

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

**AGBLEHAWO (FARMERS' MUSIC):
Their Status and Impact on Farming Communities of Kpandu,
Volta Region, Ghana.**

BY

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Thesis submitted to the Department of Music, Faculty of Arts, University of Cape Coast, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for award of Doctor of Philosophy Degree in Ethnomusicology.

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DECLARATION

Candidate's Declaration:

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own original work and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this university or elsewhere.

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Supervisors' Declaration:

We hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of the thesis were supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of thesis laid down by the University of Cape Coast.

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ABSTRACT

An important musical type that supports farmers' activities at Kpandu and its environs, to ensure their welfare and survival through subsistence farming is *agblehawo*, a term which literally means "farmers' music". This study sought to explain why the *s4hewo* (the youth), of Kpandu up to date, cling to the performance of *agblehawo* in the face of other varied forms of music to which they are exposed. To explain this socio-musical behaviour of the *s4hewo*, the conceptual framework of 'situational change' experienced by Mitchell (1973) and adopted by Saighoe (1988) became the underpinning theory for the study. Apart from Kpandu, the research area, field investigation was also conducted at Kudzra and Gbefi, two traditional adjoining communities of Kpandu. To a large extent, the comments and reactions of the actors helped me to understand the structural organisation, occasions for performance and the meaning of the performances. The retention and continuous performance of *agblehawo* by the *Akpiniawo* (local name for the people of Kpandu) is an indication that *agblehawo* continue to serve some specific needs and purposes in their day to day socio-musical behaviour and interaction.

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DEDICATION

In memory of my father, Mr. Ambrose Amlor, my mother, Mrs. Helen Wozuame Amlor, my sisters, Mrs. Martine Aggor (nee Martine Kuyavi Amlor) and Yohana Atsufe Amlor.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Background of the Study

Social change which has been precipitated by forces of Westernisation and modernization in Northern Evedland through missionary activities, education, colonialism and the mass media etc., has impacted both positively and negatively on Eved cultural patterns, including music. Foreign musical types that are played in the mass media like radio, films and television, have compelled the *s4hewo* (youth) of Kpandu to adopt and practise them. In this direction, Idolor (2007:1), states: "Africa has had pressures from foreign administrative invasions, education, alien religion, emerging technologies and mass media, leading to changes in the lives of individuals and the entire society. Music as a living corporate part of African societies, cannot, but adapt to some of these changes almost to the detriment of the native genres". However, it is worthy of note that, in spite of their exposure to these varieties of foreign music in contemporary Ghana, the *s4hewo*, who constitute the bulk of the working force at Kpandu, still cling to the performance of *agblehawo*.

The term *agblehawo*, which literally refers to 'farmers' music', is derived from two Eved words, *agble* (farm) and *hawo* (songs). By definition, *agblehawo* are a type of work songs performed by farmers as accompaniment to their farming activities to ensure their welfare and survival; when performed at home, they serve other specific purposes.

The studies on work songs by Ghanaian and non-Ghanaian anthropologists and ethnomusicologists like Adedeji (2000), Agordoh (2002), Fiagbedzi (2000), Gioa (2006), Jarvie (1974), Merriam (1964), Nketia (1974) and Southern (1997) help to establish certain functions of this folk music. According to Merriam (1964: 211), music is employed in human society to facilitate a cultural practice or activity of a people. African societies, thus, believe that music integrated into their manual activities is crucial to the survival of their members.

The contexts within which *agblehawo* are used in Northern Eueland at times, differ from one farming activity to the other. Nketia in the same way, states that the use of work songs, are at times determined by differences in the choice of work for which the music is provided. “One may find musicians or see workers themselves singing while clearing the bush, planting or harvesting food crops, building houses, making a mud floor, for constructing bridges as well as incorporating music in the events of market days” (1974:21). He concludes: “To Africans, “music ‘sweetens’ their labour and motivates them to work harder in order to increase productivity to guarantee their survival” (1961:4). Adedeji (2000:5), similarly, points to the importance of farming among the Yoruba of Nigeria through the text of a song:

<i>Iseagbe, Iseilewa</i>	Farming is our traditional vocation
<i>E nikoyo ma jale</i>	Refusal to farm ends up in armed robbery
<i>Iwekiko, laisio koatiada</i>	Education without cutlass and hoe
<i>Koipe o, koipe o eee</i>	By far is inadequate.

Similar to the assertion of Nketia (1974:21), Southern states on African slaves who worked on plantations in the New World: “as a way of removing boredom, tiredness, and encouraging solidarity in group activity, singing

accompanied all kinds of work like picking cotton, threshing rice, harvesting sugar cane, clearing bushes and building of bridges” (1997:161).

Statement of the Problem

Despite the fact that social change, precipitated by forces of Westernisation and modernization, has compelled the *Akpiniawo* to incorporate diverse musical traditions into their socio-musical behaviour, the *s4hewo* still cling to the performance of *agblehawo*.

The purpose of this study is to determine the place of *agblehawo* in the socio-musical life of the *s4hewo* of Kpandu. The objective is to explain why the *s4hewo*, in spite of their exposure to all kinds of music today, still persist in performing *agblehawo*.

The Need for the Study

Most indigenous verbal art forms of the Eves articulate their world view. However, there has not been any in-depth researched documentation of *agblehawo* and their place in farming activities of the Northern Eves.

In his study of some musical types of Northern Eves, Kafui (2000:126) mentions *agblehawo*, in passing, as music associated with farming. However, probably because of the scope of his study, he did not deem it necessary to explain the contextual organization nor the function of this folk genre in the socio-cultural life of its performers.

In contrast with *agblehawo* which accompany farming activities of Northern Ewes, Fiagbedzi (1997:168), examines *t4fohawo* (fishing songs) of the Southern Ewe fisher folk of Ghana, and states, that the most important occupation that uses music is drag-net fishing. According to him fishermen sing *vukuhawo* (songs for rowing canoes) as a driving force that encourages them to row far out to sea to cast nets. As the nets are pulled ashore, they sing *kahehawo* (songs for pulling nets) and step backwards in rhythm to the percussive accompaniment to the songs as a way of boosting their energies to haul ashore, the catch of the day. Fiagbedzi concentrates his energies on fishing songs of the Southern *Ayila*-Ewes and says nothing about farming songs.

The lack of an in-depth investigation and documentation of *agblehawo*, a very important aspect of Kpandu music tradition creates an ethnographic lacuna that needs to be filled, and it is hoped that the results of this study will help in this direction.

Ethnomusicologists, following after social anthropologists, have directed their attention to the study of urban music life and noted that in spite of being exposed to foreign musical types, rural immigrants living in urban environments still cling to their traditional music traditions.

Slobin's studies of émigrés from the Soviet Union to Afghanistan in 1932 states that they (the émigrés) had their own musicians and musical traditions and have maintained these intact to the present time (1970:455). Bruno Nettl also reports that Polish immigrants in the United States at the beginning of the 20th century learned the music of other groups but "for a long time also retained their

traditional Polish folk music and tried to keep it from mixing with other musics and holding it intact in stable form” (1978:9).

In his study of the music behaviour of the Dagaba immigrants at Tarkwa, an urban environment, Saighoe asks after Ridgeway and Roberts (1976): “in an urban setting where a substantial array of music is supported, why does an immigrant group make a persistent effort to retain its pre-migration music?” As an answer to the question, Saighoe proposes that “if immigrants persist in the performance of their rural music in a city, it is because the music continues to satisfy some specific needs in their new lives” (1988:11).

The Kpandu situation, makes it plausible to assert that today, people do not always have to migrate to urban areas before they get exposed to foreign cultural practices, including music.

In contrast with Saighoe’s submission that Dagaba immigrants got exposed to an array of music at Tarkwa, an urban setting, after migrating to that place, the *s4hewo* of Kpandu, have not migrated to any urban environment, but they have now incorporated into their socio-musical behaviour, diverse musical traditions which have been brought to them in their homeland through the forces of Westernization and modernization. As already noted, however, the *s4hewo* still cling to the performance of *agblehawo* in their home environment, now inundated with different foreign musical types.

In the light of the above discussions, it is plausible to propose, as Saighoe does of the Dagaba situation in Tarkwa that the continuous performance of

agblehawo is an indication that they continue to serve some specific needs and purposes in the socio-musical behaviour and interaction of the *s4hewo* of Kpandu.

Theoretical Framework of the Study

To investigate the socio-musical behaviour of the *s4hewo*, the theoretical framework of the study is based on the concept of situational change which was originally proposed by Mitchell (1973) and adopted by Saighoe (1988) as a framework for examining the music behaviour of the Dagaba in Tarkwa. Mitchell (1973:43), points out that in order to explain urban life within the framework of social change, two types of change, processive and situational, need to be recognized. He explains the concept of situational change as “the change in the tribal institutions and symbols of immigrants as a result of the change in their social situation” (p.44). The broadness or scope of the concept of situational change allows the proposition that in the course of making adjustments to an urban setting, immigrants do not completely relinquish their cultural diacritics and basic value orientations. On the contrary, certain elements of their home culture are used to serve them in their new environment (Barth 1969; Mitchell 1957).

Even though the social context of this research differs from the Dagaba situation in Tarkwa, it reinforces Saighoe’s proposition of situational change. The framework of Saighoe’s proposition of situational change is that “as Dagaba immigrants adjust to the needs of Tarkwa, an urban setting, changes in their social behaviour would effect corresponding changes in their musical behaviour” (1988:12). In contrast, the *Akpiniawo* (local name for people of Kpandu), have not

travelled outside their homeland to any urban environment. Rather, situational change, precipitated by forces of Westernisation and modernization, has brought changes in their social lives at Kpandu.

Impact of Agents of Westernisation and Modernisation on *Akpini* Culture

Western culture has impacted both favourably and unfavourably on the cultural patterns of the *Akpiniawo*. Some positive aspects of Western impact on the *Akpiniawo* include the introduction of formal education and the use of Christian prayers by Christian converts in place of traditional types. As a result of Christianity and formal education, the natives of Kpandu have totally abandoned practices like human sacrifice and substituted it with animal sacrifice, and sometimes with foreign or local drinks.

The music culture of the *Akpiniawo* at present carries information on aspects of foreign as well as their indigenous culture. For example, the ensembles of instruments of some dances in the area are now heterogeneous: a combination of both European and African musical instruments to create desired tonal effects. The ensemble of *b4b44b4* dance for example, is now a blend of *vuwo* (traditional drums) and the western bugle is now being replaced by the trumpet because of its wider tonal range.

Despite these positive results, the impact of colonialism, religion, formal education, mass media, improved technology, modernisation and new job opportunities has negatively affected the cultural values of the people to the extent that an array of foreign types of music has emerged.

Some traditional state institutions like festivals, labour groups, and the courts of chiefs that housed indigenous music-making, suffered setbacks as a result of these foreign cultural influences.

A discussion of the negative impact of each of these contributory agents of Westernisation and modernisation would help in this direction.

Colonialism

The period of European presence and administration at Kpandu was between 1870 and 1897, during the reign of the then paramount chief, *T4gbui* Dagadu II, who welcomed both German and British forms of administration.

British administration brought about capitalism and payment of tax by the *Akpiniawo*. The advent of capitalism reduced leisure time and slowed down indigenous music performance and eventually disrupted communal life of the people, which hitherto, formed the basis for communal music making.

Colonialism also came with imposition of new legal systems based on European concepts of law, often at variance with the indigenous political system of the *Akpiniawo*. The colonialists also established courts that tried cases of libel and imposed subsequent fines and jail terms. These types of punishments discouraged the performance of indigenous musical types whose texts were full of satire, insults or reproach served as a means of social control (Ojaide, 2001:49).

Christianity

In the mid nineteenth century, German missionaries of the Mission Society (*Norddeutsche Mission, Bremen*), together with the Basel Mission started work among the Northern Eves and established the first Evangelical Presbyterian Church in 1892 at Kpandu during the reign of *T4gbui* Dagadu II. By 1923, the Catholic Church was also established at Kpandu by priests of the Society of African Missionaries (SMA) from Lyon, France. Later, in the early 1990s, William Kofi Agbeteti, under the stool name, *T4gbui* Agbeteti Dagadu IV, keenly assisted in the establishment of the Anglican Church at Kpandu.

These church denominations had a common objective of changing the mentality and attitudes of the natives against beliefs and practices which their missionaries regarded as inimical to Christian faith and detrimental to human development. In this way, Christianity eroded the belief in traditional practices and worked against the values and norms that promoted traditional music. Adu Boahen (1966:122) comments on this negative attitude of the missionaries: “.....the missionaries looked down on everything African; African art, music, drumming, dancing, systems of marriage pouring of libation and even naming, and their converts had to renounce all this. Their activities created divisions in African society and retarded the development of indigenous African culture”.

Education

The introduction of Western education to the *Akpini* traditional area can be described as one of the factors that have modernized Kpandu. Bishop Herman

College was founded on February 28, 1952 by the then Keta Diocese of the Catholic Church as a boarding Secondary School to train young boys to acquire good Christian morals and sound academic discipline.

The Kpandu Secondary and Technical schools were later established by the government to provide quality education and skills to young boys and girls in the area.

At present, citizens of Kpandu who have had formal Western education from the basic, through secondary to the tertiary levels, are prone to white collar jobs and Western music. In connection with a similar situation regarding *Ifa* music of the Yoruba of southern Nigeria, Adedeji comments: “many children and youth that were supposed to be occupational workers and priests(esses), who should carry *egungu* masks and perform music of the traditional institutions, are today, either in the universities (in or outside the country), pursuing degrees or converted to Christianity and even ordained as priests and pastors. As a result, experienced practitioners of our indigenous values, including music, are reducing in number on daily basis” (2002:29).

Modernisation

In recent years, there has been increase in population growth at Kpandu. As a result of its attainment of a municipal status as well as a capital, Ministries and Departmental Agencies (MDAs) have sprung up and started developmental projects in the area. Examples of these Agencies, Governmental and non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) include the Ghana Education Service,

Ghana Health Service, District Headquarters of Agriculture and World Vision. The activities of these institutions and other social factors discussed below are gradually transforming the *Akpini* state into a modernized and an urban area.

Modernisation of Kpandu can first be felt in the agricultural sector where some elites who are experts in agri-business and hail from Kpandu, have returned home and begun mechanized large scale food and livestock farming due to availability of land and capital. The farmers have been introduced to improved agricultural techniques that enhance high yield of farm produce and fish breeding. The Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) that have been attracted to Kpandu as a result of its municipal status, have opened up in the area, small scale or cottage industries like fruit plantation farming, fish farming, lumber processing for sale and building purposes. The socio-economic changes in terms of income levels, educational standards, job opportunities and judicious use of land, are generating some form of urban culture which is gradually engulfing the *Akpini* state and thus, altering its population from a homogenous to a heterogeneous one.

To have easy access to the cities and interact easily with city dwellers, all over the country, first and second class road networks have been constructed to and from adjoining suburbs, towns and villages that link Kpandu with towns and cities in and outside the Volta Region. Improved transport and communication, increased newspaper circulation, advancement in education, science and technology etc. have gone a long way in diffusing a wide variety of urban attitudes, ideas and habits from other urban and city areas in Ghana to Kpandu.

Social services in the form of water supply, electricity, sanitation, especially, disposal of wastes (solid and liquid), construction of a sports stadium, a hospital etc., which were formerly the preserve of the urban and city areas, have now found their way into the *Akpini* traditional area.

On examining secular musical life at Kpandu, one would notice the use of a blend of Western and African musical elements. Though the *s4hewo* of Kpandu did not migrate to an urban area, the impact of the forces of modernisation and westernization have made them to adopt and practice both sacred and secular musical types like hymns, highlife, hiplife, pop, rap, reggae and gospel etc., which are performed at church, drinking bars, cinema halls, night clubs, community and video centres and during social events like festival and funeral celebrations.

At present, Western Corporate bodies like Vodafone, Tigo, Mobile Tele-Communication Net-work (MTN), Airtel etc., now collaborate with media houses like the radio and television stations to organize state dances and crown “Miss *Danyibakaka*”, a beauty contest for young and talented *Akpini* ladies during their tri-annual festival celebration.

A remarkable aspect of this event is performance of both Western and contemporary African music. The contestants are not only quizzed on indigenous music, but are also expected to show some skills in playing the instruments like *atopani* (talking drum) and *vuga* (master drum) and, as well, articulating the rhythms of the musical instruments in body movements.

The Mass Media: (Television and Radio)

Many social changes evident in the Kpandu traditional area today, are partly attributable to mass media. Radio and television broadcasts are two important avenues through which cultural values are discussed and disseminated to both old and young citizens of Kpandu. At present, the *Akpiniawo* intimately relate to 'Radio Kpandu', a Frequency Modulation (FM) station that transmits, promotes and educates the citizens on their cultural, moral, community life, civic rights and obligations. Moemeka examines the modernity that radio brings into a people's life and states: "radio can be used in cultural innovation or diffusion. It could also be used to bring to children, youths and adults, the achievements of our cultural heritage in art, music, drama and so on" (2000:120).

Apart from radio broadcast, television is acknowledged as one of the most powerful modern media of communication and modernization. The enormous powers usually ascribed to this medium derive from its audio-visual properties, because it (television) presents things as they really are. In this respect, realism is achieved through sight and hearing (Onabajo, 2005:94).

As a development agent, television activates human intention and projects a people's way of life through drama, dance, dress codes, eating habits, marriage and family patterns, enhance the morals, socialize, homogenize and adapt the *Akpiniawo* to their own culture. On the other hand, through most of these Western radio and television programmes, the natives (especially the *s4hewo*), have adopted and practise some of these foreign cultural values without paying attention or respect to cultural values and norms associated with their roots.

Western Technology

The advent of modern technology has also led to the emergence and use of audio-visual gadgets like tape recorders, computers, mobile phones, compact discs (CDs), video cameras by the *s4hewo*, to record audio and live performances of foreign music which they largely enjoy.

On the whole, in spite of the fact that the impact of agents of Westernisation and modernisation has now led to cultural imperialism rather than cultural transformation of the *Akpini* state, the *s4hewo*, to date, have not abandoned the performance of their farming songs which according to them, serve some specific needs and purposes in their day to day work activities.

The task of this study is to identify and explain the specific needs and purposes that this folk genre satisfies in the day to day activities of the *Akpiniawo*.

If these results help to explain why traditional farmers cling to the performance of their music in spite of their exposure to different types of music as a result of Westernisation and modernisation, and to call the attention of other researchers to musical types that are incorporated into rural agricultural practices in Ghana and elsewhere, the goal of the study will have been achieved.

Practical Significance of the Study

In the recent past, Ghanaian educational authorities have stressed the need for teaching Ghanaian traditional music in Ghanaian schools. The Ghana Education Service in line with this thinking, has issued a syllabus, “Music and

Dance Syllabus for Basic Schools (2007)”, meant to promote teaching and learning of traditional music in schools. However, an examination of the present day musical activities in most Ghanaian schools indicates that music educators lack appropriate materials for fulfilling this need. They, therefore, end up teaching Western music to which materials they have easy access.

The results of this research will provide repertory materials as well as the body of knowledge that will serve as the basis for formulating teaching principles guided by the awareness of Ghanaian approach to indigenous knowledge through music as well as the learning and creative processes they require. It is our hope that the benefits of these results, in terms of data and their applicability, could extend beyond Ghana.

Research Methodology

The qualitative research methodology was employed in the study, and it largely comprises primary data collected from informants at Kpandu as well as Kudzra and Gbefi; two traditional adjoining communities of Kpandu.

I employed the ethnographic approach to data collection in this qualitative research, and found it quite appropriate, because it offered me the opportunity to describe the shared values, beliefs, practices and, as well, arrive at reasons why *agblehawo*, a traditional folk genre, to date, is performed by farmers in the Kpandu traditional area and its environs.

Research Procedures

The participant-observation technique was employed to gather firsthand information from musicians and from performance situations. This technique was also used to collect the ethnography of the musical behaviour of the performers in the three communities. The method is distinctive because having approached my respondents in their own environment; it gave me the opportunity as a researcher to study the socio-musical life of the farmers as “insiders” while I remain inevitably, an “outsider”.

I also conducted informal interviews in what Saighoe terms musical and non-musical contexts to gain better understanding of what was observed.

Data collection also involved what Saighoe (1988:15) terms contextual and analytical recordings. Contextual recordings involved the use of audio-visual equipment (Sony video camera, and a tape recorder) to capture formal and informal performances that included singing, dancing and reactions from the audience in the form of prolonged applause and shouts. Audio and visual recordings of music and dance proceedings that relate to the types of songs, voice parts, dance styles and performers’ roles that I personally controlled and monitored are what I term analytical recordings.

Later, a video-clip of *agbleha* performance recorded at Kpandu was played to traditional musicians, dancers and members of the Kudzra and Gbefi communities endowed with knowledge of this folk genre for their comments on the structural organization, occasions of performance and also state reasons why the youth of these two communities, to-date, perform *agblehawo*.

This process was reversed to enable members of the *fido* and *agbleha hab4b4wo* as well as people with in-depth knowledge of these work songs at Kpandu to watch and comment on why their neighbours from Kudzra and Gbefi respectively, up till now, also retain *agbleha* performance.

From the investigations conducted, the performers of *agblehawo* at Kpandu and its two adjoining communities, share similar views and state emphatically, that the retention and continuous performance of *agblehawo*, dating back to the era of their ancestors, satisfy certain specific socio-cultural needs and purposes in their lives, and that they do not envisage putting an end to the performance of this occupational folk music in the near future.

Some of the reasons given to support their claim for the retention and performance of this folk genre are: *agblehawo* are regarded by the *Akpiniawo* as a cultural legacy and for this reason, their performance would be difficult to abandon. Collectively, this occupational music and dance serve as avenues of communication and emotional expression, enforcing conformity to social norms and, as well, a means of validating social institutions and religious rituals.

To facilitate the transcription of the songs recorded, I used the Song Surgeon soft-ware, a music device that is used to slow down the tempo of songs without changing their pitches in order to hear the notes of the songs distinctly, and, as well, write the rhythmic patterns of the songs and the instruments used during the performance.

Secondary Data

Secondary data that relate to the geographical and historical background of the study was acquired from the Kpandu library, archives of the *Akpini* Traditional Council, published and unpublished books, journals, and the funeral brochures of the late paramount chiefs of Kpandu; *T4gbui* Dagadu V, *T4gbui* Dagadu VI and *T4gbui* Dagadu VII.

Chapter Organisation

The study is organized into six chapters.

Chapter one, the introductory chapter, consists of the statement of the problem, aim of the study, the need for the study, theoretical framework and practical significance of the study, research methodology and the organization of the study.

Chapter two looks at the geographical, historical and socio-cultural matrixes of Northern Eves with emphasis on Kpandu traditional area.

Chapter three deals with subsistence agriculture and describes the farming activities of the *s4hewo* at Kpandu.

Chapter four examines the place of *agblehawo* in the farming activities of the *Akpiniawo*.

Chapter five describes and analyses the tonal, rhythmic and polyphonic structures of *agblehawo*.

Chapter six gives the summary, conclusions of the study and makes recommendations for the attention and a possible implementation by the relevant authorities concerned.

CHAPTER TWO

GEOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL AND SOCIO-CULTURAL MATRIXES OF NORTHERN EVES WITH FOCUS ON KPANDU TRADITIONAL AREA

Location of Northern Eves

Agbodeka (2000:1-4) delineates Northern Evelandas bounded to the east by the Republic of Togo, to the West by the Volta lake to the north by Jasikan and Krachi Districts and to the south by Anjla, North and South Tongu, Akatsi, Aven4 and Ketu Districts.

Northern Eveland as a substantial part of Volta Region, has a total area of 20,344 kilometres. Out of the region's total land size, the Northern Eves are currently located in seven administrative districts: Ho, Agortime-Ziofe Adaklu, Kpandu, Hohoe, Kpeve and South Dayi which occupy 4,900.4 square kilometres, representing about 20% of the Volta Region and 1.72% of Ghana's total land size.

All the Northern Eve ethnic groups have been influenced by the Akans, British, German and other European missionary activities and colonial rule. According to Gavua (2000:5), relationships that existed between Eves and Akans on one hand and Europeans on the other engendered transformations in many aspects of Eve socio-cultural life. He adds that patterns of behaviour found among Northern Eves today can be understood, when viewed against the backdrop of

their settlement history and the history of their interaction with the Akans and the Europeans.

Northern Ewe Ethnic Groups

Before settling at specific places they occupy now after their exit from D4tsie in Togo, Northern Ewes in general, were one culturally knit body with autonomous ethnic groupings under leaders referred to as *tr4nuawo* (priests).

Ethnic groupings in Central and Northern Ewe land in Ghana at present consist of the following: Abutiawo, Adakluawo, Alavanyoawo, Anfoegawo, As4gliawo, Awudomeawo, Danyiawo, Dzoloawo, Gbiawo, Kpalimeawo, Kpedzeawo, Kpanduawo, Leklebiawo, Pekiawo, #liawo, Vakpoawo Veawo, etc. (Obianim, 1990:4-5).

Origin of Northern Ewes

Mamattah (1976:65) states that from Oyo in Southern Nigeria, the Ewes migrated first to Ketu or Oyo in Nigeria and later to Dahomey (Benin Republic) before finally settling at D4tsie in the Republic of Togo.

Historically, Northern Ewes were part of a major bloc of Ewes believed to have migrated from *D4tsie* (sometimes spelt Nuatja, Nuatia or Nouatche), a settlement area that lies about 6° 30' N and 15° E on the Lome-Atakpame road and about 112km from Lome, the capital of Togo (Daketsey, 1979:1). On the migration of Northern Ewes, Gavua (1980) and Konu (1981) state that “by the end

of the 17th century, Northern Eve groups left *D4tsie* and settled in relatively peaceful and small autonomous communities”. Gavua later writes: “the Northern Eves left *D4tsie*, their ancestral home in small kin groups such as families and clans and travelled in different directions towards the Volta River and had settled briefly at a number of places before finally arriving at their present homelands” (2000:6).

Language Patterns

Beside Eve which is the main language spoken, a closer look at the language patterns of the area shows variations that exist in the *fiafiagbe* areas. These areas are occupied by pockets of non-Eve (Guan) speaking people generally referred to in Eve as *fiafialawo*. These non-Eve speakers have their own languages but in most cases, speak Eve as a second language.

Some of these Guan speaking settlements include Akpafu, Avatime, Bowiri, Likpe, Logba, Lolobi, Nkonya, Nyagbo, Santrokofi and Tafi. Going further north in the region, one can identify pockets of Akan speaking block of settlers as well as Buems and Krachis in towns like Jasikan and its adjoining settlements like Ahamansu, Apesokubi, Brewoniase, Kadjebi, Nkwanta, Papase and Worawora.

Complementing the point above, Ansre states that an interesting linguistic feature in the northern sector of the region is the location of a number of distinct languages right in its middle and heartland. According to him, four distinct languages that border Eveland to the north are Sekpele which is spoken in Likpe

traditional area, Siwu in Lolobi and Akpafu townships, Sɛɛ, spoken at Santrokofi and at Nkonya, a Guan language that shares common identities with Krachie and Gonja in the north, is spoken. Despite the number of dialects that are spoken, the Volta River has united the Eves into a single cultural unit within a geographical area that has homogeneity of customs, beliefs and practices. Illustrated below, is a map of Eve and non-Eve speaking areas in the northern part of the Volta Region.

Languages

1. Krachie
2. Adele
3. Ntrobo
4. Kisibo
5. Akp4s4
6. Buem
7. Akpafu
8. Likpe
9. Santrokofi(Sɛɛ)
10. Logba
11. Avatime
12. Nyangbo
13. Tafi
14. Nkonya
15. Bowiri
16. Akan

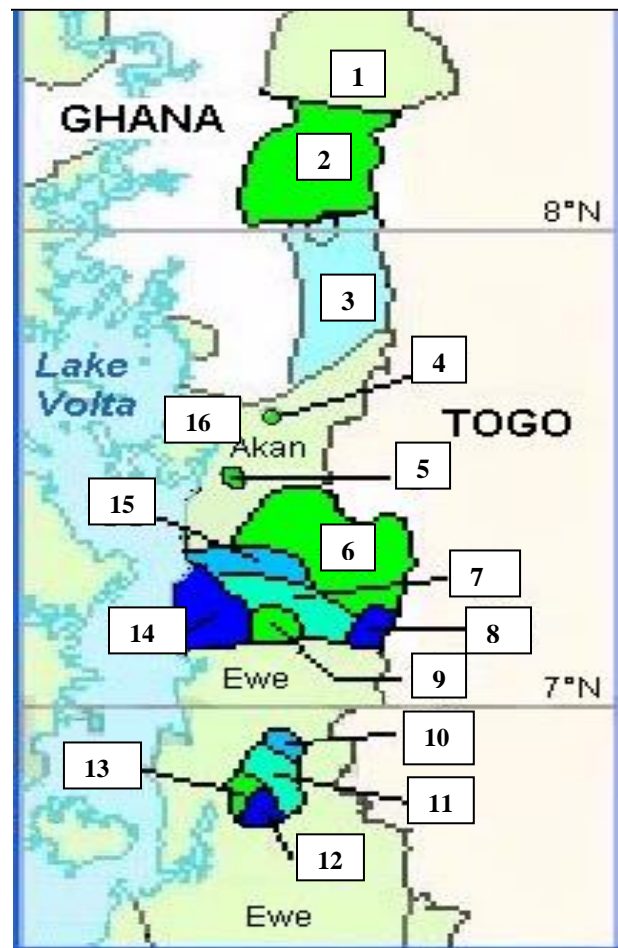


Figure 1: Map of Ewe and non-Eve speaking areas in Northern Volta Region

Another non- Ewe speaking group that shares a common border to the east with the Peki traditional area, is the Kere-speaking Guans who inhabit the townships of Anum and Boso.

Among the varieties of festivals that are celebrated in Northern Ewe land, most of them have roots in harvest festivals inherited from D4tsie, their ancestral home in Togo.

Geographical Background of Kpandu

Location

Kpandu, now a Municipal District centre, is one of the oldest districts in the region. With Kpandu as its capital, it is an old administrative district dating back to the colonial era. The district lies within latitudes $6^{\circ} 20'N$ and $70^{\circ}05'N$, and Longitude $0^{\circ} 17'E$. It shares boundaries with Jasikan District in the North, and Hohoe District to the East. The Volta Lake which stretches over 80 kilometres off the coast line, demarcates the Western boundary and the newly created Anfoega District, shares the Southern border with Kpandu.

The district covers a total land area of 820 square kilometres representing 45% of the Volta Region with almost 40% of the land being submerged by the Volta Lake. Kpandu, the district capital, is 90 km from Ho; the Regional capital. The location of the Kpandu district places it at a very strategic position with potential for fast economic development. (Kpandu Municipal Assembly, 2006:1)

Illustrated below, is a map of Kpandu traditional area.

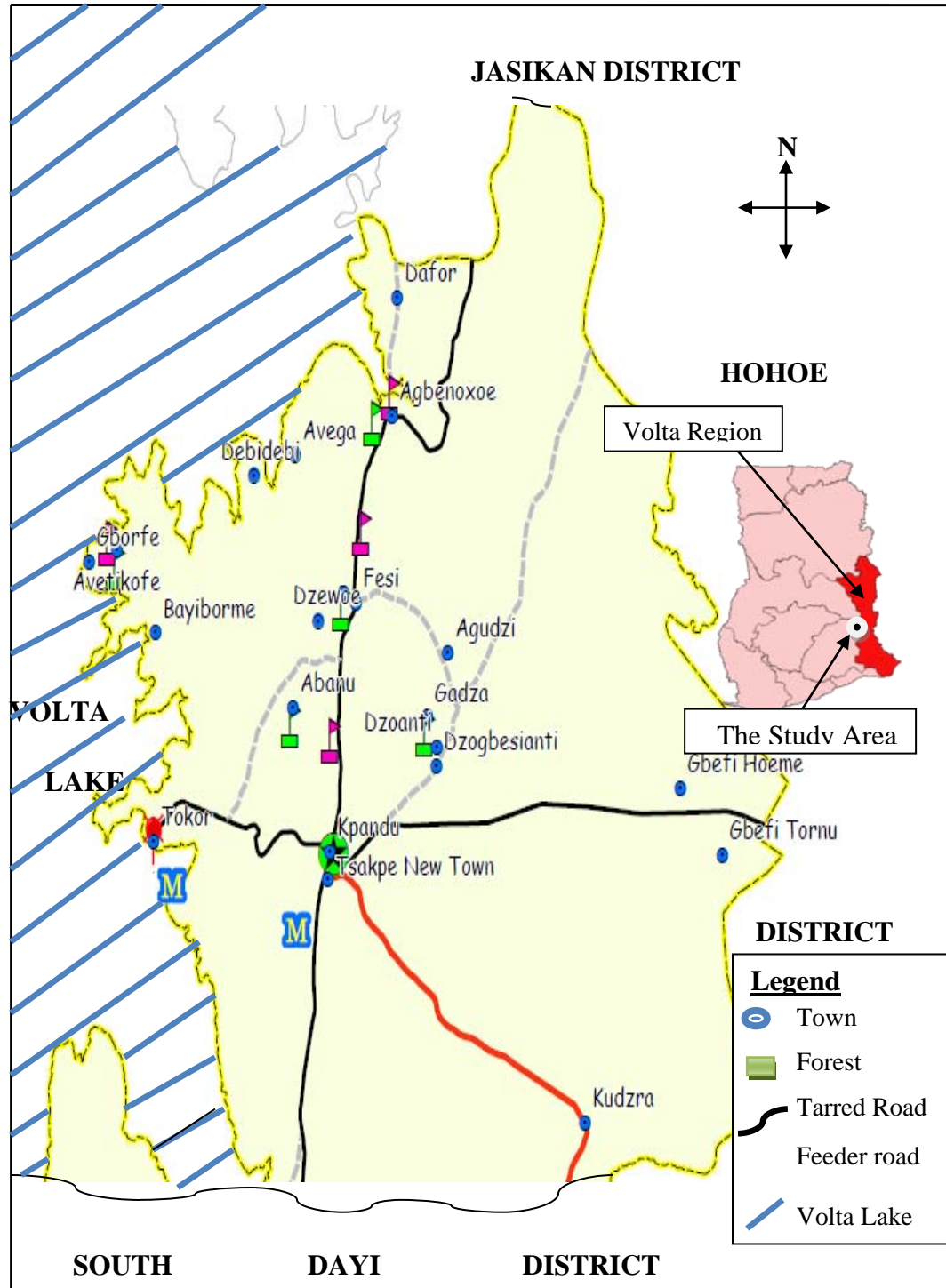


Figure 2: Map of Kpandu Traditional Area

Topography

The most striking physical features are the Akwapim-Togo-Atakora ranges that line up the eastern corridor between Ho and Kpandu Districts. The district is dotted with scattered hills and ranges of varied lengths and heights resulting in an undulating feature. The major hills are Anfoega, Avate, Botoku and Wusuta. The highest point in the district which is 1,250 feet is located along the Volta Lake around Avate and Botoku.

Climate

Kpandu falls within the tropical zone and has tropical climatic conditions and temperatures around 27⁰C. The area is generally influenced by the South West Monsoon winds from the South Atlantic Ocean and the dry harmattan winds from the Sahara. The major rainy period is between March and July with the highest precipitation in June; and the minor rainfall period occurs between September and October. In between the two rainy seasons are dry seasons; one occurring from mid-July to August and the other occurring from November to February/March.

There are spots dotted all over Northern EVELAND where rivers and streams gush out from huge gorges on mountain tops and fall hundreds of metres below in the form of waterfalls. These include the *Agumatsa*, the biggest and most beautiful waterfall in Ghana found at Wli in the Hohoe District, *Tagbo* at Liati Wote, *Tsatsadu* at Alavanyo Abehenease, and *Aflabo* which is at Leklebi Agbesia.

Relative humidity averaging 82% high usually occurs during the rainy periods. The average annual rainfall ranges from 900mm to 1,300mm with considerable variations within duration and intensity over the years. The double rainfall pattern gives farmers the opportunity to increase food productivity and thus, increasing their income earnings (Gockel, 2000:131).

Drainage

The Volta Lake and the River Dayi are the two major water bodies that flow through the Kpandu district. There are other numerous streams and rivulets that are found throughout the district, but at the peak of the dry season, some of them dry up. The Lake and other water bodies that flow into it are great potentials for irrigation development which supports an all year round farming which creates job opportunities for the *s4hewo*. Tourism and fishing activities are other areas for which the lake is harnessed to benefit the populace.

Vegetation

The vegetation of Kpandu and its environs consists of Guinea Savannah woodland, deciduous and thick forest. Describing the vegetation of Northern EVELAND of which Kpandu is part, Agbodeka (2000:2-3) states that the interior plains of the area support the savannah type of vegetation, which often has forest conditions along the fertile banks of the Volta and Dayi rivers where one finds luxurious palm trees as well as tall evergreen trees.

Patches of dense tropical forests are found in the valleys and on the slopes of the mountains with their rich forest products. This is due to the numerous rivers

and streams whose sources can be traced to the mountain regions which experience heavy rainfall which collect and run down into the valleys to enhance soil fertility and plant growth. However, these forest areas have at present been either destroyed or lost to the menace of inappropriate farming practices and excessive lumbering and bush fires. Resources in terms of forests in the area are being over exploited for charcoal and firewood production especially in the adjoining towns of Gbefi and Kudzra.

To conserve the environment and protect the vegetation of the area, the Forestry Department of Ghana has developed some forest reserves in the district. These are the Kpandu Ranges, Kpandu Plantation Forest Reserve, Avate Forest Reserve, Tsrukpe, and Agate Reserves. There are other smaller forest reserves at settlements like Wusuta, Aveme, Sabadu, and Vakpo.

Traditional Vocations of the *Akpiniawo*

The principal economic activities of about 90% of the people are food crop farming and fishing from the Volta Lake and its tributaries. Cassava, yam, plantain, cocoyam, maize and rice which form about 50% of their staple food, are produced especially by male farmers.

Darketsey explains that women at Wli, a Northern Eve community, participate minimally in farming because “traditionally, owning a piece of land is the preserve of men; though the family land belongs to all, men have the de facto power over it” (1979: p.v). This assertion copiously explains the situation of

minimal participation of women in farming activities at Kpandu, since women are not permitted to own lands.

The Volta Lake also serves as a means of inland transportation as well as a source of tourist attraction. Tourists cruise between Kpandu and Amankwa-T4nu and/or between Kete-Krachi and Kpandu and/or Akosombo on the lake.

Some women are now indirectly involved in fishing as they supply fishing materials like nets, outboard motors, etc. The women engage in the fishing business at their early ages, through helping their relatives (mothers, aunts, cousins, etc.) in fish processing and marketing. Besides these two vocations, few of the citizens (especially women), are traders. A handful of the citizenry are workers serving as teachers, nurses, bankers and as other government officials.

Historical Background of Kpandu

Just like members of other societies in Ghana or elsewhere in Africa, the *Akpiniawo* share a common historical background with their Ewe neighbours by way of *D4tsie*, their place of origin, and as well, reasons that precipitated their migration to Kpandu.

On the origins of the *Akpiniawo*, *T4gbe Dagadu V* (1977:1) states that historically, the people of Kpandu were part of the Ewe block that migrated from *Glime*. This assertion is complemented by Darketsey who writes:

The movement of the Eves from their cradle was enblock and that there were no identifiable units like the *Sasawo*, *Gbiawo*, *As4gliawo*, *Akpiniawo* etc. The oral traditions of other Eves also made mention of *Amedz4fe*, which also means *D4tsie*. (1979:1).

The term, ‘walled city’, according to the *Akpiniawo*, refers to *D4tsie* because the whole kingdom was fenced to prevent it from possible enemy attack.

Cause(s) of Migration from D4tsie

The *Akpiniawo* migrated from *D4tsie* as a result of the ill treatment Ag4k4li, the then ruling king, meted out to his subjects. The people left *D4tsie* in small kin groups such as families and clans and travelled in different directions towards the Volta River and settled at a number of places before finally reaching their present homelands.

The search for peace, security and freedom engendered the exodus of the Eves because as Mamattah comments; “the citizens became over stretched, denied basic human rights of justice, fair play and dignity...and at that point of no return, they rebelled against authority” (1976:111).

Two of my informants, Fabian Kyereme and K4si Sali (members of the *agbleha* performing group) made me understand that, according to *Akpini* tradition, at a point in time, life in *Glime* (another name for *D4tsie*), became very unbearable due to the despotic rule of Ag4k4li. Darketsey (1979) further states that *T4gbui* Ag4k4li put his subjects to quite unrealistic tasks like making ropes out of clay. These tasks which of course were highly difficult to accomplish, made the elders of *Glime* question the wisdom and legitimacy of his rule. The elders, therefore, asked the king to produce a sample of what he was demanding for in order to assist them in performing the tasks. This particular incident according to *Akpini* tradition, gave the Eves a popular aphorism, *Xoxoa nu wogbia*

yeyea 2o, (the new is modeled on to the old and fashioned after it). The constant rejection of lots of Ag4k4li's demands, coupled with the forceful execution of almost all the old men who were a threat to his power because of their wisdom, triggered off the migration from *D4tsie*.

Apart from the search for peace and security mentioned by Mamattah, I deem it plausible to assert that persistent water shortage and land infertility were among the factors that precipitated the movement of Eves from *D4tsie*. From a recent visit to *D4tsie* during my field research, I found to my surprise that *D4tsie* is a grassland area that experiences frequent water shortages.

Another reason for the migration might be due to a possible population explosion at *D4tsie* at that time which forced the citizens to look for greener pasture elsewhere. Historians differ as to the time of Eve migration from *D4tsie*. Kludze (1973) puts it at early 17th century. Amenumey (1964: 20-21) also points out that Eves moved from Togo to Ghana in the 17th century, while Adu Boahen (1975:5) mentioned the 16th century as the possible migration period.

The Journey Out of *D4tsie*

According to oral tradition, Eves moved out of their ancestral home at night. Prior to the exodus, Ag4k4li, sensing danger of enemy assault, ordered that all paths leading out of the city should be left unweeded. This action was to help the king detect the movements of people in and out of the walled city. For fear of being chased and brought back, the subjects outwitted the king and walked

backward out of *D4tsie*. As they did so, one person at the rear turned the bushes back to their normal standing positions with a long pole.

From *D4tsie*, the people of Kpandu moved in a westward direction under three distinct religious leaders, namely; Asianu, Adedze and Eko. During their journey, the *Akpiniawo* concretised their unity as one people through *dzonyinyi* (blood covenant) at the banks of a river called *Haho* under the leadership of Asianu.

History has it that after the death of the three founding leaders, their skeletons were exhumed and preserved together in *akpe*, a sacred calabash. The relics of these three leaders which was termed *Kpekpe et4* (mighty three), wielded the *Akpiniawo* as one people who forever, remain *nikpinikpinikpi*, (solid), united and knitted together, and never to break apart.

Information gathered from the field, to a large extent, showed that the *tr4nuawo* (priests and priestesses) were recognized as epitome of power and authority, symbols of reverence, controllers of the spiritual and social behaviour of the people and as powerful native doctors.

Out of *D4tsie*, the *Akpiniawo* settled temporarily in the course of their journey, at places which include the present day Ando, Dodome, Todome, Kpedze, Hanyigba and Ziave. According to my informants, at the vanguard of the migrants was *Blabu*, the deity that led the way out of *D4tsie*. Tradition further claims that *Gbonuga*, another deity, mysteriously manifested itself physically in the form of a leopard which roared from time to time to give them safe directions of the routes to follow. This deity is located at Fesi, a suburb of Kpandu.

Another deity that guided the migrants through their journey was *T4gbui* Nyangamaku or *Agamefiaga* who at that time manifested itself in the form of a colony of bees which stung enemies to protect the people. *Afet4* Bluwey, an informant and a citizen of Kpandu, made me aware that this deity is at present located at Dzigbe, a suburb of Kpandu.

The greatest obstacle encountered during the course of their journey was the crossing of *Dayi*, a river which got flooded during the peak of the major rainy season. For several weeks, the people settled on the banks of the river at Kudzra, a location which is at present an adjoining town of Kpandu. After a long wait, the priests and priestesses poured libation to the gods for assistance. As an answer to their distressed call, an outcrop of rocks emerged across the flooded riverbed and linked by a suspended rope along one side of the rocks spanning the water almost at shoulder level. The priests then asked the people to cross the river, stepping carefully on the rocks and using the rope as a support and never to look back while crossing, but sadly, this was instruction ignored. As a result, the suspended rope turned into a snake and together with the rocks submerged in the river. To their outmost horror, they shouted *odzuukukui!* This exclamation up to date remains an alarm that depicts a tragic event or a looming danger.” (Funeral Brochure of *T4gbui* Dagadu VII, 2006:37).

According to my informants, the rest of the migrants who could not cross the river before this miraculous incident occurred returned to Dodome, their immediate past settlement.

Final Settlement of the *Akpiniawo*

Under the authority and guidance of the traditional priests and the deities, the *Akpiniawo* continued their journey and finally arrived at ‘Kpando’, their present place of settlement where they met an ethnic group known as Kpes who had already occupied the land under a leader known as Kperi. After fighting, defeating and driving away the Kpes, the *Akpiniawo* occupied the land and all that were within it. As a cause to jubilate over their victory, they coined the aphorism; *mienyi Kpewo fe dome* meaning we have inherited the home or land of the Kpes. This name became Kpando and was later corrupted into Kpandu (Funeral Brochure of *T4gbui* Dagadu VII, 2006:38).

From inferences made during discussions held with my informants, it is clear that traditional priests and the deities took religious and leadership roles because in the course of their migration from *D4tsie*, leadership roles of chiefs were de-emphasised. This might be due to the fact that prior to their exodus from *D4tsie*, the Eves who were once a closely-knit people and were subjects under the reign of only one king; different dialectal groups then at *D4tsie* couldn’t have had the opportunity to install sub chiefs under *T4gbui* Ag4k4li.

The map at page 35 (Fig. 3) shows the migration route of the *Akpiniawo* from *D4tsie*, their ancestral home, to Kpandu.



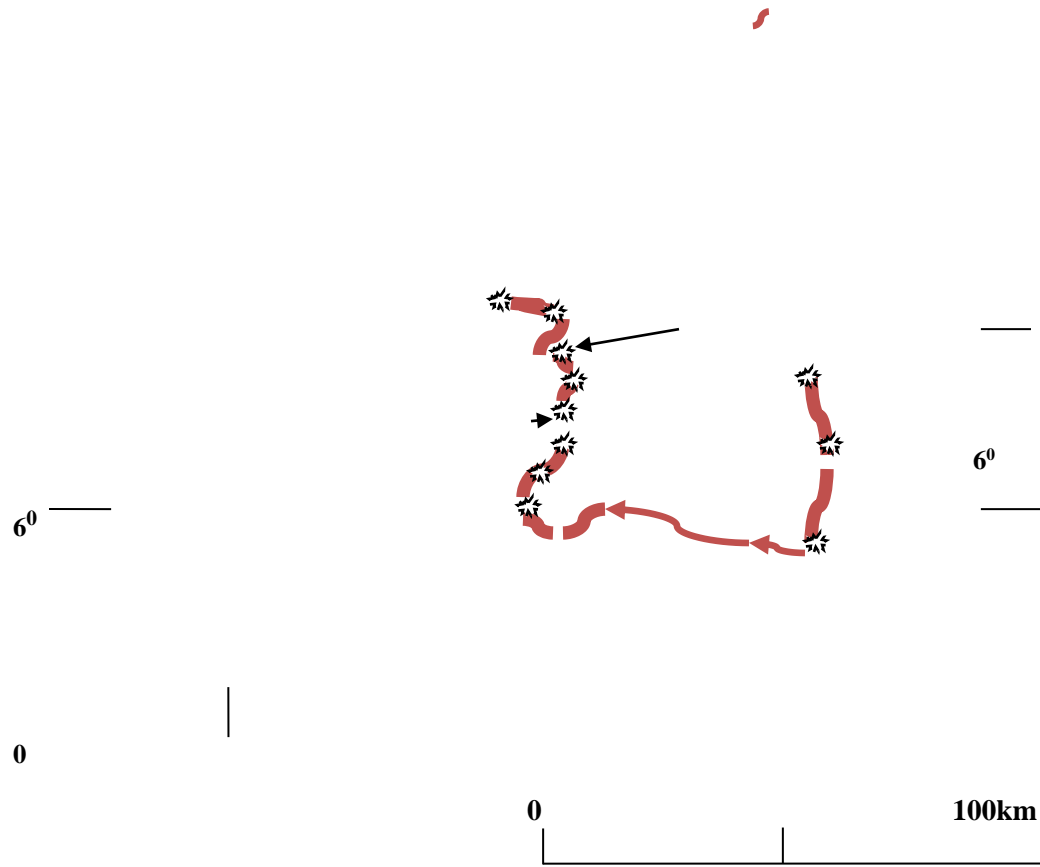


Figure 3: Map of the migration route of the Akpiniawo

Another reason why chiefs never took leadership roles might be due to their strong desire to liberate themselves from a tyrannical rule during a period which they could not easily determine where they were going.

Socio-Political Structure

After serving as subjects under the rule of Ag4k4li, the Eves who left *D4tsie* began to establish the chieftaincy institution as a result of settling in separate and smaller units as autonomous bodies.

Obianim (1990:24), confirms the above statement and asserts that despite the fact that chieftaincy institution was a legacy inherited by the Eves from *D4tsie*, in-depth knowledge of this indigenous institution in terms of installation processes, rituals and all that go with it were rather acquired from Akan ethnic groups like the Asantes, Akwamus and the Akyems who they came into contact with. This ethnic interaction led to the adoption of certain Akan chieftaincy titles like *Nifahene* (Right wing Chief), locally called *Dusimefia*, *Benkumhene* (Left wing chief), known as *Miamefia*, *Domevafia* or *Titinafia* (chief in middle section).

The Kpandu political structure, organisation and function can best be understood from the politico-kinship structure of the Northern Eves. Kludze (1973:11), in this direction, comments: “the Northern Eve speaking people of Ghana are organized in politically centralized chiefdoms of varying sizes which are however, not large political units of sizes reaching that of the Southern An14-Eve or the centralized Akan systems in Ghana. These political units are generally smaller and often consisting of only *du* (one township)”.

Bluwey (2000:61), analyses the political structure and states that the basic unit of a political organization in Northern Eueland is *du* or a settlement inhabited by a people who claim a common ancestry and are subjects of a chief. He stresses further:

The *du* may consist of several clans, each with its own lineage and leadership who all owe allegiance to the *Dufia* (chief of the town) whose symbol of authority is the stool. The highest political entity, being the *duk4*, is composed of several *duwo*. The *duwo* fall into three divisions, each under the control of a divisional chief, and all of them owe allegiance, as subjects to the *Fiaga* (paramount chief).

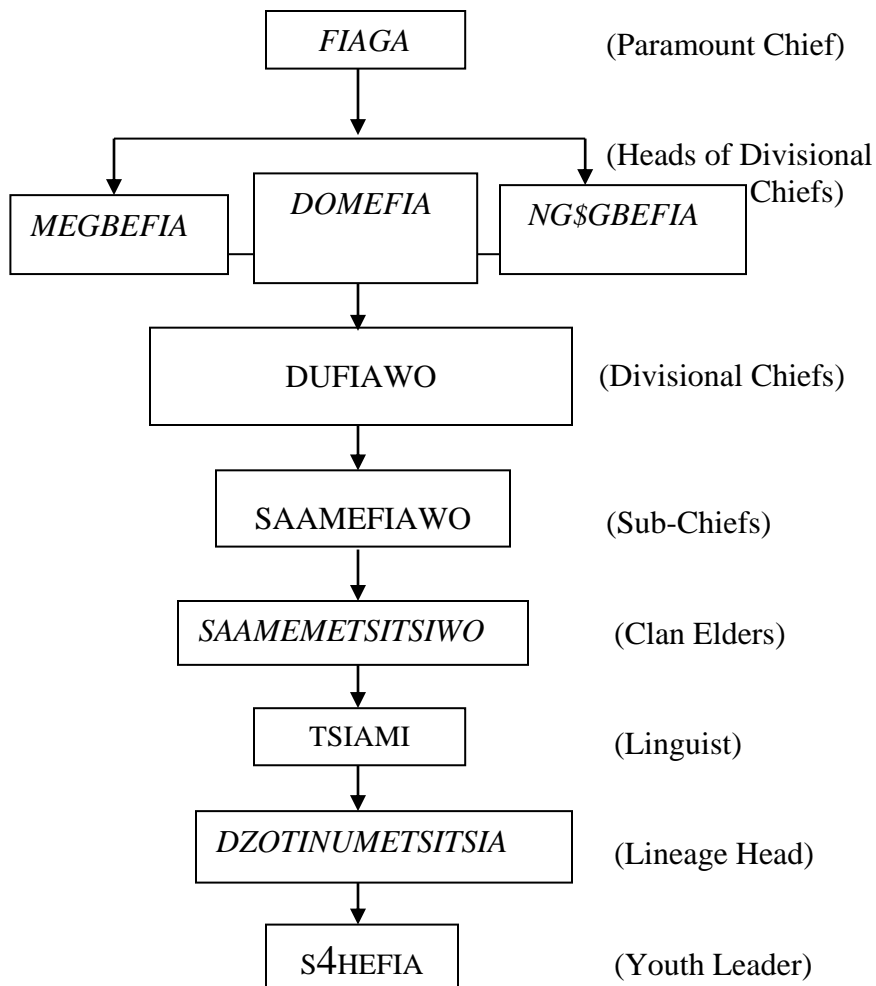
The *Fiaga* by his position is the supreme political head, the chief executive and the supreme judicial officer of the *duk4* (the state). Every chief including the *Fiaga* is a descendant of a royal house that is usually clans whose ancestors are believed to have been either the original founders of the state, town, or village or must have been rewarded with the right of rulership for valour or distinguished service to the community or state.

The structure of Kpandu *duk4*, according to Bluwey, provides a clear picture of political organization and the exercise of political power in Northern Eueland and that the *Akpini* traditional state is among the oldest, the largest and the most influential traditional states in Northern Eueland.

The history of the *Akpiniawo*, in addition to their political practice and organization are, therefore, a fair representation of what obtains in the other Northern Eve societies.

Below is the hierarchical structure of the chieftaincy system at Kpandu with the *Fiaga* at the top.

Hierarchical Structure of Kpandu Chieftaincy System



The *Dufia* is assisted by the *Saamefia* and *Saamemetsitsiwo* in each suburb of Kpandu. These people form the Council of Elders, a type of cabinet which is consulted on issues affecting the Kpandu state. In the absence of the paramount chief, the *Domefia*, who is a divisional chief, deputises on his behalf. In the past,

he also acted as the *Avafia* (war chief) and led the state to fight when war broke out. The *Domefia* takes part in all important discussions and implementation of decisions that concern the state. Gavua (200:11), commenting on traditional leadership positions and their functions among Northern Ewe states: “these chiefs provided spiritual and moral guidance for their people....and settled major disputes that usually involved land, adultery, murder, witchcraft and theft”.

The *Tsiami* is another prominent figure in the political structure of Kpandu. By his status, he is an automatic member of the Council of Elders. Like in the Akan court system, he is the spokesman of the chief as well as the one through whom the chief addresses and receives messages from his subjects.

The *Tsiami* is believed to be the *Fia fe ŋkuwo kple towo*, meaning, “the chief’s eyes and ears.” In other words, every secret piece of information is quickly passed through the *Tsiami* to the chief. Succession to the throne of *Fiaga*, *Dufia*, *Tsiami*, and *Saamefia* is both hereditary and patrilineal.

The *S4hefia* can be compared with the *Asafohene* of the Akans. At Kpandu, though this office is not hereditary and has no *zikpui* (stool) attached to it, it wields political power and influence. He is a liaison officer through whom directives to and from the *Fia* flow. He is consulted secretly by king makers on issues regarding the selection, installation or destoolment of a chief. He also represents the youth on the Council of Elders and defends their rights. Understandably, the *S4hefia* is held responsible for any negative action by the youth.

Selection Procedures and Enstoolment of a Chief

Bluway (2000:63) states that the right of ascendancy to a stool is a preserve of male descendants of a royal house because Northern Ewes practice patrilineal inheritance. The body known as *fia2olawo* (king-makers) includes a council of elders led by a designated head of the royal house. This body is solely responsible for validating a nominee for enstoolment as a chief of any rank.

Before a chief is installed, a good deal of consultation takes place before a candidate is nominated. This is facilitated by individual *fia2olawo* who consult secretly with heads of clans, other functionaries in the traditional structure of government and some commoners in the state and its suburbs so as to have a fair appraisal of the nominee's suitability and eligibility to the high office of the land.

Three nominees are chosen from a royal clan whose turn it is to produce a chief. After screening, the most suitable candidate is selected in close consultation with the *Zikpuit*⁴, the *Mamaga* (queen mother) the *Dg4gbe* (Vanguard), *Domefia* (central), and *Megbe* (rear) chiefs who are leaders of the three major military wings at Kpandu state as well as the *saamemetsitsiwo*. In addition to descent, which is a vital qualification, Manoukian (1952), notes that a candidate nominated for the position of a new chief must, possess certain qualities: "he must be at least, pre-possessing enough not to be a laughing-stock to neighbouring states". That is, he must have good looks, and be without any physical deformity. He must appear intelligent and be morally strong (Bluway, 2000:64).

An endorsed would-be chief, by tradition, undergoes confinement and ritual procedures before he is formally outdoored to swear an oath of office and allegiance to his people. According to Bluwey, a new chief spends seven days and nights in confinement under the protection of the *zikpuit4* (stool father). The *zikpuit4*, as high priest of the stool, is also responsible for cleansing, organizing the enstoolment ceremony, besmearing the candidate with clay or authorizing someone to do it on his behalf. During this period, the chief-to-be is instructed in the history, culture and laws of his people. In addition, he is taught court protocol and receives spiritual fortification against future enemies. He eats and drinks what the *zikpuit4* offers him. On the eighth day of confinement, the candidate is formally outdoored and he swears the oath of office, and he is then declared a chief. Any chief installed (including the *Fiaga*) is supposed to be installed on the lap of the *zikpuit4* (p. 65).

Each sub-division of Kpandu has its own *Dikro* (custodian of land) and a deity which are subservient to the paramount chief and the tutelary god of the land. The *dzotinumetsitsia* (oldest lineage head) assumes the position of father for all and is regarded as *in loco parentis* of members of the *dzotinu* at the sub-divisional level. Since two, three or even four of such *dzotinu* constitute a *saa* (clan), the *saamemetsitsi* office rotates and it is occupied at anytime by the most senior and able *dzotinumetsitsia* in the *Saa*.

The *dzotinu* in Kpandu is a political as well as a kinship structure in which kinship functions dovetail political roles. The clan in this structure “comprises one or more related families, technically referred to as *fia2ulawo* (gates), whose

members are heirs to the stool. In cases where there is more than one gate, enstoolment of a chief rotates from one gate to the other” (Bluwey, 2000:61-63).

According to Obianim (1998:17), the royal stool is carved from a special wood and never exposed to the general public except those who are responsible for its upkeep. A chief without a stool is a serious indictment on the state that he rules. He is neither respected nor considered a chief, because, the stool symbolises his status, power and authority as a reigning chief to mediate between his subjects, spirits of the ancestors, the traditional gods and the Supreme Being. The stool is an ancestral legacy and some of these stools are many years old.

Administration and Justice

The administration of the *duk4* is vested in the hands of the *Fiaga* who is assisted by the divisional chiefs. Next to the paramount chief, are the *Megbefia*, *Domefia*, and *Ng4gbefia*, the military heads of the divisional chiefs. The *Domefia* who ranks next in status and command to the paramount chief, executes all administrative duties in his absence. These three divisional chiefs, in effect, constitute the highest advisory council to the paramount chief.

It is the responsibility of the *Fiaga* (who is an embodiment of moral and ritual purity) to maintain law and order within his *duk4*, and ensure the protection of his subjects from enemy attack and molestation by neighbours. The *Fiaga* also leads his subjects in prayer during ancestral rites and important festival celebrations. The *Fia* per se wields power, but he is not an autocrat. His power is

subject to the control of the *fiarjutimetsitsiwo* (Council of Elders). He therefore acts on the advice of the Elders. Failure to do this can lead to his destoolment.

Under traditional rule, the *Fiaga* is the supreme political, judicial and spiritual authority over his people. The court of the paramount chief; the highest judicial body, is presided over by the *Fiaga* himself and assisted by the *Megbefia*, *Domefia*, and *Ng4gbefia* as well as his Council of Elders.

Bluwey, states that the court of the paramount chief, the highest judicial body, convenes not under the chairmanship of the *Fiaga* but under one of the *dufiawo* (divisional chiefs) appointed by the *Fiaga*. As a counter check on the powers of a hostile Council of Elders, the *Fiaga* always presides over their deliberations as well as those that deal with matters concerning the misconduct of chiefs and other traditional functionaries. Thus the *Fiaga* is never excluded from the Council that advises him. If all these processes are observed, the legislation then has a full force of the law (p.66).

Through field discussions on settlement of cases, I was made aware that appeals go to the *Fiaga's* tribunal from the divisional and sub-divisional courts. In the olden days, murder cases which were beyond the jurisdiction of the divisional chief's tribunal were forwarded immediately and directly to the *Fiaga's* court. However, with the emergence of the colonial power and modern law courts, the jurisdiction of the *Fiaga* in murder cases has been stripped off and the level of his traditional powers and authority have also now reduced.

Bluwey (ibid) explains, however, that despite the setbacks in the authority of traditional rulers; the *Fiaga* and his *Dufiawo* still symbolize the identity of the

Akpiniawo and as well, wield considerable political influence which cannot be entirely ignored by contemporary governmental rulers.

Traditional Clans of ‘Kpando’

To date, the *Akpiniawo* in their new settlement, still maintain that they are descendants of the Asianu, Adedze and Eko. The descendants of *T4gbui* Asianu became the rulers who in turn, created and vested their paramount rulership of the *Akpini* state in the Bisiaku Royal House at Gabi.

The towns of Gabi, Bame, Agudzi, Dzugbesianti, Gadza, K4nda, Abamu, Agben4x4e, and Daf4 constitute the *gb4dome* (middle) division or clan. The descendants of *T4gbui* Adedze form the *Anyigbe* (rear) clan which consists of suburbs like Fesi, Aziavi, and Al4i. The third division which is the *Atsiafume* (frontal) clan consists of the descendants of Eko who currently occupy the Dzigbe, Dzew4e and Tsakpe suburbs of Kpandu.

An informant, Kofi Mereku, a senior lecturer at the University of Education, Winneba and a citizen of Kpandu says of the Asianu, Adedze and Eko clans: “this trinity of leadership culminated in the formation of the three clans symbolized by a three legged hearth holding a pot within its three arms with a proverbial expression; “*Nu men4a af4 et4 dzi glina o*”. This expression literarily means an object with a three legged support hardly tilts or falls. This ideology, to a large extent, concretizes their faith, strength, and unity as one and indivisible people whose union, they vow never to break.

The *Danyibakaka* Festival

In commemoration of the mystery of crossing the River Dayi during their migratory journey from *Idatsie* over five and half centuries ago, a festival known as *Dayibakaka*, has been instituted by the people of Kpandu and celebrated tri-annually. The name comprises two Ewe words; Dayi (name of a river) *bakaka* (collecting mud) to mean *Dayibakaka*; that is collecting mud from River Dayi.

The celebration of *Dayibakaka* was instituted to avert ills that befell the state as a result of failure of the *Akpiniawo* to honour their pledge of offering sacrifices to the river gods who assisted them to cross the River Dayi safely during their migration to Kpandu. Consequently, for almost three years, pregnant women were reported not to have delivered and the aged, who were seriously sick, did not die. Several people were plagued with various illnesses and the entire community became emotionally devastated.

The traditional priests consulted the oracles and learnt that the calamities were due to their unfulfilled promise to the gods. A ritual meal of *dzenkple* (corn flour mixed with palm oil) was prepared and offered to the gods. This activity paved the way for the men to get to the bed of the river to collect *ba* (mud), which was brought home and distributed among the folks to besmear their bodies. Besmearing the body with mud according to oral tradition symbolically removed the 'curse' of the river gods and consequently enabled not only pregnant women to deliver healthy babies but the sick also to recover from their severe illnesses.

Prior to the start of the celebration, the chief priest and the divisional clans of the *Akpini* state set a date for the performance of *Dayibakaka* customs and rituals. The commencement of the rituals falls on a 'big' and a well attended market day which is a Friday in July or August.

On Thursday, the eve of the celebration, prayers are offered to the gods and *Dayi zeviwo* (pots). These pots which represent the three divisional clans are given to appointed persons to carry throughout the ritual performance. Early in the morning on the Friday which marks the commencement of the celebration, announcement is made for a public procession by all the citizens to the river side. The procession to the river begins from *Dzogbesianti*, a suburb of *Kpandu*.

On reaching the spot where their forebears crossed the river, the *tr4nuawo* perform rituals and wash the *zeviwo* with leaves of *Anyati* (*pandamus furcatus*). After that, mud which is brought home from the river bed, is presented to the paramount chief and later shared among his subjects.

Currently, the festival celebration has some protracted chieftaincy disputes. Since 1974, there has not been any celebration of *Danyibakaka* festival in the *Kpandu* traditional area.

Music Traditions of Kpandu Traditional Area

The concepts of the performing arts comprising music, dance and drama and their modes of rendition among the Southern Eves have been well discussed by *Fiagbedzi* (1977: 153-177). *Kafui* (2000:122), also states that these concepts which *Fiagbedzi* identifies cut across the whole of *Eveland*. However, due to environmental and cultural factors like geographical, religious, dialectal,

occupational or historical, differences in the performing arts, are heard and seen as one moves from the southern to the Northern Ewe territories. For example, in southern Ewe music performance, Fiagbedzi further states: “the type of formation adopted for individual dance dances depends on the kind of dance as well as on convenience. Owing to their military origins, *atrikpui* and *atsyiagbek4* dances reflect battle formations of the past: dancers line up in rows facing the musicians ...depict military strategies and manoeuvres in movement” (p. 163).

In the use of scales, Northern Ewes employ the 7-tone scale (heptatonic) and sing the ascending order of the scale as it appears but lower the 7th note by a semitone when singing the notes of the scale in a descending order.

Instrumental Resources

Out of the four classes of instruments; that is membranophones (drums), idiophones (bells, rattles, etc), aerophones (wind instruments) and chordophones (string instruments), that are identified in most societies in Ghana or Africa, instruments that belong to the first three categories are the only available types that are used extensively in the *Akpini* traditional area. Chordophones are not common among the categories of instruments used in this area of the region. This might be due to lack of materials that are used in constructing them. The citizens therefore restrict themselves to producing instruments that are obtained from the natural resources in the Kpandu geographical area.

Nketia, in this direction, asserts that “while the aggregate of resources used throughout Africa is large, the assortment used by individual societies is limited to a small selection from the four main instrumental classes. This limitation may be

related to environmental factors, the kind of occupation in which the society engages, or to historical factors of the individual societies concerned” (1974:67).

Membranophones

Varieties of drums abound in Northern Eoeland but they are all locally referred to as *Duwo*. The names of some of the drums are derived from the way they are played. *Asivui* means a drum that is played with the hand. Similarly, *agbl4vu* means a drum that is played with curved (7-shaped) sticks. Besides, there are *Duviwo* (small drums), *Dugawo* (big drums) and *Dukpo* (short drum). Drum ensembles therefore include a combination of *asivuiwo*, *vuviwo* (supporting drums) and *vugawo* which are often the master drums of different ensembles. Specific names are associated with some *Dugawo*. Examples are the *havana* and *krokoto* of the *b4b44b4* and *adevu* dances respectively.

On the whole, it can be noticed that the administrative structure of Kpandu in terms of organisation of warfare (in the past) or the performance of communal tasks, involves the use of both *atopani* and the *laklevu* (leopard drum). These two instruments, together with others like the *vukpo* and *agbl4vu* wield political power and are controlled by the chief. The removal of these instruments from the court of chief's demands pouring of libation by an elder at the chief's court and who by custom, is expected to abstain from sexual activity a day before carrying out the ritual performances.

Women, who are generally considered 'unclean' as a result of their menstrual cycle, are never allowed to play any of these instruments; for fear that their blood flow might render the potency of the instruments worthless.

Atopani

A typical instrument borrowed from Akan culture is the *Atumpan*, (talking drum) which has a corrupted Eve name, *atopani*. *Atopani*, also called *Duga* in the *Akpini* state, is a pair of big bottle-shaped carved drums, single headed and tuned to high and low pitches. The *atopanitsu* (the male drum) which is bigger in size and positioned at the left side of the drummer, has a low pitch in contrast with that of the *atopani4* (female drum) which has a high pitch, smaller in size and usually positioned at the right side of the drummer.

The *Akpiniawo* refer to it as 'talking drum' because of the music and speech roles that it plays in these two traditional societies of Ghana. *Atopani* drums are used for both communication and dance purposes. They are used in praising former and present chiefs, heroes and important dignitaries through appellations. Past histories, victories and defeats etc. are often recounted through drum language on *atopani* on funeral and durbar grounds.

According to Obianim, *atopani* is used at the court of the paramount chief to rally his subjects round him; and in the olden days, it was used to give instructions, directions and announcements to soldiers on battle field. It is obligatory for the *atopanifola* (drummer) to have a sound knowledge of the locality; recall facts which relate to chiefs, give proverbs, and disseminate

information to the people through *vugbewo* (drum language). The position of the drummer is determined through family lineage with special training.

In commenting about some qualities of the *atopani* player, Darkwa also submits: “the training of a master drummer is highly formal, even though he does not go to school. His training includes sound knowledge of oral literature, folklore and mythology. As a drummer, he is expected to be well-versed in traditional poetry, praise songs and proverbs” (1974:68). Below, is a picture of atopani drum.



Figure 4: A picture of a male and a female atopani drums

#ukpo

This is a barrel-shaped drum that is used during state processions. It is played sporadically to accompany the chief on his outings to and from social ceremonial gatherings. The drum is slung on the shoulder by a rope fastened to its head and bottom parts and played with two hooked (7-shaped) sticks.

According to my informants, the *Akpiniawo* recall their past victories in wars and summon the citizens together in times of emergency on their *vukpo* and *ladzo* (state horn). The oral tradition of the people further states that in the olden days, since *vukpo* was considered as an instrument of war, it had body parts of

vanquished enemies: skull, arm, leg or some other forms of skeleton was hung on the shell of the drum to symbolize the strength and bravery of the state.

This instrument is also played to rally all the citizens for a communal work and to accompany search parties during periods of natural disasters like flooding, earthquake, landslide etc. through the use of drum language.

Agbl4vu

It is a set of tall drums whose rhythms are combined with other drums like the *atumpani* in some dance performances. *Agbl4vu*, a local equivalent of the Akan *f4nt4mfr4m* drums, are also found at the court of Northern Ewe chiefs. The *agbl4vufolawo* (drummers) play the drums to accompany chiefs in procession to and from durbar grounds or played during festival and funeral ceremonies. They are played during national activities like independence anniversary celebrations. A second source of origin of the name, *agbl4vu*, is derived from the name, *agbl4*; hooked (7-shaped) sticks that are used in playing the *Du* (drums). *Agbl4vuwo* are played while standing and the drum language is quite proverbial.

Laklevu

Another important membranophone found at the court of the paramount chief is the *laklevu*. The name is coined from two Ewe words, *lakle* (leopard, an animal of the cat family) and *Du* (drum). Its Akan equivalent is the *Etwie* drum. The *laklevu* is a single headed drum that is played only on days of calamity like flood, enemy attack or during the demise of a chief.

The sound of *laklevu* is produced by rubbing the drum head with a stick. The sound simulates the snarl of the leopard, and therefore, signals every citizen to come home quickly to save a bad situation. In other words, the sound of this instrument is a strong and an obligatory call which no citizen ever defies. Danquah, comments on the playing technique and the sound produced by this membranophone in the Akan society that, the “*Etwie* drum is noted for its peculiarity of construction and designation. It is not beaten as the others are: the drum-stick is so fashioned as to enable the drummer to graze the leather top of the drum instead of beating it. In this way, the sound produced is a perfect imitation of the bass howl of the leopard, after which it is named” (1928:53).

Kafui describes *laklevu* as a friction drum which is played with a curved stick drawn across the surface of the powdered drum head that sounds as the snarl of the leopard. In the past, *laklevu* was played to lead majestic movements of war chiefs to show their bravery as the leopard (2000:124-125).

Aerophones

Indigenous wind instruments in Northern Ebeland are quite few. The few that are used include *ladzo* (horn of large animals or the tusks of elephants), *edze* (wooden flute), *pamprokpe* (bamboo flute). Out of the instruments mentioned, various types of *ladzo* abound in this area as a result of game hunting that hunters undertake as an economic activity.

Ladzo or Edze

The *ladzo* is regarded as important regalia of the Northern Ewe chiefs. It is constructed from either the horn of an animal or from the tusk of an elephant. Like the Akans, one musical practice of the Ewes is the act of blowing horns as a form of appellation to the chief on ceremonial occasions. In connection with this practice, Kyeremanten describes the use of the *ntahera*, a set of seven ivory horns in the ensemble of the paramount chief of the Kwahu State by pointing out that the horns may be blown as a solo instrument or in an ensemble; and in the later, the performers can blow the instruments which are graded in pitch, to produce melodies in a hocket fashion. On the role of the sound of the *ntahera* as a speech surrogate, Kyeremanten states further that; “among the many uses to which the horns are put is that of communicating text-bound messages or appellations. They were used in the past on the battle field or in the course of a migration to direct people. As relics of past rulers,..... in front of the Aburam black stool of the Buem state at Bodada, are a short horn and a drum allegedly used by Nana Aburam when he led his people from Wenchi to Kolangbange in the Volta Region” (1964:18).

Three or more *ladzo*, like the *Wua/Wia* flutes of the Frafra and Builsa ethnic groups of Northern and Upper Regions of Ghana are played in praise of chiefs and deceased leaders on funeral and durbar grounds. The sound of the horn is believed to have both linguistic and music use and at times, both functions overlap; that is what is heard as music sometimes conveys verbal message. In this direction, Kafui comments on the importance of the *ladzo*:

The *ladzo* is commonly played as a solo instrument but sometimes as a duet, a trio and in an ensemble. It plays appellations for the chief in short musical

phrases, and accompanies the chief by leading him (the chief) during royal processions. Sometimes when the chief speaks in public, the *ladzo* plays intermittently. The *ladzo* and *vukpo* are sometimes played alternately as dialogue appellation for the chief (2000:125-126).

Pamprokpe

This instrument which also has the Akan name *atenteben* is an aerophone that originated from the Akan speaking areas in Ghana. Two types are identifiable; the *atenteben* and the *atentebenana* (*atentenben*'s grandson). An improvement in the development of this instrument to attain a range of three octaves was carried out by the late Dr. Ephraim Amu who spent his youthful age at Akropong, among the Akans, as a teacher-catechist and a musician.

The *pamprokpe* is constructed from bamboo and it has varying lengths that range between 41 to 46 centimetres. One end of the bamboo flute is stopped by a specially carved wood with a slit at one end of the circumference to allow air to pass through the tube and come out of the other opening. The slit which leads down to another acoustically shaped hole regulates air blown from the top slit to cause vibration that produces sound.

The instrument is an end-blown notched wind instrument that is played in a vertical position. With the top hole near to the lips, it can play up to three octaves of slow as well as fast passages, very loud and soft tones and arpeggios. Its head is round and the embouchure (mouthpiece) is notched and six finger holes are provided on the front and one at the back of this aerophone. While air is blown into this instrument, different pitches are sounded by either opening or closing the holes with fingers of the left and right hands.

Socially, the *pamprokpe* is used to play dirges during funerals and on durbar grounds as a solo instrument, or may be performed in duets, trios, quartets etc. It may also be combined with the Western piano, organ, wind or string instruments to play in concert-style performances. Below, is a picture of *pamprokpe*.



Figure 5: A picture of pamprokpe

Idiophones

Idiophones that are commonly used in Northern Eueland are the non-melodic types. They include *gagbleve* (double bell), *kpodoga* (single bell), *atikpakpe* (wooden clappers), *akaye* (container rattle), *fritsiw4ε* (castanets). Besides these instruments, *agblenuxoxoewo* (old blades of hoes), *tsigoewo* (plastic water jugs) and *kpewo* (stones) are often used as musical instruments by the farmers on their farms.

Fritsiw4ε

The *fritsiw4ε* is made of two metal pieces; one being a thick metal worn on the thumb and the other is shaped in the form of a pear or guava and it is worn on the middle finger of either the left or the right hand. The metals make sharp sounds when they are hit against each other. In some dances, the *fritsiw4ε* serves

as a time- line which other instruments of ensembles depend on for rhythmic accuracy. The instrument is played by both male and female performers.

Kpodoga

A traditional metallic instrument that plays a vital social role in the *Akpini* area is the *kpodoga*. It is a single, large bell used to summon the community members to the court of chiefs and also used by the town-crier (a male), in disseminating information to the general public. The instrument is held in one hand and struck with a stick held in the other hand to produce sound.

Akayε

Akayε is a container rattle that is made from a dried gourd or an empty shell of a coconut filled with pebbles or *dekude* (dried seeds) through an opening on the top of the container and sealed with wood or cork. *Akayε* used by women who generate its sound by shaking it.



Figure 6: A picture of female mourners playing *akayε*

Musical Types

Music-making among the *Akpiniawo* is organized in two ways; the free performances which have no relevance to specific ceremonies and those that are contextually related. According to (Obianim, 1990:6), “music performed for leisure is often the recreational type which caters for pleasure, entertainment or artistic experience as an end in itself. Some musical types are also performed during funeral celebrations of deceased members to bid them farewell”.

Musical types that are associated with traditional ceremonies, rituals or special events are performed at specific points in time either as part, as preludes, interludes or postludes of such events. It is also not surprising to see these folk genres incorporated into political, religious or occupational activities.

The above statement is buttressed by Kovey who asserts that music is considered by Eves as an essential cultural tool mostly employed in their manual activities. The musical types performed are aimed at satisfying specific desires in their daily life’s activities. Examples include dirges, occupational, ceremonial, religious, recreational and historical songs. He further submits: “music making based on the musical events, does not impact only on the emotions of the people but also felt through their blood veins; embraced and performed with the spirit of vigor” (1998:37).

Musical types in the Kpandu traditional area can be identified under the following broad headings: *Fiauwuwo* (Traditional Court Music/Dances), *D4w4hawo* (Occupational/Work Songs), *Tr4uwuwo* (Religious Music), *Avihawo* (Dirges) and *Modzake2evuwo* (Recreational Dances).

Fiavuwo

Musical activities which form a component and a functional part of the *Akpini* culture are performed on different occasions for specific purposes. Among these musical types, are those confined to the court of chiefs. Generally, referred to as *fiavuwo*, they are performed during installation and destoolment of chiefs, state funerals and durbars. These musical types are strictly the preserve of paramount chiefs. They are never performed by anyone or group of persons without the permission of a chief. A paramount chief by his status exclusively owns particular musical dances and instruments which no subsidiary chief is entitled to. Among the dances confined to the courts of the paramount chief are:

Akpi

Akpi, the most popular warrior dance, was formally believed to infuse strength and courage into warriors going to the battle front. Its performance without permission from the chief is a punishable offence. The customs and traditions associated with *akpi* ensemble extend to the materials and processes of constructing the instruments. The *Akpiniawo* share the view that the cultural significance of *akpi* instruments transcends their musical scope to include communication with warriors at war front.

D4w4hawo

D4w4hawo, as work songs, are strongly perceived as socio-cultural tools that enhance work activities of Northern Eves. They are believed to provide hope and confidence that boost agricultural productivity. *D4w4hawo*, as performed by

males and females, are associated with indigenous economic activities like hunting, fishing, weaving, pottery making, clearing of bush paths, farming, building houses, trading etc.

Adevu

Adevu is another example of occupational music performed by hunters. The Northern Eve *adelawo* (hunters) share the view that the functions or interests of hunters' organisations are non musical. However, the performance of their rituals, ceremonies and other activities, are accompanied with music.

Adevu, is therefore, performed if an *ademega* (professional hunter) kills a wild beast like an elephant, a buffalo, boar etc. It is believed that all the big games possess spirits, hence, the need for certain ritual performances and music making anytime they are killed. According to my informants, ritual performances into which music is incorporated show the victory of hunters over the dead animal for, their enemy has fallen and that food has been brought home.

During their hunting expeditions, hunters were believed to have explored new territories and helped to establish new settlements. For their skills as leaders of warrior groups and search parties in the past, Asiama (1965), describes hunters as pioneer settlers and 'pathfinders' that establish villages and towns. He illustrates his point and quotes the following as an example of such text in *Twi*:

<i>Kwan ketewa</i>	Little path
<i>Ob4fo4kwan ketewa</i>	The hunters' little path
<i>Bedan temp4n</i>	Will turn into a wide road
<i>Kwan ketekete</i>	A narrow path,
<i>Ob4fo4 ayi kwanketewa</i>	The hunter has made a little path.

Before one becomes a hunter in the Kpandu traditional area, one has to undergo several years of being an *adekpl4vi* (apprentice hunter). On killing a first big game, an *adekpl4vi* becomes a recognized hunter. When three of such wild beasts are killed, one qualifies for the title of an *ademega* (a professional hunter). The hunter sings a song, cuts the tail and ears of the animal killed and on approaching the village, he sings to announce his victory. Illustrated below, is a text of a victory song in Ewe:

<i>Ne la 2itsa kpl'a dela dogoa,</i>	If a wild game and a hunter meet,
<i>Ny'a2e dz4a loo!</i>	Something happens!
<i>Nela w'ada kple tukpe dogoa,</i>	If a wild game faces the bullet of a gun,
<i>'Laga'e mua loo!</i>	It is the game that falls!

Nketia in this regard, states that to become a member of the Akan hunters' association, one must have killed an elephant; but to be called a master-hunter, one must have killed not less than three wild elephants. There is a repertoire of songs that hunters sing for their public rituals and ceremonies: songs referring to their experiences in the bush and the kinds of animals they hunt. When members of such hunters' association perform, they are joined by their families (1963:75).

Like any other traditional African dance, *adevu* comprises singing, drumming, dancing and drama. A performer can be a singer, a drummer and a dancer at the same time. *Adevu* is also performed during the funeral celebration of a deceased hunter, an important personality in the society, during yam harvest festival celebrations and national celebrations.

Chiefs, to date, have high regard for hunters in their communities because in addition to providing them with meat, they also provide hides for several purposes. For example, the ear of the elephant is used as a cover for the Ewe *agbl4vu* or *f4nt4mfr4m* and other court drums of the Akans. Animal horns, like elephant tusks (ivory), are also used as wind instruments.

The form of *adehawo* (songs) is short and repetitive and often begins with *asabrab4b4*, a solo recitative either in free or strict rhythm. This section is at times pitched much higher than the chorus section. The songs which are generally performed in a cantor and chorus form are accompanied with the double bell, drums and by blowing horns of animals killed during their hunting expeditions.

Illustrated at page 62, are drum patterns accompanying an *adeha*:

<i>Law'ada mez4a kple fe o!</i>	A wild beast never walks on its claws.
<i>Fe l'a ku me.</i>	It draws them into its paws

The musical score is written in 2/4 time. It consists of five instrumental staves and three vocal staves. The instrumental parts are:

- Eko I (Animal horn):** A simple melody of quarter notes.
- Eko II:** A melody with triplets and eighth notes.
- Vuvi (Supporting drum):** A rhythmic pattern of eighth notes.
- Asivui (Supporting drum):** A complex rhythmic pattern with triplets.
- Krokoto (Master drum):** A rhythmic pattern of eighth notes.

 The vocal parts are:

- Solo:** A melodic line in treble clef.
- Beginning section of an accompanying song:** A line with the lyrics "La w'a da me za kple feo!".
- Chorus:** A line with the lyrics "Fe la ku me".

Example 1: Opening phrase of an adevu vocal and instrumental music

Tr4vuwo

A study of the material culture, social behaviour and belief systems of Northern Eves, is closely associated with reliance on the gods of their land. The *Akpiniawo*, therefore, regard *tr4vu* as a cultural legacy, which attempts to explain their perceptions and give meaning to their existence irrespective of their social, educational, economic or religious backgrounds. Each god is distinguished from one another in order of supremacy and by the type of music performed for it. Some themes of the *tr4hawo* (religious songs) relate to:

- i. the powers of the gods.
- ii. the community of worshippers
- iii. the communion with the gods and ancestors of the land.

Tr4vu is performed before, during, and after ritual performances at shrines. Like any other Eve society, *Akpiniawo* also believe in the existence of

traditional gods and ancestral spirits. For this reason, they venerate them through pouring of libation on special occasions on their traditional calendar. In carrying out their ritual activities, music making is never left out.

Avihawo

In societies that lack written records of their own, the origins of musical types are said to be shrouded in myths and legends. From my field study, *aviha* (singular), is a musical type orally inherited over the ages. The performance of *avihawo* (plural), mainly involves women who remember their deceased children and relatives by soliloquizing in a declamatory style.

These declaimed words often express the singers' deep sorrow and grief. Some of the songs praise the deceased; while others ridicule death by making references to the havoc it causes in the home of a deceased. *Avihawo* are generally performed by women during the stages of burial and funeral rites to provide hope and fortitude to the bereaved family. The stages include the preparation and interment of a corpse, eighth day mourning rite for a deceased and finally, performance of a grand funeral celebration.

Emphasis is, however, placed more on the first phase when the corpse lies in state and the third phase when the grand funeral celebration is performed. The most important task of close relatives of the deceased is to adorn the corpse with expensive clothes and jewelry as a symbol of respect and expression of a final farewell. Sometimes the deceased is buried with some of his/her clothing he/she treasured most when he/she was alive.

Close kinsfolk of the deceased keep wake and guard the corpse to prevent criminal acts of some funeral attendants who at times steal items like golden earrings, bracelets, expensive beads that the deceased is adorned with. Brempong (2001:43), similarly points out alertness among the Ashantis of Ghana who, when the corpse lies in state, close relatives take turns to guard it. A person goes out for a while and another comes in, especially during the night the corpse lies in state.

Form of *Aviha*

Aviha most often is in the Call and Response form. The songs commence with solo recitative in a free or strict time. The Solo section is answered by the Chorus section with either a repeat of the same words of the solo section or with a little variation in the text of the chorus section. The texts of *avihawo* therefore cover a wide range of themes. They comprise proverbs, maxims and other forms of idiomatic expression that comment on morals, patterns of social behavior and reference to life of the deceased as well as scorning death. Illustrated below, is a proverbial text of an *aviha*, depicting restlessness and pain of a parent who lost her child through death.

<i>Nane le havi de han4ng4</i>	The piglets disappeared in front of the sow
<i>Nane le havi de han4ng4</i>	The piglets disappeared in front of the sow
<i>Nane le havi de han4ng4</i>	The piglets disappeared in front of the sow
<i>Han4 tsi dzodzodzo!</i>	The sow is worried and restless
<i>De viawo `u</i>	About her piglets

The *Akpini* tradition believes that the death of a community member never occurs in a vacuum, and for this reason, attributes it to the diabolical acts of

witches and sorcerers. Songs whose themes make references to and ridicule such culprits in the society abound in *avihawo*. Shown below, is a text of an *aviha*.

<i>Ame aḍeke megb4 ku ŋu yie o!</i>	Nobody escapes death!
<i>Ame aḍeke megb4 ku ŋu yie o, dzokat4woe!</i>	Nobody escapes death, sorcerers!
<i>Ame aḍeke megb4 ku ŋu yie o!</i>	Nobody escapes death!
<i>Af4 adea li na mia fete</i>	Six feet awaits us all

The only instrument that accompanies *avihawo* is the *akaye*, a small gourd rattle. The materials put in the gourd may be pebbles or *ḍekuḍe*, seeds harvested from a local plant. The *akaye* is held in the hand and shaken or the player strikes it against the palm. This *akaye* enforces the rhythmic foundation of the performance and emphasizes the regulative strong beats of the songs. It is played mainly by women during *aviha* performance. The *fritsiw4e* is at times used to support the rhythmic pattern of the *akaye*.

Though *avihawo* are not meant for dancing, the women mourners and members of the bereaved family at times move gracefully to the rhythms: they rock their bodies, move their heads from side to side, bite the tip of their right forefingers or clasp both palms at the back or on the head to symbolise pain.

Since this indigenous music seems to have remained the preserve of women, they always wail and shed tears more than the men during performance. Perhaps, the inability of men to cry might be due to the fact that in many Ghanaian or African cultures, a man does not weep or cry in public. In this direction, the Akan of Ghana, have an adage: *Obarima nsu* (weeping does not make a man).

Modzake ɔevuwo

These are musical types which generally involve community participation and are featured mostly on social occasions. Nketia (1966:11) therefore asserts: “in many parts of Africa, therefore, the general pattern of musical organization is one that emphasizes the integration of music with other activities; with social and political actions or with those activities in which African societies express or consolidate their inter-personal relationships, beliefs and attitudes of life”.

Modzake ɔevuwo include types like *gbolo*, and *b4b44b4*. In the past, they were performed only after a hard day’s work; these days, however, they are performed in contexts other than recreational. The study now examines *gbolo* and *b4b44b4* dances and discusses their organization and performance.

Gbolo

Gbolo is one of the oldest musical types performed by Northern Eves. Apart from Kpandu, the performance of this indigenous genre, is also typical of the Eves of Awudome, Ho, Hohoe, Kpandu and Peki traditional areas.

According to my informants, the origin of the name of this dance, can be traced to their ancestors who coined the name, *gbolovu*, from two Ewe words; *gbolo*, meaning a prostitute or a whore and *vu* meaning drum or dance music, to mean, “prostitutes’ band”, because the music performance is full of promiscuous language and waist movements. Since *gbolo* was regarded in the past as a musical

type for 'flirts', there was pressure for its abolition when Christianity dawned on Northern Ebeland; however, despite the pressure, the music never totally faded.

Apart from its performance as recreational music, *gbolo* is performed during funeral celebrations of deceased members of *gbolo* bands. Modern day performances may also take place during durbars in yam harvest festivals.

Mode of Performance of *Gbolo*

In the past, young women, who formed the bulk of the dancers, tied a particular cloth up to their chests. They also made extensions of their buttocks and stacked them with pieces of cloth, traditionally referred to as *atifu*, and danced, while holding *takuviwo* (handkerchiefs).

Gbolo Dance

Dowoeh (1980:24) describes *gbolo* dance performance by female chorus that, "the dancers lean forward and move to the music. As they move, they bend their elbows and hit their rattles on their left palms which are cupped and kept close to their bodies. In a bent position, their right hands which hold their rattles, are drawn closer to their bodies, to strike their left hands and moved away as the rattle goes off their left palms."

Gbolo dance is graceful and full of proverbial gestures. For example, if a dancer clasps both palms at the back, it means I have lost my parents; I am now alone. When a dancer intermittently bites the tip of the fore-finger of the right

hand and snaps the fingers, it means: I am sad or there is pain in me. Below is an artistic expression of the traditional dance arena of *gbolo*.

Key

- A - Male Chorus
- B - Instrumentalists
- C - Cantors
- D - Female Chorus/Dancers
- E - Audience

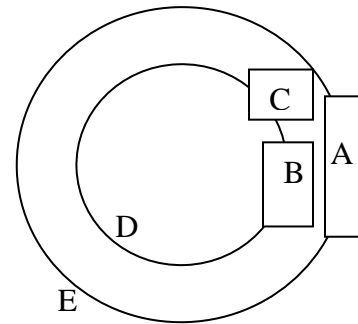


Figure 7: Gbolo dance arena

Gbolo instruments

Gbolo instruments that are used at Kpandu include the following:

1. *Akaye* - Container rattle (that is held by every female performer).
2. *Fritsiw4e* - Castanet.
3. *Gakogui* - Double bell
4. *Adondo* - Hourglass drum
5. *Uuvi* - Small supporting drum
6. *Uuga* - Master drum.

Form of *Gbolo* Music

Gbolo songs have varied forms. Notable features identifiable with it are that; they are short and repetitive. The melodies, which are often in free rhythms and strict rhythms, are based on the heptatonic scale with a lowered 7th note in the descending order of the scale. The polyphony in this music is in parallel 3^{rds} and

6th with occasional 5th. Regularly, the solo and chorus sections may overlap and cross each other.

Illustrated below, is *gbolo* music with instrumental accompaniment.

The musical score is written in 2/4 time. It features six instrumental parts: Akaye (Rattle), Akoge (Castanet), Gakogui (Double bell), Uuvi (Supp. drum), Uuga (Master drum), and a vocal Solo part. The Solo part includes the lyrics "E-ke-le mefis ŋui na gbolo o!". Below the Solo part is a Chorus part with the lyrics "E - gbo - loa dze - gbe yis".

Example 2: Opening phrase of Gbolo vocal and instrumental music.

<i>Eke le mefie ŋui na gbolo o</i>	This does not make the whore itchy,
<i>Egboloa dze gbe yie</i>	The flirt finds her way out.
<i>Eke le mefie ŋui na gbolo o</i>	This does not make the whore itchy.
<i>Egboloa dze gbe yie</i>	The flirt finds her way out.

The themes of *gbolo* songs relate to topical issues: love, hatred, poverty, riches, anti-social practices, cruelty of death and historical facts that reflect the achievements of the ancestors. Younge (1992:44) identifies Peki and Hohoe as Northern Ewe societies which also patronize *gbolo* dance performance.

B4b44b4

B4b44b4 is the most popular recreational music in the Volta Region. It employs traditional drumming rhythms and proverbial lyrics that frequently

include Christian themes. As history has it, it is one of the musical creations that emerged within the period of 1947-1957. *B4b44b4*, also known as *agbeyeye* or *akpese*, started from Kpandu through the efforts and ingenuity of the late Francis Kwadjo Nuatr4, a policeman who retired from the *Akpini* Native Authority Police Service in 1949. The joy of obtaining independence in Ghana was expressed in various ways by the entire populace of the country and *b4b44b4* dance was one of those new musical creations meant to articulate the new political 'freedom'.

According to my informants, *b4b44b4* emerged from traditional dances like *konkoma*, *akpese*, *tuidzi*, *totoeme*, and *gumbe* which were old musical types that have roots in the popular Ghanaian Highlife music. *B4b44b4* gained national recognition in the 1950's and 1960's and was used at political rallies because of the novelty of its dance formations and movements.

In an interview with David Nuatr4, a banker and a son of the deceased musician, he states that "*b4b44b4* became a nationally recognized genre when my late father's talent and artistic presentation of *b4b44b4* music largely articulated the ideas of the then Convention People's Party and won the heart of Dr. Nkrumah, the leader of the party and president of Ghana at that time. Nkrumah, thus, adopted the group as part of his party machinery. Between 1957 and 1966; the group became known as '*Osagyefo's own b4b44b4*' and performed at political rallies all over the country. David added, further, that upon the overthrow of Nkrumah, the group which was reorganized performed at funerals and other social functions."

The drummers play drum rhythms to which female dancers and singers dance by carrying two white handkerchiefs which they twirl in the air, based on signals initiated by the master drummer during performance. The dance is performed at many social gatherings including funerals, outdooring/naming ceremonies, parties and festivals, and of course, during recreational periods. In addition, *b4b44b4* groups perform for private individuals, organizations and government establishments on invitation. The groups perform obligatorily at funerals of deceased members to pay them homage and bid them farewell. As a social dance, *b4b44b4* links traditional drumming rhythms with proverbial lyrics that frequently include Christian themes.

Organisation of Performance

B4b44b4 bands are well established performing groups of men and women that rehearse for long periods before appearing in public. Being principally a circular dance, the performers may enter the dance arena with a short procession. The dance formation can be in one or two lines, a circle, rectangle etc.

Mode of Performance

Every song in a performance has specific dance gestures and movements. *B4b44b4* dance requires much flexibility of bodily movements, especially at the waist, among the women. Male and female lead singers sing songs to open up music sessions which are accompanied with the *gakogui* and *fritsiw4e*. They are later joined by the chorus singers and the rhythmic accompaniments of the instruments that constitute the ensemble. The musical dialogue between these

three categories of performers goes on for some time to prepare the entry of the trumpet which has almost now replaced the bugle.

On entry, the trumpeter blows two musical notes, usually the (tonic and dominant) by prolonging the dominant note to signal the dancers to bend down and add more stylized steps to their movements. In general, the men sing and dance in the center while the women dance in a circle around them. Everyone in the community may participate in these performances which usually begin at dusk and continues deep into the night or, sometimes, till dawn.

An outstanding characteristic of *b4b44b4* dance is that the dancers are cued in with rhythmic figures played by the master drummer which ushers them into a dancing that involves forward and backward movements with pre-arranged sequences that change simultaneously with the songs intoned by the cantor.

Form of B4b44b4 Songs

B4b44b4 songs are in the call and response form. This is the simplest song form used in most of the compositions that are purely in Eve dance styles. Nketia (1963) describes this vocal form as consisting of a phrase of two sections (AB) and sung alternately by a cantor and chorus and repeated several times. Performances begin with a series of unaccompanied songs in free or strict rhythm to prepare the dancers into action.

Another variation in which the above (AB) form can be used is when the soloist sings the whole song through from the beginning to the end and it is

merely repeated by the chorus section. At times, the soloist introduces a new material into the Solo section and sings to the end before the chorus enters.

Other songs that are in the Western style make use of the binary and ternary forms. Various elaborations of this form include variations in text, melody or both in the solo section; the chorus section usually remains unchanged. Every now and then, the two sections may overlap; that is, the chorus does not end its phrase on a perfect cadence before the soloist enters. This creates some form of polyphony. Indicated with a red brace below, are the last two bars of a *b4b44b4* song in which polyphony occurs between the Solo and Chorus voice parts.

The musical score consists of four staves. The first staff is labeled 'Solo' and contains the lyrics: 'O! gbe - de, gbe deo' and 'Oh! ne - ver, ne-ver'. The second staff is labeled 'Chorus' and contains the lyrics: 'e! ----- ne - nema - - ko wo le, Yesu meto -' and 'Yes ----- he is, as he was, Jesus never'. The third staff contains the lyrics: 'Ye - su me - tro - na gbe - deo' and 'Je - sus ne - ver ---- chan - ges'. The fourth staff contains the lyrics: '--- na gbe - de, gbe - de o' and '--- changes ne - ver, ne - - - - - ver'. A red brace is drawn under the last two bars of the fourth staff, indicating polyphony between the Solo and Chorus voice parts.

Example 3: Polyphony between Solo and Chorus voices in a *b4b44b4* song.

B4b44b4 Song Texts

Themes of *b4b44b4* songs are mostly based on the religious, political, social and philosophical aspects of life. The songs which centre on patriotism,

petition, gratitude, love, hatred, joy, warning, and death are aimed at regulating the character of individuals.

Illustrated below, is a text of a *b4b44b4* song, based on Psalm 121 in the Bible.

<i>Mewu mo dzi de toawo nu</i>	I look up to the mountains
<i>Afika nye x4name atso ava nam?</i>	Where will my help come from?
<i>Nye x4name atso Yehowa</i>	My help will come from Jehovah
<i>Dzifo kpl'a nyigba w4 la gb4</i>	Creator of heaven and earth

Instrumental Accompaniment

B4b44b4 ensemble consists of the following instruments:

- i. *Fritsiw4e* (2 castanets)
- ii. *'Kaye* (container gourd rattle)
- iii. *Duvi* (the smallest supporting drum)
- iv. *Asivui* (supporting drum a little bigger than the *uvui*)
- v. *Pati* (supporting frame drum)
- vi. *Donno* (hourglass drum; but can be omitted when *pati* is used)
- vii. *Duga/Havana*, is the master drum that can be two to three in number.
- viii. The trumpet, with a wider tonal range, has now replaced the bugle.

The trumpet adds spice to the music by introducing some *b4b4b4* tunes and as well, accentuates specific speech patterns that are played on the master drum.

In recent years, the use of the bugle is gradually giving way to the trumpet which has a wider range; consequently, the trumpet now assumes the soloist's

role by playing melodic lines in the call form to which the chorus group of singers responds. *B4b44b4* performance provides an avenue for wooing and courtship between young men and women. The basic instrumental rhythmic patterns of *b4b44b4* dance are as follows:

The image displays a musical score for the *b4b44b4* dance, consisting of six staves. Each staff begins with a treble clef and a 2/4 time signature. The staves are labeled as follows: Fritsiwce I, Fritsiwce II, Pati, Asiwui, uuvi, and uuga. The first two staves, Fritsiwce I and Fritsiwce II, feature melodic lines with eighth and quarter notes. The Pati staff shows a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The Asiwui, uuvi, and uuga staves feature patterns of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some notes beamed together. The entire score is enclosed in a large bracket on the left side.

Example 4: Instrumental rhythmic patterns of *b4b44b4* dance.

At present, instruments like the Conga and tambourine have been introduced into the ensemble of *b4b44b4*; the *pati*, a small cylindrical drum, has however, now been deleted.

B4b44b4 Dance Arena

B4b44b4 is predominantly a circular dance. The participants usually enter the dance arena in a procession. The dance arena is usually an open area which accommodates both performers and the audience who gather around to watch the singing, drumming and dancing activities.

In the theatrical arrangement of the dance, the cantor(s) and chorus singers stand behind the drummers. The dancers position themselves in front of the drummers in a circular formation. The varied dance styles generally exhibited by the females, show lots of flexibility in movements which most often, are concentrated at their waists and buttocks. The traditional dance formation has the instrumentalists facing each other and the cantors sing and go around them. The dancers and chorus singers surround the instrumentalists and perform to the tunes and rhythmic patterns of the drums. Illustrated below, are the theatrical and traditional arrangements of performers in *b4b44b4* dance arena.

Key

A: Instrumentalists

B: Cantors

C: Dancers

D: Chorus Singers

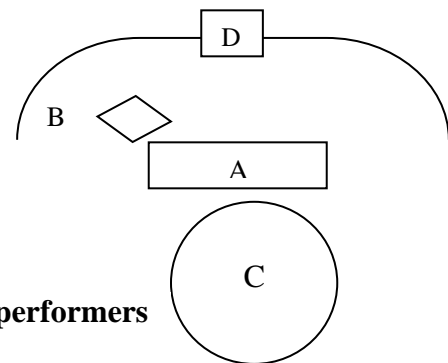


Figure 8: Theatrical arrangement of performers in *b4b44b4* dance arena.

Key

A: Instrumentalists

B: Cantors

C: Dancers

D: Chorus Singers

E: Cantors' movement round Instrumentalists

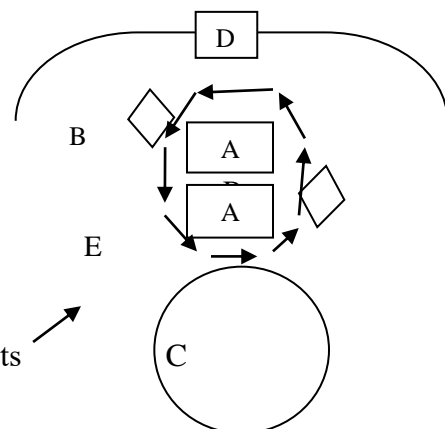


Figure 9: Traditional arrangement of performers in *b4b44b4* dance arena.

CHAPTER THREE

SUBSISTENCE AGRICULTURE AT KPANDU: ORGANISED FARMING ACTIVITIES OF THE S⁴HEWO

General Economic Activities of Eves

The general economic activities of Eves in the Volta Region are centred on the management of the natural resources that abound in the region to satisfy their needs and desires. The environmental resources in the rural communities largely determine the type of economic activities or primary occupations that the ethnic groups in the region undertake. Added to this, lack of technological knowledge and skills, poor roads and transport systems largely hinder prospects of industrialization. Subsistence farming is therefore the commonest economic activity. In a comparative study of farming activities of the Eves in the northern and southern sectors of the Volta Region, Kovey (1998:53) further opines:

The Northern Eves are more involved in subsistence agriculture than their Southern counterparts. This is due to the fact that most of the lands in the south are occupied by sea water, and for this reason, the people rather engage in fishing.

I will now proceed to discuss farming activities of the *s⁴hewo* at Kpandu.

Subsistence Agriculture at Kpandu

After the people of Kpandu have established themselves in their present territory; one of the popular economic activities which they continuously engage

in to sustain themselves is subsistence farming. From time immemorial, a greater section of Northern Eves, including the *Akpiniawo*, have cultivated food crops on individual, family and community basis. In a survey of the level of farming activities undertaken by Northern Eves, Obianim comments:

Despite the emergence of other forms of work that have affected agricultural practices and consequently reducing the population of farmers, statistics still show that about 75% of the *s4hewo* still engage in and earn their livelihood through food crop farming (1990:146).

To help understand the place of music in farming activities of the *s4hewo*, the researcher examined the origin of *agbledede* (farming), farming systems, land tenure/landownership, labour organization, crop production methods, cultural practices employed, gender involvement and types of food crops produced.

In the light of the above, Omojola contributes that “an understanding of the concept of music among the communities in Africa would have to derive from a combination of factors such as the words used by the people to describe music, the contexts of musical performances, the organized procedures associated with music, the nature of musical expression itself and the meaning in a musical performance” (1999:41). Similarly, Blacking (1976) also thinks that what is important in all these is how man has used music to his advantage in different contextual situations, realizing its goal as a factor that is humanity and community based. Waters (2006:190) defines subsistence farming as:

Land purposely cultivated to produce only enough food to feed those who work on it, that is, an individual, family etc. The idea is that families that engage in subsistence farming consume their products locally instead of sending them to distant markets for sale.

Iwena (2008:6) also submits that subsistence farming involves cultivation of enough food by farmers to specifically feed themselves and their families. Planting decisions are premised on what the family will need during the particular year, rather than on crops for sale. Subsistence peasants therefore grow what they eat ...and live without regularly making purchases from the marketplace.

Land Tenure System

Land tenure at Kpandu gives the people the right to own pieces of land whose cultivation are dependent on certain social mechanisms put in place by the owners. In this regard, designated clan lands are owned by families. The paramount or absolute interest in land is vested only in the families as legal entities. “The notion of individual ownership is quite foreign to native ideas. Land belongs to the community, the village or the family and never to the individual”. (Rayner, 1921) quoted by Kludze (1973).

The cumbersome nature of the land tenure system established through customary law, therefore endorses no one person; chief or elder as the singular authority over ownership and leasing of land for any intended purpose. In a discussion with the chief farmer and some members of the Council of Elders at Kpandu Gadza, *Afet4* Kofi Amemakuse emphasized that “farming is a cultural legacy inherited from our great grand fathers from D4tsie in the Republic of Togo. To date, we earn our living from food crop cultivation on individual, family and community basis and hardly buy food items from one another”.

Obianim (op.cit.) opines that “among traditional professions inherited by Eves from their forebears, farming is the economic activity mostly undertaken in Northern Eveland because of fertile land that abounds in the area” (p. 146).

Land Ownership

In an interview with *T4gbui* Kwasi Bani, a farmer and a member of the *agbleha* performing group at Kpandu Gadza, he states: “ based on our land tenure system, the primacy of agriculture in the life of *Akpini* citizens makes land the most important capital; and associated with many rules and rituals that determine its ownership as well.” Nukunya shares similar views which confirm the right to ownership of land in Eveland, that as a rule, land is vested in the descent groups and sometimes, certain families. He further adds that this is unlike what pertains in the centralized traditional political systems like the Akans, Gas, Dagomba etc. because in those systems, what is not so vested is regarded as a stool land and entrusted into the custody of their rulers (1973:59).

Traditional qualifications of a citizen to own a piece of land among the people of Kpandu can hardly be challenged because the citizens see it more of a rule which must be strictly obeyed and practiced unceasingly. Unlike the centralized systems mentioned earlier on, the citizens of Kpandu have a strong notion about land as neither owned by a commoner nor the *saamemetsitsiwo* (clan heads) in whose hands the lands are entrusted. They further share the view that the present generation only takes custody of the land they make use of and it is expected to be handed over to the next generation.

Exhaustive discussions and interviews with informants for almost one year, leads clearly to the understanding of why the *Akpininiawo* regard their land as property of their ancestors: they believe that the ancestors first acquired and occupied the land before bequeathing it to the present generations as its occupiers.

As a complement to the point above, the late Nana Ofori Attah I was reported to have said; “I conceive that land belongs to a vast family of which many are dead, few are living and countless members are unborn”. The fact that a similar statement is also accredited to a Nigerian chief underscores the uniformity of traditional systems of land tenure in Africa.”(Elias, 1956:162).

From personal observations and data gathered from my field studies, it can be generally said that land ownership by families among Northern Eves, emphasizes that every clan in the society possesses an ancestral land that belongs to the family lineage. By law, no outsider is allowed to trespass on the family property of another family lineage without permission. Though *Akpini* lands are communally owned, the actual custodians are the (*fomeawo*) family units.

Bluweh (2000:66), emphasizes the importance of the *Dikro* as the custodian of the lands of the state, town, or village. Individual *saamemetsitsiwo* who are heads of clans, obtain land allocations from the *Dikro* who exhibits good qualities or behaviour codes that earn the admiration and approval of the *Dufia*-in-Council. These codes include evidence of years of loyalty and service to the *Dufia*, acts of valour and proper exercise of litigation skills to protect state lands.

On family ownership of land among the Tiv, a society located in the mid-valley of the Benue River in Nigeria, Bohannan (1955) remarks that when the

people discuss their land-holding system, they mean two things: the specific rights in cultivated land and sufficient land to cultivate. Every compound head has a right to a piece of land. Ownership of land in its complete sense denotes a relation between a person and any right that is vested in him to own a piece of land. To own a piece of land, therefore, means to own a particular kind of right in the land. Onwuejeogwu earlier maintains that in the systems of property ownership in Africa or other non-Western societies, one key factor that is considered as a religious obligation is the necessity to set out clearly specific rights owned by each individual or group of people over specific types of property they are entitled to. Similarly, Biebuyek, in his studies of African agrarian systems submits:

In the analysis of clusters of rights and claims, privileges and liabilities which are related to the ways in which Africans hold and work the land, live on it and use its products is complex because of difficulties in evaluating the nature of the rights and claims which are deeply seated in the religious, economic, social and political values of the people (1960:51).

One can therefore see that indigenous laws that grant landownership in the African context are not simply spelling clearly, the specific rights and obligations which individuals or groups have in respect to the land but also relate to the culture, history, ecology and demography of the society concerned.

Private Ownership of Land

Despite the fact that indigenous societies in Northern EVELAND prefer traditional system of community land ownership because it guarantees all families in the communities to have access to land, a contemporary phenomenon observed

from my field work is that the policy of community ownership of land is changing gradually in some communities of Kpandu to a system of private land ownership.

Some of the citizens who are economically affluent, purchase and claim ownership of pieces of land they acquire for themselves and their nuclear families. This new system is now increasingly accepted by the people as a way of providing security for land ownership and land development.

Another phenomenon currently going on is pledging of family lands for personal ambitions of either the sellers or the buyers. Customers who are individuals, groups or companies on the other hand, purchase land for personal reasons; some of which are for building, farming, putting up business projects, or to provide public infrastructure like schools, hospitals and roads.

On sale of land by some families, Nukunya also states that “land is now a saleable commodity. However, since land is communally owned, it is generally accepted, that transactions involving it should be done by accredited representatives of the groups owning it, and for very good reasons” (1989: 60). He continues further that sale of land is considered legitimate if it is intended to meet family emergencies or crisis, or sponsor the education of children (ibid.).

Though *anyigba* (land) in the Kpandu traditional area is communally owned, the economic unit which is the *fomea* (family or household) generally accepts that transactions involving the sale of family lands are done by accredited representatives of the *saa* (clan) owning it. For specific reasons which might be similar to those in other African societies, wanton authorization of sale and deple-

tion of *Akpini* lands is considered as an irresponsible and despicable behaviour capable of provoking anger and punishment from the leadership of the clans of the *Akpini* state.

Land can also be offered as gifts. According to Agidi (1976:81), there are two types of land gifts; the dowry gift of land and ordinary gift of land which if transferred absolutely, the title (as land owner) of the donor goes to the donee. It is a common feature in Eueland including Kpandu to see customary giving of land by families of a female member to her husband if the family of their in-law has no or little land (ibid.p.82). The land remains the property of the said husband as long as the marriage survives and when there is an issue from the marriage. On the other hand, if there is no child between the couple before the marriage breaks up, the land reverts to the donor.

Agidi concludes that a land gift transaction is authenticated through *akpedada* (thanksgiving) ceremony which may take the form of offering of foreign drinks like schnapps, gin, whiskey or palm wine for prayers as well as offering a ram or sheep as a form of appreciation for the kindness of the donor.

A gift of this nature in the *Akpini* traditional area is, therefore, irrevocable. For this reason, a gift is made public in order that non-members of the two families involved in the transaction may bear witness to it.

Farming as an Inherited Economic Legacy

All the informants unanimously agreed, that farming as a vocation, is an economic legacy inherited from their ancestors from *D4tsie*. Every citizen of Kpandu, despite his/her occupation, directly engages in some form of farming.

Having access to land for cultivation in the *Akpini* traditional area largely depends on the *Dikros*, (custodians of lands of the state) that are under each of the three divisional chiefs who are the heads of *Dufiawo* in Council. *Saamemetsitsiwo* (heads of clans) obtain land allocations from the *Dikro* and share among family members or lineages through the *fometat4wo* (family heads).

The *Dikro*, apart from taking custody of and allocating farming lands to the heads of clans, is also expected to set up taboos, rituals and other forms of spiritual practices to satisfy the gods who own the land in order to guarantee good harvests and to prevent outbreak of epidemics and deaths among the *Akpiniawo*.

Hired or Freely Offered Lands for Cultivation

As a result of over-population of the citizenry and arbitrary sale of some family lands, not all the people of Kpandu and its environs own farming lands as legacies from their predecessors. For this reason, citizens and non-citizens who do not own farming lands, earn a living by cultivating food crops on pieces of land hired to them by landowners for certain periods of time for agreed fees. The period for the leased lands ranges from six months to six years or more depending on the type of agreement entered into with the land owners concerned. After the period has elapsed, the terms are reviewed and renewed whenever the need arises.

Apart from the procedure of land acquisition, some natives of Kpandu as well as foreigners resident in the area work as labourers employed by affluent landowners. The labourers assist the landowners by taking charge of their

agricultural projects. The landowners in return, offer their labourers, pieces of land to cultivate, free of charge, to feed themselves and their families.

***De ma* (Share Cropping)**

De ma is a farming system in which land acquired from a landowner for cultivation, is based on mutual agreement between the land owner and his client(s) on how to share the crops when they mature. The harvested food crops are shared equally between the ‘stranger farmer’ and the landowner. In some cases, an agreement is reached to share the harvest into three so that, the farmer takes two-thirds ($\frac{2}{3}$) of the proceeds from the farm, and the landowner takes one-third ($\frac{1}{3}$).

***Dibi na mame dibi* (Eat some and let me also eat some)**

This is a local term of Akan origin meaning, eat some and let me also eat some. It is a corruption of the *de ma* tenancy system in which the physical area of the plot of land cultivated is divided into equal halves, enabling the farmer gain an equal share of the crops like the land owner.

Levels of Organised Labour

Family Level

Nukunya (op.cit.) shares the view that in many Ghanaian as well as other African societies, one common feature that is crucial to peasant societies is the organization of labour in agricultural practices. Organised labour in agricultural practices in the *Akpini* society is first identified with family units who are entitled to land ownership and, therefore, acquire sufficient parcels of arable lands through the *saamemetsitsiwo*, for farming.

Like the members of the Yako society in Nigeria, Kpandu citizens cultivate farm lands based on the nuclear family that forms a household which is located in a larger group of patrilineal relatives and their wives. This larger group of patrilineal relatives has between ten to twenty adult kinsmen who under a *samemetsitsia* collectively have rights to acquisition of farm lands.

Furthermore, the paramount interest in land could be vested only in the family or *dzotinuwo* as legal entities. Even though Ewe stools (of chiefs) have always enjoyed jurisdictional authority, apart from the specific cases of small stool lands, the paramount or absolute title to land has been vested in the several families and not in the stools. The primary interest which an individual has in the land of his family is that he has the right to occupy and use the land, provided that it is not already occupied. Such an individual cannot in Ewe law, hand over a family land to a person who is not a member of the family (Kludze, 1973).

As Gavua has noted, the sizes of lands cultivated depend on the amount of family labour that is harnessed into the cultivation. In this way, large nuclear families consisting of a man with two or more wives and many children cultivate more lands, while small families own small farms (2000:10).

Though farming, most often, depends on family units, family heads often times engage free services of friends or age-mates to cultivate land. Similarly, Skinner examines subsistence farming activities of family units of societies in the Sub-Saharan African region and posits: “the basic unit of agricultural production is the extended family, however, individuals are allowed and encouraged to produce food for their own use but only after they have fulfilled their obligations to their kinsmen” (1973:209).

Skinner asserts further that it is a fact among the Nupe of Nigeria that “the extended family affords the only means of cultivating a large variety of useful and profitable crops. The actual amount of food produced by the family units differs from society to society depending upon the crops grown and whether or not there is crop specialization. He, however, concludes that regardless of the society, the extended family in recent times apparently cultivates more plots of land that yield enough food to allow some of it to be sold in the market places (ibid).

In a study of land tenure system among the Mamprusi ethnic group of Northern Ghana, Owusu-Baah comments: “the head of the household is usually responsible for decisions concerning farming operations, often in consultation with his spouse(s). Family labour is the main source of energy used on the farm; and it is that which usually determines the size of the family farm” (1982:6).

Besides, the nuclear and extended family units serving as the work force, there is the practice of hired labour which is paid for in cash to individuals or groups of workers whose services are engaged.

Apart from organized labour in subsistence agricultural practice, families, individuals, either males or young, unmarried female youngsters, cultivate small plots of land to grow food crops on their own.

Fidohab4b4 (Co-operative Work Group) Level

In many Ghanaian societies, apart the use of labour at the family levels, a common feature in the organization of labour can be seen in the work(s) of *fidohab4b4wo*, whose members, offer services free of charge. The reason is that, members of these groups take turn to provide labour for one another. They comprise males and females, and have membership ranging from five to over hundred workers. Their organized approach to work is known as *fidodo* among the Eves and *nn4boa* among the Akans.

Herskovits validates the existence of co-operative labour units that have strong passion for assisting their members during subsistence farming in both Benin and Nigeria without charging fees: “the extended family which found that it could not produce enough foodstuffs for itself often made use of larger co-operative working units. A Dahomean had recourse to a co-operative working group known as the *Dôpkwé* when his fields were too wide to be hoed by his own labour and the labour of those whose services he has at his disposal” (1938:72). Membership of *Dôpkwé* is predominantly young men; the presence of the elderly is

not totally ruled out because as a result of their age, they complement the efforts of the youth by undertaking tasks that depend on their state of health and energy.

Skinner asserts that the Nupe of Nigeria use a larger co-operative unit called *Egbe* for agricultural production when for various reasons, the extended family is insufficient in number, or their ambitious farming programmes demand a larger working force than is available at the family levels (1973:209).

Services of Fidolawo within and outside their Co-operative Groups

Within the group, *fidolawo* work for each other in turn, and often, on daily basis until individual farming plots of every member of the group is completed. Services rendered by members of *fidohab4b4wo* to their colleagues are never paid for by a colleague who engages their services.

The method of feeding *fidolawo* during work sessions differ from one community to the other. However, it is generally an accepted rule that the host member, who engages the services of his fellow *fidolawo*, provides food for the workers. The food usually served is *amaw4e*, a mixture of *agbelim4* (cassava dough) and *blim4* (corn dough). The drinks provided are, two bottles of gin and a bottle of *akpeteshie* (alcohol distilled from palm wine).

Apart from services offered within the group, *fidolawo* also accept invitations to work for non-members. Therefore, people within or outside the locality who request their services pay cash for the work done. The unit price charged by the group depends on each acre of land weeded or cleared.

According to *Afen4* Akua Tekla Bani, an informant and women's leader of the *agbleha* performing group at Kpandu Gadza, cash that is realised from

services rendered by members of the *fidohab4b4*, is shared among the workers and a portion of it is kept in the coffers of the group. Part of the money from the coffers of the group is often donated at birth and outdooring ceremonies of babies born to individual members of the *fidohab4b4*, or offered as financial assistance to families of deceased members of the *fidohab4b4*.

Administration of Fidohab4b4wo

The members of these *fidohab4b4wo* are governed by rules and regulations. There are elected executives who run the affairs of the group. The rules spell out clearly, their composition and how discipline in terms of honesty, hard work and punctuality of members are crucial to their survival as peasants.

The executive members of the co-operative work groups include the *nun4la* (leader), *nunl4la* (secretary), *d4w4s4hefia* (youth work leader), *2o2owodzikip4la* (organizer) and *ny4nu'onun4la* (women's leader).

Nun4la

The *nun4la* together with his *kpedejut4* (assistant), *nunl4la* (secretary) and the *dodowodzikip4la* (organizer) are charged with the responsibility of inspecting and pricing work to be done by the members the *fidohab4b4*. All internal wrangling among the workers are discussed and resolved under the supervision of the *nun4la*. Before the *fidolawo* move to the work site, they first assemble early in the morning at the house of their leader to listen to the nature of work for the day.

Nun4la

The secretary who also acts as the financial secretary keeps an up-to-date information on activities of the group. He also keeps correct record of every financial transaction undertaken by the group.

D4w4s4hefia

The duties of the *d4w4s4hefia* to a large extent complement the work of the *nun4la*. He either gives orders by selecting fast workers to assist slow colleagues who are unable to complete their portions of work allocated them within the given time or orders that these slow workers are left behind. He also supervises sharing of drinks provided by the host to the group, during lunch time.

On the whole, the *d4w4s4hefia* assists in maintaining discipline as well as ensuring strict observance of the rules and regulations that bind members of the *fidohab4b4*.

Doqowodzikip4la

The organiser is charged with prompt dissemination of information about work on farms which need the services of *fidolawo*. He beats the gong to alert fellow workers a day or two ahead about where and when a next engagement in work would take place. He also enters agreement with the host who invites the group to provide food and drink free of charge for the workers.

Ny4nu'onun4la (Women's Leader)

The *ny4nu'onun4la* is assisted by other women, to keep watch over food (provided by the host) and share it among the workers. The women also fetch water for drinking and sharpening of farm implements.

The organization of labour by *fidohab4b4wo* is based on the following farming activities:

Farming Activities at Kpandu

Farming activities which farmers engage in over the years in the Kpandu traditional area include:

- Clearing the land
- Weeding/Planting
- Harvest/Storage of food items

The objectives and resource endowment of peasant farmers at Kpandu strongly influence their choice of activities in their farming system. The research reveals that the main objectives of these farmers, among others are:

- i. To satisfy their household's subsistence requirements by cultivating main staples like maize, cassava, yam, cocoyam, plantain, rice etc.
- ii. To provide their household cash needs through the sale of surplus food crops and livestock.
- iii. To keep livestock (sheep, goats and birds) as insurance against crop failure and also for ritual performances in their religious activities.

The types of farming activities employed are dependent on the following factors: prevailing natural geographical conditions in terms of weather and rainfall patterns, soil texture/nutrients that support food production, availability of working tools and cheap labour. Deep loamy soil which abounds in the area, favours the growth of root crops like yam, cassava, cocoyam, and sweet potatoes.

The basic work tools used for food production include cutlasses, hoes and mattocks. Of late, the use of tractors has enabled their owners to either plough their own farm lands or hire the tractors to fellow farmers for paid services.

Clearing Land for Cultivation of Crops

There are several methods that are employed in clearing the land for food production in the *Akpini* traditional area. The start of the farming season is based on the rainfall distribution which is dictated by the south-western monsoon winds from the Gulf of Guinea.

According to Gockel (2000:131), the major rainfall period occurs in March through to mid-July with the highest precipitation in June and the minor rainfall season occurring from September to October. During the rainy season, humidity is relatively high and averaging about 82%.

The second period of cultivation takes place between August/September and November for crops that are cultivated twice in a year; an example being *bli* (maize). The main farming techniques employed in the area to date, include shifting cultivation (bush fallowing) and mixed farming.

Shifting Cultivation (Bush fallowing)

This activity involves a farmer who cultivates a piece of land for two or more years and intentionally abandons it as a result of decrease in yields. The farmer leaves the land for some years to grow into bush and to regain its lost nutrients before he comes back again to cultivate it. Cohen, in this direction, states that after several years of tilling a piece of land, the fertility of the soil wanes, and the plot is eventually abandoned to fallow for about a period of 3-5 years to enable the vegetation, soil fertility and biomass to be restored back to the land before it can be used again. During this period, the farmer moves to clear a fresh piece of land elsewhere in the forest by going through the same cultivation process discussed earlier. After the land is left to fallow for some number of years, the farmer returns to cultivate it. The bush fallowing technique is also used in sub-tropical communities that include forest areas of sub-Saharan Africa, South-east Asia as well as parts of South and Central America (1974:45).

In clearing the land, the farmers mainly use axes, hoes and cutlasses. Both males and females in the fifteen suburbs of Kpandu engage in subsistence farming. Male farmers often engage in slash-and-burn technique of cultivation. They deem it convenient to clear the bush, fell down the trees and allow the weeds to dry and later burnt. The ash serves as natural fertilizer for the crops that are planted. Bush burning is followed by sowing and planting of crops. Food crops that are planted include maize, cassava, cocoyam and plantain. Leguminous crops like groundnuts and beans are often planted on the side of ridges made.

Kleinman, Pimentel and Bryant share the view that slash-and-burn technique is important to rural poor and indigenous peoples in the developing world. They maintain that ecologically, sound slash-and-burn agriculture is sustainable because it does not depend upon outside inputs based on fossil energy for fertilizers, pesticides and irrigation (1995: 235-249). This farming technique, most often applied by men (because of their strong physique), is also true of other societies in Ghana.

From my field observation, I can state that the *Akpiniawo* have no access to exclusively large plots of land for the cultivation of food crops. This is attributable to the fact that over-population, modernity and socio-economic conditions have affected the inheritance traditions of the people. At present, it is a traditional requirement that a plot of land be shared among a deceased owner's children. As a result of implementing this traditional decision, sizes of plots available to individuals are decreasing steadily.

At present, the growing population of the *Akpiniawo* has now led to more frequent clearing and tilling of land which is gradually creating soil infertility. The frequent cultivation of the same plots of land by the citizens, has at present, subjected the area to deforestation. With the introduction of improved farming techniques in the area, lost forests may be recovered.

Mixed Farming

An agricultural activity which is at its embryonic stage but is being gradually embraced in the *Akpini* traditional area is mixed farming. This system involves labourers or workers who under instructions, cultivate food crops and

rear animals like cattle, sheep, goats etc. and birds (fowls) simultaneously on the same piece of land. Mixed farming is practised on a small scale and notable practitioners of this type of farming include people of the affluent class, individual farming companies, non-governmental groups and the inmates of Kpandu prisons.

Usually, the land which is used for mixed farming is put into two halves. Half of the plot of land is used for the cultivation of food crops and the other half is used for growing of grass and keeping livestock. The crop residues or by-products, such as groundnut, cowpea, beans or rice husk are used as fodder for fowls and animals and thus, helping to reduce the cost of poultry and animal feeds. Animal dung and droppings of the birds are used as organic manure to improve the soil fertility which in turn, supports a proper growth of the crops. An interesting aspect of this this type of agriculture also is that it provides an alternative source of income for farmers. For example, if there is crop failure, the farmer relies on his animals as an alternative source of income.

A simple local tool used in food crop farming is the hoe. It is a digging implement consisting of a metal blade set at right angle to a long wooden or metal handle. In grassland areas where the use of cutlasses is not convenient, clearing of weeds before tilling the land is done with simple hoes.

As a result of lack of fertility of the land, ridging which is done with hoe is now very prevalent in the area under study. It forces the farmers to take advantage of early rains to do their sowing. Seed planting is done just after the ridges are made; according to the farmers, hoe ridging is laborious and time consuming and

often takes days to complete an acre of land. The leaders of the *fidohab4b4wo* unanimously share the view that the hoe is a very essential tool for digging, for raising mounds, for planting yam seedlings and for preparing ridges for the cultivation crops like sweet potatoes, beans, groundnuts, tiger nuts, tomatoes, pepper and *egusi* (*Citrullus lanatus*).

Despite the fact that hoes are being replaced in modern agriculture by plows and harrows, they are still used in many communities all over Ghana (including Kpandu) in gardening and horticulture to loosen the soil, clear weeds and dig for root crops from the ground.

Cropping Systems

This agricultural term refers to different methods that are applied in growing crops on the farm. A farmer may grow one main crop or many types of crops on the same piece of land at the same time, during a planting season (Iwena, 2008:48). The methods employed by farmers to grow their crops include mono cropping, multiple cropping and crop rotation.

Mono/Sole Cropping

One of the methods used in planting crops at Kpandu is mono cropping. By this method, the *s4hewo* plant one type of crop like rice, cassava or maize on a piece of land at a time. In mono cropping, the main crop is interspersed with crops like *egusi*, groundnut, vegetables or other leafy plants.

While non-traditional cash crops in mono-cropping are largely mechanized and undertaken on plantation bases, majority of the workers are still small-scale farmers with holdings of about half to five hectares of land sizes. On

the other hand, in the case of annual food crops, the farmer grows a particular crop like maize, rice, cassava etc. which is harvested on maturity before another crop is planted on the same piece of land. Mono-cropping, encourages specialization and easy management of farm crops.

At present, this method of solo crop cultivation is dying out as a result of rise in population which is leading to scarcity of land. The farmers also see this method as a risky one; this is because as *Afet4* Kyereme, a farmer from Kpandu Agudzi puts it:

Undergoing mono-cropping is at times risky; especially when there is an outbreak of pests, diseases and natural disaster in the form of flood. On the other hand, wild fires that destroy farms due to irresponsible activities of some individual farmers and hunters also lead to loss of crops, and thus, bring about famine.

Multiple Cropping

Multiple cropping involves growing two or more crops simultaneously on the same piece of land more than once in a year, and harvesting them at different times. For example, crops such as maize and okra are grown in the major rainy season between March and April and harvested in July or August before they are again planted in the minor season of August and harvested in November or December. The harvest period of okra always precedes maize harvest period. From facts gathered during discussions held with Agricultural Extension Officers in and outside the study area, multiple cropping is a type of agriculture where a crop is grown in-between another crop. The idea behind this method is that an early maturing crop which is planted among a late maturing crop is harvested first

before the other attains maturity. An example is yam intercropped with water melon. Yam which is planted first is harvested last and water melon which is planted after the yam is harvested first. In another instance, two crops; cassava and okro are planted together on the same day, and the okro which matures earlier, is harvested before the maize.

Inter-planting (mixed cropping), a variant of multiple cropping involves planting two crops on the same field at different times and the first crop planted is harvested before the second crop. An example is inter-planting maize with cassava; the maize planted first is harvested before the cassava is harvested later.

Legumes help to improve the qualities of other crops planted on the piece of land by providing them with atmospheric nitrogen. For example by this system, if a leguminous crop like *ayi* is cultivated, it is followed by *azi* or any other crop that is also a legume.

In a discussion with Mr. Ottah, an agricultural extension officer in the Kpandu District, he explained that the advantage of mixed cropping is that if one of these two crops takes nitrogen from the soil, the other leguminous crop fixes it back. The nitrogen is fixed in the *ekewo*, (root nodules) of the leguminous plants in the form of nitrates (soluble form of nitrogen). Hence, the fertility of the soil is maintained and this helps the farmers to have more crop increase without nitrogen being depleted from the soil. He further cites an example of mixed cropping which is still practised in spite of industrial farming undertaken in America. According to him, this classic example of mixed cropping referred to as American “three sisters”, includes maize, beans, and cucurbits (squash and pumpkins),

which are all planted together in the same hole. While the maize provides a stalk for the beans to climb, the beans which are rich in nutrient, offset nutrients which are absorbed by the maize. This is followed by squash which grows low to the ground to keep weeds down to prevent water from evaporating from the soil when there is high temperature.

Multiple cropping is seen by the *Akpiniawo* as an insurance against crop failure, because in abnormal weather conditions, when some of the crops fail, others survive and yield fruits. According to the farmers, this type of farming yields income, because, vegetables and legumes with shorter gestation periods than yam and cassava; are harvested earlier and surpluses are sold to earn money.

Crop Rotation

Crop rotation involves the cultivation of different crops on the same piece of land for successive years in a definite cycle or sequence with or without a fallow period. By this system, farmers are able to make use of their plots by putting them into sections and cultivating different crops on each of them each year on rotational basis without losing the fertility of the land.

In another context, the farmer may plant cassava on the whole farm for one year and plant groundnut the following year. Crop rotation is at present, practised on a large scale in the Kpandu traditional area due to scarcity of farming land.

Unger and McCalla explain crop rotation as the practice of growing a series of dissimilar types of crops in the same area in sequential order for various benefits such as to avoid a heavy build up of pathogens and pests that often occurs when one species of crop is continuously cultivated. The crop rotation system

balances the fertility demands of various crops in order to forestall excessive depletion of soil nutrients. A traditional element of crop rotation is the replenishment of nitrogen through the use of green manure in sequence with cereals and other crops. From personal observations during my field studies, a crop that leaches the soil of one kind of nutrient is followed during the next planting season by a dissimilar crop that returns that nutrient to the soil.

Mr. Ottah, in distinguishing crop rotation from mixed farming, explains that “crop rotation is not the same as mixed farming. The general effect of crop rotation is that there is a geographic mixing of crops, which slows the spread of pests and diseases during the growing season”. Farmers therefore guard against growing crops of the same family like maize, rice or sorghum in order to avoid drawing the same type of nutrients from the soil and subjecting them to the same diseases and pests (Unger and McCalla 1980: 2-5).

Cultivation of different crops therefore reduces the effects of adverse weather; and to the farmer, planting and harvesting at different times allow more land to be cultivated with the same amount of labour.

Types of Crops Cultivated

As discussed earlier, the farming systems as well as types of crops cultivated are determined by the climate, vegetation and soil varieties. Food crops grown can be put into four general categories; these are grain/cereals like maize, rice etc; staple starches which include yams, cassava, plantain, cocoyam; fruits such as pineapple, banana etc. and vegetables comprising tomatoes, garden eggs, pepper, onions and okro with water melon, carrots and cabbage as recent

introductions. The cultivation of fruits as cash crops like grafted orange, pear and mango, is also now undertaken in the area. The frequency in tilling the land has now opened up more of the forest canopy which encourages scrub at the expense of large trees and gradually leading to soil infertility and deforestation. With the introduction of improved farming techniques, lost forests may be recovered.

Cultural Practices employed in Crop Cultivation

After food crops are nursed or directly planted, basic farming practices are carried out to nurture these crops from the period of planting until they are harvested. Cultural practices are therefore crucial to the survival and growth and harvest of good yield of crops. Among the cultural practices associated with crop production in the Kpandu traditional area are transplanting, shading, thinning, weeding and staking.

Transplanting

This agricultural practice involves the transfer for example of tomatoes and pepper seedlings from the nursery beds to their permanent planting positions on the field or land. The simple traditional tools that are used for this work are the hoe and the cutlass. Transplanting of seedlings by farmers can best be described in the words of Iwena (op cit) who states; “the plant seedlings are removed with a ball of soil around its roots mostly in cool weather, mornings or evenings. Transplants require shading to reduce wilting and the soil around the roots at permanent site are made firm to eliminate air pockets for good root establishment.

In cases of some of the seedlings, they are watered morning and evening....so that weak or diseased seedlings are not transplanted” (2008:16).

Shading

This involves erecting a cover which serves as shade over the seedlings such as pepper or tomatoes. The farmers see it as a way of protecting the seedlings from harsh weather conditions like excess heat and rain drops. The materials used for creating shade for the seedlings include palm fronds, plantain leaves and tall grasses.

Thinning

Thinning is a process of removing weak plants from among the rest to prevent overcrowding so as to enable the healthy seedlings to thrive well. Thinning, usually done by hand, is quite effective when plants like rice or vegetables like garden eggs, tomatoes, shallots and pepper are very young.

Weeding

This practice is where the farmers remove unwanted plants, grass or weeds from among the cultivated crops. Weeding involves the use of cutlasses or hoes to prevent grass or other weeds from competing for space, sunlight, nutrients, soil moisture and oxygen with the crops planted. Of late, chemicals in the form of herbicides are applied by farmers to destroy the weeds.

Staking

This is an activity in which farmers erect sticks or wood on the land to enable the stems of creeping crops like tomatoes and yam to stand erect and prevent lodging. The stems of these crops are tied to the sticks or wood to have

support, yield good fruits and prevent the fruits from disease attack arising from their contact with the soil. The farmers usually undertake this exercise before the crops reach flowering stages.

The dry season marks a shift in job specification of both males and females in the *Akpini* traditional area. Like their Dagaba, Sisaala, Wala and Lobi neighbours in the three Northern Regions of Ghana; as noted by Saighoe, farmers at Kpandu in the same way, undertake gender-specific jobs during the dry season like tailoring, weaving, petty trading, blacksmithing and wood carving. Women engage primarily in pottery, petty-trading, brewing pito beer out of millet or guinea corn and *brukutu*, a drink brewed from fermented corn. On the work of children, Saighoe (1988:33) comments:

..... it is not compulsory for Dagaba children to learn the trade of their parents. They often take after their parents and learn their trades without necessarily undergoing apprenticeship,...they follow their parents' crafts because the latter operate mostly in the home where children grow up helping them. This situation eventually comes to influence children, consciously or unconsciously, in their choice of a trade in later years.

The dry season also offers the farmers a unique opportunity to construct barns through communal labour for storing their harvested crops like *bli*, *te* and *m4li*. In the olden days, building materials like cement and iron-sheets were not common; and for this reason, the dry season was the opportune time to build new mud houses or for rehabilitating leaking roofs with dried thatch.

Male and Female Roles in Farming

In examining gender roles in manual labour in African societies, Onwuejeogwu (1992:199), contrasts Western notion of division of labour in industrialized societies with what obtains in small-scale societies and asserts:

To the economist concerned with industrialized societies, the term division of labour means the technique of production whereby every worker directs his labour effort towards the production of a very small part of a particular commodity; and thus projecting more of specialization. But in small-scale societies, that are not industrialized.... each person's status and roles are determined by sex, age, clan affiliation, heredity, guilds and associations.

Similarly, in subsistence farming communities of Kpandu, the roles of family members are quite distinct, though each member is not barred from taking part in any farming activity. Ordinarily, adult men and teenage boys undertake land cultivation, burning, preparation of ridges and yam mounds as well as weeding maize farms. The women, girls and children are responsible for planting seeds, gathering and carrying firewood and food items home.

Where cereals like rice, millet or maize are cultivated, young boys are employed to scare away birds at the time seeds are planted and before they are matured to be harvested. Crop harvesting is the duty of all members of the family. In harvesting rice for example, threshing and winnowing are the responsibilities of women, boys and girls. Men at times engage in threshing and winnowing of rice when they are less busy or when there are not enough hands to do so.

Environmental Threats to Crops Cultivated

The people of Kpandu perceive agriculture as the mainstay of their livelihood and, therefore, see factors that threaten the farming environment as very crucial. The major problems include deforestation, sanitation and pollution. Of the three, wanton destruction of the land's vegetation which results from burning the forest, the cutting of woodlots by both farmers and chain saw operators, now pose as threats to the lives and economic stability of the citizenry.

Cutting down trees for firewood and charcoal burning are major activities that offer vast employment avenues for the youth. These activities often, lead to a decline in soil fertility and low yields of crop harvests. In addition, lack of storage facilities compounds the woes of the farmers and compels them to give away their farm produce during bumper harvest at ridiculously low prices.

During an interview with *Afet4* Kofi Sali, a farmer and a member of *agbleha* performing group on Thursday, 17th March, 2011, he attributes farmers' poverty to their inability to control prices of their crops during periods of bumper harvest. According to him, "middle men" take advantage of this and get exceptionally rich at the expense of the *agbledelawo* (farmers). The farmers, therefore, see this as a major disincentive that does not only kill their zeal for increased production but also confines them to a continuous vicious cycle of poverty. Like in other Ghanaian rural communities, erratic rainfall leads to poor harvests and loss of cash invested in food crop farming.

Also the cumbersome nature of the land tenure system is a constraint that hampers agricultural practices in the area. In many instances, prospective

farmers/investors become embroiled in protracted land litigations because no chief or elder has a singular authority to release land for development purposes (Gockel, 2000:145).

Crop storage techniques used by farmers are basically traditional and have not changed or improved much over the years. A cereal like rice, for example, is usually stored in homemade straw bins or mud containers whose life span is very short. Maize and tubers of yam are placed on wooden platforms in store houses that are roofed with thatch. Fire is set under the raised platform on which the maize is stored to enable smoke and ash to prevent insect damage. Groundnut and beans are dried and stored in fertilizer bags. Despite these storage measures, there are often crop losses during storage due to lots of damage caused by insects, weevils, rodents (mice and rats) and fungus.

Besides the problem of storage, the farmers' high level of poverty prevents them from having access to credit facilities to buy agricultural tools, machinery, improved seeds and fertilizers to improve the quality and quantity of their crop yield or buy chemicals like pesticides to spray and preserve their crops from being destroyed by pests and rodents.

Furthermore, the farmers are not in large co-operative groups that can enable them have easy procurement of loans from the banks, Iwena (op. cit.) points out that "they also lack the required collateral security to enable them secure loans from banks; those who get the loans at times, divert such loans to other purposes like land litigation, marriage and chieftaincy disputes". (p.8)

On the whole, majority of the farmers, who are either illiterates or have attained low level of education, are quite hesitant in shifting from their indigenous farming methods to new innovations in agriculture which can boost their efficiency and productivity.

CHAPTER FOUR

AGBLEHAWO IN FARMING ACTIVITIES OF THE AKPINIAWO

Before delving into the organization, performance and functions of *agblehawo*, it is worth examining the origin and the general perception of the people in Kpandu about this occupational folk music.

The *Akpiniawo* are of the view that the performance of *agblehawo* is connected with farming activities. Research findings validate the point that this folk genre did not originate from any Northern Eve society in Ghana; rather, it was a legacy inherited from their great grandparents who migrated from *D4tsie*.

A second source of oral literature obtained from a visit to Kuma, a town which used to be the hub of farming activities in the Kluto District of Togo, indicates that the people of Kuma were the first to use *agblehawo* in their farming activities. Due to the geographical nearness of Kluto to some of her Northern Eve societies, the adoption and practice of *agblehawo* quickly spread to the rest of the Eve communities in Ghana. Historical data still claims that the people of Kuma were part of the Eves that migrated from *D4tsie*. (Darketsey, 1979:5)

Oral sources from Kpandu also claim that after Ghana's independence in 1957, there was a call for projection of African personality and identity. In support of the call, *Afen4* Tekla Bani, a respondent and women's leader of the *agblehavuhab4b4*, narrated information heard from her late parents that "the citizens of Kpandu heeded the call of the new ruling government of Kwame Nkrumah by paying attention to the work and music that sustain our lives".

Saighoe complements the position of *Afen4* Tekla Bani and contributes further: “When Ghana gained independence from British colonial rule, Ghanaians made a conscious effort to recreate and reassert their tradition which had been interrupted by ravages of colonialism. In pursuance of the objective of establishing and perpetuating Ghanaian art and music, and of “projecting African personality”, the youth were encouraged to take active interest in the traditional music and dances of their respective areas. Several dance ensembles were formed on national, regional as well as community and village levels to promote the performance of traditional music and dance” (1988:96). *Afet4* Kofi Amemakuse, a farmer and master drummer of the *agbleha* performing group also adds:

Agbleha, like a patriotic song since that time, has become a call to duty which spurs our people on to put more effort into *agbled4w4w4* (farming activities). *Agblehawo*, like stimulant, help farmers to work tirelessly in unity and solidarity to boost food production.

In this direction, Saighoe’s view on music and behaviour among the Dagaba of Upper West Ghana, cannot be over-emphasised when he submits: “a particular ethnic music will continue to exist if and when it continues to serve some functions (social, economic, religious etc.) in the personal and/or group social interaction of its performers” (op. cit. :11).

Scholarly works including those of Saighoe (1988), Radcliffe Brown (1952), Nketia (1961), Merriam (1964), Korezynski (2007) and Southern (1997) on occupational music have informed and guided the researcher to find out the place of *agblehawo* in the farming activities of the *Akpiniawo*.

Distribution of *Agbleha* Performance

Though the focus of this study is the Kpandu traditional area, the existence and performance of *agblehawo* are also common among other ethnic groups of Northern Eueland such as the people of Ho, Alavanyo, Anfoega, Hohoe and Uli traditional areas. The practice of *agblehawo* however, by neighbouring towns and villages which surround these traditional areas identified cannot be completely ruled out. *Agbleha* performance in the *Akpini* traditional area takes place during the major farming and harvest seasons between March and August and the minor season which is between August/September and November for crops like *bli* which is cultivable twice in a year.

The performance of this folk genre by the people at the farm, takes place on all the days of the week except Fridays and Sundays. Fridays are considered as days of bad omen; for this reason, the *s4hewo* abstain from all forms of manual activities at the farm. This confirms the fact that folk music, as a rule, reflects the inner characteristics of the people's culture and their belief systems. However, the introduction of orthodox Christian faiths into Northern Eueland has impacted on the religious inclinations of the citizens of Kpandu. For this reason, natives who have been converted to these new religious faith, now consider Sunday as a sacred 'holy day' and, therefore, abstain from any form of manual work.

To a large extent, the study of *agblehawo* has uncovered exciting revelations that have been described and projected under the following sub-headings

Organised Farming Activities Accompanied with *Agblehawo*

The different farming activities which are accompanied by *agblehawo* include:

- Weeding
- Tree Felling
- Bush burning
- Planting/Harvesting
- Construction of new barns for crop storage
- Building/Repairing/Roofing of new and old houses

In the *Akpini* socio-cultural system, the performance of *agblehawo* is not only restricted to activities on the farm, but are also performed during labour intensive household chores undertaken by male and female farmers. At home, the *tequduza* (yam harvest festival celebration) and *ku kple kunuw4w4* (death and funeral ceremonies) are also occasions which call for *agbleha* performance.

The organisation of work into which *agblehawo* are incorporated is often on individual or family basis, in pairs, in small or large co-operative groups. In such contexts, it can be noticed that the themes of some of the songs are based on different types of activities that the farmers undertake.

In this regard, Nketia identifies musical events in Africa and says; music in African societies is performed in well-defined situations: in individual or community life, on basis of occasions on which ceremonies are performed.... or for recreation and some forms of manual labour (1974:596).

Large groups of workers are usually made of the *s4hewo*, who constitute themselves into various *fidohab4b4wo* numbering about 30-120 members. The members of these co-operative groups are strictly bound by code of ethics, rules and regulations especially, during their farming activities.

Weeding

Before the workers begin work, the head of the family or the leader of the *fidohab4b4* says a short prayer and he intermittently pours libation with either palm wine or *akpeteshie*, a type of drink distilled from fermented palm wine.

Short prayerful songs are sung in a declamatory style to accompany the ritual procedures as a way of committing every worker into the hands of the Supreme Being, the spirits of the ancestors and the gods of the land for their divine intervention and protection during the farming activities.

On the importance of prayers and rituals in agricultural practices of Africans, Mbiti posits:

In making new fields, rituals are performed when people clear forests or bushes. The rituals serve as a way of removing danger and blessing the use of the new fields....people believe that there are innumerable spirits some of which occupy trees and forests. Where that belief exists, it is thought necessary to perform rituals which, among other things, will send away these spirits from the bushes and trees being cleared away to make a new field (1991:135).

He adds further, that “if such rituals are not performed, it is feared that the people who work on that field may be molested by spirits or may be met with mysterious misfortunes. The performances of rituals remove fear and danger, and help the people to find harmony with their new field” (ibid.).

Afen4 Philo Adenku, a farmer and a Soloist of *agbleha* performing group at Kpandu, also stresses the need for ritual performance in farming activities as an obligatory cultural rite that is not glossed over by professional farmers in the *Akpini* traditional area. She reiterated; “our departed ancestors still have continuous interaction with those of us in the living world. Offering libation to these ‘living dead’ as we call them makes them pass on strength to us to fulfill our daily life’s activities that sustain us; more importantly, our economic life”.

The members of the *fidohab4b4wo* start weeding by standing in linear or circular forms. In the linear work formation, the workers arrange themselves and weed specific portions of land assigned each member of the group within a specified time span stipulated in their rules and regulations.

To inspire the workers on, they sing songs which defy laziness and warn slow workers about forfeiting certain privileges due them. An example is reducing the number of calabashes of palm wine or glasses of *akpeteshie* that they are entitled to during the period of recess. According to the workers, the performance of these songs is aimed at reducing boredom, an act which, in turn, increases productivity. They also regard *agblehawo* as serving a dual function: alleviating thoughts about dangers encountered at work, and spurring the workers on to put in fresh energy to accomplishing the day’s work.

The second approach to work involves farmers who surround and clear a piece of land. As they move in a circular order, they clear the bush by following closely one another. According to the workers, this work formation fosters strong team spirit that makes them to work faster and eschew laziness.

Due to the large membership of these *fidohab4b4wo*, the workers do not only clear vast acres of land within a short period of time; the songs also inspire them to easily kill and prepare meals with rodents like rats or grass cutters. Sometimes, relatively bigger animals like antelopes are trapped in the middle of the portion of bush they surround and are killed for meals.

From participant observation in the field, *avefohawo*, (songs for weeding) are the most interesting *agblehawo* in the *Akpini* traditional area. The themes of the *hawo* describe the farmers' despair, dangers, comfort and hope as well as their life as farmers.

At times, the themes of the songs are based on relationships between young farmers, courtship between boys and girls and the hope that divorced farmers derive from hard work. The rhythmic patterns of *avefohawo* which have moderate tempo are articulated with the steps and arm movements of the workers.

The adoption of a moderate pace instead of a fast one enables the workers sufficient time to coordinate their steps and arm movements such that they are able to avoid the danger of clashing into and wounding one another, with their implements.

Example 5 below is an opening phrase of an *agleha*, that serves as a source of motivation to the *fidolawo* to work harder and as well, kill animals trapped in the grass or in the bush that they clear: **Lã le Gbea me** (There is Animal in the Bush)

The image shows two staves of musical notation. The top staff is labeled 'Solo' and contains a melody with lyrics: 'Nã-vi'o kisi le gbea- me loo! nemiawui kaba'. The bottom staff is labeled 'Chorus' and contains a rhythmic accompaniment with lyrics: 'Mifogbea nemia wuikaba nemia wuika-ba, ka-ba - - -'.

Example 5: An *agleha* urging farmers to work hard.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <i>Nãvi'o, kisi le gbea meloo!</i>
<i>Mifo gbea, ne miawui kaba</i> | 1. Comrades, a rat is hiding in the grass
Weed the grass, to kill it quickly |
| 2. <i>Nãvi'o, nukpui l'avea me</i>
<i>Mifo avea, ne miawui kaba</i> | 2. Comrades, a grass cutter is hiding in the bush
Clear the bush, to kill it quickly |
| 3. <i>Nãvi'o, aqab4 l'avea me</i>
<i>Mifo avea, ne miawui kaba</i> | 3. Comrades, an antelope is hiding in the bush
Clear the bush, to kill it quickly |

A strong team spirit and euphoria are created when each worker, goaded on by the mood created by the music, tries to outdo the other in course of weeding. Most of the songs in course of the work are rhythmic and suit the physical and often repetitive nature of the task on hand. Intermittently, the workers take some time off to stretch their backs during which they exploit their bodies as musical instruments, by frequently swaying them from side to side and clapping on them to supply rhythmic patterns to accompany the singing.

Tree Felling

Cutting down of large and tall trees like *Odum*, Mahogany and *Duti* (silk cotton tree) after clearing the land also involves the use of *agblehawo*. Tree felling, which is locally referred to as *atigamumu*, is accompanied with simple songs which are sung at moderately slow pace.

The felling process begins after a scaffold is built around the tree as a firm support for the workers to stand on. The men, who number about four to eight, take their turns in pairs by positioning themselves at opposite sides of the tree trunk to do the felling. Amidst singing and clapping by colleagues on the ground, one person cuts the tree by swinging his axe from left to right and his counterpart at the other side, also chops the tree by swinging his axe from right to left.

Observing the process of tree felling by a group of men for the construction of *akro* (dugout canoe) at Kpandu T4nu, I noticed varieties of work songs sung at different stages of the work. The organization of the work involved four men who chopped the wood at a time by throwing their arms in rhythm. The sound of their axes provided a percussion accompaniment to the songs. While work was in progress, one man who was the lead singer, intoned short songs that were responded to by the rest of the workers who relaxed and sung in chorus as they drank palm wine and waited for their turn.

At the start of another work session, two men worked on one side of the tree and two on the other. While the singing was animated, those on the same side struck the tree together. This was followed by alternate strikes by the other pair of workers on the other side of the tree. The melodies were full of variations made

on the themes of some of the songs sung. The pulse of the music made it easier to raise and move the axes at steady paces to strike the tree alternately or in unison. Tree felling songs are generally slow in tempo.

In a question about why this old method of tree felling is still used to date, the farmers attribute this to their state of poverty. According to them, lack of financial means to engage the services of chain-saw machine operators who demand high service charges has forced them to adopt alternative means of felling the trees with local *fiawo* (axes) without paying high charges.

Besides cutting big trees with local axes, farmers who cannot in any way purchase axes to fell the trees, resort to setting fire constantly to their roots to enable them die while still standing. This method is used to prevent the trees from giving shade to the crops that are planted on the farm. Example 6 below is the opening phrase of a tree felling *agbleha*: **Mikp4 Asi Loo!** (Be careful)

Example 6: Opening phrase of a tree-felling *agbleha*.

<i>Mikp4 asi loo!, kankoawoe</i>	Be careful, youngsters
<i>Yoo!</i>	Alright!
<i>//:Yevufia, miagbe nu le `u woa? //:</i>	White man's axe, can we forsake you?
<i>Kpaa o!, kpaa o! kpaa o!</i>	Never! Never! Never!
<i>De nagbe `ud4 w4w4a?</i>	Can you do without it?
<i>Kpaa o!, kpaa o! kpaa o!://</i>	Never! Never! Never! ://

Similarly, Southern’s account of work songs of plantation slave workers states that “work songs developed according to the kinds of work performed by slaves and work in the fields called for coordinated movements for such songs, strong emphasis of rhythm was, of course, more important than words. Each worker kept his stroke and measured his stride by musical intervals” (1997:162).

Bush Burning

Before fire is set to the weeds on the farm, singing and whistling take place when the men gather the weeds and chop the branches and stems of large trees felled for women and girls to collect as firewood for cooking. The themes of the songs often centre on dangers of fire, loss of human life, farmers’ despair and anticipated hope and joy of a better tomorrow.

Apart from being an ancient form of agricultural practice for about 200 and 500 million people around the world today, bush burning involves the use of fire to prepare the field for cultivation and subsequent abandonment of the field as productivity of the land declines (Cornell, 2007:1-6). Example 7 is an *agleha* sung to inspire farmers at work: **Man4 D4keε w4 @aa** (I’ll continue to do this work).

Ma - - rodake swoda loo - mano dokie wowodziqaa -

Yoo! mano dokie wodaamava de do qaa loo!

Example: 7 An *agleha*: inspiring farmers to keep to farming.

<i>Man4 keεwo 2aa loo!</i>	I'll continue doing this
<i>Yoo!</i>	Yes!
<i>O! man4 d4 keε w42aa loo!</i>	I'll continue doing this work
<i>Yoo!</i>	Yes!
<i>Man4 d4 keε w42aa, be</i>	I'll continue doing this work
<i>Mava 2e 24loo!</i>	Until I prosper
<i>Yoo!</i>	Yes!

Singing of *agblehawo* also takes place during burning of dried weeds and tree branches often at sun set. This is done to protect the workers from mid day heat of the scorching sun that maybe compounded by the heat from the flames of the burning dried weeds. The drop in temperature at sunset enables the farmer and his colleagues to prevent the fire from spreading to cause havoc. To date, farmers still abhor problems and dangers associated with bush burning.

The *agbleha* below laments the havoc uncontrolled fire can cause: **Dzo ye W4num Loo!** (Fire has caused havoc).

The musical score is written in 3/8 time with a key signature of two flats (Bb and Eb). It consists of three systems of music, each with a vocal line and a piano accompaniment line.

- System 1:** Labeled 'Solo'. The vocal line begins with 'Dzo ye - - dzo ye wo nu mu loo! - - - - - e - dzo ye - - -'. The piano accompaniment is mostly rests.
- System 2:** Labeled 'Chorus'. The vocal line continues with 'dzo ye wo nu mu loo! - - - - - kpođa dzo ye - -, dzoye wo nu'. The piano accompaniment has some notes.
- System 3:** The vocal line continues with 'mu loo! - - - - - e - dzo ye - - - dzo ye wo nu mu loo!'. The piano accompaniment has more notes, including 'Gba gba yee!' and 'gba - gba yee!'.

Example 8: An *agbleha* lamenting havoc caused by fire.

//:Dzo ye, dzo ye w4numu loo!://
Kp4da dzo ye, dzo ye w4nu mu loo!
Gbagba ye!, gbagba ye!
Dzo ye, dzo ye w4nu mu loo!

//: Fire has caused me havoc://
Look! Fire, fire has caused me havoc
It is true! it is true!
Fire, fire has caused me havoc

Planting and Harvesting of Crops

Agbleha performance takes place during communal activity that involves planting crops like maize, cassava, yam, rice and plantain suckers by men, women and children. The songs inspire the workers and the owner of the farm to work harder to plant or sow seeds in good time to catch up with the start of the rains or harvest them before bad weather sets in.

Explaining why members of cooperative units get involved in agricultural activities in most African societies, Nadel cites the practice of the Nupe of Nigeria and asserts: “the Nupe use a larger cooperative unit called *Egbe* for agricultural production when, for various reasons, the extended family is insufficient, or simply its ambitious programme demands larger co-operation than is at its disposal” (1942:248).

Owuejeogwu, contributing to the use of labour involving large number of workers, submits that although farming units are on family basis, a man can call his age-mates and friends to help him or employ paid labour to increase productivity for consumption and for sale (op.cit.:198).

One of the staple food crops cultivated by the *Akpiniawo* is yam. Yam planting commences after the first rainfall in the month of *Tedoxe* (March). Work at the farm begins early morning on individual, family or co-operative basis. The workers, stand in a horizontal line, bend down and throw their hoes up and down in a competitive spirit by digging the ground in rhythm to the patterns of the songs they sing. Older men, with vast farming experiences but who now lack strength and energy to work, sing most of the *agblehawo* together with the young workers who dig, scoop and heap the soil, layer upon layer, to produce mounds of desired heights and sizes. The mounds are usually about one foot in height and two feet in diameter; the spacing between them varies from 2½ to 5 feet.

When the crops reach maturity, the services of other fellow farmers are engaged to facilitate early harvest in order to prevent post harvest losses through attack by pests, rodents and bad weather conditions. In examining the attitude of Northern Eves towards work, Kovey comments:

The Eves attach great importance to farming and therefore consider it as that which sustains their economic welfare. That is why they are neither ashamed of putting on their worn out and stained farming attires nor feel pains from suspending hoes on their shoulders to and from their farms. To the people, for a man to get his daily bread, he must get dirty while working with the soil (op. cit.:53).

Complementing Kovey's position, Arikpo, Tawo and Ojuah (2009:21) emphasize that despite farmers' poverty, illiteracy, and traditional farming skills, they are responsible for producing the food basket of the nation.

The energy and time invested in crop cultivation still make the *s4hewo* recount hardships that they encounter in their farming activities. According to

them (*s4hewo*), since their total well-being depends on farming, the more the problems surface in the course of their work, the more determined they are as young and energetic farmers to depend on the comfort and satisfaction of the texts of *agblehawo* to overcome those problems.

In the light of the above, Kovey recalls through the text of an *agbleha* (below), the determination of *s4hewo* during their weeding, planting and harvest seasons.

<i>T4gbui nesa agbleka na ye</i>	Grandfather to give me the magic for farming
<i>T4gbuibe agbleka meli wos'a o</i>	Grandfather says there's no magic for farming
<i>F4yif4yie nye agbledede</i>	Daily work at the farm is farming
<i>Ɖdi-ɲdie nye agbledede</i>	Early morning work at the farm is farming
<i>Kpetonku mefoa a2aba o</i>	A rock with eyes never blinks
<i>Ɖudzave menyafona o</i>	It's not easy enduring difficulties in the bush
<i>Maw4 kpoo, maw4 dzaa</i>	I'll hold myself silently and cautiously
<i>Midze aha ne anyigba nano</i>	Let us buy drink for mother Earth
<i>Ayoo!</i>	Yes!

At the peak of the planting or harvesting season, the farmers leave their homes to settle temporarily on their farms to have enough time for their work. A month or two after yams are planted, individual families or co-operative groups clear weeds around the yams before they reach maturity in about five to six months. Music making also forms part of the *tetitsotso kple tetit4tr4* (cutting and erection of yam poles) activities. During staking, long poles or palm fronds are erected near each mound and the tendrils of the yams are tied around each pole to give them strong support as they climb up and coil around these supporting poles. During the fifth month of cultivation, the farmers undertake *hl4gbetse*, a weeding activity that takes place before tubers of yam begin to form. After weeding, the farmers use mattocks to create deeper and wider spaces around the clusters of

yam to enable them develop into longer and bigger sizes before their harvest period. (Obianim, 1990:49-50).

When the farmers are sure that the tubers of yam are growing well in size, they do a final weeding of their farms in groups of not less 20-80 members. In another work formation involving twenty or more workers, half of them position themselves at one end of the farm and the other half stands at the opposite end. Facing each other from two opposite ends, they weed towards each other in a competitive spirit until the job is accomplished. The weeding paves way for *tekuku* (yam harvest) a month or two later. Some of the songs also talk about specific activities and joy of farmers during the harvest period. The music and text of the beginning phrase of an *agbleha* shown below, expresses farmers' joy during a bumper yam harvest season: *Agru2ui, Wob4b4 Godzoe Me2u te oa?* (By bending, haven't you got yam to eat?)

The image shows a musical score for an *agbleha*. It consists of two staves. The top staff is labeled "Solo" and contains three measures of music, each with the lyrics "Agruđui,". The bottom staff is labeled "Chorus" and contains a single measure of music with the lyrics "Wo bo-bo godzoe među 'te oa'gruđui". The music is written in a 6/8 time signature with a key signature of one flat.

Example 9: An *agbleha* expressing joy about a bumper yam harvest.

Agru2ui

Agru2ui

Agru2ui

Wob4b4 godzoe me2u te oa?

Agru2ui (onomatopoei for the sound of a hoe blade scratching the ground)

Agru2ui (onomatopoei for the sound of a hoe blade scratching the ground)

Agru2ui (onomatopoei for the sound of a hoe blade scratching the ground)

By bending, haven't you got yam to eat?

Construction of New Barns for Crop Storage

Agleha performance also forms part of post-harvest activities like storage of food crops in barns; bags or on sheds erected at the farm or at home. According to the farmers, the old method of preserving rice in traditional silos built of mud is not popular these days. Building a barn is a communal activity which begins with digging the ground and collecting clay which is later mixed with water to produce a texture suitable for building the traditional silos. Pick axes, hoes and shovels are used in digging clay which is collected into buckets or containers that are tied to ropes and drawn out from a pit by the rest of the workers standing by the pit.

While they wait for their turn to dig, workers who are not busy sing, clap, and strike their shovels, mattocks and hoe blades to charge the atmosphere to sustain the team spirit, energy and work tempo of their colleagues at work.

Alluede and Braimah explain that the essence of joint music-making in Edo society of Nigeria is to ease tension and inspire workers engaged in putting

up a collapsed neighbour’s barn, roofing a neighbor’s thatched house or clearing a community road to the farm. (2005:124)

It is in this context that Omojola (op cit) contributes that “an understanding of the conception of music among communities in Africa would have to derive from a combination of factors such as the words used by the people to describe the music, the contexts of the musical performances, the organized procedures associated with the music, the nature of the musical expression itself and the meaning implied in the performance” (41-59).

Blacking (1976) as quoted by Idolor (2007:1) states that “what is important about the position of music in the society is how man has used it to his advantage in different contextual situations to achieve his goal”.

Example 10 below is an *agbleha* that mobilises members of the community for a collective or communal task: **Miy4 Wo N’ova** (Call them to come).

The image shows a musical score for 'Miy4 Wo N’ova'. It consists of two staves. The top staff is labeled 'Solo' and contains a melody with lyrics: 'Mi- y’o n’o va loo! mi y’o n’o va'. The bottom staff is labeled 'Chorus' and contains a rhythmic accompaniment with lyrics: 'A- gble- dela woemi y’o n’o va'. The music is written in a 2/4 time signature with a key signature of one sharp (F#).

Example 10: An *agbleha* summoning farmers to communal work.

<i>Miy4 wo loo!</i>	Call them!
<i>Agbledelawo</i>	The farmers
<i>Miy4 wo n’ova</i>	Call them to come
<i>Agbledelawo</i>	The farmers
<i>Miy4 wo n’ova</i>	Call them to come

Apart from the use of traditional silos, farmers have adopted alternative ways of preserving crops like maize, beans and rice. Threshing and drying of these cereals require a labour force of women and their teenage children. Amidst singing, they thresh the crops by putting them in bags and beating them with sticks until the seeds are separated from the straw or chaff. The seeds are later dried, treated with pesticides and preserved in fertilizer sacks.

Alluede and Braimah (op. cit.) again contribute that music performance in building new barns or threshing cereals involves the services of women, young boys and girls. During an erection of a new barn or roofing a house, they fetch water and carry clay amidst singing which they claim creates in each person, happiness, group solidarity and joy of participation in such communal activities.

Music Performance during Periods of Recess on the Farm or at Home

A music session that takes place during break periods for about one hour either on the farm or at home is the performance of *qi qi demehawo* (songs of rest). During this time, the workers take some time off their work to rest, eat, drink and sharpen their tools and flex their muscles in readiness for the next round of work. However, they do not consider rest during break periods as being dormant or passive. A strong perception commonly shared is that singing and dancing during periods of recess, constitute an essential stimulant that refreshes, energises and puts the workers, especially, divorced males, in the right frame of mind to tackle the remaining work with diligence.

To support their claim, *Afet4* Kyereme, an informant, shares a view on the prospects for hard working male farmers: “The *Akpiniawo* have a strong belief that a hardworking male farmer never remains a bachelor for life; he is easily attracted to unmarried women who would like to have him as a partner, so that in return, they win his care and protection.” One can infer from the texts of *agblehawo* that hardworking people, especially males, are pride and asset to the economic stability of the *Akpini* state.

The *agbleha* below is sung during work and recess periods to inspire workers, especially, divorced male farmers to work harder to secure a better future: **Ny4nu Gbemaa, Neyi** (Let the woman who has divorced me, go).

The image shows a musical score for a song. It consists of two staves. The top staff is labeled 'Solo' and contains a melody line with lyrics: 'Nyɔnɔgbemaneɣia, neɣia nɔvinye nyɔnɔgbema neɣia, neɣia, madodzi ɔ loo!'. The bottom staff is labeled 'Chorus' and contains a harmonic accompaniment with lyrics: 'Akpatsa ɲu mado dzi ɔ - - - a-kpatsa ɲu mado dzi ɔ loo!'. The music is written in a 6/8 time signature.

Example 11: An *agbleha* inspiring divorced male farmers to work harder.

<i>Ny4nu gbemaa, neyia, neyi</i>	Let the woman who has divorced me, go
<i>Akpatsa ɲu mado dzi ɔ loo!</i>	The cutlass is my hope and support
<i>Akpatsa ɲu mado dzi ɔ</i>	The cutlass is my hope and support
<i>Ny4nu gbemaa, neyia, neyi</i>	Let the woman who has divorced me, go
<i>Akpatsa ɲu mado dzi ɔ</i>	The cutlass is my hope and support
<i>Ny4nu gbemaa, neyia, neyi</i>	Let the woman who has divorced me, go
<i>Akpatsa ɲu mado dzi ɔ loo!</i>	The cutlass is my hope and support

The song above makes people aware of the fact that, success to a large extent depends on hard work. The song further de-emphasizes the old adage that “behind any successful man, there is always a woman.”

Though the performance of *agblehawo* on the farm is both vocal and instrumental, drums are never used. Instrumental accompaniment is provided by use of farm tools like cutlasses and blades of hoes as well as empty bottles, stick clappers, stones and handclapping etc. Any object readily available at the spot where the performance takes place is a potential instrument in this context. The music is usually articulated in dance steps and other forms of bodily movements.

This contrasts with what pertains in Northern Ghana as observed by Nukunya who points out that group work in Northern Ghana is associated with drum music meant to stimulate workers towards greater input or give supernatural support to human effort during work. He stresses that working in rhythm of drum music provided by a specialist musician is a common feature that increases work tempo and reduces effects of physical exertion on the body. (op. cit.:62)

Real instrumental ensembles are only employed by the people in *agbleha* performance at home to entertain themselves after the sowing and harvest seasons, during the death/funeral celebrations of a deceased farmer/important dignitaries and of late, during Farmers’ Day and other National Day celebrations.

Agbleha Performance in Teɔɔɔɔɔɔ

Apart from music making during work sessions on the farm and at home, the most important occasion which incorporates *agblehawo* into its celebration in

the Northern Eve communities of Ghana is the *Teɔɔɔɔɔɔ*, yam harvest festival. The cultural significance of food is celebrated by ethnic groups in Ghana for many reasons and the *Teɔɔɔɔɔɔ* is not an exception. *Teɔɔɔɔɔɔ* is celebrated in the months of August/September through December in the Ho, Kpandu, Peki, Hohoe, Leklebi, Anfoega and Awudome traditional areas.

The appearance of new tubers of yam, the first yield from the farms, is considered sacred. For this reason, until the chief and his elders have ushered in the new yams by first performing rituals to the gods, traditional stools and the spirits of the ancestors and feeding them with new yams, no farmer has the right to bring fresh yams home for consumption.

Amlor in an article;“*Oguaa Fetu Afahye: Music and Ritual of the People of Cape Coast in Ghana*”(2011:11-12), points out that Fante citizens of Cape Coast attach importance to first feeding their traditional gods, and ancestral stools with (*eto*), mashed yam before the ban on eating fresh yams is lifted. According to him, the gods and spirits of the ancestors are given prior opportunity to eat the first fruits of the people’s labour because they believe that rainfall, land fertility, good crop yield and abundant harvest are gifts from the gods and the ancestors.

Dzide emphasizes the socio-cultural importance of yam harvest festival celebration among the Northern Eves by submitting that it is a celebration in which the farmer presents the first yield of his farm to the gods. This is done as a public affirmation by the society of oneness with its hierarchy of gods, ancestors

and heroes. The period also offers an opportunity for solving family and community squabbles and misunderstandings (2000: 100).

Mbiti emphasizes the importance of first fruits gathered at the end of the harvest season in many African societies and explains why they are considered 'holy or sacred' because they open up the way for the ripening of the fields and the harvest. He adds: "the rituals take away any dangers that could be incurred in eating the new harvest. This idea may be thought of as "cooling off" the crops, or blessing the harvest, tasting the food or taking away bitterness. The ritualsare like religious signals to people that they may now safely eat the fruit of their labour, because by blessing the first fruits, the whole harvest is consequently blessed and sanctified or ritually clean for human consumption (1991:135-136)".

Teḍuḍuzak4nuwo (Yam Festival Rituals)

As in other Ewe traditional areas, the main ritual activities that precede *Teḍuḍuza* in the Kpandu traditional area are; *nubabla* (tying of herbal leaves), *gb4mekp4kpl4* (sweeping of the town) and a post harvest festival celebration ritual called *tetsrol4l4* (gathering of yam peels).

Preparations towards *Teḍuḍuza* commences with *nubabla* ritual which is believed to ensure a close contact with nature. Special herbs believed to have high magical potency are selected and blessed. A mixture of corn flour, palm oil, broken raw eggs, blood and feathers of a slaughtered fowl are later sprinkled on the pile of leaves and tied together. The significance of tying the leaves is to

disarm and weaken the power of all evil forces during the *aza*. In a procession that is accompanied by the sound of the *afaga* (state gong), *tr4nuawo* (traditional priests), who are escorted by some elders, move through the town and sprinkle ritual water to drive away evil spirits and plagues from the entire *Akpini* state.

The first phase of spiritual cleansing of the town is followed the next day by *gb4mekp4kpl4* ritual. In this ceremony, the whole town is thoroughly swept to clear away all evil or malevolent forces that might mar the celebration. According to Dzide, *gb4mekp4kpl4* ritual involves the use of two calabashes. One contains ordinary water and the other contains a mixture of water, palm wine and two bundles of herbs. In addition, *blikpo* - a fresh shoot of a palm branch about three feet long, has a loop at one end and two live creatures; a frog and a month old chick, are tied to the other end to symbolize a 'ritual broom'. The *Tr4nuga*, head of the *tr4nuawo* (traditional priests), with *afaga* in one hand and the ritual broom in the other, sweeps and cleanses the entire state. Members of each household are sprinkled with the sacred water. The death of the creatures in the ritual symbolizes the peoples' resistance to death (op. cit.:104).

The stages of ritual performances in the festival celebration, to a large extent, influence the selection and use of music. Fabian Kyereme, a farmer explaining why *agblehawo* are vital in ritual performances in *Teququza*, asserts: "it is a strong belief of the *Akpiniawo*, that complementary role(s) played by *agblehawo* with religious themes, do not only express gratitude to the gods and ancestral spirits; but also, a means to fellowship with them. This paves the way for attaining good health and success in future farming activities of the people."

According to my informants, failure to carry out this cultural obligation could invoke the wrath of the gods and negate the potency of the rituals in the *Tequduza* and consequently result into hardship in the form of diseases, drought, poor harvest, and death of citizens.

On the whole, one can see the necessity for sacrifice being part of *tequduza* rituals, as what depicts the acknowledgement of the people's dependence and favour as merits they ascribe to the powers of those in the spiritual realm. This arises from the fact, that, good sense of gratitude and love; inalienable gifts of the *Akpiniawo*, are never toyed with in any respect of life, whether in relation with their blood brothers and sisters or with the spirits of their gods and ancestors. According to the people, ignorance of these cultural values and responsibilities does not only render a person 'foreign', but also, a misfit in the *Akpini* state.

Apart from this, sacrifice as part of rituals, is a means of 'feeding the deities regularly, because they (deities) are part of the daily, weekly or annual worship that is inseparably linked with them.

Sacrifices are also offered to pacify the gods and the ancestral spirits as a means of reconciling the people and families with one another, or the entire *Akpini* state with the spirits of the gods and ancestors as a result of disobedience or some strife.

The example at page 135 is an *agleha* that shows gratitude to the Supreme Being for granting the people good health, abundant rain, soil fertility and a bumper crop harvest: **A~~q~~ase** (Thank you Almighty God).

Example 12: An *agbleha* expressing gratitude to God for a bumper harvest.

<i>A2aase, aɔaase://</i>	<i>//:Thank you, thank you://</i>
<i>Nunamela, aɔaase</i>	One who gives, thank you.
<i>A2aase, aɔaase</i>	Thank you, thank you
<i>Mawuga, a2aase</i>	Almighty God, thank you
<i>Aɔaase, aɔaase</i>	Thank you, thank you
<i>Gbledelawo Fofu, aɔaase loo!</i>	Father of farmers, thank you
<i>A2aase, aɔaase</i>	Thank you, thank you
<i>Anyigbat4gbuiwo aɔaase</i>	Gods of the land, thank you
<i>Aɔaase, aɔaase</i>	Thank you, thank you

A2aase is a corrupt form of *ndase*, the Akan word for gratitude. The concept of gift and thanksgiving is deeply rooted in the *Akpiniawo*. They, therefore, deem it obligatory to render appreciation and gratitude to the Supreme - Being, the gods of the land and their ancestors who are all regarded as the spiritual forces behind their physical and spiritual wellbeing.

Teḍuḍuzaḡbe (The Yam Festival Day)

Commenting further on yam festival celebration among the Northern Ewes, Dzide (op cit) states that the performance of the *gb4mekp4kpl4* ritual officially permits entry of ‘new yam’ into the town a day before the celebration. The fresh yams are harvested and carried home by women, teenage boys and girls. Few metres away from home, the load carriers are welcomed by children who, amidst songs of jubilation, shout; *O ḍue!, O ḍue!, O ḍue!* (Oh!, harvest is ripe, Oh!, harvest is ripe, Oh! harvest is ripe).

A ritual meal, usually prepared early morning by the *tr4nuawo* with the new yam, consists of ‘plain’ and ‘red’ mashed yam. The white or plain mashed yam is never mixed with any type of oil, but the ‘red yam’ is so called because it is mashed and mixed with palm oil. After that the entire palace of the *fiaga*, together with the stools are sprinkled with both white and red mashed yam to declare the *teḍuḍuza* open to the public. The celebration is climaxed by communal family feast in which every household prepares yam *fufu*; the sound and rhythm of the pounding is heard all over the community. *Fufu* is a Ghanaian delicacy prepared from pounded cassava, yam, cocoyam or plantain.

Communal *agbleha* performance reaches its climax at the durbar ground after both male and female *tr4nuawo* enact the rites of sowing and harvesting of yams through music, dance and drama during the *teḍuḍuza*. Ritual performances that are accompanied with music, dance and drama, according to the *Akpiniawo*,

arouse feelings or emotions which stir and facilitate direct participation of the spirits of the deities in their moral, material and spiritual lives. In this regard, Buencosenjo (2011:1), stresses: “music and ritual are close conceptual cousins. Music, as part of rituals, especially the multi-sensorial types, affirms participants’ experience of their material and transcendent worlds. There is the need to enter a realm of understanding them as capable of defining and negotiating the contradictions, differences and promoting human solidarity”.

The texts of *agblehawo* are, therefore, directed at achieving social control and cohesion, addressing topical issues, praising hard work, warning lazy farmers, showing gratitude and fostering a closer bond between the performers and the Supreme Being as well as the gods and the ancestral spirits. The citizens also consider *agbleha* dance performance during the harvest festival as an important value which shapes their total well-being. In this regard, Akuna examines the function(s) of dance in musical performance of Eves and states: “dance as a psychological form of behaviour is speculated to help in conditioning the emotional state of individual members (of given societies), by helping to build their personal self-worth...., the cathartic and therapeutic function of dance is linked to this behaviour, since certain experience of dance performance can help to purge negative feelings and emotion embedded in performers as well as spectators” (2008:1). The following *agbleha* expresses the essence of farming:

Ed4 ye Nye Ame Loo! (To work is human!).

The musical score is written in 8/8 time with a key signature of one flat (Bb). It consists of three staves. The first staff is labeled 'Solo' and contains the lyrics: 'Kpoda bobo na-wodo e-doyenye ame loo! agbledela bobo na-wodo Yoo! -----'. The second staff is labeled 'Chorus' and contains the lyrics: 'e-doyenye ame loo! Yoo ny'ameloo! e-do yenye ame loo! Yoo!'. The third staff continues the melody with the same lyrics as the second staff.

Example: 13: An *agbleha* expressing the essence of farming to humans.

<i>//:Kp42a b4b4 naw4 d4://</i>	<i>//:Bend down and work</i>
<i>//:Ed4 ye nye ame loo://</i>	<i>//:To work is human://</i>
<i>Yoo!</i>	<i>Yes!</i>
<i>Agbledela b4b4 naw4 d4</i>	<i>Farmer, bend down and work</i>
<i>Ed4 ye nye ame loo!</i>	<i>To work is human!</i>
<i>Yoo!</i>	<i>Yes!</i>

The song above supports the moral justification, pride and joy of a citizen who works hard to gain a good economic status; and so, urges others to follow suit.

In contrast to the hardworking spirit expected of every member of the society, Amlor (op cit), cites an alternative text of an *agbleha* which allegorically ridicules lazy youngsters who hardly distinguish between yam and cassava at the market since they detest farming, and, for this reason, hardly know the difference between the two food items. Instead of providing food for their families, they prefer moving from one drinking bar or entertainment spot to the other in town to enjoy pleasures of life: **Đu6e Kaka da Tome Tsra Loo!** (You Dance and Whirl).

Solo

Đu6e ka - ka da tome tsra loo! a-gbleme la si wo 6e

Chorus

6e ny'a me wo 6e na - 6u loo!-----

da to me tsra loo! a-gble me la si wo loo!, hee!-----

Yee!--- ne 6u ye ka - ka

Example 14: An *agleha* ridiculing lazy youngsters.

//:Đu6e kaka da tome tsra loo!
Agble mel'asiwo loo!://
Migbl4 na Kwadzo neb4b4
Migbl4 na Yawa neb4b4
//:Đu6e kaka da tome tsra loo!
Agble mel'asiwo loo!://

//:You execute whirling dance steps,
But you don't own a farm://
Tell *Kwadzo* to bend down and work
Tell *Yawa* to bend down and work
//:You execute whirling dance steps
But you don't own a farm://

Tetsrol4l4 (Gathering of Yam Peels)

This is a special ritual observed in many of the Northern Eve communities to symbolically remove the peels of new yam consumed during the festival period to mark the end of the *teđuđuza*. A contemporary phenomenon that has come to be part of many festival celebrations in Ghana, is crowning them with Christian and Moslem religious worship. At Kpandu, thanksgiving services are held in churches and mosques by the citizenry, to express joy and gratitude to God/Allah, for granting them a fruitful and a successful *teđuđuza*.

The *Akpiniawo* believe that the performance of *agblehawo* in the *teđuđuza* ritual helps them to understand their past, shape the present and prepares them to face future farming activities with confidence. The celebration also offers them the opportunity to express through songs and dance gestures, their feelings, hopes, disappointments, sufferings and joy associated with their farming activities to the public. As put by Mbiti (op cit), religious and social values are repeated and renewed through communal participation in activities like music, dance, drama and oral communication. (p.143)

The use of *agblehawo* together with indigenous musical genres like *gbolo*, *b4b44b4*, *adevu*, *fiavu* as well as contemporary music by brass bands, spinning groups and Christian and Moslem religious groups in festival celebrations are what Idolor points out that in Africa, while the core of indigenous musical practice continues, the synthetic and entirely foreign forms also exist simultaneously to satisfy the diverse musical tastes of the pluralist society. He states further that sometimes, entertainment based music is performed along with other non-music activity. In other situations where there is sequence of activities, like in religious festivals, entertainment music is performed at the appropriate time. Entertainment music provides the listener (individual or audience), gregariousness which ensures quite a lasting relationship” (p.16). To the people, the use of *agblehawo* during *teɖuɖuza* renews life of the entire *Akpini* state.

On the whole, the *teɖuɖuza*, accompanied with music making, offers the *Akpiniawo* the opportunity not only to relax and enjoy the fruits of their labour, but also to regain fresh energy in readiness for the next farming season.

Agbleha Performance in Funeral Rites

It is worthy of note that *agbleha* performance in the Kpandu traditional area as well as other communities in Northern Eoeland, does not only occur in individual or communal activities that take place at the farm or during household agricultural activities mentioned earlier. A prominent social activity which incorporates *agbleha* performance is *ku kple kunuwawak4nuwo* (death and funeral

rites) for deceased farmers as well as those who were once active members of the *fidohab4b4wo*. It is interesting to note that most often, workers in the *fidohab4b4wo*, invariably, constitute the members of the *agblehavuhab4b4wo*.

Saighoe's study complements the above position and states the role of music in funeral celebrations in West African societies: "In most West African societies, funeral ceremonies.....music (for the bereaved) serves as the vehicle for honouring the deceased, for mourning and praising him, and for cherishing his name. The music also helps others in the community to identify with the deceased as well as sympathise with the bereaved and the mourners present" (1988:163). In this context, death is rather seen as a transition to the hereafter where life at *tsiefe*, home of the ancestors, continues.

Hagan (2001:30), confirms a similar notion among the Ashantis who are part of the larger Akan society in Ghana. According to him, "Akans consider death as a passage. Through existential transformation, an individual vacates his human community to take up abode in the community of ancestral spirits. The transition has three stages. These are; the separation of the dead from the living, the crossing-over and finally, incorporation of the dead into the ancestral world".

The belief that underpins the performance of *agblehawo* in the context of the funeral of deceased farmers is that, not until this occupational music is performed, the spirit of the dead is believed to roam about in the physical world; unable to settle in the realms of the ancestors. This, according to the farmers, angers the spirits of the ancestors and the negligence attracts punishment in the

form of sickness/epidemics, accidents during farming periods, drought and poor harvests, natural disasters etc.

Farmers give their departed work-mates a befitting burial and funeral rites through the rendition of *agblehawo* because their demise creates a loss, disruption in social relations and generates absence and disorder in the *fidohab4b4wo*. The incorporation of both sacred and secular themes of *agblehawo* into death, burial and funeral rites of their *ameyinugbeawo* (departed colleagues) helps to control emotions/group behaviour and to maintain a state of normalcy for the living.

Some of the *agblehawo* are performed purely in *aviha* style. The word *aviha*, evolves from two Ewe words: *avi* (tears) and *ha* (song). As mentioned earlier (see pages 63-65), women perform these songs to recall their deceased children and relatives by soliloquizing in a declamatory style. *Aviha* performance involves the entire society but it is led by women as active practitioners.

Upon the demise of a recognized male or female farmer, the people, led by the women folk, express their grief through singing of *avihawo* and *agblehawo* in a declamatory or a free style. The texts of *avihawo* help to bid farewell to the deceased, as well as praise good deeds of deceased colleagues. The texts of these mourning songs also ridicule death by making references to havoc it causes in the homes of the deceased and to the members of the *agblehavuhab4b4wo* (*agbleha* dance groups). Example 15, below, is an opening phrase of an *agbleha* that pays tribute to departed farmers: **Mele Wodzi Z4m L'a Ða`u me** (I'm Threading over them with caution).

The musical score is divided into two main sections: a Solo and a Chorus. The Solo section is written in a 2/4 time signature with a key signature of one flat (Bb). It features a melody with a triplet of eighth notes. The lyrics are: "Mele wo dzi zom loo!, mele wo dzi zom loo! a - me - ve - vie - wo". The Chorus section follows, with a melody that includes a triplet of eighth notes and a double bar line with first and second endings. The lyrics are: "le to me", "Mele'odzi zom la dan' - na l'a dan me a - dan' me".

Example 15: An *agleha* paying tribute to deceased farmers.

<i>Ameviewo le to me</i>	Important relatives underground
<i>Mele wodzi z4m l'a</i>	I am threading over them
<i>Ada`u me, l'a da`u me</i>	With caution, with caution.

Themes of *aglehawo*, which talk about death, provide fortitude in the face of bereavement especially during the stages of preparation and interment of a corpse and also on the eighth day mourning rite and the grand funeral celebration of a deceased.

In the past, the people claim that weeping, wailing and singing of sorrowful dirges are customarily allowed after a deceased is declared innocent of crimes (like murder or causing the death of someone through spiritual means) he/she might have committed in the community when he/she was alive. The themes of the songs performed when a deceased lies in state cover a wide range of topics including proverbs, maxims, morality as well as references to the dead.

To date, the citizens of Kpandu still believe that the death of a community member never occurs in vacuum; they attribute death to the diabolical acts of

witches and sorcerers. *Agbleha* themes which make reference to such evil acts are also featured on the day of burial of a deceased farmer.

During a grand funeral celebration, Kludze (1983:65) states that between 4 p.m. and 7 p.m, female members of the *agbleha* and *aviha* performing groups take a procession from the outskirts of the town and carry *kunake* (wake-keeping firewood) on their heads.

On their way to the funeral ground, female mourners sing several dirges among which is an *agbleha* whose text, (shown below), bemoans the loss of a diligent farmer.

!! *ekunake xe menya f4 o*
Kp4 xe dɛwo f4e kple dzibii
!! *ekunake xe menya f4 o*
Kp4 xe dɛwo f4e kple dzibii

Yes! Death's firewood, it is quite difficult to fetch
It is fetched with pain and broken heart
Yes! Death's firewood, it is quite difficult to fetch
It is fetched with pain and broken heart

The firewood is set on fire to keep warm the aged female mourners who sit in the open during the cold night. Though *avihawo* do not have heavy instrumental backing, *agbleha* performance on the other hand during the death, burial and funeral celebration of recognized farmers is backed by an ensemble which includes drums.

Female mourners and relatives of deceased farmers, move gracefully to the rhythms of the music by rocking their bodies, moving their heads from side to side, biting the tip of their right fore-fingers, and clasping both hands at their back

to depict pain they are going through. As a way of paying their last respect and farewell to their deceased relative lying in state, *agbleha* dance with drama is staged by colleague farmers to highlight the role(s) that he/she played while alive. The dance-drama is followed by pre-burial ritual performances.

Mbiti (op.cit) stresses that “these rites are intended to send off the departed peacefully, to sever his/her links with the living, and to ensure that normal life continues among the survivors” (p.121) To this effect, a departing libation prayer is offered on behalf of the *ameyinugbea* (deceased) to the spirits of the ancestors to accept him/her into their fold in the ancestral world.

Afet4 Fabian Kyereme, a farmer and *agbleha* composer from Kpandu Agudzi, narrates that his late father made him aware of the fact that in the olden days, a departing ritual meal was prepared for renowned farmers who contributed immensely to the development of the community as well as providing basic needs to the poor and needy. The deceased farmer is fed with a meal, usually mashed yam mixed with palm oil or provided with his/her favourite dish when he/she was alive. This final meal which is regarded as the climax of rites of separation, is also believed to give strength and energy that enable the person reach the world of the ancestors not on empty stomach. Field data also indicates that in the olden days, some items which the deceased often used like dresses and old work tools like hoe blades were put into the coffin and buried with him/her. The reason is that the deceased farmer is believed to continue his vocation in the spirit world. *Agblehawo* therefore urge all farmers to come and take part in the burial and

funeral ceremony of a departed colleague. Example 16, illustrated below, shows this feature: **Miva Ɖi Loo!** (Come and bury him/her).

Example 16: An *agbleha* inviting farmers to the burial of a colleague.

//:Miva Ɖi loo!

Adzangboduawoe,

Gbleden4a/t4aku!

Miva Ɖi loo!

//:Come and bury her/him!

Colleague farmers,

The female/male farmer is dead!

Come and bury her/him!

Idioms in *Agblehawo*

Agblehawo, like other songs sung in the musical cultures of African societies, have certain idioms that operate collectively. The New Penguin English Dictionary (2000:696), edited by Robert Allen, defines idiom as something that depicts a characteristic style or form of artistic expression. These idioms are what I associate with the shape, structure, organization and coherence of *agblehawo*. *Agblehawo* which are short and repetitive in nature, are performed as the occasion or the stages of work at the farm or home demands. Nketia, commenting on the

use of different songs at different stages of work among some ethnic groups of Northern Ghana explains that ‘in work songs, one finds differences in the choice of work for which music is provided. The Konkomba society of Northern Ghana has songs for cutting grass but apparently, lack grinding songs. The Kasena-Nankani and the Builsa sing songs when grinding millet; but have no specific songs for other kinds of work’ (1962:4).

Musical elements in *agblehawo* include the vocal organisation, melodic and rhythmic structures, harmony, scales, song texts and poetic devices. In examining each of these elements, I have personally used the symbols below to illustrate how voice patterns enhance understanding and enjoyment of *agblehawo*.

Symbols illustrating Voice patterns:

- i. + + + + + + + + + Solo section.
- ii. * * * * * * * * * * Chorus section
- iii. ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ Newly introduced material added to the Solo section
- iv. 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 Part of the Solo section intoned by a 2nd or 3rd soloist.

Vocal Organisation and Performance

The vocal forms employed in singing include accompanied and unaccompanied solos, duets, trios and choruses that have opening sessions. An opening session, known as *gbemefofo* or *asabrab4b4* among Northern Ewes is a warming up session that excites the work and music-making tendencies of farmers. *Gbemefofo*, according to Dor, is “a solo recital that lies at the confluence of speech and lyricism. It is mostly in a short declamatory style, free or strict rhythm and closely associated with the world view of the people” (1983:72). As a

musical prelude, *gbemefofo* is contemplative and often sung acappella by soloist to charge the atmosphere and create emotional and physical satisfaction in *d4w4lawo* (workers) to tackle their job. Example 17, below, illustrates this feature.

Example 17: *Gbemefofo*, a musical prelude that excites farmers before work.

The Call and Response Vocal Form

This is the simplest song form used in most of the compositions that are purely in Eve dance styles. Nketia (1963) describes this vocal form as consisting of a phrase of two sections (AB) and sung alternately by a cantor and chorus and repeated several times. This may be likened to the binary form in Western music.

Agbleha performance is a group activity; the cantor intones the song and the rest of the workers join in the chorus. The diagram below illustrates the AB form: intoned by the Cantor answered by the Chorus.

+++++*****
 [__A_section__][__B_section__]

From the diagram above, the (A) section, sung by the cantor is not complete in itself. It is therefore, completed by the (B) section of the Chorus singers. The Ghanaian origin of this song form is associated with children's game songs of exhilaration or incitement sung by women in procession or songs performed by members of warrior associations (*Asafo*) as they march in haste to perform a traditionally assigned duty. The shortness of the length of most of these work songs helps in their quick memorization, after a short round of singing.

Varying techniques of elaboration of the basic (AB) form may be employed. Variation in text, in melody or both may be introduced in the cantor's phrase (A) while the balancing responsive phrase (B) sung by the chorus, remains the same (Nketia, 1963:29).

An example of this feature in the text of the cantor is illustrated in the diagram below.

+++++++ ^^^
 [A][A¹][B]

Sections:

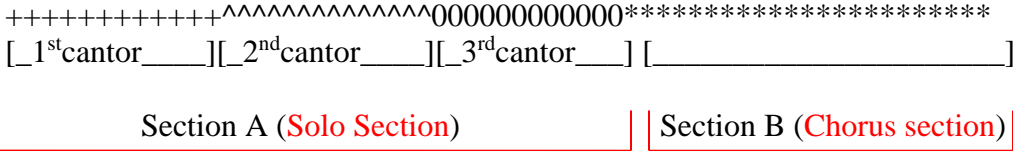
A: Original text intoned by the cantor.

A¹: A new material added to complete the cantor section before the chorus enters.

B: Chorus section.

Even now and then, a cantor intones a song and is followed by a 2nd or 3rd cantors who take turns to end the entire solo section before the chorus joins in the

singing. Below is a diagram of a Call and Response between more than one Cantor and Chorus singers.



The musical example 18 shown below, illustrates the above diagram.

1st Cantor
Solo: Miato-woe a-gble-de la'o,
 (Fellow farmers,

2nd Cantor
 fo-fo nye kple da nye wo,
 my brothers and sisters,

3rd Cantor
 A-kpiniawoe, miegbo didia - fe - yi gbe nya-
 (Akpiniawo, we'll embark on a long journey

Chorus
 te fe --
 (true)
 Megbo didia - fe yigbeloo! --- di-dia - fe yi gbe loo! - --- didia - fe yi gbe loo! - a - yoo!
 (We shall embark on a long journey, long journey----- a long journey, ---- yes!

Chorus section

Example 18: Call and Response between three (3) Cantors and a Chorus.

These vocal forms in some cases produce overlapping effects between the cantor as well as chorus sections. That is, the 1st, 2nd and 3rd cantors do not end up the (A) section they intone on a perfect cadence before the chorus enters and this in a way creates some form of polyphony.

Recitative/Declamatory Singing and Ululation

As an aspect of *gbemefofo* (see pages 147), recitative singing lies between speech and singing tone as preludes to large chorus sessions either in free or strict rhythms. It is either sung a-cappella or accompanied with simple instruments like *gakogui* or *akaye* during performances at home. At the farm, work tools are used.

An important aspect of singing *agblehawo* is the use of short and repetitive melodic patterns that are full of narrow intervals and sequences aimed at not only prolonging the lengths of melodies but creating interest and variation that neutralise all forms of boredom and monotony during performance.

A heightened level of *agbleha* performance during work is also marked by *asifufunu*; hitting the palm of the right hand gently on the lips. *Asifufunu*, a vocal technique which is similar to ululation, is practised by wives of farmers who migrated from northern Ghana and are now settled in the Kpandu area. Ululation, unlike the former, involves rolling the tongue from left to right in the mouth to make shrill noises at the climax of musical performances. While work is in progress, some of the workers intermittently generate sounds through *asifufunu* to stimulate their colleagues to work harder; especially, to complete weeding, planting or harvesting of crops before nightfall.

Apart from the proper organization and performance structures associated with *agblehawo*, members of the few communities that lack co-operative labour associations come together to perform this music when there is need to work. Unlike members of the *agblehavuhab4b4wo*, the members of these adhoc groups are not in any associative relationship. Being spontaneous in character, they lack

leadership control, performance roles, permanent membership, rules and regulations that govern them. Such groups break up after the performance is over.

Categories of *Agbleha* Performers

Contrary to what takes place at the farm, the performance of *agblehawo* at home occurs during periods of entertainment, national celebrations, festival and funeral celebrations; and depends on four categories of performers. These are: *#ufolawo* (instrumentalists), *dzen4/hen4* (soloist), *haxelawo/hats4lawo* (chorus singers) and *Ye qulawo* (dancers).

#ufolawo

Among the Northern Ewes, drumming plays a dominant role in socio-musical life; they serve the dual purpose of making music and communication. Unlike the singers, the instrumentalists, who are fewer in number, are endowed with some degree of specialized knowledge of drumming skills. They include the *azagun4* (master drummer) and the *azagun4kpewo* (supporting drummers). The master drummer controls the performance and monitors the *azagun4kpewo* by assisting those who miss their points of entry with cues by tapping or drumming their basic rhythms for them to pick up. He is also noted for his skills of improvisation on the drum. Where dance patterns have to change, he plays the necessary rhythmic motifs which enable the *azagun4kpewo* to play their supporting drums by filling in the music with persistent contrasting rhythms. By tradition, the *azagun4* marshals a controlled freedom of improvisation in terms of

varying his tonal and rhythmic patterns, and the *azagun4kpewo* often look up to him for cues.

During performance, priority of serving the *vufolawo* with drinks is paramount in order to maintain their high spirit of drumming throughout the entire performance.

Dzen4/Hen4

Two important personalities that the *d4w4lawo* deem very vital to the group are the male and the female *hen4wo*. They are generally excused from work and, with assistance from the elderly heads of families (who lack working energy due to old age), they devote their energies to singing and playing light instrumental accompaniment usually on their work tools, empty bottles, hoe blades to sustain the spirit of the workers.

Contrary to Nketia's view about good tonal quality of a soloist, Cong-Huyen, in his collection of Vietnamese occupational folk songs, comments that "a good song leader is not known for the possession of lovely voice tones, but rather, by his ability to be heard over the noise of the work going on and by the gift of singing improvised verses of songs" (1979:142).

Cong-Huyen's description of voice tones of cantors of Vietnamese work songs equally suits some of the characteristics of some of the song leaders I observed and listened to in the rendition of *agblehawo*. The *hen4wo* of the *agbleha* performing group at Kpandu Gadza are both male and female singers. As lead singers, they intone the songs together before the chorus comes in to sing.

Collins comments on some other qualities of traditional soloists, that “these skilled singers can be political spokespersons that praise and satirise, or folk philosophers, didactic teachers, chief mourners and repositories of genealogical knowledge” (2004:73).

Among his/her roles at the farm, the *dzen4* draws the attention of workers to the next round of work (during their intermission) by warming up the workers with short and repetitive vocal pieces in a free recitative style. Some of the workers, out of excitement and emotional content of the texts of the songs, jump up and execute brisk dance patterns individually or in pairs to the rhythmic patterns that are played.

Haxelawo/Hats4lawo

During musical sessions at home, the bulk of the members of the *agbleha* performing group are men and women who constitute the chorus section that responds to the call of cantors during performances on entertainment, festival and funeral grounds. The (A) section, sung by the cantor, is always incomplete; it is complemented by the (B) section or the Chorus singers who constitute the *haxelawo* or *hats4lawo*.

Ye2ulawo

The *yequlawo* include both singers and instrumentalists. The dancers articulate different drum patterns through dance steps. To them, *agblehawo* provide an element of passion that correlates their drum and dance patterns.

Dancing at an *agbleha* performance on the farm is not as elaborate as what obtains at performances at home, where varieties of dance styles are engendered

by the rhythmic patterns of the percussive instruments and drums that constitute the *agbleha* ensemble. Guided by these rhythmic patterns, the *yeɖulawo* articulate the different rhythmic structures in body movements as well as symbolic gestures.

The *yeɖulawo* consider the dance as a thread that links them to their ancestors and spirits of the gods of the land. In other words, the *Akpiniawo* regard *yeɖuɖu* as an expression of deep seated spiritual connection that draws them closer, holds and binds them together with their ancestral spirits.

The figure below is a diagram of an *agbleha* dance arena showing the positions of the categories of performers.

Key:

A - Instrumentalists

B - Soloist(s)

C - Chorus/Dancers

D - Dancers

E - Spectators

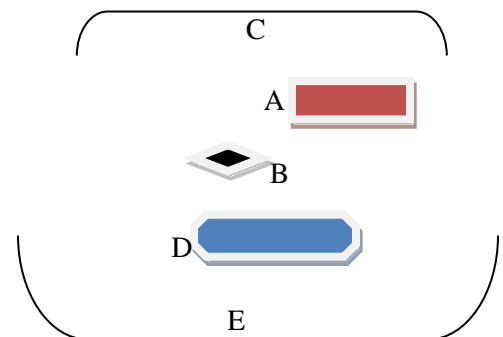


Figure 10: Agbleha dance arena.

***Agbleha* Instrumental Ensemble**

The *agblehavuhab4b4* has two classes of instruments that constitute its ensemble. These are idiophones and membranophones. The idiophones include *gakogui* (double bell), *fritsiw4e* (castanet) and *atukpa* (bottle). The

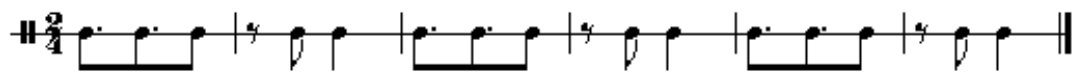
membranophones consist of two *vufowwo* (drums); the *asivui* and *asivuga* (master drum).

Materials and Methods of Construction of *Gakogui*, *Fritsiw4e* and *Atukpa*

Gakogui

The *gakogui* is an instrument produced by a blacksmith who strikes a piece heated metal; shaped into a pair of bells of different heights and sizes. A smaller bell is superimposed on a bigger one and welded at the handle. The low-pitched bell is superimposed on a bigger one and welded at the handle. The low-pitched bell, often called the parent bell, and the high-pitched bell which is known as the child bell, is said to rest on the bosom of the large bell as its protective parent.

The *gakogui* serves as a time line instrument by providing patterns which serve as the frame of reference to other performers. The *gakogui* (bell player) is someone who does not have 'sweet ears'. That is, the group sees him during music performance, as one who is not easily distracted to stray from the rhythmic pattern assigned him; he plays his patterns steadily throughout the entire performance. The *gakogui* is not tuned and its basic rhythmic pattern is as follows:



The dimensions of the *Gakogui* are as follows:

- A. Small bell; length - 12 centimetres.
- B. Large bell; length - 20 centimetres.

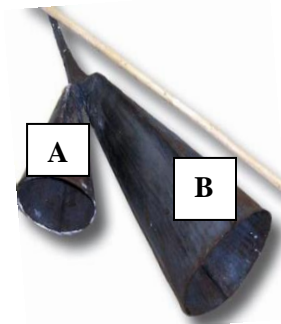


Figure 11: A picture and measurements of a small and large *gakogui*.

Fritsiw4e

The *fritsiw4e* consists of two forged-iron bell instruments. One is shaped like a ring and worn on the thumb; the other, which is fashioned like the guava, (about 10cm in height) with a hole created in it, is played by holding it with the middle finger and striking it against the ring on the thumb. The *fritsiw4e* provides a supporting rhythm which occasionally serves as a time line instrument that reinforces the rhythmic foundation of the performance.

This pair of instruments comes in various sizes. The name is a corrupted form of the Akan idiophone, *frikyewa* which through Akan-Eve interaction through trade, was adopted by the people of Kpandu. Illustrated below is the basic rhythmic pattern of the *fritsiw4e*.

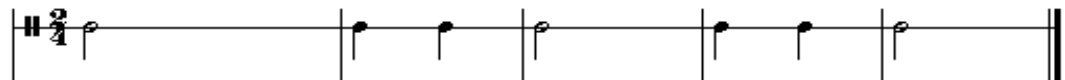


Figure 12: A picture of *fritsiw4e*.

Atukpa

The use of a bottle as musical instrument is characteristic of *agleha* performances. An empty bottle which is used as a supporting instrument, accompanies singing and dancing. The *atukpa* is made of glass, and it is struck

gently with a coin or some light metal to generate sounds. In the absence of a bottle, old farm tools like a hoe blade, cutlass, pick axe, or mattock may be used as substitutes.

***Duwo* (Drums)**

Asi3ui

This is a small single-headed open drum played with two straight sticks. This membranophone is next to the *asivuga*, the master drum, and it plays a supporting role. At the beginning of performances, the *asivui* starts with a steady rhythmic pattern with the bell but introduces slight variations as performance gets animated. It is also responsible for providing persistent contrasting rhythmic patterns signaled from the *asivuga*. The *asivui* always looks up to the master drummer for rhythmic motifs to colour the overall instrumental performance. Some varied rhythmic patterns played by the *asivui* are shown below:



The dimensions of the *asivui* are indicated below:

- i. Height of drum - 50cm
- ii. Circumference of drum head - 62cm
- iii. Diametre of drum head - 19.7cm
- iv. Circumference of the drum shell - 80cm
- v. Circumference of the base - 46cm
- vi. Diametre of base - 14.6cm



Figure 13: Picture and measurements of *asi3ui*.

Asivuga

The *asivuga* is a little bigger than the *asivui*. Also referred to as the *vuga*, it is the biggest instrument as well as the master drum that controls the entire *agbleha* ensemble. Changes in the rhythmic patterns of the *asivuga* precipitate changes in the movements of dancers. The *asivuga* plays in both speech and dance modes. In this direction, Euba (1972:76) opines: "in a drum ensemble, ...the potential musicality of tone language and the ease with which it can be realized on pitched musical instruments is a central factor of melodic style in African music, since the tonal lines of songs and the musical patterns of talking instruments usually follow..... the speech tones of the texts used".

Similarly, Dearling stresses that "African languages operate on two levels: rhythmic speech and tonal inflexion. These may be interpreted also by differently-pitched drums.... capable of producing more than one pitch, and eliminating any ambiguities through intelligent appreciation of the context." (1996: 215)

During dance performances, the *asivuga* and the *asivui* play together with the *gakogui*, *atukpa* and *fritsiw4e* which are the idiophones of the ensemble. Lots of improvisation is done on the *asivuga* by the master drummer; and at the climax of performance sessions, he introduces *vugbewo* (rhythmic and drum languages) to embellish the tone colour and as well enrich the entire rhythmic colour of the supporting instruments.

Opong, in her study of drums as speech instruments in Africa, notes that among the Dagbon society of Northern Ghana, drumming is used as a speech surrogate, that is, the tones and rhythms of speech are replicated through the tones

and rhythms of different drums. Therefore, their two drums, *lunga*, tension drum and the double-headed cylindrical drum with a snare called *gungon* that are used can be referred to as "talking drums" (1973:54)

During dance performance, the *azagun4* (master drummer), plays lots of rhythmic improvisations on the *asivuga* in concert with the supporting instruments. He calls various *vugbewo* (rhythmic patterns) associated with different stages of activities on the farm or at home. Most of the drum patterns consist of burden texts, nonsense syllables, vocables or mnemonics. To a large extent, the roles of these two drums augment the complexity of the rhythmic foundation of the ensemble during performance. Indicated below, is the basic rhythmic pattern of the *asivuga*.

Asivuga:

- i. Circumference of drum head - 70cm
- ii. Diametre of drum head - 22.3cm
- iii. Circumference of the mid section - 92cm
- iv. Circumference of the base - 56cm
- v. Diametre of the base - 17.8cm



Figure 14: Picture and measurements of *asivuga*.

Materials of Construction of *Duwo*

Procedures used in carving the *asivui* and the *asivuga* are the same but fall into two phases; *vukpakpa* (drum carving) and *vusisi* (covering the drum head). The drum shells are carved from local trees called *Nyamedua* (*Alstsonia Boonei*) and *Atidze/D4k4* (*Berchimia Zeyheri*) because of the quality and durability of the woods of these trees. Besides, these species of wood are neither prone to destruction by white ants, borer beetles nor other insects.

D4k4, a species of the West African cedar, is regarded as strong and powerful. Others refer to this tree as *adzobl4e* or *konobua*; the adulterated form of the Akan name, Twenebua.

Dukpakpa and Vusisi (Drum Construction/Fixing of Parchment Head)

According to *Afet4* Kofi Amemakuse, singer and master drummer of Kpandu Gadza *agbleha* performing group, tradition requires that before a tree is felled for carving drums, prayer must be said and libation poured to appease the spirits that occupy the tree. Drinks offered for the libation include foreign drinks like schnapps, gin, local *akpeteshie* or palm wine.

Like their Akan counterparts, the *Akpiniawo* believe in the symbolism that trees used in carving drums are the habitats of spirits. Ritual performances are meant to appease the spirits for being forced out of their abodes, so to speak, and to ensure the safety of the carvers, who cause the disturbance, from harm.

In a similar context, Sowande (1972:65), examines the construction of traditional instruments among the Yoruba of southern Nigeria and comments that

the customs and traditions associated with musical instruments extend to the materials and process of construction and reflect not only their use and function but also the worldview of the their makers.

Nketia also stresses that Akan speaking societies attach religious importance to their traditional instruments. Like a feature quite characteristic of many societies in Africa, Nketia throws light on the rituals associated with the construction of the Akan *atumpan* drums:

The customs and traditions associated with musical instruments in Africa extend to the materials and processes of construction and may reflect not only their use and function but also the world view of their makers. Accordingly, before a tree is felled in the Akan society, libation is poured on it as the carver prays for success and protection from harm. Before the drum is played, ...libation is poured by the drummer to the spirit of the *atumpan*, an Akan talking drum (1959:190).

In providing parchment heads for the *asivui* and *asivuga*, the skin of a goat, deer or an antelope is soaked in water until it is very pliable. After that the wet skin is put on the head of the drum and stretched over circular hoops made of cane or wood and left to dry for some time. The skin is later fixed to the hoops and sewn with a thick home made twine, metal string or nylon rope.

The metal string or nylon robe which fixes and tightens the animal skin onto the drum heads has part of it tied into a series of double loops hanging all around the drum shells. Through these loops, pegs with notches near the heads are fixed into holes bored round the heads of the drum shells. This act helps to keep the drum head in place.

Tuning of Asivui and Asivuga

The African traditional instrument carver has in him, some degree of sense of pitch which he uses to assess and adjust the sound of the instruments that he constructs to be either high, low, nasal, harsh etc. This sense of pitch on the whole, guides the drum carver, performers of the *agbleha* dance as well as the audience in the *Akpini* traditional area to appreciate and also identify the sound of *agbleha* dance music anytime it is heard from afar.

Two methods of tuning are used for the *asivui* and the *asivuga*. These are; wetting and hitting the rim of the drum head. In the wetting process, the drums are turned upside down, and some amount of water is poured into them and left for few minutes to soak the parchment heads. The drums are put back at their normal positions and water is rubbed on the surface of the parchment heads. This process makes the drumhead stretchable.

The second method of tuning the *asivui* and the *asivuga* is achieved by using a stick or a stone to hit the rims of the drum heads. To achieve a desired tuning, the tuner applies equal force every time he keeps on hitting the drum head. This is followed by striking the top of the pegs (that hold and fasten the parchments heads) one after the other. The tip of the palm is used in hitting the drum heads until the tuner ensures that the exact sound or pitch level of the instrument is obtained. The tuning system of the drums, on the whole, is executed with care and judgment to avoid damaging the membranes.

The aesthetic value of the drums is largely determined by their perceived attributes of the *gbediwo* (sounds) that come from the inside of the drum or produced on the outside (shells) of the drums.

Contrast in tones of the supporting and the master drums also has local descriptive terms as *ηutsu* (male) and *ny4nu* (female) tones to denote low and high pitches of the *asivuga* and the *asivui* respectively. On the same basis, the term *qevigbe* (children's voice tone) is associated with the smaller or supporting members of the *agbleha* ensemble.

In contrast with the tones of drums in the Ewe and Akan communities of Ghana, Mapoma's research on the drums of the Bemba society of Zambia reveals that low and high drum pitches are rather associated with female and male drums respectively (1980:105).

On the other hand, females, according to the traditional laws of Kpandu, are not allowed to drum. To date, the natives are still glued to their customary laws which underscore the fear that a woman allowed to handle drums may defile the *agblehavuwo* because of her monthly menstrual flow.

Holding Positions and Playing Techniques

The *asivui* and the *asivuga* are held in similar positions. The players sit on low stools and take full grip of the drums by positioning them in between their thighs and legs and play them with their hands, sticks or both. However, there are differences in the playing techniques of these two drums. While the *asivuga* employs the hand technique of muting the drum head and releasing the palm as a

way of producing a bi-tonal pattern (high and low) with the palms; the head of the *asivui* is struck alternately with two sticks to produce sound. The picture below shows the holding positions of *agblehavuwo*.



Figure 15: Holding positions of *agblehavuwo*.

The full score of the rhythmic patterns of *agblehavu* is as follows:

The musical score is presented in a system of six staves, all in 2/4 time. The staves are labeled on the left as follows:

- Gakogui*: Features a rhythmic pattern of quarter notes and eighth notes, with a repeat sign at the end.
- Fritsiw4e*: Features a rhythmic pattern of quarter notes and eighth notes, with a repeat sign at the end.
- Atukpa I*: Features a rhythmic pattern of quarter notes and eighth notes, with a triplet of eighth notes in the first measure and a repeat sign at the end.
- Atukpa II*: Features a rhythmic pattern of quarter notes and eighth notes, with a repeat sign at the end.
- Asivui*: Features a rhythmic pattern of quarter notes and eighth notes, with a repeat sign at the end.
- Asivuga*: Features a rhythmic pattern of quarter notes and eighth notes, with a triplet of eighth notes in the first measure and a repeat sign at the end.

Example 19: A full score of the rhythmic patterns of *agblehavuwo*.

Recruitment and Training of Performers

Membership of *agblehavuhab4b4* is open to every *Akpini* citizen that has keen interest in this folk genre. The training of the musicians is highly formal, though they do not go to school. Their training includes sound knowledge of oral literature, of folklore and mythology. Training in the arts of the individual also depends on active participation and slow absorption during performances.

The African mother sings to her child right from cradle. As he grows, she introduces him to many aspects of her music and culture. She carries her child to the dance arenas where she joins the dance ring and dances with her child at her back. The African child relies on his eyes, ears, memory and imitation to acquire techniques of music making (Nketia, 1974:60).

A drummer for instance, has to be well-versed in the traditional poetry, history, proverbs etc. of the *Akpiniawo*.

***Agbleha* Dance Performance**

Dancing is incorporated into *agbleha* performance at home during entertainment, national celebrations, yam festival and funeral celebrations of deceased farmers. In the African context, dance is readily seen as a running commentary on the social life of Africans. Radcliffe Brown (1948:251) describes dance as the state of elation in which the feeling of increased self importance in the dancer engenders in him a feeling of geniality and goodwill towards his companions.

Dance in the Kpandu traditional area serves a complex diversity of social purposes. It provides emotional satisfaction which impacts deeply on the citizens and enhances two vital and natural aspects of life; speaking and body movements.

In an answer to a question about why elaborate dance is not performed at the farm, *Afen* Philo Adenku, principal female soloist and an executive member of the *agbleha* performing group explains that elaborate dance performance on the farm will seriously obstruct their plan of work, targeted for the day. However, intermittent body movements to the rhythms of songs that accompany work sessions on the farm are at times not avoided.

Yeɔɔɔ (dance), as a dramatic aspect of the people's farming experiences, is never considered as mere movement at random or as an emotional response to the rhythm of the musical instruments. The dance forms may be linear, circular, serpentine, or columns of two or more rows. The style of the dance movements involves the use of the hips in addition to intricate and gliding foot works that move and alternate from side to side with the arms swinging in the direction of the alternating footsteps.

Besides, the basic movements of the dance may be simple, emphasizing the upper body, hips, or feet; or they may be complex, involving coordination of different body parts and intricate actions such as fast rotation, ripples of the body, contraction and release, as well as variations in dynamics levels and use of space.

Agbleha dance forms executed at home are of three types: a solo dance in which an individual executes the basic styles of the dance alone and the form in which two, three or four individuals take turns in the dancing ring. There is also mass or communal dance that involves both farmers and non-farmers in unorganised groups especially during festival and funeral celebrations.

Agbleha performance takes place at home during national celebrations, fes-

tival and funeral celebrations or on special invitations received from prominent members of the society to perform. These occasions are opportune times for farmers to express joy, sorrow and anger as a way of making known to the public, their positive and negative experiences faced during farming season.



Figure 16: Members of *agblehavuhab4b4* in a dance performance.

Since the performance of *agblehawo* is open to all, the elderly always check the dancing behaviour of adolescent boys and girls who take part in the performance. Decent songs and dance patterns are encouraged while vulgar dancing is condemned.

The dynamism of the dance styles is often influenced by the geographical terrain in which the practitioners are located. Unlike the southern coastal Eves who perform dance activities on soft and sandy beach, the *Akpiniawo* on the other hand, inhabit a forest zone that has a hard and a thorny terrain as well as an underbush that makes it impossible for them to execute dance types as their

southern counterparts. The daily working habits of the *Akpiniawo* largely influence the use of their dance forms, movements, gestures and costumes. Dance on the whole, is seen as an activity that requires obligatory participation, co-operation and coordination, unity and group solidarity of every citizen towards one another.

Texts of *Agblehawo*

Though elements like melody, harmony, intervals, rhythm etc., are crucial in Ewe songs, the text which is the vehicle that conveys the message the song intends to convey to the audience, is of prime importance. Song texts, in effect, assist the listener to know and understand the aesthetic values, history, philosophy and cultural life of a people. However, texts purely in indigenous vein are rooted in the language of antiquity and thus have proverbial statements that demand an in-depth knowledge of the language before the message implied is understood.

Merriam, commenting on song texts and human behaviour asserts: “one of the most obvious sources of understanding human behaviour in connection with music is the song text. Text of course, is language behaviour rather than music sound, but they are integral parts of music, and there is clear-cut evidence that language used in connection with music differs from that of ordinary discourse. Similarly, Nketia submits:

The treatment of the song as a form of speech utterances arises not only from the stylistic considerations or from consciousness of the analogous features of speech and music; it is also an avenue of verbal communication, a medium for creative verbal expression which can reflect both personal and social experiences (op cit., p.189).

Significantly, this means that Ewe poetry is not seen as a mode of thought in its right, but always linked with songs. Similar to what obtains in many African societies, cultural identity of the *Akpiniawo* is projected through historical accounts that communicate through the lyrics of songs.

Historical songs, at times, referred to as ‘songs of elders’ are one category of songs that remind the people of the past and their values. Since there is lack of written documentation of events in the *Akpini* traditional area, the people rely on oral tradition for historical facts and other pieces of information through their existing folk music including *agblehawo*.

The example, below, is an opening phrase of an *Akpini* historical song which recalls the escape of Eves and the manner in which their departure was executed to outwit the then ruling king, Ag4k4li *T4gbe Ag4k4li fe Dutasese Tae* (As a result of King *Ag4k4li*’s wickedness)

The musical score is written on two staves. The top staff, labeled 'Solo', features a melodic line in a 2/4 time signature with a key signature of two flats. The lyrics 'TogbeAgoko-li fe nu-ta-se-se tae -----' are written below the notes. The bottom staff, labeled 'Chorus', provides a rhythmic accompaniment with block chords. The lyrics 'Evea wo ka-ta- - wo dzo le 'gbo'' are written below the staff.

Example 20: Opening phrase of an *Akpini* historical song.

//: T4gbe Ag4k4li fe ηutasese tae//:	As a result of King Ag4k4li's wickedness,
Eveawo kata, wodzo l'egb4://	All Eves fled from him://
Esi wodze m4 la,	While on their journey out,
Woz4 megbemegbe	They walked backwards and
Xe ne makpa 'o d'a si	Held branches with leafs
//:Bena 'me mamleawo maga bu o://	//:To prevent others from getting lost://

It is quite amazing to figure out how the citizens of Kpandu whose larger population lacks high level of education, are able use poems of such aesthetic value and depth to compose folk songs including *agblehawo*.

Language of Texts of *Agblehawo*

Language indisputably affects music, in that, speech melody makes room for certain patterns of sound which are followed to some extent in music, if the blend of the music and text is to be meaningful and understandable to the listener. Merriam's position in this direction is that, not only are music and language interrelated in the formation of song texts, but also that the language of texts tends to take special forms. Therefore we should expect that the language of texts would have special significance and would function in special ways (1964:190).

A study of *agblehawo* shows the language of the poetry to be both simple and complex. The complex texts are couched in language of antiquity and are highly figurative in character. These texts are difficult to understand in the ordinary sense of the word. For this reason; they demand a deeper knowledge of the language before their inherent messages are understood. For example, the text

of Song number 13 states: *Afex4e nye vu, agblex4e ya man4 anyi nam o daa?* - literally, means if my house at home is completely destroyed, why can't my hut at the farm stay intact?

Afex4e and *agblex4e* used in this context neither means shelter at home nor at the farm. The context within which these words are used relates to death. The singer bemoans the loss of either parents, or losing two loved ones simultaneously and queries death about reasons for such action.

Figures of speech also play significant roles in the text of *agblehawo*. For example, the phrase; *Mitr4 goha*, which often ends up some of the songs; (as in Song number 12, Bars 17-22), does not mean a change of a song, but rather, a call to end the performance. Other words like *adzin4*, used in Song number 12 (Bar 14), means mother and not giving birth to a female child. *Dzo*, as used in Bars 1, 8 and 16 of Song number 18, does not mean fire, but a loved one.

The richness of the language of the poem is, therefore, based on the use of metaphors, allegorical expressions, simile and aphorisms. References to death and the dead are never directly mentioned in the language of the elders. Instead, words like trees, animals, village and other objects are used to represent the name of death and the world of the dead.

The text of *agbleha* number 14, titled *Gbev4 le xewo nu loo!*, makes reference to birds which lack voices that can be heard. *Xewo* (birds) and *gbev4* (lack of voice/sound) are figures of speech that refer to human beings who become helpless and speechless whenever problems or calamity like death strikes. Similarly, Best observes the music of the Maori of New Zealand and states:

In the use of special language in songs,....the translation of native songs is invariably a difficult matter, unless one can obtain enlightenment from one who is acquainted with the figurative expressions, sacerdotal terms, old sayings, allusions to old myths and cryptic utterances that they contain (1924:136).

Few Akan words that occur in the language of the text are due to the early contact of Eves with Akan ethnic groups like the Kwahus and Ashantis through either trade or wars of conquest to expand territorial boundaries in the olden days. An example of such foreign word *Aɔaase*, meaning thanks, is seen below in a song that expresses gratitude to God. *Aɔaase* (indicated with the red braces), is a corrupted form of the Akan word, *ndaase*.

The musical score consists of two staves. The top staff is labeled 'Solo' and the bottom staff is labeled 'Chorus'. The key signature has one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is 4/4. The Solo part begins with a melodic line in the treble clef. The lyrics under the Solo part are: 'A ɔaa se, - a-ɔaa-se, A-ɔaaase --- nuname la a-ɔa-se loo!'. The Chorus part begins with a bass line in the bass clef. The lyrics under the Chorus part are: 'A-ɔa-se, - a-ɔa-se'. There are two first endings marked '1' and '2' above the Solo part.

Example 21: A2aase, a2aase.

The Status and Impact of *Agblehawo* on the *Akpiniawo*.

A critical examination of the ideas expressed in the texts of *agblehawo*, reveals the following classifications and socio-cultural functions: love and unity, philosophical, topical, psychological, didactic, *as* a cultural legacy, repository of historical data, tool for social cohesion, as a recreational music as a folk genre

embedded with themes of death etc. The points above, including others, have been discussed to throw more light on the topic above.

Themes of Love and Unity in Agblehawo

Though this occupational folk genre is principally associated with manual activities at the farm, the essence of communal spirit in agricultural activities in the Kpandu traditional area is never ruled out, hence, the importance of songs that engenders unity and love during periods of work. Songs under this category cut across different types of love, ranging from social love, communal love, filial love, parental love to erotic love. Numerous as the aspects of love may be, Kludje (1979:142) submits that the basic underlying factor that runs through these songs is the concern for the well being of the object of one's love. On this basis, the object of one's love can specifically refer to one's blood brother or sister, spouse, friend, society, country and humanity on the whole.

Kludje concludes that places where songs of love abound in Eve communal activities, peace, unity and solidarity welds the citizens as one people with a common destiny. The themes also strengthen ties and eventually create peace, unity and understanding in the homes of married couples.

Related to lack of literacy, is the function of *agblehawo* in courting. Unable to write love letters or love poems, young peasants, both men and women, accompany their daily activities, with love themes in *agblehawo* to express their feelings towards one another. Similar to what obtains in the texts of songs of courtship in *Bewaa*, social dance music of the Dagaaba youth in Northern Ghana, Saighoe states: more experienced young men instruct the "uninitiated" in the art

of courtship. In such songs, they emphasize that some girls or young women, for that matter) are difficult to woo and, therefore, men who really admire them must combine aggressive persistence with admiration and loving attention” (1988:112).

The opening phrase of the *agbleha* below, titled, ‘*Dzo nezu to*’, is couched in a figure of speech that talks about a farmer who likens his beautiful and dutiful wife to the geographical scenery of the mountain range at his farm, and becomes inspired to work harder anytime he sees her wife bringing food to him at the farm: ‘*Dzo Nezu To* (I wish my Love were a Mountain).

The image shows a musical score for a song. The top staff is labeled 'Solo' and contains a melodic line in 6/8 time with lyrics: 'Dzonezu to ne manye de-bre mane nɔgu zo loo!'. The bottom staff is labeled 'Chorus' and contains a rhythmic accompaniment with lyrics: 'Yee!, yee!, yee!, yee! yee!'. The score is written in a single system with two staves.

Example 22: An *agbleha* with a theme of love.

<i>'Dzo nezu to, manye debre</i>	I wish my love were a mountain, so that
<i>Mane n4 `u zo loo!</i>	I cover her as a thick fog.
<i>Yee! yee!, yee!, yee! yee!</i>	Yes!, yes!, yes! yes!
<i>Adzo baɔo loo!</i>	There comes my love

Philosophical functions of *Agblehawo*

Philosophical songs are based on the life and vocational experience of the farmers. Wiredu defines philosophy as a guide to life. According to him, Ghanaian philosophy which is rich and profound, finds expressions in authentic sources of language (be it ordinary discourse or music), literature, traditional

beliefs, practices and social norms, in unwritten code of morals of ethics, and in indigenous arts and crafts (2012:1)

Firth (1929), who examines philosophical songs, in the cultures of societies in and outside Africa, shares this view:

The language of the text is difficult and is of a different character from that used in everyday conversation, and contains a number of words which are said by the natives in an archaic form. Their value is essentially symbolic and lies in the correct recital and conjunction of them, not in their individual significance to the people who sing them (p.264).

A religious philosophy of Eves expressed through *agblehawo* about belief in *Mawu* (God), is that, He is the greatest ancestor, caretaker and a protector of the society and therefore, deserves praise, gratitude and honour. *Mawu* is seen as a creator, central head, and deserves to be worshipped and honoured. This is demonstrated in the text of *agbleha* titled, *Aɔaase* and discussed earlier at page 128. For this reason, every *Akpini* citizen is expected to live a dignified life to warrant the attention and blessing of *Mawu*. Failure to live up to expectation is considered as falling below the dignity of God.

One of the oldest ‘storehouses’ of philosophical teaching among the *Akpiniawo*, is the vast unwritten archive of texts played on *atopani* (talking drum), down the centuries to emphasize justice to the people. Similar to what obtains among the Akans of Ghana, the *vugafola* (drummer) who projects the philosophy of the *Akpini* state, usually plays *atopani* intermittently when cases are tried at the traditional court. The *vugafola* advises the panel of judges on his

drums: *dr4 nya nyuie, na tsi afow4* (uphold the policy of honesty and fairness in the execution of justice, and be blessed with long life).

Agblehawo also employ metaphorical features that are full of nuances and subtle turns of expression which are distinctly obscure and laconic, full of deep-seated words of wisdom which explain volumes of thoughts. The text of the *agbleha* below elucidates the point above.

<i>De wonye 'nuxoxo wofa qua</i>	If dependence on used stock of food
<i>Enuxoxo wofa qua</i>	Dependence on used stock of food
<i>Enuxoxo wofa qua, nyatefe,</i> <i>Anye d4 matoa 'va wum o.</i>	Dependence on used stock of food, is real, Hunger wouldn't have attempted to kill me

The meaning of the above *agbleha* does not refer to food as the text depicts; but rather, it is pointing to us, as human beings, that it pays to be humble and never to boast and live on past glories or achievements.

Topical texts of *Agblehawo*

In the African context, song is one of the avenues through which societies have the freedom to express their thoughts, ideas and pass comments which cannot be stated plainly in normal language discourse. The use of texts of *agblehawo* allows the down trodden who are denied basic human needs to express their grievances and feelings via a medium that not only offers them a common platform to share views about their problems but also grants them the opportunity of a gregarious life that enables them to collectively seek redress for their concerns without fear of intimidation.

It can therefore be stated that one of the avenues through which information is made evident in the Kpandu traditional area is the use of topical songs. They take many forms and are acknowledged simply as songs of comment on the daily life's activities of the people. Texts of topical songs, as a result of the special kind of license that singing apparently gives, provide a useful avenue for obtaining varieties of information which are not otherwise easily accessible.

Nketia (op cit), further comments on the essence of song texts in African musical culture, that, the themes of songs tend to centre on events or matters of common interest and concern to the members of the community. Merriam (op cit) sums up by stating that "text of topical songs can be used as a means of action directed at solving problems which plague a community. While the themes take the form of ridicule and shame, or a sanctioned legal action,.....they also provide psychological release for the people" (p.187).

In the adjoining communities of Kpandu, the subject matter of *agblehawo* may be gay, sad, or purely documentary, and are themes that perform highly social and cathartic functions as a result of lack of daily press, publications and performing theatres other than open market areas or durbar grounds where people congregate to express their sentiments or grievances.

The *hakpalawo* (composers), therefore, aim at enforcing social control as a means of bringing sanity to the society through their songs to warn or ridicule social deviants. Themes of *agblehawo* uncover and frown on crimes like sex offences, murder, stealing and other vices committed on daily basis. Some of the

songs on the other hand, praise good deeds of individuals and entreat other members of the society to emulate and practise good deeds of such nature.

The text of an *agbleha*, shown below, condemns lazy mind-set of the youth who for love for earthly pleasures, shun farming and do not see it as a means of generating quick income to improve their living conditions.

<i>//: Ðu6e kaka da tome tsra loo!</i>	<i>//: You execute whirling dance steps</i>
<i>Agble mel'asiwo loo!://</i>	<i>But you don't own a farm://</i>
<i>Migbl4na Kwadzo ne b4b4</i>	<i>Tell Kwadzo to bend down</i>
and work	
<i>Migbl4na Yawa ne b4b4</i>	<i>Tell Yawa to bend down and work</i>
<i>//: Ðu6e kaka da tome tsra loo!</i>	<i>//: You execute whirling dance steps</i>
<i>Agble mel'asiwo loo!://</i>	<i>But you don't own a farm://</i>
<i>Hee!</i>	<i>True!</i>

Topical themes of *agblehawo* also centre on class status and decry the attitude of the public which never pays attention to the submissions of the poor during meetings. Conversely, the rich who command public respect, are most often considered as very intelligent, regardless of the merit of their submissions at meetings and public gatherings.

Since the lazy or the idle are publicly embarrassed and humiliated, they are sensitized through some texts of *agblehawo* to work to earn a living. The text of the *agbleha* below, insinuates lazy and idle members of the society.

<i>//:Dagble naɖu loo!://</i>	<i>Make a farm to earn a living</i>
<i>Kp4ɖa! wo kuviat4</i>	<i>Look! You, the lazy one</i>
<i>Dagble, nanyi ɖokuiwo,</i>	<i>Make a farm to sustain your life</i>
<i>Nanyi ɖokuiwo, d4ɖekemaw4la</i>	<i>To sustain your life, you, the idle one</i>
<i>N4vi, dagble, naɖu loo!</i>	<i>My brother/sister, farm to earn a</i>
living	

Psychological Functions of *Agblehawo*

Work songs, to the people, are avenues through which a farmer expresses sentiments about his/her job and working conditions either positively or negatively. Psychologically, *agblehawo* by all standards means more than energy and entertainment it provides the farmers during work sessions.

The *Akpiniawo* strongly believe that the text of *agblehawo* provide solutions to their intrinsic psychological and emotional problems because the music provides explanations and solutions, raise hopes, clear doubts about mysteries that centre on the cosmology, the purpose of existence, unity, hard work, fortunes/misfortunes, death and life after death etc. The farmers also claim that texts of *agblehawo* inspire high productivity that sustains their economic life, happiness, satisfaction and development of the entire Kpandu society.

On the other hand, the *s4hewo* also claim that during periods of horrid working conditions like flooding or fire outbreaks that destroy their food crop farms, the texts of *agblehawo* serve as avenues of hope and comfort that soothes their pain. They conclude that *agbleha* performance as a communal activity unites and generates a 'we feeling' among them as farmers, strengthens and projects them as one people with a common cultural identity'. In this direction, Idolor asserts: "in examining the numerous social factors that subject Africans to music making; desire for cultural identity, didactic function, entertainment, integrative and religious essence are given emphasis" (2007:14).

Agblehawo as Akpini Cultural Legacy

As an inherited cultural legacy that provides solutions to their daily physical and spiritual needs, the people see no need or reason to ever abandon incorporating *agbleha* performance into their agricultural practices. They stress further, that their day to day joy and happiness as well as economic livelihood as citizens, largely depend on integrating *agblehawo* into their farming practices. They therefore believe that their personal strength, energy, fertility of the land, favourable farming conditions and good crop harvests are favours granted them by the Supreme Being, the spirits of the gods and the ancestors who are easily reached through petition texts of *agblehawo*.

Didactic essence of *Agblehawo*

Didacticism is an artistic philosophy that emphasizes instructional and informative qualities in literature and other types of art. The term has its origin in the ancient Greek word (*didaktikos*) that relates to education or teaching. *Agbleha* performance therefore as a didactic art, not only focuses on entertainment, but also instructs, informs and teaches knowledge through the texts of *agblehawo*.

In other words, the didactic essence of *agblehawo* is one of the effective means through which information, education, instruction and socialization are disseminated to both young and old *Akpiniawo*. Children in the communities of Kpandu are therefore taught through the text of *agblehawo*, the need and values of farming, names of the farming seasons, names of the months for clearing the bush for planting and harvesting of crops.

The youth, through the study of *agblehawo*, are able to memorise and sing short and repetitive texts that specify in detail, methods of hoeing, digging, sowing and planting food crop. These values, continuously serve as avenues for fostering self-usefulness that prepares them towards performance roles as future farmers of the *Akpini* state.

The use of tongue-twisters to gain mastery of the names of some food crops occurs in recitative or declamatory style of singing during children's play games. This also fosters eloquence and mastery of the mother-tongue in which the texts of *agblehawo* are couched. Strunk (1962), in this direction, sums up the didactic essence of education of the child through music that: "education in music is well adapted to youthful nature, for the young...cannot endure anything not sweetened by pleasure, and music is by nature, a thing that has a pleasant sweetness".

***Agblehawo* as Repository of *Akpini* Historical Data**

Similar to what obtains in many African societies, the *Akpiniawo* recall and communicate through the lyrics of *agblehawo*, by stating reasons why this vocational music up to date, is performed despite all alien forms of cultural plurality that have impacted on the *Akpini* society in contemporary Ghana.

Citing a similar historical function of music in rice farming Vietnamese societies, Cong-Huyen (op. cit) further adds: "in Vietnamese societies where agriculture is the economic base, information on agricultural technology and related animal husbandry is most vital. Work songs play the role of historical

agricultural almanac, transmitting important information through generations of Vietnamese peasants who cannot read and write” (p.143)

Therapeutic Functions of *Agblehawo*

Though the *s4hewo* of Kpandu have not scientifically proven this claim, they believe that texts of *agblehawo* play therapeutic roles in their daily lives. They therefore find explanations and solutions to their mental, physical, spiritual and psychological problems through the use of *agblehawo*.

***Agblehawo* as a Tool for Social Cohesion**

From points discussed above, it can be realized that *agblehawo* collectively serve as a tool for social integration; for, they provide a rallying point around which the *s4hewo* gather to perform this folk music. Nketia’s position on music as an integrating force in African societies is again stressed when he expresses the view, that in Ghana and other parts of Africa, communal music making is thought of as part of the traditional way of life; for, it is regarded as vital to the fullness of living. He sums it this way:

A village that has no organized music or neglects community singing, drumming and dancing is said to be dead. Music making is, therefore, an index of a living community and a measure of the degree of social cohesion among its respective units (1966:20)

Performance of *Agblehawo* as Recreational Music

Musical types labeled ‘recreational’ are what Nketia describes as all forms of music performed not only for amusement....but also on other occasions of a festive or social nature. According to him, this type of music may be performed at festival or funeral celebrations, between the actual programme of events or as an additional form of musical entertainment.

Besides being an occupational music, this folk genre is elaborately performed at home solely for recreational purposes and never at the peak of farming activities. Some reasons that precipitate *agbleha* performance for entertainment purposes include; expressing joy for bumper harvest, expressing gratitude to the Supreme Being, the gods and ancestors for granting good health and success in the vocational activities, honouring invitations from individuals, groups or government dignitaries to perform at district, regional and national celebrations, weddings, birth or outdooring ceremonies etc.

Themes of Death in *Agblehawo*

A prominent social activity which makes use of sorrowful texts of *agblehawo* is *ku kple kunuwawak4nuwo* (death and funeral rites) for deceased farmers as well as farmers who were once active members of the *fidohab4b4wo*. The incorporation of both sacred and secular themes of *agblehawo* into death, burial and funeral rites of their *ameyinugbeawo* (departed colleagues) helps to control emotions/group behaviour and to maintain a state of normalcy for the living.

CHAPTER FIVE

STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF *AGBLEHAWO*

An in-depth study of *agblehawo* shows certain revealing characteristics that explain and give meaning to the nature of the elements that constitute its form and structure. These elements include:

- i. Tonal Organisation
- ii. Polyphonic and
- iii. Rhythmic structures

Tonal Organisation

In examining African tonal organization, Nketia (1974:158) points out that African societies tend to specialize in the use of one or two scales as the basis for all their music. While some groups base their scales on different divisions of the octave as well on different intervallic values.... and sing mainly in unison or in octaves, with sporadic fourths and fifths; others sing in parallel thirds, fourths, fifths or sixths, depending on the scale and the prevailing concept of ‘consonant’ intervals. Differences in language tend to colour singing styles because phonetic features of speech are reflected in the melodies. Analysis of intervals in the melodic organisation of *agblehawo* reveals the following intervallic relationships:

- i. Melodic intervals of *agblehawo* range from the tonic to compound thirds (3^{nds}).
- ii. Some of the commonly used melodic intervals include seconds (2^{nds}), fourths (4^{ths}) and fifths (5^{ths}).

- iii. Melodic intervals of thirds (3^{rds}) and fifths (5^{ths}) are also found in *agblehawo*.
- iv. While diminished fourths (4^{ths}) and fifths (5^{ths}) are less prominent, the major and minor sixths (6^{ths}) and the flattened or lowered seventh (7th) are sparingly used.

The graphical representation below shows the types of intervallic melodic movements commonly used in twenty *agblehawo* studied.

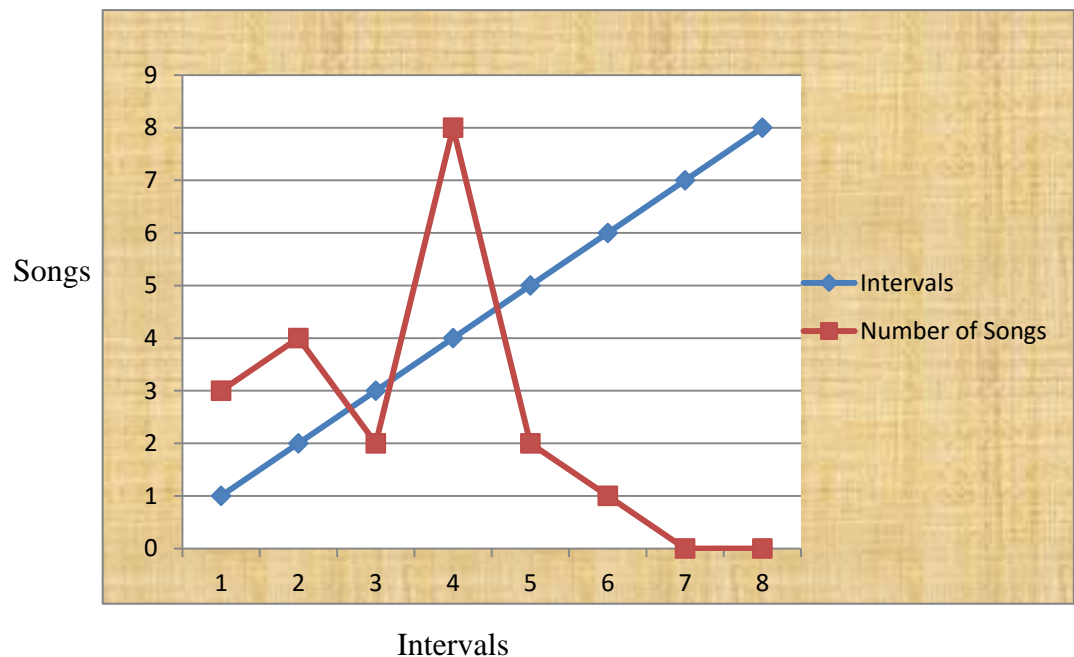


Figure 17: A line graph showing frequency distribution of intervallic relationship in twenty *agblehawo*.

From figure 17 above, it can be observed that *agblehawo* have both wide and narrow melodic intervallic movements. However, the larger number of the songs studied, have wide intervallic melodic movements. From the above line graph, the frequency of intervallic melodic movements in each of the twenty *agblehawo* studied show the following results:

- a. 3 out of the 20 songs are full of repeated notes (1^{sts}), i.e. unison.
- b. 4 out of the 20 songs make use of melodic interval of seconds (2^{nds}).
- c. 2 out of the 20 songs have narrow melodic interval of thirds (3^{rds}).
- d. 8 out of the 20 songs have melodic interval of fourths (4^{ths}).
- e. 2 out of the 20 songs employ melodic interval of fifths (5^{ths})
- f. 1 out of the 20 songs has a melodic interval of a sixth (6th).
- g. None of the *agbleha* melodies studied had melodic interval of either 7^{ths} or 8^{ths}.

From the field study, intervals in *agbleha* melodies also serve as links or bridges to two musical phrases or ideas. Examples of the songs which employ intervals of 2^{nds} and 3^{rds} as bridges are Song numbers 6 and 10 respectively.

- i. The Call phrase of Song, Example 23, *Ny4nu gbe maa neyia, neyia* (shown below) is linked to the chorus response, *Akpatsa `u mado dzi do* by an interval of a 2nd.

Example 23: Ny4nugbe maa ne yia, ne yia.

- a. First musical phrase intoned by the Soloist
- b. An interval of a 2nd links the opening musical phrase with
- c. Second musical phrase in the Chorus section.

ii. The opening phrase in the Solo section of *agbleha* number 10 (shown below), has two main ideas – (*Du6e kaka da tome tsra loo*) and (*agble me l’asiwo de*, are linked together by an interval of a 3rd.

a
b

Example 24: Du6e kaka da tome tsra loo

- a. First musical phrase expressed, is linked to a
- b. Second musical phrase by an interval of a 3rd.

Peaks and Troughs of *Agblehawo*

Peaks and troughs always tow the path of the highest and lowest tone levels of words that form the verbal text of *agbleha* phrases. A speech tone that falls pulls with it, a low musical tone and vice-versa.

A close look at the peaks and troughs in *agblehawo* makes it clear that Eve, like most languages of the Sudanic belt of West Africa, is tonal. The music follows the speech contour when it comes to the organization of their melodies and their rhythmic patterns. The low, middle and high tones mostly constitute the range of the songs that these ethnic groups sing (Amlor, 2008:149).

The opening phrase of *agbleha* number 20, Bars 1-5, (shown below), illustrates low, medium and high pitches that constitute its first sentence:

The image shows a musical staff in G major, 4/4 time. The melody is written on a treble clef. Below the staff, there are tone markers: a horizontal line for low tone, a tilde (~) for medium tone, and a slash (/) for high tone. The lyrics are written below the tone markers. Two boxes labeled '1' and '5' are placed above the staff, indicating specific measures.

fo kpo me so kple te o! ---- a-gbe-li fo kpo me so kple te o!

Example 25: fo kpo me so kple te o!

- The strokes:
- a. _ indicates a low tone
 - b. ~ indicates a medium tone
 - c. / indicates a high tone

Nketia, in this direction, writes about the Akan language spoken in Ghana.

When texts in tone languages are sung, the tones used normally in speech are reflected in the contour of the melody. Thus, melodic progression within a phrase is determined partly by intonation contour, and partly by musical considerations. Sequences of repeated tones and the use of rising and falling or falling and rising intervals in melodies may reflect the intonation patterns used in speech (1974:186).

Poetry of *Agblehawo*

A study of the main ideas expressed in the poetry of *agblehawo* reveal certain ordered patterns of linear units into which the poems are arranged. These linear units, as component parts of *agblehawo*, are what I classify as monosyllabic words at phrase endings, added cadential phrases to repeated sentence and new material(s) added to opening phrases of *agblehawo*.

Monosyllabic Words at Phrase Endings

This involves utterances which do not carry direct meaning but express feelings that make sense. Indicated below, are examples of these words which include; *Aaa!*, *Yee!*, *Yoo!*, *Oo!*, *Daa!*, *Dee!*, *Loo!* *Maa!* etc. As poetic devices, these words are onomatopoeic, and act as vehicles for conceptualizing ideas. The opening phrase (in Bars 1-4), of an *agleha* shown below, is followed by a chain of a monosyllabic word, *Yee!* (in Bars 5²-8) as the chorus reponse.

Solo

1 Dzonezu to ne manye de-bre mane rogu zo loo! 8
(I wish my love were a mountain so that I cover her as a thick fog)

Chorus

Yee!, yee! yee! yee! yee!

Example 26: Dzo nezu to ne manye debre mane n4`u z4 loo!

In the next *agleha* at page 191, monosyllabic words (indicated with red braces), include *Yee!*, which occurs in Bar 5 of the Chorus section. This is followed by *loo!* in Bar 10-11¹ in the Solo section, and *hee!*, in Bars 10-11¹ of the chorus section.

The image shows a musical score for a song. It consists of two systems of staves. The first system has a Solo part (top staff) and a Chorus part (bottom staff). The Solo part starts at Bar 1 and ends at Bar 5. The Chorus part starts at Bar 5 and ends at Bar 11. The lyrics are written below the staves. Red brackets and dashed lines highlight specific words and phrases in the lyrics and their corresponding musical notes.

Solo Bar 1: Euxe ka - ka da tome tsra loo! a-gbleme la si wo de
(You execute whirling dance steps, but you don't own a farm)

Bar 5: Yee! - - ne du ye ka - ka
(Yee! - - you execute whir-

Chorus

7: dze ny'a me wo do na - du feed yourself)
(to work is human, there fore, work and

Bar 7: da to me tsra loo! bo-fo me l'a - si wo loo!,
(ling dance steps, - but you don't own a farm)

Bar 11: loo! - - - - -
hee! - - - - -

Example 27: @u6e kata da tome tsra loo!

It must be noted, that the exclusion of these monosyllabic words shown above, will not change the meaning of the sentences. However, they may create imbalance in the phrase structure of the music; in addition, the chorus sections or the cadences of some of the songs will be absent. If such situations occur, the structure of the songs therefore, will not be complete.

Added Cadential Phrase to a Repeated Sentence

In this vocal style, after a Soloist sings a musical sentence to an end, the chorus singers repeat exactly the Solo section and finally add a new idea (to the soloist phrase) to conclude the song.

The *agbleha* below illustrates this feature.

The musical score is written in 8/8 time and consists of two systems. The first system has a Solo part (treble clef) and a Chorus part (bass clef). The Solo part starts at bar 1 with the lyrics 'Fokpo me so kplete o, --- a-gbe-li fokpo me so kplete o, (A big tuber of cassava is never called yam, it is never called yam)'. A red bracket labeled 'A' spans bars 1-5. The Chorus part starts at bar 6 with the lyrics 'Fo kpo me so kplete o, (A big cassava is never yam)'. A red bracket labeled 'A¹' spans bars 6-10. The second system continues the Chorus part from bar 7. A red bracket labeled 'A¹ contd.' spans bars 7-10. A red bracket labeled 'B' spans bars 10-12. The lyrics for the second system are 'a-gbe-li fo kpo me so kple te o, a - gbe-li ko woyøe, baa! (a big tuber of cassava, is never called yam, it is still called cassava, true!)'. Bar numbers 1, 6, 8, 10, and 12 are marked in boxes.

Example 28: %o kpo me s4 kple te o, agbeli 5okpo me s4 kple te o.!

Section A: Opening phrase of music intoned from Bars 1-5 by the Soloist.

SectionA¹: Chorus singers repeat exactly the Solo phrase from Bars 6-10.

Section B: Chorus singers conclude the song by adding a new phrase, (*agbeli ko woyøe, baa!*) from bars 10²-12 to the repeated phrase.

Structure of Agbleha Poetry

Three forms of the structure of *agbleha* poetry which have been identified show certain characteristics:

- 1). Where the idea or theme of a song centres on one main idea, I refer to it as A Pattern. The example below illustrates the text of *agbleha* (number15) based on one main theme; *Klaya ye zu agbale nu loo!* (Problems have bedeviled him).

Klaya ye zuagbale nu loo!---- kla-ya ye zuagbale nu loo!- - zuagbale
 (Problems have bedevilled him - -, problems have bedevilled him - - problems have
 9
 nu loo!- -, zuagbale nu loo!-----, kla-ya ye zuagbale nu loo!-----
 bedeviled him, have bedevilled him ----, problems have bedevilled him! -----)

Example 29: Klaya ye zua'gba le nu loo!

2). *Agleha* poems which project two main ideas expressed in a song is what I refer to as AB pattern. *Agleha* number 9 illustrates this feature.

Cantor
 A-gruqui, A-gruqui, A-gruqui
 (A-gruqui- is an onomatopoei for sound of a hoe -
 blade scratching the ground)

Chorus
 wobo-bo godzoe me-qu te oa?
 (by bending, haven't you got yam to eat?)

Example 30: Agru2ui

From the above musical illustration, it can be observed that:

Section A: The first main idea, *Agruqui*, is announced by the Cantor and

Section B: *Wob4b4 godzoe mequ te oa?*, is the Chorus response to the Cantor's

call. The AB pattern is similar to the Western binary pattern or form.

3). Where a balance is obtained by repeating a first main idea (phrase) or a considerable part of it after a digression to a new material is what I term as the ABA pattern. This pattern is discussed in the melodic structure below.

Melodic Structure of *Agblehawo*

The melodic structure of *agblehawo* is patterned on the structure of the poems. The melodies have phrases and sentences as constituent parts of the songs. The sections are the smallest units and they vary from one to two bars. The musical phrases often consist of two or more sections which are mostly controlled by the words. The phrase endings depend on the breath units or the cadences of the melodies. Below is an example of a musical sentence of *agbleha* number 12 with its phrases and sections in Bars 1-7.

The image shows a musical score for a single melodic line in 8/8 time. The melody is divided into three main sections labeled A, B, and A. Section A (red bracket) consists of two sub-sections, 'a' and 'a¹', in bars 1-4. Section B (blue bracket) consists of two sub-sections, 'b' and 'b¹', in bars 5-6. Section A (red bracket) is a recall of the original opening phrase in bar 7. The lyrics are: 'Miva di loo!-----, mi-wa di loo!--- a-dzan-gboctuawoegbledencaku mi vadi loo!' with a translation below: '(Come and bury her/him, come and bury her/him; colleagues, the farmer is dead, come and her/him)'. The notation includes a treble clef, a key signature of one flat, and a double bar line at the end.

Example 31: Miva 2i loo!

From the above analysis, the full musical sentence consists of:

- i. A: Original opening phrase, made up of two sections (a, a¹), in Bars 1-4.
- ii. B: Digression to a new material in two sections (b, b¹), in Bars 4²-6
- iii. A: A recall of the original opening phrase in Bar 7.

The above melodic structure, illustrated in a song form, thus becomes ABA pattern which is similar to the Western ternary form of music performance.

In music-text relationship, repetition is a vital element that holds the poetry together. In this way, *agbleha* melodies are held together by sequences, repetitions, changes in the melody or text of the solo or chorus sections etc. The use of sequences is a means of colouring the melodies into pleasing tunes. Though *agblehawo* are short and repetitive, sequential treatment of the melodies creates differences in pitch levels of the texts and provides ample opportunity for appreciation and enjoyment of the songs. Below, is a sequential treatment (that occurs in Bars 1-5) of an *agbleha* shown below.



I'o kpo me s4 kple te o...., agbe-ti jokpo me- s4 kple te o, agbeliko woy4e
(No matter its size, a tuber of cassava, is never called yam, it is still called cassava)

From the above melody, one can observe that sequences have been created in bars 1-2 and in Bars 4-5, before the melody proceeds to a leading note in Bar 6.

The Overlapping Call and Response form of singing unifies Cantor-Chorus performance of *agblehawo*. In this song style, the cantor does not end up the phrase or sentence he/she intones on a perfect cadence before the chorus enters. The other way round is when chorus singers do not fully end their portion of singing before the soloist enters again.

The key centre of the Call section is not fixed. The soloist(s) or Cantor(s) adopts a tonality quite suitable to his/her voice range. The chorus, accordingly, responds to the songs in the same tonal centre of the soloist(s) or Cantor(s).

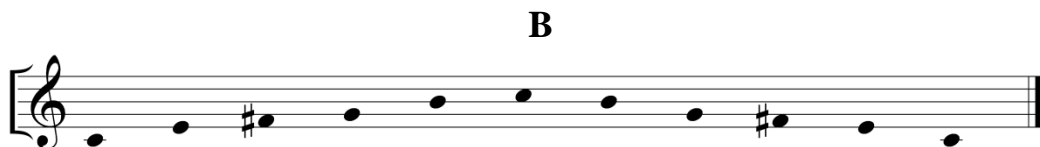
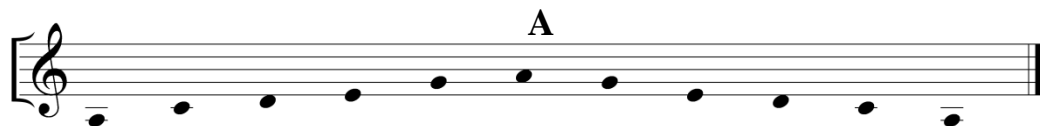
A further observation made is where Cantor and Chorus sections of *agbleha* melodies show marked differences in length. While some of the Cantor sections are shorter than the Chorus sections, others also have the Chorus sections longer than the Cantor sections. On the whole, sequences and repetitions normally offset monotony and boredom in the songs.

Scales

Like their Akan speaking counterparts of Ghana, Northern Eves, including the *Akpiniawo*, mainly employ the heptatonic scale in composing their songs. In singing a song, they sing it as normal when they ascend the scale but lower the seventh note as they descend. This phenomenon is illustrated below:



On the contrary, Agordoh states that Southern Eve ethnic groups, who are located in North and South Tongu, Añl4, Aven4 and Ketu districts, use the 5-note (pentatonic) scale in composing their songs. (2002:94). Two varieties of the pentatonic scale used in both ascending and descending order by southern Eves are illustrated below:



From all the scales discussed above, the composers and singers repeat certain selected intervallic sequences frequently in their songs.

A peculiar case noted about Kpandu musical tradition that relate to singing of work songs is the use of both heptatonic and pentatonic scales in composing *agblehawo*.

Concept of Key Centres

Polyphonic progressions quite often have around them, a concept of tonality that is controlled by a tonal centre. In Western music, the tonic is regarded as the core of gravitation that pulls other chords like the subdominant and dominant to it. The others are the secondary chords. Both primary and secondary chords prevail in *agblehawo*. However, polyphonic techniques employed in *agblehawo* are at times devoid of Western harmonic styles that warrant tonality all the time. For example, the use of a chain of parallel 3^{rds} in the heptatonic mode, most often divert *agblehawo* from a tonal to a modal centre. However, unlike *b4b44b4* songs which have duplication of parts in 3^{rds}, 6^{ths} and 8^{ths}, most *agblehawo*, composed in the pentatonic mode, have duplication of parts that move in 2^{nds}, 4^{ths}, 5^{ths} and 8^{ths}.

Polyphonic Structure

The multi-linear organization of traditional vocal music in African societies always involves polyphony. Among the Northern Eves, song rendition can be in unison or be a tune to which supporting melodies, melodic phrases or

isolated tones can be added. Nketia (1974:160) discusses the following polyphony types that exist in African music:

- i. Polarity which involves the duplication of melodies at octaves.
- ii. Heterophony in which vertical combinations result fortuitously when different performers sing the melody, but not with an attempt to do so in unison.
- iii. Homophonic parallelism in which a second part is added to the top voice in the same rhythm and parallel movement.

A study of polyphony in *agblehawo* also reveals the following results:

- i. The solo parts in *agblehawo* are generally monophonic.
- ii. The chorus sections most often engage in part singing.
- iii. A supporting voice to the melody often has the same melodic rhythm.
- iv. The ensuing polyphony between two parts in the heptatonic scale often shows a progression of parallel 3^{rds} and 6^{ths} and 4^{ths} and 5^{ths}.

Tendency towards the use of counterpoint between Solo and Chorus voices can be heard in a few of the songs. Solo-Chorus alternation at times produces pedals in the chorus sections over which Soloists sing short phrases and vice-versa. This feature, illustrated below, can be seen in Bars 13-18 of Example 32, titled, *Miva di loo!* (Come and bury her/him!)

The musical score for Example 32, titled *Miva di loo!*, consists of two staves. The top staff is labeled 'Solo' and the bottom staff is labeled 'Chorus'. The Solo part has lyrics: 'Mi-va di loo!, --- se, mi-va di loo!, --- mi-va di loo!-'. The Chorus part has lyrics: 'yeel! yeel! yeel! yeel! yeel! yeel!'. Annotations include 'Pedal' under the Chorus staff in bars 13-14 and 15-16, and 'A' above the Solo staff in bar 17. A bracket labeled 'B' spans the bottom of the Chorus staff from bar 13 to bar 18. Bar numbers 13 and 18 are indicated at the start and end of the excerpt.

Example 32: Miva di loo!

A: Pedals held in the Solo section are found in (Bars 13²-14¹, 15²-16, 17²-18) over which the Chorus section sings monosyllabic words.

B: Pedals held in the Chorus section, occur in (Bars 13-14, 15-16¹) over which the Solo section sings short phrases.

Crossing of parts, a common occurrence in *agblehawo* is seen when a supporting voice sings at a higher pitch level than the primary voice in which the melody is.

The themes of *agblehawo* mainly centre on:

- i. praise and admiration for the gods and ancestors for their care, protection and provision of good health, rainfall, fertility of land and abundant harvest.
- ii. condemnation of hatred, laziness and anti-social practices, like stealing food items, jewellery, etc.
- iii. petition to the gods and ancestors for their care and protection.
- iv. prosperity in farming and other economic activities.

Rhythmic Structure

Rhythm is strongly considered in African societies as a vital ingredient that spices both vocal and instrumental music performance. An analysis of a good musical performance or otherwise, is thus, based on its rhythmic structure.

Studies and deductions made from the rhythmic structure of *agblehawo* show the following revelations:

- i. Vocal and dance accompaniment are inspired by the rhythmic structure

of the instruments that constitute an ensemble of *agbleha* dance though each instrument has its individual tone that goes with the rhythm that it produces.

ii. The playing techniques of the drums give rise to variations in their tones.

Agbleha rhythms therefore include duple and triple metres. The rhythmic patterns of the *gakogui*, *fritsiw4e*, and *atukpa*, are mostly centred on duple metre

The duple metre has a regular pulse of two equal beats in a bar and it is made of crotchets that have the 4 time, and referred to as simple duple or dotted crotchets in 8 time known as compound duple metre.

The triple metre which is in the 4 time, gives a regular pulse of three crotchet beats in a bar. The *asivuga* is the only instrument that frequently digresses from the simple duple to the triple metre for short periods and returns to its original metre. This digression might be due to the master drummer's skills and sense of improvisation as a virtuoso on this instrument. During performance, a dialogue between the *asivuga* and the *asivui* at times signals the *asivui* to imitate short drum motifs communicated to it by the master drum; and in this way, digresses briefly from its assigned original supporting rhythmic pattern.

Another rhythmic phenomenon identified with *agbleha* performance is the combination of whole bars of duple metre with whole bars of triple metre. This is what Nketia (op. cit.) terms as hemiola pattern. The alternation of regular and irregular metres creates cross rhythms when a duple metre bar follows a triple metre bar and vice-versa. The rhythmic patterns of *agbleha* ensemble therefore, do not strictly follow its time signature throughout a dance performance.

Combination of Vocal and Instrumental Rhythms

A close study of the vocal and instrumental rhythmic patterns shows some level of differences. The rhythmic patterns of *agbleha* instruments in most cases do not follow rhythms of the vocal parts. They are most often based on groupings of sub-divisions of the unit beat of their individual metres. Vocal and instrumental rhythmic interrelation in *agbleha* performance produces certain effects worth discussing. Among these effects are:

Time-line which is considered as a vital and a fundamental element of dance, gives a common time measure upon which different strands of instrumental and vocal rhythms as well as dance steps are regulated. Like in other Ghanaian societies, the time-line, in *agbleha* performance, is never left out.

Colouring through improvisation during performance, is also one of the effects that is realized in vocal and instrumental combination. The *asivui* and especially, the *asivuga*, upon entering the music performance with its basic patterns, later do lots of improvisations in drumming to colour the entire rhythmic net-work of the *agbleha* ensemble. Coupled with the instrumental rhythmic colouring by the master drummer, he also re-inforces or adds rhythmic motifs to the rhythms of the time-line and the supporting drum as he deems fit. By this, a balanced effect is obtained from the entire ensemble during music performance.

Agblehawo in effect, serve as a flexible and a floating background to the overall rhythmic patterns of the instruments. The rhythms as well as tone colours of both vocal and individual instruments that constitute *agbleha* ensemble, contribute largely to heightening the overall scheme of this musical performance.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

Music is a phenomenon which accomplishes purposes in the lives of individuals or group of individuals in African societies. In Ghana and the rest of Africa for that matter, traditional music is organized and performed within specific contexts to fulfill specific roles in various communities.

One specific cultural context into which indigenous music performance is incorporated in Northern Eueland is subsistence farming. Subsistence farming is explained as the cultivation of a piece of land by peasants to produce enough food to feed themselves and their families. Families that engage in subsistence farming consume their products instead of selling them.

An important musical type that supports farmers' activities at Kpandu and its environs is *agblehawo*. *Agblehawo*, a term which literally refers to 'farmers' music', is derived from two Ewe expressions, *agble* (farm) and *hawo* (songs). By definition, *agblehawo* are a type of work songs performed by farmers as accompaniment to their farming activities to ensure their welfare and survival; when performed at home, they serve other specific purposes.

Social change, which was precipitated by agents of Westernisation and modernization, has had both positive and negative impact on the cultural patterns, including the music traditions, of Northern Ewes. However, in spite of their exposure to varieties of music, the *s4hewo*, who constitute the bulk of the working force at Kpandu, still cling to the performance of *agblehawo*.

The purpose of the study was to examine the place of *agblehawo* in the socio-musical life of the *s4hewo*; the objective was to explain why the *s4hewo*, in spite of their exposure to all kinds of music today, still persist in performing *agblehawo*.

In order to achieve this objective, the study was based on the concept of “situational change” which was originally proposed by Mitchell (1973) and adopted by Saighoe (1988) as a framework for examining the music behaviour of Dagaba immigrants in Tarkwa.

The broadness of the scope of this concept allows the proposition that in the course of making adjustments to an urban setting, immigrants do not totally give up their cultural diacritics and basic value orientations. On the contrary, certain elements of their home culture are used to serve them in their new environment (Barth, 1969; Mitchell, 1957).

Even though the social context of this research differs from the Dagaba situation in Tarkwa, it is plausible to adopt the concept to explain why the *s4hewo*, who have not migrated from their home but are resident at home, cling to the performance of *agblehawo*.

It was therefore proposed, as Saighoe does of the Dagaba situation in Tarkwa, that the retention and continuous performance of *agblehawo* by the *s4hewo* of Kpandu, is an indication that *agblehawo* continue to serve some specific needs and purposes in their day to day socio-musical behaviour and interaction. The study sought to identify and explain these specific needs and purposes.

Subsistence farming activities employed over the years by farmers in the Kpandu traditional area, include clearing the land, weeding, planting as well as harvesting and storing of food items. Male and female involvement in farming activities reveals distinctive roles: adult men and teenage boys often take the responsibility for tilling the land, burning, preparing ridges and yam mounds while the women and girls help to plant the crops. Among the problems associated with subsistence farming are:

- i. erratic rainfall and decline in soil fertility that affect crop production.
- ii. lack of access to credit facilities to buy agricultural tools, machinery, pesticides, fertilizers to improve the quality and quantity of crops and, as well, lack of good storage facilities.

Agbleha performance reaches its climax during the major farming and harvest seasons between March and August; it is also performed during the minor season which is between August/September and November.

During performances at home, the categories of *agbleha* performers include the *vufolawo* (drummers), *Dzen4/Hesin4* (Soloist), *Haxelawo/Hadzilawo* (Singers) and the *Ye qulawo* (dancers).

The instruments that constitute the accompanying ensemble include the *gakogui* (bell), *fritsiw4e* (castanet), *atukpa* (empty beer/gin bottle). The membranophones include the *asivui*, a supporting drum and *asivuga*, the master drum. Members regarded as experts with particular skills, are entrusted with leadership roles like the *dzen4/hesin4* (Soloist), *azagun4* (master drummer), the *yeɖufia* (head dancer) and the *atiga* (chief whip).

Agbleha melodies have lyrics that are made up of sections, phrases and sentences. Both pentatonic and heptatonic modes are used in composing *agblehawo*. The melodies in the pentatonic mode have wide leaps in both ascending and descending orders. While pentatonic songs are often sung in 4^{ths}, 5^{ths} and octaves, heptatonic songs are often sung in 3^{rds} and 6^{ths}. Crossing of parts, a common occurrence in *agblehawo* is seen when a supporting voice sings at a higher pitch level than the primary voice in which the melody is.

Conclusions

The *s4hewo* are convinced that they become more productive when they incorporate *agblehawo* into their farming activities. According to them, *agblehawo* serve as an incentive and energizer that psychologically goad them on to work harder to increase productivity. Apart from being an organized occupational music, autonomous farming groups, perform *agblehawo* for recreational purposes.

express group solidarity is believed to attract wrath and punishment in the form of epidemics or death from the spirits of their gods and ancestors. These complex sanctions, coupled with fear of punishments, foster in the *Akpiniawo*, a sense of discipline, unity and devotion to their music and rituals.

A contemporary phenomenon which now incorporates the performance of *agblehawo* into its programme of activities, is the “Farmers’ Day Celebration” which takes place on the first Friday of December each year. The day which is observed to recognize the contribution of farmers to the economic development of Ghana, enables the farmers to praise efforts of the government in promoting farming activities and, as well, draw the attention of government authorities to their problems through music and dance, for redress.

Recommendations

Based on the findings that emerged from this research, I hereby make the following recommendations:

- i. The scope of the study was limited to *agblehawo*, which is only one of the occupational musical types commonly found in Kpandu and its environs. The outcome of the study should therefore pave the way for further inquiries into other occupational musical types performed in other communities of the Volta Region and possibly, elsewhere in Ghana.
- ii. As a source of African indigenous knowledge, performance of work songs must be encouraged and taught in our schools. The reason is: information about

the skills, experiences, and cultural insights of peasants, through song texts, can constitute a body of knowledge that can be learnt and preserved for posterity.

iii. Through the texts of *agblehawo*, younger generations could learn about how music integrated into farming activities of a people, helps to improve their economic well-being.

iv. Another study that can be conducted as a follow up field investigation to this research is to carry out a comparative study of *agblehawo* in two historical epochs: pre-colonial and contemporary Kpandu, so as to establish whether or not, differences or changes in performance have occurred. An in-depth appreciation and understanding of the follow up investigation would be further enhanced if the following suggested questions are well addressed:

- a. What social factors impinge directly or indirectly on *agbleha* performance by the *Akpiniawo* as they try to adjust to the demands of Westernisation and modernization?
- b. Have noticeable changes in the material or ideological cultures of the *Akpiniawo* resulted in any significant change in the performance of *agblehawo* today?
- c. Which new features have been introduced into contemporary *agbleha* performance by the present generation of the *s4hewo*?

GLOSSARY

Adela: Hunter

Adevu: Traditional hunters' dance

Adewu: Hunters' dress

Afen4: Title of an adult female

Afet4: Title of an adult male

Agbledelawo: Farmers

Agblehawo: Farmers' music

Agblehavu: Farmers' vocational music and dance

Agbl4vu: Traditional royal music

Akaye: Container gourd-rattle

Akpi: Warrior dance of Northern Eves

Akpini: Local name for Kpandu traditional area

Akpiniawo: Local name for the indigenes of Kpandu

Anyigbat4: Custodian of Stool Lands

Asivui: Supporting drum in *agbleha* ensemble

Asivuga: Master drum in *agbleha* ensemble

Atopani: Instrument used for speech purposes in traditional Ghanaian societies

Atopaniugbewo: Drum languages of *atopani* drum

Avihawo: Dirges/Choral Laments performed by Northern Eves of Ghana

Bli: Maize/Corn

B4b44b4: Popular recreational music and dance performed by Northern Eves

Dayi: A river that flows through Kpandu area and a tributary of River Volta

Dayibakaka: Collecting mud from River Dayi

Dayibakakaza: Local festival celebrated by the people of Kpandu

De maa: Shared Cropping

Dufia: Chief of a town

Duk4: Traditional state

Dzenkple: Cooked corn flour mixed with palm oil

D4w4s4hefia: Youth work leader

Dzonyinyi: Blood covenant

Dzotinu: Lineage

Dzotinumetsitsia: Oldest lineage head

Eve: Popular language spoken in Ghana, Togo and the Republic of Benin

Fiaɔlawo: Traditional kingmakers

Fiafiagbewo: Dialects spoken by non-Ewe speaking groups in the Volta Region

Fiaga: Paramount Chief

Fiany4nu: Queen mother

Fiasamemetsisiwo: Heads of the royal families

Fiavuwo: Traditional Court Music/Dances

Fidolawo: Members of Co-operative farming (work) groups/units

Fidohab4b4wo: Co-operative farming (work) groups/units

Fometat4wo: Clan heads

Gbolo: Youth recreational music of the Northern Eves

Gb4nuga: Tutelar deity of the Kpandu traditional area

Glime: *D4tsie*, the ancestral home of Eves located in the Republic of Togo

Hakpakpa: The art of composing songs

Hakpala: A Composer

Kpekpe Et4: The three father figures that wielded the *Akpiniawo* into one state

Ku: Death

Kunuw4w4: Funeral rites

Kpando: A word meaning we have inherited the homeland of the Kpe society

Ladzo: Instrument made of the horns of large animals or tusks of elephants

Laklevu: Drum at the court of Ewe chiefs with leopard skin as its patchment head

Nikpinikpi: An Ewe word meaning, solidly knitted together

Ntahera: A set of seven ivory horns confined to the court of Akan chiefs

Nun4la: Leader

Nu`l4la: Secretary

Ny4nu`onun4la: Women's Leader

Odzokukui: An exclamation depicting a tragic or a looming danger

Okpekpewuokpe: Title of the paramount chief of Kpandu meaning: one's whose
might is heavier than can be lifted.

Pamprokpe: Bamboo flute

Pito: Drink brewed from fermented millet

Samefia: Sub-chief

Samemetsitsiwo: Clan elders

S4hefia: Youth Leader of a Society/Community

S4hewo: The youth of a Society/Community

Te`du`duza: Yam festival celebration

T4gbui: Title of a chief or a grandfather in the family

Dukpakpa: Construction of drum

Dusisi: Fixing parchment head of a drum with animal skin

Duti: Silk cotton tree

Zevi: Small earthenware pot

Zikpuik4kl4: Stool cleansing

Zikpuit4: Stool father in charge of lands belonging to the state

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APPENDICES

A. PERSONS/GROUPS INTERVIEWED

1. Mr. K. Bani, farmer and Soloist of Kpandu Gadza *Agbleha* Performing Group.
2. Mr. Kofi Amemakuse, a farmer/master drummer of *Agbleha* Performers.
3. Mr. Fabian Kyereme, a farmer, traditional composer, from Kpandu Agudzi.
4. Madam Tekla Bani, a singer and women's leader of *Agbleha* Performers.
5. Madam Philo Adenku, a farmer and Soloist of Kpandu *Agbleha* Performers.
6. Dr. Cosmos K. Mereku, Senior Lecturer, University of Education, Winneba
7. Mr. V. Ottah, Agricultural Extension Officer, Kpandu District.
8. Mr. Kofi Sali, a farmer and member of Kpandu Agudzi *Fidohab4b4*.
9. Mr. A. Gane, a former secretary to the Kpandu Traditional Council.
10. Mr. K. Affrim, a farmer and a member of Gbefi *Agbleha* Performing Group.
11. Mr. J. Gali, a farmer and a member of Kudzra *Agbleha* Performing Group.
12. Madam C. Wornyo, a farmer and Soloist of Kudzra *Agbleha* Performers.
13. Mr. G. Bluweh, an *agbleha* performer and lecturer, Univ. of Educ. Winneba.
14. Madam J. Worwonyo, a member of the Kpandu *Agbleha* Performing Group
15. Mr. Y. Bluwey, farmer and secretary of Kpandu *Agbleha* Performing Group.
16. Mr. David Nuatr4, a banker, composer and son of the late Kwadjo Nuatr4.
17. Mr. J. Asigbetse, a retired teacher and a farmer at Kpandu.
18. The executive members of the Kpandu Gadza *Agbleha* Performing Group.
19. The executive members of the Gbefi *Agbleha* Performing Group.
20. The executive members of the Kudzra *Agbleha* Performing Group.

B. LIST OF TITLES OF *AGBLEHAWO*

1. *La le Gbea Me* (There is Animal in the Bush)
2. *Mikp4 Asi Loo!* (Be Careful)
3. *Man4 D4keε W4 Daa* (I'll Continue to do this Work)
4. *Dzo Ye W4num Loo!* (Fire Has Caused Havoc)
5. *Miy4'o N'o Va* (Call them to Come)
6. *Ny4nu Gbem'a Neyi* (Let the Woman who has divorced me, go)
7. *Adaase* (Thank you Almighty God)
8. *Ed4 Ye Nye Ame* (To Work is Human)
9. *Wob4b4 Godzoe Meu Te oa?* (By Bending, haven't you got Yam to Eat?)
10. *Du6e Kaka Da Tome Loo!* (You Dance and Whirl Round)
11. *Mele Wodzi Z4m* (I am Threading over them with Caution)
12. *Miva Di Loo!* (Come and Bury Him/Her)
13. *Man4 Anyi Nam o Daa?* (Wouldn't He/She be there for me?)
14. *Gbe V4 le Xewo Nu* (The Birds are Speechless)
15. *Klaya Ye Zua 'Gba Le Du* (Problems have Bedeviled Him/Her)
16. *Ddi Nami Loo!* (Good morning to You All)
17. *Dagle Na2u* (Cultivate Food to Eat)
18. *Dzo Nezu To* (I wish my Love were a Mountain)
19. *Dewonye Nuxoxo Wofa Dua?* (Do we feed on depleted Stock of Food?)
20. *Agbeli %okpo Mes4 Kple Te o!* (A big tuber of Cassava is never called Yam)

C. THE SCORES, TEXTS AND THEIR TRANSLATIONS

No. 1: Lã le Gbea me (There is Animal in the Bush)

Solo

Nɔ-vi'o kisi le gbea- me loo! nemiawui kaba

Chorus

Mifogbea nemia wuikaba nemia wuika-ba, ka-ba - - -

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| 1. N4vi'o, kisi le gbea me loo! | Comrades, a rat is hiding in the grass |
| Mifo gbea, ne miawui kaba | Weed the grass, and kill it quickly |
| 2. N4vi'o, nukpui l'avea me | Comrades, a grasscutter is hiding in the bush |
| Mifo avea, ne miawui kaba | Clear the bush, to kill it quickly |
| 3. N4vi'o, aqab4 l'avea me | Comrades, an antelope is hiding in the bush |
| Mifo avea, ne miawui kaba | Clear the bush, to kill it quickly |

No. 2: Mikp4 Asi Loo! (Be Careful)

Solo
Mikpo a - si loo! kan koawoe Ye-vufia, mia - gbenu le nu woa?

Chorus
Yoo! Kpa ol,
Ye-vufia, mia - gbe nu le nu woa?
kpa ol kpa ol kpa ol

Mikp4 asi loo!, kankoawoe

Be careful, young and energetic men

Yoo!

Alright!

//: *Yevufia, miagbe nu le `u woa?*

//: White man's axe; can we forsake you?

Kpaa o!, kpaa o! kpaa o://

Never! Never! Never! ://

De nagbe `ud4 w4w4a?

//: Can you do without it?

Kpaa o!, kpaa o! kpaa o://

Never! Never! Never!://

No. 3: Man4 D4keε w4 @aa (I'll continue doing this work)

Metronome - 150

Solo

Ma no do kes wo daa loo!, ma no do kes wo wo dzi daa

Chorus

Yoo!

6

Ma no do kes wo daa ma va de do da loo!

<i>Man4 keεwo daa loo!</i>	I'll continue doing this work
<i>Yoo!</i>	Yes!
<i>O! man4 d4 yiε w4daa loo!</i>	I'll continue doing this work
<i>Yoo!</i>	Yes!
<i>Man4 d4 yiε w4daa, be</i>	I'll continue doing this work
<i>Mava de da da loo!</i>	Until I prosper
<i>Yoo!</i>	Yes!

No. 4: Dzo ye W4num Loo! (Fire has Caused Havoc)

The musical score is written in 6/8 time with a key signature of one flat (Bb). It consists of four systems of music, each with a vocal line and a piano accompaniment line. The first system is labeled 'Solo' and contains the lyrics 'Dzo ye - - dzo ye wo nu mu loo!----- e - dzo ye----'. The second system is labeled 'Chorus' and contains the lyrics 'dzo ye wo nu mu loo!----- kpoda dzo ye-- , dzoye wo nu'. The third system contains the lyrics 'mu loo!----- e - dzo ye--- dzo ye wo nu mu loo!' and 'Gba gba yee! gba - gba yee!'. The piano accompaniment consists of simple chords and rhythmic patterns.

//: Dzo ye, dzo ye w4nu mu loo!://

//:Fire, fire has caused me havoc://

Kp4da dzo ye, dzo ye w4nu mu loo!

Look! Fire, fire has caused me havoc

Gbagba ye!, gbagba ye!

It is true!, it is true!

Dzo ye, dzo ye w4nu mu loo!

Fire, fire has caused me havoc!

No. 5: *Miy4'o N'ova* (Call them to Come)

The musical score is written in 3/4 time with a key signature of one sharp (F#). It consists of a Solo section and a Chorus section. The Solo section begins with the lyrics "1. Mi-y'o n'o va loo! mi y'o n'o va, mi-y'o n'o". The Chorus section starts with "va loo! mi y'o n'o va mia ta gble dea woe" and includes a triplet of eighth notes. The score continues with "Mi-y'o n'o va, loo! mi" and "y'o n'o va a- gble - de la woe mi y'o n'o va". The piece concludes with a double bar line.

Miy4'o n'o va loo!, miy4'o n'o va
Miy4'o n'o va loo!, miy4'o n'o va
Miat4 agbledelawoe, miy4'o n'o va loo!
Miy4'o n'o va

Call them to come, call them to come
 Call them to come, call them to come
 Call fellow farmers to come
 Call them to come.

No. 6: Ny4nu Gbem'a, Neyi (Let the Woman who Divorces me, Go)

Solo

Ny4nugbemaneyia, neyia n4vinye ny4nugbema neyia, neyia, madodzi do loo!

Chorus

Akpatsa nju madodzi do ---- a-kpatsa nju madodzi do loo!

Ny4nu gbemaa, neyia, neyi Let the woman who divorces me, go
Akpatsa nju mado dzi 2o loo! The cutlass is my hope and comfort
N4vinye ny4nu gbemaa, neyia, neyi Brother, let the woman who divorces me, go
Akpatsa nju mado dzi 2o loo! The cutlass is my hope and comfort

No. 7: A2aase (Thank you Almighty God)

Solo

A daase -- a daase, -- A-daa se--- nuna-mela'daa-se loo! Mawuga xaa-

Chorus

A-daa se, - a-daa-se

8

daa - se loo! A - daa - se, --- a-daa - se

//: A daase, a daase://
Nunamela, a2aase loo!
A daase, a daase
Mawuga, a2aase loo!
A daase, a daase

//: Thank you, thank you://
 One who gives, thank you!
 Thank you, thank you
 Almighty God, thank you!
 Thank you, thank you

No. 8: *Ed4 ye nye ame* (To work is Human)

Solo
Kpda bobo na-wodo e-doyenye ame loo! agbledela bobo na-wodo Yoo! -----

Chorus

e-doyenye ame loo! Yoo nyameloo! e-do yenye ame loo! Yoo!

//:Kp42a b4b4 naw4 d4

//:Bend down and work

//:Ed4 ye nye ame loo://

To work is human://

Yoo!

Yes!

Agbledela b4b4 naw4 d4

Farmer, bend down and work

Ed4 ye nye ame loo!

To work is human

Yoo!

Yes!

No. 9: Wob4b4 Godzoe Me2u te oa? (By Bending, Haven't You Got Yam to Eat?)

The image shows a musical score for a piece titled 'Wob4b4 Godzoe Me2u te oa?'. The score is written in 6/8 time and consists of two systems of staves. The first system has a 'Solo' part on the top staff and a 'Chorus' part on the bottom staff. The 'Solo' part features a melodic line with lyrics 'A-grudui', 'a-grudui', and 'a-grudui'. The 'Chorus' part features a rhythmic accompaniment with lyrics 'Wo bo bo godzoe me du te oa grudui...'. The second system continues the 'Solo' part with lyrics 'a gruđui', 'a gruđui..', and 'wo bo bo godzoe me du te oa.....'. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

Agruđui

Agruđui

Agruđui

Wob4b4 godzoe me du te oa?

Agruđui (sound of a hoe blade scratching the ground)

Agruđui (sound of a hoe blade scratching the ground)

Agruđui (sound of a hoe blade scratching the ground)

By bending down, haven't you got yam to eat?

No. 10: *Ɖu6e Kaka da Tome Tsra Loo!* (You Dance and Whirl Round)

The musical score is written in 6/8 time. It features a **Solo** section and a **Chorus**. The lyrics are: *Ɖu6e ka - ka da tome tsra loo! a-gbleme la si wo ɔe*. The chorus includes the lyrics: *Yee! - - ne ɔu ye ka - ka*. The score continues with the lyrics: *ɔe ny'a me wo ɔo na - ɔu loo! - - - - -* and *da to me tsra loo! a-gble me la si wo loo!, hee! - - - - -*. The music consists of a single melodic line with a corresponding bass line.

//: *Ɖu6e kaka da tome tsra loo!*

Agble mel'asiwo loo!://

Migbl4na Kwadzo neb4b4

Migbl4na Yawa neb4b4

//: *Ɖu6e kaka da tome tsra loo!*

Agble mel'asiwo loo!://

Hee!

//: You execute whirling dance steps,

But you don't own a farm://

Tell *Kwadzo* to bend down and work

Tell *Yawa* to bend down and work

//: You execute whirling dance steps

But you don't own a farm://

True!

No. 11: Mele Wodzi Z4m L'a Ða`u me (I'm Threading over them with Caution)

Solo

Mele wo dzi z4m loo!, mele wo dzi z4m loo! a - me - ve - vie - wo

Chorus

le to me

Mele wodzi z4m la dan' - r4e. l'a dan me a - dan' me

//:Mele wo dzi z4m loo://

Ameveviewo le to me

Mele wodzi z4m l'a

Ada`u me, l'a da`u me

//:I am threading over them://

Important relatives underground

I am threading over them

With caution, with caution.

No. 12: Miva Āi Loo! (Come and Bury Him/Her)

The musical score is written in 4/4 time with a key signature of one flat (Bb). It consists of four systems of two staves each (treble and bass clef).
 - **System 1:** The top staff is labeled 'Solo' and contains the melody. The bottom staff is labeled 'Chorus' and contains a simple accompaniment. Lyrics: 'Mi-va Āi loo!-----, mi-va Āi loo!--- a dzangboĀuawoegbledenĀaku mi vaĀi loo!-'
 - **System 2:** The top staff continues the melody. The bottom staff continues the accompaniment. Lyrics: 'dzangbo - Āua -' and 'Mi-va Āi loo!--- dzangboa mi-va Āi loo!-'
 - **System 3:** The top staff continues the melody. The bottom staff continues the accompaniment. Lyrics: 'woe' and 'a dzino ku mi va Āi loo!----- Go - ha -- go - ha ---, mi na mi tĀo go - ha loo!,'
 - **System 4:** The top staff continues the melody. The bottom staff continues the accompaniment. Lyrics: 'go - ha, go - ha-----'

//:Miva 2i loo://

//:Come and bury her/him://

//:Miva Āi loo://

//:Come and bury her/him://

Adzangboduawoe

Colleague farmers

Gbleden4a/t4aku

The female/male farmer is dead

Miva Āi loo!

Come and bury her/him

No. 13: Man4a 'Nyi Nam O Daa? (Wouldn't it Stay Intact?)

Solo
Ma n4a nyi nam o d4a

Chorus
ma n4a nyi nam o d4a ma n4a nyi nam o loo!,
6 kpo d4a 'fe x4e nye vu
12 gble x4e ya ma n4a nyinam o d4a? gble x4e ya ma n4a nyinam o d4a?
kpo d4a 'fe x4e nye vu ma n4a nyinam o d4a
18 Gble x4e ya ma n4a nyinam o d4a?
Ma n4a nyinam o d4a, ma n4a nyinam o d4e, gblemex4e ama n4a nyinam o d4a?

//:Man4a 'nyi nam o d4a://

//:Wouldn't it stay intact?://

Man4a 'nyi nam o loo!

Wouldn't it stay intact?

'Gblex4e ya ma n4a nyi nam o d4a?

Wouldn't my farm house stay intact?

//:Kp42a 'fex4e nye vu

//:Look! my house at home is destroyed

'Gblex4e ya ma n4a 'nyi nam o d4a?://

Wouldn't my farm house stay intact?://

Man4a 'nyi nam o d4a?

Wouldn't it stay intact?

Man4a 'nyi nam o d4e

Wouldn't it stay intact?

'Gblex4e ya ma n4a nyi nam o d4aa?

Wouldn't my farm house stay intact?

No. 14: Gbe V4 le Xewo Nu Loo! (The Birds are Speechless)

Solo

Xe wo nu loo!, xe wo nu dee xe wo nu baa gbe vo le

Chorus

xe wo nu loo!, a gba gba no ku loo!, gbe vo le xe wo nu baa!

Xewo nu loo! ----- xe wo nu loo! ----- xe wo nu loo! ---

yee! yee! gba gba yee!, yee! yee! yee! yee!

Gbe vo le xe wo nu dee, gbe vo le xe wo nu loo!

yee! Yool, yool! yool!

//: Xewo nu loo, xewo nu dee:// //:The lips of birds, the lips of birds://

Xewo nu loo!

The lips of birds!

Xewo nu baa

True! The lips of birds,

Gbe v4 le xewo nu loo!

Are speechless

*Agbangba n4 ku

Agbangba's mother has fallen dead

Gbe v4 le xewo nu baa

The birds are speechless

*NB: Agbangba is a type of bird found in Northern Eueland.

No. 15: Klaya ye Zua 'Gba le Du Loo! (Problems have Bedeviled Him)

The musical score is written in 6/8 time with a key signature of one flat (Bb). It consists of four systems of music, each with a vocal line and a piano accompaniment line. The lyrics are written below the vocal line.

Solo

Klaya ye zuagbale ɲu loo!----- kla-ya ye zuagbale ɲu loo!- - zuagbale

Chorus

9 ɲu loo!- - zuagbale ɲu loo!----- kla-ya ye zuagbale ɲu loo!-----

17

23 Kla-ya ye zuagbale ɲu loo!----- kla-ya ye zuagbale ɲu loo!- - - zuagbale

ɲu loo!- - zuagbale ɲu loo!----- Kla-ya ye zuagbale ɲu loo!-----

//:Klaya ye zua ‘gba le `u loo!://

//:Problems have bedeviled him://

Zua ‘gbale `u loo

Have bedeviled him

Zua ‘gbale `u loo

Have bedeviled him

Klaya ye zua ‘gba le `u loo!

Problems have bedeviled him

No. 16: Ddi Nami Loo! (Good Morning to You All)

Solo
 1) di na mi loo!, me na n di mi loo 1)

Chorus
 5
 di na mi loo!, gble de la'o ɲ di na mi loo!,
 N di na mi loo!,

10
 me na n di mi loo! N di na mi loo!, gble dea wo n

15
 di na mi loo!

//:Ddi nami loo!

//:Good morning to you all

Mena ɲdi nami loo!

I give you all good morning

Ddi nami loo!

Good morning to you all

'Gbledelawo, ɲdi nami loo!://

Farmers, good morning to you all://

No. 17: Dagble Na2u (Cultivate Food to Eat)

Cantor

Dagble na - du loo!----- Dagble na du loo!miatba - gbledelawpe d'agble

Chorus

nanyi dokuiwo - -

de agble na-nyi dq- kui- wo nɔvi d'a gble - - na du loo!

//:Dagble naɔu loo!://

//:Farm to enable you eat!://

Miat4a'gbledelawoe!

Fellow farmers!

Dagble, nanyi dokuiwo, nanyi dokuiwo

Farm in order to sustain your life

N4vi, dagble, naɔu loo!

My brother, farm to enable you eat

No. 18: 'Dzo Nezu To (I Wish My Love Were a Mountain)

The musical score is written in 2/4 time and consists of three systems. Each system has a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment line (bass clef).
 System 1: The vocal line starts with a 'Solo' section. The lyrics are: 'Dzonezu to ne manye de-bre mane nɔ̄ɔ̄ zo loo!'. The piano accompaniment features a series of chords.
 System 2: The vocal line starts with a 'Chorus' section. The lyrics are: 'dzo nezu a - ti mazua makpa ma no ya fo ns'. The piano accompaniment continues with chords.
 System 3: The vocal line continues with the lyrics: 'dzone zua n- ku mazua da-ba ma no nuwo fɔ̄ ns'. The piano accompaniment concludes with a final chord.

'Dzo nezu to ne manye debre
 Mane n`u z4 loo!
 Yee! yee!, yee!, yee! yee!
 Dzo nezu ati, mazua
 'Makpa, man4 ya fo ne
 Yee! yee!, yee!, yee! yee!
 Dzo nezu `ku, mazua
 'Daba man4 nuwo f4ne
 Yee! yee!, yee!, yee! yee!
 Adzo baqo loo!

I wish my love were a mountain, so that
 I cover her as a thick fog
 Yes!, yes!, yes! yes!
 I wish my love were a tree so that
 I become leaves to fan it
 Yes!, yes!, yes! yes!
 I wish my love were eyes so that
 I become eye-brows to pick pecks off it
 Yes!, yes!, yes! yes!
 There comes my love!

No. 19: *De Wonye Nuxoxo Wofa Dwa?* (If reliance on used stock of food)

The musical score is written in 8/8 time. It consists of three systems of staves. The first system is labeled 'Solo' and 'Chorus'. The lyrics are: 'De wo nye rui xo xo wo fa qua, e rui xo xo wo fa qua, e rui xo xo wo'. The second system starts at measure 7 and has lyrics: 'fa qua a nye do ma toa va wum o!'. The third system starts at measure 13 and has lyrics: 'fa qua, e rui xo xo wo fa qua a nye do ma toa va wum o!'. The score includes a piano accompaniment in the lower staves.

Dewonye nuxoxo wofa qua

If reliance on used stock of food real

Enuxoxo wofa qua

Reliance on used stock of food

Enuxoxo wofa qua

If reliance on used stock of food, is real,

Anye d4 matoa 'va wum o!

Famine wouldn't have attempted to kill me

No. 20: %okpo Mes4 Kple Te o! (A Big Tuber of Cassava is never called Yam)

The musical score consists of four staves. The first staff is labeled 'Solo' and contains the melody with lyrics: 'Fokpo me so kplete o,----- a-gbe-li fokpo me so kplete o,'. The second staff is labeled 'Chorus' and contains a rhythmic accompaniment with lyrics: 'Fokpo me so kplete o,'. The third staff is empty. The fourth staff contains the continuation of the melody with lyrics: 'a-gbe-li fo kpo me so kple te o, a - gbe-li ko woyoe, baa!'.

<i>Fokpo mes4 kple te o</i>	No matter its size, a tuber
ofcassava	
<i>Agbeli fokpo mes4 kple te o</i>	Is never called yam
<i>Fokpo mes4 kple te o</i>	No matter its size, big tuber of
cassava	
<i>Agbeli fokpo mes4 kple te o</i>	Is never called yam
<i>Agbeli ko wo y4e</i>	It is still called cassava
<i>Baa!</i>	True!