

using these symbols and accompanied by an explanatory key.

Kinemic analysis may be employed for the structural analysis of dance movement, as well. It follows the same principle. In contrast to conventional notation systems for dance, such as Laban or Benesh notations, it proceeds from an emic standpoint, using symbols adapted to the dance culture, and being analyzed, just as different languages use different orthographic systems and not a single set of universal symbols.

In structural dance analysis, one first isolates the body areas that are acting, and then represents each area (like each drum) with a horizontal line (vertical lines represent the elementary pulsation.). Next, one identifies the number of kinemes used within each body area. For example, in a certain movement pattern used in various dance cultures of central Africa over a twelve-pulse cycle, two body areas (motional centers) are acting: first, the legs, and second, the pelvis (affecting the arms and upper torso).

Whereas there is extensive and descriptive literature on dance in Africa, including several attempts at dance notation, sometimes under the ideological blanket of "dance literacy," few emically relevant dance studies have been published. One of them is Azuka Tuburu's work on Igbo (Ibo) music and dance. Comparative works on dance in Africa include attempts at delineating broad geographical dance-style areas. Detailed stylistic analysis on a comparative basis is found in Alan Lomax's choreometrics scheme. A third area of attention was the cognitional dimension as reflected in verbalized concepts such as Robert Farris Thompson's "aesthetics of the cool" and the study of behavioral patterns embracing body language.

*See also* **Dance; Language: Sociolinguistics; Languages; Musical Instruments; Tracey, Hugh.**

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Berliner, Paul. *The Soul of Mbira: Music and Traditions of the Shona People of Zimbabwe*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978.
- Ekman, Paul. "Movements with Precise Meanings." *Journal of Communication* 26, no. 3 (1976): 14–26.
- Euba, Akin. *Yoruba Drumming: The Dùndún Tradition*. Bayreuth African Studies. Bayreuth, Germany: Bayreuth University, 1990.

Hornbostel, Erich Moritz von. "The Ethnology of African Sound-Instruments." *Africa* 6 (1933): 129–157, 277–311.

Jones, Arthur M. *Studies in African Music*. 2 vols. London: Oxford University Press, 1959.

Kubik, Gerhard. *Theory of African Music*, volume 1. Wilhelmshaven: Noetzel, 1994.

Lomax, Alan, et al. "Choreometrics: A Method for the Study of Cross-Cultural Pattern in Film." *Research Film* 6, no. 6 (1969).

Malamusi, Moya Aliya. *From Lake Malawi to the Zambezi. Aspects of Music and Oral Literature in South-East Africa in the 1990s*. CD with pamphlet, pamap 602, LC 07203 Frankfurt/Mainz: Popular African Music/African Music Archive, 1999.

Rouget, Gilbert. *Un roi africain et sa musique de cour. Chants et danses du palais à Porto-Novo sous le règne de Gbèfa (1948-1976)*. Paris: CNRS Eds., 1996.

Thompson, Robert Farris. *African Art in Motion*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1974.

Tuburu, Azuka. "Kinetik und soziale Funktion des Tanzes bei den Igbo." Ph.D. diss., University of Salzburg, 1987.

Waterman, Richard A. "African Influences on the Music of the Americas." In *Acculturation in the Americas*, edited by Sol Tax. Chicago, 1952.

Zemp, Hugo. *Masters of the Balafon: Funeral Festivities. Film*. Paris: Sélénium Films, 2001.

GERHARD KUBIK

#### ISLAMIC

Islamic music is taken to comprise sound-centric public performance practices imbued—via text, context, associations, or intentions—with Islamic meanings. The category of Islamic music in Africa is problematic. Music is often a misleading concept in Africa, where sonic, verbal, and kinetic performances are closely connected, and where aesthetic and ritual practices are often inseparable. Based on conservative interpretations of Qur'an and hadith, many Muslims regard music as sinful (*haram*), and may reject the notion of Islamic music altogether. Nevertheless, there are continuities between Islamic sonic practices, and broader musical ones. Although the diversity of Islam in Africa renders the category of music unwieldy, Islamic influence has induced striking musical similarities across a broad region.

Throughout Islamic history there has been disagreement over the legitimacy of public musical practice—as entertainment or as devotion—and such disputes have also flared in Muslim Africa. In many areas, musicians' social status appears to have declined with introduction of Islam. Given respectable text and context, male vocal forms are most acceptable; accompanying frame drums (Ar. *tar*, *duff*) and flutes (Ar. *nay*), are often sanctioned, according to Islamic traditions; other instruments are frequently rejected in Islamic contexts. Usually Sufi orders (*tariqas*) are more tolerant of spiritual audition (*sama'*). But even reformers such as 'Uthman dan Fodio (1754–1813) recognized the effectiveness of chant in calling people to Islam.

Islamic music in Africa encompasses a broad spectrum of practices. Throughout the Muslim world, three recurring sonic contexts may be discerned. In order of increasing sonic diversity and localization these are: ritual contexts (such as *salah*, prayer), holiday/festival contexts (such as 'Id), and life-cycle contexts (such as marriage). Beyond these are nonrecurring contexts expressing particular interpretations of Islam (such as Sufi and syncretic rituals). Finally, one must consider relatively decontextualized popular music genres carrying Islamic themes and embedded in media systems.

A performance genre comprises sonic, textual, and contextual features. Formal ritual genres, prescribed by Islamic law, center on Arabic text, often at the expense of musical sound. Less formal festival genres are supererogatory, and hence exhibit sonic and textual diversity, drawing upon local languages, poetic genres, and musical traditions. Life-cycle genres are still more diverse and open to local sources.

Festival contexts often foster religio-musical specialists who may cross over as entertainer-singers; life-cycle contexts frequently draw upon the broader category of musician. Conversely, religious performers and genres may cross over to the popular music world while retaining religious associations.

Text is central in Islamic music, and so vocalists (among Arabic speakers, *munshid*, hymnodist, or *madda*, praise-singer) are as well. Performers may also be known as singers as religious shades into popular music. Outside the Arab world, an Islamic poem in Arabic is frequently known as a *qasida* (poem).

Throughout the Muslim world certain thematic elements recur: petitions, praise, and loving devotion (to Allah, the prophet Muhammad, and the saints), exhortations to the community, and expressions of religious experience or knowledge. These themes are primarily expressed in religious sung poetry (*inshad dini*).

The most common forms of sung poetry are glorification of God (*tasbih*), petitions to God (*ibtihalat*), and praise (*madih*) for the Prophet. In Egypt, supplication (*ibtihalat*) and *madih* are the primary themes of sung devotional poetry; classical and colloquial (*zajal*, *mawwal*) forms are widely used. Thematically parallel forms are found elsewhere in Africa.

Praise for Muhammad is believed to confer spiritual benefits on singer and listener alike. Although African oral literary traditions of praise exist apart from (and prior to) Islamic ones, the two sets of traditions clearly harmonized. For instance, traditional Manding griots (praise singers) of West Africa trace their ancestry to Surakata, a quasi-legendary praise singer to the Prophet himself who flourished during the period 610–632. Likewise, Fulani Muslim reformer 'Uthman dan Fodio, although banning some music and dance, wrote: Singer, stop, do not waste your time//In singing the praise of men. Sing the praises of the Prophet and be content (Erlmann 1986).

Certain African *madih* texts exerted global influence, especially the invocation *Dala'il al-Khayrat* by the Moroccan al-Jazuli (d. 1465), and two poems (*Burda* and *Hamziyya*) by Sharaf al-Din al-Busiri (b. 1212), an Egyptian of Berber origin, that became models for composers in local idioms throughout North, East, and West Africa.

#### RITUAL CONTEXTS

Ordinary congregational prayer (*salah*) comprises a suite of public sonic genres, including the preliminary call to prayer (*adhan*) performed by the *mu'adhdhin* (muezzin), Qur'anic recitation (*tilawa*) performed by the *qari'*, *du'a'*, and other short, intoned devotional texts. Such performances are a-metric, and strictly vocal. Being obligatory (*fard*), *salah* is highly regulated in its textual and contextual aspects, though locally inflected sonic differences can be identified. *Adhan* and *tilawa* have also infused Arab melisma, ornament, modality, and vocal timbre

throughout music of Muslim African. The adhan's musical origins are African, as the first mu'adhhdhin, Bilal ibn Rabah (c. 578–c. 638), was an Ethiopian.

Outside prayer, a specialized reciter (Ar. qari') publicly recites the holy Qur'an for a variety of occasions, especially during Ramadan. The text itself is fixed (though variant readings [*qira'at*] are used in particular regions), as are recitational rules (*abkam al-tajwid*) governing phonetics, phrasing, syllable length, and tempo. However, timbral, melodic, and contextual aspects are quite variable. A solo ametric voice is most common, but metered or corporate chanting occurs, too (such as among Berber *tolba*). There are two principal named styles: elaborate (*mujawwad*) and simpler (*murattal*); the latter is increasingly perceived as more proper.

#### HOLIDAY/FESTIVAL CONTEXTS

**Ramadan.** Ramadan subsumes two temporal contexts. Evenings feature religious songs celebrating Ramadan, the Qur'an, and the Prophet, and supplicating God. *Ibtihalat*, *tawashih*, and *tilawa* are heard on Egyptian radio. In the Comoro islands, *mrenge* (boxing matches) are accompanied by drumming after the evening meal. In Kano, Nigeria, royal Hausa musicians (*maroka*) perform during the holy final ten nights. At dawn, performers rouse the devout for their predawn meal (*sahur*). In Marrakesh, the *ghaita* (oboe) and *nfir* (trumpet) play melodies based on religious chants from mosque minarets. The itinerant Egyptian *masahharati* awakens the faithful with chanting, accompanied by a small drum (*baza*). Among the Dagbamba in northern Ghana, a *jenjili* (musical bow) player circulates, playing and singing. Yoruba youth perform *were* or *ajisaari*, vocal genres influenced by ritual cantillations.

**Mawlid al-Nab.** The season surrounding the Prophet's birthday (12 Rabi' al-Awwal) is celebrated via musical performances of biographical and panegyric texts (also called *mawlid*) and *madih*. In Arabic, Busiri's *Burda*, and the *mawlid* of Barzanji (d. 1765) are widely distributed in Africa, with variable musical treatments. *Mawlid* is also expressed in local idioms. Desert Berbers (Zenatas) of Gourara perform *ahallil*, vocal-flute-percussion praise songs. The *Damba* festival of the Dagbamba people includes singing, drumming, and dancing honoring the Prophet and the chief. The Dyula (Côte d'Ivoire) celebrate *Donba* with sermons (*kalan*) interspersed with song.

Elaborate *mawlid* performances are found in coastal East Africa. In Lamu, Kenya, the *maulidi* is observed as series of solo readings (*kusoma*) interspersed with collective *madih* (*qasida*) sometimes accompanied by drum (*tari*, *kigoma*) and flute (*nay*). Many Sufi shaikhs compose *mawlid*s for use in their orders. The Tivaouane lodge of the Senegalese Tijaniyya tariqa performs a yearly *gammu* celebrating the Prophet's birth with sung devotional poetry.

**Pilgrimage to Mecca (Hajj).** The embarkation and return of pilgrims is a joyous annual celebration. Among Yoruba, *sakara* praise singers, accompanied by the *molo* or *goje* lutes and *sakara* clay drum, performed at hajj celebrations; women welcomed returning pilgrims with *waka* songs. Nubian women sing call/response songs for pilgrims, accompanied by handclaps. Among illiterate Hausa women pilgrims, composition and performance of personal hajj songs reenacting their journey confers cultural capital. These genres reveal Arab influence.

**'Id Festivals.** Musical content of 'Id festivals varies from monophonic songs in Egypt to the polyphony of the Rasha'ida tribe in Eritrea; Yoruba *dundun* drum orchestras accompany processions of chiefs to and from prayer ground, while the Dagbamba perform spectacular all-night drum history narrations.

**'Ashura.** The Shi'a in East Africa (primarily of South Asian origin) commemorate the martyrdom of Husayn with a *majlis*, including sung elegies and dirges. Sunnis also commemorate various prophetic events on this day; in Morocco, religious chants (*ait*) and trumpets (*neffar*) accompany polyrhythmic drumming (*daqqa*).

#### LIFE-CYCLE CONTEXTS

Life-cycle contexts include a rich variety of musical features and genres, not all explicitly Islamic. Particularly at weddings, one observes greater liberality in use of music, dance, and mixing of the sexes. Religious songs, especially *madih*, are commonly performed. In Egypt, *inshad* incorporates popular Arabic songs and instruments. Hausa *Bandiri* music transforms Hindi film songs into *madih*. In East Africa, births and weddings are celebrated with *mawlid*. Comorians celebrate

weddings with music and dance called tari, filled with praise of the Prophet. The Songhoi (Niger) circumcision ritual fuses Islamic with pre-Islamic performance elements.

**Sufi Contexts.** Active Sufi tariqas gather at least weekly to perform a devotional liturgy (*hadra*), which can be highly musical, including tilawa, madih, and mawlid. But the most distinctive Sufi genre is *dhikr* (remembrance of God), comprising collective rhythmic (sometimes melodic) chanting of divine names, commonly accompanied by movement, accelerating to a climax, and sometimes leading to trance (*wajd*, *hal*). Alongside dhikr, a *munshid* may sing Sufi poetry, often composed by tariqa founders in local languages. Regional or tariqa-specific musical traditions may figure prominently. Thus Qadiris in Sudan exhibit Sudanese musical influence; in Senegal they deploy Wolof rhythms on Arab-influenced kettledrums. Shaykh Amadou Bamba (1850–1927), who composed numerous qasidas praising the Prophet, founded the Senegalese Muridiyya. A subgroup, the Baye Fall, employ Senegalese drums devotionally. North African and Egyptian liturgies are melodically similar to Arabic music.

**Saint Festival Contexts.** With no formal procedure for canonization, the Muslim saint (*wali*) is ubiquitous. While several are widely revered (for example, ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jilani d. 1166), local saints are everywhere. As for the Prophet, the saint is celebrated in an annual public festival (Ar. mawlid) that is literally and spiritually centered on the saint’s shrine. Ritual activities take place within the building housing the shrine, and also outdoors in the surrounding area, in nearby buildings.

Most saint festivals are freer than tariqa hadras; instruments and people exhibiting ecstatic behavior frequently appear. Enormous mawlids in Egypt encompass musical diversity. Accompanied by Arab music, Shaykh Yasin al-Tuhami (b. 1948) performs for thousands at the mawlid of al-Husayn in Cairo. Shaykh Amadou Bamba is musically lauded during the Grand Maggal, an annual pilgrimage to his birthplace, Touba.

**Spirit Ritual Contexts.** Rituals featuring spirit possession, music, and dance are widely distributed throughout Africa. In Muslim areas, such rituals

often display Islamic syncretism by assimilating spirit practices within tariqa-like social groups, or by recognizing a special class of Muslim spirits. Women, peripheral in most tariqas, are frequently principals here. Incorporating sub-Saharan instruments and music, these rituals center on trance and spiritual therapy. Typically, musical patterns placate particular spirits, thus enabling diagnosis and therapy. Tariqa-like groups include the North African Gnawa and the Hamadsha. In Egypt, Sudan, and Ethiopia, *zar* performances invoke Muslim spirits; similar rituals in East Africa feature Muslim (*ki-islamu*) spirits, requiring mawliidi performances.

**Sectarian Contexts.** Whereas Muslim African is predominantly Sunni, isolated sectarian groups perform special genres in unique contexts, including the aforementioned Shiite majlis, the chants of Algerian Ibadi Berbers in Algeria, and Ismaili *ginan* of East Africa, featuring poetry of founder-saints, and a South Asian melodic ethos, often with *tabla* and *harmonium* accompaniment.

#### INFLUENCE UPON POPULAR MUSIC

Disengaged from religious contexts, sacred sounds of Islam enter mass music media. Besides providing sonic resources, Islamic sounds may confer artistic legitimacy, ethical propriety, and cultural prestige, tap powerful religious feeling and nostalgia, and serve as a touchstone of cultural authenticity. Until the latter twentieth century, many popular Arab singers, such as Umm Kulthum (1904–1975), trained on religious material, such as tilawa, mawlid, or Sufi inshad. Such religious-vocal training bestowed upon these artists both a striking stylistic imprint and elevated cultural status.

Islamic styles and genres may be restaged as live entertainment, such as the Gnawa and ‘Isawiyya spectacles in Marrakesh, or secularized (such as Nigerian waka, *were*, *apala*, and sakara), via musical, textual, and contextual changes.

The 1970s witnessed emergence of popular Moroccan groups such as Nass el-Ghiwane that drew upon folk and Sufi heritage, mixed with western popular music. In Senegal’s bustling music scene, star singers such as Youssou N’dour and Ismaël Lô (b. 1956) record pop songs praising and invoking local Sufi saints, especially Amadou Bamba.

Western consumption generates at least three distinctive categories of African Islamic popular music: ethnographic performances of authentic Islamic cultural traditions; world beat hybrids incorporating African-Islamic styles (such as the *gnawa*-jazz fusions of Hassan Hakmoun; b. 1963); and the uptake of popular Islamic music into the global industry. In 2004, Youssou N'Dour won a Grammy award for *Egypt*, a Sufi album combining Egyptian, Senegalese, and Western music. Promising artistic and financial rewards, international markets push African Islamic music in new directions, inducing creative experimentation with new styles and fusions.

*See also* 'Abd al-Qādir; Festivals and Carnivals; Islam; Kano; Literature; Musical Instruments; N'Dour, Youssou; Religion and Ritual.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adegbite, Ademola. "The Influence of Islam on Yoruba Music." *Orita* 21, no. 1 (1989): 32–43.
- al-Shahi, Ahmed. "Spirit Possession and Healing: The ZAR among the Shaygiyya of the Northern Sudan." *British Society for Middle Eastern Studies Bulletin* 11, no. 1 (1984): 28–44.
- Ames, David W. "Igbo and Hausa Musicians: A Comparative Examination." *Ethnomusicology* 17, no. 2 (1973): 250–278.
- Anderson, Lois Ann. "The Interrelation of African and Arab Musics: Some Preliminary Considerations." In *Essays on Music and History in Africa*, ed. Klaus Wachsmann. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1971.
- Boyd, Alan. "Music in Islam: Lamu, Kenya, a Case Study." In *Discourse in Ethnomusicology II: A Tribute to Alan P. Merriam*, ed. Caroline Card, et al. Bloomington: Indiana University Ethnomusicology Publications Group, 1981.
- Charry, Eric S. "Music and Islam in Sub-Saharan Africa." In *The History of Islam in Africa*, ed. Nehemia Levtzion and Randall Lee Pouwels. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2000.
- Chernoff, John Miller. "The Drums of Dagbon." In *Repercussions: A Celebration of African-American Music*, ed. Geoffrey Haydon and Dennis Marks. London: Century Company, 1985.
- Conrad, David. "Islam in the Oral Traditions of Mali: Bilali and Surakata." *Journal of African History* 26, no. 1 (1985): 33–49.
- Danielson, Virginia. "Min al-Mashayikh: A View of Egyptian Musical Tradition." *Asian Music* 22, no. 1 (1991): 113–127.
- Erlmann, Veit. *Music and the Islamic Reform in the Early Sokoto Empire: Sources, Ideology, Effects*. Marburg, Stuttgart: Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, 1986.
- Euba, Akin. "Islamic Musical Culture Among the Yoruba: A Preliminary Survey." In *Essays on Music and History in Africa*, ed. Klaus Wachsmann. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1971.
- Giles, Linda L. "Sociocultural Change and Spirit Possession on the Swahili Coast of East Africa." *Anthropological Quarterly* 68, no. 2 (1995): 89–106.
- Grame, Theodore C. "Music in the Jma al-Fna of Marrakesh." *The Musical Quarterly* LVI, no. 1 (1970): 74–87.
- Kenyon, Susan M. "Zar as Modernization in Contemporary Sudan." *Anthropological Quarterly* 68, no. 2 (1995): 107–120.
- Kinney, Sylvia. "Drummers in Dagbon: The Role of Drummer in Damba Festival." *Ethnomusicology* 14, no. 2 (1970): 258–265.
- Langlois, Tony. "The Gnawa of Oujda: Music at the Margins in Morocco." *World of Music* 40, no. 1 (1998): 135–56.
- Larkin, Brian. "Bandiri Music, Globalization and Urban Experience in Nigeria." *Social Text* 22, no. 4 (2004): 91–112.
- Launay, Robert. "Spirit Media: The Electronic Media and Islam Among the Dyula of Northern Cote d'Ivoire." *Africa* 67, no. 3 (1997): 441–453.
- McLaughlin, Fiona. "Islam and Popular Music in Senegal: The Emergence of a 'New Tradition.'" *Africa* 67, no. 4 (1997): 560–581.
- Nelson, Kristina. *The Art of Reciting the Qur'an*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985.
- Orwin, Martin. "Language Use in Three Somali Religious Poems." *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 14, no. 1 (2001): 69–87.
- Ottenheimer, Harriet J. "Culture Contact and Musical Style: Ethnomusicology in the Comoro Islands." *Ethnomusicology* 14, no. 3 (1970): 458–462.
- Scheub, Harold. "A Review of African Oral Traditions and Literature." *African Studies Review* 28, no. 2/3 (1985): 1–72.
- Schuyler, Philip D. "Music and Meaning among the Gnawa Religious Brotherhood of Morocco." *World of Music* 23, no. 1 (1981): 3–13.
- Schuyler, Philip D. "A Folk Revival in Morocco." In *Everyday Life in the Muslim Middle East*, 2nd edition, ed. Donna Lee Bowen and Evelyn A. Early. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002.
- Shiloah, Amnon. "Music and Religion in Islam." *Acta Musicologica* 69, no. 2 (1997): 143–155.

Waugh, Earle H. *The Munshidin of Egypt: Their World and Their Song*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1989.

Waugh, Earle H. *Memory, Music, and Religion Morocco's Mystical Chanters*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2005.

MICHAEL FRISHKOPF

---

## MUSIC, MODERN POPULAR

*This entry includes the following articles:*

OVERVIEW

CENTRAL AFRICA

EASTERN AFRICA

EGYPT

ETHIOPIA

NORTHERN AFRICA

SOUTHERN AFRICA

WESTERN AFRICA

### OVERVIEW

Modern African music has a history stretching back more than a century. Although early visitors and travelers brought hitherto unknown musical conventions to Africa, colonization was the main means for the introduction of Western musical instruments and concepts in Africa.

From the first half of the nineteenth century on, European musical traditions spread throughout the continent. In addition, Afro-American music (mainly in western and central Africa) and Arabic (which had arrived even earlier) and Indian music (both in eastern Africa) inspired new music. Brass bands—forerunners were the fifteenth-century drum and fife bands on the West African coast—accompanied the arrival of the colonial armies and administration. After military music came the church music of the various Western denominations: the Protestants with hymns, the Catholics with liturgical chants. Next came the introduction of dance music, as well as the theatrical forms arising from the vaudeville and minstrelsy of North America.

With schools providing increasingly educated musicians, Africans performed in all spheres of musical activity. Soon they realized that imported musical forms could be adapted to local musical traditions, whether by providing fitting lyrics or

by adding local percussive rhythmic structure or background, and they joined with the indigenist movements and what later became the nationalist or independence movements. Church hymns were sung in many of the African languages, and new compositions by African composers were drawing on local traditions. In the popular music context the amalgamation of different musical traditions resulted in many kinds of syntheses. They range from local folk music including Western instruments to Western instruments playing local folk music—or local instruments being used to play modern compositions. Western instruments were imitated—for example in Beni *ngoma*, for which gourds are grown to function as horns.

### MUSICAL REGIONS

**The Sahel.** The Sahel is dominated by what is called griot-style or Mandingo rock. (The Sahel covers more or less the area of the ancient Mandinka empire, from Senegal to Mali.) In the 1960s the popular dance orchestras, playing mainly Latin music, increasingly created a sound reminiscent of local string instruments (*kora*), xylophones (*balafon*), or drums. Local instruments were gradually reintegrated in the 1980s, such as the *tama*, a Senegalese drum. The vocal style took on the characteristics of the griots or griottes. Since the 1960s female singers have become stars, especially in Mali.

Since the 1960s national musical cultures have developed from similar roots. In Senegal, Youssou N'Dour created the *mbalax*. In Mali the Rail Band de Bamako produced some of the most famous African musicians: Salif Keita, singer; Mory Kante, singer and *kora* player; and Kante Manfila, guitarist. Both of them originally came from Guinea.

**Coastal Francophone West Africa.** In Guinea's national competitions Bembeya Jazz was crowned the best band in 1964; it subsequently became one of the favorite bands in West Africa. In Côte d'Ivoire Ernesto Djedje formulated *ziglibithy* in the late 1970s—a mix of Zairian rumba, Afro-beat, and Francophone West African music. In the early 1980s Alpha Blondy presented Afro reggae. In the 1990s a new acoustic music, the Zouglou, sparked off a new movement of “neo-African” bands, especially at the university. By the end of the 1990s the highly percussive *Mapouka* dance—originally from the southwestern coastal region—