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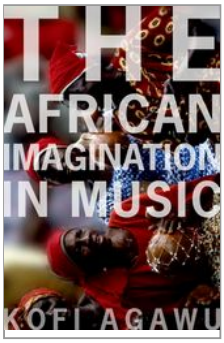

The African Imagination in Music
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Music and/in Society

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Abstract and Keywords

This chapter explores the place of music in African society and the ways in which that relationship has been conceptualized by scholars. Beginning with discourse, the chapter observes the absence of a word for *music* in many indigenous languages, and then outlines alternative emphases in the patterns of African talk about music. It then identifies the three main occasions for music making as work, ritual and recreation. Although music-making typically marks the various stages in a life cycle, emphasis is placed here on music in funeral traditions. A tripartite scheme for categorizing all known genres of African music as traditional music, popular music, art music is introduced and critiqued. The chapter finishes with reflections on the relationship between sound structure and social structure, and the importance of circles in capturing that relationship.

Keywords: society, life cycle, music in funeral traditions, traditional music, popular music, art music, musical structure and social structure

Music making appears to be a universal phenomenon. Like natural language and religion, music as a system and practice seems to be essential to human existence. There are, to be sure, differences—some of them occasionally radical—among sound ideals, modes of performance, positions of musicians within society, relative densities of musical events in a given "soundscape," and values placed upon music making. But by and large, the presence of music, understood as organized sound with a (silent) choreographic supplement, is a

defining feature of most human societies. Africa provides a particularly vivid illustration of the close and complex relationship between music and society.[1]

No Word for Music?

It may come as a surprise to learn that the word *music* does not occur in many indigenous African languages. Several writers have noted this absence and claimed a degree of significance for it. For example, surveying terminology associated with music and musicians among the Tiv of Eastern Nigeria in 1979, Charles Keil identified "biases" in Western conceptions of music and revealed absences in several African lexicons, leading him to re-evaluate not only "music" but also "musicology" and "ethnomusicology":

> The problem of our biases hit me rather forcefully when it became clear that a word corresponding to our term "music" could not be found in one African language after another—Tiv, Yoruba, Igbo, Efik, Birom, Hausa, (p.28) assorted Jarawa dialects, Idoma, Eggon, and a dozen other languages from the Nigeria-Cameroons area do not yield a word for "music" gracefully. It is easy to talk about song and dance, singers and drummers, blowing a flute, beating a bell, but the general terms "music" and "musician" require long and awkward circumlocutions that still fall short, usually for lack of abstraction, for example, "the voices of the tools of the dance," a way of bringing together instruments blown and beaten which when supplemented by "plus singing" almost adds up to "music." So what seems to us a very basic, useful, and rather concrete term is apparently a useless abstraction from a Tiv, Yoruba, perhaps even a pan-African or non-Western point of view. If it should turn out that West African cultures are typical and that the vast majority of the world's people do not bother with a word for "music," it's conceivable that we may eventually think it silly, ethnocentric, even pompous to be designating disciplines with names like "musicology" or "ethnomusicology." On the other hand, "music" may continue to define quite precisely the somewhat ambiguous range of patterned sound phenomena we are interested in exploring across all cultural borders. We may eventually coin a still more ambiguous term that includes both music and dance, something more elegant than "musico-choreographic," I hope, since song/dance/musical-accompaniment are virtually inseparable in many cultures.[2]

Christopher Waterman, who quotes a portion of this passage in an important reference article, adds that "Keil's list might be expanded to include Mandinka, Wolof, Serer, Bambara, Dogon, Dan, Kpelle, Twi, Ga, Ewe, Fulani, Bala-Basongye, Karimojong, Baganda, Shona, Venda, Zulu, Xhosa, various San languages and Chokwe."[3] Lester Monts says that "the Vai language has no generic term for the Western concept of music, though there are words for 'dance' (*tɔmbɔ*), 'song' (*dɔŋ*), and 'instrumental performance' (*seŋ feŋ*)."[4] According to Kubik, "there are no terms in [the languages] of eastern Angola whose semantic fields could be considered congruent with that of the Latin word *musica* and its derivatives in European languages." He finds this to be the case "in most Bantu languages."[5] And according to Maurice Djenda, *music* (p.29) is "a term without an equivalent in most Central African languages."[6] From here on it would be a fairly predictable exercise to go down the list of numerous African languages and discover a

similar pattern of absence. Waterman does not interrogate the presumed sameness in European-language usages of the equivalent of "music." Could it be that the meanings attached to "music" or its closest equivalent differ not only between the West and the non-West but also from language to language? Could it be, therefore, that the African difference is a matter of degree, if it is a difference at all? Keil thinks that the Western word *music* is probably "a useless abstraction" for African and non-Western people.

How significant is this absence? Seemingly provocative at first sight, further reflection suggests that the significance of the absence of the word *music* from indigenous languages may be ambiguous, a red herring perhaps. First, it is not an absence that has registered often in the writings of prominent African scholars. Perhaps Sowande, Bebey, Nketia, Euba, Vidal, Nzewi, Avorgbedor, Mapoma, Mukuna, Mensah, and others have not been struck by it; perhaps they think that communication is not threatened when the word *music* is used; perhaps they see similarly imperfect mappings of semantic fields between African languages; or perhaps they simply have a different set of priorities in writing about African music. Second, it may be that a self-evident distinction between music making and other modes of expression is presumed on ontological grounds. When I hear a man singing another's praises in exchange for cash, women mourning the dead in crying songs, drummers delivering coded messages on talking drums, or a group of hunters celebrating a big kill in songs and dances of bravery, heroism, and self-congratulation, I am immediately aware that these activities are linked in an immediate sense, that they represent the same sorts of escape from ordinary, lived time. They are forms of individual and group affirmation through singing and playing instruments within temporal spaces consecrated for no other purpose than to stage a departure from an ordinary realm into a marked one. I would not confuse music making with, say, eating, sleeping, or making love. What the absence of a word for "music" suggests is not that African conceptions are radically different from Western ones, or that there is a significant discontinuity between semantic fields, or even that abstractions are missing from African talk about music; rather, it suggests that the semantic range of the convenient, all-encompassing, indeed all-purpose term *music* is distributed differently in some (African) languages. Keil, in fact, notes that the word enshrines an ambiguity that may well ensure its continued usefulness.

(p.30) A sign of such an expanded semantic range is the relatively fluid and unstable set of referents for instrumental music as distinct from vocal music. No indigenous African language lacks a word for "language," a vital component of vocal music. Further, many African languages have words for "song." And although "song" carries a range of meanings, its basic function in denoting certain forms of vocalization is generally secure. Of course, allowance should be made for diversity in production: articulation may be syllabic or melismatic or take the form of vocalise; we may speak, sing, or hum a song; and the temporal framework could be strictly metrical, partially metrical, free, or declamatory. These varieties notwithstanding, "song" as a partial referent for "music" in Africa is at a gross level ontologically proximate to song in other world cultures.

The other half denoting instrumental music seems to resist translation to a greater extent, but even here the matter is largely one of degree. Ostensibly "pure" instrumental music (for

tuned or at least tonally differentiated sets of drums, lamellophones, and wind instruments, for example) is sometimes conceptualized as "song," as possessing a verbal basis or a verbal motivation. According to Ruth Stone, Kpelle flutes and lutes are said to possess "voices" and are heard to "sing."[7] Their repertory may therefore be characterized as "songs." Some African instrumental music is likewise conceived as wordless songs, songs whose words are not nonexistent but have been relegated to a strong supplementary function. Klaus Wachsmann and Peter Cooke drew attention to such songs in the xylophone music of Uganda.[8] A genre of songs for reflection (*chants à penser*) was recorded by Vincent Dehoux from among the Gbaya in the Central African Republic. Its song-eliciting melodies played principally on the sanza allow individuals to construct bridges from the world of pure tone to the verbal world in which men call out to their loved ones, reflect upon misery and loneliness, and react to loss.[9]

The category "song" cannot, however, absorb all of African instrumental music. This task is left to the choreographic supplement or dance. Understood as patterned physical movement that is simultaneously a response to and a generator of music, dance assumes the role of a nexus or ultimate anchor. Again, no indigenous African language as far as we know lacks a word (p.31) for "dance." In some, drumming and dancing are mutually implicated. Drumming can also bring on singing as an additional dimension, so that the domain of "dance" intersects with that of music making. We might say that between song and dance, the conceptual origins of instrumental music are well accounted for.

To say that African languages lack a term comparable to the English word *music* may, however, be helpful in fostering some self-awareness in the use of the all-purpose term. But to present the difference as categorical is to misconstrue the cross-cultural space that enabled this very observation. Moreover, the act of designating a species of expressive behavior as "music" represents a beginning, a first step in conceptual exploration, a point of departure; such an action does not describe a final state or outcome. The next step would be to see how this complex of actions and thoughts is expressed and critiqued within a given language to establish the patterns of prioritization enshrined in its conceptual schemes. In due course, webs of significance will be woven around the term, leading us to yet more nuanced understanding. We learn, for example, that among the Venda, the presence of an explicit meter is what separates "music" from nonmusic; that a "limited number" of Koranic scholars among the Hausa use the term *musika*; that among the Tswana of Botswana, "singing and dancing are regarded as virtually synonymous" (*gobina*); that the terms *mosoko* and *ngombi* in Sango have been introduced in the Central African Republic as equivalents for music; and that the Dan in Côte d'Ivoire lack a single term for music but have terms for dance song (*ta*), praise song (*zlöö*), and funeral laments (*gbo*).[10] These and other terms serve to orient us to cultural particulars within a broad regime of "music." "African music" is therefore neither incomprehensible nor obscure; rather, it packs in a number of contingencies that point to an expanded semantic field. "African music" is always already a provisional designation.

(p.32) How, Then, Do Africans Talk About "Music"?

In navigating the semantic worlds linked to broadly comparable notions of "music," we encounter a colorful terrain in which explicit metalanguages and informal metaphors illuminate African thematizations of music as an expression of life. To acknowledge this vocabulary is to invite exploration of African ways of world making. One of the dangers of cross-cultural comparison is the temptation to reify terms and concepts that seem to mark difference. These initial differences or first impressions should be treated as beginnings, not endings. For example, for some speakers of American English, the Kpelle expression "a song going down the road" is immediately arresting because it differs from what they are used to—songs do not normally travel, much less travel down roads.[11] But the full significance of that translation can only emerge from a consideration of larger contexts of usage. Which roads, and what else travels down roads in this particular West African culture? These further acts of contextualization, which are in effect exercises in the philosophy of music, are sometimes missing from glossaries documenting African talk about music.[12]

With these caveats in mind, we can now proceed to a brief consideration of what some African languages say about music. Rather than quote from a variety of languages, however, I provide English-language equivalents of words and phrases that I believe have a wider currency beyond those languages. I recognize that translation is always already unequal, but perhaps this kind of strategic impoverishment will stimulate critical discussion beyond individual languages and bring insight.

Foremost among vocabulary items are names of instruments. Musical instruments acquire names from a variety of sources and motivations: from the functional role of an instrument within an ensemble ("the mother drum"), from the mode of enunciation ("the one who speaks"), from the material used in making the instrument ("the metal bell," "the gourd rattle," "the wooden shaker"), and as literal depictions of the kind of sound typically made by the instrument ("gbun-gbun," "dòndón," and other onomatopoeia). Equally significant are names of musical genres, including names for musical occasions: play songs, grinding songs, songs of insult, and songs of lamentation. Then there are terms that depict performance actions: "beat the inside of the voice," "put fire inside," "the song has caught my throat," and "the performance wears (p.33) slowness." Related are terms for capturing music's expressive effect or affective character, announcing aesthetic assumptions and ethical motivations, or evaluating a performance: "it went inside deeply for me," "the song and dance agreed," "it was too much," and "she has a cooked tongue."

Finally, there are technical terms that are used routinely, albeit informally, by critics or analysts. Some are designations for parts of song, like "beginning" and "throwing away place" (for cadence). Others support a conceptual distinction between "deep structure" and "surface structure." Some convey processes of embellishment or variation: "change the voice," "turn it like this and like that," and "put salt inside." Then there are terms for musical parameters like pitch ("big voice" vs. "small voice"), melody ("the sounding of the voice"), harmony or polyphony ("first voice" vs. "second voice" or "the coagulation of voices"), tempo ("put fire inside"), timbre ("it is not smooth"), and dynamics ("let it be strong"). Another category that registers often, albeit indirectly, is form, the internal

arrangement of parts in a composition. Especially prominent is the call-and-response procedure. “Call” may be rendered as “send the song,” “remove the song,” or “intone it,” while “response” may be given by many terms, among them “catch the song,” “love it,” “agree to it,” and “respond to it.”

A concentration of usage in a particular location or community may occasionally elevate ad hoc terms to the status of a metalanguage. Crediting his grandmother, an Akan singer of *Ahenfodwom,* with the invention and regular usage of certain terms, Nketia distinguishes a call (*ɔfre*) from the response (*dzinsoɔ*) it elicits. The word *ntosuɔ* (“add on”) denotes a layer above another layer, while *ntumu* means interruption. Finally, *mpaemu* refers to voice separation.[13] Similarly, Nzewi explains that the harmonic scheme in Igbo culture is “discussed in triadic terms of low, female voice (*nne olu*), high, male voice (*oke olu*), and the voice in-between (*agbalabo*).”[14] Neither Nketia nor Nzewi provides data on the extent of the sociocultural usage of this vocabulary, however.

At least three observations can be made about these terms and expressions. First, they are cultivated within very specific language communities. In this sense, their external appearances (or foreground features) have no necessary pan-African value; rather, it is the motivations that underpin individual terms (background features) that are widely shared. Second, they are often cultivated in specific institutions and performance contexts. (p.34) They come into being as needs arise. Where there is no need to designate a musical action verbally, no one invents a word for it. We should remember that most musical practices referred to in this book—and to which the previous words and phrases apply—are societies of primary orality. Effective performance, for example, need not be verbally mediated in such societies; models and instructions can be conveyed concisely in action, including movement or visual cues. There is thus a great deal that is conditional and contingent about these terms. Third, vocabularies change over time. The Ewe, for example, did not have a term for *conductor* before they came under Christian missionary influence in the 1840s. Since then, church choirs singing in an alien four-part harmonic texture (sopranos, altos, tenors, basses) with a designated conductor who faces the singers oppositionally have become a part of their tradition. Today, they refer to an *àtídalá*, “one who waves the stick.” There will doubtless be further accretions in response to contemporary needs; old terms will be discarded and replaced by new ones. It is important to acknowledge this historically fluid process so that we are not tempted to essentialize the African musical mind on the basis of standout or exotic-sounding metaphors of limited circulation picked up in one location or another in the course of fieldwork.

A significant factor in the process of change is the invention of pedagogical terms for the purposes of cross-cultural teaching. The use of drum mnemonics, for example, has been widely reported as a traditional tool for teaching and transmission.[15] In more recent times, and especially as a result of increasing globalization of African music, new teaching methods have arisen. This development entails both losses and gains. Let me cite but one example of each. I once heard the popular clave rhythmic pattern ([3-3-4-2-4]) explained as a “five-beat pattern.”[16] Students were encouraged to count 1-2-3-4-5 to help them render it. By “beat,” the instructor was referring to the number of attack points or onsets, not the

metrically constrained beats. The five onsets are not equal in duration; rather, they are distributed across *four* equidistant beats. Here, imperfect understanding of the concept of beat has led to usage that is potentially confusing. By contrast, the offbeat pattern played by the *kagan* drum in a dance like Agbadza is rendered as "the ups" by some English-speaking (p.35) performers of Ewe music, a rendition that effectively conveys its persistent off-beat metrical placement.[17]

Inscribed in African vocabularies for music are deep values associated with religious, ethical, and pedagogical beliefs. Some terms may betray haste, convenience, or arbitrariness in formulation, while others may emerge from careful consideration of technical accuracy. This is why we should treat them as suggestive points of departure for the exploration of particular conceptual worlds rather than critically proven items within a stable or explicit metalanguage. Some terms function as pawns in an elaborate game of improvisation; others enshrine speculation about actions that are not nameable in words. Some are figures of speech or metaphors, distant murmurs about things felt. In short, we should attempt to grasp the dynamic processes within which such semantic inventions take place by keeping an eye on the historical processes that produce the terms, always being alert to the time, place, and purpose of each invention.

Language begets language, and analyzing talk about music will invariably require additional perspectives from fields such as sociolinguistics, philosophy, and cultural studies. This is not the place for that more comprehensive study; the main point is to remind us of the vital place of language in talk and conceptualization of music. With this background in place, we can now turn to the main task of this chapter—to observe the role of music in society.

Occasions for Music Making: Work, Ritual, and Entertainment

Contexts and occasions for music making in Africa are many, perhaps infinite. A summary claim like the following could be applied to any number of African communities:

> The most common occasions for music-making . . . are name-giving celebrations, initiation rites, marriages, Christian, Islamic and animist religious rites and celebrations, funerals, post-funeral celebrations, agricultural and household work, harvest celebrations, and the praising of chiefs, elders and other important men and women.[18]

(p.36) Similarly, Rouget's summing up of the role of music in the Tadoid or Gbe languages of Benin, Togo, and Ghana may be generalized for other regions:

> Birth, marriage, death, seasonal rituals, collective work, district or village festivities, ancestor worship or ceremonies for the vodun, all provide an opportunity for music-making.[19]

An earlier discourse gave thematic emphasis to this abundance, and to the concomitant imbrication of "music" in "society." It was said that music accompanied the African from cradle to grave, that all known African societies had some form of organized music

making, and that music was a necessary part of life, not a decorative part thereof. We were told that "music tends to be tied tightly to the socio-cultural events for which it is created; without the events, the music is not produced."[20] Each attribution originated in something observed about musical life. And yet, taken as generalizations, these claims seem exaggerated, incomplete, or misleading. As pointers to philosophies of music making in small, closed, often rural societies, however, they have some value. And so, as long as we are taking our bearings in this book from traditional music, we can rehabilitate some aspects of these claims.

A normative portrait of music making in Africa would identify three main sets of occasions: work (including manual and moral work), ritual, and entertainment.[21] Music associated with work includes work songs (by fishermen and manual laborers), music incorporated into the performance of domestic chores (like grinding and pounding songs), and music for community-wide activities like building bridges, weeding cemeteries, and clearing paths. It includes the (p.37) songs, rhythms, and rhymes that street and market vendors use to attract customers; music made by shepherds; and lullabies designed to soothe babies and children. Work songs also include hymns that surgeons and their teams sing before they operate on a patient, chants that are designed to inspire participants in a sporting event, and the music that postal workers once made while canceling stamps (famously recorded by James Koetting at the University of Ghana Post Office and prominently anthologized in a widely used textbook, *Worlds of Music*).[22]

Music for moral work includes songs composed "against" individuals to correct antisocial behavior through song. For example, "A real man does not work two jobs," says one Northern Ewe song composed to humiliate a habitual thief whose "second job" was stealing. The texts for such songs range from mere allusion to graphic description of the offense. Singing may also accompany a procession through the village of a thief who has been caught stealing a goat or a chicken. The thief may be paraded carrying the stolen item while others drum and sing to intensify his humiliation. Rhymes are sometimes created to tease adults who have violated an aspect of the moral code. For example, because some farming communities frown on men having sex with their wives in the bush, news that an individual has done just that may elicit mocking songs or rhymes that culprits sometimes have a hard time living down. Work songs and work music as a whole bear a complex relationship to work: the music may be generated by the activity (as when fisherman or cloth weavers incorporate the rhythm of physical work directly into the music they produce), the music may provide a contemplative backdrop but ignore the activity's intrinsic rhythms, or music and work may unfold in the same time and space but be unconnected organically.

A second occasion for music making is ritual. The birth of a male child or of twins may occasion the performance of certain rites in and through music. Circumcision rites may feature music making, while singing invariably accompanies the celebration of puberty. Nketia cites examples of habitual bedwetting among the Ashanti eliciting singing from one's peers, and the loss of a first tooth among the Fon being marked by song.[23] Town-purifying ceremonies and the onset of planting and harvesting seasons may be accompanied

by ritual music and dance. Especially elaborate is music making during funerals. (We will return to this subject later in the chapter.) There are also rites for (p.38) healing the sick, as in the practice of dancing away one's disease among the Tumbuka of Northern Malawi.[24]

Festivals are big occasions for music making. Examples include the deer-hunting festival (Aboakyer) of the Effutu, the Osun festival of the Yoruba, the Iriji-Mmanwu spirit manifest festival of the Igbo, various yam and rice festivals, and festivals that mark a significant aspect of a community's past. A new chief may be installed amidst grand music making, while the reciting of histories of clans (as among the Dagomba) is equally a musical occasion. Various forms of music making occur on market days, as well as on colonially induced celebrations of Empire Day, May Day, Independence Day, Easter, and Christmas. Sundays in Christian communities are especially marked for (ritual) church music in the course of worship. Ritual music may be designed for specific rituals (and not performed otherwise) or may borrow from other sources. Music domesticated for a particular ritual does not necessarily reflect the ritual iconically, but is rather invested with contextually appropriate qualities.

A third and final category is music for entertainment, recreation, and play. Children's game songs are prominent in this category, as are after-hours performances by various professional and nonprofessional associations of hunters, warriors, farmers, and drivers. At various courts (that of King Glélé of Benin, the Asantehene of the Ashanti, the Oba of Lagos, and the Kabaka of Baganda), royal musicians often perform to reinforce the king's status, rehearse a historical record, or entertain the king and his guests. With the advent of popular music, venues like beach fronts, community centers, theaters, dance halls, and concert halls have become busy and important sites for music making. Entertainment music takes some of its cues from the nature of the entertainment (e.g., a heavy beat for certain forms of dancing by young people in large dance halls) and from the projections, indulgencies, and fantasies of individual musicians.

In sum, the combination of work, ritual, and entertainment serves as a framework for ordering the numerous occasions for music making in Africa. Each defines a network of activities, and all three may intersect in simple or complex ways. There is no necessary correlation between activity and musical trace; correlations have to be sought on an individual basis. Ultimately, music is made because people realize that outcomes on those occasions are likely to be impoverished if the opportunity (to make music) is forfeited.

The threefold division into work, ritual, and entertainment provides a synchronic account of music making. If we were positioned outside of these happenings and observed them from a distance, we would see work, ritual, and (p.39) entertainment unfolding at the same time, albeit in different configurations within the community's spaces. This triangular dance is something of a conceptual and rhetorical conceit, however. While it can be readily imagined, it is not normally perceived as a totality by individuals. A less abstract way to think about music in society is to follow the linear unfolding of a network of musical events —the same events that we have just named—in the course of a normative life cycle.

Music Across the Life Cycle

As material social practice, music making in Africa may be described along a number of axes and circular mappings ranging from the macrorhythms to the microrhythms of life, from complete life cycles marked by multiyear routines to yearly, seasonal, and eventually daily cycles. While the life cycle allows us to view the correlation between music making and major life events on a large scale, the daily cycle allows us to sketch more local correlations. "Macro" and "micro" are relative values, however. Communities observe the defining activities with different kinds of ceremony and different degrees of commitment. In assembling the following composite portrait, the reader should be under no illusion that designated events occur everywhere with the same degree of salience. The exception may be death, which more often than not elicits elaborate celebration, if not immediately then subsequently. Throughout Africa, one encounters death dances, funeral dirges, orations, crying songs, and lamentations. By temporarily removing the veil over allowable expression during the period of mourning, funeral celebrations become important channels for the expression of the deepest emotions brought on by the ending of life ("It is finished," the Akpafu say). Later in this chapter, I will offer a detailed discussion of music in the funeral celebration of one African community. But first I will describe the place of music within the life cycle.

A typical life cycle unfolds in roughly four contiguous stages: birth, puberty, marriage, and death. The sequence may be represented either as a linear succession or as a circular configuration, depending on whether the last stage is viewed as signifying an end, a new beginning, or both. Each stage comprises a network of events rather than a single event. Birth includes naming and outdooring ceremonies, as well as various initiation rituals affecting both child and new mother. The idea here is to acknowledge the miracle of birth, celebrate the mother's overcoming of this profound challenge (some Ewe congratulate a new mother for "escaping tragedy," for being "spared"), and welcome the young one as the passport to the future. Circumcision is also marked in certain societies. In Angola and Zambia, for example, young boys attend circumcision (p.40) schools in preparation for the ritual, itself a sign of transition into young adulthood. Music making is a central activity within this institution.[25]

Puberty marks a moment of maturation; for girls, it begins with the onset of their menstrual cycle—an event some communities interpret as a sign that the young woman is fertile, has attained a level of physical maturity, and is thus ready for marriage. An iconic example is the so-called Dipo custom of the Krobo of Ghana, where girls who reach the age of puberty are taken in for a time, "prepared" through instruction in the performance of domestic duties and caring for self and family, and then offered to the community. The public display involves objectifying them, parading them in elegant but revealing costume to announce their readiness and availability for marriage and to attract the best possible suitors. Music making accompanies the Dipo procession through the town or village and in the course of various in-house rituals and prayers.[26]

Next in the life cycle is marriage, which also signifies a further level of maturity. It announces a willingness to take responsibility and may entail shifts in social location, expansion of the family unit, and reconfiguration of kinship ties. In pre-Christian Africa,

marriage was not always a privileged moment within the life cycle (compared, say, to birth or especially death). Marriage (among the Dagomba, for instance) was sometimes prepared through a series of transactions between families, and music making often accompanied the movements of various entourages from the groom's house to the bride's, depending on the status of the individuals involved. The actual marriage ceremony, which often involved an exchange of material gifts and verbal transactions (commitments, queries, indirect insults, and self-congratulation), involved praise singing or the (musically constrained) reciting of genealogies. And music making often accompanied newlyweds to their dwelling place.

(p.41) Death ends one enactment of the life cycle, serving as a transition to the next world or, for those who believe in reincarnation, as the rebeginning of the life cycle. Those who believe that as some die they are replaced by others, or that specific ancestors return for second, third, or fourth lives, read the moment of death as simultaneously releasing an adjacent moment of rebirth, beginning the life cycle again. Death is by far the most important stage of the life cycle because it engenders reflection on the cycle as a whole; in that sense, it offers the most complete or synoptic view. This may explain, in part, why the kinds of musical behavior that death elicits are on the whole more elaborate, more intense, and more revealing of the soul of a given community than those of any other moment in the cycle. Preparation for burial, the burial itself, and the subsequent period of mourning all involve music in a series of events designed to help siblings, widows, relatives, and community members come to terms with the loss. Among the great funeral traditions of Africa, all of them invariably celebrated in and through music, are those of the Fon of Dahomey (studied by Herskovits), the Akan (studied by Nketia and Arhin), the Sukuma (studied by Hans Cory), the Igbo (studied by Meki Nzewi), and the Ewe (studied by James Burns).[27] The grandeur of these occasions varies according to the status of the deceased. I imagine that many of us retain memories of some of the funerals we have attended over the years. My own memories of two such occasions remain vivid. The death of the Asantehene Nana Opoku Ware in 1997, for example, was marked by vigorous music making, while the departure of Togbe Afede Assor, the Ewe paramount chief of Ho, was accompanied in August 2002 by an elaborate week-long celebration in music, dance, and ritual.

(p.42) (p.43) Given the rapid social changes that have taken place over the last half century or so, many institutional practices and associated modes of music making are being modified daily to reflect new social, economic, religious, or even aesthetic choices and realities. Some aspects of "tradition" are being abandoned, some are being transformed to yield

Photo 1.1 Funeral, Tamale, Ghana.

Photo 1.2 Adowa, Royal funeral, Kumase, Ghana.

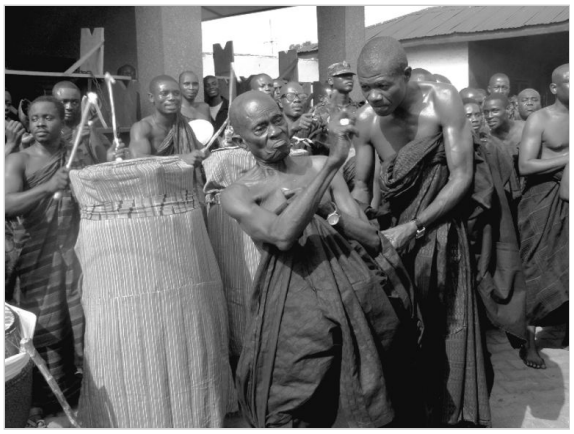

Photo 1.3 FɔntɔmfrɔM, Royal funeral, Kumase, Ghana.

newer traditions, and others are being replaced by modern ones. Of profound significance is the influence of the Christian church, the single most potent institution for eroding, diluting, and symbolically destroying many traditional African practices. The pouring of libation is replaced by "praying upward." Departed ancestors are no longer offered drinks with everyone's eyes open; we pray through Jesus Christ with our eyes shut. Christening and baptism now replace some naming rituals, so that the enactment of customary ways of naming (first-born son, first daughter, second child, child behind the twins, child at the end, and so on) and the deeply meaningful invocations that go with them are replaced by priest-led ceremonies in church. There was a time when a child would be ceremonially raised up to the skies (signifying the wish for him or her to have a similar elevation through life) or offered successive tastes of water and alcohol (the idea being that he or she would then grow up knowing the difference). Nowadays, an ordained minister may be on hand to say opening and closing prayers while a church choir, praise team, (p.44) or singing band may be in attendance to provide choral music, complete with accompaniment on electronic instruments. Needless to say, conflicts sometimes arise between traditional and modern impulses. Adherents of charismatic churches, for example, sometimes appropriate deep aspects of traditional culture, which they then overlay with Christian language, doctrine, and practices. Intriguing cultural mixes result from such acts of appropriation and lead invariably to the emergence of new forms of expression.[28]

Funerals especially have been profoundly affected by Christian culture and beliefs. Older practices featuring all-night vigils marked by the singing of dirges, drumming, and dancing are now curtailed so that the Christians can sing their hymns and say their prayers until midnight. And the availability of various electric instruments and drum sets means that the rest of the night can be turned into a party of sorts, one that involves the playing of popular and neo-traditional music that keeps many young people happy.

Acknowledging these more recent influences should not lead us to the view that older traditions have simply been supplanted by newer practices. On the contrary, old and new coexist in a constellation, a kind of pluralistic cultural economy in which novel forms continue to emerge. In rural Africa, many older traditions remain as "authentic" as they ever were, even if the priest now wears a white glove, drinks imported Schnapps, or owns a cell phone. And in urban Africa, migrant groups sometimes import rural traditions from villages and proceed to intensify the markers of authenticity to counter the impact of the competing alien forms they encounter in urban spaces. The interface between tradition (a site for the display of an invented historical depth) and modernity (a complementary site for enacting and at the same time contesting various contemporary practices) is thus a key issue in contemporary African cultural criticism, one to which students of music stand poised to make a theoretical contribution. We will have occasion to revisit this in the course of this book.

Music in Funeral Traditions: An Akpafu Example

Death occasions some of the most distinctive and deeply felt music making in Africa. The kinds of music, the density of musical events, and the periods of mourning vary with the status (commoner or royalty, wealthy or poor), (p.45) gender, and age of the deceased and the cause of death ("good death" or "bad death," natural or accidental death). As an example of how the network of activities surrounding death and burial are permeated by music, I will describe the practices of one particular group, the Akpafu people of Ghana, using the ethnographic present of the mid-1980s.[29] Readers familiar with other African practices can compare them with the one offered here.

There are four main stages in the process of "taking a person and hiding him": announcing the death, bathing the corpse, laying the corpse in state for community viewing, and finally burying the corpse. Mourners' first task is to announce the death, and this they do by singing a specific dirge: "Who laid a mat for him so that he slept so deeply?" Performed by older, postmenopausal

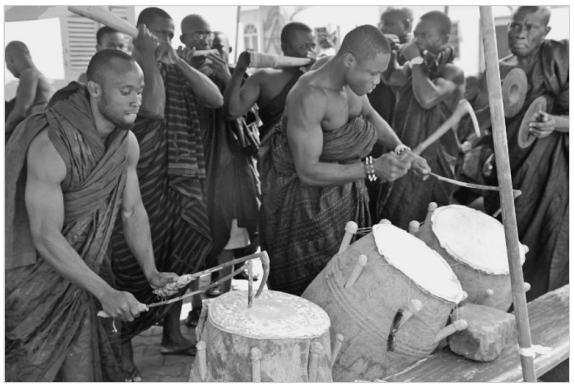

Photo 1.4 "Tipre ne Amoakwa" Asantehemaa Ensemble, Kumase, Ghana.

women, this dirge is an invariant element in the funeral scheme; it is sung only at this particular stage of mourning and at no other. If a prominent citizen dies, talking drums may be sounded to alert people to the fact that one of them has fallen. In the words of one of the dirges sung later, "[he] tripped and did not stand." News of the death goes out to various kin and kith both near and far.

The second stage is bathing the corpse. This is both a physical activity and a symbolic one: physical insofar as soap, sponge, and water are applied (p.46) to the corpse by designated corpse bathers (usually older women), and symbolic because this act of cleansing is supposed to prepare the deceased for the long journey ahead. Bathing is initiated by pouring libation to the ancestors. Then several dirges are sung. The Akpafu deploy several event-specific dirges while women bathe the corpse. One of them asks, "Who would dare to say that s/he will never be bathed by the death sponge?"; another enjoins the wives of the land to "bathe him for me." Elsewhere in the village, funeral drums are beaten intermittently. Two favorite drum musics are "Otutuo" and "Opetresu," both reserved for people of status. Each features a polyrhythmic ensemble of bells and drums repeating short patterns with an air of urgency. This is drumming in the signal mode—no singing accompanies it and no decodable, speech-based messages are beaten. We know only that something untoward has happened.

At the third stage, the deceased is laid in state. Relatives, well wishers, indeed the entire village (including children) file past the dead to pay their last respects. This goes on for a good part of the evening and on through the night; it coincides with the period of the most intense music making. At the heart of these musical activities is the singing of dirges. The Akpafu dirge is pragmatically structured to serve as a vehicle for mourning, lamenting, and crying. Typically, a dirge alternates spoken and sung sections, the whole accompanied by wailing, ululation, spontaneous shouts and cries of pain, and exclamations elicited by the particular death being mourned. Movement and dance sometimes accompany the performance of dirges, with the women pacing back and forth, palms placed across the center of their scalps. Some of the dirges code generalized responses to death or tragedy, while others mark specific moments or events of the mourning period. During the all-night vigil, for example, there is a midnight dirge ("We have touched *Wɛnkɛ*"), another that announces the sighting of a "morning star," and a third that recognizes the cock's crowing.

The fourth stage is the actual burial, which is marked by an intensification of expression. When all is said and done, one event-specific dirge, "Brɛbrɛgorɔ" ("Peace"), is sung. It tells the ancestors to forget everything that has been uttered during this period of mourning: "We said it and said it, but we did not (really) say it." This act of symbolic erasure is in fact a deconstructive move designed to ensure that nothing uttered sincerely in the course of grieving takes on grave consequences. If the ancestors were to respond to everything said in the course of what is usually a difficult and emotionally charged period of mourning, if they were to grant requests such as "Bring him back," "We don't wish to be left behind," "I want to go with her," or "The river is full; let us sail on a raft and go there," there would be obvious trouble. "Brɛbrɛgorɔ" symbolically nullifies those aspects of mourners' verbal expression that might affect them adversely in future. It is in effect a way of having their

cake and (p.47) eating it too; that is, mourners say whatever they wish to say so that they can mourn deeply and without restraint, and then they cancel the undesirable consequences through one ritual song at the end.

Poetic expression in the Akpafu dirge is wide-ranging. It may convey individual sadness ("What have I done so as to be rendered naked?") and loss ("The crocodile has died leaving only the small fish" or "Mother who knows well how to cook is gone"), ask questions about how we mourn ("Who will I tell it to? I have no one"), and interrogate the meaning of life ("What have we come to this long world to come and take and eat?"). It may warn the living that their turn will come sooner than they think ("Get ready, death does not ask a person before it takes him"). Some dirges address the dead directly ("Why have you left me naked?," "Are you just lying there quietly [and not saying anything]?," "Who will look after me from now on?"), send messages to people on the other side of the river ("When you get there, we greet them"), and ascribe states of being to the dead ("Today it has cooled down for him"). Linguistic expression includes archaic words and expressions borrowed from neighboring groups who speak different languages. The dirge is especially rich in ideophones or picture words, words that intensify expression by depicting the sound of meaning.[30] Many texts are framed as questions to underline what is ultimately a philosophical thrust in the dirge. With its references to both the living and the dead, the material and spiritual worlds, the past and future, and the known and unknown, the Akpafu dirge provides a forum for enacting all manner of response to death.

Other music performed during the fourth phase of the funeral includes court music, sacred drums, and—especially nowadays—recreational music. If the deceased was a patron of the arts, the groups that he or she patronized will invariably be present to see him or her off. Sometimes groups from other villages with only the most tenuous connection to the deceased family will show up for the celebration. Occasionally, more than one group will perform at the same time.

It bears repeating that funerals are occasions not only for mourning but also for celebration. Even though the events are occasioned by death—a specific death—they splinter into myriad forms and resurrect a host of impulses, not all of which are a direct response to death. It is an interpretive mistake, therefore, to think of the funeral as an occasion on which sad songs are sung, on (p.48) which somber and restrained behavior is enacted. There surely are moments when a solemn demeanor is required, but there are also moments of vigorous and boisterous music making. Recreational drumming may alternate with crying songs, laments with the chants of warrior groups (*asafo*), and dirges with sacred drumming, the thought being that the authenticity of expression—the sincerity underlying weeping or shouting—is what ultimately matters.

After the burial, a specified period of mourning follows for the family of the bereaved. A widow, for example, may have her head shaven and go into confinement for forty days. After that, she will be released and married off to her oldest brother-in-law. The sharing of the property and debts of the deceased follows in the weeks after the burial. These postfunerary activities are not marked by official music making as such. In effect, they

mark the transition from the period of ritual mourning to the old but at the same time new ordinary realm of existence.

The Akpafu funeral I have just described is the "traditional" one in the sense that it is a repository of practices and beliefs figured as being of ancient provenance. If you happen upon a funeral today, you will see and hear only some of what has been reported here, and some things will not be the same. This is the way of traditions in the modern world: variable rather than constant, precarious rather than fixed, always responding to contemporary challenges. During the first stage (announcing the death), for example, the availability of everything from motor transportation and a mailing system to telephones and even the Internet has altered the speed with which news of death is relayed. In the very old days, messengers walked to places to inform distantly placed relatives of the tragedy; nowadays, people in San Francisco, Melbourne, Paris, London, Mthatha, or Toronto will hear about the death within hours of it happening. Also, the availability of electric-powered refrigeration in mortuaries has significantly altered the traditional practice of burying the dead within a day or two so as not to risk the body decomposing. (This, however, remains the prescribed practice in Muslim communities.) For those without the means, the option of postponing the burial by paying extremely high mortuary fees is not available. Affluent families, by contrast, keep their dead in mortuaries for months as they make elaborate preparations for the funeral. There are no formal music-making activities to mark the period during which the corpse is kept in the mortuary, although this sometimes changes if the deceased was a figure of high status or a chief.

Music making, too, has been significantly altered in modern times. Christian services have sometimes replaced dirge-centered mourning, and not only hymns and anthems but also foreign-made films with voice-overs in the local language facilitate propagandizing on behalf of some evangelical Christian sect or other. Drum sets have replaced traditional drums in some locales, and the symbolic aspects of talking drumming, dirge singing, wailing, and crying (p.49) songs have been replaced by a less differentiated and—dare I say —less nuanced cosmopolitan set of practices.

Institutions change, of course, and the African funeral continues to evolve. As long as there is life, there will be death, and life-loving Africans will continue to use occasions of death to affirm life. They will hold on to some musical practices while discarding others, and they will do this neither consistently nor thoroughly. These actions amount to a form of performance, and they point to the precariousness and fragility that underpin many structures in contemporary Africa.

Categorizing the Varieties of African Music: The Traditional-Popular-Art Grid

I began this chapter with remarks on what is said (or not said) about music; I then described some of the contexts in which music is made. Two frameworks were introduced to enable us to think through the varieties of African music: a tripartite scheme encompassing work, ritual, and entertainment, and a scheme based on the life cycle. There is a third framework into which we can distribute the genres of music making as "traditional," "popular," and "art" music. Like earlier frameworks, this one, too, will need to be nuanced in application,

but it will serve adequately to orient us to the origins and character of the principal genres of African music.[31]

Tradition has age and a mythical grounding on its side. For some people, it indexes the precolonial (i.e., African music before it was inflected or, as some would say, contaminated by other music). Traditional music is wedded to those things that traditional people do in the context of traditional life, and so it might include court music, ritual drumming at festivals and healing ceremonies, and funeral dirges. Some like to think of this music as authentic, as a symbol of true Africa, as old and ostensibly resistant to change in its essential aspects. This is because its sound environment contains some of the most distinctive traits associated with African music, including its polyphonic and rhythmic principles, linguistic and temporal structures, and manipulations of timbre.

Popular music belongs first and foremost to an urban sphere. Its origins go back to the early 1900s when, as a result of European presence in the coastal areas of West Africa, later spreading to other parts of the continent, new musical (p.50) instruments, ideas, and imaginings became available.[32] A favorite instrument was the guitar, which was played by seamen and brought into view a new sound world. Although stringed instruments existed in traditional communities before that (fine examples include the Akan *seperewa,* the Mande Kora, and various Zande and Ugandan harp lutes), the guitar came with a different sort of harmonic baggage. Performance of certain kinds of popular music necessitated a new formality in dress and led to the wearing of suits and ties and evening dresses; high-life music was performed on these occasions for nonparticipating audiences.

Few people who live in an African city or town nowadays can escape the sound of African popular music, with its movement-eliciting beat. It is heard on radios; in clubs, cafes, dance halls, schools, and community centers; and on public transportation via taxis, lorries, and buses. Because it began as an overt synthesis of European (including American) and African musical elements, popular music tends to attract descriptions like hybrid, creole, syncretic, and mixed. Its sound is unmistakable: repetitions of brief harmonic progressions executed by a band leader (singer, guitarist, trumpeter) and his supporting cast, and catchy, memorable rhythms and sung melodies bearing a social message. Along with such popular arts as painting and literature, popular music has become a vital component of modern African living.[33]

“Traditional” and “popular” are generally larger categories than “art”—larger in terms of the numbers of producers and consumers. With art music, we enter a terrain that seems at first blush fully European derived; it comes with connotations of highness and elitism on the one hand and alienation and mimicry on the other. Art music, whose origins date back to the mid-nineteenth century, is music composed on paper by literate African musicians who have been exposed to a portion of the high-art tradition of Europe. Individual works bearing titles like sonata, symphony, cantata, and opera are claimed by individual composers and performed to listening audiences. Although the number of composers active in this tradition is relatively modest (compared to the thousands who “compose” traditional or popular music), the symbolic value of art music in postcolonial Africa is high.

Art music may be regarded as the equivalent of the tradition of African letters, a modern development made possible by colonial education and the (p.51) circulation of European printed materials and their derived forms. The counterparts of composers like Ephraim Amu, Ayo Bankole, Bongani Ndodana-Breen, Halim El-Dabh, Akin Euba, Anthony Okelo, Fela Sowande, and Joshua Uzoigwe are the writers Chinua Achebe, Ayi Kwei Armah, Ngugi wa Thiongo, Wole Soyinka, and Chimamanda Adichie. But although many readers will surely have heard about or even read the works of these writers, few will know their affiliate composers. This is partly because the dissemination of art-music compositions has proven to be institutionally more demanding than the dissemination of literary works, partly because the works themselves are often in an unfamiliar musical language, and partly because the individualistic ethos that grounds art music stands in stark contrast to that which traditional and popular music are based on. African art music was initially ignored or greeted with skepticism and prejudice by critics, but its reception has improved in recent decades as more and more festivals devoted to art music have been organized in Europe, China, the Americas, and, of course, Africa itself.

What explanatory power might the traditional-popular-art grid hold? Its descriptive adequacy is signaled by the fact that practically all the major genres of African music can be accommodated within it. The three categories are not hard and fast, however; they will therefore need to be qualified in application. To show what insights the tripartition makes possible, it will be helpful to think critically through it under the guidance of six criteria that underpinned our earlier discussion of genres and occasions for music making: place in society; composers/producers and consumers; use of oral or written media; affiliation with precolonial, colonial, or postcolonial spheres; kinds of musical influence sedimented in them; and propensity for change. While some abstraction and provisional generalization is unavoidable in an undertaking like this, it is hoped that these internal comparisons will continue to fix and at the same time undermine the affiliations of various African genres.[34]

Traditional music is generally rural based, but increasing waves of rural to urban migration have ensured that it is cultivated in significant enclaves in and around urban spaces as well. Although popular and art music are born in urban environments, popular music travels in and out of the city, while art music is locked in the cosmopolitan sphere. Traditional music is communal, composers often doubling as performers; many traditional composers hold an anonymous status. Popular-music bands feature composer-performers, some of whom acquire star status; art-music composers are always named individuals to whom specific works are credited.

A great deal of traditional music is based on poetry and dance, and performance is usually open to people who share language, blood, or a belief system. (p.52) It is in this sense ethnically bound, although the modern nation-state has facilitated interethnic contact through school, church-based cultural troupes, work, and forms of urban socialization. Art music is mostly written, popular music is occasionally written (more often sketchily rather than comprehensively), and traditional music is almost never written, operating within a dynamic oral/aural sphere. Traditional music has a lineage that reaches back to precolonial Africa, art music originated in the nineteenth century as a byproduct of the missionary

encounter, and popular music is essentially a twentieth- and twenty-first-century phenomenon. Art and popular music are direct products of colonial contact with Europe. Traditional music has remained relatively stable, whereas popular music has been in a constant and relentless state of flux. Genres have their own internal histories and are subject to differently paced diachronic changes. For example, some sacred court music associated with institutions that prescribe the stability and authority of a self-consciously maintained tradition shows relatively little diachronic change (the various horn and drum ensembles cultivated at the court of the Asantehene are good examples[35]). By contrast, recreational music, whose creation is often stimulated by external, modern, or foreign influences, can seem to change rapidly. Innovations in popular music are often on the surface and readily identified, while those in traditional music are sometimes hidden or unfold over a longer period of time.

As for style, popular music is openly promiscuous, borrowing idioms from diverse sources, disguising them only slightly, and embracing the syncretic and the interstitial as positive values. Art music, too, shares the syncretism of popular music, but it intensifies the intentionality of such syncretism intellectually. Popular music often claims an immediate novelty, whereas traditional music wears an ancient look; art music is also mostly styled as new, but it has the option of cultivating an old sound by packaging tradition as new. Popular music also sometimes takes advantage of this mode of packaging. On the level of practice, traditional music remains the most widespread, essentially retaining its affiliation with rural Africa, as well as pockets of urban and semiurban Africa. Its dance and ritual roots have inhibited meaningful consumption in recorded form, while its use of indigenous languages has muted its potential cross-ethnic appeal. Some popular music, too, is ethnically confined, but a great deal of it is urbane or cosmopolitan in orientation, thanks not only to its derived harmonic and melodic idioms but also to its use of colonial languages (like English or French) or trans-regional languages that serve as lingua francas (Luba, Kiswahili, or Hausa).

(p.53) The traditional-popular-art framework captures broad, normative tendencies within a complex and variegated set of musical practices. Ideally, the foregoing generalizations will serve as provocations, invitations to reflect upon the dynamics of production and consumption in specific contexts. We might ask, for example, whether there was any precolonial popular music of significant standing, or whether yesterday's popular music has not become today's traditional music. We may wonder whether and how traditional music will survive the current forces of globalization. What will become of traditional repertoires after their sponsoring social institutions have been dissolved? Can traditional music ever attain an international but nonorientalist status even while retaining its close affiliations with indigenous dance, belief, custom, and language, or does the path to cosmopolitanism necessarily entail a shedding of communalism? Can art music take root and eventually blossom on African soil, or is it doomed to foreign orientation?

The issues raised by the traditional-popular-art trichotomy will come up from time to time throughout the book. My aim in this preliminary discussion has been simply to recognize the affiliations of different kinds of material and to suggest generic homes for them as

points of departure for a more nuanced discussion. I will now take up the connection between musical structure and social structure as another issue in the exploration of music's social affiliations.

Musical Structure and Social Structure

To say that the musical-structure-versus-social-structure conjunction is a veritable *topos* of ethnomusicological research is not to exaggerate. Scholars like Alan Lomax, Alan Merriam, Steven Feld, and Marina Roseman, among others, have contributed to our understanding of its dynamics. The topic appears in the writings of a number of influential Africanists as well. Charles Keil's "ethnography of music in a classless society"—the subtitle of his book on Tiv song—explores the mutual imbrication of the social and the musical. John Chernoff is equally alert to social mediation. Speaking specifically of one of the canonical instrumental ensembles of West Africa, he writes:

> The Ewes sometimes think of their drums as a family. The bell is like the heartbeat which keeps things steady. Kagan is the baby brother; Kidi is the mother; Sogo is the elder brother; Kroboto and Totogi, when they are played, are the twin brothers; Atsimewu, the master drum, is the father, who, according to their tradition, is in charge of everything.[36]

(p.54) Mapping ensemble structure onto a kinship unit in this way is not uncommon. In some traditions, it is the mother who is in charge, not the father. Meki Nzewi, for example, reminds us of the "mother drum" among the Igbo, the drum that organizes the rest of the ensemble. Like Chernoff, Nzewi is often led to the social residue in music. He explains cross-rhythm in terms of two moving objects nearing each other in space but avoiding collision at the last minute, and he likens this to the strategic withholding of the price of a bride to intensify desire. Within "the instrumental heterogeneity of a music ensemble in the Central African Republic," Vincent Dehoux identifies one of three xylophones as the "youngest child" (*kpembe*), while Maurice Djenda is said to have described one particular *mvet* (a popular Cameroonian instrument) as "polygamous."[37] Arom and Frédéric Voisin identify in Central Africa "various types of metaphoric designation of the slats of the xylophone." One slat "commands," another "responds," and a third "gives the song." Slats may assume roles such as "mother," "husband," "children," or "grandchildren."[38] Moya Aliya Malamusi writes similarly about the *ngorombe* (panpipe) music of a Mr. Sakha Bulaundi, a Mozambiquean refugee in Malawi in 1990:

> These pipes are often equated with people, as if they were part of a family. Thus among the panpipes there is a "father" and "mother," perhaps a "child," a "grandfather" and "grandmother." These names are given according to the pitch of the panpipe. The high sounding one given the name "child," a lower sounding one "mother," and the very low sounding pipe is called "old person" (*nkhalamba*).[39]

Finally, Nketia, in several writings, has shown a keen awareness of music's social role, including its evolving historical contexts; indeed, he once devoted an entire article to demonstrating "the juncture of the social and the musical."[40]

(p.55) From a systematic point of view, we might ask what exactly the entities are in these diverse conceptualizations of function. First there is "music" and then "society"; then there is "musical structure" and "social structure"; finally there is "sound structure" and (again) "social structure." Although they carry slightly different connotations, the pairs of terms overlap, of course, and may even seem equivalent at a certain level of abstraction. In paradigmatic terms, "music," "musical structure," and "sound structure" are held to be equivalent, while "society" and "social structure" are also said to be equivalent. While the latter equivalence seems unproblematic, the former is not so straightforward. For some, sound and music are different entities for the simple reason that while all music is in principle made up of sounds, not all sounds qualify as music. The challenge of defining musical structure and social structure, therefore, arises less from the "society" end of things and more from the special nature of musical art.

Evaluating previous attempts to correlate musical structures with societal structures, Klaus Wachsmann and Peter Cooke, writing specifically about Africa in 1980, noted that "since the mid-20th century such ideas have become fashionable, tending to become dominant theory in the attempt to explain African musical structures." Then comes this warning: "in the absence of a music history they must remain mere conjecture."[41] Indeed, it appears that what we need are histories rather than *a* history to ground such explorations, and these will surely come with the accumulation of research data. In the meantime, we will continue to regard the fundamental claim that the sonic material of music—any music—embodies an "extramusical" supplement as at once suggestive but not always available for empirical verification.

There is one aspect of this equation for which no reasonable grounds for disputation exist, however—the materialist explanation. For example, given the material conditioning of life, work, and leisure, it is not surprising that natural or material resources present opportunities for constructing different kinds of instruments. People who live in forest areas and have access to trees often make drums out of tree trunks and drum heads from animal skin. Those who have access to bamboo make flutes or xylophones out of bamboo. And those who live where iron is plentiful often forge iron bells and castanets from this material. Felicia Mundell and John Brearley make much the same point about Botswana: "vegetation further restricts the construction of instruments to those types for which the new materials can be found locally, so that drums are generally found in forest areas, flutes where there are reeds and unaccompanied choral singing in open (p.56) grass plains."[42] These habits were especially evident in ancient, subsistence communities, and they are reminiscent of a time when interethnic trade and travel were relatively modest compared with today.

Mere availability of raw material does not mean, however, that the imagination to transform material into sound-producing objects is there as well. The motivation for music making, the choice of sound ideals, and the domestication and translation of social configurations into a sonic realm emerge from a complex set of circumstances and belief systems, some of them frankly mysterious. The vegetation surrounding the Akpafu, for example, includes bamboo and millet stalks, but the Akpafu have so far not invested in flutes or xylophones with bamboo slabs. There was a time when the Akpafu smelted iron,

but they were more likely to forge implements such as hoes and cutlasses, which could be sold for profit, than to construct instruments like castanets and bells. A similar disconnect between material endowment and its appropriation for musical use is found in many communities. So while it is plausible that what a community has (whether through natural endowment or by acquisition) provides opportunities for instrument construction and therefore particular forms of music making, other priorities may intervene to render the connection unpredictable.

If the material level of the equation between musical and social structure is at the very least relatively plausible, what is one to make of the symbolic level? What kinds of symbolic or analogical transfer are possible? This is where things get somewhat complicated. Recall, for example, that aspect of Lomax's cantometrics project that sought predictive value for certain kinds of social arrangements in musical structure. Without reproducing all of his variables, categories, and modes of correlation, let us simply note the challenges involved in mapping one particular formal principle, the ubiquitous call-and-response procedure, on to a social configuration. Call and response features a leader and followers, big man and smaller men, individual and group. Thus, societies with strong hierarchic social organization (typically, a chief and his elders on one side, and common people on the other) might be expected to use the call-and-response principle, reproducing the chieftaincy arrangement in a performing ensemble so that the latter becomes a microcosm of the former. While there are indeed societies in which hierarchic political organization supports call and response in performance, not all manifestations of the principle involve pronounced hierarchies in society. Moreover, there are so many levels of cultural understanding of what it means to be a caller that we should be open to the possibility that there are other modes of transfer besides the iconic. A caller is not always the "boss" in an asymmetrical power relationship with his or her (p.57) subjects. Because the chorus serves as the foundation, because it elects and sends the caller, it has the power to undermine the caller if he or she fails to deliver. In this interpretation, the chorus, although a collective, has stronger claims to being "boss" than does the lead singer. The external contrast between one and many, which tempts students consumed by individualism into interpreting one as controller and many as controlled, may actually enshrine an inverted set of values.

Probably the most convincing enactment of the musical structure/social structure dialectic is in the embodiment of egalitarianism. The paradigmatic example is of various Pygmy groups in central Africa, whose brand of nonhierarchic polyphony is often said to mirror their nonhierarchic or egalitarian lifestyle. The frequent (though by no means absolute) absence of a strong call-and-response pattern, for instance, performs a leveling function. The Pygmy example is persuasive from an external or organizational point of view: just as many live without a chief and big men, so they organize their performing forces and the actual musical material to reflect a functional egalitarianism. But it is not clear to what extent this kind of gross mapping can produce insightful musical analysis. For one thing, hierarchies of various sorts are unavoidable when it comes to ordering tones and rhythms as music. Presumably, the pygmies' favorite pentatonic collection is chosen from a variety of options, the choice of melodic pitches is not random but based on a hierarchical conception of the source set, and the varying intensities produced in performance are intended to

mirror priorities in expressive articulation. In short, while a sense of egalitarianism may be helpful in orienting us to macrolevel organization, the practical acts of composing and performing very quickly devolve into discriminatory, nonegalitarian practices.

It would be wise to keep an open mind about the nature of the connection with social structure. The alliance can be enacted positively (as when an aspect of social structure is reproduced directly in musical structure) or negatively (as when the two contradict each other). It is also possible that no generative relations are obtained between the two, or that the analytical units that would allow meaningful comparison are far too coarse to support any significant correlations. What we must *not* do is treat the isomorphism between musical structure and social structure as necessary or axiomatic beyond its most mundane sense.

Finally, it may just be that although African music has been burdened with contextual explanations for the better part of its history, it retains a measure of autonomy at an immanent level. Music exhibits the movements peculiar to its mode of proceeding. Thus, the modal consistency of a corpus of funeral dirges, the metrical stability of a dance, or the constancy of the melodic archetype that regulates a praise song may be "purely musical" processes that are "social" (p.58) only in the most mundane sense. To uphold this level of autonomy is to uphold the distinctiveness of musical art. To deny this kind of autonomy is to endorse the sort of equivalence theory that would claim, for example, that poetry can be translated into music without any losses, music into painting, painting into architecture, and so on. But none of these expressive domains can substitute for another, however much their internal morphologies resemble each other. So, without disputing the possibility that music may be helpfully conceptualized as "social text," music itself is not ultimately reducible to anything but a musical text.

Circular Representation of Music and/in Society

The instinct to put it all together, to display the place of music in society in a single, synchronic state (i.e., as if constituent events were frozen in time and space, unfolding outside the sphere of history) has led a number of scholars to use circular diagrams. Creating such circles is a useful way of imposing conceptual order on the varieties of African music that circulate within individual communities. As a final framework for thinking about the relationship between music and society, I will now present four such diagrams along with independent remarks by Steven Feld. The circular representations were devised by Simha Arom, Suzanne Fürniss, Polo Vallejo, and Meki Nzewi for the Banda Linda, Aka, Gogo, and Igbo, respectively. All five scholars are united in shared concerns about the nature of a community's musical corpus and how to make sense of it conceptually, and their methods may prove suggestive for readers seeking a synoptic mode of representing music in society.

In his article "New Perspectives for the Description of Orally Transmitted Music," Arom aims to describe as fully as possible the *music* of an oral tradition (see Figure 1.1).[43] Although he recognizes the existence of both musical and "extramusical" data, he gives priority to the musical. Four concentric circles represent four different sorts of data. The first or innermost is the musical material itself, including the body of works and the

elements that enable composition and performance. The second circle consists of "the material and conceptual tools which contribute to the validation of the data of the first circle." These include terms, names of instruments, and ways in which indigenous people talk specifically about their music. To the third circle belong "socio-cultural function(s) which integrate the musical corpus," as well as (p.59) "circumstances" with which the music is associated. Rituals, ceremonies, and dances are examples of sociocultural functions, while social and kinship relations exemplify "circumstances." There is a fourth circle that plays a supplementary role. It includes "data belonging to the general symbolics," notably "myths of acquisition." Because there is no *organic* relation between such myths and the music itself, this circle is placed farthest from the core.

Music and its enabling structures are organized hierarchically. Circles are arranged according to the degree of organic relation they bear to the music. So when the Banda Linda, for example, tell stories about the origins of musical instruments, these are admitted only to the fourth circle, the one that is farthest from the center, because such stories offer little information about the musical repertory itself. Arom does not discount their affective value; he insists only on their conceptual distance from the musical material and its accompanying "systematics."

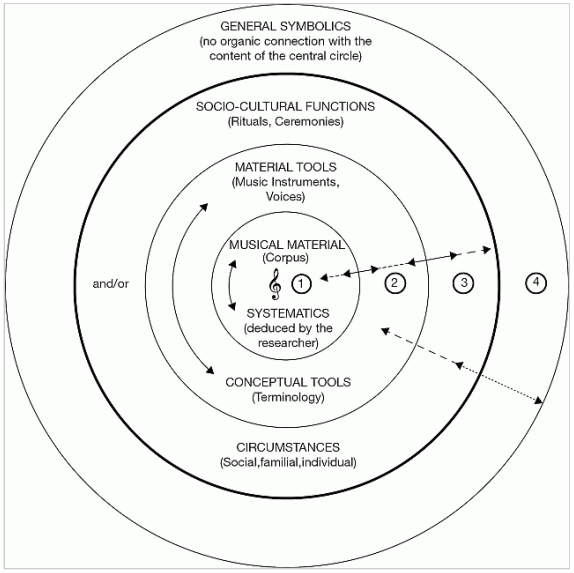

Figure 1.1 Simha Arom's circular diagram of music and discourse in an oral culture.

(p.60) It is instructive to compare Arom's view in this 1981 article to Steven Feld's somewhat analogous attempt to capture "the social life of sounds" in a 1984 article, "Sound Structure as Social Structure."[44] Like Arom, Feld follows Jean Molino in conceiving of music as "a total social fact." This in turn leads him to postulate six broad areas of inquiry: competence, form, performance, environment, theory, and value and equity. Using a series of questions designed to stimulate further inquiry into each of these areas, Feld invites us to think through musical cultures in a broad way. His own data come from the Kaluli, whose culture is evidently rich in metatheoretical expression.

Feld's mode of inquiry forgoes two of the features that Arom insists on. The first is hierarchy, which does not enter into Feld's considerations here. This may be because the Kaluli, unlike the Banda Linda, are an egalitarian culture; it may also be because for Feld,

the "six broad areas of inquiry into music as a total social fact" are equally valuable points of entry into the culture—because further prioritization is likely to distort, it is avoided. A second difference is that Feld is less drawn to the objectivity claimed by Arom's innermost circle. Very little is admitted as being of conceptual relevance unless it is in some way validated or at least valued by the Kaluli. In other words, Arom's second circle is indistinguishable from the first in Feld's view. The objectivity claimed by Arom in being able to define the corpus and deduce its "systematics" is thrown out the window by Feld; in his scheme, culture bearers are never excluded from any significant acts of theorizing.

The circular representation devised by Suzanne Fürniss to represent "the musical universe of the Aka" places a treble clef in the centermost position—surely the ultimate sign that this is a music-centered scheme (Figure 1.2).[45] Moving outward into the next circle, we encounter musical instruments ("tools of music making"), including voices and handclaps. Vernacular designations of various genres or repertories are shown in the next circle, but this "intermediate" circle has no independent existence from the last, outermost circle, which gives "the circumstance or function" of the performance of each repertoire. Aka culture is a song-based culture, and Fürniss's representation captures the essential vocality of culture's expression.

(p.61)

Operating within the same intellectual lineage, Polo Vallejo has distributed the reality of the Gogo musical universe into a series of concentric circles with further refinements and emphases (Figure 1.3).[46] His core is now left blank—perhaps an even stronger indication of the transcendent status of the music itself?—and is enclosed by three circles. The first "specifies whether the repertory is associated with the voice or with instruments." The second gives generic names in the local language. And the third specifies the occasions on which the repertory is performed, everything from lullabies through songs to mark the first menstruation to those that bring rain. Like Fürniss's, Vallejo's (p.62) synopsis shows how the musical society as a whole (including its activating forces) is brought to life instrumentally.

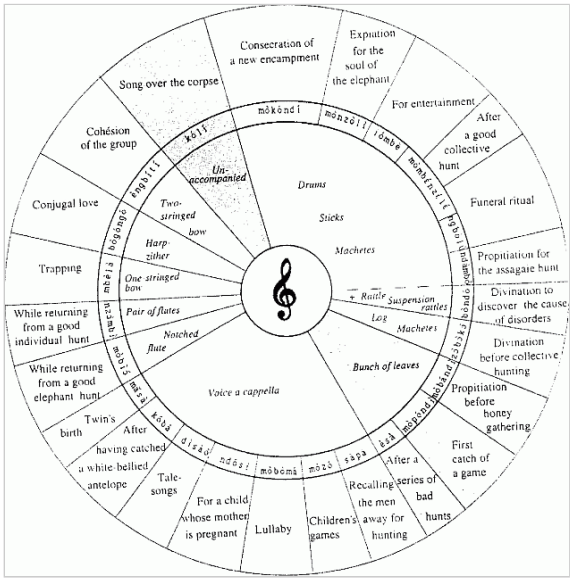

Figure 1.2 Suzanne Fürniss's circular diagram of the Aka musical universe.

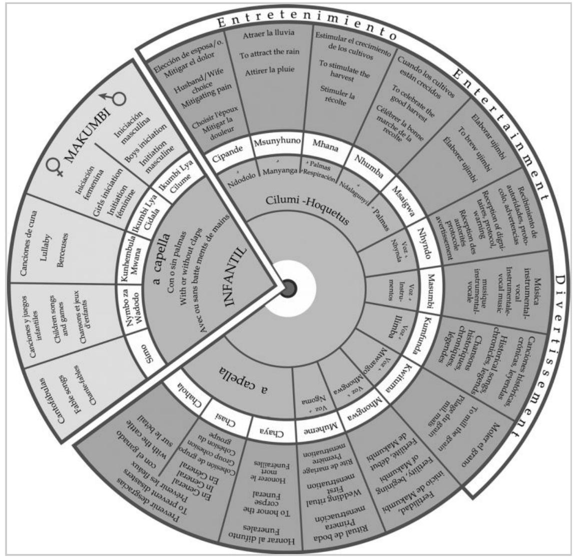

Figure 1.3 Polo Vallejo's circular diagram of the Gogo musical universe.

A fourth example of circular representation comes from the work of Meki Nzewi (Figure 1.4).[47] Unlike those of Arom and his students, Nzewi's has a built-in diachronic element because its aim is to represent the form and content of an "event performance cycle" of Ese music. The diagram enables Nzewi to show all five segments of the performance (he calls them "compartments"), specifying what takes place in each segment ("nature of events"), the "musical characteristics" (character of accompaniment, tempo, and whether language is essential or not), and the indigenous nomenclature ("Ese music categories"). Again, things that are deemed essential are also found in the three earlier representations by Arom, Fürniss, and Vallejo: indigenous categories for music, musical features (p.63) or systematics, and sociocultural functions. Nzewi does not say whether a qualitative change accompanies movement from the innermost to outermost circle; if it did, priority would seem to reside in "Ese music categories" and thus align Nzewi's ideology with Feld's. If no such prioritization was intended, we would still say that all four authors subscribe to more or less identical parameters as they seek to characterize the dynamics of music in society.

Not all circular representations imply internal closure. The kind of closure inscribed in synchronic framing often seems firmer than the necessarily provisional closure that marks daily music-making activities. Nevertheless, circles convey qualities of routine, repetition, and the "problematizing" of beginnings and endings, and this makes them suitable

conveyors of the bases of African musical expression.

(p.64) Conclusion

In this chapter, we have explored the place of music in African society. I began by observing the absence of a word for music in African languages and then went on to outline some of what is said when Africans talk about "music." Next I described three main occasions for music making (work, ritual, and recreation), the role of music in a typical life cycle, and the place of music in one particular set of funeral traditions. I provided a simple tripartite scheme for categorizing all known genres of African music (traditional music, popular music, art music), and I finished with reflections on the relationship between sound structure and social structure, noting the importance of circular representation of musical societies.

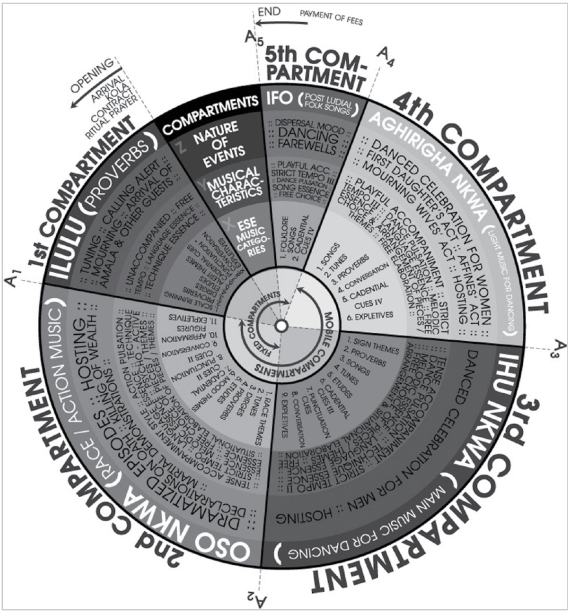

Figure 1.4 Meki Nzewi's diagram of an "event performance cycle" of Ese (Igbo) music.

Practically every survey of African music acknowledges the place of music in society. Although the preposition *in* sometimes competes with the conjunction *and*, the basic motivation is unchanged: to acknowledge the complex ways in which music and music making are shaped by—and in turn shape—a larger "social" process. When Klaus Wachsmann and Peter Cooke called for a history of African music to help us get a better handle on the musical structure/social structure question, they were in effect urging us to be cautious about accepting the validity or relevance of theoretical ideas that have not been tried on African soil, corroborated by African experiences, or subjected to an African test. African students should be encouraged to evaluate particular theories according to whether they apply (or do not apply) in their communities, and to accept or reject them accordingly. Thus, every one of the notions that framed our discussion of music and society should be thought of through as many African contexts as possible: the absence of a word for music but the existence of discourse about music, the sheer presence of and presumed necessity for music making, the participatory and communal ethos inscribed in many forms, music's integration with sociocultural events, and the autonomy or relative autonomy of African music. In this chapter, I have sought to provide a background to coming discussion of the mechanics of musical organization.

Notes:

(1.) On the origins of music, see William Forde Thompson, *Music, Thought, and Feeling: Understanding the Psychology of Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 19–41. The universality of music, language, and religion is a point made with particular conviction by John Blacking in *How Musical Is Man*? See also Ian Cross, "Music and Biocultural Evolution."

(2.) Charles Keil, *Tiv Song: The Sociology of Art in a Classless Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 27.

(3.) Christopher Waterman, "Africa," 250.

(4.) Lester P. Monts, "Islam in Liberia," in Stone, Africa: *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*, 347.

(5.) Kubik, *Theory of African Music*, vol. 1, 330.

(6.) Maurice Djenda and Michelle Kisliuk, "Central African Republic," in *Grove Music Online*, accessed June 27, 2013.

(7.) Ruth Stone, *Music in West Africa: Experiencing Music, Experiencing Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), **19**.

(8.) Klaus Wachsmann and Peter Cooke, "Africa," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan Publishers, 1980), vol. 1, 150.

(9.) CD, *Centrafrique: Musique Gbáyá:Chants à penser* (Paris: Ocora, 1995).

(10.) John Blacking, *Venda Children's Songs: A Study in Ethnomusicological Analysis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995 [orig. 1967]), 17; David W. Ames and Anthony V. King, *A Glossary of Hausa Music and Its Social Contexts* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1971), ix; Felicia M. Mundell and John Brearley, "Botswana," in *Grove Music Online*; Maurice Djenda, "Central African Republic," in *Grove Music Online*; Hugo Zemp, "Cote d'Ivoire," in *Grove Music Online*. Dave Dargie supplies a list of words for "music" in various African languages in *Xhosa Music: Its Techniques and Instruments, with a Collection of Songs* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1988), 62. See also Kubik, "The Emics of African Rhythm," in *Cross Rhythms* 2, ed. Daniel Avorgbedor and Kwesi Yankah (Bloomington, IN: Trickster Press, 1985), 26–66; Kubik, *Theory of African Music*, vol. 1, 332–333; and Nzewi, *Musical Practice and Creativity: An African Traditional Perspective* (Bayeuth, Germany: Iwalewahaus, University of Bayreuth, 1991), for pertinent discussion of indigenous terminology and perspectives.

(11.) Stone, "Commentary: The Value of Local Ideas in Understanding West African Rhythm," *Ethnomusicology* 30 (1986): 56.

(12.) But see Keil, *Tiv Song*, for a significant exception.

(13.) Nketia, *Akanfo nwom bi* [*Akan Songs*] (London: Oxford University Press, 1949).

(14.) Nzewi, *A Contemporary Study of Musical Arts*, vol. 4 (Pretoria: Centre for Indigenous Instrumental African Music and Dance [Ciimda], 2007), 100.

(15.) See David Locke and Godwin K. Agbeli, "A Study of the Drum Language in Adzogbo," *African Music* 6, no. 1 (1981): 32–51, and Robert M. Kwami, "Towards a Comprehensive Catalogue of Eve Drum Mnemonics," *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 11, no. 1 (1998): 27–38.

(16.) The designation [3-3-4-2-4] is a durational matrix that represents a rhythmic pattern's interonset pattern. It serves as a convenient way of representing brief rhythmic patterns that recur in a great deal of African music.

(17.) James Burns, "Rhythmic Archetypes in Instrumental Music from Africa and the Diaspora," *Music Theory Online* 16, no. 4 (2010), accessed February 1, 2011, http://mto.societymusictheory.org/issues/mto.10.16.4/mto.10.16.4.burns.html.

(18.) Wiggins and Rosellini, "Burkina Faso," *Grove Music Online*, accessed March 30, 2013.

(19.) Rouget, "Benin," *Grove Music Online*, accessed March 30, 2013.

(20.) Alan P. Merriam, *African Music in Perspective*, 140.

(21.) Nketia's exposition of music's social and community roles (*The Music of Africa,* 21–50) remains unimproved, so I have drawn on it in what follows. Among other fine portraits of music's social moorings—where the "social" encompasses the extramusical, be it broadly cultural and historical or narrowly political—see Kelly Askew, *Performing the Nation: Swahili Music and Cultural Politics in Tanzania* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002); Frank Gunderson, *Sukuma Labor Songs From Western Tanzania: 'We Never Sleep, We Dream of Farming* (Leiden: Brill, 2010); and Chernoff, *A Drummer's Testament: Dagbamba Society and Culture in the Twentieth Century* (forthcoming; excerpts can be read at http://www.adrummerstestament.com/), which may be read profitably in conjunction with the film *Drums of Dagbon* (Princeton, NJ: Films for the Humanities, 2003 [orig. 1984]). For other vivid portrayals, see *Born Musicians: Traditional Music from the Gambia* (Princeton, NJ: Films for the Humanities, 2003 [orig. 1984]); *Growing Into Music in Mali and Guinea,* http://www.growingintomusic.co.uk/mali-and-guinea-music-of/films-of-growing-into-music.html; and the two-part documentary, *African Christianity Rising*, http://jamesault.com/.

(22.) See the compact disc set to accompany *Worlds of Music: An Introduction to the Music of the World's Peoples*, ed. Jeff Todd Titon (New York: Schirmer, 1996), disc 1, track 13, "Postal workers canceling stamps at the University of Ghana post office."

(23.) Nketia, *Music of Africa*, 36, 23.

(24.) Steven Friedson, *Dancing Prophets: Musical Experience in Tumbuka Healing* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

(25.) Kubik, "Mukanda—Boys' Initiation in Eastern Angola: Transference, Countertransference and Taboo Symbolism in an Age-Group Related Ritual Therapeutic Intervention," in *Weltkongress Psychotherapie. Mythos-Traum-Wirklichkeit. Ausgewählte Beiträge des 2. Weltkongresses für Psychotherapie*, ed. Alfred Pritz and Thomas Wenzel (Vienna: Facultas, 1999), 65–90; and Kenichi Tsukada, "Luvale Perceptions of Mukanda in Discourse and Music" (PhD diss., Queens University of Belfast, 1990).

(26.) In a 1963 publication, Hugo Huber offered a thorough description of dipo, or "initiation to womanhood and full tribal membership": *The Krobo: Traditional Social and Religious Life of a West African People* (St. Augustin: Anthropos Institute, 1963), 165–192. Although some of the material symbols used to perform the rites have changed in the five decades since Huber's book appeared, the basic framework and rationale remain unchanged. A measure of change in scholarly protocol may be observed by comparing Huber's 1963 study (of the Krobo) with a recent ethnography (of the Ewe) by Steven Friedson, *Remains of Ritual: Northern Gods in a Southern Land* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

(27.) Melville Herskovits, *Dahomey*, vol. 1 (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1967), 352–402; Nketia, *Funeral Dirges of the Akan People* (Achimota: Oxford University Press, 1955); Kwame Arhin, "The Economic Implications of Transformations in Akan Funeral Rites," *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 64, no. 3 (1994): 307–322; Hans Cory, *The Ntemi: The Traditional Rites in Connection With the Burial, Election, Enthronement and Magical Powers of a Sukuma Chief* (London: Macmillan, 1951); Nzewi, *Musical Sense and Musical Meaning: An Indigenous African Perception* (Amsterdam: Rozenberg Publishers, 2010), 64ff.; James Burns, *Female Voices from an Ewe Dance-Drumming Community: Our Music Has Become a Divine Spirit*, 105ff. Also of considerable interest is Gilbert Rouget, "La musique funéraire en Afrique noire: fonctions et formes," *Sonderdruck aus dem Bericht über den neuten internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress* II (1964): 143–155. Recent studies of African funerals are gathered together in *Funerals in Africa: Explorations of a Social Phenomenon*, ed. Michael Jindra and Joël Noret (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011). Funeral music is featured on dozens of recordings as well. See, for example, CD, *Sénoufo*: *Musiques es funerailles Fodonon* (1974), and CD, *Ceremonial Music from Northern Dahomey* (Phillips, 1974).

(28.) For a vivid example from 1999 of the conflict between tradition and modernity, see Tobias Robert Klein, "Fondling Breasts and Playing Guitar: Textual and Contextual Expressions of a Sociomusical Conflict in Accra," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Musiktheorie*, 2010, accessed September 9, 2015 http://www.gmth.de/zeitschrift/musiktheorie-musikwissenschaft/inhalt.aspx.

(29.) This account is based on my article, "Music in the Funeral Traditions of the Akpafu," *Ethnomusicology* 32, no. 1 (1988): 75–105.

(30.) For an excellent study of ideophones in Siwu, see Mark Dingemanse, "The Meaning and Use of Ideophones in Siwu" (PhD thesis, Max Plank Institute for Psycholinguistics,

2010), 51–76. Further information about the Akpafu, sound symbolism, and expressivity in African languages is available at Dingemanse's blog, "The Ideophone," accessed September 9, 2015,http://ideophone.org/.

(31.) A lucid and important early discussion, with emphasis on the "popular," may be found in Karin Barber, "Popular Arts in Africa," *African Studies Review* 30 (1987): 1–78. Also of interest is her introduction to *Readings in African Popular Culture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997). See also my *Representing African Music,* xiv–xv and 15–20.

(32.) For an accessible guide to West African popular music, see John Collins, *West African Pop Roots* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992). The essays by Andrew L. Kaye, Cynthia Schmidt, Kazadi Wa Mukuna, Angela Impey, Christopher Waterman, and David Coplan in *Africa: The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*, ed. Ruth M. Stone, offer valuable information and perspectives. On contemporary hip hop, see *Hip Hop Africa: New African Music in a Globalizing World*, ed. Eric Charry (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012).

(33.) For an authoritative description of popular music's reach, see Kubik, "'Intra-African Streams: Super Areas of 20th c. Popular Music Styles," in Stone, *Africa: The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*, 322.

(34.) Barber, "Popular Arts in Africa."

(35.) See Joseph Kaminski, *Asante Ntahera Trumpets in Ghana: Culture, Tradition, and Sound Barrage* (Farnham, England: Ashgate, 2012), and Kwasi Ampene and Nana Kwadwo Nyantakyi III, *Engaging Modernity: Asante in the Twenty-First Century* (Ann Arbor, MI: University Lithoprinters, 2014).

(36.) Chernoff, *African Rhythm and African Sensibility*, 43.

(37.) Nzewi, *African Music: Theoretical Content*, 36–39; cited in Maurice Djenda, "Central African Republic," *Grove Music Online*, accessed December 2012; Kubik, "African Tone Systems: A Reassessment," *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 17 (1985): 32.

(38.) Simha Arom and Frédéric Voisin, "Theory and Technology in African Music," in Stone, *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*. Vol. 1: *Africa*, 257.

(39.) Moya Aliya Malamusi, Jacket notes for the CD, *From Lake Malawi to the Zambezi: Aspects of Music and Oral Literature in South-east Africa in the 1990s* (Frankfurt: Popular African Music, 1999).

(40.) Originally published in *World of Music* 23, no. 2 (1981): 22–39, "The Juncture of the Social and the Musical: The Methodology of Cultural Analysis" is now reprinted in *Ethnomusicology and African Music: Collected Papers*. Vol. 1: *Modes of Inquiry and Interpretation* (Accra: Afram Publications, 2005), 71–92.

(41.) Klaus Wachsmann and Peter Cooke, "Africa," 149.

(42.) Felicia Mundell and John Brearley, “Botswana.”

(43.) Simha Arom, “New Perspectives for the Description of Orally Transmitted Music,” *World of Music* 23 (1981): 57.

(44.) Steven Feld, “Sound Structure as Social Structure,” *Ethnomusicology* 28, no. 3 (1984): 383–409.

(45.) Suzanne Furniss, “Aka Polyphony,” in *Analytical Studies in World Music*, ed. Michael Tenzer (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 166.

(46.) Polo Vallejo, *Patrimonio musical Wagogo: Contexto y sistematica* (Madrid: Fundación Sur, 2007), 109.

(47.) Nzewi, *Musical Sense and Musical Meaning*, 187.