

Highlife Jazz: A Stylistic Analysis of the Music of Felá Anikulapo Kuti

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Abstract

This study specifically investigated the stylistic elements employed in by Felá during the highlife jazz era. It situated Felá's music into four artistic periods and analyses structural elements of the music in the 60's-being the first artistic period. Samples drawn from the highlife jazz period were selected and scored in staff notation in order to establish the structure, form and compositional techniques of the composer. The study suggested further structural and stylistic research on the documentation of other popular musicians in Africa so as to preserve their works for posterity.

Keywords: Stylistic elements, music genre, Afrobeat, Highlife jazz

Introduction

A major challenge to the study of African music is the apparent scarcity of materials on urban popular music and a stylistic study of their structure. This view is well articulated by Omibiyi (1981) when she concurs that it is mandatory that scholars broaden their scope of study to include all varieties of musical styles current in contemporary Nigeria. Corroborating this statement are the works of Akpabot (1998) and Adegbite (2006). According to Akpabot (1998), African music should attract, to a very large extent, scholarly enquiries on analysis of its forms and styles. He stressed further that we should talk structurally rather than descriptively about African Music. Adegbite (2006) also observed that although the level of research into African popular music traditions has increased in recent years, studies devoted to stylistic study of Nigerian popular music remain few.

There is therefore the need to undertake a stylistic study of African popular music the view to understanding the fragments that has been intelligently woven together to make the music a unique phenomenon. In considering musical style as an instrument of sympathetic communication and aesthetic sociability, we would also be able to learn a great deal from situation of musical change concerning the ways in which aesthetic behaviour and its consequences as a variable in socio-cultural life (Mukarovsky, 1970).

Theoretical considerations of this sort, however, can be pursued only against a background of conceptual definition, ethnographic and historical and stylistic description. It is the intention if this paper to investigate the stylistic dimensions of Felá' Anikulapo Kuti's¹ music in the sixties. In doing this, we would identify the principles underlying the highlife jazz that evolved at the time, identify the musical elements that were incorporated into the music and suggest some fruitful directions that future theoretical and analytical enquiry of other popular music genres might take. Felá incorporated both foreign and local styles in the creation of the highlife jazz. The challenge then is to identify these styles and see how Fela incorporated them into a distinctive genre. Hence, the study will not only be targeting the stylistic components used in the music but also postulate reasons for their inclusion in the body of works. This will help in better appreciation of the forms and structure of the musical genre.

Conceptual Framework

The theoretical framework for this study is based on the concept of identity. Identity has been defined as the set of characteristics that somebody recognizes as belonging uniquely to himself or herself and constituting his or her individual personality for life. This definition describes identity as that unique trait that marks somebody or person out from someone else (Palmberg, 2003). According to Strokes (1994), it is first and foremost the unique individuality of a person. The development of personality is characterized by individual and collective membership in a community. Keller (1992) opined that in traditional societies, one's identity was fixed, solid and stable. Everyone is born and dies as a member of one family or clan, a member of a fixed kinship system. However, this concept of a stable identity was widely criticized by Jacques Lacan (1975/1991). Stating the reason for the criticism, Lacan claimed that the individual subject is decentered. There is no autonomous self. A central thesis in Lacan's theory is that the ego, or the personal identity, is constituted in relation to others (parents, friends, relatives, the mass media etc.). The Identity is thus constantly undergoing changes which are dependent on our relationship with others. According to Lacan, it is impossible to talk about stable identity. Instead, identity can be discussed in terms of preliminary structuring of the subject (Lacan 1975/1991). The implication of Lacan's thesis therefore is that identity is formed in relation to the different agents of socialization: family, school, and work, peer group, the mass media and so on. In our society therefore, individuals play a multitude of different roles in shaping the unique personality of the person.

Concerning the theory of identity and its relation to the process of socialization, Jarvilehto (1994) postulated two different theoretical notions. The first is the identity as an intern, subjective, personal, hidden subject of the action; the self-concept of the person him/herself. The second notion is the identity in relation to others. In this notion, there is no identity or self without “you”, “them”, and “others”. The identity will always be developed in relation to others. So, we can say that there is no identity without you and others. Mead (1967) gave credence to these theoretical concepts in his works when he proposed that identity is formed in relationship with others. He observed:

It has been the tendency of psychology to deal with the self as a more or less isolated and independent element, a sort of entity that could conceivably exist by itself. Other people are there as much as we are there. To be a self requires other selves (Mead, 1967: p. 64).

Ethnomusicologistsⁱⁱ such as Waterman (2002:19) have used the concept of identity over the years to explain the social role of music in post-colonial Africa. This concept, according to Waterman, has related concepts of the ‘self’ and the ‘person’. The ‘self’ is commonly represented as the internal face of the identity that is subjective, psychologically unified and real while the ‘person’ refers to the external, socially constructed, represented and enacted identity of the individual. Using the model on Yoruba music, Waterman views identity as a multidimensional product of interaction between self and the society. He evolved the concept of the ‘inner’ and the ‘outer’ eye. The inner eye (Ojú inú) is the locus of contemplation, imagination and creativity while the outer eye (Ojú òde) is the primary social organ, the locus of self-expression and the tactics of self-construction through interaction with others. Describing the concept of the inner eye on the compositional structures of African traditional music, Basden (1927) stated:

the more one listens to African music, the more one is conscious of its vital power .It touches the chords of one’s inmost being, and stirs his primal instincts. It demands the performer’s whole attention and so sways the individual as almost to divide asunder, for the time being, mind and body (Basden 1927:p.192).

The crucial sentiments in his observation are that the music has vital power. It stirs the instincts; it involves the performer’s whole being (The inner and the outer). The theory stated in the foregoing, is very relevant to the study in that a strong model of the ‘self’ is embodied in Felá Aníkúlápò Kútì. The combination of the ‘inner’ and ‘outer’ surface of his identity was central to his authority as a musician. His artistic development sailed through conservatory music education, broadcasting, highlife, highlife-jazz, and finally Afrobeat.

Style and Highlife-Jazz

Many scholars have defined the concept of style. According to Carter (2002) style is that distinctive and identifiable form in an artistic medium. This implies something that distinguishes a work of art from another. Crystal and Davy (1969) saw style as the utilisation of the wide range of resources made available to an individual to express his ideas as distinct from someone else. Butressing the foregoing points, Enkvist et al (1971) defined style as an individual's creative utilisation of the resources of language, music etc which his period, his chosen dialect, his genre and his purpose within it offer him. This was further corroborated by Sandell (1977) who described it as a way of making choices which consistently distinguishes among different comparable users of language. This implies that a writer is faced with two or more alternative words in the same paradigm. It is for the creative artist to choose the word that best expresses his mind from the alternatives before him. In general terms, it has been defined as a particular way of doing, designing, or producing something. All the foregoing definitions point to the fact that style is characterised by the distinct personality of an individual in creating a peculiar idiom feature that marks it out from others. This, according to Lawal (1997) can be considered from four angles: style as a choice from variant forms, style as deviation from the norm, style as individuality and style as the dialectal relationship between the message and the medium.

Based on the foregoing, we would adopt the concept of style as a choice from variant forms. This is because many stylistic elements were drawn from other popular music idioms and incorporated into Highlife Jazz music by Felá Aníkúlápò Kuti. The aim of this study therefore is to identify the various styles employed in the creation of the genre in the sixties with the purpose of bringing to the fore all the characteristic elements inherent in the composition and thereby enhancing their understanding and interpretation.

Highlife Jazz: Definition and Historical Dimension

What then is Highlife jazz? In simplest terms, it is a function of two musical genres-highlife and jazz. While highlife is a musical hybrid resulting from the acculturative impact of Europe on West Africa during the colonial period, jazz is an art form which originated around early 20th century among the African American communities in Southern United States of America. According to Collins (1972), Highlife is a syncretic form in that it integrates both western and indigenous musical elements into an organic, qualitatively new style that retains expressive continuity with the traditional music system. The definition of Highlife music in the words of Omibiyi (1981) is a term, which implies "high living". It is a dance form that reflects the early attitude of people who looked at it as a somewhat "highbrow" form of social music. It evolved from brass band music played by regimental bands during the second decade of the 20th century and reached the heights of its development in the 60's after which it declined as a result of the ascendance of rock music and the emergence of other popular music forms like Jùjú, Fuji and Afrobeat.

Highlife songs are in English, pidgin and occasionally local languages. The band comprises horns, guitars, drums and percussion. Highlife can be divided into two types; one is based on the 4/4 metre while the other is on the 12/8 metre. They are both distinguished by their metres. Its idiomatic concept is derived from folk music. A typical highlife band consists of western brass and wind instruments, guitars, tap drums, chimes, maracas and clappers. The woodwind and brass take dominance in the melodic section while the drums, chimes and clappers provide the rhythmic accompaniment. Solos are taken by the trumpet, clarinet or saxophone and voice.

The distinguishing element of jazz is based on simple melodies and complex cross-rhythms mixed with verbal slurs, vibrato and "blues notes". It also includes the use of improvisation which is accompanied by the repeated chord progression of a popular song or an original composition. Instrumentalists emulate black vocal styles, including the use of glissandiⁱⁱⁱ, nuances of pitch, and tonal effects such as growls and wails. In striving to develop a tone colour^{iv}, performers create rhythms characterized by constant syncopation^v and by swing^{vi}. The earliest experiment of Fela's music in Europe was basically jazz (Moore, 1989). While in Europe, Fela got involved in European jazz forms, rhythm and blues, rock and roll, and the emerging pop music in the sixties. Hence, it was not difficult for him to include the element into his music bearing in mind the fact that there was a heavy relationship between Jazz and African music. Fela developed a broader range of influences with the study of Jazz exponents like Miles Davies, John Coltrane, Sonny Rollins and Charles Mingus^{vii}. His encounter and interaction with these jazz exponents had a very strong influence on his musical style. John Coltrane and Miles Davies were the first to make an attempt to base Jazz on modal rather than tonal harmonic progressions. While Davies took modal improvisations towards free Jazz and Rock, Coltrane created a style of improvisation that was confined to a single modal chord. This led to extended improvisations, often lasting as long as an hour. The two were known for devising a set of piece that remain in one key, chord, and mode for as long as sixteen bars at a time, leading to the term, modal Jazz.

Felá arrived Nigeria to compete at the time highlife was at its apex such popular artistes as Bobby Benson, Roy Chicago, Victor Olaiya, Rex Lawson, Eddie Okonta, Victor Uwaifo^{viii} and many others performing in Lagos night clubs. The earlier intention of Fela was to provide a wide range of music including highlife, jazz, the twist, the madison, rock & roll, and rumba. However, he changed the idea and offered his audience a fusion of jazz with highlife. According to Coker (2004), Fela was attempting to impress his fans with music that was more complex than highlife which spoke directly to the people's experiences. He also decided that his music was going to be such that will be of interest to the people. Moore (1989) and Idonije (1999) concurred that this fusion became necessary because Felá felt the highlife he came to meet on arrival from the United Kingdom in 1964 was in need of revitalization. His conviction then was that highlife had to be rhythm driven, and jazz was the major form that would provide such a feat since it had a strong percussive section.

Corroborating this statement in an interview, Babatunde Animasaun (popularly called Baba Ani) states:

Felá came with some heavy, kicking tempo of jazz as against the slow tempo he met in highlife music and because he read music to the point that he could maneuver his way around notes and chords, he introduced some jazz chords that were not in use then. (Baba Ani, 2006)^{ix}. Thus Felá labelled his new musical fusion highlife-jazz drawing a pool of his musicians from the bands of Bobby Benson, Victor Olaiya, and Roy Chicago.

Fela Anikulapo Kuti's artistic journey spanned over four decades of which more than eighty albums containing about one hundred and fifty songs^x were produced. Four artistic periods are identified - The first period was his early experience with highlife in the early 60's (1962 – 1969). The second period was in the 1970's when his music was at its apogee. At this time, his ideological stance had taken shape and become sufficiently concretised for him to successfully fuse an equally new musical vision with political commitment (1970 – 1976). The third period was the post 1976 confrontation with the military, which so engaged him at a point that dealing with the military became the primary goal of his artistic expression. The final period was the re-ordering of his tunes into more of 'yabis'^{xi} and chants. However, Afrobeat scholars believed that the Koola Lobitos era (which incidentally is the highlife jazz era) was the time Felá made the most brilliant contribution to the development of highlife music. Having learned the art of western music from an early age, it was natural that Felá would gravitate toward highlife at the outset of his career. Not only was it the popular dance music of the day, it also required a practical knowledge of western music (Veal, 2003). His highlife roots remain clear in his conception and instrumentation of his band, its multiethnic membership and the Pan-African orientation of his song lyrics. It is then safe to submit that the foundation of Afrobeat was laid during the highlife era.

The Stylistic Development of Highlife Jazz

The stylistic elements in Fela's music during the highlife era (Koola Lobitos) can be divided into three stages of developments. The earliest songs conformed to the highlife conventions while introducing a number of jazz elements. The middle period gradually reflect the growing influences of rhythm and blues and Afro-Latin styles, particularly Cuban music. The later period, composed during a period in which African –American rhythm and blues music had become the dominant popular style saw Fela attempting a more explicit fusion of highlife and rhythmic blues.

A structural format of Felá’s highlife composition conformed to the trend of highlife he met on ground. This is well represented in Lagos Baby:

Table 1: Lagos Baby

Section/	Text/musical themes	Non-musical themes	Musical style –elements	Structural function of section	Overall message
A	<p>1) Konga Introduces the song on a steady syncopated rhythm. This is followed by the gong. The Sèkèrè comes in afterward creating a purely African musical effect.</p> <p>2) the Horn comes in with a very strong effect</p> <p>3) Enters the voice Lagos baby...</p> <p>4) the Horn accompaniment at the background in the second verse</p>	<p>Talks about the greed of Lagos women and their love for money. The song also lashes out on Lagos men that are fond of the women calling them “woman wrapper”.</p>	<p>1) A strong Highlife idiom</p> <p>2) The use of tradition music idiom in the instrumental ensemble</p> <p>3) The jazz element in the Horn section</p> <p>4) The vocal rendition conforms with the highlife formal</p>	<p>Agenda setting and thematic exposition</p>	<p>Warning against greed</p>
B	<p>1) Instrumental interlude – the saxophone extemporizing</p> <p>2) The trumpet takes over with the horns in a call and response form</p> <p>3) The music end with a coda wring the blocked jazz chord.</p>	<p>Steady rhythm in highlife juxtaposed with strong</p>	<p>Intensification of the musical characteristics in section A</p> <p>The voice in silent at their section</p>	<p>Horn arrangement in the Cuban style</p>	

The Stylistic Elements

The characteristics stylistic elements in highlife were all present in Felá's compositions. According to Omojola (1995) they included the use of short simple, repetitive melody based on western tonal system. The harmonic pattern was based on western harmonic form of the tonic, subdominant, and dominant chord with an extensive application of syncopation rhythm. Furthermore, the text is usually in any of the local language and occasionally in Pidgin English. One of such is the catchy and repetitive nature of the melodies. Furthermore, the scale is usually diatonic and major while the harmonies are similar to those of earlier American blues (Mensah, 1992). The musical forms of highlife are strophic, strophic responsorial and call and response. Furthermore, highlife appears in short-long form and makes use of instrumental introduction, elaborate interlude and an abrupt ending. An example is excerpts from *Ako pe*:

Example 1:

Example 1 shows two staves of musical notation for voice. The first staff contains the lyrics: "A ko pe A ko pe Bo-bo to fi nsa-ko si mi Bo-bo'o-to ko - to." The second staff contains the lyrics: "ko - to ko - to ko - to ko - to ko - to".

The highlife tune is short (9 bars in all) followed by an interlude with a recapitulation to the exposition. The tonic dominant chord cycles is being used throughout the work (as used in the melodic framework in bars 4 and 7) with the chord built on a compound E flat structure:

Example 2:

Example 2 shows a single staff of musical notation, likely representing a chord structure or harmonic progression.

The stylistic features of highlife found in Fela's music were the use of diatonic Europeanized melody set to indigenous music reflecting the tonal inflection of the Yoruba language^{xii}. Since some of his songs were rendered in Yoruba language. An example is an excerpt from a highlife jazz tune *Omo ojo*:

Example 3:

Voice

Ma se fio - moe - jo se - re_ ma se dan wo_ Mi le fo - moe - jo se - re_

4

Voice

mi le dan - wo_ won ge ni - je_ won mu ni - je_ o_ won ge ni - je_

The melodic content is defined essentially by the continuous use of the Yoruba derived pentatonic melody (bars 1-7). The melodic structure is built on four notes (tonic, supertonic and submediant) in order to reflex the tone of the language. There are also the cyclic tonal harmonic progressions that continuously revolve around the primary triad. This harmonic progression often makes use of the raised supertonic and minor seventh in embellishing devices. Paralleled harmonies, especially in thirds and sixths are very common. An example is excerpts from Aya manager:

Example 4:

Voice

Wonnikowas'a-ya wa_ o-'lo-huno ni s'a-ya wa_ e fi s'i-le o, e fi s'i-le o, _

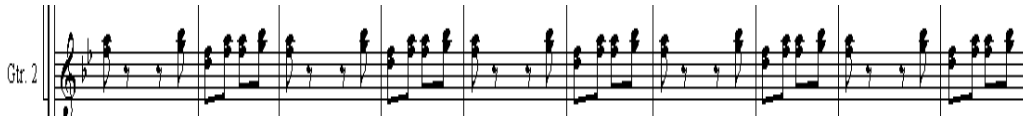
5

9

e fi s'i-le o_ e fi s'i-le ko-lo s'a-ya ma-na-ger o, Bi o s'a-ya wa ko-lo

In the example above, we find the use of the flattened seventh (B) suspended over the sixth (A) in bars 4 and 6 respectively. The harmonic prevalence of the parallel thirds in the instrumentation is evident in the guitar section. Below is an excerpt from Onidodo (bars 10-19):

Example 5:

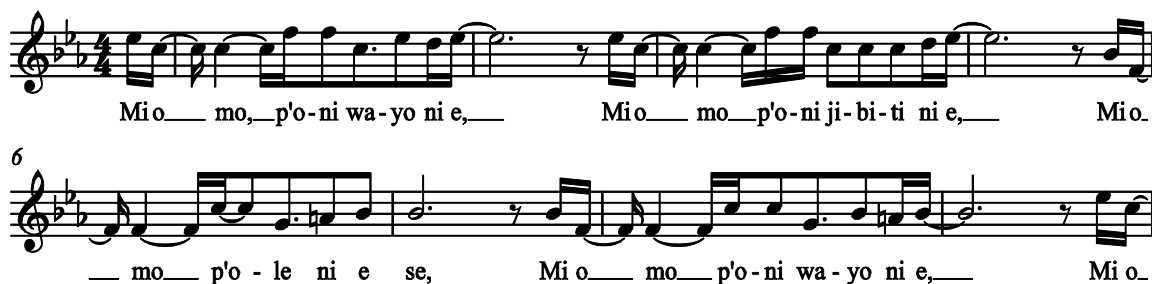


The rhythmic flow of highlife is often syncopated within a framework of four beats per bar in both simple and the compound types. The typical format is ternary in which the middle section is made up of improvisations of the themes introduced in the opening section and repeated at the end.

The Foreign Elements

Fela's take on Jazz was initially hard bebop^{xiii} and cool style of Jazz during his college days. This stylistic feature was brought into Jazz in the forties. The characteristic of this Jazz was complex improvisation based on chord progression rather than melody. His funk roots are evident in the easy rhythmic flow of the percussion section: the chopping, shuttering guitars, and the blaring, syncopated horns. The Koola Lobitos period witnessed adherence to the highlife mode with the fusion of jazz elements. The stylistic element of jazz presented in "Wayo" is his constant use of syncopation. In the example below (bar 1-6) we find accents being placed on weaker beats with the use of the slurs and ties signifying syncopations:

Example 6:



There are so many compositions of Fela where elements of swing are found. An example is Abiara (Ex 3) where the middle bars (11-13) is characterised by the movement of the melody in upward and downward trend:

Example 7:

11

Voice

ma fe mi la-ya ma ma fe mi la-le ma ma fe mi lo-ko ma ma fe mi la-le e wo ni ka fe o

A structural pattern frequently found in songs used for jazz is the AABA form. This consists of 32 measures in meter, divided into four 8-measure sections: section A, a repetition of section A, section B (the “bridge” or “release,” often beginning in a new key), and a repetition of section A. An example found in Afrobeat is the structural treatment of "Abiara". The A section starts with a brief introduction which is immediately preceded by the solo with the horn section complementing the voice at the background. The B section is linked to A with an interlude. There is a call and response between the trumpets and the saxophones. The song recapitulates to the A section and ends with the seventh chord. This is replicated in the example below:

Example 8:

A Exposition

Voice

A - bi - a - ra ye A - bi - a - ra e - ru

Voice

re man ba mi o ye A - bi - a - ra ma

B interlude: Improvisation based on the thematic material in A

14

A Restatement of the thematic material in A

Voice A - bi - a - ra ye A - bi - a - ra e - ru

Voice re man ba mi o ye A - bi - a - ra ma

Fela developed a broader range of influences with the study of jazz exponents like Miles Davies, John Coltrane, Sonny Rollins and Charles Mingus^{xiv}. He imbibed the modal jazz concept involving the use of a piece that remains in one key, chord, and mode for as long as sixteen bars at a time with which these musicians were known for. Most of his music based on this format however ends on the minor mode. The music “Wàyò” ended on the minor mode, a typical ending of most modal jazz songs. This is found in bar 27 (Ex 5):

Example 9:

Voice 25
mo, ye mi o mo ra - ra - ra mi o mo

The treatment of Ololufe, a romantic song and one of his early highlife hits, remains an innovation and a reflection of his knowledge of Jazz. He based its melodic structure on the twelve bar blues, a format whose progression was emphasized by the bass movement:

Table 2

OLOLUFE

Section	Text/musical themes	Non-musical themes	Musical style – elements	Structural function of section
A	<p>1) Introduction with the bass and the conga</p> <p>2) the brass section comes in with 12 bar blues</p> <p>3) The voice enters with the thematic material</p>	<p>Talks about the love he has for his lover. Wants her to engage him in love escapades</p>	<p>1) Majorly a twelve bar blues with highlife flavour</p> <p>2) A strong use of harmony from jazz idiom</p> <p>3) the music is built on a I-IV-V chord with the bass providing florid background to the music</p> <p>4) The traditional instruments of stick, Shekere and konga feature prominently</p> <p>5) Yoruba vocal style used as vocal delivery</p>	<p>Thematic exposition 12 bar blues form</p>
B	<p>Instrumental interlude of the saxophone based on the theme. However, the horns section provides some variety with a call from the saxophone who and a response from the horns in music</p> <p>2) The trumpet comes in</p> <p>3) The Horns section gives varied interpretation to the thematic material</p> <p>4) The saxophone and trumpet engages a call and response in harmonic form from the horns section to end the music</p>	<p>The voice is completely silent in this section</p>	<p>1) Extemporization from a saxophonist</p> <p>2) the Jazz elements brought to the fore through the arrangement of the horns</p> <p>B) the trumpet extemporizes</p>	<p>Instrument as interlude above based on the 12 bar blues form</p>

The structural pattern of the blues is a basic twelve-bar lyric framework of a blues composition which is reflected by a standard harmonic progression of twelve bars, in 4/4 or (rarely) 2/4 time. Slow blues are often played in 12/8 (4 beats per measure with 3 subdivisions per beat). An example is an excerpt from the vocals of *Olólufé mi*. This music is built on a 4/4 time signature with eleven bars (and a repetition of the first bar to make up the twelve bar blues format. The music consists of a 12-bar harmonic pattern that subdivides into three groups of four bars each. The excerpt below illustrates the movement:

Example 10:

The musical score is written in 4/4 time and consists of 11 bars. The lyrics are written below the notes. Bar numbers 1 through 11 are indicated above the notes. There are triplets in bars 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11. The lyrics are: O - lo - lu - fe mi, ti e ni mo fe O - lo - lu - fe mi, ti e ni mo fe A - la - yan - fe mi mi o se ti won mo O - lo - lu - fe mi ti e ni mo fe wa fe - nu ko mi l'e - nu wa fa - ra ro mi l'a - ra o O - lo - lu - fe mi,

The use of harmonic seventh interval popularly called the blues seven is characteristic of blues. The lyrics generally end on the last beat of the tenth bar or the first beat of the eleventh bar, and the final two bars are given to the instrumentalist as a break; the harmony of this two-bar break, the turnaround, can be extremely complex, sometimes consisting of single notes that defy analysis in terms of chords. The final beat, however, is almost always strongly grounded in the dominant seventh (V7), to provide tension for the next verse.

Example 11:



The influence and interplay of Afro Cuban and soul styles is evident in a number of his composition in the Koola Lobitos era. The arrangement of the horns section of his music was very identical to the Salsa in its syncopated, off beat construction. This is shown in the structure of Abiara, a song he composed in the Koola Lobitos period:

Table 3 **ABIARA**

Section	Text/musical themes	Musical style – elements	Structural function of sections
A	1. A brief horn introduction in unison. 2. Voice enters with the rhythm section. The horn operates with the riff complementing the voice at the background	1. Highlife elements very conspicuous. 2. the horn arrangement is purely in Afro Cuban style(Salsa) with syncopated , offbeat construction	Exposition with introduction of the main theme
B	1. Interlude: A call and response between the trumpets and the saxophones. The trumpet comes in with the horn section giving an answer to the voice section. The song ends with the seventh cord.	1. The rhythm and blues element found in this section. 2. Salsa sounding horn Ostinatos 3. Syncopated soul bass patterns 4. Blues derived dominant seventh harmonies bar shout chorus.(a jazz element) Variation of the theme with horn arrangements.	

Conclusion

From the stylistic study of Highlife jazz of the Koola Lobitos period, it is evident that the stylistic components of the music were derived primarily from highlife with the fusion of western idioms like jazz, blues, soul, funk and Afro Latin music. The foreign styles found in the music was as a result of the influences Felá had with major exponents of these medium in his earlier years in Europe using highlife as the main force of musical expression. Realizing the importance of highlife in the stream of popular music in Nigeria, it is imperative that stylistic discourse on the music of other popular highlife artistes likes Orlando Julius, Fatai Rolling Dollars, Chris Ajilo, Bobby Benson, Roy Chicago, Victor Olaiya, Rex Lawson, Eddie Okonta and Victor Uwaifo should be undertaken in order to further understand their own contributions to the development of highlife music in Nigeria. This will further serve as a means of preserving their music for posterity.

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Notes

1. His initial name was Felá Ransome Kuti which he bore in the sixties before changing it to Felá Anikulapo Kuti in the 70's- to which he continued to be known till his death.
2. The study of music within the context of the culture of the people.
3. Sliding movements that smoothly change the pitch.
4. A sense of rhythm and form and an individual style of execution.
5. The placing of accents in unexpected places, usually on the weaker beat.
6. A sensation of momentum in which a melody is alternately heard together with, then slightly at variance with, the regular beat.
7. These are jazz exponents that that made waves in the sixties in Europe and America. For more information, see Michael Veal (2003) *Fela: Life and times of a music Icon*.
8. Leading highlife exponents in the sixties in Nigeria.
9. In an interview with the researcher.
10. See Trevor Shoonmaker (2003) *Fela: from West Africa to West Broadway*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan. Pg. 135.
11. Fela's acronym for insult.
12. The major language used during this period was the Yoruba language, which was the native tongue of Fela. There were however a few other compositions he did in other native tongues.
13. a type of jazz music.
14. See Michael Veal (2003) *Fela: Life and times of a music Icon*. University of Philadelphia press. Pg. 75..