

A STYLISTIC STUDY OF PATTERNED REPETITION IN GHANAIAN HIPLIFE LYRICS

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Abstract

This study is a stylistic analysis of the dominant patterned repetition – schemes – in Ghanaian Hiplife lyrics. Schemes constitute a broad range of repetitive structures in literature. They represent the grammatical or linguistic breach of expressions, literally, to allow further emphasis and attention through some elements of repetition manifested in the phonological, graphological or formal patterning of these expressions. Data for this study came from fourteen hit Hiplife songs released between 1994 and 2018. The data were analysed within Leech's (1969) framework for the stylistic analysis of schemes. The analysis revealed that both free repetition and parallelism were used in the data. Free repetition manifested in various kinds, such as epizeuxis and plocce, while epistrophe, symplocce, anadiplosis and epanalepsis were the kinds of parallelism found in the data. These schemes were used to achieve an aesthetic effect and also highlight the necessity borne out of spontaneity and artistry of delivery of message. The paper has implications for literary studies in schools as the data are readily available and familiar to current students. Again, it has huge relevance to African Stylistics as the concept has been generally seen as alien to the African context.

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Introduction

This paper reports on the use of schemes as a major stylistic device in Ghanaian Hiplife lyrics. The emergence of Ghanaian Hiplife is credited to a Ghanaian in the diaspora, Reggie Rockstone, whose return to Ghana in the 1990s saw the introduction of Hiplife in Ghana and has since become the most popular music form with stylistic features starkly distinct from its predecessor, the Highlife music. Hiplife, as a term, does not yield itself to an easy definition. However, it is generally considered to be a fusion of the Hip-hop music of Europe and America and the Highlife music of Africa. It is worth noting that Hiplife portrays both the culture of Africa and that of Europe and America. It is germanely described as a recitation on a beat. In its linguistic construction, Hiplife draws on both the local languages, especially Twi, as well as English and code mixing (Annin, 2014; Arthur, 2014).

In this literary stylistic study of Hiplife song texts, focus is placed on establishing the effective mode of expression, with an interest on the variables of Hiplife as communicative event. Since variety and variability are indispensable elements of language unique to humans and are used as tools in different circumstances to execute varied social functions, the approach to study style as a deliberate choice from variant and competing forms is predicated on the selection possibilities and constraints within each language with regard to the paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations among the linguistic features (Yankson, 1987). Simpson (2004) defines stylistics as a method of textual interpretation in which primacy of place is assigned to *language* since the various forms, patterns and levels that constitute linguistic structure are important elements of the function of the text. Schemes are dominant repetitive structures that greatly bear on the style and content of the song texts.

The concept of schemes covers a broad manifestation of repetitive structures in literature. According to Leech (1969), schemes are described as abnormal arrangements that lend themselves to the forceful and harmonious presentation of an idea and include figures such as alliteration, anaphora, and chiasmus. These are contrasts to tropes, which are identified as devices involving alteration of the normal meaning of an expression such as metaphor, irony and synecdoche. Leech (1969, pp. 74-75) presents schemes as a

manipulation of expression, literally; foregrounded repetition of expression, linguistically; and phonological, graphological, formal (grammatical and/or

lexical) pattern of repetition where formal repetition, prototypically, is the same as phonological repetition since to repeat a word or lexeme is to repeat the corresponding sound to that effect – verbal repetition.

Thus, it can be said that schemes have to do with the grammatical or linguistic breach of expressions, literally, to allow for further emphasis and attention through some elements of repetition manifested in the phonological, graphological or formal patterning of these expressions. In other words, schemes concern formal repetitions intended to foreground or underline aspects of an expression (Cui & Zhao, 2016; Nunes, Ordanini&Valesia, 2015).

According to Leech (1969), formal repetition, in a verbal form (such as in music), operates within the framework of parallelism. In other words, formal repetition serves as a tool on which parallelism thrives. Directly opposite to this concept is free verbal repetition, which generally seems to be the most predominantly used repetitive technique in music. This is probably because it is common in speech and as such, easier to construct in any verbal art; however, its stylistic effects may be felt from several fronts. Leech adds that free verbal repetition refers to the free repetition of form. Thus, it stands to be the replication of already existing parts of a text, be it a word, phrase or sentence. The replication could be immediate or intermittent.

Repetition is a phenomenon predominant in almost every field of life. It stands to be one of the oldest rhetorical techniques of art used to achieve several effects (Harris, 1931; Leech, 1969; Nunes et al., 2015; Nurmesjärvi, 1997). Repetition is a tool employed in achieving several other literary techniques, such as assonance, alliteration and rhyming. Chorus in music also employs repetition, which makes repetition a much more constructive and dynamic phenomenon. As noted by several researchers (Margulis, 2014; Nunes et al., 2015; Nurmesjärvi, 1997; Ollen& Huron, 2004), repetition is pervasive in music. This is probably because repetition “is almost involuntary to a person in a state of extreme emotional excitation” (Leech, 1969, p. 78) and music “is the shorthand of emotion” (Leo Tolstoy, as cited in Hunter & Schellenberg, 2010, p. 129). In other words, repetition is a perfect, indispensable tool which enables music to deliver emotions and several other effects.

Bandt (as cited in Nurmesjarvi, 1997, p. 2) is said to have described “repetitive music” as a kind of music which:

uses principles of repetition in one or more of its parameters to a significant extent – repetition as central idea or driving force. All music relies first and foremost on repetition as its *modus operandi* could be called repetitive music.

From the above, it is quite clear that the concept of repetitive music does not only consider the presence of repetition in a music, but its contribution, effect and its indispensability in the construct of the music. Margulis (2014) and Bandt (as cited in Nurmesjarvi, 1997) both present this concept of repetitive music as a feature of an existing music; however, the current work considers the entire genre of Hiplife as repetitive music thus giving it the name “Kasahare” (fast speech).

The significance of repetition to music (and as such Hiplife) is one that cannot just be simplified, especially when exploring Hiplife. Nunes et al. (2015) present repetition as that element that increases the fluency of music and its susceptibility to the public. That is to say, the ease of reception and perception of music is highly influenced by the utilisation of repetition. Based on an experimentation on Billboard’s Hot 100 singles chart from 1958 to 2012, Nunes et al., therefore, conclude that more repetitive songs achieve faster success and, thus, climb faster than songs that make little use of repetition. The findings of Nunes et al. are highly reflected in the work of Cui and Zhao (2016) who examined the strategies of poeticising in English-Chinese advertisement translation. Like Nunes et al., they found that repetition helps to enhance the poetic essence of advertisements, appeals to readers’ aesthetic needs, arouses their interest, increases the impact on the reader and increases patronage. Of the defining characteristics of Hiplife is repetition which manifests in various forms and achieving diverse stylistic essence.

Isgitt (2001) has mentioned that one of the central musical techniques is the periodic repetition of a rhythmic cell(s) which involves the simultaneous replication of a single musical phrase or pattern. The simultaneous replication of a single musical phrase or pattern (repetition) ultimately produces variant effects and, thereof, sets the musical rhythm on-going. Repetition as a technique is unarguably a potent tool in Hiplife, as it is mostly used to create that sense of

rhythm and flow or harmonisation of the lyrics and the instrumentals of the song text. Part of the artistry of Ghanaian music or Hiplife can best be appreciated from the complexity with which these levels of repetition are crafted together to form a single unit and to equally serve a pivotal function to the music.

Methodology

Fourteen ‘hit’ Hiplife song texts composed in Ghana between 1994 and 2018 constitute the primary data. The song texts were purposively selected to represent the three phases of Hiplife development in Ghana: the formative period (1994-2000), period of development (2001-2010) and the innovative period (2010-2018). The purpose of these categories of sampling is to first define dispensational stylistic direction and place it in the broader sphere of the study. This arrangement also accounts for the evolvement of the genre, encompassing all its stages of evolution. The songs were sourced from recording studios, the artistes or the internet (see Appendix for the list of songs which featured in the present study and their corresponding artistes). The song texts were coded as IL, EL and CMS as symbols for Indigenous language, English language and Code mixed or switched respectively. The lines of the song texts were labelled in Arabic numerals for easy identification. The song texts in Indigenous language and Code mixed or switched were translated from the source language into the target language, English language.

The study also elicited related information from Hiplife artistes, producers, engineers and studio attendants. The names of the artistes and major producers and engineers in the industry were accessed from the Musicians Union of Ghana offices. This selection helped to address the issues of validity and reliability of the data. The songs and interviews were transcribed, while those in languages other than English were translated. I relied on Leech (Leech, 1969; Leech & Short, 1981) to examine the dominant schemes found in the songs. The next section presents the findings and discussion.

Findings

This section presents the findings of the study, focusing broadly on the two kinds of repetition and their subtypes.

Free Verbal Repetition

Since African languages are mostly tonal, it is only normal to see it reflect in their genre of music and in this case, Hiplife; however, the tonality of the language (that forms the lyrics) is usually placed in pattern (rhythm) through repetition which gradually conditions the placement of tone on the words to allow for some specific meanings. In the Akan language, the word ‘papa’ would have a syllable structure of /pa.pa/ where a high tone on each syllable will render the meaning as ‘father’ and a low tone placed on both syllables would turn the meaning to a ‘fan’. In that same regard, when vowels meet at a word boundary, the one that receives a low tone is either omitted or assimilated into the one with the high tone. This concept of tonality is often captured using repetition of which the word used above, ‘papa’, is a typical example. In Hiplife, however, the synchronisation of repetition with tonality is one that is not only set to achieve diverse meanings, but to also achieve a perfect harmonisation of meaning and several other extensions. A typical example is the harmonisation of the meaning of the words “εboɔ”, “aboɔ” and “ɔboɔ” which is reduced to just ‘boɔ’ by Obour, in his song, “Ɔboɔ”.

First, “Obour” is the English orthographical representation of the original orthographic form, “ɔboɔ”. The word was actually coined from “εboɔ” (Asante-Twi dialect) which means “stone”. The “a” in “aboɔ” is a plural-inflectional marker. Second, the root morpheme of the variations is ‘boɔ’ which is the syllable that receives the high tone. That is to say that the initial syllables (/ε/, /a/, /ɔ/) of the respective variants take the low tone which can be seen from their frequent omissions from the 147 occurrences of all the variations in the song, leading to the total reduction of all the variations to the root morpheme, ‘boɔ’, which occurs over 100 times due to the assimilation based on tone and, more importantly, repetition. Part of the chorus (the hook) of Obour’s song sings:

Ɔboɔ, boɔboɔboɔboɔboɔboɔboɔ
 Ɔboɔ, boɔboɔboɔboɔboɔboɔboɔ
 Ɔboɔ, boɔboɔboɔboɔboɔboɔboɔ

(IL.I. 17-19)

From the above, the repetition of the word, “Ɔboɔ”, necessitates a swift movement in its continuous production which directly creates a gross-over of the initial syllable (/ɔ/) of the word

at word boundaries since it takes the low tone. This goes on to confirm Riley and Smith's (2016) observation that the more you heard them (a repetitive sound), the more different they did sound. In other words, the ripple effect of the successive repetition of "Obow" is the loss of the initial vowel-syllable(s), leaving only the root morpheme, 'bow', which is repeated over 100 times through the entire song. The immediate effect of this is that it allows Obour to sync the various possible meaning(s) and possible effects that the various markers (/a/, /e/, /o/) could have on the root morpheme, enabling him to equate every meaning and grammatical form of 'bow' (stone) to any entity, be it animate or inanimate, one or more, that is very hard,

Anwenwenesekananobeyenama	If a dagger would be sharp
Mese ogyebow [bow]	I say it receives stone [stone]

(IL. I.35-36)

withstanding to the test of time and has existed and will continue to exist without measure:

Abodeɛbiarabenyin	Every creature shall grow (IL. I.90)
Abodeɛbiarabewu	Every creature shall die (IL. I.94)
Naasobowodeɛobenyini	But as for the stone, it shall grow
Naasobowodeɛotimneɛotim	But the rock will be as it is

(IL. I. 96-97)

The schematic relevance of the repetition is the rhythmic pattern that is created, which contributes to harmonise the chorus, the lyrics in general and the instrumentals. The real meaning behind the variants of "bow" foregrounds in the repetition as it lends itself to a smooth flow (as in rap) for rhythmic effect and content hammering.

Specific manifestations of the scheme draw definite stylistic effects. The immediate form of free verbal repetition is epizeuxis, with the structure being repeated right after the first appearance. The repeated structure (either word, phrase or sentence) is continuously reiterated without any intrusion of other structures. Thus, if the supposed repeated structure is "A", then the immediate form of verbal repetition can be represented as "AAAAA..." The intermittent form of free verbal repetition has much more to do with sense of meaning, highlighting and probably playing on those senses of meaning, other than a repetition occurring at certain close obvious or particular proximity. It does not conform to any particular structuring in that regard

and as such, its use is not quite demanding. Epizeuxis is predominant in the chorus of Obour’s song, “Ɔboɔ”, as seen below:

Ɔboɔ, boɔboɔboɔboɔboɔboɔboɔ
 Ɔboɔ, boɔboɔboɔboɔboɔboɔboɔ
 Ɔboɔ, boɔboɔboɔboɔboɔboɔboɔ

(IL. I. 17- 19)

From the above, the repetition employed is that of epizeuxis where the word, *Ɔboɔ*, is reproduced in successive chains without any intrusion. Thus, the chorus of the song, “Ɔboɔ”, follows the ‘AAAAA...’ structure that all repetitions of epizeuxis follow.

On the other hand, there is the intermittent form of free verbal repetition referred to as *ploce*. This, according to Leech (1969), is much premised on pun as its mechanism. In effect, the repetition of an item or grammatical unit will have an intrusion in between the two repeated units as one that is intermittent. However, there is also the manipulation in the sense of meaning where the meanings placed on the repeated items are conditioned to vary, yet there is still the phonological (and to some extent, graphological repetition) replication of the item. Thus, the *ploce* type of free verbal repetition may be represented as A (y) + B + A (x) where A is the repeated item, “y” and “x” are the variants of sense of meaning of the repeated item and B is the intrusion element. A typical example of this is present in 5Five’s “Gargantuan Body”:

But every boy like you hot
 If you pass,
 Smoke dey follow like you be jot
 There is a lot I no go fit jot

(CMS. I. 25-28)

The repeated structure or item in the above is “jot”. First, the above repetition is *ploce* because “jot” is repeated in an irregular pattern where the structures in which they are placed follow no peculiar grammatical structuring, and as such, the repeated item, “jot”, plays different grammatical roles as an adjective and a verb respectively. The second thing is that though the word is replicated both phonologically and grammatically, it has been conditioned to have

different senses of meaning at its respective positions where the first instance of usage is conditioned by the lexical items “hot”, “smoke” and “follow” to make the repeated item, “jot”, take on the meaning of the smallest bit (possibly the last and best) of any drug that is being smoked, in this case (Ghana), cigarettes. The second instance of usage takes on the denotative meaning of “jot” which is to write quickly (a verb) which is signalled by the verb elements, “no”, “go”, “fit”. Finally, this form of repetition is of plocé because it follows the working structural formula represented below:

...**jot** (small bits of cigar) + There is...no go fit + jot (write quickly)

A (y) + B + A (x)

It is quite clear from the above discussion that whereas Obour employs epizeuxis to create a sense of rhythm, spontaneity as a metric of pure emotions and to highlight the very subject matter of his song, “**Obor**”, Five, on the other hand, employs plocé for an end rhyme effect and to show some sense of wittiness as well as being naughty. The disorderliness within these orders of verbal repetition [epizeuxis (AAAAAA...) and plocé (A (y) + B + A (x))] is that which distinguishes the free verbal repetition from verbal parallelism (Leech, 1969).

Verbal Parallelism

Verbal parallelism, unlike free verbal repetition, is very complex due to the various levels at which it tends to operate. As presented by Leech (1969), verbal parallelism can be reduced to three basic tenets. First, there is always the repetition of what is presented as a “relevant unit of text” which could basically be a stanza of a verse, a line of a speech or a stanza, a sentence, a clause, a phrase, a word or even a syllable. Whatever the case may be, there must always be the verbal repetition of any of these relevant units of text for the manifestation of verbal parallelism. Second, the repetition of the relevant unit of the text must occur at equivalent positions. In effect, if the unit occurred at the beginning of a sentence, its further replication or reproduction must occur at the beginning of the next sentence; so, if it functions as the subject of sentence one, it must do same in sentence two if repeated. Third, wherever verbal parallelism manifests, there must be parts of the entire structure or text that must remain same and as such, invariant. That is to say that necessarily, there must also be parts that must not remain same (except for the structure – to allow for equivalent or regular positioning of the invariants) and

those units are the variants. Therefore, verbal parallelism occurs in parallel structures where there is an invariant part (the verbal repetition itself) and a variant part (the rest of the unit).

According to Leech (1969), as much as verbal parallelism is classified as a major branch of schemes, it can further be broken down into sub-figures or types depending on the positioning of the invariants within the units of a parallel structure. Taking “a” as the invariant relevant unit of a parallel structure, the first figure of verbal parallelism is anaphora, which has the formula of (a...)(a...) etc. where the “etc.” stands for any successive units of the parallel structure. So, reflecting on the formula, an anaphoric verbal parallelism occurs when the invariant structures are repeated at the very beginning of the parallel units, as can be found in the structuring of most Hiplife songs, particularly, the replication and positioning of chorus(es) within the larger text of the respective lyrics of Hiplife songs. In Obour’s song, “Ɔboɔ”, there is a refrain which is repeated by the backing vocalist after Obour had sung that part. The lyrics of the chorus is:

Mese ogyeboɔ [boɔ]	I say it receives stone [stone]
Anwenwenesekananobeyenama	If a dagger would be sharp
Mese ogyeboɔ [boɔ]	I say it receives stone [stone]
Kotikyerekorɔmfɔno a	When the police arrests a thief
Mese onnyɛdantoɔ [boɔ]	He doesn’t receive a prize [stone]

(IL. I. 12-16)

The above structure stands to be the relevant unit of the text (the entire lyrics) that gets repeated ahead of every other aspect within the song. “Mese” opens the alternating lines, echoing a view of the cantor and at the same time personalising it. The anaphora, thus, provides an easy route for the audience to participate in the performance. Reggie Rockstone’s “Eyemodɛanaa” also follows the same pattern where he employs anaphora as his framework of presentation and as such, his chorus, which is below, gets repeated before any of the variant verses of the song is presented.

Eyemodɛanaa?
Mese eyeyɛdɛpaara
Mese, eyemodɛanaa?
Mese eyeyɛdɛpaara

Menyɛ no sei anaasɛmenyɛnosaara?

Rockstone kɔso, yɛnosaara

(CMS. II. 6-11)

Thus, the entire lyrical structures of such songs as “Ɔboɔ” and “Ɛyɛmodɛanaa” are in parallel forms where they have a repeated relevant unit (invariants) that occurs at the initial position of the respective parallel units and, therefore, follows the (a...)(a...) pattern of the anaphoric verbal parallelism. This arrangement achieves the stylistic effect of enticing the audience to be part of the performance as they sing the refrain with the artiste, thus, internalising the song.

From an acute angle than what has already been presented, the anaphoric verbal parallelism also manifests itself in some verses of Kofi Kinaata’s “Susuka”. In “Susuka”, anaphora is found in the verse:

Your mates are making money

Building mansions

Your mates are getting married (Ɔyɛ true)

Wo mate bi...

(CMS III. 4-7)

The above can be illustrated as

Your mates are + $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{making money} \\ \text{building mansions} \\ \text{getting married} \end{array} \right]$

The bracket in the structure shows a syntagmatic relationship where the respective units can replace each other as variants in a paradigmatic relationship. The unit outside the brackets is, therefore, the unit that gets repeated in all scenarios of a paradigmatic relationship and, as such, stands to be the invariant unit. The structure places emphasis on the invariant unit, “Your mates are...”, which enumerates the strides their colleagues are making in the face of growing difficulties. This draws in the audience into the song and urges them to gird their loins and work to achieve for themselves.

Epistrophe (epiphora) involves the “use of the same terminal phrase or word in successive clauses” (Coulthard, 1979, p. 29). The device is also explained by Leech (1969) as a repetition at the end of successive units. The formula for epistrophe is as follows:

(.....a)
(.....a)

This is the most frequently used type of repetition in Hiplife, which inures to the concept of end rhyme, a pervasive tool in most poetic and music genres. Like the anaphora, the epistrophe is used as a framework for which the lyrics of most Hiplife songs are structured; a defining attribute of Hiplife. Samini’s “Too Bad”, Kofi Kinata’s “Sweetie Pie”, Flowking Stone’s “Me Kyeakyea”, Sarkodie’s “Life” and so many other Hiplife songs have epistrophe as their lyrical framework where the chorus of the song is sung and replicated to mark the end of a verse. With the versification, epistrophe can be found in the respective verses below:

Wonyɛobiaa	You are nobody
Menyɛobiara	I am nobody
Yɛnnyinaa, obiaanyɛobiaa	We are all nobody
Sewoyɛ obi	If you think you someone
Me nsomeyɛobiaa	I am also somebody
Ntiyɛnnyinaa, obiaranyɛobiaa	So we are all somebody.
Ataadeno a ɛhyɛ wo no	The clothe you are wearing is nice to you
Sɛɛyɛwofɛ	It is nice to you
Ntinawode sika kɔtɔɛ	That’s why you bought it
Ntiyɛnnyinaa, obiaranyɛobiaa	So we are all worthy in our right

(IL. II. 12-21)

The extract above is from Obarima Sydney’s “Obiaanyɛobiaa”. The relevant unit that gets repeated is “nyɛobiara”. The repetitive technique used is epistrophe because, we have

Wo nyɛobiaa	You are nobody
Me nyɛobiara	I am nobody

(CMS V. 12-13)

as the parallel unit of the extracts. The boldened structures are the relevant units that act as the invariant and are replicated at the final positions of the parallel units after the variants have been uttered. Hence, “nyɛobiaa” follows the repetitive formula of epistrophe. A stylistic essence of epistrophe is evinced here. In the above example, just as it makes the lines rhythmic and provides an avenue for the audience to sing along, it also places emphasis on the final item. Its repetition, therefore, foregrounds the value inherent in the lexeme.

Symploce is another verbal parallelism that emerges from the study. It is a device which combines the concepts of anaphora and epistrophe where the invariants are of two sets, **a** and **b**, with one appearing or replicated at the beginning of the parallel units of the parallel structure and the other, at the end of the parallel units of the parallel structure respectively. According to Leech (1969, p. 81), it is built on the formula:

(a.....b)
(a.....b)

Unlike the anaphora and epistrophe, it is quite rare having the lyrics of a Hiplife music take symploce as its total structuring or framework; however, it is quite common in the verse form of various Hiplifesong texts, especially in the chorus or hook of the songs. The following extracts from Faro and Akatekyie’s “ƆdɔEsisɔ Me” and Okyeame Kwame’s “Woso” demonstrate symploce.

A. Ɔdɔasisi me	My love has cheated me
Ɔdɔadaadaa me	My love has deceived me
Ɔdɔadi me awu	My love has killed me
Abena Rose eei	Abena Rose ee.

(IL. III. 1-4)

B. Wosokɔm no gu	Shake the hunger away
Wosɔhia no gu	Shake the poverty away
Wosɔtan no gu	Shake the hatred away

(IL. IV. 12-14)

In Extract A, there are two invariants in the first two lines, and they are “Ɔɔɔ” and “me” where “Ɔɔɔ” is invariant **a** and “me” is **b**. “Esiɔi” and “adanedane” are, therefore, the variants within the parallel structure. Broadly, the parallel structure of Extract A can be presented as:

$$\begin{array}{cc} (\text{Ɔɔɔasi} & \text{me}) & (\text{Ɔɔɔadanedane} & \text{me}) \\ (& \text{a} & \dots & \text{b}) & (& \text{a} & \dots & \text{b}) \end{array}$$

From the above, it is quite clear that symploce is that which is used to configure the repetition employed in Extract A. There is a thrown back effect on the subject and the object where the repetition of the two in the same position places premium on the breach of trust. Extract B is illustrated as:

$$\begin{array}{ccc} \text{Woso} & \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{kɔm} \\ \text{ɔhia} \\ \text{ɔtan} \end{array} \right] & \text{no gu.} \end{array}$$

The frame exemplifies symploce. The two invariants consistently get replicated at exact positions within the parallel units-initial “Woso” and “no gu” position with the variants occupying the middle position. Since it is invariant, it then boldens the variants to allow for the listener to try to figure out the message placed in the structure, specifically, the variants. Secondly, the repeated relevant units deepen the meaning through compounding of meaning conferred on the variants. In the first line, the transliterated version talks of shaking off hunger which has been the plight of many people and the cause of so much violence within societies. The second talks of shaking off poverty which is the most probable outcome of laziness, and the third line talks of shaking off hatred which causes disunity in society. Though these messages are in themselves whole, the continuous replication “Woso...no gu” which means “shake it off” calls for a synthesis of the messages of which one is likely to arrive at shaking off or avoiding any negativity that is bound to cause disunity in the society that will further prevent people within a society from helping one another when they are “hungry” for help and further cause a mass lack of development which will amount to poverty.

The structure also heightens the emotional delivery of the message. The repeated structure is in itself an imperative because it has an implied “you” and the bare form of the verb, “woso” (shake), and functions as mand. In that regard, it is instigating an action that should be quick, a necessary action that must be taken at all cost, and most importantly, it places the hope

of being able to execute the action. This is evident in the song when Okyeame Kwame continuously stresses the phrase, “You can do it”. Azasu and Geraldo (2004) establish the fact that the varying patterning of words in the stanza is deliberately formulaic to enhance a magical effect. The light is shed on the subject to throw away any of the challenges (variants). The symproce, therefore, imbues the structure with a forceful command and this is reflected in how the lines are rendered.

The next verbal parallel structure to look at is anadiplosis. This figure of verbal parallelism occurs when the invariant unit appears at the very end of the first parallel unit of the parallel structure and then gets repeated at the very beginning of the next parallel unit of the parallel structure. Leech’s (1969) pattern for this repetition is

(.....a)
(a.....)

The scheme demonstrates a serious and continuous flow of ideas, and the prominence is achieved in the successive repetition at different positions in successive clauses. That is, when a unit occurs at the final position of a parallel unit and gets replicated at the initial position of the next parallel unit, its probable next replication must necessarily occur at the final position of the next parallel unit to allow for the next replication to occur at the initial. An example of a much simpler form of anadiplosis is found in EL’s “Antie Martha”. The first clause ends with “**together**” while the successive clause starts with “**together**”

Me and your daughter belong **together**
Together to the bright and the stormy weather
(EL. I.12 -13)

The repeat of anadiplosis is the continuous flow of thought. Rhythmically, it creates enjambment as it gives little attention to punctuations.

Epanalepsis is another manifestation of verbal parallelism and it has (a...a) (b...b) etc. as its formulaic representation (Leech, 1969). Epanalepsis occurs when a relevant unit of a text occurs at the initial position of a parallel unit and then it is replicated at the final position of that

same parallel unit. Subsequently, another relevant unit of the same text then occurs at the initial position of the immediate next parallel unit of the parallel structure and then gets replicated at the final position of that same parallel unit in question. That is, in epanalepsis, there are two relevant units that are replicated, tagged ‘a’ and ‘b’. ‘a’ occurs at the initial and final positions of a parallel unit and ‘b’ occurs at the initial and final positions of the next parallel unit of the parallel structure in question. The extract below is from KwawKese’s “Obul” and it holds another figure of verbal parallelism called antistrophe.

A. Obiaraɔpɛ fi biara	Anyone who likes filth
Ɔyɛobul	She is indeed filthy
Woba ne fie a,	If you go to her house
Wobɛhunumankenduru (Efinkoara)	You will see a container (It’s all filth)
Ɔyɛtiefi take-away	She raps feaces in a polythene bag
Yɛkye wo a,	If you get caught,
Straight to jail	You will go to jail
Lawyer paninnsowɔ say	Though the lawyer can intervene
Nansoɔntumimma wo bail	He can’t get you bail
Woyɛobul	You are indeed filth
Tankassbesaman wo	The sanitary officer will summon you
Na w’ama wo krataa	And he will give you summons
“Woyɛobul”	“You are indeed filth”
Ɔte car mu reyɛbɔɔla	She is in a vehicle and heaping filth
Ɔwie a, ɔle driver	When she is finished, she says “driver
MɛdwonsowɔTaifa	I will urinate at Taifa
Wodurukwan no ho a, gyina	Stop along the way.
Eebei000! Eeeei	Eebei000! Eeeei
Hwɛ! ɔyɛobul	Look! She is indeed filthy

(CMS V. 14-32)

From the above, two different relevant units are repeated, and they are *ɔyɛobul* (which will be labelled as ‘a’) and *Woyɛobul* (which will be labelled as ‘b’). They are, therefore, the invariants. It should be noted that the formal difference between invariant ‘a’ and ‘b’, though little, has a significant influence on meaning which renders them different from the other. Whereas the ‘ɔ’ in invariant ‘a’ marks the third person singular pronoun, ‘wo’ in invariant ‘b’ is “you” (when taken to English) and it is the second person pronoun in that regard, and that changes the referents of those respective lines. That said, the structure that can, thus, be deduced from extract G is (...a...b...)(...b...a...) and that is the formula of antistrophe. Antistrophe, therefore, manifests when two relevant units of a text get replicated inversely in successive parallel units. Another good example is a line sung by Trozo in his “Brukina” song: **Slow** but **sure**/Meyɛ very **sure** but **slow**. In this case, *slow* becomes ‘a’ and *sure* becomes ‘b’ and they are replicated inversely to achieve an antistrophic verbal parallelism.

The most important thing to notice of the figures of verbal parallelism discussed is that not all six of them conform strictly to the three tenets that were proposed by Leech (1969). All the figures have a repeated relevant unit and variants to make them parallel in themselves; however, not all of them have their respective repetition of their invariant units occurring at equivalent positions. For instance, antistrophe has its replication in an inverse order where the replicated structure changes its position. The same can be said for anadiplosis and epanalepsis. For this reason, this work further provides a classification of verbal parallelism where all figures of verbal parallelism that follow all three tenets are classified as regular and the others, irregular. In that regard, anaphora, epistrophe and symploce are regular figures of verbal parallelism while anadiplosis, epanaplesis and antistrophe are the irregular figures of verbal parallelism. It also means that it is possible to have other complex figures as verbal parallelism as already pointed out by Leech (1969). The meaning of this innovation and departure from the standard held by Leech and others is that Hiplife artistes are innovative to create structures that serve their artistic purpose and not necessarily to conform to existing standards, a tenet of the modernist theory.

Discussion and Conclusion

The aim of this paper has been to examine the dominant schemes in Ghanaian Hiplife lyrics. In this section, I conclude the paper by discussing the general relevance of schemes in Hiplife. There are three key points of view to this: aesthetics, necessity born out of spontaneity and artistry of delivery of message.

Aesthetics basically conforms to the idea of the impact of artistry on appeal, beauty and pleasure. Repetition provides an aesthetic appreciation of Hiplife at several levels. The first is the sense of rhyme it creates. As noted by Leech (1969), to replicate a word, a line and so on is to replicate the involved respective sounds and that further creates a sense of correspondence of sounds between the replicated structures. As seen with epistrophe which has a repetitive structure of (...a)(...a) etc., the replication of a relevant unit at the end of respective parallel units is to create a correspondence between sounds among the parallel units, and as such, a sense of rhyme scheme through the entire parallel structure which then becomes the formula of epistrophe as illustrated earlier. The second is that repetition allows for the sense of rhythm. This is quite clear since to directly replicate a sound is to replicate its meter, pitch, tempo, etc. and it is the sense of rhythm that gives off the flow of the song which appeals to the sense of hearing. Following that, repetition gives a form and sense of structure to Hiplife. Repetition serves as a framework for which Hiplife is constructed where the chorus becomes the invariant structure and the verses, the variants. Repetition, therefore, serves a lot of aesthetic purposes in these regards, as stated in Cui and Zhao (2016):

it is summarized that people all have aesthetic needs for order, symmetry, closure, completion of acts, system, and structure (Maslow, 1987, pp.25-26). Such needs are of a universal nature.

In addition, the other significance of repetition to Hiplife is premised on spontaneity and the flow of emotions. This concept is much seen as an effect of free verbal repetition. If there is anything that spontaneity and free verbal repetition share, it is the sense of a much probable disorderliness in presentation. Spontaneity, from the likes of Wordsworth, Leech, etc., has always hinged on the notion of an uncontrollable and unstructured form of expression that gives no thought to beauty and orderliness, but to the free flow of emotions, inspired by a

phenomenon. As already pointed out, Leo Tolstoy (in Hunter & Schellenberg, 2010, p. 129) holds the view that “music is the shorthand of emotion”. In that regard, spontaneity cannot be ruled out in the composition of music, especially those that are predicated on free style. In a state of extreme emotions when singing, one is bound to be spontaneous and as Leech (1969, p. 78) points out, “repetition *is* almost involuntary to a person in a state of extreme emotional excitation”. That is, music expresses emotions and these emotions expressed in music are sometimes spontaneous and when that happens, repetition becomes the necessary expressive means.

Another crucial relevance is the artistry of delivery. Torke (cited by Hunter & Schellenberg, 2010, p. 129) is known to have asked “Why waste money on psychotherapy when you can listen to the B Minor Mass?” In other words, music says a lot and speaks to a lot of issues. However, a song (in this case, Hiplife) does not last more than 5 minutes. What it means then is to compress, and to compress is to say much in little (Leech, 1969). Thus, to do that, the artistry of presentation must be on point. In Hiplife, repetition serves that tool of artistry in conveying much in little. First, to be able to construct verbal parallelism in itself is of high artistry, considering the technicalities of placement and of meaning. The artistry of employing repetition in Hiplife is seen in how it is used as a rhetoric of foregrounding a message, deepening the message and heightening the emotional delivery of the message. Repetition draws attention on the structure itself within the entire lyrics of the song which is associated with the concepts of fluency and susceptibility (Nunes et al., 2015). Invariably, Hiplife as a genre is a repetitive genre. Based on the extended meaning of Bandt’s (as cited in Nurmesjarvi, 1997) definition of repetitive music, the enormous presence of repetition, its contributions and effect are indispensable in the construct of Hiplife as a genre.

Essentially, the schemes in the Hiplife genre also create cohesion in the songs. The structure of the genre appears fragmented as they constitute a number of refrains (chorus) and the cantor. The cantor dwells on the thematic issues of the songs while the refrain introduces the music. Cohesion is very thematic, semantic, syntactic and phonological. Structurally, the schemes have maintained internal cohesion both within lines and between lines. The refrains/chorus, which are mainly repetitive in nature, mostly play introductory, connective and

concluding roles. The various schemes discussed in this paper point to the cohesion that gets achieved.

The paper has implications for literary studies in higher education institutions as the data are readily available and familiar to current students. Instructors of literary studies in Ghanaian and African universities can, therefore, rely on the findings in teaching the realisations of schemes in music, in particular, and all forms of literary genres, in general. Again, it has huge relevance to African stylistics as the concept has been generally seen as alien to the African context. This study, therefore, serves as an addition to previous studies on stylistics, particularly in Africa.

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Appendix

Sources of song texts used for the study

	Artist	Title of Song
1	Obour	“Oboɔ”
2	5Five	“Gargantuan Body”
3	Reggie Rockstone	“Eɣemodɛanaa”
4	Kofi Kinaata	“Susuka”
5	Kofi Kinaata	“Sweetie Pie”
7	Flowking Stone	“Me Kyeakyea”
8	Sarkodie	“Life”
9	Obarima Sydney	“Obiaanyɛobiaa”
10	Faro and Akatekyie	“OdoEsis Me”
11	Okyeame Kwame	“Woso”
12	EL	“Antie Martha”
13	KwawKese	“Obul”
14	Trozo	“Brukina”