Doing Chumburung songs—A taxonomy of styles

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Abstract

The author explores the words and themes of different types of song sung by the Chumburung people of Ghana. She adopts Okpewho’s suggestion that songs are different by their context, form and themes (1992), but divides them into categories based solely on context. She details each type of song according to Chumburung labelling, and gives examples. Frequent reference is made to work by Nketia on Ashanti songs. Then a taxonomy is drawn to show the context, form and theme of all the types of song.
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References
0. Introduction

0.1 Oral Poetry
Many of the collections of so-called “oral poetry” from Africa, come from a wide variety of the major languages, and are presented by translation into English. They are laid out on the page with shorter lines than if they had been considered as prose. However, it is not instantly clear that what is being talked about in these collections was originally recorded as songs performed in some kind of public situation. The music and the dancing have either not been recorded, or not published alongside the words. Nor has the context in which the songs were performed been mentioned. Also, repetition on the printed page becomes tedious, whereas in actual performance this is what enables the community to participate. Some indication of that repetition needs to be noted.

0.2 Music
By contrast with such poetry collectors, ethnomusicologists are concerned with topics such as rhythm, melody, harmony and instruments (Karolyi 1998). Topics related to language itself get minimal treatment. Todd Saurman (1999) in a review of Nettl (1985) makes a spider chart of the cultural components of music with about 50 topics of which the one labelled “Text” is just a minor one.

0.3 Themes
Returning to the collections of “poems”, the editors of such compilations need a framework to join or separate different kinds of songs. They use headings comprising themes, such as praise, pleasure, survival, gods and ancestors, and so on. This, however, disguises the categories into which types of songs are divided by the very people who sing them. Okpewho argues that division could be made “by subject matter, by the kinds of instruments used, by the style of vocalization, by the association to which the performers belong, by the occasion during which the performance is done, and by several other criteria”. (1992:127–162) He says that if working cross culturally, the vast number of types into which poems from all of Africa would fit, would make comparison between languages very difficult. He therefore suggests that context, form and theme, are the most important.
In regard to contexts in which songs are sung, these might include marriage, work, or relaxation in the moonlight. For form, Okpewho says that there is actually a “musical ladder”, that is, levels of musical regulation. Song by contrast has the “highest degree of musicality when there are voices and musical instruments and accompanying dancing with audience participation”. Similarly, there are two modes of singing, monochoral and antiphonal. The themes he uses are just five: love, praise, criticism, war and death.

0.4 Chumburung
This study of the songs of the Chumburung people of Ghana is an attempt to bring to light the songs of a minority people. I agree with Okpewho in that there are many ways to make divisions of kinds of song. The contexts in which certain songs are sung varies as to whether it is a celebration (such as a funeral) or an activity (such as work), and what place (church or school) or time (such as moonlit nights) that it occurs in. I will divide by context, but I will list the kinds in a taxonomy. Forms will still be covered, but they will include the instruments used, the mode of singing and whether there is also dancing. The themes are far more than the five that Okpewho chooses.

The word for song in Chumburung is kiliŋ, pl. iliŋ. However there is no special verb for “to sing”. Rather they say waa iliŋ “do songs”. This is in contrast to drumming, which is da “to beat”. To “beat a drum” would be da kokoYe. To compose a new song is teŋ kiliŋ, literally “to cut a song”. There is also, as with many languages, no overriding word for music that covers both singing and

1 Pronunciation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chumburung</th>
<th>Received Pronunciation English</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ky</td>
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<td>i in bit</td>
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<td>o</td>
<td>o as in cot</td>
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<td>o</td>
<td>u in put</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
instruments, it is either “doing songs” or “beating drums”, or maybe both at the same time. It is also well nigh impossible to do either without also dancing, kekyaa. The whole entertainment might also be referred to as Ang i soori “We are playing”. As Karolyi (1998:21) says, “speech, melody, rhythm and dance interact”. The divisions of the sections in this article are according to the context in which they are sung. Within each I will say what emic labels Chumburung people use for them.

Chumburung is spoken by an estimated 65,000 speakers in Northern and Volta Regions of Ghana. However, the dominant trade language is Twi, the language of the Ashanti people, and Chumburung children begin to learn it from their peers before they even reach the nursery school. In primary school they learn English, and continue to use it throughout their education. If Chumburung people are discussing something among themselves, they will use Chumburung, but if any “stranger” comes, they will switch to Twi, which they understand moderately well, or some other language to accommodate that person. Most of the songs sung in church will be Twi or English, although it is doubtful how much of the English is understood by people who have not been to school.

0.5 Chumburung songs
The corpus of Chumburung songs we have collected numbers 152, including songs specially composed, and they have been collected over a period of years from 1976 until 2002. All of them have been recorded, and the words then transcribed by a speaker of Chumburung, but the translations are the author’s. What is significant about those not composed specifically for the language development programme we are engaged in with the Chumburung, is that most of them have been recorded at the express wish of the performers. That we were residing in the village of Kumundi for over six years meant that people knew we were interested in their language. For example, at a funeral there is dancing in the afternoons and way into the night, and by participant observation we began

2 Many thanks to Isaac Demuyakor for transcribing many songs, and also to Bernard Asewie for his help as a language consultant.
to learn some of the popular songs. Afterwards some people from the village offered to sing them onto tape to help us in our language study. Frequently in the days that followed a funeral, a group of people from another village who were visiting, would arrive at our house and almost demand that we record them. These proved to be a very different kind of song, and after transcription they remained unstudied for a long time.

As far as we had seen, there is no singing at festivals to celebrate a fetish (local god), only drumming. However I was told that there is singing to celebrate a fetish such as Sɔŋkɔ, Brukuŋ or Laŋta. For this type of singing, known as ɔyanya, the women will sing in the moonlight in a circle, clapping and dancing. They also do this at a marriage either when the bride is first secluded, or when she reaches her husband’s home, or just when they feel like it, as they did after three hours of dancing the hunters dance for us! Unfortunately we have not recorded any of this type.

One or two songs that follow can be classified under the theme of praise songs. We were told that when a chief sits in some public meeting, the drummer will play the talking drum, laŋgoŋ, and each section chief being praised has his own song. His father, his grandfather, his clan, and how brave he is, will all be praised. The women will ululate, da kikyirelee, and call out his praise names. We have not been able to record any of these sessions.

There is no tradition of touring musicians whose specific and sole job is to praise a great leader by recalling the events of the past (Okpewho 1992:134, of Antony King of the Gambia and the Sunjata epic). However, section 9.2 shows that some past events are still remembered in song. Nor are there, as far as I know, any epics or song cycles (Finnegan 1992:201). Indeed most Chumburung songs seem to have minimal words and much repetition.

All drums are played by men, and shakers are played mostly by the women. We were once told that for most types of singing, some clans are called drummers, others dancers. They say that the men will mix some herbs with water and wash
their children’s hands every morning so that they will grow up as drummers, dancers or whatever. Thus being a musician is said to be ascribed. This is contradictory to what I have myself noted, which is that being a drummer is achieved, by showing willingness and being taught.

As to the style of the singing, there is no special vocalization, nor is it chanting. Each line descends in pitch gradually, and the last line of a sentence ends with a long note made slightly louder just before the cut off time. It is normal singing, but always loud. However, in church they are very good at making songs into four parts, even if they are newly composed.

Although it was possible that the songs were in a pentatonic scale, it was quickly ascertained that they are in normal heptatonic, that is an octave with seven notes between. They are all in duple time, that is 2/4 or 4/4.

1. Celebration songs and dances

The most popular form of dance is known as palogo. It is said by Neeley (Kofi & Neeley 1997) to come from the Ga people of around Accra, where it is called kpanlogo, and seems to have been created in the 1960s. It is also called bayaa, bosweé, or abele. It is danced at marriages, and in the evenings just for fun for the young people. It is also danced at funerals, both on the day of the burial and when they again assemble to contribute money to help with expenses. Nketia (1974:208) says this is to “indicate tribute to the dead or group solidarity in the face of crisis”. Chumburung people are a bit clearer; they say “We dance to make us happy again”. Most instruments used by Chumburung are what Nketia calls “instruments capable only of indefinite pitches, such as drums, bells, rattles, stick clappers etc”. The instruments of the band may consist of a pair of long metal upright single-headed drums known as akɔye, and an upright wooden goblet-shaped single-headed drum called peŋteŋ (words describing shapes are taken from Karolyi (1998) and Nketia (1968)) and a gourd rattle covered with a

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3 Two people helped with transcription of the tunes, and I want to thank them. They are Debbi Hosken and Lorraine Low.
net of cowrie shells and shaken, called *kyaare*\textsuperscript{e}. As Nketia (1966) says, they use “instruments of penetrating intensity” or they have a preference for “musical textures that embody percussive sounds or sounds that increase the ratio of noise to pitch” (1974). Also, the instruments are used for “articulating the pulse structure of the music, i.e. providing a time line”. The status of musicians for palogo is achieved, rather than being born to it, and there is no overt teaching. Small boys will be allowed to play the rattle type instrument, and gradually learn the drum.

The palogo dance is performed with all the women in a long line headed by a prominent young woman, for example the bride, and roughly going down in size and age with the young children, both girls and boys, at the end. The line then goes around the central tree of the open area in which the celebration is being held. The movements of the women are three small steps/shuffles and one where the foot is kicked out slightly to the side. Arms sway in the opposite direction to the foot in motion, and they may hold a handkerchief in one hand and wave it over the head from time to time. Otherwise, the body is slightly bent at the waist so that the buttocks stick out a bit. The men do what they call dancing, individually in the middle of the circling women, but it is not much more than shuffling to and fro. Older women are not supposed to dance for long, and so they stand at the side leading the singing.

The singing is by call and response, what Nketia calls “strophic”. That is, “a single verse is repeated, often with slight variations, for the desired number of stanzas” (1974:40). Usually a brief lead of a few notes is sung by one person as a call and the rest join for the other lines as a response, although in subsequent stanzas, most people keep singing. It is possible to stop singing but keep dancing, and then anyone who chooses can provide a lead again. Thus the mode of singing is responsorial, that is one person leads and then many join in.

The song in Example 1 is for palogo, danced at Kumundi, celebrating Mr. *Ogyi-e-gye-atɔ* a former Member of Parliament. His proverbial name means “one who has children is blessed”. His name according to the day of the week he was born
on, Saturday, is *Kwameg*. He is also called *Dɔŋkɔ* because his mother went to consult a local god during pregnancy to ensure his survival.

**Example 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anë e gya mò se ooo</th>
<th>We will follow him ooo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Tɛm biyara</em> 4</td>
<td>Every time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>anë e gya mò se,</em></td>
<td>we will follow him,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Ogyi-e-gye-atɔ eee.</em></td>
<td>A child is wealth eee.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This song will be sung very many times in succession, before the drummer makes a change in rhythm and the singers know they should go to another song. The *eee* and *ooo* are “pause, sob or end particles” (Nketia 1955: 75), that is, variable syllables that can be tacked onto a line in songs. They are one type of vocable that is used, that is, words related to form rather than meaning. There does not seem to be a phonological rule governing these end particles, for instance one would expect that the *eee* would follow words ending in *e* or *e̱*, but the songs show this is not always true. In other songs an *eee* can even interrupt a phrase.

In the next song (Example 2), although the basic chorus is repeated many times, each verse can be addressed to a different group of people. Each new introductory phrase will need to be fitted into the time available (Nketia 1974:179). The song was again sung in Kumundi, but in verse 2 they used the name of the original part of that town, Brai (not to be confused with other towns called Borai).

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4 Twi sounds such as *biyara* are often employed both in songs and normal speech for certain expressions which have a perfectly good counterpart in Chumburung. Likewise there are some loan words from English.
Example 2

*Kyonboron awuye, mone a ba,*

Chumburung people, you have arrived.

*mon(e) ne mone a leeg eman se mone a ba-o.*
you who have come from the towns you have arrived.

*Manj e sa mone ajse ooo.*
The town welcomes you ooo.

*Bere-aye awuye,...*

People of Brai....

*Ane aye abrese,...*

Elders of our place....

Later we moved from Kumundi to Banda, which is 20 miles to the southeast. People there said that this kind of song has many other names, of which *bayaa* seems to be the most popular. They are also known as *yaa yee iliŋ*. I was told that “*yaa yee*” is the response to the Ashanti greeting of welcome “*Akoaba*”. The phrase *yaa yee* is what makes up the response to each line, but I had not noted that fact. It is possible that the name used depends on the section of Chumburung to which they belong, as Nketia (1974) says for Akan.

The next three songs are from a set of 21 sung and recorded on tape in Banda town. Most of the performers were not actually originally from Banda town which is in *Bajdaa Tekpan-aye* section but from the Chachiai section. One woman seemed to be the organiser and the four women all cracked *akare* seeds whilst singing. Two men played on iron castanets (one was a clapper round the thumb and a bell, *kakporekyoo*, in the palm of the hand, the other was more a bell that was struck, *kaborjeren*). The men also joined in the singing.

The first song (Example 3) mentions the names of some fetishes, *Brukuŋ* and *Kakunj*. It also refers to the late Paramount Chief, Nana Boase Kwajo who died in 1981. The second song (Example 4) is in a much lighter tone.
Example 3

An enemy has got their mouth,

(= has destroyed them)

all the public’s mouth.

I went to Brukum,

It was not sufficient.

I went to Kakun,

It was not sufficient.

Chief Boase Kwajo’s home,

It was not sufficient.

An enemy has got their mouth,

all the public’s mouth.

Example 4

If the cockroach had got a chance to dance,

Rather he is dancing.

He dances here,

And he dances there,

But chickens are preventing him.

Apart from celebrations such as marriage and funeral, another context in which palogo songs feature is when people work together. For example women will sing when beating earth, cement and water to make a courtyard, or when planting okra, and men will sing when threshing guinea-corn or pounding the plants that are used to make poison to catch fish. When men join in communal labour such as grass cutting, road mending or weeding a farm, there may be people from several language groups, and a variable pitch double-headed drum kegangan is slung over a shoulder and used “to hurry them”. There is no accompanying singing.

When the courtyard is to be beaten with cement and water, the women will be called in advance. They work bare footed, as it makes feet and ankles very messy. There is no accompanying musical instrument, but rather the strong
rhythmic beat of their beating sticks. The voices are rather shrill to overcome the noise. As far as I can ascertain, this is the only kind of song that only women would sing. All others can be sung by people of both genders. Although they are mostly done responsorially, there is sometimes a break for conversation such as telling the children to go away, thus rendering a recording disjointed even if the setting is “natural” (Finnegan 1992:75, using the categories of collecting of Kenneth Goldstein (1964)). Then one woman will take it upon herself to bring them back to singing by repeating the first line for them to join in to. The following (Example 5) is an example of asun iliŋ, “work songs”.

Example 5

\[
\begin{align*}
Ij ye, ma le\varepsilon \ su. \ (x2) & \quad \text{I say, I will not cry again.} \\
Yawa \ N\vata\-a\varepsilon & \quad \text{Yawa They-have-got-us,} \\
\varepsilon \ ma \ le\varepsilon \ su, & \quad \text{she should not cry,} \\
na \ o\varepsilon \ varepsilon \ bis\varepsilon \ m\varepsilon & \quad \text{and someone asks her} \\
f\varepsilon \varepsilon \ n\varepsilon \ varepsilon \ ya \ waa, & \quad \text{what has happened,} \\
ne \ fo \ i \ su? & \quad \text{that made you cry?}
\end{align*}
\]

We were told that it is possible to sing such songs at palogo also, and that palogo songs can be sung when working.

As will be seen from the above palogo songs, which are mostly celebrations, the themes involved are diverse. One (Example 1) was praising a celebrated person, another welcoming a group (Example 2). One was showing that if you have a trouble, going to a fetish will not necessarily solve the problem (Example 3). And the last one (Example 4) is about a cockroach dancing! Of others not reproduced here, we have songs about waking in the morning to the cock crowing, about gossiping behind someone’s back, and about sheep and goats eating a woman’s store of dried fish or tiger-nuts. Even though these songs are sometimes sung during the dancing at a funeral, the themes do not cover death

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5 Repetition is shown by marks such as x2 meaning sing twice.
or war or hunting. Some are *nkyɔrɔ iliŋ* “praise songs” such as “We will follow him”, some are *asuŋ iliŋ* “work songs” such as “I say do not cry again” and some neither of these categories.

*Palogo* dancing has been dropped in some towns in recent years since the current fashion for funerals is to hire a set of amplifiers, have “cassette iliŋ” and high-life music to which they do a minimal dance, each person separately and with no singing. There is so much competition to keep up with everybody else that the recently deceased chief of one town is said to have instructed that there be no “dance” when he died, but they should do traditional dancing for him. There is no indication that any other styles of singing are dying out.

### 2. School songs

This next group of songs was sung for me when I visited schools as I toured the area concerning starting to set up a literacy campaign. The initiative in each place was that of the teacher.

The first of these songs (Example 6) used a borrowed tune, but its provenance is unknown. This time the person being celebrated was me, my proverbial name being *Ba-kọte-ane*. The second song (Example 7) is saddish, but not sufficiently so that I classified it as a sorrow song (see Section 5). In the third, notice again the phrases that encourage unity. All these songs, and fourteen more, were sung by a class of children in Gurubi Primary school, teacher Miss Cecilie Dapah. Three boys played expertly on *peŋteŋ* drums, and the others numbered about twenty-five, both boys and girls.

**Example 6**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{I say I have a certain friend,} & \\
\text{They call her They-imitate-us,} & \\
\text{You should meet her ooo} & \\
\text{You should give her a special welcome.} & 
\end{align*}
\]
Example 7

_Akọwebeɛ-ana, ẹ ye, akọwebeɛ-ana_, 
_Relatives, I say, relatives,

_Mọn' sa a ane yowẹ kaseŋtọwe_,
_Let us stop troublesome talk,

_Mọn' sa a ane yowẹ katókyii_,
_Let us stop back-biting,

_Mọn' sa a ane yowẹ ẹbɔye pẹẹ_,
_Let us stop all sin.

Ọnyerapọ ẹ gye ne o ɡiyeye ane ọoo
_It is the devil who deceives us,

_Akọwebeɛ-ana ọoo._
_Relatives.

The themes are of praise or encouragement. Of those not laid out here, many seem to be songs from parts of the Bible, for instance one about Daniel in the lions' den, but only one of them have I heard elsewhere.

The next song (Example 8) was sung by all the pupils at Kachinke Primary School, a two roomed open-sided building with a thatched roof. Their teacher was the late J.K. Aposwa-su. The song celebrates the end of school, and was unaccompanied. It seems to have been around for a long time, for an adult of around 50 remembers singing it himself in school.

Example 8

_Mọn' ba, mboo,_
_You should come, good,

_Anę kake e gye ndɔɔ._
_Our day is today.

_Anę ẹ ọ anę yowę anę sukuu ndɔɔ_,
_We are going to stop our school today,

_Na obiara ya ọ ju mọ nyi akatɔ-ʃo._
_And everyone will see their mother's face.

_Na ɔ tɔwe_,
_And s/he will say, (she = ? teacher)

_Mọn' nãrɛ daˈmɛnaŋsɛ._
_Go well.

_Anę ẹ tɔwe_,
_We will say,

_Mọn' nãrɛ daˈmɛnaŋsɛ_,
_Go well,

_Anę tiikyaa awuye_,
_Our teachers,

_Mọn' nãrɛ daˈmɛnaŋsɛ_,
_Go well,

_Amọ anę a bo gyaŋne._
_Until we have meet again.

_Mọn' nãrɛ daˈmɛnaŋsɛ_,
_Go well,
Two of my language consultants disagreed as to what category these songs fit. One said they are all sukū iliŋ “school songs”, but the elder consultant, with whom I agree, said that they fall into the broader category of asorē iliŋ “church songs”. Neither included them in nyaağyi iliŋ “children’s songs” which will be discussed next. In no case was there dancing, even though the performances were out of doors. Also in the last song, maybe for lack of money, there were no musical instruments. As Nkетia (1974), says there may have been “an exclusion of traditional musicians and their music from church and educational institutions” in the colonial period, but the pẹn tereŋ drum is certainly traditional. Some schools also have mberę, that is horns, and asadwiya, a frame drum, but no more than two or three instruments.

Schools often hold cultural events. I am told that on these occasions, they might do mbɔɔfɔɔ “the hunters dance” or sọkọdaye (see Sections 6 and 7).

3. Children’s songs

The following are examples of songs that children sing and play to amuse themselves. This might be in a small group in the day or a larger group when the moon is shining.

The first (Example 9) is one of several possible Chumburung songs for a young girl playing the Ghanaian game of ampee. In this, she will make a ball out of leaves, and then toss it and kick it with the upper part of her foot, clapping meantime, and then catching it. Others will sing along with her.
Example 9

*Kyaare, kyaare, kəkyaare,*  Blow, blow, rainy-season,
*woore a fo kee a*  pound and look and
*fo i nụ aneŋ ne ka du-o.*  you will see how it (the fufu) is.

Most of the songs they used to sing in the moonlight were in Chumburung, but now they sing in Twi. They may sing and praise a girl or boyfriend, or a father or a mother. There are two groups, the younger and the older girls, often playing games competing against the other group. The songs and games of the boys are different from those of the girls.

This next song (Example 10) was one of three Chumburung songs sung for me by a group of children at Dambai.6

Example 10

*Agyọwa e ọ-oo, Agyọwa e ọ-oo*  Ajuwa is sick ooo, Ajuwa is sick ooo.
*Agyọwa e ọ, ọ maa nuu koko.*  Ajuwa is sick, she will not take porridge.
*Agyọwa e ọ-oo, Agyọwa e ọ-oo*  Ajuwa is sick ooo, Ajuwa is sick ooo,
*ọ maa nuu koko.*  She will not take porridge.
*Agyọwa e ọ-oo. APC, koodee, tuupayi.*  Ajuwa is sick. APC, codeine, antibiotic.

There are not many *nyaaayi iliŋ* “children’s songs” in our Chumburung collection, because we expected most would be in Twi, as we had been told. One language consultant7 said that in olden days children were not even allowed to sing until they became teenagers. Probably the themes of what they now sing in Chumburung are various.

Before we move away from children, it is necessary to include one other song (Example 11), which is specifically sung when an elderly person has died. The

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6 To appreciate this song, you need to know that APC (here pronounced according to the English letters) was at that time a very popular medicine for aches and pains consisting of aspirin, paracetamol and codeine. Tuupayi is a common word in Ghana for any two-coloured antibiotic capsule, possibly derived from two-pied.

7 Evans *Ijka-e-gye-atɔ.*
smaller relations, known generically as grandchildren, sing this one whilst the women are preparing the body within a room. The children are given objects to make a noise with, and are sent running round the house, banging “to stop the spirits coming”. Later they will be given special parts of meat so that they enjoy themselves a bit and do not really understand how final death is.

Example 11

\[
\begin{align*}
Nana a wu eee, & \quad \text{Grandma/pa has died,} \\
Se\-ŋ-bɔ-gya. & \quad \text{Painful thing.}
\end{align*}
\]

Two of my language consultants disagree as to whether this song is an example of \(nle\ iliŋ\) “mourning songs” or \(ayeŋ\ iliŋ\) “sorrow songs” (both of which are to follow). Whether it could be classed under \(palogo\) or not, I am uncertain. However it does seem to make a different point to the one quoted by Nketia for Akan (1955) in a footnote which says the last line is “What do we care?”

We have seen that \(palogo\) can include celebration songs, work songs and children’s songs (with the possible exception of the song just above), but not school songs, which are classed under \(asɔre\ iliŋ\) “church songs”. We will now move on to that class of songs that seemed so different to me. They are called \(nkywii\ si\), which Nketia says is “a popular modern band” (1955:123) that sings at funerals among other things. From the examples he gives, it seems clear that the term \(nkywii\ si\) in Chumburung has a wider meaning than in Akan, and refers to a kind of drumming. They were sung by adults during funerals, and they often insisted that we tape-record them. The songs split into two further categories, \(nle\ iliŋ\) “mourning songs” and \(ayeŋ\ iliŋ\) “sorrow songs”.

4. Mourning songs

When someone has died, whilst the women are in the room preparing the corpse for burial, they also sing, and some outside may join in, but there is no instrumental accompaniment. These are called \(nle\ iliŋ\), literally “funeral songs”, but I want to call them “mourning songs” since \(ayeŋ\ iliŋ\) “sorrow songs” are also sung at funerals. Here is one example (12).
Example 12

_Bera aŋɔŋgyi_,
Care for the orphans,

₀ maa leɛ ba.
She won’t come again.

₀kyeɛ yii mɔ kuri-ana ase,
The woman has gone to her husband’s people,
₀ maa leɛ ba.
She won’t come again.

₀ maa leɛ ba (x2)
She won’t come again.
₀kyeɛ, ₀ maa leɛ ba.
The woman won’t come again.
O yii peeɛ.
She’s completely gone.
O yii eee.
She’s gone.

Emotive words occur again, with “orphan” extending its meaning to anyone related to the dead person. Phrases like “She won’t come again” and, in another song, “vultures will come and eat me” indicate mourning.

_Nle iliŋ “mourning songs” are sung by just a few people, always women, with no music or dancing. The themes are necessarily of loss. I am told that there are also “secret songs” which are sung in the room where the corpse is lying at midnight. They will not be sung openly. Bells will be beaten softly as accompaniment. After the body has been buried, and people have had a chance to eat a meal, there will be palogo dancing._

5. Sorrow songs

The second type of song sung at funerals to _nkywii si_ music is _ayeŋ iliŋ “sorrow songs”_. Each line gradually descends in pitch as it reaches the end and is drawn out. This produces what to me is a very mournful sound. (How much of this is due to the alcohol that has just been imbibed is hard to say.) I was told “You sing _nkywii si_ at funerals or, if a stranger comes, you can insult each other with them. When the funeral is over, noone worries about the insults any more”. This usage, I have unfortunately not heard, although this would fit into criticism, one of Okpewho’s five categories. Some of them are said to contain a proverb, as
Nketia (1966) says, but this is not essential. The musical instruments are minimal, usually clapper sticks or some kind of bell or castanet.

The first in this category (Example 13) was sung by a woman: ᴄ NSURL Arial, mo-ya-kpa “It’s me that wants it” also called Sa-mo-na-ŋ-ke (Give me so I can see) from Wiai but sung at Kumundi. It has no proverb in it. The opening and the closing are mostly vocables, but they also employ the phrase ṣ yɛ meaning “I say” and o yii meaning “she has gone”. This is known as yoorikiliŋ “to introduce a song”. In several lines she seems to address certain people, namely her mother, a river owner, and a brother whose name is Kyegkpa “wants girls” a name given to a boy born after three girls.

Example 13

Yii yawa yii yoo yaaa.
O yii yaa yoo yii yaa ŋyaaa.
ŋ ye yawa yii yoo yaaa, o yii yoo yii yoo yaaa.
O yii yawa yii yoo yeed.
ŋ ye o yii yawa yii yoo yeed, o yii yawa yii yoo yaa ŋyɔɔɔ.

Mmmmm.

N na a nyera mo eee,
My mother has spoiled me eee,
N na Agyọwa.
My mother Ajuwa.
Akeę, bo ye n na a nyera mo ooo.
Again, they say my mother has spoiled me ooo.
N na a kọwę agyi, ne ọ mọŋ nya agyi ooo,
My mother has borne children, and she didn’t get children ooo,
Esese ne ọ waa mo anęŋ.
Perhaps that’s why she has done this to me.
N na, esese ne ọ waa mo anęŋ.
My mother, perhaps that’s why she has done this to me.
Katrapo eee, esese ne ọ tɔɔraa mo ooo.
River-owner eee, perhaps that’s why she has troubled me ooo.
Boy-after-3-girls, perhaps that’s why she has done this to me ooo.

Perhaps that’s why they have done this to me indeed.

Our home has borne children, and she did not get children ooo.

My mother has borne children, and she did not get children ooo.

Children, my mother has borne children, and she did not get children ooo.

Perhaps that’s why she troubled me ooo.

Perhaps that’s why she shook me ooo.

My mother has borne children, and she did not get children ooo.

Perhaps that’s why she has done this to me always.

I was told that maybe the mother had charmed the child or never let her do any household tasks, so when the mother died, the girl was unable to do her work. This song can also apparently be sung when the women bring a bride to her husband’s house.

The next sorrow song (Example 14) does have a proverb in it, namely the first line. The woman singing seems to be in deep depression and says that noone loves her and she is like a meatstick made with veins and so on, rather than proper meat. The middle section is in normal speech in what is known as kare kiliŋ, literally “to read a song”, but meaning to explain the song and its composer. The song was performed by two people from Kumundi in their own
town. The woman was Dogyi’s elder sister, Akua Boñy-ako and the man was Kwaku Adai. The animals mentioned are all ones that are not normally eaten.

Example 14

*Kyengkyenka,*

\[nse \ e \ gye \ ne \ o \ so\ o \ m\ o \ eee?\]

Meat stick, who is it that will buy me eee?

*Mɔ a waa kepateye kyengkyenka,*

\[ne\ nse \ e \ gye \ ne \ o \ so\ o \ m\ o \ aaa?\]

I have been made into a vulture meat-stick, and who will buy me aaa?

*Mɔ a waa kuruma kyengkyenka*

\[nse \ e \ gye \ ne \ o \ so\ o \ m\ o \ nee?\]

I have been made into donkey meat-stick, and who will buy me?

(Here follows some speech by the man with the instruments continuing. He introduces himself, and says that many people know him, but today he has become a useless person. he is just the kind of meat they normally consider taboo, and so will not buy if on a meat-stick.)

(singing again)

*Gyono kyengkyenka,*

\[nse \ e \ gye \ ne \ o \ so\ o \ m\ o \ wo\ o\ o\ o?...\]

Dog meat-stick, who will buy me to eat? ...

By contrast with the two sorrow songs above which were sung at funerals, the next song (Example 15) was sung by a very sick teenager in Kumundi. Here he bemoans the fact that his relatives attribute his propensity for not working to laziness, but he says it is not so. The boy’s day-name is *Akwasi* because he was born on a Sunday. His proverbial name is *Nse-e-tawê-mo-lee* “Who will tell about me?”. He addresses or mentions the following people: *Kwamena*, his older brother “born on Tuesday”; *Kwagyoo* “Monday” also known as *Dj-nyi-aney-mfene* “I know this where” who is his deceased father; and *Akyukoŋ* “Thirst”, his father’s deceased father by adoption. The singer does not mention the following people even though they were living in the same house as him at that time: his
mother, his step-father, his younger sister, and his younger brother. (Here all the siblings are of the same deceased father.) The song has not been rewritten for succeeding verses, and a few verses are omitted. But the lines are marked according to the words in the introductory phrase where he mentions the people, much like the palogo song that welcomed people to the dance. At the start of each line there is a letter, with A for the first and all its repetitions, B for the next and so on. Sad to say, about a year after we recorded this song, Akwasi died.

Example 15

A Eee,  
Kọ̀lọ̀ maa mọ̀ mọ̀, kọ̀lọ̀ maa yọ̀wẹ́ eee.
The sickness does not kill me,  
the sickness does not stop.

B Akwasi eee,  
Kọ̀lọ̀ maa mọ̀ mọ̀, kọ̀lọ̀ maa yọ̀wẹ́.

C Nṣẹ́-ẹ̀-tọ̀wẹ̀-mọ́-lee Akwasi  
Kọ̀lọ̀ maa mọ̀ mọ̀, kọ̀lọ̀ maa yọ̀wẹ́ eee.

B Akwasi eee,  
Kọ̀lọ̀ maa mọ̀ mọ̀, kọ̀lọ̀ maa yọ̀wẹ́ eee.

B Akwasi eee

C Nṣẹ́-ẹ̀-tọ̀wẹ̀-mọ́-lee Akwasi

B Akwasi eee

D Akwasi Nṣẹ́-ẹ̀-tọ̀wẹ̀-mọ́-lee

A Eee

E Kwameña

F Kyaapọ̀-mọ́na (Dancers)

B Akwasi eee

A Eee

G Ìți-yi-ané-m fé̀né Kwagyoo mọ́ ọ̀yì

B Akwasi eee

H ---
We see that these *ayen ilin* “sorrow songs” use very emotive language. There is no *yaa yee* response by other people, although one song had something similar before it actually started. Themes here are not necessarily of the dead person, but include being an only child, lack of love, and sickness.

There are thus two types of song in *nkywii si*, and both are in the context of funerals. One is directly concerned with mourning the dead person and the other is more general sorrow.

The *palogo* songs (which include work songs and children’s songs) and *nkywii si* songs (which comprise both mourning and sorrow songs) are separate from the next two categories, *mbɔɔfɔɔ* and *soŋdaye* because the “drumming is very different”. However that does not stop a song from one dance style being used in another, as we shall see.

6. Hunters’ songs

The *mbɔɔfɔɔ* hunters’ dance was one of the first dances we saw on our arrival in Chumburung land, and was probably borrowed from the Ashanti. It was performed at the funeral of a man aged over 80. However since that time, I had never had an opportunity to see it or record it. Some of our translators kindly arranged a session specially for me in 2002.

The men were dressed in baggy shirts of blue woven strips, ranging from old and holey to very new with shining white embroidery. The women wore their best blouses and cloths. Lying on the ground, there was a selection of animal bones and horns—from lions, oribi (a kind of antelope), and cows, and an elephant’s knee cap—that were used from time to time to represent the animals. Several men held guns as they danced. Others put the horns on their heads and danced.
The women used baskets with mango leaves in to represent fish, and a circular fishing net was occasionally employed. The men would pretend to stalk an animal and in one case a woman mimicked an animal behind a mango branch, and a trap was set. Each performer did his or her own thing, so it seemed as if the dancing had no choreography. But the constant drumming on peŋteŋ (which is played with drumsticks) and guroŋ (also upright and single-headed but played with the hands) drums, and the two metal instruments also used, kokyogyi (a bell) and kidêkpi (a hoe blade, both struck with a metal stick), held the event together. Each time they started a new song, someone took the lead and then the rest joined in responsorially. One women was frequently ululating in praise, da kakyirelee, above the noise. There were many spectators, and the town chief was present to say how well they had done. Here are three of the 18 songs they sang repeatedly for 3 hours:

Example 16

_Agyeŋkpeɛpo bɔ ameɛɛpo aaaa._ Those who come first are better than those who come last.

Example 17

_Mø e ya nya, ba mɔse mɔ._ If I get something, they laugh at me.

_Mø e mɔŋ nya, ba saare mɔ._ If I don’t get, they insult me.

Example 18

_N seŋ a bɔ ndaŋ se-ɔ_ When my father is living at the farm

_Kyeɛkpeŋkyɛɛ gyɛ mɔ kyanŋarɛ_ A glossy backed bird is his cockerel.

aaa.

Looking at the themes, surprisingly few of the songs related to being a hunter, or to dying. The first given above (Example 16) is almost a proverb. The second (Example 17) is a bit depressing. The third (Example 18) is delightful with its imagery. Themes are various.
Asewie said that two examples of *mbɔɔfɔɔ*, were actually *nle ilin* “mourning songs”. Another song they sang was the one cited above under school songs in praise of me. This time the second verse mentioned the proverbial name of my husband. This is an *nkyɔrho kiliŋ* “praise song”.

In length *mbɔɔfɔɔ* “hunters’ songs”, are short like *palogo*, whereas *nkywii si* can be quite long. I had assumed that *mbɔɔfɔɔ* had a different kind of song from other styles, but it turned out otherwise.

### 7. Sokɔdaie songs

The *sokɔdaie* is said to be the most typical Chumburung dance, and the words are in Chumburung. We have seen it on several occasions. First was at a yam festival thanking the fetish *Laŋta* (Dente). The second was being danced for the fetish *Sɔŋko*, and the third at the dedication of the New Testament in 1989. The *sokɔdaie* drums are a pair, male and female, single-headed and inclined on a frame. Animal horns and other drums are also used. The dancers are mostly men trailing cloths from their shoulders. Each part of the dance has different movements resembling birds and their mating, for instance one of them is done by spreading out their cloths and running. However, since the songs sung to it are very specific to the occasion, we will not discuss *sokɔdaie* here. Further information is given in Williams (1976), although the quotations there are in Twi.

### 8. Church songs

The songs sung in church are *asɔre ilin*, and the instruments used in church are varied. Since many but not all local drums are associated with fetish worship, the pair of drums, *akɔye*, is very popular, or a drum set with cymbals. Other instruments are of the shaking variety, *kyaarə* (gourd rattles), or tambourines. These instruments then are similar to what is used for *palogo* dancing, and as in that dance, it is the men who play the drums and usually the women the shakers. There is loud clapping with all the songs.
Sometimes some of the women will come out to the front, and dance one behind
the other in a circle, much like the *palogo* dance, to express their enjoyment.
When the collection is taken, people come from their seats in a line, first
women, then men, circle the box into which they are giving and return to their
seats, dancing.

Different ethnic groups within a church are allowed to “bring” their own songs
from time to time. I quote as an example (19) a song sung by the Borai Roman
Catholic Church music group in the early 1980s.

**Example 19**

*Yeesuu mɔ aa mɔ asumpo,*
*baa ya da laa kabaaggyii-o si-o-ooo,*
*Yeesuu a twa gyii bamo feye,*
*Akwewee-ana, mɔ e ya ye,*
*mɔ i krimp a m ba.*

Jesus and his disciples,
they went to pray on the hill ooo,
Jesus said to them,
Relatives, when I go,
I will return again.

*Mɔ i krimp a m ba, (x3)*
*I will return again,*
*Mɔ e ya ye, mɔ i krimp a m ba.*
*When I go, I will return again.*

*Mɔn' kpa abee-ooo, (x3)*
*Love one another ooo,*
*Mɔ e ya ye, mɔ i krimp a m ba.*
*When I go, I will return again.*

*A sum-ooo, (x3)*
*Let’s worship ooo,*
*Mɔ e ya ye, mɔ i krimp a m ba.*
*When I go, I will return again.*

The themes of church songs are praise of God, events in Scripture, and
couragement.

In another context B.K. Solomon Duku composed some songs in this style, but
with keyboard, base guitar and drum programming and, with the help of his
family, got them recorded as a commercial tape. (The tapes are sold through
local music stores, as are many tapes in Twi.)
Asøre iliŋ are very popular, and may be translations from another language or new words to an old tune, or totally new songs. Some of the songs labelled sukulu iliŋ may also fit this category. However, there does seem to be the ability to remember more lines than in palogo dancing, although not as many as in nkywii sì.

9. Songs within oral literature

As has been frequently noted in the literature on songs, singing may occur within the framework of a spoken story (Nketia 1974:178).

9.1 Stories

Our collection of folk-stories numbers about 150, many of which were recorded in what Finnegan (1992) calls an “induced natural setting”. That is, the sessions were deliberately set up, but in a courtyard at night with an audience. The songs were later transcribed, although some were written straight in Chumburung. Any songs sung during the telling are called itee iliŋ “story songs”.

The first story that we will touch on (Example 20) was told to us by an elder, Kwagyoo Enane. It is about a young girl who went with some adults to collect firewood. It threatened to rain, so they all left in a hurry, leaving the poor girl unable to lift her load onto her head by herself. She cries, and a python comes out of a hole and asks what has happened. When she tells him, he says that if he helps her, she will only tell the other humans, and they will come and kill him. She vows not to tell, and so he helps her to lift her load onto her head. Back at home, they ask her who helped, and she at first refuses to tell, and then admits that “he is long”. They force her to take them to the firewood place, and there is an aardvark’s hole, for python cannot make a hole himself. They start to dig with their hoes, and python starts to sing. Here the story-teller starts to sing, and the pitch gets lower at the end of each line.
Example 20

*Mon’ kwii mò dee, mòn’ kwii mò.* Keep digging for me, dig for me.

(\(x_2\))

*Fo gyi a yo nga- rè, o maa taare.*

Your child went to get firewood, and couldn’t lift it.

*Mò a koso taa nga bo sòrò fo gyi,*

When I took the firewood to lift onto your child,

*Fo gyi a taa aseŋ bo laye mò.*

Your child brought trouble on me.

*Fo gyi-o la la mò okyireeleeleeeleeleelee.*

Your child, praise her.

They continue digging and he sings again. This time and from now on the listeners will join in with the narrator, having already heard the song. Then in the story the people start beating python with a big stick and he changes his song to:

*Mon’ mɔɔ mò dee, mòn’ mɔɔ mò.* Keep killing me, kill me.

(\(x_2\))

The story-teller continues the other four lines of the first song. As the python is about to die, he sings the same song for the last time. They kill him and take him home to eat. Later his children, who heard it all, say that it was kindness that killed him, and noone should be kind any more. I have omitted the line-ending vowels, but even as I write this, thirty years after recording it, I can remember the tune and how doleful it was.

This next story (Example 21) is a seminal one concerning songs within stories. It is based on a hunter in the bush who finds a tortoise which sings the following song.
Example 21

*Aseŋ maa kpa sese,*

Trouble does not look for a person,

*Seše e deŋ o kpa aseŋ.* (x3)

It’s the person who looks for trouble.

*Kurukutukuu kuu.*

(sound of legs running)

The hunter realises that if he does not take the singing tortoise home with him to prove his point, no one will believe him. So the chief calls a meeting and says that if the tortoise sings, the man will get his daughter to marry. The hunter says, “If the tortoise doesn’t sing, kill me”. Needless to say, the tortoise does not comply, and they kill the man. Whereupon the tortoise once again sings his song, “Trouble does not look for a person, it’s the person who looks for trouble!”

*Itee iliŋ* are story songs, and I was told that they will not be used in *palogo*. They are short, and not about sickness or death, and may be happy or sad. Themes are various and some are proverbial.

9.2 History

Whereas songs in story-telling are sung by the audience, those within history retelling will probably be unknown to them. They are known as *nkyoro iliŋ* “praise songs”.

An old woman called *Amo-a-day*, who lives at Bankamba, was reputed to “know a lot of history”. So I went to record what she knew. She first describes how there was a war, but does not at first say clearly where this was or when. In it she stresses that it was only the Banda section of Chumburung that fought. This Banda section, also called *Bajdaa Tekpaŋ-aye*, has its chief sitting at Banda town, and includes Bankamba.

There are two stories of the migration of the Chumburung people. One of them seems to relate more to the most northern of the five sections of Chumburung. In it, some of them originated from the Fante area in Central Region, and moved north. At Yapei, they met the Gonja who asked them to lead in driving out the
Bassari near the River Daka. Gonja tradition⁸ has it that in the mid 17th century two sections of the Chumburung people, Banda and Chinkee, went east with them.

Amo-a-dan⁷ seems to be relating this version (Example 22). She says categorically that it was not two sections, Banda and Chinkee, who fought the Ashanti, but just the one section, Banda. Also another section called Chachiai did not fight.

Example 22

\[
\begin{align*}
N \text{ se-ana ya kɔ-eee, } (x3) & \quad \text{My father’s people fought eee} \\
Kyoŋkeę-rɔ mɔŋ kɔ-aaa. & \quad \text{Chinkee didn’t fight aaa} \\
N \text{ se-ana ya kɔ,} & \quad \text{My father’s people fought,} \\
Kyaakya-aye-rɔ mɔŋ kɔ-eee. & \quad \text{Chachiai didn’t fight eee} \\
N \text{ se-ana ya kɔ,} & \quad \text{My father’s people fought,} \\
bamо e gye awure-eee. & \quad \text{they are chiefs eee.} \\
Baŋdaa-rɔ ya kɔ, & \quad \text{Banda fought,} \\
Kyaakya-a-yе mɔŋ kɔ. & \quad \text{Chachiai didn’t fight.} \\
Ene-e o ye-eee. &
\end{align*}
\]

Later on, in response to questions by the audience, the old lady clarified what she had been saying, affirming that it was only the Banda section, and not even the Gonjas, who fought and drove away the Ashanti. As Nketia says (1974) of historical songs, what they “generally provide is not detailed narration of events, but brief allusions to significant incidents” (1974). She then sang another song in which she states the place at which the fight was.

The old lady went on to tell of the tension in which the Chumburung people lived by being between the Gonjas and the Krachis. Later there were similar tensions owing to the attempts by the British and Germans to be first in

acquiring land. She tells an anecdote of the forceful behaviour of the Germans, and sings another song about the British beating them in the 1914–1918 war.

Songs sung in history are called *nkyorɔ iliŋ* “praise songs”. Assuming the lady concerned was about 80, then she would have been born around 1920, so a song based on 1914 is certainly before her time. Some of the previous songs seem to be hundreds of years old.

**10. National Anthem**

In the post-independence period of Ghana’s history, much Western music was retained, “even national anthems in Western musical idiom were accepted” (Nketia 1974). Example 23 (below) presents just one verse of the three-verse Ghana national anthem for which two Chumburung translations have been heard.

**Example 23**

God bless our homeland Ghana,
And make our nation great and strong,
Bold to defend for ever,
The cause of freedom and of right.
Fill our hearts with true humility.
Make us cherish fearless honesty,
And help us to resist oppressor's rule
With all our will and might for evermore.

The one Chumburung version which I cite (Example 24) was sung by a very good choir, that of the Presbyterian Church at Jamboai, during the ceremony of dedication of the Chumburung New Testament. In some ways it lacks things, for instance not having the name of Ghana included, but it is a coherent translation, even if a free one.
Example 24

Swęērego mɔ anę leē neē. Ė gye kapọtεε sa anę.

Wuribware kya anę-ro, na a taarę deēre mọ se nẹẹnεε.

Mọ ya lọŋọ, anę leē neē.

Mọ ya nyera, a gye anę aseŋ.

Amọsẹ-ọ, akọwebe-anan, mọŋ' sa a anę waa kanọ kọŋkọ,

Bo lọŋọ kaye mọ bo yera anę kameę agyi.

Mọŋ' sa a a waa kanọ bo lọŋọ kaye mọ

Bo yera anę tire-anan nẹ ba ba anę kameę-ọ

-oo0.

This land is ours. It's our inheritance.

May God help us to look after it well.

If it’s in good order, it’s our’s.

If it’s spoilt, it’s our problem.

Therefore, relatives, let us be united,

To keep this world in good order for the children that follow us.

Let us be united to keep this world in good order

For our younger siblings who come after us.

Because the National Anthem is a translation from the English in which it was written, it is longer in form than most Chumburung songs. However it is not clear how many people would be able to sing along with it when it is performed. One language consultant said it falls into the category of school songs.

We see that there has clearly always been a tradition of composing or translating songs from other languages, whether for church or secular use.

11. Songs made from Scripture

One of the very first Chumburung church songs to be made from words of the translated Scriptures was by a man of Kumundi from Mark 5.19 in the church style (Example 25). This song did change over time. The last two lines are sung 5 times for one of the first two.
Example 25

*Kiŋŋi nare pe ya tɔwe aneŋ*  
Return home and tell how  

*Nę fo nyanpe a ŋu fo ewee,*  
Your master has had mercy on you,  

*(Nę) atɔ dabe nę ɔɔ waa sa fo-ɔ*  
And the great things that he has done for you  

*Tɔwe gywii fo kɔsɔbɛɛ-ana.*  
Tell your neighbours.

When this was recorded onto a tape including more songs in the church style by people from Wiae as a commercial venture, the phrase *fo nyanpe* meaning “your master” was preceded by *mo̱* meaning “me” (referring to Jesus), the speaker, as indeed in the text itself. The second *tɔwe* meaning “tell” was also omitted as unnecessary repetition, and that too was not in the text. The use of *fo nyanpe* without the preceding pronoun to clarify, meant that in the first version, “great things that I have done for you” was sung as “great things that he has done for you”. In this case, the first composer of the song felt free to adapt the words to fit the tune, but the second performers felt more constrained to keep the wording.

12. Conclusion

This article has discussed *palogo* (which we have seen includes celebration, work and children’s songs), *nkywii si* (which includes mourning and sorrow songs), *mbɔɔfoɔ*, *sɔkɔdaye* and *asɔre iilɛ* (church songs, which includes school songs). This is laid out in the taxonomy of Chumburung song styles in the appendix, but omitting *sɔkɔdaye*. However, a sorrow song can even be used for a new bride, maybe since she is leaving her father’s house. (The Chumburung are patrilineal and virilocal.) *Mbɔɔfoɔ* can include mourning songs. Praise songs can occur in several styles, both in singing and within historical narrative.

We see that there are four basic categories (apart from *sɔkɔdaye*). Most singing is accompanied by music, or something with a beat usually clapping, and dance. In the case of *mbɔɔfoɔ*, drama is added. Musical instruments are varied, with different kinds of drums predominating. If a drum is associated with a fetish, it
will not be used in church, but other drums are popular there. Taping commercially has opened the way for keyboards to be included. Sorrow songs seem to use only the quieter kind of instrument, and mourning songs have none. Themes range from the common cockroach to very sad ones, although they are often of encouragement and unity as a community.

Whilst the palogo seems to be fast disappearing, it would seem from the specificity of certain songs given above that they can still be made for a person or event. It will be interesting to see what new developments arise in the future. I think that Chumburung people will still be “doing music”.

### Appendix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><em>palogo</em></th>
<th><em>nyawi si</em></th>
<th><em>mbɔɔfɔɔ</em></th>
<th><em>asɔrege</em></th>
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<tr>
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<td>work songs</td>
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<td></td>
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<td><em>school songs</em></td>
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<td><em>funerals</em></td>
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<td><em>funerals</em></td>
<td><em>school</em></td>
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<td><em>work</em></td>
<td><em>moonlit nights</em></td>
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<td><em>bells, castanets, clapper sticks</em></td>
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<tr>
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<td><em>games</em></td>
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<tr>
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<td><em>praise of God, encouragement, Christian</em></td>
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References


