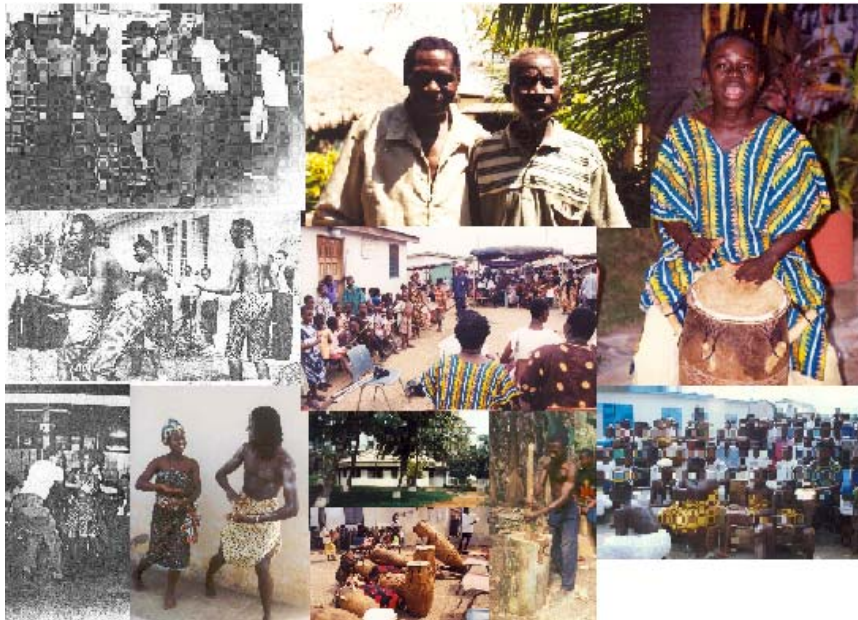


Kpanlogo

Conflict, identity crisis and enjoyment in a Ga drum dance



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Acknowledgements

I wish to express my thanks to all the people and institutions that have made it possible to complete this M.A. thesis. My fieldwork was financially supported by the University of Amsterdam and by the Department of musicology. My research in Ghana was a success due to the information given to me by many musicians and dancers, especially I want to thank Frankie Laine for his willingness to take me round and to let me get in touch with interesting people and Otoo Lincoln for giving an insightful glimpse into the history of kpanlogo. The rehearsals I did with the drummers and dancers of the West African Folkloric Company were a very exciting experience. Emmanuel Tagoe helped me, especially in the beginning of my research, with his own experience in drumming and dancing and he introduced me to the people and the culture of the Ga.

I owe thanks to the teachers and students, at the university of Ghana, Legon, who have helped me in many ways by dancing or drumming for my recordings to printing music examples for me and by giving me information about my subject. Pious Honeylove did a great job in translating kpanlogo songs for me. John Collins gave me many useful insights and took time to provide information and later to correct my thesis. A 'fresh' view on African musicology was given by Dr. Anku in his lectures and in our personal conversations.

Back home Tanko Alhassan helped me with transcriptions. Wim van der Meer, John Collins and Steven Salm criticised and advised me on this thesis. Marieke Harmsen and Astrid de Jager read the paper at various stages and offered suggestions. Checks on my grammar were done by Andy Sykes and Steven Salm. Richard Brok gets the credit for scanning the pictures.

And last I am grateful to my parents, husband and children and everybody else who has supported and encouraged me in any way to finally finish my project.

Introduction

This M.A. thesis is the result of my fieldwork during the period June 2001 to February 2002 and a short return in 2003. The music I will describe is kpanlogo music. This music was invented in the 1960s out of several different music styles (though the process already started in the late 50s). In music theory, several terms are used to describe the process of musical transformation. Nettl uses the term ‘syncretism’ in his article for fusion of compatible elements of Western and African music. ‘Reintroduction’ is the term he prefers for the influence of Afro-Caribbean music on African music (Nettl 1986:366). Kartomi discusses the term ‘transculturation’ to describe positive changes set in motion by cultural contact:

This term is not typified by a confused or ethnocentric etymological history, nor is it oriented toward the union of the parent cultures as opposed to the musical product. ‘Musical syntheses’ and ‘musical syncretism’ are very similar terms which are reasonably acceptable. All three contain the meaning of a complex process of fusion and transformation of impinging musical cultures, which according to Linton (1963:492) is “the logical end product of reciprocal cultural borrowings” (Kartomi 1981:

She points out that the term, more than other terms emphasises on the positive result rather than on the sources that form the basic for this new creation. However acceptable this may sound, her explanation of this process does not sound so acceptable:

Transculturation occurs only when a group of people select for adoption whole new organizing and conceptual or ideological principles – musical and extramusical – as opposed to small, discrete alien traits. The motivation to adopt new, broad music principles, such as equal temperament or harmony, may be (1) the halo of dominant culture prestige in colonial situations; (2) the need for artistic communication among groups lacking a common culture; or (3) material or political advantage, of the forces of commercialism. The initial and sustaining impulse and impetus for musical transculturation is normally extramusical. The final stages of a complete process of transculturation are reached after the tensions between two or more musical cultures have interacted and been resolved into a new unity, through successive generations. Such musical interactions creatively unite and transcend the partly antithetical parent musics to create a new, independent style or genre that is accepted in its own right by the relevant group of people as being representative of their own musical identity, whereupon the processes of musical transculturation may begin all over again (Kartomi 1981:244, 245).

It suggests that transformation means adopting the (western) principles like equal temperament or harmony, because of the dominant position of the western culture in colonial situation. This hierarchic view on transformation processes is outdated and therefore the term ‘hybridity’ seems to be preferred nowadays to designate processes of change. This term avoids subjective interpretation and focuses more on the process itself, on the continuity of change, “the ongoing condition of all human cultures, which undergoes continuous processes of transculturation” (Renato Rosaldo 1995: xv). Canclini explains:

I prefer this last term because it includes diverse intercultural mixtures – not only the racial ones to which “mestizaje” tends to be limited – and because it permits the inclusion of the modern forms of hybridisation better than does “syncretism,” a term that almost always refers to religious fusions or traditional symbolic movements (Canclini 1995: 11).

This continuous ongoing transformation is also clearly visible in kpanlogo. The invention of this new drum dance did not mean that the music would not change anymore. On the contrary,

kpanlogo as it is performed nowadays and how it used to be performed in the early period is very different.

With this musical context in mind, I will try to answer my main research question: What kind of music or dance is kpanlogo? In order to answer this question, I will focus on the historical, musical and social aspects of this genre.

In the first chapter I will describe some aspects of Ga-culture, as kpanlogo is a drum dance of the Ga people. General aspects such as demography, religion and chieftaincy give an impression of the cultural context of the music.

The impact of colonialism on the music of Ghana, and therefore also on kpanlogo music, will be discussed in the second chapter. This will be followed by a discussion on the terms traditional music, popular music and neo-traditional music in the same chapter. I will finish this chapter with a view on the current and future position of traditional music in Ghana.

The next chapter focuses on the history of kpanlogo, with a description of the development of the music in relation to the political and social context of the time. An interview with the two originators of the dance gives a first hand impression of the early period of kpanlogo dancing. A description of related dances identifies the roots of certain rhythmical patterns, dance movements and the inspiration for kpanlogo.

A closer look at kpanlogo is given in the last chapter with a detailed description of the ensemble, the instruments, the songs, rhythms, dance movements and the performance practice.

Methodology

Since the first lectures of 'ethnomusicology' in the beginning period of my studies I became especially interested in African music because of its energy and spirit. In the third year of my studies I wanted to learn to play African drums. I did some introductory classes and then took a course with Kobina Adende, who taught the styles of a certain Ghanaian drum called kpanlogo. Since this class I began to really love the warm sound of this drum. In the first course I learned the kpanlogo rhythm and set out to find out more about it. That is how I got the idea to choose this subject for my thesis.

In Holland I attempted to get in contact with Professor J.H.K. Nketia, (a well known Ghanaian musicologist), but this did not work out as I wished. I had more success in my contact with Dr. Anku, head of the music department of the University of Ghana. He sent me all the necessary information for my supervisors in Holland and for my study visa.

I started my research in Ghana in June 2001. After arrival I went to the university in Legon, to meet Dr. Anku in person. He was very helpful in finding a place for me to stay and helped me with my registration as a research affiliate. At the school of performing arts I met Emmanuel Tagoe who invited me to come and watch his group dancing at a funeral. I went there that night and had my first recording experience as a researcher. I had to pay a lot of money for recording at this occasion, but I just arrived and I prepared myself to have spend rather a lot at the beginning. Emmanuel Tagoe was a dancer of the Ghana Dance Ensemble and he had done some research on his own about traditional music and dance of Ghana. He took me around in the Ga-area (the place where kpanlogo appeared) and made some appointments for interviews with the originators of the kpanlogo dance, Frankie Laine and Otoo Lincoln. I interviewed them twice in the first weeks at the beach by Akuma village in Accra. Their information was very helpful. At the same time, I started drumming and dance

classes in the cultural group of Emmanuel Tagoe. Three times a week I rehearsed with them in the Arts Centre in Accra. In the daytime Emmanuel Tagoe explained to me the history of kpanlogo and he taught me the Ga-language. I also learned some kpanlogo songs from him..

After some few weeks I also joined the drumming class of Tanko Alhassan (now my husband), who was teaching some American students kpanlogo music in the International Student Hostel in Legon (Accra) and who was also a dancer in a cultural group. He explained to me a lot of things about the dance and the performance practices and he introduced me to people in Jamestown (the area where kpanlogo started). Because the university was closed for the holidays, I spent three days a week in the library of Prof. Nketia to gather additional background information.

When the semester started in September, I attended the lectures of Dr. Anku (transcription and analysis and special topics, the latter about his own theory of analysing West African rhythmical music) and the lectures of Prof. John Collins (history of pop music in Ghana). In addition, I joined the drumming classes of Johnson three times a week. Near the school of performing arts I joined a dance class where I learned *agbadza* and kpanlogo. I also taught some lectures myself. I did not have much time left over to go to Jamestown. During this period I gathered information about my subject from students, drummers, dancers and teachers of the university. In the evenings I regularly went to performances of cultural groups at the Alliance Française in Accra.

I wondered whether it would be possible to employ an analytic research method about kpanlogo using Dr. Anku's theory and discussed this with him. Of course he liked the idea and he suggested that I would record and compare two different master drummers, one from a local group and one from a professional group. From that time I put my effort into this subject and recorded master drummers from West African Folkloric Company and from Hewale Sounds. I decided that I would perform my analysis at home.

At the end of the semester I planned to go to Jamestown again to find drummers who were involved in the beginning period of kpanlogo to figure out the development of the music better, but I got seriously ill for some weeks. This was in the period before the Christmas holiday. After the holiday I did not have enough time to gather this information. Recently however, Steven Salm sent me his dissertation about subculture and identity transformation in Accra, in which he describes the history of kpanlogo extensively. I used his story to supplement my own. During the Christmas holiday Tanko and I travelled to the north of Togo and Ghana, where we met other musicians. Unfortunately I did not find the expected kpanlogo groups in the Volta-region.

I studied articles and books in the library and because I could not find some articles of Prof. Nketia, I went to see him. We had a nice conversation and he recommended a thesis about kpanlogo from another student to me. I tried to find this thesis, but nobody knew about it and I have still not been able to find it (I only found somebody's paper about her experience of learning kpanlogo dance and drum at Mustapha Tetteys drum school).

Two weeks later I decided to collect the last recordings and interviews (to be sure I would also have all the information about the origination of the music). During a conversation with John Collins, he pointed out something interesting to me. He talked about a political group, called the Tokyo Joes that used kpanlogo music in their demonstrations against Nkrumahs government. Frankie Laine introduced me to some of the people who took part in this association and I got to know Mama Tokyo, who used to be the secretary of the board, B.A. Tetteh, another member of the board and Badu, who used to be a loyal member of the group. It appeared to be a sensitive subject for them to talk about. Only Badu was willing to give me a clear explanation of what exactly the Tokyo Joes were about.

John Collins advised me also to make a list with private drum and dance schools because those schools are important for the future of traditional music. I visited the Arts

Centre (cultural centre of Accra) and Tanko showed me some of those schools in Teshie and Nungua.

Also I gathered more recordings on video and tape from performances in the Alliance Française and I had final interviews with Emmanuel Tagoe (about Ga social life) and Johnson (about the origin and spreading around of kpanlogo). I travelled to Kokrobite, to see the Academy of African Music and Arts Ltd. institute, the first successful private attempt of a drum and dance school for foreigners, founded by master drummer Mustapha Tettey Addy. Tanko had ordered some drum shells and *together* we went to the village of Potrase where they cut the trees and shaped the drum shells. Coincidentally we ran into a funeral where people were playing *kolomashie* (sharing some similarities with kpanlogo). Tanko shot the video, because they would only allow recording if I danced. Two weeks before my departure, Tanko brought the drum shells home and he taught me how to fix the skin on the drum. In the last week Tanko played some rhythms on my request and then I decided that I had enough information.

During my research, I enjoyed my participation with the cultural group and the drumming classes with other African students, because they made me feel accepted by the people, even though my drumming and especially my dancing skills are not too good. Through interviews and personal communications I got in contact with local people who I otherwise would never have met. I learned a lot about my subject through observations as well. Performances that I visited and discussed with Tanko were invaluable for understanding some musical aspects. Conversations with John Collins and Dr. Anku helped me to take a critical look at my conclusions.

I was lucky that I had the chance to go back to Ghana last summer. I discussed my thesis with John Collins and he corrected it and advised me about some parts I needed to work on. He also mentioned the library of African Studies, to find some pictures from the 60's in old newspapers and *Drum* magazine. I went there, but unfortunately they were moving the library to another building and it was not possible to look through the newspapers. Of course, I also visited Frankie Laine again, (who was still strong and healthy). Together with Tanko I interviewed him one more time, to get the information on my unanswered questions. He also showed us some dance movements from *oge*, but unfortunately we did not bring the camera. I was very happy with the pictures he brought from the time he used to go to the rock 'n roll bars. They give a good impression from this period. He allowed me to copy them and use them for this thesis.

Technical notes

Kpanlogo is dancing, drumming and singing, therefore it is difficult to express the genre in one word. 'Drum dance' is the term that Nketia uses regularly to describe comparable types of traditional music and dance. By lack of a better term, this is what I will use in this paper to describe the genre. Sometimes I use only the word 'dance'.

Indigenous Ga words (except for kpanlogo) are notated in italics. Those words are explained in the list in the appendix. The original texts of the songs are also written in vernacular. The ϵ is pronounced as 'a' in cap, the η is pronounced as 'nj', the \square is pronounced as 'o' in short. The 'e' is pronounced as 'a' in case.

Part of the songs in chapter 4 are from my own recordings, which Emmanuel Tagoe sang and translated for me (no. 1 to 5). Some of the texts are from a commercial tape of the Allan Family (no. 7 to 11), which my the oboe student Pious Honeylove wrote down and translated for me. I also used recordings from an old LP of Mustapha Tettey Addy, called

Kpanlogo Party, with comments and translations by Drid Williams (song no. 6). Tanko helped me with all the transcriptions and the contextual meaning of the songs.

Either Tanko or I shot the video recordings. Most of the recordings were made during performances; sometimes they were made on my request (see appendix).

Most transcriptions in this thesis are written in the normal Western notation, according to the techniques I learned from Dr. Anku's lectures. He pointed out that all Ghanaian music can be notated in 2/4 or 6/8 measure and that the structure of the music becomes more clear when notating it in sets in normal meters. That is also why I changed the notation of the kpanlogo and *gome* transcription which I took from the book of Dr. Kongo Zabana (those transcriptions are a direct output of a computer program). Some rhythmical structures are more clear in different non-metrical notation. In that case, transcriptions are both notated in Western and the most suitable notation system.

For me, it was quite logical to describe the kpanlogo dance as well, because it is an integral part of drum dancing. There is little theory about this subject to date. New media trends like CD-rom and DVD bring new possibilities for describing and depicting dance. It allows us to record movements and information on one medium. For practical reasons, however, it was not possible for me to include a CD-rom or DVD and I have used older media (video) to visually portray the dance.

I have specifically chosen not to use the Labanotation¹ for transcribing the dance movements of kpanlogo. The semester at the school of performing arts in Legon offered a course, Labanotation, and this seemed to me a perfect opportunity to learn a system of notating dance movements. After taking two classes I found out that this was not the solution for me. It would take too long to learn this technique properly, time I could better spend on my subject of research. In addition, I am convinced that video and explanation makes the information understandable to more people, particularly to outsiders.

¹ Labanotation is a system to notate movement, developed by the dance theorist Rudolf Laban in 1954

1 Ga culture

Geographical

The population of Ghana numbers about 19 million people. About 3,000,000 of them are Ga, making them one of the largest ethnic groups in Ghana. The Ga area is situated along the coast in southeastern Ghana, in the Greater Accra region. The area stretches from the Densu River in the west to the Lalo lagoon in the east and is bounded in the north by the Akwapim scarp (Kilson 1971: 9,10) (figure 1). At the present time, the indigenous Ga areas are found in the seven coastal towns of Tema, Teshi, Labadi, Nungua, Osu, Ussher Town and James Town (Young 1987: 103).

The language spoken by the Ga is a Kwa language, which is closely related to the neighbouring Adangme (Johnson 1999: 823). The Kwa languages are classified as a subfamily within the Niger-Congo language family. They are distributed along the West African coast from western Liberia to eastern Nigeria². The contemporary Ga language has also been influenced by other neighbours, in the north by the Akwapim and in the west by the Twi-fante.



Figure 1 Location of Ga area

² J.H. Greenberg, *The languages of Africa*, pp.8, 173

Historical

Legend states that the Ga people arrived from the east, in a series of land and sea migrations, before the fourteenth century; however linguistic and archaeological evidence suggests that the ancestors of the Ga occupied their present homeland for more than a thousand years (Johnson 1999: 823). The population at that time probably consisted mainly of Ga-Adangme people. Nowadays Ga do not like the view that they are an 'offshoot' of the Adangme, but they do not deny their close cultural and linguistic affinities with them (Nketia 1965: 266). The exact history of the initial settlements is not known, but it is known that originally the Ga were fishers and farmers. Later, when Accra also became a trade centre, 'immigrants' from other parts of the country settled in Accra and the community transformed into a densely populated multi-ethnic residential community of marginal elites, manual labourers and traders within an industrial unit (Kilson 1974: 5).

Throughout Ga history, the demographic and social centres have been situated at different locations in the area. In early times, the main centres of population and authority were located in the north. Later when the trade patterns changed from inland to the coast (gold and slaves), the centres also shifted to the coast, and even now we can find the main authority here. From the second half of the seventeenth century up to the end of the nineteenth century, Cape Coast was the capital of Ghana. In the same period, Accra (from the Ga-twi word *nkra*, which means ants) kept on growing in population, economy and authority. In 1877 Accra assumed its role of administrative authority when it became the new British colonial capital of the Gold Coast (Kilson 1974: 7).

The spatial growth of Accra is reflected in the extension of the municipal boundaries, which in 1896 incorporated Ussher Town, James Town, Osu and Christiansborg. In 1945 the boundaries were extended to include Labadi, Nungua and Teshi, and in 1963 Tema became part of the capital. The present municipal boundaries, therefore, incorporate the greater part of the area of the post-Akwamu Ga state. (Kilson 1974: 8)

There are three important external influences on Ga history that helped change the original culture into the modern culture of today. The first influence was the arrival of the Europeans. The Greater Accra region was an important centre of the overland gold trade. By the mid-seventeenth century, Accra had become the largest gold market on the Gold Coast (**ref.**). Therefore, the Ga tried for a long time to have control over the trade routes from inland to the coast. Then later at the coast, five European powers (Denmark, England, Holland, Portugal and Sweden) competed for the gold and slaves of the Ga traders. The inland trade routes were not taken over by the Europeans, largely because of health reasons (malaria and typhoid) that made it impossible for the Europeans to live inland (lecture Collins 2001).

Secondly, there was the integration of the Ga tribe with other African ethnic groups. Most apparent is the destruction of the prosperity and authority of Accra in 1677 by the Akwamu from the north. Some Ga escaped to the coast, but over time they began to adopt many habits of Ashanti culture and politics into their own culture. The Akwamu ruled the Ga as a province within their empire for the next fifty years (Kilson 1974: 6). In 1730, the Ga polity resumed its independent status again, but the state was now limited to the coastal Accra area, the area of contemporary Central Accra. It was the Akwamu defeat which provided the impetus for the developing cosmopolitan character of Accra. Representatives of different tribes started to participate in overseas trade. Today, the modern centre of Accra, including inland suburbs, contains probably the most diverse population of Ghana. The coastal Ga towns (Tema, Teshi, Labadi, Nungua, Osu, Ussher Town and James Town) however are still mainly populated by indigenous Ga. (**ref.**)

The third external influence came from other Africans who arrived by sea. The Kru-people from Liberia were long distance sailors who came to Ghana for trade and settled in

towns along the coast, known as Kru-towns. They had a reputation as fine seamen and therefore European ships often hired them. Since 1940/50, they could be found along coastal regions of West Africa from Liberia up to Togo and Benin (Ewens 1991: 82). The Kru-towns in Ghana were integrated into the Ga areas, especially areas like James Town. The Kru people lived together with the Ga until 1969 when they were thrown out of the country, due to new immigration laws (lecture Collins 2001).

Religion

Contemporary Ga distinguish at least four major traditional cults. However, three of the four are non-Ga in origin: *me* is an Adangme cult, *otu* and *akong* are Akan cults. *Kpele*, the fourth cult, is believed to be the indigenous Ga religious system (Kilson 1971: 13). Underlying *kpele* ritual is a system of ideas about the ordering of the universe. It ties up closely with the social organization of the Ga in which the relationships between households are defined by reference to the ordered relationship between household gods. Much history of the Ga can be derived from *Kple* songs, because of the subjects of the songs, usually in proverbs (Kilson 1974: 3).

Each town has a dozen gods and every god has a priest called *wulomo* (Field 1937:5,6). The *wulomei* (pl.) are the servants of the gods and the interpreters of the will of the gods. The priest has to give the god libations out of respect for the god. In argument and controversies he always has the final voice about right and wrong. In the night, the priest usually has to sleep in his *gbatsu* (house of the god) and may not be awakened (except by gently tinkling an instrument, like a rope with seashells hanging at the entrance) (Field 1937:7).

Western culture and religion entered Ghana from the sea and the coastal areas therefore were the first to be Christianised. This brought many changes, which can still be seen in the social and political life in contemporary Ghana. Though most Ga are now Christian, the *wulomei* still maintain considerable influence. Christianity and traditional religion exist side by side. Though currently there is also a group of people who believe that Ga should go back to their own roots and therefore hang on to their traditional cults. They believe in the powers of their own gods and they think it unacceptable to also be a Christian. Such conflict resulted in a big procession last year in which a group of people broke down a lot of churches (personal communication Tagoe January 2002).

Social organization

Chieftaincy

The chieftaincy system, which is now used in the Ga area, is probably not originally their own political system. Contemporary Ga who reside in Accra consider their culture to have been influenced by contact with other African peoples. The impact of this interaction is reflected most conspicuously in Ga political and religious institutions, which are very similar to Akans. The Ga claim that their society was initially theocratic and that secular authority associated with chieftaincy was introduced later (Kilson 1971: 12,13). The system is based on Akan models and was probably taken over in the time that the Ashanti took over the trade routes from the Ga around 1680.

The contemporary political system considers the *mantse* as the head of the Ga-community. Chiefs, who are responsible for their own town, help the *mantse* and wield control over seven other chiefs who are responsible for a specific area in the town. Whenever there is a problem, or when a festival is coming up, the chiefs gather in the palace of the

paramount chief to talk about the problem. Now the paramount chief is living in central Accra, but regularly visits the Ga towns. (personal communication Tagoe January 2002)

Family

Field and Kilson do not agree in their opinion about the social structure of the Ga (Kilson 1971: 7). Field characterizes Ga kinship as patrilineal (from father to child) and Kilson considers it cognatic (blood-relationship), not only at the level of ideology but also at the level of social transaction. Kilson agrees that a larger proportion is obtained from the father, which is consistent with the patrilineal emphasis of their kinship notions. Ga acquire property and accede to office through matrilineal and patrilineal affiliations (Kilson 1971: 7). Hampton says in short that Ga people “trace clan affiliation rights patrilineally, inheritance rights cognatically, and residence rights bilaterally” (1992: 135,136).

The most important social unit in Ga society is the cognatic family (*we*). “Members are recruited by birth and less frequently by adoption” (Kilson 1971: 10). The family is a non-residential group whose members are dispersed in households (*shia*) not only within a town, but also within a number of villages. However dispersed its members, each family recognizes one building in town as the founder’s house. A large part of the family usually lives here together. Annually the family returns to the family-house for the *homowo* festival (Kilson 1971: 11). When a woman is having her period, she is not allowed to sleep in the husband’s house. She can stay in a special woman’s room in the family house, or sometimes in a special room in their own house. The flowing of the blood is believed to bring evil spirits to the husband (Kilson 1971: 11). Members of the family acquire usufruct rights to the property of an estate through the collective decision of a council of elders (Kilson 1971: 10,11).

Music

Traditional music and dance are associated with ceremonies of the life cycle, worship, festivals and recreation (Nketia 1958: 76). Homogenous groups, such as Ashanti, Ewe, Ga and Dagomba, consist of interacting communities speaking the same language and bound together by a common musical tradition (Nketia 1959: 31). This tradition, however is not static; it changes over time. Sometimes groups have been in contact and they have borrowed musical material like the use of Akan heptatonic scale in music of the Ga. Sometimes external influences such as overseas contact has changed the tradition; “the music of the cult groups in Ga society as well as the music of traditional political institutions reflect these different contacts and their creative results” (Nketia 1965: 266). The traditional music of the Ga contains vocal and instrumental music.

Traditional Ga vocal music can be with or without instrumental accompaniment. Best known are the songs from the *kple* religion. The songs are sung by women and regularly accompanied by a double bell for the time line or for the basic beat. The subject of those songs is the history of the Ga. The texts of the songs are most of the time in proverbs, which makes them difficult to understand for outsiders. Children learn to sing those songs by imitating their mothers. Usually women gather *together* in the evening to sing the songs. According to Nketia, among the vocal music of the Ga, there are two main groups of musical types:

- (a) Those based on some kind of pentatonic foundation, which include the cult music of *kple* and *kpa* (performed in Labadi) and the ceremonial music of *ofi* (*bleble*), performed during the *homowo* festival for the chief and elders
- (b) Musical types based on a heptatonic foundation. They include the music of the court, recreational music, the music of traditional popular bands, warrior associations, and so on (Nketia 1965: 276).

The pentatonic scale seems to be the original scale to be used for traditional music. This can be proven by the fact that the heptatonic scale is only used for those musical types which appeared later, after intermixture with the Akan people (e.g. courtmusic) and the Europeans (popular music / highlife). Though of the same tribal stock as the Adangme, the Ga people are in this connection musically separated from the Adangme, where the pentatonic scale is still the main scale. And also when singing in harmony, the harmonic progressions, as exemplified in *kple* music, are rather different from that of the Adangme³ (Nketia 1958:81). Figure 2 and 3 are examples of *kple* songs.⁴ Both use the tones A, C, e1, g1, a1. Intervals between the notes are thus 1½, 2, 1½, 1. According to Nketia choral endings are quite common and are realised in thirds (1958: 81, 82). In those examples the endings are indeed realised in thirds. In the songs a variety of harmonies is used, the harmonising parts move in all directions. Accordingly intervals of third, fifth, sixth and seventh are used. Fourths and sevenths occur frequently in pentatonic songs, but they are always resolved (Nketia 1958: 81, 82).

8. LA MINTSO WAAGBE JA [Ga]

d. = 80

La min tso waagbe ja O tsuh-kwama.

[Lead of Chorus]

5/16

La min tso waagbe ja O tsuh-

Chorus

La min tso waagbe ja Ee O tsuh-kwama

La min tso waagbe ja O tsuh-kwama

La min tso waagbe ja ee

Figure 3 *Kple* song

9. ADELE [Ga]

d. = 80

Jie le le O gbe yee ne Na Gbebuja O ye.

Jie le le O gbe yee ne Na Gbebuja O ye.

Jie le le O gbe yee ne Na Gbebuja O ye.

Jie le le O gbe yee ne.

Figure 2 *Kple* song

³ I quoted Nketia in this, I do not have examples to show the difference between the harmonic progressions.
⁴ Copied from Nketia 1958:81.

The heptatonic scale on the other hand occurs mainly in Akan derived music –*adowa*, *asafo*, *otu*, *akon* and in popular Ga music, such as maiden songs (*adaawe*), song interludes in games and folk tales, songs of traditional popular bands like *sonte*, *oge tuumatu*, *awaa*, *soulele* etc. (Nketia 1958:81). The heptatonic scale is a diatonic scale, though the scale is in Akan music used different than in European major and minor system. It can better be compared with a modal system. Figure 3 is an example of an Akan song with a heptatonic scale, with a finalis on ‘d’. Parallel thirds are quite common.

The songs of the Ga are often sung by a group, alternately by a cantor or a number of cantors and chorus (Nketia 1958: 82). The language of Ga songs may be Ga, Akan (Twi/Fante) or a mixture of the two. The use of Twi words, phrases and sentences in the course of songs, which are mainly in Ga, is also fashionable in modern popular music (Nketia 1958: 82).

Besides this vocal music, much traditional instrumental music can be found among the Ga. The emphasis in Ga instrumental music is on drums and idiophones. Sometimes a horn is used in the music for the chief (probably originally an Akan tradition⁵), but there does not appear to be any traditional stringed or wind instruments (Nketia 1958: 76). Of the idiophones used in Ga society, gongs (*nono*) are the most common. These are used both as ‘time keepers’ and accompanying instruments. In the first case each gong plays an unchanging rhythm pattern, maintaining a steady tempo throughout the entire performance. If the gong player falters, he throws everybody off. The bell as a time keeper is seen in traditional drum ensembles like *gome* and *oge*. The second method of using gongs emphasises their function as accompanying instruments. One or both of the gongs may play a number of rhythm patterns in much the same way as drums may be used, while maintaining a steady tempo. This treatment of gongs is commonly found in the music of *Kple* (Nketia 1958: 76).

The main musical instruments of Ghanaians and other West Africans are drums. In Ga society, hourglass drums and closed cylindrical drums are used in traditional musical types performed for chiefs. Apart from these, all the drums of the Ga are single headed open drums. They include heavy drums (*obonu*), and talking drums (*atumpan*) found at the courts of chiefs as well as medium (e.g. *kpanlogo*) and small drums used in cult music and music for entertainment (Nketia 1958: 78).

According to Nketia (Nketia 1958: 80), three forms of drumming can be distinguished in Ga music:

1. signal mode
2. speech mode
3. dance mode

In signal mode of drumming, a short rhythm pattern or a restricted number of such patterns are played by a single drummer. These rhythms are not intended for dancing. The rhythms are played over and over again for about a minute, after which the drummer has to wait until some considerable time has elapsed. The drums used in this manner are called *tsoisin* and are found only at the courts of Ga chiefs (see for example the beginning of video track no. 1).

In the second mode of drumming, attempts are made to imitate speech by reproducing the rhythm an intonation of verbal texts. To be able to interpret the rhythms, one has to learn it as a ‘restricted’ language. Many people are able to only interpret a few rhythm patterns, usually

⁵ my own interpretation

those used in the dancing arena as a joke or for congratulating people. Any drum capable of pitch variation such as *oblente* and the master drum of *asafo* can be used. The drums most commonly employed for this mode, are the *atumpan* drums. The language that is used for these rhythms is Akan, there is no established tradition of drum language based on Ga.

The third mode of drumming is the dance mode of drumming. This is by far the most frequently used. In this mode of drumming, single drums and idiophones may be used for playing the required dance rhythms, as for example in *adowa*, *bawa* and *dzigboo* music and dancing, or the music performed at story telling sessions at wake keeping. The usual ensemble for performing dance music consists of three drums that vary in pitch, the tuning of the drums is not absolute. Supporting rhythms are played on the drums with low pitch, the master drummer plays on the high pitched drum. The drummers are accompanied by a bell, or a rattle and a bell.

The instrumental music of the Ga is a composite of Ga and Akan derived forms each of which is associated with a particular institution or a social organisation. The Akan forms are commonly linked with the traditional political organisation, and later cults, while the indigenous forms are associated with worship, festivals and other aspects of Ga social life. There is, however, a common meeting ground of Akan and Ga forms in the music of recreation (Nketia 1958: 79-81).

Festivals

The most important Ga festival is the *homowo* (litt. = shame to hunger) festival. This annual festival is held in August and September. Every town (Osu, Tema, Jamestown etc.) holds it on a different date, so people can visit each other's festival. The festival is always in the weekend; so every week there is a festival in another town. The festival remembers the harvesting and ancestors, and it points out that nobody needs to have hunger anymore. Therefore, a special dish is prepared and given to everybody who wants to join the meal. The chief visits all corners of the quarter he rules, spreading food on the way. Drummers and community people join the procession and dance in honour of their chief. *Homowo* involves saturnalia and ritual reversal. Men dress as women and vice-a-versa, children eat meat with their fathers, children are allowed to steal from the markets (personal communication John Collins, June 2003). The festival starts on Saturday morning with the preparing of the food and the procession through the chiefs area. On Sunday all the chiefs of one town gather in a large space where the whole community is celebrating the festival by dancing and making music. The processional music then changes place for the recreational music like *gome*, *kpanlogo* and highlife music (personal communication Emmanuel Tagoe, January 2002).

Track no. 1 on the video shows an impression of the *homowo* festival in August 2001, in Jamestown Osu. The recording starts in the house of the chief, where a drummer is calling the chief. When the chief comes out of his house, the food is served. The chief and his wife pour libation and the elders of the community take part in it. After the ritual the chief walks around in his community followed by drummers and people walking in procession.

2 Colonialism: neo-traditional music and cultural groups

Colonialism in Ghana

In this chapter I will focus on the impact of colonialism on the music culture of Ghana.⁶ Therefore we must attempt to define the colonial period of Ghana. The Berlin Conference in 1884 / 1885 identified “spheres of influence” and started the Scramble for Africa (‘of course’ without any consideration of the African countries itself). By 1914 all African countries (with the exception of Liberia and Ethiopia) were under the control of one or another European power (Agawu 2003: 1, 2). In Ghana, however, the colonial period began long before that time, as the first extensive contacts with Western people started from about the 15th century. In 1471, the Portuguese arrived at the village Edina (now called Elmina after the Portuguese ‘De Costa da el Mina de Ouro’, ‘the Coast of Gold Mines’) and the colony of the Gold Coast was created. The end of Ghana’s colonial period is marked by the gaining of independence in 1957.

To define the post-colonial era is another problem. It is reflected by the Caribbean poet Lorna Goodison: ‘When is post-coloniality going to end? How long does post-coloniality continue?’⁷ Some writers speak of ‘neo-colonialism’ when they want to classify the current period, what we are in now. By using this term they want to express how much former colonies are still effected by the colonial period, that they are grabbed in the system of the former colonial power and through that still colonized. Indeed it is hardly possible to put a line on a specific date which counts as the end of the post-colonial period. Discussion about this subject goes beyond the purpose of this thesis. Therefore I will start my description of the post-colonial period in Ghana in 1957 and discuss the direct results of colonialism, leaving the end of this period open.

Pre-colonial period

The period before colonisation contains many more years than the period since colonisation, though the information available about this period is much less. The shortage of information on the pre-colonial period in Africa and Ghana is actually only due to the nonliterate history. Most information we have comes from archaeological findings. For example, a rock painting at Sefar (showing eight dancers) is assumed to be from the period 6000 – 4000 B.C. Another one, also a rock painting, features a musician playing a six string harp and has been dated to the period 800 – 700 B.C.⁸ A general statement about African traditional music is that music and dancing were always integrated in African culture. Agawu however, depicts the point, that the intimate setting of the rock painting could suggest that music composed solely for listening enjoyment and not for dancing, is not very strange in the history of African music (Agawu 2003: 3, 4).⁹

As soon as written accounts, from early Arab exploration (7th through the 12th century) and from several travellers, explorers and missionaries, appeared, the imaginings of the pre-colonial musical societies become more clear. Musical aspects that are mentioned are the relative brevity of musical phrases, the extensive use of repetition as an organizing principle, and various forms of vocal and instrumental polyphony (Agawu 2003: 4, 5). Music

⁶ It goes beyond the purpose of this thesis to describe (post-)colonialism in general. Childs and Williams (1977) give a good impression of the main subjects its authors.

⁷ Quoted in Childs and Williams (1997), who quoted it from Carole Boyce Davies, *Black women, writing and identity: migrations of the subject*, London: Routledge, 1994, p. 95.

⁸ Davidson (1966), 5.

⁹ Opinions about those paintings are quoted from Agawu (2003), I did not see those pictures myself.

did change in this period, though not as fast as it would do following colonization. Transculturation processes consisted of borrowings and exchanges with other tribes' musics, including Muslim influence from the north. This took place willingly or forced; the latter for example through the invasion of the Ga area by the Akan (Nketia 1965:266). Other influences came from the Kru seamen of Liberia (lectures Collins 2001).

For more detailed descriptions of the music from the precolonial period we can only guess. The traditional music of the pre-colonial period did not change as fast as the musical styles since colonisation. From current performances it might be possible to get an idea of some of the music that was already performed in old times. Division could probably already be made in different types of traditional music (according to Anku's classification):

- ritual music (usually in 6/8)
- mystic music (usually a combination of 2/4 and 6/8)
- recreational music (usually in 2/4)

The first is associated with rituals like initiation and wars (war-dances). Mystic music is part of traditional religion and is a spiritual music such as a fetish dance. The last, recreational, can be seen at any social event like weddings, funerals, name-giving ceremonies and wherever people gather to enjoy (Anku 2001).

Colonial Period

As mentioned above, in 1471, Portugal was the first country to explore the West African coast in search of opportunities to trade and to spread the Christian religion. Not much later, other Europeans (Dutch, British, Belgians and French) joined them in their search for trade. Trade was not a novelty in the African countries, but what started with the trade of goods (mainly gold and cocoa) continued in the trade of slaves after 1532, which, according to Fletcher was supported by the Africans themselves (2001: 157). One reason why African rulers participated in the trade was their desire for Western luxuries, particularly alcohol. Local chiefs even waged wars on neighbouring societies to obtain slaves for Europeans.¹⁰ Numbers suggest that perhaps as many as 20 million Africans have been transported to work as slaves in other countries.¹¹ The cultural effects of this slave trade were far different in the countries to which the slaves were brought than they were in Africa. African societies were 'only' dealing with a new European culture.

The direct result of the encounter with Europe was the emergence of new institutions like churches, the police, and the army that were responsible for the cultivation of certain types of music and musical instruments (Agawu 2003: 6). In addition, European control, and especially Western education, made many people lose their confidence in their native cultural systems. Western music often came to be associated with modernity and progress and came to be preferred to their own traditional music, or to be syncretized with it (Fletcher 2001: 609).

Another obvious sign of colonial influence is the foreign musical instruments that were brought by European colonizers. Most significant were keyboard instruments such as organs, pianos, and harmoniums, and of course, the most influential instrument, the guitar (Collins 1994: ,lectures Collins 2001, Agawu 2003: 5, 6). According to Collins and Richards (1989), the guitar was introduced through Zaire (where it was introduced into the port of Matadi) and the Belgian Congo (where it was soon preferred to the traditional lamellaphone). During the 1920s, the guitar spread widely throughout West Africa, and gradually replaced traditional lutes and xylophones in urban areas (Fletcher 2001: 618). Highlife was the earliest syncretic popular style of music, incorporating the guitar as a prominent instrument. Chapter 3.3. describes highlife music extensively.

¹⁰ Fletcher refers to: George E. Brooks, 'African "Landlords" and European "Strangers": African-European Relations to 1870', in Martin and O'Meara (eds.), *Africa*, 106-120.

¹¹ Writings about colonialism ie. Shillington (1989) and Boahen (1990)

In theoretical terms, the colonial period in Ghana was not only a period of suppression, but also a period in which different cultures and musical styles positively met and fused into new styles. Coplan gives the example of the invention of highlife music:

It is a characteristic of pidgin languages that elements of their parent languages are simplified in the process of hybridisation. It can be argued that highlife is a musical pidgin in which both rhythmic and melodic elements of African traditional music are simplified. Nevertheless, its development must be seen as a creative selection and integration of cultural materials on the part of Ghanaian musicians in response to a new situation – not as the result of the uncritical but imperfect assimilation of traits from politically dominant intruders (Coplan 1978: 99).

These transcultural processes started since colonisation and brought a wide variety of new musical forms. Because of the ‘slavery-triangle’ (Europe, Caribbean and Africa), it resulted not only in fusions between African and European music as described above. Collins created a diagram to visualise exchange of musical aspects and styles (figure 1).

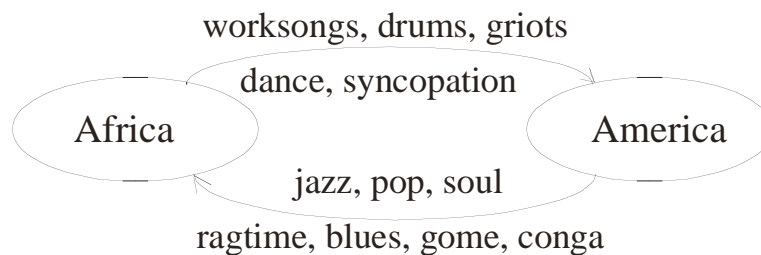


Figure 4 Exchange of musical aspects and styles between Africa and America (by J. Collins)

The real processes of exchange however, were not as simple as shown in this diagram. The two arrows should be seen as the result of criss-cross borrowing and returning of musical aspects. The first step, African music that was brought to America through slaves, was perhaps still simple. The next ones, transformation and later transmuted styles returning home were complex. Exact developments are difficult to trace (lectures Collins 2001).

Post-colonial period

In 1957, Ghana was the first country to gain independency. Of course, influences of colonialism remained visible in the early post-colonial period.

In the period after decolonisation, it rapidly became apparent (to the newly independent nations, at least) that although colonial armies and bureaucracies might have withdrawn, Western powers were still intent on maintaining maximum indirect control over erstwhile colonies, via political, cultural and above all economic channels, a phenomenon which became known as neo-colonialism (Childs and Williams 1997: 5).

But up to now the marks of colonial influence, positive or negative, are still clearly present. Cinemas and dance halls have taken place in the recreational life in Ghana (Nketia 1959: 33, 34). Western musical instruments, like the brass instruments, the keyboard instruments and the guitar, are very important in contemporary musical practice in Ghana. The brass instruments are found in local brass music forms like *konkoma* and the trumpet as a signalling

instrument in *borborbor* or *kolomashie*. The keyboard instruments are used in church music as well as highlife music and the guitar takes a prominent place in all current popular music. Although the musical instruments are a very concrete heritage of the colonial period, Agawu describes another aspect of the colonial impact:

The material presence of European musical instruments is ultimately of limited significance. More important and yet more elusive is the transformation of the musical language itself. ... To put the matter perhaps too directly: European music, in its most influential manifestations, colonized significant portions of the African musical landscape, taking over its body and leaving an African dress, transforming the musical background while allowing a few salient foreground features to indicate an African presence. In less-influential manifestations, the body remained African while sporting a European dress (Agawu 2003: 6).

The transformation of that musical language is for example present in the harmonic treatment of contemporary music (e.g. typical progressions like IV – V – I in highlife music and church hymns):

While the cultural and aesthetic value of their contribution is highly questionable, the musical role of Christian missionaries, who set lyrics in indigenous languages to traditional church melodies and provided training in Western musical techniques as well as Western instruments, is highly significant (Coplan 1978: 98).

While Coplan expresses musical training by missionaries as a positive aspect of colonialism, Agawu (2003) criticizes it as negative:

Of all the musical influences spawned by the colonial encounter, that of tonal functional harmony (besides that of melody and rhythm SR) has been the most pervasive, the most far-reaching, and ultimately the most disastrous (Agawu 2003: 8).

Besides the harmonic progressions used in popular music, Agawu also depicts the harmonization of the national anthem, which in his opinion should sound African (to emphasis independency). The reason for his regret lies in the fact that traditional African music culture contains many local harmonic practices which are not being explored:

These and numerous other indigenous harmonic/contrapunctal practices remain to be explored creatively and on a large scale. But such exploration is not likely to happen any time soon if, as too often happens, we remain deaf to local harmonic systems, refuse to standardize harmonic resources for compositional and pedagogical purposes, and succumb to the superficially intoxicating harmonies of European hymns and American pop songs (Agawu 2003: 10).

Musical culture in Ghana developed two new music traditions during the colonial period, which became firmly established in the post-colonial era. The first is the tradition of popular music (with highlife music as forerunner for styles as afro-rock, afro-beat, hip-life and techno-life). The other is the tradition of so-called art music, “classical” music composed for non-participating audiences, music that can be seen as the African equivalent of Bach, Beethoven and Brahms (Agawu:15, 16).

Not as visible as its impact on the new styles mentioned above, is the colonial influence on traditional music. People became aware of their own cultural heritage, and not only aware of it, they also wanted to protect that which was their own. Nkrumah as the first president of Ghana promoted the performance of traditional music:

Pride in Africa's cultural heritage was the force behind the many distinctively African styles of pop music that developed in Africa from the 1930s and, in particular, after the Second World War. Such pride was encouraged by politicians....In Ghana, at about the same time, Kwame Nkrumah was exhorting musicians to explore traditional music and to wear traditional costume; he insisted that every group performing on radio should include at least one traditional song in their programme.¹² (Fletcher 2001: 619)

Nketia almost saw the decline of traditional music, nationalism due to independency, however made this music survive:

For some time there has been a danger of the music of the older type of folk music being abandoned by literate and urbanised Ghanaians as Ghana gets more and more "industrialised". Nationalism, however, is fostering a new pride in our folk music, and efforts are now being made to preserve or encourage the practice of the best in the older type of folk music throughout the country (Nketia 1959: 34).

Practically this was established with the foundation of the Arts Council of Ghana, the creation of the Ghana Dance Ensemble and the formation across the country of many so-called cultural troupes (the latter I will discuss in chapter 2.1.3).

Childs and Williams quote Fanon's three stages for intellectuals struggling with post-coloniality, which can be compared with developments in music. In the first stage, works imitate European models, styles or genres. The second involves reinvention of the own culture, also described as Africanization by John Collins (lectures Collins 2001), while the third finally seems to end in a rejection, a combat in a revolutionary national style (Childs and Williams 1997: 56).

Neo-traditional music?

In the lectures of John Collins, I learned the term neo-traditional music for musical types such as kpanlogo and *fui*. I took this term for granted, as it sounded plausible to me (a traditional music, which was invented not long ago). In a conversation with Dr. Anku I discussed this fact with him, because I remembered that my drumming teacher in Holland always talked about popular African music in which dances such as rock 'n roll and twist were involved. He posed the question back to me, by pointing out that people call all recreational music in 2/4 beat "popular" and "highlife" and by asking: 'What do the Ga people think themselves?' Therefore I will reflect on the terms traditional, popular and neo-traditional in this subchapter.

Traditional music

A lot has been written about the subject of traditional music. Fletcher even calls the word 'tradition' 'another overworked and vague term', It is derived from the Latin 'tradere' (to hand over) and is commonly used in the sense of transmission by 'handing down' (Fletcher 2001: 39). He also mentions the new view on the meaning of the word 'tradition'. He suggests that the world has changed more over the last 200 years, than it did during the millennia before the Industrial Revolution. That is why tradition now refers to customs before industrialization, urbanization and electronic communication, and that is why it has got the meaning of being static. Fletcher stresses that 'although throughout most of human history continuity was regarded as the touchstone of stability, things were seldom stable for long' (Fletcher 2001: 599). Besides the fact that the word 'traditional' carries the meaning of 'static'

¹² Original reference: Stapleton and May, *African All Stars*, 38.

with it, it also assumes that a culture, or any group of people has its own pure musical style. It is sometimes defined as ‘authentic’, which designates quality and pureness (Nettl 1964:180). But that is not the point here; this idea probably comes from the time around 1900, when researchers (and also the political directors) were looking for the “real” style of a people, to cleanse their heritage of foreign elements (Nettl 1964:181).

What we are looking for is a term for a certain type of music (called ethnic music, folk music, traditional music, primitive music or whatever), everybody knows which music is meant, but no term exists that properly conveys its meaning. The dictionary gives as a definition for tradition an ‘old habit of a group of people’ and for ‘traditional’ the definition ‘according to old habits’.¹³ In the case of traditional music, this would mean that it is a music that belongs to a certain group of people and they have been practicing this music for a long time. By lack of any better term¹⁴ to define the music of homogenous groups in Ghana that is associated with old institutions¹⁵, I will use the term ‘traditional music’ in the way Nketia uses it:

The musical scene in Africa today is a very complex one, for it reflects not only the diverse ethnic composition of the continent, but also the duality of old and new, indigenous and foreign that characterises modern Africa. Accordingly one must distinguish between traditional music – the music which utilises the resources and modes of expression cultivated in the period before active colonisation, and new modes of expression in the idioms of popular and fine art music which are cultivated by Africa’s population exposed to the impact of colonialism, the mass media, and western institutions (Nketia 1963:1).

The division in periods between colonization and post-colonization has already been discussed. Employing the term homogenous groups Nketia means groups such as Ashanti, Ewe, Ga and Dagomba, consisting of communities speaking the same language, performing the same types of dance and songs and keeping to the same range of instruments. They are bound together by a common musical tradition (Nketia 1959: 31). ‘Association with old institutions’ in the definition of Nketia refers to the religious, ceremonial and ritual music in which, for example, contact with the ancestors is made or boys and girls are initiated.

As already mentioned before, traditional music also undergoes changes. Nketia stresses this by mentioning the aspects of music history that also exist in traditional music:

Africa today is a scene of rapid social changes. Not only is the physical appearance of towns and the countryside undergoing transformation which is affecting the lives and outlook of the inhabitants of the continent, but also tribal groups are being welded together into new political and cultural units. In this process of change, our folk music traditions have not remained unaffected. New musical types are emerging, while the traditional organisation of music and dancing is being modified. A study of our folk music traditions shows, however, that what is happening now is not an entirely new phenomenon. It is but a continuation, though in an accentuated form, of an old process of change (Nketia 1959: 31).

Popular music

According to Willemze¹⁶, popular music is a collective name for several genres. The music he describes is mainly from American or British origin. There are some mutual aspects that this type of music shares, but many pop genres do not contain all those elements:

¹³ Wolters Ster Woordenboek

¹⁴ It goes beyond the subject of this thesis to find the best suitable term, therefore I choose the one from an insider musicologist.

¹⁵ also a definition of Nketia (1959)

¹⁶ Willemze, *Spectrum muziekencyclopedie*???

- pop music is commercial, it is a consumers music
- pop music is a (main) component of daily life
- pop music is for youth audience
- pop music is extravert: it wants to approach / touch the other
- it is based on a simple melodic element, and can easily be sung or sung with
- simple chords and chordal schemes
- simple instrumentation and usually electronically amplified
- own spreading technique: mass media, with producers and disc jockeys play an important role

Because the word popular music covers so many types of music, this definition is quite general. To use the term so that it fits the African situation better, I will quote some phrases of Nketia. He says that new idioms of music sometimes make use of melodic and rhythmic resources of traditional music. “Lyrics are generally in African”, but also he says that they are sharply differentiated from the traditional music, because “they lean heavily on western harmonic techniques as well as on western instruments” (Nketia 1963:10). Musicians of the new musical idioms are “formal conservatory trained musicians in the case of the fine art type of music, and in the case of popular music, they are often self-trained musicians formed into bands by individuals” (Nketia 1963:9). Finally, because popular music is not integrated into the regular activities of community life, the musicians and bands always “need promotion and therefore rely on commercial advertising, recording companies and broadcasting media as radio and television” (Nketia 1963:9).

An other interpretation of the word popular however, is the meaning of something being liked by many people. In the case of music for example, this meaning has nothing to do with the type of music, but with the acceptance of a certain style. Considering the foregoing description of popular music, it seems like the latter fits the situation of kpanlogo more.

Neo-traditional?

Even though kpanlogo was invented with a touch of highlife and incorporated steps from rock ‘n roll, which certainly was pop music, one can imagine that people used the term popular music in early times of kpanlogo. A music critic even acknowledged kpanlogo’s position in the popular realm of Mambo, cha-cha-cha, rock ‘n roll and twist, in an article¹⁷:

It’s Panlogo. It’s real hot stuff. The ‘Twist’ came in lately ... we thought it was the end. Then the ‘Shake’ and the ‘Monkey’. Now it’s something they call ‘Panlogo’ ... the craze of the day ... all the boys do it. So do the girls. It’s a mixture of something of indigenous culture and something foreign. ... The result of the blend is real hot stuff. The Panlogo Drama Troupe in Accra, led by Mr. A.A. Ansah, made its debut at the Christmas in Egypt night club last Sunday and introduced this dance of the day.

Besides this, Salm points out that even a “typical rock ‘n roll group as ‘the Avengers’ with lead, rhythm and bass guitars (and also three percussionists) featured the kpanlogo beat. Although their version of kpanlogo was quite different from that played by Bukom youth, the fact that they played kpanlogo, reflects the modernized aspects of kpanlogo music and dance” (2003: 262, 263).

However, if we consider the musical aspects such as the rhythm patterns, the instruments and the ensemble, then the answer is no. The basis of kpanlogo is constituted of

¹⁷ I found this quote in the dissertation of Salm (2003: 244), the original newspaper article was published in the *Sunday Mirror*, September 27, 1964: 6 under the title “Ghana’s Newest Dance Craze: Its Panlogo”.

traditional forms. It does not mean that it is similar to these former traditional drum dances, but it is traditional. Nketia explains:

Where the framework of each musical types used is not greatly modified its content or repertoire may be modified, or expanded as time goes on. ... Similarly, one finds creative additions being made in the field of drumming through the formation of new ensembles, re-creations of old ensembles, acquisition of new type of drums, and the creation of new dances (1959: 31).

One might suggest that there is a big difference between former dance styles and kpanlogo and that therefore the term traditional does not seem to justice this new style. However, kpanlogo is recreational music and according to Nketia, that explains bigger changes in these types of music:

The examples which I have given so far are examples of new “court music”. The more dynamic type of change, however, is in recreational music. In many places in Ghana new forms of music and dancing based on the old indigenous style come in vogue and gradually disappear as new ones are created, or old ones are revived (1959: 32).

The term neo-traditional music, could therefore be a solution, because it suggests that the new style in appearance is a traditional form, but its invention is too young to classify it as traditional. However, the question raised by using the term neo-traditional is: “When is kpanlogo (and other neo-traditional forms) old enough to be called traditional?” In 100 years time perhaps, a generation of researchers considers it traditional, but where exactly do we draw the line? Perhaps this term brings more questions than it solves.

Hobsbawn also points out that “‘traditions’, which appear or claim to be old are often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented. With the term ‘invented tradition’ he focuses not on the origin or history of the new tradition, but on the way it appears:

The term ‘invented tradition’, is used in a broad, but not imprecise sense. It includes both ‘traditions’ actually invented, constructed and formally instituted and those emerging in a less easily traceable manner within a brief and dateable period – a matter of a few years perhaps – and establishing themselves with great rapidity ... It is evident that not all of them are equally permanent, but it is their appearance and establishment rather than their chances of survival which are our primary concern (1983: 1).

Kpanlogo is also such a new tradition, it is not a form with a historic past, it was a reaction of youth on the new gained independence, on the music of the elders, on the popularity of highlife. This fits the description of Hobsbawn:

...the peculiarity of ‘invented’ traditions is that the continuity with it is largely factitious. In short, they are responses to novel situations which take the form of reference to old situations, or which establish their own past by quasi-obligatory repetition. It is the contrast between the constant change and innovation of the modern world and the attempt to structure at least some parts of social life within it as unchanging and invariant...(1983: 2).

Besides this, he points out that where new traditions are invented, “it is often not because old ways are no longer available or viable, but because they are deliberately not used or adapted”. Especially in the case of kpanlogo, youth were creating their own new identity. They did not like the old forms of music anymore, so they looked for a new type of music. But however they thought they did something totally new, as can be read in chapter 3.3, certainly they did adapt the old forms.

Kpanlogo is not the only new recreational music that appeared in the 60s. Other types of cultural music were for example *gahu*, *borborbor* and *fuji*. Salm states that all these forms of neo-traditional music are rarely considered to be truly “popular” forms, but that kpanlogo bridged that gap (Salm 2003: 240). It is a form that is hanging between the traditional and the popular, therefore the term “hybridity” also covers the story of kpanlogo. Kpanlogo was a form of modernization, a way to enter new global life. As Canclini stresses out that “traditionalism is today a trend in many hegemonic social layers and can be combined with the modernization, almost without conflict...” (1990: 146). As described before, traditionalism does not mean static, especially in African music, traditional music is not concerned with a linear process of modernization going from one point to another, but it involves a criss-cross contact, borrowing and exchange that finally ends in a modernization of a tradition.

Current developments in Ghanaian traditional music

Traditional music always played a very important role in Ghanaian societies. In post-colonial times however, with new media, such as television and radio, broadcasting new idioms of music, the (neo-)traditional music forms are competing with their popular opponents. During funerals and weddings for example, both genres are played and performed, often at the same time. Regularly the spinners ‘win’ over the traditional music. Another thing I noticed during several weddings is that people, especially in the bigger towns, do not dance anymore. Cultural groups are invited to perform traditional music, but the public rarely joins the dancing and singing anymore.

Cultural groups

As a reaction to the colonial period, many African people and their political leaders reinvented their own music and culture. They wanted to show that their own music was as good or perhaps even better than European music. Kwame Nkrumah, as the first president of Ghana, promoted the practise of traditional music:

Beginning in the 1960s, musical tradition was invented in Ghana throughout the establishment of the Arts Council of Ghana, the creation of a National Dance Ensemble, and the formation across the country of many so-called cultural troupes. These associations brought together drummers, singers, and dancers from different ethnic groups to learn and perform their most popular or prominent dances (including kpanlogo, adowa, atsiabegkor, bawa, and dambakatai). The result would be the establishment of a transethnic canon, a classic collection of cultural artifacts. Public concerts featured a selection of these dances for nonparticipating audiences. The idea was to preserve the authenticity of each dance by reifying certain dance steps, body movements, costumes, and styles of singing and drumming. In constructing edifices to serve as foundations, sites of authenticity, primordial sources, and markers of African difference, this invention of tradition engendered a range of responses. On one hand, traditional culture was understood as a rebirth through a kind of Sankofa (“go back and retrieve”) philosophy. On the other, traditional culture was interpreted as new, as the result of fresh initiatives that, although marked by a thematic relation to “old” or rural Africa, nevertheless represented bold, new ventures. Herein lies one of the paradoxes of postcolonial African life (Agawu 2003: 19).

It were especially these cultural groups that were so important for the revival of traditional music. Also among Ga youth, the opportunities for a better future were seen in cultural dancing:

For some, kpanlogo offered a means to a dancing career. African cultural displays became saleable commodities in the 1960s, both within Ghana and abroad. The era of African independence produced a new interest in the continent and its performance styles. Although many Ga youth preferred the excitement of rock 'n roll dancing and the images and expressions associated with it, kpanlogo offered better prospects for escaping the urban squalor of Old Accra. African rock 'n roll dancers were certainly not going to get opportunities to travel to the United States or Europe, but there was a chance that a cultural dancer might get that break (Salm 2003: 272).

That is how kpanlogo came into the repertoires of cultural groups. Those groups were said to perform indigenous dancing and drumming. However, it must be admitted that their way of playing and performing was already different to how it ever had been. The main adjustment that was made, was that from all the different dances and rhythms, the most typical aspects were abstracted and from that time on were considered to be authentic.

The first Ga-cultural group called Wulomei, appeared in 1973. The group used to perform traditional *gome* music as well as highlife, and also featured bamboo flutes and the guitar. According to Collins (2001: 3) it was launched by Saka Acquaye and Nii Ashitey, to indigenise highlife. 'They created 'Wulomei' so that the youth would forget foreign music and would do their own thing.'¹⁸ Wulomei's success both on stage and on record quickly led to an explosion of such groups that are up to now, still popular (Collins 2001: 3).

Nowadays, the cultural groups play an important role in the heritage of traditional music in the bigger towns. In the villages there are no good electricity supplies and therefore there is still only traditional music. Quite regular in the towns, cultural groups perform during funerals and weddings, performing their repertoire that incorporates dances from different ethnic groups. This is a remarkable thing, because normally during a funeral or wedding the tribal music would be performed and not the music of other tribes. Children who used to learn drumming and dancing from their fathers have to go to school and because the education system does not offer music as a course anymore, many children are not able to play their own traditional music. Besides that, youth is usually more interested in the modern pop music than in cultural music. Some people think that joining a cultural group will bring them some income, or perhaps they will be discovered by a western music or dance manager. For them it is a way to survive, and indeed some talented boys and girls got better opportunities in a foreign country, but for most of them, it is an unrealistic future.

Some groups have a wealthy Ghanaian manager and those groups appear to be more professional than the others (better costumes, good van for transport, good instruments). These groups also travel regularly to foreign festivals and do not have a problem to survive. This is in sharp contrast with other groups which appear and disappear all the time.

The latest development of cultural groups that I saw was in June 2003. A newspaper mentioned a *gome* competition with a money prize award, which could mean some future perspective for cultural groups. Change in the performance repertoire, I saw at Alliance Française where a prominent cultural group was performing. After a few songs from the traditional repertoire, they continued with some indigenous highlife music and some new songs, performed in the old style. It seems like traditional groups are going back to the times of the first cultural groups.

The emergence of new popular creations depends on the extent to which existing forms enjoy the support of a community or of its elders, or their continued suitability for use on various social occasions. ... It is in such new creations that significant elements constituting a new

¹⁸ Nii Ashetey, quoted by John Collins in his article (2001)

departure from the old tradition, or rather a new addition to the old tradition, are found (Nketia 1959: 32).

3 Kpanlogo

Frankie Laine and Otoo Lincoln

In Jamestown (Accra), I met Frankie Laine¹⁹ (born ± 1941) and Otoo Lincoln (born ± 1939). They were famous kpanlogo dancers during the 60's and 70's. Otoo Lincoln is one of the originators of the dance and Frankie Laine was one of the best kpanlogo dancers. In Akuma Village, nearby the beach, they told me the story of kpanlogo.

Frankie Laine:

The exact date of appearance of kpanlogo is unknown, it was somewhere around 1960. Before, there was a traditional Ga dance called *kolomashie*. This was a popular dance, but it was one of the very few traditional Ga dances [even the *kolomashie* is not strictly traditional, it appeared in the 1930's and was influenced by *konkoma* marching highlife (personal communication John Collins 2001)], which was still popular in that time. *Kolomashie* was a dance of the elders that was mainly danced in procession. Young people were looking for something new.'

The name of this new dance was kpanlogo, from an old Ananse story. (Ananse stories are original tales from the gold coast, interspersed with song, and depict a wily spider character that uses his wits and cunning to survive. Today Ananse stories include many other types of tales as well, from African fables to fairy tales (Appiah and Gates 1999)). Otoo's grandfather always told him and his brothers and sisters this certain kpanlogo story, but of course he did not know that Otoo would make music out of it (Collins 1994: 44).

Otoo:

There once was an old man, he was a chief, he was rich and had a big land. He was married and he had three daughters. Nobody knew the names of those girls. The children grew up in the chief's palace and were not allowed to go outside. The names of the children were: Kpanlogo, N'maa N'maa and Alogodzan.

At a certain day the chief decided that he was getting old and someone should replace him. He called his community and told them that the person who could tell him the names of his daughters could marry all three of them and would become the owner of his land as well.

The other day, a man sneaked into the palace and hid. The girls were playing when the man suddenly came out and behaved like a crazy man. The girls laughed at him. The mother heard the rumour and wondered what was going on. She called her daughters: "Kpanlogo, N'maa N'maa, Alogodzan what is going on?" When the children wanted to explain, the man was already gone, because he got what he came for.

At the day of the contest, a lot of men gathered in front of the palace. The man who knew the names took place last in the queue. Everybody tried to mention the correct names, but all of them failed. Then it was the man's turn. He said: "the names of the girls are: kpanlogo, Mao and alogodzan." Everybody was amazed, the chief asked him how he got to know the names and so the man explained. The chief then gave him his land and his daughters (personal communication Frankie Laine and Lincoln 2001).

Otoo's grandfather told him this story in 1956, when he was 15 years old. Otoo said: 'I used to tell the story to my brothers, sisters, and friends at our family house in Bukom, central Accra, and I used to dance and sing, "Kpanlogo, Alogodzan, Kpanlogo Mma Mma." Some friends started to drum as they liked my kpanlogo song and dance, which is my own version of highlife (Collins 1994: 44).' The song 'kpanlogo, alogo, logo, logo, dze, mao, mao' became the refrain of many kpanlogo songs and can be seen on track no. 3 of the video.

¹⁹ Frankie Laine is a pseudonym, his real name is Abraham Attaquay Ofi

According to Frankie Laine the creation of this new dance was not always without problems:

Kpanlogo is a free dance, that is how the movements became kind of vulgar in the beginning [around 1965]...quite often the police came to stop us from dancing. Then Nkrumah wanted to decide it by himself if it was really an obscene dance. He invited us to come and dance at a certain *Durbar*. Otoo and I danced our gentle version of the kpanlogo and since then, the government approved the kpanlogo.'

The two dancers, Otoo and Frankie Laine have known each other from infancy and always lived close by in Jamestown. They used to go dancing in clubs like 'Black Star' and 'Black Eagle' and later in the 'Big Yank's Club. Frankie Laine danced rock 'n roll before he began dancing kpanlogo. When Otoo Lincoln started in the first kpanlogo group 'Kpanlogo Special'



Picture 1 Frankie Laine (on the left) in 'Big Yank's' rock 'n roll club

it was only logical that Frankie Laine joined this group. The group started around 1962 and later they would also perform for public. In a short time, kpanlogo dancing became very popular and new groups arose quickly. In 1965 Frankie Laine separated from Otoo's group to form his own group: 'The Frankie Laine brothers':

We used to dance every Saturday at 'Ananse Krom' [=litt. The spider village, now known as Arts Centre]. To make some money out of the dancing, we organised competitions. People paid an entrance fee to see the competition...the first one was at Kyekyeku...We Were the best, nobody could beat us.

In 1966 the government was overthrown and the new government was not as interested in culture. They stopped the financial support for the organisation of the competitions (personal communication Otoo and Frankie Laine 2001).

When the government stopped supporting the competitions, Otoo and Frankie Laine, both very good solo-dancers had to earn their money by dancing in the big hotels in Accra. They danced for tourists who stayed in the hotels, as a tourist attraction in the dining room. At that time they were well known in Accra, but they never gained real appreciation for their work.

Frankie Laine still likes to dance on invitation now and then. Otoo stopped dancing long time ago and took up his carpentry work.

Cultural, social and political context

The complete history of kpanlogo is more complex than the story above suggests. It is a story of generational division, search for identity modernization of tradition and many people are involved which makes it hard to express the story in exact chronological order.

The creation of kpanlogo

According to Captain Lolo²⁰, the name kpanlogo was officially born when a performance on a platform, around the coffin of Otoo Lincolns carpentry master, literally collapsed. Because the music did not have a name yet, people began to refer to it as “Kpanlogo” (Salm 2003:249). The name was abstracted from the Ananse story about Kpanlogo, Alogodzan and N’maa N’maa and it was Lincolns carpentry master who used to tell Otoo this story. This same story became a lyric for some songs²¹ (Salm 2003:247).

Since this incident at the funeral, the group became known as ‘*Kpanlogo Special*’ and it was the first official kpanlogo group (registered with the government as “The Kpanlogo Cabaret Troupe (Special), Bukom Street, Accra; leader: Otoo Lincoln) (Salm 2003:249). Before that time, however, the friends were already playing now and then spontaneously. They gathered for informal performances since around 1958, they created new dances and lyrics just for enjoyment and as an expression of a new youth identity (Salm 2003:246). Because the group did not have space to store the drums in their houses, they moved to the carpentry shop of Otoo Lincoln and that is how he became part of the group. Some other members in that period were Okulay Foes, Captain Lolo (master drummer), Kotor Lincoln, Yarboi Jimmy Ray, Amy Dorsey, Tetteh Double T, Aryee Motion, and Akwesi Fabian (Salm 2003:247).

After the performance at the wake-keeping, people got curious of this music and new members joined the group and kpanlogo grew enormous in popularity. Soon, however, money problems made a lot of the original members brake away to form a new group. Okulay Foes started the group “*Se wa hu*” (Twi for ‘have you seen?’)²². Kpanlogo became very popular, groups performed on the streets and people from all kind of places came to watch it. Regularly the streets were completely blocked because of kpanlogo performances. Dancers and drummers were invited to come and play on outdoorings or wake-keepings, but were also asked to come and teach the dancing and drumming. By 1965, about sixty groups existed in and around Accra. Informal competitions were organised in different areas of Old Accra (the original centre of Accra, incorporating Jamestown and Ussher Town) and groups started playing in nightclubs, hotels and public spaces as well (Salm 2003:249-253).

Influence of rock ‘n roll

The Ga youth from Bukom (Bukom is a certain area in Jamestown) who created kpanlogo in a search of an own identity by inventing new forms of cultural expression, were also regular

²⁰ Captain Lolo is a pseudonym. Lolo is a Ga word for ‘drum’ (SR). Captain Lolo earned his name at a competition in 1964 (Salm 2003:245)

²¹ According to Salm it was Otoo’s carpentry master, according to Collins, (1994:44) however, it was his grandfather. Otoo’s grandfather might have been his master as well?

²² Akwesi Fabian, an Akan member of the group, called to the others (in Twi): “Have you seen that we have also gone to perform?” That is how the group got its name and produced the chorus of their first song (“*se wa hu*”, responded by “*ante ona*” (same meaning, but spoken in Ga)).

rock 'n roll club visitors. Rock 'n roll became popular through the cinemas, where people saw characters dancing rock 'n roll in movies such as "Rock around the Clock". The dance steps of rock 'n roll (and also for example from Chubby Checkers twist) were incorporated in kpanlogo dancing. During intervals of popular dance bands or rock 'n roll groups at the Kyekyeku nightclub, kpanlogo dancers and drummers took their chance to hit the stage. The manager of the club, "CC", promoted kpanlogo in his clubs. At Kyekyeku he first organized performances and later also competitions. Other nightclubs followed soon.

It was through those performances, that Frankie Laine became a kpanlogo dancer. He watched the dancers and tried it himself. Because he was already dancing rock 'n roll it was not difficult for him to pick up the kpanlogo movements. He made, more than the older members were doing, a combination of kpanlogo and rock 'n roll movements and pushed kpanlogo dancing into a new direction. His main contributions were the so called 'pelvic movements' and the more acrobatic moves. In short time, he became very popular and was often invited for outdoorings as he was a crowd puller. However popular his moves became, the original dancers were not so happy with his success and asked him sometimes to stay away from performances. Despite this resistance, most dancers also began to incorporate more rock 'n roll steps into their performances (Salm 2003:239-262).



Picture 2 Frankie Laine (on the right) in 'Big Yank's'.

Conflicts

Generational divisions usually also involve conflicts. Some are harmless, like the money conflict in Kpanlogo Special and the arguments between Frankie Laine and some original members. Some however, were more serious. As kpanlogo became more popular throughout the city amongst underclass youth (in particular in Old Accra), government officials threw up resistance to those performances. The Old Accra area had been a breeding ground of political intrigue during colonial times and later it became the centre of resistance to the CPP.²³ That is why any youth activity in this area was considered suspicious and why kpanlogo performances regularly ended up in fights with the police and arrests. When the group "Se Wa Hu" came up, their name was misunderstood as being an offend of the ruling government. Fortunately for the members of this group, they were not arrested, instead they were invited to a *Duhrbar*, organized by the Arts Council of Ghana, to perform kpanlogo. The group (Frankie

²³ The political group that was resisting against the CPP was known under the name of "Tokyo Joes". Members used to shave their heads bald, except for a small circle on top. For their meetings, rallies and marches they sometimes invited kpanlogo drummers and dancers to create atmosphere (personal communication Badu, January 2002).

Laine, Okulay Foes and Otoo Lincoln were among) danced their “genuine” kpanlogo and the Council approved the dance, because, as Foes told: “They realized that we weren’t ruffians or trying to make fun of any person or trying to ridicule anyone.”²⁴ After this approval, the Arts Council even opened a new arena at the Arts Centre and invited kpanlogo groups to perform. The groups, however, did not trust it, because of its association with the government. Few groups accepted the invitation, but most kept on performing on the streets and at social occasions (Salm 2003:263-266).

The dance was thought to be generally accepted since that time, when another unpleasant situation occurred. Captain Lolo, Otoo Lincoln and others were arrested. They were accused of spoiling the nation because they would have introduced a vulgar dance. The prisoners, however, said that it had to be other groups who did not learn the dance properly. Therefore, the originators of the dance were brought to see one of these groups. Captain Lolo explained in an interview: “It was there we saw the Hausa men using their fingers to literally call for ejaculation of the clitoris while kpanlogo was being played.”²⁵ Otoo Lincoln described the movements that were considered indecent:

Some children wanted to do it foolishly. They held their fingers like this [he shows his index finger pointing toward a woman’s sexual organ]. But that is wrong... That wasn’t how I did it. This is the way I did it [he holds his palms up with all his fingers pointing outward]. You see, the ‘Lolo’ was on. But those who didn’t know how to do it held their fingers wrong. But we opened our hands like this. Then we jump with it.²⁶

The arrested drummers and dancers were taken to Ussher Fort Prison and then later to the Arts Centre to perform for members of the government.²⁷ After performing kpanlogo the way it was intended they realized that it was a proper dance and that it were only certain groups (especially the groups in Nima) who were vulgarising it. Captain Lolo and other originators of the dance had to go to Nima to teach youth over there the proper way to dance kpanlogo.²⁸ Still, the government was not satisfied; therefore the Arts Council invited all the kpanlogo groups to the Arts Centre and if during the demonstration the dance would be considered indecent, then steps would be taken to ban the whole dance. More than twenty groups were present and they were able to convince the ‘jury’ of the African qualities in kpanlogo dancing. After the performance, kpanlogo was finally given the green light (Salm 2003: 263-268).

Political situation

In 1957, Ghana was the first African country to become independent and Kwame Nkrumah was the first president. Civilians expected a lot from their new president and after years of struggling, the situation in the country indeed became more stable and quiet (**ref.**). Under Nkrumah’s government, there were some major changes in culture:

- Founding of the national symphony orchestra
- Promotion of traditional music
- Attaching bands to brigades, for example to the socialist workers brigade and the farmers brigade (lectures Collins 2001)

²⁴ Quoted from an interview between Steven Salm and Okulay Foes in June 2000.

²⁵ Steven Salm interviewed Captain Lolo in June 2002.

²⁶ Steven Salm interviewed Otoo Lincoln in November 1999.

²⁷ Kwame Nkrumah did not come, but his wife was present (according to Captain Lolo)

²⁸ interview of Steven Salm with Captain Lolo, June 2002.

It was the first time that money was available for cultural activities. The promotion of traditional music was for example realised by the organisation of competitions. After the approval of kpanlogo dance, weekly competitions were organised at Kyekyeku. Later the government supported youth to organise their own competitions. They organized two major competitions in 1965. One at the Baden Powell Hall (it involved about twenty groups) and the other, the ‘Grand Special Kpanlogo Drumming Competition in aid of Kwame Nkrumah Trust Fund’ at the Baden Powell Memorial Hall. In December of the same year, an even bigger event was held at the Accra Sports Stadium. There were more than fifty kpanlogo groups from the Accra area alone and even groups from Togo and Benin attended in this event (Salm 2003: 269).

According to Salm, Nkrumah also promoted kpanlogo by inviting groups to perform at official state functions. Kpanlogo Special was the first to be invited and since that time, they were invited any time dignitaries came to Ghana, to perform and welcome them. During such shows, the groups were treated like real artists, they could stay in a hotel and were given appropriate attire, that expressed Nkrumah’s vision of traditional culture (Salm 2003: 274).

The brigade bands were especially important for kpanlogo, because “the Workers Brigades incorporated kpanlogo into its organization as a part of the CPP’s attempt to cultivate the African personality. Due to their skills as kpanlogo dancers, Frankie Laine, Annie Hayes and others from Central Accra were invited to join the Brigade Cultural Troupe as dancers and trainers. Through this, they turned dancing into a profession, it was a satisfactory employment and it offered them a degree of social status with the government in power. Besides the benefits, it also raised “contentious issues”. The Brigades belonged to the CPP, but most dancers came from an area that was strongly anti-CPP (Salm 2003: 272, 273).

In February 1966 Nkrumah was ousted from office in a coup and then until 1969 the military National Liberation Council ruled the country. In May 1969, political parties were legalised and the election held a few months later was won by the Progressive Party under Dr. Kofi Busia. The new governments did not have as much interest in fostering culture and they stopped financing the competitions in the Arts Centre and the brigade bands. Around 1967 this led to the end of competitions, but kpanlogo had already become a part of the social and cultural life and therefore could still be seen and heard on the corners of the streets and at social gatherings (personal communication Frankie Laine, June 2001).

Spread around the world

Most conflicts were soon forgotten and kpanlogo became generally accepted. For the Ga youth, kpanlogo offered opportunities to travel throughout the country and abroad. Frankie Laine and Annie Hayes travelled to Tunisia with the Brigade Cultural Troupe in 1965, where they performed a dance drama called ‘Before the White Men Came’ (Salm 2003: 274).

In 1967, even the Ga mantse got interested in the popular kpanlogo music. He formed and financially supported a new group called ‘Obuade’. Among the drummers of this group were Mustapha Tettey Addy and his brothers, Obo and Emmanuel. Otoo Lincoln was asked to show them kpanlogo. He stayed with them for two years and performed at places like ‘Bukom Night Club’, the ‘Ambassador’ and ‘Continental Hotel’. Then he stopped and took up carpentry again (Collins 1994: 111). The rest of the group travelled to Europe and the United States, where they stayed from 1972 to 1975. During this period (in 1974) they recorded the album ‘Kpanlogo Party’ in London, which became popular quickly. After this intensive period of travelling and performing, Mustapha settled in Germany and started teaching Ghanaian drumming and dancing over there. He also recorded a solo album, on which he plays a kpanlogo master drum and songs. In 1999, Aja Addy travelled with his groups (all Ga musicians) to Germany to perform some successful concerts. Because more and more

Ghanaians travelled abroad, they brought Ghanaian culture, including the music, to Europe and abroad (there is even a website on the internet of a kpanlogo cultural group in Japan).

Mustapha Tettey Addy has played a significant role in promoting the popularity of Ghanaian traditional music outside Ghana. In 1985 he started his own music school in Kokrobite (about 20 km eastward from Accra). It is called 'AAMAL', 'Academy of African Music and Arts Ltd'. The establishment of this school, founded mainly for tourists, was the first successful private attempt of its kind. Most students came from Germany, because that was where Addy was living. They could learn all types of Ghanaian traditional music, but the Ga music (including kpanlogo) predominated. It used to be a very attractive place to study music in Ghana with good teachers. When I visited the place, nothing was going on and drums were broken, according to the employees however, that was due to the season. (personal communication employees January 2002). The AAMAL institute inspired other cultural groups to get some extra financial support by teaching foreigners as well. All cultural groups are willing to teach foreigners, some however, like AAMAL institute put a lot of effort to establish a formal training place for tourists. In the neighbourhood of Accra, the 'Kake Dance Ensemble' in Akuma village, 'Odeh Dance Company' in Nungua, 'African Bez'alel Company Ltd' (Suade Cultural Troupe) in Nungua and 'Noyam Dance Company' in Aburi, offer special classes as a structural part of their activities.

Traditional background

Kpanlogo is said to be a fusion of traditional dances and highlife. I was told that the following dances and music form the basis for kpanlogo: *gome*, *kolomashie*, *oge* and highlife (personal communication with several informants). Following a description of all those dances and the relation with kpanlogo.

Gome

Because *gome* is a very old dance, it is very often assumed to be a traditional Ga dance. However, it is probably one of the oldest existing examples of fusion music in Ghana, or of an African traditional music that has been returned home in a transmuted form:

At first I took it for granted that *gome* was a Ga traditional recreational music, but from interviews with elderly Ga musicians I discovered that *gome* had been introduced from the Cameroon and Belgian Congo area around 1900 by Ga carpenters and blacksmiths who had been working for 'big firms' (Collins 2001: 2, 3).

These two countries are also cited as the source of Ga *gome* by Drid Williams on the sleeve notes of the early record release 'Kpanlogo Party' of Mustapha Tetty Addy. According to Flemming Harrev, before *gome* came back to those two countries, it re-emerged around 1800 in Freetown, Sierra Leone through about 550 freed Jamaican Maroons²⁹ (Flemming Harrev 1987 and 1993). The first references to *gome* in Freetown are in the 1820's and 30's (Collins 2001: 1). In all likelihood Ga artisans who were employed as carpenters and blacksmiths in the Belgian Congo, brought this music to their homeland in Ghana. This is confirmed by the fact that many of the oldest Ga *gome* songs are sung in Pidgin English, which was the common language of the ca. 5000 English speaking West African seamen who were employed by King Leopold in the Belgian Free State from 1885 – 1908 (later called the Belgian Congo). One old popular Ga *gome* song in pidgin English is 'Mr. Jacob, iron cut my

²⁹ Maroons is the name for run away ex-slaves. Those 550 slaves were the first slaves to escape and return to their homeland. (lectures Collins 2001)

The first system of the musical score consists of three staves. The top staff contains a melody of eighth and quarter notes. The middle staff features a rhythmic accompaniment with eighth and sixteenth notes. The bottom staff provides a bass line with quarter and eighth notes. The music is in 2/4 time and is enclosed in a blue bracket on the left.

The second system of the musical score consists of three staves. The top staff continues the melody from the first system. The middle staff continues the rhythmic accompaniment. The bottom staff continues the bass line. A triplet of eighth notes is marked with a '3' and a bracket at the end of the system. The music is in 2/4 time and is enclosed in a blue bracket on the left.

The third system of the musical score consists of three staves. The top staff continues the melody. The middle staff continues the rhythmic accompaniment. The bottom staff continues the bass line, featuring two triplet markings with '3' and brackets. The music is in 2/4 time and is enclosed in a blue bracket on the left.

The first line is played on the bell, the timekeeper. The second line is played on a hand drum and has the function of supporting drum. The last line, the master part, is played on the *gome* frame-drum.

Track no. 1 on the CD is an example of a *gome* song (sung by the Allan Family).

Themes of songs generally relate to:

- daily life
- social and topical issues
- political and historical events (Younge 1987:)

Form in *gome* songs is usually call and response by the lead cantor and chorus. The lead cantor sings the whole song before it is repeated by the chorus. Melodies are built on the

heptatonic scale. The songs are usually in unison, but sometimes the singers sing in harmony (two voices) in 3rds, 6ths or 8ths. Occasionally 4ths and 5ths may be heard. (Younge 1987: 110, 111). Dancing in *gome* is free in perception. It can be danced in solos but another special feature of the dance is the mime of 'occupations'. Artisans - especially carpenters - are often seen at work in the dance (lectures Collins 2001, Younge 1987:).

Gome was very popular in the 1920's. Around 1960, the time that kpanlogo appeared, the *gome* had become old fashioned. Musically, kpanlogo and *gome* share some elements. For example, the bell pattern used in *gome* and kpanlogo are exactly the same. Both *gome* and kpanlogo are in simple duple meter. This gives them both the same rhythmic feeling. *Gome* employs the big *gome* frame-drum to play solo. In kpanlogo, only kpanlogo drums are used, also for solos; sometime the *gome* frame-drum is used, but then to emphasis the main beat as a base-line.

Kolomashie

Kolomashie is also the result of early Western influence on the Ga people of Ghana, but it appeared later than *gome* (personal communication Collins 2002). The introduction of brass instruments had a lot of impact on both popular and traditional music styles in Ghana. In the traditional repertoire, military brass music evolved in three different types of marc:

- *konkoma*
- *kinka or kainka*
- *kolomashie*

(personal communication Collins, January 2002)

Konkoma appeared around 1930 as an early form of highlife, with an ensemble of local percussion instruments and in which the brass instruments are imitated by the voice, because there was no money to buy instruments. Therefore, sometimes it also called the 'poor man's orchestra'. Kinka or kainka is.....**even opzoeken!!!!???**

The name *kolomashie* is said to be an alteration of 'colonial marching' (Collins 2002, personal communication). *Kolomashie* is probably a Ga version of the konkoma highlife bands and it was invented in the same period. Conversations between John Collins and King Bruce (19///) and my own conversation with Frankie Laine (June 2003) confirm that *kolomashie* started around 1940.

Kolomashie as a musical type, started first in Accra (Jamestown) before spreading to other Ga traditional areas such as Osu, La and Teshie. According to Frankie Laine (personal communication, November 2001) and Collins (personal communication, January 2002), the *kolomashie* is a dance for the elderly people. Though at the Ga homowo festival everybody is dancing *kolomashie* in procession.

The ensemble consists of some hand drums, a tamale frame-drum, a rattle, bell and very often a trumpet. The signal use of the trumpet confirms the fact that it evolved out of military brass music. The performance of *kolomashie* starts with the lead cantor who serves as the conductor of the ensemble calling the opening song. Then the chorus and the other instruments join in. *Kolomashie* performances could include pieces like 'blues', 'waltz', 'congo', and 'highlife' (the latter as the main part of the performance) (Younge 1987:).

According to Younge, themes of *kolomashie* songs contain topics of daily life, actual topics or historical facts (1987:).

Kolomashie is a free dance, usually danced in procession. The costumes in *kolomashie* are for the men a white pair of knickers with a multi-coloured shirt on top and a pair of canvas shoes usually without socks. This way of dressing is similar to that of konkoma uniforms. Girls can wear any nice dress (Younge 1984: 116).

Kolomashie rhythms are very similar to those of *kpanlogo*; only those of *kolomashie* are slower in tempo, because it is danced in procession. The instrumentation is the same as that of *kpanlogo* in early period (see BBC recording), when *kpanlogo* ensembles also used the *tamale*.



The picture above and video example no. 4 show *kolomashie* at a funeral in the village Potrase. Remarkably, this performance was inland and not in the Ga area. Reason for this might be migration; that the person who died was a Ga who had moved with his family to this village.

A type of music, not to be confused with *kolomashie* is the *lolomashie*. This name refers to the name of the *kpanlogo* drum (in Ga, *lolo* = drum), and it means 'kpanlogo is on the move'. Because of this meaning, I had expected that *kolomashie* appeared after *kpanlogo*, but informants told me that that is not true. *Lolomashie* was invented before *kpanlogo* and some people told me it is the same as *kpanlogo*, only the tempo is slower (personal communications with Collins, Tanko, Rosemary and Tagoe). Because nobody knew more about this music, I could not find out if there is any relation with *kpanlogo*.

Oge

Oge is said to be a very old Ga dance. It used to be played during festivals, mainly by the elders, after drinking a lot of alcohol (personal communication Frankie Laine, June 2003; Rosemary, December 2001; Tetteh Agu, January 2002). Collins, however, pointed out to me that this dance was not as old as I thought it was (personal communication, June 2003). When I asked Frankie Laine, he told me that it was the Kru people who brought it from Liberia around 1950 (personal communication, July 2003). I found out that the reason why people told me that it was such an old dance, is because it was a dance their grandparents used to dance; most people I asked were quite young. Because the dance lost popularity, most people have already forgotten about it (notes).

The ensemble with medium sized hand drums and a bell is the same as in kpanlogo, but the actual rhythms are quite different. The rhythms of *oge* remind of *gome* and kpanlogo rhythms, probably because of the duple meter and the bell pattern. *Oge* is played much slower. According to Frankie Laine kpanlogo can have a slow part and a fast part. The slow part is based on *oge*, and it is used for singing. The fast part of kpanlogo is for dancing and it has nothing to do with *oge*. According to Otoo Lincoln, he used to hear *oge*, played by his father and “it’s like a slow kpanlogo played on one drum, clips and a saw and nail to scrape it”. The movements, danced in *oge*, are similar to the twisting movements of kpanlogo (personal communication Frankie Laine and Tanko, July 2003). An other movement, danced by women, putting a part of their skirt in their belt and then shake their waist while turning round, is also part of kpanlogo dance (personal communication Frankie Laine and Tanko, July 2003)

Highlife

The general term for popular music in Ghana is ‘Highlife’. Coplan describes Highlife as follows:

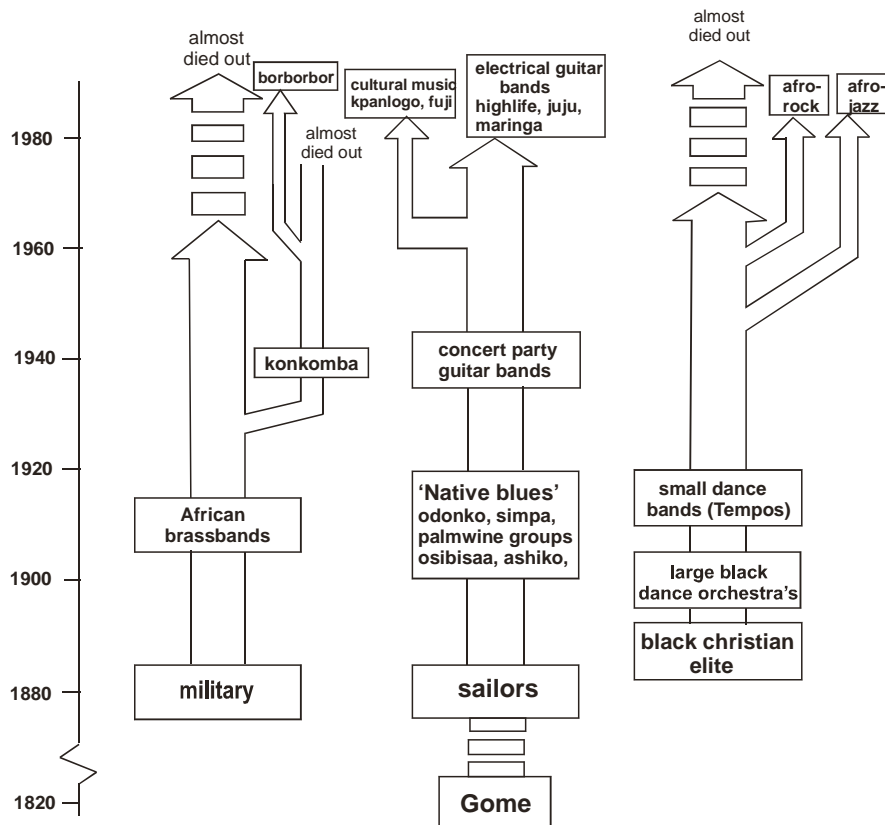
In simple terms, Highlife is a musical hybrid resulting from the acculturative impact of Europe on West Africa during the colonial period. More specifically, we must recognize highlife as not merely the result of mechanical or passive acculturation but as a creative, incorporative response to the political and economic impact and cultural challenge of the West. Highlife is a syncretic form in that it modifies and integrates both Western and indigenous musical elements into an organic, qualitatively new style that retains expressive continuity with the traditional music system. As a syncretic, expressive subsystem, Highlife transmits Western influences and values into a rapidly emerging urban socio-cultural system (1978: 97).

Because the name Highlife is such a general term that covers so many types of music, it is difficult to make a good definition. The explanation of the name Highlife is easier. The following is a comment on this topic by Yebuah Mensah who was running the ‘Accra Rhythmic Orchestra’ in the 1930s:

The term highlife was created by people who gathered around the dancing clubs, such as the Rodger Club, to watch and to listen to the couples enjoying themselves. Highlife started as a catch-name for the indigenous songs played at these clubs by such early dance-bands as the Jazz Kings, the Cape Coast Sugar Babies, the Sekondi Manshamang and later the Accra Orchestra. These people outside called it the Highlife as they did not reach the class of the couples going inside, who not only had to pay the relatively high entrance fee of about seven shilling and sixpence, but also had to wear full evening dress including top-hats if they could afford it (Mensah 1986: 10).³⁰

According to Collins, Highlife can be compared with other musical styles that have emerged out of the African heritage in America – such as ragtime, jazz, samba, blues, calypso, rumba, swing, rhythm and blues, soul reggae and disco – but because highlife has developed at home in Africa itself, it has a direct continuous link with the traditional music of that continent (Collins 1989: 221). Besides that, the musical history in Africa is not as linear as it is often thought to be. The musical history of Highlife is therefore also a criss-cross exchange or fusion of musical elements. Highlife music originated in the English speaking West African countries Liberia, Sierra Leone, Ghana and Nigeria. In the history of Ghana, it is possible to distinguish three separate streams of the emergence of Highlife (lectures Collins 2001):

³⁰ Quoted by John Collins (1989: 224, 225)



The left branch has the military brass band as source for Highlife and ‘*konkoma* highlife’. The middle is the branch that has the longest history, because it already started before the European colonizers came. The last one was the black Christian elite which was the source for ‘dance band highlife’ (Collins 1989: 222).

Palm-wine music appeared in the oldest branch of the ‘Highlife tree’, it was the music from the lower-class dockside palm-wine bars where foreign and local sailors, and local labourers came together to drink the fermented juice of the palm-tree and played the guitar and the local drums (Collins 1989: 222).

Palm-wine highlife evolved in Ghana in the ports towns of Cape Coast, Elmina and Winneba (the Fanti coast) in the very early twentieth century, largely as a result of the impact of visiting seamen on the traditional Fanti recreational music such as *osibisaaba*, *adenkum* and *adziwa*. The seamen included black sailors from America and the Caribbean, but particularly important were the Kru mariners of Liberia (they even arrived before the first Europeans arrived). Because of their navigational and maritime skills the Kru workers were employed on British sailing ships since the late 18th century (and later on American and British steam-ships: often employed as coals stokers or ‘firemen’). Onboard ship the Kru people utilised the small portable instruments of sea-farers such as the accordion, concertina, harmonica, penny whistle, banjo, mandolin – and particularly the Spanish guitar. On the guitar they developed the distinct West African oppositional thumb and finger plucking style, adapted from the African cross-rhythmic way of playing the local harp lute (Collins 1989: 222).

The name palm-wine itself was probably invented after this coastal music went to the rural villages in the 1930’s. With the invention of electrical instruments in the 1950’s, the name palm-wine music became a generic name for all acoustic guitar music, whether played

in the villages or referring to the early sailors guitar music of the coast (personal communication Collins, July 2003). When the palm-wine music spread into the hinterland villages, a more 'rootsy' variation was created. The songs were rather sung in the vernacular than the Pidgin English and the rhythms were based on the more complex traditional rhythms. In Nigeria, this Africanised version was called 'Native Blues' and in the Ashanti area it was called *odonso* or 'Ashanti Blues'. In this context, 'blues' is referring to the minor or hexatonic key, which was normally used in this style (Collins 1989: 222).

The branch left in the diagram shows the history of highlife that evolved out of the brass bands. Since the early period of colonisation, the Europeans on the forts along the coast of West Africa used local musicians to play military marches (Collins 1989: 223). The name for this highlife music is *adaha*. Two of the earliest '*adaha* highlife' brass bands in Ghana were the 'Lions Heart' and the 'Edu Magicians' from Elmina. Within few years, this music became very popular. In villages of southern Ghana, where people could not afford the expensive brass instruments, they developed a kind of 'poor man's' version called *konkomba*. Between the 1920's and 1940's this music reached its highest point of popularity and in 1950 *konkoma* largely died out. Only in the Ewe speaking areas of Ghana and Togo, *konkoma* fused with local recreational music into the so-called *borborbor* (Collins 1989: 224). The connection with the brass-band tradition can still be seen by the occasional use of a bugle. And also in western Nigeria, in the 1930's *konkoma* had its influence on early *Juju-music* and highlife (personal communication Collins, July 2003).

The last major stream of highlife was derived from the dance orchestras. These orchestras could be found among the black Christian elite, who lived along the coast of Sierra Leone, Ghana and Nigeria. The orchestras were like a large ensemble that played the European and American dances like waltzes, polkas, Afro-American ragtime and Latin American ballroom music (Collins 1989: 224). In the 1920's these orchestras included Akan melodies, orchestrated in Western four-part harmony in their shows. The musicians began to select indigenous elements from their own traditional musical idioms. In this way they 'Africanised' the European and American music for the black elite audience (Coplan 1978: 100).

Also the musicians began playing an occasional palm-wine, *gome* or ashiko song. The poor people outside the elite clubs like the "Palladium Cinema" suddenly heard their own local street music played by sophisticated bands. This is the time they started giving the music the name 'highlife' and the term was coined since then (Collins 1989: 224).

After the 20's highlife gained more and more popularity. Nkrumah's government was also aware of the importance of the music (as a vehicle of political communication). From 1959 the government started to sponsor its own bands and competitions to produce the best bands (Coplan 1978: 110).

Because of its geographical position at the coast of Ghana, one might expect highlife music to be an important style among Ga as well. Dance-band highlife, however was the only form of highlife music found in Accra. Coplan gives an explanation:

A consideration of the development of syncretic music in the Ga area of the Ghanaian coast may help give the generalization of these historical processes some comparative substance. Although the port of Accra was subject to similar patterns of ethnic heterogeneity and rapid socio-economic change, the Ga people had no traditional stringed instrument like the *seprewa* and no traditional singing bands like those of the Fanti. In addition, their traditional scale is pentatonic, and polyphonic intervals of fourths and fifths are favoured. Thus it happened that the tones of Ga melodies and their harmonic preferences were much further removed from the musical tradition of the West than were the nearly diatonic Akan seven-note scale and the

absolute pitches of the neutral thirds and sixths they preferred as polyphonic intervals. The Gas, despite the popularity of *gome*, which featured only voices and drums, received only the dance-band form of highlife, which was brought initially to entertain the middle class in the new colonial capital at Accra. New recreational dance forms such as ashiko took the place of guitar highlife, and older informants cite ashiko as an early name for highlife. Dance music was provided during the twenties by such pacesetters as Teacher Lamptey's Accra Rhythm Orchestra, and the Jazz Kings. The first Ga guitar band to achieve widespread popularity, Wulomei, did not appear until 1972 (Coplan 1978: 103).

Although the highlife music did not gain so much popularity among Ga as it did on the rest of the Ghanaian coastal areas (e.g. among Fante), its influence on neo-traditional Ga music should not be underestimated. As for the bell pattern, it cannot be proven that it was taken from highlife, because it also appears in *gome* music. It seems that *gome* has formed the basis for the musical structure of kpanlogo. Therefore I am inclined towards the idea that the kpanlogo bell pattern was taken from *gome* rather than from highlife. On the other hand, Collins (personal communication 2003) pointed out to me that actually this clave rhythm was introduced twice over by Caribbeans. First through *gome*, second time through 7000 West Indians (many of whom were Jamaican) stationed at Elmina and Cape Coast from the 1870's who had regimental bands that played afro-caribbean music in their spare time). Fanti adaha (proto highlife) brass bands borrowed this Caribbean clave rhythm in the 1880's.

Besides the bell pattern that kpanlogo and highlife share, I think for the Ga youth kpanlogo was just their method of responding in a fashionable way. That might also be the reason to call their kpanlogo music 'street highlife', as to show that they were also able to create highlife music. Another aspect not to be forgotten is that not only did highlife influence kpanlogo music, but it also happened the other way around as highlife was being influenced by social music and drum dance³¹ (Collins, cd sleeve notes on a cd of M.T. Addy, 'smart boys'). An example is 'kpanlogo-highlife' and 'borborbor-highlife', that is cultural music, performed in highlife style with side drums and guitars.

The term 'high' in the word highlife, originally meant the status, the high-class of the society. Now this meaning seems to be forgotten, all recreational music in Ghana in 2/4 meter is called highlife. It is a kind of label for all music that has an easy beat and therefore, is easy to dance to (personal communication Anku 2002).

³¹ This fact is also pointed out by Coplan: 'Guitar-band highlife was able to perform a mediating function to some degree by virtue of its close musical connection to indigenous forms. In their inception, as we have seen, guitar bands developed out of indigenous ensembles that had been influenced by church harmonies and the sailors' songs of fellow Africans. Highlife later recombined with indigenous forms to provide recreational music for young people's associations; and in turn it gave birth to such traditional styles as *kolomashie*, *oge* and more recently kpanlogo (Coplan 1978: 110).'

4 Musical aspects

The ensemble and the instruments

The ensemble

The kpanlogo ensemble consists of drummers, dancers and singers. Usually there is a master drummer leading two or three supporting drummers, a lead dancer leading the dance group and a lead cantor (or lead singer). The master drummer plays the solo drum part, which goes along with the dance movements. The other percussionists play the supporting rhythms on drums and the rattle and the bell. The lead dancer leads the dance group and is responsible for the training of the dancers. The lead cantor sings the solo parts in songs. Usually the singers and the dancers are the same people. All members of the ensemble are important, one can not do without the other. Of course the drummers can play alone, but that is not as exciting and interesting as with the dancing and the songs. How the ensemble appears depends on the occasion and how many people and instruments are available.

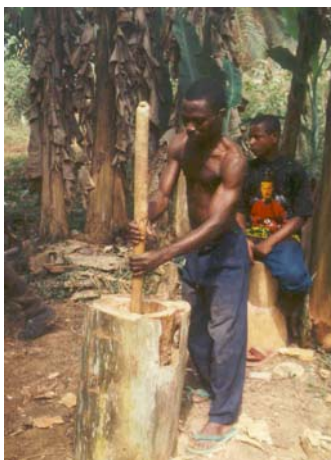
The instruments, organology

The instruments that form the basis of a kpanlogo ensemble are at least two curved, single headed kpanlogo drums (one for the leading part, one for the

supporting part), the *nono* (double bell), a metal bell struck by a wooden stick for the 'time-line' and an *axsatste* (calabash rattle), covered with shells or seeds. The kpanlogo drum is usually made of hard red wood (*twenobah*). It is cut in the village and hollowed out, with a big type of gouge. First, the outside is roughly shaped with an axe, then it is shaped with a spoolshave and finally polished with sandpaper. On the outside of the drum, a design can be made by a carver.



Picture 3 Instruments of the kpanlogo ensemble



Picture 5 Hollowing out the inside of the drum



Picture 4 Shaping the outside of the drum

The antelope skin has to be soaked in water for a whole day before it can be tied on the drum. The skin is fixed on the drum by ‘sowing’ a rope in a certain pattern, through the skin on the pegs. The drum can be tuned by beating the pegs into the drum.



Picture 7 Sow the rope through the skin to the pegs



Picture 6 Ewe lacing for fixing the skin on the drum

The kpanlogo drum can be played with hands and sticks; it depends on the rhythm, which particular technique will be used. For the kpanlogo dance, only the hand technique containing three different strokes, is used. First is the open stroke, played with the fingers at the rim of the drum (Picture 9). This stroke gives the sound of a high, ‘open’ tone. Second is the bounce in which the full hand is dropped at the middle of the skin (picture 8), which makes a base sound. Third is the slap which can be made open or muted. The slap is also played in the middle of the skin, but then only with the tips of the fingers. The muted slap is played softly and is used as fill of the basic rhythm. It decorates the rhythm, but is also important for correct timing. The open slap is forced and gives a loud sound which is regularly used in solos.



Picture 9 Open stroke



Picture 8 Bounce

In a block system, using one block for each equal unit makes:

- ^ = metal bell tone
- # = fuzzy rattle tone
- o = open tone
- b = base tone
- s = ‘slap’ tone

Bell	^			^			^				^		^			
Rattle	#		#	#	#		#	#	#		#	#	#		#	#
Kpanlogo 1			o	o			o	o			s	s			s	s
Kpanlogo 2	o	o			b				o				b	o	o	
Kpanlogo 3	o	o	o	o	b				o		o		b			

The first supporting drum (kpanlogo 1) constantly plays on the off-beat. The other two supporting drums (kpanlogo 2 and 3) play a pattern on the on-beat. The supporting drums are usually played on the male drums (low tuning); the master drummer plays the drum with the highest pitch. As said before, the ensemble can vary in size. If only two drums or percussionists are available, then only one supporting rhythm is played, or one drummer plays a combination of the second and the third part. The supporting drums do not need special tuning, only they have to sound lower than the master drum. The second support of this example (kpanlogo 2) is the most important support; this rhythm is always apparent in kpanlogo playing. The third support (kpanlogo 3) can as well be used as an improvisation by the master drummer.

The master drummer is free in playing as long as he wants, as long as he stays within the rules of the community (Anku 2001). Every cultural tribe has its own rules for drumming.³³ Drummers themselves are usually not aware of the rules, because they are taught from childhood. This process, though not exactly the same, could be compared with the process of learning language. A child learns his or her mother language, unaware of grammar. Finally the child will be able to speak the language correctly (if the parents are speaking the language correct). A drummer learns the ‘job’ from the father unaware of certain rules underlying the rhythmical structures.

A solo can be a free improvisation by the master drummer; it can also be a musical interpretation of the dance movements. The latter happens when the master drummer follows the movements of the dancers. The master drummer thinks of a rhythm that strengthens the physical movement of the dancers (it can also happen vice versa, when the dancers adjust their movements to the rhythm that is played by the master drummer). In addition to show his virtuosity on his instrument, the master drummer might add other techniques than the basics to his drumming: glissando (an open tone is changed in pitch with the finger of the other hand), muting a tone with the elbow, and flames (two notes following each other very fast).

Though the kpanlogo drum is not a talking drum, the master drummer can say things in his solo through the so-called ‘drum talk’. Some rhythms have been associated over time with certain sayings. Those sayings are spoken in Pidgin English and usually refer to an anecdote, as many songs do (see next subchapter). In this way, the master drummer can joke and interact with the public. Track no. 6 on the CD contains some well known examples

³³ From talks with people, I know that each ethnic group in Ghana has its own rules for improvising solo’s, however I do not know what exactly those rules are. Dr. Anku discusses some aspects of improvisation in his article

played by Tanko Alhassan. The sentences are spoken in Pidgin English; the high notated pitch in the transcription is a slap, the low notated pitch is an open tone:

Example 1

“Fine, fine baby, you know the fine pass my mother”

fine fine ba- by you know the fine pass my mo- ther

This saying is about a woman who is trying to impress a man. The man responds: “You are a nice girl, but you cannot compete with my mother; she is the best.”

Example 2

“Bienta”

Literally this word means “sit down”. With this rhythm, the master drummer can invite people to come and listen: “People come and sit down.”

Example 3

“Ayi sebe wonu”

A- yi se be wo nu. A- yi, A- yi se be wo nu. A- yi I wan- na go with you oh. A- yi se be wo nu.

“Sebe” actually means “garden-egg soup”. In this sentence the meaning is that Ayi (a certain boy) is so sweet/nice. He made love with his girlfriend (a Nigerian girl) and made her pregnant. This sentence is usually sung as a joke.

Example 4

“Ka we shaka shaka”

ka we sha-ka sha- ka, o bra yoo. ka we sha-ka sha-ka bonu

This saying literary means “Lady, don’t talk nonsense, because you are grown up”. It is about a woman who is talking about all kind of things (nonsense/gossips). People tell her to shut her mouth, because she is an adult and that she should know better.

Example 1, 3 and 4 can be heard on track no. 7 on the CD. These examples are copied from the LP recording ‘Kpanlogo Party’. It gives an impression of the use of this ‘drum talk’ in an overall performance. The master drummer plays the rhythm and the singers respond with the matching sentence.

The songs

Usually a performance of kpanlogo goes along with songs. The songs are in Ga or in Pidgin English, but sometimes also in Ewe and Fante. Ga is the original language, Pidgin English appeared as a result of colonialism and influence of the Kru people living in the Ga area. Songs in other languages appeared later when kpanlogo also spread to other areas in Ghana.

According to Younge, themes of the songs generally relate to:

- everyday life
- political issues
- actual topics
- historical topics
- social topics (1987:)

Of the songs I know, most have a topic of everyday life. Often it is about something funny, or it is an anecdote. Social topics such as poverty and struggle for life are regularly used in neo-traditional forms (like *gahu* and *borborbor*).

Underneath I will present some transcriptions of kpanlogo songs, including a translation of the text and a short analysis of the musical aspects such as the use of scale, rhythm and form.

Mo mibi le ohami

The image shows musical notation for the song 'Mo mibi le ohami'. It is organized into three systems. Each system consists of a percussion staff (top) and a voice staff (bottom). The lyrics are written below the voice staves.

System 1:

- Percussion: A rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes.
- Voice: A melody in 2/4 time, starting with a quarter note followed by eighth notes.
- Lyrics: mo mibi le o- ha-mi a-yi nye hee mo mibi le o- ha-mi mi a jo

System 2:

- Perc.: A rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes.
- Voice: A melody in 2/4 time, starting with a quarter note followed by eighth notes.
- Lyrics: kpan -lo- go kpan -lo-go a lo-go lo-go lo-go li-gi ma-o ma-o kpan-lo-go a lo-go

Perc.

lo - go lo - go li - gi ma - o ma - o kpan-lo-go a lo - go lo - go lo - go li - gi

Mo mibi ðe ohami	Please, hold my baby
Ayinye hee	Ayinye's mother
Mo mibi ðe ohami	Please, hold my baby
Mi ya jo kpanlogo	So that I can dance kpanlogo

Refr.:
 Kpanlogo, alogo, logo, logo je, mao, mao kpanlogo, alogo, logo, logo, ligi, mao, mao

This song is originally an anecdote. Lolo's wife used to watch the belongings of the drummers while performing. Besides that she had to take care of their baby (Ayinye); somebody asked her also to hold her baby for her, so that she could go dance kpanlogo.

Subject: everyday life, anecdote
 Scale: C major, ending on 7th step
 Ambitus: C to g1
 Use of tones: mainly the major triad
 Rhythm: going along with the bell pattern
 Structure: lyric with refrain
 Form: call and respond; the lyric is sung by the cantor, the refrain by the chorus

Mo ble mi oho mie

Mo ble mi oho mie	Please hold my pipe
Ayinye hee	Ayinye's mother
Mo ble mi oho mie,	Please hold my pipe,
mi ya jo kpanlogo	so that I can dance kpanlogo

Refr.:
 Kpanlogo, alogo, logo, logo je, mao, mao kpanlogo, alogo, logo, logo, ligi, mao, mao

This song is a variant on the song above. Probably it is a kind of joke or also an anecdote. The melody and rhythm is the same as the first song.

Subject: everyday life, entertainment
 Scale: C major, ending on 7th step
 Ambitus: C to g1
 Use of tones: mainly the major triad
 Rhythm: going along with the bell pattern
 Structure: lyric with refrain,
 Form: call and response; lyric by the cantor, refrain by the chorus

Alonte juloni

Percussion

Voice

a - lon te ju-lo-ni a - yi nye hee a - lon te ju-lo-ni kap-le pe nien

Perc.

ye - ko kpan- lo-go a lo - go lo-go lo -go li - gi ma-o ma - o kpan- lo-go a lo-go

Perc.

lo - go lo - go li - gi ma - o ma - o kpan- lo-go a lo - go

Alonte juloni

Ayinye hee, alonte juloni

Kaple pe ni enye eko

The cat is a thief

Ayinye's mother, the cat is a thief

Money is the only thing he can't steal

This song tells us about the way cats live with the people in Africa. They do not keep them as pet like we do. Usually there is not much food, and the cat gets hungry. If the cat sees food, it will steal it and eat it, like a thief. Only money it will never steal. I would expect an underlying meaning, however nobody could confirm that.

Subject: everyday life, pets in Africa

Scale: C major, ending on 7th step

Ambitus: C to g1

Use of tones: mainly the major triad

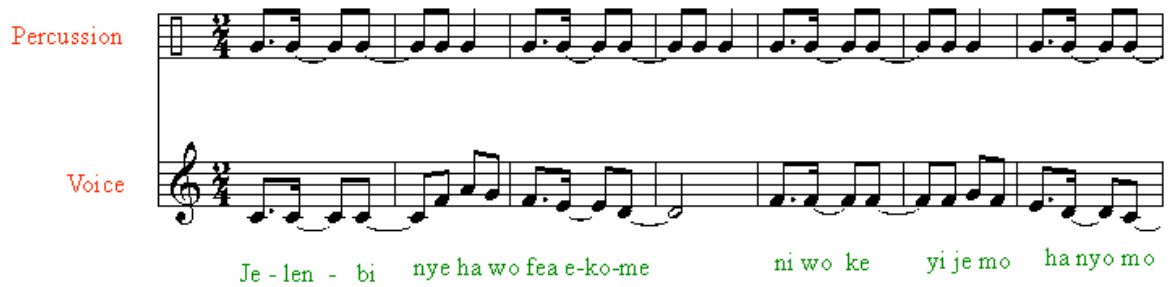
Rhythm: going along with the bell pattern

Structure: lyric with refrain

Form: call and response; lyric by the cantor, refrain by the chorus

Jelenbi

Percussion




Je - len - bi nye ha wo fea e-ko-me ni wo ke yi je mo hanyo mo

Perc.



Naa nyoŋmo a-ye a - bua mo ni wo ke e ko-me fea mo

Perc.



a - ya no

Jelenbii, nyeha wo fea ekome
 Niwoke yijemo ha nyoŋmo
 Naa nyoŋmo aye abua wo
 Niwoke ekome fea mo ayano

People of the world, allow us to make one
 Let us give all our praise to God
 Mother of God should help us eat
 To make together as one to proceed

This song is about the situation in Africa. There is poverty in Africa; all countries should work together to solve this problem. Only if we work together, we are strong and we can develop so everybody can eat.

Subject: actual topic

Scale: d minor ?

Ambitus: A to a1 (octave)

Rhythm: going along with the bell pattern

Structure: lyric

Form: call and response; first time the lyric is sung by the cantor, second time by the chorus

ABC

Percussion

Voice

a b c d e f g h

Perc.

i j k l m n o p

Perc.

kpan-lo-go a lo-go lo-go lo-go li-gi ma-o ma-o kpan-lo-go a lo-go

Perc.

lo-go lo-go li-gi ma-o ma-o kpan-lo-go a lo-go lo-go lo-go li-gi

A B C D, E F G H, I J K L, M N O P,
Mi ya yo kpanlogo,
Kpanlogo alogo, logo, ligi, mao, mao (2x)

A B C D, E F G H, I J K L, M N O P,
I want to dance kpanlogo
kpanlogo alogo, logo, logo, ligi, mao, mao

This song seems to be just the alphabet. According to Emmanuel Tagoe, sometimes people sing it with the wrong pronouncement. This refers to the time that the British made English the first language of Ghana, and not everybody was familiar with it yet, so some letters are pronounced in Ga and some in English. Otoo Lincoln explained in an interview that, with this song he pretended being a teacher, teaching people the alphabet (Collins 1994: 110).

Subject: historical topic

Scale: C major, starting on the dominant
 Ambitus: C to a1
 Rhythm: simple rhythm, half and quarter notes
 Structure: lyric with refrain
 Form: call and response

Everybody bring your calabash

The image shows a musical score for two parts: Percussion and Voice. The Percussion part is written on a single staff with a 2/4 time signature, featuring a steady eighth-note rhythm. The Voice part is written on a single staff with a 2/4 time signature, featuring a melody with lyrics underneath. The lyrics are: 'e- very bo-dy e- very bo-dy bring your ca-le-bash bring your'.

Everybody, everybody,	everybody
Bring your calabash, bring your calabash	bring your calabash
Mo fia mo ke kyine aba	so that we can go
Woya woya nu koko	go eat porridge

The song literary is telling to bring a calabash (actually it is half a calabash, so that it can be used as a bowl), to go eat porridge. According to Drid Williams on the cd sleeve of 'Kpanlogo Party' and to one of my informants, calabash is also an endearment for 'girl friend'.

Subject: everyday life
 Scale: C major
 Ambitus: C to g1
 Structure: lyric with refrain.
 Form: call and response; first time the cantor sings, second time the chorus

Daadaa Buko

1. Daada Buko

A (solo) Daada Buko ee! Daada Buko ee!
Meesu wu oo, meekai wu oo,
aka me yefu.

I call you, I remind you

A' (choir) Daada Buko ee, meesu wu oo
Daada bukoo ee!
Meesu wu oo, meekai wu oo,
aka me yefu.

Interlude Agrrr (solo)..... abaa (choir)

*I am saying daada buko
Tradition of daada buko
Today is daada buko*

B (solo) Mikeε daada buko,
Blema daada buko,
ηmene ηmene daada buko.
Meesu wu oo, meekai wu oo,
aka me yefu.

A' (choir) Daada Buko ee, meesu wu oo
Daada bukoo ee!
Meesu wu oo, meekai wu oo,
aka me yefu.

Interlude Agrrr (solo)..... Agaa (choir)

2. Kayo beba

You will come

intro (solo) Kayo beba!

*You will come, Allan Family,
You will come*

A (solo) Kayo beba, Allan Family,
kayo beba.

B (choir) Ayee, kayo beba, Allan Family,
kayo beba.
Beji wu kapre ba, onipa ni ba.
Ayaa yen ko oo!
Efie ni pa, efie ni pa.
Shiba, shiba...baba,
pimpete ba

Come for your money, son of man
We shall not go
Because of compound houses

Drum accompaniment starts

A (solo) + B (choir)

A (solo) + B (choir)

3. Daadaa miibo oshe

A (solo) Daadaa miibo oshe (2x)
Wɔ'mbi nye sane, wɔ'mbi nye sane ko
Meni sane ne, wɔbaajie naa ose. (2x)
Jai shalɔ, jai shalɔ le ni eidɔ ee.
Mɔni ji jes amane,
le noŋŋ esane.
Daadaa miibo oshe

A' (choir) Daadaa miibo oshe (2x)
Wɔ'mbi nye sane, wɔ'mbi nye sane ko
Meni sane ne, wɔbaajie naa ose. (2x)
Jai shalɔ, jai shalɔ le ni eidɔ ee.
Mɔni ji jes amane,
le noŋŋ esane.
Daadaa miibo oshe

A (solo)
A' (choir)
A (solo)
A' (choir)

4. Yoo miawe zɔ

A (solo) Yoo miawe zɔ,
miawezɔ loo.
Matsuini maye, gbenaa (2x) manitsulɔ
Matsuini maye, miawe zɔ loo.
Matsuini maye, gbenaa (2x)

A' (choir)
A (solo)
A' (choir)
A (solo)

5. Ya zo

A (solo) Hee, ya zo ya zo ya
(choir) Ya zo ya
(solo) Ya zo ya zo ya
(choir) Ya zo ya
(solo) Ya zo ya zo ya
(choir) Ya zo ya
B (solo) Ya zo ya ba ba kali wa
(choir) Baba ka we
(solo) Baba kali wa

(choir) Baba kawe
(solo) nagba kaliwa
(solo) Na wa kawo
(choir) Ya zo ya zo

Drum solo

6. Ka we shaka shaka

(Choir) Ka we shaka, shaka oblayo.
Ka we shaka shaka shioda.

Drum solo

Trumpet signalling

Drum solo

7. Ayi sebe wonu

(Choir) Ayi sebe wonu.
Ayi yawo anagonyo bi wɔ.
Ayi sebe wonu.

Tape recording from the Allan Family:

Dadaa Bukoo,

Analysis of this tape:

It is difficult to make exact translations of the text, someone made some literally translations for me, but it does not show the real meaning of the songs. The texts can better be translated contextual.

1. Dadaa Bukoo

Dadaa Bukoo is a certain God. This song says 'I am praising you (God)/Dadaa Bukoo, I am calling you, I am calling you till I have nothing more to say. I am calling you today and I am calling you tomorrow, I will keep on calling you until I can't say anything anymore (personal communication Tanko 2003).'

It means the person is calling his 'God' but he doesn't get a respond. He will keep on calling, even if he doesn't get a response, he will keep on calling till he really doesn't know what to say anymore (personal communication Tanko 2003).

This song is used as a sort of introduction. It starts free in tempo? The lead singer is responded by the chorus. After some sentences without the drums, the drums start with their normal introduction (x. xx. x. xx.) At this point the drummers, the bell and the singers all join together in the kpanlogo. The drums keep on going now till the end.

2. Kayoo beba

This song is telling about how the people live in town. The poor people work as a kind of maid, carrying goods and loads for the rich people. It says: 'you will come, come for your

money, you won't go, because you will come for the money.' That's how the poor people in town earn their money, by working, carrying for the richer people (personal communication Tanko 2003).

3. Daadaa miibo oshe

People are asking fishermen money for helping them pulling the fishing boats on the shore. If the fishermen will give them some money they will answer that with happiness. 'every time I sing, I am asking you a question, what kind of question, I am asking the ships and boats, I will answer with happiness (personal communication Tanko 2003).'

4. Yoo miawe zoo

This song is about the poverty of the Africans. People come to visit you, but you cannot offer them anything, because you don't have anything. There is only work to do, working and eating is the only thing what people think of every day: 'you are welcome, you are welcome, but the only thing I have is come and work so that we eat together afterward, that's all I can offer (personal communication Tanko 2003).'

The dance

Above I described the instruments, rhythms and songs of kpanlogo. Next to describe, will be the dance. Dance is a subject that has not been discussed in literature as much as music. Though, more and more essays appear. A definition of dance is described by Hanna:

Although there is no consensus among scholars about what constitutes dance, an analysis since the 1950s of informant specifications, empirical observations, and a survey of the literature on behaviour called dance has led to the following conceptualisation: dance is human behaviour composed (from the dancer's perspective, which is usually shared by the audience members of the dancer's culture) of purposeful, intentionally rhythmical and culturally patterned sequences of non-verbal body movements other than ordinary motor activities, the motion (in time, space and with effort) having inherent and 'aesthetic' value and symbolic potential (1992: 317).

For the purpose of this thesis, this is a very acceptable description of the constitution of dance. Besides this conceptualisation, Hanna also points out in the same article that music does not need to be a component of dance:

The key element of dance – physical movement – is also an element in the performance of music, but music need not be a component of dance. Movement does not occur separately from sound, while in dance, sound may be a byproduct of movement (1992: 318).

In her opinion music does not necessarily need to be performed with dance. Of course dance, can still be dance, no matter if there is music or not. In African dance, however, this is hardly possible. Music and dance are an integral element. They co-occur and intertwine with equal status and they even depend upon each other. There might be music without dance, however one will never see dance without music (unless of course, when rehearsing).

This might be the difference between dance in Western theatrical dance (as in this genre it occurs that dancing is done without music) and the African social way of dance. As Hanna expresses:

Western theatrical dance is compartmentalized in the sense of being largely relegated to the sphere of entertainment or art for its own sake. By contrast, dance in many societies is an

integral part of religious, social, economic, or political life. Irrespective of time and place, however, dance is a powerful means of communicating a group's values and beliefs and transmitting them from one generation to the next (1992: 323).

Kpanlogo is an integral part of social life. It even used to be an important factor in communication and expression of identity for the Bukom youth (Salm 2003). For them, kpanlogo was in the first place a recreational dance. Striking is that in a diachronic time frame³⁴, the position of the dance has shifted from being purely a recreational dance to becoming an art form when it became part of the repertoire of cultural groups. From a merely social type of dance for enjoyment it has also become a dance choreographed for the sake of art and performance. I will discuss this subject more extensive in the next subchapter.

Now, I will first start to find out more about the meaning of the dance. According to Hanna, dance and music seem to operate within one or more of eight *spheres*:

...(I) the dance event, as when people go to the ballet or opera to be seen socially or to seek sexual partners or fantasy, dance-viewing or opera-watching being incidental; (II) the total human body in action, as in girl- or boy-watching; (III) the whole pattern of the performance which may emphasize form, style, feeling or drama; (IV) the sequence of unfolding movement, including who does what to whom and how in dramatic episodes or sound configurations; (V) specific movements and how they are performed, for example, a male dancer parodying a woman on *pointe*, or specific sounds; (VI) the intermish of movements or sounds with other communication modes such as speech or costume; (VII) dance or music as a recitation; and (VIII) presence, the emotional turn-on through projected sensuality or raw animality. Singly, or in combination, the devices and spheres allow us to consider message material (1992: 322).

I will mainly focus on no. 5, by describing dance movements of kpanlogo and on no. 6 by describing the relationship between the drumming and dancing. In the next subchapter I will also pay attention to no. 2 and 3 when I discuss the performance practice. The description and interpretation of dance, however brings a certain kind of difficulty with it, that is, that interpretation is very personal, as pointed out by Hanna: "Like poetry, dance is polysemous, that is, layered with many meanings. ... which each person interprets on the basis of individual experience and culturally influenced perception" (1992: 324). In spite of this problem, I will try to sketch an impression of the dance with the information I gathered from my informants.³⁵

Kpanlogo is said to be a free dance, Foes told in an interview:

We call the dance a fun, humor or rough dance. The dancing here is virtually without restriction or any guide. Everybody is dancing the way he or she feels is good...When we started to play, we played and danced everywhere and people thought we were not normal or were stupid because anywhere we go, we played and danced.³⁶

According to Salm, the reason for this is that the Bukom Boys "were not tied to previous traditional dancing steps, nor to the protocol of more formal highlife dancing" and "the new dances expressed their freedom and individuality" (2003: 246). This free perception of the

³⁴ Hanna distinguishes two time frames in the research of dance: the sybchronic, which expresses dance in a limited time period, and the diachronic, which reflects the change of dance over time (1992:317).

³⁵ I believe that Robertson is right in his opinion: "Ethnomusicologists often neutralize dance for fear of lacking interpretive knowledge, but dance is often central to what they study" (quoted by Hanna 1992).

³⁶ Interview by Steven Salm with Okulay Foes in June 2000.

dance, made it also possible to incorporate rock 'n roll dance steps into kpanlogo dancing. Most dancers of kpanlogo groups used to dance rock 'n roll as well. Frankie Laines contribution to kpanlogo dance was that he promoted pairing in the dance and that he invented some marvelous solos. Free in kpanlogo dancing also meant that everybody could join. During social gatherings like funerals and weddings this used to happen and still happens (drummers play and visitors dance).

In order to understand the dance better, we must try to understand the meaning of the dance. This can be done by figuring out the meaning of movements. Hanna gives six devices that convey meaning:

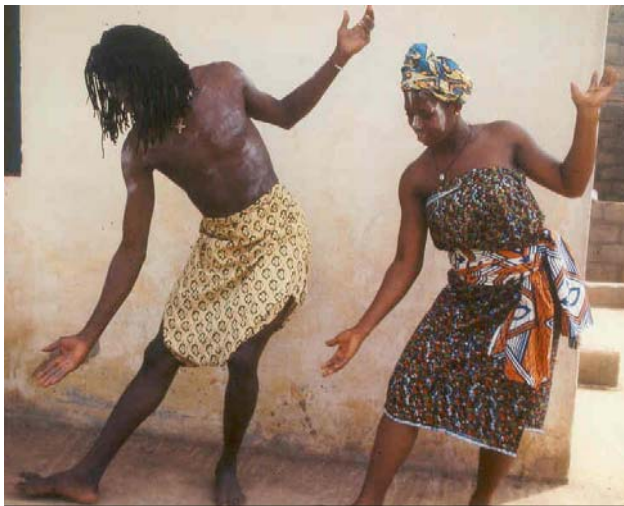
1. A 'concretisation' is a movement that produces the outward aspect of something as in courtship dances, showing potential lovers' advance and retreat tactics. In music, sounds that imitate nature – such as in Beethoven's 'Pastoral Symphony' or the Ugandan Ankole's imitation of noises made by cattle – are concretisations.
2. The 'icon' represents most properties or formal characteristics of a thing, event, or condition and is responded to as if it were what it represents. For example, a Haitian possessed by Ghede, god of love and death, who manifests his presence through dancing may be treated with genuine awe by the Haitians and with behaviour appropriate to their gender – as if he were the god.
3. A 'stylisation' encompasses arbitrary and conventional gestures or movements as the *danseur* pointing to his heart as a sign of love for his lady. In music, cultures assign meaning to arbitrary sound as the military bugle call. Detective movies use the wailing sax to evoke the 1940s big city at night.
4. A romantic duet representing a more encompassing relationship, such as a marriage, is a 'metonym'. A war dance, or song, as part of a battle, is another example.
5. A 'metaphor' is the expression of something in place of another that it resembles to suggest an analogy between the two, such as a fairy tale love story between animals to denote the situation between human lovers. Dancing the role of a leopard, or playing the song of a leopard, may denote the power of death.
6. An 'actualisation' is a portrayal of one or several of a dancer's usual roles. This occurs, especially in theatrical settings where there is not a rigid boundary between performer and spectator, when dancers express their own sexual preferences through dance (heterosexual or homosexual seduction of a spectator) and the audience member accepts or rejects a dancer. (1992: 321, 322).

Because of the free constitution of kpanlogo dancing, 'actualisations' occur while dancing. A man can invite a woman to dance and vice versa, which I experienced at several funerals (in Osu and Potrase). Movements or gestures in the form of 'stylisation' are used regularly. Especially in theatrical setting, performed by a cultural group, many movements have a stylistic meaning. However, in both settings, dance steps without any particular meaning also occur. Whenever people dance informally on music, dance steps are made that fit on the beat, but which do not have any particular meaning. It depends on the mood and creativity of the dancer how steps are being performed. They can just be an expression of feeling, without any conscious meaning.

Another way of defining the dance movements of kpanlogo has nothing to do with meaning. Over time, several movements, invented by the original dancers have become standardized. They form the basic movements of kpanlogo. Especially cultural groups use these movements. The reason probably is that these dance steps are automatically attached to kpanlogo dance. There are no rules about the chronological order of the dance steps. Besides those standardized movements, there are improvised movements. With improvised I mean really improvised, invented during the performance. Then, there is a combination of the two, the 'standardized improvisations'. That is, steps which were invented by dancers as an improvisation, were copied by others and can be seen in different performances. The name

improvisation is still in use for those movements, because the drummers have to change their regular pattern into an improvisation. The drum pattern that follows those steps, however is also standardized.

Some typical kpanlogo movements



Picture 11 basic kpanlogo movement



Picture 10 basic kpanlogo movement

Picture 8 and 9 together form the best known ‘basic movement’ of kpanlogo. It is a very simple movement, in which the hips are twisted. The latter probably came from the influence of twist and rock ‘n roll. Usually as soon as the dancers are in the arena, they start this movement and also it is used between improvisations. As between different improvisations, dancers of cultural groups always first come back to a basic movement, before they continue to another improvisation.



The movement shown on picture 10 is another ‘basic movement’. It is similar to the first basic movement, the dancers make a step alternately with the left and the right foot, the difference with the former ‘basic movement’ is the use of the hands and arms. It is a greet to the public. The dance step can also be used between two improvisations.



Picture 12 ‘greeting’



This picture shows a basic movement in which the dancers step alternately from the left to the right foot. The arms are moved as a kind of ‘chicken wings’.

Picture 13 ‘basic movement’



The dancers step from their left on their right foot, twisting their hips and at the same time they turn their hands up and down. It is a ‘stylization’ that has the meaning of twisting a rope. *Kpaa* means literally ‘rope’, and *lɔgɔ* means ‘to twist’. It refers to the twisting of the rope, when pulling a fisher boat out of the sea on to the beach (personal communication Nana, April 2003).

Picture 14 ‘twisting the rope’



Both the rhythm and the this dance movement are ‘standardized improvisations’. The hands are moved to the chest as if something is grabbed, and then they are spread to the opposing dancer as if something is given away. The arms of the dancers are alternately up and down. This movement is a ‘stylization’ with the meaning ‘give it away’.

Picture 15 ‘give it away’



This movement is used as a break before changing to another dance step. The hands are brought to the chest and then spread out again. At the same time, the dancer jumps a bit with both feet. The movement and the matching rhythm are standardized. It is another ‘stylization’ for ‘give it away’, or ‘collect it’.

Picture 16 ‘give it away’



In this ‘stylization’, the woman is pushing the man backward. While pushing, the woman shakes her hips. It is a kind of flirt between man and woman and it is considered a sensual dance movement.

Picture 17 ‘go back’



Another sensual movement is this one, in which the woman is pushing her body up and down. The man is twisting his hands above her bottom.

Picture 18 sensual movement

To give an impression of how the dance movements are being used in a kpanlogo performance, I will describe recording no. 6 on the video. It shows a performance of the cultural group ‘West African Folkloric Company’ at a funeral (the mother of one of the dancers died) in Osu.

The master drummer is sitting completely left, the drummer sitting in the middle plays the first support and the one on the right plays the 2nd support. At their back, other

percussionists play the rattle, woodblocks and the bell. When the dancers come up (the girls first), they start with a 'basic movement', as on picture no. 8 and 9. Then they make some 'standard improvisations': turning left and right, while standing on one leg; picking something and throwing it like in picture no. ; and turning their body and shaking it. They continue with separate 'standard improvisations' by the boy and girls. First the girls step forward, they twist their body round, circling with their right index finger on their left hand. At the background, the boys dance 'basic movements'. The girls step backward and now the boys step forward. They also make a 'standard improvisation' and the girls make 'basic movements' at the background. The master drummer follows the improvisation movements by adjusting the rhythmical pattern.

Now each couple makes an improvisation. This improvisation is free, the couple can decide during the performance what they are going to do. Two couples stay at the back and dance 'basic movements'. The improvisations of the couples are 'stylizations'. They are flirting and the boy tries to impress by pushing his body horizontal, on hands and feet, under the girls legs. The second couple makes a 'standard improvisation' as shown on picture no. 13. The last couple makes a short drama. The three boys are competing for the girl, the last boy talks to her, and then it seems like he is a priest who tries to free the girl from her evil spirits (as shown regularly in Nigerian and Ghanaian movies). Especially this last one is enjoyed by the public, as people start laughing. Then the boys and girls come together, the music stops and there is some confusion about how to continue (on the background the music of the spinners can be heard). The drummers start playing again and the couples, while making improvisations, leave the dance arena. The improvisation of the last couple looks like an 'actualisation' in which the boy flirts with the girl. This movement, however can also be seen in track no. 2 of the BBC, where Frankie Laine is doing the same by Gifty Collins.

As said before, Frankie Laine was a fanatic rock 'n roll dancer before he started dancing kpanlogo. He was especially known for his combination of rock 'n roll steps and kpanlogo dancing. The dance steps he invented, inspired a lot of other dancers. Frankie Laine enjoyed showing his virtuosity in solos. He was well known for his 'shakes', that is, he could shake his whole body including his mouth (which still makes him feel very proud). He performs the 'shake' in the BBC recording, track no. 2 on the video. Besides his rock 'n roll steps he also like to play combine drama and dancing. He did this by making dance steps out of everyday situations. In the BBC recording he also shows his famous 'I'm warning you', in which he warns somebody not to make him angry.

A short piece of video of one of my interviews (June 2001), shows some of the movements he used to dance. First he makes some 'basic movements', later he shows a movement by which he says "don't laugh at my leg, only God can see". This movement is about the disabled in town. People should not laugh at them, they are equal as other people. Then he shows the same movement as in the BBC recording: "Ataa Ado, Ataa Ado", which is also one of his own nick names. He is pointing with his finger while singing his name. This means that somebody sees a snake (it is in a village, where there is bush around with snakes); the person is calling Ataa Ado to come and help. Then he shows the movement that follows and which imagines the stick he takes and how he beats the snake.

Performance practice

Kpanlogo is a drum dance of the traditional repertoire, this makes it possible to occur at any location, "since the traditional approach to music making makes it a part of the institutional life of a community, the physical setting for performances can be any spot suitable for collective activity" (Nketia 1974: 31). Whenever there is a funeral or party, it is organized in the neighborhood of the house. Lack of space in the house and the hot climate, usually results

in parties and meetings outdoors. Regularly streets are blocked the whole day because of a wedding or funeral. Nketia stresses out:

It is unusual to find permanent structures designed specifically for musical performances. On special occasions, however, temporary structures may be erected to provide shade for a limited number of guests and spectators; seats may even be provided as well. The general practice, however, is for everything to take place in the open air, and for the audience to stand around the performers or close to them. (1974: 32)

As can be seen in the BBC recording, the dance arena is created naturally by the spectators as described by Nketia:

Where an audience is present, there is usually not a wide gulf or a clear-cut boundary between them and the performers, except where the nature of the performance requires this. When the performers group themselves at one end of the arena, they are flanked on their left and right by the spectators in a horseshoe formation, taking care to leave enough space for the dance (1974: 33).

Sometime performances still occur like this, most of the time however a kind of tent is build up and plastic chairs are provided for the guests. The chairs are set up in lines, which makes a more clear boundary between performers and spectators. But, as Nketia stresses out “what ever the formation, the atmosphere in the performing arena is usually informal, and spectators are free to move about or leave any time they wish” (Nketia 1974: 34). Within the arena there are also rules:

Limited participation in the performance itself may be extended to the spectators. In some contexts, they may join the chorus; they may also enter the dancing ring either to dance or to give moral support to the dancers by placing coins on their foreheads or in their mouths, by placing pieces of cloth or handkerchiefs around their necks, or by spreading pieces of cloth on the ground for them to step on (Nketia, 1974: 33).

This formation however does not include the theatrical setting, which did not exist in that time yet. That is the theatrical setting as how it is performed by cultural groups. This can be seen in hotels (performances for tourists), theaters, “cultural centers” such as Alliance Française and sometimes even on funerals and weddings where spectators are seated on chairs, as described above. The evolvement of cultural groups and theatrical performances, has changed the performance practice of kpanlogo and other traditional dances tremendously.

	1963-1975	present
Who	Rock ‘n roll youth	Cultural groups
Dress	Normal dresses	Costumes
Where	Ga district	All over Ghana and abroad
Social context	Generational thing and political issue	Stage performance, part of the repertoire
Type	Free dance in solo or couples	Choreography by a group
Occasion	Social gatherings, funerals, weddings etc.	Performance for tourists and by funerals etc. / stage performance
Competitions?	competitions	Perhaps competitions again? See article newspaper
Style	Rebellious and rough/spontaneous	Polished and gentle

Kpanlogo on traditional setting (funerals, outdoorings, weddings etc.)	Kpanlogo on stage
free dance, free movements	choreographic dance, no real improvisation in movements
everybody can join the dancing	only the performing group (cultural group) is dancing
no costumes, every cloth suits	special costumes
master drummer and dancers communicate through rhythms and improvisations	all rhythms and movements are part of a choreography, which is rehearsed intensively in advance
setting usually in horseshoe form	theater setting positioned in the direction of the public
usually danced in couples of men and women, making flirting and sensual movements or virtuosos solos	danced as a group, all the time facing the public
songs can be introduced by anybody and everybody can join singing	songs are practiced and performed by the singers of the cultural group

The differences mentioned in this table are very clear when comparing the video example of the BBC and the recording of the funeral in Osu.

Continuity and change in performance must be regarded as aspects of overall processes of urbanisation and adaptation. The selection, rejection or transformation of musical elements and compositional principles are greatly determined by emerging patterns of urban social organisation and of cultural classification and significance (Coplan 1982: 113).

Performers likewise make choices in regard to which styles are appropriate for specific audiences and occasions, and in deciding what, where and for whom they will perform. Such judgements of appropriateness are based upon the capacity of specific styles to embody or express the social position of particular communities or categories of listeners. As a result. Musical performances often provide a clear impression of the structure of emerging African communities and their distinctive cultures (Coplan 1982: 114).

Summary

Ghana is a country with a history that is marked by an extensive period of colonization. Musical culture in the pre-colonial era was pretty stable. Homogenous groups were having their own styles and genres of music (the so-called traditional musics). External influences only came from tribal intermixture and through Kru sailors from Liberia who brought their music to the coastal areas. Fast change and development in culture came with the arrival of Europeans. New institutions emerged, all with their own specific styles of music and musical instruments. Hymns and Western choral singing, as well as with brass bands were used in churches. The brass bands were also part of the new military army. Entertainment industry brought dance halls (e.g. rock 'n roll clubs) and cinemas. The new Western styles were, willingly or forced, adopted by Africans mainly in new idioms of music. The most prominent new music style in West Africa was 'Highlife'.

When the country gained its independence in 1957, people struggled for a new identity. In the years of suppression there was no space for something like an own identity. Ghana under the reign of Kwame Nkrumah found back 'Africa's pride' in its own cultural, traditional music with the establishment of cultural troupes, a National Dance Ensemble and an official Arts Council. Popular genres used indigenous African elements in a process that can be defined as 'Africanization'.

Some few years after independence, kpanlogo was invented by Otoo Lincoln, Captain Lolo, Okulay Foes and others. What started as informal gatherings around 1958, ended up in a new recreational dance in the Ga area (on the coast of greater Accra Region). Soon after the first public performance in 1962, kpanlogo became very popular among youth from other areas as well. The creation of kpanlogo was appeared as Ga youth was looking for an expression of their own identity. The use of pelvic movements, from rock 'n roll clubs, made the elders reject the dance. After twice been approved by the Arts Council, the dance gradually became accepted.

Kpanlogo owed its popularity for a great deal on the reinvention of traditional music in postcolonial Ghana. As a rejection to colonialism, Africans and their political leaders promoted 'Africa's pride, their own music and culture. As part of this self awareness, Nkrumah attached bands to brigades, and sponsored traditional music and dance contests. Also the cultural troupes which popped up anywhere in Ghana were responsible for the popularity of traditional music and dance. Up to the present day, Ghana still has a lot of cultural groups, though their aim is mainly economically (a way to survive) than being the keepers of African heritage.

Kpanlogo drum ensemble consists traditional instruments such as kpanlogo drums, bell and rattle. A master drummer is generally supported by two supporting drums. Songs are usually in Ga or Pidgin English (the latter as a result of the colonial period). Subjects of songs can be actual topics, love themes, historical topics and anecdotes of daily life. The dance movements are free and usually done in couples. Due to the cultural groups, most movements are now standardized in choreographies. Performance practice is on social occasions like funerals, weddings and festivals as well as performances for tourists.

In the bigger cities, traditional music is often 'competing' with pop music. At funerals and weddings, both are played at the same time. Current developments as a new copyright bill even makes it hardly possible for Ghanaians to use their own traditional rhythms and melodies for new creations. It seems like cultural groups have an important position in keeping their cultural heritage, even though it is not exactly as how the tradition used to be.

Conclusions

Kpanlogo is a drum dance that has evolved as a new music type with a touch of popular music within the traditional repertoire. Several aspects have taken part in the establishment of kpanlogo. Ga youth was looking for a new type of music. Some friends from the Bukom area, Okulay Foes, Ayitey Sugar and Otoo Lincoln, created a rhythm on an old ananse story. They were all regular visitors of the rock 'n roll clubs as well and when Frankie Laine (who used to be a fanatical rock 'n roll dancer) joined, it was not strange that movements from the twist and rock 'n roll were integrated in kpanlogo. Together they formed the first official group 'Kpanlogo special'.

The sensual movements that boys and girls were dancing in kpanlogo were not approved by the elders. The conflict had to be solved in a Duhbar, in which president Nkrumah approved the dance. Kpanlogo being a generational thing might have been the reason for this conflict to happen.

Nkrumahs promotion of traditional music by attaching bands to brigades and sponsoring cultural events, like dance competitions has also been important for the development of kpanlogo. It might be possible that kpanlogo would not have survived without this financial support, because the groups attached to the brigades were the groups that played kpanlogo and every weekends the groups organized kpanlogo competitions.

Highlife music did not evolve in the coastal Ga area; Coplan assumes that the reason for this is that the Ga traditional music, with the use of pentatonic scale, is too much different from the European music and also that Ga tradition does not have stringed instruments. Kpanlogo as a form of 'street-highlife' or 'Ga-highlife', appeared out of a need to also make a type of highlife would strengthen this fact.

In the following years after Nkrumahs government, there was no money available for culture anymore. It affected traditional music performances as well, kpanlogo however had already gained its position in the repertoire of the Ga. In the 80's a revival of traditional music came up when the master drummer Mustapha Tettey Addy opened a private drum school where foreigners can learn traditional Ghanaian drum dances. Because Addy is a Ga himself, the Ga music, including kpanlogo is taught mostly on the drum school.

Currently, the cultural groups are important for the performance and practice of traditional music in towns. Music is no longer a course in the education system (although this is changing) and electronic music is favored by young boys and girls. Cultural groups perform the traditional repertoire from all over Ghana on social occasions like funerals, weddings and name-givings.

Kpanlogo has gained a stable position within the repertoire of cultural groups and is spread around the world by Ghanaian musicians traveling abroad. The reason for kpanlogo to become so popular among youth in early times, is due to the fact that this music and dance was a way of expressing their identity. The ongoing popularity of kpanlogo can be explained by the simple, but swinging rhythms that makes everybody dance.

((((Suggestions for further research:

- Rhythms, melodies, songs, costumes etc. from early period and now could be compared more better. Which changes occurred
- More research on the topic of the cultural groups, e.g. also compare if this also happened in other African countries)))

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Appendix

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1. Translation of words and terms (in alphabetical order)

aawa =

adaawe = maiden song, popular music

Adabraaka = area in the westside of the centre of Accra

adaha (highlife) =

Adangme = tribe which is closely related to the Ga tribe, living in the southeast at the coast (see map)

Adowa = traditional war dance from the Ashanti

agbadza = neo-traditional dance(music) from the Ewe-tribe

Akan = tribe living in the middle of Ghana (see map)

Ashanti = Akan tribe

akong = traditional religion of the Akan tribe

akon/akom = traditional music of the Ashanti, part of the akong religion

akpeteshi = strong destilated drink

ananse = spider which is the role figure in typical African fables and fairytales

asafo =

ashiko =

asohogua =

atsia-begkor = traditional music of the Ewe tribe, with a slow version and a fast version

atumpan = single headed open drum, talking drum of the Ga

axtsatse = calabash rattle, covered with a net with shells or seeds

bawa = traditional stick drum music of the

borborbor = neo-traditional dance(music) originated in the Volta Region

Dagomba = tribe living in the north of Ghana (see map)

Ewe = tribe living in the eastern part of Ghana in the Volta Region and also part in Togo (see map)

Dhurbar = festival with a chairman, organised for a certain reason (e.g. to raise money)

Dzigboo = traditional drum rhythm of the Ga

Fante = tribe living in the south-west of Ghana on the coastal area (see map)

Ga = tribe living in the south of Ghana, in the capital, the Greater Accra Region (see map)

Gbatsu = house of a traditional God of the Ga

Gome = big frame drum on which the player sits on top, using the heels to mute the sound / type of traditional Ga music in which the gome drum is used

Homowo = shame to hunger, celebrated in the annual homowo festival

Kinka = africanized form of colonial brass music

Kolomashie = traditional dance of the Ga, danced in procession e.g. during the homowo festival

Konkom(b)a = Africanized form of the colonial brass band music, though without brass instruments

Kpele = traditional religion of the Ga

Kpa = traditional religion of the Ga, not originated in the Ga tribe

Mantse = the paramount chief of the Ga

Me = traditional religion of the Adangme tribe

Nono = double bell

Obonu = big single headed open drum of the Ga, used for baseline

Odonko =

Odonso =

Ofi = ceremonial music performed during the homowo festival

Oge = traditional music of the Ga, imported by Kru seamen from Liberia

Opim =

Osibisabaa =

Otu = traditional religion of the Akan tribe

Palmwine music = lower street version of the dance band music, played on imported guitar and traditional drums

Seprewa = harplute, the oppositional playing technique of this instrument resulted in the plucking technique on the guitar in palmwine and highlife music

Shia = household (in Ga language)

Simpa =

Sonte = traditional music in the Ga area, traditional popular band

Soulele = traditional popular band

Tuumatu =

Twenobah = red hard wood/tree used for making drums

Wulomei = plural for wulomo

Wulomo = traditional priest of the Ga

2.1 Interview with Franklane (19 June 2001)

Name: Franklane also known as Ataa Addo, original name: Andrew Kortei Attquayefio

Place of birth: Jamestown, Accra

Date of birth: +/- 1938

Place of interview: Jamestown, Accra

Subject: origination of kpanlogo

Translator: Emmanuel Tagoe

Franklane could speak English, but sometimes it was more easy for him to speak Ga, Emmanuel Tagoe translated during the interview.

During and after the interview I worked out our conversation. It was not possible to exactly write down the conversation. I tried to reconstruct it as good as possible.

Franklane used to dance in all kinds of clubs. He liked rock 'n roll most. Then there was a new dance in the traditional scene, which was called kpanlogo. Ataa Adoo liked the dance and made some major changes in the choreography. As one of the first kpanlogo dancers he got very famous in Accra. He won all kinds of competitions, there was no one who could beat him or his friend Abrahan Lincoln.

How did kpanlogo start?

'Before kpanlogo there was another dance which was very popular. It was the kolomashie. But kolomashie was nearby the only available and popular traditional dance at that time. This dance was a bit boring, because it was all we were dancing. And it was danced in procession at festivals. So it was also a bit slow dance. This dance was from 1950. People were looking for another dance to dance on more freely. That is how we started kpanlogo.'

The kpanlogo dance actually came up through a story, the story was like this:

'There once was an old man. He was a chief, he was rich and he had a big land. He also had three children and only the chief knew their names. The children grew up in the palace and were not allowed to leave the palace. The names of the children were Kpanlogo, Mao and Alogoje.

One day the chief decided that the person who could tell him the names of the children, could marry the girls and would inherit all the land. There was a man who heard this and he made a plan. He hid and sneaked into the palace. The children were playing and he tried to get their attention. The children started screaming and then their mother asked: "Kpanlogo, mao, alogoje, what is wrong?" The children told their mother what happened, but when the mother looked for the man, he was already gone. This was how the man got to know their names. So at the day that the chief invited his community to come and try to tell him the names of his children, the man queued at the end. To be able to remember the names of the children, the man repeated them continuously in a certain rhythm. He brought his drum to the palace and when it was his turn he sat down and played the rhythm, in the meantime, singing the names of the children. This was the first time that the kpanlogo rhythm was heard and people liked it and added other rhythms and dance movements. That is how kpanlogo was born.

(NB. The end of the story is probably changed by Franklane and others, because from other sources (**ref.**) I found out that the story used to end differently (without the rhythm and drumpart). Abrahan Lincoln used to hear the story from his grandfather and he made a music out of it, so probably he just made a rhythm for the names, but he was not the one who went to the palace, that is just the story.)

So before kpanlogo there was kolomashie, what kind of dance was that?

Kolomashie was mainly instrumental it was a kind of march, people used it in procession. Usually it was danced in procession on festivals and funerals.

And what was it that what was the difference with kpanlogo?

The kolomashie, because it was danced marching, it was a bit slow dance and therefore not all that nice to dance on. I changed the dance and kpanlogo is a free dance. Sometime people started to dance very roughly. I changed some movements and people liked my choreography.

Both men and women dance in kpanlogo?

Men and women dance at the same time. But the dance movements became kind of vulgar. At that time the police came often to stop the dancing.

Which drums are used in the ensemble?

Of course there is the bell, the nono and there are two kpanlogo drums and there is a tamale (a certain frame drum). The tamale was also used in the kolomashie. So in kpanlogo people use the same drums.

Did you also learn other people how to dance?

Kpanlogo people used to meet at the gate (of the arts centre SR). Everybody came to the camp and I learned the people how to dance. We were with six people and we formed the 'kpanlogo troupe'. It was the first kpanlogo dance group, but soon there appeared a lot of other groups. Every sunday we went dancing. And we thought we could organise competition. At tsetseku we had the first competition. But there was nobody who could challenge me. In 1965 I went to Tunisia and I won the first prize in a dance-competition. There was also a competition in the stadion and I became the champion. In 1966 the government was overruled, the new government was not really interested in the cultural side. So there was no sponsorship anymore and we couldn't organise competitions any longer.

Where did you usually go to dance?

I started my own group the "Franklane Brothers" and we used to dance every saturday night at 'Ananse Krom' (litt.=spider village) *Where was that?* Is what people now call the Arts Centre. It was a very popular dance-centre.

What made you such a special dancer, which special movements did you invent?

I danced like this (see video). You know Makola, the Makola market? With the small drums and then we danced slowly as if we were on the market.

So the dance tells a story?

Yes, it is a kind of story. And we danced, pretending as if we were buying and selling at the market.

So that was your own style of dancing?

I was the best, I could dance every kind of style. Nobody could challenge me.

I danced in the Two State hotels, 'The Continental' (now Golden Tulip) and the 'Maribbean'. I made shows on many places. One day I went to 'The Continental' to see the manager. It was in 1965. I showed him how I could dance with a stick on my foot (see video) and he offered me a contract. I danced there on Friday, Saturday and Sunday. It was to attract more people to the hotel. I did a show with the stick. I played a fetish priest and that I could heal people, if the stick stayed on for three times. At the end of my show I made a dance with the stick. I even went to Tunisia with the stick and won the first prize in a dance contest.

When did the kpanlogo dance become so vulgar that the police had to come?

It was in 1969, it was too vulgar. But I went to the government to show that the dance was not vulgar.

Can you show some dance movements and explain what they mean?

(See video)

1. 'I like you'
2. creating wing
3. twisting / turning (*twisting of what?* No answer)
4. shake, 'I want something'
5. shake, 'where can I get the thing'
6. expanding and closing
7. "sale, sale, see and buy"
8. "look at my leg (dancing like a disabled), God gave me, so don't laugh about it"
9. woman is warned by a man (Atabu) for a snake in the bush
10. 'I take a stick to hit the snake'

2.2 Interview Otoo Lincoln and Franklane (20 June 2001)

Name: Otoo Abrahan Lincoln

Place of birth: Jamestown, Accra

Date of birth: +/- 1930

Place of interview: Akuma village, Accra

Subject: origination of kpanlogo, background information

Translator: Emmanuel Tagoe

Besides Otoo Lincoln, Franklane was also among. Otoo couldn't talk much English, Emmanuel Tagoe translated and Franklane explained some things.

2.3 Interview Emmanuel Tagoe

Notebook:

Name: Emmanuel Tagoe (Kalusha)

Place of birth: Osu

Profession: dancer of the Ghana Dance Ensemble, manager/trainer of the WAFC

Place of interview: Legon, University of Ghana

Date of interview:

Subject: West African Folkloric Company

When did the group start?

It started in 1979.

Who started it?

I started it together with some friends. I was dancing in another group, but...

Where did you get the dancers from?

I asked some friends from the old group and some other friends. And also I hang some adverts.

What is the purpose of the group?

We want to develop our culture and educate people about their own roots.

What is your repertoire?

Our repertoire is traditional and contemporary dances from Ghana, but also dances from abroad, like Senegal.

Who are the Ga?

The Ga's are people immigrated from Israel.

Israel?

Yes, Israel. Yes, they are fishermen and hunters. Their main job is the fishing, because they are at the coast habit. But they are also very good in terms of the small forest. That belongs to them, so there are some... but their main work is fishing.

So when they came from Israel, from Israel they pass through Nigeria. And a certain town called Ilefe from Nigeria, so they penetrate to that area to this present settlement, this is Central Accra.

And is fishing still their main occupation?

Now, now that is the main occupation, and they are doing it now, making and smoking of fishes, bringing it to the market and sell.

Because now it is also part of Accra, could it be possible that fishing is not for all Ga anymore?

I am talking about the identity of the Ga, the Ga's are still doing it, but some of them are also doing government, secretarial jobs, because it has become the capital city. Mixed up with other different tribes, so different things are happened, but still some of them are still.

And you belong to the Ga?

I belong to the Ga, 100%

How can you be Ga, is it like from father to son?

It is from father on son, not the mother.

Not the mother?

That's right.

So when you are from the mother, then you are half Ga, or ..?

When you are from the mother, and then your father is Ga, then that means you are half Ga. But in our tradition when you are from the fatherside, you take more responsibility, so they regard you like a Ga. And then when you stay in the Ga, you get more upon. So we, in our tradition, we are not maternal, inheriting of properties. So we inherit our fathers properties. The Akan inherit their mothers, instead of ...-yes, *that's right*. Ours is different from the Akan.

And I read something about that Ga male and females live separate in the familyhouses?

That is what people say, but let me give you the reason. You see, the Ga people are people like me, welcome people. They really love anybody at all. They want to serve you. So when they see a stranger, for example when I saw you for the first time, and we talk about things. Anything at all that you will need, a Ga man will help you. They are not like the other tribes. Some of the tribes are not like that. That's why the Ga people, they welcome people to come and stay with them. And then at the second when they marry, they do not stay with one side and the rest, it is not true, it is not true.

No, but I read in a book that in family houses, males and females have different rooms, because of the menstruation of the woman that she wouldn't be...?

No it's true, it's at everywhere at times, when it's getting to the period - *then they are separated* – that's right. *So that is still..* it's existing now.

But normally when she is not having her period .. no they stay together

The reason why people also are saying that, you see, some of them have a certain feeling, a certain believe. When it is coming to the menstruation of the woman and maybe you are doing vasten. What is not good, so when it is coming to that period, the woman even knows, she is aware. She will tell you that this week, maybe this is what is going to happen. I want to stay alone, or even at times the man will say no, because of that, you have to stay out.

But then, there's a special room in the house?

No, at times, if there is a special room in the house, they use to go there. If there is no room, the woman use to go with his family. And after that then come back.

But in the family house it is no problem that she is staying there?

No, no, no, no.

Only in the husbands house?

Let me add one thing. In the Ga sector we have some thing we call 'ye atsu', means a room that belongs to women. And nowadays we are not able to see them, because of the population, but in the olden days during about 50's we had something called 'me adjoo' a room only for the women. That is where they go, so it's a big room when you go there, you can't see any man. Men have no right to go there, unless he want to call somebody. So even if you travel and you are married and you divorce with your husband or whatever it is, or you have a problem. When you go, there is a room for you, sleeping with women. So that make the thing very, that's the.... People don't know and they say that men and women have to be separated that is the idea.

And what is the traditional religion of the Ga?

The traditional religion, but now it has been dominated or influenced by Christianity, so it has become a problem. Some of them really still go with the traditional religion.

You have to make a choice?

Yes, the one you belong to.

But has Christianity taken over for most Ga?

Yes, Christianity has taken over most of the thing, but I can see that now people have come to their reality, they have come to their senses. And people are now doing what their tradition demands. Especially a year ago, it was the first time that people in the traditional sector stood

up against the Christian religion. Fighting against all this, they say they want to maintain their culture. And that is one of the examples, last year if you can remember, a traditional people went to destroy some of the churches, their storey buildings and grasses and the rest. It was in the paper and the rest. They said they are going back to their roots. They take what the ancestors...., because of their identity.

And you are a Christian?

No. I'm both a Christian and a traditional, that's right.

So that's possible?

Yes, that is possible, because when you look at our tradition, what the Christianity, the lying Christianity was lying, the same thing we have been doing. We have to pray, we pour libation for our prayer, before white people came to bring us Christianity. And we also call God. And God is the heaven and hell, that is ... 'Ataa' means father, 'Na' means mother. So father and the mother is the God, because that is one particular thing. And we use that particular one. And the white people say 'God', so our God is 'Ataa Na Nimo', that is what we say, father and mother. So right now they are saying that the way we are worshipping is not good. But when, before they came about 1000 years or 100 years, we were freely, no political boundary not everybody walked freely, worshipping and anything at all, they asked the God 'Ataa Na Nimo' used to give them. But they were saying, you have to make sure, you have to go to church and stop worshipping. And what you do in Ga tradition in African tradition, especially in Ghana, whatever you say, according to our ancestors, whatever you say, if you take a stone, and you believe on this stone and you say every morning you give the stone water and then you start pouring water and pleading, calling God to come. The power should come through the stone. If you are able to geminate that sort of spirit, it will come and it will help you. So that is what happened to our ancestors and they were able to get all materials and they protect us. So any time at all we are in very serious condition, when we call that particular God, its use will help us.

And the white people were saying we are worshipping stones and icons, which is wrong, which is wrong. I don't believe in that. So I look at the bible and I realise that what our ancestors said is right and what the bible says it is right. So the people who are Christian, should not condemn our culture, I don't go with that. So all of my children are used to baptise them according to the traditional way. Before even they know go to church and baptise another one.

And how are the Ga organised by the chief system?

Yes, by the chiefsystem, we have something, we call it the chiefmakers.

Does every Ga town has its own chief, like Labadi has one chief etc.?

Every subarea has a chief and all of them belong under the paramount chief of the Ga. All of the Ga states have one chief, but the land is very fast and big. So every state has about three or four have a subchief.

So there is one kind of a head..? controlling them. He's living in Accra, he is called 'Ni ya mo kee', in Ga mashi, Jamestown. The palace is there, the small house over there. But his own palace is just in 'Lapass'. Lapass area, that is the chief palace. But if they are going to do anything, they come to the indigenous area, where...

So he's not living with his own people?

No he is living with the people over there. There is the old palace. The old palace is not good.

Yes, but why is he not living with in the area with his community?

Formally he was just living there, he was living in the community people over there. But as time goes, and the population is increasing, the palace is too small. It was not to contain a lot of people. So that's why they decide to one land, the same land, to make one big palace. For any visitor who comes, like for hundreds of people, 100, or 500 or 200, or 20 people can sit, or even the tourists when they come. Because the house, the small palace is our ancestors palace.

It is very small, because at that time people were not going there just like that, only by consultation or advise. And now population have increased, so they had to move, to make a very nice palace for the chief so that people can come. So the chief use to go to the indigenous area, go there be with the people. Any time at all they go to the palace, the new palace, that is a very big one.

Who is living in the palace? His family?

Yes, the chief with the family.

And that's all?

No, and some of the elders. What they do, is that the actual palace over there it is not meant only for the chief, but it is meant for special programs for the chief. That is where he came has its office, and everything. So some of this family is used to stay there. But when the chief is having enough money, he's a very rich man. He also builds his own house. That house belongs to the whole of the community. So most of the time, the chief also used to make sure, they build their own house. So they put the wives and children in their house. So the palace is for the community and the elders over there. So any time at all there's a problem, the elders used to come and sit and then they trust things out and solve problems. So the chief always used to go to the palace, but at times he used to sleep there, because there's a room for him over there.

So that is the head chief, does he have a special name?

He is called 'Ni ya mokee', but we don't say head chief, we say paramount chief.

And every town has its own chief? Yes

But is there than also other chiefs?

That's right. Formally .. *is it divided in areas?*.. let me explain this thing to you, the other chiefs we are talking about, they are some sub chiefs. We call them mantse a tsame, that means head of the communities. They are under the paramount chief. So what they normally used to do, is that the chief, ..the land is very big, and the chief cannot go all over the place. So they are selected people who are really in charge. They give the paramount chief information about development and the problems. The positive and the negative side of their community. And then they solve the problems, so they are mantse ajame. Formally we didn't say chief, we said head of our community...

And do they sometimes gather to talk about... Yes, when there is a festival, they come together and discuss about the festival and other important things. When there is a problem, in a certain area, they also used to come together, and try to argue and solve the problems over there. So it is not mean maybe by only individualistic affairs. It is a unification of chiefs.

And how many chiefs are there, more or less?

Formally we have Osu, Teshi, Nungua, Tema, Labadi, Ga-Adangme... I think they are many, unless you go to the state and know what exactly I think I can say there are supposed to be about ten or twenty. But within that ten or twenty there are other minor ones who are there, that's right. So there are many, you can't count, unless you go to the map. Or you go get the Osu map, or to the Accra map. There you can see, the land is very big. It is one of the biggest, one of the areast, not too big then other regions, but is also very vast land.

But is it because the land is so big and so very spread widely, is the culture exactly the same in Jamestown and in Nungua and Tema?

No, about half of the province, or half of the region celebrate one thing but the other areas, getting to Ga-Adangme. We have Ga-Adangme, they are all the same people, but the Ga-Adangme language is quite different a little different. But each of them can understand each other unless a stranger.

But I mean..

Yes, I'm coming to the cultural aspect. They all celebrate homowo festival. Right, but the other Ga-Adangme celebrate something quite different. The reason why we are saying that

one is that... the festival that they used to do or to celebrate, came about the hundred and thousand years ago, when the Ga-people also settled. If you settle up, one promises, one area, where about two houses occupy the land, for 50 years. When you, when you maybe die, there is something over there, and then they have to...to maybe celebrating of Sonja, because Sonja is the founder of that land, he occupied that land under the paramount chief. Okay, so whatever he wants to do, maybe he created that God, that I explained to you, the traditional thing. Then every year, you perform that particular thing to the shrine over there. So it has become a culture of the identity of that two people over there. And then they will also go and celebrate the one for the paramount chief. Which makes them a total recognition of the Ga's. So that is how, so you can see different types of celebrating over there, celebration within there, but they have one which is called homowo which is the whole of the Ga states.

And they all, Jamestown, Osu...they all celebrate the same, they also have the same rituals? That's right, the same rituals, but different dates. That's right, the reason why they used to do that is that it shows their reunification, and welcome people from abroad or other areas. So when you are in Osu, we fix a date, and the first date maybe it is your community. I want to come and visit you, so I come and enjoy with you. The next day you also come to me so we just move, it shows our love. If I refuse to go to your area, then that there's a problem that belongs to the chief: to solve the problem, why do I not able to come there.

The most important festival, we discussed that already, is the homowo. Are there also other festivals?

Yes, there are other festivals. We have something, we call it aiam-festival. We have aiam-festival, and we have...ehm...welcoming and goose festival and every, every institution, every area has a certain festival that they use to do. Like Osu, we have something we call it yam-festival, but is being for only the Osu-people. Before they...*so those are more smaller festivals?...* Yeah, that's right. The area we went by Regina's thing, that area, they have something they call it yam-festival, aiam, yam-festival that's why. And that particular one, they use to do that one, before welcoming the homowo general festival. They have to put their Gods, their traditional Gods. That is, and every year, they have to take them to the beach and shower them. They have the belief that the traditional God over there protects the land for any inconvenience. So every year they bring them out, go to the castle, the plain land over there after the sea. They shower the Gods over there. They are just something like a wood, a carving wood, but they are more spiritual, so it shouldn't come between them. So they bring them out to the public and the people use to see them once in the year. And then yam-festival is that to go round to the areas, we have something we call it Asafo, Asafo people. So every, that particular area, we have Asafo people, about five or eight groups over there and then they also take their Gods and celebrate going round and see how many people being born in the country in that particular area. How many people have been recruited to that particular society, to that Asafo company. So they move in convoy. This group will be moving to this region, people with different costumes, so it shows that, on, this is the beginning of the homowo festival, for them, that particular area. And after the... when they celebrate that for one this thing, they send their Gods to their rooms and then they welcome the general homowo festival. So an...each of any tribe, any city, any small area at all, there is something they use to do, which has nothing to do with homowo. But they the people use to do it themselves. But homowo is being recognized by the Ga's as their own culture of identity. That's right, so when you go to Labadi, they have something called Laba, Laba... they also go to their shrine, they sing, they dance, they sing and dance and then they embrace woman. That's right, they embrace women, that is Lapa, the meaning of God of that La-people has just married a woman. So when you are a woman, I have the right to just embrace you, and kiss you or doing anything, for that particular festival. When the festival is over, that is the end. When you go to Teshi, they also do that, but they don't embrace people. But they also sing.

They are singing, through the singing... when you are head of state, when you are a chief, when you are a foreigner. When you do something good for the area they will praise you. When you are a foreigner, you do bad, they will condemn you. When you do good, they praise you, when you do bad, they condemn you. And that is how they do, they do thing, as socialize. They do registration, after the festival that is the end, whether you do bad or good, they don't do. But all the days they are calculating. They are writing report and ...*than during the festival...* getting to the end..

So each of the festivals have a meaning within the small this thin. Before the general homowo festival for the whole of Ga.

What kind of music is special for the Ga?

The music,...when you talk about the music for the Ga's. They have every area, have a kind of music that they have for through their people who really establish as a Ga. So when you go to La, you call it LaKpa music, so that particular one is common to them. So immediately they sing LaKpa, it's just something like: 'Sonja baba, Sonja Ga oohoh, Sonja baba oh, Sonja baya, Sonja baba. That is the type of music, there is no drumming. But they sing in harmonium way, we have a tenor voice, alto, soprano and everything. So when we are singing... just something like a choral, but it is really typical and that identify them at their music. But when you come to the fishermen, when you come to the homowo, this thing, some of them play kpanlogo, some of them play kolomashie, some of them dance, some of them sing all kinds of social and other things, right?

But the one I've been recognized, been observed by the general public it is when you call: 'yeah, yeah, yeah, akole suma'. It is a twin festival. Once you hear that particular one, that shows, shows that it is time for homowo. So that one has been generally accepted...*by whole of the Ga?*... by whole of the Ga. So anywhere at all, when you forget about the date and you see this music on the head or people started singing it, right, you realize it is time to come back home, because of the twins festival.

So it is also that music is not only performed at funerals and festivals? Is also when people just gather?

Also when people gather.

That's still common that in the evening people sit together to play music?

Yes, the music, you see, we have...because of our farming, hunting and the fishing, you see, that gives us more creative in terms of composition. So we have a lot of songs. So the area where you belong to, that have come of the area some people use to sing.

Yes, but I mean, people still come together in the evening to make music?

Yes, that's the dance clubs, what we can call a small societies, every evening there are certain areas they use to go and than maybe, you put a small drink down. As they are singing, they are drinking, it makes them more unification and the come out with more music. So every evening they used to do so...during the past!

But now it is only some sub-areas they are been doing that. It is not like the former time. The former, every area you can see. You see about 20, 30 people, 40 people or 10 or 5 people, gathering, making music, singing, enjoying. But now the people, the area are very, very conjectured and a lot of people have joined unless you go to the indigenous areas. There you can see this culture, real cultural thing, still existing.

And is there still also traditional religious, like kind of ritual music which is still...Oh, yeah...performed. Even now, ...like Kpele lala songs?

No, no, it's now, ... it's true, now even they are doing it, no the ritualistic dancing and everything nothing else is there, and the people are even within that community, right. It use to come on occasion, maybe they are celebrating this thing. That's why I was saying this thing earlier on that Christianity have dominate some of the other thing. So they are covered up a lot of the other things. And marginalized the culture, right. So the cultural people who are

more ritualistic and all the rest they use to do when it is time for them, for their festival. But you can see all these kind of things, when it's time, when it's getting to the strong homowo festival. That is where you see them properly. So people, some of them have travelled to other areas. So when they come back and they perform this sort of social, ritualistic and everything. And than you see everything live so there's still existing. I know, I used to gone and watch, wherever theatre art in African tradition. I used to go and watch and get more materials from them and use it for my group.

2.4 Interview with Badu

Name: Badu (nickname)

Place of birth: Accra, Jamestown

Date of birth: ??

Place of interview: Jamestown, Accra

Date of interview:

Subject: Tokyo Joes

What was the Tokyo Joes about?

In 1957, when Kwame Nkrumah came to power, we build a group after the . We decided to form a group called Tokyo Joes. We started fighting agains Nkrumah, throwing stones, bottles, give them attack. We decided to make progression....vitation, within making noise. We can't succeed, we are there making noise, fighting, fighting, fighting. And the leader that we have is called Atto Kwasi. He is the leader of the team. And later on Nkrumah decided to form workers brigade, so that every grown boy can get a work and we tried for that one and we got the work. Later on Nkrumag make... this thing... ehm...??? Partial on parliament called...??? Assembly Bill. Where we see four people gathering, they are trying to overthrown. So as I went and we settled down by, one, one, one of our people. So those who can get detention from..??? Togo, Lomé, Nigeria and so on and so forth.

Later on Kotoka command Luke (?) grew against Nkrumah. And all these people come back to Ghana to come and form one united party. And we are all trying attending this social party. After that we know what is going on, Rawlings and Kuffuor are also on one line at this. So this is how we formed Tokyo Joes.

And what was you job in the group, were you like a secretary, or just a member?

Oh, I was a member of the group.

You started in 1957?

1957, yeah

You worked for UP?

Yes, we worked for UP, and UP, Tokyo Joe formed by UP, because when we...that group were all members of UP. Yes, when Nkrumah said that this whole tribal party group that we are making is a party in disguise, should make one and form party. That's why we will like it, that's why we say this national party lead by Dr. Kofi Busia. But at that time, if you go to this thing, Amuah-side ...???... when you come to Kumasi, you come and meet???... They are also there, when you come to Accra, you come and meet Atto Kwasi, ???, ???, and so on and so forth.

So all kind of groups like Tokyo Joes were spread over Ghana?

Yeah, we spread, every tribe its own group. But when Nkrumah's forces to make it a party. Than we come together in on U.P., lead by Dr. Kofi Busia.

You used kpanlogo?

Aaah, that was the leading band, when we go by there that is the leading band. This what makes ...???..., then we dress ourselves that we start beating our kpanlogo there and than the people are enjoying, that is ...???...

And than the kpanlogo groups play their normal kpanlogo, or did they use special songs against Nkrumah?

No, when kpanlogo no go against Nkrumah. Kpanlogo is a group that we form, to bring money to us. So we get more engagement, more and more, we go and play to Nkrumah self. But when come back, we know what we came for.

But they didn't sing special songs? About Nkrumah?

Daabi, daabi, daabi, daabi.

Which groups you took, Franklane's group?

Yes, Franklane's group...*or always different groups*...always different groups, after we met so many groups. But Franklane's group is the leading one, because the leader can dance, also...So anytime we meet, he's the leader. When we see at competition, he will win. That's how the thing goes.

2.5 Interview Johnson

Notebook: page 25 to 29

Name: Johnson Kemeh

Place of birth: Volta region

Date of birth: ?

Place of interview: Legon, music department

Date of interview: 11 January 2002

Subject: origination of kpanlogo

Where were you born?

‘I was born in the Volta region.’

At what age did you start playing the drums?

‘I started playing drums at the age of 5/6 years old. I didn’t have a teacher but I learned it from going round to places where music was played. Some people were disturbed by it and sucked me, but others let me go ahead, to watch and listen. And sometimes they even let me try to play.’

Do you only teach here?

‘No, I teach on schools, churches, youth groups, in the UK and other countries.’

Where did you learn to play kpanlogo?

‘When I grew older, I travelled to Accra and started to work at the University of Ghana at the Ghana Dance Ensemble. I worked there for about three months, when the heads, Aniyim and Mr. Opoku promoted me as teacher, because they thought I was talented and that I could be of more value in teaching. I decided to do some research about drumming on my own, to learn dances from other regions quickly to be able to learn them to students as well. That’s also how I got to learn kpanlogo. Of course I also did this research to gather some background information about the dances.’

What do you know about the history of kpanlogo?

‘Kpanlogo is the latest type of music of the Ga’s in the early 60’s. Africans always portray themselves in the way they behave. Ga’s like to insult and that’s mainly what they portray in kpanlogo. Kpanlogo spread from Accra to all other regions of Ghana. E.g. in the Volta Region there are some special kpanlogo groups. In the Volta Region they made kpanlogo even more rich, they added new dance-movements, songs and bell variations. The songs in this region are mainly in Ewe, but also in English.’

Which dances are related to kpanlogo?

‘Gome is the main base for kpanlogo, it is very similar. Gome and kpanlogo therefore are often mixed to one. Kolomashie was also important for the development of kpanlogo (which exists already since 1830’s). The difference is that kolomashie uses a tamale and is a processional dance. It is the earliest influence of Western European culture of the Ga harvest homowo festival, which means shame to hunger (there won’t be hunger here).

Lolomashie is a Ga word, lolo means kpanlogo drum.

Lolomashie means kpanlogo is moving, kpanlogo is on the move, so it can be seen as a development in kpanlogo, it came after kpanlogo. It also uses a tamale.’

Kpanlogo rhythms are quite similar to borbobor rhythms, is there any connection?

‘Kpanlogo rhythms are very similar to those of bobobo, but the history of the dances is very different. Because there is a lot of exchange between Ewe’s and Ga’s it was possible that they ended up with a similar final result.’

What did kpanlogo take from highlife music?

‘Kpanlogo didn’t take something specific from highlife, it just took the swing of it. There is no relation with the twist, the popular American dance.’

‘You know something special in kpanlogo are the proverbs which the master drummers use in their improvisations. It is like the talking drums, the public knows what the drummers are telling and often they react on it in words (singing). A kind of call and response between drummers and singers. E.g. the ‘fine, fine baby, go pass my mother.’

2.6 Interview Abraham Tetteh Aguh

Fieldnotes: page 41-42

Name: Abraham Tetteh Aguh

Place of interview: Akuma Village

Date of interview: 13 January 2002

Profession: manager of the Kake Dance Ensemble, chairman of 'Afrihi'

The master drummer of the ensemble was also joining the interview for a while.

Who was the founder of the ensemble?

'The founder of the Kake Dance Ensemble was a scout. He was a member of the Ghana Dance Ensemble. He decided to make his own group. He started the group at this place, though it was not Akuma village yet at that time (1981). In 1991 I became the secretary of the group.'

What do you know about kpanlogo?

The master drummer: 'Kpanlogo is a free dance, with two different supports and it can be played and danced at any occasion.' *Do you know anything about oge?* 'The oge is an old dance so I don't know a lot about it.'

Do you know anything about the new copyright bill which enables Ghanaians to use their own music without paying for it?

'I was involved in the first copyright law (1985). The new law should only be a revision of this old one. I didn't see the new one yet, but I can't imagine that Ghanaians should pay for their own music. If you learned the music from your father/grandfather, it's yours, you shouldn't have to pay for it.'

The meaning of the new bill will be that only foreigners have to pay for it. The same like Paul Simon did when he used a Ghanaian tune for his song.'

'I will go find out, what exactly is going on, because it is not good if this would be true.'

Do you know about the Tokyo Joes?

I know the name Tokyo Joes, and I know they used kpanlogo songs for oppositions. *So you know if some of them are still alive?* I don't know if they are still alive. I think most of them are dead. I knew one of them pretty good, but he is dead now.'

What do you think about the situation and position of traditional music in Ghana at the moment?

'Ghanaian traditional music should be promoted. It is disappearing and the government should support. Nkrumah tried, but after him there was no interest in culture anymore. For this actual government, I don't think they will support. There are some Ashanti's in the government and they're always proud of their culture. We don't know, we have to hope they will help us. But at least they should do something about it, because:

- it is good for the tourist market
- it's good to keep the own roots
- it's better than the crazy western styles.'

I myself started Afrihi to try to promote Ghanaian, and more general, African culture. This is an organisation which is trying to get offices all around the world, which can support each other in the most broad ideas and plans. E.g. exchange programs, selling of African goods, festivals, documentation centres etc.'

3. Personal communications

In this chapter I wrote down some of the more important conversations I had. Of course I gathered a lot information in other conversations which I didn't write out exactly, because sometimes things were brought up unexpectedly or the interest of it became clear afterward.

3.1. Conversations with John Collins

3.1.1. In the first semester of the study year 2001/2002 I followed the lectures of John Collins about popmusic in Ghana. For those notes I refer to my notebook of this lecture.

3.1.2. Date: 25 October 2001

Place: classroom, lecture

Notebook: page 6, 7

About the disappearing of music in the towns:

'12 years ago in J.S.S. and S.S.S. music was thrown out of the system. Instead there came a general course in culture. But on most schools this resulted in teaching about religion. Now music is back, but as a kind of elective. Before this time schools had some euro-centric classes in sol-fa notation. S.S.S. had pretty good music classes with chorales and sometimes drumming. Also before students learned for a job as music teacher, but now the jobs are gone.'

Why then a music department in Legon?

'After a period of crisis, Dr. Anku and me were contracted to open new possibilities for music students here. We try to make it more practical and we try to make them interested in their own music. In the beginning I taught classical music, courses in pop music were not allowed.'

'Culture groups are trying to set up second groups, to teach children. And also the children's games are rhythmical.'

'Borborbor appeared about 50 years ago, a bit earlier than kpanlogo. It was Nkrumahs borborbor music. The songs were proverbs about the situation (of Togo willing to be part of Ghana).'

'Recently the term hipic came up, which describes the situation of Ghana. Western countries have insurances, but here they just don't make you starve to death and they don't give you opportunity to climb up either. You can see for example that the common habit of inviting somebody for eating (if somebody is eating and you are meeting the person at that moment, the person normally is telling you: "you are invited" SR) is disappearing in the city, people are to poor.'

'Rawlings opened all FM-stations. It transfused the whole country up to 1987.'

'The entertainment industry collapsed. Instruments became collectable items and there was no world music yet, so you couldn't make money out of music.'

2.1.3. Date: 21 January 2002

Place: John Collins office

Notebook: pages 21, 23, 24, 31-36

Sort of conversation / interview, reconstruction, because I didn't record it.

Were you in Ghana at the time that kpanlogo appeared?

‘No, I came here after kpanlogo started and after the rebel. Later I found out that my first wife danced in the first kpanlogo group of Otoo Lincoln and I that’s how I got to know more about the rebels. In my Phd thesis I wrote something about, specially pages 455 and 456 are interesting for you.’

Do you have some old recordings of kpanlogo music?

‘I don’t have any recordings myself, there is a recording of Mustapha Tettey Addy from 1970/1971. Those are the first recordings of kpanlogo music, I personally don’t have them, but you should be able to get them. He drummed also in the first kpanlogo groups, he was drumming it already since ‘64/’65. Then in ‘85/’86 was the starting of Kokrobite. Originally it started as a drumming and dance school. This school is so important, because it was the first successful private attempt in traditional music. Later a hotel was added, which is now more important than the drum and dance school. It is now a hotel with a large cultural sight.’

Why is kpanlogo so popular, also to teach foreigners?

‘Kpanlogo is a rhythm which is familiar to foreigners, because it has a regular beat and it is an attractive swinging rhythm (bell in rock ‘n roll song Bo didli). This makes it popular to teach foreigners this first.’

Kpanlogo sounds so similar to borbobor, does it have any connection?

‘They both have only doubles with emphasis on the 1st and on the 4th, on the on-beat. So does agbadza as well, only it is in 6/8 in stead of 4/4. This makes it sound similar and borbobor and kpanlogo use the same bell and they both have a background in colonial marching so if you add a simple off-beat to it, it sounds similar pretty easily.’ Though their background is not the same. There are three styles of music in the marching tradition:

 kinka (Ewe’s made it into traditional music)

 kolomashie (=from colonial marching) processional walking in order, since about 1930, quite similar to kpanlogo. Ga changed it into kpanlogo music. Lolomashie was in ‘20/’30, before kolomashie

 konkoma, singing instead of brassinstruments, no money for buying instruments, Ewe changed it into borbobor music.’

What did kpanlogo take from highlife?

‘The bell is taken from highlife.’ *But didn’t the Ga use that specific bell pattern already in gome? Is it then not so that they took the bell pattern from the gome instead of from the highlife?* ‘Yes, that is perhaps right, probably gome was the main basic of kpanlogo, but of course the history of this bell pattern is much more complex, because it originally came with the slaves from south America. It is possible that originally it was an African rhythm, brought back by slaves to their home country in a transmuted form. It is not known how exactly this rhythm was developed.’

What does the word “hipic” litteraly mean?

‘It means Highly Indebted Poor Country, like an international beggar, international social welfare etc.’

When did the Kru people come to Ghana?

‘The Kru came from Liberia to Ghana around 1950. They settled in five towns at the coast of Liberia, forming the Kru or Gebo tribe. Those Kru towns were in areas like Jamestown and Usshertown, they were important for Ga culture because of:

- pidgin English
- oge

- guitar and other carriable instruments like accordions

In 1969 they were sucked from the country, so they are not part of the Ga. Two million of them had to leave the country.

And how about the gome coming from Fernando Po?

'Fernando Po was Spanish, it was taken over by the Britis during WWII. They set up a settlement with Freetown people. There were two movements:

- Ga coming from Congo
- Ga fishermen coming from Fernando Po, where now the Freetown people were living

But originally gome comes from Freetown, Sierra Leone.'

There was a general decline of traditional music in Ghana. Neo-traditional music made an opposite development.

Folklorisation since Nkrumah

- bands attached to brigades
- School of Performing Arts
- National Symphony Orchestra

But five governments afterward didn't do anything about culture, there was no interest in music.

'Now there is a commercialisation of folklore, this was in Nkrumah's time not possible because there was no tourism. That is also why Otoo Lincoln never got any appreciation for his work. Only three years ago he received some money for being the founder/originator of the dance.'

'The commercialisation and private drumming and dancing schools are all private economics. The state doesn't give any help. Now with the law coming up, the copyright bill, the groups are taxing out of existence. Because it means they will have to pay for what they are doing. I already warned some groups.'

'Live music collapsed, except for church / gospel music and traditional music, because it doesn't have foreign influence.

Now there are three different styles:

- gospel
- computerization, hip-life and techno-life
- folklorization of neo-traditional music and dance.

Groups combine, fuse rhythms and dance movements and make choreographies. Some people regret this, because it is not the way it is supposed to be performed, but at least it is better then nothing. Else traditional music would probably disappear (in towns?).'

3.1.3 Date: 11 July 2003

Place: John Collins office

About: correction of thesis

3.2 conversation with Nana Dadzie

Date: 18 June 2003

Place: my house

3.3 conversation by e-mail with Steven Salm
Date: several dates

From: "Sonja Rentink" <sonja.rentink@tiscali.nl>
Date: Tue, 2 Dec 2003 14:02:08 +0100
To: <s.j.salm@mail.utexas.edu>
Subject: thesis kpanlogo

Hello Steve,

I have your e-mail address from John Collins. I am writing a thesis about kpanlogo music and I found out that the Tokyo Joes used kpanlogo groups for the musical entertainment when they went to demonstrations for example. Unfortunately I didn't have enough time to find out everything in detail (and some people didn't want to talk about it). John Collins told me that you are writing about those Tokyo Joes, so I wonder if you know anything about the Tokyo Joes in relation to this kpanlogo music. And also if you perhaps have some few pictures of this time (I have only one picture from the drum magazine).
I hope to hear from you,

greetings Sonja Rentink

Friday, 5 December 2003

Hi Sonja,

Sorry about the delayed response. I am right in the middle of grading final exams and trying to finish up another project.

Your topic sounds very interesting and I would much enjoy discussing it in greater detail with you and, perhaps, even reading it at some point if you are willing to share it. My latest project dealt more with youth subcultures in the 1950s and 60s in general, but there is a chapter on kpanlogo and some mention of the Tokyo Joes. However, as you found, people are often unwilling or at best reluctant to talk about the latter in any detail. I do have some interviews that I have yet to transcribe but this is for a project down the road. Yes, the Tokyo Joes did occasionally use kpanlogo to inspire them before and during political rallies, just as they used liquor and marijuana to 'motivate' them. I found little to suggest that members of the Tokyo Joes played any significant role in the creation or development of kpanlogo music and dance. Please do not quote this e-mail but you are welcome to paraphrase it and cite it in a general sense if you like. You can also check out my dissertation, "*The 'Bukom Boys': Subcultures and Identity Transformation in Accra, Ghana,*" The University of Texas at Austin, 2003. It is available from UMI.

Who did you speak with in Ussher Town and James Town? I assume that you must have met with Frankie Laine. How is he?

Keep in touch. Best,

Steve

Steven J. Salm, Ph.D.
Dept. of History
Xavier University of Louisiana
1 Drexel Drive
New Orleans, LA 70125
Ph: 504.520.5272
Fax: 504.520.7938

Monday, 26 January 2004

Hi Sonja,

I just found my note to you tucked away in some file and wanted to see how your research is progressing. I should have mentioned to you last time that John has a copy of my dissertation and I would be happy to send you a chapter if it will help you.

Best,
Steve

Sorry about the delayed response. I am right in the middle of grading final exams and trying to finish up another project.

List of collected material

Commercial recordings

Emashie cultural group, *Akeba, the original logo*.

Side A: Kpanlogo

Side B: Gome

Allan Family, *Wala he hia, vol.2* A321 Katamanto, Accra (Jaham Productions)

Side A: 1.Kpanlogo special

2.Tume

Side B: 1.Gome

2.Kolomashie

?, *From bamaya to bosoe, roots of highlife*

Side B: 4.Kpanlogo

Allan Family, *Daada Buko* A321 Kantamanto, Accra

Side A: 1.Kpanlogo

Side B: 1.Gome

2.Kolomashie

?, *Ghana colours of the world Explorer* ALI Cotwe 120

Allegro Corporation 1999 USA ex. Producer: Yeagle A.C.

Ghana Dance Ensemble, *African Drum Music*

Side A: 4.Kpanlogo

Side B: 3.Gome

Addy, M. T., *Kpanlogo Party*TGS113, Tangent records, London

Addy, A. and Anaa, T., *Live Refreshment* LC 06027, cd 118-2, Weltwunder records

Audio recordings

22 June 2001

six kpanlogo songs (hardly hearable)

by: Emmanuel Tagoe

location: kamer op de campus

26 June 2001

15 kpanlogo songs (now on the correct recording volume)

1. mo mibi le ohami

2. mo ble mi oho mie

3. alonte juloni

4. jelenbi nyeha wo fea ekome

5. okonfo anokye bro

6. woyi no woyi no woyino

7. ee wo ba yi ame
8. say ee say ee wo yaa Soweto loo
9. say ee say ee wo yaa Namibia loo
10. say ee say ee wo yaa Angola
11. yei ebu loo
12. woyi shee
13. kwemo naa hi ee
14. ayi oo
15. anye mi mei
by: Kalusha, Akwetey Emmanuel Tagoe, (bell: Sonja)
occasion: on my request
location: dancehall in Legon

26 June 2001

kpanlogo song
-me li niyaa hee
by: Abiu, (bell: Kalusha)
occasion: omy request
location: dancehall Legon

15 October 2001

kpanlogo
by: drum ensemble of the dance department
occasion: dance class
location: dancehall in Legon

31 October 2001

kpanlogo
by: African Ensemble of the music department
occasion: performance evening of the music department
location: drama studio of the university

31 October 2001

song 'me li niya hee'
by: Choral Ensemble of the music department
occasion: performance evening of the music department
location: drama studio of the university

7 December 2001

kpanlogo master drum
by: master drummer of 'West African Folkloric Company'
occasion: on my request
location: Arts Centre, Accra

7 December 2001

kpanlogo supporting drums
by: members of 'West African Folkloric Company'
occasion: on my request
location: Arts Centre, Accra

21 December 2001

kpanlogo master drum
by: member of 'Hewale Sounds'
occasion: on my request
location: main hall of the university

21 December 2001

kpanlogo supporting drum
by: master drummer of 'Hewale Sounds'
occasion: on my request
location: main hall of the university

11 January 2002

interview
with: Akwetey Emmanuel Tagoe
subject: Ga culture
occasion: on my request
location: my office at the music department

31 January 2002

interview
with: Badu Ray
subject: Tokyo Joes
occasion: on my request
location: bar in James Town

6 February 2002

kpanlogo, proverbs in masterdrum
by: Tanko Alhassan
occasion: on my request
location: our room in Madina, Accra

6 February 2002

kpanlogo, supporting drums separately
by: Tanko Alhassan
occasion: on my request
location: our room in Madina, Accra

6 February 2002

kpanlogo, master drum
by: Tanko Alhassan
occasion: on my request
location: our room in Madina, Accra

Pictures

1. Funeral of Regina's mother, performance by West African Folkloric Company (9 June 2001)

a. drums from different regions of Ghana

- b. drum dance group ‘West African Folkloric Company’
- c. time-keeping instruments
- d. dancers
- e. dancers
- f. dancers
- g. public
- h. public

2. Franklane and Otoo Lincoln (20 June 2001)

- a. Franklane, portrait
- b. Otoo Lincoln, portrait
- c. Franklane and Otoo
- d. Franklane, Otoo and Sonja

3. Alliance Francaise, Odeh Dance Company (.. December 2001)

- a. dance movements
- b. dance movements
- c. dance movements
- d. dance movements
- e. dance movements

4. Gouching shape of kpanlogo drum (27 January 2002)

- a. hollowing out of the wood
- b. shaping the outside

5. Fixing the skin (2 February 2002)

- a. piercing holes in the skin
- b. tightening the rope
- c. weaving / lacing of the rope

6. playing techniques on kpanlogo drum (20 January 2002)

- a. open tone
- b. slap

7. Instruments of the ensemble (20 January 2002)

- a. all instruments
- b. all instruments

8. Dance movements in kpanlogo dance (20 January 2002)

- a. twist/turn
- b. twist
- c. greeting
- d. catch
- e. and give away
- f. shaking
- g. woman pushes man (with the bud)
- h. woman sits, man flirts
- i. basic movement

9. AAMAL percussion and danceschool in Kokrobite (12 January 2002)

- a. stage
- b. rehearsing room
- c. rehearsing room

10. Franklane (29 January 2002)

- a. Franklane, portrait

Video recordings

- 8 June 2001 kpanlogo performance at wake keeping (night)
 by: West African Folkloric Company
 occasion: funeral of Regina's mother
 location: Osu, Accra
- 9 June 2001 kpanlogo
 by: West African Folkloric Company
 occasion: funeral of Regina's mother
 location: Osu
- 19 June 2001 interview
 with: Franklane
 subject: invention of kpanlogo
 location: Jamestown
- 20 June 2001 interview
 with: Otoo Lincoln and Franklane
 subject: invention of kpanlogo
 location: Akuma village
- 23 June 2001 kpanlogo
 by: West African Folkloric Company
 occasion: performance for tourists
 location: Shangri-la hotel, Accra
- 11 August 2001
 Homowo festival
 by: several people
 occasion: Homowo festival, cooking food, spreading food
 location: Jamestown, Accra
- 29 September 2001
 fixing drum skin
 by: Tanko Alhassan
 occasion: making a drum for a friend
 location: Madina, Accra
- 3 October 2001
 woodcarving on a drum
 by: Antoni

occasion: while carving it on order
location: Accra

17 October 2001

kpanlogo, master and bell
by: Dela Botri
occasion: strike at the university
location: Legon, Accra

30 October 2001

kpanlogo (on different type of drums)
by: African Ensemble
occasion: rehearsal for performance
location: music department Legon, Accra (under the tree)

31 October 2001

kpanlogo
by: African Ensemble
occasion: performance evening of the music department
location: Legon, Accra

31 October 2001

me li niyaa hee
by: Choral Ensemble
occasion: performance evening music department
location: Legon, Accra

14 November 2001

kpanlogo
by: Odeh Dance Company
occasion: wednesday night program at Alliance Francaise
location: Alliance Francaise, Accra

1 January 2002

borborbor
by: gospelgroup
occasion: 1st of January
location: Hohoe

9 January 2002

kpanlogo
by: Suade Dance Company
occasion: wednesday night program at Alliance Francaise
location: Alliance Francaise, Accra

9 January 2002

gome
by: Suade Dance Company
occasion: Wednesday night program at Alliance Francaise
location: Alliance Francaise, Accra

26 January 2002

kolomashie
by: local drum group
occasion: funeral
location: Potrase

27 January 2002

shaping a kpanlogo drum
by: Yao
occasion: while doing his job
location: Potrase

Video recordings from the archive of the International Centre of African Music and Dance

BBC recording, 'Africa come back'

Gome performance, Pan-African Festival

Innunciation dance of the Ga-Adangme