

NOTES ON MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS AMONG THE FULANI OF DIAMARE (NORTH CAMEROON)

by

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I. Introduction

The Central Sudan, enclosing the northern parts of the Cameroons and Nigeria, South-Niger and parts of Chad, has been viewed by different scholars under various aspects as one coherent area sharing certain cultural traits. Some of these are due to the impact of Islam during the past 500 years: town-culture, feudal social hierarchy, class distinctions, and literacy.

The impact of Islam is strongest among the Hausa, Fulani¹, Kanembu, Kanuri, Manga, Kotoko, and Shoa Arabs. For more than five centuries there has been a constant flow of economic, social and cultural exchange between these groups which also left its traces in the musical culture. Ethnomusicology does not seem to have focused very much on this area², the Hausa being in fact the only ethnic group whose musical culture can be said to have been thoroughly explored³. Kanuri, Manga, and Shoa music are almost unknown, while the musical cultures of the Kanembu and Kotoko received at least some attention in few articles and casual record notes⁴. As for the Fulani of Cameroon some records exist⁵, but no written information on their music is available. Hence, this paper attempts to give a general account of the musical organology of the Fulani in North Cameroon and to contribute to the completion of ethnomusicological knowledge in this area⁶ through the presentation of new material and the basic facts of Fulani organology (names of instruments and their parts, social usage, history).

II. Fulani Musical Culture

The Fulani of Diamaré, a plain in the extreme north of Cameroon⁷, are part of the huge Fulani nation of now about 6 million people living in the savannah belt of West and Central Africa. The Diamaré Fulani originated in Macina (in present-day Mali) from where they emigrated in the 16th century. After having stayed in Hausa and Kanuri territory for some generations they finally arrived in Diamaré by the end of the 17th century. The usual Hausa classification of *Filanin gida* ("town Fulani") and *Filanin daji* ("bush Fulani") does not operate in Diamaré, since a majority of 81% of the Fulani are farmers, while only 6% specialise in stock-farming (Podlewski 1966:16). With about 50% of the total population of Diamaré, the Fulani occupy a leading social and political position, while the other half consists of six major non-Islamic groups (Giziga, Tupuri, Mundang, Mofu, Musgun, and Mboku). Although Islam is embraced by these groups with growing rapidity, musical culture contact between them and the Fulani does not take place. For the past 150 years the Fulani social system roughly resembled that of the Hausa kingdoms, with a king (*laamii'do*, pl. *laamii'be*) on top of the hierarchy, followed by a small class of noblemen and

free Fulani farmers, and a mass of serfs, slaves and people of low occupational groups (musicians, for instance) at the bottom. In recent times, this system has changed greatly, ruling positions now being occupied by a class of *nouveaux riches* of merchants and state officials.

Fulani musical culture, like many other cultural and social institutions of Diamaré, corresponds with Hausa models in many ways. The only substantial difference may be the fact that the "holy war" (*jihād*) waged against the "pagan" Hausa states and the foundation of the Sokoto empire by Fulani religious leaders in the early 19th century had a stronger puritanic impact in the eastern Adamawa province than in the centre of the empire itself: Fulani musical life seems less richer and vivid than in Hausaland.

Non-professional music-making is the least important field of Fulani musical activity. As this kind of music-making is socially disapproved when done in public, it is restricted to either informal purposes or to a strictly private atmosphere on rare social events.

Generally musical activity is the responsibility of three groups of professional musicians. These are by order of statistical importance⁸:

<i>daacoo'be</i> (sing. <i>daacoowo</i>)	4,8%	of all professional musicians
<i>boo'en</i> (sing. <i>bojo</i>)	9,6%	of all professional musicians
<i>wambaa'be</i> (sing. <i>bambaa'do</i>)	85,6%	of all professional musicians

The *daacoo'be* who do not use musical instruments must be regarded as the Fulani professional musicians *par excellence*. It can be asserted that they were the first professional Fulani musicians before the definitive settlement in Diamaré. They are stock-farmers of pure Fulani origin without exception, and so are their clients. The *daacoo'be*'s repertoire consists only of praise-songs glorifying their clients' wealth in cattle and women.

The *boo'en* are the most recent group of professional musicians that emerged at the beginning of this century. Like the *daacoo'be* they are pure Fulani and stock-farmers, but their clients are *laamii'be* (kings) for whom they recite long epic poems. Most of these poems deal with local Fulani history, while some are in the tradition of the Islamic penitential sermon.

The *wambaa'be* are in close dependence of the Fulani system of kingship. Their formation as an occupational group dates back to the end of the 18th century when Fulani courts were first established in Diamaré. Unlike their fellow musicians of the *daacoo'be*- and *boo'en*-groups whom they do not esteem very much, not all *wambaa'be* are of Fulani origin. As a result of the Fulani iconoclasm during the 19th century *jihād* ("holy war"), 32,9% of the *wambaa'be* are still of foreign ethnic origin even today⁹. The remaining 67,1% of Fulani *wambaa'be* represent a new phenomenon, for most of them realized only recently that professional music-making can be a welcome source of additional income.

The clients of the *wambaa'be* can be roughly divided into three groups. The first is the ruling nobility, i.e. the *laamii'be* (kings) and court dignitaries. Relationships between this group of clients and the *wambaa'be* are conceived in terms of mutual obligations and faithfulness. *Wambaa'be* attached to royal courts by permanent and often hereditary bonds have to perform for their clients on regular, recurring occasions. The clients in turn offer economic support. The majority of clients in

Fulani society can be grouped in the remaining two classes. The second group includes wealthy merchants, state officials, and more rarely, exceedingly rich farmers. The third group comprises ordinary people such as petty farmers and traders. Relationships between these groups and the *wambaa'be* are of a less permanent nature and are similar to those between freelance craftsmen and their business partners. The relationship between *laamii'be* and *wambaa'be* has the character of a highly formalized institution involving a master-servant relationship, while that between *wambaa'be* and the other groups is largely viewed as the exchange of commodities.

With few exceptions, the main body of musical genres produced by the *wambaa'be* are praise-songs (*mantoore*), performed on the occasion of particular social events which vary with the groups of clients addressed. With the *laamii'be* (kings) these events centre around court ceremonies such as the weekly greeting-ceremony on Thursday night and Friday morning. Wealthy merchants are the main clients in a number of events such as naming ceremonies, weddings, and a ceremony called *dubdo* in which solidarity with community members is expressed through ostentatious gift-giving. Ordinary people do not establish contact with *wambaa'be* except during a highly popular form of entertainment (*hiirde*) when men compete for the favours of local prostitutes. Yet however varied these social events may be, they always express the same socially valued norms: prosperity, lineage descent, power, etc. In the context of praise-singing, generosity in the giving away of gifts to the *wambaa'be* is the only appropriate means to show conformity with social norms, and the image of the client that has been depicted in the song performed in his honour. Payment which fails to appear or gifts reckoned as mean by community and *wambaa'be* standards will provoke the musicians' sanctions such as offence and mockery. It is thus the social function of these praise-songs to secure the social *status quo* by confirming the legitimacy of personal fortune and class distinctions.

III. Terms for Musical Instruments and their Parts

The names of musical instruments as shown in Appendix A can be divided into four categories depending on the languages and linguistic forms:

1. The first category includes all terms proper to Fulfulde, the Fulani language. Quite often these terms can be translated as for instance those of the *baggu*-type of drums. In Fulfulde *baggu* simply means "drum". While *baggu* is a term which only applies to drums, *luwal*, *tummude*, and *faadu* also refer to objects other than musical instruments. *Luwal* means "(animal) horn", *tummude* means "calabash", and *faadu* is the term for any bottle-gourd. The term *jalo* for the iron bells is derived from Shoa *jallo* ("bell"). *Toonteere*, an original Fulfulde term for "kettle-drum", might be derived from the verb *toonta* ("to reply"). *Wombere*, finally, is a synonym of *gombal*, the term for a section of a corn-stalk (Taylor 1932:66).

- 2.- This category includes all terms which have been integrated into Fulfulde from foreign languages by suffixation. Their distinguishing mark is the termination on the suffix *-ru*, which is in fact a common Fulfulde suffix for foreign words. Two of these terms ending on *-ru*, have been integrated without further changes: *algaytaaru* from Hausa *algaita*, and *moolooru* from Hausa *molo*. Others like *zantuuru*, *buusawru* and

gegeeru show slight modifications. As the Fulani do not know the Hausa sound *-sh-*, it is usually transformed into *-j-*, *-z-*, or *-c-* in Diamaré whenever a Hausa word with this sound is used. As for *buusawru*, there is probability that the word comes from the Hausa verb *busa* ("to blow"). *Gegeeru* is a strange mixture of Arabic, Hausa and Fulfulde elements. As the original Arabic word is *ghūghā* (Hause 1948: 20), it was assimilated in Hausa as *gōge*. This Hausa mediation is still perceptible in the synonymous Fulfulde-form *gogiiro*. *Gegeeru* might be a stronger Fulfulde-form which still retains the verb *yeegugo* ("to stroke"). The suffix *-ru-* in *kun̄kuru* would suggest that this term also belongs to the second category. There is some evidence that the term is a Fulfulde variant of *gaṅgá*, for Harris (Harris 1930:315) notes an instrument in Yauri called *gunguru*. As this instrument is described as a cylindrical double-membrane snared-drum (Harris 1932:116), *gunguru* can be identified as a Fulfulde variant under the condition that it also refers to this type of drum. In Diamaré, however, where *kun̄kuru* are the two small kettle-drums, and where the transformation of the initial *-g-* in *gaṅgá* into *-k-* is unlikely, it is possible that *kun̄kuru* is derived from the Kanuri term *kungúlu* (see also section VII).

3. The third category comprises foreign terms that have been subject to considerable changes in their entire structure. Some of these words differ from their original source, in that a sound unknown to Fulfulde has been assimilated, while the rest of the morphemes were left unaltered. As *-sh-*, for instance, is alien to Fulfulde, *sham'bara* has been transformed into *cambara*, *gashi* into *gaasi*. Likewise, the Arabic cluster *-bl-* is not spoken in Fulfulde, and the *-bl-* in *ṭabl* became *-bal* in *tumbal* and *-bel* in the diminutive form *tumbel*¹⁰. A somewhat different case is *ciidal* which certainly derives from the less apparent Kotoko-form *šila*. Taylor's etymological derivation (Taylor 1932:173) from the Fulfulde verb *siida* ("to joke") seems less probable. *Kun̄kuru* has also to be integrated into this group because of the shift from *-g-* to *-k-* and because the Kanuri sound *ɽ* is unknown in Fulfulde.

4. The last category includes words which have been taken over from foreign languages without further modifications: *gaṅgá kúrà*, *garaya*, and *kolo*.

The plural forms of these terms do not generally correspond with those of their respective etymological sources. Apart from the first category, which uses the appropriate Fulfulde plurals, and the second category, which has the correct plural suffix *-ji* of the *du*-class, plural forms in category three and four are more or less open to new formations. In *garayaa* and *gaasiiji*, the usual *-ru* singular suffix of category two subconsciously served as a point of departure although the original Hausa resp. Kanuri plurals are *garayu* and *gashía*. The *-en* in the plural of *cambara* is another common Fulfulde plural suffix for foreign words. The plural on *-e* in *ciidal* conforms to the Fulfulde rules prescribing an *-e* for the plural of the *-gal* class to which the term *ciidal* might belong.

In contrast to the collective terms for instruments, which are used and understood by every member of the society, names for parts of instruments are specialized terms often used according to individual preference and knowledge. Whereas most non-musicians would not be able to name these parts, the *wambaa'be* tend to offer divergent terms depending on their ethnic origin. For instance, some Fulani *wambaa'be* would call the disc of the reed-holder on the *algayta* by the appropriate Fulfulde word for "disc": *be'du*. Others still would use *nyorgo* which more correctly applies to plaited pot-lids. Hausa-*wambaa'be*, however, will refer to this part

as *garkuwa*.

The following table presents all terms for musical instruments and their respective etymology:

Fulfulde term	Hausa etymology	Kanuri etymology	Arabic etymology	Kotoko etymology
all drums of the <i>baggu</i> type				
<i>faadu</i>				
<i>luwal</i>				
<i>toonteere</i>				
<i>tummude</i>				
<i>wombere</i>				
<i>algayta(aru)</i>	<i>algaita</i>		<i>al-ghaita</i>	
<i>buusawru</i>	<i>busa</i>			
<i>gegeeru</i>	<i>goge</i>		<i>ghūghā</i>	
<i>moolooru</i>	<i>molo</i>			
<i>zantuuru</i>	<i>shantu</i>			
<i>bomboro</i>	<i>bambaro</i>			
<i>cambara</i>	<i>sham'bara</i>			
<i>ciidal</i>				<i>šila</i>
<i>gaasi</i>		<i>gashī</i>		
<i>kuṅkuru</i>		<i>kuṅgūṅu</i>		
<i>tumbel</i>			<i>tabl</i>	
<i>gaṅgá kúrà</i>		<i>gaṅgá kúrà</i>		
<i>garaya</i>	<i>garaya</i>			
<i>(kolo)</i>		<i>koló</i>		

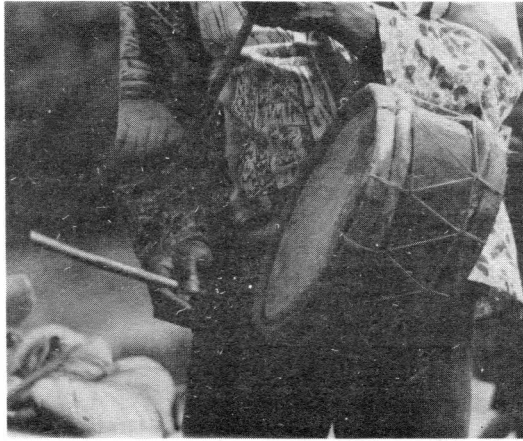
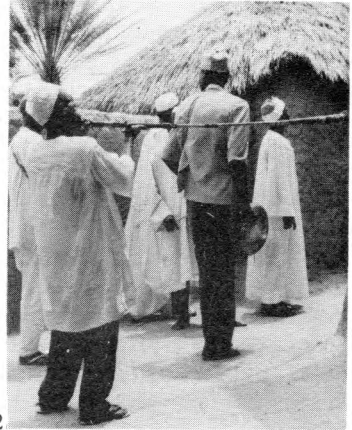
Surprisingly, the linguistic classification established above does not correspond with the respective geographical, ethnic, and historical origin of the instruments. For instance, not all instruments bearing Hausa names – as one might suppose – have been imported from Hausaland. Likewise, Bagirmi or Kotoko names do not necessarily indicate that the instrument came to the Fulani from these areas. As puzzling as the linguistic situation might appear, it can nevertheless tell something about the organological situation in Fulani musical culture. This will become clear in the following sections where I shall try to view and classify musical instruments under geographical, ethnic, and historical perspectives.

IV. Instruments of Arab Origin

As a result of the penetration of Islam, six musical instruments played among the Fulani are of Arab origin. Most of these instruments were unknown to the Fulani before their *jihād* ("holy war") and have been adopted from the Hausa or Kanuri. Since the Arab origins of some of these instruments, such as the oboe *algayta* (see Fig. 1) and the long trumpets *gaasi* (see Fig. 2) have been discussed by various scholars, I shall not enter into a detailed discussion of these Arab sources here¹¹.



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3 4



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Fig. 1. *Algayta*

Fig. 2. *Gaasi*

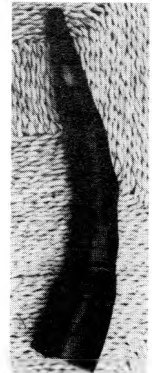
Fig. 3. *Tumbel*

Fig. 4. *Toonteere*

Fig. 5. *Wombere* (left),
tummude (right)

Fig. 6. *Luwal*

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It should be noted, however, that in some cases the Arabic or derived Fulfulde terms do not correspond with the original Arab instrument. For instance, the Arabic *tabl*, which served as the etymological source for the Fulfulde *tumbel* (see Fig. 3), refers to kettle-drums in Arab musical culture. Among the Fulani, however, the kettle-drum is called *toonteere* (see Fig. 4), while the term *tabl* came to be applied to the frame drum *tumbel*.

V. Instruments of Fulani Origin

Of the 24 musical instruments played among the Fulani only four can be said to be of old Fulani origin. Most of them are still in use today among the nomadic Fulani of those areas which the Diamaré Fulani left 400 years ago. The flute *womhere*, (see Fig. 5) for example, has to be regarded as one of the oldest instruments of Fulani musical culture. Among the various Fulani groups of Mali, Niger, and Benin the instrument is known as *sereendu*, *fulannu*¹², or *poopiliwal* (Ba 1966:85). While the material of construction may vary here, and the Diamaré Fulani do not bind the flute with bark, the instrument is always an end-blown flute, blown out of the side of the mouth. Among the Fulani of Diamaré *womhere* used to be played by shepherds until shortly after World War II. Then it came to be treated as an instrument of professional musicians, while at the same time the traditional stalk of millet was substituted for by an iron pipe. The calabash gourd *tummude* (see Fig. 5) is also of ancient origin, as it is known not only to all the nomadic Fulani, but also to many other ethnic groups such as the Songhai, for instance (Surugue 1972:49-63). Naturally, bowls of gourd are among the few household goods nomadic Fulani usually carry with them. Unlike the Djelgobe Fulani of Niger who also play *tummude* pressed against the chest and across stretched legs¹², the Diamaré Fulani only play it upside-down on the ground. The technique of rubbing the calabash along a wooden stick seems to be peculiar only to the Diamaré Fulani.

Toonteere (see Fig. 4), the wooden kettle-drum, although of old Arab origin, is probably the only drum the Fulani knew before they settled in Diamaré. The "Histoire de Pette", a local chronicle of Diamaré, recorded by E. Mohammadou, mentions that *toonteere* has been carried along during the Fulani emigration from Bornu into Diamaré (Mohammadou 1970:282).

Though the Fulfulde term *faadu* suggests a Fulani origin of the gourd-rattle, there are no references to its use among the nomadic Fulani. Nikiprowetzky (n.d.:75) has a photo of a gourd-rattle which he believes to be a Fulani instrument. Its name, however, would suggest that it is a Hausa instrument. *Caki da gyan'dama* (Nikiprowetzky spells it *tchakis di gendama*) is in fact the gourd-rattle of the Hausa (see Ames and King 1971:5-6) but unlike the Fulani instrument the Hausa rattle has a handle attached to it.

Luwal, the horn, finally (see Fig. 6), could possibly be of ancient origin as well. Although Eguchi (1973) in his account of the Fulani circumcision rites in Maroua does not mention the playing of this horn, the only player I met with said that he was a barber who also circumcised and played the horn during the rites. Under the condition that *luwal* is or used to be associated with circumcision rites, and in view of the archaic character of the texts going with these rites, we may assume that *luwal* is an ancient Fulani instrument.

With the exception of *wombere*, *faadu*, and *tummude* which feature among the most popular instruments nowadays, *toonteere* and *luwal* are almost out of use. Although most courts of *laamii'be* and District Heads still possess an often broken specimen of *toonteere*, its function as a signalling instrument has been largely replaced by gun-shots. *Luwal* does not seem to have been very popular even in former times, because circumcision rites which use musical instruments and which do not conform with the Islamic tradition, have been frowned upon by the leaders of the *jihād* (Eguchi 1973:205, n.6).

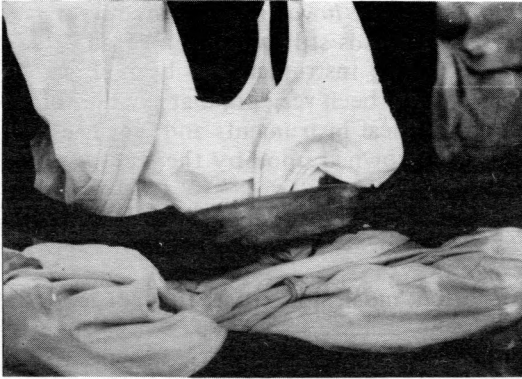
VI. Instruments of Hausa Origin

As opposed to what has been said too often, musical instruments in the Central Sudan that are commonly associated with the penetration of Islam, like the long brass trumpets, were not necessarily adopted from the Hausa. Although in the case of the brass-trumpets the Hausa term *kakaki* has become widely accepted, there is some evidence that the instrument was in fact first used in Bornu (Besmer 1971: 77, Smith 1964:351p.). Likewise, the term *gayga* quite often passed for a genuine Hausa generic term for the double-membrane cylindrical snared-drum played all over West Africa. It seems, however, that *gaygá* is a Kanuri term and that the instrument is of old Bornu origin. In fact, one finds that only six Fulani instruments are of Hausa origin: *cambara*, *moolooru*, *buusawru*, *bomboro*, *garaya*, and *zantuuru*. With the exception of the rubbing stick *cambara* and the jaw's harp *bomboro* all these instruments have most presumably been adopted by the Fulani during the state foundations in Diamaré. *Buusawru*, entirely identical with the Hausa horn *k'aho* (for a photo see Ames and King 1971: Fig. 2) is only found in three specimens at the court of the *laamii'do* of Maroua. Here, as among the Hausa, the instrument is considered as the paramount instrument associated with kingship, and it is also played by the chief of all court musicians, i.e. *sarkin bambadawa*. Although the Hausa parallel is obvious, it cannot be excluded that the instrument is originally a widespread instrument of "pagan" tribes of the Chad area¹³.

As for the three-stringed lute *moolooru* (see Fig. 7), its history has been recently explored by K. Gourlay (1976). Its adoption by the Fulani is certainly as old as that of the horn *buusawru*. Following informants' statements, it was at first played in connection with the calabash gourd *tummude* (as it is still today), until in about 1900 it was also combined with *cambara* in the *moolooru dammere* ensemble (see section IX and Appendix B). The two-stringed lute *garaya* (see Fig. 8) is not a very popular instrument today, as it is only played by a few members of the hunters' occupational group. Emphasis, however, has to be put on the fact that the Fulani *garaya* does not correspond with the Hausa instrument of the same name. Rather it is a variant of the Hausa *k'wamsa* (Krieger 1968:407p.).

Zantuuru derived from the Hausa *shantu* (see the front cover of the record Bärenreiter Musicaphon BM30L 2307, Nigeria – Hausa Music II), is the most popular instrument of non-professional musicians today, and it is an essential part of any household. I cannot say positively whether it is of recent importation or not¹⁴.

According to some *wam̄baa'be*, the rubbing stick (see Fig. 9) *cambara* was not played before the turn of the century, and is quickly dying out today. In the area of Maroua it is only played by two groups of *wam̄baa'be*. *Bomboro* is an imitation of



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Fig. 7. *Moolooru*

Fig. 8. *Garaya*

Fig. 9. *Cambara*

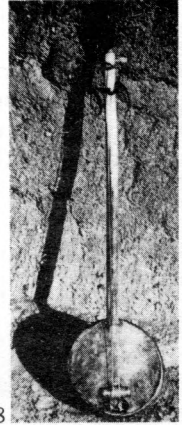
Fig. 10. *Mbaggu*

ca'b'baawu

Fig. 11. *Mbaggu*

luudirgu

Fig. 12. *Gangá kùrà*

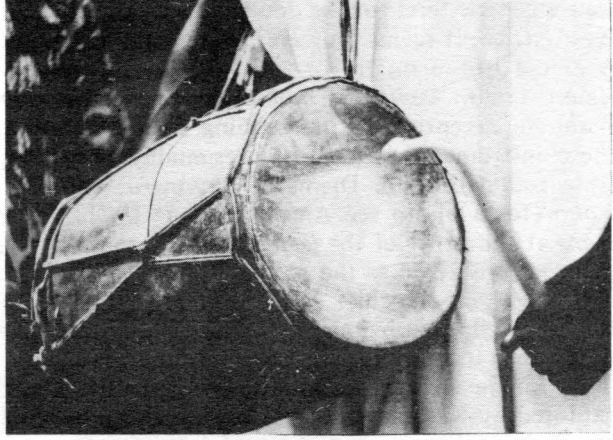


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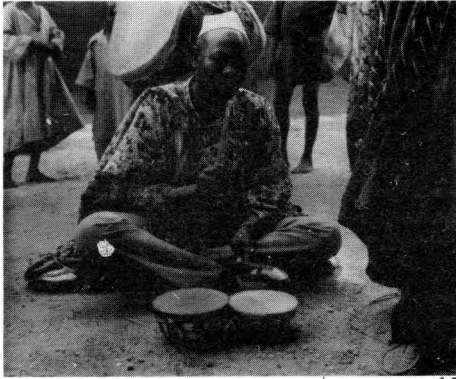
the European jaw's harp and replaced the Hausa *zagadu* (Krieger 1968:418p.). Its date of introduction in Diamaré should not be long ago (although well before the thirties), for Schaeffner (1933:70) saw it in Garoua (200km south of Maroua) in 1932 played by a Hausa smith. Since the release of S. Arom's record of Djelgobe Fulani music of Niger¹² we also know that the jaw's harp is not entirely unknown among other Fulani groups. Of old, forgotten nomadic origin, then, and reintroduced by Hausa mediation in the first decades of this century, *bomboro* did not enjoy more than a temporary renaissance. In Diamaré, it used to be quite popular with youngsters of both sexes some five years ago, but in 1976 it was not played any more and there was only one smith in Maroua who knew how to manufacture it.

VII. Instruments of Kanuri Origin

As has been pointed out, the Hausa influence on Sudanese culture has been less effective than has been assumed. The Diamaré Fulani have been in quite lengthy contact with the empire of Bornu and the deep influence of Kanuri culture has left marked traces in Fulfulde. Similarly, many musical instruments have been adopted from Bornu. Although not much is known of Kanuri musical culture¹⁵, it is clear that above all the Kanuri double-membrane cylindrical snared-drum *ganyá* served as prototype for all drums of the *baggu*-type. As *baggu ca'b'baawu* (see Fig. 10) and *baggu-luudirgu* (see Fig. 11) form a part of the *ganyal*- and *buusaw(ru)*-ensembles performing for important court ceremonies, there can be little doubt that both types look back on a long period of use among the Fulani, which certainly began with the establishment of the state hierarchy and courts in the early 19th century¹⁶. *Ganyá kúrà* (see Fig. 12) is a drum which is not met with among the Hausa, and although its name indicates a Kanuri origin, there is no reliable information as to its use among the Kanuri. Lukas' definition as a "drum of the Shenu which is beaten with both hands at both sides" (Lukas 1967:200), does not mention that the rear membrane is beaten with a straight stick.

Apart from the drums of the *baggu*-type and *ganyá kúrà*, most instruments of Arab origin came to the Fulani (and Hausa) through the mediation of the Bornu empire. This is clearest in the case of the brass trumpet *gaasi* which is etymologically close to Kanuri *gashi*. While most West African tribes copied the Hausa term *kakaki*, the Diamaré Fulani preferred to adopt the Kanuri term. Like the oboe *algayta*, which was most probably used first in the Bornu empire and subsequently spread to Hausaland, both these instruments first became part of the court regalia during the early 19th century¹⁷.

Although the pair of kettle-drums *kunkuru* (see Fig. 13) is of Arab origin¹⁸, there is no unequivocal information that it is also used in Bornu. Ames, Gregersen and Neugebauer (1971:26) say that the Kanuri term *kungúru* would be a borrowing from the Hausa term *kalangu* for the hour-glass drum, and Lukas (1967:200) holds *kungúru* to be a synonym of *ganyá kúrà*. Hause's (1948:23) suggestion that *gunguru* be the typical Fulani variant of *ganyá*, and *-ru* being the well known Fulfulde suffix, offers no further clarification, since it does not take into account the morphology of the instruments referred to. The small kettle-drums of the *kuykuru* type being unknown in Hausaland and the linguistic attempts by the authors cited above being ambivalent, we may assume that *kuykuru* was not borrowed from Bornu or Hausaland.

Fig. 13. *Kunkuru*

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Fig. 14. *Ciidal*

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Fig. 15. *Jalo*Fig. 16. *Gegeeru*

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The synonymous term *kolo* used by some *wambaabe* is ambivalent as well. Among the Hausa *kolo* is a double-membrane hour-glass drum of fixed pitch (Ames and King 1971:27). Among other Sudanese tribes such as the Songhai it is yet another type of small drum of the *ganyá* type (Nikiprowetzky n.d.:65) and Lukas (1967:217) defines it as the Kanuri word for "small drum"¹⁹. The only definitive linguistic support comes from Schaeffner (1933:69) who says that the same instrument is called *koualo* in the Mandara mountains. I believe it to be likely that the term *kuykuru* is a variant of the term *ganyá*, which is a common onomatopoeia for various types of drums throughout the Sudan. The instrument itself, however, (i.e. the Fulani small kettle-drums) like most instruments of Arab origin came into

Diamaré through the mediation of the empire of Bornu.

Tumbel (see Fig. 3) is a word derived from Arabic (Hause 1948:8-14), but the Fulani frame-drum *tumbel* does not correspond with the Arab *tabl*. Rather, it is the kettle-drum *toonteere* that was borrowed from the Arab *tabl*. For the moment, I do not see any other source about the possible foreign origin of the instrument, than a photograph taken by Brandily (n.d.) among the Kanembu, showing the same instrument. Neither the Hausa, however, nor the Kanuri seem to have the instrument²⁰.

VIII. Instruments of Various Origins

There are only two instruments whose origin cannot be traced in either Arab, Hausa or Kanuri culture: the flute *ciidal* (see Fig. 14) and the iron bells *jalo*. (see Fig. 15). *Ciidal* seems to be of Bagirmi or Kotoko origin. Though the instrument is also known in Kanuri musical culture under the name *chila-chila*²¹, linguistic examination by Barth points in quite another direction. Barth (1971:CCXXII, CCXXIV) believes that the Logone-term *šila* is more primitive than the Kanuri term *šelásélá*. Further evidence comes from MacLeod (1912:174, 200) who took pictures of the instrument in Kotokó territory in Tchekia and Gulfeý in 1911 and Nachtigal (1881, II:507) who saw the same instrument in 1872 near Kusseri. MacKay (1950:119,132), on the other hand, lists the instrument as the Bagirmi-instrument *cilla-cilla*. Whether of Bagirmi or Kotoko origin, as a matter of fact, *wam̄baa'be* – informants declared unanimously that *ciidal* has been adopted from the Mandara about 25 years ago, and in fact the great majority of present-day *ciidal*-players among the Fulani are of Mandara origin.

Jalo, the iron bells, are the equivalent of the Hausa *kuge* (Ames and King 1971:7p.), but its use among the Fulani is owed to a deep influence of "pagan" cultures of the Cameroon grassfields on the Fulani (Braukämper 1970:161). As for the linguistic parallel with the Shoa word *jallo* (Lethem 1920:258), it remains questionable whether this is a proper Shoa term and whether it denotes this particular instrument.

IX. Ensemble Combinations and Social Usage

This section focuses on the historical development, ethnic origin, and social usage of ensemble combinations. The history of these ensemble combinations is not necessarily that of their instruments. Instruments such as the oboe *algayta*, the horn *buusawru* or the cylindrical drum *baggu ca'b'baawu* always remained part of ensembles associated with kingship and court ceremonies and were never combined with instruments such as *cambara*, *tummude* or *faadu*. Yet, variations in the number of different instruments combined can be observed. The ethnic origin of the instruments, when compared with their use in similar combinations among other ethnic groups, points to a straight line of tradition in some cases (*dumbo* [-*wom̄bere*] for instance) and to new developments brought about by the Diamaré Fulani in other cases (*ciidal* for instance). While it is difficult to trace a historical line of social usage of most ensembles, comparison with the social usage among other ethnic groups shows that the Diamaré Fulani limited the social usage of their ensembles to *mantoore* (praise-song) for few, socially relevant, events.

Abba joyi (see Appendix B), the only ensemble played by *wam̄baa'be* that does not involve praise-singing, must have been too marginal a phenomenon for ethno-

graphers to note, because no historical information on it can be obtained. Although the social event which it is played for, has also been noted by Ames and King (1971:67) among the Hausa (*tarewa*), it is usually accompanied by girls' singing in Hausaland. (*Bawdi*) *baylaaji* (see Appendix B), like *abba joyi*, could be a genuine Diamaré Fulani ensemble which only used well known foreign instruments.

As for *buusaw(ru)* (see Appendix B), it has been pointed out that the horn *buusawru* came into use at the time of the foundation of the Fulani states. Despite a lack of documents the present composition of the ensemble can be considered as having remained unchanged since the last 200 years. Informants' statements that it used to incorporate the iron bells *jalo*, and three photographs shot by MacLeod (1912:278p.) in Fika in 1911 showing four *buusawru*, two *baggu ca'b'baawu*, one hour-glass drum of the *kalangu* type, and three single-part *kuykuru*-like instruments suggest however some degree of local variation. Among the Hausa no such ensemble as *buusaw(ru)* presently exists. Ensembles observed by Ames and King (1971:50), and including the Hausa equivalent *k'aho* also incorporate the long trumpet *kakaki* (Fulani: *gaasi*), the vertical horns *farai* and *gangar fada* (Fulani: *baggu ca'b'baawu*). Krieger (1968:417) says that besides being played by hunters *k'aho* used to be combined with the bells *kuge* (Fulani: *jalo*), and Harris (1932:120) notes that, when played for chiefs, *k'aho* is combined with *ganga*. Thus, the Fulani ensemble *buusaw(ru)* combines instruments of diverse ethnic origin, the accompaniment by *ganga* being a constant factor among numerous ethnic groups. The association of *buusaw(ru)* with the institutions of kingship also conforms with Hausa models.

Like its main instrument *ciidal*, the homonymous ensemble only came to the Fulani some 25 years ago. Mandara informants state that in Mandara territory the ensemble comprises *ciidal* and drums. Other evidence, however, would suggest a Kotoko origin of the ensemble. Photographs taken in Gulfey in 1911 show an ensemble of *ciidal* and one *baggu ca'b'baawu* (MacLeod 1912:200) and an ensemble of four *ciidal* and "three long, thin drums with a decided waist, which were struck by the hand" (MacLeod 1912:200). Yet another photograph taken in Bagirmi area even shows the combination of a *ciidal*, drums, and 11 wooden trumpets similar to *gaasi* (MacLeod 1912:174). MacLeod also states that the instruments of the ensemble "might not be played or parted with except by permission of the chief" (MacLeod 1912:200) in Gulfey and that the *ciidal* in Bagirmi territory was the property of the king. This, of course, is not the case among the Fulani where the ensemble is played by freelance *wam_{baa}'be* for popular genres.

Dumbo [-*moolooru*] and *moolooru mukaaru* (see Appendix B), like *buusaw(ru)*, are ensembles which were familiar to the Fulani since their nomadic period. The combination of the lute *moolooru* and the calabash *tummude* is still found among present-day nomadic Djelgobe Fulani of Niger^{1,2}. Bauer, in his account of the German Niger-Benue-Chad expedition has a photograph of two porters playing a *moolooru* and *tummude*^{2,2}. Although the instrument *moolooru* is an importation from Hausaland, the Fulani did not adopt the entire Hausa ensemble, for Ames and King (1971:47) say that the Hausa *molo* is combined with the *caki* rattles or *sham'bara* (Fulani: *cambara*)^{2,3}. Krieger (1968:407), on the other hand, maintains that in Anka, in the midst of Hausa territory, *molo*, before its replacement by the fiddle *goge*, used to be combined with either *k'warya* (Fulani: *tummude*) or *caki* rattles

in spirit possession rites. Although *molo*, in its various combinations with other instruments, is played for “various kinds of song” (Ames and King 1971:47) in Hausaland, its use among the Fulani is restricted to praise-singing. *Dumbo*[-*wombere*], despite its incorporation of the most ancient Fulani musical instrument (*wombere*), did not come into use among the Diamaré Fulani before the mid-1960s. This stands in contradiction to the nomadic Fulani of the west who certainly knew the ensemble since primeval times²⁴. Among the Hausa the similar *sarewa* flute is either combined with *sham'bara* (Fulani: *cambara*) for entertainment purposes and spirit possession rites (Ames and King 1971:52) or with *caki* rattles on the occasion of praise-singing for Fulani cattle-breeders (Krieger 1968:413). Although the former use of *wombere* as a pastime for lonely shepherds among the Fulani is still present among the Hausa (Ames and King 1971:52), the combination of *wombere* and *tummude* is now reserved for praise-singing in Diamaré.

Chiefly because of its close connection with kingship, the history of *ganyal* has been documented far better than that of any other ensemble. It appears, however, that the composition of the ensemble has been subject to frequent modifications. The actual number of types of instruments combined fluctuates from village to village and a complete *ganyal*-ensemble of all 7 instruments is never met with. The court musicians of the *laamii'do* of Mindif, for instance, play one oboe *algayta* and three *baggu ca'b'baawu* drums. In about 1910, however, Strümpell (1912: Fig. 24) took a photo in the same place showing the court musicians with three *algayta* and one *baggu ca'b'baawu*. Similarly, a present-day *ganyal*-ensemble of Garoua has two oboes *algayta* and two *baggu ca'b'baawu*²⁵, but a photo taken in the same town in 1910 shows an ensemble of three *algayta*, two *baggu ca'b'baawu*, and one *tumbel* (MacLeod 1912:22), and another photo shot in about 1930 shows one *algayta* and six *baggu ca'b'baawu* (Labouret 1935). Although *algayta* and *baggu ca'b'baawu* seem to be essential parts of the *ganyal* ensembles, further historical inquiry shows that other instruments, which are not used any longer, belonged to the ensemble as well. Thus, Passarge (1895:104p.) observed a *ganyal*-ensemble of one *algayta*, one *baggu ca'b'baawu* and an hour-glass drum of the *kalangu* type in Fulani territory near Garoua in 1892. Reports from other ethnic groups support the assumption that *algayta* is preferably combined with *baagu ca'b'baawu*, differences occurring only in the use of such instruments as the long trumpet *gaasi* and the small kettle-drums *kuɲkuru*. Among the Hausa, for instance, *algayta* is very often combined with *kakaki* (Fulani: *gaasi*) and drums of the *ganɲa* type (Ames and King 1971:48), but the basic combination of *algayta* and *ganɲa* is also frequent (Krieger 1968:414, Harris 1932-119). Among the Kotoko of Gulfey, Salasc (1934:36) photographed an ensemble with an *algayta*, four *baggu ca'b'baawu*, two *gaasi*, and two *kuɲkuru*. The limitation of the social usage of *ganyal* to the ruling nobility in Diamaré was presumably introduced in the early 19th century and is in perfect conformity with the social usage of similar ensembles observed among other ethnic groups.

As for *gegeeru* (see Appendix B) little information on its history is available. While I cannot discover any reference to its use among the nomadic Fulani of the Western Sudan, the only photograph (Griaule 1932:58), from Fulani territory of the Adamawa plateau shows a *gegeeru* ensemble in Ngaoundere with one fiddle *gegeeru* (see Fig. 16) and two gourd-rattles *faadu*. While the same combination of

faadu and *gegeeru* seems to be familiar to the Kotoko²⁶, not all Hausa groups seem to know this combination. Ames and King (1971:42) say that in Zaria and Katsina the Hausa equivalent *goge* is combined with the calabash-gourd *k'warya* (Fulani: *tummude*) and/or *kalangu* and 'dan *kar'bi*. Krieger (1968:405), however, in his account of Hausa musical instruments in Anka, says that *caki* rattles have replaced *k'warya* in the accompaniment of the fiddle *goge*. Harris (1932:123), for his part, says that *goge* is usually accompanied by *caki* rattles in Sokoto province, although combinations with *k'warya* (Fulani: *tummude*) and the hour-glass drum *kalangu* also occur²⁷. The use of the *gegeeru* ensemble for minor social events such as *hiirde* and its close association with spirit possession and praise-singing for ordinary people among both Hausa and Fulani, indicate that it is one of the most popular instruments in both cultures.

According to informants' statements, *moolooru dammere* (see Appendix B) has been introduced into Diamaré from Hausaland at the beginning of this century, but only Ames and King (1971:47) state that a combination of the lute *molo* and the rubbing-stick *sham'bara* (Fulani: *cambara*) exists in Katsina and Zaria.

Nyawala (see Appendix B), finally, seems to be an importation from the Fulani territories of Adamawa plateau where, as a result of the artistry of Gole Baka, it is still in vogue today. In Diamaré, however, the ensemble seems to be on the point of dying out. Although the lead singer of the only *nyawala* ensemble I met with was a Hausa *zabiya* (female professional musician), there seems to be no Hausa parallel of this ensemble.

As far as the solo instruments *bomboro*, *garaya*, *luwal*, *toonteere*, and *zantuuru* (see Appendix A) are concerned, their history and ethnic origin have been dealt with in previous sections. Although all these instruments, with the exception of *zantuuru*, are getting more and more out of date, their social usage is similar to that among the Hausa. Thus, *bomboro* and *zantuuru* are also played for informal music-making among the Hausa. The use of *tambari*, the Hausa parallel of the kettle-drum *toonteere*, is also centred around major court ceremonies and festivals of the Islamic calendar (Ames and King 1971:31-38), while in Diamaré the number of these events has dwindled down to two events. Although the Fulani two-stringed lute *garaya* does not correspond with the Hausa instrument of the same name, its use by the hunters in Diamaré partly conforms with that of the Hausa *garaya* (Ames and King 1971:41, Krieger 1968:408). The only similarity between the Fulani *garaya* and its true Hausa equivalent, the *kwamsa*, is the fact that the latter, though not played by hunters, is also played for hunters by professional musicians in Anka (Krieger 1968:408). As to the social usage of *luwal* by circumcisers and barbers, I cannot discover any parallel among the Hausa.

X. Summary

Fulani musical culture, as seen through an examination of musical instruments, displays many foreign elements. Many instruments and their names, ensemble combinations and their social usage have been borrowed from ethnic groups with whom the Fulani have been in contact for more than 200 years: Hausa, Kanuri, Kotoko, and Shoa. Some of the instruments and ensemble combinations still reflect the original nomadic life style and correspond with those met with among the nomadic

Fulani of the Western Sudan. Although a foreign element in Fulani musical organology is predominant, the Diamaré Fulani also combined some of the instruments into new, genuine Fulani ensemble combinations. Whereas the social usages of musical instruments in Hausa and Kanuri society are manifold, the Diamaré Fulani limited the social usage to praise-singing.

Appendix A: Glossary of Musical Instruments

Presentation of the instruments follows Ames' and King's *Glossary of Hausa Music and Its Social Contexts* (1971). As the main interest of this paper focuses on the historical, ethnic, geographical and linguistic implications of Fulani musical instruments, many details have been omitted²⁸. For a fuller discussion the reader is referred to my thesis (Erlmann 1980). In the lists which follow, the instruments are arranged by alphabetical order, and information is presented in the following order:

1. Fulfulde vernacular name/plural and short English description.
2. Sachs-Hornbostel Classification index.
3. Synonymous Fulfulde terms.
4. Etymology.
5. Terms for parts of the instruments and materials of construction.
6. Ensemble combinations (see Appendix B).
7. Social usage and persons playing the instrument.

Languages of the terms, put in parenthesis after each term, are abbreviated as follows: (AR) Arabic, (F) Fulfulde, (FR) French, (H) Hausa, (KA) Kanuri, (KO) Kotoko, (SH) Shoa Arabic.

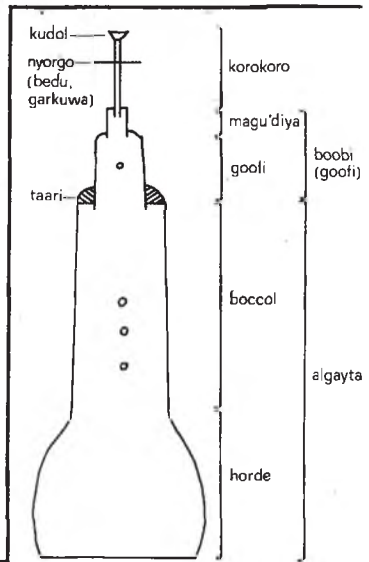


Fig. 17. *Algayta* parts and their names

1. *algayta(aru)* // *algaytaaji* (F) (conical oboe)(see also Fig. 17).
2. 422.112-7.
4. *al-ghaita* (AR) via *algaita* (H).
- 5.1 *algayta* (F): main section of the instrument from either *camanayhi* (F), *joyi* (F) (cotton silk tree) or *lillibaahi* (F) (*Cordia abyssinica*).
- 5.2 *boobi* (F): upper part of the main section made from *keewal* (F) (bamboo).
- 5.3 *be'du* (F): round brass disc at the end of the reed-holder under the reed.
- 5.4 *boccol* (F): main section without the bell-end. For material see 5.1.
- 5.5 *garkuwa* (H): synonym for 5.3.
- 5.6 *gooli* (F): either synonym for 5.2 or lower part of 5.2 when contrasted to *magu'diya* (5.10).
- 5.7 *horde* (F): bell-end section. For material see 5.1.
- 5.8 *korokoro* (F): complete brass reed-holder including the brass disc. Possibly derived from *kwarkwaro* (H) (Ames and King 1971:57).
- 5.9 *ku'dol* (F): double-reed cut from any suitable grass stalk.
- 5.10 *magu'diya* (H): the "ululator", synonym for *gooli* (5.6), the upper part of 5.2.
- 5.11 *nyorgo* (F): synonym for 5.3 and 5.5.
- 6.1 Used in *buusaw(ru)*.
- 6.2 Used in *ganyal*.

7. Played by *wambaa'be* in *mantoore* (praise-song) for a *laamii'do*, his court-dignitaries, senior officials and wealthy merchants.

-
1. *baggel ca'b'baayel* (F) (double-membrane cylindrical snared drum with sticks).
 2. 211.212.1-812.
 4. *baggel* is the diminutive of *baggu* (F), *ca'b'baayel* that of *ca'b'baawu* (F), *ca'b'baawu* is derived from *sa'b'baago* (F): "to underlie".
 5. See *baggu ca'b'baawu*.
 6. Used in (*baw'di*) *baylaaji*.
 7. Played by *wambaa'be* in *mantoore* (praise-song) for *joya-dance*.

-
1. *bomboro/ bomborooji* (F) (iron jaw's harp).
 2. 121.221.
 4. *bambaro* (H).
 5. Manufactured from *jandi* (F) ("iron").
 6. Used as a solo instrument.
 7. Played by young people of either sex in informal music-making.

-
1. *buusawru/ buusawji* (F) (side-blown lip-vibrated animal horn).
 2. 423.122.2.
 4. *busa* (H): "to blow",
 - 5.1 *'bakkorgol* (F): carrying-strap from any material, mostly cotton.
 - 5.2 *wurde* (F): embouchure, cut into the side near the narrow end. The main section and bell-end section are not named.
 - 5.3 The main section is made from the horn of *darwa* (F).
 - 5.4 The bell-end is made from *nagge* (F) (oxhorn).
 6. Used in *buusaw(ru)*.
 7. Played by *wambaa'be* in *mantoore* (praise-song) for a *laamii'do* and some of his dignitaries.

-
1. *baggu baylaawu/ baw'di baylaaji* (F) (double-membrane cylindrical snared drum with sticks).
 2. 211.212.1-812.
 5. See *baggu ca'b'baawu*.
 6. See *baggel ca'b'baayel*.
 7. See *baggel ca'b'baayel*.

-
1. *baagu ca'b'baawu/ baw'di sa'b'baaji* (F) (double-membrane cylindrical snared drum with hooked sticks).
 2. 211.212.1-812.
 3. *baagu tumbal* (F).
 4. For the etymology of *ca'b'baawu* see *baggel ca'b'baayel*, for *tumbal* see *tumbel*.
 - 5.1 *'bakkorgol* (F): cloth shoulder-strap from *hotollo* (F) (cotton).
 - 5.2 *boolde* (F): hook-ended drumstick.
 - 5.3 *ceyketereɲwol* (F): onomatopoeia for snare on front membrane, made from *beewa* (F) (goat's skin).
 - 5.4 *laral* (F): front and rear membrane from *beewa* (F) (goat's skin).
 - 5.5 *leggal* (F): body-shell carved from *joyi* (F) (silk cotton tree).
 - 5.6 *lokkulol* (F): lacing thongs joining the membranes, made from *nagge* (F) (cow-hide).
 - 6.1 Used in *garyal*.
 - 6.2 Used in *buusaw(ru)*.
 - 6.3 Used in *abba joyi*.

- 7.1 As a part of *buusaw(ru)* and *ganyal*, see *algayta(aru)*.
 7.2 As a part of *abba joyi* the instrument is played by *wambaa'be* in music for *alko* (F), a procession in which household goods are carried to a newly married woman's new residence.

-
1. *baggu luudirgu* (F) (double-membrane cylindrical drum with hooked sticks).
 2. 211.212.1-812.
 3. *baggu fanat* (F).
 4. *Luudirgu* derives from *luudaago* (F): "to be against", *fanat* possibly derives from *fannad* (SH): "to separate" (Lethem 1920: 427).
 5. Parts are the same as with *baggu ca'b'baawu*. The snare, however, is absent. Unlike *baggu ca'b'baawu*, this type of drum also has a wax layer on the centre of the rear membrane which is either called *rang* (KO) or *taari* (F) (wax).
 6. Used in *ganyal*.
 7. See *algayta(aru)*.

-
1. *baggu nyawala/ baw'di nyawala* (F) (double-membrane cylindrical snared drum).
 2. 211.212.1-812.
 4. *Nyawala* (F) is the name of a dance which is practically out of date in Diamaré.
 5. Parts are the same as with *baggu ca'b'baawu*. As the drum is played by both hands, there is no drumstick.
 6. Used in *nyawala*.
 7. Played by *wambaa'be* in *mantoore* (praise-song) during *nyawala*-dance.

-
1. *cambara/ cambara'en* (F) (rubbing stick).
 2. 131.1.
 4. *sham'bara* (H).
 5. A length of *keewal* (F) (bamboo-stalk) with a node at one end, shredded lengthwise from the middle to the open end.
 6. Used in *moolooru dammere*.
 7. Played by *wambaa'be* in *mantoore* (praise-song) for District Heads and wealthy community members.

-
1. *ciidal/ ciide* (F) (vertical flute).
 2. 421.111.12.
 4. *s'ila* (KO).
 - 5.1 *j'andi* (F): mouthpiece manufactured from copper.
 - 5.2 *j'andi les* (F): bell-end section manufactured from copper, *les*: "bottom".
 - 5.3 *leggal* (F): middle section from *keewal* (F) (bamboo).
 - 5.4 *lokkulol* (F): one carrying-strap from leather for each hand.
 - 5.5 *taari* (F): wax for attaching mouthpiece and bell-end to the middle section.
 6. Used in *ciidal*.
 7. Played by *wambaa'be* in *mantoore* (praise-song) for District Heads, wealthy community members, and visitors of *hirde* (see section II).

-
1. *faadu/paali* (F) (gourd-rattle).
 2. 112.13.
 5. Hand-held rattle from *tummude* (F) (gourd) filled with seeds of *gombo* (F) (*Ibiscus esculentus*). Depending on the ensemble combination, it is used in two sizes: (a) 25cm in diameter, (b) 12 to 14cm in diameter.
 6. (a) Used in *ciidal*.

(b) Used in *gegeeru*.

7. For (a) see *ciidal*, for (b) see *gegeeru*.

1. *gaasi/gaasiiji* (F) (vertical, end-blown metal trumpet).
2. 423.121.12.
4. *gashi* (KA).
5. The two detachable sections of the instrument are made from brass and are not named.
6. Used in *ganyal*.
7. See *algayta(aru)*.

1. *gangā kūrā* (KA) (double-membrane cylindrical snared drum with stick and hook-ended stick).
2. 211.212.1-812.
4. *gangā* (KA): "drum", *kūrā* (KA): "big".
5. See *baggu ca'b baawu*.
6. Used in *ganyal*.
7. See *algayta(aru)*.

1. *garaya(aru)/garayaaaji* (H/F) (two-stringed plucked lute).
2. 321.311-5.
4. *garaya* (H).
- 5.1 *cow-cow* (KA): metal jingle attached to the end of the neck.
- 5.2 *laral* (F): membrane covering the body-resonator from the skin of *hamfurde* (F) (duiker).
- 5.3 *leggal* (F): wooden neck.
- 5.4 *lokkulol* (F): leather binding-thongs holding the strings at the upper end of the neck.
- 5.5 *paldugel* (F): wooden bridge inserted between body-resonator and strings.
- 5.6 *kawsu* (F): two nylon-strings, derived from *caoutchouc* (FR).
- 5.7 *tannude* (F): body-resonator from gourd.
6. Used as a solo instrument.
7. Played by *gaw'en* (F) (hunters) in informal music-making during stays in the bush.

1. *gegeeru/gegeji* (F) (single-stringed bowed lute).
2. 321.311-71.
3. *gogiiru* (F).
4. *ghūghā* (AR). Other possible etymologies are from *yeegugo* (F): "to rub", and for *gogiiru* from *goge* (H).
- 5.1 *bakkorgol* (F): carrying-strap from leather.
- 5.2 *dacce tanni* (F): resin for body and bow strings from *tanni* (F) (desert date, *Balanites aegyptiaca*).
- 5.3 *ka'dol* (F): wedge inserted between lower end of string and body-resonator.
- 5.4 *laaci* (F): string on body-resonator and bow from hairs from a horse's tail.
- 5.5 *lagaawal* (F): wooden bow.
- 5.6 *laral* (F): membrane covering the body-resonator from *huutooru* (F) (land monitor).
- 5.7 *lokkulol* (F): leather binding thongs holding the string at the upper end of the neck.
- 5.8 *paldugel* (F): wooden bridge between string and body-resonator.
- 5.9 *tummude* (F): hemispherical body-resonator from half gourd.
- 6.1 Used in *gegeeru*.
- 6.2 Used in *wannugo ginnaaji* (F), a ceremony of spirit possession.
- 7.1 Played by *wambaa'be* in *mantoore* (praise-song) for visitors of *hūrde* and *dubdo*, and lower class people.

 7.2 Played by ceremonial musicians while calling the spirits in *wamnugo ginnaaji*.

1. *jalo* (F) (pair of clapperless iron bells played with iron rod).
 2. 111.242.121.
 4. *jallo* (SH) (Lethem 1920:258).
 5. Pair of clapperless iron bells beaten with an iron rod.
 - 6.1 Formerly used as a solo instrument.
 - 6.2 Formerly used in *buusaw(ru)*.
 7. Played by *zagi* (F) (royal slaves) for proclamations, such as the gathering of horses in war, and the departure of the *laamii'do*.
-

1. *kun̄kuru/ kun̄kuruuji* (F) (pair of small single-membrane bowl-shaped kettle-drums).
 2. 211.12-851.
 3. *kolò* (KA).
 4. *Kun̄gùlu* (KA) or *gan̄gà* (KA).
 5. Both drums are referred to as *daada* (F) (“mother”) for the bigger one, and *'biggel* (F) (“child”) for the smaller one. Parts and names are the same for both:
 - 5.1 *boolde* (F): two wooden drumsticks.
 - 5.2 *laral* (F): skin and lacing thongs from *nagge* (F) (cow-hide).
 - 5.3 *tassaw* (F): body-shell from *tassaw* (F) (household brass bowl).
 6. Used in *ganyal*.
 7. See *algayta(aru)*.
-

1. *luwal/ luwe* (F) (side-blown lip-vibrated animal horn).
 2. 423.122.2.
 5. Parts are the same as with *buusawru*, but *luwal* has no carrying-strap. Unlike *buusawru*, the instrument is entirely covered with the skin of *nagge* (F) (cow).
 6. Used as a solo instrument.
 7. Played by *la'boowo* (F) (barber) on the occasion of circumcision rites.
-

1. *moolooru/ moolooji* (F) (three-stringed plucked lute).
2. 321.311-5.
4. *molo* (H).
- 5.1 *gu'diya* (H): shortest and highest pitched string from nylon, derived from *magu'diya* (H):
- 5.2 *kawsu* (F): generic name for any of the strings, derived from *caoutchouc* (FR). Formerly the strings used to be manufactured from horse's tail-hairs.
- 5.3 *laral* (F): membrane covering the body-resonator and leather thongs from *nagge* (F) cow-hide).
- 5.4 *leggal* (F): neck from the wood of *camanayhi* (F) (unknown tree).
- 5.5 *lokkulol* (F): leather binding thongs holding the strings at the upper end.
- 5.6 *moolooru* (F): body-resonator carved from *joyi* (F) (silk cotton tree).
- 5.7 *paidugel* (F): bridge between strings and body-resonator from *keewal* (F) (bamboo).
- 5.8 *sakaadi* (F): middle-pitched string, derived from *sha ki'di* (H): “to undergo the beating”.
- 5.9 *tumbaadi* (F): lowest pitched string, derived from *tambari* (H).
- 5.10 *wurde* (F): sound hole at the lower end of the body-resonator.
 - 6.1 Used in *dumbo[moolooru]*.
 - 6.2 Used in *moolooru mukaaru*.
 - 6.3 A variant of this type is used in *moolooru dammere*. There the *moolooru* has an additional iron jingling device attached to the neck.

- 7.1 For *dumbo*[*moolooru*] and *moolooru mukaaru* see *gegeeru*.
 7.2 For *moolooru dammere* see *cambara*.

-
1. *toonteere/ toonteeji* (F) (large single-membrane, bowl-shaped kettle-drum).
 2. 211.11-852.
 5.1 *laral* (F): membrane from *nagge* (F) (cow-hide).
 5.2 *le'd'de cettaa'de* (F): wooden sticks connected with leather ligature to increase tension of the latter.
 5.3 *sawru* (F): beating stick, slightly bent at one end. Two for each drum.
 5.4 *toonteere* (F): body-shell from *joyi* (F) (silk cotton tree).
 5.5 *ziriwol* (F): tension ligature from *nagge* (F) (cow-hide).
 6. Used as a solo instrument or in pairs of two.
 7. Played by *zagi* (F) (royal slaves) for the installation of a new *laamii'do*, for the beginning of Rhamadan, and the morning of *juulde suumaay* (F) ('Id el Kabir). The instrument is almost out of use today. Two specimens of it are played only in Mindif (25km south of Maroua). Those instruments I saw in Dargala, Malam Peetel, and Miskin were broken.

-
1. *tumbel* (F) (double-membrane snared frame drum).
 2. 211.312.92.
 4. *tabl* (AR).
 5.1 *anga* (H): wooden lacing-ring around both membranes.
 5.2 *boggel* (F): lacing thongs from cotton strings.
 5.3 *boolde* (F): two straight wooden drumsticks.
 5.4 *cercer* (F): two snares on the rear membrane from leather.
 5.5 *laral* (F): two membranes from *nagge* (F) (cow-hide).
 5.6 *leggal* (F): body-shell from *joyi* (F) (silk cotton tree).
 6. Used in *ganyal*.
 7. See *algayta(aru)*.

-
1. *tummude/ tummu'de* (F) (hemispherical shell of half-gourd).
 2. 111.24.
 3. *kara* (F).
 4. *kara* could be an onomatopoeia or a derivation from *k'warya* (H) (Ames and King 1971:8).
 5. The instrument is traditionally made from calabash-gourd. If no calabash, however, is at hand, a brass bowl will also do. With some instruments a wooden stick is placed on the ground underneath the open side. The calabash is then rhythmically rubbed along this stick, and beaten simultaneously.
 6.1 Used in *dumbo*[*moolooru*].
 6.2 Used in *moolooru mukaaru*.
 6.3 Used in *dumbo*[*wombere*].
 7. For all three ensemble combinations see *gegeeru*.

-
1. *wombere/ gombe* (F) (vertical flute).
 2. 421.111.12.
 5. The instrument used to be manufactured from a length of millet-stalk, but since about 8 years this material has been replaced by an iron tube.
 6. Used in *dumbo*[*wombere*].
 7. See *gegeeru*.

-
1. *zantuuru/ zantuuji* (F) (tubular shell of long gourd).
 2. 111.231.

4. *shantu* (H).
5. Made from a long, narrow gourd.
6. Used as a solo instrument or in the accompaniment of song.
7. Played by non-professional women-musicians in informal music-making.

Appendix B: Ensemble Combinations.

In the lists which follow information is presented in the following order:

1. Name of ensemble combination.
2. Etymology where critical.
3. Other names.
4. Etymology where critical.
5. Instruments (and singers). The numbers in parenthesis after each instrument indicate successively: minimum number of instruments required - average number of instruments combined - maximum number of instruments observed. (n indicates that the number of instruments, or singers, is optional.)

Abbreviations for languages given in parenthesis after each term are the same as in Appendix A.

1. *abba joyi* (F).
2. *abba* (KA): "father", *joyi* (F): "silk cotton tree".
3. *paski* (F).
4. Etymology unknown.
5. *baggu ca'b'baawu* (1-2-2).

1. (*baw'di*) *baylaaji* (F).
2. *baw'di* (F): pl. of *baggu*, *baylaaji* (F): etymology unknown.
3. *jooya* (F).
4. A dance.
5. *baggu baylaawu* (1-1-1), *baggel ca'b'baayel* (1-2-2), non-professional singers of either sex (2-4-n).

1. *buusaw(ru)* (F).
5. *algayta* (2-2-3), *buusawru* (1-3-3), *baggu ca'b'baawu* (1-2-3), singing by *baggu ca'b'baawu*-player.

1. *ciidal* (F).
5. *ciidal* (1-1-2), *faadu* (4-4-5), professional singer (1-1-1) without instrument or singing by *faadu*-players (solo and chorus).

dumbo (F).

Generic term for any ensemble combination using calabash-gourds (*tummude*). There are three types of *dumbo*-ensembles which are not differentiated terminologically:

1. *dumbo[moolooru]* (F).
5. *moolooru* (1-1-1), *tummude* (1-2-3), singing by *moolooru*-player (solo) and *tummude*-players (chorus).

1. *dumbo[wombere]* (F).
5. *tummude* (1-3-5), *wombere* (1-1-1), professional singer (1-1-1), singing by *tummude*-players (chorus).

1. *moolooru mukaaru* (F).
2. *mukaaru* (F): "mute".

5. *moolooru* (1-1-1), *tummude* (1-3-4)²⁹

-
1. *ganyal* (F).
 2. *ghanni* (SH): "song" (Lethem 1920:438).
 3. *kolo* (F).
 5. *algayta* (1-1-1), *baggu ca'b'baawu* (1-2-4), *baggu luudirgu* (1-1-1), *gaasi* (1-1-2), *gargá kùrà* (1-1-1), *kuykuru* (1-1-1), *tumbel* (1-1-1).

As a rule *ganyal* does not usually include all the instruments listed above. In fact, two of the biggest ensembles I ever met with included *algayta*, *baggu ca'b'baawu*, *baggu luudirgu*, *gaasi*, and *tumbel* in one case and *algayta*, *baggu ca'b'baawu*, *gargá kùrà*, *kuykuru*, and *tumbel* in the other. Most other ensembles only consisted of three or four different instruments, and the smallest one only had *algayta* and *baggu ca'b'baawu*.

1. *gegeeru* (F).
 5. *faadu* (1-2-4), *gegeeru* (1-1-1), professional singer without instrument (1-1-1) or singing by *gegeeru*-player, and singing by *faadu*-players.
-

1. *moolooru dammere* (F).
 2. *dammere* from *dammaago* (F): "to kick one's heels".
 3. *moolooru di'b'bere* (F), *moolooru jigi'da* (F).
 4. *jigi'da* possibly from *yigugo* (F): "to scratch".
 5. *cambara* (2-3-4), *moolooru* (1-1-1), singing by *moolooru*-player (solo) and *cambara*-players (chorus).
-

1. *nyawala* (F).
 3. *saydawa* (F).
 5. *baggu nyawala* (1-2-2), professional singer (solo; mostly female)(1-1-1), chorus (male, female or mixed) of non-professional singers (4-n-n).
-

NOTES

1. Although the Fulani call themselves Ful'be (sing. Pullo), throughout this paper I shall use the term "Fulani".
2. This has been deplored 20 years ago by D. Thieme (1963:268), and not much has changed since.
3. See, for instance, Ames 1968, Ames 1973, Ames and King 1971, Besmer 1971, Krieger 1968, Smith 1957.
4. See Brandily n.d. and Brandily 1967.
5. For the most comprehensive discography to date of Fulani music in Cameroon see Baratte Eno-Belings and Nourrit 1980.
6. Data for this paper have been collected during two research trips in 1975 and 1976. For more detailed information see Erlmann 1980.
7. The plain of Diamaré is limited by swampy bramble steppes in the north, the Logone-Chari in the east, the Mayo-Kabiakes in the south, and the Mandara mountains in the west.
8. These figures refer to a total of 167 professional musicians questioned in Maroua (capital of Diamaré) and surroundings. These 167 informants represent an estimated 80% of all professional musicians living in the area under consideration.
9. Of these 9,8% were Mandara, 6,7% Hausa, 4,9% Kanuri, 2,8%Kotoko, 2,2% Giziga, 2,2% Shoa, and 0,8% Bagirmi.
10. The insertion of *-m-* would be a tendency of the Manding and Hausa languages to nasalize a labial consonant (Hause 1948:10,13).
11. The reader is referred to the following articles: Besmer 1971:75-88, Farmer 1924, Farmer 1939, Hause 1948.
12. See the notes of S. Arom's record "The Peuls" (EMI 3 C 064-18121).
13. A photograph showing a similar instrument among the "Kirdi" of the Mandara mountains is found in Schaeffner 1933:67.
14. Eguchi says that *zantuuru* has been "introduced to the Fulbe women by Mandara and/or Kanuri women" (Eguchi 1975:81).
15. I do not know any article or note of recent date on music among the Kanuri. Among the earliest references to music in the Bornu empire is Barth's statement that, in 1851, in the Kanuri capital of Kuka, a *gargá* summoned the warriors (Barth 1857, III:16). Later on, in about 1870, Nachtigal, who considered himself unmusical, noticed daily singing and hand-clapping (Nachtigal 1877:64) and saw a band of musicians in Kuka playing *algayta*, which he took for "bag pipes" (Nachtigal 1871:67). Naturally, the adoption of Kanuri musical

- instruments by the Fulani happened about a century before these travellers' accounts.
16. As Diamaré was not visited often by European travellers before the colonial period, and as local chronicles are rare, detailed descriptions or even photographs of musical instruments are scanty. Photographs of drums of the *baggu* type become more numerous since the beginning of this century. See, for example, MacLeod 1912:22, Strümpell 1912: figure 24, Labouret 1935, Dominik 1908:216 and Salasc 1934:36.
 17. For early photographs of *algayta* see the references given in note 16, for photographs of *gaasi* see Dominik 1908:216 and Salasc 1934:36 and 39.
 18. The Arab instrument is called *naqqarat*. For a photograph see Touma 1975: no. 16.
 19. It should be interesting to note that among the Kotoko the term *kolo* also applies to a five-stringed harp. See Brandily 1967:57.
 20. In the Fulani territories of the Adamawa mountains *tumbel* is known since the beginning of the century at least. For a photograph shot in 1910 in Garoua see MacLeod 1912:22.
 21. See Ethnic Folkways Records FE 4337 (Music of the Chad) Side B,5.
 22. Bauer 1904:71. However, the players' clothing make it unlikely that they are Fulani.
 23. Among the Fulani, the combination of *moolooru* and *cambara* is only found in *moolooru dammere*.
 24. See the record *Anthologie de la Musique Malienne: Le Mali du Fleuve, Les Peuls* (Bärenreiter BM 30 L 2502).
 25. See the record by C. Fonfrède cited in Baratte Eno-Belinga and Nourrit 1980:95-96.
 26. A photograph shot by MacLeod in Gulfey in 1911 shows one *gegeeru* and a *faadu* (played by a woman). See MacLeod 1912:200.
 27. Yet another combination is found in Mandara territory where Schaeffner photographed an ensemble of one *gegeeru* and *kuykuru* (Schaeffner 1933:69).
 28. A detailed analysis of the tunings and playing techniques will have to await a separate publication.
 29. An exceptional fourth type of *dumbo* is the group of Bukar Dumbo, a musician from Bogo (35km north-east of Maroua) who used some *tummude* and two professional singers without *moolooru*.

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