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Indigenous *mfunkutu* and contemporary *ubwinga* (wedding) music of the Bemba-speaking people of Zambia: continuity and change

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Abstract

Musical arts (music, dance and dramatisation) embedded in Bemba *ubwinga* (wedding) ceremonies play an integral role as a conduit through which knowledge in the form of cultural values, customs and traditions is transmitted. Indigenous music performed at *ubwinga* ceremonies is based on *mfunkutu*, while contemporary musics include various styles such as *Kalindula*, *Zamrock* and *Zamragga*, as well as various musical styles from different parts of Africa and the rest of the world. Interaction with other cultures from within Zambia as well as from Africa and the rest of the world has led to change in the structure of *ubwinga* ceremonies, thereby influencing the musical arts embedded in them. This article examines the nature of *mfunkutu* and other musical arts within *ubwinga* celebrations expressed by the Bemba of Lusaka and the Copperbelt region of Zambia.

Despite political, socio-economic and socio-cultural changes in Zambian society, both continuity and change are evident in the current *ubwinga* ceremonies, which are an amalgamation of some of the elements from the pre-colonial *ubwinga* ceremonies and those of the white wedding ceremonies of the post-independence era. Subsequently, these developments have revealed that, despite internal and external socio-cultural, socio-economic and political influences, marriage *mfunkutu* have not undergone substantial changes, other than an abridgement of the repertoire.

Introduction

To contextualise the nature and state of *mfunkutu* and contemporary *ubwinga* (wedding) music and their development since indigenous times (pre-colonial) to date, it is necessary to briefly highlighting the linguistic setting of Zambia, the Bemba view on marriage and the celebration of their marriage ceremonies. The population of Zambia comprises 73 Bantu-speaking ethnic groups of which the Bemba-speaking group is the largest, inhabiting the northern and parts of central Zambia (Central Statistical Office 2011).

My research on *mfunkutu* music is based on the understanding that music in Bemba society forms a crucial part of its cultural and oral traditions. This article investigates the specific role of music within the traditional marriage rites of the Bemba-speaking people. Special attention is given to the type and meaning of music used, the way it is used, and the reasons why it is used in this particular way. I also aim to show that music plays an integral role in the provision of marriage instruction, and that its utilisation in this context is intended to ensure the perpetuation of cultural and religious values and traditions. The focus here is on the way in which music is used to announce, initiate and demarcate the different components of the marriage ceremonies over a period of time. As such, music acts to signify, validate and incorporate the elements of the marriage ceremonies into the Bemba worldview.

This article is to a large extent a descriptive analysis of Bemba wedding traditions and the role music plays in them. In terms of theoretical perspectives, I explore deeper meanings of the music (*mfunkutu* and contemporary) using social change theory to explore ways in which symbols are constructed. I also examine the ways in which boundaries or borders are created around Bemba identities, and how these boundaries are protected from outsiders. According to Reeler (2007:9), there are many types of change, but we can use the categories of emergent change, transformative change and projectable change. These types of change are 'not prescriptions of social change, but rather descriptions of social changes that already exist and are inherently part of the developing state of a social being'. Emergent change refers to what people learn from experiencing day-to-day life as individuals, families, communities, etc., which could be conscious or unconscious. Transformative change occurs as a consequence of some form of crisis, while projectable change is a form of conscious undertaking to effect change (Reeler 2007:10–13). With regards to continuity and change, Boas (2007:33) points out that scholars who seek to advance generalisable models of institutional development face the basic challenge of accounting for both, that is the model and the institution, over time. However, Thelen (2003) contends that institutions may change dramatically in certain ways while remaining remarkably stable in others.

While I have stated that the main emphasis of this article is on continuity and change, I am not interested only in the fact of change, but also in the process by which change occurred. History has shown that African peoples have been acculturated because of external forces such as colonisation, religion (Christianity and Islam), trade, migration and slavery. Through these forces Western cultural (and also Eastern – through Islam), political and religious practices were imposed on African peoples, who were consequently expected to discard their indigenous cultural practices in favour of those brought in by their colonisers (Nketia 1974; Mazrui 1986; Mugo 1998; Stone 2000; Fatnowna & Pickett 2002; Hountondji 2002; Majeke 2002; Ntuli 2002). As a logical outcome of the acculturation process, African musical arts, as a conveyor of Africanness, began to take on qualities that tended to reflect the socio-cultural and socio-religious changes imposed through the colonisation process. To suit the prevailing social life in Africa, contemporary

musical art forms emerged from the interaction between indigenous and ‘other outsider musical cultures’ (Barz 2004:100).

Changes in the geographical location of people, that is movement from the rural to the urban areas, and colonisation, Christianisation, trade, etc. have resulted in a cultural mix in African societies, and this development has naturally affected people’s way of life and worldviews. Therefore, as society changes rapidly and social life also undergoes a radical change, the musical arts too have kept pace or rather have passed through transformation to suit prevailing life styles. This has in retrospect had negative implications with regards to the role the musical arts have played traditionally in relation to activities such as marriage, initiation, customary education, divination, worship and storytelling, among others. Societal changes in Zambian society may be accounted for under three main headings: economic, political and cultural. According to Leat (2005:4), cultural influences clearly play an important part in social change, as individuals tend to identify themselves with groups in order to assert their self-image and project personal standards through the attainment of a higher status. Giddens and Duneier concur with this view when they state that

secularisation and the development of science have had major effects on the way in which we think, attitudes to legitimacy and authority, and have thus also influenced social structures, systems and values. (Leat 2000:3)

My data include material gathered mainly between 1996 and 2011, during which time I was a participant observer at various Bemba wedding ceremonies in different towns and cities in Zambia. The analysis of wedding *mfunkutu* and contemporary songs in this article is based on 30 wedding ceremonies and 50 recordings¹ of songs in which the data permit direct exploration of the relative impact of colonisation, Christianisation, Western education, globalisation, among other factors. For my analysis I used the audio and video recordings of songs I made from the wedding ceremonies I attended in Lusaka and the Copperbelt during the period 1996 to 2011.

Bemba wedding ceremonies and performance structure of wedding mfunkutu and contemporary music embedded in them

Background on Bemba weddings

Considering that music is embedded in wedding ceremonials and rituals, it is important to look briefly at how the Bemba view weddings in relation to marriage. According to the Bemba, wedding celebrations can be performed in three ways: *Ukutolanafye* (living together without parental consent), *Ichombela nganda* (small gathering without preparation

1 I am aware of the recordings by Hugh Tracey which were made in the 1950s in Zambia (Northern Rhodesia then). However, I did not include these (ILAM AMA. TR-65) as part of the discussion of Bemba *mfunkutu* as his work was obtained from the Isoka District among the Namwanga people. Furthermore, Tracey’s recordings were not on Bemba wedding *mfunkutu*, but general *mfunkutu* used for other functions such as beer parties, etc.

of traditional beer) and *Ubwinga bwa kapundu* (large gathering including the preparation of traditional beer). The latter two are the most common. According to Chitwansombo (2006), a prominent *ingomba*, if one takes into account the way in which the indigenous *ubwinga* ceremonies have been shortened and have also incorporated ceremonies foreign to the traditional Bemba, it would be best to describe what happens at the beginning of the twenty-first century as *Ichombela nganda* (abbreviated *ubwinga* ceremonies).

Uninitiated Bemba people may be tempted to classify wedding ceremonies that have many invited guests and serve *katubi* (beer) incorrectly as *ubwinga bwa kapundu* (the main wedding ceremonies) (Chitwansombo 2006). In the Bemba sense there is no specific number that could describe a large gathering because in the early days, when some village communities consisted of 50 to 100 homesteads, if half of that community attended a ceremony, that *ubwinga* was considered to be a large gathering. But all community members were expected to attend. At present specific numbers can be determined, as attendance of an *ubwinga* ceremony is by invitation and the numbers are predetermined before invitations are issued.

Kambole (2002), an educator at the Northern Teacher Training College, Kapwepwe (2002), the Chairperson of the Zambia National Arts Council, and Mutale (2006), a church minister, argue that the current *ubwinga* ceremonies are very difficult to describe or classify in the indigenous Bemba sense for the following reasons:

- There is a growing tendency to omit certain rituals and ceremonies;
- Other ceremonies that are not part of the Bemba tradition (ceremonies such as ‘kitchen parties’, wedding church services and reception parties) are included;
- There are a large number of invited guests who attend *ubwinga* ceremonies, even though their presence is mainly to participate in the festivities and not necessarily to contribute towards the marriage instruction of the couple.

Kambole, Kapwepwe and Mutale suggest that new terminology be created to describe the current Bemba *ubwinga* ceremonies taking place in Lusaka and on the Copperbelt. Though there may be mixed views on the description of post-independence Bemba *ubwinga* ceremonies, for the purposes of this article *ubwinga bwa kapundu* will be described for the following reasons:

- It is the accepted Bemba cultural and indigenous marriage practice, which signifies, according to Bemba philosophy, the transfer of a person from the unmarried to married group, thereby indicating that a person is undergoing a change of status in society (rite of passage);
- The *ubwinga* ceremonies during pre-colonial times were those of *ubwinga bwa kapundu*. It is important to use *ubwinga bwa kapundu* as norm for the sake of consistency and as a way to enable objective comparison between pre- and post-colonial *ubwinga*.

Post-independence *ubwinga bwa kapundu* includes the following ceremonies: *amafunde* (marriage instructions), the kitchen party, *ichilangamulilo* (food offering ceremony for the groom), Christian church ceremony, wedding reception, *ukupanga ichuupo* (consummation of marriage), as well as *ukuluula no ukushikula* (undoing of taboos ceremony). From this list

of wedding ceremonies, it is evident that Bemba wedding ceremonies have incorporated Western wedding elements such as the kitchen party, Christian church service and wedding reception, and these ceremonies entail the performance of music to accompany them. Hence the type of music performed at these incorporated ceremonies mainly includes Christian (gospel) and contemporary music from within Zambia, from Africa and from other parts of the world.

Amafunde (marriage instructions)²

Amafunde in the white wedding³ format take place sometime before the kitchen party. These entail the seclusion of *nabwinga* (the bride) and *shibwinga* (the bridegroom) by designated *bana chimbusa* (midwives) and *bashi shibukombe* (go-between representing the groom) respectively. These two 'schools' (that of *nabwinga* and that of *shibwinga*) do not take place at the same time and are not conducted in the same way. According to Kambole (1980), Corbeil (1982), Chondoka (1988) and Kapwepwe (1994),⁴ the difference between the two schools is threefold: firstly, for *nabwinga*, lessons involve a lot of singing, dancing, dramatisation and ululating, whereas for *shibwinga* it is a quiet and very sombre affair; secondly, more emphasis is placed on *nabwinga's amafunde* than that of *shibwinga*, resulting in different lengths of instruction period; thirdly, *nabwinga's amafunde* take place sometime before the kitchen party, while *shibwinga's amafunde* are fitted in before *ichilangamulilo* (presentation of food to *shibwinga*) or the wedding reception and here no music is performed. The musical arts included in *amafunde* are from the indigenous Bemba marriage category and the performance of the songs includes singing, drumming and clapping. Some songs are accompanied by dancing, while others are mimed (Lumbwe 2004:81).

During *amafunde* the *nabwinga* is seated in the centre of a secluded room surrounded by midwives, who each take turns to step into the circle and lead the singing and dancing, supported by the rest of the members present. At this point each midwife will select a particular song accompanied either by a dance, mime or dramatisation, which she will perform to *nabwinga* who in turn will perform the same act. However, the *nabwinga* always has a special midwife who explains and interprets the meanings of the songs, dances, mime or dramatisation in the marriage context. As stated earlier, the musical arts play an important role in imparting marriage instructions during *amafunde* for the *nabwinga*. An example of a song from each category has been provided for the purposes of this article.

2 The terms used in this article are the ones that the community uses to describe the different wedding ceremonies.

3 The term 'white wedding' refers to the following ceremonies: kitchen party, church service, wedding reception and wedding aftermath.

4 The cited works represent available published literature on weddings in Zambia. In addition, Mufana (2006) has written on the *lobola* system, which the Bemba do not practise and which is a subject within the broader framework of marriage and not specific to weddings.

However, there are many more songs to pick from. The songs address the following issues:

Pre-marriage warnings

<i>Kalombo we musha</i>	(Kalombo the slave)
<i>Kalombo we musha.</i>	Kalombo, you slave.
<i>Uko wile kuteba,</i>	Why haven't you returned from where
<i>taulabwela.</i>	You went to fetch firewood.

The words of the song speak directly to the bride and groom to-be. The latter is expected to carry out certain obligatory duties 'like a slave', and these will test his patience. He is instructed on what to expect as a married man, and duties he is to perform, especially when his wife is pregnant. During this time, he should provide whatever she demands, and when something goes wrong, he is expected to be lenient with her as she is not in a normal state. However, after his wife gives birth, his slavery ends. For the bride the song stresses that it is the duty of a wife to ensure that there is enough firewood for daily cooking.

Husband's obligations in marriage

<i>Chiboni musuba</i>	(The Euphorbia tree)
<i>Iwe mune, waleta chintomfwa</i>	You have brought a stubborn child
<i>Naine, nafyala chintomfwa</i>	I too have born a stubborn child
<i>fyakumana na chintomfwa</i>	they match

Chiboni is a giant euphorbia tree, it is also the name of the beautiful *mukolo* (first wife) of a legendary chief. The allusion here is to the wife: a man must consider his wife to be the most beautiful of all women, just as the chief prefers his *mukolo* to all the others. Furthermore, couples should expect to have differences in their marriages as there is no person who is perfect.

Wife's obligations in marriage

<i>Intanda</i>	(Stars)
<i>Ulaasha intanda ubushiku</i>	You light the stars at night
<i>Ulantuka ukashika</i>	You revile me obscenely, you are red

The light that shines through is like the menses of a woman, which must not be seen. The most horrible curse a man can use is to swear by the menstruation of his wife. However, no matter how badly a husband swears at his wife, she should not swear back. The wife has to show forgiveness even if her husband abuses her obscenely.

Mutual obligations

<i>Ichipuna</i>	(Stool)
<i>Bamuteka pa kapuna</i>	He has made her sit on a stool
<i>Ni Lesa wamusansabike</i>	It is God who exalted her

If a husband offers his stool to his wife, it means that, as she is obedient, he is willing to honour her. When one is a good wife, she will be blessed with happiness from God. A woman should not please her heart in love charms, because it is not an honest way to gain her husband's love. Good understanding and mutual sacrifice are the foundation of a permanent marriage.

Parenthood

<i>Ingánda</i>	(House)
<i>Umwana alelila,</i>	The child is crying,
<i>Nshisele uko allele,</i>	I did not close the door where it is sleeping
<i>tandabula.</i>	The door is swinging.

The child is crying because her parents have gone out to a beer party, and have left it behind. The song stresses the parents' need to learn how to look after their children properly. If children are not cared for, one must not expect blessings from the clan, ancestors and God.

Social duties

<i>Nalomba</i>	(I beg)
<i>Nalomba,</i>	I beg,
<i>umusha talomba kamo.</i>	A slave cannot beg for anything.

Social relations in a family clan are based on giving and receiving. The Bemba do not make an exception to this rule. When a poor member of the clan asks for anything, the other members should help him, and at the same he should not reject the offer, as beggars cannot be choosers.

Domestic duties

<i>Kasengele</i>	(The little mat)
<i>Yansa akasengele mune ee,</i>	Oh! Spread out the little mat,
<i>tulale.</i>	So that we may lie down.



Figure 2: *Nachimbusa* (front left) giving instructions to *nabwinga* (front right) at Chandamukulu village in Kasama, 12 October 2002⁵

It is the wife's duty to prepare the mat for her husband to sleep on. It must never be done for anyone else other than her husband and never by any other woman.

In pre-colonial times *amafunde* were part of the *chisungu* (Bemba girls' initiation school), which preceded *ubwinga* ceremonies and lasted 'as long as three months' (Richards 1956:70). In recent times *ba nabwinga* (brides) who are in employment have been accommodated in shorter ceremonies. According to Ilunga (2002), a *nachimbusa*, Muloshi (2002), an economist at the Bank of Zambia, and Mutale (2006), *amafunde* are conducted in an abridged programme presented over one or two weekends, usually starting on a Friday night and lasting until Sunday night. *Amafunde* are usually not conducted at the *nabwinga's* or *shibwinga's* home, but instead at a specially selected home of either one of the *bana chimbusa*, *nasenge* (paternal aunt) or any other elderly relative. For the sake of privacy young children and/or males have to spend the duration of the *amafunde* elsewhere.

Kitchen party

According to several *bana chimbusa* and kitchen party matrons interviewed during my research fieldwork, the exact origin of the kitchen parties in Zambia is not known, but the idea of kitchen parties comes from the Western world. Kapwepwe (2006) asserts that what is known as a kitchen party in Zambia is a combination of elements of the

5 All photos by Kapambwe Lumbwe.



Figure 3: *Nabwinda* (in white) being presented with a gift at a kitchen party held in Lusaka, 20 August 2010

Western ‘bridal shower’ and ‘hen party’, embellished with indigenous cultural marriage practices. There are variations in the organisation and proceedings of the kitchen party ceremonies. However, from the analysis of 50 recordings, mentioned earlier, and explanations from research participants such as Chandamukulu (2005), the mother of Chief Chitimukulu of the Bemba, Chasaya (2008), a retired broadcaster from Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation, Chinyanta (2002), a member of the Lunda of Luapula Province Royal Establishment, Chisala (2012), a *nachimbusa*, Kambole (2002), Mpundu (2002), a prominent *mfunkutu* drummer, and Mapoma (2011), a retired ethnomusicologist, it is clear that there are certain key features that stand out as consistent and common to all kitchen parties, which include: the customary entry procession accompanied by an indigenous song; opening prayer, unveiling of *nabwinda*, Christian teaching in marriage, the feast accompanied by contemporary gospel music played from CDs in the background; presentation of gifts where individuals or groups who have brought gifts go into the centre arena and perform an indigenous song and dance before presenting the gift (as shown in Figure 3), and the exit procession which is customarily performed exactly like the entry procession. Music for the entry and exit processions and presentation of gifts at kitchen parties is drawn from indigenous *mfunutu* songs. There are no specifications as to what songs could be sung, since the songs are drawn from different marriage ceremonies. Of importance here is the imparting of marriage instructions.

Since the beginning of the 2000s the format of the kitchen party has come to resemble



Figure 4: *Nachimbusa* washing *shibwinga's* hands, and the food display at *ichilangamulilo* ceremony held in Lusaka, 12 May 2006

that of the wedding reception. In this case it means that the entry procession is performed with a dance routine or more accompanied by recorded or live gospel music. This development demonstrates how dynamic the kitchen parties are in terms of content, format and organisation.

Ichilangamulilo (Food offering ceremony for the groom)

The Bemba believe in a customary presentation of food to a son-in-law to show respect to him. Such ceremonies are known as *amatebeto* ('honouring'; *ukutebeta* 'to honour'). When different dishes of food are customarily presented to a son-in-law to honour and give him a taste of what cooking he should expect from his fiancée, this act is known as *ichilangamulilo* (Lumbwe 2004:97). Nowadays the term *amatebeto* has been widely used when referring to *ichilangamulilo*. According to Chitwansombo (2006), this is a misconception that is the result of people from other ethnic groups from within the country who have adopted the Bemba tradition, but have not fully understood its meaning. To illustrate the difference between *amatebeto* and *ichilangamulilo* Chinkumwa (1997), a *shibukombe*, points out that both ceremonies are a form of food offering to a son-in-law, but the difference lies in the purpose of the ceremony and way in which it is conducted. *Ukutebeta* could be done at any stage in the marriage process and as many times as deemed fit by the family making the offering; this usually starts as soon as *ukukobekela* negotiations have been concluded, and can be done in appreciation of the son-in-law's service to the family, to celebrate the birth of a child or during the time of the *ukwingisha* ceremony. On the other hand, *ichilangamulilo* is presented once, and this happens before the wedding ceremonies are held. Furthermore, *ukutebeta* is a very private affair and usually involves the presentation of a dish of *ubwali* and *inkoko* (chicken). This ceremony does not involve singing and dancing, while *ichilangamulilo* is an elaborate public function that involves the presentation of many

Table 1: Example of a list of songs performed during the *ichilangamulilo* ceremony.

Title of song	Ritual where song is performed
<i>Nse nse tubatwalile</i>	Delivery of the food procession to the house where the food is being presented.
<i>Twingile shani ee?</i>	Entry into the house where the food is being presented.
<i>Abakulu bala pampantana</i>	Presentation of a live chicken to the groom's family (who are receiving the food).
<i>Mayo ntula intundu</i>	Customary request for the hostesses to assist in putting down the dishes that have been brought.
<i>Bamayo ako baambele</i>	Customary uncovering of the different dishes.
<i>Mulangile amone</i>	Customary showing of the dishes to the groom.
<i>Kasambe umulume wechinangwa</i>	Customary washing of the groom's hands and feet.
<i>Nasekela seke</i>	Customary reinforcing marriage instructions to the groom through singing and dancing. The songs presented here are not prescriptive, but serve as an example of the common songs performed during the time of customary reinforcing marriage instructions to the groom. According to Mwela (2002), a <i>mfunkutu</i> drummer, the number and selection of songs depends on how many people participate in this activity.
<i>Mwimbona mamba munuma</i>	
<i>Tente wandi</i>	
<i>Chimfundawila</i>	
<i>Kaleyaleya wansombo</i>	
<i>Ukwangala kwachila ulupwa</i>	
<i>Uyu mwana munangani</i>	
<i>Kapapa kumulomo</i>	
<i>Shimolole</i>	
<i>Ninani wapasebele pano</i>	
<i>Nasha nalya umusololo</i>	The visitors customary announce their departure to mark the end of the ceremony

different dishes of food and includes marriage instruction through songs, dances and miming. What happens here is that specially selected *bana chimbusa* (two or three people), from the presenting family, will sing songs and mime actions as they present all the dishes they have brought one by one. The rest of the people present participate in singing as a chorus. Drum accompaniment is provided by specially selected players from the family presenting the food gifts.

Mpundu (2002) indicates that performance of songs during *ichilangamulilo* ceremony is usually in the format as presented in Table 1. However, there are no specifications for the songs performed during the time of customary reinforcing marriage instructions to the groom through singing and dancing.

Church ceremony

Church wedding ceremonies vary from denomination to denomination, but they have certain sacraments that are consistent in all Christian churches in Zambia. Kondolo (2008), a church minister, points out that priests conduct wedding services according to the guidelines provided by the Christian faith, but there are variations at the discretion of particular priests or pastors, which affect the order of performance of certain rites. Besides



Figure 5: *Nabwinga* and *shibwinga* make their vows at a church ceremony held in Kitwe, 12 May 2011

the Pentecostal churches that rely mainly on contemporary gospel music, the older churches such as the Catholic, Anglican, Reformed Church of Zambia and the United Church of Zambia have maintained the use of Western traditional hymns. Though there may be specific hymns or songs prescribed for wedding ceremonies, it has been common practice that the priest in charge of celebrating mass would select the hymns that complement his sermon (teaching). Phiri (2011) an Anglican Priest, points out that from the year 2000 there has been a growing tendency of churches to include contemporary gospel music into wedding ceremonies as opposed to hymns. The Christian wedding service consists of three components: the entry, the liturgy and the exit. The selection of songs and dance steps (for entrance and exit processions) is left to the couple, who need final approval from the priest in charge of the wedding service.⁶

6 The description outlined above is not specific to a particular denomination (for example, Catholic, United Church of Zambia), but is a representation of common sacraments that are peculiar to Christian churches in Lusaka and the Copperbelt. The researcher attended weddings from Catholic, Protestant and Pentecostal churches. Other religions such as Islam, Hinduism, Baha'i, Buddhism and Lumpa have not been included in the description because, firstly, the focus of this study was on the influence of Christianity on Bemba indigenous *ubwinga* ceremonies, and secondly, because other religions form a relatively small percentage of the total population of Lusaka, the Copperbelt and the country at large.



Figure 6: *Nabwinga* and *shibwinga* flanked by their maid of honour and best man having their dinner, and bridesmaids and best men dancing at a wedding reception held in Kitwe, 12 May 2011

Wedding reception

There are variations in the white wedding reception programmes, but this article reports on the common elements from 55 wedding receptions attended by the author from 1984 to 2011 in Lusaka and the Copperbelt (Kitwe, Ndola, Luanshya, Kalulushi and Mufulira), 20 recorded tapes reviewed, and descriptions provided by research subjects interviewed during the course of my Master's and PhD research. As stated when describing other ceremonies such as the kitchen party and church service, the order of activities is usually determined by the wedding organising committee and also the Master of Ceremonies (MC) in charge. The duration of the wedding reception is predetermined by the events on the programme, and the food and drinks budgeted for the ceremony, but it usually lasts between 3 to 4½ hours. The length of each individual item of the programme is at the MC's discretion. White wedding receptions are held at venues of the couple's choice, and the event could either be indoors or outdoors. The term 'reception' will be used here instead of 'white wedding reception', since it is the term commonly used in Lusaka and the Copperbelt (an estimated 85% are Christians, 5% are Muslims, another 5% subscribe to other faiths including Hinduism, Baha'ism and indigenous religions, and 5% are atheist) (Cheyeka 2008:145). The wedding reception is ordered as follows:

- The entry of bridal party
- Opening prayer
- Introduction of the bridal party
- Serving of drinks to the guests
- Presentation of speeches
- Dinner
- Cutting of the wedding cake
- Opening of the dance floor by the bride and groom and general dancing for all in attendance
- Proposing a toast

- Presentation of the gifts
- Exit of the bridal party.

Since the wedding reception is set in a contemporary Western style, the music at these ceremonies is predominantly selected from other styles than the contemporary local or even indigenous ones. The utilisation of foreign musics such as pop, rock, country, reggae, etc. for wedding receptions was prevalent from the early 1960s to the late 1970s. From the 1980s onwards, Zambian contemporary music (*Zamrock* and *Kalindula*) was included on a small scale. In the same period Congolese rumba became more and more popular and became the dominant music played at wedding receptions. In Zambia the Congolese rumba is also commonly referred to as *ama bolingo* (*bolingo* music). The word *bolingo* comes from Lingala and it means 'love'. The Congolese rumba grew in popularity in Zambia partly because of the collapsing economy and deteriorating living and working conditions for the musicians (Stewart 2000:2) in the Democratic Republic of Congo (then Zaire), which forced them to migrate to Zambian towns and cities, where they sought employment in hotels and clubs. From the late 1990s to date the trend has changed with the result that local Zambian contemporary music, *Zamragga* and hip hop, now dominate wedding reception ceremonies. The styles of music which are similar to those performed in other parts of sub-Saharan Africa. What prevails currently in many African urban centres, and Zambia is no exception, is that Western musical styles such as R&B, rap, hip hop, reggae, to mention but a few, have been adapted using local languages and relying heavily on the use of synthesisers to produce the music. That is why in recent times scholars have observed that the electronic media have been shaping and changing people's worldviews and cultural practices (Wahlstrom 1992; Baran 1999; Herbst & Tracey 2003:279–292; Gunster 2004:3–22). Music at the wedding reception is performed for specific activities such as:

- Entry and exit processions
- Presentation of the knife for cutting the wedding cake
- Cutting of the wedding cake
- Opening of the dance floor (by bride and groom)
- Presentation of gifts by the guests to the wedding couple.

Music is not randomly selected, but instead certain members of the wedding committee, mainly the couple and the matron of honour, give the matter careful consideration. The selection criteria for the music include the type of ceremony, the ritual being performed and the period in which the wedding is being held. Kapwepwe (2011) indicates that from 2000 to date the selection of contemporary music for wedding receptions has been based on the appropriateness of the message that the text of the song has and its relevance to the overall meaning of marriage. This development indicates the drift towards selection of contemporary music, which now simulates that of Bemba indigenous traditions of selection of songs for marriage ceremonies.

Ukupanga ichupo ceremony (Consummation of the marriage)

The usual practice in conducting the consummation ceremony is to take *nabwina* and *shibwina* to a specially selected venue, where selected *bana chimbusa* and *shibukombe* facilitate the proceedings (marriage instructions and consummation) (Mukolongo 1999). In the current format of wedding ceremonies the consummation ceremony is conducted privately sometime after the end of the wedding reception. Mukolongo (1999), a *nachimbusa*, notes that in its private setting the consummation ceremony loses certain important elements, such as giving instructions through singing and dancing, and also announcing the commencement of the wedding festivities. Mutale (2006) notes that certain venues selected for the consummation ceremonies do not allow for loud activities such as drumming, singing and dancing. Venues such as hotels and guest houses have been used for the consummation ceremony. Kondolo (2008) adds that there are, however, couples who oppose the consummation ceremonies under the pretext of following Christian beliefs. Kondolo, a reverend in the United Church of Zambia, states that the Christian beliefs being referred to are those of the early missionaries and also currently some Pentecostal churches. Otherwise there is nothing wrong in following those traditions that contribute to the strengthening of relationships between couples and their families, and marriages in general. Mutale (2006) adds that the Bible encourages respect for traditions as demonstrated by Jesus Christ following the Jewish traditions such as circumcision.

No details of the consummation ceremony will be provided in this article so as not to divulge privileged information which is intended only for initiated Bemba people. In

Table 2: Example of songs performed during *ukupanga ichupo* ceremony

Instructional function	Titles of songs
Pre-marriage warnings	<i>Kalombo we musha</i> (Kalombo you slave) <i>Nse nse tubatwalile</i> (Let's take it to them) <i>Tuchitwale uko bachibashile</i> (Let's take it were they curved it)
Wife's obligations	<i>Bamayo njise momo?</i> (Mother! May I come in?) <i>Kasambe umulume wechinangwa</i> (Go and bath your husband you useless thing) <i>Peemba peemba</i> (Peemba – name of a traditional beer)
Motherhood obligations	<i>Ng'ombe naimita</i> (Ng ómbe is pregnant) <i>Aka kumulomo</i> (This thing on my lip) <i>Kwenda naenda mutukonko ee</i> (The walking I have done through the valleys)
Husband's duties	<i>Ngwena</i> (Crocodile) <i>Mundu</i> (Lion) <i>Uyu tata aba ne mitumfya</i> (This man is likes teasing)
Mutual obligations	<i>Tomfwa mafunde</i> (He/she does not follow the rules) <i>Chembe we mutwa</i> (Chembe – name of a person, you are mine) <i>Seya eeh yangayo</i> (Seya – name of a person, rejoice)
Social duties	<i>Fulwe</i> (Tortoise) <i>Nasha nalaya umusololo</i> (I am bidding you farewell) <i>Wakula mayo wansanga ee</i> (You have grown up like me my child)

dealing with secrecy and other matters of confidentiality, a good deal of time was spent on critical negotiations with the elders and members of the Bemba Royal Establishment in which verbal contracts of confidentiality were first agreed upon; this process gives an indication of the complexity of the data-collection process during the time I conducted my research.

Although details of the consummation ceremony may not be revealed, Ilunga (2002) points out that there are songs that are performed by specially selected members of both families, that of the bride and that of the groom, who await to receive the couple immediately after the ceremony is complete. Ilunga continues that the songs are randomly selected and performed in no specific order, but the purpose is to reinforce marriage instructions to the couple through the custom of singing and dancing. Examples of the songs performed during consummation are presented in Table 2.

Ukuluula no kushikula (Undoing of taboos)

In the *ukuluula no kushikula* ceremonies the couple receives further marriage instructions through the introduction of the two families and the undoing of taboos. According to Bemba indigenous rules, for example, a daughter-in-law and son-in-law are not supposed to shake hands with their in-laws before the act of *ukushikula*. They would also not eat from their in-laws home until the ‘taboos’ have been undone.

During *ukuluula no kushikula*, which is usually an outdoor activity, the setting is semi-circular with the newly wedded couple seated in front of everybody. Every member present



Figure 7: A family member gives marriage instructions to *nabwinga* and *shibwinga* during an *ukuluula no kushikula* ceremony held in Kalulushi, 6 June 2001

will take a turn to go in the centre of the arena and introduce themselves through leading in singing and dancing. The rest of the members present would support by responding in chorus. After performance of a song and dance, the presenter would give a gift of money which is put into two plates that are placed in front of the couple.

In the post-independence period not only have *ukuluula no kushikula* ceremonies been shortened, especially from the late 1990s, but some families have omitted them from the *ubwina* ceremonies. According to Kunda (2002), a retired civil servant, one reason for the omission of *ukuluula no kushikula* ceremonies is that couples often make arrangements to leave town for their 'honeymoon' the day after their wedding reception. The concept of a 'honeymoon' is Western; during this period the couple is supposed to spend time alone together as a couple with the intention of getting to know each other in ways that they have not known each other before. This concept is foreign to indigenous marital ceremonies, where the couple did not officially take time to spend on their own.

Chinyanta (2002) points out that many families live in different towns and cities, which makes it difficult for family members to attend the undoing of taboos. In such cases *ukuluula no ukushikula* will not be effective, as only friends would be able to attend. However, despite these inconsistencies, the structure and existence of *ukuluula no ukushikula* ceremonies have still survived in Lusaka and on the Copperbelt, even though in a shortened form. Ilunga (2002) points out that currently elements (rituals) such as the exchange of *imisukuso* have been completely done away with from the ceremony.

With regards to the songs performed during *ukuluula no kushikula* ceremony and their function Chisala (2012) points out that though the songs are randomly selected and performed in no specific order, the end result of the total performance covers all instructional subjects as presented in Table 3.

Mfunkutu: indigenous wedding music of the Bemba

Before discussing Bemba wedding *mfunkutu* music, it is important to point out that certain musical terms used in this article derive their meaning from the Bemba worldview.

The word 'music' in this article should not be understood as having the same implications as in its Western sense, as the Bemba equivalent may mean 'song' in Western music. Among the Bemba the terms *ulwimbo* (song) and *ingoma* (drum) are used interchangeably to indicate music, although the term *ingoma* is used more often; wherever drumming is heard, there would be singing and dancing (Mapoma 1980:36). Some songs do not carry a melody, but are sung rhythmically, sounding almost monotonously, following the tonal inflections (natural contours) of the Bemba language. Such songs could be described by some Western music-oriented persons as 'chanting rhythmic recitation' (Lumbwe 2004). With regards to the description of sub-Saharan African music in general, Rhodes (1959:6) warns against evaluating and interpreting African music in terms and concepts that are European rather than African. In his warning Rhodes states that in trying to study African musics researchers have tended to make general statements disregarding the views of the

Table 3: Example of songs performed during *ukuluula no kushikula* ceremony

Instructional function	Title of song
Pre-marriage warnings	<i>Kalombo we musha</i> (Kalombo you slave)
	<i>Mwansa Chiyepe</i> (Name of a person)
	<i>Mundu</i> (Lion)
	<i>Wakula mayo wansanaga</i> (You have now grown my child)
Wife's obligations	<i>Bamayo njise momo?</i> (Mother! May I come in?)
	<i>Akebo banjebele</i> (What they told me)
	<i>Iyongolo</i> (The snake)
Husband's duties	<i>Ngwena</i> (Crocodile)
	<i>Ikosa</i> (Bracelet)
Mutual obligations	<i>Tomfwa mafunde</i> (He/she does not follow the rules)
	<i>Lukombo</i> (Cup)
	<i>Chinungi</i> (Porcupine)
Motherhood obligations	<i>Ng'ombe naimita</i> (Ng ómbe is pregnant)
	<i>Uyu mwana</i> (This child)
Social duties	<i>Umukowa</i> (The clan)
	<i>Fulwe</i> (Tortoise)
Domestic duties	<i>Kamulongwe</i> (The small water pot)
	<i>Inkuni</i> (Firewood)

indigenous people who own the music being discussed. This is evident in claims such as '[t]he African is rarely articulate in explaining the theory and aesthetic of his music' (Rhodes 1959:6). Statements such as these ignore the fact that people on the continent of Africa have their own way of describing the nature and beauty of their musics, expressed in their own languages. Recently Agawu, among others, also touched on this issue (Agawu 2003). Direct translations into any language should therefore be handled with great care.

Different genres of music are described as '*ingoma ya chisungu*, *ingoma ya kalela*' (lit. 'the drum of *chisungu*' and the 'drum of *kalela*' respectively). Even when referring to contemporary music it is common to hear of '*ingoma ya kalindula*' ('the music of *kalindula*'), '*ingoma ya kwa* PK Chishala' ('the music of PK Chishala'). In all these cases the word '*ingoma*' has been used to refer to music and not the drum.

There are five genres that constitute indigenous Bemba music: *Inyimbo sha baiche* (children's music: games and story songs), *Imipukumo* (topical songs that carry a didactic text, such as, for example, work songs), *Chilumbu* also known as *Ifimbo fya malilo* (funeral dirges); *Kalela* (music for the *Kalela* dance) and *Mfunkutu*. The four genres were derived from the works by Ng'andu (1922), Etienne (1937), Richards (1939; 1940; 1956), Mitchell (1956), Labrecque (1947), Tanguay (1948), Whiteley (1951), Jones (1959), Lunsonga (1963), Makashi (1970), Kambole (1980), Corbeil (1982), Ng'andu (1999, 2009) and Lumbwe (2009). The latter genre, which is our main concern here, consists of two categories, namely (a) general music, for example, for beer parties and coronation ceremonies; and (b) marriage music. Weddings are a part of marriage ceremonies, which the Bemba conceptualise as rites of passage in which the musical arts (song, dance and drama) are a medium of instruction, communicating meaning and values

(Mapoma 1980:46; Lumbwe 2004:131). However, the focus of this article is on the musical arts embedded in Bemba wedding ceremonies, examining the functional role they play and how they are utilised, with special attention to what has changed and what has continued, as well as identifying the forces responsible for change.

According to Mapoma (1980:38), *mfunkutu* is not only a name of a specific dance, but also a generic name of a specific genre of music which is performed by 'older' Bemba at social functions such as weddings, beer parties or at a presentation ceremony. The dance refers to specific movements called *ukuifukutawila*, which include the shuffling of feet, twisting of the waist, and the up-and-down movements of the arms by the dancer. Following Mapoma's description it is clear that the music genre of *mfunkutu* derived its name from the *mfunkutu* dance. In order to avoid confusion the following terms are used throughout this article: '*mfunkutu* music', '*mfunkutu* dance' and '*mfunkutu*' for the combination of the two. Against this backdrop Zambian scholars have tried to give an account of the descriptions of *mfunkutu* by the practitioners and from an ethnomusicological perspective. According to Ngandu (2009), *mfunkutu* is a performance phenomenon, which has a basic template or framework from which singing, dancing and performance are derived.

Mfunkutu music is predominantly vocal and communal, and performance styles are varied according to context and purpose, but employ singing, dancing, drumming and/or handclapping. *Mfunkutu* music represents one of the many different forms of multipart vocal music which are fairly widespread in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Form and structure of the songs

The form of the songs is cyclic, often comprising a total pattern of music, of fixed length (the form numbers of songs are commonly put in 12, 16, 18 and multiples, etc.), which is repeated indefinitely and usually terminated at the completion of the activity that it accompanies, often suddenly by the song leader, or by another song started by a new song leader. The basic metrical patterns of the songs are expressed audibly by hand claps, which are supplemented by drum rhythm patterns and in some cases by rhythmic body movement patterns made by dancers. It should be noted that during actual wedding ceremonies songs may be accompanied by hand clapping and drumming, or by hand clapping only. The melodies of songs are structured antiphonically (commonly referred to as call and response) and comprise at least one pair of complementary phrases of solo and chorus. This is a basic melodic structure in Bemba marriage songs. I have observed that the melodic structures of songs can further be described as follows:

- Songs with the chorus phrase beginning immediately after the end of the solo phrase, i.e. without overlapping;
- Songs with the chorus phrase beginning before the end of the solo phrase with a small overlap (what David Rycroft (1954) has described as single-ended overlap);
- Nearly all the songs have very short melodic phrases.

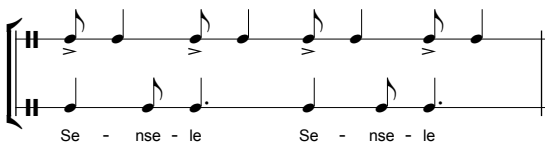
Unlike Western music, where harmony is determined by combinations of notes built on the tonic followed by a third, fifth and or seventh note of a given scale, Bemba music, like other

musics of sub-Saharan Africa, is harmonised by singing a similar melody at a different tone higher or lower. In some cases the intervals between the main melody and that of the harmonising may vary from a third, fourth, fifth or octave. Harmonisation usually occurs in conjunction with the chorus phrases and not with the solo vocal phrases. From my analysis it is evident that multipart singing is based on the principle of ‘analogous movement’ within a tempered scale approaching equidistance (Kubik 1997:89–90) and that the songs are set in hexatonic and heptatonic scales (Lumbwe 2004:142). Analogous movement means that two or more voices are sung simultaneously but at a different height by individual singers in an analogous manner. This does not imply that the movement of the individual voices must be parallel; it can be, but it can also involve oblique and contrary motion.

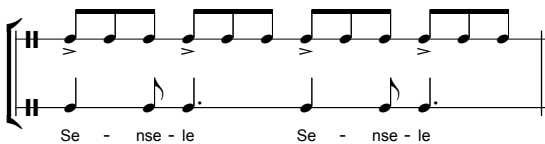
Mapoma (1980) found that within the music characteristics of *mfunkutu*, drum accompaniment forms the backbone of the music such that variations could be identified based on comparisons drawn from the style of playing the drum rhythms, played either by females or males. The main musical instruments that accompany the *mfunkutu* music include three drums, namely *sensele*, *ichibitiko* and the master drum *itumba* (Jones & Kombe 1952:5–39; Mapoma 1980:38; Lumbwe 2004:152–155). The drums commonly referred to as *sensele* and *ichibitiko* derive their names from the mnemonic sounds of the rhythmic pattern played on them. However, in the case of *chisungu* (Bemba girls’ initiation) *sensele* drum rhythm does not conform to the mnemonic sound and hence its name *sensele* in this case is merely a generic term to describe the type of drum. The result of the combination of *mfunkutu* drumming could thus be represented in the following three examples:

Example 1 illustrates the rhythm patterns played on *sensele* drum, by females during *chisungu* and by males during their functions. Example 2 illustrates the combination of *sensele* and *chibitiko* drum patterns played during men’s functions, while Example 3 illustrates the combination of *sensele* and *chibitiko* drum patterns played by females during *chisungu* and marriage ceremonies.

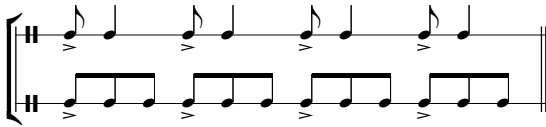
Example 1: Transcription of *mfunkutu* drumming (*Sensele* drum rhythms in *mfunkutu* of *chisungu* and *mfunkutu* for men’s functions)



Example 2: Transcription of *mfunkutu* music drum accompaniment rhythms played for men’s functions



Example 3: Transcription of marriage *mfunkutu* music drum accompaniment rhythms played by females during *chisungu* and marriage ceremonies



Kashoki (2008), a retired professor of linguistics at the University of Zambia, and Ng'andu (2009) observed that *mfunkutu*, variations could be identified based on comparisons drawn from the style of playing the drum rhythms that are played either by females or males. These variations are described by the Bemba through expressions such as '*Iyo ulelisha ni ngoma ya chanakashi*' ('That rhythm you are playing is the one played by women'); '*Iyo ulelisha ni ngoma ya chaume*' ('That rhythm you are playing is the one played by men'). These expressions and variant patterns highlight the fact that some *mfunkutu* rhythms such as for beer parties or the coronation of the chief and the first-food celebration should be played by males. Females play at *chisungu* (Bemba girls' initiation) and other *mfunkutu* marriage ceremonies.

The prominence of female drummers at Bemba marriage ceremonies counters the misconception of certain scholars about African women and instrument playing. At the Pan African Society for Musical Arts Educators' conference held in Gaborone, Chukwu (2011) maintained that females in Africa are not favoured to play the drums as they do it very badly. However, this claim is not true of the Bemba, as female drummers are highly acclaimed, respected and they play a prominent role during marriage ceremonies. Chukwu could have specified an ethnic group and not generalised. Barz (2004:37), in his study of East African music, encountered challenges regarding gender roles in traditional music making and musical performance in general. What emerged from Barz's study was that there are beliefs, myths and taboos that prevent females from playing or even touching musical instruments, especially the drum. Social taboos exist mainly because of fear of spoiling (contaminating) the drum by leakage during the period of a woman's menstrual cycle.

Chasaya (2008) points out that in the case of other genres in Bemba musical culture, females do not on the whole play musical instruments, mostly because the culture demands good vocalisation and dancing, which they do very well. Furthermore, Mapoma (2011) adds that instrument players among the Bemba are also instrument makers, and both the skills of making and playing are passed on from their parents. By virtue of their specialised social-cultural responsibilities, females focus on nurturing children and other household duties, while the men focus on economic tasks. During their leisure time men can afford to make and play musical instruments, as this is also part of their social-cultural obligations. Therefore, the prominence of males as instrumentalists in most Bemba musical genres is not a result of gender discrimination against the females.

Song texts in *mfunkutu* music

Bemba marriage songs have song texts with several distinct characteristics:

The solo and chorus phrases share the same text, literally or with minimal differences.

Solo: <i>Kalombo we musha uko wile kuteba taulabwela</i>	Kalombo, you slave why haven't you returned from where you went to fetch firewood?
Chorus: <i>Kalombo we musha uko wile kuteba taulabwela</i>	Kalombo, you slave why haven't you returned from where you went to fetch firewood?

Sometimes the text of the solo phrase is in the form of a question to which the chorus provides the answer.

Solo: <i>Twingile shani ee?</i>	How should we enter?
Chorus: <i>Twingile musense ngabakolwe</i>	We should enter walking backwards like monkeys

The text of the solo phrase is the beginning of an axiom or proverb-phrase (*insoselo* and *amapinda* – sayings and proverbs) to which the chorus phrase provides its logical completion.

Solo: <i>Kapapa kalubalala</i>	The shell of a groundnut
Chorus: <i>Mwikamono kutuntumana Mukati emuli obil.</i>	Do not see its thickness inside there is sense.

The text in the solo phrase provides instructions to do something, while the chorus phrase names the person to perform the task.

Solo: <i>Kasambe umulume wechinangwa</i>	Go and bath your husband you useless thing
Chorus: <i>Chibale, Chibale</i>	Chibale, Chibale

Rooted in these characteristics the function and meaning of *mfunkutu* music goes beyond that of entertainment, but instead serves as a conduit through which continuity of identity, knowledge, skills and cultural heritage are transmitted, thereby setting up the coexistence between the living and their ancestors. Therefore, on the semantic plane, the meaning of *mfunkutu* songs can be interpreted on three levels: first, there is the literal meaning of the text; secondly, there is a metaphorical and/or symbolic level within the context of wedding ceremonies; and thirdly, there is a metaphoric level which entails the transfer of ideas from one context to another, for example, from the marriage ceremony to general education.

Continuity and change of *mfunkutu*

In order to ascertain the nature of *mfunkutu* music from pre-colonial times to date,

recordings of songs from the colonial times and periods later were examined. For instance, the song '*Kasambe umulume wechinangwa*' of which one of the versions represents recordings collected earlier than 1980 by Mapoma, while the other two I recorded and called them Transcription 1 recorded in 2003, and Transcription 2 recorded in 2007. Because there are differences in the time of recording and in textual variations, it remains difficult to determine which one of the three represents the initial version. It makes sense to speculate that Mapoma's version could be closer to the original version as his recording was made in a rural setting 27 years prior to my recording. The variations in the texts of the song *Kasmabe umulume we chinangwa* are not the only differences that have been observed. The melody of the song has some slight differences, but even though small differences were detected, the overall structure and meaning of the song remained intact.

Considering that the main focus of this article is the changes that have occurred to wedding *mfunkutu* because of internal (within Zambia) and external (within Africa and the West) factors, it is imperative to point out that some songs have 'lost' their melodies, meaning that people cannot remember the original melodies. These songs have therefore undergone a change and the call phrase of a song such as *Twingile shani ee?* follows the natural rise and fall of the tone of the spoken language. In some cases the response phrase can be varied with one half sung with melodic contours, while the other half is a rhythmic recitation following the natural rise and fall of the tone of the language. The following examples illustrate this point:

Example 4: Transcription of the song *Twingile shani ee?* with both phrases sung in virtual monotone

Solo Chorus

Twi - ngi - le sha - ni ee____ Twi - ngi - le mu-se-nse nga ba ko - lwe

Example 5: Transcription of the song *Twingile shani ee?* With the response phrase sung with melodic contours

Solo Chorus

Twi - ngi - le sha - ni ee____ Twi - ngi - le mu-se-nse nga ba ko - lwe

In the development of contemporary Zambian music, which involves the utilisation of Western musical instruments (guitars, keyboards and drum kits), indigenous songs have been played on these instruments in the style of *Kalindula* and Congolese rumba. Bemba marriage songs and those from other genres, and also from other ethnic groups, have been adapted to the contemporary styles. From the Bemba marriage songs a typical example

is the song *Itumba lilelila*, which was recorded and produced by the late *kalindula* maestro Alfred Chisala Kalusha Jr (Lumbwe 2004:34). Kalusha adopted the main melody and text of the song, but instead of using *mfunkutu* drum accompaniment, he employed guitars and a Western drum set in *kalindula* style. However, another *kalindula* group known as the Masiye Band adopted the song *Nse nse*. Unlike in the case of Chisala, they altered the tune and lyrics to include their own. The following examples illustrate the two songs:

Example 6: Text of the song *Itumba lilelila* by Alfred Chisala Kalusha and the indigenous version

Solo: <i>Tumba lilelila kubuko,</i>	The drum is sounding,
<i>balenjeba fimbi.</i>	But my in-laws are telling me something else.
Chorus: <i>Tumba lileli kubuko,</i>	The drum is sounding,
<i>balenjeba fimbi.</i>	But my in-laws are telling me something else.
Solo: <i>Watukula akafumo</i>	You make your stomach protrude,
<i>muku konkola mwanokofyala.</i>	by collecting things from your mother in-laws' house
Chorus: <i>Watukula akafumo</i>	You make your stomach protrude,
<i>muku konkola mwanokofyala.</i>	by collecting things from your mother in-laws' house.

Example 7: Text of the song *Nse nse* (indigenous version)

Solo: <i>Nse, nse</i>	Nse, nse
Chorus: <i>Tubatwalile, tubatwalile</i>	Let us take it to them,
<i>abene bakayonawile.</i>	So they can spoil it by themselves.

Example 8: Text of the song *Nse nse* (Masiye Band version)

Solo: <i>Tubatwalile abene bakayonawile,</i>	Let us take it to them, so they can spoil it by themselves
<i>nse, nse.</i>	Nse, nse.
Chorus: <i>Tubatwalile</i>	Let us take it to them
Solo: <i>Nse, nse o</i>	Nse, nse o
Chorus: <i>Tubatwalile abene bakayonawile.</i>	Let us take it to them, so they can spoil it by themselves.
Solo: <i>Leka kulila mwanawandi Mulongwe,</i>	Stop crying my child Mulongwe,
<i>ichalo chaba nabene Mulongwe.</i>	The world has got its owners

Conclusion

This article has provided a description of the wedding music of the Bemba-speaking people. The music is divided into two kinds, one being indigenous music and the other being contemporary and 'foreign' music. Indigenous wedding music is based on *mfunkutu*.

To a great extent *mfunkutu* songs and dances have continued to be the main vehicles of imparting marriage instruction. However, *mfunkutu* only plays a prominent role in the surviving indigenous marriage ceremonies such as *ichilangamulilo*, *ukufunda umukashana* and *ukuluula no ukushikula*. Furthermore, it is evident that certain elements of *mfunkutu* performance have continued, by and large, as they used to be in pre-colonial times, while others have undergone change to suit the current lifestyle of the people in Zambia. Despite internal and external influences on Bemba society, it is evident from the findings that:

- *Mfunkutu* songs have undergone minimal change;
- No Western musical instruments have been included in the overall performances;
- The repertoire of songs performed during marriage ceremonies has been reduced;
- The songs have been abridged;
- Tuning of the drums follows indigenous guidelines related to high, middle and low.

Since no recordings of pre-colonial marriage *mfunkutu* songs are available, it is difficult to discuss tuning related to these songs and the changes that could have occurred.

Local contemporary and foreign music have been incorporated into the white wedding ceremonies and have since taken on a prominent role and a higher status than indigenous music.

The relegation of *mfunkutu* to the periphery at wedding ceremonies has been the result of political, economic, cultural and social changes within Zambian society. The changes in the social structure of Zambian society have been influenced by many factors, including Christianity, education and globalisation, among others.

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Glossary of terms

Bemba term	English translation
<i>Amafunde</i>	Marriage instructions
<i>Amatebeto</i>	Food customary presented to the groom
<i>Chisungu</i>	The <i>chisungu</i> girls' initiation ceremony for the Bemba involves puberty and obility rites. It is performed at the onset of a girl's first menstrual flow.
<i>Ichilangamulilo</i>	Lit. That which shows the fire, but in this case it refers to the food offering ceremony that is performed for the groom
<i>Ichombela ngánda</i>	Abbreviated wedding ceremonies involving a small gathering of supporters, and does not involve the preparation of traditional beer (<i>Katubi</i>).
<i>Imisukuso</i>	Traditional toothbrushes made from small twigs
<i>Ingoma</i>	Drum
<i>Ingomba</i>	Bemba Royal musician
<i>Kalindula</i>	Contemporary musical style of the Bemba of Luapula Province; it is characterised by a strong rhumba bass line and traditional drum rhythms
<i>Katubi</i>	Traditional beer made from millet

<i>Mfunkutu</i>	Name of a specific dance and also a generic name for a genre of music. As a dance, it describes the movements, the shuffling of feet, twisting of the waist and the up and down movements of the arms of the dancer. This is called <i>ukuifikutawila</i> . It is performed by Bemba in Luapula, Northern and Central provinces at social functions such as beer parties, weddings, or at a presentation ceremony.
<i>Mukolo</i>	Title given to the first wife of a chief
<i>Nabwinga</i>	Bride
<i>Nachimbusa</i> (Pl. <i>Bana chimbusa</i>)	Lit. Mother of sacred emblems, but the term refers to the midwife who takes care and instructs the initiate during marriage or initiation ceremony
<i>Nasenge</i>	Paternal aunt
<i>Shibukombe</i>	Go-between or spokesman – one who represents the groom in marriage negotiations
<i>Shibwinga</i>	Groom
<i>Uwali</i>	Mash prepared from maize meal, it is a common staple food for many sub-Saharan African peoples and it is known by different names such as: <i>nsima</i> (Malawi/Zambia), <i>ugali</i> (Tanzania/Kenya), <i>posho</i> (Uganda), <i>palichi</i> (Botswana), <i>papa</i> (South Africa)etc.
<i>Ubwinga</i>	Bemba indigenous wedding ceremonies
<i>Ubwinga bwa kapundu</i>	Full wedding ceremonies involving a large gathering with preparation of traditional beer (<i>Katubi</i>), singing and dancing, forming the main part of the festivities and celebrations
<i>Ukukobekela</i>	To engage a young woman – this involves presentation of a marriage gift in the form of money. However, in the early days it involved the presentation of an object such as a hoe, axe, bracelet, etc.
<i>Ukupanga ichuupo</i>	Lit. To make marriage, but it refers to consummation of marriage
<i>Ukuluula no kushikula</i>	The <i>ukuluula</i> ceremony is conducted shortly after the wedding reception in order to undo the taboos that existed before. The process of undoing of the taboos involves the act of <i>ukushikula</i> , which entails the offering of a gift of money as a sign of respect to in-laws.
<i>Ukutolanafye</i>	Lit. To pick up each other – it refers to the union of a man and woman, who have been married before, without the consent of their family members.

Ulwimbo

Wedding organising
committee

Song

This is a committee appointed by the bride and groom to
organise and manage the wedding preparations and functions.