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CONTENTS

EDITORIAL COMMENT

Language, songs and music continue to be closely linked throughout human history, cultures and societies. From nursery rhymes to traditional songs, religious to pop songs, music is often used to aid in the learning and retention of language. In turn, language is often used to convey the emotions and meanings behind music. In this special issue on Language and Musicology, the authors of the ten articles with high levels of specialisations in the fields of Language and Literature have provided the ZANGO readers with a rich array of well-researched scholarly articles. As the legend of literature, William Shakespeare, once wrote that 'the earth has music for those who listen' this issue is parked with scholarly music for academicians and students to listen and enjoy.

The first article by Mwansa, Jimaima and Simungala is an analysis of Abel Chungu's song '*Mwamuna Samalila*' (A man does not cry). The song seems to be a reaction to the prevalent cases of child abuse in Zambia. In this article, the authors make a critical interrogation of the problematic masculinity ideologies and practices which the singer has cleverly brought out as dysfunctional aspects of gender and mostly masculinity ideologies. The omnipresence of song and music certainly has been felt and relied on by humans even in the face of death and danger.

In the second article, Moyo and Moyo give insight into the hope driven by two songs: 'We Will Dance Again' by Matthew Tembo and 'Dzuwa' by Slap Dee. The authors explain the experiences of Zambians during the COVID-19 pandemic using various poetic elements that are reflective in the selected songs.

Singing, dancing and music are part of the rites of passage at weddings and funerals in most African societies. Mukonde, Chikuta and Musonda in the third article focus on exploring the perception of death among the people of Luapula Province in Zambia through dirges, also known as *icimbo camalilo*, which are big songs performed at funerals. In their scholarly exploration, the trio analysed the lyrical and poetic form of these special funeral songs whose stylistic qualities are based on and drawn from the local context, expressing the anguish of loss, death, the grave, and the significance of the deceased.

In the fourth article, Siakavuba and Musiyiwa analyse the *budima* oral performances of the Zambezi Valley Tonga people, in the context of the encroachment of Western values. Using selected songs, the duo analyse the challenges encountered by relocated communities, the adjustments they made and relationships they established with upland communities. Although according to the scholars, the *budima* seems to lose its place in the valley Tonga society, due to the Eurocentrically-gowned, Christian-inspired modernity, the two authors explore social dynamics that give the *budima* cultural resilience amid vicious cultural forces.

Jimaima, Simungala and Mwansa demonstrate in the fifth article that there is a very close interplay between linguistics and musicology. In this article, the authors attempt to gain insights into how material narration of affect, nostalgia and subjunctivity are constructed and transacted in song.

Music and songs are ever-present in the daily life of humans, making it almost impossible to imagine life without them. Studies show a wide range of situations in which people listen to music and songs: while learning, praying, running, exercising, driving, at political campaign rallies, when getting up and going to sleep, during working hours and even when communicating messages on very sensitive topics such as sexual performance. In the sixth article, Khondowe and Moyo examine the figurative devices used in the composition of Cinamwali sexual performance songs of the Ngoni people of Mtenguleni in Chipata District of Eastern Zambia.

In the seventh article, using the Patriotic Fronts' 2016 political campaign song 'Dununa Reverse', Simungala, Jimaima and Mwansa trace and glean sociocultural narratives that often inform the Zambian people. The trio interrogated the notion of translanguaging, showed how

sociocultural discourses are resemiotised from different sources and explored how individual texts are related to other texts.

The eighth article by Njobvu, Mambwe and Jimaima is a discourse analysis of Moses Sakala's tribute song to his friend and former music associate, Levy Sakala, titled *Chobaba* 'pain' to show how language is constructed and represented to demonstrate pain, grief, and love, and how, by the same token, it provides emotional release, honour the memory of the deceased, and offer comfort and support to the bereaved. The trio clearly demonstrated in this discourse that while language is primarily used for conveying meaning, songs are often seen as a form of emotional expression, which in this case, is fuelled by the pain of death of a loved one.

The Edo people of Nigeria say that 'A cockroach knows how to sing and dance, but it is the hen who prevents it from performing its art during the day'. Using songs, artists have over the centuries condemned unwanted human behavior such as child abuse and molestation. Like the unwanted cockroach, acts of child molestation have been severely frowned upon and condemned through songs. In the nineth article, Jimaima and Njobvu analyse diction and symbolism in Sister Ds song *Vitendeni.* While saving as an example of how diction and symbolism can be used in songs 'Vitendeni' provides phenomenological commentary and awareness and prescribes the punitive measures to end the scourge of girl child abuse and molestation.

In the final article, Kondala analyses the role that traditional oral songs played in fortifying matrimony in the Bemba traditional society. In this clear and concise analysis, the author noted that marriage songs played a very significant role in reminding the society of the importance and seriousness of marriage and how the bride and the bridegroom should remain committed to it. The analysis actually showed that the songs are characterised by double meanings. There is a surface meaning as well as the deep or intended meaning(s).

Thank you very much to the ZANGO Editorial Team and our critical reviewers for working tirelessly in ensuring that these rich ten articles, mostly based on the Zambian local and traditional songs, are acceptable for publication and thus brought to life in this special issue on Language and Musicology. A special thanks to the authors who have given the ZANGO reader a rare chance to enjoy this scholarly discourse, which is punctuated by songs.

Prof. Innocent Mutale Mulenga
Chief Editor

CONTRIBUTORS

Trevor Mwansa is a lecturer in the Department of Arts, Languages and Literary Studies at the University of Zambia. His teaching and research interests include among others, literary theory, poetry, African literature, African-American literature, American literature, English literature, culture, education, leadership, eco-criticism, modernism and post-modernism. His recent publication is dubbed: 'Coping with Racism: An Analysis of Defence Mechanisms Employed by Lubinda in Dominic Muliasho's *The Tongue of the Dumb*.

Gabriel Simungala is a special research fellow at the University of the Western Cape, South Africa and a lecturer of sociolinguistics in the Department of Arts, Languages and Literary Studies at the University of Zambia. He has published extensively in language education, youth and pop culture, critical and multimodal discourse analysis, globalisation and mobility, linguistic/semiotic landscapes, Bantu linguistics and the sociolinguistics of language contact. His recent publications include Legitimisation and Recontextualisation of Languages: The Imbalance of Powers in a Multilingual Landscape, among others.

Hambaba Jimaima holds a Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics. He is a senior lecturer in the Department of Arts, Languages and Literary Studies at the University of Zambia. His research interests revolve around semiotics, multilingual memory and multimodality, predicated on language production and consumption in the public spaces as expressed in the published works on: ORCID: 0000-0001-7535-2033.

Gankhanani Moffat Moyo is Zambia's UNESCO-recognised international expert on Intangible Cultural Heritage. A PhD candidate reading novelness in the Zimbabwean novel, he teaches literature and culture at the University of Zambia in the Department of Arts, Languages and Literary Studies. He has published widely on literature and culture and has mentored many in his area of specialisation. His research interests include literary theory, theory of the novel and cultural studies, specifically Intangible Cultural Heritage.

Bether Mwale Moyo is a lecturer at the University of Zambia in the Department of Arts, Languages and Literary Studies. She holds a Master of Art in Literature and is currently a PhD student in Literature at the University of Zambia. Her areas of interest are in African literature, literary theory, African arts and culture, indigenous knowledge systems and children's literature.

Eunice Mukonde is a lecturer of linguistics, in the Department of Arts, Languages and Literary Studies at the University of Zambia. Her experience in research includes work in pragmatics, sociolinguistics and language acquisition. Her recent publications include: *English versus Zambian Languages: Exploring some Similarities and Differences with their Implication on the Teaching of Literacy and Language in Primary Schools* and *BIG-C: A Multimodal Multi-Purpose Dataset for Bemba*.

Prisca Chikuta is a linguist and serving as a lecturer in the Department of Arts, Languages, and Literary Studies at the University of Zambia. Her latest scholarly endeavour co-authored with Simungala, G., and Jimaima, H., delves into the realm of Indigenous Languages in an Online Space. The research specifically explores the utilisation of translanguaging techniques to enhance the visibility of multilingualism and multisemiotic modes.

Bwalya Lombe Musonda is a lecturer in the Department of Arts, Languages and Literary Studies at the University of Zambia. He teaches Literary Theory, African Thought and Literature in English and Zambian Languages. His research interests are in literary theory, Zambian languages and culture, mythology and spirituality. His most recent publication which was co-authored with Mukonde et al., is titled English and Zambian Languages: *English versus Zambian Languages: Exploring some Similarities and Differences with their Implication on the Teaching of Literacy and Language in Primary Schools.*

John Bwana Siakavuba is a doctoral candidate at the University of Zimbabwe studying how the Zambezi Valley Tonga people conceptualise and manage death through their funeral performances. Since 2017, he has been affiliated to the University of Zimbabwe as lecture in Tonga literature and culture. His research interests are in orature, traditional performing and expressive arts, creative industries, creative writing and editing, African literature, African culture and religion and indigenous knowledge systems. He has published several book chapters and journal articles in these areas.

Mickias Musiyiwa (PhD) is an associate professor at the University of Zimbabwe and a research fellow in the Department of English at the University of the Free State. He teaches strategic studies, digital humanities, indigenous knowledge systems (IKS), literary theory, oral literature, African literature, mythology and African culture. He is inter-disciplinarian scholar whose research interests also include indigenous epistemologies, popular music, media studies, popular arts, gender studies, community development, climate change, children's literature and culture.

Charity Khondowe is a secondary school teacher of language and literature. A holder of a Bachelor of Arts with Education (English with Linguistics and African Languages) and a Master of Arts in Literature, both from the University of Zambia, she has special interest in studying language style from an indigenous cultural perspective and furthermore, from a gender point of view, specifically relating to women.

Naomi Njobvu holds a Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics from the University of KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa. She is currently a lecturer in the Department of Arts, Languages and Literary Studies at the University of Zambia. Her research interests are in Discourse Analysis, Morphology, Syntax, Sociolinguistics, and currently, Musicology. Her recent publications include 'An Analysis of Thematic Progression Patterns in Zambian Students' ESL Academic Writing: Evidence of Coherence-Obscuring Patterns'.

Kelvin Mambwe is a holder of Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics from the University of the Western Cape. He has been teaching linguistics at the University of Zambia for the past 15 years. Kelvin has contributed book chapters on Bantu linguistics and published a number of articles in the area of onomastics, language and music and discourse. He is currently working on regional dialects in a number of Zambian languages, business and football names including language in music.

Shadreck Kondala is a lecturer at the University of Zambia in the Department of Arts, Languages and Literary Studies. He specialises in both literature in Zambian languages and in English. His area of interest are on cultural issues African literature, Zambian languages-literature, English literature, and literary theories. He has presented and published some articles in various journals.

REFLECTING AND MODULATING TRADITIONAL MASCULINITY IDEOLOGICAL STANDPOINTS: A STYLISTIC ANALYSIS OF ABEL CHUNGU'S SONG '*MWAMUNA SAMALILA'*

Trevor Mwansa, Hambaba Jimaima and Gabriel Simungala
University of Zambia

Abstract

Using artistic expressions undergirded in musical affordances, this article interrogates Abel Chungu's song, 'Mwamuna Samalila' (A man does not cry) as a resource that enacts, upholds and contests ideologies. In particular, the article draws attention on the social constructs that are often produced through language and musicology, developed, deployed and strategically positioned to project phenomena such as masculinity ideologies. For its theoretical and methodological grounding, the article draws on stylistics as it takes the song in question as a text. This is in a bid to enhance the understanding and conveyance of ideas and themes reflected in songs as a text occurrence. Thus, it becomes apparent that there is a sense in which the lyrics respond to core theoretically derived social constructs of traditional masculinity ideologies. Through close examination of stylistic elements, it is observed that lyrical efforts are made to reflect and modulate seemingly dysfunctional aspects of masculinity ideologies. The song serves as a call for attention to prevailing and problematic masculinity ideologies and practices, kindling more rethinking, restructuring, theorising, and re-evaluating.

Keywords: Song Lyrics, Stylistics, Masculinity, Traditional Masculinity Ideologies, Modulating

Introduction

In seeking to explore ideologies that inform the socio-cultural well-being of actors, this article uses Abel Chungu's song '*Mwamuna Samalila',* in an attempt to argue for musical discourses as resources that enact, contest, and uphold ideologies, as it is given that lyrics connote an essential and influential element in music. By taking this view, we concede to Astor's (2010) assertion that words matter, as song lyrics can be said to serve a wide range of functions and be of cardinal practical significance. In this connection, it is the belief of Tsukuda, Hamasaki, and Goto (2021) that social actors have a high demand for viewing lyrics amid varied listening preferences and experiences. This demand could be attributed to the messages embodied in the song lyrics, the people's desire to confirm what artists sing about and the need to deeply digest the lyrics. While some studies lean on musical as opposed to lyrical aspects for the arousal and induction of emotions, this article takes the view that song lyrics possess the capacity to communicate and trigger emotions. The message in songs can be a channel of emotional conveyance and an influencer of emotional response. As noted by Watanabe and Goto (2020), lyrics are a key factor

in determining how listeners perceive or react to a song as lyrics deliver specific messages and express diverse emotions.

Lyrical content is also said to influence affective and performance-related outcomes. While calling for an extensive and systematic investigation of the lyrical component, Sanchex, Moss, Twist and Karageorphis (2013) acknowledge and indicate that song lyrics may relate to task demands of repetitive exercise, performance-related activities, and positive self-awareness. The exploration of difficulties, problems and uncertainties can also be facilitated through lyrics. Further, lyrics can help people to overcome and cope with everyday challenges as themes related to people's daily life are predominantly reflected. The potential to influence people's behaviour is also embedded in song lyrics, especially lyrics that are emotional, exceptional, profound, and persuasive (Ballard, 1991; North and Hargreaves, 2008; Stratton and Zalanowski, 2021). Gonzalez (2021) adds that perceptions and the sense of identity are, in fact, highly influenced by music lyrics. Beyond this point, it is worth noting that song lyrics serve as a carrier of cultural norms given that lyrics greatly contribute to reflecting cultural historicity and shaping the identity of society. This article joins the growing interest and discourse on song analysis. This is by employing stylistics to interrogate the lyrics in Abel Chungu's song *'Mwamuna Samalila'*, arguing for its reflection, contestation and modulation of traditional masculinity ideologies.

Stylistics and Masculinity: A Theoretical and Conceptual Perspective

In framing the present undertaking, this article draws on stylistics as a theoretical underpinning that avails much, especially in song and/or musical discourse analysis. Stylistics, a theoretical approach that traces its roots to the literary scholarship of the Greeks and the Romans in the fifth century BC has evolved over the years, birthing numerous definitions. From a historical development perspective, stylistics is said to have come into the limelight as a sub-discipline around the second half of the twentieth century. It was an extension of literary criticism in the early twentieth century, which later transitioned from focusing on the literary texts rather than the author to focusing on the author more than the literary text. Later, critics reversed the focus, thus, placing emphasis on the language of literary texts until linguists like Roman Jakobson had a considerable influence on stylistics (Ramtirthe, 2017). Presently, stylistics is conceptualised as a borderline discipline between literature and linguistics. There, it privileges the present undertaking as the song under study can be analysed from both the linguistic and literary perspectives.

In an attempt to craft a broad definition of stylistics, Verdonk (2002: 3-4) states that 'stylistics is the study of style in language'. Carrying the concept of language along, Lucas (1995) defines stylistics as the effective use of language in prose. He adds that the language used in stylistics is aimed at making statements and/or arousing emotions. The idea of language having the propensity to arouse emotions resonates with the earlier points about lyrics functioning as tools for expressing messages and triggering emotions. This, in a way, foreshadows the plausible intent of the writer of the song under analysis. Stylistics is also defined as the study of certain aspects of language variations as a part of linguistics. It focuses on the linguistic choices writers employ to effectively express their thoughts and feelings (Crystal, 1997). In this article, we glide toward the

literary theorisation of style, while just glancing through linguistically. We take stylistics to signify a branch of literary analysis that focuses on the style in literary works and texts in general. Other than providing distinctiveness to someone's writing, the functional significance of textual and literary elements as a central objective in stylistics is considered; thus, using it to explore the gist of the lyrics in Abel Chungu's social-religious song.

In trying to account for the outcome materialities of a stylistic view, some insights into traditional masculinity ideologies are important for they afford a critical window to identify and analyse aspects represented and contested in the song. Taking traditional masculinity ideologies as a sub-category of masculinity, reference is made to Mutunda (2005) who recognises the complexity of masculinity as a concept. He highlights various views and cites Connel (2005) who shares a seemingly inclusive and binary-oriented definition by arguing that 'masculinity is simultaneously a place in gender relations, the practices through which men and women engage that place in gender and the effects of these practices in bodily experience' (p.71). Masculinity, a term that denotes one's gender also refers to a complex set of characters and behaviours prescribed for a particular sex (Edwards, 2015). Further, Edwards (2015) suggests that these sets of characters and behaviours are prescribed and preserved by society and are learned through the socialisation process. A view that sits well with Peterson and Runyan (1993), who argue that society confines males and females to particular masculine and feminine character profiles. This gives a clear indication of the role society plays in formulating and enhancing ideologies.

According to Pleck, Sonenstein and Ku (1993), masculinity ideologies are beliefs about the importance of men adhering to culturally defined standards of male behaviour. Put differently, they are ideologies that place emphasis on men adhering to normative prescriptions of masculinity. Traditional masculinity ideologies, also referred to as traditional masculinity norms are perceived as ideologies that restrict men from exhibiting signs of behaviour or thought attributed to females or signifying weakness. This will become apparent in the analysis of the song. The wide array of traditional beliefs, behaviours and self-perceptions that men are expected to endorse and adhere to all fall under the traditional masculinity ideology umbrella (O'Neil, Helm, Gable, Laurence, Wrightsman, 1986). There are various aspects of traditional masculinity ideologies that are essential for masculinity studies as well as masculinity-oriented song analysis. These include among others; avoidance of femininity, self-reliance, avoidance of fear, being tough, competitiveness, risk-taking, aggression, the pursuit of success, achievements, and status, showing leadership and responsibility, the demonstration of physical prowess, domination over others and restrictive emotionality. We are aware that traditional masculinity ideologies are problematic, recurring, not easy to eradicate and also that not all aspects of traditional masculinity ideologies are negative, have undesired ramifications and require modulating. This thought sits at the back of our minds as we navigate the interrogation of masculinity ideologies undergirded in the lyrics. As will be noted, there is a sense in which the songwriter deploys selectivity, subtlety and particularity in the reflection and reconstruction of constructed ideologies. In brevity, the theoretical appraisal above accompanied by various concepts, views and studies about traditional masculinity ideology enhance our analysis.

Methods and Materials

A qualitative method was used to conduct this study owing to the fact that it explores in-depth insights into social phenomena enabling researchers to effectively analyse, comprehend and interpret social issues. For the analyses of data, content analysis was employed as it enhances the interpretation of meanings in texts. The approach utilised, provides the much-needed information to concretise the arguments of this analysis. The primary data for this research was collected from Abel Chungu Musuka's social-religious song *Mwamuna Samalila.* Abel Chungu Musuka, is a devoted and versatile Zambian singer and songwriter. He has written and performed many songs, with *Mwamuna Samalila* being one of his most popular and profound songs. The song *Mwamuna Samalila* was selected because of its literariness as well as its compelling representation and portrayal of pertinent social issues.

Lyrics of Mwamuna Samalila with the English Translation

Stanza 1

Bana tiyambisa kudala (They started a long time ago)
Petikali chabe bana (When we were just children)
Ukagwa wazichita (When you fall down and hurt yourself)
Bakulu bakuuza, mwamuna sama lila (Elderly people tell you that a man does not cry)

4

Kulimbilako naku skulu (Be strong and focused with school)
Pressure singa nkale excuse (Pressure can't be an excuse)
Ukafeluka nichimutu (When you fail, they mock your head)
Onani alibe nzelu (Look at him, he is not intelligent)

8

Mwamuna sama lila (A man does not cry)
Pezako nchito panga nyumba (Find a job and make a home)
Fakamo madam panga banja (Find a wife and start a family)
Pali ponse nima pressure don't ever be a letdown (All the time, there is pressure …)

12

Mwamuna sama lila (A man does not cry)

Chorus

Koma mutima muli ashh chibaba (Yet there is pain in the heart)
Vizakasila liti? (When are these things going to finish?)
Chifukwa konse kwena yenda bakungo niuuza (Because wherever I go, they keep telling me)

16

Kuti mwamuna sama lila (That a man does not cry)

Ashh! Chibaba (Assh! It's painful)
Vizakasila liti? (When are these things going to end?)

Chifukwa konse kwena yenda bakungo niuuza (Because wherever I go, they keep telling me)

20

Kuti mwamuna sama lila (That a man does not cry)
Mwamuna sama lila (A man does not cry)
Mwamuna sama lila (A man does not cry)
Mwamuna sama lila (A man does not cry)

24

Mwamuna sama lila (A man does not cry)
Mwamuna sama lila (A man does not cry)
Mwamuna sama lila (A man does not cry)
Mwamuna sama lila (A man does not cry)

28

Mwamuna sama lila (A man does not cry)

Stanza 2

Batate bake pebanafa (When his father died)
Kwenzebe nabo mupuzyika (There was no one to console him)
They simply told him you're the man now

32

You got to make a plan now
Mwamuna sama lila (A man does not cry)
Mwamuna afunika ndalama (A man needs money)
Becoming everyone's provider

36

Your happiness is not an option
Beauty is a function now
Mwamuna sama lila (A man does not cry)
Mumutima muli built anger (Yet there is built anger inside the heart)

40

I take a substance to be substandard
I wish I really knew what a real man is
But I'll be praising God cause I'm still standing, yeah

Chorus

Ashh chibaba (Yet there is pain in the heart)

44

Vizakasila liti? (When are these things going to finish?)
Chifukwa konse kwena yenda bakungo niuuza (Because wherever I go, they keep telling me)
Kuti mwamuna sama lila (That a man does not cry)
Ashh! Chibaba (Assh! It's painful)

48

Vizakasila liti? (When are these things going to end?)
Chifukwa konse kwena yenda bakungo kuniuuza (Because wherever I go, they keep telling me)
Kuti mwamuna sama lila (That a man does not cry)
Mwamuna sama lila (A man does not cry)
52
Mwamuna sama lila (A man does not cry)
Mwamuna sama lila (A man does not cry)
Mwamuna sama lila (A man does not cry)
Mwamuna sama lila (A man does not cry)
56
Mwamuna sama lila (A man does not cry)
Mwamuna sama lila (A man does not cry)
Mwamuna sama lila (A man does not cry)

Closing Stanza
This is the return of the prince
60
Glory to the crown of the king
Your witnessing the rise of a kingdom
Let every chain be broken
This is the return of the prince (lila)
64
Glory to the crown of the king (lila)
Your witnessing the rise of a kingdom (lila)
Let every chain be broken
This is the return of the prince (lila)
68
Glory to the crown of the king (lila)
Your witness in the eyes of the kingdom (lila)
Let every chain be broken
Lila boi (Cry my friend)
72
Lila boi (Cry my friend)
Lila (Cry)
Let every chain be broken
Vinayambila kudala (These things started a long time)
76
Petikali chabe bana (When we were just children)
Manje mufunika kuziba (Now you need to know)
Mwamuna ama lila (A man cries)

In what follows, we discuss the findings of the study. Essentially, we explore the literary elements employed in the conglomeration of words in the song *Mwamuna Samalila*. We also investigate the role of the literary elements in reflecting traditional masculinity ideologies and the manner in which these ideologies are interrogated and modulated.

Rhymes as Material Capital for the Expression of Effect, Emphasis and Attention

In the opening lines of the song, the writer makes use of rhymes for effect, emphasis and the capturing of attention as he lays a background to a problematic traditional masculinity ideology. Rhymes are a recurring literary element in many lyric-oriented genres of music and poetry. Their validity has stood the test of time hence, songwriters often endeavour to utilise the literary technique of rhyming. According to Roberts and Jacobs (1992), a rhyme is a repetition of identical or similar concluding syllables in different words. Words with the same concluding vowel sounds or consonant sounds are equally rhymes, as rhymes focus on sounds as opposed to spellings. Rhyme also refers to the repetition of end sounds or two or more words and phrases. The last words in the first four lines of the first stanza rhyme and if internal rhymes are factored in, it ought to be highlighted that *banatiyambisa, kudala, bana, ukagwa, wazichita, bakuuza, mwamuna and samalila* are all rhyming words in the song as they end with the same sound /a/.

By beginning the song with a series of rhyming words, the writer sought to create a sense of anticipation for subsequent sonic repetitions, a framework for memorisation and a link between masculinity ideologies and socialisation. The words *ukagwa wazichita, bakulu bakuuza mwamuna samalila* (when you fall down and hurt yourself, elderly people tell you that a man does not cry) reflect restrictive emotionality. Restrictive emotionality is a traditional masculinity norm that suggests and emphasises that men must avoid and control the expression of emotions. Oneil, Good and Holmes (1995: 176) define it as 'having difficulty and fears about expressing one's feelings and difficulty finding words to express basic emotions'.

In a bid to highlight and interrogate the entrenchment of this traditional masculinity ideology or stereotype, the writer points out some elderly people as agents in the process of gender role socialisation. He also raises a crucial socialisation issue by suggesting that these ideologies are socially constructed and channelled to young males at a very tender age. This is captured in the first two rhyme instilled lines, *banatiyambisa kudala, petikali chabe bana* (they started a long time ago, when we were just small children). This line of thought is in harmony with the sentiments of Pleck (1995) who suggests that gender roles concerning what constitutes masculinity are socially constructed and perpetuated by forces such as the media, parents, peers, teachers and if we may add, elderly members of society. Freud, as cited by Gatens (1991) reinforces this idea when he argues that the biological individual can be viewed as a black canvas upon which gendered identities are projected and performed through socialisation. Suffice to indicate that boys are to a large extent influenced by various elderly people through the process of socialisation as projected in the song. In verity, this is a common occurrence in the Zambian context, which might have plausibly influenced the writer's narrative. While it is agreed that numerous positive lessons may be picked through intergenerational interactions, there is also a risk of young males being exposed

to extreme societal expectations. Therefore, there is need for balanced, objective and open discussions around what are acceptable and unacceptable attitudes, behaviours and norms.

The Materialisation of Masculine Ideologies through Imagery, Repetition and Narration

Imagery is an important ingredient in songwriting and creative writing in general. Thornley and Roberts (1984) define imagery as the use of language to represent objects, actions, thoughts, ideas, states of mind and any sensory or extrasensory experiences. Imagery also refers to words that trigger imagination to recall and recombine images – memories or mental pictures of sights, sounds, tastes, smells, sensations of touch and motion (Roberts and Jacobs, 1992). Sandburg (1968) adds to the elaboration of this literary element by indicating that imagery is a type of language, which creates a sense of impression, represents an idea and thus, heightens expression. Barradas and Sakka (2020) also add an interesting and relevant dimension by stipulating that, lyrics can activate visual imagery. It is also important to note that there are different types of imagery, these include visual, auditory, olfactory, gustatory, tactile, organic and kinesthetics imagery. The power of imagery lies in its vivid descriptiveness, appellative nature and ability to stimulate one's imagination.

Visual imagery as a descriptive aspect of imagery is employed to show how males who do not meet certain masculinity expectations become an object of ridicule and mockery. In lines 5 to 9, the language in the lyrics sets a scene and invites the listeners to visualise and imagine a young male being addressed in a belittling, contemptuous and humiliating manner because of failing or struggling to succeed as expected by society: *Kulimbilako naku skulu* – pressure *singankale* excuse, *Ukafeluka nichimutu-onani alibe nzulu – mwamuna samalila*. These lines indicate that males are told to be resilient at school and that they should never give pressure as an excuse. It also points out that males are ridiculed and told that they lack intelligence whenever they fail to succeed. One could argue that these sentiments are capable of damaging men's self-esteem and crushing the hopes of those who aspire to ascend the academic ladder. Further, as the writer creates a vivid word picture of the constant pressure exerted on men, listeners are triggered and drawn to picturing a stressed man who is faced with constant expectations and pressure (lines 10-13):

> *Pezako nchito panga nyumba* (Find a job and make a home)
> *Fakamo madam panga banja* (Find a wife and start a family)
> *Pali ponse nima pressure don't ever be a letdown* (All the time, there is pressure …)
> *Mwamuna sama lila* (A man does not cry)

The power of repetition in lyrics cannot be overlooked. A study by Nunes, Ordanini and Valsesia (2014) indicates that lyrics are central to the music that the majority of people listen to and lyrics with repetitive lines are processed more fluently and thus, adopted more broadly and quickly in the marketplace. Repetition occurs when a writer repeats a word, phrase, sentence or stanza for effect and emphasis. In the chorus of the song *Mwamuna Samalila*, the writer employs this literary element by repeating the phrase *mwamuna samalila* about ten times as he seeks to isolate one of

the most problematic traditional masculinity norms from his perspective. This foreshadows his attempt to modulate this emotion-restricting norm through antonym by replacing the phrase *mwamuna samalila* (a man does not cry) with *mwamuna amalila* (a man cries). As one pays close attention to other aspects of the chorus, it is noticed that there is a sense in which the writer longs for the eradication of this traditional masculinity norm that he perceives as painful or rather disheartening. This is reflected in the following lines: *ash chibaba* (ouch, it's painful), *vizakasila liti* (when are these things going to end), *chifukwa konse kwena yenda* (because wherever I go), *bakungo kuniuza* (they keep telling me), *kuti mwamuna samalila* (that a man does not cry). We also note that his usage of the words *kulikonse kwenayenda bakungo kunuiza kuti mwamuna samalila* (wherever I go they keep telling me that a man does not cry) points to the generalisability and widespreadness of traditional masculinity ideologies, which, in turn, signals a challenge with regard to coping and escaping the pressure surrounding these norms. Narration is a mode of presentation that writers employ when writing or telling a story (Roberts and Jacobs, 1992). As a literary element, the narration is instrumental in the creation of effect, formulation of meaning and effective communication. Numerous writers utilise this technique as stories are considered interesting, relatable and capable of stimulating the listeners' imagination. In the second stanza, the writer utilises this literary element and technique. He assumes the role of an omniscient narrator as he tells a story of a young man who lost his father, had no one to console him and faced societal pressure in a continuum. The writer uses this technique to highlight the problematic nature of certain masculinity ideologies and the insensitivity of certain perpetrators of these norms. The traditional masculinity norms highlighted and contested are as follows:

i. Toughness and showing leadership - *batatebake pe banafa kwenzebe nabomu puzyika* (when his father died, there was no one to console him), they simply said: 'you are the man now, you got to make a plan now, *mwamuna samalila* (a man does not cry)'.
ii. Self-reliance and taking up responsibilities - *Mwamuna afunkuka ndalama* (a man needs to have money) – becoming everyone's provider.

This narration of a young man's experience highlights the brutal nature of traditional masculinity ideologies and their advocates. A victim of loss, grief, and hurt is prohibited from manifesting emotional expressivity and is expected to swiftly soldier on as an aspect of traditional masculinity norms suggests that men must be brave and tough. This further shows that adherence and endorsement to traditional masculinity norms is often a result of external as opposed to internal pressure.

Projecting Self While Rejecting the Norm: A Metaphoric and Symbolic View of Masculinity

The writer uses metaphors as he positions himself and sets the stage to modulate traditional masculinity ideologies. According to Peter (2002), a metaphor is a figure of speech, which compares one thing to another directly. It can also be described as a literary element that compares and merges identities. Unlike similes where comparisons are explicit, comparisons are implied in

the usage of metaphors. Despite the difficulties experienced by some in deducing metaphors, these literary elements are instrumental in extending people's knowledge, vocabulary and awareness.

In lines 60 and 63 of the song lyrics, the words *prince* and *kingdom* are used metaphorically. When the writer identifies himself as a prince, he does not literarily signify that he is one, but he makes the comparison with a prince who is perceived as being an important male member of the royal family. Similarly, the writer considers himself and other singers as important members of the music space. In the same way that royal people can add a voice, serve as agents of change and influence the trajectory of certain issues, the songwriter perceives and places himself as an agent of masculinity ideology reconstruction. By indicating that listeners or readers of the song *Mwamuna Samalila* are witnessing the rise of a kingdom, he suggests that there is an emerging crop of people who are not keen on adhering to, subscribing to, endorsing, and perpetuating certain traditional masculinity ideologies and these people have the capacity to overpower negative aspects of traditional ideologies in the similitude of great historical kingdoms that conquered those which preceded them.

Following the metaphor-embedded lines, another literary element is employed to highlight the negative ramifications of certain traditional masculinity ideologies. In the line 'let every chain be broken', the word chain functions as a symbol. A symbol is a word, idea or object that may represent or stand for other ideas, values, persons or ways of life (Roberts and Jacobs, 1992). Often likened to a sign, symbols stand for and suggest things beyond themselves. The chain symbol is used and sometimes, exploited to signify a bond, attachment, connection, imprisonment, great pain, oppression, slavery, strength and unity, among other things.

In this song, the word chain represents masculinity ideologies as ideologies that constrain and prevent males from exhibiting certain emotions, thoughts and actions despite the prospective negative ramifications. Most men are chained to negative masculinity ideologies, the fear of others, and society incapacitates their desire to break free from certain ideologies. This negatively impacts them. Various research works show that men's subscription to certain traditional masculinity norms has negative effects as some constructs repress expressivity, exert pressure and catalyse the unpredictable pursuit of perfectionist tendencies. Indications from other bodies of research are that men who endorse traditional beliefs about masculinity; engage in fewer health-promoting behaviours, have greater health risks than men who endorse less traditional beliefs, have a negative attitude towards gender equality and are more likely to glide into depression (Courtenay, 1998, Kristiansen, 1990 and Edwards, 2015). With this in mind, the lyrics serve as a call to break free from the bondage of negative masculinity ideologies.

Rhymes as a Tool for Reconstructing and Modulating Traditional Masculinity Norms

As if to mirror or juxtapose the first four lines, rhymes are utilised to conclude the song and submit the crucial narrative championed in the song. Writers are at liberty to employ end rhymes or internal rhymes as both can serve the purpose of lending songlike qualities, building rhythm or emphasising an idea, as is the case in this song. In the following lines: *kudala/bana/kuziba/lila,* formulate end-rhymes.

Vinayambila kudala (These things started a long time ago)
Petikali chabe bana (When we were just children)
Manje mufunika kuziba (Now you need to know)
Mwamuna ama lila (A man cries)

We note that the lines above are built on the repetitive phrase *lila boi* (Line 72-74), which is translated as 'cry my friend'. A phrase aimed at encouraging a drifting away from traditional norms restricting emotional expressivity. This seems to have been a profound concern as it is predominantly highlighted and pointed out in the song. The writer ends the song with rhymes that point people to a change of narrative – *manje mufunika kuziba, mwamuna amalila* (Now you need to know, a man cries). Although rhymes are known to serve the purpose of making songs pleasant to hear, capturing listeners or readers' attention and enhancing the flow of the lyrical content, they equally play a crucial role in creating memorable lyrics, and this seems to be one of the songwriter's objectives. This corroborates with the views of Lea, Rapp, Elfenbein, Mitchel and Romine (2008) who indicate that besides their potential effect on aesthetic experience, rhymes are believed to influence people's ability to recall and comprehend words. By ending the song with rhymes that evolve around altering the traditional norm of restrictive emotionality, the readers and listeners are faced with a recurring message that cannot be easily ignored or downscaled. It is through constant engagement, awareness creation and emphasis that ideologies are constructed, reconstructed and indeed perpetuated. Therefore, the literary elements employed in these lyrics are ideal and engaged for the purpose of modulating certain ideological standpoints.

Conclusion

This article sought to explore and analyse the employment of literary elements in the lyrics of Abel Chungu Musuka's song *Mwamuna Samalila* and investigate the representations of traditional masculinity ideologies and analyse the literary elements to reflect, contest and modulate traditional masculinity ideologies. Vividly, the following literary elements were employed by the writer: rhymes, imagery, repetition, narration, metaphors and symbolism. In terms of traditional masculinity ideologies, representations of the following were manifest: restrictive emotionality, self-reliance, toughness, the pursuit of success and achievements due to expectations, taking responsibility and showing leadership.

We note that emphasis was placed on reflecting and altering the traditional masculine norm, which discourages emotional expressivity among men as evidenced in the first stanza, the chorus and the last four lines. The songwriter's focus and emphasis are justifiable in view of the complexity and numerous negative ramifications of restrictive emotionality. Research contends and shows that men's restrictive emotionality can result in the following: shyness, toughness, and difficulties with relationship intimacy, marital dissatisfaction, anxiety, patterns of depressive symptoms, and a negative view of seeking help, intra/interpersonal problems, and unawareness of one's feelings, socialised preference not to share one's feelings, negative attitudes and even higher risks for suicide.

It is worth noting and pointing out that negative or dysfunctional traditional masculinity ideologies cannot be easily altered and downscaled. However, through individual and communal efforts, there is a possibility of altering some negative traditional masculinity norms. This reconstruction requires resilience, and it ought to be done through the socialisation process from which these dysfunctional ideologies are constructed.

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INTERMINABLE VIRGINS IN A RUSTING COUNTRY? THE PORTRAYAL OF THE COVID-19 PERIOD IN THE SONGS *WE WILL DANCE AGAIN* BY MATTHEW TEMBO AND *DZUWA* BY SLAP DEE

Gankhanani Moffat Moyo and Bether Mwale Moyo
University of Zambia

Abstract

This article examined two songs: We Will Dance Again by Matthew Tembo and Dzuwa by Slap Dee to explain the experience of Zambians to COVID-19. Through the theory of the conceptual metaphor, the study examined the metaphorical nature of the songs and identified a reliance on the symbolic role of the sun and how the sun is both a subject of God and a god itself. The study shows that while both songs rely on the metaphor to share hope and despair during COVID-19, We Will Dance Again has a positive futuristic outlook, while Dzuwa is more resigned to the situation.

Keywords: Conceptual Metaphor, Poetry, COVID-19, Quarantine, Song, Music

Introduction

Poetry deals with man's deepest concerns. Issues that affect man and contribute to his daily life are constantly explored through poetry. This is because poetry uses compressed language and phraseology to express feelings of joy, love, anger, hurt and suffering (Mtonga, 2008). This article is concerned with the response to the COVID-19 pandemic in two songs namely; *We Will Dance Again* by Matthew Tembo *and Dzuwa* by Slap Dee which are considered poetry. The thrust of the discussion is on how metaphorical language has been used by the musicians to express their fears and expectations, and to explore ways of looking forward despite challenges faced during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Fully aware that poetry addresses key issues, it is necessary to point out, as Mtonga (2008) has argued above, that there is special usage of language in poetry. The use of compressed language achieved through the metaphor, simile, personification, the conceit and apostrophe among others is the bedrock of poetry. These figures of speech are central to imagery in poetry. They play the role of the symbol as they not only illuminate the issues that concern the subjects but also extend the meaning of the text. It is important to also note that these symbols operate at various and mostly, private level even if in certain cases, they can be public. For this reason, this article considers how figurative language plays a symbolic role in poetry in general and the poetry of COVID-19 in particular.

Through semiotics, it becomes apparent that generally, all language is a symbol. This emanates from the fact that a symbol is something that represents another on a different level. Language operates in a similar fashion as all words are symbols of actions, concepts, objects and

people among others. This article is guided by the theory of the conceptual metaphor to examine the language of two selected Zambian songs that deal with despair associated with COVID-19. The article will discuss the use of the metaphor before exploring the situational context of the songs considering that they are associated with COVID-19. Finally, the use of the metaphor in '*We Will Dance Again*' by Mathew Tembo and '*Dzuwa*' by Slap Dee will be examined and a conclusion will be drawn based on the discussion.

The Conceptual Metaphor

Metaphors are used in discourses at many levels including public discourse (Musolff, 2016). The metaphor is used in many instances and its prominence in public discourses and literacy texts is evident. This makes it one of the most important rhetorical devices (Musolff, 2012). It is probably coming from this importance of the metaphor as a rhetorical device that the theory of the conceptual metaphor developed. The theory suggests that one's understanding of the world is highly shaped through their constant interaction with metaphors. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) note that even though the metaphor is a poetic element and primarily a language-based product, its actualisation permeates human experience at many different levels and is realised in almost all daily activities. The authors note that the principle of the metaphor is enabling the subject to experience or understand one kind of thing or even experience from the perspective of experience of another. The metaphor, therefore, expands one's view of the world as it transcends direct experience and reinforces one's interaction with the world. Understanding of complex terms or concepts is best done by metaphorising them into basic and easy to understand phenomena (Forceville and Paling, 2018).

Vervaeke and Kennedy (1996) note that most of our key ideas and interpretations about life are guided by metaphors. From our understanding of politics through imagination itself to morality and sex, among others, everything is shared through metaphors. Consequently, one would not understand any of these concepts without an understanding of the metaphors associated with them. This further shows that the metaphor occupies a very large part of our psyche and there is need to pay particular attention to how it is created, employed, received and ultimately, how it affects the whole corpus of communication in order for communication to be better understood.

As much as it is proposed above that metaphors should be examined in relation to how they affect the communication process for the effectiveness of communication, it is important to note that metaphors, in fact, shape the behaviour of human beings. According to Ritchie (2003), metaphors influence how people think in two ways: firstly, if an idea at hand is shrouded in certain metaphors, it is difficult to discuss a contrary idea without creating new metaphors, and, secondly, the understanding of any concept that has metaphorical underpinnings requires that the metaphor be interpreted in relation to the context. As a result, one would be able to choose one metaphor over the other such as 'Life is a Journey as opposed to Life is a Disaster'. For example, while discussing death at sea, one would say that water is death, while in another context water will be equated to life. Metaphors are, in this case, highly shaped by the context, while they also shape the

recipient of the metaphor to understand that the context is key to not only appreciating but also creating new metaphors.

It is also important to note that just as metaphors seem to transcend borders in terms of how they are appreciated as both a language and conceptual product, some specific metaphors even transcend culture in how they are interpreted. Specific metaphors that use words such as head, leader, see or understanding among others, can also be interpreted across cultures to mean the same thing. This is because, although cultures are generally different, human bodies are similar.

Culture does not change biological creation; instead, it responds to biological rules. Therefore, 'the leg of the table' will be understood by everyone just as 'the head of the truck' or 'the head of the school' will be universally understood (Vervaeke and Kennedy, 2004). This can further be qualified by the concept of the collective unconscious, which leads to archetypes. Jung argues that man has inherited various aspects of his reality from his ancestors that he employs in a specifically human manner. This inherited information is what appears in all human spheres and is found operating in a similar manner in societies that have not had contact before. It is this similarity that Jung calls the collective unconscious (Sieff, 2019). The collective unconscious further explains the existence of universal metaphors, which come from society's collective response to reality through inheritance of human experiences.

As it was pointed out at the beginning, the metaphor is a poetic element and a language product. This means that it has a special place in linguistics and literature. Students of literature encounter metaphors in the literary works as much as students of language will encounter them in social interactions and conversational spaces. However, the conceptual metaphor in the literary works shows how the author understands the world. It also shows the style employed by an author and ultimately, shows how an author thinks. It shows the features of an author's thought as exhibited in the metaphors selected in the said works (Qodirova, 2022).

Based on the above discussion, it can be argued that the conceptual metaphor shows that the metaphor is as important in people's daily lives as it is important in language and literary use. It shows that the thinking process, interpretation of the world and actions taken by individuals are highly influenced by the metaphors in their environment.

The Metaphor in Music and COVID-19

Just as music is an aspect of life like any other which this study has already argued to be a subject of the metaphor, it should be noted from the onset that music can be studied as a literary work by focusing on the lyrics. Finnegan (1977) has pointed out that poetry occurs in sung form in many instances. She has also shown that oral poetry takes various forms that include: the epic, the ballad, the panegyric ode and the lyric. Since these poems are presented in song form, it follows that sung forms can also be examined as poems. For example, Khondowe (2020) carried out a literary study of *Cinamwali* songs. Similarly, Moyo (2014) has done studies on a song, JOB's *Hallelujah* and has made reference to a song in a study of poetry (Moyo, 2014). The use of songs as literary elements in the studies listed above has led to this study that is specifically on songs. The current study, therefore, argues that songs qualify to be regarded as literary texts because the above studies

have regarded them as such. Khondowe (2020) has gone further to argue that the study of songs as literary text should not be limited to the lyrics but should go further to include associated performance elements such as intonation, actions and gestures among others as all these contribute to the interpretation and understanding of the songs. This study agrees with Khondowe's argument that literature should not be restricted to language alone but to all elements including objects that contribute to the understanding of the language at hand. The function of the song, should, therefore, be seen to be broad. For instance, Finnegan (2012) makes reference to the Nyattiti singer and points out that his function and the function of his art includes to lament, to praise, to recount personal experiences, to exalt and to comment on current affairs. This implies that poetry has the function that goes beyond artistic satisfaction but also social response. This study will pay attention to studies that have discussed the metaphor in music.

Through the use of the metaphor, musicians have been able to explore and show sickness. As Wood (2011) highlights, music shows sickness through the use of the metaphor or metaphorical language. This indicates that to show a sick situation, musicians attempt to borrow from the forcefulness of metaphorical language and this force creates a vivid imagery of the situation. It is easy to use music to deal with these dire situations because, as Zbikowski (2008) argues, music plays a key role of manipulating emotions of others. Therefore, when one wants to manipulate people's emotions, it is important to use music. This is in line with Mtonga's (2008) argument that poetry expresses emotions and other deep concerns that man has. It is at this point that one realises the key relationship between poetry and music that they both appeal to emotion and attempt to affect the emotion of the audience. This quality of poetry and music, a combination seen in the song, is central to dealing with COVID-19, which is a serious issue.

The COVID-19 situation had a fundamental impact on the lives of people world over. For instance, schools closed, and businesses wound up which led to anxiety, depression and post-traumatic stress disorders (Asante et al., 2020; Nyashanu et al., 2020; Kim et al., n.d.; and Semo and Frissa, 2020). These changes that took place meant a state of depression in society. Therefore, that music came in to deal with the state of depression which, according to Forceville and Paling (2018), requires metaphors to express. The metaphors, it has already been observed, are expressed in everyday speech but also heavily in poetry and music. Bolstein notes that music is the craft that plays the role of rescue of a people as it helps individuals get relief from distress. It can be argued in this case, that music is intended to contribute to shaping people's emotions to make their lives better by creating for them a stress-free environment when they interact with the music. Music is meant to create for people a time when they can enjoy their lives. When music does not do this or does the opposite, it fails on its social role of helping society heal, especially in times of distress. Based on this, it can be argued that dirges comfort the bereaved, epics encourage patriotism, and lyrics share latest occurrences and opinions.

Metaphorical Language in COVID-19 Zambian Songs

The songs in this section have been selected because they are associated with the COVID-19 situation. The songs have a COVID-19 milieu and even without the explicit mention of the name

COVID-19, they are identified as discussing the issue. Before the songs were chosen, a post was shared through social media asking the general public to lead the authors to songs on COVID-19. The two songs under discussion were identified ultimately. Before the songs were finally settled for, the authors searched for other Zambian songs dealing with the subject but were unable to find any. It was at this point that it was resolved that the two songs discussed below would be the subject texts for this study.

Metaphorical Language in 'We Will Dance Again' by Mathew Tembo

Before going into the discussion, lyrics of the song are provided below to enable the reader to follow the discussion.

Ndakumbuka nthawi zakale ine eh eh (I have remembered past times)
Oh, nthawi zakale (oh, past times)
Timapita ucheza kokondeka athu (We used to visit our loved ones)
Oh, nthawi zakale (oh, past times)
Ukhala pamodzi (Living together)
Udyela pamodzi, sangalala (Eating together, having fun)
Nthawi zakale (Past times)

Lero akuti sizitheka izi (Nowadays, they say that this is not possible)

Panja apo pali chilombo (Out there, there's a beast)
Panja apo pali chilombo (Out there, there's a beast)
Lero tonse ndise anamwali (Today, we are all virgins in seclusion)
Kungokhala munyumba basi (Staying indoors only)

I meditate
I pray
I meditate
I pray
When, when, when, will I see you again
Kuli chilombo (There's a beast)
'Said I pray, pray, pray
You and I, will have a little dance again

Big cloud descending over we
Kuli chilombo (There's a beast)

Abale ndi anzanga naasowa (I miss my family and friends)
Ine kuno kumawa latuluka dzuwa (Here in the east, the sun has risen)
Zinzi uko kumpoto lalowa dzuwa (There in the West where Zinzi is, the sun has set)
I meditate
I pray
I meditate
I pray

When, when, when, will I see you again
Kuli chilombo (There's a beast)
'Said I pray, pray, pray

You and I, will have a little dance again
You and I, will have a little dance again

When, when, when, will I see you again
Kuli chilombo (There's a beast)
'Said I pray, pray, pray
You and I will have a little dance again
We will dance again

We Will Dance Again starts with creating a stark contrast between the past and the present. The speaker states that when he recalls the past, he is reminded of the times that families sat and ate together. This is evident when the speaker states:

Ndakumbuka nthawi zakale ine eh eh (I have remembered past times)
Oh, nthawi zakale (oh, past times)
Timapita ucheza kokondeka athu (We used to visit our loved ones)
Oh, nthawi zakale (oh, past times)
Ukhala pamodzi (Living together)
Udyela pamodzi, sangalala (Eating together, having fun)
Nthawi zakale (Past times)

The meal in African culture does not only symbolise nutritional value or merely filling the belly but also communal solidarity. The speaker in the song shows that meeting of families and friends was representative of a happy people; a merry people. For instance, one notices in *Things Fall Apart* (1959/1994) that having a feast together is not meant to save people from starvation but because it is good to commune together. He further argues that when people gather in the moonlit village, it is not because of the moon as everyone can see it in their compound. His argument is that people come together and eat together because it is good for family and friends to do so.

The case shown above suggests that eating is a symbol of communality as it shows that people are healthy and in contact with others. It shows that people have chosen to invite others whenever there is enjoyment because even if they had enjoyment, the enjoyment would be inadequate in the confines of one's own space. There is need for people to enjoy together. It can be suggested that *We Will Dance Again* and *Things Fall Apart* both strive to give the meaning of community to food. As observed earlier, in the past, according to *We Will Dance Again*, people visited each other, ate and made merry.

A contrast is created with the laying side by side of the past with the present, which is introduced with *lelo akuti sizitheka izi* (today, they say that this is not possible) in reference to visiting each other, living and eating together and making merry. And upon showing that the lifestyle of communality has been shattered, *We Will Dance Again* says that there is a beast outside.

Please note that *chilombo,* which refers to COVID-19 in this song, is translated as wild animal or a beast. The use of *chilombo* in reference to COVID-19 suggests that humanity is under siege by the beast. Human beings have locked themselves up in their homes for fear of being devoured by the beast.

Later, a world turned upside down is seen, as the song says that a big cloud is descending over the community. For instance, the construction of the verse itself is grammatically wrong: 'big cloud, descending over we.' There is no article at the beginning of the verse, and the verse ends with a subject pronoun as opposed to an object one. One would essentially expect the verse to be 'a big cloud is descending over us', but the speaker chooses to use 'big cloud descending over we' even when the 'we' does not have any special stylistic purposes such as rhyme, assonance or alliteration among others. This suggests that there is a deeper meaning of this construction. From what has been shown so far, it is possible to say that the use of such a construction is motivated by the world, including language, falling apart. It is a sign of the collapse of what was holding society together hence, the repeated line, 'will I see you again?' The line suggests not only loneliness but also despair.

At the same time, the big cloud descending over the community further suggests that the community has been blocked from access to the sun. What is interesting is that within the same stanza where the big cloud is descending on the community, the speaker states that the sun has risen in this part of the world, while in another part of the world, the sun has set. This image of the setting sun is very interesting because in the place where the sun has risen, it has been blocked by a big cloud, while in the other part of the world, the sun has set. The world, it appears at this point, is dark and there is no presence of the sun. This further means that the world is dark and signs of life are slim. This emphasises the despair observed above and further creates a horrifying experience when *kuli chilombo* (there is a beast) is heard every now and then. It is dark through and through and there is a beast outside. Therefore, no one can go out to interact with others; hence, the lyrics, 'when will I see you again?'

The image of the setting sun also shows split families in the sense that although, as it has been observed above, experiences are similar in different parts of the world, it is clear that families and friends have been separated. This is seen not only through the contrast between the past and present but also through mentioning a specific character.

Abale ndi anzanga naasowa (I miss my family and friends)
Ine kuno kumawa latuluka dzuwa (Here in the east, the sun has risen)
Zinzi uko kumpoto lalowa dzuwa (There in the West where Zinzi is, the sun has set)

Zinzi is Mathew Tembo's daughter. The speaker suggests that the world in which Zinzi lives is dark probably because of the absence of the father. Even if both are away from each other, it is sad for the speaker because the daughter is away from the father. The absence of the father in the daughter's life suggests that the daughter's life is in an undesirable state. It is because of this that further the absence of the father figure is also shared alongside the absence of the sun. The sun, the centre of the universe, with all its creative, regeneration and life-giving energies has

disappeared from the face of the earth and has plunged the earth and humanity in a cold and dark void leaving humanity at the lowest point that can ever be imagined.

Further, one sees the splitting of the father and daughter to symbolise the detachment between the older and younger generations. The old, that has desirable qualities, has been detached from the present. The young are left to fend for themselves, while the old cannot do anything to help them. The chasm or abyss between the generations, societies and lives leads to despair. The only thing that can easily be done at this point is pray for a better time. Through repeated focus on prayer, the speaker seems to expect better results:

I meditate
I pray

The speaker has gone further to suggest that everyone has become a virgin who has just come of age. This is based on the *cinamwali* culture of the Chewa people of Eastern Zambia. Here, when a girl comes of age, she is secluded for a specific period of time, a time when she is taught various life lessons before being released to meet the rest of the community as an adult member of society, (Chikuta et al., 2006). The song is also in Chewa and this shows that the Chewa worldview plays a major role in creating meaning in this song. The song, at this point, attempts to suggest that the experience that the world is going through is a passing phase and after some time, humanity will come out of the dark with energy to face the new world. Humanity will learn important lessons and the lessons will usher them into the world as a new people. As much as there is a beast outside, the people will come out with invaluable lessons and will become people.

It is possible, based on the above interpretation, to suggest that when human beings come out of the seclusion period, they will appreciate their humanity even better. The nostalgia that the song starts with is likely to be turned back into reality as the speaker continuously meditates and prays that humanity will come out and dance again. Therefore, just as the virgin in seclusion looks forward to coming out of seclusion and triumphantly dance with the community at graduation, humanity in *We Will Dance Again* will also dance again at the time when the world opens up. This further shows why the last lines of the song are:

You and I, will have little dance again
You and I will have a little dance again

The state of being virgins in seclusion is not going to last forever. While the song opens on a gloomy side, its ending shows a positive outlook on life even if that has not yet happened. The speaker seems to suggest that even if there is darkness throughout, it is hope that will keep people sane during the dark times and once the darkness is over, people will be happy that they went through that particular experience, which has made them better human beings.

Say I pray, pray, pray
You and I will have a little dance again
We will dance again

Metaphorical Language in 'Dzuwa' by Slap Dee

As was the case with the discussion on Mathew Tembo's We Will Dance Again, the discussion of Slap Dee's Dzuwa will be preceded by a presentation of the lyrics of the song.

Dzuwa (The sun)
Ambuye chotsani dzuwa (God, release the sun)
Dziko langenewa nguwe (The world has rusted)
Tazunzika kopanda dzuwa (We have suffered without the sun)
Oh oh dzuwa (oh, oh, the sun)
Ambuye tidalitseni ndi dzuwa (God, bless us with the sun)
Dziko lichita nga yangenewa ndi ululu (The world seems to have been poisoned)
Tiyamika mweo apo pampando (We praise you, up there on that seat)
Dzuwa, dzuwa, dzuwa (The sun, the sun, the sun)
Ambuye chotsani dzuwa (God, release the sun)
Dziko langenewa nguwe (The world has rusted)
Tazunzika kopanda dzuwa (We have suffered without the sun)
Oh oh dzuwa (oh, oh, the sun)
Ambuye tidalitseni ndi dzuwa (God, bless us with the sun)
Dziko lichita nga yangenewa ndi ululu (The world seems to have been poisoned)
Tiyamika mweo apo pampando (We praise you, up there on that seat)
Dzuwa, dzuwa, dzuwa (The sun, the sun, the sun)

Takana kubiliva ndise tili na minyama (We have refused to believe that we are the unlucky ones)
Navenzomveka mushe vinaleka nakuwama (All that used to be tasty lacks a pleasant taste)
Tinalakhwila ndani? (Who did we offend?)
Mutikambileko 'sorry' (Say 'sorry' on our behalf)
Mayeso yatikonkha bad (Trials have followed us badly)
Yizibika story (The whole story is known)
First yenze cholera (Initially, it was cholera)
Kwabwela load shedding (Then came load shedding)
Before na ma corona (Before COVID)
Tenze busy na ma gassing (We had gassing problems)
Tayambo payana tekha-tekha (We started killing each other)
It's so disgusting
Na ma busa (Even pastors)
Balema navo vama fasting (Are tired of fasting)
Kuhood kwanga ba guy bafuna che ka certain (In my neighbourhood, someone wants something)
Bavale che pamala naka nsima ndiye curtain (To fill the belly with nsima, that's a curtain)
Sibafuna na vambili umoyo che ni daliso (They don't want a lot; life only is a blessing)
Ambuye abwezepo nga mochila wamalinso (May the load give back like the tail of a lizard)
How did we get here?
Nalema kuzifunsa (I am tired of asking myself)
Kapena ni udalo sininasilize pa UNZA (Maybe I am dull as I did not complete my studies at UNZA)

Agogo bananiuza uzakula mwana chipuba (My grandparent told me that i would turn out a foolish child)
Vikakuvuta langa kumwamba upemphe zuba (When things becomes hard, look up and ask (for) the sun)

Dzuwa (The sun)
Ambuye chotsani dzuwa (God, release the sun)
Dziko langenewa nguwe (The world has rusted)
Tazunzika kopanda dzuwa (We have suffered without the sun)
Oh oh dzuwa (oh, oh, the sun)
Ambuye tidalitseni ndi dzuwa (God, bless us with the sun)
Dziko lichita nga yangenewa ndi ululu (The world seems to have been poisoned)
Tiyamika mweo apo pampando (We praise you, up there on that seat)
Dzuwa, dzuwa, dzuwa (The sun, the sun, the sun)

Nauka mutu uzunguluka (I woke up feeling like my heard is turning)
Monga nenze pa kampelwa (As though I was on a swing)
Pa FB Tayali akalumenyana na Mwewa (On Facebook, Tayali and Mwenya are still fighting)
Could it be that I'm stressing, I'm making a big fuss
I know that there's somebody looking for a face mask
Coz they die without a proper doctor and a nurse
Without the medication they'll end up in a hearse
Are we born with a gift or maybe blessed with a curse?
With the afterlife I'm certain you might end up in a church
Just not long ago nenzomvelela Seer 1 (Just not long ago I was listening to Seer 1)
Enze once a topic pathu na pa bondi panu (He was once a topic in my home and in yours)
Since when chimfine chinankhalapo big issue (Since when did a flu become as serious issue?)
Sambani kumanja, sanitise na ma tissue (Wash and wipe/sanitise your hands with tissue paper)
Now my all shows are cancelled
I'm living on my investments
Pray to God he saves my family and my best friends
Everything quarantined, house, money, car
Pray for Zambia, for the globe, for Africa

Dzuwa (The sun)
Ambuye chotsani dzuwa (God, release the sun)
Dziko langenewa nguwe (The world has rusted)
Tazunzika kopanda dzuwa (We have suffered without the sun)
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Tiyamika mweo apo pampando (We praise you, up there on that seat)
Dzuwa, dzuwa, dzuwa (The sun, the sun, the sun)

One key issue that comes out of 'Dzuwa' by Slap Dee is the chaos that ensues after the disappearance of the sun. The persona prays to God asking God to help by releasing the sun.

Similar to Mathew Tembo's *We Will Dance Again, Dzuwa* also starts with giving a background to the situation. One key difference between these two songs is that *We Will Dance Again* opens with a positive outlook on life while *Dzuwa* shows that there has been a continuous fall into darkness. For instance, *We Will Dance Again* talks about how the in the past people used to visit their loved ones. They would live together and eat together while also being merry. In *Dzuwa,* on the other hand, that even before COVID-19, there was cholera, which was followed by load-shedding before the gassing of people in various social spaces. This was, in a way, people killing each other as gassing led to people's deaths.

The situation finally escalates into COVID-19, which is represented by the absence of the sun. The power of the sun remains unquestionable considering that while *We Will Dance Again* makes considerable reference to it, *Dzuwa* is actually centred on the sun as *dzuwa* is the Chewa word for the sun. This song, in this case, suggests that one cannot speak of COVID-19 without reference to the sun. It further suggests that the COVID-19 situation is not any different from the absence of the sun. It can be argued that this emanates from the fact that COVID-19 led to quarantine, which meant most people were in enclosed spaces with little or no access to the sun. The sun, in this case, is a representation of the life force without which man has no life.
The song is also a prayer as it is addressed to the spiritual realm by addressing God. God is asked to make available the sun because man has suffered without the sun.

Ambuye chotsani dzuwa (God, release the sun)
Dziko langenewa nguwe (The world has rusted)
Tazunzika kopanda dzuwa (We have suffered without the sun)
Ambuye tidalitseni na dzuwa (God, bless us with the sun)

The fact that there is no presence of the sun explains why the sun has rusted. The explanation to this could be that there is a lot of moisture in the absence of the sun as the earth remains damp. This dampness has led to the rust suffered by the earth.

The call is made to God and the fact that the earth has rusted because of the absence of the sun, contributes to making the sun hold a special position in the life of the earth. It is possible that as much as the request for the sun has been made to God, one can easily see that there seems to be a small difference between the sun and God. The power of the sun and God seem to be the same. For instance, in one of the verses, the speaker says:

Vikakuvuta langa kumwamba upemphe zuba (When things go wrong, look up and pray to or ask for the sun).

The verse also shows that while one can ask for the sun from God, they can also ask for help from the sun. This equates the sun to God. It says that the sun is man's god. Whenever man has a problem, he should know that the sun will handle the problem. The absence of the sun has made the COVID-19 problem worse.

There has been more reference to the spiritual space by referring to how pastors cannot continue with fasting as they have had too much of it. As it has been presented, one can suggest that prayer has gone unanswered for so long that it becomes unnecessary to continue praying without getting positive results. It can also be argued that the verse is making reference to the absence or meaninglessness of food. The absence of food suggests a form of fasting as it is noted that everything that was tasty is now tasteless: *Venzomveka munshe vinaleka nakuwama*. This verse may also refer to anything that was acceptable is no longer acceptable. The word *kumveka* can refer to the senses of taste and touch or even smell *sivimveka kununkha*. It can also refer to knowing, hearing or understanding. The choice of the word *kumveka*, in this case, stretches the meaning of the verse and ultimately, allows every listener to assign their own meaning to the song.

With the view that the sun is key to life, the persona ultimately shows that the presence of sickness and absence of medicine is death.

Coz they die
Without a doctor and a nurse
Without the medication, they will end up in a hearse

The verses above aim at showing that there is need for healing for the current situation without which there will ultimately be death. Since the title and subject of the song is *dzuwa*, it follows that the sun is the main form of healing. The sun, therefore, in this song, represents the doctor, the nurse and medication. Without any of these, there is sudden death. This is the reason that the word *dzuwa* has been mentioned repeatedly in the song. The sun, therefore, is life itself in this song and attacked by COVID-19. This song also shows high levels of despair among the people as the rusting country is a clear sign of a failed and dying country and planet too.

Conclusion

The COVID-19 situation ravaged the earth and led to widespread depression as can be noted from the earlier studies referred to in this article. Mental health challenges followed many during the period and artists, particularly musicians, turned to music to address the situation. Both *We Will Dance Again* and *Dzuwa* show signs of despair in the community. The songs make an appeal to God to change the situation. Both songs show that life has been compromised by the situation.

While *We Will Dance Again* suggests that there is light at the end of the tunnel, *Dzuwa* merely ends at the point of praying without showing any sign of hope. *Dzuwa* shows a community that cannot go beyond despair and that the sun should respond, or everything will be obliterated as the absence of the sun has reached the ultimate core of life by leading to the country to rust. While

We Will Dance Again suggests that people will not be virgins forever as there is still hope, *Dzuwa* suggests that the rust that the country is facing is not likely to be reversed. It appears that the prayer in *Dzuwa* is merely meant for the persona to be said to have taken some action than merely watching the situation deteriorate without doing anything. *We Will Dance Again* says, 'I pray you and I will have a little dance again', while *Dzuwa* says, *tazunzika kopanda dzuwa*. The two views can be said to be representative of the Zambian communities. There are those who believed that the situation would normalise, while others merely prayed and waited for nature to take its course. This shows that as people died, some thought that it was a natural course and some would die, while others would live. It also means that there are those who believed that one day, the situation would change for the better.

Most importantly, both songs try to use the metaphor to represent their worlds. In both songs, the world has been centered on the energy of the sun, giving a god-like power to the sun. This suggests that the position of the sun in the universe is central to all living creatures. Without the sun, man dies, and the earth is obliterated. It further means that the sun determines the progression of all life. With the sun fully available in man's life, it is unlikely that COVID-19 would have this much impact. The sun, therefore, has a special power to answer man's prayers, including that of making the sun itself available and the same sun that is being made available dealing with man's problems and, ultimately, restoring man's life to the desired level.

Both songs have used the metaphor to interpret their situations, which suggests that there is a limited understanding of the situation. Because the understanding is limited, the best way to share it is using the metaphor as this will transport the deepest concerns of the community and allow others to understand. This is because the language of images transcends all languages and, therefore, becomes a universal language. Poetry is the universal language in this case.

This analysis has shown that there was disruption in society during the COVID-19 period and man was unable to face the situation without making reference to 'higher' powers hence, the prayer that came through the songs. The songs speak for both the affected and the afflicted and, therefore, also play the role of medium to coping with the situation. The ability to share the pain and also to share the hope is ultimately what everyone looked forward to. The songs used in this case became a path to the acceptance of the situation and also a path to locating the future. The songs helped both the artists and listeners to meet at the emotional as opposed to the scientific level to comfort each other and also give strength and hope to each other about a better tomorrow.

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A SOCIO-STYLISTIC ANALYSIS OF EUPHEMISTIC EXPRESSIONS AND SYMBOLISM IN THE DIRGES OF THE PEOPLE OF LUAPULA PROVINCE

Eunice Mukonde, Prisca Chikuta and Bwalya Lombe Musonda
University of Zambia

Abstract

Among the people of Luapula Province (North-eastern Zambia) the life of a deceased relative is eulogised and celebrated through song and dance. These songs are dirges. Dirges are not only lyrical but also poetic in form. They are woven from the ethnic group's life experiences on various subjects and themes demonstrating the creative and manipulative nature of language. Of importance, is the ability of dirges to serve as a medium for performers to prove that orality is a system through which culture can be transmitted. Dirges are composed and performed orally at funerals. This article focused on exploring the perception of death among the people of Luapula Province through dirges, also known as icimbo camalilo, which are big songs performed at funerals. A socio-stylistic approach was used to analyse the euphemistic expressions and symbolism utilised in dirges to honour the deceased. The findings suggest that the dirges sung in Luapula Province are characterised by the deployment of euphemisms and symbols that are reflective of the region's way of life. The stylistic qualities in these dirges are based on and drawn from the local context, expressing the anguish of loss, death, the grave, and the significance of the deceased.

Keywords: Dirges, Dance, Culture, Socio-Stylistics, Euphemism, Symbolism, Orality

Introduction

This article delves into the perception of death within the cultural context of Luapula Province, utilising dirges, commonly referred to as *icimbo camalilo*. The focus of this study was to examine the expressions and proclamations utilised within selected dirges to pay tribute to the deceased. Adopting a socio-stylistic framework, the discussion explored the euphemisms and symbols deployed during the performance of dirges to convey the intended message.

A dirge is a verbal performance in the oral tradition of Luapula Province. The province is endowed with several ethnic groups who speak dialects of Bemba (Kashoki, 1978; Marten & Kula, 2008; Mukonde, 2009; Mambwe, 2014; Simungala & Jimaima, 2021). The ethnic groups include the Ngumbo of Samfya, the Unga of Lunga, the Aushi of Mansa, the Luunda of Mwansabombwe and the Chishinga of Kawambwa and Mwense. Each ethnic group can be identified with a tempo of singing *icimbo camalilo.* Some perform it at a slower pace than the others. This difference, however, can only be observed by those who are well versed in singing dirges. Dirges are woven from the ethnic group's life experiences on various subjects and themes. They are a demonstration of the manipulative and creative nature of human language. To that end, this study will explore

how death is perceived through euphemisms and symbolism employed in traditional funeral songs sung by the people of Luapula Province.

Contextualising the Dirges Sung by People of Luapula Province

Death is an enigma that remains largely inexplicable, befalling all members of humanity indiscriminately. In response to its occurrence, individuals, being inherently social creatures, converge to mourn and pay tribute to the deceased. In Luapula Province, as is the case in numerous African cultures, grieving is not confined to wailing or weeping alone, but extends to the expression of sorrow through song. These musical renditions, performed during solemn social gatherings, are commonly referred to as dirges. A dirge, by definition, is a song or poem that serves to mourn or lament the loss of a deceased relative, typically performed at their funeral as a means of honouring their memory. According to Abrams (2005: 77), a dirge is 'a versified expression of grief on the occasion of a particular person's death.' In the same vein, Akporobaro (2001:66) defines funeral dirge as 'a highly stylistic form of expression that is governed by specific poetic recitative conventions used to express the feelings of the narrators in a determinate form and performance procedure.' Abrams (2012:183) also adds that dirges are 'solemn melancholy, and mournful songs or poems expressing mourning or grief … in commemoration of the dead.' Dirges are used to express grief, sadness and loss among other feelings. Ohwovoriele (2010:445) confirms that dirges are 'songs, poems or dances performed on the death or during the funeral of someone with societal recognition.' In Luapula Province, dirges are sung during the funeral of a woman, man, chief or child. However, they are not sung when an infant who is a few years old dies.

Dirges are characterised by their poetic lyrics and the use of call and response singing techniques. They are composed and woven around the livelihood of the Luapula people, which is mainly fishing and cultivation. In Luapula Province, dirges are mainly sung by elderly women. In recent years, it has been observed that younger women participate in the performances. The art of singing dirges is learned, and it is passed on from generation to generation. The learning for women begins when they are younger. The responsibility of teaching young women the art of performing funeral songs is culturally carried out by paternal aunties. Cultural norms guide the manner in which mourning is done. Elderly women take the lead in performing *icimbo*, one at a time. The singer is related to the deceased either by blood or clan and she often stands up gird in a wrapper around the waist called *icikwembe* and a head tie *icitambala*, while the rest of the women seat on the floor or ground. As she sings, she uses gestures that go along with the words in her song and points at the coffin of the deceased. The performer of the dirge gives a biography of the deceased in a polite way, and connects that information to the deceased clan's history, and to those relatives who have died. As the performer sings, the entire group hums along rhythmically. The recitals done during funerals usually invoke emotions of sorrow and tears of those in attendance. The context in which funeral songs are sung demands that the narrators use polite terms as they express themselves and console other mourners of the family. Culture demands the avoidance of speaking ill of the dead as it is believed that people do not cease to exist when they die but transition to a life in a spiritual realm and are able to monitor the living. For the people of Luapula, like the

Abanyole of Kenya, death is an opening to another life not the end (Alembi, 2008). Therefore, mourning is viewed as a way of linking the past to the present, the dead to the living (Nketia, 1969). Dirges often feature lyrics of poetic nature that employ euphemisms and symbols to express the pain of loss, console the bereaved family and honour the deceased.

The dirges sung are characterised by the use of figurative language, and one of such is the use of euphemisms. Euphemisms are words or phrases that are used to replace harsh, offensive, or unpleasant words or expressions. They are often used in situations where a more direct or blunt way of expressing something may be considered impolite, insensitive, or inappropriate. They serve as a veil, and they substitute these expressions and words with more pleasant, less shocking ones according to necessity (Maoncha and Ndambuki, 2017). Yildz (2021:3) argues that 'euphemisms are not fixed in language; they contain variables.' Variables include the speaker's characteristics and the context of use. Characteristics that may be attributed to the speaker can be based on two aspects. These are psychological and sociological. Euphemisms may vary according to the language of the speakers. For example, in the performance of dirges of the people of Luapula Province, euphemisms are more likely to be used to refer to death and other aspects related to it than in ordinary language uses. From a sociological perspective, euphemisms are context bound and culturally dependent. The context and people's culture dictate which taboo words must be avoided and the euphemisms to use in a particular situation. For example, in English, the expression, 'He died' is more likely to be replaced with 'He passed away,' 'He is gone' and 'We lost him'. The people of Luapula Province also have expressions they use to refer to words that they find uncomfortable to express publicly. Alternatively stated, euphemism is a way of expressing that which seeks to change the perception although the meaning does not change (Demirci, 2008). For instance, in most dialects of the Bemba language (M42) of Luapula Province, to refer to the dead, the word *abayaashi* is used, and this translates as 'those who have gone', *abantu baabeene* literally translated as 'those who belong to others' or *baalitangilako* translated 'they have gone ahead of us'. In the expressions, *abayaashi* and *baalitangilako,* death is likened to a journey. The present study examined the euphemisms as deployed in the dirges of Luapula Province.

In addition to euphemistic expressions, symbolism is another tool employed in the dirges of the people of Luapula. It includes the use of symbols, images or objects to represent emotions or ideas. A symbol can refer to sign, visual or verbal, which represents something else in a speech community. Symbols enhance meaning and add aesthetics to the work (Mehdi & Basil, 2022). In the case of dirges, it is also used to express cultural identity as the Bemba word *icaato* translated as boat or badge. A boat is an important possession for the people of Luapula because their livelihood centres on fishing. The use of the tangible symbol like a boat, creates or conveys ideas in a way that can easily be comprehended by the audience. In light of the above, the article investigated how symbolism was employed in the dirges under study.

The Socio-Stylistic Approach

The socio-stylistic approach emerged from the integration of two distinct disciplines: sociolinguistics and stylistics. Sociolinguistics is concerned with the interplay between language

and society, investigating the impact of social factors on language usage. It recognises that language functions not only as a tool for communication, but also as a means of constructing social identities and maintaining social relationships. Furthermore, sociolinguistics underscores the importance of situational context in shaping language use, acknowledging that language is influenced by a variety of factors such as the communicative purpose and social norms of the speech community.

On the other hand, stylistics is defined as 'the study of literary discourse from a linguistic orientation' (Widdowson, 1975). This definition shows that there is a relationship between linguistics and literary discourse since one helps in the analysis of the other. Literary discourse, in this case, are the dirges used for this study. In addition, Jimoh and Odetade (2016: 46) argue that 'stylistics involves the study of how linguistic features are used to achieve different meanings and purposes, especially in the line of creativity.' Therefore, stylistics enables a person to discover the language, its forms and functions (Simpson, 2004). Socio-stylistics critically analyses the language of social groups in various social contexts (Ashipu, 2010). In this light, the socio-stylistics approach will be applied to the analysis of the dirges by examining how the use of figures of speech such as euphemistic expressions and symbolism in the selected dirges of Luapula Province reflects and reinforces the social identities and cultural beliefs surrounding death, mourning and afterlife.

Methodology and Data Collection

The present study adopted an ethnographic approach to gain insight into the intricacies of language use in dirges (Denzin and Lincoln, 2017). Empirical data were gathered through interviews and observation of dirge performances in Kang'wena area, situated within Chief Chimese's chiefdom in Mansa District. The study focused on a purposive sampling of seven elderly women, aged between 58 and 67, who demonstrated expertise in singing *icimbo camalilo*. The choice of the elderly is supported by Maoncha's (2015) argument that this group is most familiar with traditional funeral practices, as younger generations may lack knowledge due to the waning popularity of these customs in favour of Christian practices. The dirges collected were transcribed and translated, constituting the primary data used in the present study's analysis.

Findings and Analysis of Dirges from a Socio-stylistic Approach

According to the socio-stylistic approach, the analysis of dirges involves examining the social and cultural context in which dirges are produced and performed and how they shape their stylistic features and meanings (Ashipu, 2010). One important aspect of the socio-stylistic analysis of dirges is the role of cultural traditions and beliefs. Like in many African cultures, the dirges sung in Luapula are deeply rooted in cultural practices and beliefs surrounding death and mourning. Another important aspect is the role language plays in the performance of dirges, how the singers use linguistic creativity to express grief as they mourn and praise within the confines of their culture. The language employed in dirges is inherently poetic, serving to express profound sorrow and venerate the deceased by the people of Luapula. This poeticism is demonstrated through the

use of figurative language, including euphemisms and symbolism, revealing the belief in the potency of language among the performers. Three Bemba dirges were analysed in this research study and the translation was provided for each dirge.

Dirge 1

Ukushiwa búlwani	Being an orphan is enmity
Mwe bantu eee!	You people!
Mwe bantu mayo!	You people!
Mayo ubwana bwanshiwa búlwani	Mother, being orphaned is enmity
Cooba ee eemayi wee!	Paddler O mother!
Cooba ninaani?	Who's the paddler?
Taata ee!	O Father!
Wanshilafye mwabeene taata!	You have left me in other people's homes
Mwabeene ifyo mushaba kuwamya	The way there is no doing good!
Wanaya ubwali wanaya ubwakuteka!	You cook nshima, you cook it raw
Cooba ee mwandi mayi ee!	Paddler…..mother!
Mwe baleeya,	You are going (ahead of me)
Abashe caato icishiike-shiike!	Who leaves the ferry carelessly?
Elyo washiikafye ukushaba balongo!	You just anchor where there are no relatives!
Mayi ee cooba ee!	O mother ee!
Nafikako tata!	O let me stop!

Euphemistic Expressions as Used in Dirge 1: Enmity, Abandonment and Blaming Death

The dirge is performed by someone who is mourning the head of the family, parent or husband. The dirge above utilises a series of euphemisms that offer a revealing glimpse into the cultural values and norms of the people of Luapula regarding death. The dirge highlights a number of concepts, including enmity, abandonment and journeying.

The performer begins by looking at death as one that brings about enmity. In the expression *Ukushiwa búlwani* 'being an orphan is enmity', the mourner conveys the idea that being an orphan can be a difficult or challenging experience, as it involves the loss of one or both parents and the need to navigate life without their guidance and support. In modern societies, because of the high cost of living, looking after orphans is, especially difficult. Relatives who take up that responsibility must be ready to bear the economic burden that comes with taking on the guardianship of orphans. In many circumstances, orphans are either left to fend for themselves or taken in and treated as servants. The use of the word 'enmity' suggests that this experience may be characterised by feelings of hostility, animosity, or adversity, perhaps stemming from the challenges faced by orphans as they try to find their place in the world. Enmity suggests a difficult or adversarial situation, and the metaphor of 'journeying through paddling', conveys the idea of navigating life's challenges through hard work and perseverance because the *cooba* 'paddler' or

leader who guides the family dies. In this case, the Paddler is a parent who takes care of the family. If there is no paddler, the children or parents feel abandoned.

The performer feels abandoned as she laments of how she has been left in other people's homes where she may not feel accepted as in the lines below:

Wanshilafye mwabeene taata!	You have left me in other people's homes
Mwabeene ifyo mushaba kuwamya	The way there is no doing good!
Wanaya ubwali wanaya ubwakuteka!	You cook nshima, you cook it raw

The expression *Wanshilafye* 'you have just left me' from the verb ukusha 'to leave' has been used to avoid mentioning the verb *ukufwa* 'to die'. This brings to the fore the concept of abandonment in that the bereaved feels left without the support of the parents, and this leaves the mourner to complain of how difficult it can be to please other people if you are not a biological child. No matter what good thing one does, it cannot be easy to please others as brought out in the last part of the third line above: *wanaya ubwakuteka!* 'You cook it raw!' The phrase is used to refer to erring every time you are asked to perform a task in the eyes of orphan's guardian. Parents are considered to be protectors, friends, and allies, among many things and without them, one is on their own. The rest of the community is an enemy to you as they can never see you as your parents can nor can they love you as your parents.

The performer also alludes to the concept of journey or a transition as one is ferried from life to death as in the lines below:

Mwe baleeya,	Those who are going (ahead of me)
Abashe caato icishiike-shiike!	*Who* have left a ferry (that carelessly) anchors anyhow (Who leaves the ferry carelessly?)
Elyo washiikafye ukushaba balongo!	You just anchor where there are no relatives!

The implication is that life is a journey, and everyone is in transit. Therefore, the dead are believed to have crossed over to the other side where everybody else must go. In this part of the dirge, *Mwe baleeya, '*Those who are going (ahead of me)', has been used by the performer to refer to those who have already died before her, in this context, the parent or husband, or pillar of the family. This is as viewed in other cultures like that of the Akan people (Baodi, 2013). Death causes pain and grief, it is true; but it also marks a hopeful transition from one abode to another of the same family and clan members. The expression *Abasha* …. 'those who leave …' has been used by the singer to avoid using the more direct word *abafwa* 'those who die'. The performer is noted to also complain about how unfair death is because it chooses to anchor on one without relatives. The mourner in this case feels all alone.

The final line of the dirge *Nafikako tata! '*O let me stop!' is particularly used to indicate the end of the dirge so that the next person can begin singing.

Symbolism as Used in Dirge 1

The phrase *búlwani* in this dirge is used metaphorically to mean 'evil'. On the surface, the phrase *búlwani*, means 'It is enmity'. In the context of the dirge, however, it symbolises something that should be hated and feared such as an animal that preys on humans (*Iciswango*). The narrator laments that being orphaned turns one into an evil being who cannot do any good at all, '*Mwabeene ifyo mushaba kuwamya, Wanaya ubwali wanaya ubwakuteka!*' [In other people's homes, the way there is no doing good! You cook nshima, you cook it raw.] Anything you do is wrong because you are an object that arouses hatred.

On the surface, the word *Cooba* (from ukooba – to paddle) refers to a paddler of a dugout canoe. By extension, it also refers to a coxswain of a power boat, ferry or ship. In this dirge, the word symbolises the forces that direct the fate of humans; the hand of fate. Thus, the cry:

Cooba ee eemayi wee!	Paddler ee o mother!
Cooba ninaani?	Who is the paddler?
Taata ee!	O father!
Wanshilafye mwabeene taata!	You have just left me in the other people's home!

The phrase *mwabeene* [other people's home] should be understood to mean 'in a stranger's home' or 'foreign land'. The narrator complains of having been left in a foreign land not because the land is indeed foreign, but, because those who are supposed to be relatives behave like strangers. The once upon-a-time loving uncles and aunties now treat the narrator with both disdain and aversion.

We should not confuse the subject of the verses above just because the lamentation '… *Wanshilafye mwabeene taata!'* [You have just left me in other people's home father!], comes immediately after *taata* and ends with the same word. The subject is *cooba*. In this context, *taata* is just an interjection to the preceding verse as well as the end of the current verse. It is *cooba* who has abandoned the narrator in a strange land. By implication, human fate is likened to a dugout canoe that can only go and anchor where the paddler wants it to. The implied dugout canoe here, is a symbol of human fate. It is driven by mysterious forces we can neither see nor know. All we know is each person's fate has a coxswain. No wonder the narrator asks, 'Who is the paddler?' The narrator complains to those who have gone before [ancestral spirits] for leaving a ferry that anchors anyhow. 'How can you leave us such fate!' The narrator seems to exclaim. This is a rhetorical question that indicates human vulnerability at the hand of fate, for the departed were humans who could do nothing about their fate too. The ancestors were passengers on the ferry of fate but have since disembarked. Fate deals with us as it wills; without worrying about circumstances around us.

Cooba ee ee ee mwandi mayi ee!	Paddler ee ee ee o mother ee!
Mwe baleeya,	You who are going (ahead of me),
Abashe caato icishiike-shiike,	Who have left a ferry (that carelessly) anchors anyhow,

Elyo washiikafye ukushaba balongo!	You just anchor where there are no relatives!

Dirge 2

Alandakawila nafwa neemuneenu	I mourn me your friend
Coobe ee	Paddler ee
Abaana bakwa paapi bampaapike	Children of my younger sibling who were put on my back
Mwebantu kakaana no kusamino umuntu	You people, he has refused to lean on someone
Nalilufyafye neemintakalata kufwaya	I have lost what can't be found
Ndila nootupoopo napulumwine	I even mourn the still born babies I have had
Maayo pakushalafye namabuuku batyana bandi	I have just remained with books my helpers
Nee naKabwe nshilaala batyana bandi nafwae cobayo	Me mother of Kabwe I don't sleep my helpers
Eco njimbila neecimbo cabupuba	That's why I sing the foolish song
Nkafwala kwisa icitenge cakubalaala chitenge(wrapper)	Where will I get the floral
Neemuneenu coba ng'ombe	Me your friend paddler of cows
Kabili natangishako abakunshiika	I have let those who should bury me go before me
Balya abakumbashilako imbokoshi coba ee	Those who should make a coffin for me
Abakunjikalila paconto camalilo	Who will sit around the fire during my funeral
Ebo naatangishako	Those I have let go before me
Pabaana bakwa paapi nshilaala neemulanda nee	Over the children of my younger sibling I the grieved one does not sleep
Econjimbile cimbo cacisela nafwa ee cooba oo	That's why I sing the game song
Nabaataata nshikwete mwisamba lya caalo	And a father I don't have on earth
Nabaamayo beese bampandaule bantwale kwa Lesa	And my mother let her come and cut me to pieces and take me to God
Nabaayaama bampandaule	And my uncle let him cut me to pieces
Efilila abashala	That is how those who remain weep

Euphemistic Expressions Used in Dirge 2: Family Relationships, Care and Memories

The mourner's grief is expressed through a poignant depiction of the irretrievable loss of unique and incomparable relationships as the mourner states that *Nalilufyafye neemintakalata kufwaya* 'I have lost what can't be found'. The mourner's lamentation emphasises the irreplaceable bonds that exist between siblings, mother and child, and other family members, which cannot be replicated. The mournful tone reveals the bitter anguish of the mourner as she laments the loss of those who cannot be found, pointing to the significance of the familial relationships she has lost.

The use of the word *buuku* 'book' in this context, symbolises the significance of preserving memories of the departed. It highlights the importance of cherishing the memories and experiences shared with loved ones. Although the memories are not physically recorded, they are deeply ingrained within an individual's mind and serve as a source of comfort and solace during times of loss and grief.

Maayo pakushalafye namabuuku batyana bandi I have just remained with books my helper

When a loved one dies, what remains for a long time are memories. The line above shows that the mourner is aware of the presence of close friends among the mourners. The use of the term 'helpers' performs a role of completing the expression as well as acknowledging to the friends and fellow mourners the support the bereaved receive during the period of mourning, including when the dirges are sung. *Umutyana* is a helper. He helps the paddler of a boat. His main duty is to ensure that water does not fill the canoe or boat by removing it.

Moreover, the concept of care is explored extensively in Dirge 2, as evidenced by the mourner's lamentation over her inability to carry her deceased sibling on her back. The mourner's expression of distress over the loss of her loved ones underscores the profound sense of grief experienced in death and the crucial role of communal and familial support in coping with loss. At the beginning of the song, the performer sings about how she will not be able to carry her sibling's children on her back in the following line:

Abaana bakwa paapi bampaapike	Children of my younger sibling who were put on my back
Mwebantu kakaana no kusamino umuntu	You people, he has refused to lean on someone

The two lines above depict what happens in the Zambian culture where an older sibling is expected to help to take care of the siblings' children. The older sibling, in this case, is female. The younger sisters' children look up to her as a mother and the younger brothers' children as the female father figure; a very important role in the extended family arrangement. From a tender age, the female child is expected to help the mother by tending younger siblings; putting them on her back so that the mother can attend to other chores. So, here, the mourner, despite not being young anymore, uses such a reference to show the aspect of care. She laments about how the younger sibling's child has refused to lean on someone. When a child is put on the back, they lean on that person. In

the dirge, 'the child refuses to lean on anyone' is used to avoid saying the child has died. Care is also explored in the use of a *chitenge* 'wrapper'. A Zambian woman values a *chitenge* 'wrapper' and an elderly one who receives one from a sibling's child is grateful and feels taken care of materially.

The notion of care is further explored as the mourner wonders who will make funeral arrangements when she dies as those who are supposed to do that have died before her.

Kabili natangishako abakunshiika	I have let those who should bury me go before me
Balya abakumbashilako imbokoshi coba ee	Those who should make a coffin for me
Abakunjikalila paconto camalilo	Who will sit around the fire during my funeral
Ebo naatangishako	Those I have let go before me

And interestingly so, the performer sings about what happens during a funeral. In the African culture, usually, when someone dies, relatives, neighbours, friends and colleagues go to the house of mourning and in the evenings, sit around a fire to keep themselves warm. This is usually done by the men as they are the ones who sleep outside the funeral home, while the women sleep on the floor inside the house. So, the mourner laments about who will do so. The younger siblings' children, in this case, are male and they are the ones who make all the funeral arrangements in terms of buying the coffin. Therefore, she wonders who will do this. Moreover, the mourner feels left alone with no younger sibling or child to bury them as put in the clause *Kabili natangishako abakunshiika* 'I have let those who should bury me go before me'. In the African culture, it is believed that younger siblings and children are supposed to bury their parents or their elders and not the other way round. The performer uses the word lost to refer to death. And since the performer feels abandoned, she wishes for death as she suggests that she should be cut into pieces by using the word *bampandaule*. This seems like a gruesome death because the pain felt is excruciatingly painful.

Symbolism as Used in Dirge 2

In this dirge, we only have *cooba* symbolising the director of human fate.

Dirge 3

*Yoyoyo mwane (*times 4)*!*	Yoyoyo honourable one
Maayo ubwana bwanshiwa takwaba Mukulu.	O mother! Being orphaned there is no adult
Yoyoyo mwane (times 2)*!*	Yoyoyo honourable one!
Naani uushakoma akalonde kucuulu?	Who has not dug with a small hoe on an anthill?
Yoyoyo mwane (time 2)*!*	
Imputo 'bwingi shakubyalamo kalundwe!	Many are the ridges for planting cassava

Yoyoyo mwane!	Yoyoyo honourable one
Emo twabyala baamaayo baana Nkanda!	There have we planted my mother, Mother of Nkanda!
Yoyoyo mwane!	Yoyoyo honourable one
Twabyalamo na baataata ba Chipulu.	We have planted even my father, Mr. Chipulu
Yoyoyo mwane!	Yoyoyo honourable one
Maayo baatusha pacaabu cakulooleela.	They have left us at the harbour of waiting
Yoyoyo mwane!	
Maayo kamayo kaaya kung'anda yabule ciseko.	O mother! She has gone to the house without a door
Yoyoyo mwane.	
Basha bakobaika abaana kumyembe.	They have left the children hanging from mango trees
Yoyoyo mwane!	Yoyoyo honourable one!
Kapeepa fwaka wabulo mulilo.	He has smoked the unlit cigarette (without fire)
Yoyoyo mwane!	Yoyoyo honourable one!
Mayo baniina mubwato bwabulo mumana!	O mother! They boarded a boat with no river
Yoyoyo mwane!	Yoyoyo honourable one!

Euphemisms Used in Dirge 3: Grave, Death, Burying and the Coffin

Dirge 3 is characterised by repetition of some words such as *yoyoyo mwane* 'Yoyoyo honourable one'. It employs euphemistic expressions of the grave, death, burying and the coffin. The performer avoids the word burying but uses the word plant to refer to the act as indicated in the phrases below:

Imputo'bwingi shakubyalamo kalundwe!	Many are the ridges for planting cassava
Emo twabyala baamaayo baana Nkanda!	There have we planted my mother; Mother of Nkanda!
Twabyalamo na baataata ba Chipulu.	We have planted even my father; Mr. Chipulu

The planting of the mother and father simply refers to the burying. And the first stanza talks about *imputa* 'ridge' to refer to the grave. In the Zambian culture, and Luapula itself, when a person is buried, a coffin is lowered into the grave that was dug and then the soil is heaped onto it in a ridge-like. Most graves have a heap of soil instead of a flat surface. Only after the family decides to put a tombstone will there be a flat surface, but this is not a common thing. So, the performer laments about the many ridges (graves), which could be used to plant cassava instead of the people buried

in them. Planting Cassava has been mentioned as it is a type of farming common among the people of Luapula.

Another concept brought in is that of life as a journey. The performer, in the clause, *Maayo baatusha pacaabu cakulooleela* translated as, *'*They have left us at the harbour of waiting,' cries about how she has been left at the harbour of waiting. Life is seen as a journey, and everyone is at the harbour waiting to be picked or transitioned unto death. This simply shows the belief that we live to die.

Moreover, the performer interestingly also avoids the use of the word grave but gives it many other expressions. A grave been called *imputa* 'ridge', *kung'anda yabule ciseko '*a house without a door'. The word house is used, as a house is considered as a place of rest from all the hustle and bustle of the world. When one goes for work, they come back to a house to rest for the day or night. However, in this case, this particular house has no door. A grave is seen as a place of resting. When one dies, it is believed that they have gone to rest. But this kind of resting is done in a grave that is all covered with soil and enclosed in a coffin, which when shut, it is done forever. In addition, the door gives one access to the other side. However, the expression the 'house without a door' can be used to refer to the inability of the living to have access to the dead because now, they are in different spaces and forms.

Abandonment is another phenomenon that is developed in this dirge. The performer laments about how the one who has died has abandoned the children.

Basha bakobaika abaana kumyembe 'They have left the children hanging from mango trees' A mango tree is used here as it is a fruit that is wildly grown in Zambia and more so, Luapula itself. The mango fruit trees are either planted by a person or they just grown on their own in the wild or where people have not settled as long as one passed through that place and threw the mango seed. In the dirge, it is seen in relation to a mango tree that has been planted and it has an owner who protects it from others who would wish to pluck the mango tree in any way that they so wish. When plucking mangoes, passers-by would just grab a stone and throw at it. Only if the owner is around would they protect the mangoes from being stoned. A parent is seen as a protector in the family. So, if they die, then that hedge of protection that the children have is removed. This then subjects the children to all sorts of harsh conditions and mistreatment from the society. Anyone would have the right to throw stones at them since they are just hanging from a mango tree.

Additionally, death has been referred to as an unlit cigarette, in the clause, *Kapeepa fwaka wabulo mulilo* translated, *'*He has smoked the unlit cigarette (without fire)'. In this dirge, the idea of a lit cigarette is seen to refer to life and an unlit cigarette as death. The one who has died is said to have smoked an unlit cigarette.

Another phenomenon is that of a coffin, which is referred to as a boat. The one who died is said to have boarded a boat which is *ubwato* as used in the clause.

*Maayo baniina mubwato bwabulo mumana! '*O mother! They boarded a boat with no river'

The word 'they' in this case, is referring to everyone that died including the one the dirge is being sung for. The boat is always expected to be on a river so that it ferries people or could be used for

other activities on the river. A boat is made of wood and so is a coffin. However, this particular boat (coffin) does not go on water but instead, it goes to the ground in a grave.

Symbolism Used in Dirge 3

The use of concrete objects helps to create a clear connection to the external world through the lyrics. The poetic function of the concrete objects denoted in the poems is to externalise the deep sorrow of the mourner. The mourner, as it were, suppresses her personal feelings of pain and loss by projecting them onto concrete objects of symbolic meaning (Boadi, 2013). Here the performer points to external things as expressed in *'Imputo 'bwingi shakubyalamo kalundwe'* [… Many are the ridges for planting cassava …]. Here, the word *imputa* [ridges] symbolises grave mounds, while *kalundwe* [cassava] symbolises the corpses therein. The many grave mounds remind the narrator of ridges in a cassava field. In these cassava-field-like mounds has the narrator buried her father and mother.

Emo twabyala baamaayo baana Nkanda!	There have we planted my mother, Mother of Nkanda!
Yoyoyo mwane!	Yoyoyo honourable one!
Twabyalamo na baataata ba Chipulu.	We have planted even my father, Mr. Chipulu.

The narrator indicates that the two have gone, but they have left us to wait for the same fate '… *batusha pacaabu cakulooleela …'* [they have left us at the harbour of waiting]. She reminds us of the fate of man; we shall all die. We shall all go '… *kung'anda yabule ciseko …'* to a house without a door. The symbol of a house without a door is an important reminder of the view of the people of Luapula concerning the finality of death. Although, like others in the Bemba linguistic grouping, they believe in reincarnation; they recognise that there is no coming back from the grave. At least, not in the form you went. When the time comes for us to die, our bodies shall depart for the graveyard in a boat that floats not on a river (*mubwato bwabulo mumana),* but the shoulders of men. The boat referred to here is symbolic of a coffin.

The analysis above has revealed intertextuality through the expressions used and the meaning they wished to convey in the context of the dirges used in the study. The context of use and the cultural factors surrounding the use of euphemisms and symbolism informed this study of the interpretation of the figures of speech as discussed in this article.

Summary and Conclusion

The dirges of the Luapula people are closely tied to their living situations, reflecting the centrality of these contexts to their cultural and social practices. The dirges discussed in this article are sung by individuals who reside near rivers and engage in farming as a way of life. Words such as 'river,' 'boat,' 'anchoring,' and 'harbouring' are associated with water-based livelihoods, while references to 'digging,' 'small hole,' 'ridges,' 'planting,' 'cassava,' and 'mango trees' evoke the agricultural

practices of the region. Through these expressions and symbols, the dirges capture the deep-rooted connections between the Luapula people and their natural environment, as well as their ways of sustaining themselves.

At the same time, the dirges also serve as a means for the bereaved to express their grief and sorrow in the face of death. The dirges examined in this article shed light on the various consequences of death, including feelings of abandonment experienced by those left behind. To navigate the emotional terrain of loss, the Luapula people use euphemisms to avoid direct references to death-related concepts such as 'grave,' 'burying,' and 'coffin.' By doing so, they create a symbolic language that conveys their profound emotions, while also respecting cultural taboos and practices surrounding death and mourning.

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BEYOND THROBBING DRUMS AND PIERCING FLUTES: *BUDIMA* ORAL PERFORMANCES AND THE CULTURAL RESILIENCE OF THE ZAMBEZI VALLEY TONGA

John Bwana Siakavuba and Mickias Musiyiwa*

*University of Zambia; *University of Zimbabwe*

Abstract

This article focuses on the Zambezi Valley Tonga's utilisation of budima to narrativise their search of unity, solidarity and cultural identity following dislocation. Budima is a musical ensemble for the Valley Tonga both in Zambia and Zimbabwe. Sadly, budima is slowly losing its place because young members have sided with eurocentrically gowned, Christian inspired modernity. The article explores social dynamics that give budima the cultural resilience amid vicious cultural forces. It analyses challenges encountered by relocated communities, adjustments they made and relationships they established with upland communities. Through the selected songs, the article demonstrates that there is more than throbbing drums and piercing flutes in budima performances. Using the Appraisal and Afrocentricity theories, the article engages the performance-centred approach to examine attitudes and beliefs that the Valley Tonga attach to the symbiotic relationship between the living and transitioned kin.

Keywords: *Budima,* Cultural Resilience, Appraisal, Afrocentricity, Zambezi Valley Tonga, Social Change, Relocation

Introduction

This article analyses *budima* oral performances of the Zambezi Valley Tonga, in the context of the encroachment of Western values during the colonial period and after, particularly, the impact of forced dislocation of these formerly riparian people. By focusing on three *budima* songs about a relocated Valley Tonga man, Sianchembe, the article interrogates the existential realities of the Valley Tonga in the aftermath of the relocation meant to pave way for the construction of the Kariba Dam in the 1950s. The objective is to appreciate the Valley Tonga's attempt to establish existential meaning in the context of their own intra-cultural tensions and the domineering Western cultural and religious onslaught against their territorial and cultural spaces. This is achieved through the analysis of Sianchembe's struggles to adaptation, using three songs, *'Sianchembe*,' '*Siambololo*' ('Kudu') and '*Pakamuna*' ('Witch's gun') in which Sianchembe is a protagonist. His adaptive strategies and struggles are conceptualised as a micro-representation of experiences and challenges the larger segment of the resettled Valley Tonga community faces in their new life. In the final analysis, this article turns out to be an exploration and appreciation of the artistic and intellectual ingenuity of a composing and performing community that employs drums, percussion, animal horns, dance and linguistic devices to communicate the biographical account of an individual in his attempt to secure existential meaning in the context of profound social change.

The study explores the social, economic and cultural dynamics that have enabled *budima* to live on this long in the life of the Valley Tonga people, to the extent of canonisation[1] despite the incompatibility with Christian beliefs, which youths have embraced and now denigrate the performance as closely associated with traditional funeral rites (Hofer, 2000). It is argued that it is through the *budima* performances that the Valley Tonga's cultural resilience is artistically articulated and celebrated and in the process, enabling them to celebrate and sustain their unique cultural identity, although seriously distorted by physical dislocation from the land where they have lived since the first millennium AD (Musonda, 2013; Chiinda, 2002).

Methodological and Theoretical Considerations

The study adopts a qualitative research methodological approach whose relevance lies in research, like the current one, that intends 'to answer questions about experience, meaning and perspective, most often from the standpoint of the participant,' as observed by Hammarberg, Kirman and De Lacey (2016:499). Hammarberg et al., further elaborate that using various research techniques, qualitative research, *inter alia*, investigates 'beliefs, attitudes and concepts of normative behaviour' seeking to understand them from the knowledge and experience of participants and then make informed analyses and conclusions. Data was collected through ethnographic research techniques [2] that include in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and participatory observation during fieldwork conducted from 2017 to 2019. *Budima* performances analysed in this article are in Chief Mweemba's area on the Zambian side of the middle Zambezi Valley. The villages are grouped into two clusters. One cluster comprises the individual villages of Mwanakukalya (Chikamba), Machinga (Sulwegonde), Teenkania and Gamela (Pasa) as *Bamilonga*, while the other is made up of Bana Koongobe (Siamatimba), Siamatobo, Nang'amba, Mudodoli and Chimini (Mulungwa), as *Balwizi*. The terms *Balwizi* and *Bamilonga* denote people who lived on the banks of the Zambezi River and were resettled following the construction of the Kariba and the upland people who did not have to move, respectively. The three songs selected, *'Sianchembe*' '*Siambololo*' and '*Pakamuna*,' will form the basis of the analysis of the Valley Tonga's cultural resilience. The songs depict three different phases of the life of one individual, Sianchembe, in the context of his personal and his entire village's relocation at the time of the dam construction. For the purpose of this study, the phases are named as 'early days,' 'acclimatisation' and 'transitioning.' This song selection was done taking into account the songs' uniqueness, being the only *budima* songs that are biographical but mirroring the experiences of an entire cultural group.

The main analytical approach adopted for the *budima* performances is what Okpewho (1990:125) calls 'the performance-centred approach, which focuses not only on the physical scene

[1] In 2020, Budima was inscribed on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) of Humanity, under UNESCO, draft decision 8.b.12.

[2] Although perceived as a qualitative methodology for study of 'small societies' (Reeves et al., 2008; Naidoo, 2012), see Crowley-Henry (2009) and Sangasubana (2011) for reasons that make it a universal approach in the study of any given cultural element.

but also on other dynamics like the identity of the performers' and aims at enhancing performance interpretation. The lyrics of the songs studied are analysed as literary texts, exploring the figurative language used and interrogating it to reveal the meanings they embody.

Appraisal and Afrocentricity are adopted as the conceptual frameworks for the study. The former was proposed by White (1998) in his study of the language of evaluation in the media in order to reveal the stances, ideological and other persuasions of the story writer. Appraisal theory perceives communication of ideas, attitudes, feelings or emotions, values and ideological positions as the principal motivation in any story (Martin & Rose, 2000). In his study of how popular songs narrativise the post-2000 period in Zimbabwe, Musiyiwa (2013) extended the appraisal theory to the effective analysis of the language of popular songs. It is this theoretical and lyrical evaluation approach that has been adopted in this study of *budima* songs. The systemic functional linguistics grounded theory is relevant to the study as it analyses every identifiable linguistic element in a text in order to explain what it embodies. Of the theory's three main semantic domains namely; *attitude, engagement,* and *graduation*, *attitude* is deployed since it consists of the main linguistic tools, *affect*, *judgement and appreciation*, that explain the nature of the feelings, sentiments, opinions, stances, and others being conveyed.

Afrocentricity helps the study conceptualise any African phenomena from the vantage point of African history and culture. According to Asante (1998:1), it is a 'radical critique of the Eurocentric ideology' in many fields including, *inter alia*, 'inter-cultural communication, rhetoric, philosophy, linguistics, psychology, education, anthropology and history.' With the colonial project geared to efface, denigrate, suffocate and destroy African history, identity and culture, Afrocentricity became the most relevant theory to demonstrate how, through *budima* art, Valley Tonga life was not only negatively transformed by colonial experience but more importantly, the African people's spirited response to its vagaries. It places the owners of the art at the centre whenever debating the social significance or value of the art and culture (Ani, 1980). The article contributes towards demonstrating 'the potential of African orature to capture reality from the vantage point of authentic selfhood' (Gambahaya and Muwati, 2010:322).

Who are the Valley Tonga?

Valley Tonga history dates back to the Early Iron Age period when the Bantu-speaking peoples migrated into eastern, central and southern African from west Africa between 300 BC and 300 AD. In the Zambezi Valley, these iron users first settled in the early years of the Christian era (Fagan, 1963: 160; Robertson and Bradley, 2000; Musonda, 2012, 2013; Chiinda, 2002). From then, Valley Tonga culture evolved and especially being influenced and shaped by the riparian environment, the people lived in. Much later, significant changes in the life of the Valley Tonga were to be engendered by colonial conquest in general and more profoundly by the construction of the Kariba Dam between 1955 and 1959.

The Nature of the *Budima* Performing Villages

Budima musical display has carved itself a niche in the culture of the Valley Tonga as their number one identifying and identity-making artistic tradition. To date, it is rare to find a study of the Valley Tonga, which does not mention *budima* performance in one way or the other. Also called with equal fondness as *buntibe* or *ngoma buntibe, budima is* a popular communal performance consisting of dance, drumming, horning and singing performed by teams organised according to village clusters.[3] These teams are referred to as *matanga* (singular, *itanga*). *Budima* comprises a retinue of seven *ngoma* (drums) and as many sets of twelve *nyeele* (calibrated animal horn flutes) that produce a synchronised melody providing a rhythm for a particular song. It was inscribed in 2020 on the representative list of the intangible cultural heritage of humanity. *Budima* was originally performed at funerals of adult men and elderly women only. However, while still performed at nearly all funerals, today, *matanga* are now invited to perform at any ceremony or festival, be it for the Valley Tonga or not. Freeing the performance of *budima* from the confines of the funeral greatly contributed to the popularisation and the recognition of the Valley Tonga identity, and how it has been (negatively) shaped by relocation. Participation in *budima* is open to all present but male members of the *tanga* are known to play *nyeele* and *ngoma,* while female members mostly sing, dance and mime the message(s) in the song. The collective nature of the *budima* creative process, perfectly typifies African aesthetics, which p'Bitek (1986:35-36), with particular reference to *orak* or *moko* dance among the Acholi of Uganda, describes as having no audience 'because every individual is an artist.' Both 'the men and women … create new tunes, and of course, the rhythm. But all the tunes are part of the singing of the poetry.' Composing, rehearsing and performing these songs takes time. The fact that the songs have nothing to do with a funeral at which they are performed is of particular interest as it explains why the performance is multi-contextual and collective, thus, crucial for the Valley Tonga cultural identity-making and the sustenance of their oral performance.

In the context of the Zambezi resettlement programme, the cluster of villages referred to as *Balwizi* here were in the second phase of relocation, which took place in 1958. The first phase of movements included the villages of Ndeleza, Siameja (Jenga) and Sinankumbi (Ndola), among others. While *Balwizi* were resettled in the *lusaka* (uplands), they identified relatives among *Bamilonga* whom they found already living there. Much as they may not have known each other before relocation, it was easy for the two groups to establish kinship on the basis of *mikowa,* a clan system based on matrilineal family arrangements. However, despite this kind of easy blending the two groups had some linguistic, adaptive and economic divides among them (thin as they may have been) that needed harmonisation for a complete merge to occur. Characterised not by a vast valley but hilly terrain, with small arable patches along Maaze River and smaller rivulets that fed into it, the new landscape hit *Balwizi* hard in their food security mechanisms. However, living together many years after relocation, differences between *Balwizi* and *Bamilonga* have since faded significantly. In any case, *Bamilonga* (People of the small rivers – in the uplands) and *Balwizi*

[3] According to focus group discussions, participants revealed that villages with common historical backgrounds formed the village groupings for the purpose of reaching desired numbers of players in the performances.

(People of the big river), mean the same thing, referring to their riparian space (land along the Zambezi River), the two lived on. The names embody the Valley Tonga's special spatial identity both before and after dislocation. As Mashingaidze (2019/2020:1) points out, landscapes are important because they 'offer the physical template for imagining identities.' However, the two keep on reminding each other of their different sub-identities and 'queer' habits in jocular and satirical but not discriminatingly hostile ways.[4] Such is typical of African oral performances because the performances are by and large meant to remind community members of the moral dos and don'ts of their culture. p'Bitek (1986:39) states that the artist proclaims the laws of society expressing them:

> *...in the most indirect language: through metaphor and symbol, in image and fable. He sings and dances his laws. … The body movement, the painting, the sculptures are his law books. The drums, the flutes, the horns, the strumming and plucking on the strings of the musical instruments, are the proclamations of his decrees.*

In the context of colonial domination, Achebe (1998:45) theorises the responsibility of an artist as that of a teacher who educates his African audiences that 'their past – with all its imperfections – was not one long night of savagery from which the first Europeans acting on God's behalf delivered them.' Budima performers perfectly fit into that role, as through their rendition of the tensions between the *Balwizi* and the *Bamilonga*, they educate their audiences of the infamous historical episode of relocation and its products such as the creation of tribal hatred, food insecurity, cultural alienation and distortion, and the permanence of having to live in a new settlement despite its unsuitability to human existence.

The Funeral and Other Contexts of *Budima* Performances

We have pointed out earlier to the multi-contextual performance of *budima* of which one of them is funeral. Funerals are characterised by a wide range of oratorical performances such as mourning songs, praise poetry recitals, speeches, folktale narration, casual conversation, musical dramas as well as ritual dramas. It is for this reason that Okpewho (1979) coined the term 'oral performances' to underscore the fact that the deliverance of oral art in Africa is by and large a performance. The deliverance is not limited to only verbal articulation but is supported by and embellished with bodily movements and musical instruments. The whole funeral is effectively oral, while a smaller part is composed of various non-verbal elements which are, however, either executions of oral, instructions or are orally executed. This is the reality of phenomena in a society in, which orality is the basis of communication. Ong (2002:10-11) makes a distinction between what he refers to as 'primary orality' and 'secondary orality,' where the former refers to oral communication 'of a culture totally untouched by any knowledge of writing or print' and the latter to orality that is complemented by writing and print as in modern societies. Whereas chirography has made

[4] There are various songs for both budima and chilimba as well as popular sayings that reflect the age long variations.

significant inroads into Valley Tonga society since colonisation, oral performances in the villages still largely resemble those of the past in primary oral cultures.

Funeral oral performances can be divided into three main categories – the ritualistic, the casual and the artistic or creative. The ritualistic performances are of a 'religious' nature, involving libations and appeals for divine intervention in the successful conduct of funeral rites as well as transfer and reception of the spirit of the deceased into the ancestral milieu. The activities we regard 'casual' are conversational and include *kujuzya*, *kuumbulizya* (*kubata maoko* in Shona), *kwaana*, *kwiizya*/*kuyooma*, among others. *Budima*, which is the pennant of this article, falls in the 'artistic' category which is the musical. One feature in this category is the prominence of mourning songs commonly referred to as dirges, performed as *chinyaanya* or *kweengula*, and *chilimba*, among the Valley Tonga. *Kweengula* songs are also performed for *chinyaanya*. The only difference is that *kweengula* are solo performances by elderly women seated around a funeral fire, while *chinyaanya*, like *budima*, is a mass performance.

Whereas *chinyaanya* songs are composed by known individuals or can be attributed to families and are performed exclusively at funerals, *budima* and *chilimba* are also performed during festive occasions. Both *budima* and *chilimba* songs are composed as community projects rather than individual or personal compositions like those for *chinyaanya*. They have to appeal to community interests and standards. Also, while an individual member of the performing *tanga* might initiate the composition, the whole creative process regarding the particular song is ongoing and left up to members of the community to add on to the collection of ideas and motifs as they see fit. The song becomes the intellectual property of the performing *tanga*. Achebe (1998:48) emphasises communal artistic production and ownership in Africa of tradition with reference to the Igbo's *mbari* art, describing it as a kind of hall of artistic exhibition produced by selected artists to create artistic products under the strict instruction of 'no attempt to claim, and even sometimes go to great lengths to deny, personal ownership of what they have created.' Songs in this category are composed mainly as popular satire targeting wayward conduct by any member of the community. The popularity of the songs depends on sensitiveness of the subject matter as well as the sensationalisation of the composition. In addition, how the culprit in the wayward conduct responds to the song may determine the song's lifespan. For instance, if the culprit reacts frivolously, such would fuel the song's popularity because the criticised person would appear to be rejecting moral rehabilitation. All the three musical performances are inclusive performances. However, only songs for *budima* and *chilimba* are communal. Thus, songs for the two may have no bearing on the funeral but serve either or both of the dual functions of a creative composition – to entertain and/or to educate. This is not surprising because within the mournful atmosphere, a tinge of benevolent spirits prevails as evidenced through the *bujwanyina* (joking cousinship) practice. This aspect is common among the Valley Tonga both in Zambia and Zimbabwe. In both communities *chilimba* is dominated by the youth, while *chinyaanya* is by women of mixed ages, principally young adults and the older women. Men may render support of their women with *kugawula* – the panegyric poetry performance. The inclusive carnival atmosphere of the

performance highlights *budima*'s unifying role in the context of the challenges of relocation and its centrifugal tendencies.

Budima Performance Organisation and Function

As earlier stated, *budima* is an elaborate musical ensemble comprising a principal instrumental retinue of seven drums and multiple sets of *nyeele,* which Reynolds (1968:216) calls 'end blown flutes' each containing twelve pieces that produce different notes. The seven drums and twelve flutes all have specific names each. The drums are *gogogo, kaliliku, ntakuntanda, muntundu, chamujanja, mpininga* and *nyina*). *Nyeele* made out of antelope horns (impala, eland, bushbuck and such others) are ascribed names – *mukwele, mpindakati, nseenseku, sikalumbu, siamupa, ifuba diini, ifuba pati, simulumansikili, chinkongwe, siamwinkula, vuntilwa* and *mpaaku*. Other instruments include *nsaka* (rattles), *milangu* (hand bells), *zipyololo* and *mpemba* (varieties of whistles), as well as *myeembo* (trumpets/vuvuzelas). Indeed, in reference to the ubiquity of music and in every sphere of African life, Rodney's (1982) observation that 'Africa is a continent of drums and percussion' is succinctly accurate. Young men and those up to the mid-forties play the principal instruments (drums and *nyeele*), while women play *nsaka, mpemba* and *zipyololo,* and dance, while singing out lyrics of the songs. Elderly and other men play *milangu* and *myeembo,* while engaging in *kuzemba*. *Kuzemba* is a mock demonstration of close quarter battle skill in which spear wielding men carrying *ntobo* (shields) and *nkoli* (knobkerries) show off their hunting and fighting skills. A people's culture is largely shaped by the nature of the physical environment the people live in. Animal horn instruments in the performance mirror hunting, is one economic branch in the cultures of the savannah.

As a mass event, *budima* observes leadership at levels of distributing or retrieving *nyeele*, choice of song, when to start, pause or end performance, and control of movement or direction the performance should go to as there is no fixed arena. The leader who controls movement is usually a senior member of the *tanga,* who is an active participant in the performance. This is a person who is respected for his age, commitment to the cultural element, bravery, fighting skills and general sound frame of mind. Such a person is a recognised coordinator of the ensemble, since it is made up of several villages coming together. Since it is not a formal appointment, the role has no permanent holder. As such, there is always such a person at any given time. One such person for the Mwanakukalya *tanga* was one Malambo Siakuminwa (1918 – 1993) who the younger generations popularly called 'Control,' for his leadership abilities and the respect he commanded. As p'Bitek (1986: 41) observes, 'every human being is an artist,' but 'some are greater than others.' In a typical *budima* performance, skilled men play the main instruments, others, such as women and children sing the lyrics and dance along to the throbbing drums as the mob moves around the grounds of performance. Women, especially enrich percussions with their *nsaka* (rattles), which they play along with the rhythm of the drumbeats and song. At intervals, *nyeele* sets break off one set at a time from the main *tanga,* which pauses play. The break-off set of a particular level wanders off blowing their *nyeele* in rhythm. When it returns, the rest pick up the drumming, blowing of *nyeele* and singing. Then, *nyina* booms and the whole scenario becomes a thrill. Two drums are

known to regulate the tempo of performance – *muntundu* (lead) and *nyina* (bass). While the break-off set is on its turn, men play their *myeembo* (vuvuzela horns – *mweembo*, singular) and perform *kuzemba* (demonstration of combat skills with *nkoli*, *masumu* and *ntobo* – knobkerries, spears and shields, respectively).

At funerals, especially *Mapwayila*, the sound of *budima* elevates everyone's spirits to very high levels. It bonds them into one unified mass of sharing a common purpose: to send off a loved one to the next sphere, the metaphysical world. It is a colourful farewell treat for the deceased. It is no surprise, therefore, that observers like Colson (1971) see it as an attraction to all including immediate members of the bereaved family. The sound of the throbbing drums and piercing sounds of the flutes fill the air with the big drum, *nyina*, with booming echoes. It is the drum whose sound announces the death of a senior member of the community, whenever such occurs. Beyond all this is assurance that the new entrant into the world of the ancestors will play their new role effectively. Thus, *budima* is the carriage that takes the deceased dignitary's spirit to the spirit world, according to Valley Tonga beliefs. However, it is important to note here that performance of *budima* at funerals is more a matter of solidarity with the bereaved than anything else. The village in which the funeral occurred take it as an obligation, while neighbouring clusters also feel the same. The solidarity was further demonstrated by self-catering on the part of the *matanga* that participate. Each brought their own food – mealie meal, goat, chicken or even an ox. The hosts ensure that cooking facilities including water are available. In the context of the present setting, if the funeral was in a Mwanakukalya cluster village, the *bana Koongobe tanga* was expected as guest and vice versa.

Budima Song Trilogy and Memorialisation of Dislocation

As argued in this article, beyond the throbbing drums and beneath the lyrics of *budima* songs, there is a tragic narrative of the Valley Tonga's experiences after relocation to the uplands. Therefore, *budima* oral performances are in a sense a cultural memorialisation of the historical and unfortunate incident of the Valley Tonga's permanent displacement. As pointed out earlier, the narrative is being told through the life endeavours of Samuel (*Samuyele*) Sianchembe Chikumbwi who stood out stoically as an independent individual in the new area of post-Kariba Dam resettlement until his demise nearly four decades later. Indeed, Martin and Rose (2008:67) identify the purpose of a narrative as the illustration of how protagonists confront challenges in their lives in order to resolve them. Unfortunately, in spite of Sianchembe's relentless courage and determination, he fails to overcome the challenges of dislocation as depicted in all the three songs, especially in the last two, 'Siambololo' and 'Pakamuka', which are basically lamentations of the tragedy of relocation. The main themes of the dislocation narrative in the three songs include intra-tribal conflicts, disruption of Valley Tonga economic way of life, disintegration of Valley Tonga religious and cultural beliefs, existential entrapment and environmental alienation.

The first song, whose events are set in the 1950s when the displacement was taking place, is merely referred to as 'Sianchembe.' The song is weaved around a ferocious catch in one of his snares, a leopard. When he went to inspect his traps, the leopard, still with snare wire around it

pounced on him causing terrible injury. The commotion attracted people to his rescue, but they, too, got a share of the cat's wrath before they finally managed to disable it. This provided an excellent theme for *Bamilonga* to poke fun at the whole *Balwizi* community. The nature of mockery included dullness, ignorance, naivety, overzealousness, and even desecration of the sacred Kamalumbu grove.

Sianchembe

Yee, Sianchembe	Yee Sianchembe
Wakwiitanga musise mulavu alakwe	He treated it like *musise* instead of the lion it is also!
Yee Sianchembe	Yee Sianchembe
Nzilangalanga banaKoogobe	These people of Koongobe are daft
Aisa bali mwizi?	Do they know it?
Nkondo kuli Kamalumbu yoobana	There is trouble at Kamalumbu, children
Tamubwene kweenda ba Dyaabbu	Can't you see, even Dyaabbu is walking there
Kuli Kamalumbu, Sianchembe	At Kamalumbu, Sianchembe
Kateensi Dinkayi	Had it not been for Dinkayi
Wali kunoofwa a Cheni	Even Cheni could have died

The second song '*Siambololo*,' sees Sianchembe relocate his game traps to a much 'safer' and further away place, Kamitondo, a school which had been constructed near Kamalumbu grove. Kamitondo and Kamalumbu are rivulets that pour into Zimu and Maaze, respectively. This song is set years later in the mid-1970s, while the first incident, the leopard encounter, occurred in the latter half of 1959. In the current scenario, one of Sianchembe's traps caught *muzilawa/siambololo* (kudu). Unfortunately, his brother-in-law got to the traps earlier and appropriated the catch. As he was going to inspect his traps, Samuyele met the thieves, but never suspected that what they were carrying on their donkeys was actually his own catch. When he got to the scene, reality of the theft dawned on him. He followed them and when he confronted them, they beat him up. In the song, he is complaining about the theft and the beating he suffered, and wonders where he would go to since his own relatives have resorted to harassing him. However, there is a persona switch between Sianchembe's voice and that of *Bamilonga*, which is heard expressing shock at the lawlessness of *Balwizi* who do not only steal but also beat up those they steal from:

Siambololo

Takw'uubba omuno tubamilonga	No one steals, among us, of the uplands
Tuyowa boma	We respect the law
Yee, nubana ba Siapepe	Yee, you Siapepe's children
Njowambayi, bama?	Where will I present my grievance to, oh mother!
Kuli Kamitondo	At Kamitondo
Imunyama wangu	My catch!
Bina Gwadu ulaseka muciz'aangu	Gwadu's mother, my sister is laughing

Nansya ninzi camukonda	Wonder what she finds amusing
Simabbekule zifulo nzyabaalumi	Simabbekule, knives are for men
Siambolol'aangu	My siambololo
Koonse kweenda nkwacaalumi	Even her step is that of men
Imunyama waangu!	Oh, my catch!
Yee, nubana baSiapepe	Yee, you Siapepe's children
Njookkalayi bama?	Where else will I relocate to, mother?

In the third song, Sianchembe has transitioned and like in all other instances, death among the Valley Tonga is not without the hand of a witch or wizard. Similarly, the cause of the death is 'well known' such that through the song, the suspect is being admonished. Pakamuna is believed to be a wizard's killing gun and the song is popularly referred to as *Pakamuna*. The anonymous persona laments at the death of such a resourceful and handy person whose speed when carrying out errands is compared to that of the hyena. The voice wonders why the wizard did not take his own sister, Demba, an invalid, instead of bewitching a useful person. In the song, all the good things about Sianchembe are relived portraying him as a man of the people during his days on the living side of the life continuum:

Pakamuna

Inche ngwan'aakamuunina?	Oh, please, who caused this on him?
Pakamuna, yee, yee, yee	*Pakamuna* – the witch's gun yee, yee, yee
Iwe, nuwa mpepe zyamatwi	Hey, you with long ears
Pakamuna kaka	*Pakamuna,* please
Walaaluno lwasuntwe	He had the speed of the hyena
Pakamuna, kaka	*Pakamuna,* please
Ulaamulimuunzi ooyo Demba *mbaboobo*?	What job can that Demba do in her state?
Ooo Sianchembe	Ooo, Sianchembe
Pakamuna, kaka	*Pakamuna,* please
Yabuka nkondo mukalya	War has broken out at the Palace
Pakamuna kaka	*Pakamuna,* please
Tuzembe Mweembe	Let's dance the war dance, Mweembe
Pakamuna kaka	*Pakamuna,* please

Life in Displacement as Reflected in the Songs

The construction of the Kariba Dam started in 1955 as a federal project of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Such a massive project had catastrophic ecological consequences. The spatial displacement deeply affected the once riparian Valley Tonga. Mashingaidze (2019/2020:6) notes that the relocation:

> *Contradicted the colonial administrators' high modernist rhetoric of progress and development that linked the dislocation with improvement of livelihoods and exposures to amenities of modernity such as schools, hospitals and agricultural extension services*

> *in the new locales. The relocations were haphazard and hasty because highly technical reconfigurations of spatial usage and science-based planning … did not inform the … Tonga's settlements and livelihood opportunities in the lusaka.*

One of the latent consequences of dislocation was the promotion of tribal and inter-tribal conflicts. This is seen in the song 'Sianchembe' in which the *Bamilonga* ridicule the *Balwizi* as being dull. The line *Nzilangalanga banaKoongobe (These people of Koongobe are daft*), expresses this negative evaluation. From the appraisal perspective, the statement is in the semantic domain of (negative) *attitude* defined as meanings by which texts attach an inter-subjective assessment to specific participants and processes by references to either emotional responses or to systems of socio-culturally determined systems of values (Musiyiwa, 2013:12). That the entire *Balwizi* community is lampooned for the errors of one of theirs is typical of colonialist labelling of Africans often derided as backward, savage and primitive. The phrase *banaKoongobe* (people of Koongobe) constitutes a linguistic resource for negative *judgement*. Musiyiwa (2013:12) states that as a tenet of the appraisal theory, *judgement* is explained as the meaning, which denotes approval or non-approval of human conduct by reference to the moral and cultural norms of society. Through Sianchembe's failure to properly handle the leopard caught in his trap, *Balwizi*'s conduct comes under negative scrutiny – they are a clumsy and foolish lot who *Wakwiita anga musise mulavu alakwe* (He thought it was a fish when it is, in fact, as bad as a lion.). The line condemns *Balwizi* as people with poor judgement. They cannot fathom the danger that a leopard pauses and think that confronting the dangerous cat is as harmless as catching fish in the Zambezi River. On the surface, *Bamilonga*'s satirical attacks against *Balwizi* may be taken as the usual inter-tribal and inter-ethnic hostility common between and among people of different ethnic, regional and linguistic backgrounds so common in Africa and beyond. However, the colonial context in which attacks against their fellow ethnic members by *Bamilonga* take place, should also be interrogated in order to unearth the context's contribution to worsening intra-tribal interaction and solidarity. While the two names *Bamilonga* and *Balwizi* share the same meaning (the riparian people) as pointed out earlier, the physical dislocation of the latter to the uplands created a division between the two resulting in sub-identities constructed on the basis of the dislocation. With particular reference to Shona sub-groups, Ranger (1986) has argued that the nature of tribalism taking place in the colonial period was a creation of the colonial regime's divide and rule tactics. The physical spaces they occupied did not carry cultural identities separating them from the main broader Shona identity but merely denote the geographical locations they lived in. *Bamilonga*'s scornful attitudes towards *Balwizi* seem to suggest tribal hostility and would never promote solidarity but more hatred and the widening of the divide between them. What is obvious here is that the arrival of *Balwizi* in the *Bamilonga* territory is a permanent reality and no longer transitory and cannot be soothed by hospitality practices inherent in the whole Tonga culture.

The songs '*Sianchembe*' and '*Siambololo*' deal with the theme of the disruption of the economic way of life and the erosion of moral values among the Valley Tonga. The eviction of indigenous people from the ancestral lands and relocation elsewhere directly interferes with their economic way of life. People's way of life comes from their daily interaction with their immediate

environment. Hunting and fishing were especially important branches of the Valley Tonga economy. Sianchembe was a regular hunter and before relocation, was also a fisherman. Thus, hunting is central in the two songs. Subjecting such a determined hunter to ridicule after relocation symbolises the uneconomically rewarding new life in the uplands. The animals from which *budima nyeele* are made out of, have ironically been replaced by the leopard that he ends up catching, symbolising the new colonial authorities who considered themselves invincible and brutally treated Africans as they sought to continue with their economic way of life. Thus, the *siluwe/sianemba* (leorpard) in the song is a linguistic resource for negative *appreciation* – an Appraisal semantic domain, which refers to the evaluation of non-human beings such as animals as well as objects employing principles of aesthetics or other social value systems (White, 2009). Sianchembe's decision to move to a new hunting area after the humiliating leopard incident is not helpful either because in the song '*Siambololo*', his kudu catch is stolen, again, ironically by his brother-in-law and his own sister. The fact that Sianchenbe is further humiliated by his own brother-in-law shows the deplorable extent of intra-tribal conflicts that now pits close relatives against each other. It is unheard of and an infringement of taboo for a man to beat his wife's brother. Thus, the stealing and beating incidents in the song activate negative evaluation of the *judgement* type against Sianchembe's sister and brother-in-law. It smacks of the demise of African kinship and respect under colonialism. Africans lost respect for each other as they were forced to only respect the white man. The statement, *Takw'uubba omuno tubalonga, tuyowa* BOMA (No one steals among us of the uplands, we respect the law) is an expression of shock at the behaviour of Sianchembe's sister and her husband and, therefore, a value of *affect. Bamilonga* are surprised why *Balwizi*, Sianchembe's close relatives for that matter, have abandoned their *buntunyina* (Ubuntu) philosophy that underscores humanness and mutual interaction. The rhetorical question, *Njowambayi, bama?* (Where will I present my grievance to, oh mother?), is a resource for *affect,* expressing the demise of *buntunyina*-based traditional Valley Tonga justice. Unfortunately, there are only three *Balwizi* elders left, Dinkayi, Dyaabbu and Siapepe, the last of whom is ironically Sianchembe's brother-in-law's father. It can thus, be argued that Valley Tonga dislocation had a negative impact on Valley Tonga *buntunyina/*moral values. With only a few elders left, moral degeneration will worsen as the few remaining elders, the moral guardians, are not numerically equipped to remind the younger generation about the importance of African moral values.

The fact that Sianchembe's sister is involved in the stealing of his snared kudu is another shock for him. Simabbekule even goes to hold a knife to skin the animal! The *affective* negative evaluation of his sister, 'Simabbekule *zifulo nzyabaalumi!*' (Simabbekule, knives are for men!), is also a resource for negative *judgement* because a woman is usurping the role of a man. Hunting and skinning of animals was a man's role in African tradition. But now, in the desolate and amenities scarce uplands, gender roles are melting, women are being masculinised, they steal trapped game and use weapons such as hunting knives. Besides violation of kinship taboos, we also see the infringement of environmental taboos. The Kamalumbu grove is sacred and stands as the only oasis of life in the desolate uplands. That Sianchembe goes to set his animal snares in the grove is a violation of a taboo. Environmental taboos are found in virtually all African cultures

and are meant to regulate the human-ecology relationship to ensure that humans live at peace with their environment, which sustains them economically and spiritually. Taboo infringement has consequences. Sianchembe's attack by the leopard can be taken as such punishment. His ridicule by *Bamilonga* becomes justified from that angle. If this source water dries up, it exacerbates the desolation, leading to the lack of more and more amenities. As a figure of speech, the Kamalumbu grove is deployed to illustrate the sharp contrast between the vast and perennial waters of the Zambezi River the Valley Tonga used for their life sustenance and the small grove without enough water for the forcibly resettled people. Clearly, very little if any concern was shown by the designers of the project for human-animal conflict that would emerge in the resettlement areas as a result of limited natural resources like water. As Ndlovu (2016:5) points out, 'the feasibility study carried out by the World Bank in 1956 virtually excluded mention of the social impacts on the people of the river.' Whereas water was abundant along the Zambezi River, this was not the case in the uplands. Very few places in the uplands had water all year round and such were the commons for both humans and animals.

In the song 'Sianchembe' the statement '*Nkodo kuli* Kamalumbu…' (There is trouble at Kamalumbu…) is a negative evaluation of Sianchembe's behaviour. It constitutes negative judgement because he has violated an important taboo. The word '*nkondo*' (trouble) activates negative *appreciation*; Sianchembe is a troublemaker according to *Bamilonga*'s view. It was not normal for the senile elders to visit hunting grounds as we find *Balwizi* elders do in the song *Sianchembe*. The satirical statement '*Tamubwene kweenda ba Dyaabbu*' (Can't you see? Even Dyaabbu is walking there!), activates linguistic resources for negative judgement on the part of *Balwizi* elders. However, such are the new existential realities in the new settlements. The *Balwizi*'s behaviour evaluated as negative against African value systems is taking place against the backdrop of severely diminished resources in the uplands, especially food. Thus, cultural taboos, customs and norms are being violated, not willingly, but because of the prevailing circumstantial forces.

The song *Pakamuna* (The witch's gun), laments the existential entrapment and environmental alienation of the Valley Tonga, which culminates in their physical and cultural death. The tragic demise of Sianchembe in spite of his spirited fight to achieve existential meaning in a desolate environment being lamented by *Bamilonga* in this song, signifies the insurmountability of the new environments' predicaments. Thus, the word '*pakamuna*' (the witch's gun) can be taken as a metaphor for the arid areas of dislocation and a metaphorical resource for negative *appreciation*. They are a death trap like a witch's *pakamuna*. Far from being areas the Valley Tonga 'would find the upland air bracing after centuries of breathing the swampy vapours of the Gwembe Valley' (Mashingaidze, 2019/2020:6), as one Eurocentric *Time Magazine* journalist claimed, these were areas of both physical and cultural entrapment and consequently death. From another angle, *pakamuna* is a resource for negative *judgement* when one takes the witch as a metaphor for the Europeans. The colonisers' greediness for fertile land and scenic environments in Africa is well documented[5] and marks arguably the main and most emotive

[5] See Ranger (1999).

conflict between the indigenous people and the invaders. They alienated the Zambezi Valley from the riparian Tonga to create a waterscape for their economic and leisure benefits. While some commentators on the construction of the dam acknowledge its negative impact to wildlife, they trivialised its impact on the Tonga people. They acknowledged the dam as 'an atrocity against nature' but 'which was morally resolved when the Zambezi Valley healed itself into a new natural landscape of leisure and refreshment from industrial technology,' (Mashingaidze, 2019/2020:8). Meanwhile, the Tonga and their river based religion around the benevolent Nyaminyami River God are dismissed. In his novel, *The Shadow of the Dam* (1961), David Howarth constructs the Valley Tonga were as a backward people whose survival partly depended on the capriciousness and kindness of their mythical water deity, *Nyaminyami* snake. JoAnn Mcgregor attacks the revered legendary snake as non-existent but a mere 'creation of the imagination by successive generations of Europeans, which is now peddled through the tourist and heritage industries along the Zambezi River,' (Mashingaidze, 2019/2020:8).

The contrast between Sianchembe's good deeds and the witch's *pakamuna* exposes European writers' lies about bringing civilisation to Africa. The angry rebuke '*Iwe, nuwampepezyamatwi*!' (Hey, you with long ears!), constitute negative *appreciation* against *pakamuna* (the metaphorical European colonisation). The resource '*Walaaluno lwasuntwe*,' (He had the speed of a hyena) is a value for positive judgement on Sianchembe's actions, which contrasts those of the Europeans. It appears the death of Sianchembe, the symbol of Valley Tonga resilience in the adverse conditions of the uplands, has greatly incensed his fellow tribal men and women mourning his demise to the extent of simulating the war dance. '*Tuzembe Mwembe*!' (Let's dance the war dance, Mweembe!) is thus, a resource for positive *affect*, a mobilisation communicative technique to rally the Valley Tonga. But whom do the Valley Tonga want to fight? Composed in 1994, thirty years after Zambia's independence, the song laments the continued dislocative conditions they still experience. This means that the new government of Kenneth Kaunda and indeed successive governments did nothing to address the plight of the displaced Valley Tonga. The value '*Yabuka nkondo mukalya*' (War has broken out at the Palace), activates negative judgement against the new government that took over from erstwhile colonial masters. It has inherited the Europeans' habit of a relentless war whose aim is the Valley Tonga's permanent restriction to the desolate uplands.

However, despite the apparent negative insinuations on the intelligence of *Balwizi*, we see *Bamilonga* acknowledging the power of sticking together demonstrated by the former when they mobilised to rescue one of their own, Sianchembe, who was in trouble. The unity exhibited by *Balwizi* in times of crises is epitomised in the proverb '*zyaluminwa zyayanzana*' (When attacked, they [zebra] stick together); a brand of unity in which age is no restriction as contained in the line '*Tamukubwene kweenda ba Dyaabbu*!' (Can you not see, even Dyaabbu has joined!). The line is a value for positive *judgement* against the communal spirit that traditionally has informed African societies. The solidarity exhibited by the Valley Tonga in the past during times of crises is what the *budima* performers, call for, now. The bickering that threatens to tear *Balwizi* and *Bamilonga*

apart is typical of the Ubuntu philosophy, which Khomba (2011:129) aptly captures when he observes that:

> *In a hostile environment, it is only through such community solidarity that hunger, isolation, deprivation, poverty and any emerging challenges can be survived, because of the community's brotherly and sisterly concern, cooperation, care, and sharing.*

It is unity and solidarity that the Valley Tonga need to fight the trepidation of dislocation than ridiculing and lampooning each other. If more Sianchembes can be created among them, perhaps the challenges of forced relocation can be mitigated. Thus, as Muwati (2015:23) states, the songs demonstrate the 'Tonga people's manipulation of orality as an avenue for building and regenerating group image, self-esteem and collective identity' long battered by alienation from once a riverine environment.

Conclusion

This article analysed *budima* oral performances in an attempt to establish how the Valley Tonga appropriate the popular performance to chronicle their historical experiences in the context of displacement engendered by the construction of the Kariba Dam in the 1950s. It was shown that although initially *budima* was a funeral performance, with the advent of colonialism and precipitation of social change, the oral performance has since assumed multi-contextual performance. The community performance joined by both men and women and composed of dance, song and instrumentation aesthetically, *budima* is quite a scintillating art form which today functions to construct Valley Tonga identity, solidarity and a vehicle for the storage and articulation of their historical experiences. The analysis of a trilogy of *budima* songs about the life experiences of Sianchembe, a relocated *walwizi*, revealed that the protagonist's experiences mirror the new but tragic life of relocation the Valley Tonga experienced due to dam construction, characterised by tribal hatred, scarcities in the desolate uplands and cultural denigration. It was argued that *budima* is appropriated to enact the Valley Tonga's stoical submission to the new colonial and postcolonial order, which they clearly understand is not of their own making but an imposition from external (and internal) forces of domination.

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MATERIAL NARRATION OF NOSTALGIA AND MODALITY IN THE LYRICS OF SAGA'S *KUMUNZI KUBOTU*

Hambaba Jimaima, Gabriel Simungala and Trevor Mwansa
University of Zambia

Abstract

Conflating the theoretical 'givings' of modality, semiotics and memory studies, the article attempts to gain insights into how material narration of affect, nostalgia and subjunctivity are constructed and transacted in song. In scholarly works that focus on the interplay between linguistics and musicology, rarely do notions of affect, especially the ones attuned to nostalgia and modality, feature in the discussion. This article assumes that the lyrical affordances in most Zambian compositions discursively unravel high level cognitive regimes of which affect, nostalgia and modality are central. This treatment uses song as its discursive and analytical material, in which nostalgia, affect and modality are seen as recursive memory and linguistic regimes in the unfolding of the artist's monologue of the sum total of self, and the double articulation of the 'subjective self' and 'objective other,' both of which are potentiated by the reimaging of self, while playing 'the plural' in the 'concealment of the subjective self' through the use of the plural 'basa kumunzi nkubotu' in Saga's Kumunzi Kubotu.

Keywords: Affect, Modality, Memory, Nostalgia, Reimaging, Self, Semiotics, Subjunctivity

Introduction

Zambian contemporary popular music has become part of the many voices that seek to narrate the sociocultural, and the political-economic configuration of the society out of which they arise. In trying to test this assumption, this article conflates the theorisation of memory studies and semiotics to capture how the material narration of regimes of nostalgia and modality are accomplished in Saga's *Kumunzi Kubota*. Taken as a cognitive regime, nostalgic affects are isolated from Saga's song and discursively problematised together with different modalities in the broader context of memory studies, and general semiotic theorisation. On the basis of the aforesaid, this article assumes that the lyrical affordances in most Zambian compositions discursively unravel high level cognitive regimes of which affect, nostalgia and subjunctivity are central. This treatment uses song as its discursive and analytical material in which nostalgia, affect and subjunctivity are seen as recursive memory and linguistic regimes in the unfolding of the artist's monologue of the sum total of self and the double articulation of the 'subjective self' and 'objective other', both of which are potentiated by the reimaging of self, while playing 'the plural' in the 'concealment of

the subjective self' through the use of the plural 'basa kumunzi nkubotu' in Saga's *Kumunzi Kubotu*.

Contextualising the Study

It is rare to conflate musicology, modality and memory studies in one academic undertaking. These areas are traditionally seen as autonomous and theoretically unrelated fields. However, in recent scholarship which has dominated the post-structuralism era, mixing and blending of theoretical strands has become a norm. And it is common knowledge that humans do not stay confined within one theoretical lane; we live unscripted lives predicated on mobile identities and flux affiliations to institutions, including belief systems and locality. This is based on various notions such as the proximal and distal principles and the contact phenomenon (cf. Hurford, Heasley & Smith, 2007). We use the proximal principle to point out that naturally, things which are in close proximity are seen to produce heterogeneity rather than homogeneity, as this principle presupposes comingling of social actors with the use of such linguistic tokens as: 'here', 'now', 'us', 'we', and 'ours'. Similarly, those subject to the contact phenomenon naturally lead to the production of complexities such as blended forms of speech; complex and unedited sentences; multiple identities, as well as complex compositions (cf. Blommaert, 2010). On the other hand, we argue that elements subject to the distal principle are better seen as mediated with the associative physical and psychological distance, which invariably bears on affect, and is linguistically realised through the use of the following words: 'there', 'tomorrow', 'yesterday', 'them', and 'theirs', among other linguistic tokens (cf. Hurford, Heasley & Smith, 2007).

The context being framed above feeds directly into the appropriated theoretical underpinnings of this article to the extent that they lead to the formulation of various regimes one can apply to or glean from a song as one of the forms of discourse. For the purpose the current article, we focus on language regimes and cognitive regimes. Regime is basically a set of constraints on individual language or cognitive choices 'consisting of habits, legal provisions and ideologies' (both local & global ideologies) (cf. Yao, 2020); or put differently, 'a 'regime' is a set of rules, norms, or procedures that affect what people expect to happen and rely on in making decisions' (Bradford, 2023). Thus, we take Saga's song '*Kumunzi Kubotu*' as discourse text loaded with both language and cognitive regimes. As will become apparent in the analysis section, language and cognitive regimes in song discursively narrate the materiality of nostalgic affect and modality.

Theoretical Underpinnings of Nostalgic Affect and Memory

In trying to underpin notions of nostalgia and modality in Saga's *Kumunzi Kubotu*, we borrow extensively from Yao (2020) as we turn to memory studies in order to explore linkages between memorialisation, experience and remembrance as creative cognitive regimes that come to bear on one's present experience. In recent scholarship, which conflates space and language, particularly those attuned to multilingual memory (Blackwood & MacAstair, 2019; Jimaima & Banda, 2019), the place of memory in problematising the ways in which public spaces are constructed is

revealingly rewarding. It is often the case that the public space or things that get to be remembered are negotiated by those who wield the power to bring the past alive in places of collective memory. We have taken musicians as powerful actors for the enactment of collective memory in song. For this particular reason, we turn to Connerton (1989), '*How Societies Remember*', in order to bring to the fore, the dialectics of forgetting and remembering in forging a present social order and invariably allude to two aspects of memory: social memory and commemorative memory. In both kinds of memory, he shows how the past social order gets foisted on the present social order. Invariably, collective memory continues to be undergirded by a shared historical memory – one arising from the social memory. Thus, taking the materiality of song as discourses of commemoration and social memory, the study draws on the argument that:

> *Our experience of the present, very largely, depends upon our knowledge of the past. We experience our present world in a context, which is causally connected with past events and objects, and hence, with reference to events and objects, which we are not experiencing when we are experiencing the present…because past factors tend to influence, or distort, our experience of the present* (Connerton, 1989:2).

What Connerton (1989) is putting across is the fact that the past almost always comes to be read together with our present experience. In discussing the memorialisation of the history deposited in Livingstone Museum, Jimaima and Banda (2019) explain how understanding language presentation in the permanent gallery replicate the colonial language policy in which only four local languages are represented. They note that selective remembering potentiates erasure and downscaling of certain historical facts and implicates the material narration of the past, particularly, language and cognitive regimes.

Thus, the regimes – habits, regulations and ideologies – are subject to collective memory as these elements become stronger based on shared sociocultural knowledge and histories. And we think that cognitive regimes play a fundamental role in the rematerialisation of nostalgic affect. In discussing nostalgia, we recognise the etymological aspects of the word: 'nostos (a return to home) and algia (pain), hence, longing and desire for home, family and friend or past' (Nostalgia, 2019). As noted by Yao (2020), nostalgia is a critical component of self-continuity, and has become an integral part of escape from the unpleasant today to the idealised past (May, 2017).

While nostalgic affect is seen as a 'set of embodied practices, emergent from the context, and thus, non-representational of the mind' (Thrift, 2008), we think that nostalgic affect should manifest at both mental and physical level. This is important as one recognises the spatial and temporal orientation of nostalgia (Yao, 2020). The two forms of nostalgia can be occasioned mentally, rematerialising the cognitive regimes, but also physically, by the provisionality of the available linguistic tools such as semiotics and modality. We demonstrate this aspect in the analysis section. What seeing nostalgia as both mental and physical processes does is that it also allows us to read song as a text with cognitive and linguistic ramifications.

And song, whether seen as a semiotic artefact or purely an act of expression, the study of music 'has been linked to wider questions concerning social structure, stability and change…the

emotions, the body, and organisational ecology' (Denora, 2004: 35). No doubt, this 'reinforces cognitive habits, modes of consciousness and historical development; and its degree of conventionality, interrelation of voices, the arrangement of consonance and dissonance – could serve as means of socialisation', for the expression of both language and cognitive regimes (Denora, 2004:35. As we demonstrate later, problematising song as discourse allows us to unearth elements such as nostalgia, modality and alterity.

We use the notion of alterity to implicate modality, particularly, as noted by Clerk and Cook (2004), the subjunctive mood to illustrate the forbidden but desired, including the spatial and temporal orientation of nostalgia in Saga's *Kumunzi Kubotu*. Modality, which is seen as a mood that represents an act or state (not as a fact but) as contingent or possible, comes alive as a 'grammatical category, which expresses the attitude of the speaker towards the action or state indicated by the predicate verb from the point of its reality or unreality' (cf. Hurford, Heasley & Smith, 2007). The various types of modality are expressed at lexical and phonetic level. The lexical level provides modal verbs and expressions such as 'surely', no doubt' including lexico-grammatical tokens expressed as modal verbs such as 'should,' ought to, must and so on. While the article does not exemplify the phonetic aspects of modality, we acknowledge the influence of intonation, stress, tone and length on modality. For the focus of this discussion, we illustrate the following moods: the indicative mood, which represents the actions or states as real actions that do not contradict reality and can be viewed from the past, present and future; it states facts in the form of statements, opinions or questions; the imperative mood which expresses commands; and the subjunctive mood which expresses a demand, wish, doubt or imaginary situation, and represent actions or states as unreal or imaginary(cf. Hurford, Heasley & Smith, 2007). Hurford et al., (2007) remind us that the mood is borne by the predicate verb in the principal clause, and such predicate verbs include but not limited to those that express 'wish'. In what follows, we briefly discuss the methodology used in this article.

Methodology and Description of the Data

The non-ethnographic nature of the study meant that the method used for data collection and analysis was purely qualitative, oriented towards desk analysis and description. The choice of Saga's *Kumunzi Kubotu* was purposive predicated on its material affordances with respect to nostalgia and modality. The material narration of these aspects in the song qualified as the most appropriate discoursal material for analysis.

Written around the early 2000 by Che Mutale, performing under the name Saga, *Kumunzi Kubota* is an embellishment of the rustic lifeworld, one praised for abundance, play and rich relational ties. While the song sparked controversy, as it was seen as an affront to the Tonga people of Southern Province's sociocultural knowledge and practice based on loaded symbolism of derogation, the song has recently been re-enacted by Green Mamba and others and has revived the collective memory of the early 2000.

It is also important to mention that while the song does not in any way mention the part of the rural being sung about, the reference to prototypically construed Tonga materiality, including

the use of Tonga as the mode in which the song is sung, persuasively makes us think that the kind of village depicted in *Kumunzi Kubotu* is that of the Tonga village.

In what follows, the lyrics of the song are presented as transcribed data with the English translation equivalent.

Lyrics of *Kumunzi Kubotu*

Uye uye uye (go, go, go)
Twakali kusobana kumunzi kwaba kapa (We used to play in the village at grandma's/pa's place)
Twakali kusobana ciyenga (x2) (We used to play ciyenga)
Tobasoonto bana (we the young children)
Twakali kusobana kumulonga … iye, iye, iye… (We used to play at the stream … yes, yes, *yes…*?nostalgic affect onomatopoeia)

Chorus

Bacembele bakalima inyemu (grandma cultivated/planted groundnuts)
Basa kumunzi nkubotu (you people the village is beautiful)
Ndayeye mbotwali kusobana kwaba kapa (I remember how we used to play at the grandma's place)
Ndayeya mbotwali kulila … iye… iye (I remember how we used to cry… iye, iye…)
Kumunzi nkubotu (x2) (the village is beautiful)

Atwiinke …iwe… aisha (let's go, you; uncle)
Kumunzi nkubotu
Wajata ng'ombe (x4) (he/she has held (handle) the cow/bull)
Ndiyanda icoong'edwe kumunzi (x6) (I want the ticked one in the village (Nike)
Narration of nostalgia

The Material Narration of Nostalgia in Saga's *Kumunzi Kubota*

As intimated in the section about the theorisation, with respect to the notion of nostalgia, a careful review of the data above suggests that Saga deploys both the spatial and temporal orientations of nostalgia in the song. We note the dominance of the spatial orientation of nostalgia in the song *Kumunzi Kubotu* in which there is perpetual oscillation between the old homeland and the undisclosed spatialised host society predicated on the use of the past indicative mood (continuous) in the line: '*twakali kusobana kumunzi kwa bakapa'* (we used to play in village at grandma's/pa's). The creation of the two spaces or worlds is predicated on both the language and cognitive regimes (cf. Yao, 2020). The language regimes are well crafted in the purposefully selected modality that makes factual the state of affairs. As mentioned, the use of the indicative mood in the predicate verb, which demonstratively shows the subject marker [twa], tense marker with its progressive aspect [ka-li] and the infinitive marker in the main verb [ku] and verb root and vowel end [soban –a] together with the locative phrases [kumunzi] and its complement expressed by the locative

phrase [kwa bakapa], descriptively offers the linguistic material for the narration of the spatial orientation of nostalgia.

In a sense, by deploying the indicative mood in the manner shown above, Saga creates a believable state of affairs and makes alive the existence of two polar societies. One is the old but desired space and the other the undesired spatialised host society. It is interesting to note that the indicative mood has been transacted using a generic expression in which no specific village is mentioned. While one could infer the host society, which the singer abhors by the mere principle of proximal, the distal principle which is being implied in the utterance '*Twakali kusobana kumunzi kwa bakapa'*, enlivened by the use of the locative [kwa] and the past tense [ka-li], shifts the spatial orientation of the two worlds – placing the village in distance past at the temporal level, as well as in a distant place at the spatial level. It is here that we see the conflation of both the physical and mental occurring representation of nostalgia. Few would deny the fact that the locatives [ku] and [kwa] denote away from the speaker, hence, a discursively spatialised distant place, which can only be wished for.

Arguably, therefore, in Saga's *Kumunzi Kubotu*, the temporal dimension of nostalgia is both physical and mental as can be seen in the utterance *'twakali kusobana'*. We notice first the cognitive regimes that foist upon the narrated material of an imaginary golden age predicated on shared sociocultural knowledge and histories, which have been appropriated by the tense (past [progressive]) as material for the narration of the temporal nostalgia. The song rematerialises a past lived experience of the rustic life by the appropriation of the past tense. Notice also the cognitive regimes of memory, which are actuated to give the nostalgic affect in the song. The expression *'twakali kusobana'* is not just an expression of the temporal dimension of the memorialisation; it is also an expression, which confirms just how memory – social and commemorative memory – comes to bear on what Saga longs for in as far as his dwelling is concerned. This connects him to the memories of the beautiful village.

Further, by carefully isolating events, places and personalities, captured in such expressions as 'stream', 'play', 'grandma's place' and 'groundnuts' as semiotic resources, Saga potentiates in the song what constitutes the ideal homeland. In the lines *'bacembele bakalima nyemu'* (grandma cultivated groundnuts), Saga wishes to descriptively assign attributes of the homeland. Notice that the utterance '*bacembele bakalima nyemu'* is immediately followed by an indicative sentence of affirmation: *'basa kumunzi kubotu'* (friend, the village is nice). It is instructive to thus, note that the semiotic potential of words, especially those that name actual entities in the real world such as 'stream', 'groundnuts' and 'grandma', provide a semiotic transactional force for the material narration of nostalgia, and belonging. In fact, in an adapted version of the song by Green Mamba, Real Jay and others, the song starts with the bleating of sheep and lowing of cows to signify the rustic life; and drawing on theoretical lenses of semiotics, one sees such an assemblage of artefacts from a collective past to evoke nostalgic responses for those whose lives have had strong ties with the rural lifeworld.

While still on this thought, it must be underlined here that this recollection of the past, in a way, prefigures the ways in which memories materialise the nostalgic affect. By inserting the

nostalgic affect in the song, Saga is playing on our spatial and temporal orientation of nostalgia in order for us to consider his composition as an authentic experience of our past, especially as one considers the mood he deploys in the following utterances presented in Table 1:

Table 1: Showing Modality

Tonga Utterance		**Literal Translation**	**Mood**
1	'Basa kumunzi nkubotu'	(friend, the village is nice/beautiful)	subjunctive
2	Ndayeya mbotwakali kusobana	I remember how we used to play	subjunctive
3	Atwiinke (iwe/aisha)	Let's go (you/uncle)	imperative
4	Ndiyanda icoongedwe kumunzi	I want the ticked one at the village	subjunctive
5	Baceembele bakalima inyemu	Grandma cultivated groundnuts	indicative

We isolate five utterances as shown in Table 1 to implicate the ways in which Saga's *Kumunzi Kubotu* authenticates the argument that modality, particularly the subjunctive mood, is intricately conjoined to nostalgia. In utterance 1, *'Basa kumunzi nkubotu'* (friend, the village is nice/beautiful), we read the utterance as one constructed to express the subjunctive mood, which Saga wishes to express a demand, an offer, and a wish. While we do not wish to implicate prosody, particularly tone, there is a sense in which the utterance '*basa, kumunzi kubotu'* orients towards the mood to offer, demand and wish. In the song, there is a noticeable pause between the word *'basa'* and *'kumunzi kubotu'*. This alone is indicative of a vocative case expressing the subjunctive mood. Of course, depending on one's preferred reading of the situation, there are those that might read the utterance as expressing the indicative mood because it is seen as stating an opinion. While that might be so, the overall framing of the song, its subject and the treatment of it, all conspire to create the subjunctive mood in the song - the desire for the past.

Similarly, utterance 2, '*Ndayeya mbotwakali kusobana'* is thought of as a statement of wish. Therefore, it is seen to be expressing the subjunctive mood. Notice how the use of the verb '*nda-yeya'* (incorporating the sub-marker, tense marker and verb root) orient towards the cognitive regime and memory. The predicate verb *'yey-a'* drives the cognitive regime of nostalgic affect in the utterance and spreads its semiotic ripples throughout the song about going back to the childhood lived experience at the village. We wish to aver that the conflation of the language regime and the cognitive regime expressed by the actual linguistic tokens such as the predicate verb identified above and the actual mental realities of remembering actuated by the verb '*yey-a*' (remember) enliven the material narration of the spatial and temporal orientation of nostalgia.

In utterance 3, *'Atwiinke (iwe/aisha*)', we recognise the combinatory signification of motion and urgency. Saga draws on the imperative mood to transact his offer that he has been constructing about the beauty of the homeland with his assumed audience. Notice that his audience has been described in two generic phrases: *iwe'* (you) and *'aisha'* (uncle). We think that the use of these phases – a second person pronoun '*iwe'* and a kinship term '*aisha'* – is semiotically rewarding as these phrases do not limit the range of the referents. In the pronoun *'iwe',* Saga localises the invitation of movement towards the homeland by making the call informal and, therefore, up-close

and personal. Similarly, the use of *'aisha*' is dynamic and, therefore, potentiates ethno-musical effects orienting towards a particular ethnicity. In the method section, we mentioned how the song evoked negative feelings among a named section of the society. In the Lusaka lingo, especially around the early 1990 and the 2000, the kinship term *'aisha'* gained much currency as a referring expression targeted at Tonga men. It is instructive to thus assume that Saga's evocation of the kinship term *'aisha'* is highly ideological. The ideology arises from translocal trade in which men from the south were assigned the label *'aisha'* to evoke a rustic identity. However, in Saga's song, we see that the kinship term *'aisha'*, when used together with 'grandma' among other kinship terms, has been exploited to transcend its derogative use to authenticate the rural warmth, which arises from the collective sense of belonging and consanguinity. Therefore, the material narration of nostalgia is not only crafted on modality, spatialisation and time; it is semiotically accomplished by a careful deployment of kinship terms, which are packed with ethno- and translocal ideologies. And these seen together actuate the combinatory signification of motion and urgency, as well as authenticating the idealised homeland.

In the case of utterance 4, '*Ndiyanda icoongedwe kumunzi'*, we propose that Saga does not only use the subjunctive mood expressing 'wish' to narrate nostalgia, but also to insert in his narration of the homeland he seeks, to describe corresponding sociocultural knowledge and histories that informed the rise of the 'Nike' culture of the 1990s to 2000 among the social actors in Southern Province. That Nike has become equivalent with authenticity, it is critically important to extend the argument that Saga deploys this Nike culture in the song to symbolise the village as the place of authenticity, which sharply contrasts with modernity as a place of artificiality. Thus, the imagery of Nike in Saga's song corresponds to the descriptive adjective '*kubotu'* in the title *Kumunzi Kubotu*.

The Dialectics of 'Subjective Self' and 'Objective Other'

Notice the shift from the collective 'we' in stanza 1 expressed in the subject marker *'twa' (twakali…)* vs *'ndayeya' (nda*) of stanza 2; then a shift back to the plural expressed in the predicate verb in its imperative form *'atwiinke'* (let's go). We thus, see the application of the notion of alterity: forging 'unassailable category of self' and other. The subjective singular first person pronoun in '*ndayeya'* attempts to signal the unquestionable individualised memorialisation of the homeland, while the plural in*'twakali kusobana'* represents the questionable collective memorialisation as it can be rejected or denied unless those that form part of the 'we' are called to prove the claim. No wonder he does not mention the persons with whom he played, while in the village. On this account, it is plausible to see the juxtaposition of the subjective self and the generic other as means to pattern the opposition of the lived experience and the imagined experiences; the host society and the past homeland (village), by which the song seeks to claim legitimacy as experiences of the beautiful homeland were not only experienced by the subjective self and also by the generic other.

This duality of presentation of self and the generic other can be implicated as categories of alterity in which the song attempts to describe the 'forbidden but desired' movement. As the song

indicates, he longs for the rustic lifeworld, but circumstances cannot allow him to go back and play at his grandma's place (perhaps the grandma is late, therefore, no groundnuts; the stream could have dried up due to climate change; the said friends could be enemies or late). As a matter of conjecture, it could also point to the fact that what one enjoys while a child, might not be enjoyed as an adult. He longs for that transactional moment between childhood and adulthood.

Discussion and Conclusion

No doubt, the lyrics of Saga's *Kumunzi Kuboutu* as contemporary Zambian popular music provide material for the narration of nostalgia and modality. As illustrated, taking song as discourse allows for the articulation of language and cognitive regimes in ways too apparent. Firstly, it has been demonstrated that the language regimes, particularly, those that have been used to express modality capture nostalgic affect by using different moods. Notable among the moods discussed are the imperative, indicative and subjunctive moods. In Saga's *Kumunzi Kubotu,* we notice the exploitation of these notions in utterances that are constructed to discursively undergird the spatial and temporal orientation of nostalgia. Secondly, the data analysed revealingly demonstrate the synergies between language regimes and ideologies. In the case of words, including modal words and kinship terms, the song analysed enlivens the ideological undertones of selected lexical regimes to the extent that one sees that no word is deployed in song without a careful consideration of its semiotic and ideological effect. The deployment of kinship terms such as grandma and uncle together with such collective nouns like '*basa*' and corresponding pronouns like '*iwe*', all work to recreate an unquestionable idealised homeland. By extension, this creation of the homeland, not only authenticates the rustic life, but also transactionally underpin ways in which the material narration of nostalgia is accomplished.

The careful narration of cognitive regimes of the memorialisation and the collective memory, as well as commemorative memory seen in predicate verbs such as '*yey-a'* (remember) crystallises the dual deployment of nostalgia as both physical and mental. The physical representation is actuated by the language regimes that carefully express cognitive regimes. The mental representation is realised by thinking of ways in which we remember. It has, therefore, been instructive to see the conflation of memory studies, modality and nostalgia in the analysis of song as a discourse type. In the song analysed, it is easy to see Connerton's (1989) theorisation about the dialectics of remembering and forgetting in actuating nostalgia. His discussion of public memory – social and commemorative memory – Connerton demonstrates how our past experiences come to bear on the present interpretation. In the song *Kumunzi Kubotu*, we notice how the past, that is, the lived experience of the homeland, implicates the construction and consumption of the song. Saga's song proves that the past comes to inform – sometimes in a destructive way, ways in which we remember, desire and long for the past. However, as seen through the notion of alterity, the desired past is always forbidden as we cannot go back into time. It would seem, however, the available linguistic affordances to talk about the past, the distal principle can only take us back to the past, the homeland, through the cognitive regimes and

language regimes. The 'here' rather than the 'there' is the only possibly achievable cognitive affect as a physical walk into the past, however, nostalgic we may feel, is impossible.

Finally, the implication of the subjective self and the generic other as captured by the systematic oscillation between the first person singular and the third person plural is semiotically revealing in as far as the song *Kumunzi Kubotu* is concerned. The interchange seeks to authenticate the claims made in the song about the beauty of the rural lifeworld, which can be corroborated by the subjective self and the generic other. Whatever else can be said about this, the centrality of modality and nostalgia in the song, *Kumunzi Kubotu* makes the song as an amenable semiotic material for analysis.

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THE FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE OF SEXUAL PERFORMANCE: THE CASE OF *CINAMWALI* SONGS OF THE NGONI PEOPLE OF MTENGULENI IN CHIPATA DISTRICT OF EASTERN ZAMBIA

Charity Khondowe and Gankhanani Moffat Moyo
University of Zambia

Abstract

This article examined the figurative devices used in the composition of Cinamwali sexual performance songs of the Ngoni people of Mtenguleni in Chipata District of Eastern Zambia. Using the phonological, lexical-semantic, and syntactic levels of stylistic analysis, it was established that the songs embody messages for imparting skills of sexual performance in marriage; onomatopoeias, metaphors, symbolism, personification, and refrain. It was established that poetic devices were used to enhance understanding and perception of ideas, bring abstract situations to life, facilitate easy flow and connection of ideas, condemn and exalt certain behaviours related to sexual performance in marriage, and many others.

Keywords: Figurative Analysis, Cinamwali Sexual Performance Songs, Ngoni People

Introduction

Various studies have been conducted to bring out the literary side of oral literature. Adei, Addo, and Osei (2018) submit that there is ample creativity in oral texts that warrant their being described as literary in both content and form. African oral literature studies reviewed have demonstrated that this creativity amongst others manifests in the form of literary devices such as figurative language. Yeibo (2012) illuminates the vitality of figurative language in the creation of meaning when he posits that the role played by figurative language in encoding the meaning of a literary text cannot be overemphasised as it serves both functional and artistic purposes. He further elaborates this proposition by submitting that figurative language acts as a semantic signifier in a text and also helps the speaker or writer in achieving beauty and form. Mphande (2007) adds that being one of the best examples of the African imagination, the song is based on stylised language, recognisable through imagery, metaphor, rhythm, rhyme, harmony, and tonal patterns enhanced through the vocal mode of delivery. According to him, these features are intended to specifically intensify the effect of language and set it apart from everyday communication to help language draw attention to itself and to give pleasure and assume an aesthetic rather than purely communicative function.

The use of figures of speech to elaborate a proposition and appeal to emotions entails the use of figurative language (Yeibo, 2012). Figures of speech according to the preceding scholar are words that connote something other than literal or conceptual meaning. Where the above scholar delineates figures of speech in terms of words only, Baldick (2001) and Abrams (1999) go a mile further when they view a figure of speech as an expression that departs from the accepted literal sense or the normal order of words or in which an emphasis is produced by patterns of sound. The two scholars further add that the theory of rhetoric categorised figures of speech into two classes namely: Figures of thought or tropes of semantic transfer in which words or phrases are used in a way that affects conspicuous change in what we take to be the standard meaning, and those that merely affect the order or their impact upon an audience known as schemes, figures of speech or rhetorical figures. The use of figures of speech according to the preceding scholarly views, therefore, entails departing from the conventional use of words or interpreting the meaning of words based on denotative or conceptual meaning as well as departing from the conventional order of words or producing emphasis using sound patterns for special literary effect in a text. Sichinga (2008) buttresses this observation when he points out that figures of speech are used to convey impressions or ideas that simple literal statements could not. This view implies that figures of speech contribute to the enhancement and understanding of ideas. It is according to Simiyu and Mukhwana (2016) partly achieved by seeing something in terms of another and comparing phenomena in nature thereby making it easier for people to concretise abstract ideas and cognise reality in its fullness. That is why Yeibo (2012) notes Ogunsiji (2000) as saying figurative language is a form of picture language that makes the meanings of literary texts more precise and concrete. Amongst other examples of figures of speech in terms of figures of thought or tropes are: metaphors, similes, imagery, personification, apostrophe, allusions, allegory, synecdoche, euphemisms, hyperbole, and rhetorical questions whereas schemes or rhetorical figures also figures of speech manifest in examples such as anaphora, parallelisms, antithesis, chiasmus, refrains and figures of sound such as alliteration, assonance, onomatopoeia to mention but a few (Abrams, 1999; Baldick, 2001; Ogunsiji, 2000; Sichinga, 2008; Simiyu & Mukhwana, 2016; Yeibo, 2012). This article is, therefore, concerned with the exploration of figurative language of sexual performance in Cinamwali songs of the Ngoni people of Mtenguleni in Chipata District of Eastern Zambia.

Literature

Several studies have been conducted on traditional poetry and songs in Zambia. For instance, Moyo (2014a) explores the poetry used in urban Vimbuza songs of the Tumbuka people of Eastern Zambia. His analysis shows that the major metaphorical use of language in the song lyrics is the personification of the spiritual and natural world leading to the linking of them to the living. He concludes that the songs in urban Vimbuza are completely tied to traditional Tumbuka thought and not linked to modern society. Moyo's work was useful to this study as it gives an insight into analysis of metaphorical language and figures of personification in Zambian traditional songs.

Lubbungu (2018) studied the function and poetic nature of Tonga work songs. His study revealed that Tonga work songs are rich in poetic devices such as imagery, repetition, and many others. The study further revealed that songs have different functions in society such as communicating values and objectives and telling about culture, lifestyle, and state of mind. He further opines that the song is distinguished from the oral narrative not only by its mode of performance and use of verse, but also by its extensive use of imagery. The current study is similar to Lubbungu's as both identify figurative devices used in the composition of songs for Zambian ethnic groups. The differences emerge where the analyses are conducted on songs of different ethnic groupings. Secondly, Lubbungu analyses work songs whereas this study is a literary analysis of initiation songs.

Nkwilimba's (1990) literary analysis of the Nkolola initiation songs of the Tonga people of Southern Zambia provided insight into the interpretation and figurative analysis of initiation songs as it revealed that the songs exploit literary stylistic devices like euphemism, hyperbole, metaphor, allusion, ambiguity, linguistic borrowing, meaningless syllables, rhetorical questions, imagery, idiomatic expressions, and allusions, The study also covers themes such as didacticism, praise of self, friends, acquaintances, social comment and personal feelings. This study benefited greatly from Nkwilimba's work and approach.

This study equally benefited greatly from Takara's (2007) study on Bemba work songs as literary forms, their functions, and symbolism. Her study revealed that most work songs sung by men were simple two-stanza ones, which were repeatedly sung to go with the rhythm and tempo of the work. The study further indicated that the use of similes, metaphors, imagery, and euphemisms was seemingly missing. It was also revealed that the work songs that men sing are limited because the bulk of men's work does not need singing as this would disrupt concentration. His analysis provided the understanding that not all songs use figurative language such as figures of thought.

Mutunda (2008) wrote an article to show how the healing potential of traditional Lunda sung and danced poetry can be incorporated into modern therapy to cure stress and related illnesses. His study established that Lunda sung poetry has a healing potential. According to him, poetry helps in emotional healing and personal growth by bringing about insight, illuminating foggy issues, and bringing smiles to peoples' faces experiencing issues such as depression and anxiety. His analysis of the mentioned poetry provided insight into the interpretation of songs and analysis of figurative devices as he analysed devices such as onomatopoeic utterances and repetition. Coming from that background, this article analyses the Cinamwali initiation songs of the Ngoni people of Mtenguleni area in Chipata District of Eastern Zambia, to determine the figurative devices used in the composition of the songs.

The Social Context of the Cinamwali Sexual Performance Songs

Cinamwali sexual performance songs are sung during the Cinamwali initiation rite of passage of the Ngoni people of Eastern Zambia. Mtenguleni area from which the songs have been sampled is located twenty-two kilometres west of Chipata town. The people of this area observe various

Ngoni cultural traditions for different social reasons as is the case of the Cinamwali rite of passage. For instance, Moyo (2009) asserts that the Ngoni people of Eastern Zambia, see Cinamwali initiation as a process, which transforms irresponsible and immature minors into morally responsible adults. Ngulube (1989) further elaborates that this cultural rite of passage is performed when a girl experiences her first menstruation. He explains that she is put into confinement or seclusion from other girls. This seclusion or Cinamwali rite of passage is regarded as a school where a girl who has come of age should be mentored or tutored in behaviours and responsibilities expected of an adult woman who is acceptable to society prideful to parents and ready for marriage.

According to Nyoka (1980), during the girl's seclusion, the *Alangizi* who are the women traditional mentors teach a girl who has come of age commonly referred to as 'ndola, namwali or cisungu' through a specialised oral syllabus. The girl is given lessons on respecting adults, obedience to parents, self-respect, hygiene, moral behaviour, care for relatives in marriage, honouring in-laws, care for the husband, and sexual performance in marriage to mention a few. Songs, which fall under the oral medium of teaching, are used in the delivery of the above-listed lessons.

Methodology

To uncover the figurative devices used in the composition of the Cinamwali sexual performance songs of the Ngoni people of Eastern Zambia, this article has adopted a descriptive research method. White (2003) points out that the purpose of descriptive research is to describe and analyse that which exists as accurately as possible. He elaborates that the descriptive design attempts to determine, describe or identify what is. Using this research design, data were collected through document analysis and fieldwork. A critical study of books, dissertations, theses, and journal articles provided advance information on the area studied. Primary data was collected from Mchewele, Mtenguleni, and Ulenje villages of Mtenguleni area. Several reasons are responsible for the purposeful selection of the villages. First, is that of space considerations. It would not be possible to collect and analyse every Cinamwali initiation song of the Ngoni people or even most of them. Secondly, the villages in question were chosen with the assumption that there is a uniform approach to cultural practices amongst the groups. That is to say, the groups supposedly share similar norms, beliefs, values, traditions and cultural transmission, which would lead to the drawing of common songs for figurative analysis. Thirdly, the selection of villages was done with an assumption that being in an area that hosts the significant N'cwala traditional ceremony of the Ngoni people, these villages strictly follow the Ngoni cultural practices. As such, they could be representative of other Ngoni villages. Since conducting a study in a village requires authority, consent to collect data was sought from the village headman. Secondly, as the researcher was interested in women who participate in the rite of passage, particularly Cinamwali, she needed to be assigned helpers to locate the custodians and practitioners of the songs in this case, the traditional women counsellors (Alangizi). Consent to collect data was also sought from the informants and they were assured that the information they would release to the researcher was

strictly used for research purposes. Five women counsellors (Alangizi) who are the custodians and practitioners of the songs from each village, participated in the study to collect a variety of common songs. A tape recorder was used to record the songs during sittings with traditional counsellors (Alangizi) because it would not be possible to write the songs as they were being sung.

Data were analysed qualitatively. Songs collected from fieldwork were transcribed from the tape and translated from the local into the English language. The collected songs were then compiled and critically read to identify the social messages behind the songs, which lead to the identification of the literary devices. Three of the songs that were common to all three villages selected using the ruffle method, were interpreted and analysed. Interpretation and analysis of the songs involved the researcher's own analysis using the context of the Ngoni people from the three villages. Information from the women counsellors obtained during the recordings of the songs and performances, and documentary sources available. The researcher's introspection was also used. A literal analysis of the song lyrics was done at song, sentence, phrase, and word levels using the phonological, lexical-semantic, and syntactic tools of analysis as per the demands of stylistics.

Discussion

This section discusses and analyses the content of the songs. To achieve that, the songs have been presented in their local language one at a time, followed by a literal translation and a detailed commentary to expedite the reader's understanding. A figurative analysis of each song is then presented before proceeding to the next song.

Songs on sexual performance and training are used in the delivery of lessons about an initiate's expected acquisition of skills in the area of sexual performance in marriage as will be noted from the songs and explanations below.

Lyrics for WazaKalusha Bwalya

Leader: WazaKalusha Bwalya//wazakalusha Bwalya anyinamwanaalikuni?
Chorus: Aye…!
Leader: Aniuzyekolufelo
Chorus: Chaya bola

Refrain

Leader: Chaya ChayaChaya!
Chorus: Chaya bola
Leader: Chaya Chaya Chaya!
Chorus: Chaya bola
Leader: Ooonapoapazilipo!
Chorus: Chaya bola
Leader: Nyunyanyunyanyunya!
Chorus: Nyunya bola

Translation: Kalusha Bwalya has Come

Leader: Kalusha Bwalya has come/Kalusha Bwalya has come where is the child's mother?
Chorus: aye…!
Leader: That she tells me the cause of death
Chorus: kick the ball

Refrain
Leader: kick kick kick
Chorus: Kick the ball
Leader: Kick kick kick
Chorus: Kick the ball
Leader: Ooo even here there is something (skill)
Chorus: Kick the ball
Leader: Dribble dribble dribble
Chorus: Dribble the ball

Commentary: This song prepares an initiate for the role of a wife. Adeyemi and Adeyinka (2002) observe that amongst the principles of African education, were those of functionalism and preparationism. According to these two researchers, African female education was predominantly designed to produce future wives, mothers, and homemakers. The song particularly teaches or prepares an initiate to be skilful in the matrimonial bed. The message is that her participation should match that of her husband by exhibiting dribbling skills like those of Kalusha Bwalya, a once football star in Zambia. It depicts a situation where supporters are cheering Kalusha Bwalya for his dribbling skills on the playing field. By so doing, the song indicates that a married woman's playing field is the matrimonial bed where she should exhibit her brilliant dribbling skills such as those of Kalusha Bwalya. The idea behind the reference to Kalusha Bwalya is to exhort the listener to emulate his dribbling skill. This notion is supported by Simiyu and Mukhwana (2016) who submit that songs serve the functions of teaching, mourning, entertaining, criticising, soothing, consoling, thinking, expressing love, and inspiring people in a particular community.

The song uses Kalusha Bwalya to extol the learner to acquire skills such as flexible wriggling of her waist to excite and appease the husband sexually. The end of line 1 of stanza 1 and the whole of line 3 are calling for the girl's proud mother to report the outcome of the newly wedded couple's sexual activity, which is referred to as the cause of death as her child's performance has been exceptionally good. This scenario depicts two teams that have gone into extra time during a football final match and immediately one team scores, the match comes to an end with the scoring team emerging victorious. The term used to refer to this kind of ending of the match is 'sudden death.' The women borrow this term when they ask for the mother to report the cause of death to indicate that the married girl has put up an excellent performance.

Analysis

When taken from the context in which the song is sung, the composer makes use of metaphorical allusion in line 1 of stanza 1 as they refer to Kalusha in a bid to extol an initiate into acquiring brilliant sexual skills. The song identifies the skilled performance of an initiate during a sexual act with her husband with that of Kalusha Bwalya exhibited during a football match. In other words, a girl with brilliant sexual skills is a Kalusha Bwalya of the bedroom. The name 'Kalusha Bwalya' in this case, is a metaphor as it has been used to refer to a woman with excellent sexual skills.

Sharndama and Suleman (2013) elaborate further that, by transferring the quality of one thing to another, the composer uses a metaphor to emphasise qualities. This, according to these writers enhances the perception of ideas when the listener understands the physical relationships between two different things. The process of understanding the physical relationships between two things makes the two writers above look at a metaphor as not only a figure of speech but also of comparison. According to them, a word or phrase is indirectly compared to another without using words such as 'like' or 'as' but makes a direct comparison that equates two things that are not the same.

The allusion to Kalusha Bwalya works to elevate the explanation of the intended lesson thereby making it easier for an initiate to grasp the message in the song. Cuddon (2013, p. 25) observes, 'Allusion enriches the work by association and gives it depth.' He further says when using allusions, a speaker or writer tends to assume an established tradition and a body of common knowledge with an audience, which gives the audience the ability to pick up the reference. Baldick (2001) adds that by nature of being an indirect or passing reference to some event, person, place, or artistic work, allusion sheds light on concepts by relying on the reader's or listener's familiarity with what is mentioned.

The Kalusha Bwalya metaphor works to excite and entice the listener into acquiring the expected skills so that she can also receive such kind of praise and bring honour to her mother. The aspect of the mother's honour can be noted in the expression *anyinamwana alikunianiuzyekolufelo*- 'Where is the child's mother that she tells me the cause of death?' This is not just any mother, but a proud mother whose girl can dribble (skillfully maneuver around on the matrimonial bed). *Lufelo* - 'cause of death', symbolises the girl's successful performance just as is the case when one team emerges victorious during a match in which extra time has been given to try and allow one team to score. The term used to refer to such an ending whose cause is one team scoring a goal is 'sudden death' referred to as *lufelo* in this song. The *lufelo* – 'cause of death', in the culture of the Ngoni people is given by the husband the morning after the girl's first night in marriage. He reports to the councillors whether the girl's performance during the night met his expectation and if that is the case, the women *ululate* (sound noise) in jubilation to signal to the parents and those around that the girl has exhibited good performance in bed.

In a bid to further drive the message home, the song equally uses symbolism, which, in turn, elicits visual imagery. This is illustrated in line 7 of the refrain where it says *nyunyanyunyanyunya*- 'dribble dribble dribble.' The song figuratively uses the idea of dribbling to symbolise wriggling of the waist to avoid using crude sexual language but still, effectively deliver her point. What could

be said then is that symbolism is used to attract the learner's attention. The act of dribbling brings to mind the mental image of a player with the ability to expertly manoeuvre around with the ball. This type of sexual imagery is a means of stressing the need to possess some expertise in the area of sexual prowess as what should be borne in the mind of an initiate after listening to such praise is a mental picture that will enhance understanding of the level of skills expected of them. The idea is to clearly put across the message that a woman should skilfully wriggle her waist in bed to excite her husband with different sexual positions and strategies. This, it is believed, will deter the husband from seeking sexual pleasure outside marriage.

One other figurative device or rhetorical figure that has been applied in this song is repetition. The lead singer, for instance, repeats the word *Chaya* – 'kick' twice within individual lines of the refrain. She also repeats lines she has previously sung, while the chorus re-echoes the same lines. From all indications, the significance of this figurative device is that of stressing the central idea which is that of active and skilful participation in bed. No wonder, the refrain is a repetition of the words *Chaya Chaya Chaya!* – 'kick kick kick' and *nyunyanyunyanyunya*- 'dribble dribble dribble.' Apart from stressing the main idea behind the composition of the song, the refrain also shows the transition from the first idea, which is that of an initiate, being a 'Kalusha Bwalya' in the bedroom to that of emphasising skilful participation and by so doing, giving the song its structure. The lyrical repetition of words in the refrain also creates a balanced rhythm and an artistic beauty that compels the audience to sing along, thereby further stressing the central thought. This observation tallies with Dickie's (2017) view that repetition serves the purpose of emphasis and contributes to the poetic rhythm of the text. To him, listening to repetitions introduces a rhythm that facilitates acquaintance with the message. He also submits that refrains serve various functions such as providing the internal structure of the text and delineating boundaries. He adds further that they help significantly with memorisation and enhance the aesthetic enjoyment of the poetry, and as a result, the hearer is enabled to understand the text, enjoy and remember it.

Cule Anandewo
Leader: *Cule….Cule*
Chorus: *Anandewo*
Leader: *Cule….Cule*
Chorus: *Anandewo*
Leader: *Watengakabumakake*
Chorus: *Anandewo*
Leader: *Wan'tema pa msana*
Chorus: *Anandewo*
Leader: *Nanensonatenga kanga*
Chorus: *Anandewo*
Leader: *Nam'tema pa msana*
Chorus: *Anandewo*

Refrain
Leader: *Culeadatipha!*
Chorus: *Anandewo*
Leader: *Nanendatipha!*
Chorus: *Anandewo*
Leader: *Culeadatipha!*
Chorus: *Anandewo*
Leader: *Nanendatipha!*

Translation: The Frog is Quarrelsome
Leader: Frog Frog
Chorus: Is quarrelsome
Leader: Frog Frog
Chorus: Is quarrelsome
Leader: He has picked his ball of soil
Chorus: Is quarrelsome
Leader: He has hit my back
Chorus: Is quarrelsome
Leader: I have also picked mine
Chorus: Is quarrelsome
Leader: I have hit his back
Chorus: Is quarrelsome

Refrain
Leader: Frog hit me with the sound pha!
Chorus: Is quarrelsome
Leader: I also hit him with the sound pha!
Chorus: Is quarrelsome
Leader: Frog hit me with the sound pha!
Chorus: Is quarrelsome
Leader: I also hit him with the sound pha!
Chorus: Is quarrelsome

Commentary: This song is sung at two levels, as a children's play song and as an initiation song. Its role in the Cinamwali rite of passage is that of urging the initiate to participate actively in the matrimonial bed. The message lies in the call-and-response activity between the frog and the referent. This can be noted where the frog who takes the place of the opponent starts the fight by hitting the girl with the ball of soil and the girl hits back with her ball of soil. The actions of hitting and retaliating signify the girl's ability to take on the challenge thereby participating actively. The explanation is that when the husband initiates lovemaking, the girl or wife should respond with the same enthusiasm as that of the husband and not be passive.

Analysis

This song is allegorical as it represents abstract characters and ideas or values thereby having another meaning below the surface. It being sung as a children's play song at the literal level as well as an initiation song at the symbolic level, gives it an allegorical attribute. The setting, order of events, and characters in the song are all chosen to euphemistically avoid being offensive and conceal meaning as the message is a sexual one. Although it is like that, the events are still woven in a way that corresponds with the intended activities and message. The intended goal is achieved by presenting the message as a fight between the referent and the frog in a call-and-response activity, which on another level, is a sexual activity. Cuddon (2013) asserts that behind the literal or surface meaning of an allegory lies one or more secondary meanings of varying degrees of complexity for the purposes of being either satirical, salutary, or moralistic. In teaching an initiate to participate actively in the matrimonial bed, the song conceals meaning by employing the use of symbolism, evoking visual imagery, and applying personification. Comment on performance in bed, for example, is made through reference to the frog, which symbolises the man. Simiyu and Mukhwana (2016) submit that by the nature of representing something beyond itself, a symbol is used to exaggerate or conceal meaning, to expose, offend, exalt, mock, and downgrade behaviours.

To achieve the intended purpose, the song employs the use of personification. The frog is personified as a human being in a fight. This can be exemplified in line 5 of stanza 1, which says *watengakabumakake*- 'he has picked his ball of soil.' The frog in this line is portrayed as though it were a human being that uses his hands to pick his ball of soil, which he later throws at his opponent as indicated in line 7 of the same stanza. The frog is personified as a quarrelsome human being so that through the concept of it throwing the ball of soil at the other character in the song, this other character will, in turn, throw the ball back at it. This exchange will then give the listener a clear picture of what is expected of them as the composer evokes visual imagery in the whole action of hitting and retaliating as shown in the refrain. The mental image of a fighting frog enhances understanding of the whole concept of active participation in bed. Lyu (2001) corroborates this view when he asserts that imagery encourages the listener to sharpen his or her appetite for new ideas because it brings abstract ideas to life. The song also employs the onomatopoeic sound 'pha!' which evokes auditory imagery thereby further enhancing the concept being put across to the listener that the effect of the thrown ball of soil alternates between the two participants.

Still on imagery, Oliver (1994) observes that we experience the physical world around us through our five senses and that through our imagination and intelligence, we recall, organise, conceptualise, and meditate. According to her, what we meditate upon is filled with earthly things we have encountered and our responses to them. She submits that no one would think without the initial profusion of perceptual experience as imagery more than anything else, takes us out of our existence and lets us stand in the condition of another instance or another life. She sums up her observations by stating that figurative language, being the source of imagery, can give shape to the difficult and painful, that it can make visible and felt that which is invisible and unfeelable. The humour in the competition between the frog and his opponent helps to create a clear picture

of the lesson being presented thereby bettering understanding. The two figures of speech in this song evoke mental images as well as emotional feelings that facilitate quick understanding and easy retrieval of the message when needed.

Nalungula Cule

Leader: *NalungulaculeMbuziinam'chila//nalungulaCule!*
Chorus: *Mbuziinam'chila….*
Leader: *NalungulaCuleMbuziinam'chila//nalungulaCule!*
Chorus: *Mbuziinam'chila ….*
Leader: *NalungulaCuleMbuziinam'chila//nalungulaCule!*
Chorus: *Mbuziinam'chila….*

Translation: I Have Married a Frog
Leader: I have married a frog a goat has a tail//I have married a frog!
Chorus: A goat has a tail
Leader: I have married a frog a goat has a tail//I have married a frog!
Chorus: A goat has a tail
Leader: I have married a frog a goat has a tail//I have married a frog!
Chorus: A goat has a tail

Commentary: This song prepares an initiate for marriage, and it hinges on performance when in a sexual act. It teaches the learner to participate actively during sexual activity in bed. The details are that the persona who is the husband in this case is complaining about his wife's poor sexual performance by saying that he has married a frog. He compares the movement of a frog to that of a goat when he says a goat has a tail. His complaint is that his wife is as passive as a frog and not active like a goat. He likens his wife to a frog, which is sometimes, passive for a while before it leaps to its next station. He then goes further to state his preference for a goat, which he believes, is active and will trot to different places thereby making its tail shake in the process. The shaking of the tail symbolises activeness as it happens during movement. This means that goat is not as passive as a frog.

Analysis

The lyrics of this song indicate the use of frog and goat metaphors as portrayed in line 1. In saying *nalungulachule* - 'I have married a frog', the persona who is the husband in this song is saying his wife is a 'frog'. The metaphorical reference to his wife as a frog goes to show the extent of her failure to gratify his sexual needs in bed because of being passive or slow to act like a frog. The instructors take advantage of the nature of the frog to bring clarity to the learner. For instance, it is the nature of the frog once kicked into an upside-down position to remain in that particular position for some time before reverting to its normal position, or most likely, that will happen if someone kicks it back to the normal position. This is the attribute that women use to equate a

woman who exhibits poor performance during the sexual act until pushed into putting up a good performance. The reference to a passive or slow wife as a frog and preference for an efficient one that is likened to or referred to as a goat is meant to provoke emotional feelings that will foster understanding and acquisition of the intended skills from an initiate. These figures of thought are meant to challenge someone to perfection as the visual image of a frog compels one to strive harder to be elevated to a much better position of a goat, which is faster and cleverer.

The scornful reference to a weak performer as a frog strengthens the message being put across by appealing to an initiates emotional feelings of repulsion towards such an address. This, in turn, inspires and fosters the acquisition of intended skills.

Conclusion

Figurative analysis of Cinamwali sexual performance songs reveals that the songs exhibit several figurative devices in form of figures of thought and rhetorical figures.

Phonologically, rhetorical figures or figures of sound such as onomatopoeias have been employed as comprehension tactics to help bring abstract situations to life. They heighten beauty in the language of the songs, which delights and entices listeners into meditative responses that help to convey the intended message. The imagery in them reinforces ideas by appealing to an audience's senses and connecting them to the real world.

At lexical-semantic levels, the songs exhibit application of figures of thought in form of metaphors, imagery, symbolism, personification, and simile. All these tropes of semantic transfer contribute to the creation of new meaning in various ways. Through metaphors, for instance, the songs suggest common qualities and by so doing, enhance the perception of ideas when the listener understands the physical relationships between two things. Imagery is used to shape meaning through the creation of pictures that facilitate the delivery, reception, and recollection of ideas. Symbolism is used for euphemistic purposes as well as efficient delivery of messages whereas simile effects direct comparison and works to enhance understanding. Personification works to bring abstract ideas to life and aid one's understanding, and last but not the least, the apostrophe is used for asserting ideas emphatically to challenge listeners to action.

All in all, these figures of thought play functional and artistic purposes. They are used to create meaning as well as beauty and form. Through connotative meanings, they produce certain special effects that enrich texts and make their meanings more precise and concrete. The said connotative meanings are a medium of disseminating teachings that promote messages on performance in marriage. It is worth noting that the figures of speech used are those which are found in the environment in which the people conduct their day-to-day lives. As such, embedded in the songs are figures of speech such as an axe, a frog, and a goat to mention a few.

Syntactically, rhetorical figures in the form of refrains have been used to create the literary effect. This form of repetition amongst others is to make emphasis of significant points and highlight pressing needs. It repeats the central thought and addresses thematic expressions.

Through repetition, it creates a sense of unity and carries persuasive tactics. It also creates a balanced rhythm and an artistic beauty that attracts the listener's attention thereby helping stress the central point. It further establishes the formal structure of the poem as it helps to delineate boundaries.

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RESEMIOTISATION AND INTERTEXTUALITY IN MUSICAL DISCOURSES: THE SOCIOCULTURAL NARRATIVES OF *'DUNUNA REVERSE'*, A ZAMBIAN POLITICAL PARTY CAMPAIGN SONG

Gabriel Simungala, Hambaba Jimaima and Trevor Mwansa
Univeristy of Zambia

Abstract

We draw on 'Dununa Reverse', the Patriotic Front's 2016 campaign song to argue that the lyrics are politically charged discourses best understood as semiotic assemblages. As our locus, we foreground resemiotisation and intertextuality as defining attributes for the production and the consumption of political messages to leverage on the sociological construct upon which the voters' lifeworld is built. This is in a quest to trace and glean sociocultural narratives that often inform the Zambian people. Thus, the article is guided by three interrelated objectives. Firstly, it intends to interrogate the notion of translanguaging to show how artists deploy various semiotic resources at their disposal while 'sliding in and out' of multiple languages such that the perceived boundaries among languages become blurry. Secondly, the article attempts to show how sociocultural discourses are resemiotised from different sources, including the lived experiences of the people to musicology. Lastly, taking the lyrics of the song as a text, the article intends to explore how individual texts are inescapably related to other texts in a matrix of irreducible plural and provisional meanings.

Keywords: Patriotic Front, Musicology, Campaign Song, Zambia, Resemiotisation, Intertextuality

Introduction

That music is central to the effective dissemination of politics, and that politics, especially in African countries, is articulated through the lyrics and the musical aspects of songs (Allen, 2014), is a position that many actors seem to agree with. Lumbwe (2017), drawing on the Patriotic Front's campaign song, *Dununa Reverse* shares this view when he explored the role and significance of musical arts in shaping Zambia's social, cultural and political landscape. In his conclusion, Lumbwe (2017) observes that besides being a catchy rendition, *Dununa Reverse* possesses latent meanings within its holistic performance structure and that one has to understand the poetic constructions and permutation inherent in the song, instrumentation and dance. Without taking anything from his findings, it is our considered view that an approach of semiotic assemblages avails much. This is so much the case when it is integrated with analytical tools of resemiotisation and intertextuality seeing as music can be looked upon as a collage into which we must gain insight, highlighting semiotic connectivity of materialities present (cf. Pennycook and Otsuji, 2017, Simungala and Jimaima, 2021, Jimaima and Banda, 2019).

In the present undertaking, we draw on the underpinnings of *'Dununa Reverse'*, a Patriotic Front campaign song during the 2016 General Elections, to appreciate the linguistic and literary materialities. Our interest lies in the lyrics of the song, which we view as politically charged discourses in arguing for the semiotic assemblages, resemiotisation and intertextuality as defining attributes for the production and the consumption of political messages to leverage on the sociological construct upon which the voters' lifeworld is built. This is in a quest to trace and glean sociocultural narratives that often inform the lived experiences of the Zambian people. In this regard, three interrelated objectives will guide the study. Firstly, the article examines the creativity of Zambian artists who draw upon translanguaging to deploy various semiotic resources at their disposal for political expedience and, secondly, the article attempts to show how sociocultural discourses are resemiotised from context to context. The article concludes with the treatment of the campaign song as a text and, argues for the interconnectedness of texts showing that individual texts are inescapably related to other texts in a matrix of irreducible plural and provisional meanings.

For us to attend to the objectives sketched above, the upcoming section discusses the role that music plays in politics, especially in Africa to provide insights that situate the study in popular culture. This will be immediately followed by a discussion of historical perspectives on the paradigm shift from the one party system to multi-party state, the outcome of which brings into the spotlight many political players, who consequently endeavour to sell their campaign messages through song. Translanguaging, semiotic assemblages, intertextuality and resemiotisation as conceptual matters undergirding the study are then attended to, followed by materials and methods. After this, a discussion of the data is presented, and conclusions are drawn.

Music and Politics in Zambia

It has been argued that Africans (and by implications, Zambians) are music lovers and that music features as an indispensable handmaid of any meaningful behaviour and sustainability of the being of any African person whether young or old (Mbaegbu, 2015). It is, therefore, not surprising to note that music is the first form of popular culture in Africa, which has been (noticed and) studied outside the African continent (Barber, 1997). While there are variations on what constitutes African music, with others insisting only on sounds produced by traditional elements of the playing of indigenous African instruments like the wooden drums (Mbaegbu, 2015), it is generally accepted that contemporary music, as Impey (2010) argues, is mediated by a complex corporate network comprising companies that record, manage, advertise, publish, and broadcast mass-produced music, which constitutes African music. Impey (2010) observed that the introduction of gramophone records presented African musicians with a new spectrum of imported styles, the extent of which has seen their works embody creative interaction between foreign values and local styles.

The historicity of music in Zambia is replete with the use of traditional instruments and a slow movement to electric instruments in the production of 'Kalindula', a mimic of the traditional. According to Sichinga (2012), Kalindula music became popularised in the late

1970's when the electric guitar and other Western instruments were introduced to enhance it. Kalindula popular music flourished given the political environment that existed under the rule of the first Republican President Dr Kenneth Kaunda who made a policy that the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) was to play 95 per cent of Zambian music on both television and radio. Given that ZNBC has had the widest coverage over the years across the country, Zambians became lovers of Kalindula music. Later, Kalindula would become the music that would be used as social commentary and as a platform to air grievances by the general populace to the government of the day. This is because producers of music operate within the context of certain political, social and economic conditions with particular intentions (Chye and Kong, 1996). For our data in this article, we lean towards Banda (2019) who explains that in terms of semiotic repertoire, cultural flows and associated identities, the lyrical content and instrumentation have elements of traditional Kalindula music by the Lunda and other ethnic groups from the rural areas of Luapula Province, Lovers Reggae from Jamaica and the Caribbean, and Rap/Hip Hop/R&B from the United States of America.

Mbaegbu (2015) has rightly argued that music plays an indispensable role in the being of Africans at work, in politics, in their socioeconomic engagements, in religious worship, integral development and moral life. For Onyebadi (2019), Africans are no strangers to political messaging through music as they use songs to articulate their thoughts and feelings about politics. Both Longwe and Clark (1998) and Brusila (2001) observe that politics, culture and gender determine who produces and uses music. Music is central to the effective dissemination of politics and that politics, especially in African countries is articulated through the lyrics and the musical aspects of songs (Allen, 2014). As will become apparent, music is central to the administration of politics in Zambia as campaign messages are crafted and resemiotised into musicology. Given that music and songs command public attention and generally appeal to a large number of people (Onyebadi, 2019), during the 2016 General Election in Zambia, politicians and their political parties virtually took over the musical space to woo voters. It is from this instance that we pick out the Patriotic Front's campaign song, *'Dununa Reverse'.* Critical to this undertaking, will be to show how the song in question is loaded with critical social, cultural and historical information and how language practices in music intersect with multicultural practices and meaning making in fluid African multilingual contexts (Banda, 2019).

Theoretical Appraisal of Translanguaging, Resemiotisation and Intertextuality

To frame the study in the broader theoretical underpinnings of the social and the cultural, we now address the conceptual and terminological framework upon which the study is built. As we argue for resemiotisation and intertextuality, it is important to first consider the language(s) through which the two theoretical standpoints are expressed. As will become apparent, the song under study has about four languages creatively used in one song. This draws us to the theoretical notion of translanguaging as it confirms that the issue of the co-existence of multiple languages within an individual or a community is not new, and that multilingualism is the norm rather than the exception around the world (Bui and Tai, 2022). Translanguaging, argues Vogel and Garcia

(2017), posits that rather than possessing two or more autonomous language systems, all users of language, select and deploy particular features from a unitary linguistic repertoire to make meaning and to negotiate particular communicative contexts. It will be shown that this is the case for the lyrics of *Dununa Reverse*, which draws on five languages that include Zambian and the English languages. Li (2018) proposed translanguaging as a practical theory of language as it captures the dynamic, fluid, flexible, and creative nature of language use in the real world and transcends the boundaries of named languages and the socio-historical features attached to them.

The second conceptual element we wish to unravel is resemiotisation, a notion which has been traced to Iedema (2003: 33) who defines it as 'how meaning making shifts from context to context, from practice to practice, or from one stage of a practice to the next'. It is about the way texts and meanings change through various phases of meaning-making processes as we shall show with the various semiotic resources that are assembled into musicology and subsequently charged as political discourses. Resemiotisation is about 'weaving people, their meanings and behaviours into increasingly reified, complex and obdurate semiotics, enabling them to create new realities'. In this connection, resemiotisation then, looks at how certain semiotics are set in motion to create new social meanings as afforded by different contexts and modalities (Marthinus, 2015). Our treatment of resemiotisation in *Dununa Reverse* aligns with Connolly (2014) who discussed resemiotisation as linked to recontextualisation. He views the latter as the process whereby content that has been given expression in one context is subsequently reused in a different context. He concludes that recontextualisation (as we show with the musical discourses), is often accompanied by 'resemiotisation', the process whereby content is lifted from one text and recast in a modified form during the production of a subsequent text.

Seeing as we take the song as a text, together with its assemblages, we turn to intertextuality as the last conceptual element informing the study. According to Orr (2015), 'intertextuality' names a text's relations to other texts in the larger 'mosaic' of cultural practices and their expression. An 'intertext' is, therefore, a focalising point within this network or system, while a text's 'intertextual' potential and status are derived from its relations with other texts past, present, and future. Julia Kristeva, a literary scholar devised the concept 'intertextuality' based on the works of Bahktin, Barthes and Vilosinov (Orr, 2010). Kristeva (1986) argues that any text is the absorption and transformation of another within a particular social context and should for that reason be examined within the social interaction it is produced. For Roux (2015), intertextuality refers to how 'the environment is marked by duplication, interpretation of texts and the circulation and recirculation of images; word in multiple form and formats' (Roux, 2015:50). No text exists on its own as it is always connected to other texts. Thus, intertextuality manifests because everything that can be said has been said before and thus, people reuse and, therefore, manipulate existing texts, images and other semiotic materialities in song and other modalities.

Materials and Methods

We drew on content analysis as the methodology for our study. As an approach of data collection, content analysis is often deployed to determine the presence of certain words, themes, or concepts

within some given qualitative data. In this case, the lyrics of *Dununa Reverse* constituted our data to which interest was drawn to words and phrases as well as the emergent themes. According to Harwood and Garry (2003), content analysis enables the reduction of phenomena or events into defined categories so as to better analyse and interpret them. Framed from this perspective, we analysed the presence, meanings, and relationships of such words, themes, or concepts in *Dununa Reverse*. Below, are the lyrics of the song. For each stanza, we have included the predominant language used alongside English or other indigenous languages.

(Tumbuka and Bemba Language)
Adada munalemba Edgar Chagwa Lungu
Apitilize ulamulili wamu Zambia(2)

Dununa Dununa iye
Aye
Aye dununa reverse(2)
Again
Aba bambi bali mucibe
Bola naikosa (2)
Lolo Lolo

(Cinyanja and Bemba Language)

Nakwela bus zinalake
Ni double decker (2)
Kalusa sa nga ikwele
Ba Lungu baikwela kale (2)
Lolo Lolo Lolo

(Lamba)
Aikona ukulaikata amasangalatoni webo
nemo nalikupele nefunde webo
taumfwapo cabe
Wise ndi nefing ukukweba webo
Batila icidunu webo cilalishya abanike
Tabasangwako
Ilyashi lya mutulo webo
Under 5 politics
Nebo shitita ifya musango uyu
Webo cimo no mwana wandi saulosi webo
Wapona grade seven seventeen times per hour
Five times ulepona cabe
Cita retirement webo walangonawila amatoni

Shitititа ifya musango uyu
Aikona kulacita amasangalatoni

(English and Bemba Languages)
As a king of the dance floor
I say ndai cleaner
I say ndai pukuta
I say ndai wamya
Ka Opposition nda kagaya
Gaya Gaya Gaya Gaya

Yapasuka aya tula monde, tiye nayo Lungu
Aya anyada tiye nayo Lungu
Iyapasuka
Lolo lolo

Apa pene Edgar Lungu awine, ee awine,
Nafuti awine
Edgar Chagwa Lungu awine
Nafuti again awine awine

Translanguaged Musical Discourses: The Creativity of Artists in Music Production

From the lyrics presented above, we are quick to note that four languages, namely; Tumbuka, Lamba, Cinyanja and English are assembled. The languages are creatively blended to a point that they appear as one. In this way, the perceived boundaries between the English language and the indigenous languages, on one hand, and the perceived boundaries amongst indigenous languages appear blurry, on the other hand. The meaning making in the song is indicative of multilingual practices of social actors, which highlights that these languages constitute their linguistic repertoires. It is our considered view that the wide acceptability of *Dununa Reverse* is (partly) based on the artists' incorporation of translingual practices in the composition and performance of the music. Evidently, the use of multiple languages orients to what has come to be known as music multilingualism. According to Olusegun and Ayokunle (2011), this refers to popular music developed within socio-cultural settings, which combine in its lyrical texts multiple words of different languages predicated on random language mixing.

It is important to mention that most Zambian popular musicians draw on regional languages in their songs. For mention, Bemba is the regional language for the Copperbelt, Luapula, Northern and some parts of Muchinga and Central Provinces; Cinyanja is designated for Lusaka and Eastern Provinces, while Citonga for the Southern and parts of Central Provinces; Lozi for the Western Province and Lunda, Kaonde and Luvale for the North-Western Province (Simungala and Jimaima, 2021b; Simungala, 2020). The said languages have been widely used in most hit songs

that the country has witnessed. However, we notice the use of Tumbuka and Lamba, languages considered as minor. The integration of these languages in the song enables their circulation and appreciation. Thanks to the reality that languages in Zambia belong to the Bantu language family, mutual intelligibility is a given (Simungala and Jimaima, 2021c; Simungala et al., 2022). The assembling of both major (regional) languages and minor languages, some of which are considered dialects of the major languages in the song does not obscure the meaning of the song nor the authorial intent of the politicians. The song is a case of a message well-crafted and sold.

The creative and strategic use of translanguaging is an instance of assembling artefacts and semiotic assemblages (Otsuji and Pennycook, 2017) to appeal to ethnic enclaves in a quest to leverage Zambian votes that are largely built on ethnic and tribal lines. While it is the feeling of Jimaima and Banda (2021:2) that 'political parties deliberately disassemble semiotic material that shows their candidate's ethnic or regional inclinations . . .' what we notice in the song as evident from the choice of languages is the exact opposite of this view. The Patriotic Front Party had many provinces as its strong holds and one of them was the Eastern (were Tumbuka and *Cinyanja* are primarily spoken). They would often use the phrase of '*wako ni wako*' translated as 'your own is your own' to mean that one is expected to support a candidate from the same ethnic group as theirs. The presidential candidate for the party, was Edgar Chagwa Lungu who hailed from Eastern Province. The party had support from the Copperbelt, Muchinga, Luapula and Northern provinces were *Icibemba* (Lamba) is spoken as the founding leader of the party was Bemba. Thus, it can be seen that in the composition of the song, the artists practiced tribal politics. However, as we later see in the 2021 General Elections, we look back to Roberts and Silwamba (2017) and note that they were on point when they noted that Zambian youths do not believe ethnicity should be a political factor as they overwhelmingly perceived politicians as engaging in political tribalism but chose to defy the status quo and voted for a candidate as president who had a supposed tribal tag. The use of translanguaging is not only to pass on campaign messages in a number of languages but it is also, as Jimaima and Banda (2021) demonstrate, about assembling semiotic resources that show the party as having membership from different ethnic groups and regions.

Resemiotisation of Musical Discourses: Tracing the Trajectory of Lyrics

In tracing the trajectory of the lyrics of *Dununa Reverse,* we draw on resemiotisation, which entails that discourses or materials can be created and recreated in different forms and practices. Iedema (2003) provides that resemiotisation is meant to occasion the analytical means for, firstly, tracing how semiotics are translated from one form into the other as social processes unfold and secondly, asking why these semiotics (rather than others) are mobilised to do certain things at certain times. In this section, we trace the trajectory of the lyrics.

The word *Dununa* is drawn and constructed from the word 'ukudununa' translated as 'kick it', which comes from an indigenous game called 'Icidunu' (cf. Lumbwe, 2017). Ukudununa is a key activity in this game. Icidunu is a version of hide and seek using a ball made from paper and plastic. The word *Dununa* has undergone morphological operations of clipping were the morpheme 'uku', a combination 'u' an augment and 'ku' a prefix, have been clipped to remain

with *Dununa*. It is important to quickly point out that like any other game, there has to be winners and losers, and so it is quite strategic for the artists to draw on a word from the name of the game as politics is about those in power and those being ruled. In this way, we see the creation of new social actions and yet retaining the same word. The word *dununa* is then translated from a child's play to politics. It changes contexts from the sociocultural lives of children to that of adults. We return to this matter in the next section to make a comment on how the discourses of the song are inescapably related to the lifeworld's of social actors.

In line four, we have the lyrics *Aba bambi bali mucibe* translated as 'the others have a tough time'. Again, we see these discourses as borrowed from a popular saying during a football game where one winner is expected. Zambians being lovers of football, the phrase is well known such as has been used and reused in many different contexts. Like the *dununa* above, we see the translation of these discourses from spaces of football to spaces of politics. Thus, in accounting for resemiotisation of the musical discourses, we have established were the lyrics in question are coming from, but we should also point out why the said discourses are crafted into lyrics and not the others. It is Iedema's (2003) view that we need to ask why these semiotics (rather than others) are mobilised to do certain things at certain times. Thus, as noted above, and will be explained as we look at intertextuality, the discourses in question are all coming from the idea of the game where one has to emerge a winner. In this way, the discourses speak and fit into the authorial intent in a politically charged space. Thus, popular music draws on current issues and language practices, historical, traditional and modern, rural and urban, and generally, local and global semiotic material in the construction of the songs (Banda, 2019).

Intertextuality of Discourses: The Inescapable Relations of Lyrics in Broader Sociocultural Contexts of Zambia

It is often the case that intertextuality is discussed together with resemiotisation. In this undertaking, our interest is to simply show how semiotics are translated from one form into the other as social processes unfold. In this section, we build on points we raised above and expand this thematic thread to other stanzas of the song. In the opening line of the song, we notice the Tumbuka words '*Adada munalemba Edgar Chagwa Lungu*' translated as 'Father (Lord) you wrote that Edgar Chagwa Lungu'. The mention of Father in this context is in reference to the Supreme Being, God. And this mention relates to the place and role of Christianity in Zambia. The intent to link the discourses to the Christianisation of space (cf. Jimaima, 2016) in a quest to attract voters is not surprising as it affirms what is already known about the country, that Zambia is a Christian Nation. Gilford (1998) historicises that Christianity was central to the change of regime in Zambia in 1991 after its new president, Frederick Chiluba, declared Zambia a 'Christian Nation'. And as recent as October 2015, the then Zambian president, Mr Edgar Chagwa Lungu broke the ground for a new National House of Prayer, a building project meant to reaffirm the country's status as Africa's only self-proclaimed 'Christian Nation' (Haynes, 2021). Thus, the line that Father you have written that Edgar Chagwa Lungu should continue his leadership is then situated in the social narratives of the Zambian people, which intersects with their Christian faith.

The life worlds of social actors, seen from children's play of 'icidunu' is indicative of the game of politics in which making and claiming victory is good practice for campaigning. Further to this, we notice a sociocultural experience of daily lives. We see in stanza 4, lines 5 and 6, the lyrics 'Ka Opposition nda kagaya, Gaya Gaya Gaya Gaya', which translates as 'I will grind the opposition, grind, grind, grind.' These discourses double articulate crushing or rather grinding the enemy, in this case, the opposition and, also, the grinding of maize into powder. Thus, by using the word 'grind or crush,' we see how the choice of words are inescapably related to the sociocultural narratives of the Zambia people as 'grind or crush' is casually used in their daily interactions. Further, it is a given that most rural dwellers grind their maize at the hammer mill. Allan et al., (2019) confirms this view when they indicate that in fact, 69 per cent of rural dwellers use hammer mills. Thus, the concept of 'grind' is well known and well situated as a symbol that avails much for the political intent of the composers of the song.

Summary and Conclusion

While conceding to the view that music affords political parties a platform to sell their candidates and lay out their manifesto (Kalobwe, 2021), the present study has brought into the spotlight three interrelated conclusions. Firstly, it can be noted that drawing on a variety of languages while crafting campaign messages that are predicated on multiple materialities and resources can be looked upon as an instance of assembling artefacts, as well as semiotic assemblages. At first sight, the semiotic materialities in the song may seemingly appear unrelated, but the creativity of the artists occasions their convergence in time and space for meaning making. Since the various artefacts come together for meaning making in the song, Pennycook and Otsuji (2017) would refer to them as semiotic assemblages that enter new and momentary relationships. This is particularly the case when Iedema (2003) advises, and we see resemiotisation at work that in the way texts and meanings change through various phases of meaning-making processes whereby the lyrics of the song are translated from everyday sociocultural narratives to musicology. The trajectory that the lyrics take, is one that is visible as content is lifted from one text and recast in a modified form during the production of *Dununa Reverse*.

Secondly, and related to the point raised above, we would like to point out that the wide acceptability of *Dununa Reverse* was partly based on the artists incorporation of local popular languages in the composition and performance of the music (Liadi and Omobowale, 2011). Thus, the thematic thread of translanguaging raised above afforded the Patriotic Front an opportunity to speak to masses, while at the same time enabling the circulation of marginalised minor languages like Tumbuka and Lamba. What we see in the lyrics is that different semiotic resources were deployed so as 'to potentialise meaning-making, cognitive engagement, creativity and criticality' (Garcia, 2014: 42). Thus, by inference, this confirms Blommaert's (2010) view of language as a mobile resource that cannot be tied to locality as it is intrinsically and perpetually mobile. While campaigning, the Patriotic Front covered all the parts of the country and used *Dununa Reverse* as their lead song. Thus, catapulted the song into the realms of a mobile semiotic resources.

Finally, as noted by Kalobwe (2021), music has become an important element during Zambian electioneering as parties have recognised how effective they can reach masses and by extension, music in politics achieves much as it is followed with dance. Namuyamba et al., (2018) advises that well composed political music (as can be seen from the case of *Dununa Reverse*) has a huge influence on the candidate people voted for as music helped to pull the crowd, sell candidates and their manifestos, empower and educated the learners and substituted public rallies in unbreakable to reach areas. By well composed songs, we wish to highlight that these are songs that bear a complex interrelationship with other texts that relate and extend to the social happenings and the lived experiences of the social actors. It is no wonder Kristeva (1986) observes that any text is the absorption and transformation of another within a particular social context and should for that reason be examined within the social interaction it is produced.

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INTERROGATING MOSES SAKALA'S FUNERAL SONG, '*CHOBABA*': SOME DISCOURSE INSIGHTS

Naomi Njobvu, Kelvin Mambwe and Hambaba Jimaima
University of Zambia

Abstract

Funeral songs are a type of discourse commonly played or sung by Africans and Zambians in particular, to celebrate the memory of the dead. The songs could also be used to evoke emotive responses. 'Chobaba', is a typical Cinyanja funeral song composed and played by Moses Sakala, one of Zambia's famous musician. This song was composed following the passing on of Levy Sakala, Moses' once long time music partner. The main aim of this study is to conduct a discourse analysis of Moses Sakala's tribute song to his friend titled Chobaba 'pain' to show how language is constructed and represented to demonstrate pain, grief, and love. The study also aims at analysing how, by the same token, the song provides emotional release, honour the memory of the deceased, and offer comfort and support to the bereaved. Ultimately, the article demonstrates how funeral songs can capture the essence of the human experience of pain. The analysis identifies four themes, which include pain as a collective experience, pain as a personal struggle, the need for spiritual guidance, and hope and comfort. These themes provide insights into how human beings come to terms with pain resulting from death and how they are able to comfort themselves by invoking spiritual intervention in their experience with pain.

Keywords: Funeral Song, Discourse Analysis, Music, Pain, Death

Introduction

Funeral songs or dirges have been an integral part of the Zambian culture for centuries. These songs are significant because they help mourners to express their emotions and share their grief with others (Mukuka, 2020). Although funeral songs play a crucial role in Zambian cultural tradition, few studies have been conducted to explore how language in use portrays love, grief and pain in the Zambian funeral songs. The main aim of this study is to conduct a discourse analysis of Moses Sakala's tribute song to his friend and former music associate, Levy Sakala, titled *Chobaba* 'pain' to show how language is constructed and represented to demonstrate pain, grief, love, and how it provides emotional release, honour the memory of the deceased, and offer comfort and support to the bereaved. Specifically, the study aims at answering the following question: How do funeral songs use language to express grief, comfort the bereaved, and celebrate the life of the deceased in Cinyanja? By addressing the question, this article aims at contributing to a better understanding of the linguistic, cultural, and social significance of funeral songs in Zambia and their role in shaping the discourse surrounding death and mourning.

Moses Sakala and Levy Sakala formed a music duo famously known as *Sakala Brothers musical group* in the mid-1990s. The duo was often mistaken for biological brothers mainly due to their shared surname, 'Sakala'. The two met in one of Lusaka's popular township called Matero while at Matero Boys Secondary School in the mid-1980s and began working together as a music duo after completing their secondary education. They rose to fame with their first song titled 'kumawa' under the name Moses and Levy. Later, they changed their name to Sakala Boys before becoming Sakala Brothers in the mid-2000. They recorded successes at home and abroad before splitting after 25 years of working together. The duo were popular for performing traditional Zambian music mainly from the Eastern Province of Zambia. Their songs were accompanied by sounds from modern musical instruments. A few years following their split, Levy Sakala passed on. The passing of Levy led to the composition of *Chobaba*, a tribute from his former partner, to celebrate the shared longtime friendship and partnership. It is this song that is the focus of the analysis in this article. The analysis of the song has revealed four themes namely; pain as a collective experience, pain as a personal struggle, the need for spiritual guidance, and hope and comfort. These are discussed in Section 5 of this article.

Empirical Review-discourse of Funeral Songs

Funeral songs have been studied in various parts of the world. The analysis of funeral songs in the case of Johnson (1998); Yamamoto (2017); Atoh (2017); Emmanuel and Jamila (2013); Nketia (1974); Zulu (2015); Chuba (1995) and Kapoma (2017) has been revealing. In all the studies, the analysis brings into the spotlight the complex nature of funeral songs as conveyers of emotions, honour, ideologies and intergenerational transfers of cultures that relate to funeral rites.

This study leans on those that employed discourse analysis to analyse funeral songs. For example, Johnson (1998) conducted a discourse analysis of funeral songs in the African-American community. Her study revealed ways in which these songs were used to express communal grief and resilience, as well as how they reflected the historical and cultural experiences of African Americans. In his work in Japan, Yamamoto (2017) reveals that funeral songs can be used to express a sense of continuity with the deceased, and that they establish social bonds among the bereaved and the broader community. This is in tandem with Ramshaw (2008) who notes that funeral songs are a way for mourners to express their emotions and come together as a community in mourning. For Koloko (2012:13), funeral songs help to create an atmosphere of mourning, allowing the mourners to collectively express their sorrow and pay tribute to the deceased. Thus, funeral songs are used to express grief and honour the deceased.

One study that used discourse analysis to examine African dirges is by Atoh (2017). In this study, Atoh reveals the discourse strategies which the singer uses to communicate with his audience among the Luo people of Kenya. He avers that dirges often use metaphorical language and imagery to convey complex emotions related to death and grief. This implies that dirges often reflect the social and cultural values of the communities in which they are produced (see also Ohwovoriole, 2012).

In their work on rhetorical devices, in two songs of the Kilba People of Adamawa State in Nigeria, Emmanuel and Jamila (2013) explain that dirges and funeral orations often use rhetorical devices such as repetition and parallelism to create a sense of unity and shared grief among mourners. This is in consonant with Nwosu (2019) who argues that funeral songs help create a sense of community and connection among the mourners, helping them to feel less alone in their grief.

The centrality of dirges in works that focus on discourse analysis in Africa is further brought into the spotlight in the study by Nketia (1974). By implicating the language and themes of dirges among the Akan people of Uganda, Nketia attempts to show how language and themes in dirges intersect to express grief and social commentary. The authors found that dirges in the Akan culture often use stylistic devices and idioms to communicate.

While there is limited literature specifically focused on the analysis of Zambian dirges using discourse analysis, there are a few studies that have used other methods to examine the language and themes of dirges in Zambia. One such study is by Zulu (2015), who analysed themes and functions of dirges in society. In this study, Zulu used a combination of ethnographic research and literary analysis to examine the themes and functions of dirges in Zambia. The author found that dirges are an important means of expressing grief and honouring the dead, as well as a way of transmitting cultural knowledge and values from one generation to the next.

Zulu's (2015) study was preceded by Chuba's (1995) work, which problematises proverbs and dirges from various African cultures, including Zambia, to demonstrate the ways in which language is used to convey ideology and social commentary. Thus, he notes that dirges in Zambia often use metaphorical language and imagery to convey complex emotions related to death and grief, as well as social and political commentary.

The thematic connectedness in Zambian works on dirges is further implicated in Kapoma's (2017) work on Bemba dirges who used literary analysis to examine the language and themes of Bemba dirges in Zambia. Kapoma explains that Bemba dirges often reflect the social and economic realities of the community in which they are produced, including the impact of colonialism and globalisation on traditional cultural practices. As demonstrated so far, there is a dearth in literature on Zambian dirges focusing on the use of discourse analysis. This article, therefore, endeavours to use discourse analysis to analyse the Cinyanja song, *Chobaba*.

In the next section, the theoretical principles of discourse analysis as a theoretical framework are discussed.

Theoretical Issues

The theoretical principle undergirding the analysis of this article is based on the theory and analytical framework of discourse analysis, which is an interdisciplinary approach to the study of language and communication. As a branch of linguistics, it deals with the study and application of approaches to analyse written, spoken or signed language (Cook, 1989). In other words, discourse analysis is the analysis of language in use in social contexts. It is a multi-disciplinary approach that has its roots in linguistics, sociology, psychology, anthropology, and philosophy. Stubbs

(1983) uses the term discourse analysis to refer mainly to the linguistic analysis of naturally occurring, connected spoken or written discourse (see also, Njobvu, 2010).

According to Fairclough (2003:4), discourse analysis 'involves investigating how social practices, events, and phenomena are represented, constructed, and negotiated through language'. In other words, discourse analysis aims at understanding how language is used to create meaning, power relations, and identities in specific social and cultural contexts. For Fairclough (2013), discourse analysis deals with language use from the social and cultural dimensions of communication. It also investigates how language is used to enact social practices and how these practices are shaped by language. By analysing language use, discourse analysis can help us understand how social relationships are constructed through the funeral songs. One of the key concepts in discourse analysis is the notion of discourse itself. Discourse, according to Jørgensen and Phillips (2002:2) refers to a particular way in which the world is represented in talk as it relates to social practices and power relations.

Therefore, discourse is not just about language use, but also about the social, cultural, and historical contexts in which it is used. Context refers to the social and cultural conditions in which language use occurs, including factors such as power relations, social norms, historical and political events, and the identities of the participants (Gee, 2010). Discourse analysis, thus, seeks to understand how language use is shaped and how it shapes the context in which it occurs. Van Dijk (1997) emphasises the role of power in discourse analysis and states that the study of language use must take into account the power relations that exist between participants, and that these power relations can be revealed through the analysis of language use. In the context of funeral songs, this perspective can help to uncover the ways in which power is negotiated among the bereaved, the deceased, and the broader community.

Ochs and Capps (2001) focus on narrative practices and how individuals use narrative to construct and communicate their identities and experiences in specific interactions such as the singing at funerals. Ochs and Capps argue that discourse analysis provides a means to study how language is used to construct meaning and emotion in cultural contexts. In the case of funeral songs, Ochs and Capps suggest that these songs can reveal cultural beliefs and values about death, as well as provide comfort to the bereaved. This argument is enhanced by Widdicombe and Wooffitt (1995) who emphasise the importance of analysing the social and cultural context of discourse. Widdicombe and Wooffitt's argument is centred on the idea of positioning, which refers to how individuals construct their identities and social roles through language use in interaction with others.

According to Widdicombe and Wooffitt, positioning involves a process of negotiation in which individuals draw on cultural resources such as shared narratives, discursive practices, and social categories to establish and maintain their positions in relation to others. In the context of funeral songs, individuals use language to position themselves and others as mourners, family members, community members, and as part of broader cultural and historical narratives.

The use of discourse analysis as a theoretical framework for the analysis of songs has become increasingly popular in recent years. Scholars have employed discourse analysis to examine

various aspects of songs, including their lyrics, melodies, and rhythms. In the following section, we will explain the methods used to collect and analyse the funeral song.

Methodology

The study employed qualitative approach to collect data. The main source of the data used in this article was the song *Chobaba.* The song was transcribed verbatim for easy of analysis. The authors also reviewed relevant literature on funeral songs in order to deepen their understanding of such songs and the theories used in analysing them.

Since discourse analysis is a qualitative research method used to study language in use, it was used to analyse the funeral song. This method involves analysing the language and social context surrounding the funeral song. By using this research approach, social norms and practices associated with the song were examined. This approach helps to identify the cultural values and beliefs that are embedded within the song.

Analysis of the Song

This section presents and discusses the song under study. The song *Chobaba* features a fusion of different styles, blending traditional Zambia rhythms with modern electronic beats. The song's lyrics are sung in Cinyanja, one of the official languages in Zambia as presented below:

Chobaba

1.	*Chobaba Chobaba*	Pain, pain, pain (death)
	Chobaba Chobaba	Pain, pain, pain (death)

Chorus

2.	*Anzanga chobaba*	My friends pain (death)
3.	*Anzanga chobaba*	My friends pain (death)
4.	*Ku Lusaka, ciliko*	It is there in Lusaka
5.	*Ku Migodi ciliko*	It is there on the Copperbelt
6.	*Ku Ulaya ciliko*	It is there in Europe
7.	*Konse, konse ciliko*	Everywhere, it is there
8.	*Caipira mabvuto tele, aye, aye*	The loss is so saddening
9.	*Caona ine anzanga, chobaba*	Death has befallen me, my friends
10.	*Caipira mabvuto tele, aye, aye*	The loss is saddening
11.	*Caona ine anzanga, chobaba*	Death has befallen me, my friends
12.	*Nzeru ndimphavu zanga, zacepekela*	My intellect and strength are weak
13.	*Niyangana, kwanu mbuye*	I look up to you God
14.	*Kulibe cholepheleka, kwa inu*	Nothing is impossible with you

15. *Ndipelekeni kutali ndi nkhondo yii* Spare me from this battle
16. *Ndimasuleni mbuye* Release me God
17. *Mubweletse kuwala pali mtima* Bring light to the heart
18. *Cipangano canu cosatha* Everlasting promise
19. *Munandilenga ndinu* You created me
20. *Caipila mabvuto tele, aye aye, aye* The loss is saddening
21. *Caona ine azanga cobaba* Death has befallen me my friends

22. *Caipila mabvuto tele, aye, aye, aye* The loss is saddening
23. *Caona ine anzanga, cobaba* Death has befallen me my friends

The song is centred on the theme of pain and grief of a loved one and features modern musical instrumentation, while maintaining the Zambian traditional tune.

This blending of traditional and modern elements is reflective of Zambia's unique cultural heritage and its increasing integration into the global music scene. However, the analysis will only focus on the lyrics and the social context in which they were produced. The analysis will follow discourse analytical framework.

Different lines of the song will be presented to discuss the different themes emanating from the song. The song has been numbered for easy reference when analysing it and the following sections discuss the themes that have emerged from the analysis of the song:

Pain in Death

Pain is a common theme in funeral songs as it represents the deep sorrow and grief that one feels when they lose a loved one. According to Finnegan (2007), the experience of pain and grief is not universal and can vary depending on cultural and individual factors. She, however, highlights the important role that music and cultural practices can play in helping individuals navigate the pain and grief of losing a loved one. In the song *Chobaba,* the concept of pain is first expressed in the title of the song, *Chobaba,* which literally means 'pain'. Titles are generally important devices for establishing a topic because they usually create expectations in the receiver to understand the text. Therefore, the title, '*Chobaba'* summarises the entire song. In line 1, the same word *Chobaba* is repeated two times as below:

1. *Chobaba chobaba* Pain, pain (literal meaning)
   Death, death (intended meaning)

In the above line of the song, the term death has not been explicitly presented. It is camouflaged in the word *chobaba,* 'pain'. The repetition of the noun *Chobaba* throughout the song is a key feature of the discourse. As Emmanuel and Jamila (2013) note, repetition can be used to reinforce the message that is being communicated. In '*Chobaba'* the repeated use of the word *chobaba* serves to honour the memory of the person being eulogised and to emphasise the emotional impact of the loss on the singer.

Another key feature of the discourse in '*Chobaba'* is the metaphoric representation of death by the noun *chobaba*, 'the pain', which is repeated in most of the lines throughout the song. As Lakoff and Johnson (2008: 239) note, the use of the 'metaphor shapes our thoughts and actions'. In the song, the metaphor of '*Chobaba*', which literary means 'pain' refers to 'death' in Cinyanja. The selection of the word *Chobaba* in the song is used to describe the nature of the relationship between the artist and the person being eulogised.

The theme pain has been expressed at three different levels of experiences in the song. These are collective experience, personal struggle and suffering discussed in subsequent subsections.

Pain as Collective Experience

In the song '*Chobaba'* the collective experience of pain has been expressed in the way language has been used in lines 2 and 3 as shown below to depict death.

2. *Azanga chobaba*	My friends, pain	(literal meaning)
	The pain of death my friends	(intended meaning)
3. *Anzanga chobaba*	My friends, the pain	(literal meaning)
	The pain of death my friends	(intended meaning)

In lines 2 and 3, the use of the expression *azanga chobaba* literally meaning 'my friends, the pain', creates a sense of community between the artist and the listener, as they share in the experience of mourning. The repetition of the word *chobaba* and the phrase *azanga chobaba* 'my friends, the pain' throughout the song creates a sense of urgency and emphasises the pervasive nature of pain and loss. The use of the word 'friends' suggests a shared experience of pain, as if the singer is speaking to a group of people who are all going through the same thing.

Further, the combination of the metaphor *chobaba,* 'the pain' and *azanga*, 'my friends' in line 2 and 3 creates a sense of affection between the artist and the listeners, as they are invited to share in the artist's personal relationship with the deceased. Additionally, the use of *azanga chobaba,* 'my friends, the pain' seems to be a call-and-response. Considering that discourse analysis deals with language in use, to create meaning, the use of repetition, metaphor, and call-and-response creates a particular discourse that reinforces the emotional message of the song and connects the artist and the listeners in a shared experience of grief, which is the social context - the communal nature of mourning among the Nyanja speaking people. The repeated reference of *azanga chobaba* as a chorus invites the listener to join in the mourning process and it creates a sense of solidarity between the artist and the audience (see Gumperz, 1982).

In lines 4, 5 and 6, there is a predominant reference to places. In line 4, the artist uses Lusaka, which is a capital city of Zambia, a cosmopolitan environment. People from all walks of life have settled in this place either for work or to conduct business. Another place that has been referred to is *kumigodi,* 'the mines' (line 5) which is another region in Zambia called the Copperbelt, which is the heart of Zambia's mining activities. Due to the mines, people from different parts of the country and the neighbouring countries have settled there. The song also refers to the pain

associated with death to be found in Europe '*ku ulaya'* in line 6. To show collective experience of pain in all these places, *konse, konse* 'everywhere' has been used in line 7 to refer to the shared experience of pain in death and the role played by society as in the lyrics below.

4.	*Ku Lusaka, ciliko*	In Lusaka, it is there
5.	*Kumigodi ciliko*	On Copperbelt, it is there
6.	*Ku Ulaya ciliko*	In Europe, it is there
7.	*Konse, konse ciliko*	Everywhere, it is there
8.	*Caipila mabvuto tele*	The loss is so saddening

The specific references to Lusaka, Copperbelt and Ulaya suggest that the pain and loss described in the song is not an isolated incident, but rather that it is a shared experience among the people in the city and overseas. The expression 'everywhere' in line 7, suggests the fact that the pain of death is also part of a larger universal problem. Pain is also expressed in line 8. *Caipila mabvuto tele* 'the loss is saddening' provides a brief moment of reflection, acknowledging the emotional weight of the pain and loss being described. This theme highlights the idea that pain and struggle are not isolated experiences but are instead shared by many people.

Pain as Personal Struggle

While the concept of pain is used to convey a collective experience as explained above, it is also used to describe personal struggle and hardship. This is demonstrated in lines 9 to 11 of the song as presented below.

9. *Caona ine anzanga, chobaba*	The pain (death) has befallen me, my friends
10. *Caipira mabvuto tele, aye, aye,*	The loss is so saddening
11. *Caona ine anzanga cobaba,*	The pain (death) has befallen me, my friends

In the lyrics of the song, the artist expresses a deeper personal struggle due to the death experience particularly given the long working and cordial relationship that the two had shared before splitting. The use of the expression *caona ine anzanga chobaba* 'death has befallen me, my friends' in lines 9 and 11 of the song, suggests that pain is not only a collective experience but also a deeply personal one. The repetition of the phrase 'the loss is saddening' reinforces the emotional weight of the pain and loss being described. This theme emphasises the idea that even in the midst of shared hardship, individuals may still experience personal struggles and challenges. Further, the personal struggle of pain and the plea to be spared from death is also expressed in lines 15 and 16.

15.	*Ndipelekeni kutali ndi nkhondoyi*	Spare me from this battle (actual meaning)
16.	N*dimasuleni mbuye*	Release me God (actual meaning)

Line 15, *ndipelekeni kutali ndi nkhondoyi,* 'spare me from this battle' suggests that the artist is going through a difficult and trying time. The phrase 'battle' can be interpreted as a metaphor for

the struggles and challenges that the speaker is facing in life. Suffering is a recurring motif in the song *Chobaba* as evidenced by the repeated use of the word *chobaba* (pain) throughout the lyrics. In line 16, *ndimasuleni mbuye, '*release me God' also suggests personal struggles and the desire for freedom and peace.

Overall, the use of the concept of 'pain' in the song *Chobaba* serves to convey a sense of collective struggle and shared grief and also personal pain. It also highlights the need for empathy and compassion in the face of hardship. Another theme noted in the song relates to the need to seek supernatural guidance.

Need for Spiritual Guidance

Spiritual guidance is an important aspect to Zambians and the Nyanja speaking people, in particular. Whenever there is death, prayers are usually offered, while songs of comfort and hope are sung at the funeral house. To this effect, the song '*Chobaba*' also emphasises the importance of faith and spirituality in providing comfort and guidance in the face of difficult circumstances as expressed in the lyrics below (lines 12-15 and 19).

12.	*Nzeru ndimphavu zanga, zacepekela*	My intelligence and strength are weak
13.	*Niyangana, kwanu mbuye,*	I look up to you God
14.	*Kulibe colepheleka, kwa inu*	Nothing is impossible with you
15.	*Cipangano canu cosatha*	Everlasting promise
19.	*Munandilenga ndinu*	You created me

The lyrics in line 12, *nzeru ndimphavu zanga, zacepekela,* 'my wisdom and strength are weak', in line 13, *niyangana, kwanu mbuye,* 'I look up to you, God' suggest a need for spiritual guidance and support in the face of this difficult time. The reference also to, *kulibe colepheleka, kwa inu,* 'nothing is impossible with you' in line 14, *cipangano canu cosatha* 'your everlasting promise' in line 15 and *munandilenga ndinu* 'you created me' and in line 19, emphasise the role of faith in providing hope and comfort. This theme highlights the idea that spirituality can provide a source of strength and resilience in the face of adversity. It also resonates with shared spirituality in a largely Christian nation.

Hope and Comfort

While the song generally underlines the experience of pain and grief, it also emphasises the importance of hope and comfort. This is expressed in line 17 *mubweletse kuwala pali mtima,* 'bring light to the heart', which suggests the need for emotional comfort, while line 14, *kulibe colepheleka kwa inu* 'nothing is impossible with you', emphasises the importance of hope and optimism when death takes its toll on one's life. This theme highlights the idea that even in the face of difficult circumstances, hope and comfort can provide a source of strength and resilience as presented in the lyrics below.

17.	*Mubweletse kuwala pali mtima*	Bring light to the heart
14.	*Kulibe colepheleka kwa inu*	Nothing is impossible with you
19.	*Munandilenga ndinu*	You created me

Further, in line 19, the lyrics *munandilenga ndinu*, 'you created me' suggest the everlasting promise of God's help and protection and the confirmation of God being the source of life. This stresses the role of faith and spirituality in providing a sense of comfort and hope during the time of pain.

Conclusion

The analytical and theoretical approach of discourse analysis has been used to analyse the song '*Chobaba*' by examining the way language is used to create meaning and social relationships. The article has shown how the use of repetition, metaphor, and call-and-response serves to reinforce the emotional message of the song and connect the artist and the listener in a shared experience of grief.

Zambian funeral songs are an essential part of funeral rites in Zambia, reflecting the country's rich cultural heritage and providing comfort to mourners. The study of the funeral song *Chobaba* has significant implications for understanding the Cinyanja speakers' cultural and social dynamics. The article informs that funeral songs also play a critical role in the process of mourning and bereavement and providing comfort and support to mourners during a difficult time.

A discourse analysis of the song has established four themes emanating from the song *Chobaba*. These are pain as a collective experience, pain as personal struggle, the need for spiritual guidance, and hope and comfort for the bereaved. We, therefore, argue that funeral songs when read as discourse, orient towards the three multi-dimensions of meaning – ideational, interpersonal and textual. The ideational aspect of the song highlights the collective experience of grief, pain and loss contained in a song; the interpersonal aspect resonates with shared relationships. The use of such phrases as *anzanga chobaba* potentiates the interpersonal meanings, which exist among the community of practice.

Finally, the textual meaning of the funeral songs is encased in the overall composition of the song, which in this article was taken as a discourse text. Each expression in the song constitutes a text amenable to create differing sheds of meanings to the overall mourning process. It is important, therefore, to underscore here that the textual meaning of the song *Chobaba* is created by drawing on shared experiences and allusion to the fact that death is not just locale, but a phenomenon experienced in polities such as Lusaka and the Copperbelt. Arguably, this reference to cities lifts pain from the confines of homes and makes it a notion of universal reach.

As has been demonstrated above, the funeral songs are discursively packed with historical and cultural knowledge of the people and seek to honour the departed in their attributive sense. These ideas, including the idea of pain, grief, and loss, are shared by the bereaved and those that come to provide comfort.

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DICTION AND SYMBOLISM IN SISTA D'S *VITENDENI*: A SEMIOTIC APPRAISAL

Hambaba Jimaima and Naomi Njobvu
Univeristy of Zambia

Abstract

In exploring agency and phenomenology in the fight against child abuse and molestation, we turn to Sista D's Vitendeni, zooming in on two interrelated aspects of semiotics: diction and symbolism. Composed and launched at the height of cases of girl child abuse and molestation in Zambia, Vitendeni mixes diction and symbolism to provide phenomenological commentary, awareness, and prescribes the punitive measures to end the scourge as encapsulated in the song title. Thus, the article conflates two theoretical constructs – semiotics and literary appraisal – to explore the semiotic potential of diction and symbolism in Vitendeni as lenses into the appreciation of agency and phenomenology. We conclude that: as both a semiotic and literary text, the song Vitendeni, provides analysable materiality, which extends beyond the immediate context of the song, and confirms not only the attitude of the artiste towards the vice in question, but also re-echoes the collective feelings and judgments of the public towards the perpetrators of girl child abuse. Invariably, attesting to the idea that meaning-making is always a joint project arising from the shared socio-cultural knowledge and histories of a given society and polity.

Keywords: Agency, Diction, Phenomenology, Semiotics, Symbolism

Introduction

In appraising agency and phenomenology, this article focuses on Sista D's *Vitendeni* 'cut them'– a composition released in 2006 at the height of child molestation in Zambia. Situated within the broader context of contemporary Zambian popular music, Sista D's *Vitendeni* attempts to re-narrate complex sociological happenings of its immediate context, in which the artiste highlights child abuse and proposes punitive measures to try and curb the vice. It is this lyrical potency which this article wishes to discursively interrogate in order to gain insight into how the song is seen to conflate two theoretical constructs – semiotics and literary appraisal – to explore the semiotic potential of diction and symbolism as lenses into the appreciation of agency and phenomenology. The argument here is that: as both a semiotic and literary text, the song *Vitendeni*, provides analysable materiality, which extends beyond the immediate context of the song, and confirms not only the attitude of the artiste towards the vice in question, but also re-echoes the collective feelings and judgments of the public towards the perpetrators of girl child abuse.

For ease of uptake, the article is organised as follows: the immediate section, focuses on the semiotic and literary appraisal of the study in which diction and symbolism are implicated to

underpin the meaning potential of the song. Thereafter, the methodology and data transcription are transacted. That immediately leads to the discussion of the findings and subsequently, the summary and the conclusion.

Semiotic and Literary Appraisal: Diction and Symbolism

In recent scholarship, the theoretical appraisal of how societies construct and enact meaning-making potential of the different semiotic resources has been revisited. With its Greek root *semeions* – 'semiotics deals with the way meaning is communicated (Berger, 2010:71). The work of Locke 1690 has been praised to have been the one that first used the concept semiotics as an important footing for the philosophical inquiry with regard to the relation between concepts and reality (Danesi, 2004). And thanks to the works of the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1857 – 1914) and the American philosopher Charles S. Peirce (1839 – 1914) (Danesi, 2004), that semiotics received active attention in the late nineteenth century. Jimaima (2016) records that their contribution to modern linguistics, especially Ferdinand de Saussure, is seen in grammars that were formulated based on the semiotic system (cf. Kress, 2010). In fact, *syntactics*, *semantics* and *pragmatics* are said to be based on semiotics.

In undertaking the analysis of Sista D's *Vitendeni*, it is the evolved semiotics as distilled in the work of Halliday (1994) that we apply. For, drawing on semiotics, Halliday (1994) formulated a multimodal discourse analysis, which conflates ideational, personal and text meanings within one framework. For this reason, 'systemic theory is a theory of meaning as choice, by which a language, or any other semiotic system, is interpreted as networks of interlocking options' (Halliday, 1994: 41). On this account, we take the view that 'the systemic network is a theory about language as a resource for making meaning,' and this is based on Saussure's 'understanding of the relationship between the system of language and its instantiation in acts of speaking' (Halliday, 1994: 52). In this connection, on the evolutionary continuum, multimodality 'was introduced to highlight the importance of taking into account semiotics other than language-in-use, such as image, music, gesture, and so on' (Iedema, 2003: 33). Parmentier (1994:3-4) argues that for our cognitions to involve true knowledge… object and sign must be connected in such a way that the former [i.e., object] 'determines' – specifies or specialises – the character of the latter [i.e., sign], which represents it. So, there must be some kind of principled linkage or reason, what Peirce calls the 'ground,' between the two if the sign is to become a mediate realisation of the object in this process of constantly developing knowledge-communication.

Whether we apply Saussure's two part semiotics built on the signifier and signified relation or Peirce' three part semiotics which is organised as sign, object, and interpretant also referred to as representamen, object and interpretant, respectively, the centrality of semiotics in the overall meaning making process is that elements of language or any other semiotic mode – including images, symbols and other elements and represent reality. Arguably, we believe that song as a piece of discourse is profoundly communicative given its semiotic potential.

While symbolism and diction are greatly studied in literary thought, they occupy a central place in semiotics and linguistics generally. Which is why, in describing Bourdieu's contribution

to linguistics through his language and symbolic power, Thompson (1991: 1) avers that 'we are aware that individuals speak with differing degrees of authority, that words are loaded with unequal weight, depending on who utters them and how they are used, such that some words uttered in certain circumstances have a force and a conviction that they would not have elsewhere.' It would seem here that both symbols and words are context sensitive, exerting more force and imagery in one context than in another. This would validate the claim that there are 'innumerable and subtle strategies by which words can be used as instruments of coercion and constraint, as tools of intimidation and abuse, as signs of politeness, condescension and contempt' (Thompson, 1991: 1). As will become apparent in the analysis section, the symbolic capital of words stems from the social-historical use of the language to which they are a part. And we believe that this is also true for words and symbols in Sista D's song.

Bourdieu (1991: 2) is instructive when he alleges that often, 'linguists fail to grasp the specific social and political conditions of language formulation and use' when they attempt to analyse language purely from its formal perspective. Bourdieu believes that 'everyday linguistic exchanges are situated encounters between agents endowed with socially structured resources and competencies, in such a way that every linguistic interaction, however, personal and insignificant it may seem, bears the traces of social structure that it both expresses and helps to reproduce' (1991: 2). This explains why Bourdieu (1991:4) is opposed to semiotics that excludes 'the social-historical conditions of the production and reception of texts'. Thus, any theorisation, including the ones that extend to song as text, which ignore the socio-political and practical character of language presents a superficial picture of the state of affairs.

Thus, in understanding the authorial intent and the true extent of the authority of speakers, it is important to underpin the sociological power of institutions and the limitations of words themselves. On this score, Thompson (1991: 9) instructs that 'the authority, which utterances have is an authority bestowed upon language by factors external to it.' Which means that 'when an authorised spokesperson speaks with authority, he or she expresses or manifests this authority, but does not create it: the spokesperson avails himself or herself of a form of power or authority which is part of a social institution, and which does not stem from the words alone.' To the extent that an artiste like Sista D is seen as a spokesperson of the abused girl child, it would be insightful to see how the words in the song depict a form of power, which arises from the social institution or the collective social capital. It is also important to note how the habitus – a set of dispositions, which incline agents to act and react in a certain way – has largely shaped the choice of diction and symbolism in the song – *Vitendeni*. In what follows, the methodology and data transcription are presented.

Methodology and Data Transcription

While songs are an integral part of the ethnolinguistic character of a given society, and, therefore, inviting any researcher wanting to gain insight into the significance of such songs to undertake a longitudinal ethnographic research, the current study ignores such invitation by taking a descriptive qualitative methodology. The kind of descriptive qualitative method used here merely

afforded the researchers to purposively select a song from the plethora of contemporary Zambian popular music. In this regard, the choice of Sista D's *Vitendeni* song meets the purpose for which the study was undertaken: to underpin the phenomenological aspects of the song through the lens of semiotics, diction and symbolism.

As pointed out in the introduction, *Vitendeni* is associated with the narratives and voices against child molestation. Seen from that end, the song fits into a discourse catalogue of prevention, advocacy and protestation. The song was released in 2006 and went on to be used in organised governmental and non-government awareness campaigns against child abuse. It is also significant to underscore the fact that the choice of the language in which the song was done gave it a national reach as most Zambians understand Cinyanja. Here below are the lyrics:

Vitendeni

Vitendi	Cut them
Vijubeni…	Chop them
Vichekeni…	Cut them
Vitendeni vigabenga ivo	Cut those criminals
Vijubeni vigabenga ivo	Chop those criminals
Vichekeni vigabenga	Cut the criminals
Vawononga bana eheee	They have destroyed the children
Nivinzelu vabwanji ivo	What kind of thinking is this?
Pogwila mwana mung'ono	To molest a young child
*Mwana wazaka chabe zib*ili	A child of only two years
Mwana mung'ono ehee	A very young child
Vitendeni vigabenga ivo	Cut those criminals
Vijubeni vigabenga ivo	Chop those criminals
Vichekeni vigabenga	Cut the criminals
Vawononga bana eheee	They have destroyed the children

Ref

Vitendeni…	Cut…
Vijubeni…	Chop…
Vichekeni…	Cut…
Nivizimba vabwanji ivo	What kind of charm is that?
Pogwila mwana mung'ono	To molest a very young child
Mwana wazaka chabe khumi	A child of only ten years
Mwana mung'ono eheee	A very young child

Akazi mbwe mbwe mumi sewo	Plenty of women in the streets
Akazi mbwe mbwe muma bawa	Plenty of women in bars
Niwanji mwana mung'ono	What is the young child for?
Napapata vitendeni	I beg, cut them
Vitendeni iwe…	You, cut them
Vitendeni mama…	Cut them mother

Interrogating Diction in Vitendeni

As data in Table 1 shows, Sista D's *Vitendeni* is constructed on the plethora of diction and loaded lexicon. Generally understood to mean the manner in which something is expressed in words, diction is part of the overall style of a particular text. It is normally associated with the different effects the selected words have on the people (Heffernan and Lincoln, 1986: 170). Thus, within the semiotic choices that inform the selection of the diction, there is a sense in which the artiste seeks to actuate the grotesque and urgency at the same time. As we argue later in the article, the graphic representation of the vice in the song together with the proposed punitive measure are borne by carefully selected diction, which draws on the social-historical conditions of production and reception of texts.

Table 1: Loaded Lexicon

	Diction in Nyanja	**English Gloss**
1	Vitendeni	Cut them
2	Vijubeni	Chop them
3	Vichekeni	Mutilate them
4	Vigabenga	Criminals
5	Wononga	Destroy
6	Vizimba	Charms
7	Vinzelu	Thoughts (pejorative)
8	Gwila	Molest
9	Napapata	I plead
10	Mwana mung'ono	Small child

Firstly, we acknowledge the fact that even though we refer to the data presented in Table 1 as diction (words), they can be read as syntactic units larger than words as they incorporate, as in the case of data 1 to 3, subject marker and the verbal form. That notwithstanding, reading these linguistic units as used in the song, somewhat compels us to look upon them as words with one unitary semiotic force. We now turn to illustrating their effect on the overall meaning of the song.

1. Vitendeni
2. Vijubeni
3. Vichekeni

The song opens with these three words in 1, 2, and 3 above. Measured on the semantic scale of sense relations, the words can be said to be synonyms. All the three words carry the sense of cutting. The question would be why would three synonyms be used at the beginning of a song when one would have done the job? The answer to this question is as complex as the question itself. Firstly, we argue that the deployment of synonymous words was semiotically motivated to sufficiently summarise the essence of the song: to end child abuse through the chopping off of the perpetrators' private organs. The second assumption we put forward in this respect, is the fact that given that there are no true synonyms; the use of the three words to describe the same act of cutting was to graphically render the process of cutting predicated on the different shades of meanings borne by each of the three words. Notice the potential meaning of each of the words: *vitendeni* carries with it the sense of mere cutting, *vijubeni* carries the meaning of chopping off with speed, while *vichekeni* shows an act of mutilation. The three different shades of meaning reinforce the overall meaning of the song and, hence, present a heightened gruesome nature of the punishment. It is also argued that pejorative marker [vi] in the three words is semiotically charged to depict the grotesque nature of the organs being referred to. Collectively, the three words trigger a successful localisation of the punishment within the women agency where knives as their kitchen instrumentalities are used.

Further, the use of the three synonyms in one instance for a call to one action demonstrates the intricate relationship between diction and repetition in creating the sense of urgency. Carried by the imperative mood with an elliptical subject, the three words in 1 to 3 potentiate the urgency with which the punitive measures should be transacted. There is a sense to which the artiste seeks to attach both importance and urgency to her message in this deployment of the sense relation of synonymy. It would seem that should the appeal be missed by the use of one of the words, at least, it can be understood by the use of the other synonym. Therefore, the triple articulation of the same meaning is undoubtedly intentional and is a semiotically motivated undertaking. We also note that in all the three words, the tense is in the present. This shows that the action to mutilate must be actuated in that moment of reporting rather than later.

Another loaded lexicon is number 4 *vigabenga*. Going through the entire song, there is no express mention of the male gender, who we believe are signified by the signifier *vigabenga*. The denotation – 'the objective relationship between a lexeme and the reality to which it refers' (Crystal, 2006: 170) – is unmistakably identifiable. As has been discussed in the section about the symbolism, the only humans with organs that are amenable to cutting and could be used to sexually abuse the girl child are men. Thus, the diction – *vigabenga* – is pictorial and graphic as well as denotative. We thus, argue that the criminality of the act of child molestation cannot be fully painted and achieved outside of the semantic extension of the sense of the word *vigabenga*. We believe that the selection of the diction for describing the criminality is well attuned and socio-culturally situated. While the prefix [vi] could denote plurality; we think that in the song, the prefix [vi] describes the gross and the grotesque nature of the criminals.

We wish to end the discussion of the diction with data number 9 *napapata*. The use of *napapata* (I beg; plead) is consistent with the overall sense of urgency depicted in the song. At

another level, the selection of the diction *napapata* (I beg) orients towards lack of agency on the part of the artiste to end the criminality. Agency is understood as a thing or person that acts to produce a particular effect or achieve an end. The fact that the artiste is seen to be begging for help, she denies herself the power of agency and transfers this to the unnamed actor, the one who should cut off the private organs. The decapitation of self-agency by the artiste is illustrative of the sense of hopelessness and, by extension, the place of weakness assumed by the composition. However, we hold the view that the decapitation of self-agency should be processed through Bourdieu's (1991: 2) portrayal of language: 'every linguistic exchange [should be seen] as situated encounters between agents endowed with socially structured resources and competencies, in such a way that every linguistic interaction, however, personal and insignificant it may seem, bears the traces of the social structure that it both expresses and helps to reproduce.' If what Bourdieu says is anything to go by, the begging expressed in *napapata* depicts the social structure in which women depend on men for survival. Additionally, the begging typified by the utterance *napapata* represents the voices of the abused girl child, who is the locus of the song and the object the song seeks to reproduce.

Underpinning Symbolism in Vitendeni

The semiotic dynamics of the song *Vitendeni*, is heightened by its loaded symbolism. Whether taken as an arbitrary sign (written or printed) that has acquired a conventional significance, symbols are a productive way to capture complex meanings in any communicative act. On this note, Chandler (2017: 45) reminds us that 'language is a predominantly symbolic sign system and is widely seen as the pre-eminent symbolic form', for which Peirce remarks 'all words, sentences, books and other conventional signs are symbols'. This generalisation of what a symbol is allows us to theoretically distil the use of some words in Sista D's *Vitendeni* as symbolism because symbolism can denote metaphors. After all, 'a symbol fulfils its function regardless of any similarity or analogy with its object and equally regardless of any factual connection therewith' (Chandler, 2017: 45). Thus, the following words as captured in Table 1 above fulfil their symbolic function in ways that are apparent:

4. Wononga
5. Vizimba
6. Gwila
7. Vitendeni, vijubenji, vichekeni

In data set 4, *wononga* (destroy) in Chandler's (2017) view of symbolism can be read as a symbol despite its similarity with its object, which it represents. In the song, the artiste describes the act of child molestation as destructive. The symbolic nature of the word lies in its double application: child abuse leads to bodily harm because of the asymmetric correspondence between the abuser and the abused in age and size. Secondly, the sexual abuse results in mental and emotional trauma. It is here that we see that '*wononga'* should be understood as a symbolic use of language that

graphically attempts to underpin the complex relationship between the signifier and signified, in which the act of child abuse is thus, portrayed as a savage act that leads to destruction, which can never be reversed.

The data in 5 *vizimba* (charms/ jinx) has been used symbolically to explain the myth that relates child molestation with jinx. The myth holds that having sex with a minor can bring you success in business, while elsewhere, the act has been associated with healing from incurable maladies. Again, here Bourdieu (1991) as is Kress (2010), is instructive as he sees any linguistic expression as an attempt to reproduce the socio-historical reality of a given setting. In implicating the act of child abuse with charms, Sista D draws on the shared socio-cultural histories of the people to enact her persuasive act aimed at preventing the vice. In fact, the song uses the question form to display the misplaced misconception about the assumed curative power of child abuse. It is here that words have been 'used as instruments of coercion and constraint, as tools of intimidation and… as signs of condescension and contempt' (Thompson, 1991: 1). In asking the question, 'is it charms? Or what kind of thinking is this which leads to child abuse? Sista D deploys language as a tool to coerce, constraint, and as a sign of condescension and contempt. She basically chides the perpetrators of child molestation. In this way, language is seen as 'an integral part of our social life, with its ruses and iniquities, and that a good part of our social life consists of the routine exchange of linguistic expressions…' (ibid).

The data in 6, *gwila* (lit trans. Manhandle) is a rendition of the Town Nyanja, which symbolically means molest. Its symbolic potency lies in the fact that its use demonstrates, in a graphic way, the nature of the sexual assault between persons with unequal power. In the song, the pictorial representation of this imbalance in power relation is semiotically portrayed by mentioning of the ages of the victims: '*mwana mung'ono'* (very small child); *mwana wazaka chabe zibili* (a small child of only two years); *mwana wazaka chabe khumi* (a small child of only ten). The exactitude in age heightens the degree of the grotesque nature of the abuse as the victims cannot defend themselves.

Finally, in data 7, the three synonyms are revisited to classify them under the symbolic use of words in the song. While we may never tell the extent of the chopping that is inferred by the use of *vitendeni*, *vijubeni*, *vichekeni*, there is a sense to which reading the text (song) together with the attendant discourse of the time might reveal what the symbolism of the words could be. In fact, on her Facebook page, Sista D has used the three words with a hush tag '*castrate them'*. There is a plausible explanation then to think that the words *vitendeni*, *vijubeni* and *vichekeni* refer to castration rather than to the chopping off of the manhood. In essence, the object of the message is to cause erectile dysfunction among the perpetrators of child abuse.

Summary and Conclusion

In exploring agency and phenomenology in the fight against child abuse and molestation, Sista D's *Vitendeni*, offers two interrelated aspects of semiotics: diction and symbolism to provide phenomenological commentary, awareness, and prescribes the punitive measures to end the scourge as encapsulated in the song title. The phenomenological aspect of the song comes alive

when one recognises Bourdieu's habitus in the theory of practice (1991). The song and its artiste present the dispositions, which cause the agent to act and react in a certain way. The song, we believe, is a reaction to the prevalent cases of child abuse in Zambia. While we have argued that the artiste decapitates her self-agency by using the linguistic expression of begging (*napapata*), there is a sense that the dispositions in the artiste generate practices, perceptions and attitudes (Thompson, 1991) about her immediate environment and acts in a predictable way to try and heighten awareness of the evil of child molestation. The lack of power to carry out the chopping off of the perpetrators' private organs demonstrates Bourdieu's argument that authority does not inherently reside in words; authority stems of social institutions. It would seem, therefore, that the artiste recognises her limited authority as she does not have any socially institutionalised power beyond her role as a musician. This recognition allows the artiste to semiotically exploit the potential of the diction and symbolism in quite a strategic way. As demonstrated in the sections above, the deployment of synonyms – *vitendeni*, *vijubeni* and *vichekeni* – was semiotically revealing and rewarding as emphasis, urgency and importance were articulated in one moment of communication. Like other dictions, these three words are lexically loaded, potentiating meanings beyond what just one of them could have accomplished. The different shade of meanings each word exudes allows the song to articulate in an unambiguous way the intent of the composition – to decapitate organs of abuse.

The deployment of symbolism in song is not only semiotically motivated; it is also culturally endowed. Chandler (2017) has guided that all words are symbolic, and function to satisfy the relationship between the signifier and signified. Seen in this way, the words in the song dislodge beyond their denotative meaning to evoke connotation. Words like *wononga* (destroy) suggest irreparable effects of child molestation - physically and emotionally. Similarly, words like *vizimba* 'charm' summon the socio-historical realities of the society of production and reception. The symbolism of charm in relation to child abuse is well understood in the Zambian context. Thus, any form of linguistic expression carries with it the established socio-cultural knowledge and histories of its users. To this end, as both a semiotic and literary text, the song *Vitendeni*, provides analysable materiality, which extends beyond the immediate context of the song, and confirms not only the attitude of the artiste towards the vice in question, but also re-echoes the collective feelings, dispositions and judgments of the public towards the perpetrators of girl child abuse. Invariably, attesting to the idea that meaning making is always a joint project arising from the shared sociocultural knowledge and histories of a given society and polity.

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ORAL SONGS AND WEDLOCK: TRADITIONAL SONGS AS CEMENT OF CONNUBIAL UNION IN THE BEMBA TRADITIONAL SOCIETY

Shadreck Kondala

University of Zambia

Abstract

The article sheds light on the role that traditional oral songs played in fortifying matrimony in the Bemba traditional society. It problematises the idea that orality has relatively been abandoned in modern Zambian society particularly the singing of traditional songs. This neglect of orality, particularly, that of traditional songs has led to major weaknesses in connubial union resulting into numerous divorces. The article argues that there was relative stability of traditional marriages over modern ones in terms of duration of marriage while admitting the few challenges that characterised the former. It argues that traditional marriages were very stable largely because the songs inculcated certain essential values into the subject's mind that rendered most marriages successful. Moreover, many people enjoyed these songs partly because of the songs melody, musicality, repetition, brevity, and duality of meaning. Ultimately, the article strongly recommends that modern Zambian society should embrace traditional songs and revert to the practice of singing these songs in modern times in order to salvage marriages. The article is grounded in theories in oral literature as propounded by scholars such as Ruth Finnegan and Isidore Okpewho, among others.

Keywords: Traditional, Bemba, Musicality, Connubial, Brevity, Repetition, Surface Meaning, Deep Meaning

Introduction

The article aims at demonstrating the instrumentality of oral forms with regard to wedlock. The oral forms identified are traditional songs. The article will shed light on how traditional songs helped in cementing marriage in typical traditional societies. The songs that concern marriages are those that are sung during initiation and wedding ceremonies. The songs that will be discussed are Bemba songs; accordingly, it will focus on the traditional Bemba society. Given that Bemba as a language belongs to the Bantu language group, the applicability of various aspects that will be discussed can comfortably be said to apply to other ethnic groups that boast of Bantu ethnic affiliations as Bantu languages and cultures are similar. Certain practices typical of a traditional Bemba society are shared with other ethnic groups because of similar roots (Chondoka, 1988; and Lisimba, 1999).

Artefacts associated with marriage will not be discussed as those are outside the scope of this article albeit their proximity with the topic at hand. Similarly, the various dances that accompany the songs will also not be covered. The article will focus on songs exclusively. Most of these songs were obtained and adapted from various sources, which include: Kapwepwe (1994); Makashi (1971); Rasing (2001); and Kapyela (2012).

It is hoped that after the presentation of the fabric of traditional society with regard to the role that traditional songs played in fortifying matrimony, the article will ignite a deliberation about the relevance of the songs under discussion to modern marriages. Is it possible that traditional songs can be instrumental in strengthening modern marriages? This article is based on the assumption that traditional marriages were more stable than modern ones (Chondoka, 1988; and Kapwepwe, 1994). Further, the article assumes that marriages, especially good marriages, are instrumental in the development of the community and the nation at large. However, it does not justify gender inequalities (if at all there are any) but merely attempts to shed light on the instrumentality of traditional songs in cementing marriage in a traditional society.

It will be observed shortly that the article leans more on women than men; that many songs that will be discussed are expected to be sung by women. This is chiefly because most wedding and initiation songs focus on women. Moreover, it is pertinent to state that most traditional societies across the world are patriarchal. The Bemba traditional society is not an exception. In these societies, men emphasise that women be prepared before marriage (Kapwepwe, 1994). Simply put, men are the ones who marry in most traditional cultures. The man (or his family) initiates the proposal, while the woman usually positions herself well so that she responds to the former's proposal. Men are the ones who choose and marry *abanakashi basuma* 'good' women and leave *bacitongo* 'bad' ones. The question as to whether their choice is fair or not, however, will not be explored in this study. Nonetheless, to be chosen, women should portray themselves in an attractive and decent manner in tandem with traditions and customs of a particular society. Any particular woman who is despised in the spectacles of the society would rarely be considered for marriage once she is labeled as 'bad' or 'uninitiated'. Granted, preparation for marriage in a traditional society does happen in both men and women albeit differences in the duration of their training. Periods are comparatively longer for women than it happens with men.

Marriage

Marriage is a crucial establishment, and its definitions abound. Gondwe (2005: iv) defines it as, '… a transaction between two interested parties determined by the jural or moral ordinances which bind it in the social setting'. It is also '… a legal union of man and woman in partnership with respect to homemaking, bearing and rearing of children, and general interdependence and mutual comfort and support' (Holy Bible, 2010). According to Mapoma (2015: 113), 'Marriage is perceived to be a family and societal stabiliser and generally, a source of happiness.' As earlier alluded to, the fact that marriage facilitates a family unit, and the benefits of a stable family cannot be over-emphasised. Stable families afford numerous advantages to both adults and school-going children. As a matter of fact, stable families have a positive influence towards pupils' academic

performance. In most cases, stable families facilitate the tranquillity in pupils' lives as it eliminates emotional difficulties that other pupils from broken homes (in the case of separation and divorce) seem to encounter, (Kasoma, 2012: 8). Kapwepwe (1994) also asserts that marriage is vital, and he goes further by linking it to national development.

However, the challenge is that not all marriages remain stable permanently. A number of them disintegrate with the passage of time and eventually end up in divorce. Obviously, divorce existed in traditional society a long time ago and it still does presently, depending on circumstances. Thus, one has a firm conviction that whatever will be discussed is relevant to present times. Caution is probably timely at this juncture: although the article touches on marriage which is a crucial subject in sociological and anthropological disciplines, it should be borne in mind that the subject of marriage and culture cuts across disciplines.

Currently, it is a widely acknowledged fact that divorces and separations are rampant. Gondwe (2005: 1) attributes modern divorces to lack of adherence to traditional culture. He (Ibid: 4) asserts that 'Marriage is unstable these days because young men and women no longer know literary forms.' Youths often venture into the marriage union without adequate preparation. The situation is critical in urban and peri-urban areas where most people have almost completely discarded traditional culture, ethics and guidance. To lengthen the odds, villages are not an exception because there is radical dilution of traditional practices there also. Gondwe (ibid: 6) proposes that youths should be taught traditional menu to strengthen marriage. It is not only Gondwe who laments the instability of marriages. Chondoka (1988:166) also affirms that 'It is a well-known fact that comparatively marriages in traditional society are stronger than our modern marriages. He (ibid: 162) laments that people have forgotten the real meaning of marriage as it existed during pre-independence era. Chondoka might have observed this 35 years ago but there are sufficient reasons to believe that this has worsened presently.'

A few statistics can be appropriate at this point so as to vivify the extent of divorce in modern society. According to the online news source Lusakatimes (13 May 2012 at 0853 am), divorce rates in Zambia have risen and this trend is worrisome. Specialists attribute this to the following reasons: unfaithfulness, drunkenness, lack of communication, violence, finances, parental interference and early marriages as core causes of divorce. A certain Magistrate Mwansa who handles divorces cases in Lusaka also echoes Gondwe's argument idea that most divorces emanate from the couple's lack of preparation. Divorce statistics in Lusaka district alone are overwhelming. For instance, 207 divorces were granted at Lusaka local court between April and May 2013 (Lusakastar 23/04/2014). And most recently there were 22,000 divorce cases in 2021 and 31,000 divorce cases in 2022 ('Divorce cases alarming' Post published in Daily mail January 11, 2023 retrieved on 18 February 2023 http://www.daily-mail.co.zm/divorce-cases-alarming/).

Marital dislocation does not only lead to divorce but also to what Ngulube (1989: 13) calls **New Polygamy**. This is where married men tend to keep concubines besides their wives. Some of such concubinages last a long time such that they even bear many children. It should be mentioned, however, that while it is true that divorce is caused by multiple factors, the article will not explore

these but will focus on traditional songs since these seem to be core determinants in the success or failure of connubial union.

Marriage in Traditional Societies

It should be pointed out that the understanding of the concept of marriage in traditional circles is different from the modern one. In that in the former marriage is a wider relationship that embraces the families of husband and wife whereas in the latter it is an exclusive relationship between husband and wife (Chondoka, 1988:16). He (ibid) further highlights that traditional marriage looked at marriage as a union of man and woman forever and that it was characterised by extremely few divorces and these were based on genuine reasons (in the traditional context) such as barrenness, lack of respect for relatives or laziness, among others. The extended family was vital in the traditional society. The connubial union between spouses included the kin of the woman as well as that of the man. Siakavuba (1989: 20) highlights that in traditional societies' parents were handy at every stage of connubial union namely, choice of child's spouse, bridal expenses and counselling, among others.

Perhaps traditional marriages were more stable because of the approval and support of the extended family. The couple tried to avoid disappointing relatives in the extended family who had tirelessly worked to ensure that marriage was successful.

Assuredly, many traditional societies were patriarchal; men were in charge. Mostly, women particularly married women were not actively involved in decision making and they were relatively submissive and voiceless in the public spaces. However, there were many subtle loopholes that women utilised to air out their views and complaints. Traditional songs and other oral genres were handy in this case. Through such measures, women could indirectly and subtly make their voices heard. Even patriarchal establishment acknowledged it though not very overtly. Through songs, a woman could complain or rebuke a man indirectly during events such as traditional ceremonies and wedding ceremonies (Sumaili, 1994). These married women also utilised work songs at their respective households to achieve the same effect. In this case, songs are akin to proverbs in as much as they are charged with ancestral authority and their messages are not easily discarded. Moreover, the songs were appreciated for their melody and musicality. Everyone in society particularly married men respected and appreciated these songs as music but also as media through which their wives could express themselves. Therefore, wives delivered their subtle messages, views and complaints uninterruptedly especially to their husbands. Here a proverb can be useful to illustrate what has been stated above: *'Ifilanda abanakashi fyabuwelewele leelo uushumfwako ciipuba."* Literally translated as: 'things that women talk about are silly but whoever does not listen is a fool,' (Mpashi, 1963). This proverb can be said by a man to advise a fellow man in an attempt to massage the latter's patriarchal egotism but subtly implying that there is sense in women's utterances thus he should pay attention to what women say.

Traditional Songs

Traditional songs are typical oral forms; they are cultural songs. These songs have been transmitted from generation to the next for many years. They serve dual functions namely, didactic and entertainment and they contain society's mores. No individual can claim authorship of these songs. As such, they embody a particular people's collective wisdom as will be evidenced below.

Significance of Traditional Songs

Indeed, traditional songs strengthen marriage and their usefulness cannot be overemphasised. Aforesaid, usually traditional songs are sung during marriage ceremonies and do not only serve the purpose of entertainment but also didacticism (Nkwilimba, 1992). They are designed to prepare the woman for marriage seeing that marriage is not an easy encounter just as it also has numerous other advantages. These songs carry with them certain morals that have the potential to make marriage a success. Their lessons vary from crucial ingredients necessary for family such as generosity, humility, fidelity, initiative, obedience, submission, housekeeping, thriftiness, diligence, tolerance, perseverance, peace, prudence, contentment, personal hygiene, hospitality, respect, social duties and domestic duties, among others, that are very much attributed to the idea of *umwanakashi musuma* (good woman).

Traditionally, a man is expected to marry *umwanakashi musuma*. A good woman is one who is initiated; one who is prepared. The man also has to be prepared so that he will be in the position to correctly interpret gestures that are advanced by his spouse. He should not find them peculiar but should be familiar with them. The man must be mature. Maturity entailed that the man should be a paterfamilias; he should be able to provide for his family as well as protect and defend them from harm.

As mentioned above, songs pertaining to marriage albeit varying in a marginal sense come in two forms: those that are sung during initiation ceremonies and those that are sung during wedding ceremonies. They are designed to be transmitted from one generation to another. The functional usefulness of these songs lies in **brevity** and **repetition**. Okpewho (2005:71) explains that repetition as it is used in oral literature has both aesthetic and utilitarian value. Besides serving a certain practical purpose in the overall organisation of an oral performance, repetition bestows touch or attractiveness to a piece of oral expression. It also facilitates emphasis of certain mores in a song. Similarly, brevity of verses is crucial as it promotes the internalisation of the message by the subject. The lines are very few, but they are repeated to ensure that the message sinks in the subject's mind. Despite the fact that the songs are characterised by brevity and repetition, melody, musicality, and rhythm are still not sacrificed. They are sweet to the ear and women sing and dance to them. Through dance, women express their inner feelings physically and symbolically.

The songs are characterised by double meanings. There is a **surface meaning** as well as the **deep or intended meaning(s)**. Actually, some songs can afford more than one deep meaning. Some of these meanings border on genitalia and the act of love-making which are central in wedlock. The surface meaning refers to the literal meaning of the song. This is the meaning that anyone who understands a language, Bemba in this case, can grasp. The deep meaning on the other

hand is esoteric. This is the intended meaning. Only the initiated can understand this meaning. This duality of meaning allows songs to be sung even in public or during work. And in these instances, the uninitiated would be able to understand the surface meaning only and not the deep meaning.

Granted, conflict is inevitable as long as people live together; as Bemba wisdom teaches*: 'Imiti ipalamene taibula kukwesana*,' literally translated as: 'Trees that are close by cannot avoid rubbing against each other.' Married people in the traditional society were not exempted. They differed. However, most of their marriages were saved by good conflict resolution skills. Their differences did not necessarily lead to divorce or separation (Chondoka, 1988). Certainly, traditional songs were invaluable in facilitating the success of many marriages, as will be seen below.

Of course, certain songs would be criticised especially in the realms of Christendom, gender activism and feminism. Some of the criticisms are concerned with how and when they are performed. However, this article will not dwell on the weaknesses but strengths while acknowledging the idea that perfection is difficult to attain. Everything on the face of the earth has got its weaknesses depending on one's vantage point. However, the weaknesses will not be allowed to undermine the benefits of traditional songs.

Having discussed traditional songs, it would be appropriate to outline some and discuss their meanings below.

	Song	Surface Meaning	Intended meaning	Value
1	*Mwana wandi leka nkwebe* *Lamba inshila* *Icaalo caaba na bene* *Lamba inshila* *Nakubakulu, lamba inshila*	My child let me tell you Avoid the way. The world has its owners Avoid the way To elders, avoid the way	The woman is advised to humble herself in life so as to live well with others in society especially the elderly. Excessive pride should be avoided	HUMILITY
2	*Bampombo uku mwaya ee* *Tabatunsha mutima* *Nga mwatunsha umutima bampombo mukabwela*	You duiker where you are going They do not make the heart bump If you make the heart bump You duiker you will come back	The woman is advised to avoid being very talkative so that she can live peacefully with relatives in her home. (Bear in mind that traditional life was communal)	PEACE
3	*Caanga na mwele* *Caanga na mwele mukashi wandi* *Caanga na mwele* *Caanga na mwele ukanjipaya*	You who plays with a knife You who play with a knife, my wife You who play with a knife You who play with a knife, you will kill me	The woman is advised never to go for sharp instruments each time they quarrel with her husband as this can result in the death of the husband. It encourages people to desist from gender-based violence (GBV) and adopt dialogue as a solution when differences arise	PEACE
4	*Umuko muko* *Nangu acepe ninokofyala*	Your in-law is your in-law No matter how small, she is your mother-in-law	The woman is advised to respect her mother-in-law regardless of her status in life. She could be poor, mentally retarded, or physically challenged but she deserves respect because she bore a son – her husband It cautions those women who think that their mother-in-law do not matter and hence despise them. Such women, according to traditional beliefs, do not receive blessings in life	RESPECT

5	*Munang'ani enda nakabale* *Mukupula enda nakabale*	She is lazy who moves with a small plate When she is begging she moves with a small plate	Advises the woman to be hardworking. She should contribute to the production of food in the house, that is, cultivating and do house chores in the house including cooking for the husband. The woman who fails to cook and goes begging is deemed foolish. This can scare the husband and encourage him to look for a better wife	DELIGENCE
6	*Umweni bane ee* *Umweni bamuceba panda* *Pamenso tepo bane* *Umweni bamuceba panda*	A visitor friends Is glanced at the stomach It is not on the face friends	Woman is advised to be hospitable to visitors and give them food when they come. Food should be prepared even before they sit down to chat	HOSPITALITY
7	*Wemulume ndikutemenwe* *Leka maombela kubili* *Leka maombela ee* *Leka maombela kubili*	My husband I love you Stop doing it two-fold Stop doing it *ee* Stop doing it two-fold	The song is sung by women to warn a man from having extramarital relationships. Instead of unnecessary confrontations, the woman only sings this and thereby communicates her feelings in a peaceful manner. In most cases, the man considers.	ADVICE
8	*Twafika kubweni* *Mwaice wandi* *Sunga inyambi twafika kubweni*	We have arrived as visitors My younger sibling Keep your reservoir We have arrived as visitors	Woman advised not to have sexual intercourse with her husband when they have gone to visit. She should be the one to control and she should refuse sex with her husband to avoid embarrassment arising from sensual cries and creaking of the bed. Moreover, it is believed that the host can use semen left on the bed sheets to bewitch them	SELF RESTRAINT
9	*Cincila ci mayo* *Efyo bafwaya* *Napakwipika ulecincila* *Efyo bafwaya*	Be a hard worker you woman That is what they want Even when cooking, you should be hard working That is what they want	The woman is encouraged to work hard and be proactive	DELIGENCE

10	*Balume bandi* *Nangu cipuba caandi* *Nangu lishilu lyandi*	He is my husband, he is my husband Whether a fool he is mine Whether a lunatic he is mine	Contentment in one's husband. No need to covet others	CONTENTMENT
11	*Ciminine ciminine bamayo Ciminine* *Napabakulu* *Caimininafye ubupuba ciminine*	She (derogatory) is standing anyhow mother Even among elders She stands foolishly	The woman is advised to have good manners and to behave decently in the presence of elders	RESPECT
12	*Kapapa kalubalala* *Mwikamona ukutuntumana* *Mukati emuli amaano* *Mukati emuli amaano*	Groundnut cover Do not just look at its round shape Wisdom is inside Wisdom is inside	Advises one not to pass judgment based on outward appearances because things may not be what they seem. (It is also used to warn spouse's family not to judge others)	JUDGMENT
13	*Naya mukutamba icipunsha ukucilele umwana cileti owe owe*	I am going to see a useless woman who is breast feeding a child, She says 'Oh, oh'	The woman should not forget other duties in the house even when she has a baby	CONSIDERATION
14	*Bikeni ibende na mailo mukatwa*	Put the motor down, you will pound tomorrow	Advises a woman to stop working when she receives a visitor but first to give him/her food	HOSPITALITY
15	*Naluba mpande kwisano*	I lost my necklace at the chief's palace	The warning for the husband that he should look after his wife otherwise she will leave leave him	ADVICE
16	*Ukulupili ukulupili naikala mumpatampata*	A mountain this side and a mountain that side, I stay in between	The woman is in the midst of problems with parents, parents-in-law and her husband. She should be able to handle them	ADVICE
17	*Buce buce we mwana wandi* *Malengenia abambile akaoma mukuteka mutima*	Slowly slowly my child that is how a lizard made his drum through patience	1. The woman is advised to be patient when even when she wants something	PATIENCE

			2. The woman should be cautious and patient with her man when he has extramarital affairs 3. The woman should move her waist slowly when having sexual intercourse with her husband	
18	*Utwana twankanga tulelila umusowa twafwa kunsala*	The young birds of a guinea fowl are crying from hunger	1. Advises the woman to teach her children. She should care for them and feed them and should not let them cry for food or anything else 2. When there is divorce, children suffer. Divorce is discouraged thus	CHILD CARE
19	*Na mantenya mung'anda ushilala waikalila na mantenya na mantenya*	You cannot lie in a home where you don't sleep	Every woman should have a house and should keep the secrets of the house. She should not quarrel with the husband outside the house	SECRECY
20	*Ine ndi mwina Luwingu ulubuli talwabuka mumana mukobe nakobeka nakobeka mukobe*	I am from Luwingu, fighting does not go across the river, pulling the rope	Woman advised that when the husband shouts at her outside the house, she should just keep quiet and go inside	PEACE
21	*We mwaume wakusundila kuli lubanga ulubanga taumwene abanobe bashitako akakufimbana cinshele*	You, man, who sits all day at home, just urinating on green vegetable, don't you see others buying things and working hard	The man is lazy. During the day he does not do anything	DELIGENCE
22	*Kolokoto wakutweleko nangu wasanga icilifi nangu wasanga akalifi kolokoto wakutweleko*	Play with it whether it is a small one or it is a big one	The woman is advised to be contented with any size of her husband's genitalia	CONTENTMENT

23	*Cifutu malinga niwe wafutubele cifutu malinga nacitembo cifutu malinga*	It is you who is idle, like being caught in a trap	A song a woman sings to indirectly rebuke the man who sits idle and who waits for his wife to make food	DELIGENCE
24	*Nsengeleleko tumone mbale umulume tabanakutemwa*	Move that side the husband is not grateful	Advises a woman that men are difficult, and they are not easy to please	CAUTION
25	*Umulume anjebele cibongo teka mailo ukaya*	My husband you are lazy, tomorrow you will go	The woman is advised to work hard. She should be able to cook, make love and do other things for the husband	DELIGENCE
26	*Katembo kafinina kubili nakwa na mulume kalmia nakwa na mukashi kalemba katembo kafinina kubili*	The stick weighs on sides on the husband's side as well as on the wife's side	The woman is advised to be impartial. She has to give things equally to her husband's relatives and to her own	IMPARTIALITY
27	*Tente wandi nanukwile neka, tente anjalukila Bampokolola abanandi, tente tente*	My slippery mushroom I picked myself, but it has changed My friends have snatched it from me, it's theirs now	Cautions the woman to take care of her husband well otherwise other people (friends) could snatch her husband from her	CAUTION
28	*Kapelee mfundila mumutima kapelee*	Turtle dove I teach in the heart	Advises a woman to keep secrets of the house and not to quarrel outside	SECRECY

Conclusion

Traditional songs (initiation and marriage songs) were instrumental in cementing connubial union in the Bemba traditional society. Their very essence in terms of form and the manner of performance facilitated this task. Through repetition and brevity, the subject could absorb the messages contained therein. Though few transgressed, perhaps they did so with some substantial baggage of guilt-conscience. As a consequence, divorce was very infrequent. Equipped with knowledge obtained from these songs, people could effectively fortify their marriages. Women in their traditional context knew how to safeguard their marriages from forces that usually destroy them inter alia: money issues, parental influence, sexual dissatisfaction, loose talk, relatives, spouse differences and infidelity. The songs equipped women with useful skills that enhanced their temperaments and the way they reacted to certain stimuli pertaining to marriage in the traditional society. Moreover, the songs facilitated a means to voice their grievances indirectly. These songs were invaluable in a traditional society. Clearly, the knowledge and practice of these songs can serve the purpose of fortifying many marriages even in modern times.

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