

- Pouillon, J. 1964. *La structure du pouvoir chez les Hadjerai (Tchad)*. „L'Homme" IV, 3, 18—70.
- Prasse, Karl-G. 1973. *Manuel de Grammaire Touaregue (tāhāggart)*. VI—VII: Verbe. Copenhagen.
- Roth-Laly, A. 1969—72. *Lexique des Parlers Arabes Tchado-Soudanais*. C. N. R. S. Paris.
- Vincent, J. F. 1962. *Les margai du pays Hadjerai (Tchad)*. Bull. de l'Inst. de Rech. Scientif. au Congo 1, 63—68. Brazzaville.

FREMONT E. BESMER

BÒORII: STRUCTURE AND PROCESS IN PERFORMANCE¹

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Among the Muslim Hausa of Kano the spirit-possession cult, *bòorii*², is an aspect of Maguzawa (Hausa-speaking animists) religion which has survived the influence of Islam. While private and communal practices involving *iskookii* (sing. *iskàa*; supernatural spirit) can be found in isolated rural areas only the spectacular is evident in Hausa cities. Urban people such as in Kano

¹ The research for this paper and related projects was made possible by the award of a Senior Research Fellowship with the Centre for Nigerian Cultural Studies, Ahmadu Bello University. I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Michael Crowder, Director of the Centre, for his support of my work in the face of other demanding activities of the Centre. To Shu'aibu Mai Garaya and Iliyasu Mai Buta, I am indebted beyond measure for their patience and willingness to explain the structure and process of *bòorii*. Finally, I am extremely grateful to Prof. Paul Newman, Director of the Centre for the Study of Nigerian Languages, Abdullahi Bayero College, Ahmadu Bello University for his guidance in adapting the linguistic transformational model to event analysis.

² Throughout this paper certain conventions have been followed 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. The rarer falling tone which is actually a combination of high and low tones on a long syllable is marked with a /^/. The bilabial glottalized stop is written as /b̥/; the alveolar glottalized stop as /d̥/; the alveolar fricative/affricate as /ts/; the glottalized semivowel as /'y/; and the velar glottalized stop as /k̥/.

do not practice *bòorii* 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.

Thus, the picture Greenberg (1946) drew for rural areas in Kano Province of Islamic elements having been incorporated into Maguzawa culture is reversed in Kano City; Maguzawa elements have been retained, syncretically, in what is now an Islamic culture. Terms of reference and aspects of performance illustrate this attitude. For example, the rural Kutumbawa to the southwest of Kano where Greenberg did much of his work describe spirits with the native Hausa term, *iskookii* (1946:27), whereas Kano Hausa express a slight preference for the Arabic-derived term, *àljànuu* (sing. *àljan*). Further, performances in Kano City begin with *àddu'aa*, a Muslim dedicatory prayer in praise of Allah.

According to King, *bòorii* is tolerated in urban centers because it is recognized as an entertainment, during which possession is simulated „more often than not” (1966:105). In Kano the reasons for the tolerance of *bòorii* are similar. However, by Hausa criteria for judgment³ possession is „real” more often than not. Another reason for the persistence of cult activities is touched on by King who notes the relationship between possession and ritual healing. In this respect the ideas held by urban Hausa in Kano are identical to what Greenberg observed for rural Hausa, namely, if *iskookii* are the cause of an illness they are also the source for its cure (1946:54). Thus, a person who has been bothered by a malady traced to a restive spirit may seek relief from someone who has suffered the same illness and been cured by being initiated into the *bòorii* cult. If the illness is so far advanced that its cure demands that the sufferer be initiated into the cult, a new „child of *bòorii*” has been recruited. The result is strikingly similar to what Turner has described as a ritual of affliction „performed by associations of the formerly afflicted, who have the status of cult-adepts, for the presently afflicted” (*italics in the original*) (1968:53).

³ *Bòorii*-adepts say that the real test of possession is not whether the devotee's eyes reveal a blank stare, nor whether he can be seen to froth at the mouth and nose. Rather, body temperature (sweating) is the true indication of trance.

This aspect of *bòorii* certainly is most important in understanding its acceptance „on the ground”. Perhaps because of its popularity as entertainment, particularly at weddings, and its acceptance as a source for ritual healing, attempts to suppress *bòorii*, both by puritanical Fulani Emirs in the 19th century and by the British colonialists in the 20th, have been largely unsuccessful.

Bòorii-adepts believe that supernatural spirits can be found everywhere, but that they can be expected to divide their time between their invisible city of Jangare and their respective favorite places, either specific trees or locales. During a *bòorii* performance spirits are said to reveal themselves through the disciples they possess. Thus, when called upon to do so, *àljànuu* provide practical advice for the solution of domestic problems and special instructions for the cure of illnesses they are believed to have caused. Performances by groups of initiated devotees and *bòorii* musicians where believers anxiously seek direction from spirits as well as performances whose purpose is amusement generally require elaborate costumes and other paraphernalia. They also require a large number of spectators.

Bòorii initiates are described collectively as '*yam bòorii* (lit. „children of the *bòorii*”) and divide on the basis of sex into *dàm bòorii* (lit. „son of the *bòorii*”) and '*yar bòorii* (lit. „daughter of the *bòorii*”). Only people who have been initiated and have a cult status see themselves in these terms. Both King (1966:105) and Greenberg (1946:49) 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 *good'iyaa* (female), and rider. At the beginning of possession spirits are said to ride (*hau*) their disciples, and at the end they dismount (*sàuka*). 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. *Sàuka* is usually accompanied by sneezing and/or coughing, although some spirits appear to leave quietly.

For possession to occur at a *bòorii* 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 *bòorii* ensemble in Kano consists of a *gàraayaa* (two-stringed, plucked lute) and two or three *buutoocii* (sing. *buutàa*; gourd-rattle). One other combination, a *gòogee* (single-stringed, bowed lute) and *kwaryaa* gourds (hemispherical in shape, placed openside down, and beaten with two sticks), may be heard in a ward outside the Old City walls. *Gàraayaa* informants claim that their instrument is the original one of the cult and that the *gòogee* 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 (1914:284).

These all-male ensembles perform outside compound walls, usually in a cleared place immediately in front of a sponsor’s house. *Kwaryaa* gourds played by women may also be used for *bòorii* ceremonies, but such performances take place within secluded compounds and are rarely attended by men. *Kid’àn kwaryaa* (lit. „drumming of *kwaryaa*”) or *kid’àn aamadaa* (drumming for *aamadaa* music) as well as *kid’àn gòogee* (lit. „drumming of *gòogee*”) ⁴ are not specifically included in the present paper, although the underlying principles for possession, when it occurs, are the same as for *kid’àn gàraayaa*.

2.0 DEFINITION OF THE PROBLEM

Phenomenologically, Kano *bòorii* performances accompanied by *gàraayaa* or *gòogee* players seem quite different from event to event, lacking any resemblance to the liturgical act described by King (1966) for *kid’àn kwaryaa* in Katsina. In King’s view the content of a *bòorii* performance is „largely dependent on (the)

⁴ *Kid’aa* (lit. „drumming”) is the generic Hausa term for drumming, bowing, plucking, or shaking a musical instrument. *Kid’àn gòogee* is actually „bowing of the single-stringed lute” or „bowed lute music”. Similarly, *kid’àn gàraayaa* is „plucking of the two-stringed lute” or „two-stringed lute music”. For consistency *kid’aa* is rendered as „drumming”, recognizing its primary meaning.

presence or absence of possession” (1966:108). He continues saying that the former condition is „limited by such factors as the availability of ‘yam *bòorii*’ ⁵ (for each has a favourite *iskàa*), the facility with which each *iskàa* in a particular performance is invoked, and the period of time required for a satisfactory demonstration of possession”. On the other hand when there is no possession „the form of the music is predetermined and the occasion is treated as an act of homage to all *iskookii* habitually invoked within the town, an homage in which each *iskàa* must be honoured in turn in a fixed hierarchical order of song”.

Kano performances generally fit into this taxonomy, but the way in which this happens and the definition of the categories differ from what King describes even when women’s *bòorii* music, *kid’àn kwaryaa*, is considered. The data confirm that performances with possession are limited by such factors as King lists, but all Kano performances have social and internal structural features perhaps not obvious in Katsina. For example, the social dimension of a performance includes such broad considerations as the relationship between the person requesting the performance and the musicians and trancers, respectively; the relationships of the guests to each other; and the nature of the larger social event of which the performance may be but a part.

„Diversions” and „regressions” from any liturgical order (which is theoretically possible but never actually occurs) frequently are explained in social terms. Participants believe that enough time must be allowed at the beginning of a performance for the guests to discharge their gift-giving obligations vis-à-vis the performers and praise-singers (i.e., *maròòkaa*) on behalf of the host or other guests. As well, the arrival of special guests sympathetic with *bòorii* practice often requires the playing of songs for spirits a guest may prefer even though those songs could already have been played earlier or might normally be played later. Musicians are quick to notice the attendance of certain ‘yam *bòorii* who are judged by the community to be good dancers and willingly play special songs to accompany their display. They can also be

⁵ Hausa terms in this quotation from King have been regularized to be consistent with the present orthography.

expected to repeat songs which are generally popular in the ward in which the ceremony is being held or which prompt people to be generous in gift-giving.

Secondly, according to musicians and trancers, *bòorii* performances have structural components which are ordered while most individual song items are not. For the moment we set aside the factors which determine whether a song may be long or short. Informants describe two types of performances, one which includes trance and the other which does not⁶. Empirical 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 *wàasaa* (lit. „play”, i.e., no trance) appear in *bòorii* (performance with possession). It would be easy to conclude on an analytic level, therefore, that *bòorii* is merely an expanded form of *wàasaa*, 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. Therefore, part of the task of this paper is to provide a description of the two types of performances based on informants' understanding of what is happening in any given ceremony.

Significantly, most structural units of performances are given names by informants and have a temporal order. But many of these units are filled with options which may or may not be taken, based either on what has already taken place or on what is expected to take place. Describing this from informants' point of view, three types of relationships emerge: those involving constituents which are temporally ordered; those involving transformations — — exceptions, eliminations, alterations, and sequences — — of constituents under special conditions; and those describing the sub-categorization of elements — — taxonomies — — which do not demand a time dimension. Wherever possible these relationships are stated in algebraic form, ordered from the general to the specific. The result is a description of *kid'àn gàraayaa* (lit. „drumming of the *gàraayaa*”, i.e., *gàraayaa*

⁶ It should be emphasized that this broad taxonomy of trance and non-trance is exactly what King observed in Katsina (1966:107—08).

music) which suggests a transformational „grammar” including base and transformational rules. In applying a transformational model the premise is accepted that the validity of any rule lies in its ability to „generate” structure which informants describe as „grammatical”, i.e., appropriate, for any given performance, and the corollary that valid rules will not generate ungrammatical (inappropriate) structure. Using the model, it is possible to demonstrate that performances which appear to be different from each other as phenomena are in fact similar or identical in underlying structure.

3.0 THE DATA

The events considered for this analysis are ten performances by *Maalàm Shu'aibù Màì Gàraayaa* between October, 1972 and May, 1973 most of which took place in Kano City; one performance by *Maalàm Daudaari Màì Gàraayaa* in Ringin, a small town 42 miles east of Kano; one performance by a *gàraayaa* group from Gumel which played in Kano; one performance by Malams Hassan and Hussein in Kurna Asabe, a road-side village 5 miles to the west of Kano; and one performance by a Kano City *gàraayaa*-player which took place in Yakasai ward. Of the fourteen performances ten included possession by *bòorii*-adepts and four were described as *wàasaa* not being marked by trance.

All but three of these performances were held as part of other social events, the most popular being the week of wedding festivities. In the case of weddings it is generally a member of the bride's family who asks the *gàraayaa/bòorii* group to play for one or more of the observances during the week: the „capture of the bride (*kaamar amaryaa*); the removal of the bride to the house of an older, matrilocally related woman, usually her mother's sister, where henna is applied to the *amaryaa*'s hands and feet (*kunshli*); the bringing of the bride to the groom's house on Thursday evening where guests sit up the entire night, talking, playing cards, or watching *bòorii* (*kwaanana zàune*); and the distribution of gifts by the bride's family to *maròòkaa* (praise-singers and musicians) and others on behalf of the groom's family on

Friday afternoon (*wun̄i*). *Kwaanan zàune* and *wun̄i* are sometimes spoken of collectively as *bikii* (feast).

Other events included here are *wàasan suunaa* (entertainment for a naming ceremony), and *kwaanan zàune na sallàa* and *wàasar sallàa* (music played in the Emir's palace during the eight evenings after the Muslim festivals of 'Īd al-fīṭr and 'Īd al-Kabīr). One *bòorii* ceremony was held to pacify restive spirits in a new house; and two others took place in rural villages for reasons not determined but probably for ritual healing of illnesses believed to have been caused by *iskookii*.

4.0 RULES OF STRUCTURE AND PROCESS

As mentioned above various types of rules are used in the analysis. Where temporal order is implied, rules which describe underlying relationships between successively deeper layers of constituents, and transformational rules which describe changes in these relationships under special conditions are used. Where temporal order is not implied, the analysis is expressed through the use of rules in the form of taxonomies or sub-categorizations. When informants have a name for a constituent the Hausa term is used in the analysis; where a node exists structurally but where there is no native term for it an English term is used rather than an invented one in Hausa.

4.01 (base rule #1)

#*kid'àn gàraayaa* #

This rule implies that the main criterion for the selection of behavior is that it includes music played on the *gàraayaa*. The cross-hatches (#) are the boundaries within which a *gàraayaa* performance occurs.

4.02 (base rule #2)

kid'àn gàraayaa → *shirìn kid'àa* + *kid'àa* + *rarràbaa*

Kid'àn gàraayaa consists of three major constituents: *shirìn kid'àa* (preparation for „drumming”), *kid'àa* („drumming”), and

rarràbaa („to share out” gifts and money at the end of the performance). It should be noted that these constituents are temporally ordered.

4.03 (sub-categorization)

shirìn kid'àa — $\begin{cases} \rightarrow \text{gooròn kiràa} \\ \rightarrow \text{invitations to guests} \end{cases}$

The preparations for a performance include two aspects: a gift of *goorò* (kola nuts), some cash (usually 10 shillings), and two or three small bags of hard candy (collectively described as *gooròn kiràa*; lit. „kolas for calling”); and a general announcement to prospective guests that the event will be held. These two constituents of *shirìn kid'àa* are not ordered temporally. However, both are necessary as preparations for *bòorii* (with trance) or *wàasaa* (without trance).

4.04 (base rule #3)

gooròn kiràa → *màì kiràa* $\begin{cases} \boxed{\text{gift}} \\ \downarrow \end{cases}$ performing group
(receivers)

The gift given by the person requesting the performance is an important factor in establishing a social relationship between the performers and their prospective host. If the *gàraayaa*-player accepts the *gooròn kiràa* he is obligated to reciprocate with his services. And similar to what Marcel Mauss observed in his classic work on exchange, *The Gift* (1925; trans. 1954), the obligation to accept the gift is considerable. At the time the gift is given the *màì kiràa* (caller) specifies what kind of performance is required: either entertainment without trance (*wàasaa*), or a *bòorii* ceremony with trance. It is customary for the *gooròn kiràa* to be slightly larger when trancers are expected to attend the event than when they are not asked to demonstrate possession. It is understood that the larger gift will be divided between the *gàraayaa* group and the 'yam *bòorii* (trancers), and that the *gàraayaa*-player will supervise the distribution (see below, sec. 4.06). Identical to the first exchange, if a trancer accepts a portion of the *gooròn kiràa*

from the *gàraayaa*-leader he is obligated to reciprocate with his services at a given time and place.

4.05 Rule of Exception (transformational rule #1)

gift $\Rightarrow$ obligation / $\left[\begin{array}{cc} \text{màì kiràa} & \text{and receiver} \\ [+bòorii] & [+bòorii] \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} + \text{existing} \\ \text{social re-} \\ \text{relationship} \end{array} \right]$

When the caller and a potential receiver both have *bòorii* cult status and a social relationship already exists between them, it is possible (optional), but not mandatory, that the gift be replaced by obligation. This transformation implies an unstable condition in the exchange relationship between the participants which is brought into temporary balance either by cancelling a previous obligation in the opposite direction or by a promise of reciprocation with something in the future. Significantly, the exchange ledger seems never to balance permanently, and obligations are born by both sides of the relationship.

4.06 (sub-categorization)

performing group — $\left[\begin{array}{c} \rightarrow \text{gàraayaa group} \\ \rightarrow \text{'yam bòorii} \end{array} \right]$
(receivers)

As mentioned above (sec. 4.04) the people who receive the gift obligating them to attend an event fall into two groups: the *gàraayaa*- and *buutàa*-players who are professional musicians, *maròkkaa* (sing. *maròkii*; lit. „beggar”); and *'yam bòorii* who generally hold a variety of other occupations. It is not unusual for *bòorii*-adepts to be „attached” to a specific *gàraayaa* group, but the best *gàraayaa*-players are able to demand trancers from less important companies.

4.07 (sub-categorization)

invitations to guests — $\left[\begin{array}{c} \rightarrow [+ \text{wedding}] \\ \rightarrow [- \text{wedding}] \end{array} \right]$

The calling of guests falls into two patterns, depending upon whether (+) or not (—) the performance is to be part of the week of wedding festivities.

4.08 (sub-categorization)

$[+ \text{wedding}] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} + \text{amaryaa} \\ - \text{amaryaa} \end{array} \right]$

If the event is + wedding the guests fall into two main groups: those who are related to or are friends of the bride ($[+ \text{amaryaa}]$), and those who are related to or are friends of the groom ($[- \text{amaryaa}]$). It seems that the bride's representatives play a more active role in this week of events than do those of the groom. It is usually the bride's representative who is the *màì kiràa* (caller) of the musicians and trancers; and their obligation to give gifts to musicians (those playing as well as those merely present) is strong. The playing area is divided spatially between the two groups, each of which is represented principally by its women. At the *kwaanan zàune* and *wunni* performances, held on Thursday night and Friday afternoon, respectively, someone in the bride's family arranges the performance, acting as the „caller”, but since the venue for the performance is the groom's residence, the $[+ \text{amaryaa}]$ attend as guests, not as hosts.

4.09 (sub-categorization)

kid'aa — $\left[\begin{array}{c} \rightarrow \text{wàasaa} / [- \text{trance}] \\ \rightarrow \text{bòorii} / [+ \text{trance}] \end{array} \right]$

The second constituent of *kid'àn gàraayaa* is *kid'aa* (see above, sec. 4.02). Two types of *kid'aa* (lit. „drumming”) are recognized by informants, *wàasaa* and *bòorii*, a significant feature being the presence or absence of trance during the performance.

4.10 (base rule #4)

wàasaa $\rightarrow$ *goorò na buud'èn gàraayaa* + playing

Wàasaa has two constituents, but only the first is named by informants. *Goorò na buud'èn gàraayaa* is the special gift that is given to persuade the musicians to unpack their instruments and get them ready for the performance (see below, sec. 4.11). „Playing” is identified in the analysis as a structural node, and it has two constituents (see below, sec. 4.13).

4.11 (base rule #5)

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{gift} \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ \text{goorò na buud'èn gàraayaa} \rightarrow \text{màì kiràa} \quad \text{gàraayaa group} \end{array}$$

When the musicians arrive at the place where the performance is to be held they do not immediately begin to play. Rather, they wait for the *màì kiràa* (caller) or his/her representative to provide a grass mat placed where they are expected to play, to greet them, and to give the *goorò na buud'èn gàraayaa* (the gift of a few kola nuts, a small bag of candy, and approximately five shillings). When this is done they open the bag in which their *kaayan kid'aa* (lit. „materials for drumming”; musical instruments) are transported and organize themselves for the performance.

4.12 Rule of Exception (transformational rule #2)

gift $\Rightarrow$ deferred payment / [*màì kiràa and màì gàraayaa*] $\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{existing} \\ \text{social} \\ \text{relation-} \\ \text{ship} \end{array} \right]$

Similar to the Rule of Exception in sec. 4.05 the *goorò na buud'èn gàraayaa* is replaceable, in this case by the expectation that another gift will be forthcoming before the performance is over. Whereas the rule in sec. 4.05 refers to a giver and a receiver who are both initiates of the *bòorii* cult, this rule applies to the *màì kiràa* who may or may not hold a cult status and the *gàraayaa*-player. Lastly, this is a description of an optional transformation, i.e., the *màì kiràa* may still give the gift even when a social relationship exists between him/her and the receiver.

4.13 (base rule #6)

playing $\rightarrow$ *kid'àn wàasaa* and gifts

When the *kid'àn wàasaa* begins guests give gifts of money and clothing to the *gàraayaa* group through *maròòkam bàakii* (praise-singers) who describe the gift and the giver in most elaborate detail. While the gift is being announced the *kid'àn wàasaa* stops;

it begins again when the praise-singer presents the gift to the *gàraayaa*-player.

By writing this rule with the conjunction „and” instead of the concatenation symbol, +, a distinction is drawn between the relationship described here and those of previous base rules. Whereas rules written with plus-signs imply that the constituents are independent and temporally ordered, this rule indicates the inter-relationship of the constituents. That is, *kid'àn wàasaa* and gifts occur simultaneously.

4.14 (base rule #7)

kid'àn wàasaa $\rightarrow$ *mabuud'in kid'aa* (*kid'àn Nakaadà*)

Kid'àn wàasaa consists of *mabuud'in kid'aa* (opening drumming) and is optionally concluded with *kid'àn Nakaadà* (lit. „drumming for the spirit, *Nakaadà*”; actually, rhythm, melody, and text are all included within the meaning of this term). King's liturgy places *Nakaadà* at the end of the performance (1966:142—47) as is done here. Greenberg's list places him second from the end (1946:39), but it is fairly certain that this is not meant to reflect performance order. Kano informants say that *Nakaadà* is placed at the end because „he closes the door [of the performance]”.

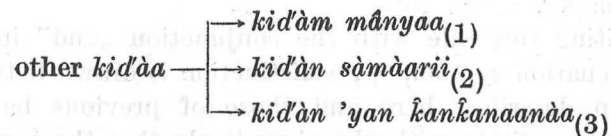
4.15 (base rule #8)

mabuud'in kid'aa $\rightarrow$ *kid'àn Sarkim Makàd'aa* + other *kid'aa*

If *Nakaadà* closes the door it is opened by *Sarkim Makàd'aa* (the chief of drummers). Ames (1972) has suggested that *Sarkim Makàd'aa* is the most important *bòorii* spirit (perhaps because he comes first) and that this is evidence of a symbolic transformation of real life where musicians occupy low status positions. On second glance this does not appear to be true. *Sarkim Makàd'aa* 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.

After *kid'àn Sarkim Makàd'aa* the order of the songs is fairly unpredictable in a specific sense. No Hausa term exists for this node, so „other *kid'aa*” has been used.

4.16 (sub-categorization)



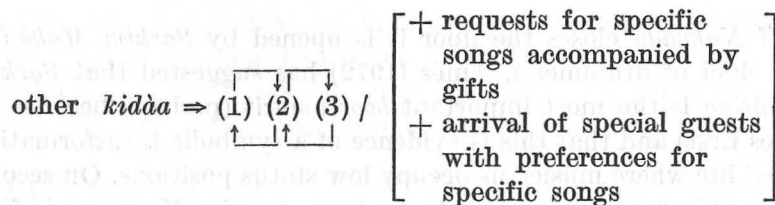
In addition to the many forms of classification available for *b\`oorii* spirits, e.g., black (pagan) or white (Muslim), town or bush, occupation, locale, and probably others, spirits are described according to their rank or generation. *Kid'am m\`anyaa* is „drumming for the important ones”, *kid'an s\`am\`aarii* is „drumming for young ones (of the speaker's own generation or one generation lower)”, and *kid'an 'yan k\`ankanaand\`a* is „drumming for very young ones (lit. „drumming for the children of very small ones)”. It is a fairly comprehensive system, and musicians use it to order a performance. It should be emphasized, however, that within each category there is a great deal of variation from event to event.

4.17 Sequential Rule (transformational rule #3)

other *kid\`aa* $\Rightarrow$ (1) + (2) + (3)

The „normal order of things is *kid'am m\`anyaa* + *kid'an s\`am\`aarii* + *kid'an 'yan k\`ankanaand\`a*

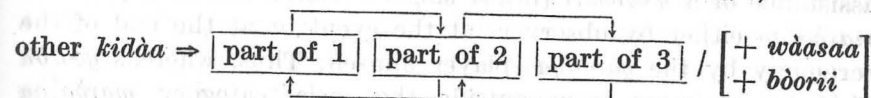
4.18 Rule of Alteration (transformational rule #4)



As a corollary to transformational rule #3, the „normal” order may be adjusted for certain social reasons. It is not uncommon for someone to approach the *g\`araayaa*-player with a request for a song he wants played immediately rather than later. Such requests are usually accompanied by small cash gifts. It is also been observed that when a special guest or *b\`oorii* patron arrives, the *m\`ai g\`araayaa* is very likely to play songs he knows the person

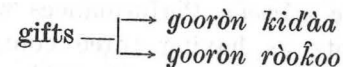
likes. It is, perhaps, not accidental that such an initiative often is rewarded with some gift of appreciation.

4.19 Rule of Elimination (transformational rule #5)



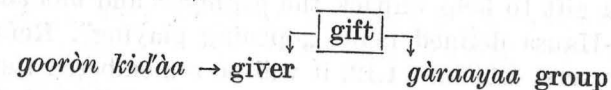
It is not impossible that every spirit's song known by the *m\`ai g\`araayaa* could be played on any occasion, but informants say that it is highly unlikely that this would occur. Therefore, as a corollary to transformational rules #3 and #4, it must be added that any part of any group of songs may be eliminated during any event. It very often happens that the attendance of *'yam b\`oorii* — all of whom have favorite spirits — is given as the reason for abridgment.

4.20 (sub-categorization)



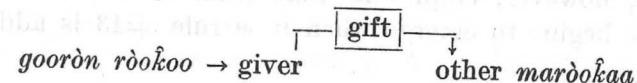
It will be recalled from sec. 4.13 that gift-giving and *kid'an w\`aasaa* occur simultaneously during *w\`aasaa*. Two types of gifts are distinguished, *goor\`on kid'aa* (lit. „kola nuts for drumming”) and *goor\`on r\`o\`okoo* (lit. „kola nuts for begging”; i.e., money given for announcing in the style and manner of a praise-singer).

4.21 (base rule #9)



When the performance is embedded within the week of events for a marriage the usual pattern for giving *goor\`on kid'aa* is for people (mostly women) from the bride's family to give money or cloth through a praise-singer to the *g\`araayaa*-player. Particularly during *kwaanan z\`aune*, the venue for which is the groom's house, people from the groom's family (men and women) join in the giving.

4.22 (base rule #10)



As was mentioned in sec. 4.21 where marriage observances are concerned, it is the bride's family who do most of the giving during *gàraayaa* performances. Rarely do they give without the assistance of a *maròókii* (praise-singer). *Gooròn ròókoo* is given to *maròókaa* either by observers at the event or at the end of the ceremony by the *gàraayaa*-player himself. Thus, whereas *gooròn kid'aa* must come from outside the social category *maròókaa* (praise-singers and musicians), *gooròn ròókoo* can operate as a mechanism for redistribution within the *maròókaa* category.

4.23 (base rule #11)

bòorii → *kid'aa na farkoo* + *kid'am bòorii* + *kid'an kullèewaa*

When a number (at least 3) of 'yam *bòorii* have been invited for the performance and it is anticipated that the spirits can be summoned from Jangare, the event assumes a different character than if it were to be *wàasaa*. Performances with trance are described by informants as having three components: *kid'aa na farkoo* (the first drumming), *kid'am bòorii* (drumming for spirits), and *kid'an kullèewaa* (drumming to lock-up).

4.24 (base rule #12)

kid'aa na farkoo → *goorò na buud'èn gàraayaa* + opening playing

Kid'aa na farkoo has as its constituents *goorò na buud'èn gàraayaa* (a gift to help unpack the *gàraayaa* and *buutaa*-gourds) and a non-Hausa defined node, „opening playing”. Referring to the rules in secs. 4.11 and 4.12, it will be remembered that *goorò na buud'èn gàraayaa* is given by the *màì kiràa* (caller) of the event to the *gàraayaa* group, but that this gift may be replaced by a „deferred payment” when a social relationship already exists between the caller and the *màì gàraayaa*. Thus, except for the fact that *kid'aa na farkoo* is a part of a trance event rather than a non-trance performance, it should be obvious that this rule looks very much like the rule for *wàasaa* found in sec. 4.10. Informants, however, emphasize that there is a difference. This difference begins to emerge when base rule #13 is added.

4.25 (base rule #13)

opening playing → *mabuud'in kid'aa* and gifts

„Opening playing” within the context of a possession ceremony contains the constituents *mabuud'in kid'aa* and gifts, the two of which occur simultaneously. Rules written for *mabuud'in kid'aa* (see above, secs. 4.15—4.19) when it is a part of a non-trance event also apply here for *bòorii*. Further, as with *wàasaa* the giving of gifts momentarily stops the *gàraayaa* while the giver and the gift are announced by a praise-singer (see above, secs. 4.20—4.22). It is because of the many similarities that exist between the two performances that it is not easy immediately to distinguish between them on external/observational grounds alone.

Actually, the only structural difference between *wàasaa* and *bòorii* at this level is that a performance with possession may not include *kid'an Nakaadà* while *wàasaa* may (cf. secs. 4.13 and 4.14). It should be added that there is another distinction based on an expectation of what is to come in the *bòorii* event. Informants claim that the rhythm or pace of a trance performance is different from *wàasaa*. This is confirmed by the observation that possession, when it occurs, usually begins within one-to-three hours after *kid'an Sarkim Makàd'aa*.

4.26 (base rule #14)

kid'am bòorii → *gooròn gwiwàa* + trance sequence

Kid'am bòorii (drumming for spirits) has two constituents *gooròn gwiwàa* (lit. „kola nuts for knees”; trance gift) and trance-sequence music.

4.27 (base rule #15)

gooròn gwiwàa → *màì kiràa* gift 'yam *bòorii*

When possession is to be a part of the event it is customary for the *màì kiràa* (caller) to present the 'yam *bòorii* ([participating] trancers) with a gift of kola nuts, candy, and money. The effect of such a gift is to obligate those who accept it to reciprocate by allowing themselves to become „horses” for *àljànuu* (spirits).

If, however, a social relationship exists between the caller and the receivers, e.g., they all have *bòorii*-cult statuses, the *gooròn gwiiwàa* may be replaced by an obligation (see above, Rule of Exception, sec. 4.05).

4.28 (base rule #16)

trance sequence → *kid'àn zuwàn àljànuu* + possession + *sàukar àljànuu*

Gàraayaa/buutàa music for the trance sequence of a performance contains the constituents *kid'àn zuwàn àljànuu* (drumming for the arrival of spirits), possession, and *sàukar àljànuu* (the departing of spirits). For *àljànuu* to possess initiated devotees they must be invoked by means of special melodies, rhythms, and *kiraarii* praise-epithets during *kid'àn zuwàn àljànuu*. After this first level of trance, frequently marked by behavior resembling catalepsy or epileptic seizure, the *'yam bòorii* dance and move about consistent with the character of the spirits on their necks. Some *àljànuu* treat their „mounts” most roughly, causing them to beat their bodies, throw themselves to the ground, or crash violently through the spectators. Others ride quietly, and their *'yam bòorii* move around as though in a somnambulistic state. When a „mount” sneezes or otherwise returns to himself this is the sign that the spirit which has possessed him has left (*sàukar àljànuu*).

4.29 (base rule #17)

kid'àn zuwàn àljànuu → A (B (C (D (E (faasàa))))))

where: A = *kid'àm Magaajiyar Jangaree*

B = *kid'àn Sarkim Fagàn*

C = *kid'àm Bakar Dooguwa*

D = *kid'àn Sarkin Àljan*

E = *karò da kái* by the *gàraayaa*-player and a trancer

faasàa = ceremony postponed; complete STOP

Trance is normally accomplished during music for important spirits, A, B, C, or D. Briefly, the rule says that if the first level of trance does not occur with A, B is used. If not B, then C and so on until trance is accomplished or the ceremony is broken. In other words the spirits can be invoked with *kid'àm Magaajiyar Jangaree* (drumming for the female spirit, *Magaajiyar Jangaree*),

but if they happen to be far away, *kid'àn Sarkim Fagàn* can be used to call them. If neither of these results in possession it may be necessary to try *kid'àm Bakar Dooguwa*; and if this does not work the *màì gàraayaa* may resort to drumming for the leader of the spirit world, *Sarkin Àljan*. When drumming for A—D is not effective in calling the spirits the problem may be with the *'yam bòorii*. Then the *gàraayaa*-player may hit the forehead of a trancer with his own (*karò da kái*), and this will allow the person to be ridden. If none of these alternatives works the ceremony is postponed (*faasàa*) and everyone simply goes home.

Empirically, it is rare for any except the first constituent to be used. Only once has *karò da kái* been seen, and this was when a young *bòorii*-adept was not able to go into trance after other *'yam bòorii* had. The *gàraayaa*-player held him by his ears, banged foreheads with him, and forced him to the ground. Holding the initiate there with a foot on his neck, the *màì gàraayaa* then played the song for the *d'am bòorii*'s special spirit. Within ten minutes the boy was possessed by *Màì Bàkaa* (The Bowman), and the rest of the ceremony progressed normally.

Typically, *bòorii*-adepts fall into trance in much the same way and at the same time. Sitting on the ground in front of a kerosene pressure-lamp between them and the *gàraayaa/buutàa* musicians, their eyes reveal a blank stare as the pace of the 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 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 *bòorii*-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 *d'àmaruu* (sing. *d'àmaràa*; medicine belt) and a *gwàdò* (a white, hand-woven cloth used as a wrapper) or other simple clothing these are fixed onto the *d'am bòorii* at the possession site.

4.30 (base rule #18)

possession → *kid'àn hawan àljànuu* and *gooròn rawaa*

Possession, the second level of trance when *bòorii*-adepts become mediums for the spirits which possess them, has two constituents which happen simultaneously. While each *dookii* (m., horse) or *good'iyaa* (f., mare) dances in a semi-revived state dressed in clothing symbolically connected with the spirit which is on his or her neck, the *gàraayaa* plays songs for the individual *àljànuu*. As this happens *bòorii*-sympathizers give *gooròn rawaa* (lit. „kola nuts for dancing”) to spirits, symbolizing their obedience to the *àljànuu* which have touched their lives. Normally, *gooròn rawaa* does not stop the performance but is integrated with it.

4.31 (base rule #19)

kid'àn hawan àljànuu → (*kid'àn Sarkim Makàd'aa*) (other *kid'aa*)
(*kid'àn Nakaadà*)

Kid'àn hawan àljànuu (drumming for the riding by spirits) resembles the same order described in secs. 4.16, 4.17, and 4.19. It is possible but rarely happens that inferior (socially) spirits precede superior ones (see above, sec. 4.18) during the second level of trance.

4.32 Obligatory Rule of Elimination (transformational rule #6)

kid'aa ⇒ Ø / non-possession after the first level of trance

Any spirit which fails to reveal itself or secure a mount during *kid'àn zuwàn àljànuu* is eliminated during *kid'àn hawan àljànuu*. Informants say that it is pointless to play a spirit's song during *hawaa* when he has chosen not to be present during the performance.

4.33 (base rule #20)

gooròn rawaa → *màasuu rikòn kwaryaa* cash gift → *'yam bòorii*

Gooròn rawaa, sometimes known as *gooròn hawaa* (lit. „kola nuts for riding”), is given by *màasuu rikòn kwaryaa* (lit. „those

who hold gourds”; *bòorii*-sympathizers, generally people who do not have cult status) in the form of cash to *'yam bòorii* in trance. Specifically, money is given to spirits; it is received by a trancer's attendant and collected in a shoe or hat in front of the *gàraayaa*-player. It is thought that if a *bòorii* sympathizer were to fail to give when a spirit that had recognized him were present at a trance event, this would be considered as an insult by the spirit which might then inflict the *mài rikòn kwaryaa* (sing.) with some malady or ill-fortune.

4.34 (sub-categorization)

sàukar àljànuu —
{

 sneezing by trancer
 coughing by trancer
 rattling in throat by trancer

When a spirit leaves its mount this is signalled by sneezing, coughing, or rattling in the throat. *Sàukar àljànuu* (lit. „dismounting of the spirits”) is not usually accompanied by any special *gàraayaa* playing nor any special attention. It is not uncommon for spirits which travel together (*tàfiyàrsù d'aya*) when both have ridden *'yam bòorii* in the same event, to leave together, their *daiwaakii* (horses) sitting close to each other and sneezing in unison.

4.35 (base rule #21)

kid'àn kullèewaa → *kid'àn rawaa* (*kid'àn Nakaadà*)

When *kid'àm bòorii*, including the trance sequence, is completed it is possible that the guests will want the performance to continue with music for dancing, *kid'àn rawaa*. This part of the event is called *kid'àn kullèewaa* (lit. „drumming for locking-up”) and heavily depends upon the small gifts, *gooròn kid'aa*, which the *gàraayaa*-player receives for his efforts. The performance is optionally concluded with *kid'àn Nakaadà*, but more often than not the song for the final spirit is never heard.

4.36 Rule of Elimination (transformational rule #7)

kid'àn kullèewaa ⇒ Ø /
{

 guests and trancers leave the
fiilin wàasaa after *sàukar*
àljànuu

If the last guests and 'yam bòorii leave when *kid'am bòorii* is concluded with the departure of the *àljànuu*, *kid'an kullèwaa* is not a part of the performance.

4.37 (subcategorization)

rarràbaa — $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \rightarrow \text{at the } \textit{fiilin wàasaa} \\ \rightarrow \text{at the } \textit{gidam mài gàraayaa} \end{array} \right.$

Although not generally considered a part of the performance, *rarràbaa* (lit. „to share out” i.e., money and gifts) is an important part of the relationship which the musicians and trancers have with each other. The divisions are made at two venues, the place of the performance (*fiilin wàasaa*) and the house of the *gàraayaa*-player (*gidam mài gàraayaa*).

4.38 (sub-categorization)

at the *fiilin wàasaa* — $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \rightarrow \text{'yam bòorii} \\ \rightarrow \text{makà'daa} \\ \rightarrow \text{other } \textit{maròòkaa} \end{array} \right.$

Sharing-out is the responsibility of the *gàraayaa*-player who first counts into individual amounts the money (*gooròn rawaa*) given for each of the spirits. Significantly, these totals are identified by the names of the *àljànuu* for which they were given and not by the 'yam bòorii who acted as their mounts. The *mài gàraayaa* keeps from five to ten shillings or one-third (whichever is smaller) of each of these totals for himself and gives the remainder to individual trancers.

He then collects the *gooròn kid'aa*, including kola nuts, bottles of perfume, bolts of cloth, clothing, and cash, and gives two shillings or less to each of the *maròòkaa* (praise-signers) present, whether or not they „worked” during the performance. Predictably, those who worked receive slightly more than those who did not. The *mài gàraayaa* then gives the rest of the *gooròn kid'aa*, uncounted, to an especially-trusted member of his group, and this becomes the *makà'daa*'s (drummers') share. The sharing-out at the *fiilin wàasaa* completed, everyone leaves the performance site.

4.39 (sub-categorization)

at the *gidam mài gàraayaa* — $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \rightarrow \text{mài gàraayaa} \\ \rightarrow \text{màasuru buutoocii} \\ \rightarrow \text{others} \end{array} \right.$

The final division is made at the *gidam mài gàraayaa* (the *gàraayaa*-player's house) where all gifts are counted and inventoried. The *gàraayaa*-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 *maròòkaa* who live near or with him. Payments of this latter type constitute part of his personal obligation to the community.

5.0 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The *bòorii* spirit-possession cult is an aspect of a comprehensive Maguzawa (Hausa-speaking animists) religious system which has survived the pressures of Islam in such Hausa urban centers as Kano. It is noted that local acceptance is based largely on the attractiveness of *bòorii* as an entertainment for weddings and naming ceremonies, and on the attitude that the cult is a source for the ritual healing of illnesses supposedly caused by *àljànuu* (supernatural spirits). In Kano initiation into the cult because of a sustained illness is rare; the usual case is for those who have accepted the validity of ritual healing to consult *bòorii*-adepts about the special sacrifices (animals and alms) which must be made to placate an offended *iskàa* (supernatural spirit). When initiation is prescribed by a *bòorii*-consultant this is normally accomplished in one of the many small villages outside of Kano where *bòorii* clinics are popular.

Bòorii-adepts are collectively described by the term 'yam *bòorii* (lit. „children of the *bòorii*”), which includes an aspect of fictive kinship among co-initiates. This aspect is repeated with the individual terms *d'am bòorii* (lit. „son of the *bòorii*”) and 'yar *bòorii* (lit. „daughter of the *bòorii*”).

Possession is likened to riding, spirits using *bòorii*-initiates as mounts. A *dam bòorii* becomes a *dookii* (m., horse) and a *'yar bòorii* a *good'iyaa* (f., mare). Informants say that *aljānuu* cannot be invoked without the special rhythms, melodies, and praise-words for individual spirits being performed by *bòorii*-associated musicians, either *gàraayaa*, *gòogee*, or *kwaryaa* players. In Kano the *gàraayaa* ensemble is the most popular for public performances and the *kwaryaa* gourds for private, women's performances.

Examining *gàraayaa* performances, it becomes clear that participants' concept of order does not include the liturgical aspect so important in King's earlier work (1966). The absence of liturgy in Kano does not appear to be due simply to the differences between *gàraayaa* and *kwaryaa* performances, although the latter are far more „liturgical” than the former.

In analyzing *kid'àn gàraayaa* certain assumptions about the nature of the event are made. For example, it is assumed that the participants have a sense of what is appropriate and what is not. No attempt has ever been made to construct a performance which purposely violates this hypothesized sense of order; but to some degree, at least, direct questioning yields much the same results as would an artificially constructed performance in testing hypotheses about „rules” for *kid'àn gàraayaa*.

It is also assumed that the data included for the present study are representative of *bòorii*-associated *gàraayaa* performances as a whole. While the corpus of material is not large it is considered to be a valid sample, accounting for the idiosyncracies of individual performers, a range of possible umbrella events (marriages, namings, *sallaa*, and ritual healing), and geographic diversity (rural and urban parts of Kano State).

The transformational model was chosen for the analysis because it contains an acceptable format for expressing relationships between separate layers of constituents. That these relationships exist is confirmed by informant testimony and scientific observation. While some structural nodes are not named by the participants, their existence is seen to be no less real than the structural categories of language itself, most of which are not labeled by native speakers.

The analysis contains musical and social data, but it is de-

scribed in the context of event process. Throughout a performance the number and type of exchanges, real and symbolic, is impressive. While the present paper is not intended to be a definitive statement on exchange between cult members and musicians, it is supposed to give the reader the impression of such a network. Certainly, exchange and event structures are closely related, and this is reflected in rules with „gift” as a constituent.

Finally two types of performances are distinguished by informants, *bòorii* and *wàasaa*, depending on the presence or absence of possession during the event. On the surface it is difficult to separate *bòorii* from *wàasaa* until either a trance sequence begins or everyone goes home. That is, if people leave without there having been trance, it is obvious that the performance has been *wàasaa* rather than *bòorii*. That there is some underlying structure is clear since the participants have no doubt in their minds about the type of performance they expect before it begins. Besides „expectation” which is not built into the structural rules, there seems to be just one surface difference between *wàasaa* and the pre-trance section of *bòorii*. That difference is the *possibility* that the music for the final spirit (*kid'àn Nakaada*) may occur in the opening section for *wàasaa* but not for *bòorii*.

REFERENCES CITED

- Ames, David W., 1972. *A Sociological View of Hausa Musical Activity*, in: d'Azevedo, Warren L. *The Traditional Artist in African Societies*, Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, pp. 128—161.
- Greenberg, Joseph H., 1946. *The Influence of Islam on a Sudanese Religion*. New York: J. J. Augustin. 75 pp.
- King, Anthony V., 1966. *A Bòorii Liturgy From Katsina: Introduction and Kiràarì Texts*, „African Language Studies” 7: 105—25.
- Mauss, Marcel, 1925 (1954). *The Gift*, trans. by Ian Cunnison. London: Cohen and West.

Tremearne, A. J. N., 1914 (1968). *The Ban of the Bori: Demons and Demon-Dancing in West and North Africa*, London: Frank Cass. 497 pp.

Turner, Victor W., 1968. *The Drums of Affliction: A Study of Religious Processes Among the Ndembu of Zambia*, Oxford: Clarendon Press and The International African Institute. 326 pp.

APPENDIX

SUMMARY OF RULES

Base rule (section)

1. (4.01)

#*kid'àn gàraayaa* #

2. (4.02)

kid'àn gàraayaa → *shirìn kid'àa* + *kid'àa* + *rarràbaa*

(4.3) sub-categorization:

shirìn kid'àa — $\begin{cases} \rightarrow \text{gooròn kid'àa} \\ \rightarrow \text{invitations to guests} \end{cases}$

3. (4.04)

gooròn kiràa → *mài kiràa* $\begin{cases} \text{gift} \\ \rightarrow \text{performing group} \\ \text{(receivers)} \end{cases}$

(4.06) sub-categorization:

performing group — $\begin{cases} \rightarrow \text{gàraayaa group} \\ \rightarrow \text{'yam bòorii} \end{cases}$

(4.07) sub-categorization:

invitations to guests — $\begin{cases} \rightarrow [+ \text{wedding}] \\ \rightarrow [- \text{wedding}] \end{cases}$

(4.08) sub-categorization:

[+ wedding] — $\begin{cases} \rightarrow [+ \text{amaryaa}] \\ \rightarrow [- \text{amaryaa}] \end{cases}$

(4.09) sub-categorization:

kid'àa — $\begin{cases} \rightarrow \text{wàasaa} / [- \text{trance}] \\ \rightarrow \text{bòorii} / [+ \text{trance}] \end{cases}$

4. (4.10)

wàasaa → *goorò na buud'èn gàraayaa* + playing

5. (4.11)

goorò na buud'èn gàraayaa → *mài kiràa* $\begin{cases} \text{gift} \\ \rightarrow \text{gàraayaa group} \end{cases}$

6. (4.13)

playing → *kid'àn wàasaa* and gifts

7. (4.14)

kid'àn wàasaa → *mabuud'in kid'àa* (*kid'àn Nakaasà*)

8. (4.15)

mabuud'in kid'àa → *kid'àn Sarkim Makà'daa* + other *kid'àa*

(4.16) sub-categorization:

other *kid'àa* — $\begin{cases} \rightarrow \text{kid'àm m'anyaa}(1) \\ \rightarrow \text{kid'àn sàmàarii}(2) \\ \rightarrow \text{kid'àn 'yan k'ank'anaanaa}(3) \end{cases}$

(4.20) sub-categorization

gifts — $\begin{cases} \rightarrow \text{gooròn kid'àa} \\ \rightarrow \text{gooròn ròókoo} \end{cases}$

9. (4.21)

gooròn kid'àa → giver $\begin{cases} \text{gift} \\ \rightarrow \text{gàraayaa group} \end{cases}$

10. (4.22) *gooròn ròòkoo* → giver gift other *maròòkaa*
11. (4.23) *bòorii* → *kid'aa na farkoo* + *kid'am bòorii* + *kid'an kullèwaa*
12. (4.24) *kid'aa na farkoo* → *goorò na buud'en gàraayaa* + opening playing
13. (4.25) opening playing → *mabuud'in kid'aa* and gifts
14. (4.26) *kid'am bòorii* → *gooròn gwiwàa* + trance sequence
15. (4.27) *gooròn gwiwàa* → *mài kiràa* gift 'yam *bòorii*
16. (4.28) trance sequence → *kid'an zuwàn àljànuu* + possession + *sàukar àljànuu*
17. (4.29) *kid'an zuwàn àljànuu* → A (B (C (D (E (faasàa)))))
 where A = *kid'am Magaajiyar Jangaree*
 B = *kid'an Sarkim Fagàn*
 C = *kid'am Bakar Dooguwa*
 D = *kid'an Sarkin Àljan*
 E = *karò da kái* by the *gàraayaa*-player and a trancer
faasàa = ceremony postponed; complete STOP
18. (4.30) possession → *kid'an hawan àljànuu* and *gooròn rawaa*

19. (4.31) *kid'an hawan àljànuu* → (*kid'an Sarkim Makà'daa*) (other *kid'aa*) (*kid'an Nakaadà*)
20. (4.33) *gooròn rawaa* → *màasuu rìkòn kwaryaa* cash gift 'yam *bòorii*
- (4.34) sub-categorization:
sàukar àljànuu → sneezing by trancer
 → coughing by trancer
 → rattling in throat by trancer
21. (4.35) *kid'an kullèwaa* → *kid'an rawaa* (*kid'an Nakaadà*)
 constraint: requests for specific songs are possible when accompanied by *gooròn kid'aa*
- (4.37) sub-categorization:
rarràbaa → at the *fiilin wàasaa*
 → at the *gidam mài gàraayaa*
- (4.38) sub-categorization:
 at the *fiilin wàasaa* → 'yam *bòorii*
 → *makà'daa*
 → other *maròòkaa*
- (4.39) sub-categorization:
 at the *gidam mài gàraayaa* → *mài gàraayaa*
 → *màasuu buutoocii*
 → others
- Transformational rule
 (section)
 T. 1 (4.05) Rule of Exception
 gift ⇒ obligation / *mài kiràa* and receiver
[+ *bòorii*] [+ *bòorii*] [+ existing
social
relationship]

T. 2 (4.12) Rule of Exception

gift $\Rightarrow$ deferred payment / [màì kiràa and màì gàraayaa]
 [+ existing social relationship]

T. 3 (4.17) Sequential Rule

other *kid'aa* $\Rightarrow$ (1) + (2) + (3)
 where (1) = *kid'am m'anyaa*; (2) = *kid'an sàmàarii*;
 (3) = *kid'an 'yan kankanaandà*

T. 4 (4.18) Rule of Elimination

other *kid'aa* $\Rightarrow$ (1) (2) (3) /
 [+ requests for specific songs accompanied by gifts]
 [+ arrival of special guests with preferences for specific songs]

T. 5 (4.19) Rule of Elimination

other *kid'aa* $\Rightarrow$

part of 1	part of 2	part of 3
-----------	-----------	-----------

 / [+ wàasaa]
 [+ b'òorii]

T. 6 (4.32) Rule of Elimination (obligatory)

kid'aa $\Rightarrow$ $\emptyset$ / non-possession after 1st level of trance

T. 7 (4.36) Rule of Elimination

kid'an kullèewaa $\Rightarrow$ $\emptyset$ / [guests and trancers leave the
 f'ilin wàasaa after sàukar àljànau].

WŁODZIMIERZ ZAJĄCZKOWSKI

KARAIMISCHE KULTISCHE LIEDER

Das karaimische Schrifttum in karaimisch-türkischer Sprache deckt sich in seinen Anfängen ziemlich genau mit dem Begriff der religiösen Literatur der Karaimen. Neben den Übersetzungsarbeiten am gesamten Kanon der Bibel entwickelte sich recht früh eine rege Tätigkeit auch auf dem Gebiete der religiösen Poesie.

Von den vielen in karaimisch-türkischer Sprache abgefaßten Werken verdienen Beachtung die Hymnen. Neben den Hymnen war viel verbreitet ebenfalls das Gelegenheitsgedicht, die sogenannten *zemerler*.

Einige Sammlungen dieser den alltäglichen Ereignissen oder dem religiösen Brauchtum gewidmeten Gedichte sind zwar, unter anderen von Tadeusz Kowalski in „Rocznik Orientalistyczny“ III, 1927, S. 216—54, 344 u. T. *Chants rituels dans le dialecte des Karaïtes de Troki* sowie von Alexander Mardkowitz *Zemerler*, Łuck 1930 schon ediert worden. Aber viele weitere Sammlungen dieser kostbaren Schätze der Sprache und der Literatur der Karaimen aus der Feder verschiedener, dem Namen nach meist bekannter Verfasser, stecken, noch in kaum zugänglichen Handschriften.

In diesem Beitrag veröffentliche ich fünf Lieder, die während des Beschneidungsfeiers von den Teilnehmern gesungen werden. Es sind die Übersetzungen aus Hebräischem.

I. *Bolpey bazlīx bu yīyīnda*

Das hebräische Original dieses Liedes *Jehi šalom behelenu* befindet sich im karaimischen Gebetbuch herausgegebenen von Szyzman, Wilno 1892, IV, S. 151.