

The Dimensions of Law and Administration of Justice in the Satiric Folklore of Amadu Dan Matawalle

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Abstract

Amadu Dan Matawalle sings between illusion and reality. Yet, the popularity of his songs is evidenced by the fact that they were being played in all the radio stations of the Hausa speaking states in Nigeria. Remarkably, the songster presents us with a world that is double in nature. His songs speak of humorous folk story of animals with human personality. Beyond the brilliantly executed stories, however, there lie valuable historical, social, artistic and legal lessons to be learnt. Using the literary technique of satire, he discusses some legal norms and some problems that are worrying the legal institution. This paper appraise the literary quality and the 'fun' within one of the songster's song while at the same time evaluating the comical incision of the song on some prevailing socio-legal problems. Thus, beyond the comedy in the song, this paper shows that Dan Matawalle's song is not just an audible art for art's sake but a fantastically educating piece. The overall object of the paper is to see the extent of using folklore and literature as gateway to socio-legal problems of the society.

Introduction

The songs of Malam Amadu Dan Matawalle constitute fantastic Hausa folklore. They are thematic, more conceptual and full of satiric contents. More so, they are jam-packed with manipulative classic language that clearly show that their intended audience were not children; after all, how many of nowadays children have idea of what is "*bingi-bingi*" (ruffled-feathered fowl), or "*tsawarwara*" (brindled-cat) or *Dan-wanka* (Gentle-man's usher/bailiff) statutes (all of which appeared in one of the songs)? Apparently the songs are folk literature meant for adult and the linguist.

The folklore constructed in the songs is dynamic in the sense that it speaks of animals with human-like qualities. Of course it can rightly be said that there are other Hausa songs that features the talking creature concept of animals. There is, for instance, Alhaji Sa'idu Faruwho, in his notable song of Sarkin Kudu Maccido (as he then was) speaks of his encounter with '*suda*' (Senegalese shrike) and other species of birds. There is also Mamman Mai-Burtu¹ who sings about a vehement contest-of-the fittest between Ilaji (the hero of the song) and the lion (who is the villain in the song). The dynamism of the songs of Amadu Dan Matawalle however rest with the fact that, unlike these two cases cited, in his stories there is no intermix of humans and creature characters. Rather, what is seen is humanised creatures that possessed both human and creature characteristics. In other words, in his folklore, it is all animals affair.

Dan Matawalle's songs present unique insight into how the artiste and his like view law and the legal norms. The fictional situation as sung in the songs tells great deal about the legal institution in Hausa land, and Nigeria in general. Therefore the focus of this article is on the silent legal issues that featured in Dan Matawalle's songs with a view of depicting their legal 'contents'. It is not, however, the concern of the article to discuss about the linguistic diction or literary structure of

the songs. Rather, the aim of the article is to explore the interdisciplinary connection between law and literature. The article will, thus, review the notable contributions of the artiste to legal literature. In achieving this, a particular song was transcribed in its original Hausa form and then translated into English. This is then followed with analysis of the text.

Methodological Consideration

The song under analysis in this paper is an oral Hausa song. As such, analysis forms the main component of the paper. This was achieved through listening of the vocals and the lyrics of the song as sung by the songster in its original Hausa language. This is for the reason of identifying the genre of the song and its tempo. The song was then transcribed and translated into English language for the purpose of analysis. The song under study was sourced from one of the several audio-cassettes of the singer's albums that was produced and was on sell in virtually all the northern states of Nigeria. The research also goes a little doctrinal in identifying the cultural roots and traditional folk of the Hausa people. This becomes necessary in understanding the message of the lyrics under study.

The Profile of the Singer and his Songs

Amadu Dan Matawalle is a well known singer among the Hausa communityⁱⁱ of the West and North-East Africaⁱⁱⁱ. He was born in Hadejia in 1914^{iv}. His father was a provincial Alkali judge in Birniwa^v the late 1940s. When he reached the age of seven, he was afflicted with a sickness that caused him to be blind^{vi}. Nonetheless, as is the then practice in the northern part of the country, he was enrolled into the traditional Qur'an school.

He sings in Hausa and his songs were known to be aired in all the radio stations of the Northern Nigeria, especially that of the Radio Nigeria Kaduna^{vii} which has the largest listenership in the sub-Saharan Africa. The audio-cassettes of his songs were equally sought and sold beyond Nigerian territory. Very astonishingly also, he sings for pleasure and entertainment. That is why the subjects of his songs are birds, animals, politics, governance, love and satire. He sings out of pure joy, not to earn a living, or because it has been a family occupation. This is without prejudice to the fact that he made some entertainment performances at ceremonial youth gatherings. In few instances also he sang for some selected individuals.

His songs were noted for their humorous nature and satirical content. He sings with catchy lyrics but with no musical accompaniment. The style is choir-like, with other artistes singing in unison a given composition which was repeated in a call- and-response fashion.

The singer has distinctive style of making his listeners spellbound. With a good voice and native Hadejia accent, he sings out exaggerated stories of animals with human characters; tactfully sending out his desired message to the audience through the folklore.

Animals, Folklore and Satire in the Traditional World of the Hausa People

Folklore is part of the oral traditions of Hausa people. In fact it had ever been integral part of their entertainment, education, instruction and socialisation. Not only that, it revealed much about their

socio-cultural life. Accordingly, the fact that animals had featured prominently in Hausa folktales is an indication that the former had occupied an important place and space in the latter's world.

Good relationship exists between Hausa community and animals. There is no doubt about this; as regards to domestic animals, Hausa man is generally a pastoral person. Even in urban life, he lives with animals in his quarters. As for the wildlife, the relationship is equally harmonious depending on the legend, superstition, tales and beliefs attached to the referred animal. Yet, generally it is revealing that Hausa man perceived animals having a kingdom and social system. This position was particularly influenced by the religion of Islam professed by greater number of Hausa community. The holy Qur'an of the Muslims have specifically mentioned certain animals; the list include the bee, the ant, the spider, the elephant, the cow, the dog, the horse, the fly, the whale, the fish, the camel, the crow, the quail, the locust, the frog, the swine, the ape, the hoopoe, the lice, the worm, the wolf, the goat, the sheep, and the mosquito.

The encounter of the Ant with Prophet Suleiman (AS), spoken of in the holy Qur'an, speaks a lot about how the good leadership of the Queen-Ant saved the entire colony; it speaks of animals having a language to speak and having humane compassion and instinct just like human beings; that they feel pain, joy, pleasure and anger.

As regards to satirical language, the local (Hausa) folks regularly use it in their discourse. In a literary way they satirized crimes, social evils and bad behaviour with the hope of bringing positive changes. More commonly, praise singers and poets are in fond of using satire language to articulate the socio-political concerns of the community. Thus, evidently songsters like Musa Dan Kwairo, Dan Anace^{viii}, Dan Dawo and Sa'idu Faru heartily satirises stinginess, greediness, thievery, guttery and wickedness in their various songs. Equally great poets in the person of Sa'aduZungur^{ix}, Mu'azu Hadejia^x, Aliyu Akilu^{xi} and Aliyu Namangi^{xii} had satirized social upheavals such as bribery and corruption, prostitution, injustice, indolence, hypocrisy and ignorance^{xiii}. Those are the social maladies of their society at that time.

Legal Thriller in the Song of “Taken Malam Amadu”

This song starts with a rhythmic stanza which is intoned by the songster's buddy artistes. The canto is chanted by the choir in a call- and-response fashion; and it is as follows:

HAUSA ENGLISH

Sake shiribasihi, ba mu jawabin Sing to us the lyrics of Na-Garba

Na-Garba mai 'yan mata the gorgeous young man;

Be organizing oh the luminous man!

Dan Matawalle then sings:

HAUSA	ENGLISH
<i>Ku saurarana ba kulabari</i>	Pin your ears back!
<i>Kazafara da raininwayo,</i>	How teasing and naughty is a Solid-white Pullet
<i>Ta ce ma bingi-bingikazama.</i>	for damning a Ruffled-feathered Fowl as filthy.
<i>Sai kokuwa ta kaure,</i>	Brawl ensued (between the duo)
<i>Sai aka daubingi-bingiankayarta.</i>	And the Ruffled-feathered one was thudded-down
<i>Kazabaka ta zo rabiya,</i>	The scuffle was broken up
<i>Zakara sai yace a je alkali.</i>	by the solid-based Black Fowl (Whilst) the Rooster insists that the case should be prosecuted in the Court of Law.
<i>Ke wake- wake cesheda,</i>	
<i>Ba aishari'ar da ba shedu ba.</i>	The (required) witness is the Barred-hen For no case stand in the absence of evidence.
<i>Alkalin gari muzuru ne,</i>	
<i>Ga mataimakinsa a zaunekaton</i>	The judge is the Tom Cat
<i>Tsawarwarakakkarfa.</i>	Whilst the Bridled-Cat is the Court Registrar; A huge Tom-Cat by himself.

<p><i>Babban mataimakiyace</i> <i>dukakowayadafalaya,</i> <i>bawani mai gaskiya a gurbin Alkali.</i></p> <p><i>Amma bakin muzuru shine Dan-wanka,</i> <i>Sai ya zo da fada,</i> <i>Dukakowayadafalaya</i> <i>Kan a jimagawuka a gun Dan-wanka.</i></p> <p><i>Bera da kadangare 'yan shaidu sai su</i> <i>ka ce</i> <i>Ba sadafa ba,</i> <i>Don kisanwuka sai kaji,</i> <i>Mu sai a ci mu ko ba yanka.</i></p> <p><i>Alkali yayijawabi</i> <i>Dan-wanka sai kadubafadan nan,</i> <i>Lallefadansuya mana dadi</i> <i>Don kowagidansa a sharomo.</i></p>	<p>The Chief Registrar declared 'None is guiltless before the judge' Hence all have to take the Oath of God</p> <p>The Bailiff is a coal-black cat And he comes forward with menace brandishing a dagger</p> <p>The witnesses are Rat and the Lizard But the duo got scared Of the shown blade</p> <p>The court judge then happily acknowledged To Dan-wanka (and other court officers) That this is a good case That brought to us (good) fortune</p>
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Satirizing the Dimensions of Law in the Song

The songster begins his satire by naming one of the fighting ladies “KazaFara”, meaning ‘white pullet’. This word “*kazafara*” is suggestive of being innocent, beautiful, girlish, well-behaved, mannerly and probably young; whereas the other lady is Bingi-bingi, meaning a ‘ruffled-feathered fowl’. The word is indicative of being rowdy, bad-mannered and badly behaved.

From the story, however, Kaza-Fara who seemingly appeared to be naive lady turned out to be mischievous and troublesome. The first lesson taught in this song verse is that, whilst it is instinctive for humans to make judgments based on physical appearance, a sound judgment should always be based on the facts and evidence of a case^{xiv}.

The song goes on to narrate what a typical lady will likely do when baselessly insulted by another; of course she will fight. The only significant issue here is that if she fights under provocation, as in the instant case, then she may enjoy some concession. As held in the case of *Cyrus V. State*^{xv}, provocation may reduce the grade of an offence, but it never constitutes complete justification for the conduct that is otherwise criminal^{xvi}.

The eventual conduct that follows the kind of provocation made by KazaFara may involve exchange of insults or punches, hair pulling, biting, lots of pushing and shoving. One may not even remove the possibility of the ladies employing weapons, whether prepared or improvised. Thus, there is likelihood of one or all the parties ending up with bruises or even minor injuries.

The next event is quelling of the fight by Kaza Baka and the decision of referring the matter to court by the “Zakara”. “*Kazabaka*” imply ill-disciplined lady, but in the circumstance of the moment she didn’t take side; unexpectedly, she chose to broker peace between the warring ladies. This makes her a Good Samaritan, thus emphasising that persons should not be judged by mere appearances.

Referral of the Case to Court and the Principles of Natural Justice

The case was advised to be referred to the Alkali court of law^{xvii}. Alkali court was the judicial arm of the emirate administration which is popular in the Northern Region of Nigeria^{xviii}. The advice came from Zakara, the rooster. His connection to the fighting young girls however was not disclosed. The only apparent thing was that the case was beyond him to handle, hence his advice. And the recommendation is germane considering that a court is the impartial forum of resolving quarrels^{xix}.

This Zakara might be the husband of the two fighting girls or a close relation. In any of the instances, the principles of natural justice prevent him, as an interested party, from adjudicating upon their case. In the case of *Lesson V. General Council of Medical Education*^{xx} it was held that the purity of the administration of justice is so jealously guarded that if there is any circumstance so affecting a person called upon to determine the rights of fellows, as to be calculated to create in the minds of a reasonable man a suspicion of those person’s responsibility; those circumstance in themselves and by themselves alone, are sufficient to disqualify the person from adjudicating.

Referring the matter to the court of law is necessary because some criminal acts might have been involved. In the first place the two ladies are likely to have committed the offence of either causing hurt^{xxi}, assault^{xxii}, battery or disturbing public peace. In some circumstances, all the three crimes might have been committed at the same time. This is possible because several crimes may form part of the chain that constitutes one single crime.

If the offence of causing hurt on provocation is established against Bingi-bingi, then she may be punished with an “imprisonment for a term which may extend to one month or with fine which may extend to ten Pounds or with both^{xxiii}.” Likewise, if the offence of voluntarily causing hurt without provocation is established against KazaFara, then she shall be “punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend to one year or with fine which may extend to twenty Pounds or with both^{xxiv}.”

The physical attack of Bingi-bingi by KazaFara may expectedly brings her under the ambit of section 265 of the Penal Code which provides that “ whoever assaults or uses criminal force to any person otherwise than on grave and sudden provocation given by that person shall be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend to one year or with fine or both; and if the grievous hurt is cause to any person by such assault or criminal force with imprisonment which may extend to three years or with fine or with both.

If the assault charge is against Bingi-bingi then she may be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three months or with fine which may extend to twenty Pounds or with both.

Caricaturing the Evidential Proof

The aspect of proof of fact was satirized with humour. The statement “*ba aishari’ar da ba shedu ba*” is reintegration of the requirement of law that findings of court must be based on credible evidence. This is the holding of the court in the case of *Chief AyoguEze V. Bring. Gen J.O.O Okoluagu* (rtd)^{xxv}. In the instant case, three witnesses^{xxvi} were mentioned, namely, Wake-wake (barred hen)^{xxvii}, Bera (mice) and Kadangare (lizard)^{xxviii}. Literary, wake-wake is a blemish colour of black and white’; thus by attaching this name to a witness, the singer is satirizing the changeable nature of nowadays witnesses. As for Bera and Kadangare, these are not birds like the other witnesses and the parties to the case. Also both of them bear masculine names. Clearly the singer wants to speak of a different genre of witnesses. Probably, he is saying that Bera and Kadangare are expert witnesses^{xxix} who offer to give medical evidence of the possible injury sustained by any or both parties, or evidence as regards to the mental state of KazaFara in the event she claims insanity as defence to her action.

Kaza Baka, who breaks up the fight, is another possible eyewitness whose testimony will be significant^{xxx}. However, nothing is said to suggest that she is giving evidence. In all probability the singer is deliberately sending a message that many factors may prevent an eye witness from testifying. He may be a blood relation to the party calling him as witness, in which case the evidence may be rejected. This is the position of the Islamic law of evidence which is applicable in Nigeria. It might also be that KazaFara is not all that a significant witness having viewed only part of the incident and as such could not accurately testify the event. Equally, it is possibility that she is a disqualified witness on the ground of age, mental condition or physical disability.

Significantly, there is need of evidence in all sorts of court cases, whether civil or criminal. Actually, as mentioned earlier, this case can be viewed either civilly or criminally. It may be a civil case where Bingi-bingi is suing civilly for the assault or hurt caused to her in which case she is simply litigating for damages. If this is so, she may require evidence to establish her claim.

The case may also take criminal dimension in which case evidence is required for the prosecution to establish its case. The level of the proof must be beyond shadow of reasonable doubt.

As regards to the defence, in both civil and the criminal matter the defendant and the accused person, as the case may be, are entitled to call upon their witnesses to either rebut or maintain their innocence.

Satirizing the Formalised Court Atmosphere

Courtroom can be an intimidating place. The language of the court is mostly foreign, the faces hostile and the processes too formalised. All these are satirized by the songster when he is giving description of the Alkali and other court officials. In the first place, the Alkali was said to be Muzuru^{xxxii}, and this Hausa word ‘*muzuru*’ depicts a Tom Cat, which literary is terrifying being to the hens who happened to be the litigants in the instant case. In real life situations, judges are held with great trepidation. They look too reserved and formal; always wearing a stern-look and gazing intently. This perhaps is influenced by the costume they wear. In Common Law system, the judicial robes consist of wig, black garment and gown, with the colour of black being most prominent^{xxxiii}. As regards to the customary law system, particularly in the Northern Nigeria, the Alkali always wears an aristocratic look, with big gown and turban. Thus, costume generally gives court judges extraordinary charismatic stature which makes people to usually fear them. In fact, in the rural areas, a mere threat of arraigning persons before an Alkali is too much of a warning to them.

In the same way, the court registrar was, (katon) Tsawarwara^{xxxiii} (a huge brindled Tom Cat) whilst the court’s bailiff is Bakin Muzuru (coal-black cat)^{xxxiv}. The phrase “*katontsawarwara*” is suggestive of bullying whereas “*bakin muzuru*” is evocative of harassment. In reality, court registrars are oppressors of the indigent litigants. In the rural areas, the lives of the litigants were tormented with greedy demands of these officials to the extent that all about them could be ‘lust for money and money for lust’.

The court bailiff was spoken of in the light of harassment because of a number of factors. They are hustlers who mostly in customary court system serve as middlemen between corrupt judges and the litigants. They scheme how to ‘make’ or ‘mar’ court cases. An example is where they do not want to serve court summons on someone (for corrupt reasons) and you see them reporting to the court that the person is not ‘reachable’ every time. In essence, these courts officers can be too pestering and disturbing that local peasants greatly fear them like Alkalies.

Court Case a Serious Business

Criminal act is a serious issue. A person may commit a single act or a single omission only to find him being liable of several other criminal activities^{xxxv}. This is because some series of acts are so connected together as to form the same transaction as the one alleged to have been committed. Thus in the case of *State V. Usaini*^{xxxvi} a charge of robbery was joined with one of culpable homicide punishable with death.

In the instant case, KazaFara and Bingi-bingi may be trading accusations over what appears to them as simple fight. However, upon arrival at the court, they were all viewed as accused persons that is why the court Registrar declared, “*Bawani mai gaskiya a gurbin Alkali*”. In essence, the Registrar or the Prosecutor stops at nothing in seeing that the litigants get prosecuted in order to milk ‘something’ out of them. The duo may likely be charged for the offence of disturbing public peace^{xxxvii} which is punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three years or with fine which may extend to three hundred Pounds or with both.^{xxxviii}

The charges to be framed against the KazaFara and Bingi-bingi were then taken from another dimension. Rather than to see the interest of justice, the court officials uses it as avenue to quench their corrupt desire^{xxxix}. The judge was quoted saying “*lallefadansuya mana dadi, don kowagidansa a sharomo*”. Going by this statement of the judge it may be concluded that it was a calculated act when Dan-wankatraumatised the witnesses and the litigants by saying that each and every one must take an oath^{xl}. Naturally, oath causes anxiety and psychological effects on people, especially the poor ones^{xli}. This might be the reason why Bera and Kadangare eventually pulled themselves out of those to testify^{xlii}. Understandably, the intimidating atmosphere of the court coupled with the attitudes of the court officers cause anxiety and stress to witnesses. This is not healthy to the judicial system. Actually, the formality of the English court system frightened a lot of witnesses from giving evidence.

Conclusion

The pivotal point in the song of “*Taken Malam Amadu*”, as analysed *supra*, lies in the maddening level of decadence in the judiciary. The song gives us the story of a legal system gone mad; a system where court cases are manipulated or even controlled by the courts’ officials. In fact the song focuses its lens on the moral indignation of the judicial institution. The songster uses poetic device to, on one hand, challenge his audience to imbibe good norms and virtues (such as patience and conflict resolution) so as to prevent unnecessary litigations. On the other hand he laments over the worrisome condition of the legal system which scares away people with genuine cases and bona fide claims.

The song actually presents a fictional story, but underlying the folklore people could learn great things relating to law and legal situation especially in the Northern states of Nigeria. There is no doubt, corruption has been intrinsic part of the judicial institution, and that, if not aptly checked, may lead to deterioration of the quality of the judicial system.

End Notes

iMai Burtu is a popular ‘gurmi’ musician that sings for local hunters. He hailed from Gwadabawa Local government area of Sokoto State, Nigeria.

ii Hausa community is the largest ethnic community in West Africa. The ethnic group has a population of more than 20 million and the language is the most widely spoken language in the region.

iii The West Africa region comprises of countries of Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Chad, Cote D’Ivoire, Equatorial Guinea, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo. The North-East region comprises of Sudan, Egypt and Libya,

iv Muhammad, L. S, *Wakokin Malam Amadu Dan Matawallen Hadejia*(SUDA Communications Ltd, 2006), p. ii.

v Birniwa is a Local Government Area of Jigawa State. It has an area of 1,567 km² and a population of 142,329 as at 2006 census

vi *ibid*

vii Radio Kaduna transmit Hausa programs world-wide on 6090 kHz short wave

viii Well known Hausa singer who specialized in singing for farmers and traditional boxers.

ix Zungur (1915-1958) is one of the leading Hausa poets and a political activist of the pre-independence Nigeria.

x Hadeja is one of the notable high profile Hausa poets.

xi Akilu (1918-1998) is one of the great Hausa poets whose recitals drew great acclaim among many Hausa speakers.

xii Namangi is a blind Hausa poet who authored the famous *infirajiverses* that ran into 12 books

xiii Akingbe N, *Speaking Denunciation: Satire as Confrontation Language in Contemporary Nigerian Poetry*, <http://www.africafocus.eu/filed> 43 at 12/3/15.

xiv Weirdly however, a study had shown that putting good appearance by persons accused of violence reduced the percentage of guilty verdicts. In other words, the study is saying that judges are influenced by the fact that people who put good appearance are emasculated and less capable of violence.

xv 102, Ga 616, 29 SE 917.

xvi *State V. Wilson*, 38 Conn 126.

xvii “*Zakara sai yace a je alkali*”.

xviii The court dispenses justice according to the Islamic law, though it equally dispense Common Law based rules.

xix That is why justice is often symbolized as a blindfolded figure balancing a set of scale.

xx (1890) 43 Ch.D. 366

xxi Section 243 of the Penal Code provides “ whoever voluntarily causes hurt, if the hurt which he intends to cause or knows himself to be likely to cause is grievous hurt and if the hurt which he causes is grievous hurt, is said voluntarily to cause grievous hurt.”

^{xxii} Section 264 of the Penal Code provides “whoever makes any gesture or any preparation intending or knowing it to be likely that such gesture or preparation will cause any person present to apprehend that he who makes that gesture or preparation is about to use criminal force to that person, is said to commit an assault.”

^{xxiii} Section 244 of the Penal Code.

^{xxiv} Section 246 of the Penal Code.

^{xxv} (2010) 3 N.W.L.R. (pt. 1180) 183.

^{xxvi} In law, a witness is someone who, either voluntarily or under compulsion, provides testimonial evidence either oral or written, of what he or she knows or claim to know about the matter before the court. See Witness, <http://webcached.googleusercontent.com/search? Rizici at 13/4/15>.

^{xxvii} The song reads “*Ke Wake-wake ceshaida*”.

^{xxviii} An aspect of the song reads ‘*Bera da Kadangare ‘yan shaidu ...*’

^{xxix} Expert witness is a witness who is specially skilled in the field which he is giving evidence

^{xxx} Eyewitness testimony is an account which a bystander gives in a case, describing what that person observes that

^{xxxi} The song reads “*Alkalin gari Muzuru ne*”

^{xxxii} Black was a broadly popular colour of the legal profession

^{xxxiii} The song reads “*Ga mataimakinsa a zaunekatontsawarwarakakarfa*”.

^{xxxiv} The song reads “*Amma bakin muzuru shine dan-wanka*”.

^{xxxv} Thus section 213 of the Criminal Procedure Code makes provides that offences of like character may be charged together. Also section 214 of the same Code provides that acts forming the same transaction may be charged together.

^{xxxvi} (1969) SCOPE 35.

^{xxxvii} In the case of *Attorney General V. PYA Quarries Ltd* (1957) 2 Q B 169, Romer LJ opines that any nuisance is disturbance of public peace so long as it materially affects the reasonable comfort and convenience of life of the public.

^{xxxviii} Section 113 of the Penal Code. In one instance, a Zuba Upper Area Court was reported to have sentenced two ladies both of Deidei in the FCT to one month imprisonment for fighting in public. See Sundiata Post <http://sundiatapost.com/2015/07/04/court-sentence-two-women--to-one-month -imprisonment-each-for-fighting @ 12/4/15>.

^{xxxiv} The corruption nature of court officers is well known fact. The former CJN of Nigeria was once reported to have lamented on the rampant corrupt [ractices among judiciary employees including secretaries, court registrars, process clerks and bailiffs. See CJN Admits Massive Graft in the Judiciary, Global Village Extrar, <http://globalvillageextrar.com/cjn-admit-massive-graft-in-judiciary @ 13/4/15>.

^{xxxv} The song reads “*Amma bakin Muzuru shine Dan-wanka, sai ya zo da fada,*

Dukakowayadafalayakan a jimagawuka a gun Dan-wanka”.

^{xxxvi} The judicial system is such that when a person is called to give evidence in court, he will be required to either take an oath or make an affirmation

^{xxxvi} The song verse reads “ *Bera da kadangare ‘yan shaidusais u ka cebasadafa ba*”

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Witness, <http://webcached.google.user.content.com/searc?riz.iei> at 13/4/15

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