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Commodified Versions of Shona Indigenous Music: (Re)constructing Tradition in Zimbabwean Popular Music

by

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A dissertation submitted for the degree of Master of Arts (in Music)
in the Wits School of Arts, Faculty of Humanities,
University of the Witwatersrand

Declaration

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing that is the outcome of work done in collaboration.

Vimbai Chamisa

February 2014

Dedication

For my parents, Ezekiel and Cathrine Chamisa

Abstract

Commodified versions of Shona indigenous music: (Re)constructing tradition in Zimbabwean popular music

This thesis examines Shona commodified songs in order to develop a set of criteria for critically determining whether a Zimbabwean popular song has appropriated a Shona traditional song and whether this enables the song to be categorised as "commodified Shona traditional music". The study identifies and analyses Zimbabwean popular songs by selected musicians. It identifies strategies and patterns adopted by the musicians to reconstruct Shona traditional sources. The study also questions why the musicians draw from the indigenous sources in certain ways and how the commodified songs are meaningful to them and Shona community members in general. The analysis shows that there are certain cultural values associated with each of the distinct Shona musical genres namely *mbira*, *ngoma* and *jiti*. These determine how the songs are adapted. *Mbira* music is believed to be the product of ancestors and therefore all the popular songs that reproduce *mbira* traditional sources must retain "standard basic" structural elements. The melorhythmic patterns associated with *ngoma* traditional sources are usually maintained in popular music. While text constantly changes, traditional themes are usually continued. However, the perception and understanding of cultural values usually differ from one popular musician to another depending on varying personal backgrounds and compositional purposes. Generally, there are four strategies employed in the adaptation of Shona traditional music. These are imitation, sampling, combining two or more distinct indigenous styles and abstract adaptation. The inclusion and exclusion of Shona indigenous elements in popular music performance play an important role in the reconstruction and negotiation of cultural heritage and identity for contemporary musicians and audiences.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Since the early 1970s in Zimbabwe, a notable growth in the use of Shona traditional music within national and transnational music cultures has taken place.[1] This is mainly due to cultural globalization which is facilitated through factors such as colonialism, nationalism and postcolonial state policies as shown in Thomas Turino's (2000) work. The result has been a predominance of Shona traditionally-inspired music within the Zimbabwean popular music industry. Many popular songs classified under genres such as Zimbabwean jazz, Chimurenga music and Tuku music, to mention a few, have adapted aspects from Shona traditional music repertoire. This study thus relates to issues that pertain to the adaptation of Shona traditional music in Zimbabwe. It is an examination of "commodified Shona traditional music" as an interface between indigenous Shona musical values and the processes of adaptation.

In this study I use the term "commodified Shona traditional music" to refer to popular music that adapts indigenous Shona music and has been recorded for the popular music market. To be suitable for new use or purpose in the popular music market, the commodified traditional music is "adapted to the mass media when it is fed to the music industry pipeline such as the recording studio and a distribution system involving radio broadcasts and record shops." (Brusilla 2002: 38). This process has been termed "mediaization" by Roger Wallis and Krister Malm (1984). "The different aspects of mediaization… can range from a change in the original performance context or instrument setting to a deliberate attempt to recast the lyrics or musical structures in attempt to mould the music for an international market" (Brusilla 2002: 38). The adaptation or commodification of indigenous music for popular music therefore allows it to take distinct

[1] I use the terms "traditional" and "folk" interchangeably in this study to refer to music that originates from indigenous communities.

shapes from traditional sources and it implies some kind of change to the original material.[2]

Similar to other forms of popular music making in Zimbabwe, commodified Shona popular music functions as a medium for communicating various issues that concern the society. It is performed on modern musical instruments; it fuses transnational musical styles and it features on the worldbeat market. Importantly, what has enabled commodified Shona traditional music to be distinct as a model of Shona tradition and culture is its utilization of this people's indigenous musical elements. However, a close listening to this music reveals that Zimbabwean popular musicians use or combine selected indigenous features in various and inconsistent ways during the process of adaptation.[3] To give only a few examples, a popular song may consist of all characteristics, that is, melody, rhythm and text, of a particular Shona traditional song that it adapts. The song "*Bhutsu mutandarika"* (Long oversized shoe) by Thomas Mapfumo on *Shumba* (1990), for instance, was adapted from the Shona indigenous song by the same name. Another example by the same musician, namely "*Chamunorwa*," (Why the fighting) on *Chamunorwa LP* (1991) however, only adapts the rhythm and melody of the folk song "*Taireva*" (We used to say) and makes use of his original lyrics. Another example is the piece "Ancient Voices" on *Ancient Voices* (1998) by Chiwoniso Maraire, who combines her original composition with the melody and part of the text of the indigenous song called "*Chaminuka ndimambo*" (Chaminuka is King).

It is therefore problematic to determine which popular songs qualify as having adapted traditional Shona songs. One may ask, then, what characteristics a Zimbabwean popular song should possess in order for it to be qualified as having commodified Shona traditional music? Is it traditional rhythm? Traditional melody? Lyrics of a traditional song that everyone knows and not necessarily the traditional melody? Important to note here is that

[2] In world music literature, the term "musical appropriation" is widely used with reference to the utilization of indigenous music for popular music (see for example Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh (2000) and Charles Keil and Steven Feld (1994). In this study I have chosen to use the term adaptation instead of appropriation because appropriation carries that sense of wholesale quotation of a certain piece from the traditional into the commercial, with no change, except medium. As discussed throughout this dissertation, the majority of commodified Shona traditional music has its structures changed in various ways from the indigenous sources.

[3] These include Leonard Zhakata, Thomas Mapfumo, Stella Chiweshe, Chiwoniso Maraire, Oliver Mtukudzi and many others.

in the African performance context, "every musical culture played in community life has a tradition behind it, a tradition which governs its mode of performance, its repertoire… as well as the tradition that governs the context in which it should be played" (Nketia cited in Asante 2000: 48). As such, there are some set expectations as to how the music should be performed; namely, what Nketia has identified as an "interpretative experience" by audiences. Nketia explains this idea in detail:

> By interpretative we do not just mean the artistry evident in the performance of a given piece, but simply the concrete realization of a tradition in a way and manner acceptable to a traditional audience, and which may show the extent of the performer's correctness of memory and fidelity to tradition as well as the creative imagination he brings into it. (Nketia cited in Welsh-Asante 2000: 94)

In consideration of the questions raised above concerning the various ways of representing Shona musical elements, Nketia's ideas here suggest that it is important to reflect on what the performance of traditional music means to the popular musicians and to the Shona musical community in general. The reconstruction of Shona traditional music for Zimbabwean popular music consumption, therefore, requires examination of meaning in order to understand the relationship between commodified Shona music and the musical tradition it represents.

The view that music is subject to change is widely accepted in cultural studies. Michael Brown sates that "culture is not a bounded, static entity but a dynamic and constantly negotiated process" (1998: 196; see also Nettl 1973 and Bohlman 1988). Within these dynamic cultural contexts, traditions can be revived or reinvented as explained in detail by the historian, Eric Hobsbawm (1983). He describes "invented tradition" as:

> A set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past … However… the peculiarity of invented traditions is that the continuity is largely fictitious. In short they are responses to novel situations which take the form of reference to old situations, or which establish their own past by quasi-obligatory repetition. (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983: 1, 2)

Thus traditions are always created and re-created and the process involves interpreting current events as linked to the historical past. Borrowing from these ideas, I use the term adaptation to refer to "the practice or technique of re-working the images or styles contained in earlier works of art in order to provoke critical reevaluation of well-known pieces by presenting them in new contexts or to challenge notions of individuality or authenticity in art" (*Oxford English Dictionary*, 2002). For my purposes, this term is invoked in order to raise the issue of how and why songs change and what the process of change means for the musicians involved.

Musical Traditions and Historical Processes

Shona people typically self-identify with more specific ethnic groups, namely, the Korekore, the Zezuru, the Karanga, the Manyika and the Ndau.[4] Different Shona traditional musical styles such as *mbira*, *jiti*, *dandanda* and *jerusarema* have originated from each of these distinct groups. The Shona traditional songs are associated with the indigenous people.[5] Performed in specific social and cultural contexts to serve certain purposes, the music is embedded within almost all activities of daily life, as various people have noted (see, for example Berliner 1993, Tracey 1961 and Thram 1999).

It is important to emphasize here that during the pre-colonial era in Zimbabwe, Shona traditional music has always been performed in a non-static environment. As Ezra Chitando goes so far as to note, "there was considerable movement of people and ideas or the invention of the concept of globalization" in the Shona community since the pre-

[4] According to Turino "the use of the term Shona as an all-encompassing ethnic category is a colonial innovation" (2000: 68). This suggests the need to understand connections between these various groups. Such writing, according to Martin Scherzinger, can contribute to "freeing up of postcolonial social space" (2004: 274). To my knowledge, there are no extended studies that examine the connection between various Shona musical structures so as to establish shared values between them. In the scholarly literature on Zimbabwean music, these various groups and their musics are often examined individually to show how they function in their cultural contexts (see, for example, Tracey 1961; Berliner 1993; Maraire 1990; Thram 1999 and Rutsate 2007). Scherzinger advocates for more "ethnomusicological accounts that are deeply concerned with the politics of musical production in global modernity" (2001: 20). By focusing on various song examples that draw from various Shona sources to critically determine the common elements that qualify them in the category of commodified Shona popular songs, my work establishes the connection between Shona traditional musical structures

[5] All people in the community are involved in composition and performance of the music hence the idea that the music is communally owned. The music reveals the Shona people's beliefs, their modes of expression, patterns of communication and forms of entertainment.

colonial era (2006: 22). Colonized by the British in around 1890, the cultural life of many indigenous people of then Southern Rhodesia was affected. This caused the transformation of performance contexts for traditional music in the country as people had to migrate into urban centres especially Salisbury (now Harare). It meant that the contexts of traditional music became increasingly urban in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Several factors reshaped the performance of indigenous music in urban centres in the 1930s. Firstly, the increasing rate of unemployment in Bulawayo and Harare, and generally the negotiation of cultural dislocation during this period saw indigenous music and dance becoming the "mainstay" of townships such as Mbare (Dube 1996: 104).[6] In order to survive in the cities, street musicians entertained people in pubs, at bus stops, shopping centres and in streets mainly playing Shona music (Zindi 1985: 3). Secondly, mass media - especially the Rhodesian Broadcasting Corporation (RBC) - not only initiated the recording of Shona indigenous music that was used for radio programmes but also exposed Zimbabwean musicians to foreign music styles from the Western continents, as well as from other countries such as Cuba, Zaire, Zambia, Malawi and South Africa (Dube 1996: 112; Turino 2000: 244-61). As a result foreign music styles such as South African *mbaqanga* and *tsaba-tsaba*, Congolese rhumba, rock, to mention a few, were integrated with Shona indigenous sounds (Turino 2000: 261).

This context gave birth to greater musical professionalism and the 1950s saw the emergence of popular indigenous-based music and guitar bands.[7] These bands were in Turino's words "modernizing village music by arranging it for electric instruments, recording it for mass media diffusion and performing it for cosmopolitan settings quite distinct from its original contexts, functions and meanings" (2000: 275).

[6] See also Turino (2000: 65) for more detail on this discussion.

[7] The term professional is used here to refer to "income-generating activity, whether or not specialized skill is required" (Turino 2000: 52). As explained by Turino "it is not known when the practice of performing ritual-possession music on contract for money became widespread among indigenous musicians" (2000: 52). What is clear, however, is that before the 1950s there was uncompensated collaboration and sometimes musicians would just be given gifts as reciprocal gesture. From the 1950s onwards, there was a more professional approach for performance of indigenous music of all types as people were paid for studio work and musicians were hired for performance.

The 1964 to 1979 second Chimurenga war of liberation which was a result of the steady imposition of white minority rule, and the proclamation of the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI), also became significant in the performance and transformation of indigenous music in Zimbabwe. This is the period that marked what Aleck Pongweni describes as the "earth-shaking revival of ethnic music" in his work on the songs that won the liberation struggle (1982: preface). The Zimbabwe African National Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) recognized the importance of mobilizing the masses through the use of song and dance. Most songs appropriated styles from Shona musical genres (Vambe 2004: 175). *Mbira* traditional music, for example, became an ideological statement of protest (Kwaramba 1997: 18).[8] This suggests that most liberation songs during the civil war were Shona in origin.The reason why Shona indigenous music became more involved with the commodification of indigenous music than any other culture in Zimbabwe may be that Shona people occupy about 70 percent of the total population in the country (Graham 1989). Turino (2000) one of the major works that focuses on the development of Zimbabwean popular music from the 1930s up to the 1990s identifies and explains in detail the influences of a number of Shona popular musicians but only mentions a few non-Shona popular musicians throughout his work. These include Ndebele musicians such as Lovemore Majaivana and the Black Umfolosi. I believe that because of the majority population numbers, Shona people became more involved in popular music industry than all other cultural groups hence more commodication of their indigenous music.

Zimbabwe's post-liberation history also offers moments that redefined the performance of traditional music within the Zimbabwean popular music industry. To mention only a few examples, there was the crisis of disunity between the Shona people and the Ndebele in the mid-1980s which resulted in the "Gukurahundi" that killed nearly 20 000 civilians in the Matebeleland Province.[9] In the 1990s, increasing poverty and a sharp rise in unemployment provoked post-independence protests against corruption, poor governance and failure to distribute land resources (Vambe 2004). These post-independence social and

[8] Popular musicians have always adopted Shona traditional music to express political sentiments in Zimbabwe. The reasons for this as explained by Pongweni (1982) are that indigenous music promotes feelings of solidarity and often contains subtle meanings that are implicitly political.
[9] This is a Shona term which refers to early rain which washes away chaff. See Werbner (1991:162) for information about the *Gukurahundi* genocide.

political issues saw the release of a number of Shona adapted songs directly related to these incidents. These include songs such as "*Muchadura*" (You shall confess) (1988), and "*Chamunorwa*" (Why the fighting?) (1989) by Mapfumo; "*Hwenge Mambo*" (Behaving as King) (2002) by Oliver Mtukudzi as well as the album *Timeless* (2008) by Chiwoniso Maraire among many others.

Therefore, encounters with various experiences and challenges in Zimbabwe have in pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial times had an impact on the production and performance of Shona traditional music. As shown in this section, the performance of traditional music has been associated particularly with the Shona people's political and economic history. I therefore show in this study that through commodified Shona music the people seek to carve out and to reaffirm their traditional cultural identity. How does this happen in the presence and/or absence of certain musical elements of Shona traditional songs according to the various adaptation strategies adopted for Zimbabwean popular music composition and performance? And how does this affect the labeling of popular music in relation to Shona traditional musical sources?

Influences in the Popular Music Industry

As Shona traditional music entered the Zimbabwean popular music industry from the 1960s and 1970s it came to be treated as a commodity which could be sold to enable performers to earn a living. Turino's work explains in detail how this happened (2000). Examining how indigenous music was molded as it interacted with and adapted to the cosmopolitan youth culture demands, Turino states that the production of new and unique compositions came to be a prerequisite for artistic recognition in the music industry (2000: 250). "Indigenous Shona music became a viable source for original material and style" - traditional adaptations were the result (ibid: 251). Giving an example of *jiti* as one of the genres through which musical "originality" was expressed, Turino's work examines circumstances that promoted diverse approaches to traditional Shona music adaptation in Zimbabwe.[10] He suggests that traditional popular music in Zimbabwe can be more

[10] *Jiti* is a Zimbabwean popular music genre which is a result of the combination of Shona rhythms and text, South African popular genres like *tsaba-tsaba* and *marabi* as well as influences from Congolese rhumba

appealing to a wider audience if it is unique, and also as noted by Brusila (2002: 39), if the music is rearranged or adapted to the electric band format (see Turino 2000: 276).

Turino notes the example of Mapfumo as one musician who successfully met the local music market's expectations of the late 1970s. Thus some local media in 1977 described him as a model of how traditional music should be adapted and for that reason he became popular in the industry and "*now enjoys great support and respect among Africans of all age groups*" (2000: 276; emphasis in original). More recently, however, Kyker (2013: 272) states how other younger Zimbabwean musicians such as Sam Mataure[11] view Mapfumo's music as more "straight" and "literal" arrangements as compared to their music. A closer look at Mapfumo in comparison with Mtukudzi's traditionally-inspired music shows that the former usually adapts *mbira* sources while the latter uses *ngoma* genres. As popular musicians are responding to the demands of the global and postcolonial (world) music market, depending on compositional goals, they may choose to use either *mbira* or *ngoma* traditional sources or combine both. Further, as Meintjes observes in the South African context, traditional music now "provides forms of expression, an arena in which to organize, and a potential opportunity to communicate beyond local communities through the media" (2003: 10). Thus the theme of traditional music adaptation as it pertains to Shona music needs to be pursued to understand how each distinct traditional genre is considered for Zimbabwean popular music composition and performance.

The traditional popular music interacts with various western technologies in the music industry. Analyzing the *mbira* album *Matare*, by Virginia Mukwesha, a Zimbabwean musician based in Germany, Brusila (2002: 35) explores in his article how "mediaization" can affect the way "traditional music" is constructed.[12] Brusilla observes that it is possible

(Turino 2000: 228). Fusion of musical elements has become common in African music, see Coplan (1985) and (2008); Ballantine (1989).

[11] Sam Mataure is Mtukudzi's drummer.

[12] Louise Meintjes's *Sound of Africa* is also important in this context. She explores how Zulu neo-traditional music, *mbaqanga,* was (re)shaped through the interaction of musicians, producers, sound engineers and promoters from disparate backgrounds in the recording studios and beyond in order to appeal to regional and world music markets during the transition period from apartheid to democracy in South Africa (2003: 7-8).

to bring forth a "truthful" reproduction of ceremonial music such as that of the *bira*[13] despite the various processes of mediaization (2002: 40).[14] Thus Brusilla concludes that the various processes of recording popular music for the music market are not a hindrance to the reproduction of what he calls "real" traditional musical identity as that of the Shona. As highlighted by many world music scholars such as Timothy Taylor (1997), the world music market expects that traditional musicians present "real" aspects of their cultural music - "cultural ethnographic accuracy" as Taylor puts it (1997: 21). The presentation of originality cannot only be affected by new technology; how traditional sounds and elements of particular indigenous sources are reconstructed should also be considered.

Research Aim and Rationale

My aim in this project is therefore to develop a set of criteria for critically determining whether a Zimbabwean popular musician has adapted a Shona traditional song and whether this enables the song to be categorized as "commodified Shona traditional music". To achieve this, I concentrate on Shona traditional songs by selected Zimbabwean popular musicians that have been recorded for the music market to examine the various adaptation strategies the musicians adopt. I also question why the musicians draw from the indigenous sources in certain ways and how the commodified songs are meaningful to them and other Shona community members. Comparing the indigenous sources and the adapted commodified songs to one another, my goal is to highlight the consistent (and conversely inconsistent) representation of the musical elements that give character to Shona traditional music, while trying to describe the different influences behind this.

Six musicians and their music were selected as case studies. These are Oliver Mtukudzi, Thomas Mapfumo, Leonard Zhakata, Chiwoniso Maraire, Andy Brown and the Bhundu Boys. I chose these musicians because, firstly, though their music utilizes elements from the same musical source, they conceive of music which is labeled within distinct Zimbabwean popular music genres. These are Tuku music, Chimurenga music, Zhakata Original Rhythms

[13] The term *bira* refers to a Shona spirit possession traditional ceremony. Berliner (1993) provides a detailed analysis of the music played in this ceremony.
[14] As noted by Brusilla, various western world music reviewers commented positively on the album. The *Folk Roots* reviewer, for example, felt that for "the first time a full cycle of Shona healing music has been recorded". See Brusilla (2002: 42) for more comments on the album.

of Africa (ZORA), Afro-pop and *Jiti*. Maraire and Brown belong to in the Afro-pop category. Secondly, they have become popularly identified with Shona traditional music in Zimbabwe and celebrated as models of how the music should be performed as highlighted by scholars such as Aleck Pongweni (1982), Turino (1997) and Maurice Vambe (2004). Turino, for example, has this to say about Thomas Mapfumo: "his music is an excellent example of the blending of indigenous African and western popular musical elements and it illustrates the creativity and adaptability of African musicians in the postmodern environment" (1997: 198-9). Leonard Zhakata has termed his music "Zhakata/Zimbabwe Original Rhythms of Africa" hence its popular name "ZORA music". Generally, many of these musicians' works have greatly utilized aspects of Shona traditional music. I suggest that their music may in one way or the other serve as model for upcoming musicians of what can be done with this repertoire in the future.

My personal background as a Shona person triggered my interest in embarking on this research. I was allowed exposure to the cultural performance of Shona traditional music at an early age. I grew up in the rural areas in the Shurugwi district in the Midlands Province of Zimbabwe. I remember so vividly the children's game songs that we sang in the village, the work songs and the music of *mapira* ceremonies, for example, the *mutoro* rain-making ceremony. This happened every year. Traditional music was performed in almost all activities of everyday life, from social to ritual events, and this environment enabled me to internalize many rhythms and melodies as well as the texts of many traditional songs. I later learnt how to play some of the traditional Shona songs from my cultural repertoire on *mbira* and marimba during the period from 2005 to 2009 at the Midlands State University, Zimbabwe, where I did my undergraduate studies in music and musicology. This experience of the performance of Shona folk music as an insider and as a performer of the music has made me appreciate the inherent aesthetic worth of Shona traditional music. All this has informed my aim to comprehend the performance of Shona music in the Zimbabwean popular music industry.

Research Objectives

The following research objectives have been identified:

- To identify a repertoire of Zimbabwe popular songs and analyze them to explain the musical aspects that demonstrate their belonging in different categories of Shona commodified music. My intention here is to highlight how Zimbabwean popular music relates to Shona indigenous music.
- To critically determine the indigenous elements relevant to the definition of Shona traditional music and to explain how these are interconnected with popular musical styles and elements within Zimbabwean popular music.
- To examine how, in the presence and absence of certain traditional elements, commodified Shona traditional music acts as a space for expressing and reconstructing "authentic" Shona musical identity in various historical, social and political contexts in Zimbabwe. [15]

Research Methods and Procedures

This research was carried out using qualitative approaches. Structural analysis of recorded songs was done to establish the relationship between Zimbabwean popular music and Shona indigenous music. Semi-structured interviews with Shona traditional musicians and general community members as well as observations on performances of adapted Shona popular music at festivals were carried out. These helped me to critically determine elements that are important to define Shona traditional music and to understand how Shona people identify themselves with commodified Shona music. The interviews, recorded using a digital camera recorder, were conducted in both English and Shona. Some of my informants were not conversant in English and were comfortable to use Shona.

The first task in this research project was to compile a list of popular songs by the six chosen musicians that in my view appropriate Shona traditional music and have been

[15] The term "authenticity" is used to mean various things in different music contexts. In this study I adopt an ethnomusicological explanation of this term. I believe in this study that through commodified Shona music people seek to express and carve their musical identity. It is therefore used to refer to the expression of real, actual or original cultural identity taking into consideration postmodern perspectives by cultural studies scholars such as David Coplan that "tradition" should be thought of as "dependent upon a symbolically constituted past whose horizons extend into the present" (1990: 19).

recorded commercially by various musicians. To do this I first consulted the records of the Zimbabwe Music Rights Association (ZIMURA) where all musicians in the country register their songs for copyright purposes. I also visited the archives of the main recording companies in Zimbabwe; these are Grammar Records, Metro Studios, Zimbabwe Music Corporation (ZMC) and Ngaavongwe Studios in Harare. I discovered that while these organisations keep almost all copies of Zimbabwean popular songs recorded for sale in their records and archives, they are not necessarily concerned with classifying them into distinct genres. At ZIMURA I, however, found information about the distribution of royalty payments for registered songs. This was helpful to a certain extent. Musicians receive full royalty payments on both performance and mechanical rights for original compositions but if a song has been either adapted from a certain source or co-produced, musicians receive partial payments. To give examples, on her song "*Nhemamusasa*" (Temporary shelter) on *Ancient Voices* (1998), Chiwoniso receives 50 percent royalties because, as one of ZIMURA officials explained to me, this song entirely adapts a traditional *mbira* song by the same name. On the other hand, on the song "*Hurombo*" (Poverty) on *Timeless* (2005), Chiwoniso receives 50 percent royalties because she co-produced the song with certain Zimbabwean musicians.[16] These records were nevertheless rather ambiguous and they did not clearly state which Zimbabwean popular songs fall under this category of the "traditional adaptations".

The preliminary research method that I adopted to identify the repertoire of traditionally-influenced popular songs was listening to recorded popular songs by the selected musicians. I also consulted with various Shona traditional music specialists, for example, *mbira* players from my village and lecturers at the Zimbabwe College of Music in Harare. My cultural insider status made this task easier since I am familiar with Shona traditional sounds. This was also enhanced, as mentioned earlier, by the fact that I have learned to play certain of these traditional songs on both *mbira* and marimba during my undergraduate studies in Music and Musicology at Midlands State University in Zimbabwe. Despite the fact

[16] According to the Zimbabwe Copyright and Neighbouring Rights Act (2004), where partial royalties are supposed to be given to the originating community, the money is paid into the consolidated Revenue Fund or into the revenues of the appropriate local authority concerned. The local authority will apply the money in order to benefit members of the community concerned.

that I am familiar with a number of Shona traditional songs, it was at times challenging to designate certain songs as adaptations of specific Shona sources as I was not conversant with all of the sources. As explained earlier, the repertoire of Shona traditional songs is huge. The reason for this large repertoire is that there are many indigenous communities, for example, Korekore, Manyika, Karanga, Zezuru and Ndau that self-identify as Shona. Given my understanding of the term "traditional" to be music that originates from indigenous communities, I had to consider all traditional songs from these various Shona sub-groups. Turino's (2000) work on Zimbabwean popular music proved to be a useful guide on how to deal with such a situation. As a North American ethnomusicologist who was studying a musical culture foreign to him, Turino produced certain examples of adapted Zimbabwean popular songs mentioned in his book after consulting Chartwell Dutiro, a renowned Shona traditional *mbira* player and a former member of Mapfumo's band, the Blacks Unlimited. Turino first identified his own examples of the adapted popular songs. Some of the songs he identified include "*Chitima Nditakure*", "C*hamunorwa*" and "*Ngoma Yarira*" by Thomas Mapfumo (Turino 2000: 250-283). Turino then showed these songs to Dutiro who approved by explaining how the identified songs relate to certain Shona indigenous sources. At times he conducted interviews with the popular musicians such as Mapfumo for confirmation. I would then, where necessary, confirm with the musicians and traditional music teachers, for example, those from the Zimbabwe College of Music. I however observed from these interviews that people have varying perceptions when identifying certain Zimbabwean popular songs as "traditional" songs. How different people consider music to be "traditional" or not is largely determined by factors such as age and social background. Thus an attempt to identify popular music that has certain traditional qualities is not always an easy task.

The next stage involved structural analysis of the songs that fall into the category of the adapted. Following Annemette Kirkegaard's suggestion that "scholars must address both the social and musical layers of performance in order to understand the overall meaning of the music culture" (2002: 10), I paid particular attention to the general structure of the musical aspects namely melody, rhythm and lyrics of each song and I also considered the ways musicians conceive of their pieces during the processes of adaptation. It was

necessary to study both of these (that is musical structure and way music conceived) in order to discover the traditional elements that have been borrowed and those which have not. Considering the structures and styles of these various songs in relation to their context, purpose and the compositional goal of the musicians was important in understanding the way indigenous Shona musical elements were utilized in Zimbabwean popular music. This enabled me to study how different musicians adapt these songs. This also made it possible to place each of the musician's songs into various groups or genres (the classification is explained in the following section).

In order to examine the general Shona traditional music community's perceptions of the commodified songs in relation to preservation of musical heritage (*nhaka*), I conducted field research at the 2013 Annual Culture Week celebration in Masvingo Province at the Chibvumani Ruins in Zimbabwe. Data was gathered through in-depth interviews with selected community members and observations of the performances to understand how the people receive and interpret the songs as part of their heritage. I documented the data using both audio and video recording and this raw material served as the basis for the analyses and interpretations presented in this work.

In discussion with the musicians on the subject of the adaptation of Shona traditional sources for popular music, I noticed that this was a sensitive topic. Some of the musicians that I interviewed had been criticized for using traditional music for composition before. In the copyright and world music context musical appropriation has negative connotations. Jim Chapman explains that appropriation is sometimes explained as "theft" (2007: 81). One of the controversial examples of appropriation in world music is the popular song "The Lion Sleeps Tonight" which was credited to American writers but this song was actually an unacknowledged rewrite of the song "*Mbube*" (1939) by South African musician, Solomon Linda (See Bourdina McConnachie 2008). The negative connotations associated with the utilization of indigenous music for popular music composition influence how some people may understand the term adaptation as "appropriation". On my first meeting with Chiwoniso, for example, on seeing the topic for my thesis, she explained to me how some people think that she steals traditional music:

> M*bira* music has inspired most of my compositions… but I always have a challenge *nevanhu vanofunga kuti kuridza nziyo dzechinyakare imhosva* or something [with people who think that playing traditional music is an offence]. I hope that's not what you also think... I personally believe that it's my responsibility to keep our music going. (Chiwoniso, Int., 2013)

Chiwoniso's view that she is inspired to "compose" her own music music explains that her music has certain changes from indigenous music which is more of adaptation and not appropriation. She went on to clarify to me the idea that as Shona musicians, they had the right to use the traditional musical sources. Turino noted a related situation in his work. He records how some academics at the University of Zimbabwe interpreted the issue of adaptation as involving cosmopolitan notions of "intellectual property". This led them to criticize musicians such as Mapfumo as a *mere* arranger of traditional music and not a composer of songs such as "*Ngoma Yarira*" (2000: 282; emphasis in original). Thus it was necessary to ensure that the musicians really understood my research purposes and my position as a researcher. This made it possible to ask interview questions and discuss the popular musicians in a relaxed atmosphere.

Certain factors mediated my data gathering process. Some older interviewees expressed to me that many young people of my age are shunning their Shona traditional culture today and they regard it as old-fashioned. One of my interviewees, a Shona traditional *mbira* player by the name James Matanda, explained how young people in his village often negatively comment by saying "*zve mbira ndezvemashavi*" meaning that *mbira* music is associated with evil spirits. In such instances, my position as a young person who has an interest in traditional music, and who can play certain songs on *mbira* despite what other people in my age group do, generally impressed my informants. This positioned me as of one of those rare students whom, when found, should have access to all the information needed. This became an advantage for me in obtaining more data freely.

Classifying the Repertoire

I identified a total number of 123 commodified Shona popular songs, the majority of them by Mapfumo and Mtukudzi (see Appendix).[17] For the purposes of this study, I considered grouping these songs into three distinct classes. In this section I explain how the songs are classified.

In Zimbabwean popular music literature, the common way of classifying the music is identifying themes addressed in the songs. Analyzing the Shona songs that were popularized during the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe, Pongweni highlights four distinct groups of indigenous Shona songs namely war songs, dance songs, beer songs and funeral songs (1982: viii). Pongweni's suggestion of thematization is based on the music's appropriateness for different occasions; song texts and their meanings play a significant role here. Continuing along these lines, more recent scholars of Zimbabwean popular music such as Jennifer Kyker (2011) interrogate themes such as inheritance rights, HIV/AIDS, domestic violence and politics as portrayed in Mtukudzi's music. Particular themes are addressed in the adapted popular songs identified in this study and most of these songs seem to have maintained the themes of the traditional Shona songs. For instance, Mapfumo's Chimurenga songs such as "*Muchadura*" and "*Chamunorwa*" were adapted from traditional Shona war songs namely "*Karigamombe*" and "*Taireva*" respectively. This classificatory dimension influences how I analysed the repertoire of commodified Shona traditional songs in this study. However, since I focused not only on text, I classified the songs as explained below.

In the context of Zimbabwean popular music, Turino identifies the main indigenous Shona musical genres which were being performed in Mbare during the 1930s (2000: 63). These are *jerusarema*, *mbakumba*, *shangara*, *muchongoyo*, *dinhe*, *dandanda*, *ngororombe* and mbira music.[18] When he discusses Zimbabwean popular "traditional adaptations" throughout his work, he constantly makes reference to these indigenous genres because this traditional-popular genre is a direct outgrowth of this music. Thus he identifies genres

[17] Mapfumo and Mtukudzi draw on Shona traditional music more extensively than other musicians selected for this study.
[18] These are Shona names of various traditional Shona dances.

such as "guitar-band *jiti"* and "*mbira*-guitar music". Turino's scheme of categorization is influenced by the indigenous compositional elements of these songs and as such he pays attention to the type of music, distinct drum-dance rhythms produced and also the instruments used to play the music. Drawing on Turino's approach to classifying traditional Shona popular music, I identified and divided the repertoire of commodified Shona popular songs into three distinct genres. These are:

1. *Mbira*-based songs
2. *Ngoma*
3. *Jiti* popular music

Because traditional *jiti* rhythm is played on drums I have analysed *jiti* popular songs in Chapter 4 of this dissertation where other dance drumming songs have been analysed. However, even within this classificatory system, there are some adapted Shona popular songs that integrate musical elements from different genres such that on the surface, they seem to belong to more than one category. The song "*Kusarima*" by Mapfumo, for instance, has part of its text adapted from the Shona *mbira* song by the same name, but at the same time it also adapts the rhythm of *katekwe* traditional dance. Another example by the same musician, "Zimbabwe" has its *kutsinhinhira kwepamusoro* (responding high tone melody) and *kutsinhira kwepasi* (responding low tone melody) parts adapted from the Shona *mbira* song called "*Chemutengure*". Its rhythm, however, as articulated by the *ngoma* (drum), high hats and hand clapping, is related to the rhythm of the *mbakumba* traditional dance. Thus both "*Kusarima*" and "Zimbabwe" can either be classified as *mbira*-based pieces or dance-drumming pieces. In such instances it is essential to consider the relationship between the different traditional styles co-existing in the popular piece in relation to how they are presented and also the contextual meaning of the song. This generally explains the need to concentrate specifically on how music receives its meaning through utilizing indigenous musical elements or in Agawu's words how "the peculiar nature of the interaction among elements becomes a source of aesthetic pleasure" (2003: 148). In the subsequent chapters, I analyze each of the genres identified above, beginning with *mbira*-based pieces.

The socio-political significance

Reading around the topic of adaptation as it pertains to traditional music of indigenous communities; I realized that ethnomusicologists are calling for more "applied" work in this area because "ethnomusicological knowledge and understanding is a potential agent of cultural change" (Pettan 2008: 91). Attempting to define the term "applied ethnomusicology", Daniel Sheehy suggests four strategies of this discipline; first, to develop new frameworks for musical performance, second, feeding back musical models to the communities that created them, third, providing community members access to strategic models and conservation techniques and fourth, developing broad, structural solutions to problems (2002: 329 - 334). Since my work specifically focuses on Shona popular adaptations as a space through which indigenous Shona music is restructured to represent collective identity in new and current contexts, this research project is informed by and it employs some of these concepts derived from practices in applied ethnomusicology (Hofman 2010: 24).

Firstly, it aims to empower the community from which the music originated. By interrogating how this community values the adapted songs as part of their heritage, the study presents the songs as an important popular music space through which the people can be informed about issues that directly affect them today such as HIV/AIDS. As John Blacking asserts, "the study of musical change is vital to the future of societies because it may reveal not only how people have changed their music, but also how through the medium of music, people can change themselves in unexpected ways" (cited in Gourlay 1982: 414). According Jeff Todd Titon, this "is what ethnomusicologists do in the public interest" (1992:315).

Secondly in relation to applied work, as it determines elements that qualify popular music as examples of adapted Shona traditional music, this research may also contribute relevant insights to the discourse around the use and adaptation of traditional music in relation to copyright. There has been an ongoing discussion in ethnomusicological studies concerning properties of traditional music which should be considered for copyright. It is evident in

the literature that there are different views concerning aspects which constitute a musical work (see, for example, Wallis and Malm 1984; Seeger 1992; Collin 1993). This explains that significance attributed to musical elements is likely to be perceived differently from one cultural context to another because customs and ethics differ from culture to culture. This confirms Scherzinger's insights that formal elements of a musical work such as melody and rhythm, harmony "weigh upon the manner in which the music's social context is elaborated" - that is, they can be put to socio-political *use* (2001: 11; emphasis in original). This has a direct influence on copyright for different traditional societies which emphasize the need to unstandardize musics from distinct cultures.

According to the International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM)'s study group on applied ethnomusicology (2010: 6), working with such music requires one to identify and focus on the aspects of music that influence sustainability and those are the ones worth safeguarding. Such musical aspects strongly influence the survival of musical practices for they point at some of the fundamental values and constructs that continue to guide definitions of music. My work thus contributes to scholarship that advocates for the development and sustainability of Shona indigenous music in new contexts. It may as such be useful to various organisations and institutions that are responsible for sustainable development of traditional music in Zimbabwe.

Finally, presenting and interpreting new versions of Shona traditional music as they are performed in the Zimbabwean popular music industry, my work adds to existing academic knowledge on cultural globalisation and Zimbabwean popular music, such as Dube (1996) Turino (2000), Brusila (2002) and Kyker (2011).

Chapter Summaries

Chapter Two reviews literature on the performance of traditional Shona music in the Zimbabwean popular music industry and how it relates to the world music discourse. This is done in order to determine how the music functions within the industry as well as how it is influenced by various conditions that are associated with both the national and transnational popular music markets. The chapter also presents postmodern theoretical perspectives that surround the creation of "authentic" musical identities in civilized and

globalized communities. The idea of borrowing and adapting traditional music for popular music use has a direct impact on the copyright debate in ethnomusicology.

Chapter Three focuses on *mbira*-based popular adaptations, one of the two categories that constitute the repertoire of Shona influenced popular music. Following Scherzinger's notions on music and immanence, the chapter analyses how *mbira* traditional music continues to be perceived as unchanging and as correct despite the inconsistent representation of the music through its performance in the Zimbabwean popular music. Three different approaches to the utilization of elements from traditional *mbira* sources have been identified here and connections between *mbira* texts and their sources are examined.

In Chapter Four, I proceed to analyze the trends used for the adaptation of Shona traditional musical sources through *ngoma*-influenced and *jiti* popular music and examine the interconnections between popular texts and the various *ngoma* genres. Though musicians are largely enabled to conceive new styles through utilizing drumming genres, I suggest that the indigenous *ngoma* styles inform popular music composition.

Chapter Five examines how audience members of Shona musical communities interpret and value commodified Shona songs as part of their intangible heritage at the annual Culture Week celebrations in Zimbabwe. My interpretation of the concept of cultural heritage in the context of traditional popular adaptations is mainly influenced by Jeff Todd Titon's (2009) ideas on music and sustainability. The songs play an important role as a medium that connects people to their identified musical roots while simultaneously addressing their current experiences. In Chapter Six, I present my conclusions and recommendations.

Chapter 2

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to review literature that is relevant to the study of Shona traditional music within the African popular music context. I examine important concepts involved in the process of adaptation of traditional music as it is repackaged for the local and global audiences and markets.

The chapter is divided into four sections. The first provides historical, cultural and political contexts significant to the development of Shona traditional music in Zimbabwe both in the pre-and post-independence eras so as to present theoretical ideas for understanding trends and boundaries of labeling Shona music as "traditional". In the second section, given my focus on "authentic" ethnic identities in relation to commodified Shona traditional music, various texts on world music discourse and African popular culture prove to be invaluable in my work. These present global postmodern theoretical perspectives on how authentic identities are constructed in contemporary and globalized communities. They inform my understanding of authenticity outside the limits of such terms as purity and holism in this study. The following section is set to examine the links between adaptation of traditional music versus copyright and sustainable development of indigenous music ethnomusicological works. In conclusion, I present the methodological approach to analysis adopted for this study.

Towards Understanding Shona Popular Adaptations as "Traditional" Art

Scholars have been very attentive to the change, transformation and development of Shona traditional music and many other African musical traditions. In Zimbabwe, as mentioned in the previous chapter, this change can be traced from as far back as the pre-colonial era. It however increased during the colonial through to the postcolonial eras. Ethnographic studies on indigenous musical performances, especially Shona ones, intensified under

colonial rule through to the post-colonial as ethnomusicologists sought to document the values accredited to the music in the cultural context. The studies "worked to establish the taxonomies of indigenous instruments, determine the area of their distribution, explain their physical construction, describe their tuning systems, engage with issues of aesthetics and sensory perception, and comprehend music's social and ritual roles" (Kauffman 1969; Berliner 1976; Tracey 1963). This documentation is important in the current study as it provides ethnographic transcriptions of many traditional Shona songs in cultural contexts. These transcriptions are particularly relevant to the current study since it aims to analyze popular versions of similar songs.

In literature on Zimbabwean popular music, the term "revival" was first used in relation to Shona traditional music by Andrew Tracey in his 1963 article "The three tunes for mbira dza vadzimu" (Turino 2000: 75). Tracey used it, however, to describe the rise in popularity of the performance of traditional music in the country given the idea that before the 1930s, certain types of music would only be performed in select areas in Zimbabwe. It is after the rise of musical professionalism in the country around 1960 that scholars, for example, Kauffman (1972: 52) use terms such as "re-arrangement" and "re-orchestration" to refer to the process through which musicians, for example, Greenford Jangano and Ellias Banda adapted traditional melodies and rhythms for western musical instruments such as the guitar and keyboards. Zindi (1985) and Turino (1997) similarly note the change of musical instruments used in the performance of traditional Shona popular music. However, in this respect while these scholars mention the idea of adaptation, they are particularly concerned with the effects of arranging traditional sounds for "modern" instruments. Thus, they do not mention the manner of representation of Shona musical elements which I believe was apparent in a number of Zimbabwean popular songs. In the current study, therefore, I pay attention to the patterns of the presenting traditional melodies, rhythms and text because I believe these are major parts that define a song. As noted earlier, these are examined from a postmodern perspective in relation to the discourse of cultural identity.

A few scholars of Zimbabwean popular music, for instance, Berliner (1978), Turino (2000) and Kyker (2011; 2013) have identified some songs that fall under the category of the

adapted Shona popular songs. Towards the end of his book, Berliner notes two songs namely "*Ndozvireva*" adapted from the Shona folk song "*Taireva*" by Limpopo Jazz (1974) and "*Kumntongo*" adapted from "*Kuzanga*" by M.D. Rhythm Success (1973) (Berliner 1993: 244). In chapters seven and eight of his work, Turino also identified a few examples of these songs, for instance, "*Ngoma Yarira*" adapted from a Shona indigenous song "*Karigamombe*" by the Hallelujah Chicken Run band (1974). In more recent studies, Jennifer Kyker (2011; 2013) notes two of Mtukudzi's songs "*Bwanyamakaka*" and "*Ndafunga dande*" which she identifies as having adapted *katekwe* and *mhande* Shona traditional dances respectively. Since I could not find this category at ZIMURA and elsewhere, the songs that both Berliner and Turino mention assisted me to start compiling the repertoire of commodified Shona traditional music.

However, although these scholars make mention of these few examples as well as noting their traditional sources, they are not clear on the aspects that define Shona traditional music especially when taking into consideration the fact that musicians have adapted them in various ways. There is therefore a need to undertake a more in-depth study of traditional popular music in Zimbabwe. By making a more comprehensive list (see Appendix), this research carries out a detailed analysis of the songs in order to illuminate the trends in commodified music. As a result, I produce various methods employed for the adaptation of Shona traditional music in the Zimbabwean popular music.

Recognizing transformation of Shona traditional music, linguistic scholars consider the impact colonialism had on Shona traditional music performance. These writings tend to examine how traditional songs' texts were reshaped to resist the colonial rule; "through a constant 'return to the source' Africans expressed their inner aspiration for rejecting not only the foreigner's culture but also foreign rule itself" (Chinyowa 2001: 15, see Kahari 1981; Pongweni 1982; Vambe 2004). In his oft-cited work that examines songs that won the liberation struggle, Aleck Pongweni (1982) explores the role played by traditional adaptations by musicians such as Thomas Mapfumo during the war.[19] For Pongweni, Chimurenga music composers were successful in adopting the form, style and structure of

[19] It is important to note that Pongweni (1982) is one of the pioneering scholars on Zimbabwean popular music after the country's independence in 1980.

Shona folk poetry and thus he generally labels all Chimurenga songs that he studied as "folk poetry" (1982: ii). It is therefore clear from these studies that political issues have been a major determinant and influence on the adaptation and change of Shona traditional music throughout Zimbabwean history. As Karin Barber states, "the way tradition is constructed is very much conditioned by the wider political context" (Barber 1987: 10).

Apparent in these studies is that they mainly analyze these songs from a linguistic approach and thus they focus mainly on song texts. Focusing on all musical aspects for example melody, rhythm and text in the song analysis, this research takes a broader dimension in an endeavour to understand this musical culture.[20] Additionally and more importantly for this study, despite the fact that these studies show how political situations in Zimbabwe at certain moments in history reshape traditional musical performances, they do not go deeper to recognize the different structures that occur in different *mbira*-based and *ngoma*-based Shona popular songs that they broadly label as traditional.[21] As I noted earlier, not all Zimbabwean popular songs that utilize traditional elements, can be classified or valued as traditional adaptations or styles. Mtukudzi, for example, explained in an interview with Turino that using traditional *mbira* sources restricts his creativity and only allows him to retain well-known music, but using other traditional sources besides *mbira* has played an important part in conceiving the Tuku beat (2000: 296). There is thus a need to engage more specifically with different categories of Shona adapted popular music to understand how using certain Shona indigenous elements in a certain way affects the construction and interpretation of the concept of "the traditional" in Zimbabwean popular music.

Considering African popular arts as a development from African traditional arts, Barber suggests that popular cultural studies scholars need to examine the relationship between traditional and non-traditional popular art. This is because in contrast to traditional performances where "innovation is always negotiated within a clearly defined framework

[20] See Turino (2000) for additional commentary on the relationship between traditional music and state politics in Zimbabwe. He describes such efforts to use indigenous sounds by Zimbabwean popular musicians as "musical nationalism" which in his words means "any conscious use of any pre-existing or newly created music in the service of a political nationalistic movement…" (2000: 191).
[21] Other scholars such as Johannes Brusila (2002) use the term "modern traditional music" to describe Zimbabwean popular music that has traits of traditional music.

… [non-traditional popular arts] are recognized by their 'unofficial' character and by their air of novelty. They are unofficial because they are free to operate between established cultural systems without conforming to their conventions, and they are novel because they combine elements from the traditional and the metropolitan cultures in unprecedented conjunctures…" (Barber 1987: 11, 12). Barber's ideas suggest that by adopting certain approaches in using traditional music sources, African popular musicians can either reproduce the traditional music or create new or unique musical pieces. This enables us to understand how the utilization of both *mbira* or *ngoma* traditional sources - and the inclusion or exclusion of certain elements of that source have an effect on labeling the music as traditional or non-traditional. It is suggested in Barber's ideas that the use (or non-use) of traditional music does not only have an effect on how the music is labelled but on the music itself. For example, Barber explains that the combination of traditional elements with elements from urban cultures produce unique music styles. It is also my work thus aim in this study to draw a distinction between traditional and "novel" or "unofficial" popular music. By studying the relationship between Shona traditional adaptations, I also intend to understand the notion of traditional as it relates to Zimbabwean popular musical culture - this "allows us to investigate the important question of how present-day African artists and participants in art themselves conceive of their activity and its status" (Barber 1987: 18). With these theoretical ideas it becomes important to examine the adaptation strategies adopted by Zimbabwean popular musicians to conceive of various songs using certain Shona traditional sources.

Authenticity and Identity in Music

As mentioned earlier, this study singles out musical aspects that constitute commodified Shona traditional music on the selected songs and then examines these aspects as an expression of a quest for an "authentic identity". Given my focus on traditional music in this study, my theoretical thrust and method for engaging with this term is guided by various ideas in ethnomusicology, anthropology and other related disciplines.

The *Grove Dictionary* provides an ethnomusicological definition of authenticity as follows: "(A)n interrupted folk tradition unaffected by outside influences, and not the revival of that

tradition" (2002). Such an approach to the discourse of authenticity in relation to culture has been critically opposed by a number of scholars in cultural studies (Erlmann 1994; Hannerz 1994; Kavoori 2009). According to Veit Erlmann "the growing articulation of South African music with the modern world system, the intertwining of transnational culture and local practice is both effected and reflected in the dialectical relationship between notions of locality, identity and authenticity and images of intercultural exchange, global ecumene and humanity" (1994: 171). Erlmann here shows that the notion of authenticity in relation to culture cannot be successfully engaged within the limits of ideas which underline purity considering the impacts globalization has had on musical cultures of countries such as South Africa. Erlmann's approach to authenticity has been adopted by other world music scholars such as Timothy Taylor (1997), Simon Frith (2000) and Anaandam Kavoori (2009). Kavoori, for instance, maintains in his work that "authenticity is not a monolithic construct made up of a fixed set of cultural binaries of west/rest; self/other, modern/traditional but are mobilized through a *specific account of locality* such as Africa" (2009: 94, emphasis in original).[22] Considering that Shona traditional music has been and is "characterized by continuous assimilation of new ideas and practices" (Chitando: 2002: 26), my engagement with the notion of authenticity in relation to adapted traditional Shona music in this study acknowledges the idea that folk music has a social life and thus it changes.

Discussions around authenticity approach this discourse from an angle that aims at vitality of expression, meaning, and the essence of a musical style (Taylor 1991; Taylor 1997; Frith 2000; Kavoori 2009). According to Charles Taylor, an expression of authenticity through culture involves definition and presentation of selves in a way that is "only true" and "original" (1991: 29-35). Echoing Taylor's assertion, Timothy Taylor (1997: 21) explains three distinct meanings of authenticity[23] suggesting that authenticity in world music describes, as mentioned earlier, "cultural-ethnographic accuracy"[24] where musicians

[22] Ulf Hannerz's (1994) study of Sophiatown in South Africa and its connections with the global world is also important in this context.

[23] These are authenticity of positionality, spirituality and primality. See Taylor (1997: 21-28) for more detail on their meanings.

[24] Some world musicians such as Angelique Kidjo (Benin), Youssou N'dour (Senegal) have regarded this demand for authenticity by Western audiences as a way that defines them and their countries as pre-modern.

portray their indigenous cultural values through popular music. In this respect, this position of explaining authenticity emphasizes the expression of true, real or original musical cultures. In current scholarship, it is accepted to assume that what people can view as actual or original can be perceived differently depending on such factors as gender, religion, class or general background. I therefore use the notion of authenticity in this study in a fluid rather than fixed way because it is probable that other people may have different views of what is considered authentic in commodified Shona music.

The word "originality" stressed here suggests links between history and tradition. The discussion of authenticity in relation to music will thus have to search for qualities that retain some links to the roots of a people. Hall makes the same observation when he explains that there is some intrinsic and essential content to any identity which is defined by either a common origin or a common structure of experience (Hall 1990). I therefore think that those "original" aspects are significant and they make it possible for the music to be distinguished from other musical cultures. In his study of folk music in the modern world, Philip Bohlman defines authenticity as "the consistent representation of origins of a piece…in subsequent versions…, (and) with regards to those aspects that are salient, the piece remains the piece" (1988: 10). As such, my analysis of commodified Shona traditional songs in this study involves identification of cultural elements that have their roots within the cultural Shona repertoire. However, as already noted above, I do not confine originality to a static past.[25] Thus as Bohlman rightly says, "folk music as both a product of the past and a process of the present is essential to the commingling of stability and vitality, which together provide the substance and dynamism of oral tradition" (1987:13).

As discussed above, authenticity calls for definition of self; this makes it impossible to separate concepts of identity and authenticity. Christine Lucia suggests that musical identity can be constructed in the form of performance and it can also be constructed in the process of composing a piece of music (2007: v). She writes that musical identity is "produced in the sense of being composed and written into aspects of musical history

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Taylor (1997) and Maria Ericsson Baaz (2001) clearly discuss this and how it may influence musicians' approach to their indigenous music in relation to foreign music cultures.

[25] This issue has been widely discussed in cultural studies. See also, for example, Bohlman (1987), Stokes (1994), Hall (1996), and Jeff Todd Titon (2009).

traditionally known as work, genre and style" (ibid.). Stuart Hall also states that scholars "need to situate the debates about identity within all those historically specific developments and practices which have disturbed the relatively settled character of cultures above all in relation to the process of globalization" (Hall 1996: 4). Focusing on Shona-adapted Zimbabwean popular music will enable me to explore the question about how traditional musicians such as those selected for this study carefully arrange their music in an attempt to establish a Zimbabwean popular culture that represents Shona authentic identity.

Adaptation of Traditional Music and Copyright

The idea of borrowing and adapting traditional music for popular music use has a direct implication on the copyright debate in ethnomusicology. Copyright is broadly understood as the exclusive rights given to the creator of a musical work to control and profit from the work s/he creates (Macmillan 2007: 12; Suismann 2009: 151). This introduces the concept of "music ownership" where either an individual or a group may claim the right to possess a particular song. The application of copyright law has however been found to be insufficient when faced with traditional music of indigenous communities (Blaukopf 1988: 262; McCann 1998: 5).

The reasons for this are twofold. Firstly, there are some distinct characteristics associated with traditional music which are contrary to the principles for copyright.[26] Secondly, there are fundamentally different aesthetic values attached to music and creativity from one indigenous musical culture to another. Therefore as Peter Jaszi critically suggests, copyright should be viewed as a "culturally, economically, politically and socially" constructed concept (1991: 459). This view makes it possible for traditional music scholars to examine copyright as it may pertain to individual indigenous communities.

As stated in the Zimbabwean Copyright and Neighboring Rights Act (Chapter 26:08) in the section on folklore (folklore here includes traditional music), traditional knowledge users

[26] The copyright concept has been described as Eurocentric in nature by some scholars because of its demands of originality, tangibility and authorship. See for example Frith (1988), Seeger (1992) Mills (1996) and Collins (1993) for further discussion on this.

in Zimbabwe should pay back original communities.[27] This can only be possible if there is a possible way to determine which Zimbabwean popular songs qualify as having arranged pre-existing Shona traditional music. There is a very limited literature that examines the policies and laws applied to the protection of music in Zimbabwe and especially traditional music. Kathy Matsika (2007) gives a useful overview of Zimbabwean copyright law. She however largely concentrates on examining how the copyright affects access to information and knowledge in Zimbabwe. Thus while Matsika examines how the Zimbabwean copyright law functions, she hardly mentions how this concept works in relation to music in the country (2007: 164).

In their work on Zimbabwean popular music and copyright legislation, Joyce Mhiripiri and Nhamo Mhiripiri (2006) explore issues of copyright infringement in the Zimbabwean popular music industry which they believe is due to widespread misunderstanding and ignorance of copyright law in the country. While these studies are important to the growing body of literature on copyright and popular music in Zimbabwe, more research that takes into consideration the adaptation of traditional music in relation to the copyright concept is needed.

Turino (2000) adds relevant insights on this idea, however. Explaining how the concepts of composing and originality are perceived in Zimbabwean society, Turino observes the politics and contrasting opinions that arise between performers and other members of the community with regards to copyrighting traditional music. For instance, Mapfumo claims full copyright for the piece "*Ngoma Yarira*" (1974) whose basic parts he arranged from the Shona traditional *mbira* piece "*Karigamombe*" (the lyrics of which are his own composition), "regardless of the source" (2000: 283). While other Shona traditional music players considered "*Ngoma Yarira*" as a new composition, academics at the University of Zimbabwe criticized this, arguing that Mapfumo is a "mere arranger" of this song (ibid.: 282). To what extent, then, must a Zimbabwean popular song utilize material from the

[27] This was also confirmed to me at the ZIMURA during my fieldwork. See Part VIII of the Act for a detailed explanation of how folk tradition users should acquire licenses for a fee and how that fee is used by the responsible communities.

indigenous source for it to be considered as an "arranged" and not an "original" composition? The Zimbabwean Copyright and Neighboring Rights Act states that it is possible for musicians to create original compositions from indigenous sources (Part VIII). This explains that a musician can draw traditional compositional ideas from a particular piece without necessarily copying it, and then conceives an original composition. The Act, however, is not very explicit to explain the idea of "partial" utilization of musical elements of a traditional piece. In the context of South Africa, Boudina McConnachie notes that an "original" composition must be different "significantly enough" from the traditional song that inspires it and an "arranged" one must be immediately identified as the original work (2008: 25). In her work, McConnachie gives examples of arranged popular songs. These are for instance, Miriam Makeba's version of the song "*Mbube*" originally done by Solomon Linda and Harry Belafonte's version of "*Malaika*" originally composed by Fadhili William (2008: 43). McConnachie however admits that in some cases it is difficult to determine whether the song should be categorized as arranged or original. While "facts and themes and the ideas cannot be protected, how those facts are presented can" (2008: 24-25).

In the ethnomusicological literature, scholars have shown that the importance of individual elements of traditional music may be perceived differently from one indigenous community to another. In their study of the Caribbean Calypsonians, Wallis and Malm, for example, observe that the Calypsonians developed around 50 melody types and these came to be used continuously by different composers. What these people considered important for copyright purposes was the combination of the choice of theme, text and melody (1984: 199). In a different traditional music context, Anthony Seeger's study of the Suya people of Brazil states that text and melody of indigenous music in this community should be copyrighted (1992: 352). These scholars' views about the text of traditional songs contrast with Charles Seeger's assertion that claiming copyright for the text of a traditional song is fraudulent (1962: 101). While these scholars remain silent about traditional rhythm, John Collins believes in his work on Ghanaian music that rhythm is an important aspect of African music and like other musical elements it should be considered for copyright (1993). This explains that the value or significance attached to music is determined by how the music is utilized in a particular community. Indeed, requirements for copyright cannot be

uniformly considered for all countries because there is a provision for individual countries to set up ways to protect their own music (Brown 1998: 197; McConachie 2008: 19). As noted earlier, customs and ethics differ from culture to culture and that has a direct influence on copyright for different societies. Various policies and legislations depend to some extent on customs and moral values in a particular society.

In other countries, specific ways of protecting traditional music have been designed. In Senegal, for instance, music is regarded as a "national resource in which the music's value lies in its ability to unite a diverse nation and build one cultural identity" (Mills 1996: 71). Nationalisation of traditional music implies that the music is treated as a government property and any profits from it will be enjoyed by the nation as a whole. However, Mills argues that this approach creates problems in the sense that it overlooks the fact that traditional music belongs to certain distinct communities rather than "the nation". Mills therefore suggests that copyright law should acknowledge that communities should have control over the use of their music (1996: 79). In Brazil, they have adopted the "self-determination ideology" where the originating communities of traditional music are given total control of their music and its focus is on legal mechanisms to give assurance for such control (Mills 1996: 71). Its major goal is to create laws that do away with the traditional requirements which frequently make indigenous music ineligible for copyright (ibid.).

More recently, Titon disapproved of the copyright concept for traditional communities. Instead, he advocated for "stewardship or the idea that humans are caretakers, not owners, of resources … [where we should] think of a musical culture [as] living, a renewable daily resource among us, [so that] we move into a discourse of sustainability" (2009: 121; 135). I believe that my work might affect this issue of caretakership versus ownership of traditional music in the popular music sphere in various ways. In all the adapted songs that I have identified for this study, traditional elements are recognizable in some way or the other despite the method of adaptation popular musicians might have used. The presence of these elements makes it possible for Shona cultural values to be transferred in various ways depending on the context for which the music is adapted.[28] I therefore think that in

[28] Factors that influence how popular musicians adapt Shona traditional music are explained in more detail in chapters three and four.

many cases of indigenous music adaptation, popular musicians should be considered more like caretakers of traditional music in the popular music context. However, Titon mentions that the musicians should "enjoy the reward of stewardship" (2009: 121). Since the level of adaptation ranges from imitation to abstract appropriation as explained in the following chapters, how the musicians are rewarded should be determined by the amount of new material in an adapted piece. McLeod, for example, argues that "samples generate new meanings that are distinct from their original meanings, they should be treated as a fair use of copyright material" (cited in Hesmondhalgh 2006: 54). Hesmondhalgh also suggests that "when recordings rely enormously … on adapting other musics, musicians and others in the music business should consider… [to give] full and prominent credit…to the musical traditions to which they belong" (2006: 73). In reference to this, I propose that it is important to understand methods and approaches to the adaptation of indigenous Shona music as these can determine this particular community's traditional view of copyright. The analysis of the structure of arranged Shona popular songs in relation to original traditional pieces in this study is an attempt to critically examine how concepts of adaptation and originality apply to traditionally-inspired popular music in Zimbabwe.

Structural Analysis

The approach to musical analysis adopted in this study takes into consideration the structure and consequently the individual elements that constitute commodified Shona music and the interdependent relationships that exist between them. As such the musical elements, namely melody, rhythm and text are the main focus in my analysis. The musicologist, Leonard Meyer, points out that "musical meaning in this sense lies exclusively within the context of the work itself, in the perception of the relationship set forth within the musical art" (1994: 6). Similarly, Kofi Agawu takes note of the relevance of structure of a musical work when analyzing African music explaining that "studies of rhythm, multipart procedures, melody, and dynamics of performance are inconceivable without contemplation of events and processes at different levels of structure" (2003: 173). I therefore consider that analyzing Zimbabwean popular songs for elements that make them commodified versions of traditional Shona music is an appropriate method for this

research project. It "broadens ethnomusicologists' understanding of the African musical language" (Agawu 2003: 173).

By considering structural analysis as a methodology for analyzing the repertoire of adapted Shona popular songs to develop a set of criterion for categorizing popular songs as versions of Shona traditional music, my work mirrors Jim Chapman's approach. The latter approach constructs a set of frameworks to analyze and understand the processes involved in cross-cultural composition (2007).[29] Chapman examines the internal qualities of selected works by 10 cross-cultural composers from diverse backgrounds namely Bèla Bartók, Thomas Mapfumo, Kevin Volans, Mongo Santamaria, Steve Reich, David Fanshawe, Gerard Brophy, György Ligeti, Fela Sowande and Akin Euba (2007: 15). His aim was to sample a wide range of approaches used by these composers and to identify some of the musical elements used in cross-cultural composition. For instance, to understand the motivic structure (including repetition and variation) of cross-cultural compositions, Chapman analyses the song "*Serevende"* by Mapfumo. He then notes that this song consists of 11 bass variations, eight variations for the first guitar, two variations for the second guitar and only one pattern for the third guitar. There are four vocal variations and each of these variations is based around a particular source pattern (2007: 24-25). Comparing "*Serevende*" with other composers' works, Chapman explains that the tendency to continuous and often incremental variation is also an aspect of Bartók's *Bagatelle for piano No 1V and V*. In the same manner, Volans employs variation in his *Hunting: Gathering* but unlike Mapfumo's work, repetition is not prominent. While Mapfumo, Bartók and Volans have used variation in ways that are standard in African repertoire, Ligeti in the third movement of his *Piano Concerto* exploits the concept of polyrhythmic variation in a way different from that in most African musics (2007: 25-28). Generally, Chapman's aim was "to develop an analytical framework and vocabulary that can incorporate the diverse range of compositional techniques and methods used in African and Western music systems" (2007: 41).

Chapman's approach shows how various musical structures composed of material from across cultures can be analyzed in order to arrive at a particular decision. In my work,

[29] Chapman is a Western jazz and popular music composer but his compositions are greatly influenced by his strong interest in traditional contemporary African musical styles (Chapman 2007:1).

however, I focus on musical works that have been arranged by musicians from within the same culture but whose styles and approaches to the Zimbabwean popular music performance vary. The repertoire of Shona traditionally-inspired popular songs identified in this study have been adapted and shaped into distinct genres, namely, Tuku music, Chimurenga music, Afro pop and Zhakata Original Rhythm of Africa (ZORA) even though all draw from the indigenous Shona source. Studying the patterns involved in the adaptation of Shona traditional elements, I examine the impact that certain Shona indigenous sources and elements have on Zimbabwean popular music composition and the effect that has on representing the Shona concept of tradition. I believe that there is some "inner consistency" which makes it possible for some of these songs to be valued as Shona traditional pieces despite the various popular genre labels into which they are categorized. I also think that the relationship between musical works cannot only be understood through focusing on the consistencies or similarities between various musical structures; reflecting on why certain inconsistencies occur in the presentation of particular elements in different works may also be useful to interpret connections between them.

Borrowing terms such as "sampling", "imitation" and "abstract appropriation" from Chapman (2007: 84-9), I wish to examine the various approaches for the adaptation of indigenous Shona musical elements as reflected in these distinct Zimbabwean musical styles. These three terms have been written about by several musicological and ethnomusicological scholars. Holm-Hudson, for example, writes in relation to "sampling" technique it is the repetition and recontextualisation of music that musicians have heard before (cited in Chapman 2007: 82). The "the creator of a sampled sound piece is… merely an arranger, pasting together fragments of a musical history in such a way that the total exceeds the sum of the quotes…" (ibid.). Examples of sampling include Deep Forest's "Sweet Lulaby" (1992) and "Last Temptation of Christ" (1989) by Peter Gabriel. Citing Herbie Hancock's "Watermelon Man" as an example of "imitation", Feld described this technique as direct quotation of the original piece (Feld and Keil 1994). In "abstract appropriation" musicians such as Ligeti "uses abstract rather than surface details" (Taylor (2003).

The three frames (imitation, sampling and abstract adaptation) mentioned above are used in way that seem to overlap by Chapman (2007). He defines imitation as "the quotation of riffs and rhythms and other musical devices into a new settting… direct quotation, modification and improvement of the original" (2007: 88). He went on to define sampling as "direct incorporation of a sound, or recording without alteration" (Ibid.). However, sampling is a technique in popular electronic music/disco that takes only part of the material from another source; yet Chapman uses the term to mean wholesale verbatim "quotation" (2007: 88).[30] How does this differ really, from sampling? By abstract adaptation Chapman means the "use of ideas from another culture's music in a conceptual way… and then application of the ideas in a different context to the original" (2007: 88). Chapman's abstract adaptation seems to be a further remove from the original, and yet the original is still recognizable, so how abstract can it be said to be? There seems to be a connection between the various methods of adapting traditional music for popular music composition. Thus Chapman's frames explained here are not only necessary to critically determine the elements that qualify Zimbabwean popular songs as having commodified indigenous Shona music but to establish relationships between various Shona musical traditions. By identifying the structural elements that continue to define traditional Shona music within the Zimbabwean popular music industry, my work shares the goal among Shona musicians, namely, facilitating the continued history of traditional Shona mbira musical culture and identity.

[30] See, for example, David Hesmondhalgh (2006) for more detail on sampling technique in popular electronic music.

Chapter 3

"Doing the Serious Business of Older People Correctly": Zimbabwean *Mbira* Popular Adaptations

Introduction

This chapter focuses on *mbira* popular adaptations, the first of two categories that constitute the repertoire of commodified Shona songs identified in this study. My aim is to examine various strategies adopted by Zimbabwean popular musicians to adapt Shona indigenous *mbira* songs. It is important to note that Zimbabwean popular musicians, particularly those with whom I have interacted during my fieldwork, claim to have approached *mbira* indigenous sources with caution during the adaptation process "so as to reproduce it correctly" (Turino 2000: 296). Mtukudzi, for instance, clearly stated that

> You have to stick to the *mbira*, and if you're doing *mbira* songs your guideline is how the *mbira* is played … you can't go beyond that. If you go beyond that [you] are not doing it right. I mean, if you try and improve from there, you can only add a guitar or something, so you have to play it like that … [because] *mbira* is the serious business of older people, and it has to be done correctly. (Mtukudzi cited in Turino 2000: 296)

In agreement with Mtukudzi, other pop musicians have also expressed similar sentiments. Mapfumo believes that *mbira* music "was invented by our ancestors… it's something original [and] you cannot change that (Mapfumo, Int., by Guma 2013).[31] Chiwoniso also raised the idea that "changing traditional *mbira* songs becomes disrespecting the elders who have created them" (Int., 2012).

Despite these claims to remain true to ancestors, many *mbira* popular adaptations that I have identified here show that *mbira* indigenous sources can be reproduced in different

[31] I could not personally interview Thomas Mapfumo throughout the course of my research due to several reasons. The musician is currently in exile in Oregon and he did not perform any shows in Zimbabwe or South Africa during the entire period of my research. My efforts to communicate with him through email were also in vain as he did not respond. In order to continue with the research, I therefore had to rely on interviews done by other people with Mapfumo online and in other sources.

ways. The question of how these musicians consider their *mbira* adaptations to have been done correctly and unchanged from the traditional sources when they have actually conceived of different pieces from this source using its elements in different ways is thus important. Adaptation of tradition and the notion of invention are not the same processes or necessarily done for the same reason. However, what Hobsbawm explains about tradition as "the contrast between the constant change and innovation of the modern world and the attempt to structure at least some parts of social life within it as unchanging and invariant" is useful (1983: 2). Erlmann also writes in relation to South African music that "changing musical systems display a remarkable persistence of fundamental procedures of stylistic patterning beneath the more obvious changes in the surface structure" (Erlmann 1991: 10). This chapter thus seeks to understand the Zimbabwean popular musicians' understanding of correctness or accuracy with reference to the adaptation of *mbira* traditional music and what they regard as unchanging in (re)presenting this genre regardless of the changes and differences from one adaptation to another. It also interrogates in detail why the musicians adopt certain strategies when adapting *mbira* traditional sources. In the process, I pay particular attention to the strategies or approaches adopted in the adaptation of *mbira* traditional music as reflected in the selected popular musicians' works. I conclude the chapter by examining the interrelationships between *mbira* popular adaptations and their traditional sources through analyzing connections between musical elements.

Historical Background to the Performance of *Mbira* Indigenous Music

Whether the musicians strategically or subconsciously draw from the *mbira* indigenous source, "the basic tendencies for decision making are grounded in the cultural formation in which one was originally socialized" (Turino 2008: 127). Thus to understand these musicians' positions with regard to the utilization of traditional *mbira* sources, it is first necessary to give a historical background to the performance of this musical tradition in Shona society.

Mbira music is believed to have been conceived by ancestors in Shona society. This largely shapes the traditional beliefs and values that are ingrained in musical performance: for

example, that is associated with spirituality and strongly believed to induce spirit possession (see, for example, Tracey 1965, Kauffman 1969 and Berliner 1993). At a Shona *bira* ceremony, for instance, the *mbira dzavadzimu* [songs of the ancestors] are considered to have this "power to project its sound into the heavens, bridging the world of the spirits and the world of the living, attracting attention of the spirits" (Berliner 1981. 132). Shona ancestral spirits through mediums are believed to "offer moral insights into the human conditions ... moderating social relations ethically, mediating disputes and curing illness" (Scherzinger 1999: 110). They are identified as culture heroes and they exert a protective influence over all society. They withdraw the protection in reaction to moral transgressions (Dewey 1991: 26). It follows therefore that *mbira* indigenous music is treated with respect; in the face of problems beyond human control, *mbira* music would set the context conducive for ancestors to intervene. Though many people in Zimbabwe today have become Christians and no longer depend on such traditions for life, the beliefs associated with *mbira* have remained.[32] In 1999 Mapfumo explained in an interview with the Canadian Journalist, Faust, in relation to his song called "*Shumba*" [Lion] (1995), that:

> That song is for the medium, the spirits. This *shumba* is not just a wild animal. It's the spirit lion. Whenever there is a gathering of this sort they always expect that the spirit lions are outside looking after them. (Mapfumo 1999)

Thus the value of *mbira* music performances in the Zimbabwean popular music context lies in its ability to evoke ancestral beings. There have always been some standard expectations that must be met in the performance of *mbira* music for it to be accepted by the people and the ancestors. As a result, traditional *mbira* performances are judged as good or bad. Berliner, for instance, notes in his work the scenario where a possessed woman stopped some musicians from performing at a ceremony; she took their instruments and threw them away because they were playing poorly (1993: 202).

Mbira traditional music has also become widely associated with war and resistance in Zimbabwe. The Zimbabwean historian, Moses Chikowero, explains that:

[32] For more information on the influence of Christianity on traditional cultural practices in Zimbabwe, see Turino (2000: 35) and Chitando (2002: 25).

> The *mbira* is one instrument that really was a metaphor in the suppression of the indigenous, not just music, but cultures, ways of knowing, ways of doing things, indigenous knowledge. So it is not surprising that this is an instrument that had been at the forefront of defining how Africans conceptualize music prior to and during the colonial decades. (2013)

In support of this, Kwaramba asserts that *mbira* traditional music became an ideological statement of protest during and after the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe (Kwaramba 1997: 18). The majority of the arranged popular *mbira* songs I have identified for this study are pre- and post *chimurenga* songs. For instance, Mapfumo's songs, namely, "*Hondo*" (War), "*Pasina Paenda*" (The World is Coming to an End), "*Zimbabwe Yakauya Nehondo*" (Zimbabwe's independence was achieved through liberation struggle), "*Zvichapera*" (It shall come to pass), "*Waurayiwa*" (Killed), "*Chamunorwa*" (Why fighting) and "*Muchadura*" (You shall confess).[33] It is clear that *mbira* music was adapted to contemporary music partly because of its strong association with suppressed African traditions (Kwaramba 1997: 18). This is because *mbira* music has been appropriate and adaptable to the on-going political injustices and economic crisis that has characterized Zimbabwe since the pre-independence era. Musicians found ways to protest through this music. In this context, the reconstruction of *mbira* traditional music in certain ways should be interpreted as an attempt to carve Shona people's space within the history of colonial and post-colonial Zimbabwe.

Strategies for Adapting *Mbira* Traditional Music

Drawing on the work of Jim Chapman, as mentioned earlier, I argue that popular musicians generally adopt three different strategies for the adaptation of traditional *mbira* songs. Firstly, some of the songs have been adapted entirely from identified traditional *mbira* sources, others adapt the "standard basic *mbira* part" only and thirdly, some adapt the "*kudeketera*" tunes and text only, or just the text. Within the category of *mbira* adaptations, I examine each of these approaches. Firstly, I briefly highlight certain concepts and terminologies relevant to understanding the analysis.

[33] Chimurenga songs are songs that capture the sentiment of war and the longing for freedom in Zimbabwe. *Mbira* music is now associated with the Chimurenga musical genre (Vambe 2004: 167).

Characteristics of traditional Shona *mbira* music and the relationship between its various components have been well documented (Berliner 1993; Maraire 1991; Titon 2009). All Shona *mbira* pieces are composed of at least two "standard basic parts" on which they are based. The first one is called the *kushaura* part, meaning to lead or call. It consists of two lines namely *kushaura kwepamusoro* [high tone lead] and *kushaura kwepasi* [low tone lead] and these provide much of the melodic essence of a piece. The second is called the *kutsinhira* part meaning to exchange parts of a song or to interweave a second interlocking *mbira* part. It also consists of two lines, and these are, *kutsinhira kwepamusoro* [high tone response] and *kutsinhira kwepasi* [low tone response]. *Kutsinhira* lines are performed in response to the *kushaura* part.[34] Most indigenous *mbira* pieces consist of a 48 beat pattern divided into four major phrases of 12 beats each performed cyclically in a call and response pattern (Berliner 1993: 75).[35] However, some of the songs have two phrases (binary form) also performed in a call and response pattern (Maraire 1991: 42). In terms of *mbira* vocal content, there are three distinct styles, namely, *kudeketera*, *huro* and *mahon'era*. Since *huro* and *mahon'era* are generally characterized with *vocables* and yodeling (Berliner 1993: 117), I will largely focus on *kudeketera*. This is a verbal style that draws from Shona poetry and is considered to be a form of singing.[36]

Imitation: Entire *Mbira* Adaptations

Traditional *mbira* adaptations in this subcategory utilize all the elements, that is, melodic lines, rhythm and lyrics from their indigenous *mbira* sources, hence here I call them "entire adaptations".[37] They also usually maintain the names or titles of the original versions. Such

[34] The *kushaura* and *kutsinhira* standard basic *mbira* parts are performed simultenously by at least two people and they always have a call and response or question and answer relationship to each other.
[35] Andrew Tracey (1963) refers to beats as "pulses", rather, and devised pulse notation paper to notate *mbira* (and other types of African) music, to free it from association with staff notation's concept of bars and beats. In my analysis of Shona traditional music in this study I, however, use Berliner's concept of beats and bars. I have chosen to use Berliner's concept in this study because I used Sibelius for transcribing certain musical examples.
[36] The term "*kudeketera"* can be defined in different ways in the Shona language. See footnote (d) in Berliner (1993: 162). In this context, I use it to refer to a form of singing known as "*kuimba*" in Shona.

[37] The *Hosho* rhythmic pattern, which is an essential part of traditional Shona mbira performance is retained in these examples. Harmony is also an important aspect of *mbira* music (see Scherzinger 2001). Analysing the *mbira* piece "*Nyamaropa*", Scherzinger explans that harmony in traditional *mbira* songs can be used to

examples include among many others, "*Mutavara*" (Beat the drum harder) by Mtukudzi, Chiwoniso Maraire's "*Nhemamusasa*" (Temporary shelter, "*Zvichapera*" (It will come to pass), and "*Chembere Dzemusango*" (Evil people) and also Mapfumo's "*Nyama Yekugocha*" (Meat to roast), "*Butsu Mutandarika*" (Long oversized shoe), "*Chemutegure*" (Wagon wheels) and "*Taireva*" (We used to warn you). The song such as "*Hanzvadzi*" (Sister) arranged entirely from "*Nhemamusasa*" by Mapfumo may be exceptional however, but this new name seems to have been derived from the poetry traditionally sung to the original "*Nhemamusasa*". This type of adaptation of *mbira* traditional music can be referred to as imitation, which according to Chapman is direct quotation of the traditional (Chapman 2007: 88).

It is possible in some situations that adapting the "same" traditional *mbira* song, the popular songs are composed of different material in some sections. For instance, the two songs "*Hanzvadzi*" and "*Nhemamusasa*" by Mapfumo and Maraire respectively, have both been arranged from the traditional war song "*Nhemamusasa*" but their lyrical content is not necessarily the same throughout. While the Chimurenga musician, Mapfumo, borrows the lyrics which emphasize the idea of war in his popular version, for instance, the phrase "*Roverera museve*" (Stab with an arrow), Maraire eliminates such phrases in her version. Therefore, depending on context and individual creative skills, entire *mbira* adaptations may not sound exactly the same in every respect. For instance, a musician may use only part of the traditional text. This makes the songs sound a bit different in character though they have the same traditional source. These subtle differences around entire *mbira* adaptations (imitation) means that after directly quoting the main framework the musical pieces and their associated texts, musicians can modify them by adding their own material and "other foreign styles" or they may decide to exclude variations.[38]

Most of the *mbira* songs in this subcategory were traditionally performed in ritual and spiritual contexts. Such songs are believed to be "songs of the ancestral spirits" (Titon

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distinguish one *mbira* piece from the other. In this study, focus is put on other aspects of *mbira* music that are not analysed in Scherzinger's work.

[38] Each traditional *mbira* piece has variations which can be played along its basic standard material. As these variations are optional for performance, they impact on the way a particular tune is interpreted by one musician or another.

2009: 95). These songs include "*Nyama musango*", "*Nhemamusasa*" and "*Chembere dzemusango*". I believe this influences how different popular musicians consider using the individual aspects of these *mbira* traditional songs in their own popular versions. Chiwoniso Maraire, for example, explained to me that Adam Chisvo (a former member of her band, Vibe Cultures, who played the *mbira* on this song) would "go under the water, he would go places with the sound of 'Nhemamusasa' " (Maraire, Int., 2013). This explains a deeply spiritual situation where during performance, certain musical sounds facilitate spiritual connection for the performer and as a result s/he experiences or does things that s/he cannot do under normal circumstances. So when Chiwoniso and her band arranged their version of "*Nhemamusasa*", "every aspect of the original song was relevant" in this particular case (Maraire, Int., 2013). Therefore what popular musicians believe in relation to traditional Shona *mbira* songs determines in some cases how the indigenous elements of *mbira* songs may be presented in popular versions. This brings to mind Carol Muller's insights on "inalienable possessions" in her work on the Nazarite religion of South Africa where she explains that inalienable possessions "are artifacts of emotion and experience given form through expressive culture and circulated among members in systems of ritualized exchange" (1999: 59). Things such as spirituality and power are identified as inalienable possessions in the Nazarite religion - songs and dances are also seen in this way. Outside ritualized and localized contexts, some Zimbabwean popular musicians have made sure the reproduction of such inalienable treasure (*mbira dzavadzimu*) takes place without alteration. From what Chiwoniso explained, such an approach to the adaptation of traditional Shona *mbira* music has enabled traditional spirituality to continue to be experienced in contemporary settings.

However, other musicians such as Mtukudzi and Andy Brown have been very flexible and incorporated within *mbira* music adaptations their own material as well as other foreign styles. "*Mutavara*" by Mtukudzi and "*Kutapira*" (Sweet) by Brown are good examples. In "*Kutapira*", arranged from "*Manhanga kutapira*" (Sweet Pumpkins), for instance, Brown added his own lyrics to the pre-existing poetry: "*Huya uone kutapira kunoita manhanga*" (Come and taste the sweetness of our pumpkins) traditionally performed repeatedly in a

call and response style to "*Manhanga kutapira*". Below is some of Brown's modified text for his version:

Huya uone kutapira	Come and taste
kunoita manhanga iwe muZimbabwe	The sweetness of pumpkins in Zimbabwe
Aha kutapira	Oh sweet
South Africa uchakamirirei kurima mumunda wako	South Africa enjoy your land
Mozambique usambofa wakatengesa ivhu rako	Mozambique never sell your land
Namibia kutapira kunoita manhanga	Namibia pumpkins are sweet
Aha kutapira	Oh sweet
Zambia Kutapira kunoita manhanga	Zambia pumpkins are sweet
Africa usafa wakanyengerwa	Africa beware not to be deceived

Recorded in 2002 and labeled *More fire: Third Chimurenga series* by Brown and Keith Farguharson, "*Kutapira*" was completely adapted from its indigenous *mbira* source. In the traditional context, this song was performed for secular reasons; after a successful and fruitful farming season, a proud farmer would tell neighbours of his achievements. Presented partly in the call and response pattern and partly in a rap singing style from about two to two and half minutes into the recording, "*Kutapira*" presents to Africa what was termed the *Hondo Yeminda* (War of land) in Zimbabwe promoting farming and the land redistribution programme that was done in 2000. Without omitting any of the indigenous elements of "*Manhanga kutapira*" in his version and in order to present "cultural-ethnographic accuracy" for the global music market, Brown invokes the traditional song's meaning by simply adding his choice of text (Taylor 1997: 26). Therefore entire *mbira* popular adaptations present a way in which all elements of the indigenous source are significantly utilized to determine the overall meaning of a particular popular song. Indeed, according to the information that I obtained from the Zimbabwe Music Rights Association (ZIMURA), entire *mbira* adaptations are registered as traditional arrangements where musicians get partial royalty payments. Chiwoniso, for instance, is given 50 percent royalties on both performance and mechanical rights on her song "*Nhemamusasa*" - the other 50 percent is accredited to the originating community.[39]

[39] As mentioned in Chapter 1 of this research, the Zimbabwean Copyright Law stipulates how the partial royalties are supposed to be paid to the originating community. However, whether the originating communities are receiving any benefits in relation to this is quite a fraught topic (see McConnachie 2008).

Sampling: Adapting the Standard Basic *Mbira* Part

Songs in this subcategory utilize material from the standard *kushaura* and *kutsinhira* basic parts of the indigenous *mbira* source, largely eliminating the traditional *kudeketera* tunes and text. The *hosho* rhythmic pattern is usually included but the addition of contemporary instruments, for example, the *hosho* rhythmic pattern is played on high-hats, makes the rhythmic idiom sound more contemporary. This is the approach used mostly by Zimbabwean popular musicians to arrange traditional *mbira* songs. Here, the melodic and rhythmic material that constitutes the *kushaura* and *kutsinhira* standard basic *mbira* part is important for the overall presentation of a particular traditional *mbira* song in the subsequent versions in Zimbabwean popular music. The ethnomusicologist, Dumisani Maraire, describes this standard basic material as "direct" or "present and obvious" lines in traditional *mbira* music (1991: 42).

Since popular musicians adapt this material into a new musical context where they compose new lyrics and new messages for their songs, this approach to the adaptation of *mbira* musical sources can be called sampling. This sampling, as explained previously, involves "direct incorporation of a sound, or recording" (Chapman 2007: 88). Sampling differs from imitation explained above in the sense that imitation includes quotation of the whole piece while sampling only quotes part of the original source and incorporates it into a new composition. The records from ZIMURA indicate that popular songs in this subcategory are regarded as original compositions as the musicians are allocated 100 percent royalties on both performance and mechanical rights. Drawing on a few examples especially by Thomas Mapfumo and Chiwoniso Maraire, I explain in this section how the melodic and rhythmic aspects that constitute the traditional basic *mbira* lines are presented in popular *mbira* songs.

The song "*Chamunorwa*" (Why the fighting) on *Chamunorwa LP* (1989) by Mapfumo adapts both the standard *kushaura kwepamusoro* and *kutsinhira kwepasi* parts of the indigenous Shona *mbira* song called "*Taireva*" (compare Figures 1 and 2). Figure 1 shows the

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McConnachie examines how certain South African community have received royalty payments from the use of their traditional music archived at the International Library of African Music (ILAM). Further research on precisely how ZIMURA's royalty policy works would be worth pursuing.

transcription of "*Taireva*" as performed by Fradreck Mujuru.[40] As presented in Figure 2, the *mbira* 1, *mbira* 2 and the bass played on "*Chamunorwa*" directly quote the right and left hand *kushaura* as well as the *kutsinhira kwepasi* lines respectively from "*Taireva*". On the high hats, he also retains the rhythmic time line often played on *hosho* in *mbira* traditional performances. Mapfumo combines these well-known lines with his own material produced on other guitars; the vocal lines and text are also completely different from those traditionally performed to "*Taireva*". The parts that Mapfumo borrows from this source are cyclically repeated throughout the song with the bass dominating. Thus, despite the change of text and the sung tune traditionally-associated with "*Taireva*", anyone familiar with this indigenous source would immediately recognize "*Chamunorwa*" with this source.

[40] Fradreck Mujuru is a widely recognized Shona traditional *mbira* performer in Zimbabwe. He was born in 1955 in Rusape, Zimbabwe and he is a grandson to the late Muchateta Mujuru, a respected Shona spirit medium. See the website www.mbiraorg.com and Zindi (2003: 84) for more detail on Fradreck's *mbira* musical life and the general contribution of the Mujuru family in traditional *mbira* music.

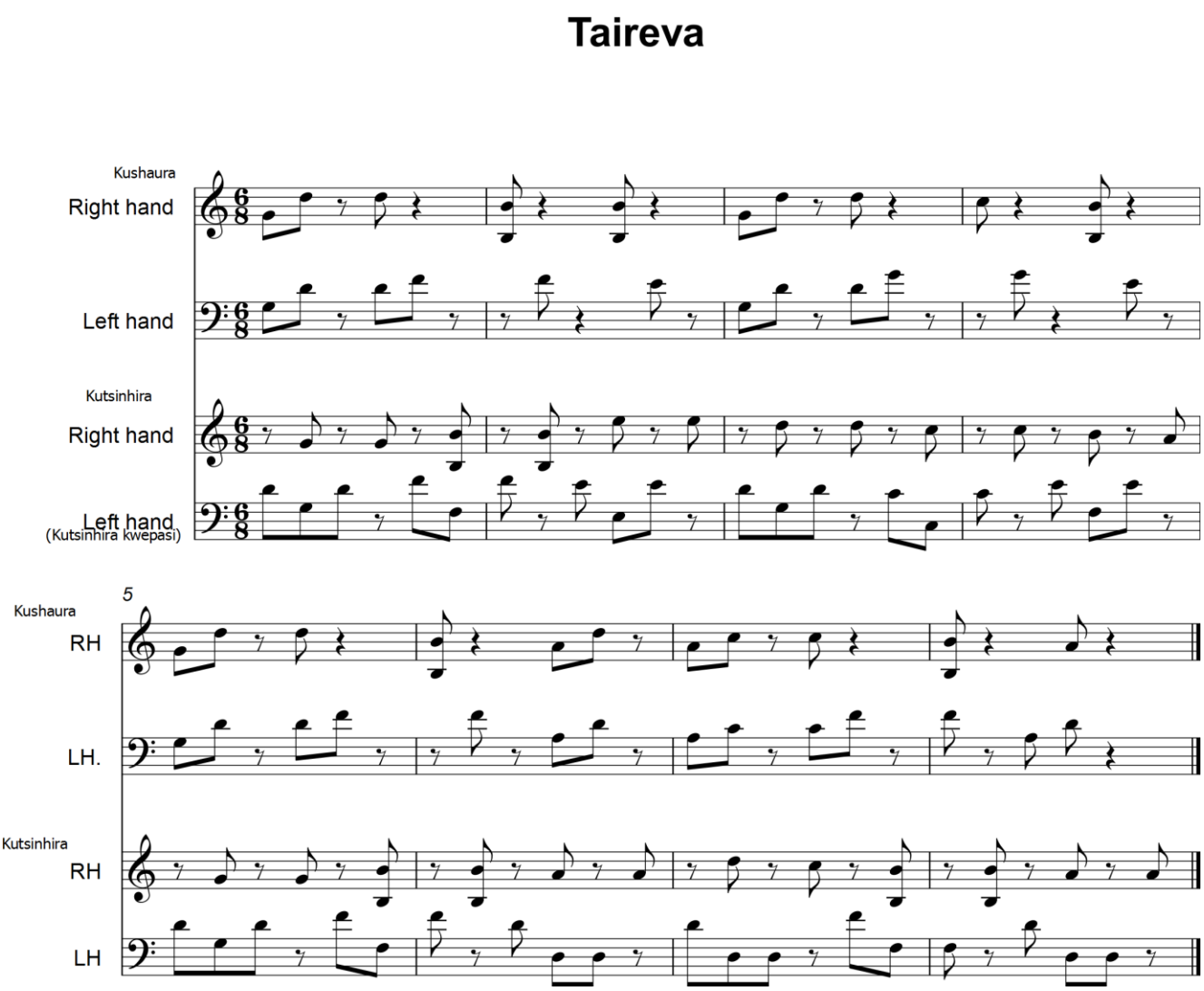

Figure 1 "*Taireva*" standard *kushaura* and *kutsinhira* parts as performed by Fradreck Mujuru, Transcription by V. Chamisa.[41]

[41] I have used 6/8 time signature in this transcription because the song has 24 beat pattern divided into four phrases and each of the phrases consist of 6 beats.

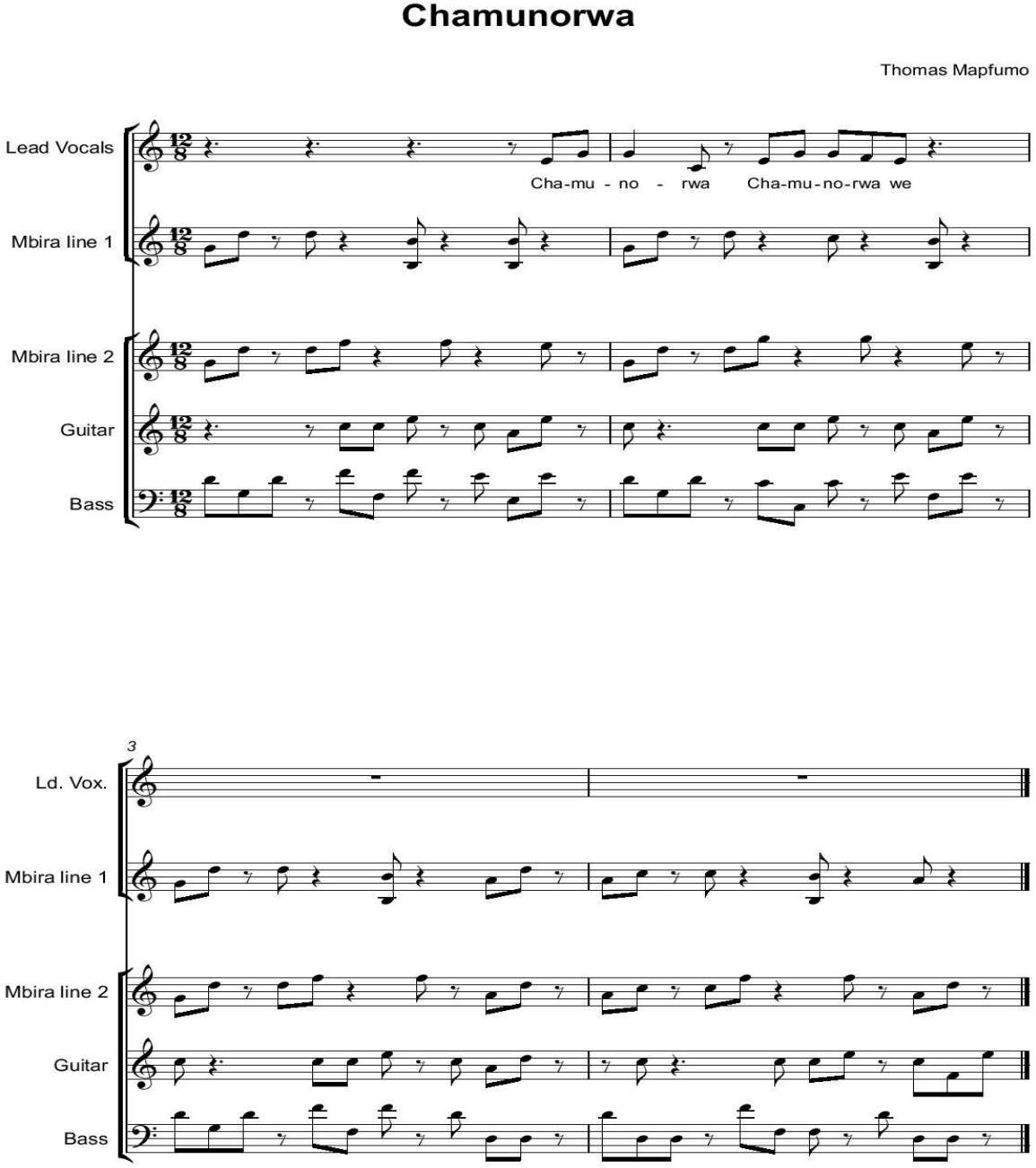

Figure 2 "*Taireva*" standard *mbira* lines in "*Chamunorwa*", 0:29-0:36, Transcription by V. Chamisa. [42]

[42] I have used 12/8 time signature in this transcription because the song has 48 beat pattern divided into four phrases and each of the phrases consist of 12 beats.

Similar to Mapfumo's "*Chamunorwa*", the song "*Amai*" (Mother) on Chiwoniso Maraire's *Ancient Voices* (1998) was arranged from the traditional Shona *mbira* song "*Chipindura*" (Answer) and it is based on the melodic and rhythmic material of both the standard *kushaura* and *kutsinhira* basic parts of its indigenous source. Clearly heard in the recording, the first *mbira* in Maraire's song imitates the *kushaura* line of "*Chipindura*", while the second *mbira* and the bass reproduce the traditional *kutsinhira* line. Unlike "*Chamunorwa*", "*Amai*" imitates all the standard parts of its traditional source without altering or eliminating anything. The material played on the guitars throughout is Maraire's own composition. Singing in Shona and English, Maraire composes her own vocal lines with new lyrical content. Because it identically reproduces the standard basic parts of its traditional source, "*Amai*" can also be immediately identified with its indigenous source. This is intensified also by the fact that Chiwoniso maintains the timbral and rhythmic patterns similar to those traditionally played by *hosho* and *ngoma* in Shona *mbira* performances.

Comparing these two popular songs in relation to the original songs they adapt, each of these renditions resembles its traditional *mbira* source by drawing on the melodic and rhythmic material of the standard basic *mbira* part. How the musician will then conceive text depends on his/her compositional goal and performance context. In my interview with Chiwoniso Maraire, for instance, she explained to me how she conceptualized her song "*Amai*" which she released in 1998. After the death of her mother, Linda Nemarundwe Maraire in 1997, Chiwoniso found herself singing the traditional *mbira* song called "*Chipindura"*; "I would find myself humming '*Chipundura*', and then play it on my *nyunganyunga*. I really had to sing for my mother at this particular moment and so I composed the lyrics" (Maraire, Int., 2013).[43] The following is part of her lyrics for this song:

> Sometimes I imagine I hear your voice
> In the trees whispering
> *Mai fambai zvakanaka* — Mother, have a safe journey
> *Mai tichazomuona* — Mother we shall see you
> Forever I remember your loving smile
> Sunshine to my eyes
> You had a spirit so full of joy

[43] The *nyunganyunga* is one of the types of *mbira* instruments played in Zimbabwe but it is important to note here that when Chiwoniso recorded "*Amai*" she used the *mbira dzavadzimu* instead (Maraire, Int., 2013).

The sweet surprise
I find myself searching for your face
Though I know you are gone
It's so hard to say goodbye

The way Chiwoniso presented her song in this case explains how she strongly believes that through using the entire standard part of "*Chipindura*" (which belongs to the *mbira dzavadzimu* repertoire) as a medium, she could express her feelings directly to her late mother, whom she is assuming to be listening to the music.[44] Explaining her adaptation approach for this song, Chiwoniso revealed that "I don't go my way changing the base of these [*mbira dzavadzimu*] songs, to me it becomes disrespecting the elders who have created them" (Maraire, Int). Indeed, almost all of Chiwoniso's *mbira dzavadzimu* adaptations, for example, "*Mukaranga ane shanje*", "*Hupenyu kutenderera*" and "*Handimbozorora*" retain unaltered basic standard parts. Chiwoniso's position here explains that sometimes the shape of ritual *mbira* songs for Zimbabwean popular music is determined and negotiated through the Shona concept of *hunhu* or respect, "a discourse that is deeply personal and moral" (Kyker 2011: 2).

On the other hand, "*Chamunorwa*" has a clear and very sharp message of resistance with Mapfumo protesting against disunity and injustice almost a decade after independence:

Chamunorwa	Why do you fight me?
Kunyangwe munganditukа	Even if you insult me
inga munonditya	You are afraid of me
Nyangwe mukandozonda,	Even if you don't like me
ingamunonditya,	You are afraid of me
mapepa kudondinyora	Even if you say bad things about me
inga munondiziva	You know me
Zvamunondiita handizvide	I don't like your attitude towards me

One can argue, however, that since "*Taireva*" is a traditional war song, Mapfumo's choice of text for "*Chamunorwa*" was influenced by this traditional source. Important to note in this regard is that in this song Mapfumo borrows the phrase "*Baya wabaya*" commonly

[44] Chiwoniso's mother was also a musician. Despite the fact that Chiwoniso Maraire was born and spent almost 15 years of her life in Washington, D.C. in the U.S. (Chitando and Mateveke 2012: 46), most of her songs especially on *Timeless* and *Ancient Voices* shows how she strongly believes that ancestral spirits have the power to control people's lives today.

associated with the traditional war song "*Nyama Yekugocha*" and incorporated it within his new text of a popular version of "*Taireva*", reinforcing his classification of this song as a *Chimurenga* song and placing it in the post-colonial discourses of *Chimurenga* in Zimbabwe (Vambe 2004).[45] In relation to world music discourse, Mapfumo complies with the international audiences' expectations of Zimbabwean popular musicians "to speak directly to current political realities" (Kyker 2011: 138). Therefore how popular musicians compose text for their sampled *mbira* pieces is largely determined by their goals and contexts of performance.

The way "*Chamunorwa*" and "*Amai*" were arranged typify how other popular songs in this subcategory have been adapted, that is borrowing the basic part of the traditional tune and superimposing new sung tunes and lyrics over it. A few examples mainly by Mapfumo, however, show how the basic parts of more than one traditional *mbira* song are combined. These include "*Chitima nditakure*" where Mapfumo used a *kutsinhira* part of the *mbira* piece "*Nyamaropa*" as his *kushaura*; then "double-tracked that same part a beat behind as his *kutsinhira* and triple-tracked a variant of '*Karigamombe*' as a second *kutsinhira* part" (Turino 2000: 279).

These two examples ("*Amai*" and "*Chamunorwa*") show how popular musicians borrow the standard basic *mbira* parts from *mbira* sources and compose their own tunes and text to them. The lyrics according to Chiwoniso can be performed in English without compromising the considerations of correctness and unchangingness noted previously. This is supported by Stephen Chifunyise who commented about Chiwoniso's music that:

> (She) demonstrate(s) how a singing voice that is well grounded in uniquely indigenous vocal texture and potency can be innovatively utilized to rend songs in English or other foreign languages and musical instruments to produce a clearly identifiable Zimbabwean sound that remains authentic even when handled with a creativity that benefitted from wide contacts with other music of the world. (July 2013)

[45] In conversation with Tinashe Mandityira about how Mapfumo uses the phrase "*Baya wabaya*" in this song, he elaborated to me that "sometimes traditional *mbira* songs are similar; they belong to the same mode. For example, "*Taireva*", "*Baya undidye*" *and* "*Zeve-zeve rinamambo*" or "*Karimugomba*", "*Hore mudenga*", and "*Mugariro wakanaka*" or "*Nhemamusasa*", "*Ndofa ndichibaiwa"* and "*Baba Munyaradzi*" and so forth. Therefore lyrics may be interchanged or presented as a medley" (Mandityira Int., 2013).

Chifunyise's view that it is possible to produce an "authentic identifiable Zimbabwean sound" just in the singing voice itself raises a very important issue around adaptation and authenticity. Vocal qualities such as texture can define a certain musical culture and musicians can adapt these for their text composed in any language to represent that particular culture. The fact that vocal quality can be articulated differently from one musician to the other yet it can also define a certain culture reinforces the point that authenticity should be viewed in a fluid rather than fixed way.

Mapfumo, however, has a contrasting opinion regarding the use of English when performing *mbira* traditional music. He explained in an interview with journalist Lance Chigama that "we got *mbira* music we play; you cannot sing that in English, yah that's something original and you cannot change" (Mapfumo, Int., by Chigama 2013). Such differences between Chiwoniso and Mapfumo's perceptions with regards to use of English in *mbira* music can be caused by various reasons such as musicians' personal history of socialization. Chiwoniso's flexibility in using English might have been influenced by the fact that she was born in the U.S., spent her childhood and acquired part of education there (Chiwoniso Int., 2013). On the other hand, Mapfumo who is 31 years older than Chiwoniso has strong connections with his rural home in Guruve (Chikowero 2013). Mapfumo's age and place of origin might also have played a significant role in shaping this musician's position that lyrics for *mbira* music should only be composed using Shona.

Additionally, while many of Mapfumo's *mbira* adaptations such as "*Amai vemwana*", "*Ngoma*", "*Marima nechisi*" and "*Marehwarehwa*" also directly quote the standard *mbira* part and only change the vocal lines and lyrics as Chiwoniso does, the song such as "*Chamunorwa*" shows that the *kushaura* and *kutsinhira* parts can be used separately and their melodic rhythms can be altered. According to my second category on *mbira* adapations, "sampling" technique adapt material that constitutes the standard basic *mbira* part but the melodic and rhythmic material of this basic part can be altered. As the majority of *mbira*-based popular songs identified in this study use this approach, this standard *mbira* part can be considered as the "core" of traditional *mbira* music presentation during the process of adaptation. The core constitutes the basic *kushaura* and or *kutsinhira* traditional *mbira* lines.

The purpose of the new rhythms and melodies that popular musicians compose outside the standard basic parts in their arranged versions need to be explained. In many of the songs in this subcategory, this new material is played over the repeated progression produced by the basic parts, and as a result, it functions more as variation. As a Shona *mbira* player, I have experienced that a traditional *mbira* mode can be performed differently because of the possibility of adding variations and this sometimes depends on how good the performers are. While *mbira* players have the freedom to improvise during performance, they always have to ensure that they "return from time to time to the basic patterns of the piece such that its identity will not be obscured by improvisations" (Berliner 1978: 97). Though indigenous *mbira* pieces have well-known standard variations associated with them, the majority of the songs in this subcategory do not adapt these variations except for a few examples such as Mapfumo's "*Dangurangu*", "*Chamunorwa*" and "Zimbabwe". In the song "Zimbabwe", for instance, Mapfumo borrows both the *kutsinhira kwepamusoro* and *kutsinhira kwepasi* standard variations from the traditional *mbira* song "*Chemutengure*" and adapts them for *mbakumba* dance-drumming rhythm as accompaniment. Therefore, indigenous *mbira* variations cannot independently, from the standard parts, represent the identity of their sources and can be adapted for other Shona traditional genres without changing their distinctiveness.

Abstract Adaptation: Adapting Sung *Mbira* Melody and or Text

There are popular songs that have solely utilized indigenous Shona *kudeketera mbira* tunes and text, and in some cases either text or melody only. Eliminating the basic parts well-known to these tunes and texts, the musicians mainly compose their own accompanying instrumental lines. The major difference between songs in this category with those in the two categories explained above is that here the "core", that is, the standard *mbira* part is not included. In this section, I examine the effect of using sung tunes and texts in the absence of the standard basic material of particular indigenous *mbira* songs in popular music composition and also determine whether such songs can be considered arranged versions of those traditional songs.

The popular song, "Ancient Voices" on *Ancient Voices* (1998) by Chiwoniso only adapts the *kudeketera mbira* text of the traditional *mbira* song called "*Chaminuka Ndimambo*" (Chaminuka is King). Traditionally, "*Chaminuka ndimambo*" was performed for Chaminuka, "the 19th century spirit medium of the Shona people" (Pfukwa 2007: 99).[46] Like the majority of traditional Shona *mbira* songs, "*Chaminuka Ndimambo*" consists of a standard basic part and it is composed of vocal lines different from those performed in the basic part. Adopting the compositional technique employed in *mbira* traditional songs, in "Ancient Voices", Chiwoniso composes her own *kushaura* and *kubvumira* basic parts and these are performed using a cyclic pattern throughout. Unlike "*Chaminuka Ndimambo*", however, Maraire's version eliminates the well-known *hosho* percussive rhythmic timeline usually performed in traditional *mbira* performances. This makes the rhythm of "Ancient Voices" sound more contemporary and suitable for dancing. The lyrics in Maraire's version are done for the most part in English throughout and presented in a verse and chorus style in contrast to the call and response pattern in which "*Chaminuka Ndimambo*" is traditionally performed. The following is part of her lyrics:

> Pasimamire was just another young man in the village
> Leading a simple life
> Of peace and harmony
> No troubles on his mind
> For he was a simple man
> And then Chaminuka came
> And Pasipamire was changed
> And then the spirit came
> Chaminuka was his name
> And everywhere there was jubilation
> A leader had been found
> Chosen by the ancestors
> And people came from afar to see him for themselves
> And he said children beware
> Strangers want this life
> Soon they shall arrive
> From the west across the ocean
> And will have to fight children fight to survive
> You must be brave
> You must be strong

[46] Chaminuka was one of the earliest elders possessed by a spirit that guided Shona people during times of war, hunger and disease outbreaks (see Pfukwa 2007: 127 for more detail on Chaminuka).

It is only after three and half minutes (in the closing part of the song) that Maraire integrates the text of "*Chaminuka Ndimambo*", changing its well-known vocal tune (compare Figures 3 and 4).

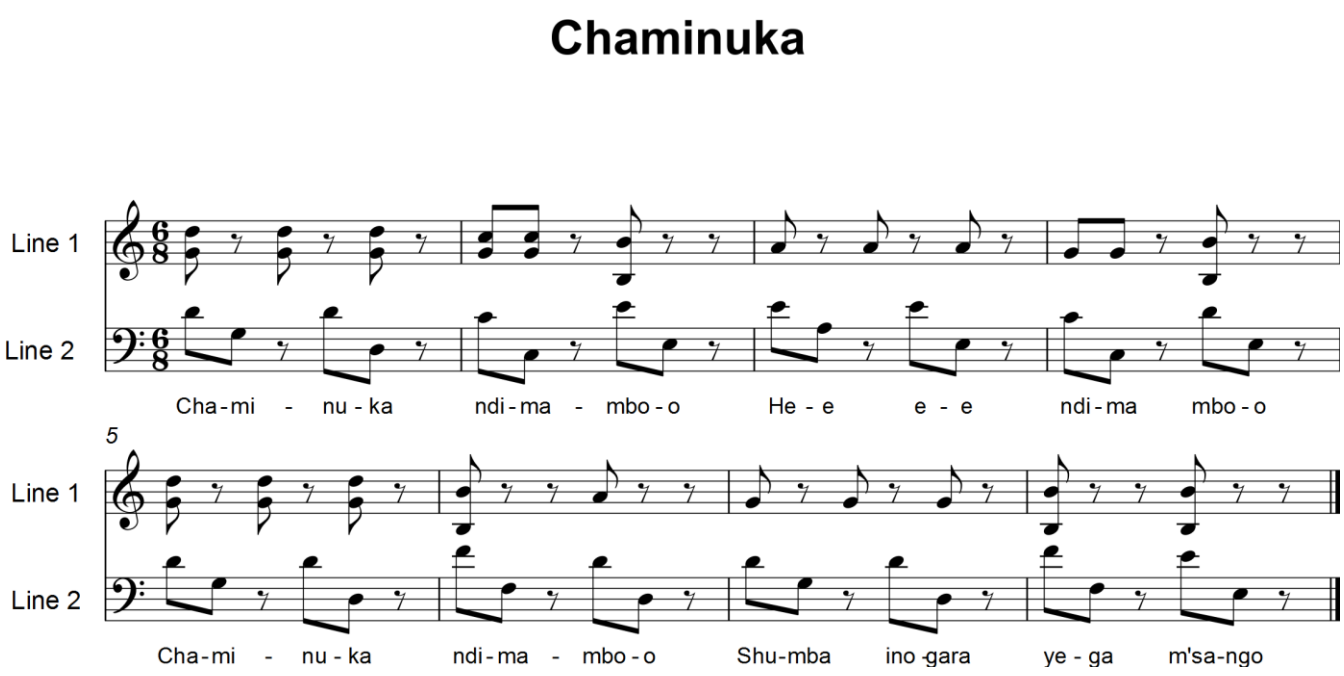

Figure 3 *Kudeketera* tune and text traditionally sung for "*Chaminuka Ndimambo*". Transcription by V. Chamisa.

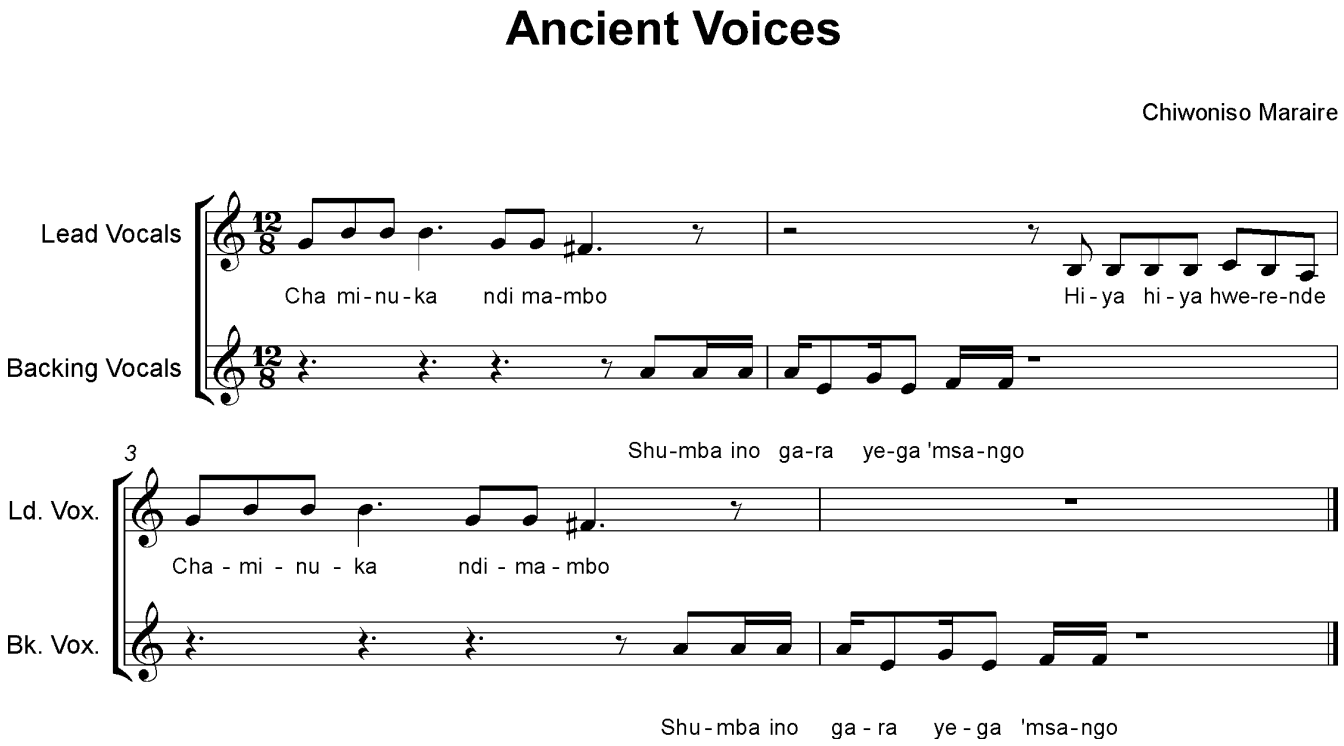

Figure 4 *Kudeketera* text from "*Chaminuka ndimambo*" performed on "Ancient Voices", from 3:36-3:51, Transcription by V. Chamisa.

In the entire song, only two phrases, *Chaminuka ndimambo* and *Shumba inogara yega musango*, were adapted from the indigenous source. Each of the four phrases in both songs has 12 beats and each cycle in both songs has 48 beats but what happens on each beat in Chiwoniso's version is sometimes quite different. In "*Chaminuka Ndimambo*", the same rhythmic idea which consists of quaver beats only is repeated from one phrase to another in lines 1 and 2 throughout the piece. Chiwoniso introduces other note values which are semi quavers, crotchets and dotted crotchets thus changing the rhythmic pattern significantly. Another thing that differentiates Chiwoniso's version from "*Chaminuka Ndimambo*" is that she introduces responding vocals and these reinforce the message on lead vocals. Such a way of combining voices is typical of the call and response pattern in African music.

Despite the fact that Maraire composes her own lyrics in addition to the pre-existing ones, she maintains the meaning of the song. The historical novel, *Chaminuka: Prophet of Zimbabwe* (1983), written by Solomon Mutsvairo is the inspiration behind the composition of "Ancient Voices" (Maraire, Int., 2013). As portrayed in the novel and the song, "Ancient

Voices" praises and narrates the roles played by spirit mediums such as Chaminuka and the ancestors during the war of liberation. Forward Kwenda explained to me that the traditional lyrics which Maraire borrows in her song were composed anonymously during the first Chimurenga as an accompaniment to *mbira* music performed in praise and recognition of Chaminuka's power.[47] Even though Maraire altered the *kudeketera* traditional rhythm of the tune and also eliminated the traditional "standard basic *mbira* part" of the indigenous song she adapted here, how she combines the traditional poetry with her own lyrics means that Maraire's song is more of a modified version of "*Chaminuka Ndimambo*" with the story about Chaminuka presented in more detail to diverse audiences. In my interview with her, Chiwoniso told me that "Ancient Voices" is a combination of two songs, her own composition and "*Chaminuka Ndimambo*". Therefore while *mbira* vocal content largely functions as accompaniment in *mbira* performances and is usually not considered the basis for the identification of particular indigenous *mbira* songs as explained in previous studies (Berliner 1993), the combination of indigenous text in subsequent versions successfully establish a relationship between popular songs and recognizable indigenous *mbira* pieces. This approach to the adaptation of indigenous *mbira* music encourages a type of popular *mbira* music composition that is not necessarily identical to the traditional *mbira* songs while enabling the interpretation of important historical events within Zimbabwean popular *mbira* music.

Another example of the popular songs that utilize indigenous *mbira kudeketera* texts alone without the vocal melodies traditionally associated with them is "*Kusarima*" by Mapfumo. The musician here uses certain phrases that are traditionally associated with the indigenous *mbira* song by the same name. Such phrases include:

kusarima woye	Let's work
torai mapadza tirime	Take hoes and let's weed

[47] Forward Kwenda is a renowned Shona *mbira* player from Zimbabwe. He was born in 1963 in the Buhera rural area and started playing *mbira* and other traditional musics at a young age. He made a number of *mbira* recordings including *Svikiro: Meditations of an mbira master* (1997).

But, however, the musician performs these lyrics to a *katekwe* Shona traditional dance rhythm in his song. In relation to how indigenous *kudeketera mbira* texts are used, Tinashe Mandityira explained to me that:

> sometimes it becomes difficult to assign certain lyrics to only one song in particular seeing that some *kudeketera* texts are common to several songs, for example, phrases such as *meso murima dzinenge nyimo; nzara dzapera nekuridza mbira; baba maamai mandiregerera—mati ndife zvangu ndisina kuwana* and *mune mvana ndinopinda runa—kashanu ndinobudawo neyangu* can be sung to many *mbira* traditional songs. (Mandityira, Int., 2013)

In this case, since *katekwe* traditional dance is performed for the purpose of "thanksgiving for a successful harvest" in Shona society (Kyker 2011: 53), while lyrics associated with the traditional *mbira* song "*Kusarim*a" are also traditionally performed during *nhimbe* (a harvest ceremony), it is possible that the lyrics in Mapfumo's song were performed in both contexts. Additionally, Shona *kudeketera mbira* text can be drawn from commonly used proverbs and idioms. Therefore it is difficult to classify a song as an arranged version of an indigenous song solely on the basis of its text, especially if it lacks the melodic essence of the traditional vocal material. An exception may occur in cases where the text has been adapted in its entirety. In this case I believe that Mapfumo's "*Kusarima*" cannot be classified as a popular version of the indigenous *mbira* song "*Kusarima*", even if they share the same name but rather as a dance-drumming popular version of *katekwe*.[48]

Certain songs in this subcategory only adapt the indigenous vocal melody from particular traditional Shona *mbira* songs. In "*Titambire*" (Dance for us) by Mapfumo, for instance, the keyboard and the bass imitate the traditional vocal lines well known to the indigenous *mbira* song called "*Manhanga kutapira*" (Sweet pumpkins). What Mapfumo does in this piece is omit the lyrics well known to "*Manhanga kutapira*", but slightly modifies and maintains the vocal tune on which the traditional text was sung, and then composes his own lyrics on it. However, all this material is performed around the musician's own standard basic timeline played on the *mbira*.

[48] *Katekwe* and other traditional dance-drumming genres are explained in detailed in Chapter 4.

Though Mapfumo omits the traditional poetry of "*Manhanga kutapira*" in his popular version, his utilization of its melodic lines played on the keyboard may be interpreted as an indirect presentation of the traditional poetry. "*Titambire*" was released as a Chimurenga song in 1999, a few months before the 2000 parliamentary elections in Zimbabwe. Unlike most of Mapfumo's Chimurenga songs, however, the lyrical content of "*Titambire*" cannot be literally interpreted as political protest:

Titambire ngoma iwe titambire	Dance to the music for us, dance
Titambire mutambirwo wekwedu titambire	Dance the way we usually do
Kurira kwengoma	The drum is playing
Titsikire ngoma iwe titsikire	Dance to the music for us, dance
Ngoma yekwedu yarira	Our music is playing
Inga yekwedu yarira	Ours is playing

Yet the statement "*Huya unone kutapira kunoita manhanga*" (Come and test the sweetness of our pumpkins) traditionally-sung to *"Manhanga kutapira*", is sometimes interpreted as "a brag, a boisterous assertion" and has been recently used by Nathaniel Manheru in a Zimbabwean *Herald* article to describe the political situation between ZANU-PF and MDC a few months before the elections scheduled for July 2013 (Manheru, April 2013). This suggests that text well known to a particular melody will always re-surface and be experienced when that melody is performed, even if it is not verbalized. I therefore believe that the traditional vocal melody of "*Manhanga kutapira*" presented as instrumental music in Mapfumo's "*Titambire*" connects the listener who is familiar with its traditional source to the text traditionally-sung to it, even if it is not a version verbalized in the adapted version.[49] The example of "*Titambire*" explains the importance of pre-existing vocal melodies; their use within various forms of popular music styles determine the overall meaning and interpretation of particular songs. How "*Titambire*" has been composed explains that *mbira* players can play tunes that have political connotations, without an accompanying song or textas a way of signifying their feelings through the music alone. This echoes Pongweni's observation noted previously that "Shona people often express

[49] In her study of music of the coloured community of the Kroonvale of South Africa, Marie Jorritsma observes something similar. She examines how the use of the melody of "*Senzeni na*", performed to Christian text in this community "subtly and non-verbally" expressed anti-apartheid gestures in South Africa stating that "the performance of this tune created a powerful sense of shared experience during apartheid" (2011: 67). See also Ray Pratt (1990) for more detail about the way tunes alone, without text can refer to political sitiuations.

their feelings about personal, political or social matters through allusion rather than direct statements" (1982: ii). This could have been true of *mbira's* history throughout from pre-colonial to post-colonial periods and might be one of the major reasons for its enduring social significance.

As the popular songs eliminate the basic *mbira* part they cannot be immediately identified with certain *mbira* songs. Following Chapman, I describe this type of adaptation as abstract adaptation which is "the use of ideas in a conceptual way such that they are largely only revealed in analysis" (2007: 88). However, given the non-verbal significance of *mbira* music explained above and how pervasive and well-known *mbira* tunes are in the Shona communities, I do not agree to some extent with Chapman that abstract adaptation is only discernible through music analysis by musicologists (see Chapman 2007: 88). Composers of music from their own cultural background purposefully combine their music with certain traditional aspects in a subtle way in order to present their intended ideas in specific contexts. On the other hand, audiences familiar with the music also interpret song meanings in connection with the abstractly adapted material. Despite the effects of traditional tunes and texts in abstract adaptations, data that I obtained from ZIMURA largely shows that songs in this subcategory are registered as original compositions as the musicians are entitled to full royalty payments. Thus similar to the songs in the sampling category, ZIMURA considers abstract adaptations as creatively and respectively enhanced, that is recomposed.

How traditional *mbira* sung tunes and texts have been utilized in Zimbabwean popular music, generally supports the idea that "song lies at the heart of African musical expression" (Locke cited in Agawu 1995: 2) and generally "vocal music is truly the essence of African musical art" (Bebey 1975: 115). This suggests that sung melodies and their associated texts play significant roles in defining African musical traditions.

Connection between Popular Texts and Traditional *Mbira* Pieces

We have seen thus far that the perception of traditional *mbira* music as unchanging and the notion of correctness as it pertains to the representation of the music in Zimbabwean popular music does not mean that the songs have to remain faithful, in every detail, to the

original source. Rhythm and melody can be altered as new material is composed for it and most notably, text constantly changes from one song to another. Another important point is that popular songs that draw from the same *mbira* source usually tend to address similar themes which in certain ways develop, echo or comment upon the theme of the original source. As Chris Mhlanga noted in the indigenous context, vocal lines of *mbira* songs should match with a given piece (Turino 2000: 281) such that whether one writes poetry first or conceives the tune first there is always a connection between these. This explains what has beenmentioned earlier on "imitation" that two or more seemingly identical adaptations of the same traditional tune by different performing artists can produce rather different adaptations. According to Willian Hanks "texts may be linked to one another by concrete shared features … (and also) by common membership in a single genre within a given literary tradition" (Hanks 2000: 111). To further understand the musicians' positions with regard to the adaptation of *mbira* traditional music, it is thus important to examine the relationships between popular song texts and their traditional *mbira* sources. This allows me to focus on how each text is influenced by its original source and how that causes popular versions from the same *mbira* source to be comprised of related texts, even if each is composed of distinctive lyrics.

Each traditional *mbira* piece is associated with a particular performance history (Berliner 1993: 41-50). Fradreck Mujuru, for example, explains the historical performance of the song "*Taireva*", in which he states that it was traditionally performed in the context of war. "*Taireva*" was traditionally performed to discourage traitors within the Shona community, encouraging unity and obedience among fellow members. It was sung to the following lyrics:

Taireva taireva taireva taireva	We used to tell you
Nyamutambanemombe wabaiwa	Look, Nyamutambanemombe is killed
Taimboreva mukoma, bvunzaiwo	We used to say it, brother we told you

Through performing this song, people would warn one another and if they refused to listen, others would always come back and remind them that they should have listened to their advice. It is vital to note here how the three pop songs that have borrowed some aspects from this source, namely, "*Chamunorwa*" (Why the fighting) by Mapfumo (mentioned

above), "*Ndotangira poyi*" (Where should I start) on the album *Svovi yangu* (1996) by Mtukudzi and "*Karigoni*" on *Mandishorei* (1995) by Zhakata have been influenced by this source and how this has created a connection between them.

Each of these songs is composed of a unique text but significantly, they are more or less thematically related to one other and to "*Taireva*". There has always been a political reference in *Taireva*'s subsequent versions. As mentioned earlier, in "*Chamunorwa*", Mapfumo sings about post-independence Chimurenga, a discourse which has been used in Zimbabwe to resist all forms of injustices among Zimbabweans (see, for example, Vambe 2004). Sung a few years after the Gukurahundi massacres which killed many civilians in the Matebeleland Province in 1985 and after his songs against corruption had been banned from airplay in 1990, Mapfumo is advocating for peace and unity among Zimbabweans. My interpretation is that "*Chamunorwa*" is a development from "*Taireva*" - because though it has been reshaped to fit into postcolonial Chimurenga popular music, it maintains the theme of its traditional source.

Developing the same thematic idea, "*Karigoni*" presents how people may treat others as second class citizens:

Vakomana imi mandishorei	Why do you look down upon me
Nokuti imi mandinyanyira	Because it's becoming too much
Kundiitita mutuvi mumukaka	
Mandionei	How are you judging me
Chamunorwa neni ndachishaya	I don't know why you are fighting me
Daka renyu nderei musakatadzirwa	Why do you have grudge against me, I have not wronged you

This song explains that despite our social or physical status in relation to others in society, we should learn to appreciate each other. Zhakata objects to disrespect, and encourages people not to hate others for no apparent reason. In "*Ndotangira poyi*", Mtukudzi shifts to the issue of family politics, where the eldest son (*dangwe*) faces problems from his own people because of this position. In the song, Mtukudzi recounts, with a lamenting voice, the challenges he has personally faced from his family members. Thus he wishes that it had been possible to remain a child. But he is reminded in the song that as a Samanyanga (a

praise name for people with *Nzou* as their totem) he would overcome everything. Mtukudzi generally sings against disunity in families which, as he presents, can be caused by power and dominance. The fact that "*Taireva*" and its associated sounds is culturally associated with war and resistance influences popular musicians who draw on its elements to conceive of text that echoes or develops this theme in various ways.

Thus the performance of a particular traditional *mbira* piece determines the theme of its accompanying text or, if the text is conceived first, it will call forth the specific *mbira* lines to be performed along with it. However, in the interview with Zhakata, I noted that this interrelationship between elements is not always planned. Sometimes the *mbira* sources are adapted subconsciously. While acknowledging that it is a traditional piece, Zhakata was not aware that "*Karigoni*" adapts the *kushaura* and *kubvumira* lines of the *mbira* piece "*Taireva*". This is a possible situation because, as explained by Zhakata,

> As a musician, sometimes a certain tune or beat keeps ringing in my mind and so it may happen that when I compose a song, I may think I am creating something new yet I will be taking from what I already know. I may not notice it sometimes… and the poetry - I write about anything that matters for life. (Zhakata, Int., 2013)

This suggests, as Turino asserts "in the instances that people grow up with the music and dance styles, and the habits needed to perform them in culturally appropriate ways are formed at an early age, such that there tends to be little self-consciousness about performance and creative license" (Turino 2008: 160). In various compositional situations then, the accompanying text for *mbira* popular music is shaped by the traditional *mbira* sources.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have explained various strategies that have been adapted to represent *mbira* traditional music in Zimbabwean popular music. Three strategies have been applied to the adaption of Shona traditional *mbira* songs. Firstly, there is imitation where traditional melody, rhythm and indigenous vocal content including text are entirely reproduced. The entire adaptations are almost identical to the indigenous source (see Figure 5 which summarises these three strategies and which presents the connection between them in relation to the indigenous source). The belief that some traditional *mbira*

songs facilitate connections with ancestors has influenced the production of entire *mbira* adaptations by musicians such as Chiwoniso Maraire. Upon performing or listening to such popular songs, some people become spiritually connected to ancestors today. Within this subcategory, however, musicians such as Andy Brown have been flexible by incorporating their own material within the adapted songs.

Secondly, there is sampling which describes songs that adapt the standard indigenous *mbira* parts. Solely drawing from the melody and rhythmic material that constitute the main part of the *mbira* song, popular songs that utilize this method dominate the category of *mbira*-based pieces. There are two things that distinguish basic *mbira* part adaptations from entire adaptations. The first one is the absence of indigenous *mbira* texts. Thereafter, the inconsistent use of *kushaura* and *kutsinhira* parts and the material that constitute the main *mbira* parts. However, while the lead and response parts can be adapted separately and while their melodic rhythm can be altered, the melodic essence of at least one of the *kushaura* and the *kutsinhira* standard *mbira* parts has always been retained.

Thirdly, there is abstract adaptation which describes songs that draw solely from the indigenous *mbira* vocal content. This is the smallest subcategory within *mbira*-based pieces. Unlike the songs in the second subcategory mentioned above, these completely eliminate the standard basic material of their sources. What relates them to the entire adaptations is their utilization of some indigenous *mbira* vocal material but this has also been inconsistently represented in the third subcategory. I have noted the significance of indigenous *mbira* vocal melodies in representing particular *mbira* pieces in the absence of the traditionally-sung poetry associated with it and also in the absence of its well-known *mbira* basic melody. It can be concluded from these strategies that borrowing the standard *mbira* parts and/or the vocal melodies affects whether the music can be labeled as commodified Shona songs. Evidence from ZIMURA shows, however, that only entire *mbira* popular adaptations are regarded as arrangements - adopting the other two strategies allows musicians to be credited with original compositions.

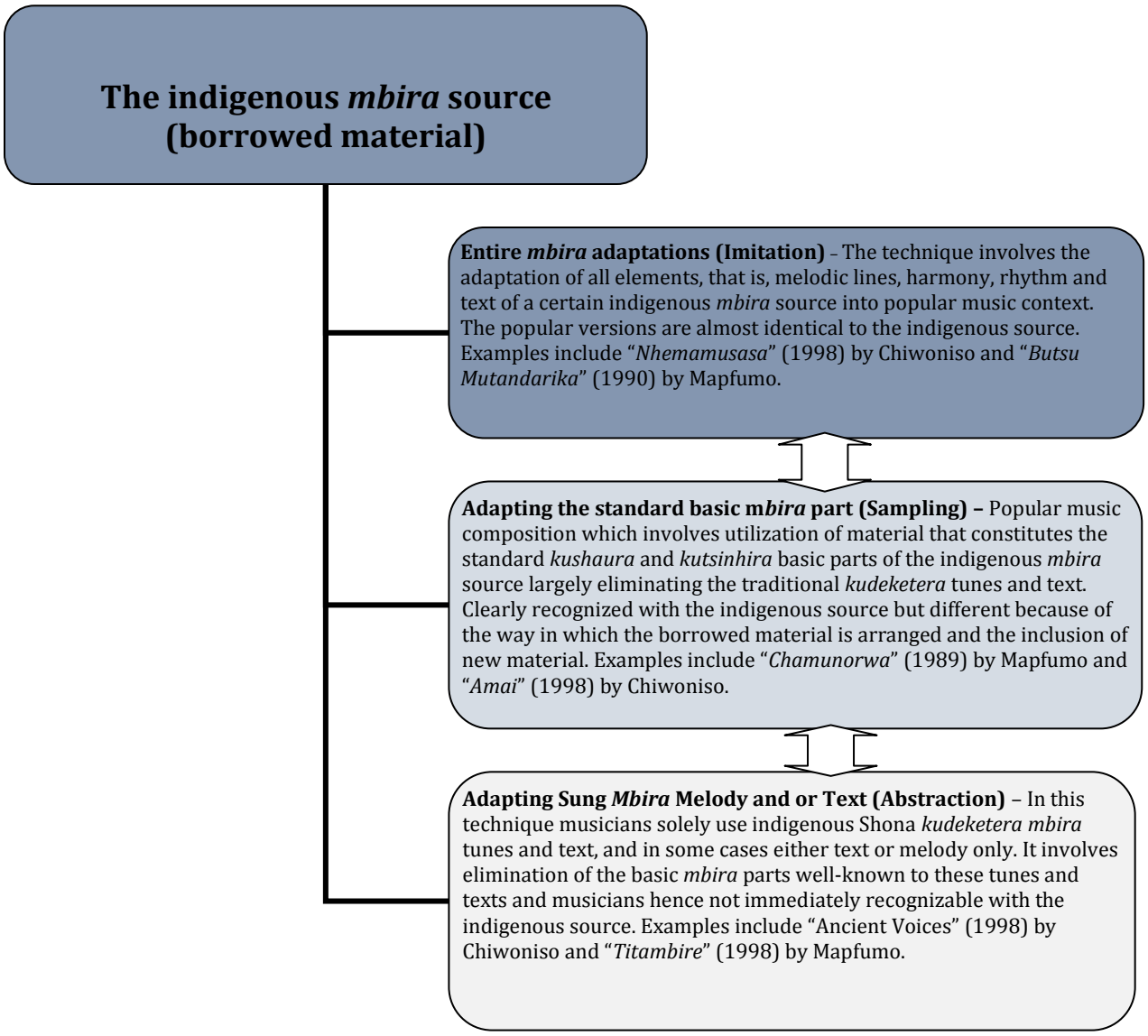

Figure 5 A summary of approaches for the adaptation of *mbira* Shona traditional music and connections between them in relation to the indigenous *mbira* source. Different colours represent visibility of the indigenous material in each adaptation strategy. In all the three frames, indigenous material is visible; what differs is the intensity of the material used from one strategy to another.

It is clear that what renders *mbira* popular adaptations as correct and unchanging in relation to their traditional sources is their utilization of pre-existing material that constitutes the standard *kushaura* and *kutsinhira mbira* parts or the indigenous sung melodies and/or the associated text. With regards to *mbira* texts, musicians sometimes

maintain indigenous lyrics but in some cases they compose new ones. Despite the constant changes of text as traditional *mbira* songs are adapted for various popular music contexts, the popular texts maintain themes and symbols rooted in the musical history and culture such as Shona spiritual figures, for example Chaminuka. These inconsistences that occur in the presentation of *mbira* texts from one adaptation to another thus suggest that the choice for majority of popular *mbira* texts is largely determined by indigenous *mbira* sources. How musicians shape their text differs from one performance to another and this depends on the musicians' compositional goals. The repertoire of *mbira* popular adaptations shows how indigenous *mbira* elements can be intertwined within various Zimbabwean popular styles to form a Zimbabwean popular music aesthetic that has its characteristics and identity strongly grounded in Shona musical tradition.

In summary, as reflected in album titles such *Timeless* and *Ancient Voices* by Chiwoniso, though the adapted *mbira*-based pieces have been "re-orchestrated" for the contemporary audience, the traditional beliefs that surround the sound's potential and the meaning traditionally associated with particular indigenous songs have transcended time and place. Most notable is that "in changing times and different places, traditional *mbira* music becomes the centre for traditional spirituality to negotiate the boundaries of identity" (Preston 2007: 24). This largely influenced how individual elements of specific indigenous *mbira* pieces have been reproduced. In the following chapter, I analyze the *ngoma*-based popular songs.

Chapter 4

Impacts of Shona *Ngoma* Rhythms on Zimbabwean Popular Music

Introduction

Each of the distinct Shona indigenous *ngoma* genres, which include *mbakumba*, *dandanda*, *muchongoyo*, *muchongoyo*, *dinhe* and *mhande*, has its own song repertoire and distinctive *ngoma* (drum) and *hosho* (gourd rattle) style according to which it can be identified. Performed in the indigenous context, traditional *ngoma* music is "frequently integrated with dance and it is bound to relate its form and content to the structural and dramatic requirements of the dance" (Nketia 1974: 206). This explains the importance of traditional drumming patterns associated with each distinct *ngoma* genre in relation to specific traditional dance contexts. However, arranged and recorded largely for cosmopolitan non-participatory audiences, the majority of commodified Shona dance-drumming songs identified in this study show that the musical elements associated with each of these distinct genres can be "used more or less loosely to create new songs, in contrast to *mbira* music which is the 'serious business' of older people" (Turino 2000: 296).[50] As Sam Mataure explained with reference to Mtukudzi's "*Izere mhepo*" on *Nhava* (2005) which adapts the *mhande* rhythm, "there is so much room [in *ngoma* drumming music]… we play it differently… we open up the music a bit more" (Kyker 2011: 160).

This "opening up" is confirmed by musicians like Mtukudzi, who claim that by not basing his songs on indigenous "classical" *mbira* music but on dance-drumming genres, he does not perform traditional songs but writes his own songs, thinks of his own tunes and own sounds (Turino 2000: 296), it is worth considering how the adaptation of indigenous Shona dance-drumming musical elements influences popular music composition. Data from ZIMURA shows that songs such as "Mean what you say" on Neria (2001) and "*Gore rino*" (This year) by Mapfumo are labeled as *katekwe* and *mhande* respectively. However, when

[50] Rutsate (2007) and Thram (1999) study the performance of such music in a secular but non-popular music context, the Chibuku Neshamwari Traditional Dance Competitions. Here the music is performed in the same way as it is performed in the indigenous context.

they are registered for copyright purposes, the musicians are entitled to full royalties on both performance and mechanical rights. This confirms the point that despite the *ngoma* sounds, they are considered as musicians' original compositions. The reasons for this are developed further below.

This chapter focuses on commodified Shona songs that appropriate traditional Shona *ngoma* (drum) genres. It examines how popular musicians' various approaches to the arrangement of traditional melorhythmic patterns and song texts associated with certain Shona *ngoma* genres influence the process of redefining this particular musical tradition. To do this, I analyze various *ngoma*-influenced popular songs and the opinions expressed by musicians who create the music. I assert that the traditional drumming patterns and styles incorporated within particular commodified Shona traditional songs, play an important role in redefining this musical culture within Zimbabwean popular music.

Understanding Shona *ngoma* rhythms

Traditional Shona drumming patterns and styles are created through the performance technique described by Meki Nzewi in his study on traditional drumming of Nigeria (1974: 24). Explaining the way in which melorhythms are conceived in the Nigerian context, Nzewi describes them as "a rhythmic organisation that is melodically conceived and melodically born" (ibid.). It defines the Africa-peculiar melodic formulation on toned music instruments, for example, membranophones. "The tone levels used in melorhythmic tunes automatically transform into pitch essence, that is, melodic tunes, when reproduced with the human voice simulating the timbre qualities of the toned instrument as nearly as possible" (Nzewi 2007: 136). Hence the concept of tune has a dual manifestation in African music: the melodic deriving from absolute pitch; and the melorhythmic deriving from tone levels (ibid: 136). He suggests that this kind of organisation should be recognised as having a different orientation than the kind in which the rhythm of music has a more independent derivation and function (1974: 24). "The African melodic thought thus manifests as a bifurcated language that finds a common interpreter in the most versatile music-making voice" (Nzewi 2007: 136).

Although the musical context and rhythmic language of Nigerian drumming ensembles and Zimbabwean ngoma styles are very different, Nzewi's principle of melorhythm can be usefully applied to an analysis of ngoma rhythms and their combinations with new tunes. Kariamu Welsh Asante's (2000) work on Zimbabwean traditional dance provides relevant insights for understanding Shona *ngoma* genres in this chapter. Following Nketia's emphasis of the centrality of rhythm in relation to African drumming (1974), Asante asserts that the rhythmic patterns and styles associated with Shona traditional drumming and dance acts as "the pervasive and identifying agent" for this music (2000: 85). In most cases the rhythm identifies the text as well as the context (ibid: 85).

I propose in this chapter that the performance of Shona *ngoma* styles within Zimbabwean popular music not only provides frameworks for conceiving structure of the music during composition but it also influences how messages attached to the music may be interpreted. Simultaneously utilizing the indigenous melorhythms and new tunes, the popular music context provides non-participating audiences opportunities for re-experiencing the "pleasure of participation" of traditional dances "which lies as much in listening to them (melorhythms)" while recontextualizing the messages (Agawu 1995: 91). As the *ngoma*-influenced popular music is categorized as commodified Shona music it is not necessarily the vocal material of a particular indigenous Shona *ngoma* song which determines this classification, but how its melorhythmic patterns are presented. It allows, moreover, for the construction of new genres which emerge from the combination of different dance styles since they have similar characteristics. I thus assume for purposes of this study that focusing on various songs within the distinct popular *ngoma*-influenced genres can assist, firstly, to understand the connection between Zimbabwean popular songs and the indigenous Shona dance drumming genres; and secondly, to examine the different ways for the reproduction of elements that constitute Shona traditional dance-drumming music.

In the following sections, I firstly present background information on the performance of various Shona traditional *ngoma* styles. I then continue to examine the various strategies used by musicians to redefine the music through Zimbabwean pop music. Lastly, I focus on the interrelations between popular lyrics and rhythmic styles through *jiti* popular music.

Combining Technique: Interpreting Connections between Shona *Ngoma* Genres

The list of *ngoma*-influenced popular songs that I have compiled in this study consists of the majority of the Shona *ngoma* genres from different parts of Zimbabwe. These include *dinhe* and *katekwe* from the Korekore, *mhande* and *mbakumba* from the Karanga, *dandanda* and *jerusarema* from the Zezuru as well as *chigiya* from the Ndau.[51] However, other genres such as *muchongoyo* and *chigiyo* from the Ndau as well as *zhana* from the Zezuru are still rarely performed within the Zimbabwean popular music scene.[52]

The performance of the indigenous *ngoma* genres in traditional and other related contexts has received considerable attention (Thram 1999; Asante 2000; Rutsate 2007). However, its performance within the popular music context has not been studied in depth. Particularly, in her work on Mtukudzi's music, Kyker recommends that there is a need to understand the relationships between various Shona *ngoma* genres. In relation to this, I observed in the context of my work that popular musicians sometimes intertwine different *ngoma* musical elements during composition. This confirms Kyker's hypothesis that there exists a constellation of related drumming and dance styles that demonstrate marked similarities (2011: 55). I believe that the relationships between these styles have direct implications on how the *ngoma* traditional musical sources may be adapted for popular music.

They may also help to explain why musicians such as Mtukudzi have been able to conceive distinctive compositions because of their use of the *ngoma* elements. In this section I

[51] Generally, this explains that the repertoire of traditional Shona music does not only consist of *mbira* music; the *ngoma* musical tradition is equally relevant thus "correcting the *mbira*-centric bias" (Kyker 2011: 182).
[52] *Zhana* and *chigiya* have not been studied and only a few songs, for example, "*Karigoni*" and "*Panhimbe*" on *Mandishora* (1995) by Zhakata incorporate their elements. Though the *ngoma* genres originating within sub-groups located away from Harare, have previously been largely marginalized and excluded from the formation of the Zimbabwean musical canon (Kyker 2011: 57), musicians are successfully working towards popularizing them.
In the case of my work I observed that this may be caused by the fact that the traditional music sources and materials that musicians use for popular music composition are largely drawn from their own cultural backgrounds. For instance, Mtukudzi is mainly influenced by *ngoma* music from Dande in the Korekore area where he originates from while Zhakata is influenced by the music from Maungwe, his rural home in Rusape (Int., 2013). However, by performing *ngoma* genres not only from their specific ethnic backgrounds, these musicians successfully break boundaries of ethnicity among and beyond the Shona people.

provide a brief background of three of the *ngoma* genres (*mhande*, *dinhe* and *katekwe*) in relation to one another, examining how Zimbabwean popular musicians have interpreted the interconnectedness between different Shona dance drumming music.

Each of the three Shona genres is performed in a specific context. As the majority of the Shona people survived and still survive almost solely on agriculture, most of the dance traditions emerge from such related activities. Among the Karanga people of Masvingo, if rain comes later than normally expected, they invoke the rain spirits at *mutoro* rainmaking ceremonies or at the *bira.* Here *mhande* traditional music and dance play a central role. *Mhande* music consists of a drum pattern which is "characterized by the regularly-accented triple beat grouped into three pulses per beat. This is played on a nucleus of two drums; a high-pitched drum which plays the fundamental triplet pattern and a low-pitched drum which acts as the lead" (Rutsate 2007: 56) (see Figure 6). *Mhande* traditional songs usually address the themes connected to the rain ceremonies or *biras*.

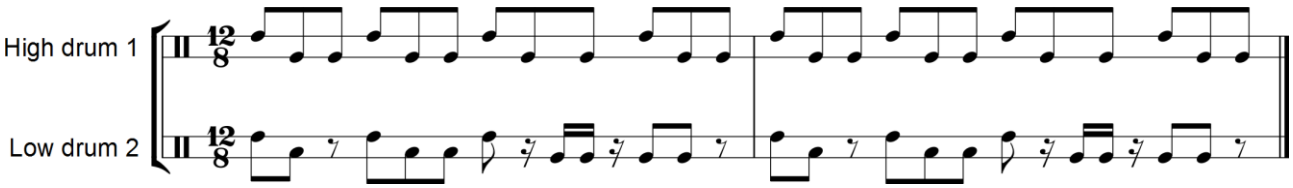

Figure 6 Mhande traditional drum pattern, Transcription by V. Chamisa

After the planting and harvesting seasons, the Korekore people of Northern Zimbabwe practice *dinhe* traditional music and dance which also has a religious purpose of inducing spirit possession (Owomoyela 2002: 47). Overall, the *dinhe* drum pattern consists of the sounds played by two people on three drums; one plays a fast triple beat (drum 1) while the other drummer plays interlocking accented eighth beats on two drums (drums 2 and 3) (see Figure 7). Note that the pattern articulated on the drums 2 and 3 is the fundamental beat of *dinhe*. Tadzorerwa Moyo, a traditional dance lecturer at the Zimbabwean College of Music highlighted to me that:

> In the *dinhe* dance, both men and women imitate what happens during the planting and harvesting time. Women imitate *kudyara mbeu* (planting), *kusakura* (weeding), *kukohwa* (harvesting), *kupepeta* (winnowing) and men *kusakura nekurasa masora*

(weeding and throwing away the weeds), *kubvisa dikita* (wiping away sweat), and *kuputa bute* (sniffing tobacco). (Int., 2013)

Popular songs that are based on the *dinhe* musical elements include Mtukudzi's "*Hwenge mambo*" on *Bvuma* (2001) and Mapfumo's "*Ndakasvika nani*" and "*Kuenda mbire*" on *Chimurenga explosion* (2000).

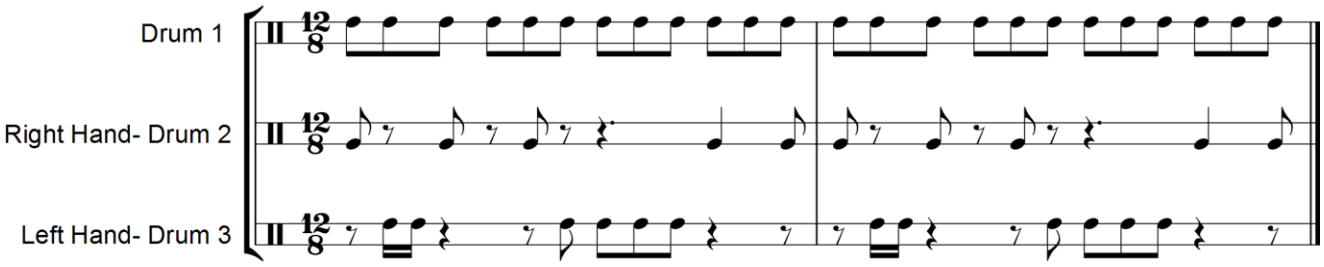

Figure 7 *Dinhe* traditional dance pattern, Transcription by V. Chamisa.

There are a number of popular songs that present elements of *dinhe* in combination with that of *mhande.* To give a few examples, firstly, as reflected in Chiwoniso's "*Vana vanogwara*" on *Timeless* (2004), Chiwoniso performs the lyrics that are traditionally sung to a *mhande* song together with the *dinhe* rhythmic pattern. The phrases such as "*mudzimu dzoka*" and "*Kwaziwai Tovera*" in Chiwoniso's song are usually to a *mhande*-based song called "*Mudzimu dzoka*".[53] In the song, Chiwoniso appeals to the Shona ancestral figures namely Tovera and Chaminuka to come and solve certain problems in Shona society. In this respect, combining two different drumming elements is not uncommon in Shona society especially where both traditions are important to fulfil religious purposes.

Secondly, Mtukudzi's "*Njuga*" on *Tsimba itsoka* (2007) integrates the fundamental triple beat of *mhande,* which is played on the high hats, with the *dinhe* beat played on the conga. Interlocking these two different *ngoma* patterns, the conga imitates part of the fundamental *dinhe* rhythmic pattern on alternating beats while the drum set constantly plays the *mhande* throughout. This rhythmic pattern is intertwined with new material played on the guitars, the keyboard and the vocal lines (see Figure 8).

[53] See Rutsate (2007: 56) for a detailed analysis of the song "*Mudzimu dzoka*" as it is performed in the indigenous context.

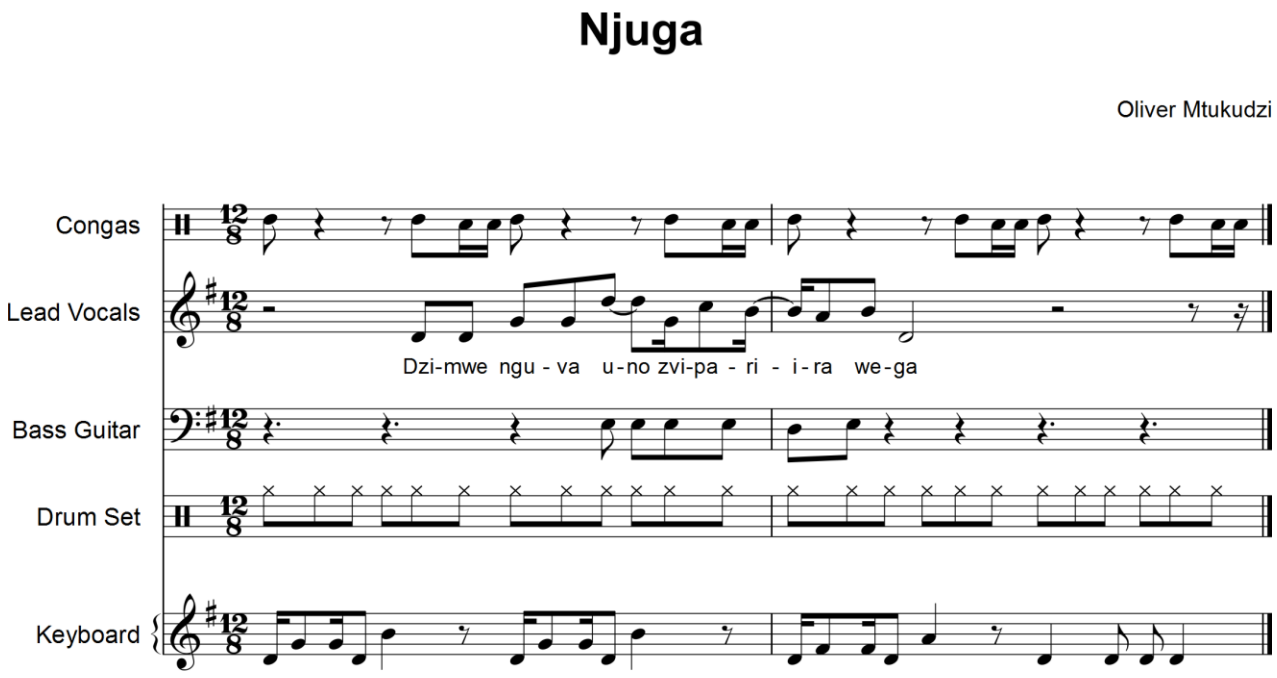

Figure 8 Combination of *mhande* and *dinhe* rhythms within "*Njuga*" by Mtukudzi, 0:22-0:28, Trnscription by V. Chamisa.

One of the reasons for combining these two distinct cultural traditions in this manner can be that, as shown above, they are performed successively in the farming cycle within the Shona community. Additionally, both drumming patterns consist of a triple beat pattern though each is played differently. By fusing *dinhe* and *mhande* musical elements and slightly changing them, "*Njuga*" in this case, produces a unique non-danceable *ngoma* traditional style (in both *dinhe* and *mhande* traditional contexts) which only partially fits within these two Shona *ngoma* identities. Furthermore, Mtukudzi composes new lyrics around the theme of self-discipline in "*Njuga*":

Dzimwe nguva unozviparira wega	Sometimes you create problems for yourself
Imwe nhamo unozviparira wega	Sometimes you create your own predicaments
Kana rufu unozvitsvagira wega	You can even cause your death
Dzimwe nyaya tinozviparira tega	Sometimes we create issues for ourselves

By combining Karanga and Korekore musical elements, songs such as "*Njuga*" thus show the connection between the musical activities practiced in these two Shona sub-groups. Aesthetic norms are extended by the way music from different sub-groups is manipulated

in popular song. New musical or compositional ideas are generated as different rhythms are combined.

There is also evidence in the scholarly literature that the *dinhe* rhythmic pattern has often been confused with *katekwe*, another *ngoma* genre which also originates with the Korekore (Kyker 2011: 56). This confusion stems from the fact that, similar to the *dinhe* rhythmic pattern produced on drum 1 (see Figure 7), the *katekwe* drum pattern also consists of the fast triplet rhythmic pattern.[54] Additionally, similar to what has been noted above on *dinhe*, *katekwe* dancers mimic activities, such as "plowing, weeding, winnowing and threshing and wiping away sweat as done by a person working in the field. Women dance holding winnowing baskets and hoes and men also hold hoes" (Mheta cited in Kyker 2011: 53). It is apparent, therefore, as Tadzorerwa Moyo explained to me that these two *ngoma* traditions are performed in similar contexts in the Korekore area (Int., 2013). The lyrical context may be based on similar themes and it is not surprising to find similar phrases used across these musical traditions. However, as Moyo clarified, the difference between them is in the calculation of time (tempo); *katekwe* is faster than *dinhe* (Int., 2013).[55] This difference in tempo may have an effect on the way in which musicians borrow from these two *ngoma* rhythms. Mtukudzi, for instance, have mostly adapted the faster beat *katekwe* than *dinhe* for accompanying his music.

Listening to Mtukudzi's songs such as "*Bganyamakaka*" and "*Dzokai*" (*katekwe*-based songs) in comparison with songs such as "*Hwenge mambo*" and "*Yave mbodza*" (*dinhe*-based songs) one can clearly distinguish between *katekwe* and *dinhe*. I thus suggest that through Zimbabwean popular music, nevertheless, some musicians still sometimes maintain a distinction between these two *ngoma* genres.

Apart from the few examples that I have given above, there are many other musical examples that integrate *ngoma* genres of various Shona subgroups, for example, *mbakumba* and *dandanda* in "*Gehena*" by Mtukudzi, and *chigiya* and *zhana* in *Karigoni* on *Mandishorei* (1995) by Zhakata. What I wish to show in these examples is that the possibility to

[54] See Kyker (2011: 45) for more detail on the *katekwe* drumming.
[55] The point that *katekwe* is faster that *dinhe* was also confirmed by Mtukudzi in my interview with him.

combine various Shona *ngoma* musical styles has enabled the conception of new Zimbabwean popular styles. This is one of the main reasons why people sometimes have problems in distinguishing between Shona *ngoma* styles such as *katekwe* and *dinhe* through listening to popular music (only) and why it has become difficult to identify the songs as versions of a specific *ngoma* source. In an interview with Turino, Mtukudzi explained that

> I try to fuse a lot into the sound. If you listen to the song "Shanje" (1981) itself, it's jit. But it is also off jit. You can have two, you know, two beats in one song… And I did that as an experimental thing. I never thought it would work out… Yeah, I wouldn't blame them (his listeners) for failing to identify my music because it's like that; it's got a lot of fusion in it. I fuse local different types of music. (Turino 2000: 295)

That is part of what defines "Tuku music" (Mtukudzi Int., 2013). Similarly, Zhakata commented on why he combines styles such as *chigiya* which originates with the Ndau people from Chipinge and *zhana* practiced by the Zezuru people from Rusape, by saying that "it's a good compositional idea to blend these styles from across the country; the traditional music becomes different" (Int., 2013).

In addition to this adaptation approach, occasionally the musicians represent each *ngoma* source individually and the styles can be altered from one popular song to another. In discussions with the popular musicians, I noted that this is mainly due to different compositional techniques employed by musicians and compositional goals in various contexts.

Traditional and Popular Manifestations

In this section, I will examine how the *ngoma*-based popular music can also be analysed from the three adaptation strategies mentioned earlier, namely, imitation, sampling and abstraction. I focus on various song examples within the category of *ngoma*-influenced popular songs to examine other approaches (besides the combining technique explained in the previous section) to the adaptation and interpretation of *ngoma* musical elements. I interrogate how *ngoma* melorhythmic patterns are combined within popular tunes composed by artists during the adaptation process and how this "dual conception of the

melodic is rationalized in one stream" (Nzewi 2007: 136). Finally, I examine the impact this has on the musical meaning in contemporary traditional musical settings.

Imitation: Entire *ngoma* adaptations

Similar to the imitation approach noted in the previous chapter, some popular songs adapt all the elements of the traditional ngoma sources, that is, the rhythmic pattern and the associated vocal tunes and/or lyrics. Examples of such songs include Mtukudzi's "*Hwenge mambo*" on *Bvuma* (2001) which adapts the *dinhe*-based song called "*Kunatsa muroyi*", Brown's "*Mawere kongonya*" and "*Ndodzungaira*" on *Harare* (2000) which adapt *mhande* indigenous songs by the same names and Zhakata's "*Dzakaora*" on *Mandishorei* (1995). Explaining to me why he arranged "*Karigoni*" entirely Zhakata said that:

> Culture changes with time but I just felt that some of our cultural values are changing so fast when they still need to continue in their original form. So in this song I am calling for people's attention to one of our values reminding them of what was happening…Yeah the song is talking about hunting but you can also take that same idea and have a positive interpretation of what is happening now… people are hunting for money. (Int., 2013)

Similar sentiments were also articulated by Robert Mundondiwa's comment with reference to Mtukudzi's "*Hwenge mambo*" which entirely adapts a *dinhe*-based indigenous song called "*Kunatsa muroyi*":

> If you look at "*Hwenge mambo*" iye iye [*Kunatsa muroyi*]. That's a traditional song that's sung in his area… and we used to sing that in school. And he just rearranged it, and presented it in the most beautiful fashion, and added a little story into it just to explain what the song is about… so that's the power of the music. What people had discarded long ago as gone has just exploded back into life and it took a new form and being. (cited in Kyker 2011: 57)

Additionally, on entire *ngoma* adaptations, while the majority of the popular songs that adapt *mhande* music completely change the music's meaning in relation to the *mutoro* rainmaking ceremony, Brown's and Mapfumo's approaches help to explain that this tradition continues to be practiced despite western influences. In "*Mawere kongonya*", for instance, Brown retains the *mhande* rhythmic pattern and also reproduces the vocal melodies and text of the original "*Mawere kongonya*". Additionally, the song such as

"*Chemera chaunoda*" (Ask what you want) from *Mabasa* (1983) by Mapfumo has its lyrics changed - but notably the musician maintains the meaning usually presented in the indigenous *mhande* songs:

Gore rino iwe tapera	This year we will die
Gore rino iwe nenzara	This year there is drought
Gore rino iwe tapera	This year we will die
Gore rino nenyota	This year there is no rain

In this song, Mapfumo reminds the people that they can still ask for rain from *Mwari* (God) through ancestral spirits using the *mhande* music and dance. As reflected in Rutsate (2007: 56), the *mutoro* ritual practice is still being practiced in some parts of the country especially in rural areas, for example, in the Gutu and Shurugwi districts.

Sampling of Shona *ngoma* music

The adaptation strategy mainly used by the musicians selected for this study is that of composing their own tunes and lyrical content for pre-existing melorhythmic *ngoma* patterns. Though the rhythms are used in new performance contexts here, they are directly quoted with possible slight alterations at times. This approach to adaptation can be referred to as a type of sampling of *ngoma* traditional music. Musicians have different reasons for adopting this approach. In relation to this, Zhakata, for instance, made reference to his songs namely "*Dzakaora*" and "*Havatongerwe*" on *Mandishorei* (1995) explaining that:

> With this type of music, I may choose to sing my own words to the traditional drum. I may sing in English or any other language but the drumming style from my roots remains … Remember what enables people to articulate the *mhande* dance steps or *dinhe* or any traditional dance style *ingoma* [is the drumming.] That's why you see that lyrics of the song "*Tovera*" (for instance) can be sung on *mhande* or *ngororombe* or *dinhe* but we can't talk of performing *mhande* music when without the drumming pattern. (Int., 2013)

Zhakata thus emphasizes the centrality of what he calls "*ngoma*" in this musical tradition, which in this sense refers to the specific drum rhythmic pattern.[56] This is because in the indigenous performance context, drum rhythms are inevitably conjoined with movement and there is a strong connection between the drumming patterns and the accompanying dance patterns. For instance, *mhande* is a name for a traditional dance but people often identify the music that is performed with the dance as "*ngoma yemhande*" which literally means *mhande* music. This explains the importance of rhythmic patterns associated with dance-drumming music in understanding this musical culture. According to Zhakata, the *ngoma* rhythmic pattern acts as the base for popular music composition and performance. This suggests that there is a relationship between the traditional drum rhythms and other elements composed for a popular song. The existing indigenous drumming rhythmic patterns provide the framework for conceiving the *ngoma*-based popular songs. Within this framework the musician composes other elements such as the lyrics in order to fulfill his compositional purpose. Additionally, what Zhakata calls "*ngoma yekumusha",* the clearly articulated and unaltered *jiti* rhythmic style in songs "*Dzakaora*" and "*Havatongerwe,*" may allow performers and listeners who have heard and internalize this style, to enjoy "the pleasure of participation (which) lies as much in listening to them" (Agawu 1995: 91).

Continuing along these lines, Mapfumo focused also specifically on the dance-drumming rhythmic patterns as the defining factor for this music. Without altering these *ngoma* patterns, musicians such as Mapfumo simply compose new tunes and lyrics and incorporate them within these indigenous genres. For Mapfumo, "the reason is we are trying to make everybody aware that we as Africans have an identity". Describing Mapfumo's compositional technique, Turino notes that:

> When he composes, he typically creates the tune first and then adds the lyrics, "because you know you cannot just write words without a tune. It's the tune that comes first. The tune comes into my head; maybe I can do a little humming on it. And, ah, well, after I'm satisfied that this tune has got right into my head, then I can try to bring in words, some lyrics". (Mapfumo cited in Turino 2000: 280)

[56] The word "*ngoma*" in the Shona language can be used to mean different things, for example, it can refer to a song, and it can also mean a drum (instrument).

Using this compositional technique to arrange the ngoma sources, Mapfumo has been described by other musicians as a "straight arranger", one who reproduces the *ngoma* patterns faithfully from the indigenous source. The song "*Ndave kuenda*" (I am now leaving) on "*Chimurenga 98*", by Mapfumo is one good example. In this piece, the *dinhe* drum pattern which is distributed on a wide range of instruments including conga, high hats and bass guitar dominates (see Figure 9).

Typical of the Shona traditional way of composing text, the song comprises of a few words and these are performed repeatedly in a call and response pattern throughout. This song was performed within the post-colonial discourse of Zimbabwean *Chimurenga*. It presents the situation of a man who because of uncomfortable living conditions is intending to leave for a better place. Since this is close to the time when Mapfumo went into exile, it is probable that the song speaks about the musician's life around that time.

On the other hand, emphasizing the importance of a particular tune and the message carried within the text, Mtukudzi explained to me that in most of his *ngoma*-influenced compositions the lyrical content is the defining factor. According to him, it forms the basis of what he calls a song; "For me the purpose of music is to touch people's hearts, when you

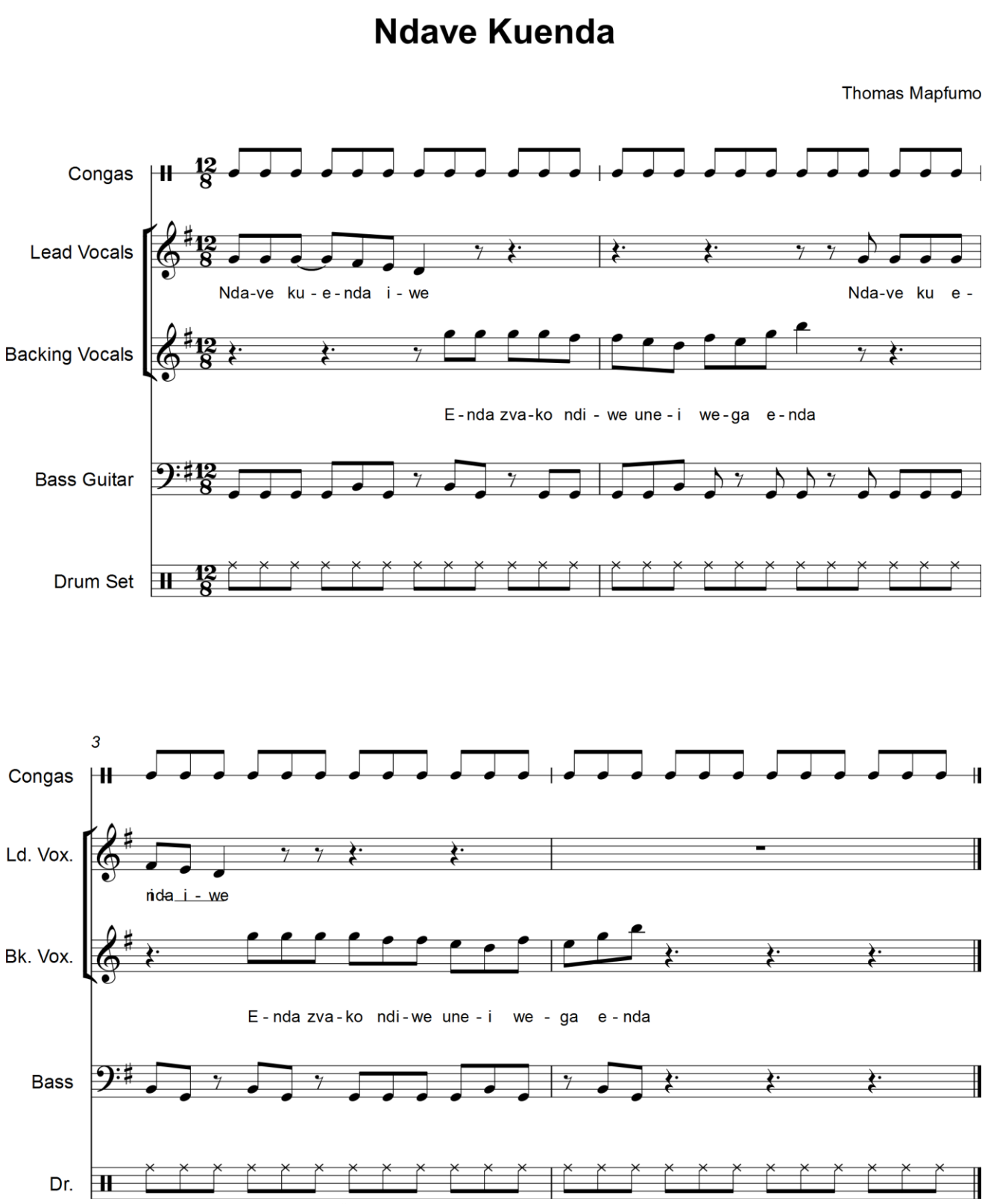

Figure 9 *Dinhe* drumming pattern in "*Ndave Kuenda*" by Mapfumo, Transcription by V. Chamisa.

sing you must touch people's hearts, that's a song, that's music" (Int., 2013). Explaining the way he composes these songs, Mtukudzi said that firstly, he identifies a topic around a certain theme, and then writes a poem around it.

Usually the way he pronounces the words of that poem guides how he conceives most of the tunes for his particular text, in fact everything else comes after composing lyrics and the tune (Int., 2013).[57] In Mtukudzi's case, his main focus when composing music is the lyrical content. The indigenous *ngoma* styles are, then, incorporated simply as accompaniment for an already-conceived song improving the means through which the message in the song can be presented (Int., 2013). This is in total contrast to Mapfumo's compositional technique. Thus in Mutukudzi's case,

> The *ngoma* drumming patterns are just styles, they are flavours for a song, you know, it's like putting salt or pepper in your meat, (and) you may or may not want too much salt or too much pepper. Instrumentation *kungoronga* (arranging in a beautiful way) to lure people's attention to the message, you see. I am not intending that people hear *mhande* or *dinhe* or *katekwe*, I want them to hear my message. (Int., 2013)

Sam Mataure, Mtukudzi's drummer, echoed the same compositional technique: "*VaMtukudzi* (Mr Mtukudzi) writes the lyrics, he plays his guitar line, and then we choose the drumming which matches his guitar rhythm" (Int., 2013). Thus the decision to adapt particular dance rhythms is not linked to musical meaning here. This describes what Agawu calls "rhythms for rhythm's sake" or "the purely musical play of rhythms… an autonomous mode with no necessary communicative obligations" (Agawu 1995: 105). This explains why it has been possible for musicians such as Mtukudzi to create various *ngoma*-influenced popular styles from exactly the same indigenous *ngoma* sources. In "*Izere mhepo*", a *mhande*-influenced popular song, for example, Mtukudzi directs his message to the Zimbabwean exiled audience:

Mwana wangu akaenda marimuka	My child has departed for the wilderness
Dangwe rangu rakaenda marimuka	My eldest child is in the wilderness
Ku London	In London

[57] This point is also confirmed by Rutsate (2007). He states that "melody both in *Mhande* music in particular and Shona music in general moves in direct response to speech tone of the Shona language" (2007: 99).

To improve the appeal of his message to an international audience, the traditional *ngoma* elements function here simply as a symbol of home without any connections to the *mhande* traditional context. In "*Izere mhepo*", Mtukudzi does not only compose the new vocal material and text; he also alters the fundamental rhythmic pattern of *mhande* music (played on the conga) through the substitution of a final eighth note for an eighth-note rest (Kyker 2013: 272). This pattern is dominated by new lines played on the guitars, the keyboards and vocals and as a result the *mhande* rhythm is not prominent and obvious; without close listening one may not recognize this pattern. Mtukudzi's drummer explained several reasons why they altered the *mhande* rhythmic pattern in this case:

> The words and tune dictate whether we should play the rhythm a bit slower or faster, so sometimes we play it faster or slower; we are not worried about speed (tempo) you see, it's a matter of negotiating your way…We are no longer a traditional people as we used to be. So if you go deep some people do not understand that. (Int., 2013)

As they are added to the newly composed tunes and texts the indigenous rhythmic elements may take new shape and adopt a new tempo. Reflecting on his career at Tuku music, Picky Kasamba commented on the idea of "flavours" with regard to Mtukudzi's music in his farewell interview.[58] He said that "flavours are only flavours and flavours can be changed to suit different tastes, different times and different themes" (2009). Therefore, functioning to improve the ways or methods for presenting certain musical messages to the people, these *ngoma* drumming styles, in Mtukudzi's perspective, act as a means to an end. The idea here is "to treat traditions as art forms, separated from the spiritual or deeper cultural aspects of music. It is all about performance aesthetics not meaning" (Eyre in Chikowero 2013). For Mtukudzi, his music should not be categorized as *mhande* or any other *ngoma* genre regardless of the Shona traditional drumming elements incorporated in it. It is important to note here that as compared to other musicians who use the *ngoma* sources, Mtukudzi often receives comments from his listeners that he is able to create his own music utilizing these sources. This comment by one of Mtkudzi's fans supports this: "Mtukudzi has in fact been so innovative…that his music is now widely referred to as Tuku music being quite distinct from any other Zimbabwean style…these styles like *katekwe*, the

[58] Picky Kasamba is a former outstanding figure in Mtukudzi's band, the Black Spirits. He worked with Mtukudzi for over 25 years.

traditional patterns of his clan, Korekore, are very much absorbed into an art which is now indubitably his own" (2003).

My focus thus far has been to examine how *ngoma* melorhythmic patterns are understood by popular musicians who use them during composition. I have noted two distinct approaches to *ngoma* drum patterns; one that considers them as the base for composition and one that borrows it to spice up a composition. The adaptation strategies vary depending on individual musicians' understanding of music and how they value certain aspects of music. This affects how various musicians draw from indigenous sources. However, this is not to underestimate the importance of the accompanying traditional *ngoma* drumming patterns in communicating certain information to an audience through song. Given the fact that these drumming rhythmic patterns are traditionally associated with particular musical dance contexts, I believe that there is some deeper meaning embedded within the rhythmic patterns; as such their performance to popular tunes and texts determine the overall meaning of a song to some extent . This is supported by Chapman who observes that "being a cultural experience, each culture and sub-culture responds to music in its own way… building meanings out of the sound as it is heard within their cultural context" (2007: 89). To explain this idea here, I focus on a few examples by Mtukudzi that adapt *mhande* rhythmic patterns.

Very conscious of the "central beat" of the *mhande* drum patterns, Mtukudzi's songs which adapt this traditional source reinterpret the musical genre in very related but different ways. In the song "*Mwana wamambo*" from *Rudairo* (2011), for instance, Mtukudzi retains the clear and unaltered melorhythm of the *mhande* which he plays on the conga. This dominates the song even though other instruments namely the guitars, keyboard and the bass are assigned new material; they are overshadowed by the *mhande* drumming pattern played on the conga. Performed within this *mhande* framework, "*Mwana wamambo*" is composed using Mtukudzi's own vocal material, however. Sung in a call and response fashion, the song's meaning seems to move away from the *mutoro* and *bira* message in which the *mhande* was traditionally performed:

Zvamapinda musvitsa kudai sisi imi	Now that you are married sister

Tururu	Tururu
Zvamapinda pasvitsa kudai baba imi	Now that you are married brother
Tururu	Tururu
Kuzvibata, kurereka, nekuzvityora	Behave, be respectful, be humble

In the song, Mtukudzi expresses the ideal moral values of a married person. To do this, he uses the Shona proverb "*Mwana wamambo muranda kumwe*" which generally means that despite your high social status within your place of birth, you should be willing to learn and serve in your new home. In the same manner, in a song such as "*Tozeza*" (We fear father) on *Nhava* (2005), Mtukudzi sings against gender-based violence discouraging the abuse of women and children:

Imi baba manyanya	Father you are overdoing it now
Kurovamai	Beating our mother
Imi manyanya kutuka mai	Father you are insulting mother
Munoti isu vana tofara sei	How do you expect us children to be happy
Isu vana tofara sei	As children we are not happy
Kana mai vachimema pameso pedu	If our mother is always crying in our presence

Though in a slightly slow tempo, the lyrics in "*Tozeza*" are sung to a very clear and heavy *mhande* framework. The conga, the guitars, and the bass simultaneously play the basic triple beat pattern of the *mhande*, while the *hosho* is assigned the rhythmic pattern traditionally articulated on the *magagada* (leg rattles) during performance of the *mhande* traditional dance. Even in the absence of the dancers, the *magagada* rhythm constantly heard throughout "*Tozeza*" enables a cultural insider to imagine the original context where the music would be integrated with dance. Regarding Mtukudzi's new lyrics in the two *mhande*-based songs "*Tozeza*" and "*Mwana wamambo*", I believe that the musician follows what Rutsate explains as "denouncing bad behaviour in the community which is believed to prevent rain from falling, thus causing droughts" (2007: 61).[59] In the original contexts songs such as these were performed as a cry to the ancestral spirits for mercy, informing them that the adherents are aware of the behaviour of certain people within their group, and are however looking forward to the rains (ibid.).

[59] Rutsate notes that in the indigenous context, *mhande*-based songs such as "*Haiwa yowerere*" serve such purposes. If anyone was caught doing something which was regarded as bad in the community, requires that people "cry to the spirits for mercy, informing them that the adherents are aware of the unacceptable behaviour of some among them" (Rutsate 2007: 60).

Using *mhande* musical elements, Mtukudzi's songs remind the people that some of the droughts and misfortunes that befall the community today are possibly caused by such bad behaviour. I therefore suggest that though popular musicians can perform their own tunes and lyrics which on the surface are completely different from any pre-existing *ngoma*-based song, their performance within the indigenous Shona rhythmic drum pattern helps shape their meaning, and to some extent, the dance rhythm determines the choice of text (this is explained in detail in the next section). As a Shona person who grew up exposed to the performance and participation of some of these *ngoma* drumming styles, I believe that for listeners who know *mhande* music in connection with the traditional context of rain spirits, such songs allow them to engage in critical listening. Here they try to explain the link between the new content and the *ngoma* music's original meanings in traditional dance contexts.

I therefore suggest in the context of my work, that more than being just "flavours" or "salt and pepper" as Mtukudzi puts it, the Shona *ngoma* rhythms play a fundamental role in popular compositions as they influence how people interpret messages within these songs. Even though musicians such as Mtukudzi may not have intended these particular connections (Int., 2013), the fact that they grew up "participating in same styles allows them to form similar habits of style that facilitate musical synchrony and thus the deep feelings of identification that music-dance performance can create" (Turino 2008: 19). This shows the importance of understanding the values and meanings represented by musical elements when assembling them.

Jiti Popular Music: Relationship between Musical Style and Lyrics

In addition to the two main generic categories, that is, *mbira*-based and *ngoma*-based popular songs I have analysed so far, there is a style that falls outside of them, called *jiti*. The repertoire of popular songs that I have identified in this study also includes *jiti*-influenced popular music. *Jiti* is a social dance drumming tradition played in fast 12/8 meter with drums and *hosho* in informal settings (Turino 2000: 233). It is evident in the Zimbabwean pop music literature that this style is understood in various ways. On the one hand the *jiti* rhythmic pattern is regarded as an indigenous *ngoma* style that originated

with the Shona people. On the other hand its origins are associated with the interaction of South African urban styles namely *marabi*, *tsaba-tsaba* and *jive* (South African jazz), as well as Congolese *rhumba* and Shona indigenous styles.[60] In discussion with musicians I noted that they have different perceptions of this genre. While musicians such as Mtukudzi and Zhakata perceive *jiti* as a genre which emerged from the rural areas (Int., 2013), Rise Kagona explained with regard to their album entitled *True jiti* (1990) that

> sometimes we play *rhumba* and sometimes we play whatever, we actually gave it one name, and we thought of putting "*jiti"* because to us it's like [saying] "pop music"- "African pop". (Kagona cited in Brusilla 2001: 42)[61]

Kagona's statement implies that *jiti* is a generic African popular music style and the term *jiti* itself can be used as an umbrella term to label different styles within this context. Despite the different understandings surrounding the *jiti* musical style and its development, it is generally agreed that *jiti* is a type of music for the "youths" (see for example Kaemer (1975: 106), Turino (2000: 232)). From my own childhood experience in the rural areas I also recall that we would play *jiti* for entertainment at various social occasions, for example, welcoming a new *muroora* (bride*)* into the village. Following from this, it is important to observe that the majority of Zimbabwean popular music characterised by the well-known *jiti ngoma* rhythmic style or any music labelled as such, contains the lyrics which present this idea. This section examines how the category of youths in Zimbabwe is evoked through *jiti* popular music. This is important to explain, as noted previously, how the adaptation of a particular musical style informs the choice of lyrics.

The term "youth" (*vechidiki*) in Zimbabwe is locally understood to measure a period of time between childhood and marriage (Jones 2005: 14). In this study, this is the age-group which I refer to as the youth. Just as musicians make use of *mbira* and *ngoma* traditions, so they make use of traditional Shona folklore in *jiti*. As Musiyiwa (2004) notes, "folktales are

[60] The term *jiti* itself is believed to be a South African term. In the Mashonaland East and Central where the style is still being practiced, terms such as *pfonda*, *serenda* and *chinungu* are used interchangeably with *jiti*. See Turino (2000: 228-233) for a detailed historical background to the performance of *jiti* in Zimbabwe and several reasons why this music is identified as such.

[61] Rise Kagona is the former Bhundu Boys band leader. This band became one of the first groups in Zimbabwe to popularize *jiti* in the local market and abroad. See Brusilla (2001: 39-54) for detailed information on the band's career.

children's most popular oral art form in Shona and indeed in all other African cultures and beyond". The song "*Simbimbino*" (the only child) on *Shed Sessions 1982 to 1986* (2001) by the Bhundu Boys is a good example. "*Simbimbino*" presents the story of a ruthless man who killed his wife by trapping her in a very deep pit so that he could eat her. In the song, the vocalist, the late Biggie Tembo reproduces the traditional storyteller's narrative style. Though the song is labeled as *jiti*, it is performed on the *mbakumba ngoma* rhythmic pattern. The song generally teaches people not to deceive others.

The idea that rural to urban migration is usually associated with youth in Zimbabwe is emphasized in lyrics of *jiti* music. In "*Tsvimbo dzemoto*" on *True jiti* (1987), for instance, the Bundu Boys take our minds to a long ago era in a Shona village where both young and old people were permanently living in the rural areas. Old men and women would play *mbira* and *ngoma* music:

Makare kare	Long ago
Paruzevha painakidza	In reserves life was beautiful
Vanasikana nevanakomana vaitamba chidungu	Boys and girls would play games
Vanasekuru nanambuya vachiridza mbira	Man and women would *mbira*
Vanasekuru nanambuya vachiridza ngoma	Old men and women would play drums
Gare gare kwakazoti kwouya tsvimbo dzemoto	After a while came war
Pakaputika dzvimbo dzemoto	When the war came
Mafaro ndokupera	It took away happiness
Vakomana navasikana ndokutiza misha	Boys and girls left homes

"*Tsvimbo dzemoto*" shows the appreciation of Shona rural life before people had to move to urban areas. It goes on to give us a clear picture of the circumstances that saw "*vakomana nevasikana*" (boys and girls) migrating from rural to urban areas. The term "*Tsvimbo dzemoto*" is a figurative language which here describes guns or *pfuti* in Shona. The song generally explains how the Chimurenga war influenced migration of people from rural to urban areas in Zimbabwe. While staying in urban areas, "*kumusha*" (rural home) remains the point of reference. The Bhundu Boys' song "*Hatisi tose*" (we are not together) on *Shed Sessions 1982 to 1986* (2001) shows this. It presents a man who after having problems with his wife sends a message seeking advice from his parents and friends back home.

Zvamaenda kumusha	Since you are going home

Muchinge masvikako kumusha	when you arrive home
Mondoudza mai nababa	Please inform my mother and father
Babamukuru neshamwari dzangu	My uncle and my friends
Handichadanana nachipo hatisi tose naChipo	I am no longer in love with Chipo
Pamunonodzoka pamunonodzoka	when you come back
Monouya nemhinduro mozondiudza zvanotaura	Please notify me of their advice

Another example, "*Chiwayawaya*" on *African classics* also explains the value of going back to the rural roots. *Jiti* is performed as an interface between Shona urban and rural life. As Jones explains in relation to the association of the youth and urban life in Zimbabwe, it is "where young men go to acquire funds and become real men and where young and rebellious girls are spoiled" (2005: 14).

Jiti popular lyrics also mainly address the issue of love and marriage, one issue which directly concerns young people. Mtukudzi's song "*Ziwere*" on *Ziwere* released in 2001 at Denmark's "Images of Africa" festival is one example. In "*Ziwere*", it is presented that parents expect their children to get married in acceptable ways and eloping is not one of them. The Zimbabwean film entitled *Jit* in which Mtukudzi played the lead role is also relevant in this context. The film *Jit* was produced by Rory Kilalea and directed by Michael Raeburn in 1990. "It is a light story about the ceaseless efforts of a young man in the city to earn the bride price for the parents of the girl he has fallen in love with, despite the attempts by a spirit to thwart him and make him return to his village" (Owete 2013).
The themes and topics addressed through these selected *jiti* popular performances address issues in the lifestyles of Zimbabwean youth. Despite the performance of the style in different Zimbabwean popular music contexts, these examples have been used here to explain that its textual content explores youth culture as reflected in indigenous *jiti* songs such as "*Rueben*", *Eriya*" and "*Maidei*". To sum up, my argument here is that the utilization of melorhythmic styles in popular music composition may inform the topic of the lyrics and vice-versa.

Conclusion

Three strategies to the adaptation of *ngoma* traditional music have been identified and explained in this chapter. Firstly, there is what I have termed "combining" technique where popular musicians integrate *ngoma* genres of various Shona subgroups to conceive unique Zimbabwean popular styles. Secondly, there is "imitation" which involves entire adaptation of certain indigenous *ngoma* sources. Lastly, I have identified "sampling technique" where musicians compose their own tunes and lyrical content for pre-existing melorhythmic *ngoma* patterns (see Figure 10 which shows a summary of these three strategies).

As noted by Turino, "within cosmopolitan circles, novelty and originality give prestige to an artist's work and are important for marketability and the legitimacy of income generation through copyrights within the capitalist business" (2000: 282). The discussion in this chapter shows that the *ngoma* indigenous sources have always been an important source which musicians utilize to create distinct popular compositions. Allowing more compositional freedom as compared to *mbira* music noted in the previous chapter, this

source has been an important ingredient for popular musicians such as Mtukudzi.[62]

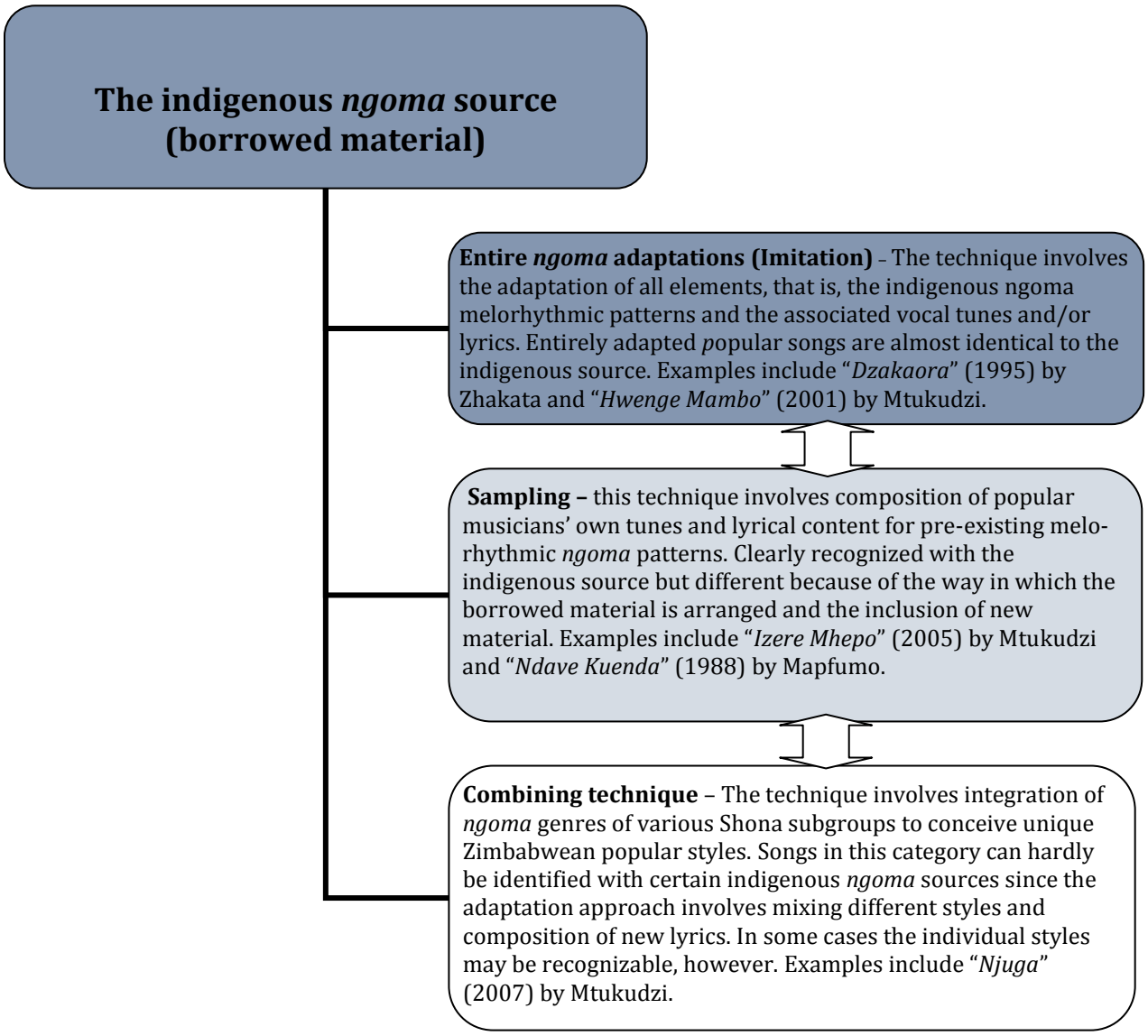

Figure 10 A summary of approaches for the adaptation of *ngoma* Shona traditional music and connections between them in relation to the indigenous *ngoma* source. Different colours represent visibility of the indigenous material in each adaptation strategy. In two strategies, imitation and sampling, the indigenous material is visible. In the combining technique, the indigenous material may not be visible at all.

[62] Similarly to most traditional *mbira* sources, other *ngoma* genres such as *dandanda* and *mhande* are associated with spirituality. In contrast to their attitudes towards *mbira* music, the popular musicians that I interacted with did not show any particular consideration of what the ancestral spirits thought of their approaches to *ngoma* genres.

For other musicians such as Zhakata, the traditional *ngoma* rhythms provide a framework for compositions. Mtukudzi's "ingredient approach" differs from Zhakata's "framework approach" in the sense that Mtukudzi just uses ngoma rhythms to make his works sound nicer and not necessarily as a basis for composition as musicians such as Zhakata does. Interpreting the *ngoma* music differently, these popular musicians, nonetheless treat the melorhythmic patterns of the music in similar ways; all the songs observed the fundamental rhythmic patterns which according to Kyker are "the center time" for the majority of these genres (2011: 159). It has been noted that the dual production of the indigenous Shona melorhythms (a "melodic conception that has a strong rhythmic inflection") and new tunes has a direct effect on Zimbabwe popular music performance (Nzewi 1997: 136).

Since these melorhythmic patterns are associated with specific Shona indigenous dance contexts and their incorporation within Zimbabwean popular music during performance not only influences particular musical structures but also informs how messages and musical meanings attached to the songs are interpreted. Considering the influence the melorhythms associated with *ngoma* genres have on musical composition, that is, providing the framework for composition, I suggest that the Zimbabwean popular music thus plays a significant role in redefining this musical culture. Since new text can always be performed within the indigenous *ngoma* rhythms, this music "constitutes a poetic creation of a contemporary space for repertorial renewal and public display in a global dimension" (Muller, cited in Kyker 2011: 58).

Musicians mostly conceive of new compositions through alteration of rhythmic styles, combining them and composing new lyrics. In marketing them for the popular music market these musicians may find themselves conforming to the world music discourse of authenticity. As discussed in more detail earlier, authenticity in world music describes "cultural-ethnographic accuracy" where musicians seek to express their true, real or original musical cultures. On the album cover of his album *Mandishorei*, Zhakata, for example, wrote that:

> The music on this album…is an ancient journey into traditional and ethnic mysteries of cultural sounds. Composed from heavy traditional drums… the lyrics roar like a lost spirit trying to find its way into ancient and sacred hills. (1995)

In addition, Zhakata labeled his music as ZORA which stands for "Zhakata or Zimbabwe original rhythms of Africa". This means, as he explained that "Africa has its original rhythms and we are singing these rhythms in Zimbabwe. They are Zhakata rhythms when I sing them but anyone can perform them, then you can replace Zhakata with Zimbabwe" (Int., 2013). As Taylor observes when he explains what he calls the "authenticity as primality", "what is of concern to listeners is that the world music they consume has some discernable connection to the timeless, the ancient, the primal, the pure, the chthonic; that is what they want to buy…" (1997: 26). The Shona *ngoma*-based popular music therefore in this sense explains how originality and authenticity are created and maintained through change.

Chapter 5

Commodified Shona Music: Safeguarding Indigenous Musical Heritage? Local Community Perspectives

Introduction

> *Our days of claiming to be people who own mbira and marimba music…are gone and the centre no longer holds… While cultural heritage is passed down from previous generations, there are some forms of heritage that require more than just receiving and passing on*. Ignatius Mabasa*, The Herald,* June 2013
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> *Chiwoniso Maraire, a "Zimbabwe's cultural heritage gift", adopted this "traditional genre* [*mbira*] *into a viable cultural industry product that remains emblematic of our rich cultural heritage*". Stephen Chifunyise, *Daily News*, July 2013[63]

Between 2010 and 2013, I had the opportunity to attend and sometimes participate (as a music student) in the Culture Week celebrations.[64] During these events, various music practitioners, college students, primary and secondary school pupils converge in specific provinces to display their musical and artistic prowess to the public. Of particular interest for this study is that in this context, Shona people are exposed to traditional music performances and one of the objectives is for people to experience this music as part of their culture and heritage (National Arts Council of Zimbabwe, 2011). In 2013, for instance, the Culture Week celebrations were held from 18 to 24 May. These celebrations were prepared within the theme; "Celebrating African traditions, pride and identity". On the 23 May 2013, the sixth day of the celebrations, I had the chance to attend regardless of the distance from Masvingo town to the Chibvumani heritage site.[65] The site is located in the Bikita district of the Masvingo Province at the southern eastern edge of the Zimbabwean plateau, about 128km from Masvingo town along Masvingo-Mutare highway. It is one of the

[63] Ignatius Mabasa is a Zimbabwean performing poet. Stephen Chifunyise is a performance arts expert and currently chairman of the Zimbabwe National Committee for Intangible Cultural Heritage.
[64] Various items are presented during the Culture Week. These include poetry, drama, choral songs, traditional dance and music. I will only focus on traditional music performances throughout this chapter.
[65] Venues change almost every year and they are selected depending on the themes to be explored. From 2010 to 2012 have known of the venues such as university campuses including the Great Zimbabwe University and Midlands State University, and others including Riverside Lodge in Masvingo, Gweru Civic Centre. All these are located within a radius of not more than 20 km from towns with tarred roads and a generally good road network. The culture week celebrations are held in May of each year.

estimated 300 dry stone walled structures of what archaeologists now refer to as the Zimbabwe culture of southern Africa.

I observed a number of rural cultural groups performing traditional music as it is done in indigenous contexts in Shona villages (see Figure 11). As the celebrations reached their climax, music students from the Great Zimbabwe University took to the stage and performed various songs by established musicians such as Thomas Mapfumo (see Figure 12).[66] These songs were performed on *mbira* and marimba instruments. During these performances the audiences were really excited and could not help but dance and sing along. It was interesting to note that traditional popular music adaptations were part of the repertoire performed at the Culture Week celebrations where people in Zimbabwe gather annually to celebrate their culture and heritage. When I talked to various people after the performances, it became apparent to me that adapted Shona popular songs reach across age and social class boundaries.



Figure 11 Bikita traditional dance group performing Shangara traditional dance at Culture Week at the Chibvumani Ruins on May 23, 2013, Photo by V. Chamisa.

[66] From my experience of the Culture Week celebrations at provincial level, musicians that usually perform are the local grassroots community musicians and students from surrounding educational institutions. They prepare their musical items according to the theme of the year. This is for several reasons which include the expenses needed to sponsor the popular musicians to take part in the provincial events. The popular musicians, however, usually perform at the national launch of Culture Week.



Figure 12 Great Zimbabwe University music students performing at the Chibvumani Ruins on May 23, 2013, Photo by V. Chamisa.

The way commodified Shona pop music is presented and incorporated as an expressive art that safeguards Shona musical heritage in Zimbabwe, forms the main focus of this chapter. As reflected in Mabasa's and Chifunyise's statements quoted above, traditional music adaptation and change is now a widely-accepted phenomenon among cultural practitioners. However, all this has to be done with the consideration of Shona musical communities as they still look forward to the music as a tradition that preserves their culture. How do people who are still practising traditional songs in their "original form", for example, in indigenous contexts or for tourist attractions at sites such as Great Zimbabwe monuments, view adapted versions, which, as discussed in the previous chapters, are significantly different from their indigenous source? Further, how do they and other Shona people view the songs in terms of their cultural heritage (*nhaka*) and identity? As Kyker (2011: 31) observes, "by drawing upon the rural expressive culture", Zimbabwean popular musicians "open space for active engagement, participation and interpretation by [an] audience". Nketia similarly writes of interpretative audiences in the African music performance context where he explains that "there is enjoyment in renewal of the experience [for an audience] and creative additions or innovations are tolerated if they reinforce this pleasure" (Nketia cited in Asante 2000: 48).

My aim in this chapter is therefore to examine how selected audience members of Shona musical communities interpret and value traditional musical structures and how this influences their perception of commodified Shona songs. My interpretation of the concept of cultural heritage in the context of traditional popular adaptations is influenced by current ideas on music and sustainability and the analysis of Shona voices is informed by ideas on music perception. Data was gathered through in-depth interviews with selected Shona community members around Masvingo who attended the Culture Week event at Chibvumani Ruins, and also from my personal experiences of the performance of adapted Shona music within the Culture Week events.

Preservation through Adaptation

Adaptation of indigenous music for the popular music industry is directly linked to musical heritage and the sustainability discourse suggested by Titon (2009: 124). Understanding music as a type of intangible heritage, the United Nations Educational and Scientific Organization (UNESCO) explains that in a more globalized world, heritage should be addressed in innovative and sustainable ways. Thus it appears that:

> This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity. (Cited in Titon 2009: 125)

In his work on music and sustainable development, Jeff Todd Titon similarly argues against attempts to preserve musical heritage in static ways. With people in "defensive posture(s) of safeguarding property assets", such efforts result in the construction of what Titon calls "staged authenticities" in the cultural heritage discourse (2009: 119). Titon thus asserts that traditional music needs to be treated as a renewable resource because its sustainability rests in its ability to adapt for the future (Titon 2009: 124). Under these conditions music is conceived "as something we may all make in our quotidian lives, an activity that connects people, a way of being human" (ibid: 122).

The explanation of intangible heritage by UNESCO and Titon's ideas on music and sustainability are important to an understanding of how adapted Shona music is

interpreted within the Cultural Week context as a tradition that preserves a rich musical heritage in Zimbabwe. For it to be meaningful for certain people at a particular time, the indigenous music needs to be constantly reshaped and updated. In relation to this, Betsy Peterson asserts that "preservation through adaptation becomes a means for reconstituting community in daily practice" (2011). As an expression of deep cultural knowledge, creative expression, activism, cultural durability, and community values, the music can function as a tool for community empowerment and social change (Peterson 2011). Following these ideas I suggest that the performance of commodified Shona music during Culture Week is a way of raising public awareness and empowerment on issues that directly affect them and their cultural identity as Shona people. This chapter thus interrogates how Shona audiences speak for their own change through listening to commodified indigenous music and how they are enabled to think not only about the past but also about their present and future life. Before examining people's perceptions, a background to the Culture Week performances will be briefly presented here.

Traditional Music and the Cultural Heritage Discourse in Zimbabwe

There are a number of national programmes that involve Shona originating communities in promoting the performance and ultimately the preservation of traditional music in Zimbabwe. Most of these programmes are initiated by the National Arts Council of Zimbabwe (NACZ) and the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture. These two institutions are primarily responsible for implementing state cultural policy regarding the performing arts. Culture Week was introduced in 2002 by NACZ in commemorating 21 May, the annual World Day of Cultural Diversity for Dialogue and Development. The week was established after it was discovered that one day was too short a period to allow people to experience the performance fully. These celebrations are held in each of the 10 provinces in Zimbabwe and there is a national launch which is organized by NACZ and hosted by one of the different provinces every year. Culture Week shares the same objective with National Dance Company (NDC) and Chibuku Neshamwari, that is, to preserve traditional culture:

> Culture Week is a time we can celebrate our history culturally through the objects that narrates the story of our ancestors, as is the role of folklore. The celebrations enable Zimbabweans to reflect on their culture and remind themselves of the need

> to preserve their rich cultural heritage as part of their intangible heritage. (NACZ: 2011)

It is perhaps obvious, then, why I specifically selected Culture Week. In Zimbabwean traditional music academic literature (Turino 2000 and Rutsate 2007), the NDC and the Chibuku Neshamwari competitions are some of the programmes that have been explained in detail. Highlighting certain of their impacts on Zimbabwean traditional music from as far as the pre-1980s, Turino (2000: 329) and Rutsate (2007: 43) note how the NDC and Chibuku Neshamwari have influenced the cultural and artistic directions of grassroots musicians and dancers both in rural and urban areas. Established in 1981 by the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture, the NDC, for instance, has cultural workers who organize formalized presentations in villages and who promote performances in their districts (Turino 2000: 330). Its goal is "to preserve and exhibit the traditional dances of Zimbabwe and to provide an opportunity for young people to see and perform the traditional dances as taught by the master teachers" (Turino 2000: 321). The dance company thus originally consisted of "master performers" of indigenous dances from various sub-groups in Zimbabwe who taught their specific music and dance to each other and to the members. The intention is for people to learn all traditions in what Turino terms as "an authentic manner as possible" (ibid.: 322). Similarly, in the Chibuku Neshamwari traditional dance competitions, organized by the NACZ, groups demonstrate the way traditional dances are performed in rural areas. Rutsate notes, for instance, that the performance of *mhande* music and dance at these competitions is the same way as it is done in the *mutoro* rainmaking ceremony (2007: 43). Therefore, within both the NDC and the Chibuku Neshamwari, traditional music is enjoyed by Shona people in its "perceived indigenous form". As observed by Rutsate, such music "stimulates interest in those who would have distanced themselves from the rituals (such as *mutoro*) to engage themselves in their indigenous culture… by so doing the attention of the young is drawn into the cultural traditions of their elders" (2007: 54).

On the other hand, the traditional music performances at Culture Week expose people to both Shona indigenous music and adapted versions of that music. One of the goals of the celebrations is to provide a forum for the exchange of ideas and views between artists in

Zimbabwe and abroad. It is also important to note that the week is actually meant to promote and celebrate cultural diversity in the country. Thus all the subcultural groups in Zimbabwe participate. These include the Shonas, the Ndebeles, the Tongas and the Shangaan. Here not only master practitioners of indigenous music may perform, but also anyone from students to popular musicians present various traditionally-influenced musical items. It is assumed here that people value these performances as part of their heritage and identity regardless of the manner in which the indigenous aspects are presented through Zimbabwean popular music. As Nicholas Moyo, NACZ assistant director writes "culture week is observed by different artists in a bid to preserve their traditions" (2009).

Community Members and their Relationships to Shona Traditional Music

Although all the people that I interacted with identify with the Shona ethnic group, their understanding of what traditional music is in relation to adapted Shona popular music usually differs from one person to another. How one is socialized as well as one's traditional music background plays an important role in shaping how one values the musical elements and eventually how one identifies with the musical style. As I interviewed various people of different ages and musical backgrounds in the Masvingo Province, I should thus first briefly discuss how such distinct backgrounds inform the people's understanding of the notion of traditional music.

People who acquired traditional music knowledge through participation in Shona villages expressed deep respect for the indigenous way of making music what they call "*nziyo dzechinyakare*" (traditional music) or *nhaka* (heritage). For instance, James Matanda, 66 years of age, and his wife Juliet Kambanje, 44 years, are *mbira* traditional music performers from the Gutu rural district who occasionally perform at the Great Zimbabwe Monuments for tourists. After their performance at the Culture Week, I had the chance to talk to them and they explained several points on what they personally believe to be traditional music. Matanda, for instance, expressed the following sentiments:

> *Ini ndinoridza vana "Nhemamusasa", "Nyamaropa", nedzimwe dzakadaro. Ndakazvigashidzwa kubva ku dzinza rangu; Ndakadzidziswa na baba vangu, ivo*

> *vanga vazviwanawo kuna baba vavo zvichenda zvakadaro. Saka ini zvasvika pandiri ndochinja? Ah! vakuru vangati ndiri mwana kwaye here? Nokuti unoona mwanangu, panziyo dzechivanhu idzi pane mamwe mashoko kana maridziro asingafaniri kubva kuti nziyo irambe yakakwana uye isarase zvainoreva. Ndinofanira kugara ndine mamwe mashoko angu andinodunhurira avo avaisiridza, chero hangu ndikazowedzera angu enguva yatiri. Saka hachisisiri chinyakare; zvava zvamazuvaano, pane musayano pakati pazvo, unoona mwanangu*
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> [I play *mbira* songs like "*Nhemamusasa*", "*Nyamaropa*" and others. I inherited them from my ancestors - my father taught me, he was also taught by his father and it goes in that order. So do you think it's proper for me to change? Ah! Will the elders consider me as a good child? Because you see my child, on these traditional songs there are some *mbira* lines and words that must not be changed for the songs to maintain their meanings…I must keep things that my ancestors are familiar with, words that they used to sing so that they can recognize my performance] [so there is a distinction between these songs (faithful reproductions and partial). We can't call these popular adaptations traditional, it's now contemporary] (Matanda, Int., 2013)

People such as Matanda believe that traditional musical heritage, specifically mbira music, should be passed from one generation to another in an unchanged form to respect ancestors who are believed to be owners of the songs. When I later visited them on one occasion on a follow up interview at their home, both Matanda and his wife took time to dress in their traditional attires first, "in case they would need to perform something [for me]". According to them, traditional music has to be done properly. For Matanda, once indigenous *mbira* music has been adapted for change, it will automatically cross the boundary from *chinyakare* (traditional) to *zvamazuva ano* (contemporary) where it can be assigned other names. When we listened to Mapfumo's "*Chamunorwa*" together, Matanda recognized its relationship with the indigenous source, "*Taireva*" but, however, commented that "*idzi dziri padivi*" [this is not exactly traditional] (Int., 2013). Despite the recognizable *kushaura* and *kubvumira* "*Taireva*" lines on "*Chamunorwa*", Matanda clearly labeled "*Chamunorwa*" as contemporary mainly because it is composed of new lyrics.[67] Matanda's attitude, for example, may have been influenced by his age, his traditional musical background and also that they perform at a historical monument. Turino (2008) noted a similar observation in relation to such beliefs or opinions in the Shona society writing that

[67] Similar views were observed by Turino in the context of his work. People like Chris Mhlanga explained that conceiving new text for a traditional song is expected in every musical performance. The use of *mbira* lines alone is enough to have a song described as traditional (2000: 282).

"given the spiritual orientation of Shona society, people socialized within indigenous communities will tend to consider what their ancestors will think about a particular decision or action" (2008: 127). Towards the end of our discussion, Kambanje, who agreed with her husband on almost all the views he expressed, added that they do not take these songs negatively however: "we love those songs, and we sometimes listen to them even at home" (Int., 2013). The question of why they love the songs is discussed in detail in the following section.

I also interviewed Alice Chikwee (32 years of age), a Shona traditional dancer who lives in the Nemamwa rural area of the Masvingo Province. Besides participating in musical activities in her village in the Nemamwa, she travels around teaching various traditional dances at primary schools around her home. She and her group also participated during the Culture Week, wearing black and white costumes on which was printed "*Madzimbabwe Anhasi*" which means traditional musicians of today. Though Chikwee and her group perform traditional music as it is done in indigenous contexts, she, unlike Matanda, holds a flexible view about traditional music. In her reflection on the song "*Mwana wamambo*" by Mtukudzi, Alice Chikwee explained without doubt that "this is our traditional music":

> You can see that they were playing *mhande*, it's just a bit slow. As a traditional dancer myself I can dance to this. Culture is dynamic; things are changing so we can't expect people to continue singing old stories... So I think that musicians like Mtukudzi, Mapfumo and others like the late James Chimombe and Marshall Munhumumwe keep our tradition alive. (Int., 2013)

According to Chikwee, therefore, any popular music performance that incorporates some indigenous music elements is traditional. She further noted with specific reference to *ngoma*-based music that what holds a song in traditional dance music is *ngoma*; words need to be punctuated by the sound of a drum. This shows that lyrics in this musical tradition can be freely changed but that should not affect the songs' classification as traditional. Chikwee and other younger people believe that the ability to adapt traditional music is actually an advanced stage of performing their own music, which they all wish to reach one day.

Godfrey Makaza, a 40 year old primary school music teacher from the Zaka Rural District in Masvingo had some different opinions. Makaza, currently a music student at Great Zimbabwe University, was one of the students who performed contemporary traditional styles at Chibvumani. Though he grew up in rural areas with all the exposure to traditional music performance, he only started playing traditional music at college in 2006 through formal education. In reflection of their performance at Culture Week, Makaza explained the following:

> The reason why we decided to perform these songs on the Culture Week is because we appreciate the indigenous aspects in them…the songs show that our repertoire of traditional songs is a resource bowl. People can borrow from the resource bowl then they can modify them in their own way depending on their initiative capabilities…That's what the likes of Tuku does. (Int., 2013)

From his rural background in Zaka and his experience as a teacher and student, Makaza considers adapted songs as a development from the indigenous musical source. Makaza was not comfortable labeling these songs traditional since they only borrow compositional ingredients from the "resource bowl". Various other people among the audiences were interviewed. I observed that most people who are not actively involved in traditional music performances are not really aware of the names of specific sounds and also not concerned about adaptation techniques or styles of presenting elements from the original source. If someone imitated *mbira*, *hosho*, or *ngoma* sounds then that could be viewed as traditional music no matter the use of western instruments or the styles of representation. Such a respond to the music explains what has been mentioned previously in relation to the processes of inventing traditions that such traditions are normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules [and]… where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983: 1).

The responses above show that how people are socialized in Shona musical society informs their views of tradition. It is important to note, however, that adapted Shona songs enable them to identify as Shona because of some Shona musical aspects, even though the style of presentation is an issue for others. For example, while people such as Matanda expressed a conservationist point of view towards the notion of tradition, categorizing the adapted songs as *dzamazuvano*, they could not at the same time resist naming Shona elements (for

example, the *kushaura* and the *kubvumira* elements of "*Taireva*"). They place the songs outside the bracket "tradition". For the majority, any musical sound or instruments from their cultural tradition are important in constructing, marking or indicating ethnic identities. Order or style of adaptation is not of concern here. For people from diverse backgrounds of traditional music socialization, I argue, adapted Shona songs provide a platform for the people to reflect on their music culture and identity at festivals such as the Culture Week. In the following section, I further discuss how the concept of *nhaka* is interpreted in relation to the popular adaptations.

Hearing Popular Adaptations as *Nhaka*

Drawing from Charles Sanders Peirce's semiotic theory, Turino (2008) explained relevant ways through which one's cultural knowledge (what he refers to as a sign) may influence his/her perception of a particular music. Bjorn Vickhoff describes cultural knowledge as "the frame of reference... declarative knowledge available in the culture (context)" (2008: 229). According to Turino, there are three ways through which people can interpret certain musical styles with reference to their cultural knowledge in particular music contexts. Firstly, through "resemblance" or "iconic signs" people recognize a new song as belonging to a particular style because it sounds like other songs they have heard (2008: 6). These resemblances may be a product of listeners' personal history and experiences - what Turino calls the "*internal context* of the perceiver" (2008: 6-7). Secondly, Turino explains the idea of indices where music typically serves as a powerful index that connects people to their places of origin (ibid.: 146-7).

Lastly, musical perception is influenced by linguistically based and socially agreed-upon symbols. However, for many people, depending on the genre frame, it is likely that performances may be judged on the degree to which the perceiver's imagination, physical reaction, and feelings drawn from cultural past experiences were triggered by the art (Turino 2008: 15). Following Turino's ideas in relation to preexisting music performance in

this section, I consider the indigenous sounds as signs which have an effect on how people perceive the songs as part of their cultural heritage.[68]

Many Shona people, whether they consider the adapted songs as traditional or not, are able to make connections between the pop songs and specific Shona indigenous sounds. In conversation with various people, I observed that the recognizable indigenous sounds in commodified Shona popular songs signify and link people to their specific regions of origin. For example, as I was listening to Mtukudzi's "*Mwana wamambo*", a *mhande*-based song, together with Godfrey Makaza in an interview, I saw him first playing along with the *mhande* drum following the pattern on the table that was in front of him. Then he also started to imitate the *magagada* rhythmic pattern using his mouth. Without showing concern about the absence of some elements associated with this musical tradition after a moment of listening, Makaza commented:

> This reminds me of my childhood experiences in Zaka; *it draws me back to my rural experiences*. … This is slow *mhande*, I remember people would play it as slow as this in respect of *majukwa* (a name for Karanga rain spirits); the drum is played softly and dancers don't lift their feet when articulating the dance steps in that context. But during other occasions they can lift their feet. (Int., 2013; my emphasis)

Having grown up in the Zaka rural district located in Masvingo Province where *mhande* originated and where it is popularly practiced, Makaza at first glance identified the indigenous sound and it connected him with his home. Here boys and girls will be taught *hunhu* (customary behaviour, see Chapter Three) and to be humble as the lyrics of "*Mwana wamambo*" say. The concept of home, "*musha*", in Shona not only links people to their rural homes; it is where one's parents and ancestors are buried and where they reside (Turino 2008: 128). In her work where she explores how Mtukudzi's music is received by the diasporic audience, Kyker notes a similar observation in relation to "*Izere mhepo*" which also adapts the *mhande* rhythmic pattern. Mupondwa, currently living in the USA, commented that:

[68] According to Turino here, all people will be able to recognize certain songs as belonging to a particular style because they sound like other songs they have heard. On the other hand, Chapman (2007: 88) argues that only a musicologist can do this. As I have explained earlier and as my discussion in this whole section shows, I disagree with Chapman's idea.

> Tuku's music, it actually helps me whenever I feel home-sick… *it just reminds me of things that I used to do back home* and after listening to that music I usually feel good. I would say that's the main reason I usually listen to Tuku. (cited in Kyker 2011: 167; my emphasis)

As reflected in Kyker's work, Mupombwa's feeling here was stimulated by *mhande*. It is clear that this indigenous sound played an important role in shaping his perception of the song such as "*Izere mhepo*". In relation to Turino's ideas explained earlier in this chapter, Makaza's and Mupombwa's comments show that the indigenous elements here function as signs that musically connect people, especially those living in urban areas to their rural homes. Therefore the presence of specific indigenous sounds such as *ngoma* patterns in popular songs have the effect of refreshing the thoughts about one's childhood experiences – connecting them to their place of origin. This is supported by Coplan who asserts that music enables "the reapplication of memory and… re-creation of emotional qualities of experience in the maintenance of a living tradition" (1993: 45). Martin Stokes also writes that music "is socially meaningful because it provides means by which people recognize identities and places" (1994: 5).

Thus many Shona people who have some traditional music background could always identify with the indigenous sounds as Shona people. Similarly, it is important to take note that the indigenous sounds represent certain histories in Shona society which can always resurface during listening processes. For example, grassroots musicians such as Matanda who are well-versed with the history associated with certain indigenous Shona pieces, could not help mentioning and sometimes explaining at length how the songs emerged in Shona society, as we listened to popular adaptations during our interviews. In a follow-up interview on 5 October 2013, eight months after the Culture Week event, Matanda made the following comments with regards to "*Chamunorwa*", an *mbira*-based piece by Mapfumo:

> In this song, Mapfumo was singing about *vapambepfumi* (war)-what some of us experienced. But listen… [Matanda kept quiet for a moment while looking at me straight in the eyes and following the regular beat by nodding his head]… That's "*Taireva*" in the background. So what I can say is that it did not start with Mapfumo. It was performed long ago and it was always played against any kind of oppression. Even when we are playing such music today here at Great Zimbabwe, we want to remind our visitors that we are a people who do not want oppression. (Int., 2013)

Although, as noted in the previous section, Matanda expressed that popular adaptations which eliminate some indigenous elements from their original sources cannot be classified as traditional, his comment here shows that he values the popular messages in relation to the meanings associated with the particular indigenous sound. It made sense for him therefore that Mapfumo in this specific song had to sing about the Chimurenga war. Narrating the people's lived experiences and thereby documenting their history, the adapted songs continue to be valued as heritage. In discussion with Matanda of possible contractions with his notions on the concept of traditional music, I observed that his dismissal of Mapfumo's song as not traditional at first was based on preconceived opinions formed through socialization. It was clear to me also that his attitude towards the songs was thus situational; when he is in the mood to communicate with his ancestors, it is easy to dismiss the songs without much consideration. This time the song found value as a traditional song for Matanda because its text resonated with the original source. The Hobsbawn's quote I mentioned in chapter three about the "contrast between the constant change and innovation of the modern world and the attempt to structure at least some parts of social life as unchanging" (1983: 2) is particularly relevant here.

My research shows that change and difference is embraced. As some community members expressed to me, the similarities and differences from what they already know from the rural contexts make pop adaptations interesting. Matanda and Kambanje said that they love these songs because, in their own words, "*kuti zvavanoimba zvinakidze, vanotora mamwe mashoko nemaridziro atinoziva vosanganisa nezvimwe zvavo kuvandudza misambo yavo*" [to make their songs interesting they take some of the elements that we are familiar with] (Int., 2013). Matanda and his wife generally do not enjoy listening to other Zimbabwean contemporary genres such as urban grooves (Int., 2013). However, what draws their attention to adapted Shona popular songs is familiarity and difference and it turns out to be the reason why they listen to and enjoy the songs. In such instances the adapted music provides an alternative popular music space for some audiences who have been deeply socialized to believe that the type of music that matters most is their indigenous music and as a result do not find pleasure listening to other Zimbabwean

popular genres. This confirms what Mtukudzi said, namely that he personally incorporates indigenous elements to lure people's attention to his message.

It was apparent in my discussions with various Shona community members that they are able to identify themselves broadly as Shona and particularly with specific subgroups such as Karanga or Korekore through the indigenous sounds incorporated during popular music performance. Here many people are bound to assume that any message inscribed within the songs is personally directed to them as Shona people. Hence a perception such as the following is common: "*Nziyo idzi dzinotaura mararamiro atinofanira kuita mazuvano pachivanhu* [These songs inform us as Shona people how we should live today according to our customs and tradition] (Int., 2013). As some listeners stressed, occasions such as Culture Week celebrations are very important to children because they provide a platform for this young generation to learn *tsika nemagariro echivanhu*; that is, Shona customs and traditions expressed through text. With these presented to them through traditional adaptations, people view the songs as distinctly part of their life. Although such concepts are presented in some other popular music genres in Zimbabwe, and though many other Shona concepts besides these traditional customs can be presented, people tend to identify the music as the only source for this.

The use of the vernacular language, Shona, as the main language in the majority of the adapted popular songs, greatly influences how people perceive these songs as part of their heritage. The reason behind this may be that, as explained by Mtukudzi in the previous chapter, in many instances words and how they are pronounced determine the choice of instrumental accompaniment. I observed in discussions with people that most of them pointed to Shona proverbs (*tsumo*) and idioms (*madimikira*) in the lyrics. Some of my interviewees also identified themselves with the specific Shona dialects used in the performance. One person commented in relation to Mtukudzi's "*Munendipasa Manyemwe*" which adapts *mhande ngoma* rhythm saying that the phrase *munendipasa manyemwe* [you give me confidence] is Korekore. Because the songs enable them to re-experience their life, both past and present, they have never ceased to play their role of conserving heritage.

Discussions of the Traditional

Personally, as a Shona person and musician, with the theme for 2013, "Celebrating African traditions, pride and identity", I was not surprised with the choice of the venue "Chibvumani Ruins" in Masvingo Province. This is because it is a cultural site where tourists go to view old stone walls. On arrival at the venue, I also expected to see local groups from around Masvingo in their traditional costumes and showcasing the music they practice in the rural areas. The last thing that I expected was the performance of popular songs, especially because I knew from my previous experiences that popular musicians rarely make it to the provincial level celebrations. Therefore, the efforts to imitate traditional Shona popular adaptations within this theme, and their reception and cultural significance and interpretation as *nhaka*, meant that despite any changes that might have occurred during the adaptation process, people still appreciate the songs as part of their repertoire which anyone can perform. Without guitars and other western instruments for the band, they only imitated lines that could be played on drums, *mbira*, marimba and *hosho* (mostly the indigenous lines), and I noticed that performers could cover the gaps in-between by clapping and improvising their own lines. The songs that they played include "*Tozeza*" by Mtukudzi of which they clearly articulated the *mhande* rhythm on marimba. The audience screamed, especially primary and secondary scholars, singing along as the Great Zimbabwe University students performed. This shows as Fabian Holt states that "genre is not only in the music but also in the minds and bodies of particular groups of people who share certain conventions" (2007: 2).

After my interviews with local people of the Masvingo Province, I discussed some of their responses with popular musicians Mtukudzi and Zhakata. While watching and listening to the recorded performances of the 2013 Culture Week celebrations at Chibvumani as well as in my interview responses with the local community in Masvingo, these musicians made comments that are worthy to be considered here. Zhakata generally explained how he as musician wishes to participate in these festivals where he could personally speak to people who cannot come to his live shows: "There is power in live performances I tell you. They are opportunity for us to speak to our fellow brothers and sisters in a live performance and have them speak back to us. So there is a two way communication there; it makes a huge

difference you know" (Int., 2013). As Turino noted with reference to Zimbabwean music, "music, dance festivals and other expressive cultural practices are a primary way that people articulate [the] collective identities that are fundamental to forming and sustaining social groups, which are in turn basic to survival" (Turino 2000:187). Although he respected conservationist ideas such as those expressed by Matanda, Zhakata generally showed concern with such positions and he urged that:

> We tend to see things differently sometimes but I always tell people to think outside the box. Look, if the ancestors are there for real and if they claim to be looking after the people now, they must not be surprised or get angry if we sing about the US dollar, about our children going to school, about HIV/AIDS; I mean that's part of us today… as musicians we sing the reality (Int., 2013).

Mtukudzi who also generally stressed that the whole purpose of such festivals is "to remind each other about things that unite us and to showcase our own music" made reference to his song "*Tsika dzeku*" (Our traditions), where he sings that:

Tsika dzedu dziya dzakaendepiko	Where have our traditions gone
Kudya kwedu kuya kwakaendepi	Where is our traditional food
Nyevhe yedu iya yakaendepiko	Where are our traditional vegetables
Aiyere iyere manhanga	Aiyere iyere pumpkins

In the song Mtukudzi mentions traditional meals and folk tales as things that should be valued. He, however, continued to explain that what makes festivals interesting is to share new ideas that could be experienced throughout the whole year. "After a whole year of different experiences as a musician, I can't come back and tell people the same recipe that I would have told them the previous year; share my experiences with them and also get their experiences so that we can cultivate each other musically" (Int., 2013).

Stressing the importance of listening to messages in his music, Mtukudzi further explained that:

> You have to understand that people hear different things in the same song at different times. But I'm happy if my message is reaching people out there. I become sad if someone comes to me and say "Mr Mtukudzi I love your music because it sounds nice". No, it wouldn't have served its purpose for that person (Int., 2013).

I observed from people's responses that they are able to distinguish between what they call "*dzechinyakare*" (pure traditional music) and "*dzemazuvaano"* (contemporary traditional

music). Some rural music performers expressed conservationist views which are considered by musicians - such as Mtukudzi and Mapfumo- to have crossed the border from pure to contemporary traditional music. This is because the music addresses today's life experience (*upenyu hwanhasi*) which is not really what their ancestors are familiar with. The idea of spirituality largely associated with *mbira* music continued to be stressed, however. As the Zimbabwean historian Moses Chikowero emphasized

> [There is] need to revalue the place of our ancestors in our value systems. That's what Mapfumo is advocating. There is nothing backward or old about it. That's us. It does not mean going back anywhere - because change only happens forward but you don't go forward by running away from yourself (Chikowero Int., by Eyre, 2013).

However, since people are able to recognize traditional sounds within the commodified songs despite the presence or absence of certain elements, they manage to attract people's attention to the lyrics and ultimately messages contained in particular songs. As shown in the previous chapters that text is constantly renewed and musicians sing about people's everyday lived experiences, at celebrations such as the Culture Week people are not only free to share these experiences at community level; they are also empowered.

Conclusion

Generally, for many Shona people, the value of these songs lies in their ability to connect people to their identified musical roots while simultaneously applying to their current experiences. Thus the discourse of traditional music adaptation as it pertains to the issues of cultural identity and conservation of musical heritage explains why popular versions of the same traditional source can be conceived differently in various musical contexts. It also provides a means by which people readjust their cultural values and their perception of musical heritage. It becomes, as mentioned earlier, "a means for reconstituting community in daily practice" (Peterson 2011).

Chapter 6

Conclusions

Shona indigenous music continues to be one of the major sources for popular music composition and performance in Zimbabwe. Within a globalized environment, certain Shona traditional melodies, rhythms and texts associated with indigenous musical sources have inspired various Zimbabwean popular music genres such as Tuku music, ZORA, Chimurenga music and so-called Afro beat. As the traditional musical sources are reconstructed, they are required to take new and distinct shapes with the structural elements used interchangeably from one popular song to another. Given that music traditions are not only always in the process of change but there are also new ones being invented, Zimbabwean popular music provides an important platform to study the development and representation of Shona traditional music. In this thesis, I identified various traditionally-inspired popular songs and sought to understand Shona traditional musical culture as presented through Zimbabwean popular music. Focusing on the presentation of traditional melodies, rhythms and texts, my work established and analyzed trends for adapting Shona traditional music and how this affects the labeling of individual popular songs as versions of particular Shona traditional music sources.

The musicians with whom I interacted highlighted that the cultural values associated with certain Shona indigenous musical sources usually determined how they approached the sources for popular music production. I have therefore suggested in this study the importance of considering the individual Shona traditional music genres, namely *mbira* and *ngoma*, in Zimbabwean popular music analysis. Widely accepted as the product of Shona ancestors, *mbira* music is generally treated as a genre that must be reproduced in a correct manner and which should also remain unchanged as much as possible from the original source. As the musicians have expressed, this is consciously done to honour the ancestors who created the music. As my musical analyses have shown, however, there are three different strategies adopted for reproducing *mbira* music and these are described following Chapman (2007: 86-88). The first strategy consists of entire adaptations, that is, popular songs which adapt all the elements associated with a certain *mbira* indigenous source. I

have referred to this approach as a form of "imitation". In the second strategy, I noted that musicians maintain the standard basic *mbira* part while replacing old lyrics with their own text. Where musicians adapt the fundamental parts of a traditional source and translate them into a new popular music context, I have suggested that this method of adaptation is a form of "sampling". The third strategy consists of "abstract adaptations", where musicians eliminate the standard basic material traditionally known to particular *mbira* pieces and only utilize the vocal material. Since in this case musicians remove the basic *mbira* section, thus allowing them to compose new basic frames for their songs, these songs cannot be immediately identified with certain *mbira* traditional sources.

However, borrowing the standard basic *mbira* parts and/or *mbira* tunes traditionally performed for certain *mbira* songs during popular music composition influences how the compositions are labeled in relation to the traditional sources. This is because, as explained in Chapter 3, when these elements are incorporated in the composition, they influence the overall meaning and interpretation of a popular song in relation to a specific traditional *mbira* source. Many *mbira* popular adaptations are relevant to maintain historical themes, historical figures and values while reinterpreting them in new contexts. Various adaptation strategies adopted for *mbira* popular music performance show that *mbira* traditional music should remain unchanged. This, however, does not mean that *mbira* traditional music has to remain static and without re-innovation. Within set boundaries to remain true to ancestors, *mbira*-based popular songs are conceived differently depending on the musicians' compositional purposes. Therefore the changes that the popular songs undergo become accepted as part of the pre-existing *mbira* tradition. Thus, as Erlmann notes, "tradition has little to do with persistence of old forms, but more with the ways in which forms and values are linked together" (1991: 10).

On the other hand, the *ngoma* indigenous sources are approached with more flexibility. With only a few entire adaptations, musicians mainly borrow the traditional drumming patterns. Two main approaches are utilized in these patterns. These are, firstly, combining two or more different *ngoma* patterns together to create new music. Secondly, similar to *mbira*, there are imitations which directly quote the fundamental *ngoma* pattern of a certain genre. Musicians, however, have different opinions concerning the influence of the

indigenous drumming patterns on their music and how it should be viewed in relation to these patterns. These different opinions are caused by varying compositional techniques among the popular musicians. In the case of Zhakata and Mapfumo, they conceive of the drumming patterns first, then the message, and hence the lyrics will be determined by the drumming style. In this case the *ngoma* patterns provide the framework for composition and this makes it possible for their music to be identified with particular *ngoma* genres. Mtukudzi on the other hand argued that he conceives of the message first and writes the lyrics and then incorporates *ngoma* sounds simply as "salt and pepper". Using the melorhythmic principle, I have, however, argued that despite the position of musicians when using the *ngoma* patterns, there is a relationship between popular messages and indigenous *ngoma* patterns and this has an impact on musical meaning.

Generally, therefore, there are four different ways used for the adaptation of traditional Shona music. These are sampling, imitation, combining and abstract adaptation. According to ZIMURA records, musicians are entitled to full royalty payments for entire adaptations where 50 percent is given to the originating community. There are apparent relationships between the songs that fall into the other three categories with certain Shona indigenous sources and for Shona cultural insiders, this affects how they may interpret the popular messages. However, the songs that fall into these other three categories are considered as new and original compositions in the Zimbabwean music industry.

In these instances, the musicians have managed to simultaneously satisfy the demands for original material by the cosmopolitan youth culture and maintain the values expected by the traditional musical community. With people like Bob Dylan and the Beatles as role models of singer-songwriters and rock composer-musicians, Zimbabwean music critics, fans and musicians, since as early as the mid-1960s, have expected unique compositions (Turino 2000: 250). The indigenous music became a viable source for such demands and it came to be considered as able to give music a certain longevity (ibid.). I believe that the various methods for adapting Shona traditional music explained in this study can be useful for supporting analyses of Zimbabwean popular music composition and performance. It may also be useful in the future for popular musicians who would wish to compose – using material from Shona traditional musical sources.

For musicians in the (world) music industry, it is not only about understanding values associated with a particular indigenous musical source, it is rather about how one manipulates sounds to meet the demands of the music market. We have on one hand, for example, Mapfumo, who understands the power of *mbira* sounds in the context of war and composes text for pre-existing *mbira* songs. Mapfumo has become a Chimurenga music icon in Zimbabwe. On the other hand, Mtukudzi who composes within the discourse of *hunhu* mainly prefers *ngoma* genres which he simply uses as accompaniment. The Shona traditional musical community still values and appreciates these songs as part of their cultural heritage. As we have seen in reference to people's experiences of the songs at national Culture Week celebrations in Zimbabwe, how the songs are adapted does not affect the music's expected role on this event, that is, to conserve cultural heritage (NACZ 2011). As they are reshaped, the songs "serve to create images of social reality and to [re]construct a discourse that reflects the position of those who refer to it" (Erlmann 1991: 11). In relation to this, Muller also writes that musical traditions "enable individuals and groups to move forward with a certain sense of rootedness and place" (2004: 9).

Contributing to the growing body of literature on copyright and popular music in Zimbabwe, my work suggests therefore that popular musicians and traditional communities inter-depend on each other for development; copyright should not be a hindrance to the revival of traditional music in Zimbabwe. Thus an anthropologist, Michael Brown, insists on "fair use" where he says intellectual property laws must have the principal goal of allowing new ideas to reach the public while privately allowing creators to benefit both financially and socially from their works (1998: 196). Reflecting on how Shona traditional music is adapted for Zimbabwean popular music purposes and the impact the music has on the society, I believe that adaptation plays an important role as a method of creatively conserving the music. Zimbabwean popular musicians, for example, with whom I have interacted in this study, have assumed important roles as Shona traditional music stewards who are responsible for the survival of the music while simultaneously enjoying the rewards of stewardship (Titon 2009: 121). I thus wish to suggest, following Titon, that since Shona musical elements are valued differently within the same community depending

on performance context, the best way to achieve sustainability is to treat the music as a renewable resource (2009: 135).

Appendix

A List of Commodified Shona Songs

The songs are presented according to the categories explained in Chapter One.

***Mbira*-based**

Song Title	Composer or Arranger	Album/Year
Nhemamusasa	Chiwoniso	Ancient Voices, 1998
Ancient Voices	Chiwoniso	Ancient Voices, 1998
Chembere Dzemusango	Chiwoniso	Timeless, 2004
Handimbozorora	Chiwoniso	Timeless, 2004
Hupenyu Kutenderera	Chiwoniso	Timeless, 2004
Mugarandega	Chiwoniso	Timeless, 2004
Mukaranga	Chiwoniso	Timeless, 2004
Amai	Chiwoniso	Ancient Voices, 1998
Ndofandichibaiwa	Chiwoniso	Timeless, 2004
Nhemamusasa	Mapfumo	Ancient Voices, 1998
Zimbabwe Yakauyanehondo	Chiwoniso	Timeless, 2004
Vamudhara	Mapfumo	African Classics, 2009
Kariba	Mapfumo	Chimurenga Explosion, 2000
Dande	Mapfumo	Toi Toi, 2002
Chitima Nditakure	Mapfumo	Chamunorwa, 1991
Marehwarehwa	Mapfumo	Live at El Rey, 2001
Magariro	Mapfumo	Hondo, 1993
Maiti Kurima Hamubvire	Mapfumo	Hondo, 1993

Bukatiende	Mapfumo	Hondo, 1993
Ndanzwa Ngoma	Mapfumo	Mabasa, 1984
Pasi Paenda	Mapfumo	Chimurenga Rebel/Manhungetunge, 2002
Marima Nzara	Mapfumo	Chimurenga Rebel/Manhungetunge, 2002
Kuzanga	Mapfumo	Chimurenga Unlimited Vo1
Waurayiwa	Mapfumo	Chimurenga Rebel/Manhungetunge, 2002
Mukadzi Wamukoma	Mapfumo	Roots Chimurenga, 1996
Zevezeve	Mapfumo	The Singles Collection 1977 - 1986
Nyamutamba Nengoma	Mapfumo	The Singles Collection 1977 - 1986
Mhondoro	Mapfumo	Gwindingwi Rine Shumba,
Mhandu Musango	Mapfumo	Hokoyo, 1976
Asingade	Mapfumo	Roots Chimurenga, 1996
Kufa Kwangu	Mapfumo	Mr Music (Africa), 2006
Ndateterera	Mapfumo	Toi Toi, 1999
Bhutsu Mutandarika	Mapfumo	Shumba, 1990
Chamunorwa	Mapfumo	Chamunorwa, 1991
Muchadura	Mapfumo	Corruption, 1990
Shumba	Mapfumo	Shumba, 1990
Dangurangu	Mapfumo	Chimurenga Masterpiece, 1990
Taireva	Mapfumo	Shumba, 1990
Zimbabwe Yavatema	Mapfumo	Shumba, 1990
Ngoma Yarira	Mapfumo	Teal Records, Afro Sounds AS 105
Murembo	Mapfumo	Teal Records, Afro Sounds AS 105
Nyama Yekugocha	Mapfumo	Chamunorwa, 1991
Hwahwa	Mapfumo	Chamunorwa, 1991

Hanzvadzi	Mapfumo	Vanhu Vatema (Chimurenga International), 1993
Nyama Musango	Mapfumo	Chimurenga Varieties, 1994
Chemutengure	Mapfumo	Chimurenga Rebel/Manhungetunge, 2002
Zimbabwe	Mapfumo	Chimurenga Rebel/Manhungetunge, 2002
Shiri Yakanaka	Mapfumo	Afro Chimurenga, 1986
Nyoka Musango	Mapfumo	Ndangariro, 1983
Mugarandega	Mapfumo	Chimurenga for Justice, 1985
Nyamaropa	Mapfumo	Chimurenga: African Spirit Music, 1987
Titambire	Mapfumo	Chimurenga '98, 1998
Mahororo	Mapfumo	Live at El Rey, 1999
Moyo Wangu	Mapfumo	Corruption, 1990
Amai Vemwana	Mapfumo	Chimurenga International, 1993
Pidigori	Mapfumo	Spirits to Bit our Ears: The Singles Collection 1977-1986
Chisi	Mapfumo	Chimurenga Explosion, 2000
Zvichapera	Mapfumo	Chimurenga Explosion, 2000
Nherera	Mapfumo	Chimurenga Explosion, 2000
Uchaenda Wega	Mapfumo	Zvichapera, 2004
Kutapira	Brown	More Fire, 2002
Kuonererwa	Mtukudzi	Svovi Yangu, 2009
Rovangoma Mutavara	Mtukudzi	Shanda, 2006
Ndotangira Poyi	Mtukudzi	Collection, 1991-1997

***Ngoma*-Based**

Hwenge Mambo	Mtukudzi	Bvuma, 2000
Kucheneka	Mtukudzi	Vhunze Moto, 2002
Sarawoga	Mtukudzi	Sarawoga, 2012
Tozeza	Mtukudzi	Nhava, 2005
Izere Mhepo	Mtukudzi	Nhava, 2005
Mwana Wamambo	Mtukudzi	Ndega Zvangu, 2001
Mean What You Say	Mtukudzi	Neria, 2001
Yave Mbodza	Mtukudzi	Vhunze Moto, 2002
Kuronga Kwaramba	Mtukudzi	Rudaviro, 2011
Meso Piriviri	Mtukudzi	Dairai, 2009
Mutavara	Mtukudzi	Shanda, 2002
Waenda Rosemary	Mtukudzi	Kudzanayi, label, KDZ 109
Ndiri Bofu	Mtukudzi	Shoko, 2001
Muchatuta	Mtukudzi	Neria Soundtrack, 2001
Dzokai	Mtukudzi	Nhava, 2005
Street Kid	Mtukudzi	Ziwere MuKobenhaven, 1994
Pawatsiurwa	Mtukudzi	Tsivo, 2008
Kucheneka	Mtukudzi	Vhunze Moto, 2002
Yave Mbodza	Mtukudzi	Vhunze Moto, 2002
Njuga	Mtukudzi	Tsimba Itsoka, 2007
Ziwere	Mtukudzi	Ziwere, 2001
Kuenda Mbire	Mapfumo	Chimurenga Explosion

Ndozvamaida	Mapfumo	Vanhu Vatema, 1994
Mwana asina baba	Mapfumo	Chimurenga Unlimited Hits Vol 1
Kupera Kwevanhu	Mapfumo	Corruption, 1990
Chigwindiri	Mapfumo	Corruption, 1990
Chirombo Musango	Mapfumo	Chaputika, 2004
Vanhu Vatema	Mapfumo	Vanhu Vatema, 1994
Pamuromo Chete	Mapfumo	Chimurenga Rebel, 2002
Jojo	Mapfumo	Chimurenga Masterpiece, 1990
Tondobayana	Mapfumo	Mr. Music (Africa), 1985
Muramba Doro	Mapfumo	Chamunorwa, 1989
Hurukuro	Mapfumo	Chamunorwa, 1989
Ndave Kuenda	Mapfumo	Zimbabwe Mozambique, 1988
Ndozvauri	Mapfumo	Chimurenga Masterpiece, 1990
Wakanaka Uchadiwa	Mapfumo	Roots Chimurenga, 1996
Chitima Cherusununguko	Mapfumo	Gwindingwi Rine Shumba, 1980
Kumbira Chaunoda	Mapfumo	Mabasa, 1984
Ngoma Yekwedu 1977-1986	Mapfumo	Spirits to Bit our Ears: The Singles Collection
Pfumvu Pruzevha	Mapfumo	Chimurenga Singles, 1976-1980
Ndambakuudzwa	Mapfumo	Exile, 2010
Muramba Doro	Mapfumo	Chamunorwa LP, 1989
Karigoni	Zhakata	Mandishorei, 1995
Dzakaora	Zhakata	Mandishorei, 1995
Vematenga Havatongerwe	Zhakata	Mandishorei, 1995

Chiremba	Zhakata	Mandishorei, 1995
Vematenga Havatongerwe	Zhakata	Mandishorei, 1995
Vana Vanogwara	Chiwoniso	Timeless, 2004
Mawere Kongonya	Brown	Passage of Time, 2003
Ndodzungaira	Brown	Harare, 2011
Sara Ugarike	Brown	Gondwanaland, 2005
Mutserendende	Brown	Tigere, 2001
Simbimbino	Bhundu Boys	Shed Sessions 1982-1986, 2001
Hatisi Tese	Bhundu Buys	Shed Sessions 1982-1986, 2001
Chiwayawaya	Bhundu Boys	African Classics
Tsvimbo Dzemoto	Bhundu Boys	True Jiti, 1987

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