

**THE NARRATIVIZATION OF POST-2000 ZIMBABWE IN  
THE SHONA POPULAR SONG-GENRE: AN APPRAISAL  
APPROACH**

**BY**

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## **DECLARATION**

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## ABSTRACT

The study explores the post-2000 popular song genre (expressed in Shona) in order to analyze its rhetorical potential in its appropriation as a medium for the construction and contestation of meanings concerning land, history and selected (political, social and religious) identities. The goal is to discover how the turbulent post-2000 period in Zimbabwe is narrativized through the lyrics of popular songs. The rationale to focus on popular songs in the context of this period was my observation of the uniquely high level of appropriation of the popular song in the Zimbabwean public sphere by political parties and the ordinary people to communicate various discourses (of their interest). The period surpasses by far the pre-2000 era in its rate of output of songs. Old songs were revived and new ones composed while new musical genres emerged and existing ones thrived.

I also noted in previous researches gaps in both theoretical and coverage of the analyses of popular songs in Zimbabwe. There is little in terms of linguistically-rooted approaches while analyses are largely limited to politically-inspired songs. I therefore, besides the politically-oriented songs, also explore socially and religiously-oriented songs. I adopt a multi-perspective approach combining APPRAISAL, genre, “small stories/voices” and the “rediscovery of the ordinary” frameworks to study the rhetorical property and capacity (to communicate) of the popular song. I employ the APPRAISAL theory to deal with the songs’ language of evaluation in terms of the authorial stances and ideological positions singers adopt. I utilize the genre theory in making a typology of the various popular song texts on the basis of their communicative properties (which determine their rhetorical purposes). I employ the remaining theories to classify the songs into three clusters (‘grand narrative songs’; ‘small stories/voices songs’ and ‘songs of ordinary life’) based the sources of their ideological concerns.

In pursuit of the connection between the songs’ language and its communicative effects, I note in chapters two, four, five and six, the high level of intertextuality the post-2000 popular song has assumed. I argue that the unique intertextuality can be explained in relation to the high demands being placed on the language of the song texts by composers and singers in a context in which the state and opposition are pitted in an intense competition for the “power to mean”. The state appropriates the popular song to demonize and delegitimize the opposition at the same time legitimating its hegemony, based on patriotic discourses derived

from *chimurenga* (nationalist) grand narrative values. On the other hand, the opposition manipulates the popular song to legitimate its struggle for change through counter-state discourses exposing Zanu-PF's political vices and debasing its power. The ordinary people also appropriate the popular song in their struggle to resolve issues of personal concern in their attempt to give meaning to their lives. It is therefore the study's main thesis that the popular song in post-2000 Zimbabwe narrativizes the period in unique ways as illustrated through the manipulation of its rhetorical potential to construct meanings concerning land, history and identities.

## OPSOMMING

Die studie het die populêreliedjieggenre (in Shona uitgedruk) ná 2000 verken om die retoriese potensiaal by die aanwending as 'n medium vir die konstruksie en omstredenheid van betekenis rakende grond, geskiedenis en geselekteerde (politieke, maatskaplike en godsdienstige) identiteite te ontleed. Die doel was om vas te stel hoe die turbulente tydperk ná 2000 in Zimbabwe deur die lirieke van populêre liedjies aangebied word. Die rasionaal om op populêre liedjies teen die agtergrond van hierdie tydperk te fokus was my waarneming van die buitengewoon hoë vlak van aanwending van die populêre liedjie in die Zimbabwiese openbare sfeer deur politieke partye en gewone mense om verskillende diskoerse (tot eie voordeel) te kommunikeer. Die tydperk oortref verreweg die tydperk voor 2000 wat betref die spoed waarteen liedjies verskyn. Ou liedjies is opgediep en nuwes is gekomponeer terwyl nuwe musiekgenres na vore gekom en bestaandes floreer het.

Ek het ook leemtes in vorige navorsing opgemerk, beide ten opsigte van die teoretiese ontledings van populêre liedjies in Zimbabwe en die dekking daarvan. Daar bestaan min inligting ten opsigte van linguisties-begronde benaderings terwyl ontledings hoofsaaklik beperk is tot polities-geïnspireerde liedjies. Ek het dus, afgesien van die polities-georiënteerde liedjies, ook liedjies wat sosiaal en godsdienstig geïnspireer is, ondersoek. Ek het 'n multiperspektiefbenadering ingeneem en raamwerke met betrekking tot WAARDEBEPALING, genre, "klein stories/stemme" en die "herontdekking van die gewone" gekombineer om die retoriese eienskap en kapasiteit (om te kommunikeer) van die populêre liedjie te bestudeer. Ek het die teorie van WAARDEBEPALING aangewend ten einde aan die liedjies se evalueringstaal ten opsigte van die standpunte wat die skrywers inneem en ideologiese posisies van die sangers aandag te gee. Ek het die genreteorie gebruik om 'n tipologie van die verskillende populêre liedjietekste op grond van hulle kommunikatiewe eienskappe (wat hulle retoriese doelwitte bepaal) op te stel. Ek het die oorblywende teorieë gebruik om die liedjies in drie groepe te klassifiseer ('meesternarratief-liedjies', 'liedjies oor klein stories/stemme' en 'liedjies oor die gewone lewe') gebaseer op die bronne van hulle ideologiese besorgdhede.

In 'n soeke na die skakeling tussen die taal van die liedjies en die kommunikatiewe effekte daarvan, wys ek in hoofstukke twee, vier, vyf en ses op die hoë vlak van intertekstualiteit wat die populêre liedjie ná 2000 aangeneem het. Ek voer aan dat die unieke intertekstualiteit verklaar kan word in verhouding met die hoë eise wat deur komponiste en sangers aan die taal van die liedjies se tekste gestel word in 'n konteks waarin die staat en opposisie in konflik

verkeer in 'n intense wedywing om die “mag om te beteken”. Die staat eien hulle die populêre liedjie toe ten einde die opposisie te demoniseer en te delegitimeer en terselfdertyd sy hegemonie te legitimeer, gebaseer op patriotiese diskoerse afgelei van *chimurenga* (nasionalistiese) waardes van die meesternarratief. Aan die ander kant, die opposisie manipuleer die populêre liedjie om sy stryd om verandering te legitimeer deur diskoerse te weerlê en so Zanu-PF se politieke gebreke aan die kaak te stel en sy mag te verminder. Jan Alleman en sy maat eien hulle ook die populêre liedjie toe in hulle stryd om kwessies van persoonlike kommer uit die weg te ruim in hulle poging om betekenis aan hulle lewens te gee. Dit is dus hierdie studie se hoofhipotese dat die populêre liedjie in Zimbabwe ná 2000 die tydperk op unieke wyses beskryf soos geïllustreer deur die manipulasie van die retoriese potensiaal daarvan om betekenis rakende grond, geskiedenis en identiteite te konstrueer.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>DECLARATION</b> .....	ii
<b>ABSTRACT</b> .....	iii
<b>OPSOMMING</b> .....	v
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</b> .....	vii
<b>LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS</b> .....	xii
<b>CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY</b>	
1.1 INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.2 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY .....	1
1.3 LITERATURE REVIEW.....	4
1.4 THE NATURE AND PURPOSE OF THE STUDY .....	11
1.4.1 Theoretical approach .....	11
1.4.2 Research questions .....	14
1.5 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY .....	14
1.6 ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY .....	17
<b>CHAPTER TWO: THE TYPOLOGY OF THE SHONA POPULAR SONG-GENRE</b>	
2.1 INTRODUCTION.....	18
2.2 CLASSIFICATION OF SONGS .....	19
2.2.1 Problems in Oral Literary Classification of Songs.....	20
2.3 THE APPRAISAL FRAMEWORK .....	22
2.4 A GENRE-BASED TYPOLOGY OF THE SHONA POPULAR SONGS.....	24
2.4.1 The genre theory.....	25
2.4.2 The multi-rhetoricality of popular songs.....	50
2.5 THE INTERTEXTUALITY OF THE SHONA POPULAR SONG .....	51
2.5.1 Forms of intertextuality in Shona popular songs .....	53
2.5.2 L+R format.....	54
2.5.3 Song revivals .....	56
2.5.4 Appropriation of other songs' tunes.....	56
2.5.5 Dialogical level .....	57
2.5.6 Incorporative level.....	58

2.5.7	Monologism .....	61
2.5.8	Repetition .....	63
2.6	CONCLUSION .....	64

### **CHAPTER THREE: THE TRIPARTITE CLASSIFICATION OF ZIMBABWEAN POPULAR SONGS INTO CLUSTERS**

3.1	INTRODUCTION.....	65
3.2	THE “SMALL VOICES IN HISTORY” AND “SMALL STORIES” FRAMEWORKS .....	66
3.2.1	Guha’s “small voices in history” framework .....	67
3.2.2	Georgakopoulou’s “small stories” theory .....	70
3.3	THE “REDISCOVERY OF THE ORDINARY” THEORY .....	72
3.4	KEY FEATURES OF STATE HEGEMONY IN ZIMBABWE.....	73
3.5	A TRIPARTITE CLASSIFICATION OF POPULAR SONGS INTO CLUSTERS .....	81
3.5.1	Grand narrative songs.....	82
3.5.2	Small voices/stories songs.....	82
3.5.3	Songs of ordinary life .....	82
3.6	FACTORS SHAPING NOTIONS OF GRAND AND SMALL VOICES SONGS.....	83
3.6.1	Grand narrative song factors .....	84
3.6.2	Small voices song factors .....	93
3.7	CONCLUSION .....	97

### **CHAPTER FOUR: GNS AND SSS’ CONTESTATIONS OVER MEANINGS OF LAND AND HISTORY**

4.1	INTRODUCTION.....	98
4.2	THE THEMES OF LAND AND HISTORY .....	99
4.3	THE <i>CHIMURENGA</i> GRAND NARRATIVE AS EXPERIENTIAL BASIS FOR LAND METAPHORS .....	100
4.4	<i>IVHU</i> = <i>VADZIMU</i> METAPHOR .....	103
4.4.1	National <i>vadzimu</i> as guardians for all .....	112
4.4.2	LAND = <i>NHOROONDO</i> (HISTORY) metaphor .....	119
4.4.3	LAND = <i>ROPA REMAGAMBA</i> (BLOOD OF FALLEN HEROES).....	124

4.5	CONCLUSION .....	134
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## **CHAPTER FIVE: IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION AS EVALUATION OF POLITICAL BEHAVIOUR IN SSS AND GNS**

5.1	INTRODUCTION.....	135
5.2	MAPPING IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION ONTO THE APPRAISAL THEORY .....	136
5.2.1	ATTITUDE's dimensions of JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION .....	136
5.2.2	Political and national identities .....	138
5.3	GNS SONGS AND ZANU-PF IDENTITIES OF SELF-CONSTRUCTION..	140
5.3.1	The identity of <i>kurwira rusununguko</i> .....	142
5.4	COUNTERING ZANU-PF'S POSITIVE IDENTITIES IN SSS .....	156
5.4.1	The <i>mudzvanyiriri</i> identity .....	158
5.4.2	The <i>vaurayi venyika</i> (national destroyers) identity .....	160
5.4.3	The identity of <i>uori</i> (corruption) .....	163
5.4.4	The identity of <i>jambanja</i> (violence and lawlessness) .....	168
5.4.5	Zanu-PF and the <i>kuguma</i> (eschatology) identity.....	175
5.5	<i>MUTENGESI</i> IDENTITY AS BASIS FOR OPPOSITION PERSECUTION <sup>180</sup> .....	177
5.5.1	The nationalist origins of the <i>mutengesi</i> identity .....	177
5.5.2	State usage of <i>mutengesi</i> identity in post-2000 .....	179
5.6	SSS AND MDC IDENTITIES OF SELF-CONSTRUCTION .....	187
5.6.1	The opposition and the identity of <i>bumbiro remutemo</i> (constitutionalism).....	188
5.6.2	The <i>rwendo rwechinja</i> (journey of change) identity .....	191
5.6.3	The MDC and the identity of economic recovery .....	192
5.7	CONCLUSION .....	195

## **CHAPTER SIX: THE EVALUATION OF ORDINARY LIFE THROUGH SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS IDENTITIES IN SOL**

6.1	INTRODUCTION.....	196
6.2	NJABULO NDEBELE'S THE <i>REDISCOVERY OF THE ORDINARY</i> THEORY .....	196
6.3	RELIGIOUS IDENTITIES .....	201

6.3.1	The <i>mufudzi/muchengeti</i> (shepherd/keeper) identity .....	204
6.3.2	<i>Mutendi</i> (believer) identity and transcendentalist imagination .....	209
6.3.3	<i>Mutadzi</i> identity as quest for individual liberation.....	224
6.3.4	The <i>kuguma</i> (escatology) identity as dramatic representation .....	230
6.4	SOCIAL IDENTITIES .....	240
6.4.1	The <i>umai</i> (motherhood) and <i>ubaba</i> (fatherhood) identities .....	241
6.5	CONCLUSION .....	271

## **CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

7.1	INTRODUCTION.....	272
7.2	THE RELEVANCE OF THE TOPIC .....	272
7.3	THE IMPORTANCE OF A COMBINATORIAL THEORETICAL SCHEME .....	274
7.4	LAND AND HISTORY MEANINGS AS CONTESTABLE .....	279
7.5	IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION AS EVALUATION OF POLITICAL BEHAVIOUR .....	281
7.6	SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS IDENTITIES AND THE EVALUATION ORDINARY LIFE .....	284
7.7	THE LARGER SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY, GAPS AND RECOMMENDATIONS .....	287
	<b>REFERENCES</b> .....	289
	<b>APPENDIX</b> .....	317

## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS**

AIPPA – Access to Information and Protection from Privacy Act

Cde – Comrade

BSA – Broadcasting Services Act

EFZ – Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe

EU – European Union

GNS – Grand Narrative Songs

GNU – Government of National Unity

MDC – Movement for Democratic Change

MDC-T - Movement for Democratic Change (Tsvangirai)

POSA – Public Order and Security Act

Sadc – Southern African Development Community

SFL – Systemic Functional Linguistics

SOL – Songs of Ordinary Life

SSS – Small Stories Songs

SVS – Small Voices Songs

Zanla – Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army

Zanu-PF – Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front)

(PF) Zapu - (Patriotic Front) Zimbabwe African People's Union

ZDF – Zimbabwe Defence Forces

ZEC – Zimbabwe Electoral Commission

ZIDERA – Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act

Zipra – Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army

ZBC – Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation

ZRP – Zimbabwe Republic Police

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

#### 1.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I outline the scope of my study articulating the rationale motivating my decision to do research on the post-2000 Shona popular song. I also justify the multi-perspective approach I adopted for the study. Three major reasons can be identified for embarking on this kind of study namely: my observation of the unique appropriation of the popular song for communicating various public discourses in the turbulent post-2000 period in Zimbabwe; the gaps in terms of coverage of scholars' studies of songs and theoretical approaches by previous researchers; my own previous research and teaching background in popular music and my personal interest in music in the context of my society.

#### 1.2 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

The study focuses on how post-2000 Zimbabwe is narrativized in the popular song-genre (expressed mostly in the Shona language) in order to explore the communicative properties of the song-genre in its function as a site for the construction and contestation of meanings concerning land and history and political, social and religious identities. I use the term song-genre because the popular song in Shona in particular and other African languages in general has its own generic features. I focus only on songs whose lyrics are in Shona because I am linguistically competent in the language. It is not only my mother-tongue, but also the language I studied and taught up to tertiary level. Besides, songs with Shona as their language of expression offer a broader coverage of post-2000 experiences by virtue of the fact that it is the preferred language used by local artists in composing their songs. Shona is the mother-tongue of the majority of Zimbabweans (at least 80 percent) while nearly the entire population can speak or understand Shona. The popular song has become one of the most influential mediums for public discourses in contemporary Zimbabwe, arguably surpassing the print and electronic media.<sup>1</sup> Songs bring diverse issues of societal concern into the public sphere where they are confirmed or debated. The textuality of the Shona popular song is consequently an arena for the constructions and contestations of meanings between political organizations and

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<sup>1</sup> Mano (2007) and Allen (2004), and Finnegan (1970) before them, have all pointed to the fact that in Africa where the majority of people live in the rural areas and even in urban areas where not everyone has access to the media popular songs act in a significant way as mass media. Although as music they are used for entertainment, popular songs are also a platform for disseminating information, conveying opinions: influencing public debate, etc., in similar ways to what the mass media do.

for the construction of identities in terms of human behaviour. For this reason, the textuality of the song as a conduit of public discourses is not neutral, but ideologically aligned to the stances of political parties and the social and religious perspectives of individuals and institutions. Therefore, the appropriation of the song for rhetorical purposes requires exploration to establish how, as genre, the popular song is being manipulated to communicate these various discourses. I note that land, history and political identities constitute the main themes of high tellability<sup>2</sup> and of contestation (as in many of the politically-inclined songs), while social and religious identities are the pre-occupation of songs that are socially and religiously oriented.

In surveying the scholarship published so far on post-2000 Zimbabwean music, I observed that there was little in terms of exploring the language of the popular song to elucidate on why it has reached such a unique high level of appropriation in the Zimbabwean public sphere. I therefore found it imperative to analyze its rhetorical potential by focusing on how discourses on land, history and identities are communicated. I also found in the same scholarship that, despite the heightened appropriation of the song for public communicative purposes, by way of theoretical approach there is little in terms of linguistically-rooted approaches. Such approaches are evidently necessary if an understanding of this unique popular song appropriation is to be achieved. I therefore decided to adopt a multi-dimensional framework which combines linguistic-based theories used to examine the linguistic properties of the songs' communicative purposes and those that assist in contextualizing the songs within their sources of ideological origin and in assessing how they engage each other in the public sphere. I chose the APPRAISAL theory (hereafter the theory and its sub-systems will be written in capital letters) as explained by White (2010; 2009; 1998) and Martin (2000) and the genre theory (Martin & Rose, 2008) to address the former theoretical concerns and Guha's (1996) "small voices in history"; Georgakopoulou's (2007) "small story" concepts and Ndebele's (2006) "the rediscovery of the ordinary" theory for the latter. In summary the theories, which I explain in more detail in section 1.4.1 below and in still greater detail in chapters two and three, coherently combined to provide me with conceptual tools useful to explain how the textual organization of the Shona popular song's various sub-genres communicates the discourses of the state, opposition and ordinary people.

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<sup>2</sup> This refers to the high interest a narrative has to its interlocutors or audience (Ochs & Capps, 2001: 33-34).

The events of the post-2000 period require some brief discussion to illustrate how they are connected to the popular song's unprecedented public appropriation within this time-frame. It is a turning point in Zimbabwe's socio-historical and political trajectory considering the innumerable events of national significance that have taken place. Historically speaking it is a very short period (only a decade), but in terms of national significance it is packed with events. Many of these events can be attributed to the rise of a more progressive opposition party, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) and the state's response to the opposition's drive for power. Shocked by the opposition's unprecedented show of political strength – by winning 57 seats in the 2000 parliamentary elections – the state's response precipitated a series of knock-on events with negative repercussions for the country. It sponsored the violent farm invasions under its ultra-nationalist banner of the Third Chimurenga resulting in political violence and the collapse of the economy. The opposition was relentlessly demonized in state discourses as *vatengesesi* (sellouts/quislings) bent on reversing the gains of independence (the land reform in particular) and promoting western powers' recolonization of the country. For that reason it was said to have no legitimate aspiration to rule and was condemned as having no liberation war credentials. As Raftopolous (2010) rightly observes, instead of electoral constitutionalism, the liberation struggle is used as the basis of sovereignty and legitimation to govern in Zimbabwe. The struggle to interpret history thus became a feature of post-2000 Zimbabwean politics as noted by Ranger (2004: 234), who has stated that “history is at the centre of politics in Zimbabwe far more than in any other Southern African country.”

The struggle to interpret history saw popular music being extensively marshaled to facilitate easy dissemination of both Zanu-PF and opposition meanings, concerning land and history. It became an arena for the parties to construct and deconstruct each other not only over what the history of the country means, but also over other political issues such as human rights; corruption; the constitution and the rule of law.<sup>3</sup> As the state incentivized artists, through legal and financial means to produce pro-state music, old *chimurenga* songs were revived, modified and new ones composed. The period far exceeded the pre-2000 era in its output of popular

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<sup>3</sup> Dick Chingaira and Marko Sibanda's state-sponsored albums, *Hondo yeMinda Volumes I and II* [The Struggle for Land] (2001), a collection of mostly redone Zanla and Zipra Choir *chimurenga* songs, were released at the height of the farm invasions to incite more invasions and to celebrate and construct a Zanu-PF version of the meaning of land, national history and sovereignty. Countless other pro-Zanu-PF songs as well as jingles promoting land reforms were to follow as the decade unfolded. In its attempt to delegitimize this version of history, the opposition has also resorted to making use of popular music whose lyrics contest and deconstructs Zanu-PF's interpretation of national history and legitimacy to rule.

songs because of the diversity of the musical genres (*chimurenga*;<sup>4</sup> *sungura*;<sup>5</sup> gospel; urban grooves; reggae; jazz; *jiti*<sup>6</sup> and *mbira*<sup>7</sup>) and their appropriation for political and other rhetorical purposes. It also saw politicians (members of parliament and cabinet ministers<sup>8</sup>) becoming musicians to disseminate their parties' ideologies. Concerning the opposition it was not only interesting to note that it too saw the importance of employing popular songs for political mobilization and the communication of its message, but also that its music proliferated despite its proscription and deprivation of sonic space on state television and radio. However, I noted additionally that, although politically-oriented songs became widespread, it would be misleading (despite what the vast of previous scholarship indicates) to view the period as characterized exclusively by political songs or to make the assumption that every song points to the political. Socially and religiously oriented music with its pre-occupation with largely ordinary life and apolitical commentary flourished more than ever before. Thus, for the popular song there were clearly new contexts and conditions distinctive of the post-2000 era in Zimbabwe that required investigation.

My teaching and research on popular music at the Zimbabwe College of Music from 2001 to 2005 not only broadened my interest in music, but also gave me an opportunity to interact with musicians of diverse musical genres. I became extremely interested and determined to acquire greater understanding of the role of music in society.

### 1.3 LITERATURE REVIEW

I review existing literature on Zimbabwean popular music in this section with a view to distinguishing the focus of my own study from previous analyses. The literature I examine is that which has focused on songs that use the Shona language as their medium of expression. The reasons for the linguistic demarcation are: firstly, as pointed out earlier, the lyrics of songs I analyze are mostly in Shona, a phenomenon resulting from the fact that Shona is the

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<sup>4</sup> This is a musical genre expressing anti-colonial and anti-imperialist sentiments that began during the struggle for independence. It is identified more by such sentiments than musical style.

<sup>5</sup> This is a musical genre whose origins are traced back to the 1950s and 1960s when rumba and *kanindo* from former Zaire and East Africa came to Zimbabwe (then Rhodesia). Today it has taken on its own distinctive beat and rhythm, with a generally fast tempo.

<sup>6</sup> Also called *pfonda*, *jiti* is a traditional music genre for the youth. In the past it was performed during moonlight nights during the dry season. In modern times it has been guitarized; it is also characterized by its fast beat.

<sup>7</sup> The term refers to a musical instrument (also called thumb piano) and the music it produces. It is used mostly for religious ceremonies, but is also now associated with the *chimurenga* musical genre.

<sup>8</sup> Paul Madzore, the MDC-T MP for Glen View is now a renowned politician-cum-musician of anti-state music. Nelson Chamisa, the MDC-T national organizing secretary and Minister of Information Technology recorded in 2010 an album entitled *Real change*. The late Elliot Manyika, former Zanu-PF national commissar and minister without portfolio, recorded a number of albums for the state's Third Chimurenga Project.

mother-tongue of over 80 percent of the Zimbabwean population. Naturally the phenomenon results in the bulk of the popular music using Shona for its lyrics. Secondly, and related to the first point is the fact that the majority of artists prefer to use Shona for the composition of their lyrics (for commercial reasons, besides linguistic competence), so, linguistically the Zimbabwean musical repertoire is Shona dominated and thus most researches have focused on musical lyrics of Shona expression. Most of the literature I review below has been published since 2000 not only due to the fact that it is the period in which my study is situated, but also because prior to that there are very few researches related to the theoretical and focal issues my study is concerned with. In view of the literature I reviewed, I therefore justify the unique focus of my topic by reasons I group into two categories – theoretical and focal.

Theoretically, my research is linguistically driven, intending to establish the various ways language is manipulated for communicative purposes. In terms of focalization, selection of songs is inclusive, i.e., incorporating into the analysis songs of varied authorial stances. Thus, as I will demonstrate in this section, unlike previous researchers who in their conclusions assume that “everything must make a spectacular political statement” (Ndebele, 2006: 51), my conclusions point to and include socially and religiously-oriented voices – i.e., issues of ordinary life.

The approaches to the study of popular music in Zimbabwe have been largely historical; ethnomusicological; literary; gender-based; biblical/theological and media-based, but barely linguistically-orientated. What is more, although emerging from these different disciplinary angles, their conclusions (as I demonstrate) all pointed to the political. Vambe’s (2004a; 2004b) approach to popular songs is largely historical and literary. In the former work he examines the trends the *chimurenga* musical genre has taken in post-colonial Zimbabwe. He criticizes previous researchers (e.g. Turino, 2000 and Kwaramba, 1997) for proffering a “monolithic” conception of the *chimurenga* music genre and in the process limiting the genre to the “bi-polar dialectic of state versus civilian struggle” (2004a: 169). He argues that this creates the impression that the genre was only associated with the liberation struggle when in reality other versions of *chimurenga* music emerged after 1980. Focusing on the music of Oliver Mtukudzi, Dickson Chingaira, Thomas Mapfumo and Simon Chimbetu, Vambe sees a post-colonial expansion of *chimurenga* music into versions based on a particular musician’s ideological persuasion. In the latter work he analyzes Thomas Mapfumo’s *Toi Toi* album as

“narrative discourse”. He pays attention to how Zimbabwean history and its popular struggles are musically textured to the effect that Mapfumo’s songs “become musical text or narrative discourse” (Vambe, 2004b: 91).

Turino (2000) makes a comprehensive ethnomusicological analysis of the evolution of pre-2000 Zimbabwean popular music assessing, how indigenous musical and other cultural expressions were shaped by their interface with and adaptation to cosmopolitan and capitalist values. He also sees the music’s responses to colonialism through African (cultural) nationalism as crucial in shaping the repertoire of Zimbabwe’s modern popular music. He seeks to explain “the continuities and parallel cultural effects of colonialism, nationalism and cosmopolitanism” (2000: 4), a phenomenon which transformed Zimbabwean music from being uncompensated to musical professionalism based on contracts (Mphande, 2001: 209). The relevance of Turino’s book to this study lies in its theorization of the connection between popular music and politics especially with regard to how music was marshaled historically to service the political nationalist movement, a phenomenon he calls musical nationalism. The same reality has continued in the context of the so-called Third Chimurenga in the period under study in my dissertation. Turino’s discussion of local social and cultural identities in shaping popular music in Zimbabwe is invaluable to my own study which locates its analysis of the construction of identities within the same socio-historical, cultural and political contexts. However, in this study I do not limit my analysis of identity construction only to the political, but extend it to the construction of ordinary, individual identities.

Kwaramba (1997) makes a historical and linguistic analysis of Mapfumo’s music by focusing on a few selected songs of this popular musician, in search of the distinctive features of the *chimurenga* music genre whose origins are now largely associated with Mapfumo. Although she examines some linguistic features of the artist’s songs, my linguistic focus is not to establish the linguistic features of a particular musical genre, but to determine how songs’ lyrics can be classified across musical genres according to their rhetorical purposes. Sibanda (2004) focuses on four of Mtukudzi’s songs recorded between 1997 and 2000 in order to proffer the thesis that the popular singer’s music is “a vehicle for socio-political commentary” (p. 38) despite this singer’s insistence on the apoliticality of his music. Investigating the literary and musical devices used by the singer, Sibanda argues that politically-charged messages are embedded in the songs and can be metaphorically deduced if one decodes the Shona riddles and innuendo that Mtukudzi uses.

Chikowero (2008) approaches Zimbabwean popular music from a historical perspective. He makes a “narrative history” of the challenges encountered by Zimbabwean musicians during the mentioned period in their attempt to earn adequately, considering the contribution of their music to cultural and national identity. He is more interested in making a narrative of the challenges and no clear postcolonial identities have been articulated in his study. As for my study, I examine not only how political identity construction is achieved through the marshaling of various linguistic resources, but also social and religious identity construction. In a more or less similar approach, Scannell (2001) examines the complex impact of radio and record companies on the lives of musicians as they endeavour to earn a living from their music.

Manase (2009) examines the ambivalent co-option of urban grooves artists in the state’s anti-western propaganda campaign in Zimbabwe. He argues that while youthful artists indeed worked hand in glove in the state-perceived anti-imperialist campaign, their music is also subversive towards the very state forces they are meant to support. Manase’s observation is important in noting that music that is explicitly pro-state can also carry sub-textual state criticisms. Thram (2006) investigates the way in which popular music is used “in the ‘politicization of memory’” in post-colonial Zimbabwe. Hers is a double-pronged argument indicating that Mugabe’s regime revives Second Chimurenga musical nationalism to evoke liberation war memory as a propagandist strategy, and also that (borrowing from Werbner 1995: 112) “the ultra-patriotic nationalism promoted ... by the regime as its claim for political legitimacy has offended cultural values with greater historical depth, re-opened buried wounds from past terror, and given birth to a pervasive disenchantment and fear among the populace who are not part of the power elite” (Thram, 2006: 76). Her contextualization of the songs’ discussion by means of relating it to the project of ‘patriotic history’ is also important to my study’s analysis of political songs. Ranger (2004: 215) argues that in post-colonial Zimbabwe, the notion of ‘patriotic history’ has been resuscitated to justify Zanu-PF’s continued stay in power and as a necessary prolongation of Zimbabwe’s ‘revolutionary tradition’. However, as I stated earlier, my study is linguistically-driven in terms of its theoretical approach and broader in terms of its song coverage, thus distinguishing itself from Manase and Thram’s focus in that sense.

Kahari's text (1981) represents one of the pioneering works of research on the popular song in post-colonial Zimbabwe alongside Pongweni's *Songs that Won the Liberation Struggle* (1982). Kahari attempts to establish the link between the modern and traditional protest songs by traversing Shona history looking at how the Shona protest song was composed or revived with recourse to previous periods during different epochs from the pre-colonial to the post-colonial period. His identification of different types of protest songs from Shona folklore is an indication of the attempt to classify (protest) songs to clarify their rhetorical purposes. He identifies six types of protest songs: a protest song sung by a married woman against her mother-in-law; traditional war song; traditional religious song; the *bembera* (ironic hyperbole); the folktale song and the dance song. Whereas Kahari does not give an in-depth analysis of the songs to identify their linguistic features and subsequently provide distinctive names to the song genres he studies, in my study I make a typology that is more linguistically-grounded. Besides, by putting a song under a specific sub-genre, I also categorized songs into clusters in order to illustrate the major ideological contexts from which the songs emerge.

Pongweni's (1982) pioneering work on *chimurenga* songs explores mainly Zanla Choir songs' role in sustaining the nationalist armed struggle. His intention is not only to document the liberation war through the song, but also to celebrate independence through the nationalist aesthetic that dominated the arts in the 1980s. He classifies songs into the following seven clusters: "songs for conscientization; songs of argument by proxy; songs of appeal to the ancestors; *harambee* songs; songs of appeal for assistance and the expression of gratitude; songs inspired by tribulation and songs of defiance and derision" (Masilela, 1984: 597). Following a similar approach, Pfukwa (2008) examines songs sung by Zanla guerrillas as creating cultural nationalism (see also Turino, 2000, 2008) because, now in retrospect, they are "historical narratives" which reflect "a stage in the cultural development of the nation" (Pfukwa, 2008: 48). Like Pongweni (1982) before him, he classifies the songs on the basis of their intended purpose during the liberation war. In retrospect he views them as "historical narratives." Muchemwa (2010) discusses how the Zimbabwean postcolony is reconstructed through musical galas and *biras*<sup>9</sup> and state funerals, arguing that these have become the spectacle through which Zanu-PF creates a "grand narrative that seeks to colonise all aspects of everyday life and to occlude alternative fashionings of national identity" (p. 506). Borrowing from Mbembe (2001), he sees this as a broad strategy used by the regime to

dramatize its magnificence and maintain its hegemony and legitimate its power to govern. Since popular songs are one of the oral and aural mechanisms the state uses to narrate its version of national identity, Muchemwa's work is useful in my analysis of how the political identities are constructed through nationalist-oriented song texts. However, Muchemwa's interest is not in analyzing song texts but only in assessing the use of the musical festivals for state hegemony. Furthermore, like the rest of the scholars I have reviewed so far, his study is only concerned with the politically-oriented functions of popular music.

Other scholars have examined popular music in Zimbabwe from a religious vantage point. Chitando (2002) analyzes the way in which religious and political discourses engage each other in Zimbabwe. He incorporates into his discussion the ways in which political slogans are appropriated by preachers and gospel music singers and in turn religious songs appropriated by politicians. A similar but differently directed work is Mapuranga and Chitando's (2006) article which views gospel songs produced between the late 1990s and 2005 as a strategy for national hope, healing and regeneration in country torn apart by political strife and its attendant economic crisis. Gwekwerere (2009) examines Zimbabwean gospel music produced in the period 1980-2007. Her thesis is that in the 1980s gospel music was celebratory and conformist, but its mood changed to being critical of government malpractices, political violence and economic mismanagement from the 1990s to 2007. The importance to my study of these scholars' works is their conscious attention to the complex nexuses between music and politics in Zimbabwe. But again, my study differentiates itself from theirs by its inclusivity in terms of songs' authorial stances. From a biblical perspective Togarasei (2007) theologizes on the controversial view whether gospel musicians produce their music solely in pursuit of money and/or for spreading the Christian message. He contends that there is "biblical justification" for the gospel artists to benefit materially from their music in view of the roles of "preaching", "advocacy", "counseling and consolation" and "giving hope" to society through their music. In another article, "The Implication of the Dominance of Women in the Zimbabwean Music Industry for the Ordination of Women" (2004), Togarasei makes a related but different theological argument that, because women "play pastoral roles like teaching and counseling" through their gospel music, "there is no basis for denying women ordination" (2004: 239).

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<sup>9</sup> The term is an anglicised Shona noun, *bira* (usually an all-night religious performance in honour of the ancestors). In post-2000 it was adopted by the state to refer an annual all-night musical performance in honour of the late vice president, Simon Muzenda.

From a media perspective, Mano (2007) considers popular music as media, illustrating the claim with reference to songs by Mtukudzi; Mapfumo; Alick Macheso; Chimbetu and Leonard Zhakata. He is in harmony with Allen (2004: 1) who emphasizes that, unlike in western democracies where the public voice their concern through the media, in Africa “music constitutes one of the primary media” through which people voice their concerns. In a sense, even in modern Africa where literacy has grown, popular songs still play their traditional function of being a “newspaper” in many African societies (Finnegan, 1970: 272). Mano’s argument is that “popular music potentially plays a journalistic role by communicating messages that are either ignored or underplayed by mainstream mass media” (2007: 63).

In view of the foregoing, I conclude this section by recapitulating the theoretical and focal distinctiveness of my study by listing five points. Firstly, there is currently no research that has attempted a systematic examination of Zimbabwean popular songs as a body or corpus of songs assessing the rhetorical potential of the songs through a close study of their linguistic resources; classification of the songs and the interactive nature of the categories of songs within the various ideological contexts (historical, socio-political, cultural and economic) shaping and informing the songs’ communicative purposes. Secondly, in employing the APPRAISAL perspective (see 1.4.1) in particular and in general a multi-perspectival approach, my research is (to my knowledge) the first to make a detailed and in-depth analysis of how identity construction in songs is a form of evaluating human behaviour. Thirdly, my study is also the first to attempt a clearer and sustained delineation between the individual and collective identities conveyed in Shona popular songs. The importance of the theme of identity construction in African popular music has been noted by a number of scholars. For instance, Nyamnjoh (2005: 353) points out that African “musicians have used their songs in order to achieve personal and collective identities that are of political significance”, while Turino (2008: 94) states that lately ethnomusicologists have also realized “the importance of music for expressing and creating social identities”. Fourthly, as I demonstrate in chapter six, research on popular music in Zimbabwe has largely essentialized politically-oriented music, ignoring a huge body of songs dealing with ordinary life. Finally, as my review has illustrated, research so far has mainly been interested in music of a particular artist or specific musical genres, thus providing sectional views of how Zimbabwean post-2000 is narrativized in popular songs. I contend that, although such studies are certainly necessary in a field where there is in many respects still a paucity of research, there is need to widen the scope of

popular songs if a broader understanding of the complexity of the full spectrum of the realities of post-2000 Zimbabwe is to be achieved.

#### **1.4 THE NATURE AND PURPOSE OF THE STUDY**

The major goal of the study is to investigate the ways in which the Shona popular song-genre functions as a medium for narrativizing post-2000 Zimbabwe through framing and interpreting meanings concerning land and history and also in constructing social, political and religious identities. To achieve this goal, I specifically identify the communicative properties of the songs in order to establish their rhetorical potential. Ultimately these endeavours help me to explain how and why history and land meanings and identities are formulated and contested in the ways that this is done. To achieve these goals, I adopt a multi-perspectivized discourse analytic framework combining four complementary theories namely, APPRAISAL, genre, “small stories/voices” and “rediscovery of the ordinary” theories. The theories are compatible because they complement rather than contradict each other in the endeavour to explain the rhetorical potential of texts on the basis of their communicative properties. They mutually contribute in realizing the point that “looking at language forms and structures without relating them to socio-cultural processes and self-identities is increasingly out of place within linguistically minded research” (Georgakopoulou, 2007: 2).

##### **1.4.1 Theoretical approach**

In this sub-section I briefly explain how I utilize the multi-perspective approach that I adopted for the study. In more detail, I explain the APPRAISAL theory in chapters two and five; the “small story/voices” in chapter three and “the rediscovery of the ordinary” perspective in chapters three and six.

Because the study’s major goal is to explain how attitudes or inter-subjective stances regarding land, history and identities, are constructed and contested, I employ APPRAISAL (White, 2010, 2009, 1998; Martin, 2000) as the main theoretical framework for the study. The theory is concerned with analyzing the language of evaluation in written/oral texts. It proffers linguistic devices “for the systematic analysis of *evaluation* and stance as they operate in whole texts and groupings of texts” and the ways in which language is used in texts to “express, negotiate, and naturalize particular inter-subjective and ultimately ideological positions” (White, 2010: 2). *Evaluation* refers to “the expression of the speaker or writer’s attitude or stance towards viewpoints on, or feelings about the entities or propositions

[statements] that he or she is talking about” (Thompson & Hunston, 2000: 5; Bednarek, 2010: 15). Thus the various contesting meanings concerning land, history and identities constructed in the Shona popular song-genre and their ideological sources and communicative effects are effectively analyzed using this theory.

Georgakoupolou & Goutsos (2004: 5) elucidate the APPRAISAL theory stating that as a discourse analytic framework APPRAISAL “is more concerned with the ways in which socio-cultural and ideological practices take effect in language”. This is important because while I explore the language of evaluation of the song texts, I do so with conscious reference to the historical, socio-cultural and political contexts from which the composers and musicians derive the ideas that shape their opinions, attitudes and stances. Of APPRAISAL’s three main semantic areas of evaluation (ATTITUDE, ENGAGEMENT<sup>10</sup> and GRADUATION<sup>11</sup>), I mainly employ ATTITUDE since it consists of the main linguistic techniques (AFFECT, JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION) that I find more useful to demonstrate the communicative effects of the various meanings and positions in texts. ATTITUDE refers to the meanings by which texts “attach an inter-subjective value or assessment to particular participants and processes by reference either to emotional responses or to systems of culturally-determined value systems” (White, 2009: 4). AFFECT deals with attitudinal meanings through reference to emotion, i.e., an analysis of a text can illustrate whether its writer/speaker is expressing positive or negative emotions about something. JUDGEMENT is the meaning that shows acceptability or non-acceptability of human behaviour by reference to moral and social norms of society. Lastly, APPRECIATION refers to the evaluation of non-human beings or objects through reference to “aesthetic principles or other systems of social value” (White, 2009: 4). I give specific illustrations of these terms with lyrics of songs in chapters four, five and six.

The genre theory was developed particularly by Martin & Rose (2008) (see also Bhatia, 2004, 1993; White, 2010, 2009, 1993) in their study of various stories written by primary school children in Australia in the 1980s. To accomplish this they examined the recurring global patterns within each story, i.e., how events in a story’s text unfold. A genre was characterized

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<sup>10</sup> ‘Engagement’ means the linguistic “resources for positioning the speaker/author’s voice with respect to the various propositions and proposals conveyed by a text’s meanings by which speakers either acknowledge or ignore the diversity of viewpoints put at risk by their utterances and negotiate an interpersonal space for their own positions within that diversity” (White, 2009: 1-2).

<sup>11</sup> ‘Graduation’ refers to, first, the “values by which speakers graduate (raise or lower) the interpersonal impact, force or volume of their utterances”, and secondly, values “by which they graduate (blur or sharpen) the focus of their semantic categorizations” (White, 2009: 2).

as a “staged, goal oriented social process” because its use takes “more than one step” to reach a goal(s). It is goal oriented because people “feel frustrated if they don’t accomplish the final steps” and “social because writers shape their texts for readers of a particular kind” (Martin & Rose, 2008: 6). From the point of view of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) this implies that, “genres are defined as a recurrent configuration of meanings and that these recurrent configurations of meaning enact the social practices of a given culture” (Martin & Rose, 2008: 6). Using this linguistic principle, I make a typology of the Shona popular song by mapping the way its “constituent parts fit together to form a functional unity”. This functional unity forms a song’s “central communicative purpose” (White, 1998: 47). As Bhatia (1993: 47) notes, a text’s central communicative purpose is the most important factor in genre identification. Martin & Rose (2008) classify the texts into a genre system consisting of recounts; anecdotes; exemplums; narratives and observations (see chapter two for the definitions and exemplifications of these terms by specific song texts). Whereas some Shona popular song types can be described by these terms, the theory does not cater for all song types. Consequently, as I demonstrate in chapter two, I extend this typology as I discovered more types of songs with rhetorical purposes that go beyond those Martin & Rose (2008) identified in the stories they analyzed. I name these song types as praise; celebratory; didactic; cautionary; rupture; mobilization; persuasion; intimidation and argumentation to add to those by Martin & Rose (2008) that I mentioned earlier (see chapter two for the definitions and illustration of the terms). Because each term I adopt for a song type I identify expresses the functional unity of the song (i.e., in terms of its lexico-grammatical features), the typology enabled me to establish why and how each song-genre is used for a specific communicative purpose and also how the various song genres are inter-related.

The genre theory paves the way for the “small stories” approach (Georgakopoulou, 2007, 2006a, 2006b; Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008; Bamberg, 2006, 2004) which facilitates the categorization of the various sub-genres into three main clusters – “grand narrative songs”; “small story/voices songs” and “songs of ordinary life” (see chapter two) on the basis of the origin of their ideological concerns. Furthermore, the theory also permits me to justify the inclusion into my study of the bulk of the song texts that have been occluded from academic research and/or proscribed by the state. I conceptualize the framework as related to Guha’s (1996) “small voices in history” perspective, which argues that narratives which make up the discourse of history are depended on making a choice between the historiography of statism and the people’s own choice about how they relate to and view their past. To choose

the latter is “to try and relate to the past by listening to and conversing with the myriad of voices in civil society”, “small voices which are drowned in the noise of statist commands” (Guha, (1996: 3). The theory is useful in explaining the influence of politics on music in Zimbabwe. “Small stories” is an all-encompassing term “that covers a gamut of under-represented narrative activities” (Georgakopoulou, 2007: vii, 2, 36; Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008: 381). Thus I conceptualize pro-opposition songs and songs on ordinary life as under-represented scholarly, let alone the former’s proscription by the state as well. Finally, as the “small voice/story” approach is also “a perspective in narrative and identity analysis” (Georgakopoulou, 2007: ix; Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008: 377) and historical identity (Guha, 1996), I utilize its tools of interactional analysis which are helpful in the identification of identity-making in texts.

#### **1.4.2 Research questions**

The study attempts to answer the following six research questions:

- Why has the Shona popular song-genre become so influential in post-2000 Zimbabwe?
- What are its generic features and (hence) its distinctiveness as a genre?
- What are its various sub-genres and their communicative purposes?
- How are the song genres and clusters inter-related in the taleworld?
- How effective is the popular song in narrativizing post-2000 Zimbabwe?
- What are the rhetorical strategies adopted in the popular song (to enhance its rhetorical potential)?

### **1.5 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

In order to establish how the Shona popular song narrativizes post-2000 Zimbabwe through their commentaries on land, history and identities, I collected recorded songs sung in Shona produced during the period, 2000-2011. I collected only recorded songs because these were easier to access as compared to unrecorded ones. In making the collection of the songs I did not pay attention to which artist sang a particular song or what his/her gender was or to what musical genre a particular song belongs. The reason behind this decision was that I was primarily concerned with the examination of the structure of the Shona popular song genre in

order to explain its communicative potential so that the communicative properties I discover could be used to study any popular song. I collected over 400 songs to ensure that I cover in my analysis all or as many sub-genres of the popular song as possible. Although I collected only recorded songs, I was able to cover all forms of Shona songs, since all types of songs in Zimbabwe, ranging from traditional to modern, have now been recorded.

I then transcribed the lyrics of the songs into the written form. After that I employed Martin & Rose's (2008) (genre theory) principle of recurring global linguistic patterns to identify the communicative purpose of each song. As mentioned above, the result was a typology of fourteen song sub-genres – praise; celebratory; didactic; cautionary; rupture; mobilization; persuasion; intimidation; argumentation; exemplum; anecdote; narrative; observation and recount. This typology is illustrated and explained in chapter two. In demonstrating how the popular song is appropriated in the Zimbabwean public sphere for disseminating various discourses, I selected relevant song types from the (collected) huge body of songs. These songs, which I specifically use to illustrate my thesis, appear in the appendix to the study. Another important step taken to establish my typology of the songs was the identification of sub-rhetorical meanings in the songs which add up to the main rhetorical purpose of a particular song. I did this using Bhatia's (1993: 30) concept of rhetorical moves, i.e. a stage in a text's communicative process that serves a specific communicative intention "subservient to the overall communicative purpose of the genre". I have marked all the possible rhetorical moves of a particular song using bold small letters and in a few cases alpha-numerically in order to identify sub-rhetorical moves (see for instance the song "Bayethe" ("Hail [Lord Jesus]")) in chapter six, sub-section 6.3.4.2). The exercise enabled me to discover the nature of the multi-rhetorality of the Shona popular song or the extent of its rhetorical potential.

Having established a taxonomy of the songs, I then employed the "small voices in history" (Guha, 1996); the "small stories" (Georgakopoulou, 2007) and "the rediscovery of the ordinary" (Ndebele, 2006) theories to categorize the various song genres in terms of the sources of their ideological impetus. Using the first two theories I categorize songs whose rhetorical purposes are politically-oriented into two clusters. The first cluster which I call "grand narratives songs" (hereafter abbreviated GNS) consists of pro-state (i.e., pro-Zanu-PF) songs. The second comprises songs communicating opposition sentiments which I term "small story/voices songs" (hereafter SVS or SSS). Using Ndebele's theory I refer to songs expressing apolitical sensibilities as "songs of ordinary life" (SOL). After making the above

taxonomies, I then in chapters four, five and six analyzed the lyrics of the selected songs to discover the ways in which they construct and evaluate the meanings pertaining to land, history and identities, using the APPRAISAL framework. The theory assists in exploring the various social functions to which language is put by the singers to express their opinions on land and history and the construction of the cited identities and thus in establishing the songs' rhetorical capacity and communicative purposes. However, I still continue throughout the study to refer to the other theories in order to solidify my analysis, demonstrating how the evaluation unravelled by the APPRAISAL theory is connected to the song sub-genres and clusters.

To enable the non-Shona speaker to have an idea of the songs' rhetorical purposes, I translated into English all the lyrics of the songs I used for my analyses in each chapter. However, to ensure that the meanings constructed in Shona through the rich figurative language (metaphor, idiom, simile, etc..) is not compromised, I restricted myself to analyzing only the Shona version of the lyrics. In concretizing the illustration of the rhetorical potential of the songs, especially because their capacity to communicate is enhanced by intertextuality, I also make reference to mostly recorded songs of the pre-2000 period and a few unrecorded ones.

## **1.6 ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY**

The main study is structured according to the following chapter division:

**Chapter One** presents the introduction to the study. In this chapter I provide a background to the study – the rationale behind the research; the research question; a literature review and a delineation of the theories I adopted for the study as well as a chapter outline.

**Chapter Two** presents a typology of the Shona popular song. This chapter introduces the APPRAISAL theory, makes a typology of the Shona popular song using the genre theory. I also identify the songs' organizational features and communicative purposes.

**Chapter Three** is concerned with the tripartite categorization of Shona popular songs. Employing three theories – the “small voices in history” (Guha, 1996); the “small stories” (Georgakopoulou, 2007) and “the rediscovery of the ordinary” concept (Ndebele, 2006) – I

categorize the songs into three clusters – ‘grand narratives songs’ (GNS); “small story/voices songs” (hereafter SVS or SSS) and “songs of ordinary life” (SOL).

**Chapter Four** explores the engagement of NGS and SSS over land and history meanings. I devote this chapter to assessing the ways NGS and SSS compete in the construction of meanings on history and land. I explain the historical, political and ideological reasons behind the meanings NGS songs communicate and analyze why they are contested in SSS.

**Chapter Five** examines identity construction as evaluation of political behaviour. Employing the APPRAISAL theory, I devote this chapter to evaluating the discursive construction of the identities of the MDC and Zanu-PF parties in SVS and GNS respectively. I demonstrate their use in evaluating the parties’ political behaviour for self-legitimation and how they engage in mutual delegitimation.

**Chapter Six** explores identity construction and the evaluation of ordinary life in SOL. In this chapter I discuss the construction of selected religious and social identities to show how Zimbabwean post-2000 ordinary life is narrativized in the popular songs. I complement the APPRAISAL theory with “the rediscovery of the ordinary” framework.

**Chapter Seven** presents the conclusions and recommendations. In this chapter I summarize the entire study, pointing out the contribution to knowledge made by my study; the major conclusions reached and observations noted; and recommendations for further research.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE TYPOLOGY OF THE SHONA POPULAR SONG-GENRE

#### 2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter outlines the APPRAISAL theory in order to demonstrate how it is linked to Martin & Rose's (2008) genre theory which I use to frame a typology of the Shona popular song-genre. Since my main objective is to establish the criteria for classifying the various popular song texts, I will only give a background to the APPRAISAL framework and then explain more in chapter five its concept of ATTITUDE that I mainly utilize in my analysis of the songs' evaluative meanings. To concretize the theory further, I will also borrow from Bhatia's (2004, 1993) concept of professional genre. In conceptualizing intertextuality as a key property of a song's structure, I will incorporate Bakhtin's theory of dialogic criticism since dialogue is an integral function of intertextuality. The typology the chapter intends to undertake explores the characteristic (linguistic) features of the popular song in order to identify the song's sub-genres through the analysis of its "central communicative purpose or function" (White, 1998: 47). The classification forms the initial taxonomical step that is followed in chapter three by a second typology based on the dynamics of power relations in post-2000 Zimbabwe. The two typologies are linked in that while the former helps in establishing the rhetorical mission of a song, the second seeks to understand how a song's rhetorical mission is relativized by the ideological communicative demands within post-2000 Zimbabwe's power relations. An analysis of the intertextuality of the Shona popular song is also necessary in order to effectively analyse the multi-layered meanings a song may transmit and also the effect(s) of the varied communicative modes it employs. The typology is of necessity as part of the study's main goal of trying to explain how Shona popular songs narrativize the post-2000 Zimbabwean realities. Hofmeyr (2004: 129) asserts in her summation of Karin Barber's<sup>1</sup> work on popular arts in Africa: "we first need to understand how texts work as texts *before* we can proceed to probe the broader questions of what these utterances tell us about the social and political world." I argue that there is a form-function correlation between the structure of the Shona popular song and its communicative purpose. The song is becoming highly intertextualized due to the communication demands being placed upon it in the post-2000 Zimbabwean political discourse environment.

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<sup>1</sup> See for instance, her articles, 1987. *Popular Arts in Africa*. *African Studies Review* 30(3): 1-78 and 1997. *Audiences in Africa*. *Africa* 67(3): 406-440 and the book she edited, 1997. *Readings in African Popular Culture*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

## 2.2 CLASSIFICATION OF SONGS

In general terms the classification of art forms is “the way creative arts are structured according to style” (Toynbee, 2000: 102). The importance of genre identification in the study of the arts is alluded to in Derrida’s rhetorical question: “can one identify a work of art of whatever sort ... if it does not bear the mark of a genre?” (quoted by Cohen, 1986: 204 and Toynbee, 2000: 103). There are generally two methods for classifying songs and music – those that follow the musical and non-musical criteria. The first entails identifying a musical genre on the basis of its characteristic style or “basic musical language” (Van der Merwe, 1989: 3) while the second focuses on geographical,<sup>2</sup> ethnic, class and other non-stylistic features. Creating musical taxonomies is not an easy task. With specific reference to musicology, Marx (2008: 27) states that the reason why musicologists may have earlier reneged from “genre category” “is that it is notoriously difficult to define”. However, it is necessary if an informed understanding of the nature of music and its performers and indeed its historical and contemporary social relevance are to be attained, especially in Africa where music is still appropriated for political, social, religious, media and other communicative purposes. In Zimbabwe the classification of songs has been done largely in ethnomusicological, musicological and oral literary studies. In the former two, classification has been based on the style of the musical sound or melody; its distinct rhythm that sets it apart from other musical sounds. Oral literary typologies have been ethnographic in their approaches, privileging such criteria as the social context in which a particular song is performed and/or the musical instruments that accompany it; style of vocalization; the thematic concerns of the songs; the performers of the song (men, women, hunters, initiates, etc.)<sup>3</sup> and many others (Okpewho, 1992: 127) (see also Kahari, 1982; Finnegan, 1970; Olatunji, 1984; Babalola, 1966). It is not the purpose of this chapter to deal with the problems associated with these approaches to classification. However, a summary of the problems is here given as the justification for the linguistic-based classification proffered in this chapter.

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<sup>2</sup> See Joyce Jenje Makwenda’s *Zimbabwe Township Music* (2005), in which musical styles are identified on the basis of location of performance, i.e. the townships (residential areas for blacks during colonial Zimbabwe).

<sup>3</sup> Early scholars of African oral literature (for instance, Malinowski, 1922, 1926; Bascom, 1949, 1955, 1965 and Ben-Amos, 1976, 1977) had proffered the idea that scholars and students of African orature should always incorporate the local people’s systems of classification because as the ‘enculturated listeners’ (Dell & Elmedlaoui, 2008) or “cultural insiders” (Agawu, 2003: 18) of their communities, they are much more qualified than outsiders to know about the aspects of their life that a particular song or any other oral literary genres is associated with (Okpewho, 1992: 127). Earlier this had been echoed by the Ugandan scholar P’Bitek (1986: 37) in reference to Acholi dance aesthetics in saying that, “It is only the participants in a culture who can pass judgement on it”.

### 2.1.1. Problems in Oral Literary Classification of Songs

Compelling as the ethnographic approaches may be, to depend “solely on the judgement of the indigenes”, they will not enable us to relate the multiplicity of shared features among not only songs from different African cultural and linguistic spheres (Okpewho, 1992: 127), but also the world over. Besides, the local criteria are in themselves heterogeneous, with songs categorized on the basis of “subject matter, by kinds of instruments used, by the style of vocalization, by the association to which the performers belong, [and] by the occasion during which the performance is done...” (Okpewho, 1992: 127).<sup>4</sup> Another taxonomical challenge has been associated with the tendency to differentiate between prose and verse, thus making poetry the category into which the song genre belongs in the poetry-prose binary. This dichotomy, as the first port of call before classifying any genre is made, is premised on the idea that on one hand songs are frequently accompanied by music (instrumental or humming) and on the other, prosaic forms like folktales do not largely rely on musical accompaniment for their delivery (Okpewho, 1992: 130). However, as will be illustrated in classification of Shona popular songs in this chapter, poetry, chants, folktales and slogans can be included in one song both as an intertextual stylistic device and rendition method the singer(s) adopt(s) to articulate their concerns. Even Okpewho’s (1992: 130) argument that there is need to move away from these indigenous criteria and adopt a thematic approach if we are to “carefully appreciate the essentially African as well as human message” transmitted in the various genres of African oral literature also posits problems.<sup>5</sup> It does not in all cases show us the purpose a particular song is intended to serve. While this could have been possible in traditional society, in contemporary times social reality has become complex and dynamic and so are the art forms that are created to respond to it. For instance, songs that may be grouped under the theme of love may not have the same communicative purpose – the purpose of one could be to court a maiden, the other to express the frustrations of romance,

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<sup>4</sup> To illustrate this argument, for instance, the Yoruba oral literary critic Babalola (1966: 23) emphatically argues that Yoruba oral poetry is “... best classified not so much by the themes as by the stylistic devices employed in recitals”. Here he privileges vocalization as the most reliable method stating that “the vocabulary of the Yoruba language has always contained specific words for the different types of Yoruba oral poetry classified according to the manner of voice projection employed for a particular poetic utterance” (Babalola, 1966: vi). While concurring with Babalola’s vocal stylization criteria, Olatunji (1984) is more inclined to the categorization of Yoruba songs using the song performer criteria.

<sup>5</sup> Thematic categorization entails identifying “the basic themes or concerns” of songs and other oral art forms (such as war, love, death, criticism and praise [Okpewho, 1992: 138]) instead of devoting one’s energy to making “futile attempts to reconcile the numerous local systems of classification” (Okpewho, 1992: 130). See also Nketia (1975: 189-202) who does the same, classifying songs thematically into “cradle”, “historical” and “general” songs.

the other to express gratification with one's partner, etc. Therefore, while a song's theme can be identified as love, religious, political, etc., the specific purpose for which a particular song in a broad thematic category is marshalled needs to be explored. This calls for a systematic analysis of the language of the song so as to determine its communicative intention.

In (ethno)musicological approaches where classification is based on the rhythm of the musical sound, classifying musical sounds has often been a complex exercise because musical sounds overlap, making it difficult to separate various sounds.<sup>6</sup> No musical text will have all the traits of the genre to which it belongs. Particular texts may precisely not be identical to the categories in which they are included. As a result genre is an elusive term, being neither a textual essence nor a comprehensive code" (Toynbee, 2000: 103). In contemporary market-conscious times the complexity is further exacerbated by the fact that musical styles "are constructed – and must be understood – *within* a commercial cultural process" (Frith, 1996: 89). This implies that the identification and naming of musical styles and sub-styles includes several stakeholders who in many cases have different interests pertaining to music – artists, record companies, music critics, DJs, audiences, academics, etc. (Turino, 2008: 23; Mano, 2007: 63; Street, 1986: 6).<sup>7</sup> The complexity of this typology does not end at merely identifying these major styles but also the sub-genres and even sub-sub-genres.<sup>8</sup> Therefore the oral literary and (etho)musicological) approaches to classification of songs discussed above do little in helping to appreciate the multi-functionality of popular songs in modern Zimbabwe, which like in the rest of modern Africa is produced to serve a particular function(s) – as media (Mano, 2007; Allen, 2004), as socio-political commentary (Nyamnjoh, 2006; Turino, 2000; Sibanda, 2004) and a tool for evangelism and therapy (Janzen, 2000, 1995; Friedson, 2000; Gouk, 2000; Lan, 1985; Pavlicevic, 1998; Okpewho, 1992: 138) and indeed the polyphony of each text. It is therefore important to seek an alternative method of

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<sup>6</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Music\\_genre](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Music_genre) (Accessed 11 September, 2011).

<sup>7</sup> For instance, McLeod's (2001: 60) study of "electronic/dance-oriented magazines and electronic/dance compilation CDs published or released in 1998 and 1999 yielded a list of more than 300 names". He therefore argues that "the process of naming new sub-genres... is not only directly related to the rapidly evolving nature of the music itself. It is also a function of the marketing strategies of record companies, accelerated by consumer culture..." (McLeod, 2001: 60).

<sup>8</sup> There are three main categories into which Zimbabwean music styles can be grouped namely, local, regional and international. Local music styles often called traditional or indigenous music styles include *mbira*, *jiti/pfonda*<sup>8</sup>, *mhande*,<sup>8</sup> *katekwe*,<sup>8</sup> *chimurenga*<sup>8</sup> and urban grooves. While they still stand on their own as distinct music genres, they have also been appropriated by other music genres (e.g. gospel, urban grooves, *chimurenga*, jazz and *sungura*<sup>8</sup>) making it difficult to classify them using their distinct rhythmic sounds. This is particularly the case with *chimurenga* and gospel music genres. Modern local styles include *sungura/museve*, *chimurenga*, gospel and urban grooves.

classifying Zimbabwean popular songs that will necessitate a better understanding of their multi-voicedness.

### **2.3 THE APPRAISAL FRAMEWORK**

In this section I outline the development of the APPRAISAL framework in order to connect it with the genre theory, which I employ in 2.4 and its sub-sections to classify texts of the Shona popular song. As I stated in chapter one, APPRAISAL is a theoretical framework for analysing the language of evaluation in oral or written texts. Its roots can be traced to SFL in the works, for instance, of Matthiessen (1995); Halliday (1994) and Martin (1992). It was given impetus during its infancy by scholars of educational linguistics, such as Martin (2000); Christie & Martin (1997) and Iedema, Feez & White (1994), in their development of genre-based literacy programmes in Australia (White, 2011: 2). Its primary function is with the social function of linguistic resources, not merely as the tool by which speakers/authors convey their feelings and adopt positions, “but as the means by which they engage with socially-determined value positions and thereby align and dis-align themselves with the social subjects who hold to these positions” (White, 2011: 2). Thus as Martin (2000: 145) elaborates, the term ‘APPRAISAL’ refers to “the semantic resources used to negotiate emotions, judgements, and evaluations alongside resources for amplifying and engaging with these evaluations”.

The SFL tradition from which the theory was born upholds two central tenets concerning language and its users. The first is that any linguistic phenomenon can best be explained in terms of “the social functions performed by language”, i.e. in terms of “the functional demands placed upon language by its users” (White, 2011: 2). The second is that the social functions performed by language can be grouped into three categories – the interpersonal (i.e. social functions “by which social roles and relationships are constructed”); the textual (those by which texts are made coherent, both internally and in terms of the context in which they operate) and the ideational (the functions by which language represents the world of experience) (White, 2011: 2). Within this context, APPRAISAL deals with “developing the account of interpersonal functionality, with extending descriptions and understanding of those aspects of language by which speakers/writers construct for themselves particular identities or personae and by which they position themselves and those they address” (White, 2011: 2).

Whereas a wide range of texts were analysed in the 1980s and 1990s to exemplify the theory, the framework had more leverage on analysing modes of narratives and the variation of style

in journalistic texts. With regard to journalistic discourse, functional linguists intended to know whether the author of a newspaper report performed in his/her story the role of a commentator, reporter or correspondent. They observed that “these different ‘styles’ or ‘voices’ were associated with certain combinations of appraisal, certain syndromes of choices from the resources of evaluation and stance” (White, 2011: 3; see also Martin, 2000; Iedema, Feez & White, 1994). This led to an interest in the function of these syndromes “in the discursive construction of authorial/speaker personae and the modelling by texts of ‘ideal’ or ‘intended’ readerships/audiences” (see for instance, White, 2003, 2000; Korner, 2001; Fuller, 1998). Concerning modes of narratives, Australian functionalists aimed at establishing a format for presenting a taxonomy of sub-genres of storytelling. They came up with a number of narrative sub-types some of which they termed ‘anecdotes’ and others ‘exemplums’. They noted that the former stories were characterized by a distinctive evaluative orientation of evoking “a shared emotional reaction between narrator and audience. This contrasted with what they termed ‘the exemplum’, a sub-type concerned with evaluations of human actors in terms of morality, social esteem and social acceptability” (White, 2011: 2).

Two central issues informed these research endeavours. The first was the question of the nature of attitude, i.e. how do texts activate positive or negative evaluations? The second had to do with how texts adopt a stance towards these evaluations and related evaluative meanings. How are these assessments and related meanings negotiated intersubjectively? The various answers that functional linguists to these questions have proffered have contributed towards moulding APPRAISAL theory to its current state. In employing this theory (in combination with others) to study Shona popular song texts, I therefore intend to contribute in addressing these questions. However, as White (2011: 3) asserts, it should be noted that in focusing on

questions of attitudinal positioning and the discursive construction of communities of shared values, the APPRAISAL framework addresses an area of linguistic enquiry which has only relatively recently come into the linguistic mainstream.

Consequently Malrieu (1999: 114) argues that in spite of a variety of previous linguistic researches on meaning, “very little attention has been paid to evaluation in language”. In response to that the development of APPRAISAL has been pre-occupied with exploring “new approaches to linguistic taxonomizing and new modes of linguistic argumentation in support of those taxonomies” (White (2011: 3). As the theory is still at proposal or hypothesis level,

requiring further investigation and testing (White (2011: 3), in my endeavour to classify song texts, I test and also extend the theory to texts it has not been previously applied.

Because of the framework's emphasis on the social function to which language is put by its users, it therefore informs Martin & Rose's (2008) genre theory which I utilize in this chapter to classify Shona popular song texts. As I pointed out in chapter one, APPRAISAL has three systems ATTITUDE, ENGAGEMENT and GRADUATION and that in my study, I intend to mainly utilize the system of ATTITUDE. Since in this chapter my primary objective is to analyse the structure and communicative properties of song texts and categorizing them into sub-genres, I will elaborate more on ATTITUDE in chapter five in which I apply the sub-system's tools of AFFECT, JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION to assess how song texts act as a medium for evaluating human behaviour.

#### **2.4 A GENRE-BASED TYPOLOGY OF THE SHONA POPULAR SONG**

A typology of songs based on the linguistic properties of songs considers song as genre and thus presupposes that it has a general structural pattern which gives it generic integrity (Bhatia, 2004, 1994) and its sub-genres can be identified "according to some central communicative purpose or function" (White, 1998: 47). In general terms, a genre is a "kind, sort, form, variety" or "category of things (such as literary or artistic works or style of writing) distinguished by some common characteristics or quality".<sup>9</sup> In this chapter these common characteristics are the songs' lexico-grammatical features which determine their communicative goals. However, it should be pointed out from the outset that because of the complexity of the language of the song, sometimes this central purpose is covert. Besides, a song can have more than one central communicative purpose, consequently straddling two or even more sub-genres (see sub-section 2.4.2 below). This suggests that "genre is an elusive term, being neither a textual essence nor a comprehensive code" (Toynbee, 2000: 103). However, despite the generic habit of exhibiting "variation that can be captured in terms of a set of subgenres which are similar enough to represent the same genre", subgenres still exhibit some differences that "warrant distinguishing them for the purposes of a given study" (Virtanen & Halmari, 2005: 12) as an attempt is done in the current study. As "the subgenres develop their own identities" they must be assigned "the label of a separate genre instead of having recourse to a taxonomy within the 'parent' genre" (Virtanen & Halmari, 2005: 12).

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<sup>9</sup> Definition from <http://thefreedictionary.com/genre> [accessed 8 September 2011]

Lastly it should be pointed out that the rhetorical goals these song-genres are composed to communicate are relative to the specific socio-historical contexts in which the songs are created. Thus, while some song-genres might be timeless (e.g., religious and social songs), others are only particular to a historical period. Swales (1990: 34-37) notes on the often temporal and cultural boundness of genres, their tendency, in a given socio-cultural context, to emerge, alter or exist or vanish. In spite of this, the approach provides a more or less reliable and much more systematic and informative criterion for the understanding of the rhetorical roles the post-2000 popular song in Zimbabwe is composed to perform.

#### **2.4.1 The genre theory**

Theories of genre are many but the one I employ was developed by Martin & Rose's (2008) in their study of stories written by Australian primary school children in the 1980s and 1990s. As earlier stated, I will further concretize the theory by employing Bhatia's (2004, 1993) concepts regarding professional genre. Martin & Rose (2008) identify various story genres through a close analysis of the particular meaning(s) a story conveys. They distinguish texts from each other by employing global and textual patterns to identify stages in a given text. The naming of a particular genre is then done on the basis of the recurring global patterns it contains. For example, the distinction between story genres named "observations/comments and recounts was based on the presence or absence of an unfolding sequence of events"; and that "between reports and descriptions was based on whether the facts presented were generic or specific" (Martin & Rose, 2008: 5). A genre was characterized as a "staged, goal oriented social process" because its use takes "more than one step" to reach a goal(s). It is goal oriented because people "feel frustrated if they don't accomplish the final steps" and "social because writers shape their texts for readers of a particular kind" (Martin & Rose, 2008: 6). From the point of view of SFL this implies that "genres are defined as a recurrent configuration of meanings and that these recurrent configurations of meaning enact the social practices of a given culture" (Martin & Rose, 2008: 6). A more elaborate definition is given by Bhatia (1993: 13):

[Genre is] a recognizable communicative event characterized by a set of communicative purpose(s) identified and mutually understood by the members of the ... community in which it regularly occurs. Most often it is highly structured and conventionalized with constraints on allowable contributions in terms of their intent, positioning, form and functional value. These constraints, however, are often exploited by members ... of the discourse community to achieve private intentions within the framework of socially recognized purpose(s).

I apply Martin & Rose's theory on Shona popular songs on the assumption that if a story (or any other form of art for that matter) is goal-oriented, i.e. anticipated by not only its author but also its audience to achieve a certain purpose, the same idea also applies to a song. Thus the idea that a story configures a certain meaning(s) which is/are socially-bound also applies to a song. In their typology Martin & Rose came up with five story genres, namely recount, anecdote, exemplum, observation and narrative. However, these terms are not adequate to cover all the various communicative intentions of post-2000 songs. Yet, using Martin & Rose's classificatory principle (i.e. each story type has recurrent global patterns that indicate its communicative mission) I can create terms to describe those song genres that are left out by Martin & Rose's generic terminologies. These are praise, celebratory, didactic, cautionary, rupture, mobilizational, persuasion, intimidation and argumentation. Bhatia's (1993) concept of rhetorical moves will be employed to identify the stages in the communicative or rhetorical mission of a song. The communicative purpose of a song (or any other text) is achieved through rhetorical moves and this gives a song its typical cognitive structure (Bhatia, 1993: 30-31). A rhetorical move is a stage in a text's communicative process that "serves a typical communicative intention which is always subservient to the overall communicative purpose of the genre" (Bhatia, 1993: 30; see also Swales, 1981). The purpose of this section is twofold; firstly, it intends to characterize the canonical textual features of a given song text "in an attempt to identify pedagogically utilizable form-function correlations" in order to classify a particular song. Secondly, it aims at setting the stage for the detailed analysis of the songs' communicative purposes within the context of the post-2000 Zimbabwean socio-political and cultural milieu in chapters four, five and six.

#### **2.4.1.1 Recount**

Usually a recount is a story that records a series of personally experienced events "unfolding through time" (Martin & Rose, 2007: 1, 54). The general pattern of a recount has three stages, Orientation, Record of Events and Reorientation (which in songs can be optional). In a recount there is no resolution to the complicating events, "nor is there a terminating evaluative stage, rather evaluations of various kinds are dispersed through the events" (Martin & Rose, 2007: 54, see also page 51). There are many Shona songs that can be grouped as recounts since textually their main purpose is to record events that are chronologically staged (Feez & Joyce, 1998: 4). The song, "Panyatso" ("On the nipple"), by Mtukudzi is a story of the encounters of parents failing to wean their baby. Rhetorical moves have been marked to indicate the stages in the song's communicative mission.

Title of song: “Panyatso”

RM **a**: Introducing the complicating event

RM **b**: Stating the complexity of the problem

1	L: <i>Ndomurumura seiko mwana wekubereka?</i> <i>Ndingamurumura seiko mwana wekubereka hinde?</i> <i>Anonzi dzoka uyamwe ndiye akarumuka x 2</i>	How shall I really wean the child I bore? <b>a</b> How can I really wean the child I bore? <b>a</b> The one to say come back and be breast-fed is the one who was weaned <b>a</b>
5	<i>Tingamurumure seiko mwana wekubereka?</i> <i>Tomurura seiko mwana wekubereka uyu?</i> <i>Anonzi dzoka uyamwe ndiye akarumuka x 2</i>	How can we really wean the child that we bore? <b>a</b> How shall we really wean this child we bore? <b>a</b> The one to say come back and be breast-fed is the one who was weaned <b>a</b>
	R: <i>Kudorizora gvakava panyatso iye kwati</i>  <i>Kudorizora mhiripiri panyatso iye kwati</i>	Even if you smear the nipple with aloe it still tightly sucks <b>b</b> Even if you smear the nipple with hot pepper it still tightly sucks <b>b</b>
10	<i>Kudorizora gvakava haaseme iye kwati</i>  <i>Kudorizora mhiripiri haazeze iye kwati</i>	Even if you smear the nipple with aloe it doesn't hesitate, it still sucks <b>b</b> Even if you smear hot pepper it doesn't hesitate, it still tightly sucks <b>b</b>

The song's message is the rather shocking problem a couple encounters in trying *kurumura* (to stop breast-feeding) their *mwana* (child). The message is scaffolded using two rhetorical moves **a** and **b**. The song lacks an orientation as it starts with introducing the complication in **a**; a child who should have been weaned by now but amazingly is adamant in continuing to suck the breast. Move **b** states the various methods that the child's parents have adopted to try and wean their child (such as applying *gvakava* [aloe] on the tit, lines 7 and 10; applying *mhiripiri* [hot pepper], lines 8 and 11) but to avail.

#### 2.4.1.2 Anecdote

A story of this type is aimed at sharing an emotional reaction with the audience. It generally involves “some disruption of usuality, which is not resolved, but simply reacted to”. The event could “be tragic or comic, engaging or revolting” to which the reaction of the protagonist could “be either positive or negative affect” (Martin & Rose, 2007: 51). The distinctive structure of an anecdote consists of an optional Orientation (establishing a normal state of affairs), Remarkable Event (which disrupts normalcy) and a Reaction (which terminates the story through the author's appraisal of the events from his/her perspective, indicating his/her feelings of fear, happiness, confusion, sorrow, revulsion, etc.). Anecdotes are also intended for humour, sharing jokes and comic stories. There are many post-2000 songs with such features. The comical songs of Kenneth Chigodora, Kireni Zulu, Steve Makoni and Marko Sibanda can be suitably called comical anecdotes. The Mabvuku-Tafara Chimurenga Choir's “Hondo inoshungurudza” (“War traumatizes”) is a typical anecdote in which the protagonist appeals for sympathy from the audience through rendering the adverse effects of the war (death, injury, loss of property, etc.) of independence. Charles Charamba's

gospel song, “Ndakauraisa Jesu” (“I caused Jesus’s death”) is also a good example of an anecdote song aimed at sharing intense emotions of remorse.

The song starts with a Remarkable Event, the death of Jesus (as caused by the protagonist) and then proceeds with the singer sharing his passionate remorse for causing Jesus’ death. Its lyrics are derived from the biblical Passion event and in the story the singer dramatizes the villainous role of Judas Iscariot. However, later realising that he had caused the death of an innocent person, his contemplation about it feels him with a deep sense of regret and indecisiveness. The song’s communicative purpose is to convey Christianity’s central tenet that through crucifixion Jesus sacrificed his life for the sins of humanity and therefore people should repent and be forgiven. This overall message is achieved through four rhetorical moves numbered **a** to **d** in the song’s text given below.

Title of song: “Ndakauraisa Jesu”

RM **a**: Expressing the protagonist’s deep sense of remorse for causing Jesus’ death

RM **b**: Expressing the depth of the protagonist’s anguish

RM **c**: Rendering the deepening of the singer’s introspection

RM **d**: Expressing the singer’s internal search for a solution

1	L: <i>Ndakauraisa munhu akanga asina mhosva</i> R: <i>Ndakauraisa munhu akanga asina mhosva baba</i> L: <i>Ehe, ndakauraisa munhu akanga asina mhosva</i> R: <i>Ndakauraisa munhu akanga asina mhaka</i>	I caused the death of a person who was innocent <b>a</b> Father, I caused the death of a person who was innocent <b>a</b> Yes, I caused the death of a person who was innocent <b>a</b> I caused the death of a person who was innocent <b>a</b>
5	L: <i>Ko akatadzeiko aturikwa padanda uyo?</i> R: <i>Kurudyi kwakaroverwa gororo</i> L: <i>Kuruboshwe kwaroverwa gororo</i>	What crime had he committed who has been hanged on a log? <b>a</b> To the right a thief is nailed <b>b</b> To the left a thief is nailed <b>b</b>
10	R: <i>Ndakauraisa munhu akanga asina mhaka</i> L: <i>Nyangwe naamai vake chido chakanga chiripo</i> R: <i>Kuti mwana wangu dai araramawo</i> L: <i>Kuti Jesu wangu dai ararama</i> R: <i>Asi nekuda kwangu, zvese zvakapera</i>	I caused the death of a person who was innocent <b>a</b> Even for his mother her interest was there <b>b</b> That my child should also have survived <b>b</b> That my Jesus should survive <b>b</b> But because of me, all these (hopes) were dashed <b>b</b>
15	L: <i>Inini ndaiyera Mhofu yomukono Shava</i> R: <i>Ndisiri wedzinza pamwe namambo Jesu</i> L: <i>Asi akanditora nerudo rwakadzama</i> R: <i>Ndakauraisa munhu akanga asina mhaka</i>	I myself was of the Shava bull eland totem <b>c</b> I was not of the same genealogy as Lord Jesus <b>c</b> But he took with deep love <b>c</b> I caused the death of a person who was innocent <b>a</b>

#### 2.4.1.3 Ruptures

These are eschatological songs whose function is to foretell a cataclysmic point in the future of a society. They are futuristic and transformative in tone. The apocalypse in these songs (mainly gospel and pro-opposition songs in the context of post-2000 Zimbabwe) has political and religious dimensions. They make use of the imagery of trepidation characteristic of the biblical end time passages (see Matthew 24.15-44; Mark 13; Luke 21. 5-38). Rupture songs can be divided into two – religious and political ruptures. Although both yearn for and anticipate change, they differ in that a religious rupture foresees a spiritual change while a political rupture prognosticates political transformation. Whereas a religious rupture

rationalises the apocalypse against the world's disobedience of God, its political counterpart justifies regime change on the basis of the sitting government's oppressive, repressive and tyrannical rule. They also differ in the way the transformation takes place. In a political rupture the apocalypse entails the violent<sup>10</sup> or non-violent replacement and possible punishment of the current regime whilst in a religious rupture's the change is seismic – entailing as it does a devastating overhaul of both the physical and metaphysical worlds. In post-2000 Zimbabwe political ruptures are pro-opposition songs foretelling the end of Zanu PF's political power and its replacement by the MDC. In religious songs, it is the Christian eschatology that is foretold although, as will be discussed in chapter five, these two forms of ruptures often overlap in their interpretation of Zimbabwe's political crisis.

Verbal phrases that normally characterize these songs include *ku-mhanya* (literally to flee, shall run, denoting punishment) as in Thomas Mapfumo's song, "Disaster" and Paul Madzore's "Vachamhanya" (They will be punished); *ku-paradzwa* (to be destroyed) as in the song "Mucheki" ("The Reaper") and *ku-chema* (crying/weeping) in Francis Chikunguru's song, "Masodzi" ("Tears"). The noun *magumo* (end of something) as in Chikunguru's "Zanu yaguma" ("Zanu has come to an end") and "Reuben", often appears in rupture songs as it is their theme. In religious ruptures there are also verbal phrases indicating a new era of happiness or utopia such as *ku-muka* (resurrection). Rupture songs have a very powerful psychological effect because their rhetorical mission is usually to indoctrinate the audience through intense fear. People are warned to immediately change their supposedly bad (political and moral) behaviour or face punishment from the impending disaster. Below I give "Mucheki" and "Vachamhanya" as respective typical examples of religious and political ruptures. The former comes from the *vapositori* group, Vabati vaJehovha. *Mucheki* is a metaphor for Jesus who will come to judge the world. His coming signals the start of Armageddon because he will bring with him angels that will fight a war with the evil world (lines 9 and 10).

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<sup>10</sup> In 1999 the MDC leader Morgan Tsvangirai was quoted as saying, "If Mugabe does not want to go peacefully, we will remove him violently". This was taken to mean a mass action.

Title of song: “Mucheki”

RM a: Introducing the coming of Jesus (as inevitable)

RM b: Identifying the (awesome) events relating to Jesus’ coming

RM c: Giving advice to escape the judgement

1	L: <i>Wauya wauya mucheki mukuru</i>	The great harvester has come <b>a</b>
	ALL <i>Vanhu vachaona Ishe wekudenga</i> <i>Vagozomutswa, vari kumakuva</i> <i>Avo vaonekwe vose pakachena</i>	All the people shall see the Lord of heaven <b>b</b> Those in the graves will be resurrected <b>b</b> For all of them to be seen on a clear place <b>b</b>
5	<i>Zvinhu zvainoona zvose zvitsva</i> <i>Makomo, mapako zvichanyongodeka</i> <i>Zuva richadzimwa, mwedzi uchapera</i> <i>Vakaipa vachashaiwa pokuvanda</i>	Everything that we shall see will be new <b>b</b> Mountains, caves, shall melt down <b>b</b> The sun will stop shining, the moon come to an end <b>b</b> The wicked will find no place to hide <b>b</b>
10	<i>Mucheki wasvika nehondo huru</i> <i>Hondo inouya yavanyai vekudenga</i>	The Harvester has arrived with a huge army <b>b</b> The army that comes with the messengers of heaven <b>b</b>
	<i>Regerai zvakaipa mutye murarame</i> <i>Munzwe izwi Rashe munamate mose</i> <i>Zviteurirei, mutsvage netsitsi</i> <i>Inguva nazvino mugamuchire</i>	Leave and fear all wicked things that you may leave <b>c</b> So that you all hear the voice of the Lord and pray <b>c</b> Pray for yourselves in search of mercy <b>c</b> It is still time now for you to receive it <b>c</b>
15	<i>Anouya Ishe anouya</i> <i>Anouya Anouya anouya</i>	The Lord will come, He will come <b>a</b> He is coming, He is coming, He is coming <b>a x 2</b>

Title of song: “Vachamhanya”

RM a: Orienting the song – giving reasons for impending political change

RM b: Expressing the inevitability of the end of the current regime

RM c: Outpouring of anger against the current regime

RM d: Giving an instance of where political change being foretold took place

RM e: Warming the regime’s leader about his inevitable punishment

1	L: <i>Kure kure kure kure kure kure kwatabva</i> <i>Kure kure kure kure kure kure</i> <i>kwakabva nemi</i> <i>Vachamhanya vakomana</i> R: <i>Iye iye nguva yekuguma,</i> <i>vachamhanya nguva yekuguma</i>	It’s very far away, far away, far away, where we came <b>a</b> It’s very far away, far away, far away, where we came enduring you <b>a</b> They shall be punished boys <b>b</b> <i>Iye iye</i> the end times, they will be punished at the end times <b>b</b>
5	L: <i>Hiye iyere iye, hiye iye iyere hi, iye iye iyere iye, Iye iye, I-i! c</i>	
	L: <i>Liberia vanaTaylor vakamhanya vakomana</i> R: <i>Iye iye nguva yekuguma,</i> <i>vachamhanya nguva yekuguma</i>	In Liberia the Taylors were punished guys <b>d</b> <i>Iye iye</i> the end times, they will be punished at the end times <b>b</b>
10	L: <i>Nhasi uno tiri pano, iye iyere nguva yekuguma</i> R: <i>Iye iye nguva yekuguma,</i> <i>vachamhanya nguva yekuguma</i> L: <i>Umwe wako akati nhasi adziyirwa,</i> <i>iye here nguva yekuguma iye</i>	Today we are here, <i>iye iyere</i> the end times <b>b</b> <i>Iye iye</i> the end times, they will be punished at the end times <b>b</b> Your colleague sits pretty unaware of the danger ahead, here are the endtimes <b>e</b>

#### 2.4.1.4 Didactic songs

The point of this type of song is to provide someone or a group of people with advice about how to succeed in their endeavours, how to live amicably in society with others and how to avoid the dangers and vagaries of the world. In most cases didactic songs have a strong moral inclination. Since pre-colonial times they were used alongside other oral literary forms like folktales, poetry and proverbs as pedagogy for moral instruction. Using Shona terminology

they can be referred to as *nhango* songs, *nhango* meaning words or verse of moral advice.<sup>11</sup> According to Fortune (1968) their purpose is to warn, caution, persuade, instruct, chide, exhort, etc. They often feature the verbs *teerera* (listen), the protagonist utters in order to draw the whole attention of the advisee and/or *chenjera* (take care) or *ngwarira* (take note of) to warn or inform him/her about possible dangers ahead. Because the moralist intends his/her advice to be adhered to, he/she normally uses such figures of speech as *tsumo* (proverbs), *madimikira* (idioms) and *fananidzo* (similes). Probably one of the most known cautionary songs in post-independence Zimbabwe is Mapfumo's early 90s song, "Jojo chenjera" ("Jojo be warned").<sup>12</sup> The idiom, *ndipewo nzeve dzako* (give me your ears) means the same as *teerera* as it is used, for example, in Rusikira's *nhango* song, "Mwanangu" (My child). In the song, the protagonist instructs his children about how they should behave after his death, now that it is imminent.

Mbira dzeNharira's song, "Zvowoenda Harare" ("Now that you are going to Harare"), is a typical didactic song. The song uses three rhetorical moves, **a – c** to convey its advice. The first five stanzas of the song are indicated below:

Title of song: "Zvowoenda Harare"

RM **a**: Drawing the attention of the listener for the advice

RM **b**: Reinforcing the importance of the advice

RM **c**: Stating the specificities of the advice

1	L: <i>Zvowoenda Harare muzukuru wangu</i> R: <i>Chenjera iwe, chenjera iwe</i>	Now that you are going to Harare my grandson <b>a</b> Be careful be careful <b>b</b>
	L: <i>Zvowoenda Harare mwanangu woye</i> R: <i>Chenjera iwe, chenjera iwe</i>	Now that you are to Harare my child <b>a</b> Be careful be careful <b>a</b>
5	L: <i>Unongwarira matasvuramwoyo</i> R: <i>Chenjera iwe, chenjera iwe</i>	Beware of (ritual) murderers <b>c</b> Be careful be careful <b>b</b>
	L: <i>Unongwarira zvimhandamakomwe</i> R: <i>Chenjera iwe, chenjera iwe</i>	Beware of pick-pockets <b>a</b> Be careful be careful <b>b</b>

Among political songs, Francis Chikunguru's "Sungano" (Unity) encourages MDC supporters to remain united if Zanu-PF is to be defeated. As one of its didactic technique the song uses contrasts. It paints the MDC as a progressive party and Zanu-PF as waning. Sung at the MDC's 3<sup>rd</sup> Congress in 2011, the song which takes its melody from the choral songs of the *Vabvuvi*<sup>13</sup> was intended to advise party members to remain united. Elliot Manyika's "Usazokangwa" ("Don't forget") warns Tsvangirai against selling the country and forgetting that it is Zanu-PF that raised him. While the advice is ironical, because it is also intended to

<sup>11</sup> There is a type of poetry called *nhango* in Shona which takes various forms such as *nhango dzemudumba* (instruction for girls and would-be brides), *nhango dzepadare* (instruction for young men) and *nhango dzemudzimu* (instructions of the ancestors to their living descendants).

<sup>12</sup> The song was interpreted to be warning to Edgar Tekere, a former close ally of Mugabe's who later left Zanu-PF to form his own party, Zimbabwe Unity Movement (ZUM) in 1990.

<sup>13</sup> Male choirs of the United Methodist Church in Zimbabwe

mock him, it is however, advice also intended for every citizen to desist from selling the country. i.e., from a statist perspective.

#### 2.4.1.5 Narrative songs

Martin & Rose (2008) maintain that the purpose of a narrative is to illustrate how protagonists deal with the challenges and problems in their lives. These are events-oriented narratives and like observations, anecdotes and exemplums consist of “a disrupting event that is evaluated”, but they are separated from these other song genres by virtue of the fact that the complicating event is resolved and the narrative returns to equilibrium (Martin & Rose, 2008: 67; see also Labov & Walensky, 1967; Propp 1968). In other words it is staged in the Labovian format of Orientation, Complication, Evaluation, Resolution and Coda.

Applying this story genre to Shona, there are many songs from the point of view of intertextualization that incorporate both modern and traditional (folktales) as part of their lyrics. As will also be further demonstrated in sub-section 2.5.6 below, in the song the stories are delivered either through recitation, narration or singing during the song’s performance. Based on their rhetorical purpose, among post-2000 popular songs three main sub-types of narrative songs can be identified. These are *ngano* (folktales, modern and traditional), *biblical narratives* (canticles) and *historical narratives* (especially grand narratives). *Ngano* songs’ intention is usually to solve a moral problem. In order to maintain equilibrium on the society’s moral scale, they condemn what is seen as socially immoral and praise what is socially viewed as normative behaviour. In this they share their intention with exemplums. Xtra Large’s song, “Postman” is a good example of a modern *ngano* song. It tells how a man later discovered that the pregnancy his wife was carrying was a result of a secret affair she was having with a postman. Winky D’s “Musarova bhigimani” (“Don’t beat the big man”), in which the protagonist tells about how he escaped the danger of being beaten by his girlfriend’s father is another good example of a modern *ngano* song. The Bhundu Boys’ “Simbimbino” hit of the early 1980s is a good example of traditional *ngano* song in which a man is condemned to death for killing and turning his wife into a pig and then eating her. However, while the modern *ngano* also criticizes negative behaviour, their purpose is also to demonstrate how traditionally approved moral behaviour is becoming difficult to sustain in the context of the forces of modernity, especially as Marko Sibanda and Kireni Zulu’s songs illustrate. Traditional culture is often subjected to humour in such songs.

Biblical narrative songs are usually in the form of canticles, whose lyrics are composed from scriptural narratives. Their mission is to evangelize – generally to teach, advise or exhort already converted Christians about (Christian) moral behaviour and also to persuade the yet ‘unrepentant’ folks to convert – as the case with especially Charamba and Mechanic Manyeruke’s songs. However, in cases where the biblical passages have been adapted to convey a political message, their mission is to politicize. Historical narrative songs narrate in relatively more detail the major events of the country’s history. They are often distinguished in terms of how they manipulate time “to order past events, how cause is used to explain them, and how appraisal is used to value one or another interpretation” (Martin & Rose, 2008: 99). In the context of the period under study, the songs are aimed at constructing the “public records of people and the agents and agencies that mediate their fate” and also the past “in terms that suit the history makers and the communities they want to align” (Martin & Rose, 2008: 105; see also Martin & Wodak, 2003). This is the precise purpose of grand narrative songs that are employed to communicate Zanu-PF’s statist historiography that should govern state-civic interaction (see especially chapter three). Pro-opposition narrative songs are also beginning to construct the MDC’s own history, setting the stage for a struggle over the interpretation of national history and the present crisis in Zimbabwe (see chapter three). Evaluation in historical narratives tends to be “relatively intense in previews, validated by events or arguments and further intensified in reviews” (Martin & Rose, 2008: 111). In terms of “temporal scaffolding” they also make use of ‘time lines’ “to provide a synoptic overview of key events” (Martin & Rose, 2008; 112) or a simplified chronology of the history that acts as the state’s common sense of history (see chapter three).

A typical example of such a song is Cde Chinx’s “Maruza Imi III” (“You have lost for the third time”) that chronicles Zimbabwe’s history from colonization to the present. The title of the song is the protagonist’s evaluation of national history. It celebrates the three *chimurenga* wars for overcoming colonialism. It has also a strong moral behind it – citizens should not be fooled by colonialists to betray their country as some of them are doing. The song’s delivers its message using nine rhetorical moves, **a** to **i**.

Title of song: “Maruza imi III” (“You have lost for the third time”)

RM **a**: Orientation (Why the *chimurenga* wars took place)

RM **b**: Stating where the colonialists came from

RM **c**: Explaining why they came to Zimbabwe

RM **d**: Expressing the evils and guiles of the colonialists

RM **e**: Celebrating the defeat of the colonizers

RM **f**: Warning against being duped to sell the country

**RM g:** Warning the colonizer against the spread of chimurenga in Sourthen Africa

**RM h:** Declaring Zimbabwean sovereignty

**RM i:** Condemning alleged sellouts

	Storytelling (Singing)	
1	<i>Hondo maiona, hondo yechimurenga</i> <i>Hondo yevanhu chimurenga</i> <i>Hondo maiona, hondo yechimurenga</i> <i>Hondo yevanhu chimurenga</i>	Now you have seen the war, the war of <i>chimurenga</i> <b>a</b> <i>Chimurenga</i> , the people's war <b>a</b> Now you have seen the war, the war of <i>chimurenga</i> <b>a</b> <i>Chimurenga</i> , the people's war <b>a</b>
5	<i>Hondo maiona, hondo yechimurenga</i> <i>Hondo yevanhu chimurenga</i> <i>Hona vakauyaka muZimbabwe</i> <i>Vaibva Bhiriteni</i> <i>Vaimba Amerika</i>	Now you have seen the war, the war of <i>chimurenga</i> <b>a</b> <i>Chimurenga</i> , the people's war <b>a</b> Behold they came to Zimbabwe <b>b</b> They were coming from Britain <b>b</b> They were coming from America <b>b</b>
10	----- <i>Kwavakanga vatandwa nenzara</i> <i>Voti nanga-nangawo neZimbabwe</i> <i>Havazivi nyikaka yavatema</i> <i>Izere uchi nemukaka</i> <i>Hezvo nyika yenyu imi vatema</i>	Where they had been chased by hunger <b>c</b> And now they focussed their attention on Zimbabwe <b>d</b> They don't know it's the very land of the blacks <b>d</b> Abundant with milk and honey <b>c</b> Now your land you the blacks <b>c</b>
15	<i>Hona vauya muZimbabwe vaine gidi kekutanga</i> <i>Vachiti vanovhima vodzokera</i> <i>Kuri kunyepa vapambepfumi</i>	Behold they came in Zimbabwe with guns for the first time <b>d</b> Saying they only want to hunt and then they return <b>d</b> When in actual fact they were lying, the colonizers <b>d</b>
	----- Chorus R: <i>Maruza imi, maruzaka</i> L: <i>Here mupambepfumi</i> R: <i>Maruza imi, maruzaka</i>	You have lost, you really have lost <b>e</b> <i>Here</i> the colonizer <b>e</b> You have lost, you really have lost <b>e</b>
20	----- Speech <i>Teerai munzweka nyaya iyi</i> <i>Munoziva mudzviti?</i> <i>Iyo nguwa yapfuura iya vaitumaka ivavo vana Selous</i> <i>Iyezvino vaakutuma vamwe</i>	Listen and here this story <b>f</b> Do you know the district administrator? <b>f</b> In the gone days they used to send those ones, the Selouses <b>f</b> This time they are sending others <b>f</b>
25	<i>Haasi kuziva kuti manje-manje tinenge tave make</i> <i>Kana kuNamibia, kuKenya, vatotanga kare</i> <i>Vanoronga kuda kutirongera mitemo muZimbabwe</i> <i>MuZimbabwe hatitongwi nevamwe</i>	He does not know that very soon we will be in his [country] <b>g</b> Even in Namibia, in Kenya, they have already started <b>g</b> They are arranging to make their laws for us in Zimbabwe <b>d</b> In Zimbabwe we won't be ruled by foreigners <b>h</b>
30	----- <i>VeZimbabwe ngati ngware</i> <i>Makamboona baba vanosimuka pamusha</i> <i>Achiti anotsvaga zvinoshupa pamusha?</i> <i>Vonodaidzira kun'anga kana kuna chiremba</i> <i>Achiti, "Chiremba woye zadza munyama</i> <i>mumusha mangu"</i>	People of Zimbabwe let us be wise <b>i</b> Where have you seen a father leaving his home Saying I'm going to consult about the problem in my home? <b>i</b> Then he requests a diviner or traditional healer Saying, "Please diviner cast bad luck in my home <b>i</b>
35	<i>Sezviri kuitwa nevamwe vana muno umu</i> <i>Muri kunyengengerwa netumari tunopera utwu</i> <i>Nhaka haiperi iyi,</i> <i>maruza one, two, three, four</i> Zimbabwe will never be a colony again!	Like what other children of this country are doing <b>i</b> You are being fooled by money that will be finished <b>i</b> Your national heritage is inexhaustible, <b>i</b> you have lost one, two, three, four <b>e</b> Zimbabwe will never be a colony again! <b>f</b>

#### 2.4.1.6 Argumentation songs

Argumentation songs are used as a forum to debate about the past and also current events. Argumentation is needed because the singer knows that what s/he wants to put across to the audience "is in some sense contestable" and thus requires motivation or some backing information in order to be accepted by the audience (Martin & Rose, 2008: 118). In post-2000 Zimbabwe this song genre comments on sensitive and often controversial issues. The protagonist often deploys his/her argument using conjunctions (such as 'firstly', 'therefore', and 'by') and metadiscourse (reasons, problems) and reiteration of his/her standpoint at the end with such stages as Thesis, Arguments and Reiteration of Thesis (Martin & Rose, 2008; 119). In gospel and traditional songs the debate is over which religion to follow, Christianity

or African religions or within each religion, the proper way to worship (see chapter six). The most apt examples of argumentation songs are found in pro-opposition and pro-Zanu-PF songs where there are serious arguments over what constitutes proper governance, national history and economic development. Chikunguru's 2009 song, "Constitution itsva" ("A new constitution") (see the lyrics of the song in sub-section 2.5.2 below and appendix) is a good example of an argumentation song. It argues that Zimbabwe's current problems can only be resolved if a new democratic constitution is written. Aleck Macheso's "Panyaya dzerudo" (On love issues) is given here as an example. The argument the song intends to articulate is that *mupfuhwira* (love potion), what the singer calls *midzi* (herbs), does not only destroy marriages and relationships, but leaves permanent psychological damage to those it is administered. Alternatively the thesis is that someone's affection cannot be won through giving him/her love potions but by his/her willingness and commitment to the relationship as stated in rhetorical move **c**. Rhetorical move **a** poses the thesis while **b**, **d** and **e** motivates it by stating the negative consequences of the use of love potion in marriage.

Title of song: "Panyaya dzerudo"

RM **a**: Stating the thesis

RM **b**: Motivating the thesis

RM **c**: Reiterating the thesis

RM **d**: Motivating the thesis

RM **e**: Motivating the thesis by suggesting safe ways of winning someone's affection

1	<i>Panyaya dzerudo tisashandisa midzi veduwee</i> <i>Kuuraya mumwe wawanga uchagara naye</i>	Please, on love matters let us not use love potion <b>a</b> It is killing someone you were supposed to live with <b>b</b>
	-----	
	<i>Patakadanana panga pasina midzi,</i> <i>raingova shoko vaviri takatsidzirana</i>	When we fell in love, it was only love that we promised each other <b>c</b>
	-----	
	<i>Ko nhasi unozove nepapi hauchabvi kwagodobori,</i> <i>hauwani kufadza rudo rwababa?</i>	Today what is your position for consulting the diviner, when you cannot satisfy husband's love? <b>d</b>
	-----	
5	<i>Kuti runako here runoda kuwedzerwa, nomucheno,</i> <i>mvura parutivi, mafuta nepo openya?</i>	Is it beauty that needs to be enhanced, beautiful clothes, regular bathing, applying cosmetics? <b>e</b>
	-----	
	<i>Ukandiponda pfungwa, ramangwana ndichazoitei?</i> <i>Fume ndongowadzana newe wanike wonyara neni</i>	If you destroy my mind, what will I do tomorrow? I will be with you everytime and you will be embarrassed <b>d</b>

#### 2.4.1.7 Exemplum song

The mission of an exemplum is to interpret incidents so as to "share a moral judgement" (Martin & Rose, 2007: 62). It evaluates human action against "morality, social esteem and social acceptability" (White, 2010: 2). In these songs protagonists are either condemned or praised on the basis of what they would have done. Some exemplums are therefore satirical in nature, lampooning individuals and groups of people to expose their vices so that they can change their behaviour. Songs with a political, religious and social comment normally take the form of satire as they criticize corruption, repression, dictatorship, adultery, and other

social and political vices. In terms of APPRAISAL, values of judgement are therefore more activated in inscribed evaluation of these songs.

A good example is Mtukudzi's 2000 hit song "Bvuma wachembera" (You are now old, accept it), which criticizes a certain old man to accept that he is now old. Here I give Mabvuku-Tafara Chimurenga Choir's "Ndotaura" (Now I say it) as an example. It employs seven rhetorical moves **a** to **g** to convey its judgement. The point of reference for the judgement of *mutengesi* (sellout) is *Zvekuhondo* (liberation war ethos) (line 10 or rhetorical move **f**) (see chapter three and four concerning the *chimurenga* grand narrative as the state's basis for political legitimation).

Title of song: "Ndotaura" (Now I say it), by Mabvuku-Tafara Chimurenga Choir

RM **a**: Requesting for permission to speak

RM **b**: Identifying those from whom permission to speak is sought

RM **c**: Stating the importance of the timing of the speech

RM **d**: Granting the permission to speak

RM **e**: Identifying the addressee of the speech

RM **f**: Introduces the theme of the speech

RM **g**: Identifying and evaluating the culprit

RM **g1**: Explaining the cause of the culprit's behaviour

RM **g2**: Identifying the importance of what the culprit forgets

RM **g3**: Stating the culprit's vices

RM **g4**: Evaluating the culprit's behaviour

RM **g5**: Describing the consequences of the culprit's actions

RM **g6**: Stating a response to the consequences of the culprit's vices

RM **g7**: Expressing happiness with the land reform programme

RM **g8**: Imploring the culprit to reflect upon his behaviour

1	L: <i>Ndotaura here ndotaura?</i> <i>Ndotaura here baba namai?</i> <i>Ndotaura here ndotaura?</i> <i>Ndotaura here nhasi uno?</i>	Should I say it, should I say it? <b>a</b> Should I say it mother and father? <b>b</b> Should I say it, should I say it? <b>a</b> Should I say it today? <b>c</b>
5	R: <i>Taura tinzwe takateerera</i> L: <i>Ndotaura here baba namai?</i> R: <i>Taura tinzwe takateerera</i> L: <i>Ndotaura here kuna baba?</i>	Say it we are listening <b>d</b> Should I say it father and mother? <b>b</b> Say it we are listening <b>d</b> Should I say it to [my] father? <b>e</b>
10	----- L: <i>Ndotaura here zvekuhondo?</i> R: <i>Taura tinzwe takateerera</i>	Should I talk about war issues? <b>f</b> Say it we are listening <b>d</b>
15	Recitation <i>Ko nhasi iwe mutengesi?</i> <i>Wokanganwa chazuro nehope?</i> <i>Wokanganwa kuuya kwakaita nyika ino?</i> <i>Nyika yakarwiwa nemadzitateguru?</i> <i>Nyika yeropa?</i> <i>Yaunoenda nayo uchitambisa zvako</i> <i>mhiri kwemakungwa?</i>	Why today you the sellout? <b>g</b> You wantonly forget issues of yesterday because of sleep? <b>g1</b> You forget how this nation came about? <b>g2</b> A nation that the great ancestors fought for? <b>g2</b> The nation of blood? <b>g2</b> That you carelessly take with you to waste it overseas? <b>g3</b>
20	----- <i>Aa kwete, Zimbabwe yaramba</i> <i>Yati hatidi!</i> <i>Masangisheni otanga kupindazve</i> <i>mukati menyika yeZimbabwe?</i> <i>Yatova hondo</i> <i>Vana veZimbabwe vari kuramba</i> <i>Kuti hatidi masangisheni munyika ino,</i>	Ah no, Zimbabwe refuses <b>g4</b> It says we don't want! <b>g4</b> Sanctions to encroach again into the nation of Zimbabwe? <b>g5</b> Then there is going to be a war <b>g6</b> The citizens of Zimbabwe are refusing <b>g4</b> That we don't want sanctions in this country <b>g5</b>

25	<i>Nyika yamadzitateguru,</i> ----- Recitation <i>Ndinonzwa kufara nokuti takatorerwa</i> <i>iyoyi nyikaka</i> <i>Nevakarwira nyika</i> <i>mukati mesango reZimbabwe</i> -----	The nation of our forefathers,  I feel happy because they won for us this very nation By those who fought for the nation in the forest of Zimbabwe <b>g7</b>
30	<i>Ko dai uriwe wakasara kuhondo</i> <i>usina kukwanisa kusvika kuno?</i> -----	What if you were the one who died in the war and wasn't able to return home? <b>g8</b>

#### 2.4.1.8 Observation song

An observation story intends to share a personal reaction to events and things. It appraises “the state of affairs” of events and things (Jordens, 2003: 67). Unlike in other stories where events unfold in a sequence of events, they are lumped into “a snapshot frozen in time” (Rothery & Stenglin, 1997) and after that the writer’s comments follow. They can be contrasted from other story genres “both in the brevity with which the events are described, and in the type of attitude that evaluates the events”. The protagonist “may express strong feelings and imply judgements of people”, but the primary point of an observation “is to appreciate the effect of the events on the narrator” (Martin & Rose, 2007: 67). There are many songs that have such traits in post-2000 Zimbabwe and can also be classified as observation songs. Like exemplums, observation songs are some of the commonest songs in Zimbabwe’s post-2000 popular song corpus. Daiton Somanje’s song “Tsaona” (“Tragedy”) is an example of an observation song. The song is a summary of tragedies a man encounters in a short space of time, mysterious deaths of his close relatives to which he can only react, *zvinorwadza* (it is deeply painful) and *yangu itsaona* (mine is really a tragedy).

Title of song: “Tsaona”

RM a: Introducing the deep tragedy

RM b: Specifying the nature of the tragedy

RM c: Evaluating the impact of the tragedy on the narrator

1	<i>Yangu itsaona varume imi tsaona x 2</i> <i>Ndakati ndichifamba zvikanzi ambuya hakuchina</i>  <i>Ndakati ndichifamba zvikanzi sekuru hakuchina</i>	Mine is a tragedy, men it is a tragedy <b>a</b> I was walking when I got the news that grandmother is no more <b>b</b> I was walking when I got the news that grandfather is no more <b>b</b>
5	<i>Pandakati ndodzokera kumba</i> <i>zvikanzi mukoma wafira mumvura nhasi</i> <i>Pandakati ndodzokera kumba</i> <i>zvikanzi sisi wafira mumvura nhasi</i>	When I returned home I got the news that my brother drowned in a river today <b>b</b> When I returned home I got the news that my sister drowned in a river today <b>b</b>
	<i>Yangu itsaona itsaona</i> <i>Itsaona, itsaona</i> -----	Mine is really a tragedy, really a tragedy x 2 <b>a</b> Really a tragedy, really a tragedy x 3 <b>a</b>
10	<i>Zvinorwadza kufira nababa</i> <i>Zvinorwadza kufira namai</i> -----	It is deeply painful to lose a father <b>c</b> It is deeply painful to lose a mother <b>c</b>

#### 2.4.1.9 Mobilization songs

These songs are intended to collectively motivate people towards a common cause. They aim at rallying people together and then tapping their combined power so as to confront a certain challenge. The songs normally persuade or incite people to embark on group action. The practice of using songs as a mobilization tool has a long history dating back to pre-colonial times. Songs were used to mobilize warriors for war and hunting expeditions as well as mobilizing labour during the carnival *jakwara* and *nhimbe* (work parties). In post-2000 Zimbabwe these songs are normally found among political and gospel songs. In political songs their rhetoric is based on eulogizing the people's power in terms of what they achieved as a group in the past, or what they can potentially achieve now, as a strategy to woo them to support the cause at hand and also seek more supporters and sympathizers. In other words, flattery is a key rhetorical feature of mobilizational songs. In gospel songs a person's sinful condition is usually the source of justification for his/her being mobilized to come and repent and join the fellowship of God. Mobilizational songs of both types share these features with persuasion and praise songs (see 2.4.1.10 and 2.4.1.12). However, chants and slogans are an important tactical choices and a distinguishing feature of mobilization songs. Kinetic imagery of synchronized movement (*kufamba* [to move]) is also a noticeable feature symbolizing people's action and therefore progress on the part of their organization or the task being executed. In the song, "Zanu-PF", the party is said *inofamba kuenda kure* (it moves going far).

In the context of the political polarity between the MDC and Zanu-PF, mobilizational songs from both parties often mention the names of places (towns, cities, districts, rural areas, growth points, etc.) across the country as the parties compete for national support or to create the impression that each has political support that comes from every corner of the country. In terms of linguistic properties, verbal lexis that denote invitation, synchronized or quick movement and unity are often found in this song genre. For example, *kufamba* (to move) or *inofamba* (it moves) which implies progression as in the song, "Zanu-PF"; *uyai* (come), which invites people to join the movement (as in the pro-MDC songs, "Uyai tivake nyika" ["Come and let's build the nation"] and "Torikakata bhande" ["Pulling the belt"]); *mhanyai* ([please] run), encouraging people to keep advancing the cause of the movement (as in "Uyai tivake nyika" in which it is said, *mhanya nekoko* [run through that side]); *tiende* or *handei* (so that we can go or let us go) as in the Tafara/Mabvuku Chimurenga Choir song, "Nhasi tiri

kufara” (“Today we are rejoicing”) in which the soloist sings, *Zunza mazakwatira tiende* (Shake off everything on you so that we can go) and the 80s Bhundu Boys song “Handei Kwekwe” (“Let’s go to Kwekwe”) and *ngatibatane* (let’s unite) as in Mitomu’s 2004 song, “Kubatana” (“Unity”). *Simudza* (lift it up) is another verbal phrase found in mobilizational songs for synchronizing the efforts of people already in action. When toyi-toying they are commanded *simudza gumbo* (lift your leg high)<sup>14</sup> as in the songs, “Tinosvitsana Bhiriteni” (“We will fight you till we reach Britain”) and “Sendekera” (“Keep up the pressure”) or *kusimudza chibhakera* (lift the fist up high) as in the song, “Chibhakera simudza” (“Raise the fist”). In Madzore’s “Simudza ngere-ngere” (“Lift up the bell”) the verbal phrase is intended to mobilize both MDC party leaders and supporters in various places mentioned in the song.

*Kuridza muridzo* (whistling) sometimes accompanies mobilizational songs too since it cheers those in action to continue or even surpass what they are currently doing. In others, especially Zanu-PF songs, populist sentiments are used to mobilize the people. The Zanu-PF song, “Mahwindi” (“Commuter omnibus conductors”) tries to rally the marginalized sections of society like *magweja* (gold and diamond panners), *mamonya* (thugs), *mapositori* (African independent churches members), *marasta* (members of the Rastafarian movement) and *mambuya* (elderly women) by claiming that the marginalized are Mugabe’s true supporters. In some songs mobilization is selective as it aims to identify true followers of the movement. While the song “Zanu-PF” boasts that the party has national support by saying Zanu-PF *yatekeshera* (it is widespread), the song “Simukai tiverengane” (“Let us stand up and count each other”) mobilizes people by challenging them to declare their open loyalty to Zanu-PF.<sup>15</sup> The Mhondoro Trumpet’s a cappella song, “Pamuganhu” (“On the boundary/fence”) demands that party members, SADC countries and western countries be open as regards their stance on Zanu-PF. The example of a mobilizational song I give below is Hot Wire Boys’ “Uyai tivake nyika” (“Come let us build the nation. It rallies together MDC leaders and supporters to work

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<sup>14</sup> This comes from the political chants of the liberation struggle and the early eighties when members of different political parties toyi-toyed in the streets or at their rallies chanting, *Simudza gumbo, harisi rako nderomusangano* (Lift your leg up high [because] it’s not yours, it belongs to the party), as a way of mobilizing their members and galvanizing support.

<sup>15</sup> There is need for the party to take stock of its dwindling support base in a context in which many Zimbabweans cross political lines or act as impostor supporters masquerading as Zanu-PF supporters. In 2000 when Zanu-PF was nearly defeated Mugabe criticized members of his politiburo as having questionable loyalty to the party, with “one leg in Zanu-PF and the other in the MDC” (see Chris Anold Msipa, “President Mugabe on War Path”, Interpress News Agency, <http://www.ipsnews.net/africa/interna.asp?idnews=21464> accessed 28 May 2012).

and rebuild the country destroyed by Zanu-PF corruption, monopolism, murder and covetousness.

Title of song: “Huyai tivake nyika”

RM **a**: Expressing the rationale for rebuilding the country

RM **b**: Inviting people to come and do the task of reconstruction

RM **c**: Expressing the guidelines of rebuilding the country

RM **d**: Stating the leader of the rebuilding exercise

1	L: <i>Varume nhasi zvatave ndisu tiri kutonga, zvino chasara chiiko? x 2</i>	Men now that we are ruling, what is the next thing to be done? <b>a</b>
	L: <i>Huyai huyai huyai</i> R: <i>Huyai tivake nyika</i>	Come come come <b>b</b> Come let us rebuild the country <b>b</b>
-----		
5	L: <i>Ngatikanganwe zvekare timhanyire kuchinangwa nyika yedu ibudirire x 2</i> <i>Tarisai zvauraya nyika zvigova chidzidzo kwamuri murege kuzvidzokorora x 2</i>	Let us forget about the past and rush to our mission for the country to develop <b>c</b> Check for what has destroyed the country so that they will be lessons not to be repeated <b>c</b>
-----		
10	L: <i>Umbimbindoga, umhondi, ruchiva pamwe neuori ndizvo zvauraya nyika x 2</i> <i>Zanu ine mbiri yekuparadza zviwanikwa tarisai nyika yaparara x 2</i>	Monopolism, murder, covetousness and corruption are behind the collapse of the country <b>c</b> Zanu has notoriety for wasting the resources, look the country has collapsed <b>c</b>
	R: <i>Huyai tivake nyika x 2</i>	Come let us rebuild the country
-----		
15	<i>Chamisa mhanya nekoko uudze vana veZimbabwe Save ndivo mutungamiri x 2</i> <i>Mangoma mhanya nekoko uudze vana veZimbabwe Save ndivo mutungamiri x 2</i>	Chamisa run in that direction telling citizens of Zimbabwe that Save is now the leader <b>d</b> Mangoma run in that direction telling citizens of Zimbabwe that Save is now the leader <b>d</b>
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#### 2.4.1.10 Persuasion songs

Unlike mobilizational songs, persuasion songs are not entirely seeking the collective effort of the people, but drawing someone or others towards one’s interests. They are also intended to make an appeal requesting someone to do something on behalf of others. Thus, although from a general point of view all language use is persuasive, Virtanen & Halmari (2005: 5) define persuasion “as those linguistic choices that aim at changing or affecting the behaviour of others or strengthening the existing beliefs and behaviour of those who already agree, the beliefs and behaviours of persuaders included” (see also Jucker, 1997: 122). In religious contexts, these songs, for instance, appeal to God (as Christianity) or to the *vadzimu* (ancestors) (as in Shona/African religions) to intervene, persuading him/them through recognizing his/their supernatural powers and abilities – as in Amanda Sagonda’s gospel song, “Mwari vedu vanogona” (“Our God is capable”). While mobilizational songs are used largely in the context of labour and political and religious movements, persuasion songs are more generally used in everyday life across all departments of life. One interesting area in which they are used is love and romance – one of the major timeless themes of popular music globally. As a rhetorical technique, persuasion requires skilful use of language in order to win or draw someone’s attention towards one’s own ideas, intentions or actions. Thus “semantics

of intensification” are usually associated with this song-genre. This refers to “the presence of lexis which encodes a sense of intensity or heightened involvement by the author [in case singer(s)] and which positions the reader [in this case listeners] to view the events or statements described as significant, momentous or emotionally charged” (White, 1997: 108). This is especially true in romance affairs in which love is often achieved through the art of persuasion. The suitor in most cases exploits language to convince a maiden that to be in a relationship is in their best interests. With specific reference to courtship this song genre has a long tradition, probably as old as human society itself. Just like poetry, songs were an essential ingredient in achieving a sustainable relationship. Haasbroek’s (1975: 175) comment on the use of persuasion in Shona courtship poetry is similar to the use of the same technique in love songs since the two art forms were complementary in their role during courtship. He states that

...the suitor’s poetic prowess, his command of metaphor and trope in traditional rhetoric of love, his ability to improvise and recite balanced, figurative and rhythmic lines in praise of his beloved, his ability to arouse sympathy and tender feelings in her through well-chosen metaphors depicting his abject misery and the pathos of the predicament of unrequited love, or, on the other hand, his ability to use witty and jocular compliments and persuasion – all this could to a very large extent, if not entirely, be responsible for his final success.

Usually the suitor would win the maiden’s love through the use of language that celebrated her “physical beauty and erotic charms” and indeed her ethical qualities (Haasbroek, 1975: 179) and portraying himself as a well-intentioned man who is uninterested in *chinyenge-nyenge* (courtship for the sake of it and not as a step to marriage), but in courtship leading to marriage.

As in didactic and cautionary songs, the verbal lexis like *teerera* or *teerera* (listen) is often found in such songs as the protagonist wants his/her ideas to be heard and to be seen by the listener as important. In the song “MuZimbabwe” (In Zimbabwe), the singers try to woo the audience to join Zanu-PF by first appealing for its attention. It begins *MuZimbabwe teerera*... (In Zimbabwe listen...), and then the message of persuasion follows. *Jiti* and *sungura* songs provide some good examples of persuasion love songs. Mitomu’s courtship song, “Emelina ndinokuda” (“Emelina I love you”) is given below as example of a persuasion song during courtship.

Song title: “Emelina”

RM **a**: Proposing to Emelina

RM **b**: Making promises about the future

RM **c**: Imploring Emelina to seriously consider the proposal

1	<i>L: Emelina ho-o Emelina ndinokuda</i> <i>Kana wandida ticharoorana</i> <i>Kana wandida tichagara tese</i>	Emelina ho-o, Emelina I love you x 2 <b>a</b> If you love me we are going to marry x 2 <b>b</b> If you love me we are going to stay together x 2 <b>b</b>
-----		
5	<i>L: Tichagara tese, tichifamba tese</i> <i>R: Oho Emelina wo-o, Oho Emelina wo-o</i> <i>L: Tichatamba tese, tichashaina tese</i> <i>R: Oho Emelina wo-o, Oho Emelina wo-o</i>	We will live together, we will walk together x 1 <b>b</b> Oho Emelina ho-o Oho Emelina ho-o <b>c</b> We will play together, we will brag together x 1 <b>b</b> Oho Emelina wo-o Oho Emelina wo-o <b>c</b>
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The song employs three rhetorical moves **a**, **b** and **c** to persuade Emelina to accept the protagonist’s proposals. Move **a** proposes by mentioning the suitor’s intention: he loves Emelina. Move **b** is intended to impress Emelina as it states the suitor’s plans if Emelina accepts him. He intends to marry and live with her happily ever after. Move **c** (the R part is a repetition of the maiden’s name with a sorrowful tone) is intended by the protagonist to evoke her sympathy on his unquited love, demonstrate how serious he is and also how important Emelina is to him.

Persuasion songs are also used in political and religious contexts. In the political conflicts in post-2000 Zimbabwe, these songs have been used to court especially the politically neutral citizens to join a political party or members of one political party to leave and join another party. Just like in courtship songs, the strategy used is to always portray the protagonist (a political party and its leaders) in a positive light. In MDC songs the leaders are depicted as democratically-minded, anti-corruption, anti-dictatorship and champions of good governance, respect for the rule of law and human rights. Their promise is ‘change’ – meaning transforming the country through the introduction of the above principles and restoring the economy through direct foreign investment thus providing people with jobs. They also aim to bring back Zimbabwe from its ‘pariah status’ into the community of nations. On the other hand, Zanu-PF songs depict the party and its leaders as having a (revolutionary) history as one of its key credentials, including the restoration of land to the masses and a populist manifesto purportedly geared to have Zimbabweans reclaim their national resources. The Mbare Chimurenga Choir song “Hurumende yavatema” (“Black people’s government”) in which Mugabe is praised for empowering the poor is a suitable example. The contrast between MDC and Zanu-PF songs as far as this and other song genres are concerned sets a hostile dialogical engagement between the two parties (see 2.5.5 below). Again in these songs, people are also persuaded to maintain their current behaviour or even improve it further. In the Mabvuku-Tafara Chimurenga Choir song “Muri musoja” (“You are a soldier”) Mugabe is

persuaded to remain resolute and fight like a soldier. However, the song is also multi-rhetorical (see 2.4.2) because apart from its intention to persuade it is also celebratory and mobilizational.

Title of song: “Muri musoja”

RM a: Expressing a rallying cry

RM b: Persuading Mugabe to maintain his stance

RM c: Celebrating Zimbabweans’ courage

1	L: [ <i>Painorira painorira musango</i> R: <i>Painorira painorira musango</i> ] x 2 L: [ <i>Hona VaMugabe muri musoja musatye</i> R: <i>Hona VaMugabe muri musoja musatye</i> ] x 2	When it sounds when it sounds in the forest <b>a</b> When it sounds when it sounds in the forest <b>a</b> See Mr. Mugabe you are a soldier don't be afraid <b>b</b> See Mr. Mugabe you are a soldier don't be afraid <b>b</b>
-----		
5	L: [ <i>VeZimbabwe takatora mukombe</i> R: <i>VeZimbabwe takatora mukombe</i> ] x 2 L: [ <i>Mukombe wacho wekutora ivhu</i> R: <i>Mukombe wacho wekutora ivhu</i> ] x 2	We people of Zimbabwe won the trophy <b>c</b> We people of Zimbabwe won the trophy <b>c</b> The trophy we won is for taking land <b>c</b> The trophy we won is for taking land <b>c</b>
-----		
10	Recitation <i>VaMugabe muri musoja musambotya</i> <i>Ndimi chete makagona kutsigira kutorwa kweivhu</i> <i>Saka isu vana veZimbabwe takakutsigirai</i>	Mr. Mugabe you are a soldier do not be afraid <b>b</b> You are the only one able to support the taking of land <b>b</b> That is why we citizens of Zimbabwe supported you <b>b</b>
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#### 2.4.1.11 Cautionary songs

The purpose of these songs is solely to warn someone against an impending danger that he might not be aware of. In the wake of political violence and the HIV/AIDS pandemic there have been songs to warn people against such dangers. Unlike didactic songs, they are not moralistic or satirical in tone, but their message is plain and clear like a danger warning sign. A danger lies ahead, either take another route or proceed with extreme caution or suspend the journey altogether. Like didactic songs they also use warning language such as *chenjera(i)* (be warned) and *ngwarira(i)* (take note). Because they normally deal with imminent or highly possible danger they sometimes use scare language such as *hokoyo* which means be careful, something is coming, or you are being watched, followed, etc., so run away or stop what you are doing immediately. Probably the best known cautionary song about the dangers of politics is Thomas Mapfumo’s “Jojo chenjera” (“Jojo be careful”) sung in the early 1990s.<sup>16</sup> Earlier, in 1977 Mapfumo had produced an LP, *Hokoyo* (Watch out!) warning people about the brutality of the Smith regime. The song “Mukondombera imhandu yedu” (“HIV/AIDS is our enemy”) by Charamba is also a good example. Below Mapfumo’s “Moto uyo” (“Be careful, there is a fire”) is given as an example of a cautionary song. It uses *moto* (fire), a general metaphor for destruction to refer to the post-2000 violent political crisis in Zimbabwe that

<sup>16</sup> The song is often said to have been a warning to the late and former Zanu-PF secretary, Edgar Tekere, for his decision to pull out of Zanu-PF and form an opposition party, Zimbabwe Unity Movement (ZUM) to challenge Mugabe. The decision turned out to be his peripeteia; his party never made it in Zimbabwe’s political arena and by the time he died Tekere was a political outcast struggling to be readmitted into Zanu-PF.

destroyed many lives and property. The song employs four rhetorical moves – **a** to **d** – to transmit its message.

Title of song: “Moto uyo”

RM **a**: Warning about the crisis in the country

RM **b**: Suggesting jealousy as the cause of the dangerous crisis

RM **c**: Stating the consequences of the danger

1	L: <i>Vakomanawo chenjerai moto uyo</i> R: <i>Moto uyo chenjerai moto uyo</i>	Boys beware of that fire <b>a</b> That fire, beware of that fire <b>a</b>
	-----	
	L: <i>Imi mose munorwara neshanje</i> R: <i>Neshanje chenjerai neshanje</i>	You all you are sick of jealousy <b>b</b> Of jealousy beware of jealousy <b>a</b>
	-----	
5	L: <i>Nyika yedu yapinduka moto uyo</i> R: <i>Moto uyo chenjerai moto uyo</i> L: <i>Hupenyu hwedu hwaoma moto uyo</i>	Our country has been has turned around, that fire <b>c</b> That fire, beware of that fire <b>a</b> Our life is now hard, that fire <b>c</b>
	-----	

#### 2.4.1.12 Praise songs

These are intended to praise an individual or a group of people for their praiseworthy deeds in helping someone or their community and/or nation. They are characterized by a language of eulogy, admiration, affection (as in love and patriotic songs) and are therefore eulogistic and to some extent, like celebratory songs, also celebratory in tone. Although they do also criticize, condemning the negative side of their appraisee’s behaviour, in most cases their major rhetorical function is praise-singing. This distinguishes them from exemplums which either condemn or praise depending on how the singer evaluates an individual or group or institution’s behaviour. Praise songs could be rendered mainly using the recitation or singing mode (see 2.5.6 below) or both, although slogans are also employed in some religious and political songs.

Praise songs are a carry-over from the practice of traditional *madetembedzo emadzinja* (Shona clan praise poetry) in which every member of the clan, male or female, is praised for good deeds, to maintain them and in tandem indirectly praised to desist from a culture of bad behaviour (see Hodza & Fortune, 1979). Shona praise poetry is based on totems and each clan has its own totemic praises. The qualities of the totemic animal or its behavioural traits are the basis of eulogy for the bearer of the totemic symbol. Influences from Nguni praise poetry whereby the recitals are speedy and the poet’s voice highly pitched, have also been appropriated by poet-cum-singers like Raymond Majongwe, Ignatius Mabasa and Aaron Rusikira.<sup>17</sup> Since the object of appraisal is the stimulus for the appraiser’s eulogies, all three attitudinal meanings of AFFECT, JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION are normally present,

<sup>17</sup> Between especially Raymond Majongwe and Aaron Rusikira there are also clear traces of inspiration from the Zulu dub poet, Mzwakhe Mbuli and the Zimbabwean dub poet, Albert Nyathi.

activated in most cases by clear, but also invoked attitudinal lexis. Due to the fact that praise songs and poetry are largely necessitated by patronage, their major intention is “to swell the image” of the protagonist, although once in a while the praise-singer enjoys the liberty to caution, rebuke, advise (but oftenly mildly) the protagonist (Okpewho, 1992: 25).

In post-2000 Zimbabwe praise songs take the form of especially love, political and religious songs. In love songs a singer normally praises his/her partner for requited love. Marshall Munhumumwe’s 1980s hit song, “Vimbai mwana akanaka” (“Vimbai the beautiful girl”) is one good example of a praise love song. In political praise songs leaders of political parties, particularly Mugabe and Tsvangirai, are eulogized by their supporters (using their totemic epithets of Gushungo<sup>18</sup> and Save<sup>19</sup> respectively). Chikunguru’s song, “Mumwe mukana” (“Another chance”) is a eulogy of Tsvangirai’s leadership, while the Mabvuku-Tafara Chimurengwa Choir’s “Baba tinotenda” (“Father we are thankful”) and “VaMugabe vakanaka” (“Mr. Mugabe is good”) do the same for Mugabe. As for the political songs, they demonstrate how over the decades Mugabe has built a personality cult around himself and also how Tsvangirai is beginning to follow the same trend within the MDC. It is interesting to note that while in pro-Zanu-PF songs Mugabe is the subject of overt praise, Tsvangirai and the MDC are implicitly denounced. The same technique is also used in pro-MDC praise and other songs in which Tsvangirai and the MDC are showered with explicit positive epithets and in tandem Mugabe and Zanu-PF satirized both overtly and covertly. For instance, Chikunguru’s “Save Ibwe” (“Save is the rock”) depicts Tsvangirai as a god and the MDC party as the only political party that gives Mugabe nightmares. Mugabe is also the subject of open demonization. This again demonstrates the dialogical element between state and opposition mentioned earlier with respect to persuasion songs in 2.4.1.10 above.

Religious praise songs are mostly gospel songs extolling God and Jesus Christ. Aaron Rusikira’s “Bayethe” (“Hail”), is a typical example of a religious praise song.<sup>20</sup> The praise song has only two rhetorical moves; **a**, which introduces the addressee and **b**, which is used to

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<sup>18</sup> Mugabe’s totem is Tsivo/Ngonya (male/female sexual organs) of the Zvimba dynasty with praise name Gushungo. Some of the epithets include the crocodile. The two carry masculine and aggressive connotations celebrated in Mugabe.

<sup>19</sup> It is the epithet of people of the Shava totem who live in Buhera district near the legendary Save River.

<sup>20</sup> The song is a combination of two song texts, the gospel song, “Bayethe ngonyama” (“Hail the great lion”) which is in the background and provides a platform for the more important and more audible, the recited text in Shona (see forms of intertextuality in section 2.5.1).

scaffold the appraisee's laudable qualities. Rhetorical move **b** has been divided into sub-moves, **b1** to **b3**, because the praises the protagonist renders to Jesus can be grouped into three categories namely, Jesus' idiosyncratic and unchanging attributes (**b1**), his awesome and miraculous (biblical) deeds he performed in the past (**b2**) and lastly his future (apocalyptic) relations with the world (**b3**). Typical of the formulaic beginning of Shona praise poetry, **a** starts with the word, *Hekanhi* (Well done) (see for example lines 1, 3 and 4), indicating the singer's appreciation of the good deeds the appraisee has done, is doing and will do as well as his intrinsic qualities.

Title of song: "Bayethe"

RM **a**: Introducing the appraisee

RM **b**: Scaffolding the appraisee's laudable qualities.

RM **b1**: Conveying Jesus' intrinsic attributes

RM **b2**: Deploying the miraculous (biblical) deeds Jesus performed

RM **b3**: Expressing Jesus' future (apocalyptic) relations with the world

1	<i>Hekanhi, changamire Jesu</i> <i>Hwereshenga, shari, chibwechitedza</i> <i>Hekanhi, shumba yemudzi waJese</i> <i>Hekanhi, changamire Jesu</i>	Well done, lord Jesus <b>a</b> The powerful one, the unconquerable, slippery rock <b>b1</b> Well done, the lion of the line of Jesse <b>b1</b> Well done, lord Jesus <b>a</b>
5	<i>Makatangira nguva kuvapo, kuvapo kusati kwavapo</i>	You came first before the existence of time, before existence existed <b>b1</b>
-----		
	<i>Mune kiyi dzerufu neHadhesi</i> <i>Paya makapa mapiyaviya avanhū zvekudya mugwenga,</i>	You hold the keys of death and Hades <b>b1</b> At that occasion you gave multitudes of people food in the desert,
	<i>Kubva pahove mbiri nezvingwa zvishanu</i> <i>Makadana Razaro kubva mudumbu reShirori</i>	From two fish and five loaves of bread <b>b2</b> You called Lazarus from the belly of Shiol <b>b2</b>
-----		
10	<i>Nenguva iri pedo muchatsemura gore</i> <i>Nyika ichatarika sechidhakwa</i> <i>Gungwa richazengaira sezifa romukaka</i>	In the near future you will strike and split the cloud <b>b3</b> The world shall stagger like a drunkard <b>b3</b> The ocean shall shift (from side to side) like sour milk <b>b3</b>
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15	<i>Ndiani uchamutorera vushe,</i> <i>Ishe wamadzishhe, namambo wamadzimambo?</i> <i>Uchatonga akafugama muropa rake rakavhinza</i> <i>paKarivhari</i>	Who shall take away from him the kingship, The king of kings, and the lord of lords? <b>b3</b> He shall rule kneeling in his blood that dripped at Calvary <b>b3</b>
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#### 2.4.1.13 Celebratory songs

These songs are euphoric in tone. They are preceded by victory after the accomplishment of a goal, a goal coming after a struggle or after much effort has been put. These songs are performed in numerous contexts in a society. Since time immemorial winning in war and defeating the enemy was immediately followed by much jubilation in which songs of triumph were sung. The same happens after success in civilian contexts such as in sporting disciplines (particularly soccer), success in examinations and success in courtship culminating in a wedding, among many others. Traditional festivals of various kinds and also the commemoration of public days as independence or freedom days that occur in almost every country, are often important contexts in which celebratory songs are sung. In current Zimbabwe where the state appropriates popular music in a celebratory narrativization of

statist historiography, several musical festivals are performed annually where (partisan) political songs are used as a strategy to legitimate and maintain state hegemony (see chapter three). The lyrics of celebratory songs normally look back to the past (foregrounding the efforts that were invested in order for the success to come into fruition); focus on the present (to express the enthusiasm of the people) and look to the future (normally to express a desire for the achieved thing to be guarded or maintained). It is for this reason that celebratory songs are one of the crucial avenues for the transmission of a culture's traditions and beliefs from one generation to the next. Agawu (2003: 18) states that

... [the] song resided in the memories of performers and audiences. Each occasion of performance provided an opportunity to retrieve what had been stored and to display it afresh (see also Vansina, 1965; Okpewho, 1998: 27-30).

Such verbal phrases as *tiri kufara* (we are rejoicing)<sup>21</sup> as in the songs, “Nhasi tiri kufara” (“Today we are rejoicing”) and “Kangoma kerufaro” (“The drum of happiness”) and *pemberai* (celebrate) as in the song, “Torikakata bande” and congratulatory messages like *makorokoto* (congratulations) as in the song, “Makorokoto” (“Congratulations”) or thankful messages like *makaita basa* (you did a great job [for me/us]) or *tinotenda* (we are thankful) as in the “Baba tinotenda” (“Father we are thankful”) are often found in celebratory songs.<sup>22</sup> *Takavakunda* (we defeated them [the enemy]) is another lexical choice often found these songs. It celebrates by looking back to the struggle that culminated in *kukunda* (victory), as for instance in Comrade Chinx's “Takavakunda” (“We defeated them”). *Mhururu* (ululation) is another linguistic element that normally features in celebration songs. It indexes extreme happiness and also that the music being performed has reached the climax of auditory delight thus eliciting dance among the performers. Most post-2000 political songs in this song genre are those celebrating the land reform, such as Mitomu's “VaMugabe makaita basa” (“Thank you Mr Mugabe”). Often they have such verbal phrases as titles of the songs or the phrases are included in the lyrics.

<sup>21</sup> In Ndebele songs the verbal phrase is *siyajabula namhlanje* (we are rejoicing now) as in the song, “Siyajabula namhlanje” by Marko Sibanda which celebrates the taking of land.

<sup>22</sup> One of the most remembered celebratory song of pre-independence Zimbabwe is the Green Arrows' “Chipo chiroorwa tipemberere” (Chipo get married so that we can rejoice), which hit the charts in the 1970s. One period in Zimbabwe's post-colonial history in which the celebratory song genre was composed in numerous numbers is the independence period. Songs like “Tiri kupemberawo Zimbabwe” (“We are celebrating [a new Zimbabwe]”) by Mapfumo; “Zimbabwe” by Mtukudzi and “Take cover!” by Jairos Jiri Band were some of the most well-known among numerous others.

Post-2000 songs include the Mbare Chimurenga choir's, "Ndiyo taichemera" ("It is the one we craved for"), a song that was composed in 1980 to celebrate independence and now revived in the context of the Third Chimurenga. Chikunguru's "Mutanda" ("Crossbar") celebrates Tsvangirai's leadership and likens him to the *mutanda* (crossbar) of a bicycle. He is seen as the fulcrum of the MDC that even if others desert him, he will still steer the party to success. It is important to note that because victory is normally attained after defeating someone or overcoming a difficult task (the opponent, enemy, etc.), in many celebratory songs the vanquished are mocked. In that case contrast becomes an important device contrasting the happiness of the victors and the humiliation of the defeated. Many pro-ZanU-PF and pro-MDC songs use this technique.

Some selected lines from Madzore's "Torikakata bande" ("We are pulling the belt") which celebrates Tsvangirai's 2008 appointment as prime minister of the Government of National Unity (GNU), is given below as an example. Six rhetorical moves are used in the song to convey its call for celebration and the expression of the celebratory mood. Rhetorical move **a** invites Zimbabweans inside and outside the country to join the celebrations. Move **b** serves to suggest the need to celebrate by merely saying *Paita nyaya mufunge* (There is a case, think of it). The allusion is used as a device to raise curiosity and surprise, because no one had expected that Mugabe would agree to work with Tsvangirai in a new government, someone he had been condemning as *dzimati* (very dull person), *mutengesesi* (sellout) and a liberation war fugitive (see chapters three, four and five). Typical of many celebratory songs, **c** looks to the efforts that were made (by the MDC) and also to their long wait for their leader to be included in government.<sup>23</sup> Rhetorical move **d** confirms the appointment as authentic since Tsvangirai signed ...*akasaina ega* (he signed [the papers of his appointment] on his own (lines 30, 31, 33) and also mentions that the singer witnessed the signing, *Ndakakuona ndega uchisaina wega* (I saw you signing on your own) (lines 50 and 52). Lastly, **e** captures the celebratory mood gripping the country because of the opposition leader's appointment as prime minister. It can be noted that the song is also a mobilizational one as pointed out earlier, because it rallies MDC supporters by such verbal phrases as *uyaiwo* (please come) (lines 18, 19 and 20), *torikakata bhande* (we are pulling the belt) to signify movement and forward-

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<sup>23</sup> Ironically while Tsvangirai was becoming an influential opposition leader, he was not in government until September 2008 when the GNU was established having lost parliamentary elections in 2000 and 2005. Hence the reference to the fact that it took a long time for him to be in government.

looking inertia (move **e**) and also the mentioning of names of various places in the country (the L part lines 99 to 116).

Title of song: “Torikakata bhande”

RM **a**: Inviting people to celebrate

RM **b**: Suggesting the cause for need to celebrate

RM **c**: Looking back to the efforts invested

RM **d**: Confirming the authenticity of Tsvangirai appointment

RM **e**: Expressing the celebratory mood in the country

1	L: <i>Mhuri yeZimbabwe pemberai neni vakomana, pemberai, pemberai</i> <i>Mhuri yeZimbabwe shuwa pemberai neni vakomana</i> <i>Paita nyaya mufunge</i>	The Zimbabwean family celebrate with me boys, celebrate, celebrate <b>a</b> The Zimbabwean family surely celebrate with me boys <b>a</b> There is a (good) case just think of it <b>b</b>
5	R: <i>Paita nyaya mufunge</i> L: <i>Mhuri yeZimbabwe pemberai neni vakomana</i>	There is a (good) case just think of it <b>b</b> The Zimbabwean family surely celebrate with me boys <b>a</b>
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	L2: <i>Hiii zvakatora nguva yakareba</i> L1: <i>Paita nyaya vakomana</i> R: <i>Paita nyaya mufunge</i>	Hii it took a long time <b>c</b> There is case boys <b>b</b> A case has happened just think of it <b>b</b>
10	L1: <i>Harare yaita nyaya mufunge</i> R: <i>Paita nyaya mufunge</i>	A case has happened in Harare just think of it <b>a</b> A case has happened just think of it <b>b</b>
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	L: <i>Dhonza dhonza bhande</i> R: <i>Torikakata bande, torikakata bande</i>	Pull, pull the belt <b>e</b> We are pulling the belt, we are pulling the belt <b>e</b>
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#### 2.4.1.14 Threats/intimidation songs

The communicative mission of intimidation songs is to instil fear in their targeted audience and therefore psychologically disempowerment and in the process force them into submission. The protagonist projects him/herself as unconquerable, formidable and fierce. In this fear-instilling strategy the real and imagined power of the protagonist and the resources (physical power, weaponry, authority, economic or other muscle, etc. or combination of these) at his/her disposal and his/her ability to use them against his/her victim(s) is dramatized. Seized with fear, victims would feel very vulnerable and thus acquiesce to politically-motivated psychological manipulation. The language and tone of the songs are highly threatening. Like in cautionary songs such verbal phrases like *hokoyo* and *chenjera* are often used, however, not to warn but to intimidate. The songs are part and parcel of the management of state hegemony of controlling citizens and getting their respect and loyalty by subjecting them to sustained fear (details about state hegemony in Zimbabwe are discussed in chapter three).

The song-genre is an emerging one, associated particularly with post-2000 Zimbabwean politics of the institutionalization of violence by the state machinery, and its sustained use to immobilize the opposition. The genre is more of a political expression, although some gospel songs can also be placed in this category (see religious ruptures in 2.4.1.3). Political songs of

the genre have a long history, being derived from liberation songs sung by guerrillas and peasants to intimidate and punish alleged *vatengesi* (sellouts).<sup>24</sup> Perhaps the best known intimidation song in post-2000 Zimbabwe is Elliot Manyika's song, "Mbiri yechigandanga" ("The fame of being a rebel"). It celebrates *chimurenga* violence and warns the opposition to know that Zanu-PF has a history of violence. Intimidation songs by the opposition also exist in the form of political ruptures that threaten Zanu-PF and its supporters about foreign intervention and the arrest of their leaders and trial by the International Crimes Court (ICC). A good example is Madzore's "Mukanya" ("The pompous one")<sup>25</sup> which satirizes Mugabe for being arrogant, but the arrogance of which is now useless because the end of his political power is near. The verbal phrase, *...tondosangana ikoko* (...we shall confront each other there) in the song suggests confrontation, and therefore intimidation.

Manyika's song, "Musha une mhandu" ("A home with enemies") is given below as an example of an intimidation song. Its message, that any home with Zanu-PF's enemies will be bombed, is scaffolded using three rhetorical moves, **a** to **c**. Since places throughout the country are mentioned as having enemies, the intimidation is nationally pervasive as, for instance, in the 2008 general elections.

Title of song: "Musha une mhandu"

RM **a**: Asking to know the alleged enemy

RM **b**: Threatening to deal with the enemy

RM **c**: Stating specific places and people to deal with

1	L: [ <i>Musha une mhandu ndewani?</i> R: <i>Tibhombe</i> ] x 7	Which home has enemies? <b>a</b> So that we can bomb it <b>b</b>
	L: <i>Musha une mhandu ndewani?</i> R: <i>KuChiweshe</i>	Which home has enemies? <b>a</b> In Chiweshe <b>c</b>
5	L: <i>Musha une mhandu ndewani?</i> R: <i>Tibhombe</i>	Which home has enemies? <b>a</b> So that we can bomb it <b>b</b>
	L: <i>Musha une mhandu ndewani?</i> R: <i>KwaMutoko</i>	Which home has enemies? <b>a</b> In Mutoko <b>c</b>

#### 2.4.2 The multi-rhetoricity of popular songs

In Martin & Rose's (2008) genre theory each identifiable story genre seems to perform only one communicative function. However, although some popular songs are uni-rhetorical and as discussed above were identified and named as such, multi-rhetoricity is one feature of

<sup>24</sup> During the liberation struggle, when an alleged traitor was being punished (usually by killing) songs were sung to accompany the punishment and also to warn onlookers against betraying the guerrillas. Some of the songs still sung today include "Vanamukoma vanorova" (Guerrillas do punish) and "Mupanduki chera mwena" ("Traitor, dig your own grave"). For the latter song, it reveals that sometimes a person accused of being a traitor would be sentenced to death after first being forced to dig his own grave.

<sup>25</sup> The *mbira* beat that accompanies the song is important. Since Zanu-PF is synonymous with using cultural symbols (in this case *mbira* music which has often been associated with *chimurenga* music), the MDC is also appropriate the same symbols in search of cultural relevance for its party and leadership.

Shona popular songs. This is the ability of a single song text to deploy several rhetorical messages. This distinguishes Shona popular songs from Martin & Rose's story genres based on a single communicative purpose. Multi-rhetoricity features naturally in these songs because of their intertextuality which necessitates multi-voicedness. In a sense, to use Virtanen's (1990) terms, the songs are 'multitype' or 'multigenre' in behaviour – "they are blends of several different [prototypical] genres" (Virtanen & Halmari, 2005: 10). As will be discussed in chapters four, five and six, many of the popular songs to be analysed will be identified using compound terms such as didactic-persuasion (e.g., "Rusaruraganda" ["Racism"]) (see chapter four), to indicate the song's double rhetoricality. Others could have as many as four communicative purposes, as the case with "Maruza imi III", which can be described as a narrative-celebratory-didactic-exemplum song to indicate its quadruple rhetoricality.

## 2.5 THE INTERTEXTUALITY OF THE SHONA POPULAR SONG

In the previous chapter I justified the inclusion of Bakhtin's dialogical criticism in my eclecticized model mainly for the theory's concepts of dialogism and polyphony that are crucial in exploring the multiplicity of voices in the popular songs and their dialogical or intertextual relationship. In this section I intend to specifically employ Bakhtin's ideas on dialogism, monologism, carnival and intertextuality in analyzing the various textual properties of the Shona popular song. Intertextuality as a key property of the Shona popular song is explored at the macro-level, i.e. the bird's eye view of a song's text. It is intended to see its overall pattern and larger constituent parts (Feez & Joyce, 1998: 8), like lines and stanzas of lyrics, who sings them and for what textual purpose, how these elements relate to one another and the effect of that relation.<sup>26</sup>

Coined by Julia Kristeva in French as *intertextualite* in her analysis of Bakhtin's dialogism, intertextuality refers to the idea that "a text cannot exist alone as a self-contained, hermetic whole", rather its meaning "is shaped by the repetition of other textual structures" (Waghmare, 2011: 2). Bakhtin (1986: 89) himself stated:

...the unique speech experience of each individual is shaped and developed in continuous and constant interaction with others' individual utterances. This experience can be characterized to some degree as the process of assimilation – more or less

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<sup>26</sup> In other texts these are paragraphs and sentences.

creative – of others’ words (and not the words of a language). Our speech, that is all our utterances [including creative works], is filled with others’ words, varying degrees of otherness or varying degrees of ‘our-own-ness’... . These words of others carry with them their own expression, their own evaluative tone, which we assimilate, rework, and re-accentuate.

From these insights, Kristeva (1980: 68) argues that “Bakhtinian dialogism identifies writing as both subjectivity and communication, or better, as intertextuality” which means that “any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations; any text is the absorption and transformation of another” (p. 66).

Why is intertextuality important in the study of Shona popular songs? As Keller-Cohen & Dyer (1997: 147) remind us, awareness of textual aspects “is critical in understanding how and why texts are shaped as they are and express what they do...”. Its analysis helps us in understanding more the ways writers “draw other characters into their story and how they position themselves within these worlds of multiple texts” (Bazerman, 2004: 83). In the context of the song, intertextual analysis assists in discovering, the micro-units of the lyrics of a particular song “and then examine how these basic components ... were put to use to communicate the macrofunctions” (Keller-Cohen & Dyer’s (1997: 147) of the song. It provides “insight that meaning in language results from a complex of relationships linking items within a discourse and linking current to prior instances of language” (Tannen, 1989: 9). This notion of intertextuality is important because it has a politics that is aggressively shaping the composition and consumption of popular music in Zimbabwe’s post-2000 public realm.

The complex intertextualization of the Shona popular song is taking place in the context of the struggle for re-democratisation and its “oppositional consciousness and activist orientation” (Pratt, 1990: 203) on one hand, and land reform and anti-democratization (characterized by state violence and repression) on the other. As political propaganda backed by a multiplicity of religious, historical, moral and cultural persuasions is widespread, canvassing for support and the (de)campaigning of political parties requires innovation and experimentation with the form of the popular song in order to stretch its rhetorical potential. Thus, approaching popular songs as intertexts, helps in, firstly, exploring the propagandist strategies both the state and the opposition are using in an attempt to canvass the masses for political support. Secondly, because many of these songs draw their material from previous and/or present song texts, intertextuality will contribute towards understanding how singers resort to history and culture in order to interpret current issues. Thirdly, as dialogue,

intertextuality facilitates an encounter with the multiplicity of subjective stances in the songs and the implications of their relationship not only within songs but also between singers and the audience and also the state and the opposition and/or the general populace. Fourthly, studying songs intertextually will enable an appreciation of the uniqueness of songs in providing individuals with an instrument to criticize the powers that be without their critical messages being easily deciphered. In an environment where freedom of speech as a democratic right to be enjoyed by every citizen is constantly violated, songs are thus a tool with which citizens can enjoy the liberty to speak freely. Lastly, from Bakhtin's notion of 'addressivity', intertextuality enables performers to reach out to their audiences in certain ways that will stimulate responses from them and generate public discussion or debate. Addressivity is the basic feature of an utterance, "the quality of turning to someone (real or imagined)" without which "an utterance does not and cannot exist" (Bakhtin, 1999: 86). According to Bakhtin, the communication between the addresser (in this case the singer) and addressee (the musical audiences) takes place in relation to an interpretative background shared by both. Historical, cultural, political, moral and social issues temporally and spatially familiar to both the singer and audience that are brought into the songs, provide both with interpretive conventions for dialogue.

### **2.5.1 Forms of intertextuality in Shona popular songs**

Intertextuality takes place in various forms in Shona popular songs. The most easily recognizable is the anti-phonal pattern or leader-response format (hereafter called L+R), the main structural pattern of the majority of not only Shona but African songs. The second is of song revival. Previous songs are revived verbatim or minimally revised. The third involves the appropriation of previous or current song tunes to back up completely new lyrics. The fourth is intertextuality at the dialogical level whereby songs are composed to engage each other in a criticism and counter-criticism fashion. Incorporative intertextuality is the fifth example, i.e. "when the text of one genre is incorporated into the text of another genre" (Devitt, 1992: 74) as when, for instance, poetry, speech, conversation, slogan, folktale (story), etc. is included into the main song text. Repetition is another common intertextual form in Shona popular songs. Lastly is 'monologism', a Bakhtinian concept coined in contradistinction to the dialogical principle. Also called homophony, the term means single-voicedness. In songs it can be used to refer to song texts by solo singers. However, monologism is intertextual or dialogic in the sense that a singer in his/her single voice, also "internalizes the other", i.e. the voices of others that s/he "constantly appropriates for

communication”. His/her voice is in reality not ‘I’ but ‘we’ (Waghmare, 2011: 2). Whereas intertextuality has these several guises, they all share the common view “that a text is related to other texts including that in which it is embedded” (Keller-Cohen & Dyer, 1997: 147; Kristeva, 1980; Fairclough, 1992; Bakhtin, 1979/1986; Foucault, 1972). Besides serving communicative purposes, these intertextualities also act as stylistic features fundamental to African popular songs’ aesthetic value. They do not only have an impact on the delivery of a song “but also contribute to the distinctive features of a singing style” (Nketia, 1975: 178). Below I illustrate each of these intertextualities and their importance to a song’s communicative purposes.

### 2.5.2. L+R format

The antiphonal pattern is the most basic feature of the majority of both past and contemporary songs in not only Shona but African and other cultures beyond. It provides songs with not only a conventionalized structure, but also its generic integrity. Besides being a stylistic device, it gives the song its cognitive structure as it also acts as a rhetorical platform on which a song deploys its message. As an intertextual form it is inherited from traditional songs (folktale, religious, social, political and work songs) performed during many of traditional society’s carnivals. The antiphonal structure naturally makes a song dialogical. When a *mushauri* (the tune caller) calls a tune during a carnival, or any other context where singing is expected or may take place, s/he anticipates *mubvumiri/vabvumiri*<sup>27</sup> (respondent/s) for the tune.<sup>28</sup> As Bakhtin (1994: 76) theorizes,

“The word in living conversation is directly, blatantly, oriented toward a future answer-word: it provokes an answer, anticipates it and structures itself in the answer’s direction”.

It is actually considered as bad behaviour in Shona performance not to respond to a song, unless it has probably not been properly called. The L+R is conversational in several ways. Firstly, it can be in the form of ‘question’ and ‘answer’ where L poses a question which is answered by R. A good example is Chikunguru’s song, “Constitution istva” (“A new constitution”) given below. Secondly, it can also be in the form of conflictual dialogue where

<sup>27</sup> Respondent(s) to a song are also called *mudaviri/vadaviri* in Shona.

<sup>28</sup> Except for monological songs (see 2.3.7) a tune caller whose songs is not responded to will never enjoy a song and will not have any other option except be silence. The failure to elicit respondents to one’s tune can be so emotionally frustrating that one may decide not to sing at all during that event. Sometimes s/he may complain in frustration, *Ko hamundidaviriwo?* (Please, why don’t you respond to my tune?). If a person continues to sing when others are unwilling to respond, people may think that *anopenga* (s/he is mad).

L and R are in antiphonal tension. A well-known example would be Matavire's 80s hit song, "Dhiabhorosi nyoka" ("The diabolical ancient serpent"), a song dramatizing a heated debate between a man and a woman over who was to blame for the eviction of Adam and Eve from the bounteous Garden of Eden.<sup>29</sup> Thirdly, is the repetition of the call by the respondent(s) as a strategy for the parallel communication of the same idea that is re-emphasized and affirmed by the latter (Okpewho, 1992: 135-137). Fourth, the R could be persuading L to say something in a way that raises the curiosity of the audience as in the Mabvuku-Tafara Chimurenga Choir's song, "Ndotaura" ("Now I say it") and Paul Matavire's 1980s hit, "Taurai zvenyu" ("You can say it"). The importance of the dialogical nature of L+R is that it correlates with social dialogue, thus making singers social authors (Toynbee, 2000: 52). Notwithstanding misunderstanding in some cases, it is a search for mutual understanding between two or more people or groups of people.

Understanding comes to fruition only in the response. Understanding and response are dialectically merged and mutually condition each other; one is impossible without the other (Bakhtin, 1994: 76).

The intertextual L+R also represents "the individual-group relationship," one of the most important aspects in human interaction "found in society as a whole" (Gourlay, 1999: 101).

Below, I give an extract from Chikunguru's pro-MDC song, "Constitution istva" ("A new constitution") in which the L+R voices are in mutual agreement.

Title of song: "Constitution istva"

RM **a**: Stating the problem (violation of human rights)

RM **b**: Explaining the source of the problem

RM **c**: Suggesting a solution to the problem

1	L: ( <i>Topinde mumigwagwa, torohwa nekusungwa, vavariro ndeyei? Bumiro remutemo</i> ) x 2 Constitution <i>istva</i>	We get into the streets, we are beaten and arrested, what is our mission? <b>a</b> It is to have a new constitution <b>b</b> New constitution <b>c</b>
	R: Constitution	Constitution <b>c</b>
5	L: Constitution <i>istva</i>	New constitution <b>c</b>
	R: Constitution	Constitution <b>c</b>
	L: Constitution <i>istva</i>	New constitution <b>c</b>
	R: Constitution	Constitution <b>c</b>
	L: Constitution <i>istva</i>	New constitution <b>c</b>
10	R: Constitution	Constitution <b>c</b>

In this song the two voices are in mutual agreement that Zimbabwe's political problems – violation human rights with impunity, tyranny, bad governance, etc. – are due to the lack of a proper *bumiro remutemo* (constitution). The L voice mentions instances of such political problems and asks why such a problem exists. He answers himself that the cause for the

<sup>29</sup> Songs about gender conflict sometimes take this L+R dialogue format. Many songs by the late Paul Matavire and his current imitator, Freddy Majalima, use this L+R dialogue.

political crisis is the lack of a proper constitution. The R voice validates L's conclusion by reaffirming it through repetition of the word 'constitution'. From a Bakhtinian perspective, both voices are in agreement because they are operating within the same interpretive cognitive conventions – the opposition's call for constitutional reform in its broader political agenda of (re)democratization.

### 2.5.3 Song revivals

These are songs that were sung in the past whose revival today evokes memories of the deeply influential experiences associated with the very times that they were composed. For instance, most of the pro-Zanu-PF songs of the post-2000 period are merely revivals of songs sung during the liberation struggle. They are an example of diachronic repetition (see 2.5.8 below) since they are songs from previous historical periods. They are being revived in their original state but in most cases minimally, but sometimes extensively reworked, so that they adapt to contemporary ideological and aesthetic tastes. In one song one may find chunks from as many as three or four songs of the past. Revival of songs is one case in point why Bakhtin situates texts “within history and society, which are then seen as texts read by the writer, and into which he[she] inserts himself[herself] by rewriting them” (Kristeva, 1980: 65). For Zanu-PF these transformed songs serve to demonstrate their claim that they are the front-runners of the Zimbabwean liberation history. Wartime songs like “Sendekera” (“Remain resolute”), “Maruza imi” (“You have lost”), “Magamba eZimbabwe” (“The heroes of Zimbabwe”), “Ndiyo taichemera” (“It's the one we were craving for”) and “Norah” are only a few examples of songs that have been revived in the context of the post-2000 political environment. In pro-MDC songs, for example, Dread Reckless' song, “Tsvangirai achaitungamira” (“Tsvangirai will lead it”), repeats (through appropriation) part of the lyrics of the Mbare Chimurenga Choir song, “Team” and also some of the lines from Paul Mpfu's 90s hit song, “Murambinda”.<sup>30</sup>

### 2.5.4 Appropriation of other songs' tunes

This is common in all contemporary musical genres of Zimbabwe but particularly political songs that appropriate hymnal, *vapositori* and sometimes traditional song tunes. While in these texts dialogue is between the lyrics and the song's melody, the revived melody is also in conversation with society as it evokes the past experiences associated with its original

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<sup>30</sup> The title of the song takes the name of the growth point, Murambinda, in Buhera district, central eastern Zimbabwe, where the singer comes from.

composition. Since the study of the musical sound itself is outside the confines of my study, I will however mention the importance of the original tunes to the songs which have appropriated them in the period under study – post-2000 Zimbabwe. Here it suffices to point out that like revived songs that adapted previous tunes, historical tunes are not only an engagement with history as earlier pointed out, but an internalization of past voices with all or some of their ideological subjectivities in order to engage the audience to interpret the present. In post-2000 Zimbabwe, appropriated melodies come from especially the *chimurenga* songs of the 60s and 70s and also *vapositioni* songs. For example, Chinx’s “Maruza imi III” comes from the melody of the *vapositioni* eschatological song, “Nowa tsemura makomo tipinde” (“Noah break the mountains so that we can pass”).<sup>31</sup> Chikunguru’s “Constitution itsva” (“New constitution”) derives its tune from the scintillating Zionist church song, “Makore akawanda” / “Kugara pachinyika” (“Longevity of life”) while “Kurukura” (“Discuss”) is a crossover from a Methodist Church hymnal tune.

### 2.5.5 Dialogical level

This should be distinguished from the Bakhtinian dialogism which is inherent in every utterance or text. Instead this is conversational or inter-song dialogue. It is public dialogue via the song, a dialogue often hostile by virtue of its origination from the Zanu-PF–MDC bipolar. It generally generates inter-song and public dialogue across the Zimbabwean political chasm due to its provocatively sharp satire, targeted against the leaders and the perceived behaviour of each political party. This enables the culture of carnivalesque *chihwerure*<sup>32</sup> to find its way into the modern public domain, though of course against the state which, ironically like the Shona proverbial arrogant cheetah, prides itself in dragging the other through dirt but begins to complain when its turn to be dragged comes.<sup>33</sup> Reckless’ song “Zvatenderana povo” (“What the masses have agreed”) is a parody of the Mbare Chimurenga Choir song “Team”, which through metaphor, erases Tsvangirai from the leadership of the country in spite of the

<sup>31</sup> The deeply eschatologically influential song is sung in the Johane Marange and some other apostolic sects in Zimbabwe. It talks about the destruction of the world by God in the Bible and Noah’s ability to survive by building the Ark.

<sup>32</sup> *Chihwerure* is a folk institution of humour and satire associated with the Shona pastro-agrarian life. It took place during village and inter-village work-parties for threshing small grain crops (usually rapoko and millet). The threshing was done with the threshers positioned in a circle. The soloist would call a tune for a threshing song to which other threshers would respond hitting the crop on the flat ground or rock in synchrony with the song. As he sings the soloist would satirize anonymous village characters but whose metaphorical identities would be well read by other threshers. These lampooned people are the notorious ones, known for their moral shortcomings (thieves, adulterers, gossipers, fornicators, etc).

<sup>33</sup> The proverb is: *Dindingwe rinonaka richakweva rimwe, asi kana rokwehwa roti mavara angu azare ivhu* (A cheetah is so happy when dragging another in the soil, but when its turn to be dragged comes, it begins to complain that its [beautiful] spots are now dirty).

fact that he is the Prime Minister in the current GNU. Nelson Chamisa's song, "Team hombe" ("The big team") is a deconstructive response to the Mbare Chimurenga Choir's song, "Team" which claims that in the GNU the Zanu-PF leadership section is the only legitimate one.

### 2.5.6 Incorporative level

This form of intertextuality is very sophisticated entailing as it does the cannibalization of other artistic genres or ordinary speech, particularly poetry, conversation, slogan, folktale, modern stories, etc., into the L+R structure of a song. The intertextuality of the incorporative song text becomes complex by virtue of its multi-dialogicality. By this I mean that since each incorporated mode is dialogical and thus multi-voiced, a song of this nature therefore becomes a constellation of multi-voiced modal clusters. Such a song is a "supergenre" by virtue of its being a supertext comprising the texts of other genres (Devitt, 1992: 75). The modes vary the modal choices available to musician depending on the nature of the message s/he wants to communicate and how, and indeed the emotional impact s/he intends it to register among the audience. To use Bakhtinian terminology, the other genre(s) incorporated broaden both the addressivity and answerability of the song. With many expressive modes, the supergenre song's intended rhetorical mission will thus reach to as many listeners as possible and in turn anticipate and elicit an increased response. There are several examples of multi-intertextual songs whose structural patterns can be represented as Storytelling; Storytelling + R; Recitation; Recitation + R; Storytelling + Chorus + Speech; L + R + Speech; L + R + Chorus; L + R + Chorus + Storytelling; ALL + Chorus; L + R + Recitation; L + R + Slogan; L + Chorus; L + Dualized Response and L + R + Conversation. For specific examples of each of these song texts see the Appendix to this study.

Here I will only make a summary of the communicative effects of each of the cited modes. A storytelling song involves a story being either sung, recited or delivered in ordinary speech with or without the L part but with accompaniment. I will refer to such a text as a narrative or storytelling song because the storytelling rendition mode is the main part of the lyrics. The storytelling could only be one part or more told at different intervals of the song but being the main part. In the context of post-2000 popular songs, the story is either a traditional *ngano* (folktale) or modern story commenting on contemporary life as in Marko Sibanda's story songs of urban life. As with the monological song (see 2.5.7 below), this pattern is a cognitive structure. In most cases the stories are pedagogical as in *ngano* or merely aimed at sharing

humour through intrigue, suspense and hyperbole. It borrows its dialogical structural motif from the African storytelling tradition in which most folktales include a song sung by the storyteller while listeners are the respondents. The singing is usually in the form of “choral interludes at periodic intervals” of the narration (Okpewho, 1998: 218). In songs in which the story is spoken, the sung part usually carries the theme of the song. A good example of a narrative song is “Maruza imi III” which chronicles through singing, the statist version of Zimbabwean history from colonization to the present. The intertextual nature of a story song cannot be over-emphasized on the basis of Bakhtin’s theorization of prose as polyphonic. Here I need to only emphasize that storytelling adds its own unique rhetorical function to the contemporary song in an intertextual fashion by virtue of “its capacity to elicit strong emotional responses” from the listeners. The images of the fantasy of ancient life abound in storytelling “contain the emotional history” of a culture, i.e. “its most deeply felt yearnings and fears” (Scheub, 2010: 107).

There are now many songs that are delivered through recitation in post-2000 Zimbabwe. In fact there is an intimate relationship of overlap between singing and recitation as textual delivery modes. In many African societies (Shona included) songs are sometimes intentionally viewed as “speech utterances” particularly where “recitation, both spoken and sung, have become social institutions” (Nketia, 1974: 177). There is thus a marked intertextual relationship between songs and poetry to the effect that some regard singing as the higher and more appealing expressive mode of poetry (Chiwome, 1996). For example, recitation of poetry may actually “evolve into song” as is the case with Yoruba hunters’ poetry (Nketia, 1975: 178). In post-2000 Zimbabwe most poet-cum-singers have emerged such as Aaron Rusikira<sup>34</sup> and Ignatius Mabasa with their gospoetry musical style<sup>35</sup>; Comrade Fatso and Raymond Majongwe<sup>36</sup> and their political songs and Chirikure Chirikure’s *detembira* musical poetry.<sup>37</sup> Besides the intertextualization between delivery methods, poetry is intertextual due to its intra-dialogical phenomenon just like any other text. Although its language is highly personalized, linear and authoritative, it is still not self-contained due to relativization by prior texts it appropriates and assimilates (Bakhtin, 1994: 78). Because in

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<sup>34</sup> Rusikira’s poetic songs are heavily intertextualized by Shona praise poetry and Christian idiom and metaphor.

<sup>35</sup> It is song-poetry that expresses Christian messages. Mabasa’s song, “Ndiri dofo” (I’m a dull person) from his 2007 album, *Yadhakwa nyika* (Its [the nation] is now drunk), is a good example.

<sup>36</sup> Majongwe is overtly inspired by Mzwakhe Mbuli’s dub poetry and also Thomas Mapfumo’s *chimurenga* beat that he overtly imitates in some of his songs.

<sup>37</sup> *Detembira* is a new musical style that combines *mbira* music and poetry whose origins is attributed to the renowned Shona poet, Chirikure Chirikure.

these songs recitation dominates the song's expressive modes, I refer to them as poetry or recitation songs. In the context of post-2000 Zimbabwe these songs are usually intended for praise, moral didacticism, political and social satirization and Christian evangelism. Their effectiveness in soliciting external dialogue lies largely on the various poetic devices (metaphor, parallelism, contrast, similes, etc.) they rely on to achieve their rhetorical effect. (The use of conceptual metaphor in constructing meaning is referred to in brief detail in chapters four, five and six). Unlike singing that normally invites the listener to sing along, recitation persuades the audience to be more attentive to the message being transmitted, thus generating internal dialogue.

A speech in a song usually carries the rhetorical mission of the song, and/or it acts to reinforce it by repeating it in another mode that calls for more attention from the listeners. It is used as an "oratorical technique" (O'Meally, 1979: 196) to influence the audience. Sometimes, the speech actually starts with verbs or phrases requesting the listeners' attention, such as *teerai* (listen), as in the song, "Maruza imi III" or *Ndotaura* (Now I speak) as in the song, "Ndotaura". Speeches are normally found in political, religious and sometimes love songs where persuasion and threats are used to win support and followers. In gospel songs a speech often gives the song a "sermonic quality" (Capuano, 2003: 97) making the speech a sermonic device that courts the listener's attention to the spiritual message therein (O'Meally, 1979: 196, 201). Like oratory, a chorus as an intertextual feature is most common in religious and political songs where it functions to marshal propagandist messages. It usually scaffolds the theme of a song and reinforces its transmission and importance through repetition. It is often a summation of the message the song intends to put across. It does not only in most cases repeat the message in the L+R part, but places emphasis on it by not only repeating it but by a melody of its own different from that of the other parts of the song. It relies largely on the homorhythmic style, i.e. "when all the voices in a composition move in the same rhythm" (Felix, 2010: 114). Although all the singers sing together all the parts of the song, the L+R still subtly exists in the way the refrain and the other part interact. Singing together or group singing helps "to strengthen resolve" (Turino, 2008: 217) and to inculcate solidarity and oneness among the singers and their audiences vis-à-vis the theme in the song. Having been borrowed from western hymns and ballads performed in colonial schools and churches, it was adapted into Shona choral songs (dubbed *makwaya*<sup>38</sup> music) (Jenje-Makwenda, 2005: 15).

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<sup>38</sup> The term is a loan word from the word 'choir'. Here it appears in its plural form, *kwaya* is its singular form.

Since then it became an important feature of many songs across genre, but particularly in *vapositori*, gospel-choral, *chimurenga* and to some extent some *sungura* songs.

Rhetorically a slogan has a mobilizational effect. As a rallying cry, it reflects the attitude of the chanters and/or the constituencies they represent and their resolve to work together in pursuit of their mission. Like the L part of a song it anticipates response and thus makes a song both internally and externally dialogical. Slogans are often found in political, religious and work songs in which they are used to mobilize and rally people together. The slogan may begin and end the song or it may be placed in the middle of the song as in Manyika's song, "Sorry yayaya" ("I'm sorry"). Finally a conversation in a song makes the text more intertextual. The conversation could be of mutual concurrence or disagreement. It usually acts to elaborate the concerns raised in the sung parts of the song, ending the dialogue in mutual agreement or polarity. The conversation that is conflictual in most cases involves particularly political and gender issues. Sometimes it is employed to scaffold satirical humour targeted at certain individuals, groups or organisations in society. Like recitation, speech, storytelling and slogan, it usually functions rhetorically to draw the listeners' attention to the message. Depending on its emotional impact, it, however, also stimulates interest and excitement among the audience. Although not as common an intertextual feature as recitation, storytelling and speech, it however appears in some political and social songs. Matavire's songs usually contain humorous conversations depicting gender conflict. So are the songs by Freddy Majalima and Kireni Zulu (for instance, see Appendix for Zulu's song, "Ndoendepi?" ["Where shall I go?"]), depicting a conflict between a man and his wife).

### 2.5.7 Monologism

This format of a song's structure is often employed to convey highly personal concerns normally arising from solitude, thus depicting loneliness, neglect, ostracization, or a bohemian existence. However, I have suggested above borrowing from Bakhtin that although monologue is univocal, it is dialogical and therefore intertextual by virtue of the fact that a solo singer assimilates voices of the other into his/her compositions.<sup>39</sup> Thus his/her song text is inherently dialogical before it seeks response from the community, at yet another level of the dialogical process. Hence Anyidoho (1995: 244) informs us that although the song texts

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<sup>39</sup> Although outside the scope of this study, one can also argue that the absence of vocal responses is compensated by instrumentation. Therefore intertextuality, exists albeit in a subtle way – between two different voices, one vocal and the other as musical sound.

of the Ewe solo oral poets of Ghana, celebrate an artistic tradition of “poets as loners... marginalized individuals,” the lone singer is always eternally engaging with issues germane or known to his/her community. In traditional Shona society songs of this monologic format were those sung by lone singers such as herd boys often accompanied by *chipendani*,<sup>40</sup> *chikokohwiro*<sup>41</sup> and *chigufe*.<sup>42</sup> In modern times these are often accompanied by a guitar as in *omasiganda* songs and other modern musicians who often want their songs to have no backing voices. In traditional Shona life *chikokohwiro* and *chipendani* instruments symbolize music expressing sentiments of solitary life. Kahari (1981: 87) describes them as “personal and individual instruments”. Sometimes lone singers also intend to share humour. In some cases the format is used for didacticism by an artist who claims omniscience and authority on many aspects of life experiences and would therefore prefer only his/her voice to be the stimulus for attention. Hosiah Chipanga’s songs are a typical example of this. His anecdotal song, “Ivhu redu nderipi?” (“Which one is our land), are given here as a good example of dialogism within monologism.

Song title: “Ivhu redu nderipi?”

RM a: Expressing the protagonist’s criticism against land allocation criteria

RM b: Identifying problems associated with the land allocation criteria

RM c: Stating how wrong the criteria is

1	<i>Ivhu ratakatora nderipiko?</i> x 2	Where is the land we acquired? a
	<i>Ivhu ratakafira nderipiko?</i> x 2	Where really is the land that we died for? a
	<i>Nhai Mbuya Nehanda,</i>	I’m asking you Mbuya Nehanda a
	<i>Sekuru Kaguvi,</i>	Grandfather Kaguvi a
5	<i>Chembere Chaminuka</i>	The Oldman Chaminuka a
	<i>Ivhu redu nderipi?</i>	Which one is our land? a
	 <i>Kuroja kudai kushaiwa pekugara</i> x 2	 Renting (houses) like this means lack of space to build homes b
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	<i>Ivhu mudhorobha rinotengeswa</i> x 2	The land in the cities is for sale c
	<i>Pagrowth point rinotengeswa</i> x 2	At growth points it is for sale c
10	<i>Nhai chimbwido,</i>	I’m asking you female collaborator a
	<i>Mwanangu mujiba</i>	My child male collaborator a
	<i>Nemi Komuredhi</i>	And you Comrade a
	<i>Ramakafira nderipiko?</i>	Which one is the one [land] you died for? a
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Chipanga’s monological song becomes overtly dialogical by the questions he asks in lines 1, 2, 3, 13 and 19 which need immediate response. By posing these questions to national heroes he is incorporating nationalist voices into his song text thereby engaging in dialogue with history, the state’s patriotic history (see chapter three) to be specific, and the current authorities who implemented the land reform programme. However, his dialogue with them is

<sup>40</sup> It is a chordophonic, single-stringed instrument that looks like a bow, with a string tied between the two ends of bowed stick.

<sup>41</sup> Sometimes it is called *chipopohwiro*, it is made out of the shell of the *damba* fruit, a spherical fruit of the *mutamba* fruit.

<sup>42</sup> A type of a woodwind instrument

conflictual. What the history (through the mentioned heroes) promised – economic liberation for the marginalized – is being spatially selectively addressed. While in the rural areas people got land for free, in urban areas the majority of people are still lodgers. Free land for urban dwellers is not being availed for free but for sale (see chapter four).

### **2.5.8 Repetition**

Repetition is one of the commonest stylistic device and intertextual characteristic of Shona popular songs, aesthetically and functionally crucial for the song's rhetorical mission. It refers to the ways in which "meaning is created by the recurrence and recontextualization of words, and phrases" (Tannen, 2007: 9) and also sentences, lines and stanzas in texts. The repetition of musical material can be "at the levels of motives, phrases, sections" (Turino, 2008: 38), lines, stanzas or even the entire song. Aesthetically it is "essentially a musical quality, an evidence of a musical feeling" and a "token of the lyrical pleasure which the performers feel and wish to transmit to the audience" (Okpewho, 1992: 137). As the hallmark of rhythm, or as Agawu (2003: 145) puts it, as "the lifeblood of music" repetition garnishes the melody of a song. It no doubt delights the audience who quickly "identify with it" as it makes the song more familiar to them (Okpewho, 1992: 17). More specifically is its lyricism, for strong emotional expression of an idea that requires emphasis. Not least is its use as an avenue for the intensification of emotional outpouring – whether excitement, agitation, anger, sorrow, anxiety, fear, etc., depending on the rhetorical purpose of the song. Thus from a dialogical principle, it "has a combative quality (e.g. parody or polemic)" that constantly engages the listener to respond (Robinson, 2012: 30). Besides, repetition may in many songs "serve to emphasize the singer's point" (Nketia, 1975: 180) as, for example in Mbare Chimurenga Choir song, "Muri musoja" ("You are a soldier"). The R part repeats the same lines sung by the L part to stress the song's point that Mugabe is as brave as a soldier in embarking on the land reform.

Tannen (2007: 9) classifies repetition in discourse into two categories, synchronic and diachronic. The former refers to "the recurrence of words and collocations of words, within a conversation or text" and the latter is the recurrence of meaning "from previously experienced discourse" in a text (See 2.5.3 and 2.5.4 above where previous song tunes and revivals are instances of diachronic repetition). It appears that "rhythmic synchrony" which is also basic to ordinary conversation (Tannen, 2007: 32) finds its highest discursual presence in songs. Refrains (see also 2.5.6) (as one of most repeated song components), *inter alia*, help the

leader to introduce a new line or stanza (of new ideas) in the song as s/he builds the song's cumulative rhetorical function or to stress the main message of the song which might be expressed by the refrain. In this case repetition therefore "serves a referential and tying function", showing how words, phrases, lines or stanzas are linked to earlier ones and how the ideas they project "are related to each other" (Tannen, 1989; see also Halliday and Hasan, 1976). It thus makes a song dialogically more sophisticated by continuously extending its dialogic continuum. In more subtle ways, repetition in songs also illustrates the singer's attitude, thus contributing to the meaning of the song. In that sense it contributes "to the rheme or comment" (Tannen, 2007: 60; see also Halliday, 1967) or as Labov (1972) points out, it is "evaluative". It contributes to the message of the song through emphasis (Tannen, 2007: 60).

## **2.6 CONCLUSION**

In this chapter I outlined the APPRAISAL theory's connection with Martin & Rose's (2008) genre theory. In employing Martin & Rose's concepts on genre theory, the purpose of the chapter was to construct the initial typological step that will be complemented in chapter three by a second taxonomy which is based on the song texts' ideological positionings. The theory's genre identification principle, that every story has recurrent global (linguistic) patterns that determine its communicative intention, was applied on Shona popular songs leading to the identification of fourteen song genres. Concretizing the theory with Bhatia's concept of professional genre, it was discovered that a song's communicative purpose is scaffolded through rhetorical moves and that this gives the song its typical cognitive structure. Since intertextuality is a key feature of the songs, it was also theorized using Bakhtin's concept of dialogical criticism. Various forms of intertextuality were identified and the importance of their functionality vis-à-vis a song's rhetorical mission analysed. The outcome of analysis of the Shona song's conventional structure and intertextuality was the understanding of how songs perform as texts and why they take the forms they do. This has prepared me to embark on a more informed analysis of the meanings of the songs in the context of Zimbabwe's post-2000 socio-political milieu in later chapters. It was argued that the form-function correlation of the Shona popular song and its increasing intertextualization are shaped by the politically competitive post-2000 environment in which the state and the opposition find the song the most effective media mode to communicate their interests in the public sphere.

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE TRIPARTITE CLASSIFICATION OF ZIMBABWEAN POPULAR SONGS INTO CLUSTERS

#### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I employ the “small stories”; “small voices in history” and “the rediscovery of the ordinary” models in extending further the typology of songs discussed in chapter two with a view to widen and deepen the conceptualization of the songs. The theories help to categorize the songs on the basis of the sources of their ideological persuasion. This will significantly contribute to accomplishing the study’s overall goal of reaching a full comprehension of the meanings invoked in the rhetorical purposes of the songs. The classification is a further step (in the study’s multi-theoretical approach) from the genre theory in which the rhetorical mission of song texts was identified on the basis of their linguistic properties. Within the small voices framework, songs are classified in terms of prevailing power relations within a society. In situating the songs within the post-2000 Zimbabwean socio-political and cultural public milieu, I divide the songs into three clusters: those embodying the (*chimurenga*) grand narrative; those articulating opposition sentiments and those concerned with matters of ordinary life. Three points link these theories with the genre theory and also the APPRAISAL theory that I use in subsequent chapters. Firstly, besides complementing the genre theory, the frameworks yield a more interesting exegesis of the meanings of the popular songs within post-2000 Zimbabwean public sphere. Secondly, (with particular reference to ‘small voices in history’ and ‘small stories’ theories) they enrich the language-based analysis of the songs due to their quest of explaining power relations in society and how they determine what aspects of the society’s historical trajectory should constitute a society’s historiography, values and norms. Thirdly, they are also important in conceptualizing songs as a site for “self- and other- identity construction” (Georgakopoulou, 2007: viii, ix), some of the topical issues of concern in chapters five and six. I contend that the tripartite typology opens more avenues for appreciating the performance of popular songs on the Zimbabwean public sphere where they act as a mediating platform for discourses (re)constructing meanings and identities, and seeking national transformation.

### 3.2 THE “SMALL VOICES IN HISTORY” AND “SMALL STORIES” FRAMEWORKS

In this section I intend to fuse Guha’s (1996) “small voices in history” theory and Georgakopoulou’s (2007) ‘small stories’ theory in order to frame a new “small stories/voices” model that I use to classify songs into clusters I call grand narrative and small voices/stories. I do so because I find the theories sharing similar tenets. However, I also discuss the “rediscovery of the ordinary” framework separately (see 3.3) because I use it to conceptualize songs that are socially rather than politically oriented. The terms “small voices” and “small story” will thus be used synonymously, since they emanate from the theorization of similar phenomena – non-canonical narratives – marginalized historical (nationalist) narratives in the case of Guha and academically marginalized conversational stories<sup>1</sup> in the case of Georgakopoulou. Moreover, the effects they deal with that emanate from the marginal status of the songs are similar.<sup>2</sup> I will strengthen the elaboration of this model by drawing from Mbembe’s (2001) theorization of the workings of power relations in the postcolony. The concept of patriotic history as propounded by Ranger (2004) (see also Krieger 2003; White, 2003) with specific reference to post-2000 Zimbabwe, will also be utilized in order to further clarify the concept of and workings of state power as it relates to Zimbabwean specificities. Lara’s (1998) theory on the public sphere in relation to how the feminist movement has been able through appropriating stories (emancipatory narratives) “to create new forms of power” in the public sphere (using what she calls illocutionary force<sup>3</sup>) to confront injustices will also be referred to in concretizing the small voices model. The central tenet of the small voices model that will act as the conceptual basis to categorize songs into grand narratives and small voices songs is comparable to what Lara (1998: 14) describes as the ability of stories to “expose power relations” within society. The triple typology of popular songs that will be outlined in this chapter is a reflection of the dynamics of power relations in post-2000 Zimbabwe.

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<sup>1</sup> That is, those stories outside the Labovian tradition in which focus is on stories of past events of personal experience which follow a rigid structural pattern: orientation, complication, evaluation, resolution and coda. The process of tapping into these stories is a one on one interview, with the interviewer constituting a passive listener while the interviewee tells his/her past experiences (See Labov, 1972; Labov & Walentsky, 1967).

<sup>2</sup> They are critical in the identity construction of the self and the collective and in their engagement with the big narratives in the struggle for the legitimation and delegitimation of meanings in the public sphere.

<sup>3</sup> Lara develops her public sphere theory from the theoretical views of Jurgen Habermas (1989, 1996a, 1996b and other works), Hannah Arendt (1958), Albrecht Wellner (1991, 1993) and Paul Ricoeur (1984, 1992, among others).

### 3.2.1 Guha's "small voices in history" framework

Guha is concerned with explaining how statist discourse imposes its own values and criteria in determining what should be considered 'historic' and what should not among a society's myriad of narratives. The ideology on which a state's life rests, called statism, is the power behind the authorization of "dominant values of the state to determine the criteria of the historic" (Guha, 1996: 1). This implies that the state assumes the responsibility to thematize, chronologize and evaluate the past and then impose on society "the common sense of history". Mbembe (1992: 2) elucidates this point in his theorization of the management of power in the postcolony. He states that the postcolony:

... attempts to institutionalize its world of meanings as a 'socio-historical world' and to make that world fully real, turning it into a part of people's common sense not only by instilling it in the minds of its *cibles* (or 'target population'), but also in the imaginary of an epoch.

The reason for the state's self-institutionalization lies in its quest to achieve "legitimation and hegemony" (Mbembe, 1992: 3). Guha traces the origins of the relationship between statism and historiography to the Italian Renaissance as it occurred among fifteenth century ruling classes of city-states and the later reinforcement of this relationship by both republicanism and absolutism. He states that by the nineteenth century the study of history had become fully institutionalized in Western Europe. This historical process had the effect, he argues, of providing "a stable base for statism within the academic disciplines and promoting hegemony" (Guha, 1996: 2).

Applying his theory to colonial India, Guha presents a picture of a binary of histories, that of the British colonial state and that of the indigenes. On one hand, there is the official statist historiography characterized by "its tendency to forbid any interlocution between us and our past". Interpreted from the prevailing colonialist perspective, it "speaks to us in the commanding voice of the state", in the process nominating "the historic for us" and leaving "us with no choice about our own relation with the past" (Guha, 1996: 3). Nevertheless, Guha points out that there is an enormous body of narratives from civil society suppressed by the existing (unequal) power relations. They are much more complex stories that cannot be equated to the often abstract statist narratives presented in narrowly chronologized "oversimplifying modes". These are "the small voices" that "we don't hear" because they "are drowned in the noise of statist commands" (Guha, 1996: 3). Although this binary of the discourses of history can be simplified as that between the colonizer and colonized, Guha

argues that in colonial India it was much more complex. Among the colonized, other forms of power relations could be found which gave rise to other dichotomies of narratives in the same fashion as just described. The same point is also noted by Mbembe (2002: 3), who argues that “to account for both the imagery and efficacy of postcolonial relations of power, we must go beyond the binary categories used in standard interpretations of domination (resistance/passivity, subjection/autonomy, state/civil society, hegemony/counter-hegemony, totalization/detotalization)”. In illustrating his small voices in history concept, Guha makes reference to various stories in the form of petitions served to local communities of Brahman priests<sup>4</sup> in some villages of western Bengal. Reference is also made to women’s emancipatory voices that were suppressed during the Communist Telangana revolutionary movement that took place between 1946 and 1951.<sup>5</sup> Guha laments that these stories were not given academic attention because, in typical statist tradition, Indian historians tutored in the colonialist model of interpreting history had assimilated these stories to the story of the Raj<sup>6</sup>, i.e. British rule in India. Thus, in the process, the complex contradictions of power during the colonial era in India were reduced to an arbitrary singularity of “the colonizer and the colonized”. This was in spite of the fact that among the colonized there were also evident contradictions of power relations between, for instance, priests and peasants; the caste associations and their elites; and the labourers and landlords. In the context of Hindu religion, Brahman priests had influential sacerdotal power, for they were the only ones allowed to perform the ritual of purification that the peasants believed would cleanse them of “the sin of affliction” (Guha, 1996: 4). Consequently, this regulated the relationship between the two, with peasants submitting themselves to such priestly power.

In the Telangana revolutionary movement, contradictions existed in the form of the small women’s voices “speaking in a certain undertone” pitted against the commanding male voice of the movement’s leadership who (characteristically) were unwilling “to hear what the women were saying” (Kannabiran & Latita, 1990: 194, 196; Guha, 1996: 9). What was this that the male leaders of the movement were unwilling to hear? It was the issue of equal

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<sup>4</sup> The petitions were served to priests by individuals requesting to be cleansed from the “sin of affliction”. Here, the dynamics of power relations is that diseased villagers in seeking purification were still subjecting themselves to sacerdotal power in spite of the availability of western medicine.

<sup>5</sup> The Communist Party of the Telangana region in south-eastern India led an armed struggle against the princely state of Niane and that of independent India. It brought into its ranks men and women united by a common vision of anticipated power and the ensuing benefits – land, fair wages, etc. (See P. Sundarayya’s book, *Telangana People’s Struggle and its Lessons*, Calcutta: Communist Party of India-Marxist, 1972).

<sup>6</sup> The term found in several Sanskrit and Hindu languages refers to ‘royalty’ or ‘kingdom’. It may also denote Indian history, people, ethnic group or place (see, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/British\\_Raj](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/British_Raj)).

(gender) rights. Despite recognizing the courage and sacrifice women invested in the movement in anticipation of reaping the benefits of equal rights, patriarchy silenced women's call for equality. Their fear was that the gender equality issue would put 'mass opinion' against them. In that sense the history of the Telangana movement conforms to statist tradition where power (in this case patriarchy-informed) assumes the authority of selecting and evaluating what the movement's following should consider as historic/important. It can be noted that failure to *listen* or *hear* the multitude of other voices in society is one key feature of statism in its pursuance and maintenance of hegemony. It has no time to listen because it is "constantly engaged in projecting an image of both itself and of the world" to its subjects as a truth that is beyond dispute, a truth that has to be instilled into them in order that they acquire a habit of discipline and obedience" (Mbembe, 1992: 12). It is therefore characterized by univocity and deliberate denial of other voices in order to promote a version of history in which the agency is the leadership "while other active elements are all relegated to a state of instrumentality" (Guha, 1996: 11).

In concluding this section, there are vital conceptual ideas that can be drawn from Guha's model relevant to the conceptualisation of popular songs in post-2000 Zimbabwe. The first pertains to unequal and competing power relations as seen between the Raj and the colonized Indians; the Brahman priests and diseased peasants; the Telangana revolutionary movement's (male) leadership versus women cadres and the revolutionary movement versus the local aristocracy and the colonial government. As will be discussed in subsequent sections of this chapter, in Zimbabwe these power relations pit the state against forces for (re)democratization. Secondly, the theory implies that in this struggle over historiography, there is a constant identity-making process taking place. In especially chapters five and six, it will be illustrated how songs through the various political, religious, historical and cultural meanings they construct, act as a public platform for identity constructions that mutually deconstruct or challenge each other. Thirdly, Guha's theory about a domineering, normative, egocentric, noisy and commanding statist discourse echoes the grand narrative concept (see Lyotard, 1979) and thus the dynamics of hegemony. Hegemony is a Gramscian concept referring to the process by which a class or group of people forms alliances with subaltern groups in order to win power in society, lead and maintain it (Gramsci, 1971). In post-2000 Zimbabwe the *chimurenga* narrative (see section 3.2 below) also contains these hegemonic features.

### 3.2.2 Georgakopoulou's "small stories" theory

Whereas the "small voices in history" theory looks at how relations of power privileges statist discourse, the "small stories" framework focuses on how academic tradition privileges certain narratives at the expense of others. Thus, in that sense, academic tradition can assume hegemony in the academia with similar effects to those statist hegemony has in society. Georgakopoulou (2007: 3) argues that, following Labov & Waletzky's (1967) and Labov's (1972) "influential study of narrative structure", the narrative was canonized "over other kinds of discourse", gradually leading to "a tradition of idealization, essentialization and homogenization of narrative". The notion of narrative under the Labovian model had been restrictive, conceptualized "as an archetypal, fundamental mode for constructing realities and as such a privileged structure/system/mode for tapping into identities, public constructions of self" (Georgakopoulou 2007: 3). Narrative was described as sequentially ordered, beginning with an orientation, proceeding to the complicating action, then "suspended at the focus of evaluation before the resolution, concludes with the resolution and returns the listener to the present time with the coda" (Labov, 1997: 369; Georgakopoulou, 2007: 3). Such a definition clearly smacks of narrative hegemony. It pushes to the periphery other narratives that do not fit into the confines of this definition. Embracing Schegloff's (1997: 100) contention that there are alternative ways of telling stories, Georgakopoulou (2007, 2006a, 2006b), Bamberg & Georgakopoulou (2008) and Bamberg (2006, 2004) refer to such academically marginalized narratives as "small stories". The term is an umbrella one that covers "a gamut of under-represented narrative activities, such as tellings of on-going events, future or hypothetical events, and refusals to tell" (Georgakopoulou, 2007: vii, 2, 36; Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008: 381).<sup>7</sup>

In her study Georgakopoulou examines the conversational stories of an adolescent female group in Peloponnese, a small town in southern Greece. The importance of her study is that it demonstrates that the girls' stories are an avenue into understanding the girls' main concerns at that particular "point in their lives" as adolescents, "namely romance and heterosexual relationship". Moreover, not only are the stories "a unique point of entry into processes of identity construction" (Georgakopoulou, 2007: ix, 14) but they show how the process is contested and deconstructed. This discovery is therefore a departure from earlier approaches to identity "as singular, static" and something that at one point in one's life becomes a

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<sup>7</sup> In her study of such stories, Georgakopoulou looks at "narrative as talk-in-interaction" enmeshed in people's lives.

finished project. Rather, it views identity as fluid, flexible and changing (Georgakopoulou, 2007: 15) as with *mutendi* (believer) and *mutadzi* (sinner) identities discussed in chapter six. Borrowing from Ochs & Capps' (2001) perspectives on the conversational narrative, Georgakopoulou introduces in her theorization two influential dimensions of conversational storytelling – tellership and tellability. The first refers “to the extent and kind of involvement of conversational partners in the actual recounting of a narrative” (Ochs & Capps, 2001: 24). As regards popular songs as a modality of public communication in Zimbabwe, this implies not only the involvement of a particular singer in the national taleworld, but also his/her alignment with the power relations that shape musical creativity in post-2000 Zimbabwe. Since tellership also involves the ‘how’ of storytelling, it is important in understanding the strategies both the state and the marginalized resort to in order to bring their voices into the public sphere. The second refers to the extent to which a narrative is of interest to interlocutors or audience, to the effect that it “is related not only to the sensational nature of events but also to the significance of events of particular interlocutors and the way in which events are rhetorically shaped in narrative” (Ochs & Capps, 2001: 34). It “captures the aesthetic, affective and subjective aspects of the narrative; the dynamics of experientiality” (Georgakopoulou, 2007: 35; see also Polanyi, 1989). To what extent is this narrative dimension relevant to popular songs in post-2000 Zimbabwe? It is important in understanding how the state considers itself the sole selector of those national historical events it considers significant for citizens to hear. All that has to do with censorship (both official and self) during the composition of a song and decision by the media as to whether a song should be aired or not, can be conceptualized by the dimension of tellability. Both terms are crucial in further understanding the interaction of pro-state and pro-opposition songs as dialogical and mediatory as the two struggle over tellability and tellership from their locations in the power dialectic.

It can be argued that in as much as historians informed by statist historiography have failed to pay attention to other voices in history besides that of the state, so have scholars of Zimbabwean popular music. In their research they have largely ignored many genres of Zimbabwean popular songs in pursuit of those (especially *chimurenga* and others of a patriotic aesthetic) expressive of the Zimbabwean grand narrative (see Turino, 2000; 2010; Pfukwa, 2009; Manase, 2009; Thram, 2006; Kwaramba, 1998). It is important here to observe that both the “small voices in history” and the “small stories” theories lead up to similar results – that of the distinction between canonical and non-canonical stories and the effect(s)

that follow(s) such labelling in terms of the relation(s) between the two story categories. Being in constant sympathy with and having a desire to pay attention to non-conventional narratives, the two theories thus seek to legitimize them, making them an antidote to big traditional narratives. It is against this background that I attempt to focus on both categories of popular songs. Such an approach will amplify the state-muffled musical voices and bring their vital concerns into the public domain. In this way the ways in which these songs narrativize the post-2000 Zimbabwean realities and how they engage the already existing and louder pro-state songs to construct new storyline(s) to the *chimurenga* story will be grappled with.

### **3.3 THE “REDISCOVERY OF THE ORDINARY” THEORY**

In this section I introduce Ndebele’s (2006) “rediscovery of the ordinary” framework in order to justify the inclusion into my study of those songs outside the state-opposition ideological dialectic whose conceptualization is covered by the “small voices in history” and “small stories” theories. I will, however, give a more detailed analysis and revisions to the theory when I apply it to specific song texts in chapter six. In this section I am mainly concerned with bringing the theory to enable me to typologize the Zimbabwean popular songs into the three clusters I have earlier mentioned.

In his 1991 critical essay “Rediscovery of the Ordinary: Some New Writings in South Africa” Ndebele makes an aesthetic distinction between the works of South African black writers concerned with “spectacular representation” and those who broke “with this tradition of the spectacle” (Ndebele, 2006: 42) to usher a new aesthetic convention of (an explicitly apolitical) literature concerned with the lives of ordinary people. He conceptualizes the former as privileging the explicit portrayal of apartheid hegemony, its negative impact on black life and blacks’ response to it. It is the literature of spectacle because it is punctuated with high drama and “demonstrative form”, a representation seen as having been prompted by “visible symbols” of the apartheid system (Ndebele, 2006: 31). As I will illustrate in chapters four and five, pro-state and pro-opposition songs are punctuated by such a (dramatic) representation. The former ushers discourses geared for the legitimation of state hegemony and the latter for discourses of subversion and resistance. Ndebele sees the latter artistic trend emerging in the aftermath of the 1976 Soweto uprising as, unlike its predecessor, characterized by interiority rather than exteriority; “subtlety of thought and feeling”; “sobering power of contemplation of close analysis, and the mature acceptance of failure, weakness, and limitations” (Ndebele,

2006: 42).<sup>8</sup> Again unlike in the earlier trend, the literature does not merely document, but proceeds “to offering methods for its redemptive transformation” and is “dispassionately analytical” in its relation to reality (Ndebele, 2006: 45).

Because such literature is “designed to deliberately break down the barriers of the obvious in order to reveal new possibilities of understanding and action”, Ndebele (2006: 46) conceptualizes it as literature that has “rediscovered the ordinary”. Rather than the spectacle of public life, it is concerned with the private life of individuals in their tapestry of human relations and the attendant challenges emanating from those encounters. Relevant to my classification of songs in this chapter is the theory’s central tenet of emphasizing the importance of foregrounding ordinary life in literature. I argue that the same tenet can be drawn to stress the importance of pre-occupation with ordinary life in popular music. Despite the existence of oppressive regimes (colonial and post-colonial) in Zimbabwe, there has always been the production of (apolitical) plebeian oriented art. With respect to popular music I contend that there has been actually much more socially than politically-inspired music at any historical point in Zimbabwe. However, due to obsession with music of spectacular representation by researchers, the huge body of songs has been largely neglected and its importance, thus, trivialized. Linking Ndebele (2006), Guha (1996) and Georgakoupoulou’s (2007): 46) theories, two clusters of songs largely neglected by scholars therefore become noticeable. While the first is that of songs pre-occupied with matters of ordinary life, the second is of pro-opposition songs. Instead of familiarizing with opposition discourses through opposition inspired texts, we instead hear them indirectly through pro-state music that previous research has canonized.

### **3.4 KEY FEATURES OF STATE HEGEMONY IN ZIMBABWE**

Although the context of power relations Guha describes in India is different from that of post-2000 Zimbabwe, which is characterized by (re)democratization forces fighting for power and social justice against an obdurate ultra-nationalist, quasi-democratic regime (see Raftopolous, 2010, 2009), his “small voices” theory can still conceptualize Zimbabwean state hegemony in more or less similar ways to state historiography in colonial India. Like in India and indeed elsewhere in the world, Zimbabwe’s statist discourse is an active “appropriation of the past” through a deliberate and selective recollection (compare Lara, 1998: 43). Its ideological roots

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<sup>8</sup> Some writings by Michael Siluma, Joel Matlou and Bheki Maseko such as their respective short stories, “The conversion”; “Man against himself” and “Mamlambo” have been given as typical examples of the new aesthetic trend.

can be traced back to the colonial period among the African elite, the vanguard of Zimbabwean nationalism (Moore, 1991). With regard to its post-independence management, it was assumed by the triumphant nationalists at independence in 1980.<sup>9</sup> The ruling party, Zanu-PF, claimed exclusive authority over both tellership and tellability of national historiography, selecting and narrating only those historical events it deemed important for public consumption. According to Muchemwa (2010: 505), during the first decade of independence the state introduced a noble project designed to replace the then exclusionary colonial narrative with a new narrative that would accommodate the stories of all citizens. But along the way the state diverged from this plan to craft a new grand narrative of its own punctuated with “rhetoric of autochthonic citizenship”, thus deliberately leaving out other imaginaries of the nation.

Grand narrative or “master narrative” is a term coined by Jean-Francois Lyotard in his seminal work, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* (1979). He states that the tradition of storytelling which dominated primitive societies in which myths, legends, fables, epics and other stories were told, gave rise to narrative knowledge. The narratives did not only function to explain but also to legitimate this knowledge. In the context of the society’s social relations, these traditional stories played the role of legitimizing the prevailing power relations; traditions; institutions; etc. Borrowing from Arendt’s (1958) theorization of storytelling in the public sphere, Lara (1998: 43) concurs when she states: “The values embodied in the practices of a society and its individuals are made public and legitimized in the narratives surrounding them”. Lyotard further elaborates that during ancient and feudal times, religion played a critical role in the institutionalization of knowledge. Another important point Lyotard raises in connection with the grand narrative concept is its ability to link historical events; social systems; etc., in order to make sense of them. In Zimbabwe the new post-independence statist narrative that I refer to as the *chimurenga* grand narrative, was to provide the common sense of Zimbabwean history. It began to dominate in all dimensions of the nation’s life – starting with the political, where the leadership resides, and extending to the social, economic and even the religious spheres. It was intended to form a framework or

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<sup>9</sup> Zimbabwean nationalism’s contradictions in terms of power relations (between the bourgeois leader on one hand and freedom fighters and peasants on the other; the male-dominated leadership and women, among others) date back to the struggle for independence. The demonstrations by war veterans against neglect by the Mugabe government in the late 1990s, is one case in point. Josephine Simbanegavi-Nhongo’s book, *For Better or Worse? Women and Zanla in Zimbabwe’s Liberation War* (Harare: Weaver Press, 2000) provides a feminist interpretation of the Second Chimurenga revealing, *inter alia*, women’s issues that the male and therefore patriarchy-led nationalist movement failed to address.

lens through which, citizens would consciously or unconsciously view their varied experiences in more or less identical terms within the new nation.

I aptly refer to the new narrative as the *chimurenga* grand narrative because its tellability revolves around the heroic wars of *chimurenga* (1896-7 and 1966-79), now rhetorically extended to the Third Chimurenga in post-2000 Zimbabwe.<sup>10</sup> The history is clustered into a narrow and shallow chronology of memorable events and themes – the First Chimurenga and its heroes (especially Chaminuka,<sup>11</sup> Nehanda and Kaguvi); the Second Chimurenga and its multiplicity of heroes (Chitepo, Takawira, Nkomo, Tongogara, Muzenda and many others); *ropa remagamba/igazi lamaqawe* (meaning the blood spilt in sacrifice for nationhood); Mugabe's personality cult;<sup>12</sup> pan-Africanism;<sup>13</sup> the land issue; and (recently) black empowerment. Bones, blood, heroic sacrifice, land, Mugabe as an icon and minerals are the six motifs that are now used to make sense of the Zimbabwean narrative. Collectively they symbolize Zimbabwean sovereignty. (A detailed analysis of these motifs and their symbolic meanings will be elaborated on from chapter four). In tandem this grand narrative contains motifs of negation – the actions and voices of those seen as championing values averse to patriotic history. The opposition and their western backers, particularly Britain, are presented as not only representing the colonial oppression of the past but also engaged in a concerted effort to re-colonize Zimbabwe and reverse the gains of independence. Anti-regime change attitudes feature prominently in the *chimurenga* narrative. The MDC are perennially accused as unpatriotic *vatengesi/abatengisi* who brought economic misery by inviting western

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<sup>10</sup> While the meaning of the term *chimurenga* is explained in detail in chapter three, here it suffices to explain that the First Chimurenga was a rebellion against British occupation by the Shona and Ndebele in 1896. The resistance was suppressed earlier in Matebelaland and later in 1897 in Mashonaland with the capture of Nehanda and Kaguvi, Shona religious leaders. The Second Chimurenga (1966-79) is the war for independence waged against the Smith regime by Zanu-PF and PF-Zapu and their respective military wings, Zanla and Zipra. As is discussed in chapter three, the two wars are said in nationalist mythology to be linked because of Nehanda's prophecy that her bones would rise. The "Third Chimurenga", a statist term coined by Zanu-PF to refer to the 2000 seizures of white farms, conceptualizes the land reform as another struggle in a series of struggles to reclaim sovereignty and land.

<sup>11</sup> He is an earlier Shona historical figure who was killed by the Ndebele in 1883. However, he is often brought into the first and second *chimurenga* narratives, for he is said to have prophesied the coming of the British, the colonization of Zimbabwe, the second *chimurenga* and the birth of the Zimbabwean nation (see Solomon Mutsaers' 1983 novel, *Chaminuka: Prophet of Zimbabwe*). He is part of the production of an ethnic (Shona) nationalism rather than an all-encompassing civil nationalism.

<sup>12</sup> Doing anything that smacks of demeaning the personality of Mugabe is a criminal offence; many, particularly journalists, have been detained on this charge.

<sup>13</sup> Mugabe still believes in the pan-Africanist ideals of African leaders of his generation like Nyerere, Nkrumah and Machel, despite the fact that the ideals no longer make much sense to present younger generations. He has castigated African leaders, most of whom are much younger than himself, as "cowards" and "sellouts of our own people" and "betraying the nations of Africa" because they "think of money" and "material things" (see Sydney Kawadza, "Some African leaders coward", *The Herald*, 21 February 2012).

countries to impose sanctions on Zimbabwe as a strategy for regime change.<sup>14</sup> For this reason and others,<sup>15</sup> as will be discussed in chapter four, the narrative delegitimizes MDC's attempts to govern the country. This univocal historiography is what Ranger (2004) terms "patriotic history". Its sole purpose is to connect the Third with the First and Second Zvimurenga in order "to proclaim the continuity of the Zimbabwean revolutionary tradition" (Ranger, 2004: 215; see also White, 2003; Krieger, 2003). Although for Ranger this hegemonic (patriotic) history emerged after 2000, as noted earlier, its central motif of a patriot-sellout dichotomy can be traced back to the nationalist discourse of the armed struggle. It has all the features of statist discourse, central to which is its monological and simplified nature and outright rejection of academic historiography with its tendency to question and problematize.

Ranger rightly identifies the state-controlled television and radio; school textbooks and subjects<sup>16</sup> and tertiary courses;<sup>17</sup> speeches by Mugabe and the writings of Mahoso and other pro-Zanu-PF social commentators as the conduits for propagating the notion of patriotic history. However, popular music, literature and state-sponsored cultural activities (such as musical galas and the 21<sup>st</sup> February movement<sup>18</sup>) and Mugabe's national heroes' acre orations are also the media through which the state controls tellership and tellability of patriotic history and its dissemination to the public.<sup>19</sup> Others who also have access to or are permitted tellership of this history are the war veterans. Election campaigns are another stage for statist

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<sup>14</sup> As Ranger (2004: 223) observes, this historiography "has seemed indefensibly narrow, dividing up the nation into revolutionaries and sellouts".

<sup>15</sup> One other reason or claim is that the MDC leader is accused of being a coward and sellout who went to Mozambique during the war but was not courageous enough to train as a guerrilla and decided to come back home.

<sup>16</sup> History was declared a compulsory subject at Ordinary Level in the early 2000s by the then Minister of Education and Culture, Aeneas Chigwedere. Secondary school textbooks, like *The African Heritage* series, are written from a pan-Africanist and nationalist perspective while the *People Making History* series are written from a Marxist perspective. During the same time, a UNESCO-funded project produced secondary school history textbooks written from a universalistic historical perspective. The books include such issues as African slavery; oppression of women; human rights abuses; etc. But the books' multi-voiced approach was deemed to be averse to patriotic history and the books were not introduced in schools.

<sup>17</sup> In 2002 a course called National Strategic Studies was introduced as a core course in all tertiary institutions (polytechnics and teachers' colleges) aimed at inculcating into students a statist historical consciousness. The Border Gezi Youth Training Service was also introduced in 2001 for the same and other political purposes.

<sup>18</sup> It is an annual event to celebrate Mugabe's birthday and by extension his personality, one of the key motifs of the Zimbabwean grand narrative. It is done especially for the youths who are called upon to emulate what Zanu-PF says is consistent, dedicated and ultra-patriotic revolutionary conduct.

<sup>19</sup> See Thram's (2006) article, "Patriotic history and the politicization of memory" which analyses how this history is memorialized through music of nationalist aesthetic. Looking at various cultural activities commemorating cultural nationalism in the 2000s, Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Willems (2009) examine several state-sponsored cultural events including musical galas in their article, "Making Sense of Cultural Nationalism and the Politics of Commemoration under the Third Chimurenga in Zimbabwe". See also Muchemwa's (2010): "Galas, biras, state funerals and the necropolitan imagination in reconstructions of the Zimbabwean nation, 1980-2008" which also looks at the same cultural activities in illustration of how Zanu-PF's hegemony is created and maintained.

narratological discourse. During election periods, it becomes very emotive, often assuming a strong anti-white and anti-western tone besides its usual anti-opposition hostility. Political violence, often legitimated by the *chimurenga* narrative, usually intensifies during election time as Zanu-PF feels it is divinely authorized to intimidate, injure and even murder those known to be or suspected of defying statist values (see chapter five, 5.3.1.4 and 5.4.4).

As will be illustrated in later sections of this chapter and proceeding ones, this statist history forms the official grand narrative disseminated through state media and also state-sponsored popular music and other official ceremonies and activities. In this official historiography, particular care is always taken to portraying Zanu-PF as the party that bore the brunt of liberating Zimbabwe while others' roles are seen as very insignificant.<sup>20</sup> Because the state has assumed exclusive control over tellership, the liberation war narrative has become a noisy and monotonous public refrain. It is “the spectacle the ruling order discourses endlessly upon itself in an uninterrupted monologue of self-praise”, a self-portrait of power in the age of power’s totalitarian rule over the conditions of existence” (Debord, 1994: 4). The Shona proverb, *Ngoma inorira ichiti pangu pangu* (A drum always sounds egoistically), which satirizes a self-centred individual who always intends/demands to have others listen to his/her concerns while s/he pays a deaf ear to theirs, aptly summarizes the state-centred tellership of the Zimbabwean grand narrative. The liberation war song, “Tochema kuZanu” (“We appeal to Zanu”) also embodies this trait.<sup>21</sup> One line of the song’s lyrics states: *Tochema kuZanu tinunure mhuri yeZimbabwe* (We appeal to Zanu-PF to liberate the people of Zimbabwe). Mugabe (2001: 73) himself arrogantly claims:

Whereas *others* grope for achievements to point at, *Zanu-PF has the proud history of liberating this country, ... . It is a record that speaks so eloquently that it is not possible for anyone to imagine he or she can surpass it* [emphasis mine].

Another key feature of Zanu-PF’s statist historical narrative is, as earlier noted, the tendency to dichotomize participants of history into patriots and *vatengesi/abatengisi* (sellouts/traitors). During the struggle for independence, blacks whose voices and actions were viewed as

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<sup>20</sup> Historians and writers inspired by statist perspective have followed this tradition of historical interpretation. For instance, Ngwabi Bhebe’s book, *Simon Vengai Muzenda and the Struggle for and Liberation of Zimbabwe* (2004) has been criticized for trivializing the role played by Zipra in the war of liberation. Herbert Chimhundu’s Shona novel, *Chakwasha [The stubborn one]*, (Harare: College Press, 1991), portrays Zipra in the same fashion as having contributed very little in fighting for independence. A similar debate is also raging in South Africa in which the contribution of Robert Sobukwe’s Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) and Poqo is said to be marginalized by the ruling ANC. The documentary, *Sobukwe: A Great Soul*, directed by Mickey Madoda Dube, screened on SABC1 on 20 and 27 March 2012, tried to show Sobukwe’s immense contribution to the struggle against apartheid (see Percy Zvomuya, “Sobukwe: Picture of an icon”, *The Mail & Guardian*, 16-22 March 2012).

<sup>21</sup> See also Mugabe’s wartime essay, “Zanu-PF carries the burden of history”.

oppositional to the revolutionary movement's singularity of vision (whether as members or outsiders) were labelled sellouts and/or *zimbwasungata* (willing collaborators of whites) (see chapter five, 5.5). At independence, as nationalists hastily began to craft their own narrative, the voices of people accused as such were denied tellership, being silenced by various methods such as criminalization and censorship. This trend continues in post-2000 Zimbabwe in more aggressive ways. Opposition leaders, especially Tsvangirai and his MDC-T party, are regularly demonized as such and, to use the regime's precise terminology, identified as "enemies of the state". The MDC is publicly cast as standing for "bogus universalism", "the end of history" and "an ahistorical globalized morality which is, in effect, divisive and narrow" (Ranger, 2004: 223).

After revelations of MDC sponsorship by Britain and other western countries (Holland, 2009: 135-6; Chan, 2011: 176), post-2000 nationalist narrative began to also portray Britain as the arch enemy of Zimbabwean sovereignty. As stated earlier, it is castigated as intending to recolonize Zimbabwe and reverse the gains of independence, particularly "foiling our whole land acquisition programme" through "sponsoring the violent Movement for Democratic Change (MDC)" (Mugabe, 2001: 111). Notable are the recurrent motifs of sacrificial blood, land and strong anti-British sentiments in the following statement by Mugabe:

*We are no neighbours of the British, . . . We were neighbours by history and a history of violent colonial conquest, occupation and subjugation. We have had to overcome that violent history not through prayers. . . . We had to wage a bloody struggle for our freedom, in the process making huge sacrifices. . . . when our own sovereignty is being challenged, we have no alternative but to stand firm or go back to the trenches to defend our rights and interests as a nation. This we have done and shall always continue to do whether that challenge is that of the Blair latter-day imperialism or someone else's. We seek no square inch of British soil, Zimbabwe's land belongs to Zimbabweans and the sovereign right must prevail* (Mugabe, 2001: 78-79, emphasis mine).

Such slogans as "Zimbabwe will never be a colony again" and "Our land is our sovereignty" lace Mugabe's public speeches. The former British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, whose government rejected any colonial obligations to Zimbabwe especially as far as land redistribution was concerned,<sup>22</sup> is a constant target of ridicule in grand narrative songs. For

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<sup>22</sup> Anglo-Zim relations were soured in 1997 when the then British international development secretary, Clare Short, wrote a letter to the Zimbabwean minister of lands and agriculture of the time, Kumbirai Kangai, distancing her country from any colonial era obligations to Zimbabwe. Britain no longer has any "special responsibility to meet the costs of land purchase in Zimbabwe. We are a new government from diverse backgrounds without links to former colonial interests", she wrote (Holland, 2009: 93). With the formation of the MDC in 1999 and revelations of its financial and other forms of assistance by the British, Mugabe interpreted this as a British ploy for effecting regime change in Zimbabwe.

example, Last Chiyangwa's song, "Agrimende" ("Agreement") which tries to endorse the outcome of the controversial 2002 presidential election, subjects Blair to scatological humour. It metaphorically derides him as a "toilet". (More will be said on the use of metaphor in the Shona popular song genre on the lyrics of songs are analysed in chapters four, five and six. Here the reference suffices to show Mugabe and Zanu-PF's virulent criticism of the British government and its leader).

Strong anti-sanctions and anti-regime change tones echo very loudly in the Zimbabwean statist narrative. These two topics enjoy high tellability as they are constantly used to raise arguments about the MDC and its supposed inability to govern the country.<sup>23</sup> The MDC is repeatedly labelled a party of "political upstarts" (Mugabe, 2001: 72), whose formation and actions are not only bent on "contaminating our people" (Mugabe, 2001: 73), but is also treasonous. In 2002 Tsvangirai was arrested and tried for treason, accused of having hatched a plot to assassinate Mugabe in order to effect an extra-legal regime change. Tsvangirai is also portrayed as *dzimati*<sup>24</sup> (a dull person) who lacks any originality, and who is thus a willing stooge of the British and Americans. He has been scornfully nicknamed "Tsvangison", an Anglicized name that resembles other English names like Anderson, Johnson, Stevenson, etc. to justify Zanu-PF's assumption that his behaviour and values are more western than Zimbabwean.

Constantly refining and remoulding the telling of patriotic history in order to protect and maintain hegemony in changing situations is another feature of statist discourse. Mbembe (1992: 11) aptly characterizes the postcolony as "simulacral regime par excellence", i.e., it has the ability to improvise and transform the imagery and symbols of state power. Statecraft constantly does this in Zimbabwe. White (2003) has noted the way in which Zanu-PF has revised the telling of its patriotic history to include more on former Zapu leaders, especially iconizing its leader Joshua Nkomo, as some of the protagonists of patriotic history. Nkomo is now posthumously celebrated without question as "Father Zimbabwe", something that was rarely done before his death in 1999. The musical galas, *Umdala wethu* and Unity gala, are organized annually to commemorate his contribution to the nation. In the Mabvuku-Tafara Chimurenga Choir's celebratory song, "Magamba eZimbabwe" ("Zimbabwe's heros"),

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<sup>23</sup> In March 2011 Mugabe led a National Anti-Sanctions Petition which the state claims was signed by over 2.2 million people (see Herald Reporter, "President to table sanctions issue at Sadc says Gumbo", *The Herald*, 19 July 2011).

<sup>24</sup> It is a Shona word that means a type of wood that does not burn.

Nkomo is mentioned as one of the greatest revolutionaries of the nation, so is in Manyika's intimidation song "Mbiri yechigandanga" and exemplum-persuasion song, "Vazhinji nevazhinji" ("Many and many [i.e., guerrillas]").<sup>25</sup> All this is clearly politically strategic, intended to make the land reform acceptable to the people of Matebeleland as well as to make it appear as an inclusive national agenda. Furthermore, the praise of Nkomo is aimed at winning the political support of the people of Matebeleland whose interaction with Zanu-PF has historically been punctuated with suspicion and hostility.<sup>26</sup> Approving the inclusion of Nkomo into the main plot of the *chimurenga* narrative, Mugabe stated at the 2002 *Umdala wethu* gala:

We remember him as the father of Zimbabwe, as the one who pioneered the struggle and one who was committed to the very end to liberate his people and after liberation wanted people to get their land (cited in Ndlovu-Gatsheni & Willems, 2009: 962).<sup>27</sup>

War veterans, including those from Zipra,<sup>28</sup> have also taken centre stage in post-2000 Zimbabwe's historical drama. Because Mugabe saw war veterans as the most reliable instruments for land seizure, they are now not only active characters in the patriotic history narrative but also its vivacious storytellers. The defunct Zipra LMG Choir was resuscitated and now features at every musical gala singing Zipra liberation war songs.<sup>29</sup> Further animating the *chimurenga* narrative, war-veterans usually make annual pilgrimages to national shrines outside Zimbabwe's borders (Chimoio and Nyadzoia in Mozambique and Tembwe in Zambia) in remembrance of the freedom fighters buried there.

Explaining how a postcolony exercises its power, Mbembe (2001: 2) refers to its "distinctive art of improvisation" and "distinctive ways in which identities are multiplied, transformed, and put into circulation". Improvisation in Zimbabwean state discourse has also recently been seen in the selection of some war stories from ordinary people. These stories come from diverse participants in the struggle such as former freedom fighters; detainees and restrictees; *vanachimwido* (female collaborators) and *vanamujibha* (male collaborators) and peasants. These stories (aired on television in a programme called *Chimurenga File*) reinforce the plot

<sup>25</sup> Ironically Ndebele pre-colonial leaders, Mzilikazi and Lobengula, often criticized in Shona literature and colonialist history for raiding the Shona for cattle, women, grain and livestock, are now celebrated in grand narrative songs as Zanu-PF tries to mend national unity, for example in the Mbare Chimurenga Choir's argumentation song, "Hatibve muno" ("We won't leave our country").

<sup>26</sup> See, for instance, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2003) who argues that the people of Matebeleland still harbour deep-rooted fear, mistrust and anger against the state, especially as regards Gukurahundi.

<sup>27</sup> See also *The Herald*, 2 July 2002.

<sup>28</sup> Jabulani Sibanda, a former Zipra cadre, now leads the Zimbabwe National Liberation War Veterans' Association.

<sup>29</sup> Ironically its recordings had been destroyed by the state in the early 1980s during the Zanu-PF – PF-Zapu tension and the dissident problem. The choir's songs were thus banned from state radio (Sibanda, 2005).

of the *chimurenga* narrative with newly elicited testimonies. The usual themes of the stories – torture, murder and rape of defenceless peasants by Rhodesian forces; the sacrifice of peasants; the suffering and endurance of freedom fighters (hunger, starvation, diseases, death, especially the bombings at Chimoio, Nyadzoia, Mkushi, etc., are often mentioned) and the detainees’ and restrictees’ readiness for persecution – are homogenized into the narrative’s symbols of blood; bones; heroic sacrifice and land (Muchemwa, 2010). As expected, the tellership and tellability of the stories and hence the national taleworld are determined by the state to ensure that voices averse to the *chimurenga* narrative – such as those concerning the crimes like murder; torture of villagers suspected to be *vatenges*; rape, etc., committed by freedom fighters (see Krieger, 1988, 1992) – are excluded and silenced.

Like sanctions, the GNU (established in March 2009) with both Zanu-PF and MDC participation, is another of the state’s negative themes that constantly features in its hegemonic discourse. It does so because the birth of the GNU is blamed on the MDC. Mugabe has been vocal about feeling “awkward being part of the inclusive government that he thinks draws authority from a ‘semi-legal’ and ‘make-shift’ political arrangement”<sup>30</sup>(Mkwate, 2010). The GNU, and especially its MDC section, is always attacked right, left and centre in the state-controlled press and in songs by many *chimurenga* choirs that have sprouted since 2009. Mbare Chimurenga Choir’s song, “Team”, and many others (as will be demonstrated in chapter five), recognize only the Zanu-PF component of the GNU as containing legitimate leaders.

### 3.5 A TRIPARTITE CLASSIFICATION OF POPULAR SONGS

Having analysed and elaborated the tenets concerning the “small voices/stories” and the “rediscovery of the ordinary” theories and the implications of their application on Zimbabwean power relations, I devote this section to explaining the rationale behind classifying popular music into pro-state songs, that I call “grand narrative songs” (GNS); anti-state songs that I term “small stories/voices” (SVS/SSS) and socially-oriented songs I call “songs of ordinary life” (SOL).

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<sup>30</sup> After protracted talks the GNU came into fruition in March 2009 on the basis of the Global Political Agreement (GPA) signed in September 2008.

### 3.5.1. Grand narrative songs

This is a cluster genre of songs used in the management of hegemony to propagate statist historiography. What characterises these songs has been discussed in 3.2 above. Here I can only summarize that, in terms of their attitudinal meanings (see chapters four and five), the songs positively evaluate the land reform, the liberation struggle, Mugabe's leadership style and Shona traditional values while negatively portraying the opposition.

### 3.5.2 Small voices/stories songs

Referred to as “small-voices-in-history” or merely “small voices” or “small stories”, these are the songs the state considers ‘politically incorrect’ and thus censors and proscribes them in various ways in an attempt to cripple or completely destroy their counter-hegemonic capabilities. These are pro-opposition or pro-change songs whose cluster of themes includes democracy; political change; respect for human rights; good governance; transparency and the rule of law. For instance, Chikunguru's songs “Kurukura” (“Discuss [i.e., change]”) and “Zviri mberi” (“What lies ahead”) express these MDC ideals. Like pro-Zanu-PF songs their lyrics constitute a cluster of themes of negation which blame Zanu-PF. Corruption; violence; state-sponsored repression; dictatorship and national economic and political meltdown, are all blamed on Mugabe and his party. In songs such as “Kure kure” (“We came a long way”) and “Vekurohwa” (“Of violence”) or “Egypt taramba” (“No more to oppression”) by Madzore; “Ndiri musoja” (“I'm a soldier”) and “Vana vanzwa” (“Children have suffered”) by Dread Reckless and Sister Fearless<sup>31</sup>; and Chikunguru's “Chirongwa” (“The programme”), the MDC is depicted as confronting Zanu-PF in search of social justice.

### 3.5.3 Songs of ordinary life

Comprising of songs explicitly thematizing issues of ordinary life, this cluster is what I refer to as “songs of ordinary life” (SOL). As I alluded to in 3.3 above the songs are largely apolitical in tone, pre-occupied with challenges individuals encounter in their daily struggles and try to resolve them in pursuit of the meaning of life. The challenges include difficulties in finding a marriage partner; failing to conceive; loss of or failure to find a job; struggling to

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<sup>31</sup> These are their stage names. Their real names are Happison Handson Mabika and Patience Takaona respectively. The names Reckless and Fearless may suggest their obsession with the desire to exercise their (artistic) freedom; to sing about what they want even in the face of state repression. However, their ‘fearlessness’ and ‘recklessness’ resulted in their arrest in 2008, being accused of insulting President Mugabe. They failed to attend a court and went into hiding (see Sebastian Nyamhangambiri, “Duo Charged of Insulting President Mugabe: One year in Hiding”, *Freemuse*, 10 June, 2009).

overcome socially prohibited desires such as covetousness; jealousy and so on. I have, however, earlier (in chapter two) noted the elusiveness and fuzziness of what constitutes genre and thus the challenge of having a song text sometimes falling into more than one class or defying neat classification. The same problem can also be encountered in the current triple typology, especially with respect to the SOL cluster. Although pre-occupied with matters of ordinary life some SOL songs can be interpreted to be conveying political statements. However, as I contend and elaborate my argument in chapter six, such political commentary is often implicit and usually not the artist's authorial stance but the public or critics' (angle of) interpretation. Cases in point include, for instance, Somanje's 2004 *sungura* hit, "Tsaona" ("Tragedy") and Fungisai's gospel hit "Toita zvedenga" ("Doing heavenly things") (see chapter six for analysis of the song). In the former the protagonist is devastated by one death after another of his relatives. Interpreted from a political vantage point the song could be viewed as a hidden attack on the government's failure to provide proper medical care to its citizens in the wake of the socio-economic and political hardships of the period. Similarly, the latter can be considered covert criticism of the state though steeped in transcendental imagination. It rejects the physical world because it is no longer habitable due to the country's economic collapse. Despite this observation, songs that I classify under the SOL cluster are identifiably distinct due their privileging of ordinary life. It is for their allocation of high tellability to apolitical issues why SOL are not banned by the state, but actually promoted through state-sponsored cultural activities (see 3.6 below). They play a crucial role in contributing to the state's mechanism of maintaining hegemony through diverting citizens' imagination from political issues (see chapter six).

### **3.6 FACTORS SHAPING THE NOTIONS OF GRAND AND SMALL VOICES SONGS**

Whereas I provided justification above concerning the classification of Zimbabwean popular songs into three clusters, it is important also to analyse the more specific factors shaping especially the SSS and GNS categories. (I will not delve into factors affecting SOL, because as I pointed out, songs under this cluster are mainly timeless and not directly shaped by the dispensations prevailing in a country.) By doing so, I enhance the functionality of this typology in the study's overall quest to understand the songs' telling of the experiential realities of post-2000 Zimbabwe. The factors, in the form of state-organized cultural activities, necessitate a cultural interpretation of the function of popular songs in the public

sphere. They also help in conceptualizing the public realm “as a cultural arena” for “the political domain” (Lara, 1998: 36, citing Arendt, 1958) “where ‘public’ meanings of justice and good” are brought to public awareness (Lara, 1998: 4). Besides, the factors also assist in understanding these cultural activities and the songs performed as an indication of the state’s “assimilation of politics to performance” (Lara, 1998: 37, see also Canovan, 1994).

### 3.6.1 Grand narrative song factors

Although the use of the arts as media for disseminating nationalist ideals and strategy for propaganda dates back (in Zimbabwe) to the liberation struggle (see Pongweni, 1982; Turino, 2000, 2008; Pfukwa, 2008), independence gave nationalists more power to extend the use of the arts to entrench themselves. The state machinery that they lacked during the war was now at their disposal – newspapers, radio and television, as well as control of physical spaces in which the statist drama is performed. Riding the crest of independence, creative expression thrived. In popular music many new bands arose in the celebratory mood of independence. The influence of the Second Chimurenga and Zanu-PF’s nationalist ideology are overtly evident in the content of the songs and nomenclature of the many bands<sup>32</sup> (Graham, 1988: 289). From the late 1990s, however, the generally jubilant mood in popular music suddenly began to change to melancholy and criticism of the state. Muchemwa (2010: 506) alludes to how at the same time in Zimbabwean literature, which had also validated the *chimurenga* grand narrative, some writers began to shift from the canonical nationalist imagery, renewing old symbols and/or rediscovering “fresh ones in the face of the state’s autocratic hold over the production of meaning and the value-using emblems it has emptied of content”.<sup>33</sup> The adverse effects of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) which the government had adopted in 1991 were now biting deep into ordinary people’s lives. Unemployment, retrenchments and constant increases in prices of basic commodities, hospital and education fees became a quotidian experience. As industrial action and criticism against the state intensified, they were met by equally intensified state repression.

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<sup>32</sup> For instance, a former freedom fighter, Simon Chimbetu’s band is called Marxist Dendera Kings implying the influence of the Marxist ideology on the liberation struggle.

<sup>33</sup> For example, Cde Chinx’s 1997 hit, “Gedye yaramba” (“Failing to make ends meet”) lamented the economic hardships ordinary people were now facing due to the effects of ESAP (see above) that the government had adopted in 1991. Clive Makunga’s “Nesango” (“Toiling in the forests”) put the neglect of war veterans by the state into the public domain. However, some writers still continued with the *chimurenga* narrative aesthetic. See for instance, Mashingaidze Gomo’s *A Fine Madness* (Oxfordshire: Ayebia Clarke Publishing, 2010); Nyaradzo Mtizira’s *Chimurenga Protocol* (Gaborone: Botshelo Publishers, 2010); D.E.Mutasa’s *Sekai Minda Tave Nayo* [Sekai, now we have the land] (Gweru: Booklove Publishers, 2008) and Emmanuel N. Musara’s *Kutongwa KwaNehanda Nyakasikana* [The Trial of Nehanda Nyakasikana] (Harare: Priority Projects, 2008).

These problems largely paved way for the rise of the MDC. In 2000, shocked by the in-roads the opposition had made in barely a year in its first attempt at taking political power on one hand, and on the other state desire to promote the Third Chimurenga (seizure of white-owned farms), (media) reforms were introduced to give the state more power to control the media. This marked a transformation in the tellership of the *chimurenga* narrative and its interpretation and transmission to the public. As pointed out earlier, Zapu leaders and Zipra cadres were co-opted into the narrative's storyline. More aggressive legislation was designed to allow the state to be in firm control of the media. The Broadcasting Services Act (BSA) was amended for the state to have more control and use of the arts to serve its interests. The minister of information was given unrestricted power over programming on both radio and television. The existing three radio stations were increased to four, with a new station, Radio 4, focussing on minority issues, especially broadcasting official news in minority languages.<sup>34</sup> Radio 2, the most popular station among the ordinary rural and urban folk, which broadcasts in Shona and Ndebele, was renamed Radio Zimbabwe in line with the ultra-nationalist stance the state had adopted. Both television and radio were to stick to a 75 percent local content programming (the programming was later changed to 100 percent on three of the four radio channels). Both forms of electronic media were compelled to air the official news and cover events deemed of national significance by the state. Although the legislation provided for the liberalization of the airwaves, the requirements outlined in the clause specifying how to get a broadcasting licence were practically prohibitive. Non-Zimbabweans and Zimbabweans in the diaspora were not eligible for such a licence. An extremely high licence registration fee was unaffordable to most, while control of programming by the state made it practically very difficult to run a private radio or television station even if the licences were to be granted.<sup>35</sup>

Although the BSA was a mechanism to deprive tellership to voices critical of the state, one of its positive consequences was the boosting of local musical creativity. In order to meet the 100 percent local content demand, import duty on musical equipment was removed. This saw many musical groups and recording studios being established in the attempt to deal with the insatiable demand for recording. The urban grooves and gospel genres rose to be prominent

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<sup>34</sup> Although with very few speakers, Zimbabwe has about thirteen minority languages (see S. J. Hachipola, *A Survey of Minority Languages of Zimbabwe*, Harare: UZP, 1998). Official news is aired in Venda, Chewa, Kalanga, Tonga, Shangani and Nambya minority languages.

<sup>35</sup> In November 2011, two companies, Zimpapers and AB Communications, were granted radio licences. However, these are seen as merely extensions of the state as the former is state-controlled and the latter run by a former ZBC employee, Supa Mandiwanzira, a member of the Affirmative Action Group and also close relative of the first family. They are therefore not expected to depart from the statist discourse in their programming.

musical styles in Zimbabwe during this period. They were considered uncontroversial by the state – the former with its seemingly apolitical urban lingo and humour and the latter with its transcendental view of the Zimbabwean crisis. While some artists composed pro-state songs to gain national coverage on the state-controlled television, radio and in newspapers, others continued with the usual songs of (largely) social commentary. However, others produced songs whose anti-state sentiments were not easily decipherable, couched as they were in complex metaphors. Again, as earlier suggested, with song texts' flexibility to allow for multiple interpretations by listeners (depending on their political orientation), some songs that were composed to serve statist interests would end up playing an ambivalent role, being altered to criticize the state. Quoting Arendt (1958) in reference to a story's meaning, Lara (1998: 17) asserts that "no story belongs to one person in particular; every one of them is rewoven into new stories that bring to life a variety of different meanings and experiences... ." This is also true with reference to a song's meaning. For example, the Mbare Chimurenga hit song, "Team" was reworked by Happison Mabika (otherwise popular known as Dread Reckless) in his counter song, "Tsvangirai achaitungamira ega" ("Tsvangirai will rule it [i.e. Zimbabwe]") in which he satirizes the Zanu-PF leadership section of the GNU (Mugabe, Mujuru and Nkomo) as now being in the vicinity of the twilight of their political career. Mugabe is said to be soon going to herd donkeys in his rural Zvimba; Mujuru to lead baboons in the mountains and Nkomo to lead donkeys in Emakhandeni in the aftermaths of their loss of power to Tsvangirai<sup>36</sup> (see chapter five). This kind of complex creativity was noted by Barber (1987: 1), in her general comment on African popular arts that "they [even] flourish without encouragement or recognition from official bodies, and sometimes in defiance to them". This observation confirms Mbembe's (2001: 2) recognition of the contradictory nature of the postcolony as having "a chaotic plurality" and at the same time "an internal coherence".

While no song was officially banned, many songs that were viewed as critical of the state and Mugabe, whether overtly or covertly, were simply denied airplay without any written or verbal statement to that effect. In 2004 the then minister of information, Jonathan Moyo, declared that MDC would not get any access to state media because the party was unpatriotic. "Unless and until we have a loyal opposition it will not be possible for them [i.e., the MDC] to access the public media", he declared. Officials in the ministry of information and at ZBC

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<sup>36</sup> In 2011 three MDC supporters were arrested in Mutare for 'adulterating' the same song to denigrate Mugabe at funeral of their colleague (see Chengetai Murimwa, "3 denied bail for anti-Mugabe song", *Newsday*, 11 February, 2011).

simply gave verbal instructions to DJs to stop playing any song deemed subversive (Eyre, 2001: 48, 70, 72). Resorting to such an unwritten censorship policy is a regime's ploy "to protect itself from recrimination" (Thram, 2006: 81), since there will not be any tangible evidence to sue the broadcaster. Some popular songs and albums that were affected by such censorship strategies were Mtukudzi's "Bvuma wachembera" and Mapfumo's *Mamvemve (Tatters)* (1999), *Disaster* (1999) and *Toi toi (Agitation)* (2003). Tongai Moyo's 2008 song "Kukanda nekuvhika" ("Throwing [blows] and blocking") could not receive airplay having allegedly been viewed as lampooning Mugabe for eventually capitulating to the opposition and forming a unity government with it (Mandizvidza, 2008).<sup>37</sup>

Meanwhile, attempting to create "a world of meanings all of its own" that moulds "logics of the constitution of all other meanings" (Mbembe, 1992: 2) in the country, the state went on to sponsor musical festivals promoting the patriotic history project.<sup>38</sup> The ministry of information introduced three musical festivals, the *Umdala wethu* and the Unity galas in 2001 and the *Mzee bira* in 2004 to respectively celebrate the lives of Joshua Nkomo and Simon Mzenda, in line with its theme of statist heroism. The Unity gala was introduced to celebrate the 1987 Zanu-PF and PF-Zapu Unity Accord, as alluded to earlier, to foreground Zapu history in nationalist historiography to woo the support of the people of Matebeleland. These cultural activities were to complement those already in existence – the Heroes Splash, Defence Forces gala and the Independence musical gala.<sup>39</sup> With the provinces' towns and cities rotating annually to host these musical events, the regime found an exclusive stage to disseminate its anti-white and anti-opposition propaganda whilst polishing further its image as the liberator and empowerer of the indigenous people through the land reform programme. These official festivities therefore "constitute the pre-eminent means" by which the state

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<sup>37</sup> Other musicians who at one point or another had some of their music removed from the airwaves include Leonard Zhakata; Hosia Chipanga; Portia Gwanzura; Chiwoniso Maraire; Ivy Kombo and Raymond Majongwe. Musicians who accepted to perform at opposition functions risked not being invited to perform at official musical galas. In 2012 when Chipanga was not invited to perform during the 21<sup>st</sup> February Movement celebrations in Mutare, he interpreted this as being "politically-motivated" as punishment by the state for having performed at the MDC anniversary in September 2011 (see Kenneth Nyangani, "Chipanga cries foul", *Newsday*, 27 February 2012).

<sup>38</sup> To make sure that these state-sponsored musical activities are carried out as per state expectations, they are co-ordinated by a retired soldier, currently Major Anyway Mutambudzi (see Kenneth Nyangani, "Chipanga cries foul", *Newsday*, 27 February, 2012).

<sup>39</sup> However, it should be pointed out that these state-sponsored musical events continue to increase. In 2011 an anti-sanctions gala was suggested (see Herald Reporter, "President to table sanctions issue at SADC, says Gumbo", *The Herald*, 19 July 2011). The event was intended to be a campaign gimmick, to undermine the MDC's role in the GNU by presenting it as responsible for the economic problems in the country due to the sanctions they asked western countries to impose on Zimbabwe. The state collected over two million signatures for an anti-sanctions petition handed over to countries blamed for imposing the illegal sanctions.

“speaks and the way in which it dramatizes its magnificence” to its citizens (Mbembe, 2001: 9). The propaganda is communicated in both words and pictures. About a month before each of these state events are conducted, some snippets of speeches by the personalities to whom they are dedicated are continuously aired on both television and radio. As a run-up to the *Mzee bira* for instance, Simon Muzenda is shown on television reciting the “Nehanda Nyakasikana” poem.<sup>40</sup> During the actual event, there would be a giant picture of a humble Simon Muzenda carrying a traditional hoe on his shoulder. The picture is intended to project the message that the departed hero wanted to empower the people through the land reform. With the goal of resuscitating patriotic history, the musical galas are seen as reincarnations of the liberation war *pungwes*, all-night peasant politicisation events (Ndlovu-Gatsheni & Willems, 2009: 953) accompanied by song and dance. The epithet “Soul of the nation” would also be emblazoned beside the picture as a message to the people that they should respect their cultural values as Muzenda did. Also would be giant pictures of beautiful fields with healthy maize or tobacco crops decorating the backstage walls.<sup>41</sup> The “Our land is our prosperity” motto would often accompany such pictures. For the unity gala, speeches made by Nkomo and Mugabe would be frequently aired on radio while on television images of the two embracing after signing the 1987 unity accord would be constantly shown. For the independence day celebrations, the lowering of the Union Jack and the simultaneous raising of the new Zimbabwe flag and Mugabe’s swearing in as the prime minister on the midnight of 17 April 1980 have become regular interludes in and between programmes. It appears that any time the state feels like organizing any other musical gala, it does not fall short of funds to do so and catchy words to name it. In 2004 the information ministry organized the Zim-Mozambique Solidarity gala held in the Mozambican town of Chimoio. The town is symbolic in the *chimurenga* narrative as it was the headquarters of Zanla. It was also bombed in 1977 by the Rhodesian air-force, resulting in the death of nearly a thousand refugees and Zanla cadres. The significance of the musical event, from the perspective of statist historiography, was to trace and reinvigorate in the national memory the painful route of blood, bones and heroic sacrifice to independence. In 2011 an anti-sanctions gala was mooted and is likely to be held in 2012 as a campaign strategy for Zanu-PF. In the reportage below for example, the

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<sup>40</sup> The poem is found in Solomon Mutsaers’ nationalist novel, *Feso* (1956). The poem, which calls for divine intervention through the Nehanda spirit, is a highly emotional critique of colonial rule. It became a de facto official prayer during nationalist meetings. The poem fits well into the grand narrative by virtue of thematizing Nehanda, the most influential legendary figure during the second *chimurenga* and in contemporary Zimbabwe.

<sup>41</sup> Maize is Zimbabwe’s staple crop while tobacco is the crop for the largest foreign currency earner.

Chipinge musical festival in celebration of Mugabe's 88<sup>th</sup> birthday is linked to the *chimurenga* narrative's symbolic places, iconic personalities and events:

The gala ... *was more than just a musical festival* as it brought together people from all walks of life, not only from Chipinge, *but from as far afield as Chimoio in Mozambique* and surrounding areas. It was the first time the gala was held in the sleepy town in (sic) with Mozambique, *where President Mugabe was based during the liberation war*. And music lovers came prepared for *the "pungwe" that started as early as 6pm and ended on Sunday*, just after midday (Mbiriya, 2012, emphasis mine).

Although these cultural activities are a favourite, with people attending in their thousands, it is more likely that the majority of these people come more for the music and less for listening to the political propaganda the events are supposed to inculcate. But for the state, such huge turnouts serve its propagandist strategy, as they are interpreted to the nation as constituted by "crowds of defiance; defiance of sanctions and defiance of imperialism and a rejection of intervention" (Kawadza, 2012). Artists who are invited from every corner of the country also prefer them more for publicity purposes. Together with the 75 percent local content on radio, they provide particularly upcoming musicians, an opportunity to showcase their musical talents to a national audience. Cephas Mashakada spoke about how his musical career got a boost from the state cultural activities:

Everything started going well for me since the galas and the introduction of the 75 percent local music content. Before that, you would be played once a fortnight [on radio]..., but now everything is alright (Mushinga, 2006).

Even gospel musicians who many think should not perform on political platforms, intermingling with artists of worldly music and politicizing the gospel, have welcomed the musical festivals as performance arenas.<sup>42</sup> However, sometimes for established musicians it is a dilemma whether to perform or not to accept the invitation to perform at these cultural events. On one hand, acceptance to perform may result in one's losing some of one's local and international fan base who are opposition supporters.<sup>43</sup> On the other hand, refusing to perform

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<sup>42</sup> Well known gospel artists like Charles and Olivia Charamba; Mahendere Brothers; Mercy Mutsvene; various *vapositori* groups and Gabriel Shumba, to mention only a few, often perform at musical galas. Amos Mahendere actually combined with other artists in 2004 and produced a happy 80<sup>th</sup> birthday jingle for Mugabe. So did Mercy Mutsvene, for Mugabe's 88<sup>th</sup> birthday in 2012 (see Silence Charumbira, "Mtsvene joins Mugabe praise-singers", *Newsday*, 23 February, 2012).

<sup>43</sup> In 2005 Mtukudzi was criticized by some of his fans for playing at a state event during the appointment of Joice Mujuru as one of the vice-presidents of Zimbabwe. By the time Andy Brown died in March 2012, his musical career was in the doldrums, and this was attributed to his Third Chimurenga Series songs in which he criticized the opposition and praised Mugabe and the land seizures. The same also happened to Simon Chimbetu, a former freedom fighter who sang many songs about liberation war experiences. Last Chiyangwa, popular known for his "Sendekera" land jingle and "Agrimende" song is now regretting singing partisan music. "I want people to accept me as an artiste, not politician. This is what has affected my music so much because promoters

may result in a negative chain reaction for an artist. S/he risks being labelled ‘unpatriotic’, followed by being blacklisted by ZBC, leading to the immediate deprivation of sonic space for his/her songs, which consequently make him/her lose composer’s royalties from the state broadcaster (Sibanda, 2005). In the end, in terms of propaganda it is the state that benefits while artists have to deal with this dilemma of whether to or not perform at the state cultural functions. During a performance, whether an artist sings political songs in praise of the state or apolitical songs, the fact remains that s/he is performing on a platform designed to tell through the modality of performance, the statist *chimurenga* narrative. His/her music, by association, becomes symbolic and celebratory of the state narrative, in the process reinforcing the state’s patriotic programme. The state can even use footages of these performances later to promote other official activities. For example, after Mtukudzi had performed at a state function to celebrate Joyce Mujuru’s appointment as vice-president, his celebratory song, “Totutuma” (“We are overwhelmed with happiness”), was later used by Zanu-PF to back one of its television campaigns.<sup>44</sup>

The 21<sup>st</sup> February Movement, an annual state event to celebrate Mugabe’s birthday, is now another state activity that since its inception in 1986 has also become a platform for statist historiography. State officials and Mugabe’s supporters say that the movement seeks “imbue young Zimbabweans with the principles and patriotism of nation’s founding leader, President Mugabe” (Herald Reporter, 2011) so that they follow his footsteps of an unwavering revolutionary legacy and commitment to black empowerment. In the period after 2000 it has been increasingly used as a campaign strategy to try win back the support of the youths in the attempt to rectify Zanu-PF’s floundering political support. From 2011 the birthday celebration had included a series of other state-sponsored festivities including Bob 88 (a soccer match in honour of Mugabe’s octogenarian status and his claim to be still “as fit as fiddle”<sup>45</sup>), a beauty pageant,<sup>46</sup> a national music gala and provincial celebrations of the birthday. The National Heroes Acre in Harare, has also been a cultural nationalist platform for statist grandstanding as Mugabe’s graveside speeches of heroism, anti-imperialism and anti-opposition reinvigorate

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and producers were failing to accept me as I am”, he stated regret fully (Cliff Chiduku, “Partisan political compositions cost musicians”, *Newsday*, 24 February 2012).

<sup>44</sup> Although after criticism from his fans Mtukudzi argued that he had nothing to do with Zanu-PF and “I was celebrating the rise of a daughter from our clan”, his pro-opposition fans at home and abroad were not happy in view of the fact that in 2000 they had embraced his “Bvuma wachembera” hit and gave it anti-state meanings.

<sup>45</sup> See his birthday interview by Nomsa Nkala, “Maybe more aggressive militant leaders will come”, *The Sunday Mail*, 19 February 2012.

<sup>46</sup> The 2012 21<sup>st</sup> February movement beauty contest, first to appear this year, is specifically targeting young women with the promise of women’s empowerment, probably to the disdain of feminists.

the *chimurenga* narrative. Music by *chimurenga* choirs now also buttress the same narrative through revived liberation songs performed during these televised state burials (see Muchemwa, 2010; Ndlovu-Gatsheni & Willems, 2009).

Some artists were hired by the same ministry<sup>47</sup> specifically to compose songs extolling the land reform, Mugabe and Zanu-PF, in tandem satirizing the opposition and their western backers. Such were Cde Chinx and Marko Sibanda, who teamed up with the Police Band and produced two albums, *Hondo yeMinda [The War for Land] Volumes 1 & 2* under the state-sponsored Third Chimurenga Series programme. The songs were mainly revivals of the wartime Zanja and Zipra Choirs' songs, while a few songs, "Oh proud Zimbabwe" and "Zimbabwe @ 21", were composed by the information minister, Jonathan Moyo.<sup>48</sup> The minister also went on to sponsor a youth group, Back 2 Black,<sup>49</sup> which sang songs that he composed. Another artist, Andy Brown, released an album titled *More Fire*<sup>50</sup> (2002) with one of its tracks, "Pachigaro chamambo" ("On the king's throne"), criticizing those challenging Mugabe for presidency, as not being fit for the *chinoera* (sacred) presidential seat.<sup>51</sup> Besides, jingles promoting the Third Chimurenga became regular interludes during and between many radio and television programmes. Notable ones were "Kuri kwedu" ("If it were in our home"),<sup>52</sup> "Rambai makashinga" ("Remain resolute") and "Sendekera mwana wevhu" ("Be firm child of the soil"). For all these propagandist efforts, Moyo was commended by Mugabe for doing a splendid job in muffling opposition voices while the opposition criticized him as Mugabe's Goebbels (Holland, 2008: 172). Now in the context of the GNU, with another

<sup>47</sup> Under the Broadcasting Services Act, the information minister is permitted to grant artists financial assistance for their creative activities.

<sup>48</sup> But after his fallout with Mugabe, Moyo was to release in 2005 an album, *Phambili leTsholotsho (Forward with Tsholotsho)* containing his own campaign songs as he was running as an independent in the parliamentary elections done that year.

<sup>49</sup> The band name evokes negritudist ideals of blackness, pan-Africanism and black identity as opposed to whiteness, issues dominant in the anti-colonialist struggles during the 1950s, 60s and 70s, now resuscitated to prop up the anti-white discourse of the Third Chimurenga.

<sup>50</sup> The title of the album celebrates the violence that characterized the seizure of white-owned farms during the Third Chimurenga.

<sup>51</sup> Tsvangirai was evidently a target of this song when he was vilified as a war renegade, a coward and sellout who was seen as unfit for the revolutionary seat. In his article, "Defending our struggle: Armed struggle should serve as guiding spirit", the statist commentator Godfrey Chikowore wrote that "this group [i.e the MDC] has no history that could logically confirm its credibility for the Presidential crown" (*The Herald*, 16 February, 2002). The late ZNA commander, Vitalis Zvinavashe, stated just before the 2002 presidential election that the presidential seat was "a straight jacket" and that the armed forces of Zimbabwe will only salute a president who participated in the liberation struggle".

<sup>52</sup> The lyrics of the jingle come from the popular traditional song, in which the soloist performing in a foreign place, fails to find praise for good performance. Disgusted, he wishes he was in his home area where elderly women would always ululate when he performs. Thus he sings *Kuri kwedu majembere aipururudza mupupuru* (If it were in our home, elderly women would ululate). While celebrating the seizure of land, the jingle had a veiled attack on the opposition for failing to celebrate the land reform programme which, in the state's opinion, deserved praise.

election in the immediate horizon, the ministry still continues its propagandist job of sponsoring pro-state musicians. Since 2010 groups of former war collaborators and freedom fighters have been sponsored to form *chimurenga* choirs and revive *chimurenga* memories through liberation war songs. These include the Mbare Chimurenga Choir; Mabvuku-Tafara Chimurenga Choir; Hatcliffe Third Chimurenga Choir; Muzarabani Mbuya Nehanda Choir; Mhondoro Trumpet and Zimbabwe Revolution Intelligence Choir. Songs by these groups jam radio and television, just like the Third Chimurenga jingles before them. Their airing at intervals of (every) half an hour was justified against the need to memorialize the *chimurenga* narrative – the songs celebrate “the rich legacy of the liberation struggle”,<sup>53</sup> argued Moyo (Sibanda, 2010). Efforts have also been made to sponsor musical groups of youths so that they not only imbibe a patriotic historical consciousness but also help Zanu-PF to win over the youths who often side with the opposition.<sup>54</sup> This is the case with The Born Free Crew, a youthful group whose songs are inspired by patriotic nationalism and the Back 2 Black group earlier mentioned. The complexity of the struggle to manage popular music in order to achieve hegemony and legitimation has also seen the elite collaborating with the ordinary people to produce music propagating the values of their political parties. Mugabe himself in 2010 and 2011 recorded songs with The Born Free Crew, “Network” and “Diaspora” on the album, *Get connected* (2010). Eliot Manyika, the former governor of Mashonaland Central and Zanu-PF national commissar, recorded two albums as campaign music. *VaMugabe chete* (*Mugabe is the only candidate*) (2008) supports Mugabe’s candidature for the 2008 presidential election. In view of the succession crisis that affected Zanu-PF that year, the songs on the album were meant to mock those within and outside Zanu-PF who wanted Mugabe to step down.<sup>55</sup> *Zimbabwe* (2005) was campaign material for the 2005 parliamentary elections. Some of its tracks like the intimidation songs, “Sheyera mabhuzu mana” (“Throw four grenades”) and “Mbiri yechigandanga” (“The fame of being violent”) reflect Zanu-PF’s obsession with violence, especially during election time, and its belief that it is somehow divinely authorized to use violence against those perceived to be *vatengesi* or its enemies (see

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<sup>53</sup> Ironically mocking the MDC for complaining against the playing of these songs on state radio and television, the ZBC chief executive, Happison Mucshete, stated that if the MDC wanted to produce its own political songs, it was free to do so, but knowing very well that they would not give the songs any airplay.

<sup>54</sup> Having as “free-borns” no experience of the liberation struggle, the youth is often criticized by war veterans and Zanu-PF leadership as unwilling to sympathize with the painful history of *chimurenga*.

<sup>55</sup> Although many in Zanu-PF leadership wanted him to step down, only a few like Dumiso Dabengwa and Simba Makoni who went to form a political party, Mavambo/Khusile, showed this publicly.

chapter five, 5.5 to 5.5.2). Manyika is also popularly known for his 2000 campaign hit song, “Norah”,<sup>56</sup> a wartime song sung by guerrillas and peasants during *mapungwe* (vigils).

### 3.6.2 Small voices song factors

Although in the exercise of power, some people or institutions create narratives for others and thus control tellership in an attempt to exclude them from the public conversation, the exclusion is never complete. People will still formulate some ways and means to bring their stories into public interlocution and thus contest the state’s narrative constructions. Stokes (1994: 12) points out that whatever media systems authoritarian states may use, they “are not a water-tight means of enacting social control”; they are often “leaky” and the technologies they use “are seldom fool proof”. This ability of the power of the oppressed to create images of alternative conditions in the public sphere, in demand of recognition, is what Lara (1998) refers to as ‘illocutionary force’. While her model is based on feminist writings, it can also be applied to SSS to understand their similar effects on the Zimbabwean public sphere, namely, their success in triggering discourses constructing new meanings in the public realm (Lara, 1998: 68). With particular reference to women’s struggle for justice, she argues that women frame their grievances through “emancipatory narratives” which enable them to create for themselves “new forms of power, conjuring new ways to fight back against past and present injustices” and in the process “making institutional transformation possible” (Lara, 1998: 5). Mbembe’s description of the postcolony as a “chaotic plurality” echoes a similar point. He contends that despite its constant quest for domination, the state cannot completely “enclose its signs, images and traces in fixity and inertia”. These are “constantly recaptured and reshaped as much by the rulers *as by the ruled* – in the refabulization of power” (1992: 11, italics mine).

The political use of popular music by the opposition in Zimbabwe, particularly the MDC-T, is, however, a very recent phenomenon. Since its inception until 2006, it was relying on already existing protest songs as musical mouthpieces for criticizing state behaviour. For example, Mapfumo’s songs were played at its rallies.<sup>57</sup> His album *Chimurenga explosion* (1999), which contains tracks like “Disaster” and “Mamvemve” (“Tattered clothes”), metaphors for the national crisis, echoes the same opposition message of the MDC: that

<sup>56</sup> The song is a redoing of the *chimurenga* song, “Kuenda nekudzoka” (Going and coming back), sung by the Ambya Nehanda Youth Choir of Tafara 2 district in 1986.

<sup>57</sup> From the late 1990s Thomas Mapfumo made a major shift in his musical ideology from mainly praise-singing to being critical of Mugabe’s government.

Mugabe's government is responsible for the country's economic collapse. *Chimurenga rebel* (2002) with such songs as "Marima nzara" ("You have grown hunger") condemning the 2000 land seizures and "Havasevenzi vapfana" ("Youths are unemployed") blaming Zanu-PF for destroying the economy, and *Zvichapera (It will come to an end)* (2004) with tracks like "Masoja nemapurisa" ("Soldiers and policemen") condemning repression and violence by the uniformed forces, effortlessly served the opposition's agenda. Opposition supporters would also give political meaning to some hit songs whose lyrics were not politically overt. Mtukudzi's 2000 hit song "Bvuma wachembera", was quickly hijacked by the MDC to mean that the person who was being referred to as old in the song was none other than Mugabe, then aged 76. With Mugabe's unwillingness to relinquish power, the opposition used Steve Makoni's song, "Handiende" ("I won't leave")<sup>58</sup>, to ridicule his refusal to leave power. The music of the teacher-cum-unionist, Raymond Majongwe,<sup>59</sup> was also welcomed by the opposition for its attack on tyranny, partisan justice and state violence. His 2009 albums, *Musazvidzokorore futi (Don't repeat it again)* (with the politically satirical hard-hitting hit song, "Dhiziri paChinhoyi" ("Diesel at Chinhoyi"), *Ngozi (Avenging spirit)* and *Live in Joburg 2008*, bemoaned the economic collapse and the socio-political deterioration of the country. In support of the opposition agenda have also been the music of the poets Chirikure Chirikure and Cde Fatso. The latter's album, *House of Hunger* (2008), outspokenly criticizes the Mugabe regime for its bad human rights record.

But with Zanu-PF using war-time artists and recruiting new ones to compose pro-state and anti-opposition songs, the MDC only realized later "the power and magic of music [in political] campaigns" (Sibanda, 2005) and decided also to have some kind of cultural section to compose its own campaign music. Now producing its own songs, jingles and campaign sound tracks, the effect of this has been the ushering into the public domain of songs "with the capacity to disclose previously unseen marginalization, exclusion" and the instigation of contestations with the state on the redefinition and relocation of new meanings (Lara, 1998: 8). From 2006, protest songs by opposition-sponsored singers like Paul Madzore; Francis

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<sup>58</sup> The song is about a wife who refuses to be divorced and swears to stay put for the sake of her children.

<sup>59</sup> Majongwe, a former student leader and now a secretary general of the Progressive Teachers' Union of Zimbabwe, initially composed anti-government political songs. But perhaps due to fear of risking his life and musical career, in 2009 he publicly announced that he will not sing political songs again (see G. Muzari, "Police summon Majongwe to clarify compositions", *The Standard*, 17 October, 2009). Now his compositions which receive airplay on radio have shifted to mainly social themes and even to grand narrative songs like, for example "Zimbabwe" on the album *Xenophobia* (2009), condemning those whom the singer thinks want to sell nations in betrayal of the aspirations of the fallen heroes. He has also attacked the MDC-T as "an ideologically bankrupt party with no agenda besides regime change" (see *The Herald*, 20 November, 2010).

Chikunguru; Dread Reckless; The Hot Wire Boys, among others, have steadily permeated the Zimbabwean body politic, sustaining deliberations concerning national transformation. The first album of MDC protest music, *Tsunami* (2006), criticizes the locally and internationally condemned Operation Murambatsvina as a gross human rights violation.<sup>60</sup> Their steadily growing corpus of anti-Zanu-PF songs consists of reworked traditional social, political and hymnal songs and popular modern songs from all Zimbabwean musical genres. This alternative musical creativity has seen a massive proliferation of anti-Zanu-PF songs despite concerted state efforts to suppress it. This development has largely been aided by new social media technology. New studios, some secretive, have been recording anti-state music by MDC activists-cum-artists. Some have been recording outside the country, particularly in South Africa, where it is much safer to do so. The music has been distributed online, including access to download it from the MDC- T party website. Some is copied on CDs and sold in the streets. According to Nelson Chamisa, the MDC national organizing secretary and minister of information technology in the GNU, the album he produced – *Real Change* (2010) – had 50 000 copies distributed throughout the country. Boasting about the MDC’s ability to come up with new strategies of putting their music onto the public sphere, despite state proscription, Chamisa had this to say: “You can hear it everywhere, in buses, in kombi taxis (sic) and most public places. We are spreading the word through music” (Sibanda, 2010).

To guard against being persecuted by the authorities, some load the music on their mobile phones or office and home computers or play the forbidden music on their car radios.<sup>61</sup> From Bakhtin’s concept of the carnivalesque, it can be argued that social media technology is subverting the state’s monopoly on channels of public media, allowing proscribed voices to speak publicly in ways and styles subversive of the state but democratizing the public realm (see Kristeva, 1980: 78-80). However, some commuter omnibus drivers have shown courage to play the music in public to passengers in their vehicles, especially towards and during election time. In some public places like bars and beerhalls the music, normally distributed for free, has also been played. In 2008 the music also reached rural areas when the state eased its grip on banning MDC rallies. Only external radio stations, considered pirate stations by the state, such as SW Radio Africa from London and The Voice of America, play opposition music. But the stations are accessed by only a few. To make matters worse, the government

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<sup>60</sup> It was a government urban clean-up exercise carried out in June 2005 which ended with thousands of people homeless as their houses were destroyed, having been deemed illegal structures.

<sup>61</sup> In July 2011 a policeman in Bulawayo was disciplined after being found with MDC party songs on his computer (see Staff Reporter, “Journalists detained”, *The Zimbabwe Independent*, 15 July 2011).

allegedly regularly jams the stations, using Chinese-made sophisticated equipment (Sibanda, 2005). In as much as the elite have joined the ordinary people to compose partisan songs in Zanu-PF, so have the opposition elite. The MDC MP for Glen View, Paul Madzore, has recorded a number of political albums since 2006 in praise of Tsvangirai, the MDC and its values. Chamisa, as earlier pointed out, recorded in 2010 an album entitled *Real change*, with the track “Team hombe” (“The big team”) as a counter-rendition to Mbare Chimurenga Choir’s “Team” on the album, *Nyatsoteerera [Listen carefully]* (2010). However, despite this notable success, the fact that the music is deemed ‘politically incorrect’ by the authorities and thus denied sonic and visual space on state controlled radio and television, means the protest music largely operates underground and thus remains muffled by the noisy statist GNS.<sup>62</sup> Yet in that subordinate state, the music is novel. It proffers an alternative interpretation to the *chimurenga* narrative and makes vigorous contestations with the state over its meaning(s). Its unprecedentedly sudden rise and spread has actually shocked the state,<sup>63</sup> which can only deny public enjoyment of the music on radio and television while outside it is largely incapable of doing so.

Given such a state of events, Guha (1996: 3) makes a critical point: that it is important for researchers to try and “make that extra-effort, develop the special skills and above all cultivate the disposition to hear these [marginalized] voices and interact with them.” Which of the two narratives should one choose? To choose the former means to interact with an elitist, monologic and highly sectionalized discourse of a society’s history, and the latter to “relate to the past by listening to and conversing with myriad voices in civil society” (Guha, 1996: 3). In this study I choose to focus on both narratives precisely for the reason that the two are dialogical, they comment on the same issue but from their different vantage points within the power relations dialect. The dialectical relationship between the two arises from and is shaped by their antagonistic correspondences as counter-discourses. One cannot exist without the other. State music with its strongly anti-British and anti-opposition tone would not have existed in the form it is had the opposition voices not sought to negotiate with it in the way(s)

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<sup>62</sup> The only time opposition music was given airtime was during the run-up to the 2008 election when ZBC accepted MDC jingles and other campaign adverts. Like any other state institution at that time, ZBC was evidently cash-strapped and wanted to cash in on MDC money. Ironically, the senior staff at the broadcaster was fired after the elections, because clearly the broadcasting of opposition material had helped the MDC to get majority support in the country.

<sup>63</sup> It appears the music is so offensive to Zanu-PF that one of its activists, Goodson Nguni, asked whether such music, that “denigrated heroes of the country’s liberation war”, would be played on private radio stations, if those applying for private broadcasting were given licences (see Moses Matenga, “Mahoso rebukes Nguni over MDC-T slur”, *Newsday*, 26 October, 2011).

it does, and the reverse is also true. As Kristeva (1980: 64-65) summarizes Bakhtin's dialogic principle, "literary structure does not simply *exist* but is generated in relation to *another* structure". Therefore, in order to achieve a full comprehension of the two in their narrativization of post-2000 Zimbabwe, one cannot ignore their mutual friction, the very factor regulating their production and existence. For this reason I pay attention to both categories of songs.

### 3.7 CONCLUSION

In the endeavour to link the genre theory on one hand and the "small stories/voices" and the "rediscovery of the ordinary" theories on the other, in providing a different but analytically complementary classification of songs, I have demonstrated and justified the shift from the former to the latter frameworks. The rationale has been the ability of the small stories theory to yield a more revealing exegesis of the popular songs, reinforcing the previous linguistically-grounded typology. They provide conceptual tools to explain power relations' impact on the songs' rhetorical purposes which I analyse in chapters four, five and six. Relying on Guha (1996) and Georgakopoulou (2007) as the central sources to present the "small-voices-in-history" model, some theoretical ideas were drawn from Mbembe (1992) regarding the workings of power relations in a postcolony and from Lara (1998) on women's emancipatory narratives as employing "illocutionary force" for subaltern groups' recognition and institutional transformation, while Ranger's (2004) "patriotic history" concept as regards Zimbabwean history having been cannibalized was also used to substantiate the theory. It was shown that Zimbabwe's statist historiography is dominated by the *chimurenga* narrative, a carefully-crafted grand narrative superimposed on every sphere of Zimbabwean life. The factors affecting the construction of the narrative and its public communication, particularly through legislative and state-organized cultural activities, have been analysed. So were those influencing the popular songs classified as SSS. I argued that the significance of the tripartite taxonomy is a step beyond the genre theory as it offers interesting avenues to tap into how popular songs usher into the public realm discourses for mediating meanings on sensitive national and ordinary life issues in post-2000 Zimbabwe.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### GNS AND SSS' CONTESTATIONS OVER MEANINGS OF LAND AND HISTORY

#### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I explore the ways in which GNS and SSS engage each other in the construction of the meanings around the themes of land and history in both grand narrative and small voices songs. Typically the themes are of high tellability, as the songs analysed were composed in the context of the fast-track and controversial state-initiated Third Chimurenga. From an APPRAISAL theoretical perspective, the main focus is on the nature of attitudinal meanings, i.e., how and why the song texts dialogically activate positive and negative meanings concerning land and history. It identifies and analyses the language resources employed as strategic choices by the popular singers in order to accomplish their rhetorical intentions in their struggle, as Bakhtin puts it, for the “power to mean” (quoted in Robinson, 2012: 2). Chief among the language resources used is metaphor, that will be theorized using Lakoff & Johnson’s (1980) and Kuvacs’ (2010) ideas on conceptual metaphor. Other devices are rhetorical questions, verbal phrases, proverbs and some of the various forms of intertextuality discussed in chapter two. Martin & Rose’s genre theory and Bakhtin’s dialogical criticism (as discussed in chapter two) and the small stories theory (see chapter three) will play a complementary role to the APPRAISAL theory, whose main goal is the understanding of the language of evaluation of the song texts. They will not only make the communicative purposes of the songs more explicit, but also demonstrate the songs’ narrativization of the nature of the political dialogue punctuating the Zimbabwean public domain. I argue that, pitted against each other as monologic and authoritarian on one hand and counter-narratives on the other, and both serving partisan (party) interests, the land and history meanings of the two categories of songs construct are not only dialogically and ideologically antithetical, they dramatize the high level of political polarization in post-2000 Zimbabwe. GNS’ land and history meanings negatively evaluate opposition efforts at (re)democratisation as bad for the country. They are seen as bent on reversing the land reform. Similarly SSS meanings negatively assess Zanu-PF’s interpretation of the *chimurenga* history.

## 4.2 THE THEMES OF LAND AND HISTORY

These two themes are intimately intertwined, hence the need to discuss them together. As will be discussed in sub-section 4.4.2, history is the source domain of land (the target domain) in a LAND = HISTORY conceptual metaphor. Although in popular songs the use of the theme of land dates back to Second Chimurenga songs in the 60s and 70s, it was less explicitly thematized then as the songs were concerned more with political messages (see Turino, 2000; Pongweni, 1982 and Pfukwa, 2008) to sustain the war effort. It is in post-2000 popular songs that land is overtly topicalized, thus becoming a theme of high tellability, as the songs were/are specifically composed to support or criticize the Zanu-PF-led land reform. Thus NGS are inspired by their overall intention of celebrating land reallocation and the condemnation of any criticism to that effect. They constitute the “dominant or master narratives” (Bamberg, 2004: 359) because of their use as vehicles for delivering the *chimurenga* grand narrative into the public sphere. Borrowing from Giroux (1991) and Stanely (2007), Espino (2008: 14) defines master narratives as “stories woven by the dominant culture into the fabric of social structures as a means of garnering and maintaining power, while justifying the subjugation of marginalized communities.” However, with particular reference to songs analysed in this study, they are not exclusively produced by the rulers in a context of a rigid dyadic format comprising the ruler-ruled, domination-subjugation (etc.), dichotomies as Espino’s definition implies. Rather, they are composed by both the rulers and their subjects (but with the latter creating most of the compositions and performances) in a quasi-mutual ruler-clientele relationship operating within the discourse framework of patriotic history.<sup>1</sup> Hence Mbembe’s (1992: 3) argument that these “oppositions are not helpful” but “cloud our understanding of postcolonial relations” of power. SSS, on the other hand, intend to fashion alternative meanings that in most cases counter those in the GNS, seeking to delegitimise any political and ideological benefits that Zanu-PF intends to reap. Counter narrative is a complex term to define due to many variables (gender; race; ethnicity; age; political domination, etc.) which contextualize the weaving of this narrative genre. Okuyade’s (2010) definition that he uses in his study of how music and poetry counter “nationalized versions of Nigerian culture and history” is, however, relevant in conceptualizing the role of SSS in Zimbabwe’s public sphere. Counter narratives refer to

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<sup>1</sup> We recall from chapter three that Mugabe himself and some top Zanu-PF leaders like the late Elliot Manyika have produced songs alongside their ordinary supporters/subjects. The phenomenon is the same in SSS in which Nelson Chamisa (the MDC-T organizing secretary and minister of information technology in the GNU) and Paul Madzore (the MDC-T MP for Glen View) are composing opposition music.

“stories, expressions, or languages of critique, demystification, and agency capable of contesting dominant oppressive practices and ideologies” (Okuyade, 2010: 4).

To analyse the land and history meanings, the meanings deployed in GNS will, in each subsection, be discussed first, followed by how they are contested by those in SSS. From an APPRAISAL viewpoint, attitudinally the *chimurenga* grand narrative, as the most widespread (and officially-constructed) common sense of Zimbabwean modern history, is a positive evaluation of Zimbabwe’s history and the land issue from a nationalist perspective. Thus NGS activate positive attitudes about land and history within the framework of statist historiography. Five meanings cluster around the theme of *ivhu* (land). These are land as *nhoroondo* (history); land as *vadzimu* (ancestors); land as *ropa* (blood) *remagamba* (of fallen freedom fighters); *kuzvitonga* (sovereignty) and *nhaka* (heritage). In the context of the *chimurenga* grand narrative these meanings translate into conceptual metaphors. Linguistically they are tactical choices, appropriately referred to as strategies, exploited by singers for the purpose of making their songs “more effective, keeping in mind any special reader [in this case listener] requirements” (Bhatia, 1993: 19-20) within the dominant political ideologies currently dominating the Zimbabwean public sphere. Whereas Zanu-PF employs them to communicate and legitimate its (propagandist) nationalist philosophy of governance and power (and right) to rule, the opposition forms counter metaphors in search of legitimising opposition views and the MDC’s fight for power. From the vantage point of dialogical criticism, both are works in constant horizontal engagement (i.e., with each other) and in vertical engagement (i.e., within themselves with past voices) as they seek to disseminate their opinions and influence the public sphere. For Zanu-PF they have also been invoked to justify some of its controversial actions such as the 2000 land reform, political violence, black empowerment and electoral fraud (see chapter five).

### **4.3 THE CHIMURENGA GRAND NARRATIVE AS EXPERIENTIAL BASIS FOR LAND METAPHORS**

Here I begin by theorizing metaphor because, as earlier stated, it is one of the major tactical choices exploited in both SSS and grand GNS for evaluating the post-2000 realities in Zimbabwe. From the viewpoint of the APPRAISAL perspective, its theorization will help in developing understanding of how popular singers conceptualize the rhetorical purposes of their songs and effectively communicate these purposes. Although the metaphors can be

grouped into various classes, ideologically they can be described as metaphors of hegemony since they are used “as a means of maintaining... power relations” (Goatly, 1997: 155). In the same vein, metaphors employed in SSS are ideologically counter (ideological) metaphors by virtue of their execution in challenging the status quo of power relations. As tactical strategies, the metaphors and indeed the intertextuality of the songs, are a complex process of “the struggle for influence” (Bakhtin, 1994: 79) in the Zimbabwean public sphere in which historical, cultural and political voices are assimilated into the songs’ texts as both sides compete for effective communication of their discourses. What is more, the three semantic domains of affect, judgement and appreciation under which APPRAISAL theory’s attitudinal meanings are grouped, are also effectively expressed through these metaphors. In the context of Zimbabwe’s power dynamics they function as conduits for expressing the often deep and restless emotions associated with land and the *chimurenga* war and the post-2000 emotions aroused by state violence and repression.

I adopt the cognitive linguistic conception of metaphor since, as pointed out in chapter two, the conventional structures of the songs also act as their cognitive structure. They function to communicate certain messages to be understood by their audiences. To describe or understand metaphor as conceptual is to put it in the domain of cognition (unlike understanding it in the traditional sense<sup>2</sup>) whereby it is defined as “the understanding of one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain” (Kovecses, 2010: 4). For Lakoff & Johnson (1980: 5, 36) this is “the essence of a metaphor”, i.e., to understand and experience “one kind of thing in terms of another.” This gives rise to what is referred to as conceptual metaphor<sup>3</sup> which comprises two conceptual domains – one being understood in terms of another. The term conceptual domain refers to “any coherent organization of experience” (Kovecses, 2010: 4). The source domain (the conceptual domain from which metaphorical

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<sup>2</sup> The cognitive linguistically-grounded conceptual metaphor challenges the traditional theory on metaphor according to which metaphor is a figure of speech in which one thing is used in place of another, i.e., it “is a figure of speech that implies comparison between two unlike entities, as distinguished from simile, an explicit comparison signalled by the words ‘like’ or ‘as’” (Kovecses, 2010: ix). In this conventional view metaphor has five attributes – (i) metaphor is “a property of words; it is a linguistic phenomenon”; (ii) it “is used for some artistic and rhetorical purpose”; (iii) “metaphor is based on a resemblance between two entities that are compared and identified”; (iv) it is “a conscious and deliberate use of words” and one must have a special gift “to do and to do it well” and (v) that “metaphor is a figure of speech that we can do without;” “it is not an inevitable part of everyday human communication, let alone everyday human thought and reasoning” (Kovecses, 2010: ix-x).

<sup>3</sup> Contrary to the traditional view of metaphor (see footnote 2 above) Lakoff & Johnson (1980) argue that metaphor is not a property of words but of concepts; its function is not only to serve some artistic and aesthetic purpose but to comprehend better certain concepts; in most cases it is not based on similarity; it is not the monopoly of gifted individuals but is effortlessly used by everyone; and that it is “an evitable process of human thought and reasoning” and not “a superfluous though pleasing linguistic ornament” (Kovecses, 2010: x).

expressions to understand another conceptual domain are drawn) and the target domain (the conceptual domain to be understood) are the two domains that participate in a conceptual metaphor. Let me illustrate this with the conceptual metaphor, ZIMBABWE = BLOOD, extracted from the title of the grand narrative song, “Zimbabwe yakauya neropa” (“*Zimbabwe came through the shedding of blood [in a war]*”). The italicized words or the metaphorical linguistic expressions suggest that the domain of blood is used to imagine the “highly abstract and elusive concept” (Kovecses, 2010: 4) of Zimbabwe (i.e., a nation). Blood is a more concrete concept that facilitates the understanding of the more abstract concept of ‘nation’. In this example, the connection between the source domain (blood) and the target domain (Zimbabwe) is causative or agentive. The coming into existence of Zimbabwe was *caused* or *necessitated* by the blood of those (heroes and heroines) who willingly sacrificed their lives in the war of liberation<sup>4</sup> (see 4.4.3 below for a detailed discussed of this metaphor).

Shona language abounds with both traditional conceptual *madimikira* (metaphors) and many others that speakers formulate with ease in their everyday conversations and in different social contexts. *Kudimikira* (to allegorize, metaphorize) is one of the commonest figures of speech a Shona mother-tongue speaker is introduced to from a tender age. Its use in speech makes points clearer and easier to conceptualize. Although as music the songs are naturally emotionally persuasive, the metaphors employed in these song texts are part and parcel of the broader strategy of political persuasion, which as “a perlocutionary end result” (Bulow-Moller, 2005: 28) “is found in the face of opposition” (Bulow-Moller, 2005: 32) such as the highly polarized one in Zimbabwe’s post-2000 public sphere. From a Bakhtinian perspective it offers a pre-conceptualization background for both the addressor and addressee. Thus the metaphors used in reference to land can be better understood within the context of the *chimurenga* grand narrative, a nationalist and authoritative framework the state imposes on citizens not only for understanding political behaviour and the functioning of Zimbabwean statism, but also to instruct them on how to behave within the state. As Lakoff & Johnson (1980: 19) argue, “...no metaphor can ever be comprehended or even adequately represented independently of its experiential basis.” The three land metaphors analysed below are ontological metaphors, they conceptualize something in terms of (human) experience – quantifying it, identifying “a particular aspect of it, see[ing] it as cause, act[ing] with respect to it...” etc., (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 26). Only these have been selected for discussion

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<sup>4</sup> The same metaphor is also used to explain salvation in Christianity, which can be presented as salvation = blood (of Christ).

because they constitute the main rhetorical purposes of the songs vis-à-vis the chapter's concerns; otherwise, the song texts contain many other metaphors of various kinds. In terms of the *chimurenga* grand narrative experiential basis from which they derive their meanings, the three grand narrative metaphors are closely linked such that they can be expressed as a chain or series metaphor: *IVHU* (LAND) = *VADZIMU* (ANCESTORS) = *NHOROONDO* (HISTORY) = *ROPA REMAGAMBA* (BLOOD OF FALLEN HEROES). I argue that in a chain metaphor, conceptual domains can play a dual function of being the source domain to the target domain preceding it and at the same time the target domain to the conceptual domain ahead of it.

#### **4.4 *IVHU* = *VADZIMU* METAPHOR**

This ontological metaphor, better categorized as a personification metaphor because it enables us to comprehend “non-human entities in terms of human motivations, characteristics, and activities” (Lakoff & Johnson (1980: 33), allows us to conceptualize land in terms of the cultural and specifically Shona religious beliefs and history. It is part and parcel of the memorialization of the liberation war by the state not only to seek justification for the war and the subsequent seizure of land, but also to create symbols of hegemony. The metaphor appears in the majority of Third Chimurenga songs celebrating and justifying the seizure of land from white farmers. Besides the rhetorical purpose of validating land ownership, indigenous sovereignty and the view that land is black Zimbabweans' heritage, are also contested issues the metaphor expresses. Land as *nhaka* (heritage) for blacks is said to usher in black empowerment, economic freedom and self-sufficiency.

Here I will analyse this metaphor focussing on Cde Chinx's celebratory-persuasion song, “Tinotenda midzimu mikuru” (“We are thankful to our national spirits”) and the Born Free Crew's “Chishuwo chegamba” (“The wish of the fallen hero(ine)s”). As a tactical communicative strategy, the songs deploy the LAND = ANCESTORS metaphor to convey the Zanu-PF construed notions of land ownership and sovereignty derived from the reconfiguration of Shona religion and history in which both notions are attributed to the national ancestors. “Tinotenda midzimu mikuru” has a double rhetorical purpose – celebrating the land redistribution and appealing to the national ancestors to bless the nation. For its semantic tools, the song incorporates Shona dynastic histories' notion of land ownership in which “land is intimately associated with the history of a chiefdom, with the ruling chief and with ancestral spirits who lived on it” (Bourdillon, 1987: 67). The linguistic purpose of the song's refrain is to communicate thanksgiving remarks to the national ancestors. In the other

parts of the song L is double-voiced, carrying the people's appeals to Mwari and the ancestors and the ancestors' messages back to the people. R reaffirms the dialogical voices in L by repeating them and also mentioning the names of the national ancestors. The song text follows closely along the lines of *nhango dzemidzimu* (ancestral instructions) poetry<sup>5</sup> with both L and R assuming the roles of spirit mediums conveying the thoughts or instructions of an oracle from *nyikadzimu* (the spirit realm). As a tactical device it makes the song text "authoritative discourse" (Bakhtin, 1994: 78) because culturally the words of the ancestors are taken seriously and in most cases accepted without question.

Title of song: "Tinotenda midzimu mikuru" by Cde Chinx

Song genre: Celebratory-persuasion

RM a: Expressing gratitude to the ancestors

RM b: Appealing to the various national spirits

RM c: Identifying specific national spirits

RM d: Expressing the protagonist's appeals to the ancestors

RM e: Expressing the ancestors' expectations of the living

<i>Chorus</i>		
1	L: <i>Ngatitende midzimu iri kurwisa</i> R: <i>Tinotendawo</i> L: <i>Tinotenda</i> R: <i>Tinotenda chose midzimu mikuru iyo</i>	Let us thank our fighting ancestors <b>a</b> We are deeply thankful <b>a</b> We are thankful <b>a</b> We so thankful to those national ancestors <b>a</b>
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5	L: <i>Hanzi daidzai vose veZimbabwe</i> R: <i>Ivo Ambuya Nehanda</i> L: <i>Vamiririre nyika vagoitonga iyo</i> R: <i>Ndeyavo ivo Sekuru Kaguvi</i> L: <i>Hanzi batanai mose munokunda kani</i> R: <i>Imi ruzhinji rwevanhu</i>	It is being said call all the national ancestors of Zimbabwe <b>b</b> Herself Grandmother Nehanda <b>c</b> To represent and rule the country <b>d</b> It is his, him Grandfather Kaguvi <b>c</b> It is being said that you all of you should unite <b>e</b> You all the masses <b>e</b>
10	L: <i>Vana veZimbabwe musatonge neChirungu</i> R: <i>VaMakoni Baba Chingaira</i> L: <i>Hona kuzoguta nekupipika nekutonga kune mbiri</i> R: <i>Nekutonga kune mbiri Chaminuka</i>	Children of Zimbabwe do not rule using western values <b>e</b> Mr. Makoni Father Chingaira <b>c</b> See we need enough food and to rule with fame <b>d</b> And to rule with fame <b>e</b>
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The song assimilates already existing Shona religious and historical voices as metaphorical expressions to scaffold the state's notion of land ownership – that it belongs to the ancestors and they are its ultimate rulers. In line 8 the singer explicitly expresses this view, saying – *Ndeyavo ivo Sekuru Kaguvi*<sup>6</sup> (It [the nation/land] is his, ancestor Kaguvi) and in lines 6 and 7 *Ambuya Nehanda* (Grandmother Nehanda) is invited so that *vamiririre nyika vagoitonga* (she represents and rules the country). While the link between land and history will be explained in detail in sub-section 4.2.2, it suffices here to state that the ancestors are presented as the "cultural roots" for land and "national imaginings," to use phrases by Anderson (2006). They

<sup>5</sup> In Shona spirit possession, a *mudzimu* (ancestral spirits) possesses a *homwe* or *svikiro* (human spirit medium) to find a 'vehicle' to communicate with the living. What the ancestral spirit says to the living in terms of what they should do or not do is what is referred to as *nhango dzemudzimu* (sometimes known as the teachings of the ancestors).

<sup>6</sup> Kaguvi is one of the most celebrated national ancestors in modern Zimbabwe's land-based cultural nationalism. He is one of the religious leaders of the First Chimurenga, executed alongside Nehanda by the British in March 1898.

own the original claim to land on the basis of historical territorial consciousness, i.e., by virtue of their conscious or imagined knowledge of a long association with a particular landscape.<sup>7</sup> This concept of territorialisation is what Smith (2009: 49) defines as “an historic territory or homeland” in which members of a particular community “have come to reside” and “feel a strong attachment to it.” They are the *midzimu mukuru* (most senior ancestors referred to in the modern concept of nation as national ancestors or spirits) (title of song and line 1) and are diachronically arranged into First and Second Chimurenga ancestor-heroes and heroines with the former having more religious symbolism than the latter.<sup>8</sup> First Chimurenga national spirits to whom the land belongs include Nehanda (lines 11 and 33), Chaminuka (lines 30 and 36) and Kaguvi (line 13), whilst Second Chimurenga ancestors mentioned are Takawira (line 21), Nkomo (line 25), Tongogara (line 19), Tangwena (lines 27 and 43) and Mangena (line 41). The latter heroes also connect with the land issue because as leaders of the Second Chimurenga they were, according to Zanu-PF nationalist mythology, leading a struggle to reclaim the land the First Chimurenga ancestors lost (see Lan, 1985).

The narrative performance of the religio-historical voices assimilated in the LAND = ANCESTORS metaphor is intended to configure the religious significance and symbolism attached to land in traditional Shona society and use it to justify the Third Chimurenga. In Shona religion and culture, the land is the abode of the ancestors who are symbolically referred to by the idiom, *vari pasi* (those buried in the soil). These are the *varidzi vevhu* (owners of the soil) or *varidzi vepasi* (owners of the land) (Hodza & Fortune, 1979: 13; Lan, 1985: 19). Consequently, *ivhu* (the soil, the land) is always personified – metaphorically it is a (human) being. Thus in the metaphor under discussion, *ivhu*, is a real but invisible participant in Shona everyday life that people are in constant dialogue with. Muchemwa’s (1978) poem, “Tourist” captures this idea in its following lines:

But this land, this; the spirits dwelling in it  
Will not yield to such casual intimidation.

The connection of the living with the land emanates from the *mwana wevhu* (child of the soil) concept. They make claims to land ownership via the *vari pasi/vadzimu* (ancestors) by virtue

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<sup>7</sup> For instance, in the current land debate in South Africa, the Khoisan people or people of Khoisan ancestry want the constitution to recognize them as the original land owners in South Africa.

<sup>8</sup> Their having more religious symbolism comes from the fact that all the three Chaminuka, Kaguvi and Nehanda were territorial spirits possessing their mediums during different historical periods in the pre-colonial period. The Second Chimurenga heroes’ less religious symbolism comes from their assimilation of western culture (colonial education and Christianity for instance), they are not considered culturally original or pure. For this reason they are warned not to govern the nation using *chirungu* (western values) (line 11).

of being *vana wevhu* (children of the soil), of whom semiotically the soil or land are/is the ancestors.<sup>9</sup> The ontological experiences of *mwana wevhu* (the/a child of the soil) are culturally and symbolically tied with the land/ancestors since s/he is believed to be “coming from, merging with and returning to the land” (Magowan, 1994: 140). It is from the *mwana wevhu* concept that a ‘patriotic’ Zimbabwean can claim land as his/her ancestral heritage. The claim is two-pronged – for the *mwana wevhu* land is an intangible heritage, i.e., as ancestral heritage in a religious sense, and a tangible heritage in a physical and economic sense, i.e., land as an asset inherited from the ancestors. Chitando (2005: 226) argues Mugabe’s belief in this *mwana wevhu* oracle explains his permission to “peasants and war veterans to occupy commercial farms” in 2000. The religious significance of the *mwana wevhu* myth explains its incorporation in many GNS. It was, as noted in chapter three, the basis of the propaganda of the land reform promotional jingle, “Sendekera mwana wevhu” (“Be firm child of the soil”).

The concept of *mudzimu mukuru* (national ancestor) (lines 1,4,5,8 and 9) in modern Zimbabwe is a nationalist construct that gives territorial spirits national connotations – a strategy to establish symbols of national unity and identity (see Krieger, 1995 and also chapter five). In pre-colonial Shona society the concept meant chiefly or territorial spirits like Nehanda, Chaminuka and Kaguvi, whose influence went beyond their chiefdoms of origin into neighbouring ones and others whose influences were limited to a family, clan or chiefdom (see Bourdillon, 1987, 1979; Beach, 1980; Lan, 1985). In a religiously conservative society like Zimbabwe, association with these national ancestors plays an important role for a political party like Zanu-PF. In as much as it did during the liberation struggle, it gives religio-cultural legitimation to its hegemony derived from the formulation and implementation of its national policies and programmes. Within the context of the modern nation state, the responsibilities of these national spirits have been remodelled along the lines of modern national concepts of patriotism and sovereignty. A person can only become a *mudzimu mukuru* if conferred hero(ine) status by Zanu-PF’s supreme decision-making body, the politburo. After that s/he will be interred in Harare at the National Heroes Acres, a modern concept of the sacred *ninga* (cave shrines) in which chiefs were buried. The access and monopoly to invoke and evoke these spirits (as enjoyed by Zanu-PF) attests to the status and

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<sup>9</sup> In traditional Shona society each clan has its own territory that it lays claim to and each clan member is referred to as *mwana wevhu* (child of the soil), which in this case translates to child of the ancestors since *ivhu* (soil/land) = *vadzimu* (ancestors). In his ethnographic study of the Shona people, Bourdillon (1987: 69; 1979: 238) states that the actual ownership of the land rests with “the spirit guardians of the chiefdom, the spirits of founders or early rulers of the chiefdom and their immediate kin” (Bourdillon, 1987: 69; see also Bourdillon, 1979: 238).

power derived from aligning with both an immemorial and known historical-cultural past so influential due to its symbolic political and religious content.<sup>10</sup> Because they own the land and are the national ancestors, as the highest authority in the land, they are the actual rulers who rule by proxy. They have the power to impose their expectations on the living vis-à-vis how people should behave and the country governed.<sup>11</sup> As in pre-colonial Shona society or kings in monarchical Europe, they are seen as constituting “the category of the sacred” which “justified the cosmic and ontological ordering of things that best served the interests of the masters, expounding upon and embellishing what society could not deliver” (Debord, 1994: 5). They want all the people to ...*batanai mose* (unite); ...*tinotongaka Zimbabwe nerudo* (that they govern Zimbabwe guided by love); ...*musatonge neChirungu* (that they should not rule using western values) (line 11) and as expected particularly by Chaminuka, ...*kupipika nekutonga kune mbiri* (... to rule with marvel and fame) (line 14).<sup>12</sup> They make these authoritative instructions because the territory or land, literally ‘ground’, also embodies their “personality and a moral character which complements and sustains the personality and moral character of those who inhabit it” (Poole, 1999: 16). The singers therefore appeal to Ivo *Ambuya Nehanda* (Herself Grandmother Nehanda) (line 11) to come and *Vamiririre nyika, vagoitonga...* (To represent and rule the country ...) (line 12). Chaminuka’s dictates of ruling with ‘marvel and fame’ translates to Debord’s (1967) theory of “society of spectacle” – “a social relationship between people that is mediated by images which “serves as total justification for the conditions and aims of the existing system” (Debord, 1967/1994: 1).

The *kuzvitonga* (sovereignty) dimension in the LAND = VADZIMU metaphor is expressed using the negative form of the present indicative habitual verb indicated by the negative prefix *ha-*. The lines *Hatizoregedzi vapambepfumi vachitidzvanya* (We will not let the colonizers oppress us) (line 20) and *Hatidika zvekutarisirwa pasi nevapambevhu* (We do not want to be looked down upon by the colonizer) (line 24) are good examples. The mention of Nehanda in particular with regard to the desire for the right to autonomy is nationalistically more significant than those of other national spirits. In Zanu-PF’s patriotic history, Zimbabwean

<sup>10</sup> Although Zimbabwe is often described as a Christianized country, belief in Shona religion is still strong. In reality both religions are used in a parallel but in most cases synthesized manner.

<sup>11</sup> Although *midzimu mikuru* occupy the upper most strata of the Shona spiritual hierarchy, they are subservient to Mwari or Musikavanhu (the Creator of humanity) (line 39), the Shona High God.

<sup>12</sup> Chaminuka like Nehanda is one of the most famous pre-colonial Shona spirits. He was known for his prophecy and miracles – sitting on the tip of a spear, scaring away wild animals being hunted by European hunters, stretching and nailing an animal skin on a flat rock, etc. His “I see *vasinamabvi*” (people without knees [because white people were putting on trousers so their knees could not be seen]) prophecy concerning those coming to take the land is one of the reasons for his memorialization in the Zimbabwean grand narrative.

sovereignty and currently the reclamation of land came out of the fulfilment of Nehanda's inspirational role and two prophetic statements – *Tora gidi uzvitonge* (Take the gun and liberate/rule yourself) and *Mapfupa angu achamuka* (My bones are going to rise)<sup>13</sup> (see also 4.2.3). Because of their regular citation in the *chimurenga* grand narrative material, the statements have gained both national proverbial and prophetic currency.<sup>14</sup> This is the communicative purpose of the Born Free Crew song, “Chishuwo chamagamba” (“The desire of the fallen heroes”), especially because the song's text is based on these mythic sayings (chorus and lines 12 and 13).

Title of song: “Chishuwo chamagamba”

Song genre: Narrative

RM a: Orienting the song

RM b: Stating the desire of the fallen Nehanda and the fallen heroes

RM c: Stating the causes of fighting for sovereignty

	Chorus	
1	L: <i>Ndochaiva chishuwo chaNehanda</i> R: <i>Tora gidi</i> L: <i>Ndochaiva chishuwo chamagamba</i> R: <i>Tora gidi</i>	That was Nehanda's wish <b>a</b> Take a gun <b>b</b> That was the wish of the heroes and heroines <b>a</b> Take a gun <b>b</b>
5	L: <i>Ndochaiva chishuwo chaNehanda</i> R: <i>Tora gidi</i> L: <i>Ndochaiva chishuwo chamagamba</i>	That was Nehanda's wish <b>a</b> Take a gun <b>b</b> That was Nehanda's wish <b>a</b>
10	L1: <i>Akabata musoro ashaiwa zano</i> <i>Mombe nevhu zvose vamupamba</i> <i>Akasvimha misodzi ndokushaya pekubata</i> <i>Akanzwa izwi raNehanda richiti:</i> L2: “ <i>Tora gidi uzvitonge, kurwira</i> <i>ivhu renhaka yako</i> <i>Tora gidi uzvitonge Zimbabwe</i> <i>Zimbabwe nyika yedu sevatemala</i> ”	He touched his head without any clue <b>c</b> He has been deprived of both cattle and land <b>c</b> He wept bitterly not knowing what to do <b>c</b> He heard the voice of Nehanda saying: “Take the gun and rule yourself, to fight for your land, your heritage <b>b</b> Take your gun and rule Zimbabwe <b>b</b> Zimbabwe our country as blacks” <b>b</b>

Typical with (historical) narrative songs, it is, *inter alia*, intended to explain the past – “why one episode rose from another” (Martin & Rose, 2008: 114). Like “Maruza imi III” the complicating event is the colonization of the land and the concomitant seizure of land and African livestock (line 9) and subjection to colonial labour. This leads to the suffering under the yoke of colonialism appraised negatively as making the colonized ... *svimha misodzi ndokushaya chokubata* (... to weep bitterly not knowing what to do) (line 10). The colonial

<sup>13</sup> These words are said (in Zanu-PF's cultural nationalist myth-making) to have been said by Nehanda, the female spirit medium accused by the British of starting the First Chimurenga, when she was being led to the guillotine after being sentenced to death. However, the words cannot be historically confirmed. See D.N. Beach, “An Innocent Woman Unjustly Accused: Charwe, Medium of the Nehanda Mhondoro Spirit and the 1896-1897 Shona Rising in Zimbabwe. *History in Africa*, 25(1998): 27-54 and C. Zvobvgo, *A History of Christian Missions in Zimbabwe, 1890 – 1939* (Gweru: Mambo Press, 1996). These historians have researched the trial and execution of Nehanda and Kaguvi). However, the words are also found in literary texts that fictionalizes the 1897 trial of Nehanda, such as Samupindi's *Death Throes: The Trial of Nehanda* (1980) and Mutswairo's *Mweya waNehanda* [The Spirit of Nehanda] (1988), among others.

<sup>14</sup> Many grand narrative songs incorporate these symbolic statements. One well known song is the Second Chimurenga song, “Mbuya Nehanda Kufa Vachitaura Shuwa” (“Mbuya Nehanda died saying the truth”). The rising bones are said to be the young men and women who joined the struggle to fight for the liberation of the land.

oppression causes anti-colonial resistance as Africans heed to Nehanda's call, *Tora gidi uzvitonge, kurwira ivhu renhaka yako* ("Take the gun to rule yourself, to fight for your soil, your heritage") (lines 12 and 13). The song narrativizes the events between 1890 and 1896 during which the causes of the First Chimurenga took place. The *tora-gidi-uzvitonge* myth is appropriated to justify the linkage between the First Chimurenga and the Second Chimurenga in typical Zanu-PF reconstruction of cultural nationalist history.<sup>15</sup> For instance, the attack on Alterna Farm in Centenary by Zanla guerrillas in 1971 which started the actual sustained fighting was said to be "in fulfilment of Nehanda's prophecy that the Second Chimurenga would start where the First had ended" (Sunday Mail Reporter, 2011)<sup>16</sup> thus symbolically linking the two *zvimurenga*. Dialogical repetition in the chorus involves the L component simply referring to the desire of Nehanda and the fallen heroes without specifically mentioning it. The duty is left to the R part. The concurrence between L and R in the refrain is also found between the dialogical L1 and L2 voices which take turns to narrate the song's story. L1 tells about complicating events and L2 completes the narration by assuming the role of Nehanda, for she is the one who utters Nehanda's rallying call.

Because land means ancestral sovereignty, so is its management. As pointed out earlier, the living are expected to rule according to ancestral dictates. Reversing the land reform is not only seen as betraying the ancestors, but outright recolonization. "Zimbabwe will never be a colony again!" and "Our land is our sovereignty!" are post-2000 mottos used to popularise the land reform and in tandem assert postcolonial sovereignty. The "Chishuwo chamagamba" song not only expresses this point, but is also loaded with a *tora gidi uzvitonge* sub-text, hence its use in concluding the rhetorical purpose of the "Maruza imi III" song. The song "Hatibve muno" ("We won't leave this land") is again an assertion of the ancestor-rooted sovereignty. Earlier I stated in chapter two that in an argumentation song the idea being communicated requires motivation or some supporting information, because the singer knows that what s/he wants to put across to the audience is contestable (Martin & Rose, 2008: 118).

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<sup>15</sup> In scholarly circles this linkage was started by Terrence Ranger's Afrocentric work, *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia, 1896-7: A Study in African Resistance* (1967). His depiction of Nehanda, Kaguvi and Mkwati as millenarian priests who organized and closely co-ordinated the 1896-7 Ndebele-Shona uprising against the British was criticized by other historians as myth-making. Cobbing and Beach have since revised this view and demonstrated that the risings were never co-ordinated but were spontaneous, their organization falling to local chiefs who fought in their individual capacities (see Julian Cobbing, "The Absent Priesthood: Another Look at the Rhodesian Risings of 1896-1897", *The Journal of African History*, 18(1977): 61-84, and D.N. Beach, *War and Politics in Zimbabwe, 1840-1900*, Gweru: Mambo Press, 1986).

<sup>16</sup> This place in north-eastern Zimbabwe is the area where Nehanda was captured in 1897. This brought to an end the First Chimurenga.

In this song the singers declare that they will not leave their land because as children of the soil (*vana vevhu*) the land is theirs, since *Nehanda akafira, Chaminuka akafira, Kaguvi akafira, muno achifira nyika yake* (Nehanda died, Chaminuka died, Kaguvi died here, dying for their country), again linking sovereignty with the dead. Both the L and R parts of the song's refrain are in a dialogue in which they both construct a declarative two-pronged sentence statement, *Zimbabwe inyika yedu, isu hatibve muno* (Zimbabwe is our country, [therefore] we are not going to leave it) with the L part making the first part of the sentence and the R part completing it.

L: <i>Zimbabwe inyika</i>	Zimbabwe is
R: <i>Yedu</i>	Our country
L: <i>Zimbabwe inyika</i>	Zimbabwe is
R: <i>Yedu ise hatibve muno</i>	Our country we do not leave it

The view that land is a black heritage is again drawn from the LAND = ANCESTORS metaphor because as the owners of the land they bequeathed it to their descendants (*vana vevhu*) (children of the soil) as *nhaka* (heritage). This leads to another land metaphor, LAND = BLACK as implied in line 14 of the song, “Chishuwo chemagamba”: *Zimbabwe nyika yedu sevatemala* (Zimbabwe, our country as blacks). In the largely land-rooted post-2000 politics, besides helping Zanu-PF to justify its Third Chimurenga, the metaphor enables the party to construct a racialized notion of land ownership. Against the backdrop of its floundering national political support, it is a strategy to cling to power by parcelling out free land in the name of land as birthright. In “Maruza imi III” the narrative song does not only emphasize that the land = *vatema* metaphor by saying *Nyika yevatemala* (lines 11, 13, 38 and 46), but also by teaching listeners (supposedly those against or ignorant about patriotic history) that *...nyika (nde)yenyu imi vatema* (the country is yours you blacks) (line 13). The possessive *yenyu* (yours) is adopted as a tactical strategy to stress this point. The protagonist further persuades the addressee to understand this idea by saying that land is *nhaka isingaperi* (an inexhaustible heritage), which Zimbabweans should therefore not be deceived to sell because *mari inopera* (money is exhaustible). Attitudinal meanings of positive APPRECIATION are used to describe the land as *izere uchi nemukaka* (overflowing with milk and honey (line 12). The desire to have blacks exclusively enjoy this wealth is expressed in “Ndatadza kukanganwa” (“I could not forget”) in which the two land metaphors, LAND = SOVEREIGNTY and LAND = BLACK heritage/wealth are intertextualized. *Tawana kuzvitonga, todaya uchi nemukaka munyika yedu sevatemala* (We have achieved full sovereignty, [and now] we eat milk and honey *in our country as blacks*) [italics mine in English translation].

The *uchi nemukaka* (milk and honey) biblical imagery is derived from the scriptural description of the biblical land of Canaan which God promised the Israelites during their Egyptian captivity. As the land of Israel is said (in the Bible and in Israeli Zionism) to belong exclusively to the Jews, so does Zimbabwe to the blacks in the Zimbabwean grand narrative. These texts from the Judaic-Christian grand narrative are assimilated into the song as political persuasion – for Zimbabweans to be patriotic, i.e., to like Zanu-PF's land reform and support it (see chapter five, in which more on biblical images incorporated into both GNS and SSS are discussed). This myth of abundance also expresses the economic connotations in the LAND = VADZIMU metaphor embodied in Zanu-PF land reform mottos such as "Our land is our prosperity"; "Land to the people"; "100% total empowerment," among others. Everything of economic value associated with land, particularly minerals and farming, is positively appraised as belonging to blacks as, for instance, in the songs "Ngoda" ("Diamonds"); "Goridhe" ("Gold") and "100% power". In particular, these songs promote the controversial and opposition condemned black empowerment law currently being implemented<sup>17</sup> (see chapter five). To reinforce the deliverance of the song's communicative purpose, videos of these songs are often shot at farms seized from former white farmers, showing images of healthy growing crops such as maize, tobacco and vegetables. The sleeves of albums of GNS also have the same images besides the national flag, Great Zimbabwe and the National Heroes Acre monuments and pictures of bodies of guerrillas killed at Chimoio, Nyadzoia and other places during the war. Some have images of war veterans and peasants invading white commercial farms. Making his fiery anti-white speeches and raising his clenched fist, Mugabe is also another dominant image in these videos and other land reform promotional material. The intention behind this is to persuade the public to the view that the land reform was a national necessity and that it will succeed. The purpose is also to counter what Zanu-PF considers as a myth, that blacks have no ability to farm the land and produce crops in the same way the white farmers do/did.

In concluding this section, I argue that the LAND = VADZIMU metaphor is used to mystify land ownership and to make and keep it exclusive. Evidence of land ownership is not to be sought in the deeds office, but in the soil and in mountain caves where the graves of the national and territorial ancestors are to be found. What is more, it is marshalled to justify the Zanu-PF's fast-track land seizure and legitimise its governance as the only one nationally acceptable by

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<sup>17</sup> The law requires foreigners to cede 51 percent of their profit to locals.

virtue of its adherence to ancestral expectations, regardless of its repressive, autocratic and other anti-democratic tendencies.

#### **4.4.1 National *vadzimu* as guardians for all**

Although most SSS singers do not seek to query the logic of the LAND = VADZIMU metaphor, but dialogically affirm their mutual interaction with it, they nevertheless seek to deconstruct Zanu-PF's monopoly over national ancestors, their invocation and the ritual for creating them. They also see the nationalist grand narrative as a canonical text from which to draw and shape their own discourses. As Bamberg (2004: 361) suggests, master narratives are influential stories to the extent that "locally situated narrating practices are either forced to be complicit or to open up territory to bring about any liberation and emancipation from them." They refuse to be merely the "attentive, interested and responsive listeners" (Labov, 1997: 397; Georgakopoulou, 2007: 66) to the monologic grand narrative storytelling, but to be co-tellers with their own evaluative stances to the narrative. By doing so they empower themselves to move out of the grand narrative's dyadic scheme in which they are the "unknowing listener" to "a knowing teller" (Georgakopoulou, 2007: 67). They deconstruct Zanu-PF's argument by a counter interpretation of the LAND = VADZIMU metaphor. If land belongs to the ancestors, the guardians of every citizen, land reform and its management should not be monopolized by one party but should instead be a genuinely national exercise. However, like their political opponents, they also see *vadzimu* as "the spectacle of the past" (Debord, 1967; Fontein, 2006: 54, 58; Lan, 1985: 68) and thus require them for the same reason of legitimising their own (counter) small voice narratives. In the process they not only assert their right to have access to the national ancestors, but also create their own national ancestors and heroes from the corpses of their active supporters and activists (more analysis of this point is given in subsection 4.3.2 below). With the national spirits also embodying national history, this therefore implies a struggle over control (and interpretation) of historiography between the MDC and Zanu-PF.

The SSS singer Dread Reckless has succeeded in this dialogical counter-struggle in which he borrows *chimurenga* discourses to construct a parallel opposition-serving rhetoric. He combines "semiotic and semantic possibilities into narratives which configure new ways of seeing" (Lara, 1998: 69) the post-2000 political realities. In his (religious) persuasion song "Dai mapindira" ("Please intervene"), he in similar ways to GNS imitates the intertextual style of assimilating past and present (Shona and Ndebele) ancestral voices as a strategy to

reinforce the impact of the song's communicative purpose. We recall from chapter two that a religious persuasion song is geared to appeal to God, or as in Shona/African religions, to God via the *vadzimu* (ancestors), to intervene and resolve people's problems. By appealing to both the First and Second Chimurenga national ancestral heroines and heroes as done in grand narrative songs like "Tinotenda midzimu mukuru," he not only ironizes history (for this is not expected from the opposition by the public), he also asserts the opposition's freedom and right of access to national spirits. If his music were not overtly pro-MDC, "Dai mapindira" could have been mistaken for a grand narrative song.

Title of song: "Dai mapindira" ("Please intervene") by Dread Reckless

Song genre: (Religious) Persuasion

RM a: A formulaic beginning of consulting ancestral spirits<sup>18</sup>

RM b: Specifying reasons for seeking spiritual intervention

RM c: Identifying the names of specific national spirits

1 L: <i>Nhai vari pasi</i>	You who are in the soil <b>a</b>
R: <i>Dai mapindira chokwadi vana vanzwa</i>	We plead with you to intervene, surely the children have suffered <b>b</b>
L: <i>Baba Takawira</i>	Father Takawira <b>c</b>
R: <i>Dai mapindira chokwadi vana vanzwa</i>	We plead with you to intervene, surely the children have suffered <b>b</b>
5 L: <i>Sekuru Kaguvi</i>	Grandfather Kaguvi <b>c</b>
R: <i>Dai mapindira chokwadi vana vanzwa</i>	We plead with you to intervene, surely the children have suffered <b>b</b>
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L: Sally Mugabe	Sally Mugabe <b>c</b>
R: <i>Dai mapindira chokwadi vana vanzwa</i>	We plead with you to intervene, surely the children have suffered <b>b</b>
L: <i>Mai vedu Sally</i>	Our mother Sally <b>c</b>
10 R: <i>Dai mapindira chokwadi vana vanzwa</i>	We plead with you to intervene, surely the children have suffered <b>b</b>
L: Susy Tsvangirai	Susy Tsvangirai <b>c</b>
R: <i>Dai mapindira chokwadi vana vanzwa</i>	We plead with you to intervene, surely the children have suffered <b>b</b>
L: <i>Mama Mafuyana</i>	Mother Mafuyana <b>c</b>
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L: <i>Ichapera riniko hondo vanababa?</i>	I ask you fathers, when will this war end? <b>d</b>
15 R: <i>Ichapera riniko hondo madzitetete?</i>	I ask, aunts when will this war end? <b>d</b>
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L: <i>Vazukuru vaneta nekugara musango</i>	Your grandchildren are tired of living in the forests,
<i>vazukuru vaneta</i>	grandchildren are tired of living in the forests <b>d</b>
R: <i>Vazukuru vaneta</i>	I plead Nehanda your grandchildren are tired
<i>nekudya zvevatorwa Nehanda wee</i>	of eating food from foreigners <b>d</b>
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R: <i>Vazukuru venyu vanoseva sadza</i>	Your grand children use [their] tears as relish for their sadza,
<i>nemisodzi ndizvo here?</i>	is that so? <b>d</b>
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By also making his appeals to Sally (lines 7 and 9), Mugabe's late (first) wife and a national heroine, he uses irony to dismantle Zanu-PF and Mugabe's monopolization of national spirits. His argument is that even if Sally was Mugabe's wife, as also *vana vevhu*, the opposition is entitled to appeal to her for spiritual assistance by virtue of her status as a national spirit whose duty is to protect all Zimbabwean citizens regardless of political and other affiliations. The possessive *vedu* (ours) in *Amai vedu Sally* (Our mother Sally) (line 9) is deployed to express this idea. The struggle over national spirits shows their importance in validating political parties and their activities in Zimbabwe and Dread Reckless might have observed

<sup>18</sup> The song's orientation is the typical formulaic beginning used in Shona religion when one is appealing to the ancestors.

how well this strategy was serving Zanu-PF.<sup>19</sup> As Krieger (1995: 139) argues, “it is difficult to imagine a nation and state [I would add, and a political party] that could enjoy legitimacy and shared national identity without access to national symbols.” The debate about who should be granted (the prestigious) hero(ine) status and by whom and for what reasons has been raging in the Zimbabwean public sphere since independence. The closely Zanu-PF controlled exercise has been condemned by the opposition and civic society as sectarian; a uni-party exercise that beatifies only those who fought the liberation struggle, i.e., former Zanu/Zanla and Zapu/Zipra leaders and cadres. For the opposition the problem with this exercise is that Zanu-PF uses it to claim control and ownership of the national shrines (and the history they embody) to advance its political interests at the expense of the opposition. Consequently, the opposition and civic society have usually boycotted national hero(ine) burial ceremonies.<sup>20</sup> Boasting of his party’s monopoly over the hero(ine) selection exercise and thus control over access to national spirits, Mugabe has told the MDC to find their own hill and turn it into a cemetery to bury whoever they may declare a hero(ine).<sup>21</sup>

In appealing to three female national spirits, Nehanda, Sally Mugabe and Mama Mafuyana, the protagonist intends to have his party win the support of women and for Mama Mafuyana the support of the Ndebeles, since she was the wife of the late hero, Joshua Nkomo. However, his inclusion of Susan<sup>22</sup>, Morgan Tsvangirai’s late wife, among the list of national spirits is a call for an inclusive hero(ine) selection criterion and an attack on the current partisan one. The appeal to Nehanda (lines 39, 41 and 43) is an ironization of history intended to shock the public sphere, but subverting Zanu-PF’s *chimurenga* discourses – because having been stereotyped as *vatengesesi*, one would not expect opposition discourses to positively cite from and celebrate the Zanu-PF created *chimurenga* hero(ine)s. As a counter discursive strategy it offsets Zanu-PF’s invocation of the most celebrated and memorialized legendary guardian and revolutionary spirit in Zimbabwe. The protagonist’s appeal is an imitation of the persona

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<sup>19</sup> Religious validation of leaders has a long history in Zimbabwe. In the pre-colonial period, usually a chief or emperor could only be installed as leader, after the approval of the leading mhondoro (chiefly spirit) of the territory he is to rule (see M. Bourdillon, *The Shona Peoples*, Gweru: Mambo Press, 1987 and D.N. Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe, 900 - 1850*, Gweru: Mambo Press, 1980).

<sup>20</sup> Another reason for opposition boycott of the national shrine burials is that it is often a platform for vitriolic attacks on the opposition where they are condemned and ridiculed as the unpatriotic sellouts and stooges of the British and their other western allies. For instance, Morgan Tsvangirai was booed at by Zanu-PF supporters when he attended the burial of Solomon Mujuru, the former Zimbabwe Defence Forces commander, at the National Heroes Acre on 20 August 2011 (see Sunday Mail Reporter, “President to PM’s Rescue”, *Sunday Mail*, 21 August, 2011).

<sup>21</sup> See Tafara Shumba, “National Shrine is for revolutionaries”, *The Herald*, 14 August, 2012.

<sup>22</sup> In spite of being accorded national heroine status by the singer Susan Tsvangirai was not buried at the National Heroes Acre but in Buhera, her husband’s rural home.

in the state-canonized “O Nehanda Nyakasikana” (“O Nehanda the Feminine Spirit”) poem in Solomon Mutsware’s political allegory, *Feso* (1956). The poem, in form a deeply emotional appeal to the Nehanda spirit for intervention against colonial oppression, was adopted as a nationalist prayer by the nationalists in the 1960s (Bhebe, 2004) hence its popularity and significance in the *chimurenga* grand narrative. Like the protagonist in this poem, the singer appeals for divine intervention to resolve a pervasive predicament appraised metaphorically as *nhamo* (crisis) and *hondo* (war) (line 14). Line 39, *Vazukuru vaneta nekudya zvevatorwa Nehanda wee* (I plead Nehanda your grandchildren are tired of eating food from foreigners) (line 16) is reminiscent of *Nhasi vari kudya mafuta ayo nyika, isu tichidya nhoko dzezvironda* (Today they are enjoying the wealth of this nation, while we suffer abject poverty and starvation) – a line in the “Nehanda Nyakasikana” poem (Mutsware, 1956: 35). The singer laments the starvation that gripped Zimbabwe from the mid to the late 2000s as food scarcity became one of the several manifestations of the national crisis.<sup>23</sup> Like Mutsware, Reckless employs attitudinal lexis in the form of idioms in order to negatively evaluate Zanu-PF’s behaviour ... *vana vanzwa* (...children have suffered) (rm **b**) *vazukuru vaneta* ... ([your] grandchildren cannot bear this anymore....) (lines 16 and 17) and ...*vanoseva sadza nemisodzi* (... they experience severe scarcity of food)<sup>24</sup> (line 18) reverberate the rhetorical question, *Ko, inga taneta wani nokunwa misodzi?* (Are we not tired of drinking our own tears?) (Mutsware, 1956: 35), in the said poem. They are all deployed to repeat the same point – the Zanu-PF engendered crisis has caused deep suffering in the country. The rhetorical question, *Ichapera riniko hondo ... ?* (When will the war end...?) (lines 14 and 15) has been dually diachronically intertextualized. Firstly, it echoes the *Kuchazove riniko isu Vanyai tichidzvanyirirwa?* (When shall we the Nyai people remain oppressed?), an emotionally intense anti-colonial line in the “Nehanda Nyakasikana” poem. Secondly, it expresses the anxiety of ordinary people during the war of liberation about when the brutal war would end.<sup>25</sup> Thus I argue that although, as stated in chapter three, SSS singers are denied tellings on the public sphere, they have remarkably succeeded in making the grand narrative “a shared text” from which they draw material to express “evaluative perspectives and commentary” (Georgakopoulou, 2007: 77). The “illocutionary force” of such unique narrative techniques

<sup>23</sup> Other manifestations were a liquidity crunch; severe foreign currency shortages and hyperinflation; the collapse of the health and educational sectors, among the major ones.

<sup>24</sup> In the song text I have given the literal translation of the idioms, otherwise the meanings they embody are the ones given in parenthesis.

<sup>25</sup> See how this is expressed by, for instance, Benjamin Tichafa, a character in Alexander Kenengoni’s war novel, *Echoing Silences* (1997).

has effected the production of “new meanings in the public sphere” (Lara, 1998: 68) which have deeply influenced public political opinion.

In describing the predicament that he is requesting the national spirits to resolve, as *Vazukuru vaneta nekugara musango* ([Your] grand children are now tired of living in the forest) (line 16), Reckless again assimilates into the lyrics of his song a *chimurenga* grand narrative voice to criticize the 2008 political violence that forced thousands to flee their homes, and the 2005 *Murambatsvina* clean-up that left thousands of urban dwellers homeless (see Vambe, 2008). The sentence is common in GNS about the suffering endured by freedom fighters during the 1960s and 70s such as the wartime song, “Chengeta vana vanogara musango” (“Look after the children living in the forests”), which is an appeal to the Nehanda spirit to guard and inspire the guerrillas. In line 1 he addresses the departed ancestors using the *vari pasi* (those buried in the ground) euphemism not only to show affection and respect, but also to assert the opposition’s freedom and right to consult national ancestors. He does the same again in another song, “Toita varanda” (“We are becoming slaves”). Thus he constructs an interpretation of history that uses the same interpretive techniques as statist historiography, but creating an alternative common sense of history. This technique of engaging the *chimurenga* grand narrative has “helped establish revisions and questionings of our [Zimbabwean] historical traditions” (Lara, 1998: 70), thus stimulating a new political imagination.

Whereas from the LAND = *VADZIMU* metaphor land is seen as an exclusive property of blacks identified with a single party, the SSS seek to contest this restrictive, racially-inspired concept of land ownership by positing in the Zimbabwean public sphere a universal notion of land ownership. The attitudinal meanings they construct in challenging those emanating from the state are thus negative. Two small voices songs, The Hot Wire Boys’s “Chauraya nyika” (“What has destroyed the country”) and Mapfumo’s “Marudzi nemarudzi” (“All racial and ethnic groups”) illustrate this alternative meaning of land ownership. In the former, land belongs to *ruzhinji rwenyika yeZimbabwe* (all citizens of Zimbabwe) (line 3) and the same point is further clarified in Mapfumo’s “Marudzi nemarudzi” (“All racial and ethnic groups”) stating that land belongs to all racial and ethnic groups in the country irrespective of their skin colour, religion, culture and any other creeds. Mapfumo criticizes the use of autochthonic citizenship (Muchemwa 2010) as the basis for land redistribution and calls for an all inclusive one. He borrows the Christian universal doctrines, *Tiri vamwe chete muziso rake* (We are all

the same in His [God] eyes) and *Munhu wese ihama yako* (Every person is your kin) to scaffold this message. While the overall rhetorical purpose of the argumentation song “Chauraya nyika” is to deconstruct the parochial and partisan meanings the state attaches to land, it also has other sub-communicative purposes – that of clarifying the MDC position on the fast-track land reform programme and also offering an explanation to the land reform connected national crisis. This is achieved through exposing the fallacies behind the grand narrative metaphors that Zanu-PF uses for the public cognition of its *chimurenga* discourses.

In clarifying the MDC position on land, the soloist in “Chauraya nyika” partially capitulates by conceding Zanu-PF’s general stance on land, that it needs redistribution, as a noble idea – *Nyaya yevhu tinowirirana nemi Gushungo...* (On the land issue we [the MDC] agree with you Gushungo...) (line 2). However, after that he proceeds to launch the exact position of the MDC regarding land redistribution – that the opposition party is against the modus operandi being used to reallocate the land – *...asi maitiro enyu* (...but the way you do it) (line 2). In line 3 he demolishes another implied partisan grand narrative metaphor that LAND = ZANU-PF by arguing that *Nyaya yevhu ndeye ruzhinji hwenyika yeZimbabwe kwete yemapato* (The land is a public issue for all the citizens of Zimbabwe and *not an issue for political parties*) (line 3) [emphasis mine]. Thus in this counter strategy, the singer “enters a dialogically agitated and tension-filled environments of alien words, judgements and accents” [in this case the nationalist discourse] to weave “in and out of complex interrelationships” (Bakhtin, 1994: 75-76), partly concurring with the discourse he opposes while concurrently articulating its own independent voice.

In line 13 the protagonist demythologizes the state’s scripturally derived myth that giving the marginalized land is giving them *uchi nemukaka* (milk and honey). He does this by deploying a counter metaphor, LAND REDISTRIBUTION = *MAHUMBWE* (HOUSE PLAY) that is drawn from the question and answer line, *Watora hwindi wamupa purazi anorimenyiko? Mahumbwe* (You take a taxi/kombi conductor and give him land, what do you think he is going to farm? House play) (line 13). Associating land with children’s simulation of household life (i.e., *mahumbwe*) reflects the singer’s disapproval of the mechanism for allocating land, whereby anyone willing is given land regardless of whether s/he has the capacity to utilize it or not. The noun *mahwindi* (kombi/taxi conductors) also scaffolds the singer’s pejorative remarks on the land reform. Commuter omnibus conductors are some of the ordinary people who are publicly despised and looked down upon in Zimbabwe because of their poor education and

generally unruly and disrespectful behaviour. In the grand narrative mobilizational song, “Mahwindi” these are said to be Mugabe’s supporters (see chapter five). The Hot Wire Boys thus argue that allocating land to such unskilled and ill-disciplined people is like children’s playing house play – the land will not be put to any meaningful (economic) use. They are incapacitated materially and technically, hence unable to utilize the land and produce food to feed the nation. The *uchi nemukaka* myth is thus exposed as a Zanu-PF political gimmick. Indeed, in reference to benefits his party would accrue from the land redistribution, Mugabe stated:

Comrades, *the land issue should provide a good background for rejuvenating our Party. ... Is the Party ready to translate the gains of the Fast Track approach into mobilization and greater membership? It is important that our structures move in tandem or even ahead of the land redistribution exercise so that our people can properly contextualize (sic) where this huge benefit is coming from. Have we told them the land is being brought to them by a Zanu-PF government?*” (Mugabe, 2001: 120, emphasis mine).

Reckless’ intimidation song, “Ndine chigandanga” (“I have an outlaw inclination”) again expresses the same scornful feeling against the fast-track land reform. He thinks it involves coercion; people are being forced to accept resettlement even against their will and without any capital. He uses the verb *tinongomanikidzwa* (we are being forced) to register his contempt regarding the manner of implementing the land reform. *Minda chaiyo tinongomanikidzwa kuitora, toirima nei?* (We are even being coerced to take up land, [but] how are we going to farm it?). Although no one was enforced to take land, but people actually fighting to take the most fertile farms, Reckless’ exaggeration reflects the MDC’s negative stance towards the post-2000 agrarian reform. Mapfumo’s “Marima nzara” echoes the same rhetorical purpose. It adopts the Shona irony-loaded idiom, *kurima nzara* (to farm hunger) to criticize the government’s seizure of land from white farmers – *kudzvinga vanorima* (chasing away real farmers) to distribute it to (inexperienced) blacks. *Kurima* (farming) should result in agricultural produces, but in this case it leads to the opposite – people harvesting *nzara* (hunger). Like the Hot Wire Boys, Mapfumo counters the Zanu-PF propaganda that land reform will result in food security and people enjoying milk and honey. In reality for more than a decade since the land reform was implemented, Zimbabwe actually lost its status as the bread basket of the Sadc region, suffering perennial food shortages.

In concluding this section, it can be argued that in their dialogical interrelationship, the SSS and GNS are “a writing where one reads the other” (Kristeva, 1980: 68). The construction and

deconstruction, legitimation and delegitimation they perform typify the ideological polarity punctuating Zimbabwe's public sphere not only with regard to land, but also over all issues of governance generally. In a context in which opinion audibility and visibility should be the prerogative of the state/Zanu-PF, small story songs have become an overarching "example of 'agency' and 'transformative' discourses in the [Zimbabwean] public sphere" (Lara, 1985: 69).

#### 4.4.2 LAND = *NHOROONDO* (HISTORY) metaphor

I have earlier stated that the land issue is an indispensable motif in the statist reconstruction of Zimbabwean history. It is used in statist historiography as a mnemonic aid to patriotic history. In the *chimurenga* grand narrative, Zimbabwean history is animated by reference to land and the struggle waged to reclaim it. It appears statist historiography wants us to believe that land is synonymous with history to the extent that if it had not been alienated during the colonial period, there was not going to be any need to fight for independence. According to the celebratory grand narrative song, "VaMugabe" ("Mr. Mugabe"), "The history of Zimbabwe is the history of the land question". From the perspective of the statist patriotic history, this history is collapsed to *chimurenga* (war of liberation) only to the extent that we can replace the source domain HISTORY with *CHIMURENGA* and have LAND = *CHIMURENGA*. The reduction of Zimbabwe's complex history to only the wars of *chimurenga* is intended to project "a particular version of sacrifice and heroism (Muchemwa, 2010: 506) limited only to those who participated in them.

However, the song in which the LAND = HISTORY metaphor is best expressed is Cde Chinx's "Maruza imi III" ("You have lost for the third time"). Basically the song is of the celebratory sub-genre by virtue of its communicative purpose being, from Zanu-PF's point of view, to celebrate the defeat of colonialism and imperialism (three times) and reclaiming the land. This explains the repetition of the line *maruza imi* (you [the colonialists] have lost) by the R part in the song's refrain. The song is also a narrative one as it is events-oriented and with complicating event(s) that is/are evaluated (Martin & Rose, 2008: 67) (see chapter two). The complication is the colonization and alienation of land which the protagonist says was resolved through waging *Hondo yechimurenga* (the war of independence) (lines 1 and 2). It is also a didactic song that warns Zimbabweans to guard against being swindled of their land. Its textuality is sophisticated, incorporating storytelling, previous songs' tunes, antiphony and speech. The mission of the singer is to show that, because of land three *zvimurenga* (wars)

had to be fought, as the title of the song suggests. The same point is again expressed in line 80, which says ... *maruza one, two, three...*, (you have lost one, two, three...), *Zimbabwe will never be a colony again!* (see part of the lyrics in chapter two, sub-section 2.4.1.5 and the full lyrics in appendix).

#### 4.4.2.1 The redefinition of national history

Zanu-PF's tendency to reduce the meaning of history to *chimurenga* and its concomitant themes of land, sacrifice and heroism and positioning itself as the vanguard of that epic history is questioned in SSS and a counter definition of the term *chimurenga* is posited. Doing this in the context of the strictly state-controlled public sphere is an illustration of how opposition voices have, against all odds, assumed "telling roles to provide an insight into how [national] storytelling can be negotiated" (Georgakopoulou, 2007: 70), albeit in a conflictual way. But what does this catch-phrase term in Zimbabwe's nationalist history really mean? Etymologically the term can be traced back to the name of a Shona mythical hero, Murenga.<sup>26</sup> It is from his name that the term *chimurenga* is derived by adding the prefix *chi-* to *murenga*. *Chimurenga* then meant a war Murenga's descendants would fight against invaders, of which one well known one was the 1896-7 uprising against British colonization, which historians call the First Chimurenga. With the rise of African nationalism in the 1950s and the subsequent liberation war the term took on nationalist connotations, now denoting a struggle for nationhood and the reclamation of lost land. It assumed connotations of an idiosyncratic Zimbabwean revolution as nationalists sought local terms to conceptualize the revolutionary terms of Marxist-Leninism, one of the ideological sources for their nationalist movement. With Zanu-PF winning the 1980 elections which brought independence, the meaning of the term became intimately and exclusively associated with Zanla's role in bringing independence, hence as earlier discussed in chapter three, its monopolization by Zanu-PF for hegemony and power legitimation.<sup>27</sup>

The (counter) definitions the SSS proffer to the statist notion of *chimurenga* do not freeze it to land and colonial history. Rather they conceptualize *chimurenga* as a universal struggle for justice, human rights and dignity. Like that of Zanu-PF, it is locked in the trappings of

<sup>26</sup> He is, in Shona oral traditions, said to have been a warrior leader always eager to fight to defend his people. When he died his spirit continued to inspire his posterity to fight in defence of their possessions and cultural values. Any warrior fighting in these wars was believed to be possessed or inspired by the spirit of Murenga (see A.S. Chigwedere, *From Mutapa to Rhodes*, London: Macmillan, 1980).

<sup>27</sup> However, the term now also covers the part played by Zipra (Zapu's military wing), especially after the Zanu-Zapu unity accord of 1987.

political party ideologies to suit partisan (opposition) interests. In the latter reinterpretation of the term, attention is always paid to what the singer sees as how dearly the negative consequences of Zanu-PF's evocation of *chimurenga* have cost the nation. The term is not given any negative evaluations, but is actually appropriated and populated with opposition "semantic and expressive intentions" (Bakhtin, 1994: 77). Zanu-PF is accused of interpreting national history in a way that makes the nation suffer. The Third Chimurenga (land reform) that Zanu-PF sees as an extension of the *chimurenga* revolutionary history is condemned as having plunged the nation into a devastating political and socio-economic crisis. Madzore's multi-rhetorical song, "Track 3",<sup>28</sup> appraises Zanu-PF's monopoly of national historiography negatively – the party has not taught or passes on anything meaningful to the youths by way of economic survival. The rhetorical missions of such GNS like "Ndiyo taichemera" ("It is the one [i.e., Zimbabwe] we were yearning for") are thus deconstructed. Like the Hot Wire Boys in "Chauraya nyika", linguistically Madzore employs two tactical strategies, rhetorical questions and also the assimilation of Zanu-PF propaganda statements so as to demolish them. Selected lines from the song are given below.

L: *He-he zvamunoti makarwa hondo*  
*He-he zvamadzidzisa vechidiki ndezvipi?*  
*He-he zvamasiira vechidiki ndezvipi?*  
*He-he zvamasiira vana venyu ndezvipi?*

*He-he* you boast about fighting the war  
*He-he* what have you taught the youths?  
*He-he* what have you left for the youths?  
*He-he* what have you left for your own children?

Through rhetorical questions, the *chimurenga* grand narrative is seen as a destructive phenomenon to younger generations. The interjective *he-he* which denotes laughter makes Zanu-PF's notion of *chimurenga* laughable because it is seen as not having brought any lessons and material benefits even to the very children of the makers and praise singers of the monologic patriotic history. Indeed, in the wake of the post-2000 national crisis and against the state's non-stop narration of the *chimurenga* war, many disillusioned people began to question the rationale of having thousands of people losing their lives if independence cannot bring food on the table. However, SSS's deconstruction of the *chimurenga* grand narrative in an attempt to reinterpret national history does not result in the construction of an inclusive notion of national history. Like in GNS, however, it translates to textual propaganda manoeuvres. It is a mere rejection without a clear alternative. It is partly for this lack of clarity in terms of party policy and ideology that the MDC 'change' mantra has been criticized as empty – without "any recognizable policy or programme that sets it apart, besides trying to remove Mugabe from power" (Ndlovu, 2012: 26) and whose leader "at key and tragic moments" often reverts "to indecision and vacillation" (Chan, 2011: 112).

<sup>28</sup> It is identified as "Track 3" because on the album the songs' titles are not indicated.

It is an exaggeration, though, that Zanu-PF has not done anything for the youths let alone the other sections of the Zimbabwean populace over the three decades it has been in power. As celebrated in GNS, land redistribution is seen by pro-state commentators as a concrete example of how the Third Chimurenga has economically empowered the people. Scoones *et.al*'s (2010) work, *Zimbabwe's Land Reform: Myths and Realities* attempts to debunk stereotypes and myths about Zimbabwe's agrarian reform which portray it as a total failure and only benefiting Mugabe's cronies. It argues, backed by empirical evidence, that the land reform has ushered in a "new socio-economic process" that has "fundamentally changed agrarian structure, livelihoods and the rural economy" with hundreds of thousands of families now "engaged in new forms of economic activity, connected to new markets and carving out a variety of livelihoods" (Scoones, *et.al*, 2010: 233). The SSS' critical point is, however, the selective nature of land allocation generally done on the basis of whether one supports the ruling or to become a Zanu-PF supporter once one has been allocated land. Cronyism has also affected the land redistribution. If the research done by *Zimonline* is anything to go by, a Zanu-PF "well-connected black elite of about 2 200 people now control close to half of the most profitable land seized from about 4 100 commercial farmers", "nearly 5 million hectares" (*Zimonline*, 2010). Besides, there is also the problem of Zanu-PF's refusal to democratize, respect for human rights and intolerance to opposing views.

It is Majongwe who attempts to construct a universal notion of *chimurenga* that is free from the partisan formulations in GNS and the majority of SSS.<sup>29</sup> To him *chimurenga* is a perpetual struggle for social justice that people (as groups, movements, organizations and individuals) in Zimbabwe and Africa in particular and generally the world over can wage against regimes that trample upon their civil liberties and rights. His is a definition drawn from the general disillusionment with independence in Africa that began in the 1960s,<sup>30</sup> whilst in particular he refers to post-2000 Zimbabwe. He thinks nothing has changed. If there has been any change it is the worsening perpetuation of the oppression and victimization of the ordinary people. As he puts it in "Track 5",<sup>31</sup> "I am reminded that the more things change, the more they remain the same." "Track 2" is a cautionary song in which the addressee is advised to relinquish power (*chienda unozorora... [...go and rest]*), because he seems to be unaware of the fact that

<sup>29</sup> However, because his music is in the form of political protest, thus categorized as small voices, though largely a universal notion of *chimurenga*, dialogically it can also be seen as partisan.

<sup>30</sup> From then until the beginning of democratization in the 90s many African artistic forms, particularly literature and popular music, were characterized by writers questioning independence – its failure to turn the fundamental nationalist promises into reality.

<sup>31</sup> The titles of the songs are named as such because their titles are not present from the sources.

*chimurenga hachimboperi* (the struggle [for justice] never ends) (line 3). We saw in chapter two that a cautionary song's communicative purpose is to warn or advise individuals or groups of people about the dangers that lie ahead. This is what Majongwe's song is concerned with.

Title of song: "Track 2" by Raymond Majongwe

Song genre: Cautionary

RM a: Inviting the addressee in order to caution him

RM b: Expressing the specificities of the advice

RM c: Expressing sorrow for the addressee

1 L: <i>Gara pasi ndikuudze mwana wamai</i> x 4	Sit down and let me tell you, oh my mother's child a
<i>Iko katsika ikako kokuponda vamwe karegerei</i> x 2	That little habit of murdering others, stop it b
-----	
L: <i>Chimurenga baba, chimurenga hachimbopera</i> x 2	Chimurenga father, chimurenga does not end b
<i>Hondo baba, hondo yacho haimbopera</i> x 2	The war father, that kind of war never ends b
5 <i>Ndati hondo baba, hondo yacho haimbopera</i>	I say, the war father, that kind of war never ends b
-----	
L: <i>Aluta chimurenga continue</i> x 2	The struggle continues b
-----	
<i>Amaihwe, amaihwe, amaihwe</i> x 3	Oh my mother, oh my mother, oh my mother c

Majongwe comprehends *chimurenga* in dialectical terms – it is a relentless force unleashed to confront and/or demolish all forms of oppression so as to create a new (political) dispensation in which social justice and respect for human rights and dignity prevails. In his construction of a universal notion of *chimurenga*, like Reckless he employs “a variety of semantic tools and discursive strategies which together configure new spaces for experiencing an expansion of subjectivities” (Lara, 1998: 69). For instance, he assimilates historical nationalist voices used during the war. The revolutionary slogan *Aluta chimurenga continue!* (The *chimurenga* struggle continues)<sup>32</sup> (line 6) is employed to scaffold the dialectics and infinity of *chimurenga*. It is thus not a Zanu-PF preserve; hence the cautionary message to the addressee, *Chimurenga baba, chimurenga hachimbopera* (*Chimurenga* father, *chimurenga* does not end) (lines 7, 13 and 30). The listener (Mugabe) is addressed euphemistically as *baba* (father) to hide his identity as a strategy to avoid recrimination and possible arrest<sup>33</sup> (see chapter five on songs' construction of Mugabe's identities). Parallelism is employed to emphasize, through repetition, the importance of the song's message. The sentences in lines 7, 8 and 9 convey the same idea (the perpetuity of *chimurenga*) although linguistically they are differently

<sup>32</sup> The slogan is a version of the Portuguese, *Aluta continua!* (Forward with the struggle!) borrowed by Zanla from Frelimo during the liberation war years. Its Shona version is *Pamberi nechimurenga!* It was commonly heard from the mid-70s on Radio Maputo in programmes aired by Zanla. In South Africa it was popularized in music by Miriam Makeba's mid-70s song that took the same slogan as its title.

<sup>33</sup> The militant music of Majongwe, so satirical and critical of state repression, has always been given close attention by the state. It was not only banned (i.e., denied airplay on state radio and television), but the musician himself was in 2009 called by the police to explain his compositions (see *The Standard*, “Police Summons Majongwe to Clarify Compositions”, 17 October 2009). Currently the musician claims to “have stopped singing political songs” because “I now want my songs to be played on radio” (*The Standard*, “Majongwe's Latest Album Promising” 1 August 2009).

constructed. Their subjects, *chimurenga* and *hondo*, are synonyms that mean war. The interjective *amaihwe* (oh mother)<sup>34</sup> in most of the lines of the song denotes sorrow and suffering. While warning the addressee, the protagonist is also expressing his sorrow over the addressee who seems ignorant of the operations and manifestations of *chimurenga*. *Chimurenga* is elusive – it can neither be a property of only one person nor a group, but collectively belongs to everyone in their location in the dialectics of history.

#### 4.4.3 LAND = *ROPA REMAGAMBA* (BLOOD OF FALLEN HEROES)

Land is imagined, understood and talked about in terms of the wars of *chimurenga* in which much blood was lost. Alternatively put, this metaphor is also LAND = CHIMURENGA (war) because from a Zanu-PF viewpoint, it is the *chimurenga* war that reclaimed the land as stated in 4.4.2 above. However, the difference in this metaphor is that the linguistic metaphorical expressions are not derived from history in a general sense but specifically linked to *ropa* (blood) of the fallen heroes. Affectively, because blood semiotically denotes death, suffering, sacrifice, and in religious terms martyrdom, it is deployed to act as the pathos, the emotional appeal (Virtanen & Halmari, 2005: 5), to express the deep and restless emotions attached to land. The association of land with war and blood is, for instance, expressed in the grand narrative song, “Ndotaura” (“Now I say it”), that any attempt to reverse the land reform *yatova hondo* (is tantamount to war). Similarly in “Bhazuka” (“Bazooka”)<sup>35</sup> the land is a war zone; an armed soldier always stands guard – ...*muchadzoka sei pamunda iro soja rakagara pamunda nebhazuka?* (How are you going to retake the land when a soldier stands guard with a bazooka?). The metaphor is part of the post-liberation war reconstruction of land meanings in search of national identity and power legitimation by the nationalists. As Krieger (1995: 139) argues, the war which “claimed an estimated 30 000 to 80 000 lives” but was necessary to achieve independence is “an important national symbol and source of legitimacy for the governing elite.” In the context of the Third Chimurenga it is a metaphor intended to whip up people’s emotions against the British and locally the opposition in search of support for the controversial land seizure. It is also aimed at defending the often contested view that the blood of the fallen hero(ine)s was not spilt in vain. Mutambara (2008: 94-95) in reference to

<sup>34</sup> A Shona person usually utters the word when crying. Psychologically it is believed to be a carryover from childhood. A child in distress always cries to receive attention from its mother.

<sup>35</sup> The title of the song incorporates the terminology of the weaponry used by the guerrillas during the war. The Chinese made bazooka was one of the anti-tank weapon frequently used by Zanu guerrillas. Thus the term bazooka embodies the *chimurenga* grand narrative voice in which the war of liberation and land are closely connected.

the nearly one thousand guerrillas and refugees killed at Chimio in 1977 states in typical *chimurenga* grand narrative tone that,

In death they lay together, side by side, to be immortalized into the annals of Zimbabwe's history as true revolutionaries and liberators, *who paid the supreme sacrifice... in the struggle for dignity, land and independence* [emphasis mine].

Like in the LAND = ANCESTORS metaphor, there are two categories of heroes and heroines who sacrificed their blood for land – those of the First and the Second Chimurenga. These are positively appraised as martyrs in Zanu-PF nationalist mythology as having willingly, selflessly and gallantly accepted sacrificial task of having their blood spilt in order to reclaim the land. Note how in the following statist notion of heroism the shedding of blood is linked to sovereignty and the liberation of the land.

Our notion of heroism ... comes directly from *the bloody resistance* to British imperial expansionism... . The heroes we ... celebrate... remind us that the principal goal of that struggle was ... the search for *sovereignty* and control of over all our resources, *principally land*' (Mugabe, 2001: 14, emphasis mine).

The nom de guerres of many guerrillas refer to blood. For instance, Joyce Mujuru, currently one of Zimbabwe's vice presidents, was called Teurai Ropa (Spill Blood). *Ropa rakadeuka* (the blood that was spilt) is a common emotive phrase in many *chimurenga* songs. Pregnant as it is with intense emotions, it arouses hostility against colonialism and in the context of post-2000 against those (the opposition and their western backers) (*vatengesi/abatengisi*, to use patriotic history terminology) viewed as intending to reverse the land reform. *Kukanganwa* or *hanganwa* (forgetfulness/amnesia) as regards the war and the blood is identified in GNS as affecting the historical consciousness of those opposing Zanu-PF. The current metaphor's close linkage with the LAND = ANCESTORS metaphor is also explained against the view that the blood of the slain would mix with that of the ancestors already in the soil. The traditional song, "Ndeyeropa ramadzibaba" ("It [the land] is of the blood of the [slain] fathers")<sup>36</sup> captures this point.

L: <i>Ndeyeropa ndeyeropa</i>	It is of the blood of the fathers
R: <i>Zimbabwe yedu ndeyeropa</i>	Our Zimbabwe is of thr blood
L: <i>Ndeyeropa ramadzibaba</i>	It is of the blood of the fathers
R: <i>Zimbabwe yedu ndeyeropa</i>	Our Zimbabwe is of the blood

Songs employing this metaphor normally use inscribed positive evaluation, i.e., direct positive discourses about the selflessness of the fallen heroes and invoked negative evaluation (White, 2011: 6) to condemn, denigrate and lampoon the enemy. For example, reference to the hardships encountered by the guerrillas – hunger and starvation, lack of protection from

<sup>36</sup> The song was commonly sung during the colonial period and also during the 1980s. I remember the song from my primary school days in the mid-80s.

rain and cold, disease, carrying heavy weaponry, injury and death at the hands of the enemy – as in the observation song, “Taishingirira” (“We were determined”) which is a positive inscribed evaluation. Places where guerrillas were killed en masse like at Nyadzoia,<sup>37</sup> Chimoio,<sup>38</sup> Tembwe<sup>39</sup> and Mkushi<sup>40</sup> are rarely omitted in these songs. Consequently, the songs are dominated by attitudinal meanings of AFFECT expressing especially deep-seated emotionalism – sorrow over the lost blood and anger against the former colonialists and the opposition, both accused of working hand in glove to effect regime change and reverse the land reform.

The song “Zimbabwe yakauya neropa” (“Zimbabwe came through blood”) is a good example in which the LAND = BLOOD metaphor is deployed for communicative purposes. The song is an anecdote whose disruptive event is the (tragic) war in which tens of thousands of lives were lost. As stated in chapter two, the rhetorical purpose of an anecdote is to share an emotional reaction with the audience.

Title of song: “Zimbabwe yakauya neropa”

Song genre: Anecdote

RM a: Orienting the song

RM b: Expressing how Zimbabwe came into being

RM c1: Expressing emotions of pain and sorrow

RM c2: Expressing emotions of anger

Chorus	
1 L: <i>Hona Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe</i> R: <i>Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe yakauya neropa</i>	See Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe a Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe came through the shedding of blood b
-----	
L: <i>Hona Zanu-PF, Zanu-PF, Zanu-PF</i> R: <i>Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe yakauya neropa</i>	See Zanu-PF, Zanu-PF, Zanu-PF a Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe came through the shedding of blood b
5 L: <i>Hona paChimoio paNyadzoia zvairwadza</i> R: <i>Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe yakauya neropa</i>	See at Chimoio at Nyadzoia it was painful c1 Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe came through the shedding of blood b
-----	
Recitation	
<i>Vabereki, hanzvadzi, wanin'ina, wanasekuru, wanambuya</i>	Parents, brothers/sisters, young brother/sister, grandfathers, grandmothers
<i>Vakatsakatika munguva yehondo</i>	Perished completely during the times of the war c
<i>Isu vana veZimbabwe tinorwadziwa nekudeuka kwakaita ropa</i>	We children of Zimbabwe are pained because of the blood that was spilt c1
10 <i>Iwe mwana weZimbabwe chinokupa kusafunga chii?</i>	What makes you fail to think [about this] you child of Zimbabwe? c2
<i>Enda kudzoke shure uone kwakambomira sei?</i>	Go and look back into the past to see what it looks like c2
<i>Kunyanya imi vechidiki vari kukura,</i>	Especially you the youths who are still growing up
<i>Hamufungwiwo here kuti kune ropa rakadeuka?</i>	Why don't you think about the blood that was spilt? c2
-----	
Recitation	
<i>Handei Mt. Darwin tinozvionera</i>	Let us go to Mt. Darwin and see for ourselves c2

<sup>37</sup> The place is in Mozambique. Hundreds of guerrillas and refugees died in 1976 after Morrison Nyathi, a former guerrilla commander, had betrayed the location of the base to Rhodesian forces.

<sup>38</sup> The place was the headquarters of Zanla. It was bombed in November 1977 and close to a thousand guerrillas and refugees died (see A. Mutambara, *Chimoio Attack*, Harare: Department of Information Publicity, 2008).

<sup>39</sup> This was a Zanla and Zipra base in Tanzania.

<sup>40</sup> It was a Zipra base in Zambia that was bombed in 1978.

Attitudinal meanings of AFFECT dominate the song's text as the artists appraise the war negatively and imbue it with emotions of sorrow. The verb phrase *zvairwadza/zvinorwadza* (it was/is painful) (lines 5 and 9) is deployed to transmit the intense emotion of sorrow particularly at the loss of life at Chimoio and Nyadzoia (same lines). In the recitation sections of the lyrics, the singer resorts to rhetorical questions to direct her feelings of shock and anger at those (mainly the youths) that she accuses of being uninterested in the blood-spilling *chimurenga* war. Rhetorical questions are an important persuasion tool for audience involvement because they function to engage the listeners and make them think. Despite their intention of not eliciting a response, from the addressee, they have a dialogical perlocutionary effect. They function like the

Socratic method of inducing agreement by involving the audience member in a thinking process, leading to the idea that the answer, while here provided for the audience, is somehow a product of a mutual agreement between the speaker and the audience. (Halmari, 2005: 117)

Three deliverance modes – singing, sloganeering and recitation – are used to scaffold the song's message, *Zimbabwe yakauya neropa* (Zimbabwe came through the shedding of blood), repeated throughout by the R part in the song's refrain.

Inscribed attitudinal meanings of affect highlight the singers' grief over the blood lost in the war. This is explicitly activated through verbal phrases, *zvairwadza* (it was painful) (lines 5 and 9), *vakatsakatika* (they perished completely) (line 8) and *kudeuka kwakaita ropa* (the spilling of blood) (lines 9 and 13). In the persuasion-celebratory song, "Muri musoja" ("You are a soldier"), a simile is employed to quantify the blood of those who died at Nyadzoia, Chimoio, Chinhoyi,<sup>41</sup> Tembwe, Mboroma<sup>42</sup> and others places. It is likened to a huge dam full of water – ... *paChimoio pane dhamhu reropa revana* (...at Chimoio there is a dam full of the blood of [Zimbabwean] children) (See full text of song in the appendix). Many of these places being in foreign lands (Mozambique, Zambia and Tanzania) they embody emotions of pain and anxiety; of dislocation (from land) and in tandem the longing for relocation, which however, is not a simple process but one that involves sacrifice. In an argumentation song, "Negidi" ("With a gun"), in a question and answer between L and R, L poses the question: ... *makaitora seiko nyika?* (... how did you win the country?), to which R responds, *Takaitora*

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<sup>41</sup> The place is in north-central Zimbabwe and was called Sinoia during the Rhodesian times. It is mythicized in Zanu-PF *chimurenga* history as the place that sounded the first shots for the beginning of the liberation struggle. A gang of guerrillas fought here but was wiped out by Rhodesian forces.

<sup>42</sup> Tembwe was a Zanla camp in Mozambique whereas Mboroma was combined Zanla and Zipra camp in Zambia.

*neropa* (We won it through blood). The interrogative adverb *seiko* (how really?) signifies the soloist's amazement at the difficulty with which the land was won back.

In “Zimbabwe yakauya neropa” the singer employs rhetorical questions to express not only her feelings of anger against those Zimbabweans who choose not to pay attention to the tragic episodes of the liberation struggle but also to articulate puzzlement at such behaviour. The rhetorical question: *Iwe mwana weZimbabwe chinokupa kusafunga chii?* (What makes you fail to think [about this] you child of Zimbabwe?) (line 10) is one such instance where emotions of anger and shock overwhelm the soloist. In other songs the proverb, *Kukanganwa chazuro nehope* (Forgetting the past because of sleep) is often used for the same rhetorical effect (see, for instance, the analysis of the exemplum song, “Ndotaura” in chapter five, in which the opposition are accused of being sleepy to the extent of deliberately shunning their national history in pursuit of money and beautiful clothes). The proverb “performs here as authoritative discourse” or “authoritarian word” – that which “demands we acknowledge it” because of its connection “with a past that is felt to be hierarchically higher” (Bakhtin, 1994: 78).<sup>43</sup> The verb phrase *handikanganwi* (I will not forget) and its antonym, *kukanganwa* (to forget) and their various forms appear in many GNS to positively or negatively appraise Zimbabweans' stances with respect to the *chimurenga* war.<sup>44</sup> The verb *kusafunga* (not to think) (line 10) which is in the negative form, indicates the soloist's criticism of what she believes is the negative mentality of some sections of the Zimbabwean populace, *kunyanya imi vechidiki ...* (...especially you, the youth) (line 12) towards the history of the struggle. Because of their unwillingness to know the ‘blood-flooded’ road to national freedom, she condemns such people as *vakarasika* (they are lost). The rhetorical questions in the lines 35, 38 and 42, for instance, *Ko iwe uri kurasika papi mwana weZimbabwe?* (Where really are you getting lost child of Zimbabwe?)<sup>45</sup> (see appendix) convey the soloist's bafflement at her addressees' historical amnesia. She feels that their ahistorical consciousness could be ‘corrected’ if she empirically demonstrates the authenticity of her historical claims. She thus

<sup>43</sup> Typically Shona/African proverbs have a formulaic beginning, *Vakuru vakati...* (So elders say...). In Ndebele it is *Abadala bathi...* (So elders say...). They reflect the Bakhtinian authoritative word or “word of father” (Bakhtin, 1994: 78).

<sup>44</sup> For example, the titles of the Born Free Crew songs, “Ini handikanganwi” (“I will not forget”) and “Ndatadza kukanganwa” (“I have failed to forget”) underscore the singer's approval of his position vis-à-vis *chimurenga* history. In early 2000s the Eden Boys' hit, “Makanganwa magarika” (“You have forgotten because you are now sitting pretty”) which criticized those who were said to have benefitted from independence but were forgetting what (i.e., the war) brought it, was constantly aired on radio and television.

<sup>45</sup> The question is usually used colloquially by the youths to ridicule someone who appears confused about knowing or doing something. The singer therefore adopts the language of the youth to make effective the communication of her message to the targeted listeners.

challenges them to go to Mt. Darwin.<sup>46</sup> It is here (she hopes) that they can empirically confirm the truth of what she is saying – that Zimbabwe means blood. At this stage the song becomes argumentative, offering empirical evidence to motivate the metaphoricalized thesis – LAND/ZIMBABWE = BLOOD. The verb *tinovionera* (so that we see by our very eyes) (line 14) suggests the singer's eagerness to prove her case empirically in order to convince those she is criticizing. In spite of her anger and shock, the singer does, however, still reserve some respect for those she addresses. She tones down her emotions by affectionately referring to them as *mwana weZimbabwe* (child of Zimbabwe). This contrasts with negative identities that are given to those who do not support Zanu-PF, who are usually negatively appraised as *vatengesi* (sellouts).

However, in their exemplum song, “Ini ndarangarira” (“I have remembered”), the youthful musical group The Born-Free Crew, refutes the ahistoricity levelled against them in “Zimbabwe yakauya neropa.” As if to assuage the older generations' fears concerning their supposedly historical amnesia, they sing to demonstrate their knowledge of *chimurenga* and the significance of its split blood. They sing, *Ini ndarangarira ....magamba eZimbabwe mama* (Mother I now remember ... the heroes of Zimbabwe) because ...*pakubuda muRhodesia pakadeuka ropa...* (... to get out of Rhodesia much blood was spilt...) (see appendix for the lyrics of the song). Like the soloist in “Zimbabwe yakauya neropa” they criticize those who forget and do not respect but denigrate the fallen heroes. Note again the mention of Chimoio and Nyadzoia places in this song.

*Ona izvozvi makanganwa maakufamba muchitaurisa*

See right now you have forgotten, you walk around talking  
nonsense x 2

*Ko ropa rakadeuka makanganwa paChimoio makanganwa?*

Have you forgotten about the blood that was spilt at Chimoio, have you forgotten?

*Ko ropa rakadeuka makanganwa paNyadzoia makanganwa*

Have you forgotten about the blood that was spilt at Nyadzoia, have you forgotten?

But why does the LAND = BLOOD metaphor raise such intense emotions in GNS? The Shona belief in *ngozi* earlier stated partly but significantly comes into play again here. The spirits of the fallen heroes are believed to be restless because they did not die a normal death, but were slain fighting on behalf of others. Thus their spirits require constant remembrance in honour of the cause of their death. Failure to honour the spirits results in *ngozi* – a malevolent spirit of a murdered person coming back to haunt the living. Shona culture is against *kudeura ropa* (the spilling of blood), lest one invite misfortunes to his/her family or clan (see Bourdillon,

<sup>46</sup> The place, which is in north-eastern Zimbabwe, was the hot-bed of the war during the 1970s. In 2011 at a place called Chibondo, hundreds of bodies of guerrillas and villagers that had been thrown in a disused mining shaft were discovered, thus further perpetuating the bones and blood myth.

1987: 233-235; Lan, 1985: 35-39). It can be argued that the *ngozi* belief is yet another state strategy of manipulating Shona religion in order to psychologically dominate the people.<sup>47</sup> The *chishuwo chamagamba* (the wish of the fallen heroes) myth is one of the major motifs in Zanu-PF campaign messages during election time. Voting for any other party is viewed as betraying the wish of the fallen heroes and what their blood symbolizes. In Manyika's exemplum-persuasion song, "Vazhinji nevazhinji" ("Many and many [i.e., guerrillas]") specifically composed for the 2005 parliamentary elections, people are implored to remember the wish of the fallen heroes. A part of the lyrics is given below:

Recitation	
<i>Nokuti nyika iyi ine vamwe vakafa</i>	Because this country has some who died for it,
-----	
<i>Mumwe nomumwe pakati pedu</i>	Everyone among us
<i>Anofanira kuzvidzamisisa ndangariro dzake</i>	Should further deepen his/her memories
<i>Kuti nyika iyi imwe chete inonzi Zimbabwe</i>	About this country called Zimbabwe
<i>Saka iwe neni tine basa rokuchengetedza nyika iyi</i>	So you and me have a duty to guard this country
<i>Kuitira kuti tizadzikisewo</i>	So that we can also fulfil
<i>zvido zvevakafira nyika iyi</i>	the wishes of those who died for this country

The line *Saka iwe neni tine basa ....* (So you and me have a [national] obligation...) comes from Zanu-PF's wartime and early independence slogan, *MuZanu!* (In Zanu!) to which the response was *Iwe neni tine basa!* (You and I have a task [to perform]). From Zanu-PF's perspective the obligation in this slogan refers to the need for everyone to be patriotic. The failure by some people to 'fulfil' the *chishuwo chemagamba* obligation has often been met with tragic consequences. Violence against the opposition has often been justified by Zanu-PF against their desire to fulfil this emotion-loaded wish (see more discussion about this in chapter five).

#### 4.4.3.1 Paying homage to alternative blood and creating counter hero(ine)s

The way SSS challenge the singularization of the meaning of the term *chimurenga* and its exclusive association with Zanu-PF and concurrently construct and mobilize a universal notion of land ownership has been discussed in 4.4.1 above and thus do not need repetition here. Here I focus on how SSS counter the LAND = BLOOD metaphor by giving symbolic alternative meaning to blood, creating and iconizing their own (counter) hero(ine)s. This should be understood against the backdrop of the opposition's struggle for (re)democratization in Zimbabwe, in which, however, they use the same methods as Zanu-PF

<sup>47</sup> The *ngozi* belief is so strong that it is always talked about in the context of the political violence that took place in the country during the period under study. Many Zimbabwean literary works in English and Shona have been written about or in reference to *ngozi*. Some of them include Alexander Kanengoni's *Echoing Silences* (1997); Nicholas Hamandise's *Mashiripiti engozi* [The Marvels of an Avenging Spirit] (1970) and *Sara ugarike* [I leave you to enjoy yourself] (1975); Emmanuel Ribeiro's *Muchadura* [You shall confess] (1967) and many others.

in search of validation of their ideology of change. Similarly to their response to the LAND = VADZIMU metaphor, small voices singers' format for paying homage to slain opposition activists and process of elevating them to 'national hero(ine) status' resemble those used by Zanu-PF. In their communicative intentions they also follow the conventions of the spectacle, defined by Ndebele (2006) as the tendency by the writer to almost totally engage with "spectacular representation", i.e., authorial obsession with everything that "must make a spectacular political statement" (p. 51).<sup>48</sup> Reckless' didactic-persuasion song, "Rusaruraganda" ("Racism") illustrates this.

Title of song: "Rusaruraganda" ("Racism")

Song genre: Persuasion-didactic

RM a: Expressing the persecution of opposition supporters

RM b: Advising and warning opposition members

RM c: Extolling the sacrifice of opposition activists

RM d: Condemning the perpetrator's insensitivity

RM e: Persuading the activists' spirits to retaliate

	Recitation I	
	-----	
	Recitation II	
1	<i>Baba vedu Shepherd Jani, Vanakomana vedu Tonderai Ndira</i>	Our Father Shepherd Jani Our boys Tonderai Ndira
	-----	
	<i>Asi tinodada nefiro yenyu Makafa rufu rwemagamba, rambai muchirwa</i>	But we are proud of how you died c You died the death of hero(ine)s, continue fighting c
	-----	
	Recitation III	
5	<i>Vanamai vedu makafa rufu rwunorwadza zvakadaro? Imi Amai Abigail Chiroto, imi Amai Dadirai Chipiro Makafa muchibvurwa sembeva</i>	Our mothers you died a painful death a You Mother Abigail Chiroto, You Mother Dadirai Chipiro You died being singled like mice a
	-----	
	<i>Simukai mudzorere</i>	Wake up and fight back e
	-----	
	Recitation IV	
10	<i>Phainos Kufazvinei kuMberengwa uko Wakafa uchibaiwa nemaspokes ehasikoro Wakafa uchigomera nemarwadzo Uchiwokera mudzimai wako achibatwa chibharo Zimbabwe inoti kwete simuka udzorere Uya tiite maonerapamwe</i>	Phainos Kufazvinei there in Mberengwa You died being impaled with bicycle spokes a You died groaning with a lot of pain a Watching your wife being raped a Zimbabwe says no, wake up and retaliate Come and let us fight together e
15	<i>Hamuna kurara macomrades asi murere</i>	Comrades you are not dead but merely resting e
	-----	
	<i>Gara pasi, gara pasi, gara pasi ufunge chakafira Judah</i>	Sit down, sit down, sit down and think about what Judah died for
	-----	
	Recitation V	
	-----	
	<i>Vazhinji navazhinji vakasiya nyika yavo Nokuda kwembimbindoga Robert Mugabe Tiri tose muhondo</i>	Many and many left their country Because of the autocrat Robert Mugabe We are together in the war

Like in "Zimbabwe yakauya neropa", the way MDC activists died is graphically described for purposes of emotionalism – to arouse hatred against Zanu-PF (violence). Some women activists *makafa muchibvurwa sembeva* (died being singled like mice) (line 7) and *wakafa*

<sup>48</sup> He contrasts this tradition with what he calls "the rediscovery of the ordinary", a more redemptive and transformative writing technique that delves "into the intricacies of motive or social process" (Ndebele, 2003: 33), emerging after the 1976 Soweto massacre.

*uchibaiwa nemaspokes ebbasikoro* (you died being impaled with bicycle spokes) (line 10). Like in the *chimurenga* grand narrative such deaths are positively evaluated as signifying (opposition) heroism and sacrifice – *makafa rufu rwemagamba...* (you died the death of hero(ine)s) (line 4). Again similar to the ways Zanu-PF evokes the spirits of its fallen hero(ine)s along the lines of the *ngozi* institution, so does the protagonist by appealing to the slain opposition activists to resurrect and fight back. His persuasion strategies in the speech sections of the song’s text entail the adoption of the language resources of *mhiramidzimu* (religious) poetry<sup>49</sup> used in the Shona rite of *kumutsa mufi* (awakening a deceased’s spirit) of the *ngozi* institution. It is an “authoritative word” – ritual language in the form of incantations, extracted from the “already acknowledged” (Bakhtin, 1994: 78), feared and staunchly believed *ngozi* custom. It is believed that once awakened, the spirit of the murdered person will launch attacks on the perpetrator’s kin, engendering a series of misfortunes such as illness, death, loss of property among many which generally destabilize their lives.<sup>50</sup> *Simuka udzorere* (Stand up and retaliate) (line 8) is a persuasive statement in which the soloist persuades the deceased to fight by showing that he has faith in his fighting capacity. In *uya tiite maonerapamwe* (come we will fight together with you) (line 14) and *Tiri tose muhondo* (We are [fighting] together in the war) (line 19), he invites the deceased’s spirit through persuading it that it will not fight alone but in partnership with the living. He also persuades the spirits by not only elevating them to the status of *magamba* (heroes and heroines) status and addressing them with the revolutionary honorific term ‘comrades’<sup>51</sup> but also celebrating their immortality – *Hamuna kurara macomrades asi murere* (Comrades, you are dead but merely resting) (line 15). Thus as in cultural nationalist mythology, the spirits of the dead are co-opted to fight their metaphysical side of the struggle for democracy in Zimbabwe, while the opposition members among the living also fight their part in the physical dimension of the struggle. Stylistically the discourse is both “authoritarian” and “internally persuasive discourse” (Bakhtin, 1994: 78-79). It is authoritarian by virtue of its reference to the acknowledged tradition of *ngozi* and persuasive because one is able to experiment with it,

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<sup>49</sup> The poetic genre is the medium of communication between the living and the dead in Shona ritual (see for instance discussion on Shona ancestor veneration in M.F.C Bourdillon, *The Shona Peoples*, Gweru: Mambo Press, 1987, and Gelfand, Michael, *Shona Ritual with Special Reference to the Chamunuka Cult*, Cape Town: Juta and Co., Ltd, 1959).

<sup>50</sup> The fear of *ngozi* became a public issue in the context of post-2000 political violence to the extent that even senior politicians like Joyce Mujuru and Oppah Muchinguri warned party supporters to desist from violence. They argued that they should know that if they kill someone, the *ngozi* does not come back to haunt the party but the very individual and his/her relatives.

<sup>51</sup> The term was used by many liberation movements in Africa, borrowed from Soviet Marxist communism that inspired these movements, which got weapons from the then Soviet Union.

aligning his/her own independent consciousness with it (Bakhtin, 1994: 78-79). From a dialogic analytical perspective, Reckless constructs a partisan multi-layered notion of *chimurenga* that assimilates Second Chimurenga tenets. Thus his discourse is polyphonic, designed “to shock and subvert” (Robinson, 2012: 2) pro-state discourses.

The fact that the opposition is geared to create its counter heroes was seen, when in August 2011, Tsvangirai and his party snubbed the annual fallen heroes commemoration at the national shrine to attend the burial of one of their members at the Warren Hills cemetery whom they felt should have been declared a national hero (Herald Reporter, 2011). The nationalized notion of heroism; the idea of comradeship; the belief that the deceased spirits can also be mobilized to fight in partnership with the living; and the call to always remember and fulfil the wishes of the fallen hero(ine)s are all *chimurenga* grand narrative practices used by Zanu-PF in the past and currently in the post-2000 period to legitimise its rule. I earlier theorized these issues against the influential power of the (dominant) nationalist narrative which (officially) is supposed to be imitated although, as the case with Reckless, “complicity with” it is not necessarily to be “complicit with or supportive of the hegemonic power-knowledge complexes” (Bamberg, 2004: 360) it represents. For example, ...*gara pasi ufunge chakafira Judah* (... sit down and think about what Judah died for<sup>52</sup>) (refrains III and IV) is an echo of the grand narrative songs against *hanganwa* (forgetfulness) as regards the fallen hero(ine)s and a reminder about the national obligation compelling everyone to fulfil *chido/chishuwo chemagamba* as discussed with respect to Manyika’s “Vazhinji nevazhinji” above. This demonstrates an interesting phenomenon in the engagement of SSS and GNS. The two clusters of songs incorporate voices from the same (history and Shona cultural and religious beliefs) material, but to achieve different (political) rhetorical functions in the Zimbabwean public sphere. In a sense Reckless challenges Zanu-PF’s monopoly on tellership of Zimbabwean history. He feels tellership as regards national issues is a right to which every citizen is entitled. The perlocutionary force of this strategic choice is not only its demystification of Zanu-PF’s mythological sources for its political power and discourses, but a seizure of the same sources in order to inspire and legitimise the opposition’s struggle. This strategy may partly explain the MDC’s increasing national support, a reality that has not been achieved by any opposition party since 1980. However, because musical production and other art forms are an integral part of the process of envisioning, imagining and facilitating the

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<sup>52</sup> Judah Jongwe is the former MDC spokesperson who committed suicide in 2002 while in prison.

process of socio-political change in Africa, they construct a powerful “alternative utopia or a new sense of nationality” (Kubayanda, 1990: 8). I therefore argue that in interpreting history in this way, the opposition, following the same *chimurenga* narrative practices, is also constructing its own grand narrative, that should it come to power, would be used as the framework for creating and propping up its own hegemony.

#### **4.5 CONCLUSION**

The chapter has comparatively discussed the meanings of land and history as they are constructed in GNS and SSS, focussing on the linguistic resources the singers deploy to effectively communicate their meanings. Whereas both categories of songs rely on conceptual metaphors, rhetorical questions and intertextuality (among major tactical strategies), in SSS their use reinforces the effective communicative function of the songs as counter narratives. It was noted that in their dialogical struggle for the “power to mean”, they both assimilate material from the *chimurenga* master narrative, but in the process SSS become capable of articulating their peculiar (oppositional) discourse. Consequently, it was emphasized that SSS have succeeded in making the grand *chimurenga* narrative a shared text for public storytelling by forcing their way into the national tellership space, thus countering the state in the struggle for interpreting history and land in the context of the post-2000 national crisis. I argued that, the meanings the two categories of songs construct are not only dialogically and ideologically antithetical, they also dramatize the high level of political polarization in post-2000 Zimbabwe.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION AS EVALUATION OF POLITICAL BEHAVIOUR IN SSS AND GNS

#### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter analyses how the discursive construction of MDC and Zanu-PF identities in SSS and GNS functions as a means of evaluation of the two parties' political behaviour. It seeks to establish how the state uses such constructed identities as an instrument to Other and delegitimize the opposition, and how the latter in turn constructs its own to challenge the state's othering tactics and legitimize the opposition's democratic struggle. I also explore how the constructed identities are used in both clusters of songs to comment on the contestable issue of national identity. The term 'collective identities', is used here to refer to those positive and negative labels constructed for and against a political party. Employing the semantic domain of ATTITUDE from the APPRAISAL theory, I seek to analyze the language resources the songs manipulate to construct these competing identities and their perlocutionary effect in the Zimbabwean public sphere. Besides other linguistic resources, as in chapter four, I will examine the linguistic resources and communicative strategies (carnival, storytelling and metaphor) that singers appropriate in their efforts to formulate and assert their political identities and, for the opposition, deploy counter-identities against state hegemony. The appropriation of carnival and its parodic humour is of particular interest in this chapter, especially in SSS in which it is deployed within the asymmetrical state-opposition power relations to undermine official discourses. I argue that, as forms of evaluating the political behaviour of the state and the opposition, these identities are constructed largely by the deployment of values of ATTITUDE's semantic dimensions of JUDGEMENT, although to a lesser extent APPRECIATION and AFFECT are also employed. Besides, as an assessment of 'the self' and 'the other', the identities are formulated within a local/nationalist-global dialectical framework. SSS formulate their identities while operating from a political framework inspired by both universal (democratic) and local values, whereas GNS construct theirs from the perspective of local (*chimurenga* or patriotic history) values and beliefs.

## 5.2 MAPPING IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION ONTO THE APPRAISAL THEORY

### 5.2.1 *ATTITUDE's dimensions of JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION*

I stated in chapter one that, of the three APPRAISAL theory's semantic areas of ATTITUDE, GRADUATION and ENGAGEMENT, I will rely on ATTITUDE to analyze the meaning-making taking place in the songs. "The systems within ATTITUDE are the ones that provide resources for social evaluation" (White: 1998: 100). While in chapter four I mainly relied on ATTITUDE's sub-system of AFFECT, in the current chapter I will significantly utilize ATTITUDE's sub-system of JUDGEMENT while APPRECIATION and AFFECT will to some extent be used in the chapter's goal to conceptualize how political party identities are being constructed. Since I defined AFFECT in chapters one (1.4.1), here I will only further explain the concepts of JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION before linking them to the issue of identity-formation. JUDGEMENT is concerned with

meanings by which attitudes are construed with respect to human behaviour – approval/disapproval of human behaviour by reference to social acceptability/social norms; assessments of a person's character or how they 'measure up' to social requirements of expectations (White, 2011: 11).

Social norms dealt with under JUDGEMENT "take the form of rules and regulations or systems of value" (White, 1998: 33; 2009: 9; Iedema, Feez & White, 1994). Therefore under this attitudinal value, human actions may be evaluated as good or bad, including the use of all the binaries under which these two general opposites – moral or immoral, legal or illegal and so on are used. As White (1998: 33, 104; 2009: 9) notes, Iedema, Feez & White (1994) stress that JUDGEMENT is highly influenced by "cultural and ideological values" such that it may not always apply in other cultural environments, particularly those different from the western English speaking, "essentially middle class setting" in which the theory was developed. It is precisely for that reason that part of the argument in this chapter is that the songs under study significantly draw their evaluative references from local socio-cultural and historical norms in addition to universal democratic norms as is the case with SSS.

The two categories under which values of JUDGEMENT can fall are *social esteem* and *social sanction*. *Social esteem* consists of assessments "under which the person judged will be lowered or raised in the esteem of their community, but which do not have legal or moral implications" (White, 1998: 34; 2009: 9). For example if someone is criticized as lazy, dull or

cowardly. Following Iedema, Feez & White (1994) *social esteem* has three sub-categories of *normality*, *capacity* and *tenacity* elaborated in Table 1 below:

Social esteem	Positive [admire]	Negative [criticize]
<i>Normality</i> (custom) 'Is the person's behaviour unusual, special, customary?'	standard, everyday, average...; lucky, charmed...; fashionable, avant garde... normal, celebrated...;	eccentric, odd, maverick...; unlucky, unfortunate...; out-dated, unfashionable...; odd, obscure...;
<i>Capacity</i>	skilled, clever, insightful...; athletic, strong, powerful...; sane, together...; healthy, clever...;	stupid, slow, simple-minded...; clumsy, weak, uncoordinated...; insane, neurotic...; sick, stupid...;
<i>Tenacity</i> (resolve)	plucky, brave, heroic...; reliable, dependable...; indefatigable, resolute, persevering...;	cowardly, rash, despondent...; unreliable, undependable...; distracted, lazy, unfocussed...;

Table 1: Values of JUDGEMENT (*social esteem*) (adapted from Martin & White, 2005: 53; White, 2009: 9-10; 1998: 35).

*Social sanction* refers to judgements which have to do with *veracity* (how truthful something is) and *propriety* (how ethical someone is) (White, 2011: 11). Iedema, Feez & White (1994) propose two types of meaning; *veracity* (*truth*) and *propriety* (*ethics*) for JUDGEMENT's sub-category of *social sanction* (see Table 2 below).

Social sanction	Positive [admire]	Negative [criticize]
<i>Veracity</i> (truth) 'how honest?'	honest, truthful, credible...; authentic, genuine...; frank, direct...;	deceitful, dishonest...; bogus, fake...; deceptive, obfuscatory...;
<i>Propriety</i> (ethics) 'how far beyond reproach?'	good, moral, ethical...; law abiding, fair, just...; caring, sensitive, considerate...; altruistic, generous, charitable...;	bad, immoral, lascivious...; corrupt, unjust, unfair; cruel, mean, brutal, oppressive selfish, greedy, avaricious...;

Table 2: Values of JUDGEMENT (*social sanction*) (adapted from Martin & White, 2005: 53; White, 2009: 10; 1998: 35).

In summary, it can be observed from the two figures above that JUDGEMENT deals with the dos and don'ts; the normal and the abnormal; and the expected and unexpected of a particular socio-cultural context.

ATTITUDE's semantic domain of APPRECIATION is concerned with "evaluating products and processes" and covers "values which fall under the general heading of aesthetics, as well as a non-aesthetic category of 'social valuation' which includes meanings such as *significant* and *harmful*" (White, 2009: 10-11; 1998: 36). It can be conceptualized as a system by which negative or positive human emotions "towards products, processes and entities are institutionalized as a set of evaluations" (White, 2009: 11; 1998: 36). However, human behaviour can also be evaluated using values of APPRECIATION when "viewed more as entities than as participants who behave – thus *a beautiful woman, a key figure*" (White, 2009:

11; 1998: 36). Rothery & Stenglin (2000) suggest three sub-regions for classifying values of APPRECIATION namely, *reaction*, *composition* and *valuation*. Of the three, I will mainly employ the first two because the values of the category of *valuation* have less relevance to this study. They are “closely tied to field in that the social valuation of one field will not be applicable or relevant in another” (White, 2009: 11; 1998: 37). Under *reaction*, “the product/process is evaluated in terms of the impact it makes or its quality” (White, 2009: 11; 1998: 36). Below I illustrate these values by examples drawn from some songs I will analyze in this chapter.

Reaction: quality: positive – <i>maoresa</i> (of high quality) i.e., attractive, splendid
Reaction: quality: negative – <i>handina chimiro</i> (I have no character) i.e., dull, Unattractive
Reaction: impact: positive – <i>chiwororo</i> (has correctional influence) i.e., effective, useful
Reaction: impact: negative – <i>kushaya pekubata</i> (clueless) i.e., ineffective, useless

Table 3: Adapted from Martin & White, 2005: 56; White, 1998: 11)

Under composition, the make-up of the product or process is the criterion for evaluation. One wants to see whether it conforms or not “to various conventions of formal organization” (White, 2009: 11; 1998: 36). Rothery & Stenglin (2000) assert that “Composition is textually tuned. It describes the texture of a work in terms of its complexity or detail”. For example:

Composition: balance: positive – <i>takabatana</i> (we are united) i.e., unified
Composition: balance: negative – <i>yadhakwa</i> (is drunk) i.e., unbalanced, Discordant
Composition: complexity: positive – <i>yakasimba</i> (it is hard) i.e., complex
Composition: complexity: negative – <i>yaora</i> (it is rotten) i.e., disintegrating, Collapsing

Table 4: Adapted from Martin & White, 2005: 56.

### 5.2.2 Political and national identities

Political and national identities are examples of forms of social identification, a concept which refers to the process by which people define themselves “in terms and categories” that they “share with other people”, i.e., they “assume some commonality with others” (Deaux, 2001: 1). By political identity I refer to the (political) values and aspirations members of a group share and use to articulate their uniqueness, seek their goals and differentiate themselves from other groups.

Various identity theorists emphasize the “process of differentiation between the self and perceived others” “as central to the process of identity construction” (Hammond, 2004: 105).

In the context of various societal movements (political, religious, etc.,) the construction of identities is done from the concept of “meaning-making in social movements” (Kurzman, 2008). The idea’s central proposition is that movements “constantly seek to understand the world around them, and that the imposition of meaning on the world is a goal in itself, a spur to action, and a site of contestation” (Kurzman, 2008: 5). This meaning, *inter alia*, includes the “social understandings of identity and difference” and any other conceptualizations people may choose to identify through their own mechanisms of meaning-making. Social movements are seen as of particular interest to study meaning-making,

because their activities foreground resistance to the dominant norms and institutions of society. They raise questions about the possibility of alternative world-views and alternative dispensations, and in so doing they challenge participants and observers to rethink meanings that are too often taken for granted. Social movements actively make meaning, challenging established meanings (Kurzman, 2008: 6).

I will, for instance, demonstrate that as meaning-making, opposition identities seek to achieve alternative political meanings through negative evaluations which resist official discourses.

In their social identity theory, Tajfel & Turner (1979) identify three stages in the process of identity construction within a group – *categorization*, *identification* and *comparison* (McGarty & Haslam, 1997; Hammond, 2004: 105). *Categorization* refers to the process of grouping stimuli (typically people or things) together and treating them as in some sense equivalent (McGarty & Haslam, 1997: 13, 17). It involves people making assumptions about themselves and also about others “based on the normal behaviour and professed ideologies of the groups to which they belong” (Hammond, 2004: 105). I argue that the construction of such assumptions is itself a process of evaluation by means of JUDGEMENT. The notion of sameness is at the heart of this identification process. *Identification* entails the noting of the behavioural patterns of an individual or a group, organization, etc., to which people have membership. *Comparison* is the process by which people justify their membership to a particular group by “constructing a sense of prestige” through comparing their group “favourably with others” (Hammond, 2004: 110). The stage of *comparison* involves Othering – the transformation of “a difference into otherness so as to create an in-group and an out-group” (Staszak, 2008: 1). Otherness is the “characteristic of the Other” (Staszak, 2008: 1), “the result of a discursive process by which a dominant in-group (‘Us’, the Self) constructs one or many dominated out-groups (‘Them’, Other) by stigmatizing a difference – real or imagined – presented as a negation of identity and thus a motive for potential discrimination” (Staszak, 2008: 2). An in-group is the group to which a particular speaker, “the person spoken

of etc., belongs” while an out-group is a group to which one or the “person spoken of, etc., belongs” (Staszak, 2008: 1). The term Other denotes “a member of a dominated out-group, whose identity is considered lacking and who may be subjected to discrimination by the in-group” (Staszak, 2008: 1). With its sole goal being to separate and differentiate, *comparison* is yet again an evaluative process of JUDGING and APPRECIATING the self in positive and the other in negative terms. I will, for instance, illustrate that the identities which GNS create for Zanu-PF are intended to construct a sense of nationalist pride and national identity. Meanwhile, negative evaluations of the opposition through such labels as *mutengesesi* constitute a process of Othering the opposition.

Collective identity is one of the meanings a social movement constructs in its search for unity and collective action among its members and to distinguish itself (in terms of its characters, values, goals, etc.) from the dominant one(s) in society. The quest for collective identity is “seen not just as a precondition for successful social movement mobilization, but as part of the process of mobilization” (Kurzman, 2008: 9). As dominant themes in both SSS and GNS, the various MDC and ZANU-PF identities I analyze are “dialogical and relational because their constructions are “integrally bound” together by virtue of their fashioning and refashioning from “processes of collective memory and shared interactional history” (Georgakopoulou, 2007: 119) of the respective two parties. Thus as mechanisms of evaluation, their meanings should be understood from that particular context.

In concluding this section, I contend that in the context of APPRAISAL, identities constitute the language of evaluation. They are a site for the struggle for meaning-making and demonstrate how struggles are being “fought indirectly through language” (Savage, 2010: 2; Halfin, 2007) in Zimbabwe’s political landscape. Clearly they are “crucially implicated in attitudinal assessment”, i.e., the activation “of positive and negative viewpoints” (White, 2011: 4). The considerable manipulation of language in the construction of these competing identities shows the indispensability of linguistic discourse to political action in post-2000 Zimbabwe.

### **5.3 GNS SONGS AND ZANU-PF IDENTITIES OF SELF-CONSTRUCTION**

GNS construct an all-encompassing identity of *vasununguri venyika* (liberators of the nation) for Zanu-PF. The same identity is also constructed as *vakafira nyika* (those who died for the country) or *vakarwira nyika* (those who fought for national liberation). The identity of *vagovi/vapi vevhu* (allocators/givers of land) is also constructed with specific reference to the

post-2000 land redistribution. In Mbare Chimurenga Choir's observation song "MuZimbabwe" ("In Zimbabwe"), this in-group constitutes a special section of society identified as *varipo vakarwira rusununguko* (there are some who fought for the liberation of the country). The verb phrase *varipo* (there are some), identifies them by selecting and setting them apart from other citizens in the country. From this umbrella identity emerges a plethora of other positive identities of self-evaluation whose realization through values of JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION are drawn from the *chimurenga* grand narrative history or patriotic history in the context of the post-2000 state-dubbed Third Chimurenga. First is the identity of *kushinga* (courage) which positively evaluates Zanu-PF by means of values of *social esteem*. Zanu-PF is constructed as a courageous, enduring and determined party – the whole concept behind the emotive bones, blood and sacrifice motif. Second is the identity of *kushupika* (suffering) or what can be referred to as the Cinderella identity, is employed to present Zanu-PF and Mugabe as the historically despised and demonized, but in the end the rewarded ones. Third is the discursive construction of Zanu-PF in association with the identity of *nhorondo* (history) – a meaning conveyed through the deployment of JUDGEMENT's values of both *social esteem* and *social sanction*. This evaluation elevates Zanu-PF in the Zimbabwean political arena by giving it liberation war credentials and the legitimacy to rule. Fourthly, the identity *kubatana* (unity, cohesion) is also constructed, using values of APPRECIATION to present Zanu-PF as the more nationally popular and united party. Lastly, pro-Zanu-PF songs employ JUDGEMENT's values of *social esteem* to construct the *mbiri yechigandanga* (the fame of being a guerrilla) identity. This identity associates the party with politically-motivated violence, which Zanu-PF feels it is mandated to wage in protection of national identity, heritage and sovereignty. These positive attributes constitute Zanu-PF's discourse of collective identity designed to promote monology – "a situation in which the multi-meanings of language are reduced and where those who control these meanings have the capacity to enforce this monology" (Schopflin, 2001: 4). The identities function to give an aura to the state's "centripetal discourse of authority" (Cuenca, 2010: 46). Because of its celebration of the nationalist emancipatory history, Zanu-PF employs them not only to cast itself as the authentic creator and defender of Zimbabwean national identity, but to enforce citizens to accept them as the defining elements of national identity. Within the state-opposition confrontation they constitute an invoked evaluation of the Other – the opposition's supposed political frailties – a strategy to elbow it out of the country's systems of power.

### 5.3.1 The identity of *kurwira rusununguko*

The identity of national liberator is intended to portray Zanu-PF as a patriotic party, in contrast to its counterpart the MDC, which is evaluated as and given the *mutenges* (traitor/sellout) tag (see 5.4.1 below). In GNS the national liberator identity is often animated through several verbal lexis which constitute values of *social esteem* the main ones of which are: *kufira nyika* (sacrificing oneself for the nation); *kusunungura nyika* (to liberate the nation), *kurwira rusununguko* (to fight for freedom) and *kuzvitonga kuzere* (to fight for full political freedom and sovereignty). The Tafara-Mabvuku Chimurenga Choir's praise-celebratory-persuasion song, "MuZimbabwe" ("In Zimbabwe") constructs this identity. The song employs three rhetorical moves **a** to **e** (see appendix) to construct this identity and argue for its importance within the state's discourse of patriotic history.

Title of song: "MuZimbabwe"

Song genre: Praise-celebratory-persuasion

RM **a**: Identifying the vakarwira nyika in-group

RM **b**: Paying homage/remembrance to the in-group

RM **c**: Advising Zimbabweans to unite under the banner of the in-group

1	L: <i>MuZimbabwe varipo vakarwira rusununguko</i>	In Zimbabwe there are some who fought for liberation <b>a</b>
	R: <i>Magamba arere paHeroes Acre Tinovarangarira kwazvo</i>	Heroes that lie at the Heroes Acre <b>a</b> We remember them greatly <b>a</b>
	L: <i>Nokudaro ngatibatanei tishande pamwe</i>	Because of that let us unite and work together <b>c</b>
5	R: <i>Ngatibatanei tishande pamwe Vana vemuno muZimbabwe</i>	Let us unite and work together <b>c</b> Children who belong to this country Zimbabwe <b>c</b>
	ALL: <i>Kufira nyika yeZimbabwe</i>	Dying for the nation of Zimbabwe <b>a</b>

Whereas rhetorical move **a** identifies *magamba* (heroes) (line 2) as the *varipo vakasunugura nyika* (line 1) in-group, the call in rhetorical move **c** (lines 5 & 6) for Zimbabweans to unite under this group demonstrates the construction of national identity on the basis of the *chimurenga* war. *Vana vemuno muZimbabwe* (Children/citizens of Zimbabwe) (line 6) ought to have this identity. The conjunctive *nokudaro* (because of that/ therefore) (line 4) marks the scaffolding of the argument. The *kufira nyika* (line 7) myth is a value of *social esteem*'s *tenacity* category. Alternatively it expresses the identity of *vana veropa* (children of blood), an issue that I discussed in chapter four concerning land meanings in relation to blood. As I pointed out earlier, *vakarwira rusununguko* is the mother of all hegemonic statist identities (5.3.1.1 – 5.3.1.4) from which other identities or epithets of positive APPRECIATION and JUDGEMENT can be deduced.

### 5.3.1.1 The *kushinga* identity

The *vasununguri* (liberators) are constructed as not merely liberators, but as those who liberated the country through *ushingi* (courage). The narrative-celebratory-observation song, “Taishingirira” (“We were enduring”) constructs this identity of an enduring liberator. Its title evokes courage and determination, the ingredients of heroism. I stated in chapter two that the communicative purpose of an observation song is to make the audience appreciate the effect of a story’s events on the narrator (Martin & Rose, 2007: 67). In this song the identity is discursively constructed through the soloist’s enumeration of the instances where bravery and endurance were shown. These are given in the song’s rhetorical move **b** – *tainzvenge madhokota* (we evaded warplanes) (line 10); *taibereka makasha* (we carried heavy weapons) (line 3) and *tainaiwa nemvura* (the rains used to beat us) (line 4). Again all these resources, as positive values of *social esteem*, evaluate Zanu-PF as indefatigable; articulating the *ugamba* (heroism) issue, so topical in Zimbabwe’s political landscape.

Title of song: “Taishingirira”

Song genre: Narrative-celebratory-observation

RM **a**: Orienting the song’s theme of courage

RM **b**: Stating the examples of courage displayed

RM **c**: States the outcome of the bravery

1	L: <i>Shingirira haiwa taishingirira</i> R: <i>Taishingirira</i>	Be brave, we were bravely enduring <b>a</b> We were bravely enduring <b>a</b>
	-----	
	L: <i>Taibereka makasha</i>	We used to carry heavy weaponry <b>b</b>
	-----	
5	L: <i>Tainaiwa nemvura</i> R: <i>Taishingirira</i> L: <i>Tichishingirira</i>	We endured the rains <b>b</b> We were bravely enduring <b>a</b> We kept on enduring bravely <b>a</b>
	-----	
	L: <i>Nhasi tatora ivhu</i> R: <i>Taishingirira</i> L: <i>Nekushingirira</i>	Today we have taken the land <b>c</b> We were bravely enduring <b>a</b> Through bravely enduring <b>a</b>
	-----	
10	L: <i>Tainzvenge madhakota</i>	We bravely evaded warplanes <b>c</b>
	-----	

The identity of determination is conveyed through three rhetorical moves, **a** to **c**. The repetition of the verb phrase, *taishingirira* (we were bravely enduring) in moves **a** and **b** and its variants *tichishingirira* (we kept on enduring) and *nekushingirira* (through enduring bravely) in the L part by both the L and R parts of the song re-emphasizes Zanu-PF’s identification with endurance. Attitudinally move **c** constitutes values of AFFECT because it consists of “resources for construing emotional reactions” (Martin & White, 2005: 35). It conveys a celebratory mood, justifying the necessity of the sacrifice – it was not in vain. First, it rewarded people with independence. Second, it rewarded people with land – *nhasi tatora ivhu nekushingirira* (today we have taken the land, through enduring bravely) (lines 7 and 8) are resources employed to express this idea. The adverbial *ne-* in the adverbial phrase

*nekushingirira* (line 8), is employed to scaffold the message that courage and endurance are a means to an end. It is the instrument with which independence and land were obtained, hence the importance of the *kushinga* identity.

From this determination Zanu-PF, in contrast to the MDC, sees itself as not only the true hearer and doer of Nehanda's *tora-gidi-uzvitonge* (take the gun and liberate yourself) command, but as a fulfiller of yet again another Nehandan prophecy – *mapfupa angu achamuka* (my bones will rise), a daunting task which only the courageous and the selfless could achieve. Manyika's exemplum-celebratory-mobilization expresses this as *Zvinoda vakashinga moyo* (It needs the brave-hearted). In the Born Free Crew's celebratory-exemplum song, "Ndatadza kukanganwa" ("I cannot forget"), the outcomes of the practice of the *kushinga* identity goes beyond *rusununguko* (independence) (line 1 and 16) and *kuzvitonga* (self-rule/sovereignty) (line 4) to include *kurima* (farming) (line 17) and *budiriro* (development) (line 13).

Song title: "Ndatadza kukanganwa"

Song-genre: Celebratory-exemplum

RM a: Paying homage to the courageous hero(ine)s

RM b: Expressing (negative) judgment against the alleged unthankful

RM c: Celebrating the fruits of courage

1	L: <i>Ndatadza kukanganwa kusunungurwa kwakaitwa kubva muunhapwa</i> R: <i>Kusatenda uroyi</i>	I cannot forget how we were liberated from [colonial] slavery <b>a</b> Ingratitude is witchcraft <b>b</b>
5	L: <i>Tawana kuzvitonga, todaya uchi nemukaka munyika yedu sevatemala</i>	We got our sovereignty, now we eat milk and honey in our country as blacks <b>c</b>
	-----	
	L: <i>Asi shungu dzaNehanda dzazadziswa Mapfupa ake akamuka muZimbarembabwe Asi shungu dzaNehanda dzazadziswa Zuva racheka muZimbarembabwe</i>	But Nehanda's strong wish has been fulfilled <b>c</b> Her bones have arisen in the house of stone <b>c</b> But Nehanda's strong wish has been fulfilled <b>c</b> The sun has shone brightly in the house of stone <b>c</b>
10	R: <i>Tingaripe nei zvanakaita? Tingatende sei?</i> L: <i>Varwi verusununguko</i>	What compensation can we pay that befits what you did? <b>d</b> How shall we thank [them]? <b>d</b> The freedom fighters? <b>a</b>
	-----	
	<i>Budiriro, kugara zvakakanaka tazvivwana Kubva muushingi hwenyu magamba</i>	We have achieved development and good living standards <b>c</b> All this came from your bravery, you the heroes <b>a</b>
15	L: <i>Tinotenda awo magamba akaunza Rusununguko muno munyika</i>	We thank those heroes that brought <b>c</b> Independence here in the country <b>c</b>
	-----	
	<i>Torima, totonga muno muZimbabwe</i>	We now till the land, rule here in Zimbabwe <b>c</b>
	-----	
	L: <i>Utano muzvipataro, gender equality</i>	Health in hospitals, gender equality <b>c</b>
	-----	
	<i>Magetsi kumamisha, runyararo munyika</i>	Electricity in rural areas, peace in the country <b>c</b>
	-----	

*Zuva racheka muZimbabwe* (the sun has shone brightly in Zimbabwe) (line 9) is an idiomatic positive value of APPRECIATION expressing the soloist's *reaction* to the fruits of *kushinga*. The quality of the developments arising out of the courage invested in the Second and Third Chimurenga is appealing and remarkable to him, hence the comparison of the supposed

national development to the shining sun. Such brave endurance and its outcomes are constructed as beyond any gratitude a person may render. The rhetorical questions *Tangaripe nei zvamakaita?* (What compensation can we pay that befits what you did?) (line 10) and *Tingatende sei?* (How shall we thank [them]?) (line 11) articulate this point. The rhetorical questions are realizations for *social sanction*, especially values of *veracity*. The singers evaluate the role played by freedom fighters as credible. However, at the same time they condemn failing to render gratitude for such *ushingi hwemagamba* (the courage of the heroes and heroines) (line 14) as tantamount to *uroyi* (witchcraft) through the Shona proverb, *Kusatenda uroyi* (ingratitude is tantamount to witchcraft) (line 3). Here the song's rhetorical message shifts to an exemplum; where the human action is judged against morality and "social acceptability" (White, 2010: 2). The proverb is a negative value of JUDGEMENT's *social esteem (propriety)*. The comparison to witchcraft shows that the person under assessment is insensitive to the suffering expressed through *kushinga* in as much as a witch, in Shona culture, is believed to be jealous of other people's successes. Sub-textually this evaluation is directed against the opposition who are stereotypically constructed as unthankful and in more serious allegations as *vavengi* (enemies) of the revolution.

However, associating Zanu-PF with *utano muzvipataro* (health development) (line 18) and *runyararo munyika* (peace in the country) (line 19) in post-2000 is an exaggerated construction. Due to the political and economic meltdown, the period has been characterized, *inter alia*, by the collapse of the health delivery system and by state-sanctioned political violence against the opposition. It is for this reason that Zanu-PF's positive self-constructed identities are reconstructed by the opposition in negative ones which identify Zanu-PF as *vaurayi venyika* (destroyers of the economy) (see 5.4.2) and construct it as a party synonymous with violence (see 5.4.4).

The *kushinga* identity and also the Cinderella identity (see 5.3.1.2) with their common traits of suffering, courage and reward have become sources of statist mobilization propaganda for the land reform process. They have been incorporated into songs and jingles promoting land reform. Last Chiyangwa (a.k.a Tambaoga)'s persuasion land jingles "Rambai makashinga" ("Remain resolute") and "Sendekera" ("Do not give up") and Cde Chinx's cautionary-persuasion song "Shingai zvenyu" ("Just be resolute") are cases in point. They incorporate the state celebrated *kushinga* identity to persuade the people to be indefatigable in the context of the economic crisis and international isolation of Zimbabwe. Drawing the positive evaluation

from the *chimurenga* war, the *kushinga* identity is thus constructed as a trait of national identity everyone is encouraged to express.

Cde Chinx's cautionary-persuasion song, "Shingai zvenyu" has the same rhetorical message of persuading the people to have the hope that the suffering will be followed by a reward – economic freedom through land acquisition.

L: <i>Vana veZimbabwe shingai zvenyu kani</i>	Children of Zimbabwe just be brave a
R: <i>Shingai zvenyu, shingai zvenyu tinokunda</i>	Just be brave, just be brave we will win a
-----	
L: <i>Zvingareme zvingadii, handei pamwe</i>	Things may be difficult or what, let us work together a
-----	
L: <i>Zvingagozhe zvingadii handei pamwe</i>	Things may be tough or what let us go together a

The verbs in the potential mood, *zvingareme* (it may be hard) (line 3) and *zvingagozhe* (it may be difficult) (line 4) are used to appeal for endurance. The adverb *zvingadii* (no matter what) (lines 3 & 4) which modifies each of these verbs is a call for unconditional and relentless courage and commitment as an imitation of the resoluteness of the *vakarwira rusununguko* (those who fought for liberation) in-group. *Tinokunda* (we will overcome) (line 2) articulates the hope to succeed, conveying the message that as during the *chimurenga* war, the endurance would not be in vain.

However, in the face of the post-2000 national crisis the perlocutionary effect of the *kushinga* identity became increasingly questionable as the crisis intensified. Many people became aware of how such propaganda is intended to prop-up Zanu-PF's power, to discourage or intimidate those who might raise uncomfortable questions and to express adulation for the very people who were actually not feeling any effect of the crisis. While leaders sang *rambai makashinga* with the masses in public, when it came to matters of personal daily life the ordinary person was left alone to face the severe scarcity of basic necessities (food, cash, power, health, education). At no one moment did the leaders fail to put food on the table and enjoy it with their families. With access to foreign currency in their offshore accounts, they travelled to China and the Far East and South Africa to buy locally scarce necessities.

### 5.3.1.2 The *kushupika* (Cinderella) identity

This identity is a positive ZANU-PF self-evaluation by means of JUDGEMENT's semantic dimension of *social sanction*. The *kushupika* identity associates the liberation movement with perseverance and constructs it as the rejected, reviled and toiling character of Zimbabwe's historical narrative with enemies all around it determined to crush it once and for all. The narrative ingredients of the identity go something like this: During the colonial period in

Zimbabwe, Zanu-PF suffered the imprisonment of its leaders and for a just cause it endured many enemy raids.<sup>1</sup> Now in post-2000 it suffers the imposition of (according to the state) illegal sanctions by Britain and its western allies and also the demonization of its leader, Robert Mugabe.<sup>2</sup> The Cinderella motif is projected in Manyika's exemplum-celebratory-mobilization song, "Nora"<sup>3</sup> through the construction *Zanu ndeyokushupika* (Zanu is a suffering/persevering party) (line 10) and indeed also through most of the songs about the bones, blood and heroism motif discussed in chapter four. Another verb phrase expressing the Cinderella trait includes the passive *kushungurudzwa* (to be traumatized) as in the observation songs, "Hondo inoshungurudza" ("War traumatizes") and "Taimboshungurudzwa" ("We were traumatized"). The noun, *nhamo* (calamity, misfortune, trouble) in another observation song "Nhamo yaiona vanamukoma" ("The calamities that befell the freedom fighters"), creates the same identity. In "Nora" the Cinderella identity is constructed in rhetorical move **f** and vocalized through the following sentences: *Zanu ndeyokushupika* (Zanu is a persevering party) (line 10) and *kugara musango taneta* (we are tired of staying in the forests) (12).

Song title: "Nora"

Song genre: exemplum-celebratory-mobilizational

RM **a**: Orienting the song

RM **b**: Celebrating the rewards of suffering

RM **c**: Celebrating the heroism of the freedom fighters

RM **d**: Condemning the sellouts

RM **e**: Suggesting how sellouts can be 'rehabilitated'

RM **f**: Expressing the Cinderella identity

RM **g**: Mobilizing the masses

1	L: <i>Nora Nora Nora</i> R: <i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i>	Nora Nora Nora <b>a</b> Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b>
	-----	
	L: <i>Zvinoda vakashinga moyo</i>	It needs those with brave hearts <b>c</b>
	-----	
5	L: <i>Kune vamwe vakapanduka</i> R: <i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i> L: <i>Nepamusana pekusafunga</i>	There are some who have rebelled <b>d</b> Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b> Because of being stupid <b>d</b>
	-----	
	L: <i>Toraika vanhu vakadai</i> R: <i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i> L: <i>Dzidzisi gwara reZanu</i>	Take such people <b>e</b> Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b> Teach them Zanu-PF's ideology <b>e</b>
	-----	

<sup>1</sup> Particularly the massively fatal Rhodesian air raids at Chimoio, Nyadzoia and other places (see chapter four).

<sup>2</sup> In the statist grand narrative, Zanu-PF often expresses this Cinderella myth starting with the refusal by the Soviet Union to consider it as an authentic revolutionary movement (a recognition or status that would have enabled it to get Soviet military assistance). Other examples include the persecution of its members after the assassination of Chitepo in 1975; the alleged abandonment of freedom fighters by some Zanu-PF leaders like Ndabaningi Sithole in the 1970s and the alleged demonization in the western press of Zanu-PF, Zanla and Mugabe, among others.

<sup>3</sup> Nora is a female name. There are a number of war songs with female names, e.g. Tinei Chikupo's late 70s hit "Sirivhiya hande kuMozambique" (Sylvia lets go to Mozambique [and join the war]). This is because most of the songs were adapted from the socially expressive *jiti* songs many of which were about romance. Besides that, it also shows the participation of women in the war.

10	L: <i>Viva Zanu, Zanu ndeyekushupika</i> R: <i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i> L: <i>Viva Zanu, kugara musango taneta</i>	Viva Zanu-PF, Zanu-PF is an enduring party <b>f</b> Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b> Viva Zanu, we are tired of staying in the forests <b>f</b>
	L: <i>Dharuweni kune magamba</i>	In Darwin there are heroines <b>c</b>
	L: <i>Vakafira iyoyi Zimbabwe</i>	Who died for this very Zimbabwe <b>c</b>
15	L: Heee hee-e –he-e Heee hee-e –he-e Hande tione hee	Heee hee-e –he-e Heee hee-e –he-e <b>h</b> Let us go and let us see hee <b>h</b>

The exclamation *Viva* in the lines 10 and 12 constitutes positive AFFECT, a value showing the high value attached to perseverance to such an extent that it is one of the party's celebrated identities. As in "Taishingirira" in 5.3.1.2 above, although the suffering was experienced as conveyed in the L part, the decision to go to war is evaluated as a wise one – it brought independence. This is what R celebrates. The noun *mhururu* (ululation) is a nominalized realization of positive AFFECT expressing joy over the rewards emanating from suffering for the nation. By stating that every place in Zimbabwe there are *magamba akafira iyoyi Zimbabwe* (heroes who died for this very Zimbabwe) (rhetorical move **c**) is to paint the entire nation with blood, thus constructing Cinderella motif as a national identity.

Used as a hegemonic strategy, the Cinderella identity is constructed to associate Zanu-PF with the ordinary (suffering) man/woman. In the persuasion song, "Mahwindi" the identity is extended to the marginalized sections of society – *mahwindi* (taxi conductors); *mapositionori* (African apostolic church members); *mamonya* (mascular violent people/thugs), *marasta* (the Rastafarian community members in Zimbabwe); *magweja* (the gold/diamond panners) and *mambuya* (old women) who Zanu-PF considers as its genuine members and whose lives it should uplift. From the Italian political theorist Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony, to become a dominant group a class must incorporate subaltern classes and make alliances with them. It "must make large parts of its own subaltern's worldview its own" (Johns, 2006: 45) hence Mbembe's (1992: 3) argument that relations of power in a postcolony go beyond the couplets of ruler/ruled, hegemony/counter-hegemony, etc. Under this identity, the suffering is sometimes expressed as having been worsened by some of Zanu-PF's members whose loyalty has become questionable or have become *vatengesi*. The mobilization song, "Simukai tiverengane" ("Let us take stock of ourselves") articulates this idea. The line *VaMugabe vati simukai tiverengane* (Mr. Mugabe requests that we take stock of ourselves) evokes Mugabe's statement in 2000 that the loyalty of some his senior party members, has become questionable. "They have double standards, with one leg in the MDC and another in Zanu-

PF” (Msipa, 2003)<sup>4</sup> This illustrates Schopflin’s (2001: 2) point that in every “system of identity construction, there has to be a hierarchy of norms” that provides “the criteria to condemn certain kinds of behaviour or judgments and approve of others”, without which “the collectivity can find itself helpless in the face of new challenges”. The song therefore negatively evaluates some Zanu-PF members by means of values of *social sanction*, drawn from the ideals of the *chimurenga* grand narrative.

However, in the context of the post-2000 competing state-opposition discourses, I argue that the Cinderella identity is an identity more suitable for a positive evaluation of the opposition which has been at the receiving end of state repression. And in accordance with the Cinderella motif, it has endured to gain recognition not only from the public but even from its very tormentor – the state. In 2009 Zanu-PF was forced to enter into a government of national unity with it.

### 5.3.1.3 The identity of *nhoroondo* (history)

In the Mbare Chimurenga Choir’s exemplum-argumentation song, “Nhorondo” (“History”), JUDGEMENT’s resources of *social esteem* construct Zanu-PF as a maker and owner of Zimbabwe’s revolutionary history. The meaning thus confers on it the prestigious revolutionary identity, from the state’s viewpoint. The identity of history functions in two ways for the state. Firstly, it is marshaled to provide Zanu-PF with liberation war credentials, the only qualification it considers valid for someone to have the mandate to rule the country. Secondly, it uses it to claim the right to “determine the criteria of the historic” (Guha, 1996: 1) and what constitutes national identity. This is the phenomenon Ranger (2005: 217) refers to as “rule by historiography” in which “nationalist historiography – history in the service of nationalism” – predominates all other terms of reference in the running of the state. Mugabe and his deputies Joyce Mujuru and John Nkomo are positively evaluated as *vane nhoroondo yehondo* (they have a revolutionary history) (line 9), a verb phrase repeated throughout in the R part of the song. In the context of the GNU, this exclusionary identity is intended to distinguish them from the opposition and its leadership who do not have this “special credential” and thus should not be entrusted with the responsibility of ruling the country. The provocative and soul-searching line *Zvibvunzei* (Ask yourselves) (line 6) is directed at the

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<sup>4</sup> Chris Anold Msipa, “Zimbabwe-Politics: Mugabe on a war path”. *IPS (Inter Press Service News Agency)*. <http://www.ipsnews.net/2003/12/politics-zimbabwe-president-mugabe-on-war-path/> (accessed 18 August 2012).

MDC, exhorting them to make a thoughtful self-introspection, which the soloist presumes will convince them that they do not have revolutionary qualifications and thus the legitimacy to rule.

Song title: “Nhorondo”

Song genre: Exemplum

RM a: Stating the argument

RM b: Challenging the opposition to understand the claim

RM c: Motivating the argument

1	L: <i>Ukaona VaMugabe vachitonga nyika</i> ----- L: <i>Ukaona Mai Mujuru vachimira-mira</i> ----- L: <i>Ukaona vaNkomo vachifamba apo</i> ----- L: <i>Ukaona magamba achivigwa pagomo</i> -----	If you see Mr. Mugabe ruling the country <b>a</b>  If you see Mrs. Mujuru always busy <b>a</b>  If you see Mr. Nkomo walking there <b>a</b>  If you see heroes being buried at the mountain <b>a</b>
5	L: <i>Ukaona masi yose ichiviga magamba</i> ----- L: <i>Zyibvunzei</i> R: <i>Vane nhorondo</i> L: <i>Zyibvunzei</i> R: <i>Vane nhorondo yehondo</i> -----	If you see all the masses burying the heroes <b>a</b>  Ask yourselves <b>b</b> He has a history <b>c</b> Ask yourselves <b>b</b> He has a liberation war history <b>c</b>

This allows the argumentation song also implicitly to convey an exemplum message using negative semantic resources of *social sanction* – the opposition is construed as not credible. The song reflects the crisis of the GNU which, from a *chimurenga* grand narrative point of view, as I stated in chapter three, is considered an illegitimate political structure. The sub-text in the song which negatively evaluates the opposition can be expressed through this question: How can those with a revolutionary identity unite with those without (actually sellouts) and form a government to rule the country? For the grand narrative singers this has no basis, for the two do not mix. Thus, in the Mbare Chimurenga Choir’s satirically didactic song “Team”, the MDC component in the GNU is omitted. Only the Zanu-PF’s presidium is mentioned – Mugabe and his two deputies. The song’s rhetorical functionality is, ironically, to ‘teach’ the MDC that although they are in government they are not genuine leaders, instead Zanu-PF leaders are.

Song title: “Team”

Song genre: Didactic

RM a: Orienting the song

RM b: Posing a question (to the opposition)

RM c: Answering the question

RM d: Validating Zanu-PF positions of power

1	L: <i>Timu ndikusetere timu</i> R: <i>He-e ndikusetere timu</i> L: <i>Timu timu ndikusetere timu</i> R: <i>He-e ndikusetere timu</i>	Team, I am setting a team against you <b>a</b> He-e I am setting a team against you <b>a</b> Team, I am setting a team against you <b>a</b> He-e I am setting a team against you <b>a</b>
5	L: <i>Pekutanga tarira panaaniko?</i> R: <i>Hee pana Baba Mugabe</i> L: <i>Pechituu tarira pana aniko?</i> R: <i>Hee pana Mai Mujuru</i> L: <i>Pechitatu tarira pana aniko?</i>	Look, who takes the first position? <b>b</b> Hee there Father Mugabe <b>c</b> Look, who takes the second position? <b>b</b> Hee there is Mrs. Mujuru <b>c</b> Look, who takes the third position? <b>b</b>

10	R: <i>Hee pana VaNkomo</i>	Hee there is Mr. Nkomo e
	L: <i>Tongai makadaro</i>	Rule in that order d
	R: <i>Chimbotongai makadaro</i>	In the meantime rule in that order d
	L: <i>Hoo mirai makadaro</i>	Hoo stand in that order d
	R: <i>Chimbomirai makadaro</i>	In the meantime rule in that order d

The irony is found in the L+R format which is in the form of question and answer. Both the L and R parts are being addressed to an opposition audience, which through invoked evaluation, is being constructed as ignorant of who actually is in power. The enumerative technique of *pekutanga...* (on the first [i.e., position]) (line 5); *pechituu...* (on the second [i.e., position]) (line 7) and *pechitatu ...* (on the third [i.e., position]) (line 9) which the L+R part incorporates is intended to act as a pedagogical technique of simplifying the song's communicative purpose (that Mugabe and his two deputies are the only leaders) to the MDC who are perceived as unaware of this fact. Lines 11 – 14, in which L and R are in antiphonal agreement are characterized by the repetition of the defective verb *-daro* (which means “in that way”) in the verb phrase *makadaro* (in your order). The verb is marshaled to validate Mugabe and his deputies' leadership position meanwhile through omission erasing those of the MDC. The same message is conveyed by the same choir through its didactic song, “Nyatsoteerera” (“Listen carefully”) in which the opposition is told to *Nyatsoteerera unzwe kutonga, muhofisi muna Bhobho*<sup>5</sup> (Listen carefully and hear how ruling [a country] is done by Bhobho who is in the [presidential] office).

The *nhoroondo* identity does not only function to legitimate Zanu-PF hegemony but to persuade (and also coerce) citizens to support the liberation movement. The Tafara-Mabvuku Chimurenga Choir's persuasion song, “Tsigirai” (“Support [i.e., Zanu-PF]”) expresses this idea. Zanu-PF is constructed not only as a party with national identity and the right to rule the country, but a party that should be supported by all citizens. If they support and thus identify with it, they are constructed as genuinely expressing national identity. Other meanings concerning Zanu-PF as the representation of national identity are found in the songs, “Zanu-PF” and “MuZimbabwe” (“In Zimbabwe”). The former mobilization-persuasion song (see appendix), constructs a Zanu-PF party that is (nationally) ubiquitous – *yatekeshera* (it has spread all over) and that goes far into the future – *inofamba kuenda kure* (it travels very far [i.e., spatially and temporally]). *Yatekeshera* is a positive value of *social esteem (capacity)*, expressing the assumed spatial progression of the party, while *inofamba kuenda kure* uses the same type of evaluative resources to express the party's progression into the future. In

<sup>5</sup> Bhobho is a Shona rendition of ‘Bob’, from ‘Robert’, Mugabe's first name. Since the beginning of his political career, his admirers have been calling by this name. Locally his totemic praise name, Gushungo, is now much more popular with his supporters.

“MuZimbabwe” the positive value, *Zanu-PF takabatana* (As Zanu-PF we are united), encodes *social esteem*'s category of *tenacity*. However, these identities are no longer Zanu-PF attributes. The party no longer commands the national support it used to have in the late 1980s and the 90s decade. The post-2000 period has seen the MDC taking a much bigger chunk of the Zimbabwean electorate while Zanu-PF support wanes.

#### 5.3.1.4 The identity of *mbiri yechigandanga* (*chimurenga* violence)

Whereas Zanu-PF's identification with violence looms largely in its negative evaluation in SSS and also as a strategy to deconstruct statist grand standing (see 5.4.4 below), in GNS it is a source of positive self-evaluation for the party. It is marshaled to celebrate the state's coercive hegemony and rule through terror. Again Zanu-PF sees itself as the only party with the monopoly to unleash the violence with impunity whenever it feels that the nation's sovereignty and independence gains are in jeopardy. However, in reality it is one of the state's strategies of hegemony. Although Gramsci recognizes that “social power is not a simple matter of domination on one hand and subordination or resistance on the other” but of the dominant group having to seek consent from those it rules (Jones, 2006: 3), he concedes that hegemony is “always underpinned by the threat of violence” (John, 2006: 50). This implies that in maintaining its hegemony the ruling class employs both force and consent each depending on the prevailing circumstances. With specific reference to Zimbabwe, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2011: 2) argues that by manipulating the *chimurenga* ideology, Zanu-PF has imposed “itself on the Zimbabwean political landscape through a combination of persuasion and violence”. The largely intimidation songs “Mbiri yechigandanga” (“The fame of being a rebel”); “Zanu chiwororo” (“Zanu puts everything right”), “Musha une mhandu” (“A home that harbours the enemy”), “Bhazuka” (“Bazooka”) and “Chibhakera simudza” (“Raise the fist”) are only a few of the many GNS which construct Zanu-PF's culture and identity of violence. Rationalizing the violence by identifying it with nationalist emancipatory violence, the identity is activated by both values of *social esteem (capacity)* and *social sanction (propriety)*. In terms of the former, Zanu-PF sees itself as *capable* of executing violence, as the analysis of these songs will illustrate. With particular reference to the latter values, it considers itself as *ethically bound* to wage violence to safeguard national identity, sovereignty and the gains of independence from re-colonization as I earlier pointed out in chapters three and four.

In the intimidation-mobilization song “Musha une mhandu” the violence is selective, targeted at those suspected to be *mhandu* (enemies). The investigative question: *Musha une mhandu ndewani?* (Whose home harbors the enemy?) (line 1) scaffolds this point. Although selective, the violence is nationally felt as homes alleged to be harbouring the enemy are supposed to be identified in every district – *kuChiweshe* (in Chiweshe) (line 3); *kuHwange* (in Hwange) (line 4); *kwaMutare* (in Mutare) (line 5), etc. Even in Mugabe’s home area of *Zvimba* (line 6) they also have to be identified. Although the opposition is not directly identified as the target of the violence (as Tony Blair and George Bush are – lines 9 & 10), the two constitute euphemisms for the opposition. The MDC is condemned as a puppet party always ready to play Blair and Bush’s imperialist tune (see 5.4). Thus it is the fateful *musha une mhandu* (home harbouring the enemy) that has to be bombed.

Song title: “Musha une mhandu”

Song genre: Intimidation-mobilizational

RM **a**: Calling to identify target of violence

RM **b**: Expressing how the target will be dealt with

RM **c**: Expressing the widespread nature of the violence

RM **d**: Identifying on whose behalf the violence is being carried out

1	L: <i>Musha une mhandu ndewani?</i> R: <i>Tibhombe</i> ----- R: <i>KuChiweshe</i> ----- R: <i>KuHwange</i> -----	Whose home has enemies? <b>a</b> So that we can bomb it <b>b</b>  In Chiweshe <b>c</b>  In Hwange <b>c</b>
5	T: <i>KwaMutare</i> ----- L: <i>KwaZvimba</i> ----- L: <i>VaMugabe chete</i> ----- L: <i>Musha une mhandu ndewani?</i> R: <i>Toni Bhuleya</i> -----	In Mutare <b>c</b>  In Zvimba <b>c</b>  Only Mr. Mugabe <b>d</b>  Whose home has enemies? <b>a</b> Tony Blair <b>c</b>
10	R: <i>Joji Bhushi</i> -----	George Bush <b>c</b>

I stated in chapter two that one of the features of mobilization songs is that they mention various places in the country to in order to mobilize people. By mentioning the various places in search of homes with enemy inhabitants indicates the rallying together of Zanu-PF supporters to perpetrate violence everywhere in the country against whoever they suspect of being an opposition member. The song incorporates liberation war voices as violence was one of the ways of punishing those who were suspected of being sellouts (see 5.4 for a detailed discussion). The verb phrase *tibhombe* (we so that we can bomb) (rhetorical move **b**) does not mean that the homes would literally be only bombed. Besides the use of “crude petrol bombs” (Sachikonye, 2011: 17), it also refers to all sorts of ways of meting out violence including beating, burning homes, killing, etc. The term is part of a *chimurenga* vocabulary of violence,

derived from the military term, ‘bomb’. It is a realization for values of *social esteem*, i.e., as previously stated, Zanu-PF has the *power* and *capacity* to execute the violence. It is employed to scaffold a message of violence to opposition as an intimidation tactic.

“Mbiri yechigandanga” employs values of *social esteem (normality)* to celebrate Zanu-PF’s predilection for violence. This is realized through the noun *mbiri* (renown) in the title and text of the song. (However, in SSS this would be realized as notoriety as I will demonstrate in subsection 5.4.4). *Chigandanga* (in the manner of an outlaw) would constitute negative values of *social sanction (propriety)* in the general evaluation of human behaviour. In the context of the *chimurenga* emancipatory values, however, it activates a positive evaluation. The song warns the public not to forget that Zanu-PF has a long experience of using violence and is actually well known for this locally and even regionally. The people should, consequently, vote for Zanu-PF or face the music. The violence is constructed as institutional and structural – the party’s leaders condone it. (From an opposition vantage point, this is what David Blair captures precisely in the parodic title of his book, *Degrees in Violence: Robert Mugabe and the Struggle for Power in Zimbabwe* (2000). Due to his condonation of violence Mugabe is lampooned as having a tertiary education (he has several degrees) in violent behaviour).

Song title: “Mbiri yechigandanga”

Song genre: Intimidation-celebratory

RM a: Celebrating being violent

RM b: Mentioning those with the identity of violence

1	R: <i>Mbiri yechigandanga ndoo mbiri yatinayo</i> L: <i>Zanu-PF</i>	The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame we have <b>a</b> Zanu-PF <b>b</b>
	R: <i>Mbiri yechigandanga ndooo mbiri yatinayo</i> L: <i>Muno muZimbabwe</i>	The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame we have x2 <b>a</b> Here in Zimbabwe <b>b</b>
-----		
5	L: <i>VaMugabe</i>	Mr. Mugabe <b>b</b>
	L: <i>Mai Mujuru</i>	Mrs. Mujuru <b>b</b>
-----		

L and R are both in dialogical agreement concerning the fact that both the party and its leaders are well-known for their violent tendencies. R boasts about having the identity of violence – *mbiri yechigandanda ndiyo mbiri yatinayo* (The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame we have) (lines 1 & 3) while L states those who brags with this identity; *Zanu-PF* (line 2); *VaMugabe* (line 5) and *Mai Mujuru* (line 6). Line 3, *Muno muZimbabwe* (Here in Zimbabwe), identifies the nation of Zimbabwe with violence emphasizing what I earlier pointed out that violence is seen as an indispensable tactic for hegemony by Zanu-PF despite also the use of persuasion. Discursively this also implies the construction of a national identity with violence as one of its core elements.

JUDGEMENTS of *social esteem (capacity)* are realized in the intimidation-mobilization-celebratory song “Chibhakera simudza” (“Raise high the fist”). The violence which gave Mugabe and his deputies the good leadership positions that they currently enjoy is celebrated. *Chibhakera* (fist) (lines 3, 6 and 7) is a metaphor for violence. It is a linguistic resource that favourably evaluates Zanu-PF’s constantly violence-sustained power. The phrase *pamuri pakanaka* (it is good where you are) (line 1) is a positive APPRECIATION (the *reaction* sub-type) of the positions of power Mugabe and his deputies occupy. The noun *makeke* (cakes) (line 4) is a metaphor through which the quality of the same positions of power is evaluated by use of the same appreciative values – the positions are as sweet as a cake, implying they are enjoyable to those who occupy them. The line *chibhakera tauya nacho* (We have brought the fist) (line 8) implies internalization of violence by Zanu-PF and the extent to which it is sanctioned by its leaders, hence its execution and celebration by the party’s supporters. The imperative verb *simudza* (raise) articulates the mobilization of party members for violence. In post-2000 Zimbabwe this has usually been towards and during elections, the time when political emotions and party animosity reach fever pitch. Whereas historically and politically a raised fist<sup>6</sup> is a universal symbol of blacks’ anti-colonial and anti-racial struggles,<sup>7</sup> in the post-2000 Zimbabwean political context, for Zanu-PF, it constructs an identity of violence.<sup>8</sup> It is raised and punched into the air while the slogan, *Pamberi neZanu-PF!* (Forward with Zanu-PF!) and its response *Pamberi!* (Forward!), are being shouted.

Song title: “Chibhakera simudza”

Song genre: Intimidation-celebratory

RM a: Celebrating positions of power (brought by violence)

RM b: Mobilizing for violence

1	L: <i>VaMugabe pamuri pakanaka</i> <i>baba simudza tauya nacho</i>	Mr. Mugabe the position you hold is good, father raise it, we have brought it a
	R: <i>Chibhakera simudza</i>	Raise the fist b
5	L: <i>VaMugabe pamuri makeke</i> <i>baba simudza tauya nacho</i>	Mr. Mugabe the position you hold is cakes, father raise it, we have brought it a
	R: <i>Chibhakera simudza</i>	Raise the fist b
	L: <i>Mai Mujuru pamuri pakanaka</i> <i>chibhakera simudza tauya nacho</i>	Mrs. Mujuru the position you hold is good, raise it we have brought it b

In the cautionary-intimidation song “Zanu chiwororo” (“Zanu is the solution”), because of its violence, Zanu-PF is said to be invincible and has a correctional influence on those who

<sup>6</sup> Universally it is a symbol for a physical fight or to challenge someone to a fight. It is again a symbol of victory.

<sup>7</sup> In political terms it was popularized by African-Americans in their struggle for civil rights in the US in the 1960s. For instance, African-American sprinters Tommy Smith and John Carlos, shocked the world when they raised their fists during the medal ceremony during the 1968 Mexico Olympics. It was also frequently used by African nationalist movements to galvanize support for the struggle against colonialism. Mandela and other African anti-colonial stalwarts are often portrayed in nationalist pictures with their right fists raised.

<sup>8</sup> During his Heroes Day commemoration speech on 13 August 2012, Mugabe referred to *chibhakera*’s connotations of violence when he said *Zvibhakera hatichada. Garisanai* (We do not want violence anymore. Live in peace with others) (see Sydney Kawaza, “No to violent campaigns”, *The Herald*, 14 August 2012).

oppose it – it beats them into line. Thus the noun *chiwororo* activates JUDGEMENT's *social esteem* (*tenacity* and *capacity*). The locative *pese pese* (everywhere) again realizes positive values of *social esteem* (*capacity*) – Zanu-PF is ubiquitous, so one cannot run away from it but has to comply with it. However, it can be argued that despite the clenched fist's positive historical emancipatory connotations, its appropriation for identity construction by Zanu-PF in the post-2000 period is unjustifiable and now (given its track record) associates it with gross human rights violations. It illustrates the extent to which Zanu-PF has institutionalized violence to the extent of integrating the army, police and state agency to be party to its machinery of coercion. Used in the context of the post-2000 period, the identity of *chibhakera* is used to psychologically manipulate the electorate, through fear of violence, to vote for Zanu-PF. Sachikonye (2011: 17) sees “the major motivating factor in the deployment of violence and rigging” as “the grabbing and retention of power by hook or by crook”. He elaborates that it is “an indirect admission that a ruling party would have lost popular support, hence the resort to terror and violence to compel voters to vote for it”. The most cited instance of the use of this violence was during the run-off presidential election of 2008 in which the army was unleashed to intimidate the electorate.<sup>9</sup> Mugabe won the election by a landslide after Tsvangirai pulled out of the race.

The state constructed identities discussed above illustrate the tendency of the *chimurenga* discourse to impose its norms and categories on the public and the opposition. Staszak (2008: 3) argues in his theorization of the Self and Other that “this ability [to impose the norms and categories] does not depend solely upon the logical power of the discourse, but also upon the (political, social and economic) power of those who speak it”. Zanu-PF, as I will further elaborate in subsequent sub-sections, combines the patriotic history discourse, security forces and economic empowerment to determine national norms, identity and sovereignty.

#### **5.4 COUNTERING ZANU-PF'S POSITIVE IDENTITIES IN SSS**

I pointed out in chapters three and four that through alternative channels of disseminating pro-opposition and anti-state music, the opposition has wrestled national tellership from Zanu-PF with remarkable success. In their engagement with GNS, SSS have demonstrated the power to deconstruct otherness by constructing counter and equally or even more stigmatizing

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<sup>9</sup> According to Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2011: 11) and also Sachikonye (2011: 49-50), the period April to August 2008 saw the execution of an intimidation exercise codenamed Operation *Mavhoterapapi?* (sic) (Where did you put your vote?).

identities against Zanu-PF. These are retaliatory negative identities, an evaluation designed to denounce Zanu-PF's system of political occlusion. By creating unfavourable identities for Zanu-PF, SSS dismantles the magnificence of statist identities of self-representation and those constructed to belittle the opposition. This is partly but significantly achieved through ideational meanings, i.e., those "concerned with construing experience" (Martin & White, 2005: 7). In many instances the songs take a narrative form rendering experiences of oppression. To begin with, Zanu-PF is assigned the umbrella identity of *mudzvanyiriri* (the oppressor) as it is always discursively constructed as *Zanu inodzvanyirira* (Zanu oppresses). Constituent identities then follow to motivate this all-encompassing (oppressor) identity. Zanu-PF is evaluated as synonymous with *jambanja*<sup>10</sup> (chaos/violence); it is thus a wanton violator of human rights. Now, unlike in GNS, violence activates negative values of *social sanction*. It is a party of *mhondi* (murderers). The tags of *uori* (corruption) and *umbavha* (theft) are also pinned on Zanu-PF. The theft is not only of state resources but also of votes. It is the wanton destroyer of the nation – the party behind the post-2000 national political and economic meltdown (land seizure, food shortages, liquidity crunch, diseases, citizens' flight, violence, etc.). Zanu-PF's rule is described as similar to a tsunami and under its rule *upenyu makasa* (life has become a gamble).<sup>11</sup> For this reason, it is assessed through images of decay and destruction such as *Zanu yaora* (Zanu is now rotten) *Zanu yaondonga nyika* (Zanu has destroyed the country). Discursively, all these identities are a manifestation of a party in deep trouble, a party with no future. Consequently, it is given the end time identity of *Zanu yaguma* (Zanu has come to an end). The rhetorical strategy behind these identities is to protect and popularize opposition (democratic) meanings and in tandem undermine the state's monologic "patriotic history", which the state is in a non-stop invocation to delegitimize the opposition. The alternative identities are also launched to justify political identity transformation from a *zanu* to a *chinja*, a process so characteristic of the state-opposition struggle in post-2000 Zimbabwe.

Collectively Zanu-PF members are identified as *mazanu* (literally, the *zanus*).<sup>12</sup> Similarly their government is scornfully identified as *hurumende yemazanu* (Zanu-PF supporters'

<sup>10</sup>The word literally means a chaotic situation or to get something by force. It was popularized by Marko Sibanda's hit "Kuronga" ("Planning") (popularly called "Jambanja pahotera" ["Chaos at the hotel"] on the album, *Jambanja pahotera (Chaos at the hotel)* (2001). From then on it became a euphemism for the chaotic land reform.

<sup>11</sup> See *Tiriparwendo* album's "Track 5"

<sup>12</sup> When used to mean a person, *zanu* will be in noun class 5 which contains many nouns with secondary characteristics (of scorn) such as ugliness as in *gudo/bveni* (baboon), *bere* (hynena), etc.

government) in Tsunami's "Track 6". As I will elaborate in this sub-section, these constructions indicate negative values of JUDGEMENT, realizing both the categories of *social esteem* and *sanction*. From an opposition perspective the term *mazanu* brings to mind all the unpleasant conditions the opposition associates with Zanu-PF (cited in the introduction to the current sub-section). That it is a value of negative meaning results from the fact that Zanu-PF supporters do not use it to refer to themselves. It is a term with out-group connotations from an opposition positioning. Consequently, in SSS the term is always employed in contrast to *machinja* (the changers, i.e., MDC members) (see also sub-section 5.6) which, unlike *mazanu*, embodies positive attributes of people who are fighting for democratic values – constitutionalism, human rights, rule of law, good governance, etc. The terms thus dramatize Schopflin's (2001: 1) point that "every identity includes and excludes and will establish mechanisms for attaining this". As will be further elaborated in 5.5, they signify the antagonistic state-opposition dialogue in which the former seeks to permanently Other the latter while the latter attacks the centripetal tendencies of the state to force it to accept democratic reform – to be inclusive, tolerant, transparent and accountable.

#### **5.4.1. The *mudzvanyiriri* identity**

In Madzore's cautionary-observation song "Track 6" the metaphor ZANU-PF = GANGO (ROASTING PAN) (lines 3 & 4) can be deduced as a resource deployed to realize a negative evaluation of Zanu-PF's rule as oppressive. It is an ideational resource realizing indirectly Zanu-PF's oppressive behaviour. I stated in chapter two that the verb phrase *teerera* (listen) (line 1) repeated at the end of each stanza, is characteristic of songs of the cautionary and didactic genres. A person or object one is warned against is always seen in negative terms – s/he/it is dangerous. The rhetorical purpose of the verb phrase *teerera* is thus to warn people against falling victim to Zanu-PF. The message is directed at the *varombo* (the poor) (lines 2 & 3) with whom the protagonist shares an identity, since he says *varombo tiri munhamo* (the poor we are in trouble) (line 2). Thus, while the protagonist warns his co-members to be always on the look out for the oppressor, he is also expressing emotions of common suffering. *Varombo* (the poor) (lines 2 & 3) is an implicit negative JUDGEMENT on Zanu-PF – its oppressive rule has impoverished the people. Five rhetorical moves (a - e) stage the discursive construction of the metaphorical *gango* identity.

Title of song: “Track 6”

Song genre: Cautionary-observation

RM **a**: Orienting the song by calling for attention

RM **b**: Expressing the oppression being experienced

RM **c**: Identifying the specific instances of the oppression

RM **d**: Evaluating the oppression

RM **e**: Expressing shock

1	L: <i>Tererai tereraiwo</i>	Listen please listen <b>a</b>
	-----	
	L: <i>Varombo tiri munhamo</i>	The poor we are in trouble
	-----	
	R: <i>Varombo tiri mugango</i>	The poor we are in a roasting pan <b>b</b>
	-----	
	<i>Gango revanhu ava hauribudi</i>	You can not escape from the roasting pan of these people <b>b</b>
	-----	
5	L: <i>Zvitoro zvedu kutora</i>	Our shops they took <b>c</b>
	-----	
	L: <i>Paya dzimba vakaputsa</i>	That time they destroyed houses <b>c</b>
	R: <i>Pamadiro</i>	As they pleased <b>c</b>
	L: <i>Vachiti ivo murambatsvina</i>	Saying they were in a clean-up exercise <b>c</b>
	<i>Aah!</i>	Aah! <b>e</b>
	-----	
10	L: <i>Gore riya vanhu vakarova pamadiro</i>	That year they beat people as they pleased <b>c</b>
	<i>Vachiti ivo igukurahundi</i>	Saying it was a cleansing exercise <b>c</b>
	-----	

The metaphor latently activates negative JUDGEMENT of *social esteem* – Zanu-PF is a victimizer. In contrast the same category of JUDGEMENT constructs the MDC as the victim. As Schopflin (2001: 3) theorizes, victim discourses “are based on the foregrounding of some real or perceived injustice”. He further elaborates that “victimhood is a highly effective form of identity construction” because “it satisfies the need for a sense of moral worth and does so relatively easily” (Schopflin, 2001: 3). Through ideational meanings the song associates Zanu-PF with oppression. *Nyika yose vakatora pamadiro* (they took the land at their pleasure) (line 7) is in reference to the 2000 land seizures and their attendant economic and political problems. *Zvitoro zvedu kutora pamadiro* (they took our stores at their pleasure) (line 5) and *dzimba vakaputsa pamadiro* (they destroyed [people’s] houses at their own pleasure) (lines 6 & 7) to refer to the 2005 Operation Murambatsvina and the suffering it engendered among the ordinary people. *Vakarova pamadiro vachiti igukurahundi* (they beat [us] at their own pleasure saying it was a cleansing exercise) (lines 10 & 11) invokes negative JUDGEMENT against the state – indicating the violence it meted out against the public during election times. The statement *gango revanhu ava hauribudi* (the roasting pan of these people is inescapable) (line 4) is deployed to convey the message that Zanu-PF’s persecution of the opposition or those opposing it is total. The only escape is (unfortunately) death – *paunobuda unoona wave muguva* (when you come you find yourself in the grave). This sentence is employed to refer to the state’s culture of torture evaluated as an exercise in condemning someone to death. It is partly for this reason why I earlier argued in 5.3 above by referring to Zanu-PF’s ironical use of the Cinderella identity which, in the state-opposition asymmetry of power, is a misnomer.

Rather, it is an identity more suitable to describe the opposition which is always at the receiving end of state violence.

The interjection *Aaa!* (line 9) is an AFFECTIVE value expressing both disappointment and shock at the magnitude of Zanu-PF's brutal behaviour, thus also evaluating it negatively by implicit JUDGEMENT of *social sanction*. The repetition of the word *pamadiro* (as they please) is deployed to express the freedom Zanu-PF enjoys, without any punishment or restraint, to oppress the people. The same conceptualization of Zanu-PF rule by expressing it in terms of intense heat is also found in Mapfumo's song, "Tatsvukira" ("We have suffered"). The verb *kutsvukira* (to turn reddish [because of repeated heating]) from which the title of the song is derived suggests the use of a lot of heat to burn something until it turns crimson. In the song's text the heat is so intense as it is equated to *gehena*, thus leading to the metaphor ZANU-PF RULE = GEHENNA. In "Track 6" Madzore parodies the *chimurenga* narrative by incorporating lines from the "O Nehanda Nyakasikana" poem as we saw with Reckless in chapter four. The line, *Nyika yose vakatora pamadiro* and all those ending with the word *madiro*, echo the tone and follow the stylistics of this nationalist poem, particularly the line *Pfuma yenyika nhasi yakatorwa, vakagovana paukama hwavo vePfumojena* (The national wealth was taken by the people of the Pfumojena kinsmen who shared it among themselves) (Mutswairo, 1956: 35). It is interesting to note that the very ideational resources the nationalists used to construe colonial experiences and construct negative identities to counter Rhodesian propaganda, are the same that the opposition also appropriates to construct identities seditious of Zanu-PF.

#### 5.4.2 The *vaurayi venyika* (nation destroyers) identity

In the narrative-observation "Track 1" on the album *Tsunami*, the 2000 land seizures and the 2005 Operation Murambatsvina construct for Zanu-PF an identity of destroyer of the nation's socio-economic life. The song's tune and some of the words are adapted from Charles Charamba's<sup>13</sup> canticle hit, "Machira chete" ("Only blankets remain") whose lyrics are adapted from the biblical resurrection of Jesus episode. The sheer bewilderment that seizes Mary and Mary Magdalene upon their visit to the grave of Jesus only to see blankets is incorporated in the song to help construct the identity of national destroyer. Zanu-PF is blamed for destroying the economy to extreme levels. The noun *chishamiso* (shocking event) (line 1) is a value realizing both negative AFFECT and JUDGEMENT. Zimbabweans and the entire world are in

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<sup>13</sup> Arguably Charles Charamba is the best gospel musician in Zimbabwe. Thus appropriating tunes from his songs would lure audiences to listen to the new songs. It also makes political messages more familiar.

bewilderment at Zanu-PF's destructive behaviour (AFFECT). In tandem the same feeling of shock constitutes a condemnation of the party's behaviour (JUDGEMENT). The song employs only two rhetorical moves; **a** to express the destruction and consequent shock and **b** to describe (nostalgically) the pre-2000 era which it depicts as prosperous.

Title of song: "Track 1"

Song genre: Narrative-observation

RM **a**: Expressing the nature of the predicament

RM **b**: Expressing nostalgic feelings for the pre-predicament days

1	L: <i>Chishamiso chaitika muvagari veZimbabwe</i> <i>Vakanga vakagara zvakanaka kwazvo</i> <i>Pakauya hondo yeminda vanhu vakakanganiwa</i> R: <i>Vakangoona tsunami chete</i>	A shock that has happened to the citizens of Zimbabwe <b>a</b> They were living very comfortably <b>b</b> But when the war for land came they were disturbed <b>a</b> Everything turned into a tsunami <b>a</b>
-----		
5	R: <i>Vakamuka vakangoona tsunami chete</i>  <i>Vachivakisa dzimba kuti vabudirire</i> R: <i>Vakangoona tsunami chete</i>  <i>Vachiita basa iro rekuti vabudirire</i> -----	They woke up only to see tsunami <b>a</b>  Building homes for their development <b>b</b> Everything turned into a tsunami <b>a</b>  Doing their work to improve their lives <b>b</b>

The tune and the motif of shock are used to express Zanu-PF's destructive capacity and the shock it registers among the once happy people. Besides that, contrast is another rhetorical device employed to convey the same negative JUDGEMENT – the inhumanness of Zanu-PF. Before the advent of *hondo yeminda* (line 3) and Murambatsvina, people are depicted as *vakanga vakagara zvakanaka kwazvo* (they were living very comfortably) (rhetorical move **b**) but after the two events *vakangoona tsunami chete* (everything turned into a tsunami) (rhetorical move **a**). The use of the adverbs *kwazvo* (entirely) (line 2) and *chete* (only) (line 4) heightens the contrast between the peaceful and enjoyable pre- and the adverse post-*hondo yeminda-murambatsvina* lives. The sudden shift from one life to another expressed through the phrase *vakamuka vakangoona...* (they woke up only to see) (line 6) is employed to also express the motif of shock so critical in communicating the song's rhetorical message. Comparing the two opposite lives is also intended to arouse equally opposite but profound feelings – nostalgia for the happiness of the past and hatred against the state. The lines *vakanga vakagara zvakanaka kwazvo* (They were living very comfortably) (line 2); *vachivakisa dzimba kuti vabudirire* (building homes for their development) (line 6) and *vachiita basa iro rekuti vabudirire* (doing their work to improve their lives) (line 8) are ideational meanings romanticizing the pre-*jambanja-murambatsvina* period. *Chishamiso chaitika...* (A shock that has happened...) (line 1) and *Vakamuka vakangoona tsunami chete* (They woke up only to see a tsunami) (line 5) are also ideational resources articulating the Zanu-PF precipitated suffering.

Typical of an observation song, the events do not unfold in a sequence, but are condensed into “a snapshot frozen in time” (Rothery & Stenglin, 1997, 2000) followed by the effect of the events on the singer. To the singer the seizure of land and *murambatsvina* are a *chishamiso* (an astonishing event) (line 1) – a complex question he cannot answer: Why does Zanu-PF turn a good life into a tsunami? He agonizingly asks. From a narrative perspective, *chishamiso* or tsunami is the complicating event of the song’s narration of post-2000 experiences. As I will constantly discuss with respect to SSS’s construction of identities, storytelling is one of their major rhetorical devices. As the victim of Zanu-PF oppression, storytelling is an effective technique for the opposition to emotionally deliver their experiences of oppression. Emotion is the main feature characterizing the perlocutionary effect of narratives of victimhood. Scheub (2010: 107) rightly observes that “storytelling has to do with emotions”. The contrast between the two repeated lines *vakanga vakagara zvakanaka kwazvo* and *tsunami chete* is an emotion evocative technique. They evoke emotions by virtue of their articulation of the sudden turn of events from happiness to sorrow. Thus in the end, the audience is persuaded to side with the singer’s (negative) evaluative stance against the state. The use of the word tsunami, a euphemism for the negative impact of the Third Chimurenga and Murambatsvina, is a value of implicit negative JUDGEMENT. It is a tactical strategy to articulate the magnitude of the suffering experienced. The term became popular in reference to the Zimbabwean crisis after the devastating December 2004 Indonesia tsunami. When the 2005 Murambatsvina happened the term became more popular. It was quickly appropriated by the opposition to embody anti-Zanu-PF sentiments.<sup>14</sup>

The identities of Zanu-PF from the opposition perspective as corrupt, repressive, violent, plunderer of national resources and bringer of suffering, as I will further discuss in later sub-sections, appear in Mhenyamauro’s observation-mobilization song “Track 4” which states that *mazanu vauraya nyika* (the zanus have destroyed the country). Discursively this means that they are *vaurayi venyika* (destroyers of the economy) (line 3). The song is a synopsis of the extent to which Zanu-PF has destroyed the economy and how the destruction is affecting ordinary life. The subordinate clause *...ndomira mumutseste* (... I have to stand in a queue) (line 4), is repeatedly employed to demonstrate the severe scarcity of basic commodities and services. Every day people have to queue at supermarkets, banks, fuel stations, hospitals,

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<sup>14</sup> The song also depicts the tension between the Zanu-PF led government and the urban MDC-run councils which results often in poor service delivery. After the MDC won most urban councils in 2000 Zanu-PF sought to frustrate them with the Zanu-PF minister of local government, Ignatius Chombo, dissolving the mayoral elections of Harare and in 2004 appointing a pro-Zanu-PF commission to run the city.

work places, etc but without any hope of getting what they want. Everything Zanu-PF lays its hands on, from national resources to citizens, dies. This mother of all negative identities assigned to Zanu-PF helps the opposition to convince the public that the ruling party is solely behind every problem that punctuates the post-2000 socio-economic and political meltdown – unemployment; collapse of the health and education delivery systems; the severe and prolonged scarcity of basic commodities; hunger and starvation; hyper-inflation and the liquidity crunch; fuel shortages; political violence; international isolation; disease outbreaks<sup>15</sup>; among others. It is an identity formulated to convey the view that Zanu-PF is inhumane because as the crisis escalated, *imi veZanu makangotarira* (you Zanu people just stare [at the suffering masses] without doing anything).

Title of song: “Track 4”

Song genre: Observation-mobilizational

RM a: Mobilizing people for action

RM b: Expressing the nature of the economic crisis

RM c: Evaluating the state’s action/expressing stance

L: <i>Zimbabwe simuka udzosere Zimbabwe</i>	Zimbabwe rise up and fight back Zimbabwe a
L: <i>Zimbabwe simuka veZanu vayeuke</i> <i>Vauraya nyika</i>	Rise up Zimbabwe so that Zanu can pay attention a They have destroyed the nation b
L: <i>Mafuta edzimota kudira kumira mumutsetse</i>	To buy motor vehicle fuel we have to stand in a queue b

While the negative identity of *vaurayi venyika* is being constructed, a positive activist identity is in tandem also being built for the opposition through the persuasive and mobilisational line, *Zimbabwe simuka udzosere...* (Zimbabwe rise up and retaliate...) (line 1) (see 5.4).

#### 5.4.3 The identity of *uori* (corruption)

Zanu-PF as a corrupt party is one of the major negative identities constructed against it in SSS and constitutes one of the opposition’s key negative JUDGEMENTS against the state. The Hot Wire Boys’ mobilization song, “Huyai tivake nyika” (“Come let us built the country”) is one of the many songs constructing this identity. The lines *Zanu ine mbiri yekuparadza zviwanikwa* (Zanu-PF is notorious for destroying natural resources) and *VaBiti sungai homwe irege kupinda zvipfukuto* (Mr. Biti tie-up the national purse to prevent grain-borers from getting in) (line 10) encode negative values of *social sanction*. However, in Chikunguru’s “Chauraya nyika” the identity is overtly constructed in the expression *Bato renyu Gushungo rizere mbavha* (Gushungo your party is full of thieves).

<sup>15</sup> In the period 2009 – 2010 there was a cholera outbreak which began in Harare’s surban of Budiriro and spread to all parts of the country due to shortage of clean water, killing several thousands of people.

Title of song: “Huyai tivake nyika”

Song genre: mobilization

RM **a**: Orienting the song

RM **b**: Mobilizing (opposition) supporters

RM **c**: Expressing a message of advice

RM **d**: Explaining why the country collapsed

1	L: <i>Varume nhasi zvatave ndisu tiri kutonga chasara chiiko? Huyai huyai huyai</i>	Gentlemen now that we are the ones ruling the country what is the only remaining thing? <b>a</b> Come come come <b>b</b>
-----		
5	L: <i>Umbimbindoga, umhondi, ruchiva pamwe neuori Ndizvo zvauraya nyika Zanu ine mbiri yekuparadza zviwanikwa tarisai nyika yaparara</i>	Autocracy, murder, covetousness and corruption <b>d</b> This is what has destroyed the country <b>d</b> Zanu is notorious for destroying resources, <b>d</b> look the country has collapsed <b>d</b>
-----		
10	L: <i>VaBiti sungai homwe irege kupinda zviphukuto sezvakaitwa neZanu</i>	Mr. Biti tie-up the national purse to prevent grain-borers from getting in like Zanu did <b>c</b>
-----		
	R: <i>Huyai tivake nyika</i>	Come let us build the country <b>b</b>

Apart from labeling Zanu-PF as being characterized by *uori* (corruption) (line 5), the song also allocates other negative identities to the party – *umbimbindoga*, *umhondi*, *ruchiva*... (autocracy, murder, covetousness...) (lines 4 & 5). The fact that Biti (the finance minister in the GNU) is being advised to *sungai homwe* (tie up the national purse) (line 9) again evaluates Zanu-PF as wasteful and corrupt. The conceptual metaphor ZANU-PF = ZVIPFUKUTO (GRAIN-BORERS)<sup>16</sup> derived from lines 9 & 10 is deployed to launch the rhetorical move **b** message that *Zanu ine mbiri yekuparadza zviwanikwa* (Zanu is notorious for destroying resources) (line 7). For this reason opposition members need to be mobilized *kuvaka nyika* (to rebuild the country) (line 8). The metaphor’s rhetorical strength lies in its ability to compare the manner in which Zanu-PF’s corrupt behaviour destroyed the economy to that of a grain-borer that bores into a crop’s grains and consumes the whole inside leaving only an empty shell.

The intertextuality of the song involves both song revival and previous song tune appropriation. As a communicative strategy it is akin to what Robb (2007) refers to as “narrative role-play” in his study of German protest songs. The technique entails assuming “an identifiable role, impersonating the language, mannerisms, and characteristics of known social types” (Robb, 2007: 67). The rhetorical effect of this is the increased awareness of the song’s message as the audience has prior knowledge of the elements of narrative role-play (Robb, 2007: 67). The tune is taken from the Pentecostal (religious) mobilization song, “Jesu waroverwa” (“Now that Christ has been crucified”) in which believers are invited to come

<sup>16</sup> The metaphor appears to have been borrowed from Hosiah Chipanga’s 2004 exemplum song, “Zvipfukuto” (“Grain-borers”) criticizing Zimbabwean banks for their numerous bank charges without giving their clients any interest. Instead of the old days when money could gain interest if kept in a bank today the amount of money in one’s account becomes less every month.

and do evangelical work. Evangelism's key concepts of activism and crucicentrism are central in the motivation of the song's communicative purpose. In the context of Christianity, activism is every believer's insatiable desire to convert others while "crucicentrism or cross-centredness" is about atonement; the idea that "Christ died as a substitute for sinful mankind" (Ethelston, 2009: 684; Bebbington, 1989: 5). As a result, everyone who converts to Christianity automatically becomes an activist for the cause Christ died for. The song's central rhetorical message is expressed in the line, *Jesu waroverwa pamuchinjikwa, huyai tishande basa* (Now that Jesus has been crucified, come let us do his work). I pointed out in chapter two one of the functions of this intertextual style. It promotes dialogue between song and society as it evokes the past experiences associated with the song's original composition thus engaging the audience to interpret and understand the present. In the context of the opposition's struggle for democracy, the invitation which is open to everyone through the verb *huyai* (come) challenges the unitary and exclusive Zanu-PF consciousness. "Through this dialogic challenge, 'authority ceases to be fully authoritative'" (Cuenca, 2010: 46; Morson, 2004: 319). It can be argued that through the GNU the aura of state power was severely weakened. Against its will, it was compelled to share power (though in an asymmetrical way) with the opposition, hence the confidence of the opposition in inviting everyone to come and contribute to the reconstruction of the country.

In *Tiriparwendo's* exemplum-persuasion-argumentation "Track 5", one of Zanu-PF's alleged corrupt tendencies is electoral fraud, constructed in the expression *ichitenga mavhoti* (while buying/stealing votes) (lines 11). This makes the party an electoral fraudster. The song, that employs three rhetorical moves (a-c), is a scathing attack on Zanu-PF corruption, violence, murder and exploitation of the ordinary person. It is against this negative evaluation that the song also calls for political identity change. This is what the soloist proffers as his justification for his defection to the MDC or change of political identity. It is these vices that in the song's refrain are evaluated as *zviriipo zvainetsa kuti tibve kuZanu* (There were some problems that were affecting us that caused us to leave Zanu) (lines 5 & 6). Move c gives a plethora of these – *Kutumwa kundopamba...* (We were sent to rob...) (line 7); *Taiponda hama...* (We murdered relatives...); *...ngozi tairara tigere* (... avenging spirits gave us sleepless nights) (line 8), among others. The transformation from a *zanu* to a *chinja* is signaled by the negative identity of *mutengesesi* the soloist is now being given by his former party, constructed in the line *Pandakabva kuZanu maiti ndatengesesi* (when I left Zanu-PF you accused me of selling out) (line 1) (see also 5.4). However, in spite of being condemned as

such the soloist feels satisfied in his new identity that does not associate him with the heinous actions Zanu-PF forced him to do. His new identity gives him direction, realized through values of *social esteem (normality) – ndatove mugwara* (I am now in the right direction) (line 2).

Title of song: “Track 5”

Song genre: Exemplum-persuasion-argumentation

RM **a**: Presenting the thesis

RM **b**: Evaluating the negative consequences of Zanu-PF’s actions

RM **c**: Stating reasons for leaving Zanu-PF/Motivating the argument

RM **d**: Expressing the moral principle of leaving Zanu-PF

RM **e**: Persuading others to defect to the MDC

1	L: <i>Pandakabva kuZanu maiti ndatengesa</i> <i>Musingazive ndaitove mugwara</i> ----- <i>Vangani vakadzi vakaita shirikadzi?</i> <i>Vangani vana takaita nherera</i> -----	When I left Zanu you accused me of selling out <b>a</b> But you did not know I was in the right direction <b>a</b>  How many wives became widows? <b>b</b> How many children became orphans? <b>b</b> -----
5	L: <i>Zviripo zviripo</i> R: <i>Zviripo zvainetsa</i> ----- L: <i>Kutumwa kundopamba</i> ----- <i>Nemweya yengozi tairara tigere</i> <i>Handina daka nevanhu veZanu</i> 10 <i>Asi pamaitiro ndipo tapesana</i> ----- <i>Mari yakapedzwa ichitenga mavhoti</i> ----- L: <i>Tovhotera Zanu here kana kuti pachanza</i> R: <i>Iye iye pachanza ndizvo</i> -----	There are problems, there are problems <b>a</b> They are problems that were affecting me <b>a</b>  We were sent to rob <b>c</b>  Because of avenging spirits we spent nights awake <b>c</b> I do not have a grudge with members of Zanu-PF <b>d</b> But it is their behaviour that I disagree with <b>d</b>  Money was squandered buying votes <b>c</b>  Shall we vote for Zanu-PF or the palm? Iye iye that’s it on the palm <b>e</b>

In Reckless’ “Ndine chigandanga” as well as in “Track 7”, ideational resources constitute invoked JUDGEMENT regarding Zanu-PF’s electoral shenanigans. In the former, another method of electoral manipulation is rigging as suggested in the line, *vakariga ndichandopfurwa ndave ikoko* (If they rig the election, they have to shoot me there [at the State House] protesting). In the latter the other method is said to be bribing the Registrar General – *Ndakati tengai Mudede atibatsire kuba mavhoti* (I had suggested that you bribe Mudede<sup>17</sup> so that he can help us to rig the election). In “Track 7” the use of intimidation and violence are yet other electoral manipulation strategies referred to as employed by Zanu-PF as suggested in the lines,

<i>Paye makanzi siyai utsinye</i> <i>Musangorovane nevana vevanhu</i> <i>Imi mukati adashurwe machinja</i>	That time you were advised against being brutal Do not just beat other people’s children And you said the changers should be thoroughly beaten
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These songs show that the handling of elections is one of the emotive issues in the opposition’s engagement with the state. It frustrates the MDC because in spite of its growing

<sup>17</sup> Tobaiwa Mudede, the Registrar General, was responsible for conducting elections before ZEC was formed in 2005.

national support, they believe the ballot box is manipulated to declare Zanu-PF the winner. Identifying the electoral thief is a discursive rhetorical technique to show how undemocratic Zanu-PF is and at the same time a justification of the MDC's call for the re-democratization of the Zimbabwean political landscape.

Although the very forensics of electoral fraud are difficult to come by (Chan, 2011: 131), the electoral process has been manipulated so that its outcome always favours Zanu-PF. In 2008 when rigging could no longer go undetected, open violence had to be unleashed on the electorate. Besides the “violent ‘conditioning’ of voters” (Chan, 2011: 131), Matyszak (2010) has demonstrated how through delaying the release of the March 2008 election results and resorting to recounting them, the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) surreptitiously manipulated the vote in favour of Zanu-PF. The delay thwarted MDC euphoria for the impending (presidential) run-off and gave Zanu-PF time to re-take control of the rural constituencies “through intimidation and systematic widespread violence” (Matyszak, 2010: 44). This *handiende*<sup>18</sup> (I will not go) attitude comes (as I have argued chapters three and four) from the exclusivity and power monopolisation of the *chimurenga* grand narrative which is selectively interpreted as giving the right to rule only to those with the tag of *vane nhorondo yehondo* (those in possession of liberation war credentials). With particular reference to Zimbabwe as a good example, Reeler (2010: vii) argues that the very “primary litmus test for the presence of democracy” – “free and fair elections” – is no longer convincing and sums up what Diamond (2008) refers to as the “fallacy of electoralism”. In countries like Zimbabwe, the electoral system is only “used to advance the veneer of democracy while avoiding it in all substantial ways” because the Mugabe regime has “learned about the inoculating effects of elections, and the manner in which political power could be maintained merely through holding them, no matter how bogus they were” (Reeler, 2010: vii). Mugabe himself corroborates this assertion through his June 2008 rhetorical questions: ““the country was won by the barrel of the gun and should we let it go at the stroke of a pen?”” and ““should one just write an X and then the country goes like that?”” (quoted in Sachikonye, 2011: 59).<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> The idea comes from Steve Makoni's hit, “Handiende” (“I won't go”) in which a wife declares to her husband that she will not accept (the unfair) divorce from him, but will stay put in order to take care of her children.

<sup>19</sup> In any case history shows that in the ideology of *chimurenga* there was no room for determining power through the ballot box. Zanla wanted to take power through the “barrel of the gun in a Chinese-style people's war” (Moorcraft, 2012: 67). Winning through the ballot box in 1980 was a compromise.

#### 5.4.4 The identity of *jambanja* (violence and lawlessness)

The identity of *jambanja* is, among other songs, constructed in Mapfumo's "Masoja nemapurisa" ("The army and the police"). Mapfumo associates Mugabe and Zanu-PF with institutional violence whereby the army and the police have been converted to partisan institutions serving Zanu-PF interests. In the song Mugabe and Zanu-PF's identity of violence is constructed in the R part of the song which is a response to L's question: *Nhai baba muchaita seiko pakubva kwenu?* (Father, what really are you going to do after you leave power?) (line 2). R replies, *Ndinotumira masoja nemapurisa kuti varove vanhu* (I will send the army and police to beat the people) (lines 3 & 4). This violence goes along with yet another identity – that of lawlessness constructed in Mapfumo's political exemplum song, "Zimbabwe" in which coercion, violation of people's rights, intimidation and lack of respect for the rule of law are all evaluated as Zanu-PF attributes.

Title of song: "Masoja nemapurisa"

Song genre: Exemplum-argumentation

RM a: Posing a question that orients the debate

RM b: Expressing defence mechanism

RM c: Posing the second question

RM d: Expressing method of escape

RM e: Posing the third question

RM f: Conceding defeat

L: *Nhai baba muchaita seiko?*

*Nhai baba muchaita seiko pakubva kwenu?*

Father, what really will you do? a

Father, what really are you going to do after you leave power? a

R: *Ndinotumira masoja, ndinotumira masoja,  
Masoja nemapurisa kuti varove vanhu*

I will send the army, I will send the army b  
The army and the police to beat the people b

The security forces' alignment with Zanu-PF and also being part of the *vane nhorondo yehondo* in-group is a serious bone of contention in the inclusive government. Whereas the opposition wants to have the security sector reformed so that it only executes its constitutional mandate of defending the territorial integrity of the country, Zanu-PF sees it as an instrument for protecting and extending its (partisan) interests. For instance, just before the 2002 presidential election, the military did not only openly declare its allegiance to Zanu-PF in accordance with their *chimurenga* identity, but also imposed a criterion for determining who should be president of the country.

We wish to make it very clear ... that the security organisations will only stand in support of those political leaders that will pursue Zimbabwean values, traditions and beliefs for which thousands of lives were lost, ... .let it be known that the highest office in the land is a 'straight jacket' whose occupant is expected to observe the objectives of the liberation struggle. We will therefore not accept, let alone support or

salute anyone with a different agenda that threatens the very existence of our sovereignty, our country and our people.<sup>20</sup>

Since that statement, a series of similar statements have come from the military.<sup>21</sup> As Sachikonye (2011: 106) observes, “military leaders in Zimbabwe play a double role as soldiers and political commissars” as “in the Chinese model” of hegemony.

Zanu-PF’s predilection for violence is graphically depicted in the observation song “Track 4” of the *Tiriparwendo* album. It is perpetrated by war veterans, Zanu-PF youths and ‘green bombers’ (youth militia). The song is awash with ideational resources which realize the negative violence identity. These resources include the verb phrases expressing Zanu-PF’s violent actions; *vachipondwa nemazanu* (they were murdered by Zanu-PF members) (line 3); *vakauraiwa kuvhotera chinja* (were killed for voting for the MDC) (line 4); *vakatetereka vachitiza green bomber* (they disappeared for good fleeing the green bombers) (line 5); *makatirova* (you beat us) (line 7); *misha yedu makapisa* (you burnt down our homes) (line 6).

Title of song: “Track 4”

Song genre: observation-exemplum

RM a: Orienting the song

RM b: Stating the various forms of violence

RM c: Evaluating Zanu-PF’s violent actions

RM d: Declaring the soloist’s right of choice of political party

1	<i>Ndichazouya ndokuona Sama usatye</i>	I will see you Sama do not be afraid <b>a</b>
	<i>Ndinozviziva zvakakuwira</i>	Sama I know what befell you Sama <b>a</b>
	<i>Baba vako vakafa vachipondwa nemazanu</i>	You father died being murdered by Zanu people <b>b</b>
	<i>Mhamha vako vakaurairwa kuvhotera chinja</i>	Your mother was killed for voting for the opposition <b>b</b>

<sup>20</sup> The statement was issued in January 2002 by then commander of Zimbabwe Defence Forces (ZDF), General Vitalis Zvinavashe (see *The Insider*, <http://www.insiderzim.com/index.php>, accessed 9 July 2012). It is reminiscent of the Mgagao Declaration of 1975 in which the Zanla high command made clear their stance on Zanu leaders in Rhodesia, indicating how it intended to have the struggle handled. It “strongly, unreservedly, categorically and totally condemned any moves to continue talks with the Smith regime” (Moorcraft, 2012: 17) and chose Mugabe to be the guerrillas’ spokesperson.

<sup>21</sup> Zvinavashe’s successor, General Constantine Chiwenga, said in 2009 “I would not hesitate to go on record again on behalf of the Zimbabwe Defence Forces, to disclose that we would not welcome any change of government that carries the label ‘Made in London’, and whose sole aim is to defeat the gains of the liberation struggle” (*Newzimbabwe.com*, accessed 12 July 2012). In May 2012 ZDF Chief of Staff, Major General Martin Chedondo, declared: “As soldiers we will never be apologetic for supporting Zanu-PF because it is the only political party that has national interests at heart” (see Veneranda Langa, “Army general ‘threatens coup’”, *Newsday*, 5 May 2012). In June 2012 ZDF Chief of Staff (Administration) Major-General Trust Mugoba also voiced a similar view: “Society must understand that the land reform and the indigenization programmes are part of our revolutionary history”. He added, “As the military, we do not only believe, but act in defence of these values and we will not respect any leader who does not respect the revolution. We will not even allow them to go into office because they do not represent the ideology we fought for” (see Bulawayo Bureau, “Military will not respect puppets”, *The Herald*, 5 June 2012 and Moses Matenga, “Tsvangirai warns generals”, *Newsday*, 6 June 2012).

5	<i>Sisi vako vakatetereka vachitiza green bomber</i> <hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/> <i>Misha yedu makapisa makatiita zvamunoda</i> <hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/> <i>Gore riya makatirova mukatiita zvamunoda</i> <hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/> <i>Bhobho wenyu wakazvikanyira ega handichada</i> <hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/>	Your sister strayed for good running away from <i>green bombers</i> <b>b</b> You burnt our homes and forced us to do what you wanted <b>b</b> That year you beat us and forced us to do what you wanted <b>b</b> Your Bob messed up by himself I no longer like him x2 <b>c</b>
10	<i>Nyangwe zvenyu muchitaura kuti Zanu ndeyeropa</i> <i>Vanhu vese vari kutambura asi Zanu haizvioni</i> <i>Nyangwe zvenyu muchitaura kuti</i> <i>ndimi makarwa hondo</i> <i>VekwaTangwena vanoyaura asi aivewo kuhondo</i>	Even if you always say Zanu is about blood, all the people are suffering but Zanu does not pay attention <b>c</b> Even if you say you are the ones who fought the liberation war, the Tangwena people are suffering but they also fought in the war of liberation <b>c</b>

Similar to “Track 5” the song is a narrative of identity transformation from a *zanu* to a *chinja* because of Zanu-PF’s violent character. The (pejorative) noun *green bomber*<sup>22</sup> (line 5) is deployed as a negative value of *social sanction (propriety)* helping in the construction of the identity of violence. It refers to those youths who undergo the government’s youth training service commonly known as Border Gezi. As a result they are also called *maBorder Gezi* (the Border Gezis [see “Track 9” in the appendix]), again a term loaded with connotations of violence. The training was introduced in 2001 as the brainchild of Border Gezi, then Zanu-PF’s national commissar. The trained youths form a *de facto* state militia which boasts that, “We are Zanu-PF’s ‘B’ team. The army is the ‘A’ team and we do the things the things (sic) that the government does not want the ‘A’ team to do...” (Sachikonye, 2011: 98). They have been accused by the opposition and human rights groups of committing all sorts of violence ranging from murder and rape to beatings. The scatological origin of the term is a carnivalistic debasement of state-power and state-sponsored violence through reference to images of human waste, lavatories and decay. “Green bomber”, *dunzi* (pl. *matunzi*) in Shona, is the blowfly (which is shiny-green in colour). It is quick to arrive at any place where faecal matter and decaying carcasses are to be found. Its landing is sudden as if it is free falling. The state’s sudden and quick attack on those who oppose it is thus scoffed at and likened to the alacrity and suddenness with which blowflies arrive at places of stench and decay. The lines *Nyangwe zvenyu muchitaura kuti ndimi makarwa hondo...* (Even if you boast about fighting the war...) (line 11) and *Vanhu vese vari kutambura....* (all the people are suffering...) (line 10) are negative resources of evaluation which show that the fancied *vakarwa hondo* (those who fought the war) identity is increasingly becoming meaningless, hence the need for (political) identity change. The deployment of synonymous verbs, *kutambura* (suffering) (line 10) and

<sup>22</sup> The origin of the term is associated with University of Zimbabwe students in their tussles with the university’s security guards. Because of the guards’ green uniforms, they were sarcastically referred to as green bombers. Students saw them as an obstacle to freedom and activism. With the inception of the youth training service, it was extended to parody graduates of the service who also wear military style (green) uniforms.

*kuyaura* (extreme suffering) (lines 13) is to emphasize again the soloist's concern with the *chimurenga* identity as the cause of suffering. The verb phrase, *handichada* (I do not want anymore) (line 8) in the negative form scaffolds the soloist's resolve to assume a new identity. In a dialogical fashion, the negative prefix *ha-* implies a reversal of the soloist's original (retrogressive) Zanu-PF identity meanwhile assuming a new (progressive) opposition one.

Reckless' persuasion-observation song, "Kana torwa" ("When we fight"), describes *mazanu* violence as indiscriminate – they beat and kill women and children and even the apolitical. Attitudinal lexis construing both AFFECT and JUDGEMENT are used in this song rendered through the modality of storytelling. The depth of the trauma experienced by defenceless women and children highlights the indiscriminate violence of *mazanu*, condemned as sadistic and thus a Zanu-PF identity rebarbative. In the song, a church-going (to suggest her humility and peace) woman is beaten and killed because her husband is a *chinja*. In spite of her "political innocence" and request for mercy – *ini handizvizivi ini ndiri wechechi* (I do not indulge in politics, I go to church) (line 4) and *dai mamirira baba* (I suggest you wait for my husband [i.e., he is the one involved in politics]) (line 1) and children's pleas for mercy (line 5), they were beaten.

Title of song: "Kana torwa"

Song genre: Persuasion-observation

RM a: Pleading for mercy

RM b: Evaluating the incidents of violence

RM c: Expressing the consequences of violence

1	<i>Mirirai mirirai mirirai dai mamirira baba</i> <i>Mai vairohwa vachifira yababa</i>	Wait, wait, wait, I beg you to wait for my husband a A wife was beaten for her husband's cases c
	<i>Mai vairohwa vachifira yababa</i> <i>Ini handizvizivi ini ndiri wechechi</i>	A wife was beaten for her husband's cases c I do not know these things I go to church a
5	<i>Vana vakadamba demba vana vakachema</i>	Children pleaded and pleaded, children cried b

Typical of an observation song, the effect of the pleas by the defenceless mother and children through the emotion-arousing attitudinal lexis ...*dai mamirira baba* (... I beg you to wait for my husband) (line 1) and *vana vakadamba-demba vakachema* (Children pleaded and pleaded, children cried) (line 5) is double-barreled. In response to these negative values of AFFECT, one cannot help but sympathize with the victims, meanwhile feeling a revulsion against Zanu-PF.

In constructing an *ngozi*<sup>23</sup> identity for Zanu-PF, the narrative-observation “Track 5” uses negative values of AFFECT and JUDGEMENT’s *social sanction*. *Mazanu* are being criticized as evil and in a sense deserve to be tormented by the avenging spirits of the people they murdered. Reference to *ngozi* to indicate disapproval of Zanu-PF behaviour shows how ATTITUDE’s sub-system of JUDGEMENT is relative to cultural contexts. In cultures where avenging spirits are not believed in, *ngozi* will not be a resource for evaluation. The protagonist is so angry against Zanu-PF because the *ngozi* does not torment the leaders of the party but ordinary party members like him who are hired to perpetrate the violence – *Ini chaindirwadza ngozi yaisaenda kuZanu* (What pained me was that the avenging spirit did not torment Zanu as a party). The verbal phrase *chaindirwadza* (what pained me) is a value of AFFECT employed to condemn Zanu-PF’s actions. The song adopts the Christian tenet of confession to communicate its rhetorical message. The rite of confession is itself an identity transformation exercise by which a convert renounces the sinner/heathen identity to adopt the new (Christian) identity. By adopting a *chinja* identity, the soloist rejects the *ngozi* aligned Zanu-PF identity. As I discussed in chapter four, the *ngozi* belief shows the incorporation of cultural voices into opposition discourses. Here the technique is to reinforce the negative identity the singer constructs against Zanu-PF. To be associated with an *ngozi* is highly pitied in Shona traditional society, because it signifies the collapse of a family. It is therefore a technique to debase state power by identifying it with the culturally scorned. With the identity of violence, the *ngozi* identity is employed as a rhetorical persuasion technique to convince the electorate to reconsider their political identity and choose that (the opposition’s) which is positive.

It is in the *Tsunami* album’s didactic-persuasion-argumentation-celebratory song “Track 2” that the rhetoric of identity change is explored to a greater extent. Again the values of JUDGEMENT (*social sanction*) used are scripturally derived. The song employs a dual persuasion technique which combines the Shona tradition of *kutama* (migrating/migration) (lines 4 & 5) and the Christian salvation tenet of *kutendeuka* (repentance) (line 6). Both entail identity transformation; spatially in *kutama* and spiritually in *kutendeuka*.

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<sup>23</sup> The seriousness of this *ngozi* belief is shown by the fact that the governor of the Midlands province, Jason Machaya agreed to pay as compensation 36 cattle and US \$12 000 to the Chokuda family after his son had murdered an MDC supporter, Moses Chokuda in 2009 (see Blessed Mhlanga, “Machaya pays Chokudas”, *Newsday*, 9 August, 2012). On 26 May 2012, a brother of an MDC member allegedly murdered by Zanu-PF supporters was threatening to go and perform the *kumutsa mufi* ritual (see chapter four) for the spirit of his brother to avenge his death: “We will not demand any material compensation, . . . but pursue the traditional route to ensure he fights back those responsible for his murder” (see Moses Matenga, “Mudzi murder: Family seeks revenge”, *Newsday*, 6 June 2012).

Title of song: “Track 2”

Song genre: Didactic-persuasion-argumentation-celebratory

RM **a**: Persuading the listener’s attention

RM **b**: Presenting and explaining message/argument of repentance

RM **c**: Orienting a parable

RM **d**: Stating the various sins done by those who repented

RM **e**: Persuading/advising opposition members to unite

RM **f**: Expressing the reason for unity

RM **g**: Celebrating the *chinja* identity

1	L: <i>Iwe hama yangu</i> ALL: <i>Usaome moyo uchitenderera</i>	You my relative Do not harden your heart skating over [the truth] <b>a</b>
-----		
5	L: <i>Kuti soko richiti tamai masakati</i> ALL: <i>Hazvireve kutama kwekusiya misha</i> <i>Zvinoreva kutama kwekubuda muZanu</i> <i>Uchitendeuka</i>	If the word says migrate during the day It does not mean migrating leaving your homes It means migrating getting out of Zanu Repenting <b>b</b>
-----		
	L: <i>Paiva nemumwe murume zita rake Chipanga</i> <i>Wakaponda Chimonso achida kuzvifadza</i> ALL: <i>Wakatenduka</i>	There was a certain man, his name Chipanga <b>c</b> He murdered Chimonso wanting to please himself <b>d</b> He repented <b>a</b>
-----		
10	ALL: <i>Batanai batanai</i>	Unite unite <b>e</b>
-----		
	<i>Kuti mukunde Zanu</i>	So that we can defeat Zanu-PF <b>f</b>
-----		
	ALL: <i>Chinja</i>	Change x7 <b>a</b>
-----		
	ALL: <i>Nzenze nzenze nzenze nzenzenzere nzenzenze</i> L: <i>Nechinja</i>	Nzenze nze nze nzenze nzenzenzere nzenzenze <b>g</b> With change <b>g</b>
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The verbs *kutendeuka* literally means “to turn and face another direction” and *kutama* (which literally means “to change physical location”) therefore metaphorically persuades one to change his/her political identity. *Kutama* carries a covert negative JUDGEMENT because a person normally leaves to settle in another place when the original one no longer satisfies him/her. By so doing s/he assumes a new (spatial) identity by virtue of the new physical space s/he is now comfortable to live in. Lest the public erroneously assume that by *kutama* they are being told to physically leave their homes, the soloist clarifies with some irony – that by saying migrate during the day, he does not mean that people should leave their homes, but leave the morally bankrupt Zanu-PF and that is what *kutendeuka* means (see lines 3 – 6).

The song appropriates the tune of an eschatological hymn, “Iwe hama yangu iwe” (“You my relative [repent]”), which advises people to be conscious about their (deplorable) spiritual condition and repent before death comes. The transition or movement from a sinful to a (righteous) faith-anchored identity is the point deployed through the verb *kutama* (to migrate) and *kubuda* (to get out) (line 5). They motivate the thesis that ‘political repentance’ is possible regardless of one’s background. Sympathy with the supposedly spiritually wretched condition of the unbeliever is also a persuasion device expressed through values of AFFECT in the sympathy-loaded line – *Iwe hama yangu* (You my relative) (line 1) imploring the unbeliever

to heed the message of repentance. By addressing the unbeliever as his/her relative, the soloist is persuading the former to have a common (Christian) identity with him/her. Another sermonic technique is the use of parables, to convey the song's rhetorical message through analogical reasoning. The stanzas beginning with the line, *Paiva nemumwe murume ...* (There was a certain man...) (line 7) give these parables of 'politically sinful' (Zanu-PF) men who met an MDC 'preacher of change', 'repented', were forgiven and joined the opposition party. The parables of identity transformation are aimed at convincing some doubting Zanu-PF Thomases that despite their 'sinful background' (of persecuting the opposition), they will unconditionally be forgiven. This is reminiscent of the biblical Paul's identity change from being a persecutor of the flock to a believer in Christ. This aspect thus makes the song also an argumentation one in terms of its rhetorical mission. Like all storytelling, parables have a narrative power; they do not only engage the listener's imagination, they also facilitate in the concretization of the story's theme. The repetition in the last refrain of the auditory and rhythmically pleasurable but meaningless syllabic sound *nze* (line 13), realizes AFFECT. It marshals the joy and satisfaction a person who has acquired the new (opposition) political identity would have.

All the above negative identities constructed for Zanu-PF are intended to communicate the idea that the party is now not only clueless and alienated from the people, but also that its actions are no longer sustainable. In the praise song, "Hapana" ("No one else") the line *Zanu yadhakwa* (Zanu is drunk) constructs the confusion affecting the party through the metaphor ZANU-PF = CHIDHAKWA (DRUNKARD). Reference to body and and drink in the verb phrase *yadhakwa* (is drunk) is what Bakhtin refers to as "the parodic transmutation of the entire ideological apparatus of authority into the physical realities of human life: food and drink, sex, fertility, life, death and rebirth" (Platter, 2001: 55). The verb phrase is slang language; an expression commonly used by the Zimbabwean public to refer to public institutions and their failure to deliver services during the height of the crisis.<sup>24</sup> In typical carnivalesque style language is therefore manipulated to "maintain a critical distance from official ideologies" (Platter, 2001: 55) by privileging colloquial language. In spite of boasting the most educated people in its leadership, Zanu-PF was duped by a fake *n'anga* (diviner) to believe that fully refined diesel can ooze out of a rock. In Majongwe's "Dhiziri paChinhoyi" ("Diesel at

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<sup>24</sup> The verb phrase is used in a general sense to refer to anything that no longer works efficiently. A mobile phone or network is also often referred to as *yadhakwa* for not working properly.

Chinhoyi”) and Tiriparwendo’s “Track 1” construct Zanu-PF leaders as fools, so desperate in the wake of the fuel crisis to believe such naked lies.<sup>25</sup>

#### 5.4.5 Zanu-PF and the *kuguma* (eschatology) identity

Such confusion, described in 5.4.4 above through the phrase *Zanu yadhakwa* (Zanu in now drunk) and the falling to the tricks of a fake *n’anga*, discursively indicates that *Zanu yaguma* (Zanu has come to an end) or *Zanu haina future* (Zanu has no future). This is the *kuguma* identity which associates Zanu-PF with an inescapable end to its brutal reign that will be met with judgement. Evaluating by using the scriptural motif of eschatology shows how, here too, Christian ethics and their Manichean good/evil dyad form the basis of negative JUDGEMENT (*social sanction*) against Zanu-PF. (Political) rupture songs, which largely appropriate end time Christian hymns, construct this identity. Chikunguru’s “Zanu yaguma” (“Zanu has come to an end”) constructs this identity right from its title. The Hot Wire Boys’ rupture-argumentation song with same rhetorical message, “Pamuganhu” (“At the edge”) uses the ideophonic phrase *kuti ndi* (right at the edge) (line 6), which denotes permanent obstruction, to convey the end of Zanu-PF hegemony. It is also employed in Tiriparwendo’s “Track 9” (see appendix) in which Zanu-PF is constructed as ... *yamira pamuganhu kuti ndi* (... it stands right at the edge [with no headway]). As a “linguistic marker of a vivid, dramatic style” (Fortune, 1981: 144), the ideophone concretises the communication of the message of Zanu-PF’s coming to an end. In “Pamuganhu” parallelism is also adopted to communicate the same communicative purpose. Besides the ideophone *ndi*, the verbal phrases *yaguma* (it has come to an end) (line 4); and *haina future* (has no future) (line 3) all help to reinforce the communication of the identity of endness. *Kumanikidza madzishe* (the manipulation of traditional chiefs) (line 7); *gukurahundi* (line 8) and *kushandisa masoja, mapurisa, madzishe pamwe nevasori kuti vashungurudze vazhinji veZimbabwe* (the use of the army, police, traditional chiefs and secret agents to oppress the people of Zimbabwe) (lines 9-11) are all ideational constructions of negative JUDGEMENT. They are all seen as Zanu-PF’s futile attempts to try and prevent its encroaching end – an eventuality which is, nevertheless, a certainty. Attitudinally the line *Hapana mumwe chete achada nezveZanu* (There is none who

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<sup>25</sup> In typical carnival, in the wake of the severe fuel shortages, in 2007 a certain *n’anga* (*sangoma*), Rotina Mavunga, claimed her ancestors had told her of diesel that was in a rock formation in Chinhoyi. She was shown on television holding a hose pipe plugged into a rock with diesel flowing out. Mugabe sent a delegation of senior ministers who confirmed that indeed there was diesel flowing out of a rock, only to be discovered later that it was a hoax!

still wants Zanu-PF) (line 2) constitutes lexis of AFFECT because if no one likes Zanu-PF, everyone hates it.

Title of song: "Pamuganhu"

Song genre: (Political) rupture-argumentation

RM a: Stating the thesis

RM b: Supporting the argument

1	L: <i>Waedza nzira dzose kutsvaga rutsigiro Hapana mumwe chete achada nezveZanu Chikonzero chimwe chete haina future Zanu yaguma</i>	You have tried all means to find support <b>a</b> There is none who still wants Zanu-PF <b>a</b> There is one reason, it has no future <b>b</b> Zanu has come to an end <b>b</b>
5	R: <i>Pamuganhu</i> L: <i>Kuti ndi</i> ----- L: <i>Wakaedza kumanikidza madzisho kuKariba</i> ----- L: <i>Matebeleland wakaita gukurahundi</i> ----- L: <i>Izvozyi vari mubishi kushandisa masoja Mapurisa, madzisho pamwe nevasori Kuti vashungurudze vazhinji veZimbabwe Uku kupenga chete hazvina future</i> -----	At the edge <b>b</b> Right at the edge with no more headway <b>b</b>  He tried to coerce traditional chiefs in Kariba <b>a</b>  Matebeleland you committed atrocities <b>a</b>  Right now they are busy trying to use the army <b>a</b> The police, traditional chiefs and secret agents <b>a</b> In order to traumatize the Zimbabwe public <b>a</b> This is just madness, this has no future <b>b</b>

The phrase *uku kupenga chete* (this is just madness) (line 12) is a resource realizing negative *social esteem (abnormality)* – Zanu-PF's efforts demonstrate that it has lost touch with reality – it is insane. The assessment recalls the *Zanu yadakwa* (Zanu is drunk) analyzed above. Because the liberation movement is coming to an end, people are being warned to leave it (i.e., change their identity) and be spared from the impending judgement. It can be argued that, constructed from the phrase *haina future* (has no future) (lines 3 & 12), the end-time identity is also marshaled to demonstrate Zanu-PF's loss of the future which the MDC now identifies itself with (see 5.4). While Zanu-PF's self-identities, derived as they are from the *chimurenga* grand narrative, are locked in the past and to some extent in the present, because of the crisis they do not offer hope for the future. Instead, it is the opposition that now holds the positive identity of the future on behalf of the people. Having ruled for over three decades and battling to resolve the post-2000 crisis, the people now believe more in the party with a future (national) identity than one obsessed with a (national) identity of the past.

From the foregoing, it can be noted that SSS dialogically construct negative identities for Zanu-PF as tactical strategy to respond to and challenge the state's "world of approved ideologies" (Platter, 2001 : 55). In the process, they discursively create positive identities for the opposition (see 5.6) which the electorate is invited to adopt. Thus the negative identities activate meanings that persuade citizens to transform their political identities.

## 5.5 MUTENGESI IDENTITY AS BASIS FOR OPPOSITION PERSECUTION

All the negative identities constructed in GNS for the MDC are constituted under one umbrella identity of negative JUDGEMENT – *mutengesi* (literally the seller, denoting sellout/traitor). As a negative value of both *social sanction* and *esteem*, *mutengesi* constitutes a statist discourse of stigmas, including *mutengesi* as ideologically empty (*haafungi* [s/he does not think]); as *benzi* (a fool); as unaware of his/her manipulation by his/her masters; as discourteous; as a *gwara* (coward) and as someone greedy for material gain at the expense of national values. The identity's analysis is important to understand the basis of Zanu-PF's evaluation of the opposition in its quest for and maintenance of hegemony. The discourse of negativity around it is yet another Othering mechanism employed by the state. It comes from the state's discourse of "patriotic history" at whose core is the essentialization of the *mutengesi*-patriot binary. It is yet another strategy within the broader patriotic history framework of maintaining hegemony through the demonization and persecution of the opposition and its exclusion from political power. It is a key term in state monology whose effectiveness as a strategy, as in all other processes of othering (racial, gender, class, ethnic, etc.) lies in its ability to separate or cut off an individual or group and then relentlessly attack him/them through a multiplicity of stereotypes. In public discourses *mutengesi* can be understood as the "essentialized Other" (Savage, 2010: 2).

### 5.5.1. The nationalist origins of the *mutengesi* identity

As a highly judgemental term, to understand *mutengesi*'s attitudinal meanings and its (nationalist) ideological underpinnings, a recourse to its nationalist origins is necessary. It can be traced back to nationalist rhetoric of "sellout politics" which Scarnecchia (2008) locates in Harare of the late 1950s. Then rival unionists and later nationalists fought against each other "to assert their radical credentials and deal with potential rivals" (Scarnecchia, 2008: 8). It became part of the new vocabulary against those (workers, intellectuals and even politicians) "seen as working for the settler government" (Scarnecchia, 2008: 101-102). By the early 1960s the term came to carry connotations of "imperialist stooge" (Scarnecchia, 2008: 8). During the war *mutengesi* meant any person, regardless of whether s/he supported or participated in *chimurenga* war or not, who under duress, in fear or by his/her own volition (e.g. desiring a reward or any form of appreciation) undermined the war effort by supplying information to the Rhodesian authorities concerning those participating in the *chimurenga* war or supporting it. *Mupanduki* (literally one who has split or changed – referring in the

context of *chimurenga* to a dissident/rebel) is another term that was also commonly used to refer to a sellout. However, this one referred specifically to a participant in the struggle (a guerrilla, nationalist leader or collaborator [i.e., a *mujibha* or *chimbwido*]<sup>26</sup>) who, again voluntarily or under duress, decided to change sides and work against the struggle or remain in the struggle while supplying information to the Rhodesian authorities while still purporting to be a bona fide *chimurenga* participant.<sup>27</sup> As I stated in chapter four, one of the most cited *mupanduki* in the *chimurenga* grand narrative is the double agent Morrison Nyathi, a respected Zanla commander who collaborated with Rhodesian forces in the invasion of Nyadzoia base in 1976.<sup>28</sup> However, it is important to point out that a person is labelled *mutengesi* or *mupanduki* when those s/he is accused of betraying have evidence or suspicion that by abandoning the cause his/her actions would undermine them. Because of their overlap in meaning the terms are sometimes used as synonyms, although *mupanduki* is more of a type of *mutengesi*.

*Kutengesa* (selling out) was a serious breach of a *chimurenga* social sanction that was met with retribution. GNS depict two forms of punishment for a *mutengesi*. The first is the violent one that involves torture and murder. This brutal treatment is rationalized by the view that as a proxy of the enemy, a *mutengesi* is seen as even more dangerous than the very enemy s/he clandestinely works for, because s/he is the enemy within. As I pointed out in 5.3, this is the punishment mentioned in Manyika's "Musha une mhandu" ("A home harbouring the enemy"). During the *chimurenga* war the punishment of a *mutengesi* was death after being tortured and ridiculed usually in the presence of villagers during a *pungwe*. Sometimes *vatengesi* were ordered to dig their own graves before they were executed. The wartime *pungwe* intimidation songs, "Mupanduki chera mwena" ("Traitor dig your grave") and "Chenjera vanamukoma vanorova" ("Beware the guerrilla can punish [you]") articulate the violent punishment meted out to the alleged *vatengesi*. The torture exercise was publicly executed as a warning to those who would dare betray the guerrillas.<sup>29</sup> The second, depending on the severity of his/her *utengesi* (traitorhood), is to forgive the *mutengesi* (but upon his/her

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<sup>26</sup> These terms respectively meant male and female collaborators.

<sup>27</sup> However, in general usage *mupanduki* refers anyone who turns against a cause s/he was initially in support of to the extent that this undermines the efforts of those who still support the cause.

<sup>28</sup> Political leaders have not been spared by the *mutengesi* label. Ndabaningi Sithole, the first president of Zanu when it was formed in August 1963, is always castigated as *mutengesi*. He died in 2000 as an opposition leader of his Zanu-Ndonga party. He was not conferred with the state's prestigious hero status. Abel Muzorewa who formed an internal settlement with the Rhodesian Front in 1978 is also condemned as a *mutengesi*.

<sup>29</sup> Alexander Kanengoni's *Echoing Silences* (1997) portrays in graphic detail the way alleged *vatengesi* were tortured and eventually killed. See also Norma Kriger's *Zimbabwe's Guerrilla War: Peasant Voices* (1992).

confession) and allow him/her to undergo “re-orientation and rehabilitation”. As referred to in 5.3, this is what the song “Nora” means by saying *toraika vanhu vakadai, dzidzisai gwara reZanu* (take such [*vapanduki*] people and teach them Zanu-PF’s ideology).

### 5.5.2 State usage of *mutenges* identity in post-2000

From the *chimurenga* ideological values, the negative JUDGEMENTS regarding *mutenges* in the post-2000 period are premised on three major accusation platforms. S/he is bent on effecting (illegal) regime change in Zimbabwe; has requested sanctions to be imposed on Zimbabwe and intends to reverse the land reform on assuming power. However, the state attitude towards *mutenges* is not always hostile; it is also conciliatory, for s/he is invited to re-adopt his/her former (Zanu-PF) identity.

In the song, “Nora” *mutenges* is constructed as someone who can be rehabilitated. The rehabilitation possibility emanates from the fact that many people abandoned Zanu-PF *en masse* and joined the MDC due, *inter alia*, to the latter’s use of wanton violence and also the economic hardships. Thus in “Nora” positive values of *social esteem* are employed to evaluate Zanu-PF as the original (political) parent who, like a normal parent, can always welcome back and forgive a child who has gone astray. The following lines valorise this meaning.

<i>Dzoka hako kuZanu</i>	Come back to Zanu
<i>Guvhu rako ndere Zanu</i>	Your origin is Zanu
<i>Haimbokurasa</i>	It will not neglect you

Zanu-PF resorts to combining Shona parental and biblical values to try and restore Zanu-PF identity among those of its presumed *mapenzi* (fools) children who left it and assumed a new *mutenges* or MDC identity. The idiom, *guvhu rako ndere Zanu* (your navel is Zanu) constitutes values of APPRECIATION of the *composition* sub-category. Since a *mupanduki* is said to have the same *guvhu* (navel) as Zanu-PF, it means that his/her political ancestry is traceable to Zanu-PF. The rhetorical impact of the APPRECIATION is to lure back those who defected to the opposition. At the same time it is also an implicit positive value of *social sanction*. It depicts Zanu-PF as a forgiving parent who is sympathetic and sensitive and ready to forgive his/her remorseful child. The verb phrase *haimbokurasa* (it will never reject you) is deployed for this purpose – to give the *mupanduki* the hope for re-acceptance. This is *social sanction* expressed in the Shona proverb, *Nyoka huru haizvirumi* (A big snake cannot bite itself), to mean that since a child carries the identity of its parent, for the parent to reject it is tantamount to self-persecution. Another is *Ane benzi ndeane rake, kudzana unopururudza*

(A parent who has a foolish child would not allow others to criticize it). These proverbs also embody the biblical prodigal son idea. As *mupanduki*, the son's non-conformist identity is erased as the father is happy to see his lost son return and ready to forgive him. Persuading the alleged *mutenges* to re-acquire his/her for Zanu-PF identity is a ploy to undermine the growing opposition support. In the meantime, criticizing those who do not want to return serves to discredit the MDC identity as politically bogus. Consequently, Jonathan Moyo once ridiculed Tsvangirai by saying the opposition leader was still a Zanu-PF member because he never surrendered his Zanu-PF party card as a gesture of renouncing his membership. Thus Bakhtin's (1981: 272) point that "every concrete utterance of a speaking subject serves as a point where centrifugal as well as centripetal forces are brought to bear" can be used to conceptualize the nature of the struggle for identity construction in SSS and GNS. The identities in each of the songs struggle to balance themselves between forces of unification and disunification located in competing state-opposition discourses.

In spite of this conciliatory approach the *mutenges* stereotype explains the wanton violence perpetrated against the MDC in post-2000 Zimbabwe. Sachikonye (2011: 44) rightly observes this by arguing that "the ideology of exclusive nationalism and its accompanying rhetoric of 'sell-out', 'stooge' and 'totemless outsiders' have signalled a licence to employ violence against Zanu-PF's political opponents". As a negative value of assessing human behaviour, the term *mutenges* constitutes hate speech because once someone has been labelled as such s/he is alienated, beaten or even killed. Similar to Soviet purges, Halfin (2007) argues that even if someone was identified as an "oppositionist" and accepted rehabilitation, it was more or less impossible to escape future persecution (Savage, 2010: 2).

I have earlier stated in this sub-section that *mutenges* is an umbrella (negative) identity with many other smaller stereotypical judgements. In other words *mutenges* constitutes a multiplicity of identities – the original identity s/he ran away from; the new identity of *mutenges* and the identity of the master s/he is serving. As a result in GNS when the MDC is being condemned as *mutenges*, so are the British and Americans whom the state accuses of forming and funding the opposition, let alone imposing sanctions. For this reason Tsvangirai is pejoratively referred to as "Tsvangison" in the state's patriotic history *mutenges* discourse. His name is anglicised to express his association with the condemned British identity he is constructed as having acquired as a *mutenges*. Thus *mutenges* and the beneficiary of *utenges* (i.e., the master) are seen as one and the same thing and are collectively condemned.

For this reason, Tony Blair or George Bush are criticised together with the MDC in some GNS. Blair is a target of ridicule because it was during his time as British Prime Minister that Harare-London diplomatic relations failed and then worsened because of the farm invasions. As for Bush, it was during his time as president of the US that the Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act (ZIDERA), was enacted. He also condemned Zimbabwe as part of the “axis of evil”.<sup>30</sup> Chiyangwa’s celebratory-argumentation-exemplum song, “Agrimende” (“Agreement”) employs carnival imagery to reduce Blair to scatological humour through the metaphor BLAIR = TOILET. The use of carnivalesque humour, which is not as commonly used in GNS as in SSS can be explained by the shift in power dynamics. The Zimbabwean state is now weaker in the asymmetrical relations of power with its erstwhile colonial master (Britain) which has powerful allies on its side which include the US, EU and other western countries. The debasement of Britain through this lavatorial humour is intended to assert sovereignty expressed, as stated in chapters three and four, through such a mantra as “Zimbabwe will never be a colony again”. The song tries to validate the results of the 2002 presidential elections in which Mugabe was declared winner while the election was condemned by the MDC and the international community (particularly Britain) as not free and fair. Since *mutengesesi* also embodies the Blair (i.e., British) identity, the song is also an indirect attack on the MDC. It appropriates the tune of a *vapositori* song as a strategy to seek wider appeal particularly from the often marginalized sections of society some of whom are *vapositori* members.

L: <i>Patakavhota takasainirana agirimende</i>	When we voted we signed an agreement
-----	
L: <i>Kuti mutungamiri weZimbabwe ndiBhobho</i>	That the president of Zimbabwe is Bhobho
-----	
L: <i>The Tony Blair that I know is a toilet</i>	The Tony Blair that I know is a toilet
-----	

As pointed out in chapter three, there is a pit latrine commonly called a Blair toilet deriving its name from a rural sanitation programme in the 80s known as the Blair Research. The use of carnivalesque reference by the state underscores Mbembe’s (1992: 4) view that although Bakhtin is right to associate the grotesque and obscene with plebeian life, the same carnivalistic elements are also appropriated by the postcolonial (African) state in its organisation and “dramatization of its magnificence”.

*Mutengesesi* is criticised as ideologically empty, deficient in any revolutionary values and intellectually dull, consequently s/he is easily deceived. In Manyika’s “Nora” *vatengesesi* are condemned by use of negative values of *social sanction* as *vakapanduka nepamusana*

<sup>30</sup> This meant countries the US condemned as governed by despots, including Iran and North Korea.

*pekusafunga* (they rebelled because of their inability to think properly). The negative form of the verb *kufunga* (to think [accurately]) which is *kusafunga* (failure to think accurately) expresses this negative evaluation. For Tsvangirai in particular, evaluated as the biggest *mutengesesi*, his lack of higher education has always been invoked by Mugabe and the state media to justify these negative JUDGEMENTS expressed here through the verb *kusafunga*. Mugabe satirized him as a *dzimati* (wood that does not burn) arguing that Tsvangirai's lack of tertiary education showed that the opposition leader was incapable of leading the country. Connected with this is again the use of negative values of *social esteem* to construct *mutengesesi* as a *gwara* (coward). S/he is devoid of the officially celebrated *mbiri yechigandanga* (the fame of being a guerrilla) that statist historiography boasts about. Mugabe and also state media relentlessly criticized Tsvangirai as a *gwara* (coward). He was said to have gone to Mozambique during the war, presumably to join Zanla, but found the conditions tough and decided sneak back into Rhodesia. To add to this humiliation, Mugabe likened him to a coward dog that he had when he was young. He said it was so afraid of hunting that each time they took it to the forests, it would sneak away and return home.

Because s/he is said to be dull and thus lacking foresight, *mutengesesi* is constructed as unaware that s/he is being used as a proxy. This makes him/her a *benzi* (fool). In a veiled attack Mugabe criticized Tsvangirai as such – *Kana uchizemberana nevanhu ava usingazvioni kuti uri ukashandiswa, uri benzi* (If you befriend these people [i.e. western leaders] and you are not aware that you are being merely used, you are a fool) (Kawadza, 2012).<sup>31</sup> He can thus be hired by anyone for some or no token at all, hence in nationalist discourse s/he is also referred to by the derogatory term *chimbwasungata*<sup>32</sup> (stooge, spineless fellow or quisling). Literally the term means a person or an animal (especially a dog or horse) that can be taken by anyone and used to fulfil his/her tasks. The stereotypes have even gone as far as referring to his facial features. He has been nicknamed “Chamatama”<sup>33</sup> (“The-big-cheeked-one”). *Cha-* is an allomorph of *chi-* the Shona noun class 7 prefix which denotes secondary (usually negative) attributes. Such names constitute grotesque imagery which in carnival reflects “the concept of degradation” – whose “function is to lower everything that is high” (Guzlowski, 1998:

<sup>31</sup> Sydney Kawadza, “Be wary of western leaders: President”, *The Herald*, 27 July 2012.

<sup>32</sup> Sometimes it is spelt in its longer form as *chimbwachowasungata* (literally meaning the little dog that belongs to he who has [currently] tied it, i.e. to use it). The term comes from a dog that is willing to be taken by anyone and used for hunting and sometimes left without any reward to be taken by the next user. It was also used during the colonial period to refer to a horse at the district commissioner's office which was mounted by district office staff as they went on their various work errands.

<sup>33</sup> A cursory look at the readers' comments on Zimbabwean newspaper stories about Tsvangirai often shows that this nickname, including *mutengesesi* and *Tsvangison* are used by presumably Zanu-PF readers.

168). This is tantamount to portraying him as a monster, thus persuading the public to see him in bad light.

A *mutengesi* is constructed as ready to sell out because of his/her insatiable appetite for material gain. This negative JUDGEMENT evokes the biblical Judas Iscariot value which condemns individuals for dispensing important things solely for the love of money. From a Christian moral perspective the name Judas Iscariot evokes one of the greatest violations of religious sanction. Similarly, by being accused of selling the country Tsvangirai and the MDC are castigated for violating a serious, *chimurenga*-revered social sanction. In 2004 Tsvangirai was actually tried for treason. In the exemplum song “Ndotaura”, the Judas Iscariot connection of the *mutengesi* is invoked as the basis of condemning those alleged to be betraying their nation for the love of *ndege* (aeroplanes, i.e. to fly abroad) (line 7); *mari* (money) (line 8); *kuda kupfeka* (the love for [beautiful] clothes) (line 9); *shuga* (sugar) (line 10) and fun – *unoenda nayo uchitambisa mhiri kwemakungwa* (because you take it [the country] with you overseas to have fun) (lines 5 & 6). S/he is greedy and materially obsessed. The phrase *yaunoenda nayo uchitambisa* (that you take to play with) constitutes implicit negative JUDGEMENT employed to demonstrate the presumed high level of *upenzi* (stupidity) a *mutengesi* is said to have. The verb phrase *uchitambisa* (playing with/having fun with) implies that s/he has no respect for his/her country or that s/he can exchange the country for any object that can be literally carried and taken to another place in pursuit of fun. This negative behaviour is attributed to what is constructed as the tragedy of a *mutengesi*'s mindset. S/he is amnesical, an evaluation constructed in the idiomatic lines, *Wokanganwa chazuro nehope?* (You wantonly forget issues of yesterday because of sleep?) (line 2) and *Wokanganwa kuuya kwakaita nyika ino?* (You forget how this nation came about?) (line 3).

Title of song: “Ndotaura”

Song genre: Exemplum

RM a: Orienting the song by a request to speak

RM b: Identifying those from whom permission to speak is sought

RM c: Stating the importance of the timing of the speech

RM d: Granting the permission to speak

RM e: Identifying the addressee of the speech

RM f: Introduces the theme of the speech

RM g: Identifying and evaluating the culprit<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> See appendix for the song's other rhetorical moves (a – f). Here I indicate only move g which is relevant to the analysis in this sub-section.

1	<i>Ko nhasi iwe mutengeshi?</i> <i>Wokanganwa chazuro nehope?</i> <i>Wokanganwa kuuya kwakaita nyika ino?</i>	Why today you the sellout? <b>g</b> You wantonly forget issues of yesterday because of sleep? <b>g</b> You forget how this nation came about? <b>g</b>
-----		
5	<i>Nyika yeropa?</i> <i>Yaunoenda nayo uchitambisa zvako</i> <i>mhiri kwemakungwa?</i> <i>Kuda ndege?</i> <i>Kuda mari?</i> <i>Kuda iko kupfeka?</i>	The nation of blood? <b>g</b> That you take to play with overseas? <b>g</b> [For] the love flying in a plane? <b>g</b> [For] the love of money? <b>g</b> [For] the love of clothes? <b>g</b>
10	<i>Shuga?</i> ----- <i>Masangisheni otanga kupindazve</i> <i>mukati menyika yeZimbabwe?</i> <i>Yatova hondo</i> <i>Vana veZimbabwe vari kuramba</i>	[For] sugar? <b>g</b> ----- Sanctions to encroach again into the nation of Zimbabwe? <b>g</b> There is going to be a war <b>g</b> The citizens of Zimbabwe are refusing <b>g</b>
-----		

In typical grand narrative condemnation of the *mutengeshi*, his/her ideological emptiness is seen as emanating from his/her *kukanganwa kuuya kwakaita nyika ino* (forgetfulness about how this nation came into being) (line 3) that *inyika yeropa* (it is the nation of blood) (line 4). In the Manyika's didactic song "Chikwama chababa" ("Father's purse"), the irresponsibility of a *mutengeshi* is also seen in that *anotengesha chikwama chababa* (s/he sells his/her father's purse) instead of *kuchengeta chikwama chababa* (keeping his/her father's purse). This idiom is employed to criticize the MDC that it cannot be trusted with national responsibility because (as *mutengeshi*), it will sell the national heritage and sovereignty which from a *chimurenga* thought-world was won through much human sacrifice. During campaigns for the 2008 elections, Mugabe warned the electorate not to waste their time voting for the opposition because Tsvangirai would never be president of Zimbabwe, even if he won the ballot.

You can vote for them [MDC], but that would be a wasted vote. I am telling you. You would just be cheating yourself. There is no way you can allow them to rule this country. ... We have a job to do, to protect our heritage. ... It will never, ever happen. We will never allow it (quoted in Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2011: 3).

The hotly debated sanctions issue in the inclusive government is used in GNS as a case in point of the opposition's assumed foolishness and irresponsibility as *mutengeshi*. It constitutes a theme of high tellability in post-2000 anti-opposition state discourse as well as in the opposition's counter discourse. Since 2001 when the US passed the punitive ZIDERA, followed a year later by EU's targeted sanctions, "Illegal sanctions imposed on Zimbabwe by Britain and its western allies" has become a leitmotif (Moyo, 2012: 22) in the state's discourse of patriotic history. As I stated earlier, having sanctions imposed on Zimbabwe is one of the cardinal sins in terms of which the opposition is frequently condemned. The state has turned it into "propaganda fodder" providing itself with "a useful distraction from its own failures" (Moyo, 2012: 12). In "Maruza imi III" *mutengeshi* is likened to a foolishly irresponsible family man who visits a diviner to request him/her to *zadza munyama mumusha*

*mangu* (cast misfortune that affects my entire home). In Shona culture, a responsible *samusha* (family man) protects rather than harms his family. The rhetorical question constituted by the stanza below suggests that the actions of the man and hence that of a *mutengesi* cannot be culturally sanctioned.

1	<i>Makamboona baba vanosimuka pamusha, Achiti anotsvaga zvinoshupa pamusha, Vonodaidzira kun'anga kana kuna chiremba, Achiti, "Chiremba woye zadza munyama mumusha mangu",</i>	Where have you seen a father leaving his home, Saying I'm going to consult about the problem in my home, Then he requests a diviner or traditional healer, Saying, "Please diviner cast misfortune that affects my entire home
5	<i>Sezviri kuitwa nevamwe vana muno umu?</i>	Like what other children of this country are doing?

Again drawing negative values of *social sanction* from Shona culture, *mutengesi*'s actions are seen as not different from those of a *muroyi* (witch)<sup>35</sup> who does his/her things surreptitiously with the sole motive of harming (innocent) people. S/he is constructed as deceptive. Note in the statement below the connection between the alleged *mutengesi* and *muroyi* (and other morally condemned people; prostitutes and charlatans) in Mugabe's 2008 criticism of the opposition.

Let the people's voice thunder across the whole country on 29 March, rejecting and damning once and for all the bootlicking British stooges, the traitors and sell-outs, the political witches and political prostitutes, political charlatans and the two-headed political creatures (*BBC News*, 29 February, 2008).<sup>36</sup>

Echoing one of Zanu-PF's demands to fulfil its side of the GPA resolutions, in the exemplum-didactic song "Kwirai ndege" ("Board the plane") Chinx orders *mutengesi* to board a plane and go to the western countries to have the sanctions lifted.

R: <i>Iwe Morgan enda, iwe Morgan enda iwe Morgan enda unodzosea masangishenzi</i>	You Morgan go, you Morgan go, You Morgan go and return the sanctions
R: <i>Wakaenda Bhiriteni kunokumbira masangisheni ekutemera isu vana veropa</i>	You went to Britain to ask for sanctions to punish us the children of blood

Being ordered to return the sanctions, *iwe Morgan enda* (you Morgan go) (lines 1 &2) is an invoked negative evaluation of the *kusafunda* (uneducatedness) label of the sellout.

Because *mutengesi* is always in breach of the patriotic history-based social sanction for the purpose of *kutemera isu vana veropa* (to punish us the children of blood, i.e., those constructed as patriotic) (line 4) his/her fate of a *mutengesi* is always seen as (regrettably) sealed. This meaning is constructed through the phrase *Hazvisati zvaipa* (Trouble has not yet

<sup>35</sup> Although the existence of witchcraft is generally refuted in western cultures and considered superstition, in Africa it is a very strong belief. In Zimbabwe, in Shona culture in particular, both men and women can be accused of being wizards/witches believed to be in possession of evil charms that they use to kill or harm others during their nocturnal errands.

<sup>36</sup> See <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/7271611.stm>

come but it will definitely come [upon you]) (line 5) in Manyika's intimidation-cautionary song, "Zanu chiwororo".

Title of song: "Zanu chiwororo"

Song-genre: Intimation-cautionary

RM a: Warning the sellout about Zanu-PF's power

RM b: Criticizing the sellout's intransigence

RM c: Humiliating the sellout

RM d: Expressing willingness to re-accept the sellout

1	L: <i>Zanu, Zanu, Zanu Zanu-PF chiwororo</i> R: <i>VaMugabe vari kutungamira Zanu</i> -----	Zanu, Zanu, Zanu Zanu-PF is the right match <b>a</b> Mr. Mugabe is leading Zanu <b>a</b>
	L: <i>Taimbokuudza uchiramba</i> -----	We used to warn you but you could not listen <b>b</b>
	L: <i>Uchapfugama nemagokora</i> -----	You will kneel down on your elbows <b>c</b>
5	<i>Hazvisati zvaipa</i> <i>Uchamhanyira kwavaMugabe</i> <i>VaMugabe vachabvunza</i> <i>Waituka vaMugabe</i> <i>Uchinyomba Zanu-PF</i> -----	Trouble has not yet come but it will definitely come [upon you] <b>b</b> You will run to seek help from Mr. Mugabe <b>c</b> Mr. Mugabe will ask [you] <b>c</b> You used to scold Mr. Mugabe <b>c</b> Criticizing Zanu-PF <b>c</b>
10	<i>Uchasvika Bhiriteni</i> <i>Uchikumbira masangisheni</i> <i>Wonzwa Blair wakadyiwa</i> -----	You will get to Britain <b>c</b> Requesting sanctions <b>c</b> And you will hear that Blair lost the election <b>c</b>
	<i>Ibva dzoka kuZimbabwe</i> Go back sing <i>Nora</i> 15 Go back sing <i>sendekera</i>	Get away, go back to Zimbabwe <b>c</b> Go back sing <i>Nora</i> <b>c</b> Go back sing <i>sendekera</i> <b>c</b>
	<i>Uchadzoka kune povho</i> <i>Povho yose icharamba</i> -----	You will come back to the masses <b>c</b> The masses will reject you <b>c</b>
	<i>Uchashaya pokuenda</i> <i>Uchashaya pekuhwanda</i> -----	You will find no place of refuge <b>c</b> You will find no place to hide <b>c</b>
20	<i>Ndambakuudzwa ine mbonje</i> <i>Dzoka hako kuZanu</i> -----	An unruly person with scars <b>c</b> Come back to Zanu <b>d</b>

If s/he escapes death he will be ostracized and become a permanent laughing stock as s/he would be disowned by his/her own people. His/her masters would also disown him/her because s/he would be no longer relevant to their interests. The tragic and humiliating fate is described as *uchamhanyira kwavaMugabe*, ... *vachabvunza waituka vaMugabe*, *uchinyomba Zanu-PF* (you will run to Mr. Mugabe, ... they will ask, you used to insult Mr. Mugabe and abuse Zanu-PF) (lines 6 – 9). S/he would go to the people but *povo yose icharamba waituka Zanu* (the people will reject you saying you used to criticize Zanu-PF) (line 17). Trying to find help from the former master is again a sign of desperation because *uchasvika Bhiriteni uchikumbira masangisheni wonzwa Blair wakadyiwa* (you will go to Britain asking for sanctions [to be imposed on Zimbabwe] but you will be told that Blair is no longer in power, he lost an election) (line 10 – 12). *Go back sing Nora* (line 14) and *Go back sing sendekera* (line 15) subjects the sellout to nationalist mockery. S/he is chased away by his/her former masters and ironically, in humiliation told to be patriotic by being forced to sing GNS,

“Nora” and the jingle, “Sendekera”. The proverb *Ndambakuudzwa ine mbonje* (An unruly person is always seen with scars) (line 18) is deployed to emphasize the risks associated with treachery - when s/he becomes irrelevant to his/her master, s/he would be thrown away.

Lastly *mutengesi* is also criticized as unthankful. S/he is discourteous to the extent that s/he bites the hand that feeds him/her. In Manyika’s exemplum-didactic song, “Usazokanganwa” (“Do not forget”) Tsvangirai (who is addressed only by his first name, Morgan<sup>37</sup>) is reminded *usazokanganwa Zanu yakakurera ukakura* (not to forget that Zanu-PF brought you up). As previously discussed, this is the stubborn Zanu-PF identity within the MDC that Zanu-PF again tries to use as a weapon to denigrate opposition identity. Repeatedly emphasizing his now (dormant) Zanu-PF identity is to drag him back into a party in which he was a subordinate without any power to resist oppression and control. Now that he has a new (counter) identity he has to be constantly reminded of his old and restrictive identity, a strategy to weaken and confuse the opposition struggle. Thus the discourse surrounding the *mutengesi* identity is a key statist strategy to marginalize the MDC in order to keep only the univocal and “commanding voice of the state” (Guha, 1996: 3) audible.

## 5.6 SSS AND MDC IDENTITIES OF SELF-CONSTRUCTION

In similar ways to the GNS’s construction of positive Zanu-PF identities, SSS’s evaluation of the MDC also formulates positive identities that counter Zanu-PF’s self-identities and the negative ones constructed for the MDC. SSS evaluate the opposition through creating positive identities based on the opposition party’s assumed merits. As I discussed in 5.3.1 above, *machinja* (the changers) is the umbrella identity which MDC members use to admirably evaluate themselves in their quest for the credibility of the opposition’s struggle. *Machinja* are identified by their *chinja maitiro* (change your ways) mantra, an imperative, pithy saying realizing values of *social sanction* directed at their opponents, *mazanu*, to amend their bad behaviour. The term also carries ideational connotations – the experience of shared oppression under Zanu-PF rule, a theme which pervades SSS. The opposition’s *chinja maitiro* goal is constructed as a (difficult) journey, hence *Tiriparwendo* (*We are on a journey*),<sup>38</sup> the title for a series of pro-opposition albums. Other values of positive APPRECIATION for the democratic

<sup>37</sup> The implication of this is the non-recognition of his status as Prime Minister by Zanu-PF as expressed in the Mbare Chimurenga Choir songs, “Team” and “Nyatsoteera” (“Listen carefully”) (see, 5.3.1.3 above). It could also mean that he is regarded as a no-body or a ‘young’ person who is addressed non-honorifically by his first name. This sharply contrasts with Mugabe who is addressed as VaMugabe (Mr. Mugabe).

<sup>38</sup> The title is taken from an Aaron Chiundura-Moyo television drama series about pre-colonial Shona life and its social struggles.

struggle include *nzira yeshanduko* (the road to change) and *rwendo rwechinja* (the journey of change). Appropriating *chimurenga* grand narrative values of *social esteem*, the opposition struggle is also described as *hondo yeshanduko* (the struggle for change), adapted from *hondo yeminda* (the war/struggle for land). The main identities constructed for the MDC are: *bumbiro remutemo* (constitutionalism); the opposition and the identity of *rwendo rwechinja* (the journey/struggle for change) and the identity of transparency and economic recovery. In asserting these identities the opposition is giving itself a (positive) activist label. It is fighting its devaluation in the Zanu-PF-dominated power dispensation and setting the boundary between *machinja* and *mazanu* and their respective values. Because of this technique, SSS constitute the carnivalesque subversive discourse.

### 5.6.1 The opposition and the identity of *bumbiro remutemo* (constitutionalism)

In the *Tsunami* album's didactic song "Track 7" the instruction *gadzirisa bumbiro renyika* (amend the national constitution) or constitutionalism (line 11) is a democratic goal associating the MDC with constitutionalism and what it enshrines – *human rights* (line 2); *democracy* (line 3); *pamavhotsi* (the electoral system) (line 5); *AIPPA nePOSA* (legislative reform) (line 8); opposition to *nepotizimu* (nepotism) (line 9); *land reform* (line 4) and *anti-racism* (line 10). These goals invoke values of *social sanction* as the opposition feels it is socially sanctioned to change Zimbabwe's political dispensation. They intend to promote and achieve "a culture of constitutionalism in the country" (Murwira & Machivenyika, 2012).<sup>39</sup> According to Schopflin (2001: 1) "every collective identity gives rise to an identity and corresponding thought-worlds". This is what *machinja* implies. MDC members see themselves as engaged in a collective activity of changing the socio-political and economic landscape of Zimbabwe from totalitarianism to democracy.

Title of song: "Track 7"

Song genre: didactic

RM a: Stating the problem

RM b: Advising on how the problem should be approached

RM c: Stating specific (constitutional) problems to be addressed

1	L: Constitution	Constitution a
	-----	
	L: Human rights	Human rights c
	-----	
	L: Democracy	Democracy c
	-----	
	L: Land reform	Land reform c
	-----	

<sup>39</sup> The statement is attributed to Eric Matinenga, the MDC-T Constitution & Parliamentary Affairs minister in the GNU (see Zvamaida Murwira & Farirai Machivenyika, "Experts dismiss draft constitution", *The Herald*, 23 July 2012).

5	L: <i>Pamavhoti</i>	On votes <b>c</b>
	-----	
	L: Administration	Administration <b>c</b>
	-----	
	L: Running votes	Running votes <b>c</b>
	-----	
	L: AIPPA <i>ne</i> POSA	AIPPA and POSA <b>c</b>
	-----	
	L: Nepotizimu	Nepotism <b>c</b>
	-----	
10	L: Racism	Racism <b>c</b>
	R: <i>Gadzirisa Bumbiro renyika</i>	Sort out the national constitution <b>b</b>

From chapter two I bring again into discussion Chikunguru’s argumentation song, “Constitution itsva” (“New constitution”) which attributes Zimbabwe’s political problems to the absence of a (proper) constitution. As in “Track 7” above, the constitutional problems have to do with governance and human rights abuses; *kurohwa nekusungwa* (to be beaten and arrested) (lines 1); *Mukoko wakasungwa* (Mukoko<sup>40</sup> was arrested) (line 5); *makore akawanda nemutungamiri umwe* (many years with one leader [in the country]) (line 7); *totsvaga rutsigiro, wotirova nekutisunga* (we are beaten and arrested as we campaign) (line 13) and *topinda musarudzo wotirova nekusunga* (we try to vote and you beat and arrest us) (11).

Title of song: “Constitution itsva”

Song genre: Argumentation

RM **a**: Motivating the argument

RM **b**: Stating the argument

1	L: <i>Topinde mumigwagwa torohwa nekusungwa vavariro ndeyei? Bumbiro remutemo</i>	We get into the streets, we are beaten and arrested what is our goal? <b>a</b> The national constitution <b>b</b>
	-----	
	L: Constitution <i>itsva</i>	Constitution <b>b</b>
	-----	
5	L: <i>Mukoko wakasungwa, mhosva yake ndeyei? Wasungirwa kurwira kodzero dzeruzhinji,</i>	Mukoko was arrested, what was her crime? <b>a</b> She was arrested for fighting for the public’s rights x 2 <b>a</b>
	-----	
	L: <i>Makore akawanda nemutungamiri umwe, dambudziko nderei?</i>	Many years with only one leader, what is the problem? <b>a</b>
	-----	
10	L: <i>Matongerwo enyika kune madzisho munyika, dambudziko nderei?</i>	In the governance of the nation there are traditional chiefs, what is the problem? <b>a</b>
	-----	
	L: <i>Topinda musarudzo wotirova nekusunga, dambudziko nderei?</i>	We go for elections, you beat and arrest us, what is the problem? <b>a</b>
	-----	
	L: <i>Totsvaga rutsigiro, wotirova nekutisunga, dambudziko nderei?</i>	We seek for support, you beat and arrest us, what is the problem? <b>a</b>
	-----	

Its tune is derived from the Zionist song “Kugara pachinyika makore akawanda” (“To live a prolonged [better] life”). The religious song’s thesis, that to live for many years on earth happens because of the will of God, is adapted into a political argument – Zimbabwe’s current national problems can only be resolved, and thus citizens live an enjoyable life, if a new democratic constitution is written. As the solution to a person’s problems in the religious song

<sup>40</sup> Jestina Mukoko is a former ZBC news announcer. Now she is director of a human rights NGO, Zimbabwe Peace Project. In 2008 she was abducted and detained by security agents (see instance, Staff Reporter, “Jestina Mukoko honoured”, *Newsday* 18 March 2011).

lies with God's will, in the political song the solution to national challenges lies with a proper constitutional will. *Vavairo ndeyei?* (What is the goal?) (line 2) forms a value of *social sanction (propriety)* – the opposition's (constitutional) goal is noble and humane. The common feature of *kurohwa nekusungwa* (being beaten and arrested) refers to the state's identity of oppression which I discussed in 5.4.1. It constantly relies on coercion to maintain hegemony legally empowering itself with draconian laws such as the Access to Information and Protection from Privacy Act (AIPPA) and the Public Order and Security Act (POSA) among others cited in "Track 7". The current constitution is seen by the opposition as democratically defective. It provides too many executive powers exploited by Mugabe and the state to maintain their grip on power and marginalize opposition voices. On the current constitution, whose draft has been completed, the MDC-T has already shown its commitment to a new constitution by endorsing it.<sup>41</sup>

Another constitutional issue the opposition associates itself with is transparency. In the exemplum-persuasion-argumentation song "Track 5" reference to contrasting party symbols demonstrates the use of values of *social sanction* to construct the MDC as a party of openness and transparency and Zanu-PF as a party of totalitarianism. The MDC's emblem of a *chanza* (open palm) stands for progressive (democratic) values. Meanwhile, using the same values of JUDGEMENTS, Zanu-PF (as represented by its clenched fist symbol) is implicitly condemned as autocratic in the lines below.

*Tovhotera Zanu here kana kuti pachanza?  
Iye iye pachanza ndizvo!*

Should we vote for Zanu or vote for the palm?  
Iye iye it is on the palm

While I analysed Zanu-PF's symbol of a clenched fist in 5.3 as standing for violence, here (when contrasted with the open palm) it implicitly also denotes autocracy. Juxtaposing the two symbols and asking the audience which one to vote for constitutes making a choice between what is good and bad, thus implying JUDGEMENT. It dramatizes what Schopflin (2001: 3) refers to as the tendency for "collective identities to protect their meanings". By casting their out-group in a negative light the MDC intends to create boundaries which prevent the (harmful) ideas of its out-group from contaminating its members. The interjection denoting affirmation, *ndizvo!* (that's it!) in *pachanza ndizvo* (that's it on the palm) (line 2) is a value of positive APPRECIATION for the opposition and thus the need to be associated with it. As a symbol of identity, *chanza* (open palm) is loaded with all the positive attributes the

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<sup>41</sup> On presidential powers it limits a president's period in office to two terms of five years each; bolsters the powers of parliament and do away with the president's immunity from prosecution after leaving office.

MDC considers constitutes its behaviour and goals as a political party. It thus counters official discourses and the state's surreptitious tendencies.

### 5.6.2 The *rwendo rwechinja* (journey of change) identity

Under this identity values of JUDGEMENT, *social esteem (capacity)* evaluate the MDC as being capable of or strong enough to walk the difficult journey to democracy. In the face of the various forms of oppression discussed in 5.4, their journey is described as *runoda vakashinga* (it requires the dedicated ones) in order to achieve democracy and all its associated benefits of freedom of expression; rule of law; equality; respect for human rights, among others. Values of JUDGEMENT are used in Reckless' observation-mobilization song "Nzira yeshanduko" ("The road of change") to construct the opposition as a united and determined party. This is an appropriation of the GNS's bones, sacrifice and heroism motif, i.e., the identity of *kushinga* discussed in 5.3.1.1 above. The following ideational meanings, *taiifamba muminzwa nemasoso* (we walked through thorns and thorny creepers) (line 5); *takaiifamba neusiku* (we walked through this road [even] during the night) (line 4); *Biti vachimusunga* (while they arrested Biti) (line 6); *Chamisa vachimurova* (while they beat Chamisa) (line 7); *mvura yainaya* (while it was raining) (line 8) and *vana vakapondwa tichingofamba* (children were murdered but we continued walking) (line 9) – evoke JUDGEMENT's *social esteem (tenacity)*.

Title of song: "Nzira yeshanduko"

Song genre: Observation-mobilization

RM a: Expressing the difficulty of the struggle

RM b: Expressing the encouragement of resoluteness

RM c: Stating the specificities of determination demonstrated

1	L: <i>Nzira yeshanduko takaiifamba hatichaneta</i> R: <i>Takaiifamba, takaiifamba veduwee takaiifamba</i> L: <i>Nzira yeshanduko takaiifamba hatichamira</i> ----- L: <i>Namhamha Khupe takaiifamba neusiku</i>	We have walked the road for change, we never tire a We walked it, it is a pity, we walked it we walked it a We have walked the road for change, we will not give up a ----- With Mother Khupe we walked even at night x2 a
5	L: <i>Muminzwa nemasoso tichingofamba nzira iye</i> ----- L: <i>NaTendai Biti vachimusunga vasikana</i> ----- L: <i>Nelly Chamisa vachimurova veduwee-e</i> ----- L: <i>Mvura yainaya tichingofamba vakomana</i> ----- L: <i>Vana vakapondwa tichingofamba hatichamira</i>	Thorough thorns and thorny creepers we kept going in that road x2 a ----- With Tendai Biti getting arrested, girls x2 c ----- With Nelly Chamisa being beaten x2 c ----- The rains fell while we continued walking boys x2 a ----- Children were murdered while we continued walking c
10	L: <i>Backward never, never, never taramba</i>	Backward never, never, never we will not retreat b

The verbal phrases such as *hatichaneta* (we never tire) (line 1); *tichingofamba* (walking without stopping) (line 5); *hatichamira* (we will not give up) (line 3); *taramba* (we will not accept [i.e., retreat]) (line 10) and through the slogan, *Backward never, never, never taramba*

(line 10) again emphasize resolve. The repetition of the verb phrase *takaifamba* (we walked it) three times in line 2 and its variants in other lines and the adverb “never” in the above slogan does not only express the high level of determination. It is an appropriation of the positive Zanu-PF self-identity of *kushinga*. The slogan is a carnivalesque imitation of Mugabe’s never-ever-modified anti-British and anti-opposition language, such as “never ever will Zimbabwe become a colony again!” Parodying Mugabe reduces state discourses to laughter. In “Team hombe” *chimurenga* grand narrative’s positive values of *social esteem* like *kusunungura nyika* (liberating the country) are incorporated. This is intended to subvert Zanu-PF’s source of legitimation, the *chimurenga* war, and thus weaken its campaign strength that has propped up its hegemony since independence. In *Tiriparwendo*’s “Track 5” the line *kusvika tatora nyika yedu* (until we win our country) again uses a *chimurenga* grand narrative rhetoric of determination and endurance plagiarised for a similar effect.

### 5.6.3 The MDC and the identity of economic recovery

In Reckless’ praise-argumentation song “Chikara cheZanu” (“Zanu’s [feared] monster”), commitment to (national) progress is one element identifying Tsvangirai and his MDC section in the GNU. They are credited with the economic recovery that has taken place since the creation of the inclusive government. *Zvipatara zvorapa* (now hospitals are functioning) (line 1); *zvikoro zvazarurwa* (schools have re-opened) (line 2) and *zvitiroka zvazarurwa* (shops and supermarkets have re-opened) (line 5) invoke values of *social esteem* which convey the opposition’s capacity to turn around the economy. These JUDGEMENTS counter GNS’s negative constructions that efface opposition presence in the in GNU as discussed in 5.3. The verb phrase *makazvionera* (you saw [it] by yourselves) (line 3) motivates by marshaling empirical evidence to validate the view that it is the MDC that is behind Zimbabwe’s recent economic recovery. The line *Chinja ine zambuko* (*Chinja* has the passage [i.e. has the solutions]) (line 4) conveys progress, i.e., the MDC has demonstrated beyond doubt its capacity to change things for the better. Therefore, it is deployed to appreciate the positive impact.

1	L: <i>Zvipatara zvorapa</i>	Hospitals have reopened
	-----	
	L: <i>Zvikoro zvazarurwa</i>	Schools are now reopened
	-----	
	L: <i>Makazvionera</i>	You saw the new reality for yourselves
	-----	
	L: <i>Chinja ine zambuko</i>	<i>Chinja</i> has the solutions
	-----	
5	L: <i>Zvitiroka zvazarurwa</i>	Shops have reopened
	-----	

The economic process is attributed to MDC leadership. Unlike the grand narrative “Team” which does not mention MDC leaders in the GNU, in his exemplum song “Zvatenderana povho” (“What the masses have agreed”) Reckless uses implicit values of JUDGEMENT to make the MDC leadership in the GNU visible. The lines *Tsvangirai achaitungamirira ega Zimbabwe* (Tsvangirai will lead Zimbabwe alone) (line 1) and *Mhamha Khupe vachamubatsira nemazano* (Mother Khupe will assist him with advice) (line 4) constitute implicit values of *social esteem* elevating the duo of Tsvangirai and his deputy Thokozani Khupe in the government of national unity, and identifying them with the visible economic recovery. Indeed the economic recovery has been notable with Zimbabwe’s life expectancy, by 2012, having increased to 50 years for men and 47 for women from 37 years during the height of the crisis in the period 2006-2008. The increased longevity has been attributed to improved nutrition and health delivery system particularly “increased access to HIV and Aids therapy” (Yikoniko, 2012).<sup>42</sup> Meanwhile by use of parodic humour Zanu-PF’s triumvirate of Mugabe, Mujuru and Nkomo is subjected to mockery. The parodic humour is unleashed through the cannibalisation of the lyrics of the grand narrative song, “Team” (which effaces MDC leadership in the GNU, see 5.3) and those of Paul Mpopu’s 90s hit song, “Murambinda”.<sup>43</sup>

Title of song: “Zvatenderana povho”

Song genre: Exemplum

RM a: Asserting Tsvangirai’s right to rule

RM b: Validating Tsvangirai’s right to rule

RM c: Specifying the nature of the validation

RM d: Parodying ZANU-PF executive power

1	L: <i>Tsvangirai achaitungamirira ega Zimbabwe</i> R: <i>Ndizvo zvatenderana povho</i> <i>vachazvisimbisa pavhoti</i>	Tsvangirai will lead Zimbabwe alone <b>a</b> That is what the masses have agreed, <b>b</b> they will confirm that when they vote <b>c</b>
-----		
	L: <i>Mhamha Khupe vachamubatsira nemazano</i>	Mother Khupe will assist him with advice <b>a</b>
-----		
5	L: <i>Timu ndikusetere timu</i> R: <i>He-e ndikusetere timu</i>	Team, I will set a team against you <b>d</b> He-e, I will set a team against you <b>d</b>
-----		
	L: <i>Pekutanga tarira panaaniko?</i> R: <i>Hee pana Baba Mugabe</i> L: <i>Pechituu tarira pana aniko?</i> R: <i>Hee pana Mai Mujuru</i>	Look, who holds the first position? <b>d</b> Hee it is Father Mugabe <b>e</b> Look, who holds the second position? <b>d</b> Hee it is Mrs. Mujuru <b>e</b>
10	L: <i>Pechitatu tarira pana aniko?</i> R: <i>Hee pana VaNkomo</i> L: <i>Hee torai vakadaro</i>	Look, who holds the third position? <b>d</b> Hee there is Mr. Nkomo <b>d</b> Hee take them in that order <b>d</b>
-----		
	Chorus <i>Timu iyoyi tichaipa basa gore rino hunde</i>	Yes, this year will give a task to this team <b>d</b>

<sup>42</sup> See Shamiso Yikoniko, “Zimbabwe’s life expectancy up”, *The Sunday Mail*, 25 August 2012.

<sup>43</sup> Murambinda is the name of a growth point (a big rural business centre) in central eastern Zimbabwe from which the singer came. It also happens to be in Buhera district, Tsvangirai’s home area.

15	<i>VaMugabe vachandotungamirira madhong kwaZvimba</i>	Mr. Mugabe will herd donkeys in Zvimba <b>d</b>
	<i>Mai Mujuru vachandotungamirira makudo emugomo</i>	Mrs. Mujuru will lead baboons in the mountains <b>d</b>
	<i>John Nkomo uzakhokela madhong Emakandeni</i>	John Nkomo will lead donkeys in Emakandeni <b>d</b>

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Attitudinally parody is an evaluative technique of negative JUDGEMENT. Lines 7 – 17 were taken verbatim from the GNS “Team” (see 5.3 and appendix), save for a minor change in 13 where the verb phrases *tongai makadaro* (rule [alone] in that way) and *mirai makadaro* (stand that way) (which validates Mugabe and his deputies’ position of leadership) were both replaced by *torai vakadaro* (take them in that order). Now used in a different (opposition) counter context, the new verb phrase acts to delegitimize their positions of power and in tandem assign the Zanu-PF triumvirate new but derogatory and demeaning positions. *VaMugabe vachandotungamirira madhong kwaZvimba* (Mr. Mugabe will lead donkeys in Zvimba<sup>44</sup>) (line 15); *Mai Mujuru vachandotungamirira makudo emugomo* (Mrs. Mujuru will lead baboons in the mountains) (line 16) while *John Nkomo uzakhokela madhong Emakandeni*<sup>45</sup> (John Nkomo will lead donkeys in Emakandeni) (line 17) encode negative JUDGEMENT (*social esteem*). The fact that they are assigned such humiliating roles, specifically in the peripheries of the political power, is geared to illustrate their supposed irrelevance to the management of the national economy.

Similar to medieval carnival, Reckless appropriates *chihwerure* – a Shona folk tradition of carnivalesque discourse that uses humour, satire and irony in speech, song and drama to expose individuals’ and groups’ vices across the social spectrum. Its *social sanction* came from Shona society’s concept of *unhu* (good moral behaviour). *Unhu* is the normative behaviour expected from groups and individuals in order to interact harmoniously with others in the community. It is in that sense a parameter for either positive or negative evaluation of human actions. Thus *chihwerure* (carnivalistic) mockery is marshaled to debase Zanu-PF hegemony. The very apex of state authority in the form of the (powerful) presidium comprising Mugabe, Mujuru and Nkomo is assigned new, laughable roles of herders of donkeys and baboons. As a negative value of *social esteem* this has the effect of reducing their reputation in the public sphere. The fact that the song strips the three of their ranks of power and assigns them new demeaning and laughable responsibilities, illustrates how

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<sup>44</sup> Zvimba is Mugabe’s home district.

<sup>45</sup> It is a suburb in Bulawayo, Matebeleland’s capital. Nkomo comes from Matebeleland and represents the Ndebeles in the Zanu-PF party.

carnival enables the ordinary to celebrate “temporary liberation from the prevailing truth and from the established order” (Bakhtin, 1984: 10).<sup>46</sup>

In concluding this section, I argue that through their ability to construct self-identities of positive evaluation, the opposition fights political Othering. The monology of state discourses is countered and debased. It has “succeeded in conferring upon” itself “a positive autonomous identity”, meanwhile deconstructing and “devaluing their own out-group” (Staszak, 2008: 2) and in the process vigorously asserting its legitimacy and readiness to govern the country.

## 5.7 CONCLUSION

The chapter has comparatively explored the ways in which the construction of political identities and their implications on national identity imaginings in SSS and GNS constitute an evaluation of political behaviour. As an evaluative mechanism, both clusters of songs construct positive (collective) identities for the political parties they are produced to support and negative ones for the party they denounce. I argued that while ATTITUDE’s semantic domain of JUDGEMENT dominates the songs’ evaluations, values of APPRECIATION and AFFECT are to some extent also brought into the assessment. Besides, as mechanisms for evaluating political behaviour, each of the two sets of identities is constructed from a distinct system of institutionalized values – (universal) democratic values for the opposition and nationalist values for Zanu-PF. However, in the opposition’s goal of debasing state power, SSS also appropriate nationalist emancipatory values in their evaluation of Zanu-PF political behaviour.

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<sup>46</sup> However, although songs do enable pro-opposition artists to challenge authority through carnival, it is not always a safe thing to do. It is a criminal act to debase the person and authority of the president and his deputies. Section 33 of the Criminal Law (Codification and Reform) Act, empowers the police to arrest anyone who insults the president and undermines his office in any way. As I stated in chapter three, several artists were arrested for having composed songs deemed to ridicule the president and Reckless is one of them. Jokes about Mugabe can “attract a standard one-year jail term” (Ndlovu, 2012: 27).

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **THE EVALUATION OF ORDINARY LIFE THROUGH SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS IDENTITIES IN SOL**

#### **6.1 INTRODUCTION**

In this chapter I deviate from the overtly dialectical and contrapuntal SSS and GNS but remaining within the Zimbabwean song post-2000 taleworld to focus on the third cluster of songs, those explicitly articulating a social and religious commentary. Although examining two sets of songs with different orientations (religious and social), I aim to reach a single conclusion since both share the common feature of pursuing the same aesthetic convention – pre-occupation with ordinary life. Unlike the GNS and SSS clusters which privilege the spectacle (the political) to the extent of effacing the ordinary, songs about ordinary life (SOL) focus explicitly on the minute details of the lives of ordinary people as they deal with a mosaic of challenges of everyday life as individuals, families and groups within the broad range of human relationships and society at large. In most cases their evaluation of the political is not inscribed as the theme of tellership, although sometimes it is overtly embodied. In terms of the chapter's theoretical framework, I complement ATTITUDE's tools of evaluations (semantic variables of AFFECT, JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION), with Ndebele's (2006, 1991) theory of *the rediscovery of the ordinary* which theorizes on the (literary) representation of ordinary life. My intention is to demonstrate how, despite GNS and SSS' seeming domination of the post-2000 Zimbabwean (musical) taleworld, due to their heightened thematization of the political through their construction of social and religious identities, SOL songs evaluate the consciousness of ordinary life in ways more subtle and penetrative than those in GNS and SSS. I therefore contend that the representation of these identities constitutes a more realistic evaluation of human behaviour and fills the lacuna that scholars have generally ignored in Zimbabwean popular music's narrativization of post-2000 Zimbabwe.

#### **6.2 NJABULO NDEBELE'S *THE REDISCOVERY OF THE ORDINARY THEORY***

Having introduced Ndebele's literary theory of the *rediscovery of the ordinary* in chapters one and three, in this section I further demonstrate how the theory can be utilized to conceptualize identities constructed in SOL and also further justify the existence of SOL as one of the three main categories of post-2000 songs' taleworld. As I stated in chapter three, in his 1991 critical

essay, “Rediscovery of the Ordinary: Some New Writings in South Africa”, Ndebele makes an aesthetic distinction between the works of South African black writers concerned with “spectacular representation” and those who broke “with this tradition of the spectacle” (Ndebele, 2006: 42) to usher a new aesthetic convention of (an explicitly apolitical) literature concerned with the lives of ordinary people. He sees the former aesthetic canon as discernible in generally pre-1976 black writings.<sup>1</sup> The literature of this period, particularly from the 1950s after the shift from the fantasy characterizing the pre-1950s literature to political protest, is conceptualized as privileging the explicit portrayal of apartheid hegemony, its negative impact on black life and blacks’ response to it.<sup>2</sup> It is the literature of spectacle punctuated by high drama and “demonstrative form”, a representation seen as having been prompted by “visible symbols” of the apartheid system (Ndebele, 2006: 31). The exhibitionistic execution of apartheid hegemony and its visible (and even imaginary) presence constantly pre-occupied the imagination of the black writer, necessitating the rise of a distinct black literary canon of narratives of spectacular representation. Its identifiable aesthetic features are outlined as follows:

... it documents; it indicts implicitly; it is demonstrative, preferring exteriority to interiority; it keeps the larger issues of society in our minds, obliterating the details; it provokes identification through recognition and feeling rather than through observation and analytical thought; it calls for emotion rather than conviction; it establishes a vast sense of presence without offering intimate knowledge; it confirms without necessarily offering a challenge (Ndebele, 2006: 41).

I argue that a retrospective gaze into the analysis of the engagement of SSS and GNS in their dialogic construction of history and land meanings and political identities in chapters four and five clearly confirms the obsession with spectacular representation, whose main ingredients Ndebele outlines above. Generally as the two chapters have shown, everything in these songs, to quote Ndebele’s (2006: 38) phrase, “points to spectacle”. Whereas singers of the GNS dramatize the state-conceptualized monologic *chimurenga* narrative and its themes of high tellability such as the land issue, Zanu-PF legitimation and heightened negation of the

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<sup>1</sup> Ndebele divides this period’s literature of spectacle into two – the largely explicitly apolitical pre-1950s and detective and fantastic writings and the 1950s-1976 literature of political spectacle. Prior to the 1950s the artistic tendency, for instance in the works of R.R.R. Dhlomo, show the dramatization of the conditions of mine life, the spectacular squalor of black townships and “the sophisticated domestic life of young African couples” (Ndebele, 2006: 33). In journalism, in the *Drum Magazine* for example, spectacular representation took the form of fantasy with stories characterized by a “pacey style, suspenseful plots with unexpected ending” showing the “growth of sophisticated urban working and petty-bourgeois classes” (Ndebele, 2006: 33). Generally the spectacle in the literature of this period was apolitical with writers concerned with entertaining readers with good stories.

<sup>2</sup> Most writers of the period such as Alex La Guma, Cain Themba, James Matthews, Ezekiel Mphahlele and Webster Makaza, among others are associated with this tradition.

opposition, SSS singers (in a counter fashion) heighten the drama of Zimbabwe's political polarity by offering alternative meanings to those of the state.<sup>3</sup>

However, it is the aesthetic conventions of literature of the ordinary that this section is largely concerned with (as a step to theorizing the SOL) which, however, cannot be effectively done without a brief explanation of what constitutes the literature of dramatic representation. As will be seen, the two representations are generally antithetical in their aesthetic orientation. A comparison of SOL with SSS and GNS shows that they more or less constitute an aesthetic binary of spectacle-ordinary whereby each can only be best conceptualized in relation to the other.<sup>4</sup> Ndebele sees the latter artistic trend emerging in the aftermath of the 1976 Soweto uprising as, unlike its predecessor, characterized by interiority rather than exteriority; "subtlety of thought and feeling"; "sobering power of contemplation of close analysis, and the mature acceptance of failure, weakness, and limitations" (Ndebele, 2006: 42). Again unlike in the earlier trend, the literature does not merely document, but proceeds "to offering methods for its redemptive transformation" and is "dispassionately analytical" in its relation to reality. It is a canon that goes "beyond the spectacle in order to reveal the necessary knowledge of actual reality so that we can purposefully deal with it" (Ndebele, 2006: 45). Because it consists of narratives "designed to deliberately break down the barriers of the obvious in order to reveal new possibilities of understanding and action", it is literature that has "rediscovered the ordinary" (Ndebele, 2006: 46). Rather than the spectacle of public life, it is concerned with the private life of individuals in their tapestry of human relations and the attendant challenges emanating from those encounters. The existence of such a literary canon points to the important fact that,

even under the most oppressive of conditions, people are always trying to and struggling to maintain a semblance of normal social order. They will attempt to apply tradition and custom to manage their day to day family problems: they will resort to socially acquired behaviour patterns to eke out a means of subsistence. They apply systems of values that they know. Often those values will undergo changes under certain pressing conditions. The transformation of those values constitutes the essential drama in the lives of the ordinary people (Ndebele, 2006: 48-49).

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<sup>3</sup> The vocabulary of the Zimbabwean post-2000 spectacle which populate the songs' lyrics such as Third Chimurenga, *hondo yeminda* (the struggle for land), *rambai makashinga* (remain resolute), *Gushungo*, *masangishenzi* (sanctions), *mutengesesi* (sellout) among others in GNS and *chinja* (change), *chinja maitiro* (change the way you behave), *machinja* (the changers), *mazanu* (the zanus), *murambatsvina*, tsunami, *uori* (corruption), *inter alia*, in SVS are one way to identify the aesthetic tradition of the spectacle in the two clusters of songs.

<sup>4</sup> As the analysis in chapters three, four and five demonstrate, SSS and GNS also form a binary in their tradition of spectacle but in this case the binary is defined more in terms of authorial stance than aesthetic orientation.

However, I argue that whereas the *rediscovery of the ordinary* theory can be, to a greater extent, employed to explain the concerns dominating tellability in post-2000 Zimbabwean SOL, it is imperative to make some revisions to the theory in order to cater for some representations in SOL that seem to remain outside the conceptual boundaries of the theory. Firstly, some religious SOL (gospel) follow dramatic representation in the form of especially the Second Advent, a highly thematized event in the Christian grand narrative. However, the spectacle is neither a historical nor current political event but an imagined futuristic spiritual-political drama. Both religious and social SOL sometimes adopt the convention of dramatic representation when presenting memorable individual or group achievements such as a wedding or individuals' excessive breach of social norms in ways that confounds society or seen as bizarre, for instance gruesome murder; child molestation; witchcraft activities and so on. Secondly, as I pointed out earlier about the presence of the political also in SOL, I should emphasize that the foregrounding or backgrounding of the spectacle could be a matter of a critic's (angle of) textual interpretation. Although obsession with the political may not be the singer/author's intention, in the public sphere, which is conceptually turbulent and diverse in terms of meaning-making, a seemingly apolitical representation can be spectacularly allegorized and metaphoricalized. This happened with several social SOL in post-2000 Zimbabwe such as Mtukudzi's "Wasakara" ("You are now old") which was publicly interpreted to mean that it was Mugabe who was being referred to as old and should therefore relinquish power.<sup>5</sup> As pointed out in chapter five, another example is Steve Makoni's "Handiende" ("I will not go"), a woman's declaration that she will not accept divorce, but stay put in the marriage for the sake of her children. The ordinary theme of divorce was politically redramatized to satirize Mugabe's relentless hold on power thus turning the representation into a spectacle. However, in spite of these amendments, the existence of SOL as a category with its own defining features still stands because SOL's gravitation towards prioritizing ordinary life far exceeds their inclination towards the (political) spectacle. Thirdly, as a way of clarification rather than revision of Ndebele's theory, in SOL there is no

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<sup>5</sup> Incidentally, Paul Mpfu released a hit in the mid 1990s titled "Bvuma kuchembera" ("Accept that you are old"), criticizing old workers who do not want to retire and make way for the promotion or employment of younger employees. The song was not spectacularized at all; its ordinary trend remained the dominant representation. It is important to point out that through intertextualization, for instance in SSS, some songs of the ordinary aesthetic are now turned to dramatic representation. I therefore postulate that if Mtutudzi's "Wachembera" was released prior to 2000 before the MDC and its ideology of *chinja* ([regime] change), it may not have been politicized then. However, like other ordinary songs it could have been politicized in the post-2000 period through intertextualization. Why, for instance, was Josphat Somanje's 2008 hit, "Handibvume" ("I will not accept") not politicized to ridicule Mugabe for not accepting defeat in the election held in the same year when Steve Makoni's "Handiende" ("I will not go") produced in 1994 was appropriated in the public sphere to criticise Mugabe's tenacious hold on power?

such phenomenon as the “rediscovery” of the aesthetic (of the ordinary) trend (as in South African black fiction) as such, but this has been the characteristic feature of SOL (and also literature in the vernacular<sup>6</sup>) even during the oppressive Rhodesian times and the first two decades of independence. Therefore, contrary to the SSS and GNS, aesthetically these are songs that have throughout history maintained their tradition of circumventing the monotony and monology of political propaganda. In them, for instance, we come to terms with individuals’ attempts to resolve impediments to the most cherished dreams of their lives – winning the love of their partners by resorting to trickery, love potions or even (domestic) violence; becoming *makorokoza* (gold-panners); cross-border traders and border jumpers in an endeavor to make their families survive; struggling to transform their moral behaviour as religious and social ethics demand; to rein in negative feelings such as jealousy, covetousness, greed, etc. We are given access to the interiority of an individual’s mind to understand the anguish, contradictions and joys therein; to see for ourselves the labyrinth of human life and the ordinary’s attempts to weave through its paths in search of what life really means to the individual concerned. The songs, as will be seen, do not contain the contested national hero(in)es proclaimed by the restrictive state criteria as I discussed in chapter four, but, to quote Ndebele (2006: 49), “the unproclaimed heroism of the ordinary person”. It is largely for their general characteristic of shying away from the spectacle (at least explicitly) that most academics have neglected them and instead focused on songs of explicit political content. For instance, as I pointed out in chapter one, it is the pre-occupation of Chikowero, (2011); Manase (2010); Pfukwa (2008); Musiyiwa (2008), Thram (2006); Mapuranga & Chitando (2006); Vambe (2004) and Kwaramba (1997). However, as SOL demonstrate, this has been done at the expense of the plebeian’s capacities for and innovativeness in dealing with the national crisis by finding alternative means of survival in the wake of massive unemployment, food shortages, disease and *Murambatsvina*, among others. Thus as Ndebele (2006: 51) argues: “The habit of looking at the spectacle has forced us to gloss over the nooks and crannies” of life.

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<sup>6</sup> It can, for instance, be argued that the first works in Ndebele and Shona, Ndabaningi Sithole’s *Umvukela waMaNdebele (The Ndebele Uprising)* (1956) and Solomon Mutsware’s *Feso* (1956) followed the trend of the spectacle. However, after that the trend immediately fizzled out with works in especially the 1960s and 1970s closely foregrounding issues on plebeian life. This has been attributed to the censorship role of the Rhodesian Literature Bureau which imposed an apolitical criterion on how fiction in indigenous languages should be written (see E.M. Chiwome, *A Social History of Shona Literature* [2002] and F. Veit-Wild, *Teachers, Preachers, Non-Believers: A Social History of Zimbabwean* [1992]).

Whereas the *rediscovery of the ordinary* aesthetic is indeed SOL's leitmotif, I do not intend to argue that *in toto* SOL occlude the political. Instead, as I earlier indicated, whenever the political appears as the singer's intention it is usually expressed through (veiled) tropes. The African song's ability for latent commentary, i.e., conveying a meaning which is not the literal meaning of a song's lyrics, has been noted by many scholars. The African idiom often offers artists the opportunity to create "witty takes on aspects of contemporary society and politics" (Okpewho, 2009: ix). In Shona this stylistic feature is called *chibhende*, i.e., obscure allusion, double or layered meaning or *murwanapasi* (literally 'fighting from underground'). The audience, familiar with the context in which the song is sung can deduce its symbolic meaning. Besides, the direct and indirect connection between popular music and the political and socio-economic situation in a country in Africa cannot be over-emphasized. Several scholars of African popular music (e.g. Turino, 2000, 2009; Ogude & Nyairo, 2003; Barber, 1987) stress the phenomenon in which "popular music in Africa has become a major site for thinking through politics" (Allen, 2004: 1). With particular reference to Zimbabwe, the increasing popularity of gospel music in post-2000 can be attributed to the national crisis. However, I re-emphasize that the criticism of politicians is oblique and again not against the state alone but the nation's entire body politic, blamed for causing suffering. The transcendental imagination that pre-occupies gospel singers is an indication of the attempt to escape from the seemingly unresolvable national crisis by imagining a utopian, future divine dispensation. *Munhu atadza* (A human being has failed [to resolve the crisis]), is now a popular (Christian-oriented) saying in the Zimbabwean public sphere since 2000. In the rejected constituted of 2000, the Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe (EFZ) and other Christian organizations had wanted Zimbabwe to be declared a Christian nation (Chitando, 2005: 229). Social songs' focus on social problems (family feuds, divorce, death, domestic violence, etc.) can also be viewed a latent negative JUDGEMENT on the powers that be. Thus in the analysis of the construction of the said social and religious identities, I will always animate where the construction also appears as a veiled negative evaluation of the state, whether with authorial intent or not.

### **6.3 RELIGIOUS IDENTITIES**

My intention in this section is to show that religious identities are a key strategy exploited by the ordinary to struggle to confront the challenges bedeviling their lives in pursuit of the overall goal of meaningful existence. Some of the challenges are of course those engendered by the post-2000 (national) crisis. Like political identities, as Werbner (2010: 233) states,

religious identity ... is a discourse of boundaries, relatedness and otherness, on the one hand, and encompassment and inclusiveness, on the other – and of the powerful forces that are perceived to challenge, contest and preserve these distinctions and unities.

In addition to that, due to sectarian and other divisions within the same religious movement, there is also a multiplicity of intra-faith identities. For the purposes of this section, I will limit my analysis to those religious identities constructed from a Christian perspective in songs categorized as (Zimbabwean) gospel. The songs come from singers belonging to a variety of religious organizations, ranging from traditional denominations, through Pentecostal to *vapositori* groups' a cappella. As I earlier argued, the songs are largely apolitical. Generally they privilege Christian approved behaviour such as "purity, personal security, work and family responsibility, along with strong condemnation of adultery, alcohol drinking and wasteful spendings" (Werbner, 2010: 246) and being prayerful. These are seen as ingredients of the *mutendi* (identity), a preparatory state for the eternal and God-bestowed *mutsvene* (the righteous) identity. It is largely for this reason why gospel music appeals to the ordinary. I focus on three (religious) identities; the Christological, *mutendi* (believer) and *mutadzi* (sinner) identities as these are the dominant ones in the songs' and their evaluative concerns. Although the songs do indeed represent sectarian identities within the Zimbabwean Christian movement, generally they are all concerned with the construction of the central Christian identities I have just cited. Besides, generally they do not reflect (at least open) anti-sectarianism or a singer of a particular church having to compose a song to attack another religious organization. As one of SOL's sub-clusters, gospel music has become one of the most popular musical genres in post-2000 Zimbabwe,<sup>7</sup> thus the way it narrativizes the period cannot be ignored. It is important to point out that unlike in GNS and SVS the religious identities in SOL are more individually focused in spite of the fact that a person is a member of a religious movement or organization. I explain this against the view that contrary to political organizations in which the assumption of power by a political party is a shared triumph among its members, in a religious movement the final victory is always believed to be personally achieved. A believer, so it is believed, will be judged in his/her individual capacity by God to determine his/her moral worth to enter heaven or be condemned to hell, regardless of the fact that s/he was a member of a church or religious movement whose collective identity s/he embodied.

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<sup>7</sup> Arguably it is second in terms of popularity among the ordinary people with the *sungura* genre dominating preference.

The two Christological identities I analyze consist of the biblically derived and/or singer constructed epithets of God and Jesus Christ which an individual strives to relate to. These are God/Christ as *mufudzi/muchengeti* (shepherd/keeper) and *mucheki* (the reaper) also the same as the *kuguma* (end time) identity. These identities are realized mainly through positive values of JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION, for God is believed to be good and nothing can be blamed on him. Believer-centred identities include a believer as *chisikwa chitsva* (new creation) and *murambiwa* (the rejected, persecuted one [just like Christ]). The *mutadzi* identity is the out-group of the *mutendi* identity and constitutes othering. It is constructed for the non-Christian, negatively evaluated as immersed in *mabasa enyika* (worldly behaviour), meaning actions which offend God. Negative JUDGEMENT dominates the construction of the *mutadzi* identity because of his/her presumed immoral behaviour. However, both resources for positive and negative AFFECT are also utilized in this identity because it is associated with soul-searching as the presumed sinner looks into his/her life for solutions. As Ndebele (2006) emphasizes about the preference for the individual (rather than the collective) and interiority (rather than exteriority) of the aesthetic of the *rediscovery of the ordinary*, I will therefore illustrate that in contrast to GNS and SSS, in the construction of the *mutendi* and *mutadzi* identities, individual rather than collective-centredness dominates. In a sense, this makes many religious SOL (and also social SOL as well, see 6.4) akin to autobiographical narratives one employs to tell his/her challenges how s/he dealt with them. In that sense the songs can be conceptualized “as a privileged mode for self-construction and a unique point of entry into trans-situational features of the self and identity as those emerge in a person’s (ongoing) life story” (Georgakopoulou, 2007: 15; see also Lucius-Hoene & Deppermann, 2000). They follow the narrative structure of a typical Labovian narrative, which is staged into an Orientation, Complicating Event, Evaluation, Resolution and Coda. The stages comprising the Complicating Event and Resolution are obligatory (Martin & Rose, 2008: 56). The songs take both forms of the Labovian narrative, *the life story* and *the short-range narrative*. The former usually “takes the form of a reflexive and representative account of self that amounts to more or less coherent autobiography” and the latter is “an account of a certain landmark or key-event or experience that is considered to be pivotal in the formation of” of a person’s “sense of self (e.g. marriage, pregnancy, divorce, etc.)” (Georgakopoulou, 2007: 31). In contrast to GNS and SVS which privilege the collective voice, as will be illustrated, in their formulation of the identities under study (religious) SOL usually privilege the individual voice. I contend that this is important in construing how an individual understands the challenges of his/her life rather than having them generalized with those of others in the collective voice of the SSS

and GNS. Ordinary representation thus empowers an individual with tellership and the right to choose which areas of his/her life requires high tellability. However, I also argue that in view of the post-2000 national crisis these religious identities constitute negative invoked JUDGEMENT against not only the state but the MDC-Zanu-PF body politic and its politics of polarity.

### 6.3.1 The *mufudzi/muchengeti* (shepherd/keeper) identity

This identity constructs God as the protector of the victimized, abused, reviled, rejected and ostracized ordinary people. Explicitly it is constructed in Carol Mujokoro-Chivenga's persuasion song, "Chivai mufudzi" ("Be the shepherd") some of whose lyrics are drawn from Palms 23: "The Lord is my shepherd and I shall not want". In the song a new believer implores God/Christ to be his/her shepherd now that s/he has repented. As *muchengeti*, the identity is discursively constructed in Mai Charamba's didactic-argumentation song "Chombo" ("Weapon") through the line *Mwari wedenga vanochengeta* (The God of heaven looks after [someone]) (line 17). As epithets the nouns *muchengeti* and *mufudzi* both form positive values of JUDGEMENT's *social sanction (propriety)* and *esteem (capacity)* variables. He is praised as *muchengeti* or *mufudzi* because the believer has faith in his *capacity* to look after him/her. Being looked after is seen as God's mercy on the believer; hence God is sympathetic, which the believer finds ethical. Charamba's didactic song "Mufudzi akanaka" ("A good shepherd") makes an explicit positive JUDGEMENT in its title through the adjectival phrase *akanaka* (a good one). I contend that as an evaluative strategy, the *mufudzi* identity within the milieu of the post-2000 socio-political predicament can also be taken as an invoked negative JUDGEMENT against the state which, constitutionally is bound to be a *mufudzi* (shepherd) of its citizens. However, it instead abandoned its role, ignoring starving, thirsty, sick and jobless citizens with many scattering into the diaspora. I use the song "Chombo" to analyze the construction of this identity.

Title of song: "Chombo"

Song genre: Didactic-argumentation

RM a: Expressing the soloist's belief in God's protection

RM b: Expressing her lack fear from evil forces

RM c: Motivating the argument that God protects

1	L: <i>Aa yeye naMwari ndakakwana</i> ----- L: <i>Chikwambo chiiko?</i> R: <i>Chinhuwo zvacho chinozvitamburira</i> ----- L: <i>Chidhoma chiiko?</i> R: <i>Chinhuwo zvacho chinozvitamburira</i> L: <i>Muroyi chiiko?</i> -----	Aa yeye with God I am secure <b>a</b>  What really is a goblin? <b>b</b> It is a mere creature that is suffering <b>b</b>  What really is a ghost? <b>b</b> It is a mere something that is suffering <b>b</b> Who really is a witch? <b>b</b>
5		

	R: <i>Munhuwo zvake ane mweya yerima</i>	S/he is a mere person troubled by the spirits of darkness <b>b</b>
	L: <i>Hakuna</i>	There is no
10	R: <i>Hakuna chombo, chingagadzirwe, chingabudirire</i> <i>Chingaparadze mutendi, mutendi waJehovha</i>	There is no weapon, that can be made, that can succeed <b>a</b> That can destroy a believer, a believer of Jehova <b>a x2</b>
	-----	
	L: <i>Gore riye rakaberekwa Moses muEgypt</i> <i>Vanakomana vose vakaurawa</i>	That year when Moses was born in Egypt <b>c</b> All sons were killed <b>c</b>
	-----	
15	L: <i>Nguva iye yakaberekwa</i> <i>Ishe Jesu muBethlehem</i> <i>Vakomana vose vakaurayiwa</i>	That time when Lord Jesus was born in Bethlehem <b>c</b> All sons were killed <b>c</b>
	-----	
	<i>Vakomana vaiyedza kuparadza Josefa</i> <i>Asi Mwari vekudenga vakachengeta</i>	The boys (i.e., his brothers) were trying to destroy Joseph <b>c</b> But the God of heaven protected him <b>c x 2</b>
	-----	
	<i>Aa yeye ndogotyeko?</i>	Aa yeye why should I be afraid? <b>a</b>

The song's thesis is that a believer is assured of God's protection from any danger because the God of heaven will look after him/her – *Hakuna chombo ... chingaparadze mutendi ... waJehova* (There is no weapon ... that can destroy a believer ...in Jehova) (lines 9-10). Biblical instances in which God cared for some individuals, Moses (line 11), Joseph (line 16) and Jesus (14) in the face of life-threatening danger motivate the argument. The song's didacticism lies in that the listener is being advised not to fear *chikwambo* (goblin/*tokoloshi*) (line 2); *chidhoma* (ghost) (line 4) and *muroyi* (witch) (line 6) because God will always look after his *mutendi*. These nouns, constituting negative values of *social sanction (propriety)* come from Shona religion's notion of evil and thus show how Christianity and Shona religion converge in their moral consciousness. The rhetorical question, *Aa yeye ndogotyeko?* (*Aa yeye* why should I be afraid?) (line 18) is an expression of positive AFFECT (*security*). The singer feels that even if the nation fears the current problems, she personally has no fear because with God as her *chombo* (weapon) (metaphor for protection), she is secure; hence the confident declaration – *Aa yeye naMwari ndakakwana* (*Aa yeye* with God I am secure) (line 1). Conversely the song can be taken as an attack on the state for the crisis that is causing fear and despondency in the rest of the citizens.

The same argument is pursued in Fungisai's rupture song, "Jesu ouya" ("Jesus is coming"). Because a believer has an all-weather *muchengeti* s/he should not be bothered by society and its dynamism because as long as s/he has faith, God will ensure his/her survival. The singer is not concerned about the good or bad changes in society. She sees them as inconsequential because, on account of God's mercy, she would watch years just go by. The soloist's conviction is that what, instead, is important is the passage of time and God's ability to continue looking after her in the temporal progression. The verb phrase *chandinoziva* (what I know) (lines 6 & 9) articulates the conviction. The conviction is a mental pre-occupation and a personal feeling as realized through the line *Chandinoziva muhana mangu* (What I know in my mind) (line 9). The contrast in each of following three parallel lines expresses this idea –

*Zvinhu zviipe zvinake* (Even if things turn bad or good) (line 4); *Mvura iuye irege* (Even if it rains) (line 2); *Nzara iuye ichaenda* (Even if hunger comes, it will go [away]) (line 3) and *Vanhu vataure vanyarare* (People may talk but will become silent) (line 8).

Title of song: “Jesu ouya”

Song genre: (Religious) Rupture

RM a: Expressing the hope to see Jesus when he comes

RM b: Articulating the soloist’s belief in God’s protection regardless of changes in society

RM c: Expressing soloist’s conviction to enter eternal life

1	<i>Ouya baba</i>	When father comes <b>a</b>
	<i>Mvura iuye irege</i> <i>Nzara iuye ichaenda</i>	Even if rain comes or not <b>b</b> Even if hunger comes, it will go [away] <b>b</b>
5	<i>Zvinhu zviipe zvinake</i> <i>Hapana anoziva ramangwana</i> <i>Chandinoziva nenyasha dzake</i> <i>Gore rikapera kunouya rimwe</i>	Even when things are bad, when they are good <b>b</b> No one knows about what tomorrow has in store <b>b</b> What I know [is that] through his grace <b>b</b> When a year passes another one comes <b>b x2</b>
	<i>Chorus</i> <i>Vanhu vataure vanyarare</i>	People may talk and then become silent <b>c</b>
	<i>Chandinoziva muhana mangu</i>	What I know in my heart <b>c</b>

It can be observed that whereas in SSS, on the basis of state oppression the present and the future are painted as bleak, in religious SOL worrying about the affairs of nation’s future is pointless because, first, *Hapana anoziva ramangwana* (No one knows about what the future has in store) (line 5). Second, life still continues unabated - *Chandinoziva nenyasha dzake*, *Gore rikapera kunouya rimwe* (What I know is that through his grace, if a year ends another one will come) (lines 6-7). Thus for the ordinary the essence of life is not in terms of what its dynamism brings, but the fact that a person still manages to survive while time passes. Thus in her celebratory song “Nguva yekutenda” (“Time to thank”), Fungisai sings, *Gore rakapera iri tichingorarama* (That year ended and we still survived). From a *mutendi*’s side this ideational meaning constitutes implicit values of AFFECT (*happiness* and *security*); the soloist is happy to remain alive and thus feels secure in spite of the turbulence associated with the passage of time. In another celebratory song, “Pemberai gore rapera” (“Rejoice for the year has ended”) Fungisai expresses the same point through overt values of AFFECT (*happiness*). Typical of a celebratory song, the verb phrases, *pemberai* (rejoice) (line 5) and *farirai* (be happy for) (line 6) dominate the lyrics of the song, expressing the emotion of joy.

Song title: “Pemberai gore rapera”

Song genre: Celebratory

RM **a**: Expressing the hardships endured and overcome

RM **b**: Expressing celebratory mood

RM **c**: Expressing thanks to God for protecting the protagonist throughout the year

1	<i>Magubu neanoera, ndichishandira mhuri yangu</i>	I touched even sacred things, working for my family <b>a</b>
	<i>Bva nhasi zvauya, pemberai Gore riya rapera</i>	Now today things have come, celebrate <b>b</b> That year has ended <b>b</b>
5	<i>Pemberai, pemberai, kudenga kunashe</i>	Rejoice, rejoice, there is a lord in heaven <b>b</b>
	<i>Isu takayambuka mitunhu ine mago,</i>	We went through dangerous places in our journey, <b>a</b>
	<i>Farirai, farirai, kuna She</i>	Be happy, be happy, there is a lord [in heaven] <b>b</b>
	<i>Inga nhasi tiripano</i>	But today we are here <b>c</b>

Again, typical of a celebratory song, as I pointed out in chapter two, it makes a flashback by foregrounding the challenges that were endured and overcame (move **b**) in order to give legitimacy and justification to the celebration. However, rejoicing is always appropriate because of God’s grace as expressed in ...*kudenga kunashe* (... there is the Lord in heaven) (line 5), another positive evaluation of God. He enabled the soloist to overcome the difficulties associated with the year expressed metaphorically through the idiom *mitunhu ine mago* (a dangerous journey) in *Isu takayambuka mitunhu ine mago* (We went through dangerous places in our journey) (line 6) in order for her to focus on her personal struggle of *ndichishandira mhuri yangu* (working for my family) (line 2). *Inga nhasi tiripano!* (But today we are still here!) (line 8) with the interjective *inga* (but, i.e., expressing astonishment) is a response to and a negative evaluation of those (who explain the problems in the country in political terms) who argued that because of the crisis the soloist would not survive.

However, although in the construction of the *mufudzi* identity indeed the political is not exteriorized, typical with the *rediscovery of the ordinary* trend, its sub-terranean reference cannot be ignored. In “Jesu ouya” the statement *Vanhu vataure vanyarare* (People may talk and then become silent) sub-textually refers to the endless public debate about who is to blame for the national crisis. The debate still dominates the Zimbabwean public sphere with, as I discussed in chapter five, the opposition blaming Zanu-PF for destroying the economy through, *inter alia*, the seizure of white farms and corruption and ordinary life through *murambatsvina*, while the latter blames the opposition for the imposition of sanctions on the country. In “Pemberai gore rapera” there is also oblique reference to the post-2000 crisis. The expressions *mitunhu ine mago* (dangerous places/journeys); *masango anoera* (sacred forests

[i.e., they are therefore risky]); *zvanga zvisiri nyore* (it was not easy) and *kudobata zvinoruma* (even touching things that bite) are ideational resources expressing the hardships the soloist encountered. They are metaphors for the national predicament despite the authorial intention not being to foreground the crisis but celebrate her belief in God who allowed her to survive despite the hardships. Thus the songs can be said to have a double rhetorical purpose or evaluative stance – serving, first and foremost, the interests of the believer but also subtly chiding the state. It is this latent negative JUDGEMENT of the state that eludes Chikowero’s (2011: 312) largely literal interpretation of Zimbabwean gospel music when he argues that the music cultivates “a ‘depoliticizing patriotic theology’ amongst the Zimbabwean Christian community”. *Masango anoera* and *kudobata zvinoruma* can be taken to mean that people indulged in risky activities such as cross-border trading (through for instance border jumping) and *kukorokoza* (panning) for minerals (particularly in Chiadzwa and Marange when many were killed by security forces trying to mine diamonds). The increasing informalization of the economy meant that people could resort to anything to try and bring food on the table, ways euphemistically referred to as *kukiya-kiya*<sup>8</sup> (Raftopolous, 2010: 708).

Thus the state is being indirectly condemned through these ideational meanings (values of negative *social sanction* [*propriety*]), although to the singer they do not deserve tellability. Fungisai’s privileging of transcendental imagination (see also 6.3.4) and her persuasion to the public to ignore the political and the suffering it brought do capture a growing conviction among ordinary Zimbabweans that *munhu atadza* (a human being has failed) and *zvaakuda Mwari* (its only God who can resolve [the crisis]). The pithy statements acquired proverbial currency, regularly uttered by the ordinary to express their disillusionment with the politics of the country, but at the same time drawing hope elsewhere – (imagining) divine intervention. Several gospel songs contain the plea or are titled *Mwari pindirai* (God [please] intervene). For instance, it is the title of the Peace Gospel Singers’<sup>9</sup> and Vabati VaJehovha’s albums<sup>10</sup> and Fungisai’s 2008 hit “Pindirai Mwari” (“God intervene”). The heightened transcendental pre-occupation hence corroborates my premise that religious identities are being adopted by the ordinary to deal with the post-2000 crisis. However, the songs’ subjection of ordinary imagination to high tellability enables us, as Ndebele (2006: 51) argues, to see “the vitality of

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<sup>8</sup> The term constitutes slang language. *Kukiya* means ‘to fix something’ or in colloquial language ‘to beat someone’. The reduplicated verb *kukiya-kiya* means to do something without due attention to perfection or risk, thus in most cases failing to get the intended results but nevertheless enabling someone to keep his/her head above the water.

<sup>9</sup> See Art Correspondent, “New gospel group on the block”, *The Herald*, 15 August 2012.

the tension generated by the dialectic between the personal and the public". Of course scholars obsessed with the spectacle may argue that such an authorial stance disarms people's capacity to fight oppression (for example, see Chikowero, 2011), but the ordinary's resilience during times of national and other crises should not be ignored. Many of the ordinary in post-2000 demonstrated that they are survivalists. At the height of the crisis they chose to find alternative methods (of whatever kind) to survive rather than confronting the state and losing their lives in the process.<sup>11</sup>

### 6.3.2 *Mutendi* (believer) identity and transcendentalist imagination

Having analyzed the *mufudzi* identity in 6.4.1 immediately above, I proceed to assess the identity of the believer him/herself to see exactly the realities of his/her life and how they relate to the canon of the *rediscovery of the ordinary*. I specifically analyze the internal contradictions of a believer in maintaining the religious identity s/he has chosen in order to illustrate the analytical, philosophical and honesty of ordinary life representation in SOL. The noun, *mutendi* is a positive value of JUDGEMENT's *social sanction*. As an epithet, it assumes that the person is informed by Christian precepts. However, in spite of this positive evaluation and also being under the protection of *mufudzi*, *mutendi*'s life is not a bed of roses. It is punctuated with experiences of mixed feelings – joy, suffering, endurance and uncertainty. The negative experiences may sometimes be worse than those of *mutadzi* (see 6.3.3). Two aspects of this life – *mutendi* as an emancipatory identity and *mutendi* as the confused, schizophrenic identity and as someone uncertain of the future, will be discussed.

#### 6.3.2.1 *Mutendi* as an emancipatory identity

The identity of *mutendi* is constructed as liberating at the personal level. It is attained after a sobering introspection concerning one's problems and the faith that surrendering oneself to God will resolve the challenges (see also 6.3.3 on the *mutadzi* identity). It is for this reason that in Mujokoro-Chivenga's "Chisikwa chitsva" ("A new creation") a convert is described as such. S/he is now a born-again, to use a frequently used term in Christian communities. The term is a positive value of both *social sanction* and *social esteem* – his/her behaviour is seen

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<sup>10</sup> See Jairos Saunyama, "Vabati vaJehovah's 13<sup>th</sup> album", *Newsday*, 9 October 2012.

<sup>11</sup> In September 2012 the outgoing UN Development Programme country representative Ms Christine Umutoni commended Zimbabweans, particularly the youths, for their their resilience during the post-2000 crisis. She said that "If they [Zimbabweans] did not have that spirit of resilience there could have been a civil war in Zimbabwe". As a Rwandan herself, she knew how such conflicts like the one in Zimbabwe could lead to genocides like the one that took place in her country in 1994 (See Herald Reporter, "Zimbabweans resilient", *The Herald*, Monday 3 September, 2012).

as guided by Christian ethics (*social sanction*), while the name also earns him/her respect from the members of his/her fellowship (*social esteem*). The emancipation is two-pronged. The first is about overcoming the challenges of life whilst one is still alive. Unlike the first one which is transitory, the second one, eternal life, is the more desired and ultimate goal of every *mutendi* (see 6.3.4 about the *kuguma* identity). However, in spite of this emancipatory aspect, the fundamental identity transformation from being a sinner to a believer, it appears the new identity does not bring complete insulation from suffering. It has its own challenges. As I earlier asserted, the suffering that the believer was experiencing may remain or partly disappear while new forms of suffering also emerge. This is because his/her new identity has its own regime of values and dictates which regulate a *mutendi*'s behaviour in ways different from those when s/he was outside the community of fellow believers. His/her former amicable relations may turn into hostile relations while new relations may be difficult to maintain. Though sometimes presumed in the Christian perspective as purposeful, God can also abandon a believer. Charamba's tragic anecdote song, "Mwari mandisiya" ("God you have abandoned me") expresses this idea in its title and the rhetorical line *Mandisiireiko ndiri ndega?* ([God] Why have you left me alone?) (see appendix).<sup>12</sup> St Joseph's Catholic Choir's persuasion song, "Mwari Wangu Ndishingiiseiwo" ("God make me strong") *Tenzi* (Lord)'s ways of blessing someone are constructed as unpredictable. While *ndiye anopa* (he is the one who gives), at the same time *ndiye anotorera* (he is the one who takes away). Nevertheless, as I discussed with reference to the song "Chombo" in 6.3.1 above, that this is mitigated by the call for *kushinga/kutsungirira* (endurance/determination) since other believers like the biblical Moses, Joseph and Jesus travelled through the same (difficult) road but *Mwari vekudenga vakachengeta* (the God of heaven looked after them) and also, in the case of Jesus, rewarded them. Thus the Cinderella leitmotif is also vigorously invoked as in SSS and GNS but not for a political but a spiritual reward. This makes *mutendi* always pre-occupied with a transcendentalist imagination.

The perceived emancipatory effect of assuming a *mutendi* identity partly explains the multiplicity of religious songs of the celebratory genre in the SOL cluster. There is a plethora of ordinary life realities thematized in religious songs as instances of personal liberation. Some include finding a marriage partner; having a child; finding a job; being healed of some illness; parents' desire to see their children succeed in life; being removed from a presumed

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<sup>12</sup> This is an echo of Christ's plea during his crucifixion, *Elloi elloi lama sabachthani* (My Lord, my Lord why hast thou forsaken me?) (Matthew 27: 46, also Psalm 22).

sinful life and so on. I focus only on the first two to illustrate the SOL's pre-occupation with such highly cherished accomplishments in plebeian life. In Charamba's celebratory-persuasion-praise song "Anosimudza marombe" ("He uplifts/redeems the [strolling] beggars") the singer celebrates a wedding. Discursively God is being constructed as kind and caring, thus the *kusimudza marombe* (redeeming the [strolling] beggars) trope (i.e., a metaphor for the socially unredeemed)<sup>13</sup> realizes invoked positive JUDGEMENT, *social sanction (propriety)*. God has the ability to enable a person to find a right marriage partner. Explicitly the same positive evaluation is realized through the sentence *Mwari vakanaka...* (God is good...) (line 1). The repetition of the same sentence, in line 17, stresses the evaluation. In *Veduwee, veduwee Mwari wakanaka* (Really really God is good) (line 11) the positive assessment is achieved through AFFECT. The interjective *veduwee* (signifying pleading) is a persuasive call for people to recognize that *kuita kwake Jehovha* (the Jehovah does [his things]) (line 5) is just good. The same evaluation is accomplished through the repetition of the persuasive invitation (to see God's good deeds), *Ndati honai..., ndati honai* (I say see..., I say see it) (line 12). According to the artist, the fact that ... *marombe ava mashoma* (... the beggars have become fewer) (line 14) is empirical testimony of God's good deeds, thus implying positive JUDGEMENT. Associating with him brings good things such as marriage. Failure to do so, *hauna chakanaka chaungabata* (results in nothing of good/of value that you may possess) (line 6). The resource therefore constitutes both negative APPRECIATION (*valuation*) and JUDGEMENT (*social esteem [capacity]*). Unlike political leaders, God is positively evaluated as reachable but of course on condition that a believer is genuinely searching for him – *vanomutsvaga vanomuwana* (those who seek him will find him) (line 5). Not only does God provide a believer with *mudzimai akanaka* (a good wife) (line 15) and *murume* (a husband) (line 16), but also *rudo* (love) (line 9); *mari* (money) (line 8) and *hupenyu* (line 10).

Title of song: "Anosimudza marombe"

Song genre: Celebratory-praise-persuasion

RM a: Expressing the soloist's gratitude to God

RM b: Expressing the good things that God can do to people

RM c: Expressing the view that God is the only provider

RM d: Criticizing those who are against celebrating a wedding/marriage

RM e: Persuading people to thank God

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<sup>13</sup> This would refer to those individuals who have not yet achieved (when they are expected) the social goals valued in ordinary life such as marriage, a job, etc.

1	<i>Mwari vakanaka vakomana, honai</i> ----- <i>Baba ndati honaika Amen, honai</i> <i>Vana zvavaita, ndati honai</i> -----	God is good boys, look <b>a</b>  Father I say just see Amen see it <b>a</b> What the children have done, I say just see <b>a</b>
5	<i>Anosimudza marombe kubva muguruva</i> <i>Kuita kwake Jehova, vanomutsvaga vanomuwana</i> ----- <i>Hauna chakanaka chaungabata,</i> <i>haungabate kana asina kutendera</i> ----- <i>Mari haungaiwani kana Mwari vasina kutendera</i> ----- <i>Nyangwe rudo chairwo haungaruwani,</i> -----	He lifts outcasts from the dust <b>b</b> The way Jehova does, those who look for him will find him <b>b</b>  There is nothing good that you can possess, you cannot possess it if he has not permitted <b>c</b>  Money you cannot get it if God has not permitted <b>c</b>  Even love you cannot find it,
10	<i>Kunyange hupenyu haurarame,</i> ----- <i>Veduwe-e veduwe-e Mwari vakanaka</i> <i>Ndati honai Amen, ndati honai</i> ----- <i>Sekuru ndati honai Amen, ndati honai</i> -----	You cannot live a good life,  Really really God is good <b>a</b> I say see Amen, I say see it <b>a</b>  Grandfather God is good, Amen I say see it <b>a</b>
15	<i>Kuita kwake Jehova, honai marombe ave mashoma</i> <i>Mudzimai akanaka haumuwani</i> ----- <i>Murume haawanike usina kutendera</i> ----- <i>Ndati Mwari wakanaka, Mwari wakanaka</i> ----- <i>Kutadza kufara pakadai, ndati hama kuoma wee</i> ----- <i>Hama ngatimutendei kani ngatimutendei</i> -----	The way Jehova does, see now beggars are now few <b>b</b> A good wife, you cannot get her <b>c</b>  A good husband, you cannot get her  I say God is good, God is good <b>a</b>  Failing to rejoice at this moment [of joy], brethren I say it shows one is really complex <b>d</b> Brethren let us thank him, really let us thank him <b>e</b>

The song illustrates how marriage is valued in ordinary life, both from a Christian perspective as constructed in this song and also from a Shona social perspective as constructed in social SOL (see 6.4 below). It is something that politics cannot provide (at least directly) and is constructed as something that a person needs regardless of the state of affairs in the country. A person who has not yet married is presented using the negative resource of JUDGEMENT (*social esteem* and *sanction*) of *rombe* ([strolling] beggar), implying that as an individual s/he is not socially liberated. Such a social condition is constructed as unpleasant through negative APPRECIATION (*reaction: quality*). *Muguruva* (in the dust) in line *Anosimudza marombe kubva muguruva* (He uplifts the [strolling] beggars from an unpleasant life) (line 4) equates singleness with living in the dust, a metaphor for its presumed challenges, particularly loss of *social esteem*. Thus in the song, the young man and woman whose wedding song the celebrates are positively assessed as *vana zvavaita* (what the children have done) (line 3), particularly the bridegroom, constructed as having been redeemed from the metaphorical social oppression of *rombe*.

As I earlier, theorized SOL also adopt a dramatic representation. This is often the spectacular narrativization of an event conceived as a culmination of an individual's achievement of the most cherished of society's values, such as in this song in which the finding of a (God-provided) marriage in particular is dramatically represented through the spectacle of a

wedding. It is a dramatic occasion at which everyone is expected rejoice. S/he who does not is condemned as ignorant of things one should be happy about. *Kutadza kufara pakadai ndati hama kuoma wee* (failing to rejoice at this moment [of joy], my relatives I say it shows one is hardened) (line 18). The verb phrase *kutadza kufara* (failure to be happy) (line 18) realizes this meaning of negative AFFECT. The linguistic resource demonstrative of the dramatic representation element is *honai!* (see!) (lines 1, 2, 3 & 12). It is an invitation to something spectacular (i.e., in this case, holy matrimony), an achievement of positive APPRECIATION in terms of Christian/Shona values. *Honai zvaita mwana uye, ... honaika* (Just see what this child has done,... please see!) is an implicit realization of this APPRECIATION, *reaction* of both positive *impact* and *quality*. While registering AFFECT, through the celebratory mood, it simultaneously expresses gratitude – people thanking God believed to have enabled the newly weds to achieve matrimony, thus forming positive JUDGEMENT, *social sanction (propriety)*. *Hama ngatimutendei kani...* (Brethren let us really thank him...) (line 19), in tandem registers these attitudinal meanings.

In Fungisai’s celebratory song “Handinete kutenda” (“I will not tire in my thanking”) the liberating impact of the *mutendi* identity is celebrated having been able to give the protagonist a baby. How great God’s grace to the soloist has been is expressed through comparison of her situation with that of those desiring but failing to have babies – *Vamwe vaidawo vana* (Others also wanted children) (line 3) but *hamuna kuvatendera* (you did not permit them) (line 4).

Title of song: “Handinete kutenda”

Song genre: Celebratory-persuasion

RM a: Expressing gratitude to God

RM b: Articulating the view that God is the only giver

RM c: Expressing humility

RM d: Requesting God to give the same gift to those who seek it

1	<i>Vongwai zvenyu, matipa chanzi</i> <i>Nyasha dzenyu Mwari, tinotambira</i>	Be thanked, you have given us a chance <b>a</b> Your grace God, we receive <b>a</b>
	<i>Vamwe vaidawo vana</i>	Others wanted children <b>b</b>
5	<i>Hamuna kuzovatendera</i> <i>Ko ini ndini ani wamapa chanzi?</i> <i>Kunzi mhamha nemusikana?</i> <i>Vongwai zvenyu mambo</i>	But you did not permit them <b>b</b> Who am I that you have given a chance? <b>a</b> To be called mother by my maid? <b>a</b> Be thanked my Lord <b>a</b>

The song typifies a canonical Labovian narrative of the short-range type, as it is an avenue through which an individual chronicles how s/he experienced or accomplished something of particular importance critical in self-identity formation (Georgakopoulou, 2007: 31). In this song having a baby is significant to her (autobiographical) identity transformation. Within the post-2000 taleworld, it shows that there are some challenges of ordinary life that the state

cannot resolve but deeply affect an individual's life. Having a child is an expectation of not only every married Shona woman but, as per tradition, both her parents and her in-laws. Being blessed with a child is seen by the soloist as important in the esteem of her community for she has attained the respected status of *amai* (mother) – *kunzi mama* (to be addressed as mother) (line 6). Motherhood is highly celebrated even today in modern Shona society (see also 6.4.1.1). Here Shona marriage values inform the soloist's positive evaluation of God. In Shona culture marriage is incomplete without a child and may lead to its breakdown<sup>14</sup> while in Christianity a couple can still live together even being childless. In her study of African feminist writings, Arndt (2002: 185) observes that motherhood is thematized to the effect that it is African women's literature's foremost trademark. Consequently, the soloist's amazement at God's decision to grant her child as expressed in the rhetorical question, *Ko ini ndini ani wamapa chanzi?* (Who am I that you have granted the chance [to have a baby]?) (line 5), is in reality a celebration of attaining full motherhood. The joy is further stressed in line *Kunzi mhamha nemusikana!* (To be called mama by a girl!)<sup>15</sup> (line 6), a positive value of AFFECT (*happiness*) on her part and implicit positive JUDGEMENT (*social sanction*) on God. He is merciful to those who suffer. Hence the language resources expressing praise and gratitude are deployed – *Vongwai zvenyu mambo* (May you be thanked my Lord) (line 1) and *Nyasha dzenyu Mwari, tinotambira* (God, your grace we receive) (line 2). Furthermore, the declarative title of the song, "Handinete kutenda" ("I will not tire in my thanking") constitutes a positive value of *social esteem (capacity)* on the part of the soloist and *social sanction (propriety)* on the part of God.

In as much as the the *kushinga* (perseverance) attribute is crucial to MDC and Zanu-PF members in attaining their political goals, so is it to a *mutendi* to be rewarded by his/her *mufudzi*. As a value of *social esteem (capacity)*, the declarative title of Fungisai's song "Handinete kutenda" ("I will not tire in my faith") also expresses this *kushinga* epithet. Because she has been rewarded, the soloist vows to remain resolute in her faith in God. However, unlike in SVS and NGS in which there is no attention to the fact that *kushinga* is not a trait in everyone, in religious SOL an individual actually needs to ask God to enable him/her to be courageous. This is the rhetorical purpose of the St Joseph's Catholic Choir's

<sup>14</sup> In traditional and even modern Shona society a man's family may demand back its *roora* (lobola) their daughter-in-law's family if she cannot produce a child. In other cases, a man could marry another wife leading to polygamy.

<sup>15</sup> Here *musikana* (girl) refers to a housemaid. Having a child would separate the soloist from the socially unesteemed girl status and earn her [or empower her to demand] respect from her maid now that she is a mother.

persuasion song, “Mwari wangu ndishingiiseiwo” (“My God make me strong”). The soloist is honest with his/her capacities. S/he is not as courageous in the face of life challenges like the scriptural Job, who regardless of the destruction of his family and wealth remains committed to his faith in God.

Sebastian Magacha makes the same plea in his persuasion-argumentation song, “Ndipeiwo simba” (“Give me the courage/power”). In the autobiographical song, the singer narrates the complications threatening his life. His grandfather is involved in *kushereketa* (using evil charms) (line 12) against him so that he loses his job. This is causing all sorts of *miedzo* (temptations) (line 6) to obstruct his way. He is not alone in suffering such evil shenanigans constructed as *Vakatumira hondo muupenyu hwangu* (They sent an army [i.e., misfortunes] in my life) (line 5). He also tells of a young woman failing to get married because of the *kubatabata* (use of evil charms) of her *ambuya* (grandmother) (line 10). Because of their nefarious actions, the storyteller condemns them as *mhandu* (enemies) (line 1), *vavengi* (enemies) (line 3) and *varoyi* (witches) (line 4), linguistic resources for negative JUDGEMENT, *social sanction* (*propriety*). Bent on destroying his life is the sole purpose of their wicked deeds which, the singer expresses metaphorically as *Paive nepfuma agove marara* (Where there was wealth would be rubbish) (line 8). The fear of transforming from a positive personal identity of having *pfuma* (money/wealth) to the miserable one of being associated with *marara* (rubbish, i.e., becoming worthless like rubbish) is the reason for his request – *Ndipeiwo simba ndigokunda* (Give me power so that I can overcome) (line 2).

Title of song: “Ndipeiwo simba”

Song genre: Persuasion-argumentation

RM a: Expressing the soloist’s belief about the existence of his enemies

RM b: Requesting God’s power to overcome

RM c: Stating instances of the work of his enemies

RM d: Expressing the soloist’s conviction that Jesus is the only hope to overcome

1	L: <i>Ndinozviziva mhandu dziripo pasi pano</i> R: <i>Ndipeiwo simba ndigokunda</i> ----- L: <i>Ndakazviona vavengi varipo pasi pano</i> ----- L: <i>Hama musanyeperane varoyi varipo pasi pano</i> -----	I know enemies exist here on this earth <b>a</b> Give me power so that I can overcome <b>b</b>  I saw it, enemies exist here on this earth <b>a</b>  Brethren do not lie to one another, witches enemies exist here on this world <b>a</b>
5	<i>Vakatumira hondo muupenyu hwangu</i> <i>Miedzo teki teki Mwari wangu</i> <i>Kuti basa ramakandipa riparare</i> <i>Paive nepfuma agove marara</i>  L: <i>Haa ndinozviona mhandu dziripo pasi pano</i> -----	They sent misfortunes in my life <b>c</b> Many misfortunes come one after another against me, my God, <b>c</b> So that I will lose the job that you gave me <b>c</b> So that where there was wealth will be rubbish <b>c</b>  Haa I know that enemies exist here on earth <b>a</b>

10	Chorus <i>Vakabata-bata zvavo ambuya</i> <i>Kuti mwanasikana asaroorwa</i> <i>Ndokushereketa zvayo harahwa</i> <i>Mwanakomana asabate pfuma</i> ----- <i>Inini ndichakunda chete</i> -----	A grandmother used evil charms <b>c</b> So that [her] grand-daughter will not get married <b>c</b> And an old man did some evil tricks <b>c</b> [His] grandson will not properly spend his money <b>c</b>  I myself I will overcome regardless <b>d</b> x2
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I have stated above about challenges of family life as one of the pre-occupations of SOL. In this song the enemies the soloist condemns as *varoyi* (witches) are actually elder family members immersed in occult activities to harm the lives of younger family members. A grandmother cast some bad luck so that her grand daughter will not marry – *Vakabatabata zvavo ambuya* (A grandmother used evil charms) *Kuti mwanasikana asaroorwa* (So that [her] grand-daughter will not get married) (line 11). On the basis of the value attached to marriage, this deserves strong condemnation. A grandfather did the same to his grandson as expressed in the lines, *Ndokushereketa zvayo harahwa* (And an old man did some evil tricks) (line 12) so that *Mwanakomana asabate pfuma* ([His] grandson will not get/properly spend his money) (line 13). *Uroyi* (witchcraft), *makona* (evil charms) and other occult activities that are considered superstition in (scientifically-minded) modern society, actually dominate ordinary consciousness in rationalizing personal failures. In rhetorical move **a**, by use of values of positive AFFECT (*security*), *Ndakazviona...* (I saw it...) (line 3); *Ndinozviziva...* (I know it...) (line 1) and *Ndinozviona...* (I see it...) (line 9), the soloist is unshakably convinced that *mhandu* (enemies), *vavengi* (enemies) and *varoyi varipo pasi pano* (enemies exist here on this earth) (line 4). Through these resources he thus persuades the audience to accept his findings. Bourdillon (1987: 173) is right to observe in his ethnographical study of the Shona people that “the belief in witchcraft persists strongly in all strata of Shona society” and is the basis for explaining “all types of misfortune”. A similar observation is made for the rest of Africa by Cohan (2011: 803) who states that “a significant portion of Africans believe in the efficacy of witchcraft to produce harm and fear being targeted by its practioners”.

As Ndebele (2006: 33) observes with respect to ordinary representation, it is more analytical and delves into “intricacies of motive or social process”. This is in contrast to the representation in SSS and NGS in which causality to every aspect of a society’s problems is always explained in nothing but monocausal (political) terms. Theorizing in particular the Shona people and in general Africans’ explanation of the link between cause and effect, Bourdillon (1990) conceptualizes it as a two-pronged rationalization involving the visible and invisible causes. The later cause is seen as the more important because the former is not convincing but only confirms what has happened. For instance, in this song the visible reason

why the girl being referred to is failing to get married may be that her relationships end up collapsing. But why collapse when, for instance, those of other girls who society might view as morally weaker and less attractive than her do not? This is where the invisible cause comes to complete the rationalization to make it fully convincing – a known or unmasked enemy is into some clandestine supernatural activities to harm the girl's life. In that context then *simba* (courage) from God is required for one to overcome such a challenge threatening an individual's social life. This thus forms the song's rhetorical message – *Ndipeiwo simba ndigokunda* ([God] Give me courage so that I can overcome) (line 2). Because of his belief in God the singer is confident that *Inini ndichakunda chete* (I myself I will overcome regardless) (line 14), a positive value of AFFECT (*security*). Thus the rediscovery of the ordinary tradition enables us, to use Ndebele's (2006: 51) phrase, to look into "the nooks and crannies" of plebeian life.

### 6.3.2.2 The contradictions of assuming and maintaining the *mutendi* identity

Contrary to SVS and GNS' political identities in which identity transformation from a *zanu* (a member of Zanu-PF) to a *chinja* (a member of the MDC) or vice versa can be done with ease, in SOL the *chisikwa chitsva* (born-again/new creation) identity is constructed as a dilemma identity. It is complex to assume and always slippery to maintain. Despite assuming the born-again identity, a *mutendi*'s behaviour is constructed as still opalescent. After its assumption, there is always a grave danger of retreating back to the *mutadzi* (sinner) identity; living the two identities together or pretending to live the identity. Therefore, as is believed, an authentic *mutendi* can only be declared as such by God himself who will declare whether a believer is *mutsvene* (righteous) or not. Many gospel songs give this (Christian) tenet high tellability and often capture it through pithy and memorable sayings such as the titles of Charamba and Fungisai's respective didactic songs, "Kucheuka-cheuka" ("Repeatedly looking back") and "Fambe dzoke" ("One step forward, one step backwards").

It is difficult to adopt because it requires the will and assistance of God/Christ himself, unlike merely attending a particular political party's rally and then become associated with its identities. In Mai Charamba's persuasion-exemplum song "Ndirangarirei" ("Remember me") values of AFFECT (*inclination*) are marshaled to express this point. The verb phrases *ndirangarirei* (please remember me) (line 3) and *ndibatsirei* (please help me) containing the enclitic *-i*, denoting pleading, suggest that there has to be permission and assistance for one to change from the *mutadzi* to the *chisikwa chitsva* identity.

Title of song: “Ndirangarirei”

Song genre: Persuasion-exemplum

RM a: Expressing the people’s sinful behaviour

RM b: Requesting forgiveness

RM c: Stating an instance of some who failed to please God

1	<i>Vazhinji vedu mumabasa enyika hatibviri</i> <i>Hatizivi ramangwana romweya</i> <i>Ndirangarirei, ndirangarirei ishe Jesu</i> <i>Kana ndichionekwa ndifanane nemi</i>	Most of us are notorious in doing the acts of the worlds <b>a</b> We do not know about where our spirits’ future <b>a</b> Remember me, remember me Jesus <b>b</b> So that when I am seen, I resemble you <b>b x 2</b>
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5	<i>Denga nenyika</i> <i>Shoko rinoti zvichapfuura</i> <i>Mufaro wenyika</i> <i>Shoko rinoti uchapfuura</i>	For the heaven and the earth <b>a</b> The word says they will pass <b>a</b> The pleasures of the world <b>a</b> The word says they will pass <b>a</b>
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10	<i>Vazhinji kwazvo vana veIsrael</i> <i>Vakabuda kubva munyika yeEgypt</i> <i>Vazhinji vavo havana kusvika Canaan</i> <i>Nokuti havana kufadza Mwari</i>	There were so many children of Israel <b>c</b> Who came out of Egypt <b>c</b> Most them did not reach Canaan <b>c</b> Because they did not please God <b>c x2</b>
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The soloist’s plea for God to assist her does not end at being allowed to become a *mutendi* but also to maintain the newly acquired identity. The idea is articulated through the phrase, ... *ndifanane nemi* (...so that I will be like you (line 4). As *mutendi*, imitating the Christological personality is difficult because a believer still finds his/her *mutadzi* life interesting and thus difficult to leave completely. As the Italian Renaissance painter and polymath Leonardo da Vinci said, “... for there you have been, [and] there you will always long to return”.<sup>16</sup> The persistent desire for the former and again the desire to live according to the dictates of the *mutendi* identity express the practical contradictions affecting an individual in the struggle to leave an old identity and assume a new one. Consequent to that, the soloist admits the existence of the contradiction in their community of believers – *Vazhinji vedu mumabasa enyika hatibviri* (Most of us are notorious for the acts of the worlds) (line 1). These ideational meanings constitute explicit negative JUDGEMENT *social sanction (propriety)*; Christian ethics are being violated. In other words as *vatendi* (believers) they are not honest with God and themselves. Consequently, the boundary between the in-group and out-group becomes blurred, in stark contrast to the visibly distinct identity boundaries constructed in GNS and SVS. Although in Christian moral consciousness the two are supposed to form a dichotomy, the singer’s observation is that in practice the two are inseparable. They interlock, always getting into each other’s way. As a believer she thus finds herself in the awkward position of articulating a double identity. The possessive phrase *vazhinji vedu* (many of us) and the verb phrase *hatibviri* (we are notorious for) (line 1) and their pronouns of *us* and *we* express her double identityness.

<sup>16</sup> See <http://www.goodreads.com/quotes/tag/flying> (accessed 21 September, 2012).

The tension between the two identities in which a believer finds him/herself trapped is also the communicative purpose of Charamba's persuasion-anecdote song, "Ndogo Handimire" ("Alone, I cannot stand"). Again, the protagonist is honest in revealing his inability to implement the ideally identity of *mutendi* and thus pleads with God for help. In the autobiographical song, he cites some scriptural examples of people described as having been able to live this identity, Enoch and Esther and request God to help him do the same. *Kufamba kwamakaitawo naEnock, ndiko kwandinokumbirawo muitewo neni* (The way you walked together with Enock is what I ask you to do to me) (lines 10-11) is his sobering plea. The verb phrases *handimire* (I cannot stand) (from song's title) and *handigone* (I am not able) (lines 6-7) realize invoked negative self JUDGEMENT, *social esteem (capacity)* – the soloist's awareness of his inability to live the identity of *mutendi*. The singer also articulates the idea that as he tries to maintain the *mutendi* identity, as a person he remains perpetually weak throughout his life. Therefore, he needs God's life-time support. The point is conveyed through chronicling his life process since birth showing that even if his mother provided him with *mukaka waamai* (breast milk) (lines 2 & 4); *kudya kwamangwanani* (breakfast) (line 3) and *Ehuuhuwe ndaisimbirwa* (you sang me lullabies) (line 5) and as a young man *ndaivhima* (I hunted) (line 9) and collected wild fruits (line 8) for his sustenance, his life was still insecure. All this support was temporary; hence he evaluates his mother's ephemeral nourishment in reference to her breast milk through negative APPRECIATION (*composition*) as *Mukaka waamai vangu wakapera kare* (My mother's breast milk got finished long ago) (line 2) and ...*wakagwamba kare* (...congealed long ago) (line 4). He thus needs perennial dependence on God. For this reason, he argues *Handingatange nhasi kuzvichengeta* (I cannot start looking after myself today) (line 1), hence the plea and admission in rhetorical move **b** (through invoked negative JUDGEMENT [*social esteem (capacity)*]) that *Jesu mirai neni, ndega handimire* (Jesus stand with me, alone I cannot stand) (line 6).

Title of song: "Ndogo handimire"

Song genre: Persuasion-anecdote

RM **a**: Expressing gratitude for God's protection during the soloist's childhood

RM **b**: Giving reasons why the soloist's still needs God's protection now

RM **c**: Requesting God to help him to behave like those whose behaviour he approves

1	<i>Handingatange nhasi kuzvichengeta</i>	I cannot start today to look after myself <b>b</b>
	<i>Mukaka waamai vangu wakapera kare</i>	My mother's breast milk got finished long ago <b>b</b>
	<i>Kudya kwamangwanani ndimi munondipa</i>	You are the one who gives me breakfast <b>b</b>
	<i>Mukaka waamai vangu wakagwamba kare</i>	My mother's breast milk congealed long ago <b>b</b>

5	<i>Ehuuhuwe ndaisimbirwa</i> ----- <i>Jesu mirai neni, ndega handimire</i> <i>Ndoga handigoniwo, ndoga handimire</i> ----- <i>Tsubvu nenhunguru, matamba, maroro</i> ----- <i>Ndaivhima musango ndichangokura</i>	Ehuuhuwe they used to sing me lullabies <b>b</b>  Jesus stand with me, alone I cannot stand <b>b</b> Alone I am not able, alone I cannot stand <b>b</b>  All sorts of wild fruits <b>b</b>  I used to hunt in the forest after I had just grown up <b>b</b>
10	<i>Kufamba kwamakaitawo naEnock,</i> ----- <i>Kufamba kwamakaitawo naEsther,</i> ----- <i>Ndiko kwandinokumbirawo mitewo neni</i>	The way you walked with Enoch,  The way you walked with Esther,  Is what I ask you to do to me as well <b>c</b>

In her exemplum song “Fambe dzoke” (“One step forward, one step backwards”) Fungisai uses antonyms in the form of ideophones *fambe* (walking a short distance) and *dzoke* (making a sudden return) to dramatize the crossroad reality a *mutendi* finds him/herself in. *Fambe* constitutes covert positive JUDGEMENT (*social esteem*) (*capacity*) because the verb from which the ideophone is derived, i.e., *kufamba* (walking) denotes progression. It refers therefore to a believer’s initial but unfortunately shortlived implementation of his/her new identity. That s/he backslides is what is negatively evaluated through the ideophone *dzoke* derived from the verb *kudzoka* (to return),<sup>17</sup> a resource realizing negative JUDGEMENT (*social esteem*) (*incapacity*). In concurrence with Mai Charamba and Charamba above, as a *mutendi* Fungisai also seems to find it difficult to discard completely her (previous) behavioural patterns of the *mutadzi* identity (see 6.3.3). This stance is realized through GRADUATION<sup>18</sup> i.e., the adjustment of “the degree of an evaluation – how strong or weak the feeling is” (Martin & White, 2005: 37). The accusative verb phrases *manyanya* (you excessively do it) and *kwanyaya* (it is excessively done) (e.g., lines 1-4) repeated throughout the song, realize intensification, implying that a *mutendi*’s negative actions have gone beyond acceptable levels.

Title of song: “Fambe dzoke”

Song genre: Exemplum

RM a: Expressing the singer’s disapproval of negative behaviour

RM b: Suggesting a method of resolving the complication, i.e. repentance

1	<i>Chiokomuhomwe manyanya</i> <i>Kusagadzikana kwanyanya</i> <i>Huori hwanyanya</i> <i>Fambe dzoke manyanya</i> -----	You do too much bribery <b>a</b> There is too much instability <b>a</b> There is too much corruption <b>a</b> One step forward, one step backwards you have exceeded it <b>a</b>
5	<i>Zakeo mhanya iwe, Zakeo mhanya iwe</i> <i>Mutendi mhanya iwe, uende kuna Jesu</i>  <i>Kusavimbana kwanyanya</i> <i>Hunzenza hwanyanya</i> <i>Kusatya Mwari kwanyanya</i>	Run Zakeo you must run Run Zakeo you must run <b>b</b> Run you believer, and go to Christ <b>b</b>  There is too much mistrust <b>a</b> There is too much immorality <b>a</b> There is too much disrespect of God <b>a</b>

<sup>17</sup> The action of *kudzoka* (returning or coming back) does not carry negative evaluation as such. However, in this context where sustained progression is needed without looking back, it is a value of negative assessment.

<sup>18</sup> As I stated in chapter one, it is one of the three domains of the APPRAISAL theory which although it is not covered in this study, I referred to in order to further explain this important point.

10	<i>Masmall house anyanya</i> <i>Fambe dzoke manyanya,</i>	There are too many small houses <b>a</b> One step forward, one step backwards you have exceeded it <b>a</b>
	Chorus <i>Kurasa hunhu manyanya</i> <i>Kuraradza manyanya</i> <i>Pfambi dzawanda</i>	You throw away good behaviour too much <b>a</b> You drink too much <b>a</b> Prostitutes have increased <b>a</b>
15	<i>Meso meso manyanya</i>	You have too much covetousness <b>a</b>

A believer *arasa hunhu* (who has lost [Christian] values) (line 12) and returned to all sorts of morally condemned behaviour such as *chiokomuhomwe* (bribery) (line 1); *huori* (corruption) (line 3); *kusavimbana* (mutual mistrust) (line 5); *meso-meso* (covetousness) (line 15); *kuraradza* (drunkenness) (line 13); *hunzenza* (immorality/prostitution) (line 8) and *masmall house* (small houses) (line 10) (see 6.4.1.2 for the discussion on small houses). The meanings realize negative JUDGEMENT (*social sanction*) (*propriety*), a condemnable return to the previous *mutadzi* behaviour. Thus the believer is reminded to quickly come back to Christ, the preferred identity in *Mutendi mhanya iwe* (You believer run) *uende kuna Jesu* (and go to Christ) (line 6). However, because *mutendi* is still attracted to his/her former (*mutadzi*) identity, as I pointed out before, s/he will return to it again reducing his/her present identity management to a mere oscillation between the opposing identities, hence the aptness of the *fambe-dzoke* ideophonic evaluation.

The reference to corruption is political, but the singer seems to be worried that corruption is not only a problem of the public but of the private sector as well, including the church. The analogy of the Zacchaeus episode in the Bible – *Mhanya Zakeo mhanya iwe* (Run Zacchaeus, you run) (line 5) – conveys the singer’s stance that *mutendi* is now as sinful as Zacchaeus. Owing to that s/he has to treat his/her backsliding as matter of urgency like Zacchaeus did by climbing up a tree so that Christ could see and attend to him. That said, the political overtones of the Zacchaeus allusion cannot be ignored. The fraudulent tax collector is an implicit negative JUDGEMENT (*social sanction*) (*propriety*) against the state. It echoes the *huori* (corruption) identity constructed to condemn Zanu-PF in SSS. In the exemplum-persuasion song “Handina kururama” (“I am not righteous”), because a person can never consistently live the *mutendi* identity, Fungisai finds it better to request God to *wanzai nyasha* (give [us] more grace) than *kutsamwa* (anger) in his attitude to a believer, otherwise *hapana angapamire* (no one will stand before you) and *tingapere* (we will all be destroyed). The verb *kuvavarira* (striving to) in *Ndiri kuvavarira utsvene* (I am striving to be righteous) does not only show the difficulty of identity transformation but also that the transformation, will not always be complete.

In his persuasion song, “Ndiregei ndiende” (“All me to go”), Charamba employs metaphor of *nzira mbiri* (two roads) to explain the schizophrenic tendency of the *mutendi* in his/her attempt to maintain the standards of behaviour demanded by his/her new identity. The mental contradiction is conceptualized as two contrasting roads in front of the believer, where choosing the right one becomes a confusing task. This is expressed in the line *Nzira imbiri dzinondidana* (There are two roads calling me). The roads represent the two theoretically contrasting but practically blurred *mutadzi* and *mutendi* identities. As I pointed out earlier, although an individual can adopt the latter, reverting permanently to the former becomes the defining feature of *mutendi*’s management of his/her identity. Again in another song, the narrative-persuasion “Moses”, Charamba explains the dilemma of the *mutendi* identity by reference to the appeals made to Moses by some Israelites to return to Egypt as they failed to endure the rigours of the wilderness. *Tidzosere Egypt kwatakakurira* (Return us to Egypt where we were brought) (line 4) shows the yearning for the old identity of *varanda kuIjipita* (slaves in Egypt). As an ideational meaning, it realizes implicit negative AFFECT (*insecurity*). Explicitly, the meaning is realized by the verb *kuchema* (crying) in the line *Pagungwa dzvuku ndokutanga kuchema* (At the Red Sea they started to cry) (line 3) (*unhappiness*); *akatsamwa* (s/he became angry) (line 5) (*dissatisfaction*) and the interjective *we-e* (which reinforces the earnestness of the request) (line 1) (*unhappiness/insecurity*). It is ironical that what is constructed as evil by some (Egypt is a value of negative JUDGEMENT in the Judaic and Christian ethics) is evaluated as positive by those who cannot live the new and demanding identity of the Promised Land (of Canaan). Whereas this explains the inherent dilemma of the *mutendi* identity as already stated, it is the fundamental promise of a better future (the impetus behind and the central tenet in every grand narrative) that lures an individual (to strive) to maintain the slippery identity. The lines *Nyararai zvenyu vana veIsrael* (Please, do not cry children of Israel) (line 6) and *Nyarara zvako mutendi waJesu* (Jesus’ believer, please do not cry) (line 7) are marshaled to placate *mutendi*’s frustrations by the promise that his/her *mhandu dzeIjipita* (Egyptian enemies) (line 8) and *Satani* (Satan) (line 9) *dzichaparara hamuchazodzioni rimwe remazuva* (they will perish, you will never see them again on any day) (line 10). Such promises play a critical role among the ordinary people in the management of the problems of their lives.

Title of song: “Moses”

Song genre: Narrative-persuasion

RM a: Expressing suffering and the decision to return to Egypt

RM b: Stating reasons for the decision

RM c: Expressing the assurance for a believer that challenges can be overcome

1	<i>Moses Moses Moses we-e</i>	Oh Moses Moses Moses a
	<i>Zvakavanetsa ivava vana veIsraeri</i>	The challenges troubled these children of Israel <b>b</b>
	<i>Pagungwa dzvuku ndokutanga kuchema</i>	At the Red Sea they started to cry <b>b</b>
	<i>Tidzosere Ijipita kwatakakurira</i>	Return us to Egypt where we grew up <b>a x 2</b>
5	<i>Mumwe nemumwe, akatsamwa nazvo</i>	Each of them became angry [because of the challenges] <b>b</b>
	<i>Nyararai zvenyu vana veIsrael</i>	Do not cry children of Israel <b>c</b>
	<i>Nyarara zvako mutendi waJesu</i>	Jesus' believer, please do not cry
	<i>Idzi imhandu dzeIjipita dzinokunetsai</i>	These Egyptian enemies that trouble you <b>c</b>
10	<i>Satani mhandu dzenyika dzinokunetsai,</i>	Satan the enemies of the world that trouble you,
	<i>Dzichaparara hamuchazodzioni rimwe zuva</i>	Will perish and you will not see them any day <b>c</b>

The schizophrenic reality surrounding the attempt at total identity transformation also arises from an African's failure to completely abandon his/her (African) religious-cultural identity, condemned as demonic in the new (Christian) faith. Thus s/he cannot acquire a completely and exclusively Christian identity. This is the rhetorical message of Charamba's didactic-persuasion song, “Kutenda kwakanaka” (“Good worship/faith”). To reinforce the delivery of its message the song appropriates the Old Testament story (see 1 Kings 18: 25-29) about Elijah's question to the prophets of Baal about who is supposed to be worshipped – *Bhaari kana Jehovha mupenyu?* (Baal or the living God?). (Notice how God is positively evaluated through the adjectival phrase *mupenyu* [a living one], a value of JUDGEMENT, *social esteem* [*capacity*] and Baal is not).

Title of song: “Kutenda kwakanaka”

Song genre: didactic-persuasion-rupture

RM a: Expressing the goodness of heaven

RM b: Persuading a believer to strive to enter heaven

RM c: Expressing the evil of Gehenna and those it will torment

RM d: Condemnation of what the singer conceives as evil faiths

1	<i>Akavabvunza mubvunzo mukuru kwazvo</i>	He asked them a great question <b>d</b>
	<i>Pamusoro pechinamato chavo</i>	Concerning their faith <b>d</b>
	<i>Mwari chaiye pavaviri ndeupiko?</i>	Which one is the right God between the two? <b>d</b>
	<i>Wenyu Baari kana Jehovha mupenyu?</i>	Your Baal and the living Jehovha? <b>d</b>
5	<i>Monamata vadzimu kusvika riniko</i>	For how long shall you worship ancestors
	<i>vana veZimbabwe?</i>	children of Zimbabwe? <b>d</b>

*Monamata vadzimu kusvika riniko vana veZimbabwe?* (For how long shall you worship the ancestors, children of Zimbabwe?) (lines 5-6) expresses the contradictory nature of the *mutendi* identity. The rhetorical question implicitly realizes negative JUDGEMENT, *social*

*sanction (propriety)* because they are implied to be *vatadzi* (sinners) worshipping an evil *chinamoto* (religion) (line 2). In a sense these are the antithetical *nzira mbiri* (two paths) that an African finds him/herself oscillating between. Bourdillon (1987: 306) argues that although the Shona people embraced Christianity “few church members have totally rejected the belief in the power of ancestral spirits”, identifying with both religions at the same time. As argued earlier in SSS and GNS, there is no such level of analysis of the complexity of the dilemma of identity transformation as honest as and more realistic than the one made in a demotic aesthetic such as this.

In concluding this sub-section, my observation has been that *mutendi* is a much more difficult identity to live by as compared to the (collective) political ones constructed in GNS and SVS. It does not only demand a change in almost every aspect of one’s life, it is a complete transformation of one’s mindset. It constantly requires one to rein in his/her mental and bodily desires and tune them with the scriptural demands, unlike in political identities in which one’s behaviour is not regularly and closely scrutinized personally by one’s political party. This results in the believer becoming a split personality. Such a representation is a more philosophical analysis of the stubbornness of the *mutendi* identity. It departs from the identity articulations in SVS and GNS in which the songs “function primarily and powerfully to articulate the [supposedly distinct] boundaries defining the collective [political] identities or mutual antagonisms” (Born, 2000:31) of Zanu-PF and the opposition. In sharp contrast to SSS and GNS where identities function only for self-praise, and out-group othering, in SOL there is no or very little self-praise but much more self-introspection and cautious criticism of the sinner. Whereas in SSS and GNS’s identities of self-praise predominate (e.g. *kushinga; mbiri yechigandanga; vakarwira nyika*, etc.), paying no attention to the weaknesses of Zanu-PF and MDC but evaluating them positively as always capable (through JUDGEMENT – *social sanction*), in SOL there is confession, honesty and self-introspection. An individual comes to terms with his/her own frailties and tries to overcome them. This explains the redemption of the individual motif in SOL.

### **6.3.3 *Mutadzi* identity as quest for individual liberation**

As an out-group of the *mutendi* identity, the *mutadzi* (sinner) forms a negative value of JUDGEMENT, *social sanction (propriety)*. As earlier stated the two constitute one of the manifestations of the binaries in Christian theology, under the general good and evil or God and Satan couplets. The life of a *mutadzi* is condemned because it is seen as inspired by the

devil. Similar to the constructions of Zanu-PF identities in SVS which ought to be renounced because they are associated with destruction, the *mutadzi* identity in religious SOL has also to be renounced lest one be condemned to hell and lose eternal life (see the *kuguma* identity in 6.3.4). *Mutadzi* is an umbrella identity for all sorts of behavioural patterns evaluated (negatively) as outside scriptural expectations. It is this behaviour that is metaphorically referred to as *mabasa enyika* (the actions of the world) as I referred to it in 6.3.2.2 above. The negative actions range from mere refusal in one's mind to follow what God wants to committing certain acts such as *umbavha* (theft/robbery); *ufeve* (illicit sexual behaviour); *umhondi* (murder) and other unsanctioned actions. By focussing on this identity I intend again to illustrate the concern with the various facets of individual life in ordinary representation. There are three important issues concerning this identity and how it relates to an individual. Firstly, it is an indication of an individual's attempt to resolve the challenges in his/her life in order to live (what s/he and his/her church thinks is) a normal life. Secondly, *mutadzi* identity serves as the trigger for a person to search for the ways and means to come to peace with his/her mind, torn between the desire to please God and the (opposing) desire to please oneself. Lastly, it helps one to fight the othering associated with the *mutadzi* identity and enjoy the benefits of being an in-group member. Because it is the individual *mutadzi* who has to take the initiative to fight the complications associated with the identity, many songs dealing with *mutadzi*'s attempt to transform to the *mutendi* identity, as I pointed in 6.3.2, are of the autobiographical (life story) narrative type.

Like in the *mutendi* identity a *mutadzi* who requires to transform him/herself into the *mutendi* identity, is constructed as, first and foremost, having the honesty to accept his/her sinful life as a step to acquiring the latter redemptive identity. Unlike in GNS and SSS a person is not ashamed to negatively evaluate him/herself using *mutadzi*. In Musakwa's persuasion song, "Kanganwiro" ("Forgiveness") the protagonist admits that *Ndakakutadzirawo baba* (I sinned against you father) (line 1). The verb phrase *ndakakutadzirawo* (I sinned against you) constitutes covert negative values of AFFECT, *unhappiness* and *insecurity*. The sorrow comes from the soloist's intense feeling of remorse for sinning against God whereas the insecurity emanates from the danger he believes is associated with being a *mutadzi*, the emotion of which is expressed by the suffix *-wo* which denotes pleading. The same applies to the interjectives *hoo* (line 8) and *we-e* (line 10) which affectively and in the context of the song, again express remorse.

Title of song: “Kanganwiro”

Song genre: Persuasion

RM a: Expressing remorse for committing sins

RM b: Stating the sins committed

RM c: Pleading for God’s forgiveness

RM d: Expressing the consequences of sinning against God

1	L: <i>Ndakakutadzirawo baba</i> <i>Pakufunga kwangu</i>	I sinned against you father <b>a</b> In my thoughts <b>b</b>
	-----	
	<i>Ndabvuma wani Jesu</i>	Have not I accepted [it] Jesus? <b>a</b>
	-----	
	<i>Kuramba kuteerera</i>	By refusing to listen <b>b</b>
	-----	
5	<i>Kuramba kurirava shoko</i>	By refusing to read the word <b>b</b>
	-----	
	<i>Kuramba kutumwa newe</i>	By refusing to be sent <b>b</b>
	-----	
	R: <i>Kanganwiro kanganwiro</i>	Forgiveness, forgiveness <b>c</b>
	L: <i>Hoo</i>	Hoo
	-----	
	<i>Ndiri rombe Ishe wangu</i>	I am a beggar my Lord <b>d</b>
10	<i>Ndiri rombe rako wee</i>	Oh I am a your beggar <b>d</b>

I pointed out earlier that the *mutadzi* identity is crucial for one to deal with the othering associated with the *mutadzi* identity and to enjoy the benefits of interacting with fellow believers. *Ndiri rombe rako* (*I am your [strolling] beggar*) (lines 9-10) expresses the protagonist’s desire to fight the social stigma associated with the *rombe* identity by becoming a believer. Thus *Ndabvuma wani Jesu* (Have not I accepted [it] Jesus?) (line 3) further strengthens the resolve to rid oneself of the *mutadzi* identity by yet again accepting responsibility for unsanctioned behaviour. The interjection *wani* is a value of indirect AFFECT (*insecurity*), articulating the intensity of the seriousness of the protagonist’s plea to God for *kanganwiro* (forgiveness). The fact that rhetorical move **c** is populated by the noun, repeated by both L and R in the chorus, signifies the protagonist’s resolve for identity change.

*Pakufunga kwangu* (in the way I think) (line 2); *kuramba kuterera* (refusing advice) (line 4); *kuramba kutumwa* (disobeying [your] instructions) (line 6) and *kusarirava* (not reading it [your word]) (line 5) are negative values of *social sanction (propriety)* deployed for negative self-evaluation, thus constructing the *mutadzi* identity for himself. Other life story songs dealing with the same rhetorical purpose, include Fungisai’s exemplum-persuasion songs “Handina kururama” (“I am not righteous”) (see 6.3.2.2) and “Ndauya ndega” (“I have come [to God] on my own”). In the former, like in “Kanganwiro”, the negative self-JUDGEMENT is explicit – *Handina kururama, handina chakanaka* (I am not righteous, I have not done any good deed). The line *Ndinonzi munhu ini* (I am called a person) is an invoked value of negative APPRECIATION (*reaction: quality*) – the soloist sees the quality of her actions as unattractive. The statement is employed to deploy the idea that as a human being she is

(intrinsically) unrighteous. The Shona-Christian saying *ndiri [munhu] wenyama* (I am [a person made] of flesh) embodies the same point. This confirms of the stream of consciousness motif in the *rediscovery of the ordinary* aesthetic, a technique by which the artist reveals the internal pre-occupations (and especially tensions) of an individual.

In Mujokoro-Chivenga's persuasion song "Chivai mufudzi" ("Be my shepherd"), as demonstrated in "Kanganwiro" above, again an individual's resolve to tackle the challenges of his/her personal life in a religious way starts with his/her willingness to accept his/her sinful past. This again illustrates the significance of the individual-centredness of the experiences articulated through the religious identities examined in this chapter as being synonymous with a demotic representation. Whereas in "Kangawniro" the protagonist's *mutadzi* identity leads him to acquire yet another socially unesteemed out-group identity of *rombe* (social outcast), in "Chivai mufudzi" the protagonist's sinful past confessed through the line *Ndakaita zvizhinji kwazvo pakurarama kwangu* (I did many [evil] things in my life) (line 3) deprives her of happiness – *Zvondishaisa rugare* ([the sins] which deprive me of happiness) (line 5). The adverb *kwazvo* (a lot) shows that in her introspection, the soloist finds her sins innumerable, hence the seriousness of the complicating condition and her decision to implore Christ to be her shepherd in order to overcome the psychological problems the sins are causing her.

Title of song: "Chivai mufudzi"

Song genre: Persuasion

RM a: Requesting God's forgiveness and protection

RM b: Expressing the soloist's acceptance of being a sinner

RM c: Articulating the consequences of being a sinner

RM d: Expressing belief in a good life under God's protection

1	<i>Jehova chivai mufudzi wangu</i> <i>Mundivatise pamafuro manyoro</i>	Jehovah be my shepherd <b>a</b> Make me lie on green pastures <b>a</b>
-----		
	<i>Ndakaita zvizhinji kwazvo</i> <i>pakurarama kwangu</i>	I did many [evil] things in my life <b>b</b>
5	<i>Zvondishaisa rugare Mwari wangu</i>	Which deprive me of happiness my God <b>c</b>
	<i>Kutuka ndakatuka</i> <i>Kunyepa ndakanyepa</i> <i>Kutsamwa ndakatsamwa</i> <i>Chindibatsirai Ishe Jesu</i>	As for scolding, I did scold <b>b</b> As for lying, I did lie <b>b</b> As for getting cross, I did get cross <b>b</b> Now help me Lord Jesus <b>a</b>
-----		
10	<i>Mundisesedze pamvura dzinozorodza</i>	Assist me to walk on waters that give me a rest <b>a</b>

Moving from a *mutadzi* to a *mutendi* identity is a transformation from one world to another – the world of sinfulness (evaluated by negative values of JUDGEMENT (*social sanction*) [*propriety*]) as *kutuka* (scolding [others]) (line 6); *kunyepa* (lying) (line 7) and by negative AFFECT (*unhappiness*) such as *kutsamwa* (getting angry) (line 8) to the world of (personal) redemption, metaphorically idealized as *mafuro manyoro* (green pastures) (line 2). The verb

phrases *mundivatise* (so that you lay me) in *Mundivatise pamafuro manyoro* (So that you lie me on green pastures) (line 2) and *mundisedze* (so that you assist me to walk) in *Mundisedze pamvura dzinozorodza* (Assist me to walk on waters that give me a rest) (line 10), are deployed to construe the soloist's yearning to overcome her burdensome sins (now depriving her of happiness).

The first person narrative style also dominates stylistic stance in Fungisai's exemplum-celebratory song "Ndauya ndega" ("I have come on my own"), illustrating the importance of individual tellership in constructing the *mutadzi* and *chisikwa chitsva* identities as earlier emphasized. The subject pronoun *ndi-/nda-* (I) (lines 2, 3, 6, 13-14) which starts most of the lyrics' lines indicates the soloist's right to the tellership of her life challenges. Her challenges range from sins as conveyed by the line *Ndakambobata zvakawanda* (I did many [immoral] things) (line 3) to seemingly incurable *zvirwere* (diseases) (line 7). Her attempts to find remedies from *nyika* (the world) such as from *zvikoro* (schools) (line 4); *n'anga* (traditional healers) (line 6) and *zvipatara* (hospitals), *zvakaramba* (were to no avail) (line 9). Thus *nyika* (the world), a metaphor for life outside the Christian faith, is a resource for negative *social sanction (propriety)*; the worldly life is conceived as evil and incapable of liberating the individual. *Nyika* has all sorts of problems in which the soloist finds herself entangled, realized through the line *Zvakati zvauya zvakametsa* (And then came the vexing challenges) (line 5) and *Muchipatara handina kubva* (I did not leave the hospital [due to illness]) (line 8).

Title of song: "Ndauya ndega"

Song genre: Exemplum-celebratory

RM a: Expressing soloist's readiness for a new life in Christ

RM b: Expressing acknowledgement of having sinned

RM c: Stating the troubles faced living a sinful life

RM d: Expressing conviction about the worthlessness of a sinful life

RM e: Articulating the justification for the soloist's search for God's help

RM f: Expressing deep remorse for her sins

RM g: Expressing determination to remain committed to God's ways

RM h: Expressing happiness for converting to Christianity

1	<i>Nhasi ndauya ndega</i> <i>Ndiri ndega Ishe</i>	Today I have come on my own <b>a</b> I am alone Lord <b>a</b>
	<i>Ndakambobata zvakawanda</i>	I sinned a lot <b>b</b>
	<i>Zvikoro zvese ndakasvika</i>	I visited all the schools <b>c</b>
5	<i>Zvakati zvauya zvakametsa</i> <i>Ndakamhanyira kun'anga</i> <i>Kuzoti zvauya zvirwere</i> <i>Muzvipatara handina kubva</i> <i>Asi zvakaramba baba</i>	And then came the vexing challenges <b>c</b> I ran to consult a diviner <b>c</b> And when diseases came <b>c</b> I did not depart from hospitals <b>c</b> But father, it was to no avail <b>c</b>

10	<i>Inga makataura wani</i>	Is it not that you said e
	-----	
	<i>Huyai makaremerwa makaneta</i>	Come you who are overburdened and tired e
	<i>Ndichakupai zororo</i>	I will give you rest e
	<i>Zvitema zvatsvuka seropa</i>	My sins are now as red as blood e
	-----	
	<i>Ndinochema, ndinochema iiiii</i>	I cry, I cry iiiii f
	-----	
15	<i>Ndinofara, ndinofara eeeeeee</i>	I rejoice, I rejoice eeeeeee h
	-----	

*Nyika* (the world) can thus place all sorts of heavy burdens on an individual which weigh down his/her mind. The divine call, *Huyai makaremerwa makaneta* (Come all you who are overburdened and tired) (line 11) expresses this point whilst emphasizing further the negative evaluation of the world. The simile in which one's *zvitema* (sins) are likened to *ropa* (blood) in *Zvitema zvatsvuka seropa* ([My] Sins are now as red as blood) (line 13) is employed to articulate the idea that one's troubles have reached a critical point. Consequently, the verb phrase *ndinochema* (I cry) (line 14) as an attitudinal lexis of negative AFFECT, *unhappiness* (*misery*), shows that the protagonist is in a miserable mood. The interjective *iiii* (line 14), denoting crying or groaning with anguish, is an example of what Bakhtin (1999: 85) refers to as "expressive intonation", enabling the listener to perceive "the speaker's emotionally evaluative attitude towards the subject of his speech". It again, like the verb phrase *ndinochema*, realizes negative AFFECT, *unhappiness*, but with intensity. As in "Chivai mufudzi" an individual's redemption, attained through the process or rite of renouncing the (oppressive) *mutadzi* identity and the (simultaneous) adoption of the new (redemptive) *mutendi* identity is indexed by AFFECT – when the protagonist's feelings change from *Ndinochema* (I cry) (*unhappiness*) (line 14) to *Ndinofara* (I rejoice) (*happiness*) (line 15).

In concluding this section it can be observed that it is not easy to leave the identity of *mutadzi*. One has to make a thorough soul-searching. The search for individual emancipation is therefore much more complicated than the liberation of the collective as spectacular representation projects in GNS and SVS. It is also important to note the distinction between the thrust of liberation in NGS and SSS on the one hand and religious SOL on the other. Whereas in the former the liberation is collective centred and more externally than internally oriented (i.e., through the struggle for removal of oppression and demand for provision of basic needs and services), in the latter the reverse is true. It is individual centred and more internally than externally directed. The importance of this distinction is the observation that the aesthetic of plebeian representation demonstrates that although people may be liberated at the collective (political [or even economic]) level as constructed in GNS and SSS, at the individual level a person may still remain oppressed and in mental anguish. S/he (on her own)

needs to take the initial step to self-liberation and not have others do it on his/her behalf (as in SSS and NGS).

### **6.3.4 The *kuguma* (eschatology) identity as dramatic representation**

I argued in 6.2 about the need to revisit Ndebele's theory of spectacular representation, with regard to especially religious SOL of the rupture genre, in view of their style stance (the manner of information representation [Conrad & Biber, 2000: 56, 57]) which clearly is dramatic owing to their exclusive allocation of high tellability to the spectacularly eventful biblical Second Advent. This, *inter alia*, is evidenced by the shift from (present) individual-centredness (as illustrated in the construction of the *mutadzi* and *mutendi* identities) to (future) event-centredness, notwithstanding God being constructed as the protagonist initiating the seismic event. In a word, we observe a clear cut shift from the interiorizing autobiographical songs of the *mutadzi/mutendi* identities to the exteriorizing rupture songs of spectacular representation with its demonstrative and descriptive lexis.

Nevertheless, *mutendi* is also a participant in or identifies him/herself with the event, even if (as I will demonstrate) his/her identification with it is anxiety filled. S/he has relentless uncertainty about whether s/he would be evaluated positively (to enter eternal life) or negatively (to enter eternal suffering). The lines *Hatizivi ramanganwa romweya* (We do not know about the spirit's fate in the future) and *Hapana anoziva ramangwana* (No one know about the [spirit's] future) in Mai Charamba's "Ndirangarirei" ("Remember me") and Fungisai's rupture, "Jesu ouya" respectively valorize this point. I will discuss in this section three key elements emanating from the construction of this *kuguma* identity namely, a believer's relation with it; how it takes place and its hidden commentary to the post-2000 political and economic milieu. I contend that although it dramatizes a *mutendi's* transcendental imagination (his/her longing for the second and ultimate level of imagined redemption or identity transformation), the SOL of the rupture type also constitute a veiled negative JUDGEMENT against the state or the political status quo in its entirety.

#### **6.3.4.1 *Mutendi's* preparation for *kuguma kwenyika* (end of the world)**

Although its liberation is individual focused, in similarity to constructions in SSS ruptures the *kuguma* identity in SOL constitutes a positive JUDGEMENT for one group of people called *vatsvene* (the righteous ones) and a negative JUDGEMENT for another group *vataadzi* (sinners), akin to *mazanu* in SSS meanings. However, unlike in SSS where there is not much emphasis on what an individual is obliged to do in preparation for a political *kuguma*, in SOL ruptures,

as I earlier pointed out, self-introspection as regards one's behaviour is demanded as part of a *mutendi's* individual strict preparedness for the day of *kuguma*. This is the rhetorical purpose of Mai Charamba's didactic-persuasion song, "Tengai mafuta" ("Buy [enough] oil [in time]"). The song intertextualizes the parable of the Ten Virgins to reinforce the seriousness and rendering of the central rhetorical message – *Tengai mafuta chikomba chisati chauya* (Buy [enough] oil [in time] before the suitor comes) (line 7).

Title of song: "Tengai mafuta"

Song genre: Didactic-persuasion

RM a: Articulating believers' weakness of distraction

RM b: Criticizing false interpretations of what God wants

RM c: Expressing the advice to be prepared

RM d: Asserting the fairness of Jesus' judgement

1	<i>Pane zvinhu zvatinotendera kuti zvitipedzere nguva iwe</i>	There are things that we allow to waste our time <b>a</b>
	-----	
	<i>Mumwe akati chikomba chichada rokwe rangu</i>	One said the suitor will like my dress <b>b</b>
	-----	
	<i>Mumwe akati chikomba chichada chiso changu</i>	Another said the suitor will like my face <b>b</b>
	-----	
	<i>Mumwe akati chikomba chakauya ndongochisekerera</i>	Another said the when the suitor comes I will just smile at him <b>b</b>
	-----	
5	<i>Mumwe akati chikauya chinondiyemura</i>	Another said if he comes he will admire me <b>b</b>
	<i>Mafuta chaiwo, mafuta haana basa</i>	As for the actual oil, the oil is not important <b>b</b>
	<i>Tengai mafuta chikomba chisati chauya</i>	Buy oil before the suitor comes <b>c</b>
	-----	
	<i>Vasikana ndapota tengai mafuta chikomba chisati chadzoka</i>	Girls, I beg you, buy oil before the suitor returns <b>c</b>
	<i>Vasikana ndachema tengai mafuta chikomba chisati chadzoka</i>	Girls, I beg you buy oil before the suitor returns <b>c</b>
	-----	
10	<i>Vasikana we-e kani tengai mafuta chikomba chisati chadzoka</i>	I beg you girls buy oil before the suitor returns <b>c</b>
	-----	
	<i>Mucheno hauna denga</i>	Being elegantly dressed is not going to get you to heaven <b>d</b>
	-----	
	<i>Gadzirirai kani</i>	Please prepare <b>c</b>
	-----	
	<i>Jesu haana tsvete</i>	Jesus has no favouritism <b>d</b>
	-----	

The act of *kutenga mafuta* (buying oil) (line 7) is a metaphor for preparedness explicitly expressed in line 13 as *Gadzirirai kani* (Please, do prepare). Its importance is seen through the use of interjectives expressing serious emotion, *we-e* (which adds earnestness to a request) and *kani* (denoting polite emphasis) in *Vasikana we-e kani* (Please girls [do it]) (line 10). As pointed out earlier, from a Bakhtinian perspective, as expressive of the singer's emotions the interjectives are attitudinally evaluative. They are negative values of AFFECT (*insecurity*) stressing the seriousness of the danger of the girls' unpreparedness for the arrival of *chikomba*. The same type of meaning is realized through the verb phrase *ndachema* (I beg [you]) (line 9) and the interjective *ndapota* (please; I plead [with you]) (line 8). They express the soloist's anxiety about the false sense of security among some of the girls. *Chikomba* (the suitor) (line 2, 3 and others) is a metaphor for Christ or the Second Advent, thus an implicit value of positive JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION. I pointed in chapter five about the

rhetorical function of parables; their animation of a message and engagement of the listener's imagination help to put the message across. The division of the virgins into two polarized groups (on the basis of their behaviour) follows the good/bad binary of assessing moral behaviour. The out-group, consisting of those five virgins are identified by their negatively evaluated thinking that *mafuta haana basa* ([buying] oil is not important) (line 6) for the preparation of *chikomba's* arrival. The Shona translation of the Bible refers to them as *mapenzi* (fools). The ideational meanings *Mumwe akati chikomba chichada rokwe rangu* (One said the suitor will like my dress) (line 2); ...*chichada chiso changu* (... he will like my face) (line 3); ... *chikauya ndongochisekerera* (... if he comes I will just smile at him) (line 4); ...*chikauya chinondiyemura* (... if he comes he will admire me) (line 5), etc., realize the negative JUDGEMENT (*propriety*) of the out-group. However, from the wrongly prepared girls, the value realizes positive AFFECT. Feminine beauty, attractiveness and being dressed-up are used as a metaphor for wrong preparedness because according to the soloist *mucheno hauna denga* (elegant dressing does not make one enter heaven) (line 11). Such beauty and attractiveness, though earning some positive APPRECIATION, is worthless to Christ who determines *mutendi's* entry to eternal life on the basis of righteousness. Pursuing such (vain) things is what the singer laments as a distraction that *vatendi* have allowed to waste their time (for proper preparedness) – *Pane zvinhu zvatinotendera kuti zvitipedzere nguva...*(There are things that we allow to waste our time...) (line 1). *Jesu haana tsvete* (Jesus has no favouritism) (line 13) is a value of positive JUDGEMENT, *social sanction* (*veracity*) – Jesus is incorruptible, unlike men and women of the world. The fact that some will resort to their own thoughts regarding *kuguma*, instead of following God's instruction, implies, as earlier pointed out in 6.3.2.2 that the *mutendi* identity is complex to live by and one will only know whether s/he can assume the *mutsvene* (righteous person) identity when *kuguma* comes.

#### **6.3.4.2 The spectacle of *kuguma* (eschatology)**

The series of events of the Second Advent as a cosmic event, occupy the imagination of gospel singers. Both implicit and explicit APPRECIATION and JUDGEMENT dominate the evaluation of the awesome events as they are interpreted as a manifestation of God's unfathomable power. In the rupture song "Ishe achatonga" ("The Lord will rule") the spectacularity of the day is expressed through values of APPRECIATION (*reaction: impact*) as *zuva guru* (the great day). In contrast to SSS in which the day of a political *kuguma* is welcomed by the opposition, in SOL ruptures the day is of fear, anxiety and trepidation for many and happiness for only a few. What is more, besides both clusters of songs being

futuristic in tone, the political eschatology in SSS is constructed as near, spatially limited to Zimbabwe and whose happening is engineered by the opposition movement, the biblical end of the world in SOL ruptures is spatially cosmic, God-instigated and whose precise day is only known to God himself. In her rupture song, “News bulletin” Mai Charamba conveys this idea.

Title of song: “News bulletin”

Song genre: Rupture

RM a: Introducing the news bulletin

RM b: Stating the Second Coming (of Christ)

RM c: Expressing the secrecy of the day

RM d: Exhorting believers to be always prepared

1        Let me read for you the news bulletin for the day: a  
           It says “Jesus Christ Son of the Mighty Living God b  
           -----  
           You can now check yourself, d  
           For the day nobody knows c  
           -----  
           My Lord, Jesus Christ is on the way b  
 5        Only the father knows d  
           -----  
           Even Jesus doesn’t know c  
           -----

The fact that the end message is likened to an official news report illustrates dramatic representation practised in the media. It is taken as something official coming from the top and should (therefore) be given attention by everyone. The highly confidential nature of the day, known only to God himself (line 5), is intended to register negative AFFECT; shock, curiosity and anxiety, emotions often triggered by a spectacle. The adverb *even* in *Even Jesus doesn’t know* (line 6) reinforces the spectacular representation by emphasizing its confidentiality. If the Son of God himself does not know it, it is then a mystery.

However, in Vabati vaJehovha’s rupture-didactic song “Mucheki” (“The reaper”) this is the day of JUDGEMENT on which Jesus comes as a *mucheki* (reaper), a metaphor for a judge who evaluates human behaviour according to Christian *social sanction*. Positive Christological identities in the form of epithets are one prominent style stance realizing the spectacular representation of the Second Advent. Christ’s advent is a spectacle because it signals the start of Armageddon – *Mucheki wasvika nehondo huru* (After the reaper has arrived with a huge army) (lines 9 & 10) of angels from heaven. Some of the awesome highlights of the apocalypse include, *Makomo, mapako zvichanyongodeka* (mountains, caves will melt) (line 6); *Zuva richadzimwa, mwedzi uchapera* (the sun will be turned into darkness and moonlight will be finished) (line 7); *Vagozomutswa, vari kumakuva* (Those in the graves will be resurrected) (line 3) and *Vakaipa vachashaiwa pokuvanda* (The wicked will not find any place to hide) (line 8). The evaluations *richadzima* (to describe the failure of the sun to shine)

and *uchapera* (describing the end of moonlight), form negative APPRECIATION (*reaction*) – the once shining celestial bodies which turn into frightening darkness. The resource *achanyongodeka* (to describe the melting of mountains and caves) is negative APPRECIATION of the *composition (balance)* type – their form will change through disintegration. Emotionally people will respond differently to these unprecedented dramatic events. *Vatadzi* (sinners) (line 12) will be seized with intense fear. ...*vanove nekutya kukuru* (they will be seized with great fear) (line 12) and *Vanozodedera*... (they will tremble...) (line 13) are both negative value of irrealis AFFECT through which this negative emotional response is realized. The fact that the emotion of fear is graded “towards the higher valued end” “of the scale of intensity” (Martin & White, 2005: 48; Martin, 2000: 149) as implied by *kutya kukuru* (great fear) and *kudedera* (trembling), emphasized the depth of the impact of the events on sinners.

Title of song: “Mucheki”

Song genre: Rupture-didactic

RM a: Introducing the song

RM b: Stating the highlights of the Second Advent

RM c: Exhorting believers on what to do to avoid (divine) punishment

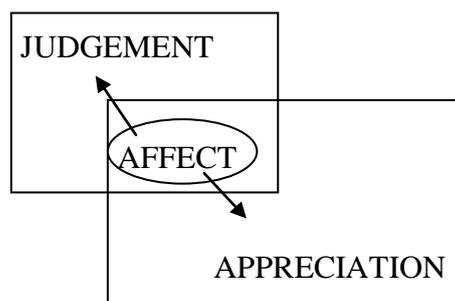
1	L: <i>Wauya wauya mucheki mukuru</i> L+R: <i>Vanhu vachaona Ishe wekudenga</i> <i>Vagozomutswa, vari kumakuva</i> <i>Avo vaonekwe vose pakachena</i>	He has come, the great reaper has come <b>a</b> People shall see the Lord of heaven <b>b</b> Those in the graves will be resurrected <b>b</b> So that all will be seen in a clear place <b>b</b>
5	L: <i>Zvinhu zvatinoona zvose zyitsva</i> L+R: <i>Makomo, mapako zvichanyongodeka</i> <i>Zuva richadzimwa, mwedzi uchapera</i> <i>Vakaipa vachashaiwa pokuvanda</i>	All things that we will see are new <b>b</b> Mountains, caves will melt <b>b</b> The sun will be extinguished and the moon will be no more <b>b</b> The wicked will not find any place to hide <b>b</b>
10	L: <i>Mucheki wasvika nehondo huru</i> L+R: <i>Hondo inouya yavanyai vekudenga</i> <i>Nameso mucheki mukuru aone</i> ----- L: <i>Vatadzi vanove nekutya kukuru</i> L+R: <i>Vanozodedera pameso omucheki</i> -----	After the reaper has arrived with a huge army <b>a</b> The army will come consisting of the angels of heaven <b>a</b> So that with eyes the great reaper be seen <b>b</b>  Sinners will be seized with great fear <b>b</b> They will tremble at the sight of the reaper's face <b>b</b>

The repeated use of imagery construing and/or referring to the sense of sight, e.g *vachaona* (they will see) (line 2); *vaonekwe* (so that they are seen) (line 4); *zuva richadzima, mwedzi uchapera* (the sun will be extinguished, the moon will be no more) (line 7); *Nameso mucheki mukuru aone* (So that with eyes the great reaper be seen) (line 11) and *pameso omucheki* (at the sight of the reaper's face) (line 13), is a key feature of spectacular representation. One's sight is constantly drawn to the unfolding images of the cosmic spectacle.

In Rusikira's praise-rupture song “Bayethe” (“Hail [Lord Jesus]”) demonstrative representation focuses only on Christological attributes, the concern of the song's rhetorical move **b**. The move is divided into three sub-moves namely, Jesus' idiosyncratic and unchanging attributes (**b1**); the awesome and miraculous deeds which he performed in the past (**b2**) and his future (apocalyptic) relations with the world (**b3**). The song draws its

dramatic aesthetic conventions from *madetembedzo emadzinza* (Shona clan praise poetry) used to praise an individual member of a particular clan after performing something considered commendable within the clan's traditions or the general Shona socio-cultural system of values. Each (positive) linguistic resource of AFFECT carries more than one semantic meaning of ATTITUDE whereby JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION can be conceptualized "as institutionalized feelings" (Martin & White, 2005: 45). (Shona) panegyric poetry as a modality for an individual's "expression for the sentiments of homage, appreciation and thanks" (Hodza & Fortune, 1979: 1) is naturally dominated by attitudinal lexis (expressing the appraiser's feelings towards the appraisee). At the same time these feelings are also JUDGING and APPRECIATING the appraisee. That is how JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION can be seen as institutionalized AFFECT. Figure 6.1 below represents this conceptualization of the three semantic domains.

Ethics/morality (rules and regulations)  
feeling institutionalized as proposals



feeling institutionalized as propositions  
aesthetics/value (criteria and assessment)

Figure 6.1: Judgement and appreciation as institutionalised affect  
(Adapted from Martin & White, 2005: 45; Martin, 2000: 147).

Title of song: "Bayethe"

Song genre: Praise-rupture

RM **a**: Introducing the appraisee

RM **b**: Scaffolding the appraisee's laudable qualities.

RM **b1**: Conveying Jesus' intrinsic attributes

RM **b2**: Deploying the miraculous (biblical) deeds Jesus performed

RM **b3**: Expressing Jesus' future (apocalyptic) relations with the world

1	<i>Hekanhi, changamire Jesu</i> <i>Hwereshenga, shari, chibwechitedza</i> <i>Hekanhi, shumba yemudzi waJese</i> <i>Hekanhi, changamire Jesu</i>	Well done, lord Jesus Well done, lord Jesus <b>a</b> The powerful one, the unconquerable, slippery rock <b>b1</b> Well done, the lion of the line of Jesse <b>b1</b> Well done, lord Jesus <b>a</b>
5	<i>Makatangira nguva kuvapo, kuvapo kusati kwavapo</i>  <i>Munogara seri kwekwaivapo yasarungano</i>  <i>Hekanhi, changamire Jesu</i> <i>Fufurume, murume pane varume</i> <i>Rambakutsidiguka, mbiru youtare</i>	You came first before existence of time, before the existence existed <b>b1</b> You live beyond the time stretching endlessly backwards, beyond pre-history and indefinite futurity <b>b1</b> Well done, lord Jesus <b>a</b> The giant strong man, a man among other men <b>b1</b> The-immovable-one, the pillar of iron <b>b1</b>

10	<i>Ziendanakuenda mucheka wakatandira nyika yose</i> <i>Munobva kusingaperi muchienda kusingaperi</i> <hr/> <i>Hamusiyirwi gunere savarume venyika ino</i> <i>Pavavhura ndiani ungavhara?</i> <i>Pamavhara ndiani ungavhura?</i>	The endless cloth that covers the whole world <b>b1</b> You come from the eternal and go to the eternal <b>b1</b> <hr/> No father's meal is left for you like is done to men of this world <b>b1</b> Where he has opened, who shall [/has the power to] close? <b>b1</b> Where he has closed who shall [/has the power to] open? <b>b1</b>
15	<i>Paya makapa mapiyaviya avanhu zvekudya mugwenga,</i> <hr/> <i>Pamuchato wepaKana makashamisa</i> <hr/> <i>Pamakafa zuva rakaramba kusvinura</i> <hr/> <i>Hakuna, hakuna, hakuna wakaita semi</i>	On that occasion you gave multitudes of people food in the desert, <hr/> You marvelled during the wedding at Cana <b>b2</b> <hr/> On your death the sun refused to open its eyes <b>b2</b> <hr/> There is no one, there is no-one, there is no one like you <b>b2</b>
20	<i>Nenguva iri pedo muchatsemura gore</i> <i>Nyika ichatarika sechidhakwa</i> <i>Gungwa richazengaira sezifa romukaka</i> <i>Makomo achamhanya semhuru</i> <i>Vakafa munashe vachamera sebwowa</i> <i>Neichi chinovora chichafuka kusavora</i>	In the near future you will split the cloud <b>b3</b> The world shall stagger like a drunkard <b>b3</b> The ocean shall heave like sour milk <b>b3</b> Mountains shall run like calves <b>b3</b> Those who died in God shall sprout like mushrooms <b>b3</b> This that rots shall put on immortality <b>b3</b>
25	<i>Nechichi chinofa chichafuka kusafa</i> <i>Rufu ruchamedzwa nekukunda</i> <hr/> <i>Ndiyani uchamutorera vushe,</i> <i>She wamadzishhe, namambo wamadzimambo?</i>	And this that dies shall put on immortality <b>b3</b> Death will be swallowed by [divine] victory <b>b3</b> <hr/> Who shall take kingship away from him, The king of kings, and the lord of lords? <b>b3</b>

With specific reference to the praise-rupture, “Bayethe” the emotions (AFFECT) of the singer triggered by Jesus, as an actual *awe-inspiring* stimulus (*realis*) also functions to convey the singer’s (positive) JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION of Jesus. Typical of the formulaic beginning of Shona panegyric poetry, move **a** starts with the interjective, *Hekanhi* (Thanks very much!; Well done!) (line 1), a value of AFFECT (*happiness*) expressing the reciter’s gratitude for the good deeds done by the appraisee. It also implicitly in that linguistic context, functions as positive JUDGEMENT, *social sanction* (propriety) and APPRECIATION, *reaction-impact* (*quality*). The honorific title of *changamire* (lord, sir) (line 1) that the singer bestows on Jesus is a positive value of *social esteem*. Other values of positive AFFECT (*happiness*) are various epithets used to describe Jesus’ stature and divine qualities such as *hwereshenga* (the big and awesome one); *shari* (the unconquerable) and *chibwechitedza* (slippery rock, i.e. the elusive one) (line 2) also act as positive values of JUDGEMENT (*social esteem*) and APPRECIATION (*impact*). Likening his power to that of a *shumba* (lion)<sup>19</sup> (line 3) constitutes an implicit value of positive *social esteem* (*capacity*). Emphasis on his Davidic genealogical power (line 3) overlaps with Shona panegyric poetry’s stylistics of linking the appraisee to his/her line of ancestors and attributing his/her laudable deeds to (ancestral) atavism, which is positive JUDGEMENT, *social sanction* (*propriety*). Jesus’ timeless origin expressed in *Makatangira nguva kuvapo, kuvapo kusati kwavapo* (You [Jesus] came first before the existence of time and before existence existed) (line 5) *astonishes* (AFFECT) the singer. The

bewilderment is further intensified by an unimaginable construction of Jesus' place of domain – *Munogara seri kwekwaivapo yasarungano* (You live beyond the time stretching endlessly backwards of the remote setting of a storyteller's story) (line 6)<sup>20</sup>.

His origins are also imprecise, stretching endlessly backwards beyond pre-history and indefinitely forwards beyond futurity – *Munobva kusingaperi muchienda kusingaperi* (You come from the eternal and go to the eternal) (line 11). In lines 8, 9 and 10 the poet-singer's dramatic representation adopts nominalization as a lexical choice to render his amazement at Jesus' qualities. Jesus is described as *Ziendanakuenda mucheka wakatandira nyika yose* (The endless cloth that covers the whole world) (line 10). Masculine epithets are also employed to show that he is above all masculinities for he is *Fufurume, murume pane varume* (The strong man, a man among other men) (line 8). He is also *Rambakutsidiguka, mbiru youtare* (the-immovable-one, the pillar of iron) (line 9) and *chigaramatombo matanda anovora* (the one-that-only-sits-on-rocks because to sit on wood it rots) both of which are also positive values of APPRECIATION (*composition*) and JUDGEMENT (*social esteem*). Although Jesus has masculine qualities, his masculinity is different from that of other men because *Hamusiyirwi gunere savarume venyika ino* (No father's meal is left for you like is done to men of this world) (line 12). Jesus' inimitable miraculous deeds and power also form the singer's representation of the *kuguma* spectacle. This is deployed through rhetorical questions in the form of contrast and balance: *Pavavhura ndiani ungavhara?* (Where he has opened, who else has the power to close?) (line 13) and *Pamavhara ndiani ungavhura?* (Where he has closed who else has the power to open?) (line 14). Because of the ordinary person's desire for longevity, Jesus is evaluated through values of JUDGEMENT, *social esteem (capacity)* in the line *Mune kiyi dzerufu neHadhesi* (You hold the keys of death and Hades). This makes him much more desirable than the powers of political parties and states, which political dramatic representation is concerned with in GNS and SSS.

In rhetorical move **b2** the singer expresses *awe* (AFFECT) at Jesus' miraculous deeds; the adjectival noun *mapiyaviya* (multitudes and multitudes) is chosen to emphasize the numerousness (thousands) of those he fed with only two fish and five loaves of bread (line

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<sup>19</sup> In Judaic traditions a lion represents (political) power, David is referred to as the Lion of Judah. The same is true in most other cultures of the world. A lion is a totemic symbol in Shona culture chosen particularly for its attribute of courage.

15)<sup>21</sup>. He restored Lazarus to life; walked on top of the water;<sup>22</sup> he commanded the sea to calm down and it obeyed him, an indication of his power over nature; he restored the sight of the blind; *makashamisa* (you bewildered) the celebrants of the wedding at Cana (line 16), i.e. by miraculously turning water into wine; he healed the leprosy-afflicted; on his own death the sun *rakaramba kusvinura* (refused to light up) (line 17) and his resurrection and ascension to heaven occurred to the utter amazement of his disciples. As institutionalized APPRECIATION all these positive values are examples of *reaction (impact)*; they *fascinate* the singer. Similarly as institutionalized JUDGEMENT they are resources for *social esteem (capacity)*. i.e., *Jesu anogona* (Jesus is capable) as Fungisai evaluates God in her hit praise song, “Vanogona Mwari vedu” (“Our God is capable”).

Like in “Mucheki” above, in **b3** the cosmic events accompanying Jesus’ advent trigger emotions of utter *amazement* in Rusikira. ...*muchatsemura gore* (...you will break the cloud) (line 19) suggests a spectacle that will attract the attention of all people. As a style stance, simile is deployed in the following lines, *Nyika ichatatarika sechidhakwa* (The world will stagger like a drunken person) (line 20); *Gungwa richazengaira sezifa romukaka* (The sea will heave like sour milk) (line 21) and *Makomo amhanya semhuru* (Mountains will run like calves) (line 22) to reinforce the articulation of the spectacle. The lines also realize both APPRECIATION (*positive impact*) and JUDGEMENT (*social esteem*). Like in “Mucheki” the poet-singer expresses *happiness* at the resurrection of those who died believing in God as they are described as ... *vachamera sebwowa* (...they will germinate like mushrooms) (line 232). Besides, *Neichi chinovora chichafuka kusavora* (This that rots shall put on immortality) (line 24) and *Nechichi chinofa chichafuka kusafa* (And this that dies shall put on immortality) (line 25) implicitly express the soloist’s celebratory mood for believers’ attainment of the irreversible *mutsvene* (righteous) eternal life identity. I earlier stated that longevity is one marked desire in the imagination of the ordinary person, thus anything that promises people that longevity, let alone immortality, is highly valued. Thus the spectacle of SOL ruptures, though imagined, goes beyond the spectacle of NGS and SVS because of its fundamental promise of eternal life through the conquest of death – *Rufu ruchamedzwa nekukunda* (Death will be swallowed by [divine] victory) (line 26). The promises of the political spectacle do not

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<sup>20</sup> Shona folktales, like most African folktales, have a formulaic beginning, *Paivapo* (Once upon a time) or *Kare kare kwazvo* (A long, long time ago) which sets the story in a remote time past. Here the singer refers to the known longest imaginary of time in Shona to express his feelings of amazement at Jesus’ origin.

<sup>21</sup> Matthew 14. 13-21; Luke 9. 10-17; Mark 6.30-44; John 6. 1-14

go beyond this, even if it does make the same promise, people know it is not *capable* (negative *social esteem*) of doing so.

As a divine-political spectacle the Second Advent will see Jesus asserting his kingship and lordship over the world and no one will challenge him – *Ndiyani uchamutorera vushe* (You shall take away from him the kingship?) (line 27) for he is evaluated through (positive) values of *social esteem* as *She wamadzishe, namambo wamadzimambo* (The king of kings, and the lord of lords) (line 28). Because of Jesus' guaranteed triumphalism and his cataclysmic transformation of the world, the protagonist is *convinced* that no one is like him. The repetition of the phrase *hakuna* (there is no one) in *Hakuna, hakuna, hakuna wakaita semi* (There is none, there is none, there is none, like you) (line 18) is a resource for APPRECIATION (*valuation*) deployed to express the uniqueness of Jesus' identity. His assertion of his politico-spiritual power through force is the rhetorical message of Mujokoro-Chivenga's rupture-persuasion, "Ishe achatonga" ("The Lord will rule") (see appendix). Like the hegemony of political leaders as constructed especially in GNS his hegemony has also the element of coercion because *hakuna anoramba* (no-one will oppose [it] but *Mwari achatonga isu tinyerere* (God will rule while we are in silence).

However, with regard to the post-2000 context the high tellability of apocalyptic imaginaries in gospel songs cannot only be explained in terms of the fact that it is also a scriptural theme of high tellability per se. As I contended earlier, the socio-economic and political crunch heightened the transcendental imaginaries of song writers. This also explains, as I discussed in chapter five, the appropriation of the same theme in SSS, although for a different (political) end. Although appropriated for different ends, there is an overlap between the two clusters of songs since (by constructing the *kuguma* identity) they both long for change. For instance, although it is not Fungisai's authorial stance in her rupture song "Toita Zvedenga" ("We do heavenly matters"), the song's response to the political and economic challenges in the country can be sub-textually discerned. The title of the song itself expresses this idea. In Bakhtinian dialogism, every utterance "is shaped in the dialogic interaction," it is always "directed toward an *answer* and cannot escape the profound influence of the answering word that it anticipates" (Bakhtin, 1994: 76). The term *zvenyika* (worldly things, i.e., in a religious sense) (line 1) is also commonly understood to refer to political matters in the Zimbabwean

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<sup>22</sup> Note that this *intensely* amazes the poet-singer because of the use of the idiophone, *gada-gada* which means "lying or walking freely" and the simile, *semakatsika parukangarahwe* (as if standing on rocky ground).

public sphere. Thus *toita zvedenga* (we are instead concerned with/doing heavenly matters) can be conceptualized as a response (through rejection) of Zimbabwean believers to the call (by political parties) to be involved in *zvenyika* (political issues). In line 1 *zvenyika ino* (political issues of this country, i.e., the national crisis), through the near demonstrative *ino* (this one), the singer is specific about a particular country whose *zvenyika* should be shunned and *zvedenga* done. The line *Ndisiyei zvangu ini ndiite zvedenga* (Leave me alone so that I do heavenly matters) (line 3) is clearly a response to a request to do something.

Title of song: “Toita zvedenga”

Song genre: Rupture

RM a: Expressing the desire to go to heaven

RM b: Expressing the soloist’s conviction about the transience of worldly matters

1	L: <i>Zvenyika ino ndinozviziva hazviende kure Ndisiyei zvangu ini ndiite zvedenga Ndonamata Mwari</i>	I know matters of this world do not go far <b>b</b> Leave me alone so that I do heavenly matters <b>b</b> I worship God <b>b</b>
5	R: <i>Ndoita zvedenga</i>	I do heavenly things <b>b</b>
	R: <i>Hiya toenda kudenga Handei kudenga</i>	Hiya now we go to heaven a Let us go to heaven a

However, because the rhetorical intention of the song is also to deploy the importance of *kunamata* (to pray) (line 4) so that *toenda kudenga* (we go to heaven) (line 6), the negative political JUDGEMENT is therefore left to sub-terranean interpretations. This explains why gospel music has been given unlimited sonic space on state television and radio, and even to gospel musicians taking part at state-organized musical functions such as the annual Heroessplash; *Mzee bira*; *Mdala wethu* gala; Independence gala, and Unity gala.<sup>23</sup> In reality, because its essential meaning is largely deemed religious by both the state and the public, I argue that gospel music plays an important role in the Zimbabwean state’s maintenance of hegemony. Its diversionary effect of shifting the ordinary people’s attention from *zvenyika* to *zvedenga* matters thus greatly serves state purposes of social control.

## 6.4 SOCIAL IDENTITIES

In this section my analysis of social identities is premised on the view that, similar to religious identities earlier discussed, social identities are adopted as a tool for social security in the individual’s daily quest for survival. Social identities are infinite and their identification is relative to those one intends to privilege. In this section I limit myself to those identities that feature prominently within the family and their interaction within and outside the family. As

<sup>23</sup> Zimbabwe’s top gospel musicians, Charles and Olivia Charamba; Fungisai Mashavave (Zvakavapano); Daniel Shumba; Mercy Mustvene, the various vapositori groups; Mechanic Manyeruke, among others, all take part in these musical festivals.

Lucey (2006: 476) asserts, of all contexts in which identities are shaped, it is in families that the tension between self and the collective most effectively works “to pattern the frameworks through which we come to make a sense of ourselves and the world in which we live”. The familial identities are critical to ordinary life and they are an avenue to understanding individuals and groups’ pursuit of the meaning of life. They include the umbrella identities of *umai* (motherhood) and its associated identities of *amai* (mother) and *mukadzi* (wife/woman); the identity of *ubaba* (fatherhood) and its attendant *baba* (father) and *murume* (husband/man) identities; and the identity of *mwana* (child). The desire to live these identities, as has been argued from chapter five, from both the perspective of the individual and his/her community, constitutes an evaluation of human behaviour. As I will illustrate, the behavioural assessment is located in the tension between an individual’s desire to live according to his/her free will and the family and community’s imposition of a code of behaviour on him/her. It is in that evaluative locale that negative identities antithetical to those (positive ones) I identified above emerge, as an individual accepts his/her behavioural frailties or is condemned by the community. I need to point out that because of their individual centredness, as forms of evaluating human behaviour, these identities do not always constitute gender stereotypes, but an individual’s weaknesses although such weaknesses sometimes constitute culturally constructed gender labeling. As with religious SOL above, the discursive construction of these identities departs significantly from the highly demonstrative motif of spectacular representation, providing an evaluation that explores deep into grooves and corners of human relations in which characters have the courage to show “mature acceptance of failure, weakness, and limitations” (Ndebele, 2006: 42). As I will demonstrate, social SOL are less celebratory of human behaviour but more on negative JUDGEMENT, allocating high tellability to the failure of identity management through the exposure, lamentation and satirization of human folly. Again similar to religious SOL, social SOL are largely apolitical in authorial stance although latent criticism of the political establishment whether intended by the singer or a discursive interpretation by the public can be discerned.

#### **6.4.1 The *umai* (motherhood) and *ubaba* (fatherhood) identities**

These are familial and relational identities because they are necessitated by marriage and family; one cannot exist without the other. They are role-oriented; one achieves them through fulfilling the obligations expected of him/her. After their acquisition at marriage, one tries to live them in accordance with social expectations. Although today the marriage institution

exists in a variety of forms,<sup>24</sup> generally, like in traditional Shona society (i.e., pre-colonial), it still remains the most cherished of an individual's social dreams across the social strata. Apart from achieving his/her clan's cherished goal of "the continuation and growth of the family group" (Bourdillon, 1987: 46), as I will illustrate, marriage enables an individual to establish social status. It is generally viewed as an institutional space within which a person can be better nourished, nurtured and brought up. Being outside it is a socially condemnable condition (which as discussed in 6.3.2.1 above) makes one, particularly a man, a *rombe* (social outcast, strolling beggar) and thus causes one to lose focus about one's life. Married life enjoys high tellability in social SOL songs in as much as it also does in religious SOL, as I earlier demonstrated. However, in most cases an individual's longing for marriage often overshadows his/her prior knowledge of its challenges and responsibilities, which s/he becomes aware of after marriage. SOL songs demonstrate that the interaction of its core members, *murume* (husband) and *mukadzi* (wife), is characterized by both co-operation and conflict, but often in terms of the latter which manifests itself in the condemnable behaviour of sexual cheating, domestic violence, love of material things, etc., at the expense of the marriage. This partly explains why songs about marriage identities often take the form of the didactic and cautionary genres, to warn individuals about the risks of the celebrated institution; and also the exemplum genre to praise or condemn the behaviour affecting the harmonious existence of marriage. The genres often combine with the argumentation genre as well, as singers proffer their arguments for the benefits of good behaviour and against behaviour they conceive as bad. In many cases like in the *mutadzi* and *mutendi* identities I discussed above, the songs take the form of Labovian narratives with spouses telling their experiences (often negative) of marriage. As a result, although they are backed by culture, the meanings of behavioural evaluation constructed in these songs are highly subjective, coming as complaints of one spouse against the other.

The often ideal but difficult to maintain marriage is constructed as one in which *rudo* (love) between husband and wife is mutually exchanged. The abstract noun *rudo* is a value of positive JUDGEMENT, *social sanction (propriety)* since it is conceptualized as the fuel that drives spouses' ability to manage their identities of *umai* and *ubaba*. In Chipanga's didactic-cautionary song "Rudo rwakafanana nemoto" ("Love is like a fire"), if this mutuality (of exchange) is not achieved (the cases in most SOL songs) the entire marriage and family

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<sup>24</sup> Apart from the traditional monogamous and polygamous marriages, cohabitation and 'small houses' (see 6.4.1.2) are now common marriage forms in spite of their questionable legitimacy.

crumbles. The fact that *rudo* in marriage is likened to fire expresses its conceptualization by the singer as useful but delicate. If not properly handled *rudo* can turn into an *ngozi* (a serious danger)<sup>25</sup> (line 3). In Marshal Munumumwe's 1986 didactic hit, "Rudo imoto" ("Love is fire") love is metaphorically conceptualized as a fire. For marriage to work *rudo runotokuchidzirwa* (love has to be [constantly] kept burning). This is the same evaluation of marriage as both beneficial and risky to an individual's life that Chipanga's song conveys.

Title of song: "Rudo rwakafanana nemoto"

Song-genre: Didactic-argumentation

RM **a**: Orienting the song

RM **b**: Stating the importance of love

RM **c**: Expressing the negative impact of love

RM **d**: Encouraging elders to educate children about the dangers of love

1	<i>Rudo rwakafanana nemoto uri mumusha</i>	Love is like a fire in the home <b>a</b> x 2
	<i>Rudo mumusha ndiwo musimboti wemhuri yose Asi moto uyu ingozi</i>	Love in the home is the pillar of the whole family <b>b</b> But this fire is a danger <b>c</b>
5	<i>Vakuru musarega vana vachimhanya nerudo Rukakangani swa musha wose unoparara</i>	Elders do not let children play with love <b>d</b> If mishandled that home crumbles <b>c</b> x 2
	<i>Vazhinji kwazvo vakaremara nerudo Vazhinji kwazvo vakatsiya nemoto Vazhinji kwazvo vatakachema nerudo Vazhinji kwazvo vane mavanga emoto</i>	There are so many [people] who were crippled by love <b>c</b> x 2 There are so many [people] who died because of love <b>c</b> x 2 There are so many [people] we mourned because of love <b>c</b> x 2 There are so many [people] with scars of fire <b>c</b>

The essentiality of love for the harmony of the family is expressed through the conceptual metaphor RUDO = MUSIMBOTI (PILLAR) (line 2). The analogy to the destructive capacity of a fire if improperly handled is a rhetorical strategy to emphasize the delicacy of marriage life. In as much as care has to be taken to prevent children from mishandling fire, so should that care be applied as well to *rudo*. *Vakuru* (elders) (line 4) are therefore advised to assist in order to prevent marriage partners from mishandling *rudo* to ensure marriage harmony. This implies that an individual is not fully capacitated to survive all the demands of marriage or, put differently, to manage its identities, hence the singer's advice to elders (and other relevant people) that ... *musarega vana vachimhanya nerudo* (... do not let the children experiment with love) (line 4) because *rukakangani swa musha wose unoparara* (if [the love] is abused the whole family is destroyed) (line 5). The song turns argumentative by giving some examples of the negative side of marriage to motivate the thesis that conjugal relations are risky if mishandled. In lines 6-9 the adjectival phrase *vazhinji kwazvo* (very many [people]) is marshaled to emphasize the soloist's generally negative JUDGEMENT of marriage. *Vakaremara nerudo* (those crippled by marriage) (line 6); *vatakachema nerudo* (those we

<sup>25</sup> Note that in this context, *ngozi* refers to risks (though grave ones) and not an avenging spirit as discussed in chapters four and five.

mourned after dying in marriage/in love) (line 8) and *vane mavanga erudo* (those with [bodily and psychological] scars of love) (line 9) constitute implicit negative values of APPRECIATION (*valuation*), i.e., if not well handled marriage is not worthwhile. In Tongai Moyo's didactic song, "Imba vaviri" ("Marriage means two people") gives similar advice. A wife and husband should always be mutually trustful and considerate. They ought to know that as the (only) two people who make up their marriage, *wechitatu muzvinaguhwa* (a third person brings gossip, i.e., destruction to the marriage).

#### 6.4.1.1 The management of *umai* identities

As a culturally constructed identity, motherhood is evaluated in post-2000 from the vantage point of a combination of Shona and Christian traditional values, although the former appears more influential. In a patriarchal informed culture such as Shona, the subordination of motherhood to fatherhood is emphasized. As will be illustrated in sub-section 6.4.1.2 below, this is one of the major reasons impinging a wife's attempt to manage the identity of motherhood. Even if the husband is wrong, she may have no choice but to obey him. Despite this, motherhood is highly regarded in Shona society and is generally every woman's dream to achieve. Successful marriage gives her status and influence in her own family group (Bourdillon, 1987: 50-1).<sup>26</sup> Women's behaviour that is often condemned as detrimental to the maintenance of motherhood (also fatherhood, since they are relational) includes *makuhwa* (gossip); excessive love of money and material goods and the use of love potions. All these actions constitute invoked negative JUDGEMENT *social sanction*, i.e., they are condemned from a Shona moral consciousness point of view.

In Macheso's didactic-argumentation song, "Amai vaRuby" ("Ruby's mother"), the protagonist is advising his wife to limit her habit of being obsessed with gossip. The wife is constructed as a keen participant in idle gossip and the protagonist views this as detrimental to her motherhood and their marriage. It appears that the soloist is pragmatic in his advice because he is aware that his wife (or any other person for that matter) cannot completely prevent her from listening to gossip. Instead of demanding that his wife desist completely from idle gossip, he advises her to limit the time she listens to gossip – *amai vaRuby*

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<sup>26</sup> This is especially so if bridewealth is transferred to her family by her in-laws. The bridewealth would make it possible for her brothers to marry and hence she would have influence over her brothers' marriages and children. However, in present times her influence is diminishing since many men (because of wage employment) can now afford to pay bride price for themselves. Nevertheless if, at least she is successfully married, she can still be highly regarded in her lineage.

*manzwira-nzwira aya itai mashoma* (Ruby's mother, [please] reduce to a little the gossip you listen to) (lines 1-2). The reduplicated noun *manzwira-nzwira* (rumours) implies that the stories are in most cases false and thus could damage their marriage. *Anopunza musha...* (They [rumours] destroy the family...) (line 3) articulates this point. This forms the argument that is motivated in rhetorical move **c** by the deployment of an instance of a marriage, that of Baba vaJohn naMai vaJohn (John's father and John's mother)<sup>27</sup> (line 4), that collapsed as a result of the wife's obsession with gossip.

Title of song: "Amai vaRuby"

Song-genre: Didactic-argumentation

RM **a**: Introducing the advice against rumours

RM **b**: The consequences of rumours to children

RM **c**: Stating an instance of family that broke because of gossip

RM **d**: Persuading the listener the argument

1	<i>Zvatiri tose amai vaRuby manzwira-nzwira aya itai mashoma Anopunza musha vana votambura Tarira baba vaJohn namai vaJohn</i>	Since we are married Ruby's mother, reduce to a little the gossip you listen to <b>a</b> x 2 They destroy the family and children suffer <b>b</b> See [what happened to] John's father and John's mother <b>c</b>
5	<i>Vakaparadzana nekuda kwemanzwira ----- Nekuda kwemanzwira anopunza musha imba yoparara ----- Hatisi tose vanababa vanorera vana vemumwe murume -----</i>	They divorced because of rumours <b>c</b>  Because of rumours that destroy a family, a marriage crumbles <b>c</b> x 2  Not all of us fathers can look after the children of another man <b>b</b>
10	<i>Havasi vose vanaamai vanorera vana vemumwe mukadzi ----- Zvakaoma veduwe-e Hazvigoni veduwe-e Inzwai tsitsi ivai nevakiridzo</i>	Not all of us mothers can look after the children of another woman <b>b</b>  It is really difficult <b>b</b> x 2 It is really impossible <b>b</b> Have mercy and constructive advice <b>d</b>

The consequences of such negative behaviour in *umai* is only damaging to the *musha* (home) (line 3 & 6) and *imba* (marriage) (line 7) but the entire family because *vana vanotambura* (children will suffer) (line 3). The soloist sees children as the most affected by the collapse of a marriage because they will be reduced to *nherera* (orphans). Even if, after divorce, their parents re-marry, the soloist sees the children's future as a serious challenge because they will be ostracized by their step fathers and mothers. *Hatisi tose vanababa vanorera vana vemumwe murume* (Not all of us men are keen to look after another man's children) (lines 8-9) and *Havasi vose vanaamai vanorera vana vemumwe mukadzi* (Not all mothers are keen to look after another woman's children) (lines 10-11) valorizes this critical point. *Zvakaoma veduwe-e* (It is really difficult) (line 12) and *Hazvigoni veduwe-e* (It is really impossible) (line 13) form negative values of AFFECT (*insecurity*) in the singer's assessment of the consequences of the bad motherhood. Thus to prevent this, the woman is called upon to

<sup>27</sup> In Shona culture a husband and a wife are both referred to by the name of their first born as father of so and so and mother of so and so. This emphasizes the importance of children in marriage because a child transforms the

empathize with children of a broken family – *Inzwai tsitsi...* (Have mercy...) (line 14), a value of positive JUDGEMENT, *social sanction (propriety)*. Thus a mistake in behaviour by a mother has a ripple effect in the family, negatively impacting on the father and children and preventing them from enjoying their identities. Generally women in Shona society (and indeed universally) are stereotyped as gossipers, they are conceived as always wanting to hear or talk about their neighbours' private lives and also having the tendency (through the habit of gossip) to reveal (family) secrets.<sup>28</sup>

In Portia Gwanzura's exemplum-didactic song "Mai vevana" ("Mother of [my] children") besides being hooked to gossip, a woman is discursively being criticized for failing to live her mother(hood) identity because of her excessive love for money and failure to respect her husband, whom she shamelessly criticizes among their neighbours. She is constructed as having the guts to unfairly tell them that her husband *isimbe* (a lazy person) (line 6); *havana chavainacho* (he is poor) (line 7) and *zinzenza* (he is an adulterer) (line 14). What is more, she also denies her husband his conjugal rights, especially what the husband refers to as *zvinku zvangu* (my things) (line 15), a metaphor for sex. The rhetorical question *Uri mukadzi papiko mai vevana?* (What then makes you a wife mother of [my] children?) (line 12) evaluates the woman's character as inconsistent with the expected identity of wife. It is an implicit value of negative JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION. In terms of the former, *social sanction*, she is not honest [*veracity*] and respectful [*propriety*]. For the latter type of meaning, i.e. *reaction (quality)*, the negative quality of her marital behaviour makes her unattractive to her husband and the community at large. The rhetorical question also implies that she is concurrently failing to manage two of her motherhood identities – that of wife as constructed in *mukadzi papiko?* (a wife in what way?) and that of mother as deduced from *mai vevana* (mother of [my] children). Motherhood and fatherhood have both public and private dimensions. The latter dimension normally enhances the former. If the private execution of both is properly

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motherhood and fatherhood identities in terms of the respect a wife and a husband will receive from the community and also in terms of the responsibilities within the marriage.

<sup>28</sup> One pioneer of Shona modern poetry, J.C. Kumbirai in his celebrated 1969 poem, "Chawanzwa" ("What you have heard") employs values of negative JUDGEMENT, *social sanction (tenacity)* to evaluate women as habitual gossipers. A woman is equated to a ringing bell in the line *Chawanzwa usaudza mukadzi idare rinoti ngwengwengwe* (What you have heard do not tell a woman because she is a ringing bell) because, as the poet argues, *chaudzwa anoparidza* (what she has been told she preaches). A woman is therefore constructed as undependable and disloyal. The line saying *Chawanzwa usaudza mukadzi* has since assumed proverbial status (see The Literature Bureau, *Mabvumira eNhetembo [Rhythms of poetry]*, Gwelo: Mambo Press, 1969). The pioneer Shona dramatist, Paul Chidyausiku in his play *Ndakambokuyambira [Didn't I warn you before?]* (1968) makes a similar evaluation by saying *Guhwa nemukadzi ushamwari hwake* (Gossip and a woman are [intimate] friends).

(i.e., mutually) done the couple will be held in high *social esteem* by their community. However, if the reverse is true as is the case in this song, a couple earns a bad reputation from the public. For this family the bad reputation is worse, especially that their sexual matters are now known *kuvavakidzani vedu* (to our neighbours) (line 4). For their good reputation to be restored the wife has to fulfil her conjugal obligations as the husband demands that *Ndipe zvinhu zvangu...* (Give me my things...) (line 15) and so that *Undipewo chimiro pane vamwe varume* (you give me a good image among other men) (line 16). Implicitly the men's experiences against his wife constitute negative JUDGEMENT (*social sanction*) (*propriety*). His wife is violating a serious (Shona) conjugal moral, *mukadzi/murume haanyimwe bonde* (a wife/husband should not be denied sex).<sup>29</sup>

Title of song: "Mai vevana"

Song genre: Exemplum-didactic

RM **a**: Introducing the complaint

RM **b**: Stating the soloist's good fatherhood roles

RM **c**: Stating the wife's bad behaviour

RM **d**: Expressing what the woman, as wife, should give to her husband

RM **e**: Warning the wife what she should avoid

1	L: <i>Musi nguva kuenda kumushando kushandira iwe nevana Mangwana ndiwe woenda iwe Kuvavakidzani vedu wonoti: Baba vekwangu</i>	Every time I go to work, I am working for you and the children <b>b</b> x 2 [Then] tomorrow you are the one who goes To our neighbours and says: <b>c</b> The father of my household Is a lazy man <b>c</b>
5	R: <i>Isimbe</i>	He does not own anything <b>c</b>
	R: <i>Havana chavainacho</i>	I have concern with for family <b>b</b> But you can't see this mother of [my] children <b>c</b>
	L: <i>Shungu nemusha uno ndinadzwo Iwe hauzvioni mai vevana</i>	If say to you, give me You deny me <b>b</b> What sort of a wife are you mother of [my] children <b>c</b> If I go and ask next door you become extremely angry <b>c</b> Then you call me an adulterer, a person of loose morals <b>c</b>
10	L: <i>Ndikakuti ndipe R: Unondinyima L: Uri mukadzi papiko mai vevana? Ndikanokumbira panext door wovava Wonditi ndiri pfeve, ndiri zinzenza</i>	Give me my things as the father of this family <b>d</b> So that you give me a good image among other men <b>d</b>
15	<i>Ndipe zvinhu zvangu sababa vemusha Undipewo chimiro pane vamwe varume</i>	Of all things that you do mother of [my] children Do not put money in front <b>e</b> Love is more important, love is the right thing <b>e</b>
	<i>Pane zvose zvaunoita mai vevana Rega kutungamidza mari pamberi Rudo ndirwo rukuru, rudo ndizvo</i>	

I have pointed out about the domino effect of a spouse's actions – they affect other identities in the marriage /family. The protagonist's wife's socially unsanctioned action of denying him sex is constructed as having compromised the management of his fatherhood identity. This has caused him to indulge in extra-marital sex of which, to make matter worse for the couple, the wife does not approve. *Ndikanokumbira panext door wovava* (If I ask [i.e., for sex] at our neighbours you become extremely angry) (line 13) expresses this point. The fact that the verb

<sup>29</sup> In Shona culture the rule only applies to married couples and not outside because extra-marital sex is not only

phrase *wovava* (you become extremely angry)<sup>30</sup>, a negative value of AFFECT (*insecurity*), grades the woman's emotions as extremely high, a strategy to emphasize the way her behaviour has contributed to the instability of the family. Because motherhood and fatherhood are reciprocal identities the wife is being condemned because she has not reciprocated her husband's fatherhood. The protagonist constructs himself as a good husband and father. His self-evaluation in *Shungu nemusha uno ndinadzo* (I have concern with for family) (line 8) constitutes positive AFFECT (*inclination*). Further, as *baba vemusha* (head of family) (line 15) he executes his roles – *Musi nguva kuenda kumushando* (Every time I go to work) (line 1) *kushandira iwe nevana* (working for you and the children) (line 2), implied positive JUDGEMENT (*social sanction [propriety]*).

However, from the song the root cause of the failure by the spouses to manage their respective identities is identified as the wife's insatiable appetite for money. Although the husband, as *baba vemusha* (and as is expected) works for the family, the wife is not satisfied with the money he earns, hence her comments to neighbours that *Baba vekwangu havana chavainacho* (The father of where I belong has nothing). The sentence's main clause *Baba vekwangu* (The father of where I belong) (line 5) from the wife's evaluation, constitutes negative *social esteem (capacity)*. The reference shows that she does not respect him by identifying him affectionately as *Murume wangu* (My husband). Because of the wife's love for money, she is constructed as having deviated from the all-important pre-marital advice of *Rudo ndirwo rukuru* (love is more important [than material things]) (line 19), that a bride is given before she goes to her in-laws and indeed a value celebrated by the entire (Shona) culture. Unfortunately the wife is constructed as having deviated from this as her husband complains and re-advises her: *Pane zvoise zvaunoita mai vevana* (Of all things you do mother of [my] children) (line 17) *Rega kutungamidza mari pamberi* (Do not think of money first) (line 18). Whereas this is contextualized negative evaluation of a specific woman by her husband with regards to her love of money, the negative JUDGEMENT is also a general stereotype against women. Women are constructed as lovers of money and if money (coming into the house) is not enough as they would want it to be, they begin to withdraw their motherhood duties and thus affecting the management of the fatherhood and other identities in the family. The same gender stereotype is also projected in Josphat Somanje's didactic song, "Eniya" in which a

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considered immoral, but is also a taboo.

<sup>30</sup> The phrase is being used as metaphor here. As a verbal noun, *kuvava* means bitterness as, for instance, in the taste of pepper or salt. As a verb *kuvava* (to be bitter) describes a surge of anger in someone.

husband advises his wife to always prioritize love and consider money as secondary. *Eniya mukadzi wangu ndati ndikuudzewo* (Eniya my wife, please I need to advise you) that *Chemari ndechepiri, kutanga rudo* (Money is secondary, but love is first). In Kireni Zulu's didactic song "Mari" ("Money"), again a husband warns his wife to understand that *Chandinoda kuti uzive hakuna munhu ane mari* (What I want you to know is that no one has money), a statement which sub-textually implies that the husband is suspicious about his (new) wife's false assumption that he has lots of money.

However, despite the problems bedeviling the couple, the marriage and family have not collapsed. The problems are in a way seen as a feature (unfortunately a negative one) of the dynamics of spousal relations. As such the marriage is still constructed as normal although the wife should desist from her negative behaviour. The fact that the husband still affectionately refers to his wife as *mai vevana* (mother of [my] children) and *mukadzi* ([my] wife) demonstrates his love and commitment his wife, marriage and family. Thus, the resources realize implicit positive AFFECT (*happiness*). This construction typifies the resilience of ordinariness, the ability of the ordinary people to maintain their lives and institutions by applying traditional and other strategies to resolve problems that confront them. From the vantage point of the "rediscovery of the ordinary" aesthetic trend, it can be observed that the song provides insights into the complex relations within the family and its members' resilience in remaining committed to it, in spite of its inherent challenges.

In Kireni Zulu's narrative-exemplum-recount song, "Baba vaAbhisoroni" ("Absolom's father") a wife is constructed as obsessed with western material possessions to the extent of forgetting, as mother, to take care of her children. With its style stance intertextualizing the highly didactic (Shona) traditional folktale, the communicative purpose of the song, that (caring for) children is much more important than western household goods is stressed. The style also enhances the realization of AFFECT, as I earlier pointed out (in chapter five) that storytelling embodies a culture's "most deeply felt yearnings and fears" and consequently has "the capacity to elicit strong emotional responses" (Scheub, 2010: 107). Combining two communicative modalities, singing and narration, reinforces the attitudinal evaluation of the song. Using values of JUDGEMENT, *social sanction*, a wife in the story is condemned as a careless mother who is lured to fulfill her dream of acquiring household property and in the process forgets her child in a cave. Children are considered the more vulnerable members of not only the family but the community at large. In their tender ages, mothers in most cases,

have more responsibility to look after them. As in “Amai vevana” above, Amai Abhisoroni’s daily prayer to own household property, ...*dai ndawanawo masofa, mafiriji* (... if only I could get sofas, fridges) (line 5) and ...*zvose zvinowanikwa mumba yeVaRungu* (...everything that can be found in a white [family’s] house) (line 6) is considered not a core but secondary motherhood desire. However, strictly speaking these values do not form negative evaluation but positive AFFECT (*inclination*). This is because her longing for the property is not condemnable but important, when achieved, to enhance her motherhood. The only criticism against harbouring such a desire to the level of obsession is her unawareness that it can be a red herring. It distracts one from maintaining her motherhood identity. Persuing it relentlessly as she did resulted in her forgetting her baby in a cave.

Title of song: “Baba vaAbhisoroni”

Song genre: Narrative-didactic

RM a: Expressing remorse

RM b: Expressing the cause for begging for forgiveness

RM c: Articulating the cause for the woman’s loss of child/complicating event

1	Singing <i>Ndiregererewo murume wangu kani</i> <i>Ndakakutadzira murume wangu</i>	Please forgive me my husband a x 2 I wronged you my husband a x 2
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5	Narration <i>Ndevamwe amai vaigara</i> <i>vachinamata chaizvo pamberi paMwari,</i> <i>Vachiti dai ndawanawo masofa, mafiriji</i> <i>Nezvose zvinowanikwa mumba yeparungu</i>	This one a certain mother who used to pray a lot before God Asking if she could get sofas, fridges, And every gadget found in a western house c
-----		
	<i>Muzibako umu maive mune mafiriji, masofa</i>	In this huge cave there were fridges, sofas
-----		
	<i>Vakatutunura, vakatutunura, ndokututunura</i>	She removed many things, she removed many things, and removed many things c
-----		
10	<i>Pane chamuchada here mukati umu?”</i> <i>Vakati, “Aah kwete”</i>	Is there anything else that you still want inside [the cave]?” She said, “Aa no” c
-----		
	<i>Ndopavakanzwa kamwana kuchema</i> <i>Vakati, “Aaah ndakanganwa mwana mukati!”</i> <i>Vakatanga kuchema vachimhanya vakananga kumba</i>	That is when she heard the voice of a child crying She said, “Aaah, I have forgotten my child inside” She started to run away home crying c
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However, discursively Mai Abhisoroni is not, unlike the wife in “Mai vevana”, an irresponsible mother who does not take care of her baby. The fact that when she is praying in the *masowe* (secluded place of worship for *vapositori* sects) she had her *mwana wavo kumusana* (baby with her on her back) attests to her care for the baby. Again the fact that when she was in the cave she still had the baby with her on her back supports the same point. The only problem came when she got carried away with *kututunura* (removing many things) (line 8), the household goods from the cave. The temptation to her motherhood exploited her weakness, an obsession with owning modern household furnishings. In order to take as much as she could, she found the baby on her back an obstruction and had to put the child aside for a while. The repetition of the verb phrase *vakatutunura* (she removed many things) in

*Vakatutunura, vakatutunura, ndokututunura* (She removed many things, and many things and many more things) (line 8) expresses how the desire for one of the core values of motherhood (i.e., protecting a baby) is overtaken by the secondary and often counter-productive one – the unquenchable appetite for material goods. While admiring all the goods she had removed from the cave, she is constructed as completely unaware that one (and unfortunately the most important) thing is missing – her baby. When the voice asks her, *Pane chamuchada here mukati umu?* (Is there anything else that you still need from the cave?) (line 9), she emphatically says *aah kwete* (definitely no[thing more]) (line 10). The rhetorical message of the song with specific regards to managing the motherhood identity is that, it is difficult and often risky to pursue two things at the same time (motherhood and [modern] material goods in this case); you either lose one or the other or both. There is no indication that the woman after losing her baby took the many goods she had taken from the cave or was forgiven by her husband. The narrative ends with both the baby and the woman in the song crying – *Ndopavakanzwa kamwana kuchema* (And then she heard the baby crying) (line 11) and *Vakatanga kuchema vachimhanya vakananga kumba* (And she started running home crying), values of AFFECT (*insecurity* and *unhappiness*). The song illustrates the complication of a completing event – while an individual things s/he has resolved a challenge in his/her life, the resolution automatically creates another problem. This makes the song a recount in the sense that it records a series of personally experienced events but with no resolution to the complicating events.

Despite that, the fact that she is penitent for her irresponsibility ( shown by her request for her husband's forgiveness), shows her eagerness for both to overcome the challenge and restore normalcy in the family unlike the highly polarized and irreconcilable political differences thematized in SSS and GNS. Amai Abhisoroni is therefore being constructed as both truthful to herself and her husband. After realizing her foolishness of forgetting the baby in the cave, she has the courage to evaluate herself negatively, *Aaa ndakanganwa mwana mukati!* (Aaa I have forgotten my baby inside) (line 12). The interjective *Aaa*, which denotes disappointment, realizes AFFECT (*insecurity*) and the verb phrase *ndakanganwa* (I forgot) forming negative JUDGEMENT (*incapacity*). Besides, she decides to seek forgiveness and be reconciled with her husband – *Ndiregererewo murume wangu kani* (Please, my husband forgive me) (line 1) *Ndakakutadzira murume wangu* (I wronged you). Thus there is implicit positive JUDGEMENT, *social sanction* (*varacity*) constructed for the woman, she is honest, a behavioural trait that may redeem her and (save) her marriage. However, the fact that the complicating event is

only resolved with serious consequences, loss of a child, the property the woman longed for and possibly the marriage itself indicates the ordinary aesthetic trend's honest recognition in dealing with individual challenges, some of the problems are irresolvable. An individual's attempt to resolve them is counter-productive. Such close analysis and consideration of the multi-faceted nature of a human behaviour goes far beyond the evaluation of human behaviour in NGS and SSS that merely focusses on self-praise and others' weaknesses.

In the didactic argumentation song "Panyaya dzerudo" ("On love issues"), a wife is criticized by her husband for using *mupfuhwira* (love potion) to try and win his love. The love potion is what in the song is referred to as *midzi*, meaning traditional herbs. *Midzi*, which literally means (a plant's) roots, constitutes an implicit negative value of *social sanction (propriety)* because it is associated with the clandestine occult activities of *n'angas*, witches and all those bent on harming or gaining control of others (by use of [evil] charms). In Shona culture *mupfuhwira*, an orthodox but socially condemned method of trying to maintain marriage through (evil) charms, is considered a paradigm of *uroyi* (witchcraft). Thus Shona culture's notion of good and evil is the basis for the protagonist's negative JUDGEMENT of his wife's behaviour. The communicative purpose of the song is the argument that although a woman uses *mupfuhwira* to try and ensure that her husband loves her and her alone, the strategy does not only destroy her ability to maintain her motherhood identity both in private and in public, but also psychologically damages her husband. Both will lose esteem in public. Similar to "Amai vevana" and "Eniya" above, the importance of *rudo* (love) as the only factor that fuels a normal marriage is again emphasized in *Patakadanana panga pasina midzi* (When we fell in love there was no love potion) (line 3) but *shoko vaviri takatsidzirana* (*the word [commitment to love] that we promised each other*) (line 4).

Title of song: "Panyaya dzerudo"

Song genre: Didactic-argumentation

RM a: Stating the thesis

RM b: Motivating the thesis

RM c: Reiterating the thesis

RM d: Motivating the thesis

RM e: Motivating the thesis by suggesting safe ways of winning someone's affection

1	<i>Panyaya dzerudo tisashandisa midzi veduwee</i> <i>Kuuraya mumwe wawanga uchagara naye</i>	Please, on love matters let us not use love potion a It is killing someone you were supposed to live with b
	<i>Patakadanana panga pasina midzi,</i> <i>raingova shoko vaviri takatsidzirana</i>	When we fell in love, there were no charms it was only love that we promised each other c

5	<i>Ko nhasi unozove nepapi hauchabvi kwagodobori, hauwani kufadza rudo rwababa?</i>	Today what is your position for consulting the diviner, when you cannot satisfy your husband's love? <b>d</b>
	<i>Kuti runako here runoda kuwedzerwa, nomucheno, mvura parutivi, mafuta nepo openya?</i>	Is it beauty that needs to be enhanced, beautiful clothes, regular bathing, applying cosmetics? <b>e</b>
10	<i>Ukandiponda pfungwa, ramangwana ndichazoitei? Fume ndongowadzana newe wanike wonyara neni</i>	If you destroy my mind, what will I do tomorrow? I will be with you always and this will make you feel embarrassed because of me <b>d</b>

In rhetorical moves **b**, **d** and **e**, which motivate the argument, *mupfuhwira* is counter-productive to the wife's attempt to live her *umai* identity since her husband's condition, due to the impact of the love potion, would not enable her to enjoy motherhood both in the house and in public. In public the wife would be embarrassed because the man will always follow her wherever she goes – *Fume ndongowadzana newe wanike wonyara neni* (I will then be always with you, and you will feel embarrassed [in public]) (line 10). The embarrassment comes from the fact that in Shona (traditional) society if a man is always seen with his wife in public, and particularly if it appears he is docile to her, in the patriarchally dominated public sphere they suspect he is under a 'petticoat government' or as they say in Shona *akadyiswa* (he was love-potioned). The other negative effect of *mupfuhwira* to this woman is that by acquiring it she has surrendered control of her motherhood to the *godobori* ([expert] diviner) (line 5) from whom she acquired it. Because the diviner knows better how the love potion works against the man, every time the woman cannot understand her husband's actions, she has to sneak out and consult the diviner on what to do. Line 5, *Ko nhasi unozove nepapi hauchabvi kwagodobori...?* (What really will be your position when every time you to be at the diviner's place [consulting him] ...?), conveys this point. *Mupfuhwira*'s psychological damage to fatherhood is marshaled by move **b**, *Kuuraya mumwe wawanga uchagara naye* (It is killing someone you were supposed to live with [for life]) (line 2). Although love potion does not kill someone in a physical sense, its husband-taming effect is believed to be psychological. It is believed to weaken a man's faculties by realigning them towards his wife. He will see her as the only attraction and obey her commands in terms of how the marriage and family should be run. Regardless of which area of her husband's character she wants to suppress or control, from a Shona perspective the effect of *mupfuhwira* is domestication of a husband by his wife.<sup>31</sup> In a patriarchal culture that celebrates masculinity such as Shona, the use of love potion is thus condemned since it works to invert and subvert the dominance of the patriarchal ideology in terms of the way it determines gender interaction (directly in marriage in particular and indirectly in the society at large).

<sup>31</sup> Men are believed to also use love potions but this is often said to be rare and a man who does so can be ridiculed if he is discovered because he will be seen as weak in a (patriarchal) society in which men are socially dominant.

The soloist's condemnation of his wife's use of love potion is also a stereotype against women in not only Shona but generally all African cultures. In Shona culture, one major reason why women resort to this surreptitious spouse control method arises out of their subservient *mutorwa* (foreigner) status in the patriarchy based and virilocal marriages (see Musiyiwa, 2009). It is an attempt to mitigate the oppressive patriarchal system by (psychologically) controlling patriarchy's instrument of direct oppression, i.e., her husband. Closely related to this point is also that the use of *mupfuhwira* by a woman is also motivated by her fear of being divorced or her husband taking another wife and putting her in a polygamous relationship. Generally women do not like polygamy. However, in a patriarchal set up, their power to fight against it is severely compromised. More often than not patriarchy plays one woman off against another. If a wife refuses polygamy, her husband can always threaten her with divorce or taking another woman who comes and tries to drive out the first one (see 6.4.1.2 for further discussion on polygamy). However, coming back to the aesthetic of the rediscovery trend, its strength to show us individual struggles and the individuals' attempt to use sanctioned or unsanctioned methods to resolve the problems of their lives cannot be over-emphasized. These are indispensable aspects of married life that happen regardless of what political dispensation prevails in society.

#### **6.4.1.2 The management of the *ubaba* identity**

Although social SOL are dominated by male musicians, the singers have often been reliable mouthpieces for women's challenges in marriage, exposing their abuse by their husbands and partners. The most popular female singers as I discussed in 6.3 above are composers of gospel music and their criticism of men's marriage frailties appear to have been muffled by the intense Christian patriarchal context which informs their music. It appears that even if some female singers choose to strongly criticize men, they fear being labeled 'feminists', an identity that is generally scorned in the Zimbabwean public sphere. Their music would not sell. Consequently, they would rather criticize men within the parameters acceptable to the (dominant) indigenous-Christian patriarchal milieu. Positive *ubaba* in Shona culture should complement *umai* for the latter's sustainable management because, as is proverbially emphasized, *musha/imba mukadzi* (a woman is the pillar of a marriage/family). The celebrated saying is a positive value of APPRECIATION (*valuation*), implying the indispensability of a woman to the stability of a family in spite of the prevailing patriarchal setting. Consequently, a man has to respect his wife. There is a multiplicity of men's actions

often thematized in SOL as impinging on fatherhood (and mutually affecting motherhood). However, for the purposes of this sub-section, to illustrate the songs' concern with the ordinary, I will focus on men as *mhengeramumba* (a man who torments his wife in private); as doing *gumbomumba-gumbopanze* (one leg in the house and another leg outside) and their obsession with *barika* (polygamy). In similarity to the management of the *umai* identity, to live a *ubaba* identity is regulated by Shona culture's ethos which, in the first place, provides for the setting up the family and the rules that govern it. Thus these weaknesses of men in the context of marriage that I discuss in this sub-section form negative ATTITUDE constructed from the vantage point of a Shona (socio-cultural) moral compass.

The identity of *barika* is always associated with men who initiate it and women are in most cases forced into it as first and subsequent wives. It is also a negative evaluation of men's behaviour as they are labeled as not satisfied with one woman. In Zulu's persuasion song "Ndakasikwa" ("I was created"), a husband is being persuaded by his wife not to take another wife. She feels that subjecting her to polygamy will jeopardize her motherhood, especially because *ndine shanje* (I have jealousy) (line 10) *wangu ndewangu ndega* (mine is mine alone) (line 12).<sup>32</sup> Therefore, she personally cannot share her husband with another woman.

Title of song: 'Ndakasikwa'

Song genre: Persuasion

RM a: Orienting the creation story

RM b: Explaining the creation of Eve

RM c: Searching for Eve's gender roles

RM d: Stating Eve's marital roles

RM e: Expressing the woman's desire for her husband

RM f: Expressing the cause of the woman's hatred of polygamy

RM g: Explaining jealousy as everyone's problem

1	L: <i>Mwari wakasika munhu nomufananidzo wake Wakatora munhu ndokumuisa muEdheni</i>	God created a human being in his own image a He took the person and put him in Eden a x 2
	<i>Iro basa raEvha nanhasi tinaye mumba umu Regai ataure</i>	That role of Eve even we have her in the house Let her speak c
5	R: <i>Ini ndakasikirwa kufadza murume nekumupa zvoze zvaanoda</i>	I was created to make my husband happy and to give him everything he wants d
	<i>ndichimupa rudo rwakakwana Iwe murume wangu tichagara tose</i>	and giving him adequate love d You my husband, we will live together d
	<i>Murume wangu, murume wangu ndipe rudo</i>	My husband, my husband give me love e
10	<i>Ini ndine shanje chokwadi Chandisingadi chandisingadi chete kuparikwa</i>	Truly, I have jealousy f What I don't want, what I only don't want is to be polygamized f
	<i>Wangu ndewangu ndega chokwadi</i>	Truly, he who is mine is mine alone f

<sup>32</sup> In other cases, however, jealousy is positively evaluated because it is seen as a sign that a person loves someone although excessive jealousy can also ruin a marriage.

Although the woman's self-evaluation is negative, constituting JUDGEMENT, *social sanction* (*propriety*), her negative self-evaluation is explicitly also negatively evaluating her husband's flirtations with the thought of marrying a second wife. In both traditional and modern Shona culture, polygamy occupies an ambivalent social position as a family mode. While men who claim to have managed it well see it as positive traditional practice, the generality of society is well aware of its inherent social contradictions and would always want to discourage it.<sup>33</sup> Indeed elderly women (and even men), some of whom have practical experience about the institution, always discourage their sons and other male relatives who desire to have it. Besides, the practice is directly dependent on a man's economic muscle. With very few men being rich enough to afford them, it meant that "polygamous marriages have [therefore] always been unusual except among more senior members of a community" (Bourdillon, 1987: 49). However, for the wealthy men, because of the unlimited personal liberty (his patriarchal) society accords him to fall in love (in modern Zimbabwe under customary law) and marry as he wishes, and his quest for a higher social status (through a bigger family), women (and men) against this age-old custom cannot prevent it but endure it when they become its members.

Above I pointed out the subservience of motherhood to fatherhood in the (patriarchal) Shona culture that women generally accept as the norm. The incorporation of the biblical creation myth in the song is used by the wife to justify her desire to remain in a monogamous (marriage) context. In spite of monogamy's (unequal) gender identities tilted in favour of a man, the wife finds the monogamous family mode better because at least she will not compete with another woman for the man's attention. She is happy in her role of being created *kufadza murume nekumupa zvoise zvaanoda* (to please a man [my husband] giving him everything he wants [from me]) (lines 5-6) and *kukudza murume ndichimupa rudo rwakakwana* (to respect him giving him adequate love) (line 7). The adverb *chokwadi* (truly) in *Wangu ndewangu ndega chokwadi* (Truly mine is mine alone) (line 12) which grades the woman feelings against *barika* as high is deployed to demonstrate the woman's detestation of polygamy. The line thus implicitly realizes negative AFFECT (*unhappiness*) which overtly is expressed in *...chandisingade chete kuparikwa* (... the only thing I do not like is to be polygamized) (line 11). The woman's acquiescence to subordination through scriptural justification is an

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<sup>33</sup> Polygamy also enjoys high tellability in Shona literature, the communicative purpose being to demonstrate its socially destructive effects – jealousy, intense hatred among family members which often is depicted as leading to witchcraft, domestic violence, death, etc., in the family.

indication of what Schimdt (1996: 1-2) theorizes (in reference to the social history of Shona women during the colonial period) as the evolution of new forms of women's domination through the mutual reinforcement and transformation of "indigenous and European structures of patriarchal control."

The woman's fears in "Ndakasikwa" are justified in Marko Sibanda's exemplum-didactic song, "Amaiguru" ("Sister-in-law"). The man who has just married a second wife now alienates his first wife, with whom he has five children. He beats her in order to please the new and second one. *Mavakuvarova nekuti kwaita mukadzi mudiki pamba pano* (You are beating her because there is a junior wife in this family) (lines 2-3) articulates this point. The complaint also constitutes an implicit negative JUDGEMENT, *social sanction (propriety)* – the man lacks proper fatherhood behaviour. The husband is criticized for his lack of skills of fatherhood in a polygamous set-up. The song's rhetorical message is not against polygamy as such but how motherhood and fatherhood identities can be managed in a polygamous context. The wives have to be equally treated – *vaenzanise mukoma* (treat them equally [my] brother) (line 9), is the soloist's advice to polygamists if they want to successfully manage their (polygamous) fatherhood identities. The first wife's fulfillment of her motherhood responsibilities is positively assessed. ... *amaiguru ndoovaakuziva zvose zvamunoda imi* (...this sister-in-law is the one who knows everything you want) and ...*vana kuenda kuchikoro ndimaiguru...* (... for children to go to school it is because of the sister-in-law...) (line 4) are covert realization of *social sanction (tenacity)*, i.e., she is dependable and loyal to both her husband and family.

Title of song: "Amaiguru"

Song genre: Exemplum-didactic

RM a: Expressing the man's negative fatherhood

RM b: Articulating the advice to live a positive (polygamous) fatherhood

1	<i>Nhai mukoma madirei kurova maiguru? Mava kuvarova nekuti kwaita mukadzi mudiki pamba pano here?</i>	Surely my brother why have you decided to beat sister-in-law? <b>a</b> You are beating her because of a junior wife you have brought in the family? <b>a</b>
5	<i>Pano vana kuenda kuchikoro ndimaiguru Muri kusarika papi mukoma?  Kikiri kikiri kikiri Yowe!Yowe! babamunini mhanya!</i>	For children to go to school here it is because of your first wife <b>a</b> Where are you getting lost? <b>a</b>  Kikiri kikiri kikiri Yowe!Yowe! brother-in-law please come and help! <b>a</b>
	<i>Munouraya mukadzi nhai mukoma, "Ndokuuraya!"</i>	You will kill your wife brother "I kill you!" <b>a</b>
	L: <i>Vaenzanise mukoma</i>	Treat them equally brother <b>b</b>

10	L: <i>Vakadzi vako vose</i>	Both your wives <b>b</b>
	-----	
	L: <i>Kungava iko pakupfeka</i>	When buying them clothes <b>b</b>
	-----	
	L: <i>Kungava iko pakuvhakacha</i>	When going out with them <b>b</b>
	-----	
	L: <i>Kungava iko pakubika</i>	When providing them with something to cook <b>b</b>
	-----	
	L: <i>Kungava iko pakudanana</i>	When you love them <b>b</b>
15	L: <i>Kungava iko pantshantshantsha</i>	When you kiss them <b>b</b>
	-----	
	L: <i>Kurova-rova mukoma</i>	Brother, the habit of beating <b>b</b>
	R: <i>Kwakaipa imi</i>	Is bad <b>b</b>
	-----	

The man's new (negative) habit of beating his first wife (since the marriage of the second) described as *kurova-rova* (beating repeatedly) (line 16) is explicitly condemned. The relative *kwakaipa* (it is bad) (line 17) is a value of negative JUDGEMENT, *social sanction (propriety)* condemning this behaviour which, to make matters worse, may cause death in the family – *unouraya mukadzi* (you kill your wife) (line 7). The rhetorical question: *Muri kusarika papi mukoma?* (Where are you missing it brother?) (line 5) adds to the negative evaluation to emphasize that the man has lost his fatherhood bearings. As a communicative strategy storytelling is used in the song to reinforce the condemnation of the man's fatherhood deficit, in particular the actual wife-battering. The switch from the singing to the storytelling introduces the intensification of negative AFFECT. *Yowe! Yowe!* (interjection denoting crying) realizes the emotion of *uhappiness*, the cries of the first wife being beaten. *Ndokuuraya!* (I kill you!) (line 8) is a phrase expressing anger and the intention to harm which constitutes negative AFFECT (*dissatisfaction*).

To restore harmony in the family, the father is advised to treat the wives equally – *vaenzanise* (treat them equally) *pakupfeka* (when buying them clothes) (line 11); *pakuvhakacha* (when visiting) (line 12); *pakubika* (when cooking) (line 13); *pakudanana* (when loving them) (line 14) and *pantshantshantsha* (an interjective denoting kissing) (line 15) which expresses affection and thus realizing positive AFFECT (*happiness*). Upper class marriages may find this advice nonsensical, but this is what constitutes the lives of spouses in an ordinary family and how their daily challenges are resolved and daily struggles fought. The advice that the man's young brother gives him is, however, a modern way of trying to deal with the challenges of polygamy. In a traditional polygamy the wives are not equal but ranked in terms of seniority. The second and subsequent wives are all under the supervision and seniority of the first wife. However, in practice this was in many cases not adhered to as the family space became an arena for competition to attract the husband's attention, resulting in all sorts of conflicts. The move towards equality of spouses is an attempt by the ordinary to incorporate modern gender

issues into the family, although, in this case the equality is not a cross-gender but intra-gender one. However, the fact that the ordinary people are aware of how their “systems of values” “undergo changes under certain prevailing conditions”, and (hence) the need to make them compatible with change, “constitutes the essential drama in the lives of the ordinary people” (Ndebele, 2006: 49).

In modern times men’s obsession with polygamy has taken the form of a ‘small house’. This commonly used term refers to a secret marriage an already married man establishes with another woman whom he visits and spends time with without the knowledge of his legal (or first) wife. This normally happens in urban settings among all classes, but especially the middle and upper classes. The man feels that having his wives stay in the same house may cause him public embarrassment since polygamy does not go along with the western values (education, Christianity, white collar job, etc.) that he has acquired. So he clandestinely marries another wife builds or rents her a house in another part of the city or another city or town. However, from both Shona and Christian perspectives, small house conjugal relations are considered immoral, akin to cohabitation. Thus the term is a covert value of negative JUDGEMENT of the *social sanction (propriety)* type. In Leonard Zhakata’s exemplum-argumentation song, “Small house” men are constructed as cheaters – *vanopika* (they swear) and *vanovimbisa zvenhema* (they promise falsehoods) to their wives (that they will never marry another woman) but later secretly create these socially condemned *small houses*. In the song, a wife who thinks her husband is committed only to her, is shocked to discover that he has secretly married another woman. While men are condemned for their failure to stick to one marriage partner, the song also posits the argument that *shoko rekuti rudo tingarizive tose asi vanorunzwisisa vashoma chose* (we may all know the word love, but those who understand it are very few).

Title of song: “Small house”

Song genre: Exemplum-argumentation

RM a: Stating the argument

RM b: Motivating the argument

RM c: Rejecting a polygamous relationship

RM d: Expressing support the decision to reject polygamy

1	<i>Handidi zvangu, handidi zvangu kugavaniswa murudo</i> <i>Yanetsa nyaya yetuma</i> small house <i>Yanetsa nyaya yedzimba dzeruvande</i> <i>Yanetsa nyaya yetumase</i> second house	I do not want, for me I do not want to be doubled in love c The issue of small houses has caused problems d The issue of marriages of secrecy has caused problems d The issue of second houses has caused problems d
5	<i>Yanetsa nyaya yedzimba dzeruvande</i> <i>Irwo rudo runobhebha kwandiri runobhebha</i> <i>Ramba, ramba iwewe kugavaniswa murudo</i>	The issue of marriages of secrecy has caused problems d Love burns in me, it burns c Refuse, you refuse to be doubled in love c

The soloist's remark, *Yanetsa nyaya yetumasmall house* (The issue of these little small houses has caused trouble) (line 2), is deployed to convey how the new social phenomenon has compromised identity management within the family. The noun prefix *tu-* (class 13) in *tumasmall house* and *yetumasecond house* (line 4) implies their smallness and inferiority as sources of scorn and lack of social legitimacy. Similarly their survival through secrecy as expressed in the phrase *dzimba dzeruvande* (houses of secrecy) (line 5, is yet again a covert negative *social sanction* – they are constructed as immoral. They are seen as worse than the normal polygamy that has no need for secrecy. Besides these moral concerns, like the jealous woman in “Ndakasikwa” above, the wife in this song is not comfortable with having to share a husband with another woman. *Handidi zvangu, handidi zvangu kugavaniswa murudo* (I don't want, I don't want to be doubled in love) (line 1) expresses her anti-small house feelings. The repetition of the sentence *handidi zvangu* (I don't want) emphasizes her negative assessment of the small house phenomenon through negative AFFECT (*unhappiness* and *insecurity*). The singer re-stresses the same feelings by concurring with the woman's resolve: *...ramba iwe kugavaniswa rudo* (... you should refuse being doubled in love) (line 7).

The *mhengeramumba* (a man who torments his wife in private) encompasses condemned behaviour such as wife-bashing, scolding, neglect etc. that a man commits in the privacy of the home. This often takes place in spite of the man being held in high esteem in the community because his neighbours have no knowledge of what is taking place inside his house. Such behaviour is always criticized because it curtails not only the wife's ability to fulfill her motherhood identities, but the man as well. Worse still, it has deep psychological effects for the wife because even if she tells some people in the neighbourhood, they might not believe her because of the admiration they have for her husband. This is the rhetorical purpose of Nicholas Zacharia's exemplum-didactic song, “Mhengeramumba”.

Title of song: “Mhengeramumba”

Song genre: Exemplum-didactic

RM a: Condemning a husband's behaviour

RM b: Qualifying the behaviour

RM c: Advising on proper fatherhood

1 *Kana uri mumba medu unovava semhiripiri*  
*Kana wabuda kunze unova munhu munyoro-nyoro*

When you are in the house you are bitter like hot chilli a  
When you are in public you become a soft person a x 2

-----  
*Sei uchindishungurudza mwoyo wangu?*

Why do you torment my heart? a

5 *Kana kuri kupenga,*  
*pengai nekunze kwese baba vevana*

If it is about going beserk,  
then do so both in the house and in public father of [my] children c

Like the woman in “Mai vevana” above, the man’s domestic disposition towards anger is graded as of high intensity through the verb phrase *unovava* (you become extremely angry) (line 1). However, the fact that the anger is likened to the bitterness of *mhiripiri* (chilli/pepper) (line 1), it means that it has become extremely unbearable to the wife – a regular psychological torment. The rhetorical question *Sei uchindishungurudza mwoyo wangu?* (Why do you torment my heart?) (line 3), articulates this point. From the woman’s experience the verb phrase *uchindishungurudza* (tormenting me) (line 3), her feelings can be categorized as implicitly realized AFFECT (*unhappiness*). The man’s behaviour is condemned because it is difficult to correct; as earlier pointed out, he has a dualized temperament of extreme feeling, good in public and bad in private – a *mhiripiri* (chilli) in the house and *kunze unova munhu munyoro-nyoro* (outside you become a very soft person) (line 2). Here is a complex character evaluated both in negative and positive terms. The reduplicated adjective *munyoro-nyoro* (literally soft-soft) forms positive JUDGEMENT, *social sanction (propriety)*, i.e., the man is well-behaved and in public his fatherhood earns him a good reputation as a family man. On the other hand, his *mhiripiri* temperament once he gets into his house constitutes negative JUDGEMENT of the same category. His dichotomized character thus affects both spouses’ attempt to live by their marital identities in private although the husband does live by his in public at the expense of his wife. It is for this reason that the wife demands a consistent character from her husband; *Kana kuri kupenga, pengai nekunze kwese baba vevana* (If its madness, then be mad also in public [not only in private]) (lines 4-5). From the analysis, it is clear that the *mhengeramumba* identity constitutes both negative JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION. As a man’s behaviour the *mhengeramumba* disposition is highly detested by all women.<sup>34</sup>

The problem of male/husband-instigated domestic violence which is also encompassed in the *mhengeramumba* character and its adverse effects on motherhood and childhood is the rhetorical message of Mtukudzi’s exemplum song, “Baba” (“Father”). The fact that the song

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<sup>34</sup> Moderkai Hamutyinei’s celebrated Shona didactic-cautionary poem “Mhengeramumba imhandu kuchembere” (“A husband who abuses his wife in secrecy is an enemy to old women”), shows the depth to which the identity is hated by especially old women. Having endured some of the worst experiences of marriage, they practically know how such abuse (of both fatherhood and motherhood) affects a wife. In the poem, the man described as *hondongwe yerume* (a heavily built man), to emphasize his masculinity, woke up at dawn and demanded *sadza* from his pregnant wife simply because he wanted to go early to a beer party. When the wife failed to prepare as quickly as he wanted (because of her condition), the man bashed her with his huge fists and she fell down unconscious. On hearing about the incident the village’s old women invaded the couple’s home and took turns to chide the abusive man and give him lessons on proper fatherhood. Embarrassed, the man asked for forgiveness (see the poem in The Literature Bureau, *Nhetembo [Poems]* Gweru: Mambo Press, 1972).

is a revival from the 1980s and still relevant to post-2000 social life, does not only emphasize its timelessness, but its relevance to construing the challenges that have since time immemorial beleaguered ordinary (family) life. The song mainly consists of ideational resources construing the experiences of children in a family run by an abusive father. The song shows how alcohol abuse by a father affects not only his *ubaba* identity but more profoundly the *humai* and *mwana* (child) identities. The noun *chidhakwa* (drunkard) (line 7) used to describe the man is a resource for negative JUDGEMENT, for categories of both *social sanction (propriety)* and *social esteem (normality)*. The fact that the narrative voice making this evaluation is that of children is a style stance intended to make the listener sympathize with the children and their mother, meanwhile detesting the father's negative behaviour. The song's voice thus constitutes implicit AFFECT (*insecurity* and *unhappiness*). The song stresses the point that a man cannot harmoniously manage his marriage/family whilst sustaining a *chidhakwa* identity.

Title of song: "Baba"

Song genre: Exemplum

RM a: Criticizing their father's bad behaviour

RM b1: Stating the effects of the behaviour on children

RM b2: Stating the effects of the behaviour on the wife

1	L: <i>Imi baba manyanya, kurova mai</i> <i>Ndimi baba manyanya, kutuka mai</i> ----- <i>Munoti isu vana tingafara seiko?</i> ----- <i>Kana mai vachichema pameso pedu</i> -----	Father you have beaten mother excessively, a It's you father who has done it excessively, scolding mother a  How can we, as children going to be happy [with it?] b1  When mother cries in our sight b1
5	<i>Hunzi ponda hako ndifire pavana vangu</i> ----- R: <i>Tozeza baba</i> L: <i>Baba chidhakwa</i> ----- L: <i>Vauya vadhakwa</i> -----	She declares you can murder me and I shall die for [for the sake of] my children b2  We fear [our] father b1 Father is a drunkard a  He came [home] drunk a

The negative identity leads him into regularly scolding and bashing his wife, what the protagonists call *kutuka mai* (scolding mother) (line 2) and *kurova mai* (beating mother) (line 1). The impact of this to the children is deep-seated fear of their father whenever he comes home drunk – *Tozeza baba, vauya vadhakwa* (We fear [our] father, he has come [home] drunk) (line 8). The appalling sight of their mother being beaten and weeping is also hard to come to terms with. The verb phrases *tozeza* (we fear) (line 6) and *vachichema* (when she weeps) (line 4) are resources for explicit negative AFFECT (*unhappiness*). The fact that the father's negative behaviour is graded as excessive through the verb phrase *manyanya* (you do it excessively) (lines 1-2) shows how the father's negative behaviour has gone beyond redress. Shockingly, in spite of the sustained violence the mother regularly endures, she is

determined to stay put – *ponda hako ndifire pavana vangu* (murder me so that I die where my children are) (line 5). Although indeed the man’s behaviour is intolerable, the wife’s readiness to die for the sake of her children implicitly realizes positive *social esteem (tenacity)*. She is constructed as displaying heroic motherhood. As is constructed in SSS and NGS, she has to embody the *kushinga* (courage) identity as well in order to manage her motherhood identity. She fears that her present suffering is less important compared to the suffering her children will experience if she divorces her husband, as the soloist’s worry in “Panyaya dzerudo” above.

Similar to a *mhengeramumba* is also a man who is so disrespectful of his wife that, besides threatening to divorce her like the wife in “Amai vevana” above, he also criticizes her in the neighborhood among his friends. This is the communicative purpose of Josphat Somanje’s exemplum hit “Handibvume” (“I won’t accept”). However, despite her husband’s bad fatherhood the woman, like in Mtukudzi’s “Baba”, vows to remain in the marriage for the sake of their children, unless the husband could do the impossible – *wondimedzesa vana vangu* (you make me swallow my children) (line 3).

Title of song: “Handibvume”

Song genre: Exemplum

RM **a**: Expressing the protagonist resolve of how to deal with threat of divorce

RM **b**: Expressing the protagonist’s strategy of dealing with the problem

RM **c**: Expressing the consequences of her strategy to her husband

RM **d**: Stating the husband’s negative fatherhood

1	<i>Murume wangu handibve pano</i>	My husband I will not leave this place <b>a</b>
	<i>Kana wati ndibve pano</i>	If you want me to leave,
	<i>wondimedzesa vana vangu</i>	make me swallow my children <b>b</b>
	<i>Ini ndodzokera paya</i>	Then return me to my maiden days <b>b</b>
5	<i>Pawakandiona ndiri</i>	That time when you saw me <b>b</b>
	<i>Iwe wotangazye kundipfimba</i>	Then start again to court me <b>b</b>
	<i>Kana wandipfimba ndoramba</i>	If you court me I will not accept <b>b</b>
	<i>This time handibvume</i>	This time I will refuse <b>c</b>
	<i>This time hauhwine</i>	This time you will not win <b>c</b>
10	I don’t want this nonsense <b>c</b>	
	<i>This time haulume</i>	This time you will not succeed <b>c</b>
	R: <i>Unolumila</i>	You will lose <b>d</b>
	<i>Kutuka nekwandakabva</i>	You scold even where I come from <b>d</b> x 2
	<i>Kundishora kushamwari</i>	You criticize me among your friends <b>d</b> x 2
15	<i>Murume wangu wazonjanya</i>	My husband you have gone beyond limits <b>d</b>
	R: <i>He-e vadzimai vangu havaite shamwari</i>	He-e my friend, my wife is not right <b>d</b>
	<i>Mairosi hauhwine</i>	Mairos you will not win <b>c</b>

Like the man in “Baba” his negative behaviour of *kutaura* (talking negatively) *kutuka nekwandakabva* (scolding [even] where I came from [i.e., her parents]) (line 13) and *kundishora kushamwari* (showing your contempt of me among your friends) (line 14) has reached the limits the wife can tolerate. It is graded as excessive – *Murume wangu wazonyanya* (My husband you have gone beyond limits) (line 15). The use of colloquial language such as *haulume* (you will not bite [it], implying you will not succeed) (line 11) and *unolumila* (you will not succeed) (line 12) constitutes Bakhtinian carnival, satirizing the man’s behaviour through language resources expressing laughter. The fact that the woman swears at her husband, *This time handibvume* (This time you won’t win) (line 8) and *This time hauhwine* (This time you won’t succeed) (line 9) and also refers to her husband by his first name, *Mairosi* (line 17) and not consistently by the affectionate *Murume wangu* (My husband) (line 1) is an expression of the withdrawal of spousal respect. It also realizes covert negative AFFECT (*dissatisfaction*) as it expresses the protagonist’s anger against her husband.

The song expresses one of the greatest regrets of life, unfortunately one whose consequences are irreversible, the discovery after a long time that one is married to a wrong partner. This is what the woman in this song expresses by challenging her husband to do the impossible; have her swallow her children, return her back in time to their courtship days and she bets him, *Kana wandipfimba ndoramba* (If you propose to me I will not accept) (line 7). Such a longing for (the impossible) retrogressive identity transformation, from mother to maiden, defying as it does the biological process of growth, is nothing but an articulation of regret. It is thus one of the strengths of the ordinary aesthetic tradition to percolate into the imagination of individuals to reveal their shattered dreams and regrets and above all their endeavor to soldier on with their lives. Individuals’ insistence to remain in marriage in spite its inherent challenges dramatizes the heroism of the ordinary and their stoic belief that through time negative behaviour will change. Besides, its alternation with good behaviour is seen as intrinsic to the reality of life. Thus giving time to a problem is one way ordinary people try to resolve the cobweb of challenges that bedevil their existence from time to time and in the process maintain their culturally celebrated identities. This is in contrast to the identities of the (political) spectacle which can be easily discarded and another one assumed.

Earlier I contended that some SOL can also assume a spectacular representation in cases where the breach of socially critical moral codes (such as marriage values) has gone beyond expected boundaries and triggers public (moral) shock. This is the case with Sibanda’s

narrative-anecdote-exemplum song “Kuronga” (“Stratagem”) (also popularly known as “Jambanja pahotera” [“Chaos at the hotel”]). While in the songs analyzed in this section either a wife or husband is criticized for compromising family/marriage identities, in this song both a husband and wife mutually fail to manage their respective marriage identities, resulting in their public embarrassment. As I have already illustrated, it may be tolerable, though condemned, for one’s spouse’s actions to be the problem in marriage. But when both decide to deviate from their respective marriage identities and, particularly, indulge in extra-marital affairs, society sees this as outlandish; a negative (moral) spectacle. Both of them have lost not only the obligatory conjugal commitment to each other but also to marriage and family, the ordinary people’s most celebrated social institution. However, contrary to the political spectacle of GNS and SSS, the social SOL’s spectacle is apolitical in outlook. Baba Itai (Itai’s Father) decides to cheat on his wife by having extra-marital affairs with his neighbour’s wife, Mai Rudo (Rudo’s Mother). On discovering the clandestine relationship, Baba Rudo decides to revenge by having a counter affair with Baba Itai’s wife, Mai Itai. The couples’ extra-marital affairs only become public at a city hotel, after both coincidentally booked themselves for a night. All hell broke loose in the following morning when they discovered each other on their way to the bathroom. The rhetorical purpose of the narrative-anecdote-exemplum song is that spouses should not take vengeance on each other (in this case by the same behavioural weakness of the other spouse). This will result in a public drama that embarrasses both. This is usually in matters regarding the *gumbomumba-gumbopanze* (literally leg-inside-house and leg-outside-house, meaning having extra-marital affairs [especially sex]) weakness of a spouse. The song shows that it is one of the most difficult temptations of a marriage. Each spouse is constantly engaged in an individual internal struggle of trying to rein in culturally prohibited feelings such as *ruchiva* (covetousness [towards another man/woman’s spouse]) which if unchecked usually leads to extra-marital affairs.

The song also shows how certain social pressures can turn good people into bad people. Mai Itai and Baba Rudo were committed to their marital identities until their spouses cheated on them. Unfortunately the two’s attempt to seek revenge by also deceiving their estranged spouses turns them into condemnable spouses who have failed to uphold their marital identities. In pursuit of vindictiveness, they end up, together with their covetous spouses, being a public laughing stock, all the four being painted by the same brush as *nzenza* (persons of loose morals). The fact that the singer identifies the four by their marital identities, *Baba*

*Itai* (Itai's Father) and *Mai Itai* (Itai's Mother) (lines 5-6) on one hand, and *Baba Rudo* (Rudo's Father) and *Mai Rudo* (Rudo's Mother) on the other, is a reminder of the importance of their fatherhood and motherhood identities. However, Baba Itai has a serious weakness of *ruchiva* (covetousness), a noun realizing negative JUDGEMENT, *social sanction (propriety)*. He is covetous of his neighbour's wife and decides to propose to her. His neighbour's wife, Mai Rudo, although she is similarly constructed (being covetous of Baba Itai material possessions – his car and money), her other weakness, according to the singer, is that as a woman, under pressure from a suitor, she cannot resist his proposals. This gender stereotype is valorized through the rhetorical question, *Amai Rudo semunhu wemukadzi aigodii?* (As a woman, what would Rudo's mother have done?) (line 17), ... *akakabva abvumawo* (... and she accepted) (line 18). What is more, Baba Itai is also a *zigweregwere*, *zimudhara remadhiri* (a criminal-minded person, an old man of shoddy deals) (line 8). *Semunhu wemukadzi* suggests mental weakness. It is an implicit negative value of JUDGEMENT, *social esteem (capacity)*. That is why he owns a sophisticated car that every woman in the neighbourhood envies, desiring to be Baba Itai's wife – *Madzimai vese ...nechomumwoyo vachiti asi dai ndanga ndirini mukadzi wacho* (All [married] women... saying in their hearts if only I was his wife) (lines 11-12), *Tiri mukati imomo naye* (I would ride the car together with him) (line 13). The fact that Baba Itai's criminal behaviour is qualified as habitual, *Baba Itai segweregwere...* (As a cheat, Itai's father...) and also as excessive using the noun prefix *zi-* (class 21, denoting huge sizes) in *zigweregwere* and not simply described as *gweregwere* (class 5, with zero prefix), is deployed to demonstrate the extent of his criminal activities. Again his description by the member-in-charge after their arrest as *iri rine maziziso maziombe iri* (this one with very huge eyes) articulates the same negative evaluation. This is akin to Bakhtin's grotesque realism. Here Baba Itai's negative behaviour and body organs (in this case his eyes) are exaggerated for comic effect, reinforcing the negative evaluation of the character's moral shortcomings.

Title of song: "Kuronga"

Song genre: Narrative-anecdote-exemplum

RM a: Expressing the drama at the hotel

RM b: Expressing invitation to see the spectacle

RM c: Introducing the story's characters and their behaviour

RM d: Expressing the initial cause of the moral spectacle – violation of a marital norm

RM e: Revelation (to Rudo's father) of the extra-marital affair

RM f: Expressing Rudo's father's intention to take revenge

RM g: Expressing the enjoyment of (illicit) pleasure

RM h: Evaluating the couples' negative behaviour

RM i: Describing the moral spectacle

**RM j: Articulating the moral lesson**

1	Singing <i>Jambanja pahotera!</i> ----- <i>Uyai muone!</i> ----- <i>Paita matauro</i> ----- <i>Paita kusawirirana</i>	Really there is chaos at the hotel! <b>a</b>  Come and see! <b>b</b>  There is a problem <b>b</b>  There is some misunderstanding <b>b</b>
5	Narration <i>Aiva Baba vaItai naMai Itai</i> <i>Next door yavo ari Baba Rudo naMai Rudo</i> <i>Baba vaRudo aiva mutyairi wemagoneti, matransport</i> ----- <i>Baba vaItai raiva zigweregwere, zimudhara remadhiri,</i> <i>Aiva nemota yekuti akarova starter,</i>	It was Itai's Father and Itai's Mother <b>c</b> Their neighbours being Rudo's Father and Rudo's Mother <b>c</b> Rudo's Father was a truck driver <b>c</b>  Itai's father was a cheat, an old man of shoddy deals <b>c</b> He had a sophisticated car which when he started it
10	<i>Madzimai ese aibuda panze achitarisa,</i> ----- <i>Asi nechomumwoyo vachiti</i> <i>asi dai ndanga ndirini mukadzi wacho,</i> <i>Tiri mukati imomo naye</i>  <i>Khaxhaxhaxhaxhaaaaaaaa!</i>	All women would come out to see it,  But inside saying I wish I was his wifec Being with him inside that car <b>c</b>  [Laughing] <b>h</b>
15	<i>Aa, zvineiwo baba vaItai vakabva</i> <i>vatanga kuita ruchiva kuna Mai Rudo</i> <i>Amayi Rudo semunhu wemukadzi aigodii?</i> <i>Agarirwa nezigwere-gwere akabva abvumawo</i> -----	Aa, then Itai's father became covetous of Mai Rudo <b>d</b> As a woman what could Mai Rudo do? <b>d</b> Pressured by the criminal-minded person she accepted <b>d</b>
20	<i>Kunzi, "Baba vaRudo, zviri kuita mukadzi</i> <i>wako paraini apa hiiiiiitiihi!"</i> ----- <i>Aaa pahotera vakafara vanhu ava ndokukangamwa</i> <i>kudzokera kumba ndokurara pahotera</i> ----- <i>Aa faiti yakatanga kune vanhu foo ava</i> <i>Kikirikikiri! "Ndokurova!"</i>	That, "Rudo's father, what your wife is doing in this neighbourhood, hiiiiiitiihi!" <b>e</b>  These people really enjoyed themselves at the hotel and they forgot to return home and spent the night at the hotel <b>g</b>  Aa and a fight started among the four people Kikirikikiri! "I am going to beat you!" <b>i</b>
25	<i>Matauro achidhonha vashandi vepahotera vachidzose</i> ----- <i>Mupurisa paakasvika akati, "Ishura ripi</i> <i>ramunoda kutiitira pahotera pano? Pfekai!"</i> <i>Vakamhanya ndokupinda mudzimba dzekupfeka</i>	The towels falling and the hotel workers quickly tying them (to the bodies) <b>i</b>  When the police arrived they said, "What kind of bad omen that you do at a hotel? Put on your clothes!" <b>i</b> They ran to their rooms and dressed up

The song-story abounds with linguistic resources which are deployed for dramatic ends and help to solidify the negative JUDGEMENT, *social sanction* (propriety) and negative APPRECIATION. Although Martin & White (2005) and Martin (2000) consider something dramatic as realizing positive APPRECIATION, I argue that although an incident may be emotionally captivating and fascinating, if causality is conceived as negative, as in this song, in spite of its drama the incident is of negative APPRECIATION. The term *jambanja* (chaos) (from title of song and line 1) and the invitational line *Uyai muone!* (Come and see!) (line 2) construe the dramatic element of the incident. In combining singing and storytelling, Sibanda demonstrates scintillating skill in fusing two of the rendition modes for comic representation

of the urban family.<sup>35</sup> It is why the song under analysis also carries the rhetorical message of a humorous anecdote. I stated in chapter two that the event being described in an anecdote could also be comic, the intention being to share a joke, besides also being tragic in tone. Rhetorical moves **a**, **b** and particularly move **i** which focuses on the zenith of the story's dramatic episode, justify the classification of the song also as an anecdote. Conversation is employed in the song to heighten the drama. This is because the dialogue between Baba vaItai and Mai vaRudo, to deceive their spouses and have a good time out, and the same for Baba vaRudo and Mai vaItai, is indeed spectacular in view of what their motherhood and fatherhood identities compel them to do.

The accelerating plot, suspense and the coincidence of having the couples book at the same hotel in their pursuance of illicit pleasure further strengthen the story's dramatic representation. The interjective *Hiiiiiihi* (which denotes raising curiosity or keenness) (line 20) constitutes what Bakhtin refers to as emotional representation (as earlier stated). It is a value of negative JUDGEMENT, *social sanction* (propriety), i.e., there is something fishy going on. The same is true for *Xhaxhaxhaxhaaaaaaaaa!* (line 14), an interjective for laughter. While it realizes AFFECT (*happiness*) it also implicitly construes negative JUDGEMENT, *social sanction* (*propriety*). What is taking place between the two couples is morally laughable. It also constitutes Bakhtinian carnivalesque laughter; the couples' behaviour is no longer consistent with the values of motherhood and fatherhood in ways that are extremely embarrassing, thus they ought to be publicly ridiculed. Other linguistic resources construing spectacular representation include idiophones *Ngriririririii* (the sound of a ringing phone, and it denotes calling someone); *Haaaaaaaaaaaa* (the sound of a police vehicle, a Land Rover popularly called Santana<sup>36</sup>); *Kikirikiri!* (ideophones denoting people fighting) (line 24); *dzvi* (holding someone/thing firmly) to refer to how Baba Rudo got hold of Mai Rudo in the passage to the bathroom; *cheu* (a sudden look back). The body descriptions *maziziso maziombe* and *zigweregwere* (line 8), also make the representation of the incident dramatic. The way the fight between the two couples is described, which marks the zenith of the moral drama, is also spectacular – *Matauro achidhonha vashandi vepahotera vachidzosea* (The towels falling and the hotel workers quickly picking them up and tying them [to the bodies])

<sup>35</sup> His other songs, "Amaiguru" ("Senior brother's wife") which criticizes polygamy and "Ane nyaya" ("S/he has an issue"), which is about a certain man who fell in love with his friend's wife unknowingly, demonstrate Marko Sibanda scintillating skill in fusing singing and storytelling in his comic representation of the urban family.

<sup>36</sup> It was used by the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) and was quite popular with the public, although its presence was feared.

(line 25). The fact that they (through the fight) present their naked bodies for public consumption is carnivalesque humour intended to demonstrate their moral worthlessness and vulnerability as fathers and mothers. Their breach of moral values has no precedence, hence it is described by the police as *shura* (mysterious event or bad omen) in the rhetorical question *Ishura ripi ramunoda kutiitira pahotera pano?* (What kind of mystery/bad omen that you do here at a hotel?) (lines 26-27). The public can now witness without doubt that the four have failed to manage their marital identities. Putting on their clothes is no longer necessary, because to them it appears more humiliating than to remain naked or semi-nude (with the towels on). As a result they only realized the dignity of having one's clothes on in public when a policeman orders them, *Pfekai!* (Put on your clothes!) (line 27).

The four puzzle questions which the singer asks do not only show the spectacle of individual embarrassment, but also how marriage identities are becoming difficult to manage in an urban setting with its lure of material things and longing for pleasurable (western) lifestyles. The questions which the singer does not answer are: 1. After the scuffle at the hotel, when the four were being taken to the police station, how were they seated in the police van? As legal couples sitting next to each other or as extra-marital partners? 2. When they arrived at the police station and told to sit on a bench, did they sit next to each other as legal spouses or as extra-marital partners? 3. After they were asked to pay fines for public fighting, did the men pay for their legal wives or extra-marital partners? 4. After being released, how did they go home, as legal or extra-marital partners? 5. On arrival at their homes, did the wives follow their legal or their extra-marital husband? These questions typify the thoroughly investigative nature of ordinary representation, showing the tapestry of life and how individuals try to make meaning out of it, succeeding and failing at the same time. Their manner of sitting in the police van, in the charge office and how they went home is asked because it is crucial to see the sort of motherhood and fatherhood they are committed to. Sitting and going home as extra-marital couples would implicitly indicate negative JUDGEMENT, *social sanction (propriety)* – the four have decided to quit their sanctioned marital identities in quest of culturally unsanctioned ones. Sitting and going home as legal spouses would be uncomfortable, because of their mutually disastrous behaviour. Similarly, on arrival at home, if they paired each other as legal spouses while entering their houses does it suggest that the complicating event has been resolved? In spite of these complex questions, the public explosion of the couples' extra-marital escapades has humbled them. It has reminded them to go back to Chipanga's warning in "Rudo rwakafanana nemoto" ("Love is like fire"), that if

love is not handled properly, *musha wacho unoparara* (the marriage/family crumbles). Sibanda's reminds the couples through authoritative (proverbial) language that *Fambira chimwe chete seamburenzi kutakura murwere kwete mufi* (Go on an errand for a single purpose like an ambulance that [only] fetches patients and not corpses). This implies that one has to focus only on managing his culturally approved marital identities (in spite of challenges s/he may encounter) rather than deviating to satisfy individual interests inimical to the family/marriage.

Leaving the singer's didacticism, it can be argued that the incident shows the complex situation in which the modern urban African family finds itself. It always works against spouses' dignities to live their socially celebrated identities. They are torn between the irresistible attraction to western pleasure and the (cultural) demand to commit themselves to marriage values. Itai's father's obsession with a western lifestyle turns him into a habitual criminal so as to have money and buy sophisticated cars. Married women's desire to enjoy the same lifestyle is seen in their covetousness of Baba Itai's car, each one of them (although already married) wishing to be Baba Itai's wife and enjoy his riches. This is also seen at the hotel when Mai Rudo orders chips and sausages and despised *madora* (caterpillars) – an African relish that she is used to eating at home. The relentless longing to enjoy western pleasure is shown by the fact that the two couples found the (western) pleasure so enjoyable at the hotel that *ndokuganganwa kudzokera kumba ndokurara pahotera* (they forgot to go back home and they spend the night at that hotel) (lines 21-22). Implicitly this constitutes negative *social esteem (capacity)* – the pleasure weakens the four mentally and they forget their responsibilities as parents and spouses. The fact that the singer-storyteller does not resolve the “disruption of usuality” (Martin & Rose, 2007: 51) between the couples but merely responds to it through humorous negative AFFECT, signifies this entrapment between traditional family values and the desire for modernity's freedom. After the moral drama and their punishment, the complicating event is clearly not over, because primarily it is between spouses in each of the two couples, but the storyteller only asks some complex questions for the couples without stating how each resolved the issue as husband and wife. Thus it is social change and its impact on traditional values that the singer is more concerned with, motivating Ndebele's (2006: 49) argument that the dynamism of these values (and individuals' struggle to maintain them) is what lies at the heart of drama of ordinary lives.

## 6.5 CONCLUSION

Applying Ndebele's "rediscovery of the ordinary" theory to complement APPRAISAL's system of ATTITUDE, I have demonstrated that as the third cluster of songs in the post-2000 Zimbabwean taleworld, in its evaluation of human behaviour through identity construction, SOL largely privileges plebeian life. With some revisions to Ndebele's theory, I argued that in some cases spectacular representation is adopted such as in (religious) ruptures dealing with the scriptural theme of eschatology and social SOL focusing on some bizarre violations of social norms. Despite this observation and its illustration, SOL songs generally circumvent political issues. Their comment on the political, if any, takes place sub-textually and may not actually be the singer's authorial intention but a critic's discursive interpretation. Explicitly they give high tellability to individuals' personal struggles to attain the meaning of their lives within their relations with others in various institutions and guided by Christian and Shona social values. Unlike the (collective) political identities in GNS and SVS, the individual centred *mufudzi*, *mutendi* and *mutadzi* (Christian) identities and *umai* and *ubaba* (familial/matrimonial) identities are constructed as complex and difficult to manage. But because their accomplishment is socially constructed as constituting the essence of life, individuals strive to achieve them. The inclusion of SOL in this study therefore provides a full picture of the narrativization of the post-2000 realities in Zimbabwe, an issue that has largely been omitted in previous scholarship on Zimbabwean popular music.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 7.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I discuss the findings of my study with the aim to present its contribution to research on the Zimbabwean popular song genre. I also intend to make suggestions concerning further research to tap more into the critical issues embodied in the Shona popular song and also the songs' fascinating language appropriation for communicative purposes in the Zimbabwean public sphere. I therefore recapitulate the importance of the topic of my research; demonstrate and justify how the multi-perspective model I adopted gave me interesting results; the major conclusions I reached in the close analysis of the songs' lyrics and also make recommendations for future research.

#### 7.2 THE RELEVANCE OF THE TOPIC

The importance of my research topic lies in its recognition of the unique appropriation of the Shona popular song for communicative functions in its narrativization of post-2000 period in Zimbabwe. I specifically focused on the period 2000-2012 having observed the unique appropriation of popular music in the Zimbabwean public sphere in distinct ways when compared to previous periods. Previous scholars such as Mano (2007) and Allen (2004), and Finnegan (1970) before them, have all noted the important phenomenon in which popular songs in Africa significantly act as mass media. They argue that although as entertainment, they are also a platform for disseminating information, conveying opinions, influencing public debate, etc., in similar ways to what the mass media does. However, on account of the excessive and widespread use of popular music for various rhetorical purposes by the state, the opposition and the ordinary people, I have focused on how songs act as narratives which can be used to tap into varied experiences of post-2000 Zimbabwe. Whereas the period has been quite productive in several forms of art, popular music became the most vibrant and more influential of cultural productions. It far exceeded the liberation war period because of not only the diversity of the musical genres produced and the range of composers and singers, but also the intertextuality of the songs. Old *chimurenga* songs were revived, modified and new ones composed by a wide range of artists – ordinary musicians, political activists, politicians and even government ministers. Another interesting feature of the period is the

proliferation of pro-opposition songs, despite their proscription and deprivation of sonic space on state-controlled television and radio.

It was one of the objectives of the study to answer why there was such a musical phenomenon idiosyncratic to that period. I attributed this to new political developments and socio-economic conditions of the period. I noted three main reasons for the emergence of this musical reality. First was the need by the Zanu-PF to appropriate music in order to use it as a propaganda tool to win people's support for its controversial land reform programme, officially dubbed the Third Chimurenga under its monologic discourse of patriotic history. Amendments to the Broadcasting Services Act opened the airwaves to more music by local artists under the 75 percent local content provision. Besides artists being directly state-sponsored to sing *chimurenga* songs, a plethora of young musicians emerged singing various musical genres particularly gospel, *sungura* and urban grooves. Second was the rise and leverage of opposition politics in unprecedented ways. The political performance of the MDC in the 2000 parliamentary elections, in which it won 57 seats, stunned the ruling party. Apart from suppressing the opposition physically, the state also decided to do so through demonizing the opposition through music. However, the MDC also saw the need to resorting to music as a means to convey its discourses, especially considering that it is barred from utilizing state-controlled media. Consequently, the opposition began to compose its own music and disseminating it using new forms of technology such as online facilities and also distributing/selling the music in streets, fleamarkets and its rallies and other functions. Third was the use of socially and religiously-oriented music by the ordinary people through which they dramatized their resilience in the face of the national crisis that took the better part of the period I studied.

I chose to analyze meanings constructed with respect to land, history and identities not only because they enjoy high tellability in the songs but also because they best enabled me to demonstrate how the popular song has become a crucial site for the construction and contestations of these meanings. While the state constantly relies on songs as a medium to formulate and legitimate its (ultra-nationalist) discourses, the same medium is also constantly appropriated by the opposition not only to construct its own discourses and legitimate them, but also to counter and delegitimize those of the state. For the ordinary it is appropriated to deal with daily personal challenges, some engendered and/or exacerbated by the crisis. However, many of the problems are the usual life challenges encountered in the struggle to

attain the meaning of life as defined by one's social and/or religious values irrespective of the political dispensation prevailing in the country. Due to the study's broad coverage of the songs I was therefore able to tap into the main discourses dominating the Zimbabwean public sphere and their comments on the experiences of the period.

In spite of these new realities, I observed that there was a huge lacuna in research on Zimbabwean popular music in general and in particular the popular song. The gap is two-fold – theoretical and the selection of songs for the study. Before my study, there was no research that attempted a systematic examination of the functions of the Zimbabwean popular song, from the perspective of genre. The genre approach enabled me to undertake a holistic study of the songs which entailed the identification of various types of songs and their rhetorical potential through a linguistically-grounded combinatorial theoretical scheme. Researchers on Zimbabwean popular music have only been obsessed with canonizing politically-oriented songs at the expense of a huge body of apolitical songs which have unique and fascinating ways of commenting on post-2000 experiences in Zimbabwe. The result of the scholarly tendency has been the almost exclusive narrowing of popular music research to the spectacle.

### **7.3 THE IMPORTANCE OF A COMBINATORIAL THEORETICAL SCHEME**

A comprehensive study intending to explore the popular song's rhetorical potential to establish the way singers effectively disseminate their discourses, required a rather complex theoretical framework that combined several approaches. Anchoring the study in a linguistically-informed approach was necessary from the outset, hence the adoption of the APPRAISAL and genre theories. However, to explain further on how ideological and social values come into the songs and their intended effect by the singers and/or the political, social and religious organizations they represent, theories conceptualizing the relationship between the state and society in terms of power relations were crucial to explain the songs' rhetorical missions. I therefore complemented the APPRAISAL theory and Martin & Rose's (2008) genre theory with Georgakopolou's (2007) and Guha's (1996) respective "small story" and "small voices in history" theories and Ndebele's (2006) "the rediscovery of the ordinary". The rationale behind this multi-perspectivized theoretical scheme also arose from the fact that "because APPRAISAL theory is very much an on-going research project" having "numerous registers and discourse domains to which the theory has not yet been applied" (White, 2009: 1), I could strengthen its evaluation or further elucidate the theory by combining it with theories which help to explain the sources of the evaluations and their rhetorical impact. I

discovered that the references for the evaluation of human behaviour used in the songs come from various sources, including Shona cultural, historical, social and moral perspectives; legal and political (democratic) values and also Christian and indigenous religious values.

In employing the genre theory, small stories/voices and rediscovery of the ordinary theories, I was concerned with both typology and contextualization of the meanings of the songs. In chapter three, utilizing Martin & Rose's (2008) classificatory principle (i.e. each story type has recurrent global patterns that indicate its central communicative purpose), I classified post-2000 songs into fourteen sub-genres – praise, celebratory, didactic, cautionary, rupture, mobilization, persuasion, intimidation, argumentation, exemplum, anecdote, narrative, observation and recount. The importance of this theory was that it enabled me to illustrate that, as a text, a song's linguistic features determine its rhetorical function. Although I practically noted the difficulties involved in creating musical taxonomies, I however noted the indispensability of classifying songs if an informed understanding of the nature of songs and their social relevance are to be accomplished. However, I discovered that because of the complexity of the language of the song, sometimes the central rhetorical purpose is covert. Besides, a song can have more than one central communicative purpose, consequently straddling two or even more sub-genres. I also noted that the rhetorical goals the song-genres are composed to communicate are relative to the specific socio-historical contexts in which the songs are created. Thus, while some song-genres might be timeless (e.g., religious and social songs), others are only particular to a historical period, for instance the songs I categorized as intimidation songs. It is for this reason why Swales (1990: 34-37) notes on the often temporal and cultural boundness of genres, their tendency, in a given socio-cultural context, to emerge, alter or exist or vanish.

To concretize the genre theory further, I also borrowed from Bhatia's (2004, 1993) concepts of professional genre and rhetorical moves. The former enabled me to establish a song's conventional structural pattern, a crucial accomplishment because it gives a song its generic integrity (Bhatia, 1993: 13). Employing the latter I was able to mark the various stages in a song's text which comprise the overall communicative purpose of a song. This allowed me to appreciate the extent of a song's rhetorical potential. Whereas in Martin & Rose's genre theory each identifiable story genre seems to perform only one communicative function, applying the theory on popular songs, I discovered that most of the songs are not uni-rhetorical, but poly-rhetorical. My explanation of this important feature was that it partly

comes through intertextuality, which necessitates multi-voicedness. This feature, to use Virtanen's (1990) terms, makes songs 'multitype' or 'multigenre' in behaviour – "they are blends of several different [prototypical] genres" (Virtanen & Halmari, 2005: 10). I elaborated on this phenomenon in chapters five, six and seven giving specific examples of songs with, for instance a dual, triple, quadruple rhetoricality and so on.

Bakhtin's ideas on dialogism, monologism, carnival and intertextuality made a notable contribution in unraveling and analyzing the various textual properties of the Shona popular song. In conceptualizing intertextuality as a key property of a song's structure, I incorporated Bakhtin's theory of dialogism since dialogue is an integral function of intertextuality. The theory's concepts of dialogism and polyphony were crucial in exploring the multiplicity of voices in the popular songs and their dialogical or intertextual relationship. This further reinforced my analysis of the songs' evaluations revealing the sources of the songs' terms of reference of evaluation and the effect of the evaluations in the Zimbabwean public sphere. I referred to Bazerman (2004: 83) who argues that the analysis of intertextuality helps yields avenues into understanding more about the ways artists "draw other characters into their story and how they position themselves within these worlds of multiple texts". I discovered that intertextuality in Shona popular songs takes place in various forms. The most easily recognizable is the anti-phonical pattern or leader-response format (hereafter called L+R), the main structural pattern of the majority of not only Shona but African songs. The second is of song revival. Previous songs are revived verbatim or minimally revised. The third involves the appropriation of previous or current song tunes to back up completely new lyrics. The fourth is intertextuality at the duet level whereby songs are composed to engage each other in a criticism and counter-criticism fashion. Incorporative intertextuality is the fifth example, i.e. "when the text of one genre is incorporated into the text of another genre" (Devitt, 1992: 74) as when, for instance, poetry, speech, conversation, slogan, folktale (story), etc. is included into the main song text. Repetition is another common intertextual form in Shona popular songs. I explained the complex intertextualization of the Shona popular as, *inter alia*, precipitated by the realities of the post-2000 context, punctuated as they are, by the struggle for re-democratization and its oppositional consciousness on one hand, and land reform and anti-democratization (and their attendant state violence and repression) on the other. As political propaganda backed by a multiplicity of religious, historical, moral and cultural persuasions became widespread, canvassing for support and the (de)campainging of political

parties required innovation and experimentation with the form of the popular song in order to stretch its rhetorical potential.

I should point out that my quest to discover the “how” of the Shona popular song in its narrativization of post-2000 Zimbabwe through, *inter alia*, the analysis of its intertextuality is one of my study’s foremost contributions. Present and previous researchers are largely pre-occupied with only the “what” and “why” of the songs. Approaching popular songs as intertexts enabled me to firstly, explore the propagandist strategies both the state and the opposition are using in an attempt to canvass the masses for political support. Secondly, because many of these songs draw their material from previous and/or present song texts, intertextuality contributed towards understanding how singers resort to history and culture in order to interpret current issues. Thirdly, as dialogue, intertextuality facilitated an encounter with the multi-layered meanings in the songs and the implications of their relationship not only within songs but also between singers and their audiences. Lastly, studying songs intertextually enabled me to appreciate the uniqueness of songs in providing individuals with an instrument to criticize the powers that be without their criticism being deciphered. In an environment where freedom of speech is constantly violated, songs are thus a tool with which citizens can enjoy the liberty to speak freely.

As I noted earlier, in employing the “small stories/voices in history” model and the “rediscovery of the ordinary theory”, I was concerned with classifying the songs in terms of their ideological sources. Who sings them, for whom and for what purpose? This taxonomy was connected to the genre theory in the sense that the rhetorical messages in the songs could now be contextualized and their meanings be fully comprehended. Using the three theoretical frameworks, I categorized the songs into three clusters based on their location in the dynamics of the prevailing power relations within post-2000 Zimbabwe. The first cluster which I termed ‘grand narrative songs’ (GNS) consists of songs embodying the *chimurenga* grand narrative or what in post-2000 is officially referred to as “patriotic history”. GNS songs encapsulate the ideology on which a state’s life rests, called statism. It is the power behind the authorization of “dominant values of the state to determine the criteria of the historic” (Guha, 1996: 1). The songs are utilized for the state’s self-institutionalization in its quest to achieve “legitimation and hegemony” (Mbembe, 1992: 3). The second category, I called ‘small story/voices songs’ (SSS or SVS), are those articulating an oppositional and activist consciousness. They are denied sonic space by the state and are accessed by the public via the internet, in the streets

and at opposition rallies and other functions. Owing to their status of exclusion and suppression they qualify to be referred to as small voices or stories. They thematize democratic change embodied in the MDC mantra of *chinja maitiro* (change your ways). Whereas GNS and SSS clusters comprise of politically-oriented songs, punctuated by spectacular representation, the third cluster is made of songs that are generally explicitly apolitically-oriented, pre-occupied with social and religious matters. Their main concern is ordinary life and the challenges individuals encounter and how they try to resolve them. Conceptualizing them from Ndebele's (2006) theory of the "rediscovery of the ordinary", I therefore referred to their cluster as 'songs of ordinary life' (SOL).

Whereas I utilized the "small voices in history" theory specifically to examine how relations of power privileges statist discourse, I employed the "small stories" framework to explain how academic tradition privileges certain songs at the expense of others. Thus, in that sense, academic tradition can assume hegemony in the academia with similar effects to that statist hegemony has in society. Geogarkoupolou (2007: 3) argues that, following Labov & Waletzky's (1967) and Labov's (1972) "influential study of narrative structure", the narrative was canonized "over other kinds of discourse", gradually leading to "a tradition of idealization, essentialization and homogenization of narrative". As I demonstrated in chapters five, six and seven there is evidently a growing tendency to canonize *chimurenga* songs (and others of a patriot aesthetic) in research on Zimbabwean popular music at the expense of the SOL and even the (political) SSS cluster. This observation was critical because it allowed me to extend the focus of my study to the neglected huge body of SOL and SVS songs and demonstrate the fascinating ways in which they also narrativize post-2000 Zimbabwe. The ways in which these songs narrativize the post-2000 Zimbabwean realities and how the SSS engage the already existing and louder pro-state songs to construct new storyline(s) to the *chimurenga* story and also how SOL construct their own more or less independent meanings were therefore grappled with.

Geogarkoupolou's observation about the fluidity, flexibility and ever-changing identity formation was vital in elucidating the plasticity of political identities constructed in both SVS and GNS and also the religious identities in SOL. As I demonstrated in chapter six and seven, in the context of the accelerating political events in post-2000 and their impact on the nation, identities of all kinds emerged, old ones reinforced, transformed or completely renounced and new ones adopted and managed with ease, difficulty or uncertainty. Geogarkoupolou's

theorization on the influential dimensions of conversational storytelling – tellership and tellability, contributed immensely to my conceptualization of the songs as narratives singers utilized to chronicle and comment on people’s experiences. Both terms were crucial in further understanding the interaction of pro-state and pro-opposition songs as dialogical and mediatory, as the two struggle over tellability and tellership from their locations in the power dialectic. As for the SOL category, they were important in exploring how individuals use narratives to tell their individual experiences and construct their personal identities (in contrast to the collective identities in SSS and NGS).

To substantiate Guha (1996) and Georgakopoulou (2007) theoretical ideas I also drew from Mbembe (1992) regarding the workings of power relations in a postcolony; Lara (1998) on women’s emancipatory narratives as employing “illocutionary force” for subaltern groups’ recognition and institutional transformation and Ranger’s (2004) “patriotic history” concept as regards Zimbabwean history. There was compatibility in the cannibalized theories because they did not contradict my study’s major goal of explaining the rhetorical potential of texts on the basis of their communicative properties, instead enhanced it. They made me realize that there is need to always study texts in relation to their social contexts if the meanings they construct are to be fully appreciated. As Georgakopoulou (2007: 2) argues “looking at language forms and structures without relating them to socio-cultural processes and self-identities is increasingly out of place within linguistically minded research”.

#### **7.4 LAND AND HISTORY MEANINGS AS CONTESTABLE**

In chapter six I explored the appraisal of the meanings constructed around the themes of land and history in both GNS and SSS focusing on how the two dialogically engage each other in the configuration of the meanings. Typically the themes are of high tellability as the songs analyzed were composed in the context of the fast-track and controversial state-initiated Third Chimurenga. From an APPRAISAL theoretical perspective, the main focus was on the nature of the attitudinal meanings, i.e., how and why the song texts dialogically activate positive and negative meanings concerning land and history. I identified and analyzed the language resources employed as strategic choices by the popular singers in order to accomplish their rhetorical intentions in their struggle, according to Bakhtin, for the “power to mean” (Robinson, 2012: 2). I discovered that metaphor was one major trope exploited in GNS to disseminate Third Chimurenga statist land discourses namely, LAND = BLOOD; LAND = ANCESTORS and LAND = HISTORY. In their response to these *chimurenga* grand narrative

meanings, SSS play a counter role, proffering alternative meanings. With regard to the first conceptual metaphor, the state's restrictive criteria of conferring national heroism to only those who are said to have fought the liberation struggle or belong to Zanu-PF is contested. Alternative hero(ine)s in form of MDC activists who died at the hands of the state are created and iconized in the context of the opposition's struggle for political change. Concerning the second metaphor, Zanu-PF's tendency to have exclusive association with national ancestors who are constructed as the owners of the land is refuted. National ancestors are constructed as belonging to all citizens. The argument proffered is that if land belongs to the ancestors, the guardians of every citizen, the land reform and its management should therefore not be monopolized by one party but, instead, should be an inclusive and genuinely national exercise. In the process the opposition's right to also have access to the national ancestors is also asserted. What is more, to strengthen the opposition's struggle SSS also create opposition national ancestors from the corpses of slain MDC supporters and activists. In the LAND = HISTORY metaphorical meaning, Zanu-PF's tendency to reduce the meaning of history to *chimurenga* and its concomitant themes of land, sacrifice and heroism and positioning itself as the vanguard of the epic history is questioned. History is supposed to be national and inclusive. By challenging all state land meanings SSS construct an inclusive notion of land ownership – land is not a monopoly of Zanu-PF but belongs to every citizen regardless of race, political affiliation and creeds.

I reached two major conclusions. The first is that pitted against each other as monologic and authoritarian on one hand and counter-narratives on the other, and both serving partisan (party) interests, the land and history meanings the two categories of songs construct are not only dialogically and ideologically antithetical, they dramatize the high level of political polarization in post-2000 Zimbabwe. The second is that whereas both categories of songs rely on conceptual metaphors, rhetorical questions, intertextuality among major tactical strategies, in SSS their use reinforces the effective communicative function of the songs as counter narratives. I noted that in their dialogical struggle for the 'power to mean', they both assimilate material from the *chimurenga* master narrative but in the process SSS are capable of articulating their peculiar (oppositional) discourse. Consequently, I emphasized that the opposition has achieved in making the grand *chimurenga* narrative a shared text for public storytelling by forcing its way into the statist tellership space. This enables it to counter the state in the struggle for interpreting history and land in the context of the post-2000 national crisis.

## 7.5 IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION AS EVALUATION OF POLITICAL BEHAVIOUR

In chapter five I analyzed the discursive construction of MDC and Zanu-PF identities in SVS and GNS as a means of evaluating the two parties' political behaviour. I established that the state uses the identities as an instrument to Other and delegitimize the opposition and that the latter constructs its own to challenge the state's othering tactics and legitimate the opposition's (democratic) struggle. I discovered two sets of identities in each cluster of songs – the positive (in-group) self-identities a party uses to judge itself favourably and the negative (out-group) identities constructed to negatively evaluate the other party. Employing the APPRAISAL's domain of ATTITUDE, I sought to analyze the language resources the songs manipulate to construct these competing identities and their perlocutionary effect in the Zimbabwean public sphere. Besides other linguistic resources, as in chapter five, I also paid attention to the linguistic resources and communicative strategies (particularly carnival and storytelling) that singers appropriate in their efforts to formulate and assert their political identities. The appropriation of carnival and its parodic humour was one major rhetorical technique resorted to, especially in SSS to debase Zanu-PF and undermine official discourses.

Discursively GNS construct an all-encompassing identity of *vasununguri venyika* (liberators of the nation) for Zanu-PF, a positive value of JUDGEMENT, *social esteem (capacity)*. The same identity is also constructed as *vakafira nyika* (those who died for the country) or *vakarwira nyika* (those who fought for national liberation). The identity of *vagovi/vapi vevhu* (allocators/givers of land) is also constructed with specific reference to the post-2000 land redistribution. I observed that from the umbrella identity emerges a plethora of other positive identities of self-evaluation whose realization through values of JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION are drawn from the *chimurenga* grand narrative history or patriotic history in the context of the post-2000 state-dubbed Third Chimurenga. Firstly is the identity of *kushinga* (courage) which positively evaluates Zanu-PF by means of values of *social esteem*. Zanu-PF is constructed as a courageous, enduring and determined party – the whole concept behind the emotive bones, blood and sacrifice motif. Secondly, the identity of *kushupika* (suffering) or what I referred to as the Cinderella identity, is employed to present Zanu-PF and Mugabe as the historically despised and demonized, but in the end the rewarded ones. Thirdly is the discursive construction of Zanu-PF with the identity of *nhorooondo* (history) – a meaning conveyed through the deployment of JUDGEMENT's values of both *social esteem* and

*social sanction*. The evaluation elevates Zanu-PF in the Zimbabwean political arena by giving it liberation war credentials and the legitimacy to rule. Fourthly, the identity *kubatana* (unity, cohesion) is also constructed using values of APPRECIATION to present Zanu-PF as the more nationally popular and united party. Lastly pro-Zanu-PF songs employ JUDGEMENT's values of *social esteem* to construct the *mbiri yechigandanga* (the fame of being an outlaw [i.e., guerrilla in the *chimurenga* discourse]) identity. The identity associates it with politically-motivated violence, which Zanu-PF feels is mandated to wage in protection of national identity, heritage and sovereignty. I concluded that these GNS positive attributes constitute Zanu-PF's discourse of collective identity designed to promote monology – “a situation in which the multi-meanings of language are reduced and where those who control these meanings have the capacity to enforce this monology” (Schopflin, 2001: 4). The identities function to give an aura to the state's “centripetal discourse of authority” (Cuenca, 2010: 46). Because of its celebration of the nationalist emancipatory history, Zanu-PF employs them not only to cast itself as the authentic creator and defender of Zimbabwean national identity but to enforce citizens to accept them as the defining elements of national identity. Within the state-opposition confrontation they constitute an invoked evaluation of the Other – the opposition's supposed political frailties – a strategy to elbow it out of the country's systems of power.

As regards GNS' out-group identities, I observed that all the negative identities constructed in GNS for the MDC are constituted in one umbrella identity of negative JUDGEMENT – *mutengesi/umtengisi* (sellout/traitor). As a negative value of both *social sanction* and *esteem*, *mutengesi* constitutes a statist discourse of stigmas. The discourse of negativity around it is yet another othering mechanism by the state. It comes from the state's discourse of “patriotic history” in whose core is the essentialization of the patriot-sellout binary. I contended that the analysis of its negative evaluative identity is important to understand the basis of Zanu-PF's evaluation of the opposition because it is yet another strategy within the broader patriotic history framework of maintaining hegemony through the demonization and persecution of the opposition and its exclusion from political power.

Although GNS construct such positive identities for Zanu-PF, I demonstrated that their engagement with GNS, SSS have demonstrated with remarkable success the power to deconstruct otherness by constructing counter and equally or even more stigmatizing identities against Zanu-PF. Theirs are retaliatory negative identities, an evaluation designed to denounce Zanu-PF's system of political occlusion. By creating unfavourable identities for

Zanu-PF, SSS songs manage to dismantle the magnificence of statist identities of self-representation and those constructed to belittle the opposition. Zanu-PF is assigned the umbrella identity of *mudzvanyiriri* (the oppressor), a resource realizing negative JUDGEMENT, *social sanction (propriety)*. Constituent identities then follow to motivate this all-encompassing (oppressor) identity. Zanu-PF is evaluated as synonymous with *jambanja* (chaos/violence); it is thus a wanton violator of human rights. It is a party of *mhondi* (murderers). The tags of *uori* (corruption) and *umbavha* (theft) are also pinned on Zanu-PF. The theft is not only of state resources but also of votes. It is the wanton destroyer of the nation – the party behind the post-2000 national political and economic meltdown characterized by land seizure, *murambatsvina*, food shortages, liquidity crunch, diseases, citizens' flight, violence, among other hardships. Zanu-PF's rule is described as similar to a tsunami and under its rule *upenyu makasa* (life has become a gamble). It is assessed through images of decay and destruction such as *Zanu yaora* (Zanu is now rotten) *Zanu yaondonga nyika* (Zanu has destroyed the country). From the opposition's perspective, all these identities are manifestation of a party in deep trouble, a party with no future. Consequently it is given the end time identity of *Zanu yaguma* (Zanu has come to an end). I argued that the rhetorical strategy behind these identities is to protect and popularize opposition (democratic) meanings and in tandem undermine the state's monologic "patriotic history". They are also launched to justify political identity transformation from a *zanu* to a *chinja*, a process so characteristic of the state-opposition struggle in post-2000 Zimbabwe.

It was interesting to note that in similar ways to the GNS' construction of positive Zanu-PF identities, SSS' evaluation of the MDC also formulates positive identities that counter Zanu-PF's self-identities and the negative ones constructed for the MDC. *Machinja* (the changers) is the umbrella identity which MDC members use to admirably evaluate themselves in their quest for the credibility of the opposition's struggle. It therefore constitutes a positive value of JUDGEMENT, for both *social esteem (capacity)* and *social sanction (propriety)*. *Machinja* are identified by their *chinja maitiro* (change your ways) mantra, an imperative, pithy saying realizing values of *social sanction* directed at their opponents, *mazanu*, to amend their bad behaviour. The term also carries ideational connotations – the experience of shared oppression under Zanu-PF rule, a theme which pervades SVS. The opposition's *chinja maitiro* goal is constructed as a (difficulty) journey, hence *Tiriparwendo* (We are on a journey), the title for a series of pro-opposition albums. Other values of positive JUDGEMENT for the democratic struggle include *nzira yeshanduko* (the road to change) and *rwendo rwechinja* (the journey of

change). An interesting observation in SSS style is the appropriating *chimurenga* grand narrative values of *social esteem*. The opposition struggle is also described as *hondo yeshanduko* (the struggle for change), adapted from *hondo yeminda* (the war/struggle for land). The main identities constructed for the MDC are: *bumbiro remutemo* (constitutionalism); the opposition and the identity of *rwendo rwechinja* (the journey/struggle for change) and the identity of transparency and economic recovery. I noted that in asserting these identities the opposition is giving itself an (positive) activist label. It is fighting its devaluation in the Zanu-PF-dominated power relations and setting the boundary between *machinja* and *mazanu* and their respective values. Because of this technique, SSS constitute the carnivalesque subversive discourse.

I concluded that, as forms of evaluating the political behaviour of the state and the opposition, these identities are constructed largely by the deployment of values of ATTITUDE's semantic dimensions of JUDGEMENT, although to a lesser extent APPRECIATION and AFFECT are also employed. Besides, as an assessment of 'the self' and 'the other', the identities are formulated within a local/nationalist-global dialectical framework. SVS formulate their identities operating from a political framework inspired by universal (democratic) and local values whereas GNS construct theirs from the perspective of local (*chimurenga* or patriotic history) values and beliefs. Both clusters of songs and the manner of their engagement are therefore a turbulently active site for the struggle for meaning-making, demonstrating how struggles are being "fought indirectly through language" (Savage, 2010: 2; Halfin, 2007) in Zimbabwe's political landscape. The considerable manipulation of language in the construction of these competing identities showed the indispensability of linguistic discourse to political action in post-2000 Zimbabwe, again justifying my argument for the adoption of a linguistically-anchored framework for study the songs.

## **7.6 SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS IDENTITIES AND THE EVALUATION OF ORDINARY LIFE**

To complete the coverage of the Shona popular song-genre, in chapter seven I shifted from the overtly dialectical and contrapuntal SSS and GNS to focus on the third cluster of songs, those explicitly articulating a social and religious commentary. Although examining two sets of songs with different orientations (religious and social), I aimed to reach a single conclusion since both share a common feature of pursuing the same aesthetic convention – pre-occupation with ordinary life. Unlike the GNS and SSS clusters which privilege the spectacle

(the political) to the extent of effacing the ordinary, I noted that SOL focus explicitly on the minute details of the lives of ordinary people as they deal with a mosaic of challenges of everyday life as individuals, families and groups within the broad range of human relationships and society at large. In most cases their evaluation of the political is not inscribed as the theme of tellership, although sometimes it is covertly embodied.

In terms of the chapter's theoretical framework, I complemented ATTITUDE's tools of evaluations (semantic variables of AFFECT, JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION), with Ndebele's (2006, 1991) theory of "the rediscovery of the ordinary". Although "the rediscovery of the ordinary" theory was, to greater extent, relevant to explain the concerns dominating tellability in post-2000 Zimbabwean SOL, I made some revisions to the theory in order to cater for some representations in SOL that seem to remain outside the conceptual boundaries of the theory. Firstly, I observed that in some religious SOL (gospel) there is also dramatic representation in the form of especially the Second Advent. I noted that religious and social SOL sometimes adopt the convention of dramatic representation when presenting memorable individual or group achievements such as a wedding or individuals' excessive breach of social norms in ways that confounds society or seen as bizarre. For instance in such cases as gruesome murder; child molestation; witchcraft activities and so on. Secondly, I noted that the foregrounding or backgrounding of the spectacle can sometimes be a matter of a critic's (angle of) textual interpretation. Although obsession with the political may not be the singer/author's intention, in the public sphere, which is conceptually turbulent and diverse in terms of meaning-making, a seemingly apolitical representation can be spectacularly allegorized or metaphoricalized. However, in spite of these amendments, the existence of SOL as a category with its own defining features still stands because SOL's gravitation towards prioritizing ordinary life far exceeds their inclination towards the (political) spectacle. Thirdly, as a way of clarification rather revision of Ndebele's theory, in SOL there is no such phenomenon as the "rediscovery" of the aesthetic (of the ordinary) trend (as in South African black fiction) as such, but this has been the characteristic feature of SOL even during the Rhodesian era and the first two decades of independence. Therefore, contrary to the SSS and GNS, aesthetically these are songs that have throughout history maintained their tradition of circumventing the monotony and monology of political propaganda.

I noted that unlike the (collective) political identities in GNS and SVS, the individual centred *mufudzi*, *mutendi* and *mutadzi* (Christian) identities and *humai* and *hubaba* (familial/

matrimonial) identities are constructed as complex and difficult to manage. But because their accomplishment is socially constructed as constituting the essence of life, individuals strive to achieve them. Concerning religious identities, I discovered that they are a key strategy exploited by the ordinary to struggle to confront the challenges bedeviling their lives in pursuit of the overall goal of the meaning of existence. Some of the challenges are of course those engendered by the post-2000 (national) crisis. My analysis was limited to those religious identities constructed from a Christian perspective in songs categorized as (Zimbabwean) gospel. As one of SOL's sub-clusters, gospel music has become one of the most popular musical genres in post-2000 Zimbabwe, thus I could not ignore the way it narrativizes the period. I focused on three (religious) identities; the Christological, *mutendi* (believer) and *mutadzi* (sinner) identities as these are the dominant ones in the songs' and their evaluative concerns. I noted that these identities are critical to the ordinary people's attempts to redress the problems in their lives. They are constructed as emancipatory identities at the individual level since an individual's transformation from the *mutadzi* to the *mutendi* identity is conceived as a resolution of a complicating event in one's life. The marked transcendental imagination in these identities is not only a subterranean attack of the state for precipitating the post-2000 crisis, but a search for an alternative reality and a dramatization of the ordinary's resilience to the crisis.

My analysis of social identities was premised on the view that, similar to religious identities, social identities are adopted as a tool for social security in the individual's daily quest for survival. I analyzed those identities that feature prominently within the family and their intra- and exterior human relationships. As Lucey (2012: 476) asserts, of all contexts in which identities are shaped, it is in families that the tension between self and the collective most effectively work "to pattern the frameworks through which we come to make a sense of ourselves and the world in which we live". The familial identities are critical to ordinary life and they are an avenue to understanding individuals and groups' pursuance of the meaning of life. I explored the umbrella identities of *humai* (motherhood) and its associated identities of *amai* (mother) and *mukadzi* (wife/woman) and the identity of *hubaba* (fatherhood) and its attendant *baba* (father) and *murume* (husband/man) identities. I argued that the desire to live these identities from both the perspective of the individual and his/her community constitutes an evaluation of human behaviour. As I illustrated, the behavioural assessment is located on the tension between an individual's desire to live according to his/her free will and the family and community's imposition of a code of behaviour on him/her. It is in that evaluative locale

that negative identities antithetical to those (positive ones) I identified above emerge as an individual accepts his/her behavioural frailties or is condemned by the community. As with religious SOL, the discursive construction of these identities depart significantly from the highly demonstrative motif of spectacular representation providing an evaluation that explores deep into grooves and corners of human relations in which characters have the courage to show “mature acceptance of failure, weakness, and limitations” (Ndebele, 2006: 42). I established that social SOL are less celebratory of human behaviour but more on negative JUDGEMENT, allocating high tellability to the failure of identity management through the exposure, lamentation and satirization of human folly.

I established that because of the individual centredness of both religious and social SOL, many appear in the form of a Labovian narrative, in which an individual chronicles his/her experiences, especially the challenges s/he encountered and how s/he resolved them. My conclusion was that as the third cluster of songs in the post-2000 Zimbabwean taleworld, in its evaluation of human behaviour through identity construction, SOL largely privilege plebeian life. I observed that despite GNS and SSS’ seeming domination of the post-2000 Zimbabwean (musical) taleworld due to their heightened thematization of the political, through their construction of social and religious identities, SOL songs evaluate the consciousness of ordinary life in ways more subtle and penetrative than those in GNS and SSS. I noted that Ndebele (2006: 51) is therefore right to argue that, “The habit of looking at the spectacle has forced us to gloss over the nooks and crannies” of life. I therefore contend that the representation of these identities constitutes a more realistic evaluation of human behaviour and fills the lacuna that scholars have generally ignored in Zimbabwean popular music’s narrativization of post-2000 Zimbabwe.

## **7.7 THE LARGER SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY, GAPS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

The larger relevance of my study pertains to its immense contribution to grapple with the eventfully-packed and fast post-2000 Zimbabwe from a balanced perspective that brought in perspectives from popular songs representative of the three main protagonists of the period – the state, opposition and the ordinary. This is a new and refreshing approach considering that prior to that scholars on Zimbabwean popular music have, as I earlier pointed out, been canonizing music of the *chimurenga* genre in their demonstration of the level of repressive behaviour of the Zimbabwean postcolony. As a result the exact issues concerning opposition

and ordinary discourses respectively embedded in SSS and SOL have always been omitted, muffled or partially or indirectly represented. My research has therefore been significant in that it has been democratic in paying attention to the three clusters of songs, SVS, SOL and GNS that comprise the repertoire of post-2000 popular songs. It permitted the songs' voices in their pluralistic nature in pursuit of demonstrating how the songs narrativize the period in question.

My study has also shown the benefits of interdisciplinarity in terms of both its theoretical framework and analysis. In songs with such diverse voices, where linguistic, political, cultural, religious and social issues converge, the relevance of such an approach cannot be over-emphasized. Because popular songs have become an indispensable medium of communication, it is crucial to understand its communicative properties. This calls upon the need to take linguistically-rooted or discursive approaches in order to establish its rhetorical capacities. Moreover, its concern with the "how" of the songs in telling post-2000 Zimbabwe is a unique extension of the frontiers of already existing knowledge on the (Zimbabwean) popular song considering that previous research has been largely concerned with the "what" and "why" of the songs.

Having noted the unique communicative function songs have come to play in post-2000 Zimbabwe, there is however need for more research on certain aspects of the popular song. First, is the intertextuality of the Shona song that has taken new dimensions, an issue I could not fully pursue within the parameters of my study. Second, I noted the connection between popular music and political violence, hence the identification of a song genre I referred to as intimidation songs. The language of violence in the songs' lyrics requires further study to elucidate on how songs contribute to the violation of human rights, through especially political violence, a phenomenon not only limited to Zimbabwe but occurring in many African countries. Lastly, although my classification of post-2000 songs was comprehensive and did serve the study's goals, I do not claim that it is final. Genre is elusive; other taxonomies using different theoretical approaches are necessary and can be pursued.

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## APPENDIX

### 1. The GNS Cluster

Song title: “Tinotenda midzimu mikuru” (“We are thankful to our national ancestors”)

Artist: Cde Chinx

Song genre: Celebratory and Persuasion

RM **a**: Expressing gratitude to the ancestors

RM **b**: Appealing to the various national spirits

RM **c**: Identifying specific national spirits

RM **d**: Expressing the protagonist’s appeals to the ancestors

RM **e**: Expressing the ancestors’ expectations from the living

Chorus

L: *Ngaitende midzimu iri kurwisa*

R: *Tinotendawo*

L: *Tinotenda*

R: *Tinotenda chose midzimu mikuru iyo*

L: *Tinotenda midzimu mikuru*

R: *Tinotendawo*

L: *Tinotenda*

R: *Tinotenda midzimu mikuru iyo*

L: *Tinotenda midzimu mikuru*

Let us thank our fighting ancestors **a**

We are deeply thankful **a**

We are thankful **a**

We so thankful to those national ancestors **a**

We thankful to those national ancestors **a**

We are deeply thankful **a**

We are thankful **a**

We are thankful to those national ancestors **a**

We are thankful to the national ancestors **a**

L: *Hanzi daidzai vose veZimbabwe*

R: *Ivo Ambuya Nehanda*

L: *Vamiririre nyika vagoitonga iyo*

R: *Ndeyavo ivo Sekuru Kaguvi*

L: *Hanzi batanai mose munokunda kani*

R: *Imi ruzhinji rwevanhu*

It is being said call all the national ancestors of Zimbabwe **b**

Herself Grandmother Nehanda **c**

To represent and rule the country **d**

It is his, him Grandfather Kaguvi **c**

It is being said that you all of you should unite **e**

You all the masses **e**

[Chorus]

L: *Zimbabwe inotonga isu toga varidzi*

R: *Vatema Chitepo uyo*

L: *Tinotongaka Zimbabwe nerudo*

R: *Vakadaro vedu Tongogara muchakabvu*

L: *Hatizoregedzi vapambepfumi vachitidzvanza*

R: *Ruzhinji BabaTakawira*

Zimbabwe rules us only, we its owners **d**

The blacks as Chitepo said it **c**

We rule it by love **e**

As the departed Tongogara said **e**

We will not let the colonizers oppress us **d**

We the masses Father Takawira **c**

[Chorus]

L: *Hatizofi takadzoka shure muminda*

R: *VaMugabe kwaye mutungamiri*

L: *Hatidika zvekutarisirwa pasi nevapambevhu*

R: *VaNkomo baba veZimbabwe*

L: *Dai veZimbabwe varima panogutsa*

R: *VaRekayi Tangwena*

We will never give up on land **d**

Mugaber is the genuine leader **c**

We do not want to be looked down upon by the colonizer **d**

Mr. Nkomo Father Zimbabwe **c**

We wish that people of Zimbabwe farm adequate food **d**

Mr. Rekayi Tangwena **c**

[Chorus]

L: *Vana veZimbabwe musatonge neChirungu*

R: *VaMakoni Baba Chingaira*

L: *Hona kuzoguta nekupipika nekutonga kune mbiri*

R: *Nekutonga kune mbiri*

Children of Zimbabwe do not rule using western values **e**

Mr. Makoni Father Chingaira **c**

See we need enough food and to rule with fame **d**

Chaminuka And too rule with fame **e**

[Chorus]

L: *Hanzi daidzai vose veZimbabwe*

R: *Ivo Ambuya Nehanda*

L: *Zvikanzi hatizombofi takadzoka shure muminda*

R: *VaMugabe kwaye mutungamiri*

L: *Saka kuzoguta nekupipika*

R: *Nekutonga kune mbiri Chaminuka*

It is being said call all the national ancestors of Zimbabwe **b**

Herself Grandmother Nehanda **c**

It has been said that we will not retreat on land **d**

Mr. Mugabe the genuine leader **c**

As a result we need to be full and be famous **d**

And to rule with fame **d**

[Chorus]

L: *Zvanzi mose ndinokudai imi mose*

R: *Musiki wedu Musikavanhu*

L: *Vanhu vose ngavagare nerufaro*

It has been said all of you are loved **e**

Our Creator The Creator of Humanity **c**

All the people should live happily **e**

R: *VaNikita Mangena*  
 L: *Tinoda veruzhinji vave nemagutswa akakwana*  
 R: *VaRekayi Tangwena*

Mr. Nikita Mangena **c**  
 We need everyone to have adequate food **d**  
 Mr. Rekayi Tangwena **c**

Song title: “Negidi” (“Through the gun”)  
 Artist: Tafara-Mabvuku Chimurenga Choir  
 Song genre: Observation-celebratory

RM **a**: Posing the question about how Zimbabwe was freed

RM **b**: Providing the answer to the question

L: <i>VaMugabe takavabvunza makaitora seiko nyika?</i>	We asked Mr Mugabe how did you win the country? <b>a</b>
R: <i>Takaitora negidi</i>	We won it through the gun <b>b</b>
L: <i>VaMugabe takavabvunza makaitora seiko nyika?</i>	We asked Mr Mugabe how did you win the country? <b>a</b>
R: <i>Takaitora neropa</i>	We won it through the sacrifice of blood <b>b</b>
L: <i>VaNyongoro takavabvunza makaitora seiko nyika?</i>	We asked Mr Nyongolo how did you win the country? <b>a</b>
R: <i>Takaitora negidi</i>	We won it through the gun <b>b</b>
L: <i>VaNyongoro takavabvunza makaitora seiko nyika?</i>	We asked Mr Nyongolo how did you win the country? <b>a</b>
R: <i>Takaitora neropa</i>	We won it through the sacrifice of blood <b>b</b>
L: <i>Negidi Zimbabwe</i>	Through the gun Zimbabwe <b>b</b>
R: <i>Takaitora, takaitora, takaitora negidi</i>	We won it, we won it, we won it through the gun <b>b</b>
L: <i>Neropa Zimbabwe</i>	Through blood, Zimbabwe <b>b</b>
R: <i>Takaitora, takaitora, takaitora neropa</i>	We won it, we won it, we won it through blood <b>b</b>
R: <i>Takaitora neropa</i>	We won it through blood <b>b</b>
L: <i>Negidi Zimbabwe</i>	Through the gun Zimbabwe <b>b</b>
R: <i>Takaitora, takaitora, takaitora negidi</i>	We won it, we won it, we won it through the gun <b>b</b>
L: <i>Neropa Zimbabwe</i>	Through blood, Zimbabwe <b>b</b>
R: <i>Takaitora, takaitora, takaitora neropa</i>	We won it, we won it, we won it through blood <b>b</b>
L: <i>Negidi Zimbabwe</i>	Through the gun Zimbabwe <b>b</b>
R: <i>Takaitora, takaitora, takaitora negidi</i>	We won it, we won it, we won it through the gun <b>b</b>
L: <i>Neropa Zimbabwe</i>	Through blood, Zimbabwe <b>b</b>
R: <i>Takaitora, takaitora, takaitora neropa</i>	We won it, we won it, we won it through blood <b>b</b>
R: <i>Takaitora neropa</i>	We through blood <b>b</b>
L: <i>Negidi Zimbabwe</i>	Through the gun Zimbabwe <b>b</b>
R: <i>Takaitora, takaitora, takaitora negidi</i>	We won it, we won it, we won it through the gun <b>b</b>
L: <i>Neropa Zimbabwe</i>	Through blood, Zimbabwe <b>b</b>
R: <i>Takaitora, takaitora, takaitora neropa</i>	We won it, we won it, we won it through blood <b>b</b>
L: <i>VaTongogara takavabvunza makaitora seiko nyika?</i>	We asked Mr Tongogara how did you win the country? <b>a</b>
R: <i>Takaitora negidi</i>	Through the gun Zimbabwe <b>b</b>
L: <i>VaTongogara takavabvunza makaitora seiko nyika?</i>	We asked Mr Tongogara how did you win the country? <b>a</b>
R: <i>Takaitora neropa</i>	We through blood <b>b</b>
L: <i>VaMujuru takavabvunza makaitora seiko nyika?</i>	We asked Mr Mujuru how did you win the country? <b>a</b>
R: <i>Takaitora negidi</i>	Through the gun Zimbabwe <b>b</b>
L: <i>VaMujuru takavabvunza makaitora seiko nyika?</i>	We asked Mr Mujuru how did you win the country? <b>a</b>
R: <i>Takaitora neropa</i>	We won it through the sacrifice of blood <b>b</b>
L: <i>Negidi Zimbabwe</i>	Through the gun Zimbabwe <b>b</b>
R: <i>Takaitora, takaitora, takaitora negidi</i>	We won it, we won it, we won it through the gun <b>b</b>
L: <i>Neropa Zimbabwe</i>	Through blood, Zimbabwe <b>b</b>
R: <i>Takaitora, takaitora, takaitora neropa</i>	We won it, we won it, we won it through blood <b>b</b>
R: <i>Takaitora neropa</i>	We won it through blood <b>b</b>
L: <i>Negidi Zimbabwe</i>	Through the gun Zimbabwe <b>b</b>
R: <i>Takaitora, takaitora, takaitora negidi</i>	We won it, we won it, we won it through the gun <b>b</b>
L: <i>Neropa Zimbabwe</i>	Through blood, Zimbabwe <b>b</b>
R: <i>Takaitora, takaitora, takaitora neropa</i>	We won it, we won it, we won it through blood <b>b</b>
R: <i>Takaitora neropa</i>	We through blood <b>b</b>
L: <i>Negidi Zimbabwe</i>	Through the gun Zimbabwe <b>b</b>
R: <i>Takaitora, takaitora, takaitora negidi</i>	We won it, we won it, we won it through the gun <b>b</b>
L: <i>Neropa Zimbabwe</i>	Through blood, Zimbabwe <b>b</b>
R: <i>Takaitora, takaitora, takaitora neropa</i>	We won it, we won it, we won it through blood <b>b</b>
L: <i>VaMugabe takavabvunza makaitora seiko nyika?</i>	We asked Mr Mugabe how did you win the country? <b>a</b>
R: <i>Takaitora negidi</i>	We won it through the gun <b>b</b>
L: <i>VaMugabe takavabvunza makaitora seiko nyika?</i>	We asked Mr Mugabe how did you win the country? <b>a</b>
R: <i>Takaitora neropa</i>	We won it through the sacrifice of blood <b>b</b>
L: <i>VaNyongoro takavabvunza makaitora seiko nyika?</i>	We asked Mr Nyongolo how did you win the country? <b>a</b>
R: <i>Takaitora neropa</i>	We won it through the sacrifice of blood <b>b</b>
L: <i>Negidi Zimbabwe</i>	Through the gun Zimbabwe <b>b</b>
R: <i>Takaitora, takaitora, takaitora negidi</i>	We won it, we won it, we won it through the gun <b>b</b>
L: <i>Neropa Zimbabwe</i>	Through blood, Zimbabwe <b>b</b>

R: <i>Takaitora, takaitora, takaitora neropa</i>	We won it, we won it, we won it through blood <b>b</b>
R: <i>Takaitora neropa</i>	We won it through blood <b>b</b>
L: <i>Negidi Zimbabwe</i>	Through the gun Zimbabwe <b>b</b>
R: <i>Takaitora, takaitora, takaitora negidi</i>	We won it, we won it, we won it through the gun <b>b</b>
L: <i>Neropa Zimbabwe</i>	Through blood, Zimbabwe <b>b</b>
R: <i>Takaitora, takaitora, takaitora neropa</i>	We won it, we won it, we won it through blood <b>b</b>
L: <i>Negidi Zimbabwe</i>	Through the gun Zimbabwe <b>b</b>
R: <i>Takaitora, takaitora, takaitora negidi</i>	We won it, we won it, we won it through the gun <b>b</b>
L: <i>Neropa Zimbabwe</i>	Through blood, Zimbabwe <b>b</b>
R: <i>Takaitora, takaitora, takaitora neropa</i>	We won it, we won it, we won it through blood <b>b</b>
R: <i>Takaitora neropa</i>	We through blood <b>b</b>
L: <i>Negidi Zimbabwe</i>	Through the gun Zimbabwe <b>b</b>
R: <i>Takaitora, takaitora, takaitora negidi</i>	We won it, we won it, we won it through the gun <b>b</b>
L: <i>Neropa Zimbabwe</i>	Through blood, Zimbabwe <b>b</b>
R: <i>Takaitora, takaitora, takaitora neropa</i>	We won it, we won it, we won it through blood <b>b</b>
L: <i>VaTongogara tine mubvunzo makaitora seiko nyika?</i> We asked Mr Tongogara how did you win the country? a	
R: <i>Takaitora negidi</i>	We won it through the gun <b>b</b>
L: <i>VaTongogara tine mubvunzo makaitora seiko nyika?</i> We asked Mr Tongogara how did you win the country? a	
R: <i>Takaitora neropa</i>	We won it through blood <b>b</b>
L: <i>VaMujuru tine mubvunzo makaitora seiko nyika?</i> We asked Mr Mujuru how did you win the country? a	
R: <i>Takaitora negidi</i>	We won it through the gun <b>b</b>
L: <i>VaMujuru tine mubvunzo makaitora seiko nyika?</i> We asked Mr Mujuru how did you win the country? a	
R: <i>Takaitora neropa</i>	We won it through the sacrifice of blood <b>b</b>
L: <i>Negidi Zimbabwe</i>	Through the gun Zimbabwe <b>b</b>
R: <i>Takaitora, takaitora, takaitora negidi</i>	We won it, we won it, we won it through the gun <b>b</b>
L: <i>Neropa Zimbabwe</i>	Through blood, Zimbabwe <b>b</b>
R: <i>Takaitora, takaitora, takaitora neropa</i>	We won it, we won it, we won it through blood <b>b</b>
R: <i>Takaitora neropa</i>	We won it through blood <b>b</b>
L: <i>Negidi Zimbabwe</i>	Through the gun Zimbabwe <b>b</b>
R: <i>Takaitora, takaitora, takaitora negidi</i>	We won it, we won it, we won it through the gun <b>b</b>
L: <i>Neropa Zimbabwe</i>	Through blood, Zimbabwe <b>b</b>
R: <i>Takaitora, takaitora, takaitora neropa</i>	We won it, we won it, we won it through blood <b>b</b>
L: <i>Negidi Zimbabwe</i>	Through the gun Zimbabwe <b>b</b>
R: <i>Takaitora, takaitora, takaitora negidi</i>	We won it, we won it, we won it through the gun <b>b</b>
L: <i>Neropa Zimbabwe</i>	Through blood, Zimbabwe <b>b</b>
R: <i>Takaitora, takaitora, takaitora neropa</i>	We won it, we won it, we won it through blood <b>b</b>
R: <i>Takaitora neropa</i>	We through blood <b>b</b>
L: <i>Negidi Zimbabwe</i>	Through the gun Zimbabwe <b>b</b>
R: <i>Takaitora, takaitora, takaitora negidi</i>	We won it, we won it, we won it through the gun <b>b</b>
L: <i>Neropa Zimbabwe</i>	Through blood, Zimbabwe <b>b</b>
R: <i>Takaitora, takaitora, takaitora neropa</i>	We won it, we won it, we won it through blood <b>b</b>

[Stanza 1]

Song title: "Zimbabwe yakauya neropa" ("Zimbabwe came through blood[shed]")

Artist: Hatcliffe Third Chimurenga Choir

Song sub-genre: Anecdote

RM **a**: Orienting the songRM **b**: Expressing how Zimbabwe came into beingRM **c1**: Expressing emotions of pain and sorrowRM **c2**: Expressing emotions of angerRM **d**: Expressing the soloist's convictionRM **e**: Challenging the public (especially the youth) to declare their (ideological) position

Chorus

L: <i>Hona Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe</i>	See Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe <b>a</b>
R: <i>Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe yakauya neropa</i>	Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe came through blood <b>b</b>
L: <i>Hona Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe</i>	See Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe <b>a</b>
R: <i>Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe yakauya neropa</i>	Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe came through blood <b>b</b>
L: <i>Hona Zanu-PF, Zanu-PF, Zanu-PF</i>	See Zanu-PF, Zanu-PF, Zanu-PF <b>a</b>
R: <i>Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe yakauya neropa</i>	Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe came through blood <b>b</b>
L: <i>Hona paChimoio paNyadzoia zvairwadza</i>	See at Chimoio at Nyadzoia it was painful <b>c1</b>
R: <i>Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe yakauya neropa</i>	Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe came through blood <b>b</b>
L: <i>Hona paChimoio paNyadzoia zvinorwadza</i>	See at Chimoio at Nyadzoia it is painful <b>c1</b>
R: <i>Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe yakauya neropa</i>	Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe came through blood <b>b</b>
L: <i>Hona muHarare, muHarare zvinorwadza</i>	See in Harare, in Harare it is painful <b>c1</b>
R: <i>Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe yakauya neropa</i>	Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe came through blood <b>b</b>
L: <i>Hona Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe</i>	See Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe <b>a</b>
R: <i>Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe yakauya neropa</i>	Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe came through blood <b>b</b>
L: <i>Hona Zanu-PF, Zanu-PF, Zanu-PF</i>	See Zanu-PF, Zanu-PF, Zanu-PF
R: <i>Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe yakauya neropa</i>	Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe came through blood <b>b</b>

L: <i>Hona Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe</i>	See Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe <b>a</b>
R: <i>Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe yakauya neropa</i>	Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe came through blood <b>b</b>
L: <i>Hona paChimoio paNyadzoia zvinorwadza</i>	See at Chimoio at Nyadzoia it is painful <b>c1</b>
R: <i>Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe yakauya neropa</i>	Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe came through blood <b>b</b>
L: <i>Hona muHarare, muHarare zvinorwadza</i>	See in Harare, in Harare it is painful <b>c1</b>
R: <i>Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe yakauya neropa</i>	Zimbabwe came through blood <b>b</b>
Recitation	
<i>Vabereki, hanzvadzi, wanin'ina, wanasekuru, wanambuya</i>	Parents, brothers/sisters, young brother/sister, grand fathers, grand mothers
<i>Vakatsakatika munguva yehondo</i>	Perished completely during the times of the war <b>c1</b>
<i>Isu vana veZimbabwe tinorwadziwa nekudeuka kwakaita ropa</i>	We children of Zimbabwe are pained because of the blood that was spilt <b>c1</b>
<i>Iwe mwana weZimbabwe chinokupa kusafunga chii?</i>	What makes you fail to think [about this] you child of Zimbabwe? <b>c2</b>
<i>Enda kudzoke shure uone kwakambomira sei?</i>	Go and look back into the past to see how it looks like <b>c2</b>
<i>Kunyanya imi vechidiki vari kukura,</i>	Especially you the youths who are still growing up
<i>Hamufungwiwo here kuti kune ropa rakadeuka?</i>	Why don't you think about the blood that was spilt? <b>c2</b>
[Chorus]	
Recitation	
<i>Isu vana veZimbabwe tinoti pamberi nekuzvitonga</i>	We children of Zimbabwe we say forward with sovereignty <b>d</b>
<i>Pamberi naComrade R.G. Mugabe</i>	Forward with Comrade R.G. Mugabe <b>d</b>
<i>Ko iwe uri papi mwana weZimbabwe?</i>	As for you child of Zimbabwe, where do you stand? <b>e</b>
<i>Ngatizivei kuti nyika ino iyi vakoma vakatsakatika, wanambuya</i>	Let us know that this country brothers and sisters perished, grand mothers <b>b</b>
<i>Ko iwe uri papi?</i>	As for you, where do you stand? <b>e</b>
<i>Zvibvunze mwana weZimbabwe</i>	Ask yourself child of Zimbabwe
<i>Kunyangwe imi muchiri kukura vechidiki munorasika papi?</i>	Even you the youths who are still growing up, where do you get lost? <b>e</b>
<i>Isu vana veZanu-PF tinoti pamberi nekuzvitonga, neZanu-PF</i>	We the children of Zanu-PF we say forward with sovereignty, <i>pamberi</i> forward with Zanu-PF <b>d</b>
[Chorus]	
Recitation	
<i>Hande Mt. Darwin tinozvionera</i>	Let us go to Mt. Darwin and see for ourselves <b>c2</b>
<i>Vakoma, munorasika papi?</i>	Brothers and sisters where are you getting lost? <b>e</b>
<i>Isu vana veZimbabwe tinorwadziwa isu</i>	We the children of Zimbabwe we are pained <b>c1</b>
<i>Hama dzedu dzimwe dzakatsakatika nguva yehondo, hatina kumbodziona isu</i>	Some of our relatives completely perished during war times
<i>Iwe uri kurasika papi mwana weZimbabwe</i>	We never saw them <b>c1</b>
	Where really are you getting lost child of Zimbabwe? <b>e</b>
<i>Pamberi neZanu-PF</i>	Forward with Zanu-PF <b>d</b>
<i>Pamberi nekuzvitonga</i>	Forward with sovereignty <b>d</b>
[Chorus]	
Recitation	
<i>Gushungo hatimbofi takakusiyai kusvikira mukufa</i>	We will never leave you Gushungo till we death <b>d</b>
<i>Murwendo tiri tose kana papi mukarara pasango tiri tese Gushungo</i>	We are together in the journey, anywhere you will sleep in the forest we will be together Gushungo <b>d</b>
<i>Vana venyu tinenge tichingotevera tsoka dzenyu chete</i>	We your children will be following only your footsteps <b>d</b>
<i>Hatifi takarasika</i>	We will never get lost <b>d</b>
<i>Tinorwadziwa neropa rakadeuka muno muZimbabwe</i>	We are pained by the blood that was spilt here in Zimbabwe <b>c1</b>

Song title: "Vazhinji nevazhinji" ("Many and many")

Artist: Elliot Manyika

Song-genre: Observation-didactic

RM **a**: Expressing the reason why many [freedom fighters] were buried

RM **b**: Asking Nehanda to bless the [Zimbabwean] nation

RM **c**: Making a comparison between him (the soloist) and the fallen hero(ine)s

RM **d**: Paying homage to the leaders and fallen heroes

RM **e**: Expressing the citizens' responsibility to the nation

Chorus

*Vazhinji nevazhinji takavafushira  
nepamusana pekuda nyika yedu,  
yakange yatorwa nevapambepfumi.  
Nehanda komborera mhuri yeZimbabwe*

Many and many we buried them  
Because of the love of our country,  
that had been taken by the colonizers. **a**  
Nehanda bless the family of Zimbabwe **b**

Vazhinji nevazhinji takavafushira  
Nepamusana pekuda nyika yedu,  
yakange yatorwa nevapambepfumi.  
Nehanda komborera mhuri yeZimbabwe

Many and many we buried them  
Because of the love of our country,  
that had been taken by the colonizers. **a**  
Nehanda bless the family of Zimbabwe **b**

Kana tikatondera nehama dziri pasi  
Misodzi inobva yabuda haaa  
Ndikacherechedza handina chimiro  
Nehanda komborera mhuri yeZimbabwe

If we recall our dead relatives  
Tears run down *haaa* **c**  
If I look closely I do not have a reputation **c**  
Nehanda bless the family of Zimbabwe **b**

Kana tikatondera nehama dziri pasi  
Misodzi inobva yabuda haaa  
Ndikacherechedza handina chimiro  
Nehanda komborera mhuri yeZimbabwe

If we recall our dead relatives  
Tears run down *haaa* **c**  
If I look closely I do not have a reputation **c**  
Nehanda bless the family of Zimbabwe **b**

#### Recitation

Tinoda kutenda baba Mugabe navaJoshua Nkomo  
Avo vakatungamira mhuri yeZimbabwe  
Kuenda kuMozambique, kuZambia, Tanzania, kuAngola  
Kunovamba chimurenga chedu chehondo  
Nguva ino ndiyo yatino fanira kurangirira  
Magamba ose akafa kuChimoio, Tembwe,  
KuFreedom Camp kuZambia.  
Musango, mumapako vanhu  
vakadeutsira ropa ravo pamusoro pedu,  
kuti nyika yedu iuye.  
Saka zvinofanira kutiyechidza,  
kuti mumwe nomumwe wedu anofanira kuda nyika yake,  
nokuti nyika iyi ine vamwe vakafa vaidawo kurarama,

We are grateful to father Mugabe and Mr. Nkomo **d**  
The ones who led the family of Zimbabwe  
To go to Mozambique, Zambia, Tanzania and Angola  
To start our war of chimurenga **d**  
It is this time that we are supposed to remember  
All the heroes who died at Chimoio **d**  
At Freedom Camp in Zambia **d**  
In the forest, caves people **d**  
sacrificed their blood for our sake,  
so that our country could come. **d**  
So this must remind us,  
that each one of us should love his/her country,  
because this country has people who died for it who also,  
wanted to live,  
just like we are doing today. **e**  
Each one among us  
should think deeply,  
that this country called Zimbabwe is one. **e**  
So you and me we have the role to protect this country,  
so that we fulfil the wishes of those who died for this  
country. **e**  
Starting from Mbuya Nehanda and Sekuru Kaguvi  
Sekuru Mukwati and Mapondera,  
till we arrive at Chitepo, Jason Ziyapapa Moyo,  
Lookout Masuku, Tongogara,  
all these people made this country important. **e**

sezvatiriwo isu muzuva ranhasi.  
Mumwe nomumwe pakati pedu  
anofanira kuzvidzamisisa ndangariro dzake,  
kuti nyika iyi imwe chete inonzi Zimbabwe.  
Saka iwe neni tine basa rokuchengetedza nyika iyi,  
kuitira kuti tizadzikisewo zvido zvevakafira nyika iyi

Kubvira kunaana Mbuya Nehanda naana Sekuru Kaguvi,  
vanaana Sekuru Mukwati, vanaMapondera,  
tosvika kunaana Chitepo, vanaJason Ziyapapa Moyo,  
vanaLookout Masuku, vanaana Tongogara,  
vose vanhu ivava vakakoshesa nyika yavo.

[Chorus]

Song title: "Chishuwo chamagamba" ("The wish of the fallen heroes")

Artist: The Born Free Crew

Song's sub-genre: Narrative

RM **a**: Orienting the song

RM **b**: Stating the desire of the fallen Nehanda and the fallen heroes

RM **c**: Stating the causes of fighting for sovereignty

#### Chorus

L: Ndochaiva chishuwo chaNehanda

That was Nehanda's wish **a**

R: Tora gidi

Take a gun **b**

L: Ndochaiva chishuwo chamagamba

That was the wish of the heroes and heroines **a**

R: Tora gidi

Take a gun **b**

L: Ndochaiva chishuwo chaNehanda

That was Nehanda's wish **a**

R: Tora gidi

Take a gun **b**

L: Ndochaiva chishuwo chamagamba

That was Nehanda's wish **a**

L1: Akabata musoro ashaiwa zano

He touched his head without any clue **c**

Mombe nevhu zvose vamupamba

He has been deprived of both cattle and land **c**

Akasvimha misodzi ndokushaya pekubata

He wept bitterly not knowing what to do **c**

Akanzwa izwi raNehanda richiti:

He heard the voice of Nehanda saying:

L2: "Tora gidi uzvitonge, kurwira

"Take the gun and rule yourself, to fight for

ivhu renhaka yako

your land, your heritage **b**

Tora gidi uzvitonge Zimbabwe

Take your gun and rule Zimbabwe **b**

Zimbabwe nyika yedu sevatemala"

Zimbabwe our country as blacks **b**

Musikana wechidiki achishandiswa mumunda

Young girls being forced to work in the fields **c**

Kugarofondotswa pasina mubhadharo

Exploited to work regularly without pay **c**

Akamurova ndokuwira pasi

He hit her and she fell down **c**

Ndokunzwa izwi raNehanda richiti:

She heard the voice of Nehanda saying:

“Tora gidi uzvitonge, kurwira  
ivhu renhaka yako  
Tora gidi uzvitonge Zimbabwe  
Zimbabwe nyika yedu sevatemala”

“Take the gun and rule yourself, to fight for  
your land, your heritage **b**  
Take your gun and rule Zimbabwe **b**  
Zimbabwe our country as blacks **b**

Song Title: “Maruza imi III” (“You have lost for the third time”)

Artist: Cde Chinx

Song-genre: Narrative-exemplum

RM **a**: Orientation (Why the *chimurenga* wars took place)

RM **b**: Stating where the colonialists came from

RM **c**: Explaining why they came to Zimbabwe

RM **d**: Expressing the evils and guiles of the colonialists

RM **e**: Celebrating the defeat of the colonizers

RM **f**: Warning against being duped to sell the country

RM **g**: Warning the colonizer against the spread of *chimurenga* in Southern Africa

RM **h**: Declaring Zimbabwean sovereignty

RM **i**: Condemning alleged sellouts

Storytelling (Singing)

*Hondo maiona, hondo yechimurenga*  
*Hondo yevanhu chimurenga*  
*Hondo maiona, hondo yechimurenga*  
*Hondo yevanhu chimurenga*  
*Hondo maiona, hondo yechimurenga*  
*Hondo yevanhu chimurenga*  
*Hona vakauyaka muZimbabwe*  
*Vaibva Bhiriteni*  
*Vaimba Amerika*  
*Vaibva Jemini*  
*Vaibva Kanadha*  
*Vaibva Furansi*

Now you have seen the war, the war of *chimurenga* **a**  
*Chimurenga*, the people’s war **a**  
Now you have seen the war, the war of *chimurenga* **a**  
*Chimurenga*, the people’s war **a**  
Now you have seen the war, the war of *chimurenga* **a**  
*Chimurenga*, the people’s war **a**  
Behold they came to Zimbabwe **b**  
They were coming from Britain **b**  
They were coming from America **b**  
They are coming from Germany **b**  
They were coming from Canada **b**  
They were coming from France **b**

*Kwavakanga vatandwa nenzara*  
*Voti nanga-nangawo neZimbabwe*  
*Havazivi nyikaka yavatema*  
*Izere uchi nemukaka*  
*Hezvo nyika yenyu imi vatema*

Where they had been chased by hunger **c**  
And now they focussed their attention on Zimbabwe **d**  
They don’t know it’s the very land of the blacks **d**  
Abundant with milk and honey **c**  
Now your land you the blacks **c**

*Hona vauya muZimbabwe vaine gidi kekutanga*  
*Vachiti vanovhima vodzokera*  
*Kuri kunyepa vapambepfumi*  
*Vavhimiwo vanaSelous vaiongorora*  
*mugariro weZimbabwe*  
*Nenzira dzokuzopinda nadzo mangwana*  
*Hama dzakeka dzaitevera,*  
*vadaidza mupambepfumi*  
*Here mupambepfumi*

Behold they came in Zimbabwe with guns for the first time **d**  
Saying they only want to hunt and then they return **d**  
When in actual fact they were lying, the colonizers **d**  
Hunters like Selous were reconnoitring  
Zimbabwe’s way of life **d**  
And the routes they would use to conquer Zimbabwe tomorrow **d**  
His kith and kin were actually following,  
they have called the colonizer **d**  
*Here* the colonizer **d**

Chorus

R: *Maruza imi, maruzaka*  
L: *Here mupambepfumi*  
R: *Maruza imi, maruzaka*  
L: *Here herevo*  
*Here herevo*  
R: *Maruza imi, maruzaka*  
L: *Here here mupambepfumi*  
R: *Maruza imi, maruzaka*  
L: *Here herevo*  
*Here herevo*  
R: *Maruza imi, maruzaka*  
L: *Umtumbilizwe*

You have lost, you really have lost **e**  
*Here* the colonizer **e**  
You have lost, you really have lost **e**  
*Here herevo*  
*Here herevo*  
You have lost, you really have lost **e**  
*Here here* the colonizer **e**  
You have lost, you really have lost **e**  
*Here herevo*  
*Here herevo*  
You have lost, you really have lost **e**  
The colonizer **e**

Storytelling (continued)

*Vavhimiwo vanaSelous vaiongorora*  
*mugariro weZimbabwe*  
*Nenzira dzokupinda mangwana*  
*Twuhama twake twaitevera,*  
*twadaidzwa kuupfumi*  
*Shuwa nenguva isipi takazonaka zindungwe*  
*Richibvaka nekuchamhembe kwenyika yeZimbabwe*  
*Tande kuFort Tuli, tande Fort Vhiki,*  
*Tande Fort Charter, dzamara muHarare*

Hunters like Selous were reconnoitring  
Zimbabwe’s way of life **d**  
And the routes they would use to conquer Zimbabwe tomorrow **d**  
His wretched relatives following,  
having been called to abundant wealth **d**  
Truly within a short space of time we saw a long procession **d**  
Coming from the south of the country of Zimbabwe **d**  
Walking towards Fort Tuli, walking towards Fort Victoria **d**  
Walking towards Fort Charter, until they reached Harare **d**

Vapambepfumi vatopamba nyika  
yevatema vakomana  
Here herevo  
Here herevo

The colonizers have colonize **d**  
the land of the blacks, guys **d**  
Here herevo  
Here herevo

[Chorus]

Vasvika muHarare, vakadzika mureza wavo  
Kupangidza vatopamba nyika  
Wainzi iwo Union Jack, we fought the jack down  
Ndati ndivo vya mapioneer  
Mugore ra1890, mwedzi waGunyana,  
Zuva rechigumi nemaviri  
vapambepfumi vatopamba nyika  
Nyika yevatema vakomana

On arrival in Harare, they hoisted their flag **d**  
Signifying that they have colonized the country **d**  
It was the Union Jack, we fought the jack down **d**  
I'm saying those ones were the pioneer **d**  
In the year 1890, the month of September **b**  
The twenty-second day  
the colonizers have colonized the country **d**  
The land of the blacks boys **d**

[Chorus]

Speech

Teera! munzweka nyaya iyi  
Munoziva mudzviti?  
Iyo nguva yapfuura iya waitumaka ivavo vana Selous In  
Iyezvino vaakutuma vamwe  
Haasi kuziva kuti manje-manje tinenge tave make  
Kana kuNamibia, kuKenya, vatotanga kare  
Vanoronga kuda kutirongera mitemo muZimbabwe  
MuZimbabwe hatitongwi nevamwe  
Takavabvunza muno muZimbabwe nemwoyochena  
Tikati itai vana tite makorokotozve  
Nanhasi hakuna  
Varikungoda zvananoda  
Kupwanya chivanhu, kuurutsa,  
nekutirasisa chivanhu  
Ivo vose mapioneer takavaudza, ngatigarisane,  
vapambepfumi vatoramba  
Vatoramba, kutojamuka ufunge, kutanarara

Listen and here this story **f**  
Do you know the district administrator? **f**  
In the gone days they used to send those ones, the Selouses **f**  
This time they are sending others **f**  
He does not know that very soon we will be in his [country] **g**  
Even in Namibia, in Kenya, they have already started **g**  
They are arranging to make their laws for us in Zimbabwe **d**  
In Zimbabwe we won't be ruled by foreigners **h**  
We asked then here in Zimbabwe with innocent hearts **d**  
We said make children so that we can say congratulations to you **d**  
Now there is still nothing **d**  
They just want what they want **d**  
Destroying our ubuntu, despising  
and sending our ubuntu astray **d**  
All of them the pioneers we told them, let's live together  
The colonizers have refused **d**  
They refused, they become restless just imagine, flatly refusing **d**

Saka toita sei?  
Kubva muna 1980 tikati slow track yekutora minda  
Willing buyer, willing seller  
Vakakwidza mari mangwana yava one million,  
Ten million, yava billion  
Oh paya veZimbabwe manje vakati taramba

Now what shall we do? **d**  
Since 1980 we were doing a slow track programme of taking land **d**  
Willing buyer, willing seller **d**  
They raised the price of farms tomorrow it is one million,  
Ten million, it's now one billion **d**  
Oh on this Zimbabweans now said we can't accept this any longer **f**

Uone vaakubva uku!  
Uku anonzi ani?  
Kutorongera Zimbabwe masanctions  
Futi handisati ndaona zvakadaro,  
VeZimbabwe ngati ngware  
Makamboona baba vanosimuka pamusha  
Achiti anotsvaga zvinoshupa pamusha?  
Vonodaidzira kun'anga kana kuna chiremba  
Achiti, "Chiremba woye zadza munyama  
mumusha mangu"  
Sezviri kuitwa nevamwe vana muno umu  
Muri kunyengererwa netumari tunopera utw  
Nhaka haiperi iyi,  
maruza one, two, three, four  
Zimbabwe will never be a colony again!

Now see they are coming from this side **d**  
From this side what is his name? **d**  
Arranging sanctions for Zimbabwe **d**  
Truly I haven't seen such kind of behaviour  
People of Zimbabwe let us be wise **i**  
Where have you seen a father leaving his home  
Saying I'm going to consult about the problem in my home? **i**  
Then he requests a diviner or traditional healer  
Saying, "Please diviner cast bad luck  
in my home **i**  
Like what other children of this country are doing **i**  
You are being fooled by money that will be finished **i**  
Your national heritage is inexhaustible, **i**  
you have lost one, two, three, four **e**  
Zimbabwe will never be a colony again! **f**

Title of song: "MuZimbabwe" ("In Zimbabwe")

Artist: Mbare Chimurenga Choir

Song genre: Praise-celebratory-persuasion

RM a: Identifying the vakarwira nyika in-group

RM b: Paying homage/remembrance to the in-group

RM c: Advising Zimbabweans to unite under the banner of the in-group

L: MuZimbabwe varipo vakarwira rusununguko  
MuZimbabwe

In Zimbabwe there are some who fought for liberation **a**  
In Zimbabwe **a**

R: Varipo vakarwira rusununguko  
munyika yedu yeZimbabwe

There are some who fought for liberation  
in our country Zimbabwe **a**

Munyika yedu vatema  
L: MuZimbabwe varipo vakarwira rusununguko

In our country the blacks **a**  
In Zimbabwe there are some who fought for liberation **a**

<i>MuZimbabwe</i>	In Zimbabwe <b>a</b>
R: <i>Varipo vakarwira rusununguko munyika yedu yeZimbabwe</i>	There are some who fought for liberation in our country Zimbabwe <b>a</b>
<i>Munyika yedu vatema</i>	In our country the blacks <b>a</b>
L: <i>Heroes Acre inzimbo inovigwa magamba Heroes Acre</i>	The Heroes Acres is the place where heroes are buried The Heroes Acre <b>a</b>
R: <i>Inzimbo inovigwa magamba akarwira nyika yeZimbabwe Akarwira akasunungura nyika yevatema</i>	It is the place for the burial of heroes that fought for the liberation of Zimbabwe <b>a</b> Those that fought and liberated the blacks' country <b>a</b>
L: <i>Magamba arere paHeroes Acre Magamba</i>	The heroes that lie at the Heroes Acre <b>a</b> The heroes <b>a</b>
R: <i>Arere arere paHeroes Acre Tinovarangarira kwazvo Tinovarangarira kwazvo</i>	They lie, they lie at the Heroes Acre <b>a</b> We remember them greatly <b>b</b> We remember them greatly <b>b</b>
L: <i>VaNehanda tinovarangarira VaNehanda</i>	Nehanda we remember her <b>b</b> The respected Nehanda <b>b</b>
R: <i>Tinovarangarira mudzimu mukuru weZimbabwe Mudzimu mukuru wevatema</i>	We remember the great national spirit of Zimbabwe <b>b</b> The blacks' great national spirit <b>b</b>
L: <i>Ropa rakadeuka paNyadzoia Ropa</i>	Blood was spilt at Nyadzoia <b>a</b> Blood <b>a</b>
R: <i>Rakadeuka paChimoio Kufira nyika yeZimbabwe Kusunungura nyika yevatema</i>	It was spilt at Chimoio <b>a</b> Dying for the nation of Zimbabwe <b>a</b> To liberation the blacks' country <b>a</b>
L: <i>Ropa rakadeuka paNyadzoia Ropa</i>	Blood was spilt at Nyadzoia <b>a</b> Blood <b>a</b>
R: <i>Rakadeuka paChimoio Kufira nyika yeZimbabwe Kusunungura nyika yevatema</i>	It was spilt at Chimoio <b>a</b> Dying for the nation of Zimbabwe <b>a</b> To liberate the blacks' country <b>a</b>
L: <i>Apo neapo pakafira magamba Apo</i>	There and there heroes died <b>a</b> There <b>a</b>
R: <i>Neapo pakavigwa magamba Kufira nyika yeZimbabwe Kusunungura nyika vatema</i>	And there heroes were buried <b>a</b> Dying for the nation of Zimbabwe <b>a</b> To liberate the blacks of country <b>a</b>
L: <i>Nokudaro ngatibatanei tishande pamwe Nokudaro</i>	Because of that let us unite and work together <b>c</b> Because of that
R: <i>Ngatibatanei tishande pamwe Vana vemuno muZimbabwe Vana vemuno vevatema</i>	Let us unite and work together <b>c</b> Children who belong to this country Zimbabwe <b>c</b> Children of the blacks who belong here <b>c</b>
L: <i>Magamba arere paHeroes Acre Magamba</i>	Heroes that lie at the Heroes Acre <b>a</b> Heroes <b>a</b>
R: <i>Arere arere paHeroes Acre Tinovarangarira kwazvo Tinovarangarira kwazvo</i>	They lie, they lie at the Heroes Acre <b>a</b> We remember them greatly <b>b</b> We remember them greatly <b>b</b>
L: <i>Magamba arere paHeroes Acre Magamba</i>	Heroes that lie at the Heroes Acre <b>a</b> Heroes <b>a</b>
R: <i>Arere arere paHeroes Acre Tinovarangarira kwazvo Tinovarangarira kwazvo</i>	They lie, they lie at the Heroes Acre <b>a</b> We remember them greatly <b>b</b> We remember them greatly <b>b</b>
ALL	
<i>Munyika yedu yeZimbabwe</i>	In our country Zimbabwe <b>a</b>
<i>Munyika yedu yevatema</i>	In our country of blacks <b>a</b>
<i>Kufira nyika yeZimbabwe</i>	Dying for the nation of Zimbabwe <b>a</b>
<i>Kusunungura nyika yeZimbabwe</i>	To liberate the nation of Zimbabwe <b>a</b>
<i>Munyika yedu yeZimbabwe</i>	In our country Zimbabwe <b>a</b>
<i>Munyika yedu yevatema</i>	In our country of blacks <b>a</b>
<i>Kufira nyika yeZimbabwe</i>	Dying for the nation of Zimbabwe <b>a</b>
<i>Kusunungura nyika yeZimbabwe</i>	To liberate the nation of Zimbabwe <b>a</b>

Song title: "Taishingirira" ("We were enduring")

Artst: Tafara-Mabvuku Chimurenga Choir

Song genre: Narrative-celebratory-observation

RM **a**: Orienting the song's theme of courage

**RM b:** Stating the examples of courage displayed

**RM c:** States the outcome of the bravery

L: *Shingirira haiwa taishingirira* Be brave, we were bravely enduring **a**  
 R: *Taishingirira* We were bravely enduring **a**  
 L: *Shingirira haiwa taishingirira* Be brave, we were bravely enduring **a**  
 R: *Taishingirira* We were bravely enduring **a**  
 L: *Taibereka makasha* We used to carry heavy weaponry **b**  
 R: *Taishingirira* We were bravely enduring **a**  
 L: *Tichishingirira* We kept on enduring bravely **a**  
 R: *Taishingirira* We were bravely enduring **a**  
 L: *Taibereka makasha* We used to carry heavy weaponry **b**  
 R: *Taishingirira* We were bravely enduring **a**  
 L: *Tichishingirira* We kept on enduring bravely **a**  
 R: *Taishingirira* We were bravely enduring **a**

L: *Shingirira haiwa taishingirira* Be brave, we were bravely enduring **a**  
 R: *Taishingirira* We were bravely enduring **a**  
 L: *Shingirira haiwa taishingirira* Be brave, we were bravely enduring **a**  
 R: *Taishingirira* We were bravely enduring **a**  
 L: *Taibereka makasha* We used to carry heavy weaponry **b**  
 R: *Taishingirira* We were bravely enduring **a**  
 L: *Tichishingirira* We kept on enduring bravely **a**  
 R: *Taishingirira* We were bravely enduring **a**  
 L: *Taibereka makasha* We used to carry heavy weaponry **b**  
 R: *Taishingirira* We were bravely enduring **a**  
 L: *Tichishingirira* We kept on enduring bravely **a**  
 R: *Taishingirira* We were bravely enduring **a**

L: *Shingirira haiwa taishingirira* Be brave, we were bravely enduring **a**  
 R: *Taishingirira* We were bravely enduring **a**  
 L: *Shingirira haiwa taishingirira* Be brave, we were bravely enduring **a**  
 R: *Taishingirira* We were bravely enduring **a**  
 L: *Taibereka makasha* We used to carry heavy weaponry **b**  
 R: *Taishingirira* We were bravely enduring **a**  
 L: *Tichishingirira* We kept on enduring bravely **a**  
 R: *Taishingirira* We were bravely enduring **a**  
 L: *Taibereka makasha* We used to carry heavy weaponry **b**  
 R: *Taishingirira* We were bravely enduring **a**  
 L: *Tichishingirira* We kept on enduring bravely **a**  
 R: *Taishingirira* We were bravely enduring **a**

L: *Shingirira haiwa taishingirira* Be brave, we were bravely enduring **a**  
 R: *Taishingirira* We were bravely enduring **a**  
 L: *Shingirira haiwa taishingirira* Be brave, we were bravely enduring **a**  
 R: *Taishingirira* We were bravely enduring **a**  
 L: *Taibereka makasha* We used to carry heavy weaponry **b**  
 R: *Taishingirira* We were bravely enduring **a**  
 L: *Tichishingirira* We kept on enduring bravely **a**  
 R: *Taishingirira* We were bravely enduring **a**  
 L: *Taibereka makasha* We used to carry heavy weaponry **b**  
 R: *Taishingirira* We were bravely enduring **a**  
 L: *Tichishingirira* We kept on enduring bravely **a**  
 R: *Taishingirira* We were bravely enduring **a**

L: *Shingirira haiwa taishingirira* Be brave, we were bravely enduring **a**  
 R: *Taishingirira* We were bravely enduring **a**  
 L: *Shingirira haiwa taishingirira* Be brave, we were bravely enduring **a**  
 R: *Taishingirira* We were bravely enduring **a**  
 L: *Tainzvenge madhakota* We endured evading warplanes **b**  
 R: *Taishingirira* We were bravely enduring **a**  
 L: *Tichishingirira* We kept on enduring bravely **a**  
 R: *Taishingirira* We were bravely enduring **a**  
 L: *Tainzvenge madhakota* We endured evading warplanes **b**  
 R: *Taishingirira* We were bravely enduring **a**  
 L: *Tichishingirira* We kept on enduring bravely **a**  
 R: *Taishingirira* We were bravely enduring **a**

L: *Shingirira haiwa taishingirira* Be brave, we were bravely enduring **a**  
 R: *Taishingirira* We were bravely enduring **a**  
 L: *Shingirira haiwa taishingirira* Be brave, we were bravely enduring **a**  
 R: *Taishingirira* We were bravely enduring **a**  
 L: *Nhasi tatora minda* Today we have taken land **c**  
 R: *Taishingirira* We were bravely enduring **a**  
 L: *Nekushingirira* Through bravely enduring **a**  
 R: *Taishingirira* We were bravely enduring **a**

L: <i>Nhasi tatora ivhu</i>	Today we have taken the land <b>c</b>
R: <i>Taishingirira</i>	We were bravely enduring <b>a</b>
L: <i>Nekushingirira</i>	Through bravely enduring <b>a</b>
R: <i>Taishingirira</i>	We were bravely enduring <b>a</b>
L: <i>Shingirira haiwa taishingirira</i>	Be brave, we were bravely enduring <b>a</b>
R: <i>Taishingirira</i>	We were bravely enduring <b>a</b>
L: <i>Shingirira haiwa taishingirira</i>	Be brave, we were bravely enduring <b>a</b>
R: <i>Taishingirira</i>	We were bravely enduring <b>a</b>
L: <i>Nhasi tatora minda</i>	Today we have taken land <b>c</b>
R: <i>Taishingirira</i>	We were bravely enduring <b>a</b>
L: <i>Nekushingirira</i>	Through bravely enduring <b>a</b>
R: <i>Taishingirira</i>	We were bravely enduring <b>a</b>
L: <i>Nhasi tatora ivhu</i>	Today we have taken the land <b>c</b>
R: <i>Taishingirira</i>	We were bravely enduring <b>a</b>
L: <i>Nekushingirira</i>	Through bravely enduring <b>a</b>
R: <i>Taishingirira</i>	We were bravely enduring <b>a</b>
L: <i>VaMugabe nhasi tatora minda</i>	Mr. Mugabe today we have taken the land <b>c</b>
R: <i>Taishingirira</i>	We were bravely enduring <b>a</b>
L: <i>Tichishingirira</i>	We kept on enduring bravely <b>a</b>
R: <i>Nekushingirira</i>	Through bravely enduring <b>a</b>
L: <i>Tainzvenge madhakota</i>	We bravely evaded warplanes <b>c</b>
R: <i>Taishingirira</i>	We were bravely enduring <b>a</b>
L: <i>Tichishingirira</i>	We kept on enduring bravely <b>a</b>
R: <i>Nekushingirira</i>	Through bravely enduring <b>a</b>
L: <i>Tainayiwa nemvura</i>	We endured the rains <b>b</b>
R: <i>Taishingirira</i>	We were bravely enduring <b>a</b>
L: <i>Tichishingirira</i>	We kept on enduring bravely <b>a</b>
R: <i>Taishingirira</i>	We were bravely enduring <b>a</b>
L: <i>Taibereka makasha</i>	We used to carry heavy weaponry <b>b</b>
R: <i>Taishingirira</i>	We were bravely enduring <b>a</b>
L: <i>Tichishingirira</i>	We kept on enduring bravely <b>a</b>
L: <i>Nhasi tatora ivhu</i>	Today we have taken the land <b>c</b>
R: <i>Taishingirira</i>	We were bravely enduring <b>a</b>
L: <i>Nekushingirira</i>	Through bravely enduring <b>a</b>
R: <i>Taishingirira</i>	We were bravely enduring <b>a</b>
L: <i>Nhasi tatora minda</i>	Today we have taken the land <b>c</b>
R: <i>Taishingirira</i>	We were bravely enduring <b>a</b>
L: <i>Tichishingirira</i>	We kept on enduring bravely <b>a</b>
R: <i>Taishingirira</i>	We were bravely enduring <b>a</b>
L: <i>Taibereka makasha</i>	We used to carry heavy weaponry <b>b</b>
R: <i>Taishingirira</i>	We kept on enduring bravely <b>a</b>
L: <i>Tichishingirira</i>	We kept on enduring bravely <b>a</b>
R: <i>Taishingirira</i>	We kept on enduring bravely <b>a</b>
L: <i>Tainayiwa nemvura</i>	We endured the rains <b>b</b>
R: <i>Taishingirira</i>	We kept on enduring bravely <b>a</b>
L: <i>Tichishingirira</i>	We kept on enduring bravely <b>a</b>
R: <i>Taishingirira</i>	We kept on enduring bravely <b>a</b>
L: <i>Tainzvenge madhakota</i>	We used to carry heavy weaponry <b>b</b>
R: <i>Taishingirira</i>	We kept on enduring bravely <b>a</b>
L: <i>Tichishingirira</i>	We kept on enduring bravely <b>a</b>
R: <i>Taishingirira</i>	We kept on enduring bravely <b>a</b>
L: <i>VaMugabe nhasi tatora ivhu</i>	Mr. Mugabe today we have taken the land <b>c</b>
R: <i>Taishingirira</i>	We kept on enduring bravely <b>a</b>
L: <i>Nekushingirira</i>	Through bravely enduring <b>a</b>
R: <i>Taishingirira</i>	We kept on enduring bravely <b>a</b>

Song title: "Ndatadza kukanganwa" ("I cannot forget")

The Born Free Crew

Song-genre: celebratory-exemplum

RM **a**: Paying homage to the courageous hero(ine)s

RM **b**: Expressing (negative) judgement against the alleged unthankful

RM **c**: Celebrating the fruits of courage

L: <i>Ndatadza kukanganwa kusunungurwa kwakaitwa</i>	I cannot forget how we were liberated
<i>kubva munhapwa</i>	from [colonial] slavery <b>a</b>
R: <i>Kusatenda uroyi</i>	Ingratitude is witchcraft <b>b</b>
L: <i>Tawana kuzvitonga, todaya uchi nemukaka</i>	We got our sovereignty, now we eat milk and honey
<i>munyika yedu sevatemala</i>	in our country as blacks <b>c</b>
R: <i>Kusatenda uroyi</i>	Ingratitude is witchcraft <b>b</b>
L: <i>Asi shungu dzaNehanda dzazadziswa</i>	But Nehanda's strong wish has been fulfilled <b>c</b>
<i>Mapfupa ake akamuka muzimbarembabwe</i>	Her bones have arisen in the house of stone <b>c</b>

<i>Asi shungu dzaNehanda dzazadziswa Zuva racheka muzimbarembabwe</i>	But Nehanda's strong wish has been fulfilled <b>c</b> The sun has shone brightly in the house on stone <b>c</b>
R: <i>Tingaripe nei zvakakaita? Tingatende sei?</i>	What compensation can we pay that befits what you did? <b>d</b> How shall we thank [them]? <b>d</b>
L: <i>Varwi verusununguko</i>	The freedom fighters? <b>a</b>
R: <i>Tingaripe nei zvakakaita? Tingatende sei?</i>	What compensation can we pay that befits what you did? <b>d</b> How shall we thank [them]? <b>d</b>
L: <i>Simba kuvatema Budiriro, gugara zvakakanaka tazviwana Kubva muushingi hwenyu magamba Budiriro, gugara zvakakanaka tazviwana Kubva muushingi hwenyu magamba</i>	Power to the blacks <b>c</b> We have achieved development and good living standards <b>c</b> All this come from your bravery, you the heroes <b>a</b> We have achieved development and good living standards <b>c</b> All this come from your bravery, you the heroes <b>a</b>
L: <i>Tinotenda awo magamba akaunza Rusununguko muno munyika Tinotenda awo magamba akaunza Rusununguko muno munyika Nhasi tasununguka nyika yava yedu Tavakuzvitonga muno muZimbabwe Nhasi tasununguka nyika yava yedu Torima, totonga muno muZimbabwe</i>	We thank those heroes that brought <b>c</b> Independence here in the country <b>c</b> We thank those heroes that brought <b>c</b> Independence here in the country <b>c</b> Today we are free, the country is now ours <b>c</b> We are now ruling ourselves here in Zimbabwe <b>c</b> Today we are free, the country is now ours <b>c</b> We now till the land, rule here in Zimbabwe <b>c</b>
R: <i>Tingaripe nei zvakakaita? Tingatende sei?</i>	What compensation can we pay that befits what you did? <b>d</b> How shall we thank [them]? <b>d</b>
L: <i>Varwi verusununguko</i>	The freedom fighters? <b>a</b>
R: <i>Tingaripe nei zvakakaita? Tingatende sei?</i>	What compensation can we pay that befits what you did? <b>d</b> How shall we thank [them]? <b>d</b>
L: <i>Simba kuvatema</i>	Power to the blacks <b>c</b>
R: <i>Tingaripe nei zvakakaita? Tingatende sei?</i>	What compensation can we pay that befits what you did? <b>d</b> How shall we thank [them]? <b>d</b>
L: <i>Pazvikoro kuwana fundo</i>	In schools we now get education <b>c</b>
R: <i>Tingaripe nei zvakakaita? Tingatende sei?</i>	What compensation can we pay that befits what you did? <b>d</b> How shall we thank [them]? <b>d</b>
L: <i>Varwi verusununguko</i>	The freedom fighters <b>a</b>
L: <i>Tingaripe sei, fundo muzvikoro Utano muzvipatara, gender equality Youth empowerment, black empowerment Magetsi kumamisha, runyararo munyika</i>	How are we going to pay, education in schools? <b>c</b> Health in hospitals, enzano yevarume nevakadzi <b>c</b> Youth empowerment, black empowerment <b>c</b> Electricity in rural areas, peace in the country <b>c</b>
R: <i>Tingaripe nei zvakakaita? Tingatende sei?</i>	What compensation can we pay that befits what you did? <b>d</b> How shall we thank [them]? <b>d</b>
L: <i>Varwi verusununguko</i>	The freedom fighters? <b>a</b>
R: <i>Tingaripe nei zvakakaita? Tingatende sei?</i>	What compensation can we pay that befits what you did? <b>d</b> How shall we thank [them]? <b>d</b>
L: <i>Simba kuvatema</i>	Power to the blacks <b>c</b>
R: <i>Tingaripe nei zvakakaita? Tingatende sei?</i>	What compensation can we pay that befits what you did? <b>d</b> How shall we thank [them]? <b>d</b>
L: <i>Pazvikoro kuwana fundo</i>	In schools we now get education <b>c</b>
R: <i>Tingaripe nei zvakakaita? Tingatende sei?</i>	What compensation can we pay that befits what you did? <b>d</b> How shall we thank [them]? <b>d</b>
L: <i>Varwi verusununguko</i>	The freedom fighters <b>a</b>
Song title: "Nora"	
Artist: Elliot Manyika	
Song genre: exemplum-celebratory-mobilizational	
RM <b>a</b> : Orienting the song	
RM <b>b</b> : Celebrating the rewards of suffering	
RM <b>c</b> : Celebrating the heroism of the freedom fighters	
RM <b>d</b> : Condemning the sellouts	
RM <b>e</b> : Suggesting how sellouts can be 'rehabilitated'	
RM <b>f</b> : Expressing the Cinderella identity	
RM <b>g</b> : Mobilizing the masses	
L: <i>Nora Nora Nora</i>	Nora Nora Nora <b>a</b>
R: <i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i>	Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b>
L: <i>Nora Nora Nora</i>	Nora Nora Nora <b>a</b>
R: <i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i>	Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b>
L: <i>Nora Nora Nora</i>	Nora Nora Nora <b>a</b>
R: <i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i>	Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b>
L: <i>Nora Nora Nora</i>	Nora Nora Nora <b>a</b>
R: <i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i>	Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b>

L: <i>Zvinoda vakashinga moyo</i>	It needs those with brave hearts <b>c</b>
R: <i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i>	Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b>
L: <i>Zvinoda vakashinga moyo savaMugabe</i>	It needs those with brave hearts like Mr. Mugabe <b>c</b>
R: <i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i>	Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b>
L: <i>Zvinoda vakashinga moyo</i>	It needs those with brave hearts <b>c</b>
R: <i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i>	Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b>
L: <i>Zvinoda vakashinga moyo savaMugabe</i>	It needs those with brave hearts like Mr. Mugabe <b>c</b>
R: <i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i>	Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b>
L: <i>Kune vamwe vakapanduka</i>	There are some who have rebelled <b>d</b>
R: <i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i>	Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b>
L: <i>Nepamusana pekusafunga</i>	Because of being stupid <b>d</b>
R: <i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i>	Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b>
L: <i>Kune vamwe vakapanduka</i>	There are some who rebelled <b>d</b>
R: <i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i>	Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b>
L: <i>Nepamusana pekuda mari</i>	Because their love of money <b>d</b>
R: <i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i>	Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b>
L: <i>Toraika vanhu vakadai</i>	Take such people <b>e</b>
R: <i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i>	Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b>
L: <i>Dzidzisai gwara reZanu</i>	Teach them Zanu-PF's ideology <b>e</b>
R: <i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i>	Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b>
L: <i>Viva Zanu, Zanu ndeyeropa</i>	Viva Zanu, Zanu is about blood <b>c</b>
R: <i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i>	Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b>
L: <i>Viva Zanu, Zanu ndeyekushupika</i>	Viva Zanu-PF, Zanu-PF is a suffering party <b>f</b>
R: <i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i>	Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b>
L: <i>Viva Zanu, kugara musango taneta</i>	Viva Zanu, we are tired of staying in the forests <b>f</b>
R: <i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i>	Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b>
L: <i>Viva Zanu, Zanu ndeyekushupika</i>	Viva Zanu-PF, Zanu-PF is a suffering party <b>f</b>
R: <i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i>	Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b>
L: <i>Dhareweni kune magamba</i>	In Darwin there are heroines <b>c</b>
R: <i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i>	Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b>
L: <i>Vakafira iyoyi Zimbabwe</i>	Who died for this very Zimbabwe <b>c</b>
R: <i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i>	Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b>
L: <i>KuGwanda kune magamba</i>	In Gwanda there are heroes <b>c</b>
R: <i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i>	Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b>
L: <i>Vakafira iyoyi Zimbabwe</i>	Who died for this very Zimbabwe <b>c</b>
R: <i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i>	Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b>
L: <i>KwaMutare kune magamba</i>	In Mutare there are heroes <b>c</b>
R: <i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i>	Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b>
L: <i>Vakafira iyoyi Zimbabwe</i>	Who died for this very Zimbabwe <b>c</b>
R: <i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i>	Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b>
L: <i>Bulawayo kune magamba</i>	In Bulawayo there are heroes <b>f</b>
R: <i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i>	Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b>
L: <i>Vakafira iyoyi Zimbabwe</i>	Who died for this very Zimbabwe <b>c</b>
R: <i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i>	Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b>
L: <i>KuMasvingo kune magamba</i>	In Masvingo there are heroes <b>c</b>
R: <i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i>	Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b>
L: <i>Vakafira iyoyi Zimbabwe</i>	Who died for this very Zimbabwe <b>c</b>
R: <i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i>	Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b>
L: <i>PaChinhoyi kune magamba</i>	In Chinhoyi there are heroes <b>c</b>
R: <i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i>	Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b>
L: <i>Vakafira iyoyi Zimbabwe</i>	Who died for this very Zimbabwe <b>c</b>
R: <i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i>	Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b>
L: <i>KuGweru kune magamba</i>	In Gweru there are heroes <b>c</b>
R: <i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i>	Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b>
L: <i>Vakafira iyoyi Zimbabwe</i>	Who died for this very Zimbabwe <b>c</b>
R: <i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i>	Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b>
L: <i>KwaMutoko kune magamba</i>	In Mutoko there are heroes <b>c</b>
R: <i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i>	Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b>
L: <i>Vakafira iyoyi Zimbabwe</i>	Who died for this very Zimbabwe <b>c</b>
R: <i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i>	Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b>
L: <i>Bindira kune magamba</i>	In Bindura there are heroes <b>c</b>
R: <i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i>	Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b>
L: <i>Vakafira iyoyi Zimbabwe</i>	Who died for this very Zimbabwe <b>c</b>
R: <i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i>	Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b>
L: <i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i>	Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b>
L: <i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i>	Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b>
L: <i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i>	Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b>
L: <i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i>	Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b>
L: <i>Heee hee-e -he-e Heee hee-e -he-e</i>	Heee hee-e -he-e Heee hee-e -he-e <b>h</b>

<i>Hande tione hee</i>	Let us go and let us see hee <b>h</b>
R: <i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i>	Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b>
<i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i>	Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b>
<i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i>	Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b>
<i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i>	Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b>
L: <i>Toraika vanhu vakadai</i>	Take such people <b>e</b>
R: <i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i>	Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b>
L: <i>Dzidzisi gwara reZanu</i>	Teach them Zanu's ideology <b>e</b>
R: <i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i>	Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b>
L: <i>Viva Zanu, Zanu ndeyeropa</i>	Viva Zanu, Zanu is about blood <b>c</b>
R: <i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i>	Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b>
L: <i>Viva Zanu, Zanu ndeyekushupika</i>	Viva Zanu-PF, Zanu-PF is a suffering party <b>f</b>
R: <i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i>	Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b>
L: <i>Viva Zanu, kugara musango taneta</i>	Viva Zanu, we are tired of staying in the forests <b>f</b>
R: <i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i>	Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b>
L: <i>Viva Zanu, Zanu ndeyekushupika</i>	Viva Zanu-PF, Zanu-PF is a suffering party <b>f</b>
R: <i>Mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhururu</i>	Ululations to and fro ululations <b>b</b>

Song title: "Nhorooondo" ("History")

Artist: Mbare Chimurenga Choir

Song genre: exemplum

RM **a**: Stating the argument

RM **b**: Challenging the opposition to understand the claim

RM **c**: Motivating the argument

L: <i>Ukaona VaMugabe vachitonga nyika</i>	If you see Mr. Mugabe ruling the country <b>a</b>
R: <i>Ukaona VaMugabe vachitonga nyika</i>	If you see Mr. Mugabe ruling the country <b>a</b>
L: <i>Ukaona VaMugabe vachitonga nyika</i>	If you see Mr. Mugabe ruling the country <b>a</b>
R: <i>Ukaona VaMugabe vachitonga nyika</i>	If you see Mr. Mugabe ruling the country <b>a</b>
L: <i>Zvibvunzei</i>	Ask yourselves <b>b</b>
R: <i>Vane nhorooondo</i>	He has a history <b>c</b>
L: <i>Zvibvunzei</i>	Ask yourselves <b>b</b>
R: <i>Vane nhorooondo</i>	He has a history <b>c</b>
L: <i>Zvibvunzei</i>	Ask yourselves <b>b</b>
R: <i>Vane nhorooondo yehondo</i>	He has a liberation war history <b>c</b>
L: <i>Ukaona Mai Mujuru vachimira-mira</i>	If you see Mrs. Mujuru always busy <b>a</b>
R: <i>Ukaona Mai Mujuru vachimira-mira</i>	If you see Mrs. Mujuru always busy <b>a</b>
L: <i>Ukaona Mai Mujuru vachimira-mira</i>	If you see Mrs. Mujuru always busy <b>a</b>
R: <i>Ukaona Mai Mujuru vachimira-mira</i>	If you see Mrs. Mujuru always busy <b>a</b>
L: <i>Zvibvunzei</i>	Ask yourselves <b>b</b>
R: <i>Vane nhorooondo</i>	She has a history <b>c</b>
L: <i>Zvibvunzei</i>	Ask yourselves <b>b</b>
R: <i>Vane nhorooondo</i>	She has a history <b>c</b>
L: <i>Zvibvunzei</i>	Ask yourselves <b>b</b>
R: <i>Vane nhorooondo yehondo</i>	She has a liberation war history <b>c</b>
L: <i>Ukaona vaNkomo vachifamba apo</i>	If you see Mr. Nkomo walking there <b>a</b>
R: <i>Ukaona vaNkomo vachifamba apo</i>	If you see Mr. Nkomo walking there <b>a</b>
L: <i>Ukaona vaNkomo vachifamba apo</i>	If you see Mr. Nkomo walking there <b>a</b>
R: <i>Ukaona vaNkomo vachifamba apo</i>	If you see Mr. Nkomo walking there <b>a</b>
L: <i>Zvibvunzei</i>	Ask yourselves <b>b</b>
R: <i>Vane nhorooondo</i>	He has a history <b>c</b>
L: <i>Zvibvunzei</i>	Ask yourselves <b>b</b>
R: <i>Vane nhorooondo</i>	He has a history <b>c</b>
L: <i>Zvibvunzei</i>	Ask yourselves <b>b</b>
R: <i>Vane nhorooondo yehondo</i>	He has a liberation war history <b>c</b>
L: <i>Ukaona magamba achivigwa pagomo</i>	If you see heros being buried at the mountain <b>a</b>
R: <i>Ukaona magamba achivigwa pagomo</i>	If you see heros being buried at the mountain <b>a</b>
L: <i>Ukaona magamba achivigwa pagomo</i>	If you see heros being buried at the mountain <b>a</b>
R: <i>Ukaona magamba achivigwa pagomo</i>	If you see heros being buried at the mountain <b>a</b>
L: <i>Zvibvunzei</i>	Ask yourselves <b>b</b>
R: <i>Vane nhorooondo</i>	They have a history <b>c</b>
L: <i>Zvibvunzei</i>	Ask yourselves <b>b</b>
R: <i>Vane nhorooondo</i>	They have a history <b>c</b>
L: <i>Zvibvunzei</i>	Ask yourselves <b>b</b>
R: <i>Vane nhorooondo yehondo</i>	They have a liberation war history <b>c</b>

L: <i>Zvibvunzei</i>	Ask yourselves <b>b</b>
R: <i>Vane nhorooondo</i>	They have a history <b>c</b>
L: <i>Zvibvunzei</i>	Ask yourselves <b>a</b>
R: <i>Vane nhorooondo</i>	They have a history <b>c</b>
L: <i>Zvibvunzei</i>	Ask yourselves <b>a</b>
R: <i>Vane nhorooondo yehondo</i>	They have a liberation war history <b>c</b>
L: <i>Ukaona masi yose ichiviga magamba</i>	If you see all the masses burying the heroes <b>a</b>
R: <i>Ukaona masi yose ichiviga magamba</i>	If you see all the masses burying the heroes <b>a</b>
L: <i>Ukaona masi yose ichiviga magamba</i>	If you see all the masses burying the heroes <b>a</b>
R: <i>Ukaona masi yose ichiviga magamba</i>	If you see all the masses burying the heroes <b>a</b>
L: <i>Zvibvunzei</i>	Ask yourselves <b>b</b>
R: <i>Vane nhorooondo</i>	They have a history <b>c</b>
L: <i>Zvibvunzei</i>	Ask yourselves <b>b</b>
R: <i>Vane nhorooondo</i>	They have a history <b>c</b>
L: <i>Zvibvunzei</i>	Ask yourselves <b>b</b>
R: <i>Vane nhorooondo yehondo</i>	They have a liberation war history <b>c</b>
L: <i>Zvibvunzei</i>	Ask yourselves <b>b</b>
R: <i>Vane nhorooondo</i>	They have a history <b>c</b>
L: <i>Zvibvunzei</i>	Ask yourselves <b>a</b>
R: <i>Vane nhorooondo</i>	They have a history <b>c</b>
L: <i>Zvibvunzei</i>	Ask yourselves <b>a</b>
R: <i>Vane nhorooondo yehondo</i>	They have a liberation war history <b>c</b>
L: <i>Ukaona VaMugabe vachitonga nyika</i>	If you see Mr. Mugabe ruling the country <b>a</b>
R: <i>Ukaona VaMugabe vachitonga nyika</i>	If you see Mr. Mugabe ruling the country <b>a</b>
L: <i>Ukaona VaMugabe vachitonga nyika</i>	If you see Mr. Mugabe ruling the country <b>a</b>
R: <i>Ukaona VaMugabe vachitonga nyika</i>	If you see Mr. Mugabe ruling the country <b>a</b>
L: <i>Zvibvunzei</i>	Ask yourselves <b>b</b>
R: <i>Vane nhorooondo</i>	He has a history <b>c</b>
L: <i>Zvibvunzei</i>	Ask yourselves <b>b</b>
R: <i>Vane nhorooondo</i>	He has a history <b>c</b>
L: <i>Zvibvunzei</i>	Ask yourselves <b>b</b>
R: <i>Vane nhorooondo yehondo</i>	He has a liberation war history <b>c</b>
R: <i>Vane nhorooondo</i>	He has a history <b>c</b>
<i>Vane nhorooondo</i>	He has a history <b>c</b>
<i>Vane nhorooondo yehondo</i>	He has a liberation war history <b>c</b>

Song title: "Team"

Artist: Mbare Chimurenga Choir

Song genre: Didactic

RM **a**: Orienting the song

RM **b**: Posing a question (to the opposition)

RM **c**: Answering the question

RM **d**: Validating Zanu-PF positions of power

L: <i>Timu tikusetere timu</i>	Team, we are setting a team against you <b>a</b>
R: <i>He-e tikusetere timu</i>	He-e we are setting a team against you <b>a</b>
L: <i>Timu tikusetere timu</i>	Team, we are setting a team against you <b>a</b>
R: <i>He-e tikusetere timu</i>	He-e we are setting a team against you <b>a</b>
L: <i>Timu timu tikusetere timu</i>	Team, we are setting a team against you <b>a</b>
R: <i>He-e tikusetere timu</i>	He-e we are setting a team against you <b>a</b>
L: <i>Pekutanga tarira panaaniko?</i>	Look, who takes the first position? <b>b</b>
R: <i>Hee pana Baba Mugabe</i>	Hee there Father Mugabe <b>c</b>
L: <i>Pechituu tarira pana aniko?</i>	Look, who takes the second position? <b>b</b>
R: <i>Hee pana Mai Mujuru</i>	Hee there is Mrs. Mujuru <b>c</b>
L: <i>Pechitatu tarira pana aniko?</i>	Look, who takes the third position? <b>b</b>
R: <i>Hee pana VaNkomo</i>	Hee there is Mr. Nkomo <b>c</b>
L: <i>Tongai makadaro</i>	Rule in that order <b>d</b>
R: <i>Chimbotongai makadaro</i>	In the meantime rule in that order <b>d</b>
L: <i>Hoo tongai makadaro</i>	Rule in that order <b>d</b>
R: <i>Chimbotongai makadaro</i>	In the meantime rule in that order <b>d</b>
L: <i>Hoo tongai makadaro</i>	Rule in that order <b>d</b>
R: <i>Chimbotongai makadaro</i>	In the meantime rule in that order <b>d</b>
L: <i>Hoo tongai makadaro</i>	Rule in that order <b>d</b>
R: <i>Chimbotongai makadaro</i>	In the meantime rule in that order <b>d</b>
L: <i>Hoo mirai makadaro</i>	Hoo stand in that order <b>d</b>
R: <i>Chimbomirai makadaro</i>	In the meantime rule in that order <b>d</b>
L: <i>Hoo mirai makadaro</i>	Hoo stand in that order <b>d</b>
R: <i>Chimbomirai makadaro</i>	In the meantime rule in that order <b>d</b>
L: <i>Hoo mirai makadaro</i>	Hoo stand in that order <b>d</b>



L: <i>Hoo mirai makadaro</i>	Hoo stand in that order <b>d</b>
R: <i>Chimbomirai makadaro</i>	In the meantime rule in that order <b>d</b>
L: <i>Hoo mirai makadaro</i>	Hoo stand in that order <b>d</b>
R: <i>Chimbotongai makadaro</i>	In the meantime rule in that order <b>d</b>
L: <i>Hoo tongai makadaro</i>	Rule in that order <b>d</b>
R: <i>Chimbotongai makadaro</i>	In the meantime rule in that order <b>d</b>

Song title: “Hatibve muno” (“We will not leave here”)

Artist: Mbare Chimurenga Choir

Song genre: Argumentation

RM **a**: Stating the thesis

RM **b**: Reiterating the thesis

RM **c**: Motivating the thesis

Chorus

L: <i>Haiyereiyere-e</i>	Haiyereiyere-e
R: <i>Muno</i>	Here
L: <i>Haiyereiyere-e</i>	Haiyereiyere-e
R: <i>Muno</i>	Here
L: <i>Haiyereiyere-e</i>	Haiyereiyere-e
R: <i>Muno muZimbabwe munyika medu</i>	Here in Zimbabwe is our country <b>a</b>
L: <i>Haiyereiyere-e</i>	Haiyereiyere-e
R: <i>Muno</i>	Here
L: <i>Haiyereiyere-e</i>	Haiyereiyere-e
R: <i>Muno</i>	Here
L: <i>Haiyereiyere-e</i>	Haiyereiyere-e
R: <i>Muno muZimbabwe munyika medu</i>	Here in Zimbabwe is our country <b>a</b>

L: <i>Zimbabwe inyika</i>	Zimbabwe is a country <b>a</b>
R: <i>Yedu</i>	Is ours <b>a</b>
L: <i>Zimbabwe inyika</i>	Zimbabwe is a country <b>a</b>
R: <i>Yedu</i>	Is ours <b>a</b>
L: <i>Zimbabwe inyika</i>	Zimbabwe is a country <b>a</b>
R: <i>Yedu isu hatibve muno</i>	Is ours we do not leave it <b>b</b>
L: <i>Zimbabwe inyika</i>	Zimbabwe is a country <b>a</b>
R: <i>Yedu</i>	Is ours <b>a</b>
L: <i>Zimbabwe inyika</i>	Zimbabwe is a country <b>a</b>
R: <i>Yedu</i>	Is ours <b>a</b>
L: <i>Zimbabwe inyika</i>	Zimbabwe is a country <b>a</b>
R: <i>Yedu isu hatibve muno</i>	Is ours we do not leave it <b>b</b>

[Chorus]

L: <i>VaMugabe vakarwa</i>	Mr. Mugabe fought <b>c</b>
R: <i>Hondo</i>	The war <b>c</b>
L: <i>Mai Mujuru vakarwa</i>	Mrs. Mujuru fought <b>c</b>
R: <i>Hondo</i>	The war <b>c</b>
L: <i>VaNkomo vakarwa</i>	Mr. Nkomo fought <b>c</b>
R: <i>Hondo vairwira nyika yedu</i>	The war fighting for our country <b>c</b>
L: <i>VaMugabe vakarwa</i>	Mr. Mugabe fought <b>c</b>
R: <i>Hondo</i>	The war <b>c</b>
L: <i>Mai Mujuru vakarwa</i>	Mrs. Mujuru fought <b>c</b>
R: <i>Hondo</i>	The war <b>c</b>
L: <i>VaNkomo vakarwa</i>	Mr. Nkomo fought <b>c</b>
R: <i>Hondo vairwira nyika yedu</i>	The war fighting for our country <b>c</b>

[Chorus]

L: <i>War vet rakarwa</i>	The war veteran <b>c</b>
R: <i>Hondo</i>	Fought the war <b>c</b>
L: <i>Mujibha akarwa</i>	The male collaborator fought <b>c</b>
R: <i>Hondo</i>	The war <b>c</b>
L: <i>Dhiteni rakarwa</i>	Detainees fought <b>c</b>
R: <i>Hondo vairwira nyika yedu</i>	The war because they were fighting for the country <b>c</b>
L: <i>War vet rakarwa</i>	The war veteran <b>c</b>
R: <i>Hondo</i>	Fought the war <b>c</b>
L: <i>Mujibha akarwa</i>	The male collaborator fought <b>c</b>
R: <i>Hondo</i>	The war <b>c</b>
L: <i>Dhiteni rakarwa</i>	Detainees fought <b>c</b>
R: <i>Hondo vairwira nyika yedu</i>	The war because they were fighting for the country <b>c</b>

[Chorus]

L: <i>Nehanda akafira</i>	Nehanda died <b>c</b>
R: <i>Muno</i>	Here <b>c</b>
L: <i>Chaminuka akafira</i>	Chaminuka died <b>c</b>
R: <i>Muno</i>	Here <b>c</b>
L: <i>Kaguvi akafira</i>	Kaguvi died <b>c</b>
R: <i>Muno achifira nyika yake</i>	Here fighting for his country <b>c</b>
L: <i>Nehanda akafira</i>	Nehanda died <b>c</b>
R: <i>Muno</i>	Here <b>c</b>
L: <i>Chaminuka akafira</i>	Chaminuka died <b>c</b>
R: <i>Muno</i>	Here <b>c</b>
L: <i>Kaguvi akafira</i>	Kaguvi died <b>c</b>
R: <i>Muno achifira nyika yake</i>	Here fighting for his country <b>c</b>

[Chorus]

L: <i>Lobengula akafira</i>	Lobengula died <b>c</b>
R: <i>Muno</i>	Here <b>c</b>
L: <i>Mzilikazi akafira</i>	Mzilikazi died <b>c</b>
R: <i>Muno</i>	Here <b>c</b>
L: <i>Nehanda akafira</i>	Nehanda died <b>c</b>
R: <i>Muno achifira nyika yake</i>	Here fighting for her country <b>c</b>
L: <i>Lobengula akafira</i>	Lobengula died <b>c</b>
R: <i>Muno</i>	Here <b>c</b>
L: <i>Mzilikazi akafira</i>	Mzilikazi died <b>c</b>
R: <i>Muno</i>	Here <b>c</b>
L: <i>Nehanda akafira</i>	Nehanda died <b>c</b>
R: <i>Muno achifira nyika yake</i>	Here fighting for her country <b>c</b>

[Chorus]

L: <i>Zimbabwe inyika</i>	Zimbabwe is a country <b>a</b>
R: <i>Yedu</i>	Is ours <b>a</b>
L: <i>Zimbabwe inyika</i>	Zimbabwe is a country <b>a</b>
R: <i>Yedu</i>	Is ours <b>a</b>
L: <i>Zimbabwe inyika</i>	Zimbabwe is a country <b>a</b>
R: <i>Yedu isu hatibve muno</i>	Is ours we do not leave it <b>b</b>
L: <i>Zimbabwe inyika</i>	Zimbabwe is a country <b>a</b>
R: <i>Yedu</i>	Is ours <b>a</b>
L: <i>Zimbabwe inyika</i>	Zimbabwe is a country <b>a</b>
R: <i>Yedu</i>	Is ours <b>a</b>
L: <i>Zimbabwe inyika</i>	Zimbabwe is a country <b>a</b>
R: <i>Yedu isu hatibve muno</i>	Is ours we do not leave it <b>b</b>
L: <i>Haiyereiyere-e</i>	Haiyereiyere-e
R: <i>Muno</i>	Here

[Chorus]

Song title: "Musha une mhandu" ("A home that harbours the enemy")

Artist: Elliot Manyika

Song genre: intimidation-mobilizational

RM **a**: Calling to identify target of violenceRM **b**: Expressing how the target will be dealt withRM **c**: Expressing the widespread nature of the violenceRM **d**: Identifying on whose behalf the violence is being carried out

L: <i>(Musha une mhandu ndewani?</i>	Whose home has enemies? <b>a</b>
R: <i>Tibhombe) x 7</i>	So that we can bomb it <b>b</b>
L: <i>Musha une mhandu ndewani?</i>	Whose home has enemies? <b>a</b>
R: <i>KuChiweshe</i>	In Chiweshe <b>c</b>
L: <i>Musha une mhandu ndewani?</i>	Whose home has enemies? <b>a</b>
R: <i>Tibhombe</i>	So that we can bomb it <b>b</b>
L: <i>Musha une mhandu ndewani?</i>	Whose home has enemies? <b>a</b>
R: <i>KwaMutoko</i>	In Mutoko <b>c</b>
L: <i>Musha une mhandu ndewani?</i>	Whose home has enemies? <b>a</b>
R: <i>Tibhombe</i>	So that we can bomb it <b>b</b>
L: <i>Musha une mhandu ndewani?</i>	Whose home has enemies? <b>a</b>
R: <i>KuHwange</i>	In Hwange <b>c</b>
L: <i>Musha une mabhunu ndewani?</i>	Whose home has enemies? <b>a</b>
R: <i>Tibhombe</i>	So that we can bomb it <b>b</b>
L: <i>Musha une mhandu ndewani?</i>	Whose home has enemies? <b>a</b>
R: <i>KuMangwe</i>	In Mangwe <b>c</b>
L: <i>Musha une mhandu ndewani?</i>	Whose home has enemies? <b>a</b>
R: <i>Tibhombe</i>	So that we can bomb it <b>b</b>

L: <i>Musha une mhandu ndewani?</i>	Whose home has enemies? <b>a</b>
R: <i>Mberengwa</i>	In Mberengwa <b>c</b>
L: <i>Musha une mhandu ndewani?</i>	Whose home has enemies? <b>a</b>
R: <i>Tibhombe</i>	So that we can bomb it <b>b</b>
L: <i>Musha une mhandu ndewani?</i>	Whose home has enemies? <b>a</b>
R: <i>KuZaka</i>	In Zaka <b>c</b>
L: <i>Musha une mhandu ndewani?</i>	Whose home has enemies? <b>a</b>
R: <i>Tibhombe</i>	So that we can bomb it <b>b</b>
L: <i>Musha une mhandu ndewani?</i>	Whose home has enemies? <b>a</b>
T: <i>KwaMutare</i>	In Mutare <b>c</b>
L: <i>Musha une mhandu ndewani?</i>	Whose home has enemies? <b>a</b>
R: <i>Tibhombe</i>	So that we can bomb it <b>b</b>
L: <i>Musha une mhandu ndewani?</i>	Whose home has enemies? <b>a</b>
R: <i>KwaMurehwa</i>	In Murehwa <b>c</b>
L: <i>Musha une mhandu ndewani?</i>	Whose home has enemies? <b>a</b>
R: <i>Tibhombe</i>	So that we can bomb it <b>b</b>
R: <i>Musha une mhandu ndewani?</i>	Whose home has enemies? <b>a</b>
L: <i>KwaZvimba</i>	In Zvimba <b>c</b>
R: <i>Tibhombe</i>	So that we can bomb it <b>b</b>
L: [ <i>Musha une mhandu ndewani?</i>	Whose home has enemies? <b>a</b>
R: <i>Tibhombe</i>	So that we can bomb it] x 5 <b>b</b>
L: <i>VaMugabe chete</i>	Only Mr. Mugabe <b>d</b>
R: <i>Tibhombe</i>	So that we can bomb it <b>b</b>
L: [ <i>Musha une mhandu ndewani?</i>	Whose home has enemies? <b>a</b>
R: <i>Tibhombe</i>	So that we can bomb it ] x 3 <b>b</b>
L: <i>Musha une mhandu ndewani?</i>	Whose home has enemies? <b>a</b>
R: <i>KwaChiweshe</i>	In Chiweshe <b>c</b>
L: <i>Musha une mhandu ndewani?</i>	Whose home has enemies? <b>a</b>
R: <i>Tibhombe</i>	So that we can bomb it <b>a</b>
L: <i>Musha une mhandu ndewani?</i>	Whose home has enemies? <b>a</b>
R: <i>KwaMusana</i>	In Musana <b>c</b>
L: <i>Musha une mhandu ndewani?</i>	Whose home has enemies? <b>a</b>
R: <i>Tibhombe</i>	So that we can bomb it <b>b</b>
L: [ <i>Musha une mhandu ndewani?</i>	Whose home has enemies? <b>a</b>
R: <i>Tibhombe</i>	So that we can bomb it] x 12 <b>b</b>
L: [ <i>Musha une mhandu ndewani?</i>	Whose home has enemies?] x 10 <b>a</b>
L: <i>Musha une mhandu ndewani?</i>	Whose home has enemies? <b>a</b>
R: <i>Tibhombe</i>	So that we can bomb it <b>b</b>
L: <i>Musha une mhandu ndewani?</i>	Whose home has enemies? <b>a</b>
R: <i>Toni Bleya</i>	Tony Blair <b>c</b>
L: <i>Musha une mhandu ndewani?</i>	Whose home has enemies? <b>a</b>
R: <i>Joji Bhushi</i>	George Bush <b>c</b>
L: <i>Musha une mhandu ndewani?</i>	Whose home has enemies? <b>a</b>
R: <i>Timubhombe</i>	So that we can bomb him <b>b</b>
L: <i>Musha une mhandu ndewani?</i>	Whose home has enemies? <b>a</b>
R: <i>Timubhombe</i>	So that we can bomb him <b>b</b>
L: <i>Musha une mhandu ndewani?</i>	Whose home has enemies? <b>a</b>
R: <i>Toni Bleya</i>	Tony Blair <b>c</b>
L: <i>Musha une mhandu ndewani?</i>	Whose home has enemies? <b>a</b>
R: <i>Joji Bhushi</i>	George Bush <b>c</b>
L: [ <i>Musha une mhandu ndewani?</i>	Whose home has enemies? <b>a</b>
R: <i>Tivabhombe</i>	So that we can bomb them] x 3 <b>b</b>
L: <i>Musha une mhandu ndewani?</i>	Whose home has enemies? <b>a</b>
R: <i>Tibhombe</i>	So that we can bomb it <b>b</b>
L: <i>KwaMutoko</i>	In Mutoko <b>c</b>
R: <i>Tibhombe</i>	So that we can bomb it <b>b</b>
L: <i>KuHwange</i>	In Hwange <b>c</b>
R: <i>Tibhombe</i>	So that we can bomb it <b>b</b>
R: <i>Tibhombe</i>	So that we can bomb it <b>b</b>

Song title: “Mbiri yechigandanga” (“The fame of being an outlaw”)

Artist: Elliot Manyika

Song genre: Intimidation-celebratory

RM **a**: Celebrating being violent

RM **b**: Mentioning individuals and places with the identity/fame of violence

R: <i>Mbiri yechigandanga ndooo mbiri yatinayo</i>	The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame we have x 2a
L: <i>Zanu-PF</i>	Zanu-PF <b>b</b>
R: <i>Mbiri yechigandanga ndooo mbiri yatinayo</i>	The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame we have <b>a</b>
L: <i>Muno muZimbabwe</i>	Here in Zimbabwe <b>b</b>
R: <i>Mbiri yechigandanga ndooo mbiri yatinayo</i>	The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame we have <b>a</b>

- L: *Zanu-PF*  
 R: *Mbiri yechigandanga ndooo mbiri yatinayo*  
 L: *Muno muZimbabwe*  
 R: *Mbiri yechigandanga ndiyo mbiri yatinayo*  
 L: *VaMugabe*  
 R: *Mbiri yechigandanga ndiyo mbiri yavanayo*  
 L: *Muno muZimbabwe*  
 R: *Mbiri yechigandanga ndiyo mbiri yavanayo*  
 L: *VaMugabe*  
 R: *Mbiri yechigandanga ndiyo mbiri yatinayo*  
 L: *Muno muAfrica*  
 R: *Mbiri yechigandanga ndiyo mbiri yatinayo*  
 L: *VaMugabe*  
 R: *Mbiri yechigandanga ndiyo mbiri yavanayo*  
 L: *Muno muZimbabwe*  
 R: *Mbiri yechigandanga ndiyo mbiri yavanayo*  
 L: *VaMusika*  
 R: *Mbiri yechigandanga ndiyo mbiri yavanayo*  
 L: *Muno muZimbabwe*  
 R: *Mbiri yechigandanga ndiyo mbiri yavanayo*  
 L: *Mai Mujuru*  
 R: *Mbiri yechigandanga ndoo mbiri yavanayo*  
 L: *Muno muZimbabwe*  
 R: *Mbiri yechigandanga ndooo mbiri yatinayo*  
 L: *Zanu-PF*  
 R: *Mbiri yechigandanga ndooo mbiri yatinayo*  
 L: *Muno muAfrica*  
 R: *Mbiri yechigandanga ndooo mbiri yatinayo*  
 L: *Zanu-PF*  
 R: *Mbiri yechigandanga ndooo mbiri yatinayo*  
 L: *Muno muSadhaki*  
 R: *Mbiri yechigandanga ndooo mbiri yatinayo*  
 L: *Zanu-PF*  
 R: *Mbiri yechigandanga ndooo mbiri yatinayo*  
 L: *Muno munyika yose*  
 R: *Mbiri yechigandanga ndooo mbiri yatinayo*
- R: *Mbiri yechigandanga ndiyo mbiri yatinayo*  
 L: *Tongogara*  
 R: *Mbiri yechigandanga ndiyo mbiri yatinayo*  
 L: *Muno muZimbabwe*  
 R: *Mbiri yechigandanga ndiyo mbiri yatinayo*  
 L: *VaChitepo*  
 R: *Mbiri yechigandanga ndiyo mbiri yatinayo*  
 L: *VaChitepo*  
 R: *Mbiri yechigandanga ndiyo mbiri yavanayo*  
 L: *JZ Moyo*  
 R: *Mbiri yechigandanga ndiyo mbiri yavanayo*  
 L: *JZ Moyo*  
 R: *Mbiri yechigandanga ndiyo mbiri yavanayo*  
 L: *Masuku*  
 R: *Mbiri yechigandanga ndiyo mbiri yavanayo*  
 L: *Muno muZimbabwe*  
 L: *Sally Mugabe*  
 R: *Mbiri yechigandanga ndiyo mbiri yavanayo*  
 L: *Muno muZimbabwe*  
 R: *Mbiri yechigandanga ndiyo mbiri yavanayo*  
 L: *Baba Nkomo*  
 R: *Mbiri yechigandanga ndiyo mbiri yavanayo*  
 L: *Father Zimbabwe*  
 R: *Mbiri yechigandanga ndiyo mbiri yavanayo*  
 L: *VaMuzenda*  
 R: *Mbiri yechigandanga ndoo mbiri yavanayo*  
 L: *Soul of the nation*  
 R: *Mbiri yechigandanga ndooo mbiri yatinayo*  
 L: *VaManyika*  
 R: *Mbiri yechigandanga ndiyo mbiri yavanayo*  
 L: *Soldier of Zimbabwe*  
 R: *Mbiri yechigandanga ndiyo mbiri yavanayo*  
 L: *VaGezi*  
 R: *Mbiri yechigandanga ndiyo mbiri yavanayo*  
 L: *Border to border*  
 R: *Mbiri yechigandanga ndiyo mbiri yavanayo*  
 L: *Mafuyanana*  
 R: *Mbiri yechigandanga ndiyo mbiri yavanayo*  
 L: *Mother of the nation*
- Zanu-PF b**  
 The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame we have **a**  
 Here in Zimbabwe **b**  
 The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame we have **a**  
 Mr. Mugabe **b**  
 The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame we have **a**  
 Here in Zimbabwe **a**  
 The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame we have **a**  
 Mr. Mugabe **b**  
 The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame we have **a**  
 Here in Africa **a**  
 The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame we have **a**  
 Mr. Mugabe **b**  
 The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame he have **a**  
 Here in Zimbabwe **b**  
 The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame he have **a**  
 Mr. Msika **b**  
 The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame he have **a**  
 Here in Zimbabwe **b**  
 The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame he have **a**  
 Mrs. Mujuru **b**  
 The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame she have **a**  
 Here in Zimbabwe **b**  
 The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame she have **a**  
 Zanu-PF **b**  
 The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame we have **a**  
 Here in Africa **b**  
 The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame we have **a**  
 Zanu-PF **b**  
 The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame we have **a**  
 Here in Sadc **b**  
 The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame we have a  
 Zanu-PF **b**  
 The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame we have **a**  
 Here in the entire the country **b**  
 The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame we have **a**
- The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame we have x 2 **a**  
 Tongogara **b**  
 The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame we have **a**  
 Here in Zimbabwe **b**  
 The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame we have **a**  
 Mr. Chitepo **b**  
 The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame we have **a**  
 Mr. Chitepo **b**  
 The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame he have **a**  
 JZ Moyo **b**  
 The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame he have **a**  
 JZ Moyo **b**  
 The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame he have **a**  
 Masuku **b**  
 The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame he have a  
 Here in Zimbabwe **b**  
 Sally Mugabe **b**  
 The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame she have **a**  
 Here in Zimbabwe **b**  
 The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame she have **a**  
 Father Nkomo **b**  
 The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame he have **a**  
 Father Zimbabwe **a**  
 The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame he have **a**  
 Mrs. Mujuru **b**  
 The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame he have **a**  
 Soul of the nation **b**  
 The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame he have **a**  
 Mr. Manyika **b**  
 The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame he have **a**  
 Soldier of Zimbabwe **b**  
 The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame he have **a**  
 Mr. Gezi **b**  
 The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame he have **a**  
 Border to border **b**  
 The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame he have **a**  
 Mafuyanana **b**  
 The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame she have **a**  
 Mother of the nation **b**

R: <i>Mbiri yechigandanga ndiyo mbiri yavanayo</i>	The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame she have <b>a</b>
R: <i>Mbiri yechigandanga ndooo mbiri yatinayo</i> L: VaMugabe	The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame we have x 2 <b>a</b> Mr. Mugabe <b>b</b>
R: <i>Mbiri yechigandanga ndiyo mbiri yatinayo</i> L: Father of the nation	The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame we have <b>a</b> Father of the nation <b>b</b>
R: <i>Mbiri yechigandanga ndiyo mbiri yatinayo</i> L: VaMusika	The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame we have <b>a</b> Mr. Musika <b>b</b>
R: <i>Mbiri yechigandanga ndiyo mbiri yatinayo</i> L: Father of Zimbabwe	The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame we have <b>a</b> Father of Zimbabwe <b>b</b>
R: <i>Mbiri yechigandanga ndiyo mbiri yatinayo</i> L: Mai Mujuru	The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame we have <b>a</b> Mrs. Mujuru <b>b</b>
R: <i>Mbiri yechigandanga ndiyo mbiri yatinayo</i> L: Mother of Zimbabwe the nation	The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame we have <b>a</b> Mother of Zimbabwe the nation <b>b</b>
R: <i>Mbiri yechigandanga ndiyo mbiri yatinayo</i> L: Silundika	The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame we have <b>a</b> Silundika <b>b</b>
R: <i>Mbiri yechigandanga ndiyo mbiri yatinayo</i> L: Gamba reZimbabwe	The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame we have <b>a</b> Hero of Zimbabwe <b>b</b>
R: <i>Mbiri yechigandanga ndiyo mbiri yatinayo</i> L: Chinamano	The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame we have <b>a</b> Chinamano <b>b</b>
R: <i>Mbiri yechigandanga ndiyo mbiri yaanayo</i> L: Gamba reZimbabwe	The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame s/he have <b>a</b> Hero of Zimbabwe <b>b</b>
R: <i>Mbiri yechigandanga ndiyo mbiri yavanayo</i> L: Ushewokunze	The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame he have <b>a</b> Ushewokunze <b>b</b>
R: <i>Mbiri yechigandanga ndiyo mbiri yavanayo</i> L: Gamba reZimbabwe	The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame he have <b>a</b> Hero of Zimbabwe <b>b</b>
R: <i>Mbiri yechigandanga ndiyo mbiri yavanayo</i> L: VaMahachi	The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame he have <b>a</b> Mr. Mahachi <b>b</b>
R: <i>Mbiri yechigandanga ndiyo mbiri yavanayo</i> L: Gamba reZimbabwe	The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame he have <b>a</b> Hero of Zimbabwe <b>b</b>
R: <i>Mbiri yechigandanga ndiyo mbiri yavanayo</i> L: VaZvobgo	The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame he have <b>a</b> Mr. Zvobgo <b>b</b>
R: <i>Mbiri yechigandanga ndiyo mbiri yavanayo</i> L: Gamba reZimbabwe	The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame we have <b>a</b> Hero of Zimbabwe <b>b</b>
R: <i>Mbiri yechigandanga ndiyo mbiri yavanayo</i> L: Ndangana	The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame he have <b>a</b> Ndangana <b>b</b>
R: <i>Mbiri yechigandanga ndiyo mbiri yavanayo</i> L: Gamba reZimbabwe	The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame he have <b>a</b> Hero of Zimbabwe <b>b</b>
R: <i>Mbiri yechigandanga ndiyo mbiri yavanayo</i> L: VaUrimbo	The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame we have <b>a</b> Mr. Urimbo <b>b</b>
R: <i>Mbiri yechigandanga ndiyo mbiri yavanayo</i> L: Gamba reZimbabwe	The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame he have <b>a</b> Hero of Zimbabwe <b>b</b>
R: <i>Mbiri yechigandanga ndiyo mbiri yavanayo</i>	The fame of being a guerrilla is the fame he have <b>a</b>

Song title: “Zimbabwe ndeyeropa” (“Zimbabwe is about blood”)

Artist: Communal

Song genre: Anecdote

RM **a**: Expressing the fact that Zimbabwe came as a result of bloodshed

RM **b**: Expressing the deep anguish

L: <i>Ndeyeropa ndeyeropa</i>	It is the blood of the fathers a
R: <i>Zimbabwe yedu ndeyeropa</i>	Our Zimbabwe is blood a
L: <i>Ndeyeropa ramadzibaba</i>	It is the blood of the fathers a
R: <i>Zimbabwe yedu ndeyeropa</i>	Our Zimbabwe is blood a

L: <i>Ndiudzeiwo baba</i>	Tell me father b
R: <i>Ndiudzeiwo kwakaenda vamwe</i>	Tell me father where others went b
L: <i>Ndiudzeiwo baba</i>	Tell me father b
R: <i>Ndiudzeiwo kwakaenda vamwe</i>	Tell me father where others went b

[Ad infinitum]

Song title: “Ndotaura” (“Now I say it”)

Artist: Tafara-Mabvuku Chimurenga Choir

Song genre: Exemplum

RM **a**: Orienting the song by a request to speak

RM **b**: Identifying those from whom permission to speak is sought

RM **c**: Stating the importance of the timing of the speech

RM **d**: Granting the permission to speak

RM **e**: Identifying the addressee of the speech

- RM **f**: Introduces the theme of the speech  
 RM **g**: Identifying and evaluating the culprit  
 RM **g1**: Explaining the cause of the culprit's behaviour  
 RM **g2**: Identifying the importance of what the culprit forgets  
 RM **g3**: Stating the culprit's vices  
 RM **g4**: Evaluating the culprit's behaviour  
 RM **g5**: Describing the consequences of the culprit's actions  
 RM **g6**: Stating a response to the consequences of the culprit's vices  
 RM **g7**: Expressing happiness with the land reform programme  
 RM **g8**: Imploring the culprit to reflect upon his behaviour

L: <i>Ndotaura here ndotaura?</i>	Should I say it, should I say it? <b>A</b>
<i>Ndotaura here baba namai?</i>	Should I say it mother and father? <b>b</b>
<i>Ndotaura here ndotaura?</i>	Should I say it, should I say it? <b>a</b>
<i>Ndotaura here nhasi uno?</i>	Should I say it today? <b>c</b>
R: <i>Taura tinzwe takateerera</i>	Say it we are listening <b>d</b>
L: <i>Ndotaura here baba namai?</i>	Should I say it father and mother? <b>b</b>
R: <i>Taura tinzwe takateerera</i>	Say it we are listening <b>d</b>
L: <i>Ndotaura here kuma baba?</i>	Should I say it to [my] father? <b>e</b>
R: <i>Taura tinzwe takateerera</i>	Say it we are listening <b>d</b>
L: <i>Ndotaura here baba Mugabe?</i>	Should I say it father Mugabe? <b>b</b>
R: <i>Taura tinzwe takateerera</i>	Say it we are listening <b>d</b>
L: <i>Ndotaura here nhasi uno?</i>	Should I say it today? <b>c</b>
R: <i>Taura tinzwe takateerera</i>	Say it we are listening <b>d</b>
L: <i>Ndotaura here ndotaura?</i>	Should I say it, should I say it? <b>a</b>
R: <i>Taura tinzwe takateerera</i>	Say it we are listening <b>d</b>
L: <i>Ndotaura here zyekuhondo?</i>	Should I talk about war issues? <b>f</b>
R: <i>Taura tinzwe takateerera</i>	Say it we are listening <b>d</b>

#### Recitation

<i>Ko nhasi iwe mutengesi?</i>	Why today you the sellout? <b>g</b>
<i>Wokanganwa chazuro nehope?</i>	You wantonly forget issues of yesterday because of sleep? <b>g1</b>
<i>Wokanganwa kuuya kwakaita nyika ino?</i>	You forget how this nation came about? <b>g2</b>
<i>Nyika yakarwiwa nemadzitateguru?</i>	A nation that the great ancestors fought for? <b>g2</b>
<i>Nyika yeropa?</i>	The nation of blood? <b>g2</b>
<i>Yaunoenda nayo uchitambisa</i>	That you take with you to intentionally waste
<i>zvako mhiri kwemakungwa?</i>	it overseas? <b>g3</b>
<i>Kuda ndege?</i>	[For] the love flying in a plane? <b>g3</b>
<i>Kuda mari?</i>	[For] the love of money? <b>g3</b>
<i>Kuda iko kupfeka?</i>	[For] the love of clothes? <b>g3</b>
<i>Shuga?</i>	[For] sugar? <b>g3</b>
<i>Aa kwete, Zimbabwe yaramba</i>	Ah no, Zimbabwe refuses <b>g4</b>
<i>Yati hatidi!</i>	It says we don't want! <b>g4</b>
<i>Masangisheni otanga</i>	Sanctions to encroach again
<i>kupindazve mukati menyika yeZimbabwe?</i>	into the nation of Zimbabwe? <b>g5</b>
<i>Yatova hondo</i>	There is going to be a war <b>g6</b>
<i>Vana veZimbabwe vari kuramba</i>	The citizens of Zimbabwe are refusing <b>g4</b>
<i>Kuti hatidi masangisheni munyika ino,</i>	That we don't want sanctions in this country <b>g5</b>
<i>Nyika yamadzitateguru,</i>	The nation of our forefathers,
<i>nyika yakarwiwa tichida ivhu,</i>	the nation we fought for wanting the land <b>g2</b>
<i>Tichirima, tigodya tichiguta</i>	[So that] we can farm, eat and be satisfied <b>g2</b>
<i>Munobuda zvidiyiwa zvatinodya isu madzimai</i>	Where foodstuffs that we women eat <b>g2</b>
<i>Tigoita .....</i>	Then we...

L: <i>Ndotaura here ndotaura?</i>	Should I say it, should I say it? <b>a</b>
R: <i>Taura tinzwe takateerera</i>	Say it we are listening <b>d</b>
L: <i>Ndotaura here baba namai?</i>	Should I say it father and mother? <b>b</b>
R: <i>Taura tinzwe takateerera</i>	Say it we are listening <b>d</b>
L: <i>Ndotaura here ndotaura?</i>	Should I say it, should I say it? <b>a</b>
R: <i>Taura tinzwe takateerera</i>	Say it we are listening <b>d</b>
L: <i>Ndotaura here nhasi uno?</i>	Should I say it today? <b>c</b>
R: <i>Taura tinzwe takateerera</i>	Say it we are listening <b>d</b>
L: <i>Ndotaura here kuma baba?</i>	Should I say it to [my] father? <b>e</b>
R: <i>Taura tinzwe takateerera</i>	Say it we are listening <b>d</b>
L: <i>Ndotaura here baba Mugabe?</i>	Should I say it father Mugabe? <b>b</b>
R: <i>Taura tinzwe takateerera</i>	Say it we are listening <b>d</b>
L: <i>Ndotaura here ndotaura?</i>	Should I say it, should I say it? <b>a</b>
R: <i>Taura tinzwe takateerera</i>	Say it we are listening <b>d</b>
L: <i>Ndotaura here zyekuhondo?</i>	Should I say about war issues? <b>f</b>
R: <i>Taura tinzwe takateerera</i>	Say it we are listening <b>d</b>
L: <i>Ndotaura here ndotaura?</i>	Should I say it, should I say it? <b>a</b>
R: <i>Taura tinzwe takateerera</i>	Say it we are listening <b>d</b>
L: <i>Ndotaura here amai vangu?</i>	Should I say it my mother? <b>b</b>

R: <i>Taura tinzwe takateerera</i>	Say it we are listening <b>d</b>
L: <i>Ndotaura here ndotaura?</i>	Should I say it, should I say it? <b>a</b>
R: <i>Taura tinzwe takateerera</i>	Say it we are listening <b>d</b>
L: <i>Ndotaura here nhasi uno?</i>	Should I say it today? <b>c</b>
R: <i>Taura tinzwe takateerera</i>	Say it we are listening <b>d</b>
L: <i>Ndotaura here kuna baba?</i>	Should I say it to [my] father? <b>e</b>
R: <i>Taura tinzwe takateerera</i>	Say it we are listening <b>d</b>
L: <i>Ndotaura here baba Mugabe?</i>	Should I say it father Mugabe? <b>b</b>
R: <i>Taura tinzwe takateerera</i>	Say it we are listening <b>d</b>
L: <i>Ndotaura here ndotaura?</i>	Should I say it, should I say it? <b>a</b>
R: <i>Taura tinzwe takateerera</i>	Say it we are listening <b>d</b>
L: <i>Ndotaura here baba namai?</i>	Should I say it father and mother? <b>b</b>
R: <i>Taura tinzwe takateerera</i>	Say it we are listening <b>d</b>

## Recitation

<i>Ndinonzwa kufara nokuti takatorerwa iyoyi nyikaka</i>	I feel happy because this very nation was taken for us
<i>Nevakarwira nyika mukati mesango reZimbabwe</i>	By those who fought for the nation in the forest of Zimbabwe <b>g7</b>
<i>Nhasi uno tiri kufara tichirimaka madzimai</i>	Today we are rejoicing while we women are farming <b>g7</b>
<i>Vana babaka mochipindaka mukati</i>	Fathers get inside [the fields]
<i>muchirima nematarakitaka umu</i>	and plough with tractors
<i>Muchirimaka, towana kudya nemhuri dzedu</i>	Farming so that we get food that we eat with our families <b>g7</b>
<i>Tigopembera towana kuguta</i>	We will exceedingly rejoice with satisfaction <b>g7</b>
<i>Nyika yakarwiwa nemadzitataguru edu tinoakudza</i>	The nation was for by our great grandparents, we respect them <b>g2</b>
<i>Ko dai urwe wakasara kuhondo</i>	What if you were the one who died in the war
<i>usina kukwanisa kusvika kuno?</i>	and wasn't able to return home? <b>g8</b>

Song title: "Zanu chiwororo" ("Zanu is the solution")

Artist: Elliot Manyika

Song-genre: Intimation-cautionary

RM **a**: Warning the sellout about ZANU-PF's power

RM **b**: Criticizing the sellout's intransigence

RM **c**: Humiliating the sellout

RM **d**: Expressing willingness to re-accept the sellout

L: <i>Zanu, Zanu, Zanu Zanu-PF chiwororo</i>	Zanu, Zanu, Zanu Zanu-PF is the solution <b>a</b>
R: <i>VaMugabe vari kutungamira</i>	Zanu Mr. Mugabe is leading Zanu <b>a</b>
<i>VaMugabe vari kutungamira Zimbabwe</i>	Mr. Mugabe is leading Zimbabwe <b>a</b>
L: <i>Zanu, Zanu-PF</i>	Zanu, Zanu-PF <b>a</b>
R: <i>VaMugabe vari kutungamira Zanu</i>	Mr. Mugabe is leading Zanu <b>a</b>

L: <i>Taimbokuudza uchiramba</i>	We used to warn you but you could not listen <b>b</b>
R: <i>VaMugabe vari kutungamira</i>	Zanu Mr. Mugabe is leading Zanu <b>a</b>

L: <i>Uchafugama nemagokora</i>	You will kneel down on your elbows <b>c</b>
R: <i>VaMugabe vari kutungamira Zanu</i>	Mr. Mugabe is leading Zanu <b>a</b>

L: <i>Taimbokuudza uchiramba</i>	We used to warn you but you could not listen <b>b</b>
R: <i>VaMugabe vari kutungamira Zanu</i>	Mr. Mugabe is leading Zanu <b>a</b>

L: <i>Uchafugama nemagokora</i>	You will kneel down on your elbows <b>c</b>
R: <i>VaMugabe vari kutungamira Zanu</i>	Mr. Mugabe is leading Zanu <b>a</b>

## Speech

<i>Hazvisati zvaipa</i>	Trouble has not yet come but it will definitely come [upon you] <b>b</b>
<i>Uchamhanyira kwavaMugabe</i>	You will run to seek help from Mr. Mugabe <b>c</b>
<i>VaMugabe vachabvunza</i>	Mr. Mugabe will ask you <b>c</b>
<i>Waituka vaMugabe</i>	You used to scold Mr. Mugabe <b>c</b>
<i>Uchinyomba Zanu-PF</i>	Criticizing Zanu-PF <b>c</b>
<i>Zanu yacho ndiyo povo</i>	Zanu itself means the very masses <b>c</b>
<i>Mugabe wacho ndewe povo</i>	Mugabe himself belong to the masses <b>c</b>
<i>Ibva enda Bhiriteni</i>	Get away, go to Britain <b>c</b>

L: <i>Ndaimbokuudza uchiramba</i>	We used to warn you but you could not listen <b>c</b>
R: <i>VaMugabe vari kutungamira Zanu</i>	Mr. Mugabe is leading Zanu <b>a</b>
L: <i>Zanu yacho Zanu-PF</i>	That very Zanu, Zanu-PF <b>a</b>
R: <i>VaMugabe vari kutungamira Zanu</i>	Mr. Mugabe is leading Zanu <b>a</b>

## Speech

<i>Uchavika Bhiriteni</i>	You will get to Britain <b>c</b>
<i>Uchikumbira masangisheni</i>	Requesting for sanctions <b>c</b>
<i>Wonzwa Blair wakadyiwa</i>	And you will hear that Blair lost the election <b>c</b>
<i>John Howard akaruza</i>	John Howard lost the election <b>c</b>

<i>Ibva dzoka kuZimbabwe</i>	Get away, go back to Zimbabwe <b>c</b>
Go back sing <i>Nora</i>	Go back sing <i>Nora</i> <b>c</b>
Go back sing <i>sendekera</i>	Go back sing <i>sendekera</i> <b>c</b>
<i>Uchadzoka kune povo</i>	You will come back to the masses <b>c</b>
<i>Povo yose icharamba</i>	The masses will reject you <b>c</b>
<i>Waituka Zanu</i>	Because you used to criticise Zanu <b>c</b>
<i>Povo yacho ndiyo Zanu</i>	Those very masses is the actual Zanu-PF <b>c</b>
<i>Ibva enda America</i>	Get away, go to America <b>c</b>
<i>Uchashaya pokuenda</i>	You will find no place of refuge <b>c</b>
<i>Uchashaya pekuhwanda</i>	You will find no place to hide <b>c</b>
<i>Pasi pese ground force</i>	Everywhere there ground force <b>c</b>
<i>Nemudenga airforce</i>	Even in the air there is airforce <b>c</b>
<i>Nemumvura mune ngwena</i>	In the water there are crocodiles <b>c</b>
<i>Nemumapako mune zvidhoma</i>	In the caves there are ghosts <b>c</b>
<i>Ndambakuudzwa ine mbonje</i>	An unruly person with scars <b>c</b>
<i>Dzoka hako kuZanu</i>	Come back to Zanu <b>d</b>
<i>Guvhu rako ndere Zanu</i>	Your origin is Zanu <b>d</b>
<i>Haimbokurasa</i>	It will not neglect you <b>d</b>
<i>Ndaimbokuudza uchiramba</i>	I used to warn you and you would not listen <b>c</b>
<i>Hona ndaimbokuudza waiti kwete</i>	See, I used to warn you but you would say no <b>c</b>
ALL: <i>VaMugabe vari kutungamira Zanu</i>	Mr. Mugabe is leading Zanu <b>a</b>
<i>VaMugabe vari kutungamira Zanu</i>	Mr. Mugabe is leading Zanu <b>a</b>
<i>VaMugabe vari kutungamira Zimbabwe</i>	Mr. Mugabe is leading Zimbabwe <b>a</b>
<i>VaMugabe vari kutungamira Zimbabwe</i>	Mr. Mugabe is leading Zimbabwe <b>a</b>
<i>VaMugabe vari kutungamira Zanu</i>	Mr. Mugabe is leading Zanu <b>a</b>
<i>VaMugabe vari kutungamira Zanu</i>	Mr. Mugabe is leading Zanu <b>a</b>

## 2. The SSS Cluster

Song title: "Track 6"

Artist: Paul Madzore

Song genre: cautionary-observation

RM **a**: Orienting the song by calling for attention

RM **b**: Expressing the oppression being experienced

RM **c**: Identifying the specific instances of the oppression

RM **d**: Evaluating the oppression

RM **e**: Expressing shock

L: *Tererai tereraiwo*

Listern please listern x2 **a**

*Tererai tereraiwo*

Listern please listern x2 **a**

R: *Teererai*

Listern a

L: *Varombo tiri munhamo*

The poor we are in a trouble **b**

*Nhamo yacho yanamukoma Joseph*

The trouble comes from brother Joseph **b**

R: *Varombo tiri mugango*

The poor we are in a roasting pan **b**

*Gango racho ranamukoma Joseph*

The roasting pan belongs to brother Joseph **b**

*Gango revanhu ava hauribudi*

You can not escape from the roasting pan of these people **b**

L: *Tererai tereraiwo*

Listern please listern x2 **a**

*Tererai tereraiwo*

Listern please listern x2 **a**

L: *Nyika yose vakatora pamadiro*

The whole land they took as they pleased **c**

*Nhasi vagovana pachavo avaka*

Today these have shared it among themselves **c**

*Nyika yose vakatora pamadiro*

The whole land they took as they pleased **c**

*Nyika yose vakatora pamadiro*

The whole land they took as they pleased **c**

*Chandaona chabuda hapana*

There are no any [good] coming out of this **d**

*Nyika yose vakatora pamadiro*

The whole land they took as they pleased **c**

*Chandaona chabuda hapana*

There are no any [good] coming out of this **d**

R: *Tererai tereraiwo*

Listern please listern x2 **a**

L: *Zvitoro zvedu kutora*

Our shops they took **c**

R: *Pamadiro*

As they pleased **c**

L: *Mitengo nhasi vanokwidza pamadiro*

Today they increase prices of goods as they please **c**

*Zvitoro zvedu vakatora*

Our shops they took **c**

R: *Pamadiro*

As they pleased **c**

L: *Mitengo nhasi vanokwidza pavanodira*

Today they increase prices of goods as they please **c**

R: *Tererai tereraiwo*

Listern please listern x2 **a**

L: *Paya dzimba vakaputsa*

That time they destroyed houses **c**

R: *Pamadiro*

As they pleased **c**

L: *Vachiti vari pamurambatsvina*

Saying they were in a clean-up exercise **c**

<i>Paya dzimba vakaputsa</i>	That time they destroyed houses <b>c</b>
R: <i>Pamadiro</i>	As they pleased <b>c</b>
L: <i>Vachiti ivo murambatsvina</i>	Saying they were in a clean-up exercise <b>c</b>
L: <i>Paya dzimba vakaputsa</i>	That time they destroyed houses <b>c</b>
R: <i>Pamadiro</i>	As they pleased <b>c</b>
L: <i>Vachiti ivo murambatsvina</i>	Saying they were in a clean-up exercise <b>c</b>
<i>Aah!</i>	<i>Aah! e</i>
R: <i>Tererai tereraiwo</i>	Listern please listern x2 <b>a</b>
L: <i>Gore riya vanhu vakarova pamadiro</i>	That year they beat people as they pleased <b>c</b>
<i>Vachiti ivo igukurahundi</i>	Saying it was a cleansing exercise <b>c</b>
<i>Gore riya vanhu vakarova pamadiro</i>	That year they beat people as they pleased <b>c</b>
<i>Vachiti ivo igukurahundizve</i>	Again saying it was a clean-up exercise <b>c</b>
<i>Nhasi uno nherera dzinochemwa</i>	Today orphans are crying <b>c</b>
<i>Nevarwerewo vanochemwa</i>	And the sick are also crying <b>c</b>
<i>Veukamazve vanochemwa</i>	Their relatives are also crying <b>c</b>
R: <i>Teererai tereraiwo</i>	Listern, please listern <b>a</b>
L: <i>Gango revanhu ava hauribudi</i>	You can not escape from the roasting pan of these people <b>b</b>
R: <i>Tererai tereraiwo</i>	Listern please listern x2 <b>a</b>
<i>Tererai tereraiwo</i>	Listern please listern x2 <b>a</b>
L: <i>Gango revanhu ava hauribudi</i>	You can not escape from the roasting pan of these people <b>b</b>
<i>Paunobuda unoona wave muguva</i>	When you are released you see yourself in the grave <b>b</b>
<i>Gango revanhu ava hauribudi</i>	You can not escape from the roasting pan of these people <b>b</b>
<i>Paunobuda unoona wave muguva</i>	You can not escape from the roasting pan of these people <b>b</b>
<i>Nyika yose vakatora pamadiro</i>	The whole land they took as they pleased <b>c</b>
<i>Zvitorozve ndokutora pamadiro</i>	Again they took stores as they pleased <b>c</b>
<i>Aaah!</i>	<i>Aaah! e</i>
R: <i>Teererai tererai</i>	Listern listern <b>a</b>
L: <i>Paya dzimba vakaputsa pamadiro</i>	That time they destroyed houses as they pleased <b>c</b>
<i>Vachiti ivo murambatsvinazve</i>	Saying it was a clean-up exercise <b>c</b>
<i>Gore riya dzimba dzakaputsa madiro</i>	That year houses were destroyed as they pleased <b>c</b>
<i>Vachiti ivo murambatsvinazve</i>	And they were saying it was a clean-up exercise <b>c</b>
<i>Aaah!</i>	<i>Aaah! e</i>
<i>Nhasi uno chembere dzinochemwa</i>	Today old women are crying <b>c</b>
<i>Nevarwere vanochemwa</i>	Again the sick are also crying <b>c</b>
<i>Nhasi uno zvirema zvinochemwa</i>	Today the physically handicapped are crying <b>c</b>
<i>Nemapofu anochemwa</i>	And the blind are crying <b>c</b>
<i>Teererai tererai</i>	Listern listern <b>a</b>

Title of song: "Track 2"

Artist: Raymond Majongwe

Song sub-genre: Cautionary

RM **a**: Inviting the addressee to caution him

RM **b**: Expressing the specificities of the advice

RM **c**: Expressing sorrow for the addressee

L: <i>Gara pasi ndikuudze mwana wamai x 4</i>	Sit down and let me tell you, oh my mother's child <b>a</b>
<i>Iko katsika ikako kokuponda vamwe karegerei x 2</i>	That little habit of murdering others, stop it <b>b</b>
L: <i>Gara pasi ndikuudze mwana wamai x 3</i>	Sit down and let me tell you, oh my mother's child <b>a</b>
<i>Gore rino ikasanaya chete tozeza makuva isu</i>	If it does not rain this year we are afraid of digging graves <b>a</b>
<i>Gore rino ikasanaya chete amaihwe tozeza makuva</i>	If it does not rain this year, oh my mother, we are afraid of digging graves <b>a</b>
<i>Gara pasi ndikuudze mwana wamai amaihwe x 2</i>	Sit down and let me tell you, oh my mother's child <b>a</b>
L: <i>Chimurenga baba, chimurenga hachimbopera x 2</i>	Chimurenga father, chimurenga does not end <b>b</b>
<i>Hondo baba, hondo yacho haimbopera x 2</i>	The war father, that kind of war never ends <b>b</b>
<i>Ndati hondo baba, hondo yacho haimbopera I say,</i>	The war father, that kind of war never ends <b>b</b>
L: <i>Gore rino rine nharo varume woye amaihwe x 2</i>	This year has obstinacy oh men, oh mother <b>b</b>
<i>Gore rino ndere nharo varume woye amaihwe x 2</i>	This year has obstinacy men, oh mother <b>b</b>
<i>Gore rino ndere nzara amaihwe amaihwe x 2</i>	This year is of hunger, oh mother, oh mother <b>b</b>
<i>Chimurenga baba, chimurenga hachimbopera x 2</i>	Chimurenga father, chimurenga does not end <b>b</b>

<i>Regai ndizvireve amaihwe amaihwe</i>	Let me say it oh mother, oh mother <b>a</b>
<i>Chinobhururuka chinomhara amaihwe</i>	That which flies will eventually land, oh mother <b>b</b>
<i>Rine manyanga hariputirwe amaihwe</i>	That with horns cannot be wrapped, oh mother <b>b</b>
<i>Chisingaperi chinoshura amaihwe x 2</i>	That which does not end heralds misfortune, oh mother <b>b</b>
L: <i>Haunete wakaita seiko?</i>	You do not get tired, what is wrong with you? <b>b</b>
<i>Vakatamba bhora vakarega vanga vakura</i>	Those who played soccer retired because they were old <b>b</b>
<i>Vakamhanya mujahwo vakachembera vakarega</i>	Athletes who races got old and quit <b>b</b>
<i>Iwe haunete wakaita seiko?</i>	You do not get tired, what is wrong with you? <b>b</b>
<i>Iwe haunete wakaita seiko?</i>	You do not get tired, what is wrong with you? <b>b</b>
<i>Gore rino rine nharo varume woye amaihwe</i>	This year has obstinacy oh men, oh mother <b>b</b>
<i>Ndati gore rino vasikana rine nharo varume amaihwe x 2</i>	This year has obstinacy men, oh mother <b>b</b>
L: <i>Chienda unozorora chienda pako pakwana x 3</i>	Go and rest you have completed your task <b>b</b>
L: <i>Gara pasi ndikuudze mwana wamai x 4</i>	Sit down and let me tell you, oh my mother's child <b>a</b>
<i>Iko katsika ikako kokuponda vamwe karegerei x 2</i>	That little habit of murdering others, stop it <b>b</b>
L: <i>Haunete, haunete, haunete</i>	You do not get tired, you do not get tired, you do not get tired <b>b</b>
L: <i>Aluta chimurenga continue x 2</i>	The struggle continues <b>b</b>
Chorus	
L: <i>Chimurenga baba, chimurenga hachimbopera x 2</i>	Chimurenga father, chimurenga does not end <b>b</b>
<i>Hondo baba, hondo yacho haimbopera x 2</i>	The war father, that kind of war never ends <b>b</b>
<i>Amaihwe, amaihwe, amaihwe x 3</i>	Oh my mother, oh my mother, oh my mother <b>c</b>

Song title: "Dai mapindira" ("Please intervene")

Artist: Dread Reckless

Song sub-genre: (Religious) Persuasion

RM **a**: A formulaic beginning of consulting ancestral spirits

RM **b**: Specifying reasons for seeking spiritual intervention

RM **c**: Identifying the names of specific national spirits

L: <i>Nhai vari pasi</i>	You who are in the soil <b>a</b>
R: <i>Dai mapindira chokwadi vana vanzwa</i>	We plead with you to intervene, surely the children have suffered <b>b</b>
L: <i>Baba Takawira</i>	Father Takawira <b>c</b>
R: <i>Dai mapindira chokwadi vana vanzwa</i>	We plead with you to intervene, surely the children have suffered <b>b</b>
L: <i>Sekuru Kaguvi</i>	Grandfather Kaguvi <b>c</b>
R: <i>Dai mapindira chokwadi vana vanzwa</i>	We plead with you to intervene, surely the children have suffered <b>b</b>
L: <i>Donzwa donzwa donzwa</i>	Please could you hear, could you hear <b>a</b>
R: <i>Kuchema kwavo chokwadi vanzwa</i>	Their crying surely shows they have really suffered <b>b</b>
L: <i>Nhai Chaminuka</i>	You Chaminuka <b>c</b>
R: <i>Dai mapindira chokwadi vana vanzwa</i>	We plead with you to intervene, surely the children have suffered <b>b</b>
L: <i>Mai Tsvangirai</i>	Mother Tsvangirai <b>c</b>
R: <i>Dai mapindira chokwadi vana vanzwa</i>	We plead with you to intervene, surely the children have suffered <b>b</b>
L: <i>Nikita Mangena</i>	Nikita Mangena <b>c</b>
R: <i>Dai mapindira chokwadi vana vanzwa</i>	We plead with you to intervene, surely the children have suffered <b>b</b>
L: <i>Donzwa donzwa donzwa</i>	Please could you hear, could you hear <b>a</b>
R: <i>Kuchema shuwa vana vanzwa</i>	Their crying surely shows they have really suffered <b>b</b>
L: <i>Sally Mugabe</i>	Sally Mugabe <b>c</b>
R: <i>Dai mapindira chokwadi vana vanzwa</i>	We plead with you to intervene, surely the children have suffered <b>b</b>
L: <i>Mai vedu Sally</i>	Our mother Sally <b>c</b>
R: <i>Dai mapindira chokwadi vana vanzwa</i>	We plead with you to intervene, surely the children have suffered <b>b</b>
L: <i>Susy Tsvangirai</i>	Susy Tsvangirai <b>c</b>
R: <i>Dai mapindira chokwadi vana vanzwa</i>	We plead with you to intervene, surely the children have suffered <b>b</b>
L: <i>Mama Mafuyana</i>	Mother Mafuyana <b>c</b>
R: <i>Dai mapindira chokwadi vana vanzwa</i>	We plead with you to intervene, surely the children have suffered <b>b</b>
L: <i>Sally Mugabe</i>	Sally Mugabe <b>c</b>
R: <i>Dai mapindira chokwadi vana vanzwa</i>	We plead with you to intervene, surely the children have suffered <b>b</b>
L: <i>Onaika zuva kukwira kudai vachirere</i>	Please can you see, even if the sun has gone up the children are still asleep <b>b</b>
R: <i>Onaika zuva kukwira kudai vakarara</i>	Please can you see, even if the sun has gone up the children are still asleep <b>b</b>

Chorus

<i>Vashaiwa zano Chaminuka chokwadi vana venyu vanzwa</i>	Chaminuka, surely they have failed to find a solution surely your children have suffered <b>b</b>
<i>Donzwa donzwa donzwa</i>	Please could you hear, could you hear <b>a</b>
<i>Kuchema shuwa vana vanzwa</i>	Their crying surely shows they have really suffered <b>b</b>

L: *Ichapera riniko hondo vanababa?*

I ask you fathers, when will this war end? **d**

R: <i>Ichapera riniko hondo madzitetete?</i>	I ask aunts, when will this war end? <b>d</b>
<i>Ichapera riniko hondo vanababa?</i>	I ask you fathers, when will this war end? <b>d</b>
<i>Ichapera riniko hondo madzitetete?</i>	I ask you aunts, when will this war end? <b>d</b>
L: <i>Toikunda seiko iyo nhamo vakomana?</i>	How shall we overcome that problem boys? I ask <b>d</b>
<i>Toikunda seiko iyo nhamo vasikana?</i>	How shall we overcome that problem girls? I ask <b>d</b>
<i>Vazukuru vaneta nekugara musango</i>	Your grandchildren are tired of living in the forests,
<i>vazukuru vaneta</i>	grandchildren are tired of living in the forests <b>d</b>
R: <i>Vazukuru vaneta</i>	I plead Nehanda your grandchildren are tired
<i>nekudya zvevatorwa Nehanda wee</i>	of eating food from foreigners <b>d</b>
L: <i>Vazukuru vaneta nekugara musango</i>	Your grandchildren are tired of living in the forests,
<i>vazukuru vaneta</i>	grandchildren are tired of living in the forests <b>d</b>
R: <i>Vazukuru vaneta</i>	I plead Nehanda your grandchildren are tired
<i>nekudya zvevatorwa Nehanda wee</i>	of eating food from foreigners <b>d</b>
L: <i>Vazukuru vaneta nekugara musango</i>	Your grandchildren are tired of living in the forests,
<i>vazukuru vaneta</i>	grandchildren are tired of living in the forests <b>d</b>
R: <i>Vazukuru vaneta</i>	I plead Nehanda your grandchildren are tired
<i>nekudya zvevatorwa Nehanda wee</i>	of eating food from foreigners <b>d</b>
L: <i>Vana venyu vongotambiswa nhova</i>	Your children are being oppressed in their own country
<i>makarira munyika yavo</i>	while you watch <b>d</b>
R: <i>Vazukuru venyu vanoseva sadza</i>	Your grand children use [their] tears as relish for their sadza,
<i>nemisodzi ndizvo here?</i>	is that so? <b>d</b>
L: <i>Nhai vari pasi</i>	You who are in the soil
R: <i>Dai mapindira chokwadi vana vanzwa</i>	We plead with you to intervene, surely the children have suffered <b>b</b>

Song title: "Rusaruraganda" ("Racism")

Artist: Dread Reckless

Song sub-genre: Persuasion-didactic

RM a: Expressing the persecution of opposition supporters

RM b: Advising and warning opposition members

RM c: Extolling the sacrifice of opposition activists

RM d: Condemning the perpetrator's insensitivity

RM e: Persuading the activists' spirits to retaliate

Recitation

L: <i>Rusaruraganda, rusaruraganda, rusaruraganda veduwee,</i>	Oh racism, racism, racism seriously
Honourable Roy Bennet vofira ganda Honourable	Roy Bennet is being persecuted because of his (white) skin <b>a</b>

Chorus

L: <i>Garai pasi, garai pasi</i>	Please sit down, please sit down <b>b</b>
R: <i>Garai pasi machinja mudzokerane</i>	Sit down the changers and reconcile <b>b</b>
L: <i>Garai pasi, garai pasi</i>	Please sit down, please sit down <b>b</b>
R: <i>Garai pasi machinja mudzokerane</i>	Sit down the changers and reconcile <b>b</b>
L: <i>Garai pasi garai pasi</i>	Please sit down, please sit down <b>b</b>
R: <i>Garai pasi machinja mushande mese</i>	Sit down the changers and work together <b>b</b>
L: <i>Garai pasi garai pasi</i>	Please sit down, please sit down <b>b</b>
R: <i>Garai pasi machinja mushande mese</i>	Sit down the changers and work together <b>b</b>
L: <i>Itori ngozi itori ngozi</i>	It is actually dangerous, it is actually dangerous <b>b</b>
R: <i>Itori ngozi kufamba makadaro</i>	It is actually dangerous, for you move around like that <b>b</b>
L: <i>Itori ngozi itori ngozi</i>	It is actually dangerous, it is actually dangerous <b>b</b>
R: <i>Itori ngozi kufamba makadaro</i>	It is actually dangerous, for you move around like that <b>b</b>
L: <i>Itori ngozi itori ngozi</i>	It is actually dangerous, it is actually a dangerous <b>b</b>
R: <i>Itori ngozi kufamba rumwe rumwe machinja</i>	It is actually dangerous for each changer to move around alone <b>b</b>
L: <i>Itori ngozi itori ngozi</i>	It is actually dangerous, it is actually dangerous <b>b</b>
R: <i>Itori ngozi kufamba rumwe rumwe machinja</i>	It is actually dangerous for each changer to move around alone <b>b</b>

Recitation

<i>Baba vedu Shepherd Jani,</i>	Our Father Shepherd Jani
<i>Vanakomana vedu Tonderai Ndira</i>	Our boys Tonderai Ndira
<i>Wakafa uchirwa, ramba uchirwa</i>	You died fighting, continue fighting <b>c</b>
<i>Ndiyo magents, mupfanha Tyson</i>	That's it gentlemen, young brother Tyson
<i>Archford Chipiyo haticheme</i>	Archford Chipiyo we do not cry
<i>Asi tinodada nefiro yenyu</i>	But we are proud of how you died <b>c</b>
<i>Makafa rufu rwemagamba, rambai muchirwa</i>	You died the death of hero(ine)s, continue fighting <b>c</b>

ALL

<i>Cheuka shure kwawakabva</i>	Look back where you came from <b>b</b>
<i>Cheuka shure uone ndima yawafamba</i>	Look back and see the distance you have walked <b>b x 2</b>

L: <i>Tarira mberi, tarira mberi uko</i>	Look ahead, look there ahead <b>b</b>
R: <i>Tarira mberi uone pasara padoko</i>	Look ahead and see that see the short distance that remains <b>b</b>
L: <i>Tarira mberi, tarira mberi uko</i>	Look ahead, look there ahead <b>b</b>
R: <i>Tarira mberi uone pasara padoko</i>	Look ahead and see that see the short distance that remains <b>b</b>
L: <i>Itori ngozi, itori ngozi</i>	It is actually dangerous, it is actually dangerous <b>b</b>

R: <i>Itori ngozi kusiya pakadaro</i>	It is actually dangerous to leave it is like that <b>b</b>
L: <i>Itori ngozi, itori ngozi</i>	It is actually dangerous, it is actually dangerous <b>b</b>
R: <i>Itori ngozi kusiya pakadaro</i>	It is actually dangerous to leave it like that <b>b</b>
L: <i>Itori ngozi itori ngozi</i>	It is actually dangerous, it is actually dangerous <b>b</b>
R: <i>Itori ngozi, warova shumba nembama</i>	It is actually dangerous, you have slapped the lion <b>b</b>
L: <i>Itori ngozi itori ngozi</i>	It is actually dangerous, it is actually dangerous <b>b</b>
R: <i>Itori ngozi warowa shumba nembama</i>	It is actually dangerous, you have slapped the lion <b>b</b>
<b>Recitation</b>	
<i>Vanamai vedu makafa rufu rwunorwadza zvakadaro?</i>	Our mothers you died a painful death <b>a</b>
<i>Imi Amai Abigail Chiroto, imi Amai Dadirai Chipiro</i>	You Mother Abigail Chiroto, You Mother Dadirai Chipiro
<i>Makafa muchibvurwa sembeva</i>	You died being singed like mice <b>a</b>
<i>Bright Matonga akawokera achikuza seanokuza bhora</i>	While Bright Matonga watched and cheering as if cheering those in a soccer match <b>d</b>
<i>Mobva marara zvenyu hope dzeumambo</i>	How can you sleep to enjoy a royal sleep? <b>e</b>
<i>Kurara kukanganwa hondo yamakasiya kumashure</i>	Sleeping forgetting the war that you left behind <b>e</b>
<i>Simukai mudzorere</i>	Wake up and fight back <b>e</b>
L: <i>Pakauya vamuzvinafundo</i>	When the respected professor came
R: <i>Vakauya ndokutsaura vashoma</i>	He came and diverted others <b>a</b>
L: <i>Vakauya kubva mhiri</i>	They came from abroad
R: <i>Vakauya ndokurasisa chikamu</i>	They came and led a section astray <b>a</b>
L: <i>Pakauya vamuzvinafundo</i>	When the respected professor came
R: <i>Vakauya ndokutsaura vashoma</i>	He came and diverted others <b>a</b>
L: <i>Vakauya kubva mhiri</i>	They came from abroad
R: <i>Vakauya ndokurasisa chikamu</i>	They came and led a section astray <b>a</b>
L: <i>Gara pasi, gara pasi</i>	Sit down, sit down <b>b</b>
R: <i>Gara pasi ufunge parere Sibanda</i>	Sit down and think about where Sibanda lies <b>b</b>
L: <i>Gara pasi, gara pasi</i>	Sit down, sit down <b>b</b>
R: <i>Gara pasi ufunge parere Matongo</i>	Sit down and think about where Matongo lies <b>b</b>
L: <i>Gara pasi, gara pasi</i>	Sit down, sit down <b>b</b>
R: <i>Gara pasi ufunge parere Tandare</i>	Sit down and think about where Tandare lies <b>b</b>
L: <i>Gara pasi, gara pasi</i>	Sit down, sit down <b>b</b>
R: <i>Gara pasi ufunge parere pakarara amai vechinja</i>	Sit down and think about where the mother of change lies <b>b</b>
<b>Recitation</b>	
<i>Phainos Kufazvinei kuMberengwa uko</i>	Phainos Kufazvinei there in Mberengwa
<i>Wakafa uchibaiwa nemaspokes ebhasikoro</i>	You died being impaled with bicycle spokes <b>a</b>
<i>Wakafa uchigomera nemarwadzo</i>	You died groaning with a lot of pain <b>a</b>
<i>Uchiwokera mudzimai wako achibatwa chibharo</i>	Watching your wife being rapped <b>a</b>
<i>Zimbabwe inoti kwete simuka udzorere</i>	Zimbabwe says no, wake up and retaliate
<i>Uya tiite maonerapamwe</i>	Come and let us fight together <b>e</b>
<i>Hamuna kurara macomrades asi murere</i>	Comrades you are not dead but merely resting <b>e</b>
<i>Gara pasi, gara pasi, gara pasi ufunge chakafira Tonde</i>	Sit down, sit down, sit down and think about what Tonde died for
<i>Gara pasi, gara pasi, gara pasi ufunge chakafira Soja</i>	Sit down, sit down, sit down and think about what Soja died for
<i>Gara pasi, gara pasi, gara pasi ufunge chakafira Berta</i>	Sit down, sit down, sit down and think about what Bertha died for
<i>Gara pasi, gara pasi, gara pasi ufunge chakafira Juda</i>	Sit down, sit down, sit down and think about what Judah died for
L: <i>Itori ngozi itori ngozi</i>	It is actually dangerous, it is actually dangerous <b>b</b>
R: <i>Itori ngozi kufamba makadaro</i>	It is actually dangerous, for you move around like that <b>b</b>
L: <i>Itori ngozi itori ngozi</i>	It is actually dangerous, it is actually a dangerous <b>b</b>
R: <i>Itori ngozi kufamba rumwe rumwe machinja</i>	It is actually dangerous for each changer to move around alone <b>b</b>
L: <i>Itori ngozi itori ngozi</i>	It is actually dangerous, it is actually dangerous <b>b</b>
R: <i>Itori ngozi kufamba rumwe rumwe machinja</i>	It is actually dangerous for each changer to move around alone <b>b</b>
<b>Recitation</b>	
<i>Vanamukoma James Mashandu,</i>	Brothers James Mushandu,
<i>Honourable Tafadzwa Musekiwa,</i>	Anoremekedzwa Tafadzwa Musekiwa,
<i>Mhamha Grace Kwinje,</i>	Mother Grace Kwinje
<i>Vazhinji navazhinji vakasiya nyika yavo</i>	Many and many left their country
<i>Nokuda kwembimbindoga Robert Mugabe</i>	Because of the autocrat Robert Mugabe
<i>Tiri tose muhondo</i>	We are together in the war

Song title: "Ivhu redu nderipi?" ("Which one is our soil?")

Artist: Hosiah Chipanga

RM **a**: Expressing the protagonist's criticism against land allocation criteria

RM **b**: Identifying problems associated with the land allocation criteria

RM **c**: Stating how wrong the criteria is

*Ivhu ratakatora nderipiko?*

Where is the land we acquired? x 2

**a**

*Ivhu ratakafira nderipiko?*  
*Nhai Mbuya Nehanda,*  
*Sekuru Kaguvi,*  
*Chembere Chaminuka*  
*Ivhu redu nderipi?*

Where really is the land that we died for? x 2 **a**  
 I'm asking you Mbuya Nehanda **a**  
 Grandfather Kaguvi **a**  
 The Oldman Chaminuka **a**  
 Which one is our land? **a**

[Stanza 1]

*Kuroja kudai kushaiwa pekugara*  
*Mabhodhi kudai kushaiwa pekugara*  
*Kunzi ndiri squatter munyika yababa*  
*Nhai vaTongogara,*  
*VaZiyapapa Moyo*  
*Chibwechitedza Baba Nkomo*  
*Ivhu redu nderipiko?*

Renting (houses) like this means lack of space to build homes x 2 **b**  
 Local boards lacking residential space like this x 2 **b**  
 eing called a squatter in my father's country x 2 **b**  
 I'm asking Mr. Tongogara **a**  
 Mr. Ziyapapa Moyo **a**  
 The Slippery Rock Father Nkomo **a**  
 Which one is our land? **a**

*Ivhu mudhorobha rinotengeswa*  
*Pagrowth point rinotengeswa*  
*Nhai chimbwido,*  
*Mwanangu mujiba*  
*Nemi Komuredhi*  
*Ramakafira nderipiko?*

The land in the cities is for sale x 2 **c**  
 At growth points it is for sale x 2 **c**  
 I'm asking you female collaborator **a**  
 My child male collaborator **a**  
 And you Comrade **a**  
 Which one is the one [land] you died for? **a**

*Ivhu ratakatora nderipiko?*  
*Ivhu ratakafira nderipiko?*  
*Nhai Mbuya Nehanda,*  
*Sekuru Kaguvi,*  
*Chembere Chaminuka*  
*Ivhu redu nderipi?*

Where is the land we acquired? **a** x 2  
 Where really is the land that we died for? **a** x 2  
 I'm asking you Mbuya Nehanda **a**  
 Grandfather Kaguvi **a**  
 The Oldman Chaminuka **a**  
 Which one is our land? **a**

*Kuroja kudai kushaiwa pekugara*  
*Mabhodhi kudai kushaiwa pekugara*  
*Kunzi ndiri squatter munyika yababa*  
*Nhai vaTongogara,*  
*VaZiyapapa Moyo*  
*Chibwechitedza Baba Nkomo*  
*Ivhu redu nderipiko?*

Renting (houses) like this means lack of space to build homes **b** x 2  
 Local boards lacking residential space like this **b** x 2  
 Being called a squatter in my father's country **b** x 2  
 I'm asking Mr. Tongogara **a**  
 Mr. Ziyapapa Moyo **a**  
 The Slippery Rock Father Nkomo **a**  
 Which one is our land? **a**

[Stanza 1]

[Stanza 2]

*Ivhu mudhorobha rinotengeswa*  
*Pagrowth point rinotengeswa*  
*Nhai chimbwido,*  
*Mwanangu mujiba*  
*Nemi Komuredhi*  
*Ramakafira nderipiko?*

The land in the cities is for sale **c** x 2  
 At growth points it is for sale **c** x 2  
 I'm asking you female collaborator **a**  
 My child male collaborator **a**  
 And you Comrade **a**  
 Which one is the one [land] you died for? **a**

[Stanza 3]

[Stanza 1]

[Stanza 2]

[Stanza 1]

[Stanza 3]

Song title: "Track 1"

Song genre: narrative-observation

RM **a**: Expressing the nature of the predicament

RM **b**: Expressing nostalgic feelings for the pre-predicament days

L: *Chishamiso chaitika muvagari veZimbabwe* A shock that has happened to the citizens of Zimbabwe **a**  
*Vakanga vakagara zvakana kwazvo* They were living very comfortably **b**  
*Pakauya hondo yeminda vanhu vakakanganiswa* But when the war for land came they were disturbed **a**  
 R: *Vakangoona tsunami chete* Everything turned into a tsunami **a**

L: *Tsunami chete* Only tsunami **a**  
 R: *Vakamuka vakangoona tsunami chete* They woke up only to see tsunami **a**  
 L: *Tsunami chete* Only tsunami **a**  
 R: *Vakamuka vakangoona tsunami chete* They woke up only to see tsunami **a**

L: <i>Ooh tsunami chete</i>	Ooh only tsunami <b>a</b>
R: <i>Vakamuka vakangoona tsunami chete</i>	They woke up only to see tsunami <b>a</b>
L: <i>Tsunami chete</i>	Only tsunami <b>a</b>
R: <i>Vakangoona tsunami chete</i>	Everything turned into a tsunami <b>a</b>
L: <i>Tsunami chete</i>	Only tsunami <b>a</b>
R: <i>Vakamuka vakangoona tsunami chete</i>	They woke up only to see tsunami <b>a</b>
L: <i>Tsunami chete</i>	Only tsunami <b>a</b>
R: <i>Vakamuka vakangoona tsunami chete</i>	They woke up only to see tsunami <b>a</b>
L: <i>Ooh tsunami chete</i>	Ooh only tsunami <b>a</b>
R: <i>Vakamuka vakangoona tsunami chete</i>	They woke up only to see tsunami <b>a</b>
L: <i>Tsunami chete</i>	Only tsunami <b>a</b>
R: <i>Vakangoona tsunami chete</i>	Everything turned into a tsunami <b>a</b>
L: <i>Chishamiso chaitika muvagari vemuHarare</i> <i>Vakanga vakagara zvakana kwazvo</i> <i>Vachivakisa dzimba kuti vabudirire</i>	A shock that has happened to the residents of Harare <b>a</b> They were living very comfortably <b>b</b> Building homes for their development <b>b</b> Everything turned into a tsunami <b>a</b>
R: <i>Vakangoona tsunami chete</i>	
L: <i>Chishamiso chaitika mumarova emuHarare</i> <i>Vakanga vakagara nemadzikoma mutaundi</i> <i>Vachitsvaka mabasa ekuti vazvishandire</i>	A shock that has happened to the residents of Harare <b>a</b> They were staying with their brothers in town <b>b</b> Looking for jobs in order to work <b>b</b> Everything turned into a tsunami <b>a</b>
R: <i>Vakangoona tsunami chete</i>	
L: <i>Tsunami chete</i>	Only tsunami <b>a</b>
R: <i>Vakamuka vakangoona tsunami chete</i>	They woke up only to see tsunami <b>a</b>
L: <i>Tsunami chete</i>	Only tsunami <b>a</b>
R: <i>Vakamuka vakangoona tsunami chete</i>	They woke up only to see tsunami <b>a</b>
L: <i>Ooh tsunami chete</i>	Ooh only tsunami <b>a</b>
R: <i>Vakamuka vakangoona tsunami chete</i>	They woke up only to see tsunami <b>a</b>
L: <i>Tsunami chete</i>	Only tsunami <b>a</b>
R: <i>Vakangoona tsunami chete</i>	Everything turned into a tsunami <b>a</b>
L: <i>Tsunami chete</i>	Only tsunami <b>a</b>
R: <i>Vakamuka vakangoona tsunami chete</i>	They woke up only to see tsunami <b>a</b>
L: <i>Tsunami chete</i>	Only tsunami <b>a</b>
R: <i>Vakamuka vakangoona tsunami chete</i>	They woke up only to see tsunami <b>a</b>
L: <i>Ooh tsunami chete</i>	Ooh only tsunami <b>a</b>
R: <i>Vakamuka vakangoona tsunami chete</i>	They woke up only to see tsunami <b>a</b>
L: <i>Tsunami chete</i>	Only tsunami <b>a</b>
R: <i>Vakangoona tsunami chete</i>	Everything turned into a tsunami <b>a</b>
L: <i>Chishamiso chaitika muvagari vekwaMutare</i> <i>Vakanga vakagara zvakana kwazvo</i> <i>Vachivakisa dzimba kuti vabudirire</i>	A shock that has happened to the residents of Harare <b>a</b> They were living very comfortably <b>b</b> Building homes for their development <b>b</b> Everything turned into a tsunami <b>a</b>
R: <i>Vakangoona tsunami chete</i>	
L: <i>Chishamiso chaitika muvagari vekwaMutare</i> <i>Vakanga vakagara zvakana kwazvo</i> <i>Vachivakisa dzimba kuti vabudirire</i>	A shock that has happened to the residents of Harare <b>a</b> They were living very comfortably <b>b</b> Building homes for their development <b>b</b> Everything turned into a tsunami <b>a</b>
R: <i>Vakangoona tsunami chete</i>	
L: <i>Tsunami chete</i>	Only tsunami <b>a</b>
R: <i>Vakamuka vakangoona tsunami chete</i>	They woke up only to see tsunami <b>a</b>
L: <i>Tsunami chete</i>	Only tsunami <b>a</b>
R: <i>Vakamuka vakangoona tsunami chete</i>	They woke up only to see tsunami <b>a</b>
L: <i>Ooh tsunami chete</i>	Ooh only tsunami <b>a</b>
R: <i>Vakamuka vakangoona tsunami chete</i>	They woke up only to see tsunami <b>a</b>
L: <i>Tsunami chete</i>	Only tsunami <b>a</b>
R: <i>Vakangoona tsunami chete</i>	Everything turned into a tsunami <b>a</b>
L: <i>Tsunami chete</i>	Only tsunami <b>a</b>
R: <i>Vakamuka vakangoona tsunami chete</i>	They woke up only to see tsunami <b>a</b>
L: <i>Tsunami chete</i>	Only tsunami <b>a</b>
R: <i>Vakamuka vakangoona tsunami chete</i>	They woke up only to see tsunami <b>a</b>
L: <i>Ooh tsunami chete</i>	Ooh only tsunami <b>a</b>
R: <i>Vakamuka vakangoona tsunami chete</i>	They woke up only to see tsunami <b>a</b>
L: <i>Tsunami chete</i>	Only tsunami <b>a</b>
R: <i>Vakangoona tsunami chete</i>	Everything turned into a tsunami <b>a</b>
L: <i>Chishamiso chaitika kuna Kagurabadza</i> <i>Wakanga ari meya muguta rekwaMutare</i> <i>Aine kanzuru yake yanga ina Lynnet</i>	A shock that has happened to Kagurabadza <b>a</b> He was a mayor in the City of Mutare <b>b</b> With a council in which Lynnet was a member <b>b</b> Everything turned into a tsunami <b>a</b>
R: <i>Vakangoona tsunami chete</i>	

L: *Chishamiso chaitika mukanzuru yekwa Mutare* A shock that has happened in the council of Mutare city **a**  
*Vakanga vakagara zvakana kwazvo* They were living very comfortably **b**  
*Vachiita basa iro rekuti ibudirire* Doing work that would make them develop **b**  
R: *Vakangoona tsunami chete* Everything turned into a tsunami **a**

Song title: “Huyai tivake nyika”

Artist: Hot Wire Boys 2011

Song genre: mobilizational

RM **a**: Orienting the song

RM **b**: Mobilizing (opposition) supporters

RM **c**: Expressing a message of advice

RM **d**: Explaining why the country collapsed

L: *Varume nhasi zvatave ndisu tirikutonga* Gentlemen now that we are the ones ruling the country  
*chasara chiiko?* what is the only remaining thing? **a**  
*Huyai huyai huyai* Come come come **b**  
*Varume nhasi zvatave ndisu* Gentlemen now that we are the ones ruling the country  
*tiri kutonga chasara chiiko?* what is the only remaining thing? **a**  
*Huyai huyai huyai* Come come come **b**  
R: *Huyai tivake nyika* Come let us build the country **b**  
L: *Huyai tivake nyika* Come let us build the country **b**  
R: *Huyai tivake nyika* Come let us build the country **b**

L: *Ngatikanganwe zvekare* Let us forget the past  
*timhanyire kuchinangwa* and concentrate on our vision **c**  
*Nyika yedu ibudirire* [For] Our country to develop  
*tarisai zvaurya nyika see* what [first] destroyed the country **c**  
*Zvigove chidzidzo kwamuri* So that it will be a lesson to you  
*murege kuzvidzokorora* not to repeat it **c**

R: *Huyai tivake nyika* Come let us build the country **b**  
L: *Huyai tivake nyika* Come let us build the country **b**  
R: *Huyai tivake nyika* Come let us build the country **b**  
*Huyai tivake nyika* Come let us build the country **b**  
L: *Huyai tivake nyika* Come let us build the country **b**  
R: *Huyai tivake nyika* Come let us build the country **b**  
L: *Umbimbindoga, umhondi,* Autocracy, murder,  
*ruchiva pamwe neuori* covetousness and corruption **d**  
*Ndzivo zvaurya nyika* This is what has destroyed the country **d**  
*Zanu ine mbiri yekuparadza zviwanikwa* Zanu is notorious for destroying resources, **d**  
*tarisai nyika yaparara* look the country has collapsed **d**  
R: *Huyai tivake nyika* Come let us build the country **b**  
L: *Huyai tivake nyika* Come let us build the country **b**  
R: *Huyai tivake nyika* Come let us build the country **b**  
*Huyai tivake nyika* Come let us build the country **b**  
L: *Huyai tivake nyika* Come let us build the country **b**  
R: *Huyai tivake nyika* Come let us build the country **b**

L: *VaBiti sungai homwe irege kupinda* Mr. Biti tie-up the national purse to prevent  
*zvipfukuto sezvakaitwa neZanu* grain-borers from getting in like Zanu did **c**  
*Chamisa mhanya nekoko uudze vana* Chamisa run in that direction telling children  
*veZimbabwe Save ndivo mutungamiri* of Zimbabwe that Save is the leader **b**  
R: *Huyai tivake nyika* Come let us build the country **b**

L: *Mangoma mhanya nekoko uudze vana* Mangoma run in that direction telling children  
*veZimbabwe Save ndivo chete* of Zimbabwe that Save is the only one **b**  
R: *Huyai tivake nyika* Come let us build the country **b**  
L: *Huyai tivake nyika* Come let us build the country **b**  
R: *Huyai tivake nyika* Come let us build the country **b**  
*Huyai tivake nyika* Come let us build the country **b**  
L: *Huyai tivake nyika* Come let us build the country **b**  
R: *Huyai tivake nyika* Come let us build the country **b**

Chorus

*Mama Khupe mhanya nekoko uudze vana* Mama Khupe run in that direction telling children  
*veZimbabwe Save ndivo chete* of Zimbabwe that Save is the only one **b**  
*Komichi mhanya nekoko uudze vana* Komichi run in that direction telling children  
*veZimbabwe Save ndivo chete* of Zimbabwe that Save is the only one **b**  
*Nyamudeza mhanya kuChipinge uudze* Nyamudeza run to Chipenge and tell  
*vana veZimbabwe Save ndivo chete* children of Zimbabwe that Save is the only one **b**  
*Mlambo mhanya kuChipinge uudze vana* Mlambo run to Chipenge and tell children  
*veZimbabwe Save ndivo chete* of Zimbabwe that Save is the only one **b**

*Mahlangu mhanya nekoko uudze vana veZimbabwe tinoda VaTsvangirai*

Mahlangu run in tha direction telling the children of Zimbabwe that we want Tsvangirai **b**

*VaMoyo mhanya nekoko uudze vana veZimbabwe tinoda VaTsvangirai*  
*Matibenga mhanya nekoko uudze vana veZimbabwe tinoda VaTsvangirai*  
*Mupariwa mhanya nekoko uudze vana veZimbabwe tinoda VaTsvangirai*  
*Mutseyami mhanya nekoko uudze vana veZimbabwe Save ndivo chete*

Mr. Moyo run in that direction telling the children of Zimbabwe that we want Tsvangirai **b**  
 Matibenga run in that direction telling the children of Zimbabwe that we want Tsvangirai **b**  
 Mupariwa run in tha direction telling the children of Zimbabwe that we want Tsvangirai **b**  
 Mutseyami run in tha direction telling the children of Zimbabwe that we want Tsvangirai **b**

L: *Marima mhanya neBikita*  
 R: *Huyai tivake nyika*  
 L: *Huyai tivake nyika*  
 R: *Huyai tivake nyika*  
     *Huyai tivake nyika*  
 L: *Huyai tivake nyika*  
 R: *Huyai tivake nyika*

Marima run throughout Bikita **b**  
 Come let us build the country **b**

L: *Mathuthu mhanya kuMasvingo mhanya nekoko Uudze vana veZimbabwe that Save is the leader*  
 L: *Pishai mhanya kuMakoni mhanya nekoko Uudze vana veZimbabwe Save ndivo chete*  
 L: *Saruwaka mhanya kwaMutasa mhanya nekoko uudze vana veZimbabwe Save ndivo chete*  
 R: *Huyai tivake nyika*  
 L: *Huyai tivake nyika*  
 R: *Huyai tivake nyika*  
     *Huyai tivake nyika*  
 L: *Huyai tivake nyika*  
 R: *Huyai tivake nyika*

Mathuthu run to Masvingo run in that direction **b**  
 And tell the children of Zimbabwe Save ndivo mutungamiri **b**  
 Pishai run to Makoni, run in that direction **b**  
 And tell the children of Zimbabwe that Save is the only one **b**  
 Saruwaka rush to Mutasa run in that direction and tell the children of Zimbabwe that Save is the only one **b**  
 Come let us build the country **b**

Song title: "Track No. 05"

Song genre: Exemplum-persuasion-argumentation

RM a: Presenting the thesis

RM b: Evaluating the negative consequences of Zanu-PF's actions

RM c: Stating reasons for leaving Zanu-PF/Motivating the argument

RM d: Expressing moral principle of leaving Zanu-PF

RM e: Persuading others to defect to the MDC

L: *Pandakabva kuZanu maiti ndatengesa Musingazive ndaitove mugwara Mazanu aiuya kwandiri nezvipa Asi ndairamba ndafunga ramangwana Vangani vakadzi vakaita shirikadzi? Vangani vana takaitsa nherera*

When I left Zanu you accused me of selling out **a**  
 But you did not know I was in the right direction **a**  
 Zanu-PF members would come with presents **a**  
 But I used to refuse to accept them thinking about tomorrow **a**  
 How many wives became widows? **b**  
 How many children became orphans? **b**

Chorus

L: *Zviripo zviripo*  
 R: *Zviripo zvainetsa*  
 L: *Zviripo zviripo*  
 R: *Zviripo zvainetsa*  
 L: *Zviripo zviripo*  
 R: *Zviripo zvainetsa*  
 L: *Kuti tibve kuZanu*  
 R: *Zviripo zvainetsa*  
 L: *Zviripo zviripo*  
 R: *Baba namai*  
 L: *Zviripo zviripo*  
 R: *Zviripo zvainetsa*  
 L: *Zviripo zviripo*  
 R: *Mbuya nasekuru*  
 L: *Kuti tibve kuZanu*  
 R: *Zvaivepo zvainetsa*

There are problems, there are problems **a**  
 They are problems that were affecting me **a**  
 There are problems, there are problems **a**  
 They are problems that were affecting me **a**  
 There are problems, there are problems **a**  
 They are problems that were affecting me **a**  
 That caused us to leave Zanu-PF **a**  
 They are problems that were affecting me **a**  
 There are problems, there are problems **a**  
 Father and mother **a**  
 There are problems, there are problems **a**  
 They are problems that were affecting me **a**  
 There are problems, there are problems **a**  
 Grandmother and grandfather **a**  
 That caused us to leave Zanu-PF **a**  
 There are problems, there are problems **a**

L: *Kutumwa kundopamba*

We were sent to rob

*zvashandwa nevamwe* what has been worked for by others **c**  
*Taiuya nazvo tichiapa mashefu* We brought the booty to give to the chefs **c**  
*Zyipfeko zvedu zvakatsvuka neropa* Our clothes red with blood **c**  
*Taiponda hama, taiponda shamwari* We murdered relatives, we murdered friends **c**  
*Chikonzero kwanzu* The reason was that  
*usasarudze zvaunoda* we should not choose what we wanted **c**  
*Chikonzero chacho wakasiireiko Zanu?* The actual reason was why someone decided to leave Zanu-PF? **c**

[Chorus]

L: *Vana Mumbengegwi vaifamba nemota,* The Mumbengegwis travelled in cars  
*Isu toi toi tichiponda machinja* For us we toyi-toyed murdering the changers **c**  
*Ini chaindirwadza ngozi,* What troubled me was that an avenging spirit  
*yaisaenda kuZanu* was not going to Zanu-PF **c**  
*Nemweya yengozi tairara tigere* Because of avenging spirits we spent nights awake **c**  
*Handina daka nevanhu veZanu* I do not have a grudge with members of Zanu-PF **d**  
*Asi pamaitiro ndipo tapesana* But it is their behaviour that I disagree with **d**

[Chorus]

L: *Vana vaishaiswa utano nefundo* Children were denied health and education **c**  
*Maunivhesiti ave midhuri* Universities have been closed **c**  
*Totodawo kufunda sevamwe* We also want to learn like others **c**  
*Muutongi hweZanu upenyu makasa* Life is a gamble in Zanu-PF's governance **b**  
*Worarama seiko kusina mishonga?* How can you survive when drugs are not there? **b**  
*Mari yakapedzwa ichitenga mavhoti* Money was squandered buying votes **c**

[Chorus]

L: *Paiuya vazhinji vachibvunza mashefu* Many would come asking for the chefs **c**  
*Ko oita sei nenyaya yeZESA* What shall we do with power shortages? **c**  
*Ko toita sei nenyaya yeZINWA* What shall we do with water shortages? **c**  
*Kungovaona badzi totengerwa fodya* On seeing them they would buy us cigarettes **c**  
*Hanzi rova vatumwa vaBlair* They would say go and beat Blair's messengers **c**  
*Blair ndouya here* Is Blair the one  
*kukukuvadze nenyota?* who has come to make you thirsty? **b**

[Chorus]

L: *Tovhotera Zanu here kana kuti pachanza* Shall we vote for Zanu-PF or the palm?  
R: *Iye iye pachanza ndizvo* Iye iye that's it on the palm **e**  
L: *Tovhotera Zanu here kana kuti pachanza* Shall we vote for Zanu-PF or the palm?  
R: *Iye iye pachanza ndizvo* Iye iye that's it on the palm **e**  
L: *Tovhotera Bhobho here* Shall we vote for Bhobho  
*kana kuti Morgan* or Morgan?  
R: *Iye iye Tsvangirai ndizvo* Iye iye that's it to vote for Tsvangirai **e**  
L: *Tovhotera Bhobho here* Shall we vote for Bhobho  
*or Morgan?* kana kuti Morgan  
R: *Iye iye Tsvangirai ndizvo* Iye iye that's it to vote for Tsvangirai **e**  
L: *Tovhotera Sikhala here* Shall we vote for Sikhala  
*kana kuti Khumalo* or Khumalo?  
R: *Iye iye Khumalo ndizvo* Iye iye that's it to vote for Khumalo **e**  
L: *Tovhotera Sikhala here* Shall we vote for Sikhala  
*kana kuti Khumalo* or Khumalo?  
R: *Iye iye Khumalo ndizvo* Iye iye that's it to vote for Khumalo **e**

Song title: "Masojja nemapurisa" ("Soldiers and policemen")

Artist: Thomas Mapfumo

Song genre: Exemplum-argumentation

RM a: Posing a question that orients the debate

RM b: Expressing defence mechanism

RM c: Posing the second question

RM d: Expressing method of escape

RM e: Posing the third question

RM f: Conceding defeat

L: *Nhai baba muchaita seiko?* Father, what really will you do? **a**  
*Nhai baba muchaita seiko pakubva kwenyu?* Father, what really are you going to do after you leave power? **a**  
*Nhai baba muchaita seiko pakubva kwenyu?* Father, what really are you going to do after you leave power? **a**  
*Nhai baba muchaita seiko pakubva kwenyu?* Father, what really are you going to do after you leave power? **a**  
*Nhai baba muchaita seiko pakubva kwenyu?* Father where really shall you go? **a**  
*Nhai baba muchaita seiko pakubva kwenyu?* Father, what really are you going to do after you leave power? **a**

Nhai baba muchaita seiko pakubva kwenyu?	Father, what really are you going to do after you leave power? <b>a</b>
R: <i>Ndinotumura masoja, ndinotumira masoja, Masoja nemapuris akuti varove vanhu Ndinotumura masoja, ndinotumira masoja, Masoja nemapuris akuti varove vanhu Ndinotumura masoja, ndinotumira masoja, Masoja nemapuris akuti varove vanhu</i>	I will send the army, I will send the army <b>b</b> The army and the police to beat the people <b>b</b> I will send the army, I will send the army <b>b</b> The army and the police to beat the people <b>b</b> I will send the army, I will send the army <b>b</b> The army and the police to beat the people <b>b</b> I will send the army, I will send the army <b>b</b> The army and the police to beat the people <b>b</b>
L: <i>Vakaramba muchaita seiko? Vakaramba muchaita seiko? Vakaramba muchaita seiko? Vakaramba muchaita seiko? Vazhinji vavo ihama dzavo Ruzhinji rwavo ihama dzavo Vakaramba muchaita seiko? Nhai baba muchaita seiko? Zvikaramba muchaita seiko? Vazhinji vavo ihama dzavo Vazhinji vavo ihama dzavo Vazhinji vavo ihama dzavo Vazhinji vavo ihama dzavo</i>	If the army refuses what are you going to do? <b>c</b> If the army refuses what are you going to do? <b>c</b> If the army refuses what are you going to do? <b>c</b> If the army refuses what are you going to do? <b>c</b> Most of them are their relatives <b>c</b> Most of them are their relatives <b>c</b> If the army refuses what are you going to do? <b>c</b> Father, what really are you going to do? <b>c</b> If things fail, what really are you going to do <b>c</b> Most of them are their relatives <b>c</b>
R: <i>Ndinotizira kure kunyika dzevamwe Ndinotizira kure kuti vasandibate Ndinotizira kure kunyika dzevamwe Ndinotizira kure kuti vasandibate Ndinotizira kure kunyika dzevamwe Ndinotizira kure kuti vasandibate</i>	I will flee to other countries <b>d</b> I will flee and go away where they cannot catch me <b>d</b> I will flee to other countries <b>d</b> I will flee and go away where they cannot catch me <b>d</b> I will flee to other countries <b>d</b> I will flee and go away where they cannot catch me <b>d</b>
L: <i>VaMobutu vakaitwa seiko? Nhai baba vakaitwa seiko? VaAmin vakaitwa seiko? Nhai baba vakaitwa seiko? Hitler wakaenda kupi? Nhai baba wakaenda kupi? Nhai baba vakaitwa seiko? VaMobutu vakaitwa seiko? VaAmin vakaitwa seiko? Vanhu ava vakaenda kupi? Nhai baba vakafira kupi? Nhai baba vakafira kupi? Nhai baba vakaitwa seiko?</i>	What really happened to Mobutu? <b>e</b> Father what really happened to him? <b>e</b> What happened to Mr. Amin? <b>e</b> Really father what happened to him? <b>e</b> Where did Hitler go? <b>e</b> Really father where did he go? <b>e</b> Really father what happened to him? <b>e</b> What really happened to Mobutu? <b>e</b> What happened to Mr. Amin? <b>e</b> Where did these people go? <b>e</b> Tell me father, where did they die? <b>e</b> Tell me father where did they die? <b>e</b> Tell me father what was done to them? <b>e</b>
R: <i>Vakatizira kure, vakatizira kure kunyika dzevamwe Vakatzira kure uko kwavakazofira Vakatzira kure, vakatzira kure kunyika dzevamwe Vakatzira kure uko kwavakazofira Vakatzira kure, vakatzira kure kunyika dzevamwe Vakatzira kure uko kwavakazofira</i>	They fled, they fled top far away countries <b>f</b> They fled to other countries where they eventually died <b>f</b> They fled, they fled top far away countries <b>f</b> They fled to other countries where they eventually died <b>f</b> They fled, they fled top far away countries <b>f</b> They fled to other countries where they eventually died <b>f</b>
L: <i>Nhai baba muchaita seiko pakubva kwenyu?</i>	Father, what really are you going to do after you leave power? x 9 <b>a</b>

Title of song: “Vachamhanya” (“They shall run”)

Artist: Paul Madzore

Song genre: (Political) Rupture

RM **a**: Orienting the song – giving reasons for impending political change

RM **b**: Expressing the inevitability of the end of the current regime

RM **c**: Outpouring of anger against the current regime

RM **d**: Giving an instance of where political change being foretold took place

RM **e**: Warming the regime’s leader about his inevitable punishment

L: <i>Kure kure kure kure kure kure kwatabva Kure kure kure kure kure kure kwakabva nemi</i>	It’s very far away, far away, far away, where we came <b>a</b> It’s very far away, far away, far away, where we came enduring you <b>a</b>
<i>Vachamhanya vakomana</i>	They shall be punished guys <b>b</b>
R: <i>Iye iye nguva yekuguma, vachamhanya nguva yekuguma</i>	Iye iye the end times, they will be punished at the end times <b>b</b>
L: <i>Vachamhanya vakomana, hiyeireiye nguva yekuguma</i>	They shall be punished boys, <i>hiyeireiye</i> the end times <b>b</b>
R: <i>Iye iye nguva yekuguma, vachamhanya nguva yekuguma</i>	<i>Iye iye</i> the end times, they will be punished at the end times <b>b</b>
L: <i>Vachamhanya vakomana, hiyeireiye nguva yekuguma</i>	They shall be punished boys, <i>hiyeireiye</i> the end times <b>b</b>
R: <i>Iye iye nguva yekuguma, vachamhanya nguva yekuguma</i>	<i>Iye iye</i> the end times, they will be punished at the end times <b>b</b>
L: <i>Hiye iyere iye, hiye iye iyere hi, iye iye iyere iye, Iye iye, I-i! c</i>	
L: <i>Kure kure kure kure kure kure kwatabva nemi vakomana</i>	It’s very far away, far away, far away where we came enduring you guys <b>a</b>
RI: <i>Iye iye nguva yekuguma, vachamhanya nguva yekuguma</i>	<i>Iye iye</i> the end times, they will be punished at the end times <b>b</b>
L: <i>Nyika ndeye vanhu, nyika ndeyevanhu, nyika ndeyevanhu</i>	The nation belongs to the people, the nation belongs to the

- RI: *Vachamhanya nguva yekuguma,*  
*vachamhanya nguva yekuguma,*  
L: *Hii muchamhanya vakomana iyere nguva yekuguma*  
RI: *Vachamhanya nguva yekuguma,*  
*vachamhanya nguva yekuguma,*  
L: *Iye here nguva yekuguma, iye here nguva yekuguma, I-i!*  
RI: *Iye iye nguva yekuguma, vachamhanya nguva yekuguma*  
L: *Iyi ndiyoiika nguva yekuguma, iyi ndiyoiwo nguva*  
RI: *Iye Iye nguva yekuguma, vachamhanya nguva yekuguma*  
*Iye iye nguva yekuguma, vachamhanya nguva yekuguma*  
*Iye iye nguva yekuguma, vachamhanya nguva yekuguma*
- L: *Kure kure kure kure kure kwatabva nemi vakomana*  
RI: *Iye iye nguva yekuguma,*  
*vachamhanya nguva yekuguma*  
L: *Liberia vanaTaylor vakamhanya vakomana*  
RI: *Iye iye nguva yekuguma,*  
*vachamhanya nguva yekuguma*  
L: *Liberia vanaTaylor vakomana vaimbodaro,*  
*nguva yekukuguma*  
RI: *Iye iye nguva yekuguma, Iye iye*  
*vachamhanya nguva yekuguma*  
L: *Iyo iriyo nguva yekuguma, iye iye iyere, I-i!*  
RI: *Iye iye nguva yekuguma,*  
*vachamhanya nguva yekuguma*
- L: *Nhasi uno tiri pano, iye iyere nguva yekuguma*  
RI: *Iye iye nguva yekuguma,*  
*vachamhanya nguva yekuguma*  
L: *Umwe wako akati nhasi adziyirwa,*  
*iye here nguva yekuguma iye*  
RI: *Iye here nguva yekuguma, Iye here*  
*chiteerera nguva yekuguma*  
L: *Iye here nguva yekuguma, I-i!*  
RI: *Iye iye nguva yekuguma,*  
*vachamhanya nguva yekuguma*
- L: *Nyika yose inochema baba kani*  
RI: *Iye iye nguva yekuguma,*  
*vachamhanya nguva yekuguma*  
L: *Nyika yose inochema nezita rako*  
RI: *Iye iye nguva yekuguma,*  
*vachamhanya nguva yekuguma*  
L: *Nyika yose inochema vakomana*  
RI: *Iye iye nguva yekuguma,*  
*vachamhanya nguva yekuguma*  
L: *Nyika yose inochema nezita rako*  
RI: *Iye iye nguva yekuguma,*  
*vachamhanya nguva yekuguma*  
L: *Ndiyoka nguva yekuguma, ndiyoiwo nguva, I-i*  
RI: *Iye iye nguva yekuguma,*  
*vachamhanya nguva yekuguma*  
L: *Ndiyoiwo nguva nguva, hi-i nguva yekuguma*  
RI: *Iye iye nguva yekuguma,*  
*vachamhanya nguva yekuguma*
- L: *Vana vanochema nezita rako,*  
*ndiyoiika nguva yekuguma*  
RI: *Iye iye nguva yekuguma,*  
*vachamhanya nguva yekuguma*  
L: *Vana vose vanochema nezita rako,*  
*ndiyoiika nguva yekuguma*  
RI: *Iye iye nguva yekuguma,*  
*vachamhanya nguva yekuguma*  
L: *Ikakwana uchamhanya, teerera*  
RI: *Iye iye nguva yekuguma,*  
*vachamhanya nguva yekuguma*  
L: *Ikakwana uchatiza teerera*  
RI: *Iye iye nguva yekuguma,*  
*vachamhanya nguva yekuguma*  
L: *Ikakwana uchamhanya teererawe,*  
*ndiyoiika nguva, I-i!*  
RI: *Iye iye nguva yekuguma,*
- people, the nation belongs to the people **d**  
They will be punished at end times  
they will be punished at end times **b**  
Hii you will be punished guys *iyere* at end times **b**  
They will be punished at end times  
they will be punished at end times **b**  
*Iye here* at end times, *iye here* at end times, *I-i!*  
*Iye iye* the end times, they will be punished at the end times **b**  
This is the very end times, this is the very time **b**  
*Iye iye* the end times, they will be punished at the end times **b**  
*Iye iye* the end times, they will be punished at the end times **b**  
*Iye iye* the end times, they will be punished at the end times **b**
- It's very far away, far away, far away where we came  
enduring you guys **a**  
*Iye iye* the end times,  
they will be punished at the end times  
In Liberia the Taylors were punished guys **e**  
*Iye iye* the end times,  
they will be punished at the end times **b**  
In Liberia the Taylors were behaving the same guys,  
the end times **e**  
the end times,  
they will be punished at the end times **b**  
When it was the end times, *iye iye iyere, I-i!* **b**  
*Iye iye* the end times,  
they will be punished at the end times **b**
- Today we are here, *iye iyere* the end times **b**  
*Iye iye* the end times,  
they will be punished at the end times **b**  
Your colleague sits pretty unaware of the danger ahead,  
here is the end times **f**  
the end times,  
listen about the end times **b**  
*Iye here* the end times, *I-i!* **b**  
*Iye iye* the end times,  
they will be punished at the end times **b**
- The whole nation is suffering, oh father **a**  
*Iye iye* the end times,  
they will be punished at the end times **b**  
The whole nation is suffering because of your name **a**  
*Iye iye* the end times,  
they will be punished at the end times **b**  
The whole nation is suffering guys **a**  
*Iye iye* the end times,  
they will be punished at the end times **b**  
The whole nation is suffering because of your name **a**  
*Iye iye* the end times,  
they will be punished at the end times **b**  
This is the very end times, this is the very time, *I-i* **b**  
*Iye iye* the end times,  
they will be punished at the end times **b**  
This is the very end times, *hi-i* the end times **b**  
*Iye iye* the end times,  
they will be punished at the end times **b**
- Children are crying because of your name,  
this is the very end times **a**  
*Iye iye* the end times,  
they will be punished at the end times **b**  
All the children are crying because of your name,  
this is the end times **a**  
*Iye iye* the end times,  
they will be punished at the end times **b**  
When the time is up you will be punished, listen **b**  
*Iye iye* the end times,  
they will be punished at the end times **b**  
If it's [the end times] up you shall flee, listen **b**  
*Iye iye* the end times,  
they will be punished at the end times **b**  
If it's up you will be punished listen,  
this is the end times, *I-i!* **b**  
*Iye iye* the end times,

*vachamhanya nguva yekuguma*

they will be punished at the end times **b**

L: *Kure kure kure kure kure,  
kure kure kwatabva*

It's very far away far away  
far away where we came **a**

RI: *Iye iye nguva yekuguma,  
vachamhanya nguva yekuguma*

*Iye iye* the end times,  
they will be punished at the end times **b**

L: *Kure kure kure uchingotidzvinirira,  
kure kure kure akomana*

It's very far where we came with you oppressing us,  
its very far guys **a**

RI: *Iye iye nguva yekuguma,  
vachamhanya nguva yekuguma*

*Iye iye* the end times,  
they will be punished at the end times **b**

L: *Kure kure kure uchingouraya wani,  
kure kure kure*

It's far away where we came with you killing,  
it's far away **a**

RI: *Iye iye nguva yekuguma,  
vachamhanya nguva yekuguma*

*Iye iye* the end times,  
they will be punished at the end times **b**

L: *Iyi ndiyoiwo nguva yekuguma,  
teerera nguva yekuguma, I-i!*

This is the very end times,  
listen the end times, I-i! **b**

RI: *Iye iye nguva yekuguma,  
vachamhanya nguva yekuguma*

*Iye iye* the end times,  
they will be punished at the end times **b**

L: *Teerera nguva yekuguma,  
tinzweiwo nguva yekuguma*

Listen, the end times,  
please hear us the end times **b**

RI: *Iye iye nguva yekuguma,  
vachamhanya nguva yekuguma*

*Iye iye* the end times,  
they will be punished at the end times **b**

L: *Inzwaiwo nguva yekuguma,  
tinzweiwo nguva yekuguma*

Please listen, the end times,  
please hear us the end times **b**

RI: *Iye iye nguva yekuguma,  
vachamhanya nguva yekuguma*

*Iye iye* the end times,  
they will be punished at the end times **b**

RII: *Hiya hiya nguva yekuguma,  
iya iya nguva yekuguma*

Hiya hiya end times,  
*iya iya* end times **b**

*Vachamhanya nguva yekuguma,  
ndiyoyi nguva yekuguma*

They will be punished at the end times,  
this is the end times **b**

L: *Kure kure kure kwatabva newe,  
kure kure kure uchingouraya*

It's very far away where we came with you,  
far away you just killing **a**

RI: *Iye iye nguva yekuguma,  
vachamhanya nguva yekuguma*

*Iye iye* the end times,  
they will be punished at the end times **b**

L: *Kure kure kure kwatabva newe,  
kure kure kure uchingotidzvinirira*

Its very far away where came with you,  
very far away oppressing us **a**

RI: *Iye iye nguva yekuguma,  
vachamhanya nguva yekuguma*

*Iye iye* the end times,  
they will be punished at the end times **b**

Song title: "Track No. 04"

Song genre: observation-exemplum

RM **a**: Orienting the song

RM **b**: Stating the various forms of violence

RM **c**: Evaluating Zanu-PF's violent actions

RM **d**: Declaring the soloist's right of choice of political party

*Ndichazouya ndokuona Sama usatye  
Ndinozviziva zvakakuwira*

I will see you Sama do not be afraid **a**  
Sama I know what befell you Sama **a**

*Baba vako vakafa vachipondwa nemazanu*

You father died being murdered by Zanu people **b**

*Mhamha vako vakaurirwa kuvhotera chinja*

Your mother was killed for voting the opposition **b**

*Sisi vako vakatetereka vachitiza green bomber*

Your sister strayed for good running away from green bombers **b**

*Kusvika riniko veZANU muchitita zvamunoda?*

Until when for Zanu-PF to continue doing what it pleases? **c**

*Gore riya makatirova mukatiita zvamunoda*

That year you beat us and forced us to do what you wanted **b**

*Misha yedu makapisa makatiita zvamunoda*

You burnt our homes and forced us to do what you wanted **b**

*Vana vedu makaponda makavaita zvamunoda*

You murdered our children and forced them to do what you wanted **b**

*Tsvangirai ndakamusarudza ndega musiyei*

Leave Tsvangirai alone I chose him on my own x2 **d**

*Bhobho wenyu wakazvikanyira ega handichada*

Your Bob messed up by himself I no longer like him x2 **c**

*Nyangwe zvenyu muchitaura kuti Zanu ndeyeropa*

Even if you always say Zanu is about blood,

*Vanhu vese vari kutambura asi Zanu haizvioni*

all the people are suffering but Zanu does not pay attention **c**

*Nyangwe zvenyu muchitaura kuti*

Even if you say

*ndimi makarwa hondo*

you are the ones who fought the liberation war,

*VekwaTangwena vanoyaura asi aivevo kuhondo*

the Tangwena people are suffering but they also fought in the war of

liberation **c**

*Nyangwe zvenyu muchidada neuzhinji muparamende*

Even if you boast about majority in parliament

*Asi nhunzi nyangwe dzikawanda sei*

even if flies would be so many,

*hadzigadzira uchi*

they do not make honey **c**

*Kusvika riniko veZANU muchitita zvamunoda?*

Until when for Zanu-PF to continue doing what it pleases? **c**

*Gore riya makatirova mukatiita zvamunoda*

That year you beat us and forced us to do what you wanted **b**

*Misha yedu makapisa makatiita zvamunoda  
Vana vedu makaponda makavaita zvamunoda  
Tsvangirai ndakamusarudza ndega musiyeyi  
Bhobho wenyu wakazvikanyira ega handichada*

You burnt our homes and forced us to do what you wanted **b**  
You murdered our children and forced them to do what you wanted **b**  
Leave Tsvangirai alone I chose him on my own x2 **d**  
Your Bob messed up by himself I no longer like him **c**

*Kusvika rini tichibyunzwa makadhi  
panotengwa chikafu?  
Vamwe vedu vari kushaiswa basa nemaBorder Gezi*

Until when shall they stop asking us party cards  
when buying food **c**  
Some of us are failing to find jobs because of youth training service  
graduates **b**

*Machinja tiri kurambidzwa kufamba tichikambena  
VanaNota vanongotirwisa nyangwe pese pavanodira  
Misika yedu iri kupambwa nemachinda aChombo  
Naivowo vari kutambura, mari svinu havaiwone  
Kusvika riniko veZANU muchiita zvamunoda?  
Gore riya makatirova mukatiita zvamunoda*

We the changers are being refused to move around campaigning **b**  
The Notas fight us whenever they please **b**  
Our market places are being seized by Chombo's henchmen **b**  
But they are also suffering, they do not get real money **b**  
Until when for Zanu-PF to continue doing what it pleases? **c**  
That year you beat us and forced us to do what

*Misha yedu makapisa makatiita zvamunoda  
Vana vedu makaponda makavaita zvamunoda  
Tsvangirai ndakamusarudza ndega musiyeyi  
Bhobho wenyu wakazvikanyira ega handichada  
Mugabe wenyu wakazvikanyira ega handichada*

you wanted **b**

You burnt our homes and forced us to do what you wanted **b**  
You murdered our children and forced them to do what you wanted **b**  
Leave Tsvangirai alone I chose him on my own x2 **d**  
Your Bob messed up by himself I no longer like him **c**  
Your Mugabe messed up by himself I no longer like him **c**

*Vamwe vedu vakatiza vakaenda kunze kwenyika  
Grace Kwinje akaenda aitiiza kuuraiwa  
Hurumende inofadzwa nekutambura kweruzhinji  
Vana vedu havachadzidza pamusana peurombo  
VanaGono vari kudya nemhuri dzavo vachirasa  
Vachikanganwa kuti zvinonzi nevakuru  
ushe madzoro*

Some of us fled and went abroad **b**  
Grace Kwinje fled the country afraid that she would be killed **b**  
The government is happy with the suffering of the public **b**  
Our children no longer go to school because of poverty **b**  
The Gonos are eating plenty of food with their families **b**  
Forgetting what the elders say  
that leadership takes turns **b**

*Kusvika riniko veZANU muchiita zvamunoda?  
Gore riya makatirova mukatiita zvamunoda  
Misha yedu makapisa makatiita zvamunoda  
Vana vedu makaponda makavaita zvamunoda  
Tsvangirai ndakamusarudza ndega musiyeyi  
Bhobho wenyu wakazvikanyira ega handichada  
Bhobho wenyu wakazvikanyira ega handichada  
Ahoy Zimbabwe ahoy.  
Welcome to a new Zimbabwe Denis Moriah.  
Marvellous Pfuma kuSt Mary's  
Roy Bennet kuSouth Africa  
Mai Margeret Mativenga Harare  
Morgan Komichi deputy organising secretary  
Beware of the last kick of a dying horse  
Paul Madzore Tsunami and Raymond Majongwe  
For singing what you like, muodashurwa I tell you*

Until when for Zanu-PF to continue doing what it pleases? **c**  
That year you beat us and forced us to do what you wanted **b**  
You burnt our homes and forced us to do what you wanted **b**  
You murdered our children and forced them to do what you wanted **b**  
Leave Tsvangirai alone I chose him on my own x2 **d**  
Your Bob messed up by himself I no longer like him **c**  
Your Bob messed up by himself I no longer like him **c**

Song title: "Kana torwa" ("When we fight")

Artist: Dread Reckless

Song genre: Intimidation-exemplum

RM a: Expressing the pleading for mercy

RM b: Evaluating the incidents of violence

RM c: Expressing the consequences of violence

*Vakuru tingarwa kusvika pakupondana.  
Asi kana torwa tiise vana mupfungwa*

As adults we can fight to the point of murder  
But when we fight let us spare the children x2 **a**

*Varume ndadamba varume ndachema  
Ipapo ndati kana torwa tiise vana mupfungwa  
MaZanu ndadembadamba, machinja ndachema,  
Ipapo ndati kana torwa tiise vana mupfungwa  
Mai vairohwa vana vakatarisa  
Nendangariro vana vacharwara  
ava vana ngavabatsirwe  
Vana vakadembadamba vana vakachema  
ivava paya vachinzi  
dai mampirira baba  
Mirirai mirirai mirirai dai mampirira baba*

Gentlemen I beg you gentlemen I beg you  
On this issue I say when we fight let us spare the children x2 **a**  
Zanu people I beg you and beg you, the changers I plead with you **a**  
I say when we fight let us spare the children x2 **a**  
A mother was beaten while her children watched **b**  
With memories of trauma these children will fall sick  
these children need assistance x2 **c**  
Children pleaded and pleaded, children cried  
That time when the tormentors were  
being begged to wait for their father x2 **a**  
Wait, wait, wait, I beg you to wait for my husband **a**

*Vana vakadamba demba vana vakachema  
Ivava paya vachinzi  
dai mampirira baba  
Mirirai mirirai mirirai dai mampirira baba*

Children pleaded and pleaded, children cried **a**  
that time when the tormentors were  
being begged to wait for their father x2 **a**  
Wait, wait, wait, I beg you to wait for my husband **a**

*Mai vairohwa vachifira yababa*  
*Ini handzivizivi ini zvementongerwe enyika*  
*Mai vairohwa vachifira yababa*  
*Ini handzivizivi ini ndiri wechechi*  
*Mirirai mirirai mirirai dai mamirira baba*  
*Vana vakadamba demba vana vakachema*  
*ivava paya vachinzi dai mamirira baba*  
*Mirirai mirirai mirirai dai mamirira baba*

*Vana vakadamba demba vana vakachema*  
*Ivava paya vachinzi*  
*dai mamirira baba*  
*Mirirai mirirai mirirai dai mamirira baba*  
*Vakuru tingarwa kusvika pakupondana*  
*Asi kana torwa tiise vana mupfungwa*  
*Vakuru tingarwa kusvika pakupondana*  
*Asi kana torwa tiise vana mupfungwa*

A wife was beaten for her husband's cases **c**  
 As for me I do not know about politics **a**  
 A wife was beaten for her husband's cases **c**  
 I do not know these things I go to church **a**  
 Wait, wait, wait, I beg you to wait for my husband **a**  
 Children pleaded and pleaded, children cried **a**  
 that time when the tormentors were x 2 **a**  
 Wait, wait, wait, I beg you to wait for my husband **a**

Children pleaded and pleaded, children cried **a**  
 that time when the tormentors were  
 being begged to wait for their father x2 **a**  
 Wait, wait, wait, I beg you to wait for my husband **a**  
 As adults we can fight to the point of murder  
 But when we fight let us spare the children x2 **a**  
 As adults we can fight to the point of murder  
 ut when we fight let us spare the children x2 **a**

Song title: "Track 4"

Artist: Paul Madzore

Song genre: Observation-mobilizational

RM **a**: Mobilizing people for action

RM **b**: Expressing the nature of the economic crisis

RM **c**: Evaluating the state

L: *Zimbabwe simuka udzosere Zimbabwe*

R: *Simukaa iwe simuka*

L: *Zimbabwe simuka udzosere pawakaurawa*

R: *Simuka vayeukewo*

L: *Zimbabwe simuka veZanu vayeuke*

R: *Simukaa iwe simuka*

L: *Vauraya nyika*

R: *Zimbabwe simuka*

L: *Haaa*

R: *Simuka vayeukewo simuka*

Zimbabwe rise up and fight back Zimbabwe **a**

Rise up, you rise up **a**

Zimbabwe rise up and fight back where you were killed **a**

Rise up so that they can pay attention **a**

Rise up Zimbabwe so that those who belong to Zanu can pay attention **a**

Rise up, you rise up **a**

They have destroyed the country **a**

Rise up Zimbabwe **a**

Haaa **c**

Rise up so that they can pay attention **a**

L: *Kubasa kwandinoshanda, ndomira mumutsetse*

*Nditambire mari, kumira mumutsetse*

*Kubasa kwandinoshanda, ndomira mumutsetse*

*Nditambire mari, kumira mumutsetse*

*Baba here iye iye iye*

*Tozorora riniko aiya iya?*

Where I work, I stand in a line **b**

Even when getting my salary, I stand in a line **b**

Where I work, I stand in a line **b**

Even when getting my salary, I stand in a line **b**

Father here iye iye iye **c**

When shall we rest aiya iya? **c**

L: *Zimbabwe simuka veZanu vayeuke*

Rise up Zimbabwe so that those who belong to

Zanu can pay attention **a**

They have destroyed the nation **b**

Rise up, you rise up **a**

Rise up so that they can pay attention **a**

Rise up, you rise up **a**

Rise up, so that they can pay attention, rise up **a**

*Vauraya nyika*

R: *Simuka iwe simuka*

*Simuka vayeukewo*

*Simuka simuka iwe simuka*

*Simuka vayeukewo simuka*

L: *Mafuta edzimota kudira kumira mumutsetse*

To buy motor vehicle fuel we have to stand in  
 queue **b**

To buy goods for my family I stand in a queue **b**

Father here here iye ha ha ha simuka **a**

Rise up so that they can pay attention **a**

Rise up, you rise up **a**

Rise up, so that they can pay attention, rise up **a**

*Ndichitengere mhuri yangu ndomira mumutsetse*

*Baba here here iye ha ha ha simuka*

R: *Simuka vayeukewo*

*Simuka simuka iwe simuka*

*Simuka vayeukewo simuka*

L: *Kana ndichida chingwa pamwe hapana*

*Kana ndichida peturu pamwe hapana*

*Ndiende kuchipatara aa hapana simuka*

R: *Simuka simuka iwe simuka*

*Simuka vayeukewo simuka*

If I want bread sometimes it is not there **b**

If I want petrol sometimes it is not there **b**

I go to the hospital aa there isn't, rise up **b**

Rise up, you rise up **a**

Rise up, so that they can pay attention, rise up **a**

L: *Kana ndichida chingwa pamwe hapana*

*Kana ndichida shuga pamwe hapana*

*Kana ndada mari pamwe hapana aah*

If I want bread sometimes it is not there **b**

If I want sugar sometimes it is not there **b**

If I want money sometimes it is not there aah **b**

L: *Vari Botswana makwerekwere huyai tirangane*

Those in Botswana demeaned as makwerekwere come back so  
 that we advise each other **a**

Those in Joburg called mazubha come so that we advise each other **a**

Boys Zanu people

*Vari Joburg mazubha huyai tiranganeka*

*VeZanu vaya zvino*

<i>vamuke chibhebhenenga vakomana</i> <i>Ha iya ha ha ya Ha iya ha ha ya</i>	have now gone mad <b>c</b> Ha iya ha ha ya Ha iya ha ha ya <b>c</b>
L: <i>Zimbabwe simuka ha iwe simuka</i> R: <i>Simuka iwe simuka</i> L: <i>Zimbabwe simuka udzosere simuka vayeukewo</i> R: <i>Simuka</i> <i>Simuka iwe simuka</i> <i>Simuka vayeukewo simuka</i>	Rise up Zimbabwe ha you rise up <b>a</b> Rise up you rise up <b>a</b> Rise up and fight back so that they can pay attention <b>a</b> Rise up <b>a</b> Rise up, you rise up <b>a</b> Rise up so that they can pay attention <b>a</b>
L: <i>Ndarwara kuchipatarazve ndomira mumutsetse</i> <i>Ndazorora murufuzye ndotorwa mumutsetse</i> <i>Baba here he he ndozorora riniko?</i> <i>Ha ha iya ha ha</i>	If I fall sick I have again to stand in a line at the hospital <b>b</b> If I die people have again to wait in a line to take my body <b>b</b> Father here hehe when shall I rest? <b>c</b> Ha ha iya ha ha <b>c</b>
L: <i>Zimbabwe simuka utaire ha ha nhasi zvakwana</i> R: <i>Simukaa iwe simuka</i> L: <i>Zimbabwe simuka ha iwe</i> R: <i>Simuka vayeukewo</i> L: <i>Zimbabwe simuka</i> R: <i>Simuka</i> L: <i>Uvudzewo ka nhasi zvakwana</i> R: <i>Simuka iwe simuka</i> L: <i>Zimbabwe simuka ha ha</i> R: <i>Simuka vayeukewo simuka</i>	Zimbabwe rise up and talk ha ha ha as of today it is enough <b>a</b> Rise up, you rise up <b>a</b> Zimbabwe rise up <b>a</b> Rise up so that they can pay attention <b>a</b> Rise up Zimbabwe <b>a</b> Rise up <b>a</b> And tell them that from today it is enough <b>a</b> Rise up, you rise up <b>a</b> Rise up Zimbabwe ha ha <b>a</b> Rise up so that they can pay attention, rise up <b>a</b>
L: <i>Ndiende kuchipatarazve ndomira mumutsetse</i> <i>Ndazvarwa ndafa ndotorwa mumutsetse</i> <i>Baba here iye iye</i> R: <i>Simuka iwe simuka</i> <i>Simuka vayeukewo simuka</i> L: <i>Zimbabwe simuka</i> R: <i>Simuka iwe simuka</i> L: <i>Zimbabwe simuka haa</i> R: <i>Simuka vayeukewo simuka</i> L: <i>Zimbabwe simuka</i> R: <i>Simuka iwe simuka</i> L: <i>Zimbabwe simuka haa</i> R: <i>Simuka vayeukewo simuka</i> L: <i>Zimbabwe simuka utaire iwe nhasi zvazokwana</i> R: <i>Simuka iwe simuka</i> L: <i>Zimbabwe simuka</i> R: <i>Simuka vayeukewo simuka</i>	If I go to the hospital I stand in a line <b>b</b> I am born, I die I am taken while in a line <b>b</b> Father here iye iye <b>c</b> Rise up, you rise up <b>a</b> Rise up so that they can pay attention, rise up <b>a</b> Zimbabwe rise up <b>a</b> Rise up, you rise up <b>a</b> Rise up Zimbabwe haa <b>a</b> Rise up so that they can pay attention, rise up <b>a</b> Rise up Zimbabwe <b>a</b> Rise up, you rise up <b>a</b> Rise up Zimbabwe haa <b>a</b> Rise up so that they can pay attention, rise up <b>a</b> Zimbabwe rise up and speak, today it is now enough <b>a</b> Rise up, you rise up <b>a</b> Zimbabwe rise up <b>a</b> Rise up so that they can pay attention, rise up <b>a</b>
Song title: "Torikakata bhande" ("We are pulling the belt")	
Artist: Paul Madzore	
Song-genre: Celebratory-mobilizational	
RM <b>a</b> : Inviting people to celebrate	
RM <b>b</b> : Suggesting the cause for need to celebrate	
RM <b>c</b> : Looking back to the efforts invested	
RM <b>d</b> : Confirming the authenticity of Tsvangirai appointment	
RM <b>e</b> : Expressing the celebratory mood in the country	
L: <i>Mhuri yeZimbabwe pemberai neni</i> <i>vakomana, pemberai, pemberai</i> <i>Mhuri yeZimbabwe shuwa pemberai neni vakomana</i> <i>Paita nyaya mufunge</i> R: <i>Paita nyaya mufunge</i> L: <i>Mhuri yeZimbabwe pemberai neni vakomana</i>	The Zimbabwean family celebrate with me boys, celebrate, celebrate <b>a</b> The Zimbabwean family surely celebrate with me boys <b>a</b> There is a (good) case just think of it <b>b</b> There is a (good) case just think of it <b>b</b> The Zimbabwean family surely celebrate with me boys <b>a</b> Celebrate, celebrate <b>a</b> There is a (good) case just think of it <b>b</b> There is a (good) case just think of it, there is a (good) case just think of it <b>b</b>
L2: <i>Pemberai, pemberai</i> L1: <i>Paita nyaya mufunge</i> R: <i>Paita nyaya mufunge, paita nyaya mufunge</i>	
L: <i>Joza kwaita nyaya, Jobheki kwaita nyaya akomana</i> R: <i>Kwaita nyaya mufunge</i> L: <i>Botswana kwaita nyaya mufunge</i> R: <i>Kwaita nyaya mufunge</i> L: <i>Zimbabwe yaita nyaya mufunge</i> L2: <i>Vari kubhodha</i> L1: <i>Nyaya iyi paita nyaya mufunge</i>	A case happened in Joburg, boys a case has happened in Joburg <b>b</b> A case has happened, just think of it <b>b</b> In Botswana a case has happened, think of it <b>b</b> There is a (good) case just think of it <b>b</b> In Zimbabwe a case happened, think of it <b>b</b> Those at the border <b>b</b> This case, there is a (good) case just think of it <b>b</b>

R: <i>Paita nyaya mufunge</i>	A case has happened just think of it <b>b</b>
L1: <i>Vana veZimbabwe uyaiwo, uyaiwo pemberai nemi vakomana</i>	Children of Zimbabwe please come, please come and celebrate with me boys <b>a</b>
L2: <i>Uyaiwo uyaiwo</i>	Please come, please come <b>a</b>
L1: <i>Mhuri yeZimbabwe uyaiwo, uyaiwo, uyaiwo</i>	The family of Zimbabwe, please come, please come, please come <b>a</b>
L2: <i>Hiii zvakatora nguva yakareba</i>	Hii it took a long time <b>c</b>
L1: <i>Paita nyaya vakomana</i>	There is case boys <b>b</b>
R: <i>Paita nyaya mufunge</i>	A case has happened just think of it <b>b</b>
L1: <i>Harare yaita nyaya mufunge</i>	A case has happened in Harare just think of it <b>a</b>
R: <i>Paita nyaya mufunge</i>	A case has happened just think of it <b>b</b>
L: <i>Iii dhiyasipora</i>	Iii [those in the] diaspora <b>b</b>
R: <i>Paita nyaya mufunge</i>	A case has happened just think of it <b>b</b>
L: <i>Vari kure uyaiwo, uyaiwo muone vakomana</i>	Those far away please come, please come and see boys <b>a</b>
R: <i>Paita nyaya mufunge</i>	A case has happened just think of it <b>b</b>
L: <i>Iii akasaina ega</i>	Iii he signed on his own <b>d</b>
R: <i>Akasaina ega</i>	He signed on his own <b>d</b>
L2: <i>Vakatiza uyaiwo, uyaiwo uyaiwo</i>	those who ran away, please come, please come please come <b>a</b>
R: <i>Akasaina ega, akasaina ega</i>	He signed on his own, he signed on his own <b>d</b>
L: <i>Dhonza dhonza bhande</i>	Pull, pull the belt <b>e</b>
R: <i>Torikakata bande, torikakata bande</i>	We are pulling the belt, we are pulling the belt <b>e</b>
L1: <i>Dhonza bhande</i>	Pull the belt <b>e</b>
R: <i>Torikakata bande, torikakata bande</i>	We are pulling the belt, we are pulling the belt <b>e</b>
L1: <i>Hii dhonza dhonza bhande</i>	Hii pull pull the belt <b>e</b>
R: <i>Ini ndori kakata bhande</i>	I'm pulling the belt <b>e</b>
R: <i>Ndori kakata bhande</i>	I'm pulling the belt <b>e</b>
	<i>Ndori kakata bhande</i>
	<i>Ndori kakata bhande</i>
L: <i>Iiii wakasaina chokwadi</i>	Iii truly he signed <b>d</b>
R: <i>Wakaisana wega, wakasaina wega</i>	He signed on his own, he signed on his own <b>d</b>
L: <i>Ndiwe wakasaina wega</i>	You are the one who signed <b>d</b>
	<i>Hauna kumanikidzwa iwe, wakasaina wega</i>
R: <i>Wakasaina wega</i>	You were not forced, you signed on your own <b>d</b>
L: <i>Ndiwe wakasaina wega</i>	You signed on your own <b>d</b>
R: <i>Achisaina ega, achisaina ega</i>	You are the one who signed <b>d</b>
L: <i>Ndakakuona ndega</i>	Signing on his own, signing on his own <b>d</b>
R: <i>Wakasaina wega</i>	I saw him on my own <b>d</b>
L: <i>Ndakakuona ndega uchisaina</i>	You signed on your own <b>d</b>
R: <i>Wakasaina wega</i>	I saw him on my own signing <b>d</b>
	You signed on your own <b>d</b>
L: <i>Iii ndori kakata bhande, Tsvangirai worikakata bhande</i>	Iii I'm pulling the belt, Tsvangirai is pulling the belt iii <b>e</b>
L2: <i>Dhonza ndikakate bhande</i>	Pull so that I pull the belt <b>e</b>
R: <i>Ndorikakata bhande</i>	I'm pulling the belt <b>e</b>
L: <i>Tsvangirai worikakata bhande</i>	Tsvangirai is pulling the belt <b>e</b>
R: <i>Worikakata bhande, worikakate bhande</i>	You are pulling the belt, you are pulling the belt <b>e</b>
L: <i>Dhonza dhonza bhande</i>	Pull pull the belt
R: <i>Worikakata bhande, worikakata bhande</i>	You are pulling the belt, you are pulling the belt <b>e</b>
L: <i>Dhonza dhonza, dhonza dhonza, Dhonza dhonza, dhonza dhonza, Iii ndorikakata bhande</i>	Pull pull, pull pull <b>e</b>
R: <i>Ndorikakata bhande</i>	Pull pull, pull pull <b>e</b>
L: <i>Iiii ndorikakata bhande</i>	Iii I'm pulling the belt, <b>e</b>
R: <i>Ndorikakata bhande</i>	I'm pulling the belt, <b>e</b>
L: <i>Hiii hiii ndorikakata bhande</i>	Iii I'm pulling the belt, <b>e</b>
R: <i>Ndorikakata bhande</i>	I'm pulling the belt, <b>e</b>
L: <i>Hii ndorikakata bhande</i>	Hii I'm pulling the belt, <b>e</b>
L: <i>Hii bhande</i>	Hii the belt, <b>e</b>
R: <i>Ndorikakata bhande</i>	I'm pulling the belt, <b>e</b>
L: <i>Iye wakasaina wega</i>	Him, he signed on his own <b>d</b>
R: <i>Wakasaina wega, wakasaina wega</i>	You signed on his own, you signed on his own <b>d</b>
L: <i>Hii paita nyaya vakomana</i>	Hii a case has happened boys <b>b</b>
R: <i>Wakasaina wega</i>	He signed on his own <b>d</b>
L: <i>Vanamai paita nyaya vakomana</i>	Mothers a case has happened boys <b>b</b>
R: <i>Paita nyaya mufunge</i>	A case has happened just think of <b>b</b>
L: <i>Vanababa paita nyaya mufunge</i>	Fathers a case has happened just think of <b>b</b>
R: <i>Paita nyaya mufunge, ipo paita nyaya mufunge</i>	A case has happened just think of , there a case has happened just think of <b>b</b>
L: <i>Vakomana paita nyaya mufunge</i>	Boys a case has happened just think of <b>b</b>
R: <i>Paita nyaya mufunge, ipo paita nyaya mufunge</i>	A case has happened just think of, there a case has happened just think of <b>b</b>
L: <i>Ndori kakata bhande</i>	I'm pulling the belt <b>e</b>

R: <i>Paita nyaya mufunge</i>	A case has happened just think of e
L: <i>Tsvangirai worikakata bhande</i>	Tsvangirai is pulling the belt e
L2: <i>Tsvangirai worikakata bhande</i>	Tsvangirai is pulling the belt e
R: <i>Worikakata bhande</i>	He is pulling the belt e
L1: <i>Tsvangirai worikakata bhande</i>	Tsvangirai is pulling the belt e
L2: <i>Save worikakata bhande</i>	Save is pulling the belt e
R: <i>Worikakata bhande, worikakata bhande</i>	He is pulling the belt, he is pulling the belt e
L: <i>Dhonza dhonza bhande</i>	Pull pull pull e
R: <i>Worikakata bhande, worikakata bhande</i>	He is pulling the belt, he is pulling the belt e
L: <i>Dhonza dhonza bhande dhonza dhonza</i>	Pull pull the belt, pull pull e
<i>Hiii dhonza dhonza bhande, dhonza dhonza</i>	Hii pull pull the belt, pull pull e
R: <i>Dhonza dhonza bhande</i>	Pull pull the belt e
L: <i>Hiii ndorikakata bhande</i>	Hii I'm pulling the belt e
R: <i>Ndorikakata bhande, ndorikakata bhande</i>	I'm pulling the belt, I'm pulling the belt e
L: <i>Hii ndorikakata bhande</i>	Hii I'm pulling the belt e
R: <i>Ndorikakata bhande, ndorikakata bhande</i>	I'm pulling the belt, I'm pulling the belt e
L: <i>Mabvuku vorikakata bhande</i>	In Mabvuku they are pulling the belt e
R: <i>Vori kakata bhande</i>	They are pulling the belt e
L: <i>Budiriro torikakata bhande</i>	In Budiriro they are pulling the belt e
R: <i>Tori kakata bhande</i>	We are pulling the belt e
L: <i>NekuFio torikakata bhande</i>	And also in Highfields, we are pulling the belt e
R: <i>Tori kakata bhande</i>	We are pulling the belt e
L: <i>Chiredzi torikakata bhande</i>	In Chiredzi we are pulling the belt e
R: <i>Tori kakata bhande</i>	We are pulling the belt e
L: <i>KuShamva torikakata bhande</i>	In Shamva we are pulling the belt e
R: <i>Tori kakata bhande</i>	We are pulling the belt e
L: <i>KuMasvingo torikakata bhande</i>	In Masvingo we are pulling the belt e
R: <i>Torikakata bhande</i>	We are pulling the belt e
L: <i>Dhonza dhonza bhande</i>	Pull pull the belt e
R: <i>Ndorikakata bhande, ndorikakata bhande</i>	I'm pulling the belt, I'm pulling the belt e
L: <i>Mberengwa torikakata bhande</i>	In Mberengwa we are pulling the belt e
L2: <i>Mberengwa torikakata</i>	In Mberengwa we are pulling e
R: <i>Torikakata bhande</i>	We are pulling the belt e
L: <i>NekuGweru torikakata bhande</i>	And also in Gweru we are pulling the belt e
L2: <i>Muchando torikakata</i>	In winter we are pulling the belt e
R: <i>Torikakata bhande</i>	We are pulling the belt e
L: <i>Dhonza dhonza dhonza bhande</i>	Pull pull pull the belt e
R: <i>Torikakata bhande</i>	We are pulling the belt e
<i>Torikakata bhande</i>	We are pulling the belt e
<i>Torikakata bhande</i>	We are pulling the belt e

Song title: "Track 2"

Song genre: Didactic-persuasion-argumentation-celebratory

RM a: Persuading the listener's attention

RM b: Presending and explaining message/argument of repentance

RM c: Orienting a parable

RM d: Stating the various sins done by those who repented

RM e: Persuading/advising opposition members to unite

RM f: Expressing the reason for unity

RM g: Celebrating the *chinja* identity

L: *Iwe hama yangu*

ALL: *Usaome moyo učitenderera*

You my relative

Do not harden your heart skating over [the truth] a

L: *Iwe hama yangu*

ALL: *Usaome moyo učitenderera*

You my relative

Do not harden your heart skating over [the truth] a

L: *Kuti soko richiti tamai masikati*

ALL: *Hazvireve kutama kwekusiyi misha homes*

*Zvinoreva kutama kwekubuda muZanu Uchitendeuka*

If the word says migrate during the day

It does not mean migrating leaving your

It means migrating getting out of Zanu

Repenting b

L: *Kuti soko richiti tamai masikati*

ALL: *Hazvireve kutama kwekusiyi misha homes*

*Zvinoreva kutama kwekubuda muZanu Uchitendeuka*

If the word says migrate during the day

It does not mean migrating leaving your

It means migrating getting out of Zanu

Repenting b

- L: *Kuti soko richiti tamai masikati*  
 ALL: *Hazvireve kutama kwekusiya misha homes*  
*Zvimoreva kutama kwekubuda muZanu Uchitendeuka*
- If the word says migrate during the day  
 It does not mean migrating leaving your
- It means migrating getting out of Zanu  
 Repenting **b**
- L: *Paiva nevamwe varume vekuMDC*  
*Vakatengwa neZanu kuputsa musangano*  
*Tsvangirai nepfungwa wakakunda kufunga*
- ALL: *Wakatendeuka*
- There were some men who belonged to the MDC **c**  
 They were bought by Zanu to destroy our organisation **d**  
 But because of Tsvangirai's wisdom he overcame their thoughts  
 He repented **b**
- L: *Paiva nevamwe varume vekuMDC*  
*Vakatengwa neZanu kuputsa musangano*  
*Tsvangirai nepfungwa wakakunda kufunga*
- ALL: *Wakatendeuka*
- There were some men who belonged to the MDC **c**  
 They were bought by Zanu to destroy our organisation **d**  
 But because of Tsvangirai's wisdom he overcame their thoughts  
 He repented **b**
- L: *Kuti soko richiti tamai masikati*  
 ALL: *Hazvireve kutama kwekusiya misha homes*  
*Zvimoreva kutama kwekubuda muZanu Uchitendeuka*
- If the word says migrate during the day  
 It does not mean migrating leaving your
- It means migrating getting out of Zanu  
 Repenting **b**
- L: *Kuti soko richiti tamai masikati*  
 ALL: *Hazvireve kutama kwekusiya misha homes*  
*Zvimoreva kutama kwekubuda muZanu Uchitendeuka*
- If the word says migrate during the day  
 It does not mean migrating leaving your
- It means migrating getting out of Zanu  
 Repenting **b**
- L: *Kuti soko richiti tamai masikati*  
 ALL: *Hazvireve kutama kwekusiya misha homes*  
*Zvimoreva kutama kwekubuda muZanu Uchitendeuka*
- If the word says migrate during the day  
 It does not mean migrating leaving your
- It means migrating getting out of Zanu  
 Repenting **b**
- L: *Paiva nemumwe murume zita rake Chipanga*  
*Wakaponda Chimonso achida kuzvifadza*  
*Rimwe zuva achifamba wakasangana nechinja*  
 ALL: *Wakatendeuka*
- There was a certain man, his name Chipanga **c**  
 He murdered Chimonso wanting to please himself **d**  
 One day when he was walking, he met a changer  
 He repented **a**
- L: *Paiva nemumwe murume zita rake Nyakuedzwa*  
*Aiva nembiri yekuponda machinja*  
*Rimwe zuva achifamba akasangana nechinja*  
 ALL: *Wakatendeuka*
- There was a certain man, his name Nyakuedzwa **c**  
 He was notorious for murdering the changers **d**  
 One day when he was walking, he met a changer  
 He repented **a**
- L: *Kuti soko richiti tamai masikati*  
 ALL: *Hazvireve kutama kwekusiya misha homes*  
*Zvimoreva kutama kwekubuda muZanu Uchitendeuka*
- If the word says migrate during the day  
 It does not mean migrating leaving your
- It means migrating getting out of Zanu  
 Repenting **b**
- L: *Kuti soko richiti tamai masikati*  
 ALL: *Hazvireve kutama kwekusiya misha homes*  
*Zvimoreva kutama kwekubuda muZanu Uchitendeuka*
- If the word says migrate during the day  
 It does not mean migrating leaving your
- It means migrating getting out of Zanu  
 Repenting **b**
- L: *Paiva nemumwe murume zita rake Chigudu*  
*Aiva nembiri yekudzanga mabasa*  
*Rimwe zuva achifamba akasangana nechinja*  
 ALL: *Wakatenduka*
- There was a certain man belonging to Zanu **c**  
 He was notorious for corruption **d**  
 One day when he was walking, he met a changer  
 He repented **a**
- L: *Paiva nemumwe murume wekuZanu*  
*Aiva nembiri yekudzanga mabasa*  
*Rimwe zuva achifamba akasangana nechinja*  
 ALL: *Wakatenduka*
- There was a certain man belonging to Zanu **c**  
 He was notorious for corruption **d**  
 One day when he was walking, he met a changer  
 He repented **a**
- L: *Kuti soko richiti tamai masikati*  
 ALL: *Hazvireve kutama kwekusiya misha homes*  
*Zvimoreva kutama kwekubuda muZanu Uchitendeuka*
- If the word says migrate during the day  
 It does not mean migrating leaving your
- It means migrating getting out of Zanu  
 Repenting **b**
- L: *Kuti soko richiti tamai masikati*  
 ALL: *Hazvireve kutama kwekusiya misha*
- If the word says migrate during the day  
 It does not mean migrating leaving your

<i>homes</i>	
<i>Zvinoreva kutama kwekubuda muZanu</i>	It means migrating getting out of Zanu
<i>Uchitendeuka</i>	Repenting <b>b</b>
ALL: <i>Batanai machinja</i>	Changers unite <b>e</b>
<i>Batanai batanai</i>	Unite unite <b>e</b>
<i>Batanai machinja</i>	Changers unite <b>e</b>
<i>Batanai batanai</i>	Unite unite <b>e</b>
<i>Batanai machinja</i>	Changers unite <b>e</b>
<i>Kuti mukunde Zanu</i>	So that we can defeat Zanu-PF <b>f</b>
<i>Batanai batanai</i>	Unite unite <b>e</b>
<i>Batanai machinja</i>	Changers unite <b>e</b>
<i>Batanai batanai</i>	Unite unite <b>e</b>
<i>Batanai machinja</i>	Changers unite <b>e</b>
<i>Batanai batanai</i>	Unite unite <b>e</b>
<i>Batanai machinja</i>	Changers unite <b>e</b>
<i>Kuti mukunde Zanu</i>	So that we can defeat Zanu-PF <b>f</b>
ALL: <i>Chinja</i>	Change x7 <b>a</b>
L: <i>Chinjaaaaa</i>	Change <b>a</b>
ALL: <i>Chinja</i>	Change x3 <b>a</b>
L: <i>Chinjaaaaa</i>	Change <b>a</b>
ALL: <i>Chinja</i>	Change x4 <b>a</b>
L: <i>Chinjaaaa</i>	Change <b>a</b>
ALL: <i>Chinja</i>	Change x3 <b>a</b>
L: <i>Chinjaaaa</i>	Change <b>a</b>
ALL: <i>Chinja</i>	Change x4 <b>a</b>
L: <i>Chinja chinja</i>	Change change <b>a</b>
ALL: <i>Chinja</i>	Change x7 <b>a</b>
L: <i>Chinjaaaaa</i>	Change <b>a</b>
ALL: <i>Chinja</i>	Change x3 <b>a</b>
L: <i>Chinjaaaaa</i>	Change <b>a</b>
ALL: <i>Chinja</i>	Change x4 <b>a</b>
L: <i>Chinjaaaa</i>	Change <b>a</b>
ALL: <i>Chinja</i>	Change x3 <b>a</b>
L: <i>Chinjaaaa</i>	Change <b>a</b>
ALL: <i>Chinja</i>	Change x4 <b>a</b>
L: <i>Chinja chinja</i>	Change change <b>a</b>
ALL: <i>Nzenze nze nze nzenze nzenzenzere nzenzenze</i>	Nzenze nze nze nzenze nzenzenzere nzenzenze <b>g</b>
L: <i>Nechinja</i>	With change <b>g</b>
ALL: <i>Nzenze nze nze nzenze</i>	Nzenze nze nze nzenze <b>g</b>
L: <i>Nzenzeeee</i>	Nzenzeeee <b>g</b>
ALL: <i>Nzenzenzere nzenzenze</i>	Nzenzenzere nzenzenze <b>g</b>
L: <i>Nzenzeeee</i>	Nzenzeeee <b>g</b>
ALL: <i>Nzenzenzere nzenzenze</i>	Nzenzenzere nzenzenze <b>g</b>
L: <i>Nzenzenze</i>	Nzenzenze <b>g</b>
ALL: <i>Nzenze nze nze nzenze</i>	Nzenze nze nze nzenze <b>g</b>
<i>Nzenze nzenze</i>	Nzenze nzenze <b>g</b>
ALL: <i>Nzenze nze nze nzenze nzenzenzere nzenzenze</i>	Nzenze nze nze nzenze nzenzenzere nzenzenze <b>g</b>
L: <i>Mangoma</i>	Mangoma <b>g</b>
ALL: <i>Nzenze nze nze nzenze</i>	Nzenze nze nze nzenze <b>g</b>
L: <i>Nzenzee</i>	Nzenzee <b>g</b>
ALL: <i>Nzenzenzere nzenzenze</i>	Nzenzenzere nzenzenze <b>g</b>
L: <i>Nzenzeeee</i>	Nzenzeeee <b>g</b>
ALL: <i>Nzenze nze nze nzenze</i>	Nzenze nze nze nzenze <b>g</b>
L: <i>Nzenzenze</i>	Nzenzenze <b>g</b>
ALL: <i>Nzenzenzere nzenzenze</i>	Nzenzenzere nzenzenze <b>g</b>
L: <i>Nzenze nzenze</i>	Nzenze nzenze <b>g</b>
L: <i>Iwe hama yangu</i>	You my relative
ALL: <i>Usaome moyo uchitenderera</i>	Do not harden your heart skating over [the truth] <b>a</b>

Song title: "Pamuganhu"

Song genre: (Political) rupture-argumentation

RM **a**: Stating the thesis

RM **b**: Supporting the argument

L: *Waedza nzira dzose kutsvaga rutsigiro*  
*Hapana mumwe chete achada nezveZanu*  
*Chikonzero chimwe chete haina future*

You have tried all means to find support **a**  
 There is none who still want Zanu-PF **a**  
 There is one reason, it has no future **b**

<i>Zanu yaguma</i>	Zanu has come to an end <b>b</b>
R: <i>Pamuganhu</i>	At the edge <b>b</b>
L: <i>Kuti ndi</i>	Right at the edge with no more headway <b>b</b>
R: <i>Pamuganhu</i>	At the edge <b>b</b>
L: <i>Kuti ndi</i>	Right at the edge with no more headway <b>b</b>
R: <i>Pamuganhu</i>	At the edge <b>b</b>
L: <i>Wakaedza kumanikidza madzisho kuKariba</i>	He tried to coerce traditional chiefs in Kariba <b>a</b>
<i>Kuti vati nyika yose inoda VaMugabe,</i>	To say that the whole country wants Mugabe <b>a</b>
<i>Mumashure madzisho aya ndokusvinura</i>	Afterwards these chiefs became aware [of the plot] <b>a</b>
<i>Voti izvi kwete hazvina future</i>	They said no, this has no future <b>b</b>
<i>Zanu yaguma</i>	Zanu has come to an end <b>b</b>
R: <i>Pamuganhu</i>	At the edge <b>b</b>
L: <i>Kuti ndi</i>	Right at the edge with no more headway <b>b</b>
R: <i>Pamuganhu</i>	At the edge <b>b</b>
L: <i>Kuti ndi</i>	Right at the edge with no more headway <b>b</b>
R: <i>Pamuganhu</i>	At the edge <b>b</b>
L: <i>Kuti ndi</i>	Right at the edge with no more headway <b>b</b>
R: <i>Pamuganhu</i>	At the edge <b>b</b>
L: <i>Kuti ndi</i>	Right at the edge with no more headway <b>b</b>
R: <i>Pamuganhu</i>	At the edge <b>b</b>
L: <i>Kuti ndi</i>	Right at the edge with no more headway <b>b</b>
R: <i>Pamuganhu</i>	At the edge <b>b</b>
L: <i>Kuti ndi</i>	Right at the edge with no more headway <b>b</b>
R: <i>Pamuganhu</i>	At the edge <b>b</b>
L: <i>Matebeleland wakaita gukurahundi</i>	Matebeleland you committed atrocities <b>a</b>
<i>Iri nzira yekupedza vese vanoipikisa</i>	As a way of silencing those who oppose you <b>a</b>
<i>Asi izvi hazvina kuvayamura</i>	But all this came to no avail <b>b</b>
<i>Chikonzero vakaita zvisina future</i>	The reason is that they did something with no future <b>b</b>
<i>Zanu yaguma</i>	Zanu has come to an end <b>b</b>
R: <i>Pamuganhu</i>	At the edge <b>b</b>
L: <i>Kuti ndi</i>	Right at the edge with no more headway <b>b</b>
R: <i>Pamuganhu</i>	At the edge <b>b</b>
L: <i>Kuti ndi</i>	Right at the edge with no more headway <b>b</b>
R: <i>Pamuganhu</i>	At the edge <b>b</b>
L: <i>Kuti ndi</i>	Right at the edge with no more headway <b>b</b>
R: <i>Pamuganhu</i>	At the edge <b>b</b>
L: <i>Kuti ndi</i>	Right at the edge with no more headway <b>b</b>
R: <i>Pamuganhu</i>	At the edge <b>b</b>
L: <i>Kuti ndi</i>	Right at the edge with no more headway <b>b</b>
R: <i>Pamuganhu</i>	At the edge <b>b</b>
L: <i>Kuti ndi</i>	Right at the edge with no more headway <b>b</b>
R: <i>Pamuganhu</i>	At the edge <b>b</b>
L: <i>Izvozyi vari mubishi kushandisa masoja</i>	Right now they are busy trying to use the army <b>a</b>
<i>Mapurisa, madzisho pamwe nevasori</i>	The police, traditional chiefs and secret agents <b>a</b>
<i>Kuti vashungurudze vazhinji veZimbabwe</i>	In order to traumatize the Zimbabwe public <b>a</b>
<i>Uku kupenga chete hazvina future</i>	This is just madness, this has no future <b>b</b>
<i>Zanu yaguma</i>	Zanu has come to an end <b>b</b>
R: <i>Pamuganhu</i>	At the edge <b>b</b>
L: <i>Kuti ndi</i>	Right at the edge with no more headway <b>b</b>
R: <i>Pamuganhu</i>	At the edge <b>b</b>
L: <i>Kuti ndi</i>	Right at the edge with no more headway <b>b</b>
R: <i>Pamuganhu</i>	At the edge <b>b</b>
L: <i>Kuti ndi</i>	Right at the edge with no more headway <b>b</b>
R: <i>Pamuganhu</i>	At the edge <b>b</b>
L: <i>Kuti ndi</i>	Right at the edge with no more headway <b>b</b>
R: <i>Pamuganhu</i>	At the edge <b>b</b>
L: <i>Kuti ndi</i>	Right at the edge with no more headway <b>b</b>
R: <i>Pamuganhu</i>	At the edge <b>b</b>
L: <i>Kuti ndi</i>	Right at the edge with no more headway <b>b</b>
R: <i>Pamuganhu</i>	At the edge <b>b</b>

Song title: "Track 4"

Song genre: Argumentation-exemplum-mobilization

RM **a**: Motivating the argument

RM **b**: Stating the argument

RM **c**: Expressing the audience to which the message is addressed

L: <i>Rwendo rwatichazofamba</i>	The journey that we shall walk
<i>tiine makanzera eZanu</i>	with Zanu-PF counsellors <b>a</b>
<i>Rwendo rwatichizofamba</i>	The journey that we shall walk
<i>tine madzisho echiZanu</i>	with Zanu-PF aligned traditional chiefs <b>a</b>

<i>Rwendo rwatichzofamba nepotizimu iripo</i>	The journey that we shall walk when there is nepotism <b>a</b>
R: <i>Runoda wakashinga</i>	Needs the brave ones <b>b</b>
L: <i>Rwendo rwatichzofamba Zanu iri pachigaro</i>	The journey that we shall walk with Zanu-PF still holding power <b>a</b>
<i>Rwendo rwatichzofamba uori uchingori munyika</i>	The journey that we shall walk with corruption rampant in the country <b>a</b>
<i>Rwendo rwatichzofamba zviro zvese zvichingonetsa</i>	The journey that we shall walk when everything is a challenge <b>a</b>
R: <i>Runoda wakashinga</i>	Needs the brave one <b>b</b>
L: <i>Vanababa</i>	Fathers <b>c</b>
R: <i>Rwendo</i>	The journey <b>a</b>
L: <i>Vakomana</i>	Boys <b>a</b>
R: <i>Rwendo rwekuchinja</i>	The journey to change <b>a</b>
L: <i>Vakomana</i>	Boys <b>c</b>
R: <i>Rwendo</i>	The journey <b>a</b>
L: <i>Vakomana</i>	Boys <b>c</b>
R: <i>Rwendo rwekuchinja</i>	The journey to change <b>a</b>
L: <i>Vakomana</i>	Boys <b>c</b>
R: <i>Rwendo</i>	The journey <b>a</b>
L: <i>Vakomana</i>	Boys <b>c</b>
R: <i>Rwendo rwekuchinja</i>	The journey to change <b>a</b>
<i>Runoda wakashinga</i>	It needs the brave one <b>b</b>
L: <i>Vanamai</i>	Mothers <b>c</b>
R: <i>Rwendo</i>	The journey <b>a</b>
L: <i>Vakomana</i>	Boys <b>a</b>
R: <i>Rwendo rwekuchinja</i>	The journey to change <b>a</b>
L: <i>Vakomana</i>	Boys <b>c</b>
R: <i>Rwendo</i>	The journey <b>a</b>
L: <i>Vakomana</i>	Boys <b>c</b>
R: <i>Rwendo rwekuchinja</i>	The journey to change <b>a</b>
L: <i>Vakomana</i>	Boys <b>c</b>
R: <i>Rwendo</i>	The journey <b>a</b>
L: <i>Vakomana</i>	Boys <b>c</b>
R: <i>Rwendo rwekuchinja</i>	The journey to change <b>a</b>
<i>Runoda wakashinga</i>	It needs the brave one <b>b</b>
L: <i>Rwendo rwatichzofamba munyika muno musina dhiziri</i>	the journey that we shall walk when there is no diesel in the country <b>a</b>
<i>Rwendo rwatichzofamba munyika musina mafuta</i>	The journey that we shall walk when there is no fuel in the country <b>a</b>
<i>Rwendo rwatichzofamba tisina foreign currency</i>	The journey that we shall walk without foreign currency <b>a</b>
R: <i>Runoda wakashinga</i>	It needs the brave the one <b>b</b>
L: <i>Rwendo rwatichzofamba tafurairwa nedzimwe nyika</i>	The journey that we shall walk when other countries have isolated us <b>a</b>
<i>Rwendo rwatichzofamba tisina ukama neushamwari</i>	The journey that we shall walk without diplomatic relations [with other countries] <b>a</b>
<i>Rwendo rwatichzofamba nyika ino ine nzara</i>	The journey that we shall walk when hunger is rampant in this country <b>a</b>
R: <i>Runoda wakashinga</i>	it needs the brave one <b>b</b>
L: <i>Vakomana</i>	Boys <b>c</b>
R: <i>Rwendo</i>	The journey <b>a</b>
L: <i>Vakomana</i>	Boys <b>a</b>
R: <i>Rwendo rwekuchinja</i>	The journey to change <b>a</b>
L: <i>Vakomana</i>	Boys <b>c</b>
R: <i>Rwendo</i>	The journey <b>a</b>
L: <i>Vakomana</i>	Boys <b>c</b>
R: <i>Rwendo rwekuchinja</i>	The journey to change <b>a</b>
L: <i>Vakomana</i>	Boys <b>c</b>
R: <i>Rwendo</i>	The journey <b>a</b>
L: <i>Vakomana</i>	Boys <b>c</b>
R: <i>Rwendo rwekuchinja</i>	The journey to change <b>a</b>
<i>Runoda wakashinga</i>	It needs the brave one <b>b</b>
L: <i>Rwendo rwatichzofamba marovha akawanda munyika</i>	The journey that we shall walk when there are so many unemployed people in the country <b>a</b>
<i>Rwendo rwatichzofamba zviro zvese zvichinetsa</i>	The journey that we shall walk when everything is a challenge <b>a</b>
<i>Rwendo rwatichzofamba vanhu vese vasina mabasa</i>	The journey that we shall walk when everyone is unemployed <b>a</b>

R: <i>Runoda wakashinga</i>	It needs the brave one <b>b</b>
L: <i>Rwendo rwatichzofamba maminister achiita huori</i>	The journey that we shall walk when ministers engage in corruption <b>a</b>
<i>Vanhu vese vane nzara Zanu iripo pachigaro</i>	When everyone is hungry When Zanu-PF is still holding power <b>a</b>
R: <i>Runoda wakashinga</i>	It needs the brave one <b>c</b>
L: <i>Vakomana</i>	Boys <b>c</b>
R: <i>Rwendo</i>	The journey <b>a</b>
L: <i>Vakomana</i>	Boys <b>a</b>
R: <i>Rwendo rwekuchinja</i>	The journey to change <b>a</b>
L: <i>Vakomana</i>	Boys <b>c</b>
R: <i>Rwendo</i>	The journey <b>a</b>
L: <i>Vakomana</i>	Boys <b>c</b>
R: <i>Rwendo rwekuchinja</i>	The journey to change <b>a</b>
L: <i>Vakomana</i>	Boys <b>c</b>
R: <i>Rwendo</i>	The journey <b>a</b>
L: <i>Vakomana</i>	Boys <b>c</b>
R: <i>Rwendo rwekuchinja</i>	The journey to change <b>a</b>
<i>Runoda wakashinga</i>	It needs the brave one <b>b</b>
L: <i>Vasikana</i>	Girls <b>c</b>
R: <i>Rwendo</i>	The journey <b>a</b>
L: <i>Vakomana</i>	Boys <b>a</b>
R: <i>Rwendo rwekuchinja</i>	The journey to change <b>a</b>
L: <i>Vakomana</i>	Boys <b>c</b>
R: <i>Rwendo</i>	The journey <b>a</b>
L: <i>Vakomana</i>	Boys <b>c</b>
R: <i>Rwendo rwekuchinja</i>	The journey to change <b>a</b>
L: <i>Vakomana</i>	Boys <b>c</b>
R: <i>Rwendo</i>	The journey <b>a</b>
L: <i>Vakomana</i>	Boys <b>c</b>
R: <i>Rwendo rwekuchinja</i>	The journey to change <b>a</b>
<i>Runoda wakashinga</i>	It needs the brave one <b>b</b>
L: <i>Tichingobirwa mavhotsi AIPA nePOSA zviripo Rwendo rwatichafamba tiri pasi peudzanyiri</i>	When votes are stolen from us When AIPA and POSA are in place <b>a</b> The journey that we shall walk under oppression <b>a</b>
R: <i>Runoda wakashinga</i>	It needs the brave one <b>b</b>
L: <i>Zanu ichingotungamira Nyika ino ine nzara Tichingonyeperwa nehurumende</i>	When Zanu is still leading <b>a</b> When the country is experiencing hunger <b>a</b> When the government lies to us <b>a</b>
R: <i>Runoda wakashinga</i>	It needs the brave one <b>b</b>

Song title: "Track 9"

Song genre: (Political) Rupture

RM **a**: Expressing the end of ZANU-PF power

RM **b**: Presenting evidence confirming the end

RM **c**: Expressing the shame encountered by ZANU-PF leaders

L: <i>Zanu yamira</i>	Zanu stands
R: <i>Pamugano</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>
L: <i>Kuti ndi</i>	Right at the edge with no more headway
R: <i>Pamugano</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>

L: <i>Zanu yamira</i>	Zanu stands
R: <i>Pamugano</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>
L: <i>Kuti ndi</i>	Right at the edge with no more headway
R: <i>Pamugano</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>

L: <i>VaMugabe vamira</i>	Mr. Mugabe stands
R: <i>Pamugano</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>
L: <i>Kuti ndi</i>	Right at the edge with no more headway
R: <i>Pamugano</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>

L: <i>Robert wamira</i>	Robert stands
R: <i>Pamugano</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>
L: <i>Kuti ndi</i>	Right at the edge with no more headway
R: <i>Pamugano</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>

- L: *VaMugabe vamira* Mr. Mugabe stands  
R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**  
L: *Kuti ndi* Right at the edge with no more headway  
R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**
- L: *Chihuri wamira* Chihuri stands  
R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**  
L: *Kuti ndi* Right at the edge with no more headway  
R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**
- L: *Chiwenga wamira* Chiwenga stands  
R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**  
L: *Kuti ndi* Right at the edge with no more headway  
R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**
- L: *VaMugabe vamira* Mr. Mugabe stands  
R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**  
L: *Kuti ndi* Right at the edge with no more headway  
R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**
- L: *VaMugabe vamira* Mr. Mugabe stands  
R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**  
L: *Kuti ndi* Right at the edge with no more headway  
R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**
- L: *VaMugabe vamira* Mr. Mugabe stands  
R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**  
L: *Kuti ndi* Right at the edge with no more headway  
R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**
- L: *Ndakafonera mukoma wangu* Marufu I phoned my brother Marufu  
*Ndichimubvunza ko kuri sei kumusha* Asking him how it is like in our rural home  
*Akapindura achindiudza achiti* He replied saying b  
*Zanu yamira* Zanu stands  
L: *Zanu yamira* Zanu stands  
R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**  
L: *Kuti ndi* Right at the edge with no more headway  
R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**
- L: *Zanu yamira* Zanu stands  
R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**  
L: *Kuti ndi* Right at the edge with no more headway  
R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**  
L: *VaMugabe vamira* Mr. Mugabe stands  
R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**  
L: *Kuti ndi* Right at the edge with no more headway  
R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**  
L: *Zanu yamira* Zanu stands  
R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**  
L: *Kuti ndi* Right at the edge with no more headway  
R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**  
L: *VaMugabe vamira* Mr. Mugabe stands  
R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**  
L: *Kuti ndi* Right at the edge with no more headway  
R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**
- L: *Zanu yamira* Zanu stands  
R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**  
L: *Kuti ndi* Right at the edge with no more headway  
R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**  
L: *Zanu yamira* Zanu stands  
R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**  
L: *Kuti ndi* Right at the edge with no more headway  
R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**
- L: *Zanu yamira* Zanu stands  
R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**  
L: *Kuti ndi* Right at the edge with no more headway  
R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**  
L: *Zanu yamira* Zanu stands  
R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**  
L: *Kuti ndi* Right at the edge with no more headway  
R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**
- L: *Chigwedere uye* That Chigwedere

R: <i>Pamugano</i>	At the egde <b>a</b>
L: <i>Oenda kumusha</i>	He is going home
R: <i>Pamuganho</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>
L: <i>Chigwedere uye</i>	That Chigwedere
R: <i>Pamuganho</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>
L: <i>Kundотора hushe</i>	Ursuping chieftainship <b>c</b>
R: <i>Pamugano</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>
L: <i>Ndakati nhaiwe</i>	I said, tell me you people <b>b</b>
R: <i>Pamuganho</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>
L: <i>Mabhuku aripi?</i>	Where are the books? <b>c</b>
R: <i>Pamuganho</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>
L: <i>Ndakati nhaiwe</i>	I said, tell me you people <b>b</b>
R: <i>Pamuganho</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>
L: <i>Zvikoro</i>	Schools <b>c</b>
R: <i>Pamuganho</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>
L: <i>Ndakati nhaiwe</i>	I said, tell me you people <b>b</b>
R: <i>Pamuganho</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>
L: <i>Maticha aripi?</i>	Where are the teachers? <b>b</b>
R: <i>Pamuganho</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>
L: <i>Wongonditarisa</i>	He just staring at me <b>c</b>
R: <i>Pamuganho</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>
L: <i>Mhinduro haachina</i>	He has no answer <b>c</b>
R: <i>Pamuganho</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>
L: <i>Zvino wamira</i>	Now he just stood <b>c</b>
R: <i>Pamugano</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>
L: <i>Kuti ndi</i>	Right at the edge with no more headway <b>a</b>
R: <i>Pamugano</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>
L: <i>Zvino wamira</i>	Now he just stood <b>c</b>
R: <i>Pamugano</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>
L: <i>Kuti ndi</i>	Right at the edge with no more headway <b>a</b>
R: <i>Pamugano</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>
L: <i>Zanu yamira</i>	Zanu stands
R: <i>Pamugano</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>
L: <i>Kuti ndi</i>	Right at the edge with no more headway
R: <i>Pamugano</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>
L: <i>Zanu yamira</i>	Zanu stands
R: <i>Pamugano</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>
L: <i>Kuti ndi</i>	Right at the edge with no more headway
R: <i>Pamugano</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>
L: <i>VaMugabe wamira</i>	Mr. Mugabe stands
R: <i>Pamugano</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>
L: <i>Kuti ndi</i>	Right at the edge with no more headway
R: <i>Pamugano</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>
L: <i>VaMugabe wamira</i>	Mr. Mugabe stands
R: <i>Pamugano</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>
L: <i>Kuti ndi</i>	Right at the edge with no more headway
R: <i>Pamugano</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>
L: <i>Zanu yamira</i>	Zanu stands
R: <i>Pamugano</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>
L: <i>Kuti ndi</i>	Right at the edge with no more headway
R: <i>Pamugano</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>
L: <i>Zanu yamira</i>	Zanu stands
R: <i>Pamugano</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>
L: <i>Kuti ndi</i>	Right at the edge with no more headway
R: <i>Pamugano</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>
L: <i>Ndakati nhaimi</i>	I said, tell me you people <b>b</b>
R: <i>Pamuganho</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>
L: <i>Chasara aripi?</i>	Where is Chasara? <b>c</b>
R: <i>Pamuganho</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>
L: <i>Ndakati nhaimi</i>	I said, tell me you people <b>b</b>
R: <i>Pamuganho</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>
L: <i>Mufudzi aripi?</i>	Where is Mafudzi? <b>c</b>
R: <i>Pamuganho</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>
L: <i>Ndakati nhaimi</i>	I said, tell me you people <b>b</b>
R: <i>Pamuganho</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>
L: <i>Mtetwa aripi?</i>	Where is Mtetwa? <b>c</b>
R: <i>Pamuganho</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>
L: <i>Ndakati nhaimi</i>	I said, tell me you people <b>b</b>
R: <i>Pamuganho</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>
L: <i>Tambare aripi?</i>	Where is Tambare? <b>c</b>
R: <i>Pamuganho</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>

L: <i>Vakapindura</i>	They replied <b>b</b>	
R: <i>Pamuganho</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>	
L: <i>Bvunza Manyika</i>	Ask Manyika <b>c</b>	
R: <i>Pamuganho</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>	
L: <i>Ini ndachembera</i>	As for me, I am now old <b>c</b>	
R: <i>Pamuganho</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>	
L: <i>Ndati ndii</i>	I am at the very edge, I cannot go any further	
R: <i>Pamuganho</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>	
L: <i>VaMugabe vamira</i>	Mr. Mugabe stands	
R: <i>Pamugano</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>	
L: <i>Kuti ndi</i>	Right at the edge with no more headway	
R: <i>Pamugano</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>	
L: <i>Nhasi vamira</i>	Today he stands	
R: <i>Pamugano</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>	
L: <i>Kuti ndi</i>	Right at the edge with no more headway	
R: <i>Pamugano</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>	
L: <i>Zanu yamira</i>	Zanu stands	
R: <i>Pamugano</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>	
L: <i>Kuti ndi</i>	Right at the edge with no more headway	
R: <i>Pamugano</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>	
L: <i>Zanu yamira</i>	Zanu stands	
R: <i>Pamugano</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>	
L: <i>Kuti ndi</i>	Right at the edge with no more headway	
R: <i>Pamugano</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>	
L: <i>Zanu yamira</i>	Zanu stands	
R: <i>Pamugano</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>	
L: <i>Kuti ndi</i>	Right at the edge with no more headway	
R: <i>Pamugano</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>	
L: <i>Zanu yamira</i>	Zanu stands	
R: <i>Pamugano</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>	
L: <i>Kuti ndi</i>	Right at the edge with no more headway	
R: <i>Pamugano</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>	
L: <i>Ndakabva kumusha ndichitiza maBorder Gezi</i>	I left home running away from the Border Gezis <b>c</b>	
<i>Ndakasiya basa ndichitiza vanhu veZanu</i>	I left my job running away from Zanu people <b>c</b>	
<i>Vaforomani vakatuma basa vachiti</i>	The foreman assigned me a job saying	
L: <i>Zanu yamira</i>	Zanu stands	
R: <i>Pamuganho</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>	
L: <i>Chidzoka</i>	Now come back	
R: <i>Pamuganho</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>	
L: <i>Zanu yamira</i>	Zanu stands	
R: <i>Pamuganho</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>	
L: <i>Dzoka zvako</i>	Now you can come back	
L: <i>Pamuganho</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>	
L: <i>Zanu yamira</i>	Zanu stands	
R: <i>Pamugano</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>	
L: <i>Kuti ndi</i>	Right at the edge with no more headway	
R: <i>Pamugano</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>	
L: <i>Zanu yamira</i>	Zanu stands	
R: <i>Pamugano</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>	
L: <i>Kuti ndi</i>	Right at the edge with no more headway	
R: <i>Pamugano</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>	
L: <i>Zanu yamira</i>	Zanu stands	
R: <i>Pamugano</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>	
L: <i>Kuti ndi</i>	Right at the edge with no more headway	
R: <i>Pamugano</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>	
L: <i>VaMugabe vamira</i>	Mr. Mugabe stands	
R: <i>Pamugano</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>	
L: <i>Kuti ndi</i>	Right at the edge with no more headway	
R: <i>Pamugano</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>	
L: <i>VaChombo vamira</i>	Mr. Chombo stands	
R: <i>Pamugano</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>	
L: <i>Kuti ndi</i>	Right at the edge with no more headway	
R: <i>Pamugano</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>	
L: <i>VaChombo vamira</i>	Mr. Chombo stands	
R: <i>Pamugano</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>	
L: <i>Kuti ndi</i>	Right at the edge with no more headway	
R: <i>Pamugano</i>	At the edge <b>a</b>	

L: *Zanu yamira* Zanu stands  
 R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**  
 L: *Kuti ndi* Right at the edge with no more headway  
 R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**  
 L: *Zanu yamira* Zanu stands  
 R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**  
 L: *Kuti ndi* Right at the edge with no more headway  
 R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**

L: *Chigwedere uye* That Chigwedere  
 R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**  
 L: *Oenda kumusha* He is going home  
 R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**  
 L: *Chigwedere uye* That Chigwedere  
 R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**  
 L: *Kundatora hushe* Ursuping chieftainship **c**  
 R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**  
 L: *Ndakati nhaiwe* I said, tell me you people **b**  
 R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**  
 L: *Mabhuku aripi?* Where are the books? **c**  
 R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**  
 L: *Ndakati nhaiwe* I said, tell me you people **b**  
 R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**  
 L: *Zvikoro* Schools **c**  
 R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**  
 L: *Ndakati nhaiwe* I said, tell me you people **b**  
 R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**  
 L: *Maticha aripi?* Where are the teachers? **b**  
 R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**  
 L: *Wongonditarisa* He just staring at me **c**  
 R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**  
 L: *Mhinduro haachina* He has no answer **c**  
 R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**

L: *Zvino wamira* Now he stands  
 R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**  
 L: *Kuti ndi* Right at the edge with no more headway  
 R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**

L: *Zvino wamira* Now he stands  
 R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**  
 L: *Kuti ndi* Right at the edge with no more headway  
 R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**

L: *Zanu yamira* Zanu stands  
 R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**  
 L: *Kuti ndi* Right at the edge with no more headway  
 R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**  
 L: *Zanu yamira* Zanu stands  
 R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**  
 L: *Kuti ndi* Right at the edge with no more headway  
 R: *Pamugano* At the edge **a**

Song title: "Track 7"

Song genre: didactic

RM **a**: Stating the problem

RM **b**: Advising on how the problem should be approached

RM **c**: Stating specific (constitutional) problems to be addressed

L: Constitution Constitution **a**  
 R: *Gadzirisira* Sort out **b**  
 L: Constitution Constitution **a**  
 R: *Gadzirisira* Sort out **b**  
 L: Constitution Constitution **a**  
 R: *Gadzirisira bumbiro renyika* Sort out the national constitution **b**

L: Constitution Constitution **a**  
 R: *Gadzirisira* Sort out **b**  
 L: Constitution Constitution **a**  
 R: *Gadzirisira* Sort out **b**  
 L: Constitution Constitution **a**

R: <i>Gadzirisa bumbiro renyika</i>	Sort out the national constitution <b>b</b>
L: Constitution	Constitution <b>a</b>
R: <i>Gadzirisa</i>	Sort out <b>b</b>
L: Constitution	Constitution <b>a</b>
R: <i>Gadzirisa</i>	Sort out <b>b</b>
L: Constitution	Constitution <b>a</b>
R: <i>Gadzirisa bumbiro renyika</i>	Sort out the national constitution <b>b</b>
L: Human rights	Human rights <b>c</b>
R: <i>Gadzirisa</i>	Sort out <b>b</b>
L: Human rights	Human rights <b>c</b>
R: <i>Gadzirisa</i>	Sort out <b>b</b>
L: Human rights	Human rights <b>c</b>
R: <i>Gadzirisa bumbiro renyika</i>	Amend the national constitution <b>b</b>
L: Democracy	Democracy <b>c</b>
R: <i>Gadzirisa</i>	Sort out <b>b</b>
L: Demoooo oo	Demoooo oo <b>c</b>
R: <i>Gadzirisa</i>	Sort out <b>b</b>
L: Democracy	Democracy <b>c</b>
R: <i>Gadzirisa bumbiro renyika</i>	Amend the national constitution <b>b</b>
L: Land reform	Land reform <b>c</b>
R: <i>Gadzirisa</i>	Sort out <b>b</b>
L: Land reform	Land reform <b>c</b>
R: <i>Gadzirisa</i>	Sort out <b>b</b>
L: Land reform	Land reform <b>c</b>
R: <i>Gadzirisa bumbiro renyika</i>	Amend the national constitution <b>b</b>
L: <i>Pamavhoti</i>	On votes <b>c</b>
R: <i>Gadzirisa</i>	Sort out <b>b</b>
L: <i>Pamavhoti</i>	On votes <b>c</b>
R: <i>Gadzirisa</i>	Sort out <b>b</b>
L: <i>Pamavhoti</i>	On votes <b>c</b>
R: <i>Gadzirisa bumbiro renyika</i>	Amend the national constitution <b>b</b>
L: Administration	Administration <b>c</b>
R: <i>Gadzirisa</i>	Sort out <b>b</b>
L: Administration	Administration <b>c</b>
R: <i>Gadzirisa</i>	Sort out <b>b</b>
L: Administration	Administration <b>c</b>
R: <i>Gadzirisa bumbiro renyika</i>	Amend the national constitution <b>b</b>
L: Running of votes	Running of votes <b>c</b>
R: <i>Gadzirisa</i>	Sort out <b>b</b>
L: Running of votes	Running of votes <b>c</b>
R: <i>Gadzirisa</i>	Sort out <b>b</b>
L: Running of votes	Running of votes <b>c</b>
R: <i>Gadzirisa bumbiro renyika</i>	Amend the national constitution <b>b</b>
L: AIPA nePOSA	AIPA and POSA <b>c</b>
R: <i>Gadzirisa</i>	Sort out <b>b</b>
L: AIPA nePOSA	AIPA and POSA <b>c</b>
R: <i>Gadzirisa</i>	Sort out <b>b</b>
L: AIPA nePOSA	AIPA and POSA <b>c</b>
R: <i>Gadzirisa bumbiro renyika</i>	Amend the national constitution <b>b</b>
L: Nepotism	Nepotism <b>c</b>
R: <i>Gadzirisa</i>	Sort out <b>b</b>
L: Nepotism	Nepotism <b>c</b>
R: <i>Gadzirisa</i>	Sort out <b>b</b>
L: Nepotism	Nepotism <b>c</b>
R: <i>Gadzirisa bumbiro renyika</i>	Amend the national constitution <b>b</b>
L: Racism	Racism <b>c</b>
R: <i>Gadzirisa</i>	Sort out <b>b</b>
L: Racism	Racism <b>c</b>
R: <i>Gadzirisa</i>	Sort out <b>b</b>
L: Racism	Racism <b>c</b>

Song title: "Constitution itsva" ("New constitution")

Artist: Francis Chikunguru

## Song genre: Argumentation

## RM a: Motivating the argument

## RM b: Stating the argument

- L: *Topinde mumigwagwa torohwa nekusungwa vavariro ndeyei? Bumbiro remutemo*  
We get into the streets, we are beaten and arrested what is our goal? **a**  
The national constitution **b**
- Topinde mumigwagwa torohwa nekusungwa vavariro ndeyei? Bumbiro remutemo*  
We get into the streets, we are beaten and arrested what is our goal? **a**  
The national constitution **b**
- Constitution *itsva*  
R: Constitution  
L: Constitution *itsva*  
R: Constitution  
A new constitution **b**  
Constitution **b**  
A new constitution **b**  
Constitution **b**  
A new constitution **b**  
Constitution **b**  
A new constitution **b**  
Constitution **b**
- L: *Mukoko wakasungwa, mhosva yake ndeyei? Wasungirwa kurwira for the public's rights Mukoko wakasungwa, mhosva yake ndeyei? Wasungirwa kurwira for the public's rights*  
Mukoko was arrested, what was her crime? **a**  
She was arrested for fighting kodzero dzeruzhinji, x 2 **a**  
Mukoko was arrested, what was her crime? **a**  
She was arrested for fighting kodzero dzeruzhinji, x 2 **a**
- Constitution *itsva*  
R: Constitution  
L: Constitution *itsva*  
R: Constitution  
L: Constitution *itsva*  
R: Constitution  
L: Constitution *itsva*  
R: Constitution  
A new constitution **b**  
Constitution **b**  
A new constitution **b**  
Constitution **b**  
A new constitution **b**  
Constitution **b**
- L: *Makore akawanda nemutungamiri umwe, dambudziko nderei? Bumbiro remutemo*  
Many years with only one leader, what is the problem? **a**  
The Constitution **b**
- Constitution *itsva*  
R: Constitution  
L: Constitution *itsva*  
R: Constitution  
L: Constitution *itsva*  
R: Constitution  
L: Constitution *itsva*  
R: Constitution  
A new constitution **b**  
Constitution **b**  
A new constitution **b**  
Constitution **b**  
A new constitution **b**  
Constitution **b**
- L: *Matongerwo enyika kune madzisho munyika, dambudziko nderei? Bumbiro remutemo*  
In the governance of the nation there are traditional chiefs, what is the problem? **a**  
The Constitution **b**
- Constitution *itsva*  
R: Constitution  
L: Constitution *itsva*  
R: Constitution  
L: Constitution *itsva*  
R: Constitution  
L: Constitution *itsva*  
R: Constitution  
A new constitution **b**  
Constitution **b**  
A new constitution **b**  
Constitution **b**  
A new constitution **b**  
Constitution **b**
- L: *Topinda musarudzo wotirowa nekusungwa, dambudziko nderei? Bumbiro remutemo*  
We go for elections, you beat and arrest us, what is the problem? **a**  
The Constitution **b**
- Constitution *itsva*  
R: Constitution  
A new constitution **b**  
Constitution **b**

L: Constitution <i>itsva</i>	A new constitution <b>b</b>
R: Constitution	Constitution <b>b</b>
L: Constitution <i>itsva</i>	A new constitution <b>b</b>
R: Constitution	Constitution <b>b</b>
L: Constitution <i>itsva</i>	A new constitution <b>b</b>
R: Constitution	Constitution <b>b</b>

L: *Totsvaga rutsigiro, wotirova nekutisunga, dambudziko nderei?* We seek for support, you beat and arrest us,  
what is the problem? **a**  
Bumbiro remutemo The Constitution

Constitution <i>itsva</i>	A new constitution <b>b</b>
R: Constitution	Constitution <b>b</b>
L: Constitution <i>itsva</i>	A new constitution <b>b</b>
R: Constitution	Constitution <b>b</b>
L: Constitution <i>itsva</i>	A new constitution <b>b</b>
R: Constitution	Constitution <b>b</b>
L: Constitution <i>itsva</i>	A new constitution <b>b</b>
R: Constitution	Constitution <b>b</b>
Constitution x 4 <b>b</b>	

Song title: “Nzira yeshanduko” (“The road of change”)

Artist: Dread Reckless

Song genre: Observation-mobilization

RM **a**: Expressing the difficulty of the struggle

RM **b**: Expressing the encouragement of resoluteness

RM **c**: Stating the specificities of determination demonstrated

L: <i>Nzira yeshanduko takaiifamba hatichaneta</i>	We have walked the road for change, we now determined <b>a</b>
R: <i>Takaiifamba, takaiifamba veduwee takaiifamba</i>	We walked it, it is a pity, we walked it we walked it <b>a</b>
L: <i>Nzira yeshanduko takaiifamba hatichamira</i>	We have walked the road for change, now we will not give up <b>a</b>
R: <i>Takaiifamba, takaiifamba veduwee takaiifamba</i>	We walked it, it is a pity, we walked it we walked it <b>a</b>
L: <i>Backward never, never, never taramba</i>	Backward never, never, never we will not retreat x2 <b>b</b>
R: <i>Takaiifamba takaiifamba veduwee takaiifamba</i>	We walked it, we walked it we walked it <b>a</b>
L: <i>Nababa Morgan takaiifamba nzira iye</i>	We walked it with Father Morgan x2 <b>a</b>
R: <i>Takaiifamba takaiifamba veduwee takaiifamba</i>	We walked it, it is a pity, we walked it we walked it <b>a</b>
L: <i>Namhamha Khupe takaiifamba neusiku</i>	With Mother Khupe we walked even at night x2 <b>a</b>
R: <i>Takaiifamba takaiifamba veduwee takaiifamba takaiifamba</i>	We walked it, it is a pity, we walked it we walked it <b>a</b>
L: <i>Muminzwa nemasoso tichingofamba nzira iye</i>	Thorough thorns and thorny creepers we kept going in that road x2 <b>a</b>
R: <i>Takaiifamba takaiifamba veduwee takaiifamba</i>	We walked it, it is a pity, we walked it we walked it <b>a</b>
L: <i>NaTendai Biti vachimusunga vasikana</i>	With Tendai Biti getting arrested, girls x2
R: <i>Takaiifamba takaiifamba veduwee takaiifamba</i>	We walked it, it is a pity, we walked it we walked it
L: <i>Nelly Chamisa vachimurova veduwee-e</i>	With Nelly Chamisa being beaten x2 <b>c</b>
R: <i>Takaiifamba takaiifamba veduwee takaiifamba</i>	We walked it, it is a pity, we walked it we walked it <b>a</b>
L: <i>Mvura yainaya tichingofamba vakomana</i>	The rains fell while we continued walking boys x2 <b>a</b>
R: <i>Takaiifamba takaiifamba veduwee takaiifamba</i>	We walked it, it is a pity, we walked it we walked it <b>a</b>
L: <i>NaFebby Dhera kwaChivi North vasikana</i>	With Febby Dhera in Chivi North girls x2 <b>c</b>
R: <i>Takaiifamba takaiifamba veduwee takaiifamba</i>	We walked it, it is a pity, we walked it we walked it <b>a</b>
L: <i>Jani akapondwa tichingofamba hatichaneta</i>	Jani was murdered while we continued walking, we are determined x2 <b>c</b>
R: <i>Takaiifamba takaiifamba veduwee takaiifamba</i>	We walked it, it is a pity, we walked it we walked it <b>a</b>
L: <i>Vana vakapondwa tichingofamba hatichamira</i>	Children were murdered while we continued walking <b>c</b>
R: <i>Takaiifamba takaiifamba veduwee takaiifamba</i>	We walked it, it is a pity, we walked it we walked it <b>a</b>
L: <i>Backward never, never, never taramba</i>	Backward never, never, never we will not retreat <b>b</b>
R: <i>Takaiifamba takaiifamba veduwee takaiifamba</i>	We walked it, it is a pity, we walked it we walked it <b>a</b>
L: <i>Backward never, never, never taramba</i>	Backward never, never, never we will not retreat <b>b</b>

Song title: “Zvatenderana povo” (“What the masses have agreed upon”)

Artist: Dread Reckless

Song genre: Exemplum

RM **a**: Asserting Tsvangirai’s right to rule

RM **b**: Validating Tsvangirai’s right to rule

RM **c**: Specifying the nature of the validation

RM **d**: Parodying ZANU-PF executive power

L: <i>Tsvangirai achaitungamirira ega Zimbabwe</i>	Tsvangirai will lead Zimbabwe alone <b>a</b>
R: <i>Ndizvo zvatenderana povho vachazvisimbisa pavhoti</i>	That is what the masses have agreed, <b>b</b> they will confirm that when they vote <b>c</b>
L: <i>Tsvangirai achisimudzira ega</i>	Zimbabwe Tsvangirai will lead Zimbabwe alone <b>a</b>

R: <i>Ndizvo zvatenderana povho vachazvisimbisa pavhoti</i>	That is what the masses have agreed, <b>b</b> they will confirm that when they vote <b>c</b>
L: <i>Mhamha Khupe vachamubatsira nemazano</i>	Mother Khupe will assist him with advice <b>a</b>
R: <i>Mhamha Khupe vachamubatsira nemazano</i>	Mother Khupe will assist him with advice <b>a</b>
L: <i>Ndizvo zvatenderana povho vachazvisimbisa pavhoti</i>	That is what the masses have agreed, <b>b</b> they will confirm that when they vote <b>c</b>
R: <i>Tsvangirai achaitungamirira ega</i>	Zimbabwe Tsvangirai will lead Zimbabwe alone <b>a</b>
L: <i>Tsvangirai achaitungamirira ega</i>	Zimbabwe Tsvangirai will lead Zimbabwe alone <b>a</b>
R: <i>Ndizvo zvatenderana povho vachazvisimbisa pavhoti</i>	That is what the masses have agreed, <b>b</b> they will confirm that when they vote <b>c</b>
L: <i>Mhamha Khupe vachamubatsira nemazano</i>	Mother Khupe will assist him with advice <b>a</b>
L: <i>Mhamha Khupe vachamubatsira nemazano</i>	Mother Khupe will assist him with advice <b>a</b>
R: <i>Ndizvo zvatenderana povho vachazvisimbisa pavhoti</i>	That is what the masses have agreed, <b>b</b> they will confirm that when they vote <b>c</b>
L: <i>Timu ndikusetere timu</i>	Team, I will set a team against you <b>d</b>
R: <i>He-e ndikusetere timu</i>	He-e, I will set a team against you <b>d</b>
L: <i>Timu timu ndikusetere timu</i>	A team, a team, I will set a team against you <b>e</b>
R: <i>He-e ndikusetere timu</i>	He-e, I will set a team against you <b>d</b>
L: <i>Pekutanga tarira panaaniko?</i>	Look, who holds the first position? <b>d</b>
R: <i>Hee pana Baba Mugabe</i>	Hee it is Father Mugabe <b>e</b>
L: <i>Pechituu tarira pana aniko?</i>	Look, who holds the second position? <b>d</b>
R: <i>Hee pana Mai Mujuru</i>	Hee it is Mrs. Mujuru <b>e</b>
L: <i>Pechitatu tarira pana aniko?</i>	Look, who holds the third position? <b>d</b>
R: <i>Hee pana VaNkomo</i>	Hee there is Mr. Nkomo <b>d</b>
L: <i>Hee torai vakadaro</i>	Hee take them in that order <b>d</b>
R: <i>Hee torai vakadaro</i>	Hee take them in that order <b>d</b>
L: <i>Hee torai vakadaro</i>	Hee take them in that order <b>d</b>
R: <i>Hee torai vakadaro</i>	Hee take them in that order <b>d</b>
Chorus	
<i>Timu iyoyi tichaipa basa gore rino hunde</i>	Yes, this year will give a task to this team <b>d</b>
<i>VaMugabe vachandotungamirira madhongwi kwa</i>	Zvimba Mr. Mugabe will herd donkeys in Zvimba <b>d</b>
<i>Mai Mujuru vachandotungamirira makudo emugomo</i>	Mrs. Mujuru will lead baboons in the mountains <b>d</b>
<i>John Nkomo uzakhokela madhongwi Emakandeni</i>	John Nkomo will lead donkeys in Emakandeni <b>d</b>
L: <i>Hee torai vakadaro</i>	Hee take them in that order <b>d</b>
R: <i>Hee torai vakadaro</i>	Hee take them in that order <b>d</b>
L: <i>Hee torai vakadaro</i>	Hee take them in that order <b>d</b>
R: <i>Hee torai vakadaro</i>	Hee take them in that order <b>d</b>
L: <i>Tsvangirai achaitungamirira ega Zimbabwe</i>	Tsvangirai will lead Zimbabwe alone <b>a</b>
R: <i>Ndizvo zvatenderana povho vachazvisimbisa pavhoti</i>	That is what the masses have agreed, <b>b</b> they will confirm that when they vote <b>c</b>
L: <i>Tsvangirai achisimudzira ega</i>	Zimbabwe Tsvangirai will lead Zimbabwe alone <b>a</b>
R: <i>Ndizvo zvatenderana povho vachazvisimbisa pavhoti</i>	That is what the masses have agreed, <b>b</b> they will confirm that when they vote <b>c</b>
L: <i>Mhamha Khupe vachamubatsira nemazano</i>	Mother Khupe will assist him with advice <b>a</b>
R: <i>Mhamha Khupe vachamubatsira nemazano</i>	Mother Khupe will assist him with advice <b>a</b>
L: <i>Ndizvo zvatenderana povho vachazvisimbisa pavhoti</i>	That is what the masses have agreed, <b>b</b> they will confirm that when they vote <b>c</b>
R: <i>Tsvangirai achaitungamirira ega</i>	Zimbabwe Tsvangirai will lead Zimbabwe alone <b>a</b>
L: <i>Tsvangirai achaitungamirira ega</i>	Zimbabwe Tsvangirai will lead Zimbabwe alone <b>a</b>
R: <i>Ndizvo zvatenderana povho vachazvisimbisa pavhoti</i>	That is what the masses have agreed, <b>b</b> they will confirm that when they vote <b>c</b>
L: <i>Mhamha Khupe vachamubatsira nemazano</i>	Mother Khupe will assist him with advice <b>a</b>
L: <i>Mhamha Khupe vachamubatsira nemazano</i>	Mother Khupe will assist him with advice <b>a</b>
R: <i>Ndizvo zvatenderana povho vachazvisimbisa pavhoti</i>	That is what the masses have agreed, <b>b</b> they will confirm that when they vote <b>c</b>
L: <i>Hee torai vakadaro</i>	Hee take them in that order <b>a</b>
R: <i>Hee torai vakadaro</i>	Hee take them in that order <b>a</b>
R: <i>Bhobho</i>	Bhobho
L: <i>Usamuvhotera ndapota</i>	Do not vote for him, I beg you <b>d</b>
R: <i>Ukamuvhotera toona moto</i>	If you vote for him we will suffer
L: <i>Bhobho</i>	Bhobho <b>d</b>
R: <i>Ukamuvhotera tinoburana</i>	If you vote for him I confront you
R: <i>Bhobho</i>	Bhobho <b>d</b>
L: <i>Usamuvhotera ndapota</i>	Do not vote for him, I beg you <b>d</b>
R: <i>Ukamuvhotera toona moto</i>	If you vote for him we will suffer
L: <i>Bhobho</i>	Bhobho <b>d</b>

R: <i>Ukamuvhotera tinoburana</i> R: <i>Bhobho</i>	If you vote for him I confront you Bhobho <b>d</b>
L: <i>Timu ndikusetere timu</i> R: <i>He-e ndikusetere timu</i> L: <i>Timu timu ndikusetere timu</i> R: <i>He-e ndikusetere timu</i>	Team, I will set a team against you <b>d</b> He-e, I will set a team against you <b>d</b> A team, a team, I will set a team against you <b>e</b> He-e, I will set a team against you <b>d</b>
L: <i>Pekutanga tarira panaaniko?</i> R: <i>Hee pana Baba Mugabe</i> L: <i>Pechituu tarira pana aniko?</i> R: <i>Hee pana Mai Mujuru</i> L: <i>Pechitatu tarira pana aniko?</i> R: <i>Hee pana VaNkomo</i> L: <i>Hee torai vakadaro</i> R: <i>Hee torai vakadaro</i> L: <i>Hee torai vakadaro</i> R: <i>Hee torai vakadaro</i>	Look, who holds the first position? <b>d</b> Hee it is Father Mugabe <b>d</b> Look, who holds the second position? <b>d</b> Hee it is Mrs. Mujuru <b>d</b> Look, who holds the third position? <b>d</b> Hee there is Mr. Nkomo <b>d</b> Hee take them in that order <b>d</b>
Chorus <i>Timu iyoyi tichaipa basa gore rino hunde</i> <i>VaMugabe vachandotungamirira madhongi kwaZvimba</i> <i>Mai Mujuru vachandotungamirira makudo emugomo</i> <i>John Nkomo uzakhokela madhongi Emakandeni</i> <i>Ndizvo zvatenderana povho</i> <i>vachazvisimbisa pavhoti</i>	Yes, this year will give a task to this team <b>d</b> Mr. Mugabe will herd donkeys in Zvimba <b>d</b> Mrs. Mujuru will lead baboons in the mountains <b>d</b> John Nkomo will lead donkeys in Emakandeni <b>d</b> That is what the masses have agreed, <b>b</b> they will confirm that when they vote <b>c</b>

### 3. The SOL Cluster

#### 3.1 Religious SOL

Song title: “Ndakauraisa Jesu” (“I caused the death of Jesus”)

Artist: Charles Charamba

Song-genre: Anecdote

RM **a**: Expressing the protagonist’s deep sense of remorse for causing Jesus’ death

RM **b**: Expressing the depth of the protagonist’s anguish

RM **c**: Rendering the deepening of the singer’s introspection

RM **d**: Expressing the singer’s internal search for a solution

L: <i>Ndakauraisa munhu akanga asina mhosva</i> R: <i>Ndakauraisa munhu akanga asina mhosva baba</i> L: <i>Ehe, ndakauraisa munhu akanga asina mhosva</i> R: <i>Ndakauraisa munhu akanga asina mhaka</i>	I caused the death of a person who was innocent <b>a</b> Father, I caused the death of a person who was innocent <b>a</b> Yes, I caused the death of a person who was innocent <b>a</b> I caused the death of a person who was innocent <b>a</b>
L: <i>Ko akatadzeiko aturikwa padanda uyo?</i> R: <i>Kurudyi kwakaroverwa gororo</i> L: <i>Kuruboshwe kwaroverwa gororo</i> R: <i>Ndakauraisa munhu akanga asina mhaka</i> L: <i>Nyangwe naamai vake chido chakanga chiripo</i> R: <i>Kuti mwana wangu dai araramawo</i> L: <i>Kuti Jesu wangu dai ararama</i>	What crime had he committed who has been hanged on a log? <b>b</b> To the right a thief is nailed <b>b</b> To the left a thief is nailed <b>b</b> I caused the death of a person who was innocent <b>a</b> Even for his mother her interest was there <b>b</b> That my child should also have survived <b>b</b> That my Jesus should survive <b>b</b>
R: <i>Asi nekuda kwangu, zvese zvakapera</i> L: <i>Inini ndaiera mhofu yomukono Shava</i> R: <i>Ndisiri wedzinza pamwe namambo Jesu</i> L: <i>Asi akanditora nerudo rwakadzama</i> R: <i>Ndakauraisa munhu akanga asina mhaka</i>	But because of me, all these (hopes) were dashed <b>b</b> I myself was of the Shava bull eland totem <b>c</b> I was not of the same genealogy as Lord Jesus <b>c</b> But he took with deep love <b>c</b> I caused the death of a person who was innocent <b>a</b>
L: Yes, I made someone innocent to die <b>a</b> R: I caused someone innocent to die x 2 <b>a</b>	
L: <i>Moyo wangu wafunga kuchengetei?</i> R: <i>Ndakauraisa munhu akanga mhosva baba</i> L: <i>Ehe ndakauraisa munhu akanga asina mhosva iwewe</i> R: <i>Wakauraisa munhu akanga asina mhaka</i>	My heart, what have you thought of keeping? <b>d</b> Father, I caused the death of a person who was innocent <b>a</b> Yes, I caused the death of a person who was innocent <b>a</b> You caused the death of a person who was innocent <b>a</b>
L: <i>Pfungwa dzangu wafunga tiitei?</i> R: <i>Takaurayisa munhu akanga asina mhosva kani!</i>	My thoughts what have you decided we should do? <b>d</b> Oh, we caused the death of a person who was innocent <b>a</b>

L: <i>Ehe takaurayisa munhu akanga asina mhosva</i>	Yes we caused the death of a person who was innocent <b>a</b>
R: <i>Takauraisa munhu akanga asina mhaka</i>	We caused the death of a person who was innocent <b>a</b>
L: <i>Ko tsoka dzangu wafunga tiendepe?</i>	My feet where have you thought we should go? <b>d</b>
R: <i>Ndakauraisa munhu akanga asina mhosva</i>	I caused the death of a person who was innocent <b>a</b>
L: <i>Ndakauraisa munhu akanga asina mhosva</i>	I caused the death of a person who was innocent <b>a</b>
R: <i>Ndakauraisa munhu akanga asina mhosva</i>	I caused the death of a person who was innocent <b>a</b>
L: <i>Ko pfuma yangu wafunga kupererepi?</i>	My wealth where have you decided you should be finished? <b>d</b>
R: <i>Ndakauraisa munhu akanga asina mhosva</i>	I caused the death of a person who was innocent <b>a</b>
L: <i>Ndakauraisa munhu akanga asina mhosva</i>	I caused the death of a person who was innocent <b>a</b>
R: <i>Ndakauraisa munhu akanga asina mhosva</i>	I caused the death of a person who was innocent <b>a</b>

Title of song: "Chombo" ("A weapon")

Artist: Olivia Charamba & Friends

Song genre: Didactic-argumentation

RM **a**: Expressing the soloist's belief in God's protection

RM **b**: Expressing her lack fear from evil forces

RM **c**: Motivating the argument that God protects

L: <i>Handidani vanonzi</i>	I do call all those <b>a</b>
<i>Handidani vauki</i>	I do not call mid-wives <b>a</b>
<i>Aa yeye naMwari ndakakwana</i>	<i>Aa yeye</i> with God I am secure <b>a</b>
<i>Chikwambo chiiko?</i>	What really is a goblin? <b>b</b>
R: <i>Chinhuwo zvacho chinovzitamburira</i>	It is a mere creature that is suffering <b>b</b>
L: <i>Chikwambo chiiko?</i>	What really is a goblin? <b>b</b>
<i>Chinhuwo zvacho chinovzitamburira</i>	It is a mere creature that is suffering <b>b</b>
<i>Chidhoma chiiko?</i>	What really is a ghost? <b>b</b>
<i>Chinhuwo zvacho chinovzitamburira</i>	It is a mere something that is suffering <b>b</b>
<i>Muroyi chiiko?</i>	Who really is a witch? <b>b</b>
<i>Munhuwo zvake akasikwa naMwariwo</i>	S/he is a mere person created by God <b>b</b>
<i>Muroyi chiiko?</i>	Who really is a witch? <b>b</b>
<i>Munhuwo zvake ane mweya yerima</i>	S/he is a mere person troubled by the spirits of darkness <b>b</b>
<i>Hakuna</i>	There is no
<i>Hakuna chombo, chingagadzirwe,</i>	There is no weapon, that can be made,
<i>chingabudirire</i>	that can succeed <b>a</b>
<i>Chingaparadze mutendi,</i>	That can destroy a believer,
<i>mutendi waJehovha</i>	a believer of Jehova x2 <b>a</b>
<i>Hakuna chombo, chingagadzirwe,</i>	There is no weapon, that can be made,
<i>chingabudirire</i>	that can succeed <b>a</b>
<i>Chingaparadze iwewe, iwewe waJehovha</i>	That can destroy really you, really you of Jehova <b>a</b>
<i>Hakuna chombo, chingagadzirwe,</i>	There is no weapon, that can be made,
<i>chingabudirire</i>	that can succeed <b>a</b>
<i>Chingaparadze inini, inini waJehova</i>	That can destroy really me, really me of Jehova <b>a</b>
<i>Kana vari Jehovha</i>	If it is Jehova
<i>vazarura gonhi hakuna</i>	who has opened the door there is no one <b>a</b>
<i>Mumwe munhuzve angapfige</i>	No other person who can close <b>a</b>
<i>Amen Haleluya</i>	Amen Haleluya <b>a</b>
<i>Kana varivo vazarura hakuna</i>	If it is him who has opened there is no one
<i>mumwe angapfige</i>	Another person who can close <b>a</b>
<i>Amen Haleluya</i>	Amen Haleluya <b>a</b>
[Stanza 6]	
[Stanza 7]	
<i>Gore riye rakaberekwa Moses muEgypt</i>	That year when Moses was born in Egypt <b>c</b>
<i>Vanakomana vose vakaurawa</i>	All sons were killed <b>c</b>
<i>Pharaoh waiedza kuparadza Moses</i>	Pharaoh was trying to kill Moses <b>c</b>
<i>Asi Mwari vekudenga vakachengeta</i>	But the God of heaven protected him <b>c</b> x 2
<i>Nguva iye yakaberekwa</i>	That time when
<i>Ishe Jesu muBethlehem</i>	Lord Jesus was born in Bethlehem <b>c</b>
<i>Vakomana vose vakaurayiwa</i>	All sons were killed <b>c</b>
<i>Herod waiedza kuparadza</i>	Ishe Jesu Herod was trying to kill Lord Jesus <b>c</b>
<i>Asi Mwari vekudenga vakachengeta</i>	But the God of heaven protected him <b>c</b> x 2

<i>Josefa wakaitwa sei?</i>	What was done to Joseph? <b>c</b>
<i>Vanakomana vakamuvenga,</i>	His brothers hated him,
<i>vakamupotsera mugomba</i>	they threw him in a pit <b>c</b>
<i>Kumutengesa kuvatorwa</i>	They sold him to foreigners <b>c</b>
<i>Vakomana vaiedza kuparadza Josefa</i>	The male sons were trying to destroy Joseph <b>c</b>
<i>Asi Mwari vekudenga vakachengeta</i>	But the God of heaven protected him <b>c x 2</b>
<i>Aa yeye chokwadi honguwe</i>	<i>Aa yeiye truly truly a</i>
<i>Aa yeye ndogotyeko?</i>	<i>Aa yeye why should I be afraid? a</i>
<i>Aa yeye chokwadi honguwe</i>	<i>Aa yeiye truly truly a</i>
<i>Aa yeye chidhoma chiiko?</i>	<i>Aa yeye what really is a ghost? b</i>

## Song Title: "News Bulletin"

Artist: Olivia Charamba &amp; Friends

RM **a**: Introducing the news bulletinRM **b**: Stating the Second Coming (of Christ)RM **c**: Expressing the secrecy of the dayRM **d**: Exhorting believers to be always preparedRM **e**: Expressing what will happen when Jesus comesLet me read for you the news bulletin for the day: **a**It says "Jesus Christ Son of the Mighty Living God **b**Some say he is coming **b**To fetch his beloved ones **b**You can now check yourself, **d**for the day nobody knows **c**No one knows the day **c**My Lord, Jesus Christ is on the way **b**Only the father knows **c**My Lord, Jesus Christ is on the way **b**Even Jesus doesn't know **c**My Lord, Jesus Christ is on the way **b**Only Jehova knows **c**You can now check yourself, **d**for the day nobody knows **c**If I were you, I will not wait and wander **d**In the night Jesus is coming **b**So if I were you I will use the time when the night is young **d**

Haleluya

Jesus is coming x 2 **b**My Lord, Jesus Christ is on the way **b**Only the father knows **c**My Lord, Jesus Christ is on the way **b**Even Jesus doesn't know **c**My Lord, Jesus Christ is on the way **b**Only Jehova knows **c**Oh – ye-e, he is coming **b**The day is not known unto men **c**The hour is not known unto men **c**He is coming, like a thief I the night **b**In the night **b**Oh – ye-e, he is coming x 2 **b**No one knows the day **c**The day is not known unto men **c**Only the father knows **c**The hour is not known unto men **c**My Lord, Even Jesus doesn't know **c**He is coming, like a thief in the night **c**Only Jehova knows **c**Oh – ye-e he is coming x 3 **b***Recitation*No one knows about that day or hour **c**Not even the angels in heaven, nor the son **c**But only the father **c**As it was in the days of Noah **c**So it will be on the coming of the son of man **c**

For in the days before the flood **c**  
 People were eating and drinking and marrying **c**  
 And giving in marriages up to the day **c**  
 Noah entered the ark **c**  
 And they knew nothing about what will happen **c**  
 Until the flood came and took the whole world **c**  
 That is what will happen on the coming of the Son of Man:  
 Two men working in the field **e**  
 One will be taken and the other one will be left **e**  
 Two women will be grinding using a grinding mill **e**  
 One will be taken and the other one will be left **e**  
 Therefore, keep watching because you do not know the hour, the Lord will **d**  
 That is the word of the Lord according to St Matthew Chapter 24 **d**

Title of song: “Jesu ouya” (“Jesus is coming”)

Artist: Fungisai Zvakavapano-Mashavave

Song genre: (religious) Rupture

RM **a**: Expressing the hope to see Jesus when he comes

RM **b**: Articulating the soloist’s belief in God’s protection regardless of changes in society

RM **c**: Expressing soloist’s conviction to enter eternal life

<i>Ouya</i>	When he comes <b>a</b>
<i>Ouya</i>	When he comes <b>a</b>
<i>Ouya baba</i>	When he comes father <b>a</b>
<i>O-o Jesu wangu</i>	O-o my Jesus <b>a</b>
<i>Ouya ha-aa</i>	When he comes ha-a <b>a</b>
<i>Tichamuona, Jesu ouya, tichamuona</i>	We will see him, when Jesus comes, we will see him <b>a</b>
<i>O-o tichamuona</i>	O-o we will see him <b>a</b>
<i>Oh tichamuona</i>	O-o we will see him x 3 <b>a</b>
<i>Myura iuye irege</i>	Even if rain come <b>b</b>
<i>Nzara iuye ichaenda</i>	Even if hinger comes <b>b</b>
<i>Chandinoziva nenzara yedu</i>	What I know is that even with our hunger <b>b</b>
<i>Jesu vakauya toenda</i>	If Jesu comes we will go x 2 <b>b</b>
<i>Vakauya toenda</i>	If he comes we will go <b>b</b>
<i>Nekutenda toenda</i>	Through faith we will go <b>b</b>
<i>Vakauya toenda</i>	If he come we will go <b>b</b>
<i>Tichamuona, tichamuona, tichamuona</i>	We will see him, we will see him, we will see him <b>a</b>
<i>Ouya</i>	When he comes <b>a</b>
<i>Jesu ouya tichamuona</i>	When he comes Jesus, we will see him <b>a</b>
<i>Jesu ouya</i>	When Jesus comes <b>a</b>
<i>Tichamuona Jesu ouya tichamuona</i>	We will see him, Jesus will come, we will see him <b>a</b>
<i>Ouya</i>	When he comes <b>a</b>
<i>Tichamuona</i>	We will see him <b>a</b>
<i>O-o tichamuona</i>	O-o we will see him <b>a</b>
<i>Ini newe newewe</i>	You and me, and you yourself <b>a</b>
<i>Tichamuona, Jesu ouya tichamuona</i>	We will see him, when Jesus comes we will see him <b>a</b>
<i>Newe, newe, newe</i>	And you, and you, and you <b>a</b>
<i>Jesu tichamuona, Jesu ouya tichamuona</i>	We will see Jesus, when Jesus comes we will see him <b>a</b>
<i>Ouya</i>	When he comes <b>a</b>
<i>Newewe</i>	And you yourself <b>a</b>
<i>Ouya baba</i>	When he comes father <b>a</b>
<i>Tichamuona, Jesu ouya tichamuona</i>	We will see him, when Jesus comes, we will see him <b>a</b> x2
<i>Zvinhu zviipe zvinake</i>	Even when things are bad, when they are good <b>b</b>
<i>Hapana anoziva ramangwana</i>	No one knows about what tomorrow has in store <b>b</b>
<i>Chandinoziva nenyasha dzake</i>	What I know [is that] through his grace <b>b</b>
<i>Gore rikapera kunouya rimwe</i>	When a year passes another one comes x2 <b>b</b>
<i>Rino richipera kotouya rimwe</i>	When the current ends, another comes <b>b</b>
<i>Nekutenda kunouya rimwe</i>	Through faith, another comes <b>b</b>
<i>Kotouya rimwe</i>	And another comes <b>b</b>
Chorus	
<i>Vanhu vataure vanyarare</i>	People may talk and then become silent <b>c</b>
<i>Mazwi angu haandirwire</i>	My words do not fight for me <b>c</b>
<i>Chandinoziva muhana mangu</i>	What I know in my mind <b>c</b>
<i>Ndikatenda ndoenda</i>	If I believe I will go <b>c</b>
<i>Ndikangotenda ndoenda</i>	If I just believe I will go x 3 <b>c</b>

Song title: “Pemperai gore rapera” (“Rejoice for the year has ended”)

Artist: Fungisai Zvakavapano-Mashavave

Song genre: Celebratory

RM a: Expressing the hardships endured and overcame

RM b: Expressing celebratory mood

RM c: Expressing thanks to God protecting the protagonist throughout the year

*Kushanda ndakashanda*

As for work, I did work **a**

*Maoko seachapera*

As if my hands will be finished **a**

*Magubu neanoera,*

I touched even sacred things,

*ndichishandira mhuri yangu*

working for my family **a**

*Kubata ndakabata*

As for touching, I did touch **a**

*Maoko seachapera*

As if my hands will be finished **a**

*Magubu neanoera,*

I touched even sacred things,

*ndichishandira mhuri yangu*

working for my family **a**

[Stanza 1]

*Bva nhasi zvauya, pemberai*

Now today things have come, celebrate **b**

*Gore riya rapera*

That year has ended **b**

*Nguva yangu yasvika, pemberai*

My time has arrived, celebrate **b**

*Nguva iye yakwana*

That time is numbered **b**

*Pemberai, pemberai, kudenga kunashe*

Rejoice, rejoice, there is a lord in heaven **b**

*Nguva iye yasvika, pemberai*

That time has arrived, rejoice **b**

*Pemberai, pemberai, kudenga kunashe*

Rejoice, rejoice, there is a lord in heaven **b**

*Gore riya rapera*

That year has ended **b**

*Pemberai, kunashe*

Rejoice, there is a lord in heaven **b**

*Nguva iye yasvika*

That time has arrived **b**

*Farirai, farirai, kunashe*

Be happy, be happy, there is a lord [in heaven] **b**

*Farirai*

Be happy **b**

*Farirai kani*

Be happy really **b**

*Kunashe*

There is a lord [in heaven] **b**

*Isu takayambuka mitunhu ine mago,*

We went through dangerous places in our journey, **a**

*Isu takayambuka*

We crossed **a**

*Kufamba tikafamba masango neanoera*

As for travelling, we travelled through sacred forests **a**

*Nzizi takayambuka zvanga zvisiri nyore*

We crossed rivers, [but] it was not easy **a**

*Kudobata zvinoruma*

Even touching things that bite **a**

*Hapana akarumwa*

No one was beaten **a**

*Dai asiri Mwari*

If it was not God **c**

*Isu takaparara*

We could have perished **c**

Chorus

*Isu takayambuka, mitunhu ine mago*

We went through dangerous places in our journey, **a**

*Isu takayambuka, mitunhu ine mago,*

We went through dangerous places in our journey **a**

*Isu takayambuka, mitunhu ine mago,*

We went through dangerous places in our journey **a**

*Isu takapona murutsva vakomana*

We survived in a burnt open veld boys **a**

*Kwatakabva ndiko kure,*

It is now far where we came from,

*kotoenda pave pedyo*

but near where we are going **a**

*Jesu akatakura bhiza nemutasvi waro*

Jesus carrying the horse and its rider **c**

*Aiziva ndiani kuti isu tichapona?*

Who knew that we were going to survive? **c**

*Inga nhasi tiripano*

But today we are here **c**

*Kudenga kunaShe*

There is a Lord in heaven **c**

Chorus

*Iwe wakayambuka mitunhu ine mago*

You went through dangerous places in our journey **a**

*Iwe wakayambuka*

You crossed **a**

*Dai asiri Mwari iwe wakaparara*

If it was not God you could have died **c**

*Dai asiri Mwari, iwe uri zrombe*

If it was not God, you could be a real strolling beggar **c**

*Ishe wemadzishe, akakupa hupenyu*

The Lord of Lords, gave you life **c**

*Kuti ushandire mhuri yako*

So that you work for the family **c**

Chorus

*Guta rese farirai*

The whole city be happy **b**

*Farirai, farirai*

Be happy, be happy **b**

*Kudenga kunashe*

There is a lord in heaven **c**

*Farirai, farirai, kudenga kunashe*

Be happy, be happy, there is a lord in heaven **c**

*Farirai*

Be happy **b**

Song title: “Anosimudza marombe” (“He uplifts [strolling] beggars”)

Artist: Charles Charamba

Song genre: Celebratory-praise-persuasion

RM a: Expressing the soloist’s gratitude to God

RM b: Expressing the good things that God can do to people

RM c: Expressing the view that God is the only provider

RM d: Criticizing those who are against celebrating a wedding/marriage

RM e: Persuading people to thank God

*Mwari vakanaka vakomana, honai*

*Honai zvaaita mwana uye, vakomana honaka*

*Amen Mwari vakanaka vasikana, honai Amen*

*Honai zvaaita mwana uyu vasikana honaika*

God is good boys, see it **a**

See what that child has done, boys really see **a**

God is good girls, see it **a**

See what that child has done, girls really see **a**

*Baba ndati honaika Amen, honai*

*Vana zvaaita, ndati honai*

*Amai ndati honaika Amen, honai*

*Gotwe zvaraita, ndati honai*

Father I say just see Amenm see it **a**

What the children have done, I say just see **a**

Mother I say just see, Amen, see it **a**

What the last born has done, I say see it **a**

*Anosimudza marombe kubva muguruva*

*Kuita kwake Jehova, vanomutsvaga vanomuwana*

*Anosimudza marombe kubva muguruva*

*Kuita kwake Jehova uye vana vake vanomuziva*

*Anosimudza marombe kubva muguruva*

*Kuita kwake Jehova uye vanorwara anorapa*

*Anosimudza marombe kubva muguruva*

*Kuita kwake Jehova, iye anopindura nyangwe nemoto*

*Anosimudza marombe kubva muguruva*

*Anosimudza marombe kubva muguruva*

*Kuita kwake Jehova, honai marombe ave mashoma*

*Anosimudza marombe kubva muguruva*

*Jehova Mwari, Jehova Mwari, Jehova Mwari*

He lifts outcasts from the dust **b**

The way Jehova does, those who look for him will find him **b**

He lifts outcasts from the dust **b**

The way that Jehova does, his children know him **b**

He lifts outcasts from the dust **b**

The way that Jehova does, those who are sick he heals **b**

He lifts outcasts from the dust **b**

The way Jehova does, he replies even with fire **b**

He lifts outcasts from the dust **b**

He lifts outcasts from the dust **b**

The way Jehova does, see now outcasts are now few **b**

He lifts outcasts from the dust **b**

Jehova God, Jehova God, Jehova God **b**

*Hauna chakanaka chaungabata,*

*haungabate kana asina kutendera*

*Anosimudza marombe kubva muguruva*

*Kunyangwe mari chaiyo haungaiwani*

*Mari haungaiwani kana Mwari vasina kutendera*

*Anosimudza marombe kubva muguruva*

*Nyangwe rudo chairwo haungauwani,*

*Haungauwani kana Mwari asina kutendera*

*Anosimudza marombe kubva muguruva*

*Kunyangwe hupenyu haurarame,*

*Haurarame Mwari vasina kutendera*

*Anosimudza marombe kubva muguruva*

*Kuita kwake Jehova*

There is nothing good that you can possess,  
you cannot possess it if he has not permitted **c**

He lifts outcasts from the dust **b**

Even money you cannot get it **c**

Money you cannot get it if God has not permitted **c**

He lifts outcasts from the dust **b**

Even love you cannot get it,

You cannot get it if God has not permitted **c**

He lifts outcasts from the dust **b**

You cannot live a good life,

You cannot live a good life if God has not permitted **c**

He lifts outcasts from the dust **b**

The way God does **b**

*Mwari vakanaka veduwe-e*

*Veduwe-e veduwe-e Mwari vakanaka*

*Ndati honai Amen, ndati honai*

*Ambuya Mwari vakanaka, Amen ndati honai*

*Sekuru ndati honai Amen, ndati honai*

*Sekuru ndati honaika, ndati honai*

God is good really **a**

Really really God is good **a**

I say see Amen, I say see it **a**

Grandmother God is good, Amen I say see it **a**

Grandfather God is good, Amen I say see it **a**

Grandfather God is good, Amen I say see it **a**

*Anosimudza marombe kubva muguruva*

*Kuita kwake Jehova, vanomutsvaga vanomuwana*

*Anosimudza marombe kubva muguruva*

*Kuita kwake Jehova uye vana vake vanomuziva*

*Anosimudza marombe kubva muguruva*

*Kuita kwake Jehova uye vanorwara anorapa*

*Anosimudza marombe kubva muguruva*

*Kuita kwake Jehova, iye anopindura nyangwe nemoto*

*Anosimudza marombe kubva muguruva*

*Anosimudza marombe kubva muguruva*

*Kuita kwake Jehova, honai marombe ave mashoma*

*Anosimudza marombe kubva muguruva*

*Jehova Mwari, Jehova Mwari, Jehova Mwari*

He lifts outcasts from the dust **b**

The way Jehova does, those who look for him will find him **b**

He lifts outcasts from the dust **b**

The way that Jehova does, his children know him **b**

He lifts outcasts from the dust **b**

The way that Jehova does, those who are sick he heals **b**

He lifts outcasts from the dust **b**

The way Jehova does, he replies even with fire **b**

He lifts outcasts from the dust **b**

He lifts outcasts from the dust **b**

The way Jehova does, see now outcasts are now few **b**

He lifts outcasts from the dust **b**

Jehova God, Jehova God, Jehova God **b**

*Hauna chakanaka chaungabata,*

*haungabate kana asina kutendera*

*Anosimudza marombe kubva muguruva*

There is nothing good that you can possess,  
you cannot possess it if he has not permitted **c**

He lifts outcasts from the dust **b**

*Mudzimai akanaka haumuwani*

A good wife, you cannot get her **c**

Anosimudza marombe kubva muguruva  
Murume haawanike usina kutendera  
Mudzimai akanaka haumuwani  
Haumuwani kana Mwari asina kutendera  
Anosimudza marombe kuba muguruva

He lifts outcasts from the dust **b**  
A good husband, you cannot get her  
A good wife, you cannot get her  
You cannot get her if he has not permitted **c**  
He lifts outcasts from the dust **b**

Kunyange hupenyu haurarame,  
Haurarame Mwari vasina kutendera  
Anosimudza marombe kubva muguruva

You cannot live a good life,  
You cannot live a good life if God has not permitted **c**  
He lifts outcasts from the dust **b**

Kutadza kufara pakadai, ndati hama kuoma wee

Failing to rejoice at this moment [of joy], bretheren I say it shows one is really complex **d**

Ndati Mwari wakanaka, Mwari wakanaka  
Kutadza kufara pakadai ndati hama kuoma wee

I say God is good, Go dis good **a**  
Failing to rejoice at this moment [of joy], bretheren I say it shows one is really complex **d**

Hama ngatimufarirei kani Mwari wakanaka  
Anosimudza marombe kubva muguruva

Bretheren let us be happy for him, God is really good **e**  
He lifts outcasts from the dust **b**

Kutadza kufara pakadai, ndati hama kuoma wee

Failing to rejoice at this moment [of joy], bretheren I say it shows one is really complex **d**

Hama ngatimutendei kani ngatimutendei  
Anosimudza marombe kubva muguruva  
Ihonde, honde ,honde, honde

Bretheren let us thank him, really let us thank him **e**  
He lifts outcasts from the dust **b**  
Ihonde, honde ,honde, honde **a**

Song title: “Handinete kutenda” (“I will not tire in my thanking”)

Artist: Fungisai Zvakavapano-Mashavave

Song genre: Celebratory-persuasion

RM **a**: Expressing gratitude to God

RM **b**: Articulating the view that God is only giver

RM **c**: Expressing humility

RM **d**: Requesting God to give the same gift to those who seek it

Mwari wangu, hatina mazwi ekutenda nyasha dzenyu

My God, we do not have the words to thank your grace **a**

Nyash dzenyu tinogamuchira

We receive your grace **a**

Matipa nyasha hatina mazwi ekutenda

You have gave us we do not have the words to thank [you] **a**

Nyasha dzenyu, tinotambira

Your grace, we receive **a**

Taurayi zvenyu, matipa chanzi

Just say it, you have given us a chance **a**

Nyasha dzenyu Mwari, tinogamuchira

Your grace God, we receive **a**

Matipa nyasha hatina mazwi ekutenda

You have gave us we do not have the words to thank [you] **a**

Nyasha dzenyu Mwari, tinotambira

Your grace God, we receive **a**

Taurayi zvenyu

Just say it **a**

Nyasha dzenyu Mwari, tinogamuchira

Your grace God, we receive **a**

Matitendera

You have allowed us **a**

Nyasha dzenyu Mwari, tinotambira

Your grace God, we receive **a**

Matipa nyasha hatina mazwi ekutenda

You have gave us we do not have the words to thank [you] **a**

Nyasha dzenyu Mwari, tinotambira

Your grace God, we receive **a**

Vongwai zvenyu, matipa chanzi

Be thanked, you have given us a chance **a**

Nyasha dzenyu Mwari, tinotambira

Your grace God, we receive **a**

Vamwe vaidawo vana

Others wanted children **b**

Like everyone else

Like everyone else **b**

Hamuna kuzovatendera

But you did not permit them **b**

Ko ini ndini ani wamapa chanzi?

Who am I that you have given a chance? **a**

Kunzi mhamha nemusikana?

To be called mother by a maid? **a**

Vongwai zvenyu mambo

Be thanked my Lord **a**

Mwari wangu, hatina mazwi ekutenda nyasha dzenyu

My God, we do not have the words to thank your grace **a**

Nyash dzenyu tinogamuchira

We receive your grace **a**

Vongwai zvenyu matitendera

Be thanked my Lord **a**

Nyash dzenyu tinogamuchira

We receive your grace **a**

Matipa nyasha hatina mazwi ekutenda

You have gave us we do not have the words to thank [you] **a**

Nyasha dzenyu Mwari, tinogamuchira

We receive your grace **a**

Vongwai zvenyu matipa chanzi

Be thanked my Lord **a**

Baba handizvikudzi nechipo ichi

Father I will not not be arrogant because of this gift **c**

Dzvingori nyasha kubva kwamuri

It is just the grace that comes from you **c**

Asi ndingaparidze sei kuvanhu,

But how will I preach to people,

vasina kumboona idzo nyasha dzenyu?

who have not yet seen your grace? **c**

Vasina vana baba chivapaiwo vana

Those without children, father give them **d**

Chivapawo zororo vagokutendawo

Give them rest so that they can thank you **d**

Vanochema Satana, chivapawo vana

Those who cried because of Satan, give them children **d**

Chivapawo zororo, vagokutendawo

Just give them rest, so that they can thank you **d**

*Nyasha dzenyu Mwari tinogamuchira*  
*Nekuda kwangu vagokutendawo*

Your grace God, we receive **a**  
Because of me they will also thank you **d**

[Stanza 3]

*Handizvikudzi nechipo ichi*  
*Dzingori nyasha baba kubva kwamuri*  
*Zvino ndinoparidza sei kuvanhu vasinganzwi baba?*  
*Vanorasa vana baba*  
*Chivaporesai moyo*

I will not be arrogant because of this gift **c**  
It is just the grace that comes from you **c**  
But how will I preach to people who do not listen? **c**  
Those who dump babies my father **d**  
Save them **d**

Song title: “Mwari wangu ndishingiiseiwo” (“My God make me strong”)

Artist: St Joseph Catholic Choir

Song genre: Persuasion

RM **a**: Expressing the soloist’s request for courage

RM **b**: Alluding to (the biblical) Job’s fortunes

RM **c**: Expressing Job’s courageous response to his misfortunes

L: <i>Mwari wangu ndishingiiseiwo</i>	My God make me courageous <b>a</b>
R: <i>SaJobho</i>	Like Job <b>a</b>
L: <i>Yakasvika nhume kuna Jobho</i>	A messenger came to Job <b>b</b>
R: <i>Nhume yakasvika</i>	The messenger arrived
L: <i>Ikati</i>	And said
R: <i>Ikati kuna Jobho</i>	And said to Job
L: <i>Mombe dzanga dzichirima, madhongzi achifura</i>	The cattle were ploughing, donkeys grazing <b>b</b>
<i>VaSagunye ndokukuraya varanda, ndokupamba pfuma</i>	The Sagunyes then killed the servants, and plundered the wealth <b>b</b>
L: <i>Ndini ndoga</i>	I am alone
R: <i>Ndini ndoga</i>	I am alone
L: <i>Ndapunyuka kuzokuudzai</i>	I escaped to come and tell you <b>b</b>
R: <i>Kuzokuudzai</i>	To come and tell you
L: <i>Akanamata Jobho achiti</i>	Job prayed saying <b>c</b>
R: <i>Imi nemiwo</i>	You and me
L: <i>Ndakabuda mudumbura amai wangu</i>	I came out of my mother’s womb <b>c</b>
R: <i>Dumbu ramai wangu</i>	From my mother’s womb <b>c</b>
L: <i>Ndisina chinhu</i>	With nothing <b>c</b>
R: <i>Chandainge ndakapfeka</i>	That I was putting on <b>c</b>
L: <i>Tenzi ndiye anopa</i>	The Lord gives <b>c</b>
R: <i>Tenzi anopa</i>	The Lord gives <b>c</b>
L: <i>Tenzi ndiye anotorera</i>	The Lord is the one who takes away <b>c</b>
R: <i>Tenzi anotorera</i>	The Lord takes away <b>c</b>
L: <i>Zita raTenzi ndarikudzwe</i>	The name of the Lord should be respected <b>c</b>
L: <i>Moto waMwari wakabva kudenga,</i> <i>ukapisa hwai nevaranda ukaparadza</i> <i>Ndini ndoga ndapunyuka</i>	God’s fire came from heaven, and burnt sheep and servants and destroyed them <b>b</b> I am the only one who has escaped <b>b</b>
L: <i>Ndini ndoga</i>	I am alone
R: <i>Ndini ndoga</i>	I am alone
L: <i>Ndapunyuka kuzokuudzai</i>	I escaped to come and tell you <b>b</b>
R: <i>Kuzokuudzai</i>	To come and tell you
L: <i>Akanamata</i>	Jobho achiti Job prayed saying <b>c</b>
R: <i>Imi nemiwo</i>	You and me
L: <i>Ndakabuda mudumbura amai wangu</i>	I came out of my mother’s womb <b>c</b>
R: <i>Dumbu ramai wangu</i>	From my mother’s womb <b>c</b>
L: <i>Ndisina chinhu</i>	With nothing <b>c</b>
R: <i>Chandainge ndakapfeka</i>	That I was putting on <b>c</b>
L: <i>Tenzi ndiye anopa</i>	The Lord gives <b>c</b>
R: <i>Tenzi anopa</i>	The Lord gives <b>c</b>
L: <i>Tenzi ndiye anotorera</i>	The Lord is the one who takes away <b>c</b>
R: <i>Tenzi anotorera</i>	The Lord takes away <b>c</b>
L: <i>Zita raTenzi ndarikudzwe</i>	The name of the Lord should be respected <b>c</b>
L: <i>VaKratiya vatora ngamera,</i> <i>vakaenda nadzo, vakauraya varanda</i> <i>Ndini ndoga ndapunyuka</i>	The Kratiya seized the camels they went with them, they killed the servants <b>b</b> I am the only one who has escaped <b>b</b>
L: <i>Ndini ndoga</i>	I am alone
R: <i>Ndini ndoga</i>	I am alone
L: <i>Ndapunyuka kuzokuudzai</i>	I escaped to come and tell you <b>b</b>
R: <i>Kuzokuudzai</i>	To come and tell you
L: <i>Akanamata Jobho achiti</i>	Job prayed saying <b>c</b>
R: <i>Imi nemiwo</i>	You and me
L: <i>Ndakabuda mudumbura amai wangu</i>	I came out of my mother’s womb <b>c</b>
R: <i>Dumbu ramai wangu</i>	From my mother’s womb <b>c</b>

L: <i>Ndisina chinhu</i>	With nothing <b>c</b>
R: <i>Chandainge ndakapfeka</i>	That I was putting on <b>c</b>
L: <i>Tenzi ndiye anopa</i>	The Lord gives <b>c</b>
R: <i>Tenzi anopa</i>	The Lord gives <b>c</b>
L: <i>Tenzi ndiye anotorera</i>	The Lord is the one who takes away <b>c</b>
R: <i>Tenzi anotorera</i>	The Lord takes away <b>c</b>
L: <i>Zita raTenzi ndarikudzwe</i>	The name of the Lord should be respected <b>c</b>
L: <i>Dutu guru ndokuvhuvhuta,</i> <i>rikarova imba nepamakona ayo mana</i> <i>Ikawira pamusoro pevana venyu vakafa</i> <i>Ndini ndoga ndapunyuka</i>	A violent storm came, it shook the house by its four corners <b>b</b> It fell on top of children and they died <b>b</b> I am the only one who has escaped <b>b</b>
L: <i>Ndini ndoga</i>	I am alone
R: <i>Ndini ndoga</i>	I am alone
L: <i>Ndapunyuka kuzokuudzai</i>	I escaped to come and tell you <b>b</b>
R: <i>Kuzokuudzai</i>	To come and tell you
L: <i>Akanamata Jobho achiti</i>	Job prayed saying <b>c</b>
R: <i>Imi nemiwo</i>	You and me
L: <i>Ndakabuda mudumbura amai wangu</i>	I came out of my mother's womb <b>c</b>
R: <i>Dumbu ramai wangu</i>	From my mother's womb <b>c</b>
L: <i>Ndisina chinhu</i>	With nothing <b>c</b>
R: <i>Chandainge ndakapfeka</i>	That I was putting on <b>c</b>
L: <i>Tenzi ndiye anopa</i>	The Lord gives <b>c</b>
R: <i>Tenzi anopa</i>	The Lord gives <b>c</b>
L: <i>Tenzi ndiye anotorera</i>	The Lord is the one who takes away <b>c</b>
R: <i>Tenzi anotorera</i>	The Lord takes away <b>c</b>
L: <i>Zita raTenzi ndarikudzwe</i>	The name of the Lord should be respected <b>c</b>
L: <i>Mwari wangu ngishingiseiwo</i> <i>Ini muranda wenyu Mambo</i> <i>Muranda enyu Mambo</i>	My God make me courageous <b>a</b> Me you servant my Lord <b>a</b> Your servant my Lord <b>a</b>
R: <i>Muranda wenyu Mambo,</i> <i>sezvakaita Jobho muranda wenyu</i> <i>Ndini ndoga ndapunyuka</i>	Your servant my Lord, like Job your servant <b>a</b> I am the only one who has escaped <b>b</b>
L: <i>Ndini ndoga</i>	I am alone
R: <i>Ndini ndoga</i>	I am alone
L: <i>Ndapunyuka kuzokuudzai</i>	I escaped to come and tell you <b>b</b>
R: <i>Kuzokuudzai</i>	To come and tell you
L: <i>Akanamata Jobho achiti</i>	Job prayed saying <b>c</b>
R: <i>Imi nemiwo</i>	You and me
L: <i>Ndakabuda mudumbura amai wangu</i>	I came out of my mother's womb <b>c</b>
R: <i>Dumbu ramai wangu</i>	From my mother's womb <b>c</b>
L: <i>Ndisina chinhu</i>	With nothing <b>c</b>
R: <i>Chandainge ndakapfeka</i>	That I was putting on <b>c</b>
L: <i>Tenzi ndiye anopa</i>	The Lord gives <b>c</b>
R: <i>Tenzi anopa</i>	The Lord gives <b>c</b>
L: <i>Tenzi ndiye anotorera</i>	The Lord is the one who takes away <b>c</b>
R: <i>Tenzi anotorera</i>	The Lord takes away <b>c</b>
L: <i>Zita raTenzi ndarikudzwe</i>	The name of the Lord should be respected <b>c</b>

Song title: "Ndipeiwo simba" ("Give me courage")

Artist: Sebastian Magacha

Song genre: Persuasion-argumentation

RM **a**: Expressing the soloist's belief about the existence of his enemies

RM **b**: Requesting for God's power to overcome

RM **c**: Stating the instances of the work of his enemies

RM **d**: Expressing the soloist's conviction that Jesus is the only hope to overcome

L: *Ndinozviziva mhandu dziripo pasi pano*

I know there are enemies on this earth **a**

R: *Ndipeiwo simba ndigokunda*

Give me power so that I can overcome **b**

*Ndipeiwo simba ndigokunda*

Give me power so that I can overcome **b**

L: *Ameni*

Amen

R: *Ndipeiwo simba ndigokunda*

Give me power so that I can overcome **b**

*Ndipeiwo simba ndigokunda*

Give me power so that I can overcome **b**

L: *Ndakazviona vavengi varipo pasi pano*

I saw it there are enemies here on earth **a**

R: *Ndipeiwo simba ndigokunda*

Give me power so that I can overcome **b**

*Ndipeiwo simba ndigokunda*

Give me power so that I can overcome **b**

L: *Hama musanyeperane varoyi varipo pasi pano*

Brethren do not lie to one another, witches are there in this world **a**

R: *Tipeiwo samba*

Please, give us power **b**

L: *Ishe wangu*

My Lord **b**

R: *Tigokunda*

So that we overcome **b**

L: <i>Mwari wangu</i>	My God
R: <i>Ndipeiwo simba ndigokunda</i>	Give me power so that I can overcome <b>b</b>
<i>Ndipeiwo simba ndigokunda</i>	Give me power so that I can overcome <b>b</b>
<i>Vakatumira hondo muupenyu hwangu</i>	They sent misfortunes in my life <b>c</b>
<i>Miedzo teki teki Mwari wangu</i>	Many misfortunes coming against me, my God, <b>c</b>
<i>Kuti basa ramakandipa riparare</i>	So that I will lose the job that you gave me <b>c</b>
<i>Paive nepfuma agove marara</i>	So that where there was wealth will be rubbish <b>c</b>
L: <i>Haa ndinozviona mhandu dziripo pasi pano</i>	Haa I know that there are enemies here on earth <b>a</b>
R: <i>Tipeiwo samba</i>	Please, give us power <b>b</b>
L: <i>Ameni</i>	Amen
R: <i>Tigokunda</i>	So that we overcome <b>b</b>
L: <i>Ameni</i>	Amen
R: <i>Tipeiwo simba tigokunda</i>	Please, give us power so that we can overcome <b>b</b>
L: <i>Ndakazviona vavengi varipo pasi pano</i>	I saw it, there are enemies here on earth <b>a</b>
R: <i>Ndipeiwo simba ndigokunda</i>	Please give me power so that we overcome <b>b</b>
<i>Ndipeiwo simba ndigokunda</i>	Please give me power so that we overcome <b>b</b>
L: <i>Hama musanyeperane varoyi varipo pasi pano</i>	Bretheren do not lie to one another, witches are there in this world <b>a</b>
R: <i>Tipeiwo simba</i>	Please, give us power <b>b</b>
L: <i>Ishe wangu</i>	My Lord <b>b</b>
R: <i>Tigokunda</i>	So that I can overcome <b>b</b>
Chorus	
<i>Vakabatabata zvavo ambuya</i>	A grandmother used evil charms <b>c</b>
<i>Kuti mwanasikana asaroorwa</i>	So that [her] grand-daughter will not get married <b>c</b>
<i>Ndokushereketa zvayo harahwa</i>	And an old man did some evil tricks <b>c</b>
<i>Mwanakomana asabate pfuma</i>	[His] grandson will not properly spend his money <b>c</b>
<i>Ko wambonzwei mwanakomana?</i>	What have you heard son? <b>d</b>
<i>Kana Jesu oti pfuma unopfuma iwe</i>	When Jesus say, be reach you will be reach <b>d</b>
<i>Wambonzwei mwanasikana?</i>	What have you heard daughter? <b>d</b>
<i>Gore rino uchatikisirwa iwe</i>	This year you will wed <b>d</b>
<i>NaJesu uchakunda chete</i>	With Jesus you will overcome regardless x2 <b>d</b>
<i>Iwewe uchakunda chete</i>	You yourself you will overcome regardless x2 <b>d</b>
<i>NaJesu uchakunda chete</i>	With Jesus you will overcome regardless x2 <b>d</b>
<i>Inini ndichakunda chete</i>	I myself I will overcome regardless x2 <b>d</b>
<i>Vakatumira hondo muupenyu hwangu</i>	They sent misfortunes in my life <b>c</b>
<i>Miedzo teki teki Mwari wangu</i>	Many misfortunes coming against me, my God, <b>c</b>
<i>Kuti basa ramakandipa riparare</i>	So that I will lose the job that you gave me <b>c</b>
<i>Paive nepfuma agove marara</i>	So that where there was wealth will be rubbish <b>c</b>
L: <i>Haa ndinoziya Mwari</i>	Haa I know God
<i>muri muupenyu hwangu</i>	you are in my life <b>d</b>
R: <i>Ndipeiwo simba ndigokunda</i>	Please give me power so that we overcome <b>b</b>
<i>Ndipeiwo simba ndigokunda</i>	Please give me power so that we overcome <b>b</b>
L: <i>Ndakazviona Jesu muneni</i>	I have seen it Jesus you are with
<i>muupenyu hwangu</i>	me in my life <b>d</b>
R: <i>Ndipeiwo simba</i>	Please give me power <b>b</b>
L: <i>Ameni</i>	Amen
R: <i>Ndigokunda</i>	So that I can overcome <b>b</b>
<i>Ndipeiwo simba ndigokunda</i>	Please give me power so that we overcome <b>b</b>
L: <i>Hama musanyeberane</i>	Bretheren do not deceive each other <b>a</b>
R: <i>Ndipeiwo simba</i>	Please give me power <b>b</b>
L: <i>Mwari vanoona</i>	God sees <b>d</b>
R: <i>Ndigokunda</i>	So that we overcome <b>b</b>
L: <i>Pasi pano</i>	Here on earth <b>b</b>
R: <i>Ndipeiwo simba ndigokunda</i>	Please give me power so that we overcome <b>b</b>
<i>Ndipeiwo simba ndigokunda</i>	Please give me power so that we overcome <b>b</b>
L: <i>Pasi pano</i>	Here on earth <b>b</b>
R: <i>Ndipeiwo simba ndigokunda</i>	Please give me power so that we overcome <b>b</b>
L: <i>Ndipei Baba</i>	Father give me <b>b</b>
R: <i>Ndipeiwo simba</i>	Give me power <b>b</b>
L: <i>Ndipei Baba</i>	Father give me <b>b</b>
R: <i>Ndigokunda</i>	So that we overcome <b>b</b>
L: <i>Ndipei Baba</i>	Father give me <b>b</b>
R: <i>Ndipeiwo simba</i>	Give me power <b>b</b>
L: <i>Ndipei Baba</i>	Father give me <b>b</b>
R: <i>Ndigokunda</i>	So that we overcome <b>b</b>

Song title: “Ndirangarirei” (“Remember me”)

Artist: Olivia Charamba & Friends

Song genre: Persuasion-exemplum

RM a: Expressing the people’s sinful behaviour

RM b: Requesting for forgiveness

RM c: Stating an instance of some who failed to please God

*Vazhinji vedu mumabasa enyika hatibviri* Most of us are notorious for the acts of the worlds **a**  
*Hatizivi ramangwana romweya* We do not know about where our spirits will go **a**  
*Ndirangarirei, ndirangarirei ishe Jesu* Remember me, remember me Jesus **b**  
*Kana ndichionekwa ndifanane nemi* So that when I am seen, I resemble you x 2 **b**

*Ishe ndirangarirei* Lord remember me **b**  
*Ndirangarirei* Remember me **b**  
*Ishe ndirangarirei* Lord remember me **b**  
*Ini ndibatsirei Ishe Jesu* Help me Lord Jesus **b**  
*Mwari baba ndirangarirei* God my father remember me **b**  
*Ishe ndirangarirei* Lord remember me **b**  
*Ini ndibatsirei ishe Jesu* Help me Lord Jesus x 2 **b**  
*Amen halleluiah* Amen halleluiah **b**  
*Kana ndichionekwa ndifanane nemi* So that when I am seen, I resemble you **b**

*Denga nenyika* For the heaven and the earth **a**  
*Shoko rinoti zvichapfuura* The word says they will pass **a**  
*Mufaro wenyika* The pleasures of the world **a**  
*Shoko rinoti uchapfuura* The word says they will pass **a**  
*Ndirangarirei, ndirangarirei ishe Jesu* Lord remember me Lord remember me Lord Jesus **b**  
*Kana muchionekwa ndifanane nemi* So that when I am seen, I resemble you **b**

*Vazhinji kwazvo vana veIsrael* There were so many children of Israel **c**  
*Vakabuda kubva munyika yeEgypt* Who came out of Egypt **c**  
*Vazhinji vavo havana kusvika Canaan* Most them did not reach Canaan **c**  
*Nokuti havana kufadza Mwari* Because they did not please God x 2 **c**

Song title: “Ndogo Handimire” (“Alone, I cannot stand”)

Artist : Charles Charamba

Song genre: Persuasion-anecdote

RM a: Expressing gratitude for God’s protection during the soloist’s childhood

RM b: Giving reasons why the soloist’s still needs God’s protection now

RM c: Requesting for God’s help to behave like those whose behaviour he approved

*Mwari makandida ndisati ndakura,* God you loved me before I had grown up **a**  
*Ndisati ndabuda mudumbu raamai vangu* Before I came out of my mother’s womb **a**  
*Mwari makandida ndisati ndakura,* God you loved me before I had grown up **a**  
*Ndisati ndabuda mudumbu raamai vangu* Before I came out of my mother’s womb **a**

*Makandirera kwemasvondo akawanda* You brought me up for many weeks **a**  
*Ndisingazivi baba chii chaitika* Whil I did not know what was happening father I **a**  
*Makandirera kwemasvondo akawanda* You brought me up for many weeks **a**  
*Ndisingazivi baba chii chaitika* Whil I did not know what was happening father I **a**

*Nhasi ndakura ishe mandiraramisa* Today I have grown up, father you have enabled me to survive **b**  
*Handingatange nhasi kuzvichengeta* I cannot start today to look after myself **b**

Chorus

*Ndogo handigoni, ndoga handigoni* Alone I am not able, alone I am not able **b**  
*Ndogo handigoni, ndoga baba* Alone I am not able, alone father x 2 **b**

*Mukaka waamai vangu wakapera kare* My mother’s breast milk got finished long ago **b**  
*Kudya kwamangwanani ndimi munondipa* You are the one who gives me what I eat in the morning **b**  
*Mukaka waamai vangu wakagwamba kare* My mother’s breast milk congealed long ago **b**  
*Kudya kwamangwanani ndimi munondipa* You are the one who gives me what I eat in the morning **b**

*Ehuuhuwe ndaisimbirwa* Ehuuhuwe they used to sing me lullabies **b**  
*Nhasi ndakura baba hapana achaimba* Today I have grown up and noone sings for me **b**  
*Ehuuhuwe chinyarara mwananguwe-e* Ehuuhuwe please be quiet beloved baby **b**

*Jesu mirai neni, ndega handimire* Jesus stand with me, alone I cannot stand **b**  
*Ndogo handigoniwo, ndoga handimire* Alone I am not able, alone I cannot stand **b**

*Tsubvu nenhunguru, matamba, maroro* *Tsubvu nenhunguru, matamba, maroro* [wild fruits] **b**  
*Sango raingondipa ndichangokura* The forest provided me as I was growing up **b**  
*Tsubvu nenhunguru, matamba, maroro* *Tsubvu nenhunguru, matamba, maroro* [wild fruits] **b**

<i>Sango raingondipa ndichangokura</i>	The forest provided me as I was growing up <b>b</b>
<i>Nhoro netsuro, hanga nengururu</i> <i>Ndaivhima musango ndichangokura</i> <i>Nhoro netsuro, hanga nengururu</i> <i>Ndaivhima musango ndichangokura</i>	Kudus and hares, guinea fowls and klipspringer <b>b</b> I used to hunt in the forest after I had just grown up <b>b</b> Kudus and hares, guinea fowls and klipspringer <b>b</b> I used to hunt in the forest after I had just grown up <b>b</b>
<i>Uko kumadokero, shumba dzarura</i> <i>Kururira inini ndoga baba</i> <i>Kumabvirazuva, nyoka dzarura</i> <i>Kururira inini ndoga baba</i> <i>Uko kuchamhembe mbada dzarura</i> <i>Kururira inini ndoga baba</i> <i>Ndiyambuke rwi zi makarwe arura</i> <i>Kururira inini ndoga baba</i> <i>Ndikwire mumuti magora arura</i> <i>Kururira inini ndoga baba</i> <i>Usiku husvike hope dzaramba</i> <i>Kutambudza ini ndoga baba</i>	There in the west, lions would roam <b>b</b> Roaming to devour just me father <b>b</b> From the east snakes would roam <b>b</b> Roaming to looking to bite me father <b>b</b> There in the south leopards would roam <b>b</b> Roaming to devour me father <b>b</b> If I tried to cross a river crocodiles would be vicious <b>b</b> Vicious for me father <b>b</b> Even if I tried to climb up a tree vultures would be vicious <b>b</b> Vicious for me father <b>b</b> The night arrives but I would have no sleep <b>b</b> Troubling just me alone father <b>b</b>
Chorus <i>Baba mirai neni, ndoga handimire</i> <i>Ndoga handimire ndoga baba</i>	Father stand with me, alone I cannot stand <b>b</b> Alone I cannot stand father <b>b</b>
<i>Kufamba kwamakaitawo naEnock,</i> <i>Ndiko kwandinokumbirawo muitewo neni</i> <i>Kufamba kwamakaitawo naEnock,</i> <i>Ndiko kwandinokumbirawo muitewo neni</i>	The way you walked with Enock, Is what I ask to do to me as well <b>c</b> The way you walked with Enock, Is what I ask to do to me as well <b>c</b>
<i>Kufamba kwamakaitawo naEsther,</i> <i>Ndiko kwandinokumbirawo muitewo neni</i> <i>Kufamba kwamakaitawo naEsther,</i> <i>Ndiko kwandinokumbirawo muitewo neni</i>	The way you walked with Esther, Is what I ask to do to me as well <b>c</b> The way you walked with Esther, Is what I ask to do to me as well <b>c</b>

Song title: "Fambe dzoke" ("One step forward, another step backwards")

Artist: Fungisai Zvakavapano-Mashavave

Song genre: Exemplum

RM **a**: Expressing the singer's disapproval of negative behaviour

RM **b**: Suggesting a method of resolving the complication, i.e. repentance

L: <i>Chiokomuhomwe manyanya</i> <i>Kusagadzikana kwanyanya</i> <i>Huori hwanyanya</i> <i>Fambe dzoke manyanya</i> <i>Fambe dzoke manyanya</i> <i>Haa baba manyanya</i> <i>Fambe dzoke manyanya</i>	Bribery has intensified <b>a</b> Instability has intensified <b>a</b> Corruption has intensified <b>a</b> One step forward, one step backwards you have exceeded it <b>a</b> One step forward, one step backwards you have exceeded it <b>a</b> Haa father you over do it <b>a</b> One step forward, one step backwards you have exceeded it <b>a</b>
<i>Uya hande</i> <i>Mhanya Zakeo mhanya iwe</i> <i>Mhanya uende kuna baba</i> <i>Uende kuna Jesu</i> <i>Mhanya uende kuna Jesu</i> <i>Zakeo mhanya iwe, Zakeo mhanya iwe</i> <i>Mutendi mhanya iwe</i> <i>Mhanya iwe</i> <i>Mhanya iwe mutendiwe mhanya iwe</i>	Come let us go Run Zakeo you must run <b>b</b> Run and go to the father <b>b</b> And go to Jesus <b>b</b> Run and go to Jesus <b>b</b> Run Zakeo you must run Run Zakeo you must run <b>b</b> Run the believer <b>b</b> You must run <b>b</b> Run you the believer, run you the believer <b>b</b>
<i>Kusavimbana kwanyanya</i> <i>Hunzenza hwanyanya</i> <i>Kusatya Mwari kwanyanya</i> <i>Masmall house anyanya</i> <i>Fambe dzoke manyanya,</i> <i>Fambe dzoke manyanya</i> <i>Haa, sisi manyanya</i> <i>Fambe dzoke manyanya</i>	Mistrust has intensified <b>a</b> Immorality has intensified <b>a</b> The failure to fear God has intensified <b>a</b> Small houses have intensified <b>a</b> One step forward, one step backwards you have exceeded it <b>a</b> One step forward, one step backwards you have exceeded it <b>a</b> Haa sister you have exceeded it <b>a</b> One step forward, one step backwards you have exceeded it <b>a</b>
Chorus <i>Kurasa hunhu manyanya</i> <i>Kuraradza manyanya</i> <i>Pfambi dzawanda</i> <i>Meso meso manyanya</i> <i>Fambe dzoke manyanya,</i> <i>Fambe dzoke manyanya</i>	Throwing away your values, you have exceeded it <b>a</b> Drunkness you have exceeded it <b>a</b> Prostitutes have increased <b>a</b> Covetousness you have exceeded it <b>a</b> One step forward, one step backwards you have exceeded it <b>a</b> One step forward, one step backwards you have exceeded it <b>a</b>

*Haah baba manyanya*  
*Fambe dzoke manyanya*

Haa father you have over done it a  
One step forward, one step backwards you have exceeded it a

Chorus

*Kunyepa kwawanda*  
*Kuzvikudza manyanya*  
*Hunyengeri hwawanda*  
*Kusatya Mwari kwanyanya*  
*Fambe dzoke manyanya,*  
*Fambe dzoke manyanya*  
*Haah baba manyanya*  
*Fambe dzoke manyanya,*

Lying has increased a  
Pride, you have exceeded it a  
Deception has increased a  
The failure to fear God has intensified a  
One step forward, one step backwards you have exceeded it a  
One step forward, one step backwards you have exceeded it a  
Haa father you have over done it a  
One step forward, one step backwards you have exceeded it a

Title of song: “Handina kururama” (“I am not righteous”)

Artist: Fungisai Zvakavapano-Mashavave

Song genre: Exemplum-persuasion

RM a: Expressing the soloist’s acceptance of her moral weaknesses

RM b: Requesting God to make her righteous

RM c: Persuading God to reduce his anger against humanity’s sinful behaviour

RM d: Expressing soloist’s determination to be righteous

*Ini hangu mambo*

Me myself lord

*Ini hangu ini*

Me myself

*Handina kururama, handina chakanaka*

I am not righteous, I do not have a goo character a

*Ndinonzi munhu ini*

I am called a human being a

*Handina kururama*

I am not righteous a

*Ha-a*

Ha-a a

*Handina kururama*

I am not righteous a

*Handina*

I am not

*Ndinonzi munhu ini*

I am called a human being a

*Kururama ndiruramise*

To be righteous, make me righteous b

*Dzimwe nguva ndokanganwa,*

Sometimes I forget,

*ndinorasika kana kuneta*

I get lost or become tired a

*Ha-a-a*

Ha-a-a a

*Dzimwe nguva ndorasika kana kuneta*

Sometimes I get lost and get tired a

*Handina*

I am not

*Asi ishe mukatsamwa, ndiyani angapamira She?*

But lord if you become angry, who stand stand your anger Lord? c

*Hona tingapera, mhuri dzedu dzingapere*

Look, we will perish, our families will perish c

*Asi Ishe mukagumbuka, ndiani angapamire She?*

But lord if you become upset, who stand stand your anger Lord? c

*Ha-a*

Ha-a a

*Mhuri dzedu dzingaparare, hona tingapere*

Our families will perish, see we will perish c

*Handina kururama, ndiruramise*

I am not righteous, make me righteous b

*Tingapere, he-e tingapere*

We will be finished, he-e we will be finished c

*Muri wenyasha*

You are [the God] of grace b

*Wanzai nyasha, wanzai nyasha*

Make grace abundant, make grace abundant b

*Muri wenyasha*

You are [the God] of grace b

*Wanzai nyasha, wanzai nyasha*

Make grace abundant, make grace abundant b

*He-e musauraye*

He-e please do not kill [us] c

*Muri wenyasha*

You are [the God] of grace b

*Wanzai nyasha*

Make grace abundant, make grace abundant b

*Muri wenyasha*

You are [the God] of grace b

*Wanzai nyasha*

Make grace abundant, make grace abundant b

*Wanzai nyasha*

Make grace abundant, make grace abundant b

*Wanzai nyasha*

Make grace abundant b

*Wanzai nyasha*

Make grace abundant b

*Ndiri mufambi wepanyika*

I am a traveller here on earth d

*Ndiri kuvavarira utsvene*

I am striving for righteousness d

*Ndinombopotsa hiii*

I sometimes miss on something x 2 a

*Ha-a*

Ha-a a

*Dzimwe nguva ndoraradza, ndinotuka kana kunyepa*

Sometimes I drink excessively, I scold or lie a

*Handina kururama, ndiruramise*

I am not righteous, make me righteous b

*Dzimwe nguva ndokanganwa, kana kuneta*

Sometimes I forget, or become tired a

*Ha-a-a*

Ha-a-a a

*Zvino Mwari mukawanza hashu*

Now if God you intensify your anger c

*Handina*

I do not have

*Tingapere, ndiyani angapamirazve?*

We will all perish, who will stand again? c

*Kurarama, ndiruramise*

To be righteous, please make me righteous b

*Imi Mwari mukangotise, taparara*

You God, if you loathe us we perish c

<i>He-e musauraya</i>	He-e please do not kill [us] <b>c</b>
<i>Muri wenyasha</i>	You are [the God] of grace <b>b</b>
<i>Musaitongazye</i>	Do not judge against us again <b>c</b>
<i>Muri wengoni</i>	You are [the God] of mercy <b>b</b>
<i>Wanzai nyasha, wanzai nyasha</i>	Make grace abundant, make grace abundant <b>b</b>
<i>Zvinondikunda, zvinowanda,</i>	Things that defeat me, they increase,
<i>miyedzo haiperi kuvatendi</i>	temptations never end among believers <b>a</b>
<i>Haiperi kuvatendi</i>	They never end among believers <b>a</b>
<i>Zvinokunda zvinowanda</i>	Things that defeat me increase <b>a</b>
<i>Ha-a</i>	Ha-a <b>a</b>
<i>Miyedzo haiperi kuvatendi, haiperi kuvatendi</i>	Temptations never end among believers,
	they never end among believers <b>a</b>
<i>Handina kurarama, ndiruramise</i>	I am not righteous, make me righteous <b>b</b>
<i>Dzimwe nguva ndorasika, ndokanganwa kana kunyepa</i>	Sometimes I get lost, I forget or lie <b>a</b>
<i>Ha-a</i>	Ha-a <b>a</b>
<i>Dzimwe nguva kumakuhwa handibve</i>	Sometimes I do leave where gossip is being told <b>a</b>
<i>Handina kururama, ndiruramise</i>	I am not righteous, make me righteous <b>b</b>
<i>Asi Mwari mukatsiya taparara</i>	But if you leave us God, we will perish <b>c</b>
<i>Muri wenyasha</i>	You are [the God] of grace <b>b</b>
<i>Wanzai nyasha, wanzai nyasha</i>	Make grace abundant, make grace abundant x2 <b>b</b>

Song title: "Moses"

Artist: Charles Charamba

Song genre: Narrative-persuasion

RM **a**: Expressing suffering and the decision to return to Egypt

RM **b**: Stating reasons for the decision

RM **c**: Expressing the assurance for a believer to overcome challenges

<i>Moses Moses Moses we-e</i>	Oh Moses Moses Moses <b>a</b>
<i>Moses Moses Moses we-e</i>	Oh Moses Moses Moses <b>a</b>
<i>Moses Moses Moses we-e</i>	Oh Moses Moses Moses <b>a</b>
<i>Tidzose Ijipita kwatakakurira</i>	Return us to Egypt where we grew up x2 <b>a</b>
<i>Zvakavanetsa ivava vana veIsraeri</i>	The challenges trouled these children of Israel <b>b</b>
<i>Pagungwa dzvuku ndokutanga kuchema</i>	At the Red Sea they started to cry <b>b</b>
<i>Chiona Moses wazotiparira zvino</i>	See Moses, you have caused trouble for us now <b>b</b>
<i>Tidzose Ijipita kwatakakurira</i>	Return us to Egypt where we grew up x2 <b>a</b>
<i>Mvura mberi kwedu, mvura shure kwedu</i>	Water in front of us, water behind us <b>b</b>
<i>Tidzose Ijipita kwatakakurira</i>	Return us to Egypt where we grew up <b>a</b>
<i>Moses zvaive nani, dai watirega</i>	Moses it was better if you left us <b>b</b>
<i>Tigare zvedu sevaranda kuIjipita</i>	Living as slaves in Egypt x 2 <b>a</b>
<i>Mumwe nemumwe, akatsamwa nazvo</i>	Each of them became angry [because of the challenges] <b>b</b>
<i>Handika Moses zvawanga wavimbisa izvi</i>	Moses this is not what you promised us <b>b</b>
<i>Moses zvaive nani kudai watirega</i>	Moses it was better if you left us <b>b</b>
<i>Tichigara zvedu sevaranda kuIjipita</i>	Living as slaves in Egypt x 2 <b>a</b>
<i>Mumwe nemumwe, akatsamwa nazvo</i>	Each of them became angry [because of the challenges] <b>b</b>
<i>Ndodzoka Ijipita ini, kwandakabva</i>	I am returning to Egypt, where I can from <b>a</b>
<i>Ndozviperawo zvangu, kufira muuranda</i>	I am determined to die in slavery <b>a</b>
<i>Pane kufira pagungwa iwewe Moses</i>	Than to die in the sea, you Moses x 2 <b>b</b>
<i>Mumwe nemumwe, akatsamwa nazvo</i>	Each of them became angry [because of the challenges] <b>b</b>
<i>Handika Moses zvawanga wavimbisa izvi</i>	This is not what you had promised us <b>b</b>
<i>Moses zyiri nani, kufira muranda</i>	Moses, it is better to die in slavery <b>b</b>
<i>Pane kufira pagungwa iwewe Moses</i>	Than to die in the sea, you Moses x 2 <b>b</b>
<i>Ndati zvimwechete wani, inga zvakafanana</i>	I am it is the same, are they not the same? <b>b</b>
<i>Kugara Ijipita tichibatsira Pharaoh</i>	To say in Egypt helping Pharaoh <b>b</b>
<i>Pane kuparara pano hondo yatevera</i>	Than to perish here, the army is pursuing us <b>b</b>
<i>Tidzose Ijipita kwatakakurira</i>	Return us to Egypt where we grew up x2 <b>a</b>
<i>Iye ndokuti kwavari shiiiiii</i>	Then he said to them shiiiiii <b>c</b>
<i>Nyararai zvenyu,</i>	Please do not cry
<i>Nyararai zvenyu vana veIsrael</i>	Do not cry children of Israel <b>c</b>
<i>Idzi imhandu dzeIjipita dzinokumetsai</i>	These Egyptian enemies that trouble you <b>c</b>
<i>Dzichaparara hamuchazodzioni</i>	They will perish, you will never see them
<i>rimwe remazuva</i>	again on any day x 2 <b>c</b>
<i>Neni ndinoti kwamuri shiiiiii</i>	And me I also say to you shiiiiii <b>c</b>

<i>Mudikani hama,</i>	Beloved brethren
<i>Nyarara zvako mutendi waJesu</i>	Jesus' believer, please do not cry
<i>Satani mhandu dzenyika dzinokunetsai,</i>	Satan the enemies of the world you trouble you,
<i>Dzichaparara hamuchazodzioni rimwe zuva</i>	Will perish and you will not see them any day <b>c</b>

Song title: "Kutenda kwakanaka" ("Good worship/faith")

Artist: Charles Charamba

Song genre: didactic-persuasion-rupture

RM **a**: Expressing the goodness of heaven

RM **b**: Persuading a believer to strive to enter heaven

RM **c**: Expressing the evilness of gehena and those it will torment

RM **d**: Condemnation of what the singer conceives as evil faiths

<i>Kudenga kwakanaka</i>	It is good in heaven <b>a</b>
<i>Nyika yavatsvene</i>	The country of the righteous <b>a</b>
<i>Ivo vanoenda vachazozorora</i>	Those that will go will rest x2 <b>a</b>
<i>Shingirira segamba</i>	Strive like a hero <b>b</b>
<i>Nekuti pave pedyo patiri kuenda</i>	Because the destination we are going is now near x2 <b>b</b>

<i>Gahena rakaipa</i>	Gehenna is bad <b>c</b>
<i>Nyika yakaipa</i>	It is a wicked country <b>c</b>
<i>Ivo vanopomba vachazotambura</i>	Where those who commit illicit sex will suffer <b>c</b>

<i>Iwewe tendeka</i>	You, believe <b>b</b>
<i>Mira segamba</i>	Stand like a hero <b>b</b>
<i>Nekuti pave pedyo patiri kuenda</i>	Because the destination we are going is now near x2 <b>b</b>

<i>Gahena rakaipa</i>	Gehenna is bad <b>c</b>
<i>Nyika yakaipa</i>	It is a wicked country <b>c</b>
<i>Ivo vanosvora vachazotambura</i>	Where those who criticize [others] will suffer <b>c</b>

Chorus

<i>Gahena rakaipa</i>	Gehenna is bad <b>c</b>
<i>Nyika yakaipa</i>	It is a wicked country <b>c</b>
<i>Ivo vanonyepa vachazotambura</i>	Where those who lie will suffer <b>c</b>
<i>Kudenga kwakanaka</i>	It is good in heaven <b>a</b>
<i>Nyika yavatsvene</i>	The country of the righteous <b>a</b>
<i>Ivo vanoenda vachazozorora</i>	Those that will go will rest x2 <b>a</b>
<i>Shingirira segamba</i>	Strive like a hero <b>b</b>
<i>Nekuti pave pedyo patiri kuenda</i>	Because the destination we are going is now near x2 <b>b</b>

<i>Gahena rakaipa</i>	Gehena is bad <b>c</b>
<i>Nyika yakaipa</i>	It is a wicked country <b>c</b>
<i>Ivo vanoroya vachazotambura</i>	Where those who bewitch will suffer x2 <b>c</b>

<i>Akavabvunza mubvunzo mukuru kwazvo</i>	He asked them a very big question <b>d</b>
<i>Akavabvunza ndokuvabvunzisisa</i>	He asked and closely asked them <b>d</b>
<i>Pamusoro pechinamato chavo</i>	Concerning their faith <b>d</b>

<i>Mwari chaiye pavaviri ndeupiko?</i>	Which one is the right God between the two? <b>d</b>
<i>Wenyu Baari kana Jehovha mupenyu?</i>	Yours Baal and the living Jehovah? <b>d</b>
<i>Mwari chaiye anopindura nemoto</i>	A true God answers with fire <b>d</b>

<i>Mwari chaiye pavaviri ndeupiko?</i>	Which one is the right God between the two? <b>d</b>
<i>Wenyu Baari kana Jehovha mupenyu?</i>	Yours Baal and the living Jehovah? <b>d</b>
<i>Vakaukonewa kana nekuupindura</i>	They failed to answer it <b>d</b>
<i>Neshoko rimwe chete</i>	Even with one word <b>d</b>

<i>Torai mombe tiite chibairo</i>	Take a bull so that we make a sacrificial offering <b>c</b>
<i>Imi chaBaari</i>	You for Baal <b>c</b>
<i>Ini chaJehovha mupenyu</i>	And me for the living Jehovah <b>c</b>
<i>Mwari chaiye iye anopindura nemoto</i>	A true God will answer with fire <b>c</b>

<i>Mwari chaiye pavaviri ndeupiko?</i>	Which one is the right God between the two? <b>d</b>
<i>Venyu vadzimu kana Jehovha mupenyu?</i>	Your ancestors or the living Jehovah? <b>d</b>
<i>Muchakonewa kana nekupindura</i>	You will fail to answer <b>d</b>
<i>Neshoko rimwe</i>	Even with one word <b>d</b>

<i>Monamata vadzimu kusvika riniko vana veZimbabwe?</i>	For how long shall you worship ancestors children of Zimbabwe? <b>d</b>
<i>Monamata vadzimu kusvika riniko vana veZimbabwe?</i>	For how long shall you worship ancestors children of Zimbabwe? <b>d</b>
<i>Monamata vadzimu kusvika riniko imi?</i>	Really for how long shall you worship ancestors? <b>d</b>

<i>Monamata vadzimu kuswika riniko?</i>	Really for how long shall you worship ancestors? <b>d</b>
<i>Torai mombé tiite chibairo</i>	Take a bull and let us make sacrificial offerings <b>d</b>
<i>Imi chevadzimu ini chaJehovha mupenyu</i>	You for the ancestors and me for the living Jehovah <b>d</b>
<i>Mwari chaiye anopindura nemoto</i>	A true God will answer with fire <b>d</b>

Song title: “Kanganwiro” (“Forgiveness”)

Artist: Elias Musakwa

Song genre: Persuasion

RM **a**: Expressing remorse for committing sins

RM **b**: Stating the sins committed

RM **c**: Pleading for God’s forgiveness

RM **d**: Expressing the consequences of sinning against God

L: <i>Ndakakutadzirawo baba</i>	I sinned against you father <b>a</b>
<i>Pakufunga kwangu</i>	In the way I thought <b>b</b>
<i>Ndakakutadzirawo baba</i>	I sinned against you Father <b>a</b>
<i>Ndabvuma wani Jesu</i>	Have not I accepted [it] Jesus? <b>a</b>

<i>Ndakakutadzirawo</i>	I sinned against you <b>a</b>
<i>Kuramba kutumwa</i>	By refusing to be sent <b>b</b>
<i>Ndakakutadzirawo baba</i>	I sinned against you father <b>a</b>
<i>SaJonah wako baba</i>	Like your Jonah father <b>b</b>

<i>Ndakakutadzirawo</i>	I sinned against you <b>a</b>
<i>Kuramba kurirava shoko</i>	By refusing to read the word <b>b</b>
<i>Ndakakutadzirawo</i>	I sinned against you <b>a</b>
<i>Ndabvuma wani Jesu</i>	Have not I accepted [it] Jesus? <b>a</b>

<i>Ndakakutadzirawo</i>	I sinned against you <b>a</b>
<i>Kuramba kuteerera</i>	By refusing to listen <b>b</b>
<i>Ndakakutadzirawo</i>	I sinned against you <b>a</b>
<i>Shoko rako Jesu Mambo</i>	Your word Jesus <b>b</b>

<i>Ndakakutadzirawo</i>	I sinned against you <b>a</b>
<i>Kuramba kutumwa</i>	By refusing to be sent <b>b</b>
<i>Ndakakutadzirawo baba</i>	I sinned against you father <b>a</b>
<i>SaJonah wako baba</i>	Like your Jonah father <b>b</b>

L: *Kanganwiro kanganwiro heee* Forgiveness, forgiveness heee **c**

R: *Kanganwiro kanganwiro* Forgiveness, forgiveness **c**  
*Kanganwiro kanganwiro* Forgiveness, forgiveness **c**  
*Kanganwiro Ishe wangu* Forgiveness my Lord **c**

L: *Kanga* Forgiveness

R: *Kanganwiro kanganwiro* Forgiveness, forgiveness **c**

L: *Kanga* Forgiveness

R: *Kanganwiro kanganwiro* Forgiveness, forgiveness **c**

L: *Kanga* Forgiveness

R: *Kanganwiro kanganwiro* Forgiveness, forgiveness **c**

L: *Hoo* Hoo

R: *Kanganwiro Ishe wangu* Forgiveness my Lord **c**

L: *Kanga* Forgiveness

R: *Kanganwiro kanganwiro* Forgiveness, forgiveness **c**

L: *Kanga* Forgiveness

R: *Kanganwiro kanganwiro* Forgiveness, forgiveness **c**

L: *Kanga* Forgiveness

R: *Kanganwiro kanganwiro* Forgiveness, forgiveness **c**

L: *Hoo* Hoo

R: *Kanganwiro Ishe wangu* Forgiveness my Lord **c**

L: <i>Ndakakutadzirawo</i>	I sinned against you <b>a</b>
<i>Kuramba kutumwa</i>	By refusing to be sent <b>b</b>
<i>Ndakakutadzirawo baba</i>	I sinned against you father <b>a</b>
<i>SaJonah wako baba</i>	Like your Jonah father <b>b</b>

<i>Ndakakutadzirawo</i>	I sinned against you <b>a</b>
<i>Kusarirava</i>	By not reading it <b>b</b>
<i>Ndakakutadzirawo</i>	I sinned against you <b>a</b>
<i>Pisarema rako baba</i>	Your [book of] psalms father <b>b</b>

<i>Ndakakutadzirawo baba</i>	I sinned against you father <b>a</b>
<i>Kusamurava</i>	By not reading it <b>b</b>
<i>Ndakakutadzirawo</i>	I sinned against you father <b>a</b>

<i>Johane wako baba</i>	Your [book of] John father <b>b</b>
<i>Ndakakutadzirawo baba</i>	I sinned against you father <b>a</b>
<i>Kusamurava</i>	By not reading it <b>b</b>
<i>Ndakakutadzirawo</i>	I sinned against you <b>a</b>
<i>Ruka wako Baba</i>	Your [book of] Luke <b>b</b>
<i>Ndakakutadzirawo baba</i>	I sinned against you father <b>a</b>
<i>Kusamurava</i>	By not reading it <b>b</b>
<i>Ndakakutadzirawo</i>	I sinned against you <b>a</b>
<i>Mateo wako baba</i>	Your [book of] Matthew father <b>b</b>
<i>Ndiri rombe rako iwe</i>	I am really a [strolling] beggar <b>d</b>
<i>Ndiri rombe Ishe wangu</i>	I am a beggar my Lord <b>d</b>
<i>Ndiri rombe rako weee</i>	Oh I am a your beggar <b>d</b>
<i>Ini ndiri rombe Ishe wangu</i>	Me, I am a beggar my Lord <b>d</b>
<i>Ndiri rombe rako iwe</i>	I am really a [strolling] beggar <b>d</b>
<i>Ndiri rombe Ishe wangu</i>	I am a beggar my Lord <b>d</b>
<i>Ndiri rombe rako weee</i>	Oh I am a your beggar <b>d</b>
<i>Ini ndiri rombe Ishe wangu</i>	Me, I am a beggar my Lord <b>d</b>
L: <i>Kanga</i>	Forgiveness
R: <i>Kanganwiro kanganwiro</i>	Forgiveness, forgiveness <b>c</b>
L: <i>Kanga</i>	Forgiveness
R: <i>Kanganwiro kanganwiro</i>	Forgiveness, forgiveness <b>c</b>
L: <i>Kanga</i>	Forgiveness
R: <i>Kanganwiro kanganwiro</i>	Forgiveness, forgiveness <b>c</b>
L: <i>Hoo</i>	Hoo
R: <i>Kanganwiro Ishe wangu</i>	Forgiveness my Lord <b>c</b>
L: <i>Kanga</i>	Forgiveness
R: <i>Kanganwiro kanganwiro</i>	Forgiveness, forgiveness <b>c</b>
L: <i>Kanga</i>	Forgiveness
R: <i>Kanganwiro kanganwiro</i>	Forgiveness, forgiveness <b>c</b>
L: <i>Kanga</i>	Forgiveness
R: <i>Kanganwiro kanganwiro</i>	Forgiveness, forgiveness <b>c</b>
L: <i>Hoo</i>	Hoo
R: <i>Kanganwiro Ishe wangu</i>	Forgiveness my Lord <b>c</b>
L: <i>Kanga</i>	Forgiveness
R: <i>Kanganwiro kanganwiro</i>	Forgiveness, forgiveness <b>c</b>
L: <i>Kanga</i>	Forgiveness
R: <i>Kanganwiro kanganwiro</i>	Forgiveness, forgiveness <b>c</b>
L: <i>Kanga</i>	Forgiveness
R: <i>Kanganwiro kanganwiro</i>	Forgiveness, forgiveness <b>c</b>
L: <i>Hoo</i>	Hoo
R: <i>Kanganwiro Ishe wangu</i>	Forgiveness my Lord <b>c</b>
L: <i>Kanga</i>	Forgiveness
R: <i>Kanganwiro kanganwiro</i>	Forgiveness, forgiveness <b>c</b>
L: <i>Kanga</i>	Forgiveness
R: <i>Kanganwiro kanganwiro</i>	Forgiveness, forgiveness <b>c</b>
L: <i>Kanga</i>	Forgiveness
R: <i>Kanganwiro kanganwiro</i>	Forgiveness, forgiveness <b>c</b>
L: <i>Hoo</i>	Hoo
R: <i>Kanganwiro Ishe wangu</i>	Forgiveness my Lord <b>c</b>
L: <i>Ndakakutadzirawo</i>	I sinned against you <b>a</b>
<i>Kuramba kuteerera</i>	By not listening <b>b</b>
<i>Ndakakutadzirawo</i>	I sinned against you <b>a</b>
<i>Vhangeri rako Baba</i>	To your word father <b>b</b>
<i>Ndakakutadzirawo</i>	I sinned against you <b>a</b>
<i>Kuramba kuteerera</i>	By not listening <b>b</b>
<i>Ndakakutadzirawo</i>	I sinned against you <b>a</b>
<i>Vhangeri rako Baba</i>	To your word father <b>b</b>
<i>Ndakakutadzirawo</i>	I sinned against you <b>a</b>
<i>Kuramba kuteerera</i>	By not listening <b>b</b>
<i>Ndakakutadzirawo</i>	I sinned against you <b>a</b>
<i>Vhangeri rako Baba</i>	To your word father <b>b</b>
<i>Ndakakutadzirawo</i>	I sinned against you <b>a</b>
<i>Kuramba kurirava</i>	By refusing to read it <b>b</b>
<i>Ndakakutadzirawo</i>	I sinned against you <b>a</b>

<i>SaJonah wako baba</i>	Like your Jonah father <b>b</b>
<i>Ndiri rombe rako iwe</i>	I am really a [strolling] beggar <b>d</b>
<i>Ndiri rombe Ishe wangu</i>	I am a beggar my Lord <b>d</b>
<i>Ndiri rombe rako weee</i>	Oh I am a your beggar <b>d</b>
<i>Ini ndiri rombe Ishe wangu</i>	Me, I am a beggar my Lord <b>d</b>
<i>Ndiri rombe rako iwe</i>	I am really a [strolling] beggar <b>d</b>
<i>Ndiri rombe Ishe wangu</i>	I am a beggar my Lord <b>d</b>
<i>Ndiri rombe rako weee</i>	Oh I am a your beggar <b>d</b>
<i>Ini ndiri rombe Ishe wangu</i>	Me, I am a beggar my Lord <b>d</b>
L: <i>Kanga</i>	Forgiveness
R: <i>Kanganwiro kanganwiro</i>	Forgiveness, forgiveness <b>c</b>
L: <i>Kanga</i>	Forgiveness
R: <i>Kanganwiro kanganwiro</i>	Forgiveness, forgiveness <b>c</b>
L: <i>Kanga</i>	Forgiveness
R: <i>Kanganwiro kanganwiro</i>	Forgiveness, forgiveness <b>c</b>
L: <i>Hoo</i>	Hoo
R: <i>Kanganwiro Ishe wangu</i>	Forgiveness my Lord <b>c</b>
L: <i>Kanga</i>	Forgiveness
R: <i>Kanganwiro kanganwiro</i>	Forgiveness, forgiveness <b>c</b>
L: <i>Kanga</i>	Forgiveness
R: <i>Kanganwiro kanganwiro</i>	Forgiveness, forgiveness <b>c</b>
L: <i>Kanga</i>	Forgiveness
R: <i>Kanganwiro kanganwiro</i>	Forgiveness, forgiveness <b>c</b>
L: <i>Hoo</i>	Hoo
R: <i>Kanganwiro Ishe wangu</i>	Forgiveness my Lord <b>c</b>
L: <i>Kanga</i>	Forgiveness
R: <i>Kanganwiro kanganwiro</i>	Forgiveness, forgiveness <b>c</b>
L: <i>Kanga</i>	Forgiveness
R: <i>Kanganwiro kanganwiro</i>	Forgiveness, forgiveness <b>c</b>
L: <i>Kanga</i>	Forgiveness
R: <i>Kanganwiro kanganwiro</i>	Forgiveness, forgiveness <b>c</b>
L: <i>Hoo</i>	Hoo
R: <i>Kanganwiro Ishe wangu</i>	Forgiveness my Lord <b>c</b>
L: <i>Kanga</i>	Forgiveness
R: <i>Kanganwiro kanganwiro</i>	Forgiveness, forgiveness <b>c</b>
L: <i>Kanga</i>	Forgiveness
R: <i>Kanganwiro kanganwiro</i>	Forgiveness, forgiveness <b>c</b>
L: <i>Kanga</i>	Forgiveness
R: <i>Kanganwiro kanganwiro</i>	Forgiveness, forgiveness <b>c</b>
L: <i>Hoo</i>	Hoo
R: <i>Kanganwiro Ishe wangu</i>	Forgiveness my Lord <b>c</b>
L: <i>Kanga</i>	Forgiveness
R: <i>Kanganwiro kanganwiro</i>	Forgiveness, forgiveness <b>c</b>
L: <i>Kanga</i>	Forgiveness
R: <i>Kanganwiro kanganwiro</i>	Forgiveness, forgiveness <b>c</b>
L: <i>Kanga</i>	Forgiveness
R: <i>Kanganwiro kanganwiro</i>	Forgiveness, forgiveness <b>c</b>
L: <i>Hoo</i>	Hoo
R: <i>Kanganwiro Ishe wangu</i>	Forgiveness my Lord <b>c</b>

Song title: “Chivai mufudzi” (“Be my shepherd”)

Artist: Carol Mujokoro-Chivenga”

Song genre: Persuasion

RM **a**: Requesting for God’s forgiveness and protection

RM **b**: Expressing soloist’s acceptance of being a sinner

RM **c**: Articulating the consequences of being a sinner

RM **d**: Expressing belief of a good life under God’s protection

<i>Jehova chivai mufudzi wangu Mundivatise pamafuro manyoro</i>	Jehovah be my shepherd <b>a</b> So that you lie me on green pastures <b>a</b>
<i>Mundisesedze pamvura dzinozorodza Ponesai mweya wangu</i>	Assist me to walk on waters that give me a rest <b>a</b> Save my soul <b>a</b>
<i>Jehova chivai mufudzi wangu Mundivatise pamafuro manyoro</i>	Jehovah be my shepherd <b>a</b> So that you lie me on green pastures <b>a</b>
<i>Mundisesedze pamvura dzinozorodza Ponesai mweya wangu</i>	Assist me to walk on waters that give me a rest <b>a</b> Save my soul <b>a</b>
<i>Ndakaita zvizhinji kwazvo pakurarama kwangu Zvondishaisa rugare Mwari wangu</i>	I did a lot of many [evil] things in my life <b>b</b> Which deprive me of happiness my God <b>c</b>
<i>Kutuka ndakatuka Kunyepa ndakanyepa Kutsamwa ndakatsamwa Chindibatsirai Ishe Jesu</i>	As for scolding, I did scold <b>b</b> As for lying, I did lie <b>b</b> As getting cross, I did get cross <b>b</b> Now help me Lord Jesus <b>a</b>
<i>Ndakaita zvizhinji kwazvo pakurarama kwangu Zvondishaisa rugare Mwari wangu</i>	I did a lot of many [evil] things in my life <b>b</b> Which deprive me of happiness my God <b>c</b>
<i>Kutuka ndakatuka Kunyepa ndakanyepa Kutsamwa ndakatsamwa Chindibatsirai Ishe Jesu</i>	As for scolding, I did scold <b>b</b> As for lying, I did lie <b>b</b> As getting cross, I did get cross <b>b</b> Now help me Lord Jesus <b>a</b>
<i>Jehova chivai mufudzi wangu Mundivatise pamafuro manyoro</i>	Jehovah be my shepherd <b>a</b> So that you lie me on green pastures <b>a</b>
<i>Mundisesedze pamvura dzinozorodza Ponesai mweya wangu</i>	Assist me to walk on waters that give me a rest <b>a</b> Save my soul <b>a</b>
<i>Jehova chivai mufudzi wangu Mundivatise pamafuro manyoro</i>	Jehovah be my shepherd <b>a</b> So that you lie me on green pastures <b>a</b>
<i>Mundisesedze pamvura dzinozorodza Ponesai mweya wangu</i>	Assist me to walk on waters that give me a rest <b>a</b> Save my soul <b>a</b>
<i>Zodzai musoro wangu namafuta Mokombe wangu upfachukire Unyoro nenyasha zvonдитеvera Mazuva ose oupenyu hwangu Ndichgara mumba maJehovah Kwamazuva namazuva</i>	Anoint my head with oil <b>a</b> So that my cup spills over <b>a</b> So that mercy and grace follow <b>a</b> In all the days of my life <b>a</b> I will live in Jehovah's house <b>a</b> For days and days <b>a</b>
<i>Zodzai musoro wangu namafuta Mokombe wangu upfachukire Unyoro nenyasha zvonдитеvera Mazuva ose oupenyu hwangu Ndichgara mumba maJehovah Kwamazuva namazuva</i>	Anoint my head with oil <b>a</b> So that my cup spills over <b>a</b> So that mercy and grace follow <b>a</b> In all the days of my life <b>a</b> I will live in Jehovah's house <b>a</b> For days and days <b>a</b>
<i>Zvirokwazvo kunyangwe ndikafamba Pamupata nomumvuri worufu Handingatye nokuti imi muneni Tsvimbo yenyu nomudonzvo yenyu Zvinondinyaradza</i>	Truly even if I walk <b>d</b> In the valley and shadow of death <b>d</b> I will not be afraid <b>d</b> Your knobkerrie and walking stick <b>d</b> Will calm me <b>d</b>
<i>Zvirokwazvo kunyangwe ndikafamba Pamupata nomumvuri worufu Handingatye nokuti imi muneni Tsvimbo yenyu nomudonzvo yenyu Zvinondinyaradza</i>	Truly even if I walk <b>d</b> In the valley and shadow of death <b>d</b> I will not be afraid <b>d</b> Your knobkerrie and walking stick <b>d</b> Will calm me <b>d</b>
<i>Jehova chivai mufudzi wangu Mundivatise pamafuro manyoro</i>	Jehovah be my shepherd <b>a</b> So that you lie me on green pastures <b>a</b>
<i>Mundisesedze pamvura dzinozorodza Ponesai mweya wangu</i>	Assist me to walk on waters that give me a rest <b>a</b> Save my soul <b>a</b>
<i>Jehova chivai mufudzi wangu Mundivatise pamafuro manyoro</i>	Jehovah be my shepherd <b>a</b> So that you lie me on green pastures <b>a</b>

*Mundisesedze pamvura dzinozorodza* Assist me to walk on waters that give me a rest **a**  
*Ponesai mweya wangu* Save my soul **a**

Song title: “Ndauya Ndega” (“I have come onn my own”)

Artist: Fungisai Zvakavapano-Mashavave

Song genre: Exemplum-celebratory

RM **a**: Expressing soloist’s readiness for a new in Christ

RM **b**: Expressing acceptance to having sinned

RM **c**: Stating the troubles faced living a sinful life

RM **d**: Expressing conviction about the worthlessness of a sinful

RM **e**: Articulating the justification for the soloist’s search for God’s help

RM **f**: Expressing deep remorse for her sins

RM **g**: Expressing declaration to remain committed to God’s ways

RM **h**: Expressing happiness for converting into Christianity

*Ndiri ndega-ndega* I am really alone **a**  
*Ndiri ndega baba* I am alone father **a**  
*Nhasi ndauya ndega* Today I have come on my own **a**  
*Ndiri ndega Ishe* I am alone Lord **a**  
*Nhasi ndauya ndega* Today I have come my own alone **a**  
*Ndiri ndega Baba* Father I am alone **a**  
*Ndiri ndega Ishe wangu* I am alone my Lord **a**  
*Nhasi ndauya ndega* Today I have come on my own **a**

*Ndakambobata zvakawanda* I sinned a lot **b**  
*Mukati meino nyika* While in the world **a**  
*Zvikoro zvese ndakasvika* I visited all the schools **c**  
*Hapana chandisingazive* There is none that I don know **c**  
*Zvakati zvauya zvakametsa* And then came the vexing challenges **c**  
*Ndakamhanyira kun’anga* I ran to consult a diviner **c**  
*Kuzoti zvauya zvirwere* And when diseases came **c**  
*Muzvipatara handina kubva* I did not depart from hospitals **c**  
*Asi zvakaramba baba* But father, it was to no avail **c**  
*Hazvina maturo, hazvina maturo* They have no sense, they have no sense **d**  
*Iii ndauya ndega* Iii I have come on my own **a**

*Ndakambobata zvakawanda* I sinned a lot **b**  
*Mukati meino nyika* While in the world **a**  
*Zvikoro zvese ndakasvika* I visited all the schools **c**  
*Hapana chandisingazive* There is none that I don know **c**  
*Zvakati zvauya zvakametsa* And then came the vexing challenges **c**  
*Ndakamhanyira kun’anga* I ran to consult a diviner **c**  
*Kuzoti zvauya zvirwere* And when diseases came **c**  
*Muzvipatara handina kubva* I did not depart from hospitals **c**  
*Asi zvakaramba baba* But father, it was to no avail **c**  
*Hazvina maturo, hazvina maturo* They have no sense, they have no sense **d**  
*Iii ndauya ndega* Iii I have come on my own **a**

*Ndauya ndega Baba* I have come on my own Father **a**  
*Ooo ndauya ndega Baba* Ooo I have come on my own Father **a**  
*Ndauya ndega Ishe* I have come on my own Lord **a**  
*Ndauya ndega* I have come on my own **a**  
*Ndauya ndega Baba* Ooo I have come on my own Father **a**  
*Ndauya ndega Ishe* I have come on my own Lord **a**  
*Nhasi ndauya ndega Ishe wangu* Today I have come on my own Lord **a**  
*Ndauya ndega Ishe* I have come on my own Lord **a**  
*Ndauya ndega* I have come on my own **a**  
*Ndauya ndega Baba* I have come on my own Father **a**  
*Ooh ndauya ndega Baba* Ooh I have come on my own Father **a**  
*Ndauya ndega Ishe* I have come on my own Lord **a**  
*Ndauya ndega Ishe* I have come on my own Lord **a**

*Inga makataura wani* Is it not that you said **e**  
*Mushoko renyu Bhaibheri* In your word, the Bible **e**  
*Huyai makaremerwa makaneta* Come you who are overladen and tired **e**  
*Ndichakupai zororo* I will give you rest **e**  
*Zvitema zvatsvuka seropa* Even if your sins are now as red as blood **e**  
*Ndichazvichenesa sechando* I will make them white as snow **e**  
*Nhasi ndadzoka Ishe wangu* Today I have returned my Lord **a**  
*Hewoi moyo wakaputsika* Here is my broken heart **a**  
*Zvakaramba Baba* Everything failed my Father **b**

<i>Ndinochema, ndinochema iiiii</i>	I cry, I cry iiiii <b>f</b>
<i>Ndauya ndega</i>	I have come on my own <b>a</b>
<i>Inga makataura wani</i>	Is it not that you said <b>e</b>
<i>Mushoko renyu Bhaibheri</i>	In your word, the Bible <b>e</b>
<i>Huyai makaremberwa makaneta</i>	Come you who are overladen and tired <b>e</b>
<i>Ndichakupai zororo</i>	I will give you rest <b>e</b>
<i>Zvitema zvatsvuka seropa</i>	Even if your sins are now as red as blood <b>e</b>
<i>Ndichazvichenesa sechando</i>	I will make them white as snow <b>e</b>
<i>Nhasi ndadzoka Ishe wangu</i>	Today I have returned my Lord <b>a</b>
<i>Hewoi moyo wakuputsika</i>	Here is my broken heart <b>a</b>
<i>Zvakaramba Baba</i>	Everything failed my Father <b>b</b>
<i>Ndinochema, ndinochema iiiii</i>	I cry, I cry iiiii <b>f</b>
<i>Ndauya ndega</i>	I have come on my own <b>a</b>
<i>Ndauya ndega Baba</i>	I have come on my own Father <b>a</b>
<i>Ooo ndauya ndega Baba</i>	Ooo I have come on my own Father <b>a</b>
<i>Ndauya ndega Ishe</i>	I have come on my own Lord <b>a</b>
<i>Ndauya ndega</i>	I have come on my own <b>a</b>
<i>Ndauya ndega Baba</i>	Ooo I have come on my own Father <b>a</b>
<i>Ndauya ndega Ishe</i>	I have come on my own Lord <b>a</b>
<i>Nhasi ndauya ndega Ishe wangu</i>	Today I have come on my own Lord <b>a</b>
<i>Ndauya ndega Ishe</i>	I have come on my own Lord <b>a</b>
<i>Ndauya ndega</i>	I have come on my own <b>a</b>
<i>Ndauya ndega Baba</i>	I have come on my own Father <b>a</b>
<i>Ooh ndauya ndega Baba</i>	Ooh I have come on my own Father <b>a</b>
<i>Ndauya ndega Ishe</i>	I have come on my own Lord <b>a</b>
<i>Ndauya ndega Ishe</i>	I have come on my own Lord <b>a</b>
<i>Ndauya ndega Baba</i>	I have come on my own Father <b>a</b>
<i>Ooo ndauya ndega Baba</i>	Ooo I have come on my own Father <b>a</b>
<i>Ndauya ndega Ishe</i>	I have come on my own Lord <b>a</b>
<i>Ndauya ndega Ishe</i>	I have come on my own Lord <b>a</b>
<i>Ndauya ndega Baba</i>	I have come on my own Father <b>a</b>
<i>Ooo ndauya ndega Baba</i>	Ooo I have come on my own Father <b>a</b>
<i>Ndauya ndega Ishe</i>	I have come on my own Lord <b>a</b>
<i>Ndauya ndega Ishe</i>	I have come on my own Lord <b>a</b>
<i>Ndauya ndega Baba</i>	I have come on my own Father <b>a</b>
<i>Ooh ndauya ndega Baba</i>	Ooh I have come on my own Father <b>a</b>
<i>Ndauya ndega Ishe</i>	I have come on my own Lord <b>a</b>
<i>Ndauya ndega Ishe</i>	I have come on my own Lord <b>a</b>
<i>Ndasuya zvese zvakawanda</i>	I have left all the many things <b>g</b>
<i>Mukati meino nyika</i>	Inside this world <b>g</b>
<i>Uyai mufundisi dzokai</i>	Come the evangelist come back <b>g</b>
<i>Ndoda ndinamate nhasi</i>	I want to pray from today <b>g</b>
<i>Kana chauya chirwere</i>	If a illness comes <b>g</b>
<i>Handimhanye kun'anga</i>	I will not run to a diviner <b>g</b>
<i>Kuti chakomba chirwere</i>	When the illness has worsened <b>g</b>
<i>Rufu inzira kumusha</i>	Death is the passage to go home <b>g</b>
<i>Ndatendeuka Baba</i>	I have repented Father <b>g</b>
<i>Ndinofara, ndinofara eeeeeee</i>	I rejoice, I rejoice eeeeeee <b>h</b>
<i>Ndauya ndega</i>	I have come on my own <b>a</b>
<i>Ndasuya zvese zvakawanda</i>	I have left all the many things <b>g</b>
<i>Mukati meino nyika</i>	Inside this world <b>g</b>
<i>Uyai mufundisi dzokai</i>	Come the evangelist come back <b>g</b>
<i>Ndoda ndinamate nhasi</i>	I want to pray from today <b>g</b>
<i>Kana chauya chirwere</i>	If a illness comes <b>g</b>
<i>Handimhanye kun'anga</i>	I will not run to a diviner <b>g</b>
<i>Kuti chakomba chirwere</i>	When the illness has worsened <b>g</b>
<i>Rufu inzira kumusha</i>	Death is the passage to go home <b>g</b>
<i>Ndatendeuka Baba</i>	I have repented Father <b>g</b>
<i>Ndinofara, ndinofara eeeeeee</i>	I rejoice, I rejoice eeeeeee <b>h</b>
<i>Ndauya ndega</i>	I have come on my own <b>a</b>
<i>Ndauya ndega Baba</i>	I have come on my own Father <b>a</b>
<i>Ooo ndauya ndega Baba</i>	Ooo I have come on my own Father <b>a</b>
<i>Ndauya ndega Ishe</i>	I have come on my own Lord <b>a</b>
<i>Ndauya ndega</i>	I have come on my own <b>a</b>
<i>Ndauya ndega Baba</i>	Ooo I have come on my own Father <b>a</b>
<i>Ndauya ndega Ishe</i>	I have come on my own Lord <b>a</b>
<i>Nhasi ndauya ndega Ishe wangu</i>	Today I have come on my own Lord <b>a</b>
<i>Ndauya ndega Ishe</i>	I have come on my own Lord <b>a</b>
<i>Ndauya ndega</i>	I have come on my own <b>a</b>

*Ndauya ndega Baba* I have come on my own Father **a**  
*Ooh ndauya ndega Baba* Ooh I have come on my own Father **a**  
*Ndauya ndega Ishe* I have come on my own Lord **a**  
*Ndauya ndega Ishe* I have come on my own Lord **a**

*Ndauya ndega Baba* I have come on my own Father **a**  
*Ooo ndauya ndega Baba* Ooo I have come on my own Father **a**  
*Ndauya ndega Ishe* I have come on my own Lord **a**  
*Ndauya ndega* I have come on my own **a**  
*Ndauya ndega Baba* Ooo I have come on my own Father **a**  
*Ndauya ndega Ishe* I have come on my own Lord **a**  
*Nhasi ndauya ndega Ishe wangu* Today I have come on my own Lord **a**  
*Ndauya ndega Ishe* I have come on my own Lord **a**  
*Ndauya ndega* I have come on my own **a**  
*Ndauya ndega Baba* I have come on my own Father **a**  
*Ooh ndauya ndega Baba* Ooh I have come on my own Father **a**  
*Ndauya ndega Ishe* I have come on my own Lord **a**  
*Ndauya ndega Ishe* I have come on my own Lord **a**

*Ndauya ndega Baba* I have come on my own Father **a**  
*Ooo ndauya ndega Baba* Ooo I have come on my own Father **a**  
*Ndauya ndega Ishe* I have come on my own Lord **a**  
*Ndauya ndega* I have come on my own **a**  
*Ndauya ndega Baba* Ooo I have come on my own Father **a**  
*Ndauya ndega Ishe* I have come on my own Lord **a**  
*Nhasi ndauya ndega Ishe wangu* Today I have come on my own Lord **a**  
*Ndauya ndega Ishe* I have come on my own Lord **a**  
*Ndauya ndega* I have come on my own **a**  
*Ndauya ndega Baba* I have come on my own Father **a**  
*Ooh ndauya ndega Baba* Ooh I have come on my own Father **a**  
*Ndauya ndega Ishe* I have come on my own Lord **a**  
*Ndauya ndega Ishe* I have come on my own Lord **a**

Song title: "Tengai mafuta"

Artist: Olivia Charamba

Song genre: Didactic-persuasion

RM **a**: Articulating believers' weakness of distraction

RM **b**: Criticizing false interpretation of what God wants

RM **c**: Expressing the advice of preparedness

RM **d**: Asserting the fairness of Jesus' judgement

*Pane zvinhu zvatinotendera kuti zvitipedzere nguva iwe*  
*Pane zvinhu zvakakumirira kuti zvitipedzere nguva iwe*  
*Pane zvinhu zvinotitevera kuti zvitipedzere nguva iwe*  
*Pane vanhu vatakatendera kuti vatibireka nguva*  
*Pane hope dzatakatendera kuti dzitipedzere nguva*  
*Pane hope dzatakatendera kutividzivira zuva*

There are things that we allow to waste our time **a**  
 There are things that await to waste your time **a**  
 There are things that follow us to waste our time **a**  
 There are people that we allowed to steal our time **a**  
 There are dreams that we allowed to waste our time **a**  
 There are dreams that we allowed to waste our day **a**

*Mumwe akati chikomba chichada rokwe rangu*  
*Tarira ndakachena mafuta haana basa*

One said the suitor will like my dress **b**  
 Look I am dressed up, the oil does not matter **b**

*Mumwe akati chikomba chichada chiso changu*  
*Tarira ndakanaka mafuta haana basa*

Another said the suitor will like my face **b**  
 Look I am beautiful, the oil does not matter **b**

Mumwe akati chikomba chakauya ndongochisekerera

Another said the when the suitor comes I will just smile at him **b**

*Mazino akachena mafuta haana basa*  
*Mumwe akati chikasvika ndochemachema nacho*  
*Mafuta chaiwo, mafuta haana basa*

I have clean teeth, the oil does not matter **b**  
 Another said if he arrives I will just plead with him **b**  
 As for the actual oil, the oil does not matter **b**

*Mumwe akati chikauya chinondiyemura*  
*Mafuta chaiwo, mafuta haana basa*

Another said if he comes I will appreciate him **b**  
 As for the actual oil, the oil does not matter **b**

*Tengai mafuta chikomba chisati chauya*  
*Tengai mafuta*  
*Vasikanawe kani tengai mafuta chikomba chisati chadzoka*  
*Vasikanawe kani tengai mafuta chikomba chisati chadzoka*  
*Vasikana ndapota tengai mafuta chikomba chisati chadzoka*  
*Vasikana ndachema tengai mafuta chikomba chisati chadzoka*  
*Vasikana ndachema tengai mafuta chikomba chisati chadzoka*

Buy oil before the suitor comes **c**  
 Buy oil **c**  
 Girls surely buy oil before the suitor returns **c**  
 Girls surely buy oil before the suitor returns **c**  
 Girls, I beg you, buy oil before the suitor returns **c**  
 Girls, I beg you buy oil before the suitor returns **c**  
 Girls, I beg you buy oil before the suitor returns **c**

*Mucheno hauna denga*

Being dressed up is not get you to heaven **d**

<i>Tengai mafuta chikomba chisati chadzoka</i>	Buy oil before the suitor returns <b>c</b>
<i>Rokwe harina denga</i>	A dress does not get you to heaven <b>d</b>
<i>Tengai mafuta chikomba chisati chadzoka</i>	Buy oil before the suitor returns <b>c</b>
<i>Nemi vanamai, tengai mafuta chikomba chisati chadzoka</i>	And you mothers buy oil before the suitor returns <b>c</b>
<i>Nemi vakomana, tengai mafuta chikomba chisati chadzoka</i>	And you boys buy oil before the suitor returns <b>c</b>
<i>Dhiri harina denga, tengai mafuta chikomba chisati chadzoka</i>	Criminal behaviour has no heaven, buy oil before the suitor returns <b>c</b>
<i>Mutupo hauna basa, tengai mafuta chikomba chisati chadzoka</i>	Totems are useless, buy oil before the suitor returns <b>c</b>
<i>Vasikana kani ndinzewo</i>	Girls, I beg you kisten to me <b>c</b>
<i>Tengai mafuta chikomba chisati chadzoka</i>	Buy oil before the suitor returns <b>c</b>
<i>Mumwe akati chikauya ndoona yekutamba</i>	One said if he comes I will just see what I do <b>b</b>
<i>Mafuta chaiwo, mafuta haana basa</i>	As for the actual oil, the oil does not matter <b>b</b>
<i>Mumwe akati kundiramba chikomba haziyiti</i>	Another said for the suitor to reject me, it will not happen <b>b</b>
<i>Mafuta chaiwo, mafuta haana basa</i>	As for the actual oil, the oil does not matter <b>b</b>
<i>Mumwe akati kundiramba chikomba hazivigoni</i>	Another said for the suitor to reject me, it will not happen <b>b</b>
<i>Mafuta chaiwo, mafuta haana basa</i>	As for the actual oil, the oil does not matter <b>b</b>
<i>Mumwe akati kumamata mudikani moyo wako</i>	Another said as for your faith, it is your heart that decides <b>b</b>
<i>Mafuta chaiwo, mafuta haana basa</i>	As for the actual oil, the oil does not matter <b>b</b>
<i>Mumwe akati kutenda, mudikani moyo wako</i>	Another said as for your faith, it is your heart that decides <b>b</b>
<i>Mafuta chaiwo, mafuta haana basa</i>	As for the actual oil, the oil does not matter <b>b</b>
<i>Mumwe akati kugarisana nevanhu mudzimba</i>	Another said to live peacefully with others in the homes <b>b</b>
<i>Ndokwakanaka, mafuta haana basa</i>	Is the only good thing, the oil does not matter <b>b</b>
<i>Mumwe akati kugarisana nevanhu mudzimba</i>	Another said to live peacefully with others in the homes <b>b</b>
<i>Ndokwakakosha, mafuta haana basa</i>	Is the only important thing, the oil does not matter <b>b</b>
<i>Vasikanawe kani</i>	I beg you girls
<i>Tengai mafuta chikomba chisati chadzoka</i>	Buy oil before the suitor returns <b>c</b>
<i>Mwenje yenyu iripi?</i>	Where are your lamps? <b>c</b>
<i>Tengai mafuta chikomba chisati chadzoka</i>	Buy oil before the suitor returns x 2 <b>c</b>
<i>Mhiri kwemakungwa,</i>	Overseas,
<i>Mwenje yenyu iripi?</i>	Where are your lamps? <b>c</b>
<i>Tengai mafuta chikomba chisati chadzoka</i>	Buy oil before the suitor returns <b>c</b>
<i>Vanababa vemisha,</i>	Fathers of families,
<i>Tengai mafuta chikomba chisati chadzoka</i>	Buy oil before the suitor returns <b>c</b>
<i>Gadzirirai kani</i>	Please prepare <b>c</b>
<i>Tengai mafuta chikomba chisati chadzoka</i>	Buy oil before the suitor returns <b>c</b>
<i>Vagere mumaguta,</i>	Urban dwellers,
<i>Tengai mafuta chikomba chisati chadzoka</i>	Buy oil before the suitor returns <b>c</b>
<i>Vagere mumaruva,</i>	Country dwellers,
<i>Tengai mafuta chikomba chisati chadzoka</i>	Buy oil before the suitor returns <b>c</b>
<i>Gadzirirai kani,</i>	Please prepare <b>c</b>
<i>Tengai mafuta chikomba chisati chadzoka</i>	Buy oil before the suitor returns <b>c</b>
<i>Vanoenda kusvondo,</i>	Those who go to church,
<i>Tengai mafuta chikomba chisati chadzoka</i>	Buy oil before the suitor returns <b>c</b>
<i>Mwenje yenyu iripi?</i>	Where are your lamps? <b>c</b>
<i>Tengai mafuta chikomba chisati chadzoka</i>	Buy oil before the suitor returns <b>c</b>
<i>Vanosevenza mudzimba,</i>	Domestic workers,
<i>Tengai mafuta chikomba chisati chadzoka</i>	Buy oil before the suitor returns <b>c</b>
<i>Nyengeterai imomo</i>	Pray in the houses you are in <b>c</b>
<i>Tengai mafuta chikomba chisati chadzoka</i>	Buy oil before the suitor returns <b>c</b>
<i>Jesu haana tsvete</i>	Jesus has no favouritism <b>d</b>
<i>Tengai mafuta chikomba chisati chadzoka</i>	Buy oil before the suitor returns <b>c</b>
<i>Musondo umo,</i>	There in the church,
<i>Tengai mafuta chikomba chisati chadzoka</i>	Buy oil before the suitor returns <b>c</b>
<i>Mukereke umo,</i>	There in the church,
<i>Tengai mafuta chikomba chisati chadzoka</i>	Buy oil before the suitor returns <b>c</b>
<i>Mukereke umo ngamunamatwe,</i>	There in the church, people should pray
<i>Tengai mafuta chikomba chisati chadzoka</i>	Buy oil before the suitor returns <b>c</b>

Song title: "Mucheki" ("The Reaper")

Artist: Vabati vaJehovha

Song genre: Rupture-didactic

RM a: Introducing the song

RM b: Stating the highlights of the Second Advent

RM c: Exhorting believers on what to do to avoid (divine) punishment

L: *Wauya wauya mucheki mukuru* He has come, the great reaper has come **a**

L+R: *Vanhu vachaona Ishe wekudenga* People shall see the Lord of heaven **b**

*Vagozomutswa, vari kumakuva* Those in the graves will be resurrected **b**

<i>Avo vaonekwe vose pakachena</i>	So that all will seen on a clear place <b>b</b>
L: <i>Zvinhu zvatinoona zvose zvyitsva</i>	All things that we will see are new <b>b</b>
L+R: <i>Makomo, mapako zvichanyongodeka</i>	Mountains, caves will melt <b>b</b>
<i>Zuva richadzimwa, mwedzi uchapera</i>	The sun will turn into darkness and moonlight will be finished <b>b</b>
<i>Vakaipa vachashaiwa pokuvanda</i>	The wicked will not find any place to hide <b>b</b>
L: <i>Mucheki wasvika nehondo huru</i>	After the reaper has arrived with a huge army <b>a</b>
L+R: <i>Hondo inouya yavanyai vekudenga</i>	The army will come consisting of the angels of heaven <b>a</b>
<i>Nameso mucheki mukuru aone</i>	So that with eyes the great reaper be seen <b>b</b>
<i>Zvinhu zvakawanda zvinhu zvakaipa</i>	Many things are bad things <b>b</b>
L: <i>Vatadzi vanove nekutya kukuru</i>	Sinners will be seized with great fear <b>b</b>
L+R: <i>Vanozodedera pameso omucheki</i>	They will tremble at the sight of the reaper's face <b>b</b>
<i>Vasakarurama vachazoparadzwa</i>	The unrighteous will be destroyed <b>b</b>
<i>Vaiswe munzvimbo yekutambudzika</i>	And put in a place of suffering <b>b</b>
L: <i>Regerai zvakaipa mutye murarame</i>	Leave evil ways, fear [God] and be righteous <b>c</b>
L+R: <i>Munzwe izwi Rashe munamate mose</i>	And hear the voice the Lord and all pray <b>c</b>
<i>Zviteurirei mutsvage netsitsi</i>	Pray for yourselves and seek mercy <b>c</b>
<i>Inguva nazvino mugamuchire</i>	It is now time that you receive <b>c</b>
L+R: <i>Anouya Ishe anouya</i>	He is coming, the Lord is coming <b>a</b>
<i>Anouya Anouya anouya</i>	He is coming, he is coming, he is coming x 2 <b>a</b>

Song title: "Bayethe" ("Hail [Lord Jesus]")

Artist: Aaron Rusikira

Song genre: Praise-rupture

RM **a**: Introducing the appraisee

RM **b**: Scaffolding the appraisee's laudable qualities.

RM **b1**: Conveying Jesus' intrinsic attributes

RM **b2**: Deploying the miraculous (biblical) deeds Jesus performed

RM **b3**: Expressing Jesus' future (apocalyptic) relations with the world

<i>Hekanhi, changamire Jesu</i>	Well done, lord Jesus Well done, lord Jesus <b>a</b>
<i>Hwereshenga, shari, chibwechitedza</i>	The powerful one, the unconquerable, slippery rock <b>b1</b>
<i>Hekanhi, shumba yemudzi waJese</i>	Well done, the lion of the line of Jesse <b>b1</b>
<i>Hekanhi, changamire Jesu</i>	Well done, lord Jesus <b>a</b>
<i>Makatangira nguva kuvapo, kuvapo kusati kwavapo</i>	You came first before the existence of time, before the existence existed <b>b1</b>
<i>Munogara seri kwekwaivapo yasarungano</i>	You live beyond the time stretching endlessly backwards, beyond pre-history and indefinite futurity <b>b1</b>
<i>Hekanhi, changamire Jesu</i>	Well done, lord Jesus <b>a</b>
<i>Fufurume, murume pane varume</i>	The giant strong man, a man among other men <b>b1</b>
<i>Rambakutsidiguka, mbiru youtare</i>	The-immovable-one, the pillar of iron <b>b1</b>
<i>Ziendanakuenda mucheka wakatandira nyika yose</i>	The endless cloth that covers the whole world <b>b1</b>
<i>Munobva kusingaperi muchienda kusingaperi</i>	You come from the temporally eternal and go to the temporally eternal <b>b1</b>
<i>Hekanhi, changamire Jesu</i>	Well done, lord Jesus <b>a</b>
<i>Muri honzeri isingakonzerwi</i>	You are a causer that is not caused <b>b1</b>
<i>Hamusiyirwi gunere savarume venyika ino</i>	No father's meal is left for you like is done to men of this world <b>b1</b>
<i>Pavavhura ndiani ungavhara?</i>	Where he has opened, who shall [has the power to] close? <b>b1</b>
<i>Pamavhara ndiani ungavhura?</i>	Where he has closed who shall [has the power to] open? <b>b1</b>
<i>Hekanhi, changamire Jesu</i>	Well done, lord Jesus <b>a</b>
<i>Mune kiyi dzerufu neHadhesi</i>	You hold the keys of death and Hades <b>b1</b>
<i>Paya makapa mapiyaviya avanhu zvekudya mugwenga,</i>	At that occasion you gave multitudes of people food in the desert,
<i>Kubva pahove mbiri nezvingwa zvishanu</i>	From two fish and five loaves of bread <b>b2</b>
<i>Makadana Razaro kubva mudumbu reShirori</i>	You called Lazarus from the belly of Shiol <b>b2</b>
<i>Mukati gada-gada kufamba pamusoro pemvura semakatsika parukangarahwe</i>	You freely walked on top of water as if standing on rocky ground <b>b2</b>
<i>Mukati kugungwa nyarara, rikateerera</i>	You said to sea, be quiet, and it obeyed <b>b2</b>
<i>Makasvinudza meso amapofu</i>	You restored the sight of the blind <b>b2</b>
<i>Pamuchato wepaKana makashamisa</i>	You marvelled during the wedding at Cana <b>b2</b>
<i>Hekanhi, changamire Jesu</i>	Well done, Jesus <b>a</b>
<i>Makarapa vane maperembudzi</i>	You healed those with leprosy <b>b2</b>
<i>Mukadzanga rufu rwaifembedza vaitandadza</i>	You chased away the death sniffing on those dying <b>b2</b>
<i>Pamakafa zuva rakaramba kusvinura</i>	On your death the sun refused to open its eyes <b>b2</b>
<i>Hekanhi kumuka noupenyu</i>	Well done resurrection and life <b>b2</b>
<i>Guva rakakusvisvinai nezuva retatu</i>	The grave spit you on the third day <b>b2</b>
<i>Mukakwira kudenga, vadzidzi venyu vakashamiswa</i>	You ascended to heaven, your disciples were marvelled <b>b2</b>
<i>Hekanhi, changamire Jesu</i>	Well done, Lord Jesus <b>a</b>

<i>Hekanhi, changamire Jesu</i>	Well done, Lord Jesus <b>a</b>
<i>Hakuna, hakuna, hakuna wakaita semi</i>	There is no one, there is no-one, there is no one like you <b>b2</b>
<i>Hekanhi, ishe wangu</i>	Well done, my king <b>a</b>
<i>Mbiri kuna Jesu uchauya</i>	Glory to Jesus who will come <b>b3</b>
<i>Hekanhi, changamire nouya</i>	Well done, lord who will come <b>b3</b>
<i>Hekanhi, chikukutsira chedenga chinohwita</i>	Well done, anchor of heaven that is firm <b>b3</b>
<i>Nenguva iri pedo muchatsemura gore</i>	In the near future you will strike and split the cloud <b>b3</b>
<i>Nyika ichatatarika sechidhakwa</i>	The world shall stagger like a drunkard <b>b3</b>
<i>Gungwa richazengaira sezifa romukaka</i>	The ocean shall shift (side to side) like sour milk <b>b3</b>
<i>Makomo achamhanya semhuru</i>	Mountains shall run line calves <b>b3</b>
<i>Vakafa munashe vachamera sebwowa</i>	Those who died in God shall sprout like mushrooms <b>b3</b>
<i>Neichi chinovora chichafuka kusavora</i>	This that rots shall put on immortality <b>b3</b>
<i>Nechichi chinofa chichafuka kusafa</i>	And this that dies shall put on immortality <b>b3</b>
<i>Rufu ruchamedzwa nekukunda</i>	Death will be swallowed by [divine] victory <b>b3</b>
<i>Hekanhi, chigaramatombo matanda anovora</i>	Well done, the one-that-only-sits-on-rocks because to sit on wood it rots <b>b2</b>
<i>Ndiani uchamutorera vushe,</i>	Who shall take away from him the kingship,
<i>She wamadzishhe, namambo wamadzimambo?</i>	The king of kings, and the lord of lords? <b>b3</b>
<i>Uchatonga akafugama muropa rake</i>	He shall rule kneeling in his blood
<i>rakavhinza paKarivhari</i>	that dripped at Calvary <b>b3</b>
<i>Hekanhi, mambo Jesu</i>	Well done, lord Jesus <b>a</b>
<i>Hekanhi, ishe wamadzishhe</i>	<i>Well done, king of kings</i> <b>b2</b>
<i>Hekanhi, changamire wangu</i>	Well done, my lord <b>a</b>

Song title: "Ishe achatonga" ("The Lord will rule")

Artist: Carol Mujokoro-Chivenga

Song genre: Rupture-persuasion

RM **a**: Expressing God's plan with the world

RM **b**: Stating people's response to God's judgement

RM **c**: Expressing the soloist's current position as regards the Second Advent

RM **d**: Expressing the impediment to live God's ways

RM **e**: Stating what behaviour God wants

RM **f**: Stating scriptural position regarding death and judgment

<i>Ishe achatonga</i>	The Lord will rule <b>a</b>
<i>Hakuna angaramba</i>	No one will refuse <b>b</b>
<i>Mwari achatonga</i>	God will rule <b>a</b>
<i>Isu tinyerere</i>	While we are silent <b>b</b>
<i>Zuva guru richasvika</i>	The great day will arrive <b>a</b>
<i>Usiku uchauya</i>	Night will come <b>a</b>
<i>Mwari achatonga</i>	God will rule <b>a</b>
<i>Hakuna ungaramba</i>	No one will refuse <b>b</b>
<i>Ishe achatonga</i>	The Lord will rule <b>a</b>
<i>Hakuna angaramba</i>	No one will refuse <b>b</b>
<i>Mwari achatonga</i>	God will rule <b>a</b>
<i>Isu tinyerere</i>	While we are silent <b>b</b>
<i>Zuva guru richasvika</i>	The great day will arrive <b>a</b>
<i>Usiku uchauya</i>	Night will come <b>a</b>
<i>Mwari achatonga</i>	God will rule <b>a</b>
<i>Hakuna ungaramba</i>	No one will refuse <b>b</b>
<i>Ishe achatonga</i>	The Lord will rule <b>a</b>
<i>Hakuna angaramba</i>	No one will refuse <b>b</b>
<i>Mwari achatonga</i>	God will rule <b>a</b>
<i>Isu tinyerere</i>	While we are silent <b>b</b>
<i>Zuva guru richasvika</i>	The great day will arrive <b>a</b>
<i>Usiku uchauya</i>	Night will come <b>a</b>
<i>Mwari achatonga</i>	God will rule <b>a</b>
<i>Hakuna ungaramba</i>	No one will refuse <b>b</b>
<i>Ndinoziva ndiri parwendo</i>	I know I am on a journey <b>c</b>
<i>Rwendo rwekunamata</i>	The journey of faith <b>c</b>
<i>Mwari ndibatsirei</i>	God help me <b>c</b>
<i>Ndirege kuva mukundikani</i>	So that I will not be a loser <b>c</b>
<i>Nzira yewakaipa</i>	The path of the evil one <b>d</b>
<i>Inonyengedza Jehovah</i>	It deceives, Jehovah <b>d</b>

<i>Mwari munoda munhu</i> <i>Anotevera kururama</i>	God you want a person <b>e</b> Who follows righteousness <b>e</b>
<i>Ndinoziva ndiri parwendo</i> <i>Rwendo rwekunamata</i> <i>Mwari ndibatsirei</i> <i>Ndirege kuva mukundikani</i>	I know I am on a journey <b>c</b> The journey of faith <b>c</b> God help me <b>c</b> So that I will not be a loser <b>c</b>
<i>Nzira yewakaipa</i> <i>Inonyengedza Jehovah</i> <i>Mwari munoda munhu</i> <i>Anotevera kururama</i>	The path of the evil one <b>d</b> It deceives, Jehovah <b>d</b> God you want a person <b>e</b> Who follows righteousness <b>e</b>
<i>Ishe achatonga</i> <i>Hakuna angaramba</i> <i>Mwari achatonga</i> <i>Isu tinyerere</i>	The Lord will rule <b>a</b> No one will refuse <b>b</b> God will rule <b>a</b> While we are silent <b>b</b>
<i>Zuva guru richasvika</i> <i>Usiku uchauya</i> <i>Mwari achatonga</i> <i>Hakuna ungaramba</i>	The great day will arrive <b>a</b> Night will come <b>a</b> God will rule <b>a</b> No one will refuse <b>b</b>
<i>Ishe achatonga</i> <i>Hakuna angaramba</i> <i>Mwari achatonga</i> <i>Isu tinyerere</i>	The Lord will rule <b>a</b> No one will refuse <b>b</b> God will rule <b>a</b> While we are silent <b>b</b>
<i>Zuva guru richasvika</i> <i>Usiku uchauya</i> <i>Mwari achatonga</i> <i>Hakuna ungaramba</i>	The great day will arrive <b>a</b> Night will come <b>a</b> God will rule <b>a</b> No one will refuse <b>b</b>
<i>Ishe achatonga</i> <i>Hakuna angaramba</i> <i>Mwari achatonga</i> <i>Isu tinyerere</i>	The Lord will rule <b>a</b> No one will refuse <b>b</b> God will rule <b>a</b> While we are silent <b>b</b>
<i>Zuva guru richasvika</i> <i>Usiku uchauya</i> <i>Mwari achatonga</i> <i>Hakuna ungaramba</i>	The great day will arrive <b>a</b> Night will come <b>a</b> God will rule <b>a</b> No one will refuse <b>b</b>
<i>Sezvinoreva shoko</i> <i>Munhu unofa kamwe</i> <i>Kutongwa kozotevera</i> <i>Handisati ndachibata</i> <i>Icho ndinoshingairira</i> <i>Munamato wangu nhasi</i>	As your word says <b>f</b> A person dies only once <b>f</b> Then follows judgement <b>f</b> I have not yet achieved it <b>d</b> That which I strive for <b>d</b> In my prayer today <b>d</b>
<i>Mwari ndibatsirei</i> <i>Pamunotonga ndive pavatsvene</i> <i>Mwari munoda munhu</i> <i>Anotevera kururama</i>	God help me <b>c</b> So that when you judge, I will be among the righteous <b>c</b> God you want a person <b>e</b> Who follows righteousness <b>e</b>
<i>Munhu unofa kamwe</i> <i>Kutongwa kozotevera</i> <i>Handisati ndachibata</i> <i>Icho ndinoshingairira</i> <i>Munamato wangu nhasi</i>	A person dies only once <b>f</b> Then follows judgement <b>f</b> I have not yet achieved it <b>d</b> That which I strive for <b>d</b> In my prayer today <b>d</b>
<i>Mwari ndibatsirei</i> <i>Pamunotonga ndive pavatsvene</i> <i>Mwari munoda munhu</i> <i>Anotevera kururama</i>	God help me <b>c</b> So that when you judge, I will be among the righteous <b>c</b> God you want a person <b>e</b> Who follows righteousness <b>e</b>

Song titles: "Toita zvedenga"

Artist: Fungisai Zvakavapano-Mashavave

Song genre: Rupture

RM **a**: Expressing the desire to go to heaven

RM **b**: Expressing the soloist's conviction about the transience of worldly matters

L: *Tiende kudenga, tiende kudenga* We go to heaven, we go to heaven,

<i>tiende kudenga</i> <i>Mwari ndinovaziva vari vanouya</i> <i>Baba ndinovaziva vari vane mbiri</i> <i>Ishe ndinovaziva vari vanouya</i> R: <i>Vanouya toenda, vanouya toenda</i>	we go to heaven <b>a</b> For God I know he is coming <b>a</b> For Father I know he has fame <b>a</b> For the Lord I know he is coming <b>a</b> He comes and we will go, he comes and we will go x 2 <b>a</b>
L: <i>Zvenyika ino ndinozviziva</i> <i>hazviende kure</i> <i>Ndisiyei zvangu ini ndiite zvedenga</i> <i>Ndonamata Mwari</i> R: <i>Ndoita zvedenga</i> L: <i>Ndorumbidza Ishe</i> R: <i>Ndoita zvedenga</i> L: <i>Ndosimudza izwi</i> R: <i>Hona Jesu wakanaka</i> L: <i>Hiya toenda kudenga</i> R: <i>Handei kudenga</i>	I know matters of this world do nit go far <b>b</b> Leave me alone so that I do heavenly matters <b>b</b> I worship God <b>b</b> I do heavenly things <b>b</b> I praise the Lord <b>b</b> I do heavenly things <b>b</b> I raise my voice <b>b</b> See Jesus is good! <b>b</b> Hiya now we go to heaven <b>a</b> Let us go to heaven <b>a</b>
L: <i>Zvenyika ino ndinozviziva</i> <i>hazviende kure</i> <i>Ndisiyei zvangu ini ndiite zvedenga</i> <i>Ndonamata Mwari</i> R: <i>Ndoita zvedenga</i> L: <i>Ndorumbidza</i> R: <i>Ndoita zvedenga</i> L: <i>Ndosimudza izwi</i> <i>Hona Jesu wakanaka</i> R: <i>Hiya toenda kudenga</i> <i>Handei kudenga</i>	I know matters of this world do nit go far <b>b</b> Leave me alone so that I do heavenly matters <b>b</b> I worship God <b>b</b> I do heavenly things <b>b</b> Ishe I praise the Lord <b>b</b> I do heavenly things <b>b</b> I raise my voice <b>b</b> See Jesus is good! <b>b</b> Hiya now we go to heaven <b>a</b> Let us go to heaven <b>a</b>
L: <i>Tiende kudenga, tiende kudenga</i> <i>tiende kudenga</i> <i>Baba ndinovaziva vari vane mbiri</i> <i>Ishe ndinovaziva vari vanouya</i> R: <i>Vanouya toenda, vanouya toenda</i>	We go to heaven, we go to heaven, we go to heaven <b>a</b> For Father I know he has fame <b>a</b> For the Lord I know he is coming <b>a</b> He comes and we will go, he comes and we will go x 2 <b>a</b>
L: <i>Muparidzi wakati zvese hazvina maturo</i> <i>Zvobatsirei hama kunetswa</i> <i>nezvepano pasi?</i> <i>Mhepo ikauya</i> R: <i>Hona inoenda</i> L: <i>Pano pasi hona</i> R: <i>Hapana nechitsva</i> L: <i>Hiya toenda kudenga</i> R: <i>Handei kudenga</i>	The preacher said everything is vanity <b>b</b> What does it help brethren to be troubled by things of this world? <b>b</b> If the wind comes <b>c</b> See, it will go <b>b</b> Here on eath see <b>c</b> There is nothing new <b>b</b> Hiya we are going to heaven <b>c</b> Let us go to heaven <b>b</b>
L: <i>Muparidzi wakati zvese hazvina maturo</i> <i>Zvobatsirei hama kunetswa</i> <i>nezvepano pasi?</i> <i>Mhepo ikauya</i> R: <i>Hona inoenda</i> L: <i>Pano pasi hona</i> R: <i>Hapana nechitsva</i> L: <i>Hiya toenda kudenga</i> R: <i>Handei kudenga</i>	The preacher said everything is vanity <b>b</b> What does it help brethren to be trouble <b>d</b> by things of this world? <b>b</b> If the wind comes <b>c</b> See, it will go <b>b</b> Here on eath see <b>c</b> There is nothing new <b>b</b> Hiya we are going to heaven <b>c</b> Let us go to heaven <b>b</b>
L: <i>Tiende kudenga, tiende kudenga</i> <i>tiende kudenga</i> <i>Mwari ndinovaziva vari vanouya</i> <i>Baba ndinovaziva vari vane mbiri</i> <i>Ishe ndinovaziva vari vanouya</i> R: <i>Vanouya toenda, vanouya toenda</i>	We go to heaven, we go to heaven, we go to heaven <b>a</b> For God I know he is coming <b>a</b> For Father I know he has fame <b>a</b> For the Lord I know he is coming <b>a</b> He comes and we will go, he comes and we will go x 2 <b>a</b>
L: <i>Zvepano pasi ndakazviona hazvina tariro</i> <i>Vakangwara nhasi</i> R: <i>Voita zvedenga</i> L: <i>Voparidza izwi</i> R: <i>Voita zvaBaba</i> L: <i>Vonamatira nyika</i> R: <i>Voita zvaMwari</i> L: <i>Votaura idi hona tisu tichatonga</i> R: <i>Hiya tava kudenga hande kudenga</i>	I have seen things of this world have no hope <b>b</b> Today those who are wise Do heavenly matters <b>b</b> They preach the word They do Father's matters <b>b</b> They pray for the country <b>b</b> They do God's matters <b>b</b> They tell the truth [that], see it is us who will rule <b>b</b> Hiya we are in heaven, let us go to heaven <b>b</b>
L: <i>Zvepano pasi ndakazviona hazvina tariro</i> <i>Vakangwara nhasi</i> R: <i>Voita zvedenga</i>	I have seen things of this world have no hope <b>b</b> Today those who are wise Do heavenly matters <b>b</b>

L: <i>Voparidza izwi</i>	They preach the word
R: <i>Voita zvaBaba</i>	They do Father's matters <b>b</b>
L: <i>Vonamatira nyika</i>	They pray for the country <b>b</b>
R: <i>Voita zvaMwari</i>	They do God's matters <b>b</b>
L: <i>Votaura idi hona tisu tichatonga</i>	They tell the truth [that], see it is us who will rule <b>b</b>
R: <i>Hiya tava kudenga hande kudenga</i>	Hiya we are in heaven, let us go to heaven <b>b</b>
L: <i>Tiende kudenga, tiende kudenga tiende kudenga</i>	We go to heaven, we go to heaven, we go to heaven <b>a</b>
<i>Mwari ndinovaziva vari vanouya</i>	For God I know he is coming <b>a</b>
<i>Baba ndinovaziva vari vane mbiri</i>	For Father I know he has fame <b>a</b>
<i>Ishe ndinovaziva vari vanouya</i>	For the Lord I know he is coming <b>a</b>
R: <i>Vanouya toenda, vanouya toenda</i>	He comes and we will go, he comes and we will go x 2 <b>a</b>
L: <i>Tiende kudenga, tiende kudenga tiende kudenga</i>	We go to heaven, we go to heaven, we go to heaven <b>a</b>
<i>Mwari ndinovaziva vari vanouya</i>	For God I know he is coming <b>a</b>
<i>Baba ndinovaziva vari vane mbiri</i>	For Father I know he has fame <b>a</b>
<i>Ishe ndinovaziva vari vanouya</i>	For the Lord I know he is coming <b>a</b>
R: <i>Vanouya toenda, vanouya toenda</i>	He comes and we will go, he comes and we will go x 2 <b>a</b>
L: <i>Tiende kudenga, tiende kudenga tiende kudenga</i>	We go to heaven, we go to heaven, we go to heaven <b>a</b>
<i>Mwari ndinovaziva vari vanouya</i>	For God I know he is coming <b>a</b>
<i>Baba ndinovaziva vari vane mbiri</i>	For Father I know he has fame <b>a</b>
<i>Ishe ndinovaziva vari vanouya</i>	For the Lord I know he is coming <b>a</b>
R: <i>Vanouya toenda, vanouya toenda</i>	He comes and we will go, he comes and we will go x 2 <b>a</b>
L: <i>Vanouya toenda, vanouya toenda</i>	He will come, he will come and we will go x 2 <b>a</b>
R: <i>Vanouya toenda</i>	He will come and we will go <b>a</b>
L: <i>Mwari</i>	God
R: <i>Vanouya toenda</i>	He will come and we will go <b>a</b>
<i>Vanouya toenda</i>	He will come and we will go <b>a</b>
L: <i>Ishe</i>	The Lord
R: <i>Vanouya toenda</i>	He will come and we will go <b>a</b>
<i>Vanouya toenda</i>	He will come and we will go <b>a</b>
<i>Vanouya toenda</i>	He will come and we will go <b>a</b>
L: <i>Ishe</i>	The Lord
R: <i>Vanouya toenda</i>	He will come and we will go <b>a</b>

### 3.2 Social SOL

Song title: "Rudo rwakafanana nemoto" ("Love is like fire")

Artist: Hosiah Chipanga

Song-genre: Didactic-argumentation

RM **a**: Orienting the song

RM **b**: Stating the importance of love

RM **c**: Expressing the negative impact of love

RM **d**: Encouraging elders to educate children about the dangers of love

<i>Rudo rwakafanana nemoto uri mumusha</i>	Love is like a fire in the home x 2 <b>a</b>
<i>Moto mumusha unodiwa kwazvo kwamuri mose</i>	Fire in the home is very important to both of you x 2 <b>b</b>
<i>Rudo mumusha ndiwo musimboti wemhuri yose</i>	Love in the home is the pivot of the whole family <b>b</b>
<i>Asi moto uyu ingozi</i>	But this fire is a danger <b>c</b>
<i>Ukakanganiswa musha wose unotsva</i>	If mishandled the whole home burns <b>c</b>
<i>Kana rudo urwu ingozi huru mumusha</i>	Even this love is a big danger in the home <b>c</b>
<i>Rukakanganiswa musha wacho unoparara</i>	If mishandled that home crumbles <b>c</b>
<i>Rudo rwakafanana nemoto mumusha</i>	Love is a fire in the home <b>a</b>

<i>Vakuru musarega vana vachimhanya nemoto</i>	Adults do not let children play with fire <b>d</b>
<i>Ukakanganiswa musha wose unotsva</i>	If mishandled the whole home burns x 2 <b>c</b>
<i>Vakuru musarega vana vachimhanya nerudo</i>	Adults do not let children play with love <b>d</b>
<i>Rukakanganiswa musha wose unoparara</i>	If mishandled that home crumbles x 2 <b>c</b>
<i>Rudo rwakafanana nemoto mumusha</i>	Love is a fire in the home <b>a</b>

<i>Vazhinji kwazvo vakaremara nerudo</i>	There are so many [people] who were crippled by love x 2 <b>c</b>
<i>Vazhinji kwazvo vakatisiya nemoto</i>	There are so many [people] who died because of love x 2 <b>c</b>
<i>Vazhinji kwazvo vatakachema nerudo</i>	There are so many [people] we mourned because of love x 2 <b>c</b>
<i>Vazhinji kwazvo vane mavanga emoto</i>	There are so many [people] with scars of fire <b>c</b>
<i>Vazhinji kwazvi vane mavanga erudo</i>	There are so many [people] with scars of love x 2 <b>c</b>

“Moto uyo” (“There is a fire”)

Artist: Thomas Mapfumo

Song genre: Cautionary

RM a: Expressing a warning of an existing danger

RM b: Expressing the cause of the danger

RM c: Expressing the ubiquity of the danger

L: *Vakomanawo chenjerai moto uyo*

Boys beware of that fire **a**

R: *Moto uyo chenjerai moto uyo*

That fire beware of that fire **a**

L: *Vakomanawo chenjerai moto uyo*

Boys beware of that fire **a**

R: *Moto uyo chenjerai moto uyo*

That fire beware of that fire **a**

L: *Vana babawo chenjera moto uyo*

Fathers beware of that fire **a**

R: *Moto uyo chenjerai moto uyo*

That fire beware of that fire **a**

L: *Imi mose munorwara neshanje*

All of you are sick because of jealousy **b**

R: *Neshanje chenjerai neshanje*

Of jealousy beware of jealousy **c**

L: *Imi mose munorwara neshanje*

All of you are sick because of jealousy **c**

R: *Neshanje chenjerai neshanje*

Of jealousy beware of jealousy **c**

L: *Imi mose munorwara neshanje*

All of you are sick because of jealousy **c**

R: *Neshanje chenjerai neshanje*

Of jealousy beware of jealousy **c**

L: *Imi mose munorwara neshanje*

All of you are sick because of jealousy **c**

R: *Neshanje chenjerai neshanje*

Of jealousy beware of jealousy **c**

L: *Vakomanawo chenjerai moto uyo*

Boys beware of that fire **a**

R: *Moto uyo chenjerai moto uyo*

That fire beware of that fire **a**

L: *Nyika yedu yapinduka moto uyo*

Our country has been invaded by that fire **c**

R: *Moto uyo chenjerai moto uyo*

That fire beware of that fire **a**

L: *Hupenyu hwedu hwaoma moto uyo*

Our life has become hard, that fire **c**

R: *Moto uyo chenjerai moto uyo*

That fire beware of that fire **a**

L: *Zvinhu zvedu zvaoma moto uyo*

Our things have become difficult that fire **c**

R: *Moto uyo chenjerai moto uyo*

That fire beware of that fire **a**

L: *Imi mose munorwara neshanje*

All of you are sick because of jealousy **b**

R: *Neshanje chenjerai neshanje*

Of jealousy beware of jealousy **b**

L: *Imi mose munorwara neshanje*

All of you are sick because of jealousy **b**

R: *Neshanje chenjerai neshanje*

Of jealousy beware of jealousy **b**

L: *Imi mose munorwara neshanje*

All of you are sick because of jealousy **b**

R: *Neshanje chenjerai neshanje*

Of jealousy beware of jealousy **b**

L: *Imi mose munorwara neshanje*

All of you are sick because of jealousy **b**

R: *Neshanje chenjerai neshanje*

Of jealousy beware of jealousy **b**

L: *Vakomanawo chenjerai moto uyo*

Boys beware of that fire **a**

R: *Moto uyo chenjerai moto uyo*

That fire beware of that fire **a**

L: *Mbombo hau hau hau, mbombo*

Mbombo hau hau hau, mbombo

*hau hau hau, mbombo hau hau hau*

*hau hau hau, mbombo hau hau hau*

*Hau iweka, hau iweka*

Hau, you, hau you

R: *Pose patiri ndiwo moto*

The ground on which we are is the fire

*mbobombo hau hau*

*mbobombo hau hau c*

L: *Ndiwo chete*

It's the only one **c**

R: *Pose patiri ndiwo moto*

The ground on which we are is the fire **c**

L: *Ndiko kuchema*

It is the cry **c**

L: *Mbombo hau hau hau, mbombo*

Mbombo hau hau hau, mbombo

*hau hau hau, mbombo hau hau hau*

*hau hau hau, mbombo hau hau hau*

*Hau iweka, hau iweka*

Hau, you, hau you

R: *Pose patiri ndiwo moto*

The ground on which we are is the fire

*mbobombo hau hau*

*mbobombo hau hau c*

L: *Ndiwo chete*

It's the only one **c**

R: *Pose patiri ndiwo moto*

The ground on which we are is the fire **c**

L: *Ndiko kuchema*

It is the cry **c**

L: *Mbombo hau hau hau, mbombo*

Mbombo hau hau hau, mbombo

*hau hau hau, mbombo hau hau hau*

*hau hau hau, mbombo hau hau hau*

*Hau iweka, hau iweka*

Hau, you, hau you

R: *Pose patiri ndiwo moto*

The ground on which we are is the fire

*mbobombo hau hau*

*mbobombo hau hau c*

L: *Ndiwo chete*

It's the only one **c**

R: *Pose patiri ndiwo moto*

The ground on which we are is the fire **c**

L: *Ndiko kuchema*

It is the cry **c**

Song title: “Zvwoenda Harare” (“Now that you are going to Harare”)

Artist: Mbira dzeNharira

RM a: Drawing the attention of the listener for the advice

**RM b: Reinforcing the importance of the advice****RM c: Stating the specificities of the advice**

L: <i>Zvowoenda Harare muzukuru wangu</i> R: <i>Chenjera iwe, chenjera iwe</i>	Now that you are going to Harare my grandson <b>a</b> Be carefulm be careful <b>b</b>
L: <i>Zvowoenda Harare mwanangu woye</i> R: <i>Chenjera iwe, chenjera iwe</i>	Now that you are to Harare my child <b>a</b> Be carefulm be careful <b>a</b>
L: <i>Unongwarira matasvuramwoyo</i> R: <i>Chenjera iwe, chenjera iwe</i>	Beware of (ritual) murderers <b>c</b> Be carefulm be careful <b>b</b>
L: <i>Unongwarira zvimhandamakomwe</i> R: <i>Chenjera iwe, chenjera iwe</i>	Beware of pick-pockets <b>a</b> Be carefulm be careful <b>b</b>
L: <i>Unangwanirira zvigashiravaenzi</i> R: <i>Chenjera iwe, chenjera iwe</i>	Beware of vistor-receivers <b>c</b> Be carefulm be careful <b>b</b>
L: <i>Unangwarira kune mwanarume</i> R: <i>Chenjera iwe, chenjera iwe</i>	Be aware of where the son is <b>c</b> Be carefulm be careful <b>b</b>
L: <i>Usati iguta rekutamba naro vanhu veko havarari</i> R: <i>Chenjera iwe, chenjera iwe</i>	Don't think it's a city to play with, people there don't sleep <b>c</b> Be carefulm be careful <b>b</b>
L: <i>Wochenjera zvimhandamakomwe</i> R: <i>Chenjera iwe, chenjera iwe</i>	Beware of pick pockets <b>c</b> Be carefulm be careful <b>b</b>
L: <i>Musikana haapfimbwi wakadhakawa, ukadaro unorereswa vana vechembere</i> R: <i>Chenjera iwe, chenjera iwe</i> L: <i>Kana waita nhomba yedora, tenga unwire kumba</i> R: <i>Chenjera iwe, chenjera iwe</i>	Don't propose to a girl when drunk, if you do that you will be forced to raise children of an old woman <b>c</b> Be carefulm be careful <b>b</b> If you so desire to drink beer, buy and drink at home <b>c</b> Be carefulm be careful <b>b</b>
L: <i>Mari yedikita haivhairwe nayo kunge yekuba kana yemakasa</i> R: <i>Chenjera iwe, chenjera iwe</i>	The money you work for is not the one to be proud of as if it's stolen or gambling money <b>c</b> Be carefulm be careful <b>b</b>
L: <i>Muenzi wanyamutsvagi imbeva inokusiya wakabata muswe yarova pasi</i> R: <i>Chenjera iwe, chenjera iwe</i>	A visitor of a searcher is a mouse that leaves you holding its taile after it has escaped <b>c</b> Be carefulm be careful <b>b</b>
L: <i>Ine hama dzakawanda</i> R: <i>Chenjera iwe, chenjera iwe</i>	Now Harare has many relatives <b>c</b> Be carefulm be careful <b>b</b>
L: <i>Mufambirane, musafuratirana pahukama hwembambo dzedenga</i> R: <i>Chenjera iwe, chenjera iwe</i>	Visit each other, don't turn backs on each other on kinship pinned in the sky <b>c</b> Be carefulm be careful <b>b</b>
L: <i>Vakuru vakati, chawawana idya nehama mutorwa ane hangamwa</i> R: <i>Chenjera iwe, chenjera iwe</i>	For elders have said, what you have found eat with your relatives [because] a foreigner has forgetfulness <b>c</b> Be carefulm be careful <b>b</b>

## Song title: "Amai vaRuby"

Artist: Alick Macheso

Song-genre: Didactic-argumentation

**RM a: Introducing the advice against rumours****RM b: The consequences of rumours to children****RM c: Stating an instance of family that broke because of gossip****RM d: Persuading the listener the argument**

*Zvatiri tose amai vaRuby manzwira-nzwira aya itai mashona*  
*Anopedza musha vana votambura*

Since we are married Ruby's mother,  
reduce to a little the gossip you listen to x 2 **a**  
They destroy the family and children will suffer **b**

*Tarira baba vaJohn namai vaJohn*  
*Vakaparadzana nekuda kwemanzwira*  
*Tarira baba vaJohn namai vaJohn*  
*Vakaparadzana nekuda kwemanzwira*  
*Nekuda kwemanzwira anopunza musha imba yoparara*

See [what happened to] John's father and John's mother **c**  
They divorced because of rumours **c**  
See [what happened to] John's father and John's mother **c**  
They divorced because of rumours **c**  
Because of rumours that destroy a family,  
a marriage crumbles x 2 **c**

*Munozvinzwawo sei, kana muchiona*

How do you feel to see

<i>vana vanenge nherera?</i>	children reduced to orphans? <b>d</b>
<i>Chii chikonzero?</i>	What is the cause? <b>d</b>
<i>Munozvinzwawo sei, kana muchiona</i>	How do you feel to see
<i>vana vanenge nherera?</i>	children reduced to orphans? <b>d</b>
<i>Zvinokonzerwa nei kudai?</i>	What causes things to be this way? <b>d</b>
<i>Hatisi tose vanababa vanorera</i>	Not all of us fathers
<i>vana vemumwe murume</i>	can look after the children of another man <b>b</b>
<i>Zvakaoma veduwe-e</i>	It is really difficult x 2 <b>b</b>
<i>Inzwai tsitsi ivai nevakiridzo</i>	Have mercy and advise each other <b>d</b>

Song title: "Mai vevana"

Artist: Portia Gwanzura

Song genre: Exemplum-didactic

RM **a**: Introducing the complaint

RM **b**: Stating the soloist's good fatherhood roles

RM **c**: Stating the wife's bad behaviour

RM **d**: Expressing what the woman, as wife, should give to her husband

RM **e**: Warning the wife what she should avoid

L: <i>Mai vevana musandidaro, mai vevana</i>	Mother of [my] children do not do that to me, mother of [my] children x3 <b>a</b>
<i>Musi nguva kuenda kumushando</i>	Every time I go to work,
<i>kushandira iwe nevana</i>	I am working for you and the children x 2 <b>b</b>
<i>Mangwana ndiwe woenda iwe</i>	[Then] tomorrow you are the one who go
<i>Kuvavakidzani vedu wonoti:</i>	To our neighbours and say: <b>c</b>
<i>Baba vekwangu</i>	The father of where I belong
R: <i>Isimbe</i>	Is a lazy man <b>c</b>
L: <i>Baba vekwangu</i>	The father of where I belong
R: <i>Havana chavainacho</i>	He does not own anything <b>c</b>
L: <i>Baba vekwangu</i>	The father of where I belong
R: <i>Isimbe</i>	Is a lazy man <b>c</b>
L: <i>Baba vekwangu</i>	The father of where I belong
R: <i>Havana chavainacho</i>	He does not own anything <b>c</b>
L: <i>Shungu nemusha uno ndinadzo</i>	I have concern with this family <b>b</b>
<i>Iwe hauzvioni mai vevana</i>	But you can't see this mother of [my] children <b>c</b>
<i>Ndikakutuma</i>	If [decide to send] you [somewhere]
R: <i>Haudi</i>	You refuse <b>b</b>
L: <i>Ndikakushevedza</i>	If I call you
R: <i>Unoramba</i>	You refuse <b>b</b>
L: <i>Ndikakuti ndipe</i>	If say to you, give me
R: <i>Unondinyima</i>	You deny me <b>b</b>
L: <i>Uri mukadzi papiko mai vevana?</i>	What sort of a wife are you mother of [my] children <b>c</b>
<i>Ndikanokumbira panext door wovava</i>	If I go and ask next door you become extremely angry <b>c</b>
<i>Wonditi ndiri pfeve, ndiri zinzenza</i>	Then you call me an adulterer, a person of loose morals <b>c</b>
<i>Mai vevana musandidaro</i>	Mother of [my] children do not do that to me, mother of [my] children x 3 <b>a</b>
<i>Ndipe zvinhu zvangu sababa vemusha</i>	Give me my things as father of this family <b>d</b>
<i>Undipewo chimiro pane vamwe varume</i>	So that you give me a good image among other men <b>d</b>
<i>Undipewo kodzero dzangu sababa vamba</i>	So that you give me my rights as father of the marriage <b>d</b>
<i>Undipewo chimiro pane vamwe varume</i>	So that you give me a good image among other men <b>d</b>
<i>Handidi mukadzi ane masimuka tienzane</i>	I don't want a woman who competes with me x 3 <b>c</b>
<i>Ndikakutuma</i>	If [decide to send] you [somewhere]
R: <i>Haudi</i>	You refuse <b>b</b>
L: <i>Ndikakushevedza</i>	If I call you
R: <i>Unoramba</i>	You refuse <b>b</b>
L: <i>Ndikakuti ndipe</i>	If say to you, give me
R: <i>Unondinyima</i>	You deny me <b>b</b>
L: <i>Uri mukadzi papiko mai vevana?</i>	What sort of a wife are you mother of [my] children <b>c</b>
<i>Ndikanokumbira panext door wovava</i>	If I go and ask next door you become extremely angry <b>c</b>
<i>Wonditi ndiri pfeve, ndiri zinzenza</i>	Then you call me an adulterer, a person of loose morals <b>c</b>
<i>Ndikakutuma</i>	If [decide to send] you [somewhere]
R: <i>Haudi</i>	You refuse <b>b</b>
L: <i>Ndikakushevedza</i>	If I call you
R: <i>Unoramba</i>	You refuse <b>b</b>
L: <i>Ndikakuti ndipe</i>	If say to you, give me
R: <i>Unondinyima</i>	You deny me <b>b</b>
L: <i>Uri mukadzi papiko mai vevana?</i>	What sort of a wife are you mother of [my] children <b>c</b>
<i>Ndikanokumbira panext door wovava</i>	If I go and ask next door you become extremely angry <b>c</b>
<i>Wonditi ndiri pfeve, ndiri zinzenza</i>	Then you call me an adulterer, a person of loose morals <b>c</b>
Chorus	
<i>Pane zvoise zvaunoita mai vevana</i>	Of all things that you do mother of [my] children

<i>Rega kutungamidza mari pamberi</i>	Do not put money in front <b>e</b>
<i>Pane zvose zvaunoita dhiya iwe</i>	Of all things that you do my dear
<i>Rega kutungamidza mari pamberi</i>	Do not put money in front <b>e</b>
<i>Rudo ndirwo rukuru, rudo ndizvo</i>	Love is more important, love is the right thing
<i>Rega kutungamidza mari pamberi</i>	Do not put money in front <b>e</b>

*Mai vevana musandidaro* Mother of [my] children do not do that to me x 3 **a**

Song title: “Baba vaAbhisarni” (“Abhisaroni’s father”)

Artist: Kireni Zulu

Song genre: Narrative-didactic

RM **a**: Expressing remorse

RM **b**: Expressing the cause for begging for forgiveness

RM **c**: Articulating the cause for the woman’s loss of child/complicating event

Singing

<i>Ndiregererewo murume wangu kani</i>	Please forgive me my husband x 2 <b>a</b>
<i>Ndakakutadzira murume wangu</i>	I wronged you my husband x 2 <b>a</b>
<i>Imi baba vaAbhisaroni</i>	You Abhisaroni’s father <b>a</b>
<i>Ndakakutadzira murume wangu</i>	I wronged you my husband <b>a</b>
<i>Baba vaAbhisaroni</i>	Abhisaroni’s father <b>a</b>
<i>Ndakakanganwawo mwana ini</i>	Me, I forgot the child <b>b</b>
<i>Baba vaAbhisaroni</i>	Abhisaroni’s father <b>a</b>

Narration

<i>Ndevamwe amai vaigara</i>	This one a certain mother
<i>vachinamata chaizvo pamberi paMwari,</i>	who used to pray a lot before God
<i>Vachiti dai ndawanawo masofa, mafiriji</i>	Asking if she could get sofas, friges,
<i>Nezvose zvinowanikwa mumba yevarungu</i>	And everything gadget found in a western house <b>c</b>
<i>Rimwe zuva vari kumasowe vakanzwa izwi</i>	One day when she was in the wilderness she heard a voice
<i>Vakabereka mwana wavo kumusana</i>	She was carrying her baby on her back,
<i>Zvikanzi, “Amai Abhisaroni”, vakati “Shewe”</i>	It said, “Abhisaroni’s mother!”, she said, “Here I am my Lord”
<i>Zvikanzi, “Huyai kuno”</i>	It said, “Come here” <b>c</b>
<i>Havana kunzwa kuti inzwi iri rakabva nokupi</i>	She did not hear where the voice was coming from
<i>Vakanyatsoteerera, “Amai Abhisaroni</i>	She listened carefully, “Abhisaroni’s mother!
<i>amai Abhisaroni!”</i>	Abhisaroni’s mother!”
<i>Haa inzwi riye havana kunzwa kuti iri rakabva nokupi</i>	Haa again she did not hear where the voice was coming from <b>c</b>
<i>Vakateerera vakateerera asi hahaha ha</i>	She listened and listened but hahaha ha
<i>Kuzoti vafamba kudaro</i>	After she had walked
<i>Vakasvika vakaona zibako rakanga rakavhurika</i>	She arrived where there was a huge open cave <b>c</b>
<i>Muzibako umu maive mune mafiriji, masofa</i>	In this huge cave there were friges, sofas
<i>Nezvose zvavaigara vachinamatira</i>	And everything she was always praying for <b>c</b>
<i>Izwi riya rikati, “Amai Abhisaroni,</i>	Then the voice said, “Abhisaroni’s mother,
<i>torai zvose zvamunoda,</i>	take everything that you want,
<i>Munamato wenyu wanzwikwa”</i>	Your prayer has been heard”
<i>Mai Abhisaroni vakapinda muzibako riye</i>	Abhisaroni’s mother entered the huge cave
<i>Vakatutunura, vakatutunura, ndokututunura</i>	She removed many things, she removed many things,
	and removed many things <b>c</b>
<i>Kuzoti vasvika pane kamwe kafiriji kakanga karimo,</i>	Now on coming to a certain small frige
<i>Vakati handingakwanisi kukatakura</i>	She said I cannot remove it with the back on my back
<i>Vakaburutsa mwana</i>	She removed the baby from her back
<i>ndokumurarisa mukasofa kakanga karimo</i>	to lay her on a small sofa <b>c</b>
<i>Pavakati vabuda panze</i>	Now when she was outside
<i>vavakunan’anidza zvinhu zvakanga vatora</i>	scutinizing the goods she had taken
<i>Izwi riya rikatanga kusheedzera zvekare zvikanzi</i>	That voice started calling out again saying
<i>“Amai Abhisaroni, Amai Abhisaroni!</i>	“Abhisaroni’s mother! Abhisaroni’s mother!
<i>Pane chamuchada here mukati umu?”</i>	Is there anything else that you still want inside [the cave]?”
<i>Vakati, “Aah kwete”</i>	She said, “Aa no” <b>c</b>
<i>Bako riya rikatanga kuvharika</i>	The cave started to slowly to close up
<i>zvisvishoma nezvisvishoma dzamara rati dhuma</i>	until it was completely shut.
<i>Ndopavakanzwa kamwana kuchema</i>	That is when she heard voice of a child crying
<i>Vakati, “Aaah ndakanganwa mwana mukati!”</i>	She said, “Aaah, I have forgotten my child inside”
<i>Vakatanga kuchema vachimhanya vakananga kumba</i>	She started to run away home crying <b>c</b>

Singing

<i>Ndiregererewo murume wangu kani</i>	Please forgive me my husband x 2 <b>a</b>
<i>Ndakakutadzira murume wangu</i>	I wronged you my husband x 2 <b>a</b>
<i>Imi baba vaAbhisaroni</i>	You Abhisaroni’s father <b>a</b>
<i>Ndakakutadzira murume wangu</i>	I wronged you my husband <b>a</b>
<i>Baba vaAbhisaroni</i>	Abhisaroni’s father <b>a</b>
<i>Ndakakanganwawo mwana ini</i>	Me, I forgot the child <b>b</b>
<i>Baba vaAbhisaroni</i>	Abhisaroni’s father <b>a</b>

Song title: ‘Ndakasikwa’

Artist: Kireni Zulu

Song genre: Persuasion

RM **a**: Orienting the creation story

RM **b**: Explaining the creation of Eve

RM **c**: Searching for Eve’s gender roles

RM **d**: Stating Eve’s marital roles

RM **e**: Expressing the woman’s desire from her husband

RM **f**: Expressing the cause of the woman’s hatred of polygamy

RM **g**: Explaining jealousy as everyone’s problem

L: *Mwari wakasika munhu nomufananidzo wake*  
*Wakatora munhu ndokumuisa muEdheni*

God created a human being according to his own image **a**  
He took the person and put him in Eden x 2 **a**

*Wakamurarisa hope ndokutyora mbabvu*  
*Ndokuumba Evha ndokumuisa muEdheni*

He made him to sleep and broke a rib [from him] **b**  
He created Eve and put her in Eden x 2 **b**

*Mwari asika Adamu, amusiya muEdheni*  
*Wakaona kuti hazvina kumukwanira*

After God created Adam he put him **a**  
He saw that Adam was not comfortable **c**

*Wakamurarisa hope huru kwazvo*  
*Ndokutyora mbabvu ndokuumba Evha*  
*Ndokumuisa muEdheni*

He made him to sleep deeply **b**  
He broke a rib and created Eve **b**  
He put her in Eden x 2 **b**

*Nhai basa raEvha ibasa reiko?*  
*Ndiudzeiwo*  
*Nhai basa raEvha ibasa reiko arimo muEdheni?*  
*Nhai basa raEvha ibasa reiko?*  
*Iro basa raEvha nanhasi tinaye mumba umu*  
*Regai ataure*

Please, what was really Eve’s role? **c**  
Please, tell me **c**  
Please, what was really Eve’s role in Eden? **c**  
Please, what was really Eve’s role? **c**  
That role of Eve even we have her in the house  
Let her speak **c**

R: *Ini ndakasikirwa kufadza murume*  
*nekumupa zvose zvaanoda*  
*Inini ndakasikwa kukudza murume*  
*ndichimupa rudo rwakakwana*  
*Iwe murume wangu tichagara tose*  
*Ndichakupa rudo rwakakwana*

I was created to make my husband happy  
and to give him everything he wants **d**  
I was created to respect my husband  
and giving him adequate love **d**  
You my husband, we will live together **d**  
I will give you enough love **d**

*Murume wangu, murume wangu ndipe rudo*  
*Ini ndine shanje*  
*Ini ndine shanje chokwadi*  
*Chandisingadi chandisingadi chete kuparikwa*  
*Wangu ndewangu, wangu ndewangu,*  
*Wangu ndewangu ndega chokwadi*

My husband, my husband give me love **e**  
Me, I have jealousy x 2 **f**  
Me, I have jealousy **f**  
What I don’t want, what I only don’t want is to be polygamized x 2 **f**  
He is mine, he is mine, **f**  
Truly, he is mine alone **f**

L: *Hapana asina shanje, hapana asina shanje*  
*Hapana asina shanje, iwe une shanje chokwadi*

There is no one without jealous, there is no one without jelous **g**  
There is no one without jealous, truly you [also] have jelousy **g**

Song title: “Amaiguru”

Artist: Marko Sibanda

Song genre: Exemplum-didactic

RM **a**: Expressing the man’s negative fatherhood

RM **b**: Articulating the advice to live a positive (polygamous) fatherhood

L: *Nhai mukoma madirei kurova maiguru?*  
*Mava kuvarova nekuti kwaita mukadzi mudiki*  
*Pamba pano here?*  
*Nhai mukoma madirei kurova maiguru?*  
*Mava kuvarova nekuti kwaita mukadzi mudiki*  
*Pamba pano here?*  
*Mukadzi mudiki uyu hamusati maziva*  
*Kuti zvamunoda achazvikwanisa here*  
*Mukadzi mudiki uyu hamusati maziva*  
*Kuti zvamunoda achazvikwanisa here*

Surely my brother why have you decided to beat sister-in-law? **a**  
You are beating her because you a junior wife  
You have brought in the family? **a**  
Surely my brother why have you decided to beat sister-in-law? **a**  
You are beating her because you a junior wife  
You have brought in the family? **a**  
You have not yet known whether this junior wife **b**  
Will know what you want [as husband] **b**  
You have not yet known whether this junior wife **b**  
Will know what you want [as husband] **b**

*Zivai kuti amaiguru ndoovaakuziva*  
*Zvose zvamunoda imi*  
*Zivai kuti amaiguru ndoovaakuziva*  
*Zvose zvamunoda imi*

You should know that your first wife is the one who knows **b**  
Everything that you want **b**  
You should know that your first wife is the one who knows **b**  
Everything that you want **b**

<i>Pano vana kuenda kuchikoro ndimaiguru</i>	For children to go to school here it is because of your first wife <b>a</b>
<i>Muri kusarika papi mukoma?</i>	Where are you getting lost? <b>a</b>
<i>Musadaro</i>	Do not do that <b>a</b>
<i>Pano vana kuenda kuchikoro ndimaiguru</i>	For children to go to school here it is because of your first wife <b>a</b>
<i>Muri kusarika papi mukoma?</i>	Where are you getting lost? <b>a</b>
<i>Musadaro</i>	Do not do that <b>a</b>
<b>Storytelling</b>	
<i>Kanyaya kandiri kuimba pano kakaitika kumba kweedu</i>	The little story I am singing here happened at our home <b>a</b>
<i>Apo mukoma vagaya zvokuita vakadzi two</i>	When my brother decided to take a second wife <b>a</b>
<i>Ndini ndaigara navo</i>	I am the one who was staying with them <b>a</b>
<i>Ini ndairara mangu ndega</i>	I had my own room in which I slept alone <b>a</b>
<i>Ivo vairara mubedroom mavo namaiguru</i>	While my brother and his first wife slept in their own bedroom <b>a</b>
<i>Zvakatanga kumaone-one usiku</i>	It all started around one in the morning <b>a</b>
<i>Ndakangonzwa chava chimoto</i>	I heard some commotion <b>a</b>
<i>Kikiri kikiri kikiri Yowe!Yowe! babamunini mhanya!</i>	Kikiri kikiri kikiri Yowe!Yowe! brother-in-law please come and help! <b>a</b>
<i>Ndakamhanya ndakapfeka kashoti ndokupusha door</i>	I ran only with my shorts on and pushed the door open <b>a</b>
<i>Ndikati, "Mukoma zvaita sei?,</i>	I said, "Brother what's the problem?"
<i>Munouraya mukadzi nhai mukoma,</i>	He said, "She does not respect me" <b>a</b>
<i>munouraya mukadzi!"</i>	You will kill your wife brother
<i>"Ndokuuraya!"</i>	You will kill your wife" <b>a</b>
<i>Ndikati, "Zvaita sei? Aita sei mukoma?"</i>	"I kill you!" <b>a</b>
<i>Zvikanzi, "Anondidherera"</i>	I said, what's the problem? What has your wife done brother?" <b>a</b>
<i>Ndikati, "Aa nhai mukoma,</i>	He said, "She does not respect me" <b>a</b>
<i>vana vashanu namaiguru ava,</i>	I said, "Aa tell me brother,
<i>Maakuti madhererwa,</i>	you have five children with this sister-in-law,
<i>nokuti paita mukadzi mudiki uyu?</i>	You are not being respected,
<i>Aiwa mukoma, ndiri mudiki zvangu,</i>	because now there is this junior wife?" <b>a</b>
<i>chimbotorai mashoko angu,</i>	No brother, I am younger,
<i>Andiri kukupai parizvino,</i>	but please listen to my advice <b>b</b>
<i>itai so mukoma, itai so, itai so</i>	The advice I am giving you right now,
	do this brother, do this, this <b>b</b>
L: <i>Vaenzanise mukoma</i>	Treat them equally brother <b>b</b>
R: <i>Vaenzanise</i>	Treat them equally <b>b</b>
L: <i>Vakadzi vako vose</i>	Both your wives <b>b</b>
R: <i>Vaenzanise</i>	Treat them equally <b>b</b>
L: <i>Vaenzanise mukoma</i>	Treat them equally brother <b>b</b>
R: <i>Vaenzanise</i>	Treat them equally <b>b</b>
L: <i>Vakadzi vako vose</i>	Both your wives <b>b</b>
R: <i>Vaenzanise</i>	Treat them equally <b>b</b>
L: <i>Kungava iko pakupfeka</i>	When buying them clothes <b>b</b>
R: <i>Vaenzanise</i>	Treat them equally <b>b</b>
L: <i>Kungava iko pakuvhakacha</i>	When going out with them <b>b</b>
R: <i>Vaenzanise</i>	Treat them equally <b>b</b>
L: <i>Kungava iko pakubika</i>	When providing them with something to cook <b>b</b>
R: <i>Vaenzanise</i>	Treat them equally <b>b</b>
L: <i>Kungava iko pakudanana</i>	When you love them <b>b</b>
R: <i>Vaenzanise</i>	Treat them equally <b>b</b>
L: <i>Kungava iko pantsbantshantsha</i>	When you kiss them <b>b</b>
R: <i>Vaenzanise</i>	Treat them equally <b>b</b>
L: <i>Kungava iko halala</i>	When you love them <b>b</b>
R: <i>Vaenzanise</i>	Treat them equally <b>b</b>
R: <i>Vaenzanise</i>	Treat them equally <b>b</b>
L: <i>Vaenzanise mukoma</i>	Brother, treat them equally <b>b</b>
R: <i>Vaenzanise</i>	Treat them equally <b>b</b>
L: <i>Vaenzanise mukoma</i>	Brother, treat them equally <b>b</b>
R: <i>Vaenzanise</i>	Treat them equally <b>b</b>
L: <i>Vaenzanise mukoma</i>	Brother, treat them equally <b>b</b>
R: <i>Vaenzanise</i>	Treat them equally <b>b</b>
L: <i>Vakadzi vako vose</i>	Both your wives <b>b</b>
R: <i>Vaenzanise</i>	Treat them equally <b>b</b>
L: <i>Vakadzi vako vose</i>	Both your wives <b>b</b>
R: <i>Vaenzanise</i>	Treat them equally <b>b</b>
L: <i>Vaenzanise mukoma</i>	Brother, treat them equally <b>b</b>
R: <i>Vaenzanise</i>	Treat them equally <b>b</b>
L: <i>Vakadzi vako vose</i>	Both your wives <b>b</b>
R: <i>Vaenzanise</i>	Treat them equally <b>b</b>
L: <i>Vakadzi vako vose</i>	Both your wives <b>b</b>
R: <i>Vaenzanise</i>	Treat them equally <b>b</b>
L: <i>Kungava iko pakupfeka</i>	When you buy them clothes <b>b</b>
R: <i>Vaenzanise</i>	Treat them equally <b>b</b>

L: <i>Kungava iko pakuvhakacha</i>	When you travel with them <b>b</b>
R: <i>Vaenzanise</i>	Treat them equally <b>b</b>
L: <i>Kungava iko pakubika</i>	When providing them with something to cook <b>b</b>
R: <i>Vaenzanise</i>	Treat them equally <b>b</b>
L: <i>Kungava iko pakudanana</i>	When you give them love <b>b</b>
R: <i>Vaenzanise</i>	Treat them equally <b>b</b>
L: <i>Kungava iko pantshantshantsha</i>	When you kiss them <b>b</b>
R: <i>Vaenzanise</i>	Treat them equally <b>b</b>
L: <i>Kungava iko halala</i>	When you do good things to them <b>b</b>
R: <i>Vaenzanise</i>	Treat them equally <b>b</b>
L: <i>Kurova-rova mukoma</i>	Brother, the habit of beating <b>b</b>
R: <i>Kwakaipa imi</i>	Is bad <b>b</b>
L: <i>Kurova-rova mukoma</i>	Brother, the habit of beating <b>b</b>
R: <i>Unouraya mukadzi</i>	You kill your wife <b>b</b>
L: <i>Kurova-rova mukoma</i>	Brother, the habit of beating <b>b</b>
R: <i>Kwakaipa imi</i>	Is bad <b>b</b>
L: <i>Kurova-rova mukoma</i>	Brother, the habit of beating <b>b</b>
R: <i>Unouraya mumwe wenyu</i>	You kill your partner <b>b</b>
L: <i>Musadaro mukoma wangu</i>	Do not do that brother <b>b</b>
<i>Musadaro Baba vaShupi</i>	Do not do that Shupi's father <b>b</b>
<i>Musadaro mukoma wangu</i>	Do not do that my brother <b>b</b>
<i>Musadaro Baba vaNiki</i>	Do not do that Niki's father <b>b</b>
L: <i>Kurova-rova mukoma</i>	Brother, the habit of beating <b>b</b>
<i>Kurova-rova kani</i>	The habit of beating really <b>b</b>
<i>Kurova-rova mukoma imi</i>	Brother, the habit of beating <b>b</b>
<i>Kurova-rova kani</i>	The habit of beating really <b>b</b>
<i>Kurova-rova imi</i>	The habit of beating really <b>b</b>
L: <i>Vaenzanise mukoma</i>	Brother, treat them equally <b>b</b>
R: <i>Vaenzanise</i>	Treat the equally <b>b</b>
L: <i>Vakadzi vako vose</i>	Both your wives <b>b</b>
R: <i>Vaenzanise</i>	Treat the equally <b>b</b>
L: <i>Kungava iko pakupfeka</i>	When you buy them clothes <b>b</b>
R: <i>Vaenzanise</i>	Treat them equally <b>b</b>
L: <i>Kungava iko pakuchena</i>	When you buy them nice clothes <b>b</b>
R: <i>Vaenzanise</i>	Treat them equally <b>b</b>
Song title: "Small house"	
Artist: Leonard Zhakata	
Song genre: Exemplum-argumentation	
RM a: Stating the argument	
RM b: Motivating the argument	
RM c: Rejecting a polygamous relationship	
RM d: Expressing support the decision to reject polygamy	
<i>Vadikani kusaziva kufa ndizivisei pandisingazive</i>	Beloved ones ignorance means death, tell me where I don't know x 2 <b>a</b>
<i>Vangani vangagone zvole zvigooneka nekuyemurika?</i>	How many can do everything that can be seen and appreciated? x 2 <b>a</b>
<i>Shoko rekuti rudo tingarizive tose</i>	We may all know the word love,
<i>asi vanorunzwisisa vashoma chose</i>	but those who understand it are few x 2 <b>a</b>
<i>Ndorega kupedza nguva rega ndibate mongo wenyaya</i>	Let me waste no time and focus on the crux of the matter <b>a</b>
<i>Wangu mudiwa ndokunyore gwaro</i>	My lover [husband] wrote a letter
<i>ini kusaziva tirikuvirikidzwa</i>	I did not know that I am being double-crossed x 2 <b>b</b>
<i>Ndotarisa mitaratadzo yezita</i>	On checking the hand-writing on the name,
<i>wanike ndiye akabika nechinyoreso</i>	I discover that he is the one who wrote with a pen x2 <b>b</b>
<i>Nhai mudiwa wakanyore tsamba mumwe wangu</i>	Please, darling you wrote the letter, my partner <b>b</b>
<i>Wakanyore tsamba mudiwa wangu</i>	Darling you wrote the letter <b>b</b>
<i>Wakanyore tsamba iwewe</i>	It is really you who wrote <b>b</b>
<i>Wakanyore tsamba mudiwa wangu</i>	Darling you wrote the letter <b>b</b>
<i>Wakanyore tsamba iwewe</i>	It is really you who wrote <b>b</b>
<i>Ini kusaziva tigere zvedu uri samisha</i>	For me I was unaware, thinking I am together
<i>Mudiwa kani zviru nani undiudze mumwe wangu</i>	with you as the family head <b>b</b>
<i>Pandinokundikana murudo</i>	Please my darling it is better that you tell me my partner <b>b</b>
	Where I fail in love x2 <b>b</b>
<i>Murudo rwuzhinji rwunongopika zvenhema</i>	In love most [people] swear falsely <b>b</b>
<i>Murudo vazhinji vanongopika zvenhema</i>	In love most [people] just swear falsely <b>b</b>
<i>Mukufara nemukusuwa kwangu kwose</i>	In all my happiness and sorrow

*ndinopika tichange tiri tose*  
*Mukufara nemukusuwa kwangu kwose*  
*ndinopika uchange uripo iweiwe*  
 Everybody is dancing, everybody is jumping **b**  
 Everybody is happy *newe uripo ipapo*  
*Ko ini wandisiya sei uchinofara, wandisiya sei?*

I swear we shall always be together x2 **b**  
 In all my happiness and sorrow  
 I swear you the only one who shall be there **b**

Everybody is happy and you are also there **b**  
 Why have you left me behind going for pleasure,  
 why have you left me? **b**

*Murudo vazhinji vanovimbisa nhema*  
*Handidi zvangu, handidi zvangu kugavaniswa murudo*  
*Handidi zvangu, handidi zvangu kugavaniswa murudo*  
*Irwo rudo runobhebha kwandiri runobhebha*  
*Handidi zvangu kugavaniswa murudo*

In love most [people] make false promises x2 **b**  
 I do not want, for me I do not want to be doubled in love **c**  
 I do not want, for me I do not want to be doubled in love **c**  
 Love burns in me, it burns **c**  
 I do not want to be doubled in love **c**

*Yanetsa nyaya yetumasmall house*  
*Yanetsa nyaya yedzimba dzeruvande*  
*Yanetsa nyaya yetumasecond house*

The [condemned] issue of small houses has caused problems **d**  
 The issue of marriages of secrecy has caused problems **d**  
 The issue of [condemned] second houses has caused problems **d**

*Yanetsa nyaya yedzimba dzeruvande*  
*Irwo rudo runobhebha kwandiri runobhebha*  
*Ramba, ramba iwewe kugavaniswa murudo*

The issue of marriages of secrecy has caused problems **d**  
 Love burns in me, it burns **c**  
 Refuse, you refuse to be doubled in love **c**

Song title: "Mhengeramumba"

Artist: Nicholas Zakaria

Song genre: Exemplum-didactic

RM **a**: Condemning a husband's behaviour

RM **b**: Qualifying the behaviour

RM **c**: Advising on proper fatherhood

*Kana uri mumba medu unovava semhiripiri*  
*Kana wabuda kunze unova munhu munyoro-nyoro*

When you are in house you are bitter like chilli **a**  
 When you are in public you become a cultured person x 2 **a**

*Vanhu vakadaro vanonzi mhengeramumba*  
*Kunze havambopenga avo*  
*Ndivo vanonzi mhengeramumba*  
*Kunze havambopenga avo*

People you behave like that are called in-house wife tormentors **b**  
 Outside they do not go beserk **b**  
 These are called in-house wife tormentors **b**  
 Outside they really do not go beserk **b**

*Nhai baba vevana murume wangu*  
*Sei uchindishungurudza mwoyo wangu?*

Please father of [my] children **a**  
 Why do you torment my heart? **a**

*Tsitsi kana tsika dzakanaka*  
*ngadzitangire mumba medu*  
*Kana kuri kupenga,*  
*pengai nekunze kwese baba vevana*

Mercy or good habits  
 should start in our home x 2 **c**  
 If it is about going beserk,  
 then do so both in the house and in public father of [my] children x 2 **c**

*Tsitsi kana tsika dzakanaka*  
*ngadzitangire mumba medu*  
*Kana kuri kupenga,*  
*pengai nekunze kwese baba vevana*

Mercy or good habits  
 should start in our home x 2 **c**  
 If it is about going beserk,  
 then do so both in the house and in public father of [my] children x 2 **c**

Song title: "Baba"

Artist: Oliver Mtukudzi

Song genre: Exemplum

RM **a**: Criticizing their father's bad behaviour

RM **b1**: Stating the effects of the behaviour on children

RM **b2**: Stating the effects of the behaviour on the wife

L: *Imi baba manyanya, kurovai mai*  
*Ndimi baba manyanya, kutuka mai*  
*Imi baba manyanya, kurovai mai*  
*Ndimi baba manyanya, kutuka mai*  
*Munoti isu vana tingafara seiko?*  
*Isusu vana tingafare seiko?*  
*Kana mai vachichema pameso pedu*  
*Kana mai vachichema pameso pedu*

Father you have done it excessively, beating mother **a**  
 Father you have done it excessively, scolding mother **a**  
 Father you have done it excessively, beating mother **a**  
 Father you have done it excessively, scolding mother **a**  
 How do you think we child are going to be happy? **b1**  
 We child how are we going to be happy? **b1**  
 When mother cries in our sight **b1**  
 When mother cries in our sight **b1**

*Hunzi ponda hako ndifire pavana vangu*

She declares you can murder me and I die for [for the sake of] my children **b2**

*Ponda hako ndifire pavana vangu*  
*Tozeza baba*

You can murder me and I die for [for the sake of] my children **b2**

R: *Tozeza baba*

We fear [our] father **b1**

L: *Baba chidhakwa*

We fear [our] father **b1**

Father is a drunkard **a**

R: <i>Tozeza baba</i>	We fear [our] father <b>b1</b>
L: <i>Tozeza baba</i>	We fear [our] father <b>b1</b>
R: <i>Tozeza baba</i>	We fear [our] father <b>b1</b>
L: <i>Vauya vadhakwa</i>	He came [home] drunk <b>a</b>
R: <i>Tozeza baba</i>	We fear [our] father <b>b1</b>
L: <i>Imi baba manyanya, kurovai mai</i>	Father you have done it excessively, beating mother <b>a</b>
<i>Ndimi baba manyanya, kutuka mai</i>	Father you have done it excessively, scolding mother <b>a</b>
<i>Imi baba manyanya, kurovai mai</i>	Father you have done it excessively, beating mother <b>a</b>
<i>Ndimi baba manyanya, kutuka mai</i>	Father you have done it excessively, scolding mother <b>a</b>
<i>Munoti isu vana tingafara seiko?</i>	How do you think we child are going to be happy? <b>b1</b>
<i>Isusu vana tingafare seiko?</i>	We child how are we going to be happy? <b>b1</b>
<i>Kana mai vachichema pameso pedu</i>	When mother cries in our sight <b>b1</b>
<i>Kana mai vachichema pameso pedu</i>	When mother cries in our sight <b>b1</b>
<i>Hunzi ponda hako ndifire pavana vangu</i>	She declares you can murder me and I die for [for the sake of] my children <b>b2</b>
<i>Ponda hako ndifire pavana vangu</i>	You can murder me and I die for [for the sake of] my children <b>b2</b>
<i>Tozeza baba</i>	We fear [our] father <b>b1</b>
R: <i>Tozeza baba</i>	We fear [our] father <b>b1</b>
L: <i>Baba chidhakwa</i>	Father is a drunkard <b>a</b>
R: <i>Tozeza baba</i>	We fear [our] father <b>b1</b>
L: <i>Tozeza baba</i>	We fear [our] father <b>b1</b>
R: <i>Tozeza baba</i>	We fear [our] father <b>b1</b>
L: <i>Vauya vadhakwa</i>	He came [home] drunk <b>a</b>
R: <i>Tozeza baba</i>	We fear [our] father <b>b1</b>

Song title: "Handibvume"

Artist: Josphat Somanje

Song genre: Exemplum

RM **a**: Expressing the protagonist resolve of how to deal with threat of divorce

RM **b**: Expressing protagonist's strategy of dealing with the problem

RM **c**: Expressing the consequences of her strategy to her husband

RM **d**: Stating the husband's negative fatherhood

<i>Murume wangu handibve pano</i>	My husband I will not leave this place <b>a</b>
<i>Kana wati ndibve pano</i>	If you want me to leave,
<i>wondimedzesa vana vangu</i>	make me swallow my children <b>b</b>
<i>Ini ndodzokera paya</i>	Then return me to my maiden days <b>b</b>

<i>Murume wangu handibve pano</i>	My husband I will not leave this place <b>a</b>
<i>Kana wati ndibve pano</i>	If you want me to leave,
<i>wondimedzesa vana vangu</i>	make me swallow my children <b>b</b>
<i>Ini ndodzokera paya</i>	Then return me to my maiden days <b>b</b>
<i>Pawakandiona ndiri</i>	That time when you saw me <b>b</b>
<i>Iwe wotangazve kundipfimba</i>	Then start again to court me <b>b</b>
<i>Kana wandipfimba ndoramba</i>	If you court me I will not accept <b>b</b>
<i>This time handibvume</i>	This time I will refuse <b>c</b>

<i>Murume wangu handibve pano</i>	My husband I will not leave this place <b>a</b>
<i>Kana wati ndibve pano</i>	If you want me to leave,
<i>wondimedzesa vana vangu</i>	make me swallow my children <b>b</b>
<i>Ini ndodzokera paya</i>	Then return me to my maiden days <b>b</b>
<i>Pawakandiona ndiri</i>	That time when you saw me <b>b</b>
<i>Iwe wotangazve kundipfimba</i>	Then start again to court me <b>b</b>
<i>Kana wandipfimba ndoramba</i>	If you court me I will not accept <b>b</b>
<i>This time hauhwine</i>	This time you will not win <b>c</b>

<i>Murume wangu handibve pano</i>	My husband I will not leave this place <b>a</b>
<i>Kana wati ndibve pano</i>	If you want me to leave,
<i>wondimedzesa vana vangu</i>	make me swallow my children <b>b</b>
<i>Ini ndodzokera paya</i>	Then return me to my maiden days <b>b</b>
<i>Pawakandiona ndiri</i>	That time when you saw me <b>b</b>
<i>Iwe wotangazve kundipfimba</i>	Then start again to court me <b>b</b>
<i>Kana wandipfimba ndoramba</i>	If you court me I will not accept <b>b</b>
<i>I don't want this nonsense c</i>	

<i>Murume wangu handibve pano</i>	My husband I will not leave this place <b>a</b>
<i>Kana wati ndibve pano</i>	If you want me to leave,
<i>wondimedzesa vana vangu</i>	make me swallow my children <b>b</b>
<i>Ini ndodzokera paya</i>	Then return me to my maiden days <b>b</b>
<i>Pawakandiona ndiri</i>	That time when you saw me <b>b</b>
<i>Iwe wotangazve kundipfimba</i>	Then start again to court me <b>b</b>

*Kana wandipfimba ndoramba*  
This time *haulume*

If you court me I will not accept **b**  
This time you will not succeed **c**

R: *Unolumila*

You will lose **d**

*Kutaura unowanza*  
*Kutuka nekwandakabva*  
*Kundishora kushamwari*  
*Murume wangu wazonanyanya*  
This time *handibvume*

You talk too much x 2 **d**  
You scold even where I come from x 2 **d**  
You criticize me among your friends x 2 **d**  
My husband you have gone beyond limits **d**  
This time I will not accept **c**

*Murume wangu handibve pano*  
*Kana wati ndibve pano*  
*wondimedzesa vana vangu*  
*Ini ndodzokera paya*  
*Pawakandiona ndiri*

My husband I will not leave this place **a**  
If you want me to live,  
make me swallow my children **b**  
Then return me to my maiden days **b**  
That time when you saw me **b**

*Murume wangu handibve pano*  
*Kana wati ndibve pano*  
*wondimedzesa vana vangu*  
*Ini ndodzokera paya*  
*Pawakandiona ndiri*  
*Iwe wotangazve kundipfimba*  
*Kana wandipfimba ndoramba*  
This time *handibvume*

My husband I will not leave this place **a**  
If you want me to leave,  
make me swallow my children **b**  
Then return me to my maiden days **b**  
That time when you saw me **b**  
Then start again to court me **b**  
If you court me I will not accept **b**  
This time I will not accept **c**

*Murume wangu handibve pano*  
*Kana wati ndibve pano*  
*wondimedzesa vana vangu*  
*Ini ndodzokera paya*  
*Pawakandiona ndiri*  
*Iwe wotangazve kundipfimba*  
*Kana wandipfimba ndoramba*  
This time *hauhwine*

My husband I will not leave this place **a**  
If you want me to leave,  
make me swallow my children **b**  
Then return me to my maiden days **b**  
That time when you saw me **b**  
Then start again to court me **b**  
If you court me I will not accept **b**  
This time you will not win **c**

*Kutaura unowanza*  
*Kutuka nekwandakabva*  
*Kundishora kushamwari*  
*Murume wangu wazonanyanya*  
This time *haulume*

You talk too much x 2 **d**  
You scold even where I come from x 2 **d**  
You criticize me among your friends x 2 **d**  
My husband you have gone beyond limits **d**  
This time you will not win **c**

*Murume wangu handibve pano*  
*Kana wati ndibve pano*  
*wondimedzesa vana vangu*  
*Ini ndodzokera paya*  
*Pawakandiona ndiri*  
*Iwe wotangazve kundipfimba*  
*Kana wandipfimba ndoramba*  
*Mairosi haulume*

My husband I will not leave this place **a**  
If you want me to leave,  
make me swallow my children **b**  
Then return me to my maiden days **b**  
That time when you saw me **b**  
Then start again to court me **b**  
If you court me I will not accept **b**  
Mairos you will not win **c** x 2

*Kutaura unowanza*  
*Kutuka nekwandakabva*  
*Kundishora kushamwari*  
*Murume wangu wazonanyanya*  
This time *haulume*

You talk too much x 2 **d**  
You scold even where I come from x 2 **d**  
You criticize me among your friends x 2 **d**  
My husband you have gone beyond limits **d**  
This time you will not win **c**

R: *He-e vadzimai vangu havaite shamwari*

He-e my friend, my wife is not right **d**

*Murume wangu handibve pano*  
*Kana wati ndibve pano*  
*wondimedzesa vana vangu*  
*Ini ndodzokera paya*  
*Pawakandiona ndiri*  
*Iwe wotangazve kundipfimba*  
*Kana wandipfimba ndoramba*  
This time I don't care **c**

My husband I will not leave this place **a**  
If you want me to leave,  
make me swallow my children **b**  
Then return me to my maiden days **b**  
That time when you saw me **b**  
Then start again to court me **b**  
If you court me I will not accept **b**

*Murume wangu handibve pano*  
*Kana wati ndibve pano*  
*wondimedzesa vana vangu*  
*Ini ndodzokera paya*  
*Pawakandiona ndiri*  
*Iwe wotangazve kundipfimba*  
*Kana wandipfimba ndoramba*  
*Mairosi hauhwine*

My husband I will not leave this place **a**  
If you want me to leave,  
make me swallow my children **b**  
Then return me to my maiden days **b**  
That time when you saw me **b**  
Then start again to court me **b**  
If you court me I will not accept **b**  
Mairos you will not win **c**

*Murume wangu handibve pano* My husband I will not leave this place **a**  
*Murume wangu handibve pano* My husband I will not leave this place **a**  
*Kana wati ndibve pano* If you want me to leave,  
*wondimedzesa vana vangu* make me swallow my children **b**  
*Ini ndodzokera paya* Then return me to my maiden days **b**  
*Pawakandiona ndiri* That time when you saw me **b**  
*Iwe wotangazye kundipfimba* Then start again to court me **b**  
*Kana wandipfimba ndoramba* If you court me I will not accept **b**  
*Mairosi haulume* Mairos you will not succeed x 2 **c**

This time *hauhwine* This time you will not win x 4 **c**  
 This time *handibvume* This time I will not accept x 2 **c**  
 This time *hauhwine* This time you will not win x 2 **c**  
 This time *haulume* This time you will not succeed x 2 **c**

## Song 1: "Panyatso" (On the nipple)

Artist: Oliver Mtukudzi

Song genre: Recount

RM **a**: Introducing the complicating eventRM **b**: Stating the complexity of the problem

*Ndomurumura seiko mwana wekubereka?* How shall I really wean the child I bore? **a**  
*Ndingamurumura seiko mwana wekubereka hinde?* How can I really wean the child I bore? **a**  
*Anonzi dzoka uyamwe ndiye akarumuka* The one to say come back and be breast-fed is the one  
 who was weaned x 2 **a**

*Tingamurumure seiko mwana wekubereka?* How can we really wean the child that we bore? **a**  
*Tomurura seiko mwana wekubereka uyu?* How shall we really wean this child we bore? **a**

*Anonzi dzoka uyamwe ndiye akarumuka* The one to say come back and be breast-fed  
 is the one who was weaned **a**

*Anonzi dzoka uyamwe ndiye akarumuka hinde* The one to say come back and be breast-fed  
 is the one who was weaned **a**

R: *Kudorizora gavakava panyatso iye kwati* Even if you smear the nipple with alloy it still tightly sucks **b**  
*Kudorizora mhiripiri panyatso iye kwati* Even if you smear the nipple with hot pepper it still tightly sucks **b**  
*Kudorizora gavakava haaseme iye kwati* Even if you smear the nipple with alloy it doesn't hesitate,  
 it still sucks **b**  
*Kudorizora mhiripiri haazeze iye kwati* Even if you smear hot pepper it doesn't hesitate, it still tightly sucks **b**

L: *Tomurumura sei mwana arambira panyatso?* How shall we wean a child who has refused to stop being breast-fed? **a**  
*Angarumuke seiko mwana arambira pamukaka?* How can the child really wean if it has refused to stop being breast-fed? **a**  
*Anonzi dzoka uyamwe ndiye akarumuka]* The one to say come back is the one who was weaned **a**  
*Kungonzi dzoka uyamwe ndiye akarumuka* The one called back to be breast-fed is the one who was earlier weaned **a**  
*Ndomurumura seiko mwana wekubereka?* How shall I really wean the child I bore? **a**

L: *Tingamurumure seiko mwana wekubereka uyu?* How shall we really wean this child we bore? **a**  
*Anonzi dzoka uyamwe ndiye akarumuka* The one to say come back is the one who was weaned **a**

R: *Kudorizora gavakava* Even if you apply alloy  
 L: *Iye kwati* It still tightly sucks **b**  
 R: *Kudorizora mhiripiri* Even if you apply hot pepper  
 L: *Iye kwati* It still tightly sucks **b**  
 R: *Kudorizora gavakava haaseme iye kwati* Even if you smear it with gavakava it doesn't hesitate  
 L: *Iye kwati* It still tightly sucks **b**

## Song title: "Emelina"

Artist: Mitomu

RM **a**: Proposing to EmelinaRM **b**: Making promises about the futureRM **c**: Imploring Emelina to seriously consider the proposal

L: *Emelina ho-o Emelina ndinokuda* Emelina ho-o Emelina I love you x 2 **a**  
*Kana wandida ticharoorana* If you love me, we will marry x 2 **b**  
*Kana wandida tichagara tese* If you love me we are going to stay together x 2 **b**

R: *Oho Emelina wo-o, Oho Emelina wo-o* Oho Emelina wo-o, Oho Emelina wo-o **c**  
*Oho Emelina wo-o, Oho Emelina wo-o* Oho Emelina wo-o, Oho Emelina wo-o **c**

L: *Emelina ho-o Emelina ndinokuda* Oho Emelina wo-o, Emelina wo-o I love you x 2 **a**  
*Oho Emelina ho-o* Oho Emelina ho-o x 2 **c**  
*Oho Emelina ho-o* Oho Emelina ho-o x 2 **c**

L: <i>Tichagra tese, tichifamba tese</i>	We will stay together, we will walk together x 1 <b>b</b>
R: <i>Oho Emelina wo-o, Oho Emelina wo-o</i>	Oho Emelina wo-o, Oho Emelina wo-o <b>c</b>
L: <i>Tichatamba tese, tichashaina tese</i>	We will play together, we will be showy together x 1 <b>b</b>
R: <i>Oho Emelina wo-o, Oho Emelina wo-o</i>	Oho Emelina wo-o, Oho Emelina wo-o <b>c</b>
L: <i>Ticharonga pamwe, tichidya pamwe</i>	We will plan together, eating together x 1 <b>b</b>
R: <i>Oho Emelina wo-o, Oho Emelina wo-o</i>	Oho Emelina wo-o, Oho Emelina wo-o <b>c</b>

Song title: “Kuronga” (“Planning”)

Artist: Marko Sibanda

Song genre: Narrative-anecdote-exemplum

RM **a**: Expressing the drama at the hotel

RM **b**: Expressing invitation to see the spectacle

RM **c**: Introducing the story’s characters and their behaviour

RM **d**: Expressing the initial cause of the moral spectacle – violation of a marital norm

RM **e**: Revelation (to Rudo’s father) of the extra-marital affair

RM **f**: Expressing Rudo’s father’s intention to revenge

RM **g**: Expressing the enjoyment of (illicit) pleasure

RM **h**: Evaluating the couples’s negative behaviour

RM **i**: Expressing the moral spectacle

RM **j**: Articulating the moral lesson

Singing

Jambanja pahotera!  
*Jambanja pahotera!*  
*Uyai muone!*

Really there is chaos at the hotel! **a**  
 Chaos at the hotel! **a**  
 Come and see! **b**

*Jambanja pahotera!*  
*Pahotera kani!*  
*Jambanja pahotera!*  
*Païta mutauro*

Chaos at the hotel! **a**  
 Really there is chaos at the hotel! **a**  
 Chaos at the hotel! **a**  
 There is a problem **b**

*Jambanja pahotera!*  
*Pahotera kani!*  
*Jambanja pahotera!*  
*Païta kusawirirana*

Chaos at the hotel! **a**  
 Really there is chaos at the hotel! **a**  
 Chaos at the hotel! **a**  
 There is some misunderstanding **b**

Narration

*Aiva Baba vaItai naMai Itai*  
 Next door yavo ari *Baba Rudo naMai Rudo*  
*Baba vaRudo aiva mutyairi wemagoneti, matransport*  
*Aigara asipo pamba, afamba trip,*  
 Mozambique, Malawi,  
 DRC, Tanzania, Namibia, Botswana  
*nekuSouth Africa*  
*Baba vaItai raiva zigwewegwere, zimudhara remadhiri,*  
*Aiva nemota yekuti akarova starter,*  
*aakurivhesa payadhi pake,*  
*Madzimai ese aibuda panze achitarisa,*  
*achinyaririra, achitarisa pasi,*  
*Asi nechomumwoyo vachiti*  
*asi dai ndanga ndirini mukadzi wacho,*  
*Tiri mukati imomo naye*

It was Itai’s Father and Itai’s Mother **c**  
 Their neighbours being Rudo’s Father and Rudo’s Mother **c**  
 Rudo’s Father was a truck driver **c**  
 He was always away, going for trips  
 to Mozambique, Malawi  
 DRC, Tanzania, Namibia, Botswana  
 and South Africa **c**  
 Itai’s father was a criminal, an old man of shoddy deals **c**  
 He had a sophisticated car which when he started it  
 while reversing it at his yard **c**  
 All women would come out to see it,  
 pretending to be timid and looking down **c**  
 But inside saying  
 I wish I was his wife **c**  
 Being with him inside that car **c**

*Xhaxhaxhaxhaxhaaaaaaaa!*

Xhaxhaxhaxhaxhaaaaaaaa! [Laughing] **h**

*Aa, zvineiwo baba vaItai vakabva*  
*vatanga kuita ruchiva kuna Mai Rudo*  
*Amai Rudo semunhu wemukadzi aigodii?*  
*Agarirwa nezigwewere-gwere akabva abvumawo*  
*Baba vaItai varonga, ndokuronga iwe,*  
*ndokuronga kuna Mai Rudo,*  
*Kuronga iwe, kuronga iwe, kuronga,*  
*ndokuronga*

Aa, then Itai’s father  
 became covetous of Mai Rudo **d**  
 As a woman what could Mai Rudo do? **d**  
 Pressured by the criminal-minded person she accepted **d**  
 Itai’s father conspired, he really conspired,  
 he conspired something to do with Mai Rudo **d**  
 He really conspired, he really conspired, conspired  
 and conspired **d**

*Baba vaRudo pavakadzoka kutrip*  
 Akasvikorumwa nzeve neshamwari dzake  
 Kunzi, “*Baba vaRudo, zviri kuita mukadzi*  
*wako paraini apa hiiiiiiiihi!*”  
 “*Nhai vafana muri kumboti kudii imi?*  
 Nyatsoi kutaura”

When Rudo’s father returned from his trip **e**  
 He was advised [of the affair] by his friends **e**  
 That, “Rudo’s father, what your wife  
 is doing in this neighbourhood, hiiiiiiiihi!” **e**  
 “Hey you young boys, what are really saying?  
 Be specific” **e**

Zvikanzi, "Mukadzi wenyu zvaari kuita  
 paline pano apa hiiiiiiiiiiiihi!"  
 Zvikanzi naBaba vaRudo hazvandinetsi vakomana  
 Haindinetsi yakadaro, tinoisheedzera tichiti,  
 "Chigamba to chigamba"  
 Zvikanzi, "Muri kurevei?"  
 Zvikanzi, "Mirai muone vakomana"  
 Baba Rudo ndokuronga trip yenhema,  
 Nekuti akanga anoona kuti kwaBaba Itai kune runhare,  
 Anogona kuronga yake  
 Akabuda mumba Baba vaRudo,  
 ndokunge aienda kutrip  
 Asvika seri uko akabva arova runhare,  
 achirovera Baba vaitai  
 Yakabva yatambirwa naMai Itai, zvikanzi "Ndiani?"  
 Zvikanzi, "Ndini Baba vaRudo, ndiMai Itai?"  
 Zvikanzi, "Ee ndini baba"  
 "Zviri kuita murume wako  
 nemukadzi wangu uri kuzviona here iwe?"  
 Zvikanzi, "Ndiri kuzviona Baba vaRudo  
 zvino ndingaita sei,  
 ini ndiri munhu wemukadzi?"  
 Zvikanzi, "Aaa, hazvinetsi ndinogona kuvarongera ini"

Zvikanzi naMai Rudo, "Sei?"  
 Zvikanzi, "Haa hazvinetsi. Nandagaya kuti hatiiteiwo"

Zvikanzi, "Aaa, ini handizvigoni ini"  
 Zvikanzi, "Ko ivo vakazviona sei?"  
 Zvikanzi, "Aiwa kani tinobatwa imi"  
 Zvikanzi, "Ivo havasati vabatwa sei?"

Iii yakanetsa nyaya  
 Hxhaxhaxhaxhaxhaaaaaaaa!

Baba vaRudo vakabva vapedzerana  
 namai Itai parunhare  
 Baba Itai segweregwere akabva arongawo  
 Zvikanzi, "Amai Rudo murume wako  
 paanongoenda kutrip  
 Iwe neni tomoenda pahotera umbonoona  
 nyika mamiro ayakaita" nyika mamiro ayakaita"  
 Zvikanzi, "Zvakanakai daddy"  
 Aaa nyambe zvavari kuronga izvi  
 ndozvarongwawo naBaba Rudo naMai Itai.  
 Zvikanzi, "Tosangana pahotera mama".  
 Baba Itai akasimudzira nekamotokari kake  
 naMai Rudo, avo pahotera.  
 Vakasvika pahotera ndokubhuka imba ndokuiiphwa.  
 Pasina chinguvana Baba vaRudo  
 akabva asvika nezigoneti rake  
 Amai Itai vanga vamirira kudhara  
 ndokupinda muhotera  
 ndokubhuka imba ndokupiwa  
 Munoziva rudo rwesikireti  
 kana rwemuchivande haruitwi pazuva  
 Runoitwa mumba munotonhorewa mune zvese  
 Dzimba dzepahotera dzine runhare  
 Baba Itai aingosimudzira runhare achirovera mahweta  
 Zvikanzi, "Ngriririririi ngriririririi ngriririririi"  
 "Vakomana bring two beers!"  
 Zvikanzi naMai Rudo, "Daddy don't forget chips,  
 what about sauages?"  
 Aaa nyambe kuside kwaana Baba vaRudo  
 ndozvimwechete.  
 Zvikanzi naBaba vaRudo, "Mai Itai ini  
 ndafamba nyika dzakawanda,  
 Ndavakuziva chikafu chese, hameno kwauri"  
 Zvikanzi, "Aaa zvese daddy,  
 but inini ndajaira madora"  
 Aaa pahotera vakafara vanhu ava ndokukangamwa  
 kudzokera kumba ndokurara pahotera  
 Munoziva makuseni pahotera kana dzava kuma eiti-eiti  
 Vashandi vepahotera vanonoka  
 mudzimba vachisheedzera  
 Kuti "Baba nguva dzedu dzakwana

They said, "What your wife is doing  
 in this neighbourhood, hiiiiiiiiiiiihi" e  
 Then Rudo's father that does not give me problems boys e  
 That does not trouble me, that is what we call f  
 "Patch for patch" f  
 He said, "What do you mean?" f  
 "Just wait and see boys" f  
 Rudo's father then arranged for a false trip f  
 Because he had seen that there a telephone at Itai's father's home f  
 He can also make a conspiracy of his own f  
 Baba Rudo left the house  
 as if he was going for a trip f  
 On arriving somewhere  
 he called Itai's father g  
 The call was received by Itai's mother, she said, "Who is that?" g  
 He said, "It's me Rudo's father, is that Rudo's Itai's mother?" g  
 "Yes it's me father" g  
 "Can you see what your husband  
 is doing with my wife?" g  
 She said, "Rudo's father, I am seeing that  
 but what can I do, g  
 "since I am a woman?" g  
 The he said, "Aaa, it's not difficult I can arrange  
 something against them". g  
 She said, "How?" g  
 He said, "Haa, it's not difficult. I had thought that we could also do the  
 same" g  
 She said, "Aaa, as for me I am not able to do that" g  
 He said, "How were the two of the able to do it?" g  
 She "No please, we will be caught" g  
 He said, "But why is it that as of now they have not been caught?" g

Iii the story took centre stage h  
 Hxhaxhaxhaxhaxhaaaaaaaa! [Laughing] h

Rudo's father finalized their arrangement  
 with Itai's mother on the phone g  
 Itai's father as a criminal-minded person also arranged  
 He said, "Amai Rudo when your husband  
 goes for his trips g  
 You and me should go to a hotel so that you see  
 how scenic the country is" g  
 She said, "It's alright daddy" g  
 Aa meanwhile what they were arranging  
 is the same that Baba Rudo and Mai Itai also planned g  
 He said, "We will meet at the hotel" g  
 Baba Itai drove to the hotel with Mai Rudo,  
 there they are arriving at the hotel g  
 They arrived at the hotel and booked a room and they were given g  
 After a short while Baba Rudo  
 arrived driving his huge truck g  
 Amai Itai had been waiting  
 and they entered the hotel  
 they booked for a room and they were given g  
 You know that secret love  
 is not done in the sun g  
 It is done indoors where it is cool and contain everything (for comfort) g  
 Hotel room have telephones  
 Baba Itai would lift the phone calling the waiters g  
 Saying, "Ngriririririi ngriririririi ngriririririi"  
 "Boys bring two beers!" g  
 Mai Rudo said, "Daddy don't forget chips,  
 what about sauages?" g  
 Meanwhile in the room in which Baba Rudo and Mai Itai were,  
 it was the same g  
 Baba Rudo said, "Mai Itai,  
 I have travelled so many countries,  
 Now I know all types of food, I don't the food you like?" g  
 And she said, "Aaa I do take everything daddy,  
 but I'm used to eating catterpillars" g  
 These people really enjoyed themselves at the hotel and they forgot  
 to return home and spent a night at the hotel g  
 As you know, in the morning around 8 am, g  
 Hotel staff will come knocking  
 the rooms shouting  
 "Father our time is up, please vacate

*chibudai tione kupinza vamwe!"*  
*Mudzimba umu makashongedzwa*  
*zvokushongedzwa zviyo*  
*Munowanikwa katauro kekugeza kufesi*  
*Katauro kekugeza muviri, tauro rokuzvipukuta*  
*Tauro rokuzvimonera kana*  
*uchida kushambidzika zvako*  
*Usingadi kupfeka mbatya dzako*  
*Baba vaItai naMai Rudo vakabuda*  
*vakamonera matauro avo,*  
*vaakuenda kundoshambidzika.*  
*Nyambe Baba vaRudo naMai Itai ndozvimwe chete.*  
*Paseji yaive imwe chete yekuenda kushawa,*  
*shawa yaive imwe chete*  
*Vasati vati fambei,*  
*Baba vaRudo naMai Itai vakabva vabudavo*  
*vaakuenda kunoshambidzika*  
*Baba Rudo akasimudza musoro*  
*kuti atarise kwaari kuenda*  
*Akavva aona mukadzi ari pamberi pake*  
*aive mafambire emukadzi wake,*  
*Akavva akangwa kuti akasungira*  
*zitauro ndokubva amhanya*  
*Kusvika kuna Mai Rudo kuti dzvi, zvikanzi*  
*"Uri kuitei pahotera pano?"*  
*Zvikanzi, "Ko imimi daddy madzoka riini kutrip?"*  
*Baba vaItai paakati cheu*  
*kuti aone kuti abata Mai Rudo ndiani*  
*Akavva aona kuti zigadzi rake riri kuuya wena,*  
*Mai Itai akamonera zitauro Mai Itai,*  
*Zvikanzi, "Amai Itai, ndokukumbira*  
*kuenda kumusha here ikoko?"*  
*Zvikanzi, "Ko imimi Daddy*  
*ndomadhiri atinoguta kumba here?"*

*Aa faiti yakatanga kune vanhu foo ava*  
*Kikirikikiri! "Ndokurova!"*

*Matauro achidhonha vashandi vepahotera vachidzose*  
*Matauro achidhonha vashandi vepahotera vachidzose*  
*Matauro achidhonha vashandi vepahotera vachidzose*

*Kudzamara vashedza maneja,*  
*maneja akati izvi zvaakuda sandana izvi,*  
*zvaakuda police*  
*Vakarova runhare zvikanzi,*  
*"Vakuru mhanyai kuno kwashata!"*  
*Vakadza vasimudza sandana zvikanzi, "Haaaaaa!"*  
*Mupurisa akabuda zvikanzi, "Vari kupi?"*  
*Zvikanzi, "Tenderei kuseri uko!"*  
*Mupurisa paakavvika akati, "Ishura ripi*  
*ramunoda kutitira pahotera pano? Pfekai!"*  
*Vakamhanya ndokupinda mudzimba dzekupfeka*  
*Zvikanzi, "Pindai musandana!" "Get into the Santana"*  
*Yakasimudzira yakananga muguta, haaaaaa"*

*Zvikanzi, "Dzikai, pindai mucharge office!"*  
*Vakapinda mucharge office mupurisa, mupurisa akati,*  
*"Garai pabhenji!"*  
*Munoziva kuti mucharge office hamuna sofa,*  
*mune bhenji one zihombe,*  
*zirefu rakaita serevana vechokoro*  
*Ok ndoopanotanga mibvunzo yangu:*  
*Pakahi nomupurisa chigarai pasi,*  
*Ko Baba vaRudo akagara padhuze nani?*  
*NaMai Itai here,*  
*Amai Rudo mukadzi wavo achizviona?*  
*Ko Baba vaItai vakagara padhuze nani?*  
*Ok toti sevanhu vakanga vari mumako emapurisa,*  
*hapana zvavaiita vakagara pasi.*  
*Member-in-charge ndokupinda mucharge office*  
*zvikanzi nemupurisa*  
*"Pamusoroi mambo, ndoovange vachiita*  
*jambanja pahotera ava" jambanja pahotera ava"*

the room so that we book others!" g  
 These rooms are extremely well-decorated  
 and stuffed with things of comfort g  
 You will find a small face towel g  
 A small towel for the body, a towel dry yourself g  
 A towel to wrap around [your waist]  
 if you want to be clean g  
 If you do not like to wear your clothes g  
 Baba Itai and Mai Rudo came out  
 with wrapped towels around their waists,  
 as they went to the bathroom. g  
 Baba Rudo and Mai were meanwhile doing the same g  
 There was only one passage to the bathroom,  
 and there was only one bathroom g  
 Before they had walked far,  
 Baba Rudo and Mai Itai also got out  
 as they went to the bathroom g  
 Baba Rudo lifted his head  
 to see where he was going i  
 He then saw a woman in front of him  
 with a gait like that of his wife i  
 He forgot that he was wrapping  
 a towel around him and he ran [towards her] i  
 He arrived at Mai Rudo and quickly held her tightly  
 "What are you doing in this hotel?" i  
 She replied, "So when have you come back from your trips daddy?" i  
 When Baba Itai looked back  
 to see who had held Mai Rudo i  
 He saw his huge wife coming  
 with only a towel wrapped around his waist i  
 He said, "Amai Itai, is this asking  
 to go to the rural areas?" i  
 She replied, "Daddy  
 are these the deals that bring food home?" i

Aa and a fight started among the four people  
 Kikirikikiri! "I can beat you!" i

The towels falling and the hotel workers quickly  
 tying them (to the bodies) i  
 The towels falling and the hotel workers quickly  
 tying them (to the bodies) i  
 The towels falling and the hotel workers quickly  
 tying them (to the bodies) i  
 Until they called the hotel manager i  
 The manager said this needs a Santana,  
 this needs the police i  
 They called the police,  
 "Please rush, there is a serious problem here!" i  
 They started the Santana and it sounded, "Haaaaaa!" i  
 They police got out of the car and said, "Where are they?" i  
 "Go there at the back!" i  
 The policemen arrived and said, "What kind of bad omen  
 that you do at a hotel? Put on your clothes!" i  
 They ran to their rooms and dressed up  
 the policemen ordered i  
 It departed and went into the city centre, haaaaaa i

The policemen ordered again, "Calm down, get into the charge office!" i  
 They got into the charge office and the policeman barked again,  
 "Sit on the bench!" i  
 As you know, there are no sofas in the charge office,  
 there is one huge bench  
 A long one like the ones for school children i  
 Ok this is where my questions begin:  
 When a policeman ordered them to sit down  
 Whom did Baba Rudo sit next to?  
 Next to Mai Itai  
 while his wife Mai Rudo watched? i  
 What about Baba Itai, whom did he sit next to? i  
 Ok, let us assume that as people who were now in the hands of the police  
 There was little they could do, so they just sat down i  
 The member-in-charge then came into the charge office  
 and the policeman said  
 "Excuse me lord, these are people who were  
 making chaos at the hotel" i

<p>Zvikanzi namember-in-charge,          “Aa hazvinetsi kubasa kwedu          kuno tinoishedzera tichiti public fight,          Iwe faindi, iwe faindi, iwe faindi,          faindi kunyanya iri rine maziziso maziombe iri”          Kouya mbvunzo wangu wechipiri:          Pavakanzi faindi,          ko Baba Itai vakabhandarira ani faindi?          Amai Rudo here? Ko Amai Itai          Ko Baba vaRudo vakabhandarira ani faindi?          Amai Rudo vakati ndee?          Xhaxhaxhaxhaxhaaaaaaaa!</p>	<p>The member-in-charge said,          “Aa that’s not difficult, here in our profession          we call that a public fight <b>i</b>          You pay a fine, you a fine, you a fine          and a fine especially for this one with very big eyes” <b>i</b>          Now comes my second question:          When they were ordered to pay fines,          whom did Baba Itai pay a fine for? <b>i</b>          For Amai Rudo? What would his wife Amai Itai say? <b>i</b>          Amai Itai here? Whom did Baba Rudo pay a fine for? <b>i</b>          For Amai Itai while Mai Rudo is closely watching? <b>i</b>          Xhaxhaxhaxhaxhaaaaaaaa! [Laughing] <b>h</b></p>
<p>Ndoto ok, zvdarika vabhadhara faindi,          zvikanzi namember-in-charge,          Vapedza zvavo kubhadhara ngavachienda kumba,          “Hatidi kunzwa musindo zvekare”          Toti avo vabuda mukembi vaakunze,          Ko Baba Itai vakafamba nani? Ko ivo Baba vaRudo?          Ko ivo Mai vaRudo pachezvavo?          Ok toti avo avo vari kudzika vapinda muraini,</p>	<p>Ok, this is finished they paid their fines          and the member-in-charge said          They have paid the fines, now they should go home          “We do not want to here any pugnacity again” <b>i</b>          Let us say there they are, they have left the police camp          Whom did Baba Itai walk with? What about Baba Rudo? <b>i</b>          What about Mai Rudo herself? <b>i</b>          Ok let us say there they are, they are walking down the road getting into their          neighbourhood <b>i</b>          They have arrived in their neighbourhood <b>i</b>          We know that Baba Rudo got into his house          Baba Itai got into his house          What about Amai Itai,          into which house did she get into? <b>i</b>          In Baba Rudo’s house? <b>i</b>          What about Mai Rudo when she arrived, she is the one who came last          The short and fat one, into which man’s house did she go into? <b>i</b>          Now you will say brother Marko is too talkative, our elders said          Go to collect only one thing like an ambulance          that [only] collects patients and not with dead people <b>j</b>          That is why I have said:</p>
<p>Vasvika muraini mavo,          Tinoziva kuti Baba vaRudo akapinda mumba mavo          Baba vaItai akapinda mumba make,          Ko Amai Itai pavakasvika          vakapinda mumba mababa ani?          MaBaba vaRudo here?          Ko Mai vaRudo pavakasvika, ndiye akapedzisiraka,          Chidhudy akapinda mumba maani?          Mozoti mukoma Marko anotaurisa, vakuru vakati,          Fambira chimwe chete seamburenzi,          kutakura murwere, kwete mufi          Saka ndakati ini</p>	<p>Chaos at the hotel! <b>a</b>          Really there is chaos at the hotel! <b>a</b>          Chaos at the hotel! <b>a</b>          Come and see! <b>b</b></p>
<p>Jambanja pahotera!          Pahotera kani!          Jambanja pahotera!          Uyai muone!</p>	<p>Chaos at the hotel! <b>a</b>          Really there is chaos at the hotel! <b>a</b>          Chaos at the hotel! <b>a</b>          Come and see! <b>b</b></p>
<p>Jambanja pahotera!          Pahotera kani!          Jambanja pahotera!          Uyai muone!</p>	<p>Chaos at the hotel! <b>a</b>          Really there is chaos at the hotel! <b>a</b>          Chaos at the hotel! <b>a</b>          There is a problem <b>b</b></p>

Song title: “Panyaya dzerudo” (“On love issues”)

Artist: Alick Macheso

RM **a**: Deploying the thesis – Love portion should not be used in love matters

RM **b**: Deploying motivation 1 – Love portion affects someone’s mental faculties

RM **c**: Motivation 2 – Love starts on trust and commitment

RM **d**: Motivation 3 – Using love portion destroys a woman’s faith in her partner

RM **e**: Motivation 4 – Women should enhance their beauty to be attractive to their partners

RM **f**: Motivation 5 – Appeal/Warning to his wife to desist from using love portion

L: Panyaya dzerudo tisashandisa midzi veduwee

Kuuraya mumwe wawanga uchagara naye

R: (Chewa lines)

On love matters let’s not use love portion, please **a**

It’s killing someone who are supposed to live with **b**

L: Patakadanana panga pasina midzi,  
 Raingova shoko vaviri takatsidzirana

R: (Chewa lines)

When we fell in love there were no love herbs,

It was just a word the two of us were committing ourselves to **c**

L: Ko nhasi unozove nepapi hauchabvi kwagodobori,

hauwani kufadza rudo rudo rwababa?

R: (Chewa lines)

Today what shall your behaviour be like when you are always  
 at the diviner’s place

failing to satisfy your husband’s love? **d**

L: Kuti runako here runoda kuwedzerwa, nomucheno,

Is it beauty that needs to be added with fashionable clothes,

- mvura parutivi, mafuta nepo openya?*  
R: (Chewa lines) regular bathing, [and] applying lotion in order to shine? **e**
- L: *Ukandiponda pfungwa, ramangwana ndichazoitei?*  
*Fume ndongowadzana newe wanike wonyara neni* If you murder my mind, what shall I be tomorrow?  
Tomorrow you will be so embarrassed by the way you relate with me **d**
- L: *Panyaya dzerudo tisashandisa midzi veduwee*  
*Kuuraya mumwe wawanga uchagara naye*  
R: (Chewa lines) On love matters let's not use love portion, please **a**  
It's killing someone who are supposed to live with **b**
- L: *Patakadanana panga pasina midzi,*  
*Raingova shoko vaviri takatsidzirana*  
R: (Chewa lines) When we fell in love there were no love herbs  
It was just a word the two of us were committing ourselves to **c**
- L: *Ko nhasi unozove nepapi hauchabvi kwagodobori,*  
*hauwani kufadza rudo rudo rwababa?*  
R: (Chewa lines) Today what shall your behaviour be like when you are always  
at the diviner's place failing to satisfy your husband's love? **d**
- L: *Kuti runako here runoda kuwedzerwa, nomucheno,*  
*mvura parutivi, mafuta nepo openya?*  
R: (Chewa lines) Is it beauty that needs to be added with fashionable clothes,  
regular bathing, [and] applying lotion in order to shine? **e**
- L: *Ukandiponda pfungwa, ramangwana ndichazoitei?*  
*Fume ndongowadzana newe wanike wonyara neni*  
*Lavhi iwe-e, lavhi iwe-e, lavhi iwe* If you murder my mind, what shall I be tomorrow?  
Tomorrow you will be so embarrassed by the way you relate with me **d**  
Hey my love, hey my love, hey my love **f**