NEW MUSIC EMERGING FROM WAR: LINGWANGWANJA DURING THE FRELIMO-RENAMO CIVIL CONFLICT IN MOZAMBIQUE 1977-1992

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Abstract

Lingwalangwanja is a dance tradition performed by young male members of the Makonde society in the northern part of Mozambique, and in south eastern Tanzania. It is usually performed in the evening for the purpose of entertainment. The tradition involves a variety of topical songs, including love, politics, and important social and cultural issues. The emergence of lingwalangwanja is linked to an outbreak of the Frelimo-Renamo civil war in Mozambique when young musicians, due to their fear of landmines, were unable to go to the bush to fetch wild animal-hides and tree-trunks for making drum shells, resorted to improvising alternative musical instruments. These instruments yielded a new dance tradition. Research on this dance tradition is important because most of the studies done on the impact of the civil war in Mozambique have focused on other social, cultural, economic and political aspects; yet there has been no attention paid to the impact of this war on the musical practices of the Makonde, including this dance. By employing an eclectic research methodology, and drawing upon complex theories of musical change, the emergence of lingwalanganja can be revealed as emanating from both the impact of the Frelimo-Renamo civil war in Mozambique, as well as from migratory movements of Makonde of Mozambique to Tanzania, and between the Makonde of both countries. The study draws on fieldwork experience conducted 1995-1998 and upon follow-up research thereafter in the districts of Newala and Mtwara Rural in Mtwara region concerning the music of migrations among the Makonde in Mtwara region, as well as the variety of published sources related to the impact that war and the search for refuge have upon music making.

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Key terms: *Lingwalangwanja, Makonde, musical change, Mozambique, Tanzania, war*

Introduction

The Frelimo-Renamo war in Mozambique (1977-1992) led to the emergence of a dance tradition called *lingwalangwanja* among the Makonde of Mozambique in the 1980s. To this day, this musical tradition continues to influence musical performances of the Makonde of south eastern Tanzania. *Lingwalangwanja* is a dance tradition performed by young male members of the Makonde society in the northern part of Mozambique, and in south eastern Tanzania. It is usually performed in the evening for the purpose of entertainment. The emergence of *lingwalangwanja* is linked to an outbreak of the Frelimo-Renamo civil war in Mozambique when young musicians, unable to go to the bush to fetch wild animal hides and tree-trunks for making drum shells due to their fear of landmines, decided to make alternative musical instruments. The instruments resulted in this new dance tradition. The name *lingwalangwanja* denotes the resultant sound of the chiefly metallic musical instruments stroked against each other, namely, the iron bars or cranks of bicycle pedals and blades of iron hoes, which were adopted (not created) as substitute instruments for the drums employed in the musical traditions of the young people in Mozambique. The name is also associated with the Frelimo-Renamo war as the musical instruments employed in the performance of this dance reflect the sounds of weapons used in the war.

In this paper I use the term 'music making' to highlight the process of producing musical sound by means of creating (or adopting non-musical objects for musical purposes) and playing musical instruments, singing and dancing. This focus on the nature of the sounds produced in the definition of the term 'music making' is employed here because *lingwalanganja* owes its name to the resultant sound of the chief musical instruments involved, as just described. As a dance form, *lingwalangwanja* was created from scratch as a substitute for other dances which could not be practiced among the young musicians in Mozambique during the civil war, due to the dangers and inconveniences involved in fetching materials used to make drums.

When imported to Tanzania, Tanzanian Makonde musicians did not create new *lingwalanganja*, but retained the basic musical traits of *lingwalangwanja.* Later on, they made a few changes by adopting the cranks of the bicycle pedal instead of the other iron-bars picked up in the neighbourhood by the Makonde of Mozambique, and the *ngwamba* came into use instead of the traditional medium size iron-hoe (*liyembe*). Tanzanian Makonde, however, retained the wind instruments (*mabomba*).

Throughout this study, I employ an ethnographic framework for explaining musical change which reveals the interplay of social, political and circumstantial factors that determine the evolution of music. Some of the literature employed in the study of sound is also included in this analysis, because the sonic dimension of the Frelimo-Renamo civil war in Mozambique served as a physical source of material for the production of this music. Thus I rely upon seminal contributions to the theory of musical change, as well as to the growing scholarship in ethnomusicology focussed upon music related to war (Pettan 2003, Arajuo 2006, Dieslak 2009, O'Connell et al. 2010, O'Connell 2011, Daughtry 2015, Gilman 2016, and Diestche 2016).

Scholars of musical change (for example Titon 2009, Nettl 2005, Blacking 1995, and Merriam 1964), have suggested that musical systems are constantly changing since they are themselves living, homeostatic systems that necessarily adapt in response to both internal and external pressures. These scholars suggest that each society may accommodate or perceive such changes differently. For instance Nettl (2005: 277) submits that to study the causes responsible for musical change requires "a theory that would be enumerative, pointing out a group of regularities and patterns stemming from a variety of circumstances and contexts" (Nettl 2005: 289). This paper attempts to put Nettl's suggestion into practice by examining the complex circumstances and varied contexts through which *lingwalangwanja* came into existence, namely: (i) the emergence of *lingwalangwanja* during the civil war in Mozambique and (ii) its adoption, through cross-cultural contact and then re-interpretation, by the Makonde of Mtwara in Tanzania.

With regard to the existing literature about war and music, researchers have focussed on such themes as using music in the conduct of war as an aural weapon to instil psychological torture and fear into enemy soldiers (Pettan 1998, Cusic 2006, Johnson and Cloonan 2008). And there are studies of music as a tool in peace building and conflict resolution (O'Connel et al. 2010). And music has been observed as "a resource for entertainment, expression of identity communication, emotional and physical survival" (Gilman 2016: 2). This study is focused instead on the way sounds created by armed combat have served as a source of material for music making, as in the case among the young Makonde musicians of Mozambique. By extension, I will demonstrate how the young Makonde have continued to utilise the sonic dimension of war to create musical sound to explore the meaning of their social and cultural experiences since the period of the civil war.

In what follows, I first provide some background of *lingwalangwanja* to capture the context and structure of the performance, the musical instruments and the performers involved in Mozambique. This will be

followed by ethnographic accounts comparing how *lingwalanganja* is performed in the Makonde villages of Mtungulu and Mdui. A short historic account of the impact of the Frelimo-Renamo war on the social-cultural life of the people of Mozambique, featuring music making among the Makonde, will then be followed by the emergence of *lingwalangwanja* in Mozambique and subsequent introduction of this dance tradition to Tanzania, where the context and factors (environmental issues and migratory movements of the Makonde of the two countries) for its introduction are discussed. The paper ends with a critical look at the determinants of the newness of *lingwalangwanja* among the musical traditions of the Makonde of Tanzania.

Just to clarify the methods employed in this study, I have drawn upon fieldwork conducted between 1995 and 1998 and follow-up research in the districts of Newala and Mtwara Rural in Mtwara Region. I also rely on post-project interviews with selected elderly individuals considered to possess knowledge about the music traditions of the Makonde – these included music specialists and non-musicians, village leaders and cultural custodians. I also interviewed cultural officers from the district to the regional level in Mtwara, and young musicians of *lingwalangwanja* in Mtwara. Other people who were interviewed were among the elderly Makonde of Mozambique residing in Mtwara and Dar es Salaam who are also considered key informants concerning the genesis of *lingwalangwanja* in Mozambique. I also relied upon published sources, and my own prior experience of the Makonde music traditions while serving as a cultural officer both at the district and regional levels in the Mtwara Region.

Lingwalangwanja performance: context, structure, instruments and performers

In Mozambique, *lingwalangwanja* was performed in a circular formation moving around the ring by young male musicians for entertainment purposes with a variety of topical songs, including love, politics, and other pertinent social and cultural issues.[60] *Lingwalangwanja* is also performed by the musicians of Mozambique during the ceremonies of initiation rites for boys (*likumbi*).

A typical *lingwalangwanja* musical performance as it is performed in Mozambique and later in Tanzania consists of a group of performers who serve as instrumentalists, singers and dancers. The number of instrumentalists is determined by the number of musical instruments available. The

[60] This analysis of the genre's meaning is according to the musicians of *lingwalanganja* of Tanzania whom I had interviewed in Mdui and Mtungulu villages concerning the emergence of this dance.

instrumentation is divided into two main sections: (i) the percussion instruments, including especially the manually struck idiophones (or the *vitali*, as per the Tanzanian Makonde language), which include mainly iron-bars of different types and blades of relatively medium size blacksmith-made iron hoes (also called *liyembe* in Tanzanian Makonde language) but not as big as the factory-made *ngwamba* available in Tanzania. (ii) And the wind instruments, which consist mainly of pipe-horns (or *mabomba*, a kiSwahili as well as the Tanzanian Makonde name for the wind instruments employed in *lingwalangwanja*, comprising pipes of various sizes made from plastic and galvanised material).

Musicians of *lingwalangwanja* of Mdui and Mtungulu Villages in Mtwara, Tanzania, have retained both the musical instruments and contexts in which this dance was performed since its inception. The *vitali* musicians are mainly composers and singers, but they dance as well. Unlike the *vitali* players, the *mabomba* players (woodwind instrumentalists) do not sing because their mouths are fixed on the mouthpieces of the *mabomba* throughout the performances.

Figure 1: *Lingwalangwanja perfomers in Mdui Village* (Photo by author).

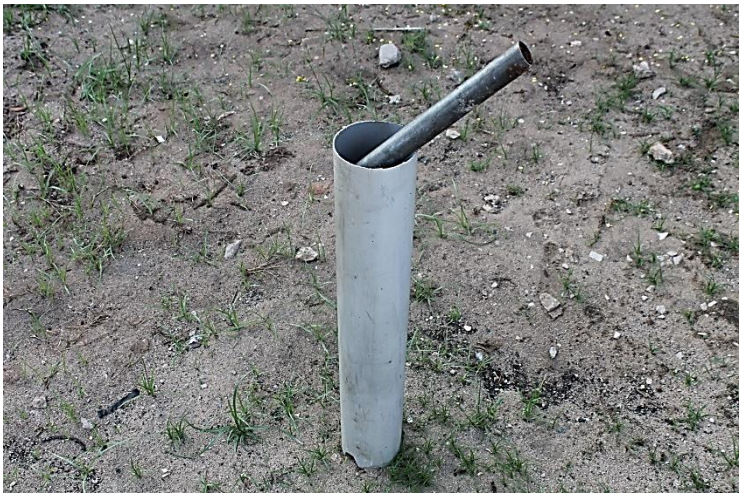

Figure 2: *Mabomba* (Photo by author).

Since the dance is sometimes performed for long periods (three or more days consecutively), the role of reserve players of instruments becomes very significant. When a musician gets tired, another has to take over so as to give the first player time to rest. However, when the entire group gets tired and sees that there is no possibility of continuing the performance, they all take a break for rest. During these infrequent break times they eat, smoke and go about other necessary activities. Although they specialise in performing *lingwalangwanja*, these male musicians also occasionally perform other dances of their community.

Despite the fact that the Makonde musicians of Tanzania have retained the basic structure of *lingwalangwanja*, especially with regard to the basic instrumentation as explained above, they have introduced some changes in their percussion section, as well as in the choreographic flow of events in the performance. Concerning the changea made in the instrumental section, the Tanzanian musician of *lingwalangwanja* have introduced the bicycle pedal-cranks and *ngwamba* (a relatively large factory-made iron-hoe, see figure 3) into the performance to take the place of the other iron-bars and the moderately medium blacksmith-produced iron-hoe (*liyembe*), respectively, originally practiced in Mozambique. When asked why they altered the musical instruments of *lingwalangwanja*, the Makonde musicians of *lingwalangwanja* of Mtungulu and Mdui villages in the districts of Newala and Mtwara Rural, Tanzania, respectively, said that they made the changes in order to increase the intensity of the sound, so as to make the music more powerful, more danceable, and more enjoyable.

To effectively produce louder sound, the *lingwalangwanja* musicians of Mtwara have come up with several lines of distinct rhythmic pattern played by different *ngwamba* performers (Figure 4). Despite following such distinct popular rhythmic patterns, musicians are free to improvise and introduce variations, provided they do not depart from the basic rhythm. It should also be noted that most of the rhythmic patterns indicated here are similar to those repeated in other musical performances of the Makonde.

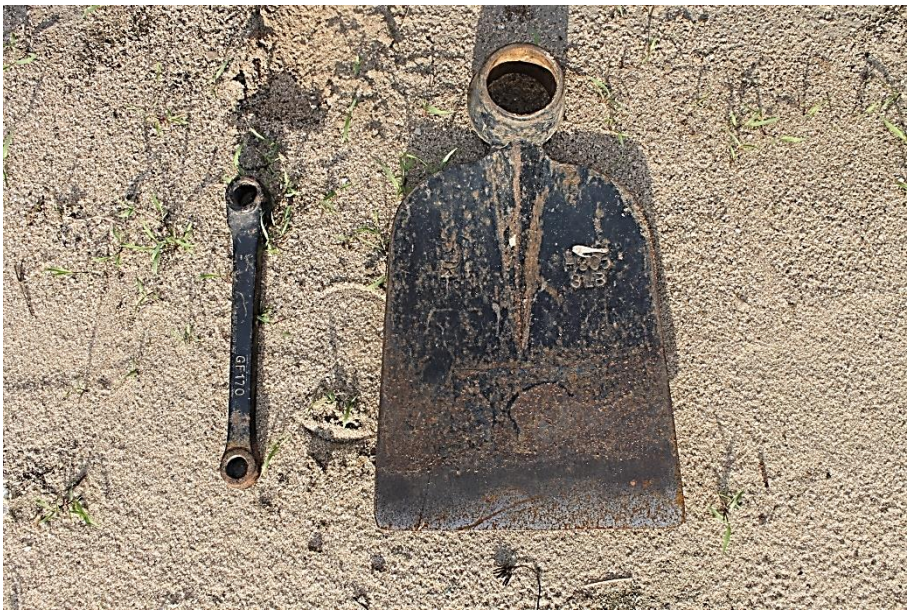

Figure 3: *Vitali: the ngwamba and the bicycle pedal-crank* (Photo by Author).

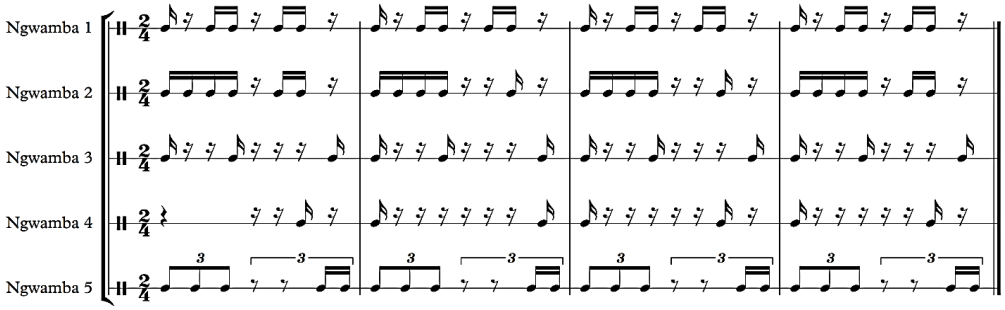

Figure 4: *Rhythmic patterns of the vitali demonstrating several lines of different rhythms played on the ngwamba struck by the bicycle pedal-crank.* (Transcription by Author).

Regarding their introduction of magic tricks throughout the performance, described momentarily, these musicians said that their intention was to make their performances more interesting for the audience members.

Background to the emergence of *Lingwalangwanja* during the Frelimo-Renamo War

Beginning in 1977, the twenty years of civil war in Mozambique between the Frelimo government and Mozambican National Resistance (*Renamo*: its Portuguese acronym) had exerted considerable changes in all aspects of Mozambican life, including music-making among the Makonde. This war caused enormous scale of human tragedy, including rape, abductions, mutilations, the deaths of millions of innocent people, destruction of infrastructure, displacement and severe poverty. Until May 1987 (after a decade of hostilities) Mozambique had a total population of fourteen million with a quarter of the people being homeless and dependent on foreign aid for their survival. By that time, some had been reduced to wearing sacks and pieces of bark (Tanner 1987). Culturally, the entire life of the people, including music-making, an integral part of Makonde life, was severely disturbed and destabilised.

Musical performance among the Makonde, who traditionally have occupied the northern part of Mozambique, does not comprise a distinct institution on its own. It is rather an adjunct to other social and cultural institutionalised activities such accompanies marriage and initiation rites. As such, the Makonde have no word which refers solely to music. Instead, the term *ngoma* is used to mean dancing, singing, playing different types of musical instrument, and always accompanying social activities (Ndomondo 2002). All ceremonial activities during the entire process of initiation rites such as singing, playing musical instruments, and dancing are regarded as part of an *ngoma*.

In such events the specific types of different musical instruments form a significant part. Although the Makonde musical instruments also include those coming from the chordophone, aerophone and idiophone families, instruments from the membranophones (drums with parchment heads) are considered to be chief and are used more often than any one of the other classes of instruments.

Makonde people have many kinds of drums and drumming styles. As such, drumming plays a substantial role in their instrumental music making, including the music contest traditions. Drumming is considered an important measure for determining the winner of any music competition. This is because according to the music contest traditions among the Makonde, the winner is determined by two criteria. The first measure is based on the durability of

musical instruments of the group during an event, particularly the drums. The second measure concerns presentation of artistic quality. According to the first criterion, a musical ensemble that remains with the largest count of unbroken drums by the end of the competition is the winner. The Makonde associate drumming with moral superiority and supernatural forces, especially during competitions. If a group is not well protected spiritually then it will find itself with a single drum or none at all by the end of the day; that failure counts not just as a misfortune but as a disgrace, and automatic disqualification.

Traditionally the Makonde make their drums out of tree trunks of different sizes available in the thick tropical forest. The drums are covered with skins of certain wild animals also available in the thick forests in the Makonde plateau existing in both countries of Tanzania and Mozambique. However, the eruption and development of the civil war in Mozambique (1977-1992) disturbed the day-to-day life of the people including their mobility. As a result, the drum-making activities were severely curtailed as people could not afford to venture into the bush to cut trees for making drum-shells; nor could they hunt animals for the hides used to make drum heads. Many wild and domestic animals also were lost in the carnage, particularly from landmines, resulting in a scarcity of the desired hides. Moreover, people also stopped venturing into the forests altogether in fear of landmines (Chimhete 1997).

Because of the forced displacement of millions of people and the destruction of infrastructure, the fabric of rural society disintegrated throughout the country (Ratilal 1990). In addition, serious cases of over grazing on the few available pieces of land, which caused cattle to lose pasture, were rampant. This resulted into a decline of their normal birth rate, and an increase in mortality.

The Makonde live in an environment that determines and favours their ways of life, including their music-making. The environmentalist calls this interdependent web of relationships between species an ‘ecosystem’. The ecosystem is an organised community of plants and animals in a particular kind of environment of which man is part (Bailey 1996). Therefore, the destruction of one unit, or rather one species in an ecosystem, results into an imbalance and unsustainable development of a community. The destruction of that ecosystem caused by the civil war in Mozambique resulted in an imbalance and unsustainable development of the Makonde community, including their music making traditions.

Given the circumstance that the people could not go into the bush to look for the materials used to make musical instruments, and given the need for music making among the people was not destroyed by war but rather

enhanced by it, what did the Makonde musicians do to solve their quandary? An answer to this question forms the central theme of the next section.

The emergence of lingwalangwanja

As just described, the damage that the civil war did to the environment led to the lack of animal hides and created insuperable difficulties in obtaining appropriate tree trunks for making drum-shells due to the fear of the landmines in the bush. This in turn forced the young musicians in Mozambique to look for alternative musical instruments and to create new musical styles. As Isserlis argues, "intense times tend to breed intense art" (2013). The young musicians decided to improvise musical instruments on things that could be found in homes and elsewhere in their neighbourhoods because the need for making music had not ceased to exist even though their traditional supplies for producing it were annihilated by war. They picked up readily available metal or iron-bars and the blades of iron-hoes that could produce metallic sounds. Initially, metal objects and iron-bars were just a small part of a large ensemble of musical instruments, and assumed only a lesser significance compared to the drums whose demand was very high. Within *lingwalangwanja* such newly adopted musical instruments (the *vitali*), in combination with the *mabomba,* thus grew to assume a dominant role as chief musical instruments. The *vitali* came to be considered by the musicians as instruments that could speak the language of war – bhang-bhang! – representing the sound of bullets, tanks and bombs. To use Daughtry's (2015) words, these were the sounds, "the belliphonics," that the ears of the people of Mozambique became familiar with, reflecting the trauma of wartime. Daughtry (2015: 3) coined this term "belliphonic" to refer to "the spectrum of sounds produced by armed combat" in his discussion of the impact of the sounds created by war in Iraq to the auditory experience of the war among the American military service personnel and the Iraqi civilians alike. "Music in contrast to language," O'Connel (2010: 2, 4) writes,"may present a more fertile locus for studying multiple interpretation of war and diverse readings of peace . . . [and] . . . [m]usic, he adds, provides an excellent medium for understanding conflict".

Following O'Connel (2010), I suggest that an understanding of the emergence of *lingwalangwanja* can best be illustrated through the lens of the civil war: for instance, the employment of metal musical instruments imitating the sounds created by the armed conflict between Frelimo and Renamo fighters. *Lingwalangwanja* itself seems to fall properly within the reference of Daughtry's term "belliphonic" (2015: 4), as it is also part of the "belliphonic" soundscape which is "memorised wartime violence." Indeed,

lingwalangwanja would not have emerged had it not been for the protracted civil war taking place.

As Daughtry has argued, belliphonic sounds have the potential to instill measurable psychological effects on listeners. Along the same lines, Johnson and Cloonan (2009: 16) suggest that "sounds enter the body with extreme intensity, as experienced in even relatively everyday situations; . . . for sound floods the space it enters."

In addition to the sounds created by the metal objects in a performance of *lingwalangwanja*, the other dominant sound is produced by the *mabomba* employed as horns, taking the place of traditional animal horns (*lipenenga*). In this newly invented dance genre, musicians use both plastic and iron (or galvanised) pipes to represent the wind section of the orchestra. Plastic pipes vary in size, from two to six inches in diameter and as long as three or more feet of length. The principle is based on the fact that the smaller the diameter of the pipe the softer the sound; and also, the bigger the diameter of the pipe, the lower and louder the sound. On the other end of this spectrum, the iron pipes whose dimensions are approximately one inch in diameter and one foot in length usually serve as mouth pieces, while the bigger plastic pipes serve as sound amplifiers (see figure 2 above). To produce sound, musicians insert the mouth pieces which are end-blown, inside of the one end of the bigger plastic pipes and then blow into them with the necessary and desired pressure.

The combination of such newly invented percussive and wind instruments led to the birth of a new dance known as *lingwalangwanja*. This name comes from the resultant sound of the metallic musical instruments, that is, the *vitali* that are struck against each other.

In brief, some history of the Makonde of Mtwara Tanzania[61]

The interaction between the Makonde from both countries has a long history. The two ethnic groups have certain attributes in common. In the first place, they have a common place of origin. Ndonde, an area in the north western part of Mozambique, is named as the birth place of the two ethnic groups before Makonde of Tanzania moved to the present Makonde plateau in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The migration, which was initiated by an array of isolated individuals' activities, was motivated by these individuals' different reasons for seeking escape, including refuge from their enemies and tormentors, both human and environmental (Liebenow 1971: 20-21).

Moreover, the patterns of social, economic and political organisation of these two ethnic groups during the pre-war traditional period were similar

[61] This information was provided by the people I talked to during research.

(Liebenow 1971: 31-32). Likewise, the organisation of initiation rites for young women and men, and the rituals and practices in both societies were similar. Despite their shared birth place, marriage and business contacts have been the major sources of interaction between them. Through marriage, relatives of both sides pay regular visits to each other.

Commercial contacts between the two communities began immediately after the independence of Mozambique in 1975. These relationships were strengthened in the late 1980s after Tanzania adopted trade liberalisation policies. This increased the intensity of trade activities among the people from Mtwara across the Ruvuma River into Mozambique (Mihanjo and Luanda 1998). Although the movements of the Makonde from Mozambique to Tanzania started when they were escaping the Mozambican war of independence against Portugal, the pace of migration was intensified in 1980 because of the war of aggression by the Mozambican National Resistance (MNR) group against the Mozambican civil government. This insurgency caused an estimated 1.7 million Mozambicans to flee their country to seek asylum in neighbouring countries, Tanzania being one of them (Sayagues 1995). Some of the immigrants settled in the peripheries[62] of the villages along the northern bank of the Ruvuma River, the border between the two countries. A greater number moved further northward as far as Dar es Salaam and Tanga. During such migratory movements, the Makonde of Mozambique brought their profound musical practices with them.

Thus, two explanations unfold concerning the emergence of *lingwalangwanja* in Tanzania. The first one maintains that *lingwalangwanja* emerged among the Makonde of Tanzania when the young Makonde musicians of Tanzania crossed the border to Mozambique in search of wild animal hides used to make drums, for the reasons described earlier. The Makonde musicians of Tanzania depended on hides of wild animals abundantly available in Mozambique.[63] But as explained earlier, because of the consequences of the Frelimo-Renamo civil war, it became impossible for Tanzanian musicians to get the needed hides inside the forests of

[62] For cultural reasons, according to a number of Makonde of Tanzania I talked to during and after this research, the Makonde of Mozambique liked to live in small clan-based hamlets outside the villages inhabited by the Makonde of Tanzania. This tradition of keeping to themselves is also reflected in the urban areas of Tanzania, especially Dar es Salaam whereby Makonde of Mozambique live in the enclaves located in Msasani, Mikocheni and Tegeta where they continue to practice their cultural traditions including initiation rites in which musical performances form an integral part. I have observed such events years back at Mikocheni.

[63] This was according to the musicians of *lingwalangwanja* in Mdui and Mtungula villages during my interview with them in 1995.

Mozambique. In the course of foraging, they found the young musicians there in Mozambique performing *lingwalangwanja.* Fascinated by this dance, they adopted the dance moves and returned with them back to Tanzania. It is also plausible that *lingwalangwanja* was already being gradually adopted *in situ* in the villages of the two districts of Mtwara Rural and Newala even before musicians from Tanzania went to and from Mozambique for their supplies. This is plausible, as the innovative dance was already being performed in the evening by the many young Makonde war refugees from Mozambique who were residing in the various villages bordering with Mozambique.[64]

The very critical role of animal hide shortage in the Mtwara region should be elaborated here. Wild animals such as *mbawala* (antelope) and *mbutuka* (deer), whose hides were the most sought in Mtwara, and whose meat served as valuable protein, were growing nearly extinct at the time. There were two reasons for their growing extinction. The first is the serious deforestation caused by sporadic burning of forests and destruction of the wild animals' sanctuary. The second reason is the rapid depletion of sustainable water sources including the ponds frequented by the animals in the north side of the Ruvuma River which was basically a natural plateau occupying the area inhabited by the Makonde of Tanzania. As a result, the greater abundance of wild animals were growing more available across the Ruvuma River in Mozambique. Furthermore, cattle, which could be another source of hide, were not available in abundance in Mtwara region at the time. The few available herds of cattle neither provided sufficient meat, nor the hides in demand for their many uses.[65] With very few cattle hides in Mtwara, drum makers have to go to Mozambique to fetch wild animal hides, as has been the situation for many years.

Performance of *lingwalangwanja* in Mdui and Mtungulu villages in Mtwara, Tanzania

The account that follows is based on participant-observation of two different events in Mtungulu and Mdui villages in Mtwara Tanzania during my field research between 1995 and 1998. The first event took place in Mtungulu during the celebration of the coming-out of young initiates from the *likumbi* (initiation rites for boys) and *chiputu* (initiation rites for girls). The coming-out ceremony for both types of initiation rites took place concurrently. The event lasted for three days from Friday to Sunday, culminating with the actual coming-

[64] This view was shared by a number of people in both districts including village leaders of Mtungulu village in Newala, the district cultural officer of Newala Athanas Myogu, and Athumani Nnalingi, an artist of Tanzania One Theatre, among others.

[65] It was and still is not uncommon in Mtwara region to see people buying and eating cooked cattle skins.

out event on the last day. Although a number of musical performances were held during the ceremonies, my focus will be on *lingwalanganjwa*.

The second event took place in Mdui village during the celebration of the evaluation of the *Kopa Mbuzi Lipa Mbuzi* (Borrow a Goat Pay a Goat) project. The *Kopa Mbuzi* and *Lipa Mbuzi* project was part of the Rural Integrated Projects Support in the regions of Mtwara and Lindi, which was a development scheme established in 1994 as a partnership between the governments of Tanzania and Finland. In particular, the project which employed participatory methods including music, dance and theatre, among other strategies of social engineering, aimed at improving the social and economic development of the people in the selected villages.

Drawing on these directly observed fieldwork experiences in these two villages, a typical *lingwalangwanja* musical performance consists of a group of musicians numbering between sixteen and twenty-four, who serve as instrumentalists, singers, and dancers. In addition to the core members of the *lingwalangwanja* group, other interested people and members of the audience participated in the performance. In order to enjoy the dance, the participant-audience members had to learn some dancing patterns from the members of the group who introduced and changed the patterns now and then. When asked if the various movements choreographed in the performance embodied specifiable meanings, the musicians of *lingwalangwanja* whom I talked to said there were none. Rather, they said that the main point of the *lingwalangwanja* was entertainment.

During the coming-out ceremony in Mtungulu, the *lingwalagwanja* performers sang the song *nyangalile mwana*, which heralded the community about the coming-out of the initiates from the *likumbi* the following day:

Nyangalile mwana	Let us rejoice for a child
Mtondo Kuuya	He is coming back the day after tomorrow
Mwana kuuya	A child is coming back

Another song in the list was *ningekuwa na pesa*:

Ningekuwa na Pesa	If I had money
Ningekuoa Malaika	I would have married you, my Angel.

As is commonly recognised, people in society employ music for a range of purposes, including the expression of the emotional texture of their inner lives, the wooing of lovers, the celebrating of weddings, and sustaining

friendships and strengthening or renewing inter-community ties, among other purposes (Turino 2008: 1).

Such uses are also seen in the above two songs. The song *ningekuwa na pesa* is the voice of a weeping young man who cannot marry a beautiful woman he is in love with, because he has no money.

Songs of *lingwalangwanja* were characterised by simple musical phrases which were repeated over and over again in call-and-response form, as the two songs above, *nyangalile mwana* and *ningekuwa na pesa* indicate. This kind of musical structure is in accordance with the music traditions of the Makonde, as most of the songs reveal a similar form.

It should be noted that the song *ningekuwa na pesa* is just a part of the worldwide famous song known all over the world, '*Malaika*' whose origin is said to be in East Africa, and which many famous local and international musical performers have sung in different versions. The original song '*malaika*' did not originate in the Makonde tradition, and its song text is much longer compared to the song text of *ningekuwa na pesa*. The omission of some words from the original version of *malaika* was intentional aimed at maintaining the repetition structure of songs among the Makonde music traditions. The song *ningekuwa na pesa* is now common among the *lingwalangwanja* performers in Mtwara region. The song which was meant to complement the ceremonious atmosphere of the event shows an urban influence. This repetitive musical structure could also be seen in the song *kopa mbuzi lipa mbuzi* (borrow a goat pay back a goat) which was sung during the event of the evaluation of the *kopa mbuzi lipa mbuzi* project as shown below:

Watanzania	Tanzanians
Tuna furaha kubwa	We are very happy
Kukopa mbuzi na kulipa mbuzi	To borrow a goat, and pay back a goat

In addition to the short repetitive and call-and-response structure of the songs of the Makonde, melodies usually appear in major tonality, and end on the third degree of a seven note scale. A good example of this is the song *ningekuwa na pesa*. What is interesting about this song, however, is the melodic structure of the song itself as it was sung in a more or less Makonde tune. The original version of this song, and as it has been sung by various music groups, indicates that it starts on the dominant note and ends on the tonic note. But the Makonde musicians began on the lower dominant note and ended on the third degree, a true characteristic of many Makonde songs.

Drawing on my field experience, the performance of *lingwalangwanja* usually starts with the percussionists, *vitali* players, striking their instruments

softly. This is followed by a gradual increase of the intensity of the piercing sound of the metals which becomes louder and louder before the sound comes to an abrupt stop. After a brief rest, lead singers start a song, which is picked up by the rest of the members. This call-and-response singing is done repeatedly before the instrumentalists take over again providing soft background music to the vocals. The combination of the vocals and instrumentals ends when one of the *ngwamba* players gives a signal to end the session, while at the same time signalling the start of an all-round long instrumental section seasoned with heavy rhythmic patterns of the *vitali* (Figure 4), which naturally sets the stage for rigorous 'motor behaviour', to use Nketia's phrase (1988: 206). The dancing movements of *lingwalangwanja* are simple and relatively slow, compared with the other dances performed by the young Makonde people. The dancers lift their feet, one at a time, about an inch from the ground; they move the trunks of their bodies from side to side; and, keeping their shoulders still, they raise and lower their heads in a quick motion. This is all done corresponding and in response to the rhythm of the music. Everybody present sings the short repetitive songs comprising one simple stanza. As the sound of the instrumental increases, the sound of the ululation made by female members of the audience and dancers, and whistling made by male dancers, also increase. This development evolves into an increase of the tempo of the music and the dancing as well.

In order to mark the climax of the dance, some magic tricks such as swallowing and spitting flames of fire, as well as burying the head of a live person and unearthing it later in full view of the bystanders, are incorporated in the performance. These magic tricks are performed by specially-selected, skilled people within the group. The magicians have to be medicinally fortified by a witch doctor; they undergo ritual protective measures prior to performance. The purpose of the medicine is to protect the magicians from intrusion by evil people. The Makonde believe that not all people who attend a performance of traditional dance come there with good intentions; some in the audience may have come for the purpose of bringing harm to the performers through witchcraft. The use of prophylactic witchcraft for various purposes during the normal musical performances and musical contests is also shared by various ethnic groups in Tanzania, including the Sukuma (cf. Gunderson 2000).

Current status of *Lingwalangwanja* among the Makonde

Lingwalangwanja is still performed and very popular among the young Makonde of Mtwara. *Vitali* and *mabomba* are still employed as the two chief musical instruments. However, despite the continued popularity of *lingwalangwanja* among the young people in the Mtwara region today, this dance has not retained so strong presence in the national musical soundscape compared to other popular Makonde dances such as *limbondo*, *ngokwa*, and

sindimba, which for decades have formed part of regular and popular performances among the urban based sponsored commercial cultural troupes in Tanzania aimed at urban audienced.

Brief information about the three widely popularised dances just mentioned would be helpful here. The *limbondo* is an initiation dance. It is performed when initiation candidates are sent into the initiation camp and when they come back. It is performed during this particular occasion, and at no other time. In the past it was performed by men only, but now it is performed together with women. The musical rhythm of *limbondo* is always fast which functions to enhance intricate arm and footwork as well as rigorous waist-wriggling by the male dancers. Drums used for *limbondo* are the same as for those used in other Makonde dances.

The second dance, *ngokwa*, is also for initiation rites. It owes its name to the rattles (dry mango shells) which are fastened on the dancers' ankles, which form an important feature of the dance's distinctive costume. It is the sound of the rattles, shaken by the footwork, which gives the dance its flavour. Similar to *limbondo*, *ngokwa* involves a lot of intricate footwork but with reserved waist-wriggling. *Ngokwa* is a dance of the *ngariba* (male circumcisers). It is traditionally danced when male initiates are about to be sent into the initiation camp. It is danced only by male circumcisers (*ngariba*). Women are involved in the dance exclusively as members of the audience. They participate by cheering on the dancers. They ululate and shout in satisfaction with the dance, but they cannot join the dancers or physically enter the performance area. A performance of *ngokwa* is designed to terrify the candidates and warn them that the *jando* (the institution of the initiation rites) is not a place for childhood but for manhood. This message of terror may be rendered with the aid of both the loud sound of the *likuti* drums (Figure 5) which are beaten hard with sticks and with the elaborate costumes used in the dance. The dance itself is usually performed when it is dark, which adds to the stimulation of fear and trepidation.

Figure 5: *Likuti drum* (Photo by author)

The third dance, s*indimba*, is also an initiation dance for the rites of both boys and girls. Before the present name of *sindimba* was given, this dance was known as *ntipuka*, which means to run away secretly. The dance was given this name because it is usually performed late in the evening by youth of both sexes prior to their seclusion period, and then played during the coming-out ceremonies. It is always performed late in the evening to allow couples to slip away into the darkness for privacy. The dancing venue is a place where the young people can find their legitimate sexual partners. Couples who find each other at the dance may run away and disappear into the gloom of darkness where they fulfil their sexual desire. Usually *sindimba* starts with a moderate slow rhythm of drumming, followed by a brief repetitive singing section. This is then followed by a very fast rhythm which also facilitates intricate and fast footwork and waist-wriggling. According to the Makonde traditions, waist-wriggling is associated with female fertility enhancement. As mentioned above, *limbondo*, *ngokwa* and *sindimba* are some of the very popular traditional dances amongst both urban-based cultural troupes and their audiences, in contrast with *lingwalangwanja*, which does not feature in any of such performances.

It could be argued that the lack of popularity of *lingwalangwanja* among the urban-based cultural troupes is attributed chiefly to this feature of the Makonde dances described above, whose basic musical rhythm and body (especially hip swaying) movements are comparatively much faster and relatively 'hot', hence they serve as a stronger magnet for attracting an urban audience. *Lingwalangwanja* employs relatively slower musical rhythms and simpler basic body movements, devoid of hip-swaying. According to scholars

who have studied the musical and dance practices of the urban sponsored cultural troupes in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania (e.g. Lange 1994, Songoyi 1983, Makoye 1996), traditional dances from amongst the Makonde are considered to be the most popular among the urban audience due to these 'hot' rhythms and sensualised (hip-swaying) body movements. Yet despite this diminished popularity at the national level, scholars regard *lingwalangwanja* as crucial in contributing to the formation and development of newer dance music traditions in the Makonde culture.

Determining the originality of *lingwalangwa* in the music culture of the Makonde in Mtwara

Musicians of *lingwalangwanja* of Mtwara, Tanzania, have claimed that the origin of this musical tradition is associated with the impact of the Frelimo-Renamo war on the demographic, geographical, and cultural set up of the people of Mozambique, including the Makonde. As shown above, years later, according to these musicians, through regular visits to and from Mozambique they borrowed this tradition and incorporated it into their musical repertoire. Perhaps, an important question that one would like to ask is how new *lingwalangwanja* is among the music traditions of the Makonde of Mtwara, Tanzania. Thus, to determine its originality, first the context within which *lingwalangwanja* evolved is certainly significant. This issue has been adequately discussed in the previous section. As described earlier on, prior to the 1980s *lingwalangwanja* was non-existent among the Makonde of Mtwara, Tanzania. It was about ten years since the Frelimo-Renamo war started (1986-1987), when this tradition was introduced to Tanzania through cultural contact between the Makonde of both countries.

Secondly, the musicians' claim is best illuminated by the musical attributes of the performance of the tradition itself. It could be said that the introduction of *lingwalangwanja* in the music traditions of Makonde of Mtwara, Tanzania, has increased the size of the repertoire of the Tanzanian Makonde music as well as enriching the ensemble of musical instruments of this society by incorporating into this music-culture the instruments made from the modern technology such as the bicycle-pedal cranks and the *ngwamba* (blades of large factory-made iron hoes) to serve as the new kinds of *vitali*, and the *mabomba* (pipe-horns) to serve as the wind section, replacing *lipenenga*.[66] As noted earlier, before the emergence of *lingwalangwanja*, instrumental music ensembles were chiefly of membranophones made up of sets of drums of varying sizes and sonorities. They also included specific

[66] Although *lipenenga* (animal horns) are said to have served as an accompaniment in some musical performances, they are frequently used as a means of communication i.e., warning people of danger or calling people for meetings and for other reasons.

idiophones such as *njuga* (bells) and *ngokwa* (body-rattles with fruit-seeds), *manyanga* (hand-shaken rattles), and *ing'oha* (small traditional ironsmith-produced hoes traditionally used by women to harvest cassava roots, and musically employed by women) as rhythmic instruments.

According to some elderly Makonde musicians whom I have interviewed, the use of small-iron rods was only put in place for a short period of time during the early years of the 1970s and discarded soon after. This was especially in the performances of *madudu*, a popular traditional dance at the time among the male youth. Without giving good reasons, the young people decided against them in favour of the traditional drums. I will offer more information of *madudu* in the discussion below. Other musical instruments employed in the musical performances of the Makonde included a few stringed musical instruments such as *ching'wenyeng'wenye* (one string fiddle) and *bango* (board zither), and a wooden or tin-whistle; but these do not feature in the ensemble.

Nettl (2005: 280) argues that technological development enhances musical change as well as division of labour, since the latter is "needed for the making of instruments." So we observe in the percussion section of *lingwalangwanja*, the incorporation of *ngwamba*, a large factory-made iron hoe contrasting with the traditional small iron-hoe (*chingondola*) and *ing'oha* (played by women in their performances), contributed significantly to the originality of this tradition. *Ngwamba*, commonly a farming tool, was incorporated into the family of percussion musical instruments specifically to produce loud metallic sound, imitating the loud sound of the ballistic weapons used in the war in Mozambique.

The production of the loud metallic sound was enabled by means of the larger space of the surface of the tongue of the *ngwamba*. The larger space of the tongue of the factory-made iron hoe, which also serves as a sound resonator, facilitates the production of the correspondingly loud sound, from which the term *lingwalangwanja* arose. In order to make the sound even louder, the player of the instrument strikes it harder while throwing it far into the air before he catches it again on its way down. Throwing the *ngwamba* into the air also helps sustain its sound. This playing technique is commonly done during the 'boiling moment' (*ngoma inaponoga*) of the performance in which performers are in high mood. In addition to producing loud metallic sound, the *ngwamba* also attained a gender-based social significance; a mark of masculine power, as it serves as an instrument of the men compared to the *ing'oha*, also a farming tool, but also employed by women as a musical instrument.

Although the inclusion of the *ngwamba* into *lingwalangwanja* may have contributed to making it a new dance among the Makonde of Mtwara, Tanzania, its presence may also suggest a reworking of some of the older musical instruments, both the *ing'oha* and small iron-bars, which were introduced and then discarded soon after from *madudu.* As noted above, women have been using the *ing'oha* as a rhythmic musical instrument for a long period, while male performers employed iron-bars for a relatively short period in the early years of the 1970s and for the same purpose. At this juncture, a short history of *madudu* will be useful.

Madudu was introduced at the time of Tanzania's villagization policy in the early 1970s with the name 'bumping'. This dancing style was common at the time when social engineering and enforced cultural policies of reconstructing communities in the interest of economic development was taking place on a large scale in Tanzania. The bumping style was done in this way: two people, of the same or opposite sex, hit each other with their buttocks as they followed the rhythm of the music. It was even common to bump one's head against another person's buttocks or others parts of his or her body. It should be noted that the term 'bumping' was employed to reflect a similar dance reference, 'the bump', of a popular genre that evolved among the African American people in the United States during the same period of the 1970s. 'The bump' was described as a "dance popular during the disco craze of the 1970s in which dancers bump their hips against their partner's hips on the down beat of the music" (Smith 2010: 133). This dancing style became so popular among the young people of urban Tanzania at the time, especially during the disco shows, that it was appropriated as one of the dance patterns incorporated in the evolution of traditional dance of some ethnic groups.

According to elderly Makonde musicians whom I have interviewed, initially the only musical instruments used in the Makonde 'bumping' dance during that period of the 19970s were the *vitali*, small iron bars, which were struck against each other. No other instruments were used in the dance. *Vitali* were used to enhance vigour in the hip dancing as the dancers and musicians danced while moving in a circle. In the early 1980s, the name of this dance was changed to 'disco'. The dancing style changed a bit by the addition of new styles to the older ones. The dancing continued in a circle, but the instrumentation changed. Iron bars were completely abandoned, and drums took precedence.

Another musical attribute that also serves to mark the originality of *lingwalangwanja* in the music traditions of the Makonde of Mtwara in Tanzania, is the inclusion of the elaborate wind musical instruments, *the mabomba*. As noted above, prior to the introduction of *mabomba* as musical instruments in the wind section, animal horns (*lipenenga*) were used in some

musical performances; but these never did occupy a significant position. However, when *lingwalangwanja* was introduced into this culture, the *mabomba* became one of the quintessential distinguishing features of the genre, thus serving as a contributing factor to the originality of this dance form. According to the *lingwalangwanja* musicians of Mtungulu and Mdui villages in Mtwara, they collected pieces of the plastic and galvanized pipes from the discarded parts of plumbing work, especially from the nearby urban areas of Mtwara and Newala towns where construction activities were relatively abundant. Both Mtungulu and Mdui villages are located only a few miles from the two town centres of Newala and Mtwara, respectively. Since these pipes were discarded left-overs, most of the time the musicians got them free of charge or sometimes by paying a small amount of money to building owners or contractors. It could be suggested from the foregoing that the introduction as well as the novelty of *lingwalangwanja* among the Makonde of Mtwara is largely attributed to the musicians' voluntary 'selection, rejection', and 'transformation of musical elements' from both cultures (cf. Coplan 1982: 113 on this theme) in accordance with their choices, for "choice is particularly important in cultural activities" (Coplan 1982: 114).

Conclusion

The project of this paper has been to analyse the emergence of *lingwalanganja* in Mozambique and Tanzania as a complex musical change that resulted from multiple forces. The major force was the double effects of the Frelimo-Renamo war on the socio-cultural life of the people in Mozambique at two levels, as follows. On one level, (i) restriction of people's movements to and from the bush where they could obtain various needs including materials for making musical instruments, due to the fear of the landmines; and (ii) the sound effects created by armed combat during decades of civil war. These conflict dependent circumstances in Mozambique served as a source of innovative music making. The second level is related to musical borrowing and reinterpretation process by the Makonde of Mtwara, Tanzania, which occurred through intercultural contact between the Makonde of both countries during the war.

The paper has thus shown through an analysis of *lingwalangwanja* that popular musical performance can serve not only as a site upon which exploration of multiple interpretations of war can be undertaken (O'Connell et al. 2010); it also demonstrates that innovation in musical performance is itself a gauge by which the psychological impacts of war on its listening victims can be measured (Daughtry 2015). Numerous studies on music and war have attested to these contentions. But here we have explored, uniquely and exclusively, musical innovation and creativity as the direct and lasting

civilized responses to the violence and destruction of combat.

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