The Character of Eve Performance

A Thesis

submitted by

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Eve Orthography

The Eue language is not traditionally written. Since colonial times, two systems of writing have emerged. The first, introduced by the English, employs various combinations of Roman characters to represent all Eue sounds. Today, a character set derived from the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) has become widely accepted as the standard for written Eue. In this thesis, I use IPA for all Eue words and proper names, except where the English representation is more common. The following table (taken in part from Ladzekpo and Pantaleoni (1970)) is an approximate guide to pronunciation for both forms of notation.

IPA d	English d	Pronunciation Like "d", but with the tip of the tongue against the roof of the mouth		
0	or, wa ("avenor" "kwaku")	"awe"		
ŋ	ng	As in the "ng" of "sing"		
υ	v, w	Like "v", but with the upper lip replacing the upper teeth		
f	f, p	Like "f", but with the upper lip replacing the upper teeth		
ε	e	The "e" sound in "Hey"		
Υ	у	Between "y" and "I"		
~		Diacritical mark placed over vowels to indicate nasalization (e.g.: "Afã")		
S	S	Between "s" and "sh"		
x	x	The guttural "ch" of the Scottish "Loch"		
ts	ts	English "ch"		
dz	dz	Either "j" or the consonant sound of "adds" (as in "Adzogbo", "Gadzo", respectively)		
kp	kp	Simultaneous "k" and "p" sound		
gb	gb	Simultaneous "g" and "b" sound		

Chapter 1: Introduction

Background and Aims

When I first arrived in Ghana, in September of 1988, I had already been playing the traditional music of the Eve¹ people for several years. I had learned basic Eve dance movements, songs, and drumming for several styles of music, and had performed many times with the Agbekor Drum and Dance Society of Boston, and with the Kiniwe drumming ensemble, at Tufts University. Yet none of this was really any preparation at all for my first experience with a genuine Eve performance.

In our culture of fashionable "performance artists", who might be better labelled with more descriptive terms, the word "performance" may seem unduly vague. Yet no other word captures as well this constellation of diverse domains that constitutes the bulk of Eve aesthetic² culture. In performance, dance, drumming, song, poetry, and ritual drama meet in controlled, formal patterns of mutual support, each an indispensable part of the event.

In Eve villages, performances occur with great frequency, punctuating the subdued daily patterns of farming, selling, cooking, keeping house, and raising children with spectacular outbursts of sight and sound, because performances are tied to the rhythms and necessities of life. Of these needs, none is so central as death, and funerals are the most plentiful source of performance. Besides funerals, there are religious festivals, political ceremonies of both traditional and modern governmental systems, and historical commemorations.

There is a profusion of multifarious and changeful festivity even on ostensibly somber occasions.³ Men and women wear their most brightly colored cloths, women sport new hairstyles, sellers hawk candy, fried corn balls, stalks of raw sugarcane, and, most important, distilled alcohol, usually the deceptively sweet akpeteshie. People sing, talk, shout, become intoxicated, dance, seduce each other, drum, fight. Often several different kinds of drumming are played within a small area, adding to the cacophony.

¹In this thesis, the word "Eve" names either the language or the people. As an ethnic designation, I use it to refer to the southern, or Aŋlo, Eve of Ghana. For a brief but thorough description and history of the Aŋlo Eve people, see Chapman (1950).

²Here I use the word in the restricted Western sense: culture which is evaluated according to beauty. The Eve produce little in the way of decorative arts and crafts, or, more generally, any of the durable arts: painting, sculpture, and so on.

³In the case of religious festivals, a more restrained mood may prevail. But even when the formally prescribed mood is serious, a great deal of merriment is often incorporated informally.

Yet, the entire performance radiates from a small central core of recurring themes, forms, and patterns. This core, though it is subjected to intensive exploration and variation during the event, also maintains its identity, thereby bestowing a static, homogeneous tone on the performance. Even different performance types share many of these core themes, creating a narrowly focussed, concentrated, and uniform Eve style. Furthermore, beneath its manifold surface, the performance is highly ordered and articulated; its compositional elements of ritual, dance, percussion music, and song are well-integrated, progressing in a balanced aesthetic arc over the course of the event.

An underlying unity and order in the form, interrelation, and progression of events is overlaid with diversity, improvisation, frenetic behavior, individual impulse and dissent of great intensity. Group energy, sharply focussed and controlled in powerfully repetitive drumming, is liberated in free-form as well, as if overflowing formal boundaries. Form and formlessness, group unity and diverse individuality are all charged by the tremendous power of the moment. The central problem of this thesis is to examine closely this paradox of Eve performance: diversity within unity, order within chaos, wild individualism breaking out of rigid formal constraints.

My goals are two. First, I want to show how the contrasting themes of unity and diversity permeate each aspect of Eue performance, and to suggest why this may be so. In my analysis I attempt to articulate the coherent unity of the Eue performance; to highlight some of the patterns in its diversity; and to suggest social forces which shape the event.

Secondly, (and perhaps ultimately more importantly) I aim to preserve and translate a small portion of Eue culture, simultaneously making it available to Western¹ scholars and musicians. Preservation, often an ancillary consideration in fieldwork, is not the subject of any chapters in the present work. But preservation was the motivation for many hours of painstaking transcriptions, the translations of Eue song texts into English, and the inclusion of myriad details about Eue performance.

¹In this thesis, the word "Western" refers to the educated society of Europe, the U.S., and other countries to which this same culture has spread. With modern mass communication, and global politico-economic forces, this "Western" culture now touches portions of every country on earth. This specialized use of the word "Western" should not be misconstrued.

Why Eve Song Tonality?

At the core of the musical analysis is a detailed consideration of the tonal system of Eve song.¹ This special attention to the tonal system of song calls for some explanation.

The music of the Eve of West Africa has primarily attracted attention for its polyphonic drumming styles, and deservedly so. This drumming is highly evolved, and to the Western observer with a strictly musical point of view seems to be the single most remarkable aspect of Eve music. Music theorists who study African music tend to concentrate most of their energies on analyses of rhythm (particularly in drummed music), and other temporal issues, such as meter and form. Research on African tonality tends focus on instrumental rather than vocal genres; ethnomusicologists study African songs more often for their poetry than for their melody. For this reason an investigation of the tonality of African song is a bit out of the mainstream.

I study tonality for two important reasons. First, while I mean neither to deny the musical value that has been placed upon the drumming traditions, nor to claim that tonality is some great undiscovered aspect of the Eve musical genius, I want to rectify an unfortunate stereotype at large in the popular imagination, which portrays African music as consisting solely of drummed rhythms. Certainly drumming does have an important place in many African societies, although not in all. Yet, African music is rich in melody as well as rhythm, particularly in the large repertoire of songs which form the core of many musical occasions. Indeed, the idea that "drummed" is synonymous with "rhythmic" is itself fallacious, since drumming is itself often highly melodic. In fact, much of African music is "rhythmic" (i.e., possesses a strong pulse), as well as being tonally interesting; such music is perhaps best described using Nzewi's term "melo-rhythmic" (Nzewi 1974:23-28).

Second, besides trying to erase old stereotypes, I want to use tonality as a vehicle for examining the interaction and contrasting natures of compositional and performance style in Eue performance. Though it is but one facet of the full performance, the domain of song tonality is a microcosm of the larger system; it is founded upon a unified and coherent substratum which supports diverse interpretations. While I will consider most aspects of

¹For the purposes of this thesis, I would like to suspend the usual meanings of the words "tonal" and "tonality" as used in Western art music. "Tonal" should be taken to mean "involving tone or pitch". "Tonality" refers to the tonal system (whether verbalized or not) which underlies a song, a repertoire, the music of a group, or a culture.

Eve performance only in broad outline, in the case of tonality I want to show how extremely analytical and technical analyses can be related to broader themes, to show how patterns of culture, in a self-similarity reminiscent of the fractal geometry of Mandelbrot (1982), replicate and penetrate to all cultural domains, whatever their dimensions.

On Ethnomusicology

Critical definitions of ethnomusicology seem to be the *sine qua non* of ethnomusicological monographs. Opening remarks on the nature and theory of the field can even dominate a work. Without falling prey to this temptation, a few words on ethnomusicology will help to clarify the position and intentions of this thesis.

Ethnomusicology being the study of music in, as, from, with culture¹ it seems natural to begin with a consideration of what music and culture are.² Music in its narrow sense refers to that aspect of intentional sound which is humanly meaningful³ but not referential⁴, together with the immediate mental impression produced upon hearing.⁵ This impression is first of all a perception, and then a cognition.

In the wide sense music includes also affective and associative reactions (emotions and memories stirred by music), aesthetics (judgements of musical quality), thoughts and words about music (such as ethnomusicological monographs), musical artifacts (such as scores, recordings, instruments, tools for making instruments, books about music, texts to songs), and behavior related to music, such as composing, performing, teaching, and so forth.

Associated with each individual is a pattern of physical actions, mental action (including thoughts, concepts, imagination, ratiocination, ideation, symbol systems) and artifacts (the byproducts of action). When these patterns are held collectively, shared by a group, they

¹For a summary of these positions, see Nettl (1983:131-133).

²The following definitions are my own.

³I exclude sound which is not both intentional and meaningful from my definition, because such sound cannot enter into a two-way dynamic relation with culture. Thus the sounds of "nature" are not music.

⁴In the narrow sense music is nonreferential. Language as a system of denotation is not music. Language is music insofar as its sounds and rhythms have nonreferential meaning. Thus sound may have both a musical and nonmusical aspect. For example, song consists of a text fused with nonreferential sound.

⁵ In order to be able to define musical structure, some mental response to the musical sound must be included as part of the definition of music, because structure is inherently mental. In this narrow sense one wants to include as little as possible; thus the mental impression includes mental processing only up to the level of structural organization, i.e. cognition.

may be called culture. Music is clearly a subset of culture, but in ethnomusicology of the "with" or "in" variety, the word culture is often short for "non-musical culture".

In defining ethnomusicology, one may be descriptive or prescriptive. About description there is little I want to discuss, except to say that traditionally a paper would be considered ethnomusicology if it either treated music and non-music culture together, or if it dealt with music outside of the Western art tradition (so-called "exotic" and "folk" music). By contrast, traditional musicology dealt with Western art music in "humanistic" rather than socio-cultural terms.

In part, ethnomusicology and anthropology both developed "in response to a felt need of Western scholars concerned with human society and behavior to broaden their knowledge by extending the range of data available to assemble comparative information which would give them facts about the world beyond the boundaries of the classic civilizations of Europe and Asia" (Merriam 1964:4). Both fields thus acquired a non-Western slant, in their efforts to rectify past neglect.

Music outside the Western art tradition, even art music, tended (and perhaps still tends) to invoke the concept of culture. This is because culture is a tenuous object most easily reified at a distance: it is easier for us to see the culture of the Kaluli of Papua New Guinea (Feld 1982) than the culture of England. Thus studies of music outside the Western art tradition tended to be seen as "cultural". This tendency is reinforced and reflected by the fact that anthropology, too, for which the idea of culture is central, also originally defined itself in non-Western terms. Although a non-Western, negative definition might seem to provide a shaky foundation, anthropology and ethnomusicology make valuable contributions as a corrective to the disproportionate effort in scholarship spent on the privileged cultures of Europe and the U.S., drawing a more accurate and global portrait of human life.

In the longer run, it seems unwise for a discipline to define itself in a negative space, not least because a negative formulation leads (and has led) to a fragmented, incoherent field. There is little to unify the study of all music outside the Western art tradition. Most ethnomusicologists today probably would assert a more positive definition, perhaps one of the "music with/in/as culture" variants, and this has been reflected in increasing attention to the familiar rather than the exotic: popular urban musics, world music syntheses, even the hallowed Western music conservatory itself (Kingsbury 1989).

But still the field is not well-integrated, because of the divergence of those who want to study music in the narrow sense--focussing on musical sound and its mental model--from those mainly interested in the broader musical culture. The acid tests which differentiate these two groups are the following: (1) Does the study take into account exactly how the music sounds? Could one substitute a different sound without seriously affecting the conclusions? (2) Does the study depend on the character of the culture, apart from musical sound? Could one substitute a different culture without affecting the conclusions? And here I leave the realm of description for prescription.

In my view, ethnomusicology should aim to provide integrated and coherent accounts of the relation between musical (in both the narrow and wide sense) and non-musical culture. To integrate is not merely to include; it is easy to describe music and culture in separate chapters without discerning any linkages between them. Such connections are difficult to find, and harder to describe, because musical and cultural systems of analysis tend to be incongruous.

This is not to diminish the value of work which fails either test. A study of the social status of the composer may yield profound cultural insights. A close analysis of Javanese *pathet* may result in deep musical understanding. But the former is close to anthropology or sociology, and the latter is really pure musicology. If the field of ethnomusicology is to achieve any kind of organic unity, at least a core critical mass of research must aim for the integrated study of musical (including music sound) and non-musical culture.

The ethnomusicological ought to be a middle road between the anthropological and the musicological. Freed from the chains of historical precedent, modern anthropologists would study any culture; musicology would become the study of music (in the narrow or wide sense) anywhere it might occur; music theory would be the detailed study of musical sound and its conception anywhere in the world. Ethnomusicology has the broader-herculean--task of integrating all of these elements.

In the present work I consider Eve music and culture together, tracing the themes of unity and diversity throughout the various domains of performance. Much of the present work lies within a natural subfield of ethnomusicology, "ethnomusictheory": the detailed analytical study of musical structure and its relation to non-musical culture. I begin with a

¹Ruth Stone presents a thorough summary of this divergence between what she calls "sound" and "behavior" ethnomusicologists (1982:13-20).

general overview of Eve performance, consider each aspect in some depth, and then specialize to the Kinka performance type. The central analytical focus is a collection of 47 Kinka songs of the Eve, considered particularly in their tonal aspect. Through an intensive focus on the structure of these songs, and other aspects of the performance, I hope to arrive at a deeper understanding of Eve life.

Overview

This thesis is divided into six chapters, of which this introduction is the first. In Fieldwork, I provide a detailed account of my primary sources, and how I collected information from them. I also try to communicate something of the flavor of life in the Eue areas of Ghana where I lived. Foundations covers the theoretical background material necessary to understand and criticize my analysis. The following two chapters together constitute the heart of my research. The Character of Eue Performance describes this centerpiece of Eue culture, with special attention to song, tracing themes of unity and diversity throughout. In The Tonal Character of Kinka Songs, I narrow the scope and intensify the analysis, in a rigorous attempt to relate the themes of unity and diversity to the music using various techniques of reduction. Finally, in Patterns in Eue Music and Culture I summarize the principal findings, and close with some speculative thinking. In the Appendix I present musical and textual transcriptions of Kinka songs, followed by catalogs listing these songs alphabetically by composer, by song title, and by various musical characteristics.

Chapter 2: Fieldwork

This thesis is based upon data collected in two parts. In the summer of 1988 I was fortunate to work with Mr. Godwin Agbeli, of the Arts Council of Ghana, and summer artist-in-residence with the Agbekor Drum and Dance Society of Boston. In a series of about ten two-hour sessions, I recorded songs of the sacred repertoires Yeve, Da, and Afã, interviews on Eve life, religion and song composition, and translations and interpretations of the song texts.

In recording the songs I employed a multitracking technique in order to study Eve polyphony. After recording an initial monophonic track, for which Mr. Agbeli sang and played the gankogui, or Eve bell, I rewound the tape, setting the recorder to play the first track while recording a second. Mr. Agbeli would then don headphones and, listening to the first track, overdub a second. I continued this procedure up to four tracks. While recording any given track, Mr. Agbeli could listen to all previously recorded tracks. Not only does this technique permit a single individual to record polyphony, it also greatly facilitates transcription of polyphonic material; since the polyphonic lines are magnetically isolated on different tape tracks, they can be separated and transcribed independently.

Although these recordings contributed greatly to my understanding of Eve song style, and helped both to prepare me for fieldwork and to sharpen my ideas, they are not treated directly in this thesis, except as a basis for computer analysis of tonemic structure (see Chapter 5). I intend to explore the polyphonic recordings more thoroughly in a separate study.

From September 1988 until January 1989 I had the opportunity to live in Ghana and to observe Eue life and performance first hand. My base of operations was in the town of Ashaiman, a somewhat squalid, always bustling, multi-ethnic town about twenty miles from Accra, the capital of Ghana. Originally a farming village in the domain of the Ga people, Ashaiman began to expand rapidly about twenty years ago with the development of nearby Tema, now Ghana's principal port and industrial center, and the consequent influx of workers from the entire country.

Here I lived at the outskirts of town in Mr. Agbeli's residence, newly built out of concrete blocks, brightly painted in pastel yellow, green, and blue, and roofed in shiny zinc. My room provided me with a bed, a table, and a hazy view through three screened and barred

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windows (protection against mosquitos and thieves) over dusty fields, shacks of wood and loosely piled bricks, pens of chickens and pigs, wide-eyed children, babies tied in colored cloth, half asleep on their mothers' backs, sellers ringing bells and crying their wares-charcoal, bread, beauty products, all stacked on their heads--fetid meandering streams, down the pitted dirt road that led to the center of town. In the other direction stretched the wide and empty coastal plain, covered with low brush. Every night a glow of fireflies like stars, the aluminum smelters of Tema reddening the black sky, brilliant lightning too distant to hear, and the faint sound of drumming rippling the humid air.

Probably every Ghanaian ethnic group is represented in Ashaiman, but a majority are Eve, at least according to my Eve informants. Whatever the actual demographics, most of the music in Ashaiman is Eve, along with an occasional appearance of the Northern and Upper Ghanaian styles--Frafra, Dagbamba, Mamprusi. The Eve, fiercely proud of their culture, and dismissive of the rest, say that the others do not have as strong a sense of musical tradition.

Though I lived in Mr. Agbeli's house, I had little research contact with him in Ghana. Rather, my principal informants, guides, and friends were Mr. Fred Kwasi Dunyo, one of the principal lead drummers for the Avenorpedo Lebene Habəbə and several other Ashaiman groups, and Emmanuel Kwasi Afornorfe, the composer for the Lebene group, known more commonly by his nom-de-plume, Nəvə.

The Avenorpedo Lebene Habobo (A.L.H.) a typical Eue benevolent society, and only one (though a large and powerful one) of perhaps forty in Ashaiman alone, provided my only organizational affiliation, and furnished many contacts, friends, and performances to record. Performances for funerals occurred on perhaps three days every month, with several nights of singing practice scheduled prior to the large performances at the society's meeting ground in Ashaiman. Combined with all of the other funeral societies, there was plenty of musical activity in Ashaiman.

According to Novo and Franklin Aheto, Chairman of the society, the Avenorpedo Lebene Habobo was formed to unify citizens of Avenorpedo, a mid-sized village in the southern Volta Region of Ghana, who had migrated to the Accra area in search of jobs. A benevolent society in Avenorpedo had existed since the early 1950s, inspiring the migrants to form a similar society in Accra in 1964. Growing membership in Ashaiman and Tema resulted in the founding in 1967 of the Avenorpedo Society, based in Ashaiman. An

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organizational crisis in 1974 triggered reorganization, and the Avenorpedo Lebene Habəbə was formed.

Though I knew only a handful of members of the group by name, most of them knew me. Walking any distance in Ashaiman, I would inevitably cross paths with one or more. "Lebe-ne!" they would cry out.¹ "dekawowo!" I would reply.² This simple greeting literally and succinctly embodies both the goal of the society, to take care of its members, and the means to that goal: unification and solidarity. More subtly, the call-and-response seems to integrate the two greeters, giving audible expression to their interdependence.

Like other funeral or benevolent societies, the main function of the Lebene society is to distribute the heavy burden of funeral expenses across a large membership, and to weave the grieving family back into society through a massive display of solidarity at the funeral performance. Drumming helps accomplish these goals by drawing a crowd, increasing monetary contributions, setting an atmosphere of festivity, and binding the group through a manifest display of its common heritage.

I often travelled from Ashaiman to various villages in the Volta Region of Ghana, which is the traditional home of the Eve people. Except for the youngest children, all Eve in Ashaiman were born in one of these villages, and most regard Ashaiman more as a financial opportunity than as a permanent home. Most of their family and all of their heritage remains in the villages; they maintain close village ties, visit as often as possible, participate in village functions, and are buried in the village of their birth. The wealthier Eve even maintain a second residence in their ancestral village.

During my stay in Ghana, in Ashaiman or villages of the Volta Region, I observed, and to some extent participated in, the daily flow of Eve life, eating, drinking, sleeping, working, playing, punctuated here and there by catastrophe, celebration, worship, festival, funeral, recording my experiences in journals, on film, and on magnetic tape. Although my four month stay was insufficient for me to develop adequate Eve language skills, many people, including my primary informants, Fred, Novo, and Mr. Agbeli, speak English in this former British colony. I achieved a limited measure of assimilation, through constant exposure to the culture. Some of my conclusions are thus based on intuitive impressions, rather than cold analyses of cultural data.

¹"Lebene" means "take care of it!".

²"dekawowo!", the group's motto, means "unity!".

My fieldwork consisted of at least four different kinds of experience: observation, teaching, participation, and interview. Besides the observation of and participation in the ordinary routines of daily life, most of this experience revolved around the Eue performance.

In observing Eue performance, I usually made an audio recording. Recording situations varied widely. Sometimes I attended events, recorder in hand, as a relatively inconspicuous observer, or participated in a limited way as dancer, drummer, or singer, at the invitation of the group. These performances occurred in a natural context for traditional purposes, and I think remained largely uninfluenced by my presence.

In other cases I would sponsor a performance, calling a group together to play for me, so that I could exercise some control over the program, or hear a repertoire that would otherwise be performed only rarely. These performances were very similar to the naturally-occurring kind, differing in purpose and context, but not so much in sound.

Finally, a significant fraction of my recordings could be categorized as artificial in some sense: taking music out of its musical context, requesting specific songs to be sung, using a very small group, asking for demonstrations of polyphony or improvisation, or otherwise interfering with the natural progression of a performance. These kinds of recordings were also sponsored by myself.

Besides observation, I learned much about Eve music, and how the Eve conceive of it, through interactions as a drumming student of Fred, and a singing student of Novo. Fred taught me lead and support drumming for Kinka, and Novo helped me to learn some of the Kinka songs. The two of them together gave me instruction on the role of the lead singer, or heno. Locating the boundaries of the aesthetically permissable is much easier as student than as observer, because the student can actively, or inadvertently, test those boundaries, and let the teacher decide when it has been crossed.

My participation in Eue performance events took several forms. Dancing is ubiquitous in Ghana, and, especially as a visitor, one cannot long remain seated before some enthusiastic Eue will grab one's wrist, firmly yank one to one's feet, and expect one to begin dancing. A visitor, especially one who has once danced correctly, is thus never left in peace during

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performances. Luckily I developed several tactful excuses, or I never would have recorded anything at all.

Thanks to my lessons with Fred and Novo, I was able to participate in all aspects of Kinka performances, though my drumming and singing were always too weak and limited to be effective. Opportunities to drum and sing were available much more because of my status as an exotic curiosity than due to any ability, but at least I had enough ability to get away with that much.

Finally, with the assistance of translators, I conducted many formal interviews, mostly with Eue song composers. Though translated interviews are at best a clumsy mode of interaction, I do not believe that the language barrier was the principal reason why interviews were never very productive. Music resists verbal description well enough in the analytical, reflective, brooding Western art music tradition. But in Ghana (and probably within many other folk traditions of the world), getting people to talk about their musical lives is like pulling teeth. Mr. Agbeli explained to me that people create music unselfconsciously, "they don't think of the meaning of it", and so they have little to talk about in an interview. In any case, the interview format is unfamiliar, perhaps a bit threatening; people keep secrets from each other and may not want to talk freely to a stranger, especially one with unfathomable motives.

I also conducted several feedback interviews, in which I played previously recorded material for an Eue audience in order to elicit judgements. This technique proved useful in probing for the rules of polyphonic variation without continual interruption. I sang in a group with Novo, Fred, and others and recorded the entire performance. Afterwards, we all sat back, listened to the tape and discussed its deficiencies, while I recorded on another machine.¹

I attempted to learn as much as possible about the Eve people during my short stay among them. But all forthcoming conclusions about Eve music and character, no matter how definitively stated, are implicitly conditioned by my limited experience and language skills.

¹For this technique I am indebted to Ruth Stone (1982:54).

Chapter 3: Foundations

Good research is always susceptible to critical review. For this reason, I attempt to make all underlying theories and assumptions explicit. In laying out my ideas and hypotheses definitively, I enable the reader to judge the logic in my work, to see its limitations, and condition its conclusions. This exposition will also allow me to define certain terms with rigor and precision, and will clarify the analysis which follows.

Structure

Music theory is the study and abstraction of general patterns in musical analysis. Such analysis consists in reducing music to structure, or delineating such structure in the music. This structure is not uniquely defined for each musical work, but exists along many dimensions, including temporal and tonal. Along any one dimension, structure varies in depth, or significance: there is structure, and there is structure of structure. This idea of multiple structural levels in music was probably first explicitly applied by the great music theorist Heinrich Schenker, and has been widely disseminated by his disciples, notably Felix Salzer (1952). Before considering examples, it is important to tackle this concept of structure head-on.

I believe that structure is a construction of the human mind which is the foundation for any interpretation of the world. The sensory systems of the human body feed to the mind a continuous and rapid stream of low-level data about the environment. The mind apprehends, and then immediately organizes this data. This act of cognition determines structure.

Whether structure can exist in an object, as an intrinsic property of its being, is a problem best left to the philosopher.¹ All we can say is that some structure seems to be universal, and hence "natural": apparent to all people everywhere, perhaps by virtue of our common human condition. That universal structure exists cannot be proven, and is a byproduct of faith in the essential similarity of all people, and limited empirical verification. Even supposing universal structure exists, it is impossible to prove that any particular structural assertion is in fact universal. This too is an article of faith--but perhaps one no more difficult to swallow than the ability of any subjective observer to attain any certainty about

¹In the physical sciences structure seems to be outside of mind, whereas in interpretive sciences and humanistic studies there is really no reaching any conclusion.

any aspect of the world outside of his or her own consciousness. Since only the philosopher and science fiction writer could be concerned with the difference between intrinsic and universal structure, we may as well treat them as the same thing. I refer to both as natural structure.

Music theory, then, is psychological because structure is: music theory is precisely the branch of psychology which studies musical perception and cognition. This fact is seldom made explicit in the Western musical world, because music theorists, being themselves members of the musical culture under scrutiny, have only to study themselves. They therefore may fail to notice that what they are studying--the structure of music--is really in the mind. Lerdahl and Jackendoff, in "A Generative Theory of Tonal Music", state this most succinctly: "The goal of a theory of music is the formal description of the musical intuitions of a listener experienced in the musical idiom" (Lerdahl and Jackendoff, 1983). Music theory is the formal, abstract and general summary of many musical analyses, each of which examines the nature of musical structure as it appears in the mind.

With this definition arises a question: whose musical structure? Analysis and theory according to whom? For if structure is contingent upon mind, then the whole theoretical/analytical enterprise is contingent, predicated upon a particular person. While anyone might do, it is the "listener experienced in the musical idiom" who is most interesting for musicology, and most critical for the ethnomusicological task of relating music to culture. For it is such a listener (composer, performer) who is closest to the music, and whose musical concepts are therefore the most authentic, in the sense of being close to the "cultural core"; such a person partakes of the "cultural essence".

So it begins to seem that there is a noumenal, essential Culture and Music, realized--though imperfectly--in the minds of individuals of the culture, more perfectly in some than in others? Hardly. But it is nothing more than practical to consider one who better represents the culture's character when trying to link music and culture. Why select an urbanized Thai, one who has never studied traditional Thai music, to be the standard for determining classical Thai musical structure, when she might be better suited to determine the structure of Thai pop songs?

The goal of the ethnomusicologist is to attain a deeper understanding of culture through the study of music and culture; in order to achieve this one must select particular individuals,

¹But not always; in cross-cultural studies one might analyze the impression of West African drumming music on a Balinese drummer, and learn something about Balinese culture in the process.

and these should well-represent the culture and music one wants to study. Paradoxically, the fact that these individuals are steeped in musical tradition often renders them anomalous, atypical of their society in certain respects. As Bruno Nettl writes:

...there is something ironical in the picture of an ethnomusicologist who studies what a population group holds in common, but who often depends for the bulk of his data on the teachings of one person regarded as unusual in his or her society. (Nettl 1983:240)

But even if culture and music do not really exist as Platonic forms, which certain individuals are more privileged to access than others, we act as though they do. This is the essence of reifying music and culture, and there is no denying it.

The formidable obstacle to the ethnomusicologist's success is the fact that he or she is not usually a listener or creator "experienced in the musical idiom". This is typically the difference between the Western music theorist and the ethnomusictheorist: the Western music theorist analyzes by introspection; the ethnomusictheorist can't. Yet the truth of statements about culture--in this case, musical structure--is grounded in the mind.

What is the ethnomusicologist to do? Two avenues represent the extrema along a continuum of possible paths. The first is to assimilate, then introspect. If one can live among the people one wishes to study long enough, learn the language and traditions first-hand, then perhaps one will begin to think as they do.

The second is to study the sound object directly, and infer mental structure from sonic structure. By "sonic structure" I mean the natural structure of the sound; whether this structure really be intrinsic to the sound, or merely universally perceived, is immaterial. It is structure which is so clear that one who perceives the music in the proper light, with sufficient experience, will by all means conceive the structure. Sonic structure is thus a proper subclass of the structure experienced by the native producers and consumers of the music; all sonic structure is perceived by them as such, but not conversely.

Underlying the validity of the claim that mental structure follows sonic structure is an assumption of purposefulness: if music contains a clear order, that order can neither be accidental, nor an artifact of our own interpretation. Rather it must have been placed therelike the too-obvious clue in a detective novel--for a purpose. This is the assumption of purposefulness: natural structure reflects purpose, and so reflects also the consciousness of the indigenous creator and perceiver.

¹This problem disappears only in the case of a researcher studying his or her own culture. In this case, the situation is similar to that of the Western musicologist.

Sonic structure is a weak determinant of the total (mental) structure of music, since while one can only infer structure when that structure is manifestly clear in the physical sound, not all structure need be so manifested. Musical experience can be separated into two parts: what one might call "exterior" and "interior" music. Exterior music is that which is manifest in the physical sound; it is musical experience which is fully supplied by the sound. Tones and rhythms are exterior. But a large part of our musical experience is interior: not literally present in the sound itself, it is rather supplied by the mind's interpretative strategies which organize the incoming sensory data. Interior music includes tonal center, phrasing, and meter. These interior musical elements may be manifested on the physical sound surface, but not in any predictable or clear way. It is precisely this domain of interior music-which in some sense encompasses all music-which is inaccessible to the method of sonic analysis.

The two paths open to the ethnomusictheorist correspond to the distinction between "emic" and "etic", or insider and outsider, analysis. While these labels may certainly be applied, I think it is wise first to clarify what they really are. The "emic" method purports to analyze from the "inside", or indigenous perspective, and results in "emic" knowledge. This often includes indigenous classification schemes, analysis of conceptual orders, and so on. The "etic" is analysis from the outsider's point of view, and results in "etic" knowledge, which is apparently knowledge of a very different sort.

Assuming one's goal is the understanding of culture, the dichotomy between "emic" and "etic" stated in this way is false. The purpose of both kinds of analysis is the uncovering of structure, and significant structure is in the mind of the "other". Thus the goal is "emic" knowledge; both kinds of analysis must ultimately proceed towards this goal. To the extent that the analyst is constrained to remain somewhat an outsider, no matter the extent of assimilation, all analysis is tinted by an alien subjectivity, and is hence "etic". So, the oppositional relation between the two methods seems dubious: both have the same goal and limitations; they are only concentrating on different data and using different techniques.

Where the distinction seems to me to be more useful is in considering verbalized versus non-verbalized structure. In practice, this is the way the "etic"/"emic" opposition is really defined, because the "insider's perspective" is usually equated with what the researcher can elicit verbally, or overhear. Thus analyses of language become equated with analyses of thought, and hence of structure.

However, language need not tell the whole truth, not always even the truth. If a people verbally classifies its musical instruments using two abstract categories, "land instrument", and "sea instrument", this fact is duly noted to be "emic". If both categories are comprised of drums and flutes, but the people never mention drums and flutes as categories, such a distinction might be considered "etic", and hence denigrated.

Yet just because the people don't speak of this difference doesn't mean that they don't recognize the difference between flutes and drums at some level; certainly they must, the difference is too clear. We can never assume that what people say is more important to their conception of the world than what they don't say. What people say, often the basis for "emic" analysis, is neither the final word on their conceptual structure, nor even a correct one; often in trying to make sense of local ideas people will attempt to translate them into the analyst's culture. If such translations are taken at face value, they may lead to erroneous conclusions.¹

How can sonic, or natural, structure be apprehended? One's success in this task is largely dependent on one's tenacity, and on one's ability to escape one's own conditioned cultural biases, predilections, and conditioned modes of cognition, even if only temporarily and incompletely. One must know oneself thoroughly, and be ready and willing to challenge all prejudices and hidden assumptions, while maintaining an open ear. One must study the music carefully and completely, learn to play it, memorize it, transcribe it.² Appropriate reductions are then applied until a clear structure results.

Reduction

The goal of ethnomusictheory is to understand the structure of music, and relate this structure to nonmusical culture, in order to develop an integrated and coherent view of music and culture. This structure, which is a product of the apprehending mind, is but one form of reduction.

¹Along these lines, one of my informants explained the Eue pantheon to me, by comparing it to a government. The gods are like ministers in the government, all overseen by some higher being, like a president, he told me. It would seem to be a mistake to conclude that this is how the Eue conceive of their pantheon.

²Sometimes it seems that sonic structure can more easily be observed by eye, following a transformation of music into the visual domain. Perhaps the eye is more acute than the ear at recognizing certain kinds of patterns; perhaps the atemporal nature of a visual description facilitates comparisons. These factors may account for some of importance of transcriptions, graphs, formulas, and diagrams in analysis. In the case of tonemic analysis (described below), graphs and charts were critical to the success of the enterprise.

Reduction is the process and result of information elimination. In the case of structure, the eliminated information is superficial; its removal leads to a clarified view of the essential kernel of the object. In the following paragraphs I will develop a simple but precise model for reduction, using some elementary set theory and logic.¹

First, a binary relation P defined on a set S is a statement (also called a predicate) which is either true or false for every ordered pair of objects in the set S. For example, suppose P="is older than". This P is obviously defined on any set of people. Stating "xPy" means "x is older than y".

Reductions can be formulated mathematically in terms of equivalence relations (e.r.). An e.r. is a binary relation, again call it \mathbf{P} , on a group of objects which satisfies three properties²:

1. Reflexivity: ∀a, aPa

2. Symmetry: $\forall a,b$, if aPb then bPa

3. Transitivity: $\forall a,b,c$, if aPb and bPc then aPc

An example of such an e.r. is the predicate P="is the same color as", defined on a set of colored marbles. Clearly, any marble is the same color as itself (1); if marble \mathbf{a} is the same color as marble \mathbf{b} , then marble \mathbf{b} is the same color as marble \mathbf{a} (2); if marble \mathbf{a} is the same color as marble \mathbf{b} , and marble \mathbf{b} is the same as marble \mathbf{c} , then marbles \mathbf{a} and \mathbf{c} are the same color (3). On the other hand, the predicate "is older than" is transitive, but not reflexive or symmetric, and so fails to qualify as an e.r. The critical aspect of an e.r. is that it can be viewed as expressing a notion of identity.

Every e.r. divides its set into a collection of mutually exclusive subsets, or subclasses³, which together exhaust the set. Such a collection of subsets is called a partition. These subsets group together objects which are the same according to the given e.r. For example, in the case of the marbles, **P** divides the set of marbles into its constituent colors: the subsets are each of a fixed color.

¹See, for example, Jacobson (1974:10-14).

²The symbol ' \forall ' is the universal quantifier, "for all". Thus ' \forall a, aPa' means 'for all a, a stands in the relation P to itself'.

³The terms "set" and "class" are generally synonymous.

In fact, the e.r. and the partition carry the same information, in the sense that one can be derived from the other; the only difference is that one is a predicate, the other a collection of subsets. Given the e.r., the partition is defined to be the collection of subsets of equivalent objects. Given the partition, the e.r. is defined to be true for any pair of objects in the same partition subclass. From "is the same color as" we can generate the color classes; and from the color classes we can generate the color predicate "is the same color as".

To summarize: given a set S and an e.r. P on S, we arrive at a collection of mutually exclusive subclasses of S which together cover all of S. This collection may be called $F = \{c_1, c_2, c_3,....\}$. F is the partition, or factor space, of S over P. The subclasses $c_1, c_2, c_3,...$ are called the equivalence classes of S over P. This relation among S, P, and F is written:

$$S/P=F$$

just like division, since in effect the e.r. P divides S. F is like S, except that its elements are classes, and there are fewer of them, because equivalent elements have been lumped together.

This e.r. P corresponds to a reduction, R. A reduction is like a substitution: it replaces an element with its equivalence class. This has the effect of reducing the information carried by the element. Marbles may have many attributes, such as size, weight, material. But when reduced by the color predicate, "is the same color as", a marble becomes an object with one property only: its color. All other information is lost. If a red marble is reduced in this way, it becomes grouped together with all other red marbles and hence loses its properties of weight, size and material. Using another physical and mathematical metaphor, the marble is projected onto the dimension of color. In a similar way, two squares of paper of different color may project the same shadow on the wall when illuminated by a lamp. This reduction to silhouette, in which color information is lost, is a projection in the literal sense.

In linguistics, the set of phonemes of a language may be defined as the factorization of all language phones over the e.r. P, where:

xPy = "phone x can be substituted for phone y without changing the meaning of any utterance"

The resulting equivalence classes are the phonemes, and the corresponding reduction R converts phones to phonemes. Applying R to an utterance results in a sequence of

phonemes. By substituting a less specific object, with fewer attributes (the phoneme) for a more specific object, with more attributes (the phone), information is decreased.

Paradoxically, although a reduction decreases information it also increases our understanding by indicating the significant order. The relation of a thing to its reduction is that of instance to genera: the former is a particular, fully-formed example of a deeper, more general and abstract prototype. In this sense, all structure is reduction.¹

Structure and Reduction

"What is a repeat?" I wondered, as I was notating Eve songs. Should I consider certain variations in pitch or time to be inessential, and use repeat markings in the score? Or should I write out the music in its entirety, faithfully recording every nuance of expression?

This small question about musical structure contains within it the seed of all structural inquires, including the entire world-view of a culture, because it encapsulates so succinctly the essence of an e.r. To know when a piece of music has repeated, even though the two "repeats" differ in many ways, is a profound bit of knowledge tantamount to the principle of identity: it leads to equivalence classes which are the distinct musical units. The repeat sign in musical transcription is a significant assertion of structure: it states that any differences ought to be overlooked, because the two sections are essentially the same.

Similarly any other cultural notion of identity, expressed as an e.r., factors the rapid and chaotic sensory stream into culturally coherent and meaningful categories.

All structure is reduction, but all reduction is not structure, because an e.r. can be constructed arbitrarily. To lead to structure, a reduction, or its corresponding e.r., must be an object of mind, a component of the cognitive machinery which processes and sorts the continuous stream of sensory data. For ethnomusictheory, one is interested in e.r. which are native to the culture under scrutiny.

¹The theory of equivalence relations and reduction, as developed here, is too simple to be generally applied to the real world. To make the theory practical requires the notion of a probabilistic or "fuzzy" relation, which is not necessarily either true or false but true to some degree for any pair of objects. The definition of e.r. can be reworked, and a corresponding notion of reduction developed along these lines. This would account for a pair of marbles that are approximately the same color, for instance, and the idea that if a is approximately the same color as b, and b approximately the same color as c, then a may be *less* approximately the same color as c.

An e.r. is one example of a specification: a complete description of a thing. One property of a specification is its degree of intensionality. At one extreme, a purely intensional specification is defined by a succinct, concise, unitary rule which involves a single concept, e.g. the predicate,"the same color as". Other examples of intensional specifications include "the set of all red things", "all people of age 40", and "funeral music". These specifications are defined without recourse to any enumeration of cases.

At the other extreme, a purely extensional specification is defined only by its extent--it is an arbitrary definition, lacking any particular governing rule. Given a set of lottery tickets, the subset of tickets which will win the lottery is purely extensional (anyone who could prove otherwise would soon become wealthy). Similarly, "the numbers 1,4,2,8", "Kosi, Koku, Mawusi", "the red, green, and yellow marbles" are all extensional specifications. These specifications are defined only by enumeration.

Between the two extremes lie specifications which are defined by arbitrary collections of rules: "people of age 20, 25, or 30", "songs of Yeve, Kinka, and Afa". Most mental reductions are more intensional than extensional, since a mental concept is the essence of intensionality.

Reductions may be applied in linear sequence, each successive reduction further reducing the result of the previous one, in cascading fashion. Assuming the reductions to be mentally grounded, this procedure leads to successively deeper structure, as information is cast off and the essential structure becomes clearer. Schenker's foreground-middleground-background reductions provide a good musical example of this process (Salzer 1952). In the foreground, much melodic detail still remains, though ornamental figures and rhythmic information have been erased. But in the background, there is only a skeleton of a few notes to indicate the core melodic structure of the piece.



Many such reduction sequences are possible in most instances, each one leading to a different sort of "deep structure". In music, one may reduce along the temporal or tonal axes, for example, and arrive at deep structures of melody, tonal progression, mode, harmony, rhythm, meter, form, phrasing, and so on.

A generative reduction is one that consists of rules which can regenerate particular instances. Although the reductions carried out in this thesis are not truly generative, the modal analyses are capable of limited generative power. Other reductions are merely descriptive: they indicate the fundamental order of the material, but do not describe how a specific instance could be constructed. In the first category are generative grammars; in the second, harmonic analyses.

We can now return to the enterprise of apprehending structure in music. Earlier I stated that such analysis could follow a path lying somewhere between two extrema: (1) Attempt to become a cultural insider, through a long process of assimilation, and then determine musical structure through intuition or introspection, or (2) scrutinize cultural observables, the sights and sounds emitted by culture--human behavior, music sound, artifacts, speech-and infer mental structure from these observables. The essential assumption for (2) is that mental structure in part follows physical order, which is assumed to represent universal or natural structure. Cultural constructs are reflections of and emanations from mind; if there is clear and humanly perceptible patterning in the construct, the same patterning must exist in the mind itself.

The problem which plagues this latter method of determining structure is the following: when is the observed physical order or patterning clear enough that the inference is valid? The only available criterion is that the observable order represent universal or natural structure, which is to say that the observable order is so compelling that it seems certain to present itself to any person who has taken the trouble to study it. As the observable order is compelling, so will the inference be justified.

My limited experience with Eve culture precluded any substantial degree of assimilation. Thus, in most instances, the musical analysis contained within this thesis is predicated upon observable, natural structure. However, these conclusions are shaped and augmented by a measure of intuition, garnered during my four months among the Eve people, as well as by copious data amassed during conversations and interviews.

Performance and Composition

In this thesis, I use the word "performance" in two senses. In the narrow sense, the performance is an actual event, concrete in time and place: the "performance event". But underlying each such event is a conceptual model which functions as a prototype for the event and other similar events. I call this prototype the "performance piece", or

"composition". The composition underlying an event must be assumed to vary slightly among participants. But to the extent that the performance requires cooperation, the compositional prototype must be held in common, for otherwise the performance could not sustain itself.

Sometimes a particular person composes a work--a song, for instance. In this case, it is this composer's conception which authoritatively defines the composition: the composition is what the composer composed. Other times the work is composed by a multitude of anonymous individuals, often over long periods of time. Though individual songs and rhythms may have specific composers, no Eve drumming style (or "Drum"; see Chapter 4) is created in its totality by one individual. In this case, the composition is defined as the common core concept underlying each performance.

In performance, the composition is realized: concept is incarnated, instantiated, in sound. This instantiation is not one-to-one: a given composition can be realized in infinitely many ways, because the composition is not a complete specification. The performance fleshes out the compositional skeleton, supplying a richness of detail, variation, and interpretation to within the tolerance of the genre. I call the means by which composition is transformed into performance the "performance style".

A composition is thus the unitary entity underlying all performances which are judged by the culture to be essentially the same. This entity is only a template for performance: it admits of a certain diversity and latitude in interpretation.

Multiple performances of the same composition may differ in many respects, but these variations usually conform to an overall performance style, which intensionally describes the tendencies, tolerances, and probabilities of variation. Performance style accounts for the diversity of interpretation among a set of closely related performances; it is a measure of variation.

If the composition is a concept, how can we know of its existence? In the case of the Eue, I approached this problem both from the "emic" and the "etic" points of view. The Eue name their Drums and songs, and speak of multiple performances of the same Drum or song. Implicitly, there is an equivalence relation among performances, whose classes are isomorphic to the compositions.

Furthermore, listening to Eve musical sound, I soon realized that among the profusion of performances, certain performances are much more closely related to each other than to any

other. From this natural structure, I inferred the existence of a mental concept which could provide the basis for such unity.

Thus, while in theory the composition is a concept, in practice I define the composition to be the common musical ground among a group of closely related performances. Thus the compositional aspect of a song is the music that is shared among all performances of that song. The performance style of a group of similar performances is an intensional specification of the variations among performances.

Chapter 4: The Character of Eve Performance

In some modes of aesthetic expression, it is process which is the aesthetic object; in others, process occurs behind the scenes, but leaves behind an aesthetically meaningful, durable physical trace. The principal mode of Eue aesthetic expression is the former, through what I call performance.

The Eve invest little energy in durable aesthetic artifacts. The permanent visual arts-painting, sculpture, and the like--are hardly in evidence; decorative crafts include only weaving, bead-making, and cloth-dyeing, but neither these activities nor their products are highly visible, and they seem to be marginal activities compared to performance. Dwellings and everyday objects are rarely decorated; the practical function of a thing is usually all that can be seen on its visual surface. Even religious shrines are unremarkable, unornamented, resembling vacant and dilapidated buildings when no ceremony is in progress.¹ Energy is expended in the use of artifacts, rather than in their appearance.

Thus the main aesthetic expression of the Eue seems evanescent; it consists of actions and sounds which leave no physical residue. The performance is permanent only in its compositional aspect, which exists only as a concept, and its residue exists only as a fleeting afterimage.

Eve performance is notable not only for combining so many expressive channels--poetry, speech, percussion, melody, ritual drama--but for its simultaneous involvement of the entire community. It is central to community life precisely because it consists of live, all-inclusive action. In the nonliterate society of the Eve, live action is the means by which the communication necessary for social life to exist can occur. In the performance, such communication is maximal, both because everybody is involved, and because, with the diversity of expressive channels, communication can occur redundantly, on many levels at once.²

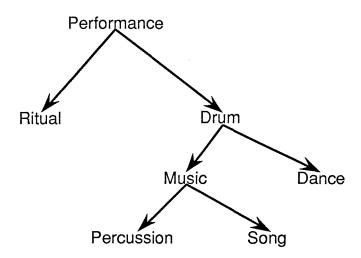
Performances can occur in a variety of contexts, for many reasons. Most of the gods of the Eve pantheon have many shrines scattered in villages throughout the Volta region. At

¹Robert Farris Thompson refers to African cults as "danced faiths, worship converted into sound and motion, performed in the open air." He speculates that "the alfresco emphasis, in fact, may well explain why with few exceptions...large-scale religious architecture is absent south of the Sahara." (Thompson 1966:85).

²For an insightful discussion of redundancy and art, see Gregory Bateson (1972).

times of initiation, prayers, sacrifice, and honorific festivals, these shrines become the scene and focus for elaborate performances which may last many days¹. Other kinds of traditional performances include the honoring or installation of traditional village chiefs, celebrations for the harvest, the commemoration of historical events, such as the annual Hogbetsotso (which recalls the Exodus-like story of the Eue escape from the evil king Agokoli at Hogbe), war dances, formerly used to prepare for or celebrate battle, and the ubiquitous funeral. The interaction of modern and traditional political orders is reflected in a relatively new form of performance, exemplified by the Farmer's Rally I attended at Akatsi in December of 1988. At this sort of event, long speeches by government officials and traditional chiefs are interspersed with short episodes of drumming and dancing by local groups.

Whatever the context, an Eue performance nearly always incorporates two compositional elements: the Drum², and ritual. "Drum", a direct translation from the Eue language ("uu"), is here capitalized to distinguish it from any musical instrument; the same ambiguity exists in the Eue language. The Drum in turn consists of two parts: "music" in the Western sense (consisting of percussion and song), and stylized rhythmic movement, or dance. Both the Drum and ritual are compositional elements of the performance, because they are a formally fixed part of the performance's identity; without them, the performance loses not only its power, but its essential nature.



¹The traditional Afā initiation lasts for sixteen days.

²J.H. Nketia uses the general term "musical type" in his writings on African music (e.g. 1974:24). But, at least in the particular case of the Eve, I prefer "Drum", as it reflects indigenous usage.

The Character of Eve Performance

The central thrust of the present work is that Eve performance (in the wide sense) evinces a sharp contrast between extreme unity in composition, and equally extreme diversity in performance. I am not tautologically asserting that there is but one composition for many different performances. Rather, I claim that each composition is in itself narrowly limited in style: uniform, repetitive, integrated, and ordered. Furthermore, different compositions of the same type are stylistically close; the set of songs for a particular Drum is a homogeneous lot.

The compositional aspect of performance states and restates the same message over and over again, as reflected in literal repetition and homogeneity of style. This message, perhaps best translated as an affirmation of the group's unity and common heritage, "We are all Eve!", is reaffirmed in the integration and ordered cohesion of each compositional element, and among the various elements, whether juxtaposed simultaneously, or in progression.

On the other hand, *each* performance presents overwhelming diversity, superimposed on the underlying compositional order. Most Drum-compositions offer tremendous tolerance for individual expression: the lead singer's choice of song sequence, the lead drummer's choice of rhythmic sequence, the improvisations of drumming and singing, the idiosyncratic styles of the dance, and the freewheeling boisterousness which permeates the event. In compositional style the group asserts its unity, effectively saying "We are one!". In performance style, the individual asserts his or her individuality, effectively saying "I am myself!". The performance is a miraculous synthesis of unity and diversity, capable of expressing and affirming both within a single coherent event.

Eve Ritual

I use the word "ritual" loosely here as an expedient catch-all for the formal, or compositional, parts of performance that are not closely linked to the music. A typology for ritual is difficult to construct, not least due to my own ignorance. However, I will attempt a brief outline, and provide a few descriptions.

The ritual part of performance generally consists of formal speech and symbolic movement which carry meaning critical to the success of the occasion. Thus ritual includes the long and complicated maneuvers with palm kernels performed late into the night by religious

The Character of Eve Performance

initiates of Afa, the formal speeches of leaders and priests, the behaviour of possessed cult members, the pouring of libations, the sacrifice of animals, and prayer.

At Mr. Agbeli's village, Kofeyia, near the Togolese border, I had the opportunity to witness the initiation of several young children into the cult of Yeve. On the final evening they danced husago seven times before embarking on a sequence of what appeared to be extremely repetitive ritual actions, lasting more than three hours. Water was poured, special foods were eaten. Each initiate in turn was then paired with an adult. Half a calabash full of water and cowrie shells was placed between them; one removed the cowries and poured them into the other's cupped hands; the other let them drop back into the calabash. This was repeated thrice, after which they exchanged roles. Yet despite its formally repetitive organization, this ritual occurs in a casual, spontaneous atmosphere. The mood is not too somber; people laugh and talk, in part because the ceremony is unrehearsed, and the participants stumble a bit.

Performances in the Brekete cult can last several days. During this time the drums play for many hours at a time, as one after another cult member becomes possessed by the god. These episodes of possession have a characteristic drama and form. At first there is a seizure, during which the member's body behaves spastically. After a time, the seizure subsides, and the member begins to dance the beautiful twirling movements of northern Ghana, the homeland of the Brekete gods. The member may also approach the onlookers, violently shaking hands with each one in turn. But this formal prescription is not rigid either: each possessed member executes the patterns in his or her own way.

I attended the mid-year festival for the powerful and renowned Afetoku gods at the Eve village of Dagbamete. Worshippers had travelled from all over the Eve lands, even from other parts of Ghana, to make thankful offerings of chickens and goats, and to confess any transgressions. These confessions are public, made to the gathering. After a small group has confessed, each person offers a goat or chicken to the god. The chief priest utters some prayers, and swings the animals one by one over the heads of the confessors. The animals are then placed near the chief god, as the priest prays and rings a small bell. Following this, each confessor throws his or her animal to the ground several times. If the offering is acceptable to the gods, then the animal does not struggle, but simply lies still. When the animals have been accepted, they are held aloft by their givers, while the drums play. If the confession was complete and true, then the animal will expire. After it is dead, the head is cut off, for a fowl, or neck slit, for a goat, and the blood is given to the gods.

This sequence of events is repeated for hours until all have had the opportunity to make a confession.

Repetitive ritual such as these seems to be typical of the Eve style. But the formal order is never carried to an extreme of decorum, or rehearsed symmetry. Perfect repetition and pristine symmetries are interrupted by individualistic action. Within the severely repetitive and narrowly restrictive form of the ritual, there is plenty of room for individual variation.

The Eve Drum

The number of Eve Drums is difficult to determine. In part this is due to the fact that complete knowledge about Eve culture is not concentrated in any one individual, and is not written; one must travel widely and talk to many people to achieve any measure of comprehensiveness. But more problematic is the difficulty of identifying a Drum, or, equivalently, knowing when two Drums are really the same. Many Drums share a substantial amount of material, perhaps with minor variations. Drumming patterns are even "transposed" from one rhythmical feel to another. When a new drumming group forms, they often rename an existing Drum, thereby claiming it as their own. Drums pass in and out of favor, may be played only rarely, or forgotten entirely. Highly specialized Drums, and Drums "of the ancestors" or for particular gods may be reserved for rare circumstances.

In my limited research on the extent of Eve Drums, I identified twenty-five distinct Drums.¹ My informant for this research, Fred Dunyo, divided them by use into five categories: recreational Drums, which allow for general participation, and lack gravity due to their novelty²; funeral Drums; religious Drums, each dedicated to a particular deity; ceremonial Drums, traditional Drums associated with the political order, such as the installation of a chief; and Drums for war, now used in a ceremonial capacity. These categories in fact overlap; most "recreational" music is played at funerals. I list these twenty-five in the following table:

¹The total number of Eve Drums is probably much larger.

²Fred said that recreational Drums are "not of the ancestors". Mr. Agbeli said that recreational Drums are "played everywhere, but not for a particular reason", such as a god, or for war.

A Partial List of Eve Drums

	Drum	Dance	Bell	Percussion ensemble
1	Adzogbo	0	S+	SA
2 3	Adzro (Aguteni)	S	S*	S + (A or govemevu)
3	Agbodzivu	S	S	SA
4	Ageshie (Fast Agbadza)	S	S	SA + ezevu
5	Agota		16	Calabash drums
6	Atrikpi (Slow Agbadza)	S	S	S
7	Atsiagbeko	O	S	SA + kroboto + krobodzi
8	Atsigo	S	S	SA - sogo + krobodzi
9	Brekete	O	S	SA+
10	Davu		S,16	S + kagan
11	Fast Afã (Anago)	S	S	S
12	Gadodo (Gakpa)	S*	S	S
13	Gadzo	S*	S	SA + dondo+
14	Gahu	O	16	S + (A or boba)
15	Kenyo		S	S
16	Kinka	S	16	SA + boba
17	Kpegisu		S	S - sogo + kroboto
18	Kratsidente			S
19	Kokuvu	S*	S	S
20	Oleke		16?	S + boba
21	Singa	S	S	SA
22	Slow Afã (Dzisa)	S	S	S
23	Tokoe		16	SA - sogo + bəbəbə drum
24	Unity (Atsimota)	S	S	SA
25	Yevevu	S+	S+	SA + kagan

Key1:

+ = extended by other material

* = modified

? = unsure

[blank] = unknown

Dance: S= standard Eve movement

O = other movements

Bell: S = standard 12-pulse bell pattern

16 = 16-pulse bell pattern

Percussion ensemble:

S = standard ensemble of sogo, kidis, kagan

SA = ensemble of atsimevu, sogos, kidis, kagan

(other ensembles as indicated: "+" indicates additions, "-" subtractions)

Drums are not composed outright, but evolve over the years through the addition and subtraction of musical material. Eventually a Drum may change so much that it is renamed,

¹The terminology used in this table is explained in the following pages.

The Character of Eve Performance

and effectively becomes a new Drum. The transformation of Drums is a gradual process, occurring over many years, and is not attributed to a single individual.

In Western terms, one might say that a Drum occupies a position somewhere between "musical composition" and "musical style"; it provides a framework for individual expression, expanding as new songs or rhythms are composed, and allowing a measure of improvisational freedom. However the Drum, unlike a musical style, can actually be performed. Furthermore, the aesthetic boundaries for composition of new songs and drumming patterns are narrowly restrictive, and the guiding aesthetic of the Drum is never challenged. The body of songs and rhythms associated with a Drum is thus extremely homogeneous.

Furthermore, the Drums themselves are a homogeneous lot; it is often difficult for the visitor to recognize or even distinguish Drums with similar beats. The stylistic content of song, percussion, and dance do not vary radically from Drum to Drum; rather, they are homogeneous across most Drums. The character of the Drum itself is mostly a function of the particular ensemble, bell and beat, tempo, interaction among the parts, and nature of improvisation, rather than being a function of the foreground musical content. For example, several informants told me that it is not possible to determine to which Drum a given song melody belongs, unless one knows the song already. One can only narrow the possibilities to the set of Drums with a bell pattern and tempo that matches the song. Thus the musical style of songs is not determined by the Drum. The entire Eve musical style seems to be narrowly concentrated.¹

Nearly every performance occasion is associated with one or more Drums. Sometimes the Drums are prescribed by the occasion; such is the case on religious holidays. At funerals, several different Drums may be played. At festivals sponsored by the government, such as the Farmer's Rally, many Drums played by many different groups entertain the crowds between speakers, probably to ensure that everybody doesn't either leave or drop off to sleep.

Compositionally, the "raw materials" of a Drum are the tempo, the bell and beat rhythms, the percussion ensemble, a set of drumming variations, a set of songs, and a dancing style. These elements are arranged, integrated, and elaborated according to aesthetic and practical

¹David Locke has suggested to me that it is the extramusical attributes of the Drum--its history, song texts, and personnel--which serve to define it as much as any musical characteristics.

criteria. But the Eve do not employ any form of musical notation for their Drum compositions: songs, rhythms, and dance movements are preserved in memory.

Most of the Drum is played at a static dynamic level and tempo, though changes may occur in transition between major sections. However, changes in dynamic level do not result from a change in individual exertion, but rather are due to a change in instrumentation. For example, in the transition from the "drumming" to the softer hatsiatsia section, drummers and rattle players stop playing, and begin singing, or playing bells, instead. But there seems to be little if any real decrease in the energy output by each individual. Dancers, drummers, and singers seem to perform at the same unrelenting high energy level throughout the performance.

Each Drum therefore has a steady-state, driving quality. Mr. Agbeli told me that it is not possible to relax with any Eve music, because Eve music is straight-here he moved his hand horizontally to illustrate.¹ But Western classical music, he continued, "goes up and down"; he sometimes used it to lull himself to sleep at night. Fred told me that the only "relaxing" Eve music he could think of is atsigo, which is sometimes performed without drums.

At its core, each Drum contains two periodic rhythmic threads, what may be called the "bell" and the "beat"², each of which are continuous repetitions of a short rhythm. The bell and the beat unify percussion, song, and dance by supplying the temporal ground.³

As for the bell, with very few exceptions all Eve Drums are based upon a single such rhythmic ostinato. Of the 24 drums for which I have data, 15 are based exclusively upon the 12-pulse⁴ standard Eve pattern:⁵

¹I asked him why this might be so. "Warlike people", he muttered, rather sardonically.

²The Eve may call either thread "the beat", although I reserve the term "beat" for a rhythm consisting of a sequence of equal durations. The beat is clapped, danced, or played on bells and rattles. The "bell" rhythm is the part most often played by the gankogui, an iron double bell.

³The following discussion of bell and beat is largely derived from the writings and teaching of David Locke (Locke 1987, 1978).

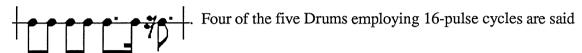
⁴The idea that the rhythm of African music is founded upon an underlying conceptual sequence of equally spaced pulses was first proposed by Richard Waterman (Waterman 1952:211).

⁵Beaming should not necessarily be taken to imply any meter, but rather to enhance readability. Since meter is interior, it is unknowable; we can only guess that meter follows the beat. Also, because these rhythms are repeated over and over, they form cycles without beginning or end. Notating cycles as cycles is cumbersome, but the linear notation used should not be construed as asserting a beginning and an end. If anything, Eue cycles tend to end on "one", that is, the first note head of each notation, but this is again only guesswork, since the beginning and end of a cycle is also interior.



Four others include this pattern, or a close variant. The other five are based on 16-pulse



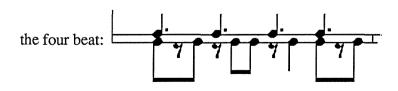


to have been imported from abroad, or derived from such imports. Thus it seems reasonable to guess that the standard 12-pulse pattern is *the* quintessential Eue bell rhythm.

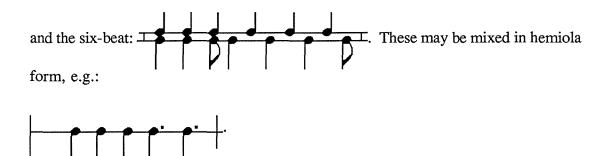
The tempo of a Drum is nearly constant throughout any particular performance, and different performances of the same Drum vary only slightly in tempo, because the tempo is considered to be an essential characteristic of the Drum. However, different Drums vary considerably in tempo.

My separation of rhythm and tempo in this discussion is not entirely "emic", either, because the Eue often consider rhythm and tempo to be inseparable. The question, "how many Drums employ the standard 12-pulse pattern" is difficult to ask, because the same pattern at different tempi is not considered to be the same at all. Mathematically speaking, the bell part is not a pattern of relative durations, as Western notation suggests, but rather a sequence of absolute durations. Mr. Agbeli underscored the importance of tempo and its relation to the bell part when he explained to me that the two most important factors in determining the character of a Drum are its bell rhythm and tempo.

The other periodic rhythm, the beat, is usually a sequence of equal durations. For the standard 12-pulse Eve pattern there are two principal beats, which fall against the bell as follows,



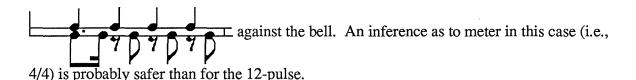
¹Eventually I was able to communicate my meaning. Then people agreed that over 90% of Eue Drums make use of this pattern.



Although it is tempting to equate beat with meter (e.g. that

indicates 12/8 time), meter is an interior quantity, and cannot necessarily be so inferred, especially because 12 has so many possible factors. However, at slow tempi the 6-beat pattern predominates, while at fast tempi the 4-beat pattern is always played. These tendencies suggest that there are absolute bounds on the beat tempo, and may also have metrical implications.

In the 16-pulse cycles there are fewer possibilities; the beat is always played



The mantric repetition of bell and beat is the primary basis for the unity of a performance. The static character of these rhythms permeates every aspect of the musical performance, enforcing musical uniformity. Drummers, dancers, and singers are all strung through the core by these rhythmic threads; despite individual variations, they can never stray too far from each other. Furthermore, the same threads recur over and over in different Drums, tending to unify the entire Eue repertoire. Because these rhythms are so critical, they allow little latitude for personal variation and diversity. They are rather the essential support for individuality in the dancing and singing, and to some extent in the drumming¹, enabling irregularity, deviation, and disorder without threat to the essential unity of the performance.

¹Differences among the dance, drumming, and singing in this regard are discussed below.

Dance

Dance is the stylized rhythmic¹ movement which accompanies the music of every performance. Dance does not include all movement during the performance, or even all rhythmic movement, but only the particular rhythmic movement which is fixed in its association with the Drum being performed. This category of movement is recognized and named by the Eue themselves.

Some dances require great virtuosity and agility, or have elaborate choreographies. This is especially true of the war dances, atsiagbeko and adzogbo, in which the dancers are controlled by signals given by the lead drummer, and the modern dance-dramas which attempt to communicate a story through dance. Obviously such dances allow only limited participation.

But most Drums are nonexclusive and informal with regard to dance. When the percussion music and song is under way, people spontaneously begin to dance, usually in groups of two to four. Anyone at all can dance at any time during the drumming. The dancing group forms when one person-male or female--decides the time has come to dance, jumps up from his or her seat, grabs several others by the wrist, and hauls them to their feet. The group dances together, usually for less than a minute, and then stops. These dance episodes, as I call them, happen continuously while the drumming is going on; many episodes can be going on simultaneously, and multiple episodes are independent, not synchronized in any way. Although there is no formal call and response structure in Eue dance, dancers watch and imitate each other, especially when looking for cues to start or stop. The dance group is fixed only for a particular episode; when the episode has finished, its members disperse to sit, rest, drink, sing, or begin dancing all over again. In most Drums, there are no dance specialists or lead dancers; dancing is the most egalitarian portion of the Drum.

Although certain Drums are associated with distinctive dance styles, in general dance is not a uniquely characteristic attribute of the Drum--though it forms a part of every Drum--because one basic movement is used for nearly all Drums, and is incorporated in slightly modified form into still others. Of the 25 drums I was able to document, at least 10 employ this basic Eve movement, while several others use minor variants. These figures underestimate the fraction of actual performance time occupied by basic Eve movement, because the most common Eve Drums, indeed, all of the recreational and funeral Drums,

¹Here I use the word "rhythmic" to mean "determining a recurrent temporal pattern".

are among those which employ this dance style. Because of its simplicity and flexibility, Eve movement is at the heart of recreational dancing, and is the epitome of dancing for the Eve.¹

Not only does Eue movement recur among most of the Eue Drums, but the underlying form of the movement itself appears repetitive, consisting of a short back-and-forth motion of the arms and upper torso, while the feet step to the beat. Because this fundamental unit of the Eue dance is brief, it is repeated innumerable times during a performance. Despite this uniformity, the movement offers tremendous latitude for personal interpretation, and no two people ever dance exactly the same way or attempt to coordinate their movements precisely.

Indeed, such coordinated precision does not even seem to be desirable. Watching a performance of Mr. Agbeli's theatrical drum and dance troupe, Sankofa, I noted with interest that even in a trained dance ensemble, there is no insistence on precise synchrony of movement. Individually, everyone moves with grace, force, heat, precision, strength, and beauty, but no two people dance exactly the same way. Even when the choreography involves approximate symmetry, only the general contours of the dance are the same; the details of expressive movement vary. There is no attempt to enforce rigid conformity.

The same pattern holds for the basic Eue movement. Within the dance episode, dancers need not conform to any fixed style of movement, nor need they match each other in synchronized choreography. The Eue movement can have as many interpretations as there are dancers. The dancers' unity is based on the overall style of the movement, on their interaction, on the omnipresent temporal threads of bell and beat, and on a beautiful but brief dramatic progression, repeated with every episode. Struck by the elegance of this dramatic form, I described it in detail in my journal. I repeat it here, slightly revised:

There is a beautiful ternary drama to each episode of Eue dancing. An episode occurs when several people--usually 2-4 --decide to dance. Often one will run to the others, overcome by excitement, and grab them by their wrists, jerking them to their feet. Once the dancers are arranged (and there is often a certain amount of pushing and pulling as dancers are placed in different orders until agreement has been reached), they begin a kind of gentle swaying step to the beat, arms loosely swinging, relaxed, serene, and upright.

¹Without quoting percentages, I can attest to the fact that when one sees Eve dancing, they are almost always dancing in this fashion. Other styles are usually seen only in sponsored performances, or "cultural displays." ("Cultural display" is the Eve term for a theatrical performance, taken out of its natural performance context for the purposes of entertainment or edification.) At certain times of year other styles of dancing may flourish, such as the late winter season of Yeve festivals which incorporate the many styles of Yeve dancing.

Then, as the lead drum launches into a new variation, the dancers are kicked into action: ¹ they become taut, angular, vigorous, rippling with the rhythms of the percussion all over their bodies. Back, legs, face, head, neck, arms, torso: the whole body dances in a simultaneous expression of the rhythm. Although their general pattern of movement is identical, the details are idiosyncratic: dancing is a personal expression of the music, and of the dancer's own character. The movement of their feet carries them slowly forward, if there is room; more often the space is too packed to move, and they dance in place, turning their heads to smile at one another. After less than a minute, one will give a signal and all three (if they are paying attention) will shift into the final phase together. This is a kind of cooldown period, during which the upright, loose position is resumed, but this time accompanied by limber side-to-side shaking motions of the arms, as if to loosen the muscles. After waiting one or two bell cycles, the dancers crisply duck forward in unison; they come upright again, stand still for a moment, give a quick shake, and together duck forward again. The spell is broken; the dancers disperse.

There is strength due to the unity engendered by the recurrence and drama in the movement, the interaction of the dancers, and the integration of the dance with the music. As Robert Farris Thompson astutely notes, "In the West African world, it is one of the dancer's aims to make every rhythmic subtlety of the music visible." (1966:89) Yet the repetition and integration never becomes stultifying, because the movement allows for a great diversity of individual expression within the unified frame. Thompson stresses the importance of polymeter in allowing each dancer to develop a personal style: "Multiple meter is, in brief, a communal examination of percussive individuality." (1966:91) Indeed, each dancer's idiosyncratic enthusiasm seems to spur the others to dance even more fervently. This easy coexistence of the idiosyncratic individual with the narrowly focussed unity of the group is one instance of the theme I try to trace throughout this thesis.

Percussion Music

The Eve are deservedly famous for the music of their percussion ensembles. The instruments themselves usually consist of from three to six drums, iron bells, and rattles. The Eve construct most of their drums from wooden strips bound with iron hoops to form a barrel.² At one end of the barrel, the drum maker drills a circle of holes, and hammers a notched wooden peg into each one. A roughly circular piece of animal hide is treated and dried, then threaded with rope along its perimeter. These loops of rope are tucked into each notch. When the pegs are hammered deeper into the barrel, the hide becomes taut. The drums may be played with two sticks, two hands, or one hand and one stick.

The composition of the percussion ensemble depends on the Drum being performed. However there is a standard set of Eve barrel drums which are used most frequently. In

¹Here the basic Eve movement begins.

²Some drums, such as those used in Yevevu, are carved out of a single piece of wood.

my list of 25 documented Drums, all but four incorporate this standard set, seven use precisely the standard set, and another five employ exactly the standard set plus the atsimeou as lead drum. As in the case of dance, the fraction of Drums using the standard set is much higher when each Drum is weighted relative to its performance frequency, because many of the less common percussion ensembles are used in Drums that are rarely played.

The standard Eue percussion set consists of three types of barrel drum. The smallest of the three is the kagan, of which there is generally but one in the ensemble. The kagan is played with two long, thin sticks; good playing technique requires that the stick slap flat across the head of the drum, producing a cracking sound. The next larger drum of the standard set is the kidi, which is also played with two sticks, but stouter and shorter than the kagan sticks. There may be several kidi in the ensemble. The high, clear tone of the kidi is valuable in its role as response drum. Slightly larger than kidi is sogo, which may be played with sticks or hands. The sogo is lower and slightly less definitely pitched than the kidi. When the ensemble is limited to the standard set, there is one sogo, which functions as a lead drum.

According to my informants Fred Dunyo and Christian Aheto, in recent times it has become popular to substitute the atsimevu, a very long barrel drum, for the sogo as lead drum. In this case, sogo is a response drum, is played with sticks slightly heavier than those of kidi, and may number more than one in the ensemble. The great length of atsimevu gives it a powerful and resonant sound which may be heard at great distances. In Ageshie, a relatively recent and extremely popular funeral Drum derived from the older Agbadza, the ezevu, a cement drum, may similarly be substituted for sogo, because the ezevu requires less force to produce the same volume of sound. Thus there is a pattern in modern times of replacing sogo with a more flamboyant lead drum, and relegating sogo to the status of response drum.

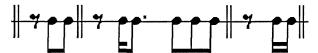
Iron bells are of two basic types: the double-flared gankogui, which is beaten with a wooden stick, and the small toke, normally played with a metal rod. The rattle, called axatse, is made of a gourd covered with a string mesh of seeds or plastic beads. The ensemble usually contains only one or two bells, and sometimes the bell is not played at all. Rattles, on the other hand, can be quite numerous, with as many as a dozen or more

playing simultaneously. The white-noise static of the rattles seems to be a specific instance of a general African predilection for a noise component in music.¹

The drumming group consists of a relatively small group of specialists, all of them male.² In contrast, the singing and dancing groups ideally comprise the entire gathering. The drumming ensemble cannot be too large, or a confused sound would result. Also, the drumming group must consist of only the most skilled players, because it is the bedrock for a successful performance. If the singing or dancing is not good, the performance will only be marginally damaged, but the moment a drummer makes a mistake, he is hauled away and replaced.

Musically, the percussion group can be divided into three sections: the ostinato parts, the lead or calling part, and the response parts.³ In the standard ensemble, the ostinato parts are taken by the bell, which plays the bell rhythm and perhaps also the beat⁴, the rattles, which essentially duplicate the bell or beat rhythm, and the kagan. The atsimeou is too tall to stand upright, so it is leaned in a stand at about 30° to the ground. One man often stands behind the lead drummer (or "azaguno", mother of azagu, the god of drumming) and, using two wooden sticks, raps the beat and bell patterns together on the side of the atsimeou. This ostinato part is called atsikogo.

As a rule, the kagan always plays an off-beat ostinato pattern, normally one of the following three types, depending on whether the beat consists of three or four pulses:



While the kagan player has little room for real rhythmic variation, he often introduces a measure of personal interpretation by stretching the time, usually in the context of the three-pulse beat rhythms (such as the standard Eve pattern), by striking the drum a bit early, thereby anticipating the beat. This minute anticipation, comparable to the Western chorus's

¹Perhaps this noise is related to the general diversity of the performance surface, as contrasted with the unity of the underlying composition. Although the rattle plays a specific, well-defined, ostinato, each of its seeds (or plastic beads, on the newer models) strikes the gourd at a slightly different moment in time, generating a short burst of something like white noise. What is unified at the macroscopic level thus appears diverse upon closer examination.

²I never saw any female drummer in traditional performance contexts. Women do play axatse in certain Drums, such as Atsigo.

³This conceptual division of the Eue percussion group is due to David Locke (1987:11). He refers to the ostinato parts as "the Time".

⁴In some music, such as the hatsiatsia section of kinka, there are several bell parts, some fixed (gafofo) and some improvising (gamamla).

technique of singing a bit sharp, seems to goad the ensemble onward, and prevents it from dragging. It also provides an outlet for the player's personal style.

Although the bell, rattle, and kagan are part of the percussion ensemble, they are the direct and explicit representation of the core cyclic rhythms that inform every aspect of the Drum. The Drum is naturally divided into three kinds of musical activity: dance, percussion, and song. However, in functional terms the core periodic rhythmic threads should be considered a separate category: though they happen to be most fully realized by the percussion section, they are present in the body movements of dancers and singers, and in the musical material of the songs and drumming variations.

Much of Eue singing and percussion is based on the call and response form, in which a musical call issued by a leader is appropriately answered by a responsorial chorus. The call and response unit is a succinct statement of unity, demonstrating the integrated and interdependent relation between leader and group.

In drumming, the lead drum issues the call. If the lead is sogo the kidi section responds; if the lead is atsimeou or ezevu then the sogo joins the responsorial chorus. However, in some Drums all non-lead parts are fixed ostinati, aside from their restricted improvisations. In these cases, the lead drum may command the dancers, who effectively answer the call (as in Atsiagbeko and Gahu). Otherwise (as in Kpegisu), there is no true call and response; the lead drum simply plays variations on a fixed pattern. But in most Drums, and in the vast majority of performances, there is true call and response within the drumming ensemble.¹

The percussion music is thus naturally divided into short episodes, repetitions of what Fred calls "variations". An episode begins after the lead drummer plays a signal, almost always a simple and distinctive roll similar to the following (the two staff lines indicate different tones on the drum):



¹Mr. Agbeli said that even the fixed parts engage in call and response relationships, both with the lead drum, and with each other. But this is a static kind of call and response, different from what I am describing. In fixed-part drumming, the theme of unity through repetition emerges even more strongly. Describing Gahu, David Locke states that "clearly, repetition is more central to this idiom than variation. The music moves in spirals, not lines: depth, not development, is the watchword." (Locke 1987:7)

This roll alerts the response drummers to imminent change; a new variation is about to begin. During the roll, they may change from their previous response to a simple waiting pattern, in which they play mainly the beat.

As soon as they hear the new call, the supporting drummers must answer with the appropriate response. More precisely, a variation may have several short call and response sections; the entire variation is a kind of dialog between the lead and response drums which lasts from one to two bell cycles. For each call there is a unique response, although different calls may demand the same response. Each variation is really a short composition, which recurs from performance to performance; the complete repertoire of variations is an attribute of the Drum.¹ Compositionally, a variation is shaped by the bell and beat framework, and by the Eue language phrase which it represents (see below). The variation is repeated for a few minutes, until the lead drummer either signals the next one, or signals the end of the drumming², in either case bringing the episode to a close.

Depending on the Drum, a certain amount of improvisation is permitted for the lead drum. In the most restrictive Drums, such as Atsiagbeko and Adzogbo, the lead drum rhythms are mostly precomposed, and are not varied in performance. In others, such as Kinka, only minor embellishments, or choices among a small number of blocks of material are permitted. Some Drums, such as Ageshie, and Gadzo, feature considerable improvisational freedom for the lead drummer. In Ageshie nearly anything goes; the lead drummer may even improvise new variations and teach the proper responses on-the-fly. But usually the set of variations for a given Drum is fixed, though lead drummers may occasionally compose or borrow new ones and add them to the repertoire. Due to borrowing, the same variation may be found in different Drums. The response parts may also permit a small amount of improvisation. Fred and other master drummers told me that they can easily identify a lead drummer by sound alone. This fact proves that even the relatively restrictive domain of drumming allows freedom of expression (at least in the lead part) sufficient to define the individual.

In general, Eue percussion seems to tolerate less freedom for individual variation and personal expression than dance and song, especially in the supporting parts.³ The

¹The repertoire of variations for a particular Drum does change over time, but only slowly.

²In all Drums with which I am familiar there is a special ending signal played by the lead drummer to stop the drumming.

³In Takada drumming, Ladzekpo and Pantaleoni note that "as the pitch of an instrument is lower the variety of its play is greater, though always rhythmically precise". (1970:20) This statement accords with

percussion section is the primary foundation for the event, and the quality of song and dance rest heavily on the ability of the drummers to create a tight, clear, stable, and vibrant rhythmic texture.¹ The necessity of clarity, and the importance of competent playing require that the percussion ensemble be limited to a small group of specialists. More than in song and dance, there are standards of correctness for percussion which must be followed. These standards cannot admit of too wide a latitude for improvisation, lest the drumming lose its coherence and power. An Eue percussionist--even the lead drummer-must submit to the unity of the ensemble, leaving most of his persona behind, to a greater degree than in song or dance. Song and dance are more tolerant of "mistakes": standards of correctness are less well-defined, or else are not enforced, since they are not so critical for the event's success, and since participation is more important than accuracy in these domains, at least within the traditional context.²

The lead drummer must be sensitive to the dramatic ebb and flow created by his variation sequence, for different variations have different characters. He must remain attentive to the singing and choose variations which blend well with the current song. He must always pay attention to the dancers. Since dancers like to begin dancing at the start of a new variation, the lead drummer cannot tarry too long on any one variation, especially when several groups of dancers are waiting to begin. If the dancers are looking tired, he must play a new variation to uplift them. Together with the lead singer, the lead drummer conducts the event.

Each drum variation is associated with language ("vugbe"), based on its tonal content. The Eve language is tonal, and its tones may be roughly represented with different strokes on a drum. Such drummed speech cannot be unambiguously decoded in general, but it is sufficient to serve as a reminder to one who is familiar with the limited repertoire of drum language.³

Because a phrase of drum language is decipherable only to those who already have learned it, drum language is generally considered esoteric and arcane, though some is widely-known. Fred said that drummers are like cats, which remain silent: they always have a

the fact that kagan plays an ostinato, while boba plays more freely than any other Eve drum, as far as I know.

¹However, the dependence is not just one way: several informants told me that if the singing is not good, the drumming will suffer.

²Standards of correctness for dancing assume a greater importance in theatrical groups and "cultural displays".

³See the work of David Locke and Godwin Agbeli on Adzogbo drum language (1980).

text in mind when they invent new rhythms, but the text cannot be known from the drumming alone. Singers, by contrast, are like dogs: always howling, their texts are lucid and apparent to all. Sometimes drum language is invented to correspond with the language of a particular song; in this case, the lead drummer must remember to bring out the proper variation when the song is raised.¹

Thus the Eve percussion ensemble makes two distinct contributions to the music of the Drum. The seamless periodicities of bell and beat are embodied by the bell, rattles, and kagan; the other drums provide a sequence of ever-changing episodes, each one consisting of multiple repetitions of a call-response dialogue between the lead and supporting drums.

Percussion music within a Drum is compositionally unified due to its uniformity of bell and beat, its unfluctuating tempo and dynamic level, its continual repetition of each drumming variation within an episode, the integration of different parts through call and response dialog, and the similarity of different variations, all of which are approximately the same length, follow the call and response pattern, and draw heavily on the bell pattern to provide rhythmic shape. Furthermore, most Drums draw on the same basic reservoir of rhythmic patterns and instruments. Eve percussion music as a whole is thus stylistically narrow.

Percussion performance style permits a measure of improvisational freedom, especially for the lead drum, but is relatively restrained in order to support the diversity which characterizes other aspects of the performance.

Song

"To the Westerner the drumming is probably the most outstanding feature of a [dance] club's performance, but to the Eveawo it is usually the songs. By its songs a club's individuality and quality are most clearly established." (Ladzekpo and Pantaleoni, 1970:7)

The importance of songs is probably due to their explicit verbal content; Eue songs always fuse poetic text with melody. Indigenous categorizations of songs reflect their poetic, never their musical, content: advisory songs, honorific or praise songs, celebratory songs, songs of remembrance and memorial of the dead, and songs composed to abuse or defame others.²

¹The Kinka song "vua va dze" is associated with a drumming variation in this way.

²Novo and others told me that songs, "composed against someone", are now precluded by modern civility. In old times, the halo, or singing competition, was a common expression of intergroup rivalries, and scurrilous attacks in song abounded.

The song is the analogue of the drumming variation. As in the case of drumming variations, the song is temporally shaped by the bell, beat, and the contours of its text¹ and has a call and response structure, although in some songs the call may bear greater resemblance to an interjection. The entire song is a dialog: a sequence of calls and responses, which is repeated over and over in performance. Each Drum is associated with a particular corpus of songs, which may change slowly as new ones are composed, and old ones forgotten.² However, there is little correlation between the style of drumming and singing; the songs conform to the bell and beat of the Drum, and may be related to drumming variations, but one cannot determine the Drum from a song based on style alone.³

Unlike drumming, the lead singing part is performed not by an individual, but by a select *group*, who have thoroughly mastered the song repertoire, and who possess strong and sonorous voices. The principal lead singer, called the heno ("song mother") or akayano ("mother of Akaya⁴", the god of song), is surrounded by a small coterie of assistants. During the performance the lead singers all carry a lesi, or animal tail (usually a horse or cow tail) fixed into a leather-covered wooden handle; the heno's lesi is the longest and most striking of all. The lesi signifies the singer's connection to the god of song, akaya, and is practically useful as a conducting baton, to raise the enthusiasm of the crowd, and to signal leader/group transitions. Novo told me that "when holding [the lesi], it shows you are a leading singer. It is from the ancestors, and inspires you to sing more." From my field notes:

¹I have not investigated the extent to which the tonality of the language influences the tonality of the song. David Rycroft found that melodic direction is correlated to speech tones in Nguni songs, contributing to tonal parallelism in polyphony (1967:98). However, Eue polyphony is not limited to parallel motion. Hornbostel states that "...pitches of the speaking voice, indeed, appear to determine the melodic nucleus; but they have no influence upon its inborn creative forces; these forces, and not any qualities of the speech, direct the further course of melodic development" (1928:58). Nketia also discusses the issue (1974:184-188)

²Songs are not composed for all Drums. Conversations with Mr. Agbeli and others indicate that it is mainly the recreational and funeral music which is actively composed today. For the others, the repertoire of songs is static, or decreasing.

³This was the opinion of several informants. They told me that though the words to a song may indicate its Drum, the musical style in itself does not.

⁴Akaya is the god of song. The term Akayano more properly refers to the song composer, who is not generally the principal lead singer. However, Novo serves as both heno and akayano for Avenorpedo Lebene Habobo.

When leading songs, Novo is in perpetual motion, stepping with the time, flexing all his joints, upper body dancing fluidly. The face is expressive, the arms gesture. The center of movement is the dancing tip of the lesi, which exaggerates his hand and arm movements. It gestures in synchrony with the beat, the words, the flow and phrasing of the song, now it cues the chorus to respond. It is the symbol of the lead singer's power and inspiration, and when holding it he is sure of his abilities. If a lesi is unavailable, Novo will even use a stick instead.

Again in contrast to the drumming group, the responsorial chorus is nonexclusive; ideally everyone sings, and people sometimes do so even while dancing or drumming. Funeral societies often incorporate rules enjoining participation; those who are sitting without singing risk being rapped by the disciplinary Cane Marshal. Singing, unlike drumming, is not the primary foundation of performance. Like dancing, it therefore provides a much greater tolerance for interpretation and personalization: idiosyncratic melodic improvisations, variable vocal style, wide intonation, and rhythmic vagaries. Hence Eue singing has a rather unaffected, artless quality.

An Eve song is much longer than most drumming variations; even the shortest songs last for at least half a dozen bell cycles, and the calls and responses are proportionately longer as well. The structure of song is more flexible than that of the drumming variation. Often the leader introduces pauses in the song by delaying his or her call by one or more bell cycles, varies sectional repeat counts, or reorders song sections.

The heno chooses the song sequence, and decides when to raise a new song. As in drumming, pacing and drama are critical. Certain portions of the performance may call for particular songs, such as the moment when the executive body of the Lebene society rises to dance. Songs must be repeated long enough for the drummers to settle into a compatible variation, but not so long as to become tedious. There is constant communication between the heno and azaguno; sometimes the lead singer asks for a new or particular variation, other times the lead drummer wants a change of pace. The two are co-conductors, although the azaguno is slightly subordinate; the heno has direct responsibility for the overall success of the Drum.

When the heno raises a new song, the group of leading singers assists in singing the new call.¹ It is important that the initial call be loud and clear, because there is no signal corresponding to the lead drum roll to indicate an imminent change, and the responsorial chorus is dispersed over a wide area.

¹In some songs the lead singer sings the opening phrase of the call solo before being joined by the others.

Once raised, each song is repeated until the next begins, or until the section comes to a close. By analogy to dancing and drumming, I call this period an episode. On average, song episodes are longer than dancing or drumming episodes, perhaps because the song is a much longer unit than the drumming variation. The singing, like the drumming, never stops during a section of the performance.

The songs sung while the drummers are active are called "drumming songs", or "vufoha". They tend to be short, and have simple, repetitive texts, because any poetic complexity would only be lost amidst the din. The quick tempo of much drumming also precludes wordy songs. Many Drums include other sections during which the main percussion section does not play, and the tempo is slower.

One such section common to many Drums is the hatsiatsia, or "selection of songs". During the hatsiatsia, longer, more elaborately texted songs are accompanied by bells only; these songs may last several minutes each. The purpose of this section is for the group to be able to listen to the lyrics, and to provide a change of pace. The bell pattern for hatsiatsia is often different from the bell pattern used during the drumming, and the tempo is slower. It is common for several bells to play simultaneously; one (gafofo) plays the basic pattern, and others (gamamla) add improvisations and variations to create a thick polyphony of bell sound.

The dancing for hatsiatsia is different too; perhaps it is wrong to call this movement dance at all. The people all gather in a big circle, and, while singing, each steps to the music in his or her own way as the circle slowly turns. People become dramatically expressive during hatsiatsia songs, illustrating the meaning of the text with gesticulations of arms, hands, and with facial expressions.

Compositionally, all Eve songs consist of a sequence of calls and responses between leaders and group, in most cases lasting under a minute. Other common characteristics, of modality, form, rhythmic character, and phrasing, create the impression of a narrowly defined style, at least in comparison to Western popular and art traditions. Even my Eve informants agreed that many Eve songs are "one way", and belong to a stylistically uniform tradition. In addition, each song is melodically homogeneous, due to repetition of rhythms and phrases. The musical style of songs within a particular Drum is even narrower, and will be considered in detail for the Eve Drum Kinka in the following chapter. Songs are thus both internally homogeneous and stylistically close to each other.

Eve songs are "monotextual"--there is but one textual line at any point in time--and the text is formally repetitive, especially in "drumming" songs. Consider the opening from Novo's "Afrika dukplo lawo" ("Leaders of Africa"):

Leaders of Africa,
God bless you all.
Long live the leaders of Africa.
You should lead your countries forever.
Long live the leaders of Africa.
You should lead your countries forever.

This entire section is then repeated before the song moves to new text. Many texts are composed of traditional Eue proverbs strung together with bits of connective text. Eue proverbs are so numerous that they are rarely repeated, but they tend to tie the song style closely to the heart of traditional Eue wisdom; in drawing close to this fount of knowledge the songs automatically draw close to each other as well.

As the fusion of music and text, songs may be ranked along an axis that runs from "musical" to "textual". Songs with long texts, especially those of hatsiatsia, are often repetitive with respect to melody, employing the same kinds of phrases over and over again, in a long sequence. The "C" section of Hufenu's songs epitomize this sort of repetition (see section on tonality and form, in the next chapter). Songs with short texts also have short melodies, but these are often more melodically inventive and coherent, and are less confined by the cadence and meter of the text.

Texts continually restate certain themes appropriate to the function of the Drum. In the case of the funeral music of Kinka, these themes invariably involve God, fate and the inexorable progression of life towards death, death and suffering, morbidity, depression, despair, and suicide; the inscrutability of the human mind and a cynical mistrust of all human motive; the necessity of family and money; the despairing acceptance of one's lot as given by God; and a few more positive subjects, such as the celebration of the formation of the group, or praise for Ghana.¹

¹Novo has also composed a few songs with Christian references, or based on Christian texts (e.g. the Lord's Prayer), in order to attract Christians to the Society. See "Mele klodzi na afeto", "Miato si le dzifo", and "Yehowa nye kplo la nye".

The meaning of song texts is both public and private. Unlike drum language, the surface meaning of the text is clear to all Eve. But the deep meaning of a text can be obscure or personal to the composer, who may not wish to reveal its secrets to anyone. In the case of old Drums, the deep meaning of texts may no longer be known. Novo told me that "you can't know the true meaning of a song; you can only hear the song and apply it to your troubles". A song text is thus able to express the shared heritage and sentiments of the group, and to unify the group through such expression, while simultaneously encoding the personal and inscrutable sentiments of its composer. Ambiguities in meaning are built into the composer's use of proverbs, so that each listener may interpret the song in his or her own way.

A thorough discussion of Eve song composition and composers would be a fine topic for a book. This thesis is primarily concerned with performance, rather than the process of creativity. However, a short background on the nature of composers and composition will help to anchor the primary facts in the reader's mind by placing them within a wider perspective.

Songs from the traditional Eve Drums, such as Atsiagbeko, Kenyo, and all religious Drums, are rarely associated with a composer. Most of the songs for these Drums are ascribed to the ancestors, and their repertoires are static, or even decreasing, as songs are forgotten.¹ The largest traditional repertory of songs must certainly be found in Afã, which contains 16 songs for each of its 256 divinations, for a total of 4096 songs.² This repertoire is fixed and unchanging.

According to Mr. Agbeli, it is principally for the recreational Drums that songs are actively composed today, especially Ageshie (whose frequently lewd songs may be composed extemporaneously), Kinka, Unity, Atsigo (also known as the Akpalu-style, after the famous Eve composer who first brought it wide popularity), and Gadzo. Since these Drums are used for funerals, they are more likely to be associated with a permanent and active group, usually a benevolent or funeral society, to which a composer may be affiliated. Also, recreational Drums tend to be more common, less venerable, and thus

¹While I was in Ghana, I tried to collect songs for the god Da, especially Da gadodo, which uses the slow 12-pulse bell. Members of Da seemed to be unable to recall the songs. At first I thought their lapse of memory mere dissimulation, for Da is fearsome, and liable to be roused by the singing of his songs. But also, perhaps in part for the same reasons, ceremonies for Da are extremely rare. Talking to several informants convinced me that in fact the memory problems were real, because the songs of Da are so seldom sung.

²When I asked a boko (member of Afa) if he would sing Afa songs, he thought I wanted him to sing all of them. "I would go mad", he replied.

more susceptible to change, than the Drums of religious or ceremonial character. The older ceremonial Drums (Atsiagbeko, Adzogbo, Kenyo, Gadodo, Kpegisu) may perhaps incorporate new songs from time to time, but the groups which perform this music engage no official composer.¹ In religious music, the composer must be careful in composing a song. If the new song is deemed inappropriate by the community, then the composer may be fined.

I interviewed twelve song composers² of various styles during my stay in Ghana. All were affiliated with a funeral group, and acted as the principal composer for the group, generating songs for particular occasions, or whenever struck by inspiration. Composers are never paid for their services--among the Eue, musicians are rarely paid individually-but rather compose out of the necessity of expression, and for fame, popularity, and the hope of immortality.³

From my composer informants, I learned that composers are not trained in song composition, nor do they aspire to the status of composer.⁴ Rather they are struck, often abruptly, by the inspiration to compose songs, which then continues to torment them throughout their lives. Novo spoke to me of the hardship he endures when a song comes to him late at night; he is unable to sleep until he has adequately worked out its melody and text. Usually compositional ability runs in families. When a composer dies, his or her compositional spirit, or inspiration, travels to a near relation. Composing is viewed as a gift from God, and from the ancestors, which cannot be refused.

This inspiration is deified as the god of singing, Akaya. In severe cases, composers may go mad from the spirit of composition. Unable to work or even sleep from the intensity of songs streaming through their minds, they may wander at large in the bush. A ceremony for Akaya can release a person from this kind of possession, or at least mitigate its

¹Mr. Agbeli once told me that songs are sometimes composed for these Drums, and another time told me that songs were no longer composed for these Drums. Out of this contradiction, I deduce that at least such composition is rare.

² In Eve, the composer is known as "akayano", "hadada", "hagla", or "hakpala", the latter meaning "song carver".

³In many songs, the text is a personal statement from the composer to the listener. Quite often, therefore, the composer inserts his or her own name in the song, like a signature. Other composers, fearing witchcraft, or "juju", fear to let their identities be known. These composers may use a pseudonym in place of their true name.

⁴However, a composer may aspire to a sanctioned position within a funeral society, even forming his or her own group in order to acquire this distinction.

effects.¹ But the urge to do nothing but sing remains strong, and composers have a reputation for laziness.

Kobla Ladzekpo (1971) also reports that

composition is not taught, but [is] considered an inherited gift. There are legends that certain people acquired the skill through supernatural forces, but in fact there are families that are known to have produced composers for two or three generations. The composer is first of all a poet who earns his reputation by the quality of his texts. His melody will be his own, but it will not change from one text to another.

Several informants agreed that Eve song style is homogeneous; "many songs are all one way, only the words change", Fred told me.² One reason is that there is little value placed on originality. In fact, anything short of outright plagiarism is condoned.³ Composers freely borrow bits of melody and text from other composer's songs, making changes where necessary to suit a different bell pattern.⁴ But mostly, the borrowing is from their own songs. Close resemblances can be seen among many of the Kinka songs presented here, especially those of the same composer. I once asked Mr. Agbeli about several Afã songs which I thought sounded very similar. He told me that they had probably been composed by the same composer.

The notion of authorship is further complicated by the fact that composers often work with assistants who help to "polish" the song, at a closed event called havolu. At the havolu, the composer teaches a new song to his or her leading singers. The group works over the song melody and text, making improvements where necessary. The havolu seems to have a triple function: (1) to teach the song to the lead singers, so that it can later be taught more easily to the entire group, (2) to polish the song, and (3) to provide forum in which important persons may voice criticisms, so that once the song has been brought out, they will have no grounds for raising objections. This group compositional effort might also account for some of the homogeneity in song style. However, at the one havolu I attended no changes were made, and subsequent interviews confirmed that any changes are nearly always minor.

¹The god Azagu stands in a similar relation to drummers, and similar ceremonies are performed for Azagu. ²Fred also thought J.K. Dunyo's Kinka songs to be stylistically more diverse than Novo's, a fact with which I am inclined to agree, and which also gives me some confidence that my judgements of uniformity accord with those of the Eve.

³Pure plagiarism is not acceptable, but it does happen. Mr. Agbeli reported to me a song which had been stolen; the new "composer" simply replaced his own name for the name of the original composer in the song text.

⁴The Ghanaian National Dance Association, of which Mr. Agbeli is chairman, discussed the possibility of copyright protection for song composers. However, for practical reasons, this seemed unlikely to come to fruition.

Mr. Agbeli told me that many songs sound nearly the same because composers don't really create something new; they build on what has already been composed. In the old days, he told me, composers had been more creative. Nowadays, melodies all resemble each other, and some composers just take an existing song and make a few changes. He told me that

All composers say that their songs are different, but the difference is really just in the words. When you judge the melody, you see they are nearly the same. When the tempo is a certain way, the melody will always be the same; if they don't sing that type of melody, it will go off time ... All composers were originally of one family.... Now this family has spread widely, but the composers still build on the same original idea... In the olden days what your father did, you do the same.

He told me that the demise of the halo may also account for this decrease in originality. The halo was a kind of battle between rival drumming groups, in which songs of insult and injury were the primary weapons. Songs and composers were therefore in great demand. But these days, the halo is considered uncivil, and its practice has virtually ceased. Mr. Agbeli also suggested that some composers don't want a distinctive style, as they are trying to hide their identity from those who might be offended by their songs.

In their article on Takada drumming and Eue dance clubs, Kobla Ladzekpo and Hewitt Pantaleoni state that

a club is formed around a composer. He invents a distinctive melody, to which he sets all of the texts he creates. When he dies, or ceases to compose for the club, his successor will use a tune of his own for new texts while the repertoire that has been learned up to then will not be changed. (1970:7)

Kobla Ladzekpo reports the same thing in another article (1971:7), quoted previously. While I did not observe an exact identity of melodies among songs by one composer, there are certainly strong resemblances among the Kinka songs I analyzed, especially within the oeuvre of a single composer. In the following chapter, I carefully analyze several compositional attributes of Kinka songs, in order to identify this homogeneity of style.

Eve songs are rarely sung exactly the same way twice. Variation takes several forms. The lead singer can often vary the order of song sections, and the number of times each one is repeated. I call this kind of variation "choice", because the variable units are large. Melodic variation arises due to improvisation, and due to varying conceptions of the song composition among the singers. Finally, there is microscopic variation at the level of intonation or timbre; Eve intonation can be quite wide, and each singer intones the song in his or her own way. Variation may occur in sequence, or simultaneously to produce

polyphony. Since the text not substantially varied, each melodic variation has the same rhythm, and polyphony is therefore homophonic.

Variance in song conception brings up the problem of norms and standards. Novo told me that each song has a normative melody: the melody that the composer originally composed. Yet even when I asked him to sing the standard melody for each of his songs, he proceeded to introduce variations. Mr. Agbeli told me that there is a true melody to each song, but that most people have forgotten it. Fred thought that there is an original and true way of singing every song, but some may never learn it, or may forget it. I concluded that any norm, should it exist, lacks force.

Eve deliberately vary song melodies for two reasons, one aesthetic, and one practical. Several informants term this variation "singing semitones". Mr. Agbeli uses the word "semitones" to refer to melodic variations. Fred told me he had learned the word in school, and that he had thought it meant "out of tune", or poor, singing, until corrected by Mr. Agbeli. Mr. Agbeli says that all Eve songs are in semitones: different parts move up and down in different ways. This "up and down" metaphor, often accompanied by a waving motion of the hand, is commonly applied to melodic variation, as if there is some true melody metaphorically indicated by a straight horizontal line. Fred said that this kind of singing improves the sound, and expresses a person's inner feeling. According to Novo, melody is varied to "enrich" the song, "make it more palatable", "add some salt to the stew". Mr. Agbeli reported that strong musical feeling gives rise to a kind of "vibration", which he expresses as melodic improvisation.

These informants also conflate melodic variation with registral designations of vocal music: bass, tenor, alto, and treble. Many Eve have been forced to endure Christian training in their schools, and so are familiar with church hymns, which employ homophonic polyphony, just like Eve songs. Novo explained to me that although traditional Eve music does not explicitly call for these vocal parts, as soon as the music begins the parts "come by themselves". For the Eve, these parts are defined not so much by their absolute register, as by their relation to each other irrespective of octave: the lowest part is considered to be "bass", and the highest a "women's" part, even if its register is in fact that of a man. Although a melody can be transposed into any register (see octave transpositional equivalence, defined in the next chapter), its position within the octave may be difficult for

¹In most songs, the parts meet at particular junctures. At these times, the parts are octave equivalent, and are fulfilling identical melodic functions. The registral separation between two parts is their separation at one of these junctures.

some people to sing. In this case, the melody can be varied: high parts brought low, or low high. Thus melodic variation arises in part out of the practical need to accommodate differing vocal ranges: once again, the uniformity of song style is tailored to the individual.

Different Drums may employ different styles of melodic variation. Novo told me that Ageshie employs "one-line harmony"; in this Drum, as in Gadzo, harmony lines tend to move in strict parallelism. In Kinka, Adzro, and Singa, on the other hand, the lines are "moving up and down". In the following chapter, I attempt to limn the character of Kinka melodic improvisations in detail.

Thus, despite the restricted compositional style of Eve songs, the style of performance offers freedom and diversity of personal expression. Eve intonation seems wide compared to Western art or popular singing; random or capricious intonational fluctuations are of little consequence. Melodies may be varied, either in sequence, or simultaneously to create polyphony, though its monotextuality tends to keep the song homophonic. At certain times, during or between songs, interjections may be appropriate. The heno can make variations at the formal level by delaying calls (the space between a response and the following call is often variable, unlike drumming) and reordering sections of a song as he or she chooses. Perhaps these features of song performance style provide an escape from the rigid confinements and repetitions of the song composition itself.

The Character of the Drum

From the preceding discussions on Eve dance, percussion, and song, the character of the Eve Drum should become more clear. At this point I pause to reflect on the order, symmetry, interdependence, and homogeneity of these three components of the Drum.

Through all three runs the unifying thread of the bell and the beat, sonically realized in pure form by the static ostinato percussion parts, bell, rattle, and kagan. These parts provide the overarching ethos of repetition common to the three, and ensure the fundamental unity of the event.

Each component is highly ordered and articulated in its compositional aspect; individual songs and rhythms are internally repetitive and homogeneous, and closely related in style. There is a loose coupling, homomorphism, and interdependence between the drumming variations, songs, and dance. The formal structure of each component is hierarchical. The call/response pair, and the basic Eue movement form the elementary particles. Call/response pairs are joined in a fixed compositional format to create songs or drumming

variations. These constituents are repeated during performance to form episodes of dancing, singing, and drumming which respond to each other. The structure is repetitive, integrated, ordered, and homogeneous.

Yet there is great freedom of individual expression, especially in the singing and dancing, at the level of performance style. These variations take the form of choices by the lead drummer or singer, melodic and rhythmic improvisation by singers and drummers, personalization of the dance movements, and microscopic fluctuations in intonation or timing (especially by the kagan).

The following diagrams illustrate some of these relationships, homologies, and patterns schematically.

Kinka

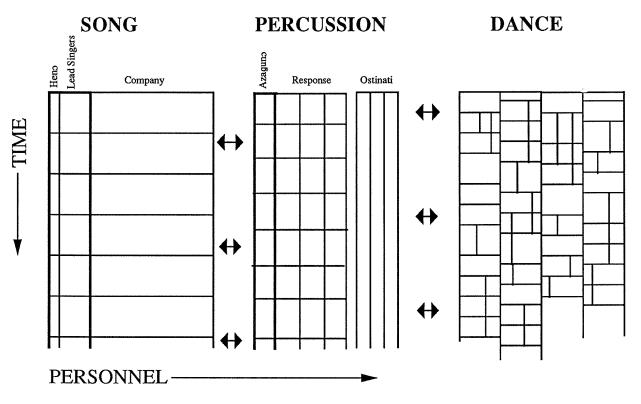
The Kinka Drum

In 1952 the first Eve benevolent society in the Accra area was formed at Tema, with Kinka as the principal Drum.¹ Despite a profusion of older members, the society is still called the "Eve Youth Association". Kinka is often described as a Drum of the youth. These youth are not the youth of today--people of all ages take part in Kinka--but rather the young "upstarts" who first introduced the Drum. The fact that they can still be called the youth attests to the relative infancy of this Drum; Kinka is certainly not "of the ancestors", and thus falls into the recreational category. Apparently acceptance of the new Drum came only slowly; Fred said that those Eve currently over sixty years of age tend to prefer older Drums, yet Fred and others also told me that Kinka is approximately fifty years old.

Novo told me that Kinka was brought to his home village of Avenorpedo around 1957 by the great composer, J.K. Dunyo (no relation to Fred Dunyo), now deceased. Dunyo apparently learned Kinka at Tsiame, and at that time the people of Kutsime were also playing it. In an interview, the chairman of the Avenorpedo Lebene Habobo, Mr. Franklin Aheto, explained to me that Kinka was derived from two older Drums, Gahu, and Oleke, over fifty years ago. He said that Kinka was brought from the town of Sademe to Avenorpedo by a man named Bali, then lead drummer of the Avenorpedo

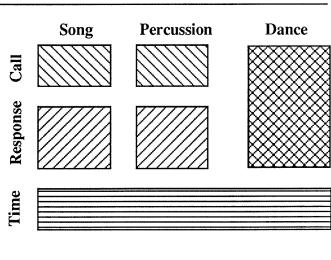
¹The following information was given to me by informants in Tema, and was corroborated by Fred and others in Ashaiman.

The Performance Structure of an Eve Drum



In the upper diagram, vertical lines indicate ensemble groupings; horizontal lines indicate episode boundaries. There may be any number of dance episodes going on simultaneously; these are not synchronized. However, drumming and song episodes occur sequentially.

There is a loose connection among the three components, in terms of style and pacing, indicated by the horizontal arrows. A new drumming episode may trigger a new song, or dance. Conversely, a new song may cause the drumming to change. Drumming and song may also share linguistic attributes.



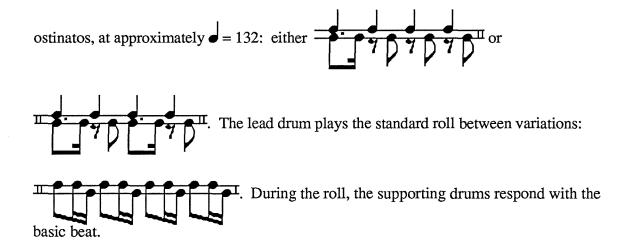
The diagram below shows how Locke's functional categories--Call, Response, and the Time-intersect the ensemble categories of song, percussion, and the dance. The Time permeates all aspects of the Drum; Call and Response is primarily an attribute of song and percussion. In dance there are no explicit call and response groups, although dancers react to each other informally.

benevolent society in Avenorpedo, and currently lead drummer for Lebene. When Lebene was first formed, it was natural for them to adopt Kinka as well.

The Lebene society performs drumming, dancing, and singing at funerals of its members. At these events, the Kinka Drum is the centerpiece among a suite of Drums. In the following section I will describe the elaborate plan for such a funeral. At this point I want to discuss the Kinka Drum more thoroughly. My description is based upon the practice of Lebene and other similar societies in the Ashaiman/Tema area.

The drumming ensemble consists of the standard Eve set augmented by atsimevu and boba. The boba is an extremely stout drum, with a very large drum head and a booming bass voice that can be felt as much as heard, like the bass guitar. Atsimevu is the lead drum, and sogo, kidi, and boba respond.

During the "drumming" section of Kinka, the bells and rattles play one of two 16-pulse



Fred told me that in the Lebene society there are from 36 to 50 standard drumming variations in the active repertoire. Many others exist, he said, but drummers do not always recall them. Some of them have well-known drum language.

In the drumming section of Kinka, the deep-voiced boba is a playful joker. Its roguish role is often cited as the primary distinguishing characteristic of the Drum, perhaps because this role is so unusual. When the lead drum first introduces a new variation, the boba responds ordinarily. After briefly playing a few restrained and sober improvisations, the lead drum becomes quiescent, handing the baton to boba, so to speak, who immediately moves away away from the ordinary response, developing instead playfully free and

variegated improvisations which incorporate both call and response. After improvising for some time, the boba settles back into the normal response, and the atsimeou again takes up the call.

The atsimeou and boba alternately take center stage during each drumming episode, until the lead drummer decides to move on to a new variation. These two drums thus converse both in the ordinary call/response fashion, and in their alternation of improvisational speech. This latter kind of dialogue seems to be unique to Kinka, and is largely responsible for the Drum's great popularity. Mr. Franklin Aheto, chairman of the Lebene society, explained that "Kinka has advantages over other Drums. The rhythm is very lively with the youth of today, more than the traditional agbadza. The music gives the youth more interest. Kinka is more dynamic, partly because boba gives a sort of force."

Novo is the resident composer for the Lebene Habobo, having succeeded his late mentor and elder brother J.K. Dunyo about six years ago. All of the songs sung for Lebene Kinka performances seem to have been composed by one of the two men. These days, the group sings mostly Novo's songs. This pattern seems to be typical for Kinka and other recreational or funeral Drums: an in-house composer provides all of the songs. Each group's Kinka is therefore a little bit different. However, all of the Kinka songs which I heard are stylistically very close to each other. The relative styles of different composers' Kinka songs is studied in detail in the following chapter.

The Drum begins with a few songs sung by the heno and his assistants as they circle the dancing area. These are sung in free time, without the bell. This action calls attention to the fact that Kinka is about to start, and the gathering crowd begins to pay attention. Novo told me that he always begins a bit slowly, because the tempo tends to accelerate when the drumming gets underway. When he is ready to begin the drumming, the heno stands in front of the percussion ensemble, and sings a song to bring them in. Usually Novo opens the drumming with Dunyo's short song, "Nyea me le alɔ̃me" ("I was sleeping"), which describes the composer's receipt of a song through dream:

I was sleeping,
When the song called me.
I was sleeping,
When the song called me.
I'm going to sing the Kinka song.
I was sleeping,
When the song called me.
I'm going to sing the Kinka song.
I was sleeping,
When the song called me.

After singing the song once or twice, he turns to face the drummers, and begins again, in strict time, waving his lesi with vigor, and whipping its tip in their direction at the end of his call. The bell, rattle, and atsikogo players pick up at the beginning of the response, and the Kinka drumming commences with an introduction called adzowowo.

In adzowowo, kidi and sogo do not play, but atsimevu and boba run through some variations, rather like an overture to what will follow. The heno continues to lead songs until he signals that the adzowowo is to end. At this point, the atsimevu begins to play a special call which brings in the response drums, the rattle players shake their rattles in the air, and there is a general commotion which precludes singing.

When the hubbub subsides, the heart of Kinka is underway, and the songs begin again. The lead drummer plays a roll, and the support drummers go into their waiting pattern, waiting for the first variation. The lead drummer chooses a sequence of variations, one after another, in coordination with the song sequence. After the drumming and singing has gone on for thirty minutes to one hour, the heno signals that the drummers should close, with a blow on his whistle. The lead drummer plays a special ending pattern, to signal that the response parts should cut out, and the second adzowowo begins, this time as a coda. After a couple of minutes the lead drum plays the ending pattern again, and the drumming, singing, and dance all cease.

During the "music" section, the bell returns to its original 16-pulse pattern, but slightly slower than during the drumming section. "Music" and "drumming" songs are

interchangeable, being based on the same bell pattern, but the music songs are longer and textually more elaborate, though not quite as long as in hatsiatsia. People gather and turn in a circle while singing "music" songs, as in hatsiatsia. But, unlike hatsiatsia, there is sporadic drumming during music, especially on the small parteka drum (parteka is a corruption of the English "part taker"); sometimes the boba or atsimeou briefly chime in, but there is no ongoing drumming.

The Lebene Kinka Funeral

The Kinka funeral as performed by the Avenorpedo Lebene Habobo is an elaborate event, consisting of suite of Drums, well-balanced in their pacing and order, together with ritualistic speeches and actions. Episodes of Kinka drumming are interspersed with other Drums, whose tempo and character are chosen so as to provide variation.

The Eve retain strong connections to their home village, and are nearly always buried there. The transport of the body, family and friends to the home village is the major cost of a funeral. Lebene plays every month when someone has died, and with over 600 members someone is likely to die at least every other month. When a member dies, the group soon convenes to play Agbadza at the home of the deceased, then travels *en masse* to the home village for the funeral proper, and plays the full Kinka funeral. On the Saturday preceding the first Sunday of the next month which is not already so scheduled, they play an Agbadza "wakekeeping" from 2pm until about 8pm. The following day, the group plays a Kinka funeral from 2pm until 6pm. If the deceased is not a member, but rather is a member's child or parent, then Agbadza only is played on Sunday. In this section I describe the program for the Kinka funeral.

The Executive body of the group, consisting of the chairman, vice-chairman, treasurer, secretary, assistant secretary, funeral advisors, women leaders, trustees, organizing secretaries, master drummer, and lead singer, retains ultimate control of the event. They monitor the progress of the funeral, especially with respect to time constraints, and signal the heno when they want to change the program, or switch sections.

The heno is the front-line commander, leading the songs, signalling sectional transitions with a blow on his whistle, starting new sections, and making judgements about pacing

¹Traditionally, and in Eue villages today, a "wakekeeping" is held the night before a funeral. This performance begins around 10pm or 11pm, and continues until dawn. But in the cities thieves, apprised of these events, used to rob the houses of group members during the night. Accordingly, in Ashaiman "wakekeepings" now occur during the afternoon.

and tempo. The heno begins each Drum as described earlier for Kinka, first singing a few songs in free time, and then bringing in the drumming with a wave of his or her lesi.

Nearly equal to the heno in responsibility is the master drummer, or azaguno, whose primary job is to lead the drummers in an appropriate sequence of variations, and ensure that no one falters. Both the lead singer and lead drummer must always be vigilant, openeared and open-eyed, in a state of continuous hyperawareness. It is their duty to lead and coordinate the singing and drumming, and to correct any mistakes promptly, so that the integrity of the event is not endangered. Their roles require a complete and deep knowledge of the music, and a keen sensitivity to its guiding aesthetics.

The funeral begins with a short, informal prelude of Kinka drumming, both in order to signal that the funeral is about to begin, and to draw a crowd. When the executive body decides that the funeral can properly begin, all drumming ceases. One of the elders or executive members delivers a short prayer, and an alcoholic libation, usually gin or schnapps, is poured for the gods.

Next the heno gathers his leading singers, and begins singing for Afã, the god of divination. After a few songs, he signals for the fast Afã drumming to commence. Ten minutes or so later, fast Afã is brought to a close, and the heno brings in slow Afã in a similar manner. Nearly all traditional performances begin with a libation and at least a token quantity of Afã drumming; this gesture demonstrates respect and deference to this most important Eue god, in order to bless the event and ensure its success. Following slow Afã comes a fast recreational Drum called Adzro.

Now the Kinka drumming begins. The heno begins to circle the dancing area, singing Kinka songs freely, and flourishing his lesi. When he feels the time has come to start Kinka, he stops in front of the drummers, and calls a song (usually "Nyea me le alɔ̃me") in strict time, signalling the drummers to enter at the beginning of the first response. This begins adzowowo, as described above. The drumming section of Kinka is played for half and hour or so, followed by the hatsiatsia and "music" sections.

At this point Lebene may present what they call a "cultural display": a bit of theatrical dancing and drumming for the entertainment of the crowd. Usually these pieces take the form of a dance drama, often in scenes of lovers' quarrels and reconciliation.

The cultural display is followed by a Drum "of the forefathers", the stately Singa. The funeral closes with another section of Kinka, including drumming, hatsiatsia, music, and a

final drumming section, if time permits (Lebene funerals always close at 6pm sharp). More often the funeral is running late, and closes with Kinka drumming only. I summarize the complete funeral sequence below (optional sections are enclosed in brackets):

ALH Kinka Funeral Program

Informal Kinka drumming prelude
Libation
Fast Afã
Slow Afã
Adzro
Kinka drumming
Kinka hatsiatsia
Kinka music
[Cultural display]
Singa
[Kinka drumming
Kinka hatsiatsia
Kinka drumming
Kinka hatsiatsia
Kinka hatsiatsia
Kinka music]
Kinka drumming

Chapter 5: The Tonal Character of Kinka Songs

In attempting to depict the style of Eue expression, I am successively increasing the magnification of my analytical eye. From general considerations of the Eue performance, to a more narrow synopsis of the Kinka funeral, I turn now to a concentrated study of the tonal characteristics of 47 Kinka songs, composed by three prominent Eue composers: J.K. Dunyo, Hufenu K. Megbenya, and Emmanuel Kwasi Afornorfe, popularly known as Novo.

In this chapter, I rigorously describe the reductions used to prepare song transcriptions, and provide a detailed road-map for their interpretation. The transcriptions themselves are presented in the **Appendix**. I develop the theory of tonemes in particularly great detail, because it is the basis for the analysis which follows, and because I believe it has inherent value beyond its application to Kinka songs in the present work.

I performed the technical analyses contained in this chapter in order to lend rigorous support to my claims that while Eue compositional style is unified, performance style is tolerant of diversity, permitting the individual to project his or her own inner feelings through music and dance. Although the technical musical analysis presented here is quite different in character from the analysis of the previous chapter, the aim is the same in both cases.

As the length of this chapter shows, rigorous technical analysis can quickly become overwhelming in its complexity, and in the sheer quantity of data produced. I therefore limited myself to a narrow swath of Kinka songs, considered primarily in their tonal aspect. Even so, the analysis presented here is simplistic, and barely scratches the surface of the possible. Nevertheless, I believe it adds to our understanding of the Eve performance.

The Composers

I have no information regarding the origin of J.K. Dunyo's compositional abilities. Together with lead drummer Bali, J.K. Dunyo brought Kinka to Avenorpedo in the early 1950s. From at least this time until his death in 1983, Dunyo was a sanctioned song composer at first for the Kinka group in Avenorpedo, and later for the Avenorpedo Lebene Habobo in Ashaiman.

Upon Dunyo's death, his principal assistant and younger brother¹ Novo (b. 1949) took over full responsibility as the principal composer and heno for the Lebene society. By that time Novo had already been composing for four years, but as the assistant to Dunyo, he signed his master's name to these songs (e.g. "Kinka tonu glawo"). He reported to me that he had begun composing suddenly around the age of 29. He complains of being awakened in the night by new songs, which will not leave him alone until he has worked out their text and melody. However, he never recounted to me any episode of Akayapossession. He has composed about 50 songs for Kinka, in "drumming", "music", and "hatsiatsia" styles.

Dunyo's other descendant and musical heir was Hufenu. The extraordinary² manner by which Hufenu began to compose is typical of the lineal succession of Akaya. One night shortly after Dunyo's death Hufenu disappeared from his house, and could not be located. In the morning he was found lying on Dunyo's grave, unable to recall how or why he had come there. But immediately thereafter the young man began to compose songs so moving that he soon acquired a prodigious reputation, and became the principal composer for the Avenorpedo Kinka group.

Framework for Notation and Analysis of Music

Upon the abstract foundations already laid, I now proceed to build a specifically musical framework for analysis. First, I define several kinds of musical equivalence relations, or reductions. Using these terms, I will develop, and attempt to justify, a sequence of reductions which lead from raw sound to notation to deeper levels of analysis. The preceding abstractions will make it possible to define these terms very precisely.

At the core of this thesis is an analysis of the tonal system of Eve songs. The process of tonal analysis begins with a close examination of tone: the "microanalysis" of tone. Studying such details might seem frivolous. In truth, most scholars do study foreign cultures through analyses of their perceptible and large-scale features. Such "macroanalysis" is fruitful because it considers cultural constructs in their entirety. In microanalysis, on the other hand, one aims to study near-imperceptible details: the microscopic structure of some particular aspect of culture. Inspection and careful

¹The Eve use the terms "brother" and "sister" to refer to a broad category of male and female relations. Novo and Dunyo were not closer than cousin.

²Even my Eue informants told it as a "strange but true" sort of story.

consideration of such details assists in delineating higher structure without introducing subjective biases.

Further, in the details of culture may be found structure which applies equally to the whole: in the smallest detail we may find a partial map of the universe. And such detail, because it is inconspicuous, is always ingenuous and unselfconsciously present, waiting to be interpreted. Thus, such microanalysis may be one of the shortest paths to a deeper understanding of culture.

Because they may pass below the threshold of conscious consideration, such minutiae are especially liable to be misinterpreted by the analyst who is biased by his or her own cultural viewpoint. But cultural biases can be overcome, to a certain degree, by viewing the data from a completely different angle (e.g. using graphical displays), thereby shocking oneself into awareness of its natural structure.

Tonal Elements

Having for some time considered Eve tonal structures, including intonation, pitch set, modal characteristics, and polyphony, I concluded that my work could not proceed until I had defined the elementary particles of the tonal system, the alphabet of tonality, as it were. But how to do this was far from clear.

Generally speaking, vocal music, along with the music produced by instruments with continuously variable pitch, presents great problems to the tonal analyst, for the range of possible pitches is infinite, both in number, and in density. Even in practice, though all possible pitches are not used, the full pitch set consists of finite strips of the full sound continuum, and still contains infinitely many tones.

These facts stand in stark opposition to the intuitive conviction that music is composed of a discrete and finite set of tones, at least at the level of intention and significance. But how to decide what is intended, what is significant?

The problem is even more difficult in musical cultures free of any kind of authority or public standard which determines the normative pitch set.¹ Otherwise, though the range of pitch in practice be infinite, at least one could have recourse to the standard. But the Eue have no authorities or public standards for musical pitch within their traditional culture.

¹E.g., in Western art music, A_4 =440 Hz.

Further, the Eve do not employ any melody instruments in their traditional repertoire. In many African societies, melodic instruments, such as the mbira, xylophone, lyre, and flute, call attention to the problems of tuning and pitch.¹ These instruments also perhaps provide a tonal guide for singing, especially when accompanying song.² However, Eve singing is accompanied by bells, rattles, and drums.

It is hard enough to make sense of pitch continua in their objective reality. But, complicating the situation still further are one's own subjective prejudices, which tend to bias interpretations of pitch towards one's cultural norms. In my case, many years of working at the piano had produced a strong equal-temperament conditioning. In transcribing Eve songs, I found that pitches were falling betwen the semitones, and that I tended to "round" these aberrant pitches to the nearest semitone, the same as I would do for an out-of-tune piano. But certain melodic tones fluctuated unaccountably, particularly between the second and third degrees of the diatonic scale. Was this fluctuation significant? Or merely an artifact of my own perception? How should I notate it?

To solve the problem of pitch continua, I decided to rely on statistical methods, which I hoped would definitively highlight patterns in tonal structure. As for the problem of subjective bias I again followed the path of science, and resorted to the computer. The experimental work which followed proceeded out of an *a priori* theoretical groundwork of definitions and assumptions which seems to be general enough to capture the notion of "significant tone".

My goals were three: to develop a musically reasonable definition for tone and intonational variation, to formulate a method by which to measure these quantities, and to apply this method to Eve songs.

For the purposes of this thesis, I define a *tone* to be the same as a pitch: a psychoacoustic quantity which is approximately isomorphic to the physically measurable quantity, fundamental frequency.³

By analogy to the phoneme, and other similar neologisms, I define a *toneme* to be the set of tones which are musically equivalent, in terms of their intention for the sound producer, or

¹See, for instance, Paul Berliner's descriptions of Shona mbira tuning and tonality (1978).

² It would be fascinating to measure the correlation of vocal style with instrumental accompaniment (or lack thereof). I did attempt to correlate absolute pitch of Eue songs with the accompanying bell pitch, but the results were inconclusive.

³The exact relationship of pitch and fundamental frequency is complicated, and depends on other factors as well, such as intensity. See Gerald M. Murch (1973).

meaning for the sound perceiver.¹ That is, tones in the same toneme can be substituted for each other without changing the intention or meaning of the musical passage.²

Since meaning (or intention) in music occurs at many different levels, from subtle nuances of inflection to structural keystones, the equivalence which defines the toneme can occur on many different levels as well. For this reason, tonemes are more problematic than phonemes. But between the extremes ("two tones are equivalent which have exactly the same intonational hue", "two tones are equivalent if they satisfy the same musical gesture") is the natural domain of what we often call "pitch set", or scale. At this level, the number of tonemes ranges from about two to twelve, and if the tones in a musical passage are exchanged for toneme equivalents, the passage retains its basic identity, if not its exact character.³ Whether this natural level of structure really exists can only be determined by studying the mind of a producer or perceiver of music. Since direct access to the mind is, at present, denied, I resort instead to an analysis of the audible data.

The basis for defining classes of tones as the fundamental significant units of pitch is that in music, as in speech, there is more than one way to render the same musical statement into sound, while preserving its meaning. We never sing a song exactly the same way twice. Yet the differences are not all imperceptible, either. When two pitches are sufficiently close together, they are considered to be identical in terms of their basic meaning (though perhaps differing in nuance). It is this idea of identity which the definition of toneme aims to capture. Different tones within a toneme may be perceptually distinct. Though such intonational variants may carry slightly different shades of meaning, their overall meaning remains the same.

Each toneme thus represents a unified tonal intention for the creator of sound, and has a unified tonal meaning for the perceiver of the sound. The operative toneme set may vary according to the particular constellation of individual, musical style, and context. I assume

¹This equivalence of pitch is not necessarily an exact equivalence relation (consider the transitive law). At the risk of creating confusion, this definition of toneme could be stated more precisely. The toneme could also be defined to be sensitive to musical context; some tones which are equivalent in one context are not equivalent in others. Finally, tonemes ought to be defined as transpositionally equivalent for most applications. However, I will ignore these complexities for now.

²Intention and meaning might lead to different definitions of toneme. However, one would expect that the pitch equivalence would be unique for each person; since the producer is also a perceiver, intention and meaning must lead to the same equivalence for the producer. In general, I assume there is no difference between the two.

³For each natural level of tonal significance in music, one could define a different level of toneme, thus creating a hierarchy of tonemes in which every toneme contains either elementary tones, or tonemes of the next lower level.

that the toneme set remains constant at least over a particular performance of a particular song.¹

Unlike an ordinary equivalence class, the individual tones in a toneme do not necessarily represent the class equally. Certain highly representative tones may constitute a normative tone set, while others may be barely admissable, being considered rather "out of tune". To model this situation, I extend the definition of toneme to include a distribution function defined on the individual tones of the toneme, which gives, for each tone, its relative degree of representation in the toneme. One could interpret this function as a probability distribution, although the procedure of picking a tone to represent a particular toneme is only partially probabilistic. In any case, the distribution function describes the nature of intonational variation within the toneme.²

Formally, then, a toneme is defined to be a class of equivalent tones, which contains all tones equivalent to any tone of the class³, together with a distribution function giving the relative degree of representation for each tone in the class, given a particular constellation of personnel, musical style, place, and time. The toneme set is the collection of all operative tonemes, i.e. (in the technical language of **Foundations**, above) the factorization of the pitch continuum over the equivalence of tone significance.

Pitch set, by contrast, is a collection of the specific frequencies which are operative in a specific context. Such a thing may or may not exist, because the units of tone may not be reducible to a set of definite frequencies. If specific pitch norms can be shown to exist, then the notion of pitch set may have some relevance. However, the toneme set is more generally applicable than pitch set. In most traditional vocal music, the existence of pitch set is impossible to prove; it is one aspect of "interior" music. But the fuzzy nature of the toneme allows it to be applied more easily.

The existence of pitch set is closely tied to the existence of normative tonal regions within each toneme. Such regions might not be specific pitches, but rather narrow frequency bands which function (mentally) as tonal target areas. Targets, should they exist, ought to

¹This is not so unreasonable. A constant toneme set requires only that there be some fixed possible universe of tonemes, out of which the currently operative set is drawn. This is the distinction drawn by Harold Powers between *eschelles generales*, and *gammes particulaire* in his article on Mode in The New Groves (Powers 1980).

²Musical context probably accounts for a large proportion of intonational variation (e.g. when the leading tone of Western art music is slightly raised in ascent). When musical context is a strong determinant of pitch, I introduce distinct tonemes (or subtonemes) for each context.

³A toneme without this "maximal" property might contain only one tone, even though plenty of other tones were equivalent to that tone.

correspond with a sharp peak in the toneme distribution function. If there is but one target in a toneme (as one might expect), then the toneme distribution function ought to be unimodal (i.e. contain a single peak).

If tonemes are the meaningful atoms of the tonal system, song, as a composition, is a set of tendencies, probabilities, or "rules" for creating sequences of tonemes.¹ These tendencies circumscribe a potential set of toneme sequences, or lines. Song performance, being the instantiation of the compositional prototype, entails the selection of a particular sequence of tonemes, as derived from the rules or probabilities, and the instantiation of each toneme by singing one of its constituent tones.

The listener applies a set of tonemic categories, constructed as a result of conditioning, expectation, and the ongoing sound, to each tone as it is perceived, and sorts these tones into the tonemes. If the listener's categories cross those of the performer, then an interpretation will result which is erroneous from the point of view of the performer's intention. In this collision of categories, musical communication breaks down. Among members of the same culture and community, it may be safe to assume that the performer's and perceiver's toneme sets are the same. In Eve song, the performers and perceivers are the same group. But in cross-cultural studies, the risks of misinterpretation are real.²

Reduction to Notation

Music can often be changed in certain ways without altering its basic character. These changes are related to equivalence relations which identify the original and the changed version as one and the same.

The principle of octave equivalence is perhaps the best known of these. It is ingrained in the Western musical nomenclature for the diatonic scale, in which pitch names repeat at octave intervals. Octave equivalence states that tones (or tonemes) which differ by an integral number of octaves are equivalent. This equivalence is an equivalence relation. Factoring the spectrum by octave equivalence leads to the serialist's pitch classes.³

¹The idea that a song is a set of "rules" for generating sequences, rather than a definite sequence, is intended to indicate the fundamental unity of a set of song-variations, or melodic embellishments: all variants are generated by the same rule set.

generated by the same rule set. ²Gerhard Kubik discusses several examples of this sort of breakdown in tonal communications in his review of African tone systems (1985:46-48).

³In practice, registral characteristics and limitations of human hearing limit octave equivalence to a frequency band. This limitation applies to other similar equivalences discussed in the paragraphs below.

Yet what does octave equivalence really mean? Is it operative in our cognitive faculties, and, if so, in what sense? There is a sameness among all notes which are separated from each other by an integral number of octaves. Yet it is not true that any pitch in a pitch class can substitute for any other in any context. A melody can easily be rendered unrecognizable if its tones are freely octave-shifted (i.e. each tone is independently moved up or down by any number of octaves). Contour is an important feature of melody which is destroyed when tones are individually shifted by octaves. If instead of shifting individual tones, we shift contiguous sequences of tones, then we find that the longer the sequence, the more recognizable the result.

According to the theory of tonemes, each piece of music is constructed from a reservoir of tonemes, called the toneme set. If octave equivalence is assumed to hold, then each toneme becomes a toneme class, i.e. a class of tonemes which differ by an integral number of octaves. However, I argued above that octave equivalence is not generally valid in considering melodic form. A somewhat weaker, but more useful, property of the toneme set is what I call octave replication, which states that if a toneme x is a member of a particular toneme set, then so is any other toneme, y, such that x differs from y by some integral number of octaves. This property is not founded on an equivalence, but is merely a structural feature of the set.

While equivalence is not usually ascribed to any intervals other than octaves and their multiples, toneme sets may replicate at any interval. The octatonic scale replicates at the minor third, the whole tone scale at the major second; other scales may replicate at intervals bigger than an octave.

Another commonly known equivalence is what I call transpositional equivalence: any piece of music may be rigidly transposed by a fixed interval without altering its fundamental character. This equivalence is limited by considerations of register and absolute pitch, but within certain limits music is routinely transposed in order to accommodate particular instrumental or vocal ranges, or for no particular reason.

If a piece of music consists of several lines or parts, then each line or part may be octaveshifted in its entirety relative to other lines without destroying the musical essence. This I call octave transpositional equivalence. It differs from transpositional equivalence in that the transposition is not of the piece as a whole, but rather of its various lines relative to each other. It differs from octave equivalence in that the contours of each line or part are preserved.

Using the above concepts, along with some new ones, I can now precisely define the reductions used to take sound to notation, and beyond into analysis. Only by making these reductions absolutely explicit can I open myself to the critical review necessary to validate this work.

Transcription is usually the ethnomusicologist's first step towards musical analysis.¹ Further, it seems to me that the transcription *itself* is analysis. Transcription is reduction, and reduction is tacitly analytical. So transcription ought to be a legitimate representation of musical structure. In the following paragraphs, I describe the sequence of reductions representing my transcription process, and attempt to validate each one as a tool for the investigation of musical structure (at least within the context of Kinka).

I began with a corpus of song performances, which varied greatly in personnel, melodic features, accompaniment, and text. I observed a natural equivalence in performance identity: some performances were considered "the same" in the sense that they represented the same song. Although Eue songs are not formally titled, the first line of text is often used as an identification. In general, I found that identity of text combined with a rough identity in musical form, both temporal and tonal, accorded with the Eue notion of "the same song". ² Thus the universe of Eue song performances is reduced to a much smaller set of song classes.

But these classes, aggregates of performances, are defined too vaguely to be susceptible to transcription and analysis. The song classes are extensional, vague and descriptive; they do not specify how to generate new instances. In order to notate songs, we must seek for more exact equivalence relations, which lead to succinct and intensional reductions. In other words, we need to find the patterns which unify the song class. It is these patterns which will be reflected in the transcription.

Eve songs are sung by groups of people, each of whom can only sing one tone at a time. Therefore, nothing could be more natural than to reduce each song performance to a set of

¹It is not easy to explain why this is so. Certainly until the advent of manageable recording equipment there was no other way. But even with the wide availability of technologically advanced sound storage and retrieval technology, notation and transcription continue to flourish. It seems that the static, two-dimensional visual domain provides an analytic advantage over the purest sound recording. Perhaps when sound recordings can easily be reproduced, annotated, reduced, indexed, and included in published papers and books as easily as printed diagrams, the transcription will lose some of its hegemony.

²Similar texts can occur in combination with different melodies, and very similar melodies might have different texts. But there are gray areas. I heard songs with very similar melody and texts sung within different Drums with different beats and bell patterns.

melodic lines, each performed by a single individual.¹ At any point in time, each line is a sound complex, heard by human beings as a single tone. In general this tone is known to be isomorphic to fundamental frequency.² Hence, at each point in time I reduce each line to its fundamental tone (as I perceive it). Thus each song in the song class becomes reduced to a set of monophonic lines, each characterized by a particular tone at each point in time.

In Eue performance, each song is repeated many times. All Eue song performances evince the basic repetitive form AAA...A (with varying numbers of A's) but, depending on the song, sometimes in a more elaborate way, such as abcbabbccbaabbccba... In the latter case, subsections repeat within the overall repetition of a basic pattern (abcb).³

Here I must face my earlier conundrum: what is a repeat? No repetition is exact. But if two sections can be substituted for each other without changing the character of the song, I consider them the same. The evidence for such substitution lies in the songs themselves. Suppose I have three song performances, consisting of the forms AA, AAA, and AAAAA (where each occurrence of A represents more-or-less the same musical material).

Now suppose that upon closer inspection the variations among these A sections appear to follow a definite pattern of alternation, so that the forms for these three performances can be notated as XY, XYX, and XYXYX. Although A can be either X or Y, A seems not to be freely selected at each repetition, but rather is constrained to follow the alternating pattern. This statistical fact implies that X and Y are formally distinct, and not interchangeable. But if there are no such patterns, if each occurrence of A seems to be independently drawn from the same set of possibilities, then I infer a rule for this song class: any number of repetitions of A is a potential member of the class, where A is subject to processes of performance variation that I have not yet identified.

Within a song class, many song performances are the same except for the number of times the basic song form (here indicated as "A") is repeated. After listening to many Eve song performances, I concluded that although these repeats involve variation, variations do not follow any particular patterns from section to section: they are independent. This suggests

¹I sometimes call this form of reduction "object reduction" because it indicates the composition of a thing in terms of its constituent objects without really reducing total information. This process is equivalent to the superposition of the reduction on the original thing: the reduction indicates the outline of component objects, in this case, the individual parts.

²In certain cases the perceived fundamental is not the same as the fundamental frequency (Murch 1973:158).

³Here, my use of the formal letter "A" to represent the entire song form is different from its use in the following chapter, where it denotes the first section of a song.

the principal of formal equivalence, which states that any number of repeats of these basic sections are equivalent, and hence potential members of the song class. This equivalence reduces each performance to an unordered reservoir of variations on A which can be arbitrarily repeated in any order.

Furthermore, I have observed from transcriptions, listening, and from singing instruction that there is little difference between sequential and simultaneous variation. If a solo singer sings a song, and repeats it with certain variations, then these two melodic strands can be superimposed in one polyphonic performance, and the result still belongs to the same song class. Conversely, a polyphonic performance can be separated into its constituent lines, and these lines strung together, end to end.¹ This suggests that there is no substantial difference between polyphony and sequential variation.

Combining the principle of formal equivalence with the preceding observation, a song performance of the form AAA...A can be "collapsed" by superimposing the polyphony of each repetition. That is, the performance becomes a bundle of lines, each of duration equal to A. In performance, this A section is repeated over and over by selecting and singing any subset of the bundle for each repetition.

Comparing different performances of the same song, I also conclude that transpositional equivalence applies, because different performances are often the same, aside from absolute pitch, once the formal reduction of the preceding paragraph has been applied. The same holds for octave transpositional equivalence, since it is immaterial whether a song is sung by a man and a woman an octave apart, or by two women in the same register. Thus, each line of the bundle may be individually transposed any number of octaves, and the bundle as a whole may be transposed any interval at all, without fundamentally changing the song.

For each bundle, I apply tonemic analysis, as described earlier, to arrive at a discrete set of characteristic tonemes. I then transform each line from a sound continuum to a discrete series of discrete tonemes, by marking the time axis at all syllabic boundaries, and toneme transitions. The premisses here are two. First, that syllables are the universal components of speech, and so their boundaries must be significant. Second, that since tonemes have

¹There are a few caveats to this principle that polyphony and sequential melodic variation are the same. In group singing some singers may carry the standard melody (if such a thing exists), allowing others to improvise more freely. The solo singer may want to stick to the standard melody, because what he or she sings is all that is heard. On the other hand, Mr. Agbeli told me that there is a tendency in less experienced groups for all the singers to follow each other, creating a less varied texture, while a solo singer, with no group to follow, will tend to branch out. I have recordings of all four cases.

been determined according to their musical significance, toneme transitions must be significant.¹

Eve music is defined by several periodic rhythms, including the bell, beat, and kagan. These patterns together define a pulse: a fine partition of the time axis. Empirically, nearly all of the marks (as determined by syllabic boundaries and toneme transitions) are very close in time to one of these pulses. I take this fact to be more than coincidental, and so assume that all marks are *intended* to fall on pulses. Thus I justify rounding each mark to the nearest pulse.² These marks carve up the time axis into a sequence of discrete segments, and each segment is associated with a toneme.

Now I transpose (by transpositional equivalence) the bundles of lines for each song class so that they come into maximum alignment with each other. It is always possible to identify one or more tones which clearly serve the same function in each performance--an initial or final, for instance. Then the transposition brings these into alignment with each other.³

Different performances in the song class may have been assigned different toneme sets. If the differences are minor, the tonemes can be readjusted to coincide; after all, the determination of a toneme for a group is an approximation in the first place. If the differences are major, then the two performances must be kept separated.⁴

Eve songs are rarely sung the same way twice. Everyone makes modifications, and varies the melody at each repetition in performance. Does every Eve song actually have a principal, normative melody? Musical norms are essentially interior; they are manifested in sound only when a majority agree to use the norm. But as the Eve do not always do so, so the question is difficult to answer. Both Novo and Mr. Agbeli told me that an authoritative, correct melody exists for every song. But singers, accustomed to particular melodic

¹Note that syllabic boundaries alone would not properly separate melismas; tonemic transitions alone would not properly separate reattacks.

²Occasionally I found exceptions, and notated them outside of the pulse. But usually the rhythm of the melody stays very close to the bell. In Kinka, the song rhythm shows a great predilection to fall on even sixteenth-notes during the first quarter note of each bell cycle, but rarely does so during the other three quarter notes. The obvious explanation is that the bell and beat pattern falls on only odd sixteenths (the first or third) except for the fourth sixteenth of the first quarter note. Song melodies incorporate this metrical contour.

³I never found this transposition to pose any problem in the Kinka songs. But in some Eve music polyphony can occur at the fixed interval of a fourth. Transposing two such performances to the same pitch level would be ambiguous, because all melodic functions are present in both lines.

⁴In most cases, multiple performances of the Kinka songs which I transcribed all seemed to use the same tonemes.

variants, tend to forget what the composer originally composed. Even when asked to sing this original melody for his own songs, Novo proceeded to make variations. He told me that whichever melodic variant was chosen, "it comes to the same thing." Thus specific melodic norms are weak, if they exist at all.

Still, certain lines, or portions of them, may be more common than others. Sidestepping the issue of norms, I incorporate into the reduction a rough estimate of the frequency for each line, or portion of line, based solely on the audible data.

Eve melodic variation is not really based on a line which stretches the length of the repeat, but rather on a vocabulary of shorter variations. Two lines will eventually meet and perhaps cross. In general, I have observed that if two lines, W and X, meet, then there are exist two other possible lines, Y and Z, which are respectively identical to W and X before the meeting, and X and W afterwards. That is, portions of lines may be recombined as shown by the following diagram:



Here the one line is bold, and the other thin. On the left, X and W cross; on the right Y and Z swap X and W after the cross, so as not to cross. When W and X are part of a song, then so are Y and Z. A similar result holds even when two lines do not meet, but make a close approach. It is therefore redundant, and unnecessarily extensional, to define a song as the set of all performed lines. Instead, I collapse all of the lines vertically into chords, while also noting any voice leading anomalies. Combined with certain general voice leading rules, which I will present later, the chord sequence represents the song fairly well. The reader need not be familiar with Eue song in order to reconstruct Eue polyphony and melodic variation from these notations.

Finally the song class is reduced to a relatively pitched sequence of chords, lasting one repetition of the basic form. Each line is a discrete sequence of tonemes, which respects all syllabic boundaries, and temporally falls on the pulse of the music. This reduction represents all the performances, and is capable of generating more which are like them: it is intensional. In this form the song class can be transcribed and analyzed.

Notation

Among the traditional Eve, music and text are never written. Therefore one of the first problems to confront the analyst, as in many other kinds of world music, is that of notation.

It seems to me that there are immediate goals in choosing musical notation, at least in the short run: writability, readability, and representation. Writability is important for the transcriber, who seeks to transfer sound to paper. A writable notation system employs simple notational symbols for complicated musical events, perhaps even misrepresenting sound events which are too difficult to notate correctly. Readability is important for the performer or scholar; a readable system might use staff or metrical notation even when these were not justified by the music itself. Finally, good notation ought to represent the conceptual structure of the music in its visual presentation; there should be an isomorphism between the sound and its visual representation. Deep structure should be prominent on the page, and ornaments should look like ornaments. Notation must not obscure sound structure, or, worse still, introduce spurious structure. These three goals may be at odds.

My solution aims at a combination of readability and representation. I devised a notation which can be read easily, because it makes use of the Western staff, symbols, and metrical conventions. However, precise information about pitch is also included, for those who want to make use of it. I distinguish two kinds of notation: principal notation, and modifiers. In traditional Western music noteheads are principal, and sharps, flats, trills, accents, and so forth are modifiers. I tried to indicate deeper structure (tonemes, basic rhythm) with principal notation, and indicate finer detail with modifiers.

Notation is also conventionally branded as "descriptive" or "prescriptive", according to whether it describes how music sounded, or prescribes how it ought to sound. My notations of Eve song could only be called prescriptive in the sense that I did not notate flagrant anomalies. But norms and ideals are not explicit in the Eve culture; variation abounds. The Eve prescription is simply not available.

The terms descriptive and prescriptive are often associated, wrongly in my view, with other characteristics of notation: level of detail, and number of performances represented. Descriptive notation is often thought to concentrate intensively on a single performance, while prescriptive notation sacrifices detail in order to embrace an assortment of different possible interpretations. Because of my interest in tonal systems, I emphasize tonal detail,

especially multiple pitch lines, voice leading, and tonemic structure. But I avoid excessive detail which would cloud musical structure. Each transcription represents a reduced song class, as described above, and therefore may draw on several performances (usually one or two), each of which contains many repetitions of the song composition. Details unique to particular performances are sometimes included, so as to provide a more realistic flavor of the event. But I did not dwell on many details, quirks, and oddities; I often left out lines which might make the score difficult to read if they did not seem to add anything essential.

Interpreting Notations of Kinka Songs

This thesis contains 47 musical and textual transcriptions of Kinka songs, composed by Novo, Dunyo, and Hufenu. Song transcriptions are presented in the **Appendix**, alphabetically by composer and song title, together with their texts in Eve and in English. Following the songs is a set of catalogs, which list the songs alphabetically by title, by composer and title, by toneme set, and by tonal form.

Each musical transcription is preceded by a "toneme set signature". This signature indicates the correct sonic interpretation of each line or space on the staff, in the manner of a key signature. In addition, the toneme set signature specifies the toneme set used in the song. I devised this signature as a compromise between abandoning standard staff notation, and succumbing to it. Standard staff notation is predisposed to pre-20th century Western art music tonality, because its lines and spaces, in the absence of any other marks, correspond to a diatonic scale. Other music may be notated using the standard staff, but such notations will result in gaps (unused lines or spaces), or excessive use of accidentals (especially when the number of required pitches exceeds seven).

But the staff is perfectly adaptable; there is nothing inherently Western about lines and spaces. A possible *modal* staff notation is shown in one version of "Nyea me le alome", by J.K. Dunyo (see **Appendix**). The first "measure" consists of a scale in Western notation, in the treble clef. The modal clef is followed by a reassignment of the lines and space of the staff in a one-to-one fashion: F denotes E, G denotes F, etc. Once the lines and spaces have been reassigned in this way, they denote the pentatonic scale of "Nyea me le alome", and are no longer biased by Western tonality. For example, the tone which splits a fourth exactly in two sonically does so notationally as well; this is not possible in Western staff notation. However the price to be paid for better representation is poor readability, and so I opted against this course.

In order for the notation to represent the structure of the music, I decided that a given toneme must always be represented on the same line or space, with modifier symbols used to indicate variations within the toneme. In this way, the prominent visual aspect of the notation--note heads on different lines and spaces--would correspond to the significant tonal structure of the music.¹ But at the same time, even a naive reader of these scores will not be too far off, because of the way the toneme is represented.

In the toneme set signature, principal tonemes are represented by open note heads, and infrequently used tonemes by filled note heads.² These are placed on the line or space which is closest in pitch to the center tone of the toneme as determined by standard Western staff notation. Single or double arrows are used to indicate quarter-tone or semi-tone adjustments, respectively $(\uparrow \downarrow \uparrow \downarrow \downarrow)$. Thus the toneme set signature indicates which lines and spaces are used, and the center frequency for each one.

A note head in the transcription represents the toneme assigned to the same line or space in the toneme set signature. Deviations within the toneme are again indicated by arrows.³ These "accidental" arrows indicate deviations from the toneme center frequency, and not from the natural Western frequency of the line or space. This convention differs from Western notation, in which a sharp as an accidental merely restates a sharp in the key signature, but I feel it is a more sensible policy. So if a toneme on the C-space has a single up-arrow in the signature, and a note in the score on the C-space has a single up-arrow accidental, the two *add* to become an enharmonic C#. The effect of such accidentals on a particular toneme endures to the end of the bar, unless negated by a natural sign, which returns the line or space to its original toneme (but *not* to its standard interpretation in the absence of the toneme set signature). Sharps and flats are not used, to avoid confusion with ordinary notation.⁴

¹A toneme may straddle a line and a space in conventional notation (e.g. B/C). If the transcriber is not careful, he or she may notate the same toneme sometimes here, other times there, on the staff. This seems to me to obscure the integrity of the toneme.

²The tonemes represented by filled note heads are usually used only once or twice during the performance.

³These deviations are usually somewhat consistent over several repetitions or performances; I am not trying to indicating the particular tone instance of each toneme, but rather patterns in the toneme distribution as a function of context. For example, certain tonemes may always be lowered in descent.

⁴One song, "Devisue menye", has a toneme set which is too large to be accommodated by the staff. In this case, I was forced to use sharps and flats to indicate some of the tonemes. But these sharps and flats act in place of extra lines and spaces; they are not modifier symbols, and affect only the note immediately following. They may even be coupled with modifying arrows.

I was unable to measure tonemic widths, and so the exact interpretation of the tonemes is ambiguous. But overall the tolerance for a wide intonation is great when compared to Western music.

Nearly all of the Kinka songs I notated make extensive use of a cadential perfect fourth at the end of many sections, and always at the end of the song. In analyzing the music I found it useful to transpose all songs (by transpositional equivalence) so as to align this fourth on the score. It is convenient to center the upper tone of this fourth on the staff, because it lies at about the middle of every toneme set. I choose A4 (440 Hz) for this tone because this tends to place the other tonemes on the natural diatonic a good part of the time, making the toneme set signatures simpler to remember. Thus all notations are in relative pitch. Furthermore, octave transpositional equivalence is used to bring all lines into the same register. In performance, the score may be suitably retransposed, and lines moved by octaves if necessary.

Since meter is not the focus of this thesis, I sidestep the traditional ethnomusicological debates about African meter, and simply assign the meter according to my own intuitions. I believe that readability suffers greatly when beaming is eliminated, or when some sort of graph notation is adopted. Besides, most of Kinka is not so susceptible to polymeter, being based on 16 pulses. Since the Eve usually clap the slow 12-pulse bell pattern on six equally spaced beats, I beam the hatsiatsia section in 6/4. However, beaming cannot necessarily be construed as anything more than a notational convenience. Occasionally, when the phrasing or melodic patterns seem to call for it, I rebeam in 12/8. From the point of view of correct representation (but not readability), a good case could be made for beaming to the bell rather than to the beat, since it is not always clear which of these two primary rhythmic threads has the deeper significance. I present an example of beaming to the bell in "Agbe me nu wo".

The rhythm of songs usually follows the pulse. Slight anticipations and delays of at least one pulse I notate in full. Alterations of timing which are less than a pulse I indicate with sideways arrows: \longleftrightarrow . All Eue songs are homophonic most of the time; I notate the occasional exception using multiple voices instead of chord notation.

Repeat marks are used liberally because all variation is stored in the chord notation on a single staff. Repetition is never dry and exact in Eve singing, because there are several degrees of flexibility in interpretation. Often the number of repetitions of a section is

variable; I usually mark the most common interpretation. The repetition of the overall song form is not indicated, but songs are typically repeated for several minutes at least.

Though the performances were often polyphonic, the actual set of lines is not shown on the score. What is shown instead is the superposition of all lines. Because the texture is homophonic, the superposition forms a sequence of chords. It is usually impossible to infer exactly what lines were sung from the transcriptions, but in conjunction with the voice leading rules, the score is more powerful than a mere record of a recording: it is a concise description of the diversity of possible performances, incorporating both polyphony and melodic variation.

Assume the tonemes of each chord are numbered, from top to bottom. The rules for continuing a line from a chord X to its successor, Y, are as follows. A line may move by modal step¹ to any toneme of Y. But every line must have a continuation; if there is no toneme within a modal step, then the line may continue to nearest toneme of Y. Every toneme of Y must be the possible continuation of a line; if no toneme in X, by following the preceding rules, can continue to a particular toneme in Y then the closest one may do so.

Special cases are indicated with voice leading symbols, such as: XXX, which are placed between chords. The black boxes on the ends of their line segments indicate chord tonemes. Chord tonemes in ascending order match the black boxes in ascending order, with the first chord shown on the left, and the second chord on the right. The line segments show how lines may progress from chord to chord. For example, the first symbol shown indicates a voice-crossing between two dyads; the second shows that the upper voice of the first dyad has the choice of staying high or moving low, but the lower voice must stay low; and the third shows that the highest and lowest voices of a triad must stay high and low, while the middle voice can go either way, in moving to a dyad.

Voice leading symbols indicate lines which were transcribed (actually heard) and serve two functions. If the indicated motion is already legal, the symbol may be taken to mean that such motion is preferable (perhaps the expected motion did not occur in the transcription) or should be kept in mind (a redundant reminder), since it actually occurred. If the indicated motion is not already legal, the symbol adds additional possibilities to the set of lines, also strongly suggesting such possibilities since they actually occurred. These

¹That is, to an adjacent toneme in the set.

symbols are usually applied in situations of voice crossing, and motion between chords of differing numbers of tonemes.

Some non-homophonic sections are notated in two separately stemmed voices. Lines may not cross between voices during these sections. Occasionally a voice leading symbol is placed directly over a chord, rather than between two chords. In this case, the symbol indicates voice leading between the three chords, often a voice crossing. Small note heads indicate less common lines; these need not be avoided, but should not be overemphasized.¹

These songs are all in call and response form. The leaders' part is indicated by an L just above the first note, while the group's part is similarly indicated by $G.^2$ The principal leader, or heno, can delay the first call of any section--either at the beginning of the song, or after a repeat--by one or two bars. During this time, group members may sustain their last tone. The score records typical cases.

Eve Tonality

I divide my discussion of the tonality of Eve Kinka songs into two parts. In the first part I discuss compositional aspects of Eve tonal style, including toneme set, mode, melodic movement, and tonal form. In the second part I discuss one aspect of performance style, melodic variation.

Tonemic Analysis

In an effort to circumvent problems of subjective interpretation in the notation and analysis of Eue songs, I resorted to computer analysis of sound, using techniques derived from papers by A. Askenfelt, Johan Sundberg, P. Tjernlund, and B. Larsson at the Speech Transmission Lab, Department of Speech, Communications, and Musical Acoustics, of the Royal Institute of Technology, in Stockholm.³

Five assumptions underlie the thesis that this analysis can discern tonemic categories from the sound data alone; that is, that the mental structure of sound is latent in the sonic data itself:

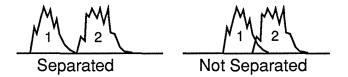
¹As an example of generating melodic lines out of chord notation, I present a three-part realization of the transcription for "Mele Agbe", by Dunyo (refer to the **Appendix**). The top staff contains the original chord notation.

²I follow David Locke in adopting this convention.

³See: Sundberg and Tjernlund (1969, 1970), Sundberg (1982), Askenfelt (1976), Larsson (1978).

Pitch is equivalent to fundamental frequency. Tonemes are composed of psychoacoustic pitches, but the computer can only measure quantities which are objectively present in the sound signal. In order to measure tonemes, we must substitute for pitch a closely related physical quantity. That quantity is fundamental frequency.

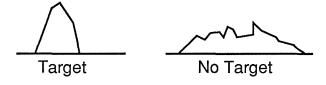
Separation of tonemes. There must be a low incidence of toneme overlap, as measured by the distribution function. That is, adjacent tonemes must be well-separated, as shown in the following diagram which shows two scenarios for the distribution function for tonemes 1 and 2, over frequency:



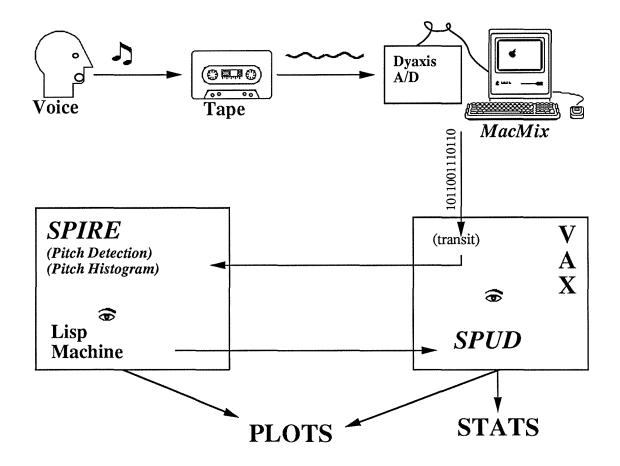
Stationarity. It must be assumed that tonemic categories are fixed over the analysis period. This assumption is reasonable even in music which modulates, but not in the case of tonal drift.

True Instantiation. The singer instantiates each toneme with a tone selected from the toneme according to the distribution. It is necessary to assume that probability theory's law of large numbers prevails: over a sufficient time period, the observed statistics provide a good measure of the underlying distribution.

Target. If the observed toneme distribution is unimodal and sharply peaked, then the peak region corresponds to the toneme target: a preferred, or normative, tonal value for the toneme.



A schematic diagram of the laboratory configuration is shown on the following page. Vocal music was recorded onto audio tape. The analog tape signal was then fed into an analog-to-digital converter, in this case a Dyaxis converter connected to a Macintosh II. The resulting stream of digital data was transferred via a VAX computer to a Symbolics Lisp Machine.



Tonemic Analysis Technique

I used a powerful speech processing system, called SPIRE¹, to measure the fundamental frequency of the digitized song every 50 milliseconds.² The stream of fundamental frequencies was then fed into a histogram program of my own devising. This program counts the number of times the fundamental frequency falls into each of a sequence of bins, or frequency intervals. The bin sequence is defined by four parameters: the minimum frequency (\mathbf{F}_{min}), the number of bins (\mathbf{N}), the bin width (\mathbf{w}), measured in cents, and the bin separation (\mathbf{s}) in cents.³ Thus, for \mathbf{i} between $\mathbf{1}$ and \mathbf{N} , the \mathbf{i} th bin is defined to contain all frequencies lying between $\mathbf{f}_{\mathbf{i}}$ and $\mathbf{g}_{\mathbf{i}}$, where:

$$f_i = (F_{min})(c^{s(i-1)})$$

$$g_i = (f_i)(c^w)$$
with $c = \sqrt[1200]{2}$

In effect, the histogram measures the density of pitch at each point in the spectrum. The minimum and maximum were set so as to encompass the range of the human voice. By manipulating the bin width and separation, I could vary the "magnification" of the analysis, and search for tonemic structure at the level of cents, or semitones. All of this information could be displayed graphically.

I also developed some simple signal processing functions, using a signal processing environment called SPUD⁴ on the VAX computer. These allowed me to extract a portion of the histogram, and to compute its mean and median.

By the assumptions above, fundamental frequency is a good measure of pitch; tonemes are well-separated, and instantiated according to their distribution; and there is no pitch drift. Thus the tonemes can be identified by finding the separation points in the histogram plot.

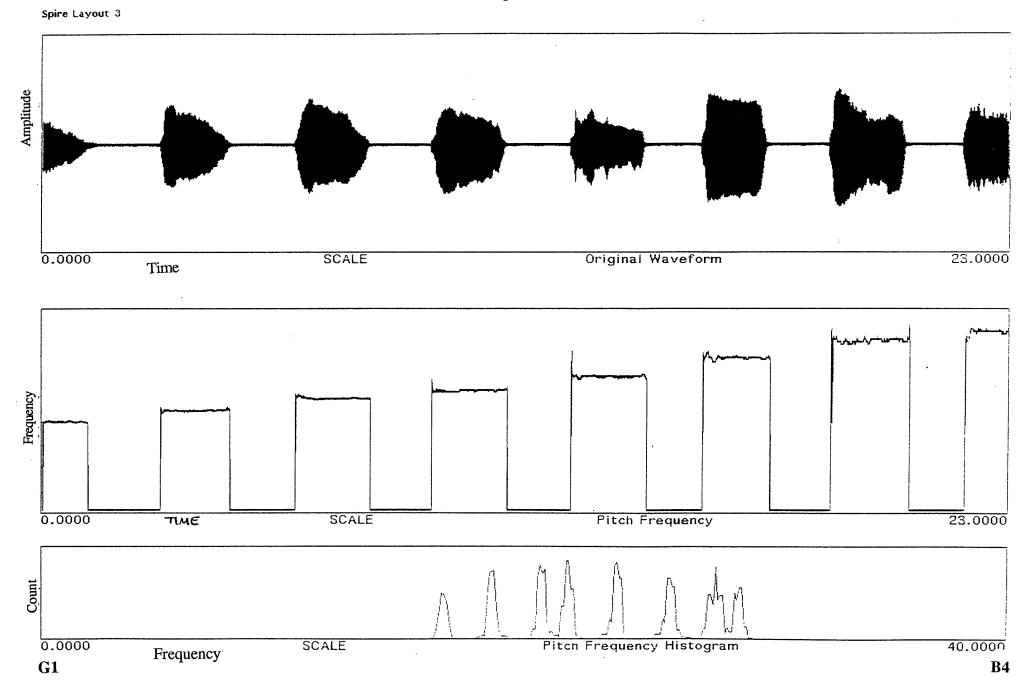
The following graphs display some results of the analysis. In order to test the equipment, I recorded myself singing a major scale, and analyzed the result. The graphs show the original waveform (there are eight sound events), the output of the pitch detector (showing

¹SPIRE was developed by the Speech Group, headed by Victor Zue, in the Department of Electrical Engineering and Computer Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge MA.

²This process is called pitch detection. The pitch detection algorithm in SPIRE is due to B. Gold and L. Rabiner (Gold and Rabiner, 1969).

³If the separation is less than the width, the bins overlap. This is useful in smoothing the data.

⁴SPUD was developed by Pat Peterson and Joe Frisbie. It is described in the paper "ISPUD, an Interactive Environment for Signal Processing on a VAX Computer", P.M. Peterson and J.A. Frisbie, Proc. IEEE Int. Conf. Acoust. Speech Sig.Proc., ICASSP-87.



the eight frequency levels), and the output of the histogram, showing eight rather well-separated tonemes.

I then analyzed an excerpt from a recording of Godwin Agbeli, singing a Yeue cult song called "Sovi dee wonu so" ("It is because of something"). I had always identified the toneme set of this song with the following pitches (notated in relative pitch):



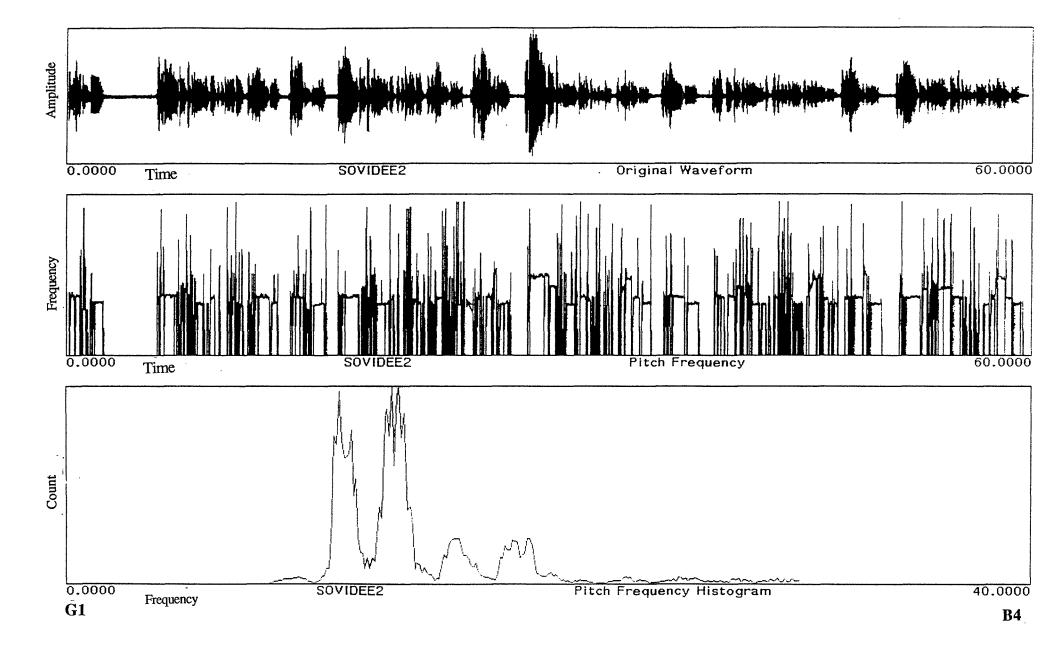
However, it always seemed to me that pitches 4 and 2 were slightly flatter than this, almost as if pitch 4 were mid-way between E and A, and 2 mid-way between 1 and 3. Sometimes these intermediate tones, 2 and 4, even sounded like they were a half step lower than shown here.

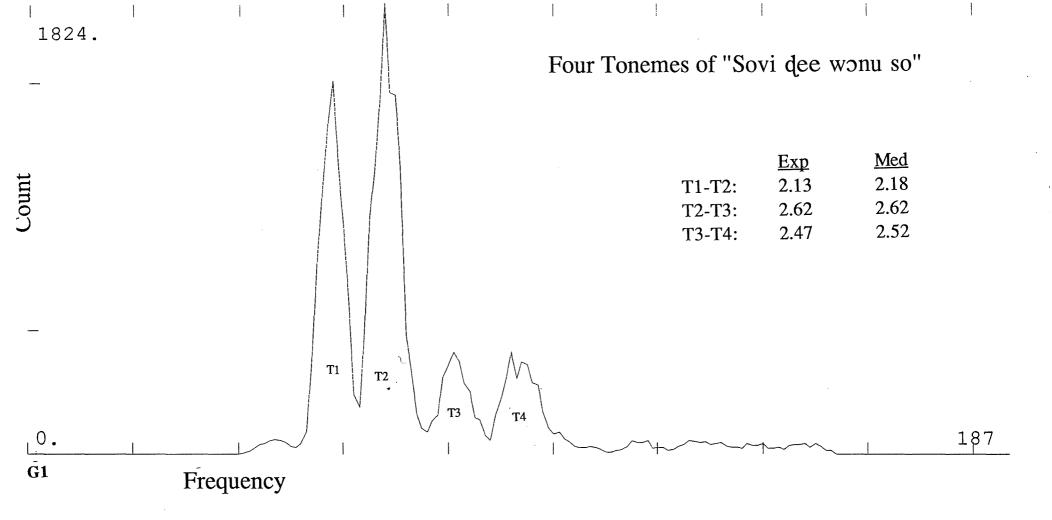
In this particular excerpt, which lasted about one minute, Mr. Agbeli was singing a variation on the response, and using the pitches numbered 1-4. The results of the analysis are shown in the next two figures. The first figure shows plots of the waveform, fundamental frequency, and histogram, as in the case of my major scale. The following figure is a close-up of the four peaks in the histogram. Because they are well-separated, I take them to represent the four tonemes of the song. The sharp peaks indicate the presence of a target. The mean and median for each toneme are good measures of this target value. The toneme separations in mean and median, as measured in semitones, are given by the following table:

	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Median</u>
T1-T2:	2.13	2.18
T2-T3:	2.62	2.62
T3-T4:	2.47	2.52

The mean and median agree very well, perhaps further evidence for their correctly measuring the target. What this result shows is that T3 almost exactly bisects the perfect fourth from T2 to T4. T2 is even a bit flatter than I had anticipated, perhaps in part because T1 is less than a fourth from T3.

These results supported my hypothesis that Eve scales tend to be built out of fourths which are bisected by intermediate tonemes.





1 Tick = 4.1 Semitones

The major drawback of this kind of tonal analysis is that the solo sung voice must be recorded in isolation from any other kind of sound. Unfortunately, I did not make such recordings of Kinka while in Ghana; the only isolated Eue singing I had recorded was Mr. Agbeli's singing of response parts to Yeue songs. However, the computer analysis described above provided some experimental confirmation for the existence of the bisected fourth in Eue singing. Using this Yeue song as a model, I believe I was able to identify the same interval in the Kinka repertoire.

More importantly, these experiments demonstrated compelling visual evidence for the existence of tonemes. I contend that the structure inherent in the preceding plots is universal, and that no one who understands their meaning is likely to doubt that they provide strong evidence of genuine tonemic structure.

Toneme Set

In conventional terms, the toneme set is like a scale: it provides an unordered reservoir of tones without specifying how those tones are used. I displayed the toneme set for each of the 47 transcriptions as a "toneme set signature". Now I want to investigate these in greater detail.

By the assumption of transpositional equivalence, a toneme set may be transposed by a fixed interval without losing its character. Accordingly, I transposed all toneme sets into "canonical form", so as to minimize the total number of distinct tonemes. In other words, two toneme sets which are identical in interval content are transposed so as to fall into alignment with one another; two toneme sets which are closely related in interval content are transposed so as to maximize alignment. I chose this canonical transposition so as to be well-centered on the treble clef, with a minimal use of tones outside the natural diatonic. The canonical form for each toneme set is unambiguous in nearly all cases.

I made no assumptions about octave replication; rather, I dutifully recorded all sounded tonemes in the octave of their occurrence. Thus the toneme sets are not limited to an octave. Octave equivalence and replication are not properties to be rashly ascribed to all world music; they must be proven.

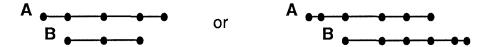
All measurements were carried out by ear¹, with the assistance of a tuning fork and second taperecorder, by repeatedly listening to the songs. Using a second tape recorder, I could

¹Unfortunately, more sophisticated computer analysis of the sound was precluded by the presence of more than one singer, bells, rattles, and drums.

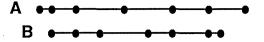
record two tones--perhaps different instances of the same melodic element--in juxtaposition, to facilitate comparison. The meager fruits of this process do not adequately testify to the tedium of their harvest.

I believe toneme set to be a compositional attribute of Eve songs. During my stay in Ghana, I had occasion to hear and record the same songs many times, especially those of Novo and Dunyo, and I never detected substantial changes in tonality. I also conducted a study in which I recorded five common Eve songs of several Drums, including Kinka, as sung by a dozen or so individuals. I then compared the various performances. Though differences in detail abound, the toneme set seems to be a fixture of the song.¹

Once I had transposed the toneme sets to canonical form, I found that they divided themselves naturally into three types, determined by overlap. Toneme sets within a single type overlap to a great extent. For any two toneme sets of the same type, major differences in toneme content lie only outside the range of one or the other. Thus the region of approximate overlap is contiguous: either one set is a subset of the other, or their ends overlap, as shown in the following diagrams:



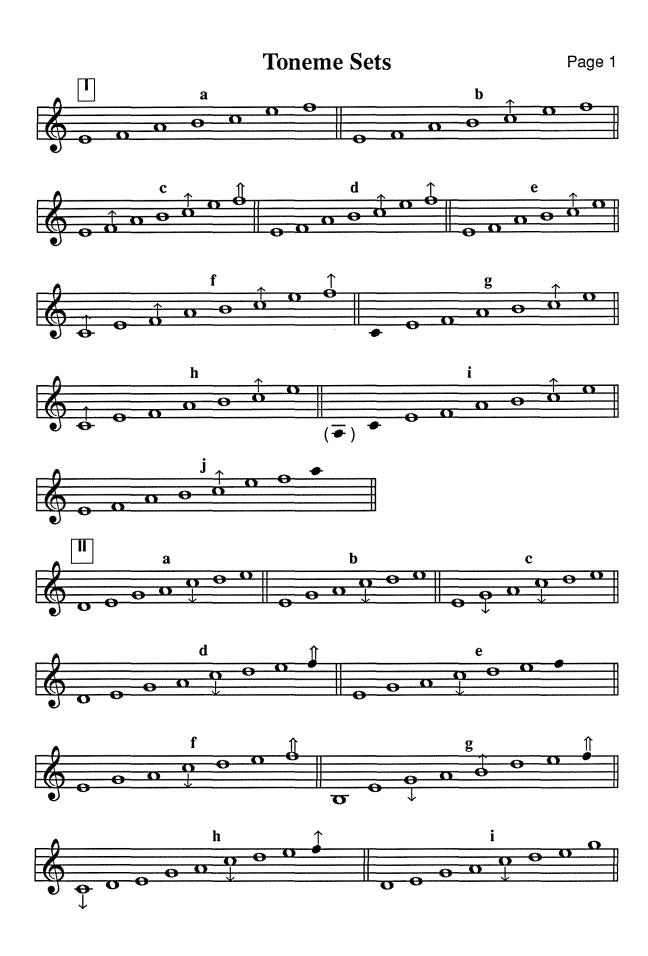
By contrast, toneme sets of different types share tonemes, but the overlapping regions are disjunct: shared tonemes may be separated by others which are not shared:

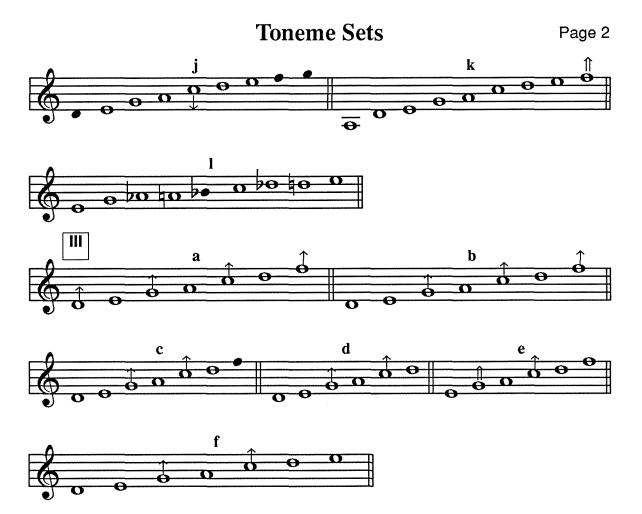


I present a complete listing of toneme sets, their names, and their classification into types on the following page. One of the song reference pages, presented at the end of the **Appendix**, lists all 47 songs alphabetically by toneme set name.

Type I would be a "hematonic pentatonic", were I to admit octave replication and allow each interval to be approximated by an integral number of semitones. The core set of tonemes for Type I is {E4, F4, A4, B4, \uparrow C5, E5}. This type is employed in 43% of the

¹However, in the case of Hufenu I must base my judgements on a single performance of each song.





songs analyzed. It accounts for 39% of Dunyo's, 11% of Hufenu's, and 58% of Novo's songs, among those analyzed.¹

In this type, C5 (and C4, when it occurs) is usually raised slightly, sounding to my ear rather like the "neutral" third of American blues. F5 may be raised as much as a semitone, when it occurs. In these cases, F4 is raised as well, though to a lesser degree. A5 as an upper extension, and A3 as a lower extension, are rare variants; C4 is common.

More than the other two types, Type I suggests octave replication in its upper and lower extensions to the core toneme set. Besides these octaves, the intervals of P4 and P5 are prominent, occurring as the modal thirds and fourths² between the pairs E4-A4, E4-B4, A4-E5, and B4-E5. The tonemes {E4, A4, B4, E5} form a harmonic³ frame, out of which one might discern two unequal, disjunct trichords: E4-F4-A4, and B4-↑C5-E5. However in my view this analysis is empty formalism, of little significance: the toneme sets do not support such a decomposition, and neither do the melodies. The chain of modal thirds, E4, A4, ↑C5 is melodically emphasized, giving this Type a triadic flavor.

Type II is "anhematonic", containing no intervals significantly smaller than a whole tone, with a core toneme set consisting of $\{E4, G4, A4, \downarrow C5, D5, E5\}$. This type occurs in 41% of the songs analyzed, accounting for 50% of Dunyo's, 33% of Hufenu's, and 38% of Novo's. The principal difference between Type I and Type II (and this difference in toneme set will later be confirmed as a difference in melodic function) is in the substitution of $G4, \downarrow C5$, and D5 for F4, B4, and $\uparrow C5$, respectively.⁴

Variations of Type II abound. Often G4 is lowered a quarter-tone to \downarrow G4. G5 and F5 may be added as upper extensions, with the latter usually raised, up to a semitone. Lower

¹Whether these statistics--and those that follow--are significant depends on whether my collection is a good sample of the total output of these composers. In the case of Dunyo and Novo, the songs analyzed represent perhaps 40% of their entire oeuvres, enough to represent them well. As for Hufenu, I am uncertain; the sample size is too small.

²I use two types of intervallic nomenclature in this thesis. Modal intervals are determined relative to the scale under consideration. Thus a modal third is an interval which skips one scale degree, whatever that scale may be. When the word modal is not used, the interval name refers to the diatonic system, i.e. the "scale" is the diatonic scale, and the prefixes perfect (P), major (M), minor (m), augmented, and diminished have their usual meanings. In pentatonics, modal thirds are often perfect fourths, for example.

³I use the word "harmonic" as an attribute of fourths, fifths, and octaves: the initial intervallic material of the harmonic series.

 $^{^4\}downarrow$ C5 precisely bisects the interval A4-D5, as in my computer analysis of "Sovi dee wonu so". Because $^\downarrow$ C5 falls into the cracks, so to speak, between diatonic degrees, its character is protean for the western-conditioned listener, appearing sometimes as B4, othertimes as C5. After much listening I concluded that $^\downarrow$ C5 is indeed a unified toneme. However, a more detailed analysis of the sound would be required for confirmation. Sometimes G4 is also lowered approximately a quarter-tone. In this case the harmonic frame E4-A4-D5 is fleshed out by two medial bisecting tones, $^\downarrow$ G4 and $^\downarrow$ C5.

extensions include D4, \downarrow C4, and A3. Two toneme sets, II.g and II.l, are anomalous. In II.g, \uparrow B4 replaces \downarrow C5. In theory, these two tones are identical. However, in rounding African sounds to the nearest quarter-tone, I wanted to choose a notation most likely to be interpreted correctly, even by a careless reader who might ignore tonal modifier arrows. This toneme is a bit flatter than others which I have notated as \downarrow C5, so that B4 is a better approximation than C5.

II.1 is a true anomaly, significantly different from any other Eve toneme set I have ever encountered.¹ Here, the standard staff is insufficient to accommodate all of the tonemes, so I have resorted to using the flat symbol in order to include them all.² Analyzing the melody of "Devisue menye", I speculated that this set results from the superposition of two smaller sets: the dominant set {E4, G4, A4, \downarrow Bb4, C5, D5, E5}, and the subordinate set {G4, Ab4, C5, Db5, E5}. The first of these is close to Type II, the second to Type I, but the complete toneme set is a breed apart.

In general, Type II thus demonstrates some octave replication in its extensions. More striking are signs of replication at the interval of a perfect fourth: the cell E4-G4 is approximately replicated as A4- \downarrow C5, and as D5-F5. The lower extension, \downarrow C4-D4, can be viewed as either a replication at the fourth or octave, depending on the degree to which C4 is lowered. Thus D4 is either an octave replication of D5, or a fourth replication of G4, \downarrow C5, and F5; \downarrow C4 is either an octave replication of \downarrow C5, or a fourth replication of E4, A4, and D5 (when \downarrow C4 is flatted to nearly B3). The lowering of G4 to \downarrow G4 also increases the symmetry of the fourth, forming the perfect fourth \downarrow G4- \downarrow C5.

Hence, I believe that this type represents a compromise between replication at the fourth, and replication at the octave. Such a replication implies near identical conjunct trichords, E4-G4-A4, and A4-\dagger C5-D5. A trichordal analysis is more acceptable here than in the case of Type I, because the tetrachords are nearly identical, and because the melodic movement supports such an interpretation.

Type III is in many respects the most fascinating of the three, since it is the furthest removed from Western musical style. Based on the core set $\{D4, E4, \uparrow G4, A4, \uparrow C5, D5, \uparrow F5\}$, Type III comprises just 16% of the songs analyzed: 11% of Dunyo's, 56% of Hufenu's, and 4% of Novo's. Several variants occur. F5 may replace $\uparrow F5$, or may be

¹To my knowledge, the only song which employs this set is "Devisue menye".

²This flat symbol is not a note modifier. Rather, it provides an additional niche on the staff to which a toneme may be assigned. Its effect does not endure for the duration of the bar, although the natural sign is used liberally to ensure a correct interpretation.

omitted. D4 may be raised a quarter-step, or omitted (III.e). G4 may be raised up to a semitone. III.f is anomalous in omitting F5 and including E5.

Like the other types, Type III challenges Western ears in its use of tonemes which are ambiguous within the Western tempered semitone framework. But Type III defies the Western sensibility even more strongly by denying octave replication, one of the pillars of all Western art music. Instead, Type III evinces strong evidence of replication at the fourth. The basic cell, (\uparrow) D4-E4, is replicated as \uparrow G4-A4, \uparrow C5-D5, and seems to continue to \uparrow F5, although G5 is never present. Whether or not this pattern indicates replication at the fourth, the omission of E5 is striking indeed.

Most of the songs I analyzed can be classified according to one of these three types. In several cases, however, songs appeared to switch toneme sets midstream. Since these "modulations" only occur once during the song, I think it appropriate to consider these songs a combination of two different toneme sets, rather than combining the two sets into one large set. Of these four songs, three move from Type I to Type II, while the fourth passes from Type II to Type I. These songs are labelled "s" (for "special") in the toneme set column of the song catalogs (see **Appendix**), followed by the sequence of toneme sets in the order of their appearance.

In summary, Dunyo and Novo use Types I and II primarily; Dunyo favors II, while Novo favors I. From the limited data, Hufenu appears to favor Type III. Type I strongly suggests octave replication, and has a triadic flavor. Type II is a combination of octave and fourth replication, while Type III demonstrates pure fourth replication.

Mode

A mode is a toneme set, together with a description (or sometimes prescription) of how the tonemes are employed in melodic sequence. The concept of "mode" lies between that of "scale" (or toneme set) and "tune" in its specification of melodic particularities. Mode may define the melodic functions of tonemes (such as dominant, initial, and final), or may specify a complete set of rules for extruding melodic phrases out of the unordered toneme set.

As Harold Powers states in his erudite article on the subject in The New Grove (1980):

Taking the term in the modern, twofold sense, mode can be defined as either a "particularized scale" or a "generalized tune", or both, depending on the particular musical and cultural context...To attribute mode to a musical item implies some hierarchy of pitch relationships, or some restriction on pitch successions; it is more than merely a

scale. At the same time, what can be called the mode of a musical item is never so restricted as what is implied by referring to its "tune"; a mode is always at least a melody type or melody model, never just a fixed melody...When modes (or their equivalents) are construed as primarily scalar, they tend to be used for classifying, for grouping musical entities into ideal categories. When the melodic aspects of modality are its predominant features, then modes are seen as guides and norms for composition or improvisation.

Many cultures employ a musical term whose definition falls somewhere along this continuum of mode. Such a term is then generally rendered in English as "mode". As far as I know, the Eve have no such term in their vocabulary. However, this fact does not imply that the search for mode in Eve song is misguided, for it is clear to me that any coherent musical culture must have some regulative principles of pitch function and melodic movement, even if these remain out of awareness. As in the case of toneme sets, I base my search for mode on a careful analysis of the audible data. Once again, I assume that the natural modal structure of the sonic data directly represents musical concept in the mind.

In this thesis I analyze mode in two ways. First, I provide an overview of tonal function, indicating some common roles of tonemes, and supporting my assertions by citing specific examples. Next, I present various statistical summaries of toneme usage, each of which represents a particular aspect of mode, and analyze the patterns in these statistics.¹

Mode is determined relative to a particular musical repertoire, actual and potential. The basis of mode, its toneme set, is the union of the toneme sets for each item in the repertoire. In my analysis I consider three simple aspects of the employment of tonemes in melodic sequence: tonal stability, dominance (and attack), and transition rate. These aspects of mode are by definition conceptual. My statistical approximations of these quantities are deficient in many ways, and certainly cannot pretend to measure concepts. But even in their crudity, they can reveal patterns of natural structure from which mental structure can be inferred.²

Stability, dominance, and attack are attributes of individual tonemes. Stability is a measure of the extent to which melodies of the repertoire may dwell upon a particular toneme.

¹Among the many advantages of preparing musical notations on a computer is that the machine-readable score is amenable to computer processing. The newly-established MIDI file format is extremely useful as an intermediary between commercial notation software and home-made processing software, since most notation programs can convert a score to a MIDI file, and MIDI files are not hard to read. Computer analysis of music partly makes up in speed, accuracy and ease what it lacks in musical sensitivity.

²In particular, these measures of mode are context-insensitive. In reality, many aspects of mode--the resolution of a toneme, for instance--may depend on tonal context.

Statistically, I equate the stability of a toneme with its average duration.¹ Dominance is a measure of toneme use. I compute dominance as the fraction of total musical time that the toneme is sounded. Another measure, similar to dominance, is attack. The attack of a toneme is the number of times the toneme is attacked, divided by the total number of attacks. While dominance weights each instance of a toneme by its duration, attack counts only the number of instances.

Transition rate is an attribute of toneme sequences. The transition rate for a toneme sequence is a measure of its likelihood, or appropriateness, in melody. Some toneme sequences may be used only occasionally in melodic passages, while others are commonplace. Statistically, I define the transition rate of a toneme sequence of length N to be the number of occurrences of that sequence, divided by the total number of sequences of length N. Transition rate, like dominance and attack, thus has the appearance of a probability. When the toneme sequence is of length two, transition rates give information about toneme resolution. This is the only case I will consider.²

General Modal Features

I begin with a brief overview of tonal functions common to nearly all the Kinka songs. I will also discuss features particular to each toneme set type.

Almost all the Kinka songs employ E4 as a final, not only for the song as a whole, but for all of its repeated sections and many of its phrases as well. The cadence to E4 is from A4, via the medial tone, G4 or F4 (depending on the toneme set type). In many cases the calling phrase reverses this pattern, cadencing on A4 from E4 via the medial tone (e.g. "Gbe nam", "Gameli"). This reversal perhaps provides a sensation of question and answer.

Most of the songs begin with a repeating section I label "A".³ The following section, "B", employs a standard call in almost all of the songs. This short phrase, based on the words "oh be Kinka viwo" ("oh members of the Kinka group"), or similar variant, is founded upon the A4-E4 cadence, often including C5 as well.

¹In computing stability, I merge successive repetitions of the same toneme. Such repetitions are an artifact of the text, and do not reflect on stability. In the table which follows (pp. 93-96), stability is measured in sixteenth-notes. Thus a stability of 3 indicates an average duration of three sixteenths.

²For a toneme set of size 6, there are $6^3 = 216$ sequences of length 3, and $216 \cdot 6 = 1296$ of length 4. Analysis thus becomes exponentially more difficult as the sequences get longer.

³Full consideration is given to form following the present discussion of mode.

Some intonational patterns are dependent upon melodic movement. In Type I, B4 is often lowered when used as an upper neighbor to A4. In particular, a common form of the "oh be Kinka viwo" call (and of its many variants) in Type I involves the motive A4-\$\sqrt{B4}\$-F4-E4. This flattening creates a symmetry between (\$\sqrt{B4}\$, A4, F4) and (F5, E5, \$\cdot\C5)\$ which is exploited melodically: F5 also appears frequently as an upper neighbor resolving to E5 (see "Agbe me lo loo", "Bu tso me kpo"). Similarly, in Type II, G4 may be lowered in descent to E4, as in "Bahe viwo". These intonational variants occur consistently, but are too close to be distinguished as separate tonemes; they are better considered as subtonemes.

Stability, Dominance, and Attack

I generated modal statistics for the following representative subset of the songs. This subset consists of 20 songs, and includes instances of each type for each composer, when available (an asterisk indicates a hatsiatsia song).

Songs for Modal Analysis

Type I:

Novor: Afrika du kplo la wo

Mele klodzi na afeto*

Dza de ga va

Dunyo: Ame vuvo dom*

Ayele kpe du do Kugbea wota

Type II:

Novo: Kinka tonuglawo*

Mivo gbeto

Gbeto nye togoglo

Dunyo: Gbe nu wom

Agbe ko Kluvia

Hufenu: Medzihu maka fa agbeli*

Dzogade dzegbe*

Type III:

Novo: Dome levo

Dunyo: Ma tsi gbe

Mia woe zo

Hufenu: Segbonya mawu enam

Agbeliza mieduge Abgeliza do agoo The following table shows stability, dominance, and attack statistics for each of the preceding songs. Percentages may not always add to 100 due to rounding errors. Tonemes are named by letter name and octave number only (no modifier arrows are shown).

		Kir	ıka	Song	g St	atist	ics				
N.B.: Stability is expressed in sixteenth notes. All other values are percentages.											
TYP	ΕI										
Novo	•										
Afrik	a du k	plo la	wo								
stab dom att	E4 12 21 6	F4 3 12 15	A4 4 21 20	B4 3 23 30	C5 2 10 14	E5 3 11 13	F5 3 1 1	A5 2 0 1			
Mele	klodz	i na a <i>f</i>	eto*								
stab dom att	E4 10 26 13	F4 3 16 18	A4 2 17 20	B4 3 19 23	C5 2 15 18	E5 4 7 8	F5 2 1 1				
Dza	đe ga	va									
stab dom att	E4 9 26 15	F4 3 11 13	A4 4 18 21	B4 3 12 12	C5 2 20 25	E5 3 9 11	F5 4 3 3				
Duny	o:										
Ame	vuvə	dom*									
stab dom att	E4 9 30 14	F4 3 15 17	A4 3 16 18	B4 2 17 22	C5 2 14 18	E5 2 7 10	F5 2 1 1				

Ayele	Ayele kpe du do									
stab dom att	C4 2 0 0	E4 6 27 18	F4 2 13 20	A4 3 27 24	B4 2 17 21	C5 3 15 14	E5 2 2 3			
Kugb	ea wota	ı								
stab dom att	E4 16 31 11	F4 2 8 12	A4 3 22 27	B4 2 8 14	C5 3 20 20	E5 2 10 14	F5 2 0 1			
TYPI	E II									
Novo:										
Kinka	tonugl	awo*								
stab dom att	D4 3 0 0	E4 9 27 13	G4 2 6 8	A4 4 35 38	C5 2 12 16	D5 2 11 14	E5 2 8 10	G5 2 0 1		
Mivo	gbeto									
stab dom att	D4 2 2 3	E4 10 25 9	G4 2 12 19	A4 4 22 21	C5 2 19 27	D5 3 9	E5 2 10 11	F5 2 1 1		
Gbeta	nye to	goglo								
stab dom att	D4 2 1	E4 14 21 8	G4 4 13 13	A4 4 24 28	C5 4 22 25	D5 4 15 20	E5 2 1 1	F5 5 3 4	G5 2 1 1	
Dunyo):									
Gbe r	nu wəm	l								
stab dom att	D4 2 1 2	E4 10 22 11	G4 3 6 7	A4 5 27 21	C5 2 11 17	D5 3 16 20	E5 3 15 19	G5 3 2 2		

The Tonal Character of Kinka Songs

Agbe	ko							
stab dom att	D4 6 5 4	E4 5 24 19	G4 2 19 25	A4 3 21 21	C5 3 22 21	D5 2 6 6	E5 3 3 3	F5 2 0 0
Kluv	ia							
stab dom att	E4 5 25 14	G4 3 10 10	A4 3 21 27	C5 3 22 25	D5 2 13 15	E5 3 9	F5 3 1 1	
Hufe	nu:							
Meda	zihu ma	ıka fa a	igbeli*					
stab dom att	D4 2 3 4	E4 9 36 18	G4 2 8 13	A4 3 24 31	C5 3 14 16	D5 2 10 12	E5 3 6 6	
Dzog	jađe dz	egbe*						
stab dom att	D4 3 3 4	E4 11 29 12	G4 2 14 19	A4 3 25 25	C5 2 17 24	D5 2 9 10	E5 4 5 6	
TYP	E III							
Novo	:							
Dom	e levo							
stab dom att	E4 11 18 8	G4 5 22 21	A4 3 25 29	C5 3 23 26	D5 2 11 14	F5 3 2 2		

The Tonal Character of Kinka Songs

Duny	o:									
Ma t	Ma tsi gbe									
stab dom att	D4 3 6 10	E4 5 20 14	G4 2 17 20	A4 3 26 25	C5 2 13 15	D5 3 14 12	E5 2 3 4			
Mia	woe zo	,								
stab dom att	D4 2 2 5	E4 6 24 11	G4 3 24 27	A4 3 23 26	C5 2 17 20	D5 3 9 10	F5 2 1 1			
Hufe	nu:									
Segb	onya m	awu e	nam							
stab dom att	D4 3 2 2	E4 5 18 14	G4 3 19 19	A4 2 21 27	C5 3 24 22	D5 2 14 16	F5 2 2 2			
Agbe	liza mi	eduge								
stab dom att	D4 3 2 2	E4 6 24 13	G4 3 23 24	A4 3 21 26	C5 3 19 20	D5 2 10 13	F5 2 1 1			
Abge	Abgeliza do agoo									
stab dom att	D4 2 2 3	E4 7 23 11	G4 3 20 25	A4 4 30 30	C5 2 16 21	D5 3 9 10				

It is clear from the stability data that E4 has a relatively high stability for all of the songs, corresponding to its use as a phrase, section, and song final. Further, E4 is significantly more stable than all other tonemes (with the sole exception of "Agbe ko"). Since E4 is both a final and the lowest or next to lowest toneme of each set, it appears to represent the stable resting point of minimum potential, towards which all melodic motion descends.

Patterns in dominance and attack are harder to discern. Usually E4 and A4 are among the most dominant tonemes, a fact which underscores the importance of this harmonic frame, and jibes with their frequent use in cadences.

In Type I either B4 or C5 may also be elevated in dominance, while the upper and lower extrema {C4, E5, F5, A5} are not emphasized. E4 is less prominent in attack than in dominance, because this toneme tends not to be at the center of melodic action, but rather at its conclusion. It is therefore attacked less often (but with long durations). Otherwise, attack roughly corresponds with dominance.

The patterns are more clear in Type II: E4, A4, and occasionally C5 are most dominant, and A4 and C5 are usually most often attacked. As before, the upper and lower extensions, D4 and from D5 upwards, are less often used.

Dominance in Type III is in many cases spread over E4, G4, A4, and C5. Thus dominance reveals less about characteristic tonal functions for this Type. In attacks, A4 is again most prominent, along with the other dominant tonemes save E4. Overall, the upper tonemes D5, E5, and F5 are less prominent in dominance and attack.

Patterns in dominance and attack in all three types thus indicate the importance of the E4-A4 harmonic frame, and bracket a primary melodic ambitus from E4 to C5.

Transition Statistics

The following toneme transition statistics partially represent the modal character of 19 Kinka songs. Three kinds of statistics are provided for each song. Each cell of the transition matrix indicates the transition rate, expressed in percent, from the toneme named in the cell's row to the toneme named in the cell's column. Once again, tonemes are named by letter and octave number only; no modifier arrows are shown. Asterisks indicate hatsiatsia songs.

Following the matrix, a summary of the total percentage of ascending, descending, and static (neither ascending nor descending) transitions is given.² Finally, a summary of the

¹Transition counts were computed from the transcriptions, following the voice leading rules described earlier in the section on notation.

²These numbers are equivalent to the sum of the upper right matrix triangle, lower left matrix triangle, and upper left-lower right diagonal, respectively (where the triangles exclude the diagonal).

percentage transitions for each modal interval¹ is shown, with the modal interval numbers on the first line, and the percentages on the second. Percentages may not always add to 100% due to rounding errors.

Transition statistics present a much vaster quantity of information than stability and dominance, since there is a transition rate for every pair of tonemes. Of course, many of these are zero. I distill the data by concentrating on transitions with the highest rates only. In the tables below, I present these peak rates in boldface.

 $^{^{1}}$ Modal intervals are counted in reference to the appropriate toneme set: an interval of x represents a distance which includes x tonemes, inclusive of the endpoints. When discussing directed intervals (as above), positive indicates ascent, and negative descent. The unison, or prime, is indicated by 1.

Type	I		_					
	afrik	a du	kplo	la wo	: Ton	eme T	`ransiti	on Statistics (%)
ļ	E4	F4	A 4	В4	C5	E5	F5	A 5
TF 4								_
E4	0	3	2	1	0	0	0	0
F4	5	4	2	2	0	0	0	0
A 4	0	6	3	8	2	1	0	0
B4	1	1	7	1 2	9	1	0	0
C5	0	0	6	5	2	2	1	0
E5	0	0	0	1	4	6	1	1
F5	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
A 5	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
	. 25	ъ	. 20	a	07			
Ascen	it 35,	Desce	ent 38,	Statio	c 27			
Moda	1 Inte	rval S	Statistic	es (%)):			
- 4	- 3	- 2	1	2	3	4		
1	8	29	27	24	9	2		

Type	I							-			
	ame	cvuv	dom*	: Tor	neme T	ransiti	on Sta	tistics	(%)		
	E4	F4	A 4	B 4	C5	E5	F5				
E4	5	3	3	1	0	1	0				
F4	6	5	3	2	1	0	0				
A 4	0	7	4	3	4	0	0				
B4	0	1	6	5	8	1	0				
C5	2	1	4 -	9	1	4	0				
E5	0	0	0	0	6	3	1				
F5	0	0	0	0	0	1	0				
Asson	+ 26	Dagga	nt 12	Static	. 22						
Ascen	ıı 50,	Desce	III 42,	Stanc	22						
Moda	l Inte	Interval Statistics (%):									
- 5	- 4	- 3	- 2	1	2	3	4	5	6		
2	1	5	3 4	22	22	10	2	1	1		
L											

Type	I										
	ayel	e kpe	du d	lo: To	neme	Transi	tion S	tatistics (%)			
	C4	E4	F4	A 4	B4	C5	E5				
C4	0	0		0	0	0	0				
E4				1			0				
F4	0	6	4	5	2	1	0				
A 4		2		7	8	1	0				
B4		0		8							
C5	0	1	0	4	6		2				
E5	0	0	0	0	0	2	0				
Ascer	nt 37	Descr	ent 30	, Stati	c 24						
Ascer	It 31,	Desci		, Stati	C 24						
Moda	Modal Interval Statistics (%):										
- 5	- 4	- 3	- 2	1	2	3	4	5			
1	0	7	3 1	24	3 1	4	2	0			
<u> </u>											

Type	I							
	dza	de ga	va:	Tonem	ne Trai	nsition	Statist	tics (%)
	E4	F4	A 4	B4	C5	E5	F5	
E4	6	2	3	0	1	2	0	
F4	5	1	1	0	5	0	0	
A 4	1	9	5	2	5	0	0	
B4	0	1	1	2	8	1	0	
C5	2	0	11	7	2	4	1	
E5	0	0	0	1	6	2	2	
F5	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	
Ascen	it 35,	Desce	nt 46,	Statio	18			
Moda	1 Inte	rval S	tatistic	cs (%)	:			
- 5	- 3	- 2	1	2	3	4	5	6
	2		•	2	5	•	3	Ŭ
2	1 4	3 1	18	18	9	5	1	2
[• '	<i>J</i> 1	2.0	1 0	•		•	

Type	e I kugbea wota: Toneme Transition Statistics (%)									
	kugb	ea w	ota:	Tonen	ne Trai	nsition	Statistics (%)			
	E4	F4	A 4	B4	C5	E5	F5			
E4	4	3	4	0	0	1	0			
F4	6	0	5	0	1	0	0			
A 4	0	8	7	6	4	2	0			
B4	0	1	6	2	8	0	0			
C5	1	0	6	7	2	7	0			
E5	0	0	0	2	7	4	1			
F5	0	0	0	0	0	1	0			
Ascen	t 40,	Desce	nt 42,	Static	: 18					
Moda	l Interval Statistics (%):									
- 5	- 3	- 2	1	2	3	4	6			
1	8	3 4	18	29	8	2	1			
						-				

Type	I								
	mele	klodz	zi na (afetɔ*	: Ton	eme T	ransiti	on Statistics	(%)
	E4	F4	A 4	B4	C5	E5	F5		
E4	5	3	2	1	1	1	0		:
F4	6	5	3	3	1	0	0		
A 4	0	9	2	7	4	1	0		
B4	0	1	2 5	7	8	2	0		
C5	2	0	8	6	3	0	0		
E5	0	0	0	2	2	3	1		
F5	0	0	0	0	0	1	0		
Ascen	t 36,	Desce	nt 40,	Static	24				
Moda	Inter	val S	tatistic	s (%)	:				
- 5	- 3	- 2	1	2	3	4	5	6	
2	10	28	24	22	10	2	1	1	
	_	_		-	_				

Type	II agbe ko: Toneme Transition Statistics (%)										
	D4	E4	G4	A 4	C5	D5	E5	F5			
D4	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0			
E4	0	5	8	2	0	0	0	0			
G4	2	8	5	10	3	0	0	0			
A 4	0	2	9	3	8	0	0	0			
C5	0	0	3	10	5	4	1	0			
D5	0	0	0	1	4	0	1	0			
E5	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0			
F5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
Ascen	t 39,	Desce	nt 41,	Static	20						
Moda	l Interval Statistics (%):										
- 4	- 3	- 2	1	2	3	4					
0	8	32	20	32	6	1					

Type		nu w	om: '	Toneme Transition Statistics (%)							
	D4	E 4	G4	A 4	C5	D5	E5	G5			
D4	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0			
E4	1	4	2	2	1	0	1	0			
G4	0	2	2	2	0	0	0	0			
A 4	0	2	2	6	7	2	2	0			
C5	0	1	2	6	2	3	3	0			
D5	0	0	0	4	2	7	7	1			
E5	0	0	0	0	5	8	4	0			
G5	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0			
Ascen	it 36,	Desce	ent 38,	Statio	26						
Moda	al Interval Statistics (%):										
- 4	- 3	- 2	1	2	3	4	5	6			
2	15	22	26	23	8	3	0	1			

Type	· II										
	kinka	toni	uglaw	ro*: 7	Coneme	Trans	sition	Statisti	cs (%)		
									:		
	D4	E4	G4	A 4	C5	D5	E5	G5			
D4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
E4	0	5	2	4	0	0	0	0			
G4	0	2	0	5	0	0 .	0	0			
A 4	0	4	4	17	9	3	1	0			
C5	0	1	1	7	3	4	1	0			
D5	0	0	0	5	5	3	3	0			
E5	0	0	0	0	0	5	2	0			
G5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
Ascen	it 34,	Desce	nt 36,	Static	29						
Moda	l Inter	rval S	tatistic	s (%)	:						
- 5	- 4	- 3	- 2	1	2	3	4	5	6		
1	1	10	24	29	23	8	2	0	0		
			- '					~	_		

Туре	II kluvia: Toneme Transition Statistics (%)										
	E4	G4	A 4	C5	D5	E5	F5				
E4	3	4	4	1	0	0	0				
G4	5	3	2	2	0	0	0				
A 4	4	4	1.1	8	3	0	0				
C5	1	0	8	8	5	2	0				
D5		0	4	6	1	3	0				
E5	0	0	0	1	4	3	0				
F5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0				
Ascen	t 35,	Desce	nt 37,	Static	28						
Modal	Modal Interval Statistics (%):										
- 5	- 4	- 3	- 2	1	2	3	4	6			
0	1	8	27	28	22	12	1	0			

Туре	II mivo gbeto: Toneme Transition Statistics (%)											
	D4	E4	G4	A 4	C5	D5	E5	F5				
D4	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0				
E4	1	2	3	2	1	0	1	0				
G4	1	4	5	5	3	0	0	0				
A 4	0	2	6	4	7	1	2	0				
C5	0	0	4	8	10	5	2	0				
D5	0	0		2	4	0	1	0				
E5	0	0	0	0	3	4	2	0				
F5	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0				
Ascen	t 37,	Desce	nt 40,	Static	23							
Modal	l Interval Statistics (%):											
- 5	- 4	- 3	- 2	1	2	3	4	6				
0	0	11	28	23	23	10	3	1				

Type					fa agbeli*:		Toneme Transition Statistics (%)				
	D4	E4	G4	A 4	C5	D5	E5				
D4	0	2	0	0	0	0	0				
E4		5		4	0	0	0				
G4		6		5	1	0	0				
A 4	0	4	7	10	7	5	0				
C5	0	0	0	8	2	4	2				
D5	0	0	0	5	5	0	2				
E5	0	0	0	0	0	4	2				
Ascen	it 38,	Desce	nt 42,	Static	20						
Moda	Inte	rval S	tatistic	es (%)	:						
- 5	- 4	- 3	- 2	1	2	3	4				
0	0	9	33	20	26	1 1	1				

```
Type II
      dzogade dzegbe*: Toneme Transition Statistics (%)
      D4
            E4
                  G4
                        A 4
                              C5
                                    D5
                                          E5
            2
D4
      2
                  0
                        0
                              0
                                    0
                                          0
                        2
E4
      1
            3
                  4
                              0
                                          0
                                    0
G4
      0
            7
                  4
                        6
                              3
                                    0
                                          0
                              8
                  9
A 4
            0
                        6
                                    2
                                          1
      1
C5
                  2
                        10
     0
            0
                              6
                                    6
                                          1
                                          0
D5
      0
            0
                  1
                        2
                              6
                                    0
E5
                  0
                        0
                                    2
                                          3
            0
                              0
      0
Ascent 35, Descent 41, Static 24
Modal Interval Statistics (%):
- 4
      - 3
            - 2
                  1
                        2
                              3
                                    4
1
      4
            36
                  24
                        25
                              9
                                    1
```

```
Type III
      dome levo: Toneme Transition Statistics (%)
      E4
            G4
                  A 4
                        C5
                              D5
                                    F5
E4
                  2
            2
                                    0
      2
                        0
                              0
      3
G4
            7
                  6
                        4
                              0
                                    0
      2
            10
                  7
                        8
A 4
                              4
                                    0
C5
                  1 2
                              7
      0
            2
                        6
                                    0
D5
                        10
                              1
                                    2
      0
            0
                  1
                              2
F5
            0
                  0
                        0
                                    0
      0
Ascent 35, Descent 43, Static 22
Modal Interval Statistics (%):
- 3
                       3
      - 2
            1
                  2
5
                  24
     38
           22
                        11
```

```
Type III
     ma tsi gbe: Toneme Transition Statistics (%)
           E4
                 G4
                       A 4
                             C5
                                  D5
      D4
                                        E5
     3
           4
                 0
D4
                       0
                             0
                                   0
                                        0
E4
     3
           4
                 3
                       2
                                        0
                             0
                                   1
                 7
           7
                       8
                                  0
                                        0
G4
      1
                             0
                 8
                       9
A 4
           0
                             5
                                  4
                                        0
     0
C5
                       8
                             4
                                  2
                                        1
      0
           0
                 1
                                        2
                 1
                             5
D5
      1
           0
                       0
                                   4
                 0
                                        0
E5
           0
                       0
                             1
                                  2
     0
Ascent 33, Descent 36, Static 31
Modal Interval Statistics (%):
- 6
           - 3
                 - 2
                       1
                             2
                                        5
     - 4
                                  3
                 32
                             26
     1
           2
                       3 1
                                        1
                                  7
1
```

	:									
	mia	woe z	:o: To	oneme	Transi	tion S	tatistics (%)			
	D4	E4	G4	A 4	C5	D5	F5			
D4	1	1	1	0	0	0	0			
E4	1	0	5	2	1	0	0			
G4	1	8	7	11	1	0	0			
A 4	0	1	13	5	10	3	0			
C5	0	0	0	13	3	3	0			
D5	0	0	1	0	5	3	1			
F5	0	0	0	0	0	1	0			
Ascent 38, Descent 43, Static 19										
Modal Interval Statistics (%):										
- 4	- 3	- 2	1	2	3	4				
1	2	40	19	30	8	1				

```
Type III
      segbonya mawu enam: Toneme Transition Statistics (%)
                             C5
            E4
                       A 4
                                   D5
                                         F5
      D4
                  G4
D4
      0
            1
                  0
                       0
                             0
                                   0
                                         0
            3
                       2
                                         0
E4
      1
                  4
                             0
                                   1
                                         0
            7
                       9
G4
      0
                 2
                             1
                                   0
                 12
                       5
                             1 2
A 4
                                   2
                                         0
     0
            0
C5
            0
                 0
                       1 2
                             3
                                   7
                                         0
      0
                  0
                             9
                                   3
                                         1
D5
      0
            0
                       0
F5
            0
                 0
                       0
                             0
                                   1
                                         0
     0
Ascent 41, Descent 44, Static 15
Modal Interval Statistics (%):
                 2
- 3
      - 2
            1
                       3
                                   5
                             4
0
                 35
                       5
                                   1
      44
            15
                             0
```

```
Type III
      agbeliza mieduge: Toneme Transition Statistics (%)
                 G4
      D4
            E4
                             C5
                                   D5
                                         F5
                        A4
            2
D4
      0
                 0
                        0
                              0
                                   0
                                         0
E4
      2
            2
                 5
                        3
                             0
                                   1
                                         0
G4
            8
                 4
                       1 2
                                         0
      0
                             1
                                   0
A 4
                 14
                             11
      0
            0
                       4
                                   1
                                         0
C5
      0
            0
                 1
                       11
                             2
                                   6
                                         0
D5
      0
            0
                 0
                        1
                             8
                                   1
                                         1
F5
      0
            0
                 0
                       0
                             0
                                   1
                                         0
Ascent 42, Descent 45, Static 13
Modal Interval Statistics (%):
                             5
- 3
      - 2
            1
                 2
                       3
1
      43
           13
                 37
                       4
                             1
```

Type	III									
	abge	liza d	lo ago	00: To	oneme	Transition Statistics (%)				
	D4		G4	A 4	C5	D5				
D4	1	1	1	0	0	0				
E4	2	2	5	1	1	0				
G4	0	7	7	7	4	0				
A 4	0	0	1 2	9	8	2				
C5	0	0	0	1 2	4	4				
D5	0	0	0	1	5	2				
Ascent 34, Descent 40, Static 26										
Modal Interval Statistics (%):										
- 3	- 2	1	2	3	4					
1	2.0	2.6	2.5		1					
1	38	26	23	8	1					

The upper-left/lower-right diagonal of each matrix contains transition rates for unisons (static transitions). It is easy to see that transition rates increase from zeros in the upper-right and lower-left corners to the peak values near this diagonal. Furthermore, rates general increase towards the center of the matrix. These facts show that large leaps are uncommon, and that melodic action is concentrated towards the center of each toneme set.

This impression is supported by the modal interval statistics. Unisons and modal seconds, in ascent and descent, usually account for at least 70% of all transitions, and in several cases account for more than 90%. Modal thirds are used more sparingly, and larger intervals are rare.

Ascent, descent, and static statistics show that descending intervals are more common in every case, by 2% to 8%. This corresponds to the fact that Eve melodies on the whole tend to descend more than they ascend; in Kinka E5 is a nearly universal final, and lies near the bottom of every toneme set.¹

¹Several authors have remarked on the tendency of African melody to descend. See Nketia's article on **Ghana** in <u>The New Grove</u> (p. 329), and Hornbostel (1928:34), who maintains that downward melodic motion is natural for the "psycho-physical constitution of man".

Examining the matrices in greater detail, we observe that in Type I transitions B4-C5, and A4-F4 are most common, with respectively 8% and 7% of all transitions within the type. These are followed by A4-B4 (4%), B4-A4 (4%), and C5-B4 (4%). In Type II, C5-A4 (7%), A4-C5 (7%), and A4-A4 (6%) have the highest incidence; A4-G4 (4%), G4-A4 (2%), and C5-C5 (2%) are also prominent. In Type III there are a small number of highly salient transitions. For these five songs, C5-A4 and A4-G4 each constitute 10% of all transitions, followed by A4-C5 (8%), and G4-A4 (6%).

These results imply the following primary melodic motions:

```
Type I: F4 \leftarrow A4 \leftrightarrow B4 \leftrightarrow C5

Type II: G4 \leftrightarrow A4 \leftrightarrow C5

Type III: G4 \leftrightarrow A4 \leftrightarrow C5
```

The congruity between the three types now becomes clear. Primary transitions involve modal stepwise motion between A4 and its neighbors, and between B4 and C5 in Type I.

The preceding modal analysis is far from complete. However, even crude counting techniques help us to see patterns in the data. These patterns indicate that the modal style within a toneme set type, and also among types, is quite specific: Kinka songs share many modal characteristics.

Tonality and Form

The last aspect of compositional tonality I will consider in this thesis is the tonality of form. Kinka songs employ a small number of standard forms, with common tonal properties. As in the case of toneme set and mode, investigations into form provide concrete evidence for the homogeneity of the song population.

Form is the result of reducing music to its sectional structure. Like other reductions, form is in principle defined relative to musical conception. As usual I infer form from the natural sectional structure of the music. How can this natural form be determined?

Eve songs consist of segments which repeat, sometimes with minor variations. I assume that any large block of musical material which repeats can be safely assumed to constitute a natural sectional unit: the repetition of a thing is the clearest possible statement of its object-hood. Since a thing surrounded by objects is itself perceived as an object, blocks of music

¹I give every song equal weight when computing these averages across a toneme set type.

lying between sections can also legitimately be recognized as sections. Finally, there are natural division points in the songs, such as group/leader transitions, and long tones on E4 which last a measure or more, which define sectional boundaries.¹

Repetition may occur at several levels: there are sections, and subsections. I assign capital Roman letters to the distinct top-level sectional divisions in the order of their occurrence, such that equivalent sections receive the same letter. Thus the first section, which consists of a call/response pair, is always "A", and the section which begins with the call "oh be Kinka viwo" (meaning, roughly, "oh Kinka comrades..."), or one of its variants,² is called "B", whenever it occurs. Subsectional repetition within a section is indicated with a sequence of lower case Roman letters enclosed within square brackets and following the capital letter of the enclosing section.³ Sections which contain subsections are called compound sections.

I consider that two sections are equivalent, and hence the latter a repetition of the first, if they have approximately the same text and rhythmic structure, along with similar melodic contours. Such sections are marked with the same letter. If differences in melodic content are a matter of performance variation only, the two sections are not differentiated in the formal notation at all.⁴ When melodic differences are compositional, i.e. common to all performances, then I indicate the two sections with the same letter, but note that a "tonal transformation" has occurred.

Many of these tonal transformations are primarily manifested as a change in ending. Therefore I augment every sectional (and subsectional) symbol with a subscript, indicating the final toneme(s).⁵ For this purpose, tonemes are numbered sequentially in ascending order, with E4 = 0, and A4 = 2. Chords are indicated with a slash (e.g. 2/0). Occasional negative integers represent tonemes below E4. On the assumption that leader/group melodic segments are also of formal interest, I indicate these as well (with the letters "L"

⁵Small note heads in the transcriptions are not considered as potential finals.

¹Since E4 is used so often as a cadential terminus, it must acquire a general significance as an ending-marker.

²There are many textual variants on this call, all with similar meanings. The leader may select any variant, extemporaneously.

³The denotation of a subsectional letter is conditioned by its sectional context. Thus, in A[aa] B[aa], the first two a's each denote the same musical material, call it X. Likewise, the latter two each denote the same material, Y. However, X is not necessarily equivalent to Y.

⁴When differences are a matter of performance style variation only, they will appear independently in either section. That is, if many performances are collected, corresponding sections will be identical in their variability. This independence is proof that the differences do not distinguish the sections compositionally.

and "G" written above the formula), giving also their finals enclosed in parentheses when they do not correspond with a labelled section.

Indicating only the final tonemes of each section is a drastic oversimplification of the actual tonal transformation, and in some cases hides it entirely. Within compound sections, subsection repetitions always involve some degree of tonal transformation, even when finals are identical. However, this simple device is sufficient for an initial analytical foray, which is all I can attempt in the present work.

An integer immediately preceding a sectional letter is a repeat index, and indicates the number of exact repetitions of that section, without tonal transformation. When groups of sections repeat, I enclose them in brackets and place the repeat index just before the left bracket.¹

Sometimes a section repeats in truncated form. This is often true of the compound sections, which are divided into subsections. In these cases, I use the same sectional letter, but indicate the missing sections with dashes. Thus, the formula

$$A_0[a_1a_0] B_0 A_0[-a_0]$$

means that a₁ is omitted on the second repetition of A.

As an example of this notation, consider the following tonal formula ("Bahe viwo"):

This indicates that an initial section, A, with final E4, consists of two formally equivalent subsections (a call and response pair), each with final E4. This section is repeated. Next, another section (B), consisting of a call (final on A4) and response (final on C4) is repeated, this time with response final A4. Finally the initial section repeats, omitting the second subsection.

I prepared such tonal formulas for all of the "drumming" and "music" songs in my collection of transcriptions. These are presented below, together with a statistical

¹One might wonder why such a repeating group is not itself labelled as a top-level section. I have tried to maintain a certain consistency of scale in assigning sectional letters. If a top-level section is composed of subsections, each of which is the size of a usual section, I attempt to notate these subsections with capital letters, and indicate the supersection in some other way.

summary, in a classificatory scheme which I will subsequently explicate. The musical designations of sectional and subsectional letters are indicated on the transcriptions.

Tonal Form Analysis: Kinka drumming and music songs

The following tonal formulas are reductions of 38 Kinka drumming and music songs: 5 by Hufenu, 16 by Dunyo, and 17 by Novo. The song title appears just *below* each formula.

I. Simple A, tonal transformation in B

a. Simple A tonal transformation in B extended rounded

segbonya mawu enam

agbeliza mieduge

abgeliza do agoo

dunyo yitsie medogbena

hayia gbe ve

b. Simple A tonal transformation in B extended

L G L G L G
$$2A_0(1\ 0)\ 2\{B_0(3\ 0)\ B_{2/0}(3\ 2/0)\ C_0\}$$
 mi wo nyuie

c. Simple A tonal transformation in B rounded

mia woe zo

devisue menye¹

¹As I noted earlier, "Devisue menye" has a complex toneme set, which may be considered the superposition of two smaller sets. In this notation, finals marked with a prime superscript indicate toneme number within the subordinate set; unprimed finals indicate toneme number within the dominant set. See the section on toneme sets earlier in this chapter for further information.

d. Simple A tonal transformation in B, and A rounded

II. Symmetric A, tonal transformation in B

a. Symmetric A tonal transformation in B extended rounded

L G L G L G
$$2A_0[a_0 \ a_0] \ B_0(0 \ 0) \ B_2(2 \ 2) \ C_0 \ A_0[-a_0]$$
 kugbea wota

L G L G L G
$$2A_0[a_1 \ a_0]$$
 $2\{B_0(0 \ 0)$ $B_2(2 \ 2)$ $C_1 \ A_0[-a_0]\}$ gbeto nye togoglo

L G L G L G
$$2A_0[a_2 \ a_0] \ B_0(0 \ 0) \ B_2(2 \ 2) \ C_0 \ C_2/0 \ A_0[-a_0]$$
 butso me kpo

b. Symmetric A tonal transformation in B rounded

bahe viwo

agbe me lo loo

kumadi

vua va dze

miylo ena do

c. Hypersymmetric A tonal transformation in B extended

L G L G L G
$$2\{A_0[a_0\ a_0]\ AA[a_0\ a_0]\}\ 2\{B_0(0\ 0)\ B_{4/2}(0\ 4/2)\ C_0\}$$

afrika du kplo la wo1

d. Symmetric A tonal transformation in B extended

dome levo

¹Here "AA" is simply another sectional label. I wanted to preserve the label "B" for the "oh be Kinka viwo" section.

III. No tonal transformation

a. Simple A no tonal transformation extended

hanye zua lãga dogbe (8)

mivo gbeto

b. Simple A no tonal transformation rounded

ago meno anyi kpoo

c. Simple A no tonal transformation

nyea me le alõme

agbe me nu wo¹

d. Symmetric A rounded

gbe nam

¹The last tone of the song is indistinct, sung under the breath.

IV. Tonal transformation in A

a. Simple A tonal transformation in A extended

$$^{\rm L}$$
 G $^{\rm L}$ G $^{\rm A}_0$ (4 0) $^{\rm A}_{4/2}$ (2 4/2) 2B0 C0 C2/0 D0 agbe me fu wo

b. Simple A tonal transformation in A, and B rounded

(Same as I.d.)

c. Simple A tonal transformation in A

L G L G A₀(0 0) A₂(2 2) B₀[4a₀ a₂ a₀]
$$2B_0$$
[---- a₀(2 0)] lebene viwo

V. Special forms.

gbe nu wom

kluvia

L G L G L G L G L G 2{A₀(0 0)
$$A_2$$
(2 -)] B₀} C₀[a₂ a₀] 2D₀[a₀(0 0) $a_{4/2}$ (2 4/2) a_0 (2/0 0)]

ku gble nume nam

Tonal Form Analysis Summary

The following statistics are compiled from 38 Kinka drumming and music songs: 5 by Hufenu, 16 by Dunyo, and 17 by Novo. Statistics show the number of songs by each composer in each category, as a raw number, and as a percent of all songs composed by that composer.

I. Simple A, tonal transformation in B

Hufenu: 4 (80%) Dunyo: 5 (31%) Novo: 3 (18%) Total: 12 (32%)

a. Simple A tonal transformation in B extended rounded

Hufenu: 4 (80%) Novo: 1 (6%) Total: 5 (13%)

b. Simple A tonal transformation in B extended

Dunyo: 1 (6%) Total: 1 (3%)

c. Simple A tonal transformation in B rounded

Dunyo: 2 (13%) Novo: 1 (6%) Total: 3 (8%) d. Simple A tonal transformation in B, and A rounded

Dunyo: 2 (13%) Total: 2 (5%)

II. Symmetric A, tonal transformation in B

Dunyo: 5 (31%) Novo: 7 (41%) Total: 12 (32%)

a. Symmetric A tonal transformation in B extended rounded

Dunyo: 3 (19%) Novo: 2 (12%) Total: 5 (13%)

b. Symmetric A tonal transformation in B rounded

Dunyo: 3 (19%) Novo: 2 (12%) Total: 5 (13%)

c. Hypersymmetric A tonal transformation in B extended

Novo: 1 (6%) Total: 1 (3%)

d. Symmetric A tonal transformation in B extended

Novo: 1 (6%) Total: 1 (3%)

III. No tonal transformation

Hufenu: 1 (20%) Dunyo: 3 (19%) Novo: 4 (24%) Total: 8 (21%)

a. Simple A no tonal transformation extended

Hufenu: 1 (20%) Novo: 1 (6%) Total: 2 (5%)

b. Simple A no tonal transformation rounded

Novo: 1 (6%) Total: 1 (3%)

c. Simple A no tonal transformation

Dunyo: 1 (6%)
Novo: 1 (6%)
Total: 2 (5%)

d. Symmetric A rounded

Dunyo: 2 (13%) Novo: 1 (6%) Total: 3 (8%)

IV. Tonal transformation in A

Dunyo: 2 (13%) Novo: 4 (24%) Total: 6 (16%)

a. Simple A tonal transformation in A extended

Novo: 3 (18%) Total: 3 (8%)

b. Simple A tonal transformation in A, and B rounded

Dunyo: 2 (13%) Total: 2 (5%)

(Same as I.d)

c. Simple A tonal transformation in A

Novo: 1 (6%) Total: 1 (3%)

V. Special forms.

Dunyo: 3 (19%) Total: 3 (8%)

These tonal form reductions, seemingly diverse and complicated on the surface, are merely variations on a small number of fundamental types. In reducing and classifying this data, I soon realized that four variables accounted for most of the variation. The overall range of song forms is really quite limited.

The initial A section always contains a call/response pair. Some of these are simple, and others are compound, containing repeating subsections. The latter type are always of the form [aa]; hence I label them "symmetric". This simple/symmetric distinction is the first variable.¹

Following A is almost always a second section, B (usually beginning with the short call, "oh be Kinka viwo", or a similar phrase), which generally repeats. In most cases, the repetition of either A or B is modified by a tonal transformation which alters the final. Thus the second variable has three possible values: tonal transformation in A, tonal transformation in B, or no tonal transformation.

Some songs (especially the drumming songs) do not introduce any new sections beyond B, while others are *extended* as far as E. The value of the third variable is defined by the presence or absence of such an extension. The fourth variable depends upon whether the song is *rounded* (closing with a return to A), or open (no return to A).

Because I am primarily interested in tonality of form, I arbitrarily set the tonal transformation variable at the top of the taxonomic hierarchy. In fact, any of the variables could do as well. A summary of all the songs, listed alphabetically by formal type, is given in the **Appendix**.

It is worthwhile to consider the kinds of tonal transformation which occur. In the case of sectional repeats, the melody is usually altered in its ending, so that the final is raised by a modal third (perfect fourth). By far the most common motion is from 0 - 2 (i.e. E4-A4). Sometimes 2 is enriched by the presence of chord tones, thus: 0 - 2/0, or more rarely 0 - 4/2. Of the 29 songs (76% of the total) in which tonal transformation occurs at the level of sectional repeat, 26 (90%) employ this kind of tonal transformation. Deviating types include 0 - 4 ("Hayia gbe ve"), -2 - 2 ("Bahe viwo"), and -1 - 1 ("Kumaqi"). The sectional boundary in "Hayia gbe ve" is elided, and therefore suspect. In "Kumaqi" the

¹The separation between songs with simple and symmetric A sections is far from distinct. When the group's response closely resembles the leader's call, in rhythm and melodic contour, I classify the section as symmetric. But several songs with "simple" A sections could arguably be placed in the "symmetric" category. See, for example: "Hayia gbe ve", "Ma tsi gbe", "Mele agbe me".

tonal transformation is still at the interval of a modal third. This song, in fact, employs -1 as a final. Therefore, the tonal transformation -1 - 1 within "Kumaqi" is identical (relative to the final) to the more common 0 - 2 for a song with 0 as final.

Besides indicating tonal transformations, the subscripts exhibit the predominance of E4 as a phrase and sectional final. I think it is unnecessary to present statistics to convince the reader of this fact. Leader phrases frequently end on 1, 2, or 3; these tonemes are generally carried to 0 or 2 (in a tonal transformation) by the response.

The subsectional tonal transformations of symmetric A sections are more complicated, involving a general melodic repositioning, rather than merely a twist of the ending. Often the finals are the same. Consider "Bahe viwo". The call ends on E4. In the response, the calling phrase is initially shifted by a modal third (not an exact transposition, but a shift involving certain melodic readjustments). However, the response does not follow through on this shift (which would lead to a cadence on C4), but rather wends its way back, and also concludes on E4. Similar transformations are characteristic of the other symmetric A sections. A thorough elucidation of the principles underlying such transformations would be a fruitful goal for future research on Eve tonality.

Nearly all of Hufenu's songs (80%) fall into Type I: simple A, and tonal transformation in B. More particularly, all four of these songs are of Type I.a: extended and rounded. In his lengthy extensions, Hufenu tends to use repetitive melodies to support long texts. Thus Hufenu's songs are homogeneous not only in mode, but in form as well. Novo (18%) and Dunyo (31%) also make extensive use of Type I, but their songs are differentiated somewhat by extensions and rounding.

The plurality of Novo's songs (41%), and many of Dunyo's (31%) are of Type II, with its symmetric A section. All of these are rounded (II.a and II.b), with two exceptions by Novo (II.c is labelled "hypersymmetric", because there is an extra level of repetition in the first half). Together, Types I and II account for 64% of the songs analyzed: 80% of Hufenu's, 62% of Dunyo's, and 59% of Novo's.

In Type III there is no tonal transformation at the level of the section. This type is used by all three composers: in a single song of Hufenu (20%), three of Dunyo (19%), and four of Novo (24%).

A relatively small number of songs (16%) evidence tonal transformation in A (Type IV). Novo employs Type IV in 24% of his songs. Three of these are quite similar (IV.a), with

the same tonal transformation (0 - 4/2).¹ Dunyo's songs of this category, IV.b, evince tonal transformation in both A and B sections, and hence are counted also in Type I.d.

Type V includes three special forms, derived from some of Dunyo's most complex creations. These forms are adaptations and combinations of the preceding types. In "Gbe nu wom", a standard Type III opening leads into a long and repetitive C section, concluding in the poignant² D section, with a call/response and tonal transformation structure which is practically a song in itself.

"Kluvia" opens with Type IV, leading to a C section which is later revealed as a group refrain in its alternation with the leader's verses. The entire form is rounded by a repetition of the first three sections. This use of a refrain form is unique among all the Eue songs I have ever heard.

Finally, in "Ku gble nume nam", tonal transformation on A gives way to a repetitive, declamatory B section. To this is added a long, compound C section, followed by a compound D section (which closely resembles the D section of "Gbe nu wom") with subsectional tonal transformation (and a modulation in toneme set to boot).

These three songs highlight Dunyo's unusual originality in manipulating the traditional forms.

Melodic Variation

Toneme set, mode, and form are compositional properties of Kinka songs, the same in every performance. In the present section I want to consider the *differences* among performances, and how these differences might be formulated intensionally as a performance style.

As I discussed earlier, Eve singers express individual style at three levels: choice, intonation and timbre, and improvisation. Choice occurs in the song sequence, and formal variation of each song, as determined by the leader. In choice, the units of change are large, and hence changes occur less frequently. Singers also display a high degree of microscopic variation in performance. This variation is minute, on the order of intonation and vocal timbre. From my observations and recordings, it seems that melodic improvisation is performed mostly by more experienced and adept singers. Improvisation

¹Note also that, as in "Agbe me fu wo", a tonal transformation may also occur in sections other than A and B.

²The sentiment is my own.

involves fewer potential changes per unit time than intonational variations, but those changes are more substantial and purposeful, involving alterations of melodic units.

In this section, I examine melodic variation as a vehicle for personal expression. Such variation is usually the result of improvisation. However, different singers may have different conceptions of the song *qua* composition, thus creating a varied texture when singing together, apart from improvisation. This variation from person to person does not seem to differ musically from the improvised kind.

Polyphony is produced when members of a singing group simultaneously and independently vary a melody. The natures of simultaneous and sequential variation do not differ substantively. A group setting may encourage experienced singers to create more variation, since there is a supporting group following the basic melody. But other times the group exerts a conservative force, tending towards monophony, since singers are liable to follow each other. Mr. Agbeli told me that when he would "try to divert" the melody, others would follow him. A solo singer may be inclined to follow the normative melodic line, whatever that may be, but may also be released from constraints of group conformity, and thus improvise more freely. Thus group size may affect melodic variation, but not in any predictable way.

Listening to a group of experienced Eve singers, the Westerner may be struck by their unusual polyphonic style. Eve polyphony sounds as if it is based on parallelism of the perfect fourth, so different (apparently) from the Western use of thirds. But after having listened to, and transcribed, much Eve polyphony, I believe that this characterization is not a general principle, but only a common symptom of a more general underlying rule: *Eve polyphony is based on parallelism of the modal third*. Gerhard Kubik has reported exactly the same result in the multi-part singing of east and central Africa, including Malawi, northern Mozambique, Angola, and Central African Republic.(Kubik 1968).¹

Much Western polyphony is indeed based on parallelism of the third, but this third is not a fixed acoustic interval (in the sense of a constant frequency ratio). Rather, it is a fixed modal interval: it is a *modal* third, varying between major and minor depending on its location in the scale. So African and Western vocal harmonies are both commonly based on the modal third; these modal thirds tend to be perfect fourths or major/minor thirds as

¹Kubik refers to this parallelism of the modal third as the "single skipping process" (a modal third is an interval in which one scale degree has been skipped).

the underlying scale is pentatonic or heptatonic. It is a difference in toneme set, rather than interval, which determines the difference in sound.¹

This feature of Eve polyphony is easier to see on a staff which assigns successives lines and spaces to successive degrees of the toneme set. Then modal thirds are always adjacent lines or spaces. I present an example of such a "modal" staff notation in one version of "Nyea me le alõme", by Dunyo (see the **Appendix**).

But Eve polyphony is much more than singing in modal thirds. Depending on the Drum, vocal lines may be more or less melodically independent (although they are nearly always homophonic, due to a common text), moving in parallel, contrary, and oblique motion. As melodic lines separate and condense, the texture is now thick, now thin. I now consider the nature of this polyphony in detail for Kinka songs.

Concretely, the problem is the following: what are the "rules", tendencies, and probabilities governing the development of variations on a particular melodic line?² The notations in this thesis supply plenty of data from which to deduce contrapuntal patterns. However, I cannot determine from this data which line is the principal melody, and which are the variants; I cannot even know whether such a principal melody for each song exists at all.³ Furthermore, as I have discussed, my teachers did not provide me with a consistent answer to the problem of normative melody. My "rules of counterpoint" for Kinka must therefore be symmetric with respect to all the lines of a song; given an arbitrary line ("the melody"), the "rules" attempt to account for all of the others ("the variations"). The actual "rules" followed by the Eue themselves may be different, because there may in fact be a principal line. However, I am constrained to working within the audible data, and the principal line is interior.

In the discussion which follows, M represents the "melody", and V a "variation".

Because M and V follow the same text, the counterpoint is homophonic. The exceptions to this rule occur when textual interjections are introduced. Often these interjections serve to bridge phrases. However, interjections are relatively infrequent.

¹Thus major/minor third harmonies are common among the Akan, who often sing in heptatonic scales. Nketia notes that "Parallel thirds are characteristic of societies that use a basic heptatonic scale...", while "...in general the use of parallelism in fourths and fifths is more characteristic of pentatonic traditions..." (1974:161-163)

²In using the words "rules" and "governing" I do not wish to imply that the Eue are bound by some sort of musical legal code. Rather, my search is for a rule system which can account for Eue polyphony.

³The more common lines could be assumed to be the principal melodies. But there may be more than one of these.

M and V are nearly always separated by an integral number of modal thirds. In other words, at any particular time, M and V are modal third equivalent, in the same sense that the pitches C1, C2, and C3 are octave equivalent. Since any modal third contains two tonemes (by definition), modal third equivalence factors the toneme set into exactly two pitch classes.¹ So this rule can be restated: at any point in time, M and V always belong to the same modal third pitch class.

For the most part, any two lines have the same toneme set. That is, the collections of tonemes used by any two lines is nearly the same. If differences exist, they lie in extensions of one toneme at either end of the set. So V seems constrained to use tonemes that M uses, plus perhaps one or two extra as extensions. It is not clear to me how these extensions are determined; perhaps they are simply part of the song, remaining tacit until touched upon by a melodic variant.

Typically, V moves by unison or modal second. Modal thirds are less common, and leaps of bigger than a modal third are relatively rare. However, if M moves up (down) by an interval **i**, then intervals up (down) ranging in size between unison and **i** are not proscribed by this rule. Thus parallel motion is always possible, provided no other rules are violated. The rare motion by an interval greater than a modal third is typically preliminary to a vertical unison. When M is static (neither ascending nor descending), and V begins in unison with M, then V will often move (by modal third) as an anticipation of M. Several tones later, M "catches up" to rejoin V.

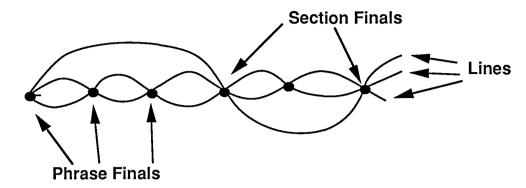
Separation between adjacent lines rarely exceeds a modal third. This means that normally M and V will be separated by a modal fifth or more (vertical modal fourths are rare, because two tones separated by a modal fourth are not modal third equivalent) only if there is an intervening line. Note that this rule does not pertain to registral differences, but only to separation once octave transpositional equivalence has been applied.

Lines tend to rejoin each other at the ends of phrases. All come together (usually on E4) at the cadences which conclude sections, and at the end of the song.² Thus the melody and its variants are continually separating, and condensing, creating a segmentary structure of

¹For example, consider the toneme set II.a = {D4,E4, G4, A4, \downarrow C5, D5, E5}. Here the two modal third pitch classes are {D4, G4, \downarrow C5, E5} and {E4, A4, D5}.

²This is the only one of the "rules" of Kinka counterpoint which I received more or less explicitly from my African teachers. David Rycroft notes the cadential significance of unisons in Nguni songs. But he also notes a certain proclivity to unison at chorus entries. (1967:93,98,103)

polyphony, thick and thin. The following diagram, in which the filled circles represent vertical unisons, is intended to represent this situation in the case of three lines:



Excessive polyphony is avoided in Kinka. For one thing, the convergence of some or all of the lines periodically restores the performance to monophony. Lines are frequently in unison, and employ considerable contrary motion. In other Drums, this is not so. For example, Gadzo and Ageshie songs (whose singing style is very similar) often consist of parallel motion throughout.

Some simple consequences of the above "rules" can be commonly found in the songs. Consider the case of two voice polyphony. If M is static, V is usually static, or moves towards M (else their separation would exceed a modal third). If M and V are separated by a modal third, with M above, then if M ascends V will usually ascend in parallel, unless there are other voices present. This is because the minimum upward leap for V which exceeds M's ascent is a modal fourth, which is not usually acceptable. If V ascends, but less than M, or if V descends, then the separation between the two will become too wide. So V must move in parallel to M. This parallelism generally concludes in unison when M descends, and V ascends, by a modal second.

The transcriptions supply many examples of the foregoing patterns of polyphony. The chord notation must be decoded using the rules presented in the section, **Interpreting Notations of Kinka Songs**, above. However, in the case of Dunyo's song, "Mele agbe", I provide a possible three-part realization of the transcription. All scores are included in the **Appendix**.

These patterns in Eue melodic variation are neither complete, nor consistent with the facts: they don't describe all the data, and they probably permit some variations which would never be sung. However, they do cover many of the typical cases. More importantly, they show that the variability of melodic variations is constrained. Governing even the diversity of performance is a set of tendencies and probabilities: the performance style.

Chapter 6: Patterns in Eve Music and Culture

Unity and Diversity in Eve Culture

In this thesis, I have tried to trace themes of unity and diversity throughout Eve performance culture. Eve performance pieces are highly integrated, articulated, and balanced aesthetic objects which establish a pervading ethos of repetition through the recurrence of patterns--actions, sounds, styles--throughout the event. In Eve performance, repetition itself seems to arise as a higher-order theme, unifying the whole in its recurrence among the various components, ritual, dance, percussion, and song.

In the Drum, patterns such as the bell and beat, call and response, and episodic structure repeat, not only within each component, but in synchrony among them. There is thus established a loose homology among the three. The style of drumming variations, songs, and dancing style is narrow and uniform. The Drum as a whole thus seems to express a concentrated potency, resulting from a convergence of energies, as the enormous power generated by the community of participants is forced to pass between narrow aesthetic boundaries. Much of the repertoire of Eve Drums is similarly focussed, and is thus unified as a whole. Through the unity of its music, the composition asserts the unity and identity of the group; the individual is absorbed into the collectivity.

But, in performance, patterns of infinite variety are inscribed on this monolithic Eue aesthetic, patterns as diverse as the people who created them. The composition is narrowly defined only in its macroscopic features. As we magnify its surface, variegated designs come into view, differing in their degree of deviation from the norm, if a norm can be said to exist at all. At this level, the group loses cohesion, fragments into a thousand capricious individuals, each expressing and emoting a unique personal style. Yet even from this microscopic perspective, much of the diversity is coherent, ordered, predictable in its variety. Eue performance thus simultaneously asserts the unity of the group--"We are all Eue"--and the separateness of its members--"I am myself". The unity of the group does not preclude the individual.

One of the primary functions of performance is unification. Shout "Le-be-ne!" ("Take care of it!") to any member of the Lebene society, and you will be answered with their group motto, "deka wowo!" ("Unity!"). This exchange is a unified statement of the cooperation

and interdependence necessary for survival. Many other benevolent societies have similar mottoes. There is even a Drum called Unity.

Eve performance expresses group and ethnic unity, and, more importantly, creates it. For the Eve, the expression of powerfully repetitive music is a potent reminder of their shared heritage. As Franklin Aheto, chairman of the Lebene society, told me: "The purpose of the society is to install a cordial relationship among the citizens, and to help each other in times of crisis....Drumming...organizes us more". Drumming at an event attracts a crowd, drawing the community together. It creates a social group with a shared purpose, acting as a catalyst for bonding among participants.

Fred explained that at funerals, the drumming provides both social and economic reinforcement for the bereaved family, since attendees contribute money towards funeral expenses. About the deeper significance of performance I can only speculate. At traditional ceremonies, such as the installation of a new chief, drumming possibly recalls the spirit of the ancestors; the force of Eve tradition is temporarily incarnated in the minds of participants so that the new chief may be impregnated with its power. During religious ritual, drumming may effectively forge a bond between initiate and god; perhaps it is in this unification of human and divine that the deity can temporarily take possession of a human body. What seems more certain is that in all of these situations the Drum helps to fulfill the need of the individual to express a degree of identity with *something* outside of the self.

Yet the individual cannot be completely submerged into the group, especially among the Eve, who are in many respects fiercely individualistic and self-expressive. Therefore the means for unification must provide some sort of release valve, as it were, for the individual, allowing him or her to maintain a measure of separateness and distinctiveness. In the Eve performance, this outlet for individuality does not contradict the function of unification, but rather supports it, by integrating the social and individual tendencies of the participants. The tremendous power of the ego is harnessed in the solidification of the group, through the efficacies of performance. But performance cannot be seen only in functionalist terms: performance reflects the preexisting unity of the group as well as providing a foundation for group identity.

In an earlier paper (Frishkopf 1988), I arrived at similar conclusions--that performance engenders social integration--in a study of Yoruba possession ritual through an elaboration on a paper by Gregory Bateson (1972). I quote my paper at length here, because I believe

that the same mechanisms are at work in Eue performance, and perhaps in other forms of traditional multimedia performance as well:

In his thought-provoking 1967 essay, "Style, Grace, and Information in Primitive Art", Gregory Bateson suggests, after Aldous Huxley, that the central problem for humanity is the quest for *Grace*. In Huxley's conception, Grace is the naivete and simplicity characteristic of both God and animal behavior, which human beings have lost, through deceitful artifice, purposive rationality, and self-consciousness. Further, he states that "the problem of grace is fundamentally a problem of integration and that what is to be integrated is the diverse parts of the mind--especially those multiple levels of which one extreme is called *consciousness* and the other the *unconscious*." The degree of integration, or grace, in a culture is coded in its art. Further, such integration may be induced through the efficacies of art, which is able to demonstrate the essential systemic unity of mind through redundant patterning which speaks both at the level of unconscious, and conscious mind. Art thus reflects grace in culture, but may also serve as a corrective in its absence, providing holistic wisdom, and counteracting excessively purposive behavior.

In considering Yoruba possession rituals, I extend Bateson's hypothesis to the sociocultural, as well as the psychological, domains, generalizing his ideas on the integration of individual mind to the collective mind of culture. I argue that the primary functions of art in such rituals fall under the rubric of integration, both at the level of the individual and collective mind. Such integration is necessary in order to maintain a cultural state of grace.

Music underlies Yoruba possession rituals, providing the foundational temporal structure, establishing a pervading ethos, and unifying text, drama, dance, religion, myth, history, and participants into compact theatrical rituals of intense coherence and efficient power. This concentration and consolidation of socialized energy facilitates the ultimate union of mortal with deity.

In the focused intensity of ritual, the normally latent connections among cultural forms are activated. These forms are individually rooted at some level of the mind. What the connected network of associations thereby accomplishes is the integration of these levels: the physiological, cultural unconscious, cultural conscious, individual unconscious, individual conscious. The arts thus forge connections among those "diverse parts of the mind" described by Bateson.

Sadly, social unity and integration through performance seems to have been lost in the industrialized West. If Bateson is correct--and he may well be--we have fallen from Grace. We would be wise, then, to learn of this state of Grace from cultures, such as the Eve and the Yoruba, who still seem to possess it.

Relations Between Eve Music and Culture

Several factors in Eve culture may account for the particular style of their performances. The ideas presented here are highly speculative, and cannot at the present time be rigorously substantiated. The direction of causation as I state or imply it here may not be correct. Yet perhaps these speculations are valuable for containing at least a grain of truth.

What I say here is not necessarily true only of the Eue either; many of these factors apply to many other African societies as well.

Eve society has always lacked a centralized political structure. These days modern governments and national borders have been imposed on traditional orders. In Ghana, the government is mainly controlled by the dominant Akan population (although the current leader of Ghana is half Eve), who are also the traditional enemies of the Eve people. The Eve are relatively subordinate in number, power, and wealth.

But the traditional Eve system of chiefs remains, though now with limited force. Eve chiefs vary in rank from minor to paramount, but there is no (and apparently never was) any hub of power, no king who exerts control over the entire Eve region. In each village, de jure control belongs to the chiefs, but it is a council of elders, from whom the chiefs seek advice, who are the de facto leaders and who select new chiefs. Besides these political leaders, chief priests wield great power and command respect from the community. Thus power is distributed among many individuals.

Distributed power is related to distributed social groupings: the Eue live in villages, and though villages are large and small, each is an autonomous unit. There is no central village to which smaller villages send representatives, or pay tribute.

This decentralization may account in part for the lack of universal standards, norms, and authorities in Eue culture. As one travels around the Eue area, one notices small differences in performance style, for instance. There is no central norm, but rather a proliferation of norms at the level of village, and the individual. Knowledge of Eue lore is not concentrated in any single individual, but is rather distributed over the entire population: there is no central authority. This fact seems to accord with the diversity of styles and versions in performance; there is rough agreement, sufficient for coherence, and yet no two people perform in exactly the same way.

Another factor which tends to promote diversity is the fact that Eue society is traditionally non-literate. Non-literacy means that standards cannot definitively be established and preserved; norms are subject to change, memory faults, and modification in transmission. I do not mean to denigrate the power of an aural tradition. Many Eue seem to have phenomenal powers of memory and recall. But human memory is living, active and creative; it is not the cold, lifeless--but exact!--storage provided by a book or manuscript.

In an aural tradition, variation occurs naturally. However, it seems to me that limited variation within a lived, experienced tradition does not have a disintegrating effect, but rather vivifies and reenergizes the tradition, adding to its potency.

On the other hand, as I have argued earlier, unity is an essential ingredient of life. The Eve may be decentralized, but they strongly identify with their ethnicity, more so than with the village of their birth, for instance. I think that the proliferation of norms in turn requires that compositional style be extremely compact, so that Eve performance is universally recognized as an emblem of the Eve, especially in the face of diversity. Bell patterns, and dance movements, song and drumming forms; these features of performance are streamlined, concise, and economical so that they will not be altered beyond recognition by natural processes of change.

Modern Ghanaian Eue face alienation as a disempowered minority, especially when they travel out of their homeland to the cities, in search of work. Life is difficult, and the people of Ashaiman are very poor. These factors tend to increase the importance of unity as a shelter against individual suffering, and for commiseration. Many of the Kinka song texts focus on death, suffering, and betrayal. Mr. Agbeli told me that sorrowful songs are popular among the Eue, because it is comforting to be able to express one's despair and sorrow, especially within the support of a group.

The proliferation of funeral societies in Ashaiman is itself testimony to the significance of unity; many Eve told me that it is impossible to avoid joining a group, if only because of the costliness of funerals. Eve in a strange area automatically band together in an attempt to reconstitute the protectiveness of their home village; many societies are named after the village of the founding members. This need for solidarity also reduces intergroup rivalry (halo), which used to be responsible for much of the innovation in song composition. All of these factors tend to increase the importance of unity, in order to assert their Eve and village identities.

Among the Eve there is great respect for the ways of the ancestors. Regard for age and the past exerts a conservative force on culture, tending to inhibit change. Mr. Agbeli said that all Eve music stems from a single family, who lived long ago. This family invented music of a particular style. Succeeding generations elaborated on this style, but never changed it significantly, out of respect for their ancestors. Originality is not highly valued among the Eve; conversely, borrowing is not discouraged. The goal is not to innovate, but to

internalize; knowledge is valued over invention. More than once I heard the term "creative drumming" used disparagingly, as some young drummers attempted to play music they did not yet understand. The elders of a village are prized for their long experience, deep knowledge of Eue culture, and close connection to the ancestors; they are centers of political power as well. Composers attribute their abilities to their ancestors; they naturally perpetuate the styles they have heard and respected. These factors partially account for the narrow scope of Eue compositional style.

The Eve do not systematically analyze their performance tradition. I do not mean to imply that the Eve are uncritical (they aren't), but rather that they do not seem to dissect and reduce their performance tradition. Transmission of musical knowledge occurs informally, rather than via a theoretical body of pedagogy. To some extent this informality has the effect of encouraging diversity, and decreasing standardization. But also this non-analytical stance means that the Eve did not need to invent much musical terminology. In performance, very little is named. The common bell patterns do not have particular names, but are rather called by reference to their Drum. Even songs are not named. These days, when a song is printed, or must be somehow identified, the first line of text is usually used as the title. Lack of terminology discourages analysis and self-reflection, promotes "holistic" thinking, and tends to inhibit drastic changes in compositional style. As Mr. Agbeli told me, Eve composers "don't think of it"; they just do it.

This same tendency is exemplified in the reluctance of the Eve to express preferences. People were always happy to criticize (or commend) particular performances, but when I asked them which Drums they preferred, I usually drew blank stares. This neutrality creates the impression of a performance monolith, as if different Eve songs and Drums are merely different windows onto the same aesthetic terrain. Performance is not dissected; it is accepted as a unified whole, as a gift of God and the ancestors.

Postscript

As I was leaving Ghana, I asked Godwin Agbeli what he thought I should write about for my thesis. After recovering from initial surprise that I should consult his opinion, he gave me an answer that I believe to be good guidance for any anthropological study:

Make it in a way so that when someone picks it up to read they know you have done something; someone who sees it will feel at home, that he is really among the people. If someone is hearing a Kinka song, he will know he has met it before, and it is true this is the way it goes.

I thought about Mr. Agbeli's words when writing this report, and tried my best to integrate his goal of making the reader feel "among the people" with my own analytical program. If I succeed, it is only thanks to him, Fred Dunyo, Novo, and many other friends and associates in Ghana.

Appendix: Kinka Songs

In this Appendix I present a selection of Kinka songs by the Eue composers Dunyo, Novo, and Hufenu, in the alphabetical order of their titles. I provide Eue texts with English translations for all songs by Dunyo and Novo, except for "Mia woe zo", by Dunyo. Unfortunately, I did not collect texts for Hufenu's songs. Texts and their translations roughly match line for line. Following each text is a musical notation of the same song. The four song catalogs which follow the 47 songs are sorted by composer, song title, toneme set, and tonal form.

Afrika dukplo lawo

("Leaders of Africa")

Text and Music by Novo

Leaders of Africa,
God bless you all.
Long live the leaders of Africa.
You should lead your countries forever.
Long live the leaders of Africa.
You should lead your countries forever.

God bless you.
Oh, Kinka comrades:
Ghana is a star
Shining over Africa
Oh, Kinka comrades:
Ghana is a star
Shining over Africa
Unite!
Unity!
Land of Africa,
God bless you.

* * *

Leaders of Africa,
God bless you all.
Long live the leaders of Africa.
You should lead your countries forever.
Long live the leaders of Africa.
You should lead your countries forever.

Oh, Kinka comrades: Ghana is a star Shining over Africa Oh, Kinka comrades: Ghana is a star Shining over Africa Unite! Unity! Land of Africa, afrika du kplo la wo mawu ne yira mi afrika du kplo la wo mawu ne yira mi afrika du kplo la wo mawu ne yira mi afrika du kplo la wo mawu ne yira mi mia no agbe sesie akplo du ko wo hã yide mavo me mia no agbe sesie akplo du ko wo hã yide mavo me

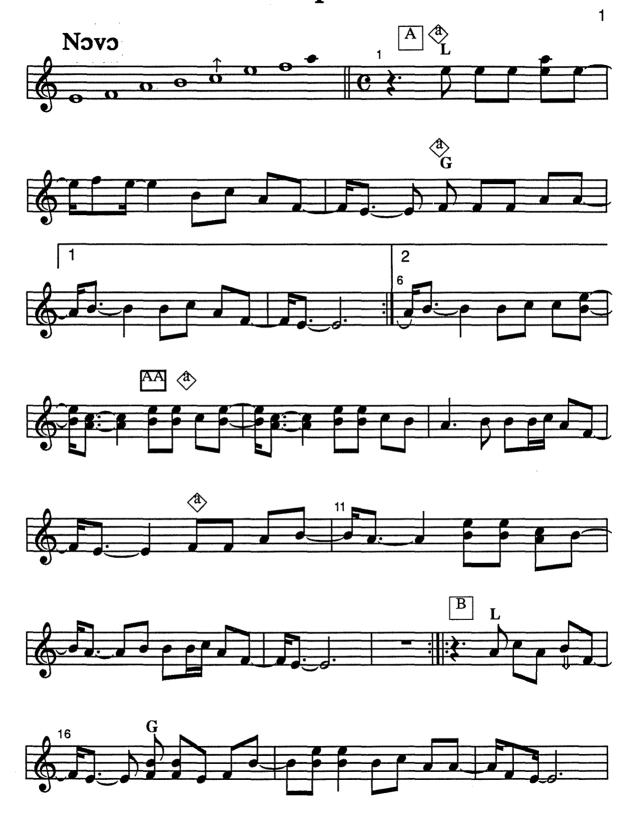
keklem na duko wo miawo deka hee miazo deka hee de nyigba afrika mawu ne yira wo

afrika du kplo la wo mawu ne yira mi afrika du kplo la wo mawu ne yira mi afrika du kplo la wo mawu ne yira mi afrika du kplo la wo mawu ne yira mi mia no agbe sesie akplo du ko wo hã yide mavo me mia no agbe sesie akplo du ko wo hã yide mavo me

mia to kinka viwo ghana zu vleti nyuiea de keklem na duko wo mia to kinka viwo ghana zu vleti nyuiea de keklem na duko wo miawo deka hee miazo deka hee de nyigba afrika mawu ne yira wo

mia to kinka viwo ghana zu vleti nyuiea de keklem na duko wo mia to kinka viwo ghana zu vleti nyuiea de

Afrika du kplo la wo



Afrika du kplo la wo



Agbe ko

("Life")

Text and Music by J.K. Dunyo

Life, I only pray for long life. Everything is by God. Life, I only pray for long life. Everything is by God. "Good work!" "Good work also to you!" Kinka drumming has come from the bush. "Good work!" "Good work also to you!" Kinka drumming has come from the bush. The drum which was not expected from overseas is now for us. The kinka is now for us. The drum which was not expected from overseas is now for us. The kinka is now for us. Nkruma achieved independence for us, And then the Republic. Nkruma achieved independence for us, And then the Republic. Life, I only pray for long life. Everything is by God.

* * *

agbe ko ma fa lo he
nu sia nu nye mawu to hee
agbe ko
agbe ko ma fa lo he
nu sia nu nye mawu to hee
nu sia nu nye mawu to hee
aye ko aye na wo hee
kinka vua tso gbe dzie gbo ee
aye ko aye na wo hee
kinka vua tso gbe dzie gbo ee
vua ya le ablotsi wome doa nu de nu o hee
kinka vua zu mia wo to hee
vua ya le ablotsi wome doa nu de nu o hee
kinka vua zu mia wo to hee

ye wo be ghana nkruma xo ghana hee ye mie xo blode ye wo be ghana nkruma xo ghana hee ye mie xo blode agbe ko agbeko mafa hee nusia nu nye mawu to hee





Agbe me fu wo

("Difficulties in Life")

Text and Music by Novo

Norvor says he is facing difficulties in this life. Whom shall he tell? There is nobody to listen to me. Norvor says he is facing difficulties in this life. Whom shall he tell? There is nobody to listen to me. I had a very nice dream, But I left it in my sleep. I had a very nice dream, But I left it in my sleep. The public gathered together, And I looked round, But mine are not among them. The public gathered together, And I looked round, But mine are not among them. Don't allow suffering to kill you. I can only pray to Lord Jesus to help me.

* * *

novo be gbe me fu wo tum alea me ke ma qbloe na ese la me li o hee novo be gbe me fu wo tum alea me ke ma abloe na ese la me li o hee nyea me ku agbe drõe wo tsi alome nam he nyea me ku agbe drže wo tsi alome nam he duawo dia nyi ken ma tse nuku vuu to nye me le me o duawo dia nyi ken ma tse nuku vuu to nye me le me o fuvi me tsia fu me ku na o abe ko ma do da be afeto yesue na ve nu nye hee



Agbe me fu wo







2

Agbe me lo loo

("The World is Big")

Text and Music by Novo

The world is big And it changes Like a chameleon. The world is big And it changes Like a chameleon.

The world is big And it changes Like a chameleon. The world is big And it changes Like a chameleon.

Oh! Kinka comrades:
I sing to suffer.
Death has been here a long time.
Oh, singing chorus:
Know how to live in this changing world.

Oh! Kinka comrades: I sing to suffer. Death has been here a long time. Oh, singing chorus: Know how to live in this changing world.

The world is big And it changes Like a chameleon. The world is big And it changes Like a chameleon. agbe me lo loo
me sa na tro na o
xixe me agama gba lẽ
agbe me lo loo
me sa na tro na o
xixe me agama gba lẽ

agbe me lo loo me sa na tro na o xixe me agama gba le agbe me lo loo me sa na tro na o xixe me agama gba le

mia to kinka viwo fu wo me ha wo dzim me le kudzo xoxo ha nye xiawo mia nya zozo

mia to kinka viwo fu wo me ha wo dzim me le kudzo xoxo ha nye xiawo mia nya zozo

agbe me lo loo
me sa na tro na o
xixe me agama gba le
agbe me lo loo
me sa na tro na o
xixe me agama gba le

秦 秦

Agbe me lo loo





Agbe me nu wo

("All Earthly Goods")

Text and Music by Novo

All earthly goods
Are provided by God.
I am content with the little I have.
Everybody with his own.
All earthly goods
Are provided by God.
I am content with the little I have.
Everybody with his own.

Whether it is bad, Whether it is good, The brave descendants Will come and chop.

Whether it is bad, Whether it is good, The brave descendants Will come and chop. agbe me nua wo keŋ loo mawue tsoe na me nyea ma no to nye via dzi a me sia me kple toe agbe me nua wo keŋ loo mawue tsoe na me nyea ma no to nye via dzi a me sia me kple toe

oh ne ga gble ha he ga nyo lo-ho kalea woe kalea wo nava du

oh ne ga gble ha he ga nyo lo-ho kalea woe kalea wo nava du

* * *

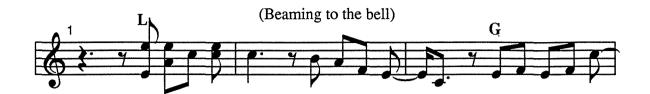
Agbe me nu wo















Agbeliza do agoo





Agbeliza mieduge





^{*} Follow '*' on repeat from D.S. only

Ago me no anyi kpoo

("The Agobin Tree")

Text and Music by Novo

The Agobin tree is still Unless the air disturbs it. Norvor says, I have arrived. The public can mock me. There is mockery in every house.

The Agobin tree is still Unless the air disturbs it. Norvor says, I have arrived. The public can mock me. There is mockery in every house.

Oh, Kinka group!
It is family that brings respect,
But I haven't got any.
If I think of all these things,
I don't know what to say.
Norvor has isolated himself.

Oh, Kinka group!
It is family that brings respect,
But I haven't got any.
If I think of all these things,
I don't know what to say.
Norvor has isolated himself.

ago me no anyi kpoo foa ya o yae doa nu fui na go hee novo be ye va do dua wo mi ko ye faa koko me gbea fea de me o hee

ago me no anyi kpoo foa ya o yae doa nu fui na go hee novo be ye va do dua wo mi ko ye faa koko me gbea fea de me o hee

oh kinka viwo ame wo kpo na na me nye ha me ka kpo ge woa la name ne bu sia wo tame me le ma gblo hee novo be ye fo sa na wo hee

oh kinka viwo
ame wo kpo na na me
nye ha me ka kpo ge woa la name
ne bu sia wo tame
me le ma gblo hee
novo be ye fo sa na wo hee

* * *

Ago meno anyi kpoo



Agoo ma do mo

("Allow Me to Show Off")

Text and Music by Dunyo

Allow me to show off
And be proud of my song.
Allow me to show off,
To show off, to show off,
Allow me to show off
And be proud of my song.
Allow me to show off
And be proud of my song.
Allow me to show off,
To show off, to show off,
Allow me to show off
And be proud of my song.

Oh Kinka group!
There is nothing in singing;
There is no money in singing;
But God has given it to me.
Oh Kinka group!
There is nothing in singing;
There is no money in singing;
But God has given it to me.

Allow me to show off And be proud of my song. Allow me to show off, To show off, to show off, Allow me to show off And be proud of my song. ago ma do mo loo
ne ma da de ha nye dzi
ago ma do mo
ma do mo, ma do mo
ago ma do mo loo
ne ma da de ha nye dzi
ago ma do mo loo
ne ma da de ha nye dzi
ago ma do mo
ma do mo
ma do mo
ma do mo
ma do mo loo
ne ma da de ha nye dzi
ago ma do mo
na do mo loo
ne ma da de ha nye dzi

oh be kinka viwo, nane ke me le ha me o ega ha me le ha me o gake mawu nam dzro oh be kinka viwo, nane ke me le ha me o ega ha me le ha me o gake mawu nam dzro

ago ma do mo loo
ne ma da de ha nye dzi
ago ma do mo
ma do mo, ma do mo
ago ma do mo loo
ne ma da de ha nye dzi

* * *











Agoo ma do mo





2

Ame vuvo dom

("I Feel Human Coldness")

Text and Music by Dunyo

I feel human coldness.

I feel human coldness.

Oh Kinka group, sympathize with me.

Dunyo says he feels surprised by sorrow and loneliness.

Look, Kinka group!

The world is big; I didn't expect it to be like this for me.

But it matters not.

Nothing pains me.

God created me

To be a public figure.

That is the song he gave me to sing.

The day the Kinka Drum comes to the drumming center

Dunyo carries horsetails on his shoulders.

The pubic has gathered, but Dunyo has no brothers or sisters among them.

The singer Dunyo says there are no brothers or sisters.

That is the only thing I weep for.

But the way God created you,

You can't reject it.

It is in the hands of God

Oh, Kinka group!

Dunyo says all men were not created with the same destiny.

Some people are rich,

Some people are poor.

All depends on destiny.

Those who have family are showing off.

The singer says: Those with money are showing off.

Dunyo remains a poor child among them.

But it matters not.

Even a slave will find time to rest at nightfall,

And if night doesn't come in time, then rain will fall.

The end of the water is the end of the mud.

The day I will die,

Singer Dunyo says: mine will be finished.

I will have left all earthly matters.

And I will be gone.

Singer Dunyo says he will go to the town of death.

The rest of the story will be in my absence.

ame vuvo dom lo hee ame vuvo dom lo hee miato kinka viwo mi fa nam hee dunyo be ma wo ya hee

mikpo da kinka viwo gbeme alolo ha nye me bui be ano la nam o gake me le vevi o deke to me veam o dzogbe se wom be me nye du wo ame hee ye nye ha wo tso nam be ma dzi gbe yi gbe kinka uua va gbo dzi dunyo fo ha dzi la si wo de abo hee dua wo so la dadavi me li o ha dzi to dunyo be fofovi me li o hee eya koe nye me fa na gake kpoli dzo mea wo me gbe na o hee ele mawu si ee

ooh...mia to kinka viwo dunyo be ame dzodzo me le deka o amea de o li nye kesi no amea de o li nye womeno gbe fofo gbo ya wo tso ame to wo le ame go dem hadzito be gato wo le ga bo dem dunyo zu ame da he vi tsi dua wo dome gake me le vevi o kluvi wo do za ma do me li o za ya do la vedzi li ava dza tsia sefe nye ba se fe gbe yi gbe ya ye ku hadzito dunyo be ye ha ye to vo ye de afo le agbe me nya wo me hee yea ye dzo hazito dunyo be ye yi tsia wo de nya ma mlea wo zu me gbe nya hee











Ayele kpe du do

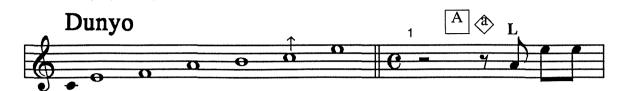
("Ayele Has Become Infamous in the Town")

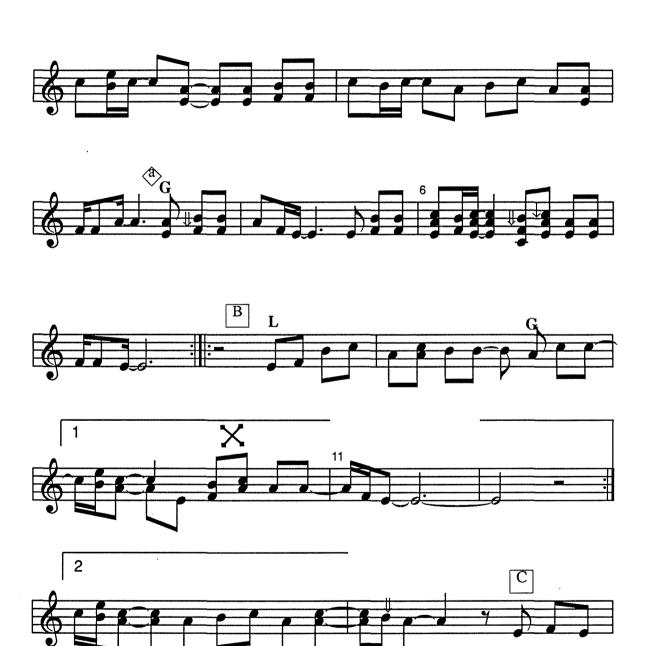
Text and Music by Dunyo

Ayele has become infamous in the town. Ayele has become infamous in the town. The child will not live long. Ayele has become infamous in the town. Ayele has become infamous in the town. The child will not live long. The leading singer was saying that Ayele is back, Ayele is back in tears. The leading singer was saying that Ayele is back, Ayele is back in tears. And they were asking her the reason, And she was answering, saying that She was pregnant with no husband, and she tried to bring forth. She thought the child would be alive, But the child has gone to the town of the dead. The henor said: I will say it. It should be only one man responsible for conception.

* * *

ayele kpe du do ee ayele kpe du do ee devia me le agbe no ge o ayele kpe du do ee ayele kpe du do ee devia me le agbe no ge o henoga no gbo gblom be ayele gbo hee ayele gbo kple avi hee henoga no gbo gblom be ayele gbo hee ayele gbo kple avi hee ye wo no mania biam ye wo no mania bom be gbo me fue ye fo ye dze agba gba dzi eee yea bui be gbe to e divia ga yi tsyia wo de heno be ye gblo ge be ava dekae dzia vi ayele kpe du do devia me le agbe no ge o







Bahe viwo

("Nonmembers of Yeve")

Text and Music by Dunyo

Nonmembers of the Yeve group were talking about Yeve. And a member of Yeve died at Agble Go¹.

Nonmembers of the Yeve group were talking about Yeve. And a member of Yeve died at Agble Go
Nonmembers of the Yeve group were talking about Yeve. And a member of Yeve died at Agble Go
Nonmembers of the Yeve group were talking about Yeve. And a member of Yeve died at Agble Go
Yes...

An active Yeve priest will by all means go to the shrine. Yes...

An active Yeve priest will by all means go to the shrine. Nonmembers of the Yeve group were talking about Yeve. And a member of Yeve died at Agble Go.

* * *

bahe vi wo yeve nyae mie gblo
hűsie ku de agble go
bahe vi wo yeve nyae mie gblo
hűsie ku de agble go
bahe vi wo yeve nyae mie gblo
hűsie ku de agble go
bahe vi wo yeve nyae mie gblo
hűsie ku de agble go
eee...
yeve si dze tsi me gbea hu kponu o
eee...
yeve si dze tsi me gbea hu kponu o
bahe vi wo yeve nyae mie gblo
hűsie ku de agble go

¹Name of a town.

Bahe viwo



Bu tso me kpo

("Think of Tomorrow")

Text and Music by Novo

Think of tomorrow,
Think of tomorrow,
And you will know how to walk.
Think of tomorrow,
Think of tomorrow,
And you will know how to walk.
Think of tomorrow,
Think of tomorrow,
And you will know how to walk.
Think of tomorrow,
And you will know how to walk.
Think of tomorrow,
And you will know how to walk.

Oh, Kinka group!
When the time reaches,
You will give an account of what
you have done on earth.

Oh, Kinka group!
When the time reaches,
You will give an account of what
you have done on earth.

What you sow is what you reap. What you sow is what you reap. Think of tomorrow, Think of tomorrow, And you will know how you will walk.

* * *

bu tso me kpo lo
bu tso me kpo lo
ha fi na nye zozo hee
bu tso me kpo lo
bu tso me kpo lo
ha fi na nye zozo hee
bu tso me kpo lo
bu tso me kpo lo
ha fi na nye zozo hee
bu tso me kpo lo
ha fi na nye zozo hee
bu tso me kpo lo
ha fi na nye zozo hee

oh be kinka viwo gbe ma gbe wo dodo la na wo kon ta nui

oh be kinka viwo gbe ma gbe wo dodo la na wo kon ta nui

nusia nusi ne fa ya ko ŋe ge ne le nusia nusi ne fa ya ko ŋe ge ne le butso me kpo he butso me kpo he hafi na nye zozo hee



Bu tso me kpo



2

Devisue menye

("I'm Just a Little Child")

Text and Music by Novo

I'm just a little child.
I'm just a little child.
But people hate me.
I should stay calm,
Because I'm alone among the people.
I should stay cool.

I'm just a little child.
I'm just a little child.
But people hate me.
I should stay calm,
Because I'm alone among the people.
I should stay cool.

Oh, Kinka group!
Norvor is born alone.
I have no one
to sympathize with me.
I should walk carefully.

Oh, Kinka group! Norvor is born alone. I have no one to sympathize with me. I should walk carefully.

I'm just a little child.
But people hate me.
I should stay calm,
Because I'm alone among the people.
I should stay cool.

devisue de menye devisue de menye gake ye wo nu le dome vem ale mawo kpoo nye deka koe le dua wo dome ee mawo dzaa

devisue de menye devisue de menye gake ye wo nu le dome vem ale mawo kpoo nye deka koe le dua wo dome ee mawo dzaa

yewoto kinka viwo novo nye akogo dzo fa nye la de me li o hee mazo mi moe

yewoto kinka viwo novo nye akogo dzo fa nye la de me li o hee mazo mi moe

devisue de menye gake ye wo nu le dome vem ale mawo kpoo nye deka koe le dua wo dome ee mawo dzaa

* * *





Dome levo

("The Stomach is Hidden")

Text and Music by Novo

The stomach is hidden. Oh, look at the world affairs. My comrades have only superficial love for me, Oh singing comrades.

The stomach is hidden. Oh, look at the world affairs. My comrades have only superficial love for me,

Oh, Kinka group!
What have I done wrong?
Why should people hate me?
But it matters not.

Oh, Kinka group!
What have I done wrong?
Why should people hate me?
But it matters not.

My creator created me, my creator created me. It is up to God.

My creator created me, my creator created me. It is up to God.

Remember the proverb of the housefly: The world is at the back, and at the front.

* * *

dome le vo mi kpo xixeme fe nya wo da mo lolo wo tso nam hee ha nye xiz wo dee

dome le vo mi kpo xixeme fe nya wo da mo lolo wo tso nam hee oh be kinka viwo nye me nya ago kae me dze o ke nye to wo de kpe nam ya me le vevi o

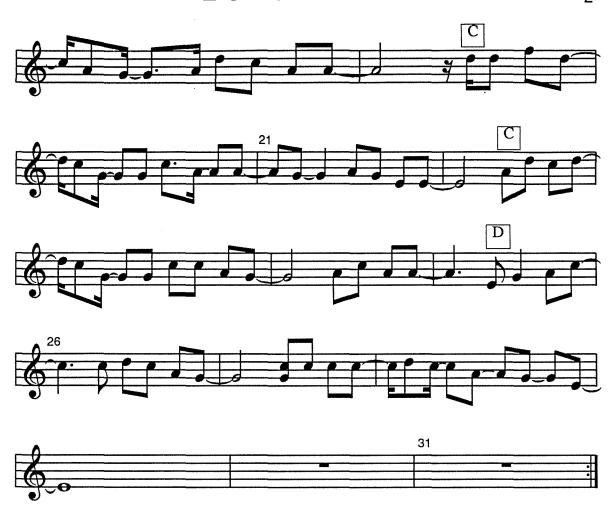
oh be kinka viwo nye me nya ago kae me dze o ke nye to wo de kpe nam ya me le vevi o

se wom alea dzogbe sea womea lea ele mawusi

se wom alea dzogbe sea womea lea ele mawusi

tagba tsutsue noabea wo bum be xixeme le megbe lengo gbee







^{*} Follow '*' on repeat from D.S. only



^{*} Follow '*' on repeat from D.S. only

Dza de ga va

("I Received Invocation Money")

Text and Music by Novo

I received invocation money. So listen to hear my voice. I received invocation money. So listen to hear my voice. I received invocation money. So listen to hear my voice. I received invocation money. So listen to hear my voice. Those who have people are raising up their hands. Those who have money are raising up their hands. I have nobody. Those who have people are raising up their hands. Those who have money are raising up their hands. I have nobody. A sibling is like the Agobin branch In days of evil rain, I use it to cover my head.

dza de ga va mi do to mia se agbe nye dza de ga va mi do to mia se agbe nye dza de ga va mi do to mia se agbe nye dza de ga va mi do to mia se agbe nye gato de a bo gato wo de a bo loo ame me li nam o ee gato de a bo gato wo de a bo loo ame me li nam o ee novi nye ago ua ya dzi vo wõ dza gbe do ma tspe ma tsyo ta ee

* * *

















Dzika de metsoam o

("Never Fearful")

Text and Music by Novo

I don't fear anything.

Norvor says: I don't fear anything.

Norvor says: I wil sing the tune of the parrots for you to hear.

There is thinking in the head, but the world is too big.

I did nothing wrong in the market,

Nor did I do wrong in the farm.

But people hate me.

When I lay my foot on the ground it becomes death for me.

Look, Kinka group!

Norvor says: It is not too late to work.

The Halakoe and Aloe birds have different voices.

I become a bird that shouts in the night.

The bat says:

Anything that belongs to you, no one can take it from you. Anything that you own in life, no one can take it from you.

* * *

dzika de metsoam lo ho
novo be dzika de metsoam loho
novo be ma doa ko oo gbe de hame mia se
ooh...bubu le tasi gake xixe mea lolo ŋuto
nye me gble asio nu
mea gble agble o nu hee
yewo nu le dome vem a
fo mea do anyigba zu ku nam hee

mikpoe da kinka viwo
novo be miwo zã ya me do hee
halakoe me doa aloe fe gbe o
nye mezu xeawo de gbe le zadzi
sakpla toke hee
nu me nyea me to tso xo ne ame si o
gbe nu nye meto tso xo ne mesi o







Dzogade dzegbe Hufenu 11 L G

Dzogade dzegbe





^

Gameli

("There is Time")

Text and Music by Dunyo

There is time, it is not too late.
There is time, it is not too late.
People have been laughing at me,
But it is all in vain.
There is time, it is not too late.
There is time, it is not too late.
People have been laughing at me,
But it is all in vain.

Oh, Kinka group!

Henor says he organized the Kinka drumming,
And they said he had wronged the people.
They said it was Dunyo, the Henor Ga, who created confusion in the town.
And the children disobeyed their parents.
I only pray to my God
That I will live for a very long time.
There is time, it is not too late.
There is time, it is not too late.
People have been laughing at me,
But it is all in vain.

* * *

ga meli nu wo vi me yi o ga meli nu wo vi me yi o ame wo no ye kom be de wo gbloe dzro ee ga meli nu wo vi me yi o ga meli nu wo vi me yi o ame wo no ye kom be de wo gbloe dzro ee

oo, be kinka viwo
heno be kinka ye do
wo zu ago ye dze le fia wo dzi
ye wo no gbo gblom be heno ga gble du la
devia wo zu la dze kpo gbe to gbe gbe no gbe
gbe ma dode ye wo se be
agbe ne no ne ma no godoo
game li nu wo vi me yi o
game li nu wo vi me yi o
fia ha wo no ye kom ke de wo gblo dzro





Gbe nam

("I Need a Voice")

Text and Music by Dunyo

I need a voice to sing a song,
I need a voice to sing a song,
By two o'clock in the afternoon.
By two o'clock in the afternoon.
When I go to the main playing ground,
And Kinka says "agoo".
I need a voice to sing a song,
I need a voice to sing a song,
By two o'clock in the afternoon.
By two o'clock in the afternoon.
When I go to the main playing ground,
And Kinka says "agoo".

* * *

gbe nam lo ee ne ma dzi ha gbe nam lo ee ne ma dzi ha xetro fe ga ve me xetro fe ga ve me me va yi de gbo nu ga kinka uua da go hee gbe nam lo ee ne ma dzi ha gbe nam lo ee ne ma dzi ha xetro fe ga ve me xetro fe ga ve me me va yi de gbo nu ga kinka uua da go hee

Gbe nam



Gbe nu wom

("A Tragedy Has Occurred")

Text and Music by Dunyo

A tragedy has occurred.
Dunyo says, a tragedy has occurred.
Weeping was not possible,
So he cried in silence
A tragedy has occurred.
Dunyo says, a tragedy has occurred.
Weeping was not possible,
So he cried in silence

Oh, Kinka group!
Dunyo says that when he came into this world,
He wanted to move in twos,
He wanted to move in threes,
But it has not been given by God.

Oh, Kinka group!
Dunyo says that when he came into this world,
He wanted to move in twos,
He wanted to move in threes,
But it has not been given by God.

His only brother, Yema,
Was like a stout tree in the savannah land.
When he turned round he always saw it there.
Now death has come like a hurricane,
And uprooted it into a valley.

Dunyo says a tragedy has occurred in his life.
Weeping was not possible.
Dunyo says the day he will die,
There will be none of his brothers or sisters.
There will be no one around.
The coffin will not be heavy.
The coffin will be light.
Dunyo says his coffin will not be heavy.
The coffin will be light.
He sheds tears for others,
But the day he dies no one will shed tears for him.
Dunyo says his coffin will not be heavy,
The coffin will be light.

* * *

gbe nu wom lo
dunyo be a gbeme nu wom lo
avi ha me nya fa o
nyea ne do hehe
gbe nu wom lo
dunyo be a gbeme nu wom lo
avi ha me nya fa o
nyea ne do hehe

oh, be kinkaviwo dunyo be agbe yame yea yeva ve nono ha ye dzrom to hoho ha ye dzrom gake ye me xoe tso se fe o

oh, be kinkaviwo dunyo be agbe yame yea yeva ve nono ha ye dzrom to hoho ha ye dzrom gake ye me xoe tso se fe o

ye novi yema deka nyea tsi tsua de le dzo gbe ne me nye koa me kpo na gatsi zu ve ya sese ga va mui fua a game

dunyo be gbe me nu wo ye lo avi ha me nya fa o heno be ye ku gbe do dadavi me le ye si o ne wo no ye fea gba nu o ye wo gba na kpe o hee agba zu ho dzoo dunyoa gba me kpe o agba zu ho dzoo dunyoa gba me kpe o agba zu ho dzoo ame wo vi yea ye fa ye ku gbe do dunyo a gba na kpe o hee agba zu ho dzoo











Gbeto nye togoglo

("Human Being is River Deep")

Text and Music by Novo

Human being is river deep. Human being is river deep. My destiny is Losogbe. Human being is river deep. My destiny is Losogbe.

Human being is river deep. Human being is river deep. My destiny is Losogbe. Human being is river deep. My destiny is Losogbe.

Oh Kinka group! You should know your steps, Know how to walk with your fellow man.

Oh Kinka group! You should know your steps, Know how to walk with your fellow man.

I have not offended anyone in the market,
I have not offended anyone in the farm.
Human being is river deep.
My destiny is Losogbe.

gbeto nye to go glo gbeto nye to go glo kpolinye ke losogbe gbeto nye to go glo kpolinye ke losogbe

gbeto nye to go glo gbeto nye to go glo kpolinye ke losogbe gbeto nye to go glo kpolinye ke losogbe

ye wo to kinka viwo me gbe to na nye na za ne no via

ye wo to kinka viwo me gbe to na nye na za ne no via

nye me gble asi wo nu o ne me gble gble wo nu o hee gbeto nye to go glo kpolinye ke losogbe

* * *



Gbeto nye togoglo





2

Hanye zua lãga dogbe



* Follow '*' on repeat from D.S. only





^{*} Follow '*' on repeat from D.S. only

Hayia gbe ve

("The Society is a Life Forest")

Text by Franklin Aheto Music by Franklin Aheto and Novo

The Lebene Society is a life forest In which animals take refuge. The Lebene Society is a life forest The Lebene Society is a life forest In which animals take refuge.

Oh, Kinka group! Your mouths should be one. Oh, Kinka group! Your mouths should be one.

What is tied by God Can never be untied on earth. What is tied by God Can never be untied on earth. The Lebene Society is a life forest In which animals take refuge. ha ya agbe ve elã woa be de me ha ya agbe ve ha ya agbe ve elã woa be de me

oh be kinka viwo mia wo nu ne so oh be kinka viwo mia wo nu ne so

nusia nu si mawu bla la me nya tu la nyigba dzia nusia nu si mawu bla la me nya tu la nyigba dzia ha ya agbe ve elã woa be de me

* * *

Hayia gbe ve



Hayia gbe ve





2

Kaliawo tsi ava



Kaliawo tsi ava



Kaliawo tsi ava



("Kinka Group")

Text and Music by Novo

Kinka group, listen to me
If you want your ship destroyed, sail it through the rapids [place where the river enters the sea] and it will capsize
Dunyo said: don't talk of others' evildoings
Just leave your ears behind
And it will be a burden on them
A rain which doesn't want to fall blows wind

Oh...

Here we are We are the song composers We are the Ewe Even one log in the fire can cook many things We pray to our great gods To ensure that peace and prosperity should prevail If there is a problem It is settled by those concerned in their own room Even when the palm oil bottle seems empty It always contains enough to stain white calico I weep for your sake I am not a bad visitor to be tired of Don't ignore me, as you do the the cow who rarely brings forth Dunyo says the tail of a goat is never at its front, always at the back We are the blacksmith's strong iron rods A mighty tree cannot be felled without patience, said J.K. Listen to the poetry of the song. We are dried sprats We were there before the hunter's meats A fat goat cannot look into the face of a tiger Our virtue is patience. Henor Dunyo says: it is up to you

* * *

kinka to nu gla wo taflatse na mi vu yia ke do gba gba toa ziza wo mo dunyo be mi ga gbloe o mia gble to de me ko ne wo nye gba no wo dzi dzi yake do ma dza ke yae wo fo na

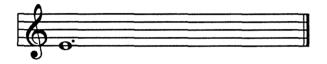
oh... mia woe nye yi loo mia woe nye ha glã wo yo na mia woe nye anlo kotsia klo lo nake tsi deka no dzome binu me fo mla vedu ga wo afe na fa dagbe nyo na va nya ma myo ma nyoa nya to woe gblo ne le xome ne ami vo le tukpa me ha yea gble aklala ye me vo na le eme o mia to fame nya me le nye me nye ame dzro ba da dzea me qbo tsia me o mi ga ko me adzi nyi vi o hee kpo da kinka viwo dunyo be gbɔ̃ sike me no gbɔ̃ o ngo o me qbe do me wo no na mia woe nye gakli ga vo le gbede wo si gidi gidi me mua asi me tsi o j.k. mia le to de ha gbea wo nu mia woe nye togo lãga mia woe lea fea de lã wo va gbogboe dzotsu me doa asi de kp3 wo mo blewusie mie le heno dunyo be mia nuto wo koe











("Kluvia")

Text and Music by Dunyo

Dunyo said it was not yet time for death.

Kluvia began the journey to the next world

While weeping.

Dunyo said it was not yet time for death.

Kluvia began the journey to the next world

While weeping.

Those who killed him with juju

Were happy.

My town's juju men

Were happy that they removed him.

They thought that his possessions would become theirs

But,
They are lying.
They are lying.
Dunyo says the juju man too
Will surely die.

Death digs a grave for Each and everyone. No one gets another's grave, Boasting immortality.

But,
They are lying.
They are lying.
Dunyo says the juju man too
Will surely die.

The elders interpret a name, that "Even a stubborn child Can never refuse an errand from death". No matter what you are, You will go.

But,
They are lying.
They are lying.
Dunyo says the juju man too
Will surely die.

* * *

dunyo be ku woa aza me su o kluvia dze auli me mo kplea da tsi nyo hee dunyo be ku woa aza me su o kluvia dze auli me mo kplea da tsi nyo hee ame yawo nyea me wu la wo no dzi dzo kpome miade dzotowo kpo dzidzo be ye wo didaee enuyawo tsimegbea zu ye wo to hee

gake, dze woa da ee dze woa da ee dunyo be dzoto de ma gbe kunu gbe o hee

ku dze su de doa wo di de ame nu ame nue amea deke me xo no via to o ne asito ko na no nuti o ye ko le nye yi o hee gake, dze woa da ee dze woa da ee dunyo be dzoto de ma gbe kunu gbe o hee

ame ga xoxo fo nyi ko do be vi gbe do me gbe na auli me do o ne le ko dzo ha eyi ge tsa hee

gake, dze woa da ee dze woa da ee dunyo be dzoto de ma gbe kunu gbe o hee













1





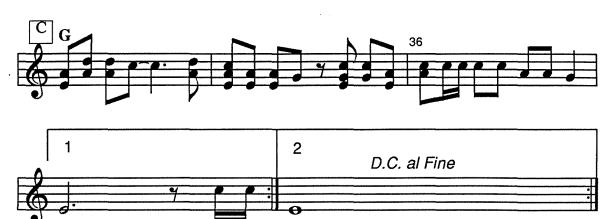












3

Ku gble nume nam

("Death Has Destroyed My Plans")

Text and Music by Dunyo

Death has destroyed my plans. Death has destroyed my plans. I am in trouble with death, Oh Kinka gathering. Death has destroyed my plans. Death has destroyed my plans. I am in trouble with death, Oh Kinka gathering.

The leper doesn't believe the beginning of leprosy. Agba is on the way to the death, And his spirit is lamenting that he is gone. When I was alive I used to pray that Everybody should unite. That was my fault, And people plotted against me. My enemies tied a stone on my head. I have gone away from you.

I have gone.

That is Agba on the way to death, And his spirit is lamenting that he is gone. You can't carry ahliha¹ on your bare head; Ahliha asks for tsi-hea²

※ ※ ※

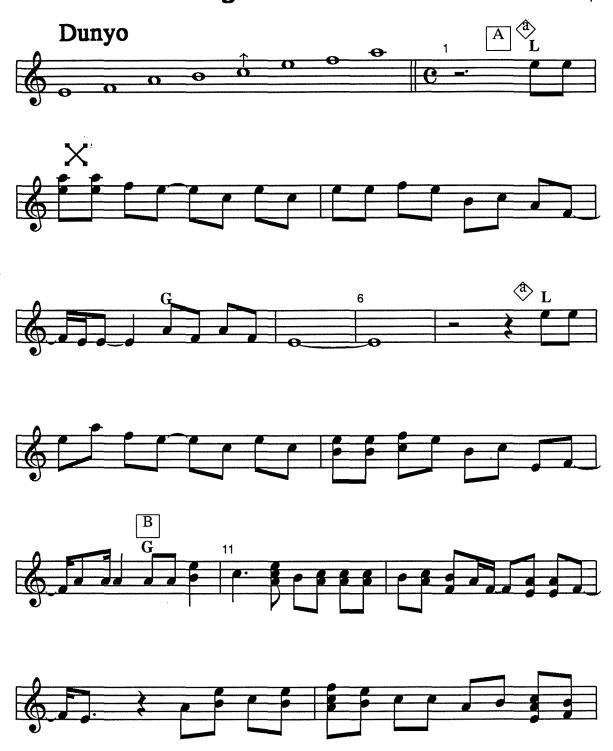
εku gblẽ nu me nam εku gblẽ nu me nam ku woa dzo tsom hee kinka viawo hee εku gblẽ nu me nam εku gblẽ nu me nam

 $^{^{1}\,\}mathrm{A}$ very pointy stone, used in some religious ceremonies.

²A cloth placed on the head in order to soften the load.

ku woa dzo tsom hee kinka viawo hee

kpotoks me dzea kpono nu o agbae mea dze avli me mo dzi gano lẽa gbe dom alidea be yaye dzo yea ye le agbeme yea ye no gbe dom da be kluvi neso kosivi neso hee ema nye nu vo yea wo meyi bo gbetoe do nu gbe de ye nu hee ye wo ke to woe bla kpe do ta nam hee yea ye dzo mia gbo hee yea ye dzo oo hee agba le ma dzea vli me mo dzi ye wo no lẽa gbe dom be yea ye dzo hee ta gbo lo me tso ahliha o hliha le tsi-hea biam







Ku gble nume nam





1

Kugbea wota

("Because of the Day of Death")

Text and Music by Dunyo

Because of the day of death Because of the day of death My relatives have forsaken me.

Because of the day of death Because of the day of death My relatives have forsaken me.

Look, members of the Kinka group: I come to sprinkle song. Come and witness it for me.

Look, members of the Kinka group: I come to sprinkle song.
Come and witness it for me.

I have no father. I have no mother. I remain alone.

I have no father. I have no mother. I remain alone.

If my lifetime
Is like this,
What of the day of death?

Because of the day of death Because of the day of death My relatives have forsaken me. kugbea wo ta lo kugbea wo ta lo danye viwo gblem di

kugbea wo ta lo kugbea wo ta lo danye viwo gblem di

mi kpoe da kinka viwo mea ve dza wu ge mi va kpoe nam

mi kpoe da kinka viwo mea ve dza wu ge mi va kpoe nam

to ha me le ye si o no ha me le ye si wo nya me tsia kogo

to ha me le ye si o no ha me le ye si wo nya me tsia kogo

nyea me le agbe me wo lea la nam ne me he ku de ha

kugbea wo ta lo kugbea wo ta lo danye viwo gblem di

* * *





Kumadi

("Die and I Will Bury You")

Text and Music by Novo

The one who buries me at my death The one who buries me at my death I will see in my lifetime.

The one who buries me at my death The one who buries me at my death I will see in my lifetime.

Norvor says, Kinka group! It is my creator who has created me, And sent me to this world. And I have begun to suffer. But it matters not.

Norvor says, Kinka group! It is my creator who has created me, And sent me to this world. And I have begun to suffer. But it matters not.

The one who buries me at my death I will see in my lifetime.

The one who buries me at my death The one who buries me at my death I will see in my lifetime.

* * *

kumadi ee kumadi ee agbe me ne kpo ge le kumadi ee kumadi ee agbe me ne kpo ge le

novo be kinka viwo dzogbe sea wo num ale nyea meva kodzo gbe ye ma ve ah da ge ee yea me wo nane ke o

novo be kinka viwo dzogbe sea wo num ale nyea meva kodzo gbe ye ma ve ah da ge ee yea me wo nane ke o

kumadi ee agbe me ne kpo ge le kumadi ee kumadi ee agbe me ne kpo ge le



Kumadi

2





Lebene viwo

("Members of Lebene")

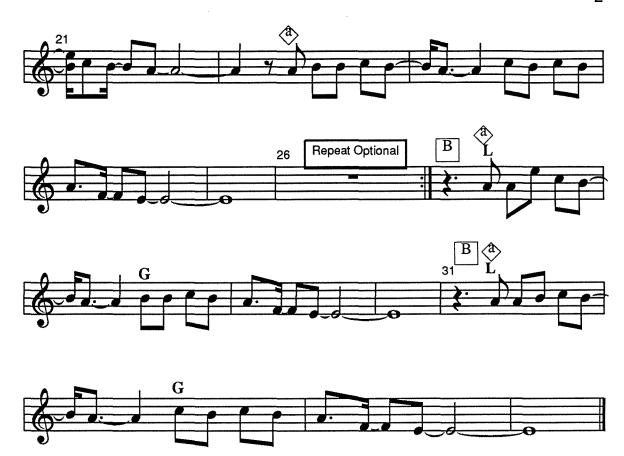
Text and Music by Novo

Members of Lebene,
Never be discouraged.
Everything is by God.
Lead drummer Bali and company
Should have a long life.
Lead drummer Dunyo and company
Should have a long life.
Norvor and Foli and company
Should see to the upkeep of the society.
If the Kinka drum is outdoored,
You should wave your handkerchief in the air.

* * *

lebene viwo dzi me ga
de mia fo o hee
nusia nu nye mawu to hee
zaguno bali hawo
mia no agbe se sie
zaguno dunyo hawo
mia no agbe sesie
novo kple foli hawo
woa le ha de te la hee
ne kinka vua di go
mia de taku de dzi





Ma tsi gbe

("I Keep My Promise")

Text and Music by Dunyo

I keep my promise, so Kinka groups should not be afraid. I keep my promise, so Kinka groups should not be afraid. It is mine; Kinka is mine. It is mine; Kinka is mine. I keep my promise, so Kinka groups should not be afraid. I keep my promise, so Kinka groups should not be afraid.

* * *

ma tsi gbe wo gbe kinka viwo mi ga vo ee ma tsi gbe wo gbe kinka viwo mi ga vo ee nye nuto to nye; kinka nye nuto to nye nye nuto to nye; kinka nye nuto to nye ma tsi gbe wo gbe kinka viwo mi ga vo ee ma tsi gbe wo gbe kinka viwo mi ga vo ee

Ma tsi gbe



Me le agbe me

("As I Am Alive")

Text and Music by Dunyo

As I am alive and not yet dead, Have confidence in me.
As I am alive and not yet dead, Have confidence in me.
As I am alive and not yet dead, Have confidence in me.
As I am alive and not yet dead, Have confidence in me.

Even if I'm dead, I will give my singing to the living Even if I'm dead, I will give my singing to the living

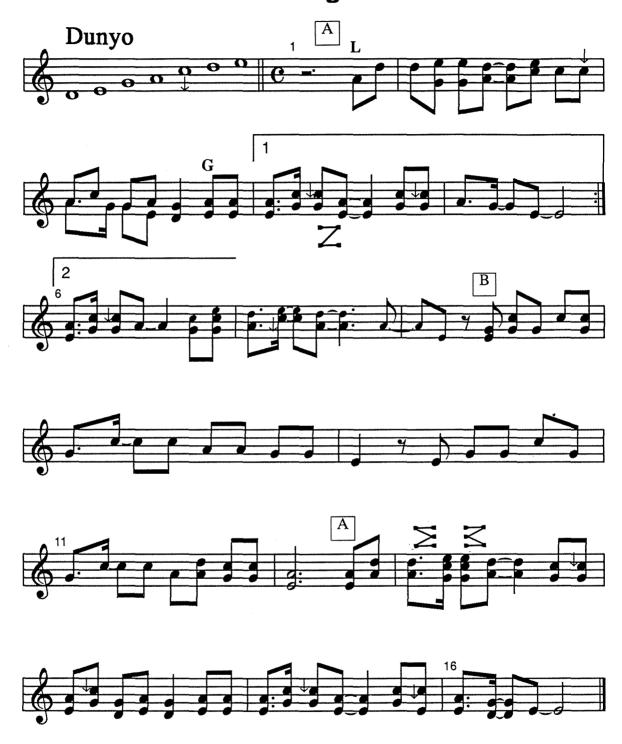
As I am alive and not yet dead, Have confidence in me. As I am alive and not yet dead, Have confidence in me. me le agbe me nye me ku o mi dzo dzi de ye nu hee me le agbe me nye me ku o mi dzo dzi de ye nu hee me le agbe me nye me ku o mi dzo dzi de ye nu hee me le agbe me nye me ku o mi dzo dzi de ye nu hee mi dzo dzi de ye nu hee

ne ye do ku to me ke ye du asi na agbe mea o ne ye do ku to me ke ye du asi na agbe mea o

me le agbe me nye me ku o mi dzo dzi de ye nu hee me le agbe me nye me ku o mi dzo dzi de ye nu hee

* * *

Me le agbe me











Medzihu maka fa agbeli



Me le klodzi na afeto

("I Kneel")

Text and Music by Novo

I kneel for the great God,
For the world troubles me.
Oh! There is no salvation anywhere
Unless you follow the cross of the Lord.
You confess your sins to the leaders,
And act charitably in life.
I perform all my good deeds entirely before death.
The last hour
The right hand will be my dwelling place.

Oh Kinka group!
The road to life everlasting is hard.
We only hold the foot of the heavenly queen.
Soon the holy people wil be saved.
Sinners will never get everlasting life.
Light the lamps of love.
Lucifer is in the night.

* * *

nyea me le klo dzi na afeto mawu ga xixe me do bo nam hee ooh, sitso fea de ke me ga li o ne gbe afeto fe atsitsoga mia kplo do mia vu nuvõ me na tato wo ne mia wo kofa do le agbe me ken ken hafi ku nye gbe na va do gafofo mamalea yo ye hee dusi me na nye ye no feaa

mikpoe da kinka viwo agbe ma vo fe mo zozo sesi nuto dzifo fe nyo nu fia mie le afo na bebli hafi ame kokoa wo gaga ge nuvo wo la ma kpo agbe na vo o misi lolo fe kadia wo lucifa le za wo me hee Mele klodzi na afeto





Mi wo nyuie ("Give Way")

Text and Music by Dunyo

Give way, and let me pass by you, You who carry juju on your forehead Yes, yes, yes, This is the town of death

Oh Kinka group!
You can't threaten your friends with juju.
Oh Kinka group!
You can't threaten your friends with juju.
You should get prepared.
And I will also get prepared.
When we meet,
You will put your gun on your shoulder,
But you won't shoot;
You will hold your knife in your hand,
But you won't stab.
Any human being with his juju cannot overpower me.

* * *

mi wo nyui ma to mia gbo mie tso mia wo dze wo do nu go eee eee, eee eee tsyiawo de nye eyi

ye woto kinka viwo
zidã ma do na xõnye ee
ye woto kinka viwo
zidã ma do na xõnye ee
wo ha na dzra do
nye ha ma dzra do hee
ne ie do go hee
tu wo na tsi abo he wo na tsi asi eee
gbeto hebo ma kpe ye dzi o

Mi wo nyuie



Mia woe zo



Mia to si le dzifo

("Our Father Who is in Heaven")

Text and Music by Novo

They are not serious. Norvor says, They are not serious. Who are those who said Christians should not be drumming Kinka?

They are lying to themselves.
They are saying all this in vain.
They are lying to themselves.
The drumming buries one's father and one's mother.
Members of the Kinka group come, we play awhile.
If a Christian dies, the Kinka drumming will come on.

Look, oh Kinka comrades: Norvor says: this matter is not good; do not speak of it. What is given to you by God is what you have to do. Kneel down and show off your happiness And pray that Our Father, who is in heaven, Hallowed be Thy name. Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth, As it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. Do not lead us into temptation. Deliver us from evil. Yours is the kingdom On earth. With strength, with glory, For ever and ever. Amen.

dze dom wo le lo ee hesino novo be dze dom wo le me ka woe be xose to me foa uu o ee

ooh
dze woa da hee
nya gblo dzro le vovo
dze woa do hee
uua dia me to dia me no
kinka viwo miva mia
wo dzo via de
xose to de kua kinka
uua gbo na hee

mikpoe da kinka viwo novo be nya yia me nyo miga gbloe o nusi se nam a ye wo wo na mi dze klo mia da ye nu mia no gbe dom da be mia to si le dzi fo wo nko nuti na ko wo fia du fe na va woa wo wo lõlõnu le anyi sigbe ale wo wo ne le dzi fo nana mia fe nu dudu wo na su mia sie gbe me ga kplo mi yi tete kpo me o ke de mi tso vodio si to woe nye fia du fe le anyi gba dzi kple nuse kple nutsi kokoe ne yi de mavo me amen

* * *

Miato si le dzifo Novo L

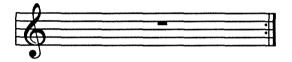
Miato si le dzifo 26 L G

Miato si le dzifo



3





Mivo gbeto

("Fear Human Being")

Text and Music by Novo

Norvor says, fear human being. And play with snake. Fear human being. Norvor says, fear human being And play with snake. Norvor says, fear human being. And play with snake. Fear human being. Norvor says, fear human being And play with snake.

Oh! Kinka group!
Norvor says, I sigh.
Those who are my lovers,
They seek my death.
God gave it to me,
God Almighty gave the song to me.
I will sing the drumming song
For you to hear.

God gave it to me,
God Almighty gave the song to me.
I will sing the drumming song
For you to hear.
God gave it to me,
God Almighty gave the song to me.
I will sing the drumming song
For you to hear.

mivo gbeto
novo be mia fe kpakple dã hee
mivo gbeto
mivo gbeto
novo be mia fe kpakple dã hee
mivo gbeto
novo be mia fe kpakple dã hee
mivo gbeto
mivo gbeto
mivo gbeto
novo be mia fe kpakple dã hee
mivo gbeto

oh be kinka viwo
novo be ye de huũ
mesi wo ke nye ye lõ lawo
wo wue dzi ku nam hee
see nama
dzogbe se nama
vua fe ha me dzi ge
na mi hee

see nama
dzogbe se nama
vua fe ha me dzi ge
na mi hee
see nama
dzogbe se nama
vua fe ha me dzi ge
na mi o

* * *



Mivo gbeto



Miylo ena do ("Catch Him For Me")

Text and Music by Dunyo

Oh, catch him for me!
Oh, catch him for me!
Our Kinka drum is possessed and in the bush
Catch him for me!

Oh, catch him for me.
Oh, catch him for me!
Our Kinka drum is possessed and in the bush
Catch him for me.

* * *

a lẽlẽlẽ miyloe na do a lẽlẽlẽ miyloe na do mia wo kinka tua zu alagã do gbe miyloe na do ee

ooh, miyloe na do ooh, miyloe na do mia wo kinka vua zu alagã do gbe miyloe na do ee











Nane ke me to mawu megbe o

("Nothing Passes Behind God")

Text and Music by Novo

Nothing passes behind God before happening. Nothing passes behind God before happening. The song becomes an insult for me. I receive it with both hands.

Nothing passes behind God before happening. Nothing passes behind God before happening. The song becomes an insult for me. I receive it with both hands.

Oh! Kinka comrades:
The day Norvor will die
The drumming group should bury me.
Song is the work I do.
Song is the food I chop.
Come to me to speak of song.
Song should come so that I sing.

Oh! Kinka comrades:
The day Norvor will die
The drumming group should bury me.
Song is the work I do.
Song is the food I chop.
Come to me to speak of song.
Song should come so that I sing.

* * *

nane ke me toa mawu megbe dzo na nane ke me toa mawu megbe dzo na go ha zu dzu nam lo me xoe kple alove

nane ke me toa mawu megbe dzo na nane ke me toa mawu megbe dzo na go ha zu dzu nam lo me xoe kple alove

oh be kinka viwo

gbe yi gbe novo na ku uua wo ha na va dim ha nye do ma wo na ha nye nu me du na ee ma de gblo ha wo nyae ha ne va ne ma dzi

oh be kinka viwo gbe yi gbe ŋovo na ku uua wo ha na va dim ha nye do ma wo na ha nye nu me du na ee ma de gblo ha wo nyae ha ne va ne ma dzi

Nane ke me to mawu



Nane ke me to mawu





2

Nyea me alõme

("I Was Sleeping")

Text and Music by Dunyo

I was sleeping,
When the song called me.
I was sleeping,
When the song called me.
I'm going to sing the Kinka song.
I was sleeping,
When the song called me.
I'm going to sing the Kinka song.
I was sleeping,
When the song called me.

* * *

nyea me le alõme
ha yom loo me dzi ge hee
nyea me le alõme
ha yom loo me dzi ge hee
uua wo ha me dzi ge hee
nyea me le alõme
ha yom loo me dzi ge hee
uua wo ha me dzi ge hee
uua wo ha me dzi ge hee
nyea me le alõme
ha yom loo me dzi ge hee

Nyea me le alõme



Nyea me le alõme



Nye me le kuku ge

("I Won't Be Happy After Death")

Text and Music by Novo

I won't be happy after death. Life is in the hand of God. I won't be happy after death. Life is in the hand of God.

Show off your happiness, oh!
Show off your happiness, oh!
Singing gathering,
Show off your happiness.
Show off your happiness for the public to see.

Show off your happiness, oh!
Show off your happiness, oh!
Singing gathering,
Show off your happiness.
Show off your happiness for the public to see.

* * *

nye me le kuku ge a kpo dzi dzo o agbe le mawusi nye me le kuku ge a kpo dzi dzo o agbe le mawusi

mi da ye ŋu lo ho mi da ye ŋu lo ho ha nye xiawo mi da ye ŋu ne dua wo na kpɔ

mi da ye ŋu lo ho mi da ye ŋu lo ho ha nye xiawo mi da ye ŋu ne dua wo na kpɔ

Nye me le kuku ge



Nye me le kuku ge









vua va dze

("The Boat Has Landed")

Text and Music by Novo

The boat has landed, Kutsyiami's boat has landed, Hurry up and go. The boat has landed, Kutsyiami's boat has landed, Hurry up and go.

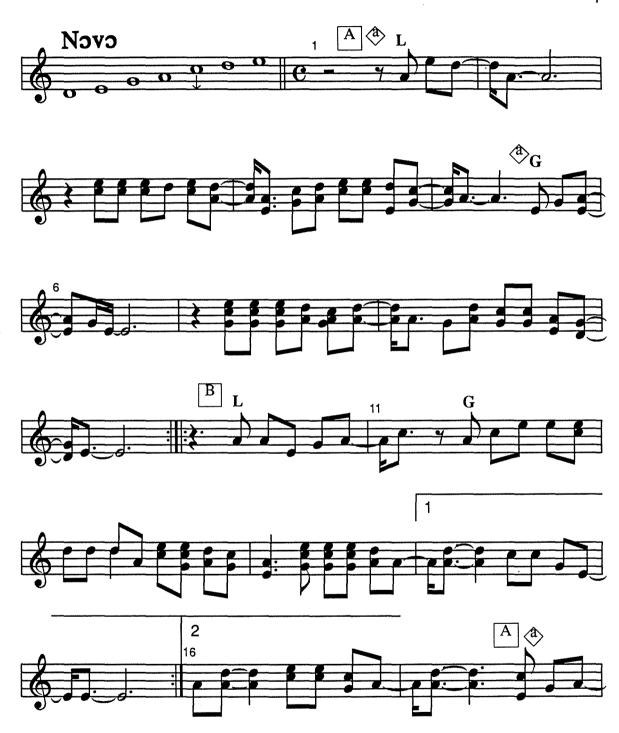
Oh Kinka group! Human being is nothing. If you have money, Chop it while you are alive. Before you die.

Oh Kinka group! Human being is nothing. If you have money, Chop it while you are alive. Before you die. suua va dze kutsyiami wo uua va dze na woe kaba ne na dzo suua va dze kutsyiami wo uua va dze na woe kaba ne na dzo

ye wo to kinka viwo me gbeto me nye nane ke o ne ga le asi wo ha na dui de agbe dome hefi na va ku

ye wo to kinka viwo me gbeto me nye nane ke o ne ga le asi wo ha na dui de agbe dome hefi na va ku

* * *





Yehowa nye kplola nye

("The Lord is My Shepherd")

Text and Music by Novo

The Lord is my shepherd. The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want. He makes me lie in the green pastures. He rests me in the rivers. He rests my soul. He took me through the straight path in his good name. If I walk in darkness, I will fear no evil, Because he will dwell with me. thy staff and thy star, they comfort me. Thou prepare a table before me In the presence of my enemies. My cup is full. Goodness and kindness shall follow me, In all the days. And I will dwell in the house of Jehovah forever.

Look, oh Kinka group!
Norvor says we are travelers.
We are on this earth.
This period in history is not for anyone.
Kneel down and worship Jehovah,
So that the period of your living should be long.

* * *

yehow nye kplo la nye godo
yehowa nye kplo la nye hee
nane ke me hiam o hee
ooh...lasnyi fe dama
me tsyo ko nyi do
gbo de me to wo nu wo kplom yi
ena nye luuo gbo de me
ekplom to fe dzodzoe le ŋko la ta
ne me zo balido lu ko me ha
nye ma võ dzo gbe voe de keo
ɛlabena woe le gbo nye
woa ati kplo zu ati fa ko nam eee

edo kplo de nye ako me hee lenye keto wo ŋkume nye kplu yo gba go dzo gbie nyui kple amenu veve wo adze yonye me le agbe me hee le ŋke ke wo kata me hee ye ma no yehowa fe me daa tegbe eee

mikpo da kinka viwo novo be mozo lawo mie nye la nyi gba dzi xeyivia me nye mea deke to wo heee mi dze klo mia subo yehowa mia fe agbe no fe wo na do ngo gbee





Yehowa nye kplo la nye





Song List, Alphabetically by Composer

Song Title	Composer	<u>T.S.</u>	<u>Form</u>
agbeliza do agoo	hufenu	III.d	I.a
agbeliza mieduge	hufenu	III.b	I.a
dunyo yitsie medogbena	hufenu	III.b	I.a
dzogade dzegbe*	hufenu	II.a	
hanye zua lãga dogbe	hufenu	d.III	III.a
kaliawo tsi aua*	hufenu	sI.e/II.b	
medzihu maka fa agbeli*	hufenu	II.a	
segbonya mawu enam	hufenu	III.a	I.a
agbe ko	dunyo	II.d	II.a
agoo ma do mo	dunyo	II.k	I.c
ame vuvo dom*	dunyo	I.a	
ayele kpe du do	dunyo	I.g	II.a
bahe viwo	dunyo	II.h	II.b
gameli	dunyo	I.f	II.b
gbe nam	dunyo	I.f	III.d
gbe nu wom	dunyo	II.i	\$
kluvia	dunyo	II.e	S
ku gblẽ nume nam	dunyo	sI.j/II.a	S
kugbea wota	dunyo	I.e	II.a
ma tsi gbe	dunyo	III.f	I.d
me le agbe me	dunyo	II.a	I.d
mi wo nyuie	dunyo	II.c	I.b
mia woe zo	dunyo	III.c	I.c
miylo ena do	dunyo	II.b	II.b
nyea me le alõme	dunyo	I.a	III.c
afrika du kplo la wo	novo	I.j	II.c
agbe me fu wo	cvcn	I.d	IV.a
agbe me lo loo	cvcn	I.b	II.b
agbe me nu wo	novo	I.i	III.c
ago meno anyi kpoo	cvcn	sII.f/I.c	III.b
bu tso me kpo	cvcn	I.j	II.a
devisue menye	cvcn	II.1	I.c
dome levo	cvcn	III.e	II.c
dza de ga va	cvcn	I.d	IV.a

dzika de metsoam o*	novo	sI.b/II.a	
gbeto nye togoglo	novo	II.j	II.a
hayia gbe ve	novo/aheto	I.b	I.a
kinka tonuglawo*	novo	II.b	
kumadi	novo	I.h	II.b
lebene viwo	novo	I.b	IV.c
mele klodzi na afeto*	novo	I.a	
miato si le dzifo*	novo	II.g	
mivo gbeto	novo	II.d	III.a
nane ke me to mawu	cvcn	I.b	II.b
nye me le kuku ge	novo	II.a	IV.a
vua va dze	novo	II.a	II.b
yehowa nye kplɔ la nye*	novo	I.g	

Note:

- "*" indicates hatsiatsia.
 T.S. stands for "toneme set".
 "s" signifies a special case.
 Formal analysis is not given for hatsiatsia.

Song List, Alphabetically by Form

Song Title	Composer	<u>T.S.</u>	<u>Form</u>
segbonya mawu enam	hufenu	III.a	I.a
agbeliza mieduge	hufenu	III.b	I.a
dunyo yitsie medogbena	hufenu	III.b	I.a
agbeliza do agoo	hufenu	III.d	I.a
hayia gbe ve	novo/aheto	I.b	I.a
mi wo nyuie	dunyo	II.c	I.b
agoo ma do mo	dunyo	II.k	I.c
mia woe zo	dunyo	III.c	I.c
devisue menye	novo	II.1	I.c
me le agbe me	dunyo	II.a	I.d
ma tsi gbe	dunyo	III.f	I.d
kugbea wota	dunyo	I.e	II.a
ayele kpe du do	dunyo	I.g	II.a
agbe ko	dunyo	II.d	II.a
bu tso me kpo	cvcn	I.j	II.a
gbeto nye togoglo	cvcn	II.j	II.a
gameli	dunyo	I.f	II.b
miylo ena do	dunyo	II.b	II.b
bahe viwo	dunyo	II.h	II.b
agbe me lo loo	cvcn	I.b	II.b
nane ke me to mawu	cvcn	I.b	II.b
kumadi	cvcn	I.h	II.b
vua va dze	cvcn	II.a	II.b
afrika du kplo la wo	cvcn	I.j	II.c
dome levo	cvcn	III.e	II.c
hanye zua lãga dogbe	hufenu	III.b	III.a
mivo gbeto	cvcn	II.d	III.a
ago meno anyi kpoo	cvcn	sII.f/I.c	d.III
nyea me le alõme	dunyo	I.a	III.c
agbe me nu wo	cvcn	I.i	III.c
gbe nam	dunyo	I.f	III.d
agbe me fu wo	cvcn	I.d	IV.a
dza de ga va	novo	I.d	IV.a
nye me le kuku ge	novo	II.a	IV.a
lebene viwo	novo	I.b	IV.c

kluvia	dunyo	II.e	s
gbe nu wom	dunyo	II.i	S
ku gblẽ nume nam	dunyo	sI.j/II.a	S

Not analyzed for form (hatsiatsia):

ame vuvo dom*	dunyo	I.a
dzogade dzegbe*	hufenu	II.a
medzihu maka fa agbeli*	hufenu	II.a
kaliawo tsi aua*	hufenu	sI.e/II.b
mele klodzi na afeto*	novo	I.a
yehowa nye kplo la nye*	cvcn	I.g
kinka tonuglawo*	cvcn	II.b
miato si le dzifo*	cvcn	II.g
dzika de metsoam o*	cvcn	sI.b/II.a

Note:

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Song List, Alphabetically by Song Title

Song Title	Composer	<u>T.S.</u>	<u>Form</u>
afrika du kplo la wo	novo	I.j	II.c
agbe ko	dunyo	II.d	II.a
agbe me fu wo	cvcn	I.d	IV.a
agbe me lo loo	cvcn	I.b	II.b
agbe me nu wo	cvcn	I.i	III.c
agbeliza do agoo	hufenu	III.d	I.a
agbeliza mieduge	hufenu	d.III	I.a
ago meno anyi kpoo	cvcn	sII.f/I.c	III.b
agoo ma do mo	dunyo	II.k	I.c
ame vuvo dom*	dunyo	I.a	
ayele kpe du do	dunyo	I.g	II.a
bahe viwo	dunyo	II.h	II.b
bu tso me kpo	cvcn	I.j	II.a
devisue menye	cvcn	II.1	I.c
dome levo	cvcn	III.e	II.c
dunyo yitsie medogbena	hufenu	III.b	I.a
dza de ga va	cvcn	I.d	IV.a
dzika de metsoam o*	cvcn	sI.b/II.a	
dzogade dzegbe*	hufenu	II.a	
gameli	dunyo	I.f	II.b
gbe nam	dunyo	I.f	III.d
gbe nu wom	dunyo	II.i	S
gbeto nye togoglo	cvcn	II.j	II.a
hanye zua lãga dogbe	hufenu	d.III	III.a
hayia gbe ve	aheto/novo	I.b	I.a
kaliawo tsi ava*	hufenu	sI.e/II.b	
kinka tonuglawo*	cvcn	II.b	
kluvia	dunyo	II.e	S
ku gblẽ nume nam	dunyo	sI.j/II.a	S
kugbea wota	dunyo	I.e	II.a
kumadi	cvcn	I.h	II.b
lebene viwo	novo	I.b	IV.c
ma tsi gbe	dunyo	III.f	I.d
me le agbe me	dunyo	II.a	I.d
medzihu maka fa agbeli*	hufenu	II.a	
mele klodzi na afeto*	cvcn	I.a	

mi wo nyuie	dunyo	II.c	I.b
mia woe zo	dunyo	III.c	I.c
miato si le dzifo*	cvcn	II.g	
mivo gbeto	cvcn	II.d	III.a
miylo ena do	dunyo	II.b	II.b
nane ke me to mawu	cvcn	I.b	II.b
nye me le kuku ge	cvcn	II.a	IV.a
nyea me le alõme	dunyo	I.a	III.c
segbonya mawu enam	hufenu	III.a	I.a
vua va dze	cvcn	II.a	II.b
yehowa nye kplo la nye*	cvcn	I.g	

Note:

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 "s" signifies a special case.
 Formal analysis is not given for hatsiatsia.

Song List, Alphabetically by Toneme Set

Song Title	Composer	<u>T.S.</u>	<u>Form</u>
ame vuvo dom*	dunyo	I.a	
nyea me le alõme	dunyo	I.a	III.c
mele klodzi na afeto*	novo	I.a	
agbe me lo loo	novo	I.b	II.b
hayia gbe ve	aheto/novo	I.b	I.a
lebene viwo	novo	I.b	IV.c
nane ke me to mawu	novo	I.b	II.b
agbe me fu wo	novo	I.d	IV.a
dza de ga va	novo	I.d	IV.a
kugbea wota	dunyo	I.e	II.a
gameli	dunyo	I.f	II.b
gbe nam	dunyo	I.f	III.d
ayele kpe du do	dunyo	I.g	II.a
yehowa nye kplo la nye*	cvcn	I.g	
kumadi	cvcn	I.h	II.b
agbe me nu wo	cvcn	I.i	III.c
afrika du kplo la wo	cvcn	I.j	II.c
bu tso me kpo	cvcn	I.j	II.a
dzogade dzegbe*	hufenu	II.a	
medzihu maka fa agbeli*	hufenu	II.a	
me le agbe me	dunyo	II.a	I.d
nye me le kuku ge	cvcn	II.a	IV.a
vua va dze	cvcn	II.a	II.b
miylo ena do	dunyo	II.b	II.b
kinka tonuglawo*	cvcn	II.b	
mi wo nyuie	dunyo	II.c	I.b
agbe ko	dunyo	II.d	II.a
mivo gbeto	cvcn	II.d	III.a
kluvia	dunyo	II.e	\$
miato si le dzifo*	cvcn	II.g	
bahe viwo	dunyo	II.h	II.b
gbe nu wom	dunyo	II.i	\$
gbeto nye togoglo	cvcn	II.j	II.a
agoo ma do mo	dunyo	II.k	I.c
devisue menye	cvcn	I I .1	I.c

segbonya mawu enam	hufenu	III.a	I.a
agbeliza mieduge	hufenu	III.b	I.a
dunyo yitsie medogbena	hufenu	III.b	I.a
hanye zua lãga dogbe	hufenu	III.b	III.a
mia woe zo	dunyo	III.c	I.c
agbeliza do agoo	hufenu	III.d	I.a
dome levo	novo	III.e	II.c
ma tsi gbe	dunyo	III.f	I.d
dzika de metsoam o*	novo	sI.b/II.a	
kaliawo tsi aua*	hufenu	sI.e/II.b	
ku gblẽ nume nam	dunyo	sI.j/II.a	S
ago meno anyi kpoo	novo	sII.f/I.c	III.b

Note:

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 "s" signifies a special case.
 Formal analysis is not given for hatsiatsia.

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