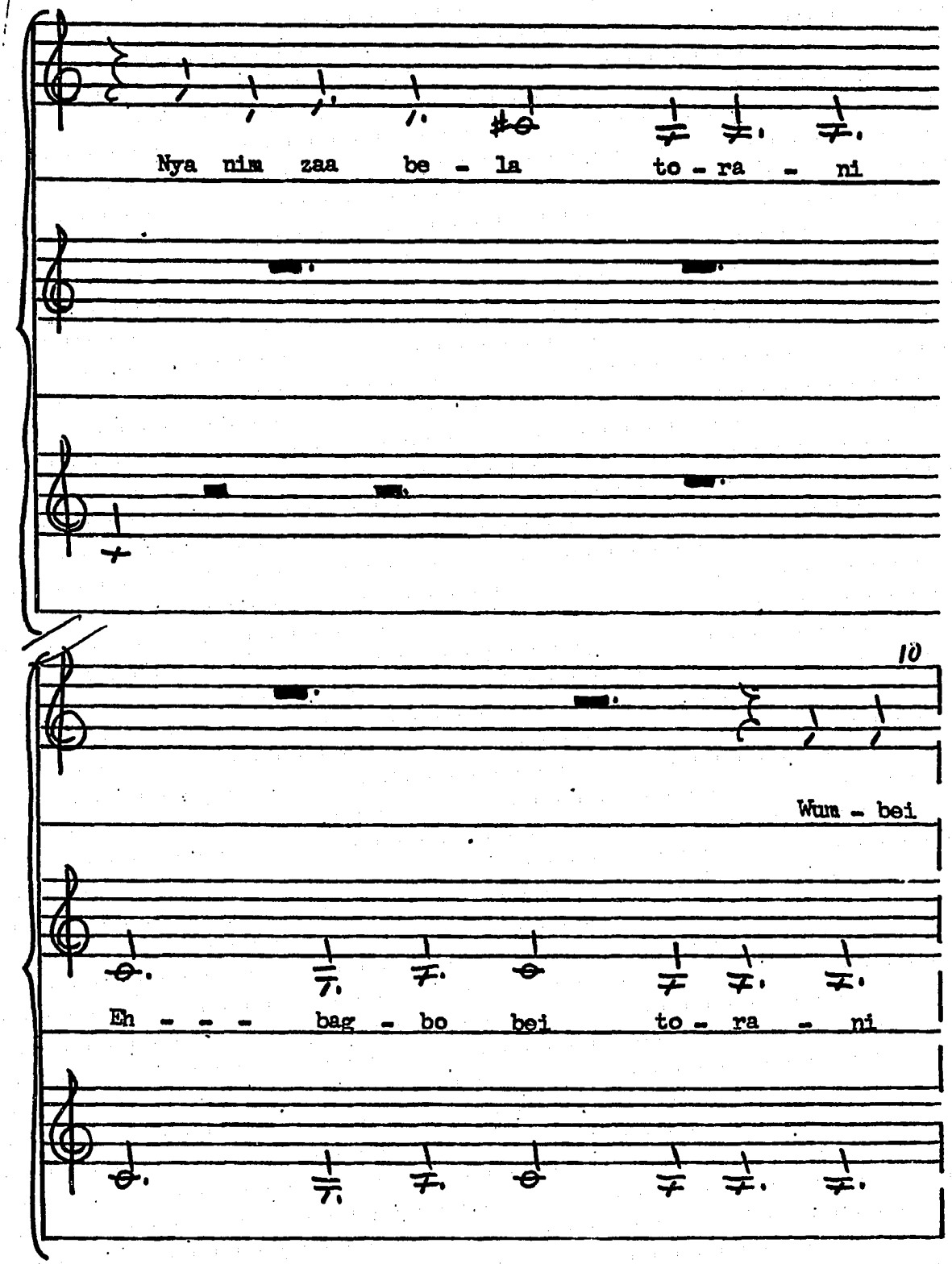
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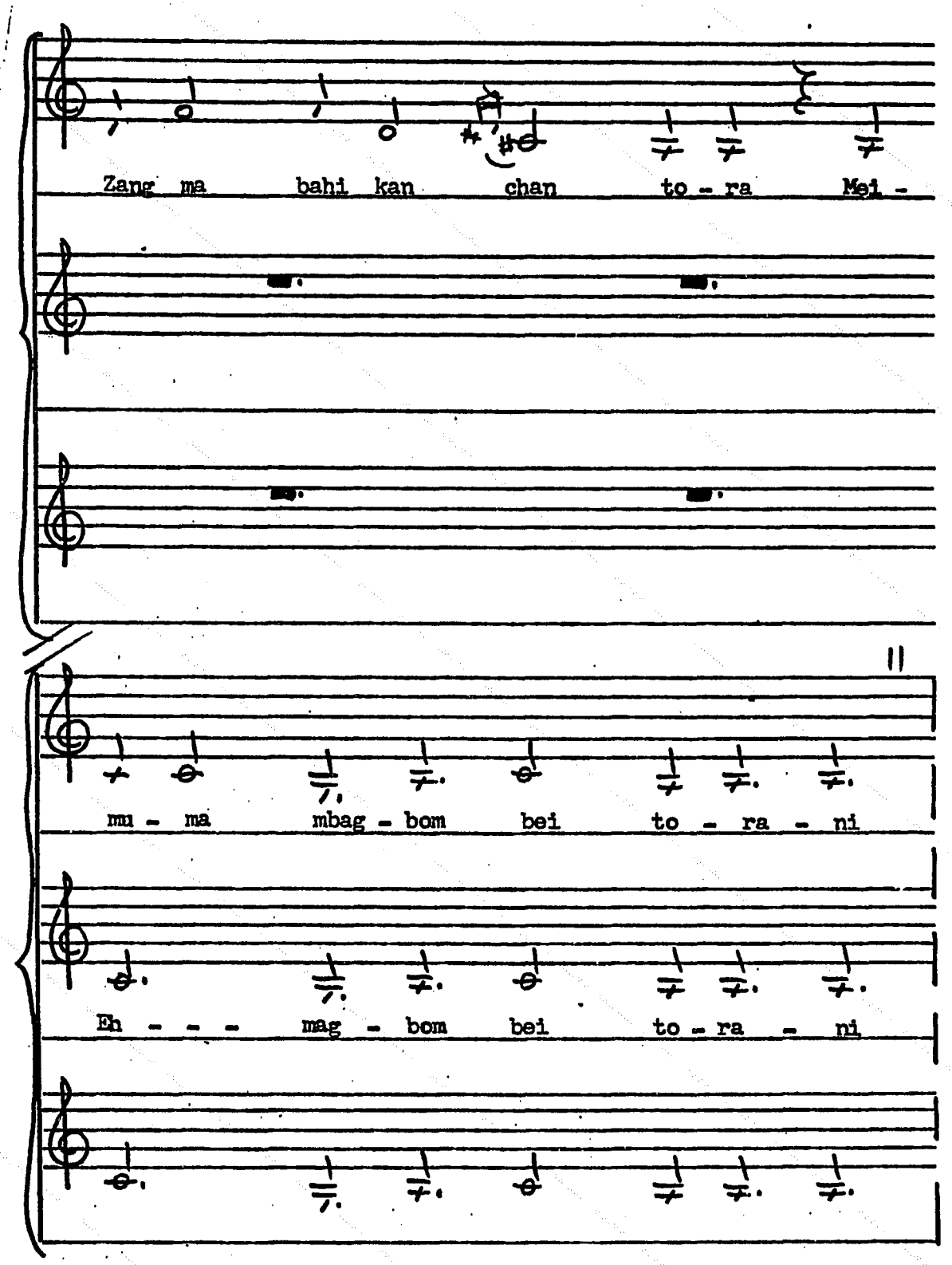
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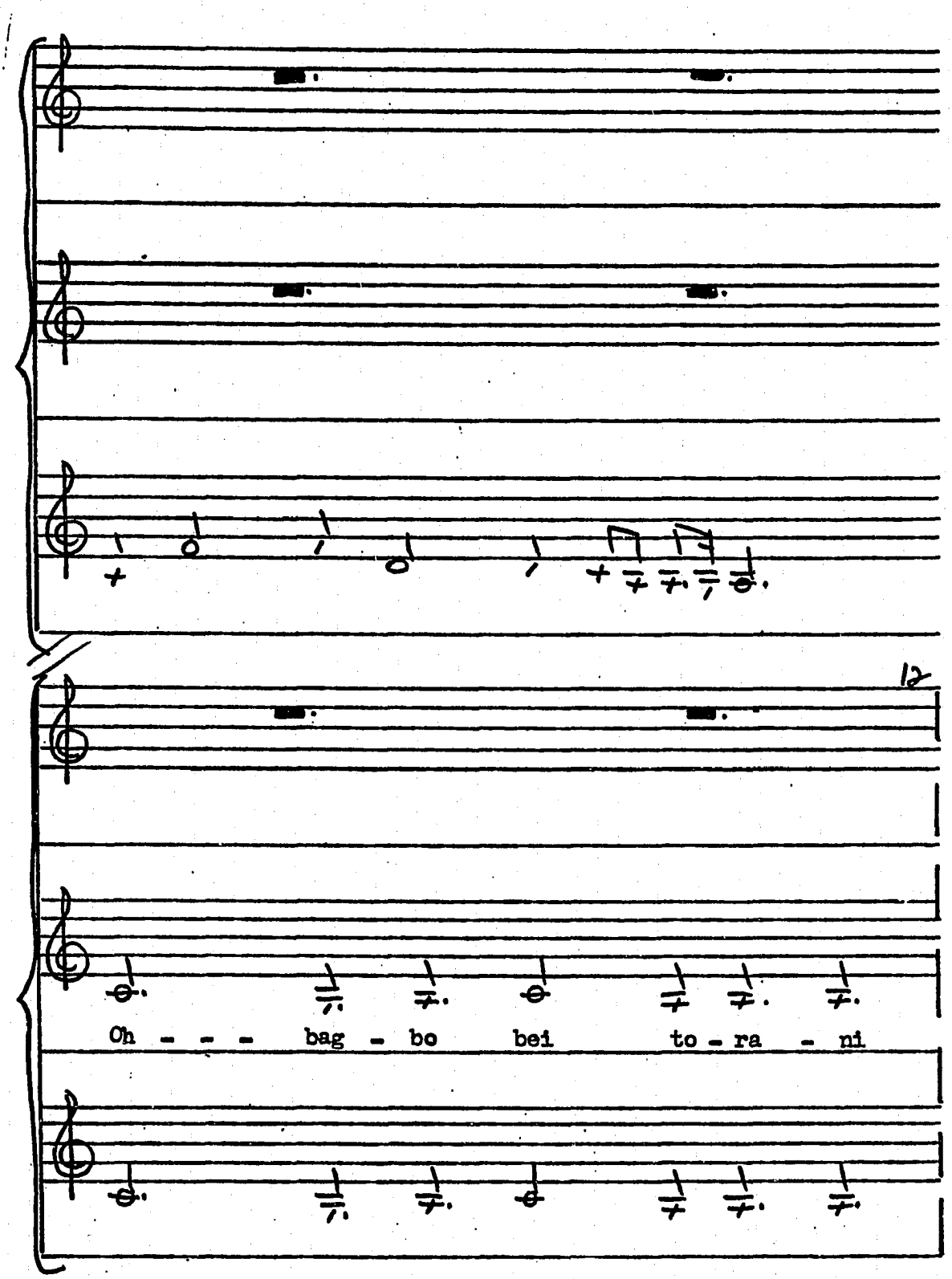
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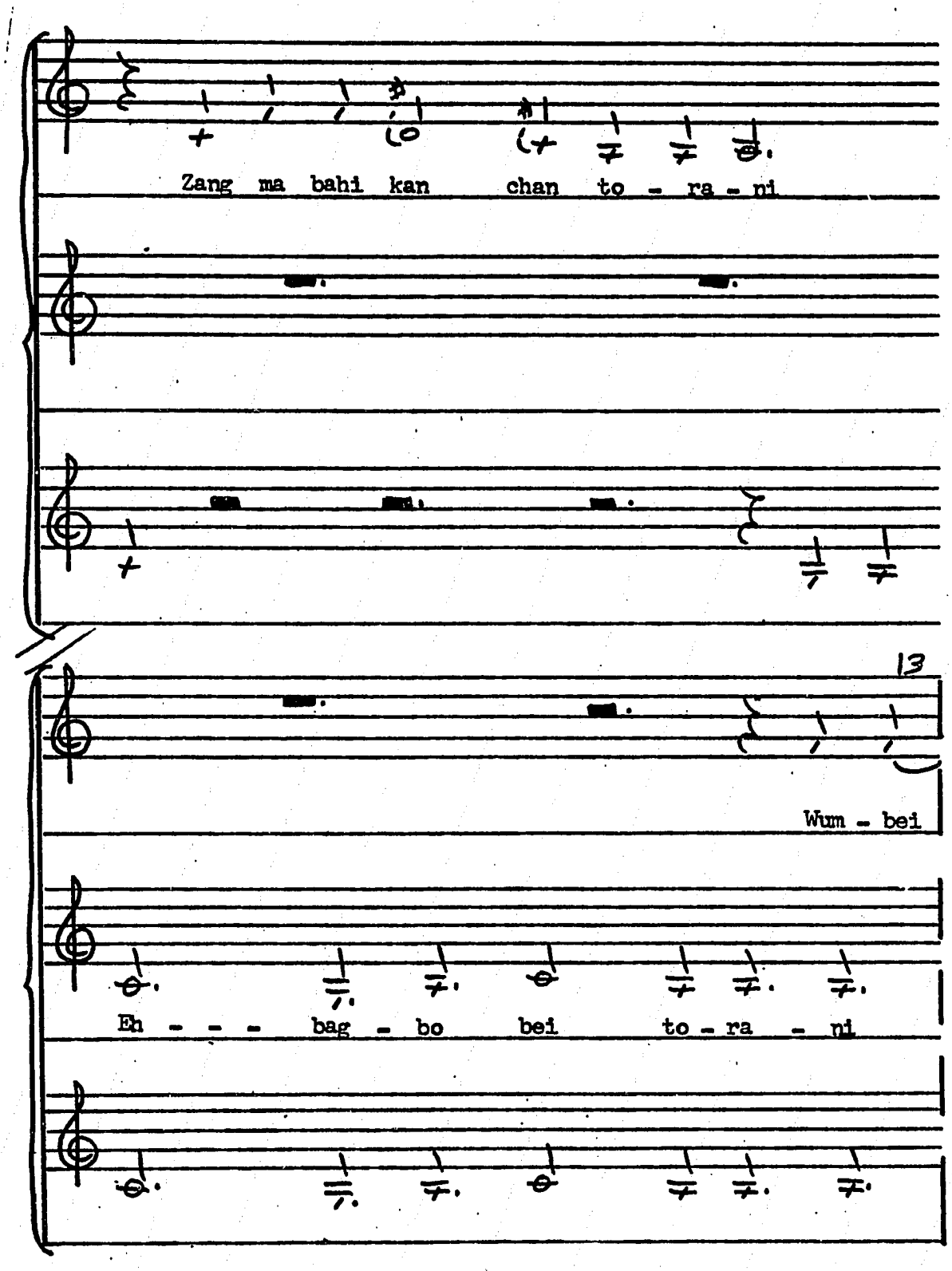
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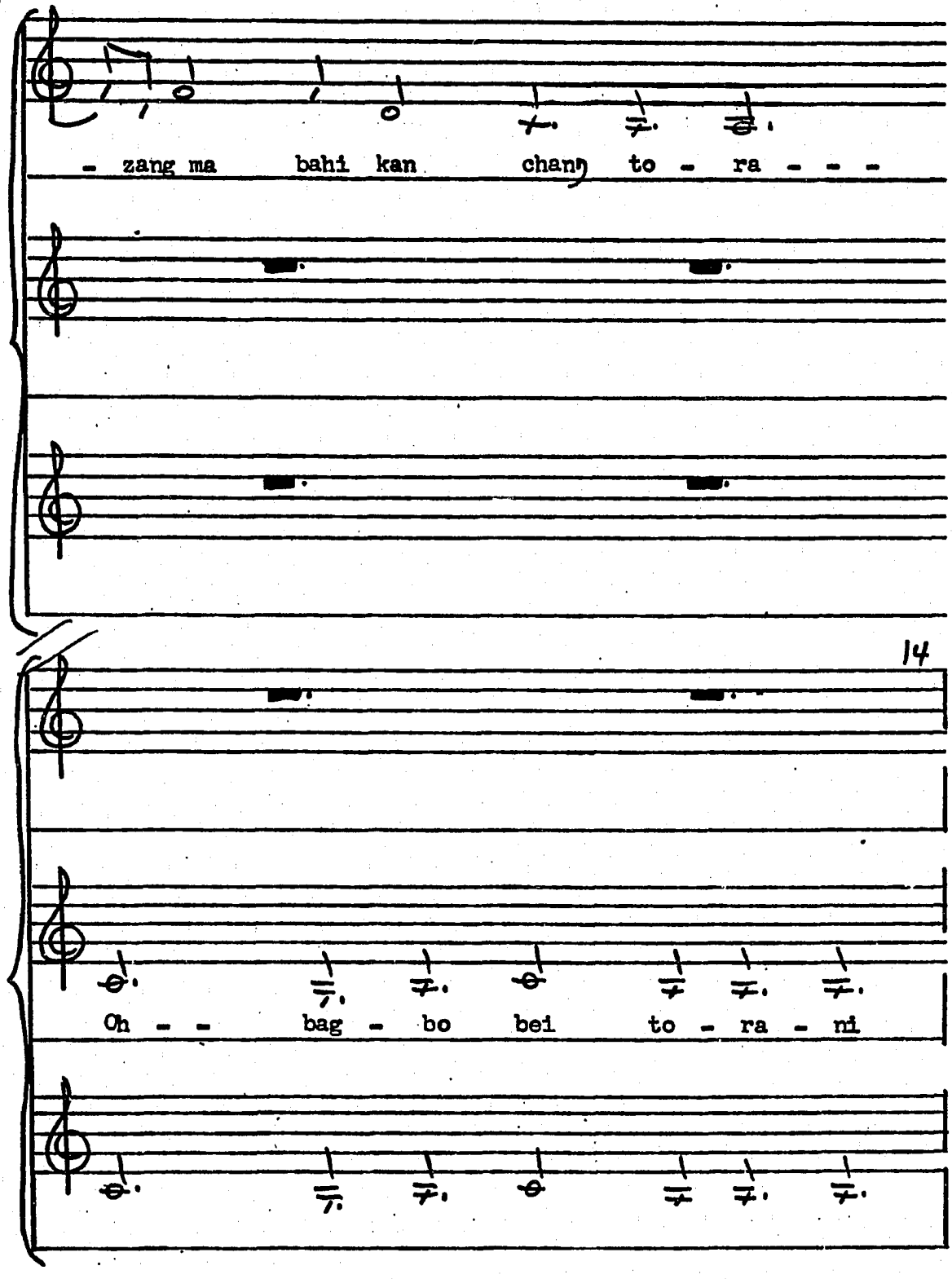
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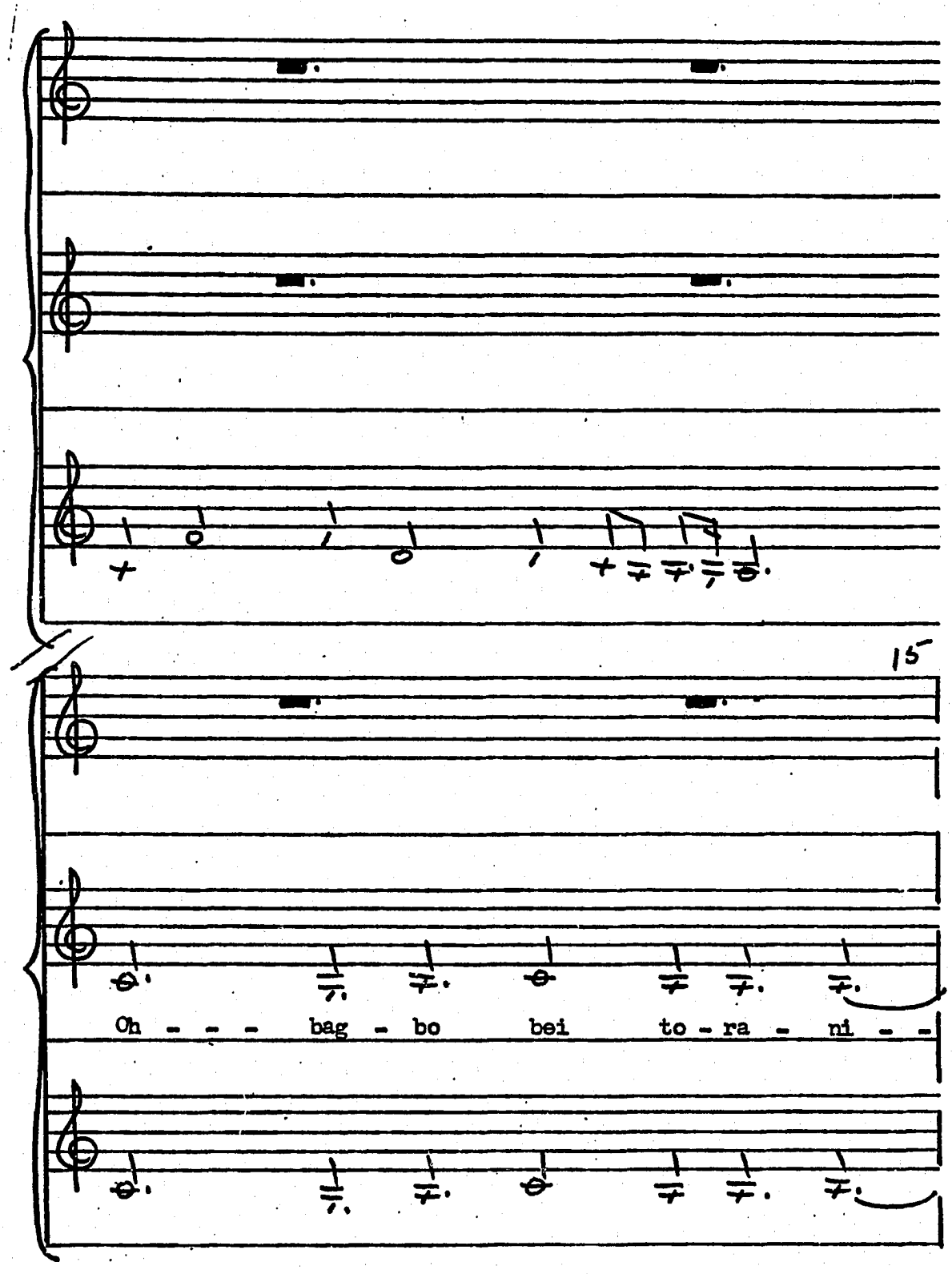
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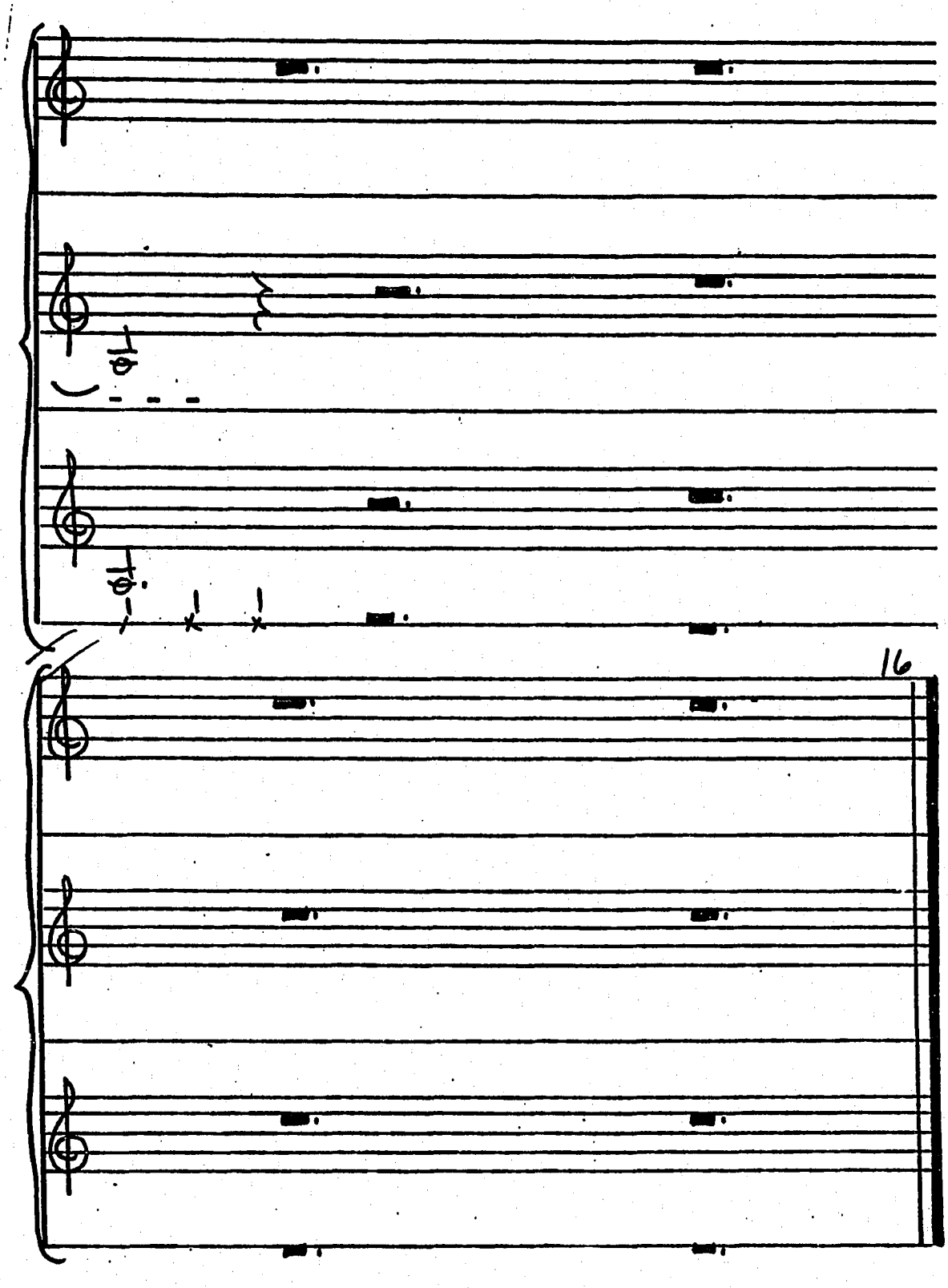
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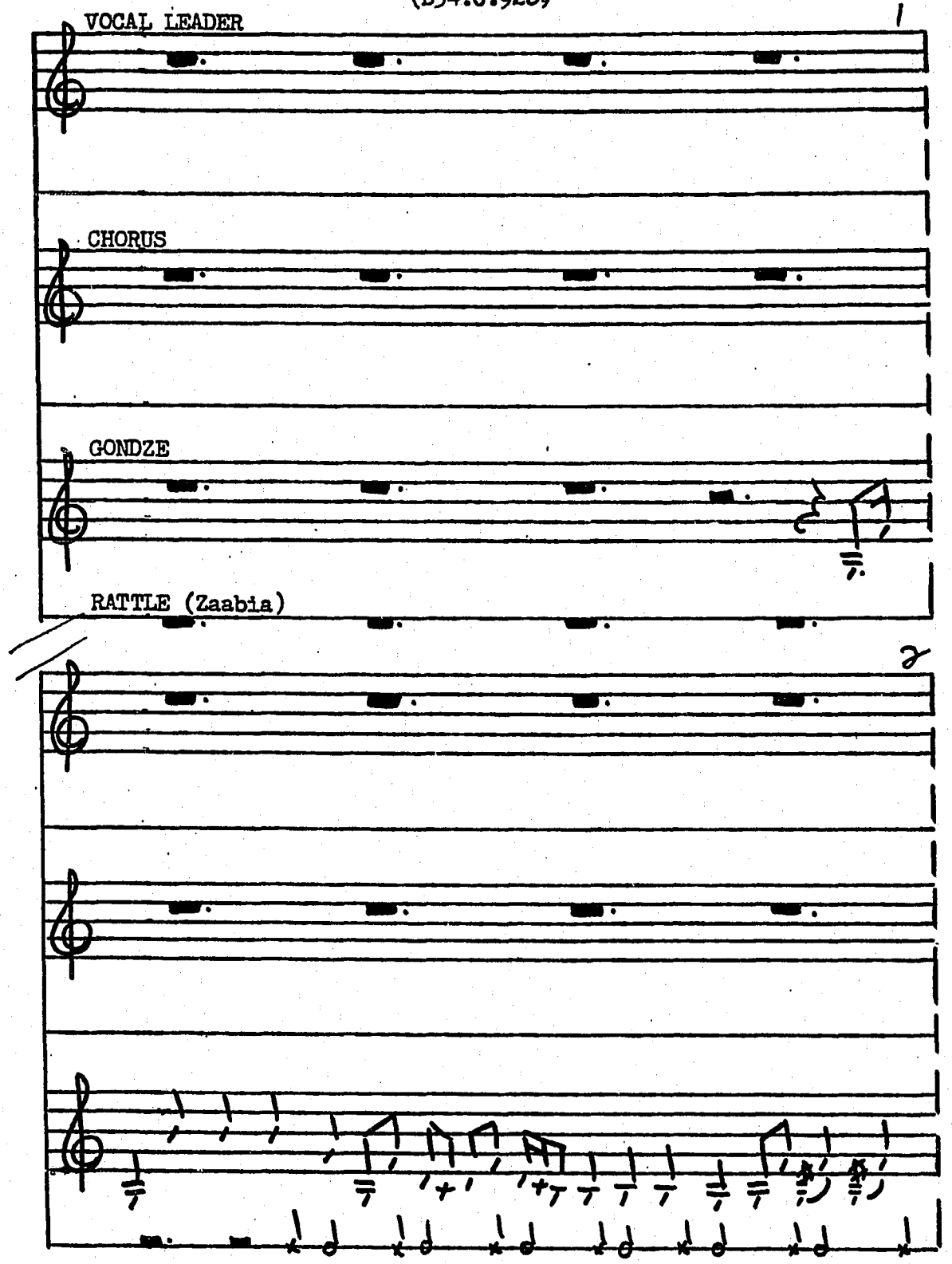


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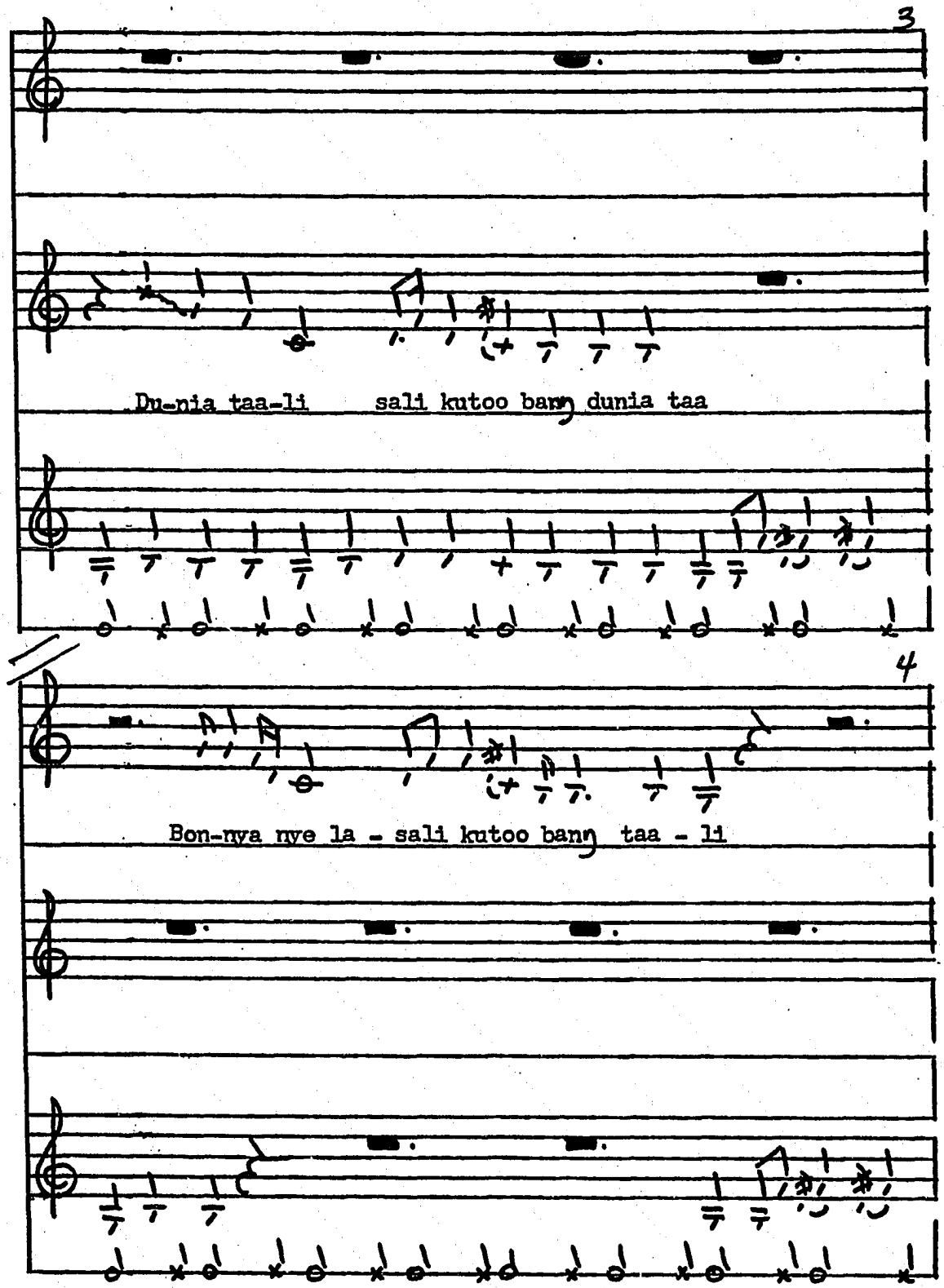


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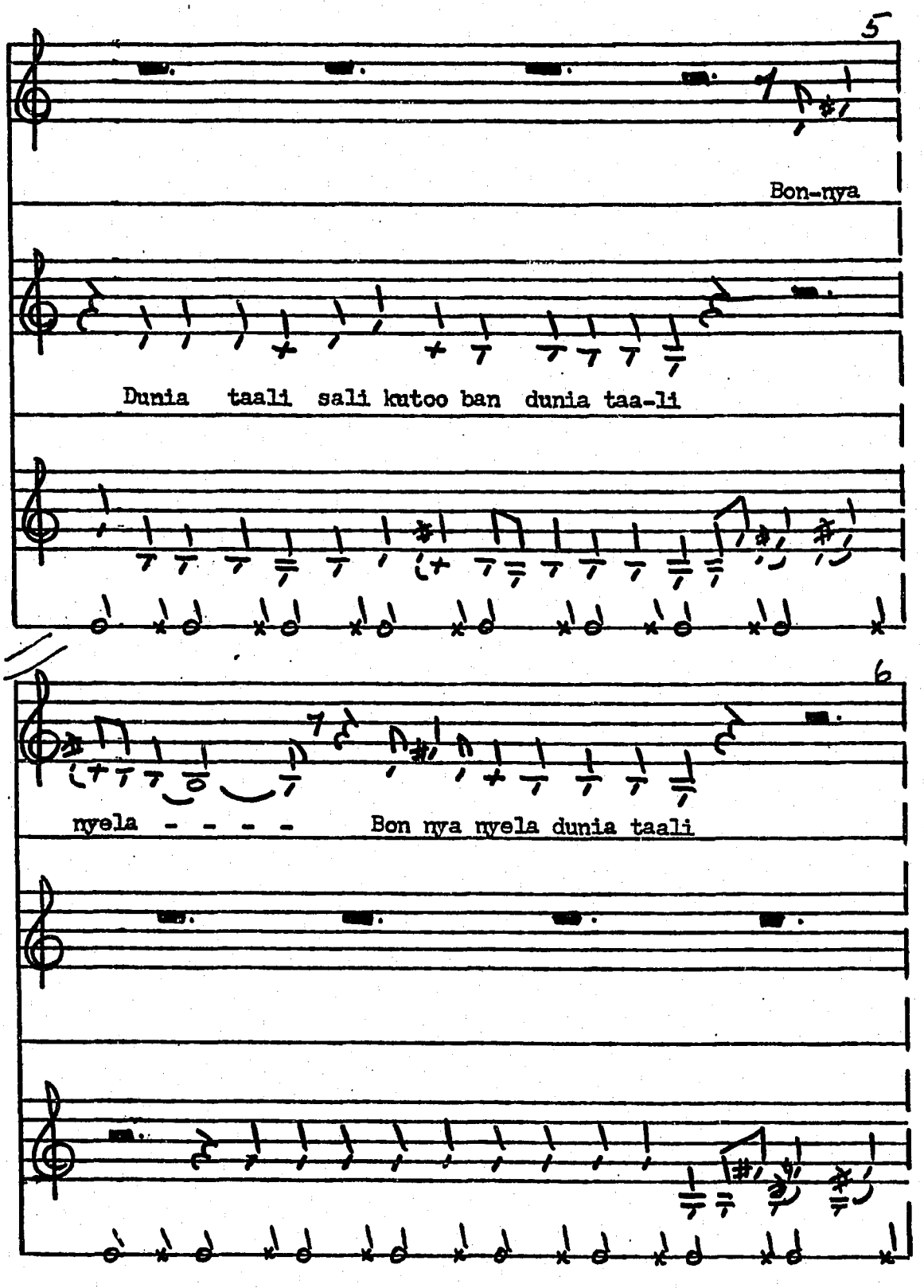
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by Salisu Mahama
(D34:0:920)



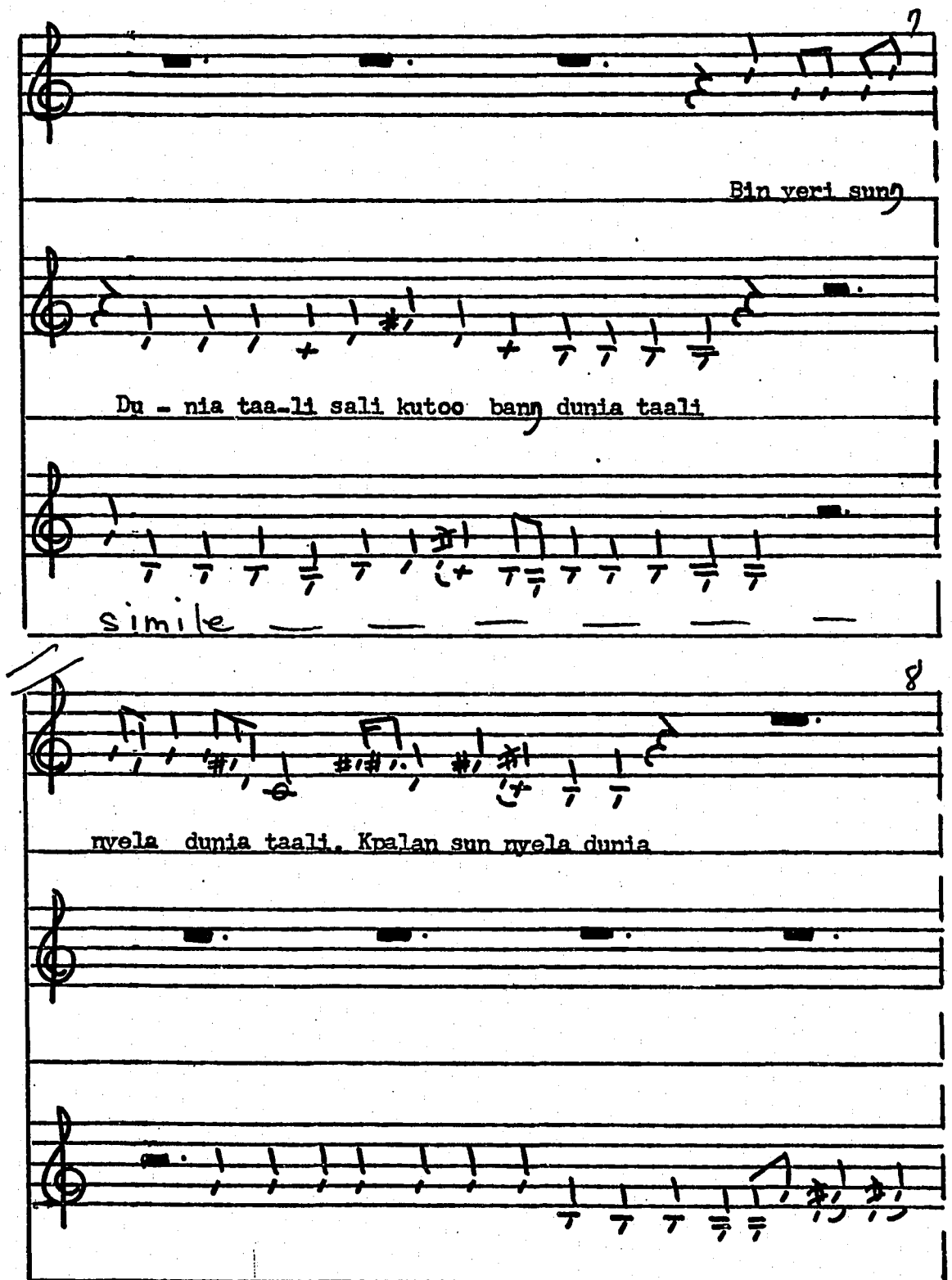
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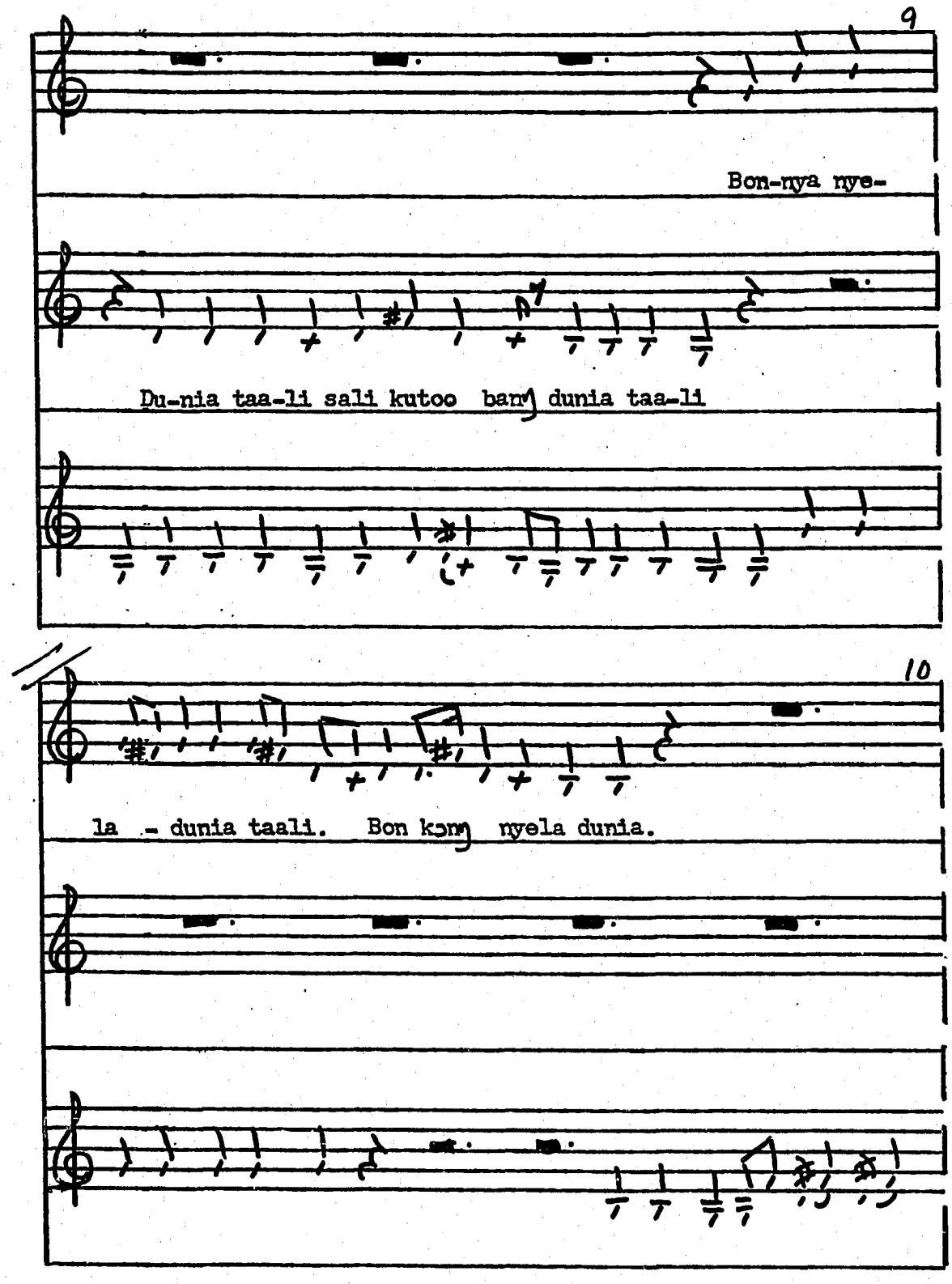


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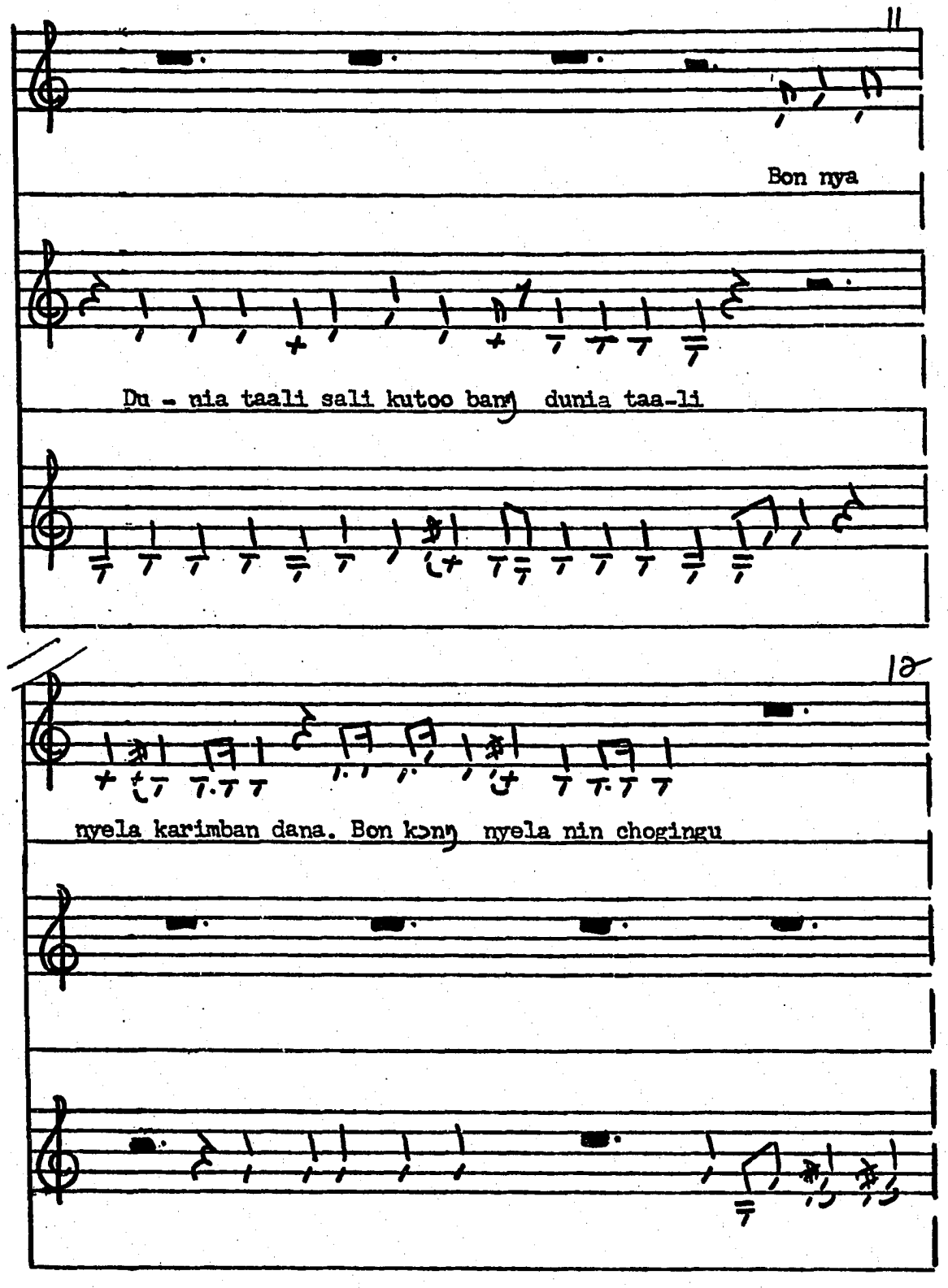


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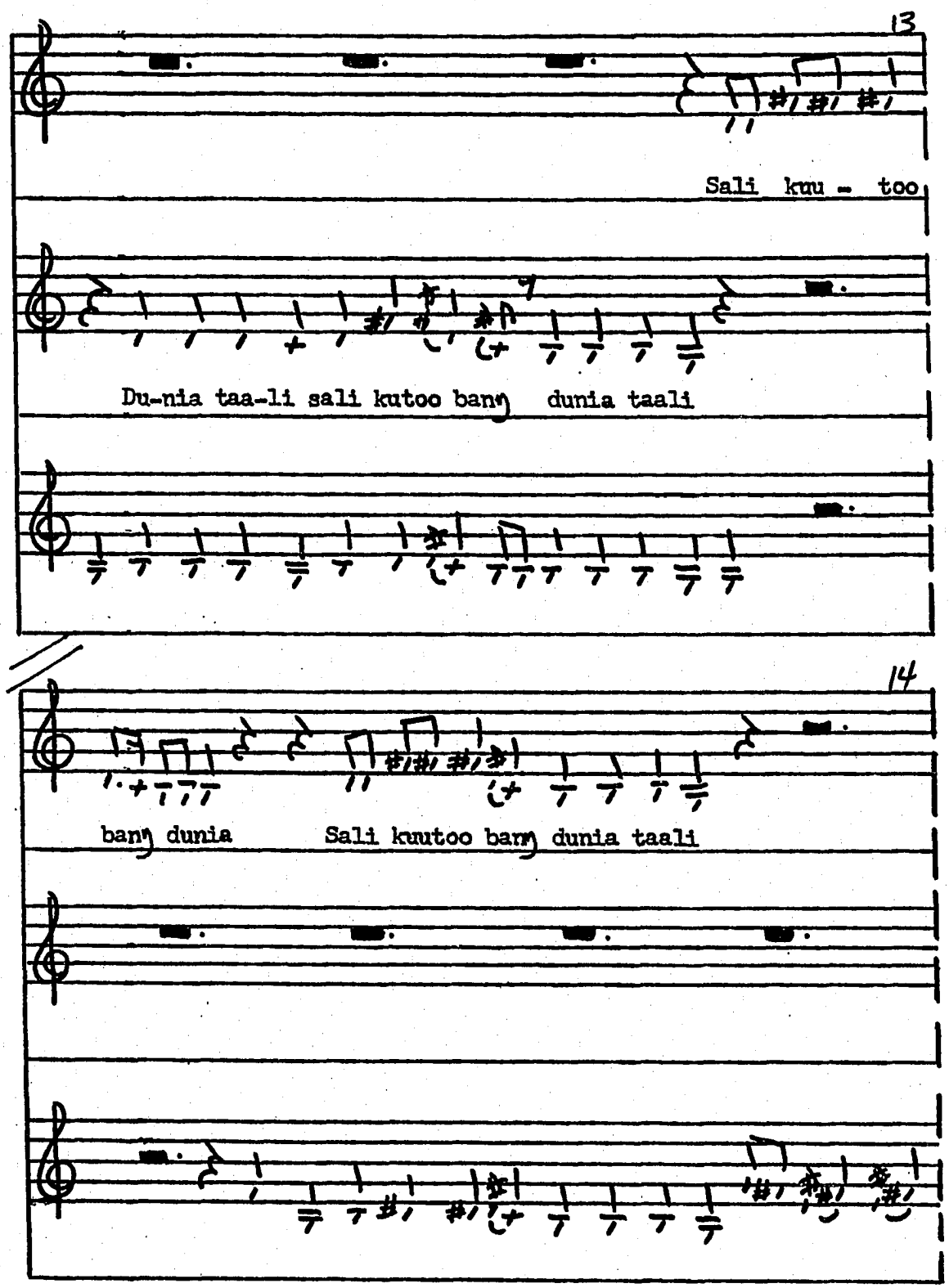
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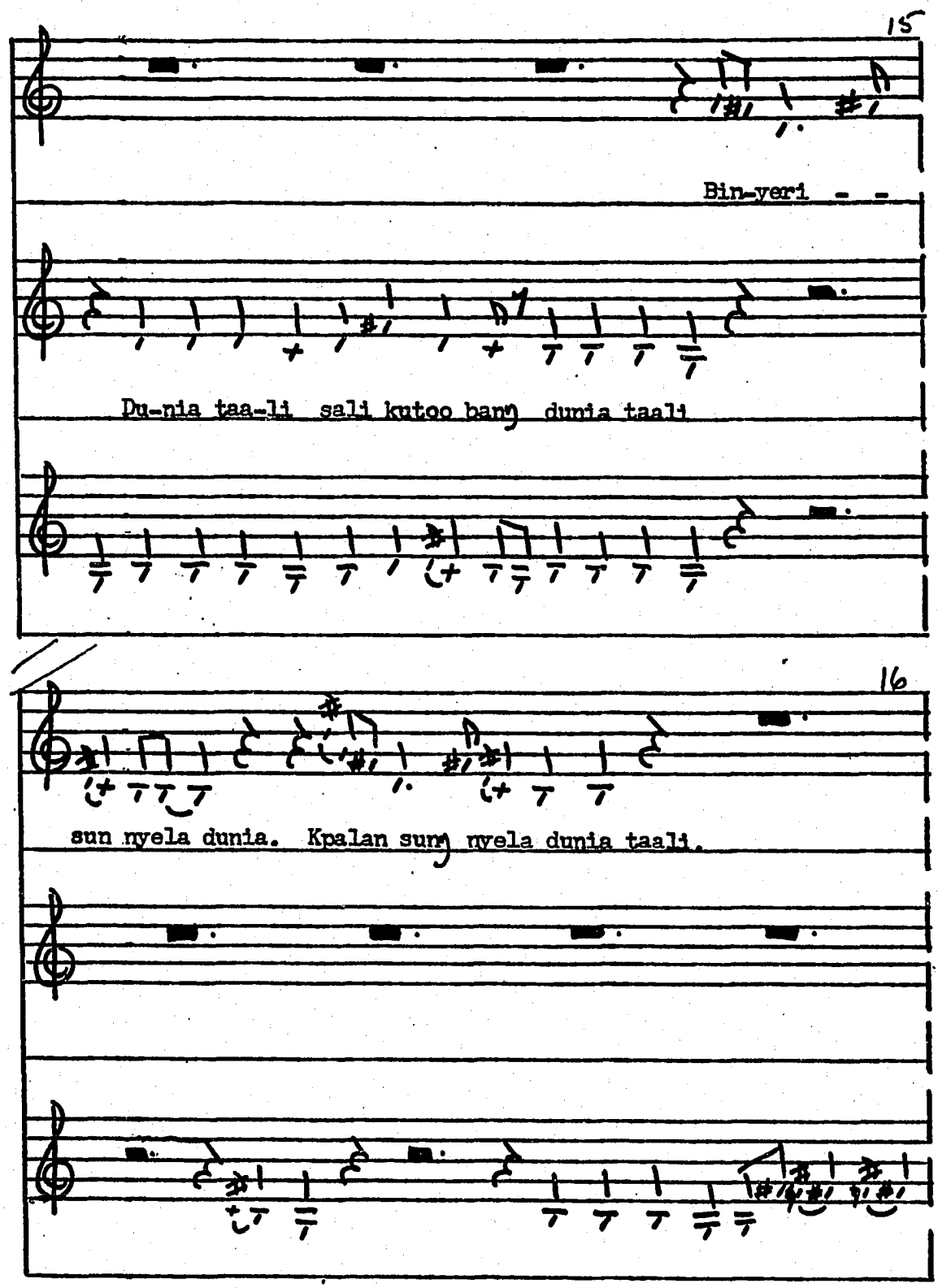


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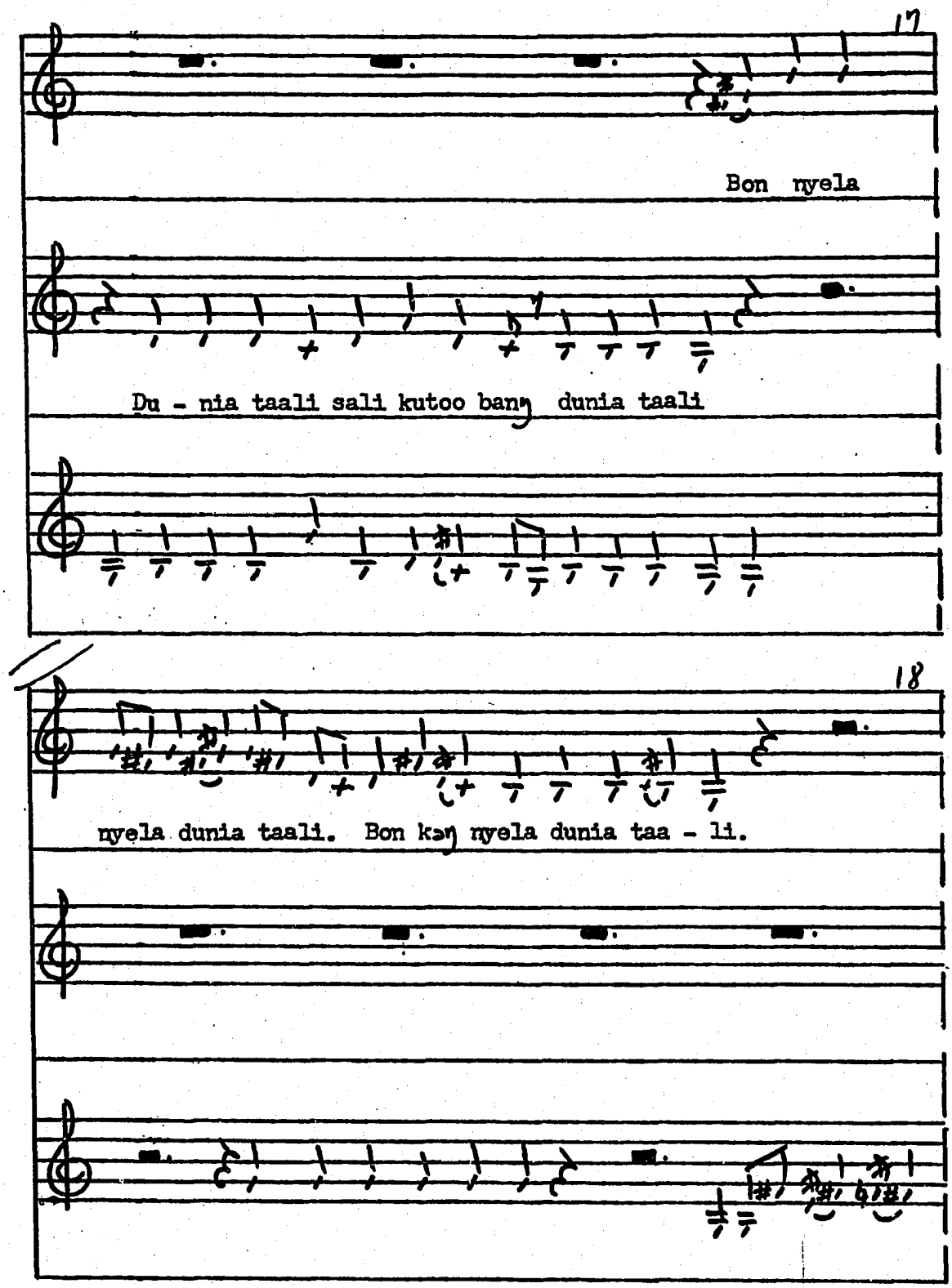
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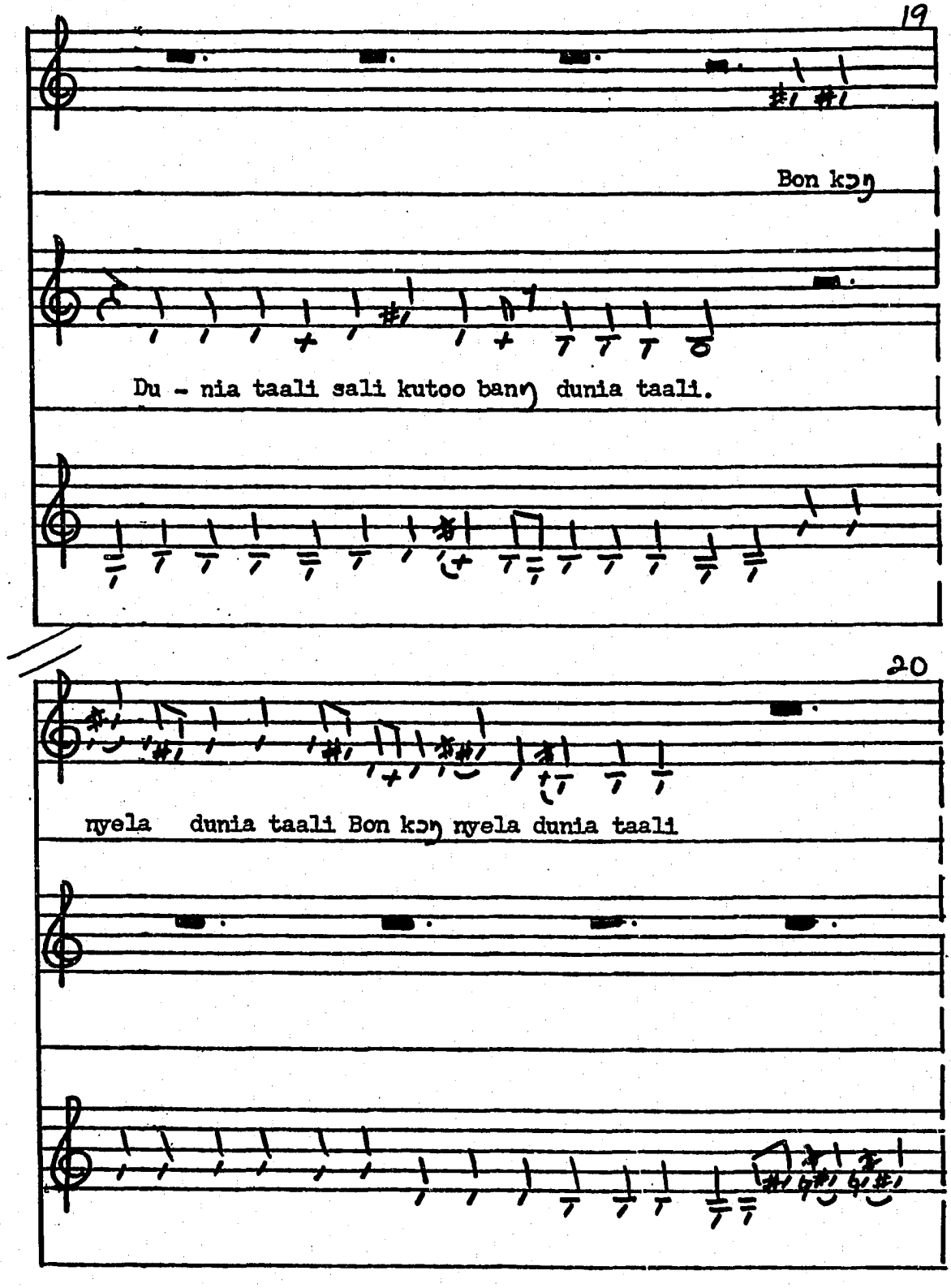


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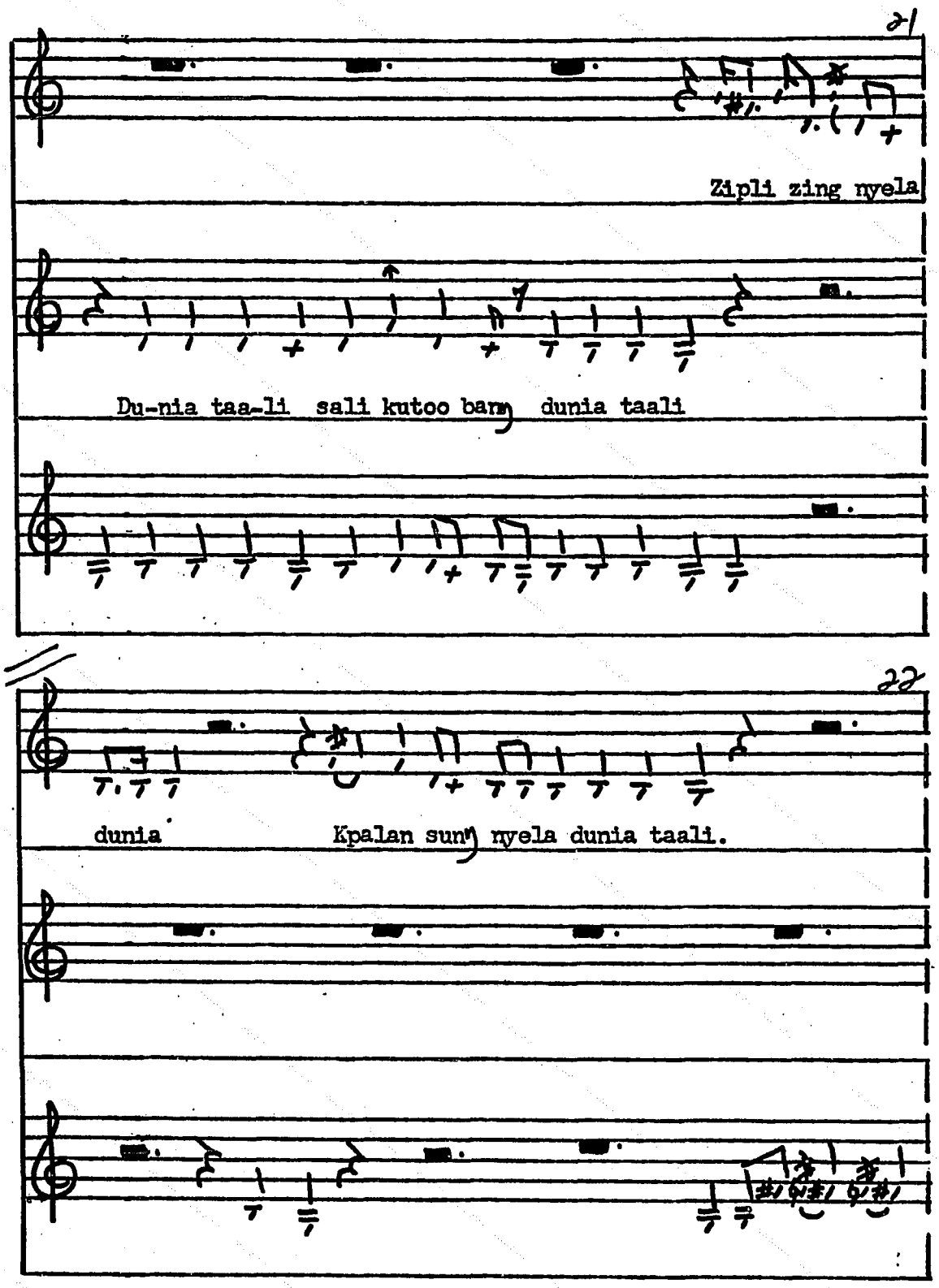
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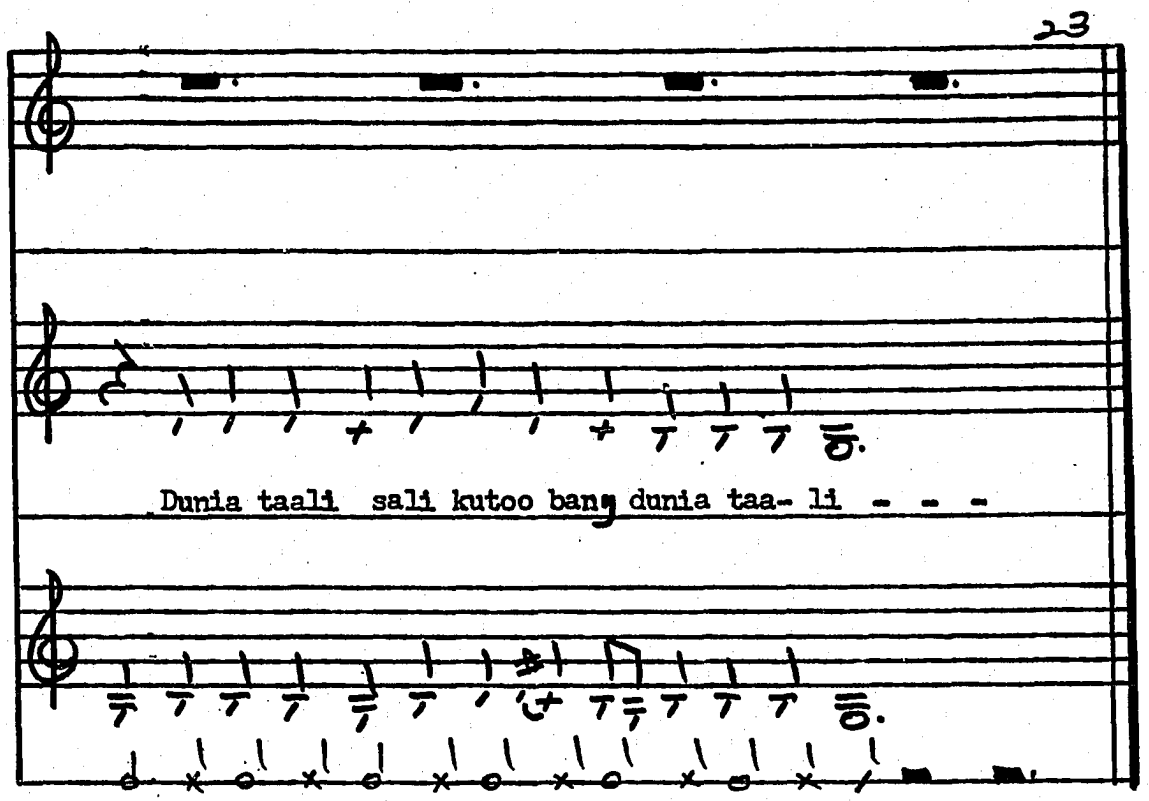
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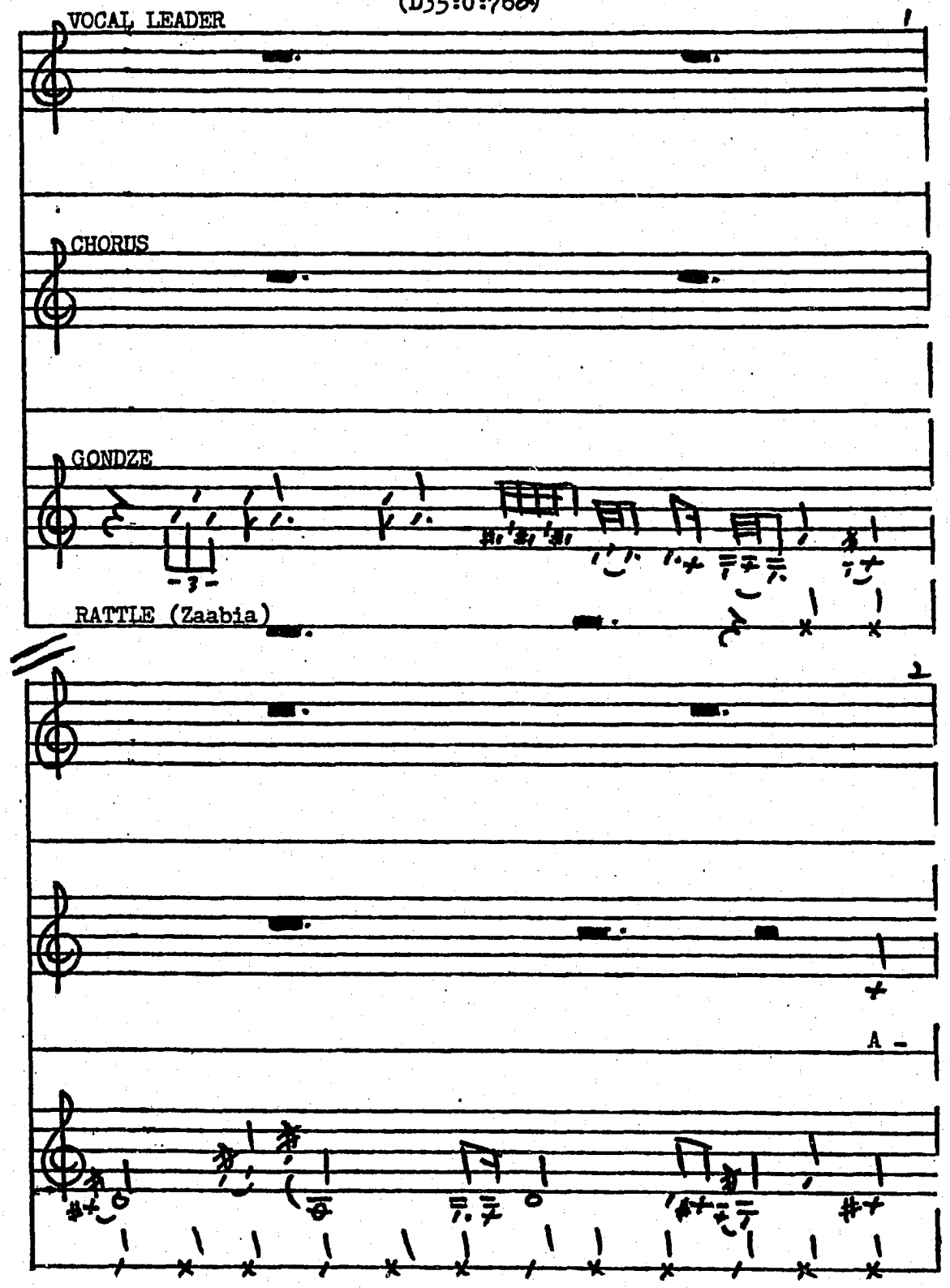


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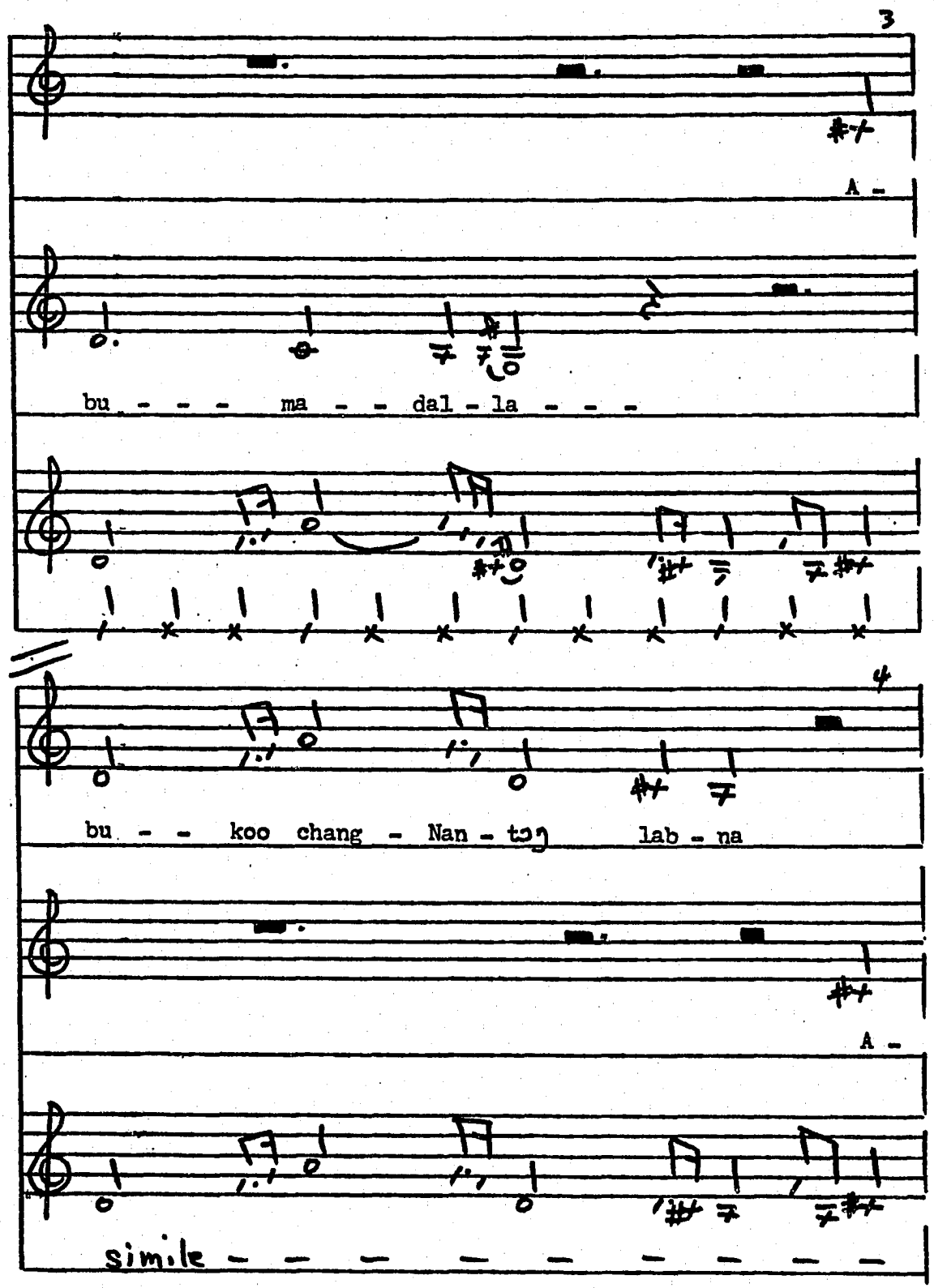


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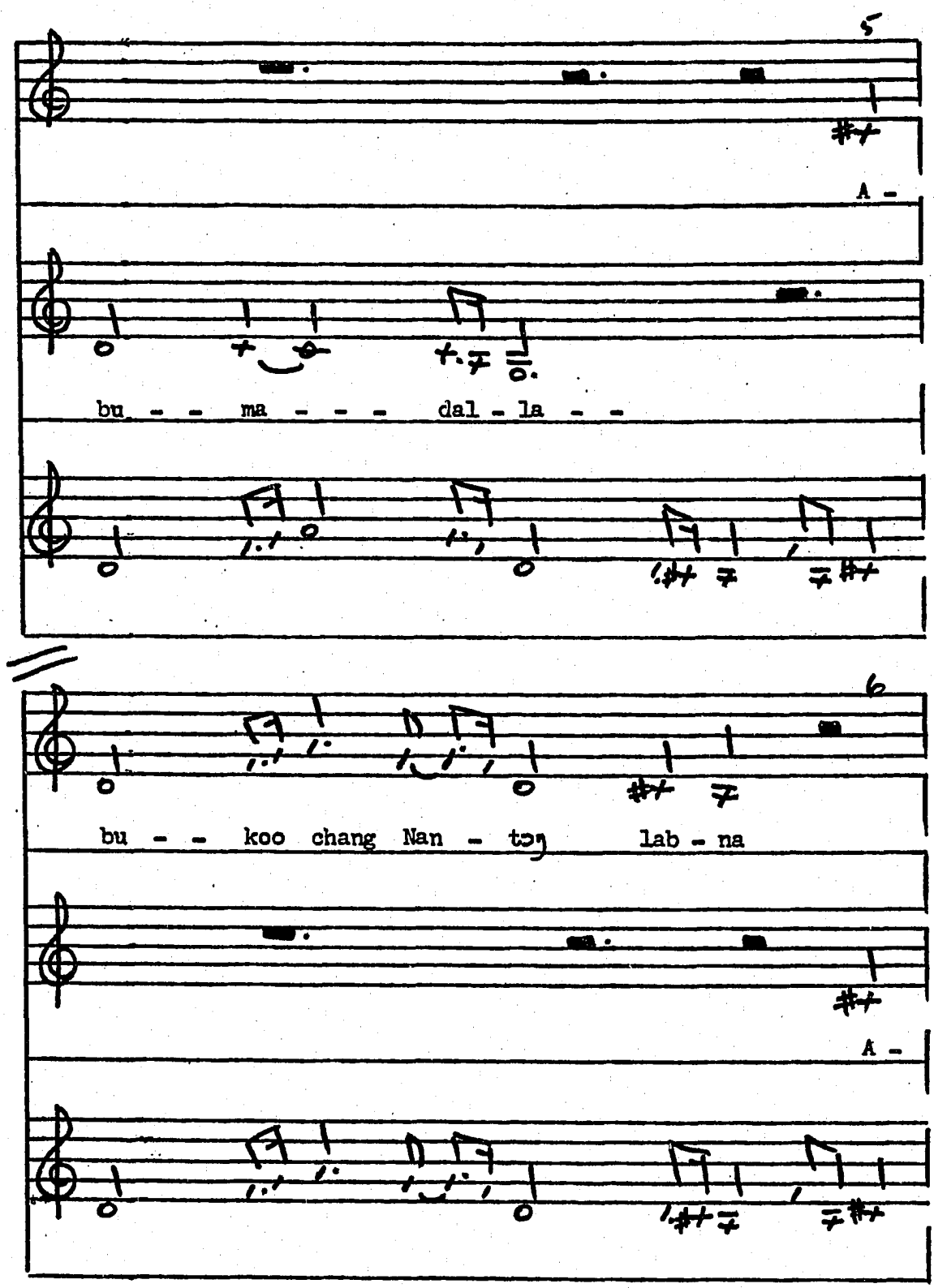
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by Salisu Mahama
(D35:0:76d)



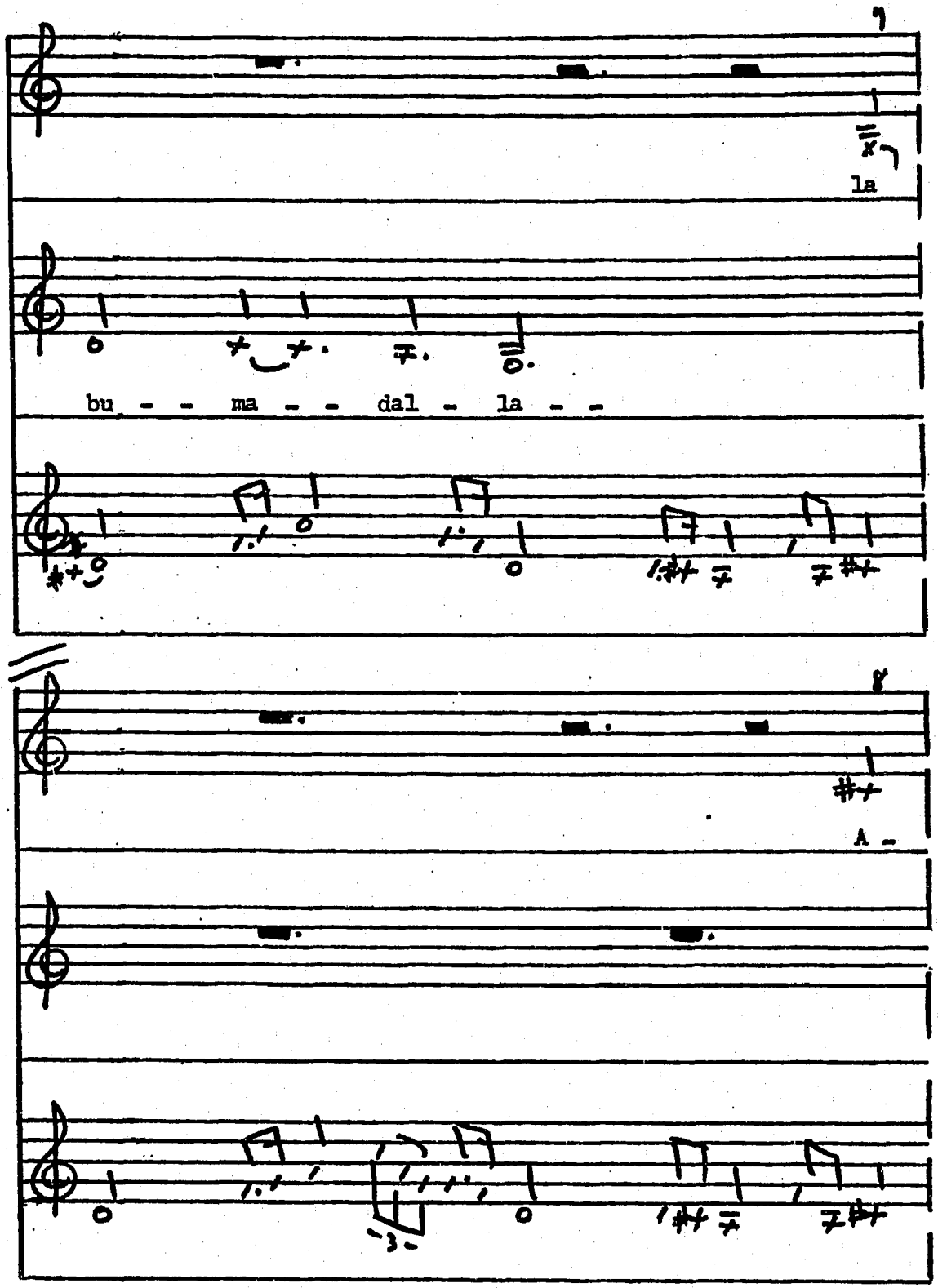
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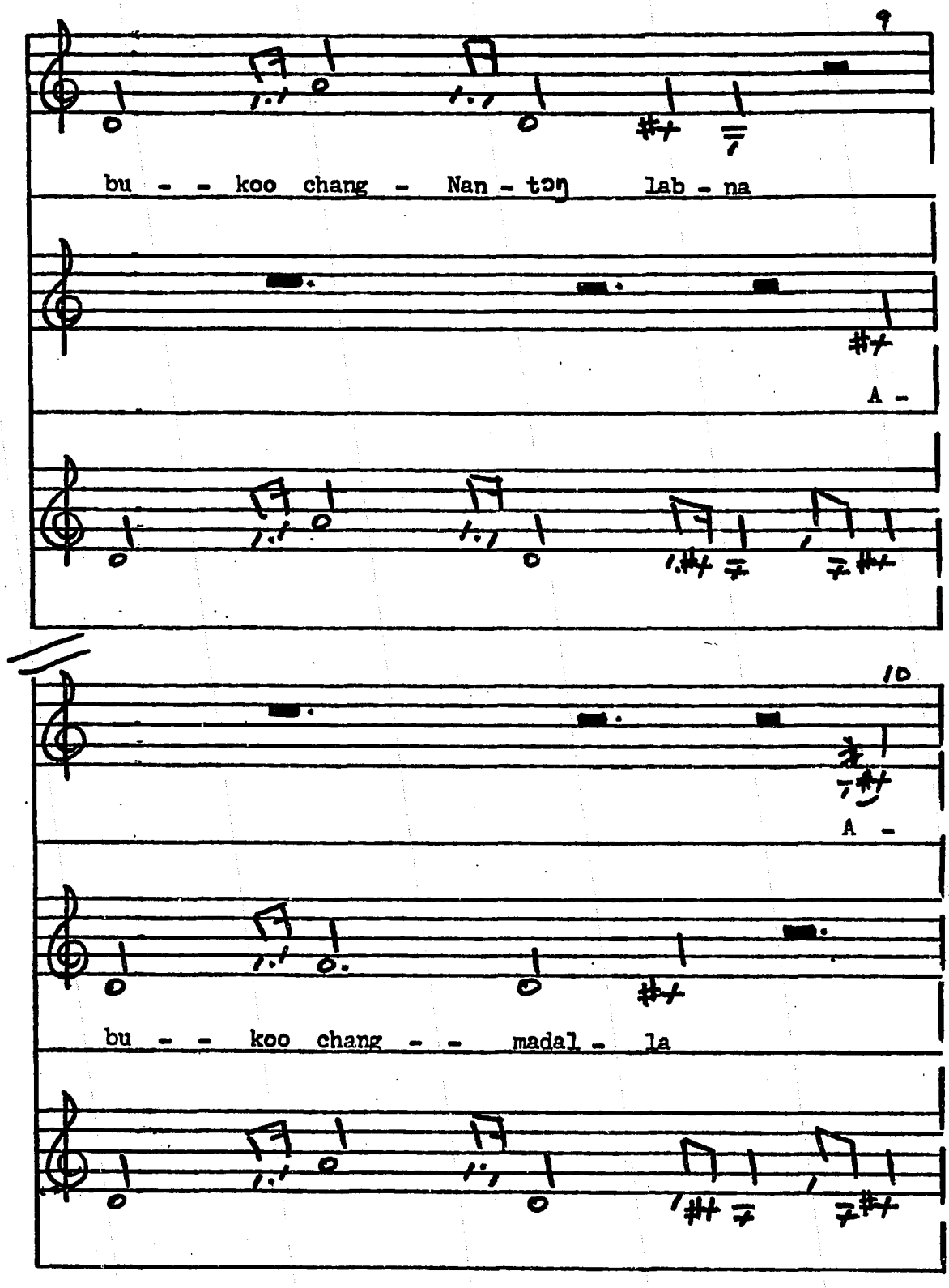
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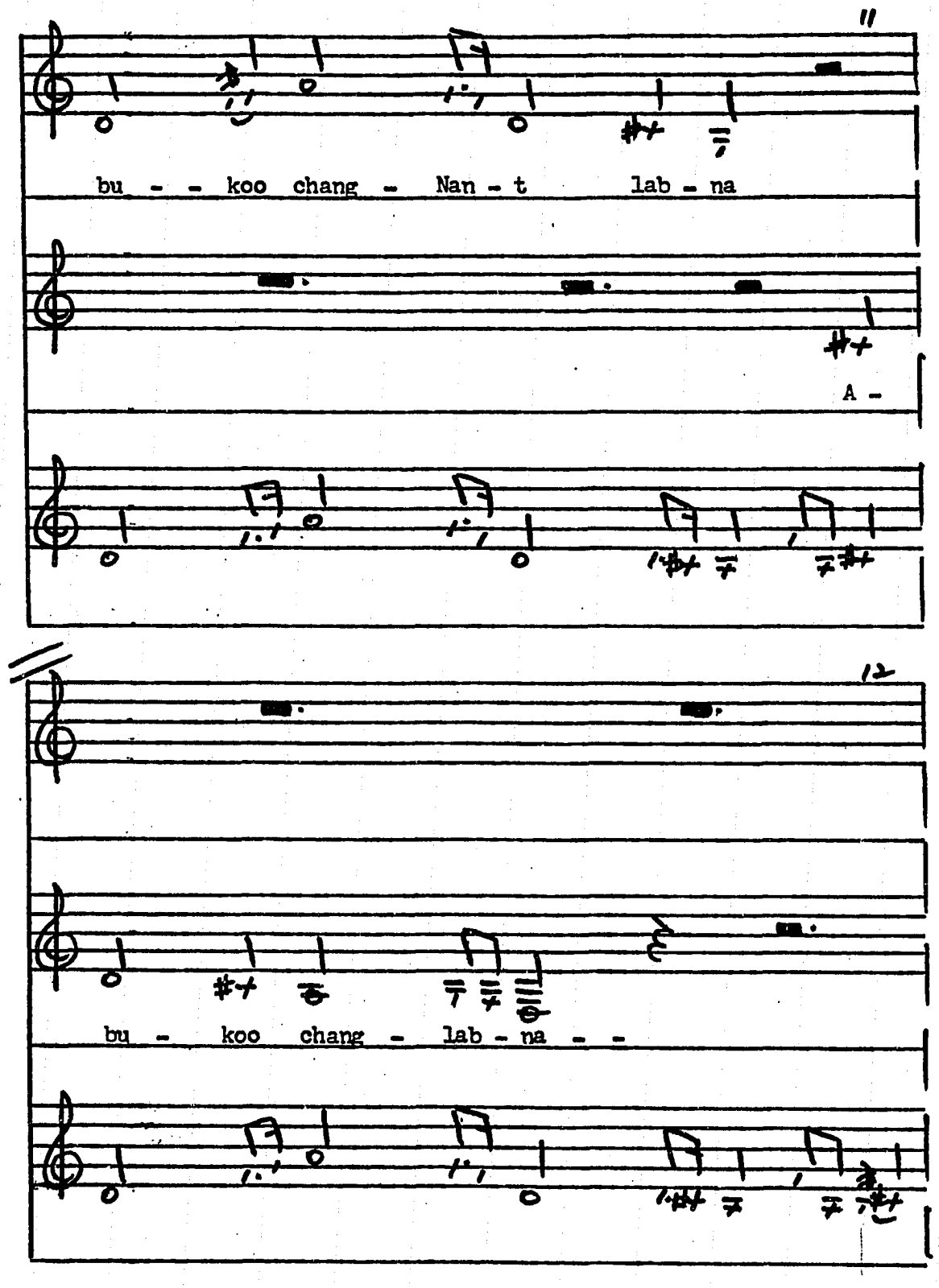
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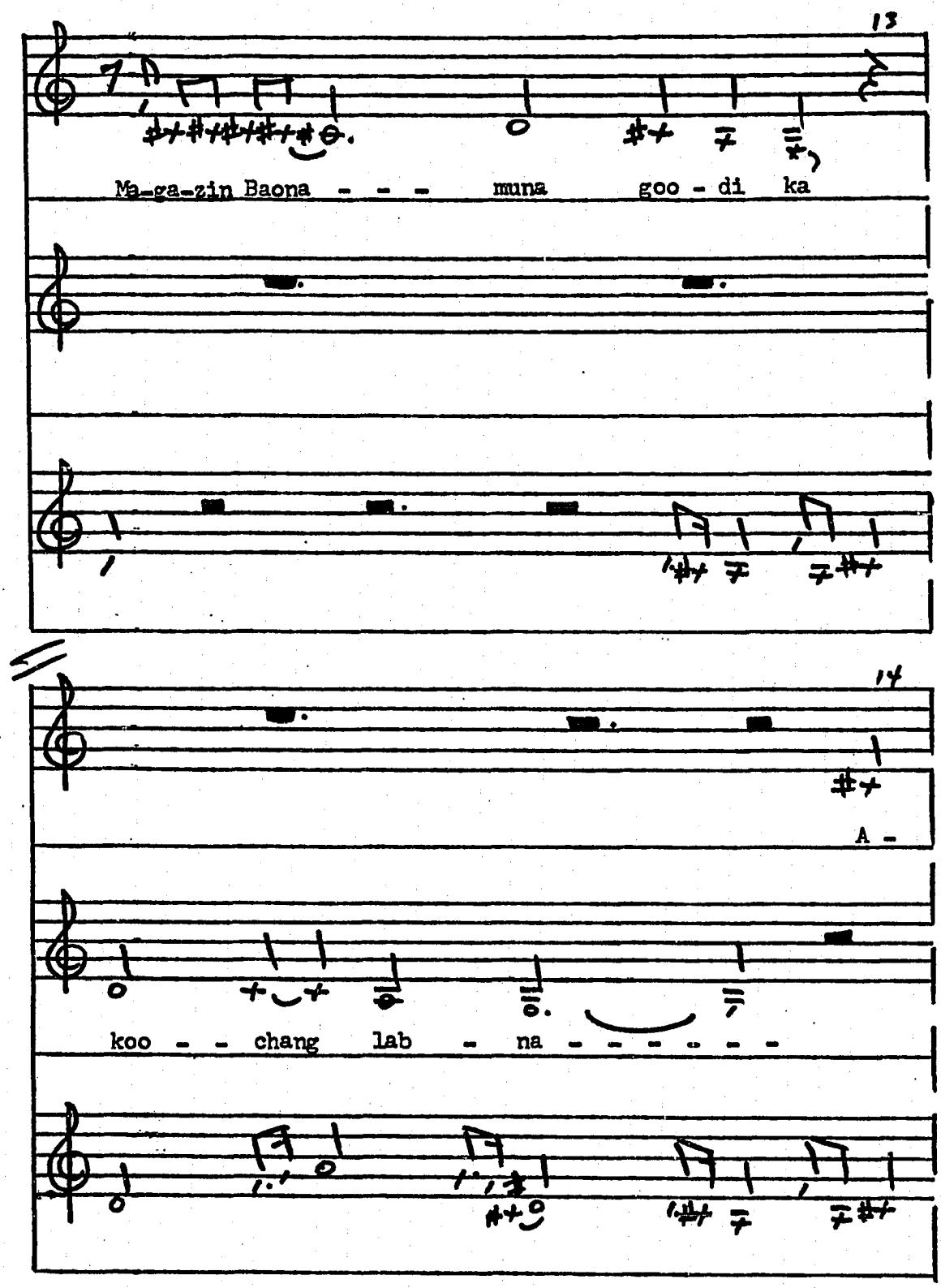
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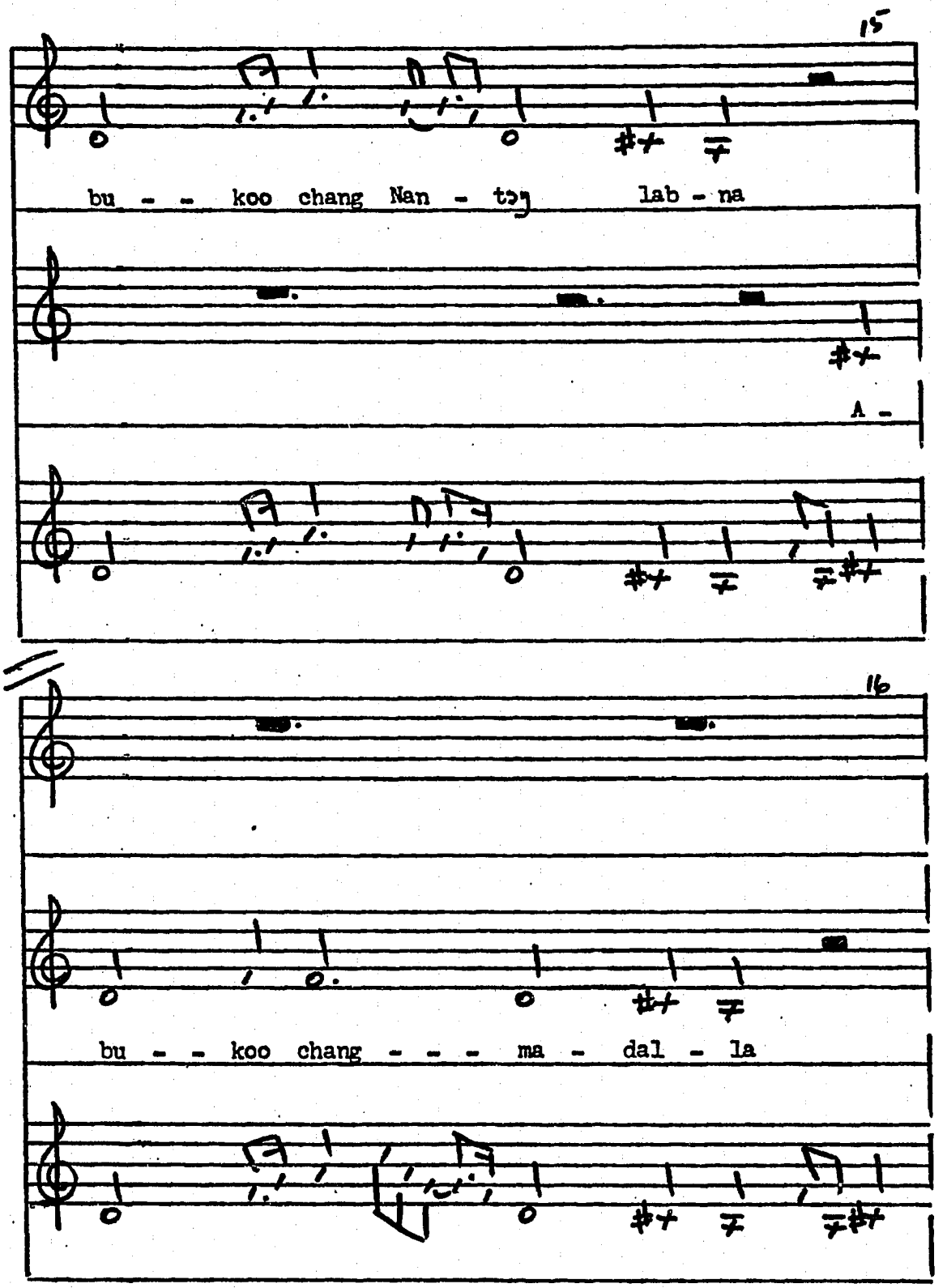
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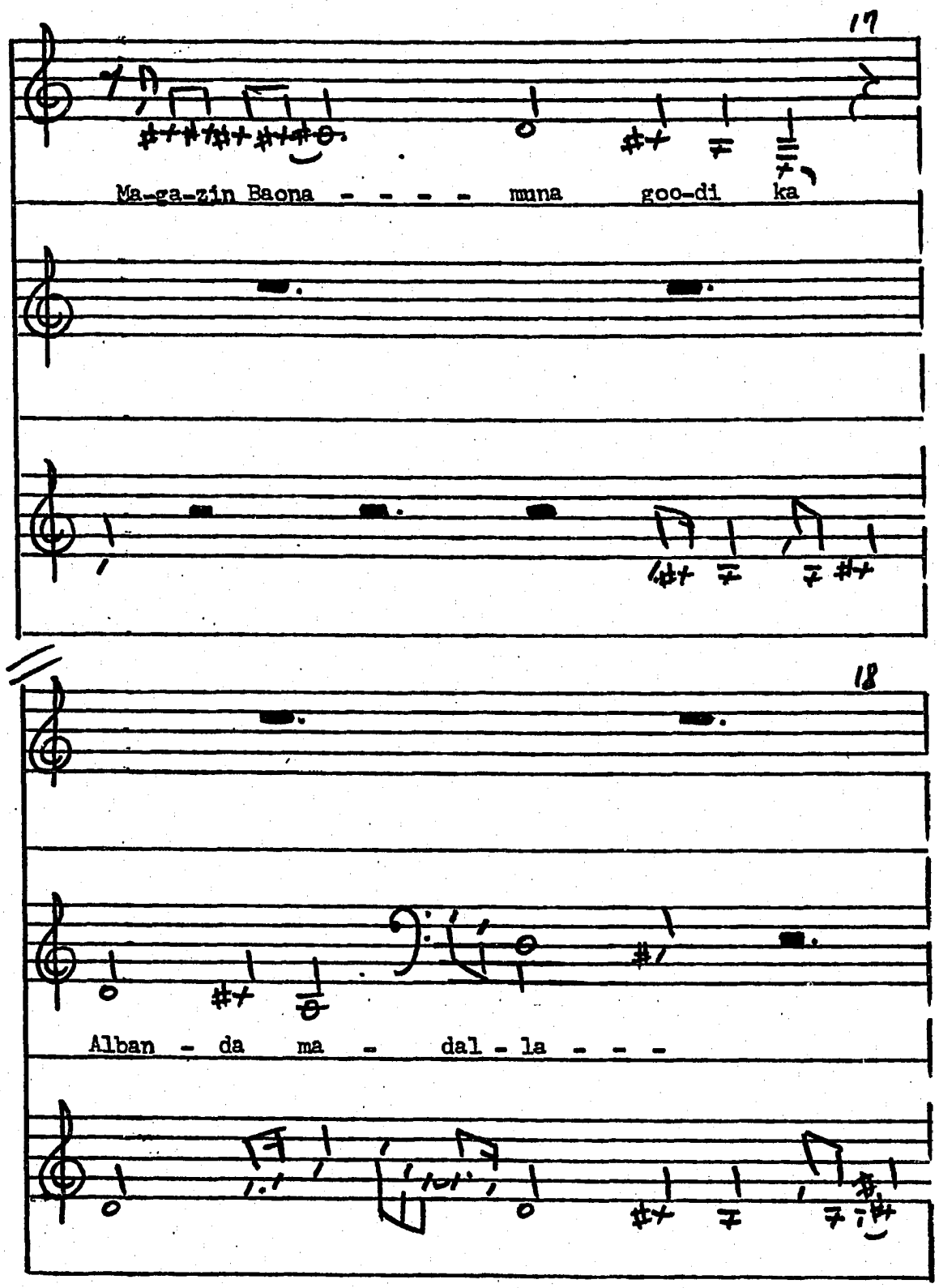
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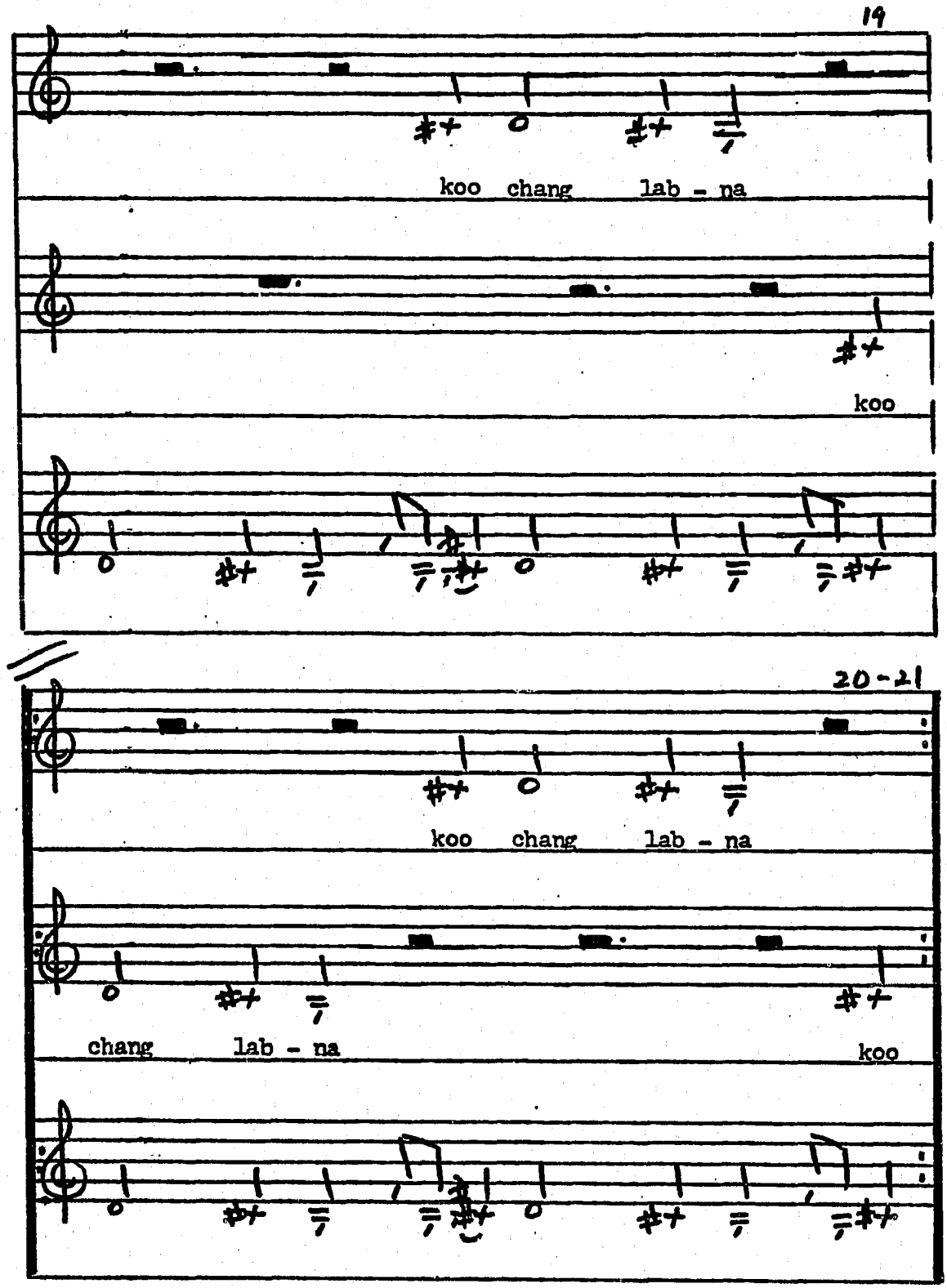
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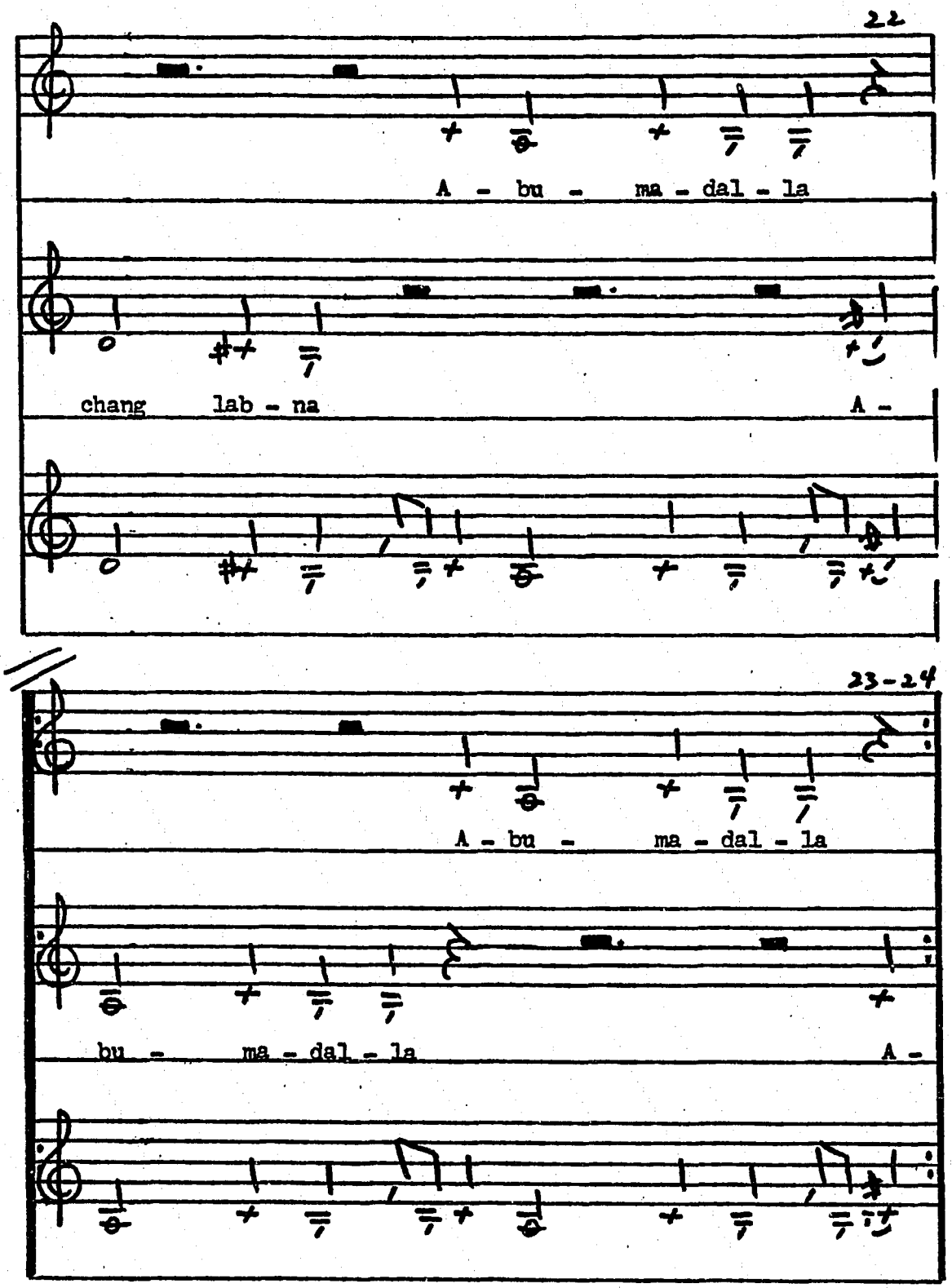
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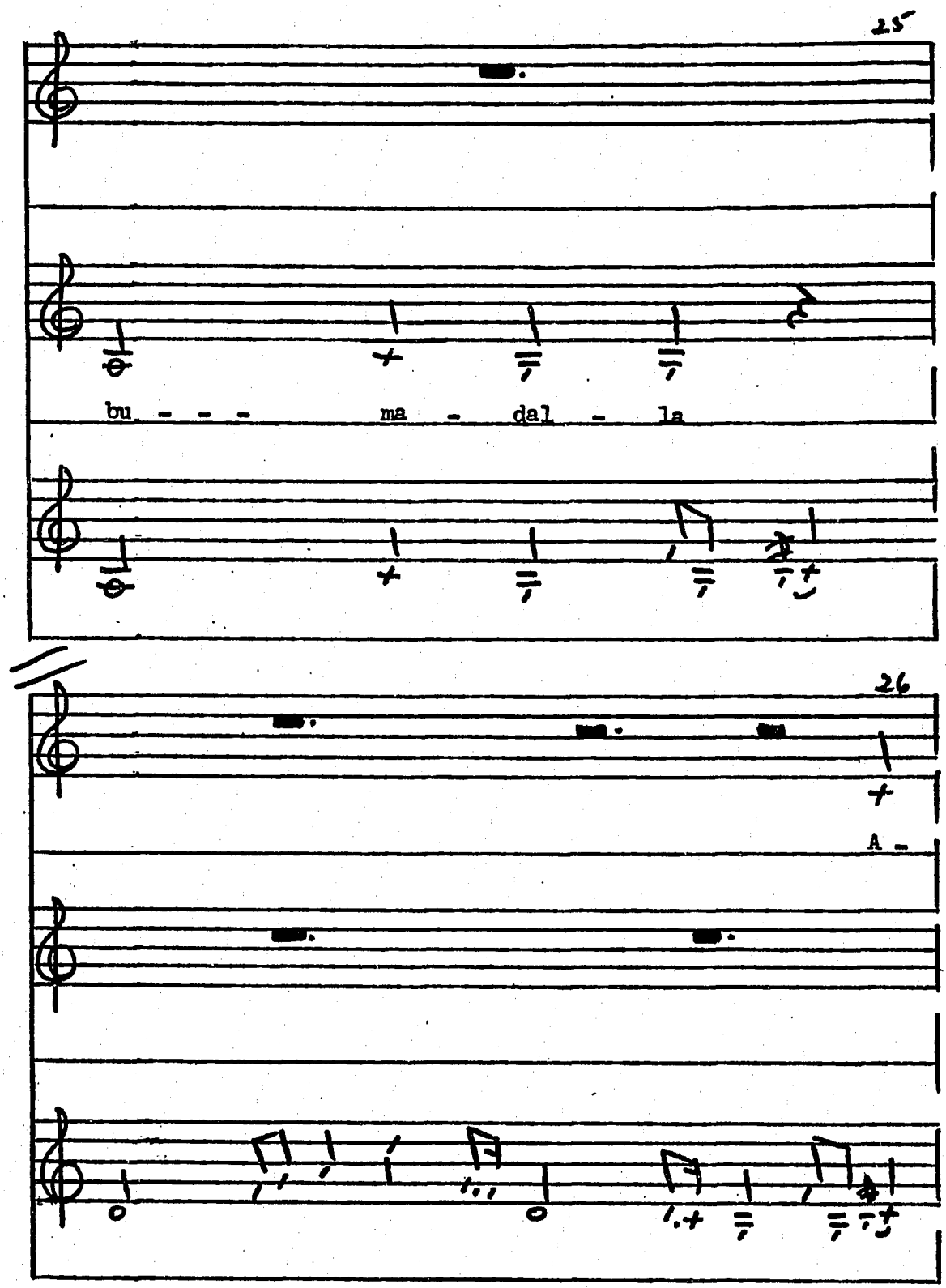
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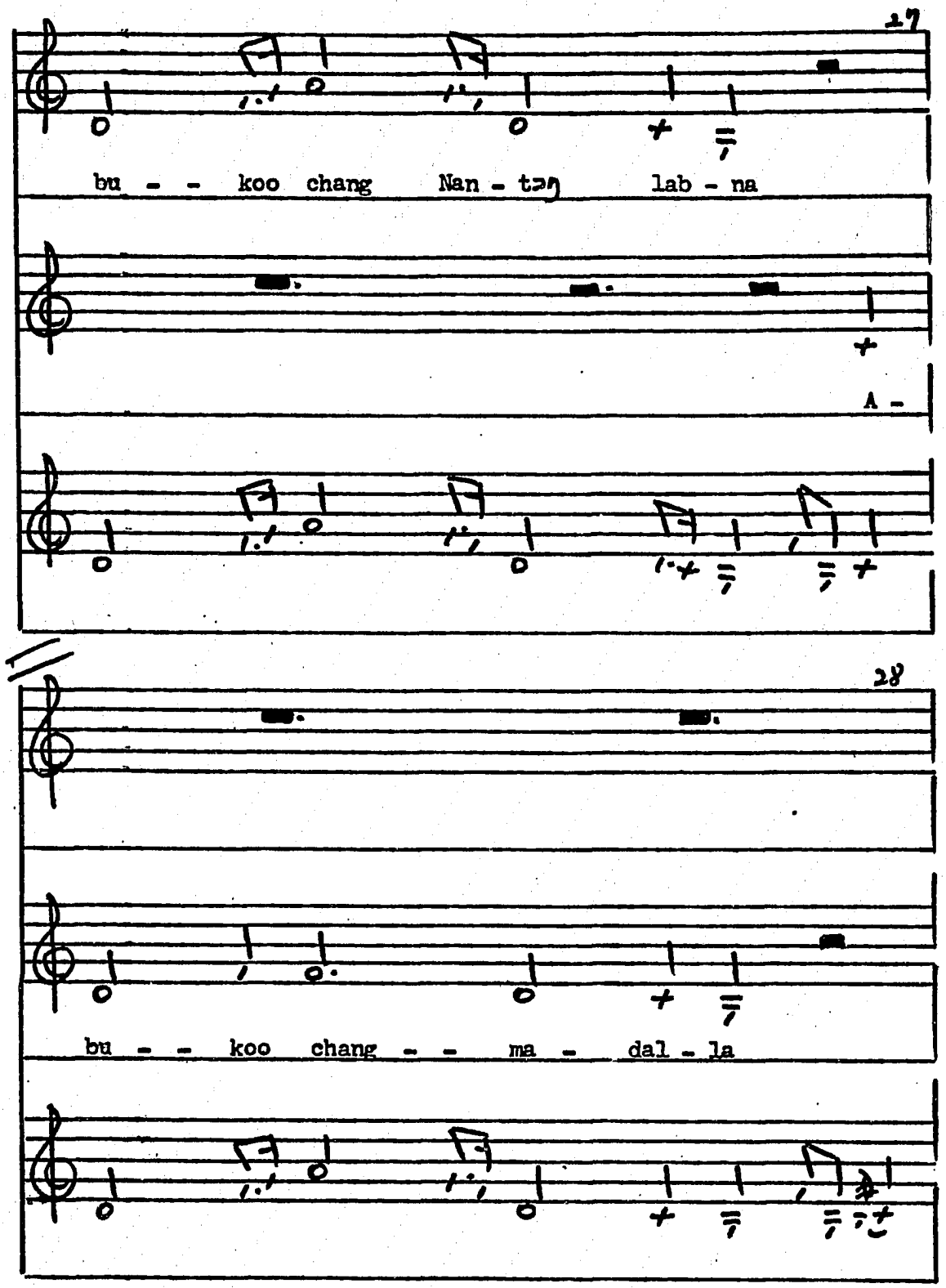
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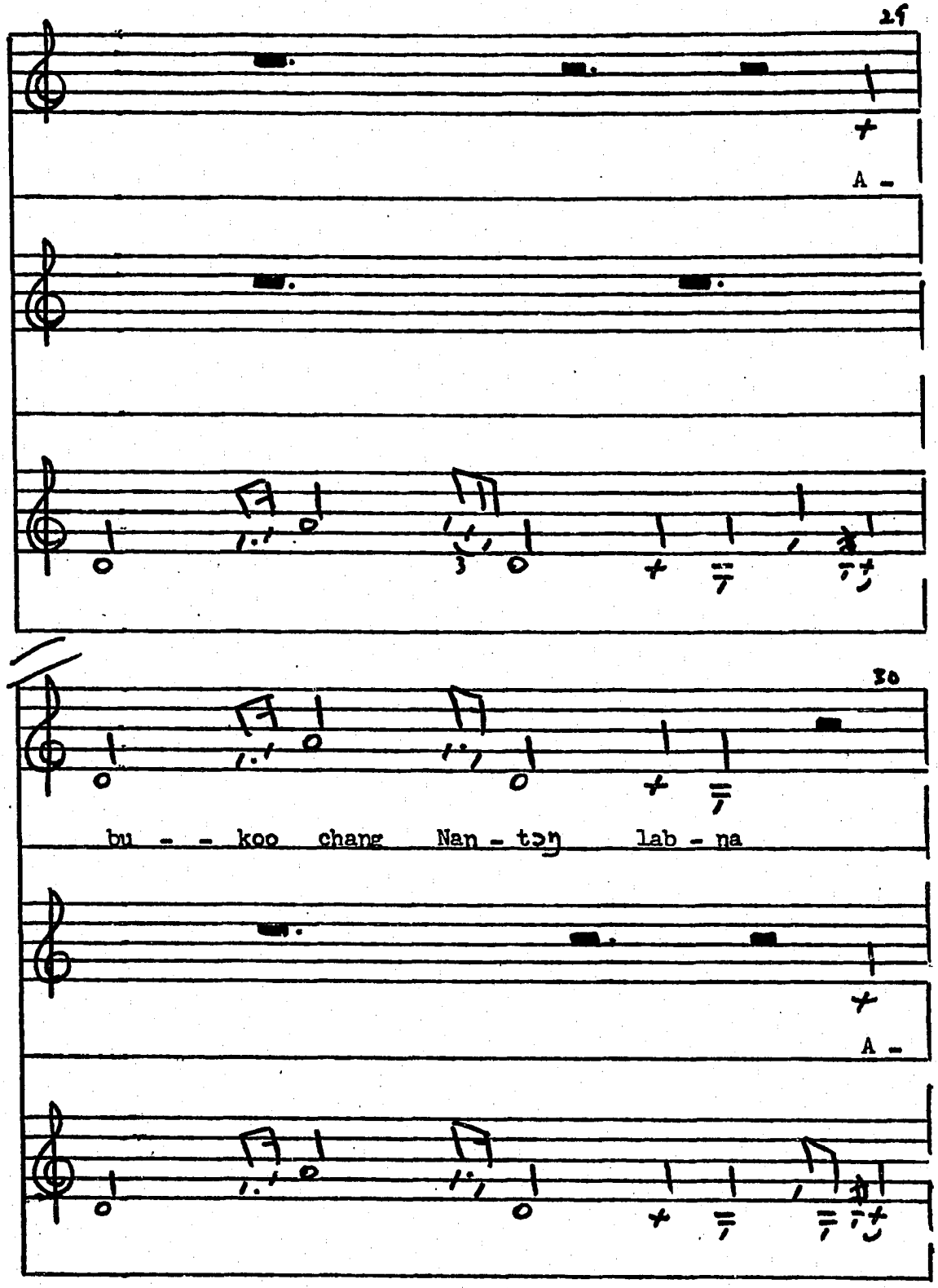
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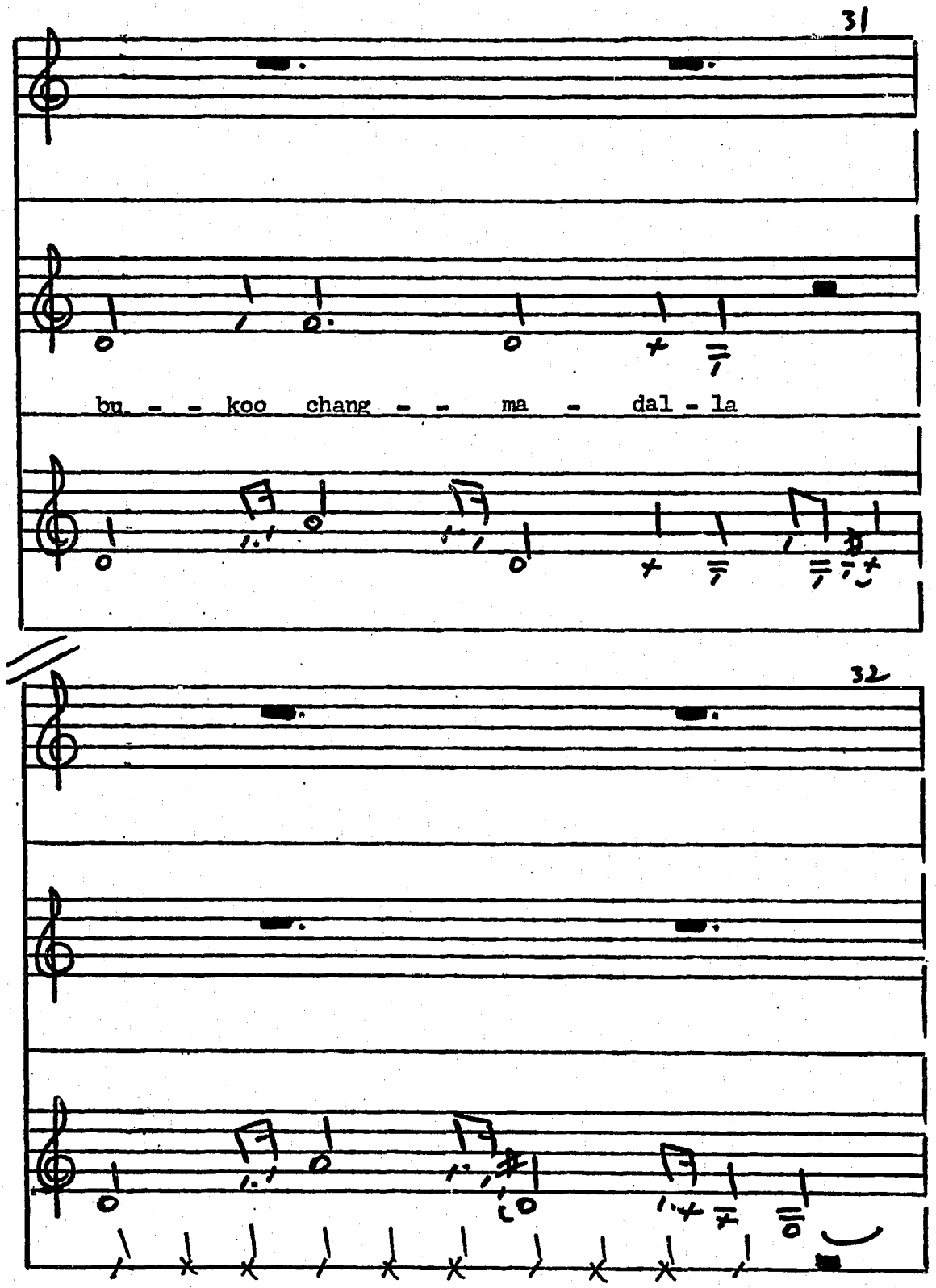
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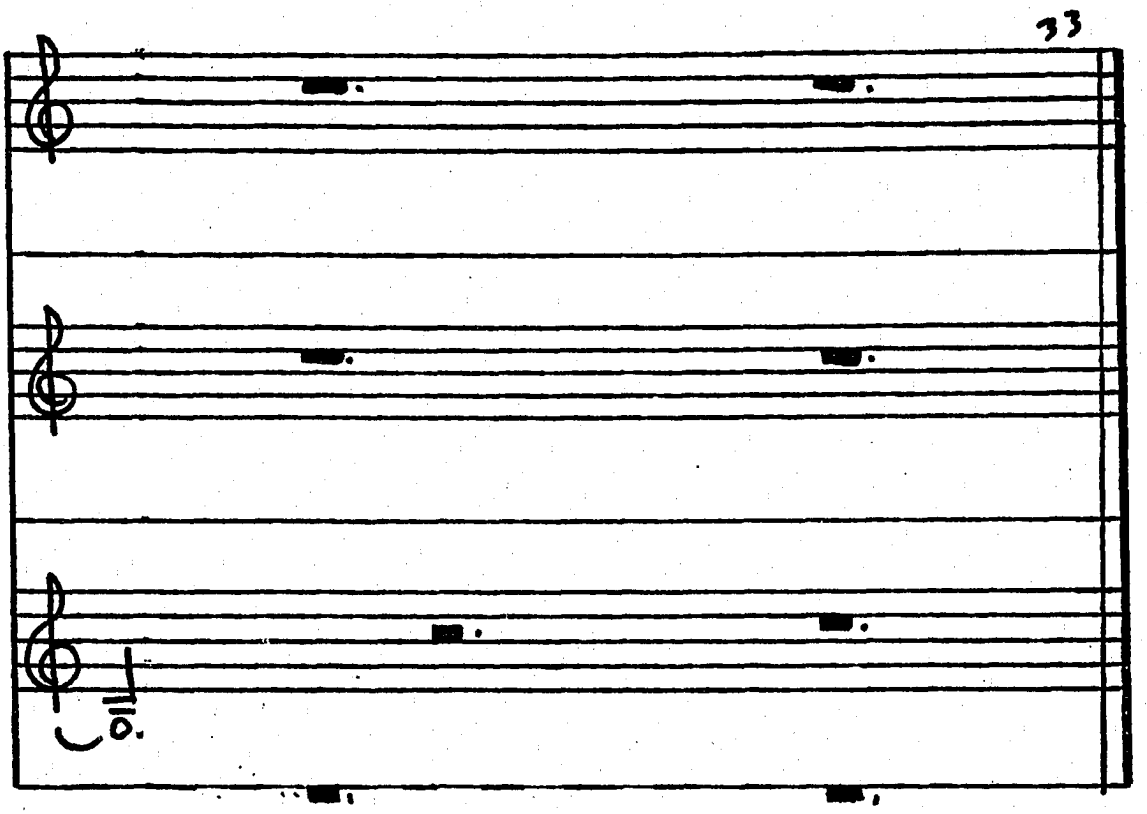
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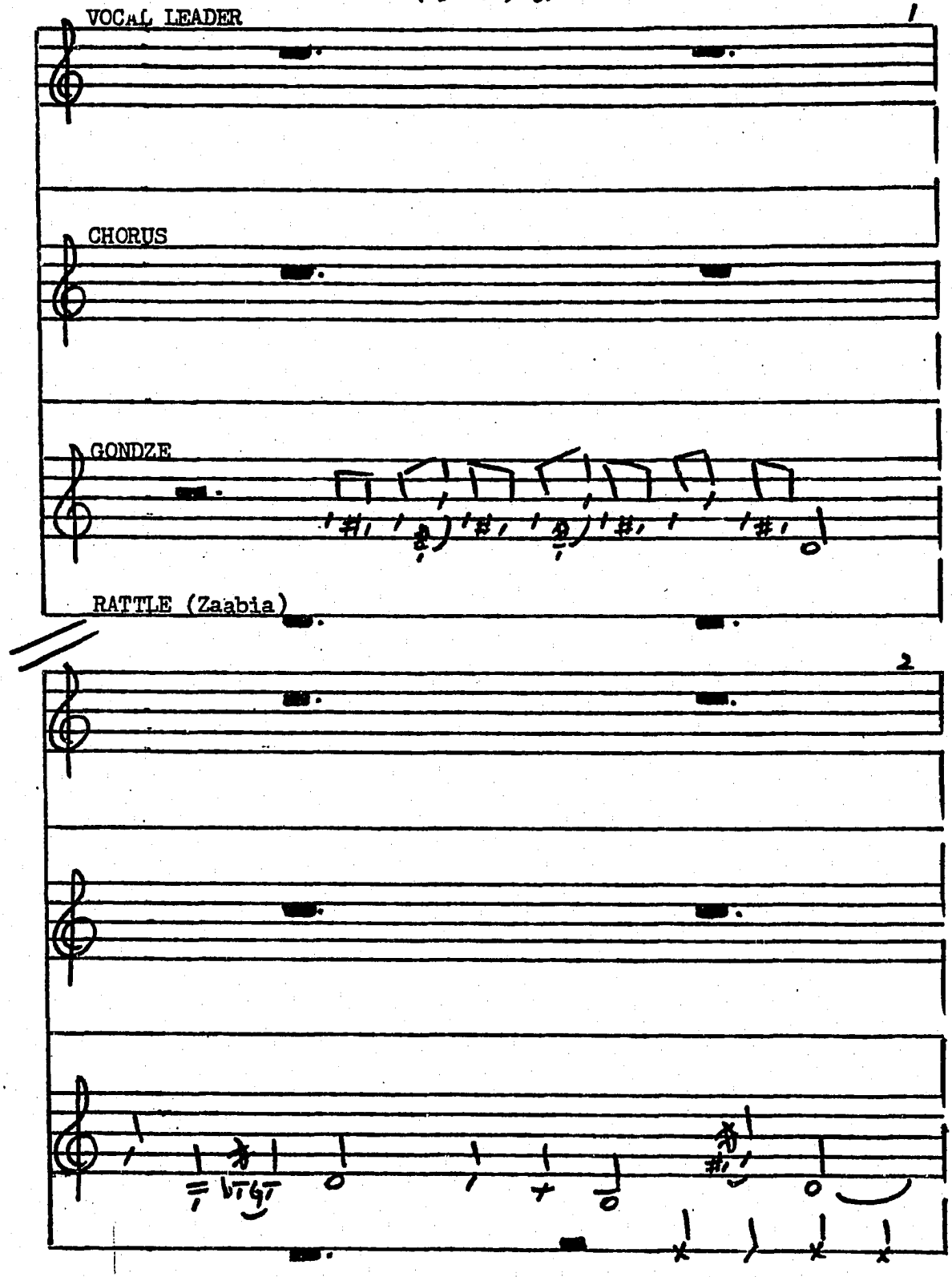


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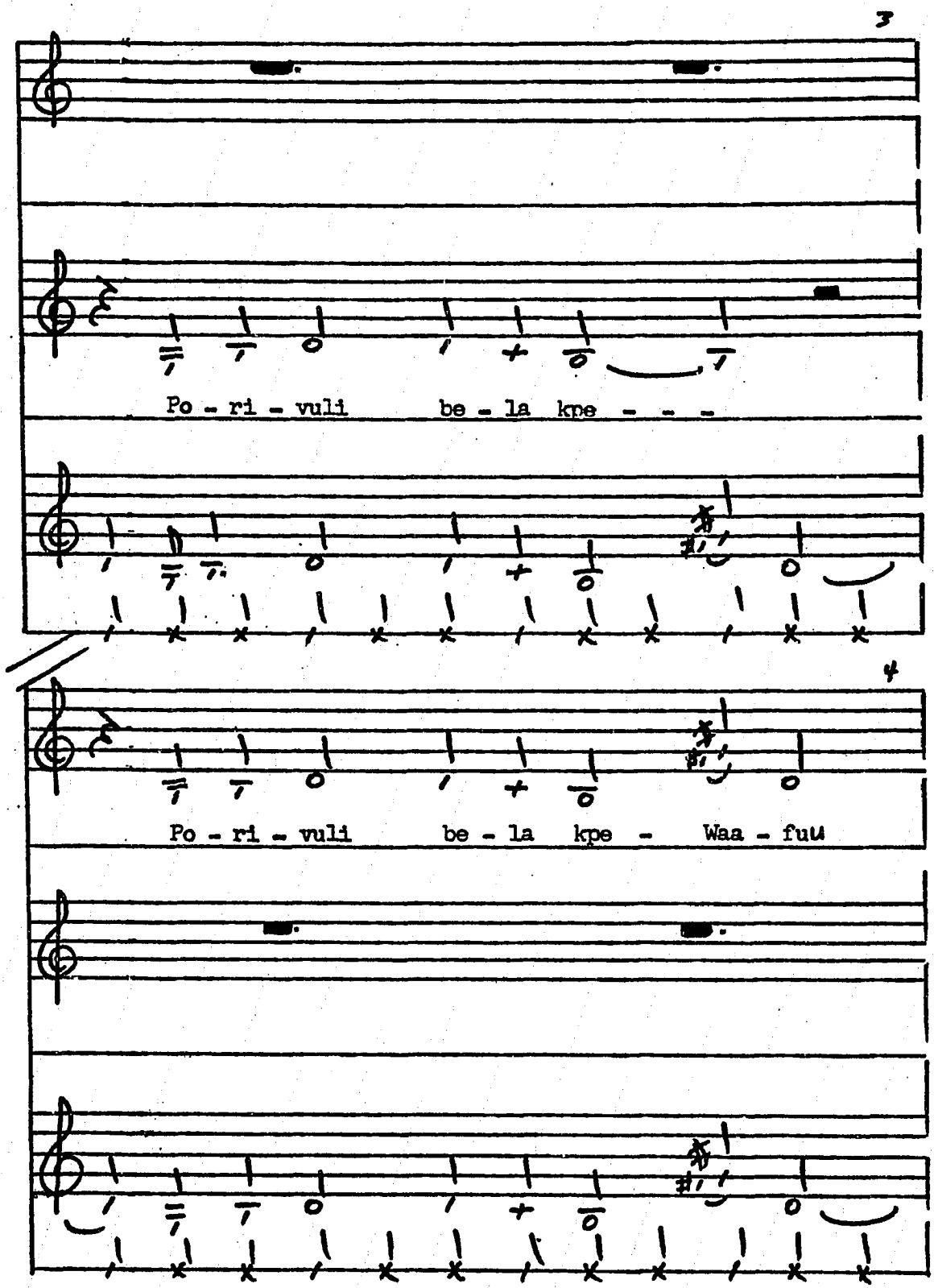


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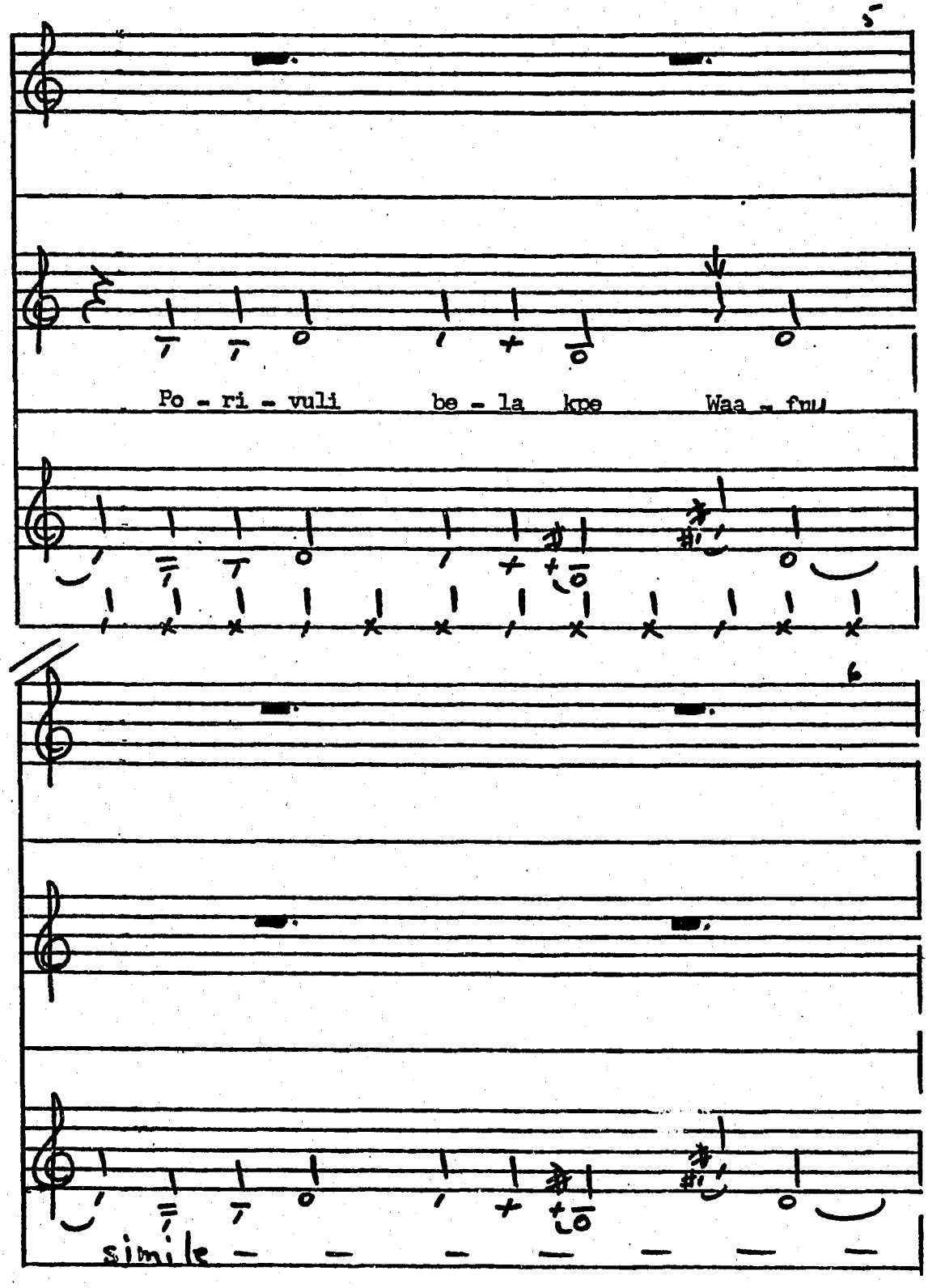
PORIVULI BELA KPE (WAAFUU)
by Salisu Mahama
(D36:0:92♭)



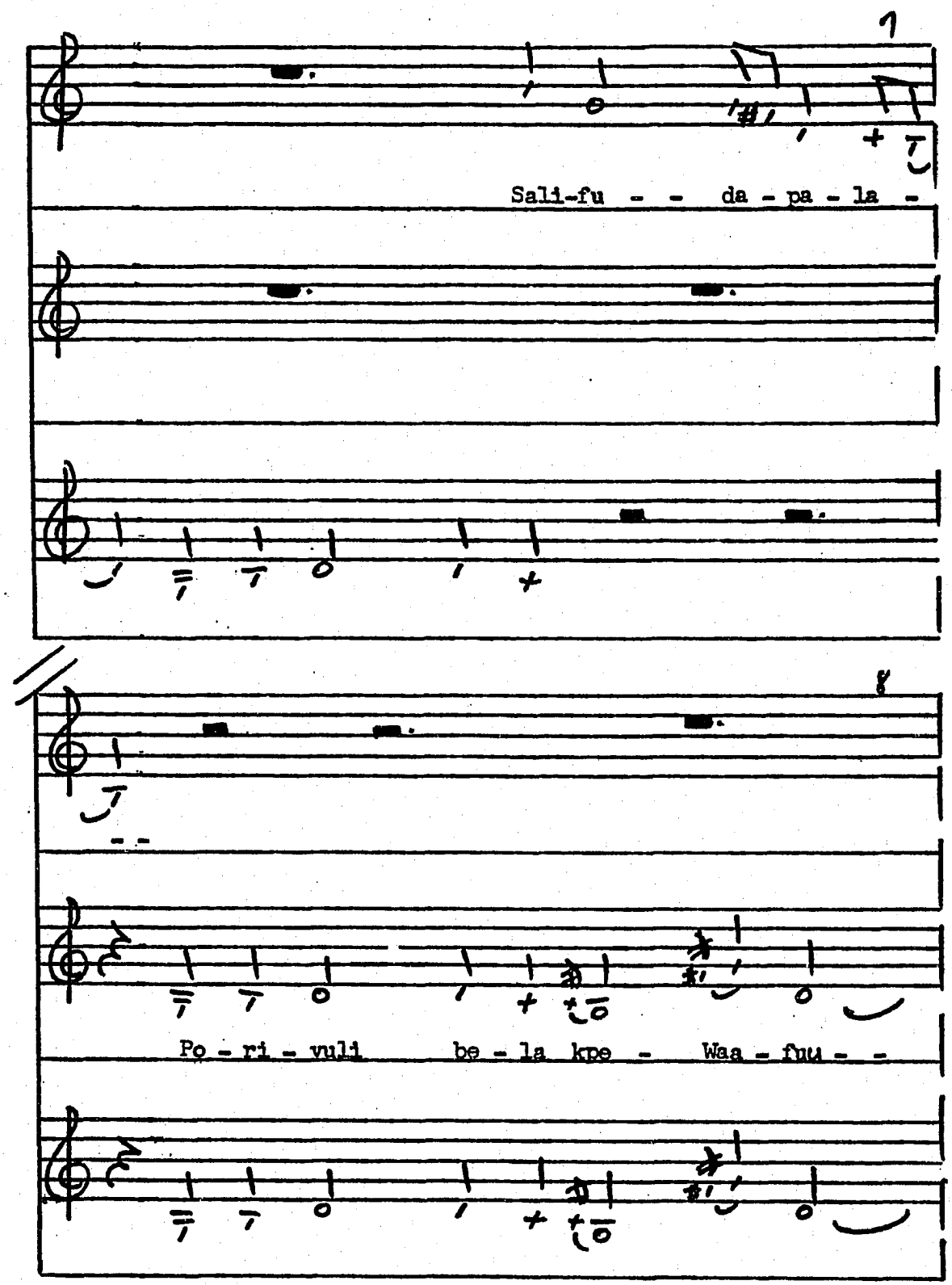
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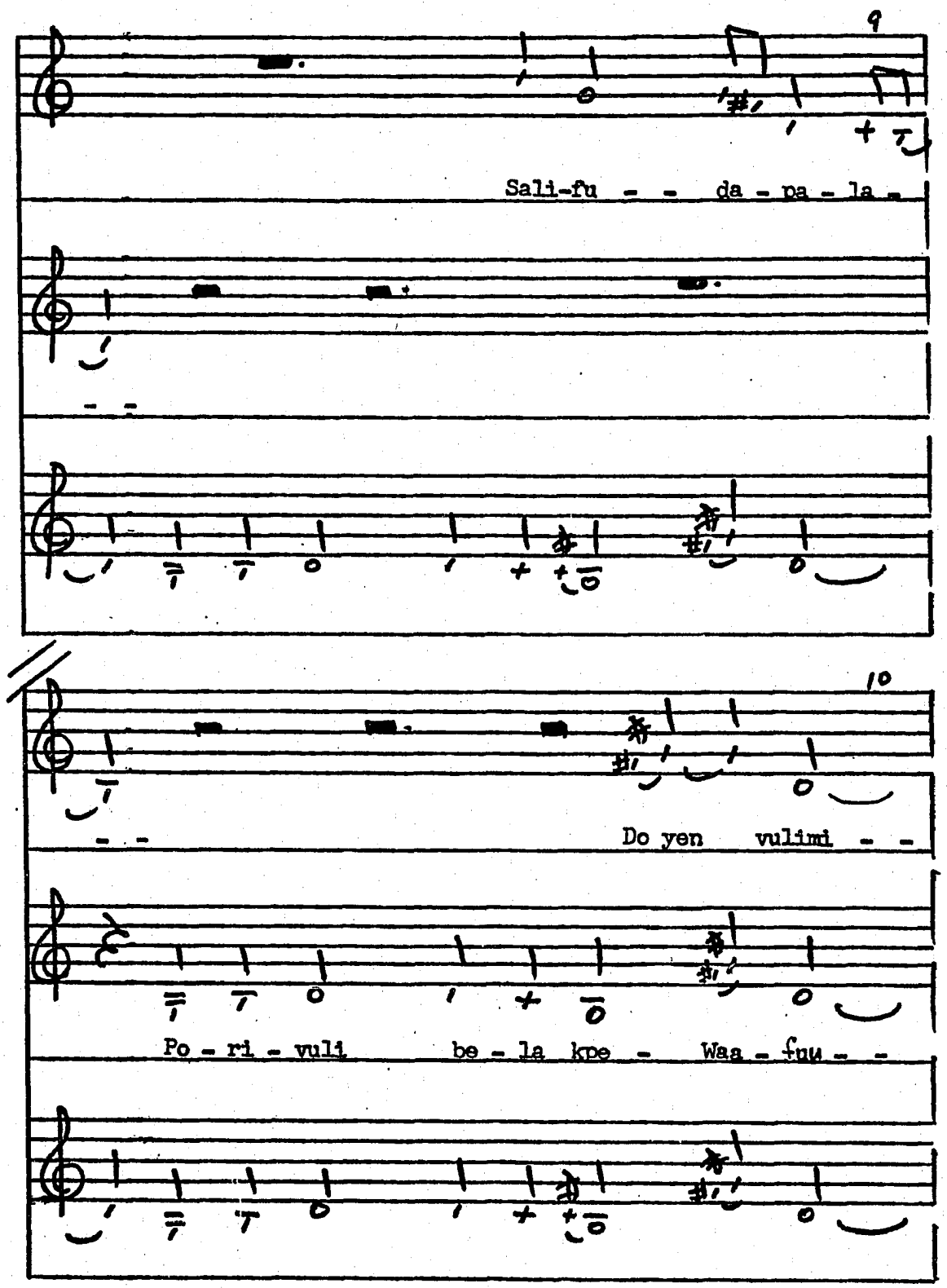
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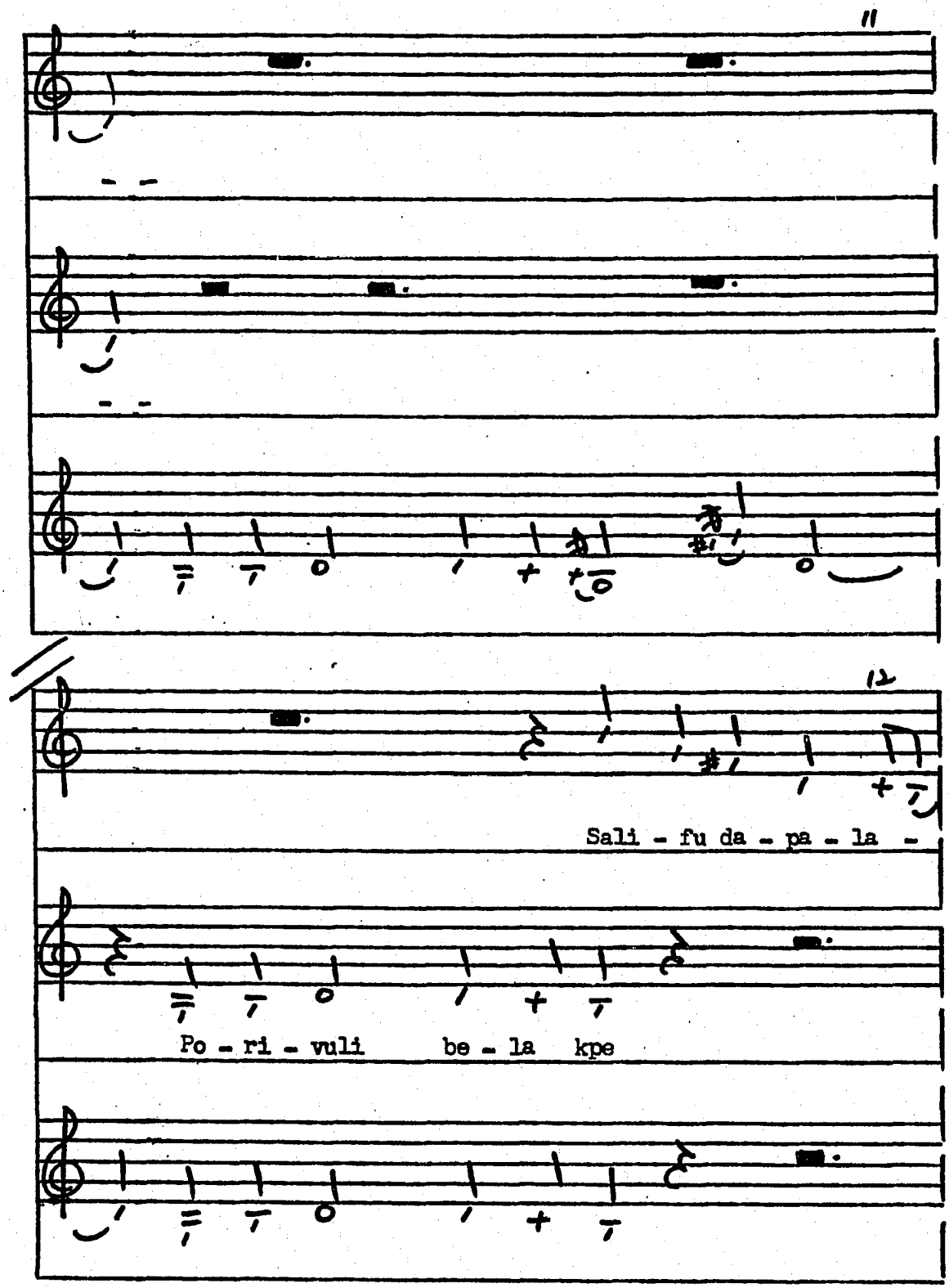
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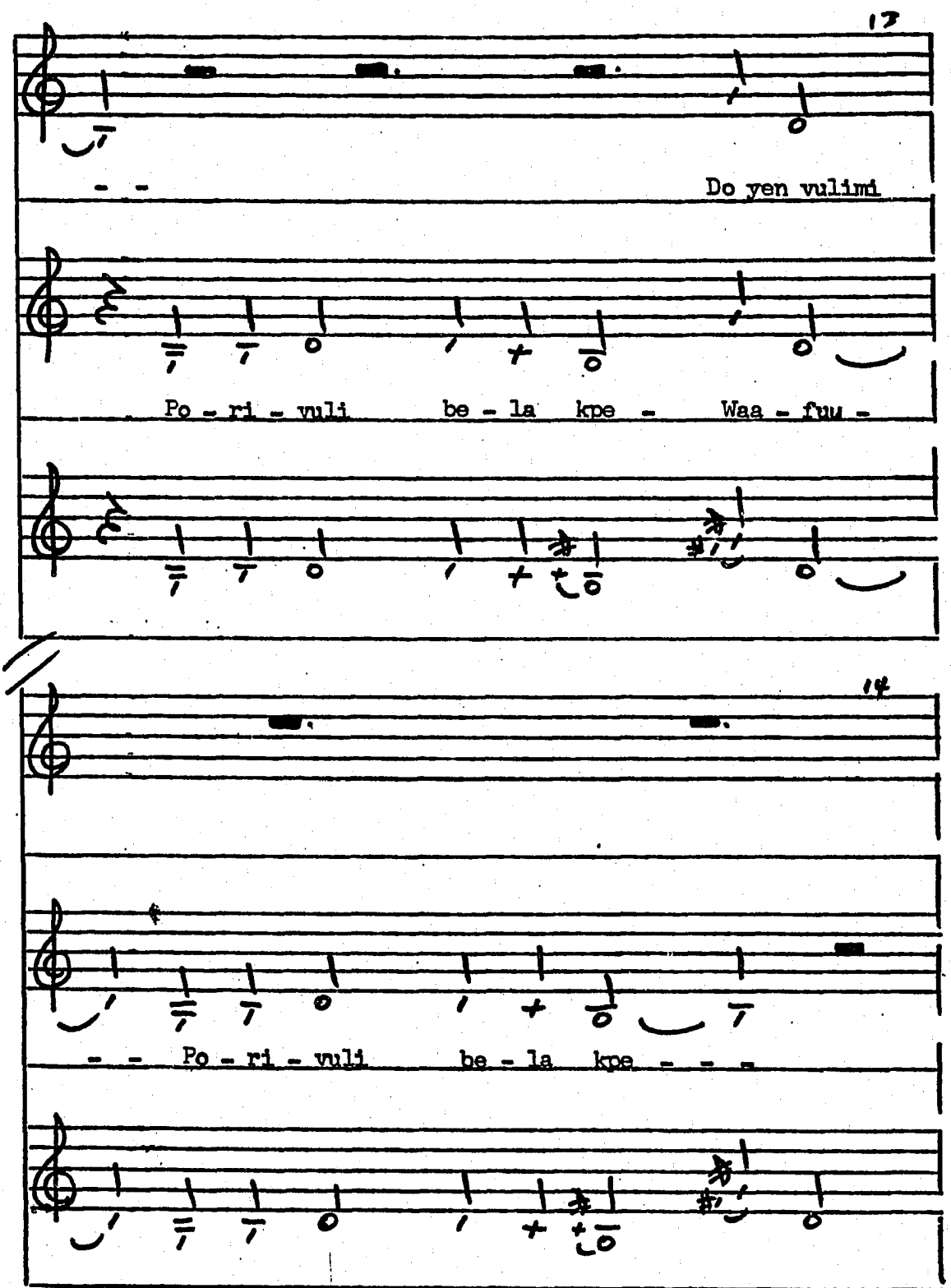
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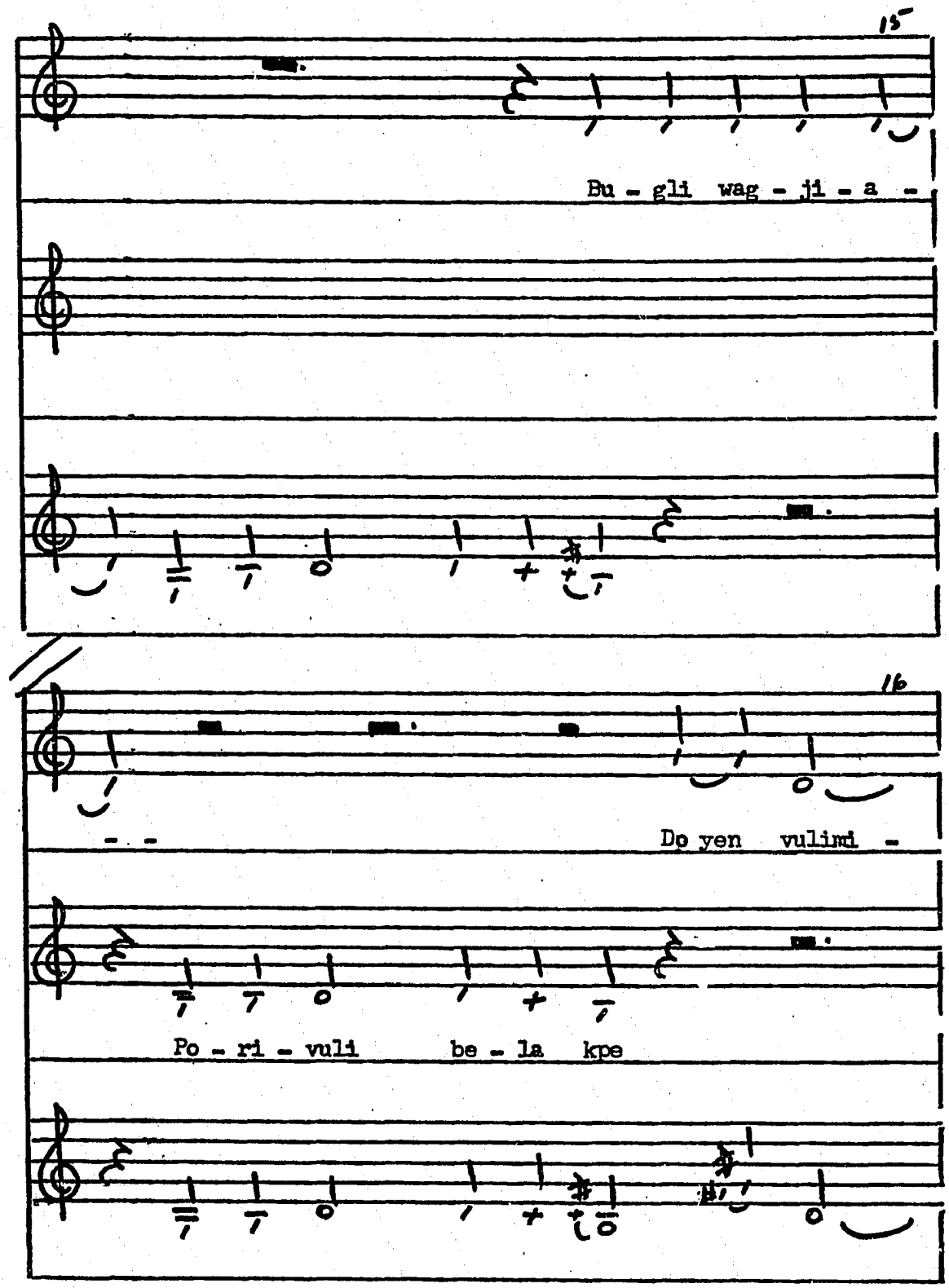
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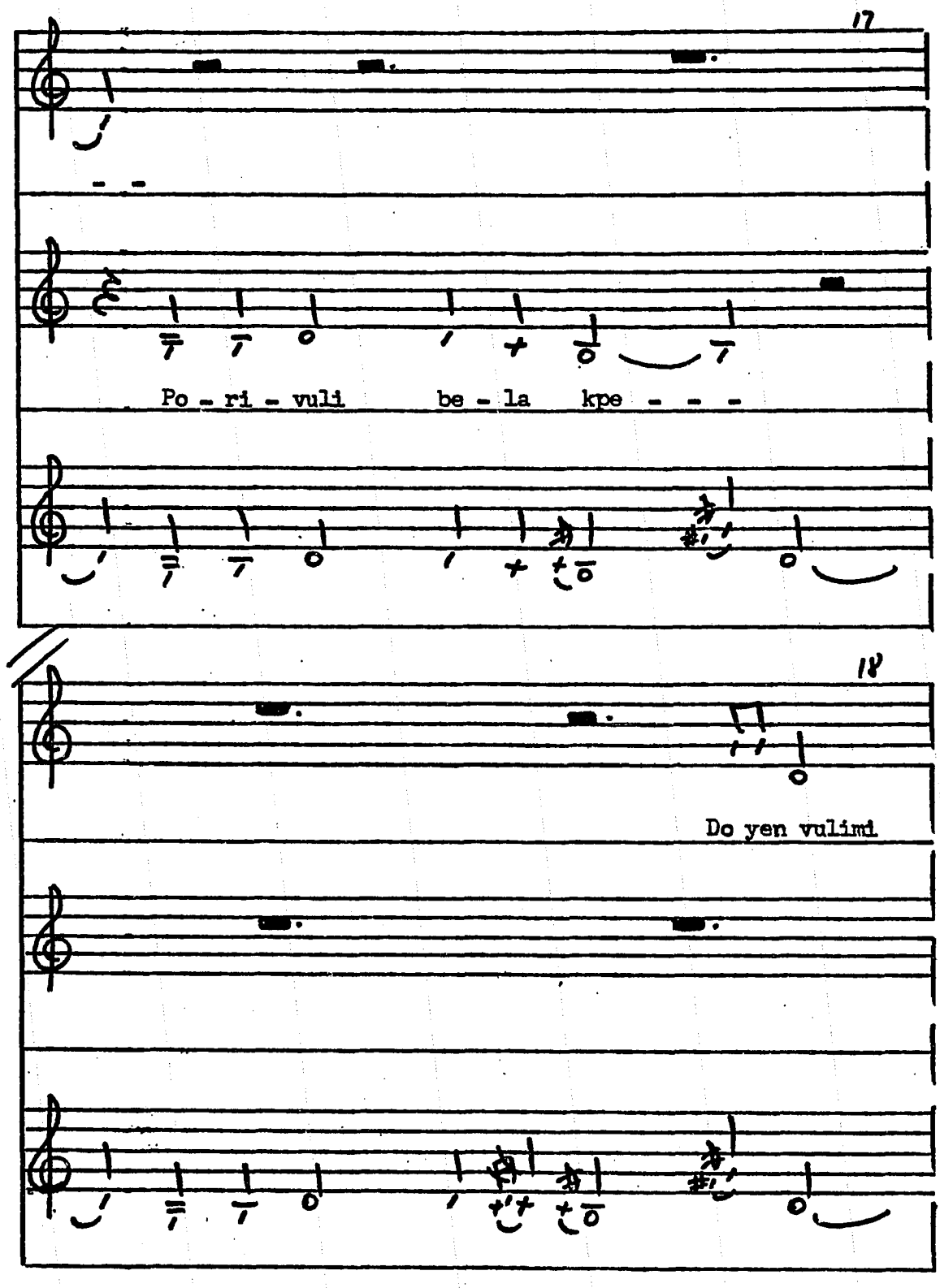


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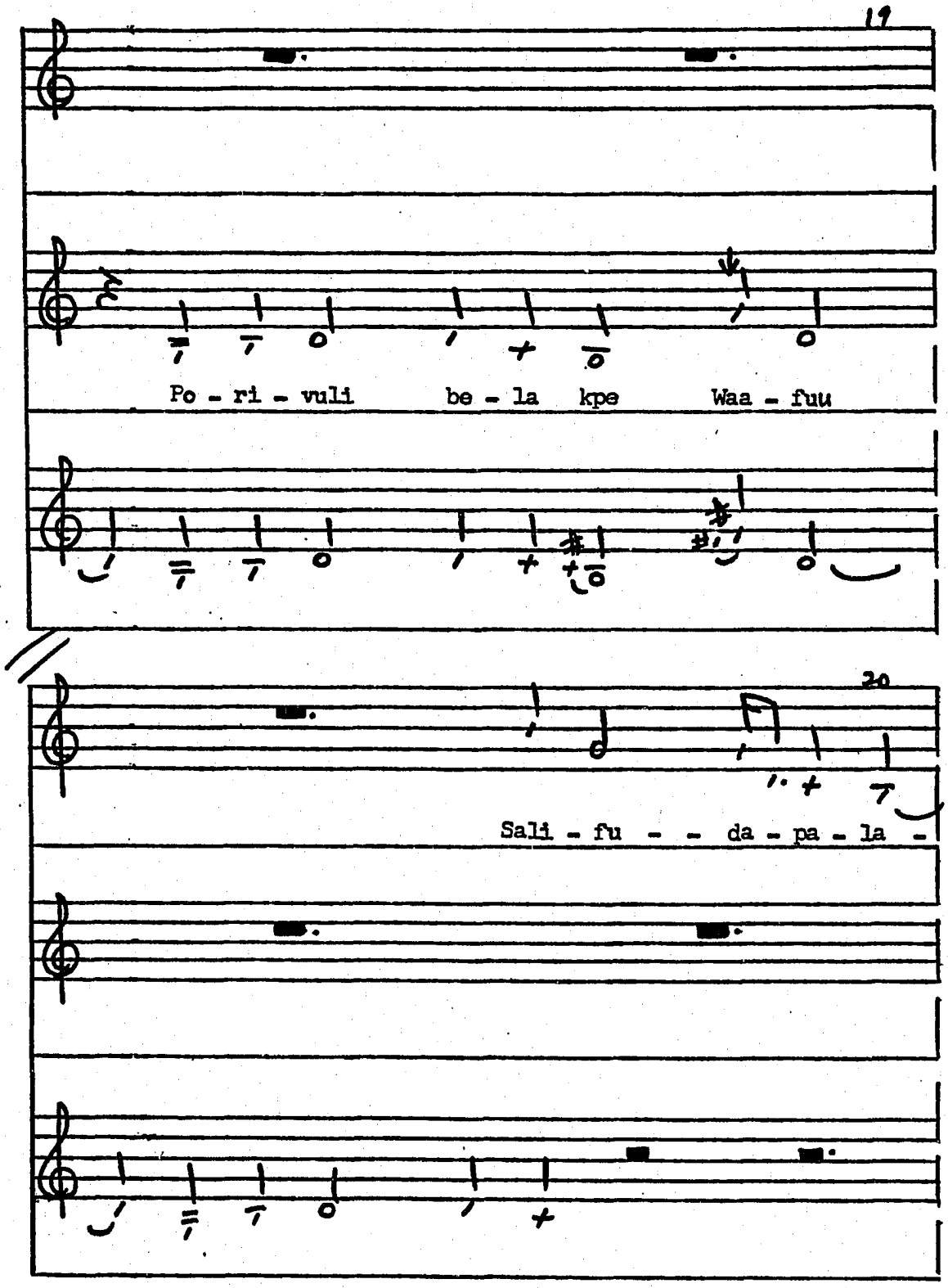
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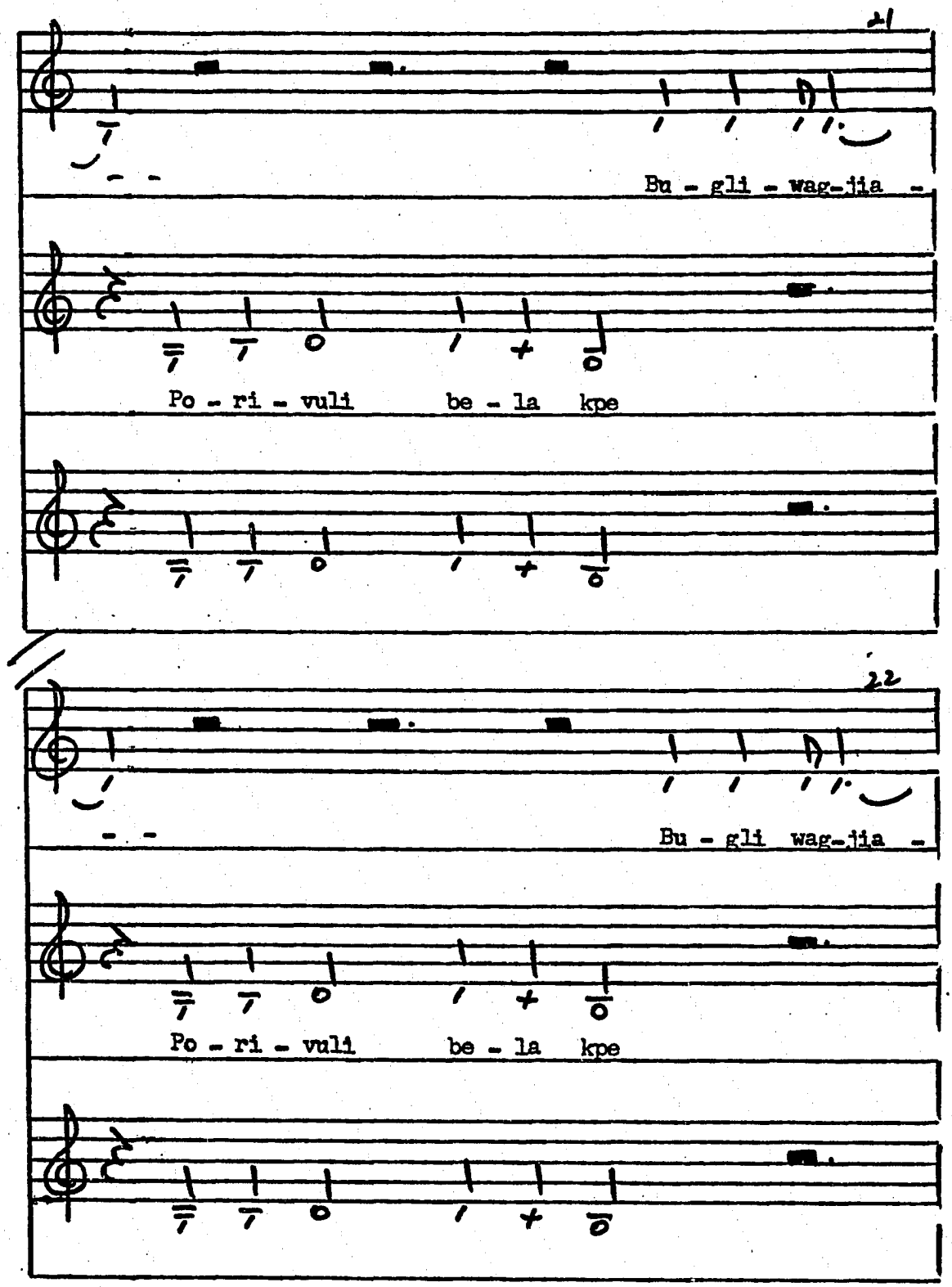
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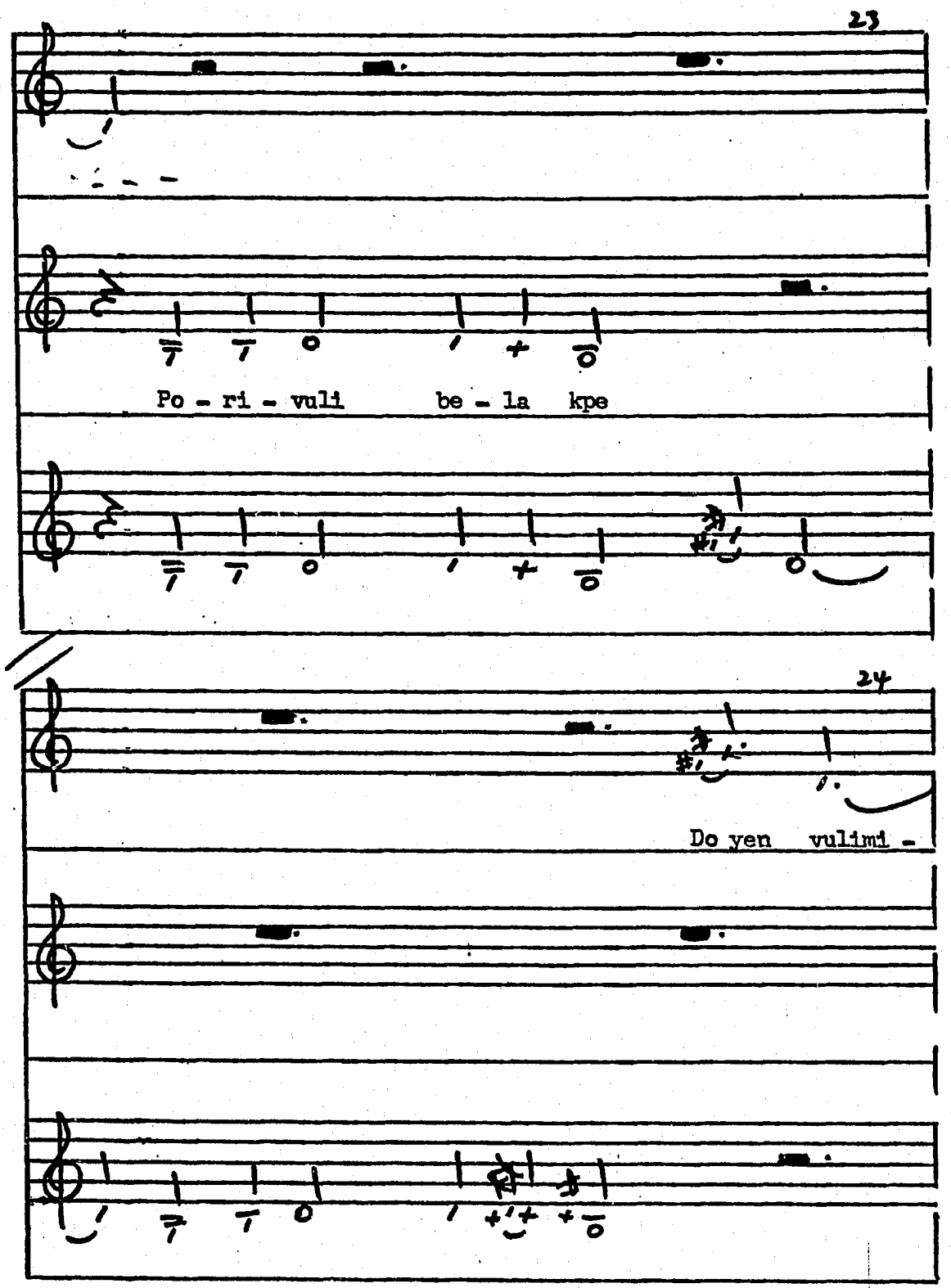
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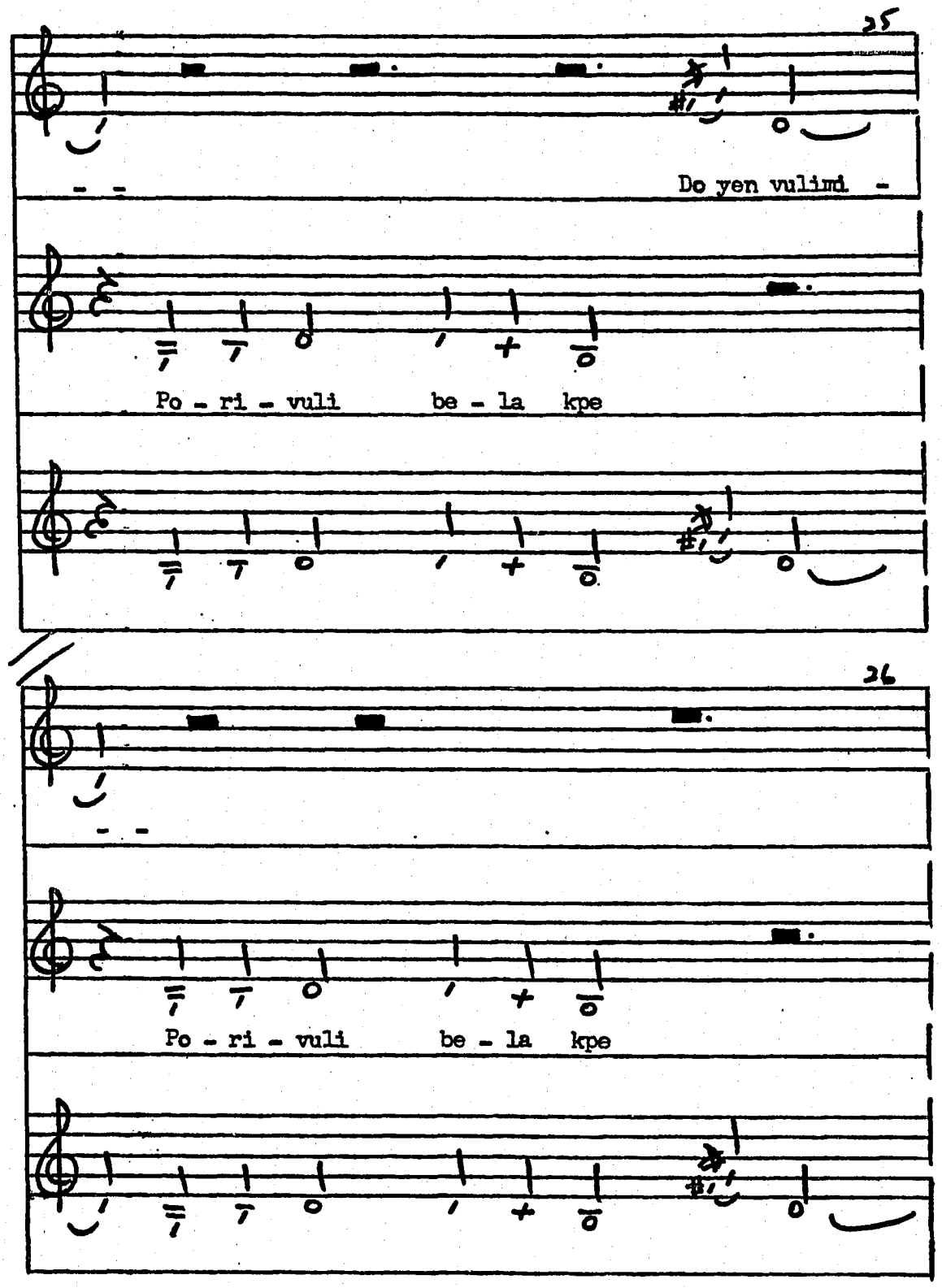
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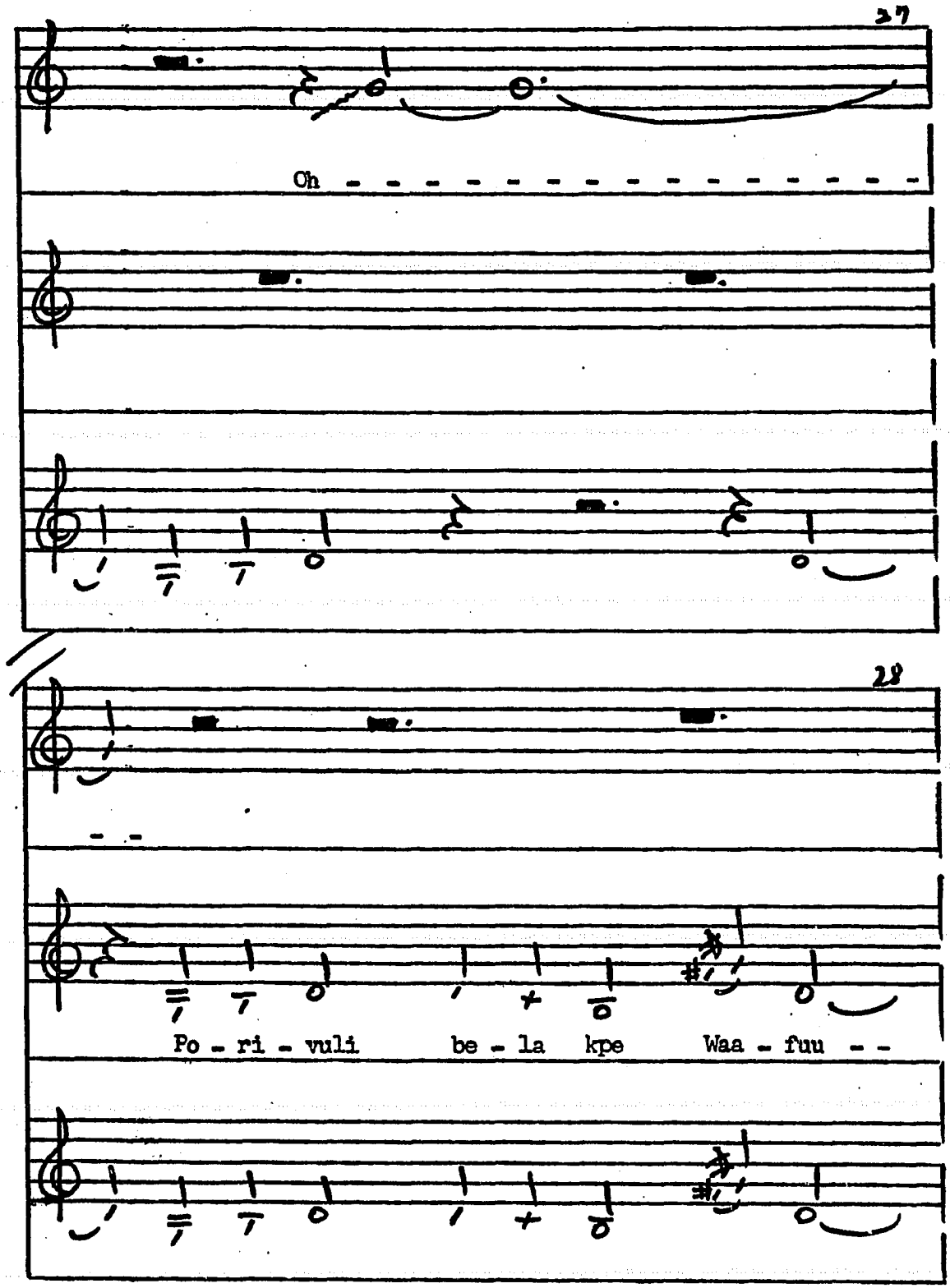
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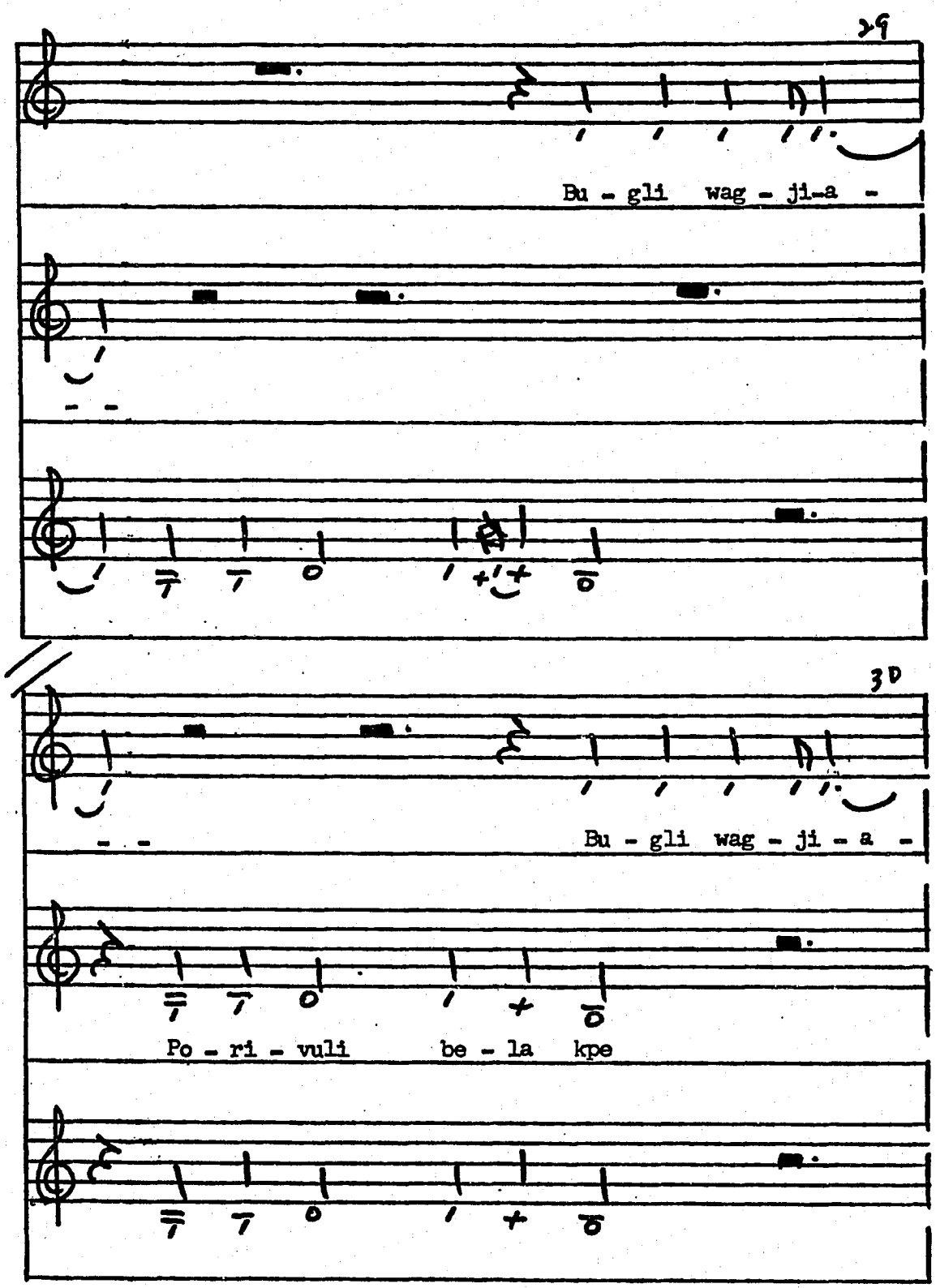
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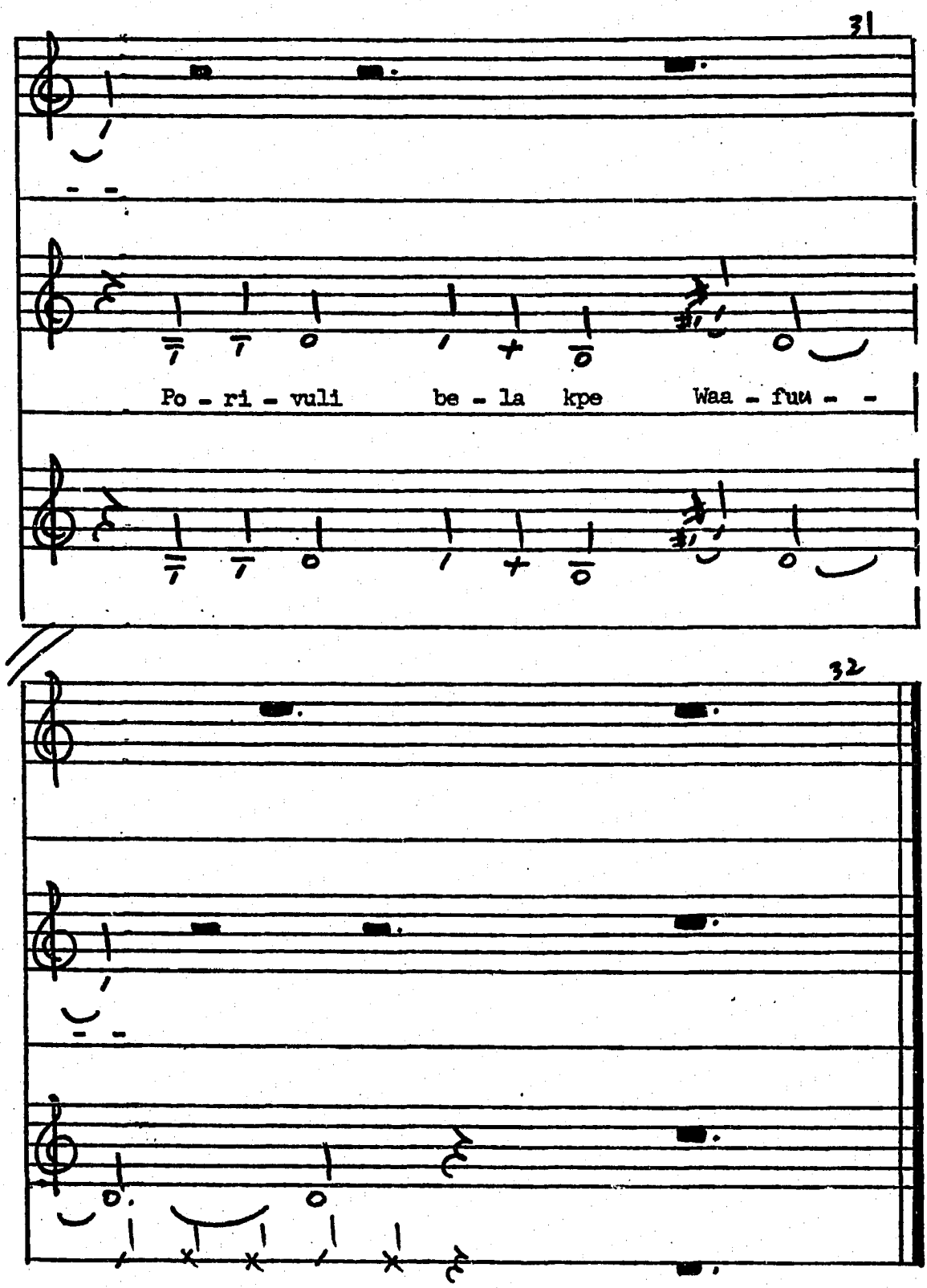
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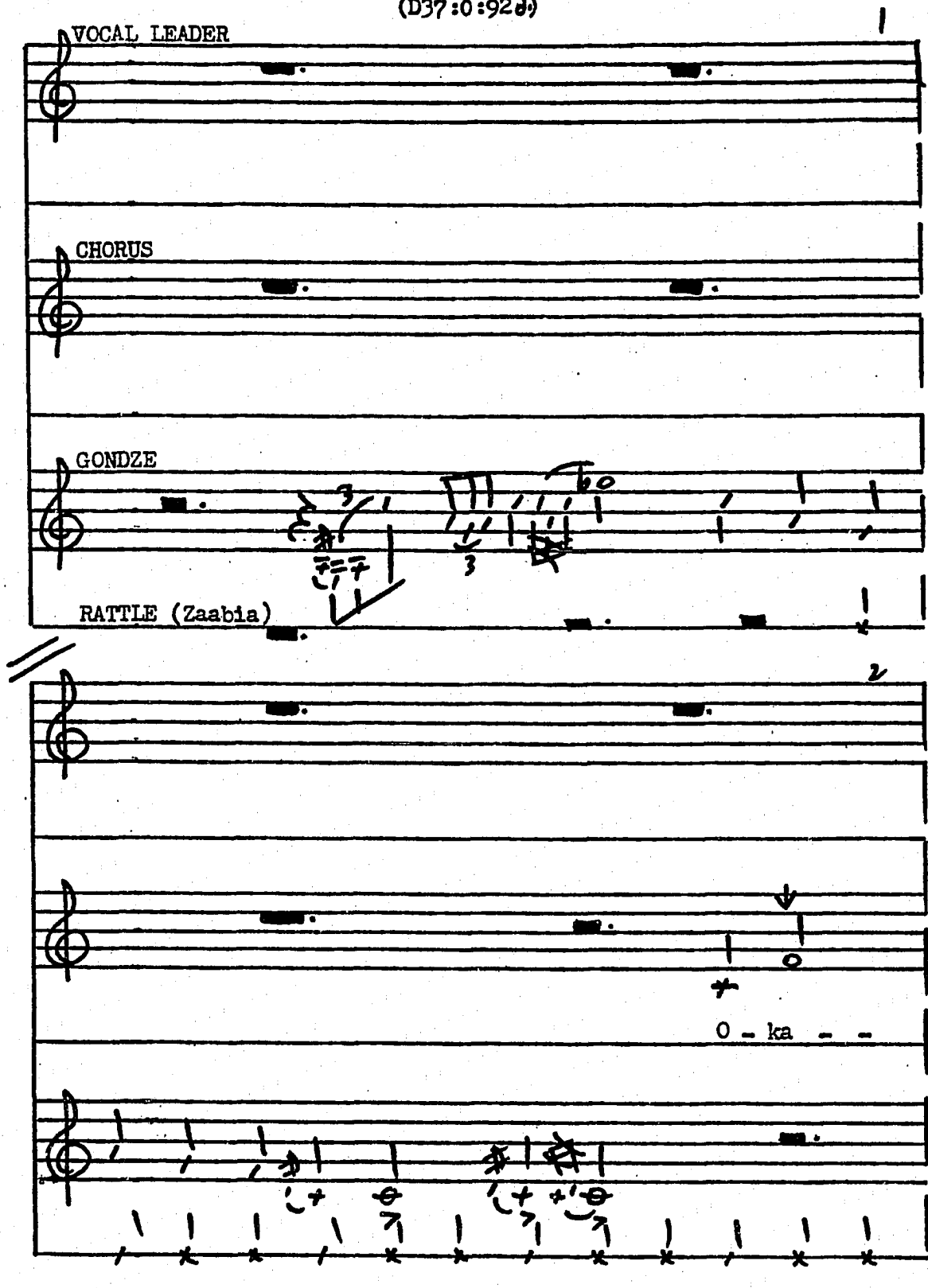


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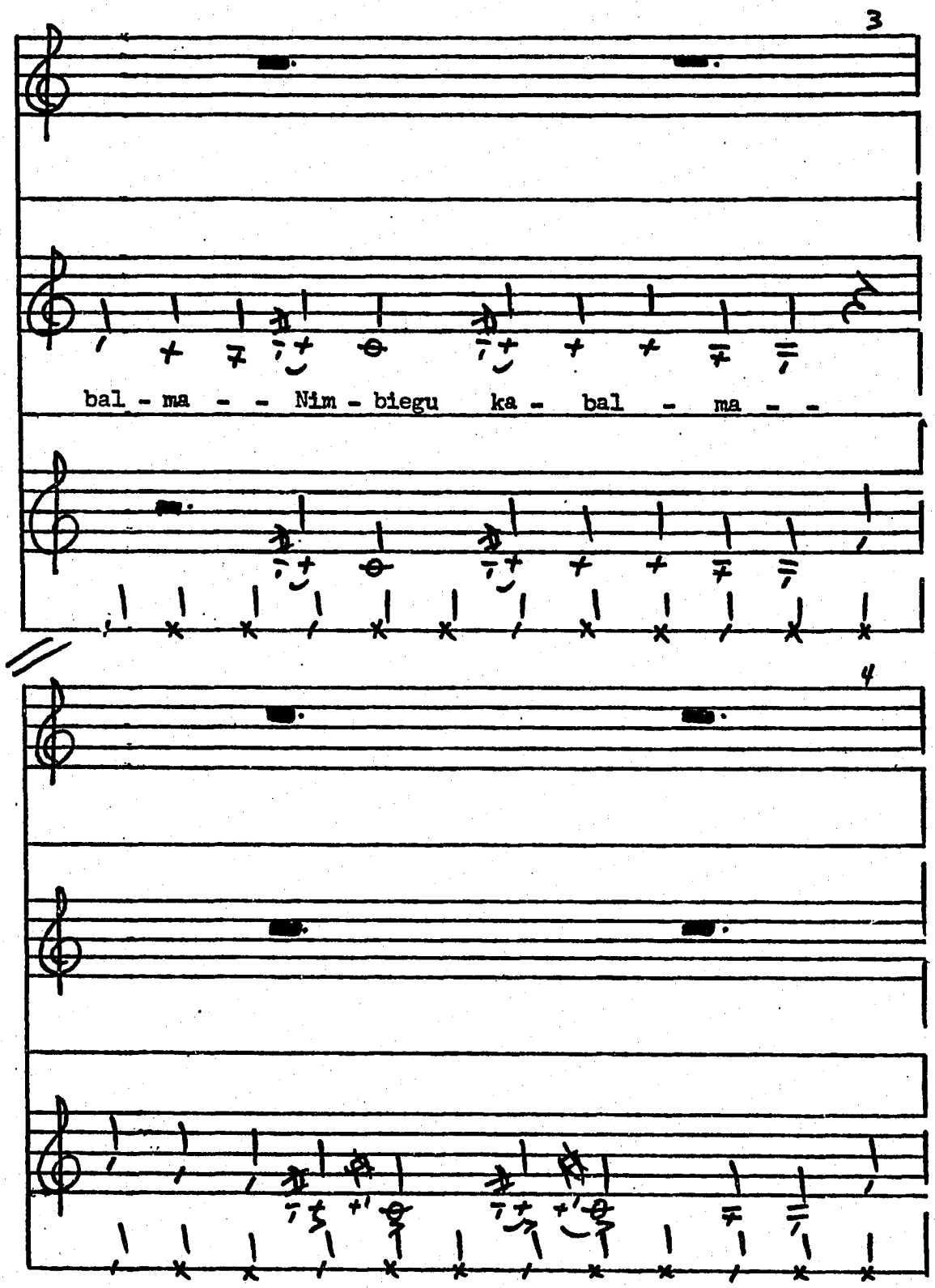


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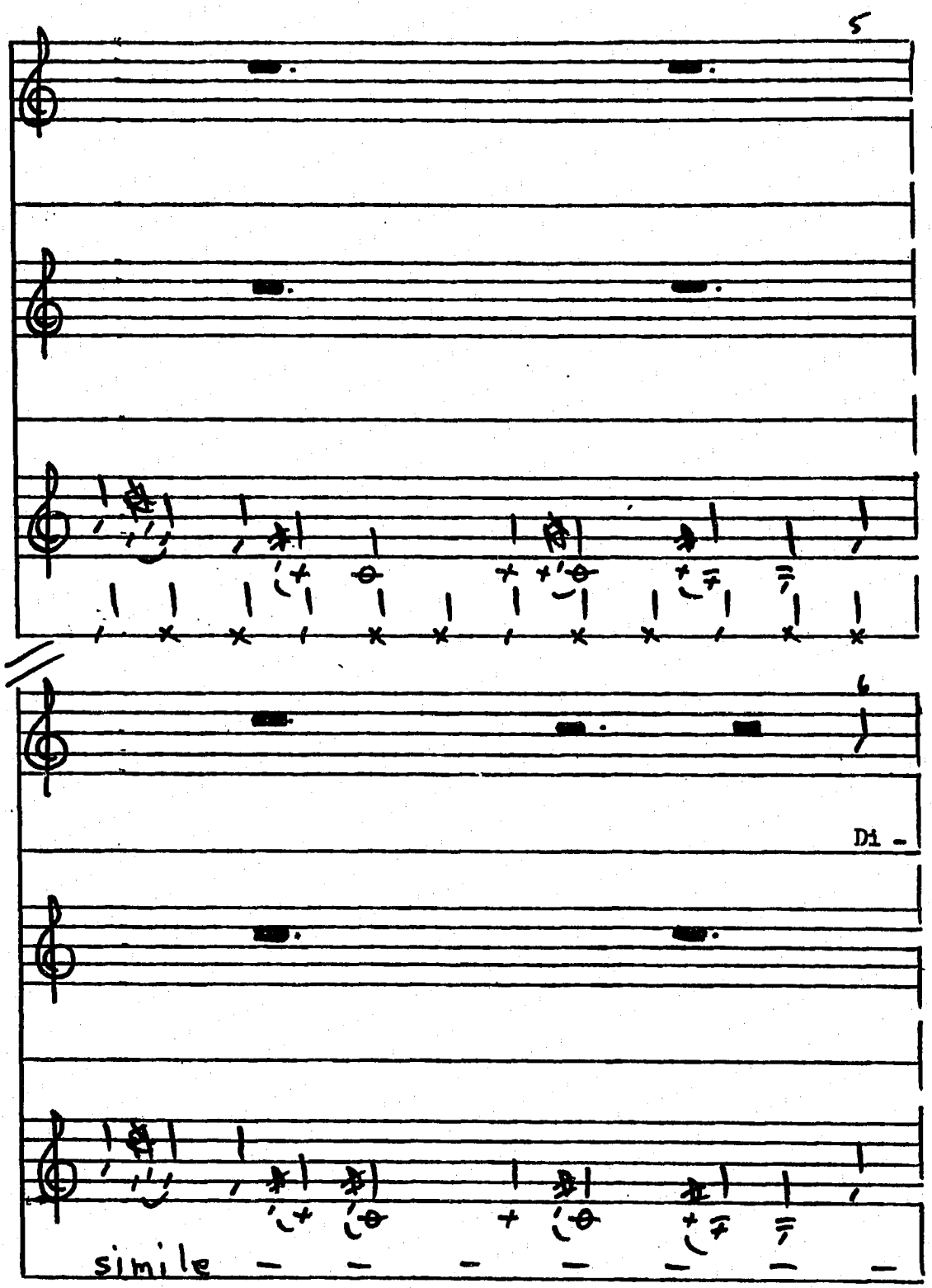
NIMBIEGU KABALAMA
by Salisu Mahama
(D37:0:92♩)



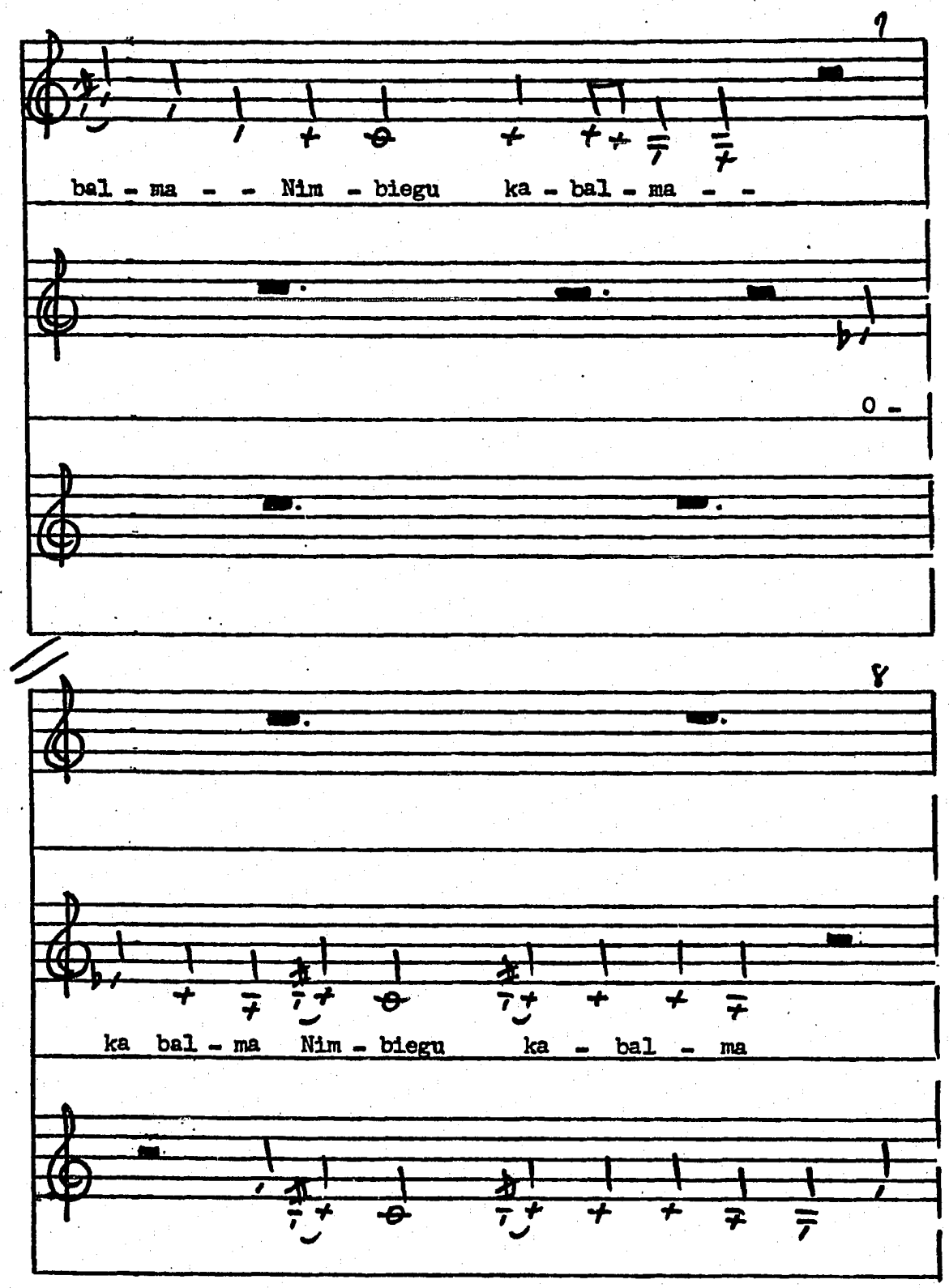
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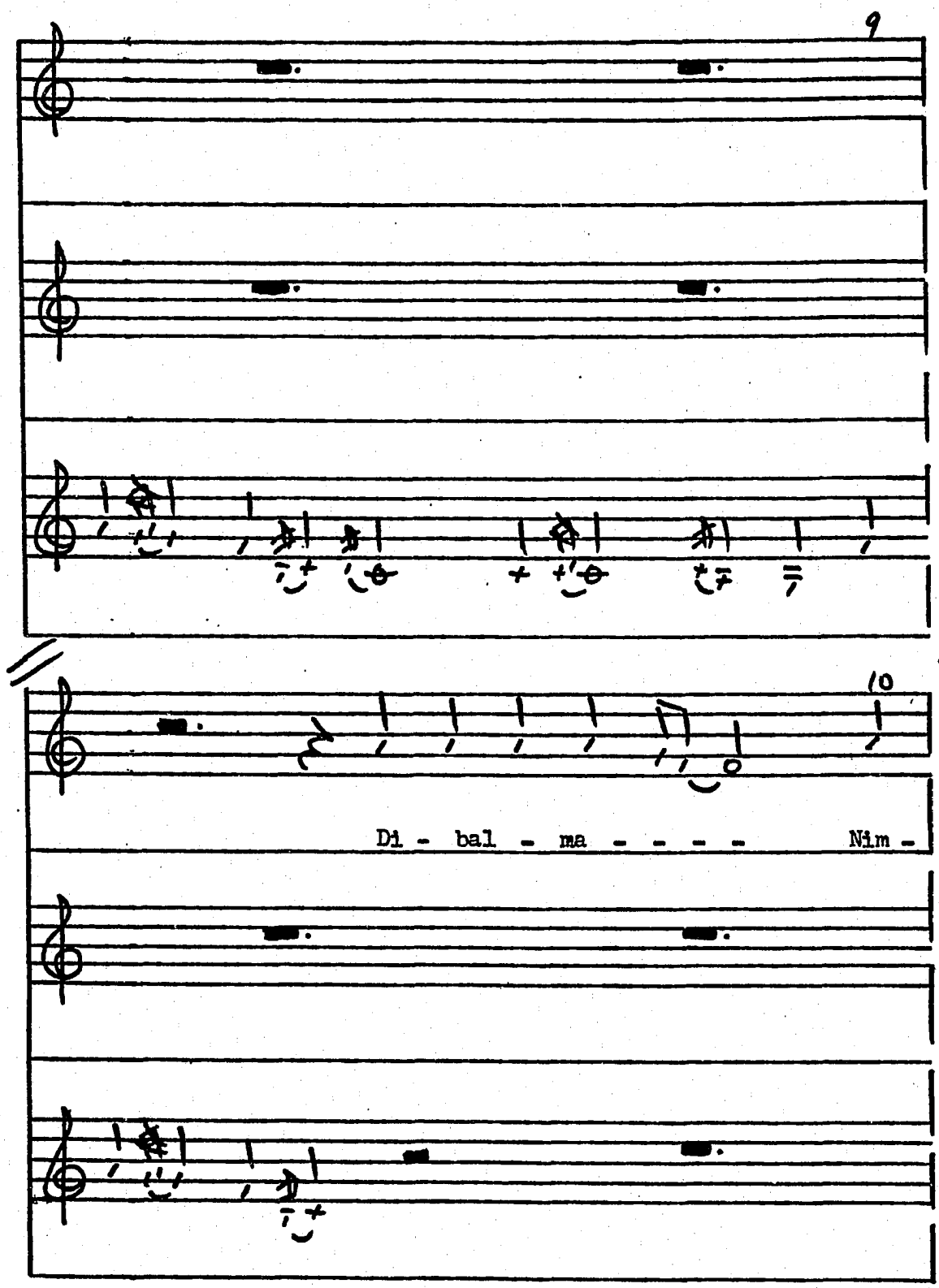
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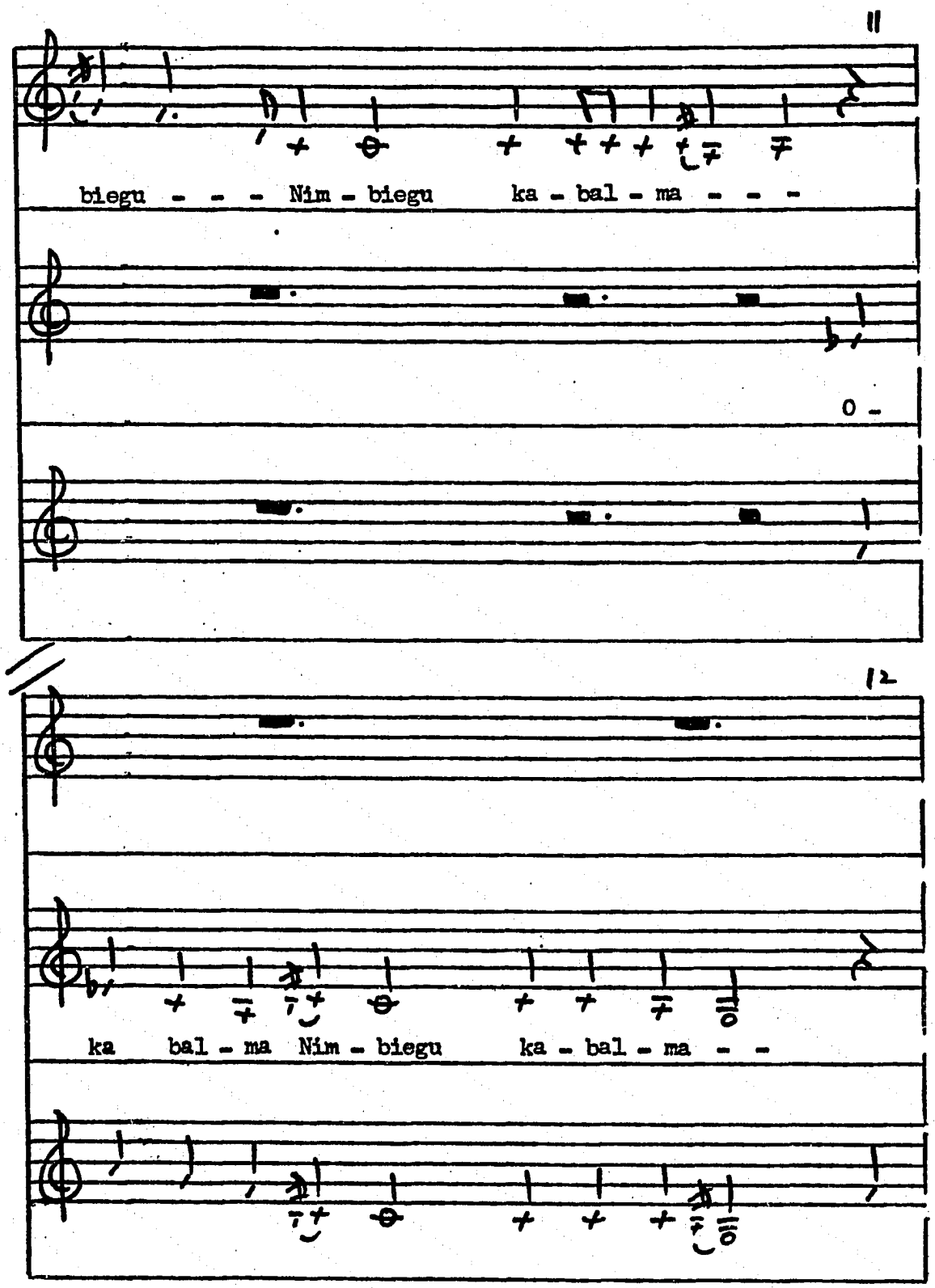
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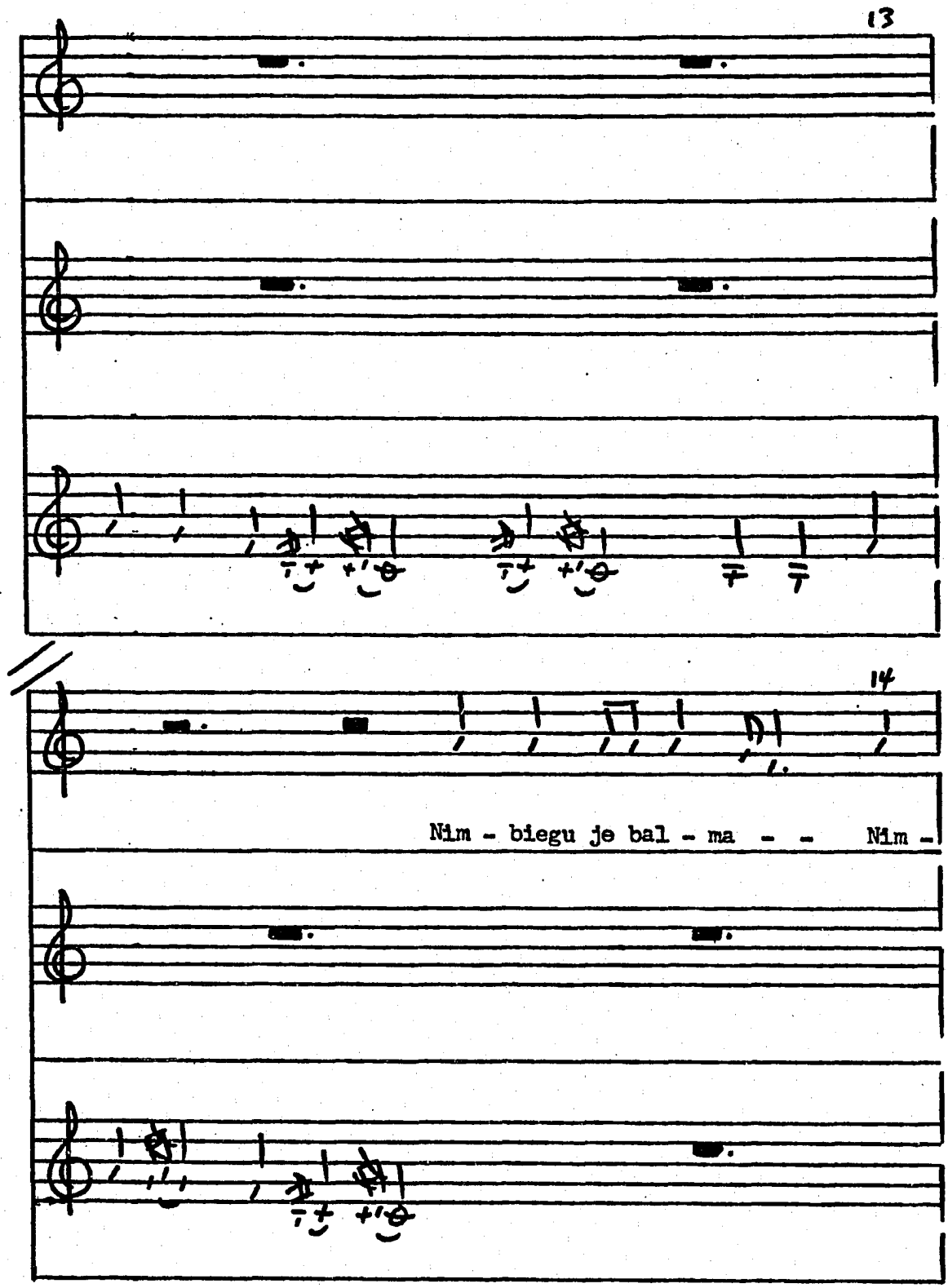
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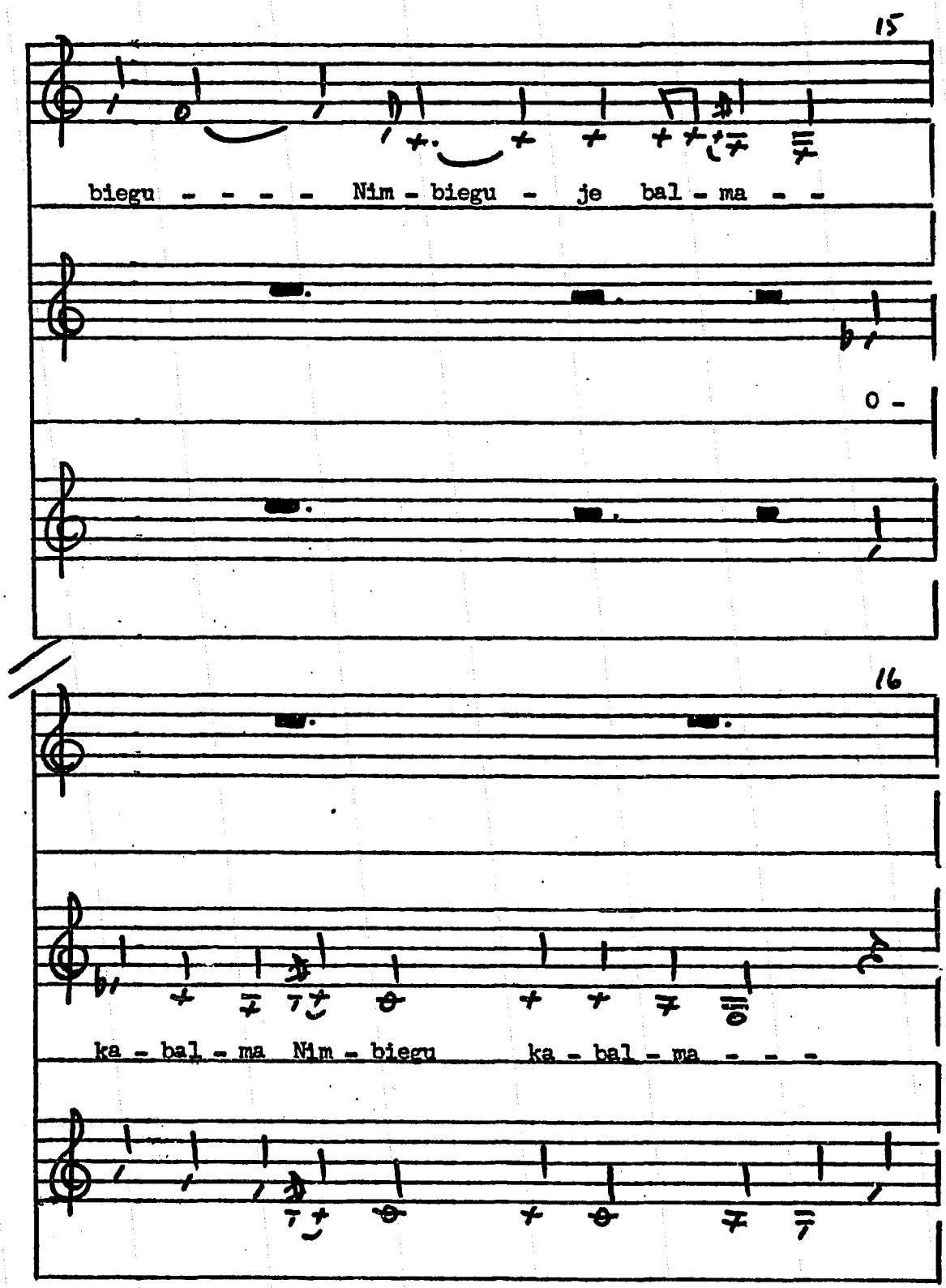
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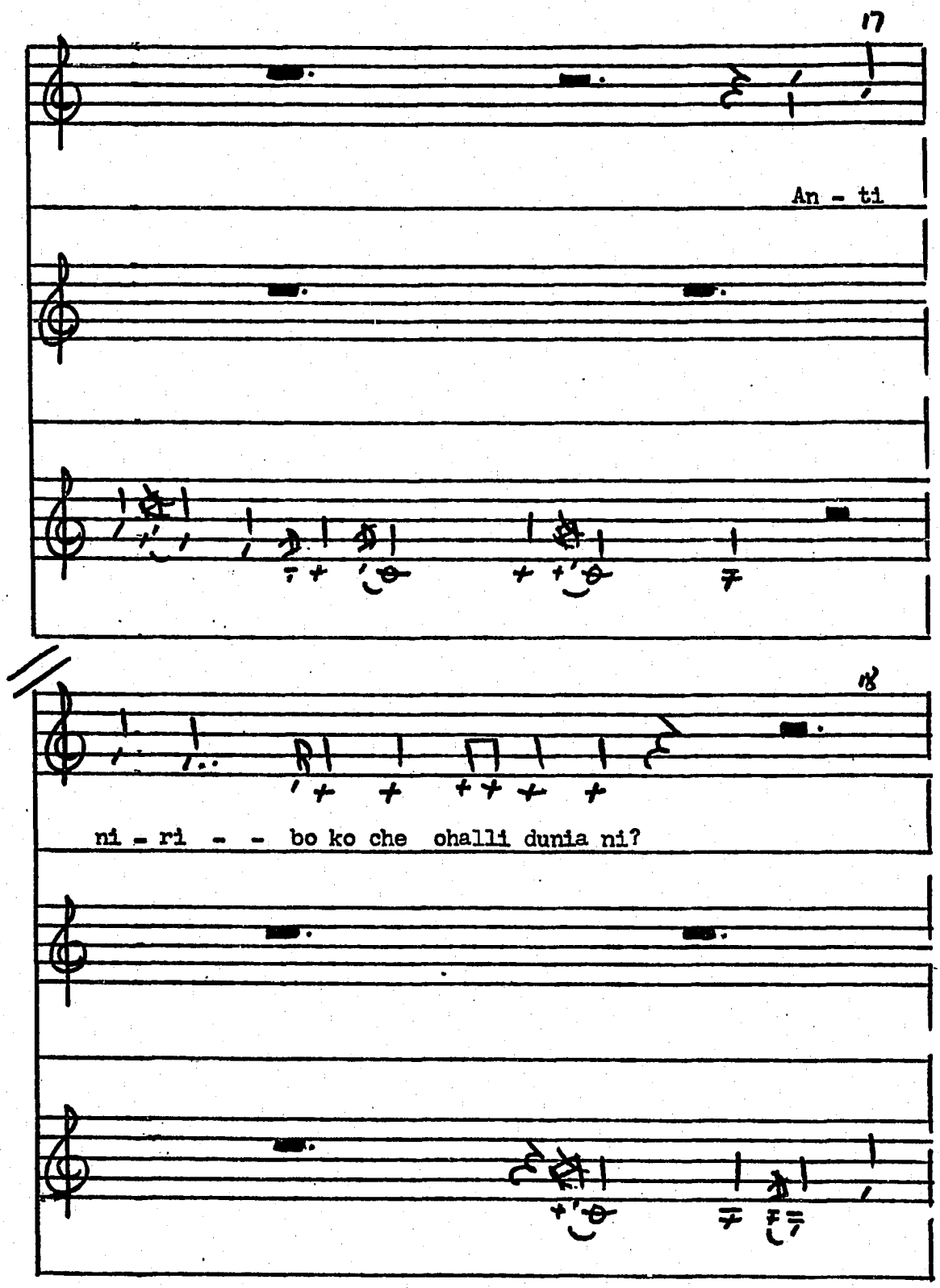
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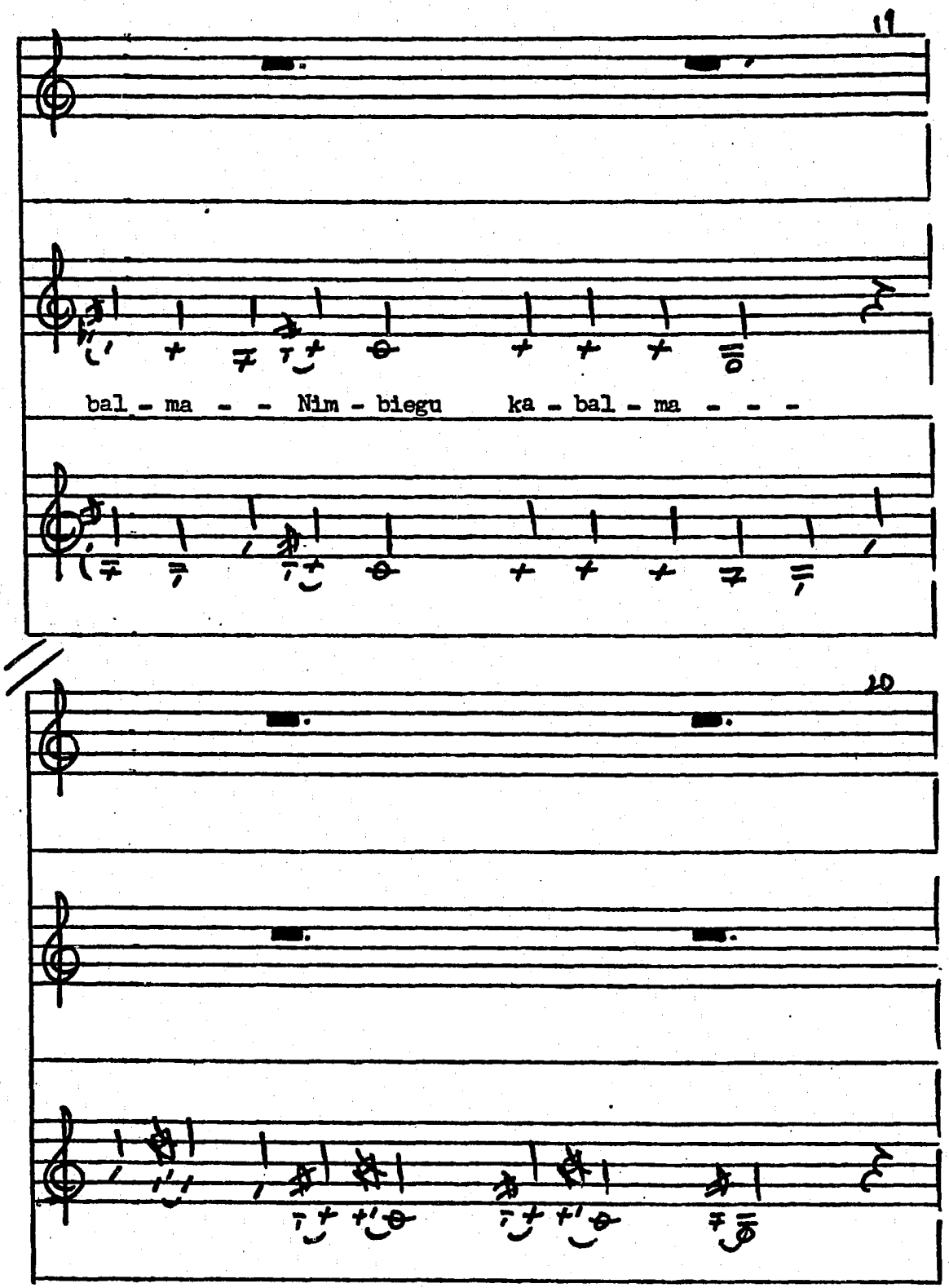
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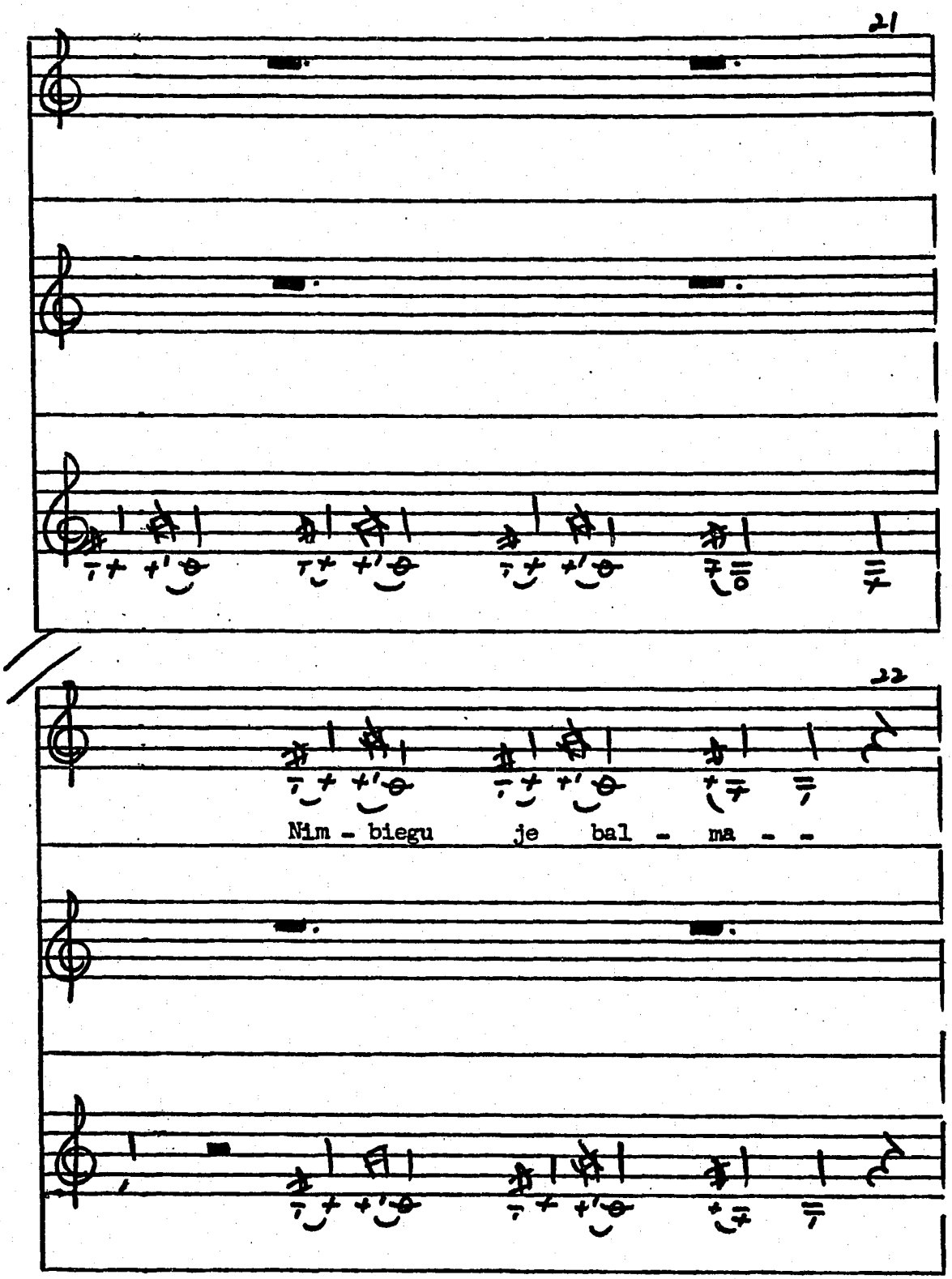
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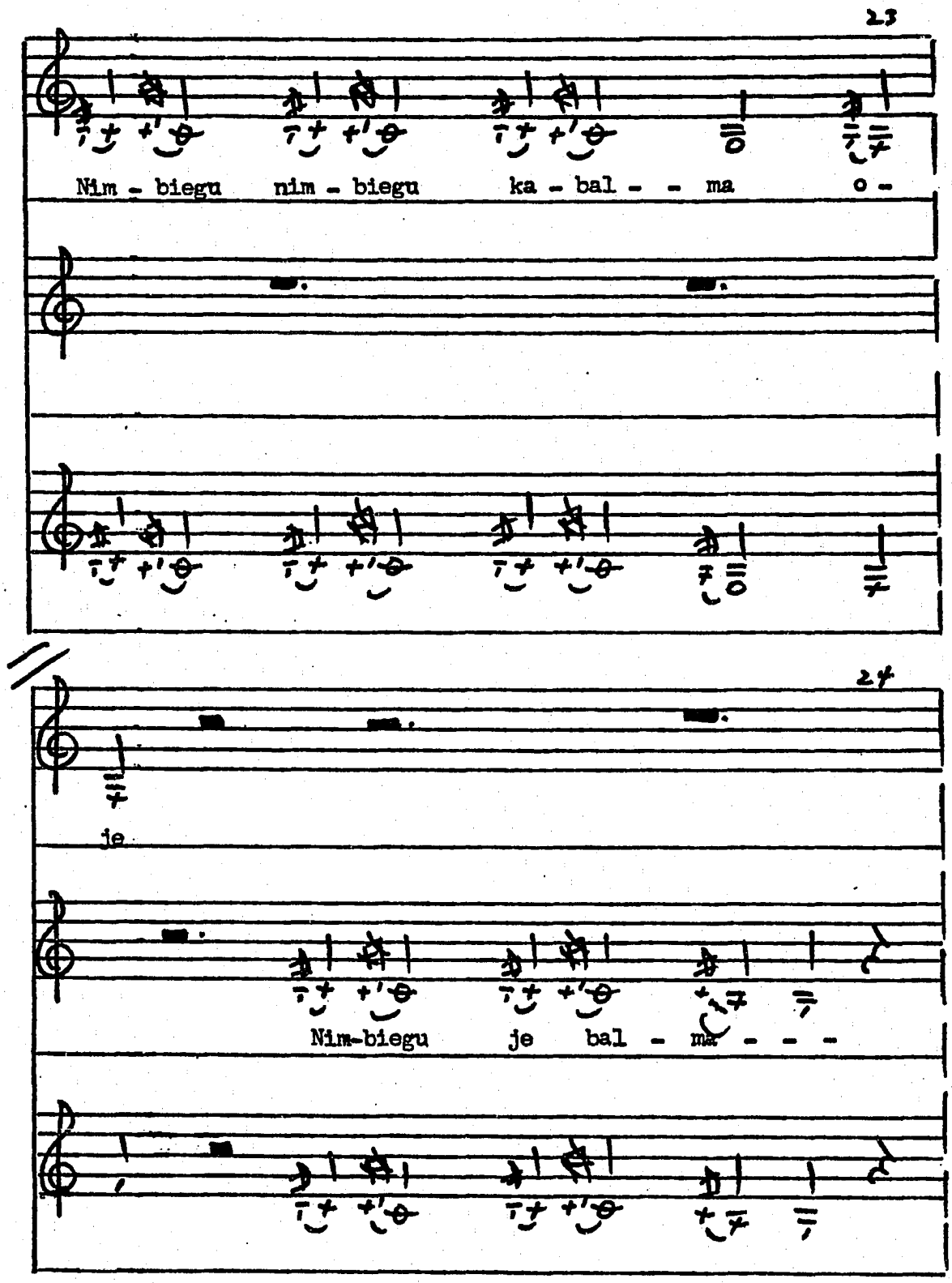
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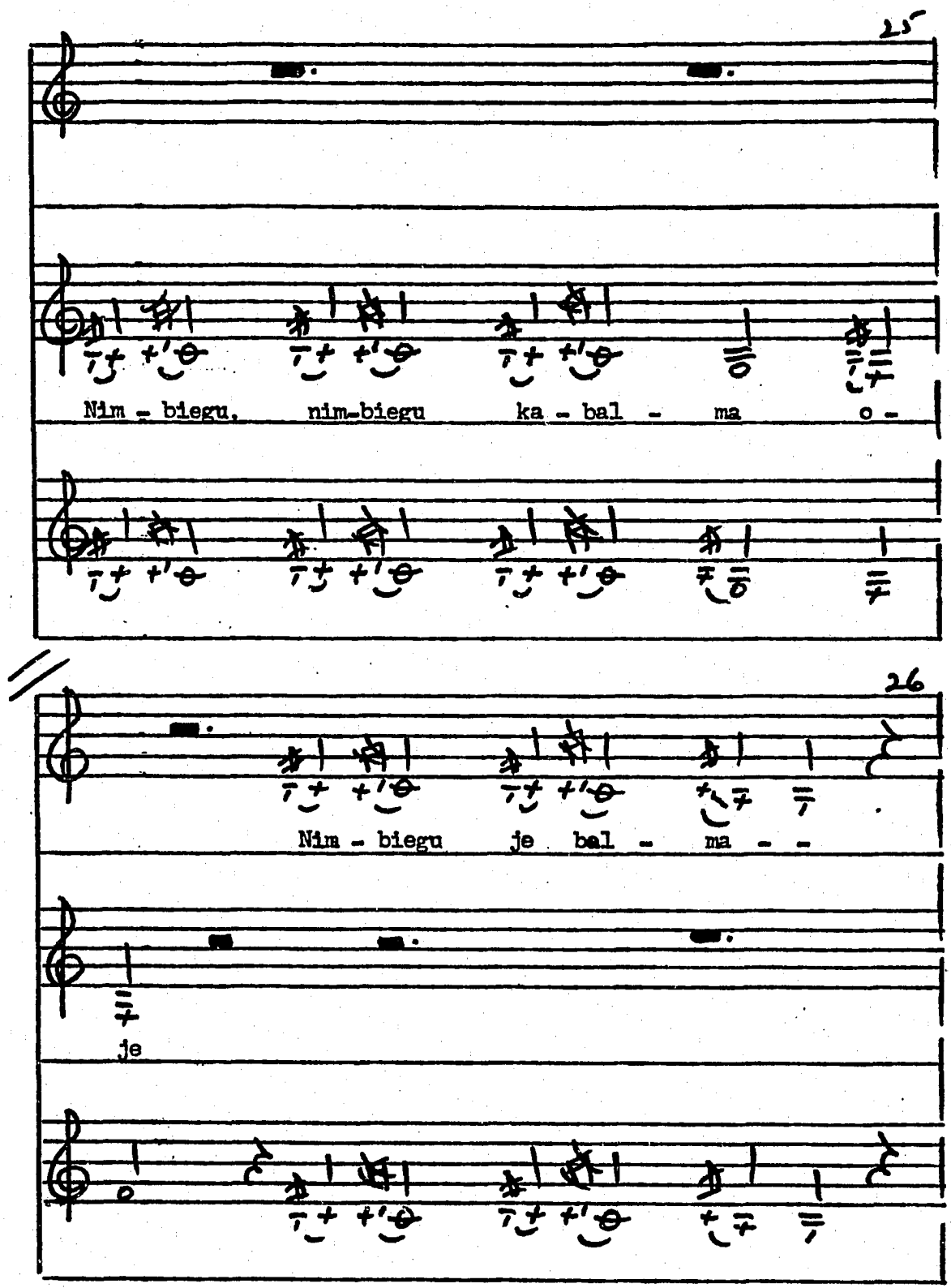
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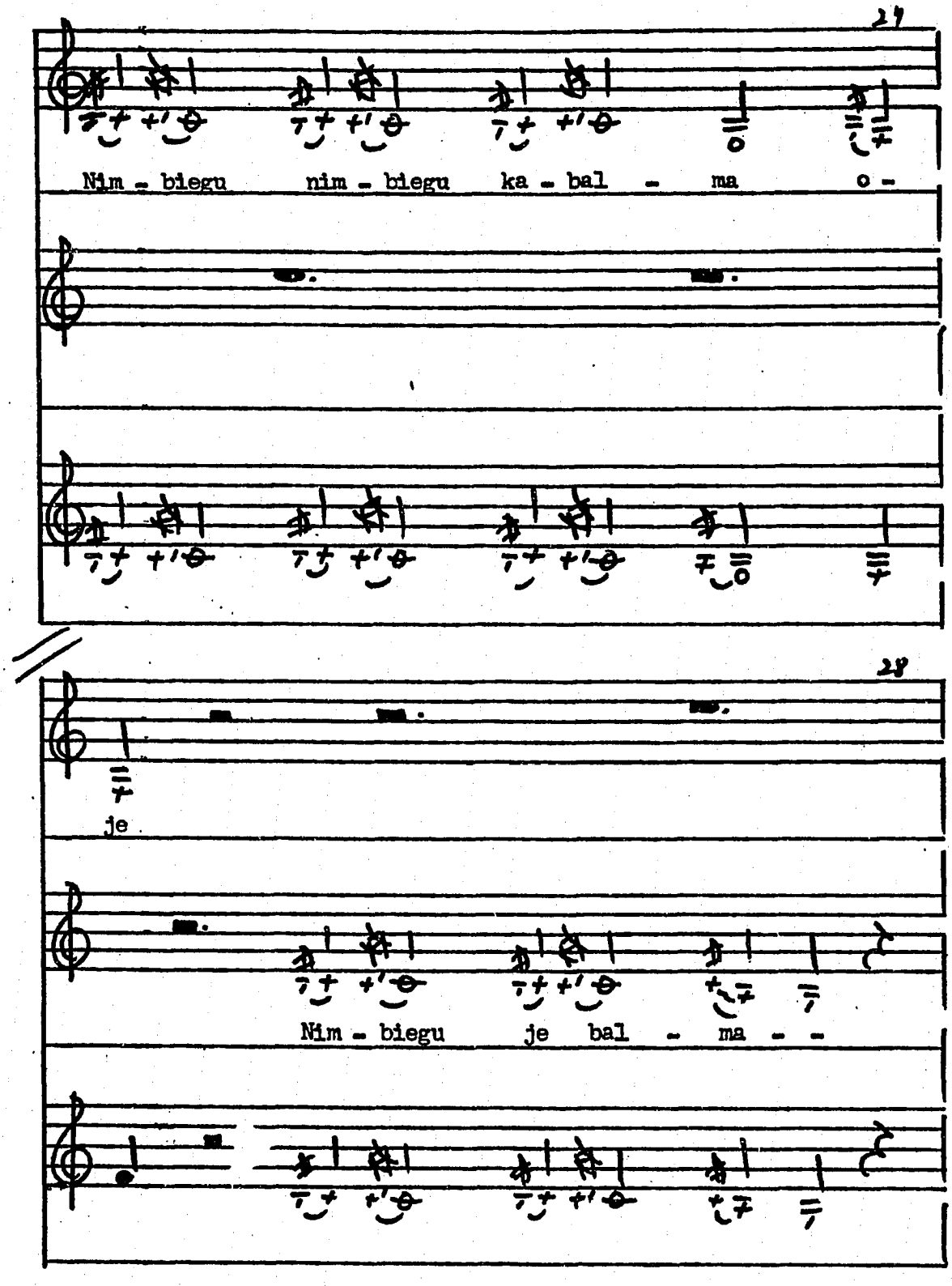
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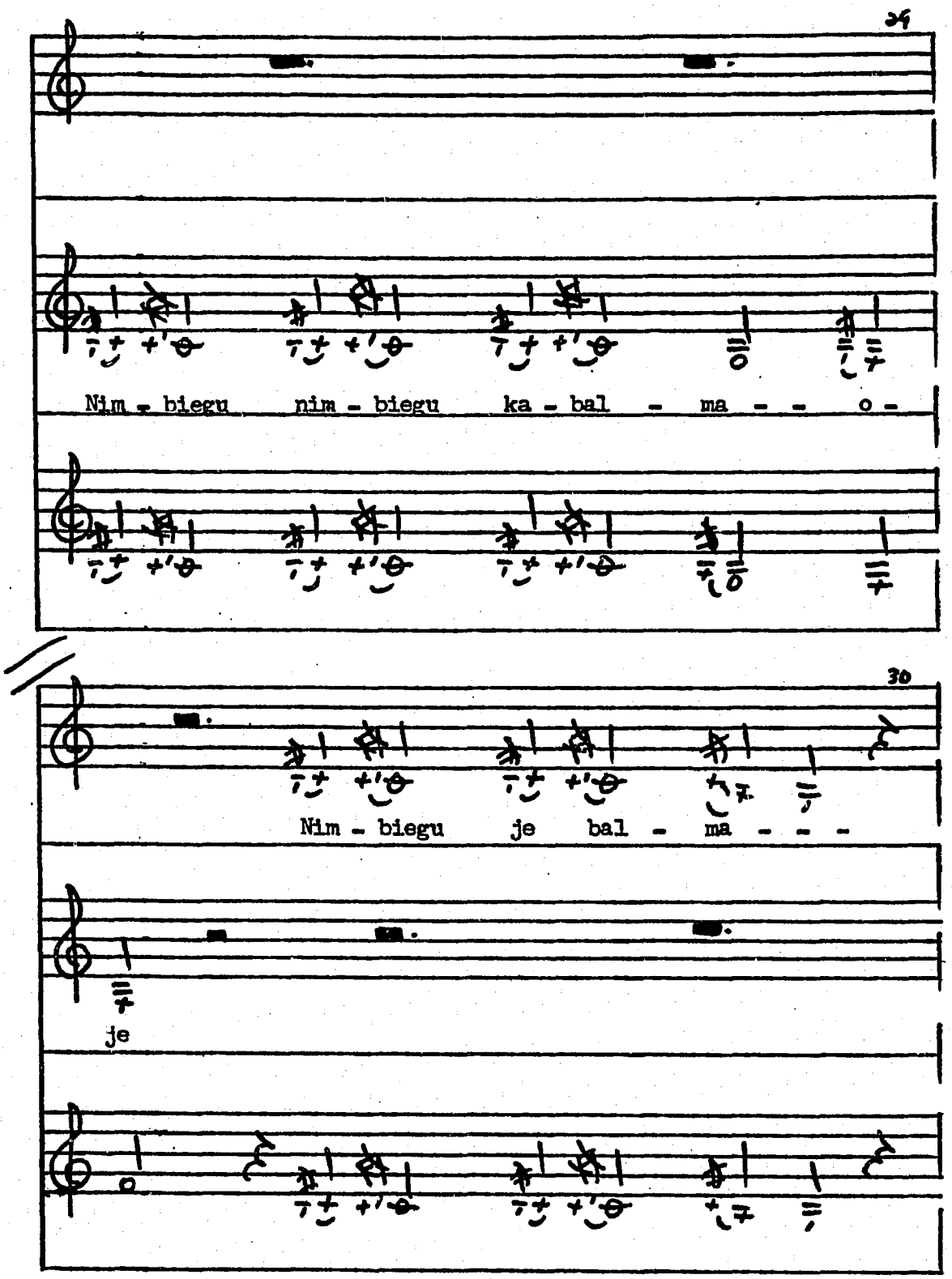
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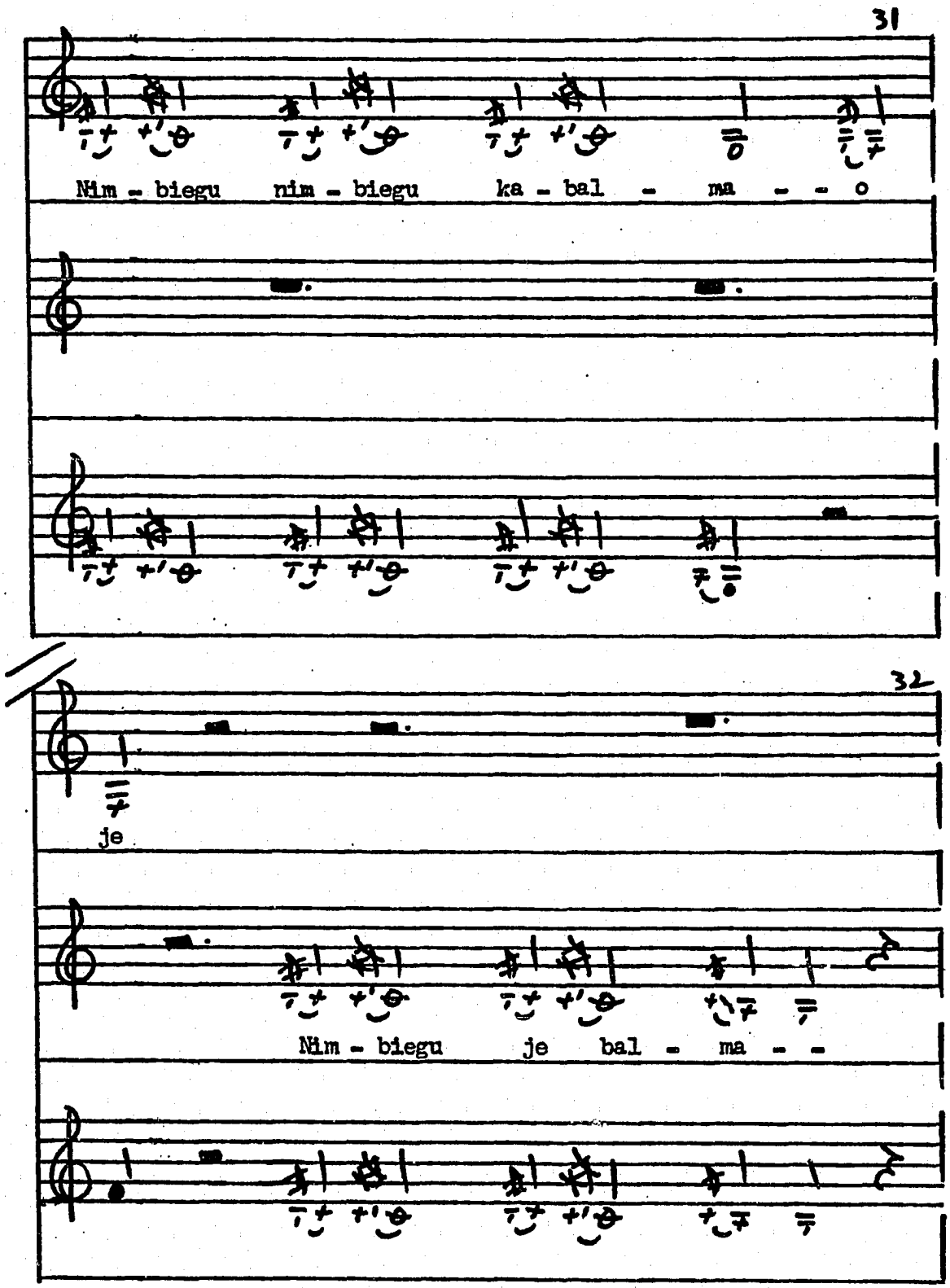
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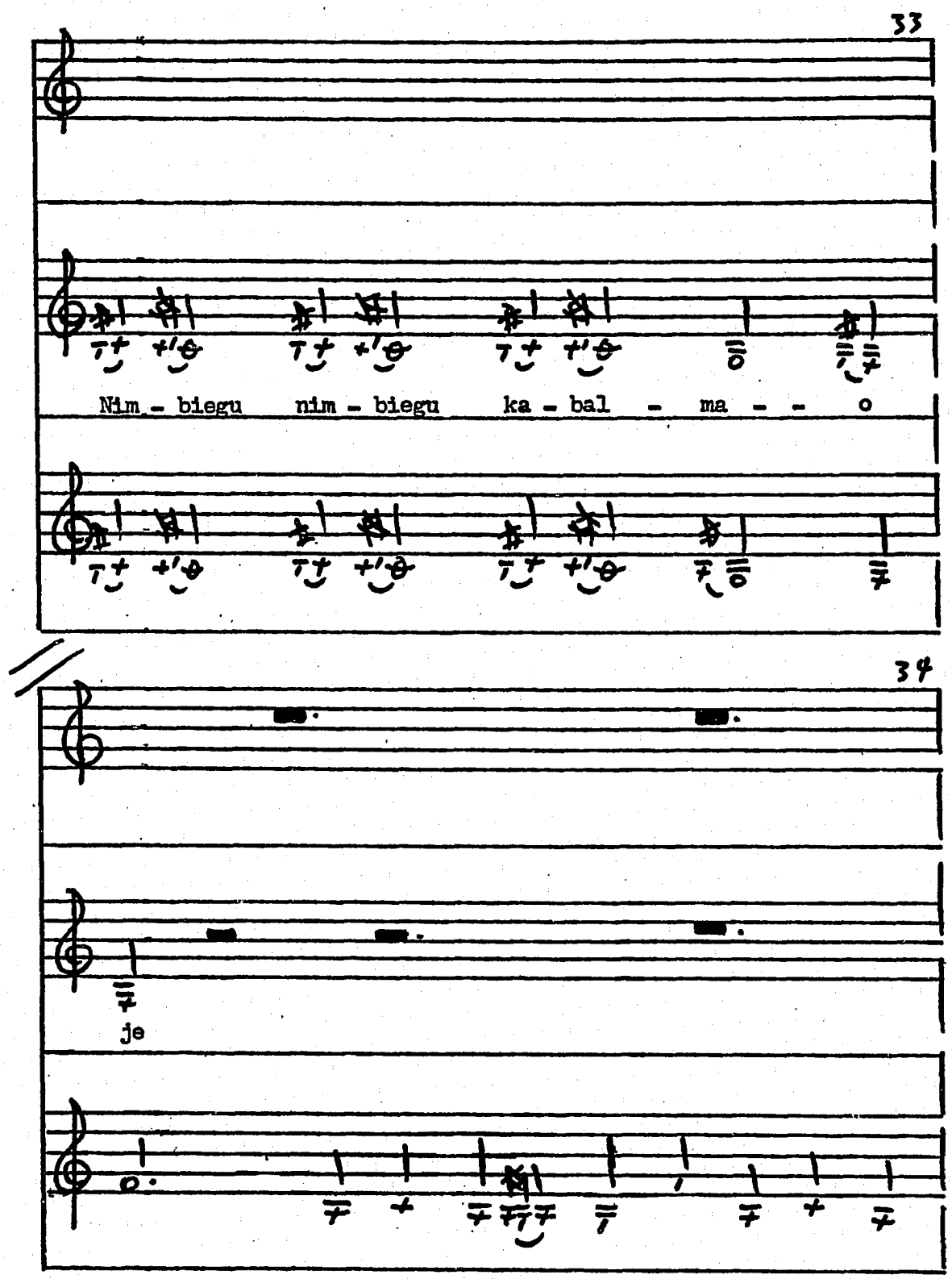
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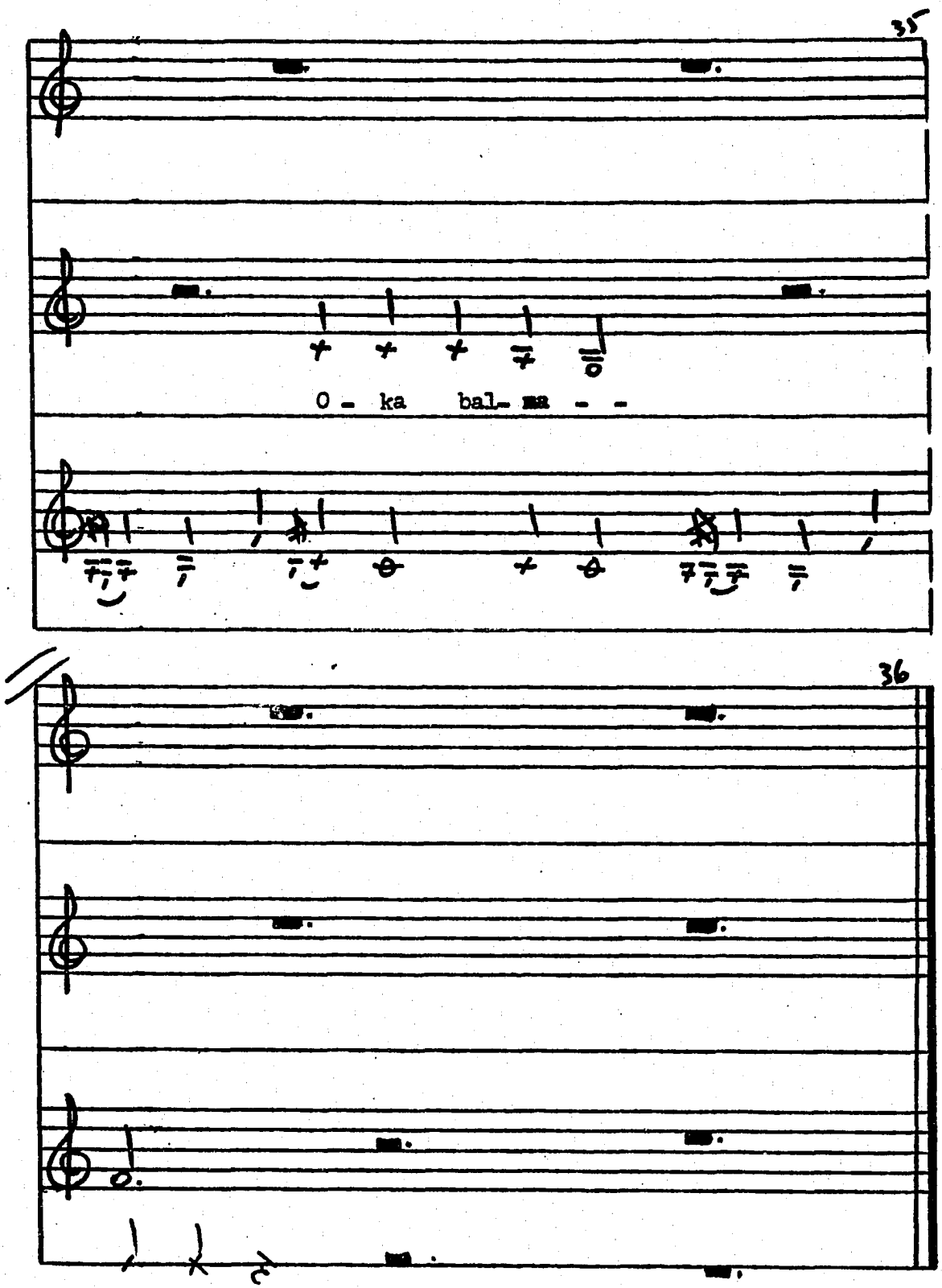
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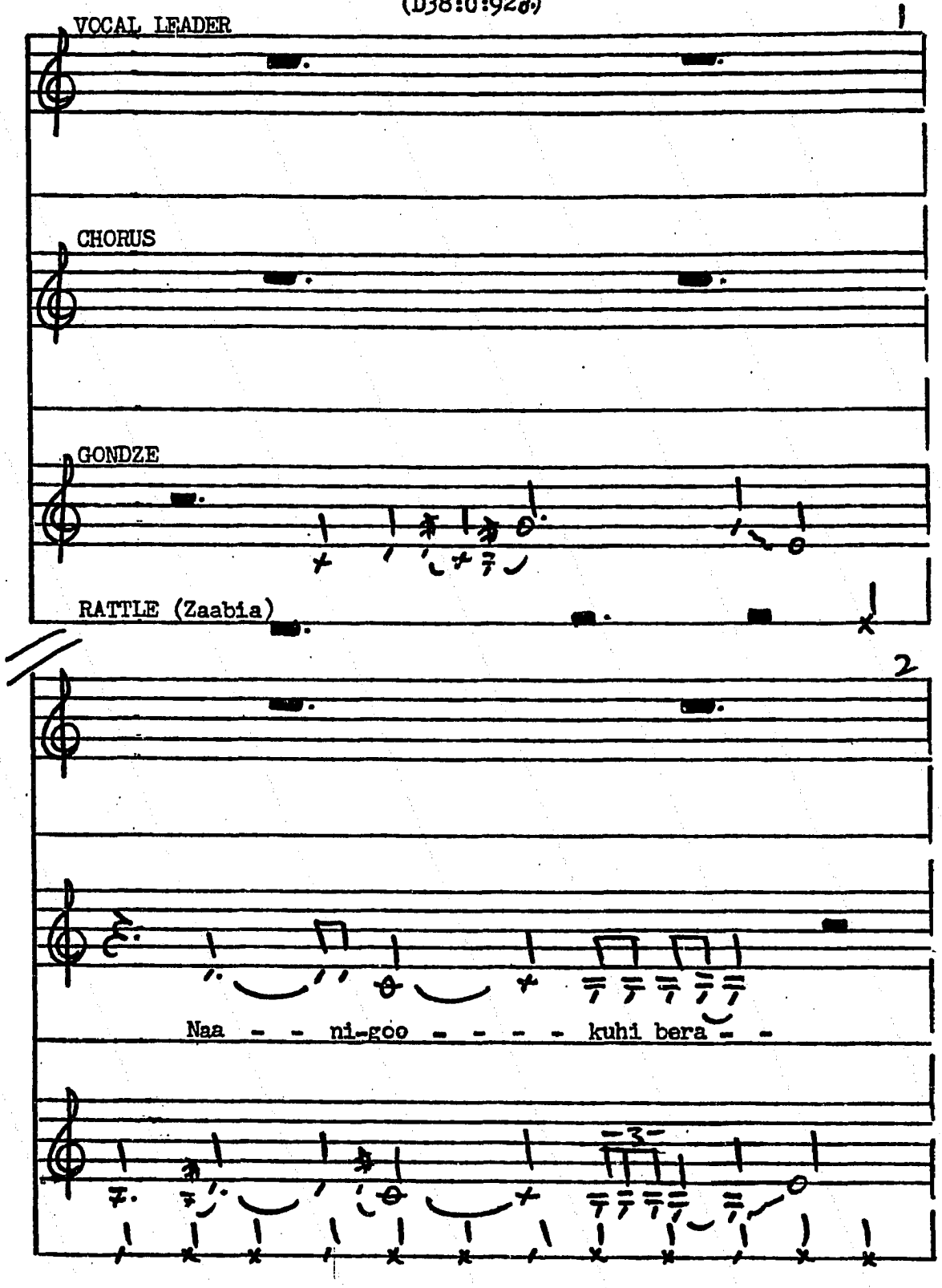


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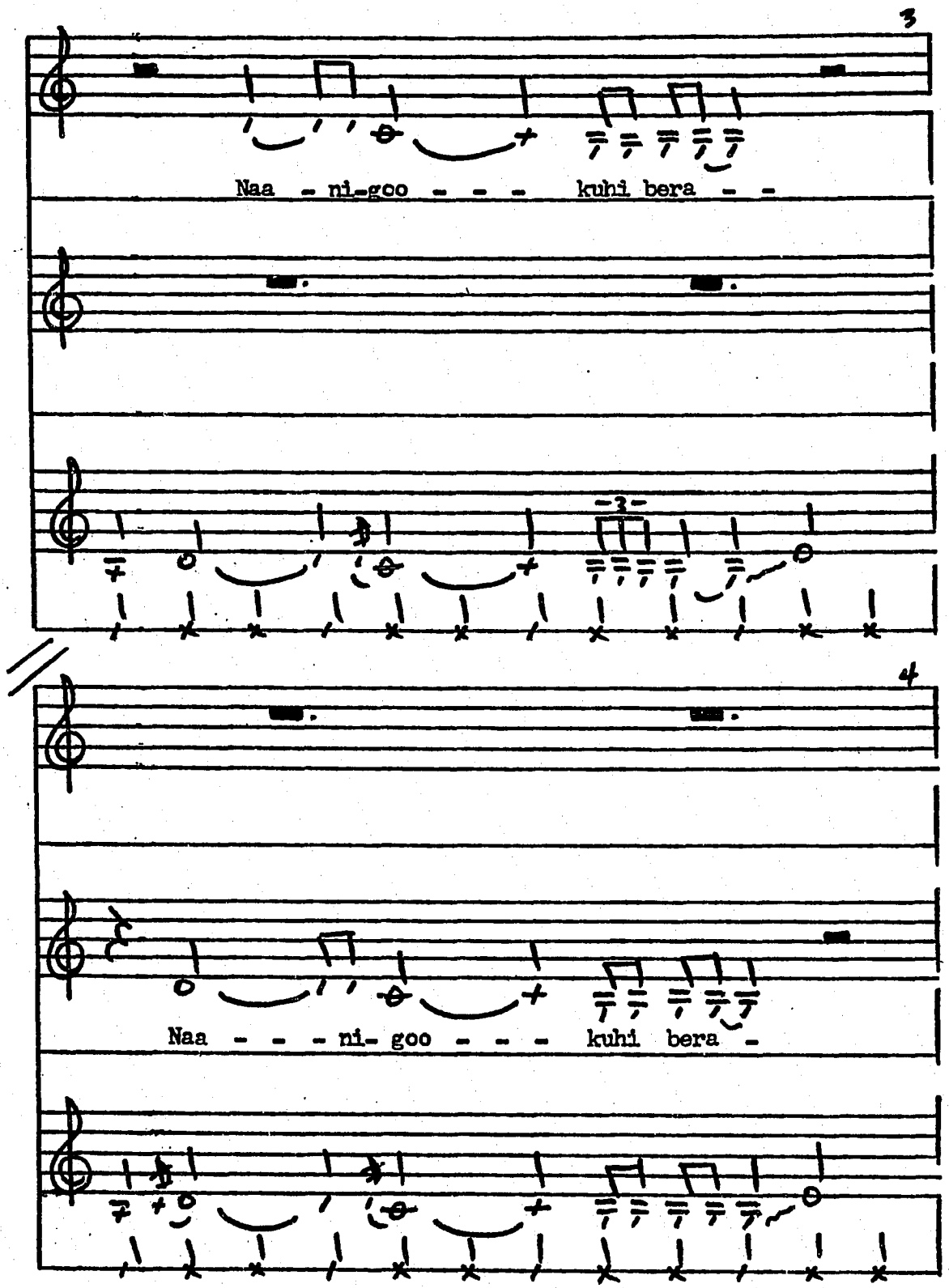


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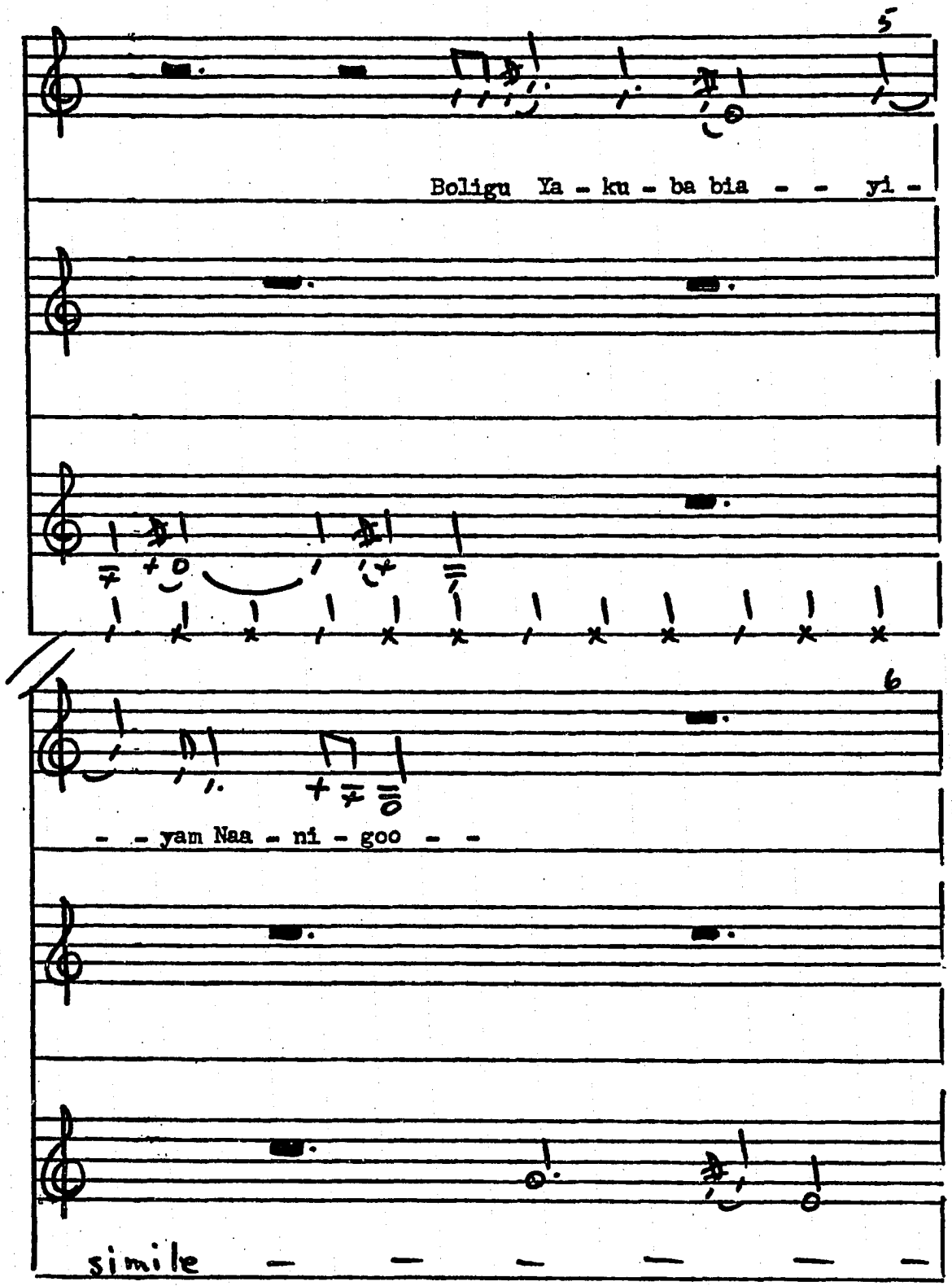
NAANIGOO (Na Andani II)
by Salisu Mahama
(D38:0:92♩.)



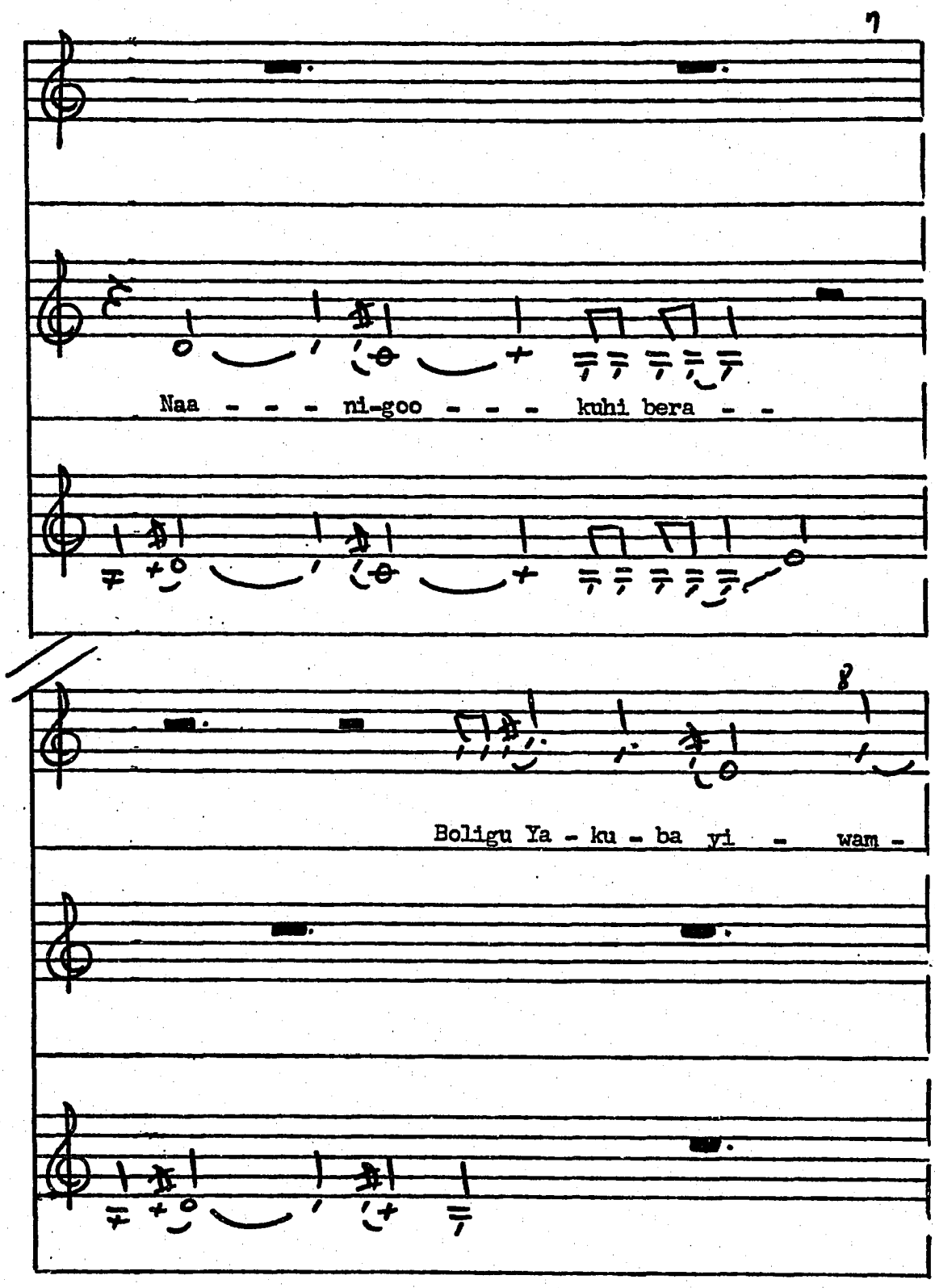
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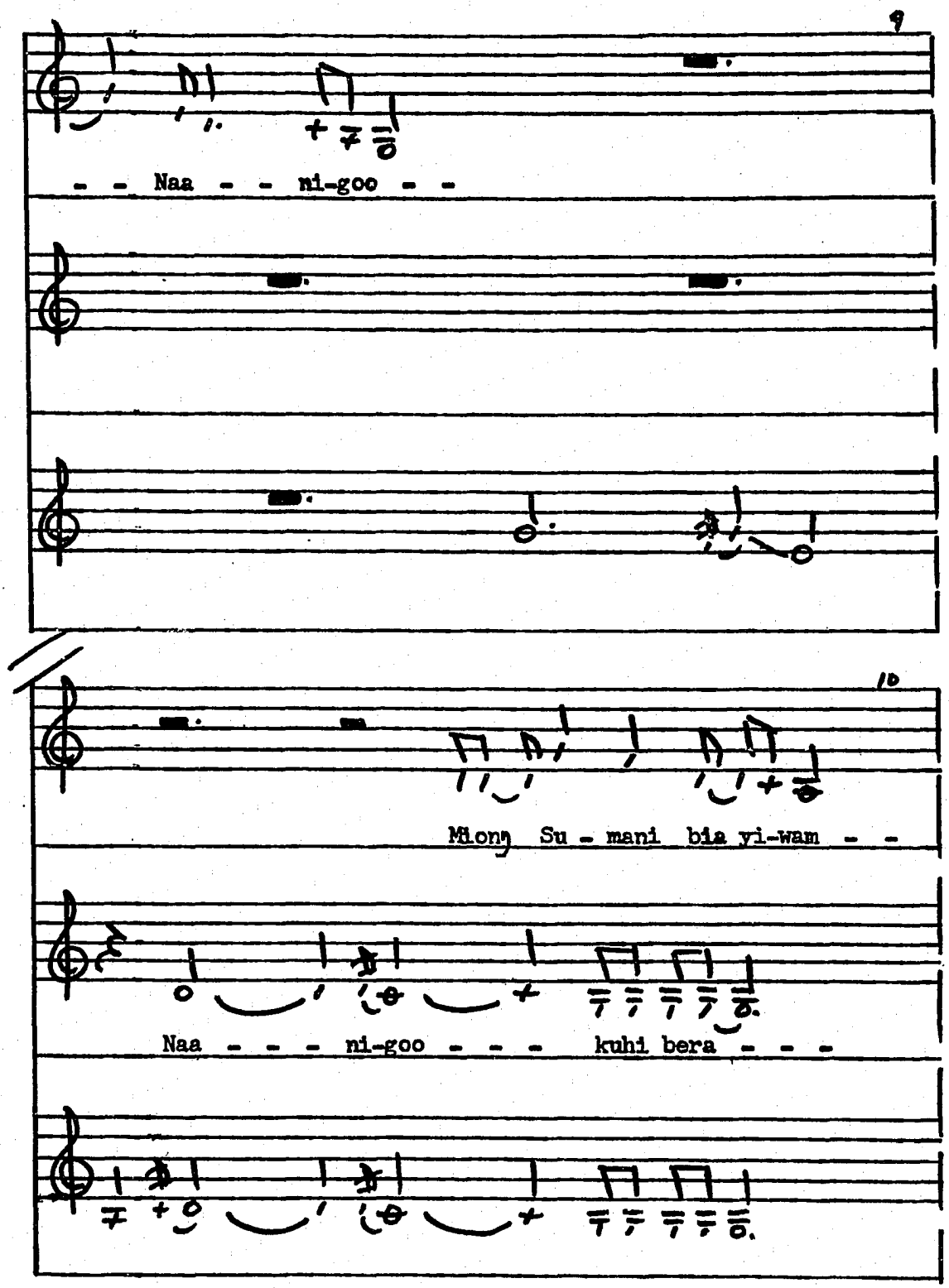
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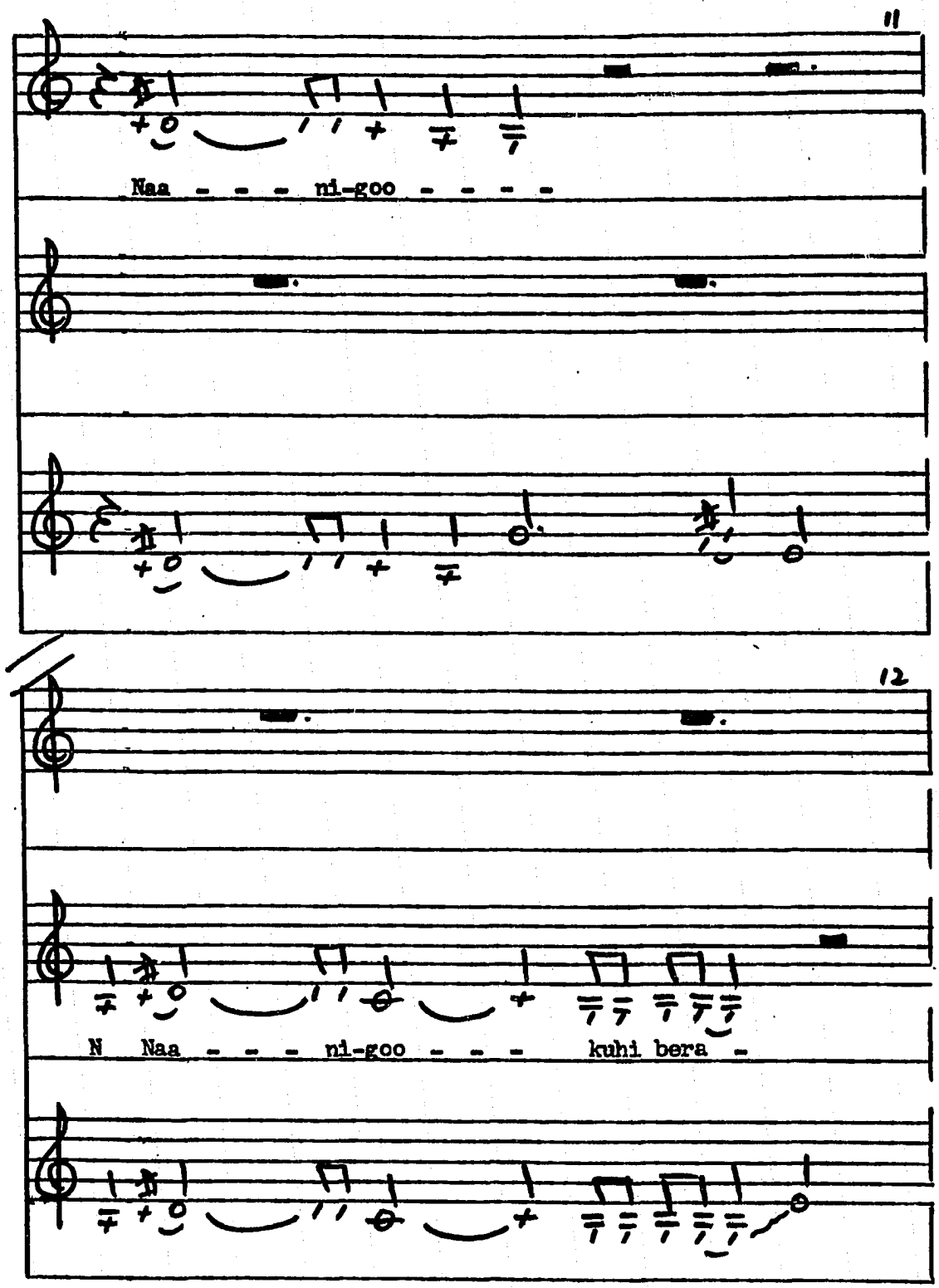
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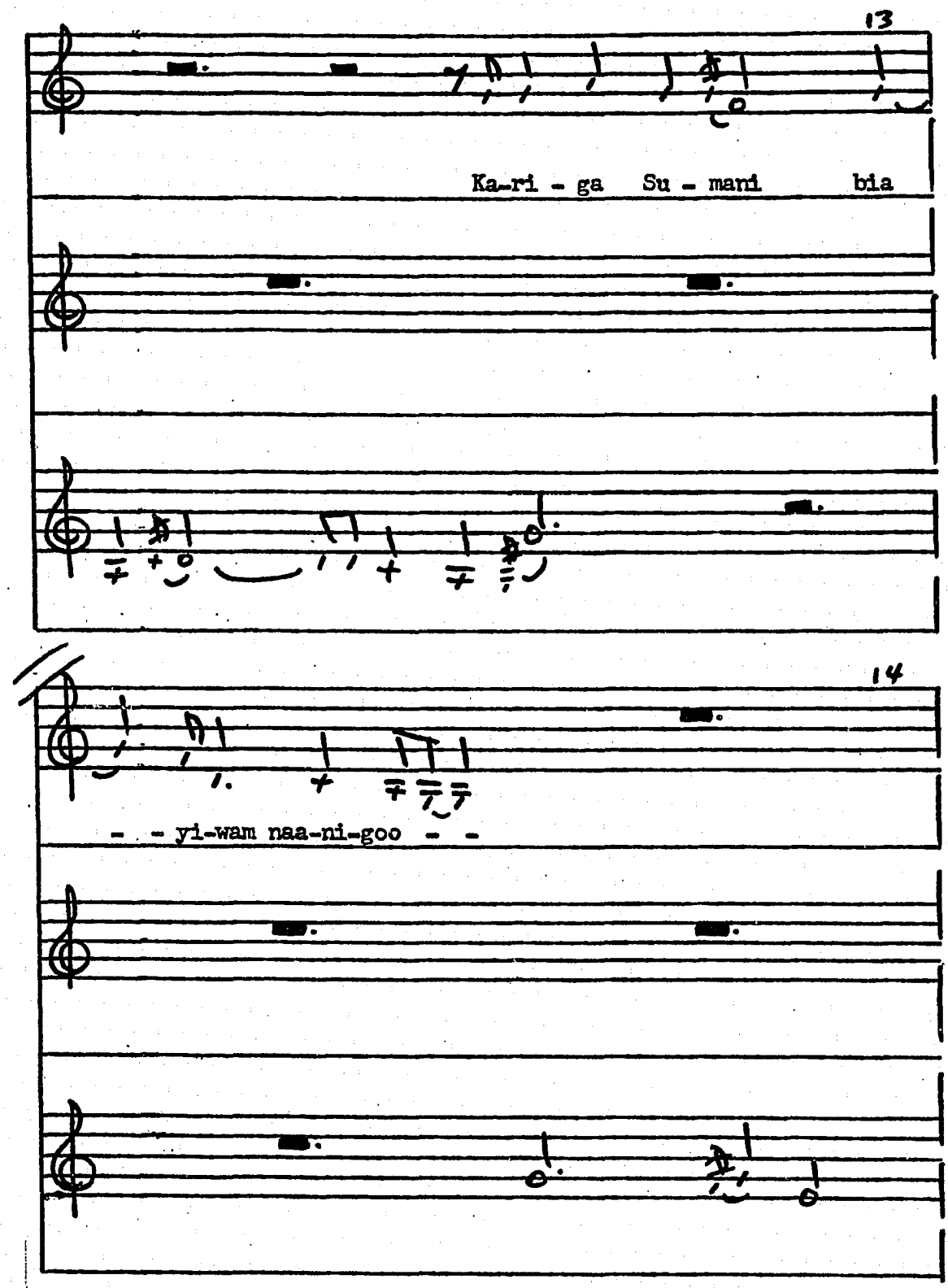
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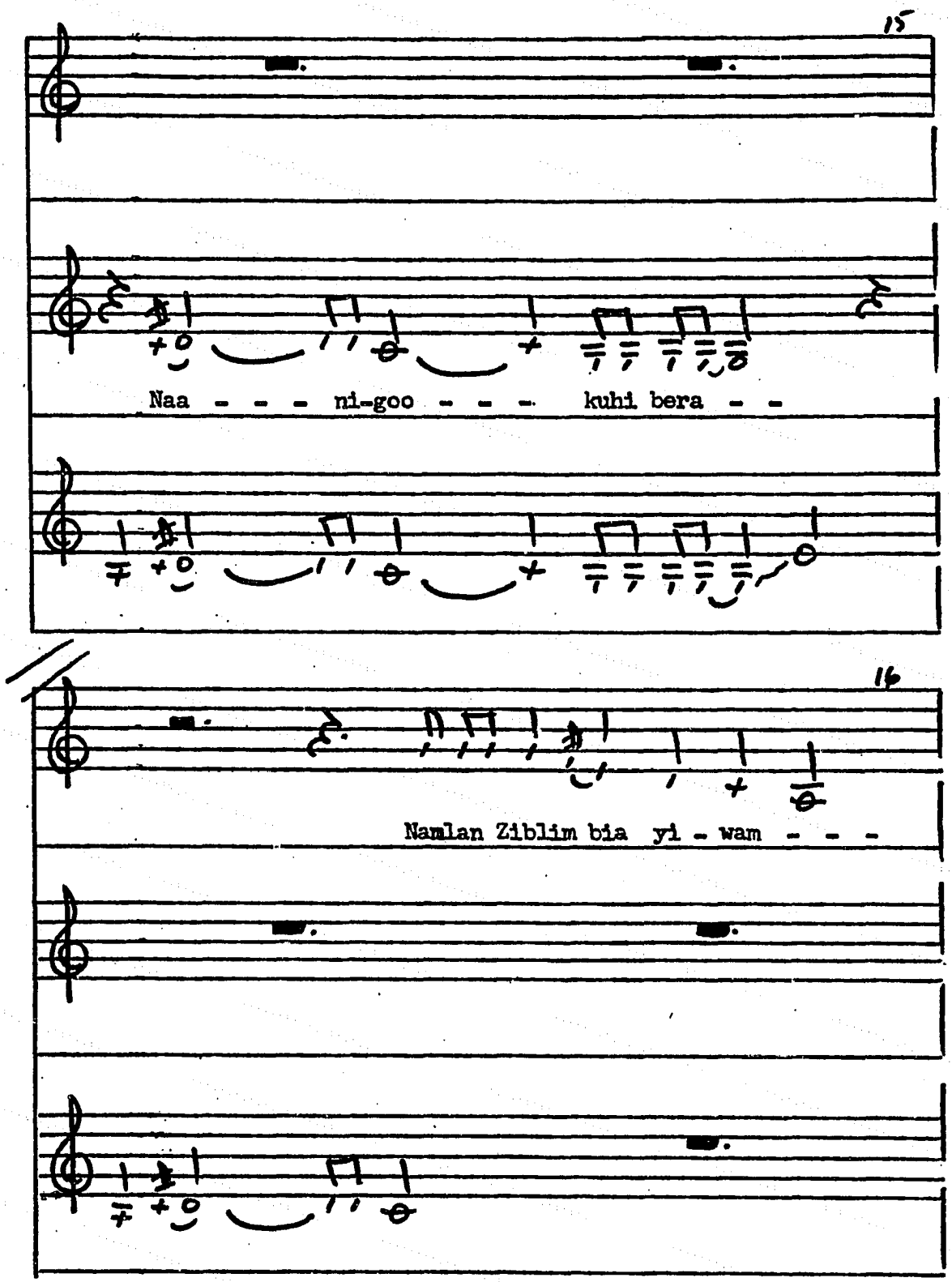
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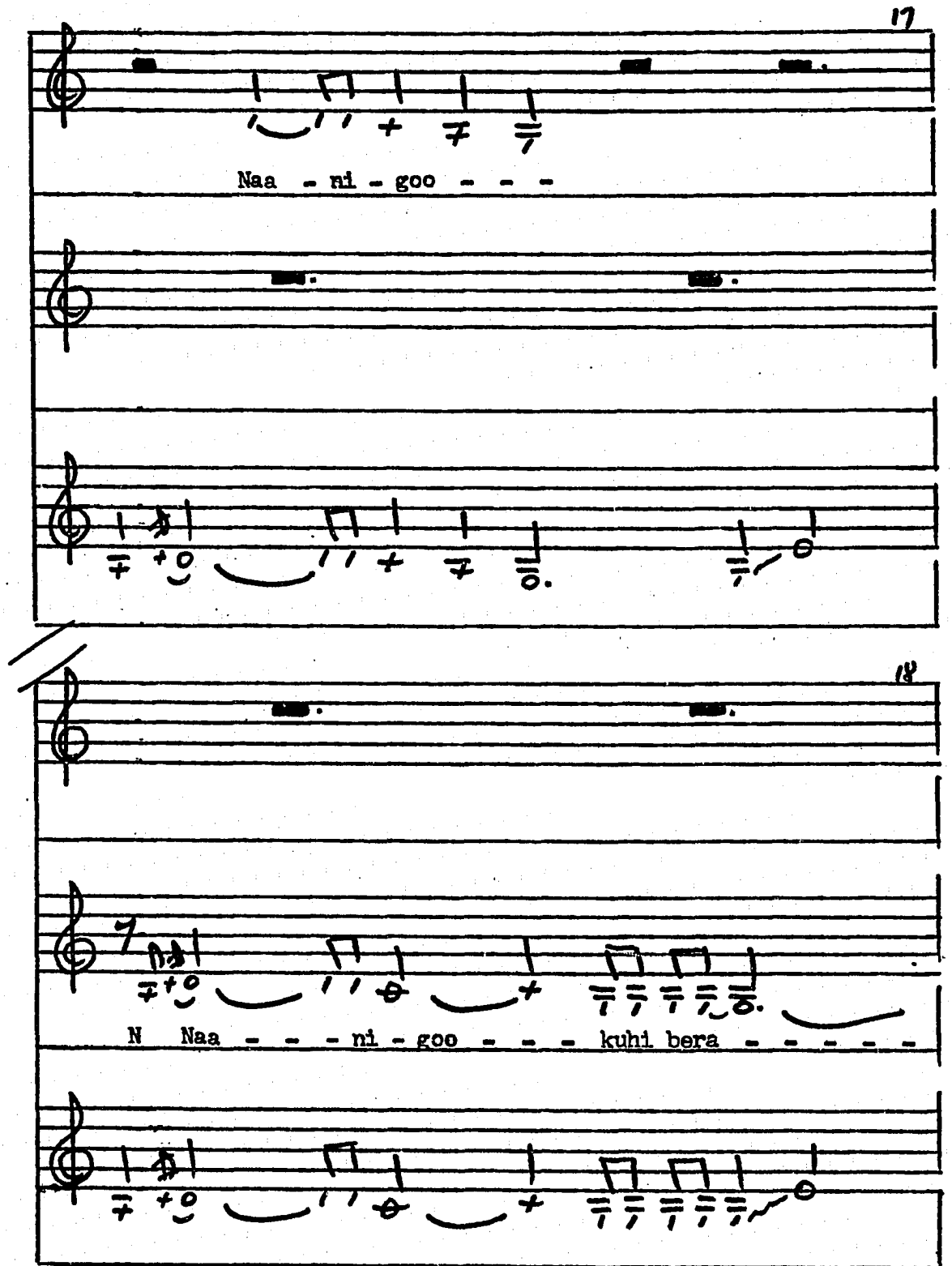
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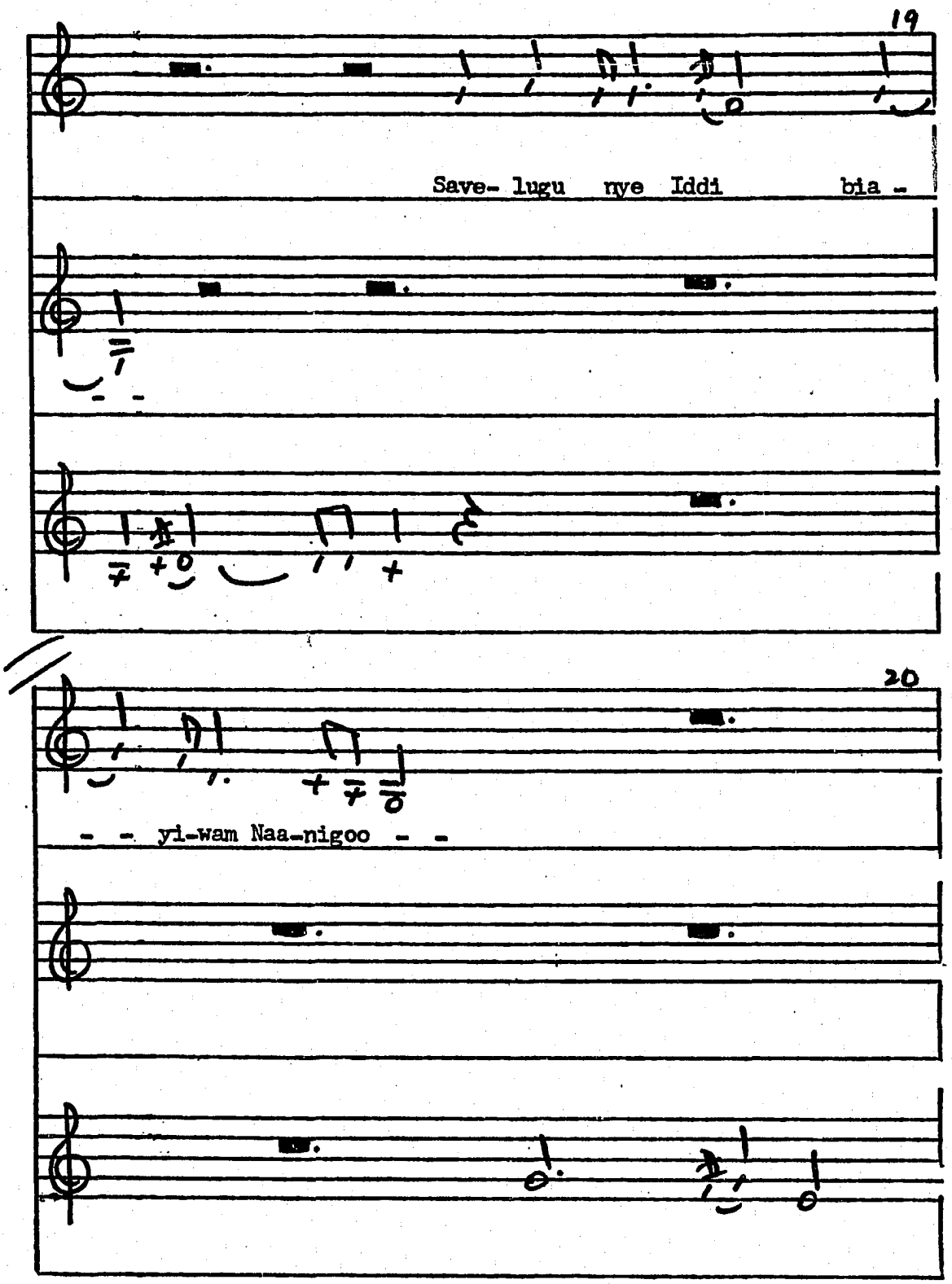
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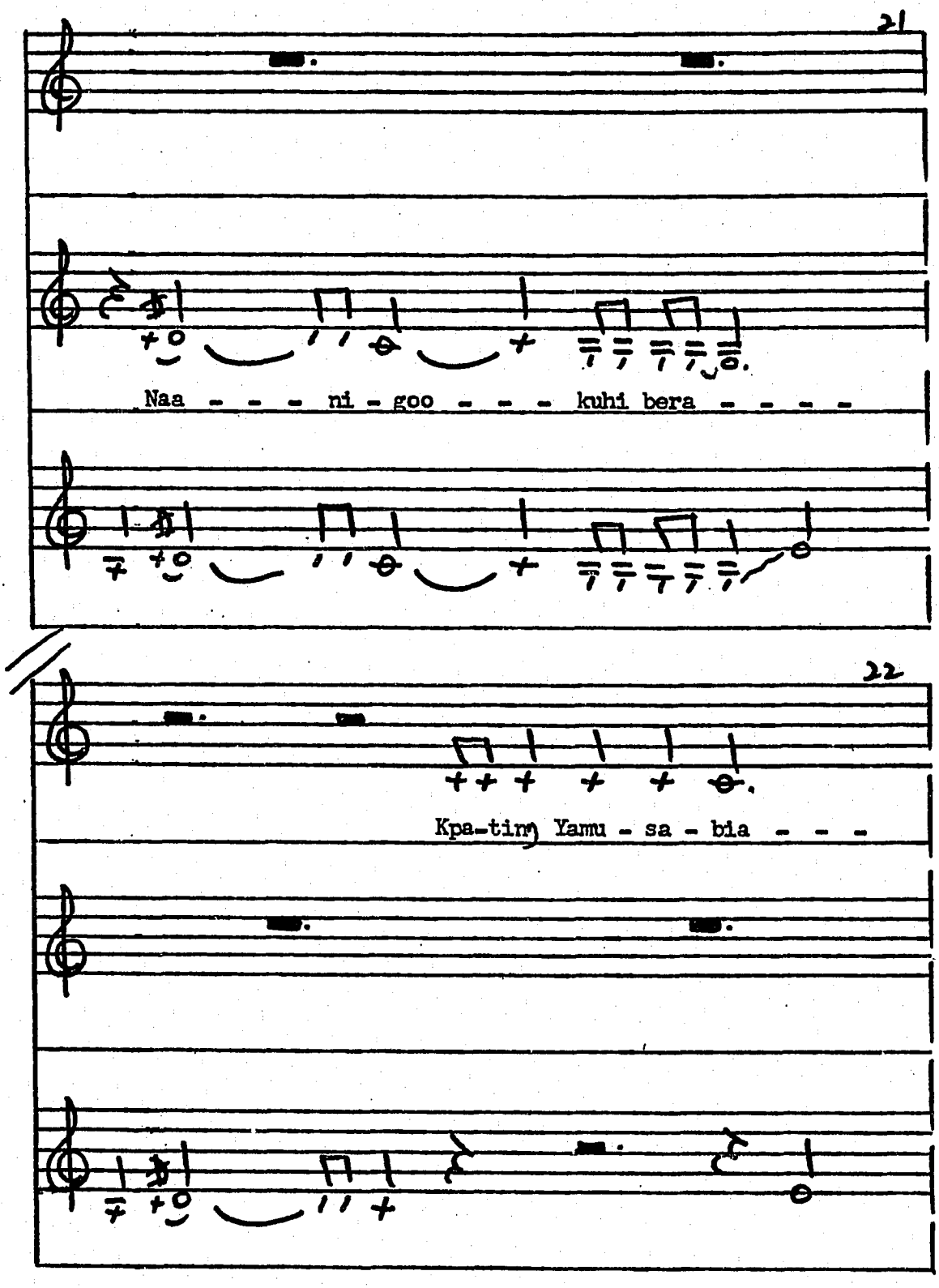
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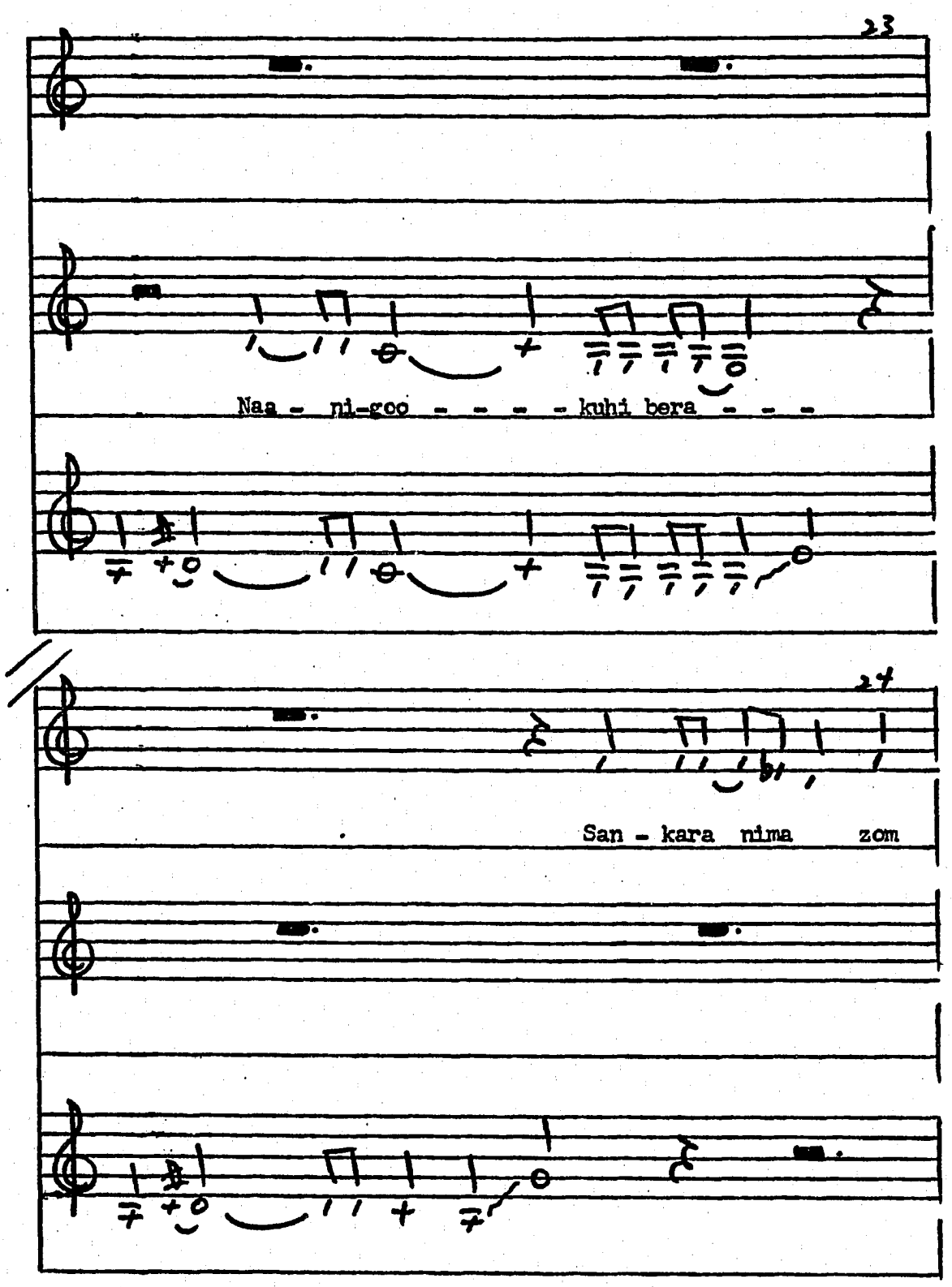
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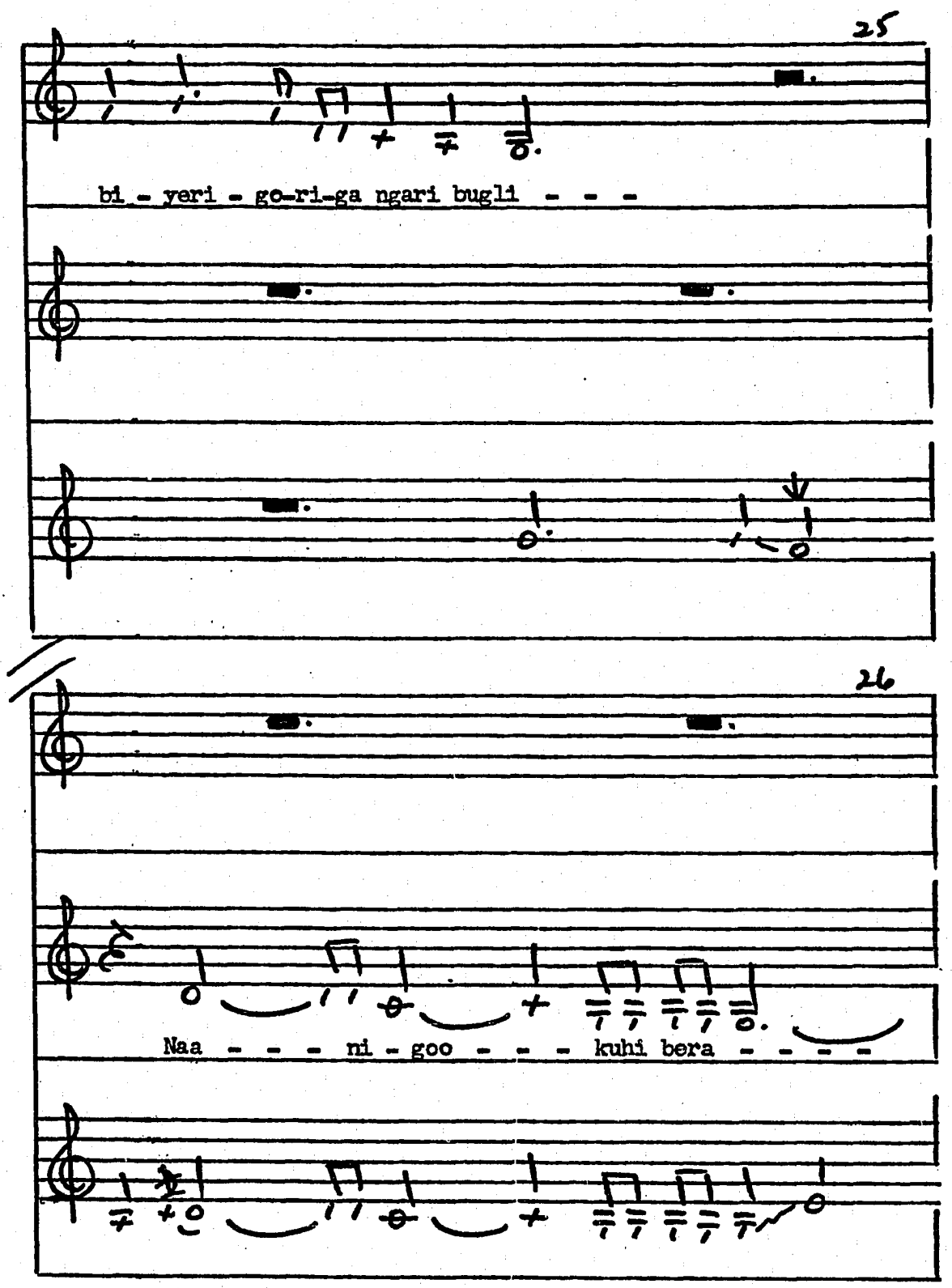
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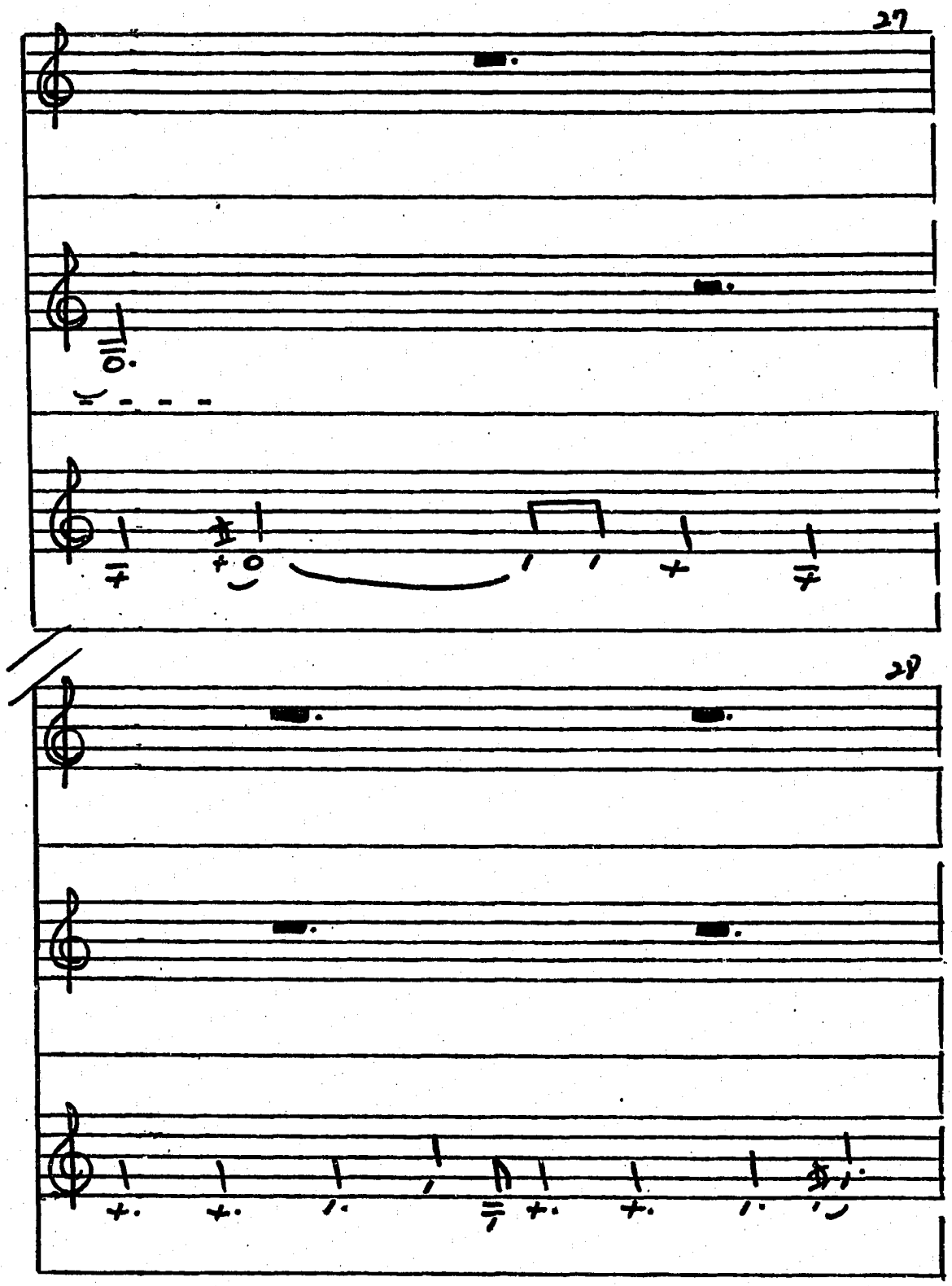
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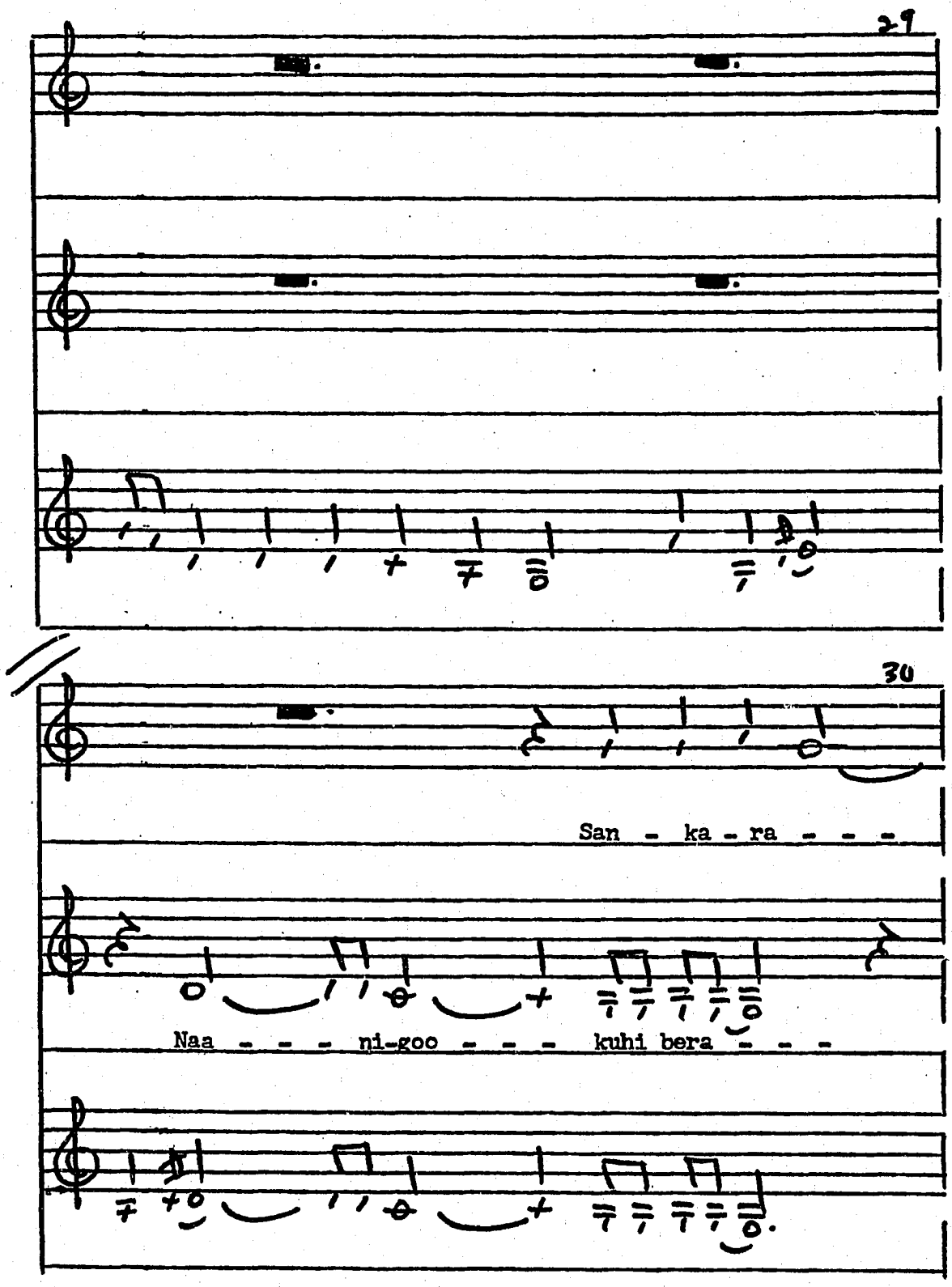
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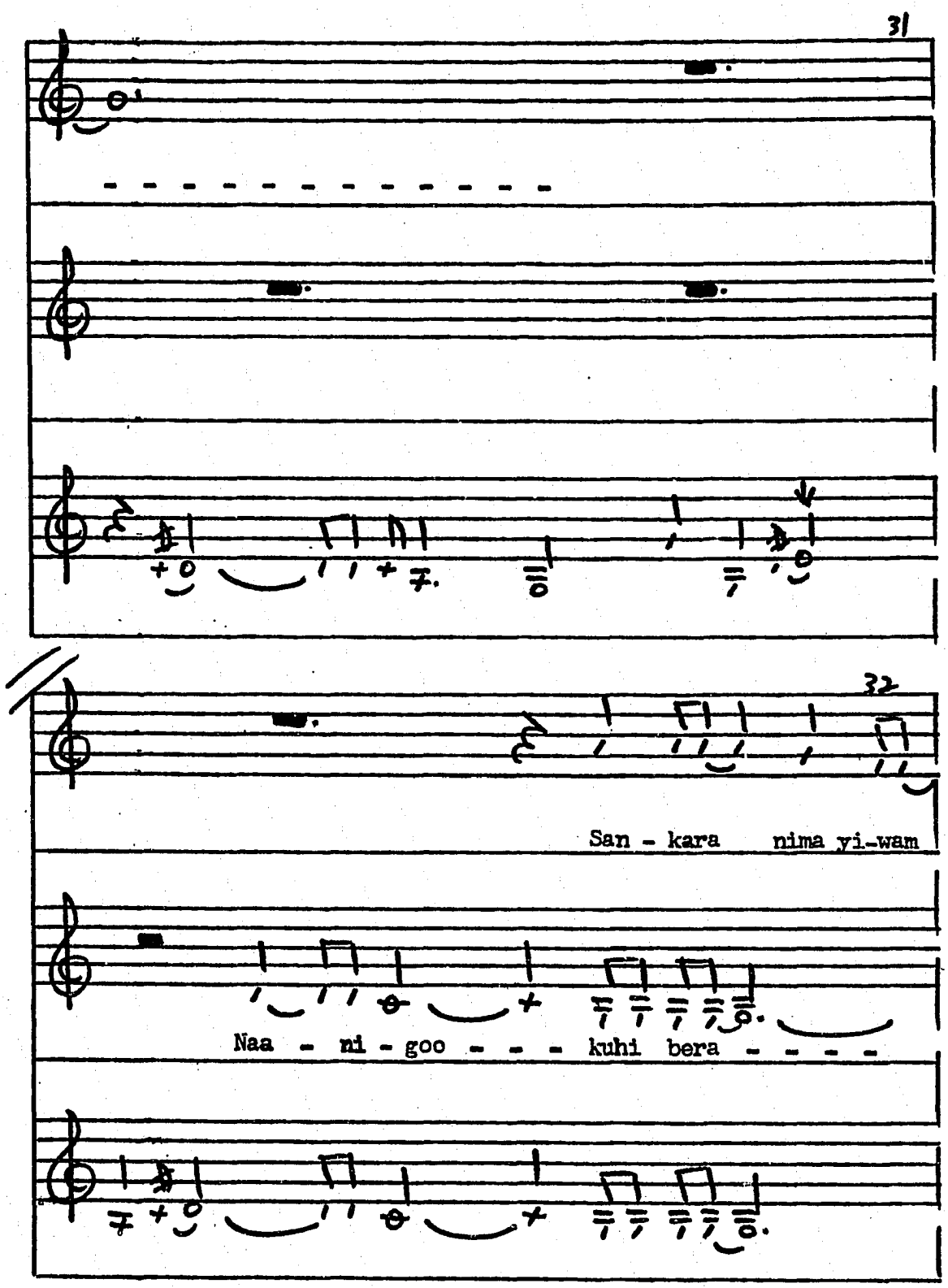
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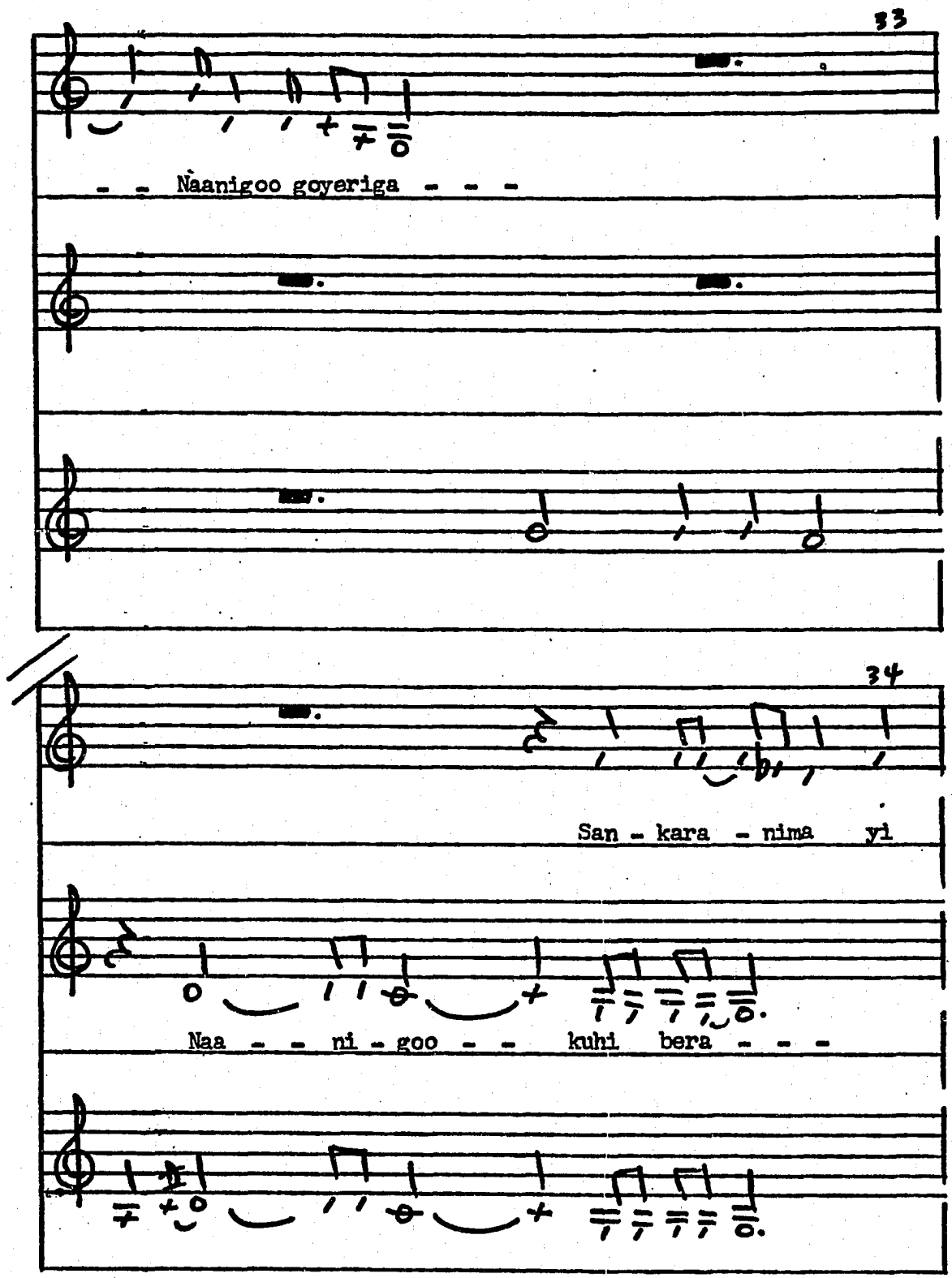
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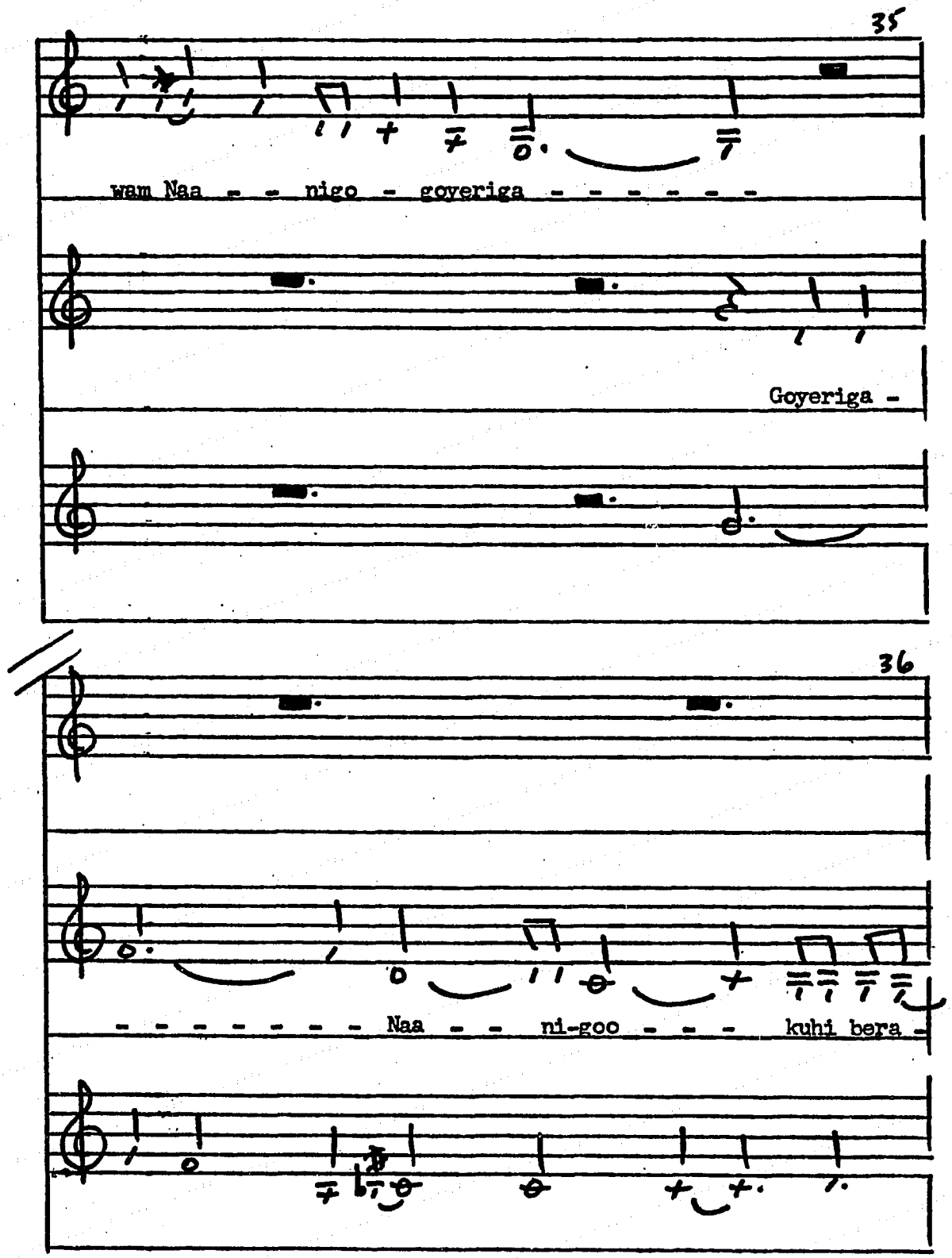
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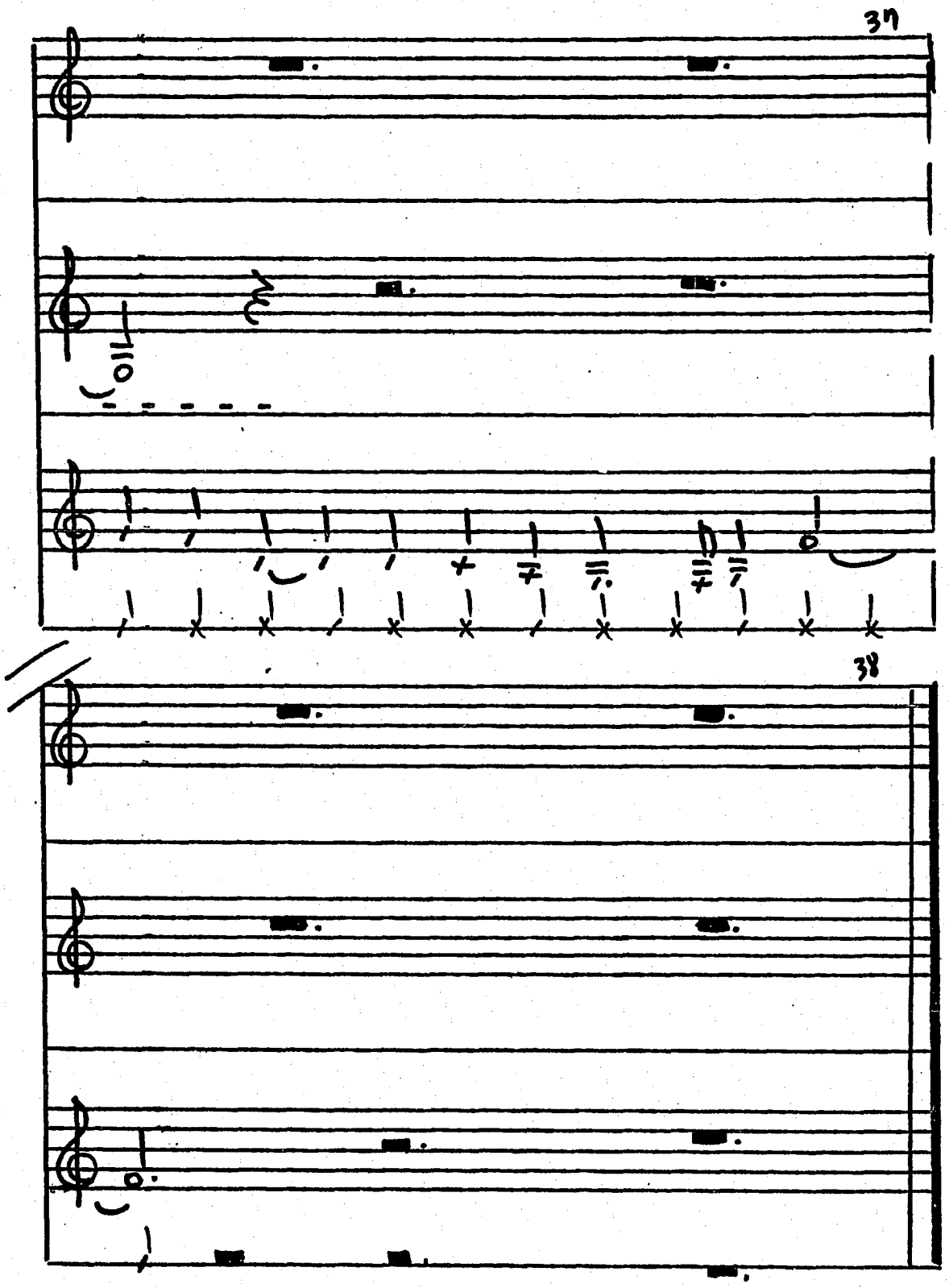
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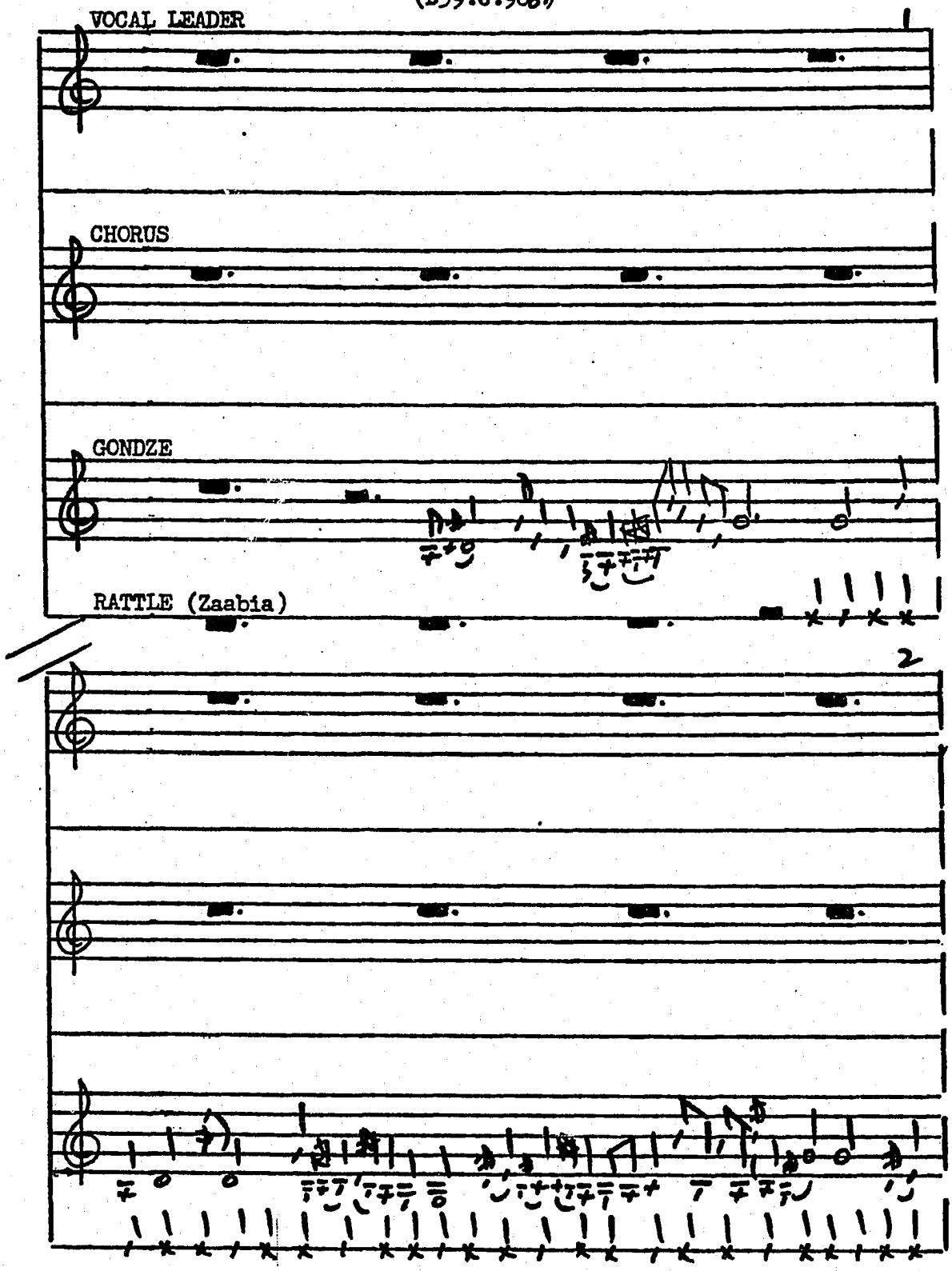


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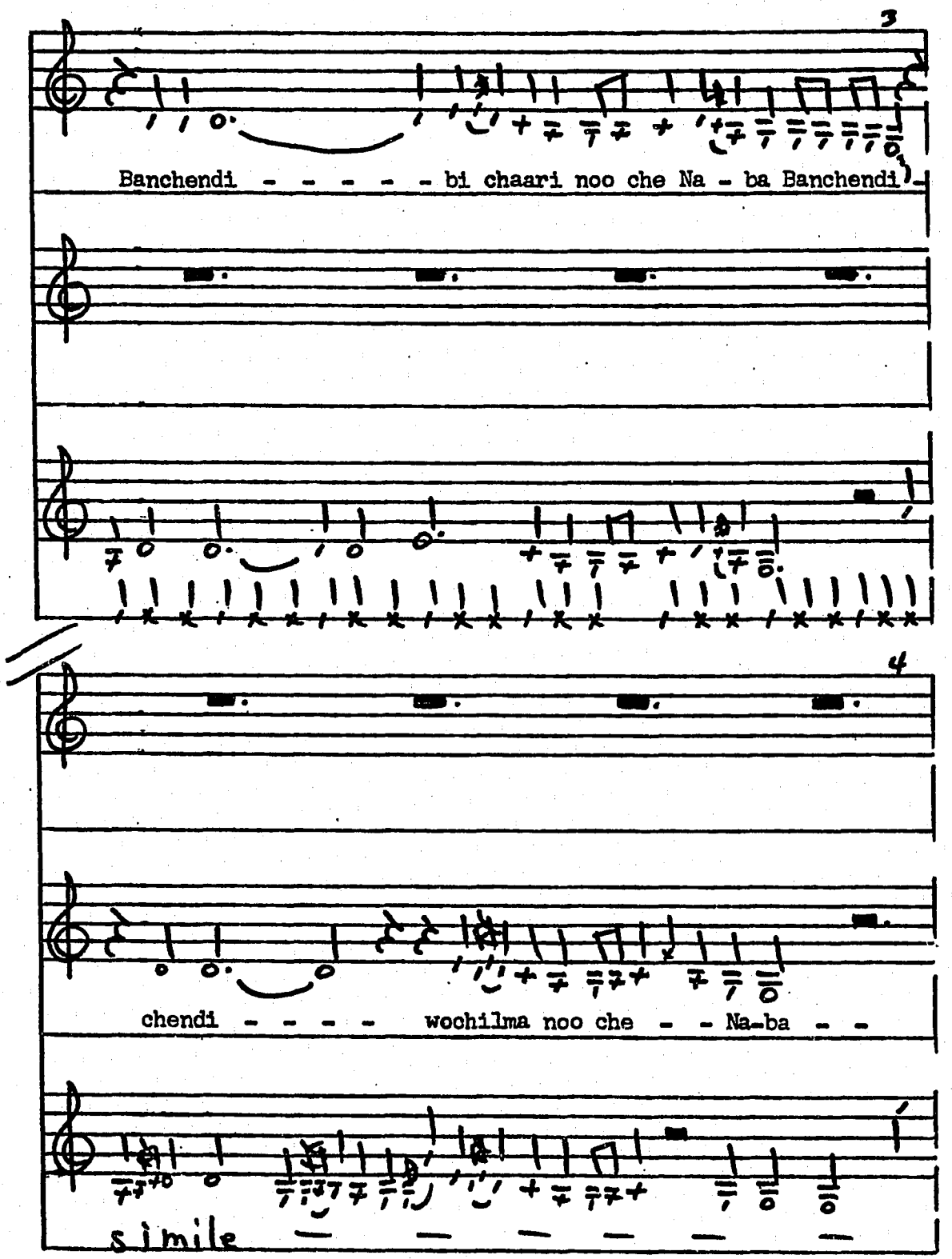


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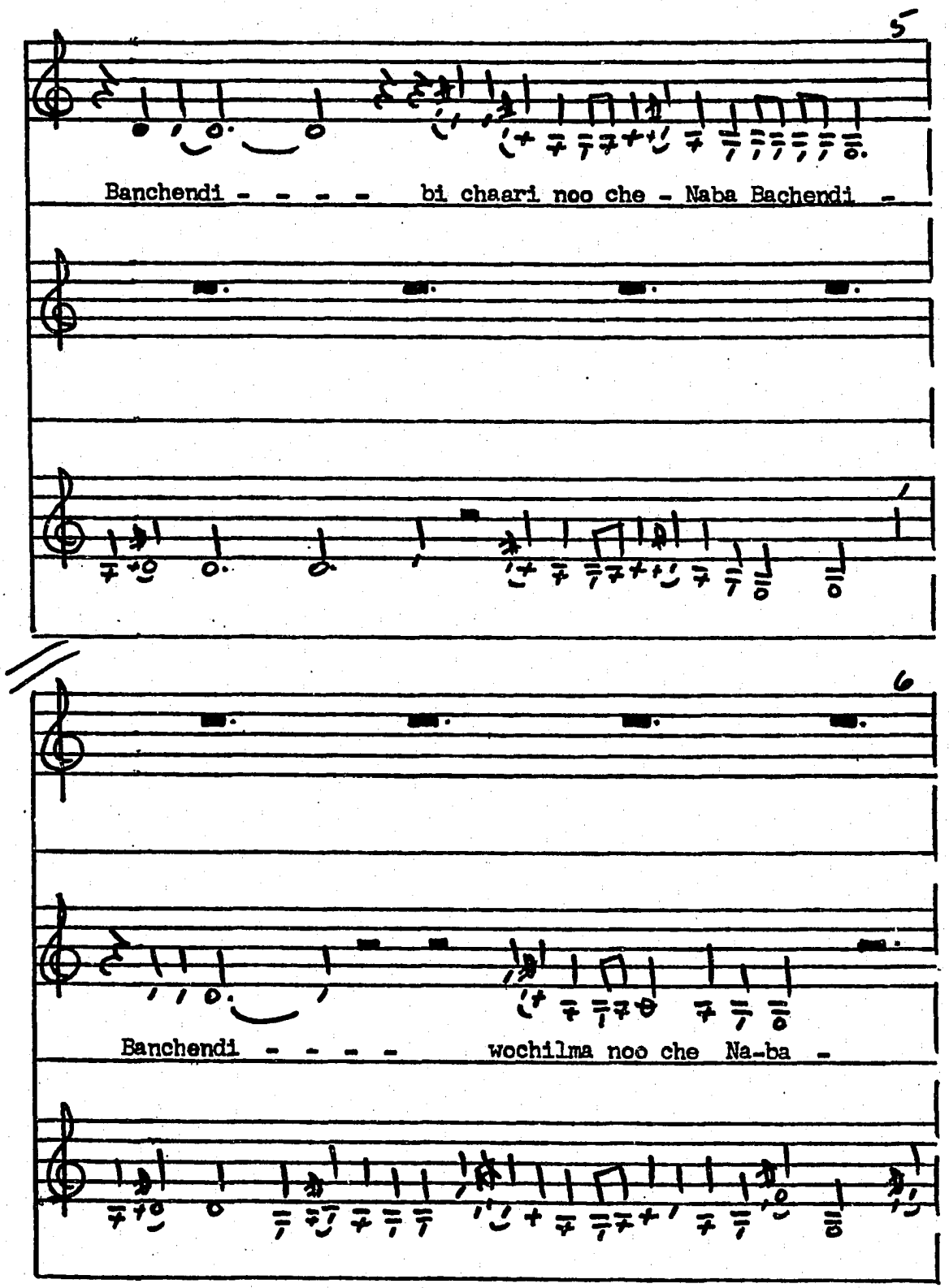
BANCHENDI
by Salisu Mahama
(D39:0:96d.)



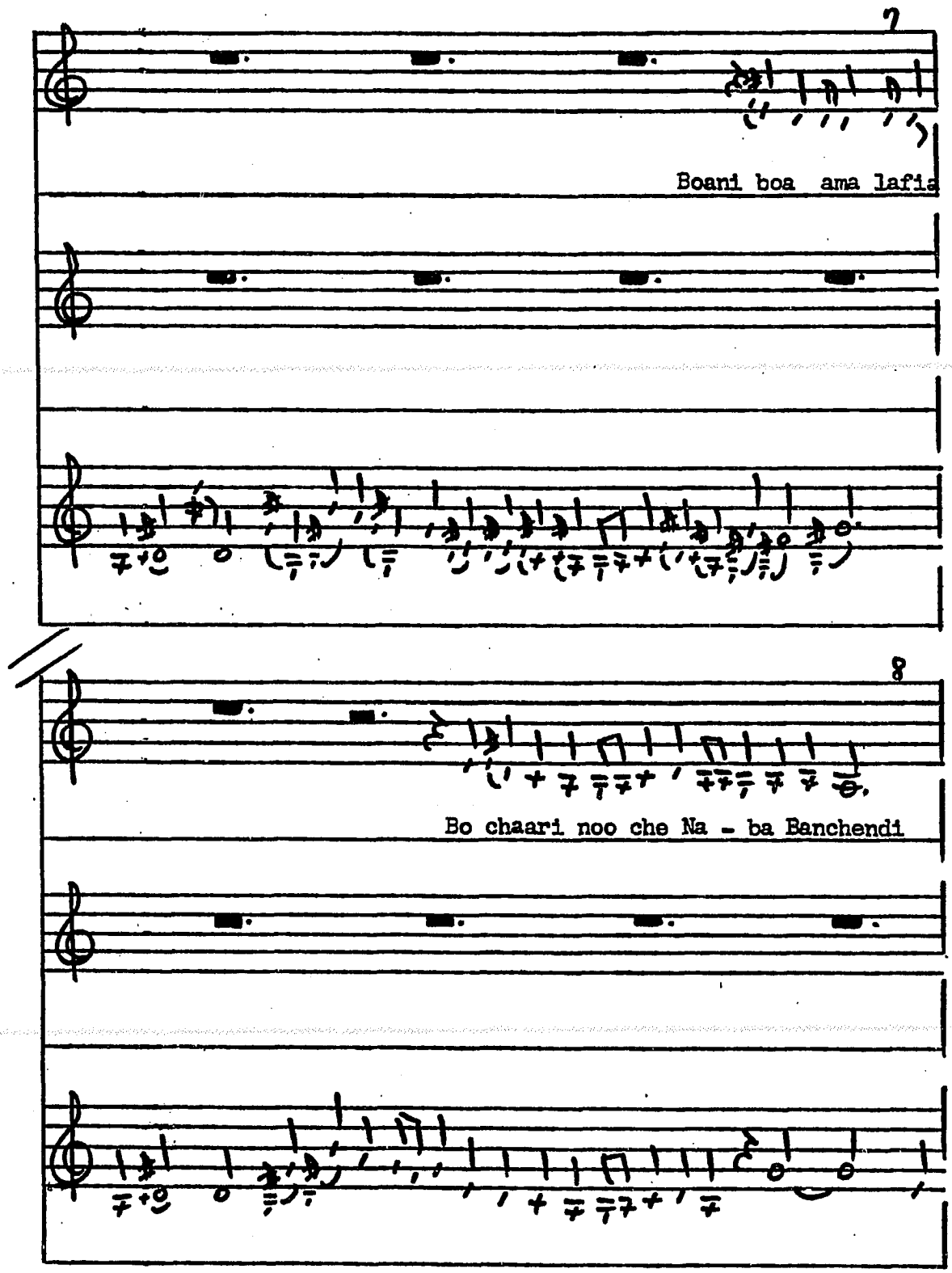
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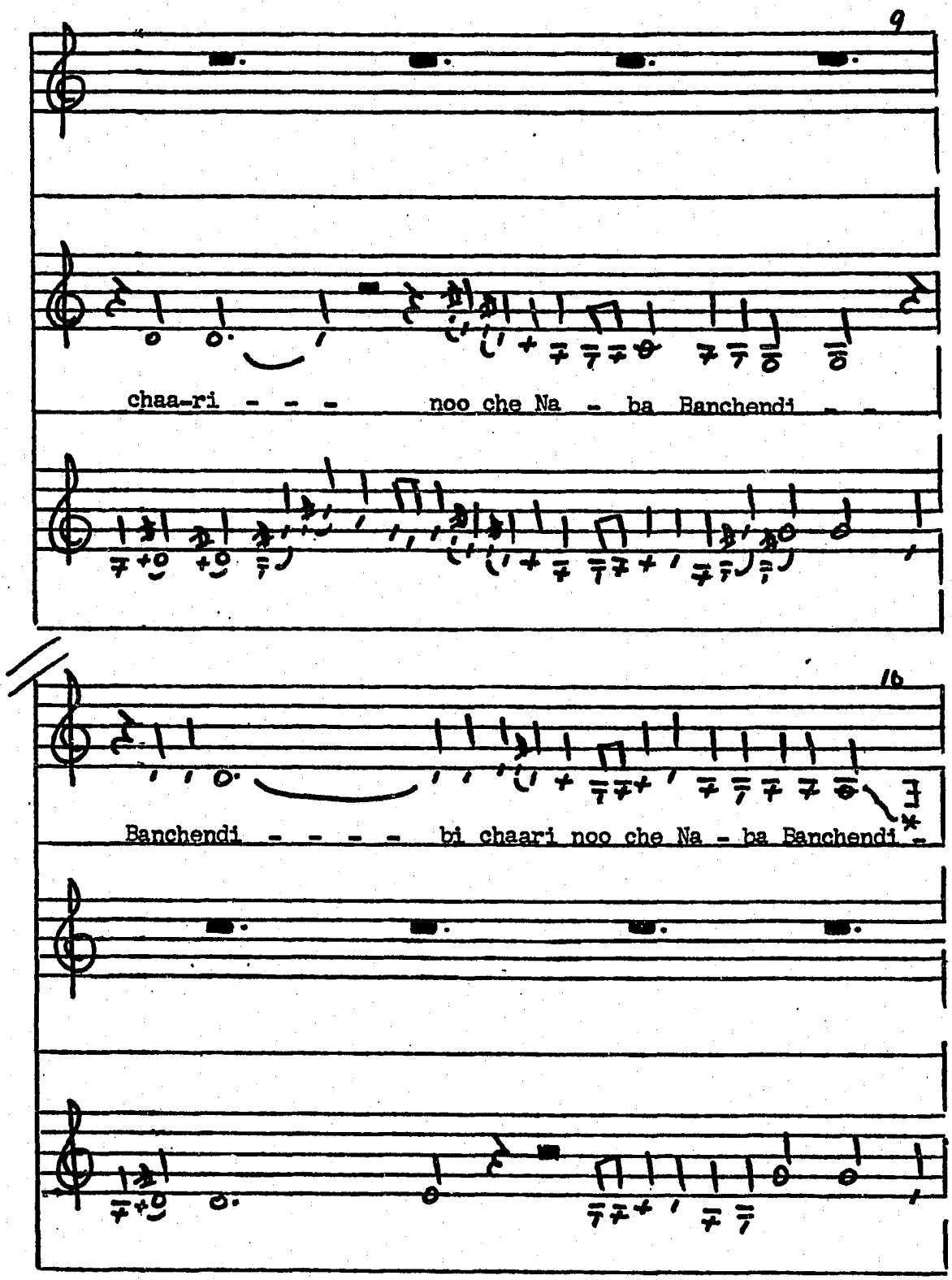
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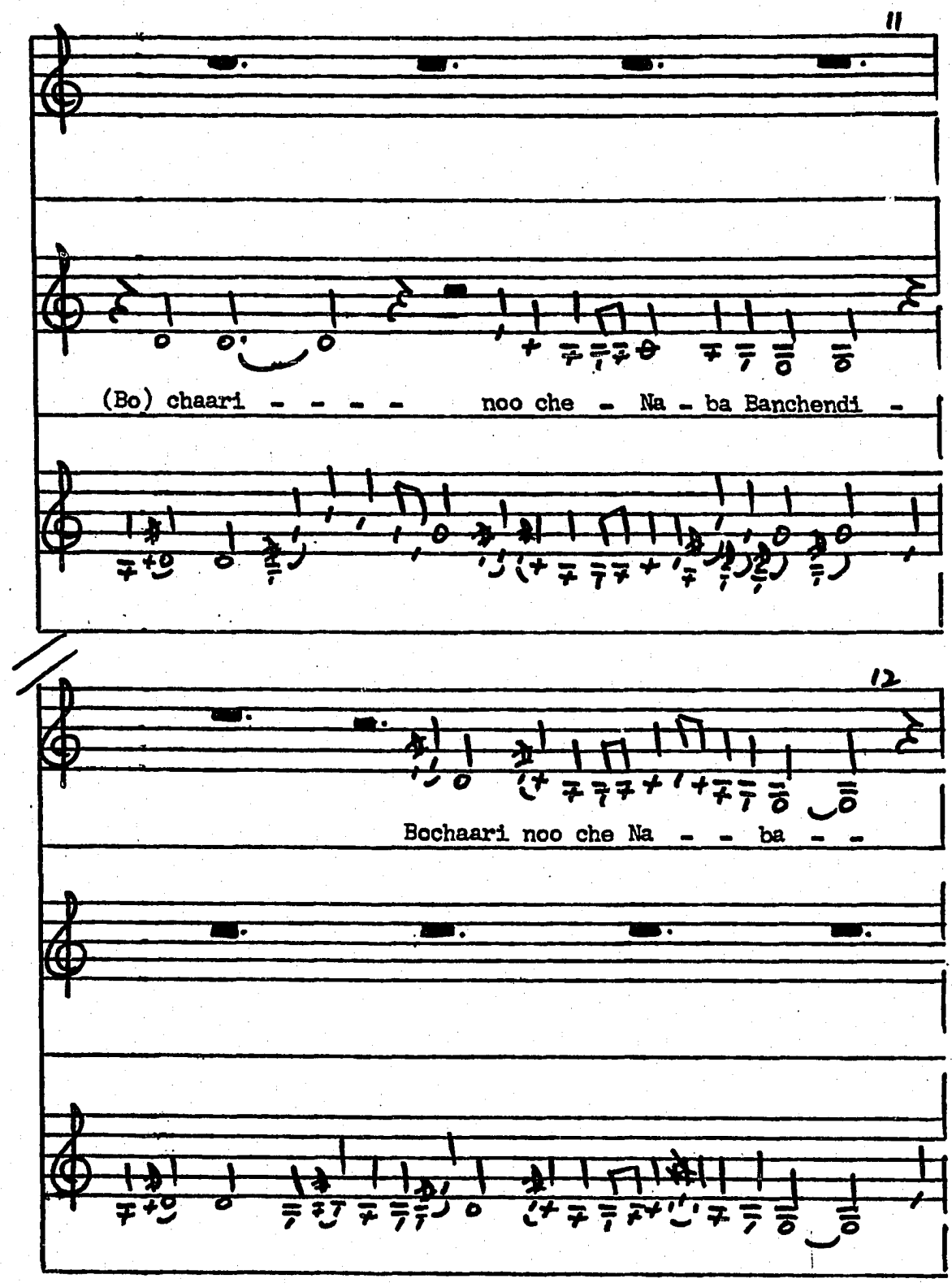


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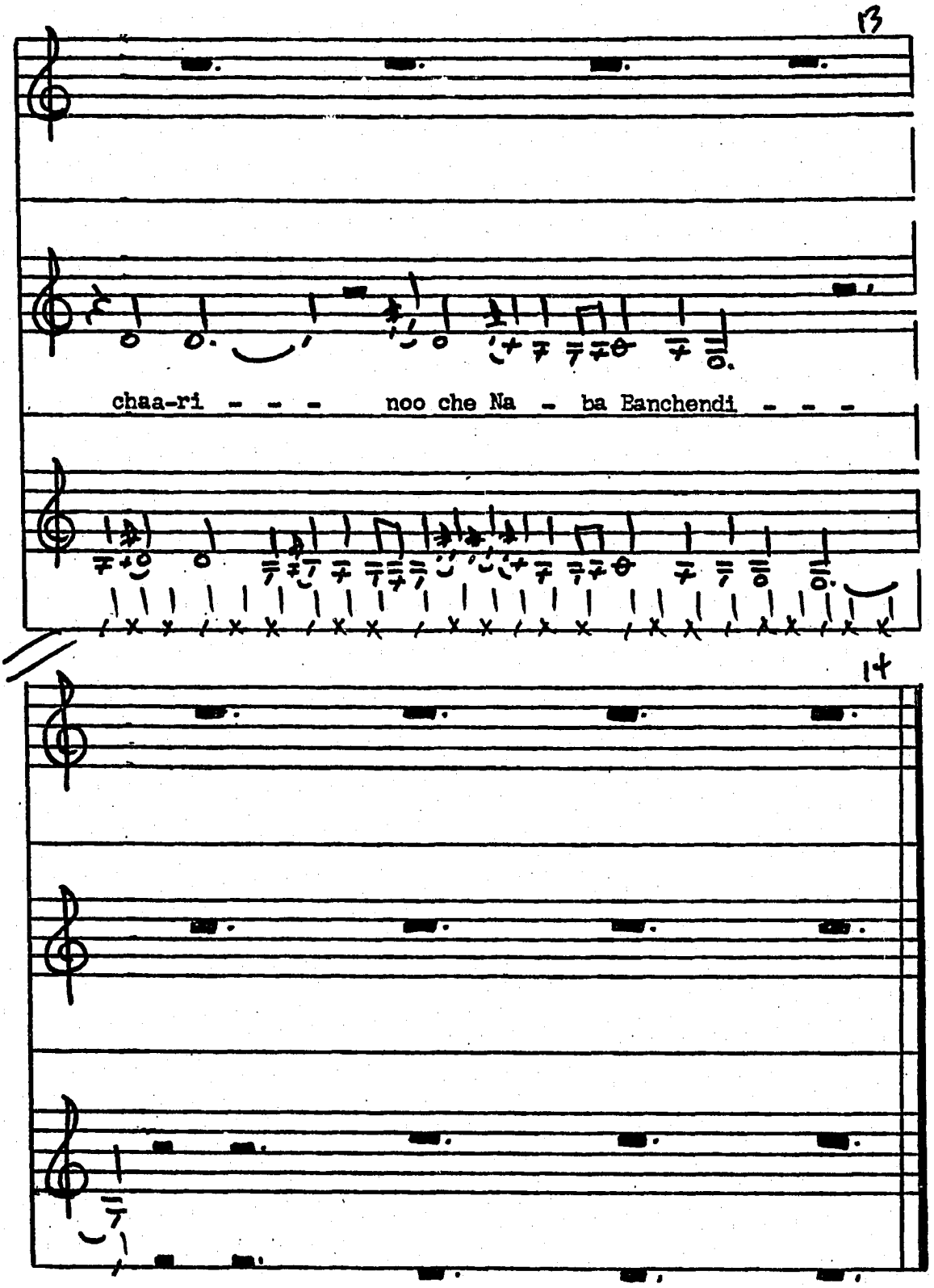
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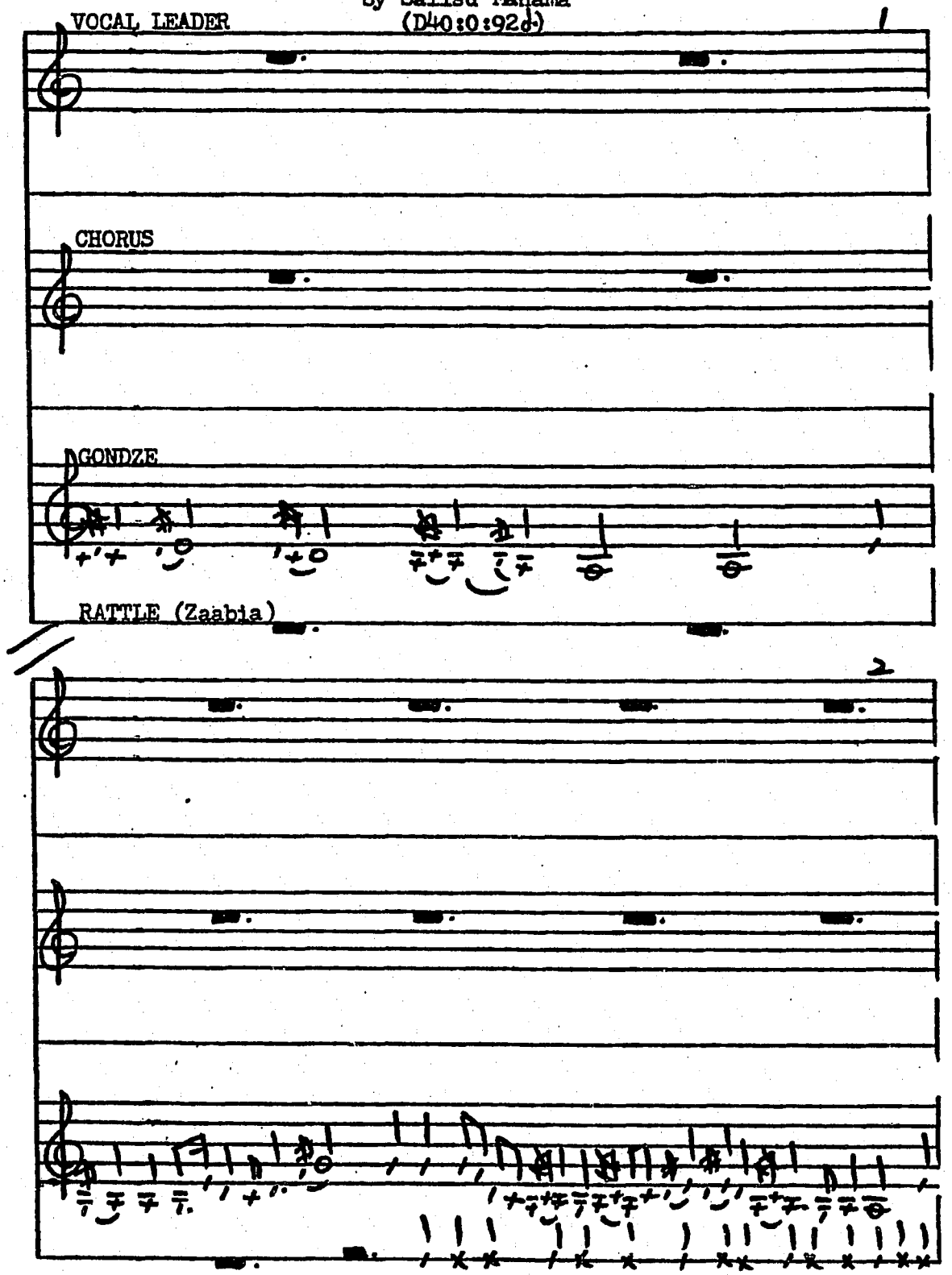


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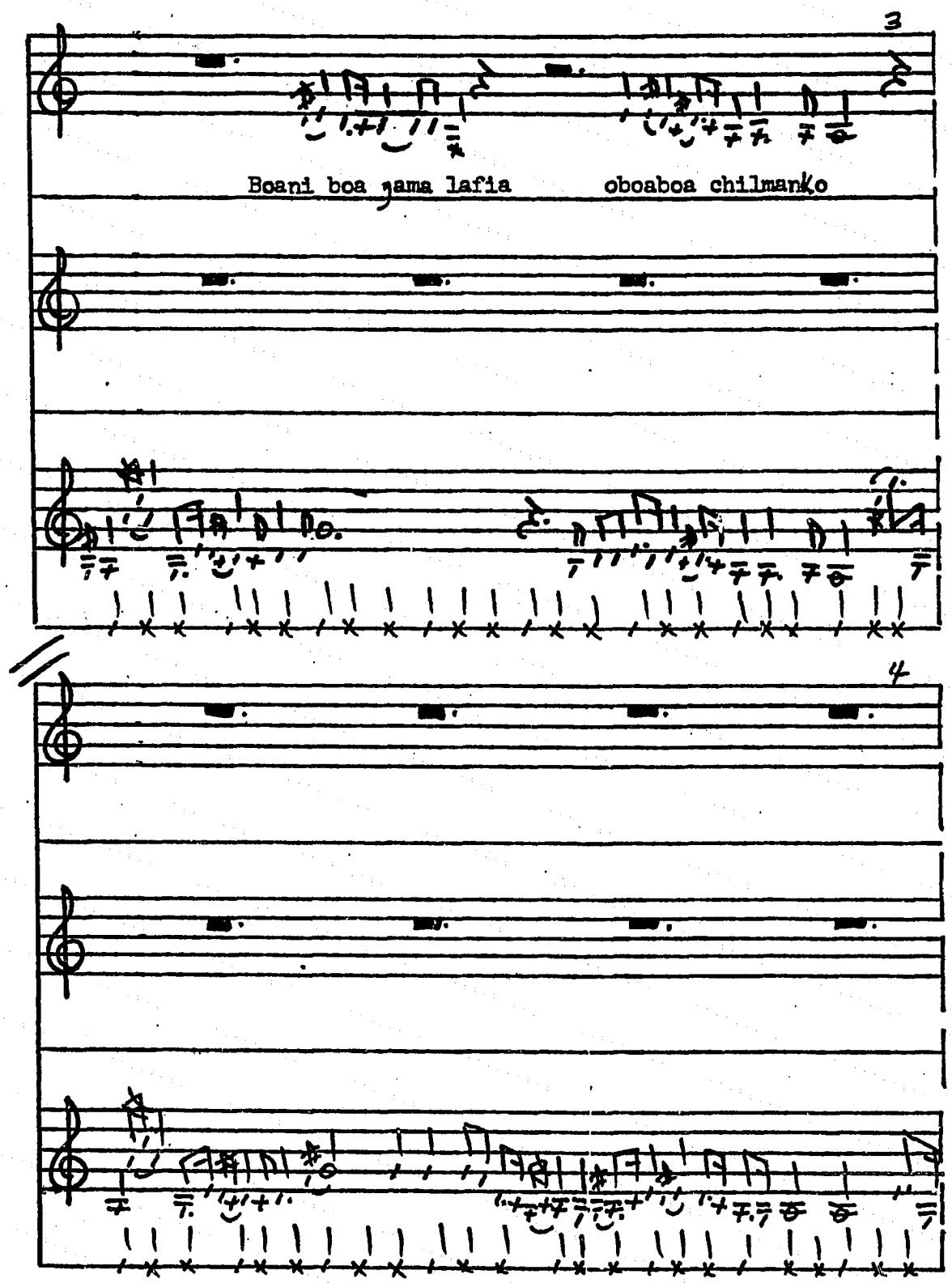


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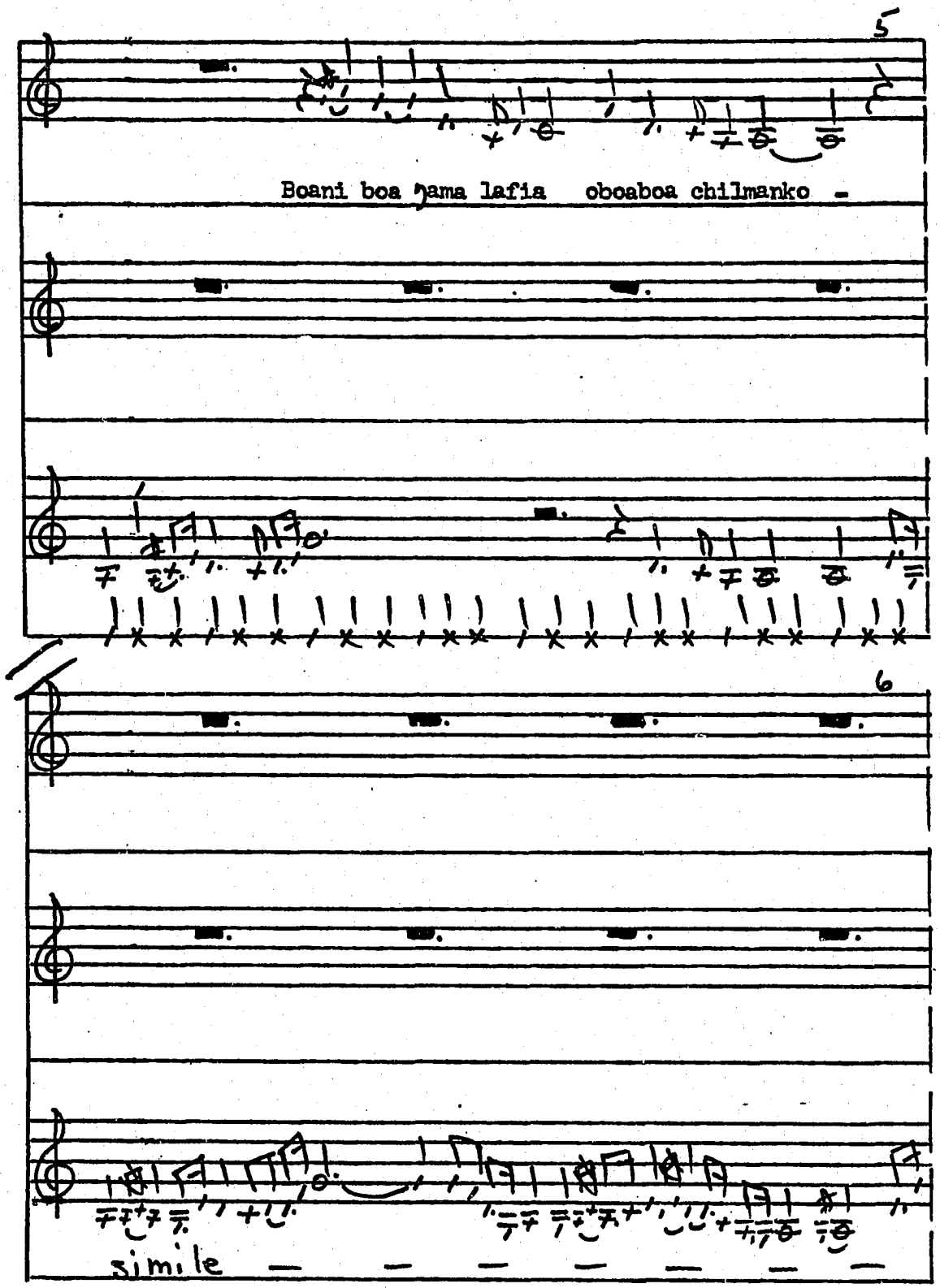
OBOABOA KULMANCHE
(Yamba Na Butali or Mutari)
by Salisu Mahama
(D40:0:92d)



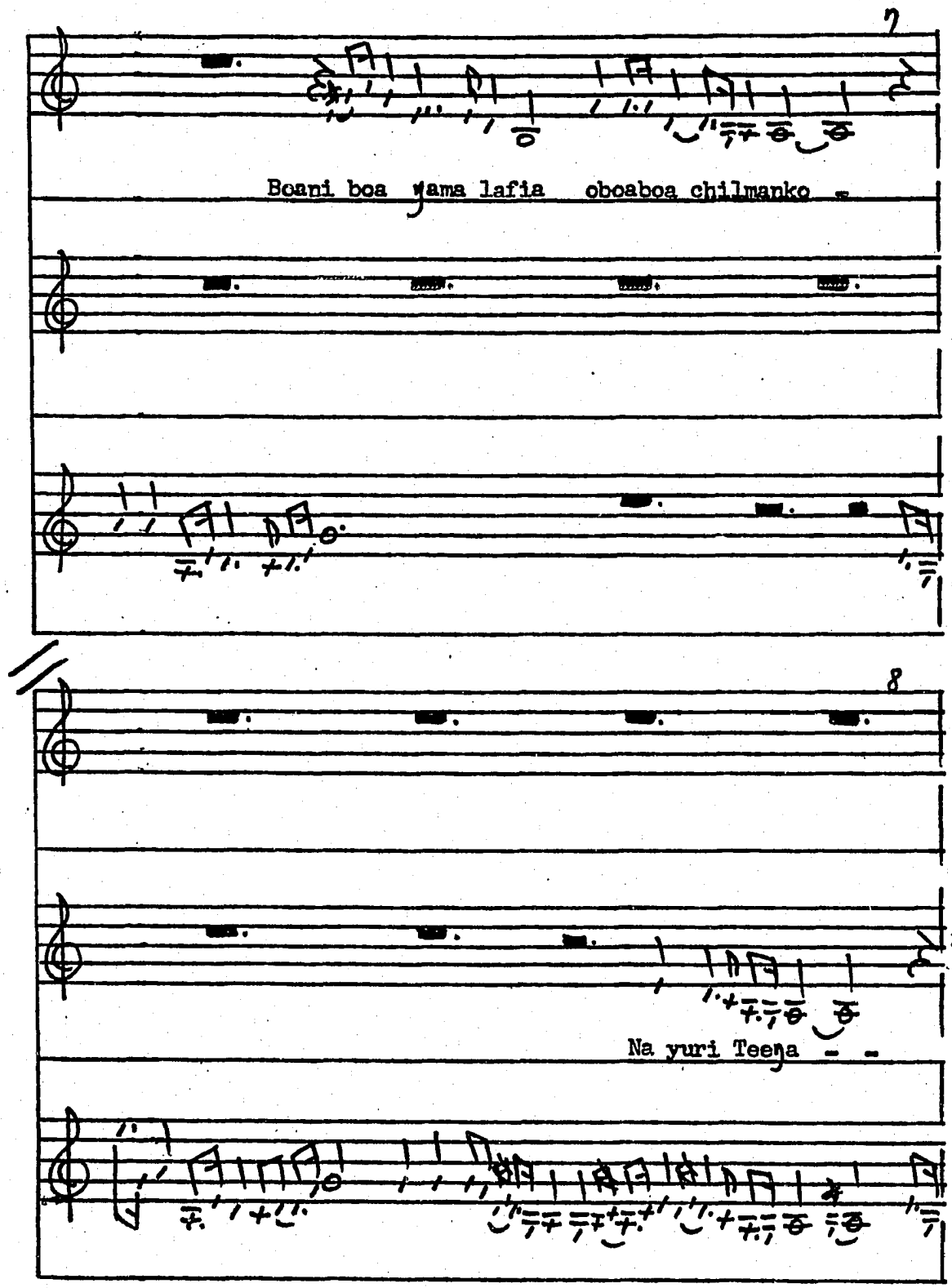
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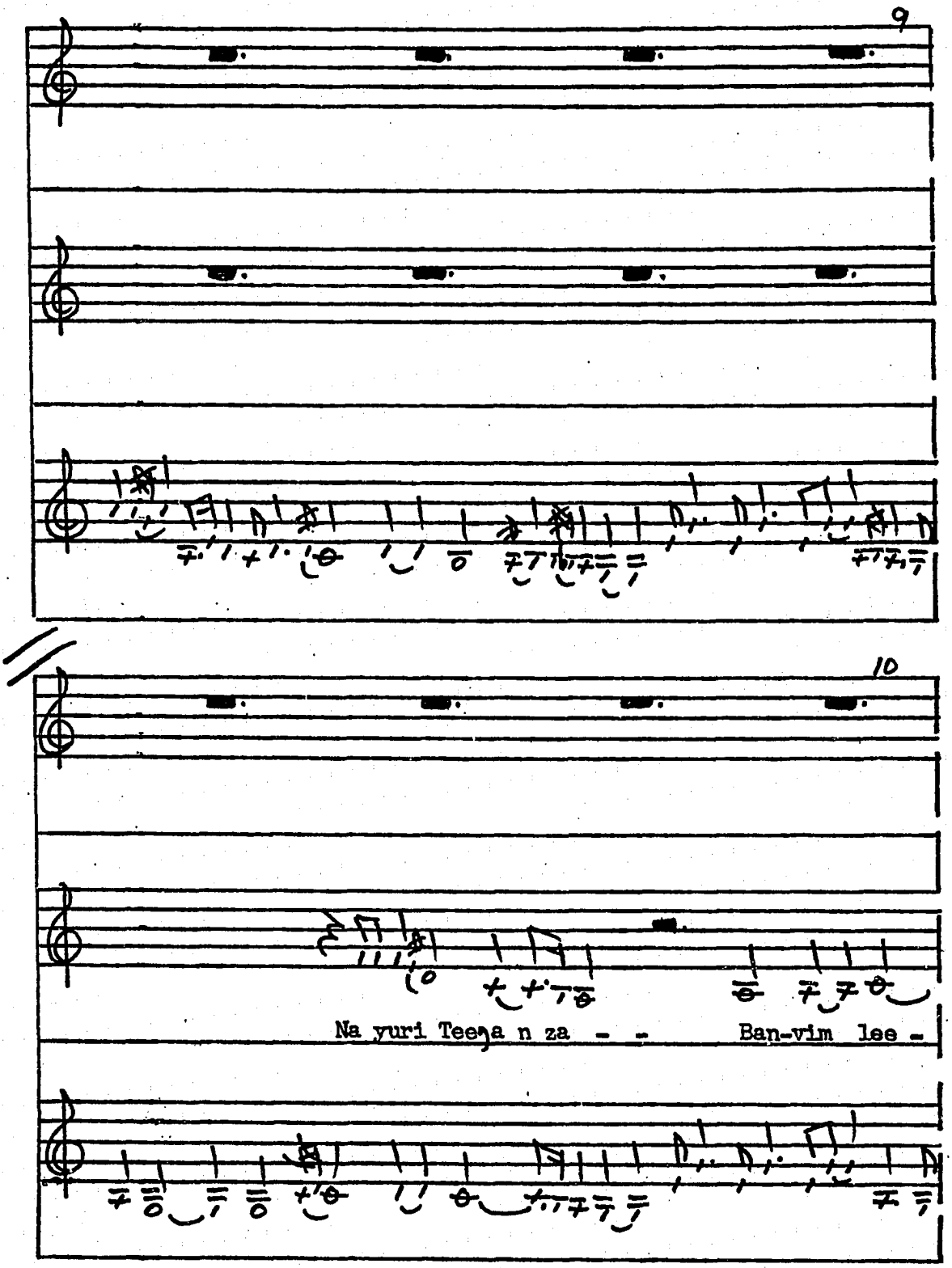
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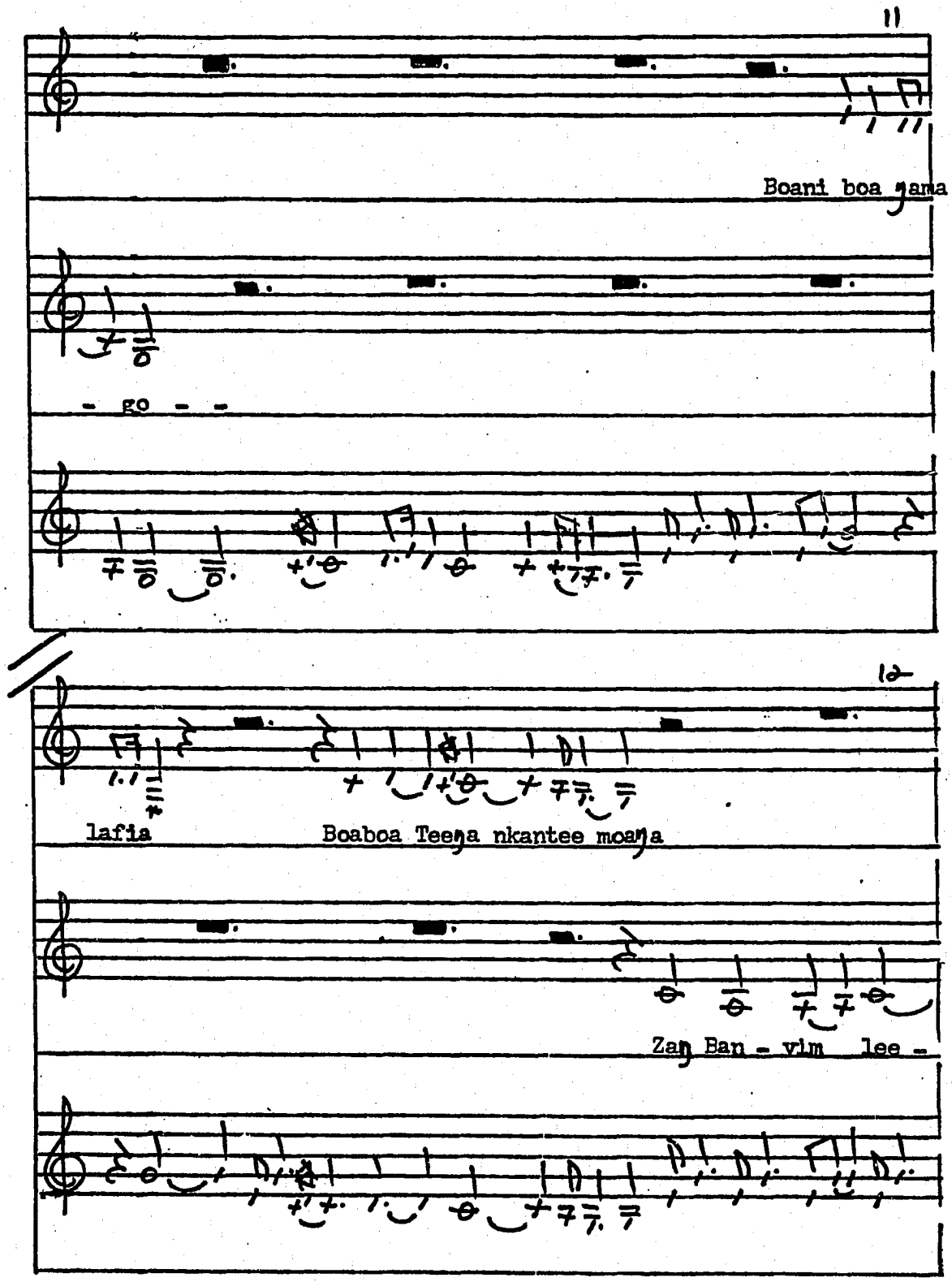


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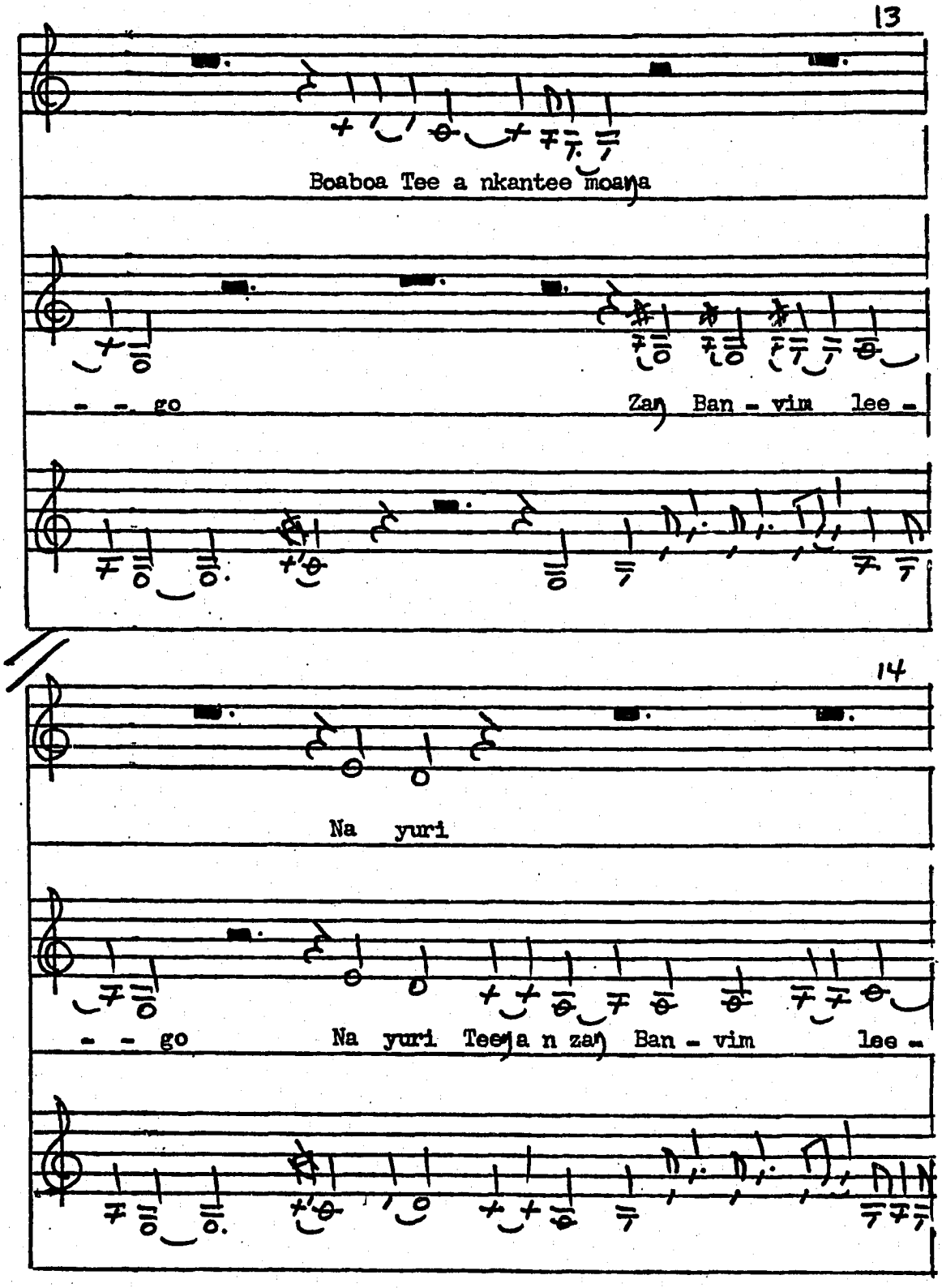
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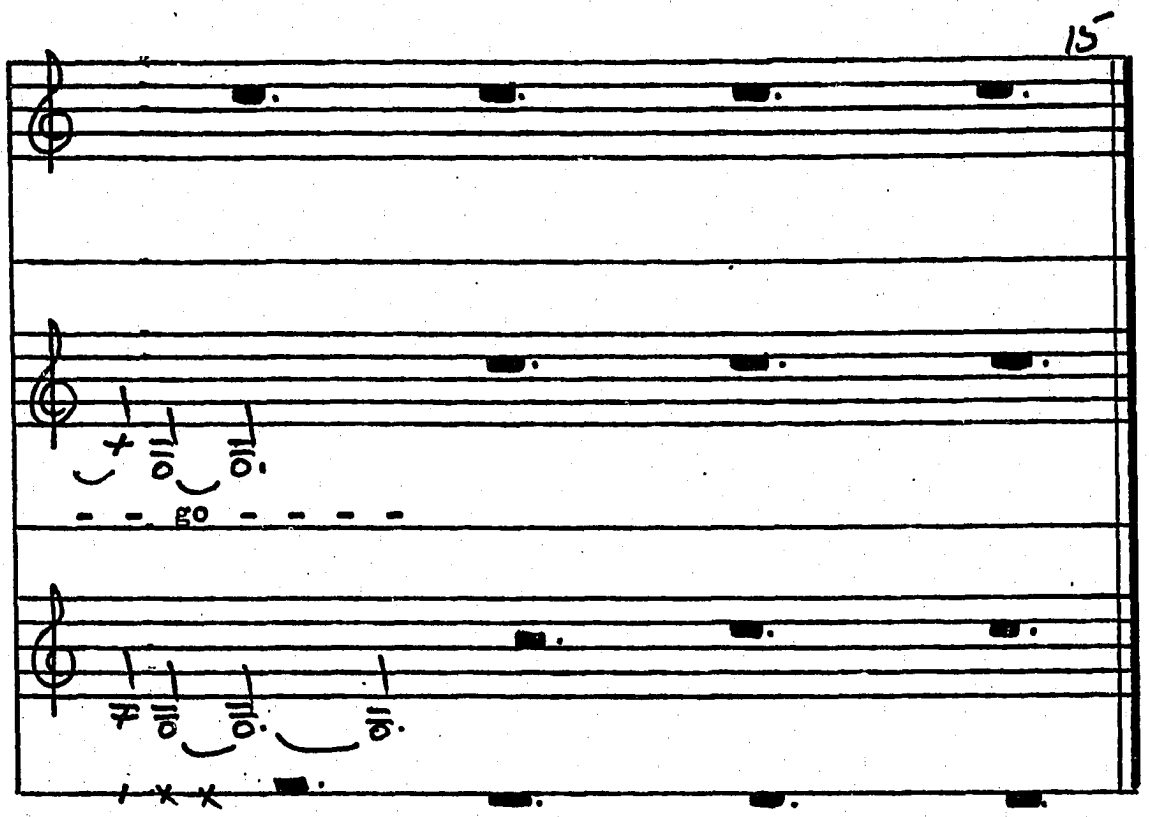
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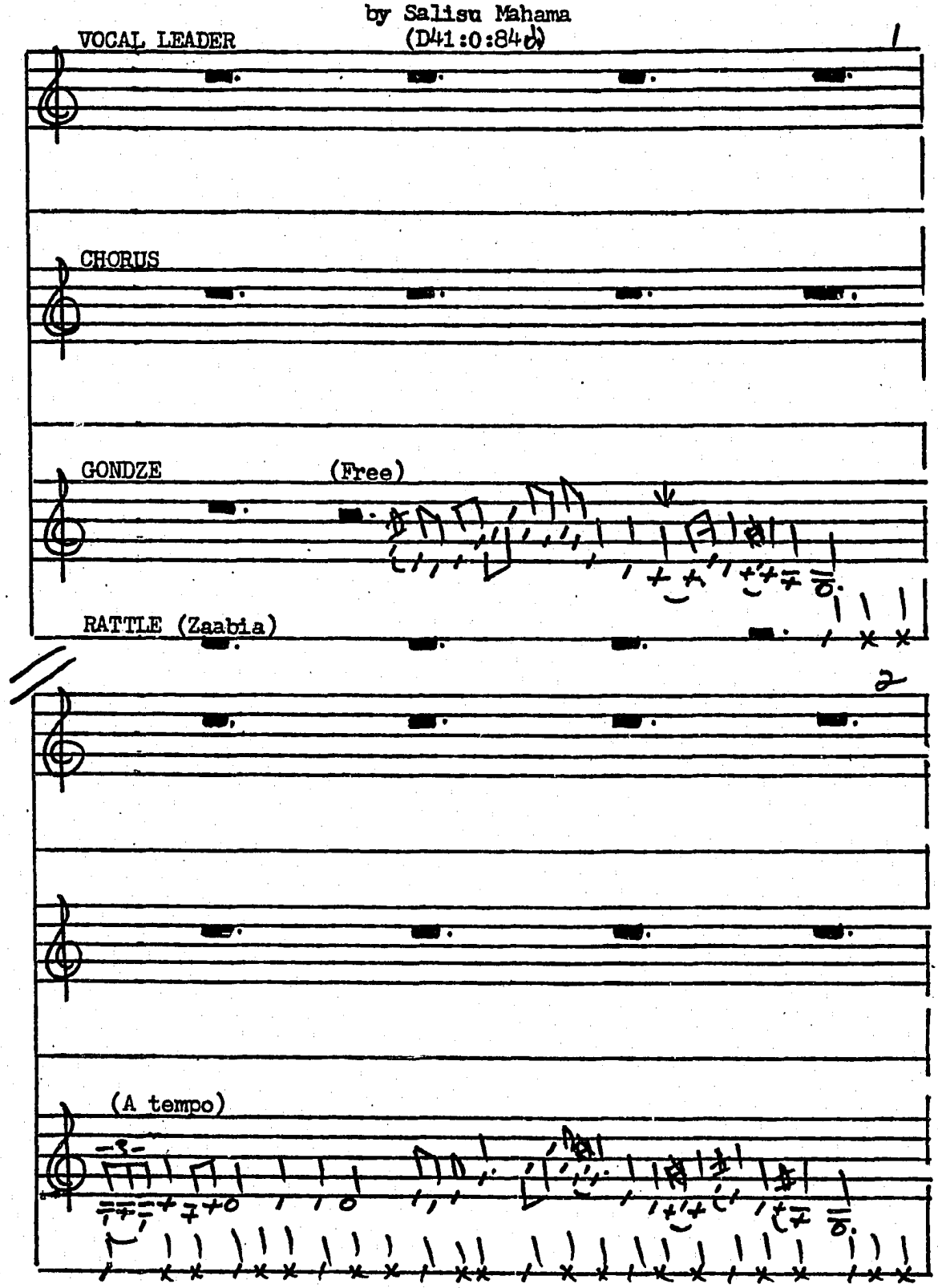


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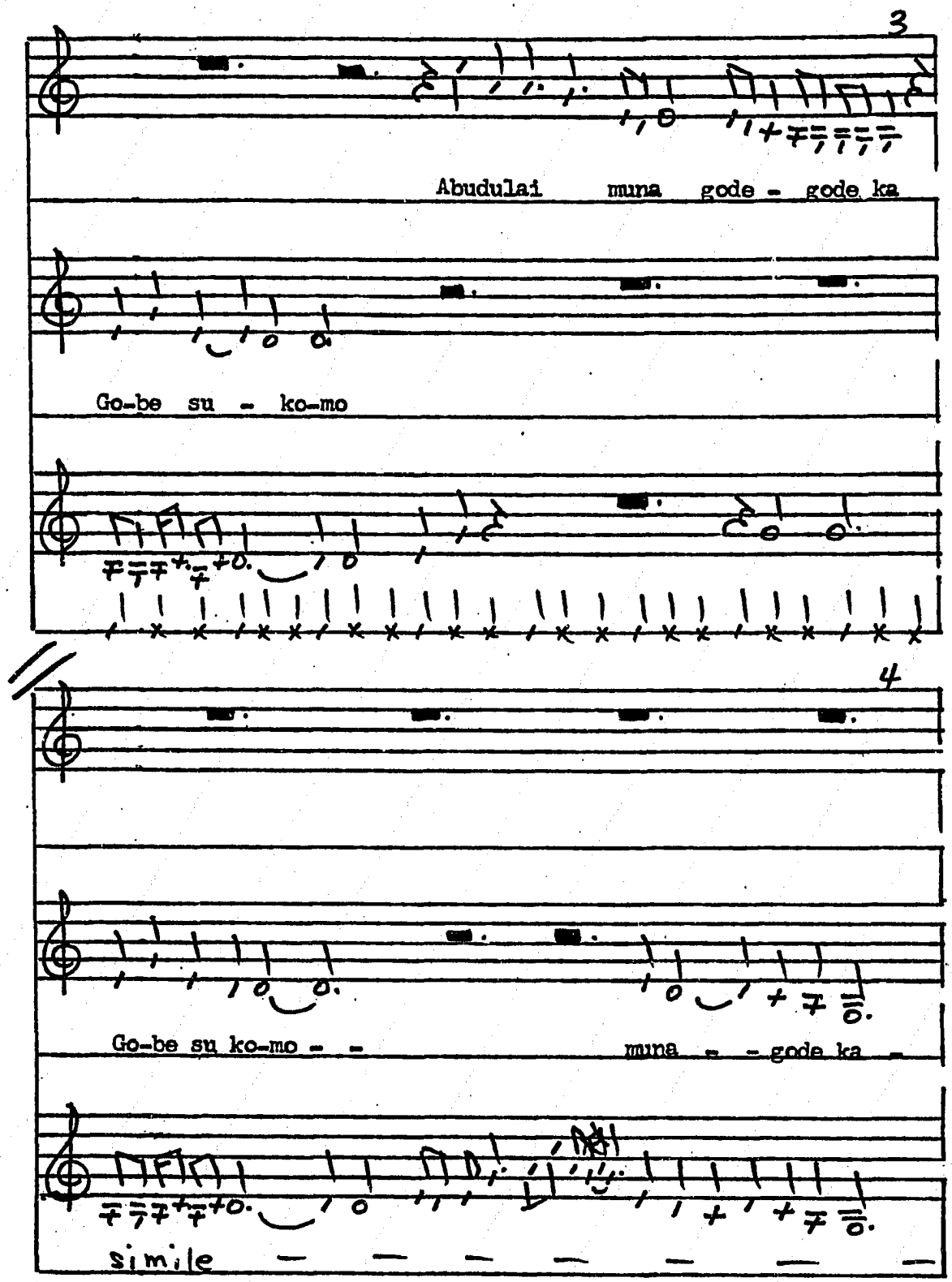


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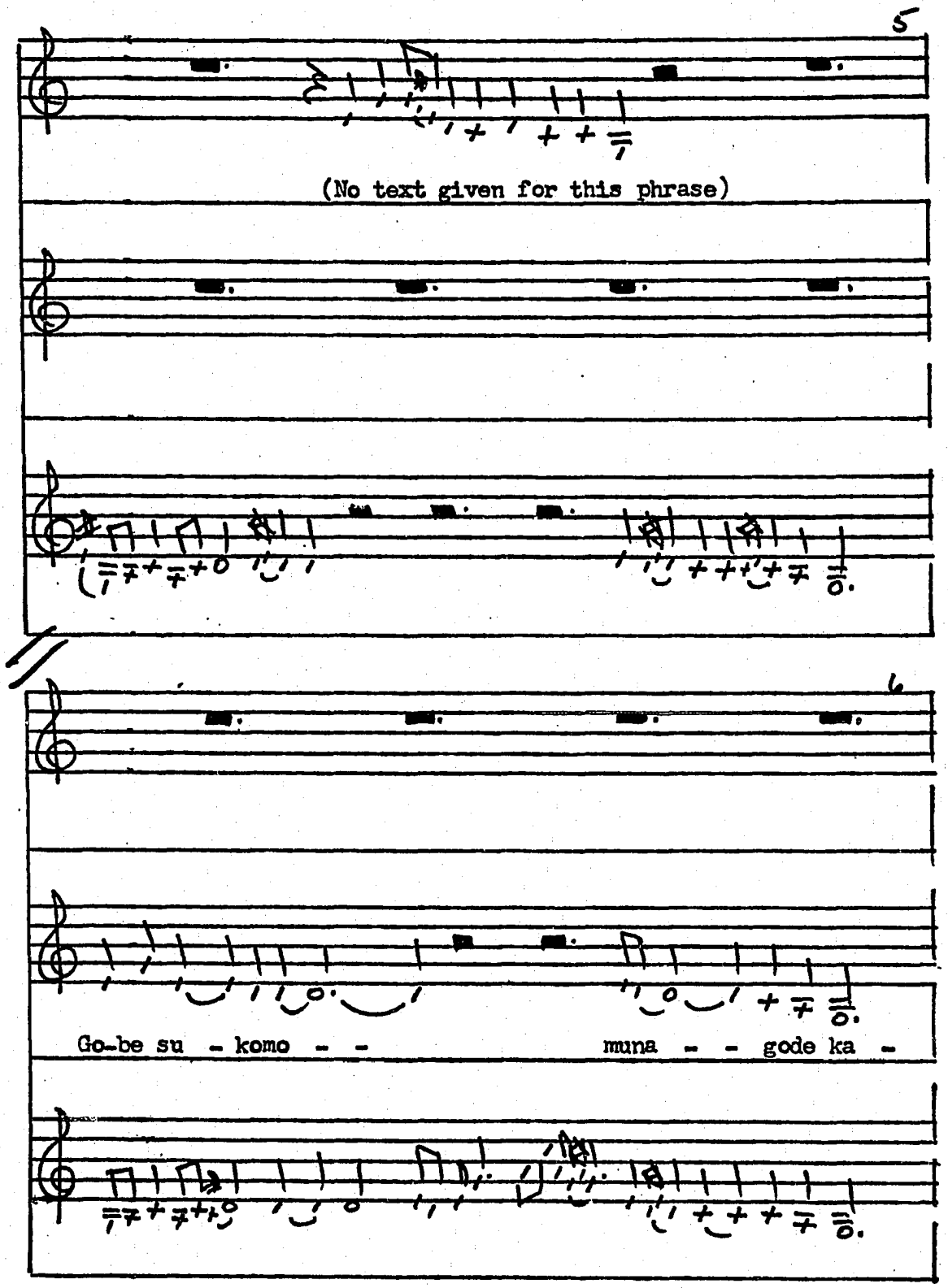
GOBE SU KOMO
(Yamba Na Bako Abudulai I)
by Salisu Mahama
(D41:0:84♪)



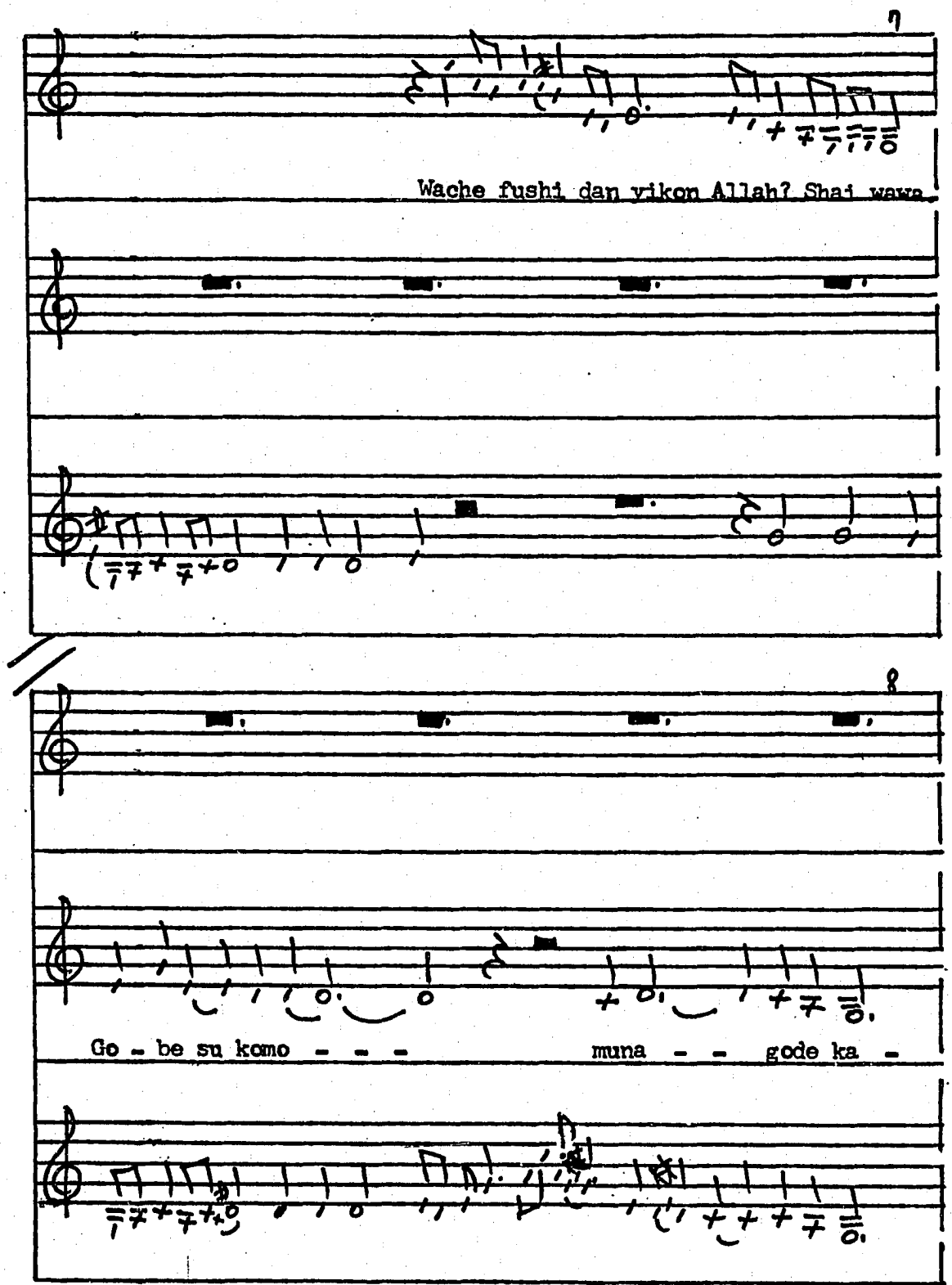
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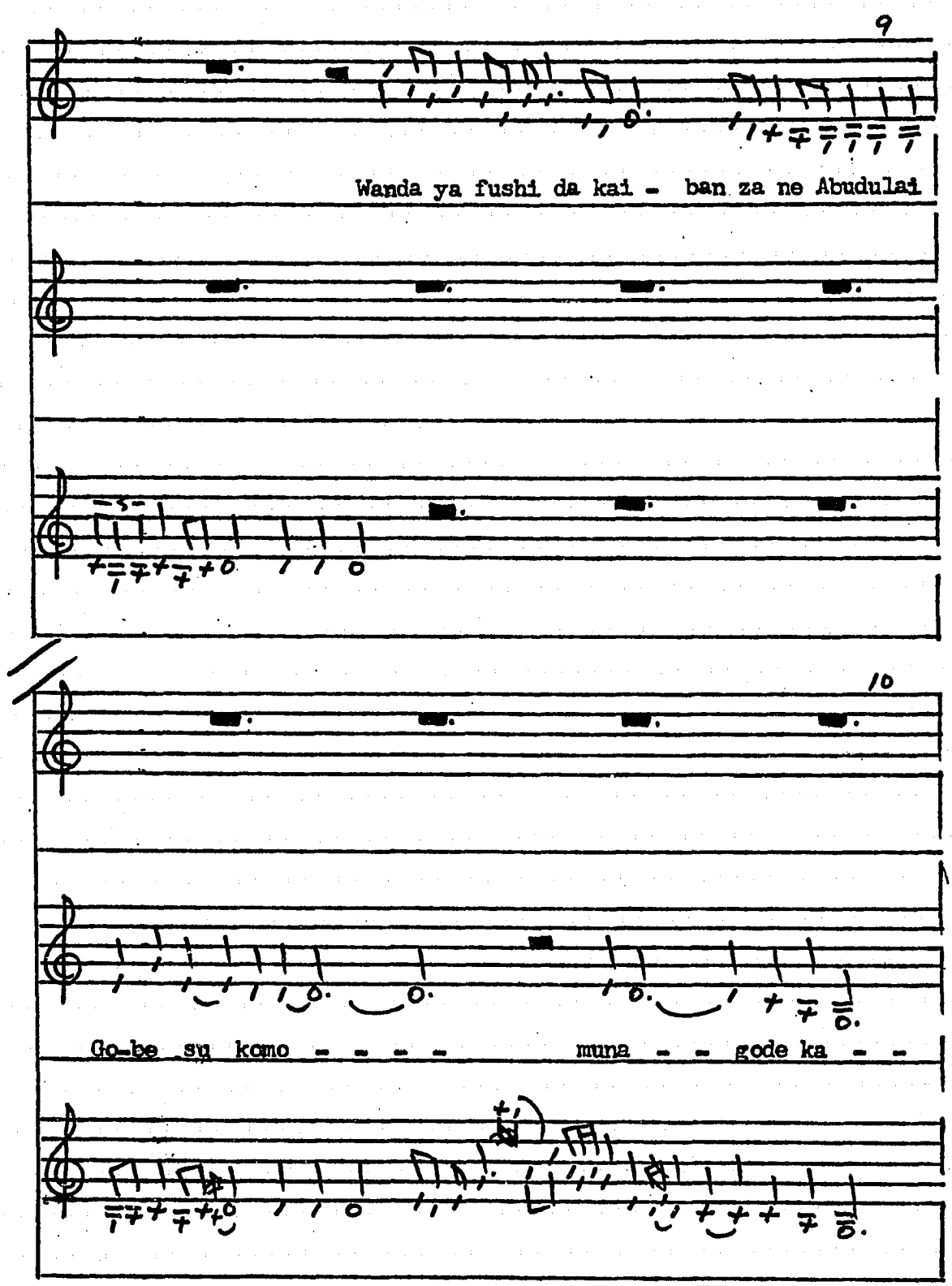
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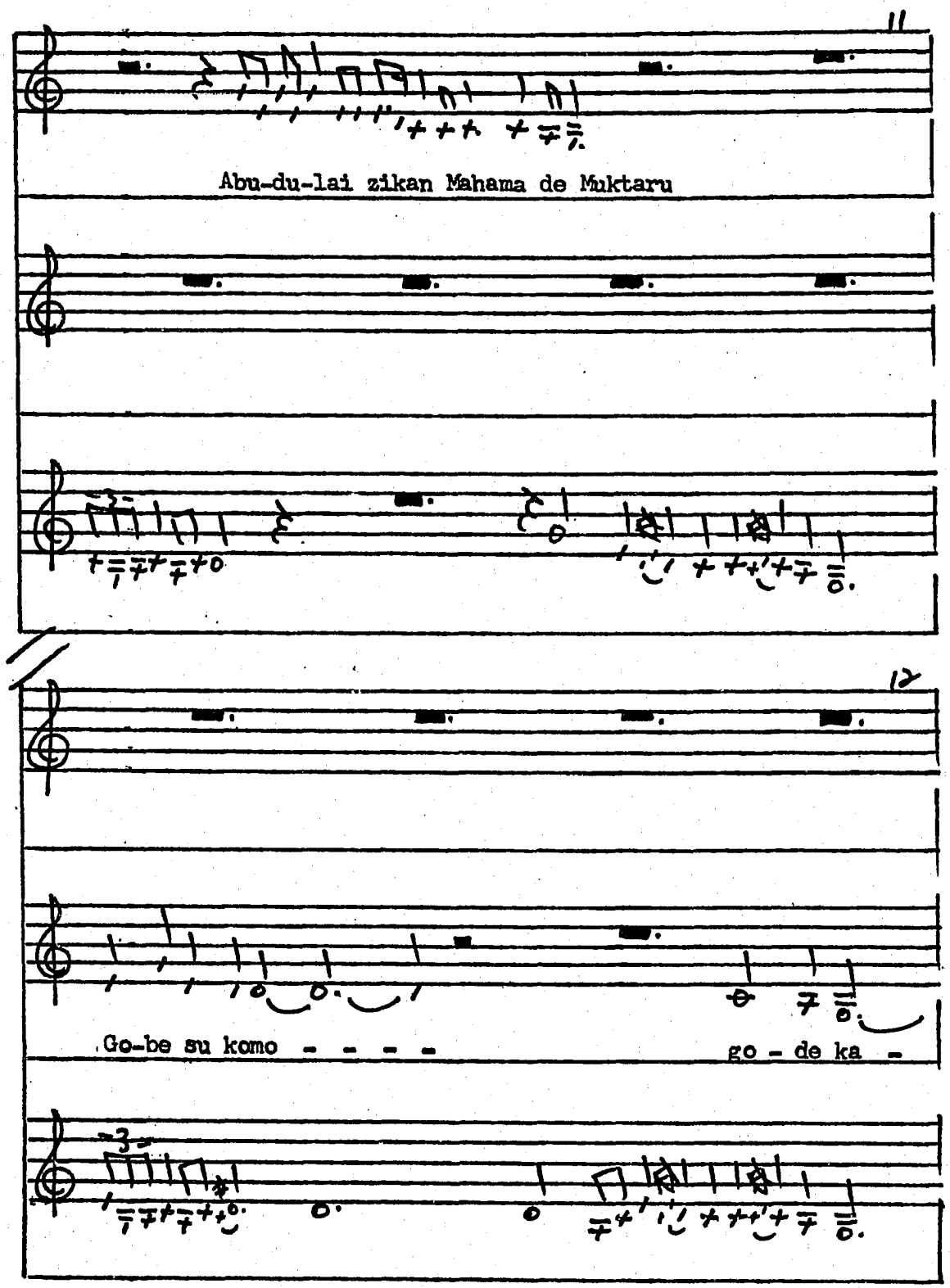
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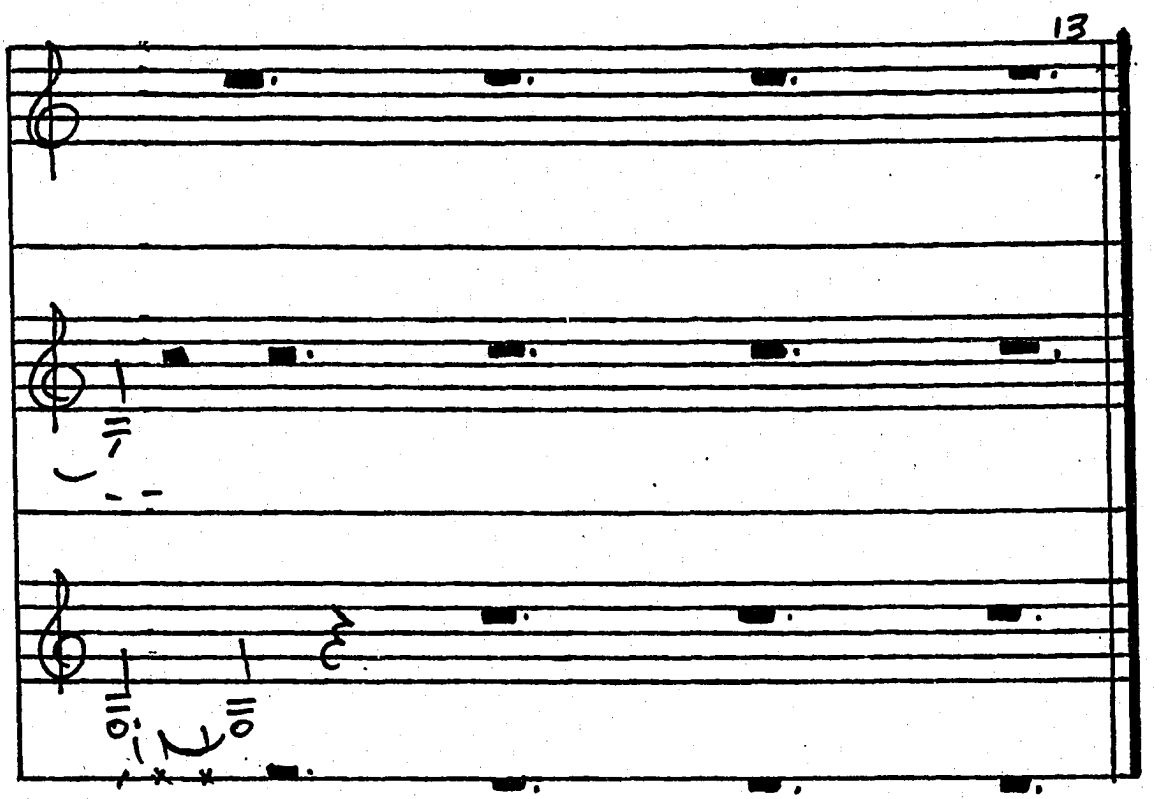
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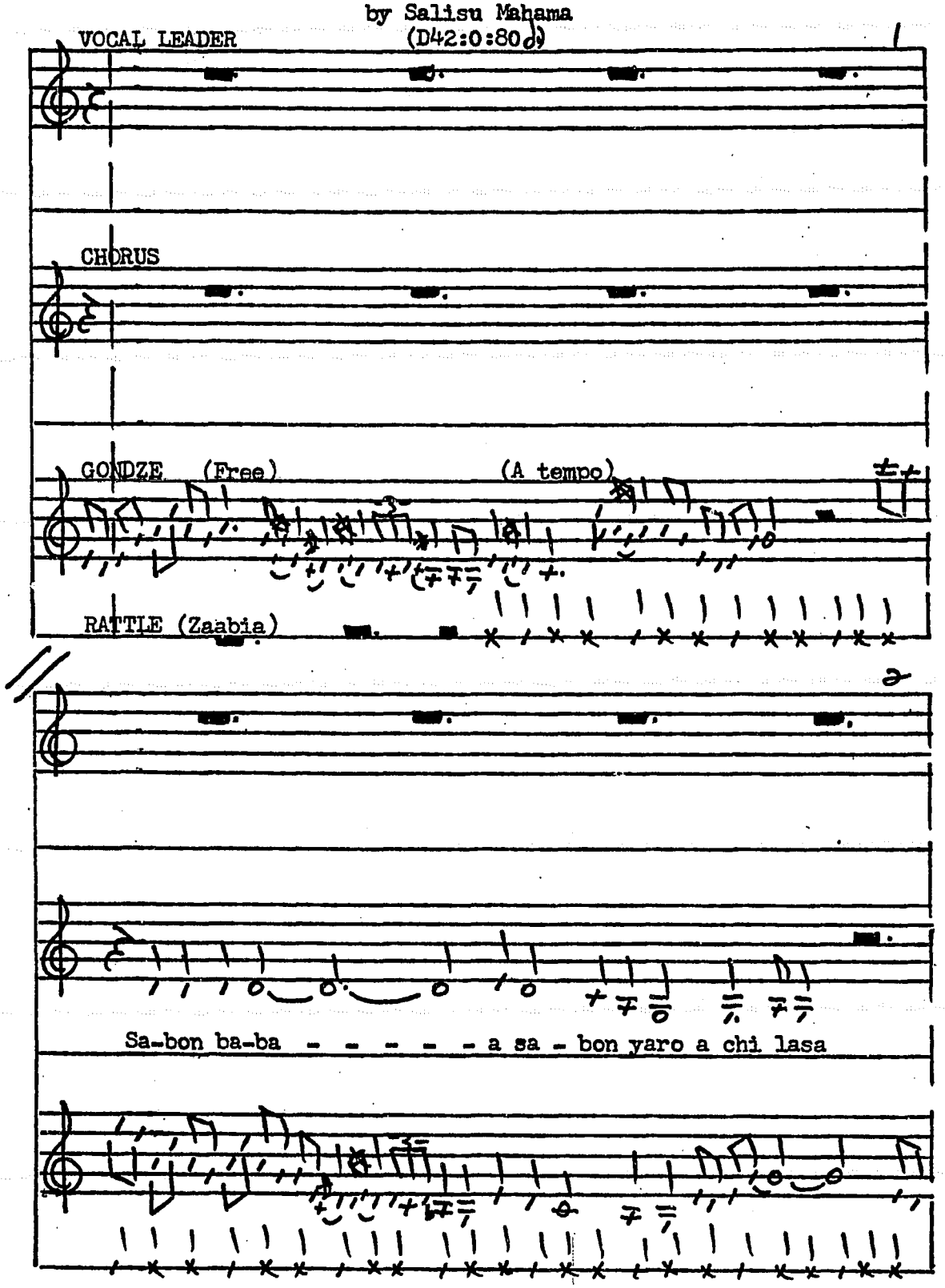


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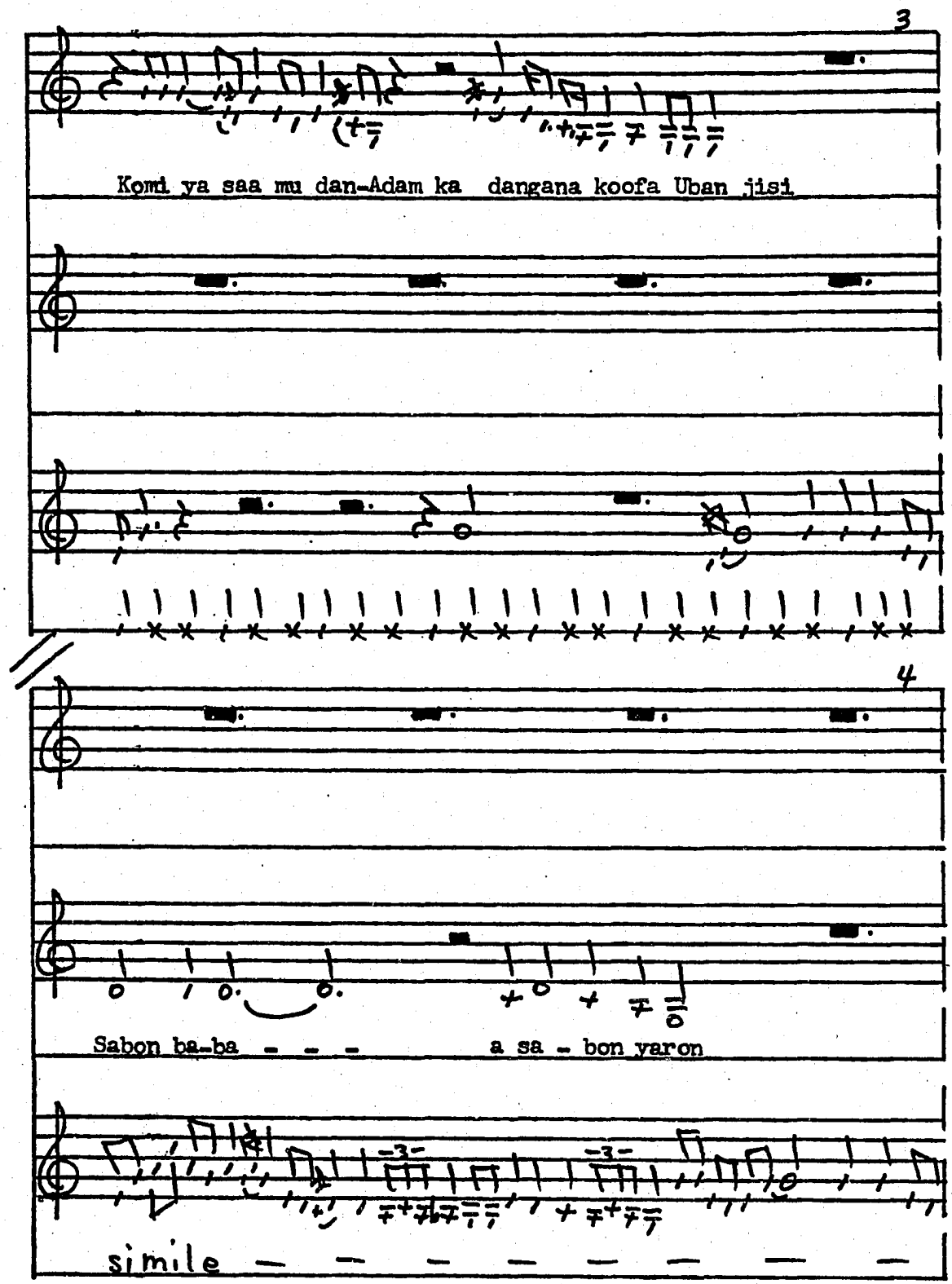


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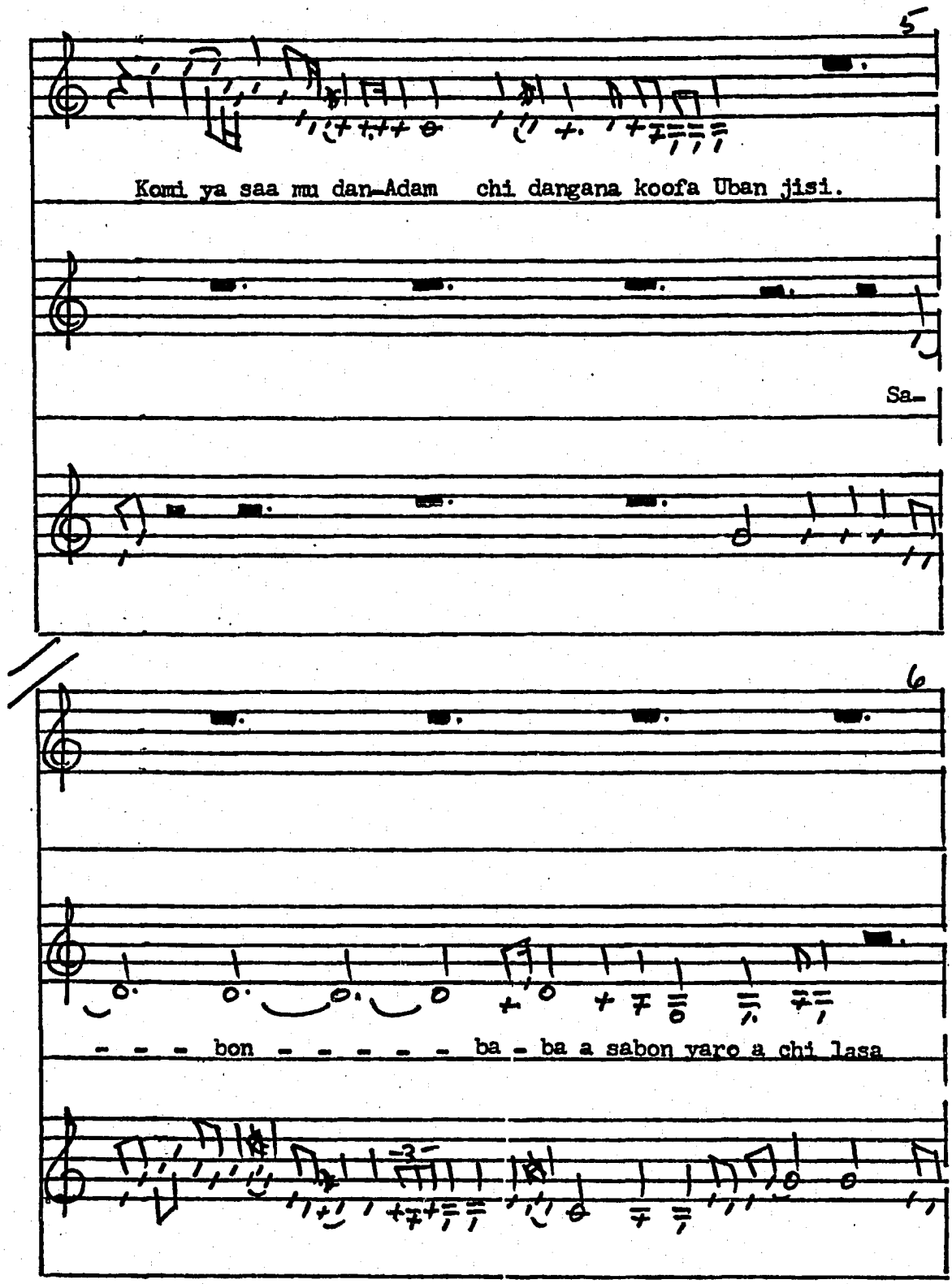
SABON BABA
(Yamba Na Mahama)
by Salisu Mahama
(D42:0:80♩)



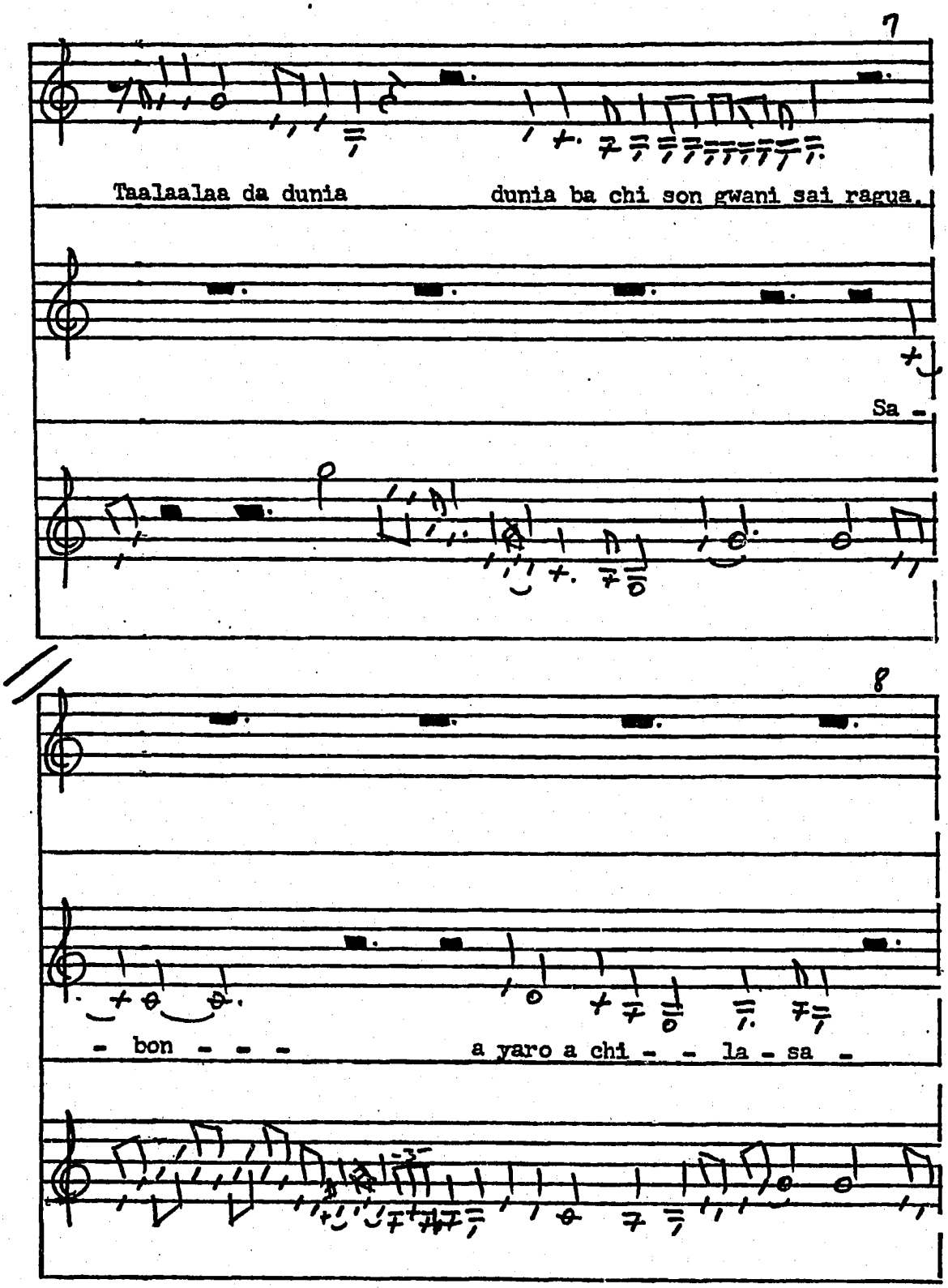
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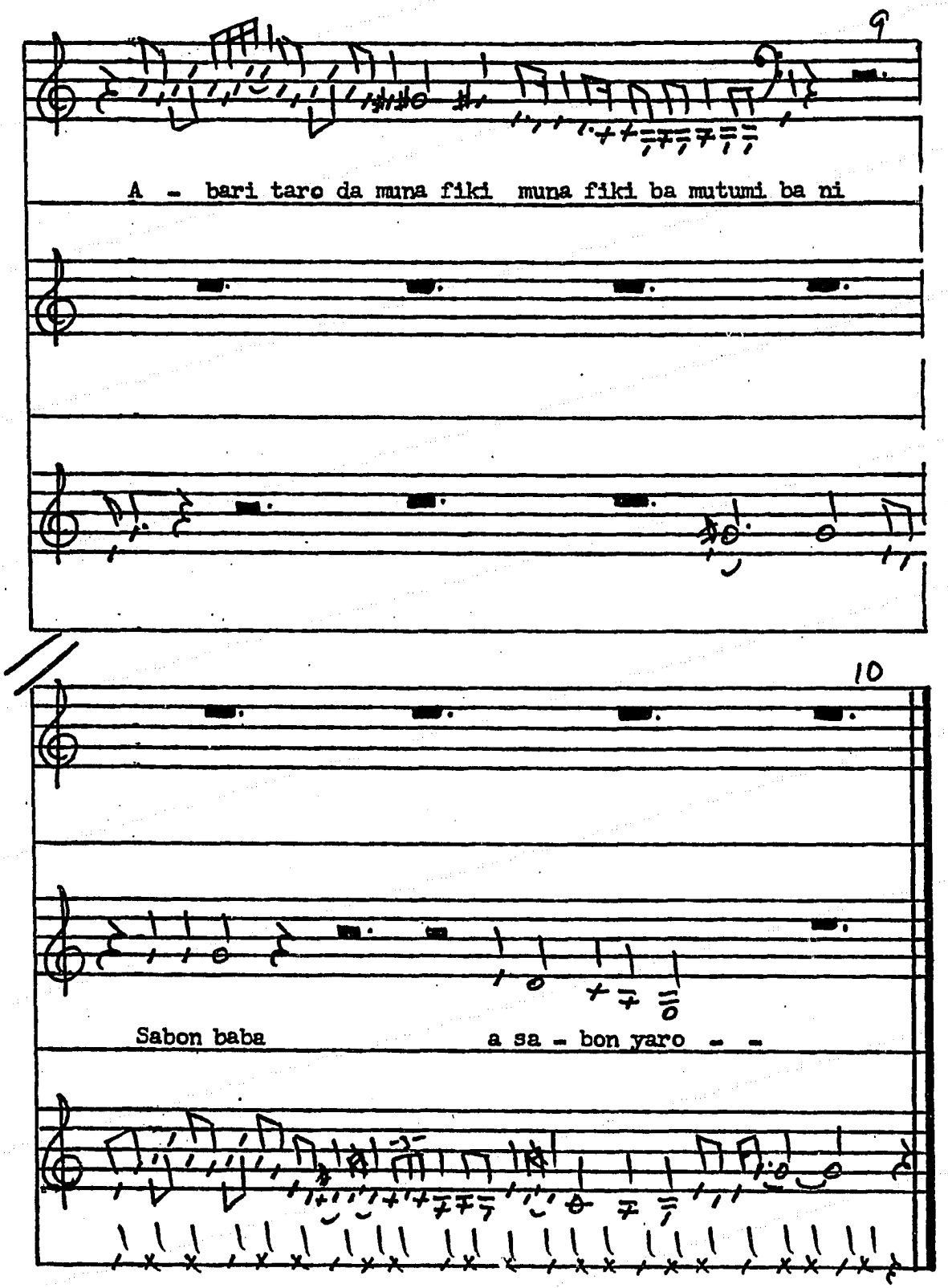
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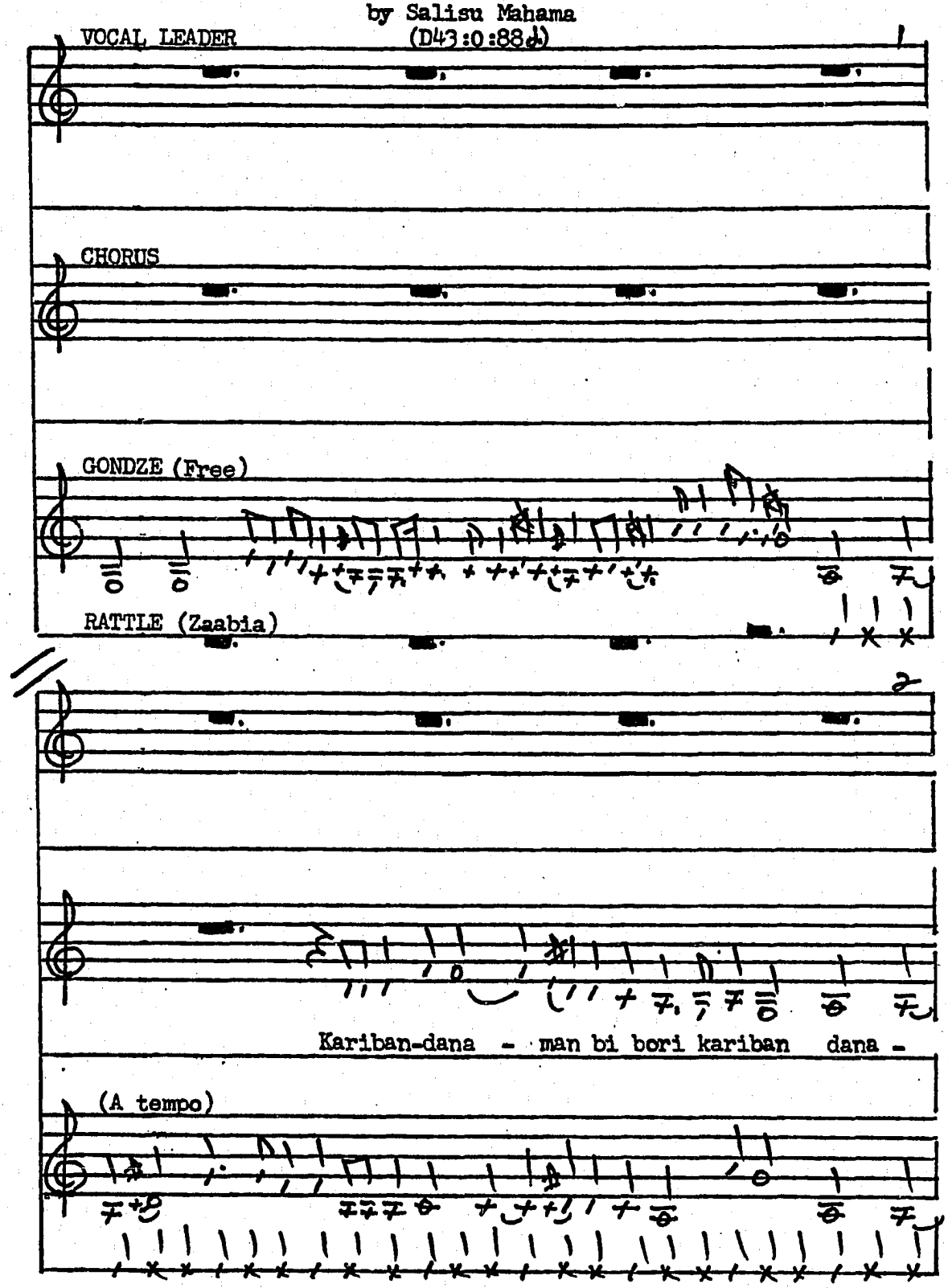


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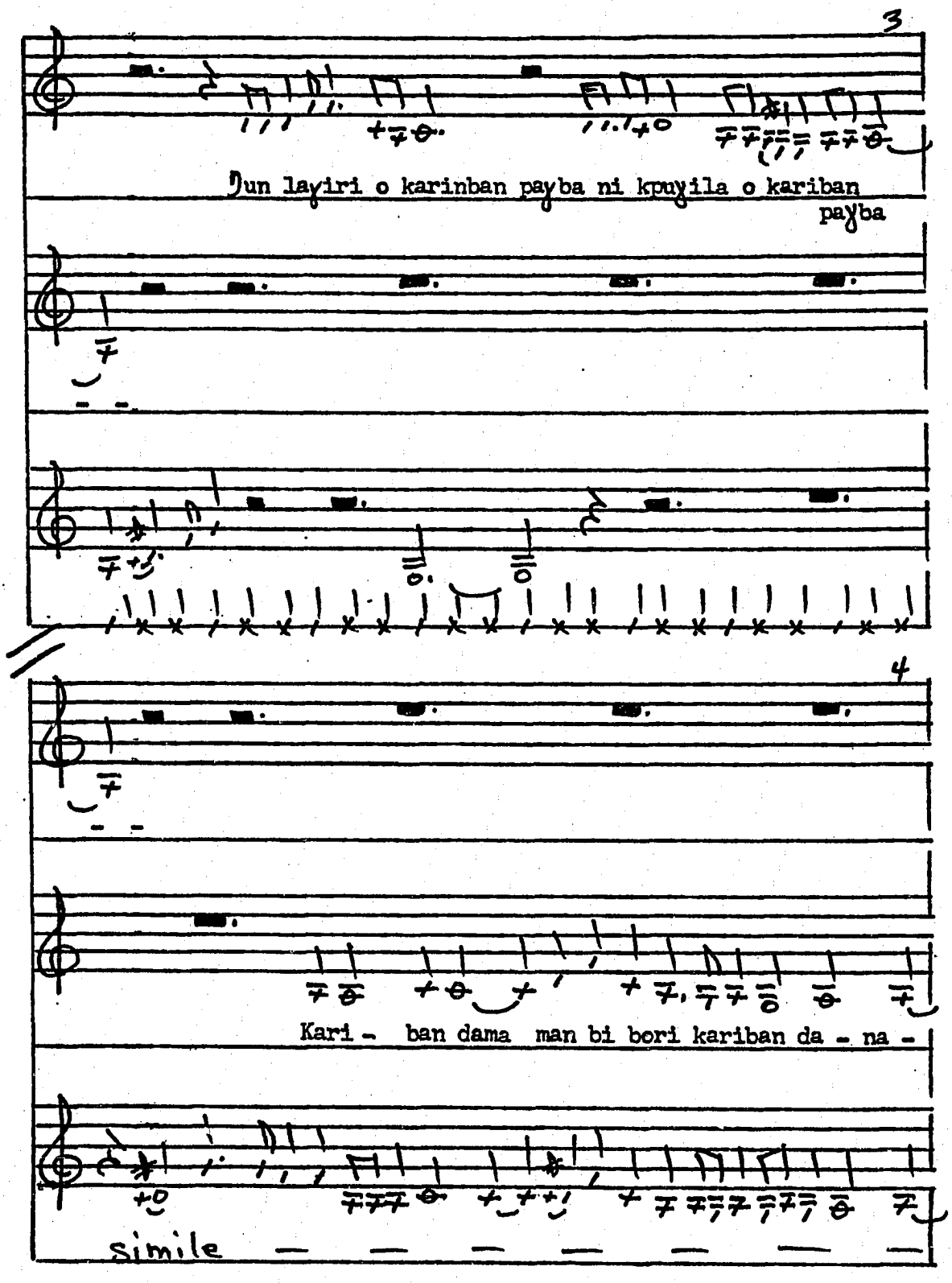


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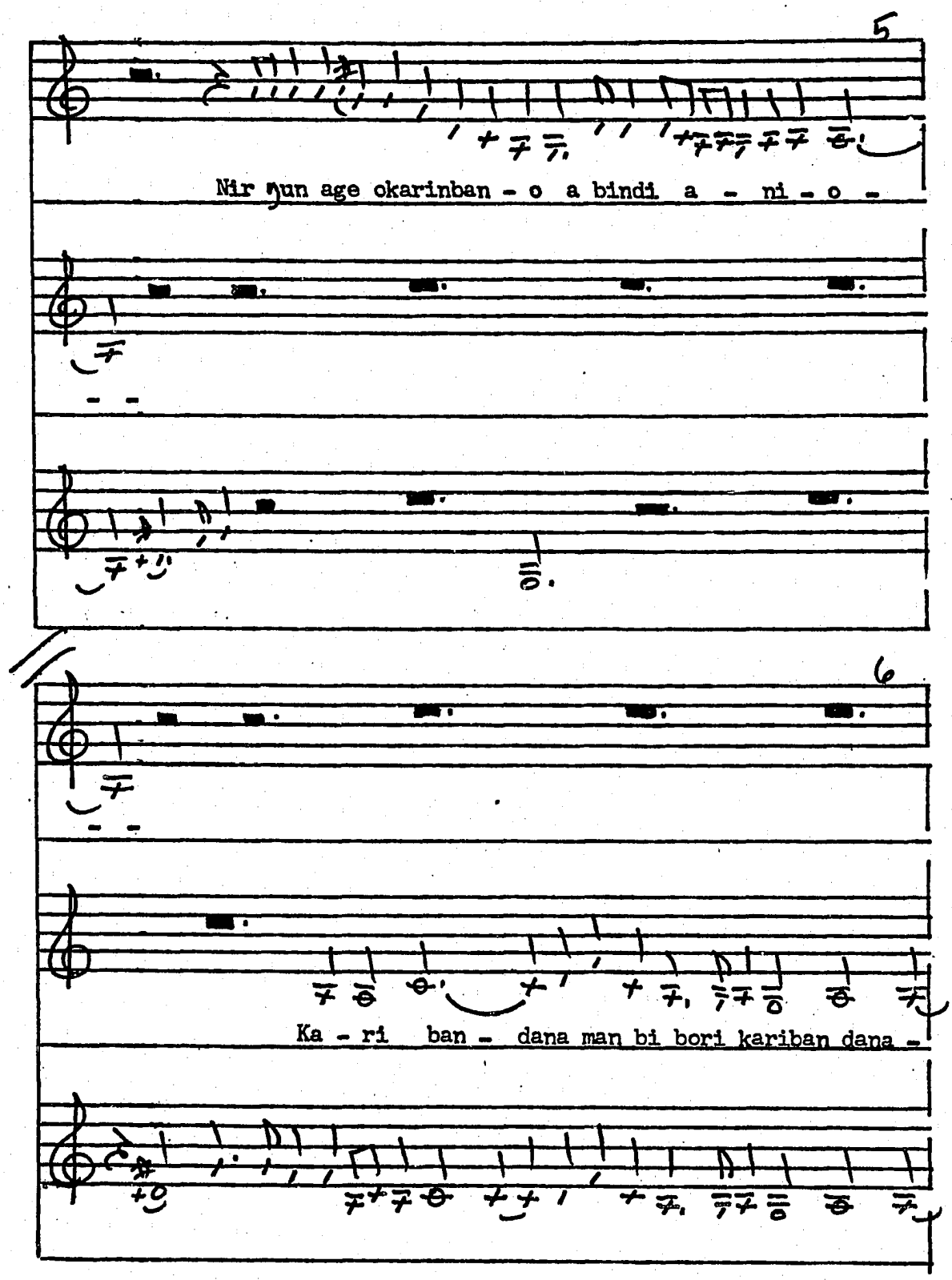
KARINBANA-DANA
(Yamba Na Ntoli)
by Salisu Mahama
(D43:0:88♩)



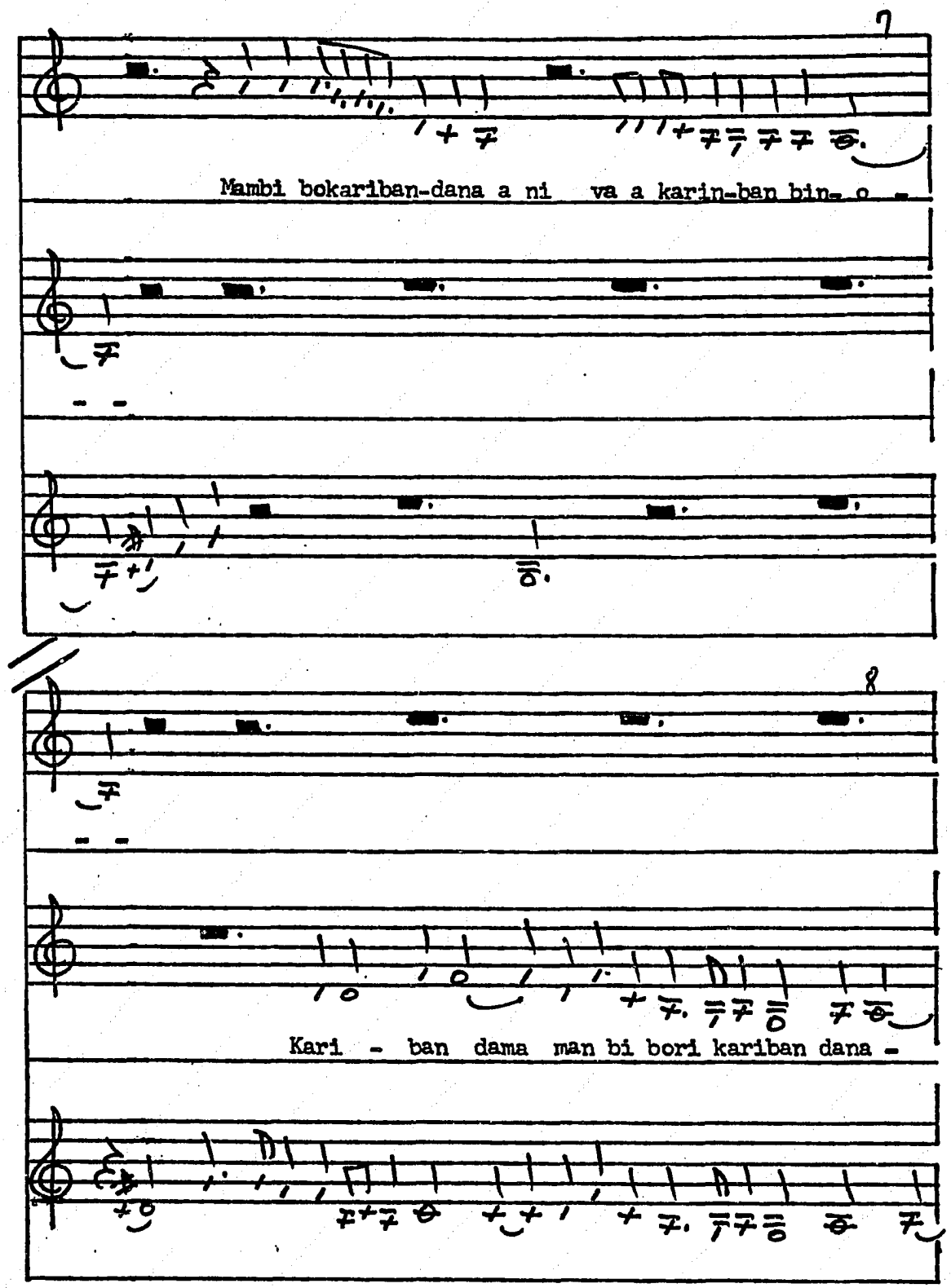
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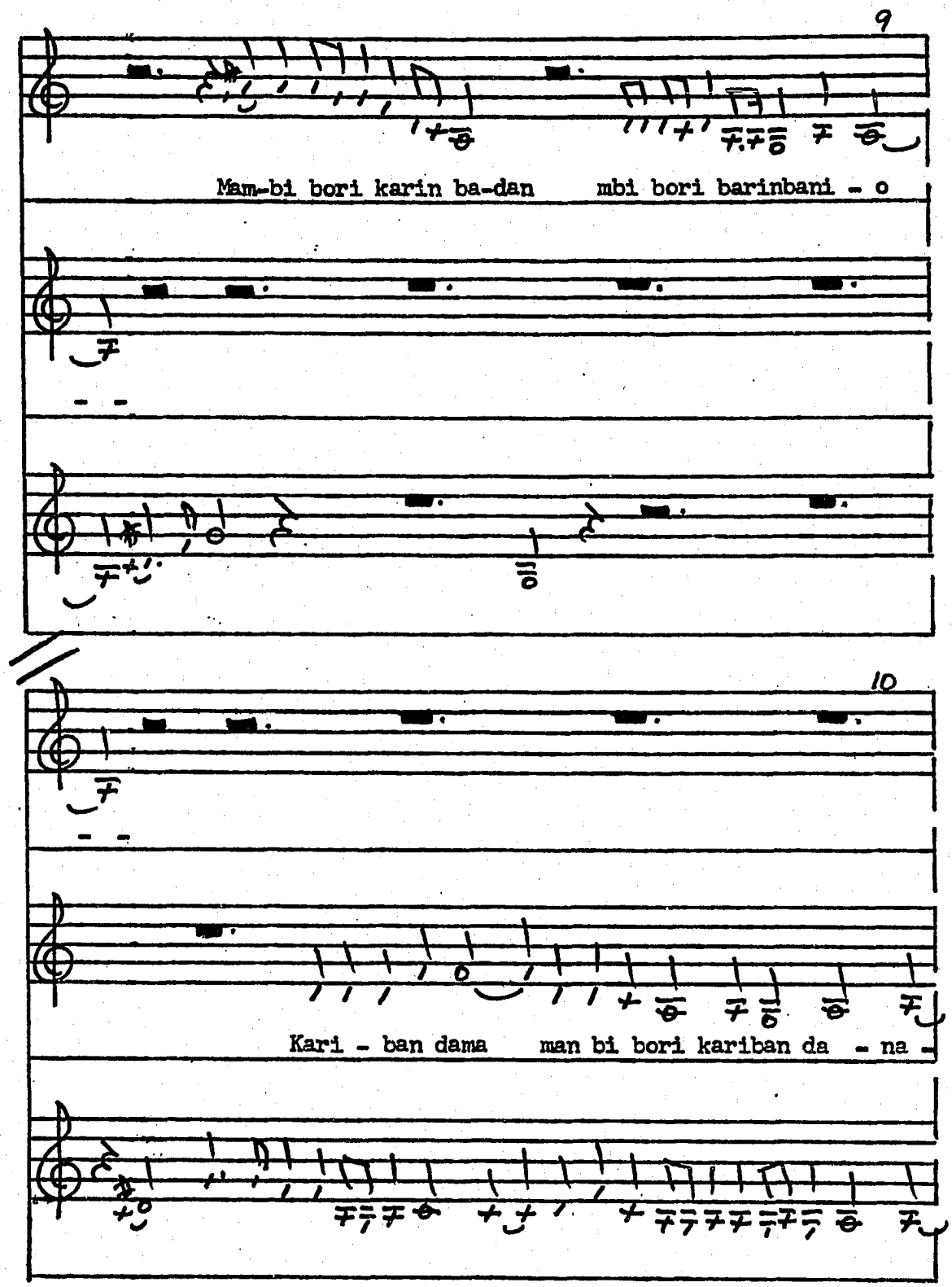
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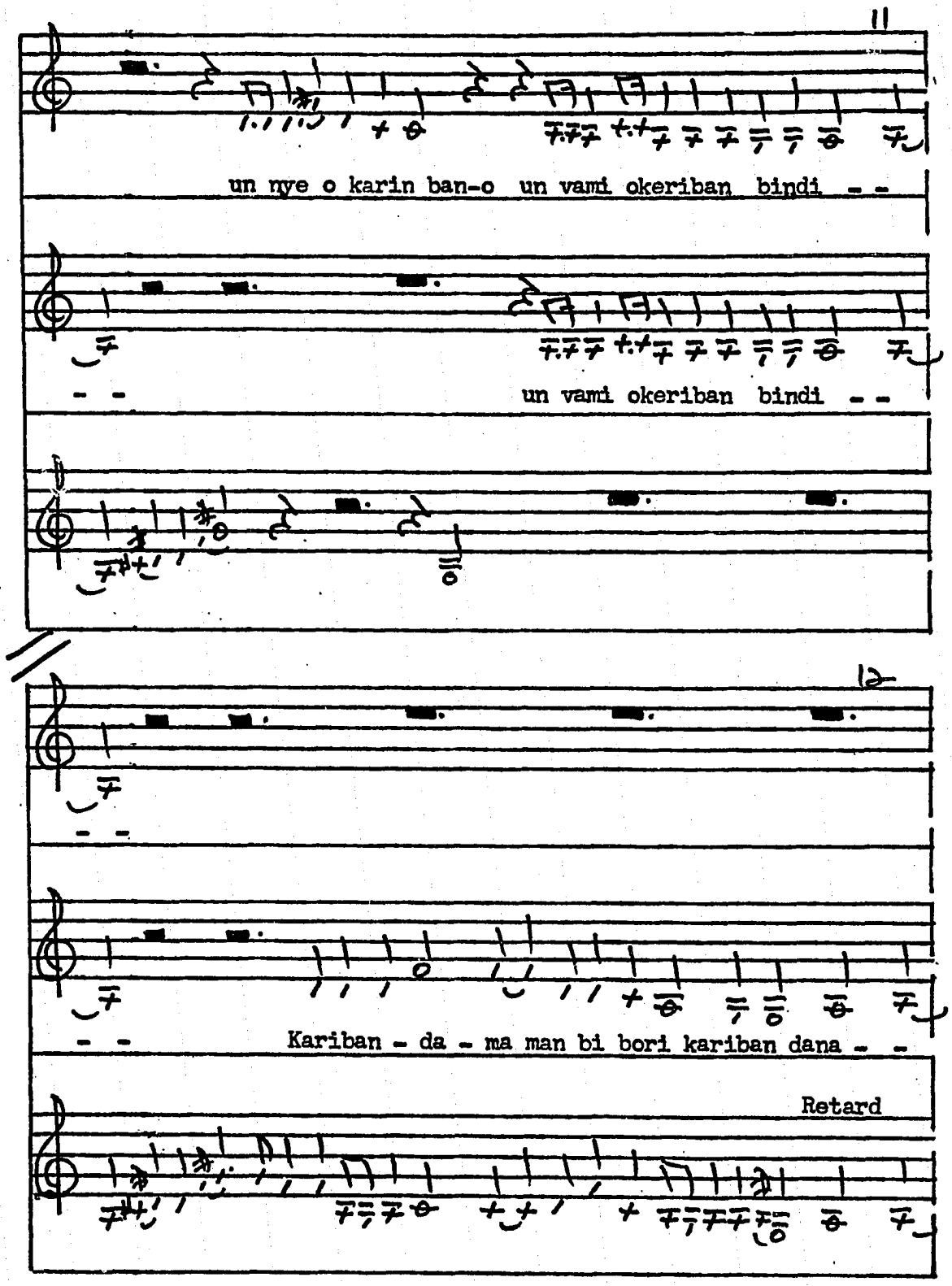
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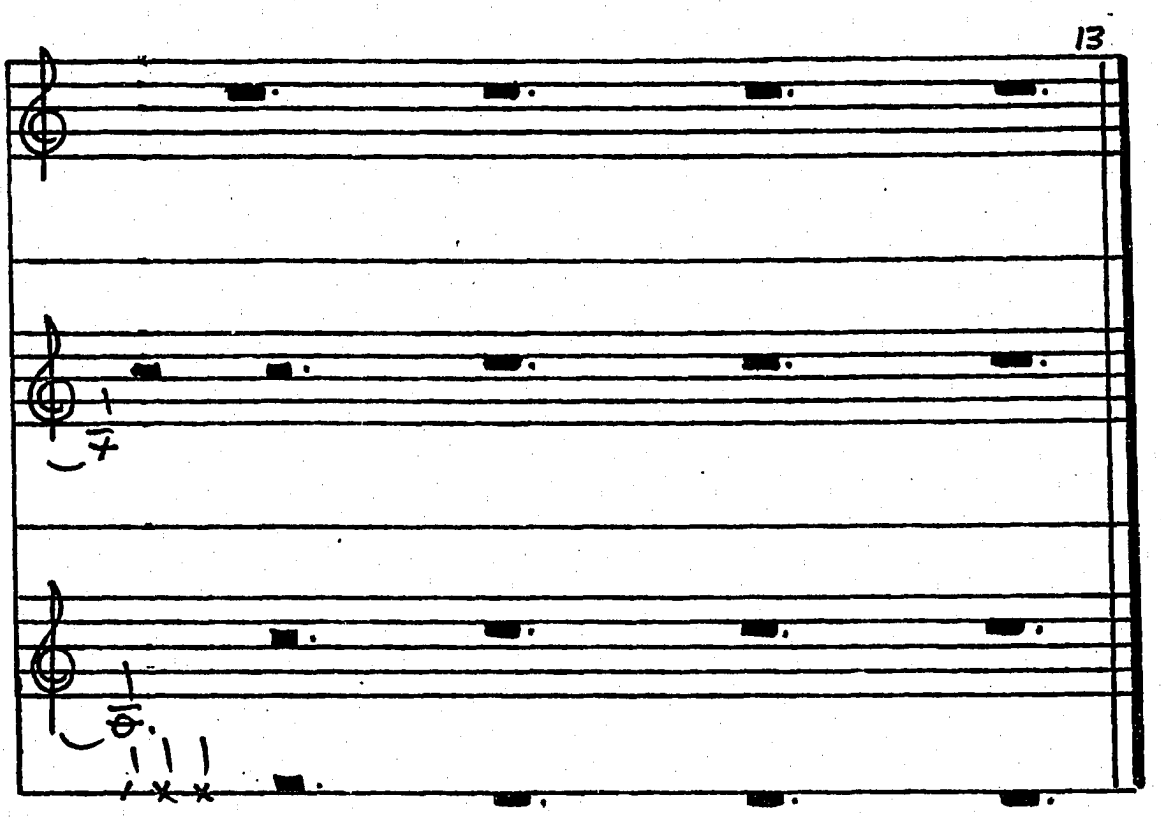
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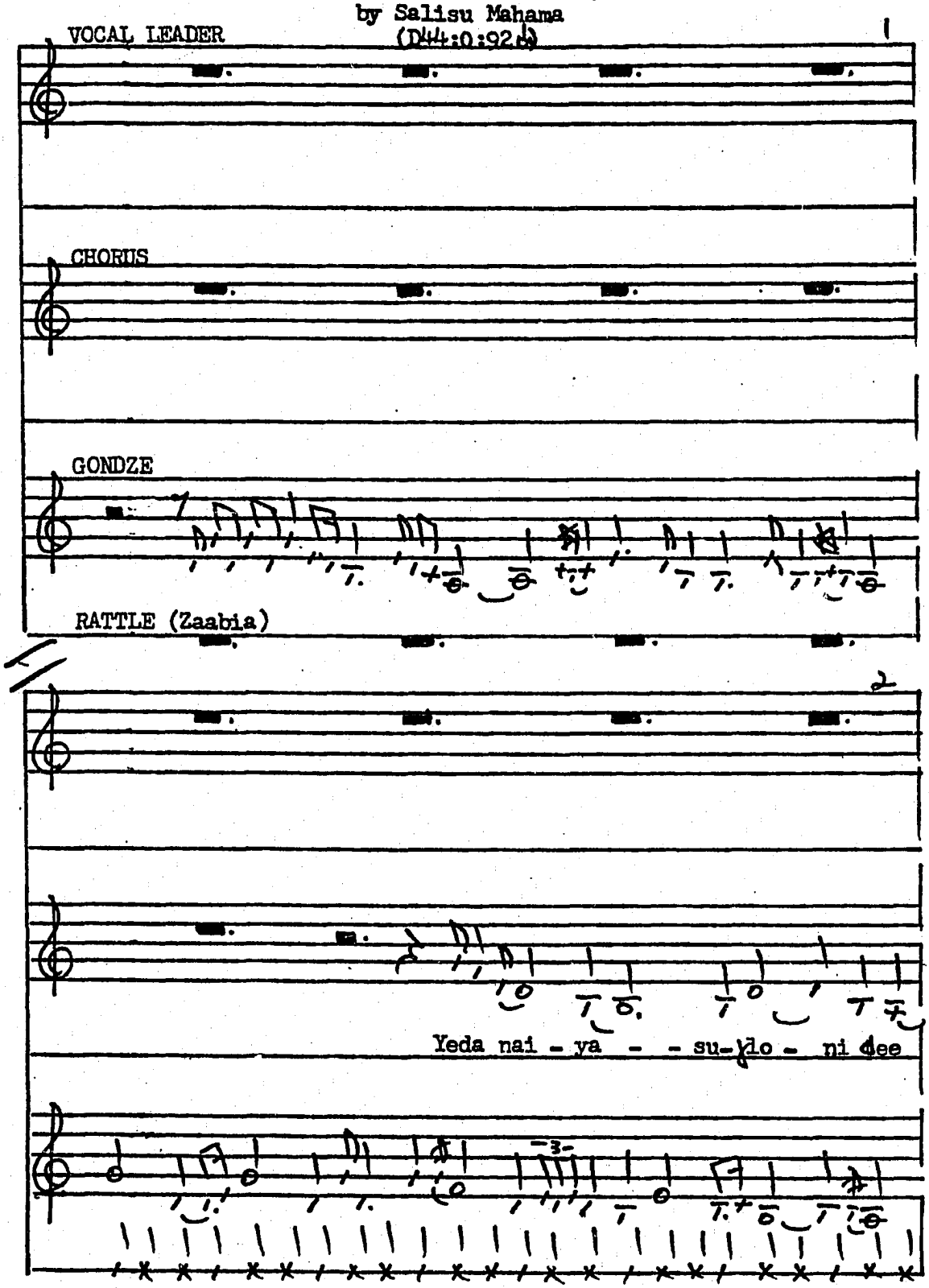


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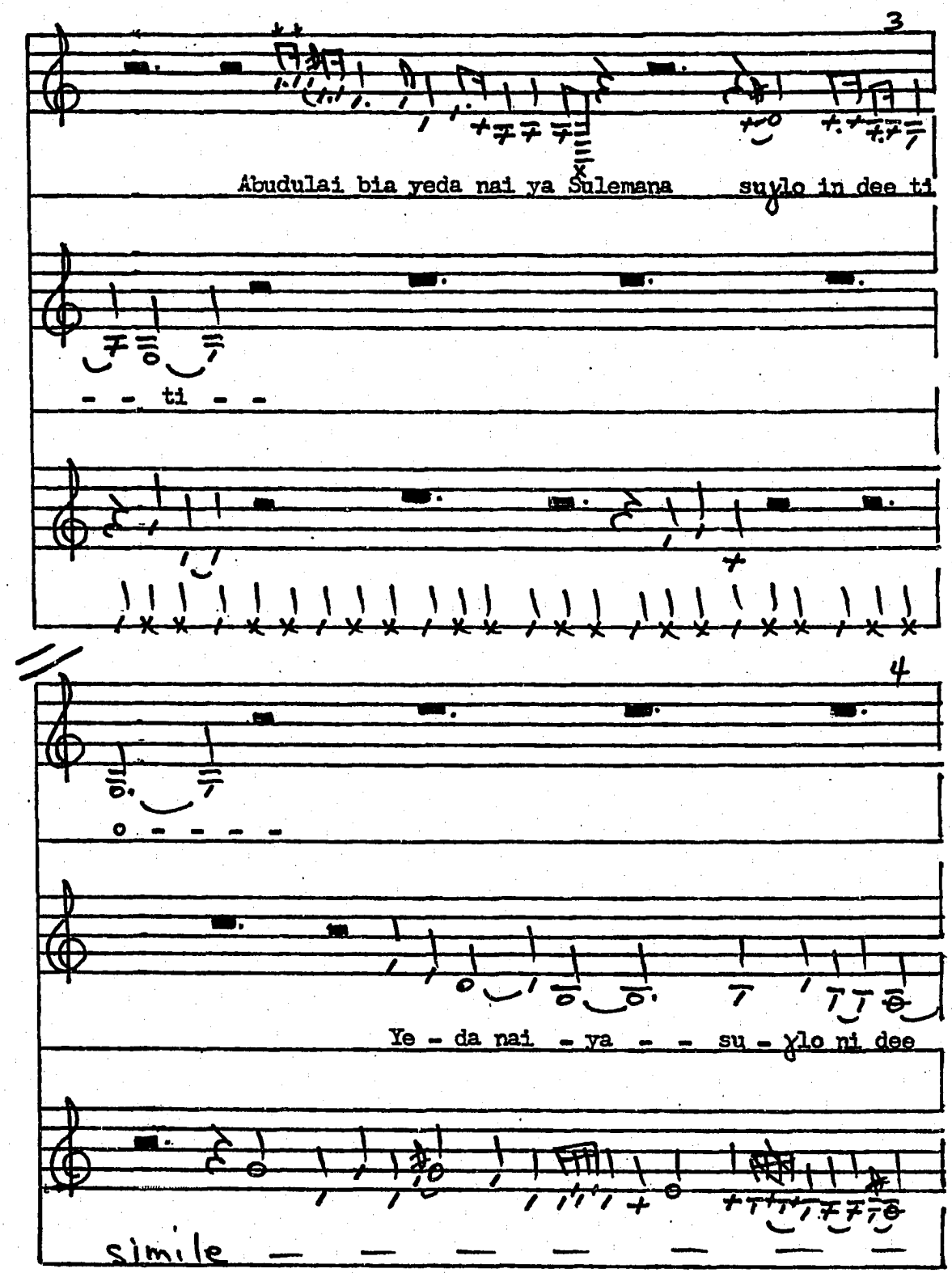


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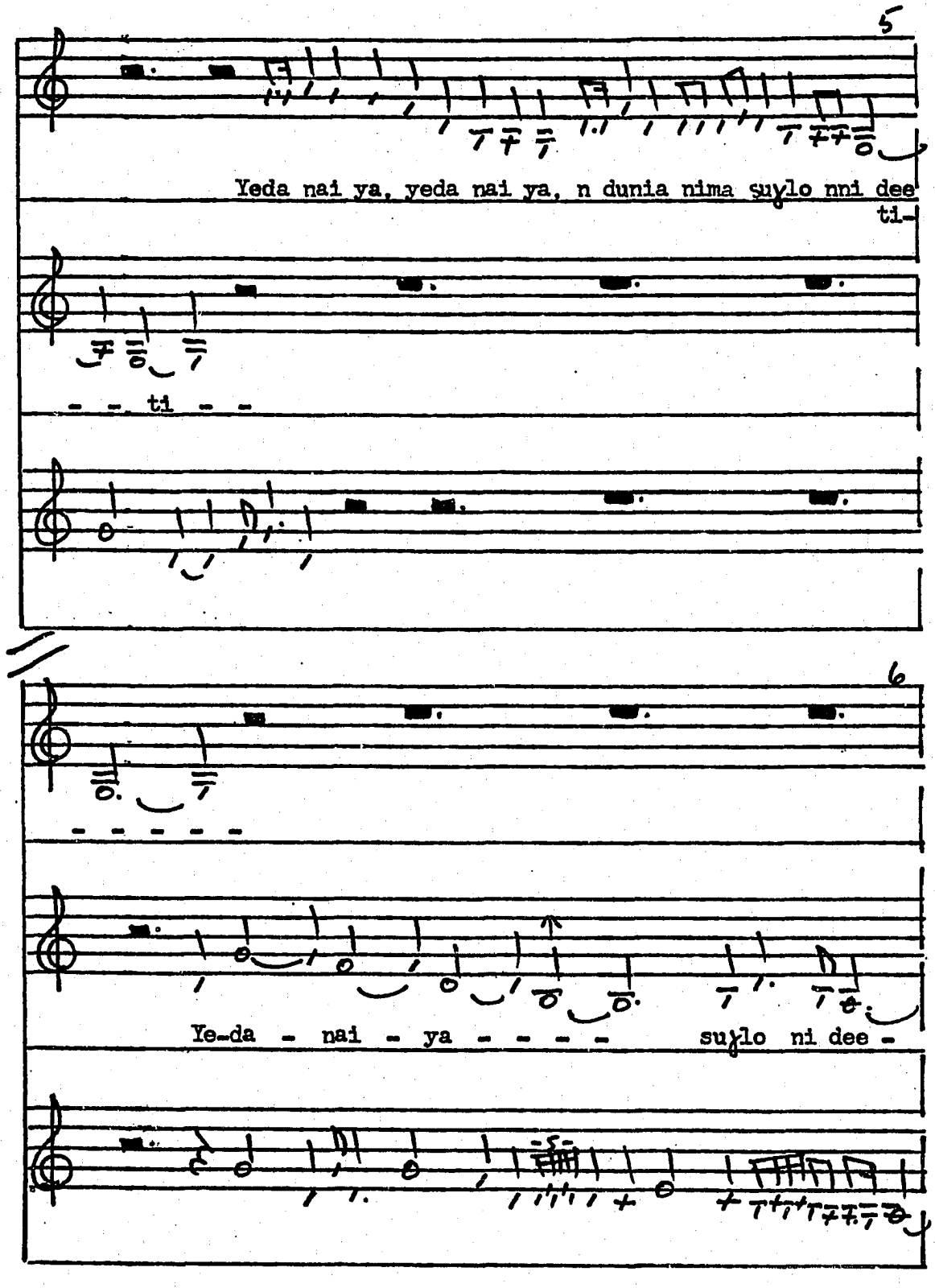
YEDA NAI YA
(Yamba Na Suleman-Ble)
by Salisu Mahama
(D44:0:92)



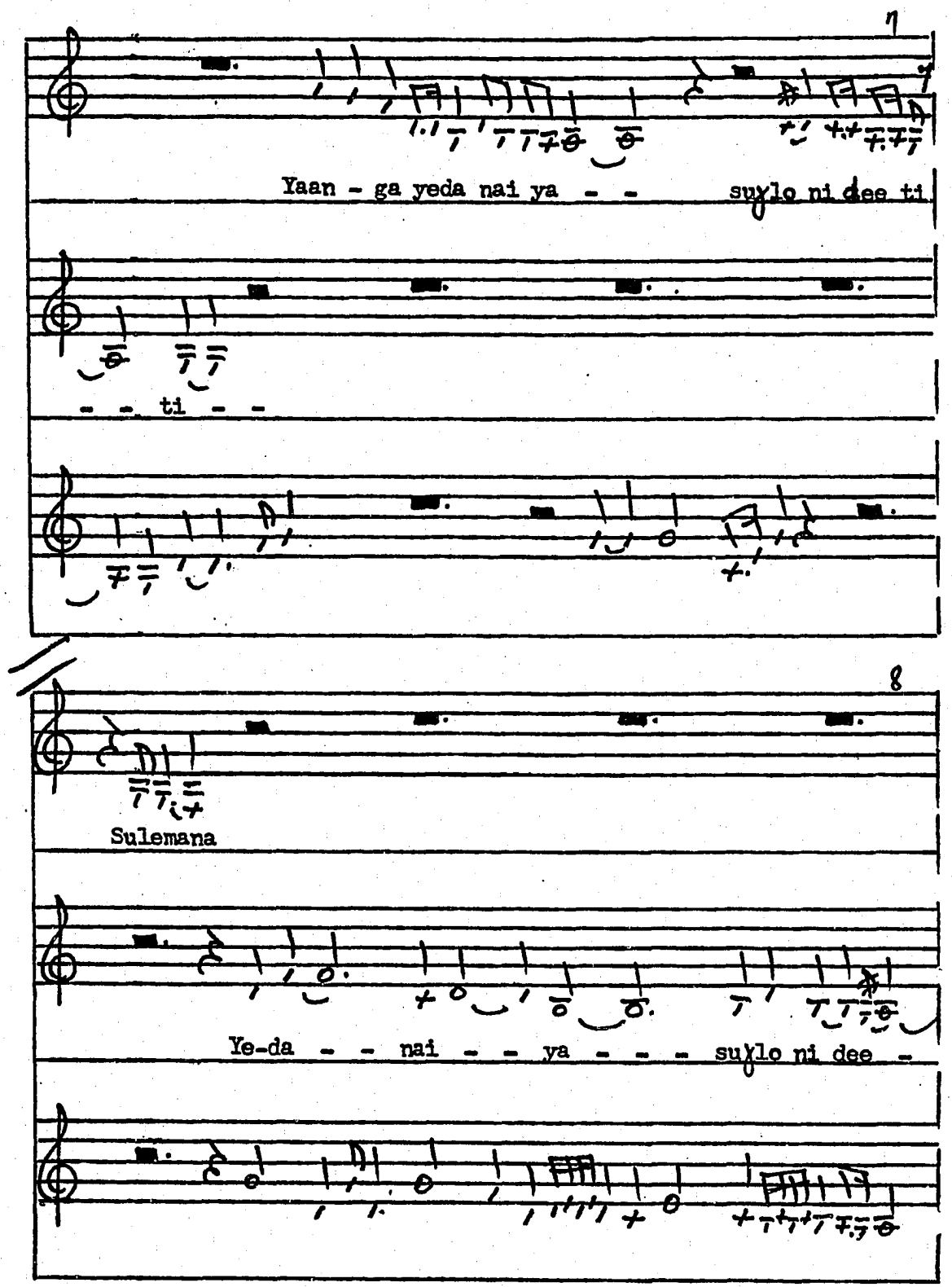
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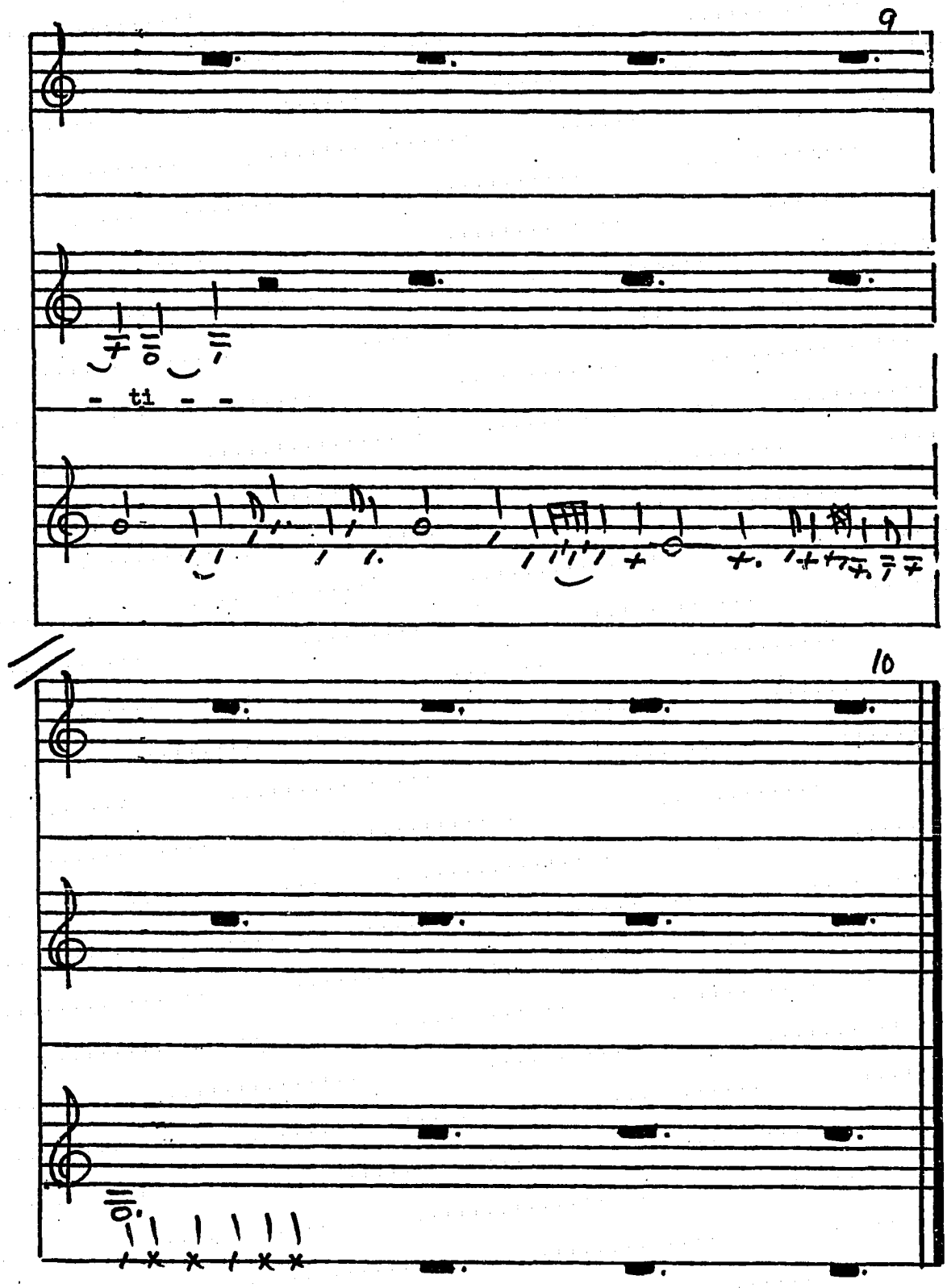
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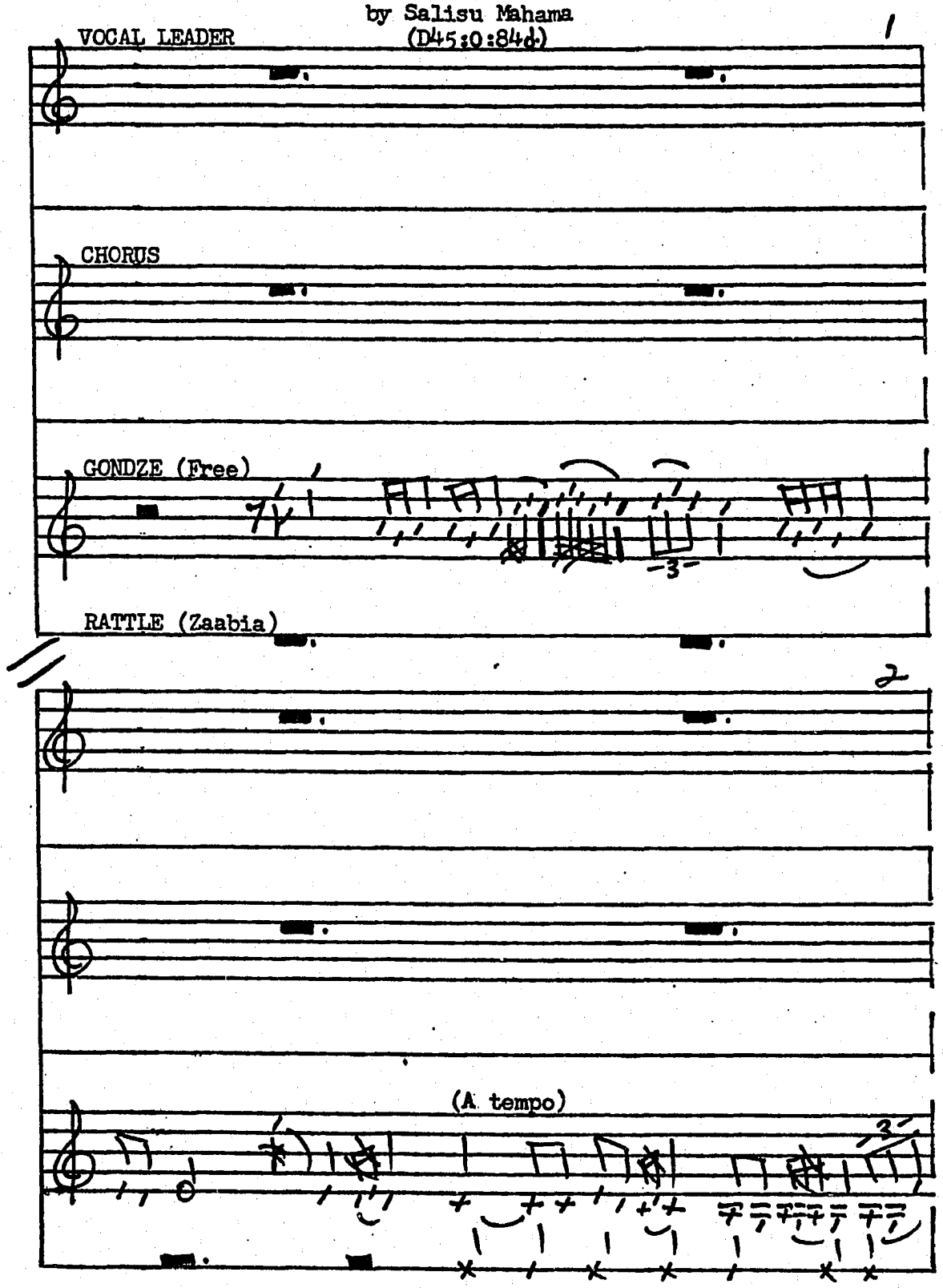


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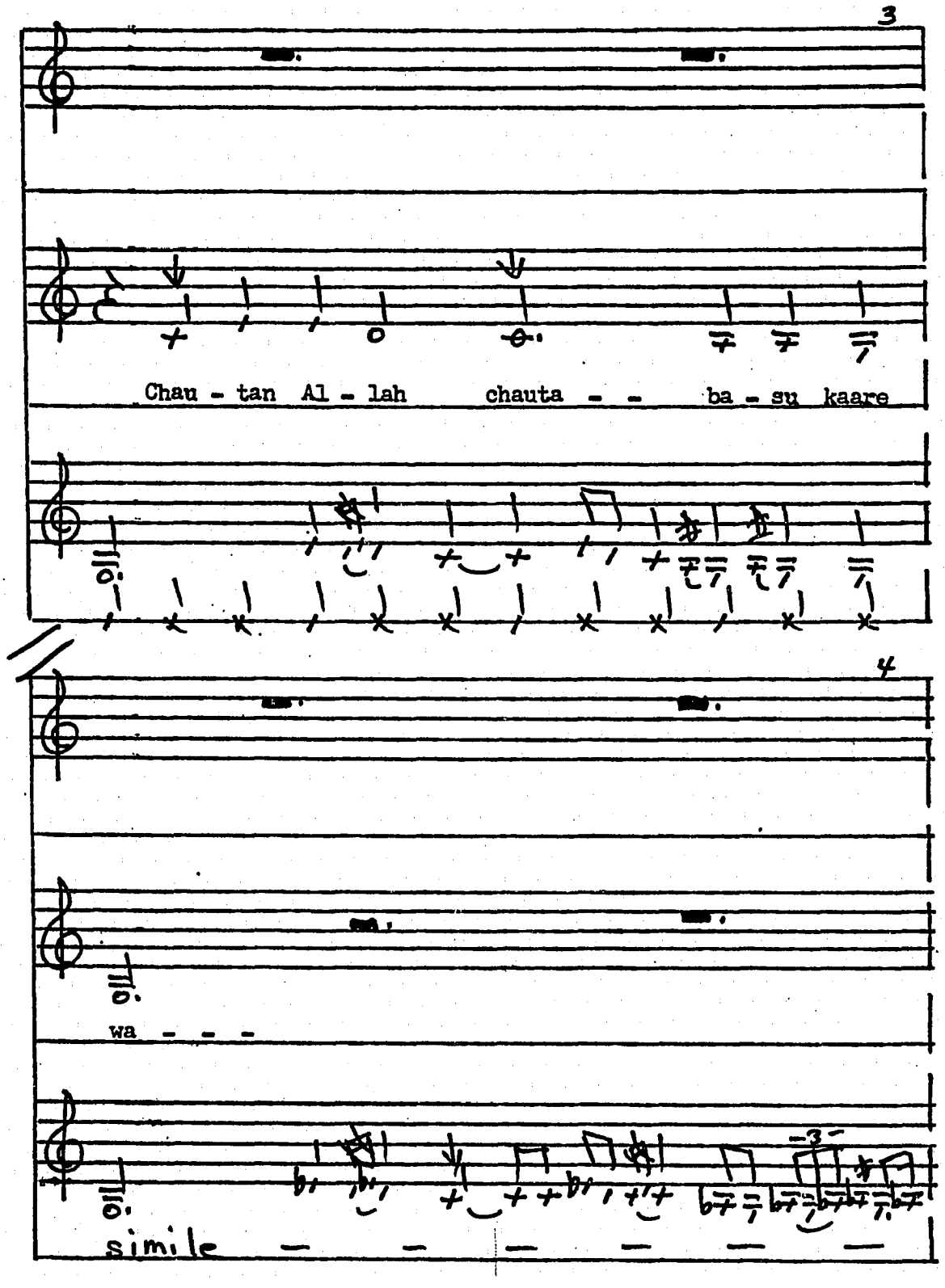


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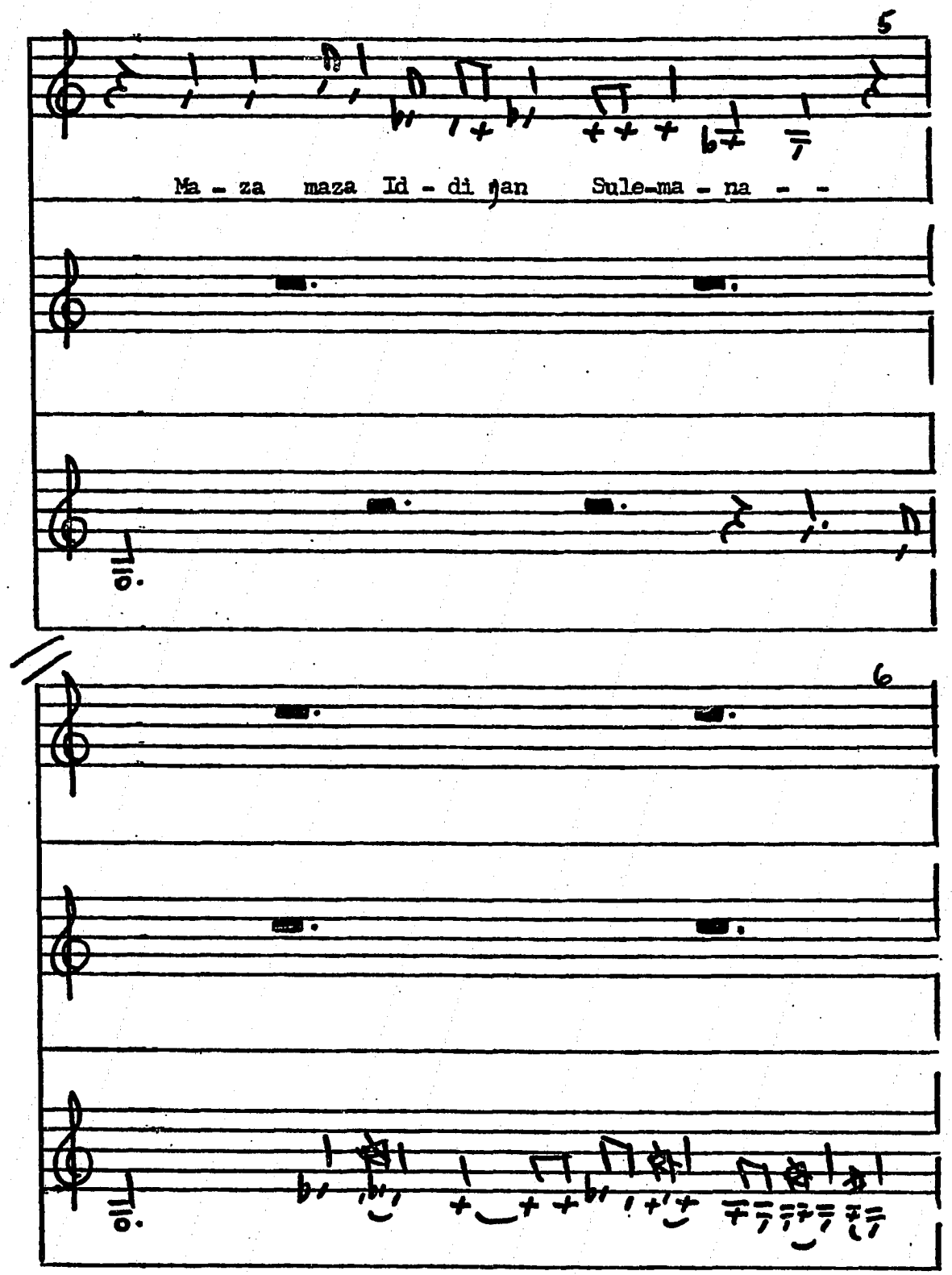
CHAUTAN ALLAH
(Yamba Na Iddi)
by Salisu Mahama
(D45:0:84d.)



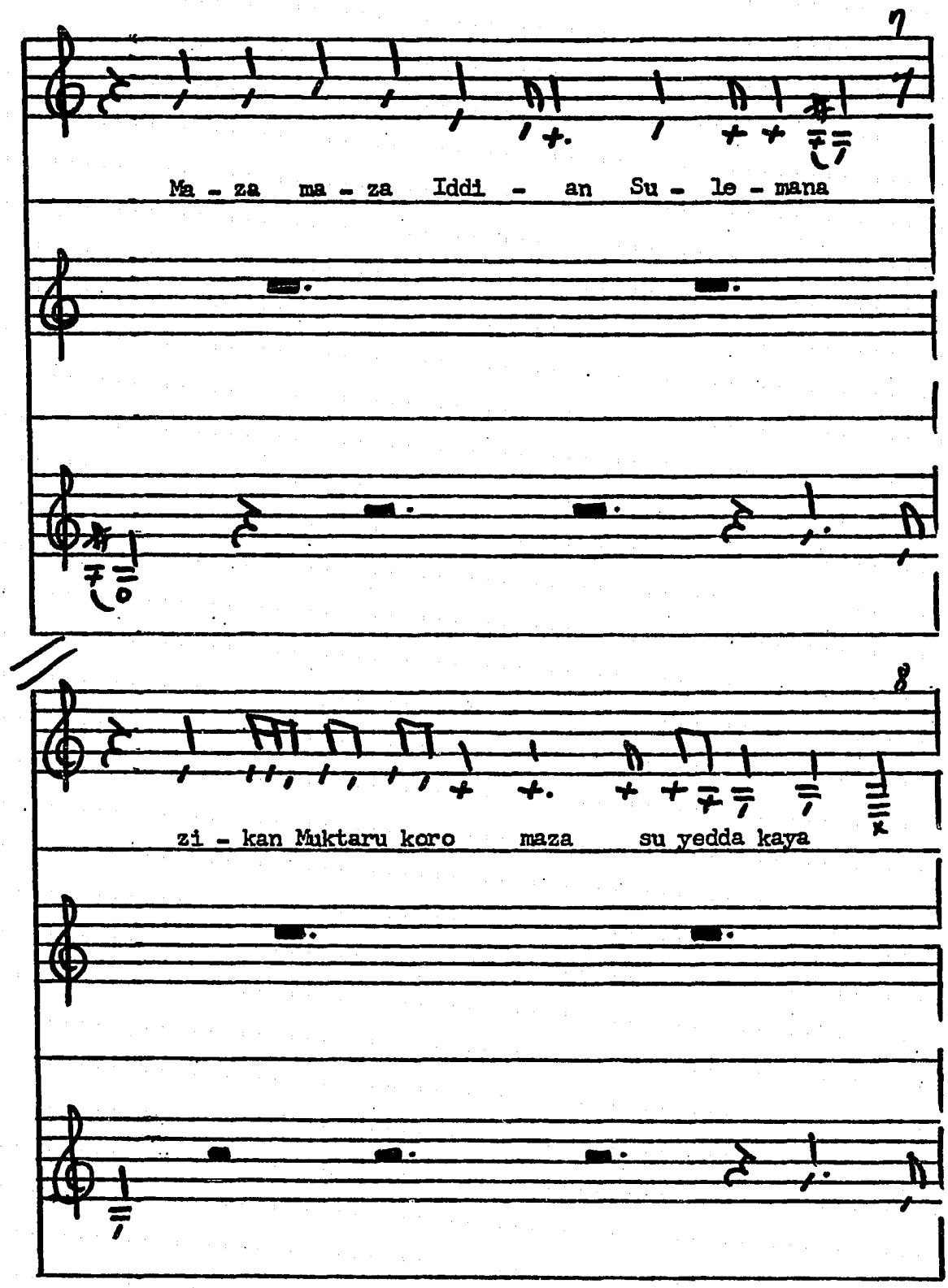
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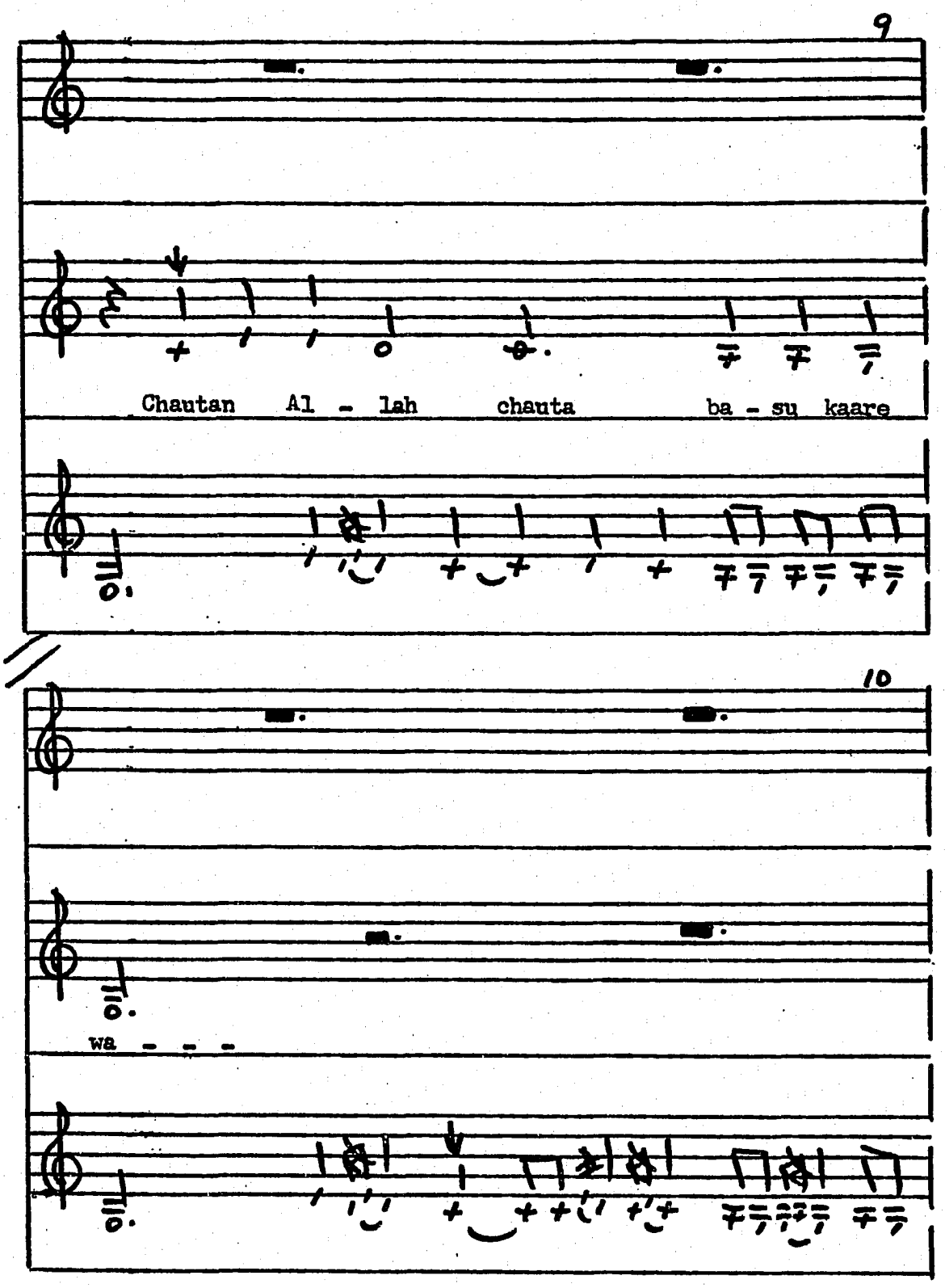
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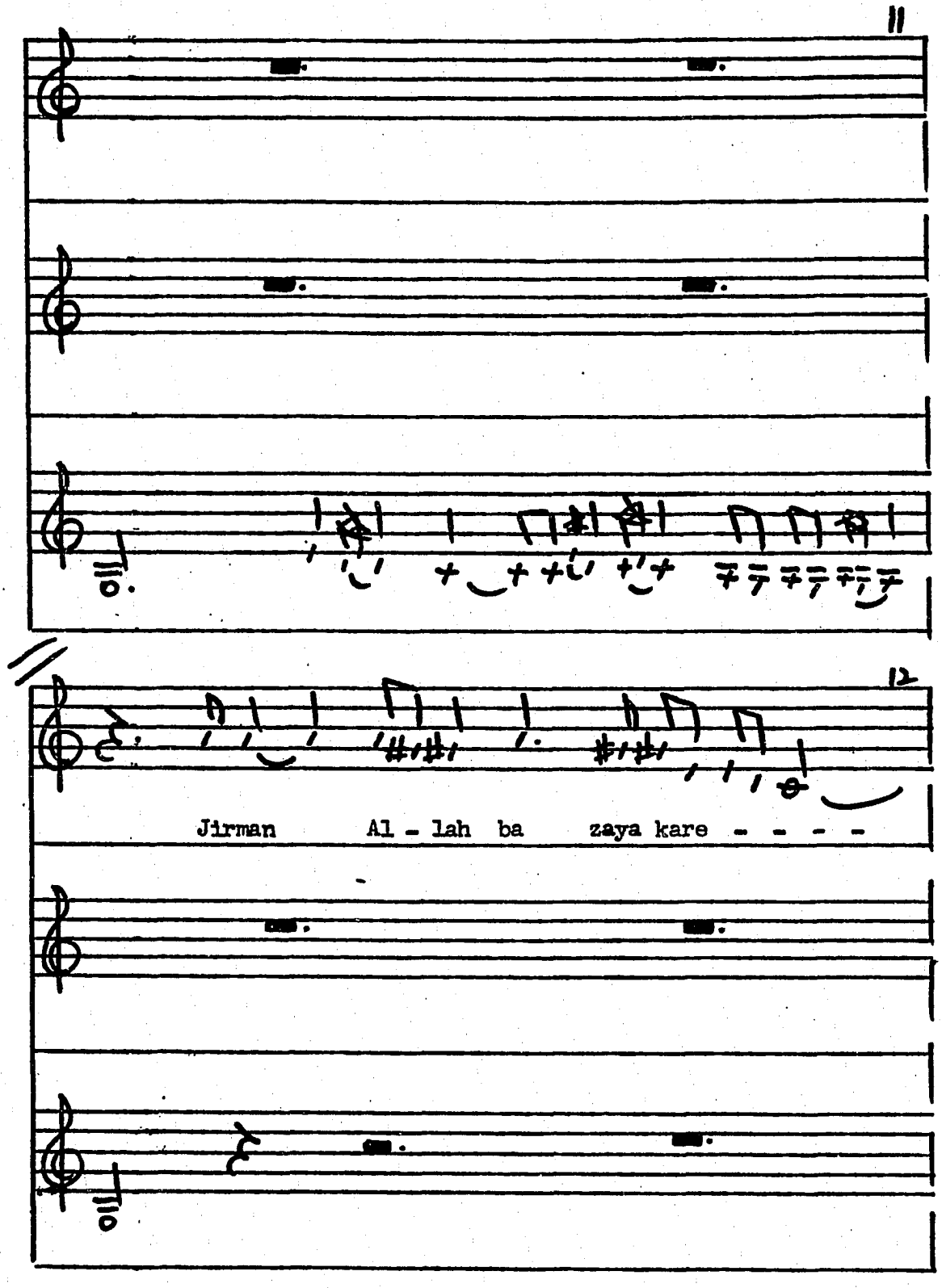


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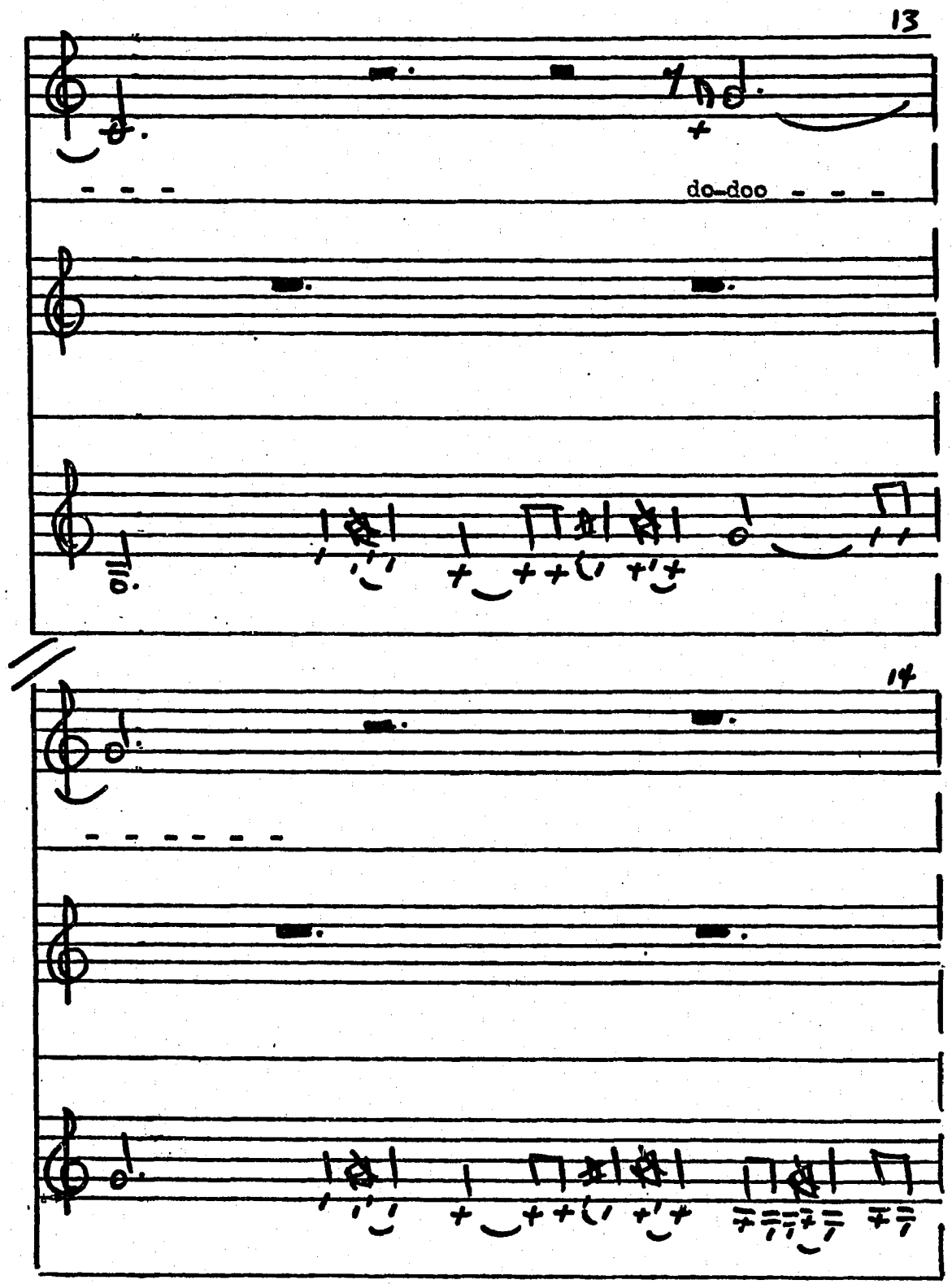
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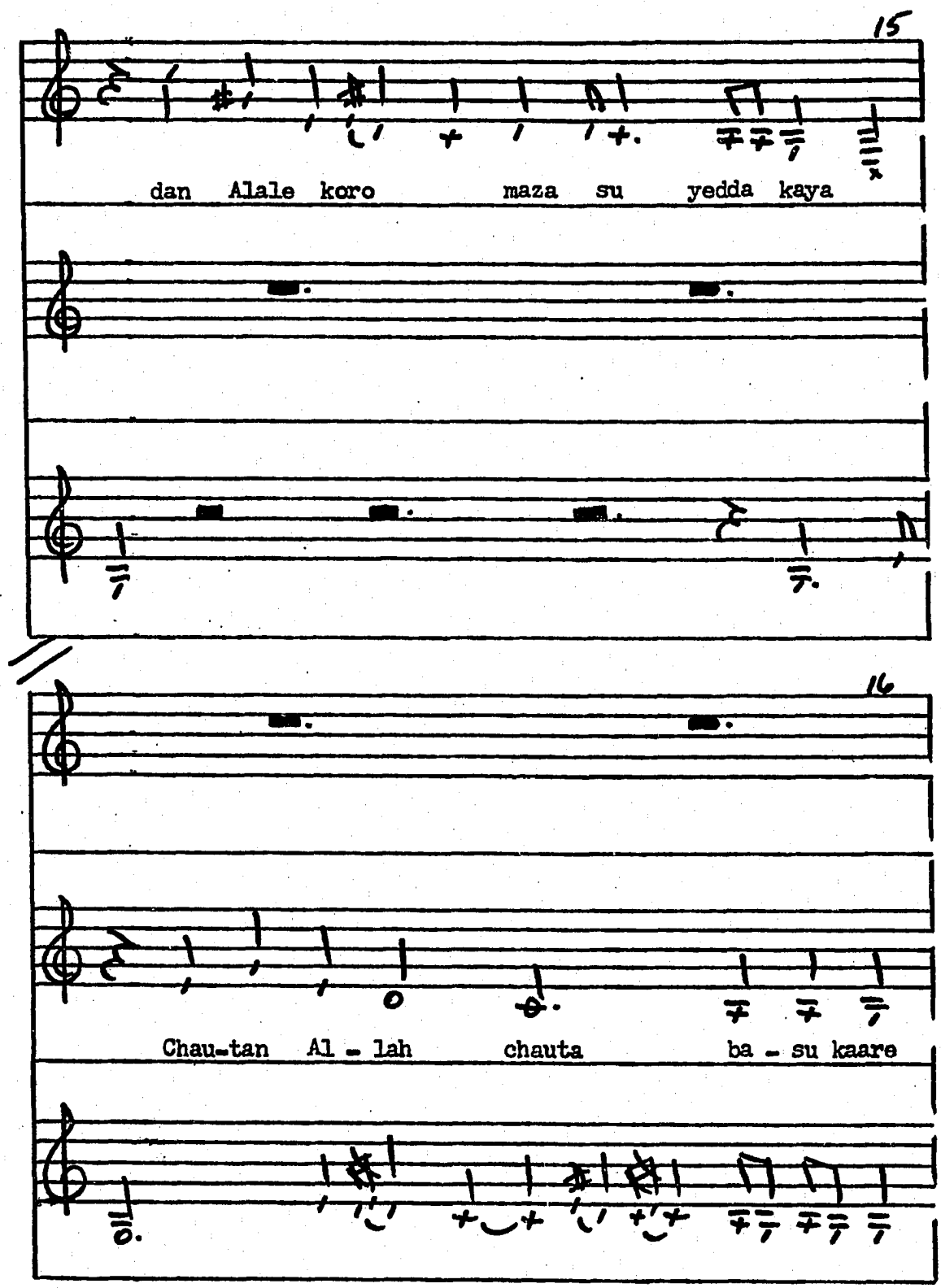
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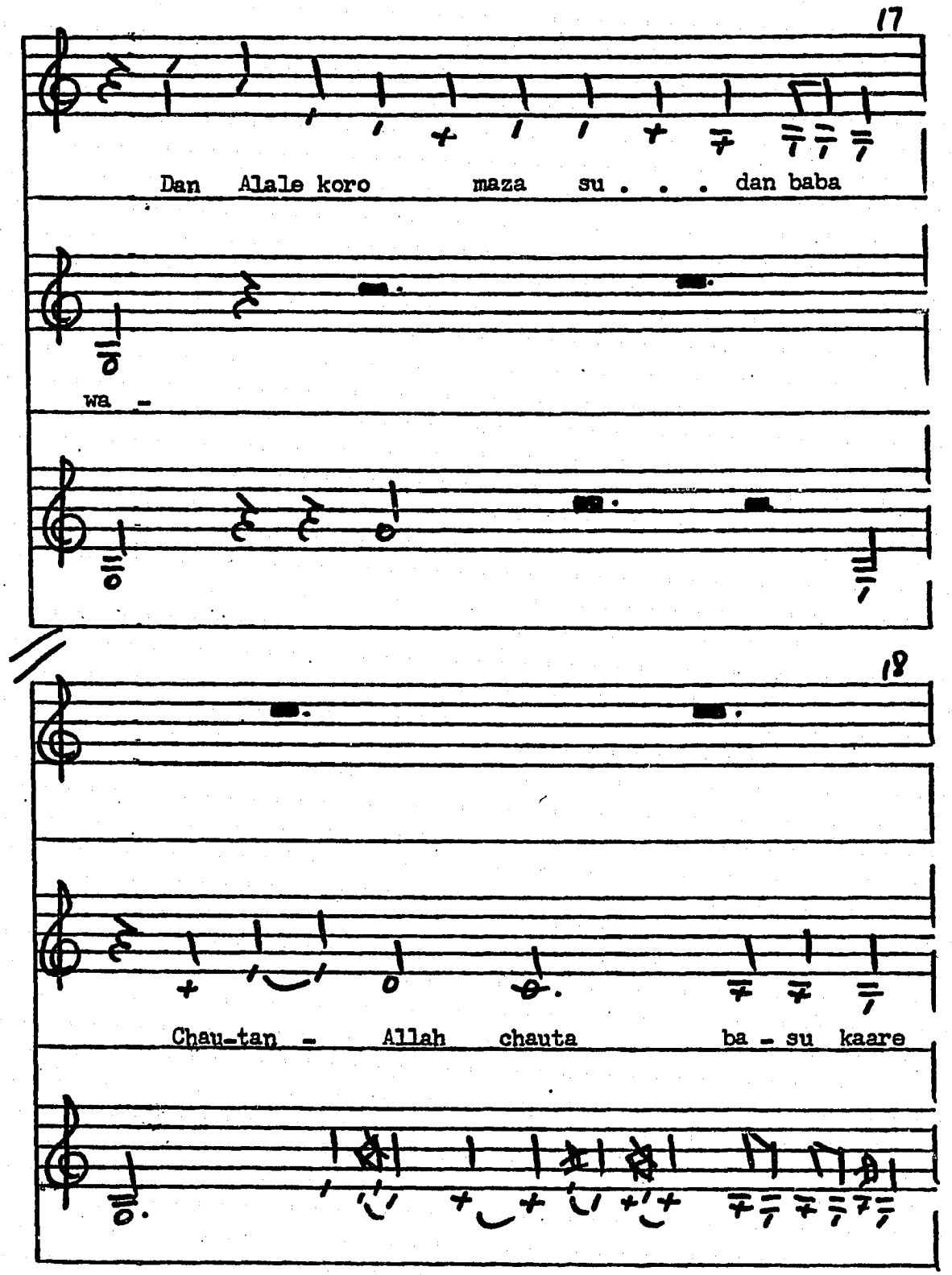
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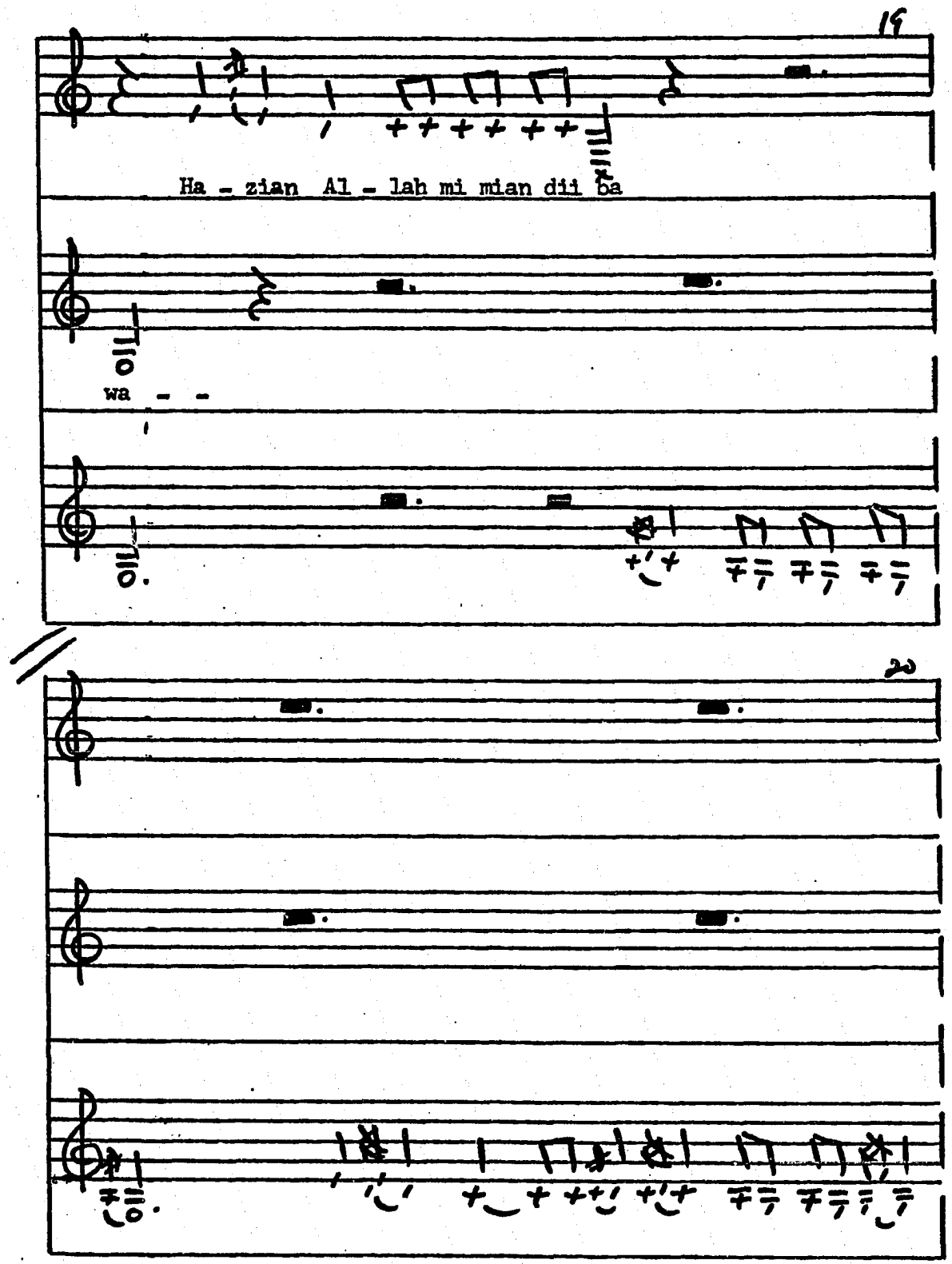
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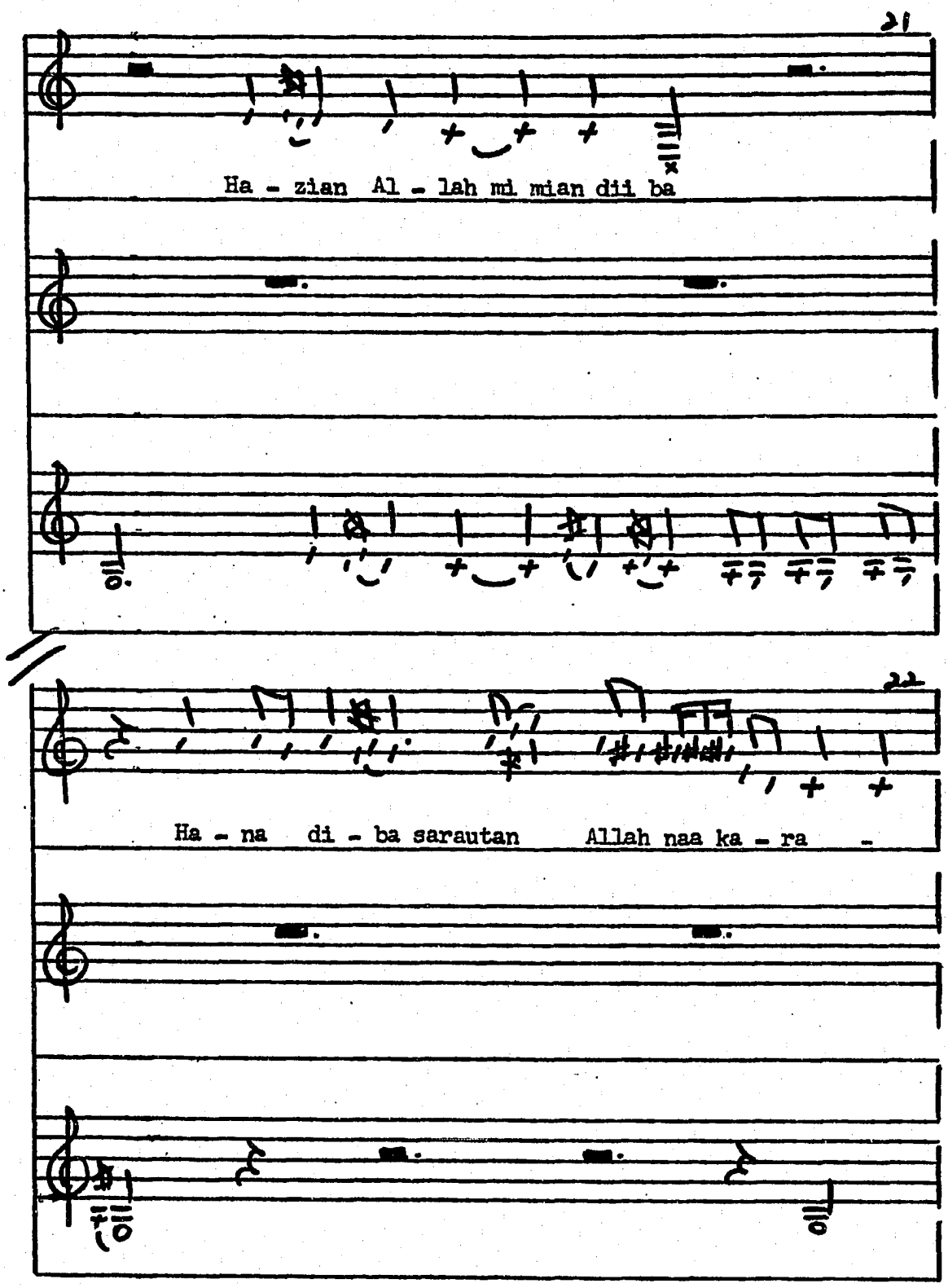
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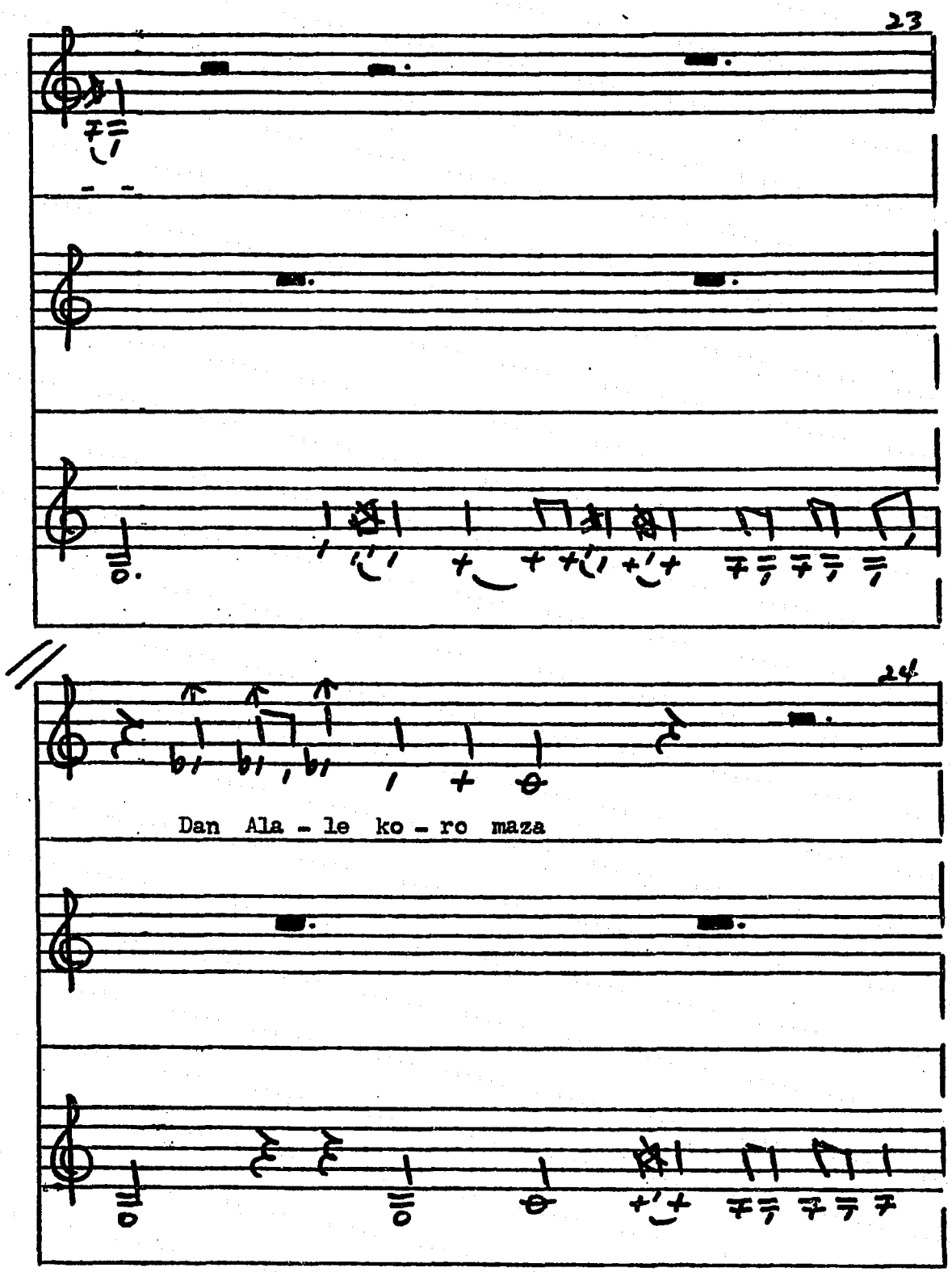
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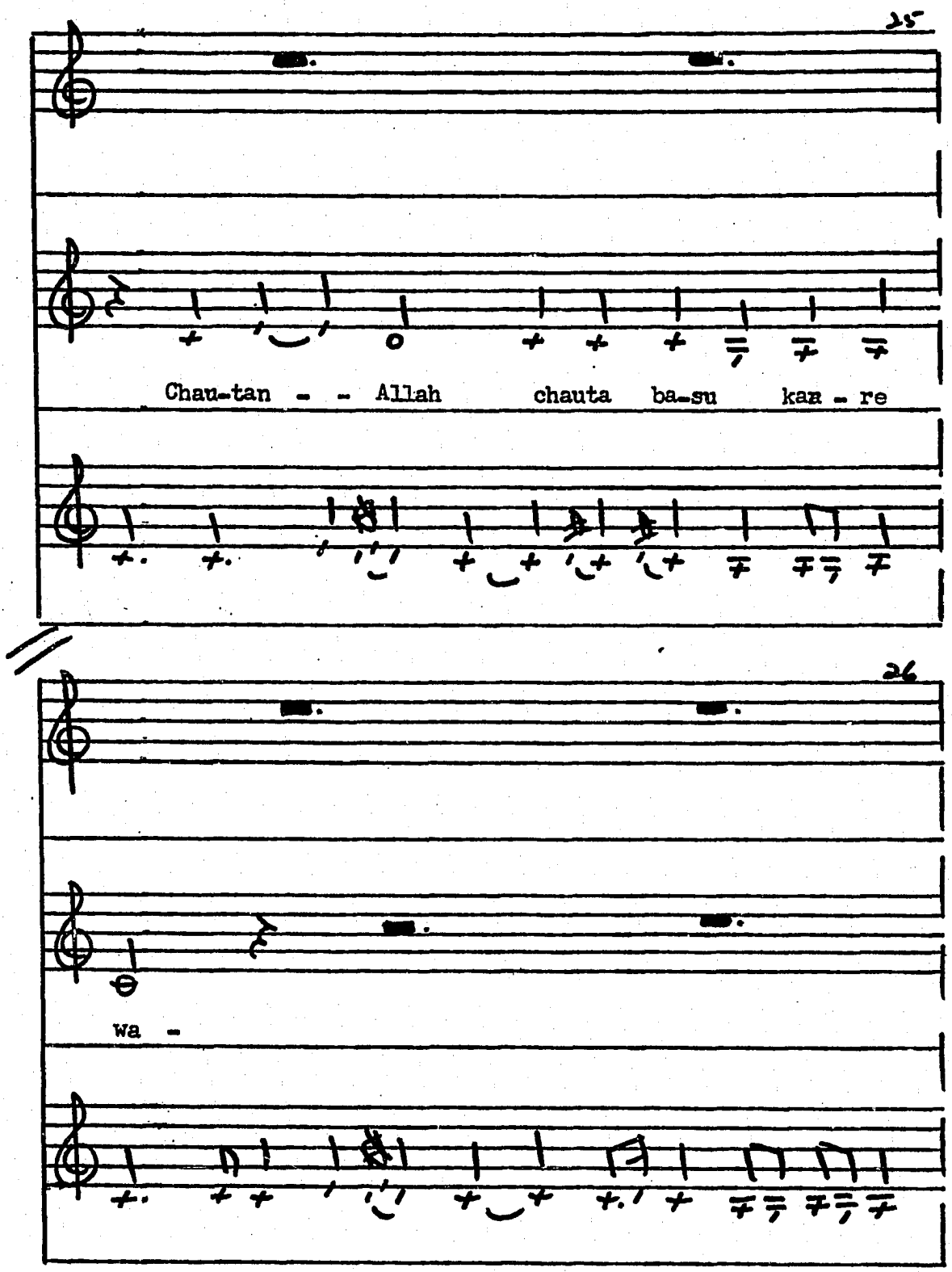
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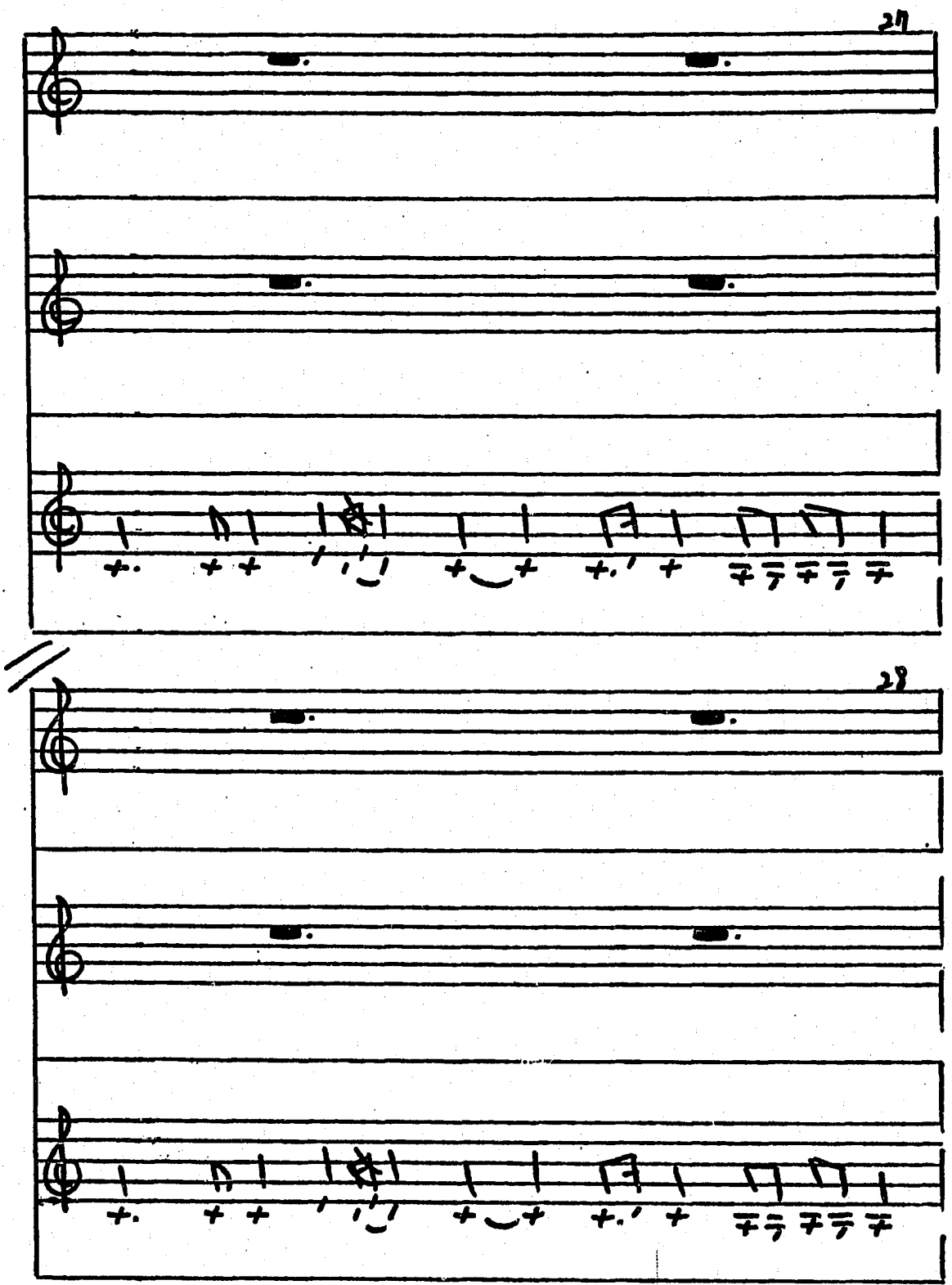
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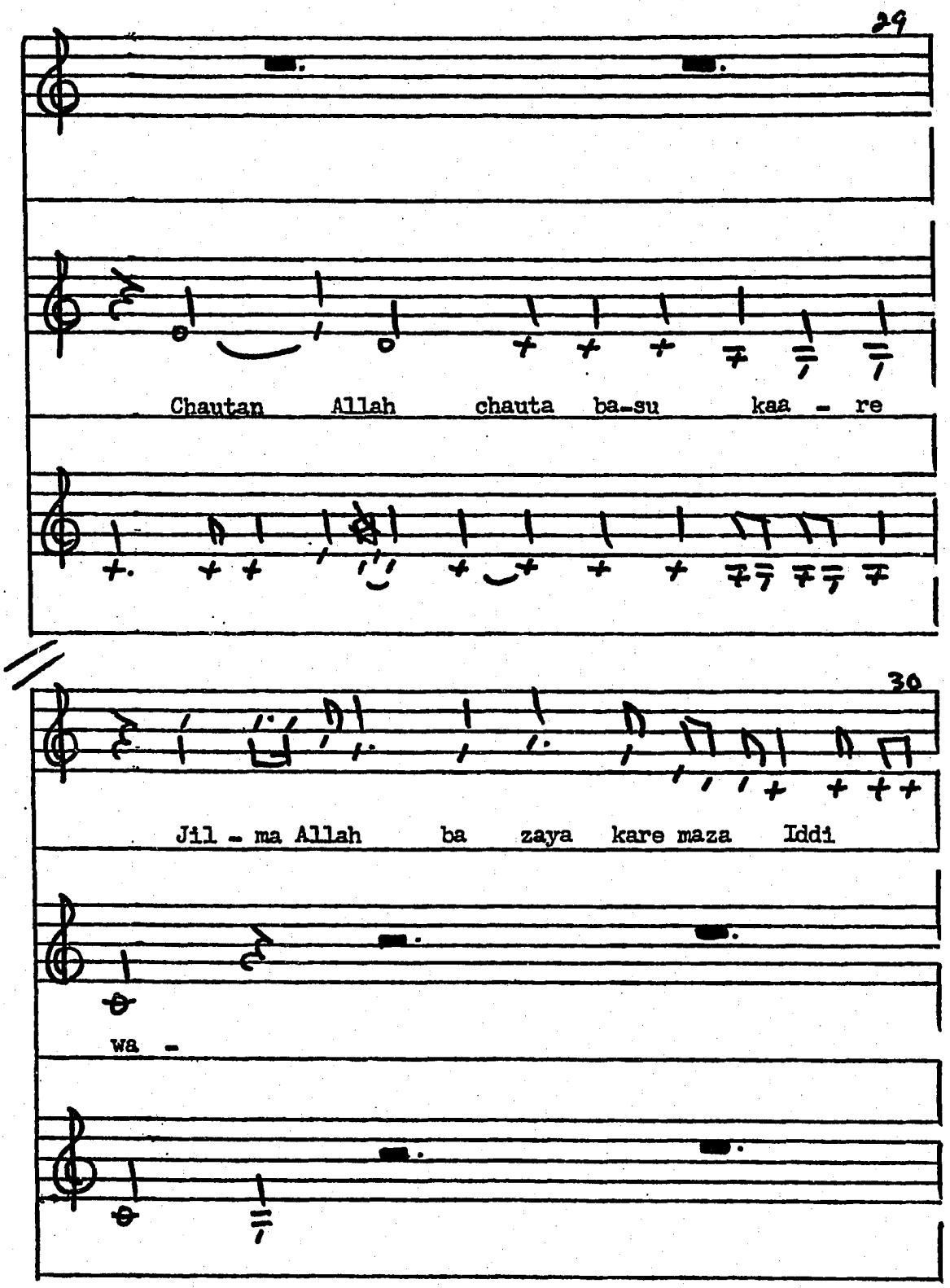
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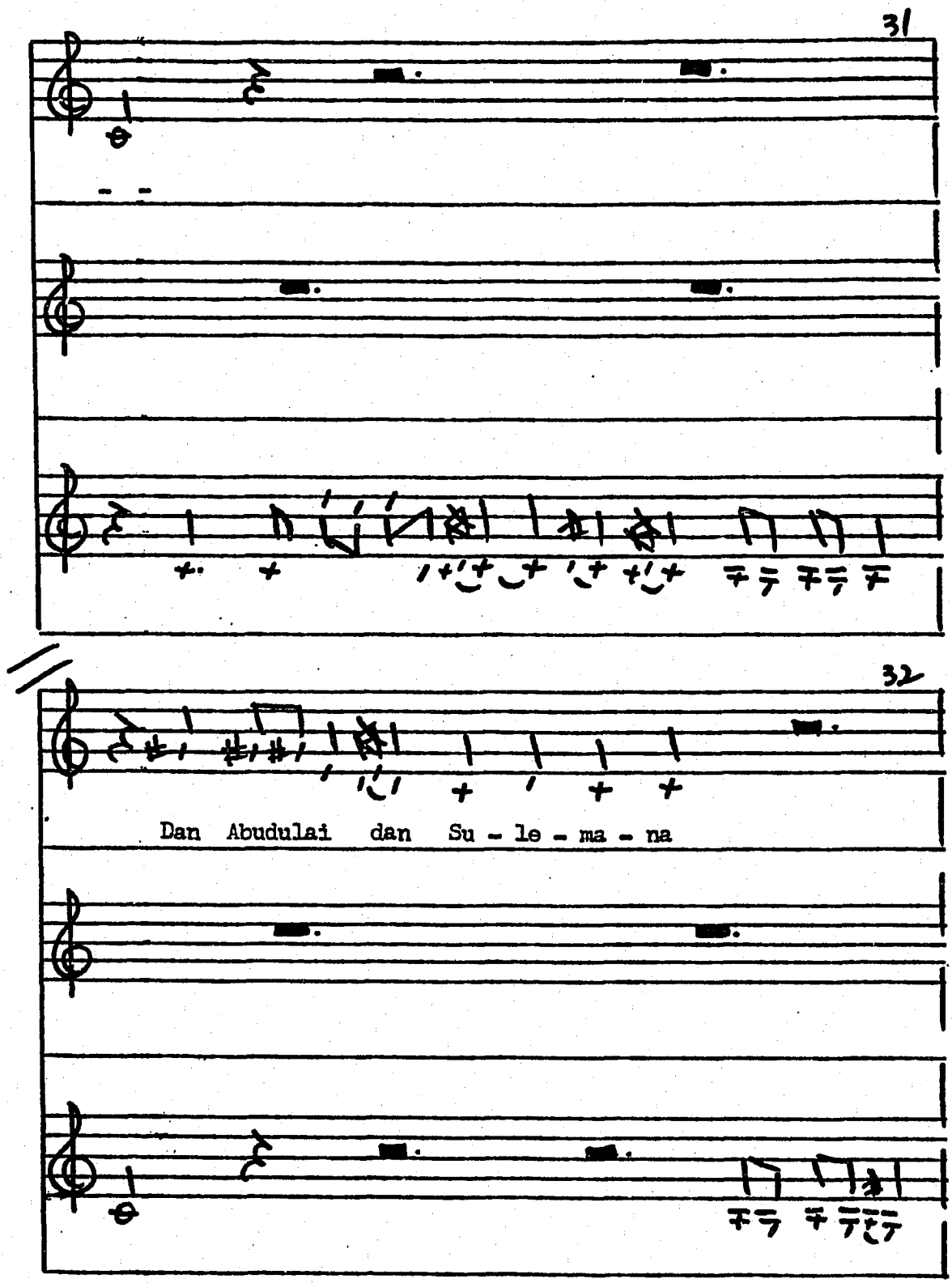
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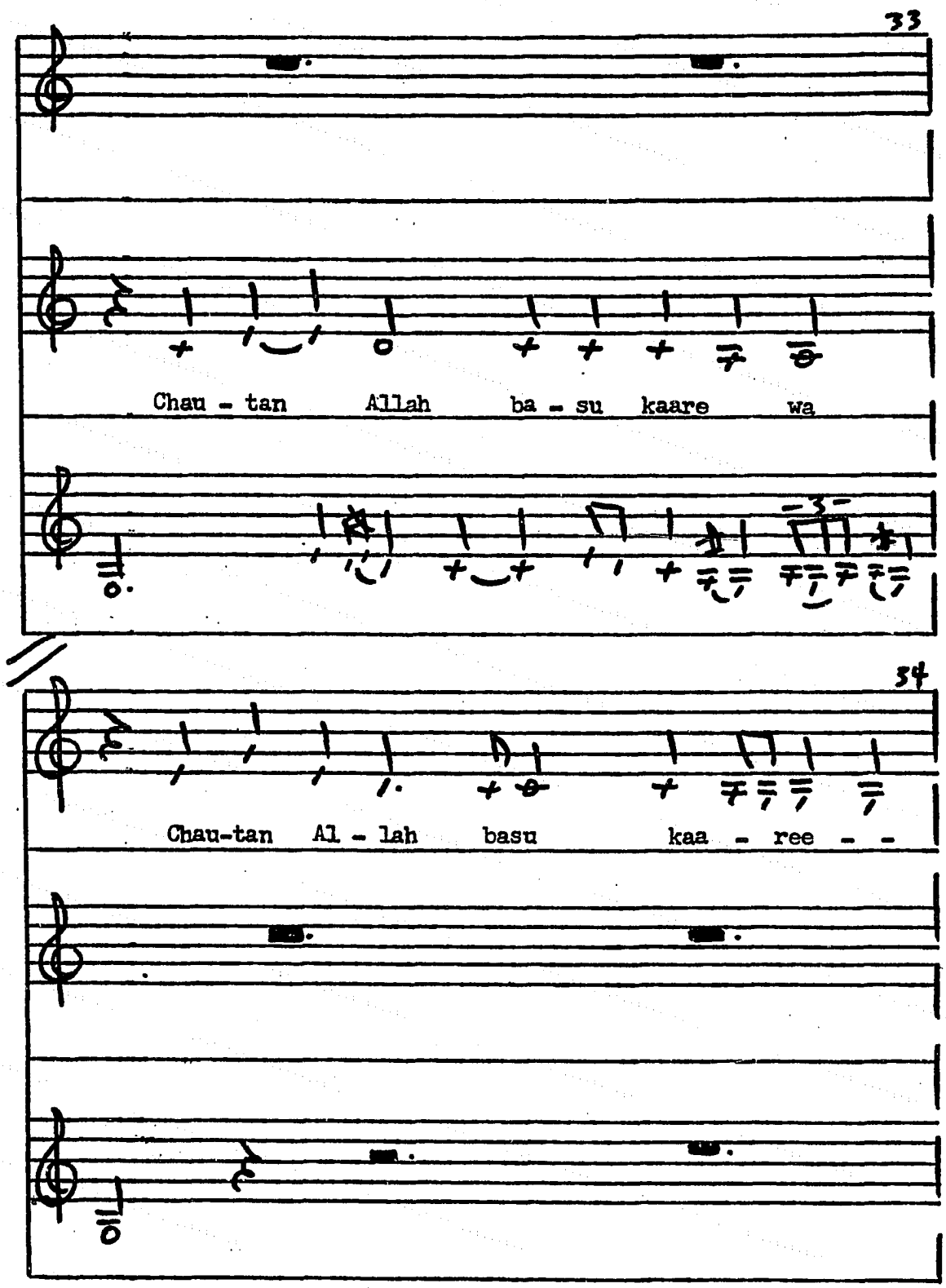
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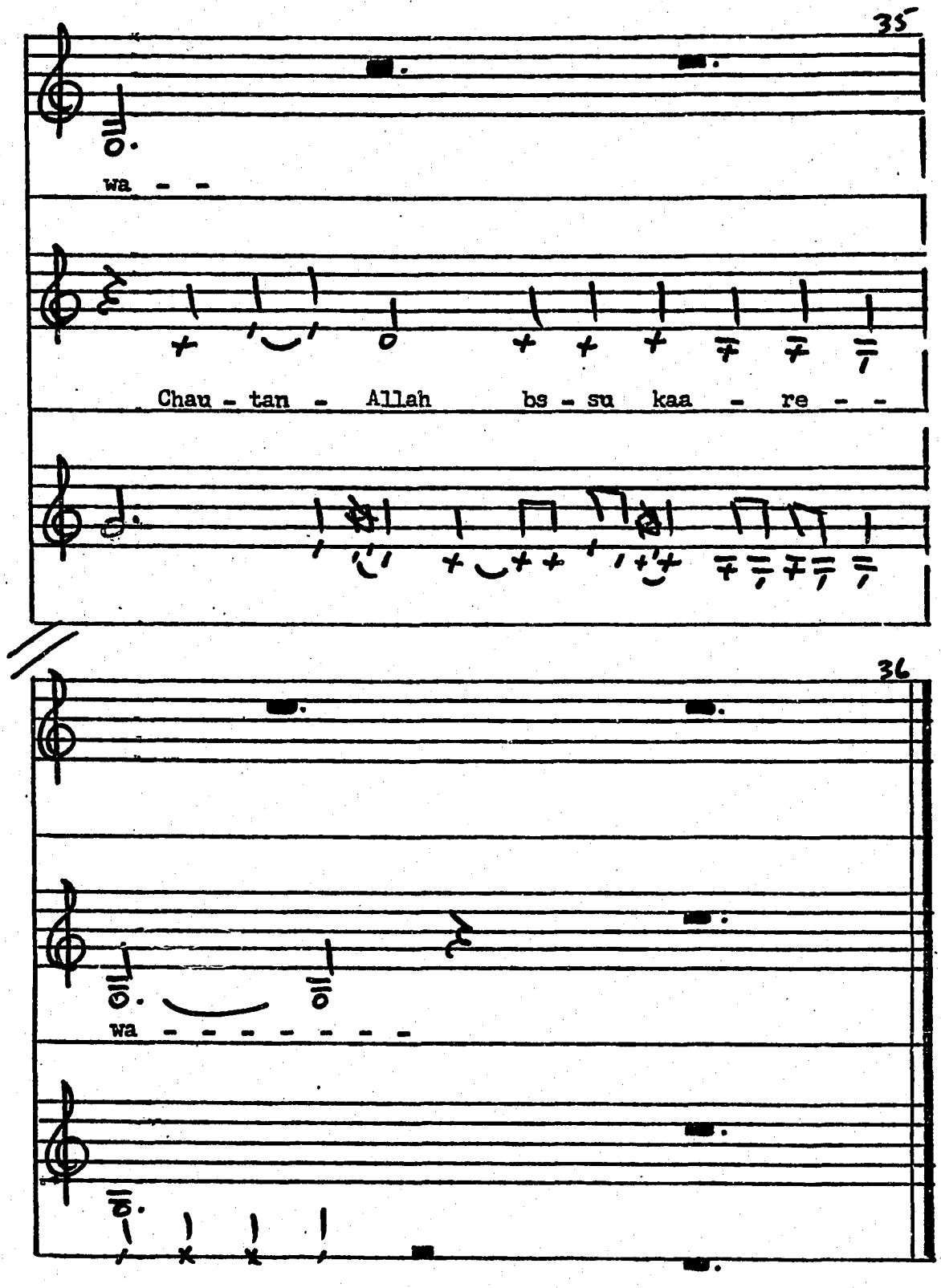


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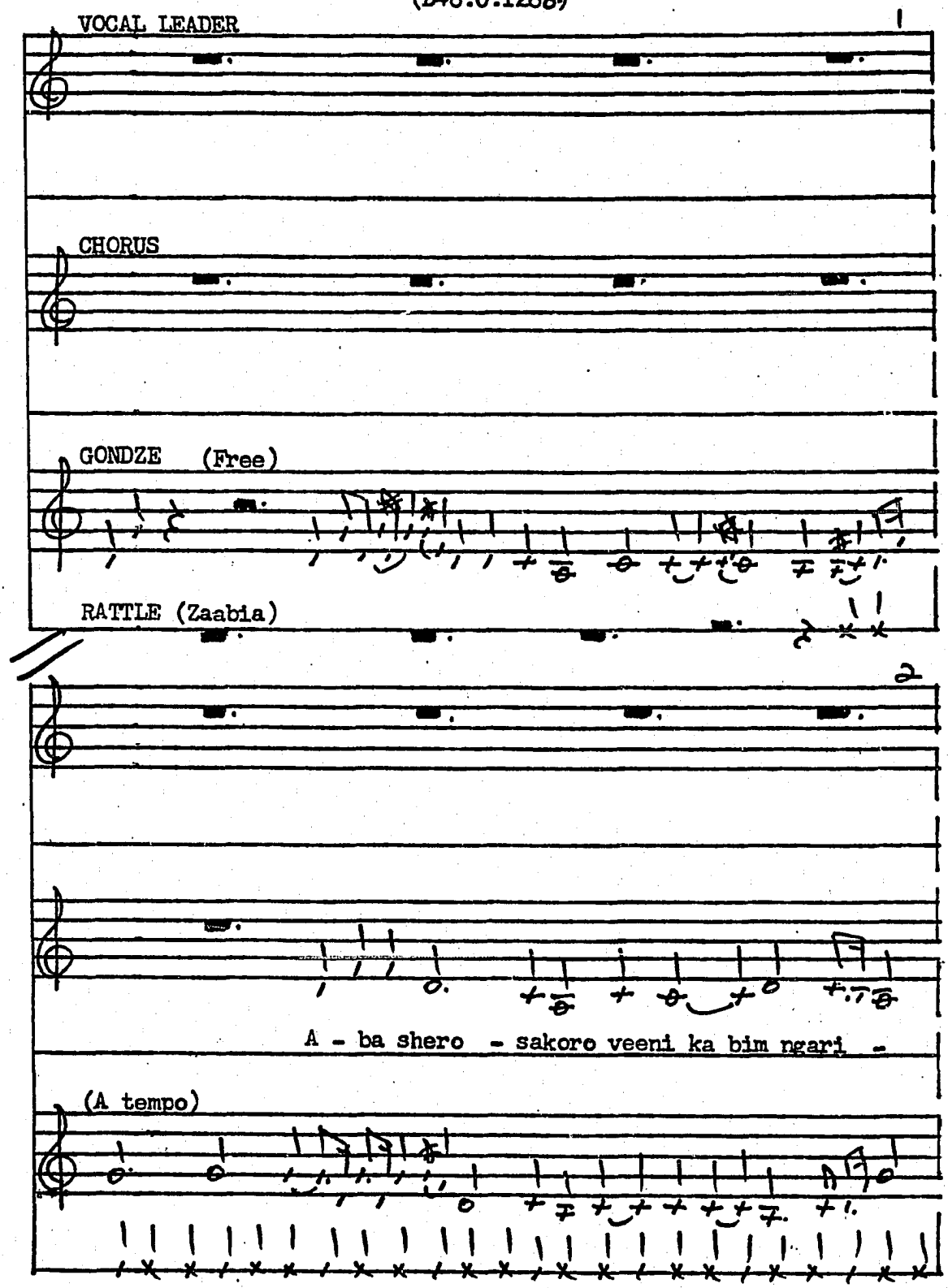


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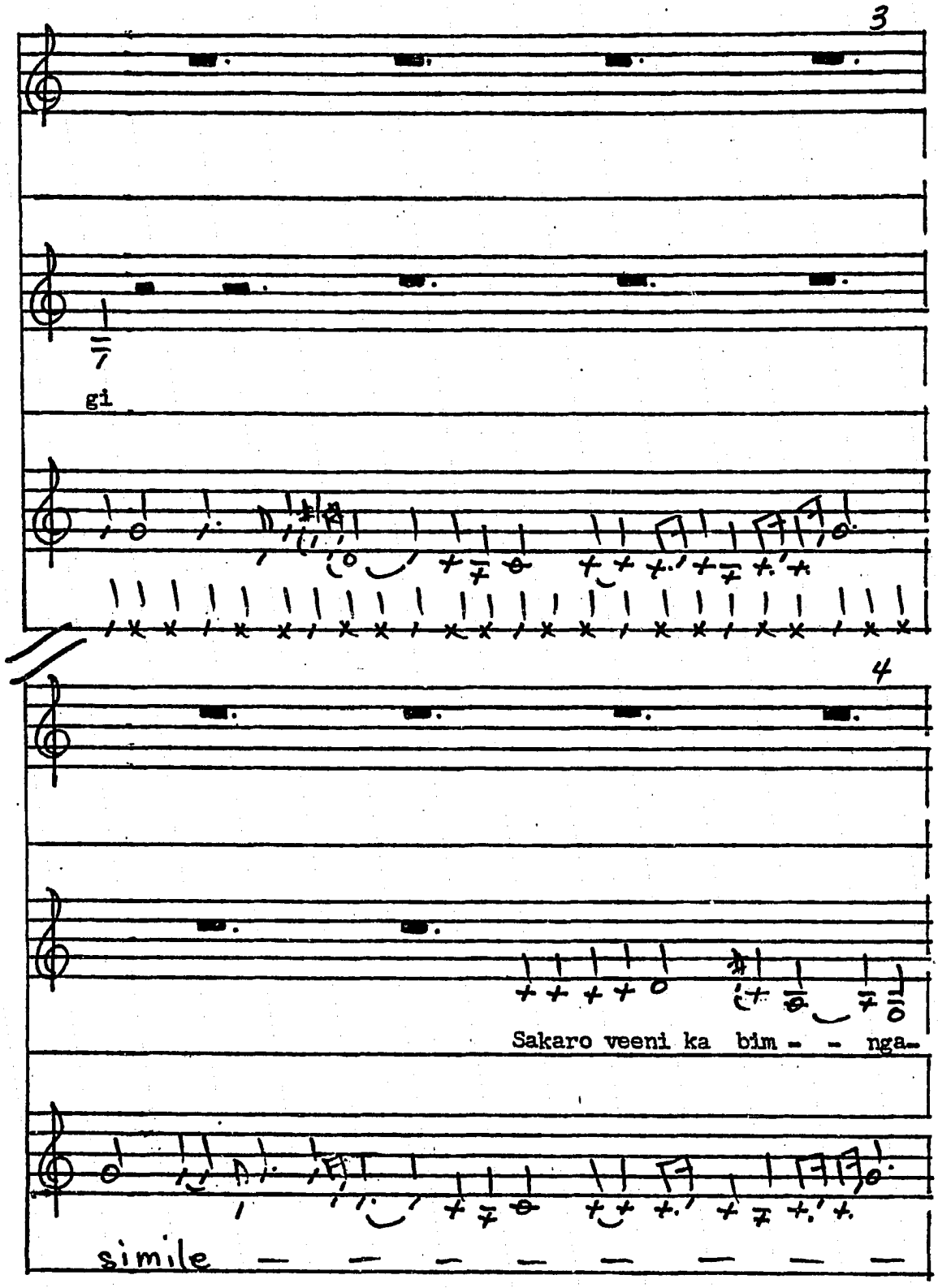


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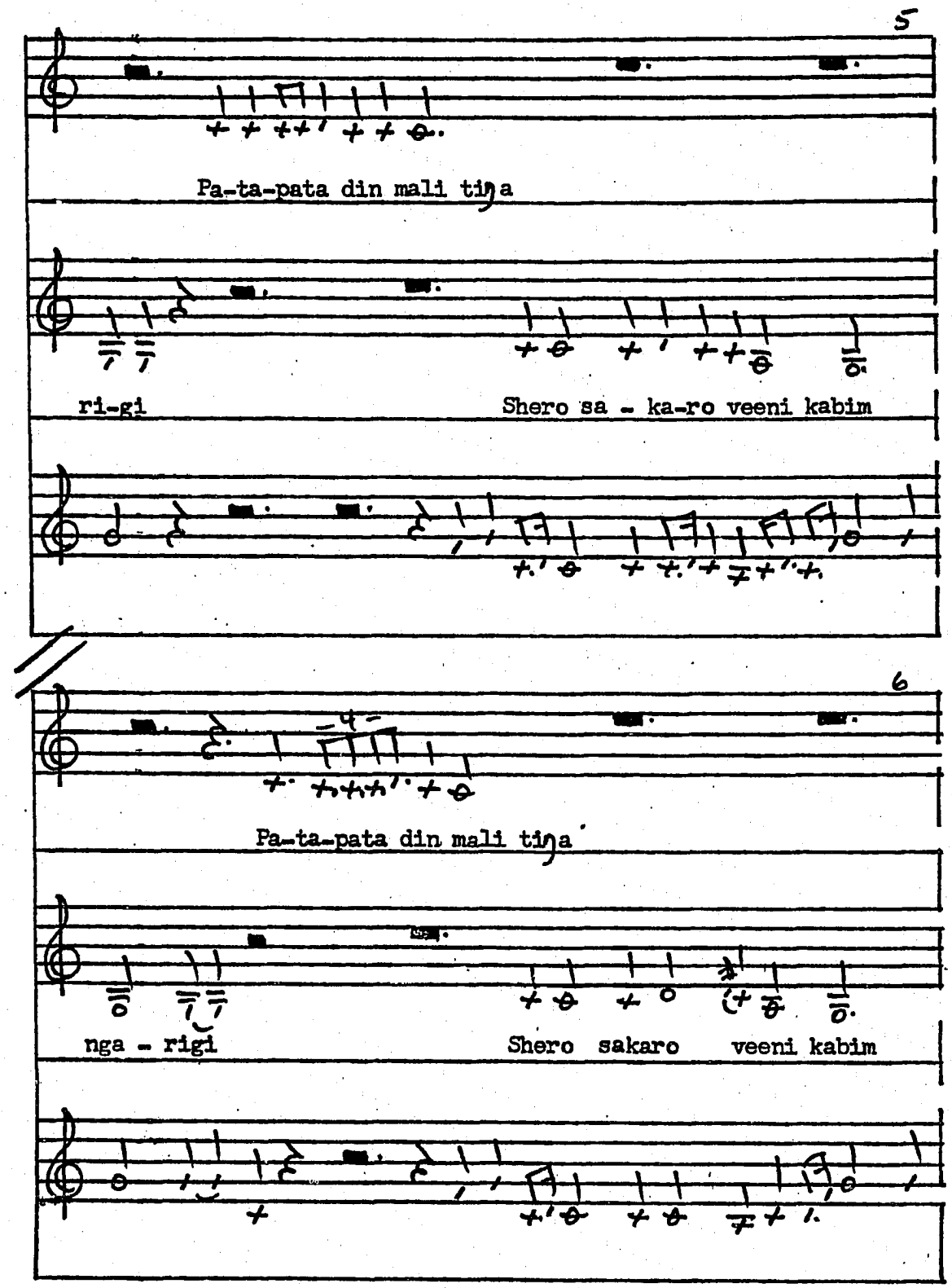
SAKORO (Yamba Na Seidu)
by Salisu Mahama
(D46:0:126d)



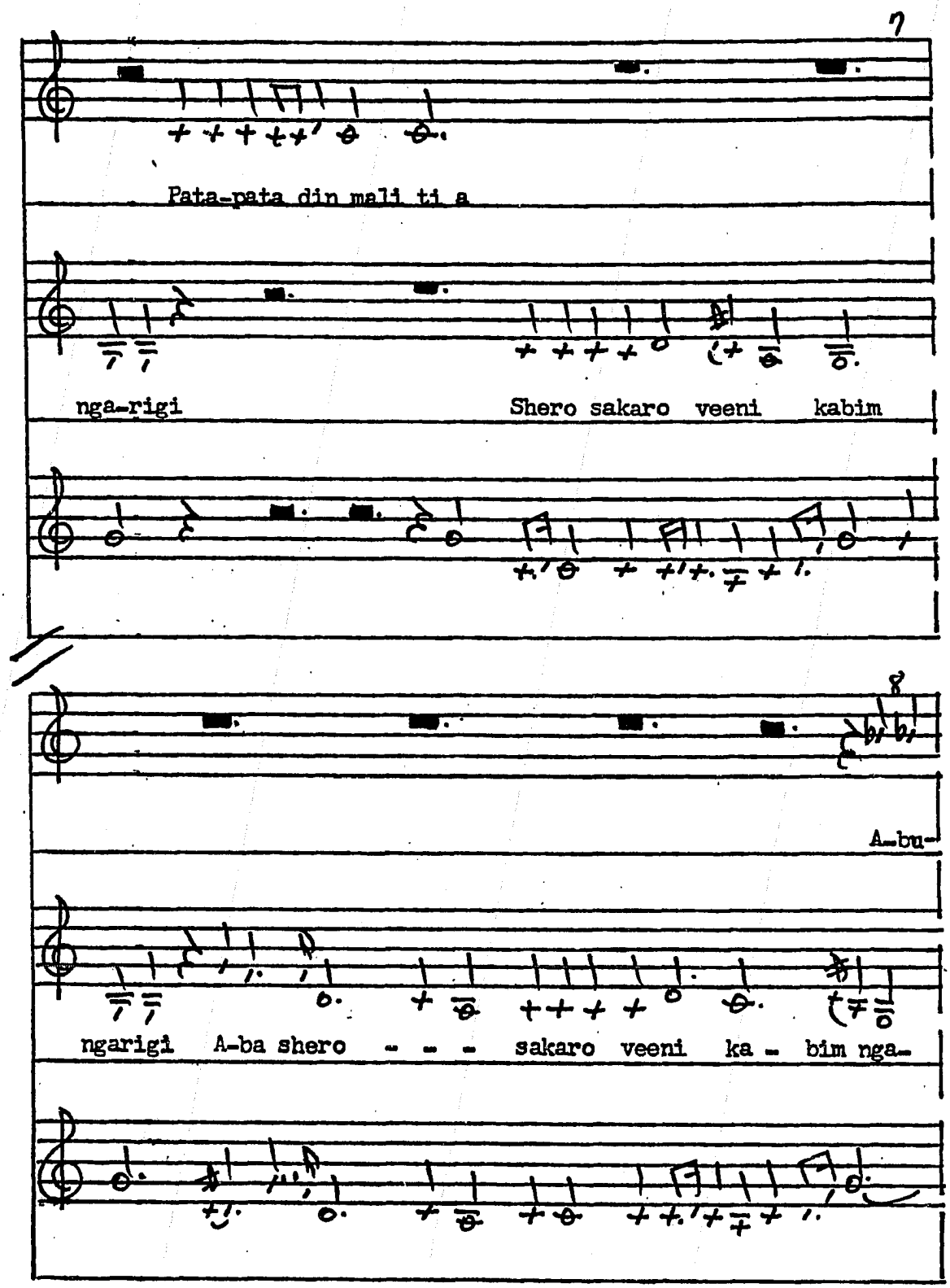
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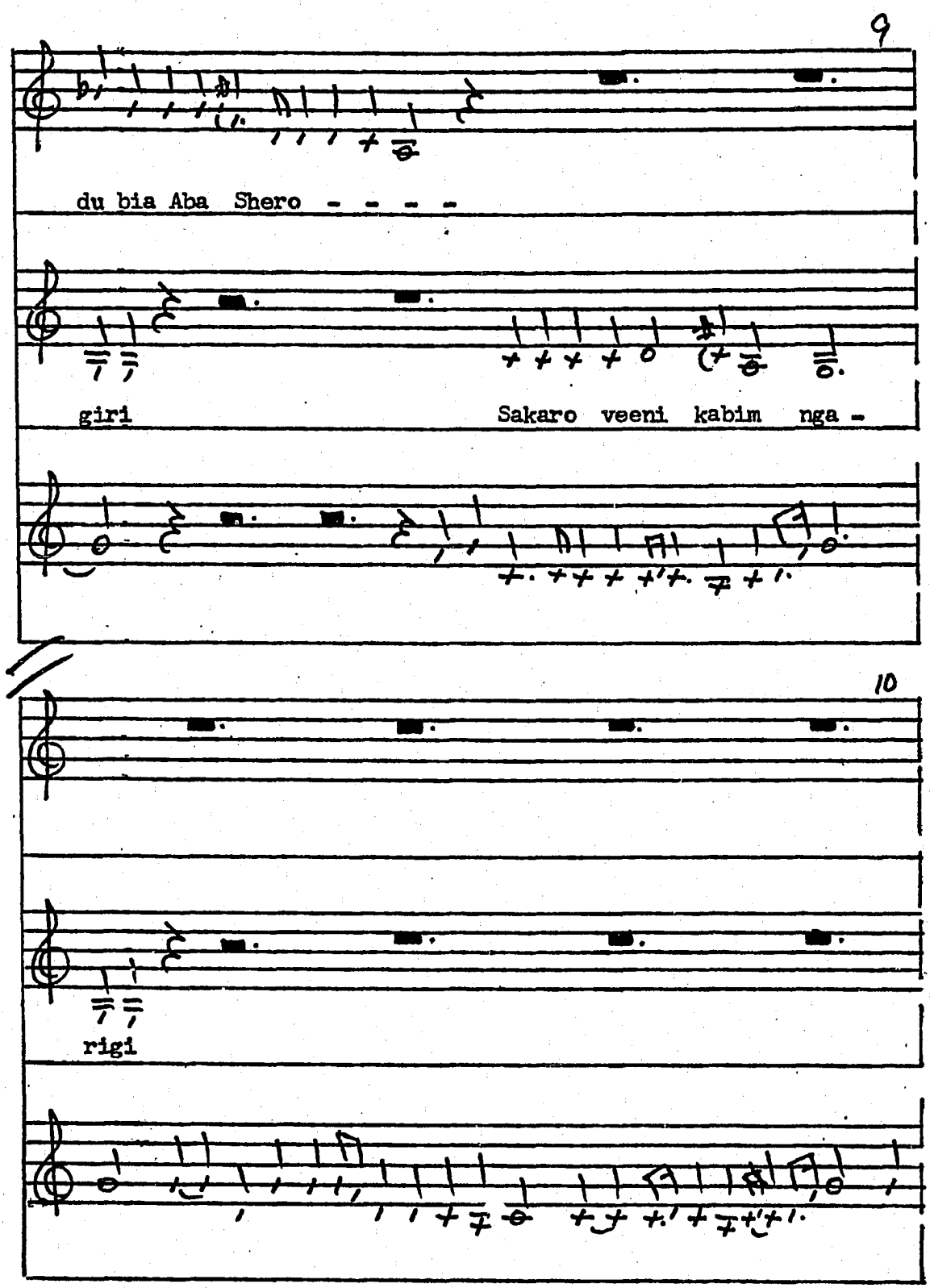
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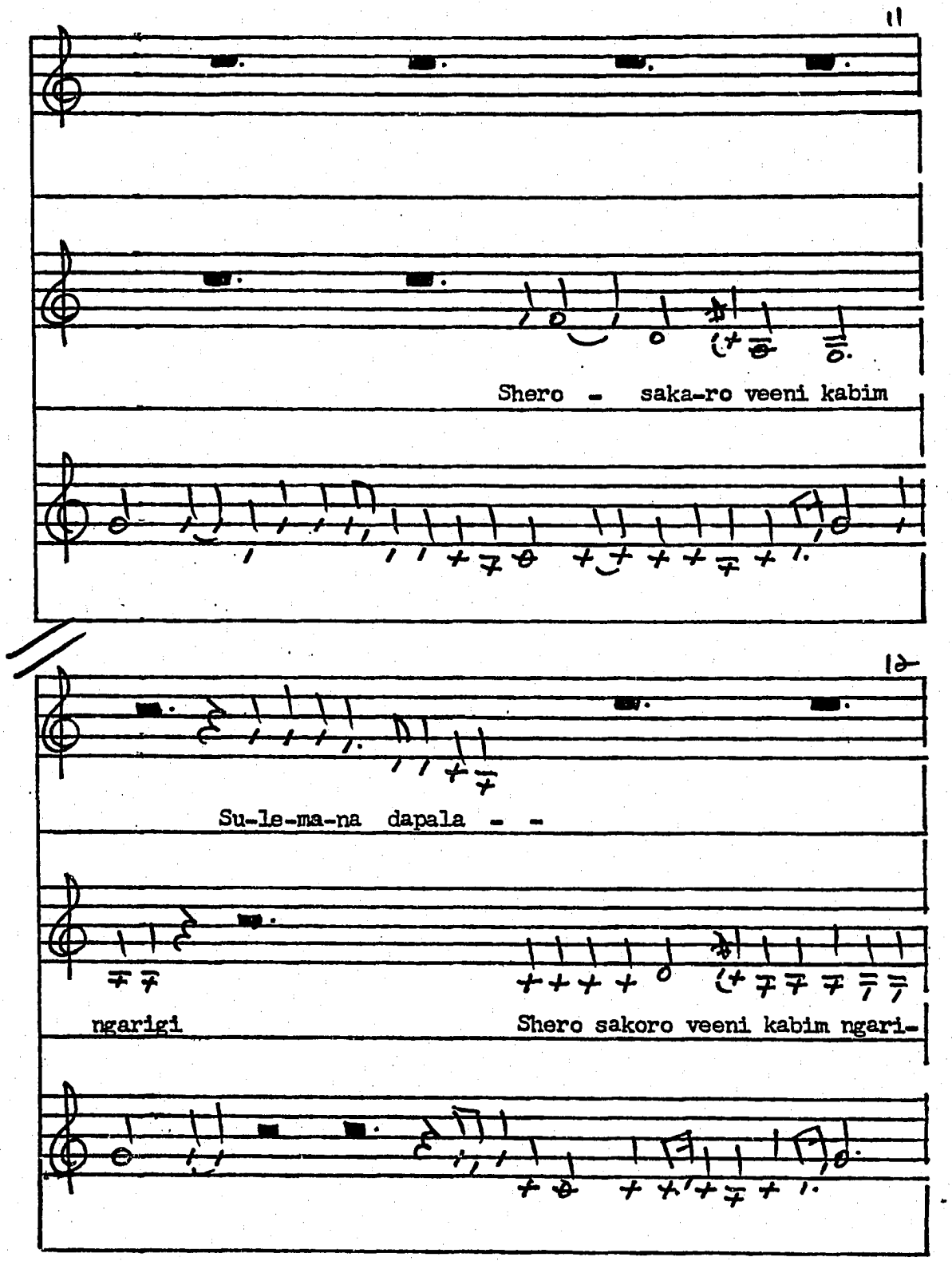
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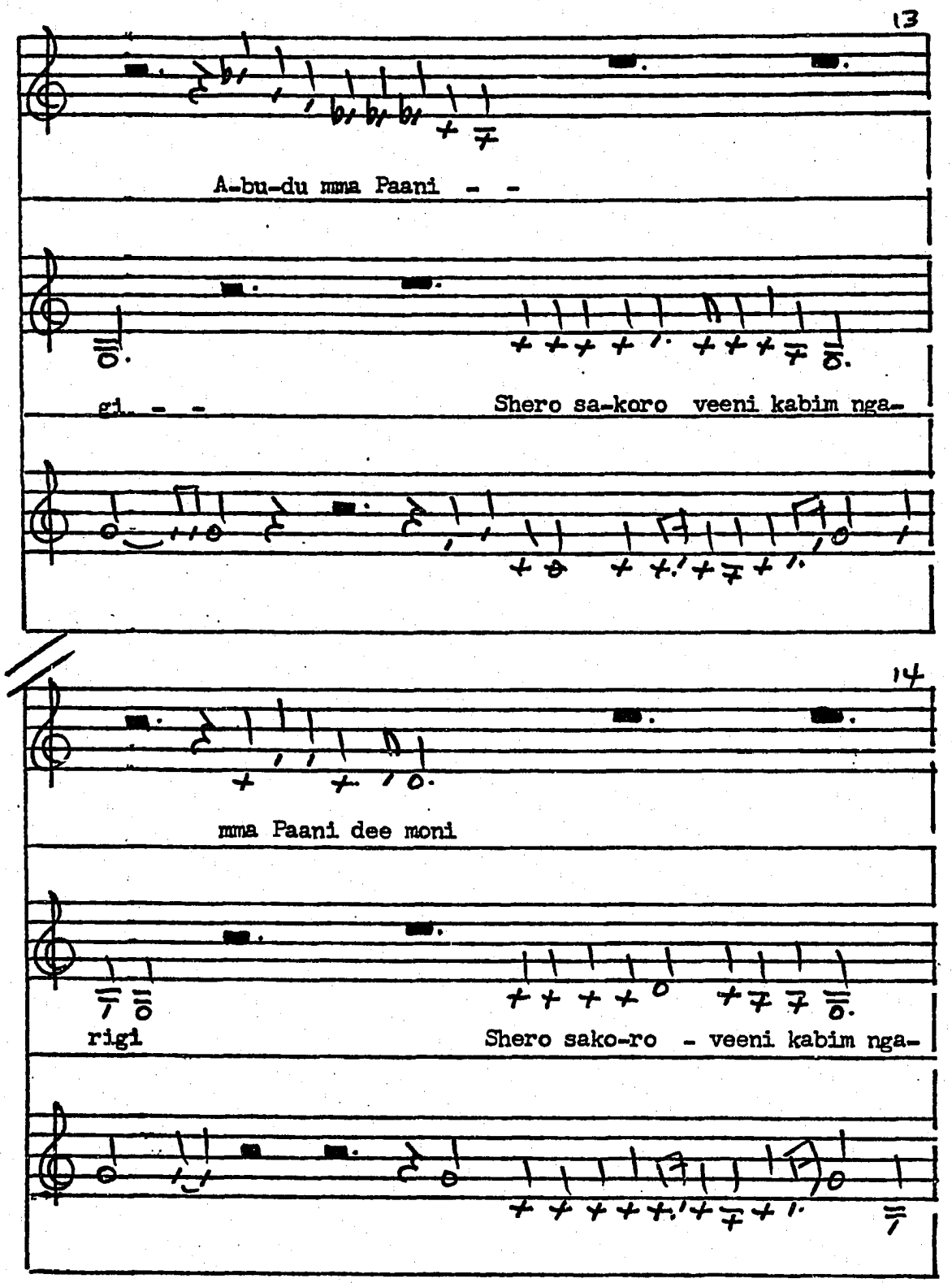
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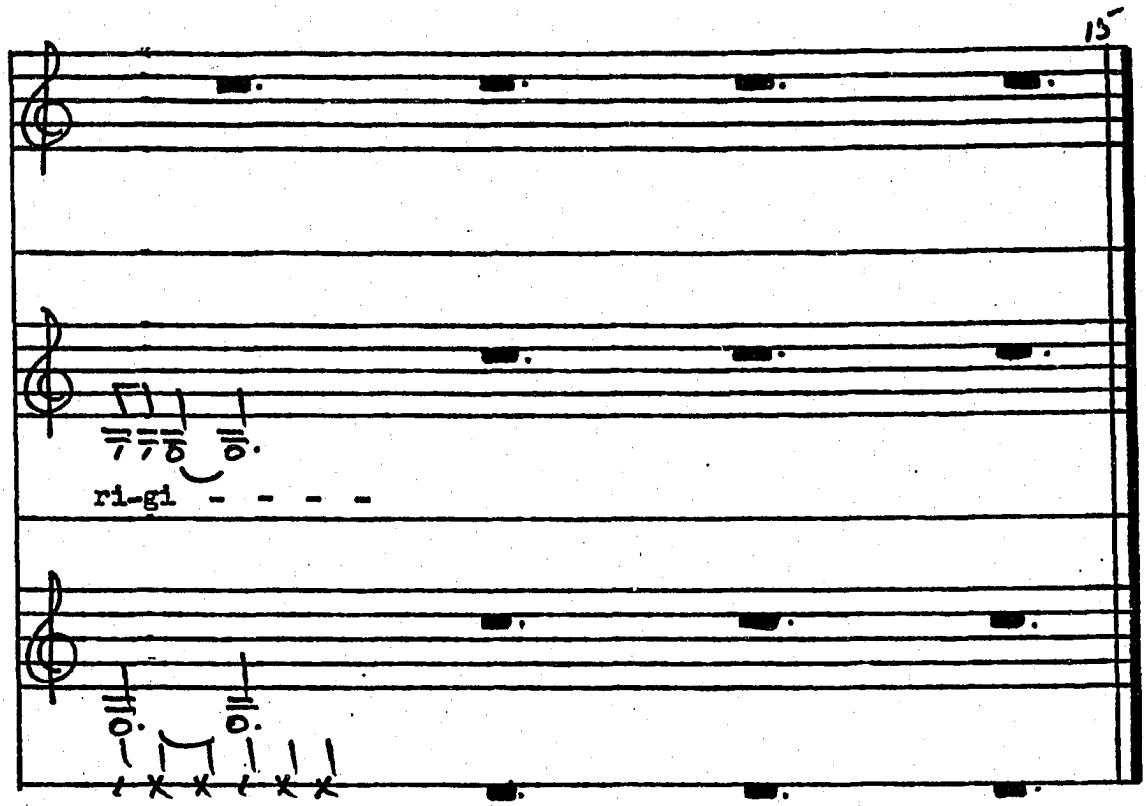
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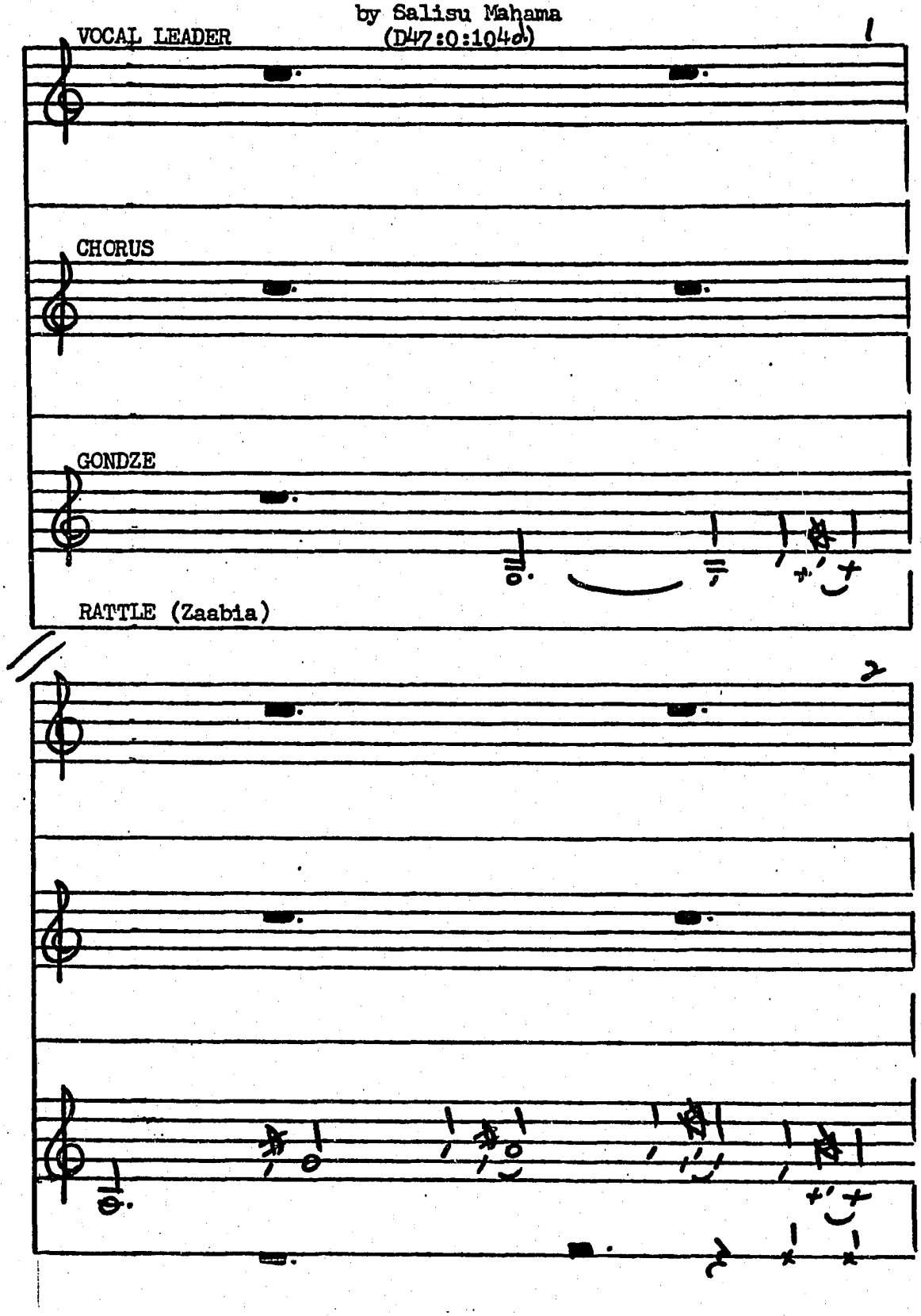


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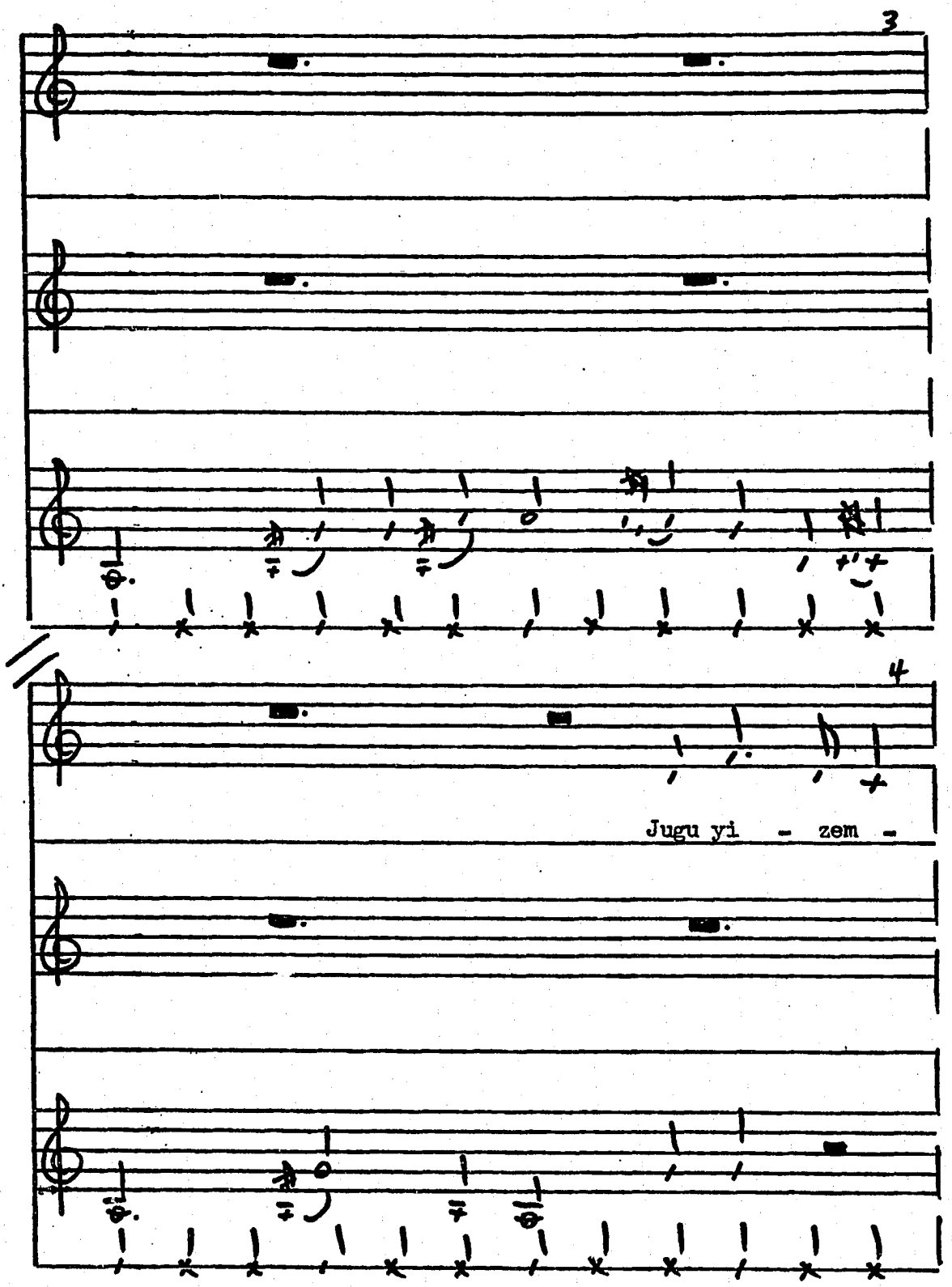


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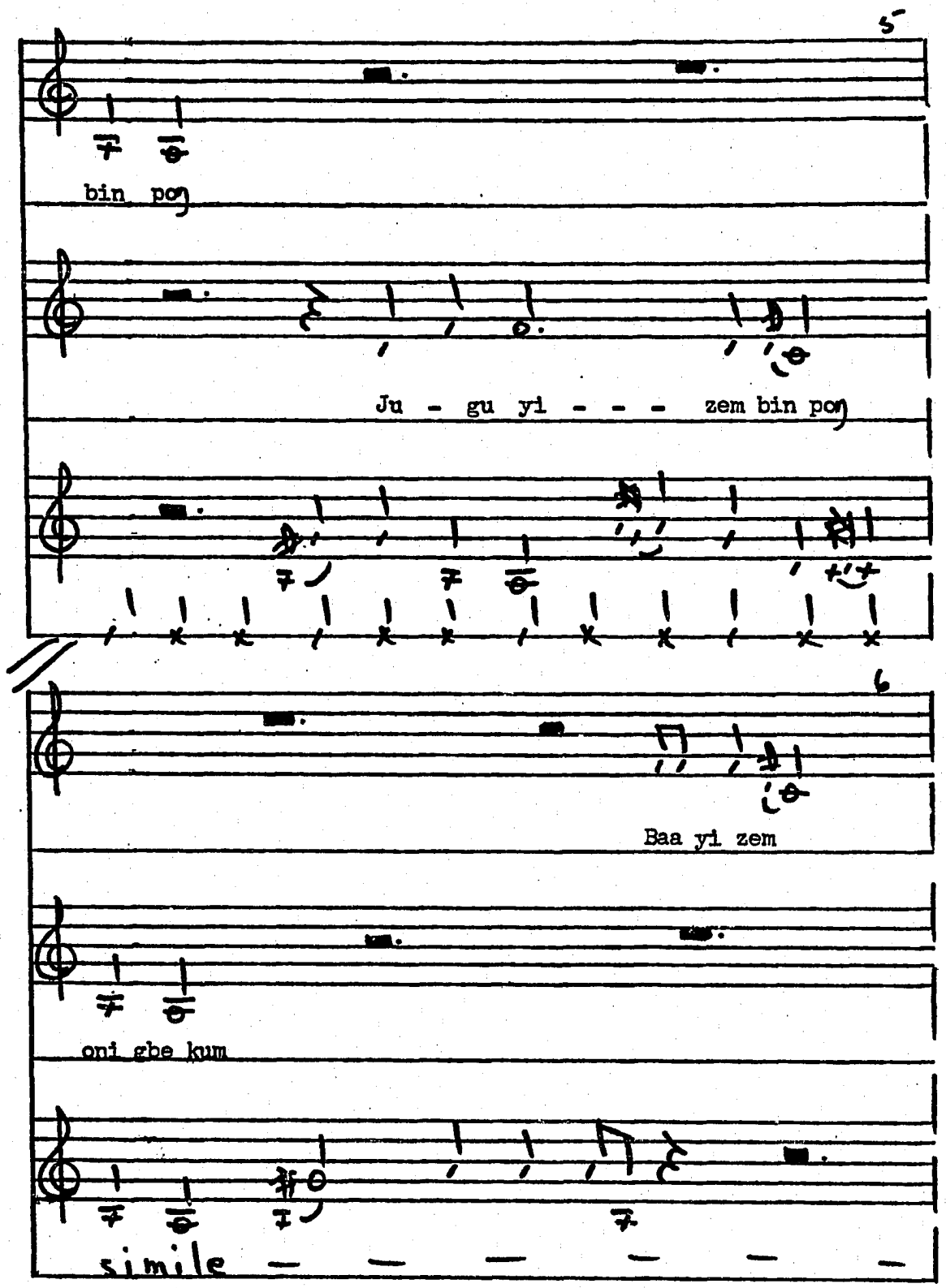
JUGU YI ZEM
(Yamba Na Mahama II)
by Salisu Mahama
(D47:0:104d)



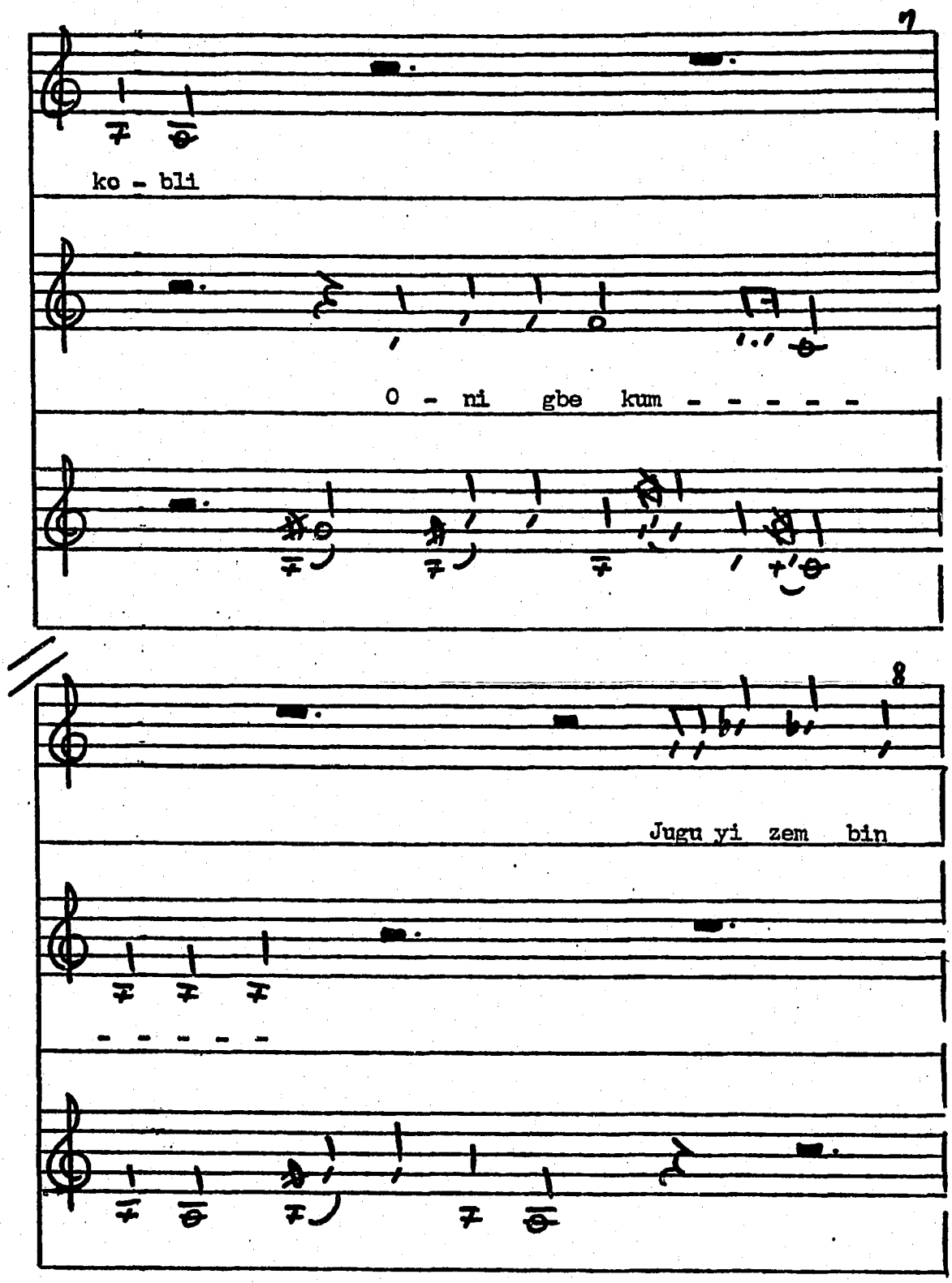
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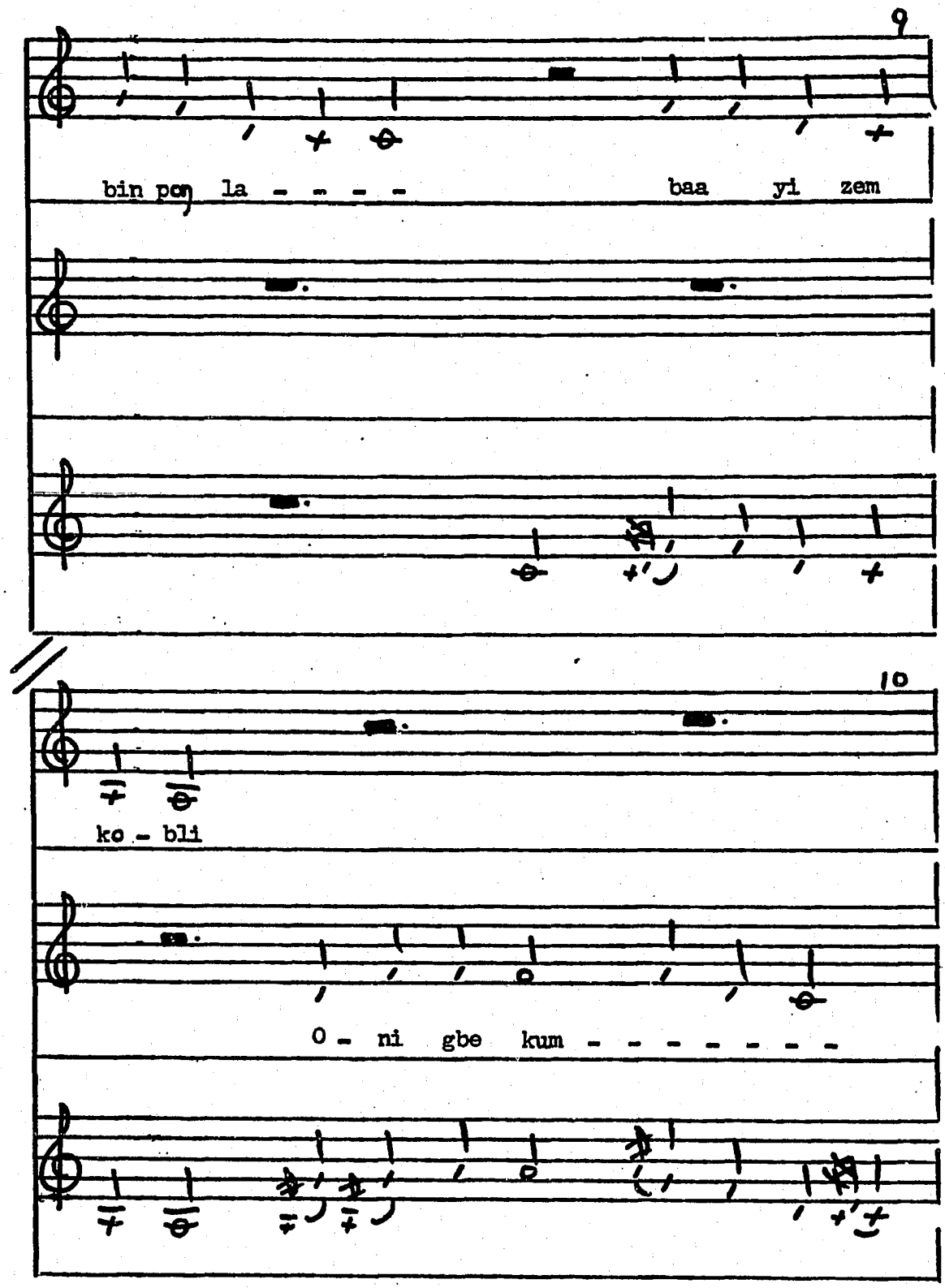
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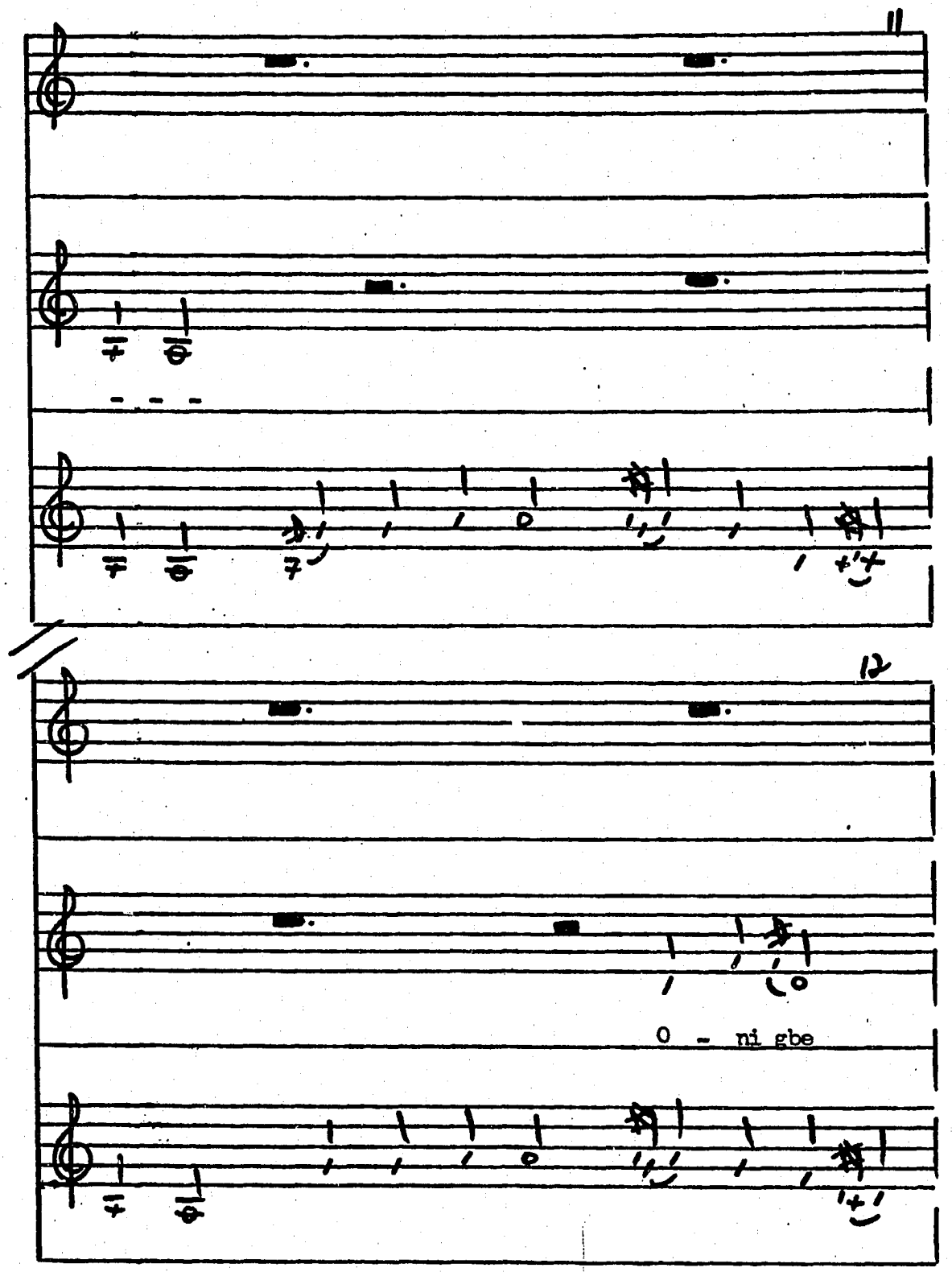
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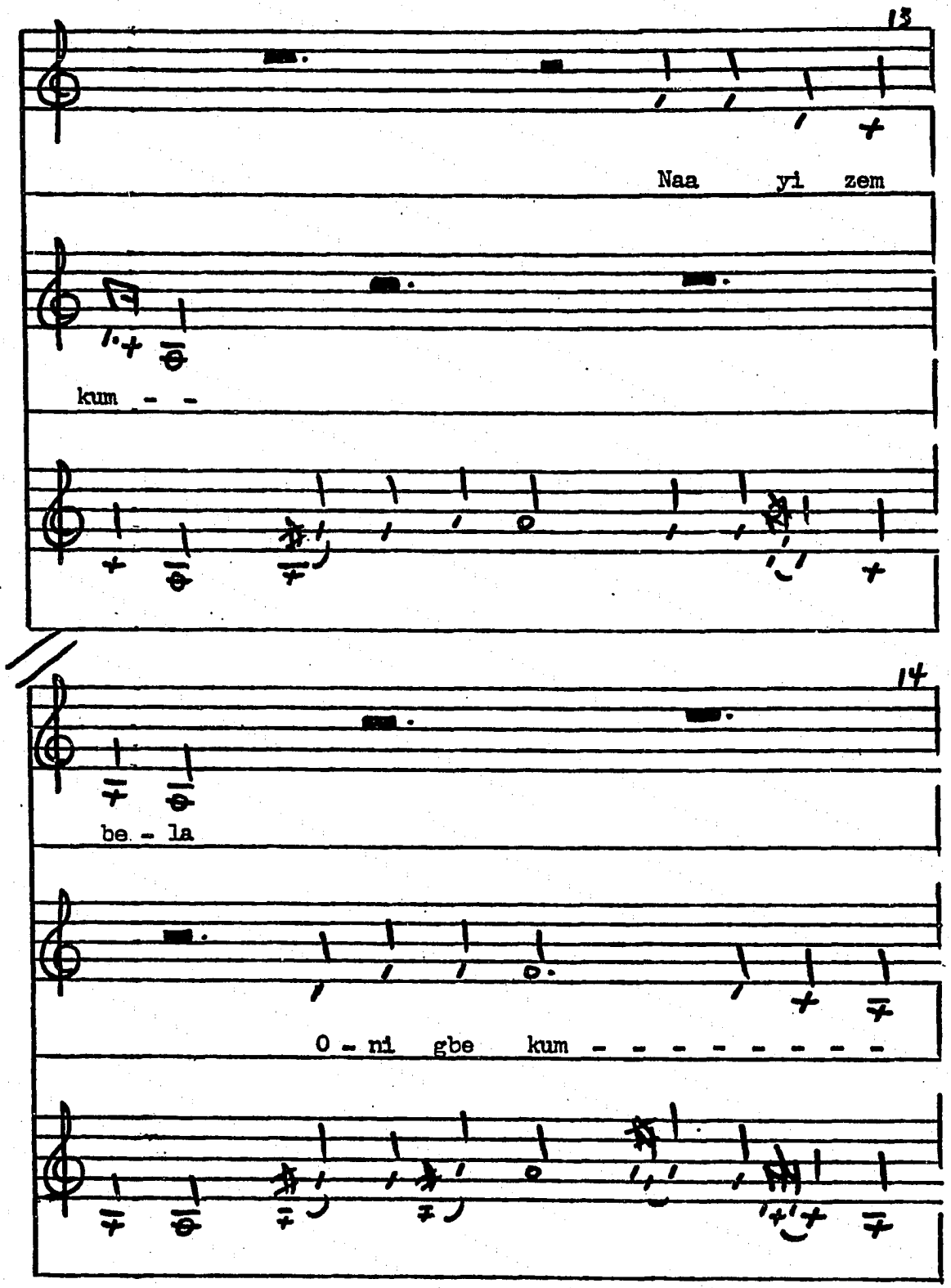
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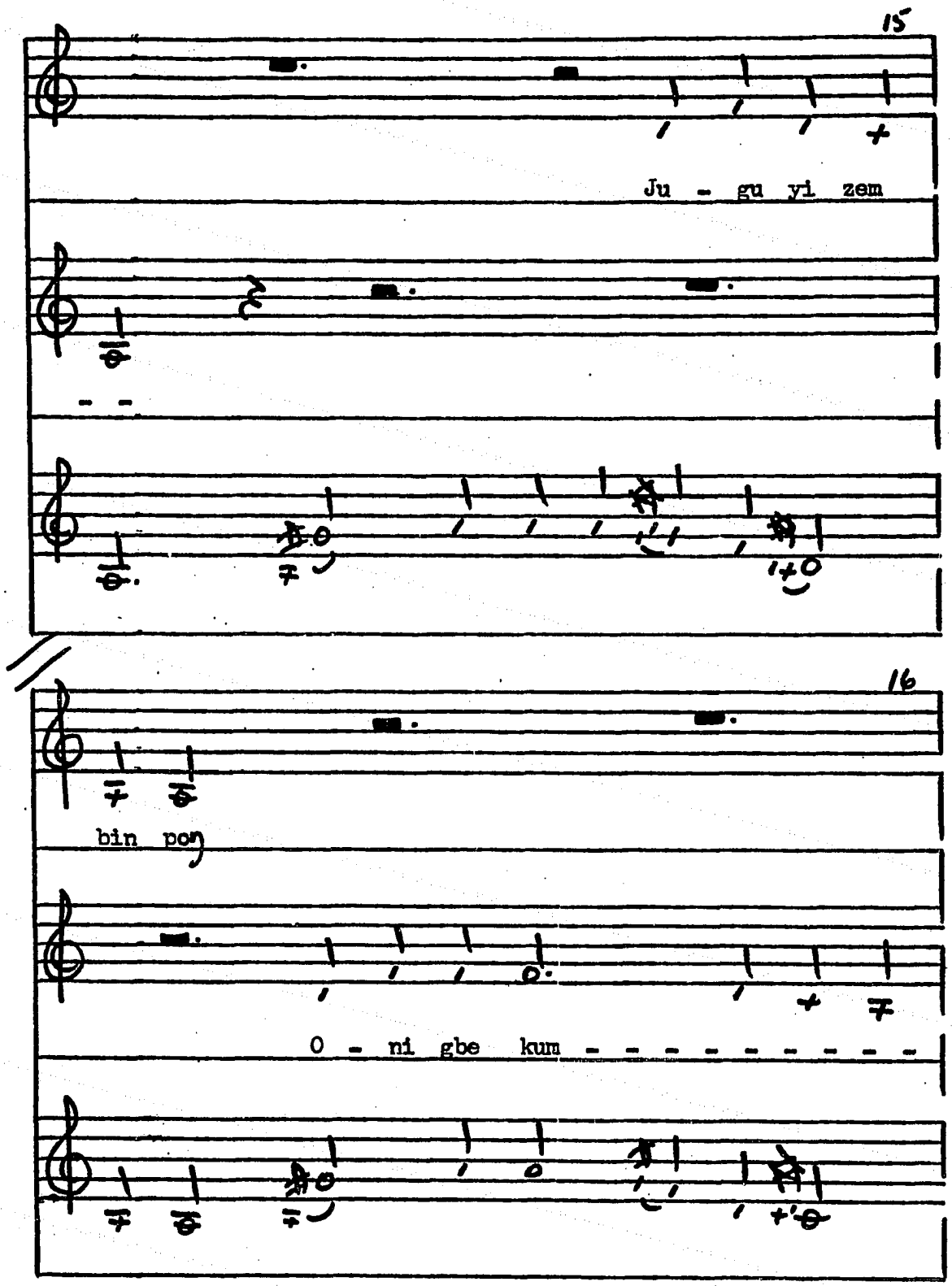
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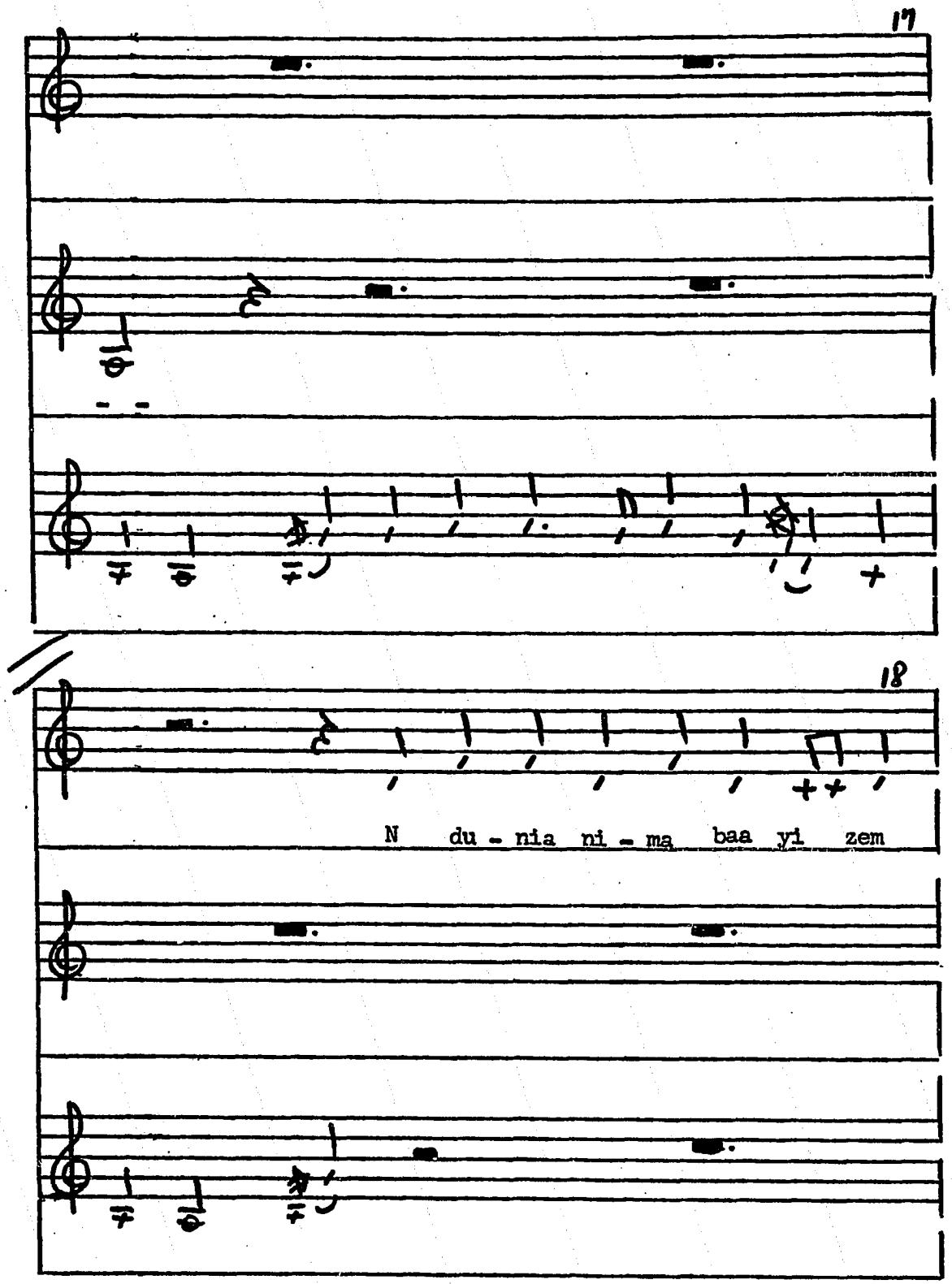
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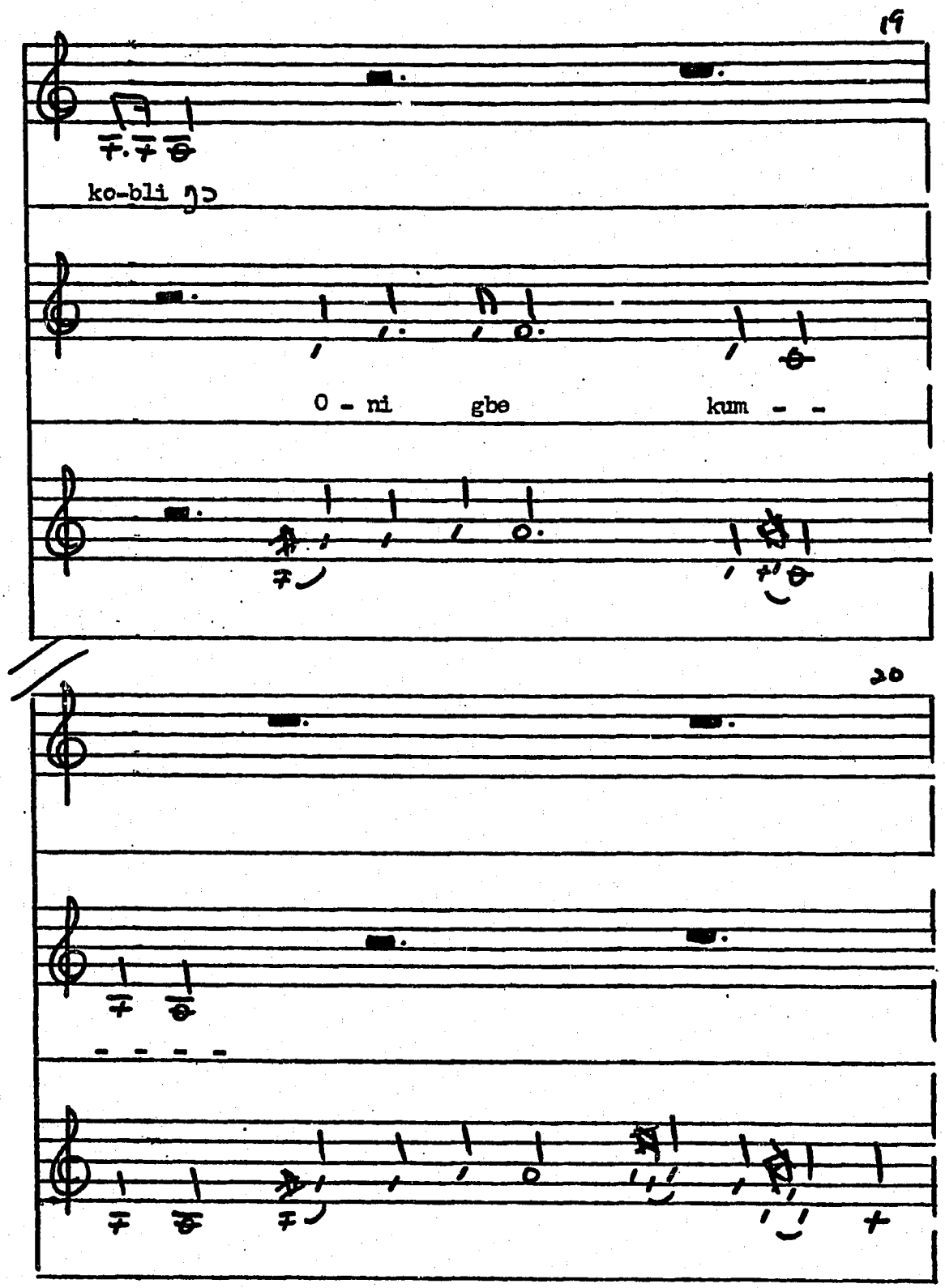
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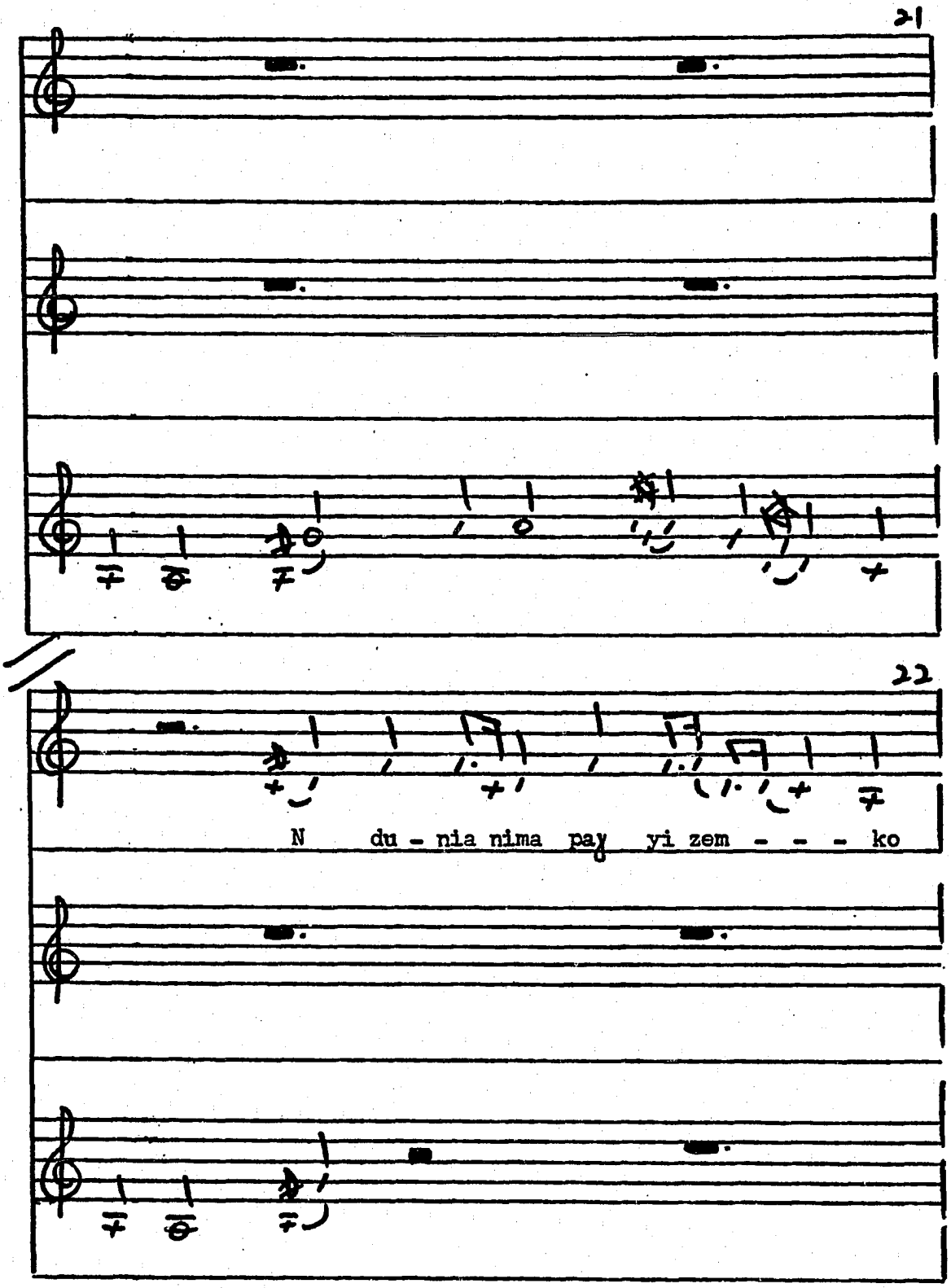
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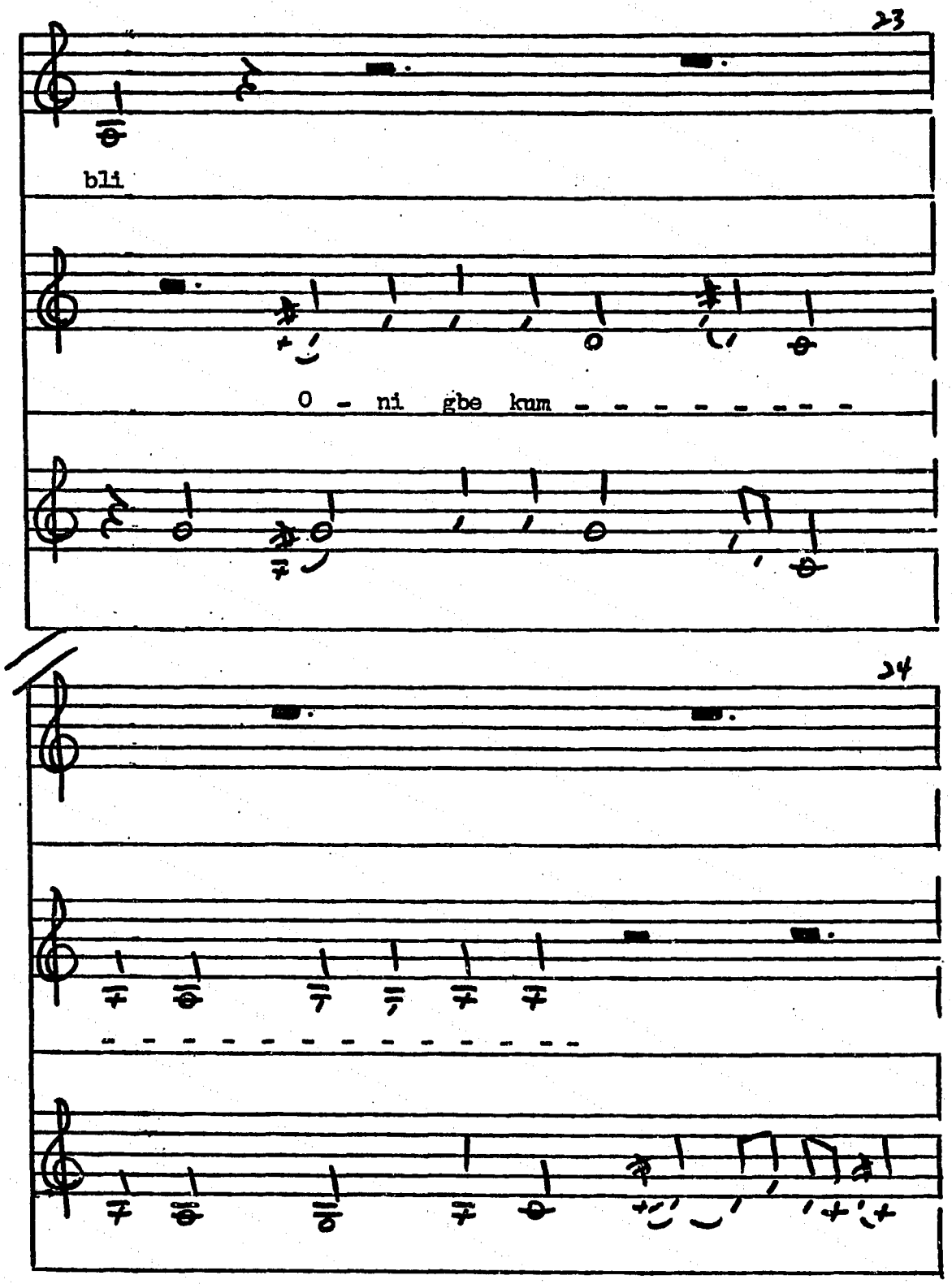
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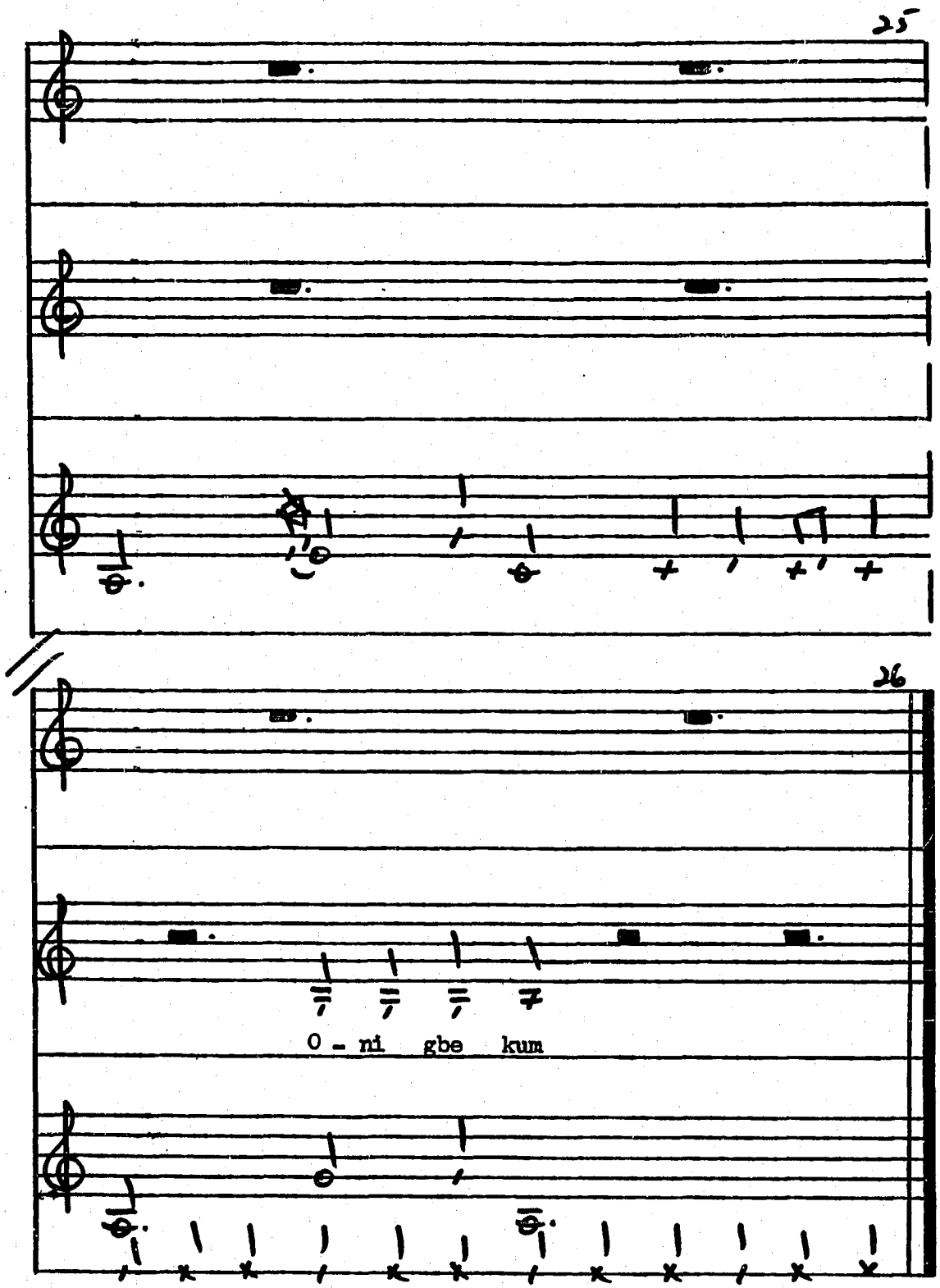
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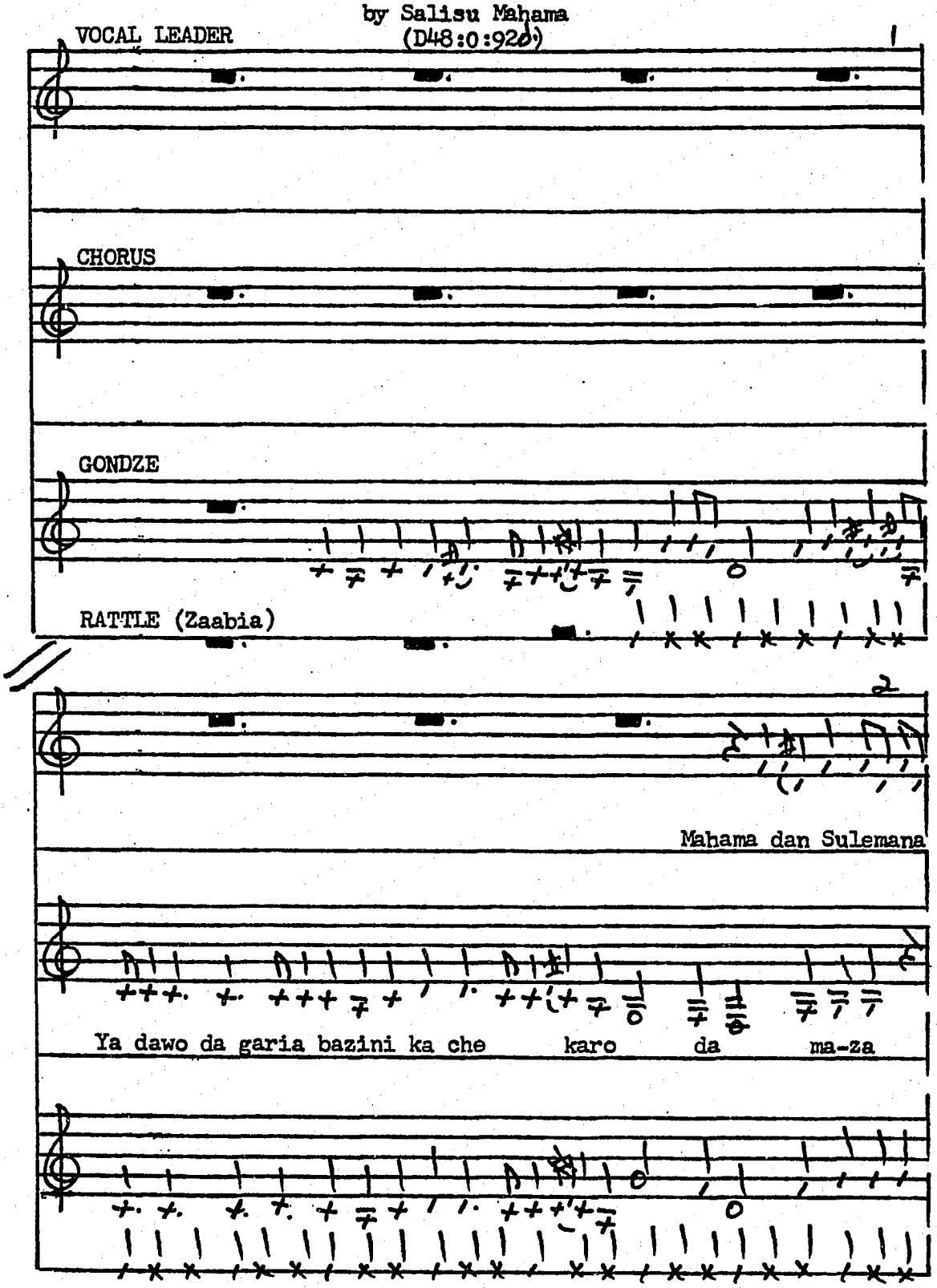


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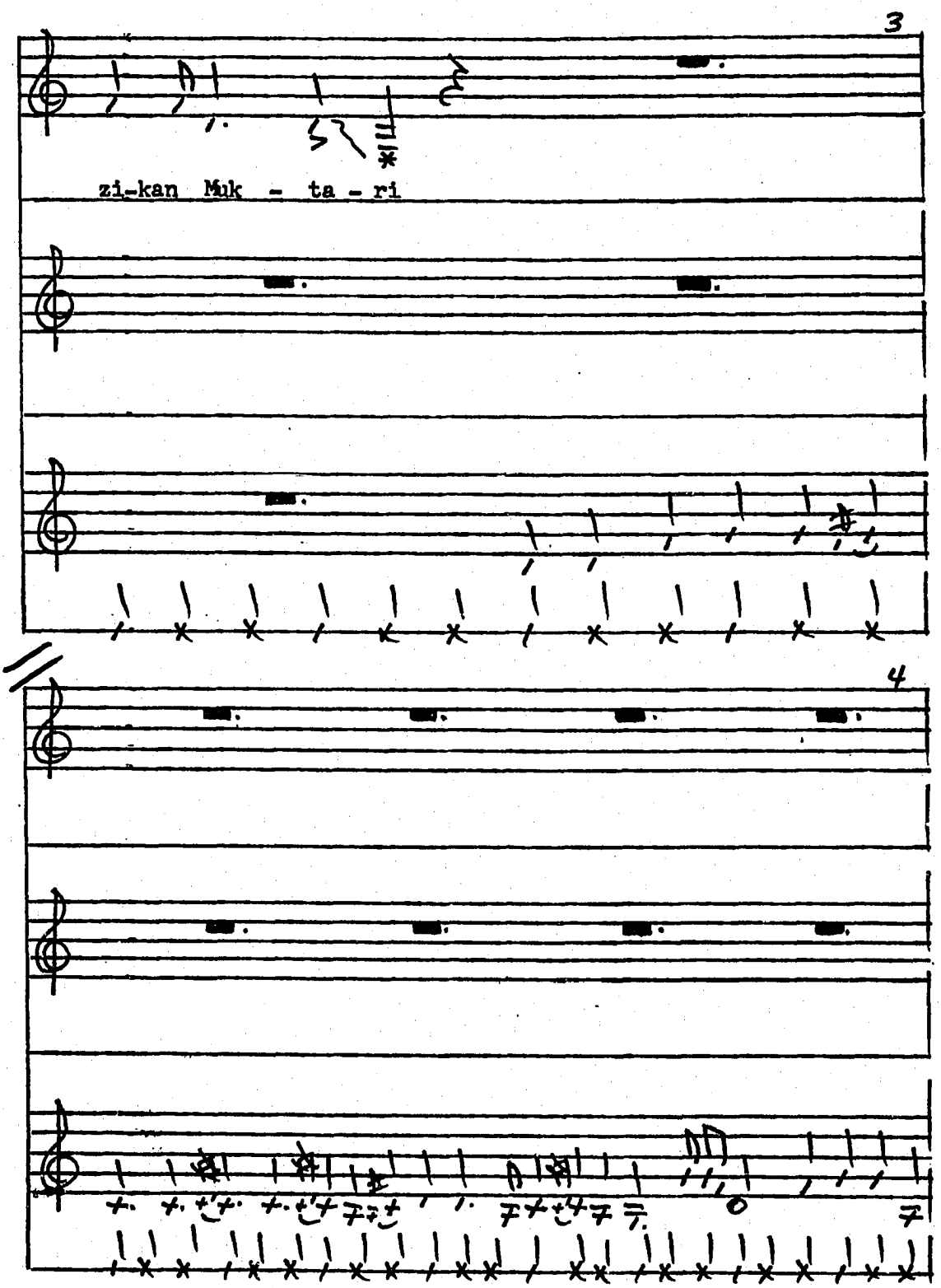


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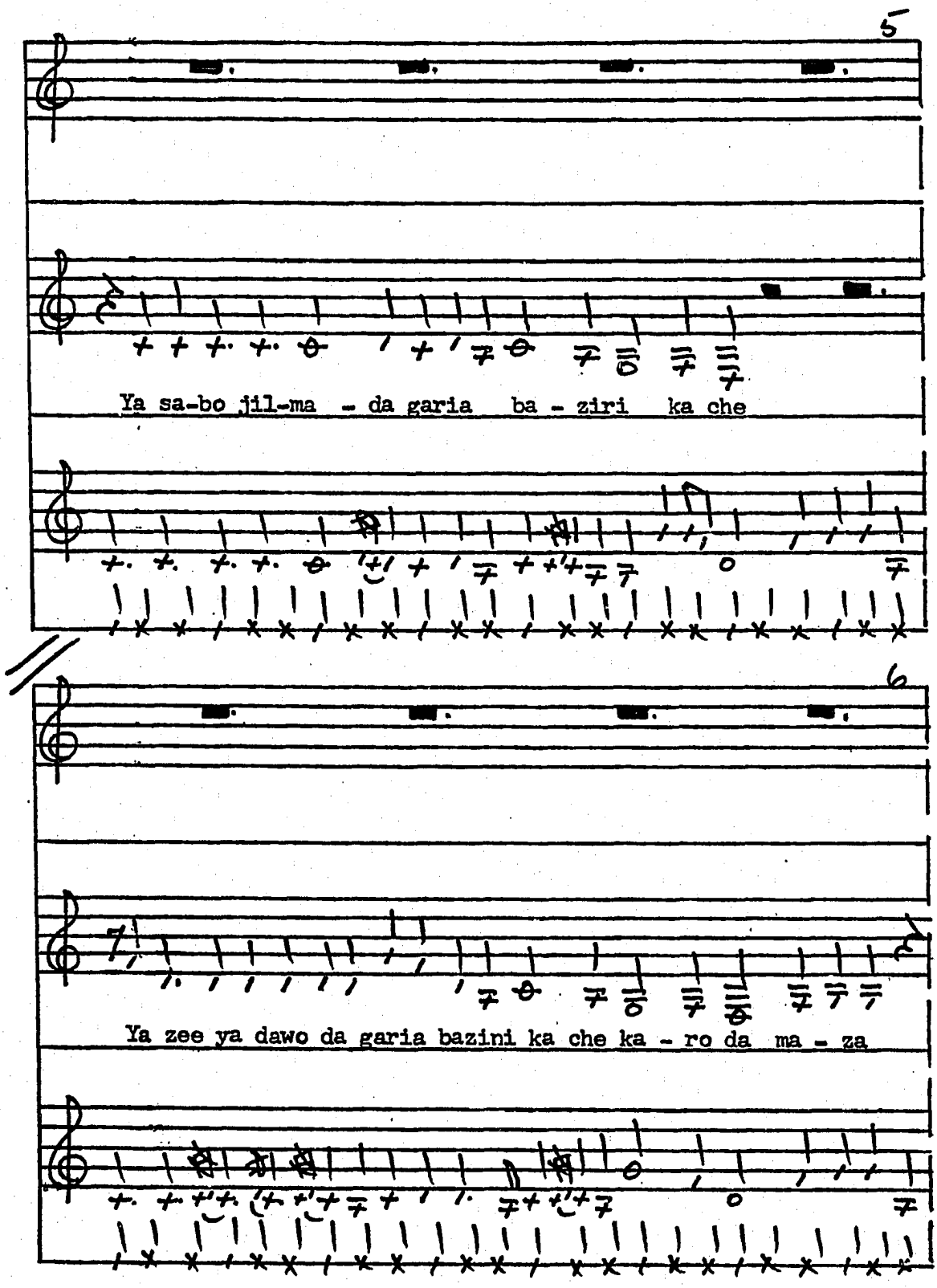
YA SABO JILMA
(Yamba Na Gia)
by Salisu Mahama
(D48:0:920)



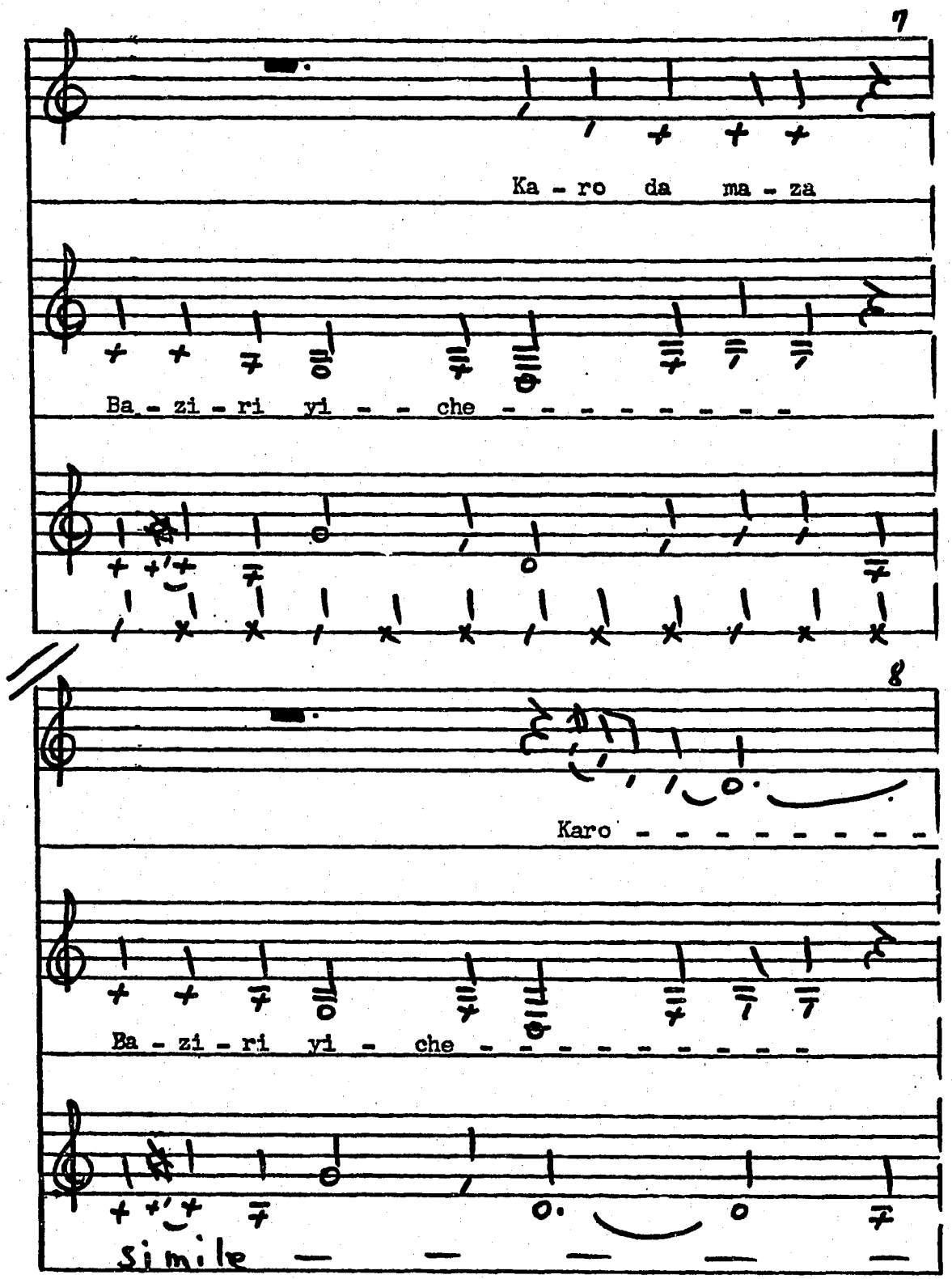
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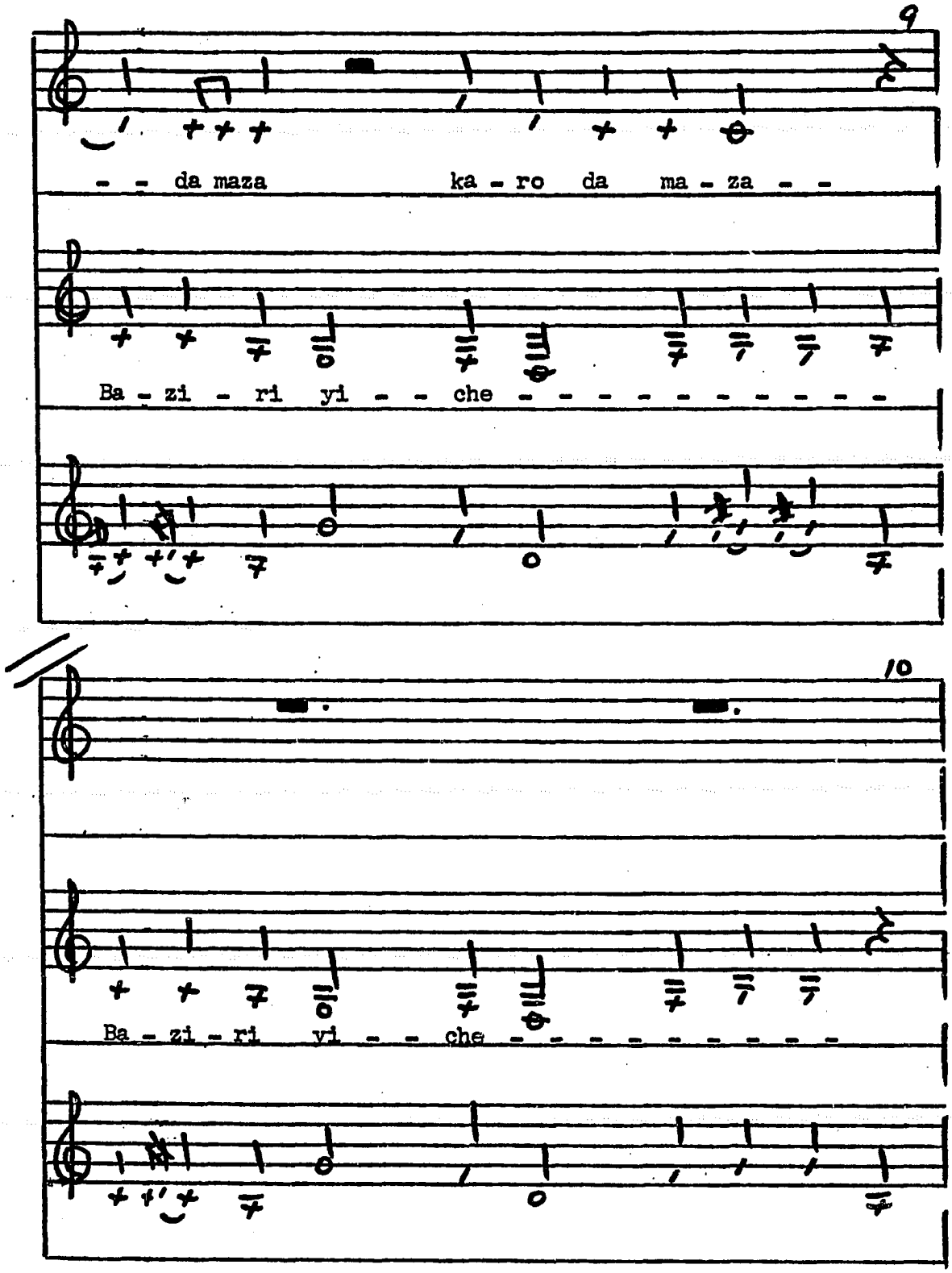
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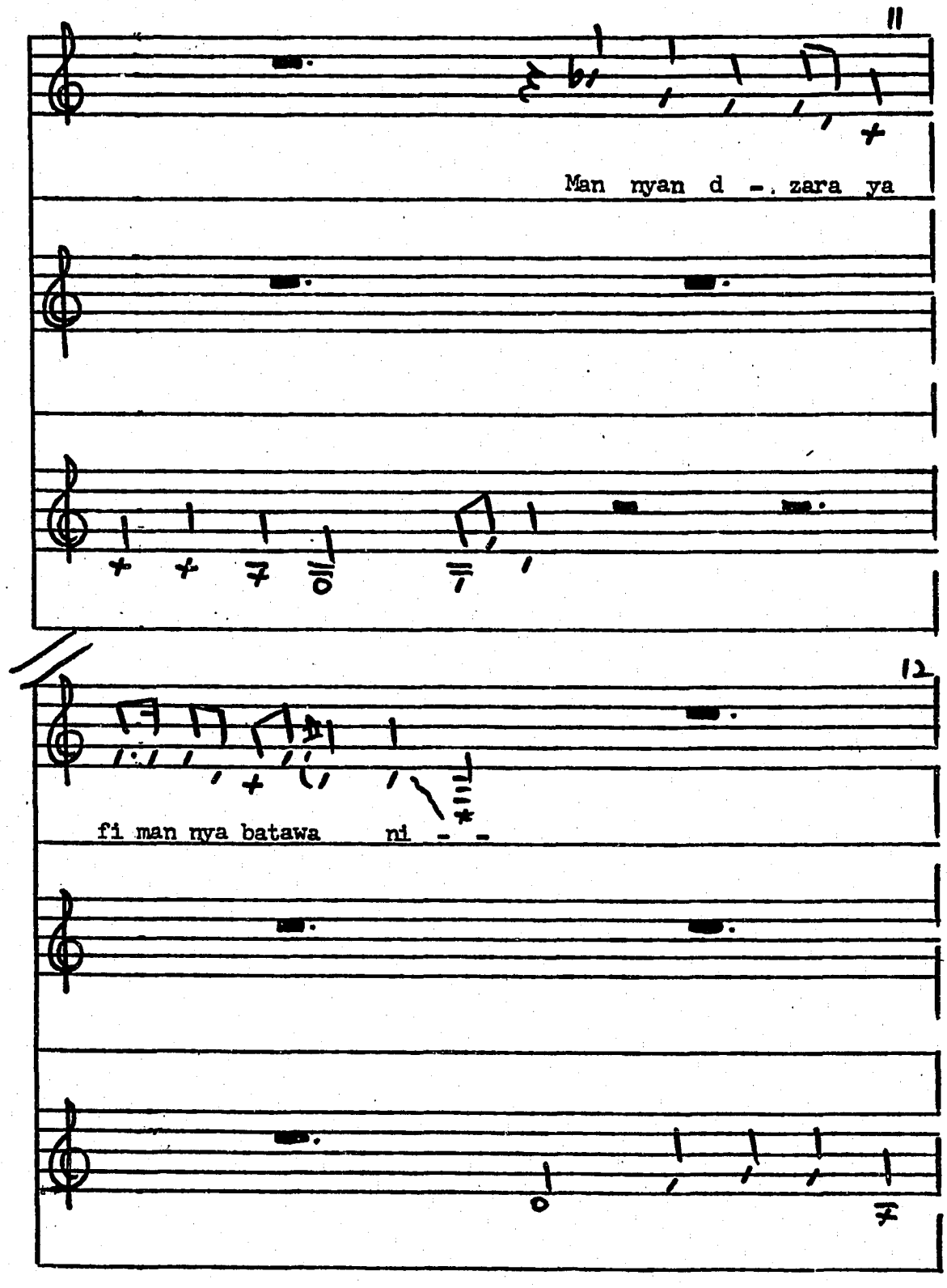
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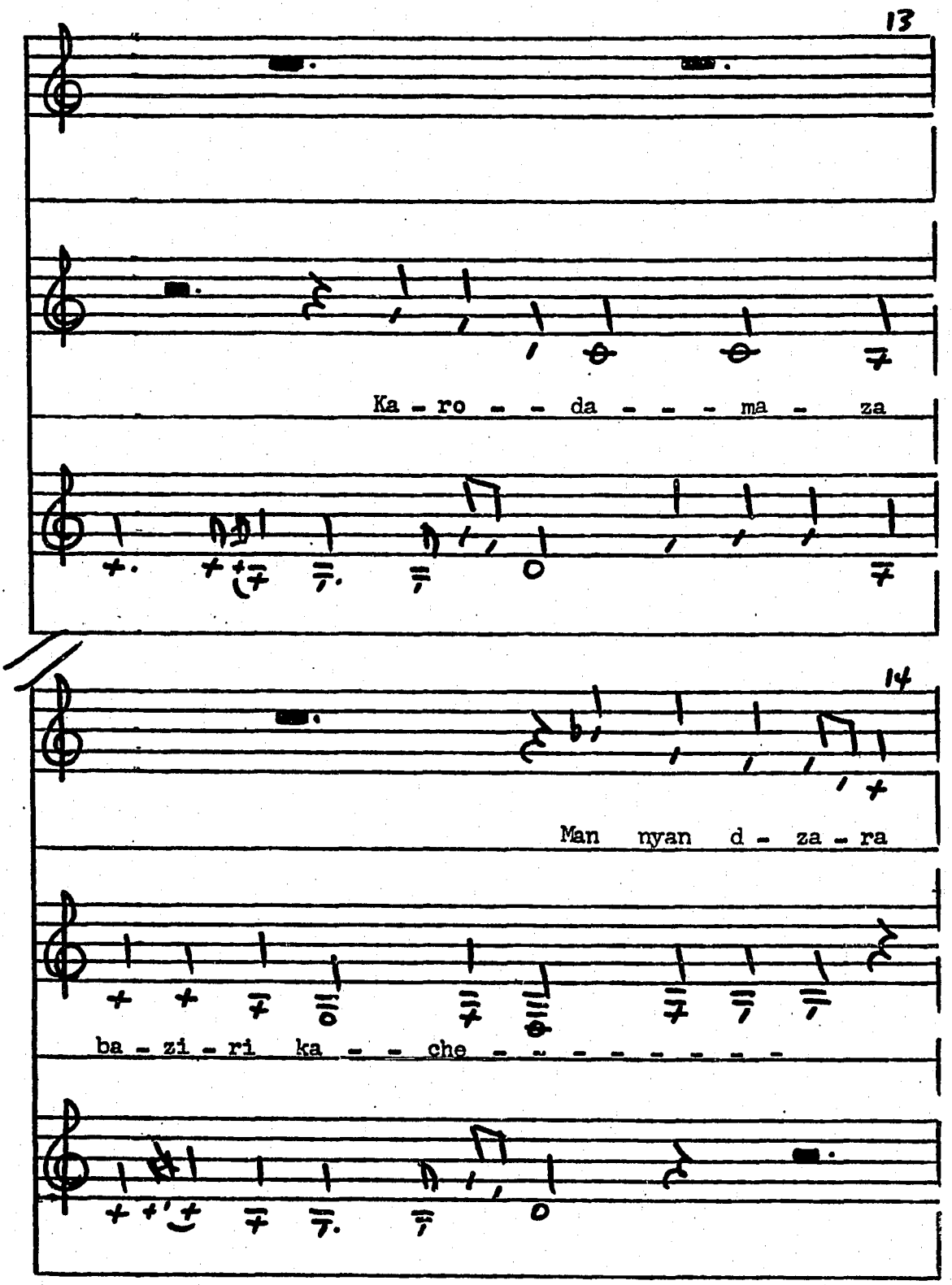
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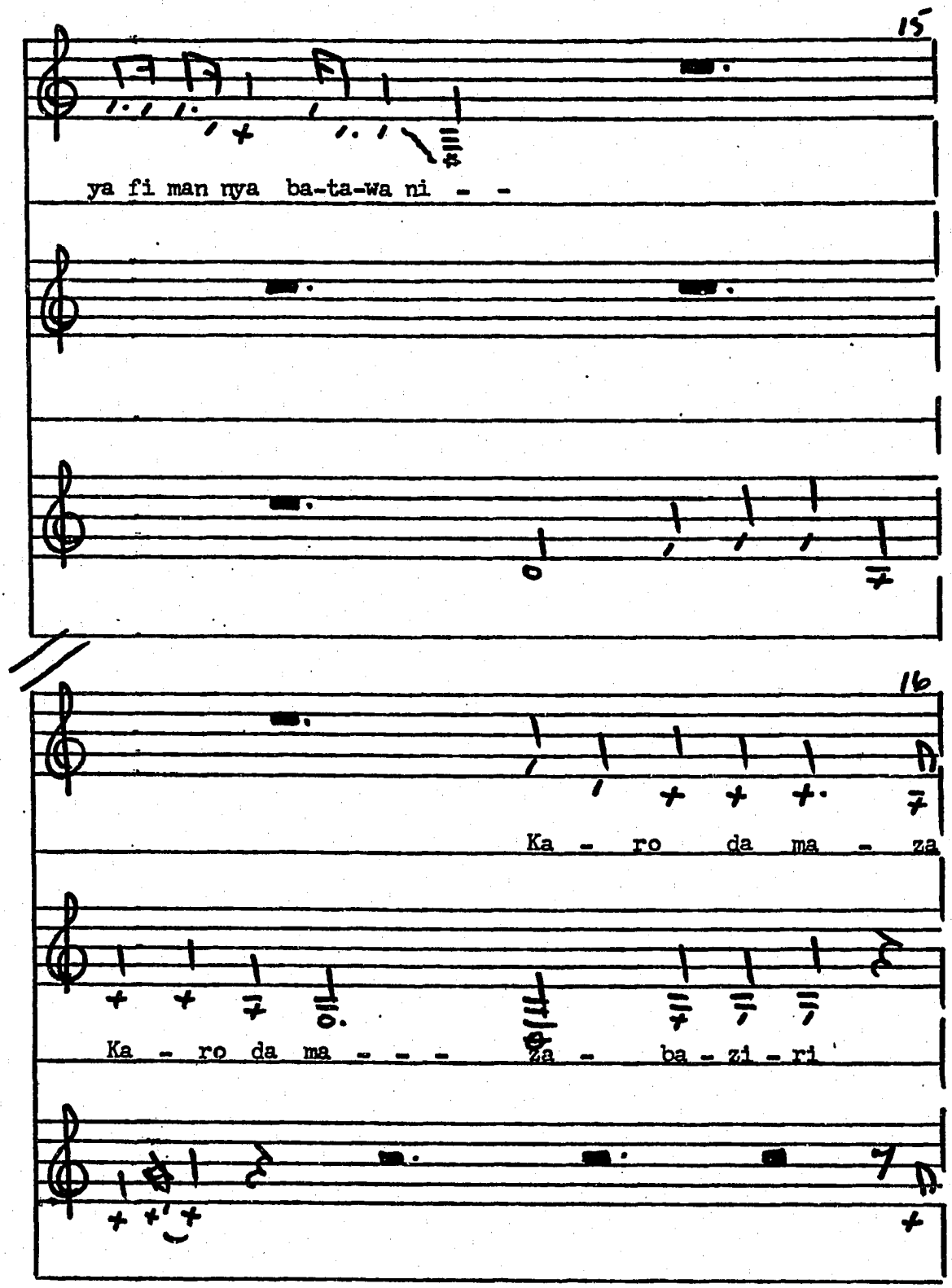
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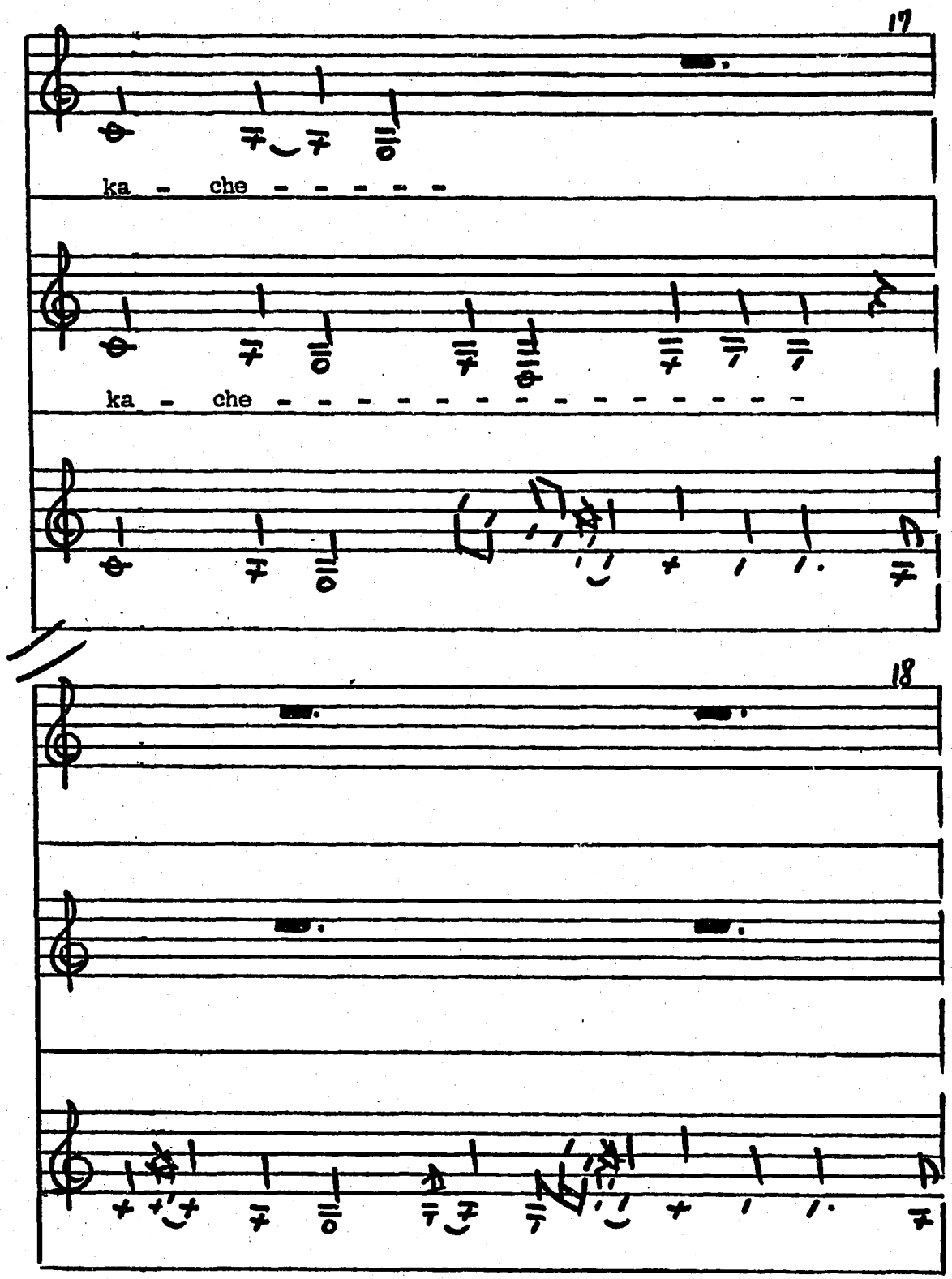
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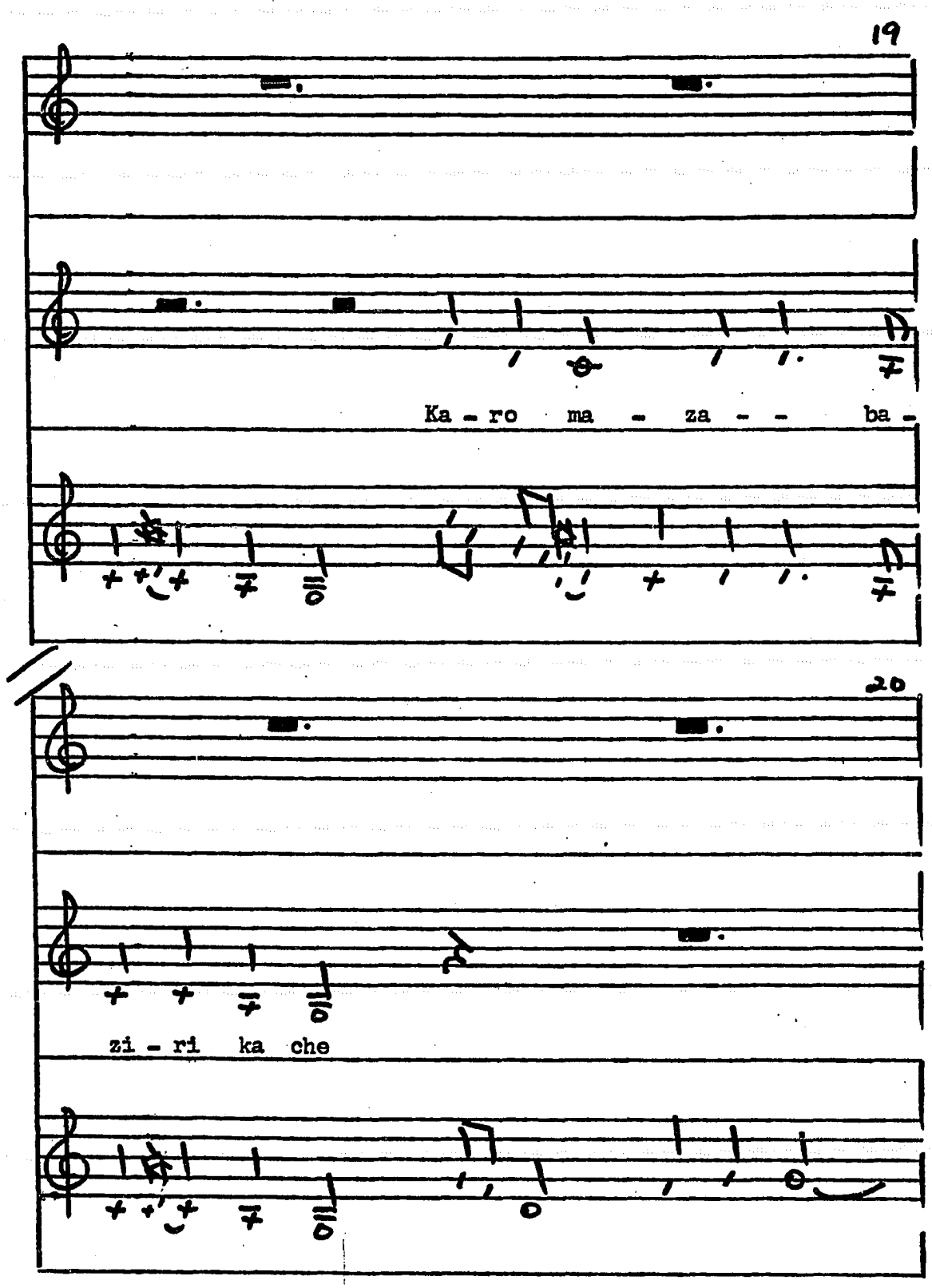
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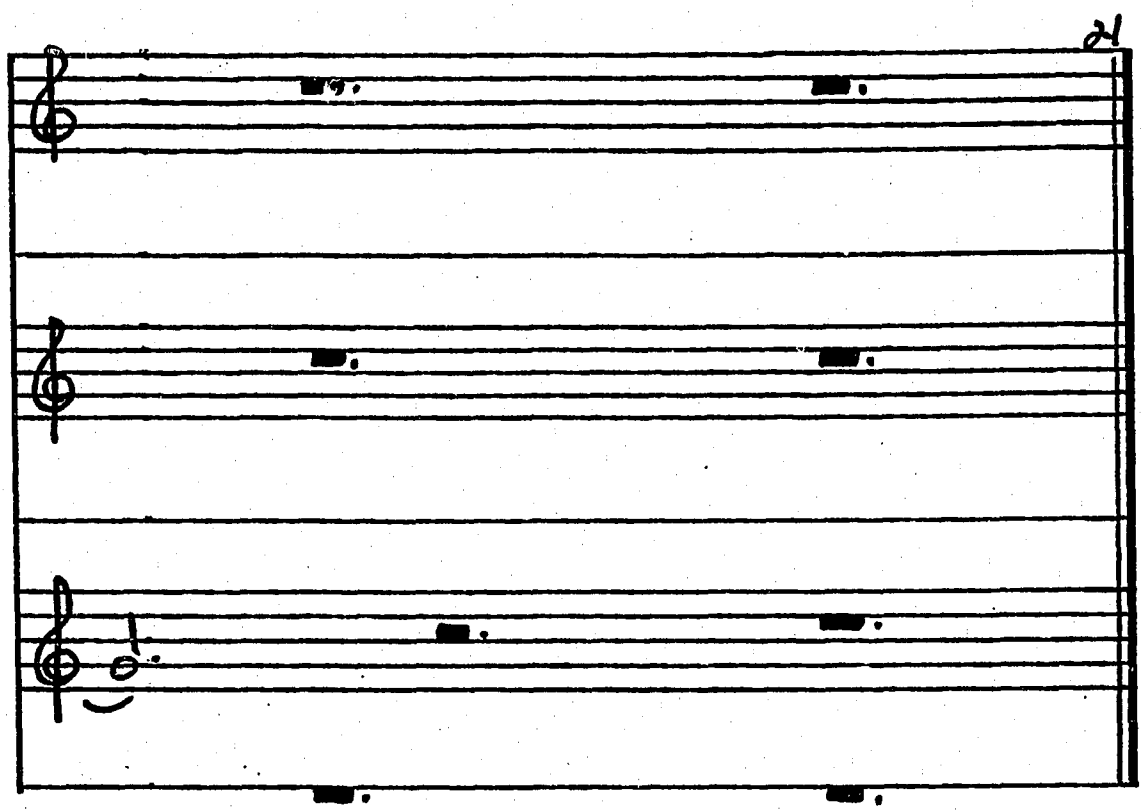
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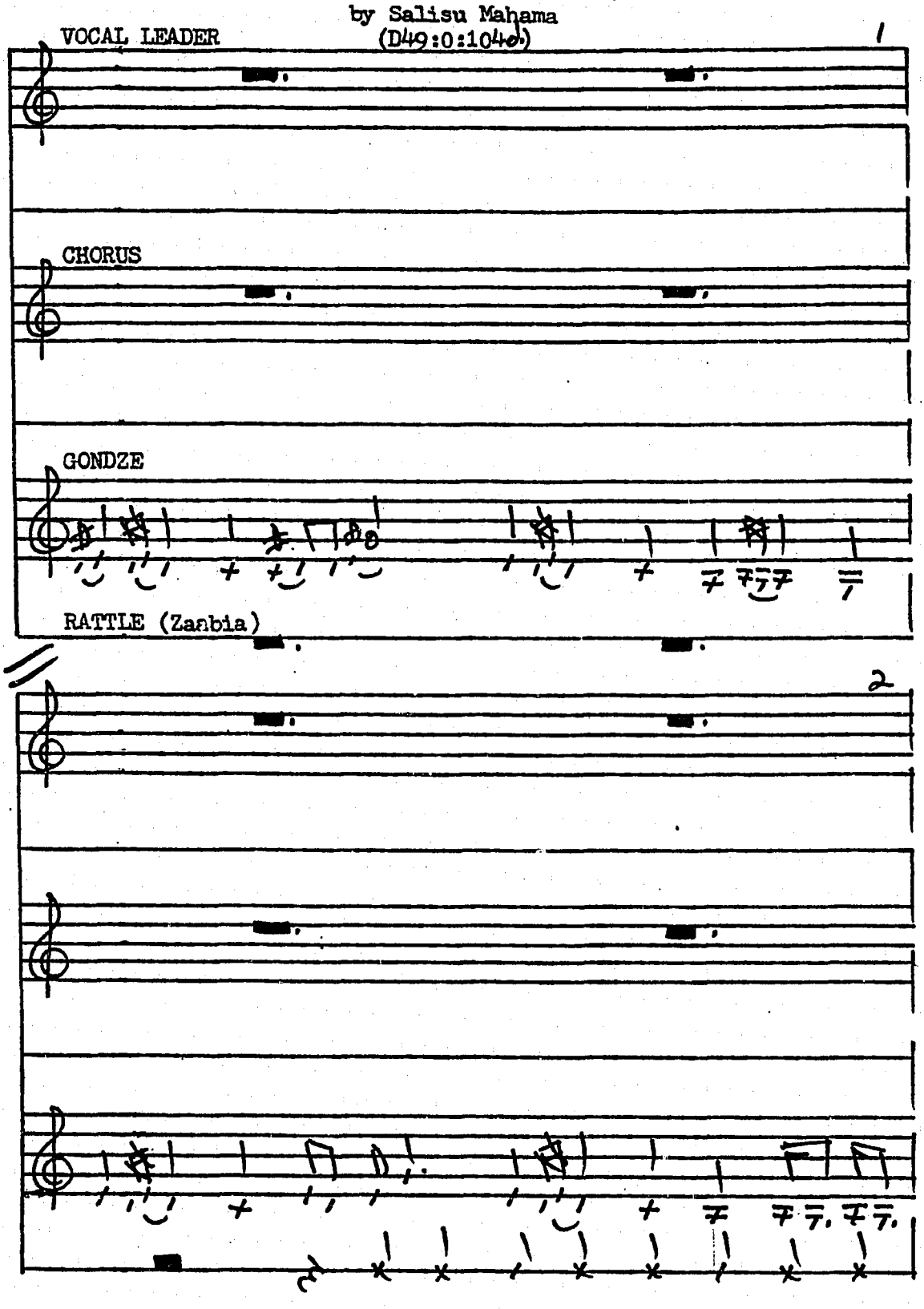


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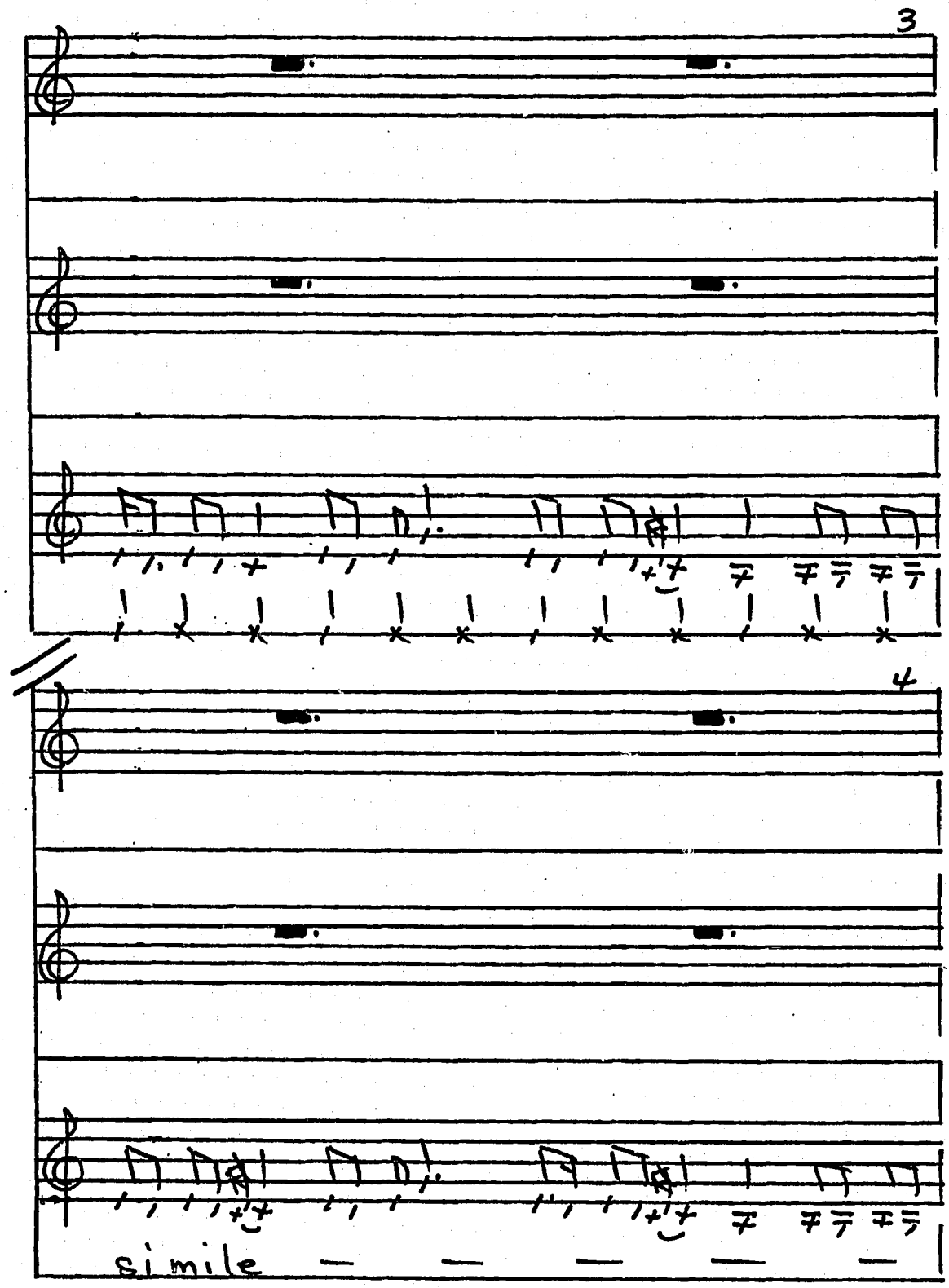


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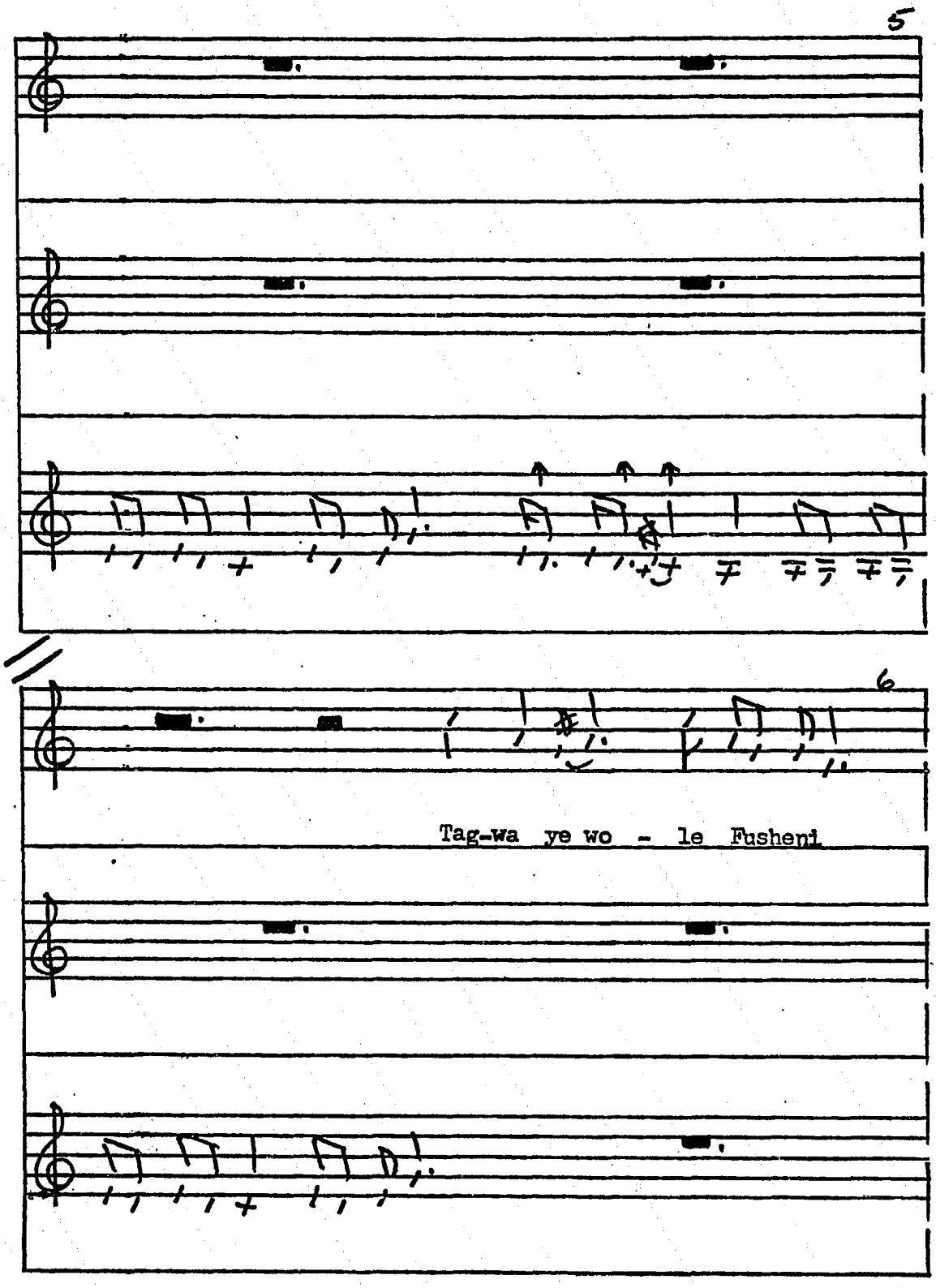
BABU KAMAN ALLAH
(Yamba Na Fuseini Jabila)
by Salisu Mahama
(D49:0:1040)



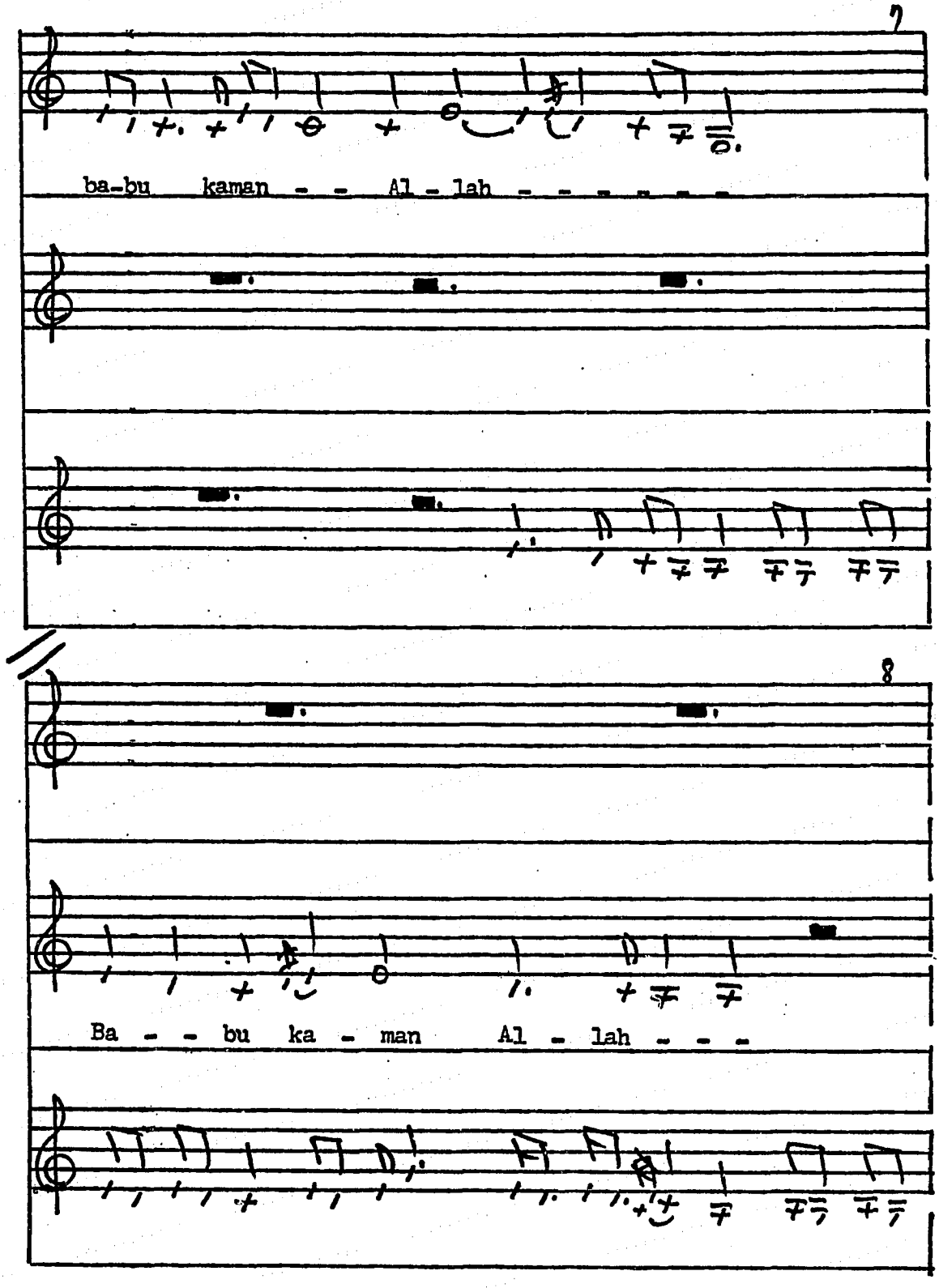
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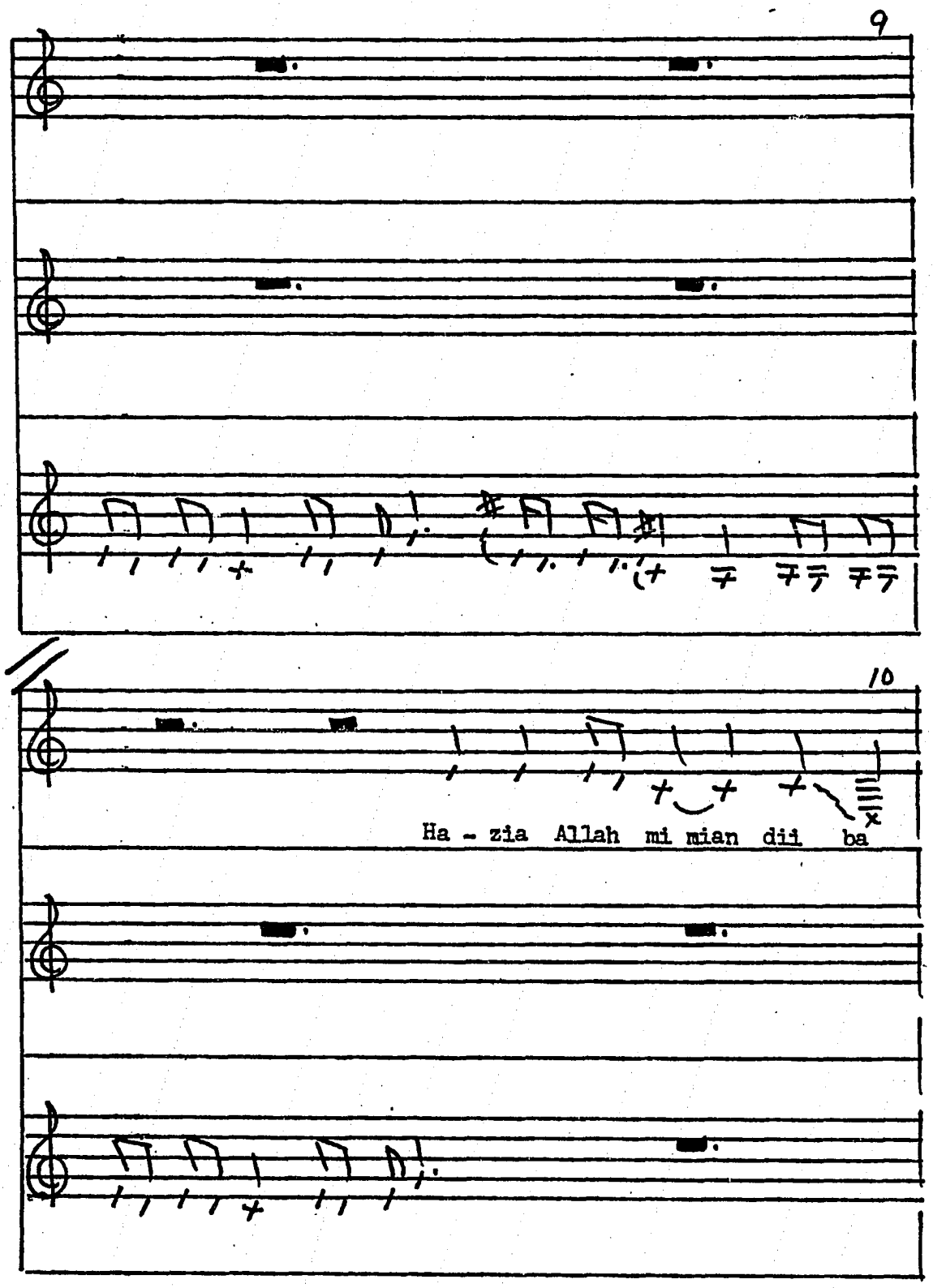
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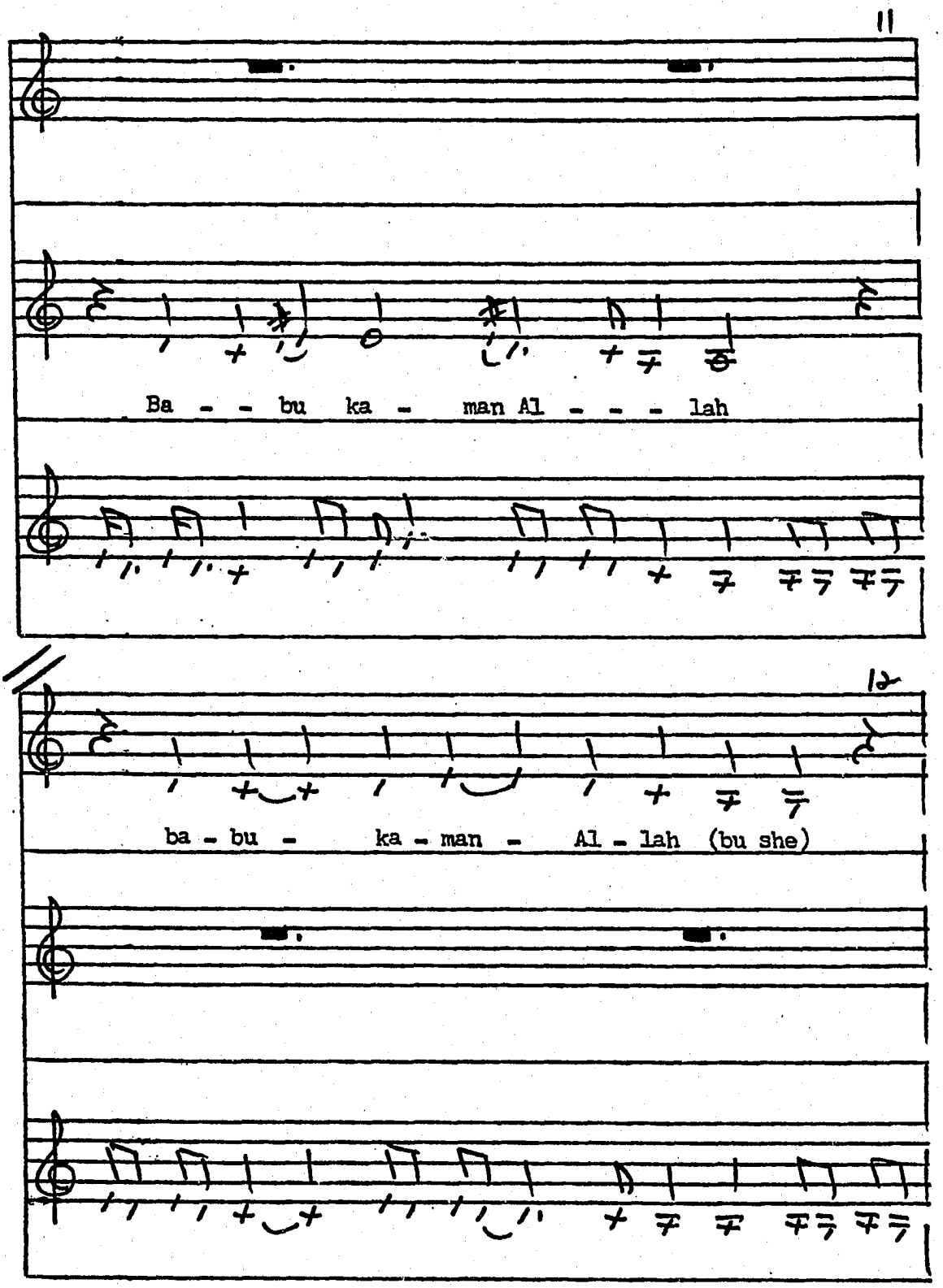
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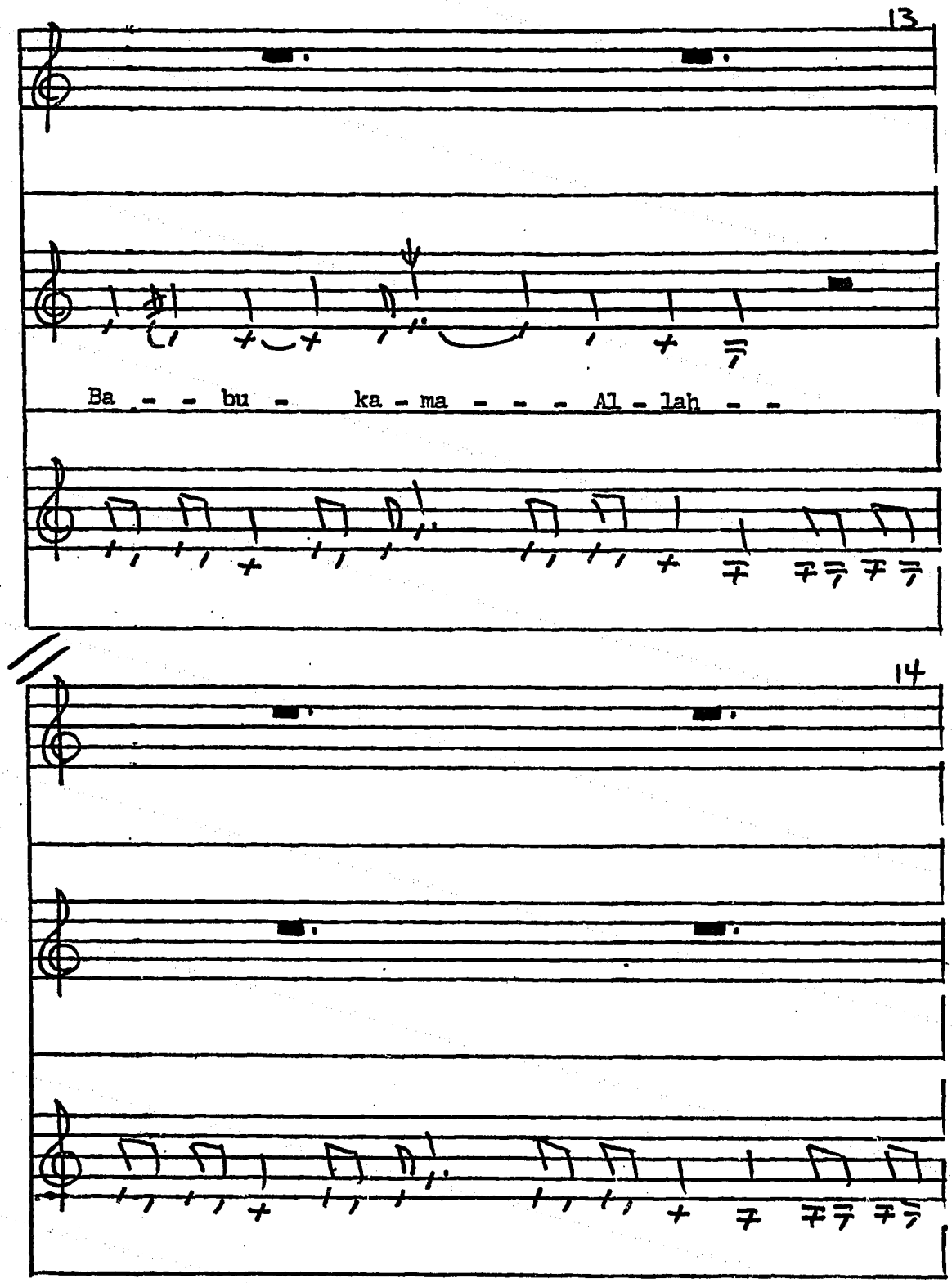
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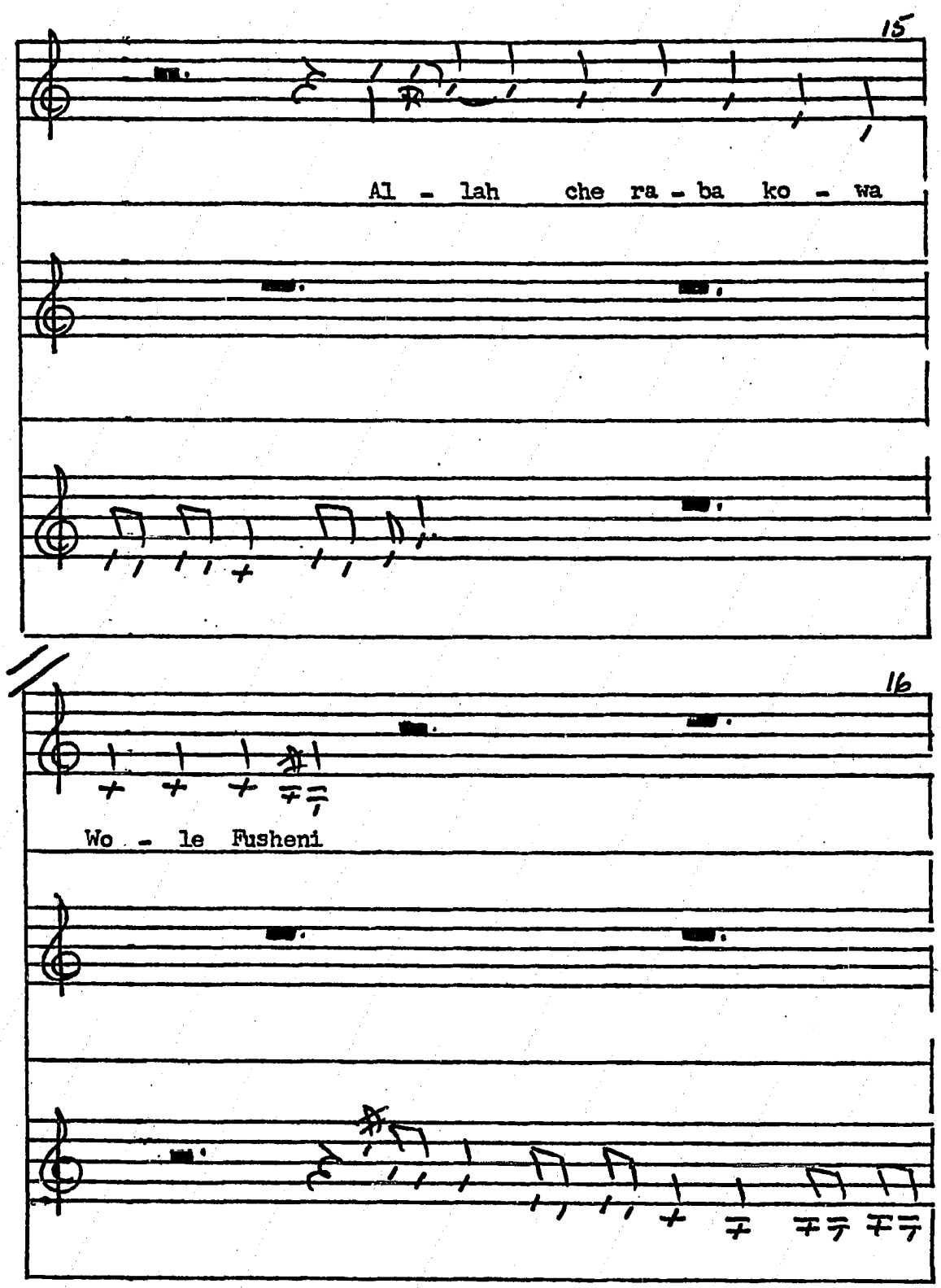
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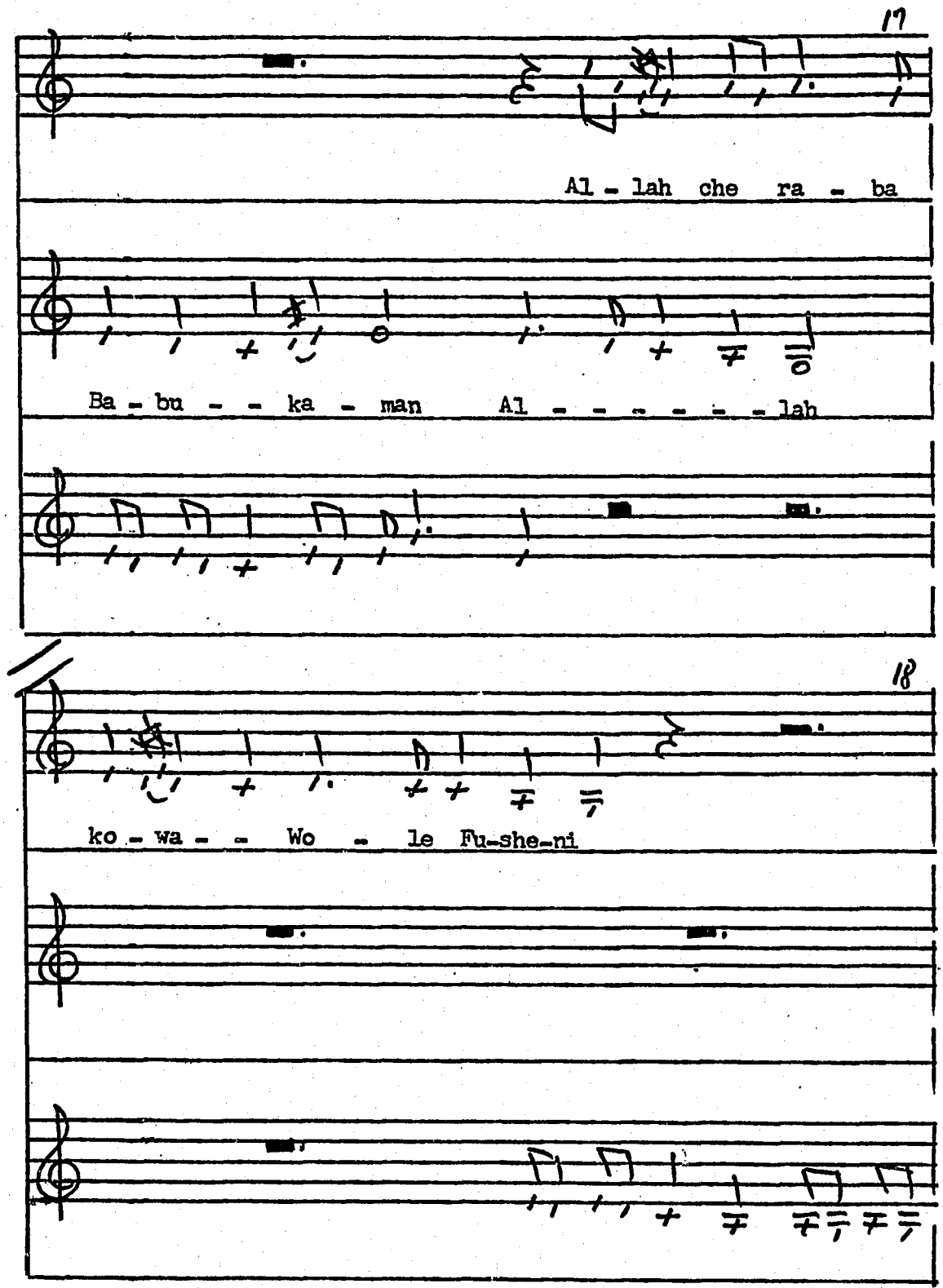
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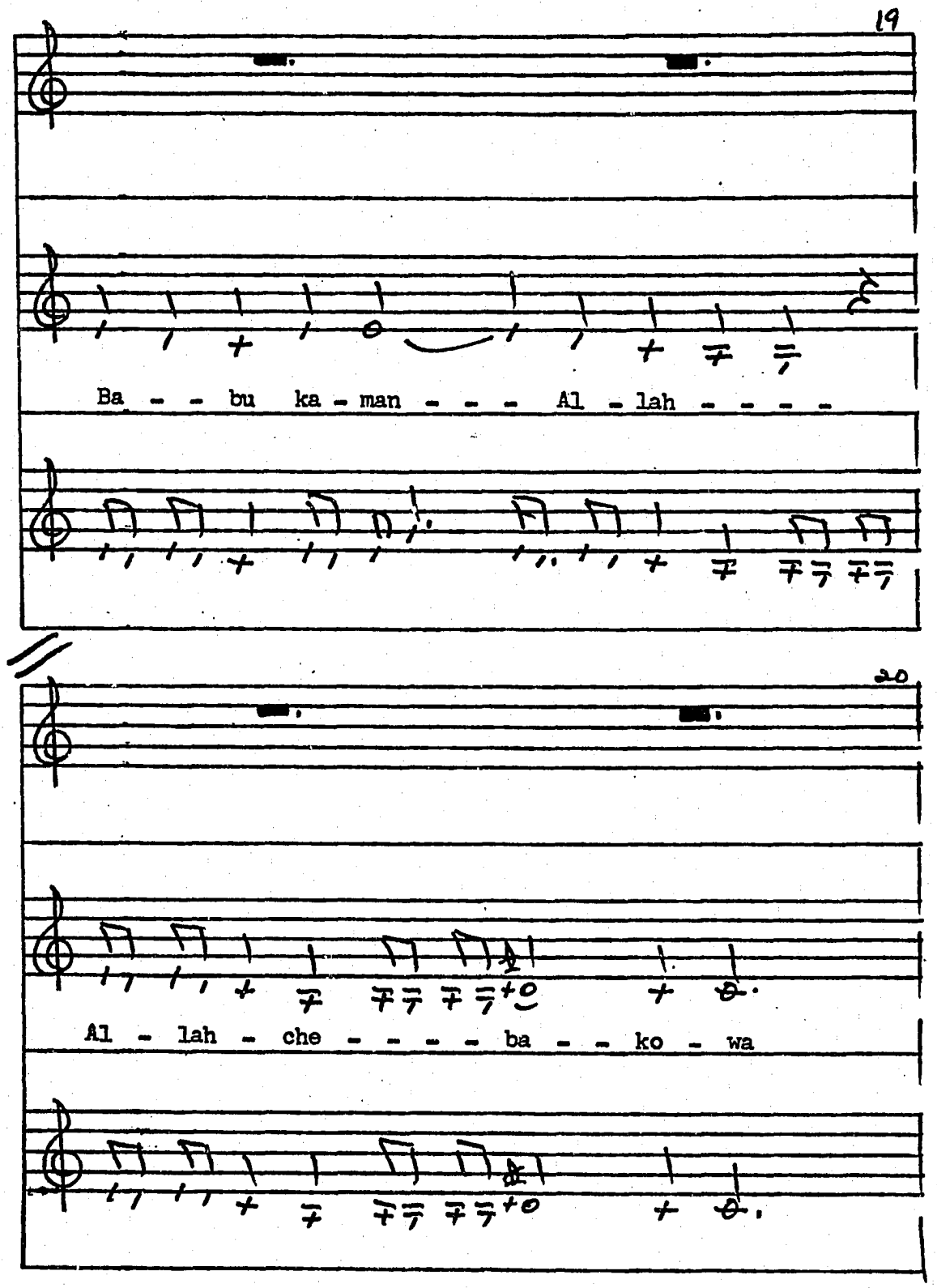
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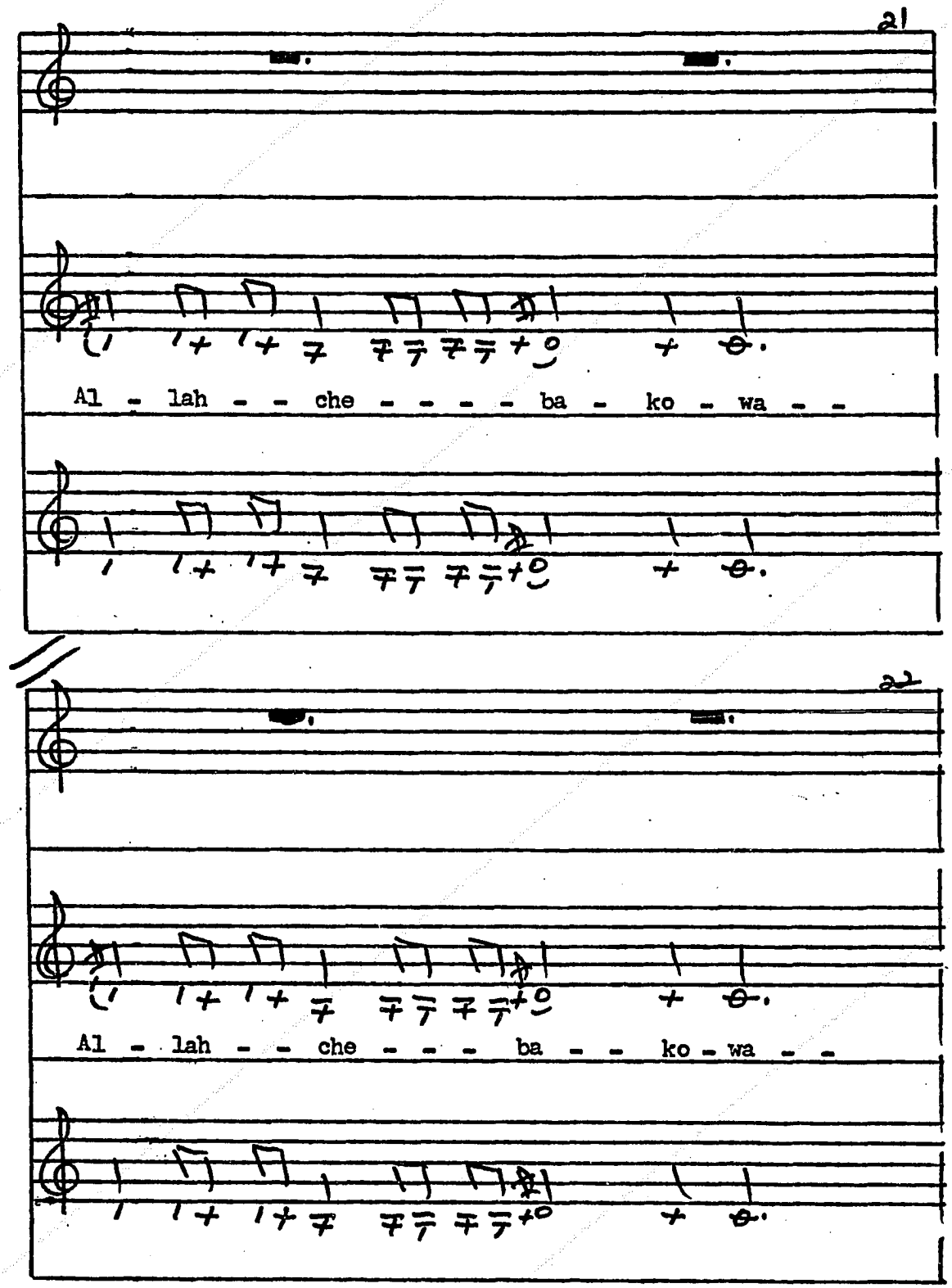
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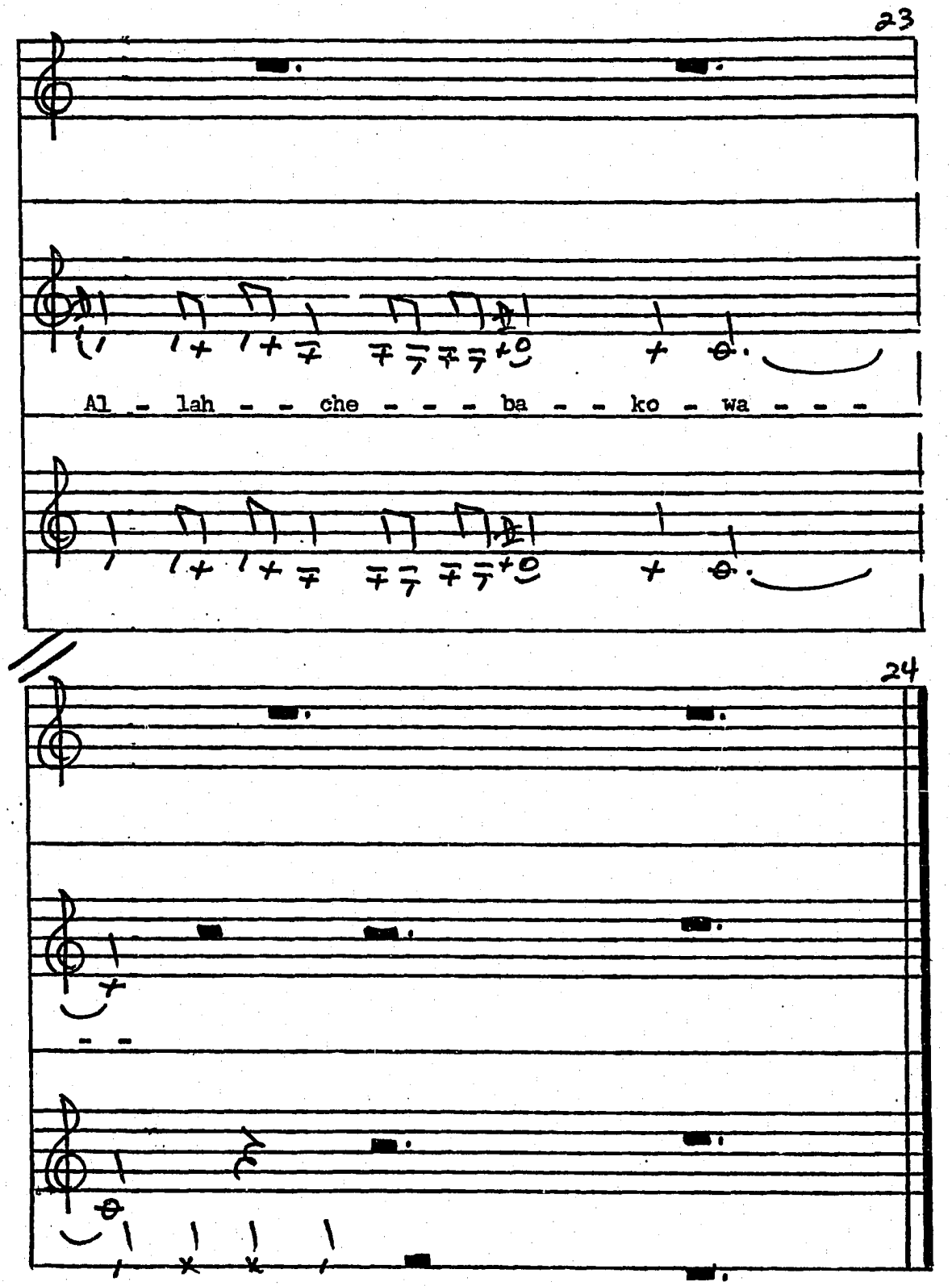
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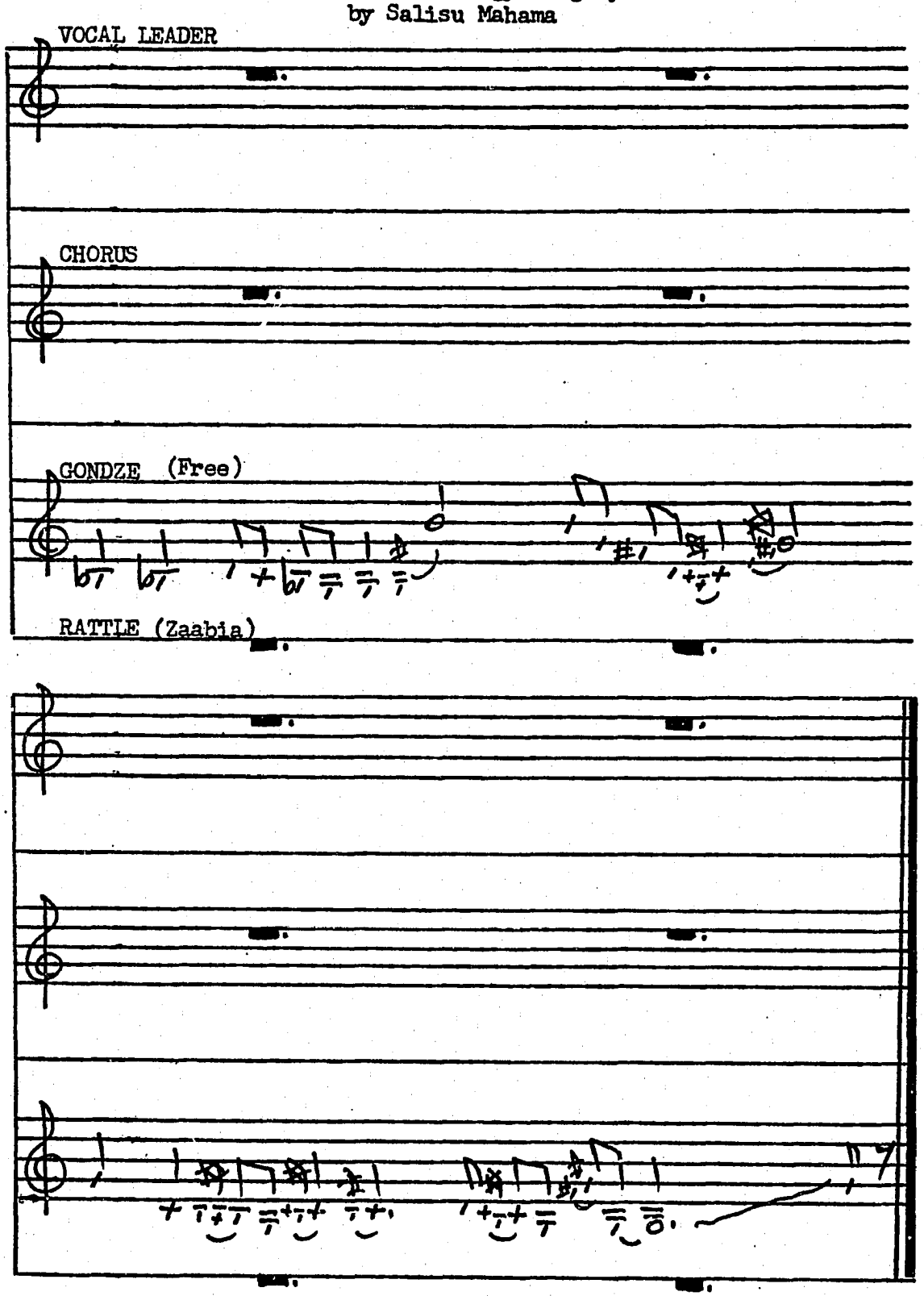


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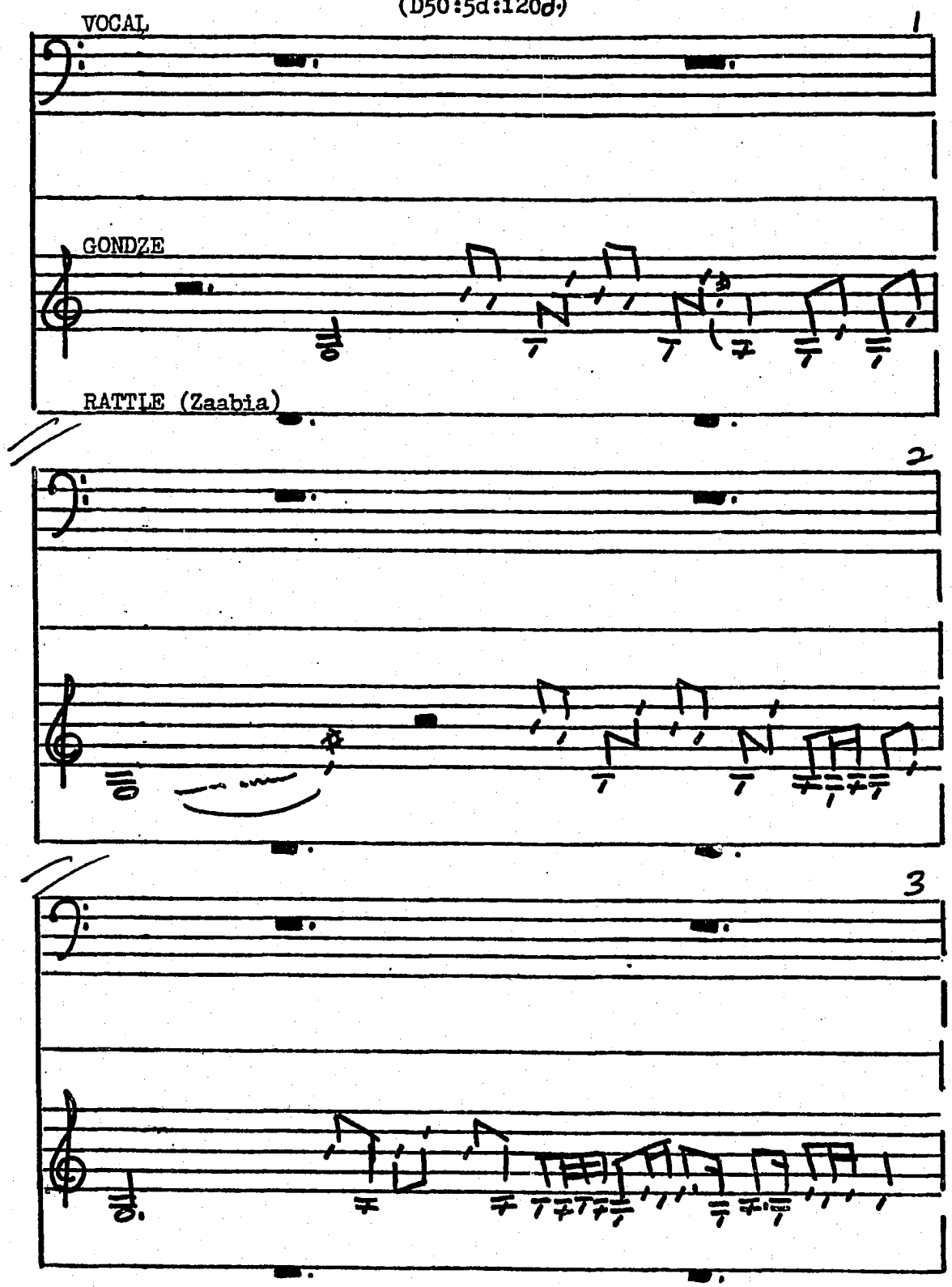
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Concluding Phrase
of Yamba Na Genealogy Song Cycle
by Salisu Mahama
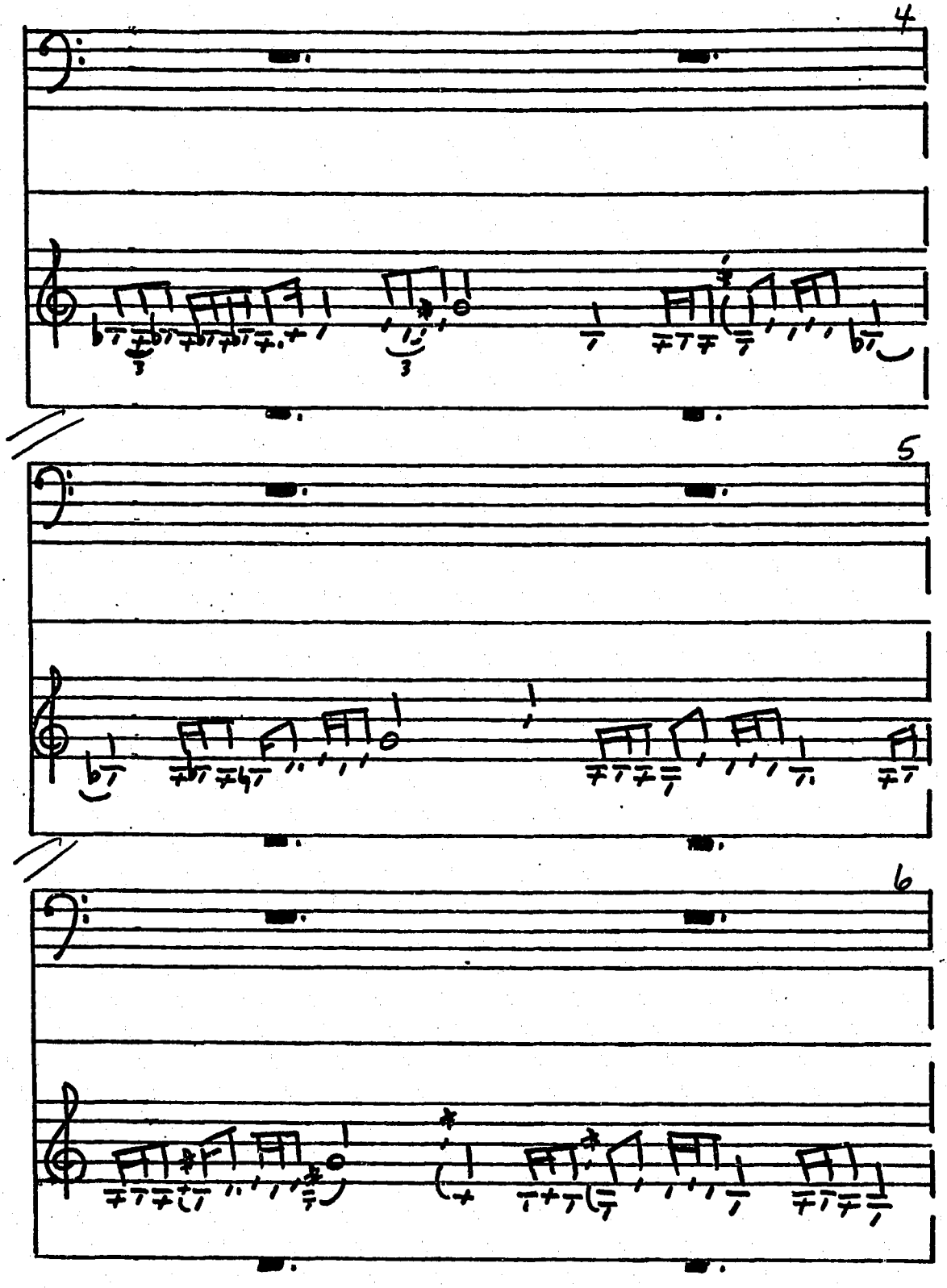


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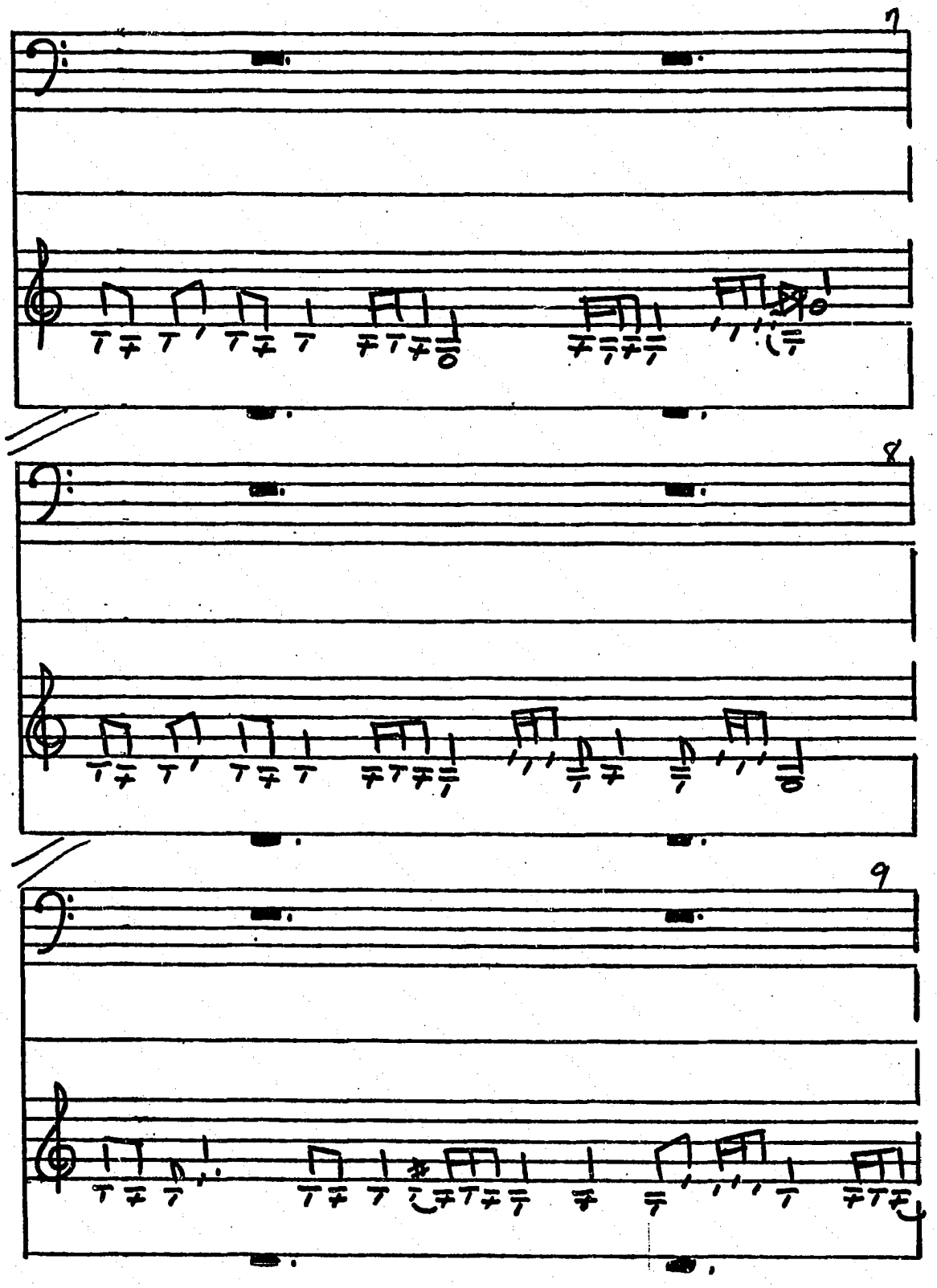
WANZAM WAA
by Salisu Mahama
(D50:5d:120d)



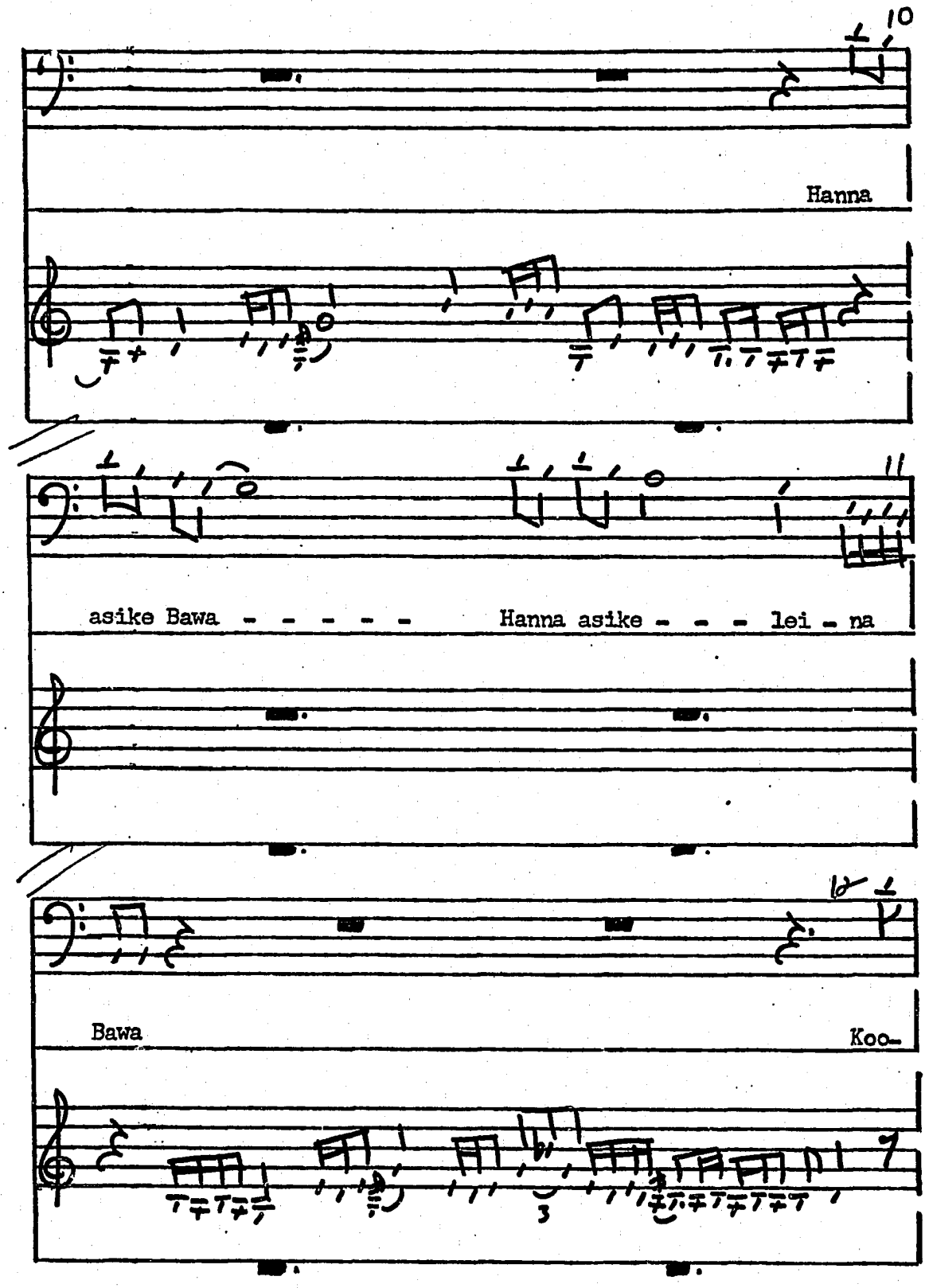
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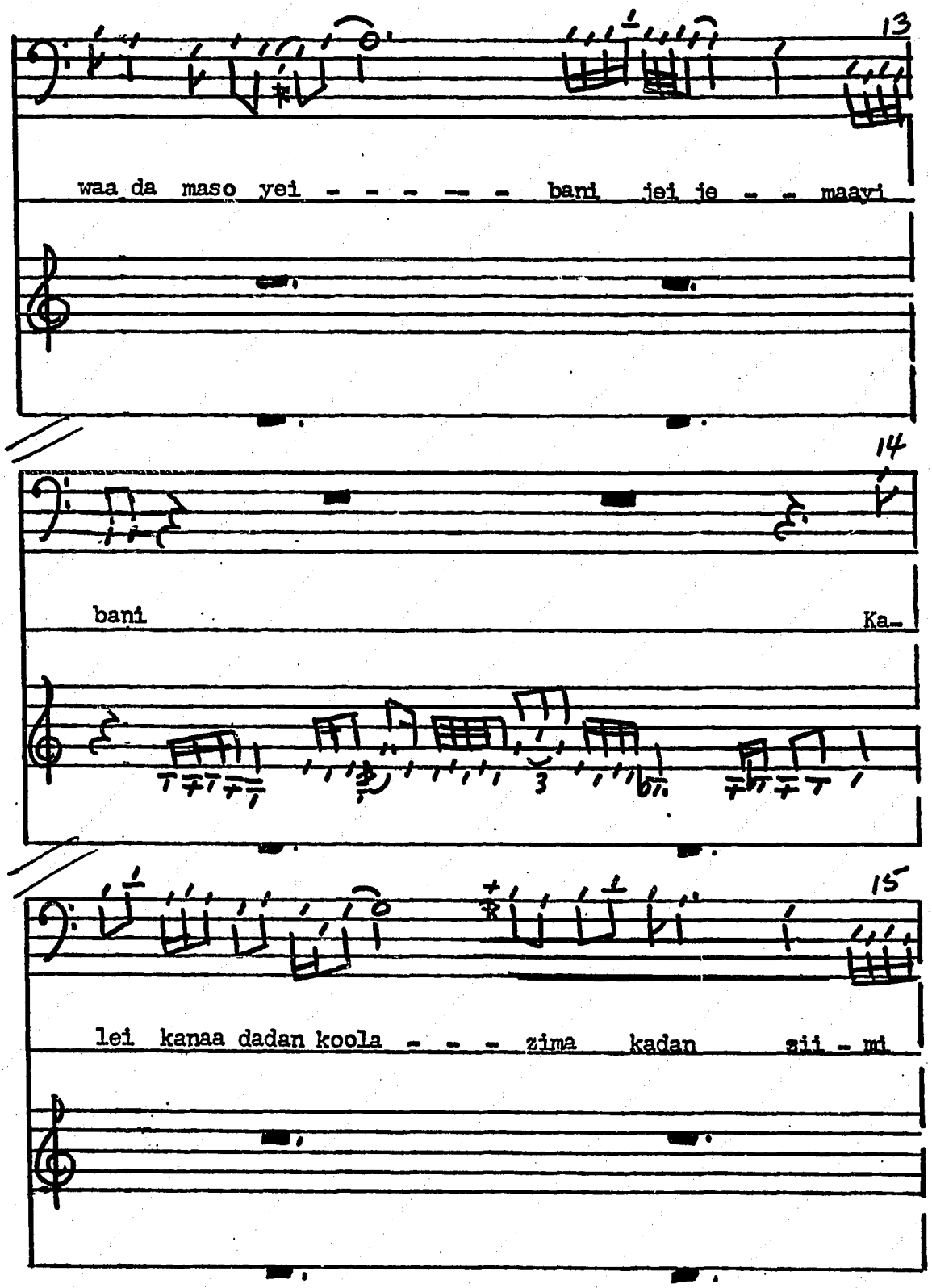
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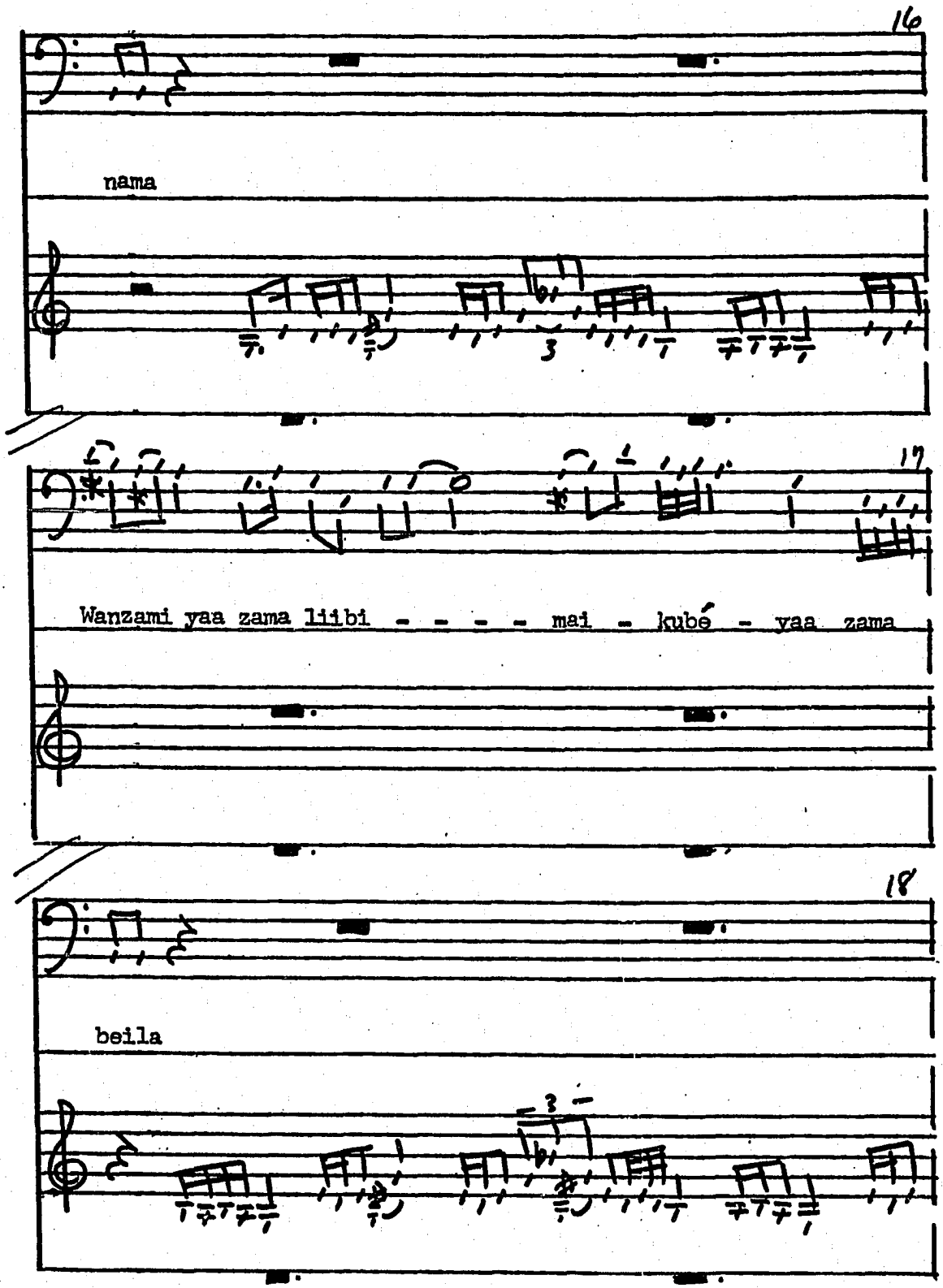


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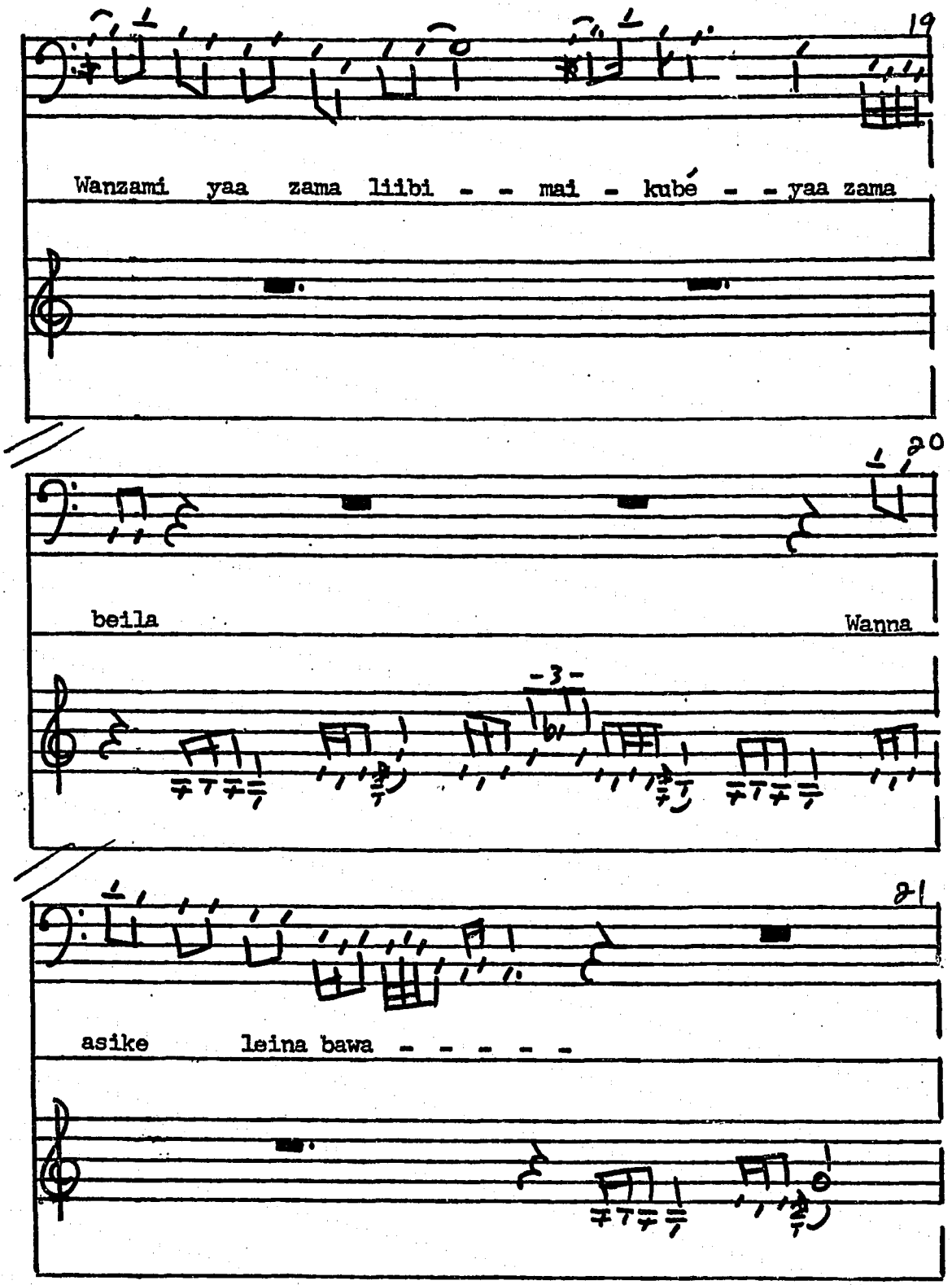
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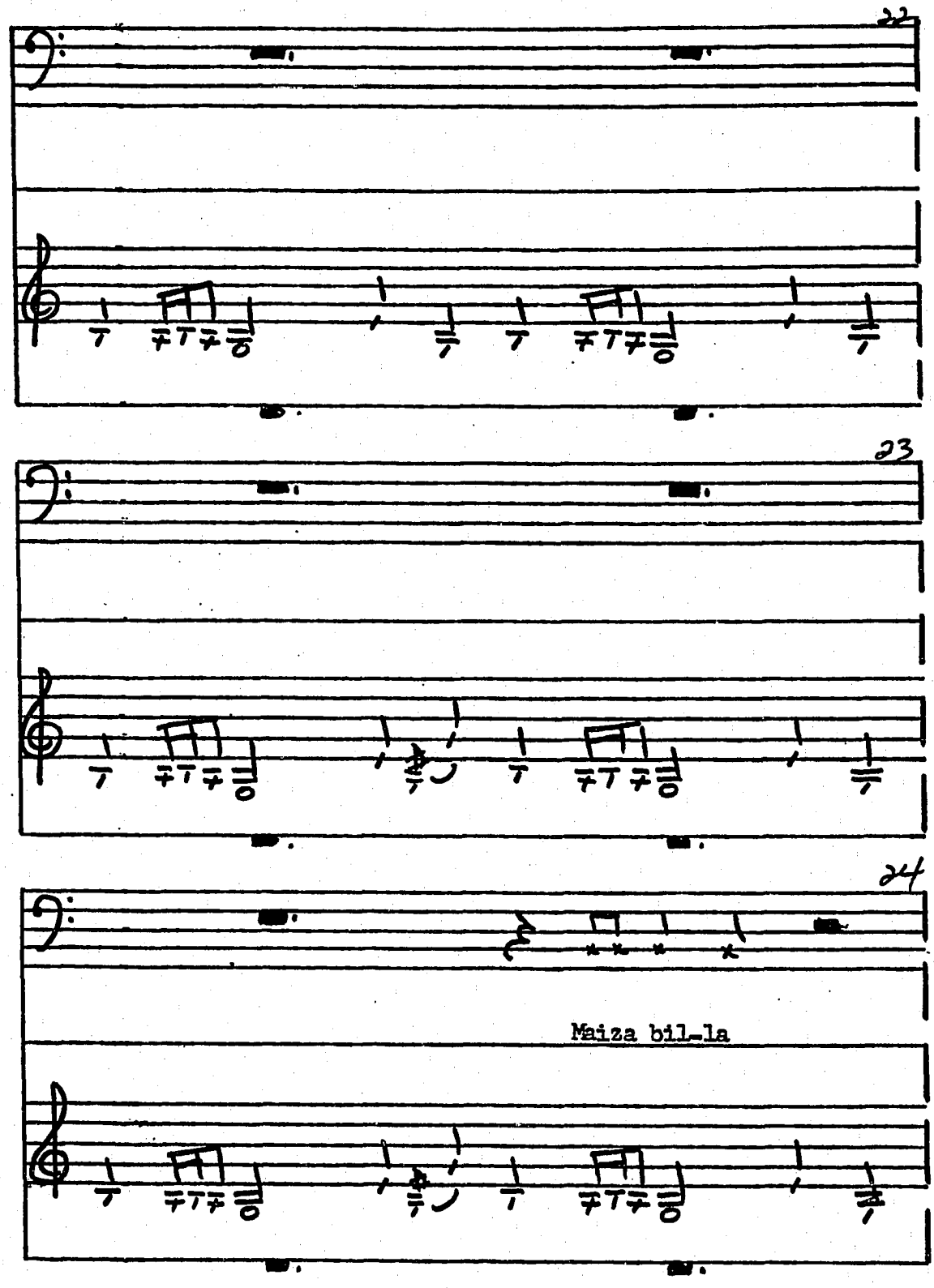


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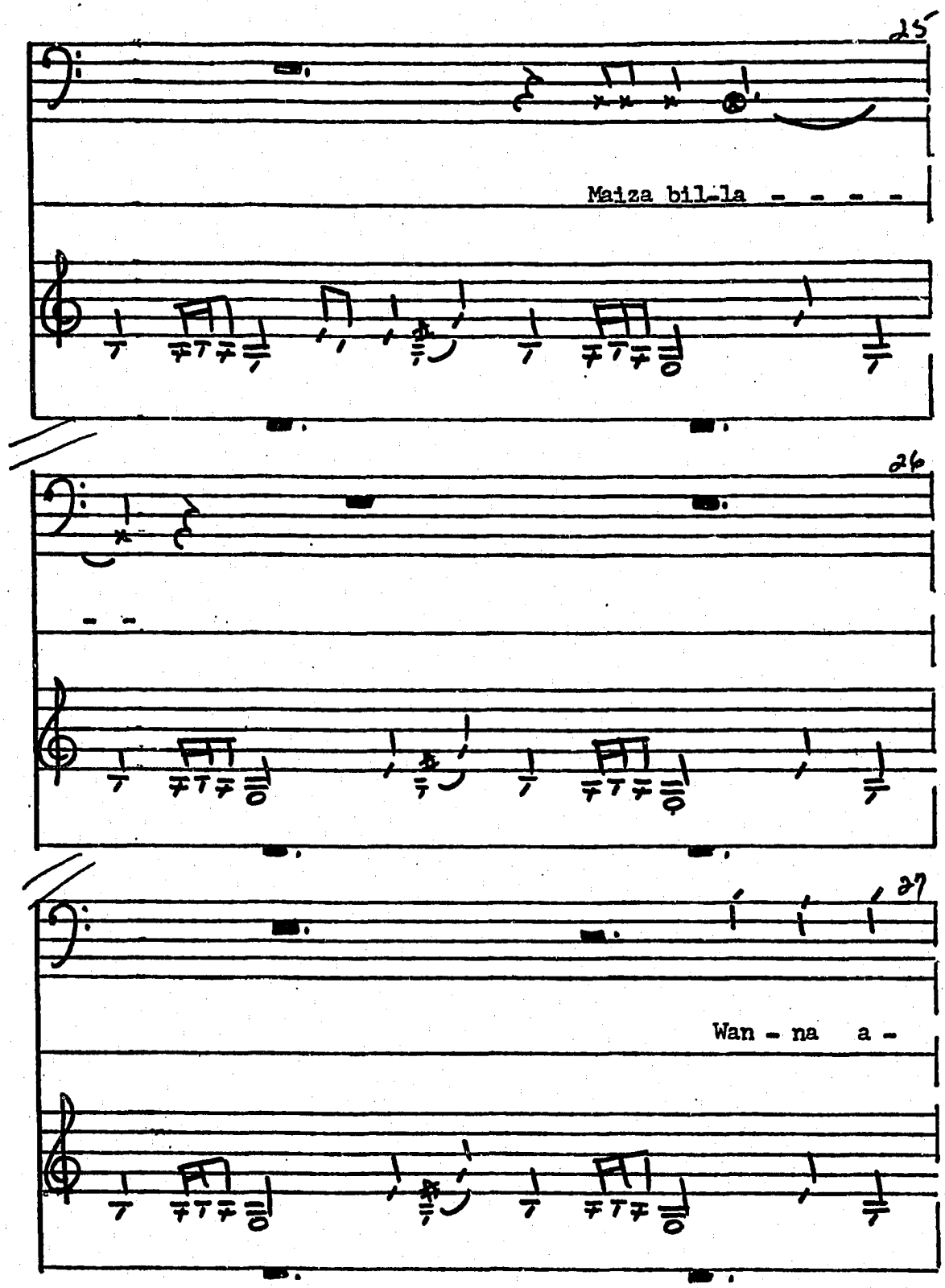
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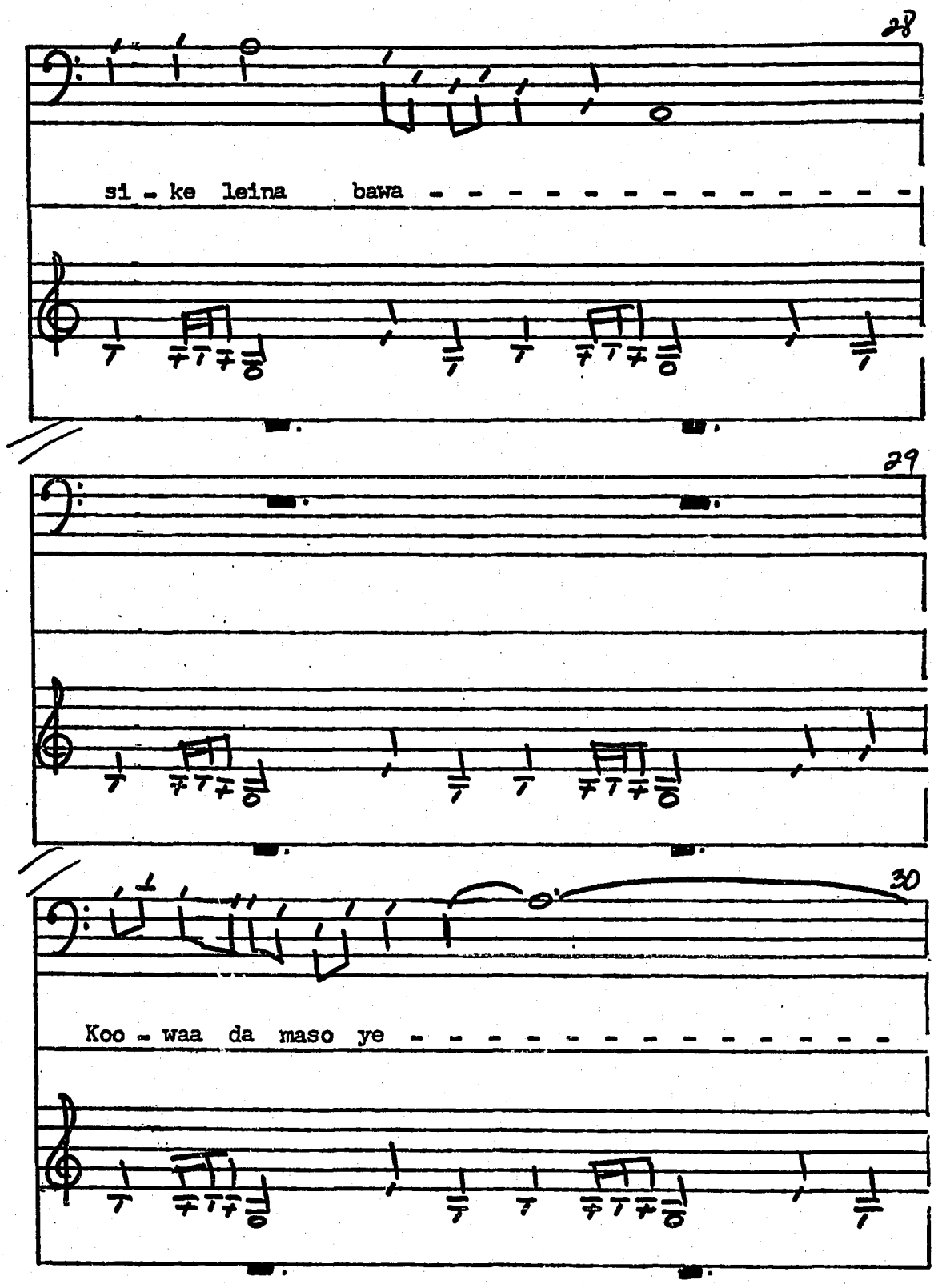
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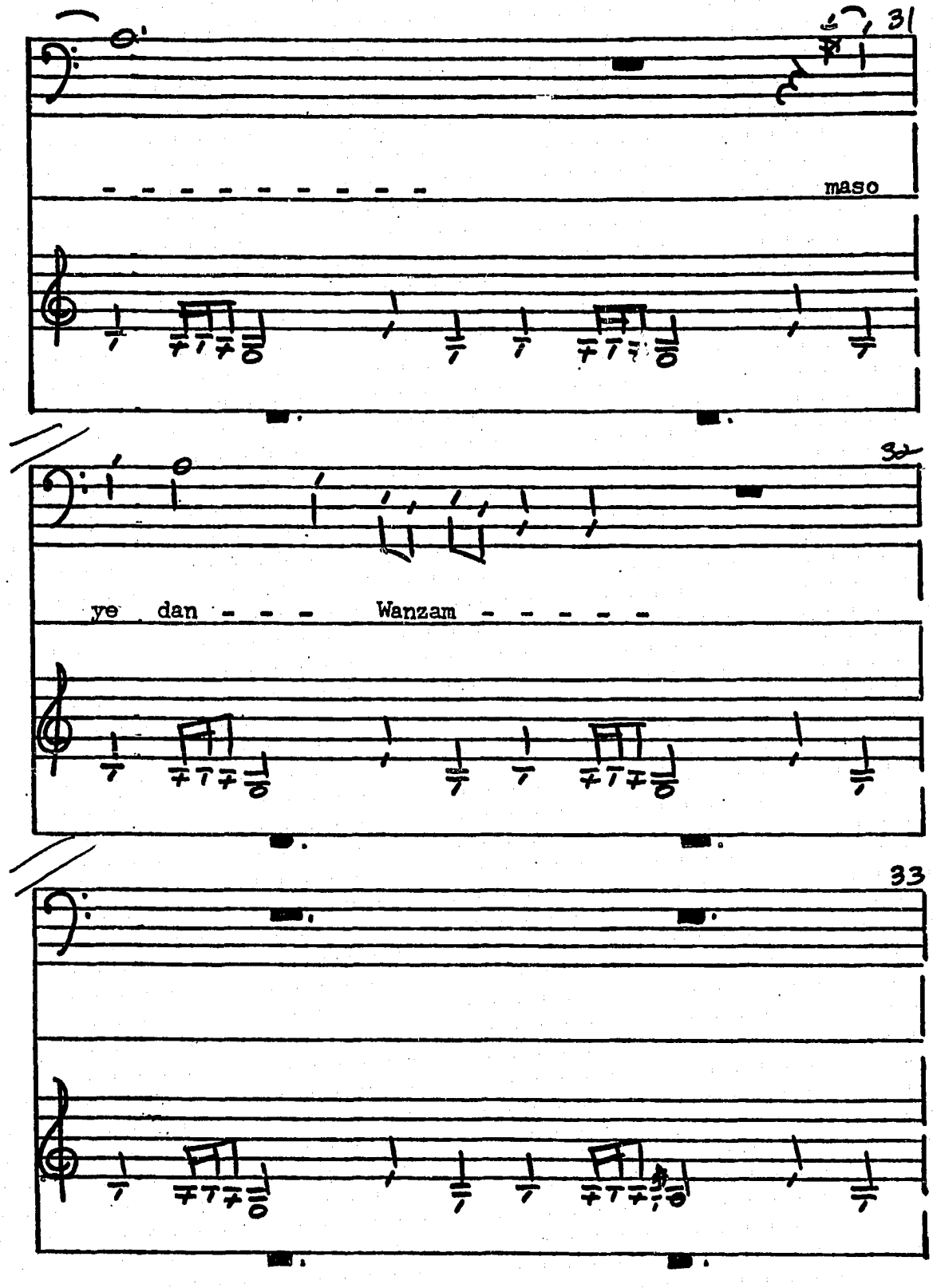
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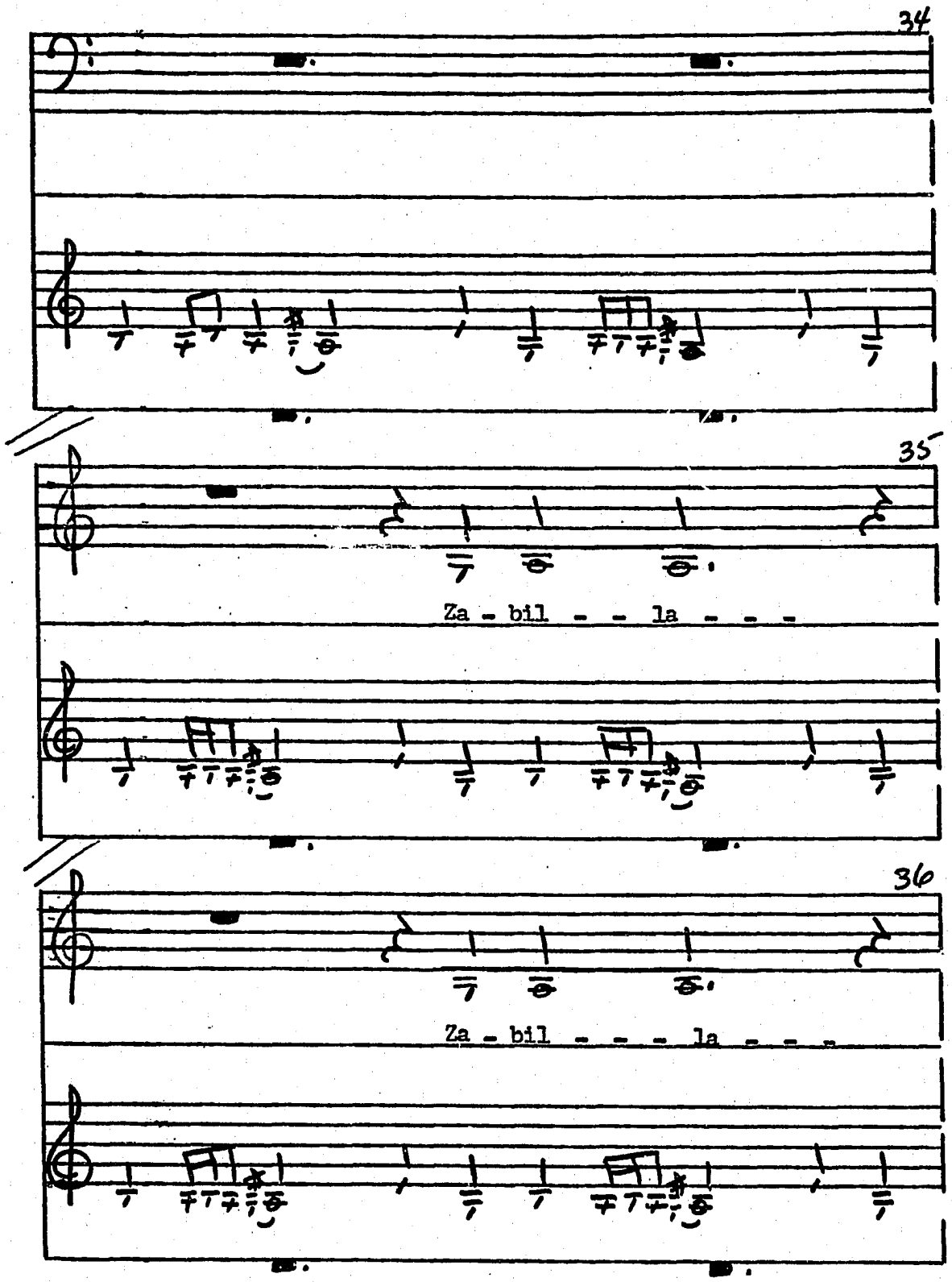
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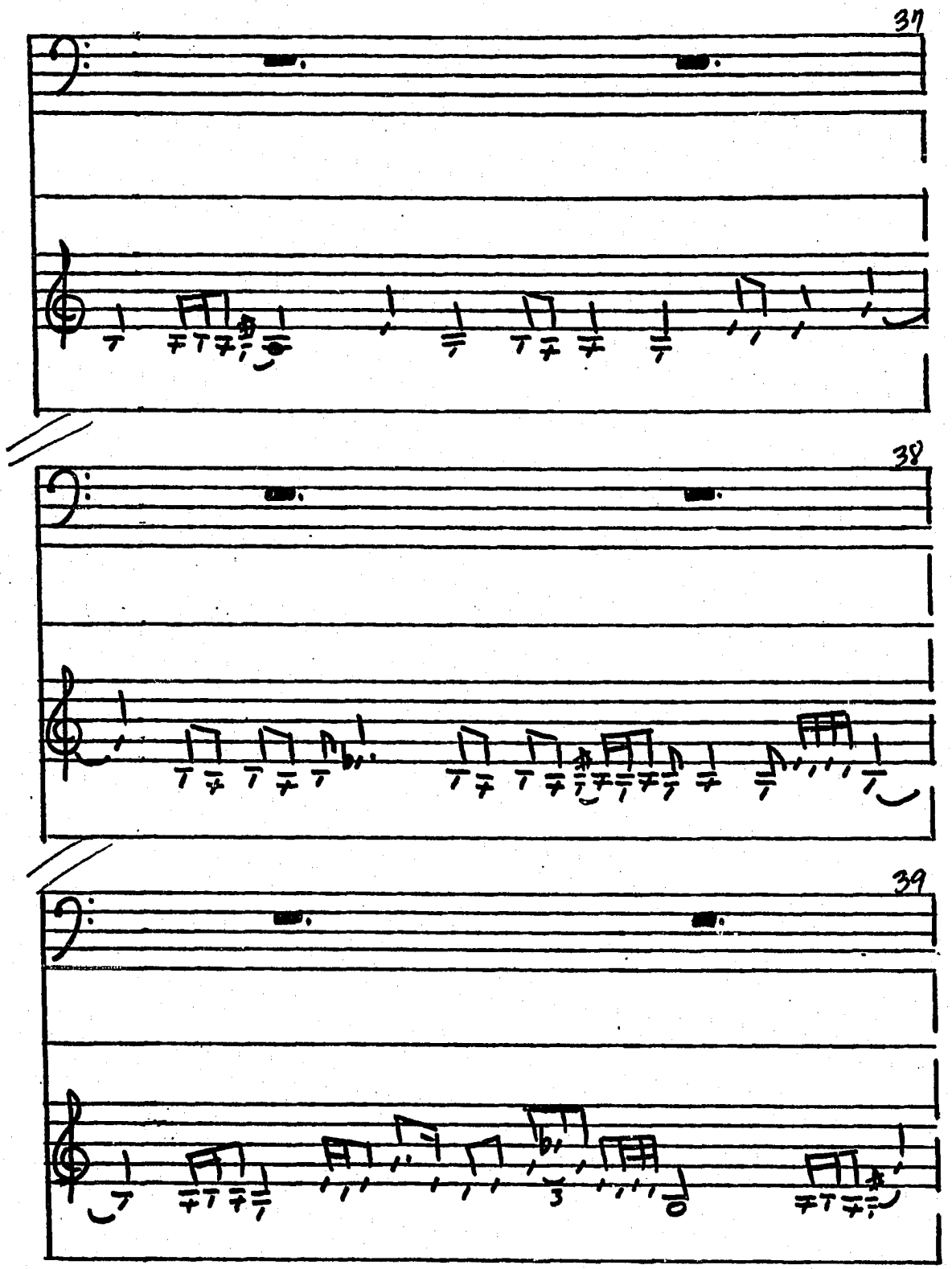
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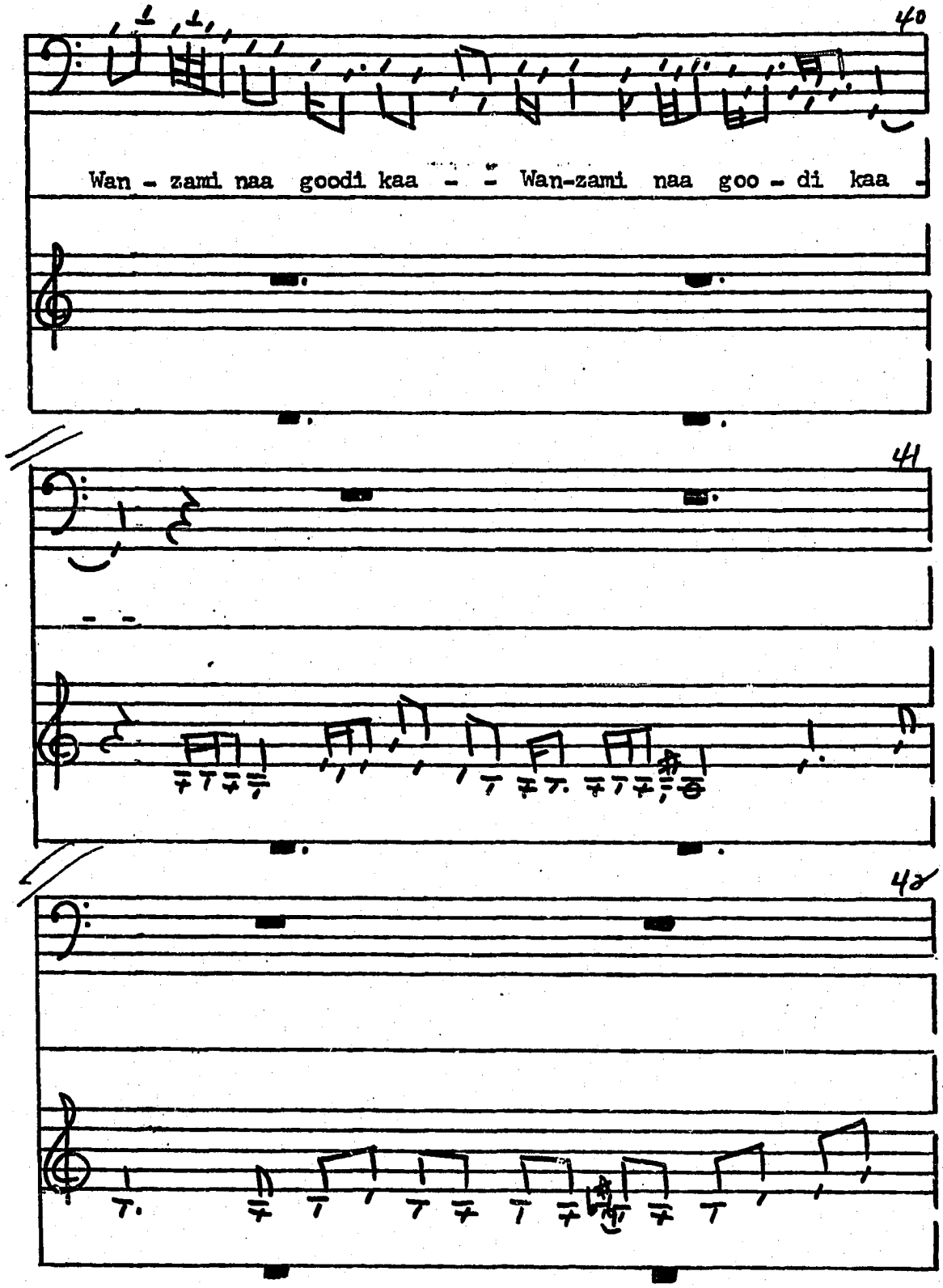
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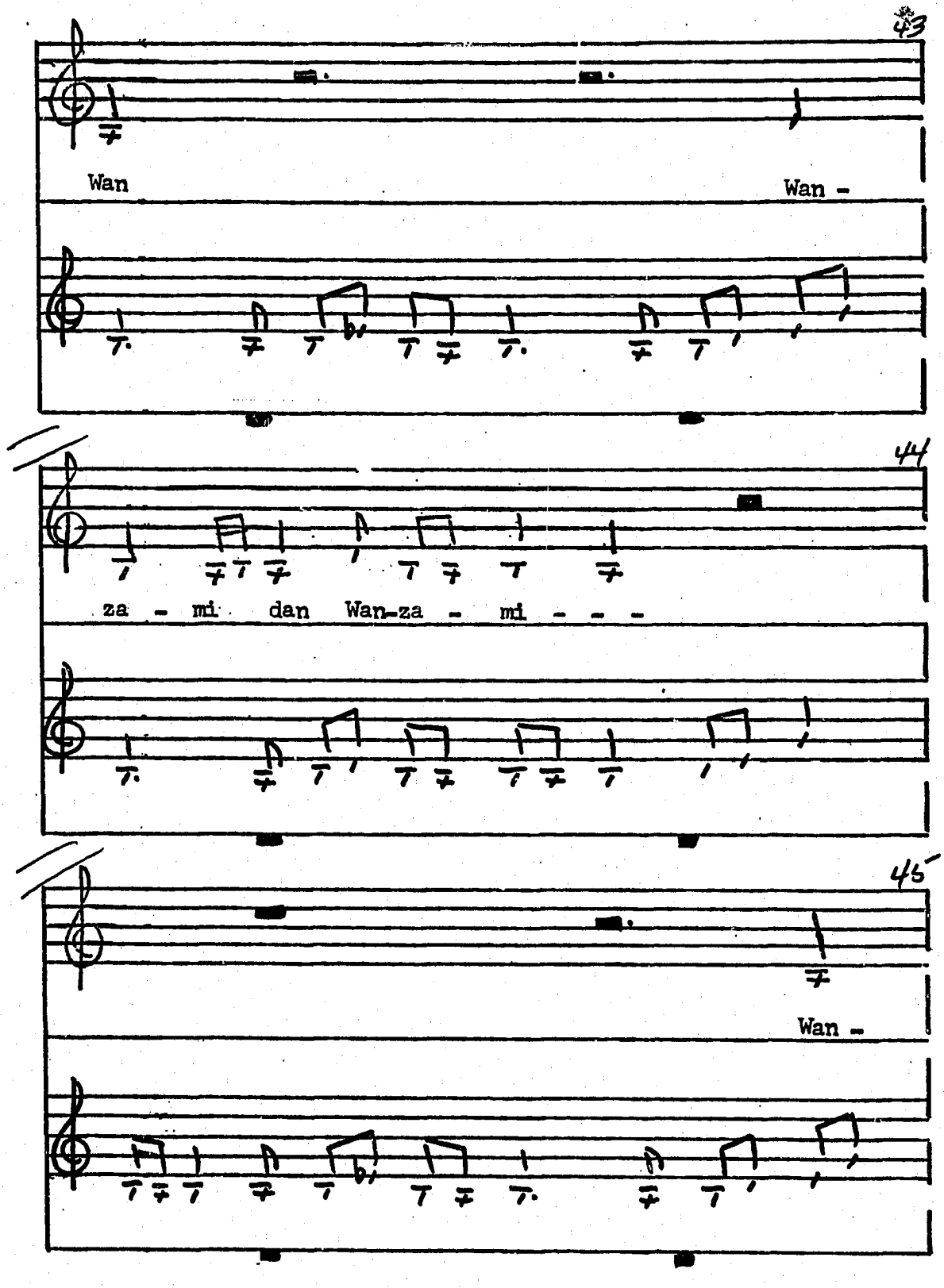
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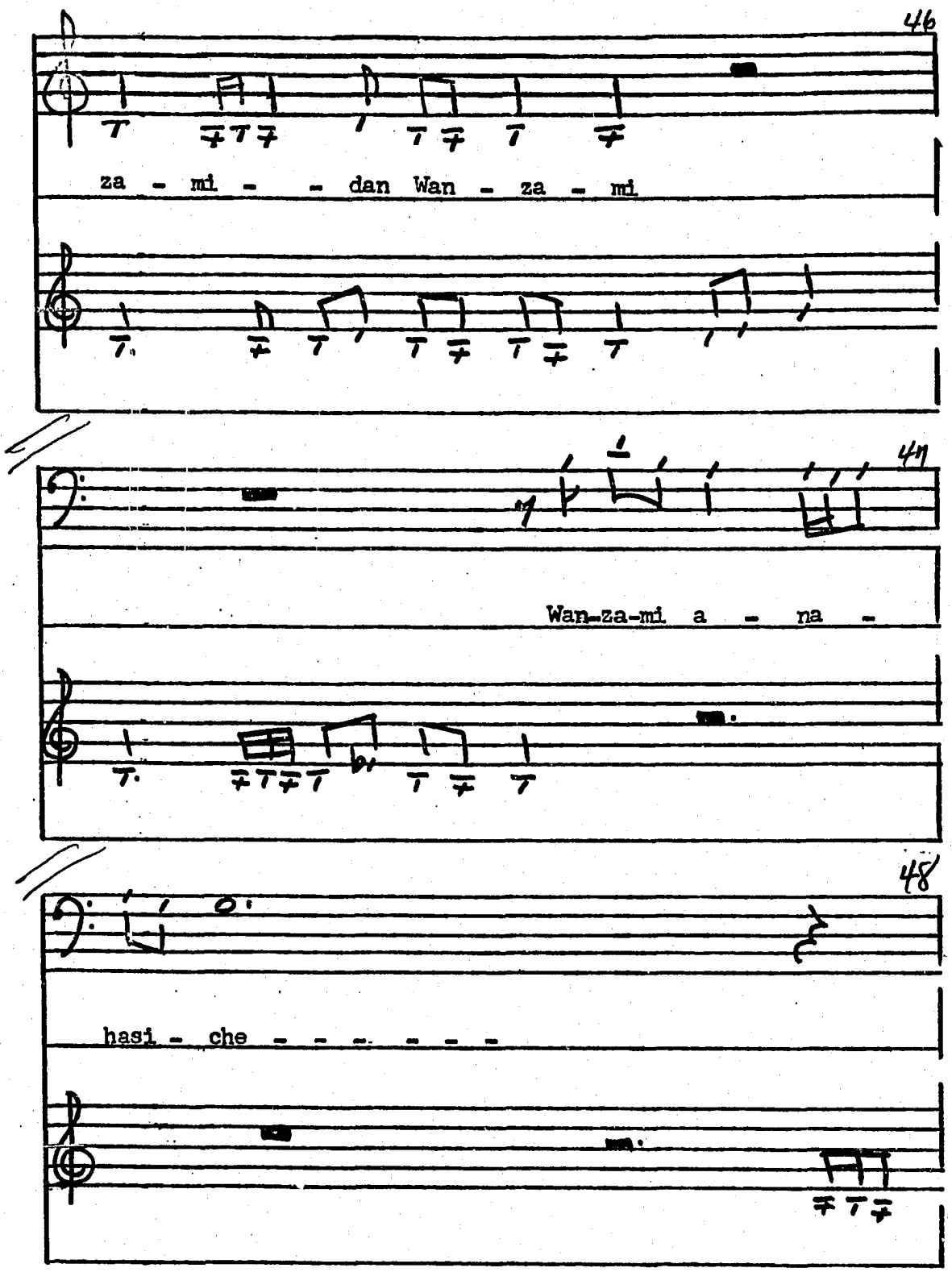
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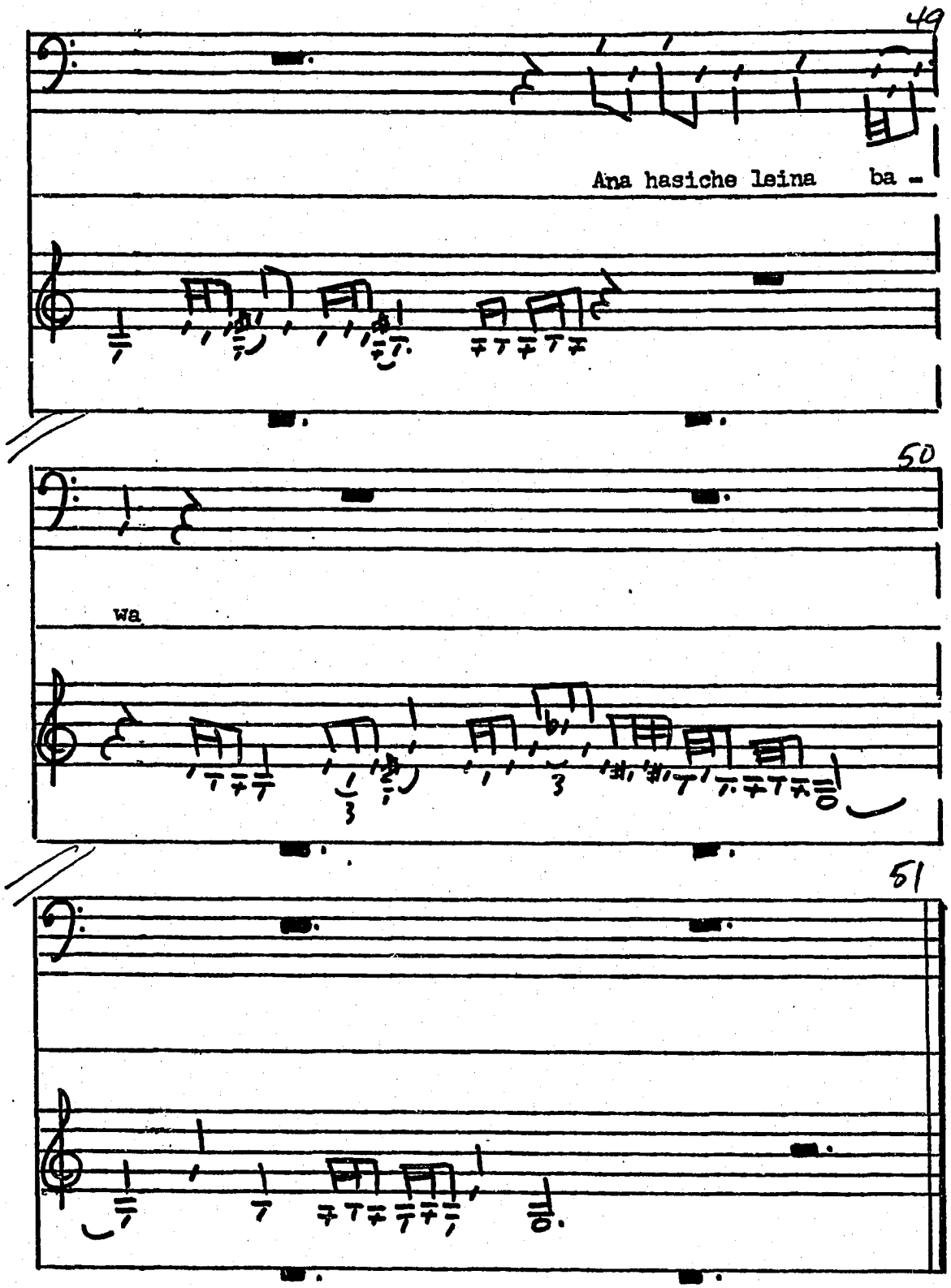


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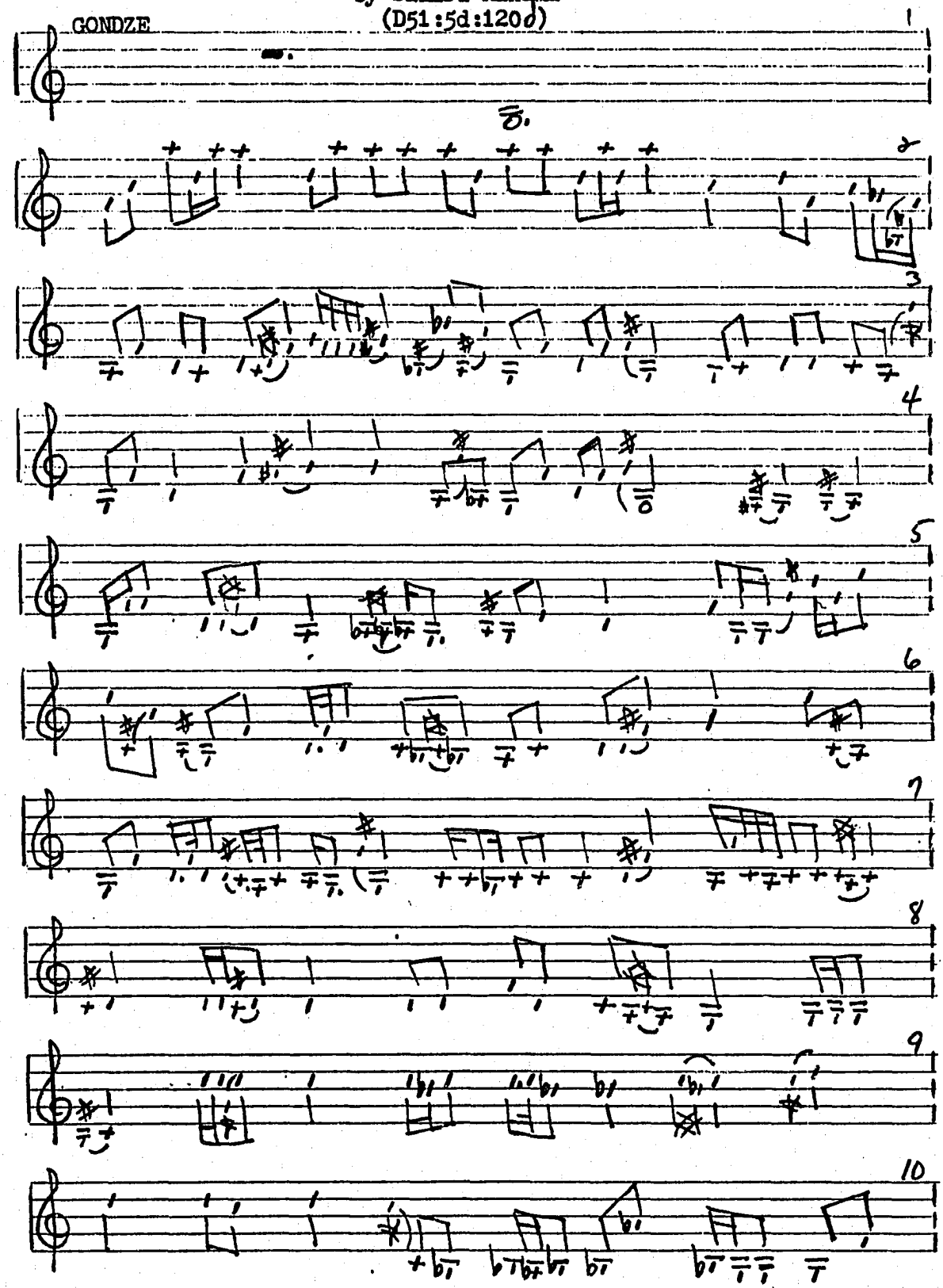


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BARRHAZA
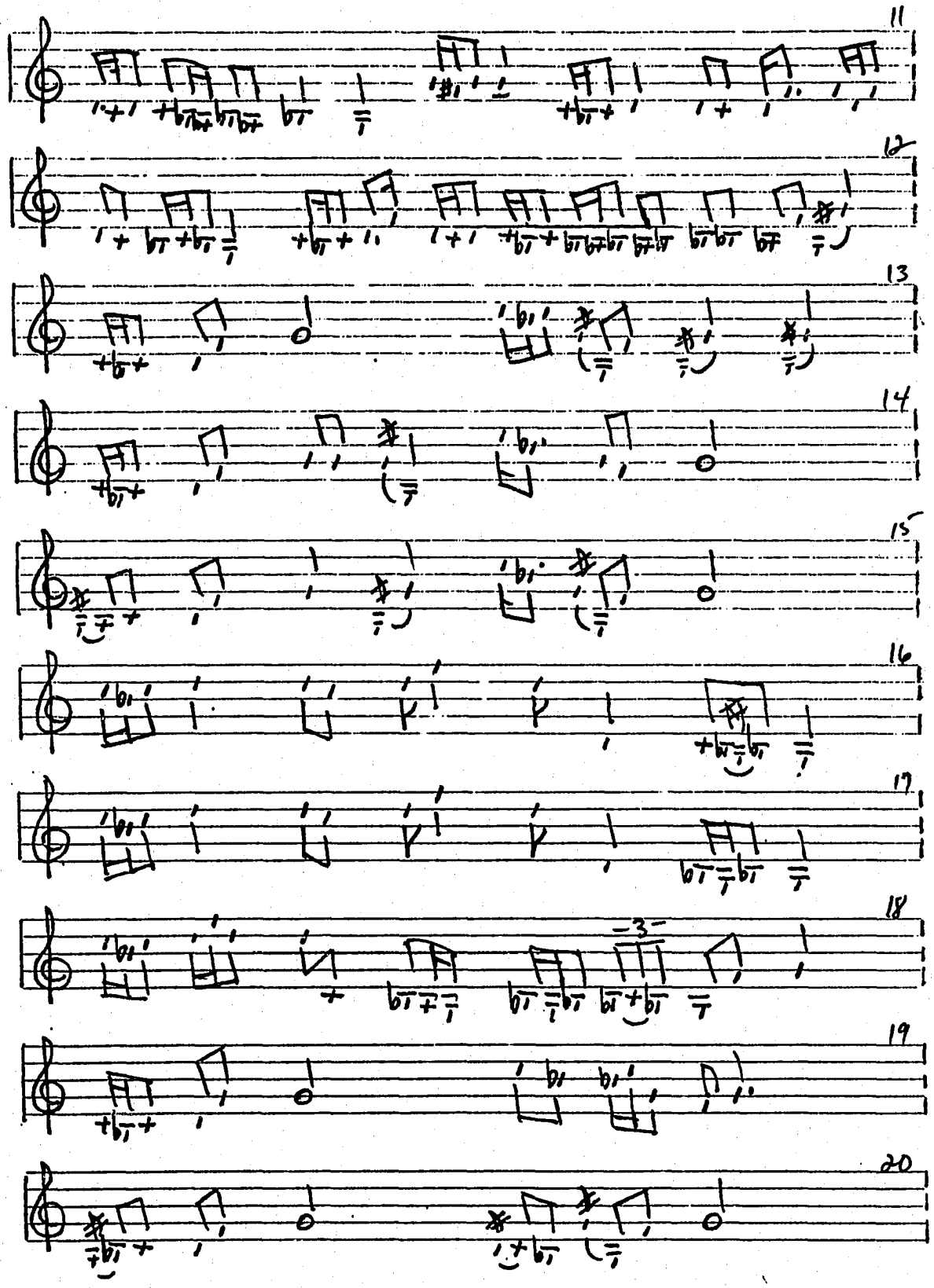
by Salisu Mahama

(D51:5d:120♂)
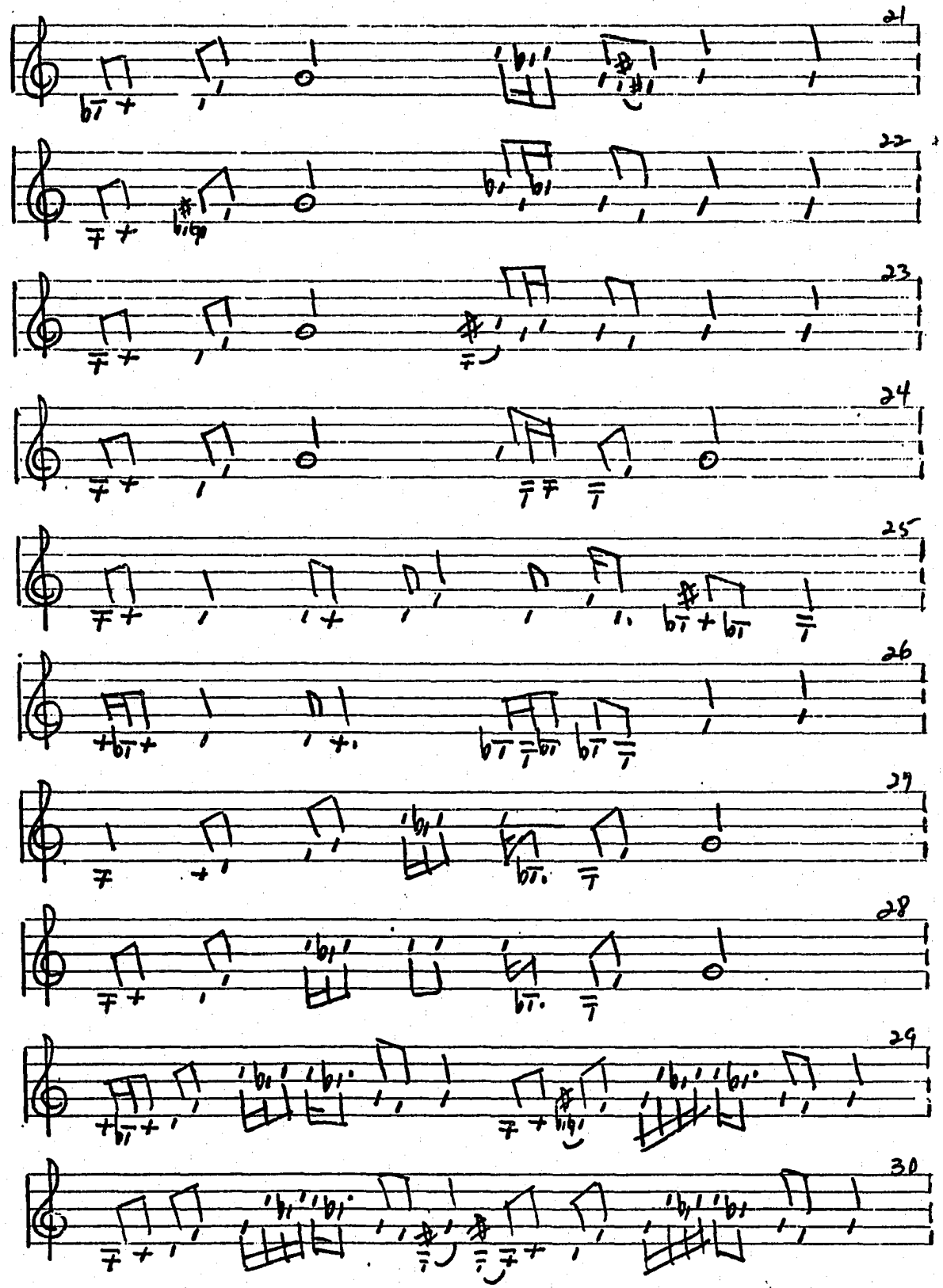
GONDZE
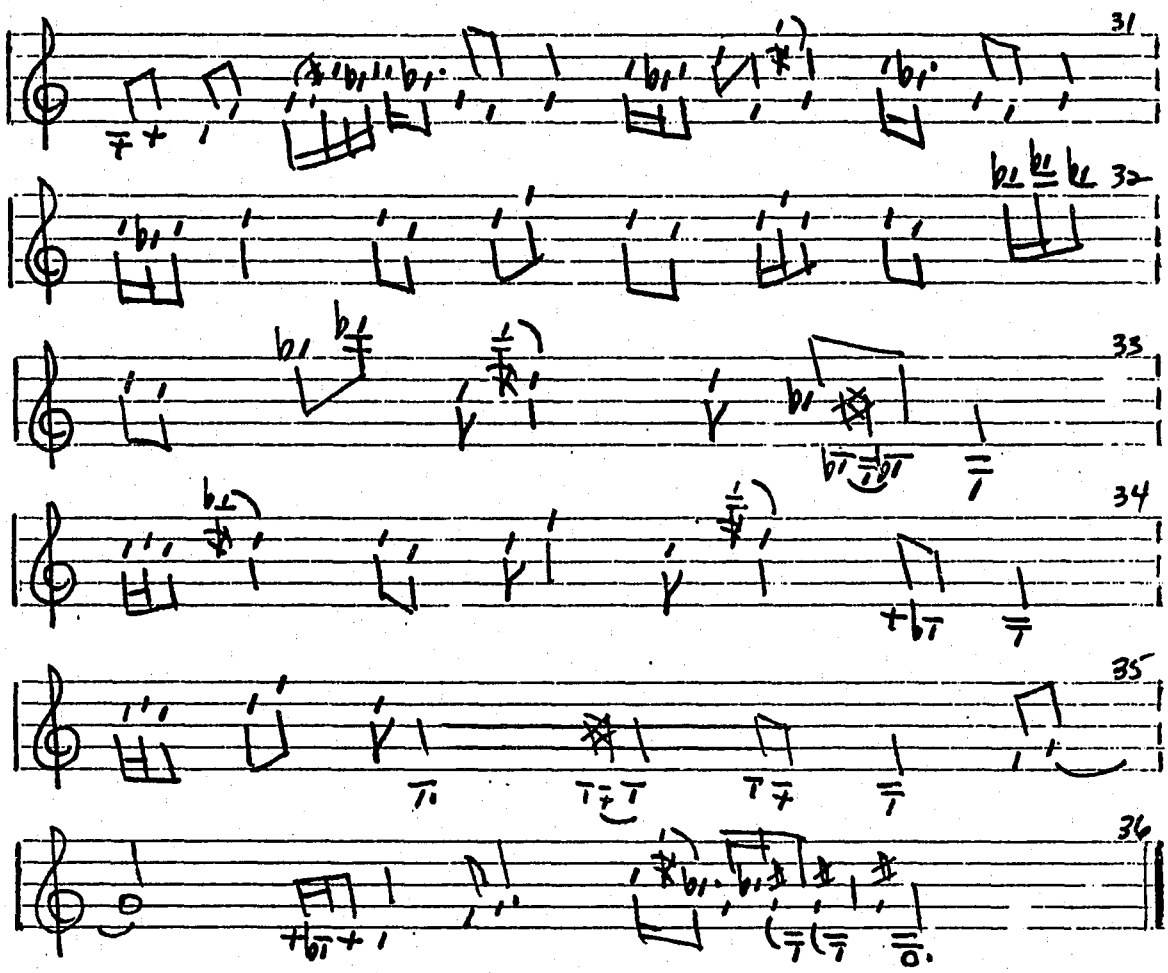


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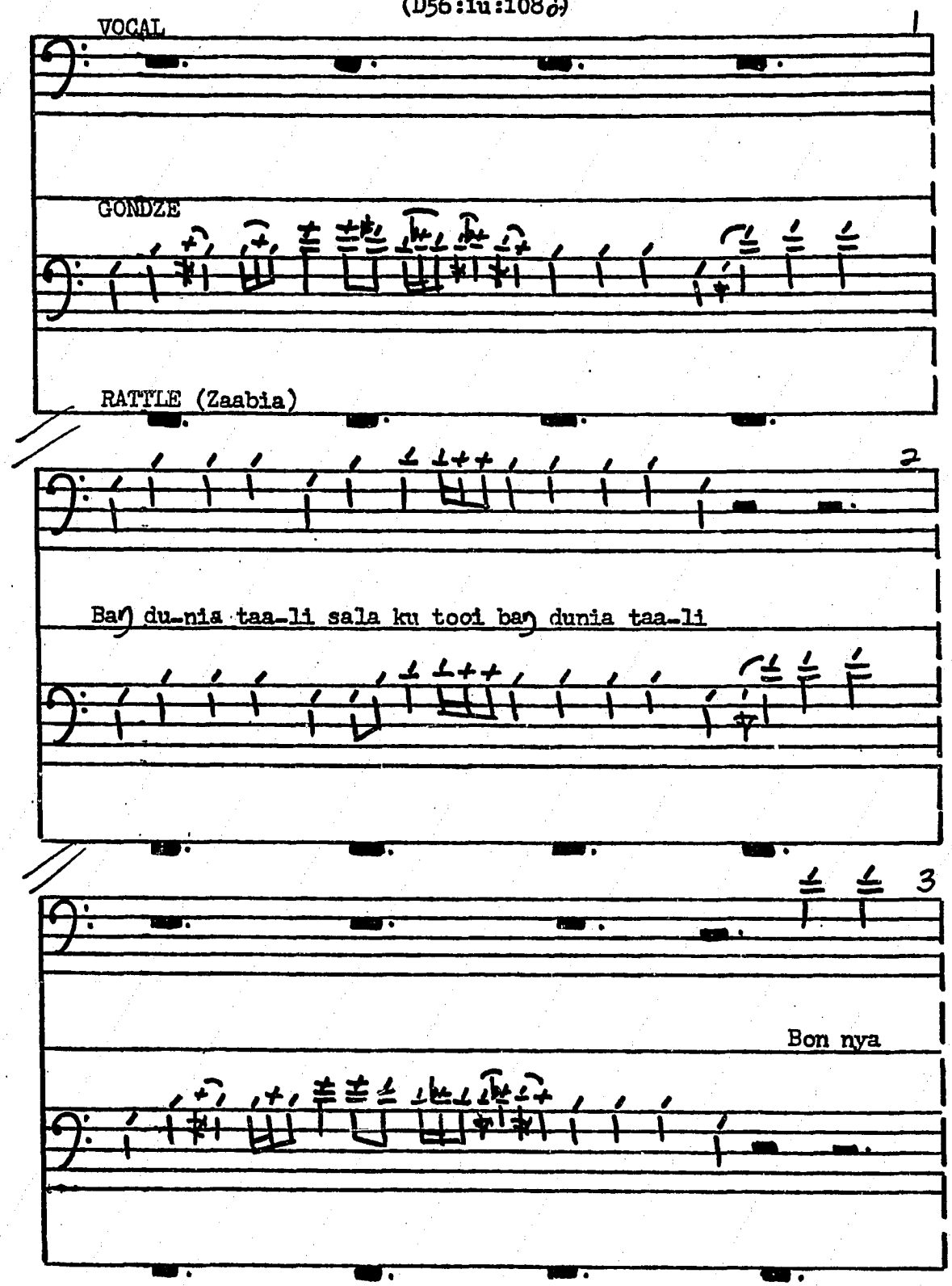


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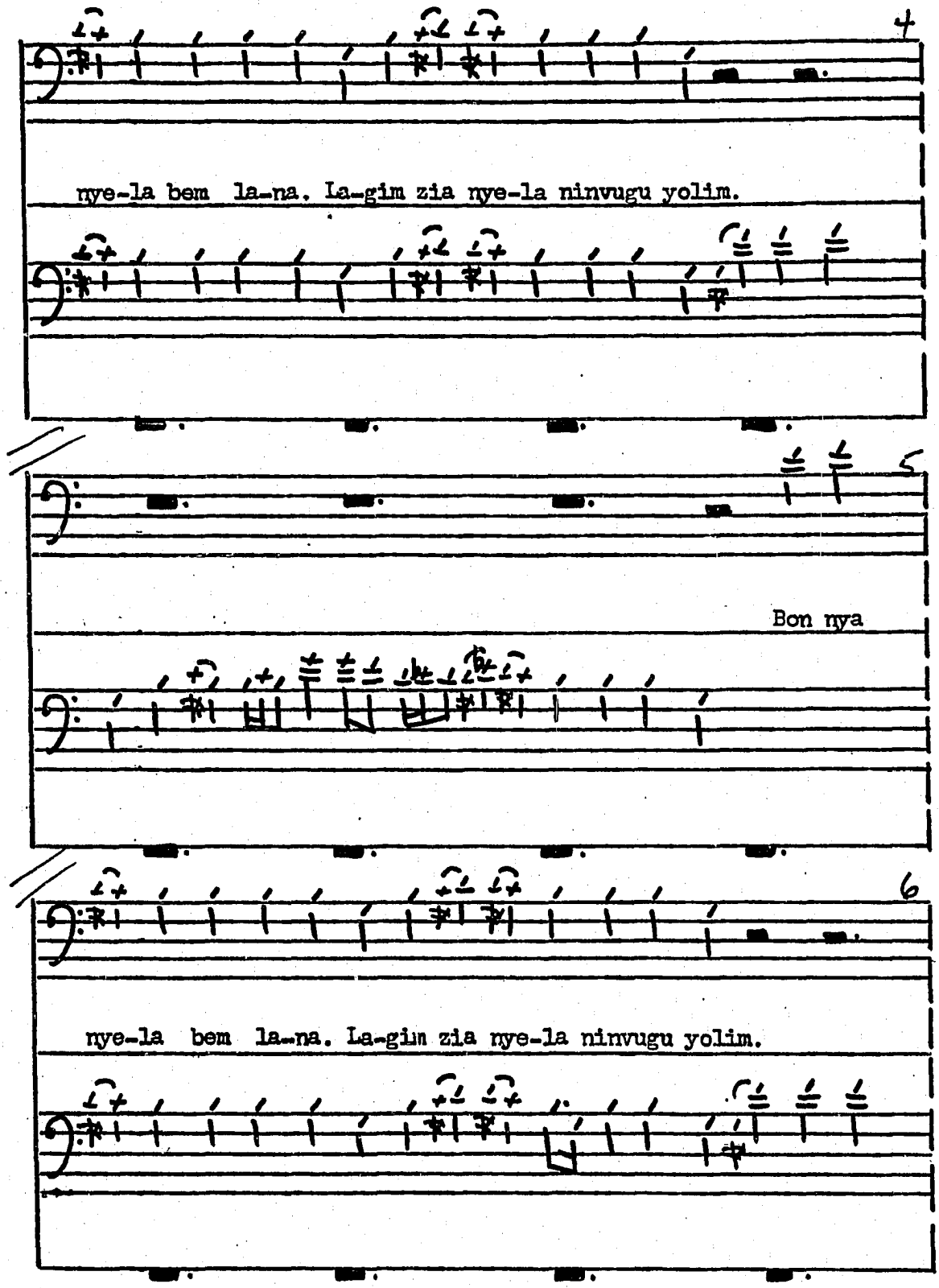


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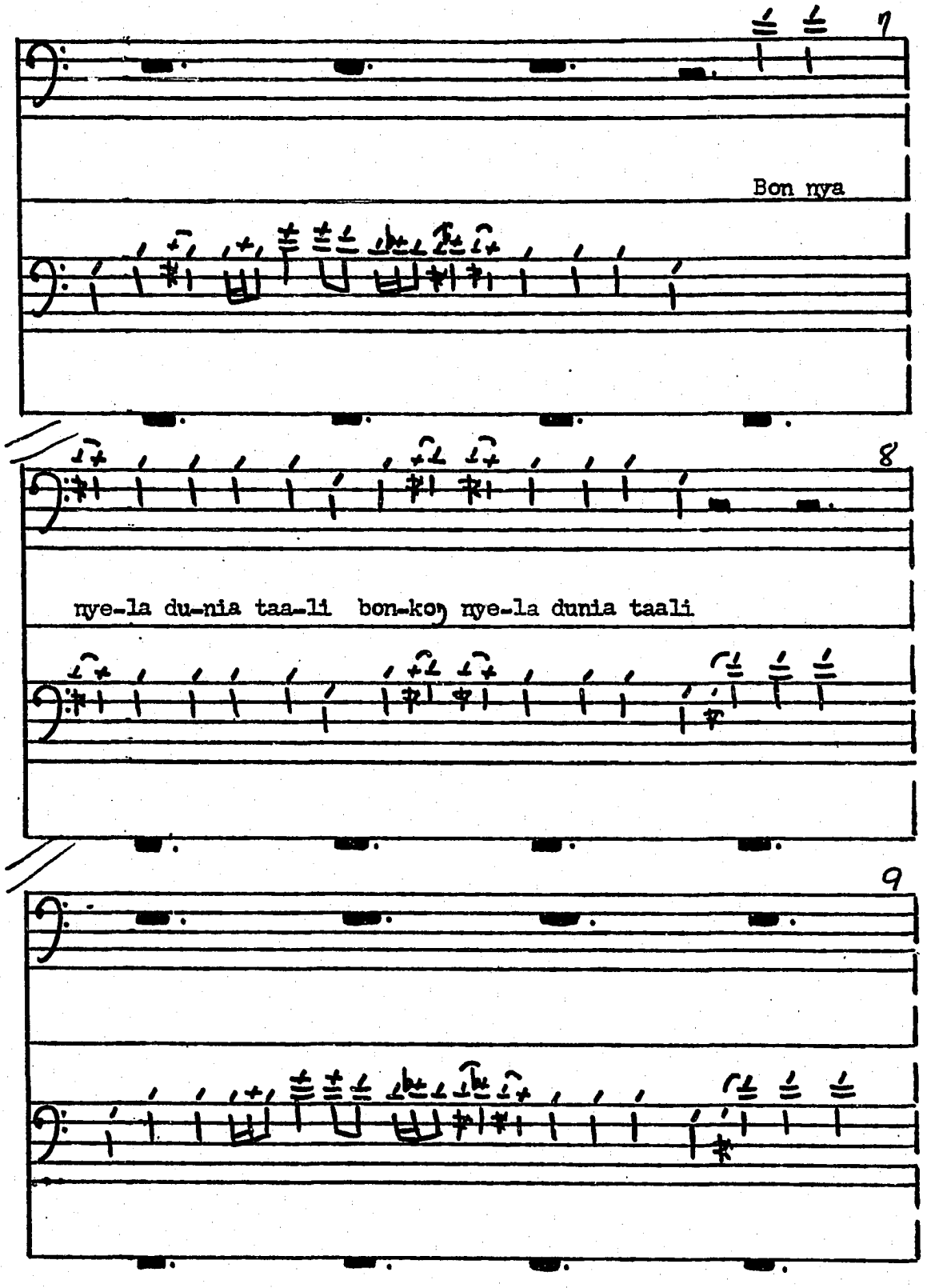
DUNIA TAALI
by Sulemana Iddrisu
(D56:1u:108♩)
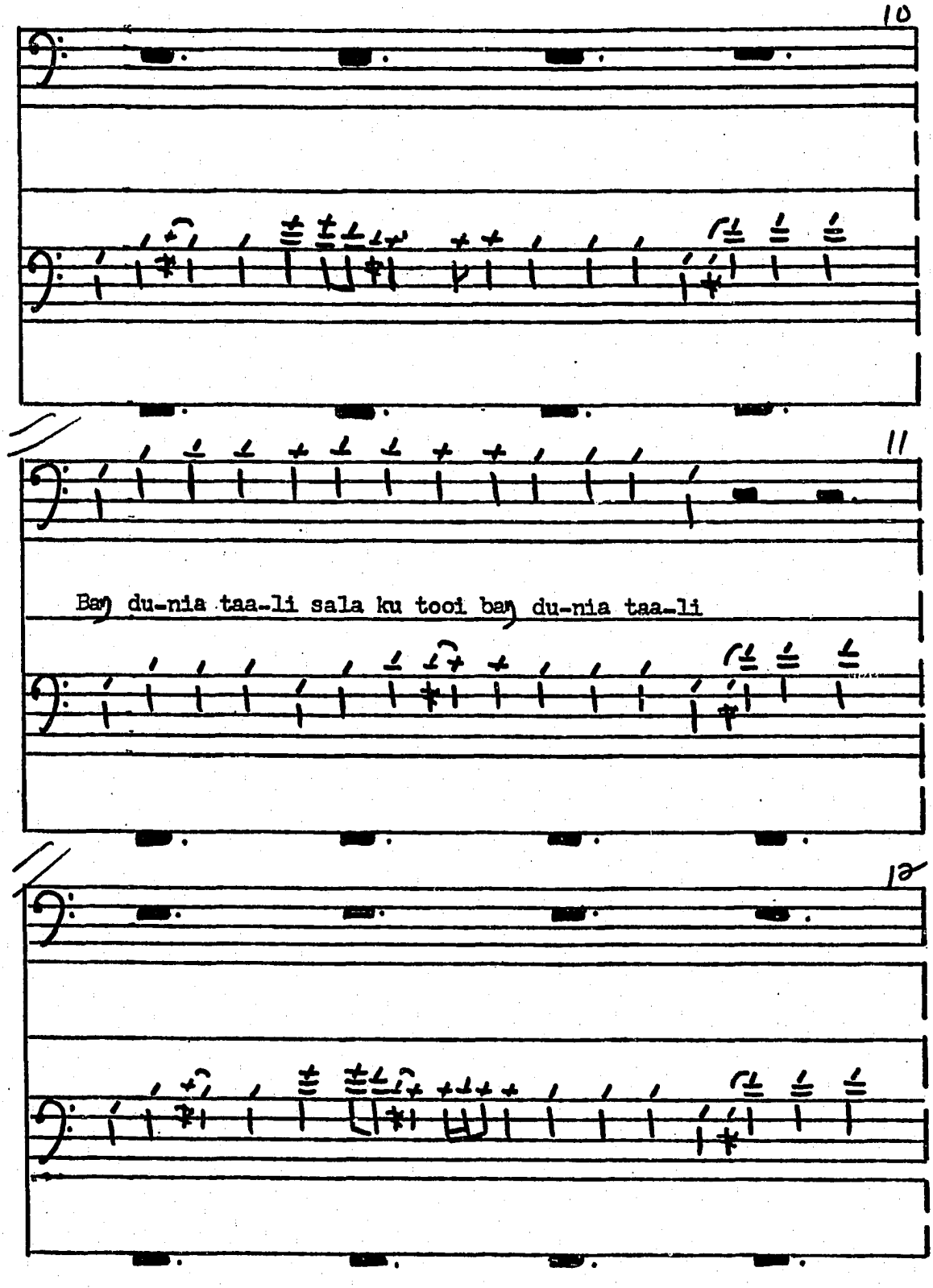


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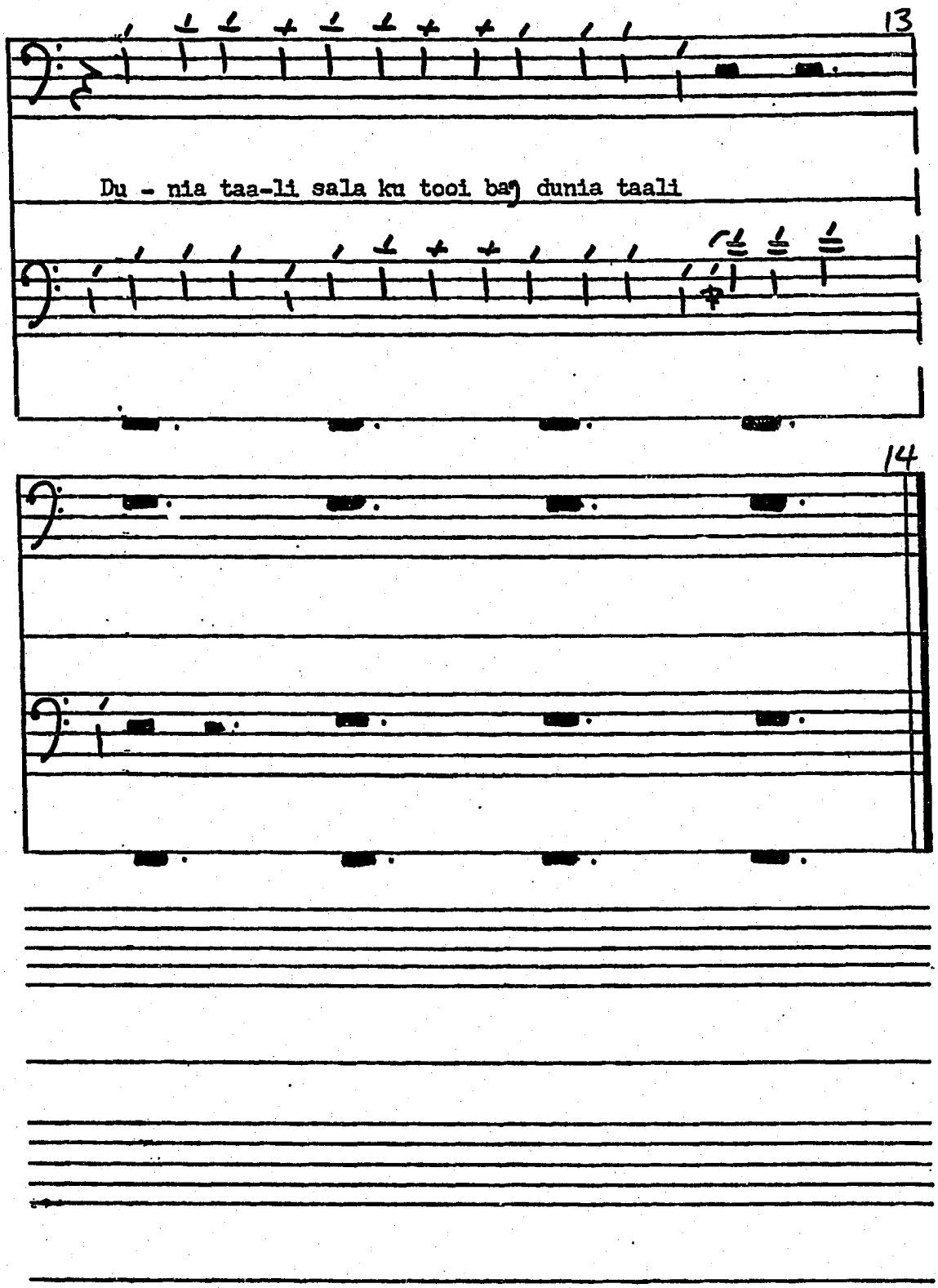
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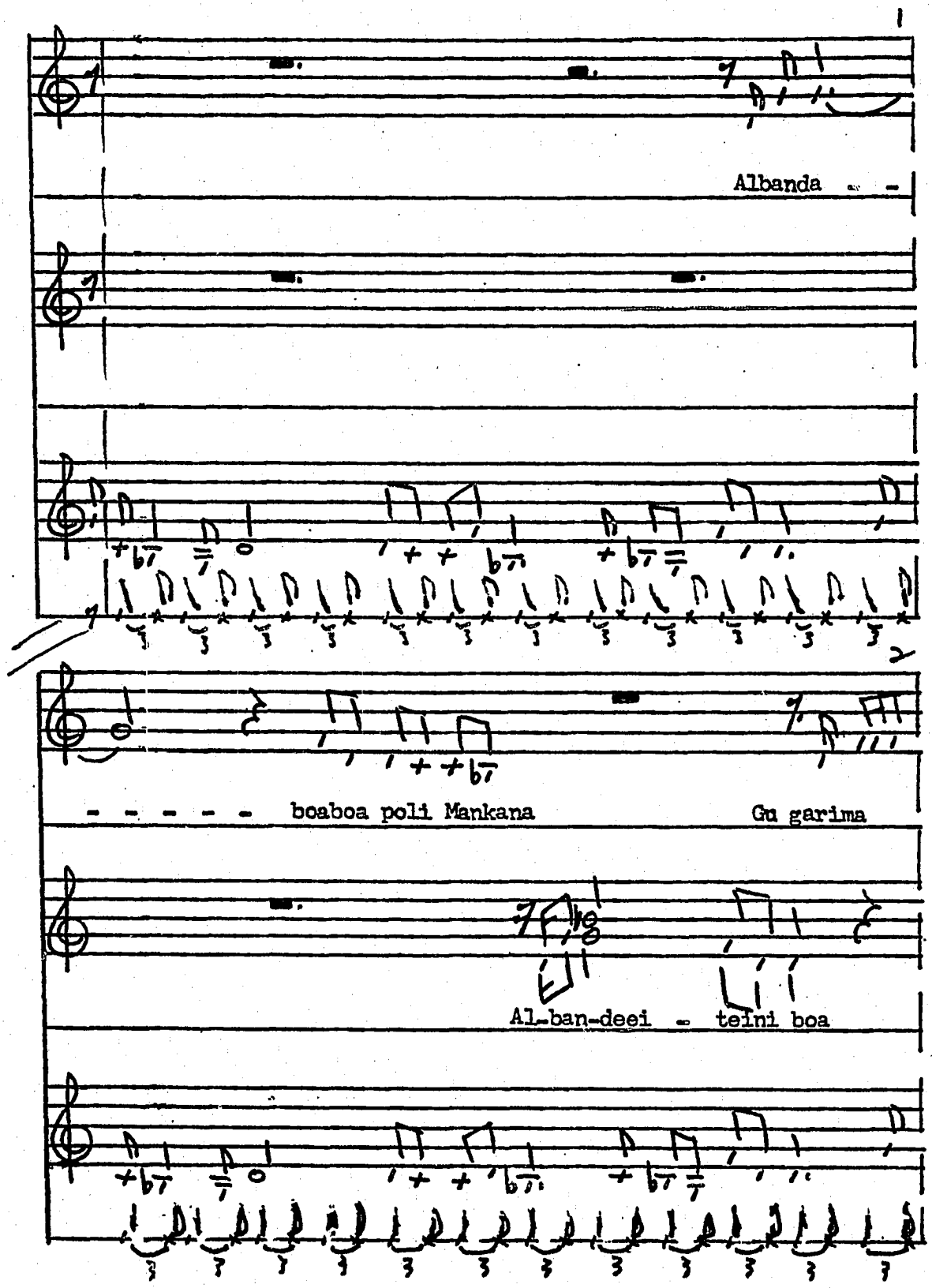
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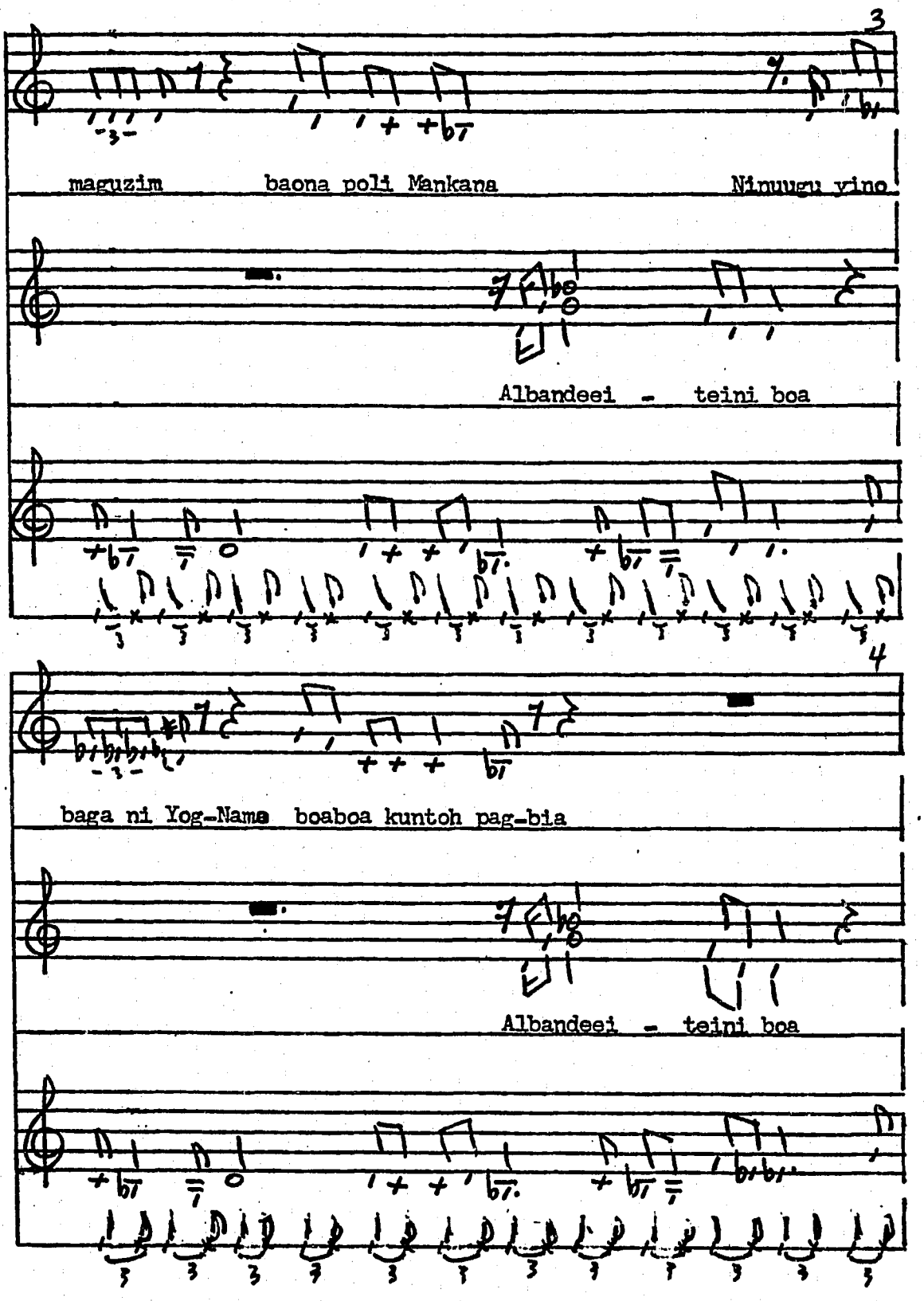
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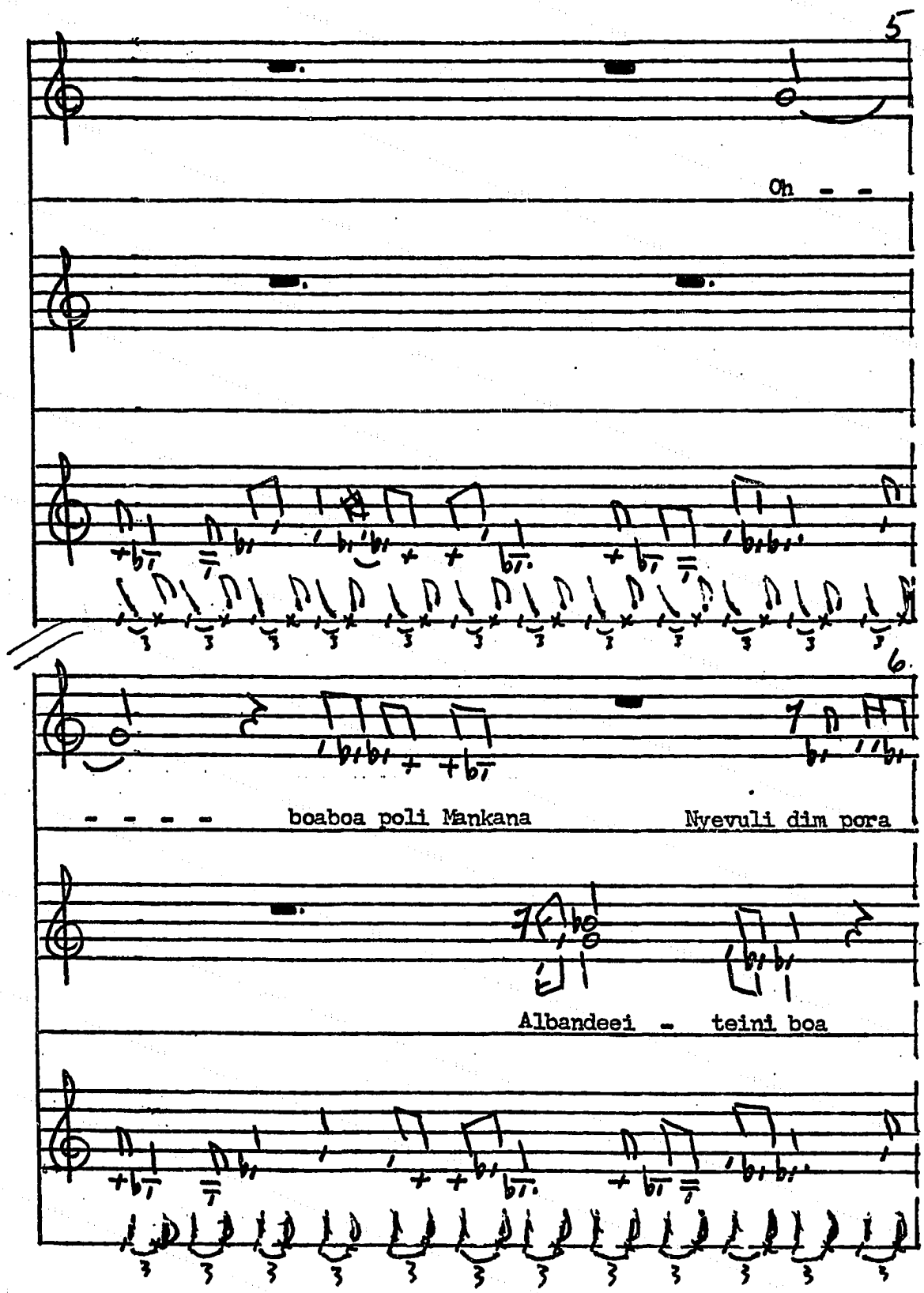
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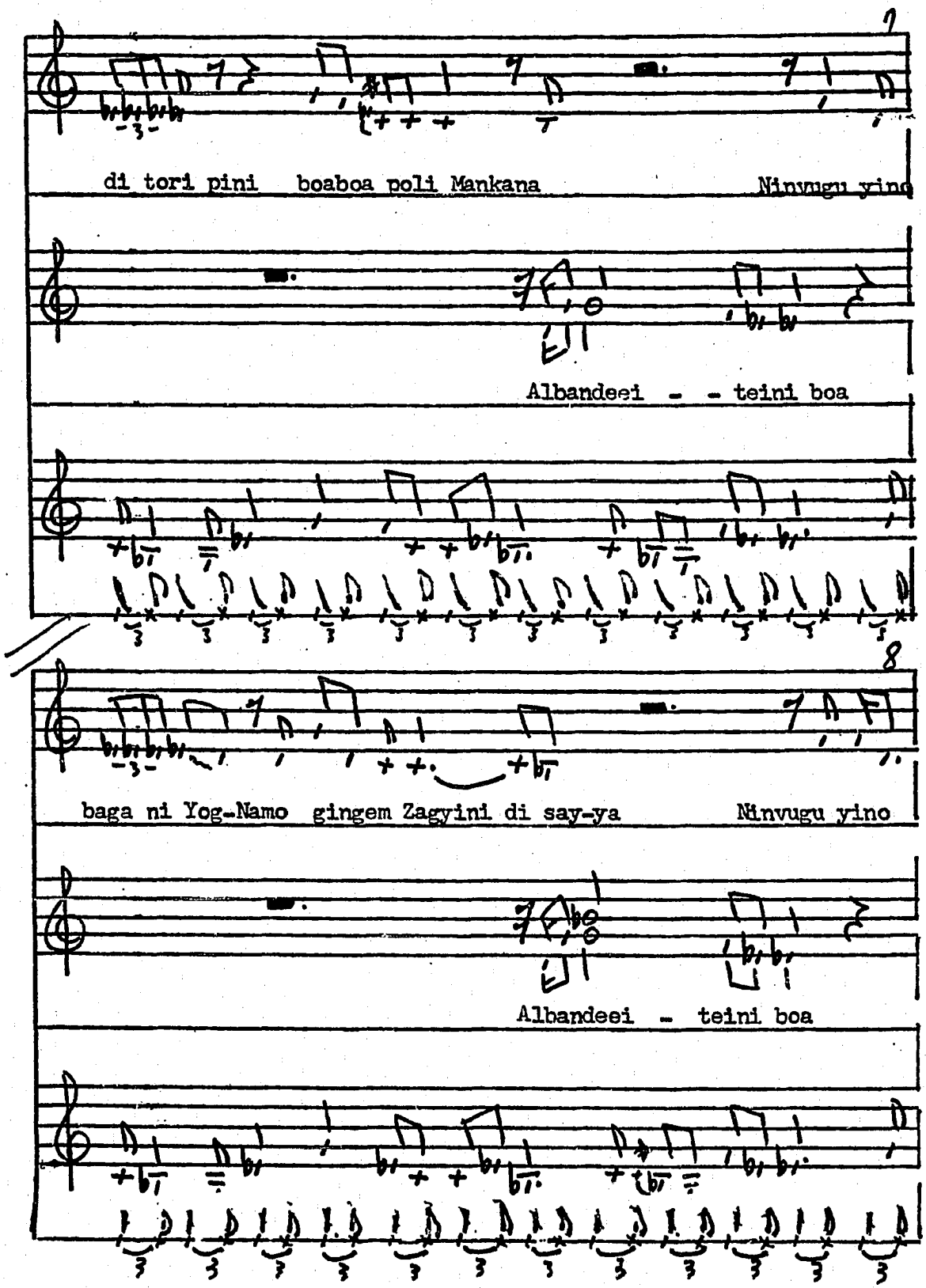
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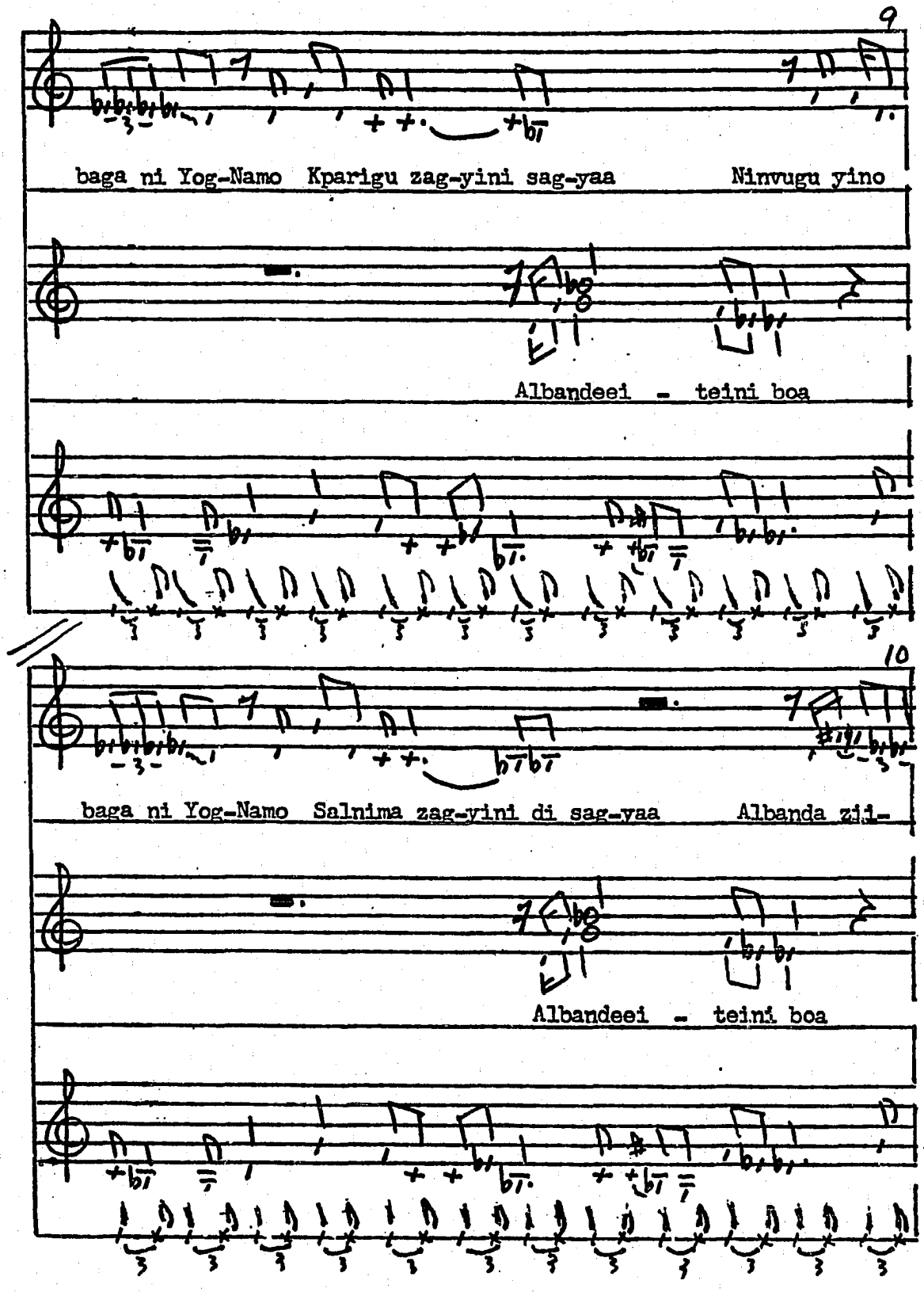
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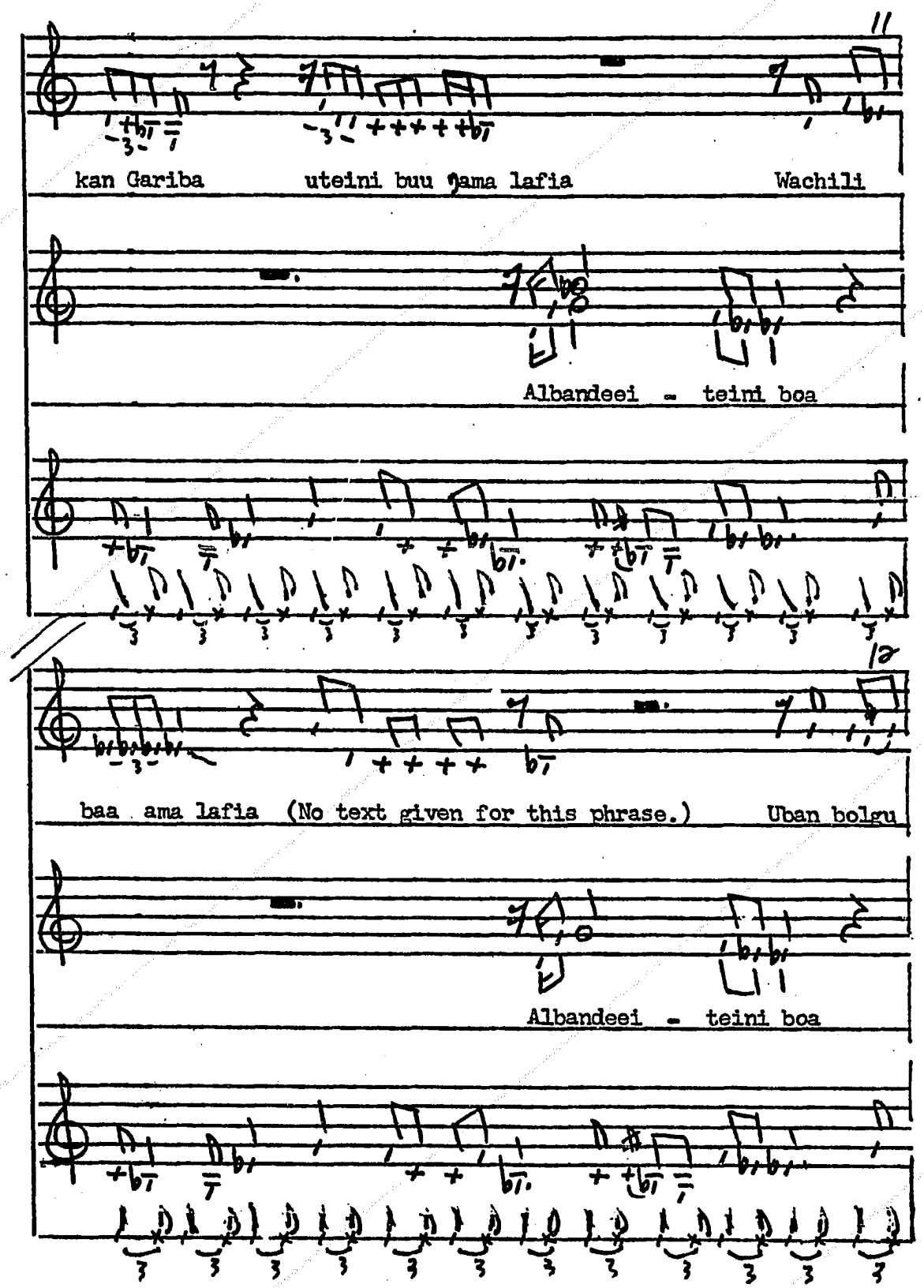
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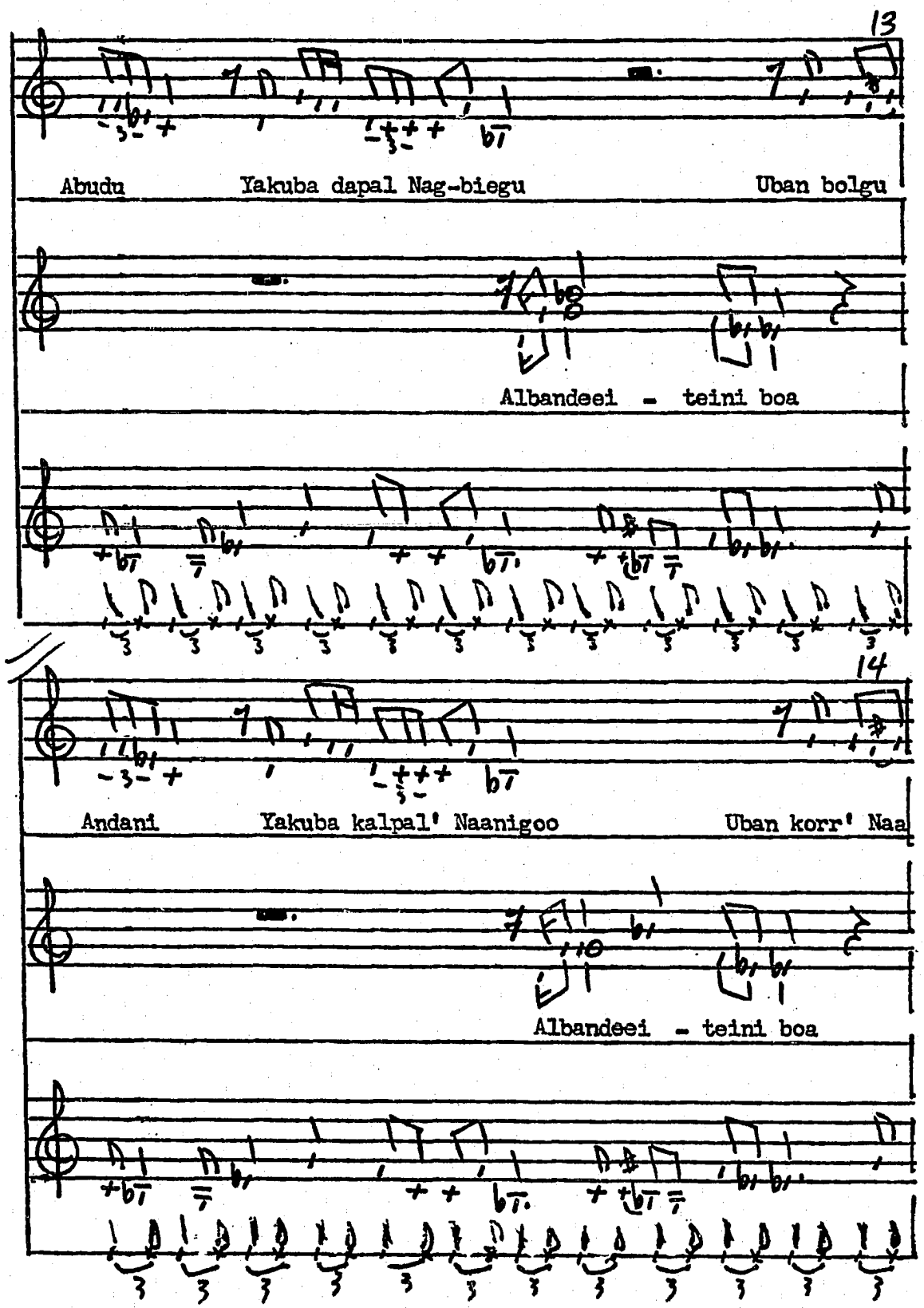
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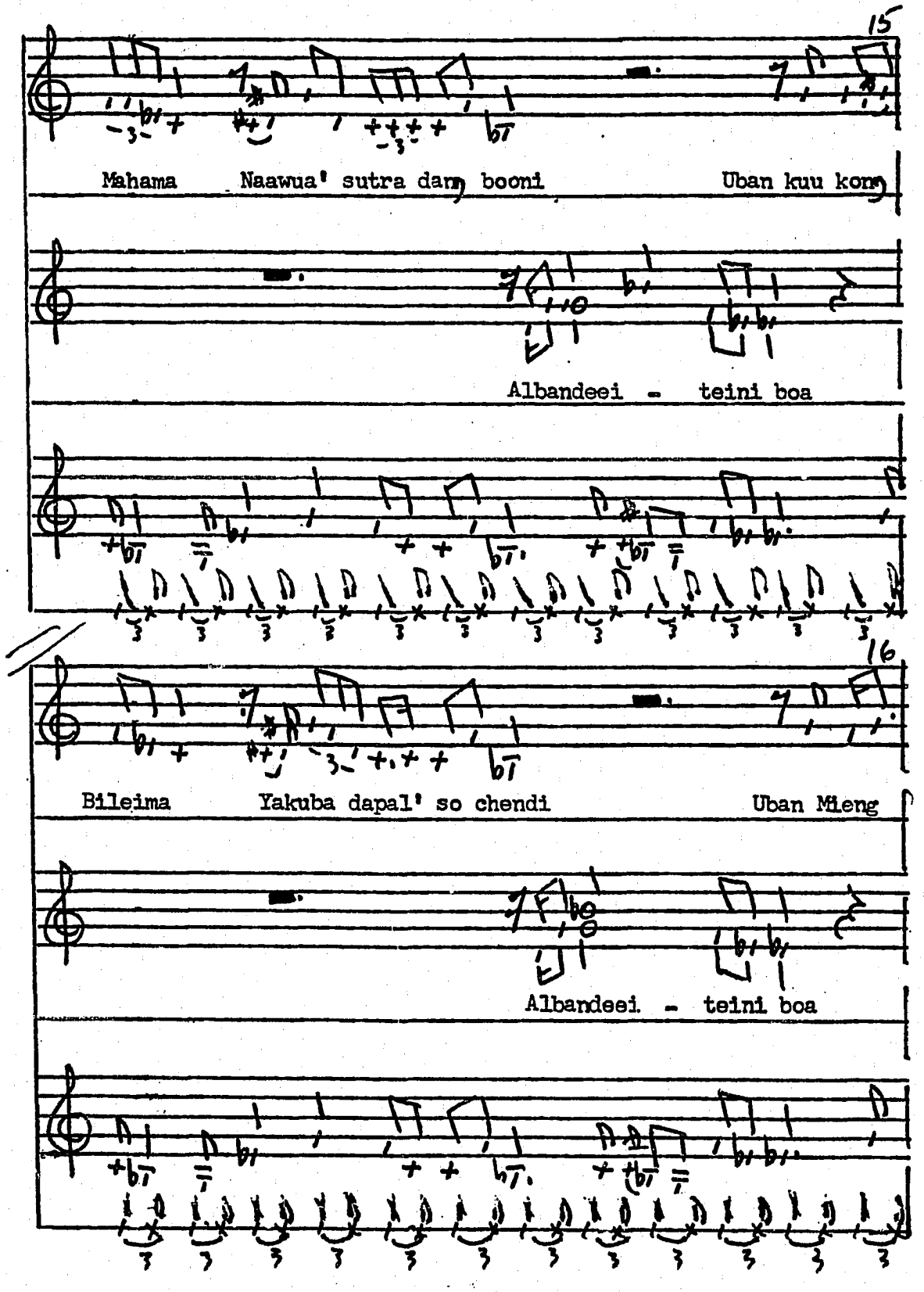
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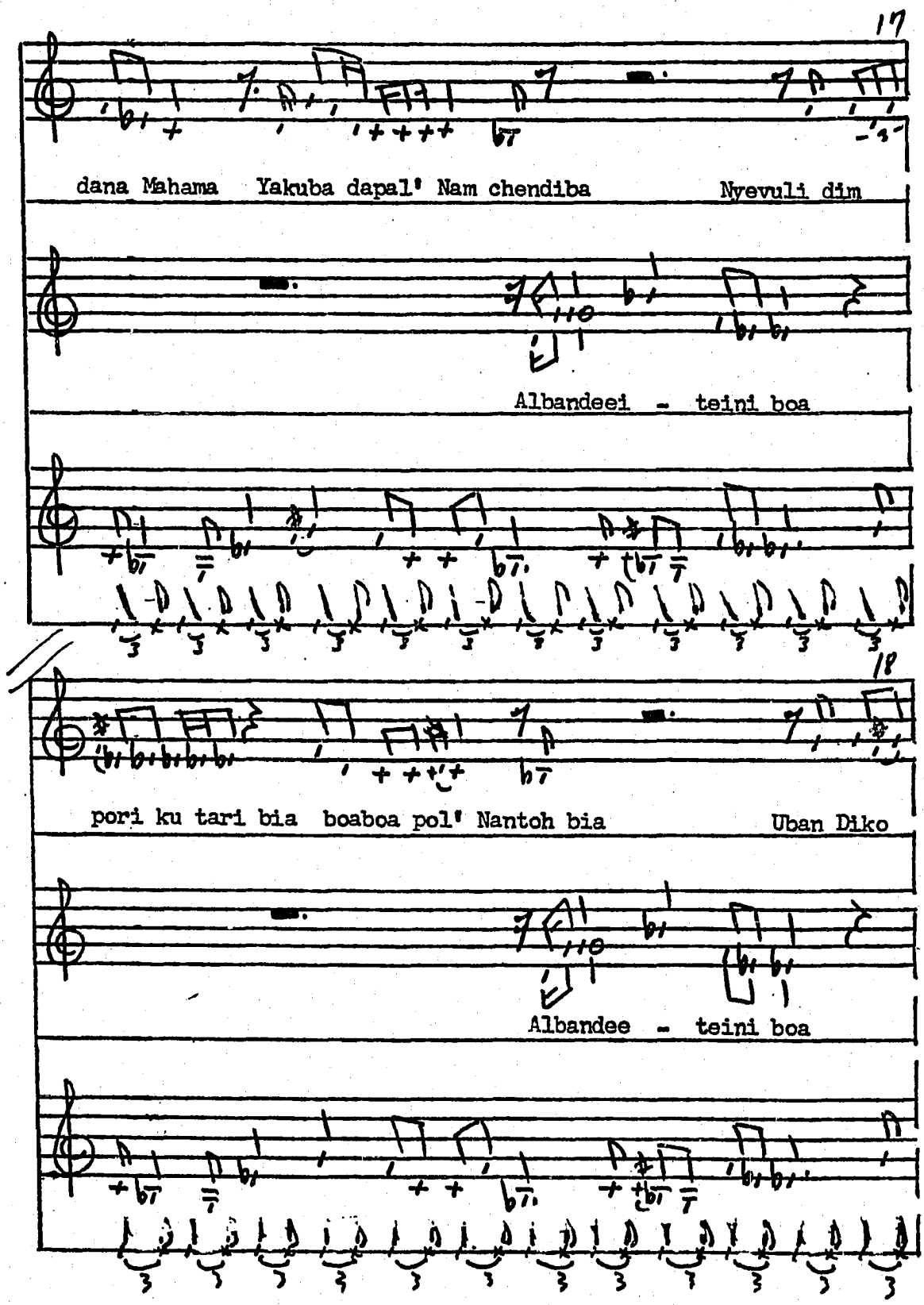
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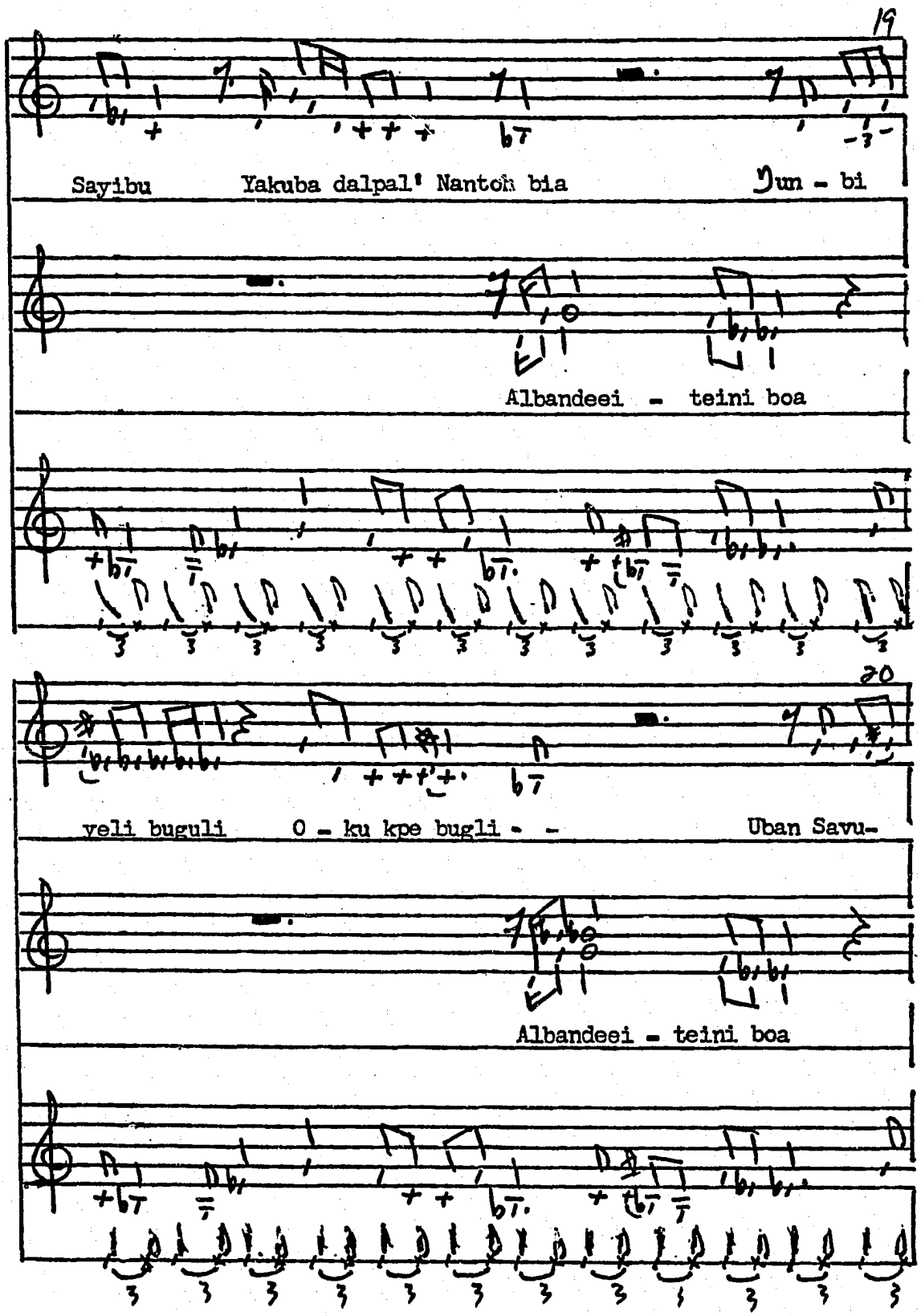
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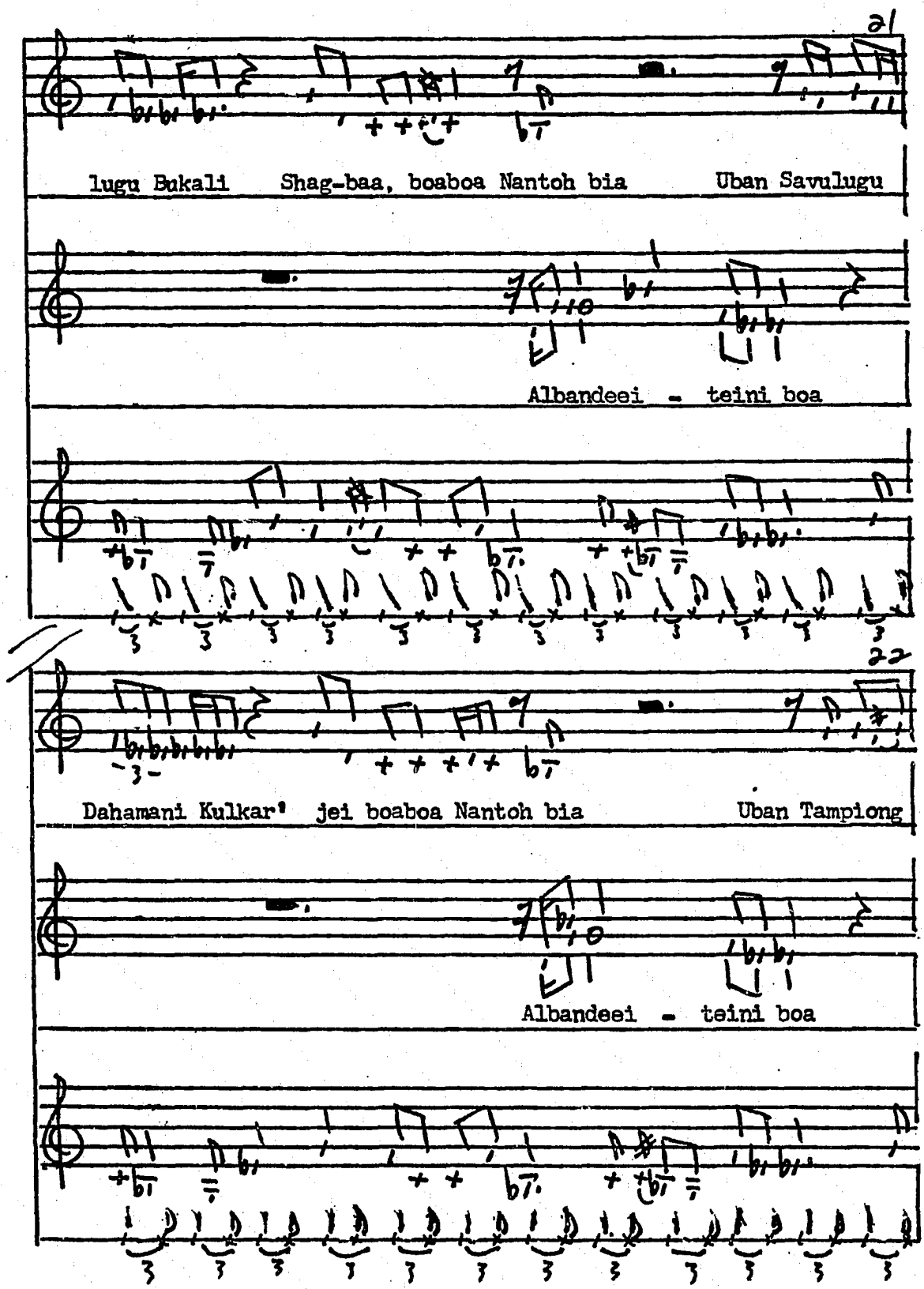
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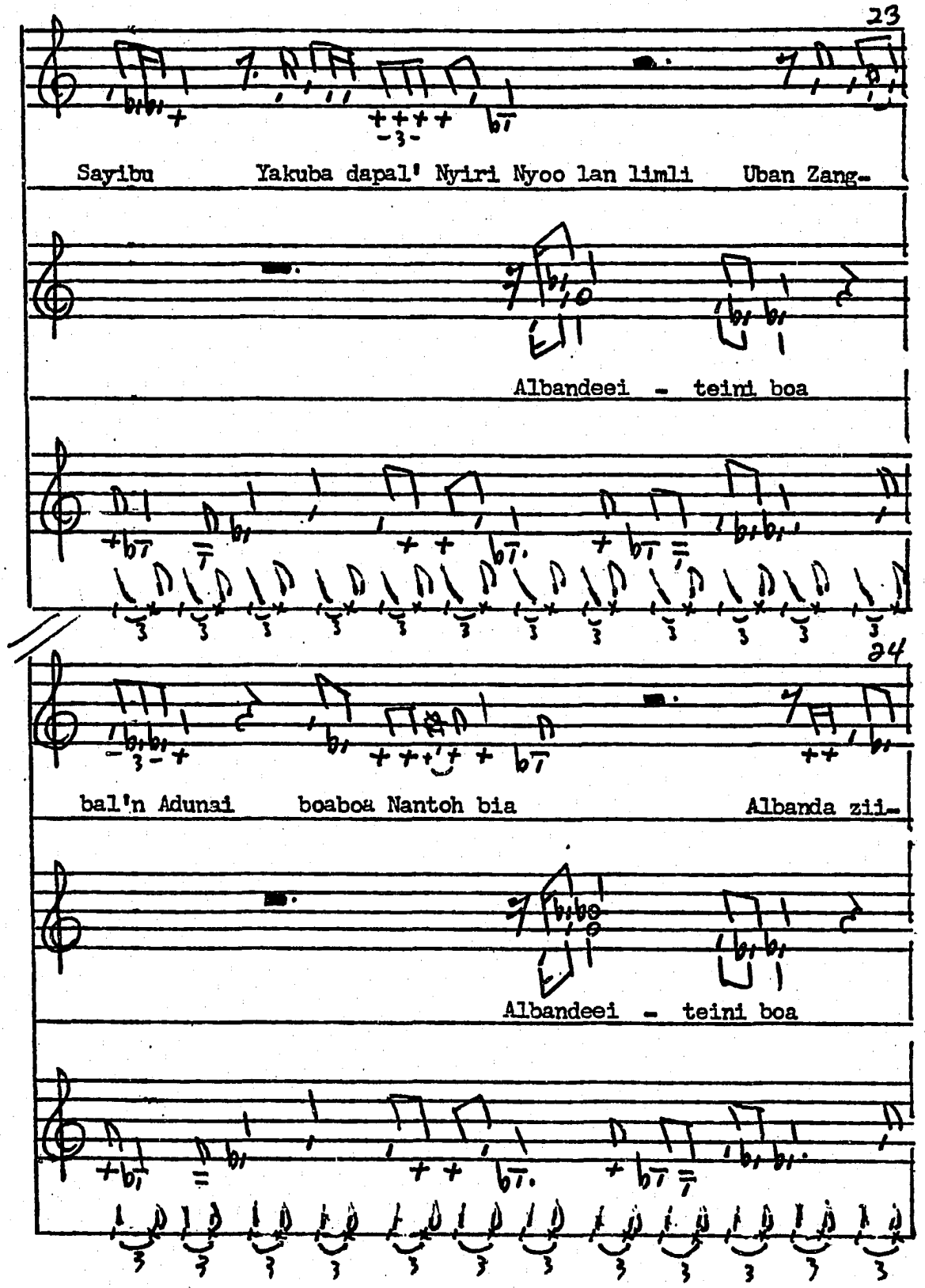
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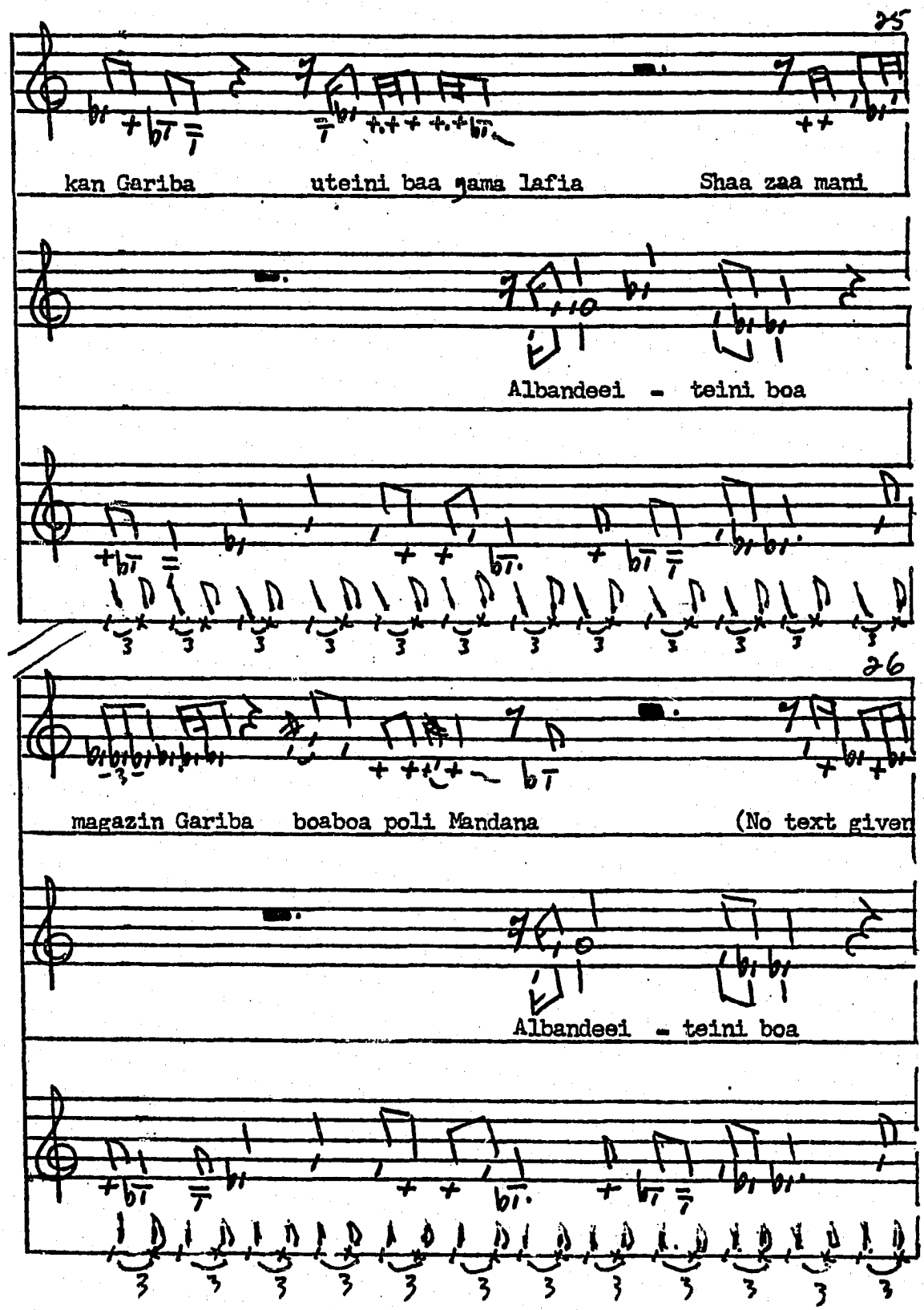
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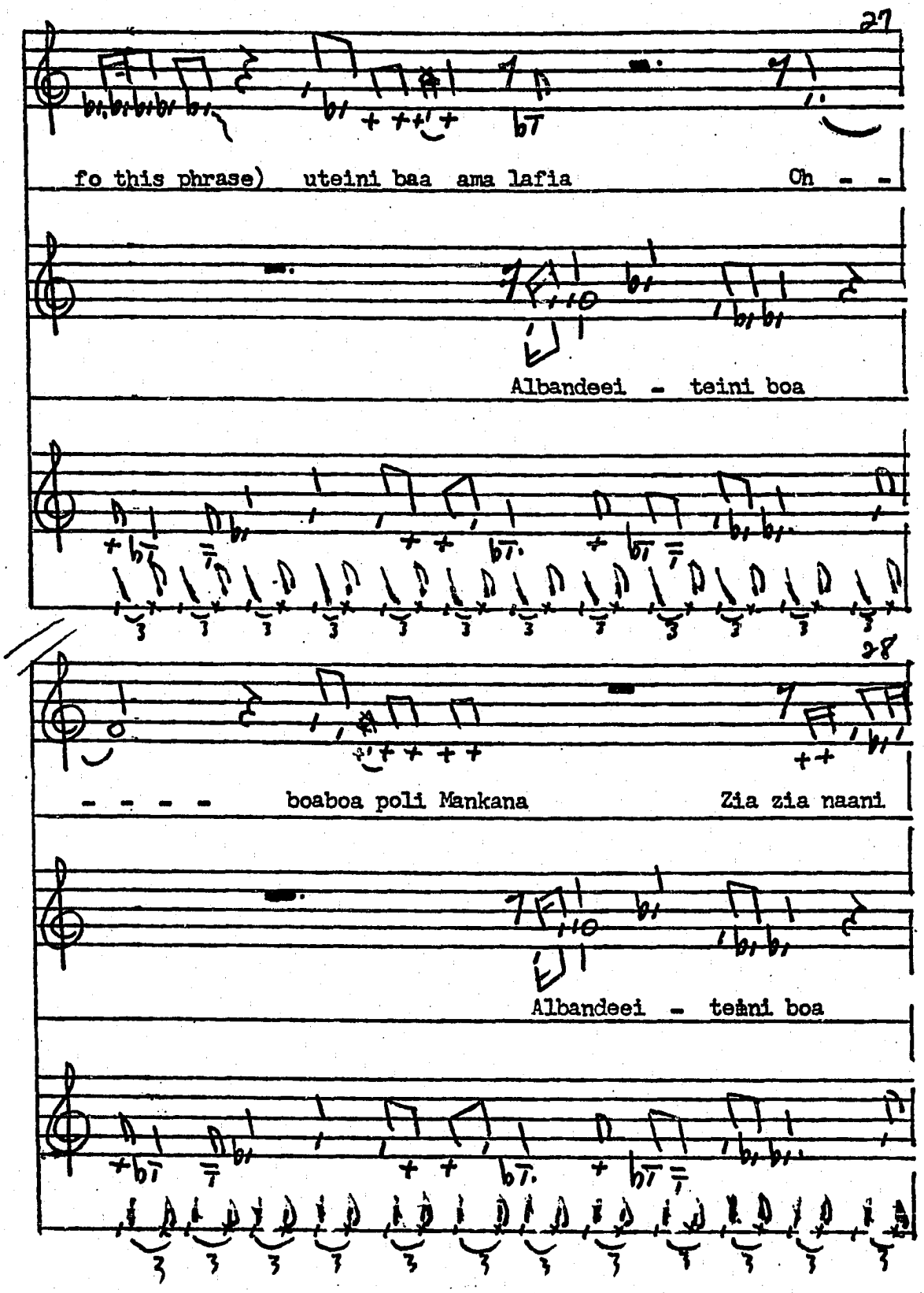
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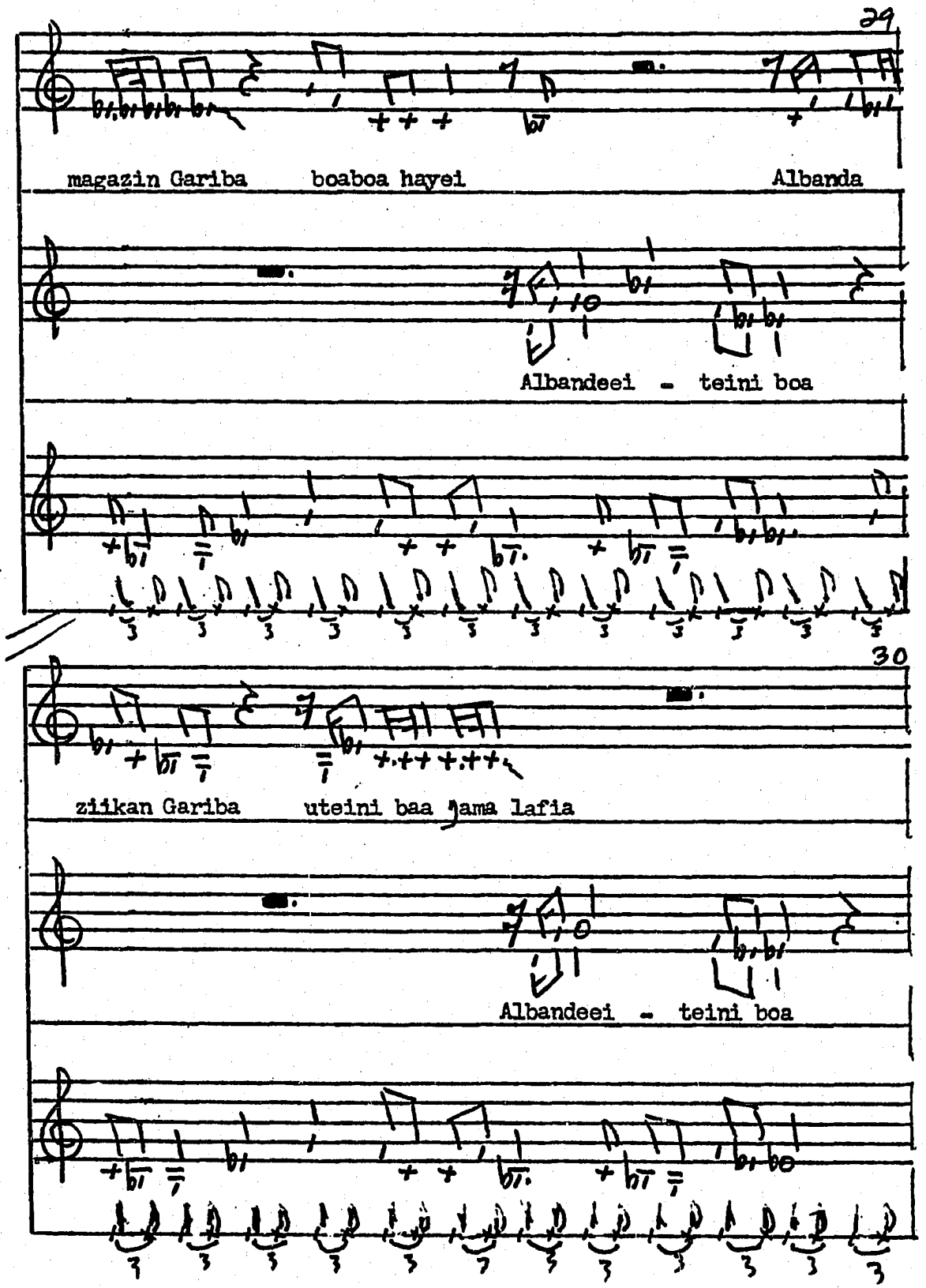
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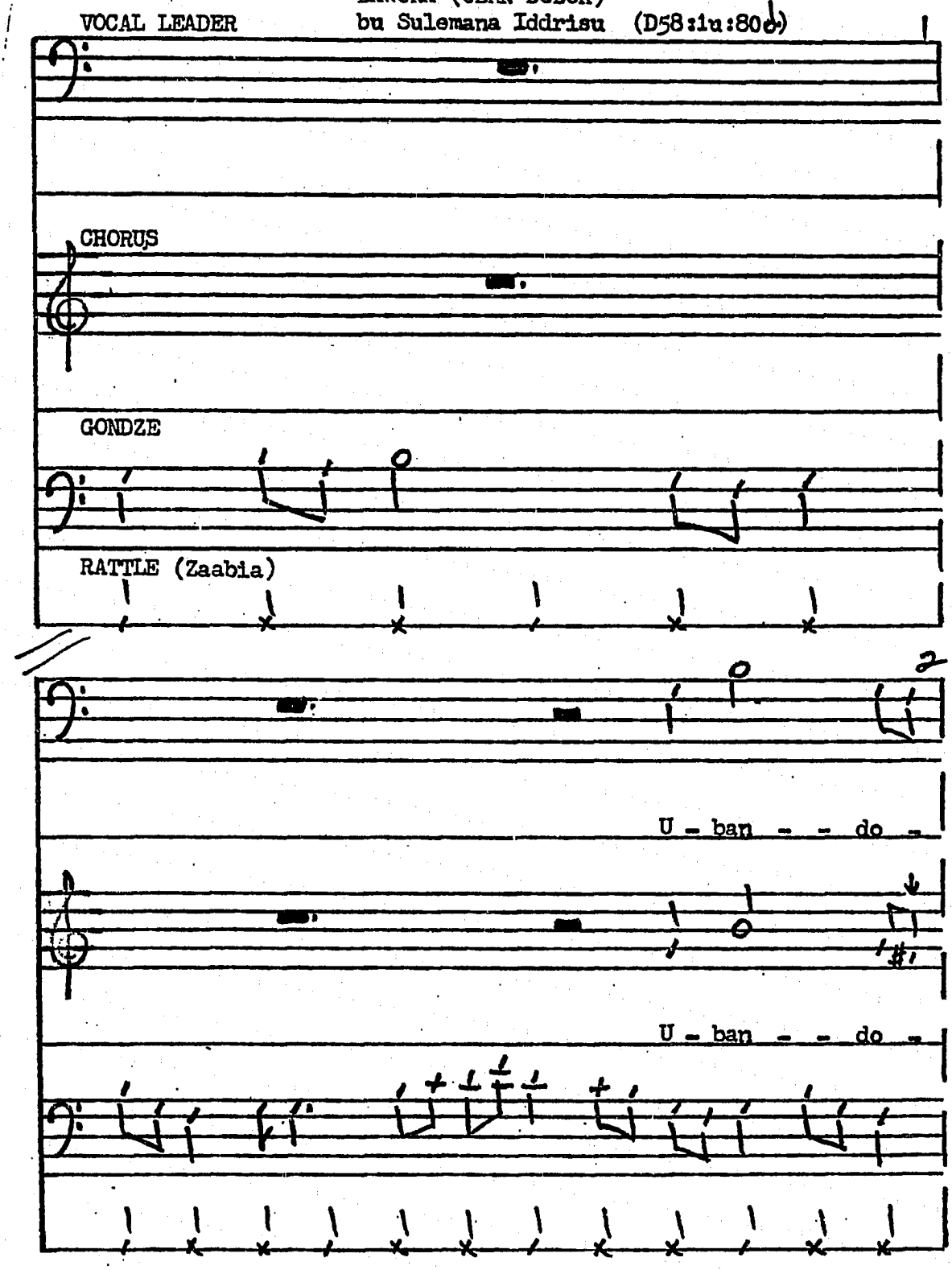
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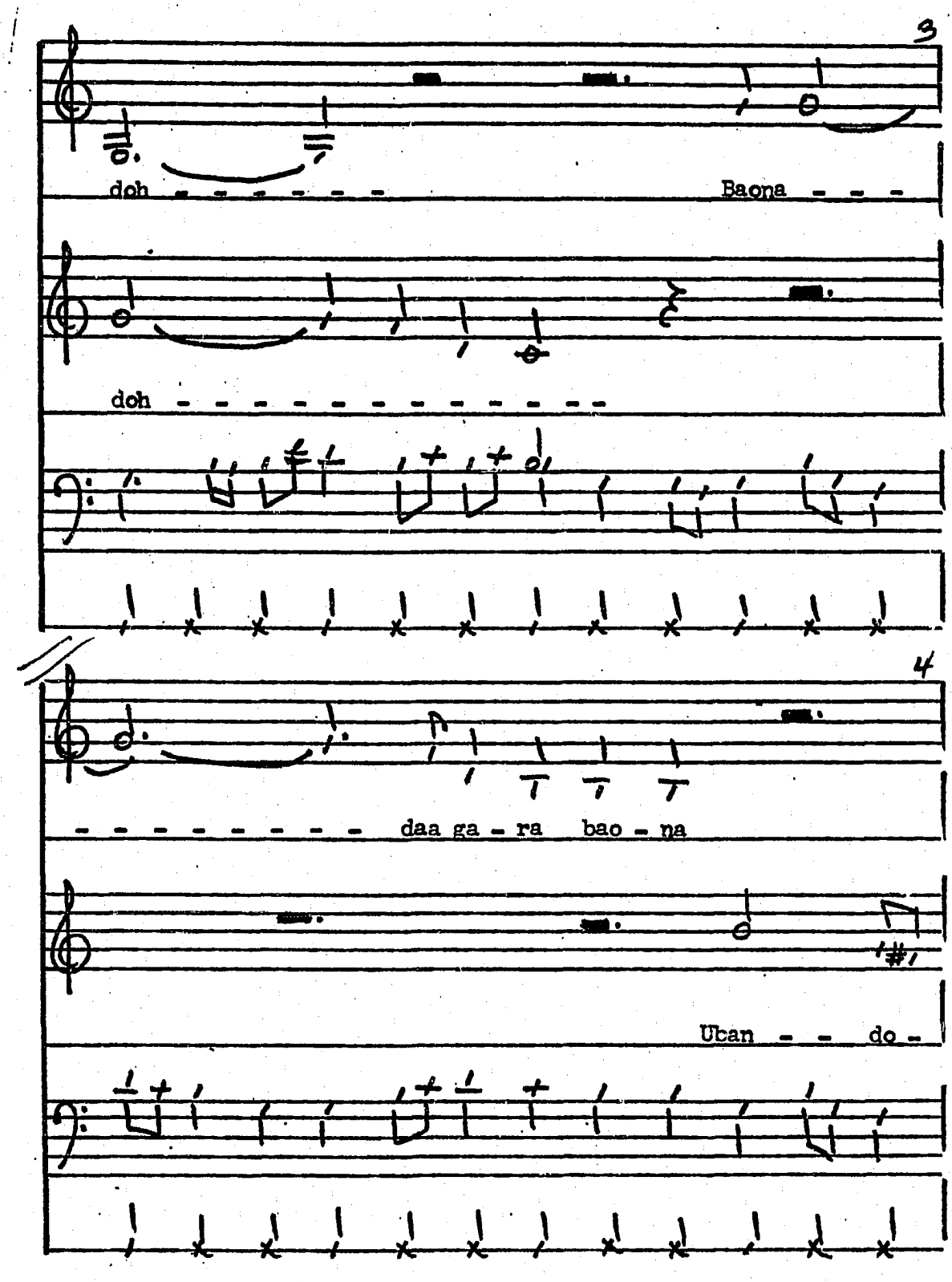
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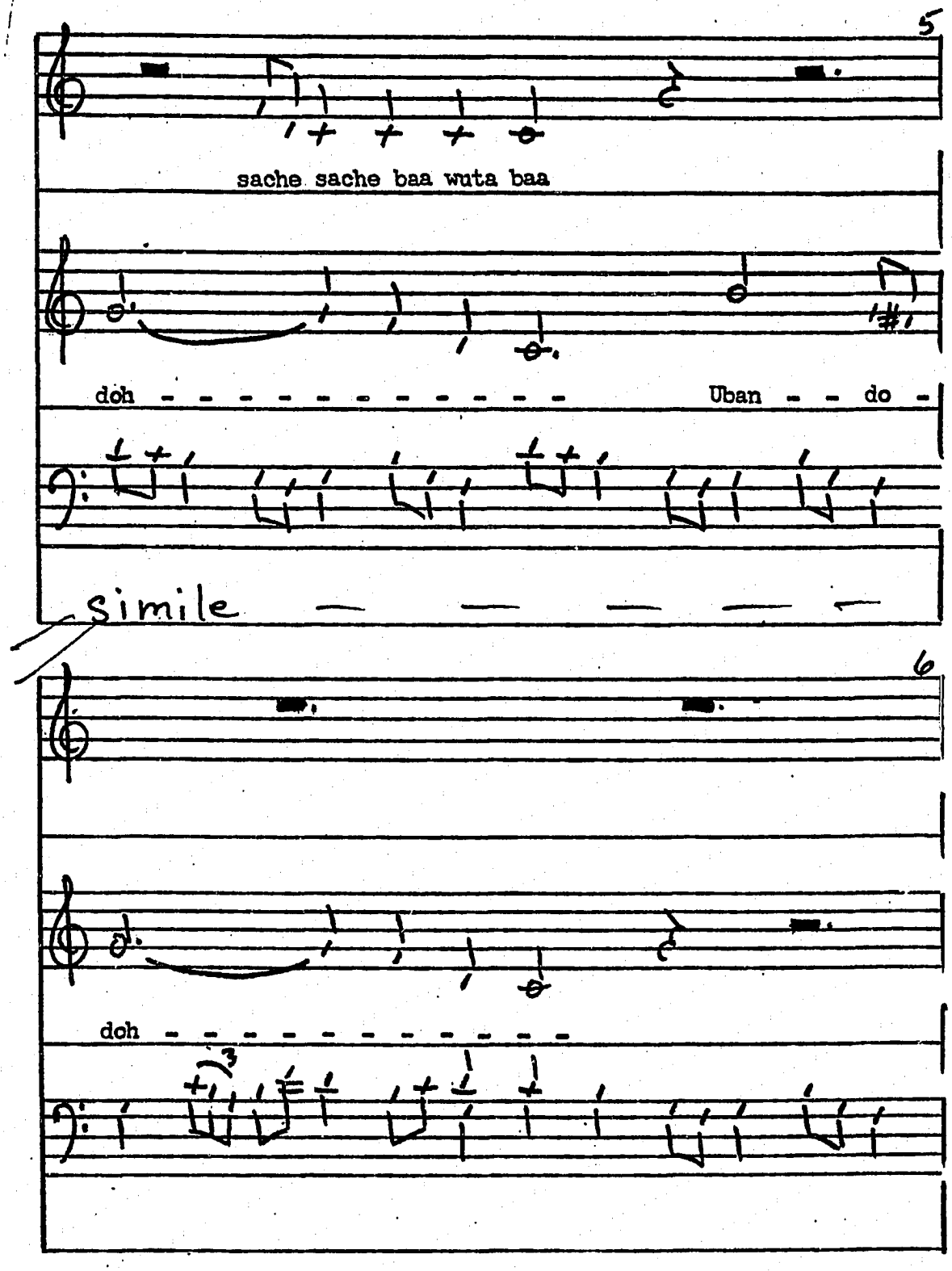
bu Sulemana Iddrisu (D58:iu:80)



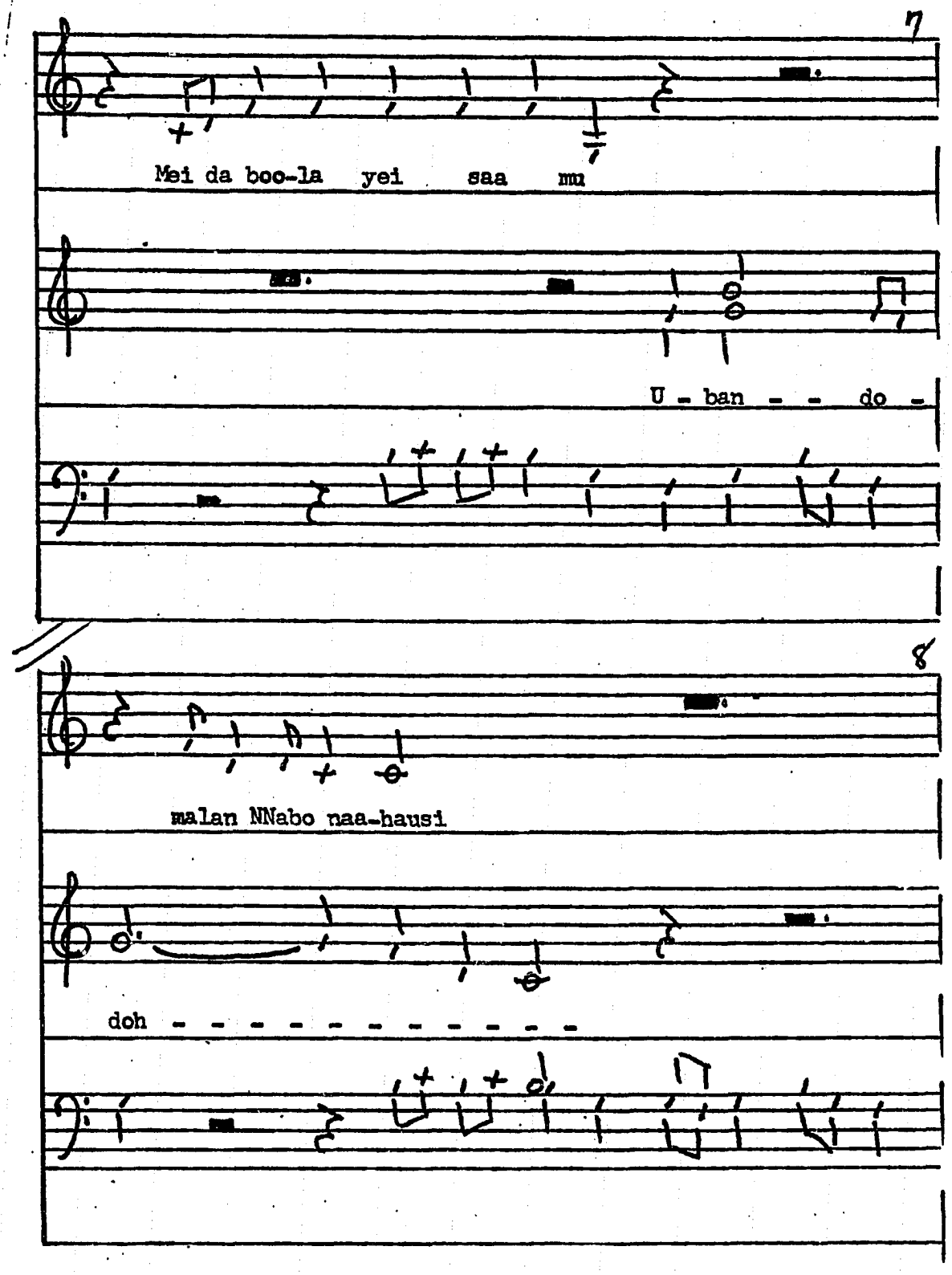
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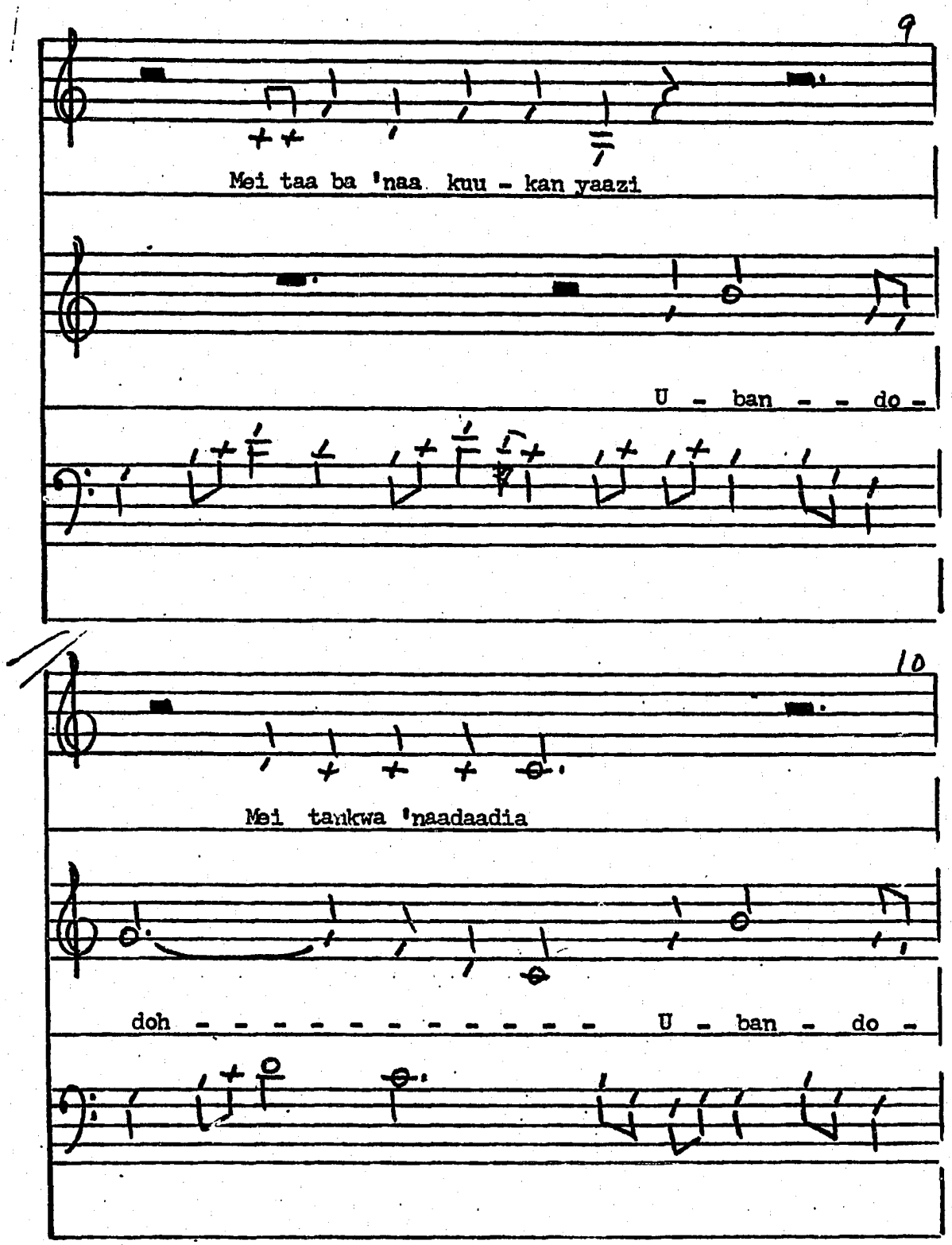
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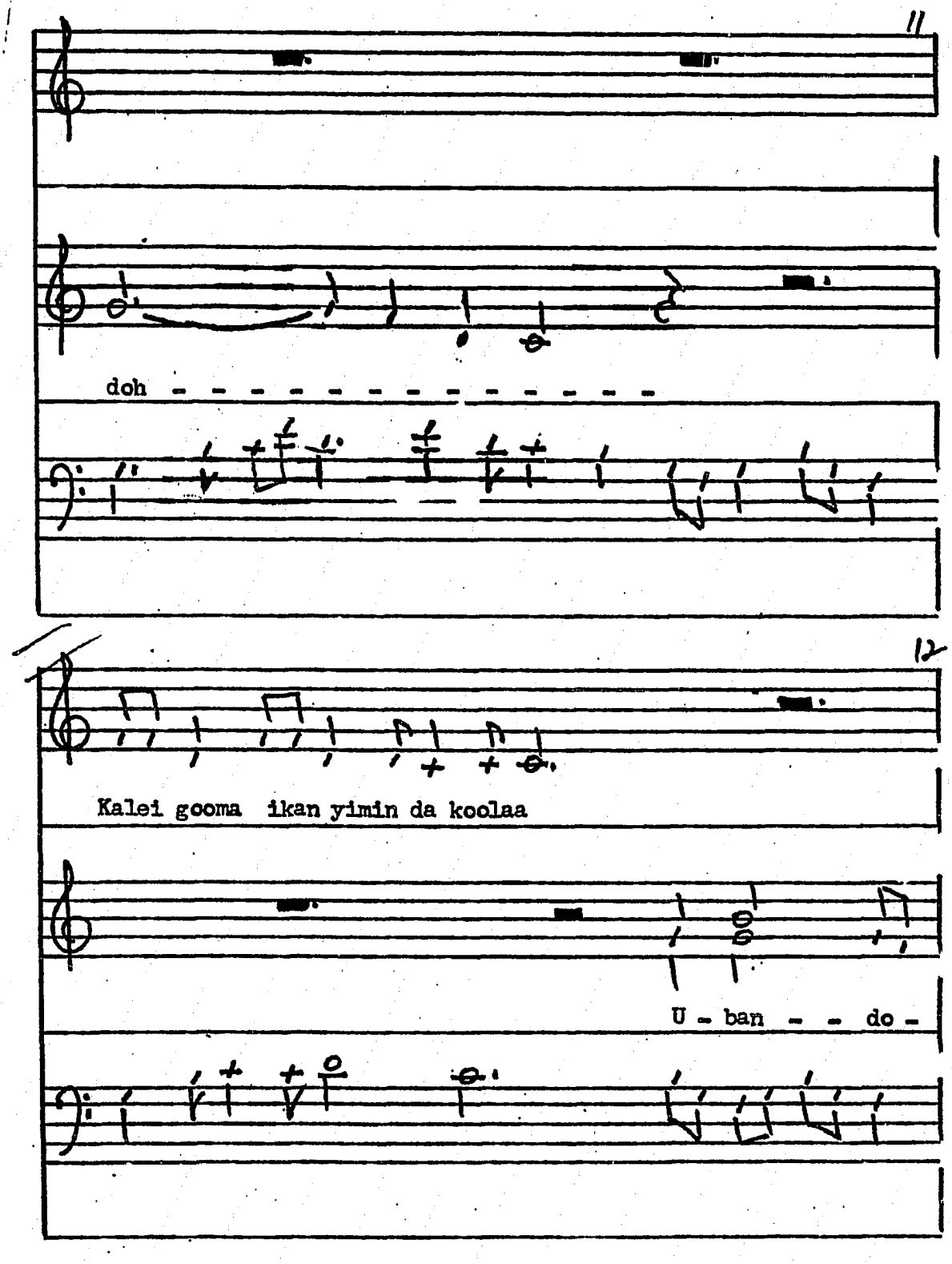
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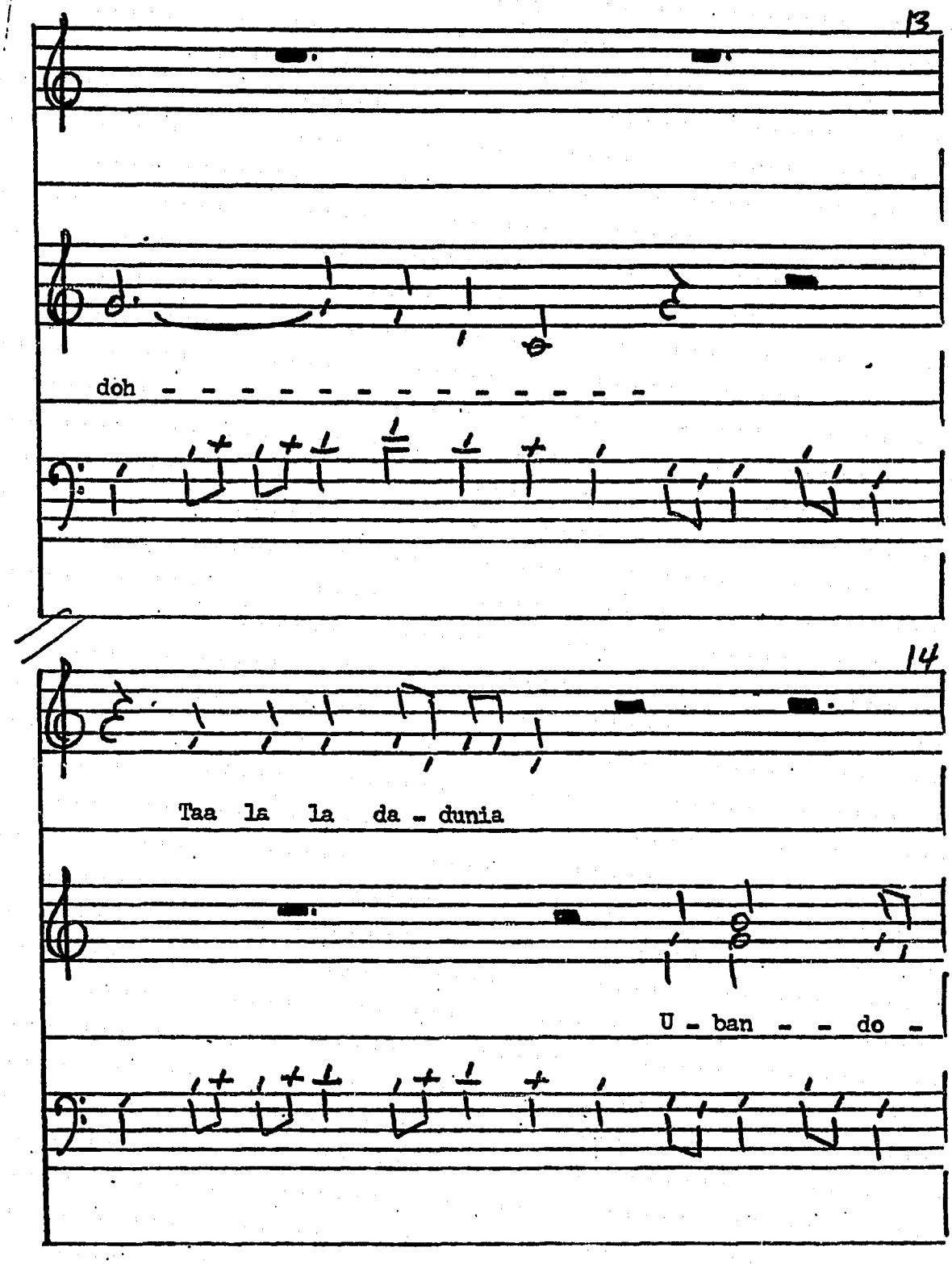
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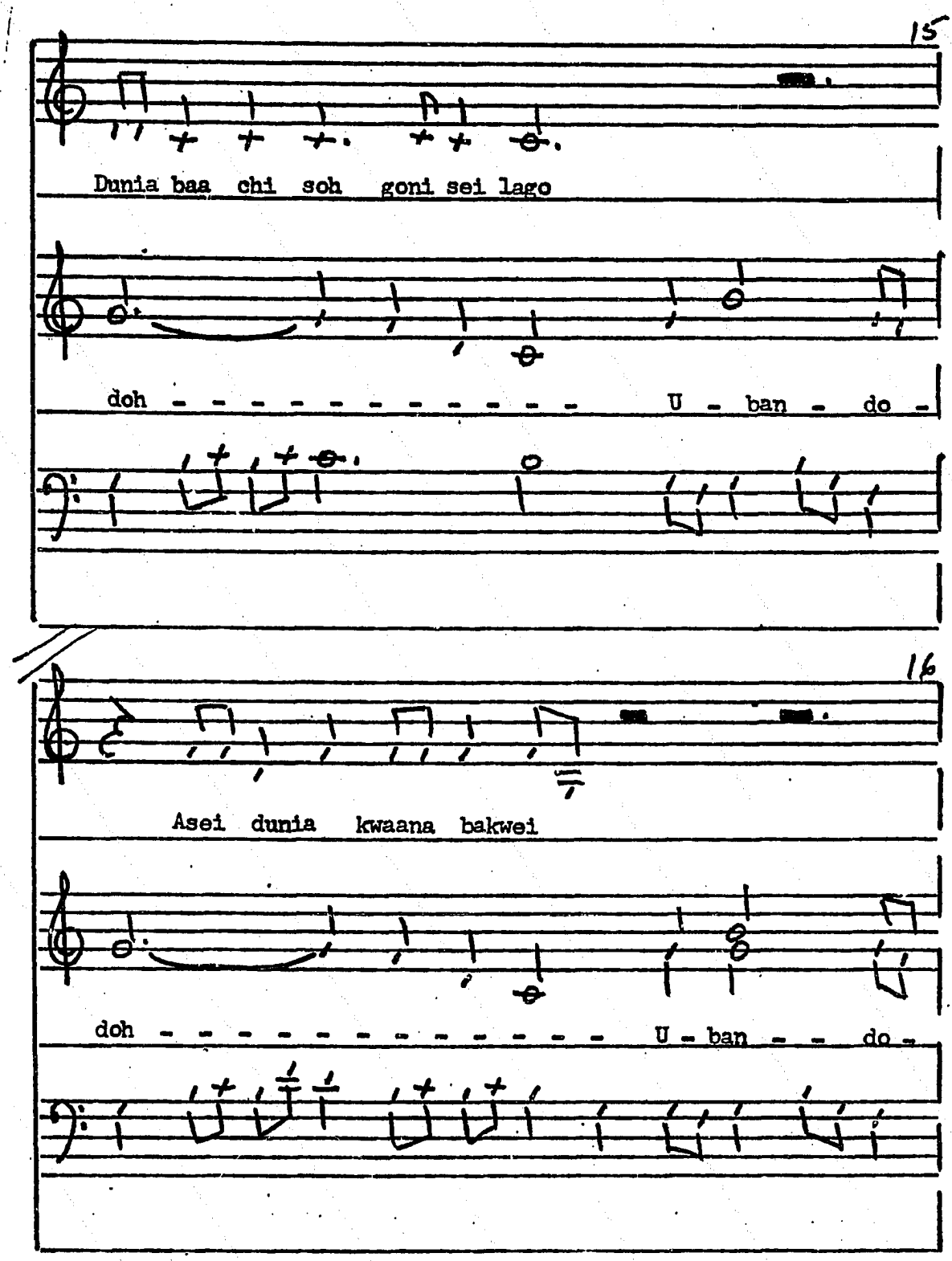
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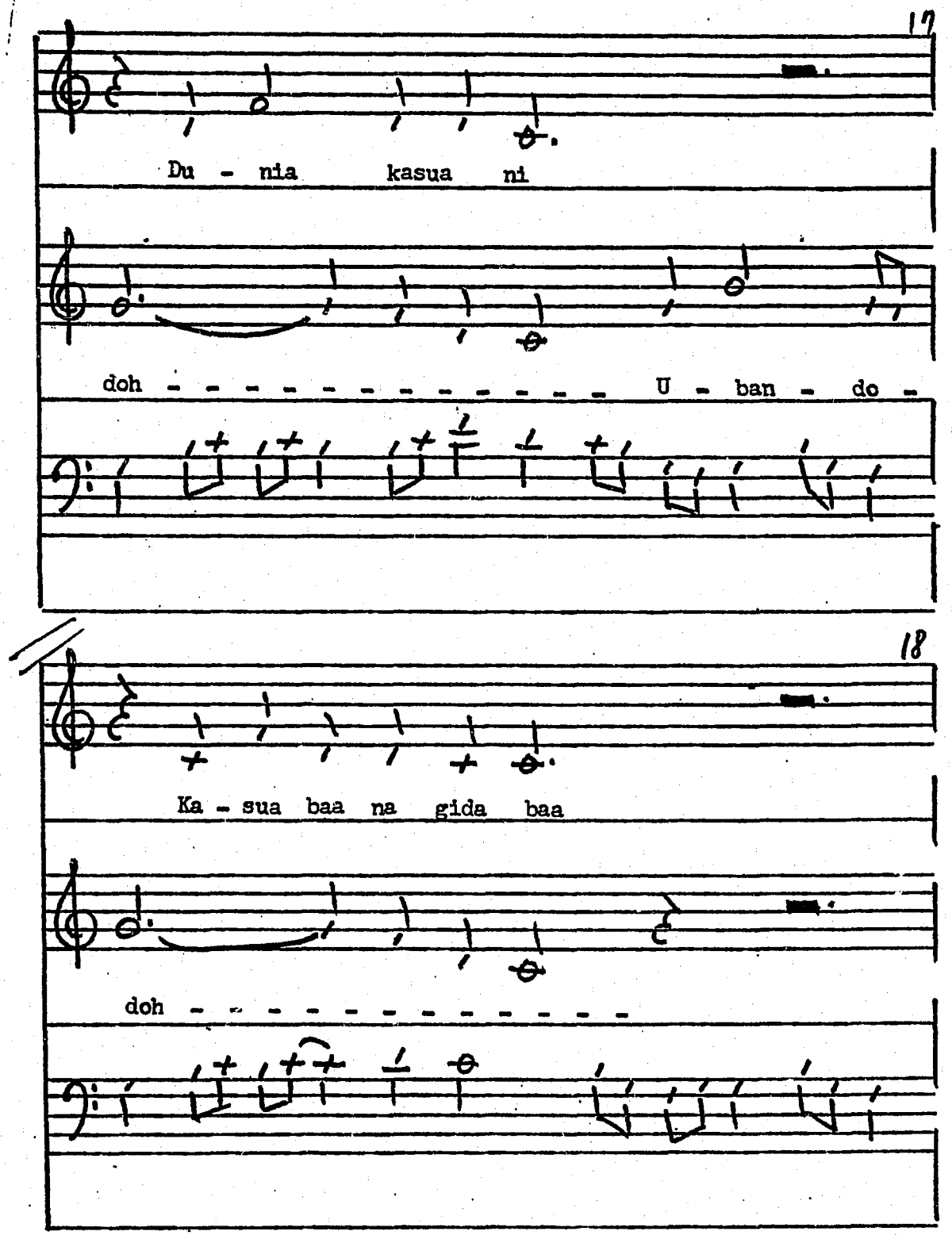
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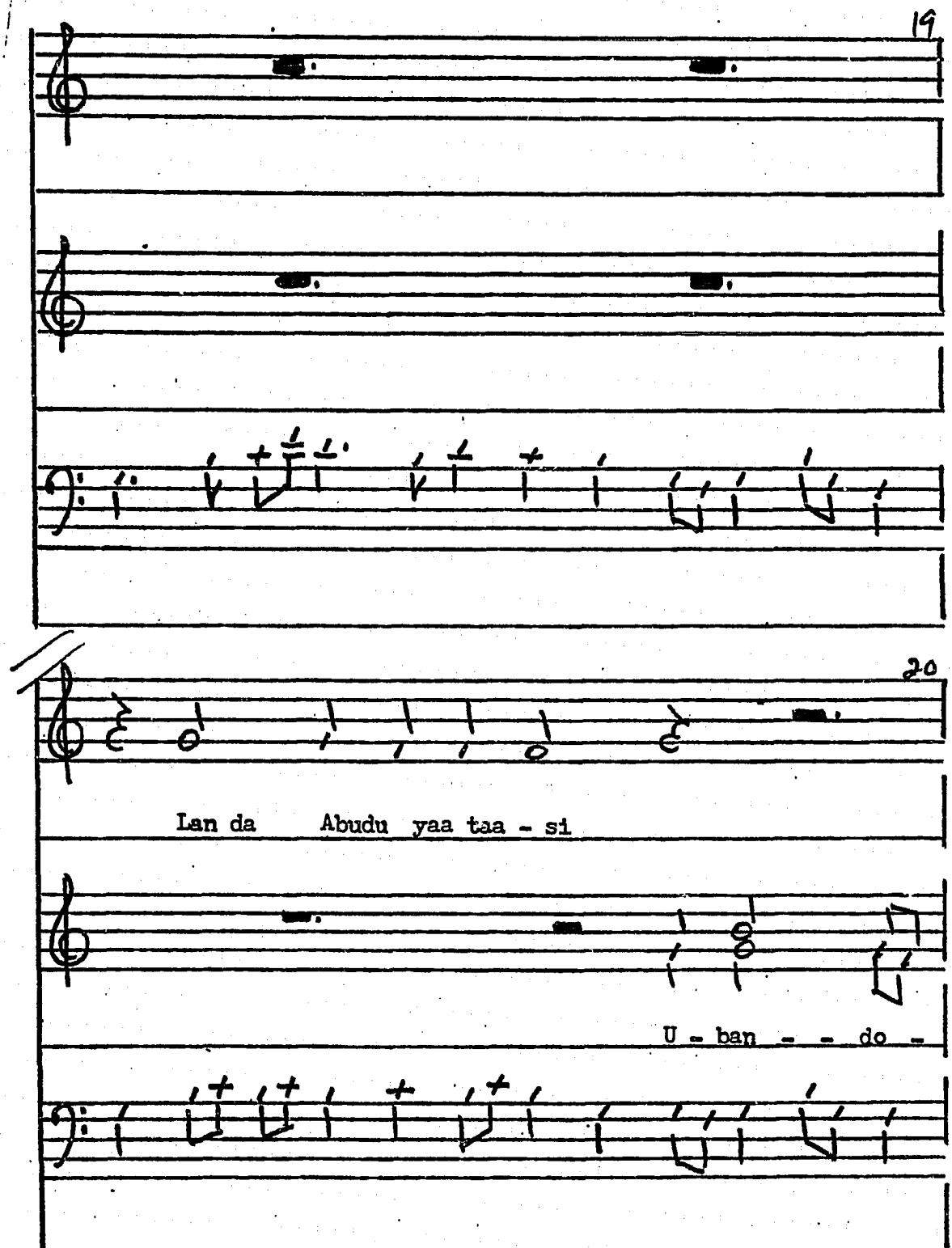
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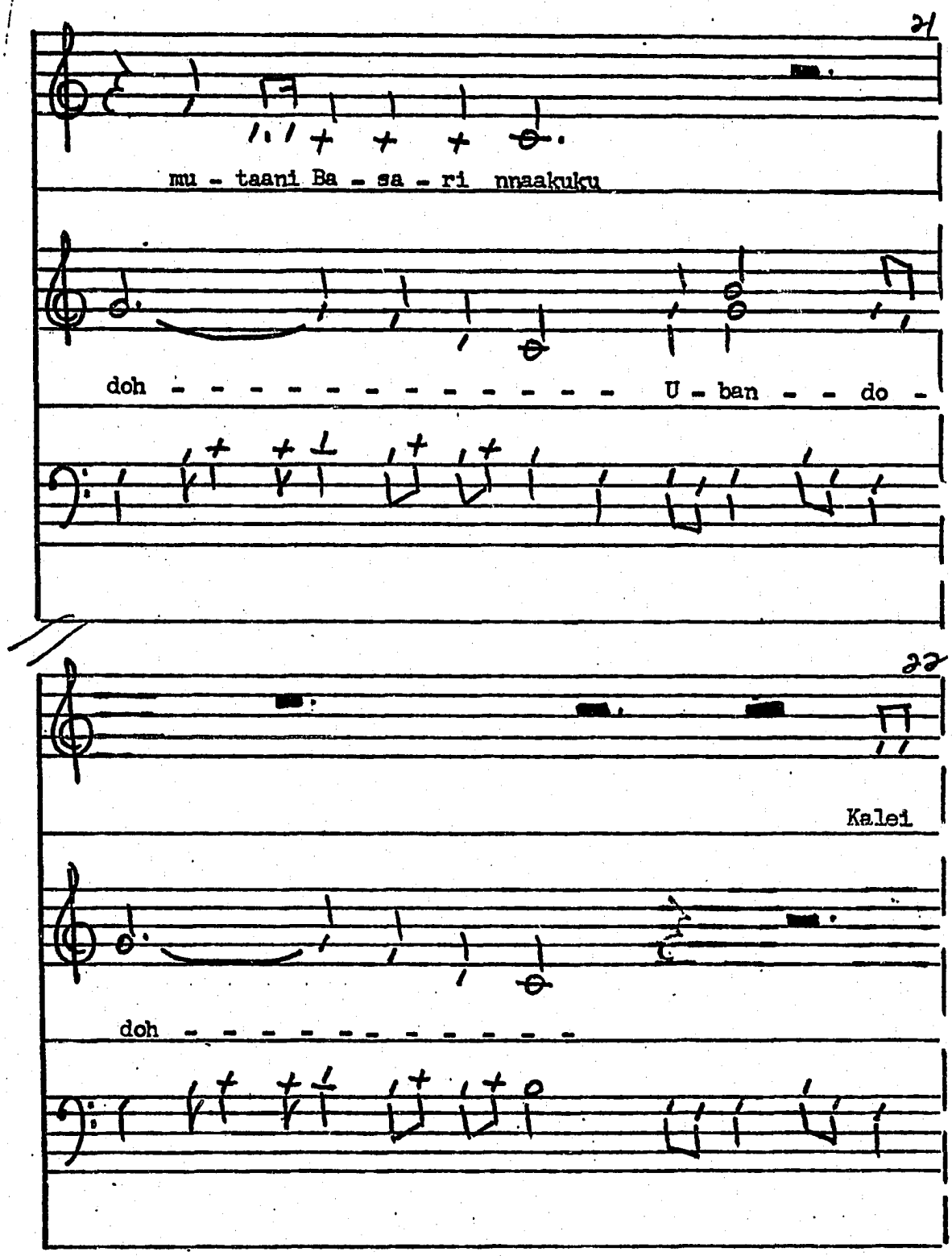
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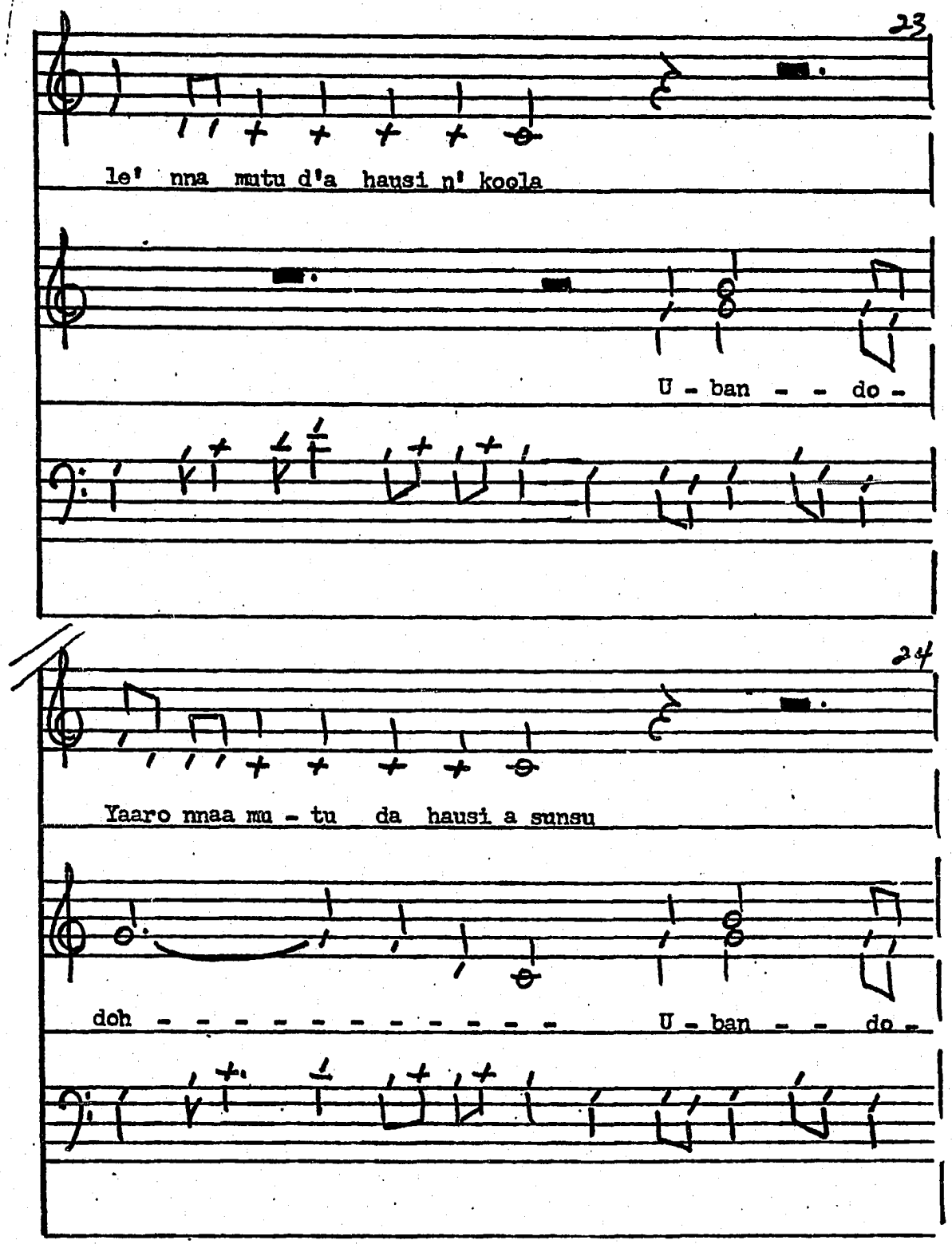
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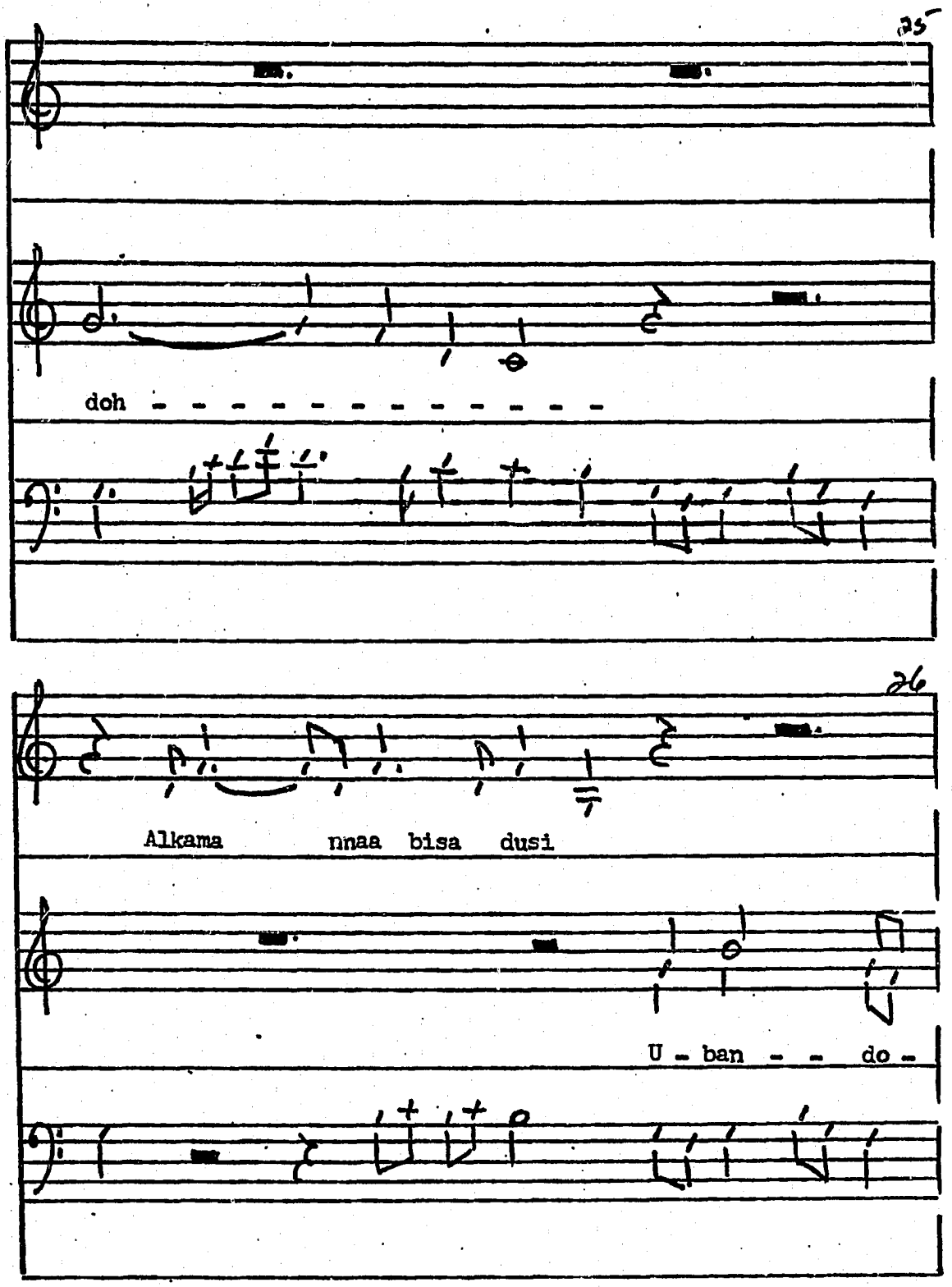
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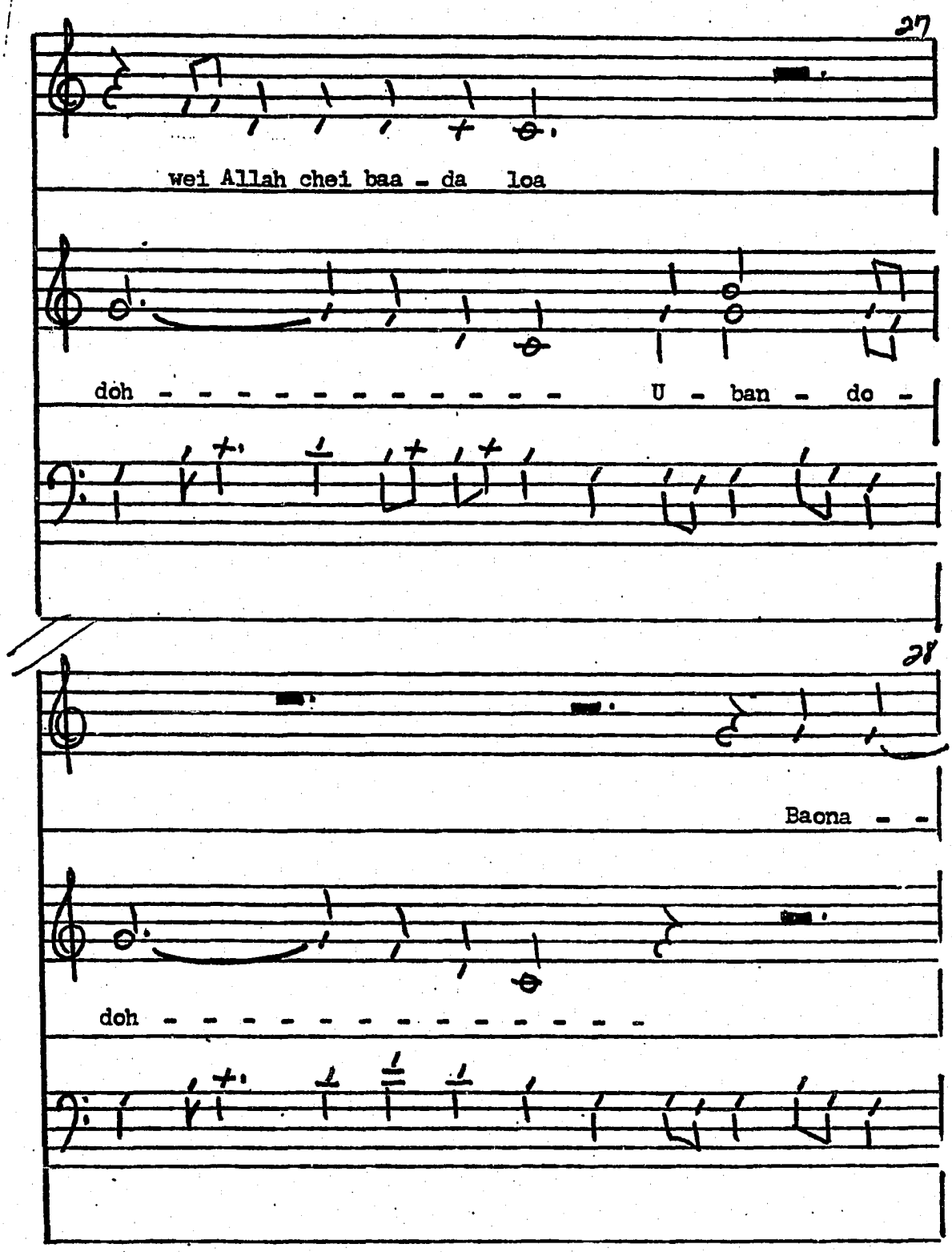
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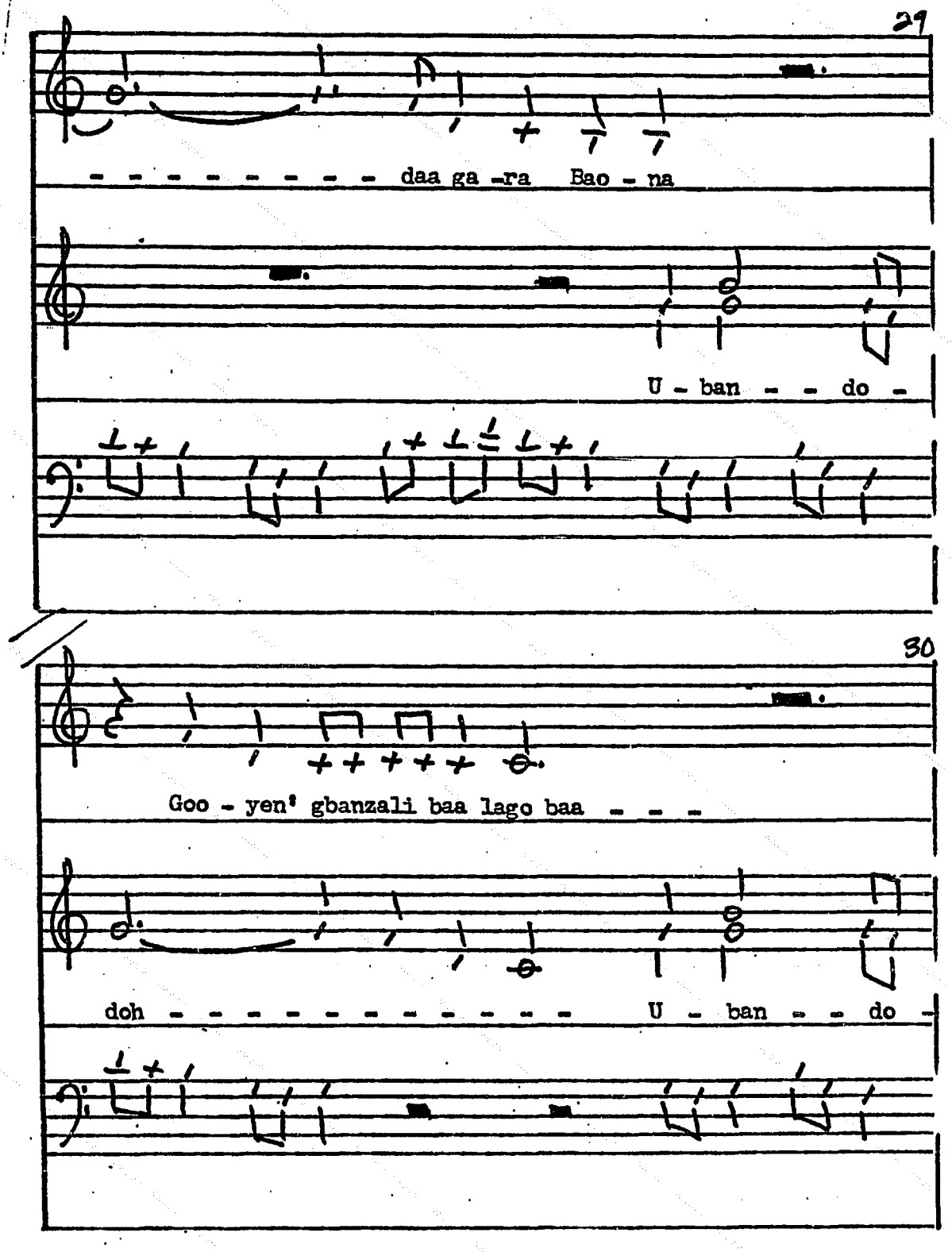
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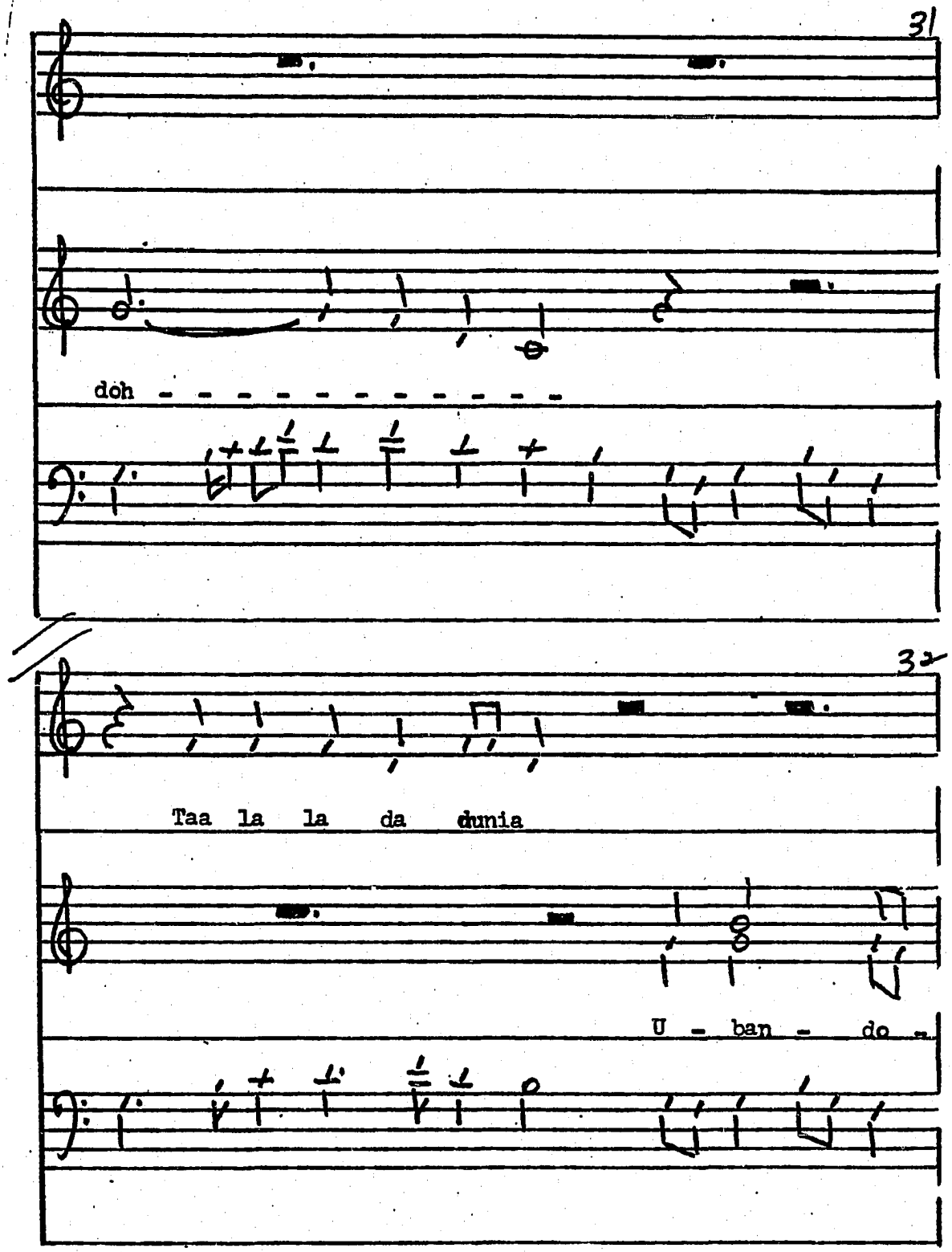
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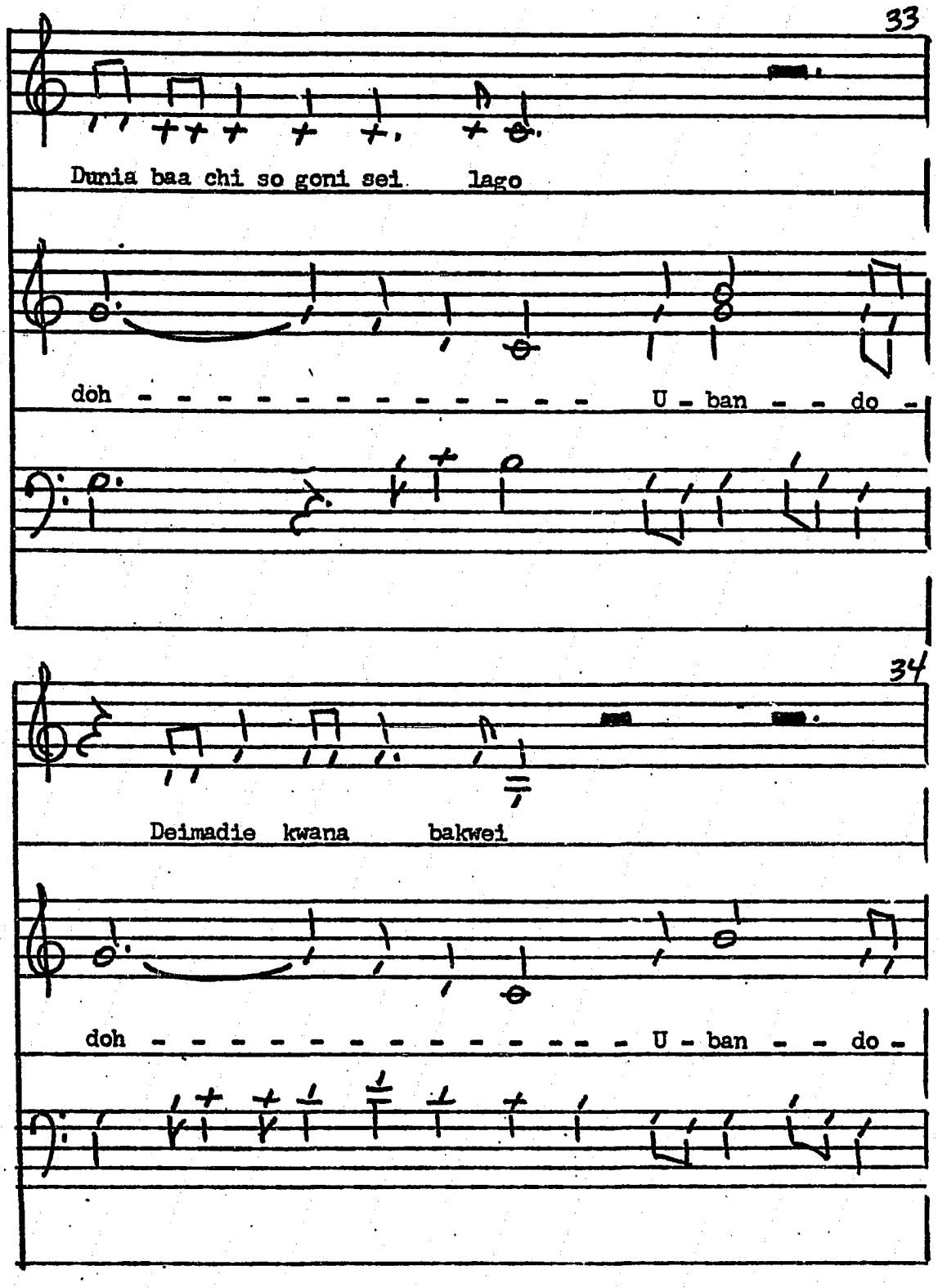
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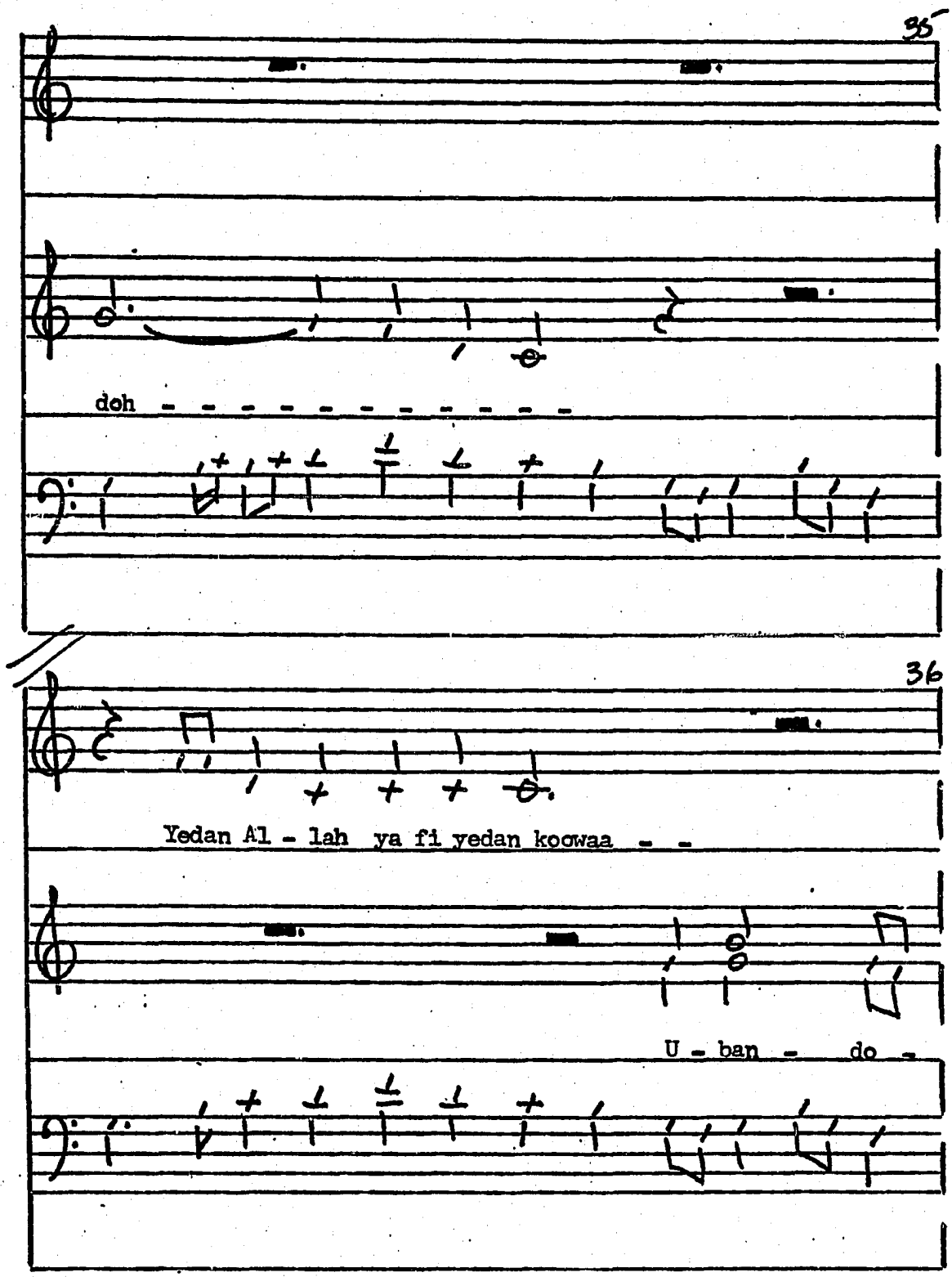
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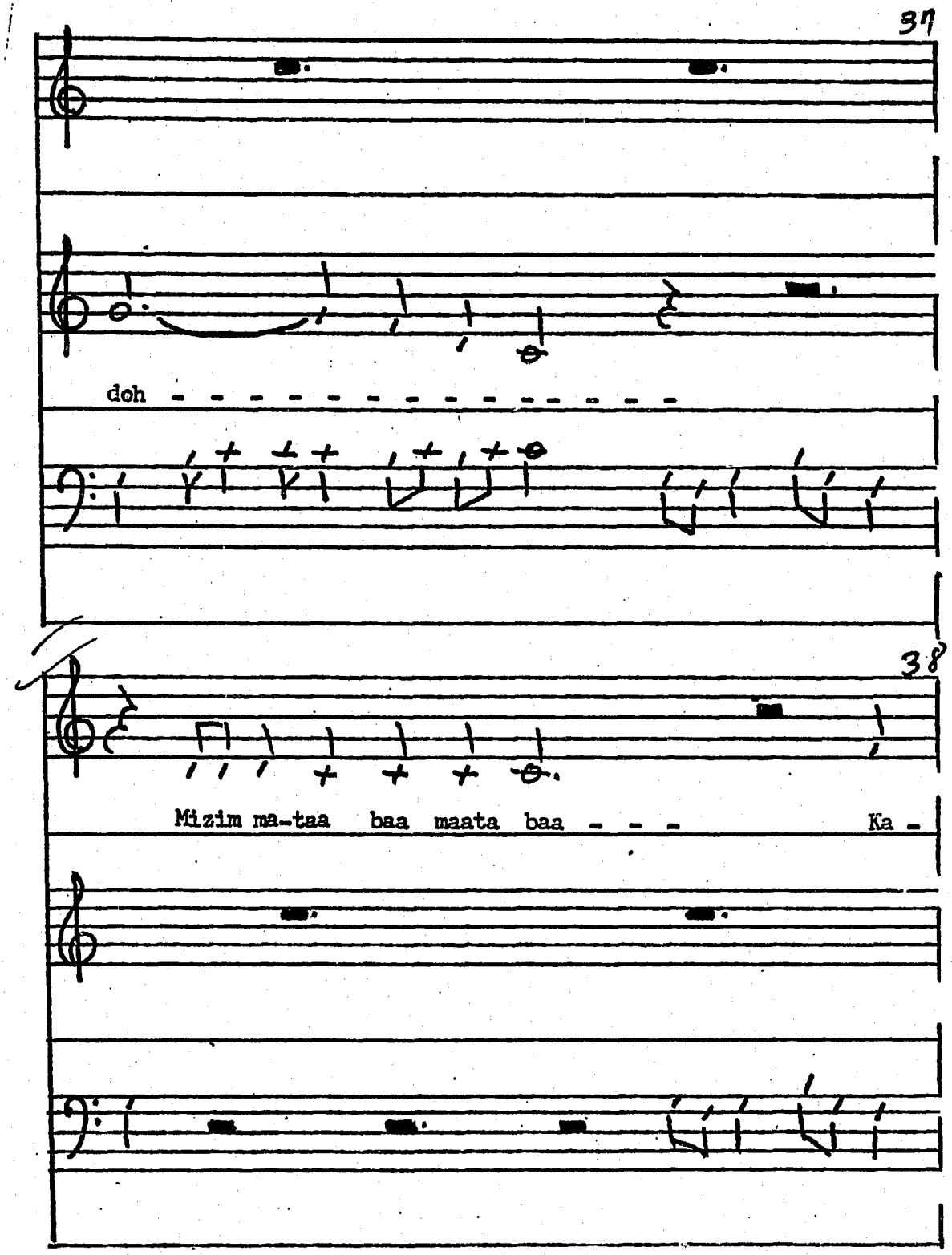
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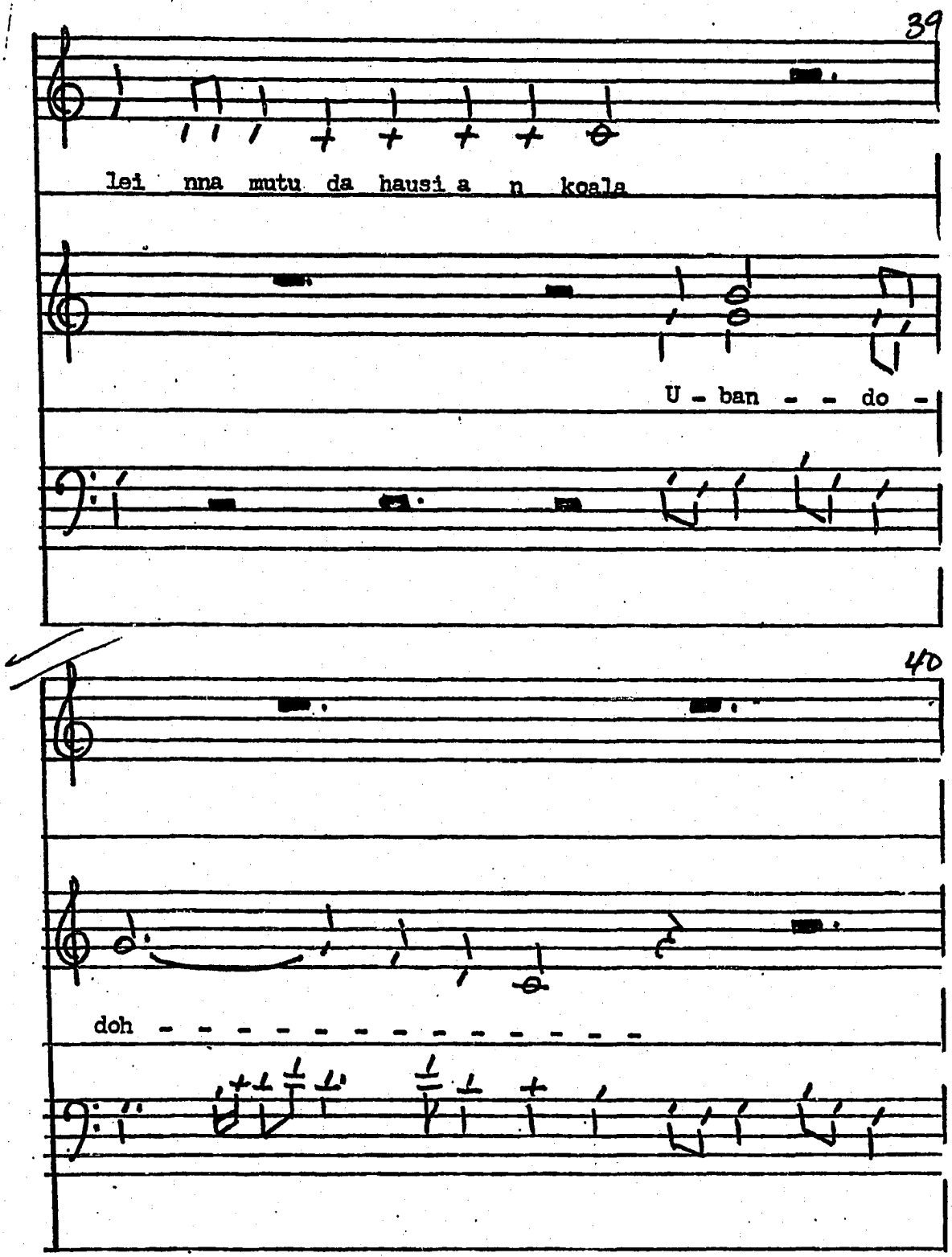
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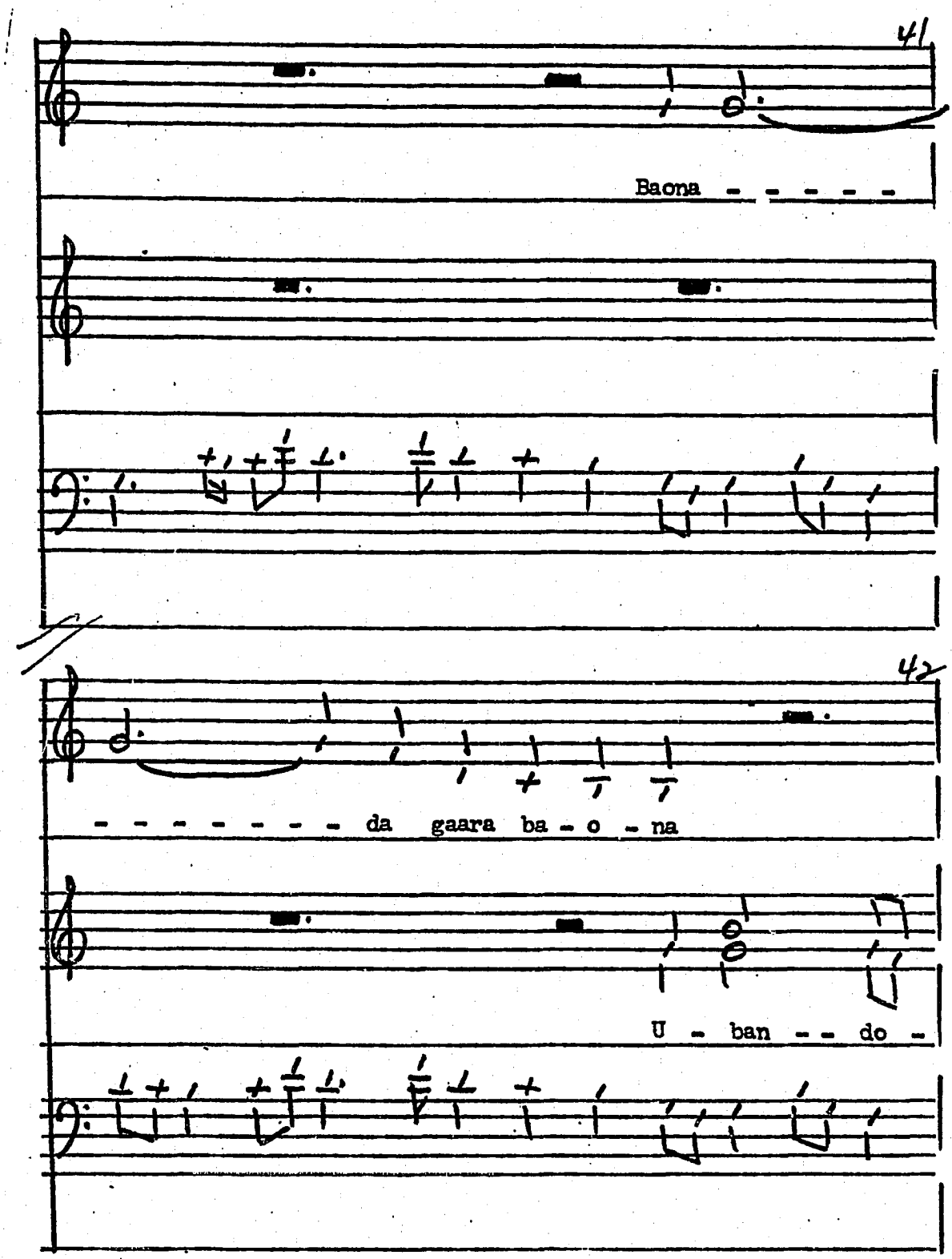
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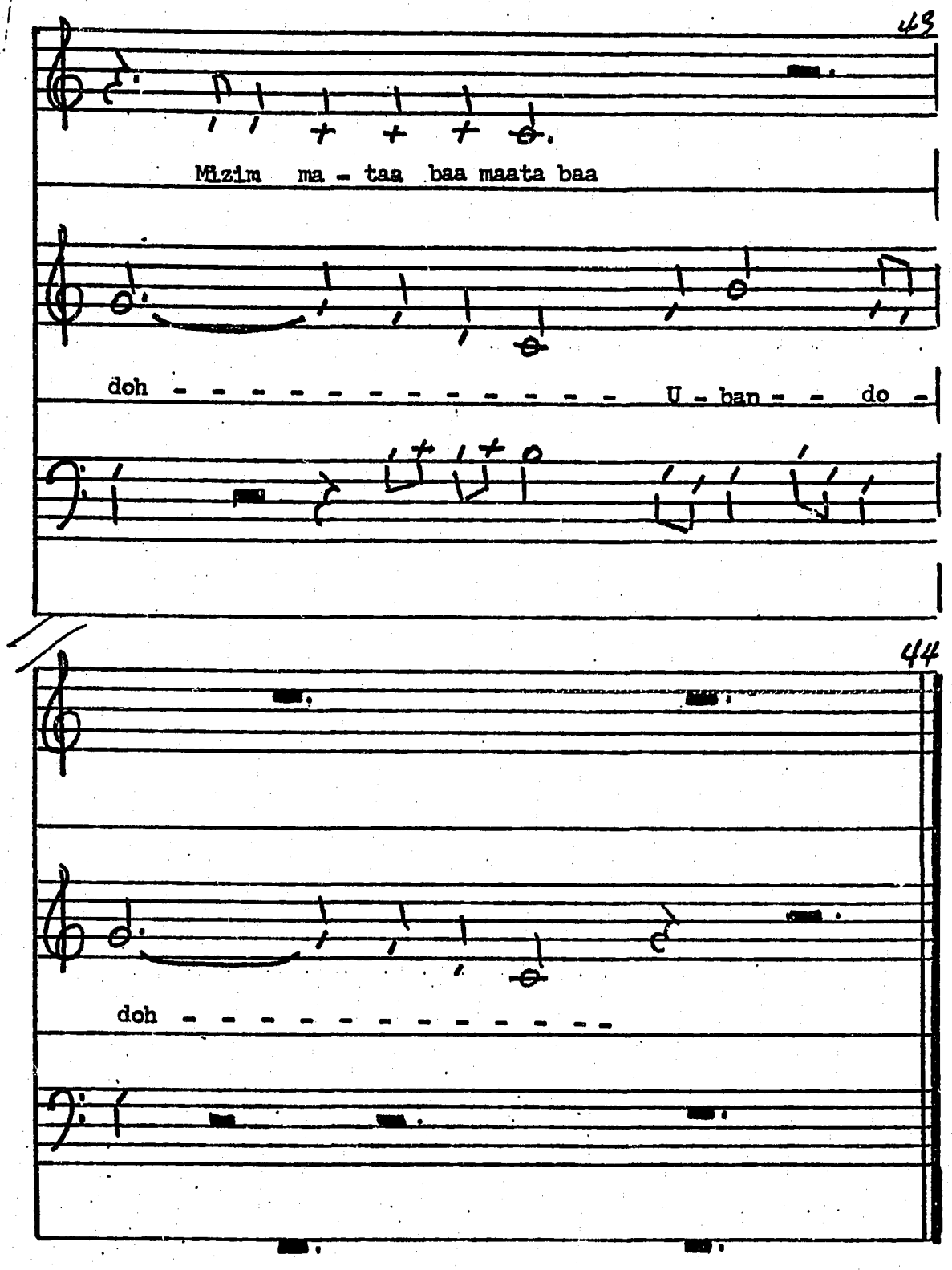
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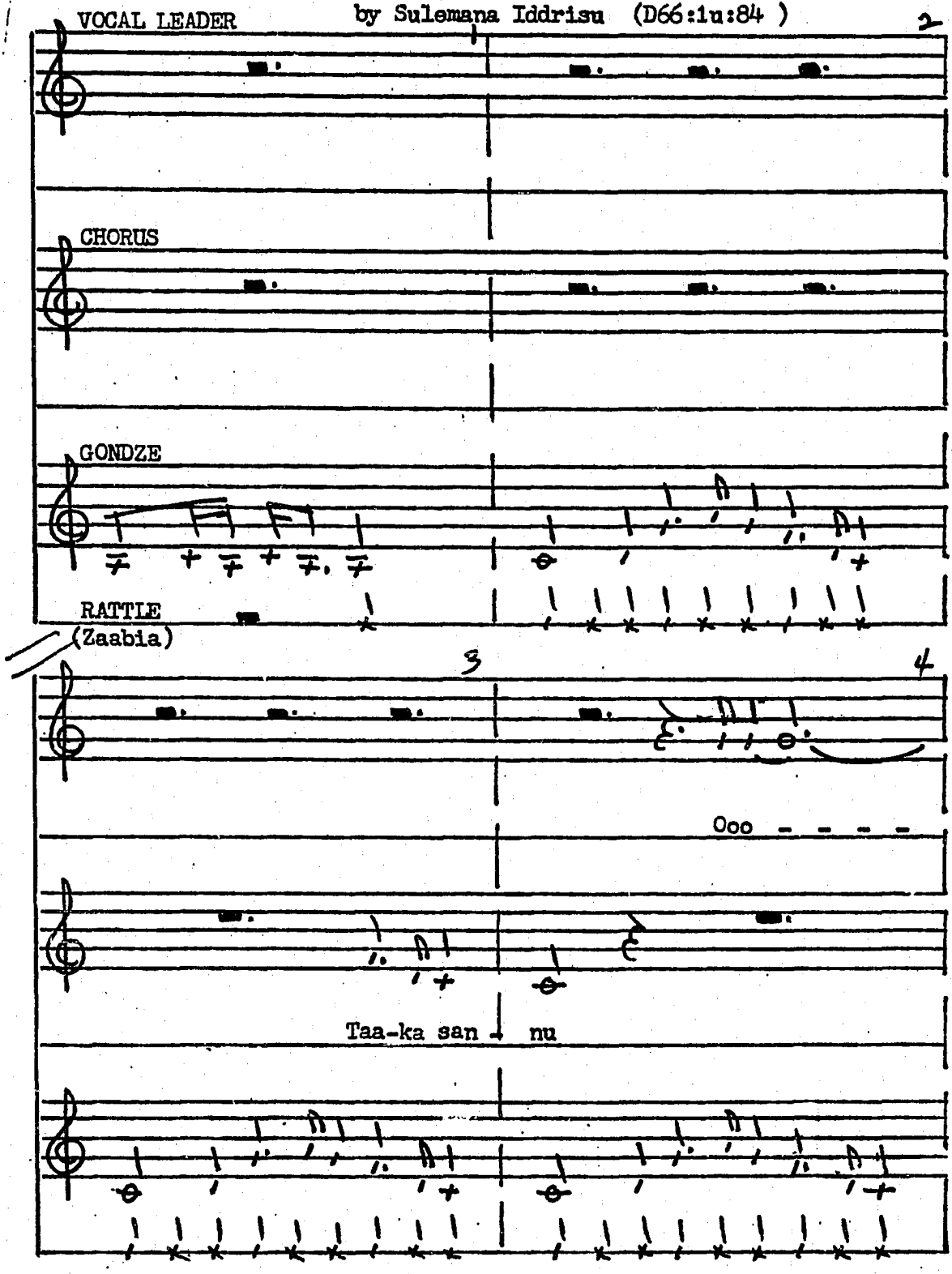


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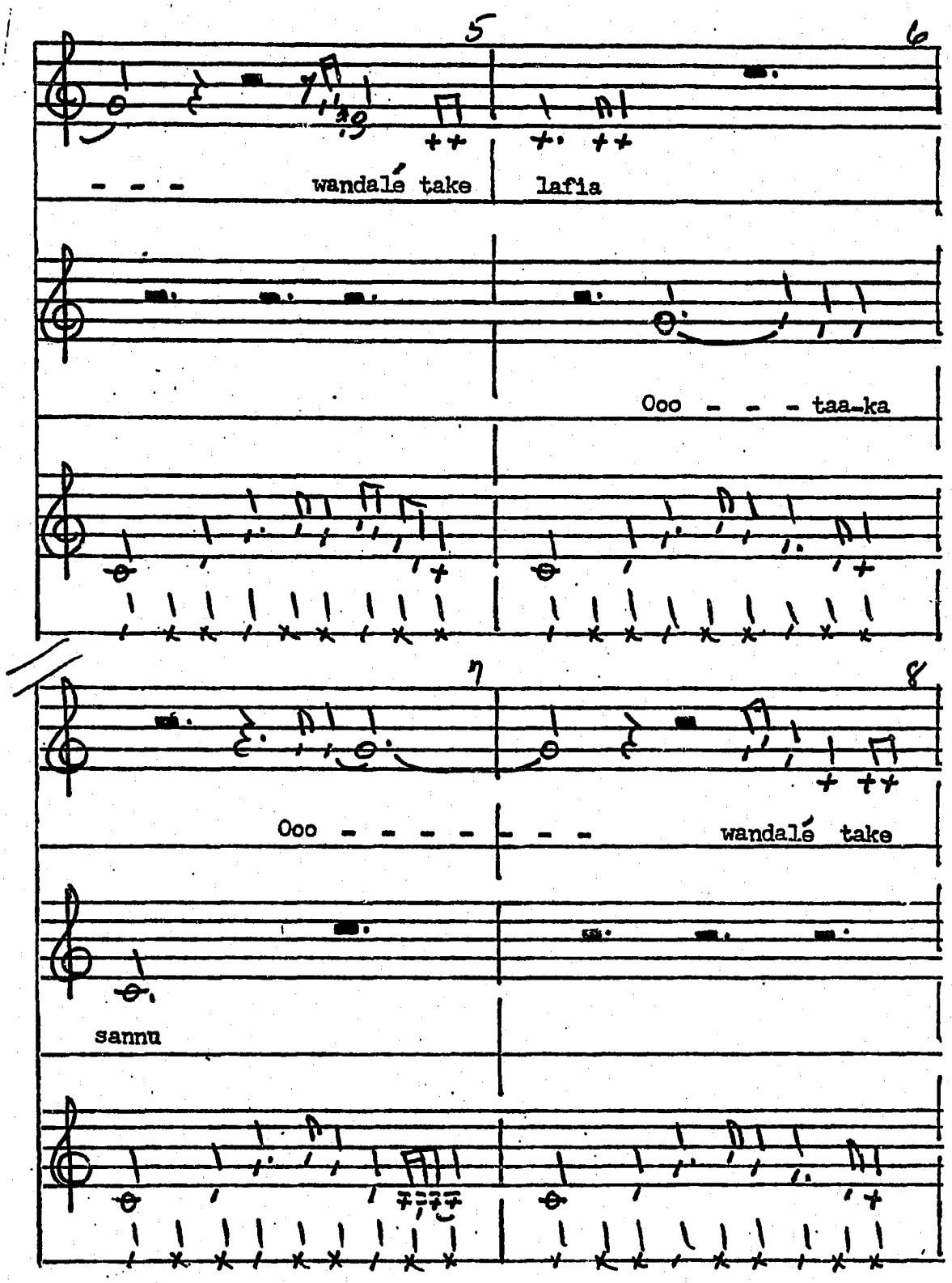


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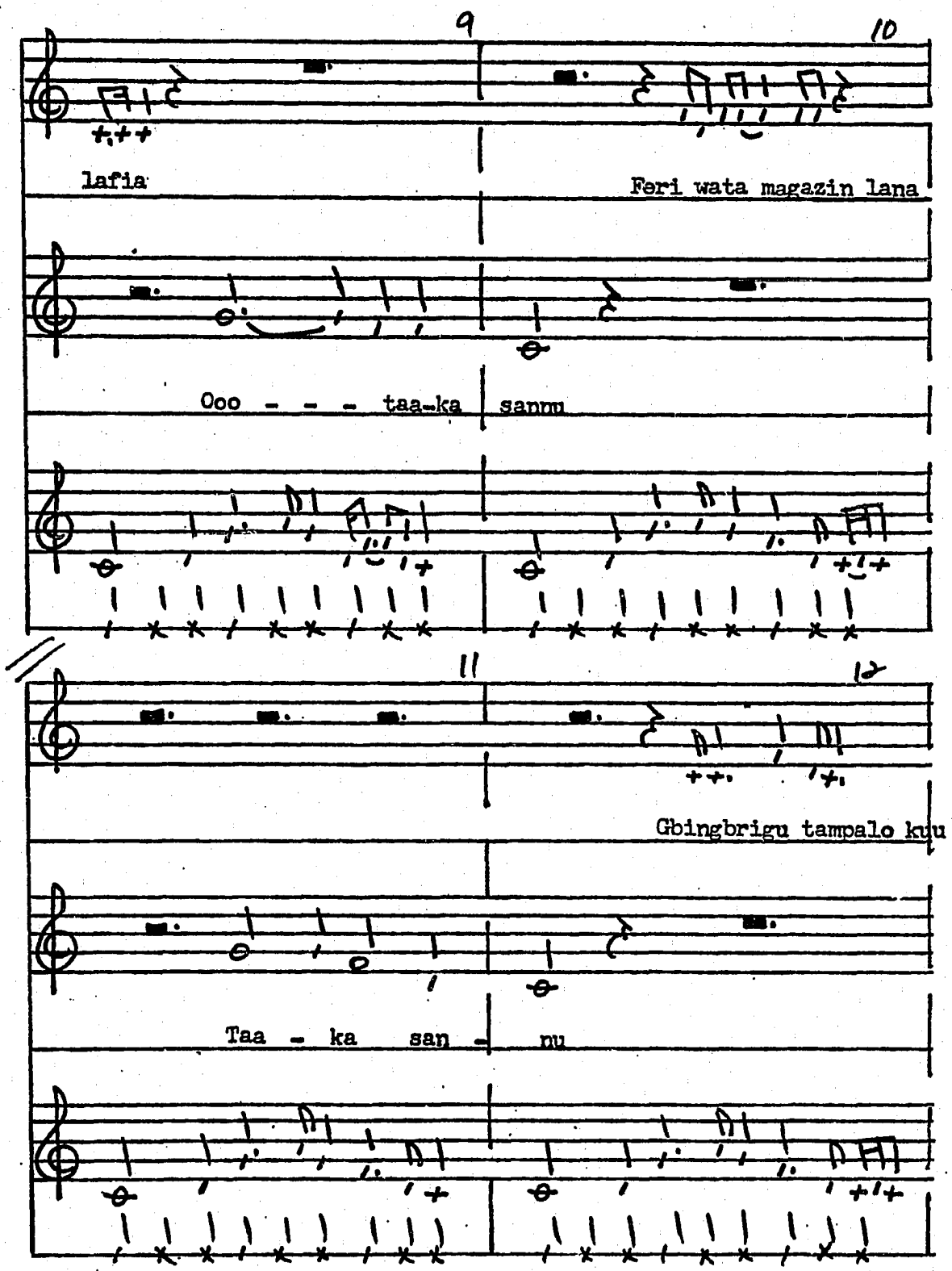
TAAKA SANNU (BRUSO)
by Sulemana Iddrisu (D66:1u:84)



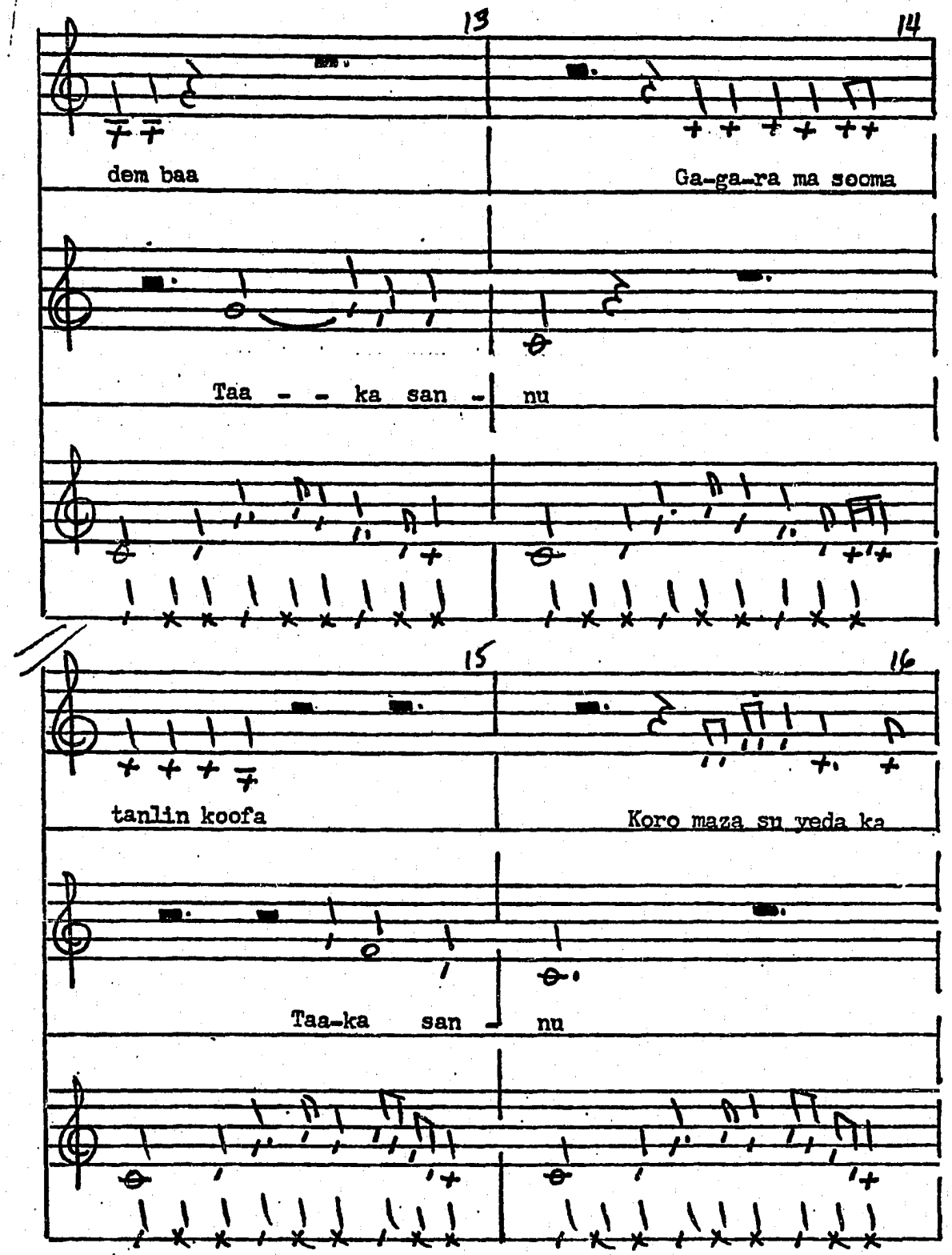
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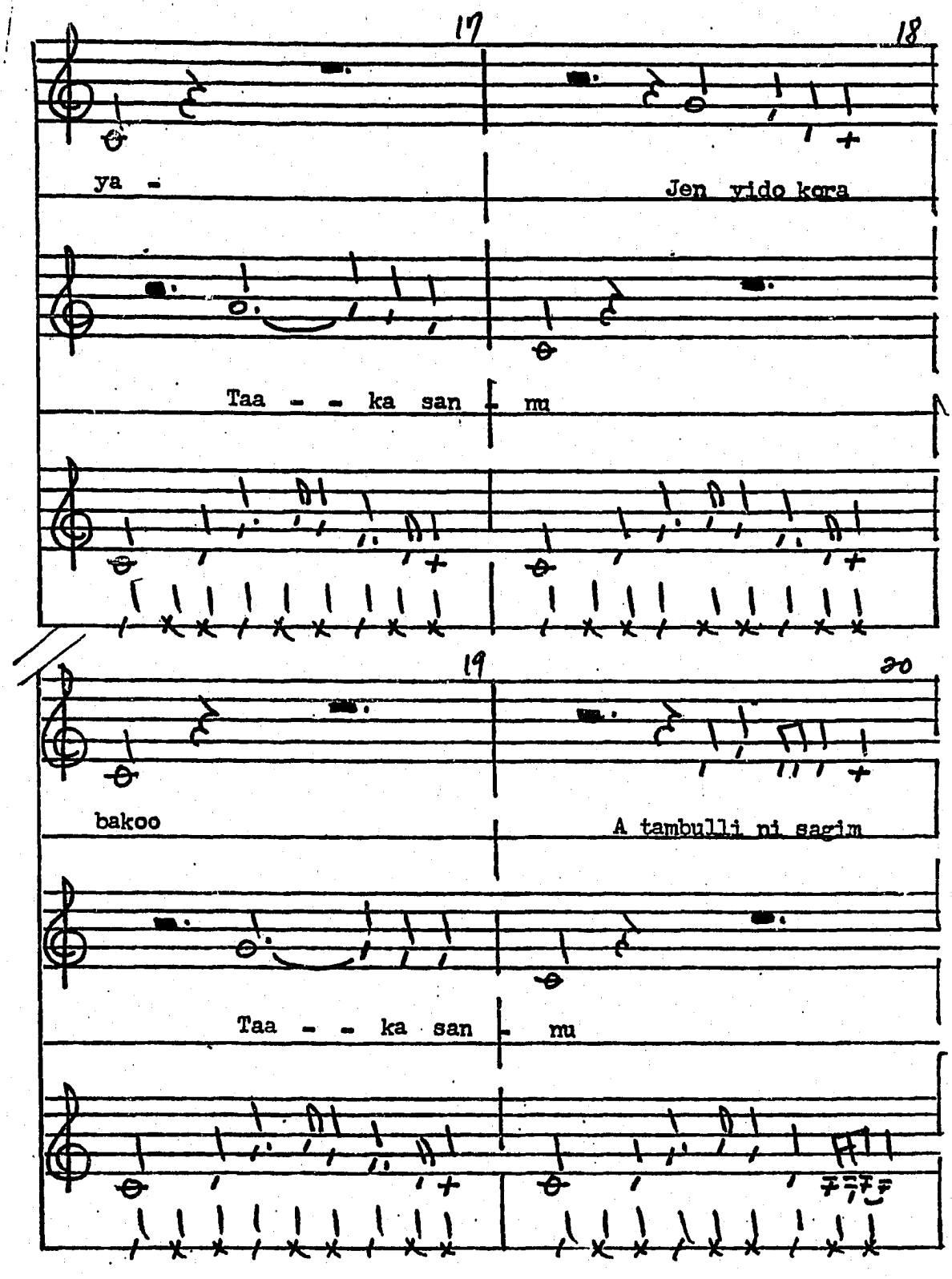
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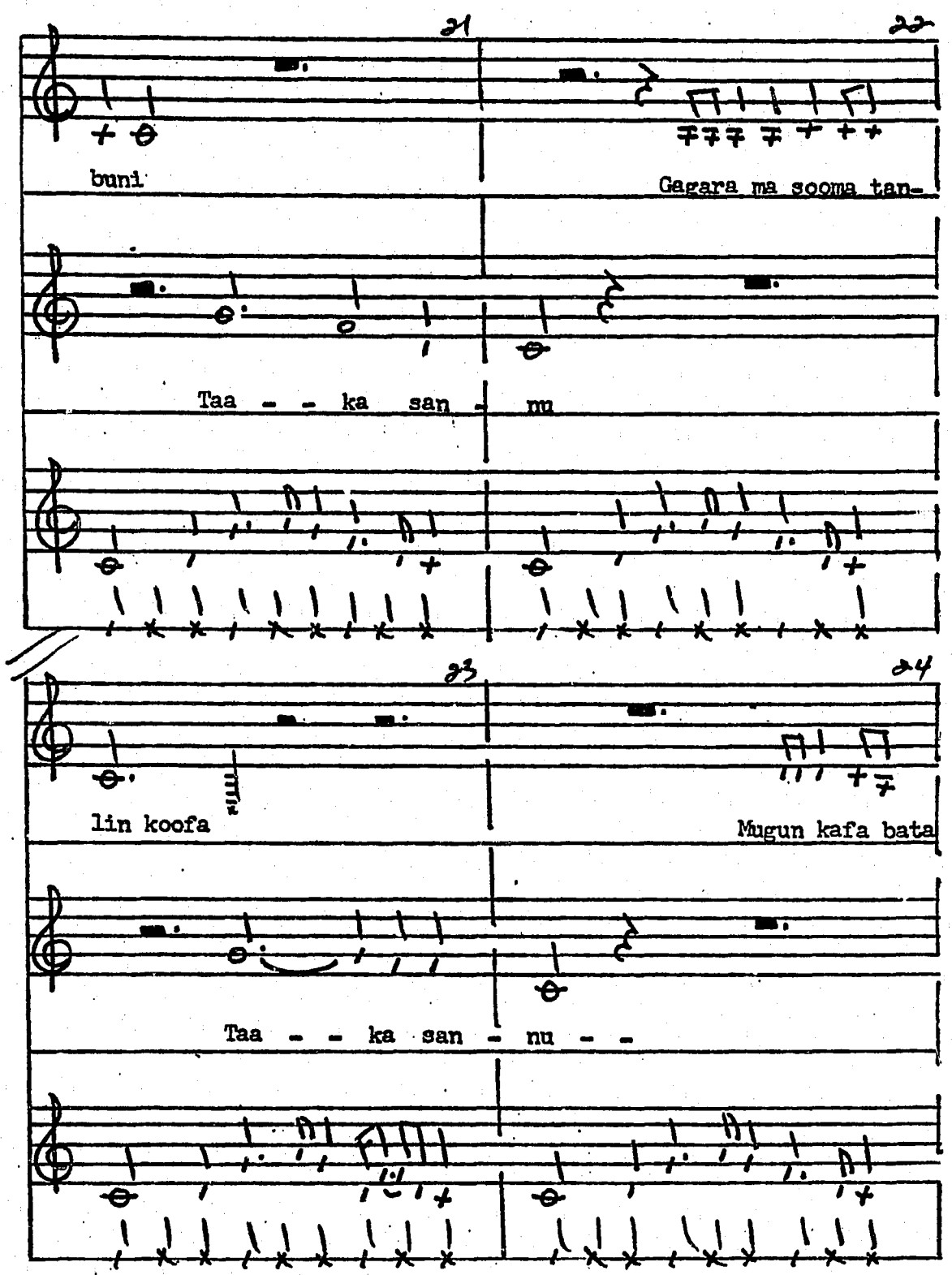
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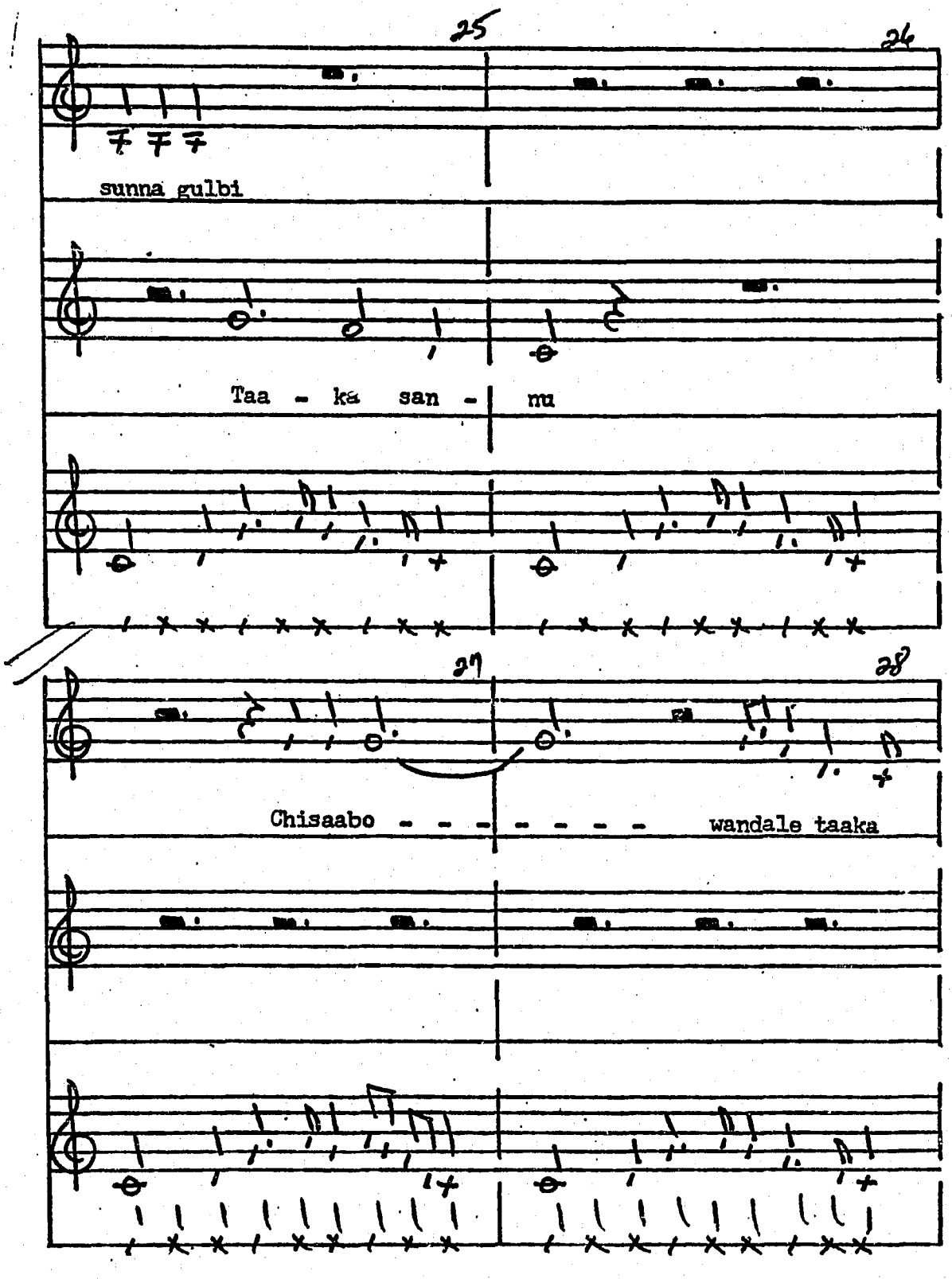


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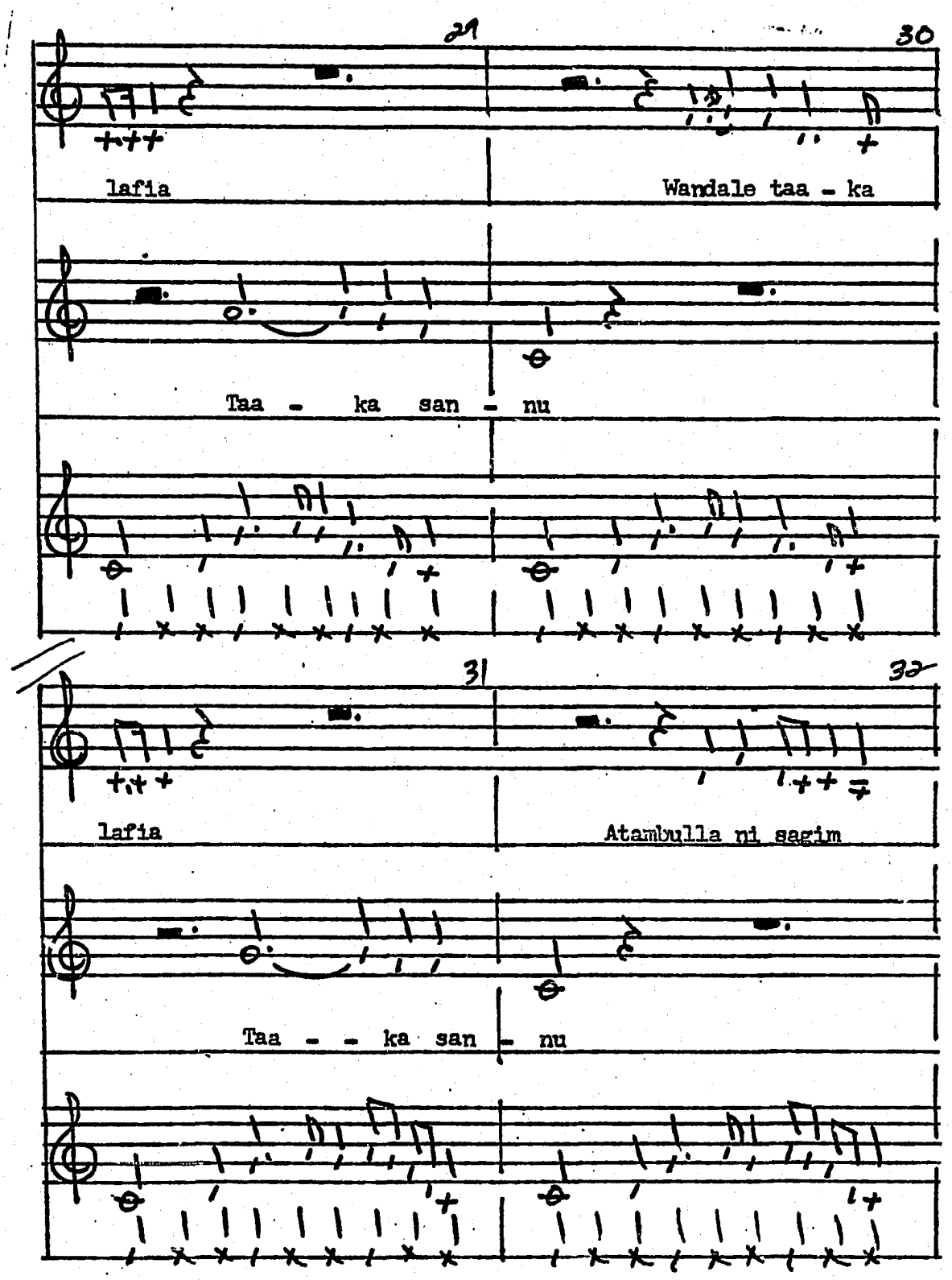
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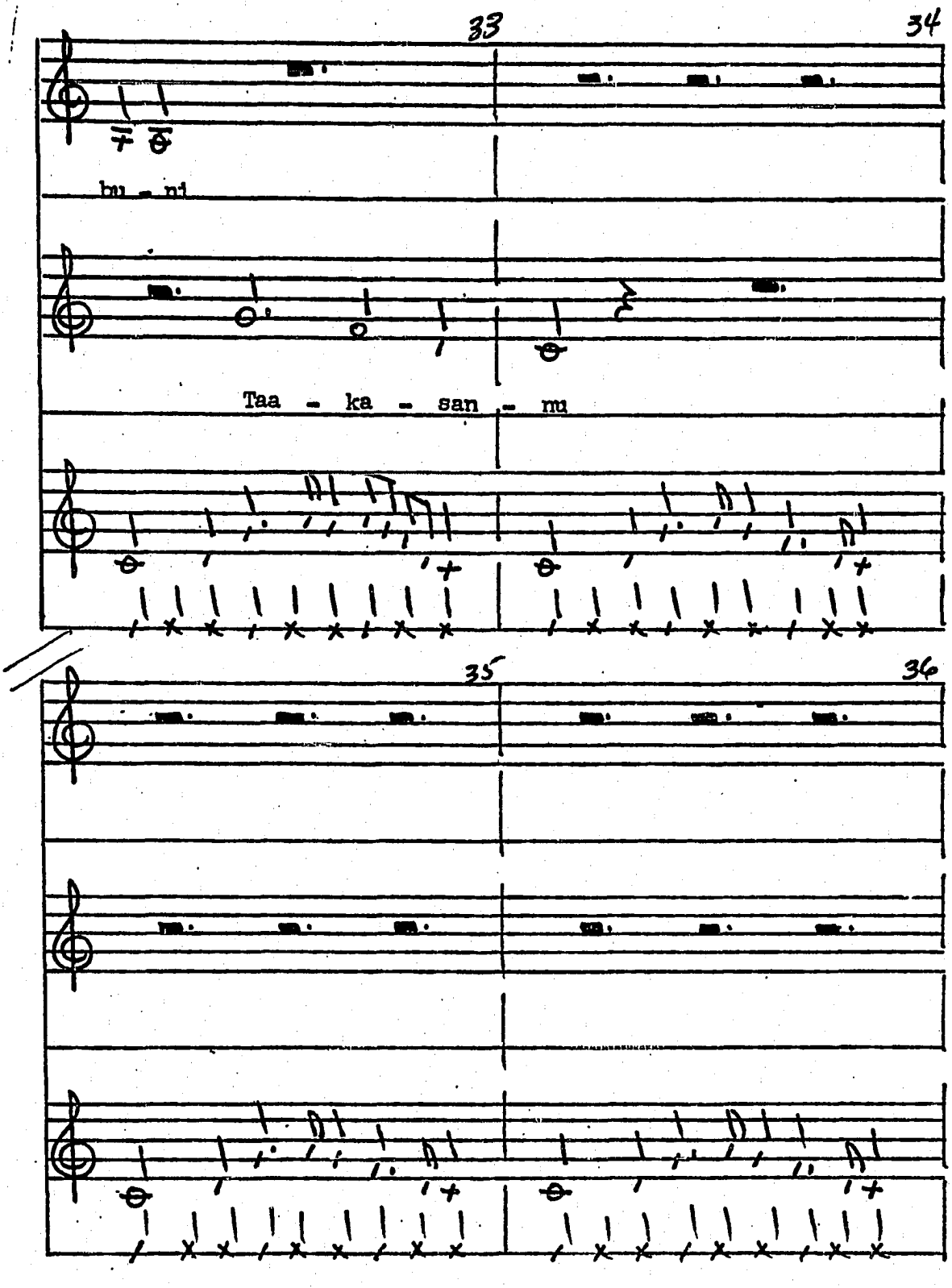


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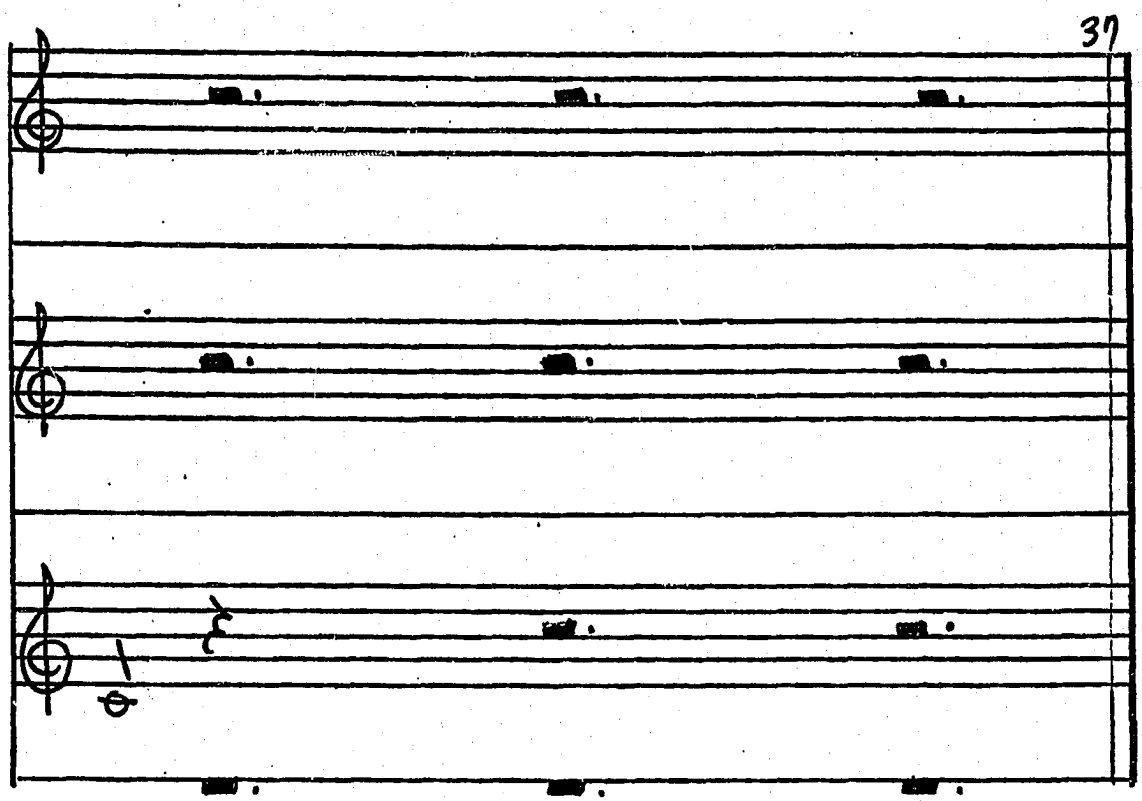
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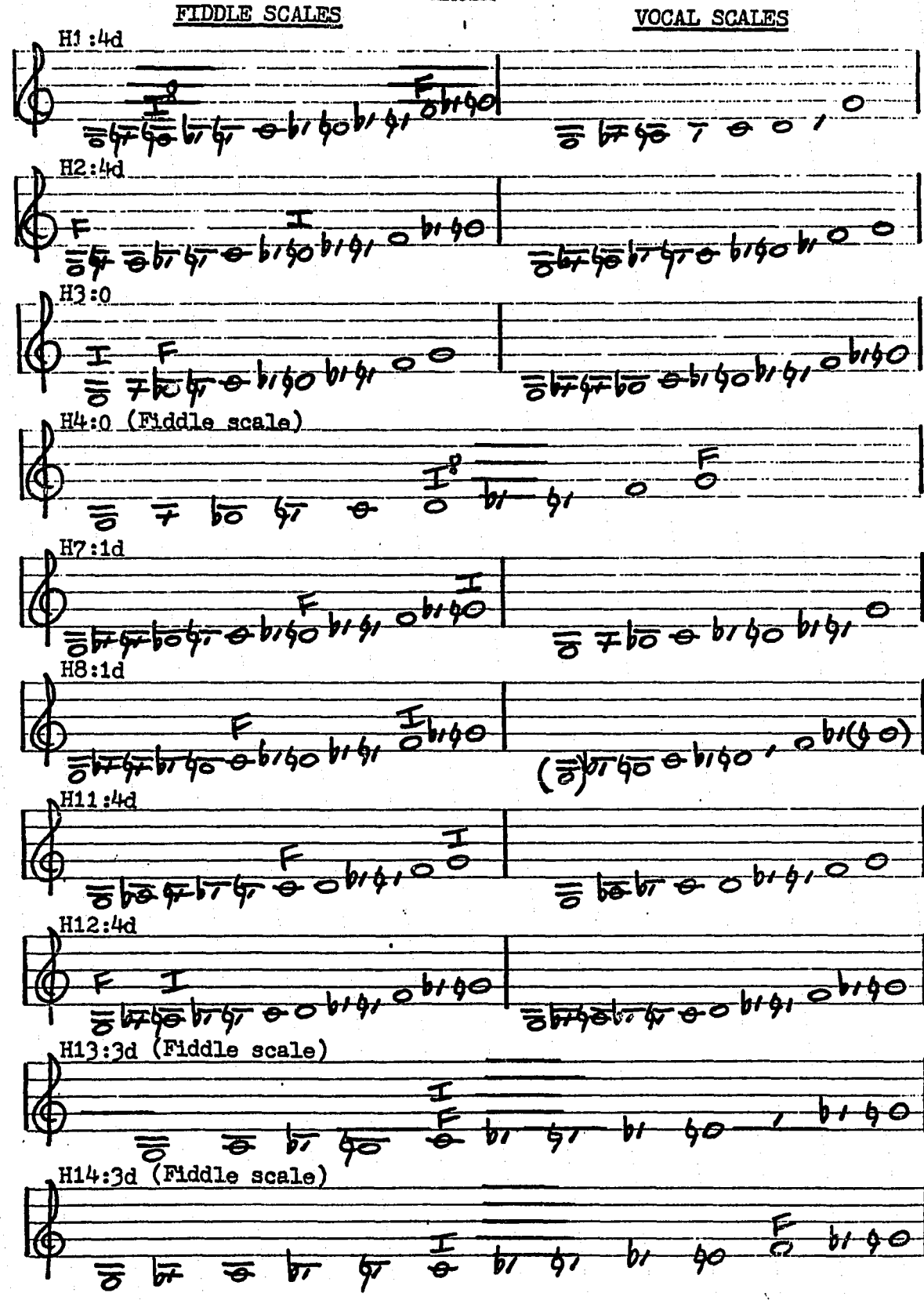
Appendix G

Hausa and Dagomba

Scale and Modal Patterns

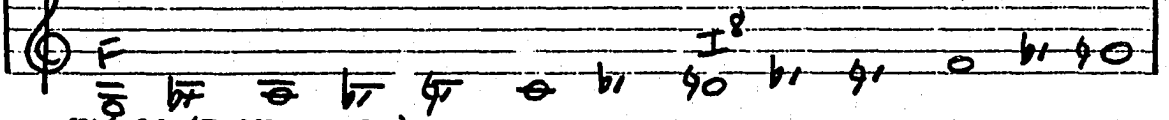
Symbols	Explanation of Symbols
I	Initial tone of composition
F	Final tone (finalis) of composition
I^8	Initial tone of composition is an octave higher than notated pitch.
F^8	Final tone of composition is an octave higher than notated pitch.
o	Modal tone (primary tone)
(o)	With parentheses--tone that is not performed in composition
/	Secondary tone

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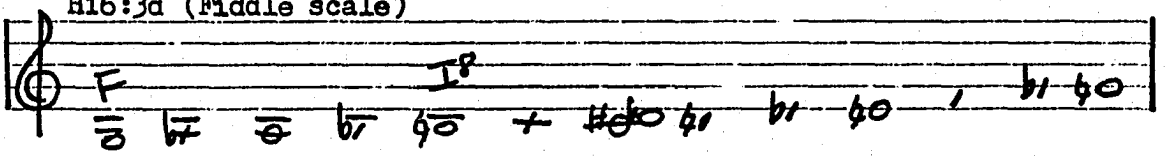


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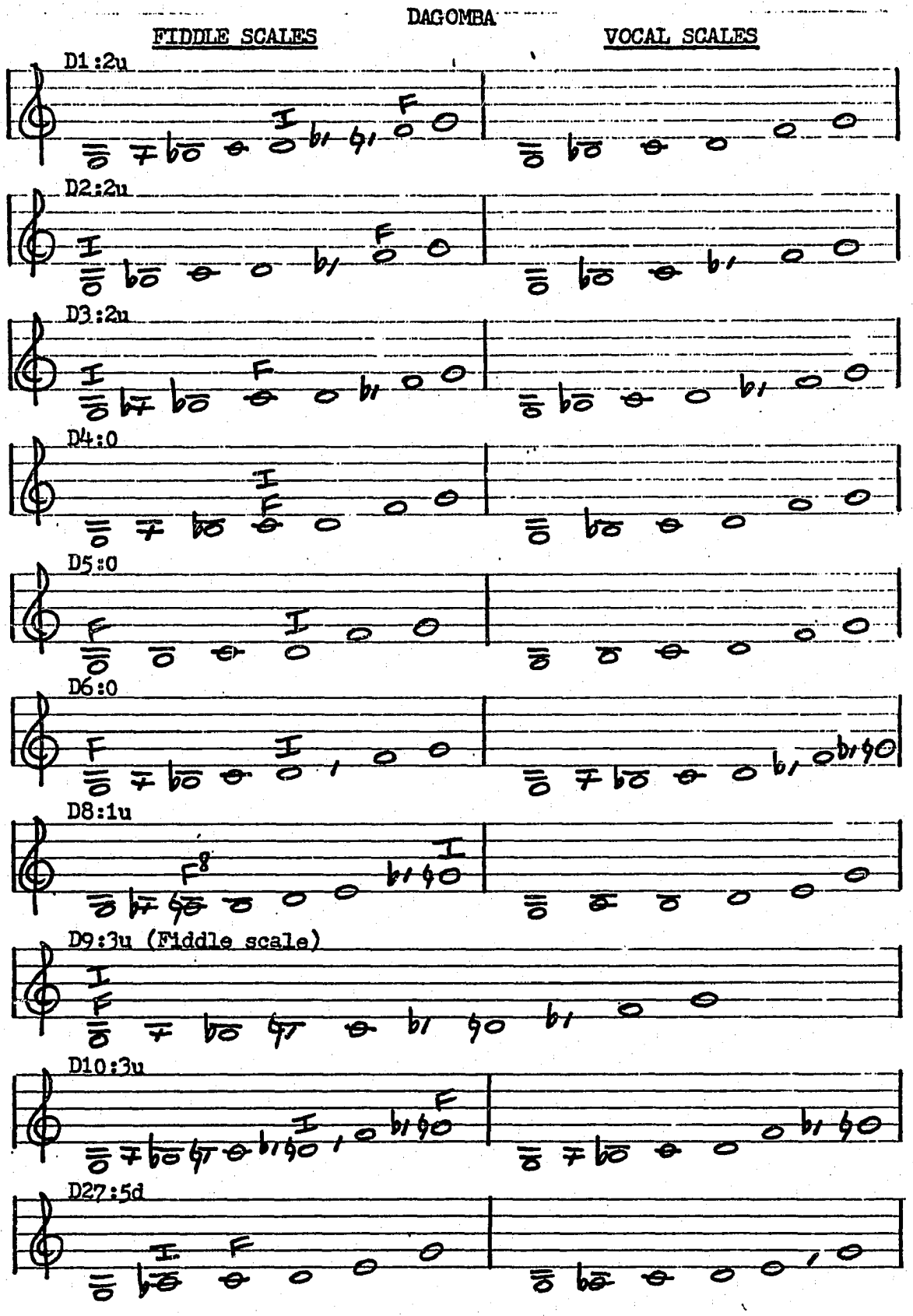
H15:2d (Fiddle scale)
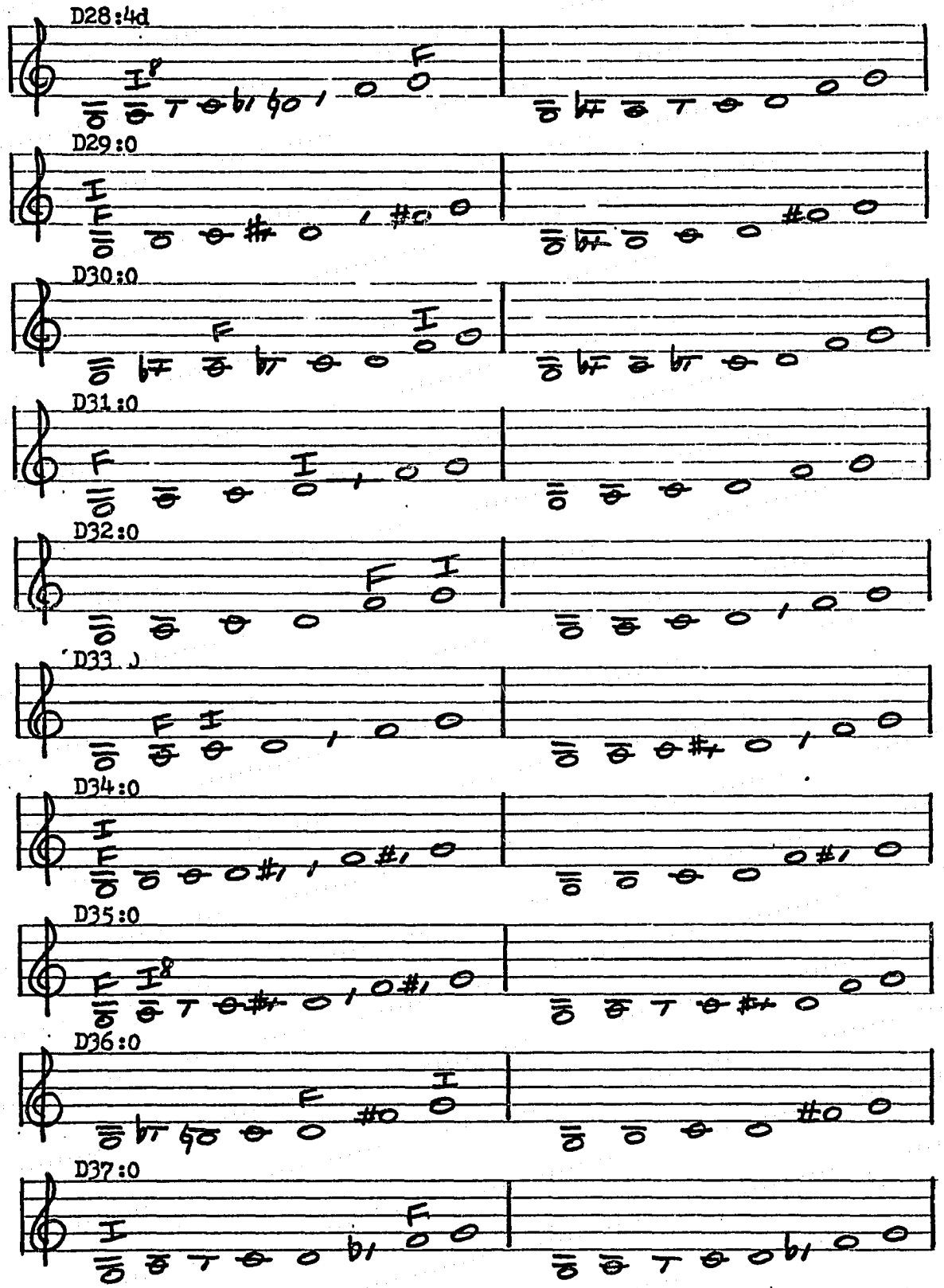


H16:3d (Fiddle scale)
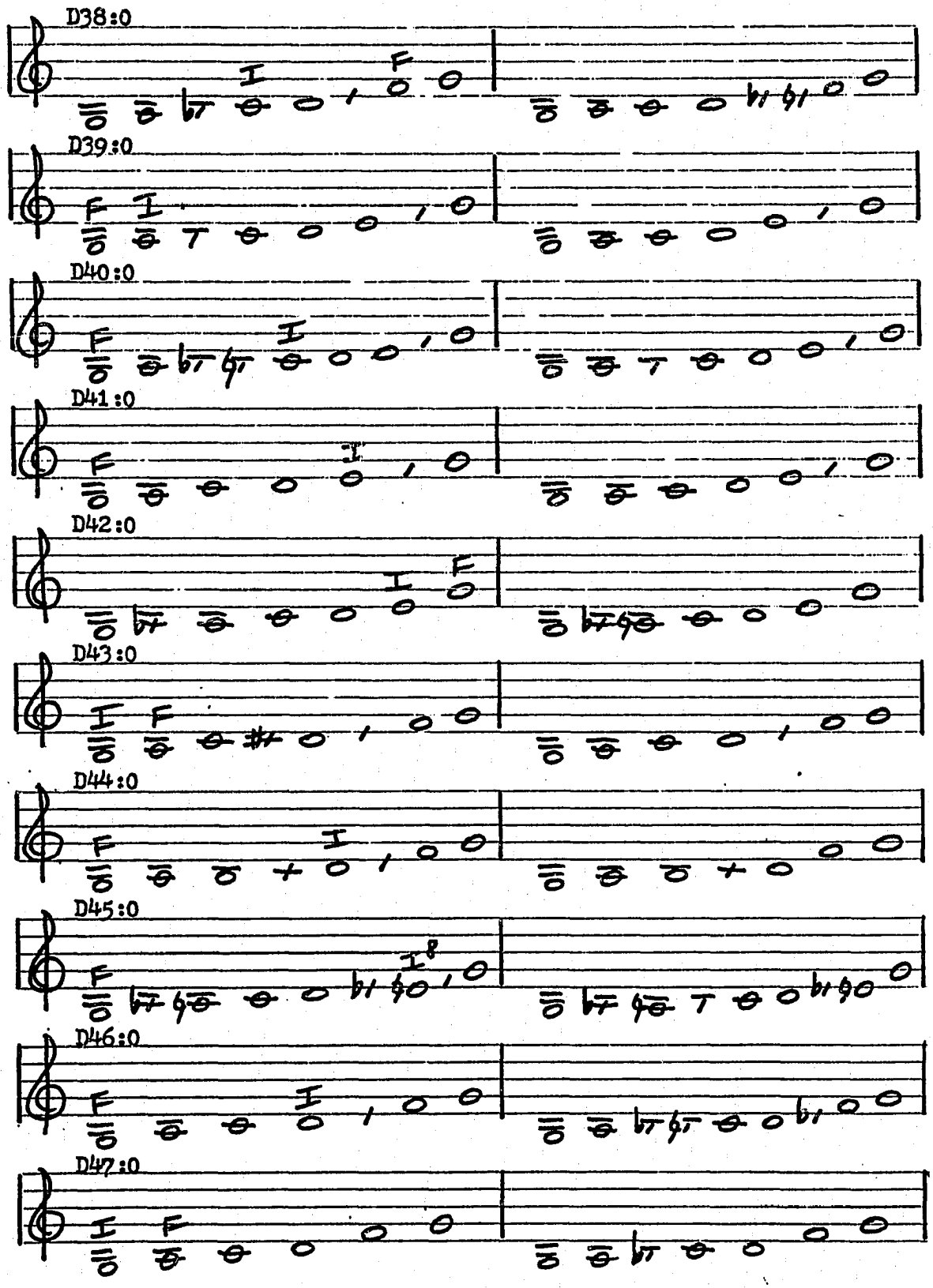


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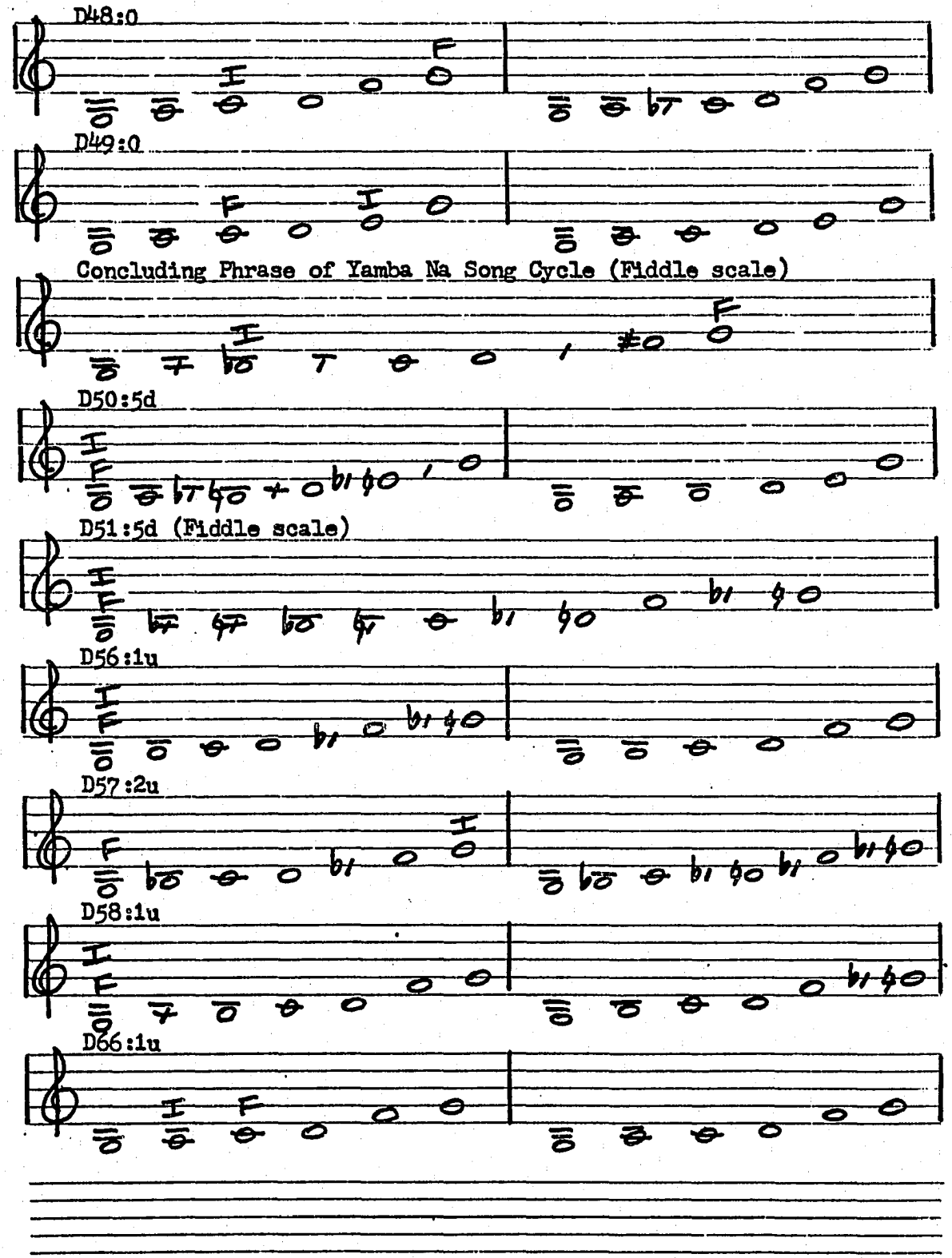


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NOTES
Appendix E
Hausa and Dagomba Song Texts

Hausa Song Texts

1. Banjo is the old name for the goge instrument.

2. Lami is the name for a female born on Thursday.

3. Deleb is a type of root that is eaten (muruci) in Hausaland. Metaphorically, this phrase means that the Sargeant is a man of his own will; in society he is well-off.

4. Umma is the name of a lady.

5. Agadasawa is a section within Kano.

6. Ali Gadanga is one of Haruna's calabash players.

7. Ali Sankara is one of Haruna's calabash players.

8. Bande is the name of a town in Kano State.

9. Yahaya is the name of a person.

10. Damagaram is the name of a town in Niger.

11. Jinn is the term for spirit (devil). In this case the devil is the mediator between God and man. The bori spirit is the devil (Barrahaza or Barahaza)--a female spirit. Barrahaza is a spirit among the Fulani people. The term for evil spirit in Hausa is: Aljana--female; and Aljani--male.

12. Shehu Babayo is the name of Haruna's lead maroki (praise singer).

13. Ali Gadanga (Gadanda) is the name of one of Haruna's calabash players.

14. Ladi is the name for a person born on Sunday.

15. Juma is the female's name for Friday; this infers that Barrahaza is a woman. Danjuma or Danjune is the male name for Friday.

16. Kaba is possibly (not sure) the name for the former province of Northern Nigeria--Kwarra State.

17. Kudu is a town in Kano State.

18. The bag refers to the sack in which barbers keep their instruments.

19. Charab refers to the sound one hears after he comes out of the water--

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friction of the body against the water. The maroki is asking the spirit if he has been to the stream because he hears the charab sound.

20. Sheath refers to a case for a blade.

21. This phrase refers to a circumcision ceremony--whether the barber did his job well or not; women should know.

22. Inna--a bori spirit which is related to Wanzami like the branches of a tree. Sometimes spirits come in contact with each other.

23. This phrase refers to sadists.

24. Magaji is a term for a title.

25. Sabon Pegi--new plot--is derived from English "pegs"; also the name for a town near Gardun Albasa, which is outside of Kano City.

26. Barde Shugaba--name of a person. Shugabu is the name for president.

27. Tena (tela) is the Hausa term for tailor.

28. Tanko is the name of a businessman who lives in Gardun Albasa (see note 25).

Dagomba Song Texts

1. Yugu is a species of the alligator family.

2. According to Iddi, the translator of this song, the last phrase, "Karia ba. . . ba" is not clearly stated.

3. The song text for this composition has not been included in the music transcription because of difficulty in fitting words with the music.

4. Nantoh refers to a very poisonous little reptile--similar to a lizard which bites but once and kills the victim instantly.

5. Nagbiegu (Nag-biegu) is a praise name signifying the king's strength is comparable to that of a bushcow.

6. Dawadawa fruits are eaten by monkeys in the bush. He, being the one at home, cannot be eaten by monkeys.

7. Yin is another name given to the king.

8. Bagaluwa and baobab are trees whose leaves are used for the tanning of skins and the eating of food; the bagaluwa, however, has more profitable uses then the baobab.

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9. Buntaanga is a type of donkey but shorter and stronger than the ordinary donkey.

10. Husband, here, means any overlord.

11. Torani is a form of Dagomba dance where drummers drum and women hit their buttocks against each other.

12. World in this case means a society or a culture with certain prescribed moral values.

13. Banchendi is a song in praise of a very powerful Grumah chief; he was said to be very cruel.

14. Talaalaa suggests an adoption of a pleading attitude.

15. Patapata suggests the pounding of pestles in a mortar when fufu is being pounded.

16. Paani is the first wife of a chief.

17. Wole refers to the first-born of twins.

18. Egret is a white bird that visits Northern Ghana during the dry season; it leaves during the rainy season.

19. Naa ni goo refers to the following proverb: "Do not trust your enemy or he will turn into a thorn and prick you.

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