

THE MUSIC OF THE XHOSA - SPEAKING PEOPLE

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For my mother

who shared and supported my wish to explore Xhosa music,
who gave encouragement when it was most needed, and who
soothed my frustrations across the years of producing
this study.

CONTENTS

PREFACE	xiii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	xlvi
ORTHOGRAPHY	L

CHAPTER 1

THE XHOSA - SPEAKING PEOPLE	1
---------------------------------------	---

CHAPTER 2

XHOSA MUSICAL CONCEPTS AND BEHAVIOUR	19
<u>Definition and concepts of Xhosa music</u>	19
<u>The distinctive features of music - making</u>	34
<u>Where does music come from?</u>	
(i) <u>Musical talent</u>	46
(ii) <u>Twins and musical talent</u>	51
(iii) <u>The ultimate origins of music</u>	55
(iv) <u>The origins of individual songs</u>	56
(v) <u>The musician</u>	67

CHAPTER 3

THE CATEGORIES OF XHOSA MUSIC	87
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CHAPTER 4

<u>BEHAVIOUR IN RELATION TO MUSIC</u>	111
<u>Performance</u>	111
<u>Vocal style and vocal technique</u>	116
<u>Vocal Sounds</u>	130

<u>The organization of dancing groups</u>	138
<u>Standards of excellence in performance</u>	154
<u>Taboos in music</u>	158

CHAPTER 5

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS (<u>IINTO EZIKHALISWAYO</u>) . . .	167
1. <u>Instruments used for communal performances</u> . .	168
(i) <u>Drums</u>	168
(ii) <u>Rattles</u>	173
(iii) <u>Whistles and Horns</u>	175
2. <u>Instruments used for solo performances</u>	177
(i) Indigenous instruments	177
(ii) Hybrid instruments	180
(iii) Western instruments	181
3. <u>Modern Bands</u>	186

CHAPTER 6

SPEECH AND MUSIC	196
<u>Melody and metre</u>	230
<u>Song texts</u>	233

CHAPTER 7

CLASSIFICATION, ANALYSIS AND DESCRIPTION OF XHOSA

MUSIC	255
THE CATEGORIES OF XHOSA MUSIC	261
1. <u>Iingoma zokufutha/zokuphehla</u> (' Songs of the <u>ukufutha/ukuphehla</u> ceremony ')	261

2.	<u>Iingoma zokuthuthuzela usana/umntwana</u> (' Songs for soothing a baby/child ')	262
3.	<u>Iingoma zabantwana</u> (' Songs of children ') . . .	263
4.	<u>Music in the Xhosa iintsomi</u> (' folk - tales ')	287
5.	<u>Iingoma zomtshotsho</u> (' Songs of the <u>umtshotsho</u> dance party ')	296
6.	The main distinctions between the music of children's songs and <u>umtshotsho</u> music	316
7.	<u>Iingoma zombhaizelo</u> (' Bay city music ') . . .	341
8.	<u>Iingoma zentlombe/ iingoma zentlombeni yabafana namantombazana</u> (' <u>Intlombe</u> dance songs ' or ' Music of the dance party of initiated young men and girls ')	359
9.	<u>Iingoma zezindlavini/ iingoma zomtshotsho zezindlavini</u> (' <u>Iindlavini</u> music/ music of the <u>umtshotsho</u> dance party of <u>iindlavini</u> young men ')	389
10.	<u>Iingoma zotywala</u> (' Beer Songs ')	423
	(i) <u>Beer drinks</u>	425
	(ii) <u>Iitimiti beer drinks</u>	426
	(iii) <u>Beer songs for work parties</u>	428
	(iv) <u>The music</u>	430
	(v) <u>Walking songs to beer drinks</u>	453
11.	<u>iSawundi pl. amaSawundi</u> (' Sound pl. Sounds ')	458
12.	<u>Iingoma zesikolo</u> (' School Music ')	473
13.	<u>Iculo pl. amaculo</u> (' Hymn/ Hymns, religious music ') ,	477
14.	<u>Iingoma zomtshato</u> (' Wedding songs /music ') .	478
15.	<u>Iingoma zengcubhe</u> (' Music of the <u>ingcubhe</u> First Fruits ceremonies ')	484

16.	<u>Other ceremonies related to the agricultural cycle</u>	486
17.	<u>Iingoma zokwalusa</u> (' Circumcision music ' ; Music of the rite of circumcision ')	491
18.	<u>Iingoma zentonjane/ iingoma zokuthombisa</u> (' Music of the girl initiate ; Music of girls' initiation ceremony ')	529
19.	<u>Iingoma zamagqirha; iingoma ze(zi)ntlombe</u> <u>zomagqirha</u> (' The music of diviners; the music of the seance(s) of diviners ')	563
20.	<u>Iingoma zamaZiyoni</u> (' Music of the Zionists; Zionists' music ')	612

CHAPTER 8

ASPECTS OF FORM AND STYLE IN XHOSA MUSIC	616
<u>Structure</u>	616
<u>Patterns of rhythm</u>	621
<u>Tempo</u>	663
<u>Patterns of melody, harmony and tonality</u>	665
Additional transcription	706
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS	709
APPENDIX 1 : TRANSCRIPTIONS	740
APPENDIX 11 : GLOSSARY	748
BIBLIOGRAPHY	763
DISCOGRAPHY	774

LIST OF MAPS

Map 1 (a):	showing the Republic of Transkei and its districts, and the distribution of the chiefdom clusters in terms of main concentrations	2
Map 1 (b):	showing areas in the Cape Province including the Ciskeian homeland occupied by Cape Nguni	8
Map 1 (c):	showing the Republic of South Africa and location of Republic of Transkei and the Ciskeian homeland	10
PLATES:	Nos. 1 - 74	775- 805

LIST OF MUSICAL TRANSCRIPTIONS

Figure 4: Ex. No. 1 on Tape la	33
<u>Umrhubhe</u> bow song: <u>ingoma yesithwala sentombazana</u> ('song of the abduction of a young girl')	
Figure 9: (extract): <u>igwabo lokusina</u> ('dance song') of Xesibe, Mpondo and Bhaca: <u>Sibiz' uMakekel'</u> , <u>sibiz' uMakhalela</u> ('We are calling Makekela and <u>Makhalela</u> ')	118
Figure 10: Bomvana/Tshezi Beer song: <u>Ho! kungok'</u> <u>uyahala</u> ('Ho! now you are complaining')	120-1
Figure 11: Xesibe dance song: <u>Hini 'ndod' emnyama</u> ('Ah! no! that black man')	123-4

Figure 13: Ex. No. 10 on Tape 1a:

Igwijo of Nodoyini Jubata 134-6

Figure 14: Ex. No. 12 on Tape 1a:

Intlombe song: Ho Ndawela ma ('Ho! I went
across') 146-7

Figure 15: (extract) Ex. No. 13 on Tape 1a:

Xesibe dance song performed on the harmonica. 183

Figure 16: Ex. No. 14 on Tape 1a:

Solo song with instrumental (accordion)

accompaniment by James Mthamo: Ha! Mam'

ndiyalila/ndiyakhala ('Alas! mother, I am
weeping/crying') 185

Figure 18: Ex. No. 15 on Tape 1a:

Lullaby: Thula baba/umntwana ('Be quiet,
baby/child') 264

Figure 19: Ex. No. 16 on Tape 1a:

Lullaby: Thula babana ('Be quiet, little
baby') 265

Figure 20: Ex. No. 17 on Tape 1a:

-ndinditha dance song: Zonk' iintomb' O mama
zibethw' emlenzeni ('All the girls, oh mother,
were beaten on the legs') 274

Figure 21: Ex. No. 18 on Tape 1a: -sina

dance song: He ma sikhalelane, 'ntomb' encane
('Oh dear, we miss each other, little girl') 275-6

Figure 22: Walking song of Xesibe young people:

Molo Mantombo ('Good morning, Mantombo') . 278-9

Figure 23: Walking song to stick-fights of

Mpondo/Xesibe iindlavini: Ziyabulalana ('The
young men kill') 280

- Figure 24: -gaja dance song of Xesibe/Mpondo
iindlavini : Uyamemeza ('He (the girl's lover)
 is calling (at the appointed spot '). 281
- Figure 32: Ex. No. 27 on Tape la: umtshotsho
 song: uMasakhane (name of person) 311
- Figure 36: Ex. No. 21 on Tape la: umtshotsho
 song: He Noyongo ('Hey young girl') 328
- Figure 37: Ex. No. 22 on Tape la: umtshotsho
 song: He Noyongo (2nd version) 329-30
- Figure 38: Ex. No. 23 on Tape la: umtshotsho
 song: Ye bhom' lo mtaka mama ('Alas, that fruit
 orchard, child of my mother') 331-2
- Figure 39: Ex. No. 24 on Tape la: umtshotsho
 song: Nonjaza (name of girl) 333-4
- Figure 40: Ex. No. 25 on Tape la: igwiyo of
umtshotsho group: Wen' ulala nephoyisa ('You,
 who are sleeping with the police') 335
- Figure 42:^a Ex. No. 20 on Tape la: umtshotsho
 song: Ho-mo-mo-mo (voluntary title) 337
- Figure 43: Ex. No. 19 on Tape la: umtshotsho
 song: Ndatsha mtanam ('I am burnt my child') . . 338
- Figure 43:^b Ex. No. 26 on Tape la: umtshotsho
 song: O Hini mama ndenzeni? (' Oh alas, mother, what
 was I doing there?') 339
- Figure 49: Ex. No. 29 on Tape la: umbhayizelo
 song: uZithulele (name of person) 352-3
- Figure 50: Ex. No. 28 on Tape la: umbhayizelo
 song: Nozakade, uyayithand' unyana ('Nozakade,
 you are in love with the eldest son') 354-5

Figure 51: Ex. No. 30 on Tape la: <u>umbhayizelo</u>	
song: <u>Thozana</u> (name of person)	356-8
Figure 52: Ex. No. 32 on Tape la: <u>intlombe</u> song:	
<u>Ho Hayi-yo-ho</u> (voluntary title)	362
(cf. also Fig. 56: 380)	
Figure 54: Ex. No. 33 on Tape la: <u>intlombe</u>	
song: <u>Ho - mo - lengo - ho</u> (voluntary title)	370
Figure 55: Ex. No. 31 on Tape la: <u>intlombe</u>	
song: <u>Ho lilongo</u>	377-9
Figure 56: Ex. No. 32 on Tape la: <u>Ho Hayi-yo-ho</u>	
(cf. also Fig. 52)	380
Figure 57: Ex. No. 33 on Tape la: <u>Ho- mo - lengo - ho</u>	
(cf. also Fig. 54)	381-2
Figure 58: Ex. No. 34 on Tape la: <u>intlombe</u> song:	
<u>Hotshi Nkolonga</u> ('Ho there Nkolonga ')	383-88
Figure 60: Ex. No. 35 on Tape la: Bhaca Walking	
song: (No formal title)	405-7
Figure 61: Ex. No. 36 on Tape la: <u>indlamu</u> dance	
song: <u>Hewuye gibel' ibhasi</u> ('Hey there! take the bus') 408	
Figure 62: Ex. No. 37 on Tape la: <u>indlamu</u> dance	
song: <u>Azikh' 'inkomo</u> ('There are no cattle') . . .	409
Figure 63: Ex. No. 38 on Tape la: <u>indlamu</u> intro.	
song: <u>Asinamali yokuthenga</u> ('We have no money to	
buy')	410
Figure 64: Ex. No. 39 on Tape la: <u>indlamu</u> dance	
song: <u>Yhe dumisa soka lakwaBhaca</u> ('Hey! praise!	
bachelor of Bhacaland')	411
Figure 65 (a):(Introduction to <u>indlamu</u>) Ex. No. 40	
on Tape la	412-14

- Figure 65 (b): Ex. No. 41 on Tape la: indlamu
 dance song: Hm-mpo hm (voluntary title) 412,
 415-16
- Figure 66: Ex. No. 42 on Tape la: "I-keyi":
Awubhel' abantu ('Behold the people') 417
- Figure 67: Ex. No. 43 on Tape la: -gaja dance song:
He libetshel' inkomo ('Hey! in search of cattle') 418-19
- Figure 68: Ex. No. 44 on Tape la: -gaja song:
Yhi mtaka bawo ('Hey you, my sister etc. ') . . . 420-22
- Figure 70: Ex. No. 45 on Tape lb: Tshawe beer song:
Walala wayigum' intokati ('He slept and towered over
 the girl') 434-39
- Figure 71: Ex. No. 46 on Tape lb: Beer song of Tshawe
 people: Ndachola umngga ka Jekulani ('I picked up
 Jekulani's beads ') 441-43
- Figure 72: Ex. No. 48 on Tape lb: Mpondo beer song:
Hlek' uzugethuke (' Laugh and fall over ') . . . 444-45
- Figure 73: Ex. No. 49 on Tape lb: Xesibe isitshongo
 dance song: Ho buyakhathaza ubumene-mene ('Oh! Gossip
 is rife! ')
- Figure 74: Ex. No. 50 on Tape lb: Xesibe isitshongo
 song: Ndrobayini ukuzula esibangeni ('What a pity that
 I wander homeless') 447
- Figure 75: Ex. No. 47 on Tape lb: Mpondo beer song:
Mayiphele inkani Mangcoya ('Stop your obstinacy,
 Mangcoya') 449-50
- Figure 76: Ex. No. 51 on Tape lb: Mpondo beer song:
Washiy' abantabakhe begula ('She abandoned her sick
 children') 451

Figure 77: Ex. No. 52 on Tape lb: Marching song of Xesibe tribal men and women: <u>Wubhekeni</u> <u>MaXesibe</u> ('Behold the land, Xesibe people')	454-5
Figure 78: Second version of the Marching song (transcription only)	456-7
Figure 79: Ex. No. 53 on Tape lb: Walking song of <u>iindlavini</u> in form of a 'Sound': <u>Izulu lelam</u> ('The heaven is mine i.e. I am innocent')	461-2
Figure 80: Ex. No. 54 on Tape lb: Wedding 'Sound' of <u>iindlavini</u> : <u>Yithina labo</u> ('We are they')	463-4
Figure 81: Ex. No. 55 on Tape lb: (extract): 'Sound' of <u>iindlavini</u> young men: <u>Balele bonke</u> ('They are all asleep')	466
Figure 82: Ex. No. 56 on Tape lb: 'Sound': <u>Ufikizolo ubanjiwe ngamaPassi</u> ('Ufikizolo has been caught because of the Passes')	468-9
Figure 83: Ex. No. 57 on Tape lb: 'Sound': <u>uKres Pana</u> ('Chris Barnard')	470
Figure 84: Ex. No. 58 on Tape lb: 'Sound': <u>Ndibatla wena</u> ('I want you')	472
Figure 85: Ex.No. 61 on Tape lb: <u>ingoloqho</u> ritual song: <u>Wen' utheth' amabhongo</u> ('You are speaking <u>amabhongo</u> ')	490
Figure 86: Ex. No. 62 on Tape lb: <u>umguyo</u> ritual song: <u>uSomagwaza</u> ('The father of cutting')	505
Figure 87: Ex. No. 63 on Tape lb: <u>umyeyezelo</u> (Praise song for initiated boys)	514-18

Figure 88: Ex. No. 64 on Tape 1b: Extract from Beer song adapted for performance at <u>umphumo</u> of initiated boys: <u>He ninonke na</u> ('Ho! all of you there')	521-3
Figure 89: Ex. No. 65 on Tape 1b: circumcision song: <u>Ndinyeleni ndomile</u> ('Give me something to drink, I thirst')	524-8
Figure 101: Ex. No. 66 on Tape 1b: song for the initiation of girls: <u>Unoyongo/Ulilongo</u> (voluntary title): ritual <u>umngqungqo</u> dance song	539-42
Figure 102: Ex. No. 67 on Tape 1b: <u>umngqungqo</u> song: <u>Ndonakalelwa</u> ('I was confused/disturbed')	553-55
Figure 103: Ex. No. 68 on Tape 1b: <u>umngqungqo</u> ritual song: <u>Unoyongo/Ulilongo</u>	556-7
Figure 104: Ex. No. 69 on Tape 1b: (extract): Mpondo ritual <u>umgquzo</u> song: <u>Masigoduke, umfan' uthombile</u> (' Let us go home, the boy has been initiated ')	559
Figure 111: Ex. No. 70 on Tape 1b: diviners' song <u>uNonkala</u> ('The Crab')	595-6
Figure 112: (extract) Ex. No. 71 on Tape 1b: diviners' 'Greeting' song: <u>Molweni Zangoma</u> ('Greetings, diviners')	597- 8
Figure 113: (extract): Ex. No. 72 on Tape 1b: Diviners' 'Rejoicing song': <u>Watsholoza 'zindaba</u> ('Rejoice about this business')	597,599
Figure 114: (extract): Ex. No. 73 on Tape 1b: diviners' song: <u>ingoma ka Mhala</u> ('Mhala's song')	600-1

- Figure 115 (extract): Ex. No. 74 on Tape 1b:
 diviners' song umhlahlo 602
- Figure 116 : Ex. No. 75 on Tape 1b: diviners'
 song Zula Zulani ('Move, move about like evil
 spirits') 603-6
- Figure 117: Ex. No. 76 on Tape 1b: umguyo
 adapted for seance: 607
- Figure 118:(extract): Ex. No. 77 on Tape 1b.
umqambo wamaMpondo (Mpondo diviners' song). . 608
- Figure 119: Ex. No. 81 on Tape 1b: (extracts only):
 diviner's dance song: Wachithek' umntwana
zangom' ('The child wasted it, diviners') . . 609-11
- Figure RHY. 2b. Ex. No. 83 on Tape 1b: Mfengu
 Beer song: uMasalela (name of a person who loves
 to drink beer) 646
- Figure RHY.6: Ex. No. 84 on Tape 1b: 'Sound':
Ziphi zinkomo? ('Where are the cattle?') . . 656-7
- Figure MH.5: Ex. No. 85 on Tape 2a: umrhubhe
 bow song: Izono zam zinzima ('My sins are heavy') 674-77
- Figure RHY. 10: Ex. No. 86 on Tape 2a:
iindlavini igwijo and Marching song: uTel' uyeza
 ('We young men of Tela are coming') 706-8

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PREFACE

In this study of Xhosa music I have employed some of the ethnomusicological techniques and methods proposed by Alan Merriam (1964), and used, with some extensions AND innovations, by John Blacking in his study of Venda music. Merriam has defined ethnomusicology as ' the study of music in culture ' (1960) and explained it thus:

'Implicit in it is the assumption that ethnomusicology is made up both of the musicological and the ethnomusicological, and that music sound is the result of values, attitudes and beliefs of the people who comprise a particular culture. Music sound cannot be produced except by people for people, and although we can separate the two aspects conceptually, one is not really complete without the other. Human behaviour produces music, but the process is one of continuity; the behaviour itself is shaped to produce music sound, and thus the study of one flows into the other' (Merriam 1964: 6) (underlinings mine).

Accordingly, my research into Xhosa music involved study on the three analytic levels given by Merriam: (i) conceptualization about music; (ii) behaviour in relation to music, and (iii) music sound itself (Merriam 1964: 32). In following this model, the aim of the thesis is to give a description, based on personal experience, of Xhosa music as it was practised in the period 1969 - 1972, and to generalize about the processes which the Cape Nguni use to produce musical sound. An outline of the coverage and findings presented appears in the final Summary (pp. 709-739).

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The decision to make a study of Xhosa music was not a sudden one. It was, rather, the inevitable result of a friendship begun with Benjamin Tyamzashe, the Xhosa national composer, who introduced me to Xhosa music.

I met Tyamzashe for the first time in April 1964, and in the four years that ensued he co-operated with me in research into his life and music. The results of this research were presented as a thesis for an M. Mus. degree. During these four years, we spent many happy hours talking about music in general, and Xhosa music in particular. Although the emphasis all along was on Tyamzashe's own music, nevertheless he would often 'take a break', as he put it, and launch into an enthusiastic account of tribal life and music which prevails in the area in which he resided until his death in June 1978, viz. the area of the Ntinde chief in King William's Town district in the Eastern Cape.

The project was begun in May 1968, shortly after I had completed a course in Ethnomusicology at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. In the library of the University I carried out some exhaustive ethnographical research which I thought was basic to the success of the whole investigation. Using bibliographies as a starting-point, I systematically read through the contemporary accounts and records of early travellers, missionaries, magistrates and others who had visited or lived in areas occupied by Cape Nguni peoples. Literature on the Zulu was also included, as some of the Cape chiefdom clusters are of Zulu origin.

In these records, which take the form of books, journal entries, and missiologial and legal reports, there are a few comments on the sound of tribal music, and these are mostly brief and sometimes

derogatory. There are, however, more lengthy and vivid accounts of performances of music at specific social events. Some writers have included detailed descriptions of the special garments worn for dancing, and the instruments used to accompany the music.

Comparatively recent literature by anthropologists, ethnologists and musicologists was also read, and important points relating to music were jotted down, e.g. words and phrases which are used in a musical context, and the names of musical instruments. Periodicals and newspapers published for Africans were also read, relevant facts noted down and stored away, as were bits and pieces of information I had accumulated during the research on Tyamzashe and his music. Thus I arrived at the second stage of the project: the compilation of a glossary of Xhosa musical terms. I had already sifted many of these from the afore - mentioned material. and to this I added more words and phrases drawn from the following dictionaries: Kafir - English (Kropf 1899), Kaffir - English (Davis 1872: pt.1), and the three Xhosa dictionaries in current use: McLaren - Bennie (1936), that published by Via Afrika (undated), and the English - Xhosa - Afrikaans dictionary by Messrs. Nabe, Dreyer and Kakana (1976). I compiled a separate list of Zulu words taken from Zulu - English dictionaries by (1) Colenso (1878), (2) Bryant (1905), (3) Döhne (1857) and Dent and Nyembezi (1964), as I knew that the Mfengu, Qwathi and Ehaca employed some of these words. The final list totalled 604 terms and phrases. Whether or not their given meanings were accurate, only time and fieldwork would tell. As it turned out, this glossary proved to be invaluable in the field, especially when it came to eliciting information from rather wary informants. Many of them were amazed that I knew some of these

words at all, and this fact sometimes broke down the barrier of suspicion that was all too often prevalent.

Using Döhne's dictionary as a guide - line, I attempted to ascertain the etymologies of these terms, and in this I was only partially successful. Whereas I was able to identify the stem or primitive of some words, others again I was quite unable to analyse into elements. Nor was I able to check these etymologies for accuracy; language instructors, Xhosa linguists, and teachers, were for the most part vague about them, although a few were adamant that some of them were correct, and these I have mentioned in the text.

During this preliminary research work I attended mine - dances whenever I could. With the help of an Mfengu student, who became a paid assistant, I became friendly with a number of mine - workers whose homes were in various parts of the Transkei, Ciskei and the Eastern Cape, and Southern Natal. I drew up a questionnaire and, again with the assistant's help, I obtained a great deal of information about ' the music back home' (the questionnaire was so entitled), as well as music as it was practised in the townships. The information both extended my glossary and clarified the meanings of certain words.

Finally, I made taped copies of nearly all the Xhosa music which had been recorded by Hugh Tracey, and then I transcribed it. This undertaking did not, of course, produce satisfactory results, as I had not witnessed the actual performances of music. Second - hand transcriptions must always be incomplete, and therefore innaccurate and invalid. Nevertheless this gave me a chance to try my hand at transcribing, of which up to then I

had had little experience-. (Cf. p. 774 for Discography).

In order to carry out fieldwork in a Transkei which had not yet been designated independent, I had to apply for a permit from the Department of Bantu Administration and Development in Pretoria. This permit allowed me to travel off the main roads, and had to be presented to the Magistrate of every district in which I worked, as well as having to be renewed annually.

The initial task was to look over and select possible study areas, and to locate guides. I decided to begin fieldwork among the Thembu living in the districts of Engcobo and Umtata. Whereas my previous trips through this part of the Transkei had been made out of necessity (it was a shorter route home from Grahamstown to Piet Retief), I had seen enough to make me want to choose these districts as the first research areas.

Soon after I had written to the Magistrate of Engcobo requesting permission to work in his district, I received a letter from him in which he welcomed me to the area and promised all assistance possible. He had already selected a guide, Mr James Qoba, a retired policeman who was liked and respected by the people. In March 1969 I paid a short visit to Engcobo, where I met the Magistrate and Mr Qoba and made final arrangements for commencing fieldwork in June. The priest in charge of the Catholic mission offered accommodation for which I was very grateful. Before returning to Johannesburg I was taken up the Qebe gorge by Mr and Mrs B Broster. These kind persons had had a trading store at the head of the gorge. Mrs Broster has written three books on the Thembu people and her experiences among them.

I commenced fieldwork on 1st June 1969, and ended it in mid - March of 1972. During that period I spent approximately 30 months in the field. The main areas of research were the districts of Engcobo, Umtata, Xhora, Tsomo, Cacadu, Umzimkulu, Lusikisiki, KwaBhaca, MaXesibeni and Kokstad. The duration of investigation in these districts varied from between 3 - 8 weeks in one district, as the frequency of music - making was higher in some districts than in others. Between research periods I returned to Johannesburg to write up notes and to transcribe music. From time to time I made shorter field surveys as a result of sudden calls from contacts in the field who kept me well - informed of musical events that were to take place. Some of these brief trips turned out to be wild goose chases; they also covered areas other than those mentioned above - Siphagani, King William's Town, Queenstown and Gatyana. I always went down, as I felt that by NOT doing so I might just miss some items of music which I had not yet recorded. Gatyana proved to be a failure as a research area, largely on account of the attitude of the Magistrate and the people there. As petrol had not been rationed then, I was able to travel about freely and widely, especially over the week - ends when most events involving music take place.

Before actually commencing fieldwork I had drawn up a research programme in which I outlined what I hoped to do in the field. This was, briefly: to see, hear and record as many different kinds of music as possible, performed in their social context, and to observe what happens when they are not, at my own request if necessary; to record acceptable and unacceptable

versions of the same music, and to compare these by means of technical analyses. I also hoped to be able to watch and observe, and, when permitted, to participate in musical events; to talk to the people around and about their music, and to find out what they think, feel and say about it, what basic concepts they may have about it. I bore in mind the possibility that they might not be able to discuss any concepts at all. Nevertheless, I felt that they might be able to offer some explanations which would either be contradicted, or clarified and substantiated by a technical analysis of the recorded music. Through this, I hoped to reveal the basic principles of Xhosa musical organization.

The problems I encountered were considerable. They had much to do with the limitations that the Administration imposed on me, and my skin colour and sex. The restrictions which were imposed verbally by the Magistrate ' for security reasons and (my) safety ', threatened to handicap fieldwork, if not make it wellnigh impossible to carry out. They (1) prohibited me from residing at any homestead in any administrative area, and (2) limited fieldwork to daily excursions into the areas; I would not be permitted to attend any event which took place at night, and I had to make sure that I return to my headquarters by 18hrs30 in the evening. Finally, it was absolutely imperative that I report to the Security Police each morning, and tell them what particular area I intended to visit that day, or, if I had no specific area in mind, what area I thought I might be visiting. I had to carry my permit at all times, to be able to produce it at every place I visited. I was told that the people were bound to question the legality of my presence in an area,

and that the permit should dispel any doubts they might have!

The first restrictions came as no surprise. The other restriction appalled me, as did the obligations that went with it. Since most of the important events involving music take place at night, this immediately debarred me from attending them. To record this music at all, I would have to arrange for it to be performed during the day and therefore out of its social context. And so my fieldwork would consist mainly of planned performances of music, a phony method of carrying out research and one which could produce only negative results.

A fieldworker's social identity in relation to the people he/she works among may easily be a source of bias. As a white fieldworker in a Transkei that was still a 'Homeland' of the Republic of South Africa, that had seen much political unrest and that was therefore in a State of Emergency, I fully expected to have some difficulty in establishing rapport with the people, particularly those living in the more remote areas. I was well aware of the hostile attitude of many people toward the white bureaucracy in general, and the Bantu Authorities system in particular. I had seen obvious signs of this in the scattered heaps of burnt fodder, the damaged fences and windmills, the sabotaged tractors and polluted dams which were regular features of the landscape in certain areas. During my previous researching, I had noted that, while there were many people who were favourably disposed toward the white Administration, there were just as many, if not more, who were not, and who distrusted whites on principle. To them, any white person might have an ulterior motive, whether he/she is connected with the Administration or not. At the Police station I protested against the

fieldwork restrictions and the daily reporting to the police. How, I asked, was I ever going to be able to establish a really satisfactory and friendly relationship with the people, make my objectives known to them and secure their confidence and co-operation, if they saw me in the company of the police every day? They would automatically identify me as a friend of an all too familiar but much - disliked group. I pointed out the necessity for recording musical performances on the spot, and in their proper social context, and asked for permission to attend those which took place at night. I was told that the Administration was concerned mainly with the maintenance of law and order, and my request was regretfully but firmly refused.

When I actually commenced fieldwork, much of the enthusiasm I had brought with me to the field had diminished. I was full of misgivings and rather depressed. Although my guide tried to jolly me out of this depression, saying that people would know that I was not pro-government by my appearance as well as language and attitude (I wore slacks, beads and very long hair!) he was not successful. I must admit I was also rather angry about the whole business. We spent the first day in All Saints administrative area, where we attended a wedding and a burial. Since this area is occupied mainly by ' school people ', we had a very successful day. Our difficulties began on the second day, when we travelled out to an administrative area about 20 kilometres from Engcobo village.

First we called at any homestead which showed some signs of activity. We always opened negotiations by introducing ourselves to the head of the homestead or senior member there. With his permission, Mr Qoba (my guide) called the people together and

talked to them, explained who I was and the reasons for my being there among them. I added a few remarks myself in the hopes of getting their sympathetic interest, but they regarded us without the slightest interest, and left all talking to Mr Qoba and the homestead owner. We had similar receptions at the other homesteads we visited.

Although we never mentioned the permit, we were always asked to produce it. In fact, it became standard procedure for the homestead head to deflect our question: ' May we record some music here? ' with another question: ' Where is the permit? ' Some weeks later, I learnt that the people in Engcobo district knew of the permit, and of the reporting to the police within 36 hours of my arrival in the district.

I soon realized that possession of the permit greatly hindered my acceptance into the rural community. Some people, especially the non-Christians, were convinced that I was a government spy, sent to investigate any illegal activities that might be going on, e.g. the distilling of local gin called i - gavini, the cultivation/possession of dagga, or to estimate to what extent the people were accepting or rejecting the government's rehabilitation/resettlement scheme. This, among other things, encouraged the culling of stock, particularly of goats, the restriction of field area for pasture and cultivation, and the use of modern agricultural methods and implements which were demonstrated by agricultural demonstrators who visited the area regularly. Whereas the people in some areas had been persuaded to accept the scheme by their Chiefs, in other areas they refused to have anything to do with it. They did not see it as beneficial to them; it was something implemented by the Govern -

ment, and therefore to be rejected at all costs.

At one homestead I was asked outright whether I ' had come to count the goats ' (this with great sarcasm). At another I was not allowed to take photographs or record any music, and accused of being exploitative and of ' selling Black music for (my) own profit '. On three occasions, at three different homesteads, babies in arms screamed whenever I approached them. I subsequently learnt from Mr Qoba, who had spoken to the mothers about this, that the only white face the babies knew was that belonging to the district nurse who ' gave them injections and hurt them ' (this in resentful tones). Even the make of my car was against me, as it was a Volkswagen Beetle which ' is driven by the police ' and therefore ' annoying to the people '.

We were attracted to ' bars ' (huts where beer is sold) which were easily located on account of the noise and singing coming from them. At one bar we offered to buy a few rounds of beer in exchange for some songs. The homestead owner agreed rather reluctantly, after he had asked me to ' show the permit '. He then told the women to stand up and sing, and they did so very half - heartedly. The singing was terminated by the song leader, who suddenly threw herself down onto the floor of the hut, as if in a great huff. Almost on cue, the homestead owner bid us a polite but decisive good - bye.

Our experiences at other bars were similar; whenever we were lucky enough to receive a song in exchange for beer, it was always the same kind of song (umngqungqo) which is customarily sung and danced by married women at girls' puberty celebrations. The majority of people who were present at the bar belonged to the highly respected Tshawe class, comprising older married men and

unattached women of the same age - group. At one bar I asked the homestead owner why these people did not sing any beer songs; perhaps, I suggested, this was not done at bars. The man replied that it most certainly WAS done, but that ' today the people do not feel like it '. Later on that day, when I discussed the matter with Mr Qoba and a few Thembu friends, I was told that the singing of umngqungqo was deliberate: it was an indirect way of telling me that they (the people) were not agreeable to my presence at that place. By asking to see my permit first, and only thereafter singing a song, and badly at that, they showed me that , although they did not like my being there, they had no choice but to tolerate me, and fulfilled my request with a ' women's song '. More than that they were not prepared to give.

What followed that day was to follow every day for the next week, particularly when we visited tribal settlements. At the end of the week we had recorded a great many ' school ' songs, but very few songs of the ' "red" (i.e. tribal) ' people, who were always very polite but very distant. I had thought that music would at least be a safe topic of conversation, but I found that even that was not necessarily a neutral subject to the people. Even my enquiries about music, and the meaning of the words of songs, were a source of suspicion. The people seemed to think that they might be preliminary to other questions of a political nature. I did not know then that song texts are often full of innuendos, even blatant insults, usually directed at a particular person or group in authority. Being unaware of this very important fact, I continued to push questions on the people, hoping to arouse their interest in the subject of their music, and although I sensed the discomfort and suspicion that my questions aroused, I did not know why this should be.

During the week - end that followed, Mr Qoba and I gave the events and results of the past week's fieldwork a long and critical look. We felt that we had to put an end somehow to the unsatisfactory situation which had dragged on for seven whole days. It had occurred to me that Mr Qoba's former occupation as policeman might have had something to do with our inability to establish rapport, but I soon found out that the people had regarded him as being an honest (thembekile) policeman, and that he was well thought of and respected. A staunch Congregationalist, he often attended the church services of other denominations, including the services of the Bhengus and the Zionists. An abstemious man, he nevertheless attended beer drinks and other tribal social events where he met and conversed with his many tribal friends. He had never acted as a guide/interpreter for a stranger to the district, and he never felt that he had any status in doing so. All he wanted to do was to help me communicate with the people, and he constantly urged me to be patient, and to continue to move among the people, to watch and to observe, and to make no enquiries but rely rather on volunteered information which was bound to come my way in time. By observing me as an individual, rather than by listening to any explanations either of us might give, the people would come to accept me. His optimism cheered me up considerably. As a Gcaleka (the ' royal ' house of the Xhosa chiefdom cluster), he had great pride and dignity, and his age permitted him to receive a certain amount of respect. He had a considerable effect on my relations with the older people, and his informal contacts with the younger tribal men and women, who proved elusive and unfriendly at first, turned out to be a research asset.

I now decided that the main issue at stake was not the fulfilling of any legal obligations but rather how to make the best out of a trying situation. I therefore decided to ignore the legal obligations; I would leave the permit at my headquarters, and I would not inform the Security Police of my daily routine. I did not tell Mr Qoba of my decision, as I thought it might embarrass him and compromise his position. He had never asked me about the reporting, and I felt that the less he knew about it, the better.

It was then that Mr Qoba had a brainwave. He suggested that we visit the seats of the three Thembu tribal authorities, the Hala, Jumba and the Qwathi, and formally introduce ourselves to the Chiefs, Councillors and Headmen. On the following Wednesday we drove to Nkondlo, seat of the Qwathi tribal authority; on Mr Qoba's advice, I took the permit along with me. I was already aware that many Whites in the district considered the Qwathi to be much inferior to the other chiefdoms of the Hala and the Jumba. I often heard Whites refer to them as 'troublesome', 'backward', and 'primitive', possibly because they distrusted the Administration, rejected its schemes and clung tenaciously to the 'red' way of life. They were accused of practising witchcraft and evil magic to a great degree, and were usually called amaqaba, a term meaning 'pagans' which is offensive to non-Christians, who prefer to be called ababomvu ('red people').

From talks with acquaintances of the Hala, Jumba and Mfengu chiefdoms, I gained the positive impression that these chiefdoms stereotyped the Qwathi in much the same way, although

these stereotypes were never taken seriously. They were only tribal stereotypes, and the subject of many jokes among the people themselves. I am sure that the Whites' contemptuous attitude accounted in large measure for the Qwathi peoples' hostility toward me; they probably thought I stereotyped them in the same manner.

At Nkondlo, which consisted of a number of newly constructed buildings and the vestiges of a few older ones that had not been cleared away, we saw no sign of human activity, although several horses were tethered to the fence which surrounded the main building. At Mr Qoba's request I remained in the car while he entered this building, taking with him the permit. Approximately twenty minutes later, during which time I heard much shouting and arguing, he emerged from the building sweating profusely and mopping his forehead. He beckoned to me to enter, and I found myself in the midst of a group of about twenty men who stared at me silently and speculatively. Some of them sat against the wall of the building, while others sat at a table in its centre. In their midst sat the Chief of the Qwathi, Jongusizwe Dalasile, flanked by his prosecutor, his secretary, councillors and headmen. Seated in front of the table was a man whom I later was able to identify as the plaintiff. The Chief scrutinized the permit, then asked me whether it gave me permission to attend court sessions, such as the one I had interrupted. Bewildered and very nervous, I replied that the permit gave me no right to attend any event, and for this reason I had come to ask the Chief's permission to carry out musical research. At this, the Chief told me to take a seat (on the floor) and then continued with the court case.

When it was over the prosecutor asked me what University I came from; my reply must have dissipated any doubts he had as to my motives, because, after consulting the Chief, he stood up and on his behalf, and that of all the people there, he welcomed me to ' the country of the Qwathi ', wished me success and said I could go wherever I wished. I give only the gist of the speech which, spoken as it was with such warmth and sincerity, deeply moved us. After exchanging names and addresses, we made our farewells and drove up to Ngqokoto, where the Hala tribal authority is located.

There we followed the same procedure, but this time Mr Qoba had a much harder time trying to convince the people of the sincerity of our motives. He was inside the building for well over an hour, and he came outside once to tell me that he ' was having trouble ', then returned indoors. I heard voices raised in dispute; some disparaging remarks about Whites who ' trample ' on homesteads with their ' machine with eyes and ears ' ("iinto - zamehlo - nezindlebe"); one sarcastic remark about the government now using women and ' thinking they could bluff the people '. From time to time Mr Qoba's voice interrupted the arguments with explanations and denials, but he was never allowed to say much. It seemed that no - one was prepared to listen to anything he might have to say. Eventually he called me inside.

Whereas I had been very nervous at the Qwathi tribal authority, I was now almost sick with fear. Inside the building, the atmosphere was electric, nor did the arguing abate when I entered. Indeed, it became even more heated. In the midst of this, one of the most prominent and hostile of

the councillors stood up and pounded the table with a fist, at which everyone immediately stopped talking. He then launched into a lengthy speech, during which those men who did not stare at us stared up at the ceiling of the building. At the end of this speech, in which he had given the main reasons for opposing any research in the area, he declared that it would in any case be presumptuous to discuss the matter any further as the headman of the area was not present. He then asked us to leave and so put an end to the matter. A loud argument ensued between this councillor and three others, under which Mr Qoba managed to tell me that neither the Chief of the Hala nor the real headman was present, and that the former was being represented by his cousin and the latter by his deputy.

The councillor then suddenly asked Mr Qoba to produce the permit, and this sparked off another heated discussion. This was followed by short fire - and - fury statements of the deputy headman, secretary and two councillors in turn, in which each declared that we should not be allowed to carry out research, even though we had this permit. Again, various reasons were given and although Mr Qoba said everything to reverse their decision, he was not successful. At this point he asked me to stand up and state my case before the group, and I did so, speaking slowly in English, and Mr Qoba translating as I did so. When this was over the deputy headman stood up and reiterated his reasons for refusing permission and another heated debate ensued. All this time the Chief's cousin had had little to say; he had seemingly been content to watch and to listen. Just when Mr Qoba was on the point of giving in to my whispered requests to leave, the deputising chief terminated the arguments with a

sideways sweep of the arm. He then declared that he would take us to a homestead where preparations were under way for a circumcision rite which was to take place the next day. With one accord everyone stood up, faces wreathed in smiles, and shook our hands. They wished us well and invited us to visit their homesteads. We were then given refreshments and, when we came to take our leave, all animosities had been forgotten.

At the homestead which was preparing for circumcision we were welcomed with a can of beer and a large slab of raw meat - ' food for the road '. We were allowed to record a great deal of music, to take photographs, and we were given a verbal ' list ' of events that were to take place during the next month. We were also promised regular notification of other events that might take place at a later date.

This incident marked the turning point in fieldwork and the beginning of a happy relationship with the people of Engcobo district. It also marked the establishment of an ' information network ' as Mr Qoba called it, which extended from Engcobo district to districts situated nearby, as well as those situated quite far away, e.g. Umtata, Cacadu, Tsomo, Xhorha, Gatyana and Lusikisiki. It turned out that the people of the above - mentioned homestead had friends and relatives living in one or other of these districts. Some of them had come to attend the circumcision celebrations and, when we met them, they offered to keep us informed of events that might take place in their home districts. They kept their word to the extent that, even though I actually resided in Engcobo village, I almost always knew about events that were to take place in other districts. The information was relayed by herbalists and other individuals who travelled

about a great deal, and via the bus depots at Umtata, Idutywa, Gcuwa, and of course the trading stores. This network was for the most part efficient, and kept me notified of events even when I was out of the field and in Johannesburg, or at home in the Eastern Transvaal.

Although we were not able to visit the Jumba tribal authority the following Wednesday, because the Jumba chief was visiting elsewhere in the Transkei, we contacted the headman in the village, who gave us permission to visit the Jumba area. From then on we were accepted wherever we went as a matter of course, and I was alternately called Nojalimane (Miss German) and Nosingile (Miss who - goes - alone) or simply inkosazana (little Miss).

Because we did not meet the Chief of the Hala at his tribal authority seat, we made a point of visiting him at his Great Place on the following Sunday, after we had arranged to do so with his headman. We were given refreshments, and exchanged gifts, and left after a pleasant visit. As we were about to drive off, the Chief gave me a young rooster, the last of a clutch of chicks which had survived a marauding cat. I subsequently took the rooster to my home in the Transvaal, where it lived for almost seven years and expanded the poultry population on our farm. When the Chief gave the fowl to me, as food for the road, he spoke the following words which I have never forgotten, and which I wrote down as soon as I returned to the village. They are:

'People have stared at you, and been unfriendly and given you no food. They have been like that mainly because of your colour. They did not know where your sympathies lie, and you know that the difference in skin colour has caused much trouble and sorrow between the black and the white

people. Now they know that you have not the bad feelings some whites have for them.

Remember this, if people do not show their friendliness in an outward way, if they stone your car or do not want to help you, it is not because they really wish to be unkind. True kindness is often unseen, so you must not judge people hastily by what they do. It is what they think that counts. Do not judge harshly those people who were unfriendly toward you. They were like that because they were afraid'.

I was able to follow this speech, which I later discussed with Mr Qoba for details and meaning, and I have quoted the main points verbatim. To hear it was, for me, one of the most stirring of all fieldwork experiences. I often recalled it, especially during the difficult times in other districts, and it helped me to retain a sense of balance and optimism.

I have given a fairly detailed account of my first few weeks in the field in order to reveal some of the problems which beset a White fieldworker who attempts to carry out research among Blacks in southern Africa. The main difficulty I had was in dissociating myself from the White bureaucracy that implements the South African Whites' National Party policy of separate development (apartheid). As we have seen, it was only after we had introduced ourselves to the three Thembu Chiefs and were given the opportunity to explain the research project fully, that we were accepted by the people. A meeting with the Thembu Paramount Chief, later on, confirmed our acceptance. After that I left the permit at my quarters and was never again asked to produce it in Engcobo district, or in Umtata district which adjoins it. I also stopped the daily reporting, but this did not go unnoticed. Some weeks later I attended girls' puberty celebrations

where I recorded performances of umnggunggo music.

The dance itself is performed concentrically, and in order to record the overall music sound, I stood on a ' platform ' of stones which had been hastily erected in the innermost circle. The performance was reaching its climax when, above all the noisy singing and clamour, a disgruntled policeman suddenly appeared before me and complained that I had not reported that morning. He was just as suddenly swallowed up by the revolving dancers, and by the time the dance was over, he had left the homestead. I did not meet up with him again.

In Eastern Pondoland we had relatively little trouble in establishing rapport. I think this was due largely to the peoples' attitude: the majority of them, influenced by their conservative Paramount Chief, Botha Sigcau, were prepared to accept the separate development policy.

It became possible to assess to what extent the people in an area accepted or rejected this policy merely by listening to the words of certain songs. In Eastern Pondoland I heard several songs which expressed trust and confidence in the Chief Minister; conversely, in the districts of Engcobo, Umtata, KwaBhaca, MaXesibeni and Cacadu, I heard songs whose words criticized him for emulating the white man, and for being dictatorial. I was permitted to record the former, but not the latter.

The tape recorder was one of the most successful ways of attracting the people. Quite often I was the first to operate such a thing in an area. When the people realized that it was able to ' catch their voices ' they were very willing to sing or play for me, both in groups and individually. The recorder

also became a local attraction for recognized musicians, and of course their performances in turn attracted regular audiences. In some of the remote areas where the machine was quite unknown, people reacted more suspiciously: some of them were afraid of it and saw it as a means of bewitching them. Taking photographs and later distributing them became another valuable means of establishing rapport. I was permitted to take photographs at most events, but I always made a point of asking the homestead head, as with the recording of music. I was permitted to record all sorts of songs, including those which criticized the actions of chiefs and headmen. Any songs which censured politicians were not to be recorded, but in time the people no longer banned the recording of such songs, as they knew I would make no attempt to go against their wishes. Being a woman, I was not permitted to attend circumcision rites, but I was allowed to enter an initiation lodge, and speak to one of the initiates. As Mr Qoba predicted, information became available simply by being with the people, being present when significant events occur, and generally making myself available to the many individuals who liked to talk.

On the advice of the Magistrate, I employed guides in most of the districts I visited. They differed in age, sex and religion, and experience; one was an ex - policeman; another a retired school teacher, another a former social worker and nurse; another was employed as a researcher at the Magistrate's court, and another was a former beauty queen. In some districts suitable persons were scarce and so I employed the first one who appeared, despite some

reservations. Without doubt the guides I had in the districts of Engcobo and MaXesibeni proved to be the best possible guides in some of the worst possible situations in which I found myself. In Tsomo district my guide died after two days fieldwork and I had to rely on a missionary and two assistants to act as guides. A similar situation existed in Cacadu district, where I employed a young nurse who was temporarily out of a job. Often, when I felt that I was well - known in an area, I went about without a guide, with the result that I frequently placed myself in an embarrassing situation. On one occasion, I set out early in the morning and met a band of Zionists who were on their way to the mountains. A friendly group, they sang their hymns and played their special instruments. We were interrupted by a number of White policemen who demanded to know what I was doing alone in that place. They rudely ordered the people to be on their way, and I was mortified to see that they connected me with the police. Fortunately I met the same band some days later and was able to put the matter right with them. After this I decided it was better to be with a guide rather than without one.

In moving from one district to another I often slept in my car, parking it near some convenient stream or ditch. In this way I met many people, particularly women who had come to draw water, and who were able to tell me about forthcoming events in the area.

On two occasions only was I given permission to go out at night, and then only after the selected homesteads had been sanctioned. Seance music was recorded early in the evening, or during the day when a diviner was initiated. In Cacadu district

I was able to enter the seclusion hut of a girl initiate and remain there for a time listening to and recording the music which was performed by the young men and women. In this I was helped by missionaries who had helped me gain entrance to the boys' initiation lodge. The dance music of young boys and girls was difficult to record since the dance itself is held during the night hours. Thus I was forced to record the music out of context. Apart from this, I attended the usual round of ceremonies, feasts, beer drinks and work - parties, and I was gratified to notice that I was gradually left to my own resources and allowed to record freely. Nevertheless I still made a point of asking for permission at the beginning of the event. I noticed that this pleased the people very much.

I visited many homesteads and trading stores where I made few recordings but talked to the people. Much information was obtained by observation rather than verbal enquiry. At first I confined myself to watching and listening, and then later I made more or less direct enquiries. In time the people generally came to know what I wanted to know. Conversations with herbalists and old women often proved to be a source of important information.

The casual observer might think that there is no life in a homestead, particularly at eleven o'clock in the morning. Many a time I would arrive and see no sign of life other than a few pigs and fowls wandering the perimeter of the homestead. Speaking the customary nkqo! nkqo! (literally ' knock! knock! ') at the entrance of a hut would bring people outside. There we would sit and talk, exchange gossip, banter and points of view.

I was pitied for being unmarried, although it was a known thing that white women do strange things: such as wearing mens' trousers, which looked very funny with long hair. They suggested with a great deal of laughter that I do my hair like the Xesibe women. I found that it was possible to sit for ten minutes or more simply saying nothing, without any tension, something I find difficult to do in the company of many whites.

The tribal people live a precarious existence in some parts, especially where rain has not fallen for several successive seasons and drought conditions exist. I always took with me food in the form of tea, salt, sugar, condensed milk, cool drinks, and occasionally a bag of maize, together with boxes of matches and sweets, and a bottle of brandy for the homestead head or headman. I was always given refreshment, either tea, amarhewu (a thin fermented porridge), Exa (a popular cool drink) utywala (beer), and occasionally meat (goat, pig or chicken). The tradition of hospitality among the Cape Nguni is very strong, and indeed, that which I experienced unlimited. Through exchanging gifts we established between us mutual respect and understanding.

With Mr Qoba's help I gained access to an important circle in Cape Nguni society, that of the diviners. Mr Qoba first approached a Bhaca diviner living in the district, and he had a hard time convincing her that I was not a government official. As usual, I waited in the car while Mr Qoba did his best to gain her good will, while she was unconcernedly counting out an enormous amount of money. Eventually she agreed to ' look me over ' and took a few exploratory peeps round the

door of the hut. She then opened negotiations with me from the other side of the door, and after I had explained and confirmed Mr Qoba's statements, she gave me permission to attend the ' coming out ' ceremony of one of her initiates, which was to take place in a few days. Through her I met many other diviners who came from various parts of the Transkei and the Ciskei, all of whom extended invitations for me to attend various seances. Most of these were associated with ' coming out ' ceremonies which I managed to attend, the music of which constitutes the greater part of my recordings of divination music. All the diviners I met were recognized musicians, as were the majority of herbalists. The people could give no reason for this except to say that ' music is a part of their job ' and that ' medicine and music go together '. Many of them have great faith in the use of modern medicines, as well as their own, although any treatment they may perform with them must always be accompanied by the necessary rituals. One Gcaleka diviner whom I met refused to take any reward for his assistance; he did, however, ask that I send him a copy of the Old Testament, which he needed for his healing purposes. Although he could not read it, he was convinced that mere possession of it would assist his powers of healing. I sent him a copy in due course.

Fieldwork in Xhorha district was doomed to failure for two reasons (i) the inability to get a guide who was known to the people, and (2) the inability to establish rapport. On the first trip Mr Qoba acted as guide, and although we stayed there ten days we were unable to gain the trust of the people. An unfortunate incident occurred at a beer drink, when a dispute broke out between the ' champion ' song leader and the head of the homestead.

The former demanded that she be paid more money than the homestead owner because she had led the singing. This scandalized the men present, with the result that the people took sides, the women supporting the song leader and the men supporting the homestead owner. Blows were exchanged at which point someone remarked that it was the fault of the two 'strangers' who had 'started the whole business'. Everyone then turned their attention to us; and we were compelled to make a hasty departure, and all but frightened the wits out of a honeymoon couple in a Volkswagen Beetle, who saw us running to our car pursued by a screaming mob.

Later, I tried once again, with a young man who had offered to act as guide, but it was no use. The people were quarrelsome to the extent that the assistant magistrate regretfully asked us to leave the district, as our continued presence there was upsetting the people.

I was unable to carry out any fieldwork in Gatyana, as the Magistrate refused any assistance for no stated reason. He said I could 'look around', and I went down for three days, but was forced to abandon the idea of doing any fieldwork in the district.

A rather ugly incident occurred in the district of MaXesibeni, when we were unable to convince a headman that we were not government officials sent to spy on the people. Unfortunately we woke the headman up from an afternoon nap, and he would not listen to our excuses that we had travelled a long way to get his permission to visit the area. A huge man, he came striding towards us with two others, shouting that

we had no right to be in the area. My guide, who was known to him, was accused of being the type of nurse who gives the people injections ' and then they die '. We had to leave hurriedly, and sustained a few cuts and bruises in doing so. I realized that he had every right to resent our presence there; besides, we both knew that the Xesibe were notoriously hostile toward the Administration. Some ten days later when I went to say good - bye to the Magistrate, I met the same head - man in the middle of Mount Ayliff village. He got off his horse and came up to me, and after greeting me, invited me to a wedding which was to take place at the end of the week; it promised to be a big affair, with people coming from nearby Pondoland and KwaBhaca. Of course I accepted. The welcome we got there was very different, and the experience itself beyond imagination. Just over 8000 people attended the wedding, more than half of them being ' red ' people. We were accorded the most lavish hospitality, and were able to record music non - stop. Indeed, what eventually stopped us was the termination of the celebrations, when the people began to make their ways home - ward after a long and happy day of music and feasting. In terms of music, and, above all, human relations, this proved to be our most fruitful trip of all in MaXesibeni. Our journey home that day was triumphant: we had made a host of new friends, had heard and recorded many different kinds of music, and we had a large quantity of raw meat in the car boot. My guide later distributed this among her friends.

A fieldworker is bound to experience some mental and physical discomfort. I constantly experienced curiously mixed feelings of uncertainty and increased motivation, very similar to the

stage fright that grips one when about to perform in public. there was never a day when I did not set out feeling nauseous and with a sinking sensation in the pit of the stomach, assailed by doubts as to whether people would accept me or be unfriendly, whether the car would break down in some remote spot and the recorder battery hold out, and so on. Despite these doubts, something impelled me to carry on regardless. I have often experienced stage fright, but never to the degree that I did during fieldwork. The feeling of perpetual anxiety persists to this day.

Physical discomforts were negligible, with two exceptions, one being the unpleasant results of eating tainted pork, and the other, the inability to find a suitable place for bladder relief: this threatened to become quite a problem during the first few weeks in the field.

During fieldwork emotions are much nearer the surface. I am by nature reserved and inclined to hide my feelings, but I found that when doing fieldwork it was impossible to remain uninvolved and outwardly untouched by emotion. I shall never forget an incident that occurred in a particularly bleak part of Engcobo district. Emjanyana, the Leper Asylum and tuberculosis hospital, is situated in this area, which some whites refer to very aptly as the Transkeian 'dust bowl'. One morning I accompanied a missionary to the hospital, where he regularly distributed Kupugani foodstuffs. En route the car stalled in a dry 'spruit' (creek) and we were forced to wait for the engine to cool before going on. To pass the time I walked for a short distance. The desolation of the countryside was quite something to see. There had been no rain for three

years, and now the earth ran bare in every direction. I walked on, and rounding a slope, I suddenly came upon a burial. Women wrapped in blankets sat some distance from a hole in the ground. As I watched them, four men approached them carrying a blanketed bundle. The women began to keen, and kept it up as the men placed the bundle in the hole and filled it in with earth. The women left before the men had completed their task, placing what stones they could find on top of the small grave. The whole affair was over very quickly. The movement of the women and their manner gave one the impression of suppressed haste and stealth, and I thought then how aptly the Xhosa word for burial described it: - fihla, which means to hide, or conceal. As I watched the men disappear round the ridge, I suddenly felt incredibly alone, and the remoteness of the bleak countryside emphasized this terrible sense of loneliness. Without thinking, I sat on the ground and wept, something I had not done for many years.

The Cape Nguni have a great capacity for sympathy and for sorrow, although many Whites may not be aware of this, or will not admit it if they are. More well known is their great capacity for laughter. Many of them are great humourists whose wit can even settle disputes, and whose ' tongues can speak the truth without really hurting anyone '. Such a man was Elijah, who was my guide in Pondoland. A stout and good - natured man, he had a store of witty remarks that he used in the right situation. He liked to talk, and the only time he kept silent was when we tried to cross a muddy river bed, or a creek, or came to a very dangerous part of the road. He arranged to take me to a Mpondo bar which was situated in a deep valley. Access was possible

from two sides of the valley, but whichever route one took, one was faced with a difficult and very uncomfortable descent. Elijah, however, did not foresee any difficulty, as he said he had been there before, and he led the way down a grassy slope, which was also very slippery from the recent rains. A solitary onlooker watched us as we made our way down the steep and winding path.

Elijah walked on ahead, swinging his brief case and singing at the top of his voice while I followed on behind more slowly, strung with the equipment and using a walking - stick to keep my balance. One moment Elijah was before me, and the next moment he was not. I shouted for him several times, and was beginning to panic when I slipped - and made the rest of the descent on my buttocks, the equipment still strung about my neck and cradled in my arms. I came to a stop beside Elijah, who lay on the ground next to the cattle byre, loudly complaining that he was ' dead '. Our sudden arrival brought the people out of the bar; they stared at us in stony silence and watched us struggle to our feet. Someone must have thrown my walking - stick down, for it slithered next to me as I got up. When the people saw that we were unhurt they became friendly, and invited us into the bar, where we spent a pleasant hour recording music and talking about it. When we left, Elijah found that he would not be able to make the return journey on foot; he was given a horse which he ' rode ' by lying across it, and all the way up the hillside he complained that he was ' being killed that day '. A young man led the horse, and listened to Elijah with a small smile on his lips. When we reached the top again, we were met by the solitary spectator who had witnessed our descent. He

remarked that he was glad to see that I had received my stick;
then he looked at Elijah, who was thanking God that he had
made the ascent, and said dryly, and in English:

'And so Elijah was taken up - on a horse'.

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Deirdre Hansen

' Nonsuch ',
Grahamstown, 1981

ORTHOGRAPHY

The orthography is that which is listed in Xhosa terminology and orthography No. 3, Pretoria, Dept. of Bantu Education, 1972. For the benefit of those who are not familiar with the Xhosa language, I give the following brief guide to pronunciation, based on that given in the Lumko self - instruction course in Xhosa by J Riordan and M Mathiso and others, Grahamstown 1969:

a as in Afrikaans 'kas', or the u sound in English 'us'.

e as in English 'end', but with more length and more muscle tension.

i like the first vowel sound in English 'ease', but with the tongue in a higher and more frontal position.

o as in English 'pore', but with the lips held in a more closely rounded position.

u as in English 'book', but with the lips more closely rounded.

ng as in English 'finger', with a prominent g.

b is a voiced bilabial implosive.

bh (explosive) as in English b but more forcefully exploded.

ph, th, kh are aspirated plosives, pronounced as in English 'pen', 'ten', and 'call'.

p, t, k are unaspirated and slightly ejected.

tyh (aspirated), ty (unaspirated) and dy (voiced) are pronounced with the centre of the tongue making contact with the front palate.

ny as in English 'inch' or 'onions'.

hl (unvoiced lateral fricative) is pronounced like the Welsh double - L.

dl (voiced lateral fricative) is the voiced counterpart of hl.

rh (velar fricative) is pronounced as the Afrikaans g, or the ch in 'loch'.

grh = the voiced counterpart of rh.

krh = pronounced with the point of friction further back in the palate and with some ejection.

Xhosa 'click' sounds are represented by the letters c, x, and g.

c (dental click) resembles the sound one often makes when expressing disappointment, disapproval or pity.

x (lateral click) is the sound often used to gee - up a horse.

g (palatal click) has a sound like the popping of a cork.

ch, xh, qh, are aspirated clicks.

nc, nx, ng, are nasalized clicks in which the nasal sound (as in English 'singer') is uttered simultaneously with the click sound.

gc, gx, gq: in these consonants the click is uttered almost simultaneously with the g (as in 'good') sound.

h is a voiced glottal fricative, throaty, like a stage whisper, as in Afrikaans.

ngc, ngx, ngq, are pharyngeal nasal clicks which are pronounced with a throat, breathy stage whisper sound (like the voiced h).

nkc, nkx, nkq, are prenasalized nk clicks. In pronouncing these the nasal sound (as in English 'singer') is followed by the click and is not simultaneous with the click (Riordan et al., 1969: 5 - 38).

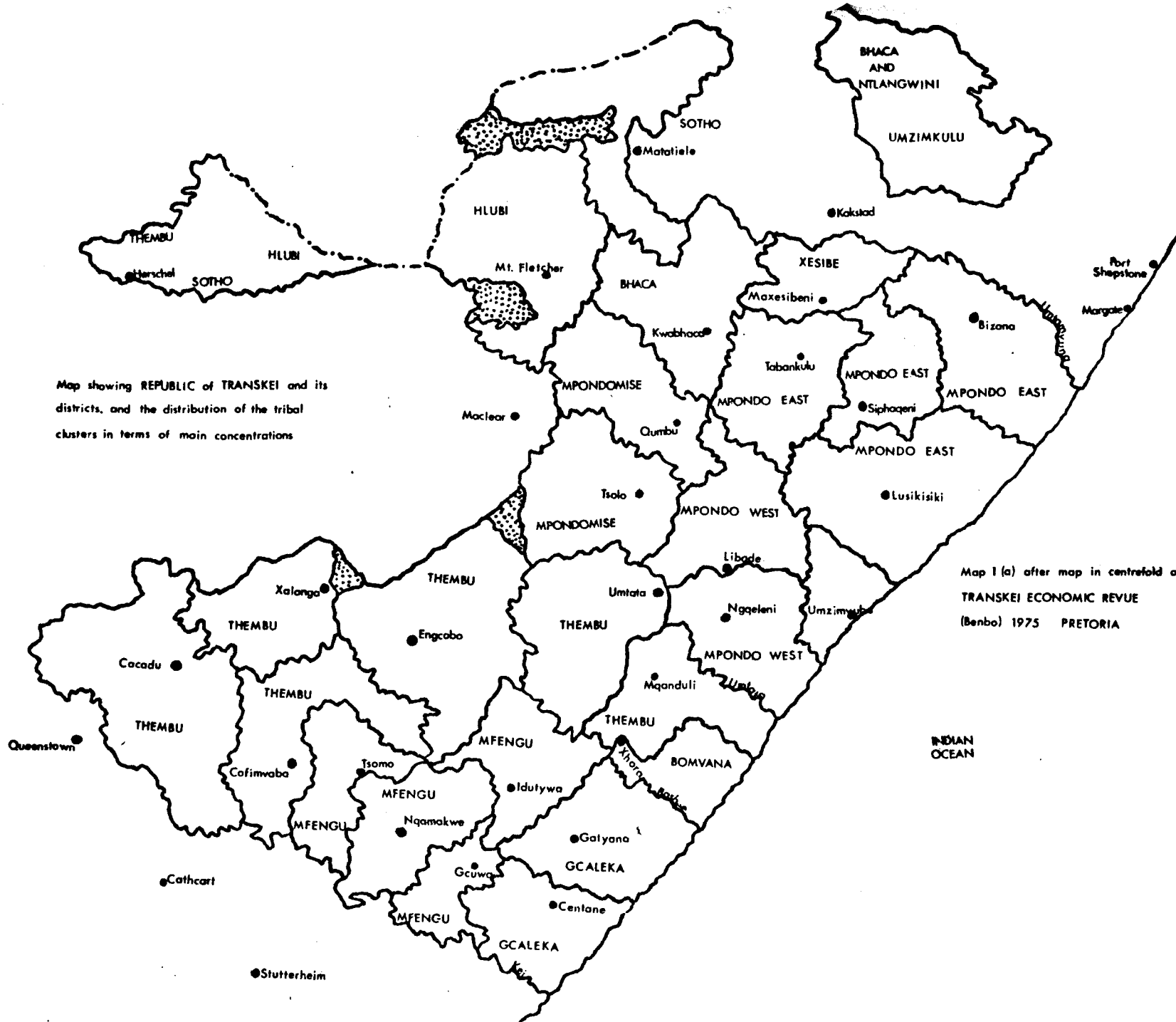
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION:

THE XHOSA - SPEAKING PEOPLE

There are nearly four million Xhosa - speaking people living in South Africa. They call themselves the Xhosa Nation (isizwe samaXhosa) and are known in the literature of white scholars as the Cape or Southern Nguni.¹ Together with the Northern Nguni (the Zulu and the Swazi) they make up almost sixty - six per cent of the total black population. Of these, 2,7 million live in the Republic of Transkei, and 1,3 million are in the Republic of South Africa, mostly in or near the cities of Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London and Johannesburg (Hammond - Tooke (ed.) 1974: 59 - 60).²

The Republic of Transkei was formerly a homeland of South Africa, and was officially designated independent on the 26th October 1976. It is situated in the south - eastern part of Southern Africa, its location being between 27 and 30 east and 30 and 33 south. It is bounded by (a) the Indian ocean in the south - east, marked by a 270 kilometre shoreline, (b) the Kingdom of Lesotho in the north, from which it is separated by the Drakensberg mountain range, and (c) the Province of Natal in the north - east, the boundary of which is formed by the Umzimkulu and Umtamvuna rivers. The north - and north - eastern boundaries which separate Transkei from the Cape Province include smaller mountain ranges, and the Great Kei river, which flows into the Indian ocean (see Map 1 (a) showing the Republic of Transkei and its districts, and the distribution of the tribal clusters in terms of main concentrations).



Map showing REPUBLIC of TRANSKEI and its districts, and the distribution of the tribal clusters in terms of main concentrations

Map 1(a) after map in centrefold of TRANSKEI ECONOMIC REVUE (Benbo) 1975 PRETORIA

Map 1(a):

The area of Transkei is about 4,5 million hectares, and it has been geographically divided into four main physical regions - the coastal belt, midlands, highlands and Great Escarpment. It has six main rivers - the Kei (known in Xhosa as iNciba), Mbashe (Bashee), Umtata, Tsitsa, Thina and Umzimvubu - all of which flow from the highlands down steep gorges into the Indian ocean. There are few mineral resources, those which exist being economically insignificant. The most important natural resource of Transkei is its agricultural land, which could yield a good return if modern agricultural techniques were intensively applied. The irregular topography, which makes the total area of arable land rather small (about 19 per cent), and the poor farming methods (notably overstocking) have caused extreme erosion. These conditions are being repaired as far as possible by the implementation of programmes for soil planning and conservation, which include the protection and improvement of water sources, indigenous grass species, forests and topsoil, and the employment of crop rotation and adequate fertilization.

The last official census in Transkei was that of 1970 and it gave a total de facto population of 1, 734, 116 Cape Nguni. On the 1st December 1975 the districts of Cacadu (formerly Glen Grey) and Herschel were incorporated into Transkei. The approximate total population (including that of the two new districts together with a small area that was added after independence, Umzimvubu) was then 1, 817, 514 Cape Nguni.³

Although Transkei has been designated independent, it is not economically independent. Job opportunities are few and at least

half of the resident population live and work in the Republic of South Africa as migrant labourers. Both the Transkeian and South African governments recognize these labourers as citizens of Transkei, but they are still disputing the political status of the large number of Xhosa - speaking people who are living permanently in South Africa. While the South African government is adamant that these people are also citizens of Transkei, the Transkeian government insists that ' they cannot be regarded as such '.⁴ To date, the status of Africans of Transkei origin who are living permanently in South Africa is as follows: according to the Transkeian government, they are citizens of South Africa if they have not officially taken out Transkeian citizenship; according to the South African government, they are Transkeian citizens.

There are twenty - eight administrative districts in the Republic of Transkei, each district being controlled by a magistrate and his staff. In addition there are two regional magistrates who perform no administrative duties and have no civil jurisdiction. Their sole function is to preside over criminal trials (van Rensburg 1976: 114). The districts are (pre - independence names are given in brackets): Bizana, Cacadu (Glen Grey), Centane, Cofimbava (St Mark's), Engcobo, Gatyana (Willowvale), Gcuwa (Butterworth), Herschel, Idutywa, KwaBhaca (Mount Frere), Libode, Lusikisiki, Mount Fletcher, Mqanduli, MaXesibeni (Mount Ayliff), Matatiele, Ngqeleni, Nqamakwe, Qumbu, Siphagani, Tsolo, Tsomo, Tabankulu, Umtata, Umzimkulu, Umzimvubu (Port St John's), Xalanga and Xhorha(Elliotdale). These twenty - eight districts coincide with the electoral districts for the National Assembly and with chiefdom areas.

The Prime Minister (in - Kulumbiso) of the Republic of Transkei is Chief George Matanzima, and the President (i - Presidanti, u - Mongameli) and Head of State is Paramount Chief Kaiser Daliwonga Matanzima, Chief George's brother.

The Legislature consists of a National Assembly comprising five Paramount Chiefs, seventy chiefs representing the districts, and seventy - five elected members. The Constitution declares that Xhosa (isiXhosa) shall be the official language of the Republic. Sesotho, English and Afrikaans may also be used for legislative, judicial and administrative purposes, and all Acts of Parliament are published in Xhosa, English and Sesotho.

Outside the Republic of Transkei, many Cape Nguni live in reserves and on white - owned farms in the Ciskei and in the Eastern Cape. The Ciskei is broadly the area south of the Kei river down the coastal strip past East London as far as the Great Fish river (see Map 1 (b) showing areas in the Cape Province including the Ciskeian homeland occupied by Cape Nguni clusters). It is a South African ' Homeland ' with an areas of 816, 208 hectares divided into seven districts - Hewu, Middledrift, Victoria East, Mdantsane, Peddie, Keiskamma - hoek and Zwelitsha.⁵ The Cape Nguni inhabiting the area belong mainly to the Xhosa chiefdom clusters, i.e. Ngqika, Ndlame, Ntinde, Gqunukhwebe and others. The area is also the home of Mfengu people who live mainly in the district of Peddie. Those living in the reserves practice pastoralism and horti - culture as they do in the Republic of Transkei. Large numbers of Cape Nguni flock to the towns and cities for employment.

They live in the townships located outside the work centres, which are generally referred to as ' locations '. Well - known townships are Mdantsane outside East London and Zwelitsha outside King William's Town. Even further away are New Brighton and Gugulethu near Cape Town, the residents of which are mostly Xhosa - speaking.

The Ciskei has not yet been designated independent.^{7a} Since June 1971 it has had a Legislative Assembly and an executive council which regularly holds session at the present capital, Zwelitsha. The new capital (after the Ciskei has become independent) will be located at Alice.^{7b} The Chief Minister (i - nkulubaPhathiswa) is Chief Lennox Sebe, who was nominated to this position in 1973.

The Cape Nguni have been divided by anthropological classifiers into twelve chiefdom clusters (isi - zwana pl. izi - zwana). Each cluster, with the exception of the Xesibe, consists of a number of independent chiefdoms (u - hlanga pl. iin - tlanga) presided over by a chief (i - nkosi pl. ii - nkosi) and his councillors (i - phakathi pl. ama - phakathi).⁸

The clusters are mainly unrelated although the chiefs of the individual clusters are ' related to each other through membership of a royal patrilineage ' (Hammond - Tooke 1965: 144 - 7). Each cluster has its own territory, history and slight differences of custom. The twelve clusters are: the Xhosa, Thembu, Bomvana, Mpondo, Mpondomise, Bhaca, Hlubi, Xesibe, Bhele, Zizi, Ntlangwini and Mfengu.⁹ The first five of these (van Warmelo's ' Cape Tribes Proper ')¹⁰ had

been occupying their present localities for many centuries before white colonists and traders set foot on South African soil (cf. the New Oxford History of South Africa). The other seven clusters came southward from Natal to the Cape and sought refuge among the older clusters shortly before Shaka rose to power and embarked on his consolidation of scattered people into the Zulu nation. As refugees they wandered about the Cape for many years, homeless and destitute, until they finally settled or were settled in the areas they occupy today. The names of two of these clusters, Bhaca (from - bhaca v.i. meaning ' to wander about in destitution '), and Mfengu (a noun meaning ' a destitute wanderer ') are constant reminders of the bleak period in the history of these peoples (cf. Hammond - Tooke 1963: 14). With the restoration of peace, many Bhaca who had fled south returned to Natal. Today, there are two Bhaca enclaves in Natal, in the Bulwer and Ixopo districts respectively. These two groups are quite independent of the two Bhaca groups living in the district of KwaBhaca, in the Republic of Transkei.

All the clusters speak dialects of the same language, isiXhosa.¹¹ While some of the chiefdoms within the different clusters can trace a common descent, others again are not related genealogically (Hammond - Tooke (ed.) 1974: 61). The Xhosa are an example of a group of related chiefdoms: they comprise the Gcaleka who are settled in Gatyana district in the Republic of Transkei, and the Ngqika who are settled in the Ciskei and elsewhere in the Eastern Cape. Some clusters contain unrelated chiefdoms which have become

MAP 1 (b)

After Fig. 15.2: 133 in
The Black Homelands
in South Africa
(AISA) Pretoria 1976

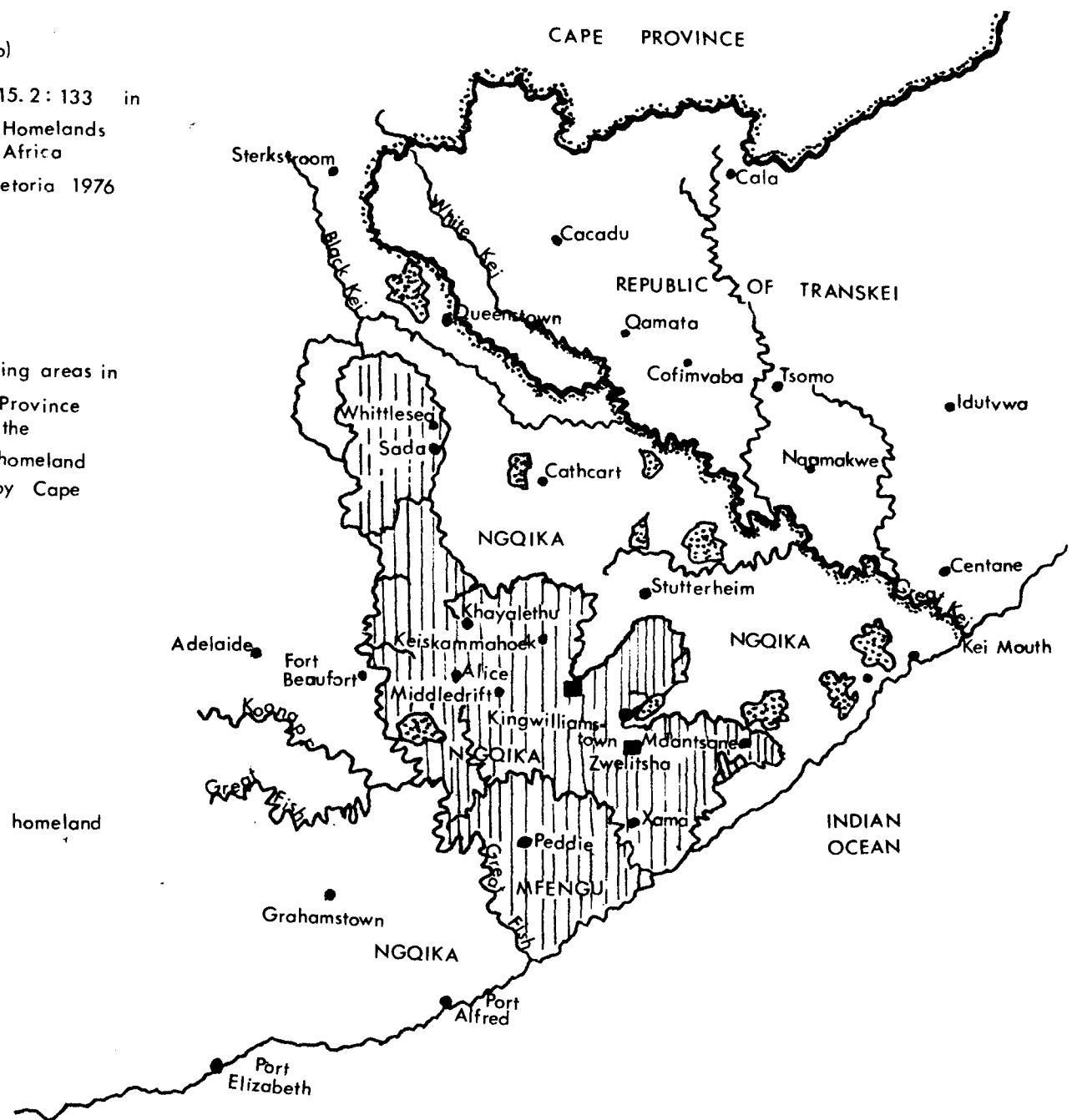
Map showing areas in
the Cape Province
including the
Ciskeian homeland
occupied by Cape
Nguni



Areas formerly part of Ciskeian homeland

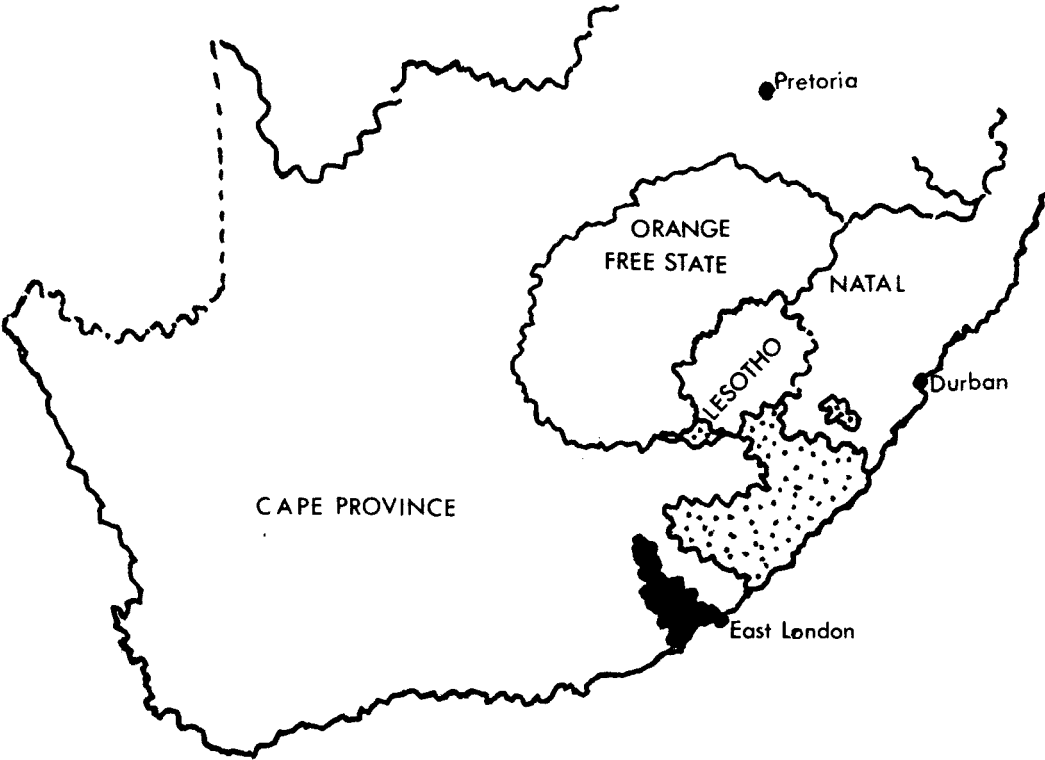


Ciskei after consolidation



tributary to the Paramount Chief of the cluster. A similar situation exists among the Mfengu, particularly those who live in Transkei where they are controlled by non - Mfengu chiefs (ibid.).

In the rural areas people live in homesteads (um-zi pl. imi-zi) which are usually located along a ridge or against a small mountain - or hill - slope. The individual homestead consists of three to five rondavel - type huts with walls made of wattle and daub or sun - dried bricks, and conical thatched roofs, a cattle byre (' kraal ') and one or two smaller enclosures for sheep and goats. The term ' kraal ' is used in a wide sense by English - and Afrikaans - speaking South Africans. It is used to denote (a) a cattle byre and (b) the individual homestead. The Cape Nguni themselves distinguish clearly between the two, (a) being ubu-hlanti (Bhaca = isi-baya) and (b) being um-zi. They also use the term ' kraal ' to mean a cattle byre, and I have used it in this sense only.¹² Pigs and poultry are allowed to roam freely. The homestead traditionally houses a man, his wife or wives, and his children including married sons and their families, unmarried daughters and perhaps one or two dependents. This arrangement still exists today, but one more commonly finds homesteads occupied by smaller families - a man, his wife and legitimate children - an arrangement which exists of necessity in the townships. Social factors, notably the effect of Christianity and migratory labour, have been largely responsible for the reduced size of the domestic unit. Several homestead together make up settlements or neighbour -



Map 1 (c) showing Republic of South Africa and location of Republic of Transkei and the Ciskeian homeland

 REPUBLIC OF TRANSKEI

 CISKEIAN HOMELAND

hoods (isi-phaluka pl. izi-phaluka, or isi-xeko pl. izi-xeko) which are controlled by a sub - headman (i-bodi pl. ii-bodi) who has been appointed by and is responsible to a headman (isi-bonda pl. izi-bonda).¹³ Four to six neighbourhoods make up an administrative area or unit (i-lali pl. ii-lali) which is presided over by a headman. Twenty to thirty such areas are formed into a district (isi-thili pl. izi-thili) which is controlled by a magistrate (i-Mantyi/u-Mantyi pl. ii-Mantyi/o-Mantyi and his staff at a central town or village (i-dolophu pl. ii-dolophu, from Afrikaans ' dorp '). Administrative areas of the same chiefdom cluster have been grouped into Tribal or Regional Authorities (u-Gunyaziwe wesizwe/wenqila pl. o-Gunyaziwe wesizwe/wenqila).¹⁴

' Red people ' (abantu ababomvu, or abebomvu) and ' school people ' (abantu basesikolweni) are terms long used by the Cape Nguni to distinguish between two social categories within their society.¹⁵ ' Red people ' are, as the name implies, traditionalists who cling to the traditional customs and way of life, ' red ' referring to the red ochre or clay which is applied to the body, blankets and clothing by people belonging to the older Cape clusters - the Xhosa, Thembu, Bomvana, Mpondo and Mpondomise - who live in rural communities. ' School people ' are those who have become westernized, largely through the influence of Christianity and western education, and of European traders who supply them with western goods. They have long since discarded tribal dress and have adopted ' western ' styles and materials.

However, not all people who wear European dress attend church, although church - goers will never wear tribal dress. Also, not all people living in rural communities are traditionalists, as many ' school people ' live in these communities. ' The division between the two groups is both rural and urban ' (Hammond - Tooke (ed.) 1974: 470 (note 9)). Hammond - Tooke has described the ' school people ' thus: ' Structurally they are tribesmen in that they live in ' tribal society ': culturally they are not traditionalists, though many still have a lively respect for the chiefs ' (1974: xvi).

Though the social life of both types of person tends to operate on different levels, it must be remembered that many Christians have ' tribal ' relatives, so that there is a great deal of interaction between the two ' groups '.

' School people ' who live in rural communities co - operate amicably with their ' red ' neighbours in various activities which are beneficial to the community at large, and which promote good relations between the two social types, e.g. dam - diggings and weddings. Today many ' red ' people have started to send their children to schools. Rural areas may be regarded as being predominantly ' red ' or predominantly ' school ', e.g. Engcobo district is strongly ' red ' although many ' school people ' live in the area, and Tsomo district, because of its huge Mfengu population, is predominantly ' school '. Tribal life in this district is manifest mainly in the rondavel - type huts in which the people live. Many of them have been replaced by the rectangular - shaped huts with corrugated tin roofs which

are mostly the homes of school teachers and ministers of religion. Tribal dress is virtually absent. Both ' red ' and ' school ' people attend councils held by the headman as well as installations of chiefs and headmen, and at these functions each performs its particular style of music. Originally the term ' school people ' denoted the Christian members of the community, but today it includes those people who are ' western - orientated agnostics who do not attend any church, but have discarded tribal beliefs and customs ' (Hammond - Tooke 1962: 10).

Speaking generally, the older chiefdom clusters are more conservative and have been slow to adopt European ways, compared with the ' intrusive ' clusters, particularly the Bhaca and Mfengu, who are strongly ' western - orientated '. Among the former, it is the women and girls who cling to tribal dress and wear it every day. Most tribal men will wear European clothes because they are more convenient for work. But in their leisure hours and especially when they attend feasts and beer drinks, their women cannot surpass them in the splendour of the tribal dress they wear. They festoon themselves with beaded ornaments of all sorts - body - harnesses, head - fringes, head - bands, arm - bands, leg - and waist - bands, love - motifs, knee - length necklaces and collars - all of which have been made by their wives and sweet - hearts. Women also wear beaded ornaments, but not to the extent that their men - folk do.

Tribal association is expressed by details in tribal dress, and in certain colours which are used. Each tribal cluster has its own distinctive style and dress, and it is

possible (as I found out) to identify a cluster by the distinct dyes it uses, the different shades of ochre obtained, the particular arrangement of turbans (worn by married women of the older clusters), and the elaborate hairstyles (worn by Mpondo, Xesibe and Bhaca women). Within the clusters, the different age groups have their own particular styles of dress and favour certain colours and patterns in their beadwork. Certain professions have distinct ' uniforms ', e.g. the diviner, who always wears white beads on the head and body, and has at least three bladders fixed to his/her hair - style. The patterning of skirts varies among the different clusters, e.g. the Ngqika women in the Ciskei decorate their skirts with many rows of black braid, alternating with zig - zagging lines, and fewer pearl buttons sewn into the design. One could regard Cape Nguni tribal dress as being an example of ' variations on a theme '; the different chiefdom clusters use the same materials but produce varied results with it! Xesibe women do not use red ochre, but instead they stain their everyday clothing (made from cotton sheeting) with fat and manure, which gives off a pungent smell, and is dark - green/black in colour. Mpondo men and women favour pale blue blankets obtained by dyeing white ones with a strong solution of Reckitts Blue. The Tshawe group (married men and unattached women of all clusters) wear white clothing ornamented with black braid - trimming.

Unmarried young Bhaca men, who are agnostics or nominal Christians, wear an interesting combination of tribal and western clothing to their dance - parties: gaily decorated

short skirts over long trousers and a variety of beaded ornaments. Some groups have already discarded the short skirt and wear trousers tied below the knees, decorated with colourful patches. This fashion has ' caught on ' among Xhosa, Thembu and Mpondo young men of the same social category. Some of these variations in dress may be seen in the photographs which appear at the end of this study.

NOTES

- 1 For information concerning the history of the Cape Nguni in particular, and the Nguni in general, see the following works:
 Ayliff and Whiteside 1912 (1962); Brownlee 1896; Bryant 1929; Bryant 1949; Cook 1931; Döhne 1843; Hammond - Tooke: 1954 (in Duggan-Cronin) 111, sec.5; 1956a (No. 33); 1956b (No.35); 1957 (No. 36); 1958a (No. 41); 1958b (Afr. Studies), 17,1: 16-20; 1962; 1965a (Africa), 35,2; 1969b (in L.M.Thompson (ed) (1969); 1974 (ed): ch.3; Hunter 1936; Junod 1914 (S.Afr. Journ. of Science), 10: 137 - 61; Krige 1936; Kuper 1947; Olivier and Fage 1963; Soga 1930 & 1932; Warmelo (N.J.van) 1959,18,4: 167 - 178; Wilson 1959 (Afr. Studies) 18; Wilson and Thompson 1969 (Vol.1), and 1971 (Vol.11); Thompson (ed) 1969.

- 2 The following statistics are given in the Transkei Economic Review (Benbo) Pretoria 1975: 27-28:

1970 total de jure population in Transkei . .	2, 978,240
" " " " " " " Ciskei . .	934,580
Total of other Blacks in the Transkei . .	83,600

This publication also gives the following information:
 'The most important non-Xhosa in the Transkei are the South Sotho and Zulu, while there were only 2,420 Blacks of other ethnic groups in the Transkei. Of the Transkeian Xhosa not living in the Transkei, 20,900 (mostly migrant workers) lived in Bophutha-tswana and 12,900 in KwaZulu, while a further 2,500 were in Lebowa. Only 1,2 per cent of the

Transkeian Xhosa were living in other homelands. The non-Blacks in the Transkei constituted only 1,0 per cent of the de facto population and amounted to 17,752, of whom 10,097 were Whites, 7,645 Coloured and ten Indians' (p.27).

See also Economic Conditions in the Republic of South Africa, (Barclays) 1977: 22, and Black Homelands in South Africa, (Malan and Hattingh) AISA 1975: 212ss.

- 3 Figures were obtained by adding the population figures of 1970 for the two new districts to the total population figures for the remainder of the country. As yet, only Port St John's (now called Umzimvubu) has been added to the new country, while Kokstad has been incorporated into Natal. The others are still being disputed. Glen Grey and Herschel were formerly parts of the Ciskei homeland. In 1971 a referendum was held to determine whether or not the people of Glen Grey wished to become part of the Transkei or remain in the Ciskei. (Glen Grey is the home of Chief Kaiser Matanzima' own tribe, the 'Emigrant Thembu' as white scholars have referred to them). The result of the referendum was that more than eight out of ten people voted against incorporation into the Transkei. In 1971 Glen Grey was handed over to the Transkei by proclamation and is today known as Cacadu (Lawrence 1976: 97).
- 4 Quoted from a letter from the Department of Foreign Affairs, Umtata, November 1977.
- 5 The Ciskei originally had nine districts. Glen Grey and Herschel were excised in November 1975, after which the Ciskei was consolidated to form a ' block ' of land with seven districts.
- 6 Mdantsane and Zwelitsha were formerly the names of townships, but today they are also the names of districts. The largest urban concentrations in the Ciskei reside in these two areas.
- 7a After returning from a visit to Israel, Chief Sebe said in a speech at Zwelitsha (4th January 1978) that the Ciskei would be the first homeland to opt for autonomy - as distinct from independence - if a Bill tabled at the last Parliamentary session became law. The Bill was not passed. To date, Chief Sebe has declared that the Ciskei

shall become independent, in spite of the extensive report of the Quail Commission (which the Chief Minister himself helped to set up), which recommended that the Ciskei should not seek independence. A referendum was held on 4th December 1980, in which nearly 59 per cent of voters (in a poll of approximately 60 per cent) voted for independence.

Three of the five pre-conditions for independence laid down by the Quail Commission have been met by the South African Government; the other two are still being negotiated. These are concerned with the financial support of the Ciskei by South Africa, and the incorporation of more land to make the territory more viable. The proposed incorporation of King William's Town and the Hogsback area into Ciskei has angered whites residing in these areas. (Cf. Charton (ed) 1980 for a study of legal, political and economic factors affecting the Ciskei today). Ciskei will become independent on 4th December 1981.

- 7b Cited in Malan and Hattingh 1975. Recent developments in Ciskeian politics suggest that Alice may not, after all, become the capital when the Ciskei is designated independent. Instead, it may be located in or near King William's Town.

- 8 Information from the Department of Foreign Affairs, Umtata, November 1977.

- 9 The Bhele and Zizi are considered to be ' tribes which belong to the Mfengu ', and not chiefdom clusters (Department of Foreign Affairs, Umtata, November 1977).

- 10 N J van Warmelo's classification of the Cape Nguni being (i) the Cape Tribes Proper, and (ii) Mfengu and other recent immigrants into the Cape. Cf. Hammond - Tooke (ed) 1974: 56ss).

- 11 This was originally the language of the Xhosa chiefdom cluster, who were the first Cape Nguni people to come into sustained contact with the whites. It was the first Bantu language to be developed as a written language, and its grammar was established and published in 1834 in The Grammar of the Kaffir Language (Ngqika dialect) by R B Boyce. An attempt to reduce the Xhosa language to writing had been made eight years before that, when John Bennie of the Glasgow Missionary Society set up a printing press at Lovedale in the Eastern Cape, in the town of Alice. In 1826 Bennie published the first major work of the Press; it bore the title ' A Systematic Vocabulary of the Kaffrarian Language in two parts; to which is prefixed an Introduction to Kaffrarian Grammar'. Lovedale has a copy of this book(cf. Shepherd 1955: 28).
- 12 Many informants told me that the use of the term ' kraal ' for a homestead is offensive to them because it correlates their traditional homestead with ' the place of an animal '.
- 13 The term isi-bonda pl. izi-bonda ' has been used for a very long time and is in official use today ', according to a spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs, Umtata (1977). According to many informants in the field who discussed the term with me, it is a derogatory term for a government-appointed headman (i.e. South African government), and means a ' government prop '. The older term for headman - isi-duna pl. izi-duna - is apparently no longer used today. Cf. Hammond - Tooke in Thompson (ed) 1969: 243, & Hammond - Tooke 1975: 50 - 51.
- 14 Information from the Department of Foreign Affairs, Umtata 1977.
- 15 See Mayer P, 1961: ch. 2 for a detailed discussion of the cleavage between ' red ' and ' school ' people.

CHAPTER 2

XHOSA MUSICAL CONCEPTS AND BEHAVIOUR

Definition and concepts of Xhosa music

The Cape Nguni are generally communicative and expressive about their music. The most outstanding feature is that the different chiefdom clusters share similar if not identical concepts, viz:

'Music is something that is done only by human beings. It consists of words and certain sounds which are sung to a number of beats which are clapped, and we call this singing - ukuvuma'.¹

This view is widely held among the Cape Nguni as is the following one expressed in the words of Angelinah Mgudlwa (14: 10: 69):

'Olubini uhlobo lokuvuma; ukuvuma ngelizwi kanti kukho ukuvuma ngezinto ezikhaliswayo' ('There are two ways of singing; there is singing with the voice; on the other hand there is singing with "things made to cry", i.e. musical instruments').

These two widespread opinions emphasize that music is regarded as a social fact, and that it is organized around the rhythmical expression of words and sounds and the physical movements employed when clapping, or playing an instrument. Although dancing is not specifically mentioned in these views, it is an integral part of musical activity. Indeed, it is so highly integrated with music - making that many informants did not bother to mention it in their explanations about music, because they assumed (as I subsequently found out) that I knew that ' singing and dancing are the same thing ' and that ' the two go together '.

All songs, whether they are sung or played on an instrument,

are called ' songs in the Xhosa language ', i.e. Xhosa music (ingoma yesiXhosa pl. iingoma zesiXhosa). Many individuals speak of their music as being specifically ' the songs of the Thembu people ', or ' the songs of the Xhosa people ' (iingoma zabaThembu, iingoma zamaXhosa) and so on. A few older men and women described their music as ' the music in the Mfengu language ' (iingoma zesiMfengu) but this type of description is rarely used.² During fieldwork among the Bhaca, I seldom heard the term -Xhosa used when they spoke about their music, which they always described as ' the songs of the Bhaca people ' (iingoma zamaBhaca).

The people belonging to the older chiefdom clusters - the Xhosa, Thembu, Bomvana and Mpondo - alternately refer to their music as ' the music of the sons of Xhosa ' (iingoma zikwaXhosa) because ' we are all people of Xhosa and our music is his music '. During the past ten years a strong feeling of national unity, fostered to some extent by the Transkei's constitutional progress and subsequent attainment of independence, has brought about changes in attitude and terminology. Today a large percentage of Cape Nguni describe their music as ' the songs of the Xhosa nation ' (iingoma zesizwe samaXhosa).

According to informants the term ingoma pl. iingoma (meaning ' song, music ') is ' a very old word ', and ' the only word we have ever used when we speak of music '. Nowadays it is used to describe traditional Xhosa music and the secular music which has been added to it as a result of European influence. This includes (i) ' school music ' (iingoma zesikolo) which consists of choral songs by Xhosa, Zulu, Sotho and Swazi

composers, and (ii) township music (umbaqanga) comprising traditional songs which have been given new arrangements (' dressed up ') by urban musicians, and modern jazz, dance music and European pop music played by urban bands. All these are loosely referred to as iingoma. The same term is used in the description of the music of Separatist churches, e.g. Zionists' music (iingoma zamaZiyoni) and Bhengu music (iingoma zamaBhengu), referring to the church of Bhengu.

All music performed in European - run churches, such as (i) European hymns whose texts have been translated into Xhosa, and (ii) sacred choral songs and carols by Xhosa composers, are called iculo pl. amaculo (song, hymn).³

One voluble informant made the following distinction between ' ingoma ' and ' iculo ': ' Ingoma is for all music that has nothing to do with the missionaries and has got to do with all Christian church music ' (Sigidimi Xundu, 22: 6: 69). Statements and evidence collected during my research confirmed the validity of this distinction, which is made by all Cape Nguni.

Among them it is generally accepted that music is not conceived apart from words, and that ' all songs have words ' or at least ' names ' (titles) which express the emotions that underlay their composition or are at least associated with their performance. Even instrumental music is automatically conceptualized with words, which may or may not be sung whenever this music is performed.⁴ Verbalization depends on the social situation in which the music is produced, e.g. :

'When a girl goes to the shop and has to walk a long way, she will take her umrhubhe (mouth bow) or ifleyiti (harmonica) and she will make the road shorter by playing

a song. But she will not be able to sing the words of this song because she has to use her mouth to play' (Nobandla Ivy Qhetswana, 14: 8: 70).

In this case the song will be wordless owing to the circumstances surrounding its performance. The same informant continues: ' But if she meets friends, they will join her and sing words to her song '. Thus the presence of others, however few, will ensure that at least some words of the song will be sung.

Instruments are normally either played ' solo ' (by a single instrumentalist, with assorted vocalists improvising ad. lib.), e.g. umrhubhe and accordion, or used in self - accompanied solo singing, plus or minus other supplementary non - instrumental performers, e.g. uhadi (gourd bow), guitar and concertina. These performances seldom remain ' solo ' for long, because they invariably attract people who will listen and join in with singing and/or clapping.⁵

Many informants imparted a great deal of information about the importance of words in songs, and all of them agreed that many of the songs played on instruments such as the umrhubhe, accordion and concertina, and certain uhadi songs, were really instrumental versions of vocal songs, and therefore had underlying texts. Some of these informants were themselves performers on one or other of the aforementioned instruments. From them I was able to collect a number of instrumental songs which I was able to compare with the sung versions with which they associated them. They told me that ALL vocal songs could be instrumentalized, but that ' respect ' and good taste dictated that certain songs should be ' left alone '. The music they played for me included instrumental versions of Mfengu dance music, divination music,

children's dance music, a lullaby, Beer songs and indlamu dance music for Mpondo young unmarried men. During the performance they were supported by participants who sang and clapped for them.

To demonstrate that most, if not all, vocal songs can be instrumentalized, Nombhobho Sandile gave a performance on the uhadi, and her choice of song had a shock effect on her audience. They gasped in amazement when they recognized the song, but Nombhobho was so intense about it that their attitude changed to one of amusement as they found her performance funny. One old lady clucked in disbelief and asked Nombhobho whether she ' was really playing that song '. When Nombhobho nodded assent the old lady began to sing uSomagwaza, the ritual song normally sung by older married men at circumcision ceremonies. The audience eventually joined in with the repetitive choral response which was familiar to them all, laughing and shaking their heads as they sang. After Nombhobho had ended the song, she told me that the song was never performed instrumentally or out of context because of its ritual significance, therefore ' uSomagwaza is definitely not a song for uhadi '. She had instrumentalized it to show me that this could be done, but that ' people do not do this out of respect '. Hence the amazement of the audience at her choice of song. Nombhobho also told me that non - ritual dance songs were frequently instrumentalized, and that there was invariably some vocal interchange between performer and audience.

The detailed explanations of many informants, including several who were acknowledged to be good at singing and dancing, revealed the following general attitudes to music:

- (i) it is primarily concerned with the expression of high - spirited feelings of togetherness, and its participants are affected mainly by its sound and its production, i.e. the activity that produces it.
- (ii) although it is always conceived with words, these are not necessarily retained or even sung throughout a performance; words are crucial in certain types of music, but they are less important and even expendable in others.
- (iii) it is able to express certain definite feelings with or without the help of words, e.g. joy, sorrow, fear, yearning and despair.

(i) A Thembu lady said to me (in Xhosa):

'Speak to me about music and you bring joyous excitement⁷ to the Xhosa. People cannot help but get this feeling (ihlombe) when they sing; even those who listen to them, shudder (-hlasimla) when they hear music' (8: 10: 69).

According to the Cape Nguni, intense feelings of joyous, exalted excitement are always experienced by people when they sing and dance together. Although they say that the music itself induces such feelings, it is in fact the musical process that does so. Music is appreciated and liked for its own sake, and its sound does affect people, but it is the meaning of that sound, and above all, the process of making music, that has the greatest impact. Music is something which is so vibrant, strong and compulsive, that everyone who hears it feels compelled to sing and dance along with it. It is ideally performed on a

large scale: a large number of people combine in singing and dancing and achieve what is required of any good performance, a shared transcendental experience in which the participants are 'raised up', and 'go right out of themselves', and a 'big' (-khulu) sound. Examples are the different styles of music performed occasionally by different groups within the society: umngqungqo and umyeyezelo performed by married women at girls' and boys' initiation celebrations; intlombe or 'doctors' music performed by diviners and their associates at seances; intlombe music performed by young unmarried adults at their dance - party of the same name; and umtshotsho music performed by teenagers at their dance - party, umtshotsho (cf. chap. 3). Both the communal activity and the sound it produces affects the individual performers so powerfully that they reach a state of being that is transcendental. This condition is known as ihlombe and it is induced only by music and music - making.⁸ Informants were adamant about this, and I myself never heard it mentioned in non - musical contexts. It is something which 'people become full of when they sing and dance together, and even those who watch them get it'. Their joy in associated action as well as their reciprocal response unites all of them - performers, audience and onlookers alike - in a very close bond of ihlombe. An Mfengu young man, James Mtho, gave the following statement after a successful performance which won his team first place in a dance competition:

'Of course there are always words to a song, and we usually sing these at the beginning. But when things warm up and we start getting ihlombe, we forget the words and we just sing our own, or we sing sounds. At the same time we dance until we are moving all over' (19: 7: 69).⁹

The many highly successful performances which I witnessed provide plenty of justification for this explicit statement. Ihlombe becomes apparent when the singing becomes louder, when the pitch rises,¹⁰ when the dancing becomes hectic and violent and when the music becomes more expressive, with improvised words and sounds. At this stage the words of the song are no longer of importance and singers either add their own ' new ' words, or vocables which allow for greater freedom of musical expression.

Today ihlombe is a synonym for ' song ' or ' music ', particularly among the urban Africans. The announcers on Radio Bantu (the Xhosa and Zulu units) who present musical request programmes usually say they are going to ' play ihlombe ' (betha/shaya ihlombe) rather than ' play a song ' (betha/shaya ingoma). Also, one has only to attend school concerts, during which serious choral singing alternates with more light - hearted musical items; when these are performed one will always find some members of the audience singing along with the performers, or even on the stage with them.

(ii) In small - scale musical performances, such as ' solo ' vocal songs with an instrumental accompaniment, performer(s) and audience share a similar experience of music - making, but they may or may not attain ihlombe; it depends on the nature of the music, and whether or not it is intended to induce the condition. If the music is an instrumentalization of a dance song, people will attain ihlombe, but then the degree of ihlombe will be comparatively smaller than that which is induced by large - scale performances. As one

informant put it: ' the bigger the music, the bigger the ihlombe ' (Rose Jakuja 2: 3: 71).

One may contrast the excitement and enjoyment of audiences at this kind of music, with their more sober reactions to instrumental ' songs of sorrow ' which are intended ' to make people cry ' or at least evoke sympathy from them. Because they are concerned mainly with personal feelings, they are known as ' personal songs ' (igwijo pl. amagwijo) and they are considered to be the most emotionally expressive music in the Xhosa musical repertoire. Composers of these songs usually perform them themselves, either as vocal songs with an instrumental accompaniment, or as instrumental songs with short refrains which an audience may sing at appropriate moments. The songs may be new or variations of old ones, but in both cases they are treated as a medium for self - expression. In fact, the general tone of this musical style and the songs that belong to it express emotions about events with references to personal experiences. Women were the only performers I encountered using traditional instruments for such music, these being the uhadi and the umrhubhe. More recently men have taken to composing such songs which they accompany with modern European instruments such as the guitar, the accordion and the concertina. They have brought a wider range of experience in their music, which expresses adverse feelings of joy in living, aggression, resignation, mockery, criticism and love. In this respect they differ from the women's instrumental music in which the prevailing emotion is sorrow.

Good examples of this music were provided by two Thembu women, No - orange Lizo and Nomisile Dungulu, who also made some explicit comments on it. Both women were acknowledged to be

leading performers on the uhadi, Nomisile in particular, whose skill and command of the instrument and her highly emotive vocal style invariably left people sighing and weeping.

That No - orange considers uhadi ' personal ' music to be intensely serious music is evident from the explanations she gave about her own uhadi songs:

'You will not find anyone dancing when he listens to this music. It is played only when you sit up at night, when it is dark and you have much time to think. You think deeply, too deeply, and then you play it (music). Sometimes the tears come. Sometimes it makes you think so deeply that you cannot bear it, and you want to run away forever' (22: 7: 69).

Further remarks made by No - orange are relevant to (iii) quoted earlier on. She repeatedly stressed the importance of the words in her songs. ' They are not just words for singing, they tell people what I am thinking and feeling ', i.e. they represent the thoughts and feelings she wants to express in her music.

Nomisile Dungulu held similar views, but she was more explicit about them: ' in ihlombe songs the words can be left out or changed for new ones; in this sad music they must all be sung so that everyone will understand your music ' (22: 7: 69). Although she said that the uhadi had no expressive potential (' you can only get two sounds from it '), nevertheless because ' it goes well with the voice ', she considered it to be ideal for performing ' personal ' music.¹² She also thought that it was the most suitable medium for the public expression of personal feelings and experiences. She composed three songs whose texts refer to a particularly unpleasant experience - an accusation of witchcraft which subsequently forced her to leave her home and her people and settle elsewhere. It was a long

time before she was able to bring herself to ' speak ' about this matter, but she found that she could do so, and state her case, in these three songs.

The words of these songs, and of similar songs by other composers, are crucial to their success, for in them lies the explicitness of the songs. These have a wide appeal based largely on their association with the rigours of daily life. Their words are the expression of moods and feelings arising out of personal experiences; they address each member of the audience through the invitation to identify with the singer's individual experience, and they ultimately reveal to the whole audience that her apparently isolated, individual experience, as revealed in each song, is really a collective experience. Nomisile was very emphatic about this, as were other composers. She told me that, when expressing her experience in her songs, she was not merely ' telling a story ' ; she was really being a spokesman (' speaker ') for everyone in the community, who might easily find himself/herself in a similar situation. Her own experience was in fact a fairly typical experience which had been, and would be, shared by many others. (See Plates 1, 2 & 3 on p. 775 in which the three musicians referred to in this discourse are shown with their instruments).

Emotional expression which is communicated through words, is enhanced and intensified by a singer's vocal style, the way he/she sings a song. No - orange's songs exhibit a simple interplay between a halting, stumbling instrumental part (a succession of unequal beats played in a staccato - like fashion on the string of the instrument), and her very characteristic strained, breathy and low - pitched singing. She favours long

instrumental ' introductions ' which are intended to create a mood; in her own words, ' to put myself into the right mood '. I noticed that hardly anyone incorporated phrases into her songs, possibly because they are highly personal and have narrative texts, and therefore do not allow for real audience participation. Another more likely reason may have been No - orange's known preference for quiet audiences, because only then can she ' think a lot about what (she) is singing and playing '.

Nomisile's vocal style is quite different, being less strained, open and medium - pitched. Her songs have shorter texts and permit more persons than the soloist to participate in performing the complete verse, without competing with the verbal communication of the soloist. There are clear - cut Solo and Response parts with overlapping; the Response sections are often sung in parallel harmonies, but the Solo part is never obscured. When necessary, audience participation is strictly controlled. When I recorded a ' song of home - sickness ', "Ufun' ukuhamba" (' You want to go home '), a young girl began to clap and was severely reprimanded by some members of the audience who were singing with tears running down their cheeks. Afterwards I was told that the girl had been reprimanded because clapping would have been totally unsuited to the mood expressed by the words of the song. In the same performance, several listeners were told to tone down their singing as they threatened to obscure the soloist's part. Both soloist and audience were visibly moved by the music; Nomisile herself became so overwhelmed that she broke down

and wept, at which everyone stopped singing and stared at the ground, shaking their heads and clucking sympathetically, until Nomisile had recovered and was able to resume singing.

It will be evident from the foregoing discussion that the musical expression of definite thoughts and feelings is something that is consciously attempted by Cape Nguni musicians. This is most important in their ' personal ' instrumental songs, in which specific emotions are expressed mainly by means of the words and the way in which they are sung.

An umrhubhe song by an unknown composer is another item of very expressive instrumental music which is conspicuously different in several details from all the other instrumental music I heard. It has no text and only an explanatory title - the song of the abduction of a young girl (ingoma yesithwala sentombazana) - and the music itself is a deliberate attempt to imitate the characteristic hysterical crying that is customarily done by young girls when they are being abducted.

Abduction (ukuthwala) is a common basis of marriage among the Cape Nguni, especially those living in the rural areas, and it is always done with the cognizance and assistance of the girls' parents. Whether or not the girls are willing, they are expected to cry in a stereotyped manner which, once heard, is not easily forgotten.

The song has a simple structure; it consists of a rhythmic ostinato pattern built upon the repetition of the two fundamental tones produced by bowing underneath the ' stopped ' and the ' open ' string of the instrument. The sequence of tones is C C C B^b. The tones are not produced as a succession of equal beats but as a jerky, quasi - agitated succession of

unequal beats played at a tempo of $\dot{P} = 43$ (cf. transcription on p. 33). By varying the resonator frequency of the mouth cavity, the harmonics generated by these fundamentals are used by the player to provide a ' melodic ' ostinato pattern above that produced by the fundamentals (cf. Kirby 1934: 239 - 240; Rycroft 1966: 88 - 92; cf. also p.179ss where this instrument is more fully dealt with). This pattern, which is characterized by varied repetitions of a falling 5th interval, is meant to be an imitation of the -thwala cry. I heard this cry on several occasions and I agree with my informants that the music is a very successful imitation of it. While Nombhobho played the song on the umrhubhe, no one made any attempt to sing. Some of the listeners emitted sighs at those moments in the music when the falling 5th motif is repeated several times in succession, and one woman drew my attention to this and said, ' You can hear, the girl is really crying hard '.

This song is the only example I have of Xhosa music in which specific sounds made by a human being in a very emotional state (the frantic cries of a hysterical girl) have been elaborated into musical sounds, i.e. notes. The fact that this is done at all suggests that this musical practice may be more common than one might assume it to be on the basis of one item of evidence. This song is highly significant as an example of Xhosa musical expression.¹⁴ Informants claimed that the song was ' very much out of the ordinary ' and stressed the fact that (i) it is played only on the mouth - bow, because this is the only instrument on which ' crying ' can be realistically imitated, and (ii) the song has no words, nor are any ever sung as they

Figure 4 : Ex. No. 1 on Tape 1a

Transcription of the umrhube musical bow song entitled ingoma yesithwala sentombazana (' song of the abduction of a young girl ') *

The player's general intention seems to be to produce a 4-quaver metre, but there is slight lengthening of the last quaver, or a slight pause after it, in most bars, indicated roughly here by a pause sign over the bar-line (as in Rycroft 1975/6); but in bar 6 the penultimate note takes the lengthening; in bar 19 the triplet on beat 2 takes it; and bar 22 has no lengthening.

Handwritten musical score for a musical bow song. The score is written on four systems of two staves each (treble and bass clef). The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The tempo is marked as quarter note = 43 M.M. The score includes bar numbers 1 through 23, with some bars grouped together (3-4, 5 (as 1), 9-11, 14-21). There are various musical notations including eighth notes, quarter notes, and triplets. Some bars have a pause sign over the bar line. The score ends with 'etc.'

* For help in transcribing this song I am indebted to Mr David Rycroft of SOAS, University of London (personal communication, August 1979).

are not necessary; the music is an imitation of a young girl's crying. This song was recorded in the district of Engcobo (on the 22nd of September, 1969), and in the course of fieldwork I discovered that it was at least known in the neighbouring districts of Umtata, Libode, Tsomo and Cacadu. I was unable to find anyone in these districts who could play it for me. It is generally considered to be a difficult song to play well, in that it needs a skilful player to resonate the correct harmonics at the correct rhythm(s) and tempo, and so produce the musical equivalent of the " - thwala cry" (Ex. No. 1 on Tape 1a).

The distinctive features of music - making

There are different Xhosa terms for the different forms of speech and other vocal utterances: uku - thetha (to speak), - shumayela (proclaim, report, preach), - biza (call, name recite), - bonga (praise), - vuma (agree, admit, sing), - memeza (shout), - bhomboloza (shout loudly, howl), - khala (cry, give sound), to name a few. It should be noted that uku - bonga is not music. The phrase ' sing the praises of the chief ' which crops up in so many books is rather confusing; it usually refers to the praises (izibongo) which are declaimed (- bonga) by a praiser (imbongi).¹⁵ -Bonga has nothing to do with - vuma, and is a category on its own. There is, however, a special type of Praise song which is sung in honour of a chief, the wife of a chief, his favourite ox or cow, and (nowadays) anyone whom the people wish to honour. It is known in Xhosa as isibuliso pl. izibuliso , and falls into the category of Xhosa music.¹⁶

What distinguishes speech from song is rhythm. Any pattern of words sung or recited to a regular metre is music. Many dance songs have sections consisting of rhythmically recited words. These occur either between sung repetitions of the songs or as closing sections to them. I did not find any songs which are rhythmically recited throughout, as is the case in some Zulu, Swati and Venda songs (cf. Rycroft 1968: 11 & ibid. 1971: 237 - 238; Blacking 1967: 38ss).¹⁷

Similarly, all patterns of non - musical sounds, - barks, yells, shouts, exclamations, snorts and grunts - are accepted as music when included in a musical context, as in the performance of choral dance songs. The traditional ox - horn, isigodlo, which yields one tone, was formerly used as a signal horn to announce an important event in the community - a war, a meeting of the chief in council, or a hunting expedition. It was also used at the boys' initiation ceremonies of the Bomvana, who called it butyu (Kirby 1965: 79). The term isigodlo is rarely heard today. Also, the Bomvana appear to have dropped the use of the horn in their initiation ceremonies for boys, which are today celebrated in an attenuated form. Its present - day prototype, uphondo (lit. 'horn'), is still used, particularly by some Zionist groups in their religious music, and the single tones, which are of course non - rhythmic, but which occur at certain points in the music, are accepted as music. The late Khotso Sethuntsa, a well - known herbalist and colourful Transkeian figure who lived in Lusikisiki district, had a band who used the uphondo in their version of a Bhaca young men's dance song - indlamu (cf. Plate 8 on p. 777). This was unusual, as was its use in the band's

performance of divination music, in which it is played in consort with two types of drum and a whistle as an accompaniment to singing and clapping. These versions are, as my guide put it, ' Khotso's versions of indlamu and doctors' music ' (5: 10: 70).

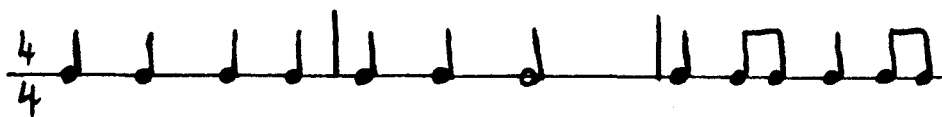
When asked to describe a song, people began by stating when the song is sung, and therefore what kind of song it is. They would then indicate its basic metrical pattern by clapping, entering with the vocal part after a few claps. Most people entered with the ' chorus ' part of the song, but in fact they could sing any part of a song, with or without claps. When I asked women to sing an unngqungqo song, they immediately assumed a body posture, began to dance in a stately manner characteristic of the dance. (it is always performed by the married women,), and then sang, for this music has no clap accompaniment.

Rhythm not only differentiates speech from music, it is a ' law in music, and if you do not have it, then all you have is noise ' (James Mthamo, 18: 6: 69). It is the fundamental regular beat in Xhosa music which is known in the vernacular as 'ngqongqo ('beat'), an onomatopoeic term derived from ingqongqo, the stretched ox - hide which was beaten by women with sticks as an accompaniment to their singing, at events celebrating the initiation of boys, and which today has been replaced by more easily available substitutes. This basic beat is expressed manually, that is, by hand - clapping (uku - qhwaba) and/or by physical movements made when dancing, e.g. stepping from one side to the other, kicking up and down and stamping to a regular metre. Apart from the usual way of

clapping (with the arms bent at the elbows), singers may extend the arms forwards and upwards prior to striking the hands together; or they may clap in the usual way, alternately striking the thighs with the palms of the hands. This was sometimes done during performances of the divination song umhlablo by Thembu and Xhosa singers, the hands being struck together and then struck on the skirt or lap, but it is not prescriptive of this music. The late Hugh Tracey mentioned a style of clapping known as umngcutsho, which he witnessed when he recorded a song by young Mpondo married women in 1957, in Tabankulu district, Transkei (AMA TR-33: A.1). The clapping was done by striking the open palm of the right hand on the fist or cupped fingers of the left hand. I travelled in the same area in which this song had been recorded many years before, and neither there nor anywhere else did I encounter this term, nor did I find anyone who knew it or could tell me anything about it. Clapping styles such as those I have described are regional. They do not accompany any specific type of music, and they are often done because they are in vogue in certain areas. In the period 1969 - 70 clapping with extended arms was very fashionable at teenage parties (imitshotsho) held in Engcobo district, and informants told me that it had been started by a group living in a neighbouring district (Cacadu), and that its popularity had spread rapidly. A Xesibe group who also employed this form of clapping told me that they had been doing it ' for some time ', and that they thought that it came from their neighbours, the Mpondo. They added that they favoured the style because it ' looked well and showed off the singers' arms and beads ' (8: 3: 71).

Whichever style of clapping is employed, all the singers will clap the same rhythmic patterns. Such a pattern can be varied by subdivision of the main beat, e.g.:

Figure 1.



but it is never combined with another totally different rhythmic pattern. The principle of polyrhythm, in which several rhythmic versions of the one metre are combined together',¹⁸ is not applied to Cape Nguni clap patterns. Handclapping remains constant throughout a song. It does not impart any rhythm to the song - melody, which has its own rhythmic scheme, but it is an organizing principle in that it permits the polyrhythmic process to be applied vocally to a maximum degree.

Polyrhythmic performance in Xhosa music depends on ' a number of people holding separate parts within a framework of metric unity '. This framework is determined by the number of handclaps, the total number of which constitutes the metrical framework of the song. In songs which are not accompanied by clapping, the framework is fixed by a specific number of dance steps or instrumental beats. When performing poly - rhythmically, individual singers sing essentially the same melody, but in a slightly different manner, thereby varying it. The variations are usually melodic and/or rhythmic, and may arise from variations in the words (cf. chap. 6: 220). Singers may introduce new words and phrases whose speech - tones and - rhythms generate contrasting vocal patterns. Singers may

also produce vocal noises - yelps, grunts, barks, exclamations - with rhythmic regularity, but in doing so each singer is careful to adhere to the basic metre of the song, as defined by handclaps or their equivalents. Cross accents occur when the main accents of the basic melody and all its varied repetitions do not agree with each other. The total effect of a large number of people performing at a high level of co-ordination and singing many different versions of the same melody at the same time, can be very complex, but it is in fact the result of considerable individuation. The choral dance songs of unmarried and married adults of the older chiefdom clusters are typical examples of this polyrhythmic vocalization. When I heard and recorded them for the first time, they seemed to me to be nothing but highly unified choruses led by song leaders whose individual parts were soon swallowed up in the group sound. I became aware of the leader - chorus relationship and the rhythmic interaction of the individual singers only when I moved among them to record their individual vocal utterances.¹⁹

The Thembu people of Engcobo district have a saying which describes this process of making music: ' Bayongeza amanye amagama ukongeza umnandi engomeni (They add different words in their singing to make taste of their song '). I heard this saying for the first time when I attended a girls' initiation ceremony and had a chance to chat to many of the people present. The married women in particular were very informative when I asked them to tell me ' how they do their singing and dancing '. Nowinile Nkelengeshe quoted the saying and added, ' But of course we are always guided (led) by the number of dance steps that we do when singing ' (6: 9: 69). Several performances of the

unnggungoo dance took place that day, and during them I was able to observe how the singing group organized its musical activity round the basic metre of the song, which is expressed in dance steps to the left and to the right alternately. Furthermore, this left - right movement is reflected in the shifting tonality of the song (cf. chap. 7: 548ss).

The same process is employed in all the other styles of Xhosa music to a greater or lesser degree. This is determined by the social situation in which the music is performed and the number of people who participate. In every style, ONE metre prevails throughout the song. This is the ' "ground plan", which serves as a point of reference for the infinite variety of detail possible within the scheme ' (Lomax 1968: 49). With the exception of ritual institutional music (boys' and girls' initiation), this basic metre is always expressed by handclaps.

At the home of Headman Kundlase Nomtsheketshe in the district of KwaBhaca, the leader of a young men's group (iindlavini) explained the Bhaca style of singing with these words:

'Actually everyone does his own thing, but it must fit in with the others. You cannot sing just anything. A song has a certain sound (tune), and a beat, and all of us have to sing around that' (3: 12: 70).

The Xesibe speak of singing in terms of ' each one throws her voice into the song '. On one occasion a quarrel broke out at a work party (isitshongo) when a frail old lady failed to establish the basic metre of a song. She clapped in a rather erratic fashion, and the other women complained that they would not be able to ' throw their voices into the song ' properly if she did not clap with more precision. The

old lady was eventually persuaded to let another woman lead the singing.

Clapping is commonly described as 'ngokwenz' imiphetho ngezandla (making borders/ rims/edges with the hands '), a phrase which was further elucidated by a Bhaca girl whom I met at the Great Place of Paramount Chief Wabana Makhaula:

'Umphetho is the long rope which women use when thatch - ing a roof; they wind it round and round. This rope is important as it holds the whole roof together. So it is with claps; they hold the song together by forming a boundary or edge round it. Anyone can do what she likes when singing, but she must not go over this edge' (2: 12: 70).

Thus in any musical situation the melodies arise with, and are controlled by, the motion of the rhythm, which also generates the clapping. The claps remind each singer that while he/she is free to do what he/she likes when singing, he/she is still part of the group. Their combined vocal patterns must always be rhythmically grouped and related to one another, and this is ensured by clapping, an integrating factor that keeps everyone harnessed to the rhythmic scheme of the music.

The polyrhythmic process is essentially a process of ' variation of the repetition, unity in the diversity ',²⁰ in which each person retains his individuality but agrees to co - operate with others. It is also active in Xhosa instrumental music in which it is applied in a similar way with different results. For example, in uhadi music, which takes the form of accompanied song, the vocal line has its own rhythm, but it must synchronize with the rhythmic pattern of the instrumental accompaniment. Thus both vocal and instrumental parts, whose starting and ending points usually differ, have independent but nevertheless strictly related

rhythmic patterns. The whole song itself is the result of two agents (voice and instrument) combining polyrhythmically.

Dancing adds to the complexity of the total pattern of a number of rhythmically interlaced vocal patterns. The rhythm of a Xhosa dance has many aspects, for several singers will choose several patterns for dancing. Just as each singer improvises on the song - melody when singing, so does he/she similarly improvise when dancing, such improvisation consisting of a varied selection of standard patterns. Therefore poly - rhythmic technique is applied not only to voices but also to the movements of the dancers and their dance steps in relation to a clapped core rhythmic pattern which, depending on the social situation, might be reinforced by an instrument, such as the drum in divination music. This combination and synchronisation of different rhythms - vocal, dance, clap and instrumental - expresses what is desired at any musical event in particular, and in society in general: the co - operation of many people who retain their individuality by keeping their different patterns.

The term uku - xhentsa (v., also umXhentso, Ukuxhentsa, n.) is known and used by all Cape Nguni, but its meaning differs according to the context in which it is used. Among the older chiefdom clusters (the Xhosa, Thembu, Mpondo, Mpondomise and Bomvana), it is the general term for dance. When people come together to dance or - xhentsa they do so in age groups, e.g. circumcised young men and their girl friends will attend their dance party (intlombe pl. iintlombe) at which the men will do most of the - xhentsa while the girls sing and clap for them.

Likewise older men and unattached women (itshawe pl. amaTshawe) will gather at a specified place for their favourite ' sport ' or ' amusement ' - a special beer drink known as ibhasi or itimiti. As members of an exclusive club they will attend in full tribal dress to while away the next four or five hours in gossip, beer - drinking and a great deal of singing and dancing. The different social groups dance in different ways, one group performing certain steps which are not done by other groups. Some of these dance steps have special names, but all fall into the category of uku - xhentsa.

Uku - xhentsa varies from one performance to another because different sequences of dance patterns, arising from improvisation, are used, but the chief movement in all forms of dancing as done by the older clusters is uku - tyityimba, whereby the dancer ' shakes like a river - reed in the wind '. This term is also used to describe the movement of an assegai or spear when it has been hurled into the ground or at an object, and it quivers along its length. The basis of this muscle - rippling movement, in which the arm and chest muscles and even the spine appear to ripple, is a rapid forward and backward movement of the knee of the leg upon which the dancer is standing, whilst the other knee is poised as a counterweight. Some dancers combine this knee movement with an equally rapid forward - backward shuffle on the ball of the foot. Uku - tyityimba is done mainly by young males, but small boys begin to practice the movement at an early age. Apparently some practice is necessary before one becomes very proficient in performing this movement. A champion dancer (intshatsheli) is one who ' shakes so much that he almost shakes the skin off himself '. Women and girls sometimes shake

(uku - tyibilisa) but the effect is quite different to that achieved by young men: they merely ' cause their breasts to swing about (uku - tywakuzela), and their buttocks to shake (- shukumisa amapundu) '.

The dance of all Cape Nguni diviners is called umxhentso wamaGqirha/weZangoma and has two characteristic movements:

(a) a stamping action with each leg alternately, in which the leg is thrown forward and brought down in an arched manner onto the ball of the foot; this is followed immediately by one or two jerky movements of the ankle and a thudding descent onto the heel; (ii) at the same time the dancer performs - tyibilisa, shaking of parts of the body and muscles already described.

The heel - stamping sends a sharp impulse through the body as though suddenly shaken by an unexpected spasm or an electric shock. A great deal of energy and physical endurance is necessary for performing this dance; it is usually of short duration, the movements of the dancer becoming more violent until a climax is reached and the dancer drops from sheer exhaustion, only to resume the dance after a short interlude. Variations of the dance often occur, e.g. a less energetic form of it, in which the dancer rises on the balls of both feet, then descends heavily onto both heels; while doing so he remains in the same spot but shakes violently. Another understandably less common variation is umxhentso performed on the knees. A Mpondo diviner, Tsiyo Khala, kept this up for twelve minutes, effortlessly and with apparently no pain or discomfort. He attributed this to the fact that he ' had gone away from everything ' while dancing. Another Mpondo diviner, Sithonana Gcorha, also danced in an individual manner at the same seance. He performed what

I describe as a ' half - Russian ' - that is, a stamping movement followed by a kick upward and outward, similar to that done by Russian dancers. Gcorha, however, did not crouch on his haunches. These are merely individual variations of dancers who improvise on the basic dance pattern with its characteristic steps and movements, and in any dance situation one will find as many variations as there are dancers.

Although the Mfengu, Bhaca and Xesibe, and Ntlangwini use the term uku - xhentsa, their general term for ' dance ' is uku - sina, the chief movement of which is an upward and outward kicking of each leg alternately in any direction, depending on the dance being performed, followed by a sturdy stamp. Within the different dance forms performed by these peoples, stamping varies in emphasis, e.g. from the lighter stamping of young girls when performing a dance song (igwabo lokusina), to the energetic side - kick and stamp of women dancing at their work party (isitshongo), and the very heavy stamping of men when dancing indlamu. Among the Bhaca, young men perform this dance with their girls, whose stamping is no less ' bone - shattering ' than that of their boyfriends.

Speaking generally, Cape Nguni dancing consists of muscle - quivering and vigorous movements of various parts of the body thrown into different positions. Dancers will assume certain body attitudes, they will posture and even perform contortions, these latter known as imityulubo. Footwork varies from the gentle toe - heel movements of married women dancing umngqunggo to the violent stamping of indlamu. Dancers achieve rhythmic variations by subtle changes in these footwork patterns. The people themselves distinguish between the dancing

of the ' Cape Tribes Proper ' and that of the ' intrusive tribes '. The words of a noted Mpondo herbalist, James Mthamo, who lives among the Thembu in Engcobo district, reaffirm the general distinction made by the older ' Cape Tribes ':

' We shake much more than those Zulus, who stamp a lot '.
Speaking of his own people the Mpondo, Mthamo said, ' In fact, we stand between the two groups, because we do a lot of both '
(3: 5: 69).

Where does music come from?

(i) Musical talent

An old Tshezi woman remarked, ' Every person is born with the ability (amandla = lit. 'power') to sing and dance, but some people do this better than others '. This point of view is general among the Cape Nguni, and in fact every person can sing and dance well, while many are proficient in playing at least one instrument at one time or other. It also recognizes that some individuals are more skilled in music than others. The reason for this, according to the Cape Nguni, is to be found in the childhood environment of individuals. The Cape Nguni believe that a child born of musically active parents, who practices music often, is more likely to become a skilled musician than a child born of parents who sing and dance only occasionally, as when they attend a beer drink. Thus it is considered likely, though not definite, that a child will inherit his parents' musical skill because he has been born into, and will no doubt be brought up in, a musical environment. Should the reverse happen and a child show no great interest in the musical activities going on about him (I have known of a few cases like

this), people are surprised, but that is all. All the outstanding musicians I met came from families whose members had been recognized as musicians in society for several generations. Such people often spoke of ' music running like blood in their veins '. I recall an occasion on which a noted singer enumerated her forebears who had been great singers and instrumentalists in their day. She added, somewhat derogatorily, ' But it is a strange thing, my one brother had all these ancestors, and he could not sing well at all, and did not bother about it. The only music he listened to was on FM, and he became a policeman, and now he is dead '.

The Cape Nguni do not claim that musical talent is inherited genetically; they believe that it is inherited socially, in that a person's musicianship develops because of social factors. When such a person automatically assumes the role of song leader (umhlabeli/umkhokeli entlabelweni) or dance leader (umkhokeli emxhentsweni), he is really doing what everyone expects him to do - taking his rightful place in a musical situation. Time and again I have attended beer drinks and other events, and had to wait until the acknowledged ' champion ' (intshatsheli) arrives before being able to record any music. People will not sing until their champion is present to lead them.

Sometimes a person's exceptional musical talent is ascribed to her mother's milk, e.g. ' Yes, that girl, she can hardly hear anything, her ears are bad. But she is the champion umrhubhe player in the district; she sucked music from her mother's breast '. The girl in question was a young Hala girl, by name Nozimbo Xuza, who is indeed very hard of hearing; when speaking to her one had to speak slowly and distinctly, and not

too loudly. When I met her she was considered to be one of the three outstanding umrhubhe players in the district.²¹ I learnt that several members of her family gave a great deal of their spare time to singing and dancing. Nozimbo loved to play umrhubhe. She had made her own instrument and had a large number of songs to her credit. (See Plate 22 on p. 782). The fact that she was partially deaf made no difference since she said that tones were clearer than words. This was one reason why she found my Xhosa so incomprehensible; my speech intonation was atrocious, whereas the correct intonation of her friends made it easy to understand words. ' The words are not necessary but their sounds are', explained her mother. Nozimbo's skill came from watching her mother and older sisters, from imitating them, being shown where she went wrong, and always practice, practice and more practice. Most skilled musicians, particularly instrumentalists, give much time to practice. Even vocal groups, spontaneously formed at beer drinks, or at bus halts, prefer to have a ' warming - up ' song before being recorded.

Nozimbo's deafness in no way lent any glamour to her musicianship, for people admired her for her playing, and not for the fact that she played well in spite of her deafness. When I first met her I found it hard to believe that she was partially deaf; I realized this only when I battled to make myself understood while talking to her.

The comment quoted earlier referring to Nozimbo's source of musical talent, and which I heard frequently elsewhere and in different contexts, led to my asking whether every good musician receives his/her musicality from the mother. I asked

this wherever I went and always received the same sort of reply: ' Well, don't you see that it is the women who do all the clapping and singing for us? ' This is true, since with very few exceptions, dancing is accompanied by singing and clapping, which is done by women and/ or girls. The men sometimes join in the singing, but prefer to leave it to the women and to dance instead, or, as my guide once remarked, ' To prop up the cattle - kraal wall '.

This remark is justified at festivities marking the initiation of girls, which is ' women's business (indaba yabafazi)' as the women themselves will tell you. When women perform the stately and spectacular umngqungqo dance, the men are usually seated against the cattle - byre wall watching and taking occasional sips of beer. But ' mixed ' dancing does take place in the initiates' hut and it usually continues all night long and is heard by the initiate(s) behind the reed - or blanket - screen in the hut. Here and on all occasions of music in which both sexes participate, it is the women who provide the clapping and almost all the singing. The men occasionally join in, but their contribution consists for the most part of vocal sounds that accompany their dancing, which in turn is often exhibitionistic.

Girls and boys dance alone too, each having their own ' amusements '. When they combine, however, the girls sing and clap, and dance to some extent, while the boys ' sing ' and dance similarly to the men as I have described. The Bhaca are the exception: they do not segregate the sexes, and the characteristic dance of Bhaca young men is also danced by their girl - friends.²²

Girls especially are in constant close association with women

do not practice, however). They do not appear to attach any idea of work to practising music as we do. ' If you like a thing, and want to be good at it, you do it whenever you can, so what is there of hard work in that? ' (James Mthamo).

There are musical families among the Cape Nguni, although none to equal the Bach family who remain unrivalled and unparalleled in western - european musical history. Benjamin Tyamzashe, the Xhosa national composer, came from a musical family (cf. Hansen 1968 A & B).²³ His tribal forebears were ' all people of music '. They were the recognized abahlabili in their society. All Tyamzashe's children are talented in some form of music - making, notably singing and playing musical instruments. All are very good musicians although they do not earn a living through music, but none have attained the status of their father Benjamin, who came to be known as the Grand Old Man of Xhosa Music.

(ii) Twins and musical talent

Being a twin was an important factor in my fieldwork rapport. It stimulated the peoples' interest in my research, and enabled me to learn some beliefs and opinions about the musical potential of twins and their role in society.

The ambivalent attitude which the Zulu apparently have towards twins (Krige 1936: 76) also exists among the Xhosa, Thembu, Mpondo and Xesibe, who maintain that twins are usually ' good at singing and dancing and making songs ', though otherwise rather lacking in intelligence. This notion does not mean that there is necessarily a connection between being a twin and being biologically predisposed to music specifically. It suggests

that because twins are an unusual biological occurrence, they should have a special social role. Hence the exceptional musicality of twins, which is born out by the fact that twins are among the people who sing and play well and compose songs in their society.

Furthermore, the belief that twins do not have brains but are very good at music seems to equate musical skill with lack of intelligence. This is not at all extraordinary since the history of western music has revealed time and again that great artists (singers and instrumentalists) have not always been regarded as intellectuals. Many informants stated that the musicality of twins is supported by the great number of good musicians who are (or were) twins. They would reel off lots of names which meant nothing to me but which drew assenting nods and grunts from people sitting about us. They maintained that most of the twins they knew became good singers and dancers because, being twins, they were expected to have some musical talent, and their relatives and friends encouraged them to realize its development. Two headmen who were twins and the cousins of an important chief were good enough to discuss the musical capacities of twins. Both were considered to be good musicians, and they told me that they had developed their talent not only because they loved music, but also because their social status demanded that they be able to perform well. When important persons attend beer parties they are usually expected to lead at least one dance. Should such persons be unable to give a good performance, they would be a disgrace to themselves and their families. ' Everyone should be able to sing and dance well, but persons of rank should be very good at it ' (Basindlovu Mtirharha, 7: 8: 69).

Another belief about twins is that they are thought to be very lucky; in support of this statement, informants frequently drew my attention to some accidents I had had, which could have been serious, and to similar 'close shaves' of other twins they knew. I shall briefly relate two incidents which touch on this belief in twins' musical skill and lack of brains.

During my fieldwork among the Thembu of Cacadu district, I acquired several specimens of the Xhosa mouth bow umrhubhe, which is normally played by young girls for their own and others amusement, and at the stick - fights of their boyfriends. I wished to learn to play it, and asked two women who were known to be expert players, to teach me. One was a Gcaleka woman married to a Thembu, and the other was a Thembu woman of the Gcina tribe. Both were willing to teach me; I think they were amazed and intrigued at my wish to learn. The three of us battled for a week, and at its end I could not resonate even one harmonic though I could produce two fundamental tones by bowing the 'open', and then the stopped string, a simple enough procedure. They put my mouth and jaw into the correct position with their hands, gave me detailed instructions as to breathing, and mouthing certain vowel sounds (ow - aw) while bowing the string.²⁴ I tried several imirhubhe but it was hopeless. I had to give up, and my teachers, who could not understand my inability to play the instrument, attributed it to my lack of, or need for, understanding (uswel' ingqondo), which was understandable because I was a twin. Both persisted in this verdict, even though I reminded them that they had often admired my playing of the harmonium in the church nearby.

Some months later, in another district, I spoke to a middle - aged woman, a noted song leader, whom I met at a ' bar ' (potsoyi = Thembu)²⁵ and who, with her friends, had sung some beer songs for me. When I played the recordings back to them they were delighted and sang along with the tape. The song leader indicated that I should sing too, which I did most reluctantly, as I find it difficult to sustain notes because of a physical impediment in the throat. Afterwards the woman said she had heard I could make music with my hands, and asked whether this was so. I had with me a tape - recording of some piano works I had played, which I took wherever I went, and which I found to be a good conversation - starter. It always aroused the interest of the people who had sung for me, and was a means of avoiding singing to them, which they always asked me to do. I played the tape for the women who listened through to the end without comment. Afterwards the song leader lit her pipe and said, ' Yes, although you sing so badly with your voice, you sing well with your hands. It would be surprising to find a twin who was not good at music '.

Her remarks were so unexpected that I was speechless for a while. I then told her that my twin sister had no interest in making music, only in dancing, at which she is considered to be very good. The song leader stared at me and then said, as though surprised, ' But it is the same thing ' - which of course it is. This remark reinforces the statement I made at the beginning of this chapter about the intimate relationship between singing and dancing. Both are movements of the body which generate music, and a good musician worthy of the name

is one who excels in both.

A final word about twins. They are regarded with great fear and abhorrence by the Qwathi (Broster 1967: ch. 10; Krige 1936: 75), a group which fled from the south of Natal during Shaka's wars of conquest and became tributary to the Thembu Paramount Chief. They are nevertheless sometimes referred to in music, as for example in the following - tsholoza song sung by married women when they perform their umngqungqo dance during the celebrations accompanying girls' initiation (intonjane) :

Ho ndahlazeka, ndahlazeka,

Hothi bantwana bam babini,

Ezintsana zam zinzima,

Hayi, ndahlazeka.
ngabantwana bam.

Oh! I am a disgrace, I am
a disgrace,
Oh dear! these children of
mine are two,
These babies of mine are
heavy (i.e. a problem),
Oh no! I am a disgrace
because of my children.

One Qwathi informant told me that the words of the song are an indirect appeal to the ancestors to ensure that girl initiates, when they should come to have children, should not produce twins. In many Xhosa songs, undesirable future events which are possible are often spoken of in the present tense, as having taken place, in the hopes that they will not take place.

(iii) The ultimate origins of music

There appear to be no general beliefs concerning the ultimate origins of music. My attempts to ascertain any were invariably met with (a) baffled looks from the people I spoke to, who were at first unable to understand what I wanted, or (b) a counter - question, ' What music? ', by which they understood me to mean the origins of specific songs. Most professing Christians attributed music to God (uThixo), while some agnostics said

that they did not know. The tribal people, who finally came to understand that I meant the beginnings of all music, attributed it to human beings. To them, music is a purely human phenomenon, something which ' people have done ever since they were created '.

(iv) The origins of individual songs

Much more information was obtained concerning the origins of specific songs, because so many people were able and willing to talk about them. ' Any music composition is ultimately the production of the mind of the individual or a group of individuals ' (Merriam 1967: 165). Among the Cape Nguni, the majority of songs are said to have been composed by certain individuals rather than by groups. Since such songs inevitably become known through oral transmission, and are the property of the group rather than any one individual, it is not surprising that the composers of many songs are unknown.

The source of any song (where it comes from) is of course closely connected with the composer and his process of composition. In order to find out how some composers composed their songs, I made the acquaintance of many people who were considered to be ' big ' (- khulu) composers. Many of these were diviners, others were wives, grandmothers, a herbalist, and school teachers. Only one man earned a small income from his music, some of which he had composed himself. This was a blind accordion player who performed at the Umtata bus depot. His music never failed to draw a large crowd of people, which included many who were not at the depot to catch a bus.

All these people were very willing to talk about their own

techniques of composition, and about musical creativity in general. They were explicit in their explanations and referred to their own songs when illustrating any points they made.

Musical composition is recognized as a distinct process. Known as uku - gamba (v.), it is ' the way in which a person makes up a new song in his head, and such a person who does a lot of this is called umqambi; even if he borrows (- boleka) from an old song to make a new one (ingom' entsha)'.

The correct, technical term for an umqambi's composition is umqambo, but in fact this word is rarely used, and then only in connection with ' foreign ' dance songs of known tribal origin but of unknown authorship. An example of this is a certain quick - tempo Mpondo divination dance song which was introduced to the Thembu people by Mpondo diviners who came to live and work among them. Called umqambo wamaMpondo, it is sung towards the end of a seance, and its words comment on the diviner's recent action (cf. ch. 7 : 591-2).

The common term for a composition is of course ingoma. The non - literate tribal composer is distinguished from his educated counterpart by being called umqambi wengoma, while the latter is umbhali wengoma, because ' he writes his songs down on paper '. This distinction, which is made mostly by educated Africans who write their songs in tonic solfa notation (it is at present the only more easily available system of notation), is similar to the distinction found in Scotland, Ireland etc., between ' note - men ' (who learn from notes) and ' ear - men ' among traditional musicians. Informants were quick to point out that umbhali is an inadequate term

(some also said it was a stupid one) because ' both make up songs, so both are umqambi ' (abaqambi).

Information collected has led me to conclude that there are three main sources from which composers are considered to draw their musical ideas for their songs, all being closely linked up with the composers and their processes of composition:

- (i) Emotional situations and events, and the composer's reaction to them, often trigger off songs. This is in fact the most common way in which a song arises.
- (ii) Borrowing (uku - boleka) is a fairly common source of new songs. In most cases the composer has borrowed material from a particular song for a very special reason. His song is directed toward specific ends, and the borrowed material has a lot to do with them.
- (iii) A song is composed through a supernatural experience, e.g. a dream. A song can derive from a combination of these three potential sources, e.g. a song from (i) can contain borrowed thematic material, while very often the music one dreams of is related to some incident which occurred in life. ' Dreamt ' songs are very common to diviners and their novices/ initiates, which is not surprising, as these people apparently dream a lot. A novice diviner (umkhwetha) spends much of her training period, during which she is said to be ' sick uku - thwasa ', in dancing and confessing dreams. In these the song is taught to the sleeper by a shade or spirit of an old and/or deceased relative, who sometimes ' looks as she was when alive ' or ' comes as ityala ' - i.e. takes the form of a wild animal. (The ancestral shades of the Bhaca never appear as amatyala).

Details of songs referred to in (i)

The following are the remarks of different composers whose songs are a direct result of their reaction to events which greatly affected them.

(a) ' Something is going to happen to me, to my people, and we do not want it to happen. I made a song about it, and I sing it wherever I go. I have sung it many times, even when the whites have been around. They cannot get cross because I am singing a song. Anyway, how many will understand me? But the Bantsundu (Brown People), they know what they want ' (James Mthamo).

(b) ' A terrible thing happened to me, so terrible I could not speak about it. I wanted to go away for shame, but I was innocent, and I said so in these songs. If people will not listen to you when you speak, they will always listen when you sing, because the ears always catch a song ' (Nomisile Dungulu).

(c) ' We got a bit tired of giving so many cattle, but we could not tell him (the Chief) to his face. So we made a song about it; after all, you cannot get angry with a song. But he knew what we meant and took notice ' (Leader of Xesibe iindlavini group).

(a) These are James Mthamo's comments on his ' protest song ' (ingoma yokuchasa) entitled ' Oh! the Mpondo do not want self - government (Ah! amaMpondo akamfun' uMaziphathe ').

A herbalist by profession, Mr Mthamo has an intense love of music, and his creative vitality in this field is evident from the numerous songs he has composed, and because of which he is called umqambi oekhulu (' big, great composer ').

He was born in about 1925 in Mpisi administrative area 22, Bizana district, and has travelled fairly extensively in and beyond the Transkei. A successful herbalist, his social prestige rests on his skill in diagnosing and curing sickness

rather than on his musical ability. Although he now lives among the Thembu, he is called inyanga, a term used in Pondoland for both diviner and herbalist. He is a member of the South African Herbalists Association and has a certificate, issued at East London. He is reputed to be an excellent praiser (imbongi) as well, and whenever he performs he receives payment. Many of his songs have passages in uku - bonga style. He seems to have a capacity for making up a song about almost anything, and the subject matter of his songs ranges from the army to marital infidelity!

When I first met Mr Mthamo (in June 1969), self - govern - ment, rehabilitation and Jabulani beer were the subjects of many hot and acrimonious debates which inevitably took place at feasts (imigidi) and beer drinks, and wherever large numbers of people gathered together. They were also the subjects of hastily convened meetings which were invariably disrupted by the police (if they got to hear of them). Mthamo's opposition to self - government is abundantly present in his ' protest song '. Its form, with its statements and shouted agreements, recalls the uku - vumisa method of ' smelling out ' employed by diviners at their seances. Mthamo has used it with great effect here. The constant reiteration of the words in the title, always followed by " Ah! vuma! awuvume!" (' Agree! you all agree! ') makes this song what its composer intended it to be - a rallying call. It always has a startling effect on listeners, and arouses a greater awareness and comprehension of an existing situation in their minds. Even more, it brings to the fore hitherto suppressed doubts and apprehensions. It is Mthamo's most successful song. The last verse, which refers to

an illegal meeting which had been broken up by the police, was recorded many weeks after the first four verses, because Mthamo was uncertain at that time as to whether or not I would be offended by the political allusions and accent imitations of the police which he makes when singing! (Ex.No. 2 on Tape 1a; text on p. 86).

(b) The ' terrible thing ' referred to by the speaker, a Qwathi woman, was a suspicion of witchcraft, directed against her by her husband's relatives. She was thought to have caused the death of a number of people (including children) who were struck by lightning. Her familiar, izulu (cf. Hurter 1936: 282) helped her to bring this about. Although innocent, she found life unbearable with her in - laws, and wanted nothing but to return to her own people. To add to her misfortune, she had no cattle with which to replace her bride - price. Her in - laws, on hearing (through the songs) that she wanted to go away, turned on her and accused her of wanting to go for nefarious reasons. She composed three songs in sorrow, and through them was able to establish her innocence with other people, if not with her in - laws. The songs are (i) ' Oh! you want to go away (Ho! ufun' ukuhamba '), (ii) ' By means of her izulu (Ngezulu lakhe), referring to the death of several persons by lightning, supposedly caused by the singer and her familiar, and (iii) ' Nomyalelo ' (name of a woman, in this context one who has been directed to do something by force). These songs are the ' personal ' songs (igwijo pl. amagwijo) of the singer (cf. ch. 3: 98ss).

(c) The song referred to here is ' Go Senyukele, our cattle are diseased (Hamba Senyukele, iinkomo zinenyongo '), a

March song which Xesibe iindlavini (young men who have returned from the mines) sing when going to their dance party (umtshotsho pl. imitshotsho), and to weddings.

Senyukele Jojo is a young chief of the same age as the young men. A short time before I recorded this song, the tribe had had to pay lobola (bride - price) for the chief's young bride, as is the custom, ' so that the tribe have a claim on their future chief, the heir yet to be born '. The older men (amadoda) fix the bride - price. Although these young men objected to it, saying it was too high, they had to pay up as they could not refuse the chief. They nevertheless voiced their objections in this song, which, they assured me, they would never sing to the chief's face, as they would be heavily fined by his councillors. It is quite in order, however, to ' sing and scandal about an ordinary person, like that Mpondo man who fell in love with a Christian white woman '.

Details of songs referred to in (ii)

Some general opinions about ' making new songs from older ones ' are expressed in the following comment:

- (a) ' One can take a song, its tune rather, and some of its words, because our songs do not have many fixed words anyway. Dress it up, give it a new 'beat', and you have a new song ' (Mrs Mguqulwa Novenge).
- (b) ' It is well known that composers borrow from older music when composing. You have this in your music as well. Of course, they do not do it continually, otherwise people will think that they have nothing original to offer. Radio Bantu people frequently go into the tribal areas and collect songs which they then give new arrangements ' (Sigidimi Xundu).
- (c) ' I took the words of a very old Bhaca song to make this song of mine. I chose it especially, because it is a very important song of the old people. So the white bosses knew we were not playing when we sang it to them. We meant business. Well, we got a rise in our pay ' (James Mthamo).

(a) This was the reply given me by Mrs Mguqulwa Novenge, in answer to my question about the origins of a particular song, - uMagwaza - which I recorded at her home in Bala administrative area, Lusikisiki district. uMagwaza (name of a person) is a Mpondo divination song which was borrowed from the Xhosa and Thembu who have had the original (uSomagwaza) for generations as their ritual song of circumcision. The Mpondo song retains both the words and melody of the older song, but it is sung at a faster tempo and is accompanied by the characteristic drum rhythm of seance music.

(b) The speaker is a school teacher and choir master who has composed several choral songs. Many of the arrangements he refers to are available on records which have been released by the South African Broadcasting Corporation.

(c) With these words Mthamo briefly describes the composition of his ' Strike ' or War song (ingoma yempi) entitled Watsha umnga, Mpisi, (' The mimosa tree is burning, Mpisi ').

It was composed as part of an attempt to secure a payrise for workers at a certain factory in Pondoland. In the song Mthamo has set the words of a very old and sacred Bhaca ingcubhe (First Fruits) song (cf. Hammond - Tooke 1962: 184) to his own emphatic march - like tune.²⁶ His use of the older song (which I recorded a year later in KwaBhaca), was deliberate; he modified its words ("Watsha umGambezi") to suit the nature and purpose of his own song. As he said, ' The whites knew of this old Bhaca song, and they knew how we people honour it. So they knew when we sang it this way that we were serious, we meant business '. The text of Mthamo's song is short, consisting

of the words in the title and a short refrain: "sotsho sonke" (' So say we all '). Mpisi is the name of the tribe to which the workers (including Mthamo) belong. According to Mthamo, the men marched to work in phalanx formation singing the song, stamping their feet on the ground and stabbing the air with their knobbed sticks as they did so. All carried shields. The song is a warning to the white bosses, that if they do not extinguish the burning tree, they will soon have a forest fire on their hands, i.e. if they do not listen to the workers' demands for a rise in wages, they will have the entire working force at the factory refusing to work, and possibly resorting to violence, destruction of property and the like.

Details of songs referred to in (iii)

(a) ' This song was taught to me by an ithongo; it was my grandmother, who sang it when I was sleeping ' (Nokuzola Rhilityani, novice diviner).

(b) ' As you know, I was in trouble; this court case was hanging over me, and I was worried. I had a dream, and in it I was trying to stay afloat in deep water. The waves were very high and I battled to keep up, waving my arms about and swallowing lots of water. I cannot swim. Just when I thought I was going to drown, I saw Our Lord, Our Lady and St Joseph appear before me on the water; they were standing and walking on it. Our Lady stretched out her arms towards me and began to sing, and the others joined in. As they sang, I kept up my arm movements in time to the music. That is why I do these whenever I sing this song; they are a necessary part of it. I was very tired when I woke up ' (Mveni Walter Makiki).

(a) ithongo pl. amathongo (also isi(um)nyanya pl. izi(imi) - nyanya) are the ancestral spirits of the Cape Nguni (cf.

Hammond - Tooke (ed) 1974: 325). Only very old people become amathongo when they die, although a very old person can be ithongo while still alive, and can demand a sacrifice. It seems that there is no definite idea about what happens to children and young people after death (Hunter 1936: 231).

According to Nokuzola, her deceased grandmother, who in life had been a diviner (igqirha pl. amagqirha), appeared before her in a dream and sang the song to her, clapping her hands as she did so to give the rhythm. Nokuzola was aware of the voices of unseen people who sang the chorus part, and of the beating of a drum. The song was quite unknown to Nokuzola, although people in neighbouring districts knew it. The song is known as (i) amaLinga (' Trials/ Endeavours '), or (ii) Nomalinga (' Daughter of trials '), and its text, which is full of allusions and hidden meanings, bears a message for Nokuzola from her ithongo grandmother urging her to ' make all trials ' and do everything she can to cure her trouble (inkhathazo) which may manifest itself as fainting fits, nose - bleeds, vomiting and even severe illness.

The Cape Nguni have enormous faith in dreams, as it is through them that the ancestral shades communicate with their living descendants; a vivid dream, no matter how extraordinary, is always believed to be capable of a rational explanation. AmaLinga is Nokuzola's favourite song, and one which is sung at every seance she attends. It is always sung by diviners especially for initiates who are undergoing training, for it is believed that the music may at least ease their ' troubles '. For these there is really only one cure - initiation as a fully - fledged diviner. To Nokuzola, the song is a substantial indication of the ancestral shades' interest in, and concern for, her well - being, and therefore an assurance of her success in her future occupation.

(b) The composer of this song is a convert to Catholicism, and a former teacher and catechist. According to him, his

song is yet another musical proof that dreams are intimately interwoven with daily life and are often under their influence. He insists that the arm actions are an essential part of the song, even though they make the singer so breathless that he can barely sing at all. He has composed many songs, and of the eight which he permitted me to record, four had ' come to (him) in a dream '.

The Marching songs (iingoma zokuhamba) which identify the various social groups and many of which are called amagwijo (their words express and emphasize group sentiments and loyalty), are often the result of group composition. At any rate, the members of these groups insist that everyone collaborated in making their ' signature tunes '. What happens is that, when marching to or from a social event, one member of the group (it may be anyone, but is usually the song manager or song leader which every group has) starts up a melody on any theme. The other group members then fall in with the chorus, and thus the song pattern is established. The rhythm and tempo of the song derive from the rhythm and tempo of the marching men and/or women. Amagwijo and ordinary Marching songs are always topical, and when the subject matter becomes out - of - date, new songs are composed. Words change, while the style and at least the basic patterns of the songs remain the same, as is the case with all the different types of Xhosa songs.

Examples of amagwijo are : Ho! asinankosi thina apha (' We have no chief here '), the March song of an umtshotsho group of Mgwali administrative area (Deberha), in Engcobo district; and uTel' uyeza (' We men of Tela are coming '), Marching song of Xesibe young men (iindlavini) of Xama

administrative area, in MaXesibeni district.

Transcriptions of some of the Marching songs appear in chapter 7:453-7, where the different categories of music are discussed (cf. also ch.8: 706-8 for additional transcription).

(v) The musician

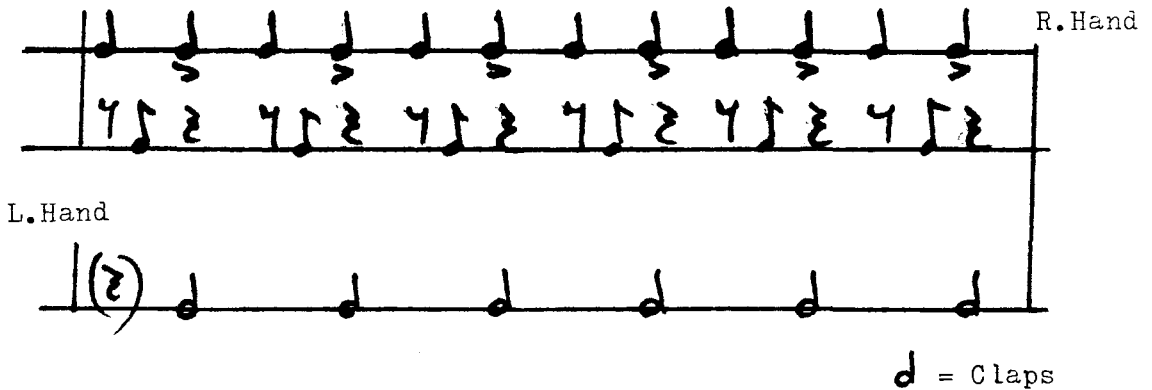
In a society in which everyone is competent in music, a musician is a person who is considered to have applied himself to music more than others. Such a person is accomplished in several musical roles: is an exceptionally good singer and dancer, plays at least one instrument very well, knows many songs and composes original ones.

A musician is named according to the musical role in which he/she excels. (All that follows applies to female musicians as well, but I will refer to males to avoid redundancy). If his forte is singing he is called invumi; if it is dancing, umxhentsi; and if he is a prolific composer, he is called umqambi. A skilled instrumentalist is also called invumi because he usually plays his instrument when accompanying his own singing and/or the singing of others. A ' musician ' seldom (if ever) assumes the role of drummer (umbethi) in musical performances requiring one, e.g. the diviner's seance, at which the European - type drum (igubu) is employed, and the music associated with the initiation of boys, which traditionally featured a rudimentary ' drum ' (ingqongqo), a stretched ox - hide beaten with sticks, but which today is accompanied by an easily available substitute such as a piece of sail - cloth, or a cardboard box. The characteristic drum

rhythm of divination music is easily learnt, being:

Figure 2.

$\text{♩} = 144$



and it is played by any member of the diviner's party who wishes to do so, and who is able to retain a metronomic tempo for some length of time. Women and boys often play the drum(s), men temporarily replacing them when they are unable to play for some reason or other. The basic rhythm of circumcision music is even more simple to play:

Figure 3.

$\text{♩} = 56 - 59$



It is played by a group of women ranging in number from eight to twelve, who beat the ' drum ' with sticks. The tempo is slow, and as one woman said, ' We do not have to think, we just

follow the song leader ', - who sets the pace.

Outstanding musicians are distinguished from the musicians of ' common ' rank by having the adjective - khulu (' great ') added to their music title; thus an outstanding dancer is called umxhentsi omkhulu, and so on. A vague designation often encountered in books on western european music history, ' great composer ' is not a superficial judgement among the Cape Nguni. It is a title of eminence and one which is not casually accorded to anyone by the public. The number of great musicians is small. A more recent innovation is the appellation umqambi wesizwe (' composer of the nation '), a title which only one person may hold at any one time. Benjamin Tyamzashe was the national composer of the Xhosa, and the first person to be so called. He was also referred to by the Press as umqambi wodumo (' famous, renowned composer ') for his songs are known and sung all over the Republic of South Africa by Blacks belonging to the various ethnic groups.²⁷

Musicians are recognized by the public as musicians, and accepted as such. Although greatly appreciated, they are not celebrated for their musicianship. Tyamzashe was the exception; he was celebrated by the Xhosa people at a function held in Zwelitsha, near King William's Town, Ciskei, in 1970, where he was presented with an illuminated address.

Like other members of their society, musicians are occupied with the same urgent necessities of life, and normally perform the same work done by others of their age and sex. The chief exponents of the traditional instruments, uhadi and umrhubhe, which are still fairly popular today, have always been women and girls.²⁸

Men and boys favour the guitar (isigingci, ikatala),
 accordion (ikhodiyani) and concertina (ikostina, ikonsatina).
 These have become very popular, largely because their price
 makes them easily available, and they are easy to play
 ' because we can play our music on them ' (i.e. traditional
 harmonies can be produced on them), and because one can
 ' make a big sound with them '. All the instrumentalists I
 met were non - literate, and claimed to have been self - taught,
 though a little probing revealed that all had been given some
 sort of instruction by talented persons, friends or relatives
 at one time or other.

A musician sometimes has a profession which brings him
 an income, e.g. the diviner, the herbalist (most of whom
 cannot read or write), the praiser (imbongi), who may be
 literate or non - literate, and the teacher, clergyman,
 lawyer, businessman and others, all of whom are educated.
 Although acknowledged as musicians, their social prestige
 rests on their professional occupation and not on their
 musicianship; this can only enhance their already prominent
 status in society. With these people, music is a hobby, even
 a necessity. ' They are musical professionals, and not
 professional musicians '. In fact there are no professional
 musicians in Cape Nguni society, nor are they considered to be
 specialists. They receive little economic reward, if any at all,
 for their music. The tribal musician especially relies on the
 goodwill and generosity of his listeners for financial reward,
 and many of them are unable to give him anything even if they
 wished to. He is the one person who makes music for the love
 of it, and if he does not receive any money for his music, he

will always be given food and drink for it.

The diviner, the herbalist, and other professionals referred to above, all of whom have had to undergo a period of training or studying, receive payment for the work they do. Some of them, particularly the school teachers, are part - time composers who compose songs in neo - African style (that is, strongly influenced by the rhythms of European church hymns, and jazz). They write these down in tonic solfa and, if they can, sell them to various educational institutions, Church Guilds, choral groups and clubs, and Radio Bantu, in an attempt to increase their incomes. The songs are roneo'd onto sheets of paper, the expenses of which the composer has to meet, and sold for a small sum - about 20c - 30c a sheet. Thus the income from the songs seldom covers the expenses incurred in having had them prepared for distribution. A few composers are occasionally employed by European clergymen to write music suitable for African church worship, and those who find the time to fulfil their commitments, do quite well financially.

Music is of great importance to the diviner (igqirha pl. amagqirha, isangoma pl. izangoma/itangoma = Bhaca), and skill in singing and dancing is a prerequisite for his office. Frequent dancing is necessary for the curing of ukuthwasa, (' sickness ') during the initiatory period of the novice diviner and he will try to dance as often as he can. He may perform the ' solo ' dance (umxhentso) once or twice a day in the hut, during which he will confess his dreams (ukulawul' amaphupha), and his diviner will arrange ' dancing sessions ' for him as often as possible (Hunter 1936: 325). These are

called ' seances ' (intlombe pl. iintlombe) and are attended by the diviner and his entire group, as well as any persons who wish to attend and are able to find a place in the hut. (Intlombe means literally ' a song and dance party ' ; when held by a diviner it is called a ' seance ', and it is always held indoors and at night, except on the day when an initiate diviner ' comes out ' (uku - phuma) as a fully - fledged diviner. Then it is held out of doors, and in the daytime). The main objective is to procure a sufficient number of people to - ombela (sing, clap and drum) for the novice diviner's dancing. These seances are therapeutically valuable and beneficial to the novice diviner; in them, the nervousness, hysteria and other salient features of his disposition are said to be enhanced and conditioned by the music. By giving full reign to these, and by ' dancing his legs off ', the novice gradually ' gets them out of his system ' and is cured of his ' sickness '. Music is essential to the ritualistic procedures of the diviner, particularly those concerned with the diagnosing of illnesses and the identification of witches (uku - nuka = smelling out), and at the ' coming out ' ceremony (umphumo) of a novice diviner. It is a means of communicating with the ancestral shades who are said to love it (umdlalo = game, amusement) ' just as they did when they were living '.

Most diviners compose their own songs, some of which they keep for themselves and their group, while others become known to the public and finally become part of the tribal heritage. Diviners are also responsible for the foreign songs which are incorporated into the tribal repertoire. The Mecca of all

diviners seems to be Johannesburg (eGoli), and many whom I met told me that they had ' gone there to learn from the great Zulu and Sotho doctors '. Apart from extending their knowledge, they also added to their repertoire of songs, Zulu and Sotho divination songs being brought back, changed slightly to suit their new context, and finally becoming genuine Xhosa divination songs. I have a few recordings of such songs, the Zulu and Sotho words of which have been entirely eliminated.

The semiprofessional musicians in Cape Nguni society are the itinerant singers whose chief instruments are the accordion, concertina and guitar. Always men, some of them are music - loving professionals whose work necessitates a great deal of travelling about, but allows them sufficient time to devote to their music, e.g. herbalists. Indeed, I was astonished at the number of wandering minstrels who are herbalists. They compose their own songs, which they sing to the public while accompanying themselves on one of the above - mentioned instruments, thereby supplementing their incomes which proceed from their professions. Other travelling musicians are men who have fulfilled labour contracts on the mines or elsewhere, and have returned home with their wages for a few months ' holiday '. They go about from town to town singing and playing and interesting people in their music, from which they derive a small income and/or food and drink. These wandering musicians, who resemble the jongleurs of thirteenth and fourteenth century Europe, rely solely on the generosity of their audiences for any economic reward. They also rely on the generosity of ' outsiders like you, who

want to catch their voices with that box ' - comment from the crowd when I was recording one of these singers.

I met seven travelling musicians (umhambi wengoma pl. abahambi bengoma/bazingoma) during my fieldwork, but was able to record the music of only three of them who, according to information received in October 1977, were still active in Transkei. They are (i) James Mthamo (isiduko Mpinge), a Mpondo herbalist whom I have mentioned several times, (ii) Barnabas Mhleli (isiduko Rhadebe), a Xesibe herbalist living in MaXesibeni district, Transkei, and (iii) Tsutsu Ndokala (isiduko Ntshela), a blind Gcaleka musician whose home is in Gatyana district in Transkei. I shall discuss the two herbalists first.

Mthamo is some years older than Mhleli, and both men had a large number of patients, many of whom lived in various parts of Transkei. Mthamo played the concertina. Mhleli the guitar, and both took their instruments with them when visiting their patients, and wherever else they went. Their instruments were as much a part of their equipment as were their medicine sacks.

Considered to be outstanding musicians, they were called imvumi and umqambi omkhulu alternately in their non-professional capacities. As doctors they were referred to as inyanga, the Zulu and Bhaca term for a herbalist (Hammond - Tooke (ed) 1974: 342). A headman described Mthamo and Mhleli with these words: ' They sow pleasure wherever they go. Not only do they heal peoples' bodies, they also heal their hearts '. (By this he meant that they raised the spirits of people who were down-hearted). Their popularity was attested by the crowds which

gathered when they appeared. Although they did not seem to have any difficulty in attracting an audience, which was indispensable to them, they did make a point of visiting trading stores and eating houses where they would be assured of a crowd with money to spend. Not only did they entertain the crowd with their music, they also regaled them with the latest news, rumour, gossip, etc., which they had heard during their travels and I heard them referred to as ' ama-effemm (FM radios) because of this.

Both Mthamo and Mhleli sing about anything which catches their fancy, stirs the emotions and (most important), is likely to interest their public. Whatever they sing about, be it the prevailing social conditions and what should or should not be done about them, or the difficulties arising from personal relationships, they always emphasize the humorous side of the situation. The principal effect sought for, and achieved, in their music, is laughter. Each singer displays his originality by his angle of approach to a subject. Thus while Mthamo attributes deception in marriage to human frailty (and bemoans the loss of cattle which is involved), Mhleli attributes it to something more insidious - witchcraft.

The language of their songs is often allusive and full of hidden meanings, but since they composed their songs for members of their own society, all of whom share a system of ideas and beliefs and habits, most details of their songs, however individual or personal, are understood by their audience as they mean them to be understood. Their listeners usually know the background of a song and can follow it with -

out difficulty. Mthamo sometimes gets his audience to join in a song by providing it with a short ostinato refrain, which he gets them to take up with a nod of his head. Both he and Mhleli like to include izibongo (praises) passages in their songs. These are stylistic constructive factors in the songs, and are declaimed verbatim every time these songs are sung.

Mthamo's most popular song is his ' protest song ', which I discussed earlier on (pp. 59ss). Mhleli's ' best song ', according to the people living about him, is the one on which he has captured a complete, unbroken impression of a moment in nature. It is a ' short ' song, the main words of which constitute its title:

<u>Iyo amathunz' amnyama,</u>	Hallo! Darkness approaches,
<u>Sizofika nini?</u>	When shall we arrive?
<u>Kulezo 'ntaba, amathunz'</u>	At those mountains, darkness
<u>amnyama,</u>	prevails,
<u>Yiqhube 'mfana, amathunz'</u>	Drive fast, boy, darkness
<u>amnyama.</u>	approaches. (trans. Rose Jakuja).

The song is greatly liked for its tune, for its words ' and the way in which Mhleli sings it '. A woman who had watched me recording the song gave her reason for liking it; I quote her words: ' If you have ever seen a storm coming over Intsizwa, or if you have been in such a storm, you will know what he means. We, who live in the shadow of Intsizwa, fear these storms and make sure we are indoors before they break '. The word ' darkness ' (amathunz' amnyama, literally ' black shadows ') refers to storm clouds. This woman's words recalled a trip to Grahamstown some five years before, when I was forced to stop my car and sit on its floor with my hands

over my ears while a dreadful storm raged outside. This occurred along the main road running alongside the Intsizwa forest, located between the villages of Mount Ayliff and Mount Frere. It was one of the worst storms I had ever experienced, and my Volkswagen Beetle was all but turned over by the gale - force winds. (Song = Ex. No. 3: Tape 1a); (cf. Plates 12, 13 & 14: 779, showing the three Cape Nguni musicians under discussion).

Much less common (even rare) is the travelling musician whose daily bread and occupation is music, yet I met just such a person, Tsutsu Ndokala, blind singer and accordion player. Tsutsu Ndokala was more widely known than Mthamo and Mhleli, who were called by their last names. Blind from birth, he was known as Tsutsu throughout Transkei and parts of the Ciskei. He taught himself to play the accordion when a young boy, with the assistance of a friend. He also learnt large sections of the Bible by rote, and according to his friends and relatives ' he can take up from any place you quote in the Bible '. He was also a lay preacher in the Methodist church.

Tsutsu composed his own songs, mainly religious songs, (the words and ideas of which derive from Revivalist hymns), and his own versions of well - known hymns, including some which are sung in the Methodist and Catholic churches. Thus his music does not have the wide appeal of Mthamo's and Mhleli's music; it appeals mainly to Christian Africans. I noticed that many non - Christians stopped to listen to him, and I subsequently found out (by casual questions) that it was Tsutsu the blind musician, and the fact that he could play as he did, who caught their interest, rather than his music.

Tsutsu commuted between the larger towns in Transkei,

particularly those on or near the national road. He was always accompanied by a few friends who assisted him and saw to his needs. His favourite haunt was the Umtata bus depot, which was always crowded with people waiting to catch a bus. A rather enigmatic figure in his long grey coat and dark glasses, he had as compelling a personality as Mthamo and Mhleli. When he started to sing (and his voice was very pleasing, a ' high ' baritone), all rowdyism and jostling in the audience stopped. His singing style was totally different to that of Mthamo or Mhleli, both of whom sang in an explosive, extrovert way.

Whereas Mthamo probes the ills of society in a song, and advocates forceful resistance as a cure, Tsutsu merely comments on them and advocates acceptance of, and resignation to them, and a firm ' trust in the Lord '. His own songs have rather melancholic melodies which he accompanies with slightly syncopated chords on the accordion. Unlike the two herbalists, who emphasize the brighter side of life in their music, and make their listeners laugh, Tsutsu gives one the impression of being a pessimist. The main effect his music has on his audience is to make them cry. When I recorded Tsutsu's music (unknown to him at first), I was able to observe the audience's response to his singing, and I saw not only women, but grown men as well as children swaying to his music, with tears running down their cheeks. This was a very moving sight, and an unforgettable one. (Ex. No. 4: Tape 1a).

Mthamo, Mhleli and Tsutsu, and others like them, are loved and admired (in Tsutsu's case I would say even revered) by their public. What John Blacking has said of

the Venda wandering musician, also applies to them:

'The semiprofessional musician or wandering minstrel, who is always a man, is one of the ideal types of Venda society, and is a symbol of what the Venda are and what they would like to be. He is a clown who makes people laugh and forget their troubles, but he is also a critic who forces them to remember that all is not well and that something ought to be done; he is always with people, for a musician without an audience to communicate with, like a drinker without companions or a man without a wife, is an abnormality in Venda society; and yet he is always apart from them. He puts up a good show of being the ideal Venda in public, but his gaiety is often forced and at heart he is a sad, introvert, lonely person, trying to fight against the gradual acceptance of, and indifference to, both his own lot and, by extension, that of his society' (Blacking 1965: 51).

In singing about the tribulations and complexities of life (which are always a source of stimulation to compose songs), the Xhosa minstrels make their audience feel detached from these, even if only for a short period of time. Because of this, musicians are never described as people who ' sing songs ' (- hlabela/vuma iingoma), but as people who ' sing or play happiness, joy ' (- vuma/betha ihlombe), because, by their actions, they bring ' ihlombe ' to people, a category of experience that only music can precipitate (cf. p.25-6).

I said earlier on that Tsutsu's music appeals mostly to Christian Africans. I noticed that, although it attracts non - Christians, they were more interested in the blind musician rather than in his music. (This is my opinion; I had many opportunities to mingle with the crowd, and I went to the bus depot whenever I visited Umtata, and spoke with a number of people). An incident which occurred some time before I met him, suggests that he may also have been disliked and even feared because of his musical abilities. The

fact that he could play, and charm people with his music, might have seemed sinister to the person who played a nasty trick on him. This person (suspected but never named publicly) gave Tsutsu a packet of sandwiches in appreciation of his singing. When Tsutsu came to open them, and to take a bite out of one, he became so repelled by the smell and the taste that he was violently sick. His friends examined the sandwich and found that it had been filled with the raw flesh of a frog. Everyone who subsequently found out about this was shocked, but no - one was prepared to point a finger at anyone with any certainty, although many people had their suspicions. When I suggested that a person would have to be at least mentally unbalanced to do such a thing, I was told by a friend of Tsutsu that this was not the case, and that the person had most probably been jealous, and/or attributed Tsutsu's musical skill to evil supernatural powers.

NOTES

- 1 This is a general remark which I heard many times.
- 2 The literal meaning of isiXhosa is 'the Xhosa language', thus isiMfengu means 'the Mfengu language' (the latter may be regarded as a sub-language, as may the dialects spoken by the other chiefdom clusters). isi - may also denote 'style' or 'custom', and some educated informants told me that iingoma zesiXhosa could be translated as 'songs in the Xhosa style' or 'songs of the Xhosa custom', but the primary meaning which I have given is the one in common use among the Cape Nguni. isiMfengu is the name of an instrumentalized version of a Mfengu dance song for young adults. Informants translated the title as 'in Mfengu style', and 'belonging to the Mfengu people'.

- 3 The term iculo pl. amaculo first appeared in print when a collection of songs and hymns by early missionaries and African converts to Christianity was published in 1855 by John Knox Bokwe at Lovedale. The collection is entitled Amaculo ase Lovedale, ('Lovedale Music'), and a copy is to be seen in the Cory Library of Rhodes University, Grahamstown.

- 4 See Cooke, P., ' Ganda Xylophone Music ', Journal of the African Music Society, 4, no. 4, 1970: 62 - 80.

- 5 The uhadi (gourd bow) serves essentially for self - accompanied singing, as does the guitar, and also the concertina. However, I heard and recorded a number of uhadi songs which were instrumentalized versions of choral dance songs. Such songs are most commonly instrumentalized on the umrhubhe (mouth bow) or accordion.

- 6 Some of these recordings of instrumentalized vocal music were made in the daytime, at the homestead of Mehloekati Lizo, in Ngqokoto administrative area, Engcobo district in Transkei (22 - 7 - 69).

- 7 McLaren - Bennie (1936: 60) translates ihlombe as 'joyful excitement'. The many educated Africans I spoke to used a similar translation: - 'joyous excitement'.

- 8 I was unable to determine the root meaning of ihlombe. Informants were emphatic that the word is related to intlombe, which means either the 'dance party of young unmarried men' or the 'seance' of diviners. Sigidimi Xundu stated that all musical events were really 'iintlombe', i.e. dance parties, 'because people dance and sing at these events'. He added, 'Because we name our songs by the event with which they go, we do not call every piece of music a "dance party song", i.e. ingoma yentlombe'.
Both he and other informants thought that 'joyous, joyful excitement' was 'quite a good English translation', but that 'it did not say enough'.
Sithonana Gcora said: 'It means more than that; it means going right out of yourself and getting in touch with the ancestors'. Other informants made similar comments: one old man said that making music and 'getting ihlombe' was not only a way of

talking to the ancestors; it was also a way in which 'one gets in touch with other peoples' minds who are doing the same thing', i.e. singing and dancing. From these comments and from others given me by informants, as well as from their actions when performing music, especially at seances, I can only assume that ihlombe is transcendence.

- 9 The dance competition was held on 6th July 1969 at the home of Mginyana Ntsodc in Xuka administrative area, Engcobo district, in Transkei. The teams who competed were those of Chief Mdanjelwa Mtirharha of the Hala, and Chief Jongusizwe Dalasile of the Qwathi, both of the Thembu chiefdom cluster.
- 10 A gradual rise in pitch of a semitone or more during Cape Nguni vocal performances is not uncommon, e.g. Ex.63 on Tape 1b(cf. Figure 87 on p. 514ss; or Ex.67 on Tape 1b(cf. Figure 102 : p. 554ss) which rises by a whole tone. This feature of gradual sharpening has been noted, as a general Nguni characteristic, in Rycroft 1967: 101.
- 11 These 'personal' songs were recorded on the night of 29th July 1969 at the home of Mehloekati Lizo. I had to obtain special permission from the Magistrate to go to the homestead at night. The two Thembu musicians, No-orange Lizo and Nomisile Dungulu, had asked me to do so, as they insisted that they could perform their music satisfactorily only 'at the right time', i.e. in the evening before people retire to bed.
- 12 The quoted view refers to the two fundamental tones that are obtained by striking the 'open' and the stopped string of the uhadi. Cf. pp.177-178, where the uhadi is more fully discussed.
- 13 James Mthamo spoke on this subject for nearly an hour. He stressed the fact that he, and other musicians 'who sang their own songs to the people' were 'not just trying to show off (their) songs'. As he put it: 'We just try to get the people to put themselves in our place, because what we have suffered has been, and will be, suffered by many of them'. Although much of his music is for entertainment, it is also intended to 'make people think'.

- 14 See Cooke, D., The Language of Music, 3rd ed. Oxford Univ. Press, 1964: ch.1.

- 15 Cf. Mafeje, A., 'The role of the bard in a contemporary African community', Journal of African Languages, IV, 3, 1967: 193 - 223 (regarding mainly the content and function of Xhosa izibongo) and re performing style for similar Zulu izibongo; Rycroft, D.K., 'Melodic features in Zulu eulogistic recitation', African Language Studies, 1, 1960: 60 - 78, and/or ibid., 1962: 79 - 82.

- 16 I was greeted with an isibuliso when I visited the home of Mguqulwa Novenge, in Vala administrative area, Lusikisiki district, on the 6th October 1970. The title of the song, whose words constitute its text, is 'Bayethe! bahle baz' abahle (Hail! how beautiful they are')).

- 17 I encountered no children's 'jingles' such as the item recorded by Hugh Tracey on disc TR 50 A.3 (which resembles Zulu imilolozelo, some of which occur in recited form, while others again are melodic). Cf. also Rycroft, D.K., 'A royal account of music in Zulu life', Bulletin of S.O.A.S., XXXVIII, 2, 1975: 352, 368 - 9, & 383 (5), for explanation and examples of imilolozelo.

- 18 Jahn, J., Muntu: an outline of neo - african culture, (1958) Eng. trans. London: Faber and Faber 1961: 166.

- 19 In comparison, the choral dance songs of the 'intrusive' clusters show a less complex organization of the different voices. The extra voices often share the text of one of the main parts (solo/songleader and chorus response parts), and sing along with it in parallel movement. This is interrupted by 'off - beating' at certain points in the total pattern of the music. Exceptions are the Beer songs of Xesibe tribal people which, like the Beer- and dance songs of the older clusters, show greater independence of voice parts, both on text, melody and temporal relationship. Cf. Rycroft, D.K., 'Nguni vocal polyphony', Journal of the International Folk music Council, XI, 88 - 103.

- 20 Jahn, J., ibid.
- 21 Recordings of umrhubhe music by Nozimbo Sikade Xuza (isiduko Zongozi) were made at her home in Mgwali, Manzana administrative area, Engcobo district in Transkei, on 5th July 1969.
- 22 I recorded a performance of indlamu by Bhaca iindlavini at Rhode Trading store in KwaBhaca district, Transkei. The headman who was present insisted that the men dance 'after the girls, as it should be'. The leader of the iindlavini gang would not hear of this, and when the headman insisted he issued an ultimatum: 'We dance together or we don't dance at all'. Cf. Hammond - Tooke 1962: 88, who writes of the Bhaca:
 'It is interesting to note that there is no segregation of the sexes, so prominent a feature of traditional pagan life, an interesting example of the attempt at sophistication, amounting to a cult of westernization made by the more advanced'.
- 23 Hansen, D.D., The Life and Work of Benjamin Tyamzashe, a contemporary Xhosa composer, Occ. Paper no.11, Grahamstown: I.S.E.R. (Rhodes), 1968.
- 24 All the umrhubhe players I encountered breathed across the string as they bowed it; it is apparently part of the technique of playing this instrument. I was given instructions to do so when attempting to play it.
- 25 A 'bar' is a hut at a homestead where beer is sold. Potsoyi is the Thembu term, but indali ('bargain') and ikantina (from Eng. 'canteen') are terms in common use among the Cape Nguni. 'Bars' therefore differ from beer drinks (etywaleni, itimiti, ibhasi), where beer is not sold.
- 26 David Rycroft's comments on this song are most interesting:
 'The song Watsh' umGambezi bears a close affinity (though modally different) with a Zulu song known as isiqubulo sikaDingiswayo (rallying song of Chief Dingiswayo of the Mthethwa - d. 1818) which is sung by massed Zulu warriors in Stanley Baker's film entitled 'Zulu', of 1962, its main text being 'Kwatsh' uMgwempisi' (letter, August 1979).

- 26 Mr Benjamin Tyamzashe died early in June 1978. According to an obituary which appeared in the Xhosa newspaper, Imvo Zabantsundu (July 17th, 1978), Mr Tyamzashe's compositions during the past few years included an entry for a composition for a Swazi National Anthem (umhobe wesizwe samaSwazi). In 1978 he was awarded an honorary M.A. degree by the the University of Fort Hare, Alice Ciskei.
- 28 In Kirby 1934: 201, women were noted as the main performers on musical bows, but some Mpondo boys and men sometimes played them too. Plate 6, in this same book, shows a male performer. Cf. also Rycroft 1966: 94 - 98, where a description of a Mpondo boy playing the isigankuri is given. (This is also a musical bow).

Ho! amaMpondo akamthand' uMaziphathe,

Akamfuni,

A yatsh'imizi, yatsh' imizi, ndavuma ,

AmaMpondo akamthand' Umaziphathe .

Figure 5

(Text only)

Awuvume, o mama,

A uthini na uBhota?

Ye Bhota nang' amaMpondo akamthand' uMaziphathe.

Awuvume Bhota!

A yatsh' imizi!

Tyel' uGangatha amaMpondo akamthand' uMaziphathe .

A uthini uGangatha

Ye Gangatha, amaMpondo akamthand' ..etc.

Awubheke, 'bheke !

Yewulele vuma, abelungu baphum' Engcobo,

A vuma!

Ye Bhota, naba Belungu baphum' Engcobo ,

A uthini na Bhota?

Ye belungu asimthandi uMaziphathe,

A ndatsho ndavuma, vuma,

Amampondo akamfun' uMaziphathe!

Ho! the Mpondo do not like self-government,

They do not want it,

The homesteads are being burnt down (of those who support self-gov.)

I agree, the Mpondo do not like self-government.

(Let us)agree, mother.

What does Botha say?

(Minister of Bantu Affairs at the time :
Bhota = Botha).

Agree, Botha,

The homesteads are being burnt down!

Tell Chief Gangatha here are the Mpondo who do not like
self-government.

What does Gangatha say?

Hey you, Gangatha, the Mpondo do not like self-government.

Look, look!

Hurrah agree, Whites coming from Engcobo (alludes to writer)

Hey you Botha, here are Whites coming from Engcobo,

What does Botha say?

Hey you Whites, we do not like self-government.

And so I say, I agree, agree,

The Mpondo do not want self-government.

Fig 5 : No 2 : Tape 1a.

(No transcription included).

No. 3 on Tape 1a:

Amathunz' amnyama Barnabas Mhleli and guitar.

(Words on page 76). (No transcription included).

CHAPTER 3

THE CATEGORIES OF XHOSA MUSIC

Music is an integral and vital part of Cape Nguni life. It cuts across all aspects of Cape Nguni culture, being closely associated with technology, social, economic and political life, and religion. Musical activities are organized as social events which occur in the context of various social situations. For each of these there is a special type and style of music, which is named in terms of the situation with which it is associated. Music is therefore classified according to its social function and, as we shall see, the name of the function and its music is usually the same.

The peoples' descriptions of their different styles of music emphasize its utilitarian function; it is always ' done on a special occasion; it goes with that occasion, it belongs to it '; ' it is used for that business ' i.e. event. Accordingly, the music performed at umtshotsho is classified as ' umtshotsho music ' or ' music of umtshotsho ' (iingoma zomtshotsho); wedding songs are classified as ' songs of the wedding ' (iingoma zomtshato), while the songs which are performed at events related to the initiation of boys are collectively referred to as ' music of circumcision ' (iingoma zokwalusa).

Groups of songs that are sung in the context of various social occasions constitute musical categories, and the people who perform these generally belong to the same social

or core group. A musical category may be named after the group that performs it: the beer songs which married men and unattached women sing at their special beer drinks (ibhasi pl. iibhasi, from Eng. ' bus ', cf. ch. 7: 426 ; itimiti pl. itimiti, from Eng. ' tea - meeting ', cf. Hunter 1936: 361, 468), are known as ' ibhasi/itimiti songs ' (iingoma zebhasi/zetimiti) and as ' music of the Tshawe people ' (iingoma zamaTshawe), because these people are known as amaTshawe.

These beer songs are quite distinct from those sung by married couples at their beer drinks (etywaleni, loc. meaning ' place of beer '), which are labelled Beer songs (iingoma zotywala). Special ' beer songs ' are performed at work parties which are held after people have completed a job of work. These parties are known as isitshongo pl. izitshongo (Bhaca = ititshongo) (cf. Hammond - Tooke 1962: 18), and the songs are classified as ' music of isitshongo ' (iingoma zesitshongo).

Other categories of music which are named after the category of people who perform them are: umtshotsho music, which is additionally called ' the dance music of uninitiated boys ' (iingoma zomxhentso kwamakhwenkwe ' = Xhosa, Thembu, Bomvana, Mpondo, Mpondomise and Mfengu), or Iindlavini music (iingoma zezindlavini = Bhaca Xesibe and Mpondo).

Music is a vital part of the religious activities of the diviner, and the music used at their seances and initiation ceremonies is named after them : - Diviners' music (iingoma zamagqirha/zezangoma). This classification is more commonly used than ' seance music (iingoma zentlombe ') because it

distinguishes these songs from the dance songs of young unmarried adults of the older chiefdom clusters, which are called ' intlombe (dance party) songs ' (iingoma zentlombe). The people themselves usually add a qualifying noun (kwabafana, meaning ' initiated young men ') when they employ this classification, so that one is quite sure what particular category of music they are discussing.

The performance of girls' initiation rites is referred to as uku - thombisa (causative form, from uku - thomba, v. meaning ' to sprout, put forth shoots, to bud ', cf. Hunter 1936: 165 - 166). The initiation ceremony, as well as the music that is an essential part of it, is intended for the initiate(s), and in fact the music is classified on this basis - ' music of the initiate ' (iingoma zentonjane).

Categories of music are sometimes described in specific rather than in general terms. The Cape Nguni do have names for individual items of a musical category; very often the specific name of an item is also used in naming the musical category. For example, ' intonjane music ' (iingoma zentonjane) is commonly referred to as umngqungqo, even though this is not the only music performed at that event. But because the performance of the dance dominates the occasion, people tend to refer to the event in terms of its most important music. When I attended an initiation ceremony in Cacadu district, I encountered a group of young men and women who were going to the same event. They told me that they were ' going to sing umngqungqo '; what they meant of course was that they were going to sing at the event. Regular performances of intlombe music occur every night in the seclusion hut, and these young people were on their way to

participate in them.

The ' coming out ' ceremony (umphumo pl. imiphumo) of initiated youths is often referred to as umyeyezelo, which is in fact the ' praise song ' of initiated boys. It is an important item of circumcision music, and it is always sung at post - initiation events. On several occasions I was invited to ' attend umyeyezelo ', which I subsequently discovered was the name of a type of music and not the actual event at which it, along with other types of circumcision music, is performed.

Iindlavini music is called either umgajo or indlamu, depending on which dance song is being discussed. These titles are quite sufficient because, in a society where every song is a known rather than an unknown, everyone understands what these terms signify: the ' shaking ' dance (umgajo) and ' stamping ' dance (indlamu) of iindlavini young men.

When classifying their music, the Cape Nguni do not omit the word ingoma altogether ; if they do not state it precisely, they imply it by using its subject prefix. Thus, an umtshotsho song is briefly described as eyomtshotsho; a wedding song is described as eyomtshato, and so on. A whole category of music is usually described in the plural, e.g. ezomtshotsho, ezom - tshato, while a single item of music is described in the singular (eyomtshotsho).

The individual songs that make up a category share certain stylistic characteristics: a distinctive overall sound produced by a vocal group whose members interact musically in melodic/rhythmic/harmonic terms, and an identifying rhythmic structure, which is indicated by a fixed number of claps and/or

instrumental beats, and dance - steps.

Musical categories are normally performed at specific events, e.g. beer songs at beer drinks, wedding songs at weddings, umtshotsho songs at umtshotsho parties.

Individual songs within the same category may be performed at different stages of the proceedings (which may last a few hours or extend over a few days or weeks): at their commencement, at a certain point midway, and at their conclusion. The different songs that are performed at these stages often have varying stylistic features, although all of them constitute one category of music. As separate items they may be regarded as sub - categories or sub - styles of music. These ' divisions ' are well illustrated in the category of circumcision music, which formerly consisted of four musical sub - styles, three of which are still performed today. These are (i) the ritual song, uSomagwaza , also known as umguyo , and ' the song for making men ' (ingoma yokwenz' amadoda), which is sung by older men (including fathers of the initiates) just before the operation is performed, and at the end of the seclusion period when the seclusion ' lodge ' and the boys' blankets are ritually burnt; (ii) umtshilo dance music, which formerly accompanied the dancing of the initiated youths, who gave dancing displays during their seclusion period; the dance is no longer performed today, but the music is still sung at the initiates' ' coming out ' ceremonies, and is sung by married women (including the mothers of the initiates) who, in traditional style, accompany their singing with the beating of a substitute ingqongqo ' drum ' ; (iii) umyeyezelo , the ' praise song ' of the initiates, which was formerly sung at

the commencement of the umtshilo dancing displays, but which today is also sung at the ' coming out ' ceremonies, again by married women beating a substitute ' drum '. This ' very old song ' has a distinctive style; in contrast to umtshilo music, in which the vocal/melodic parts interlock sequentially, and uSomagwaza, which is sung unaccompanied and in parallel harmonies, in umyeyezelo the song leader and chorus parts are clearly defined, and the former's vocal melody, which allows for considerable improvisation, is strongly influenced by the rhythms and intonation of speech.

Other examples of categories which are subdivisible into sub - categories on the basis of variant stylistic features are: children's songs (iingoma zabantwana) which include proper children's songs as well as their versions of the dance music of older children, and adults, and Walking songs of boys' groups; umtshotsho music of the ' Cape Tribes Proper ' which includes ' faster ' and ' slower ' songs with variant rhythmic structures; umtshotsho music of Mpondo, Xesibe and Bhaca iindlavini, which includes umgajo and indlamu dances in which all members of the group participate, and ' breaks ' between these dances in which only part of the group participates at any one time; all these songs form part of the broader category of iindlavini music, which also contains Walking songs, special wedding songs (' Sounds ') and itimiti songs. Diviners' music includes the special song which opens a seance (umhlahlo) when the diviner has called the seance to ' smell out ' an evil - doer, a ritual song (uMhala) , several umxhentso dance songs, another special song which is sung after the diviner has made made his diagnosis (umqambo), and a number of songs adapted

from other categories of music. These are discussed in some detail in chapter 7.

Although music is often sung in work situations, there is no category of work music. Women sing songs when pounding, grinding mealies and hoeing in the fields, but the songs they sing nearly always derive from one or other category of music. On one occasion I encountered a group of women who were making bricks under the supervision of an elderly man. When they saw me approaching, they began to sing, and I recorded their song. Afterwards I thanked them for singing what I assumed to be a work song, but they immediately told me that I was wrong, and that they had in fact sung an umnggungqo song, ' which is what all married women sing at intonjane '. On another occasion I watched a large group of women digging a dam, assisted by young boys who carted the sand away in wheel - barrows and dumped it onto sand - banks around the dam site. Eventually the group started singing in time to the strokes they made with their pick - axes, the boys joining in sporadically. Afterwards I asked the women for the name of the song, and its classification, and they told me it was a beer song which they had sung ' because we saw you watching us '. Their overseer told me that the heavy work did not really allow for singing, and drew my attention to the difficulty the singers had in keeping together; they tried so hard to keep the rhythm that their strokes were often inaccurate, and the job itself was not satisfactorily done.

Hunter has commented on the fact that music is sometimes regarded as being detrimental to the satisfactory performance of a job of work. She writes:

'Usually an ilima gets through a considerable amount of work, but the quality of the work, particularly in a weeding party, is apt to be poor. When weeding workers arrange themselves in a long line, and hoe in time, singing. All sorts of songs may be sung, but there is one particular hoeing song The rhythm of this gets faster and faster until the workers cannot hoe accurately. "People do not mind how badly they hoe so long as they keep in time", said one girl. I found myself that when one hoed . . . that one was swept up by the rhythm and carried along, so that if one were not very skilful one hoed wildly, and chopped mealies instead of weeds. Many people refuse to allow the songs to be sung in their fields because it means that the work is badly done' (1936: 90).

There is no doubt that music can, and does interfere with the satisfactory performance of work. At the mud - brickmaking event described earlier, I noticed that when the women got into the swing of the music, they stopped moulding bricks and began to posture and dance as they sang. The overseer watched this with a stony expression on his face, and after a while terminated the singing with a clap of the hands. He then asked me whether I had enjoyed the music. When I said I had, and thanked them all, he then said, very politely, ' Well, good - bye then, now we need waste no more time and get on with the bricks! '

Hammond - Tooke has mentioned the performance of indlamu by iindlavini, when the owner of a new hut wants the earth floor to be stamped hard (1962: 92). There is therefore no special category of work music, and when people sing while they work (and they often do so), they either sing simple improvised melodies of their own, or else sing songs which are well - known and which they like to sing. As Blacking has put it, such singing ' would be comparable to a performance of ' Hark the herald angels sing ' over the washing up at Christmas time (1973: 43).

For various reasons, certain songs that are associated with specific events are sometimes performed in other social contexts, with the result that variations occur in their mode of performance, their vocal organization, musical structure and overall sound. The installation (umbeko) of a Paramount chief, district chief or popular headman is usually regarded as being a very important occasion. The umngqungqo dance is invariably performed to celebrate it, because the dance allows the greatest number of people to take part. Dressed in full dancing dress - gored cow - skin skirts (isikhakha pl. izi - khakha), or, if the women do not possess these ' aristocratic ' garments, cotton skirts (unbhaco pl. imibhaco) decorated with strips of black material and stained with red ochre, turbans, brass arm - and ankle - bracelets, faces and arms painted in various designs with red and yellow ochre, and carrying ornamented dancing sticks - the three hundred or more women who participate provide ' not only a fine sight for the eyes, but a fine big sound for the ears '. As my Thembu guide put it, ' A big event like an umbeko of an important person will naturally require the biggest performance of music possible '. When umngqungqo is performed on such a grand scale, the mode of performance is basically unchanged, but the presence of so great a number of performers results in the choral organization becoming extremely complex, and the duration of the dance is longer than usual.

uSonagwaza has been incorporated into the category of diviners' music, and is sung at seances as ' a song of thanks - giving to the ancestral shades ' for having assisted the diviner in resolving the matter for which the seance had been held, and

for having ' blessed ' their living descendants (Sithonana Gcorha). Beer - and intlombe songs (of young adults) are also sung at seances, usually toward the end when the ' serious business ' of the seance has been settled. These same songs are sung at the ' coming out ' ceremonies of initiated youths, where they are adapted for performance in the new social context. The reverse procedure does not occur, .i.e. ritual institutional music is not performed at recreational musical events such as beer drinks and dance parties; nor, as we have seen, are they instrumentalized, because they have ritual significance and must be ' respected '. Umngqungqo is a ritual dance song of girls' puberty rites, but its performance at an installation in no way diminishes its ritual importance. Although an installation is a ' great meat and beer feast ', the event itself is essentially a very solemn and important one, in which the chief is praised, and the people pledge their loyalty to him.

When songs are sung in other contexts, the latter determine their mode of performance, their structure and style. For instance, when uSomagwaza is adapted for performances at seances, it is given the drum - rhythm accompaniment which characterizes all seance music, is sung at a much faster tempo, and is accompanied by strenuous dancing. Furthermore, its usual performance in parallel harmonies is changed into one emphasizing two choruses singing quasi - antiphonally. Likewise beer songs are given a similar drum - rhythm accompaniment supplemented by hand - claps, and variations occur not only in the vocal/choral organization and general style of the music, but also in its sound, which may be ' coloured ' by the use of special vocal techniques such as uku - ngqokola/uku - ndyondya.

Beer songs that are adapted for performance at ' coming out ' ceremonies are also provided with a steady ' drum ' accompaniment on a substitute ingconggo, and the vocal organization may become very elaborate and complex, depending on the number of persons who take part in the performance. In most cases the vocal group is quite big: on one occasion I recorded performances by groups of fifty, and eighty people respectively. When so many participate, the music acquires an intricate, dense texture in which many different voices combine poly-rhythmically, entering with their individual melodic phrases at different moments in the music. When these songs are sung at such an event, some of the main word - phrases from the original are retained, but more frequently, appropriate references to the new situation are made, sometimes on the spur of the moment. In 1970, heated arguments and fiery debates between the ruling Transkei political party and the Opposition were constantly taking place; these were the focal point of conversations at beer drinks, and I continually heard people saying that they were tired of ' being fed with the spoon ' by the white government in Pretoria, who ' would never allow (them) to feed themselves '. They were referring to the eventual ' independence ' which the country was to attain in a few years time, and which the people saw as no independence at all. The words of a beer song which was sung at the ' coming out ' ceremonies taking place at the time, alluded to this state of affairs, and its performance always evoked shouts and cries of approval from the spectators. Apart from the original words, which made appropriate references to the ' new men ', and exhorted them to be worthy of their new social status, the song

also contained new words which urged the youths to ' be wide awake ', to be continually aware of the current political situation, to protest against it vociferously and not to accept political hand - outs and be spoonfed like children.

It will be evident from the foregoing discussion, that the categories are not rigid, and that when songs are sung in other social contexts, the latter determine the way in which they are sung.

Just as each social group performs its own songs in certain social situations, so does each person have his/her ' own ' or ' personal ' song - igwijo pl. amagwijo - which is sung ' whenever he/she feels like doing so '. A person has a different igwijo at various stages of his life. He has one ' when he is properly named, when he reaches puberty, when he becomes a man, when he marries, when his first son is born '. Likewise, ' he may have a new one when something important, or even bad, happens to him '. An igwijo always relates to, and reflects its owner's mental and physical disposition. It is always sung by the owner, and listeners may join in with one or two chorus phrases, or with humming, but they will seldom sing any words as they do not wish to obscure the soloist's words, which are always ' of importance, as they carry a message to society '.

Although songs may have an emotional content (and amagwijo always do), it is not stressed in their classification; indeed, it is rarely given unless specifically asked for. Thus, a song in which the singer ' cries out that she is being eaten up by evil spirits ' is classified as a diviners' song; it is

also the singer's igwijo, although she herself described it as a uhadi song, because she accompanies herself on that instrument whenever she sings the song. Only when I pressed for further information did the singer tell me that the song was a lament (isililo, isikhalo, lit. ' in the style of weeping, crying '). ' Quarrel songs ', ' protest songs ' and even ' gambling songs ' (e.g. one in which an intoxicated man lost the affection of his wife when he gambled her away to another man in a dice game!) are all classified as Beer songs since they are normally sung at beer drinks. Amagwijo, which are ' very private and personal ' and have great emotional content (they often make people cry, which is what they are supposed to do), are usually sung at night to a select audience in the singer's hut. Such songs are not considered suitable for the general public, for they might well be misunderstood by people who are not aware of the events that provoked their composition. Many of these songs are accompanied by the uhadi musical bow.

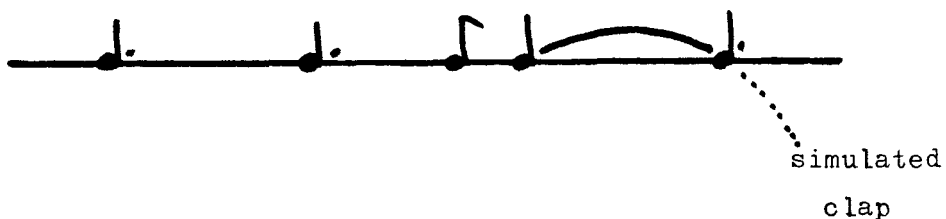
Love songs do exist among the Cape Nguni and they are often the original compositions of semiprofessional musicians like Mthamo and Mhleli. Mthamo has composed several songs with love - themes, but he classifies them as Beer songs. The umtshotsho songs of young teenagers are full of references to love situations (especially unrequited love) between young people, but one is not aware of this until one has made a detailed depth study of the texts, many of which are obscure and have hidden meanings.

Amagwijo are held by groups as well as individuals, e.g. the umtshotsho, intlombe, iguburha and iindlavini groups, all of whom have amagwijo which they sing en route to stick - fights or social events. The texts of these songs usually express group sentiments and stress group loyalty and solidarity.

When the Cape Nguni describe a song, they speak of the way in which it goes: they then clap its basic metrical pattern (or indicate it by dance steps and movements if there is no clap accompaniment), and once they have established this, they enter with the melody. In their own words, ' every song has its own sound (i - sawundi), and its ' ngqongqo (beat '), both of which identify it as being a certain type of song, i.e. belonging to a particular category of music. Yet the people themselves identify a song more readily on the basis of its rhythmic structure (i.e. ' beat '). The sound of singing and clapping in the early hours of a Sunday morning could mean that either an umtshotsho or an intlombe dance party is in session; the rhythmic structure of the song, emphasized by a fixed number of handclaps, will determine which of the two events it is. If the handclaps proceed as follows:

Figure 6 :

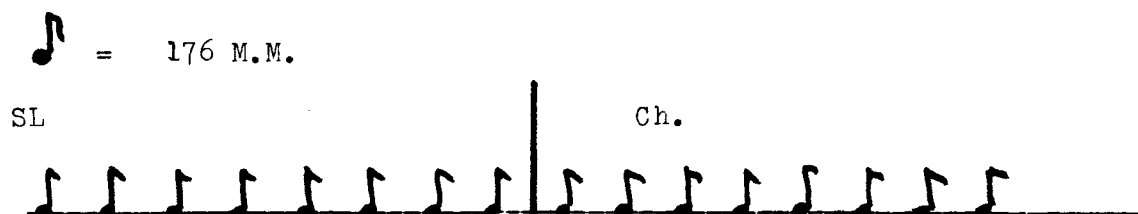
♩. = 138 M.M.



then the event taking place is umtshotsho (of teenagers).

If, however, the clapped metrical pattern comprises a series of sixteen claps, varied accentually, then one can be certain that an intlombe is well under way:

Figure 7 :



The two styles COULD be identified correctly from their sound alone, disregarding the handclapped accompaniment, which might not even be audible from a certain distance. Umtshotsho music is characterized by rhythmic pharyngeal roaring (uku - tshotsha) which is done by the boys while dancing. The roaring proceeds in three phases: (i) a roar deep in the throat and chest to syllables like Hhmmmmmmmmmm! (ii) expulsion of breath with heavily aspirated Hha! (iii) intake of breath and rise in tone on a sound like Hho! (again heavily aspirated). At least two, and usually three types of whistles are employed, and the sounds of these whistles, together with the rhythmic roaring, give umtshotsho music its characteristic sound.

Intlombe music, which has a faster tempo (there are slower and faster songs in the category, but the dance usually commences with a slow dance song, followed by others which are increasingly quicker in tempo), is characterized by short, sharp vocal explosions (uku - godla) which are sometimes emitted as hi - HA! hi - HA!, either gutturally or as a series of yelps.

Only one type of whistle (itanki) is used, to guide the dancers' steps and movements.

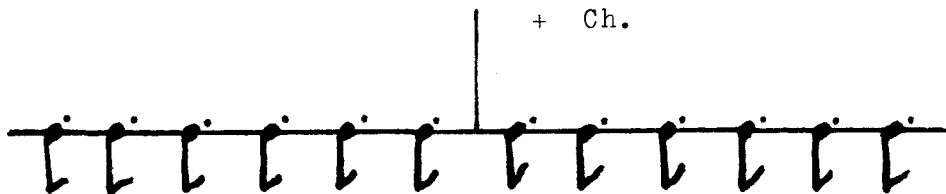
Figures 6 and 7 are examples of Thembu music, but the Xhosa, Bomvana, Mpondo and Mpondomise versions are very similar (some of the same songs are sung as well). Yet, if identified on the basis of its sound ONLY, and by someone who is not familiar with the various styles of Xhosa music, the intlombe song could be mistaken for an Mfengu umtshotsho song. (I myself made this mistake a few times). Unlike the other chief - dom clusters, the Mfengu do not - tshotsha when they sing umtshotsho songs; they - godla instead, thus their umtshotsho music is very similar in SOUND to the intlombe music of the older clusters. The basic clapped metrical pattern of the intlombe song (Fig. 7) indicates that it is an intlombe song of the Thembu, and not an Mfengu umtshotsho song. This latter has a totally different metrical organization of 6 + 6 claps of dotted beat value which constitutes a total pattern of twelve claps, underlying a strophic - form song (a single verse repeated over and over again with slight variations in the song leader's part).

Figure 8.

♩. = 144 - 152 M.M.

SL

+ Ch.



All the music is therefore classified primarily on the basis of its social function, and its rhythmic structure, which is, of course, related to the former. Each category of music has its own characteristic musical traits, its peculiarities of phrasing, tempo, vocal organization, rhythm and modality, all of which gives that music its unique 'sound'. Yet all the categories show an affinity with one another, and the sum total of their stylistic characteristics constitutes the general style, or rather, the whole tradition of Xhosa music.

Instrumental music is generally named after the instrument(s) on which it is played, e.g. uhadi music (ingoma yohadi pl. iingoma zohadi), umrhubhe music (ingoma yomrhubhe pl. iingoma zomrhubhe), etc. Composers of original 'solo' songs usually add the phrase ndizenzele (' I made it myself ' , i.e. self - composed) when classifying their music. Composers of modern instrumental music usually classify their music in terms of the event where it is normally sung, e.g. Mthamo classifies his love songs as Beer songs.

Instrumental versions of choral dance songs are also classified according to their proper social function, e.g. Beer song, intlombe song, indlamu song, even though the player has arranged the music him/herself. Many instrumentalized songs are given titles which refer to their tribal origins, text, style and context of use, e.g. isiMfengu (' in the Mfengu language/Mfengu style '), which is an instrumental arrangement of an Mfengu intlombe dance song of young adults.

Today the tradition of Xhosa music includes secular and sacred music which has been added to it as a result of

European contact. This music is classified as follows:

(i) Iingoma zesikolo (' School music '), which includes secular choral songs by Xhosa, Zulu, Sotho and Swazi composers, and arrangements of popular Xhosa township music.

It is quite possible that songs in other African languages are sung (i.e. by Tswana, Venda, Tsonga and Pedi composers).

A few informants said that this was in fact so, but I have mentioned only those compositions I myself saw as tonic solfa scores, and/or heard at choir performances and church services.

The choral songs are in three - and four - part settings (occasionally six - part, with two voice - parts doubling), and show, in their rhythms, the strong influence of western European hymnody.

(ii) iSawundi pl. amaSawundi (' Sounds ') represent a style of music that is very popular today. They are sung by children and adults alike, and on a variety of occasions: school concerts, school functions (e.g. the induction of a school Principal), weddings (for performance out - of - doors, as when the bride and groom ' show themselves ' to the people, and indoors in the church, when the couple sign the register), tea - meetings and other social events where the ' school people ' meet and enjoy themselves. Iindlavini gangs have their own special ' Sounds ' which they sing on special occasions, e.g. weddings and iiitimiti. During the past three years many African composers have been ' composing ' (by rote, with a choir) music for use in African church worship. They have set various parts of the Roman Catholic Mass to music, and some of these stylistically resemble ' Sounds ' . The texts of ' Sounds ' are very short and repetitive and nearly

always topical, commenting on current political, social, economic and even medical situations in a wonderfully simple yet subtle way.

(iii) ' i - Modern ' (Modern light/instrumental secular music). This represents a broad category of music and includes: umbaqanga music (arrangements of traditional Xhosa songs for vocal/instrumental (guitar, drums and trumpet optional) groups, and original Xhosa and Zulu songs in the same style. umBaqanga is the most popular music among the Blacks in the Republic of South Africa, the Republics of Transkei and Bophutatswana, and the Kingdom of Swaziland. 'Mbaqanga groups periodically visit the rural areas, taking their instruments with them, together with microphones and amplifiers, and they have made a great impact on rural Blacks who also hear this music via the radio. The language of the songs is predominantly Zulu, with Xhosa a close second language. The most popular 'mbaqanga group today is one which is known as The Mohatella Queens, comprising predominantly Tswana - speaking young women who nevertheless sing in Zulu (cf. p.186 where modern bands and stage ' musicals ' are briefly discussed).

(iv) iculo pl. amaculo : all music performed in the European - run churches such as hymns and sacred songs by Xhosa composers, and European hymns whose texts have been translated into Xhosa.

(v) African Separatist Church music is classified in terms of the churches with which it is associated. The term ingoma is retained in the classification, e.g. Zionists' music (iingoma zamaZiyoni), Bhengu church members' music (iingoma zamaBhengu), etc.

' Solo ' musical performances occur at any time, whenever a person has time and wishes to sing. Communal performances of music are regulated by the seasonal cycle and the arrangement of agricultural activities. The Xhosa seasonal calendar has four divisions which correspond to those of the European seasonal calendar (Soga 1931: 417).

They are :

Intlok' ohlaza (' the head of greenness ', i.e. when the grass sprouts = Spring).

Ihlobo (' sameness ', i.e. when all is of a kind, or all is green = Summer).

Ukwindla (from the verb uku - dla, ' to eat ' : the time of harvest = Autumn).

Ubusika (' time of cutting ', i.e. when the corn is ripe for cutting = Winter).

These terms are in standard use today. The months of the year also have special names. Both Hunter (1936: 111) and Hammond - Tooke (1962: Appendix A) have given the Mpondo and Bhaca names (today the Xhosa terminology is used) as well as brief descriptions of the agricultural work that is performed each month.

Speaking generally, the territory occupied by Cape Nguni people normally has rain in the early Spring and throughout Summer, tapering off in the Autumn, while the months of Winter are dry and very cold. There are climactic differences between the coastal strip and the interior, but these are not great, although the former certainly has a higher rainfall than the latter. The agricultural calendar may therefore be divided into two major seasons: (i) a hot wet summer, during which the people

are occupied with ploughing, planting, hoeing, weeding, harvesting and storing crops, and (ii) a cold dry winter in which there is no work and much time for leisure and music (cf. Hammond - Tooke op.cit. : 15).

Performances of communal music depend heavily on the availability of sufficient supplies of mealies with which to brew beer, because it is necessary at all social events involving music. This dependence on the agricultural calendar and the state of the crops is expressed explicitly in a Xhosa saying: ' People must have time (leisure) for music, and music MUST have beer '.

When the harvest has been a bad one, and food is scarce, many festivities are curtailed or postponed. The umtshilo dances are no longer held for this reason.

When I began fieldwork in June 1969, I noticed that food was very scarce owing to several successive years of drought. By March 1972 conditions had not improved. Occasionally, people living in a neighbourhood settlement clubbed together to buy bags of mealies from traders, who in turn procured them from centres in the Republic of South Africa. But for this, certain ceremonies would not have taken place at all. For instance, the initiation of two women was held out of sheer necessity, and people collected money to buy mealies for it over a period of six months. Both women should have been initiated six years before, but their parents had not been able to afford the celebrations. Both women eventually married, and both lost a child at about the same time, and this was attributed to the fact that they had not been initiated. The circumcision rite is seldom ever postponed, because it is

essential that all boys be initiated, but the festivities preceding and following the rite are often curtailed or cancelled.

The agricultural year begins between September and November, when the first rains have fallen and the fields are ploughed and planted. Among the Bhaca there is no ceremony before planting crops, although in former times no one was permitted to plant until the Chief had used his magic to ensure a good crop (ibid.). Among the Thembu the ceremony of ingologo commences when the crops are to be planted. The men of the administrative area meet to discuss the ceremony and to select the herbalist who will make the medicine to sprinkle over the fields. The medicine is made from the ground - up seeds of every type of crop that is to be planted - maize, sorghum, pumpkin, marrow, melon and beans - mixed with a special ' magic ' powder prepared by the herbalist (ixhwele/inyang). The girls who attend the intlombe parties are then notified, and on the appointed day, they assist in scattering the powder over the fields. The same girls perform another part of the rite some weeks later when the maize crops have reached a certain height (Broster 1976: 36 - 37). Smeared with clay, the girls run naked through the fields singing a special ritual song (cf. ch. 7:490).

Hoeing and weeding are done during the summer, and although the wives of the homestead heads tend their own fields, when the weeds become thicker they arrange work parties for their neighbours, who will assist them in the arduous work. These work parties are called ilima pl. amalima (Xhosa, Thembu, Bomvana, Mpondo = western Pondoland, Mpondomise and Mfengu) and

isitshongo pl. izitshongo/ititshongo (Mpondo = eastern Pondoland, Xesibe and Bhaca).

Hoeing is done mainly by women, thus one would expect work parties to be attended only by women. I noticed, however, that men also attended these events, although they did not contribute much in the way of hoeing. There are two types of work parties : (i) in which the meat and/or beer is taken to the field and is consumed by the workers between bouts of work, and (ii) a ' big party ' on the final day when the work has been completed. (i) is not very successful, as workers tend to enjoy themselves and sing and dance, and generally do a poor job of work; (ii) is more satisfactory, and it was this type I encountered most during fieldwork. People said that they preferred this type because ' then we can really get down and enjoy the party, without having to think of any work '.

Work parties are made for ploughing, hoeing, weeding, shelling mealies (Hunter op. cit. : 89), but there do not appear to be any work parties for reaping. The songs sung and danced at these parties are essentially beer songs, but they are named after the event itself.

When the crops started to sprout, some chiefdom clusters performed special ceremonies to protect them. Hunter mentions the rite of ixoshombo among the Khonjwayo tribe which is performed by the unmarried girls in the district (op.cit. : 77 - 78). This is comparable to the Bhaca ceremony recorded by Hammond - Tooke, and called abagijimisi bokudla (' runners of the food ') which was performed like ixoshombo, to protect the maize crop from blight. Unmarried girls ran naked through the fields of maize, smeared in red ochre, and singing as they picked the

blighted cobs (Hammond - Tooke op. cit. ; 177). The intshatshoba ceremony held by the Thembu ' to mark the flowering of the maize ' took the form of a festival with a dance at its climax, performed by unmarried girls (Eroster op. cit. : 36). These ceremonies appear to have died out. Thembu informants told me about intshatshoba but said that it was no longer performed regularly.

Harvesting commences in June, and once the grain has been stored, the time for leisure and no work begins. Thus most performances of communal music take place in the winter months, in the context of initiation celebrations, weddings, special feasts and beer drinks, social parties and dances, and installations. In some areas where the rainfall has been very good, and food is available in good supply, the social events are so numerous that menfolk spend weeks away from their homes going from one to the other. This was the case in Xhora district in 1969, when the green countryside along the coastal strip was literally dotted with gaily - dressed beer - drinking groups.

The initiation of boys is normally performed in the winter months (or late Autumn), not only because sufficient beer and food will be available, but also because the cold weather will most likely reduce infection of the wound. On the other hand, the initiates are liable to develop pneumonia, and I heard of several cases during fieldwork.

The only communal music that does not depend on the state of the crops is that performed at diviners' seances, which are held whenever they are necessary. The initiation of diviners is always celebrated in the winter months, because large quantities of meat and beer are required to meet the needs of the hundreds of people who are likely to attend the event.

CHAPTER 4

BEHAVIOUR IN RELATION TO MUSIC

Performance

Xhosa music is collective in performance. ' It is a shared experience both socially and musically ' (Blacking 1973: 102). Its basis is polyrhythm: several persons simultaneously sing different patterns of music with different metres, whose rhythms coincide at regular intervals. All these vocal rhythmic patterns, which are improvised variations of the song - melody (introduced by a song leader), synchronize with its basic metre which is expressed by a fixed number of handclaps and/or dance steps. Thus all Xhosa choral dance songs, which are the main form of musical activity among the Cape Nguni, are performed by groups of people who sing and dance in a highly co - ordinated manner, each performer maintaining his individuality even though he is a member of a group. When singing their different versions of the song - melody, singers aim at the larger unit - the pattern. But when doing so, they do not select tones haphazardly; their variant melodies are not only tied to the metrical framework of the song but are also closely linked with tonal/harmonic progressions which the Cape Nguni follow in their music.

The ' solo ' dance (umxhentso) of the novice diviner is properly danced by him/her ' alone ' (yedwa). Nevertheless its performance always involves several people who are required to provide the accompanying singing and clapping. The presence of the social group is assumed even in the situation of the self - accompanied solo song, e.g. that which is performed on the

gourd bow, uhadi (also the guitar). This is the is the Xhosa counterpart of the Zulu ugubhu and Swazi ligubhu, and is played in the same manner (cf. p.178 for further details). The identification of antiphonal structures in Zulu solo instrumental music has been made by Rycroft (1977: 216 - 260), who cites evidence that confirms his claim. He states:

'The role of the gourd bow can in fact be seen to be like that of the vocal chorus, and while playing this form of self - accompaniment on the bow, the singer assumes the position of " leader " singing in antiphonal relation to his simulated " chorus ". The projection into the instrument, therefore, is not that of the singer himself, but of an imaginary group external to himself, which he brings to expression through his musical bow, and against which he can set his vocal creativity' (op.cit. : 228).

Antiphonal structures are also discernible in the instrumental accompaniments of gourd bow songs and other instrumental solos. The gourd bow is used percussively to provide an accompaniment to a singer's vocal melody; at the same time it is used melodically, i.e. to produce melody. This is done by varying the size of the opening of the calabash resonator by moving it nearer or further away from the player's breast, and thereby selecting harmonics for melodic use. The same dual ' fundamental against harmonics ' nature of gourd bow music is apparent in umrhubhe music, which is often purely ' solo ' music, played by a girl while she is out walking. The bowing of the ' open ' and stopped string of the instrument yields alternate fundamental roots, while the player's mouth cavity serves ' as a variable resonator for the selective amplification of one or another of the harmonic partials ' (ibid.).¹

The instrumental songs of Nomisile Dungulu, No - orange Lizo, James Mthamo, Barnabas Mhleli and others, and their discussions

about them, are good evidence of the fact that, whether the emotion of a song be individual or collective, it is the collective aspect which finds expression in song. Even the ' personal ' songs (amagwijo) have a high level of audience involvement, musically and emotionally. ' Solo ' songs are therefore ' condensations of a social situation ' involving a large social group (Blacking loc. cit.).

The collective consciousness so active in Xhosa music is the same collective consciousness active in Cape Nguni society, which was traditionally a small - scale kinship - based society with a relatively simple technology and economy. The division of labour was small, being based on ' familistic principles of age and sex '. This division ensured that while men and women, boys and girls performed different tasks, all living in the same region or area heard and knew the same songs. All, however, did not sing the same songs. Constant contact with an outcrop of western European civilization for the past three hundred years has brought about changes in the structure of this society, which could today be described as a traditional agrarian society consisting of partly urban and partly peasant segments. ' Town and country do not constitute distinct societies; the migrant labour system bridges the gap between them and transmits reciprocal influences ' (Simons 1968: 72).

In Cape Nguni society today, ' the social dichotomy is based on religion ' (Hammond - Tooke 1962: 63). The peasant segment, called amaqaba (from - qaba, ' to paint with red ochre or clay '), ababomvu (' red people ') and onombola (' "raw" people who paint with clay '), still cling to the traditional way of life, and to their traditional religion of

ancestroworship. The detribalized ' dressed ' or ' school ' people have discarded their tribal dress for European clothes. Many belong to various church groups - Anglican, Catholic, Presbyterian, Methodist, and the Zionist and other ' break - away ' churches (amasixebhayi), as well as ' the evangelical churches which we call - ggaze churches ' (e.g. the Assembly of God (Bhengu) and the Apostolic churches). Others are nominally Christian or agnostic, and belong to no church.

Music is an intrinsic part of Cape Nguni social life; it is performed and enjoyed by a large number of people, many of whom are accomplished in some form of music, while a few are considered to be outstanding musicians. In western modern industrial societies, with their complex division of labour, and marked as they are by occupational specialization, advanced technologies and scientific knowledge, music is not as fully integrated into daily life. Although many people listen to, and enjoy it, relatively few people actively participate in it, and even fewer are accomplished. People are divided socially into specialized groups - artists, scholars, artisans, merchants, engineers, etc. - and every person depends on his fellowmen for a livelihood. But because he never meets all of them, this ' interdependence of people in a common task ' is forgotten (Blacking 1969: 10). In contrast, there is still much face - to - face co - operation in Cape Nguni society: each person is aware of his independence on others, although he is self - supporting. Thus everyone tends to forget how important everyone else is in society. Music is no longer an integral and functioning part of society; it has become entertainment, or at least is closely connected with it.

As such ' it brings people together for as long as it is seen and heard, and then it is forgotten and people are separated once more ' (Blacking 1964: 41). An example is the symphony season of the National Orchestra of the South African Broadcasting Corporation which is held annually and which everyone who can afford it, attends. In view of this one can argue that western European music reinforces social solidarity in much the same way as Xhosa music, for it brings together a certain section of the society for a certain length of time. But the solidarity function of traditional Xhosa music was much greater for it brought together a very large portion of the society, and the whole society conceptually.

The principle of individual in community is epitomized in the structure of Xhosa music. Just as the life of each person is bound up with the community and its well - being, so in music are the efforts of each person directed toward the satisfactory performance of a song. Each person must sing and dance well and co - operate with his neighbour so that the total pattern of the song be correct and its performance therefore satisfactory and successful. Thus in both society and in music, the individual contributes to the good of the community. Since almost everyone participates in music, there is no basic distinction between ' artist ' and ' audience ' which is characteristic of western European music. The concepts ' art ' and ' artist ' reflect the specialization which is a main feature of modern complex societies, and which is virtually absent in simple societies.

In Cape Nguni society today, as far as performances of traditional Xhosa music are concerned, there is no separation

from ' artist ' and ' audience, because everyone sings with and not for someone. There is, therefore, no concept of ' solo ' musical performance which implies such a separation.

Vocal style and vocal technique

In communal performances, ' solo ' singing is confined to starting a song and leading off the chorus. The ' soloist ' is called umhlabeli (song leader) or umkhokeli entlabelweni (' leader in the singing '). He/she will - hlabela (lit. ' stab for ') the chorus, who - vuma (' agree ') in response. - Hlabela is used when referring to the singing of one person. The phrase " uku - hlaba umkhosi " (' to sound the war cry '), which was used in olden times, is still heard today at Black competitive sporting events, e.g. football matches. When the rival teams sing their songs to encourage their players, they are said to " - hlaba umkhosi " . - Vuma also means ' to sing ' (cf. uku - vuma, p. 19), but it is used in non - musical contexts, as when a person signifies his approval by a consenting nod and/or grunt of the head, when he is said to ' umvum' umhloko '. - Vuma denotes the singing of two or more persons. It is used in various contexts (these are given in the Xhosa dictionaries) but has two main meanings: (i) agree, consent, assent to, accede and so on, and (ii) to sing, always with some one, or others. Thus - vuma also indicates the nature of Xhosa music: it is harmonic in concept; it is something done by several persons, and consists of several voices sounding together. Furthermore, - vuma implies that the part sung by the chorus (who are called

abavumi) must fit, must agree with the part sung by the song leader. In fact, the chorus part derives from the song leader's part, and finishes it off musically. Once both parts are sung, the song pattern is established.

The steady handclap accompaniment (u'u - qhwaba) which constitutes the metrical framework of the song (as it does of nearly all Xhosa music) is usually begun by the leader of the chorus, either before or after the song leader enters with the song melody. Exceptions to this general rule are the ' personal ' songs (amagwiyo) in which the claps are often introduced by the ' owner ', who also acts as song leader (cf. Figure 13 (a) and (b) :134-6). Song and clap entries never coincide. Figures 9, 10 and 11 show those parts of songs in which the clapping actually commences:

Figure 9, (a) and (b) are a transcription and diagram of a young peoples' dance song (igwabo lokusina) which is popular among the Xesibe, Mpondo and Bhaca. It is entitled Sibiz' uMakekel', sibiz' uMakhalela (' We are calling Makekela and Makhalela '). In this song the claps begin immediately after the song leader has sung the first syllable of the first word of the song. The non - simultaneous entries of voices and claps are clearly represented in Figure 9 (b). (Cf. pp. 118 and 119). Figure 10, (a), (b) and (c) show the form and temporal alignment of voices and claps in a Beer song of the Bomvana Tshawe people who attend iitimiti. It is called Ho! kungok' uyahala (' Oh! now you are complaining '). Here the claps commence tentatively with the chorus who sing in response to the song leader's complete statement of the song - melody (cf. pp. 120 and 121).

Figure 9 (a) :

Transcription of a young peoples' dance song

(igwabo lokusina) :

Sibiz' uMakekel', sibiz' uMakhalela (' We are calling
Makekela and Makhalela ') (Mpondo, Xesibe and Bhaca
clusters)

Strophe length: ♩ X 8 Tempo: ♩ = ± 164 M.M.

Mode: Hexatonic (< two major triads based on roots D and C)

Clap (2/4)

Song header

u-Ma-ke-kel' u-Ma-kha-le-la,

Chorus: Tacet

Si-biz'

2 Song header

u-Ma-ke-kel' u-Ma-kha-le-la,

Chorus

u-Ma-ke-kel', Si-biz' u-Ma-kha-le-la; Si-biz'

Root progression sequence in strophe: || C D - - | D C - D ||

Figure 9.

Diagram (after Rycroft 1967) representing temporal alignment of voices and claps in the Xesibe dance song "Sibiz' uMakekel'".

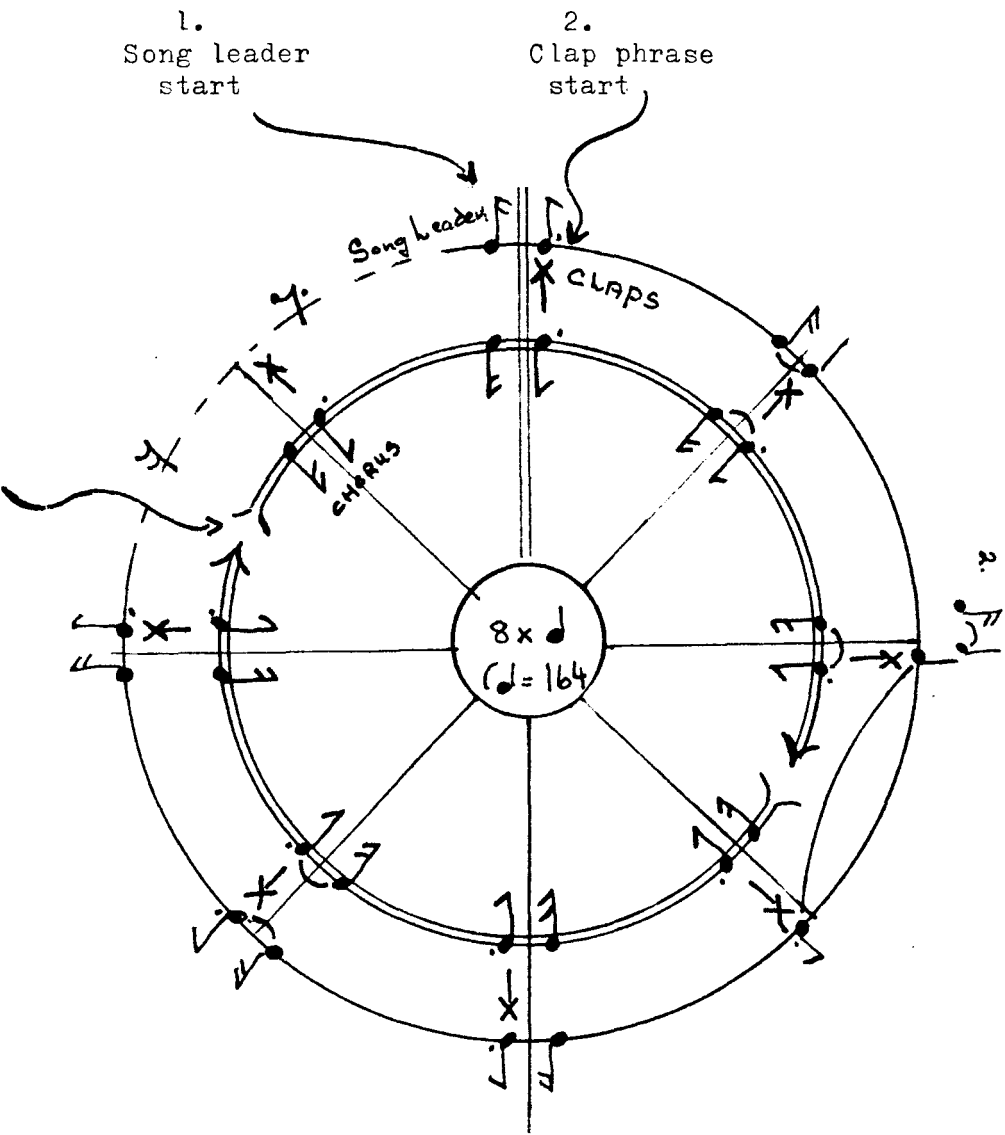


Figure 10. (b):

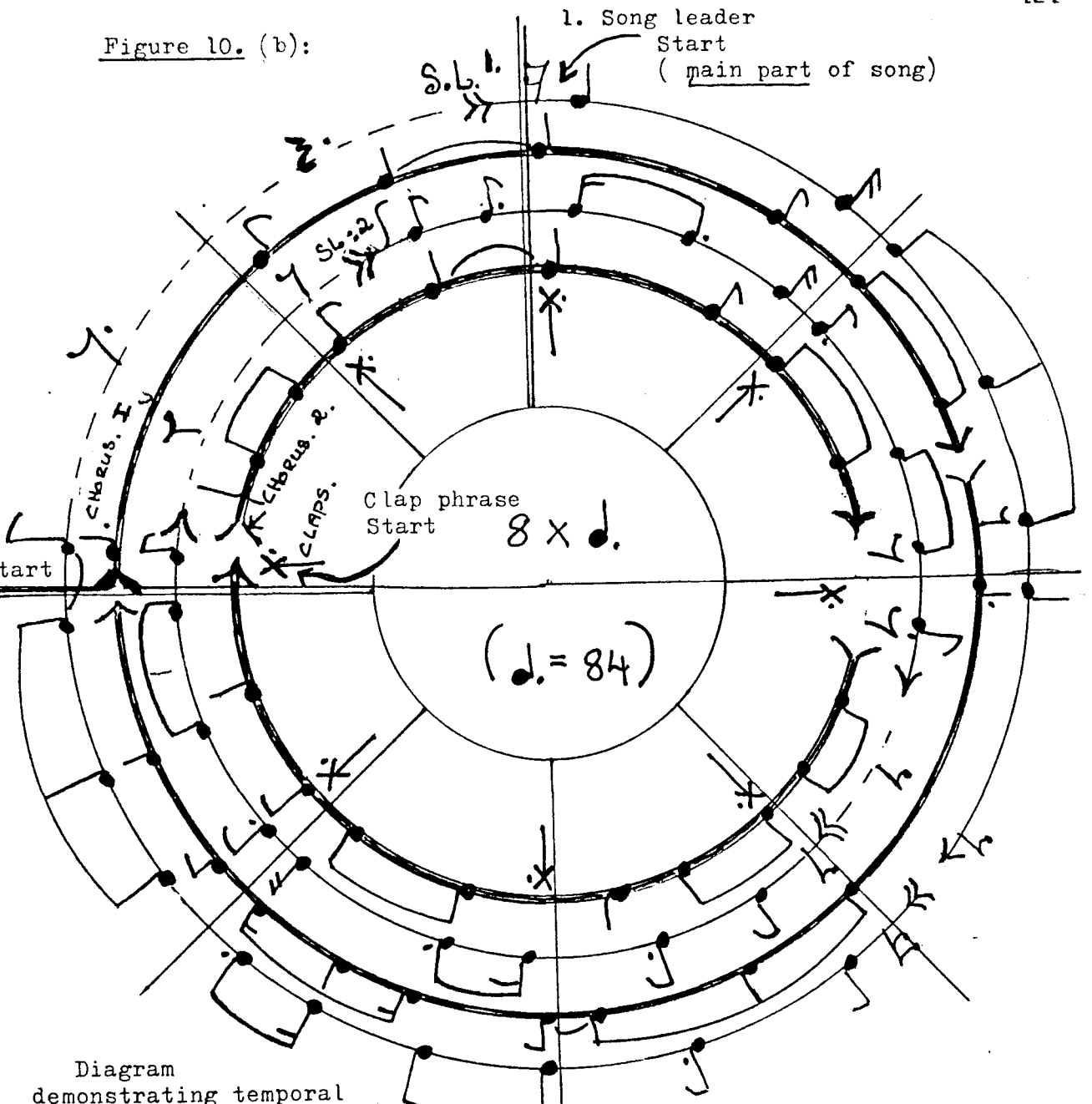
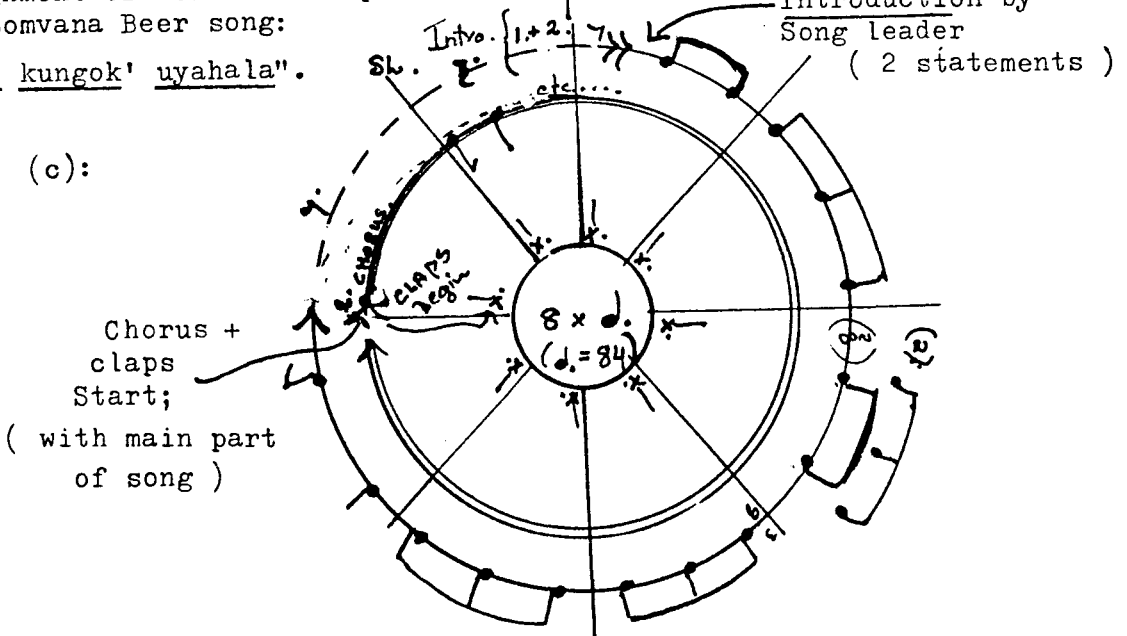


Diagram demonstrating temporal alignment of voices & claps in Bomvana Beer song:

"Ho! kungok' uyahala".

Introduction by Song leader (2 statements)

(c):

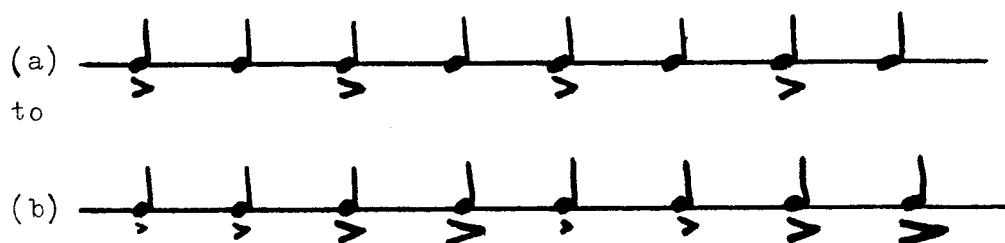


(After Rycroft, 1967).

Figure 11 (a) and (b): in this dance song (igwabo lokusina) of Xesibe boys and girls, entitled Hini! 'ndod' emnyama (' Ah! no! that black man '), (meaning a commoner, of no rank), the claps are begun even later by the chorus, when the song is well under way (cf. pp. 123 and 124).

Once the pattern of the song has been established, it is repeated ad infinitum, the chorus always being guided by the song leader, and all singers being controlled by the handclaps. The tempo remains constant, although the singing invariably rises in pitch. The tied handclap beats in Figures 6 and 10 indicate that there are no audible claps on these beats; the singers merely acknowledge them with a slight jerk of their clasped hands. When singers clap, they either bring the hands together as in praying, the palms and fingers lying against one another or (and this is more common) the four fingers of one hand are brought into contact with the palm of the other hand, so that one hand is at a right angle to the other. The accented clap beats in Figure 12 indicate that they are louder than the clap beats which alternate with them. This clap - pattern is varied during the course of the song, changing from (a) to (b): -

Figure 12.



in which each clap is louder than the one before it (this is not given in Figure 11). Accent - variation in the clap - patterns of songs is a common feature of much Xhosa music.

Transcription of Xesibe dance song, "Hini 'ndod' emnyama".

Strophe length: $16 \times \text{♩}$ (4 + 4 + 4 + 4).

Pitch: Present "D" = Original D (no transposition)

Mode: Hexatonic (< two major triads based on roots C and D).

♩ = 11b

Song leader:

1. *SL.* *CHORUS:* *TACET* *Ho in-dod em-*

2. *SL.* *Ho-yi-ni 'ndod emnyama, Ho ema-Mpo-ndwen yabeji-khol-wa*

3. *SL.* *CH.* *Ho-yi-ni 'ndod emnyama, Ho ema-Mpon-dwen...* *CLAPS*

4. *SL.* *Ho... etc... ema-Mpon...* *CLAPS*

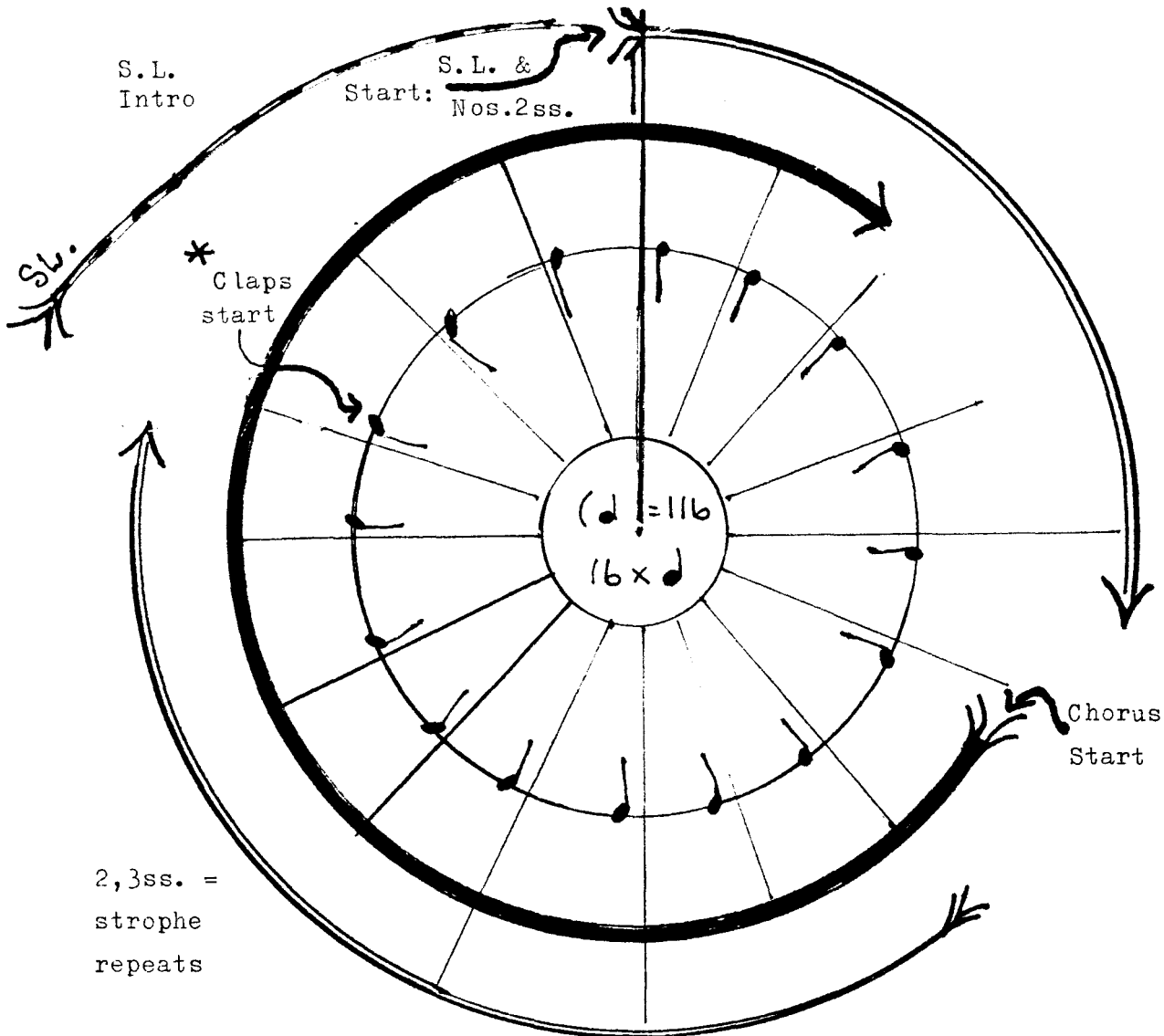
claps

Figure 11 (b) : Diagram representing the temporal relationship of solo and chorus parts in the Xesibe dance song entitled

Hini 'ndod' emnyama (' Ah! no! that black man. ')

Pitch: Present "D" = original D; Strophe length: $16 \times \text{♪}$

Mode: Hexatonic (> two major triads based on roots C and D)



The song commences with a statement of the song-melody by the song leader and chorus; this may be regarded as an Introduction. At first glance this Introduction appears to have been abridged, having a total duration of $11 \times \text{♪}$ clap beats, whereas strophe length, which becomes apparent in the second statement of the song melody, (No. 2 in transcription, Figure 11(a), is $16 \times \text{♪}$ clap beats. In fact, the song leader's part which 'lines the song' (i.e. introduces it) actually commences between the 2nd and 3rd claps of the basic metre (\times = where the claps would be). The claps are introduced by the chorus in bar 12, on a beat corresponding to no. 14 of the basic clap pattern of 16 claps.

* = Claps start with chorus in no. 3

↳ = song leader's entry

It is done quite spontaneously, and there is no prescribed variation procedure for any specific type of song.

Improvisation is a standard technique of Xhosa music, and accent - variation is a way of improvising on the basic clapped pattern of a song without in any way disturbing its vitally important rhythmic organization.

Tone quality is fairly important to the Cape Nguni. Although their singing emerges initially from an ' open ' or relatively relaxed throat, and has a smooth and rounded quality (the song leader being the exception as she tends to sing rather stridently), it changes during the course of a song when the singers, caught up in the emotional intensity engendered by the music, start to shout rather than to sing. This forced singing results in an overall ' big sound ', which is what is required if a song is to qualify as being sung well.

Speaking generally, the Cape Nguni may be said to sing with a ' relaxed, open - throated ' vocal technique, which becomes more tense and hoarse - sounding as the performance gets under way. Thus their vocal style falls easily into the song - style category assessed for the ' Bantu - African Hunter core ' (excluding the Pygmies and Bushmen) by Alan Lomax and Edwin Erickson (1968). Speaking about the ' remarkable homogeneity ' of song - style ' illustrated on the African map ', these authors write:

'This striking uniformity of style covering perhaps a quarter of the continent, and linking large numbers of Bantu - speaking people to the Southern coast of the bulge and adjacent portions of the Sudan, may well be an important historical marker. . . The Upper Nile is the most similar to the South African Bantu, suggesting perhaps a style trace following the lines of East African pastoralism' (Lomax 1968: 92 - 94).

Concerning the singing style of these peoples, Lomax and Erickson continue:

'The regional profile is dominated by the style features of the Bantu - African Hunter core. The major approach to song is choral and antiphonal, with the characteristic use of overlap, so that at least two parts are frequently active at the same time. A well - blended, rhythmically tight, often polyphonic choral performance is the norm in most areas. The major vocal style is clear and unconstricted but with playful and intermittent use of high register, yodel, nasality, rasp and forcefulness. . . Rhythm is strictly maintained, as in most primitive styles and in most well - blended styles as well. Consonants are slurred over and texts are highly repetitious. . . Everything contributes to an open texture, inviting participation fostered by a rock - steady beat, and by clear, liquid voices singing one note per syllable. . . The overall impact of the African style is multileveled, multiparted, highly integrated, and playful - voiced' (ibid.).

The above assessment is broadly descriptive of the singing style of the Cape Nguni; however, there are certain vocal characteristics which, as we shall see, are peculiar to Cape Nguni singing, and these will be discussed shortly. Hoarseness is usually the result of singing loudly and long. Should singers become hoarse or even lose their voices, they are usually congratulated for having given a satisfactory performance. On the other hand, should a singer 'squeeze' the sound from his/her throat (- khameka) to the extent that he makes screeching sounds (- khala kabukhali), he/she is given a violent poke or push, (I have seen a woman tap such an offender sharply on the head with her stick) and told to lower (- thoba) his/her voice, and not to 'sing like a child'. Children tend to sing at full volume; this is taken for granted and never checked, unless they also screech or make similar unpleasant sounds.

School choirs are trained rather rigorously. I have attended countless rehearsals, and in all these great attention was paid to tone quality as well as general interpretation of the song, the choirmaster often introducing espressivo signs into the solfa score and insisting that the children observe them. Should the children have failed to sing the exact notes written in the score, which they were taught by rote (and they nearly always did this), they were not checked so long as the notes that they DID sing fitted in with the other voice parts. School children thus did exactly what their tribal brothers and sisters did when they sang. They simply improvised on their respective voice parts which they had assiduously learnt by rote.

Variation in tone quality is of far greater importance than tone quality per se. The rhythmic 'heterophony ' which results when a number of people sing together, takes on tone colour, when a few of them ' sing with the throat ' (- vuma ngomqala) and ' change the voice ' (jika ilizwi) OR produce peculiar vocal - percussive sounds in regular metre.

The voice - changing technique called uku - ngqokola is known and practised by all the chiefdom clusters. The Bhaca and Mfengu have an alternate term - uku - ndyondya - meaning ' to breathe with difficulty, as in cases of asthma; to speak in a deep voice '. A Mfengu woman described - ndyondya as ' singing in a deep, rasping voice, breathing with trouble as if one had umkhuhlane (umkhuhlwane) (catarrh, 'flu, etc.)'. The voice takes its rise from a partially constricted gullet; the singer presses his chin back into the neck, focuses his voice down into the bottom of his throat (- deni, lit. ' down there, a long way '), and

sings as throatily as he can. This detracts from the clarity of the notes of the melody. The legato phrasing, characteristic of all Cape Nguni singing, becomes distorted: the singer deliberately slides from one tone to the next in a heavy glissando. Some singers do not sink their chins into the neck, and one can observe and feel their throat muscles become taut and distended as they sing. Vocal tension is considerable, and the voice register is lower than it would normally be. Informants told me that one could change the voice 'any way one liked' but this was the most common way to do so. They also told me that old men and women are the best abangqokoli because their voices are 'deni' anyway.

Uku - ngqokola is done by any singer who wishes to do so. I never heard more than two people - ngqokola at the same time, and when I asked why this was so, I was told that too many people 'roaring' would 'hide' the song, and that uku - ngqokola was a way to 'make taste of a song' and not to spoil it. Long practice is necessary before one becomes proficient at this voice - changing technique; the difficulty lies in sustaining it for some length of time. All too often the singer becomes hoarse or temporarily loses his voice. For these reasons, but more for the musical one (mentioned earlier) - that it is supposed to enhance a song, - ngqokola is done episodically in the course of a song.

Diviner Dlamini, a Swazi diviner whom I met while he was residing in Clarkebury administrative area, Engcobo district, told me that - ngqokola is of great importance to divination music, because it is 'a way of singing to the shades'. Mpondo diviner Gcorha made great use of this technique in his

seances, but he usually assigned it to two old men, Mbundana Gcorha and Bungaliphili Mgubasi, because they were outstanding abangqokoli who could sustain the technique for a long time. At the end of one seance which I attended they sang a beer song, Gwebelele (' By dishonest means '), (which had been adapted for use at the seance) entirely in - ngqokola style, pausing from time to time to take a breath and to clear their throats. They sang sitting on the floor of the hut, faces devoid of all expression, and dark eyes focussed with a strange lack of interest on the wall in front of them. They swayed from side to side and rocked their heads as they sang. Ostensibly possessed and ' gone far away ' as one diviner put it, they did not fail to observe my slipping peppermints into my mouth in an attempt to stave off choking from the dust rising from the dancers' feet. Both men stretched out a hand and I gave them each a mint which they placed at the corner of the mouth. They hardly stopped singing when doing this. I questioned many diviners about the use of this vocal style, and all of them insisted that they used it because ' the amathongo like it ' ; because ' it helped a person to get away from everyone else ' ; and because ' it was a way of speaking to the amathongo with the music ' . Since most singers at seances - ngqokola as if they are possessed or in a trance, and since the technique is especially loved by diviners, it seems reasonable to conclude that this kind of singing is considered to aid altered consciousness or trance. (Example No. 5 on Tape la).

The use of nasalization when singing is another form of - ngqokola. Diviner Gcorha described it thus: ' you take your

voice away from the throat (pointing to it) and you place it here ' (pointing to the nose). In singing the singer pinches his nostrils or stops one of them with his finger(s), and focuses the sound somewhere in the region of the nasal and frontal sinuses. The normal register of the voice is not changed, the tone quality simply becomes nasal. Although this form of - ngqokola is easily employed and sustained, it is not in common use. I heard it employed on only five occasions. Informants have told me that this singing style is not as old as the more common style discussed previously. I was unable to procure any further information about it, as further questions of mine received the same answer: ' Well, you can change your voice any way you like, but umkhuhlane - ngqokola is the one most people use '. It is especially popular with diviners. (Example No. 6 on Tape la).

Vocal Sounds

These are non - musical sounds that qualify as music when they are made in musical contexts.

(i) uku - tshotsha

This may best be described as the series of growls, roars and snarls made to a regular metre by adolescent boys at their party - umtshotsho - as they dance to the singing and clapping done by their girlfriends. The boys - tshotsha as they perform the shaking movement - uku - tyityimba. Uku - tshotsha is the ' singing ' of adolescent boys and therefore is considered to be music. The ' dressed ' equivalent of these boys attend umbhayizelo dances for which they wear flared patched trousers and bright scarves. They perform the same vocal sounds which

they call uku - bhayezela. (Example No. 7 on Tape 1a).

(ii) uku - bhodla (' to bring wind up from the stomach ')

are the belching sounds made by young unmarried men when

dancing at their parties (iintlombe), at which their girl -

friends provide the singing and clapping, and occasionally

participate in the dancing. (Example No. 8 on Tape 1a).

(iii) uku - godla sounds are similar to those of uku - tshotsha;

they sound as if one is trying to clear ones throat, or collect -

ing saliva to expectorate, whereas - tshotsha may be described

as pharyngeal roaring. Uku - godla is done by anyone and in

any musical context, although men do so far more than women.

On one occasion a woman participating in the performance of

umngqungqo began to - godla ' for fun ' , and the other

women laughed and said she was ' trying to be a man '.

The Bhaca, Xesibe and Mpondo have a term denoting the same

sort(s) of sound, uku - gwinga. All these sounds qualify as

music when made during the course of a musical performance.

They are always made in time with the prevailing metre, and

always by the performer when he/she is dancing a special

dance - step. These sounds are furthermore generally made in

cross - rhythms to the dance steps; they so to speak punctuate

the dancer's movements and draw attention to them. Thus these

patterns of potentially musical sounds not only extend the

dimensions of Xhosa rhythmic heterophony, they also give it

colour. (Example No. 9 on Tape 1a).

I tried to find out whether some of these vocal sounds are used for any special reason, but I was not very successful.

Informants stated that they were merely another way of ' playing '

(uku - dlala), a term which is often used to describe music -

making generally. A few diviners said that ' singing ' (- dlala) was greatly loved by the ancestral shades, and that they liked especially the method of ' playing and changing the voice '. It may be ~~that~~ some of these vocal sounds are evidence of hyperventilation, intended to induce trance, but I am as yet unable to come to any conclusions about this.

Uku - kikizela are ululations which are produced by executing a rapid tremolo with the tongue. They do not qualify as music, and are made by women only, in those songs which are sung on occasions of great rejoicing, e.g. the ' coming out ' (umphumo) of circumcised boys, weddings (umtshato pl. imitshato), the installations (umbeko pl. imibeko) of chiefs and headmen, and the commencement and conclusion of girls' initiation.

Uku - memelela: to hum or ' sing with the lips closed '. This term refers specifically to the humming done by a person when milking a cow. The humming is believed to soothe the animal and induce a good flow of milk. The term is also used to describe the singing - ' mmmmmmmm ' - with closed lips which (i) accompanies normal singing, or (ii) alternates with it, in a song. Humming is a characteristic feature of the March - ing songs of boys and young men en route to their dance parties, and the War songs of boys on their way to a stick - fight (esitikeni, loc., ' place of sticks '). In these songs the humming is both rhythmic and emphatic. The following Figure 13 (a) and (b) represent an extract from the igwijo of an old Bomvana woman, Nodoyini Jubata, in which she sings her ' own song ', accompanied by a chorus of women who memelela with open,

and with closed mouth alternately. (Example No. 10 on Tape 1a). Throughout the song, the singer (and composer of the song) dances, (shakes and stamps), performs uku - godla and uku - bhodla (Hharho! and Yuh! in score), accompanied by the chorus, who hum and clap (cf. pp. 134 - 136).

A lullaby (ingoma yokuthuthuzela umntwana/usana, lit. ' a song to soothe a child, baby '), is seldom hummed. It is sung relatively loudly, and does not always have the desired effect, as the baby's wailing invariably increases during the course of the song, and the louder the baby wails, the louder the mother's singing becomes. One mother had great difficulty in calming her baby and eventually, when both mother and child were almost breathless from singing and screaming, the mother shook her child violently, exclaiming ' Hayi! thulani! (No! be quiet! '), and the astonished baby did just that. On the other hand, perhaps the baby had been singing too, and trying to keep up with his mother!

Although the term uku - vuma (v.) is used by all Cape Nguni peoples, the Mpondo and Xesibe clusters employ another term having the same meaning: uku - gwaba. (Hence the description igwabo lokusina = dance song in Figure 9 (a) and (b), pp. 118 - 119). The Mpondo and Xesibe unmarried tribal men (abafana banombola, lit. ' Raw young men who paint (themselves) with clay '), and their ' dressed ' social equivalents who are at least nominally Christian (iindlavini) employ a special - gwaba style (also referred to as itshotsha by the Mpondo themselves) at their dance parties called iguburha and umtshotsho respectively. (These must not be confused with the dance party of adolescent boys of the older chiefdom clusters). This

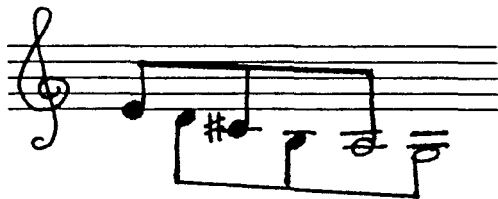
Figure 13(a): Example No. 10 on Tape 1a

Transcription of igwijo (' personal song ') of
Nodoyini Jubata.

Pitch: Present C[#] = original D

Strophe length: ♩ × 12

Mode: Hexatonic (< two major triads based on roots A and G);



① Song leader:

♩ = 132. $\frac{3}{16}$ $\frac{3}{16}$ $\frac{3}{16}$ $\frac{3}{16}$ $\frac{3}{16}$ $\frac{3}{16}$ $\frac{3}{16}$ $\frac{3}{16}$ $\frac{3}{16}$ $\frac{3}{16}$ $\frac{3}{16}$ $\frac{3}{16}$

Chorus: A-ho ho Ma-jo-ba-no ndum ndum!

CLAP (Hum) mm. mm.

Sl. Ch. Ha-ho - ho - Mjo-ba-no ndum ndum, ndinga-we-la;

Chorus. mm. mm. mm.

Sl. 8 Basses

③ Ndithi kun-je-makha-ya, nda-la-la zi-zwe-ni zam, Zatho ndaba zam, nda-we-la;

Ch. mm. mm.

Sl. ④ Ndithi kun-je-ma-kha-ya nda-la-la zi-zwe-ni zam; Hha!

Chorus (pp) mm. mm.

Fig. 13 Ex. No. 10 on Tape 1a.Igwijo : ('My own song')

Singer and composer: Nodoyini Jubata and a group of Bomvana/Tshezi women.

Aho ho Majolo no ndum ndum
Ndingawela,
Ndithi kunje emakhaya
Ndawulale ezizweni zam
Zatsho zindaba zam.

Ahoy! you, Majolo, (ndum ndum)
 I can go across (the sea),
 I say it is like this at home,
 I will sleep in the world
 Says my news.

(Trans. N Q Dingiswayo)

N.B. ndum ndum are onomatopoeic words imitating the sound of waves breaking onto the beach. This song was recorded at a homestead overlooking the sea, along the Wild Coast of Transkei, in Mncwasa administrative area No.1, Xhorha district, Transkei.

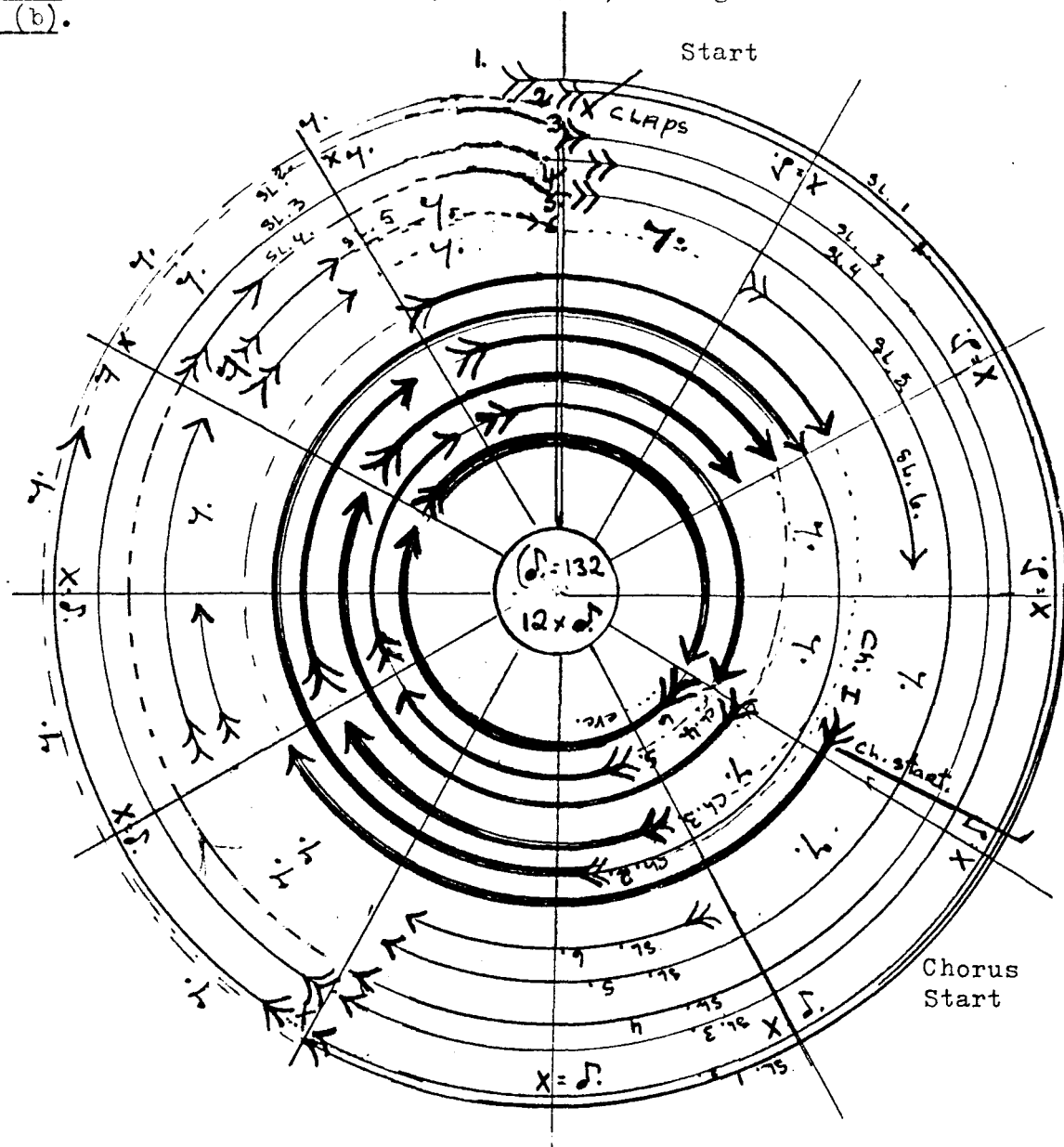
Sh. ⑤ Ndithi kun-ge-makha-ya ndawula-ze zi-zweni, in-da-ba, Hha - aho! Ha!

Ch. m... mm... m... mm... m

Sh. (3/16) ⑥ Hhau! Hha! Hhau! Hha! yuh! yuh!

Chorus: mm - m - m, mm... m-m... m... m, m... m

CLAPS



Igwijo of Nodoyini Jubata:

The song is begun by its 'owner', who also introduces the claps. The Solo part has been represented by a spiral, as the soloist does not sing a fixed 'Call' phrase. Her vocal part is varied slightly with each execution of the strophe. Also, the end-points of the solo phrases vary in their position in the strophe. The chorus part is also represented by a spiral, with start- and end - points being moved in relation to their former positions in the strophe. At the 6th execution of the strophe, the two chorus phrases merge into a single one. This song presents a good example of 'phrase shift' which is a feature of many African musical styles (cf. Rycroft 1967: 92).

Solo phrases are represented by S.L. 1, 2, 3 etc (thin lines)
Chorus phrases are represented by the thicker black lines, and numbered Ch. 1, 2, 3 etc.

(As given in Rycroft 1967, the head of an arrow denotes the end of a phrase).

This song is an example of 'double-ended overlap', i.e.: solo phrases commence at about the middle of one chorus phrase, and end halfway through the next one.

singing style is called uku - guburha (also uku - tshotsha = Mpondo), and when performed by a large group of people, the sound carries over a considerable distance. The singer sings into a cupped hand while lightly resting his chin on the palm of that hand (see Plate 18 on p. 781). At the same time he taps the area between the nose and the upper lip with the two fingers of the cupped hand, thereby achieving the main objective of this technique - a vibratory effect. The singing is rather nasal, the whole vocal process being a series of sharp attacks on a note of definite pitch, and a falling glissando release onto another tone of determinate pitch. (Example No. 11 on Tape 1a).

The Cape Nguni distinguish between high pitch and low pitch, and use the adjectives - khulu (' big, great ') and - ncinci (' small ') to describe the voice registers of men and women. Thus a man is said to have a ' big ' voice - ilizwi elikhulu (meaning low), while a woman usually has a ' small ' voice - ilizwi elincinci (meaning high). When a woman has an exceptionally deep voice, she is said to ' have a beard ' (umfazi unendevu). This phrase is commonly used to describe a woman who has had no children, the reason being that ' she could not because she was almost made a man '.

Old age and the infirmities which often accompany it can change the pitch of the voice considerably. Should an old person have a very deep voice (and many of them do have this), or practically no voice at all, owing to persistent bronchial trouble, it is said of him/her that his/her voice ' is very low/very small because it has been hurt through old age ' (ilizwi lakhe limele ngokwendala ukuba likhulu elincikane).

Songs are classified as being either (1) iingoma ezikhawulezayo (' hurried, hastened songs ') and (2) iingoma ezilibalayo (' delayed songs '). Nearly all the divination songs, and the dance songs of children and young men and women fall into category (1), and the dance songs of married men and women fall into category (2). One Qwathi man explained this tempo distinction as follows:

'You see, it is a question of energy. The younger ones are more energetic and quick; the abafana (young men) are the go - between. The amadoda (married men) have settled down to manhood. They dance in a slow, dignified way'.

The organization of dancing groups

A social gathering is always an occasion for music. Depending on the nature and purpose of the gathering, the music is performed by (1) members of a particular social group who are traditionally responsible for the music, and (2) anybody attending the gathering and who wishes to participate in the musical activities.

(1) refers to the social institutions of the Cape Nguni, i.e. gatherings of people that follow a pattern in their activities. They are repetitive and take place for specific purposes. These institutions are boys' initiation (ukwalusa), not practised by all the chiefdom clusters; girls' initiation (ukuthombisa/intonjane); the final initiation of diviners (umphumo); the First Fruits ceremony of the Bhaca, known as ingcubhe, which is ' a scaled - down version of the Zulu incwala ' (Hammond - Tooke (ed.) 1974: 261), and which today is celebrated in an attenuated form, and similar ceremonies among the Mpondo and Thembu which have practically died out.

(2) refers to the dance parties of the different age groups, beer drinks and big feasts which are attended by everyone, and the ' clubs ' or ' sports ' of married men and unattached women. The dance parties are: (i) umtshotsho for ' Red ' boys and girls aged thirteen to twenty years; intlombe of young adults (Mpondo version is iguburha), while the dance party of their ' dressed ' social equivalents (iindlavini) (Mpondo, Bhaca and Xesibe) is called umtshotsho.

Everyone is free to attend the big feasts (umgidi and umjadu) where meat and beer are available, as well as beer drinks (etywaleni) where the older men and women are served with beer. The ' clubs ' and ' sports ' of married men and unattached women (ibhasi and itimiti) are attended only by these people, and full tribal dress is compulsory. There is a small admission fee, and the wives of the men may attend these events as spectators. They do not wear formal dress, and must sit with the other spectators in the courtyard (inkundla). These are exclusive ' clubs ' and right of admission is reserved. Other places where older men and women gather are the ' bars ' where beer is sold, and people always sing and dance after they have had a few rounds of beer.

' School ' people also attend ' tea - meetings ' (iitimiti) where no alcoholic beverages are served. At these functions the music usually consists of ' school songs ' and church hymns (amaculo). The same sort of music is performed at school concerts (umculo pl. imiculo), and today traditional songs are often introduced into concert programmes.

The Cape Nguni youth organizations who regularly hold dance parties of the same name - umtshotsho (pre - initiation)

and intlombe (post - initiation), and iguburha = .
 Mpondo and Xesibe ' Red ' youths - are controlled by
 committees who enforce certain standards of social and
 musical behaviour. At the head of each committee is the
 leader of the organization, who is known as umantyi,
umajestili (' magistrate ') or umphathi (' manager ' or
 ' controller ') in the umtshotsho and umbhayizelo groups,
 and as umphathi wengoma (' song manager ', ' song controller ')
 in the intlombe, iguburha and umtshotsho (iindlavini) groups.

The leader is always male and a senior member of the
 group. In the umtshotsho group he may be nineteen or twenty
 years of age. The initiation of boys is often delayed (mainly
 for financial reasons) and a boy may be in his early twenties
 before he is initiated. By then he will have done a few stints
 on the mines or in the cane - fields in the Republic of South
 Africa, and will therefore have accumulated quite a bit of
 money, and be an experienced traveller. He will also be ' an
 experienced lover, and this together with the money he has, and
 the confident manner he has acquired, makes him very attractive
 to girls ' (young Thembu girl, Cacadu district, August 1970).

A leader is elected to his position by the other members of
 the group. Actual leadership is determined by an extended
 stick - fighting contest between all the boys who aspire to
 be the leader of the group (cf. Mayer and Mayer 1970: 159 -
 189). Quite often a boy who is the son or relative of an
 important person, e.g. a chief or headman, or councillor, is
 automatically elected leader, but he still has to take part
 in a stick - fighting contest, which he may win ' on points ' .
 While doing fieldwork in Cacadu district in 1970, I found out

that many of these boys preferred not to stand as possible leaders of umtshotsho groups because these had such a bad reputation in the district. One boy who discussed the matter with me, told me that some of the groups were so wild and uncontrolled that they were ' becoming almost as fierce as the Mpondo iindlavini'.

The committee controlling the ' Red ' young adult organizations are similarly constructed. The senior members (abafana, i.e. initiated young men) who will marry in a few years time and thus leave the group, are known among the Thembu and Mfengu as idulisi pl. iidulisi (lit. ' young men who take part in faction fights ', from iduli (n.) meaning ' a fight, skirmish '). The younger members who are newly - initiated youths, are known by their formal name - ikrhwala pl. amakrhwala (from - krhwala (v.i.) meaning ' to begin to ripen '). The Mpondo and Xesibe boys do not go through an initiation school, but as young men they attend iguburha, which resembles the intlombe of the Xhosa, Thembu and Mfengu. They are known as abafana banombola (' raw young men who paint with clay ').

The iindlavini gangs of the Bhaca, Mpondo and Xesibe also have committees headed by a ' song manager ' (umphathi wengoma) who is supported by a ' lieutenant ' or ' driver ' (' udrayiva ', cf. Hammond - Tooke 1962: 79 - 80), or ' policeman ' (iphoyisa = Xesibe and Mpondo). The members of these gangs address their leaders as ' chief ' (inkosi pl. iinkosi) when they speak to him.

Every song manager is an accomplished singer and dancer; ' he has to be, because he would look very silly if he sang and danced badly '. Although he is essentially the manager of the

group rather than of the music of the group, he and his committee are directly concerned with its musical activities. They are responsible for arranging the dance parties, and rehearsals if there is a dance competition in the offing, and for making sure that all the members attend these. Anyone who fails to do so is 'brought to court' before the manager, is 'tried' and subsequently fined. This is considered to be both a disgrace and an unnecessary expense, although the 'fine' (usually some item of bead-work, among the 'Red' youth, or money, among the iindlavini), is always put towards the organization's 'funds'. Among the iindlavini, failure to attend any meeting or dance party is often seen to be an act of disloyalty to the group, and the culprit is sometimes 'banned' temporarily or even permanently from the group. If the latter, 'he might just as well move to another district as he will never live it down' (Bhaca guide, 1971).

The song manager is easily identified from the other young men (or boys) by his exceptionally ornate dress. Although all the men wear every article of adornment they may have, the song manager is invariably bedecked with bead-work, all made by his many 'sweethearts' and female admirers.

Because girls and young women provide most of the singing and clapping in musical performances, the song leaders are nearly always females. A girl is chosen largely for her ability to sing and clap well and to lead the chorus generally. She is supported by a dance leader, also a girl, whose duty it is to 'show' the girls the various stylized movements and postures which they do from time to time during a dance performance.

The men are the chief dancers (the Bhaca iindlavini excluded), who do almost all the dancing, during which they make vocal - percussive sounds.

The song manager and the song leader always discuss the music which is to be performed at the various dance sessions. Both choose songs from a repertoire of music, and when the programme has been fixed, the song leader will rehearse the girls on their own at a specified time and place. (This is not typical of the Bhaca iindlavini, who always practise together (men and girls) as a group, there being no sex segregation). When the girls have been sufficiently rehearsed, the song leader will notify the song manager that the ' girls are singing well ', and he will then arrange general rehearsals for the whole group. There is therefore a close musical association between the song manager and the song leader. There is also, as I found out, a sexual relationship between them. I spoke to members of twenty - one youth groups, and in every case the song leader was, at the time the ' Number One sweetheart ' of the song manager. Among the ' Red ' people and the non - Christians, the term ' sweetheart ' means that there is a - metsha liaison between two people, i.e. they are ' going steady ', and probably practise uku - metsha (intra - crural intercourse). This does not mean that the male partner gives his attentions to one girl only; other girls in the group may be his partners from time to time, but his ' sweetheart ' will be the acknowledged leader of the girls.

Dance parties may be formal (festive dress is compulsory) or informal (every - day clothes may be worn), but neatness of dress is imperative, and anyone who dresses untidily or

does not comply with the standards of dress (e.g. girls must wear head - scarves, and are allowed to have only one type of whistle which is used to indicate changes in dance steps at the song leader's request; men must wear blankets around their waists and must retain these when dancing), is ' arrested ' by a committee member and ' brought to court '. Similarly, anyone contravening the ' laws ' of the group, (e.g. leaving the dance hut without permission, smoking, dancing and singing badly, misbehaving and ' showing off ') is also arrested. The committee are extremely diligent in maintaining a high standard of musical performance, and in the course of a dance they will occupy different places in the dancing group so that they ' can watch over everyone '.

Among the ' Red ' people, when a person is ' brought to court ' he is told to stand before a large flat rectangular stone which is always placed in the centre of the dance hut. This stone is the song manager's ' chair ' or ' throne '. It also serves as a dancing platform for the song manager and the other committee members, who take turns in dancing and posturing on its flat surface. The song manager may or may not take part in all the dances, but he usually terminates the music, either with a shout and a wave of the hand, or (more usual) with a series of blasts on a whistle.

I attended a dance competition between the intlombe groups of the Hala and Qwathi, who belong to the Thembu chiefdom cluster. The Hala song manager controlled his team rigidly, both before and during and after the competition. No - one was permitted to smoke or drink beer before the event,

as it might be detrimental to their performance. They did not have a long warming - up session for the same reason. (The Qwathi did just the opposite). I was not allowed to take any photographs until after the competition, nor was I permitted to do anything which might distract the group, and take their minds off the serious matter in hand - the competition.

During the competition, the song manager stood in the centre of the hut on the flat stone, while the other men formed a semicircle before him. The men danced round the song manager, who ' conducted ' them from his central position. He performed - tyityimba and made vocal sounds, from time to time shouting encouraging remarks to his team, who also made similar vocal sounds, exclamations, and performed - bhodla, - godla, and - ngqokola as they danced. Three songs were sung in all; during the second and third songs, men took turns in occupying the central position of the song manager, and dancing in an exhibitionistic way - exaggerated movements, etc. The song manager joined the body of dancers.

Figure 14 is a transcription of one of the dances performed at this competition. It is an intlombe song in Mfengu style entitled Ho ndawela ma (' Ho! I went across '). Its form is simple antiphony without overlap, the solo and chorus phrases observing the ' principle of non - simultaneous entry ' (Rycroft 1967: 90). These two main parts are numbered 1 and 2 in the transcription (cf. pp. 146 and 147). The strophe has a duration of 16 quavers, with solo and chorus phrases each occupying 8 quavers (cf. 3 in the score).

Figure 14 Intlombe song (' in Mfengu style ' = isiMfengu

Strophe length: $\text{♩} \times 16$ (8 + 8) Ex. No. 12 on Tape 1a
 Pitch: Present "E" = original F (transposed a semitone down)

$\text{♩} = 176 \text{ M.M.}$

Sl. Ho..... nda-we-la ma, Ho ma-ma; Ho.

1.

Chor. 2. *Tacet.*

Claps 3.

claps begun by chorus leader. Ch. + 8. b. take up claps

1. Sl. o nda-we-la ma Ho-ho.

2. Chorus. Ho..... nda-we-la ma

3. Claps.

1. Sl. Ndo-la-la-phi na ma-ma, Ho.

2. Chorus. Ho nda-la-la-phi na ma-ma;

3. Claps.

Sl + ch. estinate....

Start: 4. uku-bhodla Yuh! Yuh!

Yuh!

4. Yuh! ! ! ! Yuh! Yuh! ! !

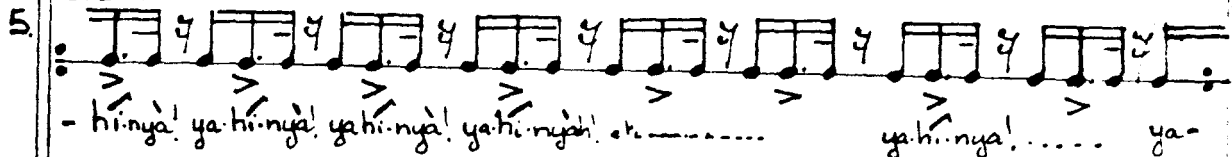
Start: 5. Ya-hi-nyah!

Intervallic distance: $\sqrt[4]{}$ 4th.

Ya-hi-nyah! Ya

CLAPS

5. etc.



- hi-nya! ya-hi-nya! ya-hi-nya! ya-hi-nya! etc.

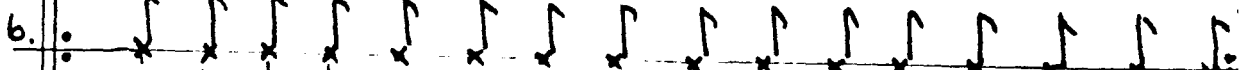
ya-hi-nya! ya-

Ya-hi-nya! = 4th interval approx.

6. Start: - * :
uku-godla

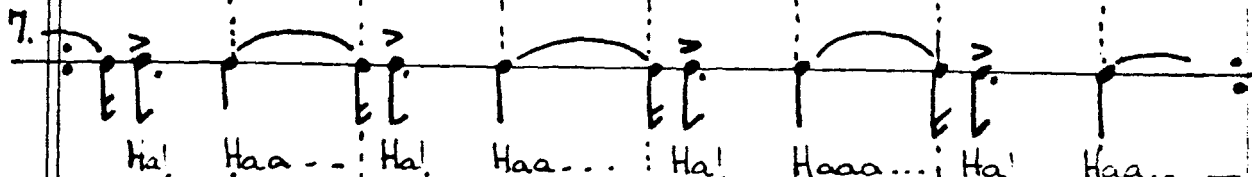
Hhuh! Hhuh!

-godla: Hhuh! ! etc.



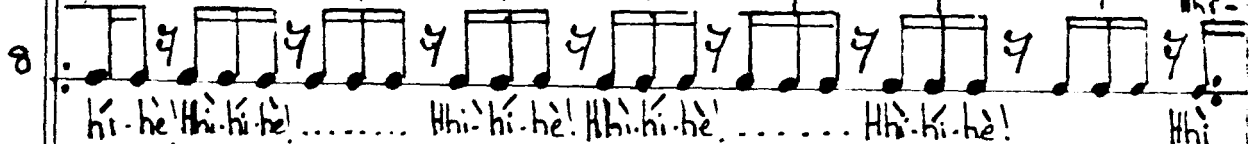
CLAPS

7. Start: * Haa....



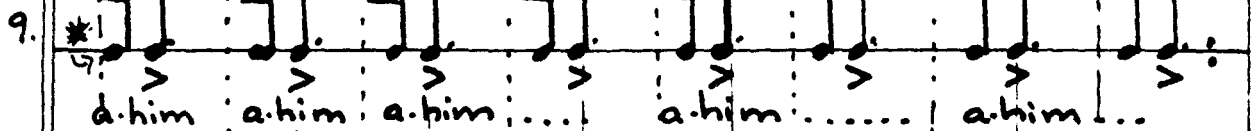
Ha! Haa -- Ha! Haa... Ha! Haa... Ha! Haa...

* 8. Start: → Hhi-

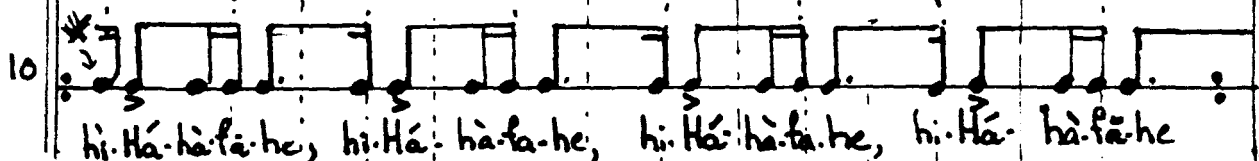


hi-hè Hhi-hi-hè! Hhi-hi-hè! Hhi-hi-hè! Hhi-hi-hè! Hhi

CLAPS



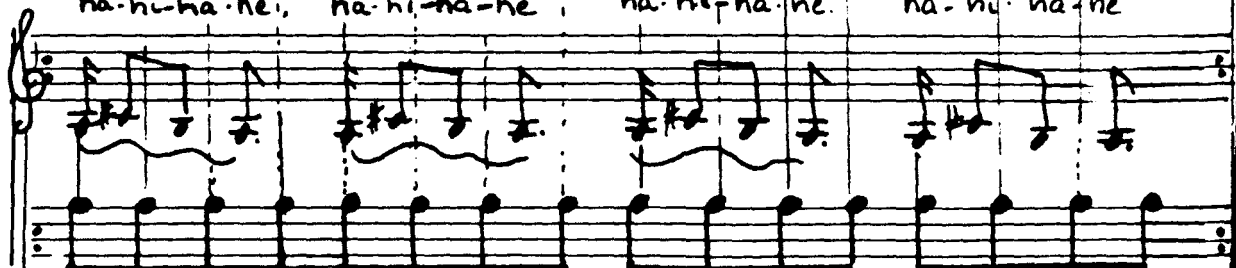
a-him a-him a-him a-him a-him...



hi-Há-hà-fa-he, hi-Há-hà-fa-he, hi-Há-hà-fa-he, hi-Há-hà-fa-he

11. (uku-nggokola)

ha-hi-ha-he, ha-hi-ha-he ha-hi-ha-he ha-hi-ha-he



CLAPS

* = where pattern starts in the stroke.

Nos. 4 - 10 denote the patterns of vocal sounds made by individual male dancers as they performed - tyityimba, while No. 11 indicates the singing style of uku - nggokola performed by the song - manager. The song is begun by the song leader, whose entry is followed one crotchet beat later by clapping, introduced by the chorus leader and subsequently taken up by the song leader on the 5th crotchet. The rest of the chorus take up the claps in the full execution of the strophe that follows (11 in score), and in which the chorus sings for the first time. The chorus response reproduces the song leader's part exactly, as it does in the next , and successive repetitions of the strophe, when textual and very slight variations are introduced. This is the general pattern in this particular song, although there are (further on) a number of strophe repetitions in which the chorus part remains fixed while the song leader's part continually varies.

Strophe lll in the score (p. 146) is repeated several times (it is enclosed in double bars), and during these repetitions the patterns of vocal sounds and ' noises ' are introduced by the male dancers. These patterns begin success - ively in this transcription, as they do in my recording, the reason being that I roved with my microphone while recording. In actual fact the different patterns were going simultaneously for several repetitions of the strophe. This performance was a very extended one, lasting approximately 26 minutes, and during this time the male dancers changed their patterns, or ceased to sing for a few strophe repetitions.

After recording these patterns, I managed to stand on the central platform (when it was temporarily unoccupied), and

record the overall sound; in this part of my recording these vocal patterns are difficult to discern, being virtually swallowed up in the group sound.

I have included some intonation marks (/ = high, \ = low) above certain syllables, because they are ' sung ' or sounded on higher and lower pitch levels. Emphasis signs have been placed under a few syllables, as these are deliberately accentuated by the vocalists. This score could easily be a score of drum rhythm patterns (although perhaps less complex) if one were to omit the syllables; it is a good example of Cape Nguni polyrhythm, which could be regarded as the vocal equivalent of instrumental poly - rhythm practised by some African peoples living north of the Limpopo, and the Venda and Tsonga people of the Republic of South Africa. (Ex. No. 12 on Tape 1a).

Text of intlomba song:

Ho ndawela ma
Ndolalaphi na mama,
Ho mama.

Ho! I went across,
Where will I sleep, mother,
Ho! mother.

(trans. N Q Dingiswayo)

The fact that there are at least two leaders in a song - and - dance group, one for the singing (umhlabeli) and one for the dancing (umkhokeli emxhentsweni), does not mean that one is a better singer than the other, who excels in dancing. Both can sing and dance well, but neither can fulfil both functions. The dance leader's duty is to control and guide the dancers, leaving the song leader free to lead and guide the chorus. The dance leader would find it difficult to lead the singing well, because she

would lack sufficient breath to sing because of exertions incurred through dancing. She chooses the steps and indicates them - when and how they are to be executed.

When the number of performers is exceptionally large there are usually two of each. On one occasion (the installation of a popular headman), as many as 600 women performed their umngqungqo dance, and there were three song leaders, each of whom had an assistant.

The Tshawe people who attend their exclusive ' clubs ' are controlled by a committee consisting of the leader or (chief ' (inkosi) and his ' councillors ' (amaphakathi). One of these acts as a ' secretary ' (unobhala) whose duty it is to notify members about forthcoming ' club ' events. The music performed at these functions is organized along lines similar to those of the ' Red ' youth groups. The women provide the singing and clapping, and the men do most of the dancing, although there is plenty of scope for ' solo ' performances. The music performed at ordinary beer drinks and work parties is spontaneous and the men and women maintain their roles as chief dancers (men), and singers and clappers (women), although both sexes give ' solo ' performances which are often very vigorous and exhibitionistic.

The song leader starts off the song, and leads off the chorus; she also introduces improvisations which guide the chorus in their responses. Should a song leader wish to perform ' solo ' (and everyone likes to do so during the course of a dance song), her assistant (sub - leader) will take over. The song leader's solo usually consists of vocal

improvisations (sounds or vocables) accompanying vigorous dancing - shaking and contortions, stamping, simulated horse - riding (although Cape Nguni women do not ride horses), anything she likes to do - while the others continue with the prescribed singing and dance - movements, always guided by the sub - leader, and dance leader and assistant. Again, should the song leader wish to improvise vocally and introduce new variations of the song - melody, her assistant will see that these improvisations are not swamped by any vocal improvisations from other excited singers. (I have seen a woman place her hand across the mouth of another woman who was all but swamping the song leader). Depending on the number of performers, usually two but never more than three persons do a ' solo ' stint at any one time. When the song leader improvises, everyone holds back. The assistants exhort the singers to sing and dance well, and they admonish those who do not. Leaders and their assistants are always aware of what the other is doing. The dance leader often uses a whistle to indicate a change in steps, or in a certain dance formation.

The performance of the indlamu dance by Bhaca iindlavini often involves so many people that, when done indoors as it usually is (unless it is performed at the Chief's Great Place, when it is performed out - of - doors), a number of people (usually eight to twelve) will get up and dance indlamu in a single line, while the rest of the group will sit (or squat down) and sing and clap. Very often the roles of song leader and sub - leader (assistant) are divided





between the man who is participating in the smaller group as a song leader, and the girl who is leading the chorus who are sitting and singing. Members of the entire group will take turns in dancing in smaller ' sub - groups ', and the same musical situation is observed. This is typical of Bhaca indlamu dances when they take place indoors - it is a convenient arrangement because it permits the whole group to dance together in a rather small area.

The Mpondo iindlavini are ' all - male gangs ' who nevertheless attend their dance parties with their girl - friends. Their music repertoire includes many songs which are sung exclusively by the men. They are known as ' breaks ' and are sung between performances of ' big ' songs like indlamu and umgajo. In these songs the role of song leader is assumed by a man, while the rest of the group sing and take turns in performing ' solo ' dances.

A successful performance requires a great feeling for community, and the teamwork in all dancing groups is sometimes quite astonishing, particularly in a dance like umngqungqo in which almost always a large number of women take part (there are always plenty of married women about), and in which there is no steadily sounding beat. Assistants are of great importance to their leaders, and very often a song leader chooses her assistant. Assistants are a convenient source of choice phrases and dance steps that others in their immediate vicinity as well as their leaders, can draw on. Their phrases and steps often help their leaders along when, for a moment, they cannot think of something new to sing or

dance, in which case they might falter and bring the whole group down with them. Without this smooth teamwork between leaders and assistants, and between them and the chorus, the whole performance would collapse.

When a change of any sort in the pattern is to occur, as in (i) clapping, (ii) the dance - steps and the movements and formation of the dancers, the leaders indicate these in the following ways:

(i) The song leader starts to sing more and more loudly shortly before the change is due, so that she draws the attention of everyone to her. At the same time she stretches her arms forward, and upward into the air, still clapping. Immediately before the change is made, she shouts 'Jika!' (meaning ' turn! change! '), and, if everyone has been clapping , then they will clap in double - quick time: ; the same occurs when double claps become augmented, as from  to .

(ii) The dance leader will blow her (or his) whistle some beats before the change is made; then she will shout 'Jika!' or blow in double time, and indicate the steps to be executed. If the dancers have been dancing in a circle anti - clockwise, the dance leader will blow her whistle as before, then lift her arms and indicate a turning movement, shout 'Jika!', at which all the dancers will turn and proceed dancing clockwise. The individual leaders have their own methods of controlling and directing their group, but jika and/or the whistle tones are common change signals, and are used by all Cape Nguni people.

Standards of excellence in performance

By attending musical performances, and by observing the responses of audiences and casual onlookers to music performed on other occasions, I was able to learn how the Cape Nguni judge musical performances, and the standards of excellence on which they base their judgements.

The Cape Nguni do not speak of music as they speak of beautiful children, or beautiful cattle. Music is always ' good ', ' pleasant ', ' delightful ' - kumnandi, which is also used to describe food, and sex, which is both natural and ' good '. Music can only be good, and there is no such thing as bad music; it is performed well, or badly. To sing well, singers must sing loudly and clearly, and with great gusto and enthusiasm. (Screeching is of course undesirable). Timid attempts at singing always bring derisive laughter and comments from the onlookers. I seldom heard bad criticisms, because really bad performances seldom occurred, but those that I did hear were always honest and witty. I recall an early morning in mid - July, when I recorded the singing of a young girl, who was accompanied on the mouth bow (umrhubhe) by a friend. She sang so indistinctly that one of the onlookers suggested that she return to bed, where she had obviously left her voice! On another occasion (a school concert), the lifeless singing of a choral song with several verses caused an eminent member of the audience to snort and mutter, and exclaim, ' Ha! I - Astronauts! ' from time to time. Every - one knew what he meant, although I did not until much later,

when someone enlightened me. He wished the choir would emulate the Astronauts, who were in orbit at the time, and go to the moon, then their singing would no longer be heard.

Women musicians are usually extroverts; they have a natural inclination to distinguish themselves, and like to assume the lead in group performances of music. Of course they cannot all do so, and this often leads to serious quarrels which are usually resolved by an old lady being nominated by the senior man present to lead the singing. No - one will dispute this because the woman is 'old and almost ithongo'. These women like to show their musicianship, and their ingenuity in improvising is greatly admired. They sometimes show intolerance toward other women musicians whom they consider to be less talented than themselves. Certain women are acknowledged to be 'champion' song leaders, (intshatsheli, cf. p. 43), and when they take part in a dance they are expected to take the lead. If two or more 'champions' are present at one event, then it is the woman who is the wife or lover of an important person who will take the lead first, and may lead several performances of music. Such women have an important attribute - they are associated with people of rank, and so they are merely assuming their proper place in a musical situation. One imvumi (skilled musician) found it impossible to listen to her friend's awkward attempts to play a popular song on the uhadi. The player's rocky rhythm so upset the imvumi that she sprang up, exclaimed

with great finality ' Amen! ', grabbed the instrument and stick, and proceeded to show us all how to play the song correctly.

When people sing and dance together, each person can do what he/she likes, taking his cue from the leaders. It is essential that everyone co - operates, and that their parts fit together (- vuma) and synchronize with the basic rhythm of the music.

As I have said before, the drum rhythms of divination music are not difficult to play. Learner drummers do find it difficult at the beginning to sustain a rhythmic pattern for a long period of time, and to retain a metronomic tempo, but regular practise soon solves this problem. Although some drummers use wooden drum sticks, most of them prefer to use curved strips of rubber cut from an old car tyre, because they say it gives a better sound. Others again say that rubber drum ' sticks ' are unsatisfactory because they bounce off the drum heads and are uncontrollable. It is all a matter of taste, and drummers use whatever they like.

Although the Cape Nguni insist that they are very particular as to how a song should sound, and use vocal sounds and techniques judiciously, and suppress unpleasant screeching and the like, they do not seem to mind if a drum with a torn skin - head is used. This occurred at a ' coming out ' ceremony of an initiate as a diviner, and when I commented on it, everyone was rather surprised. The diviner said it was not all that important, and that it was her drum, and the only one available for use. At a seance some weeks later the drummer had difficulty with

her enormous turban which regularly became undone at every third repetition of the song pattern (strophe), and which was adjusted by the woman during a period of half that length (one and a half times the strophe). This continued until the end of the song, when the turban simultaneously fell right off the woman's head. The singers and dancers were caught up in the excitement of the dance to such an extent that they were seemingly unaware of the periods in the music during which the drumming was absent. This is a good example of how invalid transcriptions of music can be, when the music has not been recorded ' on the spot ' by the transcriber himself/herself. A stranger might consider these drum ' rests ' to be an essential feature of the music.

'Dancing must be vigorous and energetic, and virtuosity is always admired. The star turn at a Mpondo installation I attended, was a man who did his version of the Limbo dance, which drew cries and shouts of admiration from the onlookers. Good dancing is characterized not so much by speed as by mobility, that is, fluency obtained by the unrestricted participation of all persons in the dance. At the same time, dance movements in concert and formations during the dance must be controlled and orderly. At the intlombe competition between the Hala and the Qwathi, referred to earlier, the Qwathi lost to the Hala team not only because they sang badly, but also because they danced untidily, and, like ' amatshunguza they ran all over the hut ' (uku - tshunguza, = ' to spread rapidly, run about from place to place ', implies disorganization.

Taboos in music

In his book on the Xhosa (1932), John Henderson Soga describes the Xhosa attitude to death as follows:

'Death is an awesome thing to the Xhosa. . . but it does not mean extinction. The soul lives on, continuity of the family is preserved, the spirits of the departed have direct communication with the living; the living minister to the wants of those who "have gone before", and the latter punish the shortcomings of their friends in the flesh, by sending sickness or death upon them. These in turn, offer sacrifices to appease the offended spirits' (Soga 1932: 318).

Fuller surveys of mortuary rites of the Cape Nguni and other Bantu - speaking peoples have been made by a number of scholars since then. In these surveys, comparable material from accounts by earlier writers (including Soga) is cited, and certain points made by them are reiterated, viz. the awesome and even tragic character attributed to death generally. These later surveys also provide more detailed information about concepts of death and reaction to it.¹

Like their close neighbours the Zulu, the Cape Nguni draw a distinction between the death of an old person, and the death of a child or young man or woman. Death from extreme age is considered natural (i.e. ' timely '), because it occurs at the correct time in life.² All old people who die become ancestral shades (amathongo or iminyanya/izinyanya),³ and remain present though invisible members of society who can influence the lives of their descendants.⁴ This influence may be benevolent or bad. A man may neglect his religious or family duties, and thus incur the displeasure of the ancestral shades, who punish him by ' sending ' him an illness. Such an illness is usually

curable.⁵ Death following sickness and disease, and particularly death before maturity, is considered unnatural and ' untimely ',⁶ and is always believed to be the work of witches and sorcerers (abathakathi).⁷ Causes of sickness and death in both man and animals is discovered by the diviner, who will determine whether misfortunes have been ' sent ' by the ancestors or by a person using supernatural means (witchcraft and sorcery).⁸ Unnatural death is thus not only an awesome thing, it is also appalling and terrible; it breaks up family solidarity and robs the community of a potentially useful member. Death brings pollution, and the corpse is considered to be dangerous and contaminated, and is buried as soon as possible. The relatives of the dead person are liable to be affected by contaminative death and have to undergo purification and fortification against it by means of mourning rites and taboos, of which music is one. This applies only to ' Red ' burials (uku - fihla). Christian burials include the singing of a few hymns.⁹ During the mourning period visits from other people are in abeyance for a time.

Burials among the Cape Nguni today show a fusion of Christian and tribal ritual. The corpse is usually encased in a shroud and placed in a wooden box or coffin, and then buried (after a ' Service ' at Christian funerals). The ritual wailing (isililo) which is obligatory, and which tribal women commence as soon as death occurs, and by which they inform everyone in the vicinity that a death has occurred, is not done at Christian funerals because of this tribal association.¹⁰ Christian funerals are sometimes attended by

tribal people, who do not participate actively, but sit and watch the proceedings.¹¹

The death of an important person,¹² such as a Paramount Chief or a district chief necessitates general mourning and the observance of certain taboos. Big feasts at which meat as well as beer is served, are banned for a time; consequently the music performed at such feasts is also banned. Beer drinks are not banned, because beer is food and therefore necessary, but out of respect for the deceased person people will not sing at these beer drinks. Nor will young men and women hold their dance parties until the period of mourning is over. Headmen are not generally mourned, although festivities and their music may be stopped for a time.

Regarding restrictions on the use of music, cf. pp. 22 - 23 where mention is made of ritual songs which are never performed instrumentally or out of context, because of their ritual significance (' respected ' songs).

The Zulu formerly had a restriction on the use of flutes before the annual First Fruits ceremony (Kirby 1934: 116), but the Xhosa do not seem to have had much use for the instrument (ibid.). Zulu clans each have their own sacred ihubo ' anthem ' which is taboo for a young wife coming from another clan (Rycroft, ' A royal account...' 1975: 360 and note 83). Regarding the Xhosa lineages, a similar song category has been noted by Soga. This category includes war songs which were sung by warriors of the various Xhosa clans while assembling at the Chief's Great Place, in order to be doctored by the war doctor (itola) (Soga 1932: 66 - 67).¹³ When all the clans were assembled, they stood up and

sang the ' principal war song ', entitled umhobe (ibid.).¹⁴ The divisions of the Mpondo army, which were on a territorial basis, had their own war songs, which they sang when march - ing into battle, when being reviewed, or when greeting the chief. These war songs, known individually as irhuba, were also sung when the army was treated with medicines (Hunter 1936: 403).¹⁵ Neither Soga nor Hunter make mention of any taboos associated with these songs. Information volunteered by Cape Nguni field informants stressed the obvious fact that the songs were sung only by men (i.e. the warriors). I was unable to get further data on this point.¹⁶

Regarding the non - use, or restricted use of music during certain rites and ceremonies, one may briefly mention events involving singing and dancing, at which avoidance taboos are lifted. Hunter reports the dancing of young men and women in the courtyard (inkundla),¹⁷ an area which women of child - bearing age are supposed to avoid because of umlaza (ritual impurity).¹⁸ I witnessed several performances of intlombe dance songs by young adults, who danced in the courtyard in the late afternoon, and also in the middle of the morning (009hrs), to celebrate the initiation of girls. The married women's ritual dance, umngqungqo (Mpondo = umgquzo), which is an essential part of girls' initiation ceremonies, is also usually performed in the courtyard, the women dancing concentrically, i.e. one circle within the other. Performances involving a large number of women usually take place in an open area alongside the cattle - byre or further away where the women have sufficient room in which to dance.¹⁹

The ritual killing of an ox during the ' coming out ' (umphumo) ceremony of a novice as a fully - fledged diviner, takes place inside the cattle byre, and is attended by diviners of both sexes who sing and dance as the ritual is performed. Since the cattle - byre is also forbidden to women during the age of child - bearing, it seems that the umlaza taboo is suspended. The umphumo culminates in an open - air seance (intlombe) which is held in the court - yard, and is freely attended by men and women. At this event, which includes much singing and dancing, the umlaza taboo is again suspended.²⁰

NOTES

- 1 Soga, J.H., 1932: 317 - 325; Cook, P.A.W., 1931: 89 - 96; Hunter, M., 1936: 227 - 235; Krige, E.J., 1936: ch.7; Hammond - Tooke, W.D., 1962: ch. 10; Hammond - Tooke (ed) 1974: chs. 10 & 11; Berglund, A - L., 1976: 79 - 82.
- 2 Berglund 1976: 79 - 80; Hammond - Tooke (ed) 1974: 336; Regarding the death of old people, Krige describes the old Zulu custom of uku - godusa, whereby these people were ' helped ' or ' sent home ' by a sort of mercy killing (e.g. men were buried alive or killed, and women were abandoned in some place far away from their homesteads (1936: 160). Berglund also refers to this now obsolete custom (1976: 80).
- 3 Hammond - Tooke op.cit. : 330 - 331; Hunter op.cit. : 231; Regarding the ancestral shades, Hammond - Tooke notes that, among the Bhaca, ' the emphasis is on age and, the concept not being formulated to any degree, there is doubt whether people who die young become shades. Indeed, the correlation with age is so close that very old people are referred to as amathongo even during their lifetime '.

The same author continues: 'Although age tends to be a sine qua non and is extremely important it is not the only determinant, and much depends on personality. . . . Much depends on the impression of personality left on the minds of the surviving members of the lineage' (1962: 234).
Hunter reports that the Mpondo hold similar views.

- 4 Hammond - Tooke op.cit. : 236 - 237, and (ed) 1974: 330 - 331; Hunter loc.cit.

- 5 Cf. Hammond - Tooke op.cit. : 336, where he states: ' . . . whereas ancestrally sent illness is bad, it is not evil. Illness caused naturally or by the ancestors is generally curable: it is only witch - craft and sorcery that really kill'.

- 6 Berglund loc.cit.; Hammond - Tooke 1962: 264 - 265.

- 7 ibid.; Hunter op.cit. : 290ss.

- 8 Hammond - Tooke loc.cit.; and (ed) 1974: 336; Hunter loc.cit.; Hammond - Tooke stresses the important difference between the two sources of misfortune: in the first case the victim brings it on himself by his own actions; in the second case, no fault attaches to the victim (336).

- 9 Christians use the term umngcwabo, denoting burial. The beast or goat that is killed to provide food for the relatives of the deceased is also known by the same term (cf. Hammond - Tooke 1962: 230).

- 10 ibid.

- 11 I was asked to attend a funeral on the first day's fieldwork among the Thembu. Men and women sat in separate groups, and a sermon and speeches were delivered by a clergyman and two friends of the deceased.

Two hymns were sung during the service, and after the final prayer the coffin was carried to the burial place, situated on the edge of a mealie field belonging to the deceased and his family. First the women, then the men, filed slowly past the grave, singing verses of yet another hymn. Each person threw a clod of earth into the grave. When the grave had been filled in by young men with shovels, everyone returned to the homestead where buckets of water had been placed on small tables. Each person had to dip the hands into the water and rub them together - a vestige of the ritual cleansing which is a feature of pagan burials. A large company of tribal men and women watched the proceedings from a distance, including the obligatory washing of hands, after which they returned to their homes.

- 12 In her description of the burial of a Zulu king, Krige mentions the singing of the king's ' favourite anthems ' by the army as they return to the Great Place, after the burial (1936: 173). There is no documentary evidence that singing was ever performed at the burials of Cape Nguni chiefs and other important persons. Tribal informants were adamant that music was ' never done ' at any funerals, including those of eminent persons.
- 13 The Mpondo army doctor was known as inyanga yempi (Hunter op.cit. : 409).
- 14 Among earlier writers this song is mentioned by Cook in his description of boys' initiation ceremonies of the Bomvana. The song is sung during the concluding ceremonies, after the initiates have washed themselves, and are escorted back to the ' lodge ' by the older married men, who surround them and sing umhobe (1931: 63). The song is again sung when the initiates' ' lodge ' is fired, together with the blankets, and dancing dresses worn by the initiates during the seclusion period (loc.cit.). This term is not mentioned by Soga. Dictionary entries for umhobe and related terms are: Kropf, A., A Kafir - English Dictionary (2nd edn. ed R Godfrey), Lovedale, Alice 1915; meanings include (a) ' the exulting song of war ' ; ' babeta umhobe = they sang triumphantly ' ; (b) ' joyous song at circumcision, intonjane and at the marriage dance ' ; the Dove; a circumcision song '. McLaren - Bennie (1915) (3rd edn. 1963) defines the term as ' a song of exultation ' (p.62); nowadays the

- term is used by Cape Nguni to describe a National Anthem, e.g. umhobe wesizwe (lit. 'exulting song of the nation'); cf. p.85 (Swazi National Anthem).
- 15 Dictionary entry in Döhne's Zulu Kafir Dictionary (1857: 313) defines irhuba as : ' a war - song, from verb -rhuba '. The principal meaning of uku - rhuba is ' to rush forward with impetuosity, violence, or tumultuous rapidity; to rush, as: impi iyarhuba, i.e. the armies rush into battle (in this sense it always includes the war - songs of the army ').
- 16 Older Xhosa - speaking informants knew the term umhobe and explained its meaning as ' a special war song (ingoma yempi), sung when warriors gathered before war for medicines: it was some - times sung when boys " came out " as men '. Younger informants were vague about the original meaning of the term. All of them stated that, to them, it meant the National Anthem of ' all Black people today '. By this they meant Nkosi sikelel' iAfrika (' God bless Africa '), a hymn composed in 1897, by the Rev. Enoch Sontonga, a Thembu clergy - man. Originally in the Xhosa language, it is today sung in many other languages. ' . . . it has for many years been regarded as a kind of unofficial pan - national anthem by educated Africans throughout Southern Africa ' (Rycroft, D.K., Afr. Lang. Studies, XI, 1970: 298).
- 17 The inkundla is the area between the gate of the Cattle - byre and the main hut.
- 18 The concept of umlaza applies particularly to women, and is associated with their sexual functions. A woman has umlaza during menstruation until she washes after the flow has stopped, after a miscarriage, or the death of husband or child (for about a month), and after sexual intercourse, until she washes. A man also has umlaza when his wife or child dies, and after intercourse with a woman. Obligatory washing removes umlaza. Anyone who eats meat of an animal that has died is infected with umlaza, and again, only washing will remove it. People with umlaza are dangerous to all stock except pigs and poultry. Women of child - bearing age may not enter the cattle - byre, nor may they go near them; they must also avoid walking across the courtyard

(inkundla). Umlaza involves many other taboos (cf. Hunter 1936: 46 - 47; Hammond - Tooke 1962: 69 - 70).

- 19 Nearly all the performances of umngunggo/umguzo I witnessed involved a large company of dancers, varying from 30 - 500 women on different occasions. The dancing took place in a space some ten metres beyond the cattle - byre, or even further away, in the case of 500 dancers. Hunter reports dancing in the inkundla by married women and their social equivalents (1936: 267), and by young adults (p.357). She notes the lifting of avoidance taboos during dancing (cf. footnote: 357).
- 20 Hammond - Tooke reports the apparent lifting of umlaza taboos at a diviner's initiation ceremony (Bhaca), when male and female diviners freely enter the cattle - byre (1962: 253). I noted this at several ' coming out ' ceremonies which I attended.

CHAPTER 5

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS (IINTO EZIKHALISWAYO)

The musical instruments of the Cape Nguni, which they refer to as iinto ezikhaliswayo (' things that are made to cry ')¹ have been thoroughly and systematically discussed and well illustrated by the late Percival R. Kirby in his book The Musical Instruments of the Native Races of South Africa, first printed and published in 1934, and revised in 1965.

According to my fieldwork and research findings and results, a few of the instruments mentioned by Kirby were still to be found only in the more remote regions of Transkei, while others were obsolete. I shall therefore briefly describe these instruments and comment on them, these comments being based on my fieldwork findings.

Although the Cape Nguni have a special name for all their musical instruments, they have no classification for them. Most people who gave me information were vague, and made remarks such as: ' we always had a drum, and the young people amused themselves with those things they made, like umrhubhe ' ; ' we had a few simple ones, which we played, and others we wore when dancing ' ; ' the old people had a few, but today we have many more to play, from the Whites '. The following comments come from Benjamin Tyamzashe, who spoke about instruments generally:

'We Xhosa people did not have that many instruments, and what we had were quite simple, really. We had a drum thing which was made from the skin of a beast, and when it was played, it was held by the women and beaten with sticks. When the skin was rolled up it

was played at the iintlombe of amaggirha. It had to be rolled up because of the lack of space in the intlombe hut. Time goes on, and today people use other things for a drum. They will beat anything in fact, as long as it gives the beat. That's why at the 'coming out' of initiated youths, you see women beating a piece of sail - cloth or anything, even a piece of zinc. The gqirha always uses the igubu which is coming from the European drum, but it is made from a big tin. As for the rest, girls still play the umrhubhe, a simple instrument to make, but not easy to play properly.

Whistles are used in the dance. The younger generation play the guitar, the harmonium, and the band instruments, but we never had these things long ago, we got them when the Whites came here. For us Xhosa, the main instrument is the human voice, which everyone has, but which not everyone can use well'. 2

In the following discussion of instruments, I have grouped them according to their use in solo and communal musical performances. I must stress that the Cape Nguni do not make any such classification, but they found it perfectly satisfactory and acceptable when I discussed the whole matter with them.

1. Instruments used for communal performances

(i) Drums

Ikhawu : according to Kirby, this was 'a shield made from the skin of a parti - coloured ox', and 'played' by being beaten with a knobbed stick. It was used along with another rudimentary 'drum' - ingqongqo - at the dances of circumcision candidates (abakhwetha) and at the dance parties of boys and girls (umtshotsho) (Kirby op.cit. : 23).

The only ikhawu I came across was that which has been described by Hammond - Tooke (1962: 252). It is a rolled - up ox - hide and is played by being struck with sticks, and when I saw it, it was kept in a storage hut at

the homestead of a diviner. The ikhawu is still employed by a few Bhaca diviners today (so I was told), but the majority use the European - type drum - igubu - as do nearly all Cape Nguni diviners at their seances.

ingqongqo : a dried, stretched ox - hide, which was played by women at the umtshilo dances of their circumcised sons. The women (eight to twelve in number) beat the hide with ornamentally carved sticks called iqoqa pl. amaqoqa , holding the hide off the ground as they did so. It was in common use among the Xhosa, Thembu and Bomvana up to about 1963, but today it is very rare indeed.³ The umtshilo (also ukutshila) dances have all but died out, largely because of economic reasons.

I refer, of course, to the genuine umtshilo pl. imitshilo, and not those arranged and paid for by Europeans who wish to make documentary films or take photographs. During my field - work, and even after, I had scouts all over Transkei and the Ciskei, who continually kept in touch with me when I was not in the field, and notified me of events which were forth - coming. (One of them notified me of an umtshilo which was to take place in Langa township, near Cape Town, but the telegram took a week to get to me, by which time the event was over).

The last big umtshilo was held in Xhorha district in 1963. This information, which I received in June 1969 when I officially began fieldwork, was confirmed by a chance meeting with Mr George Davis of Elliotdale, in Xhorha. During my stay there, he kindly let me charge my recorder every night at his

home, as the hotel at which I was staying always switched off its electric plant between 21 hours and 0500 hours. He showed me his cin  film of an umtshilo dance which had taken place in 1963, which was definitely the ' big ' umtshilo I had been told of. Unfortunately he did not record the music. Because umtshilo dances were such enormous affairs, which every - one liked to attend (early writers and travellers have recorded some of them), much food and beer was necessary to feed everyone, and this is the main reason why they have been discontinued. A small umtshilo was held in Engcobo district in 1968 (along the main Umtata - Engcobo road) but of course I heard of this long after the event had taken place - in 1969!

Some months later (August 1969) I was permitted to enter a seclusion lodge, and I spoke to one of the initiates inside. He told me that, apart from the fact that people could not afford such dances, people no longer had time to prepare for and enjoy such affairs, even in the rural areas. Today many youths go into lodges situated near the bigger towns, and during their seclusion period they are frequently seen mingling with the crowds on the street and pavements of these towns.

Some of the songs which accompanied these umtshilo dances are still sung today, along with newer songs (often adaptations of beer songs) at the ' coming out ' ceremonies of initiated youths (called ' umphumo pl. imiphumo). Traditionally accompanied by the ingqongqo, these songs are now accompanied by women beating more easily obtained substitutes, e.g. (i) a piece of sail - cloth or canvas (iseyile) held and played

like the ingqongqo, or else laid flat on the ground and beaten with sticks, or (ii) pieces of cardboard (ikhadibhodi) also laid flat and struck with sticks of any sort, even mealie stalks. The zinc substitute which Mr Tyamzashe told me about had originally been a wash - basin, was called izinki, and was beaten with wooden sticks.

Although the ingqongqo is rarely seen and used today (according to informants, the Bomvana and Gcaleka people still use it, but I never encountered it among them), its name lives on in the term 'ngqongqo', which is the name of the inherent ' beat ' in music (cf. p. 36).⁴

Thembu diviners formerly employed a rolled ox - hide at their seances which they also called ingqongqo.⁵ Thus in shape, this ' drum ' is like the ikhawu of the Bhaca, but the Thembu have retained the name of their traditional ' drum ' - ingqongqo. I think this is why Kirby has stated that the ingqongqo was used at the initiation of diviners (1934: 22). He is partly correct - the name is right, but not the form of the ' drum '.

Igubu : called isigubu (Bhaca and Xesibe term) by Kirby, is a form of the European military drum. It is cylindrical in shape, double - headed, with the heads laced onto the ends of the cylinder, which is made from a biscuit tin, or (less common) from wood.⁶ It is beaten with two sticks which may be (i) padded at the ends, or (ii) unpadded, and slightly curved, or straight. Some drummers use curved strips of rubber cut from a car tyre. The beaters are called umphini pl. amaphini (from umphini, meaning ' a handle or helve ', or ' a paddle '). The Xesibe people, who do not have the

gourd bow, uhadi, call this type of drum uhadi.

The drummer suspends the drum from his/her neck by means of a leather cord or thong and holds a beater in each hand. He/she either sits or stands when playing, depending on the circumstances, e.g. umphumo of diviners is celebrated out - of - doors, and involves moving about, so the drummer stands while playing. Seances are held indoors, and the drummer sits and remains in the same place in the hut. The igubu (isigubu) is employed by most Cape Nguni diviners, and by members of the Zionist church. Players are usually women or girls and, less common, men or boys. School bands also employ the igubu (see later, Modern Bands, p. 186).

The friction drum is not used by the Cape Nguni. When I recorded music at the Great Place of the late Khotso Sethuntsa, (Mount Nelson in Lusikisiki district), his band included a friction drum which I was told was called ingulube (meaning ' pig ' = Zulu) because it is said to make a sound like this animal. A Zulu friend told me that the Ntlangwini people also use this drum, and I saw it for myself a year later, in Umzim - kulu district.

The drum used by Khotso's band was made from a hollowed trunk of a tree, rounded but tapering toward the base, which was left open. From time to time the player wet his hands in a basin of water which had been placed near him. He seemed to be under stress, and did not answer my questions coherently, but he said he was ' a Zulu, and brought the drum from Zulu - land '. This drum accompanied a performance of the indlamu dance, as did two amagubu and horns. The same instruments

accompanied two divination songs which followed indlamu.

Khotso told me that the indlamu dance which I watched was the Zulu form of that dance. When I asked for some Xhosa divination music, he called his twenty - two wives to sing, and allowed the very weary band to rest. Khotso made it clear (his chief wife Bethinja explained to me) that the music performed at his home, accompanied as it was by drums and horns, was not the usual form of that particular music, i.e. as performed by the Cape Nguni.⁷

(ii) Rattles

Kirby has mentioned a considerable number of rattles used by the Cape Nguni, viz. amangashele : ankle - rattles made from goatskin, and believed to have been used by circumcised youths when dancing umtshilo; imiguza : rattles made from a number of dry gourds, which are fastened around the waist of the dancer, and which rattle as he moves; isikunjane : which ' at the present time consists of a small tin containing a number of pebbles or small pieces of a broken pot ' (op.cit. : 8). The player tied the rattles to his legs immediately below the knees, and by ' raising and lowering his knees in various ways ' he produced ' a rhythmic music ' (ibid.).

The reference to one rattle (isi = singular) denotes that one rattle only must have been used. The Cape Nguni mine workers use a modern equivalent of isikunjane; they join a number of empty condensed milk tins, which have been filled with small pebbles, onto a leg harness. The tins are squeezed together at the open end so that the pebbles do not fall out. Only one leg - rattle is worn.

Today, many sound - making accessories are used, or rather, worn during the dance, e.g. amagedemsi - Bhaca, Xesibe and Mpondo ankle - bells, called izikloko (from Afrikaans ' klok ' = ' bell ') by the other clusters, and worn only by men. Single bells are sometimes worn on head - gear and on necklaces.

I - gaskiti: a three - layer collar made from strips of rubber, to which small bells (izikloko) are attached; it is worn by boys when they attend umtshotsho.

The Zionists have their own body of instruments, which includes some rather ingeniously contrived rattles. The Xesibe, Bhaca and Mpondo call them icangca pl. amacangca. The rattle is made from a piece of thick wire which has been twisted into a stirrup - like shape, with a handle; a cross - wire is threaded with fluted bottle - tops through which holes have been bored. Zionists living in Cacadu district (which was still part of the Ciskei when I carried out fieldwork) have the same sort of rattle, which they call igonokhwece pl. amagonokhwece. Condensed milk tins or similarly small tins are filled with pebbles, and the opened ends pinched together. These are played along with the stirrup rattles and are called by the same name.

Rattles and bells are used as adjuncts to the dance (this applies also to the Zionists, who dance when they drum and sing), and when worn on the body, are worn only by men. I never saw girls wearing bells, the reason no doubt being because girls provide the singing and clapping and do not participate in the dancing very much. The Bhaca

are again the exception. I saw some of the girlfriends of iindlavini wearing fancy hip - belts, onto which little bells had been attached.

Amahahlazo : Mpondo ankle - rattles made from the ilala palm leaf (op.cit. : 6) appear to have died out.

Xhosa, Thembu, Bomvana, Mpondo and Mpondomise diviners wear layers of thin wooden rings about their ankles, which they never remove. These make a rattling sound when they dance. Similar layers made from plastic cording are also worn by some Thembu diviners, but these are less common than the wooden rattles. Both types are called inkaca pl. iinkaca.

(iii) Whistles and Horns

Whistles are collectively called iimpempe, and include the simple stopped pipe made from a river - reed, and called impempe (which Kirby has described), and manufactured whistles such as (i) itanki, the police whistle, which is used by dance leaders to indicate changes in the dance steps in communal dancing; (ii) ihlankomo, a small fipple whistle, made of tin or plastic, and (iii) ukhombe (lit. ' index finger '), a police - whistle type instrument which has two stopped tubes of different lengths, and is blown by an adjacent fipple. Both ihlankomo and ukhombe are blown rhythmically during communal dancing, usually in cross - rhythm to the clapping rhythm. Itanki is sometimes employed in the same way; but while it is used in the performance of nearly all Xhosa communal music, the ihlankomo and ukhombe are used mainly by boys and girls at umtshotsho dances.

The imbande, a bone flute discussed by Kirby (op.cit. :

107 - 108), was unknown to the people I questioned.

A flute with a ' more or less conical tube, open at both ends and with a characteristic oblique embouchure '(op.cit. : 111 - 112), and known as umtshingi or ivenge (Mpondo), ncongolo (Bomvana) and ixilongo or impempe (Xhosa) were known to the older men and women, who told me they had not seen any of them for many years.

The term ixilongo, which is in common use among Cape Nguni, applies to the military bugle, the trumpet, clarinet and saxophone, all western european instruments, which are very popular among the ' dressed ' people today. The bugle is found in the rural areas, where it is sometimes played by a member of an iindlavini group (Mpondo, Bhaca and Xesibe) who calls all members of the gang to a dance party (umtshotsho/inkhandela). Those who do not possess a bugle use a length of brass - coloured piping which is called indwendweni. Trumpets, clarinets and saxophones⁸ are used by players in jazz groups and combos which have sprung up in the bigger towns, and the townships situated outside the cities.

Isigodlo : the ox - horn, formerly used as a signal horn, is still used today by Zionists at their services, and by a few diviners at their seances (this is not common). One horn is side - blown and may be curved or uncurved. It has a hole bored into it about 7.5 centimetres from the tip of the horn, which is sawn off. The other horn, also curved or straight, is blown from the horn end which has been sawn away. Both horns are used in a performance, and

are played successively or simultaneously. They usually give tones which are a whole tone apart.

2. Instruments used for solo performances

For individual music - making the Cape Nguni employed several types of stringed instruments. The largest of these, the uhadi music bow, is still used today, essentially for self - accompaniment in the performance of a solo song.

It consists of a wooden bow or stave with a single metal (brass) string, and a hollow calabash resonator mounted near the lower end of the bow (cf. Kirby 1934: 196 - 198, 201 - 204, who has described it very well).⁹ Although Kirby states that the instrument is made from the wood of a specific tree,¹⁰ it is nowadays made from the wood of any tree which is available and suitable. In construction and playing technique the uhadi is comparable with the Zulu cognate instrument, ugubhu.¹¹ Unlike the ugubhu, however, which appears to have become almost obsolete,¹² the uhadi is still found in one place and another in the rural areas.¹³ It is played in the evening when the day's work is done and people are able to relax. Listeners may or may not join in the singing, depending on the type of song being played (cf. ch. 2: 22).

The instrument is played sitting down, the player holding it before her in such a way that the hole in the calabash faces the area immediately above the left breast. According to informants, three of whom were noted uhadi players, it is preferable that the skin should be exposed at this point, so that the calabash orifice may come into contact with the

bared skin, and not with the player's clothing.¹⁴ The same informants also stated that it was important to tune the instrument carefully, so that the calabash is able to resonate the chosen harmonics satisfactorily.¹⁵ Rycroft noted this in connection with the tuning of the Zulu ugubhu (1975/6: 60). These resonated notes are barely audible to listeners but can easily be heard by the player, who uses them selectively to create a quasi - melodic line below her vocal melody.¹⁶

The instrument itself is sounded by striking¹⁷ alternately (i) the ' open ' string, and (ii) the stopped string (stopped by pinching it between the thumb and forefinger); two low pitch tones are yielded, the distance between them being a whole tone.¹⁸ These tones are scarcely capable of being heard, their first overtones (partials) sounding so much louder that they appear to be the fundamentals. The two tones are used by the player to create a quasi - ostinato accompaniment to her vocal melody. At the same time the player selectively amplifies ' certain upper harmonics in such a way that the impression of melody can be obtained '. This important aspect of gourd - resonated harmonics used melodically to simulate a chorus part, was overlooked by Kirby in his excellent description and discussion of the instrument. The amplification is achieved by the player moving the calabash resonator nearer or further away from her body. The whole matter has been fairly extensively discussed subsequently by Rycroft in connection with the Zulu ugubhu (Rycroft 1971: 222; & ibid. 1975/6: 58 - 63).

The inkinge is a smaller instrument, consisting of ' a wooden bow fitted with a string of twisted sinew, hair or fibre '. It is played by plucking the string with a finger or plectrum, while the mouth is used as a resonator. It appears to be obsolete as I met no - one who knew it.¹⁹

Umrhubhe is the mouth bow, or ' friction - bow - string ' instrument, played by Xhosa, Thembu, Bomvana, Mpondo and Mpondomise girls and young unmarried women. Kirby has described it in detail, as well as the less elaborate form of the instrument played by the Mpondo and called umqunge (Kirby 1934: 239ss).²⁰ It is this form which I encountered among the aforementioned chiefdom clusters, but it is called by the Xhosa name, umrhubhe.²¹ The Mpondo themselves use this name, and not umqunge. Thus the name umqunge has fallen into disuse, but the form of the instrument has remained and is called umrhubhe.

The instrument is made from a curved arc of wood (again from any tree that is suitable and available), from which a ' string ' of wire is strained. Two specimens which I obtained had ' strings ' made from picture wire, but usually ordinary wire, such as that used for tying up fences, is used.

The string is bowed by a thin piece of mealie stalk, underneath it.²² By (i) bowing the ' open ' string and alternately (ii) stopping the string with the thumb, two fundamental tones are produced, and their harmonics are resonated by the player's mouth.²³ Girls often play the umrhubhe to while away the time, especially when they have to walk long distances. They play little ' doodles ' or ' amusements ' of their own, or popular

dance songs which they like. When played in the company of other people, they usually sing along with the playing. When I carried out fieldwork in Engcobo district (1969 - 1970), there was a veritable craze of umrhubhe playing, which was encouraged by the presence of three good players living in the district.

The Mpondo isigankuri²⁴ is another single - string instrument which, like the umrhubhe, is played by means of a short friction bow. Kirby has described it, together with similar instruments played by other Black peoples in Southern Africa (Venda, Chwana, North Sotho, Basotho, Swazi, Zulu) including the Xhosa, but notes that it was ' not played much ' by the three last - mentioned ethnic groups (Kirby 1934: 215 - 217, 233 & 242; see also Rycroft 1966: 94 - 98; and ibid. 1969: 2 & 16; and item B16 on accompanying disc).

The instrument is fitted with a tin - can resonator over the lower end of the bow (unlike the Swazi version of this instrument, sikhelekehle, which has the resonator applied to the top end of the bow). (Cf. Rycroft 1977: 243ss & Plate 3). Also, in contrast to the Swazi instrument, which had a tuning peg inserted at the lower end of the bow shaft, the single string of the isigankuri was secured to the tip of the bow shaft by being wound round it (cf. Kirby 1934 (rev. edn. 1965): Plate 65).

The playing technique of both these instruments (and others like them) is very similar, involving the use of a friction bow,²⁵ but the technique of eliciting harmonics is in fact unique and quite different from that of the umrhubhe:

whereas, on the umrhubhe, the selection of harmonics is achieved through mouth resonance, on the isigankuri it is achieved through bowing technique. The bowing is executed with a circular movement, ' touching the string at different points and with varying tension, so that different harmonics are elicited ' (Rycroft 1977: 245).²⁶

I was told of certain areas where the isigankuri was likely to be found, but when I visited these areas I did not find a single specimen.²⁷

The traditional instruments of the Cape Nguni were few in number, compared with those of other ethnic groups elsewhere in Africa, and they did not play an important part in Cape Nguni music. Contact with European civilization has extended the corpus of musical instruments, and today the most popular instruments among the Cape Nguni are the guitar (isigingoi, ikatala), the accordion (ikhodiyani), the concertina (ikostina, ikonsatina), the jew's harp (isitolotolo) and the harmonica (ifleyiti, from Afrikaans " fluitjie", meaning ' little flute, whistle ').

Another Western - European instrument which is to be seen in some African churches is the harmonium, known in the Xhosa language as uhadi. It is seldom played to accompany hymn - singing, although it is occasionally played at concerts.²⁸

Young boys make their own guitar - like instruments from paraffin tins and use lengths of gut or fishing line for the strings. They call these instruments ikatala (guitar) or ramkie,²⁹ strumming them rhythmically when walking along the road, or when tending sheep and cattle. Although these

instruments are called ' guitars ', their technological affinity with the commercial guitar is small; in their construction they resemble a type of plucked lute known as the ramkie, also an alternative name used by the Cape Nguni for these ' toy guitars '. The history and distribution of the ramkie has been discussed by Kirby (1934: 249 - 256), while its technology and affinity with the ' toy guitar ' (of which it may be prototypical) have been discussed in some detail by Rycroft (1977: 234 - 243).³⁰

Boys and girls play the jew's harp for their own amusement, and sometimes wear them around their necks attached to intricately beaded ' collars ' or necklaces. As Kirby has pointed out: ' Since in principle it is the same as some of those (instruments) of the native people, and in addition is portable and lasting, it is not surprising to find its use is widespread ' (op.cit. : 259).³¹ However, I was always hearing complaints about the jew's harps manufactured today and sold at trading stores. People said that they were too small and did not ' cry well ', and complained that they had been cheated of their money.

The instrument can produce only the partials of the harmonic series over the drone (which is the note of the tongue), but apparently it is not possible to produce this drone satisfactorily on the instrument available today. The thin metal prong which juts adjacently is apparently too short in length.

The harmonica (ifleyiti) is occasionally played solo, but more often than not is used to accompany a dance song

which may or may not be sung. In discussing the way in which the instrument is played, Kirby states:

'Although upon the mouth - harmonica it is possible to suggest harmony in a limited way as well as melody, the instrument is essentially melodic. Once a native has got over the initial difficulty caused by some of the notes having to be produced by blowing, and others by drawing in the breath, he has at his disposal a complete diatonic scale' (ibid.).

The following Figure 15 is an extract from a dance song (igwabo lokusina) for Xesibe young people; it is a typical example of the way in which the harmonica is used, and harmonies produced. The music is accompanied by clapping. (Ex. No. 13 on Tape 1a).

Figure 15 :



The guitar (isigingci) is played by 'dressed' youths and men. The former usually play it at their dances (umbhayizelo) as an accompaniment to dancing, and it may or may not accompany singing as well. The men who play the guitar sometimes play it as members of a dance band, but more frequently they play it solo, and are usually expert

players of the instrument. I have already mentioned the fact that so many herbalists are wandering musicians whose instruments are either the guitar or concertina.

The concertina (ikostina) is also usually played solo, as is the accordion (ikhodiyani). The latter is occasionally used in church worship as an accompaniment to hymn - singing (by one or two persons who are accompanied by the player), but this is rare. The concertina is a diatonic instrument, on which both the melody and harmony can be played because the valves on the two fingerboards are so arranged that diatonic melodies may be easily played together with simple tonic and dominant ' harmonies '. James Mthamo plays his own typically traditional tunes on it, harmonizing them with ' perfect ' concords. (Kirby has pointed out the ' deliberate omission of the thirds ', and illustrated this with two musical examples). Mthamo does not omit the third in the instrumental part, but includes it occasionally, as is evident in the following Figure 16 (cf. p. 185).

The song is entitled Ha! Mam' ndiyalila/ ndiyakhala (' Alas! mother I am weeping/crying '), and is ' a song for any occasion, any function ' (Mthamo). He added: ' This girl is crying for someone to love her, she has no man so she goes to a herbalist and asks him for medicine to make a man love her '. (Ex. No. 14 on Tape 1a).

The word ' to play ' an instrument is uku - betha (to strike, hit '), and it is used in connection with the drums, the gourd bow (uhadi), concertina, accordion

Figure 16 : Solo song with instrumental (concertina)

accompaniment by James Mthamo, entitled

Ha! Mam' ndiyalila/ndiyakhala

Ex. No. 14 on Tape 1a

♩ = 116 M.M.

Intro: - (Concertina)

(Voice): Mami na-ham-la. *die basso* ♩ ♩

♩ ♩ Ha mami ya kha - la, mam ndiya kha - la mami mami ndi-ya-li - la - na.

The first four bars seem to be played rather freely; only in bar 5 is a definite 4/4 time established.

and harmonium, and the piano (ipiyano) which has gained popularity among urban Africans. Many well - known Xhosa musicians are good pianists (see below). Uku - dlala (' to play ') is also in common use, and is used along with - betha. Instruments which are played with the mouth are ' made to cry ' (uku - khalisa), and these include the mouth bow, umrhubhe, and the various types of whistles. Uku - vuthela (' to blow ') is also used for horns and trumpets.

3. Modern Bands

Many Jazz bands and combos have sprung up in the larger towns of Transkei, the Ciskei and the Eastern Cape, and in the townships located near the big cities of the Republic (Cape Town, Johannesburg). The members of these groups are drawn from all walks of life, and they perform as a musical ensemble at various social functions, for which they are remunerated. Some really good groups record from time to time for Radio Bantu, which in the Xhosa - speaking area has its headquarters at Zwelitsha, near King William's Town. Township combos can demand a fairly high fee (e.g. R125 - R135 in 1976), but the smaller groups in the towns have to maintain a relatively low charge, or they stand little chance of being hired. ' People just do not have this sort of money in the locations ' (Wilberforce Ngesi, of a Grahamstown location).

Many Xhosa musicians have contributed to modern Southern African Jazz, and a few of them became fairly well - known overseas. One of these was Todd Thozamile Matshikiza, who

was still being talked about when I was in the field. A pianist, composer, vibraphone player and author (Chocolates for my wife), Matshikiza was born in Queenstown in 1921, and died in Lusaka in 1968. He is perhaps best remembered for his musical score of ' King Kong ', which the late Nat Nakasa (Zulu journalist) described as ' a musical elephant - sized job ' (Patel (ed) 1975: 92). It was staged in Johannesburg and in London in the period 1960 - 1961. The orchestral arrangement was done by another prominent Xhosa musician, Mackay Davashe, assisted by Stanley Glaser and Kieppie Moketsi. Davashe himself led the orchestra, and he is noted for his saxophone playing and for his vocal and instrumental compositions, many of which have been recorded.

Two nephews of Todd Matshikiza gained recognition as composers (i) Patrick Matshikiza, a jazz pianist who has composed several original jazz/light instrumental works (' dressed up ' traditional Xhosa songs with band accompaniment), and (ii) Sunny Ray Matshikiza, pianist and light - vocalist whose musical output includes numerous arrangements of Xhosa traditional songs in light/instrumental style, and Xhosa solo songs with piano accompaniment.

Miriam Makeba is probably one of the best - known Xhosa musicians outside South Africa. Although she left South Africa many years ago, she is still greatly esteemed by the Blacks in this country, although most Europeans remember her mainly by the ' Click song ' which was very popular in the late nineteen - fifties. A number of songs were composed for her by Gibson Mthuthuzeli Kente, who has also composed several township musical plays in modern jazz style. Two of these,

' Mama and the Load ', and ' Lobola ', were performed in many South African towns and cities during the past year (1980) before multiracial audiences, and were very successful indeed.

Adolf Johannes Brand (' Dollar ' Brand) also left South Africa, in 1962, because he found that he could make no headway in the jazz scene with his music, which is basically progressive piano jazz and highly personal. He toured Europe, England and the United States, where he was very successful, and returned to South Africa after an absence of seven years. He has composed many piano works, which he himself performs. He still travels regularly overseas.

Other Xhosa musicians are: Sophie Mngcina, singer and composer of songs; Masdorp ' Shakes ' Mgudlwa, saxophone player and composer of many popular instrumental jazz pieces; Christopher (' Columbus ') Ncgukana, James Lambo (' river ') Moime, and Edward Mhlathi Malinga, all of whom have composed music for jazz bands. With the exception of Miriam Makeba, all these, and other Black composers of choral and modern jazz music, have been discussed in some detail by Yvonne Huskisson in her book entitled The Bantu Composers of Southern Africa (1969).

Toy bands, or ' "spasm bands" ' (orchestras composed of toy instruments ', Francis 1960: 28) were being formed in many townships and locations in the late ' forties and early ' fifties, their members being teenagers who still attend school or had ' dropped out ', and who made their instruments from articles foraged from local shops and family kitchens. They are still very popular today among school children, and are a regular feature of school concerts. The bands often perform elsewhere,

(as at ' tea - meetings ') for nothing, being content with some small emolument in the form of refreshment. They play music for the love of it and like to perform publicly, when they are musicians for the moment.

Members of these bands play the following instruments:

(i) one or two guitars which they have made themselves, or bought from a shop, (ii) a T - bass i.e. a box or paraffin tin filled with sand, in the centre of which a broom - handle is securely placed; a length of gut or wire is tied around the handle near the top and the other end is fixed to the box or tin. The ' string ' is plucked with the index and middle fingers, and this provides a booming bass accompaniment to the tune; (iii) rattles, made from condensed milk tins and filled with pebbles; I encountered a group of children who used wash - boards scraped with pot - scourers in their band, with very good effect; (iv) comb - and - tissue ' flutes ' (ifleyiti pl. iifleyiti), and (v) isabhabha (pl. izabhabha) ' horns ' (also called ixilongo pl. iixilongo). These are made by school children at their art classes; they are simply cones made from waxed paper (sandwich paper), and secured at the narrow end by a small piece of wire. The sound varies according to the size of the cone, and is similar to the sound made by a trumpet.

Toy bands (called i - bendi pl. ama - bendi) usually accompany dancing and include a number of singers. The instruments used vary from band to band, and members pride themselves on their ingenuity in making instruments. Guitars are permanent fixtures of such bands.

NOTES

- 1 This description is identical to the Venda peoples' description of their musical instruments (cf. Blacking 1967: 17).
- 2 Conversation with Benjamin Tyamzashe at his home in Zinyoka Valley, in King William's Town district, Ciskei, in January 1968.
- 3 According to Kirby, the ingqongqo was often destroyed after the boys' initiation ceremonies have ended. In 1970, Thembu informants in Engcobo and Cacadu districts, and Bomvana informants in Xhorha district, gave me the same information. They also stated that, in their opinions, the main reason why the instrument is no longer used, is because the ' big imitshilo are not done anymore '.
- 4 No - one was able to give me any information as to the origin of the word ingqongqo. According to Döhne (A Zulu - Kafir Dictionary, 1857), ngqo- denotes ' the top ', and ' the sound of a crack '. Thus ingqongqo may be an ideophone expressing the sound which results from beating the oxhide with sticks. Another meaning for ngqo- is ' the utmost point '. McLaren - Bennie's dictionary (1936) gives the following meanings: ' a drum made of ox - hide ', and ' a tall stout person ', which are also given in the Kropf Kaffir - English Dictionary, 1899. Several words with the syllable ngqo are given in the aforementioned dictionaries, and all emphasize two qualities: hardness (something that will not yield); and largeness (in size, stature). Ingqongqoto is ' a person who excels in speech or anything good '. It is interesting to note that - ngqongqo is included in the praise names of ' "Inkosi epezulu" of the Zulu ' (cf. African Ideas of God: a symposium, E W Smith (ed) 1950: 109), in which the following information appears: 'If Inkosi epezulu has no proper name various epithets were applied to him; he has his praise titles just as earthly kings and the revered ancestors have. These refer. . . to his power as manifested in thunder and lightening. uDumakade . . . He who thunders since long far - off times - from the beginning . . . uGobengqongqo : He who bends

down even such as have the mastery over others, even majesties '.

Cf. Hunter 1936: 169, who notes that a dried ox - hide was sometimes played by Mpondo women as an accompaniment ' to mark the rhythm ' in their umguzo dance.

- 5 In January 1968, Mr N Zondani told me of a rolled ox - hide used by Zionists of a Grahamstown location, at their church services. This was also called ingqongqo.
- 6 Diviner Dlamini, A Swazi diviner who was residing among the Thembu in Engcobo district in 1969, employed a wooden igubu at his seances. He had brought the drum from Swaziland.
- 7 Mr Sethuntsa's Great Place, known as Mount Nelson, was situated one kilometre from the village of Lusikisiki, in Eastern Pondoland.
- 8 I attended the Tyamzashe Celebrations in King William's Town in 1970, an event which included performances by choirs and instrumental groups and bands from many parts of the Eastern Cape, Ciskei and Transkei. Five of the eight bands which provided items of ' Town music ' included saxophone players. I expressed surprise at this and was told that the instruments were becoming very popular with town bands. The following year I attended performances by the Komani Music Club (Queenstown), and some instrumental items included saxophone players. The late Jabez Foley, a Xhosa composer who died in Grahamstown in 1959, composed some light instrumental music, in tonic solfa (for the vocal parts) and in staff notation (for the instruments including piano). His brother permitted me to make copies of this music, for which Jabez obviously considered the use of the saxophone. These works (in my private collection) are largely sketchy and incomplete, yet in them the composer has indicated parts to be played by a saxophone.

- 9 Cf. Kirby 1934: Plate 55, 5 & 6, which shows two specimens of the uhadi, one with a calabash resonator, and the other with a resonator made from a Golden Syrup tin. Informants told me that the hollow calabash resonator was more common, and also more satisfactory; a tin was used only when a calabash was not available.

- 10 Ibid. : 201

- 11 Cf. inter alia Rycroft 1971: 222; and ibid. 1975/6: 58 - 63.

- 12 Ibid.

- 13 During the period 1969 - 1972 I had evidence that it was played by married women of the older chiefdom clusters - the Xhosa, Thembu, Bomvana and Mpondomise. According to Kirby, ' Pondo young boys sometimes took it up for a time, occasionally men ' (1934: 201). En route to Durban in December 1970 I called in at a garage in Flagstaff, Siphageni district, East Pondo - land. The Mpondo attendant there, a man of about thirty years of age, was intrigued with my uhadi which had been given to me by a Thembu player. He named it immediately and told me he had played it when he was a boy. He then gave a demonstration which drew a crowd of laughing men and women. I learnt from some of them that women in the district (' Red women ') occasionally played it.

- 14 Kirby noted a preference for this among Swazi players of the ligubhu, the Swazi musical bow (ibid.); Rycroft reports two Swazi players who did likewise in 1973 (op.cit. : 59).

- 15 Three noted uhadi players, No - orange Lizo, Nomisile Dungulu and Nombhobho Sandile offered to give a recital of uhadi music, providing they be given a week in which to prepare for it. I learnt that the three women would use No - orange's uhadi, as Nomisile had left hers at her previous home (cf. ch.2: 28), and Nombhobho's instrument had been damaged. While we were making arrangements for the

recital, No - orange showed me her uhadi, which she had constructed herself. The open string yielded the tone G below the bass clef (I checked this roughly with a pitch - pipe). The other two women expressed dissatisfaction with this, stating that the tone was too low (' deni = down there '). No - orange remarked that, as the instrument had been lying around for a time, the string had become very slack; she added that she would adjust the string for the recital. When I attended this a week later, the three women spent about eight minutes in tuning the instrument: No - orange held it and struck the open and then the stopped string, while Nombhobho adjusted the coil at the top end of the bow shaft and, like Nombhobho, placed an ear closer to the calabash resonator each time the string was struck. As No - orange sounded the string she moved the resonator closer and further away from her body (she had rearranged her blanket so that the area immediately above the left breast was exposed).

I assumed that the women were listening to the note supplied by the struck string, and selecting a pitch which would be convenient for their voices (as suggested by Kirby in his description of the uhadi, and cognate instruments, ibid.). After reading Rycroft's discussion and description of the Zulu ugubhu, which is played in the same way (ibid. 1975/6: 58 - 97), I realized that I had misconstrued the women's actions which, they said, were intended to ' make the thing cry well '. The women were listening to the partials resonated by the calabash, and not to the string tone. Because I was unaware of this feature, I did not make special arrangements for recording the resonated harmonics. Nevertheless, owing to the situation in which the music was recorded - a hut tightly packed with a very large company of people, with myself sitting immediately in front of the player, and being forced to move the microphone from one side to the other to follow the singer's moving head - I was able (unknowingly) to capture some of the selected harmonics, and these are audible in the recordings.

16 Ibid.

17 ' To play ' the uhadi is described as ' uku - betha (= to hit, beat strike '); other dictionary meanings include ' to assault, punish, reach ' (McLaren - Bennie 1915 (1936): 11); uku - khalisa (' to make cry or complain ', ibid. : 66), is also used; deriving from uku - khala, v.i. (' cry out, scream; wail, complain; give voice; sound, ring; (ibid.)). The Xhosa terms cited by Kirby (op.cit.: 201) in his description of the instrument are in use today:-

beater (umcinga); string (usinga); calabash resonator (uselwa), ibid.

- 18 The size of this interval on the Zulu ugubhu differs, being approximately a semitone (cf. Rycroft 1975/6: 60).

- 19 See Kirby's description of this instrument (Kirby 1934: 220 & 225); cf. also Tracey's recordings of an ' ikinki ' bow (on discs TR 63B 2 & 3) which invite critical comment; in the Catalogue, Tracey 1973, vol. 1: 97, it is said to be ' plucked '; but the recordings belie this - cf. Rycroft 1966: 90).

- 20 A male umqunge player is shown in Kirby 1934: Plate 68.

- 21 Use of the name ' umrhubhe ', not ' umqunge ' for this instrument, by Hlubi women near Cedarville, in 1964, has also been reported in Rycroft 1966: 85 -86. Cf. also Rycroft 1969: 2 & 13; and items B9 and 10 on the accompanying disc.

- 22 Kirby 1934: 239; the informants who provided me with items of umrhubhe music and specimens of the instrument itself, did not use a dry mealie stalk as a bow. In all cases they used dried sticks or twigs which they obtained from the trees and shrubs in the area. One player used a dry river - reed stalk.

- 23 Technical details about the harmonics can be found in Rycroft 1966: 88 - 92, but the fundamentals noted there were a fifth higher.

- 24 Cf. Kirby 1934: plate 65H, which shows a Mpondo male isankuni player. The term isigankuri is employed by Rycroft in his discussion of stringed instruments played by means of a friction - bow (1977: 243ss). Mpondo informants, including James Mthamo, herbalist and musician, who claimed to have played it in his youth, also used this term;

they did not recognize the term isankuni, although Mthamo suggested that it was a short form of isigankuri.

- 25 Ibid.
- 26 Regarding the friction - bow, Rycroft states:
' . . . both the Mpondo and Swazi players I encountered used a form that differed from all Kirby's examples, in that the cow - tail hairs were attached only to one end of the stick. The term "whip" might apply, rather than "bow", except that, with digital assistance, it assumed the form and function of a friction - bow during use' (Rycroft 1977: 245).
Regarding the significance of this, Rycroft notes:
'It is particularly noteworthy that the traditional idea of selecting harmonics has been retained and that a totally new method of achieving this result, solely through bowing technique instead of opening and closing the resonator, has been developed' (ibid. : 245 - 246).
- 27 These areas were (chiefdoms in brackets): Libode and Ngqeleni (West Mpondo); Lusikisiki, Siphageni and Bizana (East Mpondo); Mqanduli (Thembu, living near the West Mpondo).
- 28 Cf. Kirby op.cit. : 202.
- 29 The term ramkie is used mainly by Xhosa - speaking people residing in the Ciskei and Eastern Cape, and in Cacadu district of the Republic of Transkei.
- 30 Cf. Kirby op.cit. : Plates 72 & 73, showing specimens of the ramkie and male players; cf. also Rycroft 1977: Plate 2, showing a male player with the Zulu ' toy guitar ' known as iqongwe.
I encountered young boys with these instruments in every district in which I carried out fieldwork. It is very popular in the ' locations ' and townships in and about King William's Town, Queenstown and Grahamstown. Specimens of it were also noted in

Kranskop area in Natal, in 1974, Vryheid district (Natal) and Piet Retief district (Eastern Transvaal) up to 1976.

- 31 Cf. also Rycroft 1966: 91 - 93 for transcription and comments; and ibid. 1969: 14, & item B13 on accompanying disc.

CHAPTER 6

SPEECH AND MUSIC

My study of the relationship between Xhosa speech - tone and melody was difficult and protracted, as for a long time I was unable to obtain the assistance of a Xhosa language expert.

During fieldwork (1969 - 1972) I examined speech - tone/melody relationships in a number of Xhosa, Thembu and Mpondo songs with the help of a Xhosa language instructor at Lumko Missiological Institute in Cacadu district, Republic of Transkei, which is also a language laboratory offering courses in several African languages. With her generous and painstaking tuition, I became quite adept at identifying the speech - tones of the spoken words of the song - texts. After 1972 I was unable to find anyone who could mark in the speech - tones of the remaining large number of Mpondo, Xesibe and Bhaca songs I had recorded. I eventually approached the Faculty of Arts of the University of the Witwatersrand who, in January 1978, informed me that they had finally found someone who would be able to help me - Mr John Claughton of the Department of African Languages, Rhodes University in Grahamstown, who has made a detailed study of the Xhosa tonal system. I selected 200 songs and asked Mr Claughton to mark the speech - tone patterns of their texts, which he did with the assistance of a language technician, Mr Stanley Bentele.

My analysis of speech - tone/melody relationships in Xhosa music is based on these tone markings, and on the detailed

information given me by Mr Claughton about the Xhosa language and its tonal system. As a comparative reference I consulted Miss Amy Starke's thesis on the relationship between speech and music in Xhosa.¹ Reference to Miss Starke's observations and findings is made in the present account.

For specialized information and assistance in dealing with musico - linguistic matters, e.g. the relationships between speech - tone and melody in Nguni music, and the treatment of relevant topics (' intonation ', High, Low and Falling tone requirements and assimilation between High and Low tones in certain sequences, and depressor consonants), I am indebted to Mr David Rycroft, linguist and ethnomusico - logist, of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, who has carried out some systematic studies on these subjects. Reference is also made to them in the following discourse.

The speech - tones of the song - texts were marked according to Ciskeian pronunciation, which is similar to Thembu and Gcaleka tone. However, as Mr Claughton pointed out, the tones may well differ among the more northern Cape Nguni clusters, e.g. the Bhaca and Xesibe. He also pointed out that (i) Zulu tones differ in detail from those of Xhosa, although the pitch realization rules of both languages are very similar, and that (ii) it is not yet known to what extent Bhaca and Xesibe speech - tones may differ from those of the more southern clusters, but ' there could be pronounced differences '.

In view of this, my assessment is properly valid only for Xhosa, Thembu, Bomvana and, to a certain extent, Western Mpondo

music, and my conclusions regarding the total overall relationship between Xhosa speech - tone and melody, and the degree to which the melodies of Xhosa songs conform to Xhosa speech - values can only be tentative.

The following information comes from Claughton's account of the Xhosa tonal system (Claughton 1978). There are four phonemic entities in spoken Xhosa, and these are represented and realized as follows:

- High tone (') - realized by a High level pitch (')
- Falling tone (^) - realized by a Falling glide (^)
- Low tone (`) - realized by a Low level pitch (`)
- Downstep (' or ") - which is manifested in its effect on the following tone. It is ' an instruction to realize the following tone on a lower level ' (Claughton 1978: 3).

Since downstep is predictable, some linguistic scholars do not use the symbols denoting it;² I have decided to follow their example for the sake of brevity and clarity. The Low tone mark (`) is usually omitted on all vowels and consonants, except on a syllabic consonant, e.g. m in úmfâzi, émlánjeni, and I have adhered to this procedure in this study.

IsiXhosa (the Xhosa language) is, like the languages spoken by all the indigenous peoples of Southern Africa, a tonal language, in which tone is often as important in determining the meaning of words as consonants and vowels.³ Thus a single word may have several different meanings, these being distinguished by as many tone - patterns comprising different sequences of pitches. ' Absolute pitch is unimportant, but the relative

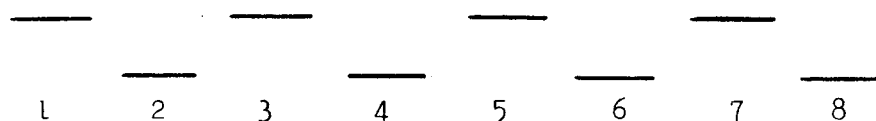
pitch of a syllable - whether it is higher or lower than each of the others - is significant ' (Rycroft 1971: 2).⁴ Each tone is affected by the tones that precede and follow it, as well as by accompanying consonants, thus in any spoken utterance, the pitch of tones may vary. The main factors which cause such variation in pitch are:

(a) Depressor consonants:⁵ bh, d, dy, dl, j,
g, gx, gq, grh, v, z, mh, nh, ngc, ngq,
ngx, and h, : the status of rh is not clear.

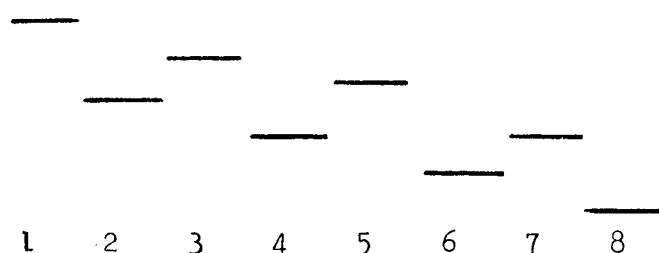
As also in Zulu speech and song, these depressors lower the pitch of the following tones, most noticeably affecting High tones on metrically strong beats (cf. also Rycroft 1959: 28; and ibid. 1963: 45ss).

(b) Intonation⁶

In Xhosa (and other related Nguni languages like Zulu, Swati and Ndebele), statements are usually distinguishable from questions by their overall pitch contour. In statements, each High tone (or the onset of a Falling tone) is realized at slightly lower actual pitch than any previous High or Falling tone (Rycroft 1963: 47). There is similar pitch ' downdrift ' for Low tones, penultimate and final Low syllables taking the lowest pitch of all. In questions, on the other hand, this progressive descent in pitch, known as tonal ' downstepping ', or ' downdrift intonation, is generally absent. In a question, a sequence of High and Low tones might be roughly represented as follows, all High tones being rendered at equal pitch, and all Low tones taking a second, relatively lower level of pitch:⁷



In a statement, however, as opposed to a question, a similar alternation of High and Low tones would take progressively lower levels of actual pitch, under the influence of downdrift, and lengthening of the penultimate syllable would occur, giving an overall pitch contour somewhat like the following, in slow speech:⁸



As a result of the downdrift factor, typical of statement utterances, a High tone at the end of a sentence is often lower, in actual pitch, than a Low tone at the beginning; and conversely, an early Low tone may take higher actual pitch than a late Low tone.⁹

It should be noted that pitch intervals in Xhosa speech are not fixed. Different speakers, or even the same speaker repeating a given sentence, tend to produce different actual pitches and intervals each time.

Nevertheless, ' the direction of pitch movement is stable ' from syllable to syllable, at a given rate of utterance (ibid. 1960: 63).

Besides having downdrift as its exponent, it should be noted that statement intonation also has a linked feature of penultimate lengthening, which is absent in questions. The penultimate syllable in the utterance takes extra length. In song, it appears that this lengthening, as also the downdrift feature of statement intonation, may either be observed, or disregarded in favour of contrary melodic requirements (ibid. 1970: 305 - 306).

The extent to which speech - tone influences vocal melody in tone languages has been discussed by several scholars, notably Hornbostel (1928), Herzog (1934), Schneider (1943) and Jones (1959), whose studies focussed on tone languages spoken outside Southern Africa. Similar studies within Southern Africa have been made by Blacking and by Rycroft, who concentrated on Venda and Nguni music respectively.¹⁰ Their research results (all published) together with those of Miss Amy Starke, who carried out research on the relation between speech and music in Xhosa in 1930 (unpublished),¹¹ are the main sources of information regarding ' tone/tune relationship ' in Southern African indigenous music.¹² Apart from their surveys, ' this subject has attracted very little detailed attention from linguistic and musical scholars and it is not yet possible to speak authoritatively about each of the many different languages in this area ' (Rycroft 1971 (MS): 2).

Miss Starke based her investigation on a comparison

of the speech - tone and intonation patterns of twenty - seven Xhosa melodies. In her study she discusses aspects such as intonation, the Xhosa tonetic system, the tonemes in song¹³ (in which the tonemes are examined in all the positions in which they occur in the songs), their musical intervals, phrases and breath - groups, and their rhythms. From her musical evidence Starke concludes that there is indeed ' a close relationship between the tunes of Xhosa songs and the speech intonation of the words of the songs ' (1930: 46). By ' speech intonation ' Starke no doubt means the overall pitch contour of the same text when spoken, since she goes on to refer to the characteristic descending curve of Xhosa melodies, which reflects the overall descending contour of Xhosa speech intonation (op.cit. : 47).¹⁴ Starke notes that this descending tendency is carried further in song, to the extent that ' a rise at the end of the phrase is unknown ' (loc.cit.).¹⁵ Commenting on this apparent ' aversion ' to a rising interval at the end of a phrase, Starke states:

' . . . where this rise in intonation from the Low syllable to the final High Syllable is followed in the song, the native does not consider it a suitable ending to a phrase, and adds a few nonsense syllables sung with descending pitch' (1930: 27).

I found no evidence of this in my study of Xhosa music.

Many songs have stanzas terminating in vocables, but these are not merely ' added on ' to bring the stanza down to a final low pitch; they are usually part of melodic cadential formulae which conclude each stanza of the song (cf. for

example, the umnggunggo dance song, Figure 103 : 556ss, and the diviner's ' solo' dance song, Wachithek' umntwana , Figure 119:611 ; in this last - mentioned song the actual words of the text are replaced by the vocables (cf. also p.241 for discussion of vocables in Xhosa songs).

In a number of songs the final syllable at the end of a line of text, and which is normally High in speech, is consistently realized on a Low melodic note. Examples are Figure S.P.1: iv, which shows the basic structure (and strophe) of an uhadi solo song (vocal part); in the course of its performance the vocable hiyó is replaced by mamá, but the two syllables are always sung to the same melodic notes; viii, which demonstrates a similar procedure: the syllable at the end of the stanza (-wó), pertaining to the word bawó, is extended by repetition and takes Low melodic realization. These (and other) examples support Rycroft's hypothesis of ' latitude at line or phrase endings. . . where musical requirements have priority ' (1971 (MS): 11).

Starke's examination of the relation between the actual musical notes of the melodies and the three tonemes in speech reveals a fact which has been confirmed by later writers:¹⁶ although ' sentence intonation ' imposes a descending contour on Xhosa melodies, the relative contrast between High and Low speech- tones is generally retained. According to Starke, this phenomenon is conclusive proof that ' the tunes of sung words are influenced by the tones of spoken words ' (1930: 47).¹⁷

Further evidence of the influence of ' speech intonation ' on Xhosa melodies is to be seen in the relationship between

ig. SP. I: (i):

1a (1. Sawundi) b. 3.

2a (2. Sawundi) b. 4. Kolon'

igilobos tones

Zíphí zínkomó? ziwásé Kolon'; hómshízewu ziwásé Koloní. :

(ii)

Mfengu Beev/intlombe song.

SL. (a.) (b.) (a)

Ngó Méyi UMasálelá, ngó Méyi uy'biz Nontákázan', (d.)

(c.) (d.)

1. (Solo).

Ngó Méyi yábil' 'ntákázan', ngó Méyi undibiza'ntóni yágez' Nontákázan'.

(iii) umvubhe song

Solo vocal part: 1 2 3 4.

'Sónó sán sínzima, yéw' yó ewé yíma, yéwúyóyémamá, áyável' ámathémba?

Ch. 5. 6. 7. 8

2. ndondle etc.

sóze ndóndle, ndóndle ndóndle, Yángéna lé Poní 'thwál úbunz'má;

(iv) UhaDi song. (a)

(b)

Solo vocal pt:

Yángéna 'ncámázana hiyó, hónyámázana hiyó;

the phrases of songs (in Starke's terminology these correspond with ' breath - groups ' in spoken Xhosa):

' . . . in songs with two (or more) phrases there is a tendency for a whole phrase to be pitched lower than a preceding one if the second phrase is felt to "follow on" the first. An example of this is to be found in Song 4 ' (1930: 14). In such songs, each phrase is pitched considerably lower than the preceding phrase. Other examples cited by Starke are Songs 1, 2 and 5; special mention is made of Song 5, in which the second phrase commences on a much lower pitch than the first phrase. Starke notes: ' However, the two parts are not sung simultaneously; the chief singer takes the first and third phrases while the "accompanist" sings the second and fourth. This would account for the very great drop in pitch between the first and second phrases, and the third and the fourth ' (p. 15).

This juxtaposition of phrases in higher and lower ranges has been noted and discussed by Rycroft (op.cit.), who states that their occurrence in songs ' appears to be musically determined, and . . . not directly conditioned by spoken pitch changes ' (1971: 10). He describes this principle as follows:

'In contrast to praise - poetry,¹⁸ successive High speech - tones, for example, are never confined to only one note. They may often be set to almost any note, provided one or more lower notes remain available for Low speech - tones . . . This is not entirely arbitrary, however. There are commonly one or more changes of range in any song: a musical phrase or section using a higher range is balanced by at least one other, using a lower range, so that High speech - tones in the latter often take notes previously assigned to Lower tones. . . . ' Although there is some apparent resemblance between the

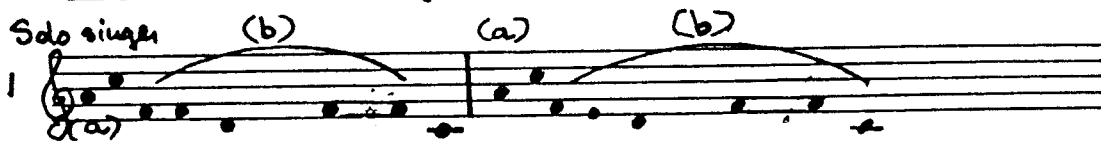
overall melodic sequence, and the spoken contours, it should be noted that the points where ' change of range ' occurs in the music appear to be musically determined, and are not directly conditioned by spoken pitch changes' (1971: 9 - 10).

The dance song shown in Figure S.P.1: viii illustrates this principle: phrase 1 (sung antiphonally by solo and chorus) covers the range A - D; phrases 2 and 3, which complete the strophe, cover range G - C (sung by solo and chorus) and A - D (phrase 1 in the lower register, sung by chorus only). In this last phrase the chorus commences with tone C, which served as a Low tone in the previous phrase (solo part).¹⁹ The two final syllables wo-o, realized on tones D and C below middle C, are sung in such a way that their actual pitches are often difficult to determine. As noted by Rycroft, ' low melodic realization of many final vowels ', to the extent that they ' are often devocalized and almost inaudible, ' is common practice in Nguni music (loc.cit.).²⁰ (See p. 210 for Figure S.P.1: viii).

Miss Starke's description of phrases and their correspondence with ' breath - groups in spoken Xhosa ' is the only instance in her study where the basic antiphonal structure of Xhosa songs is at least suggested. At no time does she make any mention of these songs as being ' choral ', i.e. sung by a company of people. She merely states that the songs ' were taken from unilingual Xhosa - speaking natives, who showed no trace of European musical influence ' (p. 11). It seems to me that these songs were sung by one person, who sang ' the essentials of both parts, by jumping from one to the other whenever a new phrase entry occurs '.²¹ Miss Starke

(v) Gitav song.

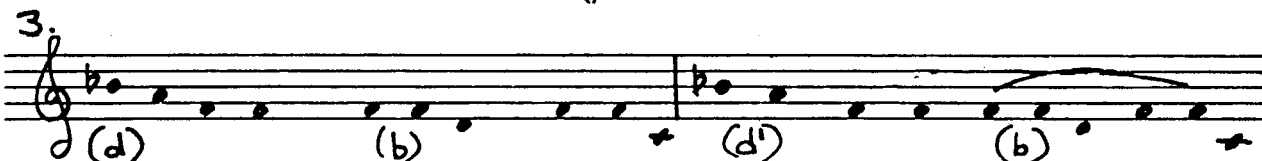
Solo singer



Iyó ámathúnz' ámnyáma, iyó ámathúnz' ámnyáma;



Sizofika níni? Sizofika níni?



Kúlêzo 'ntab' ámathúnz' ámnyáma, yiqhub' 'mfán', ámathúnz' ámnyáma.

(vi) Xeébe Marching song. (choral).

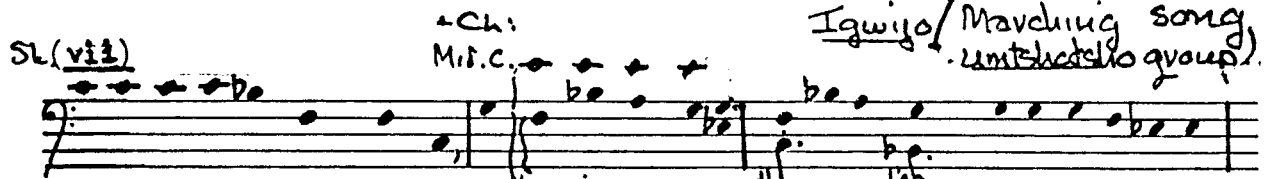
Ziyabúlála na, z'yabúlála na hó néntsizw' énzín', z'yabúlála na.



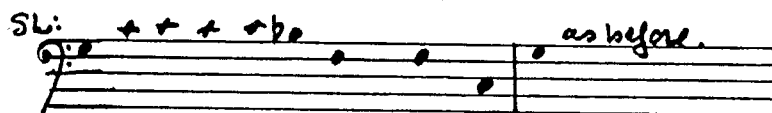
Zigwetyw' íjáj' íntsizw', zigwetyw' íjáj' íntsizwa ngóbá,



Z'yabúlála na.



Kósi nonkósi thin' ápha, Yé kósi nonkósi 'dlalísa ngáth' uMafúkúzelá,



Yé kósi nonkósi thin' ápha;....

appears to have been unaware of the basic structure of any Xhosa choral song, in which ' there are at least two voice - parts, singing non - identical texts '.²² The two parts are sung antiphonally by a soloist or song leader and a chorus ' response ', the latter having a lower pitch range than the former.²³

As further evidence that Xhosa melodies are influenced by ' speech intonation ', Starke notes the phrase - grouping of two songs in which there is no regular sequence of phrases; they are sung in any order at the singer's whim, and their accompanying melodies differ only slightly in their musical notation. Nevertheless, the words of one phrase are never sung to the melody of another phrase. Starke concludes: ' There seems to be in the native mind an indissoluble connection between the words and the tune ' (1930: 42).

After comparing, syllable by syllable, the ' notes of the songs with those of their spoken words ', in order to ascertain the intervals in the sequences of High level tones occurring therein (op.cit. : 18), Starke found that there was a close correspondence between the musical intervals of the songs and the speech - tones of their spoken words. She also noted that ' successive High level tones on the same note are also found, but a descent by step is more frequent ' (op.cit. : 19). Further examination of the tones (High, Falling and Low) and their initial, medial and final occurrences in a phrase (in relation to the tones that precede and follow them), is cited in support of her observation. She reports:

'In a sequence of High level tones in a song, the interval which occurs most frequently is the major 2nd. After the major 2nd, (the) minor 3rd seems to be the next most frequent' (op.cit. : 35).

(A Table demonstrating the results of her assessment appears on p. 35).

Starke continues:

'Other successive High level tones in the songs are level which, as we have already seen, is quite in accordance with the rules for speech intonation. Of these eighteen intervals considered, thirteen are major 2nds, four are minor 3rds, and one song (17) has two versions - one having a major 2nd and the other a minor 3rd. The marked consistency in the use of the major 2nd as the interval between two successive High level tones suggests that the tonetic value of a syllable is (even although it may be done unconsciously) taken into account in the songs. It is true that the number of intervals used in these Xhosa tunes seems to be more limited than the number of intervals in European music, yet the number is not so small that the continual occurrence of a major 2nd would not lead us to suspect some common factor in the syllables concerned in these major 2nd intervals. This factor is that they are adjacent High level tones in speech. We do find a major 2nd between two tones other than High levels. . . . but we do not find other intervals between two adjacent High level tones, except the minor 3rd, which is too like the major 2nd to produce any great difference in the rise and fall of the voice, which is the essential feature in the appreciation of tones' (op.cit. : 36).

Starke's assertion is open to argument, even though she provides some evidence to support it (cf. Table on p. 35 in her thesis). According to my own evaluation of High to High intervals in my collection of Xhosa songs, unisons between adjacent High tones are much more common. (Cf. for example Figure S.P.l: Nos. i, ii, iii, vi, vii, and xi; other transcriptions in this study also show frequent occurrences of unisons between adjacent High tones, while major 2nds occur less commonly).

Figure SP.1 (ctd.):

(viii)

S.L. a. b. Hé!

Yhi mta ka baw(ó), yhi mta ka baw(ó),

S.L. + Ch. c. Ch.

hé yabizwa ngúmtsh émlánjen' A! Yhi mta ka ba wó-o;

S.L. a' + Ch: c'

Hó tshi hó nina mókeona, wa yabizwa bonk' emfulen' A!

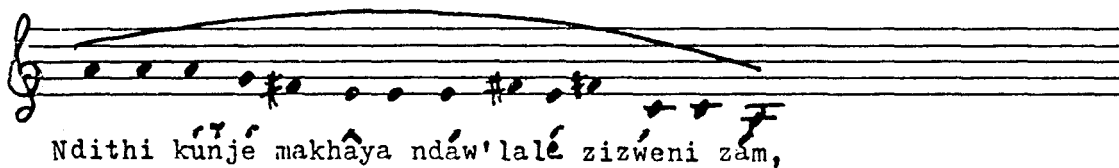
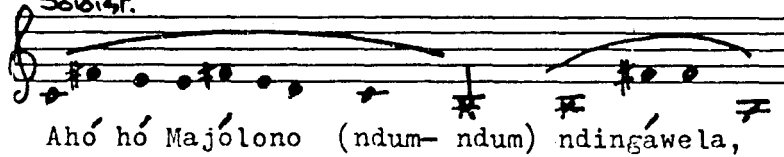
Ch:

Yhi mta ka ba wó-o;

Figure SP.1. (ctd.)

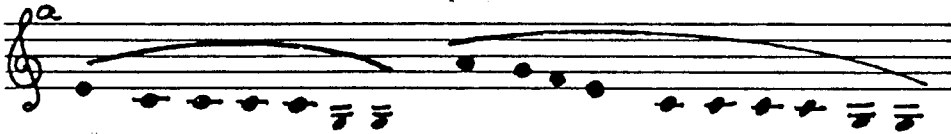
(ix) Igwigo: 'Solo' song + chorus. (transposed up a Pent. 4th)

Soloist.

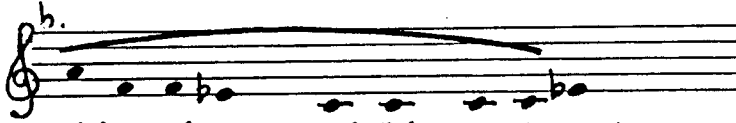


(x) Diviners' Song.

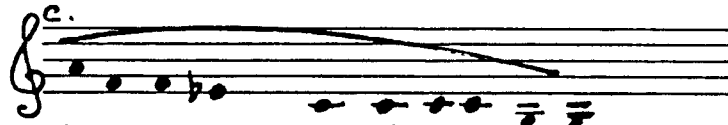


(xi) Umtshilo song (a Praise song)

Hó 'bantu básémzini, wó wéwayé 'bantu básémzini,



Yémzi ká baw' 'gángis' amáthole,



Úmzi ká baw' 'gángis' amáthole,



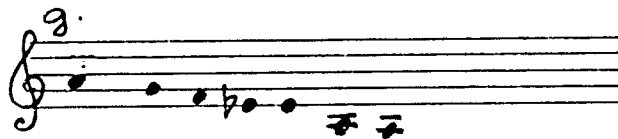
Hé kwénjénjalo, héma - a,



Ye bátsho bónk' abántwana) (a) bathándayo,



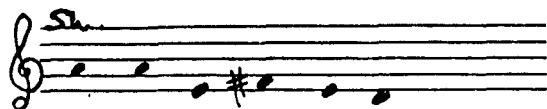
Emzin' ká baw' ngángis' amáthole,



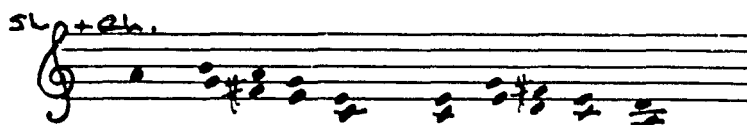
Hé kwénjénjalo, thíná,



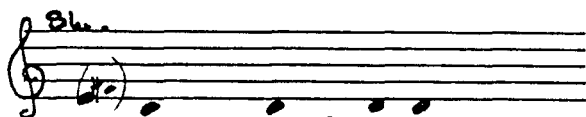
Wô'th uvá kúnjaní?

(xii) Xesibe Dance song (-sina)

Háy' indod' émnyáma,



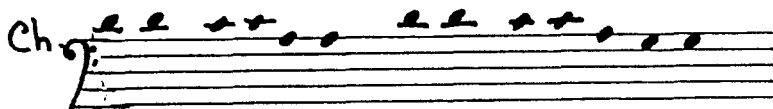
Háy' emáMpondwen' 'yábhejikhôlwa,



Ô háy, 'kwenda kúnzim'.

Xesibe Dance song (-sina).

(xiii)



Sibíz' úMakékel', sibíz' úMakhálélá.



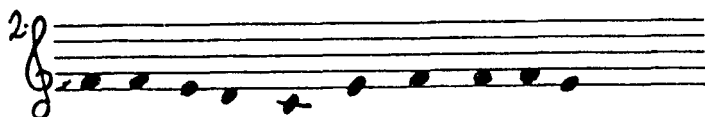
úMakékel' úMakhálélá hm.

Divine's Song:

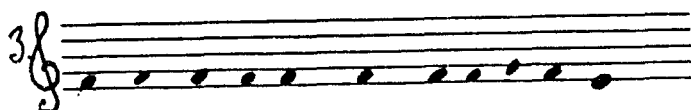
(xiv)



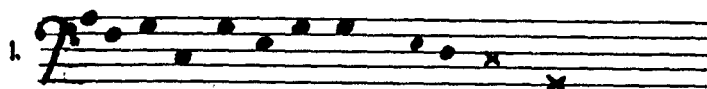
Nd'yakumbóna ngantón' úMisiya wám?



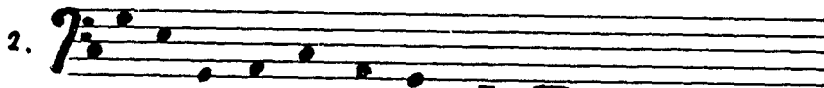
Nd'yakumbóna ngantón' úMkhúlúli?



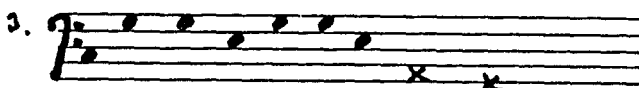
Nd'yakumpháthela 'ntón' úMisiya wám?

(xv) Introduction: (to indlamu song)

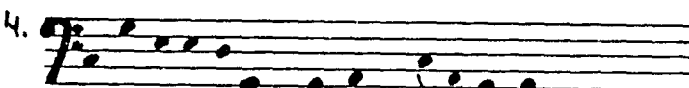
Áwúyó andikubéthi kóo-lo, ~hó



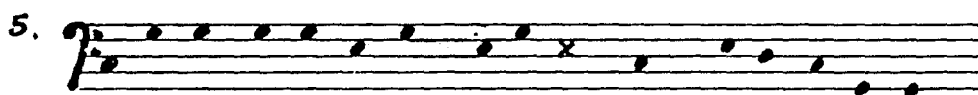
Áyemthí yáyó yemthi ná hó, ~ho



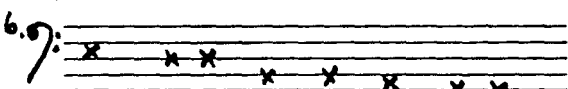
Yáyi ndikubéthi kó-lo, hó,



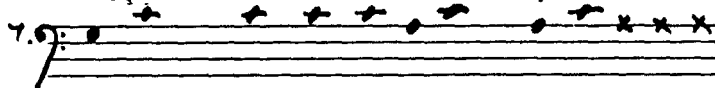
Áye wubi-izwa mákot' yemiz' náńko;



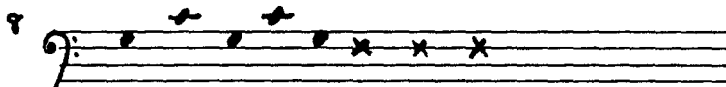
Yeyá (m)ntanám biza náńk' úmakot'; Kuy, véla madoda,



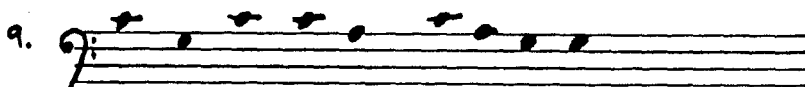
Háy(i)thém̃ba makhaphetshu wó,



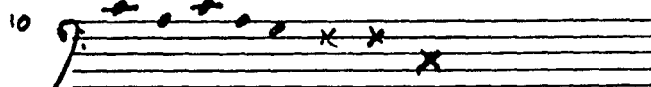
Yé m̃ntan' kanám biza náńk' úmakotí. bó,



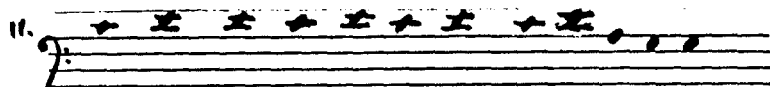
Thandí kubéthí! hó-lo~ bó,



Áw'yéz áw' mákot'' ayinzi ná,



Yéyé mákotí kúnjan' zam?



Yeyá' m̃ntanám biza náńk' úmakotí bó, (cf. 5.
+ 7.)

Starke's comments about High to Low intervals are not conclusive. She states:

'The intervals in the songs between syllables having High tones and syllables having Low tones do not seem to be so consistent. This may be due to the following fact: in spoken Xhosa the intonation range depends on certain psychological factors, such as stress, emphasis, etc., the range being extended with emphasis. The consequent changes in the intervals which occur with changes in the degree of emphasis, etc., do not seem to affect the intervals between two adjacent High level tones as much as those between a High tone and a Low tone, i.e. in emphasis a Low tone becomes further separated from an adjacent High tone than do two adjacent High tones from each other. This broadening of the range, then, caused by the presence of emphasis, would render the intervals between High tones and Low tones more unstable than those between adjacent High level tones, and this feature might easily have been transferred to the corresponding intervals in the songs' (1930: 36 - 37).

Starke ends by stating that the suggestion quoted above is ' merely theory, and cannot be proved, for such an influence, if it exists, would be quite unrecognized by the natives ' (loc.cit.).

To my mind, it seems more logical to attribute inconsistent High to Low intervals to melodic, rather than psychological factors. Variability of interval in speech can be blamed on psychological factors (if one wishes to), but in song it is surely melodic factors that operate.

Starke's discussion of rhythm is relatively brief and inconclusive. Remarking on the ' obscurity of the rhythm ', and the difficulty one has in distinguishing the "beats" of the songs, she states that ' the native rather thinks of the "phrase" of a song as being the unit, and gives prominence to the first part of the phrase; that is, the first part is generally louder than the ending, and often

too there is a slight rubato in the time towards the end of the phrase ' (p.42).²⁴

Commenting on the rhythm which Europeans are inclined to impose on Xhosa melodies when they listen to them, because they ' are so used to the recurrence of accent ', Starke notes that this rhythm is clearly not the rhythm implied by the people themselves; this becomes evident when the singers are asked to clap their hands or stamp their feet in accompaniment to their singing.²⁵ Starke also notes that the beats appear to be in cross - rhythm to the melodies,²⁶ and that ' the rhythm seems to be implied rather than made obvious by stress '; beyond this she does not go (p.43).²⁷

Regarding the ' rules of length ' in speech and their observance in music, Starke claims that a certain correspondence can be traced (loc.cit.). She gives representative examples in which she demonstrates the following points:

'A long spoken syllable may be short in a song, yet a short spoken syllable is never long in a song. This is to be understood because length gives prominence, and a short syllable would be receiving undue prominence if it were lengthened in a song' (p.45). 'The reverse case, i.e. where the prominence of a long syllable is lessened by shortening, would not be noticeable' (ibid.).

Another feature of Xhosa songs, and noted by Starke, is the frequent lengthening of a syllable within a phrase, so that ' two successive phrases shall be of equal length '. She makes no mention of the basic metres of songs, which would surely determine the lengths of phrases and the number of syllables within them. As far as penultimate length is

concerned, Starke states that there is no regular observance of this in the songs she examined. This tallies with my findings in Xhosa music.

Starke's claim that the influence of Xhosa ' intonation ' on Xhosa vocal melody is most evident in its descending pitch contour is valid up to a point. However, most vocal music all over the world has a descending pitch contour; thus, to say that statement ' intonation ' causes it in Xhosa songs is difficult to prove. Moreover, there is documentary evidence to prove that the setting of words to music in a tone language is not always governed or influenced by speech - tone and intonation patterns.²⁸

Most existing studies of speech - tone/melody relationships in tone languages have been based on (or have included) comparisons of the notes of melodies with the speech - tone patterns of their spoken texts. Rycroft's comments on this procedure warrant consideration. Referring to the considerable differences between the speech - tone systems of the various Bantu languages, he says:

'They may also differ, possibly just as widely, regarding rules for setting words to music. This cannot at present be tested without far more wide - spread research; but it should be stressed that, without some understanding of underlying factors in the individual language, it may prove misleading merely to make a direct comparison between a song melody and the sequence of pitches used in a spoken rendering of the same text' (1971: 8).

Although I am aware of the limitations of this comparative method, I have used it because it was employed by earlier researchers. It will possibly always remain part of more extensive research methods carried out by linguistic and

musical scholars in the future.

After comparing the pitch sequence of the melodies of 580 items of song with the speech - tone patterns of the words accompanying them, I found that the extent to which Xhosa melodies follow or contradict word - tone requirements varies within the different categories of music.²⁹

Considerable influence of speech - tone on the melodic rise and fall is to be observed in (1) the melodies of ' solo ' songs with an instrumental accompaniment, in particular the original and ' personal ' songs of individuals who perform their music exclusively³⁰ (this does not include their instrumental versions of popular dance songs.), and (2) the beginnings of the melodies of choral dance songs, which are usually sung by a song leader (umhlabeli) who starts a song and leads off the chorus.

(i) This is well illustrated in songs Nos. iii, iv, and v in Figure S.P.l. Song no. iii is an umrhubhe bow song whose basic theme consists of a melodic phrase that is repeated and varied slightly in the course of the song.

There are only two departures from speech - tone requirements in the four main phrases: - in phrase 3, where the syllable yé coincides with a descent in the melodic line, and in phrase 4, where a similar procedure occurs. In phrase 3, the F sharp is ' harmonically equivalent ' (isihlobo) to tone A, which may be sung instead of F sharp. When the composer of the song performed it with her mother as vocalist, the very extended performance included repetitions of this particular phrase in which either tone A or tone F sharp was sung. When I

asked the singer whether she had a reason for doing this, she replied that she ' did it for a change ', and that either tone could be sung, as both were suitable. In phrase 4 the non - coincidence between speech - tone and melodic sequence brings the melodic pattern into conformity with what seems to be a general ' rule ' of traditional Xhosa melodies - that they should descend at the end of the pattern. At the same time, this brings about a contradiction between the melodic contour and the ' intonation ' of the word - pattern, which is that of question utterance.

Apart from these contradictions, the singer's melodic phrases are otherwise closely patterned on the tones of the spoken words, as are the phrases sung by the chorus (Nos. 5 - 8). Speech - tone patterns are also generally represented in the melodic patterns of song No. iv, an uhadi bow song. Phrase (a) plus phrase (b) constitute the total structure of the song. In the course of its performance the phrases are varied when the singer substitutes vocables for the word - syllables, e.g. yo-ho-ho-wo-wo-ho-wo-ho-o, with the result that the melody tones are linked by glissandi although the pitch sequences remain unchanged. The rising on - glide which occurs on the syllable -nge in the word yángéna is also omitted when vocables are sung.

The lowering effect of depressor consonants³¹ is to be observed in both bow songs - phrase 7 in No. iii, and phrase (a) in No. iv. In each song the depressor occurs in the same word - yángéna - and it is observed in the vocal/melodic line by a glissando ' on - glide ' from one tone to another

approximately a third above it. This is indicated in the examples by acciaccatura notes. In No. iii the intervallic distance is a minor 3rd, whereas in No. iv it is a major 3rd. Rycroft has discussed similar depressor effects in Zulu music (cf. Rycroft 1959: 28; ibid. 1975 (Zulu ballad. .): 84 - 85.³²

The guitar song by Barnabas Mhleli (No. v), which is properly sung as a ' solo ' song with an instrumental accompaniment, embodies a miniature Call and Response form. The soloist's role is to be seen in the varying phrases (a), (c) and (d), while the role of the chorus is to be seen in the ' fixed ' phrase (b), and (c') which ' echoes ' in response to the soloist's ' Call ' (c). As in choral dance songs which are antiphonally structured, so in this ' solo ' guitar song there is an alternation of varying ' initial ' phrases with fixed responses. By introducing different words with correspondingly different speech - tones, the initial phrase of a melodic pattern is varied musically, thus musical variations are in fact the result of linguistic variations. This brings me to (2) quoted on page 211, which constitutes another general ' rule ' or principle of Xhosa traditional music, and which is also observed in this Xhosa instrumental song by a present - day traditional composer: that the influence of speech - tone is most obvious, and therefore exerts the strongest influence on, the beginnings of melodies, i.e. those parts which are usually sung by a soloist in choral songs, as well as the vocal melodies of solo instrumental songs. On the other

hand, ' violation ' of speech - tone patterns seems to occur mainly at the ends of phrases, including the chorus parts of choral dance songs. This was noted by Blacking in Venda music (Blacking 1967: 167 - 171, & 199 - 203), and by Rycroft in Nguni (in particular Zulu) music (Rycroft 1962: 81; ibid. 1971 (MS): 14).³³

The importance of language in Xhosa music should not be underestimated. A comparison of the speech - tone patterns and melodies in Figure S.P.1. reveals that, although the tones of each syllable are not strictly realized in the melodies accompanying them, there is nevertheless a close correspondence between the two, especially regarding the direction of pitch movement.

An imperfect grasp of the principles of the language, together with a distaste for ' pagan ' music which prevented anyone from attempting to find out its basic principles in relation to the text, was at the root of the ' problem ' of speech - distortion which arose shortly after the White missionaries arrived in South Africa, that is, toward the end of the eighteenth century. Since then various persons, notably clergymen of several groups, have from time to time discussed this ' problem '.³⁴ The early missionaries learnt the native language, isiXhosa, and formulated its grammar; they translated the texts of their church hymns into this language, quite unknowingly ' distorting ' speech as they did so. When the translated texts were fitted to Western hymn - tunes, it was subsequently found that the rise and fall of the speech - tone patterns did not always coincide with the

rise and fall of the melodies. And so the ' problem ' of speech distortion arose. Some of the early missionaries, including two eminent Xhosa converts, drew attention to this fact: Tiyo Soga (1829 - 1871) and John Knox Bokwe (1855 - 1922).³⁵ In doing so they did not realize that, in traditional Xhosa music, the melodies do not ' slavishly imitate ' the speech - tones and ' intonation ' patterns of the spoken language. These two men, and other early converts and missionaries, composed their own hymns, either (a) setting standard texts to new tunes composed by themselves, or (b) providing well - known tunes with original Xhosa texts. In (a) speech was not distorted although the melodies were Western - european in style (because the composers ' tried to preserve in singing the correct accentuation followed in speaking the Xhosa language ' (Bokwe 1910: 3), but in (b) speech was often unknowingly and inevitably distorted.

The problem of speech - distortion was discussed in 1965 at a Music Conference held at Lumko Missiological Institute. The Conference was presided over by two well - known White musicians and a Black musician of some repute, and was attended by amateur Black composers and churchmen of both races and of various church denominations, and by a few men and women who were interested in the event, which was sponsored by the Roman Catholic church. The aim of the conference was (to quote the phrase which became the slogan there) ' to find out what African music really is '. This meant, briefly, to ascertain the structural features of African music south of the Limpopo - in general terms of course.

From these, a set of compositional ' rules ' or ' guide - lines ' to composition was to be formulated which, it was thought, would be very helpful to Black composers. These rules could assist them when they composed ' their own music in the native idiom '. Another objective of the conference was the encouragement of the composition of liturgical music by the Black composers themselves, since the clergymen greatly desired music suitable for use in the African churches of their denominations. The Conference was partly successful in that it encouraged many Blacks to compose music; some of them had never before attempted to do so. It failed in that it did not accomplish its main objective - to pinpoint the structural features of African music south of the Limpopo, its patterns of rhythm, harmony, melody and tonality. A knowledge of these would have been very useful to Black composers, as would have been some methods of teaching them how to compose using Western techniques of composition and notation. The problem of speech distortion, which should ideally have included a fairly detailed discussion of the relationships between speech - tone and melodic patterns, with references to examples of African music in this country at least, was raised and only peripherally discussed.

My analysis of Xhosa melodies and speech - tone patterns has shown that speech - tone does influence melodies, particularly their opening phrases, and the pitch movements within them. This was noted by Rycroft in Nguni music generally;³⁶ he provided ample musical evidence to support this assertion, which my own findings endorse, as do Miss Starke's to some

extent.³⁷ But musical preferences are equally important and even paramount in some songs, and override speech - tone patterns. The degree to which this occurs varies from one type of music to another, but speaking generally, the melodies of self - accompanied ' solo ' songs show greater conformity between speech - tone and melodic patterns, whereas in the chorus sections of dance songs, as well as in many modern Xhosa songs, e.g. ' school music ' (iingoma zesikolo), popular music, and church hymns (amaculo), speech - tone patterns are virtually ignored on musical grounds.³⁸

I have already drawn attention to the close relation - ship between melodic contour and speech contour (overall surface pitch contour) (cf. pp. 211 - 214). In Mhleli's song, for instance, (no. v in Figure S.P.1), one may observe how closely the singer's descending melody reflects the contour of the statement utterance (1 and 3), and also the question utterance (2). In the latter, all the word - syllables, with one exception, are sung to the same tone. Indeed, all the songs quoted in Figure S.P.1., which are representative of the general tendencies in Xhosa speech - tone and melodic patterns, show this close correspondence between speech and melodic contours. However, within the phrases one finds evidence of varying degrees of speech distortion, e.g:

(i) - at 1b, 2a and 4; despite these few contradictions, speech - tone requirements are fairly well represented, which

is unusual in this type of Xhosa music.

(ii) - in the second half of (a), at (c) and at (d); the song - melody is based on a melodic process which I have discussed in some detail in chapter 8, and referred to elsewhere in this study.

(vi) - in the second word - pattern of the song (2), but otherwise the speech - tones are more or less respected in the music. This performance was given by a group of children, and I found, after analysing many children's songs and their versions of adult music, that speech - tone influence is comparatively stronger in their music than it is in the music performed by adults.

(vii) - mainly at the end of the melodic phrase, where the sequence High - Low - High - Low in the word - pattern coincides with a stepwise descending progression in the melody.

(viii) - again mainly at the end of the phrase introduced by the soloist (song leader); otherwise, speech - tones are generally represented in the melody.

(xi) - the singing of this song (umyeyezelo) sounds very much like ' speech - singing ' to European ears (cf. pp.514 - 518), but, as the example shows, the tones of the word - syllables are seldom reflected in the melodic rise and fall. The influence of ' sentence intonation ' is very strong, as all the melodic patterns descend gradually, with one exception (h), where the melodic pattern remains level, to reflect the ' intonation ' of the question utterance.

(xiv) - according to informants, the melody of this diviners'

song was adapted from a Revival hymn. Although the tones of the individual word - syllables are not generously represented in the music, their overall tone contour is reflected in the melody, which remains fairly level. The distance between the first and last tones of the melody is only a minor 2nd.

(xv) - one would expect to find a close correlation between the speech - tones of the spoken words and melodic pitch and movement in this song, which serves as an Introduction to a Bhaca indlamu dance song, and is always sung by a soloist. Speech - tone patterns are most strongly reflected in the melodic patterns 3,5,7 8 and 11, but in the other patterns they are sacrificed for musical reasons. Furthermore, the ' intonation ' of the question utterance in 9 is ignored, the melody descending rather steeply within the compass of an octave.

In his study of Venda children's songs, Blacking discussed the ' principle of harmonic equivalence ', and showed how it is responsible for many changes in Venda melodies that follow speech - tone patterns. This same principle is active in Xhosa music, and it is most conspicuous in children's songs, Walking songs and certain Beer songs which are performed by groups of people who harmonize mostly in parallel intervals (cf. chap. 7: 280,447). The chorus embellishes the main melody (stated and ' held ' by a song leader) by singing variants of it. In doing so, they sing tones which are ' companion ' tones to the tones of the melody, and which are verbalized by the Cape Nguni as izihlobo

(' friendly ') tones. These tones, and the melodies which they form, ' agree ' with the main melody. They are not regarded as different tones and melodies, but rather as aspects of the same tones and main melody. The choice of izihlobo tones is based on root relationships (singers select tones from the same root triads as the original melody notes), thus the embellishing melodies may not be duplicates of the main melody. Example No. xii in Figure S.P.1. shows how the chorus embellishes the main melody by singing ' friendly ' tones along with it. The melodies of both song leader and chorus generally follow speech - tone patterns, but they are not identical as the choice of tones in the chorus is controlled by root relationships. The same principle is to be observed in Example No. xiii, which shows the soloist and chorus parts of another dance song. Both songs are sung concurrently, and there is an overlap between them at the end of the pattern. The solo/chorus relationship is more easily observed in the transcription which appears in chapter 4: 118 - 119. In both parts speech - tone requirements are virtually ignored, although once again the melodic contour reflects the ' sentence intonation '.

The principle of harmonic equivalence (based on root relationships) is active in all styles of Xhosa music, and may therefore be considered a ' rule ' of Xhosa music. It is not so easily observed in the adults' dance songs of the Xhosa, Thembu and Bomvana clusters, as the complex interplay of polyrhythms in this music tends to obscure the

parallel motion and interval combinations. Furthermore, in these songs, speech values are frequently ignored, and emphasis is placed on musical expression. The poly - phonic/polyrhythmic nature of the music would seem to make for a fluctuating relationship between speech - tone and melody. When people sing together, each person is free to ' add (their) own words to make taste of the song ' (cf. chap. 2: 39), i.e. to improvise freely as long as his/her part ' agrees ' (- vuma) with the total musical scheme of the song. Singers ' do their own thing ' by (a) singing new words that sound like, and have vowels or consonants in common with those in the fixed words of the song; (b) sing words which sound differently, but which have similar meanings to the words of the fixed text; (c) take a vowel from one of the words of the text and treat it motivically, always adhering to the basic metre of the song. This latter is a favourite device, as will be seen in chapter 7. These are but three techniques which I have observed in my transcriptions; others are referred to and discussed in chapter 7. Thus, when singers improvise in vocal polyrhythm, the words they sing (if they are denotative) may or may not have speech - tone patterns which correspond with the melodic patterns they carry. The singers are not concerned about this; they are concerned with creating their own patterns of melody which will fit into the overall musical pattern of the song.

Singing is not meant to sound like speaking, and although speech - tone does influence the melodies of songs, especially certain parts of them, in very many songs speech - tone patterns are sacrificed on musical grounds. According to

the Cape Nguni, the vital difference between speech and music is metrical. The category of music includes not only words that are accompanied by melodies, but also words that are recited to a regular metre. Thus the Cape Nguni make the same distinction between speech and music as do the Venda (Blacking 1967: 155). Xhosa songs that are recited throughout are comparatively rare; those which exist are usually accompanied by humming and clapping. Far more common are the ' chanted ' sections which occur in the course of songs which are otherwise melodic (cf. Figure 21 on pp. 275 - 276 , and Figure RHY. 10 on pp. 706ss). In Figure 24, the middle section of the song (it is in A B A form) is chanted antiphonally between a soloist (who reiterates ' ityan' '), and subdivided chorus (who chant ' higuza ', ' hibandagesss ', ' azimant' ' and ' siphepha sifefa ' etc. successively). Although the singers ' sing - speak the words, there is some difference in the pitches used by them, and I have indicated these approximately with ' sprechstimme ' notation. The parlando sections in Figures MH. 17 and 18 are ' rendered in a "sing - song" manner like choral recitation, without any fixed musical notes, but with a strictly imposed metre which often causes great distortion of syllable - length ' (Rycroft 1971(MS): 9). Rycroft has noted similar non - melodic passages (' in which pitch movement consists entirely of stylized and exaggerated speech contours ') among the Zulu and Swazi, which they accept as still falling within the category of singing (ibid.), as has Blacking among the Venda (1967: 78, 91, and 153 - 154).

Xhosa melodies are therefore influenced by the tones of normal speech up to a point, but ultimately musical preferences prevail. In my opinion, speech - tone influence is not as excessively strong as has been suggested for other African musical traditions. For instance, according to Francis Bebey:

'Music thus grows out of the intonations and rhythmic onomatopoeias of speech. In song these intonations must be respected. In the Duala language, which is typical of Bantu languages, any melodic contradictions between the way a word is spoken and the way it is sung is inconceivable' (Bebey 1975: 120).

Jones has also suggested that tone influence on African melodies is very strong (Jones 1959: chap. 10).

Hornbostel's general impression of the speech - tone/melody relationship in African music, sums up the situation in Xhosa music very well:

'The pitches of the speaking voice indeed appear to determine the melodic nucleus; but they have no influence upon its inborn creative forces. These, and not any qualities of speech, direct the further course of melodic development' (Hornbostel 1928: 37).

Melody and metre

In 1959 Rycroft made the following observation regarding the correlation between words and metre in the traditional music of the indigenous peoples of southern Africa:

'The words of songs are usually phrased evenly and metrically among the Basuto, but in the singing of the Zulu, Xhosa and Swazi tribesmen rhythmic interest is created by means of subtleties of phrasing in the melodic line. The words are timed so that they do not fall exactly on the beat. In improvised songs of many tribes and in Xhosa traditional dance songs, natural speech - rhythms appear to determine the phrasing, so that there is a loose, flexible relationship between words and metre. . . ' (1959: 26)

I asked my guides and other informants to speak the words of many of the songs collected, and then compared the resultant speech - rhythms with the rhythms of the sung words. In all cases I found very little correspondence between the spoken and sung rhythms of the words. Exceptions are a few songs sung by very young children, e.g. the ' do - it - yourself ' lullaby (cf. p. 268), and others, the melodies of which closely follow the rhythms as well as the speech - tones of the spoken words. Thus the metres of the songs do not appear to derive from the rhythms and syllable lengths of words and phrases. It would seem that the Cape Nguni are concerned with fitting vocal phrases to a specific basic metre which is characteristic of the music being sung. In doing so, the singers elide syllables and shorten words so that the main accents of the vocal phrases will not always coincide with the beats of the basic metre. The extent to which the words of the vocal phrases ' off - beat ' against the basic metre, or coincide with it marks the distinction between the traditional music of the older Cape clusters (the ' Cape Tribes Proper '), and the ' intrusive ' tribes (Bhaca, Mfengu, Xesibe and Hlubi), who moved down from the Zulu area. In their music. elisions and lengthening of syllables, together with regular ' off - beating ' occur to a much greater degree than they do in the music of the older clusters. Thus in these aspects the ' intrusive ' tribes reveal their Zulu cultural connections. (Cf. Rycroft 1971(MS): 13; cf. also pp.245 -247 for examples of syllable elisions and lengthening).

According to Rycroft:

'In Zulu tribal songs. . . a regular form of syncopation is more common. Syllable lengths seem to be purposely distorted so that words shall not coincide with the beat. Unmetrical song texts more akin to prose than verse are used. . . In many cases short spoken syllables are here sung long, and long syllables sung short. . . '

(1959: 26, underlinings mine).

A comparison of the dance songs of the ' Cape Tribes Proper ' and the ' intrusive ' tribes, in particular the word/metre relationships within them, revealed the following: in the music of the older clusters the melodic phrases of the singers only occasionally ' off - beat ' in their main accents against the beats of the basic metre, as a result of successive entries; in the music of the ' intrusive ' tribes, there is considerably more regular ' off - beating ' between the vocal parts and the basic metre of the music. Thus the distinction made by Rycroft between word/metre relationship in Xhosa music on the one hand, and Zulu music on the other, pinpoints an essential difference between the music of the older, and the more recent chiefdom clusters (cf. ch. 8:644ss, where this matter is discussed in some detail).

Regarding word/metre relationships in solo songs, I found that, speaking generally, the first word - phrase pattern of a song would seem to regulate the length of subsequent word - patterns, and therefore the basic metre of the whole song. There is thus a closer correspondence between word - phrase lengths and basic metres in these songs than there is in the polyrhythmic dance songs.

Regarding the number of syllables in phrases and the degree of consistency in the same song, I found that this varied according to the different types of music. In the choral dance songs, particularly those in which the poly-rhythmic principle is applied to a maximum degree, the number of syllables in phrases varied from one word - pattern to the next. The more 'word - bound' songs - Walking/Marching songs and 'Sounds' - showed much more consistency in this respect.

My investigation into the relationship between the spoken rhythms of the words, and the phrase lengths of word - patterns and the metres of songs, leads me to conclude that, as in Venda music,

'... the length of the word - phrases is not a relevant factor in the choice of metre. A pattern of words may suggest an appropriate metre, but more important factors in the composition of songs are the creation of total metrical patterns, and the balance of metrical and tonal phrases within them' (Blacking 1970: 12).

Song texts

The texts accompanying my transcriptions are those which are most commonly sung. They were compiled from my collection of 1051 items of Xhosa music, which does not include several recordings of the same song, sung on different occasions.

When recording performances of music, I relied heavily on my guides to assist me in obtaining the words of the songs. We adopted the following procedure: while I recorded the singing, and attempted to write down the words in a

note - book attached to my belt, and noted the dance - steps and movements (which I sometimes described into the tape), my guide would follow me with his/her book and pen/pencil, and jot down the words as they were sung by the performers.

This worked very well for most styles of music; however, when it came to recording music performed by large groups of people, who danced as they sang, we had to adapt our routine. The umngqungqo dance song usually involves a large number of performers. All the married women present like to participate, and there are always many of them about on these occasions. As many as 20 - 30 will take part in a performance. On one occasion (a very special one, the installation of a chief), I recorded the singing of 300 to 500 women who gave two separate performances of this dance song.

In the umngqungqo dance the women dance in circles, one within the other, the number of circles depending on the number of people participating. From time to time two or three (or more, depending on the size of the company) women break away from their positions in the circles and dance ' solo ' (i.e. with the others in an individual way). To record these songs, I (i) stood on a ' platform ' which I had erected in the centre of the innermost circle (the platform was contrived from stones and boxes, buckets, and pieces of wood and clothing), and held the microphone just over the heads of the performers, in order to record the overall sound of the music; (ii) thereafter, I ' roamed ' with the microphone, my guide following closely and writing down the words sung

by each performer. (This was some feat in that jostling, enthusiastic throng). Since the basis of umngqungqo is vocal polyphony and polyrhythm, it is not surprising that, while these songs have short ' fixed ' texts (even one or two word - phrases), in the course of a performance they acquire extended ' texts ' through this polyrhythmic technique. Thus, as far as umngqungqo songs are concerned, one cannot regard their texts, which I have given in my transcriptions, as being those which are most commonly sung. The same may be said for the intlombe songs of the Xhosa, Thembu, Bomvana, Mpondo and Mpondomise, who perform umngqungqo (Mpondo = umgquzo), whose texts evolve in the same way.

Whenever it was possible, I asked song leaders and members of the performing groups for the words of the songs at the end of each performance. When they gave me the words, they always sang them, and accompanied their singing with handclaps, if the songs had clap accompaniment. Thus I was able to check these words with those which had been sung during the main performance. The two ' versions ' always differed, although in detail only; certain words and phrases were always retained, these being the important, identifying phrases of the songs. These ' fixed ' words constitute the standard texts of songs, and all other words are the result of spontaneous improvisation on the part of the singers.

From time to time friends and informants found time to listen to the recorded music, to write down the words of each song, and to speak them into the tape for me. The texts were compared and checked by men and women belonging to different

chiefdom clusters, and rechecked by a Xhosa linguist who was on the Staff of the language laboratory mentioned earlier (Lumko). Most of the songs are known to all these people who assisted me. They translated the texts, and in doing so they tried as much as possible to retain the original meaning and flavour of the words.

' Solo ' songs with instrumental accompaniment have the most extended texts, comprising ' fixed ' phrases which are essential to the song and are never omitted. In these songs the phrase is the basic unit. The singer, who is usually the composer of the song, composes as many phrases as he needs or desires, and these remain the standard phrases of the text. The songs of James Mthamo and Barnabas Mhleli, particularly those in which they sing about personal experiences and feelings, are good examples of this type of solo song.

The main vocal phrase is usually a short, single condensed statement, which is repeated at various points in the song, and forms its neutral theme, e.g. Ah! amaMpondo akamfun' uMaziphathe.' (' Oh! the Mpondo do not want self - government! '). This single phrase is expanded by the addition of other phrases which give a background to, or comment on the main theme. The length of subsequent vocal phrases is determined by the length of the initial phrase and its metre. The whole song is held together by the repetition, rerepetition and variation of the words and melody from one phrase to another. The maintenance of the phrase as an individual unit seems to be the normal practice

in self - accompanied ' solo ' songs, which are not accompanied by dancing and therefore not tied to its movements. Another feature of such songs is the emphasis of the single phrase and/or its extension, not by repetition but by the addition of ' meaningless ' words or vocables.

Although the category of ukubonga (' to praise ' or ' praising ') is regarded by the Xhosa as quite separate from that of song, short passages delivered in ' - bonga style are sometimes interpolated within solo songs that are self - accompanied on the guitar or concertina. This may be a relatively recent development since it has apparently not been observed or noted in connection with songs accompanied on traditional instruments. It is not restricted to the Xhosa alone, since the interpolation of brief self - praises in - bonga style, within Zulu guitar - songs in Durban, has been referred to by Rycroft (1974: 66). Many of the songs in my collection, which were self - accompanied on non - traditional instruments, contain such interpolations, notable performers in this connection being Mthamo and Mhleli.

Among all Nguni peoples, izibongo (usually translated as ' praise poetry ') is a highly prized oral form about which there is quite an amount of documentation. (Cf. Finnegan 1970: ch. 5; Rycroft 1974 et al.). Besides praise poems of certain chiefs and notable figures being remembered from the past, the composition and performance of izibongo still persists as a living art form, both among specialists and non - specialists. The appellation imbongi

(pl. iimbongi) is applied to experts in this art, whether they are professionals, attached to a particular chief (cf. Mafeje 1967), or individuals who, on account of their recognized ability as praise - poets, are called upon from time to time to perform at public functions.

Besides the recognized experts, a considerable number of Xhosa (and other Nguni) men appear to cultivate the art of ukubonga to a varying extent. Opland (1975: 185 - 208) has ventured to call it ' everyman's art form ', among the Xhosa. This is perhaps an overstatement, but there is indeed evidence that the creation of short strings of praise epithets, either as self - praises or relating to their fellows or superiors, is quite widespread, especially among unskilled workers in towns and on the mines (cf. Wainwright 1980).

Mthamo and Mhleli do not come from families of praisers; they told me that they developed their skill because they liked to do it, and because it is highly esteemed by their people. Both men are considered to be excellent amateur praisers, who not only recite traditional praises, but what is more, make their own, and very often ' on the spot '. In the - bonga sections of their songs, the words are improvised. I made three successive recordings of one of Mthamo's - bonga sections, and each time he retained a few words and phrases, but also added new ones. The language is often obscure and unintelligible, the words being chosen (so I was told) for their sounds rather than their explicit meanings.⁴⁰ They are recited at an extremely rapid rate, with hardly any punctuation apart from that demanded by the exigencies of breathing. The overall

pitch contour descends less rapidly than in normal speech. In this respect there is some resemblance to Rycroft's findings regarding certain Zulu izibongo recordings, where he states that 'downdrift is absent until the last two syllables of a stanza where, as the pitch drop occurs all at once, a comparatively wide pitch interval is traversed which provides an effective concluding formula' (Rycroft 1960: 75).

In support of the Xhosa and Zulu view that izibongo is clearly distinct from song, it seems that speech - tones, rather than melodic factors, principally determine the direction of pitch movement in izibongo. Izibongo is thus closer to normal speech, than is the case with song, since song essentially demands a compromise between linguistic and musical requirements. In this context Rycroft's statements concerning the possible consideration of Zulu izibongo recitation as ' a species of song ' are particularly relevant for Xhosa izibongo:

'Linguistic determinism here appears to be absolute, and this state of affairs stands in distinct contrast to what happens in items which are clearly acceptable as true song. In traditional Zulu songs, speech - tones and consonants certainly have an influence on the melodic rise and fall, but musical requirements are also in evidence and there is give and take between the two. As Hornbostel stated of African Negro song, generally: "The pitches of the speaking voice, indeed, appear to determine the melodic nucleus; but they have no influence upon its inborn creative forces; these forces, and not any qualities of speech, direct the further course of the melodic development" ' (Rycroft 1962: 80 - 81).⁴¹

Rycroft's conclusions that izibongo ' do not fit conveniently into the category of Zulu song ' (1962: 82), because ' from a musical point of view, (they) are

excessively word - bound, allowing no freedom to Hornbostel's "inborn creative forces" of the melodic nucleus ' (loc.cit.), are endorsed by Cape Nguni praisers and musicians, who emphatically maintain that ' - bonga is a way of speaking, and is therefore not singing (ukuvuma) '.

Xhosa izibongo recitation certainly uses ' a special style of rhetorical or oratorical intonation, differing from that of normal speech (in respects which are still to be determined); the important point is that the pitch contours involved are not melodically inspired, but have their own rules '.⁴²

Returning to the discussion of song texts: speaking generally, responsorial songs have short texts. Communally performed dance songs conform to this type in which the most important words are sung by a song leader while the rest of the company sings a refrain. The song leader's part tends to vary, his/her words being well adapted for improvised interpolations; the chorus part tends to remain fixed. While some dance songs have clear - cut ' Call ' and ' Response ' sections, with or without overlap, other songs appear to be highly integrated choruses, in which the divisions of song leader and chorus are present but not easily identified by the ear. There is so much intimate vocal interplay between the two that the whole song takes the form of a chorus (cf. chap. 2: 39). The texts of such songs usually consist of one or two phrases, which may or may not be extended through the process of polyrhythm.

The Cape Nguni are very conscious of musical sound and effect. The priority of musical sound over words is well illustrated in the large number of songs that either have few meaningful words, or are sung to unintelligible words or sounds (vocables) and are entirely self - sufficient and self - explanatory without them, e.g. the intlombe songs and umngqungqo songs of the Xhosa, Thembu, Bomvana and Mpondomise clusters. In these songs the emphasis is entirely on the music. Sounds are much easier to fit to music than words, for they allow for all attention, and total preoccupation with, the music - its sound and effect. Also, there are no speech - tone restrictions on melodic movement.

As stated earlier on, umngqungqo songs have texts that evolve through the process of vocal polyrhythm, but more often than not these same songs are sung without any words at all, merely to sounds. These sounds usually consist of a consonant and a vowel, e.g.:-

Yi ho ho ngo ngo,
nje nje nje yingo - qo ,
Kanti nonomoko,
Konkqo - konkqo
Ho lilo ho ma.

Informants insisted that these sounds had no meaning, and that they were ' sung just to keep up the song '. However, I found that certain sounds always occurred in certain songs, e.g. konkqo - konkqo, which is always cropping up in umngqungqo songs. Likewise khence - khenkce .

The first - mentioned vocable derives from the sounds people make when they visit the homesteads of friends and ask for admittance (I referred to this in the Preface).

' Nkgo nkgo ' is literally ' knock knock '. The second vocable (khence khence) is supposed to denote the sound of bells. Armed with this knowledge my guide and I approached several women who had taken part in an umngunggo dance, and once again we asked whether these terms did not have implicated meanings. Eventually, we received some information given by an old woman. She told us that the sound of bells ' came with the missionaries ' as her people never had any bells before that. Bells were used to call amakholwa (believers) to church, and to call the children to school. They were also used at the weddings of believers, and so signified a joyful event. To quote the old lady's words:

'Now we have got this idea, and we sing the sounds in songs which are for rejoicing, as these songs are for the intonjane (girl initiate), because now she is a woman and can bring children to the people'.

Commenting on the use of konkgo - konkgo, another woman stated:

'This is the sound made when one wants the door opened. When we sing 'tsholoza (rejoicing) songs for the intonjane, we think that she has opened a door to a new part of her life - so we sing this'.

These sounds definitely have implicated meanings; I noted that they were not used indiscriminately, but only in certain types of music, e.g. girls' initiation music. Similarly, hoyini occurs mainly in songs which refer to serious or even mysterious matters, and which people are concerned about; the term could be translated as ' Oh dear! ' .

Hayi! (' oh no! ') nearly always precedes or follows a statement about something unpleasant or disliked, and is an expression of disapproval. Apart from these, there are ' words ' which appear to have no implicated meanings and are, as the people say, ' sung to keep up the song '. In these songs, what is important is the process of singing together: the creation of tonal/harmonic/rhythmic patterns by many people, all of whom adhere to a strict basic metrical scheme expressed by handclapping and/or dance steps and movements. Thus several rhythmic events may occur simultaneously, successively or overlapping. This amalgamation of vocal/rhythmic patterns could be described as a type of heterophony in that ' each person sings the same melody in a slightly different manner ' (Lomax 1968: 44). But the variations are not only rhythmic, for singers are careful to sing isihlobo (pl. izihlobo) (' friendly ') tones which ' agree ' with the tones of the main melody. For this reason, polyphony (with polyrhythm) is perhaps a more suitable word for describing this technique, which reaches a climax in the adults' music of the older chiefdom clusters. (Rycroft has employed this term in his studies of Nguni choral singing, 1967). Through the use of this technique, patterns of words and phrases are piled up in sequences, to form, ultimately, rather extended song texts.

The words of Xhosa songs are suggested by social situations. Each of the different musical categories has a number of stock word - phrases which are always associated

with it. When singers perform they draw freely on these ' ready - made ' phrases, repeating them, altering them (e.g. changing some syllables and hence the speech - tones of the words, thereby bringing about changes in the melody) or even adding their own original words, all of which allude to or stress the central theme of the song, and even the social situation.

The words themselves are variable; they are non - denotative or obscure (as in the personal songs of diviners) and may be full of hidden meanings for the people themselves, who like to make use of circumlocution and symbols in their language. ' Foreign ' words - Zulu, Sotho - occur occasionally, and sometimes denote the true origins of the songs in which they occur.

John Blacking has drawn attention to the verbal economy and richness of expression characteristic of the Venda language:

' . . . the system of concords enables people to refer to something without precisely naming it. A conversation which out of context might be pointless, can be charged with meaning; a whole phrase or sentence can be expressed by using a single descriptive ideophone. . . ' (1967: 156).

The same verbal economy is to be found in Xhosa everyday speech, and in the language of Xhosa songs. Like the Venda, the Cape Nguni can allude to anything without actually naming it. (I have already mentioned this in connection with the term ingoma which, in the classification of musical types is never omitted, but implied by its concord). A good example of verbal economy is a Xesibe Marching song

of iindlavini young men which is entitled Iyathimlela, meaning: ' She (the girl understood) is revolting against him ' (understood). The whole song consists of rhythmic and melodic repetitions of this phrase which, through improvisation and free variation of its syllables, and additional words, subsequently becomes an extended song text.

A wealth of meaning lies behind the words of the text of the following Xesibe dance song of Tshawe people:

' Kha uhleke makoti, izinye lakho '.

(' Smile bride, for the sake of your tooth ').

This is a wry comment for an unfortunate bride who has little to smile about: she herself is no longer young, and her bridegroom is apparently unprepossessing, lacks wealth and is therefore not much of a catch!

Verbal economy is even more pronounced in song than in normal speech; in the former, language and grammar are subordinate to the requirements of musical metre. Apart from compressing facts and ideas into a few highly expressive and significant words, the ' rules ' of grammar are stretched to allow for syllable - elisions which are over and above the usual elisions that occur in ordinary speech. The result is that words are pruned drastically so that they fit the metre of the song, e.g.:—

Umntwana ka bawo

Uyabizwa ngumtsha

wayo

emlanjeni.

My sister (lit. ' child of my father '),
is being called by her boyfriend
at the riverside.

These words of another Xesibe dance song (umgajo) for

young adults are shortened and ' squeezed ' together when sung, so that they and the melody they carry synchronize with the basic metre of the song, as follows:

Mta ka baw', yabizwa ngumtsh' emlanjeni

which gives a total of twelve syllables, and these fit a basic metre of twelve quaver claps, which is extended by repetition of the initial phrase of the song (Mta ka baw') to give a basic metre of twenty quaver claps (cf. Figure 68 : 420-22).

Distortion of vowel sounds is a characteristic feature of songs sung in a special vocal style, i.e. in which a peculiar vocal technique is employed, e.g. the song of Mpondo and Xesibe young men, which are sung in - gwaba (or - guburha, or - tshotsha) style (cf. ch. 4: 133, & 137). During the singing the words are not pronounced in the usual way, and they nearly always end in a vowel sound: the a-, o-, and e- vowels are exaggerated and drawn out. The following text is that of a Xesibe Marching song, sung by adult men and women (if present) when going to a wedding. (The Mpondo have adopted this song):

Yinkosi leyo iyawuthatha

That is a chief, and he is

lomhlaba ,

confiscating the land,

Wubhekeni ' maXesibe .

Behold the land, Xesibe

people (trans. R Jakuja).

These words are distorted when sung, and sound quite unintelligible to strangers or outsiders who have even a knowledge of the language. (I found it difficult to grasp the words when I heard this song performed for the first time; when

the song leader introduced variations in the words with each repetition of the strophe, I could barely make them out). When sung, the words are pronounced more or less as follows:

Yo-o-o-o-nko-o-o-si le-e-e-yo

aw' tha-a-a-a th' 'm-hla-a-a-aba-a-a-a-a-a

Wo-o-o-o-bo-o-o-k-oooooooooni maXo-o-o-so-o-ob' a-a-a-a....

When employing this vocal technique, singers tend to dwell on the a- and o- vowels, extending them at length and substituting them for e- vowel sounds. The singers are of course concerned entirely with the sound of the music, thus grammar and meaning are sacrificed so that a satisfactory musical and vibratory effect is achieved.

The various chiefdom clusters have many songs in common, the words of which are at least similar if they are not identical. The phrases of the song (if they have more than one) are not always sung in the same order by the different clusters, but there seems to be no hard and fast rule as to what order the phrases should take. A popular umtshotsho song which is entitled Sivel' enyangeni mama (' We are coming at full moon, mother '), is sung to these same words by the Mfengu, who claim that the Thembu who live near and even among them, learnt the song from them. The Thembu version has the second line of the song as its title: Sichol' amalongwe mama (' We are picking up pats of cow - dung, mother '), while the teenagers of the Xhosa cluster residing mainly in the Ciskei know the song

as Sithwal ' ubunzima, mama (' We bear a heavy burden, mother '). The phrase common to all three songs is that which constitutes the title of the Thembu version, so it is very likely that the other phrases were introduced during the process of oral transmission. (Cf. chap. 2: 56ss. where ' borrowed ' songs, and ' borrowing ' (uku - boleka) as a compositional process, are discussed in some detail.). The Xesibe dance song (igwabo lokusina) entitled Sibiz' uMakekel', sibiz' uMakhalela , and which has been referred to, and used to illustrate certain points in the preceding chapters, is known and sung by the Mpondo as uMagenge uMagugulwana. Both songs have similar melodies, but differ modally and rhythmically.

NOTES

- 1 ' The relation between the intonation of song and speech of the amaXhosa ', Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Cape Town 1930.
- 2 David K. Rycroft, of the School of Oriental and African Studies, the University of London, maintains quite logically that ' the downstep symbol is redundant, and downstep is predictable ', thus there is no valid reason for using the symbols.

- 3 Pike, K. L. Tone Languages, Ann Arbor, Michigan 1948
- 4 D.K.Rycroft, ' Speech - tone/Melody relationships in Southern African Music ' (South African Music Encyclopaedia, ed. J.P.Malan, Pretoria HSRC). This article was submitted in 1971, but only recently has the first volume of the Encyclopaedia been published. Mr Rycroft kindly sent me a manuscript copy of this article, and I have used this as reference. (The Encyclopaedia was begun in 1962, and taken over by the HSRC in 1974: its review appeared in the August publication of The South African Music Teacher 1980: 6 - 7).
- 5 Depressors are also known as ' lowering consonants '. Cf. Rycroft 1963: 68. L.W.Lanham refers to them as ' depressors ' (cf. Lanham, ' The tonemes of Xhosa ', African Studies, XVII, 2, 1958; referred to by Rycroft in note 1, p. 68.
- 6 For help in dealing with this topic, acknowledgement is due to D.K.Rycroft: personal communication, October 1980.
- 7 This is rather an over - simplified presentation. In quick speech, a Low tone between two High tones tends to assimilate to the High pitch level, unless preceded by a depressor consonant. Consequently, the contour shown would be valid, in the case of quick speech, only if syllables 2, 4 and 6 had initial depressor consonants.
- 8 In quick speech, assimilation of Low tones to the pitch of the preceding High tone tends to occur, unless the Low syllable has an initial depressor consonant or is penultimate or final. If spoken quickly, the same utterance may therefore take the following pitch contour instead of the above, if there are no depressor consonants:



In such a situation the fact that syllables 2, 4 and 6 represent underlying Low tone is not immediately apparent, since each is in fact pitched higher than the High - toned syllable that follows it. Nevertheless, downstep here provides a clue: (a) Each downstepped syllable, i.e. nos. 3, 5 and 7, represents High tone; while syllable 1 is obviously High.

(b) Those without downstep, that take the same pitch as their predecessor, i.e. nos. 2, 4 and 6, are not genuine High tones, but Low syllables which have assimilated to High pitch realization, and syllable 8 is obviously Low.

Those syllables which are subject to tonal assimilation in speech, depending on the rate of utterance, appear to allow considerable latitude in the choice of pitch, in song.

- 9 Starke 1930: 34 notes that ' At most, the two (High tone and Low tone) may have the same pitch, but the relation is never inverted '. This is true of a High + Low sequence. But in a Low + High sequence, in quick speech, the Low tone, assimilating to the pitch of the High tone which precedes it, may often be realized at higher pitch than the High tone which follows it, as previously stated.
- 10 Blacking, J.A.R., Venda Children's songs, 1967: 166 - 178; Rycroft, D.K.,: 1959: 26 - 28 (in which the influence of speech - tone in Zulu, Swazi and Xhosa music is discussed; also ibid. 1960: 60 - 78 (re Zulu music); ibid. 1962: 79 - 85; ibid. 1967: 88 - 103; ibid. 1970: vol.11; ibid. 1971(MS); and ibid. 1975 (Zulu Ballad. .): 83 - 86.
- 11 Cf. note 1.
- 12 Cf. also Dahle, P.B., ' Eine Siegeshymne der amaZulu: Entstehung, Text und Töne des Sandlwana - Liedes ', in Festschrift-Meinhof, Hamburg 1927: 174 - 195; also Kirby, P.R., 1936: 951 - 970.
- 13 Starke employs the term ' toneme ', as did many earlier researchers, in place of ' tone ' which is nowadays generally used.

- 14 Miss Starke makes no distinction between statement and question utterances; she merely refers to 'speech intonation'.
- 15 Starke cites one song among her examples, in which ' the interval between the first and the last note is an ascending one ' (Song no. 10). She adds, ' This is not a true Xhosa song, and may have been influenced by European music ' (1930: 16). The song - text is: South Africa lizwe lomthetho (' South Africa is a land of law ' ; Appendix 1).
- 16 Rycroft, D.K., and Blacking, J.A.R., in the works cited in note 10.
- 17 Starke adds: ' Exceptions, though present, are rare, and probably depend on factors as yet undiscovered ' (1930: 47).
- 18 Rycroft is referring to Zulu praise - poetry here.
- 19 Other examples may be observed in the various transcriptions which appear in this thesis, in which the texts of the songs have had their speech - tones marked in.
- 20 There are many examples of this in my recordings of Xhosa music.
- 21 Rycroft, D.K. 1967: 90.
- 22 ibid.
- 23 ibid.

- 24 Starke continues: ' Coupled with the fact that the phrase begins on a higher pitch than that on which it ends, this falling off in tone often makes the end of a phrase seem quite insignificant '. This statement seems vague and obscure; the writer would seem to be confusing rhythm with stress. She appears to have been unaware of the physiological basis of Xhosa rhythm.
- 25 Reading through this study, I gained the impression that the subjects were asked to sing the melodies without any type of audibly expressed accompaniment (claps or stamps) which is usual in Xhosa musical performance. Or else, if such accompaniments were provided, they were not regarded as essential features of the music, which they are.
- 26 In this Starke is correct, as studies by later writers and scholars have shown.
- 27 Starke states, however: ' . . . I do not think it possible to decide, without much further study on the subjective rhythm of these native songs, whether the stress rhythm of the songs is influenced by the stress rhythm of their speech, for this seems to be absent in the songs ' (p. 43).
- 28 Rycroft in his article on African music in Johannesburg (1959: 25 - 30) reports that ' K.L.Pike in his Tone Languages (Univ. of Michigan Press, 1948), cites American Mixteco. . . as one such language in which speech - tones are ignored in song ' (p.27).
- 29 This was noted by Rycroft in 1971 (MS): 2 and 6).
- 30 Reported by Rycroft for Zulu music: 1971: 223 - 4; ibid. 1975 (Zulu Ballad. .): 84 - 86; ibid. 1975/6: 69 - 70. .
- 31 No reference to depressors and their effect on vocal melody is made by Starke.

- 32 In discussing these consonants, Rycroft states:
' . . . these consonant - induced phenomena, in addition to true dual - tone glides, account to a large extent for the prevalence of stylized portamento in Nguni music. However, there are also further types of portamento glides which are not directly taken over from speech ' (1971 (MS): 7).
Cf. also Rycroft 1971: 213 - 242; as noted by Rycroft in this article: ' All Nguni employ portamento, but in different degrees. The Zulu probably use it the most extensively, and the Xhosa the least ' (p. 217).
- 33 Cf. Rycroft 1971 (MS): 14, who states: ' In other southern African languages. . . it seems to be general practice for musical forces to control particularly the ends of phrases, in song. Usually a particular note serves as a melodic finalis. This note may have to be approached by way of some accepted terminal or cadential interval progression, and the resultant melodic sequence tends to take precedence over speech - tone requirements '. His observation is endorsed by my findings in Xhosa music (cf. pp. 202 - 203).
- 34 Regarding this ' distortion ', H. Weman, in his African music and the Church in Africa, Uppsala 1960: 141 - 143, obscured the problem even further by attending to length and stress instead of tone, as had Bishop Colenso in 1871. For some discussion of this, cf. Rycroft 1970: 307 - 309, notes 21, 24 & 27. Re allowable distortion in traditional Nguni song, cf. ibid. 1959: 26; and ibid. 1971: 237 - 8).
- 35 Kirby, P.R., ' The changing face of African music south of the Zambezi ', in Essays on Music and History in Africa, ed. K.P. Wachsmann, Evanston, Northwestern University Press 1971: 252; cf. also Hansen, D.D., The Life and Work of Benjamin Tyamzashe: a contemporary Xhosa composer, Occ. Paper No. 11, I.S.E.R., Rhodes University 1968.
- 36 ' . . . the direction of melodic movement is determined by the speech - tones ' (Rycroft 1959: 27).

- 37 Insofar as the distinction between High tones and Low tones is preserved (1930: 47) within the overall descending curve of Xhosa melodies; but the fairly consistent realization of intervals between two successive High speech - tones as major 2nds (or minor 3rds), as asserted by Starke, is not endorsed by my findings.
- 38 According to Rycroft: ' . . . complete disregard for speech - tones (was) probably inspired in the first place by the application of vernacular words to European hymn tunes, and in the adoption of various Western stylistic features ' (1971 (MS): 15).
- 39 Some examples of syllable elision (with discussion) appear on pp. 245 - 247 in this study.
- 40 In this respect Xhosa izibongo would seem to conform to Zulu - bonga requirements. Cf. Rycroft 1962: 81, who notes that ' words chosen for their imagery, sound and aptness, are the very core of izibongo '.
- 41 E.M. von Hornbostel, ' African Negro Music ', Africa, 1, Jan . 1928: 31; (note 9 in Rycroft 1982: 79 - 85).
- 42 Personal communication from D Rycroft, October 1980.

CHAPTER 7

CLASSIFICATION, ANALYSIS AND DESCRIPTION OF XHOSA MUSIC

As we have seen, the Cape Nguni classify their music mainly on the basis of its social function and its rhythmic structure. In presenting these transcriptions of the different categories for analysis and description, I have followed the life cycle, i.e. from birth to death. I have included a brief description of the social situations in which the music is usually performed, thus I have placed each musical category in its social context.

Each category represents a distinct type and style of music that is performed regularly in, and therefore is closely associated with, a particular event. Furthermore, each musical style is performed by a particular core group within the society. Thus one can generalize and say that there are as many different styles of Xhosa music as there are social events at which it is performed. These styles are distinguished not only by the core groups that perform them, and by the instrument(s) which may accompany them, but also by the predominant basic rhythmic pattern which almost immediately identifies them. This basic rhythmic pattern may be expressed and/or emphasized by handclaps, stick - beating, or stamping, depending on the style of music being performed.

All music is created and produced by people working within the framework of culture. The Cape Nguni do not

verbalize the structure of their music - making processes, but they are no less systematic for that. They cannot explain certain aspects of overall musical structure and rhythm, or why they adhere to certain tonal, rhythmic and melodic patterns and ' rules ' when they make music. They can only demonstrate these through performances of the music. They know from long practice and experience when a song has been performed satisfactorily or badly; they are quick to point out inaccuracies and errors in the performance of a characteristic rhythmic pattern, incorrectly synchronized vocal - and clap patterns, and harmonically unacceptable vocal improvisations. In drawing their attention to ' mistakes ' like these, they are basing their judgement on ' rules ' or principles to which they conform when producing music, but which they do not express in words. They know these ' rules ' with the certainty that a speaker knows his grammar without being able to discuss it.

Each of the twelve chiefdom clusters which together make up the Cape Nguni, speaks a dialect of the Xhosa language. Again, each has its own history and body of custom, thus each varies slightly from the other in its social organization. These cultural differences must reflect to some extent in the music. One can say that each cluster is as distinct from the other in the way it speaks Xhosa, as the way it varies in traditional dress. Yet all of them classify together all the different types and styles of music as Xhosa music. This fact indicates that all these different styles must have certain musical characteristics

in common, apart from the language which, as we have seen, influences music to some extent. The people themselves distinguish between the different styles (categories) of music not only in their classification, but in their general description of them, especially their performance and overall ' sound '. They speak of a song as ' the way it goes ', and say that one song - type differs from another because it goes ' differently '. By this they mean that each style has its own characteristic ' beat ' ('ngqongqo') and sound, and is performed in a certain way by certain people. This distinction indicates that the people themselves realize that the different styles of Xhosa music have certain musical features which distinguish one style from another.

The picture becomes much clearer if one speaks of a Xhosa musical tradition, and regards the different categories as styles of Xhosa music, some of them even having sub - styles. Consequently the whole corpus of Xhosa music, i.e. the Xhosa musical tradition, consists of a number of different styles of music which are distinguished by their rhythms and the composition of the groups that perform them; and within some of these there are even further subdivisions of style, or sub - styles, each with its own peculiarities of rhythm, harmony and tonality. All the sub - styles share certain musical features which assure unity within the different (sub) styles, and within the general style or tradition of the music.

My formal analysis of Xhosa music is modelled largely after the method which Blacking used in his Venda Children's Songs (1967), and in later papers on Venda music.

Blacking has described his analysis as ' a cultural analysis ', which is ' an attempt to understand the formal, and incidentally the expressive meaning of music by means of a formal analysis of the cultural experience behind the music behind the music ' (1967: 197). He considers his analytical method to have been more useful and objective than the standard method used by ethnomusicologists, which he has proved to be unreliable at any rate (op.cit. : 194 - 198). In his opinion, ' . . . the chief task of musical analysis is to explain patterns of organised sound '. In the same book he points out how other methods of ethnomusicology have failed to fulfil this task adequately:

'It has been a standard practice in ethnomusicology to analyse and compare musical styles by means of ' weighted ' scales, interval counts, and other techniques which assume that, for instance, types of pentatonic scale, rising fourths and falling sixths, have the same meaning whenever they are used. These techniques were developed by workers whose musical experiences and training were received in European cultural traditions. They have been useful for as long as ethnomusicological research has been based on ' traditional ' assumptions about the evolution and the organization of musical sounds. But as soon as we appreciate that most of these assumptions are not universally accepted, but apply chiefly to European culture, then it becomes necessary to revise our methods of ethnomusicological analysis. The kind of analysis I have attempted for Venda children's songs is the logical outgrowth of the view that music is human action in culture, which is epitomized in Alan Merriam's The Anthropology of Music ' (Blacking 1967: 196).

In his analysis of Venda music, Blacking began by employing the usual ' analytical tools ' of ethnomusicologists: ' weighted ' scales, interval counts, the frequencies of

rhythmic patterns, and so on. He found that these were ' not as objective as they seem. They implicitly assign to sound an absolute meaning, and assume that all musical patterns were the same in all contexts: as if see, sea and see were identical in English, and even meant the same in other languages ' (1970: 1).

After employing these methods and assessing the results, Blacking found that:

'An interval count may reflect patterns of speech - tone rather than patterns of melody; that certain characteristics of melody may be specially related to other types of music within the same culture; and that a song cannot be truly classified with other four - tone songs, if the patterns of its four - tone melody reveal that it is derived from another musical pattern, which can only be produced with a seven - tone scale ' (1967: 196).

Finally, in support of his method of analysis, Blacking says:

'Musical styles can be compared only when their meaning in context is fully understood, both ' internally ' in relation to other styles in the same tradition, and ' externally ' in relation to the culture in which they occur. It should be possible to reduce widely different musical traditions and styles to "transformations of the same basic figure", in the same way that Lévi - Strauss has analysed other cultural institutions. . . . one could say that Venda music and Western ' art ' music are essentially expressions of the same ideas, which vary because of differences in their cultures and in their division of labour. For instance, the solidarity of Venda society is expressed socially, in the music which brings together the largest number of people in a common purpose; and the solidarity of Western society is expressed technically, in the music which brings together the most diverse musical symbols within a unified musical structure ' (op.cit. : 197).

In this analysis of Xhosa music, I have endeavoured to ascertain the processes which the Cape Nguni use to produce music, and the interrelationship between these

processes and social and cultural phenomena. I proceeded in the following way: by finding out the melodic/rhythmic/tonal/harmonic principles which are typical of (i) each of the different styles (categories) and sub - styles of music, and (ii) the main body of the music, i.e. the general structure of Xhosa music.

These differences or variations existing between the different pieces and styles of music within one and the same tradition, which are discernible through analysis of an ethnomusicologist and not necessarily by the performers themselves (although they are, as I found out, very clear about basic similarities and differences between the musical styles), have been referred to by Blacking as ' implicit variation '; in contrast to these are ' explicit ' variations, which are those within a single piece, caused by variations in words, in the social situation (the number of performers present), and which are recognized and discussed by the people themselves.

By ascertaining the similarities and ' variations ' between (i) and (ii) and by finding the ' rules ' or principles which might explain these variations, I hoped to arrive at some general and valid conclusions as to (a) the basic organization of Xhosa music and its general, overall structure, and (b) the processes used in its creation.

All similarities and variations of musical patterns are considered in the context of Cape Nguni music and culture, and not as sound per se.

The Categories of Xhosa music

1. Iingoma zokufutha/zokuphehla (' Songs of the ukufutha/ukuphehla ceremony ').

For some six months after birth, the ritual of ukufutha (' to puff, blow, breathe forcibly ') or ukuphehla (' to make a fire, twirl a firestick ') is performed daily by mothers. The child is ' washed ' (sprinkled) with a decoction of herbs, and then passed continually through the smoke of a fire to the accompaniment of its mother's singing or chanting (for that is what it sounds like to European ears). This ritual is calculated to strengthen the child and protect it from evil. These songs apparently have no fixed words; mothers sing ' whatever they like, as long as it is suitable '. In doing so, they usually draw on a repertoire of songs known to them, e.g. those which their own mothers and grandmothers had sung (cf. Hunter 1936: 152ss; Hammond - Tooke 1962: 75; Cooke 1931: 201; Shephard 1955: 42; Elliot 1970: 56). The songs are short and their melodies are strongly influenced by the ' intonation ' and rhythm of the spoken words.

Regular performances of ukufutha appear to be dying out, and during my period of fieldwork I was unable to record any of the songs. People always shrugged their shoulders and said that they no longer performed the ceremony, although they still washed their babies in medicated water. My description above is based on the chants which I heard (quite by chance) many years before in the Ciskei, when working on an M.Mus. thesis.

2. Iingoma zokuthuthuzela usana/umntwana (' Songs for soothing a baby/child ').

Grandmothers, always willing babysitters, mothers and small girls who always act as nursemaids for their younger brothers and sisters, often improvise little jingles and songs to soothe their fretful charges. These jingles/songs vary from rhythmic humming to short phrases of sung vocables, to one or two phrases of meaningful words, which are repeated over and over again. There is no standard repertoire of - thuthuzela songs; those which exist are often the improvisations of their owners.

However, there is one lullaby which appears to be traditional to the ' Cape Tribes Proper ', and which is also known and sung by people belonging to the other clusters. This is Thula umntwana (' Be quiet, child ') which, according to informants, is an old song, being a ' song of the old people ' (ingoma yaBadala). It has a number of phrases which are retained whenever the song is sung, although singers always add new words and phrases of their own. The identifying phrase is the melodic/rhythmic pattern sung by the chorus part to the vocables Ho-o-o-o. The song is usually performed responsorially, and may or may not be accompanied by handclaps, and/or by the swaying from side to side of the singers. The late Hugh Tracey recorded this lullaby among the Ngqika and Thembu (TR-59: B5, & TR-13 : B8, 1957). Figure 18 is a version I recorded among the Thembu living in Cacadu district. It has collected a few new phrases, but the identifying chorus part is

retained in it (cf. Figure 18, p. 264; Ex. No. 15 on Tape la).

Thula babana/baba (' Be quiet, little baby/baby ') is a modern derivative of the older lullaby, and it is not sung in the remote areas of Transkei. In this newer version, the song - structure resembles a four - bar phrase, with a half - close or quasi - imperfect cadence at the end of the second bar. This four - bar song constitutes the total structure (= strophe) of the song, and is repeated several times until the song is terminated. (Cf. Figure 19 on p. 265; Ex. No. 16 on Tape la).


In performance, a song leader holds the melody while the chorus ' fills it out ' in the usual Cape Nguni style (melodic variation). Anyone who wishes to do so, may add her own version of the melody (cf. Figure 19: 265 . (i), (ii) and (iii), which show the melodic variations of an elderly woman who was singing ' solo '). The song is very popular, being sung over the Radio and frequently at school concerts. It is also sung by people of other ethnic groups, e.g. Zulu and Swazi, and by some White University choirs. The song is usually accompanied by handclapping, which provides a basic metre of 16 crotchet beats (4 + 4 + 4 + 4).

3. Iingoma zabantwana (' Songs of children ').

Children learn to sing and dance in the most informal way - by imitating older children. They are encouraged to dance from an early age, i.e. when they have been walking for a time and are steady on their legs. Grandmothers, fathers, mothers and older sisters are always willing to sing and

Figure 18: Lullaby:

Thula baba/umntwana (' Be quiet, baby/child ')

Strophe length: 8 x ; Pitch: Present "D" = original C#

Mode: Pentatonic (hexa - based). (transpos. semitone up)


1. *Sl.*
Ho-o-o-o-o-o-o-o

2. *Sl.*
Ho-o-o-o-o Ho-o-o-o-o Ho-o-o-o-o-o
Chor.
Ho-ho-o-o-o-o, Ho-o

3. *Sl.*
E-we ba-ba thu-la mam u-ye-tywa-le-ni,
Chor.
Ho-o-o-o-o, Ho-ho-o-o-o

4. *Sl.*
Non'ku-tya un-yo-ka u-ve-le li-ta-ka-ne,
Ho-o-o-o-o, ho-o-o-o

5. *Sl.*
E-we ba-ba thu-la mam u-ye-tywa-le-ni,
Ho-o-o-o Ho-o
claps



Ewé babá thula, 'mam' uyétywaléni,
Nānk' kutyá únyoka úvelé litakáne.

Ex. No. 15 on
Tape 1a.

clap for them, and show them how to perform the basic dance steps and movements of shaking and stamping. They usually learn these dance movements first, performing them most efficiently long before they have learnt the song - melodies and their words. This early training probably explains the highly developed sense of rhythm which Cape Nguni have, and which Whites, particularly foreigners, often remark on. This rhythmic facility is not surprising: it is merely the result of cultural environment and the uninhibited practice of music from the earliest years. Also, children are able to be present at nearly all the social events of adults, there being no separation of children from the adult community. Thus, they have ample opportunity to see and hear adults' singing and dancing. They do not, as a rule, perform the music of adults, but tend to stick to the music of their own age group.

More active participation in music begins when children leave their mothers' care and begin to mix more with other children (although they frequently participate in musical performances before that - on their mothers' backs!). Boys are sent out to herd goats, sheep and later, cattle, and have to see that the latter are home in time for milking. They spend much time roaming about the countryside, hunting birds (which they can bring down in flight with a well - aimed stick) and small animals, swimming, racing, wrestling, and above all, their favourite occupation (one could say their ' national sport '), stick - fighting.

They have a more carefree time than girls, who have to

assist their mothers in the home and perform various domestic chores. One of their first duties is to look after the smaller children of their own family, but they also help other mothers of the homestead, minding their babies, fetching firewood and water, and helping in the garden plot.

When all the chores have been attended to, girls are free to go off on their own. They gather at favourite meeting - places, such as at a spring or waterhole (umthombo, but referred to in the locative, emthonjeni), or at water - taps (in the administrative areas). There they gossip, exchange news and songs, play games and amusements and practice various dance songs which are normally performed by both sexes. These songs are generally known as ' songs of children ' (iingoma zabantwana) which represents a broad category of music and includes (i) proper children's songs (umxhentso or - ndinditha dance songs = ' Cape Tribes Proper ' and Mfengu; - sina and - gaja = Bhaca, Xesibe and Mpondo), and (ii) their versions of dances performed by older children and young adults (umtshotsho music = ' Cape Tribes Proper ' and Mfengu, and umtshotsho music (- gaja and indlamu = Bhaca, Xesibe and Mpondo). In addition, songs which are not accompanied by dance steps, but by some other form of physical movement are also sung. One very popular children's song was one entitled Ayivum' intloko ndilale (' My head does not want me to sleep '), which consists entirely of repetitions of this phrase. It is a song for very young children, and when I heard and recorded it, the vocal group included two babies of about twenty months who were held up by their older sisters.

As the children sang, they moved their heads from one side to the other, and I noticed that the two babies were doing the same thing, although they were, of course, unable to produce any of the melody - notes. Thembu informants and mothers of the children told me the song was very popular among children. One mother said, ' If you get them to sing and move their heads long enough, they soon get very sleepy '. My guide described this song as a ' do - it - yourself lullaby! '

The dance songs are usually performed communally by both sexes, but because boys and girls are separated during the day, the boys cannot take part in the girls' rehearsals. However, when both sexes perform the songs, their roles are clearly defined: the girls provide the music and clapping while the boys execute the characteristic dance steps and emit vocal - percussive sounds. Boys may improvise vocally from time to time, while the girls may participate in the dancing and do their ' solo ' steps, but their main role is that of singers (abavumi). When the girls practice their dance songs, a few of them will assume the boys ' role as dancers. It is quite usual to see and hear a group of small girls singing in accompaniment to two or three girls who are shaking and kicking and stamping violently, and making the peculiar sounds normally done by boys. Towards the evening, when the boys have returned home with the flocks, they join the girls for a session of communal dancing, if time permits. During the winter months, small girls arrange afternoon parties with their mothers' assistance,

and at these events the boys and girls enjoy themselves with dancing and singing and refreshments (cool drinks, bread and sweets). Proper children's songs, and their version of umtshotsho music are performed on these occasions.

Dance songs are further classified as ' shaking, stamping, kicking ', depending on which dance is being described. ' Shaking ' (- tyityimba/- gaja) and ' stamping ' (- sina) have already been described (cf. ch. 2: 43ss); in these dances, children learn to perform the dance movements that are done by older children and adults. The ' kicking ' dance (- ndinditha) is done only by children of the older chiefdom clusters, and the Mfengu. It involves a rapid side - kicking of each leg alternately, while keeping the knees together, and simultaneously flapping the elbows (cf. Plate 9: 778). The movements are similar to those done by Charleston dancers. Bhaca, Mpondo and Xesibe children do a similar type of dance which they refer to as - sina (cf. p. 45). Unlike the older clusters, these people do not have a specific name for the dance. The music of these dance songs is also sung to accompany the childrens' performance of indlamu (Bhaca boys and girls, and Xesibe and Mpondo boys perform it). As one headman put it, ' The - sina dances are a good preparation for indlamu, because the boys can practice fitting the kicks and stamps to the beat of the song '.

Boys commence stick - fighting (uku - betha iintonga, lit. ' to strike with sticks ') at about the age of five years. They arm themselves with knobbed sticks and

imitation assegais (sticks with sharpened and pointed ends) and hold trials of skill against each other, e.g. stick - throwing into the air at a fixed target, and arrange stick - fighting contests among themselves, pairing off in couples and teams. Although the boys refer to stick - fighting as ' playing sticks ' (uku - dlala amastiki), the border - line between a game and serious fighting is undefined. All too soon, someone hits too hard, tempers flare, and what began as a game becomes a fierce battle. Fractured skulls and even death are not infrequent, but these in no way deter the boys, who will even do a return battle with a bandaged skull or arm. Stick - fights are serious affairs, and very often neighbouring homesteads, ' locations ' and even districts, are in a constant state of warfare, so much so that, should any boy from one area enter another one, he is immediately attacked (cf. also Hammond - Tooke (ed) 1974: 221).

When boys go to a stick - fight (esitikeni, loc., from Eng. ' stick ', meaning ' at the place of sticks '), they march through the countryside singing and collecting their gang members, who recognize their respective gangs by the ' signature tune ' or igwijo each gang sings, and they join them accordingly. Marching or Walking songs (iingoma zokuhamba) are also sung en route to a fight. An igwijo is also a Walking song, having the characteristic musical style and rhythm of such a song, but in addition it is the ' anthem ' of a particular gang of boys. Every group of boys who ' fight sticks ' has its igwijo, as well as a

repertoire of Walking songs. Boys also refer to their stick - fighting place as elutshabeni (loc. meaning ' at the place of the enemy ') and their Walking songs as ' War ' songs (iingoma zeMpi, lit. ' songs of the army '). This further emphasizes that boys take their stick - fights very seriously indeed. As one nine - year old boy told me, ' When we play sticks, we know that we are going to fight to kill '.

The Walking songs are intended to instil courage and bravery into the boys. Their texts refer to, and stress the solidarity of the group, and extol their apparent invincibility as a fighting unit. They also allude to the forthcoming fight, and urge the boys to be brave and strong ' even though they may be sick to the stomach '. The texts are short, consisting of one or two phrases which are sung repetitively in responsorial style. They usually have no clapped accompaniment, although girls who have boy friends in the group often clap and sing along with the boys, when they are nearing their destination. The singers (boys) indicate the basic metre of the song by their leg movements, and/or emphasize it by beating their sticks on the ground, either before or after or between the main beats. (This greatly facilitated the transcribing of these songs; I superimposed the suggested beats (indicated by the leg movements) in my transcriptions, where I have indicated them with a small cross (+). These songs are often group - composed: a talented person or a musical group leader may start a song,

and the rest of the group falls in with an appropriate response.

Boys continue stick - fighting until they are well into their late teens. Among the clusters who practice circumcision (all of them excepting the Bhaca, Xesibe and Ntlangwini(ibid.), boys as a rule cease these fights after initiation, although they continue to carry sticks for protection. Small boys emulate their older brothers in many ways, and also ' borrow ' their group fighting songs. In their own words, they ' take these songs and sing them in our way '. They learn them largely by observing and imitating the older boys, and then singing their own versions of the songs, complete with all or as many of the characteristic movements of the body, arm gestures and beating of sticks on the ground. Nearly all the social groups in Cape Nguni society have their Walking songs which they sing when they attend events held some distance away from their homes. The songs are a means of ' collecting the members of the group ' and passing the time while they walk to the events.


Many of the - ndinditha songs have two ' movements ';

(A) in which the song leader and chorus establish the song - pattern (strophe) and repeat it several times unaccompanied by handclaps and dancing, and (B) in which both song leader and chorus parts vary due to changes in the words, which are replaced by vocables; the chorus becomes more prominent so that the song resembles a whole chorus in which the song leader's part is submerged, and is accompanied by violent shaking movements and handclaps; this varied pattern is

repeated a few times, after which there is a return to (A). The repetition of (A) may or may not be followed by a return to (B). I heard and recorded three performances of the song, and in two of the performances a rerepetition of (A) occurred. Zonk' iintomb' O mama, zibethw' emlenzeni (' All the girls, Oh mother, were beaten on the legs ') is a good example of this type of song (Figure 20 : 274 ; Ex. No. 17 on Tape la).

Ukusina dances are similarly constructed, e.g. the dance song He ma sikhalelane, ' ntomb ' encane (' Oh dear, we miss each other, little girl ' (Figure 21 : 275 - 6), in which the contrasting ' movement ' (B) consists of the song leader and chorus ' chanting ' interlocking phrases of words and vocables. The song leader's part occasionally shows some differentiation in pitch, e.g. on the word ' i - tyan ' in the transcription, which has a High - Low speech - tone pattern (cf. also ch. 6: 229). (Ex. No. 18 on Tape la).

The ' shaking ' dance (umgajo, ukugaja) of adults is also performed by children, but whereas the former dance it in ' bouts ' which show a definite acceleration between the repetitions of the strophe, the performances by children do not always show such acceleration. According to informants all the children's songs are meant to be danced at a constant tempo, but I noticed that the tempo of the songs occasionally accelerated during a performance, although the performers themselves told me afterwards that they had not been aware of this. Thus the tempo of a song can vary from 160 M.M. at its

Strophe length:
12 x  (6 + 6)

Mode: Hexatonic
(\leftarrow two major triads
based on roots
D and C).

8. leader. *

ii ntamb' O - ma-ma zibethw'em-leu-zen,

Chorus: No-ho-o-o

A. 2.

kon' i-entom's O-o mame, z'bethwenlen-u-en,

Ni-yo ma-ma ho, Howo-o-o

Claps accompany
strophe B
only.

3.

Ho, Hiyo ma-ma Ho, Ho-oo-o-o

Pitch:
Present "C"
= original C

Handwritten musical score for "The Song of the Sun" in 6/8 time. The score consists of two staves. The first staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The melody is written in 6/8 time. The second staff also has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The melody continues on the second staff. The lyrics are written below the staves: "z'bethu' em. zeu' hi ye. ye. he'" and "ho. Hi-ye mama-ho, Ho-wo ye-he".

*: D# / D
= SL's
idiosyncrasy

Pitch rises
a semitone
during
performance
(from "C" to
Csharp)

Handwritten musical score for "The Song of the Larks". The score is written on three staves. The first staff is for the vocal melody, featuring a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a 4/4 time signature. The melody consists of eighth and quarter notes, with lyrics "ma. Ye-he-he - ma, Ye-he-he -" written below. The second staff is for a vocal part, also in treble clef and 4/4 time, with lyrics "B. Hi-yo ho ho ho ho-mo mo-ho-he". The third staff is for a clarinet part, indicated by a "CLARINET" label and a treble clef, with a key signature of one sharp and a 4/4 time signature. The clarinet part consists of eighth and quarter notes. Below the clarinet staff, there is a section for a chorus or instrumental part, with lyrics "(-tohotcha): hi Hee hi" and "hi hee hi hi hi hi hi". This section includes a key signature change to one sharp and a 4/4 time signature. The score is written in ink on a piece of paper with a vertical crease down the middle.

$$\leftarrow \begin{array}{r} 6 \\ 8 \end{array} = \begin{array}{r} 3 \\ 4 \end{array}$$


A  (~) = single vowel has small dip in it

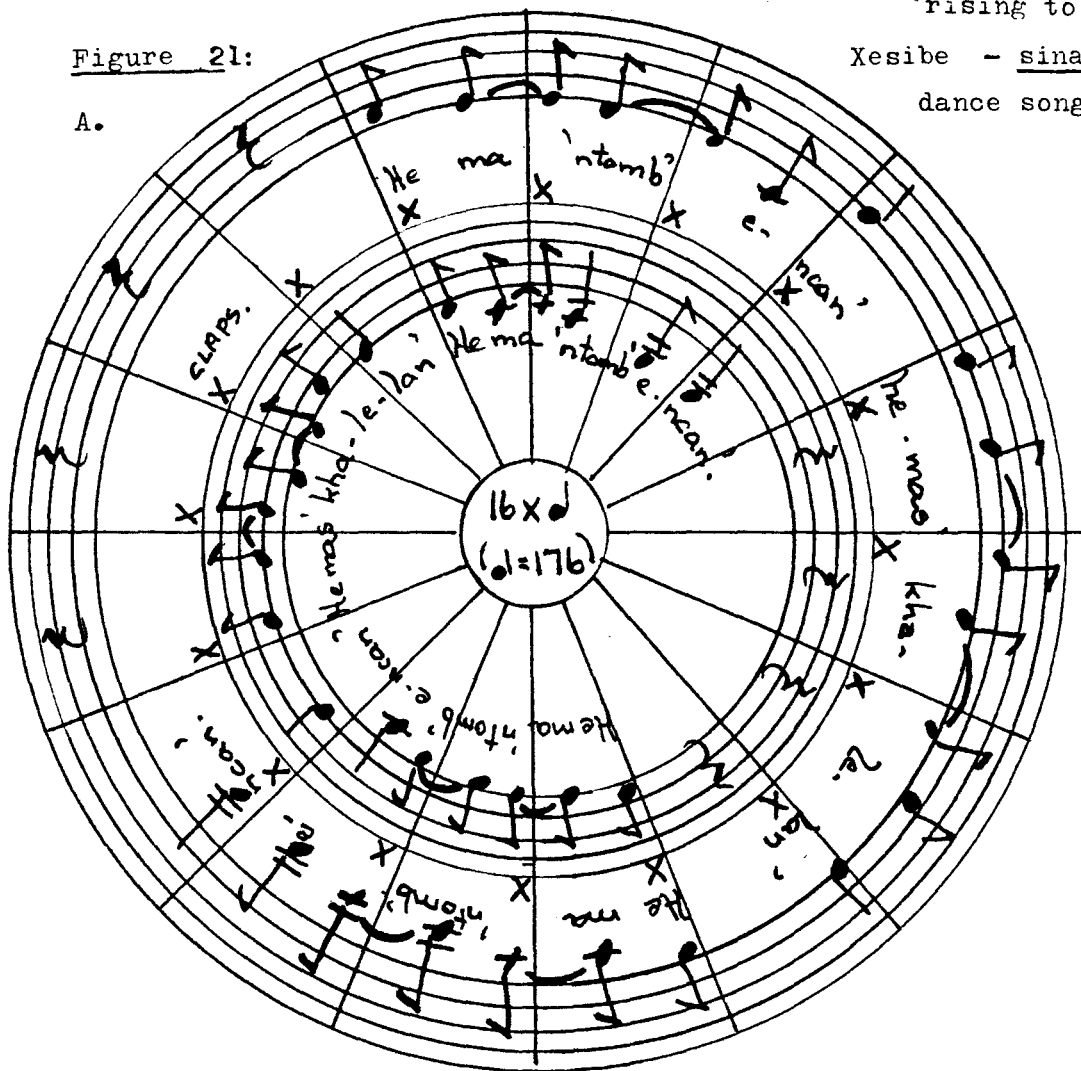
Figure 21: - sina dance song . Pitch: Present "C" = original C# rising to a

275

Figure 21:

Xesibe - sina
dance song

A.



B1. Chorus 1.
start.

Diagram
showing points of
entry of different
vocal patterns
in the strophe

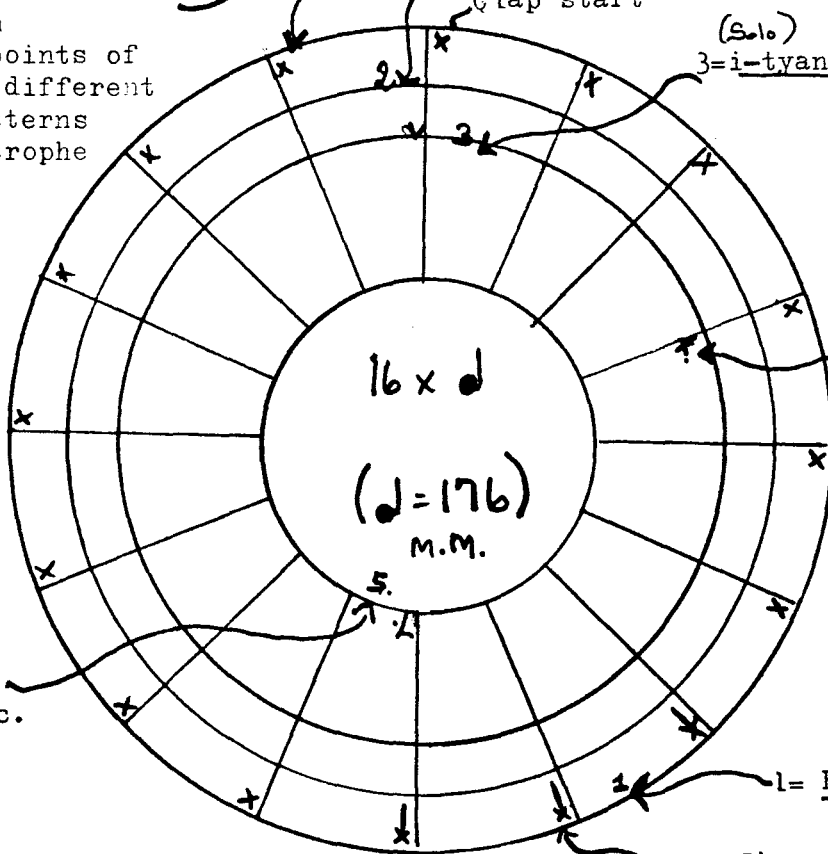
2= (hibandagesss)= Ch.

Clap start

(Solo)

3= i-tyan' (= spiral!)
into 2nd
circle
cf. B2

B.1



5= Ch.
siphepha
sifefa etc.

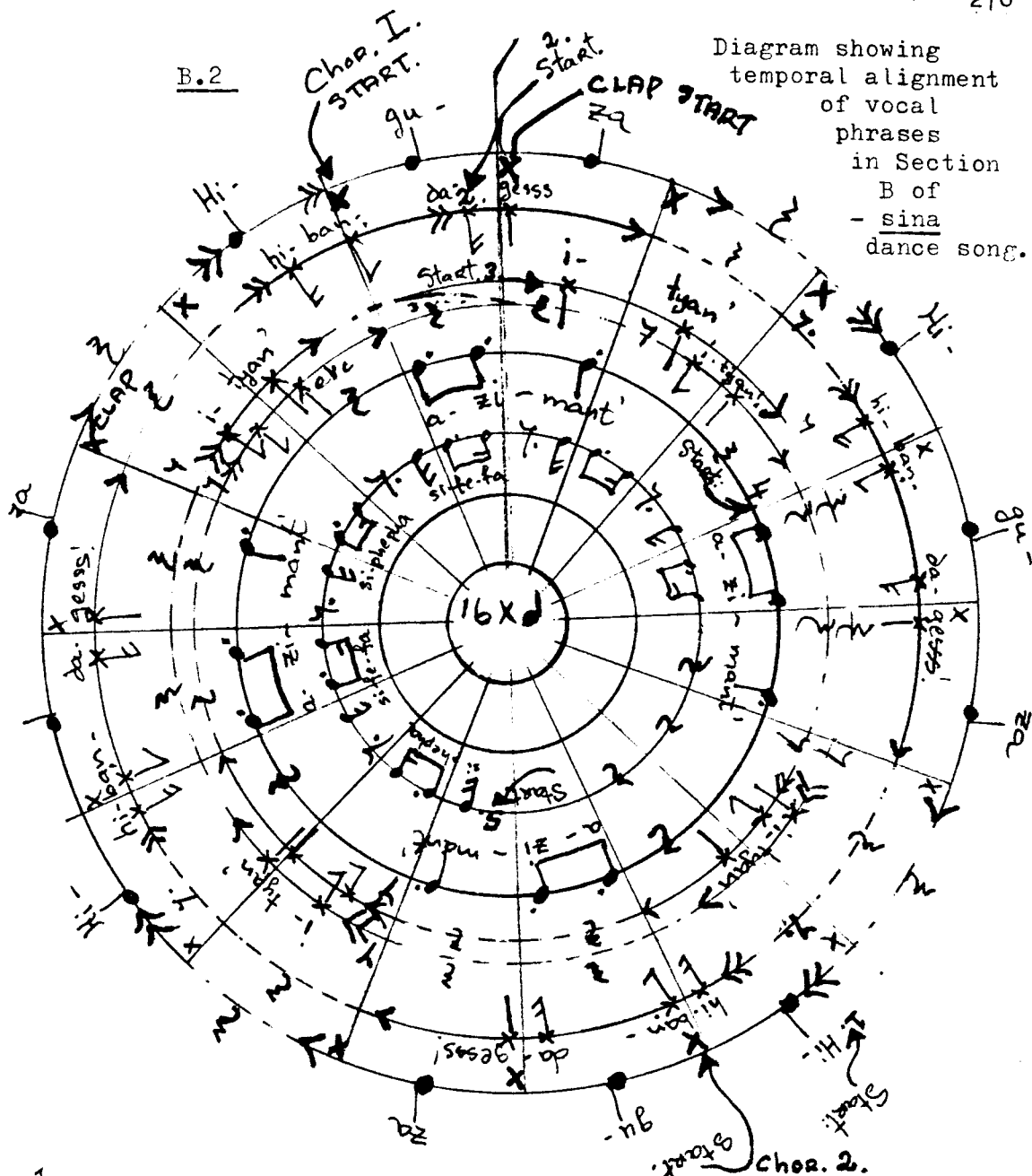
Ch.
azimant

Ch.
1= Higuza

Chorus 2 start.

B.2

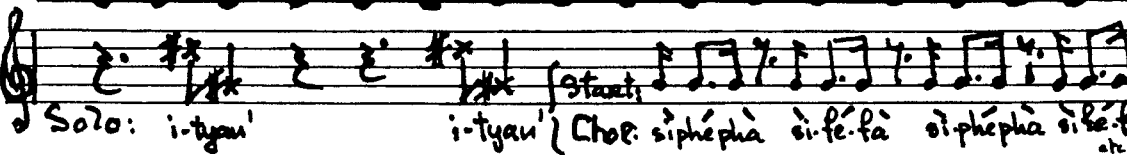
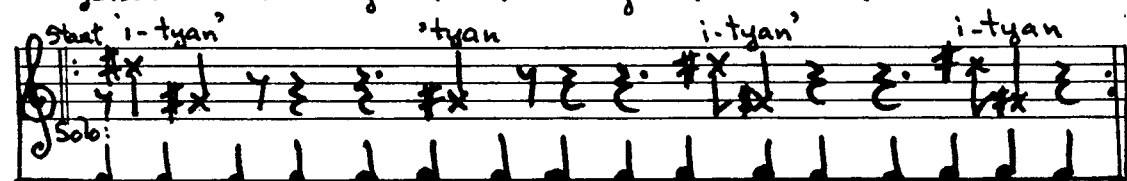
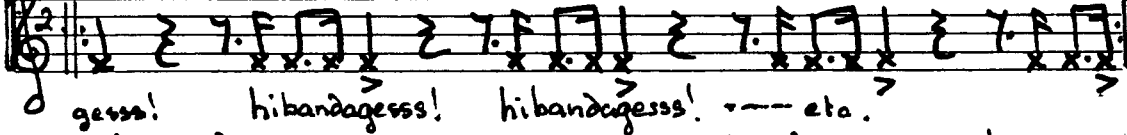
Diagram showing
temporal alignment
of vocal
phrases
in Section
B of
- sina
dance song.



1. CHORUS:



CHORUS:




beginning to 174 M.M. at its end, to cite one example. Performers told me that this gradual speeding up was quite unintentional, and attributable to ihlombe.

The forms of the songs are variants of the Call - and - Response form, in which the sections for song leader and chorus are clearly defined. In many of the songs, the song leader's part remains unchanged, as does the chorus part, e.g. Figure 21, which is a typical - sina song performed by very young children. Alternately, variations may occur in the song leader's part, due to slight changes in the words of the song, and this may or may not be reflected in the chorus part, e.g. Molo Mantombo (' Good morning, Mantombo ') Figure 22, and Ziyabulalana (' The young men kill '), Figure 23, on pp. 278 - 280. In the latter song, the song leader sings a single phrase, the chorus joining in immediately after to complete it, and to sing along with the song leader to the end of the strophe. Uyamemeza (' He (the girl's lover) is calling '), Figure 24: 281, is another example of a song in which alternating phrases by the song leader and chorus are juxtaposed, i.e. without overlapping. They may also overlap, e.g. the - ndinditha song (Figure 20). All these transcriptions represent typical examples of various styles of children's songs.

The choral organization of the songs is relatively simple: two essential voice parts forming the basis of each style (the two parts being song leader and chorus), and each part carrying its own ' line ' of text. When additional voices sing, they usually double along with the

Figure 22 : Walking song of Xesibe young people,
also sung by children:

Molo Mantombo (' Good morning, Mantombo ').

Strophe length: 12 x 

Mode: Pentatonic, deriving from a hexatonic mode
(< two major triads based on roots D and C; one of
the 3rds, (F sharp, related to root D) is omitted).

Root progression sequence in strophe:





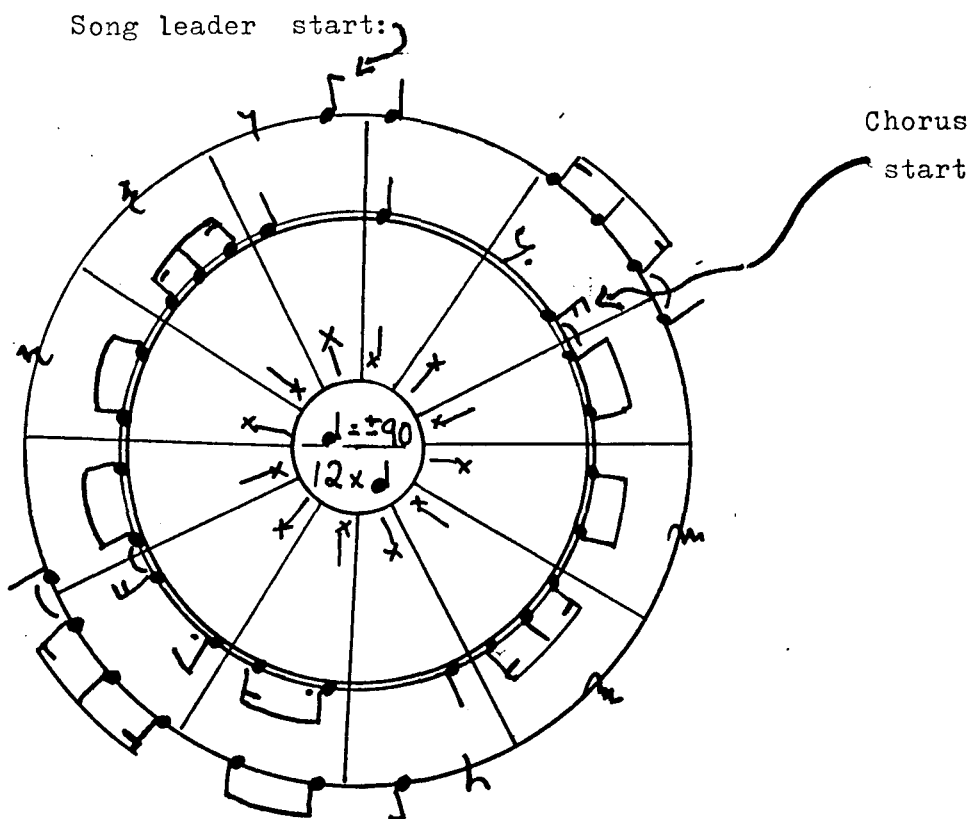

ll C - | - | - D | - C | - | - C ll
   

Diagram representing temporal alignment of
song leader and chorus phrases:



 = Sticks raised above the ground


 = Sticks beating the ground

Figure 22 (ctd.): W lking song of Xesibe

young people.

Strophe; (duration 12 X ♩); Pitch: Present "C" = original $\text{C}\sharp$

Handwritten musical notation for the main strophe. The melody is written on a treble clef staff with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are: -yo mantom-bo - I-ye-ye Mantom-bo O- (2/4) -ni; He ye mama jik'en-de-len' yo-ma he ~ ye mama jik'en-de-le -

Variations:
(song leader)

Handwritten musical notation for variations 1, 2, and 3. Variation 1: 1. I-ye-ye Mantom-bo - etc. I-ye-ye... Variation 2: 2. O Mo-lo Mantombo - etc. O Mo-lo Mantombo ~ etc. Variation 3: 3. O-yo Mantom-bo - etc. He ye mama Zulumend' yo-ma N.B. (Variation in Clones)

Handwritten musical notation for variations 4, 5, 6, and 7. Variation 4: 4. O-yo Mantom-bo ~ etc. O yo-o Mantom-bo - etc. Variation 5: 5. O mo-lo mantom-bo ~ etc. O mo-lo Mantombo ~ Variation 6: 6. O Mo-lweni Mantombo ~ Variation 7: 7. Ho vu-sa Mantombo - and Ho vu-sa Mantombo

Figure 24 : umgajo (uku - gaja) dance song
of Xesibe/Mpondo iindlavini, also sung by children:
Uyamemeza edingeni (' He (the girl's lover) is
calling at the appointed spot ').

Strophe length: 16 x ♩

Mode: Pentatonic, deriving from a hexatonic mode.

Pitch: Present "C" = original C \sharp

$\text{♩} = 184-6 \text{ M.M.}$ CLAPS.

1. S.L. U-ya-me-mee, U-ya-me-mee; CHORUS: U-ya-me-mee, U-ya-me-mee;

2. S.L. U-ya-me-mee, U-ya-me-mee; CHORUS: U-ya-me-mee, U-ya-me-mee;

3. S.L. U-ya-me-mee, U-ya-me-mee; CHORUS: U-ya-me-mee, U-ya-me-mee; (x1) 'Solo' —: U-ya-me-mee; CLAPS

1 = Principal strophe; 2 = Strophe plus slight variation in song leader's initial phrase; 3 = Strophe with variations in song leader's initial phrase, and additional izihlobo tones in chorus part; 'Solo' interpolation by onlooker. All repetitions of strophe occur an indefinite number of times. Song terminates with execution(s) of principal strophe. N.B. "edingeni" is never sung in this performance.

chorus part rhythmically, and may sing the same, or ' equivalent isihlobo ', lit. ' lik a friend, friendly ') tones. Thus the vocal organization is not as complex as that of the proper umtshotsho songs of older children. in which at least three and sometimes more voice parts contribute to the total musical structure, with increased temporal relationship between these voice parts. This form becomes even more elaborate in the adults' music, especially the adult music of the ' Cape Tribes Proper ', in which some complex vocal polyrhythm occurs.

The traditional melodies appear to be pentatonic (employing five tones) but in fact derive from a hexatonic mode (cf. ch. 8: pp.666ss, where this is discussed in some detail), and lie chiefly within a range of a fifth or a major sixth. Very often the initial melodic phrase of a strophe is repeated by the song leader as a ' closing ' phrase, on a lower pitch level, i.e. as a variant of the initial phrase, so that the song - melody actually lies within the compass of an octave, e.g.: -

Figure 25:



More complex metres are attempted when children perform umtshotsho music, which has basic metrical patterns of four equal beats, but which are varied and clapped in the course of a performance, e.g.:-

Figure 28:

Handwritten musical notation for Figure 28. The notation is on three staves. The top staff is labeled "Chorus:" and has a tempo marking "♩. = ± 72". The melody consists of a half note, a quarter note, a quarter note, a quarter note, and a quarter note. The lyrics "Hi- yo ha-a-ha," are written below the notes. The middle staff is labeled "SL." and has a melody consisting of a half note, a quarter note, a quarter note, a quarter note, a quarter note, a quarter note, a quarter note, and a quarter note. The lyrics "O ngo-ma ma, O mama-a-a." are written below the notes. The bottom staff is labeled "CLAP SCHEME:" and shows a sequence of four beats, each represented by a vertical line with a dot above it. The tempo marking "♩. = ± 72" is also present at the top left of the notation.

(cf. p. 326)

CLAPS: 1. 2. 3.

Smaller children usually clap the above pattern as a succession of four equal beats throughout a performance, but the older children who have not yet begun to attend umtshotsho, attempt variant patterns such as those I have given above, and which teenagers attending umtshotsho always

vary when performing their music.

The preponderance of a steady succession of beats forming metrical frameworks in the children's songs, does not mean that they occur in these songs only. They form the basis of many adults' songs. There is no doubt, however, that these elementary clap rhythms are ideal for teaching children to combine clap and vocal patterns, and how to synchronize them.

The texts of the songs are short and repetitious, and this allows children to acquire the rudiments of Cape Nguni polyrhythm - by fitting improvised words and sounds to a given pattern. At the same time, they are able to practice dancing in time to the song's rhythm, just as their elders do when they dance. The steady clapped metre underlying the dance songs also gives the children the chance to become efficient at ' off - beating '. When the dances are performed by both sexes, the boys produce patterns of vocal sounds; thus, the sung and clapped patterns have an ' off - beat ' relationship, while the boys' rhythmic ' roaring ' provides yet another dimension to the music.

Because of certain limitations imposed on me during fieldwork, some of which I have described in the Preface, I was unable to observe children at play for any length of time. Thus I was unable to name and describe the games and amusements which I have been told that Cape Nguni children play. One game which I observed, and which appeared to be a favourite one, is that in which children memorize animals

and objects - a sort of musical guessing game. Its performance usually involves two players, but is often played by more. One player sings a repetitive phrase, such as ' What is this thing? ' to which a second player replies (also singing), always alternating with the name of a different object or animal each time the question - phrase is repeated. The number of names is counted by passing stones or mealie pips from the first player to the second player for every additional name, until finally the responder fails to produce a name, and the first phase of the game is over. This game is almost identical to one described by Soga (1932: 30ss). According to informants it is a very old and popular game with children.

When I worked among the Thembu in Engcobo and Umtata districts, a favourite game of small children was one which was known as amaStepisi (' Steps '). Two empty tins (condensed milk, instant coffee) are tied under the feet, each tin being secured by a long piece of string, round the foot and halfway up the leg. The ends of each length of string are held by the player, one in each hand. The aim is to walk on the tins. As the player does so, he/she sings a short repetitive rhythmic phrase, emphasizing its main beats with a stamp of each leg. Most players make up their own little tunes, and the main objective of the game is to remain balancing on the tins, while singing and ' dancing '. In fact, this combining of a melody with rhythmic footwork is quite difficult. The tins are not very sturdy, and if not

placed straight down onto the ground, they buckle or bend. The ' champion ' ' Steps ' dancer in the area was a small girl who danced very lightly and rapidly on her ' stilts ' in time to her song, without ever falling off her tins. Children often played this game in groups, several of them performing on tins, while others clapped and sang along with them.

Games, like dances, become fashionable and are regularly replaced by new ones, or new versions of old ones. European games have spread rapidly, and children have their own versions of hide - and - seek, ' tag ', hop - scotch (' ihopskhothi ') and even football, the ball itself having many substitutes when the real thing is not available - tins, pig - melons, and even bundles of rags. All these games, which do not involve music, are known as umdlalo pl. imidlalo.

4. Music in the Xhosa iintsomi (' folk - tales ').

Music and dancing are stylistic devices in the production of the Xhosa folk - tale (intsomi pl. iintsomi).¹ A very detailed study of this form has been made by Harold Scheub,² who describes it as ' a highly imaginative and participatory art ' (1975: 86).

Performances of iintsomi usually take place in the evening, when people have completed their daily chores and are able to relax. Although performances may take place at other times, e.g. in the daytime, there seems to be a general ' rule ' that they should not interfere with daily tasks (1975: 1). According to my experience,³ such performances

occur quite regularly on winter evenings, when the harvest has been reaped, and people do not have to face any arduous work the next day. It is then that children and even adults gather round a fire in a hut and listen to these folk - tales, related by someone who has established her/himself as an able performer.⁴ The woodfire creates an ideal atmosphere for these fabulous stories, whose themes focus on ' the need for order in the human community, an order which finds its perfect metaphor in Nature ' (ibid.). In them , the two apparently contradictory worlds of reality (Nature) and fantasy are juxtaposed and ultimately integrated: through the skill of the competent intsomi performer, these are revealed as one and the same world, viewed on two different levels - the literal and the fantastic (op.cit. : 75). .

The literal world is represented by human beings, either conventional or stylized. A main character in trickster tales is Hlakanyana, who is usually portrayed as a very cunning male, or a creature, or (more rarely) a female.⁵ The fantastic world is represented by a number of extraordinary creatures, including some which are capable of speech, - talking birds, flies and bees; enormous frogs which can swallow human beings, and monsters which are able to swallow several people at a time.⁶

In general terms, the plot of the intsomi performance breaks into two sections, conflict and resolution. Conflict is brought about by the evil actions of human beings who indulge their greed and their vices and who, along with the monsters, disrupt social harmony and create disorder. The

concept of good is expressed in the heroic deeds of humans, and also animals and birds, which bring about the resolution of conflict. Although certain characters are consistently portrayed as ' the embodiments of evil ', e.g. the cannibals (known as amaZimu, sing. iZimu) and the giant frog, the characters are in general not stylized: humans and animals are introduced as the complicated creatures they are, - not altogether evil, not wholly good (1975: 55). All the *dramatis personae* play out their roles in a contemporary environment; as Scheub explains, ' There seems to be a conscious effort to keep the locale of the intsomi image recognizable, and the activities tied to a world intimately known to the members of the audience ' (ibid: 58).

Iintsomi performers are mainly women,⁷ and are not regarded as professionals, as ' everyone in a Xhosa society is a potential performer ' (ibid: 1). The form is based on a number of constant elements which are known to both performer and audience through oral transmission: a ' core - cliché ' (song, chant or saying), narrative plot and other stylistic elements that are integral to the form (specific actions, gestures, vocal sounds). These are ' learnt ' by the performer in a very informal way - by witnessing many iintsomi performances. From these she selects a number of ' useful ' elements and details which she will ' remember ' and incorporate into her own personal method of performance. In creating her own version of the intsomi form, the performer treats the unchanging elements in a very individual way.

She develops her style further by experimenting with new

stylistic techniques of her own, e.g. a personal vocabulary, stock of gestures, nuances, body - movements, re - arrangement of episodes, and vocal sounds. Thus by ' watching, listening, adapting and adopting ' new ideas gleaned from numerous intsomi performances, the intsomi performer moulds her own, personal style.⁸ Although she introduces fresh details and idiosyncracies in her manipulation of the form, its basic structure (with all the constant elements) remains intact. For this reason there is no ' single ', ' complete ' or '"best" version of any one intsomi image ' (ibid: 40).

The basic structural element of the folk - tale is what Scheub calls the ' core - cliché ', which may take the form of a song, chant or stylized statement (saying - cliché) (ibid: 47, 92). Both sung and chanted clichés are in fact ' short crystallized items of true song ' (Rycroft 1962: 82) with characteristic basic metrical patterns and texts which, over the years, have undergone little change basically.⁹ Because of this they are easily recognized, and remembered. They are referred to by the people themselves as iingoma (' songs/music ').

According to Scheub the song has three main functions in the intsomi : (i) to amuse the audience; (ii) to connect the elements of the plot, and (iii) to assist in the development of the plot (ibid: 50). Songs usually occur at critical moments in the intsomi where they often express the emotions of the characters more effectively than words.¹⁰ They may express joy, humour, or sorrow; they may recall the history of the main character at a crucial point in the intsomi

(cf. ibid: 52). A song may have magical powers, e.g. Rycroft cites an example of a song which enables a young girl to retrieve her clothes from a monster (Rycroft loc.cit.). Scheub also refers to a song with magical powers, sung by a boy who thereby succeeds in restoring to life an ox that had been killed and eaten (1975: 148).

Discussing the technique of intsomi composition, Scheub states: ' . . . the typical repetition of Xhosa song and dance is a characteristic of the ntsomi form ' (ibid: 101). Further on in his study, after discussing and comparing the uses and effects of repetition in four intsomi performances,¹¹ he concludes:

' . . . it is still repetition that provides the form of the performance. The plot develops outside the song in the sense that words expressed in prose move the action of the characters along, but deeply involved in the prose is the continued repetition of the song, without which the words would lose all their force and delight. The song remains at the centre of the expressed image, though in this case it does not directly develop the plot ' (ibid: 153)

In a performance the song is introduced by the performer, who usually accompanies her singing with physical movements, e.g. dance steps and movements, and handclaps, in such a way that there is an ' off - beat ' relationship between the dance - and clap - beats and the main accents in the vocal melody. These are then taken over by the audience, which has a total involvement in the performance. The number of song repetitions varies in a performance; it depends on the performer, who uses the song as she likes. She may also initiate changes in the words of the song - text, which in turn cause changes in the vocal notes of

the melody. It is quite possible that, in one district, one will find several stylistic variants of the same core - cliché, deriving from its individual treatment by several performers. Nevertheless, the song is altered only slightly, and is always recognizable.

Audience involvement is crucial to an intsomi performance, to the extent that the form could not be created without an audience. Summing up its major functions, Scheub states:

'It is first of all an audience of spectators, critically and imaginatively involved in the production. . . It has a repertory of ntsomi images similar to that possessed by the artist . . . this enables the performer to move rapidly, to take much for granted, and to rely on members of the audience to participate in the production. . . Finally, the audience is used by the artist in a complex way. She brings it into her ntsomi performance to such an extent that it is both artist and audience - though the performer is (or should be) always in control of the situation ' (ibid. 58).

Thus, because of the audience's function during a performance, it may be said to be part of the performer's material (ibid.).

The relationship between the intsomi performer and her audience (especially in the executions of the song - clichés and its repetitions) is comparable to the relationship between song leader and chorus in the situation of the choral dance song (and most forms of Xhosa music), in which a soloist and chorus sing in antiphonal exchange. The soloist/performer's melodic phrase frequently undergoes changes in its accompanying text, while the chorus refrain remains as a rule unchanged. Singing between performer and audience may follow the ' consenting method ' (uku - vumisa) employed by diviners at their seances.¹² Scheub provides a textual example of this

method (cf. pp. 59 - 60). The words of the initial strophe (repeated three times, on p. 59) are also the words and full text of a well - known and reputedly very old divination song.¹³

NOTES

- 1 Dictionary meaning for intsomi includes the following: ' fable ', ' fairy tale ', ' myth ' (Eng./Xh./Afr. Dictionary, Nabe, Dreyer and Kakana, King William's Town 1976 (1979): 144. There is no dictionary entry in McLaren - Bennie 1915 (1936). Rycroft uses the term ' folk - tale ' (1962: 82), and I have used it a few times in this account.
- 2 H. Scheub, The Xhosa ntsomi, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1975. Scheub, a former student of the distinguished Xhosa linguistic and literary scholar, writer and teacher, the late Dr. A.C. Jordan, witnessed and recorded nearly 4000 performances of Xhosa iintsomi and Zulu izinganekwane (sing. inganekwane) during his fieldwork in 1967 - 8. The book is a shortened and slightly revised form of Scheub's Ph.D. thesis, The ntsomi: a Xhosa performing art (University of Wisconsin, 1969. Throughout his published works, Scheub avoids using the term ' folk - tale ' and employs only the vernacular designation.
- 3 I witnessed only four performances of iintsomi. They took place in the late afternoon, because the people knew that I was not permitted to carry out fieldwork after dark. The performances were given by four women (one being a diviner) in the districts of Engcobo and Umtata. From them, and from other informants, I learnt that iintsomi were a regular feature on winter evenings.

- 4 I was told that grandmothers were known to be the most competent iintsomi performers. A number of informants told me that their grandfathers were equally gifted performers, although they were reluctant to demonstrate their ability, and preferred to ' leave the business to the women '.

- 5 Two of the performances I witnessed dealt with the exploits of uThikoloshe (also called uHili and uGilikango), a small hairy man and a familiar most commonly adduced as the means of witchcraft. The other two performances focussed on the wily Hlakanyana (male), and included the ' boiling ' and ' meat - eating ' episodes cited and discussed by Scheub (1975: 29 - 35). A Gcaleka version of a Hlakanyana story was recorded by Hugh Tracey in 1957; it appears on the disc TR-28: A.7). Another Gcaleka iintsomi entitled Isele (' the rapacious frog ') appears on TR-28: B.6). In this performance the chorus (audience) did not participate in the singing of the song.

- 6 Cf. Scheub 1975: 54 - 58 for a survey of iintsomi characters.

- 7 I asked many men and women why this was so. The men replied that ' women had more time to do these things than men ', while the women replied that they were the traditional producers of iintsomi, and ' have always done them '.

- 8 According to Scheub, there are ' few conventional gestures among Xhosa and Zulu artists ' (1975: 71). He also discusses the important role played by the performer's imagination in the development of the form: ' It is the imagination. . . that relates the core - images to the theme; imagination determines the choice of words and allied gestures, of body movement, vocal dramatics, and a musical, rhythmical framework. And it is on the effective use of her imagination that the artist will be judged by her peers ' (1975: 73).

- 9 Scheub notes that ' words within the songs and chants may change, songs sometimes becoming chants so that further syllables can be squeezed into a line, but generally there seems to be little alteration ' (1975: 50). He distinguishes between ' song and ' chant ' on the basis of their Western - european meanings, but the Cape Nguni make no such distinction. To them, ' sung ' melodies as well as words recited/chanted to a regular metre qualify as music (i.e. ingoma pl. iingoma). (Cf. p. 229 for a discussion of recited/chanted songs).

- 10 Scheub comments on this: ' Since a fundamental principle of ntsomi formation requires that actions be revealed rather than stated, the songs, rendered at critical moments, reveal the feelings of the characters without the necessity of analytical or descriptive statement' (1975: 50).

- 11 Performances 17, 1 & 2, and 32 (pp. 146 - 153).

- 12 See pp. 570ss, for a description of this method.

- 13 Bayeza kusasa, bayeza (' They are coming in the morning, they are coming '). I recorded this song at the Great Place of the late Khotso Sethuntsa at Mount Nelson, Lusikisiki on 5th October 1969. Earlier recordings were made in 1957 by Hugh Tracey: (i) at Qaukeni, ' Great Place ' Lusikisiki district (TR-31: B.1); (ii) in Willowvale (now Gatyana) district: TR-28: B.1). (i) is a Mpondo version, and (ii) a Gcaleka version of the song.

5. Iingoma zomtshotsho (' Songs of the umtshotsho dance party ').

The term umtshotsho requires clarification. It is used in two different contexts by the Cape Nguni, and has therefore two different meanings. Among the Xhosa, Thembu, Bomvana, Mpondo and Mpondomise, it is the name of the dance party attended by ' Red ' boys and girls aged from thirteen to twenty years. (The girls stop attending the parties when they are eighteen, and start going to the intlombe (Mpondo = iguburha) dance parties of young unmarried men and women). Among the Bhaca, Xesibe and Mpondo, it is also the name of the dance party attended by iindlavini young men and their girls.

According to Bhaca informants, iindlavini originally called their dance party inkhandela pl. iinkhandela (from Eng. ' candle '). Hammond - Tooke has described these in his book on the Bhaca people (1962: 97). When I worked among them (1971) I never heard the term used, and when I asked people about it, I was told that it had fallen into disuse, and that umtshotsho was the term in current use. The Xesibe had the same name for their teenager parties, but it has been replaced by a more modern term - ipati (' party '). Xesibe tribal teenagers described their attendance at dance parties as ' going to ukusina ', although the party itself was always referred to as ' ipati !. The following discussion is concerned with the dance party (umtshotsho pl. imitshotsho) of the ' Cape Tribes Proper ' and the Mfengu people, which are attended by uninitiated boys (inkwenkwe pl. amakwenkwe)

and girls of about the same age (intombazana pl. amantombazana).

The name of the function derives from uku - tshotsha (n. ukutshotsha), the pharyngeal ' roaring ' sounds which boys make as they dance. The parties are normally held regularly during the winter months (every fortnight for an informal dance, and once a month for a formal dance), when the crops have been harvested and there is time for leisure and recreational activities.

Permission to hold an umtshotsho must be obtained from the headman, and the party is arranged by the boys of the group. In some districts permission is not granted for weeks, even months on end, the chief reason being that the party is often a prelude to, and a battle - field for, fierce fighting between rival individuals and groups. Although sharp - pointed sticks and spears and war - heads are illegal, boys always carry such weapons about with them. Attempts by parents and headmen to ban such weapons are usually futile, and they are carried to umtshotsho parties gaily decorated with beads and woolly tassels.

Although such parties are convened for pleasure and enjoyment, small incidents (such as jealousy between rival girls who compete for the favours of the same boy) may spark off a fight in which the protagonists are not only badly, but even fatally wounded. Hence the reluctance of headmen to grant permission for these parties, especially in areas in which gangs are particularly hostile toward each other. I frequently arrived in a district to witness

and record performances of this music, only to be informed that the event had been ' banned ' i.e. ' uvalwa '.

The office of headman (isibonda pl. izibonda) is regarded with hostility and suspicion in some areas in Transkei, and I noticed that, in everyday conversation, headmen were casually referred to as ' government props '. In an essay which appeared in a book on African societies in Southern Africa, Hammond - Tooke discusses the system of location headmen. He states:

'Informants were quite explicit that the present system of location headmen bears little resemblance to that of the past. The name of this official (isibonda) is itself a neologism, coined for this new type of office. It means literally a supporting pole for a hut roof and, apparently, was something less than complementary - though now it is an accepted part of the language ' (Thompson (ed.) 1969: 243).

The same author continues:

'Older informants told me: "The name isibonda is a despising word given by the people to the government - appointed headman. To them the headman was not a chief but merely placed, like a pole, to look after a certain area. It is a new thing" ' (ibid.).

That headmen are sometimes regarded not only with suspicion but with contempt was very evident in two districts in which I carried out fieldwork. The teen - age youths living in these districts made up a very rude name for headmen. First they pronounced ' prop ' the Xhosa way - ' ipholoph ' . This was then extended, identified with another term used frequently by Whites at Rugby matches and political meetings (' poep - all ') and pronounced ' iphol'phol ' (with second o- elided and second syllable ol- drawn out), meaning ' fart - hole ' (i.e. anus).

Older informants said that the youths had coined the name because they were angry at the headmen's prohibition of untshotsho dances, and not because they despised him and/or his status.

The headman's authority and the extent of his influence rests largely on his popularity with the people, even if he is considered to be a ' prop '. If he bans an untshotsho, and he is popular, he is respected and obeyed. If he is unpopular, he is simply ignored, and the boys go ahead with the party which is held in a deserted hut at an appointed homestead. Should the people of the homestead object or try to stop the boys, they are ignored or threatened with physical violence. This occurs in areas where the headman is not popular and lacks authority, and where most of the adult males are away working on the mines, and the maintenance of law and order is largely in the hands of the old men, and the women.

A chief seldom interferes in such matters; he exerts his authority only when he thinks it absolutely necessary. To cite one incident which occurred in 1970, in what was then Glen Grey district, but is today Cacadu district in Transkei: a group of uninitiated boys ran wild, stealing, fighting and generally misbehaving and terrorizing the neighbourhood. They were due to be initiated that winter, and were ' having a last fling ', so to speak. They behaved so badly that Chief Mtlontlo finally intervened. He had the boys ' arrested ' and brought to his Great Place.

There the boys were, as my guide told me, ' circumcised on the spot, in front of all the people of the homestead '. The boys were totally disgraced. They had to forgo all the parties and celebrations which usually precede initiation, and for which their parents and relatives had been preparing. They would not experience the ritual burning of the seclusion ' lodge ' and their emergence as ' new ' men, and the joyful ' coming out ' ceremony at which they would have been the centre of attention. As my guide put it, ' They were completely disgraced. When they recall their circumcision, they will do so with great shame '. The chief's prompt and totally unforeseen action did much to curb the activities of other teen - age boys who had been misbehaving in the area. It also curtailed musical activities: umtshotsho dances were not held for some time after, and of course all musical events connected with boys' initiation were cancelled.

An umtshotsho may be a formal, or an informal affair. If it is formal, it is held once or twice a month, full bead dress is worn, commences on Saturday evening and ends on Monday at about midday. Beer is served, for which each boy contributes money (ten or twenty cents) to defray the cost of making it. If the party is an informal one, it is held every week - end, ordinary daywear is worn, and the event lasts until Sunday afternoon. No beer is served, but instead, girls prepare non - alcoholic beverages and stamped mealies for refreshments.

Once the headman has granted permission for the party to take place, one of the boys (or girls) will ask her father for permission to hold the event. He will then select a

deserted hut for it, and ask his wife to provide refreshment for the young people. On Saturday afternoon, the boys will round up gang members by singing their igwijo song, and blowing whistles, the sound of which carries well over the countryside.

With regard to the performance of the music, the distribution of roles and responsibilities is clear, and this is reflected in the structure of the music. The girls provide the clapping; they may, from time to time, participate in the dancing by dancing 'solo', but when this occurs, they take care that never more than two girls are dancing at a time. The boys perform the characteristic dance steps and movements, notably - tyityimba (cf. ch. 2: 43) and produce rhythmic patterns of vocal sounds (- tshotsha) as they do so.

Dance formation :

The girls stand in a semicircle behind the boys, and against the wall of the hut. The boys form 'lines', the number depending on the number of boys present. From time to time during the dancing, and between performances of the different songs, one or two girls will move in front of the boys, and perform their own 'solo' dances. They may execute any steps they like; these may be improvised, or stylized movements which they have been practising for some time at their homes and in their moments of leisure. (Girls give much of their spare time to rehearsing and trying out new dance steps; they like to stand in front of shop windows, so that they can see how they look when dancing. This was a common sight in Transkei villages). Their dances may include formal steps with special

names: - tshitsha (Mpondo - tshikitsha) - stamping heavily so that the breasts quiver or flap about; - sina, = an upward jump with both feet more or less together, then an upward and outward kick of each leg alternately, followed by a light stamp, not as heavy as - tshitsha, and - tshayelega, which involves a graceful swooping movement from the waist towards the ground, with arms extended and curved at the sides, followed by a simulated 'sweeping' of the ground with the tips of the fingers. Modern dance steps have also found their way into the umtshotsho dance repertoire: phatha-phatha (similar to the Twist of the late 'sixties'), and i - jayiva (jive steps) are also performed.

Some umtshotsho songs are faster than others, and when the slower songs are sung, the dancers perform more retiring movements which enable them to relax between the bouts of strenuous dancing that accompany the fast songs. The boys' dancing is controlled by one of the boys who dances slightly ahead of the front line of dancers, facing them at times, and indicating changes in the dance formation (e.g. turning from left to right, moving forwards and backwards) with blows on his whistle (itanki). He is not the actual dance leader (umkhokeli), who stands at the head of the first line of dancers. He is the 'driver' (udrayiva) or 'lieutenant' of the umtshotsho group, and therefore its sub - leader, being preceded in rank by the 'song manager' or umphathi wengoma, who heads the whole group (cf. ch. 4: 140ss).

The Mfengu refer to umtshotsho as umteyo (cf. Tracey 1952: 9 - 10), but in fact this latter term denotes the dance itself, and not the event. Umtshotsho is the name of the actual dance party, and is used with this meaning by the ' Cape Tribes Proper ' and the Mfengu. I have already commented on the teenager parties of the Xesibe, which are called ipati pl. iipati. As we shall see, the music of the Xesibe and Mpondo teen - age dances is broadly similar, but the dance styles performed include another dance step in which the main feature is the - sina dance step already described; this has its own style of music.

The main dance step/ movement among the older chiefdom clusters (which I refer to for the sake of brevity as the ' Cape Tribes Proper ' or 'C.T.P. ') and the Mfengu cluster is the shaking movement - tyityimba . The Bhaca, Xesibe and also the Mpondo (who are part of the C.T.P.) have another dance step, - sina . It is danced separately from the shaking movement which they also have, and which they call - gaja. Thus each dance step/movement has its own style of music. It is not surprising that the Eastern Mpondo have much in common musically with the Xesibe; they live fairly close to each other. The Western Mpondo, on the other hand, have more in common with the Thembu and the Bomvana, whose land boundaries are contiguous with theirs. Mfengu umtshotsho music, which formally and stylistically resembles the umtshotsho music of the C.T.P., is not always accompanied by - tshotsha sounds. I found that the Mfengu people living

among the Thembu (Tsolo and Engcobo districts) or near them, did not - tshotsha at all during performances of their umtshotsho music. They appear to have retained the name of the function and its music, but not the vocal technique from which these derived their name.

The music

The tempo of umtshotsho music varies with the individual songs, and with the various songs performed by the different chiefdom clusters. The umtshotsho musical category of the C.T.P. has ' slower ' and ' faster ' songs, but the whole style of music is generally slower in tempo than the similar styles of music performed by the Xesibe and the Bhaca. The Eastern Mpondo who live near these clusters, have a musical tempo which is faster than that of the Western Mpondo. Mfengu umtshotsho music is also much faster in tempo, and in this it is closer to Xesibe and Bhaca teen - age music. These distinctions should not be regarded as rigid; there is a definite difference between the musical tempo of the more conservative C.T.P., and the more western - orientated Bhaca and Mfengu people. This is reflected in the way the former have clung to wearing traditional dress, while the latter have practically discarded it. As will be seen, there is also a difference in the details of the musical styles of these clusters.

The metrical patterns of umtshotsho songs, which are always articulated in handclapping, are essentially simple, being based on moderate pulse structures of crotchet and dotted crotchet beats. Combinations and divisions of these units in the basic metre of umtshotsho songs appear to be rare.

I recorded only two such songs with ' mixed ' metres; however, as my attempts to witness and record performances of umtshotsho music were hampered, it may be that ' mixed ' metres are not as uncommon as one would assume them to be, on the basis of the two songs I recorded. They are (i) Ndatsha mntanam (' I am burnt, my child, i.e. I have fallen pregnant '), whose basic metrical pattern consists of a sequence of two crotchets followed by two subdivided dotted crotchets, and another crotchet:

Figure 29:

(Cf. p. 338; Ex. No. 19 on Tape 1a).



and (ii) another song, which has no formal title, and which is sung in - ngqokola style to the vocables ho-mo-mo-mo etc. It is a song for the boys of an umtshotsho group, and is performed as a respite between the dance songs. The basic metrical pattern of this song is based on a sequence of three crotchets, followed by two subdivided dotted crotchets.

Figure 30:

(Cf. transcription on p. 337); Ex. No.20 on Tape 1a).



In both songs the basic metrical patterns are repeated throughout.

In songs having regular crotchet claps the basic metrical pattern comprises either 4 or 6 of these. In songs with regular dotted crotchet claps, 4 of these constitute the basic metrical pattern. One line of text, i.e. one leading phrase plus one chorus phrase, usually extends over two renderings of the basic metrical pattern. For example, the song He Noyongo (' Hey, young girl ', i.e. from Afrikaans ' jong ') has a basic grouping of 4 crotchets, which is repeated to accompany the main melody sung by the song leader throughout the performance of the song (cf. Figure 36 : 328). Ex. No. 21 on Tape 1a). This pattern is repeated as often as the performers wish, the number of repetitions in no way influencing the overall structure of the song. The basic metre and the total structure of the song are the same.

Figure 37 is a transcription of another version of this song, sung by the same vocal group but led by a different song leader (cf. pp. 329 - 330). In this performance, the basic metrical pattern and total structure comprise 4 + 4 dotted crotchets; once again, the basic grouping of 4 units (dotted crotchets) is repeated and carries one line of text , comprising one leading phrase and one chorus phrase. The majority of umtshotsho songs adhere to this pattern, which may be regarded as the standard pattern for umtshotsho music of the C.T.P. and the Mfengu cluster (Ex. No. 22 on Tape 1a).

There are a few exceptions to this general 'rule', e.g. the following song entitled Ye bhom' lo, mtaka mama (' Alas, that fruit - orchard, child of my mother ', i.e. an expression of dismay at an orchard that has been spoilt by birds, and with the implicated meaning that a girl has been spoilt because she allowed a boy to have full intercourse with her), which is sung entirely to vocables, apart from a few meaningful phrases interpolated by the song leader. The song has a basic metrical pattern of 4 + 4 crotchets. Within the song, the basic grouping of 4 quavers is repeated once, to provide a basic measure of 4 crotchets which underlies only half of the total structure or strophe of the song. (This comprises one leading phrase plus one chorus phrase). The whole pattern is then repeated so that two lines of text (i.e. vocables) have been accommodated. Thus the basic metrical pattern of this song is 4 + 4 crotchets, and all repeats must be in multiples of two 'lines' to make the strophe. In this song, then , the basic metrical pattern does not constitute the total structure of the song. (Cf. Figure 38 : 331 - 332; Ex. No. 23 on Tape 1a).

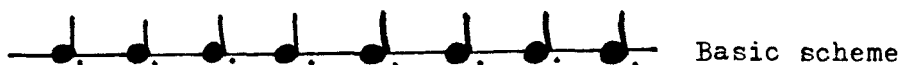
Umtshotsho songs with involved or irregular basic metres are not common, most songs conforming to the standard pattern already described (cf. p. 306). Nonjaza (name of a girl), a popular Thembu/Qwathi : umtshotsho song in the period 1969 - 1972, shows a variation of this standard pattern. The song has a basic metrical pattern of 4 dotted crotchets (=

strophe). In this case there is no repetition of a basic grouping of four units (Cf. Figure 39: 333 - 334; Ex. No. 24 on Tape 1a).

The recorded evidence I have reveals that the basic metrical patterns of the majority of umtshotsho songs are as regular (divisive) as those of the dance songs of younger children, including their versions of umtshotsho music, and that only a small number of songs have additive basic metrical patterns. These, as well as the tempo of the music, are defined and expressed explicitly by handclapping, which accompanies all umtshotsho music. However, the basic metres are never clapped as a succession of equal beats (dotted or undotted) as is the case in the children's songs. Instead, they are clapped as a succession of equal beats in the first half of the basic metrical pattern, which is then varied in its second half by diminution or augmentation of at least one, but usually two beats.

Figure 31 on p. 308 gives a number of the most common clapped metrical patterns which underlie umtshotsho songs. In each case, the underlying (immanent) basic metre is given, and below it the resultant clap pattern which is retained throughout the performance of the music. (The transcriptions of these songs (showing their structure and/or alignment of solo and chorus phrases) have been placed at the end of this discussion of umtshotsho music, for easy reference).

Variant clap patterns are sometimes introduced by the

Fig. 31.Ye Bhom' lo : ♩ = 72Ho-ye-ye mama : ♩ = 92He noyongo (ii) : ♩. = 112Nonjaza : ♩. = 72He noyongo (i) : ♩ = 116Hini mama, ndenzeni ♩ = 100

song leader, e.g. in the song Hini mama, ndenzeni (' Alas mother, what was I doing there? '), which has a basic clapped metre of



In the course of one performance which I recorded, this metre was varied and clapped as



Judging from my recordings, it seems to be a standard procedure to vary the clapped metres at least once, and possibly twice, but seldom more than that, during a performance of the music. However, I recorded one song in which the song leader introduced seven variant clapped metres. Figure 32 (on p. 311) shows the solo and chorus voice - parts which make up the single overall strophe, and below them the seven variant clapped metrical patterns which were executed during the performance. The song is entitled uMasakhane (name of a person). (Cf. also transcribed excerpts on pp. 328, 330, 331, 333 and 336.

While recording the song I watched the song leader very closely, and observed that, whenever she introduced a variant pattern, she raised her voice at the commencement of the strophe, and extended her arms upwards and outwards, thereby drawing the other singers' attention to what she was about to do. I also noticed that her variant metrical patterns (clapped) did not consistently coincide with verbal and musical changes in the song. The other singers did not emulate her clap patterns; most of them clapped the initial metrical pattern (a) which the song leader reintroduced from time to

Figure 32: uMasakhane

Ex. No. 27 on Tape 1a.

SL.

Howa-yo - he-he, Ho-wa-yo - he-he; Ho-

CLAPS

(a)

Chorus: Tacet. CLAPS.

SL.

-wa-yo - he-he; Ho-wa-yo - he-he; Yho-

ch.

Yo - wa-ho - ho-o-o, Yo-wa-ho - o-

SL.

-wa-yo - he-he; Ho-wa-yo - he-he; Yho-

ch. (ostinato):

Ho-yo-yo-yo, ho-yo-yo-yo, Ho-yo-yo-yo - yo-

CLAPS.

(a)

$\text{♩} = 112.$

strophe
length
=
 $8 \times \text{♩}$

Pitch:
Present
"C"
=
original
D

CLAPS:

b.

c.

d.

a.

b.

a.

a.

a.

f.

g.

a.

time. Other again clapped the metrical pattern (b).

I did not find it easy to account for this procedure, and informants were unable to give specific reasons, except to say that ' the claps go that way in the song '. When I asked song leaders why they introduced varied clap patterns at intervals, they replied that it was their ' way of singing the song ', and that they ' did it for a change ' i.e. for the sake of variety. The older women to whom I spoke about this procedure, said that the clap patterns were introduced by ' good ' song leaders because they suggested possible rhythmic patterns for any melodies the other singers might improvise. In their own words: ' They give us the stuff to sing with ', i.e. the ' sounds and the beat ', adding that a second leader or assistant usually ' helped the leader '. One of the woman said that this was the reason why a song leader was known as umhlabei (from the verb uku - hlabele , ' to stab for '): she ' stabbed for ' the other singers, giving them the musical (and rhythmical) material with which to sing the song.

A letter from Mr Tyamzashe two years after I had left the field, threw some light on the matter. In this letter he referred to clap patterns which accompany Xhosa music, and gave his reason why the polyrhythmic principle was not applied to clapping. (I have already mentioned this in chapter 2; the function of the handclaps is to provide a metrical framework for the music, within which people sing polyrhythmically/polyphonically). In his letter Tyamzashe states:

'It is Cape Nguni practice to sing against a clapped accompaniment. Now, if we clapped as we sang, i.e. with each person giving her own version of the clap pattern, there would be total confusion. We must have a clearly defined clapping plan for our style of singing; it has to be such that we can hear it and sing against it. As for varying the clap pattern, this is done to make it more interesting, and the precentor usually does it. You may notice that, when she does this, she sometimes but not always sings different words, or sounds. The words have something to do with it, but it's the precentor's way of conducting, too. The other singers borrow from her patterns' (Letter, April 1974).

Tyazmashe's comments suggest that variations of the clap patterns may be the result of speech - rhythm influence, i.e. the rhythm of the words used in the song text. On the other hand, they may also be shaped by musical considerations.

I made a detailed study of the words used in every repetition of the strophe of each song, and compared them with the clap patterns which accompanied them. I found that, whereas the same line of text is occasionally accompanied by variant clapped metrical patterns, it is just as often accompanied by the same basic metrical clap pattern. Thus I did not find variations in the vocal phrases consistently accompanied by variations in the clap patterns.

Although the natural speech - rhythms of the spoken words of the text do exert some influence on the melodies of songs, the extent to which they do so varies according to the type and style of song. In choral dance songs all the words must fit into the song's metrical framework, and,

as I have shown in chapter 6, word - syllables are often elided, and words pruned drastically, for the sake of metrical conformity. In these umtshotsho songs, the influence of the rhythms of the texts is minimal.

I can only assume that (i) variant clap patterns are a characteristic feature of umtshotsho music, and that (ii) they are guided mainly by musical considerations, and by the patterns that the song leader wishes to build. These in turn might suggest rhythmic patterns for the other singers' vocal improvisations.

Although umtshotsho songs are, strictly speaking, children's songs (they are sung non - contextually by children aged 6 - 11 years, and contextually by teen - age groups aged from 12 - 15, and 15 - 16 years), they are never classified or described as such. They are called umtshotsho songs, and if one presses the point and asks who actually performs the music, one is invariably given the answer ' amakwenkwe namantombazana ' (uncircumcised boys, and girls of the same age group). Thus many of the youngsters who sing the music and/or attend the dance parties are still children in the real sense of the word (particularly those belonging to the younger age group). They may still on occasion sing the earlier songs, e.g. en route to stick - fights and to ' mthombo (emthonjeni). Once they begin attending umtshotsho seriously, they become so involved in the process of identifying themselves with the new group (it is considered a disgrace for a boy to associate with younger children), and with learning the

songs and dances of this group, that they no longer bother to sing the earlier songs, although they may be forced to recall them occasionally when pestered by the younger children. This reluctance to classify umtshotsho music as children's music lies in the Cape Nguni attitude to boys who are of an age to be called inkwenkwe pl. amakwenkwe, (from about ten years onward). Younger boys are called ikwedini pl. amakwedini, a rather derogatory term meaning literally ' you (thing) in the boy ' (loc.).

Boys have no standing in their society; they are considered to be ' nothing ', and are often referred to as ' dogs ' (izinga) (cf. Elliott 1970: 62). As amakwenkwe boys are still ' nothing ', but at least, as one man put it, ' they are half way to becoming men '. While they still have their own pastimes from which girls are excluded, as amakwenkwe they begin to associate with girls, and ' going steady ' with girls (who do the choosing) is the normal result of umtshotsho parties. At the end of these parties, it is an accepted practice for boys and girls to pair off and sleep together, and to uku - metsha, i.e. to have sexual intercourse without penetration. Premarital experience is quite acceptable to the Cape Nguni, as long as no illegitimate children result from it. Girls who fall pregnant are disgraced for a while, but the disgrace lies not so much in the illegitimacy itself, as in the fact that the girl has allowed an uninitiated youth to father her child. Since the churches condemn uku - metsha, Christians also consider

it to be undesirable. Pagans point out that condemnation of - metsha is ridiculous because non - practice of it will almost certainly result in children.

6. The main distinctions between the music of children's songs and umtshotsho music

The Cape Nguni distinguish between these two categories of music not only on the basis of the institutions with which they are associated, and the social groups which perform them, but also on the basis of their overall sound. To them , umtshotsho music ' goes differently ' to the music of the children's songs (as it does to other types and styles of Xhosa music). This discrimination indicates that, while the different types of music have much in common (they all constitute Xhosa music), they are nevertheless classified as distinct types and therefore styles of Xhosa music.

Both musical styles are performed in different social contexts, and the performances are again differently motivated. Whereas many of the children's songs are sung for their own sake, i.e. for recreation, and in no specific context, others are always part of a social situation on which they comment, and to which they give meaning.

Umtshotsho songs are always sung in a particular social context, and thus never for their own sake and out of context. They are essentially dance songs which accompany specific dance steps and movements.

The children's dance songs, and most of the umtshotsho dance songs I recorded, have divisive basic metrical patterns

which follow duple or triple schemes with dotted and undotted beats and their equal divisions. Additive patterns are less common, and underlie a few umtshotsho dance songs, and the Walking songs of both young children and umtshotsho groups.

A fundamental difference between the two categories of dance music is the way in which the basic metrical patterns are expressed in performance. In the children's dance songs they are clapped as a succession of equal beats or ' pulse structures ', whereas in umtshotsho dance music they are clapped as combinations of different pulse structures AND in two contrasting sections, the second section being a variation of the first section. Thus, in the children's dance songs the claps constitute a simple time line of regular, equal clapped beats, whereas in umtshotsho dance music they establish a more complex rhythmic pattern. Furthermore, the clapped metrical patterns of children's dance songs are never varied in a performance, whereas they may be varied at least once, possibly twice and (less common) several times in a performance of an umtshotsho dance song.

Like the children's dance songs, umtshotsho songs are designed for performance by a song leader and a chorus. The vocal organization is, however, more complex. The two essential voice - parts of song leader and chorus no longer operate in simple juxtaposition or alternation (with or without overlap), as they do in the children's music. Instead, they are supported and enriched ' harmonically '

by a second song leader (assistant = S2 in the transcriptions) and a second chorus part (Chor.2 = subdivision of the chorus), and individual singers whose melodic - rhythmic vocal phrases may either double along with the song leader or chorus parts (= be dependent in their temporal relationship), or contribute their own variants (i.e. versions or aspects) of the song melody (= be independent of the two main parts in their temporal relationship). In doing so, the additional voices make independent entries at different points in the strophe, so that their melodic phrases, which carry new lines of text, interlock and overlap. This effects an interplay of vocal polyrhythms, the extent of which constitutes the main difference between the vocal organization of these songs, and the children's songs.

The way in which individual singers ' space ' their vocal interpolations at specific points in the strophe, is stylistically similar to the ' staggered entries ' made by other African peoples residing in Southern Africa (e.g. the Venda and Tsonga), and elsewhere in Africa, with whom instrumental music is cultivated in its own right as a group activity (cf. Nketia 1975: ch. 12). In their ensembles the instrumental parts are frequently arranged polyrhythmically to produce integrated, multilinear musical structures. What these people do with their instruments, the Cape Nguni do with their voices. The children's dance songs (- ndinditha and umtshotsho types) reveal elements of this technique, which is further exploited and elaborated in umtshotsho

music.

In contrast to these dance songs with their multi-linear vocal organization, the Walking songs of umtshotsho youth groups (and younger children) are essentially linear in their vocal organization. This reflects the visual and spatial effect which is achieved by a group of people walking along in single file or in straggling groups of two or three persons, as they usually do when going to some event. In their vocal organization these songs retain a basic twofold temporal contrast, because the extra parts provided by the singing group move in step with one or other of the two essential voice - parts (solo and chorus parts). Thus ' . . . greater complexity of texture is obtained, through added chording, but . . . the basic twofold temporal contrast principle remains intact ' (Rycroft 1967: 96). ' Parallel pitch movement ' usually occurs at intervals of a 5th, 4th, 3rd and the octave. These songs show very clearly how any melody is capable of having another ' companion ' melody sung along with it, such a melody consisting of tones which are ' harmonically equivalent ' to the tones of the main melody. The principle of harmonic equivalence is the same principle which is evident in Venda music, and which John Blacking has discussed in detail in his studies of Venda music (1967, 1973), and A. M. Jones in Studies of African Music (1959). Because of its importance as a fundamental, organizing and form - giving principle in African music generally, and in Xhosa music specifically, I shall quote Blacking at length:

'The choruses of many Venda songs. . . may be embellished by the addition of one or more parts, which sometimes move independently, but most commonly in parallel motion at intervals of a third, fourth, fifth and octave. The movement of a second melody in parallel motion is not, however, always an exact replica of the main melody, as it must employ the same mode ' (1967: 168).

Blacking gives an example of a pentatonic mode, and shows its harmonically equivalent tones (Fig. 5: 168), and continues:

'This evidence supports the view, which will be elaborated further, that the Venda do in fact draw upon scales for the formation of their melodies; if the music were purely melodic, without any relationship to a fixed " store of notes ", there could be no objection to consistent parallel motion in fourths . . . ' (ibid: 169)

The principle of harmonic equivalence is also active in Xhosa music, but its application differs in some detail from the Venda system (cf. ch.8: 684 - 688, where the system is discussed fairly extensively). It is easily observed in the Walking songs, which are sung in unisons and/or parallel intervals, but it is more difficult to observe in choral dance music, because the interplay of polyrhythms tends to obscure the parallel motion and interval combinations. (Cf. the following Figures for examples of ' harmonically equivalent ' melodies: Figure 33:331 - 2; & Figure 43 (a), (b) & (c), on pp. 338 - 340.

The embellishment of the main melody in parallel motion by one or more voices which is a feature of many of the children's songs, is replaced in proper untshotsho music by a polyphonic/polyrhythmic interplay of voices,

which already reflects the more elaborate distribution of roles in this music. The main melody and its rhythmic pattern are embellished by several singers who may sing as many different aspects of this pattern, set vertically above each other. In doing so, each singer may (i) introduce passing notes (a common procedure, as many umtshotsho melodies have large intervals compared with the melodies of children's songs, which have smaller intervals (cf. Figure 33 on p. 322); or (ii) outline the basic pattern by singing its basic shape and contour (Figure 33/ii), or (iii) select a motif from the basic pattern and ' develop ' it by repetition or canonic imitation (Figure 33/iii). The possibilities are considerable, and all vocal patterns must agree harmonically with the basic pattern. The absence or deliberate omission of words and their substitution by vocables permits another principle to be applied - one which was not possible in the children's songs with their word - bound melodies, and which is exploited fully in the music of adults - the development principle, by which singers produce sequences of tones that emerge as rhythmic - melodic patterns deriving from the basic pattern and which, superimposed as they are in ' disturbed ' parallelism, create sequences of polyphonic progressions (cf. Figure 43 : 338).

The children's songs are not entirely devoid of vocal interplay (cf. for example Figure 20: 274). The dance songs in particular provide children with short texts set to simple melodies and rhythms, which they learn to manipulate poly - rhythmically and polyphonically (cf. also transcription of

Sl. He no-ya-ya - nga, He ya-ho-ya - nga; ← song leader

CLAPS (d.) d. d. d. d. d. (d.) d. ← Claps

i) Solo^1 Ho-ya-ho. ← Additional voice part enters
(individual singer).

$\text{d.} = 112-116 \text{ M.M.}$

Sl. as above: ...

i) Solo^1 ho-ho-ho —, ho - ho-ye-ho —; O-ho
← Add. voice part
Strophe length: $8 \times \text{d.}$

(ii)

CLAPS: Song leader

ii) $\text{H wa-ya he-he, Ho-wa-ya he-he; Ho}$
← Add. voice part

$\text{yi-ya-hay, Hi-hi yi-ya-hay, Hi-hi}$

Assistant leader

$\text{d} = 112 \text{ M.M.}$ O hay - yi-hi

Ass. leader

$\text{yi-ya hay, O hay - yi-hi}$

(iii)

CLAPS: $\text{Strophe length: } 12 \times \text{d.}$

iii) Sl. wa-ya — Ho ndatsha nta-nam; Ho
← song leader

Chorus: We-wa-ya — We-wa-ya
← Chorus

S2. (SII): ye-he-he; Wowayo ndatsha nta-nam; —
← Ass. leader

claps.

$\text{d} = 72 \text{ M.M.}$

Nonjaza, Figure 39:333- 4). In learning to sing the umtshotsho songs, children become skilful in improvising and combining patterns of sound polyrhythmically and polyphonically; thus, they gradually acquire the technique which is exploited to an even greater degree, and reaches its climax in, the music of adults. The resultant of this technique - a combination of polyphony (' many voices ') and polyrhythm (' many rhythms ') is, in the music of young adults, still controlled and regulated by handclaps; in the music performed by married women, it is achieved with a different, or without any, audible time background.

The vocal polyrhythm of umtshotsho songs is further intensified by rhythmic patterns of uku - tshotsha produced by boys as they dance (cf. Figure 40 : 335; Ex.No. 25 on Tape Whether singers produce melodic patterns or rhythmic ' noises ', each performer's choice of pattern is guided by the handclaps. The Cape Nguni system of clapping is discussed later on in chapter 8, thus it is not necessary to discuss it in the context of one particular style of music.

Although the melodies of umtshotsho songs employ four, five or six tones, they are, like the melodies of children's songs, based on a hexa mode with one semitone interval:

Figure 34 : (Convenient transpositions of the mode);



The tones of this mode are identical with the tones yielded by the single - string gourd bow, uhadi, and the mouth bow, umrhubhe: two fundamental tones or ' roots ' and their 3rd, 4th and 5th resonated partials. Because of this, it has been suggested that vocal modes may well have derived from the bow and its harmonic partials (Rycroft 1971: 218 - 223). The two roots and their partials provide the harmonic progression or shifting tonality which underlies all Xhosa music. In some songs one of the 3rds is absent, which seems to indicate pentatonic tonality, but these apparently five - tone melodies are in fact hexatonic - based.

Figure 35 shows the most common hexa series with a semitone interval, and below them, the shifting chord progressions (from which they derive) whose roots are a whole tone apart:

Figure 35:



In a number of umtshotsho songs the 3rd interval (5th partial) is sung alternately as a major or minor interval (cf. Figure 33 : (iii) on page 322). Rycroft has noted a similar phenomenon in Zulu gourd bow songs, in which the 3rd partial (which is correctly a major third as it derives from the resonated harmonics of the bow), is often sung as a minor third by the singer (Rycroft 1975/6: 62).

When singers harmonize a melody, they do so by singing ' harmonically equivalent ' tones, the choice of which is restricted by the requirements of speech - tone, the mode on which the melody is based, and, most important, root - relation - ships: the harmonizing tones must belong to the same root triad as the original melody note. Thus the Xhosa system of harmonizing differs slightly from the Venda system as described by Blacking (1967: 168). As this process is discussed in chapter 8, I shall say no more about it, except to state that, using the mouth bow (umrhubhe) as a model, I have shown that Xhosa melodies are in a sense harmony - based, in that their tones and interval patterns can be traced to the ' shifting tonalities ' which underlie them.

The melodies of children's songs generally employ smaller intervals than do umtshotsho melodies. Although the notes are frequently grouped within the compass of a minor seventh, this intervallic distance is usually filled out in the children's songs; umtshotsho melodies, on the other hand are often ' wide - gapped ' , e.g. He Noyongo (second version, p. 330, and Ndatsha mntanam, on p. 322).

Children's songs are word - bound, in that their words are seldom omitted and substituted by vocables. This occurs mainly in the umtshotsho songs, which are conspicuous by the paucity of their texts. Even when they have fixed texts, these are often curtailed or replaced by vocables. Many of the songs have titles which may, or may not also contain the words of the song text. They may be the name of a person, e.g. uMasakhane, Nontakazana, Nonjaza, or they may simply be called ' eyomtshotsho ' (' for/of umtshotsho '). Informants often gave me titles because I asked for them; some of these were derived from the vocables which replaced the text (if any), or accompanied the song - melody. They were usually the private property of individuals, and not known and used by the community at large.

I recorded many songs which had definite titles, the words of which were never (or scarcely) sung during a performance, e.g. Ye bhom' lo (p. 331). Umtshotsho songs with texts are often full of references to cattle (alluding to the girls' future bride - price, and their being potential ' bringers of wealth ' to their families), and to love, usually unrequited. The dance movements which are improvised by boys and girls when dancing at umtshotsho are exaggerated and overtly sexual. Boys and girls execute violent contortions, thrusting hip movements which are definitely meant to simulate sexual intercourse. I recall watching a performance of the dance, during which a boy and girl performed ' solo ' . The boy was arched forward over his partner, who was bent backwards at what was an almost unbelievable angle,

considering that she still managed to remain on her feet. Both were shaking and gyrating madly. The words of the song left no doubt as to what the movements were meant to represent: ' Leave off, you are breaking my back '. This performance drew a laconic remark from my guide, who said, ' That 's all these youngsters can think about! '.

He Noyongo (' Hey young girl ')

Pitch: Present "C"

= original

Dflat

Mode: hexa-based pentatonic (< two major triads based on roots D and C; one of the 3rds (F#) is absent). Strophe

length: ♩ X 8

In performance, staves 1 & 2 (in I) are rendered simultaneously, as are staves 3 - 7; staves 8 - 10 are variants of stave 7 (S2 1), sung by the Assistant leader (S2), who sings along with SL, Ch.1., Ch. 2 and Ch. 3.

He no-yo - ngo, He no-yo - ngo he;

♩ = 116 m.m.

Ho-ho ho-ho yo-ho

CLAPS: ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩

He no-yo - ngo, He no-yo - ngo he; (

Ho-ho ho-ho yo-ho

Ho-o-yo-ho ho-yo-ho

Ho-o-; Ho-o-;

PLUS: ~ ff =

Ho-yo-ho-ho, Ho-yo-ho-ho - ma-

Ho-li-ho ho ho-li-ho ma-ma yo-ho-

Ho-yo-no ma-ma ho-ma-ma yo-ho-

She Variations

(3x) ~ yo, Ho no-yo-ngo; Ho-

Figure 37 : Second version of

the umtshotsho song, He Noyongo.

Ex. No. 22 on

Pitch: present "C" = original a' (A)

Tape la

Mode: hexa-based pentatonic mode

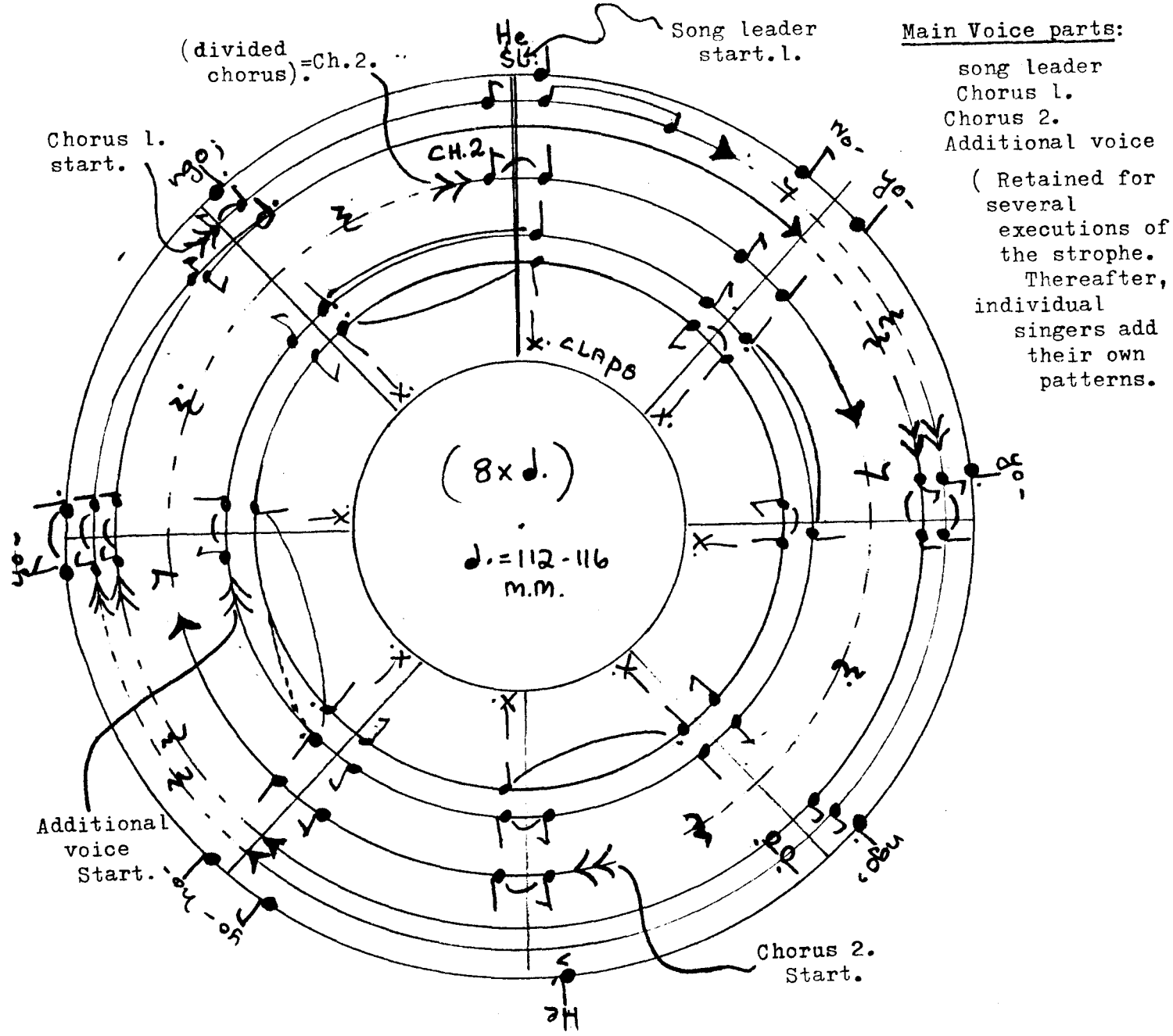
(Transposed up a
minor 3rd)Strophe length: 8 x \bullet . \bullet = 112 - 116 M.M.Diagram representing temporal alignment of voices and
claps.

Figure 37 (ctd.): He Noyongo

Ex. No. 22 on Tape

Transcription showing melodic patterns of the different voice parts.

Sheelee He no-ya-ya-ngo, He ya-ho-ya-ngo;

(ostinato)

Chorus I. Tacet. Ho-ya

CLAPS. (silent) (silent)

Chorus I. ho-ho, Ho-ya-ho, Ho-ya-ho-

SL. (ostinato). Chorus I. (ostinato) -; Ho-ya-ho Ho-ya-ho;

Chorus 2. Enters before 5th clap. Ho-ya-ho, Ho-

Chorus 2. (ostinato) -ya-ho, Ho-ya-ho, Ho-ya-ho, Ho-

Entry. Addit. voice I... TACET... Addit. voice I:

Addit. voice I. (enters before 7th clap) ho-ho - ho ho ya-ho - o-ho

Addit. voice I yo-ho-ho -; ho-ho ya-ho - o-ho.

Addit. voice 2. -enters before 8th clap. ho-ho - o-ho - ya-ho -; o-ho

Addit. voice 3. enters before 3rd clap. Ho-ya-ya-ya-ho, Ho-ya-ya-ya

ho- Ho-ya-ya-ya-ho, Ho-ya-ho-ya

CLAPS IN EFFECT.

Figure 38 : Umtshotsho song

Ye bhom' lo, mtaka mama

(' Alas, that fruit orchard, child of
my mother ').

Pitch: present "C" = original E

Ex. No. 23 on Tape 1a.

Mode: hexa-based pentatonic

Strophe length: 8 x ♩ (4 + 4)

The song commences with an introduction by the sub - leader of the umtshotsho group (the ' lieutenant ' or ' udrayiva '). Vocal organization is as follows:

Song leader and Chorus 1

Assistant leader (S2) who sings along with Chorus 1 most of the time, but interpolates a phrase quasi-descant: ungandibeni . Chorus 2 comprises the rest of the umtshotsho group, including the boys, and is led by the udrayiva .

♩ = 72 M.M.

(Intro.) SL + Ch. I

(sub-leader)

Ho ye yemama Ho yo-ho

Ho oy. oy. yo hotchu ma-ma.

+ Ch. 2.

Ho mama - ma

SL + Ch. I

Ch. 2

Yo-yo ho-yo-o he ye ye

Yo-yo... etc.

Yo ye ye yo Ho mama - ma

ye-he Ho-yo-ho - ye-he; ho mama - ma

S2.

SL + Ch. I

Bhom'lo 'nta-kam' hoyo-ma, bhomlo mtakam ungandi-be-ni

Bhomlo 'nta-kam' hoyo-ma, bhomlo mtakam Ho-yoma - ma.

claps

Ch. 2

bhomlo mtakam ho-yoma,

ye-he Ho-yo-ho-ma ye ye-he, duduma - ma.

Bhomlo mtaka-m ungandi.be-ni ye.yo yemama ungandi.be-ni

Bhomlo mtaka-m ha-yoma ye.yo ye.yo- ha yoma. ma.

ye. ye. ye. ye.

ye-he ho.yo-ho, ye.ye-he-, duduma-ma.

Clap.

Ex. No. 23 on Tape 1a

The claps are introduced after two executions of the strophe.

Root progression sequence in strophe:

|| C D - - | C C - - ||

Text:

Yé bhóm' ló, mtaká mamá,

Ungandibéni.

Alas, that fruit-orchard, child
of my mother,

I'll have nothing to do with
it.

(trans. Mrs L M Mathiso).

Transcription of umtshotsho song entitled

Nonjaza (name of a girl). Ex. No. 24 on Tape 1a.

Pitch: present "C" = original D^b; Strophe length: 4 x ♩.

Mode: hexatonic (< two major triads based on roots D and C).

♩ = 46 (♩ = 138) M.M.

Claps

St. 1. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

0 ngo-ma-ma o-mama - a-a, o-wu

Chorus: Hi-yo ha-a-ha,

2. St. ngo-ma - a ye mama - a-a - ha, O-wu

Ch. O hay-eeh Ye-ho-ho hi-yo ha-a-ha,

3. St. ngo-ma Ye mama - a-a, Ho-homah-

Ch. O hay-eeh Tsho-o-o-o hi-hi-homa-ho;

4. St. - ho, ho-homo-ho - ho-homo-ho -

Ch. Yo! ha-aa; Yo! ha-aa

5.

The clapped basic metrical pattern is varied during performance, and with each execution of the strophe, e.g:

1. ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩

2. ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩

3. ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩

4. ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩

Transcription of Nonjaza (ctd.)

Handwritten musical score for "Nonjaza" (continued). The score is written for Soprano (Sl.) and Chorus (Ch.) parts. The lyrics are in Zulu and English.

Section 5:

Sl. ~ ho ho homo ho - Ho momo Ho
 Ch. Yo! ha-a-a Yo! Ha-a-a

Section 6:

Sl. yo yin-dab, Ho mo-mo Ho-yo yin-dab, Ho momo ho
 Ch. Yo-yoyo ha-a-a, Yo-yoho ha-a-a

Section 7:

Sl. yo-yin-dab, Ho mo-mo Ho-yo yin-dab, Ho mo-mo Ho-
 Ch. Nank' uNonjaza kunjan, Nank' uNonjaza kunjan

Variations of the clapped basic metrical pattern:

Three variations of the clapped basic metrical pattern, numbered 5, 6, and 7. Each variation is shown on a single staff with a treble clef and a 7/8 time signature.

5.

6.

7.

Text:

Hó yo yindab!
Yo, masikhwelé,
Nánk' uNónjaza,
Kúnjan'?

Oh my, this business,
 Goodness, let us entrain,
 Here is Nonjaza,
 How are you?

Figure 40 : Umtshotsho song:

Ex. No. 25 on Tape la

Transcription of igwijo of umtshotsho group (Thembu):Wen' ulala nephoyisa (' You, who are sleeping with the police ')

Pitch: present "E" = original A (voices)

Strophe length: (16x♩) × 2

Mode: hexa-based pentatonic mode

This song is usually performed en route to umtshotsho parties. It may also be accompanied by dancing. This particular version was obtained from a group of boys who were on their way to umtshotsho. The music accompanies the dancing (-tyityimba) of three dancers.

♩ = 94 - 96 M.M.



(Cf. p. 303; also p. 301 and Figure 31 : 302).

(a) Ho ye-ye mama (voluntary title). Umtshotsho song

SL.
Mama Ho - ye. he O hale-za- ye-he, o-yo-
Chorus:
claps (1) silent (1) silent

SL.
Chorus:
he, O Ho-ye ye-he-ye. he-ho

(See also p. 325, paragraph 1, regarding the use of the 3rd interval (E) in the above song

(b) O Hini mama, ndenzeni? (' Oh alas, mother, what was I doing there? ')


♩ = 104 M.M.
Sl.
O - Hi-ni ma-ma ndenzeni O hini mama nden-ze-ni, O
Chorus
Baye-za- Baye-za-
S.L. (Assistant leader):
Hi-ni ma-ma ndenzeni O hi-ni ma-ma nden-zen;
Basic
metre:
CLAPS:
Varied:
1.
2.

Transcription of an umtshotsho song,
usually sung between performances of
proper umtshotsho dance songs. (No transposition)

Voluntary title: Ho-mo-mo-mo (Ex. No.20 on Tape la).

Pitch: Present G = original G

Mode: hexatonic (< two major triads based on roots
G and A);

Strophe length: 12 x 



= Mode

(Cf. p. 298,
Figure 30).

$\text{♩} = 84 \text{ M.M.}$

SL. (start):

Ho mo-mo-mo ho-mo ho-mo-mo, He-ma

Chorus: TACET

← song leader
(who is leader
of this youth
group) starts
song, singing in
-ngqokola style.

Ho-mo-mo-mo ho-mo ho-mo-mo;

Ch.

f > mp

-mo-mo ho-mo-mo -ho, Hema

Strophe :

← song leader

← Chorus 1:
(boys)

1 Ho-mo ho-mo-mo homo ho-mo he-ma ho-

2 - mo, Mo-mo he-ho-momo he-ma ho-

3 - mo, homo - he momoma he-ma ho-

← Chorus 2:
(girls).

1, 2 & 3 =
vocal
patterns sung
successively
by Chorus 2.

All voice parts ultimately sing along together,

Figure 43

Examples of 'harmonically equivalent' melodies

(cf. p. 313):

Pitch: Present "C" = original Bflat

(a) Ho ndatsha mntanam (' Oh I am burnt, my child ').

Ex. No. 19 on Tape 1a.

$\text{♩} = 72 \text{ M.M.}$

wa-yo Ho ndatsha mntanam; Ho

← song leader

Chorus 1. We-wayo We - wa-yo

Assistant leader yehehe; Wawayo ndatsha mita-nam

Chorus 2 He He weyeye-

1. Youth ('Solo'): O ho-no ma

~ la hamba' nta-nam use — go-li, O

2. Boy ('Solo'): ham-ba, u-fun u-ku-hamb;

3. Youth ('Solo'): u-fane neywayhamb; Use — go-li

2. Boy ('Solo'): - ham-ba; u-fun u-ku-

u-fane neyweyhamb; Use — go

Text of Figure 43 (a):

<u>Ho ndatsha mntanam;</u>	Oh, I am burnt, my child;
<u>Hamba mntanam,</u>	Go, my child,
<u>UseGoli,</u>	He is going to Johannesburg,
<u>Ufun' ukuhamba,</u>	He wants to go,
<u>Ufane nay', way'hamba.</u>	Just like them, wanting to go.

(b) Umtshotsho dance song: Oh Hini mama ndenzeni?

(Cf. also Figure 41(b): 336). Pitch: Present Bflat

♩ = 104 M.M.

Ex. No. 26 on Tape 1a.

= original A
rising to B

Text:

O Hini mama ndenzeni?Oh alas, mother, what was I
doing there?Bayeza .

They are coming. (Chorus refrain).

Zikhul' 'into

Big things were done by them.

bazenzawo.

(trans. L M Mathiso).

32. Hi-ni-mama nden-ze- ni, O hi-ni ma-ma-nden-zen-i

SL. hini gi-nto gi- khu-zu, khul' gi- khulu gi ba-zen- za- wo, O,

Chor. Ho-yo - wo - ho, Ho, Ho - wo - ho - yo -

Claps (Pantaut)

Individual Singee: Na - nya kuw' Na - nya kuw'

Boys. hi-ni-mama za-ngok' he yo hi-ni ma-ma-ya-wo-ho, Yo-

Mode: = heptatonic, but the seventh tone (a') occurs infrequently, and mainly in the song leader's vocal patterns. This song is sometimes adapted and sung at umbhayizelo dances.

Examples of ' harmonically equivalent ' melodies:

(c) Extracts from uMasakhane; Ex. No. 27 on Tape 1a.

(Cf. also p.322 : Fig.33(ii), which shows the main melody sung by the song leader (SL). (Cf. also p.311)

1. SL. ha-ye Masa-khan' We ha-ye Masa-khane; We
 2. ha-ye Ma-sa-khane, we ha-ye Masa-kha-ne; We
 3. -Sab'u-Masa-khan', O hay' yi-ma-ma, u-
 drums:

Vocal patterns introduced by individual singers in the course of performance. The vocal patterns enter at various points in the strophe. Broken bar lines indicate where the melodic accents fall. Cf. Figure 33(ii), where location of melodic accents (in the main melody) differs. Patterns 1, 2 & 3 also differ, having the same accentuation as Pattern 5 above.

4. SL. Var. Ye Ma-sa-kha-ne he-he, Ye Masa-khane;
 5. hay; Ho ma-ma o. hay; Yi-ma-ma-o-
 6. Ho-ba-ho-ho, Hi-ma-ma-wo-ho;
 7. tsho ninton' ho ho-ho yo-ho-ho hm-hm; Wa-

7. Iingoma zombhayizelo (' Bay city music ')

Umbhayizelo (v. = uku - bhayizela) derives from the Xhosa name for the Eastern Cape port, Port Elizabeth, which is usually referred to in the locative, eBhayi, meaning ' Bay place ', from English ' bay '. Informants translated the verb form (uku - bhayizela) as ' to sing/dance like the Bay city people '; the event itself takes the noun form umbhayizelo.

The music is performed at the umbhayizelo dances of teen - age boys and girls who are at least nominally Christian, and who attend or have attended school. The name is known and used by all Cape Nguni peoples, but the Bhaca and Xesibe seem to prefer the term ipati. Boys wear a standard uniform - wide, flaring trousers which are tied below the knees with brightly - coloured scarves (some leave the trousers hanging loose, so that they flare like modern palazzo pants), and patched with different coloured pieces of material. Checked shirts and particoloured waistcoats, headscarves, beads and whistles complete the outfit. Girls wear party dresses, or tight skirts and blouses, and are generally not as gaily dressed as the boys.

Umbhayizelo is the non - traditional or ' dressed ' version of umtshotsho; the distribution of musical roles is almost identical, the girls providing the singing, while the boys produce patterns of vocal sounds similar to uku - tshotsha, but in this context called uku - bhayizela.

The music varies in style, and includes traditional songs which have been adapted to suit the new context (' taken over and redone ' as the people themselves describe it), and original songs which show a strong influence of jazz. Many of these latter songs are ' borrowed ' from the townships (indirectly, from the Radio programmes), and include umbaqanga and phatha - phatha numbers (this term is used freely) as well as Zulu 'mbube township music. Dancing includes ' shaking ' (- tyityimba) of the ' Red ' people, but performed more moderately, and versions of the Twist (i - twisti) and jive (i - jayiva). Other dance steps are freely improvised, and in these, girls assume a far more prominent role than their ' Red ' counterparts who attend imitshotsho dances.

Umbhayizelo music performed vocally may or may not be accompanied by clapping; if an instrument accompanies the singing, the clapping is usually omitted. The guitar (isigingci, ikatala) is a popular instrument for umbhayizelo music, and is often played solo with no singing or clapping. Guitar players are invariably boys (I have yet to meet a female guitarist) and aspiring players are always eager to show off their skill at these parties. Many songs show a strong influence of typical Black South African guitar music (I have included a transcription of one such song as an example of this music, cf. Figure 50 : 354).

Umbhayizelo parties are usually held on Friday or Saturday nights during the school holidays, particularly the longer winter or summer vacations. The most elaborate parties are

held shortly before Christmas, at which the young people exchange Christmas gifts and enjoy themselves. No beer is served, tea, cool drinks and sweets and cakes being the main fare.

The dance performed by Xhosa - speaking amakwenkwe at Mine dances shows a combination of umtshotsho and umbhayizelo styles in its music and dancing. The music is played on an instrument (a concertina, or guitar), which is a main feature of umbhayizelo dances; the actual dance is the ' shaking ' dance (- tyityimba) performed by tribal boys and circumcised young men at umtshotsho and intlombe dance parties. The Xhosa - speaking Mine dancers use the Mfengu term umteyo to describe their dance (cf. p. 303).

Umbhayizelo dances are not encouraged by Christian parents, who appear to regard them in much the same way that White parents regard discos and ' pop ' sessions, which many White young people like to attend. Black parents' prejudice is based on the possible lapse in morals which umbhayizelo dances might encourage; White parents condemn discos mainly because they consider them to be a focal point of the ' drug scene '.

Figure 50 is a transcription of an umbhayizelo song entitled Nozakade, uyayithand' unyana (' Nozakade, you are in love with the eldest son ') (Ex. No. 28 on Tape la). The song is usually accompanied by a guitar, but when I recorded it no guitarist was available. However, the song leader told me that this song was just as often sung without guitar accompaniment, as with one. The single overall strophe

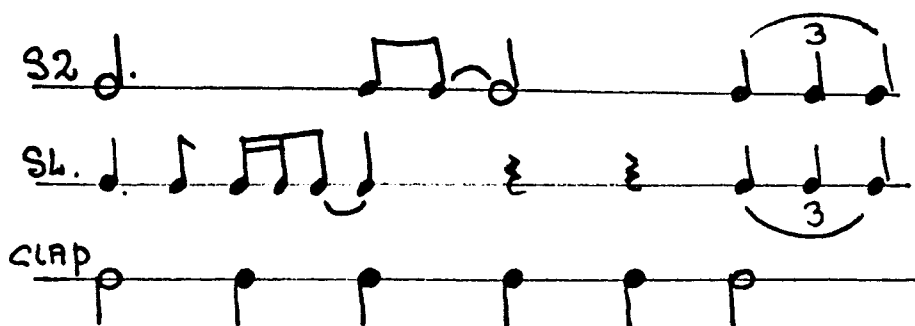
consists of the repetition of a terse rhythmic - melodic phrase by song leader and chorus, with overlapping between the two parts (cf. p. 354, & p. 355). The resultant pattern is closely linked to tonal/harmonic procedure which the Cape Nguni follow in their traditional music. The first half of the pattern leans on the ' tonic ' (C in score), while the second half leans on the ' counter - tonic ' (D in score). The pattern quality of the melody, and its constant repetition and rerepetition on one dynamic level (relieved only near the end of the song, when the song leader enters with a varied statement of the first phrase) is strongly reminiscent of the thrumming with which Cape Nguni guitarists accompany their solo guitar songs. (Cf. p. 354).

Figure 49 shows excerpts from a traditional umtshotsho song, uZithulele (name of a person), which is also sung at umbhayizelo dances. (Cf. pp. 352 - 353 ; Ex. No. 29 on Tape 1a). This particular performance was sung by a group of teenagers who attended school. Some of the girls told me that they also occasionally attended the umtshotsho dances of their tribal friends. Although their parents did not approve of this, they did not seem to be able to prevent their daughters from going to the ' Red ' parties. The girls stressed the fact that they attended mainly as spectators, and occasionally ' helped ' with the singing, ' but that was all '.

The song is rhythmically more interesting than the previous one, in that it features typical Cape Nguni polyrhythms. The clap pattern which underlies the music, the melody - pattern

distributed between song leader and chorus, and the second leader's version of the melody, together produce three layers of rhythm:

Figure 44 :

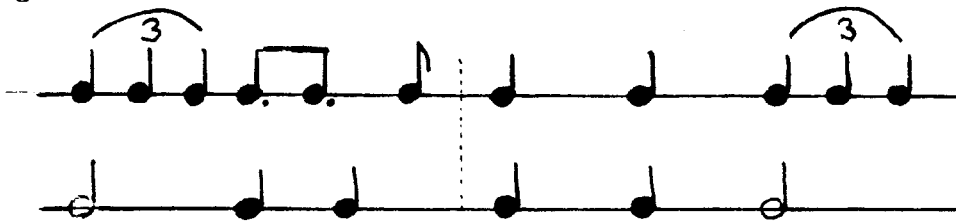


An interesting feature in this song is the reversed rhythmic repetition of the first half of the strophe, in both clapped and vocal parts. This is most obvious in the third variation of the melody pattern, which the song leader begins with triplet crotchets; this is balanced at the end of the strophe by the triplets sung by the chorus:

Figure 45 :

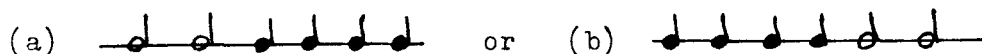
Song leader

Chorus



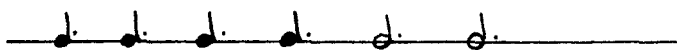
Rhythmic reversion
of the 1st half of the
strophe.

It is possible that the players did not hear the pattern as a succession of long -short -short -short -short long claps, as given above, but instead heard it as



I noticed, however, that whenever the singers clapped the minim beats, they made a simulated clap on what would be the next crotchet beat, which suggests that they hear the clap pattern as a series of eight crotchet beats, but, in umtshotsho style, clapped it as the resultant shown in Figure 45 .

A similar metrical pattern underlies a song which was discussed under umtshotsho music: He Noyongo (cf. Figure 33 ; 322), which has a basic metrical clap pattern of



e.g.

Figure 46 :



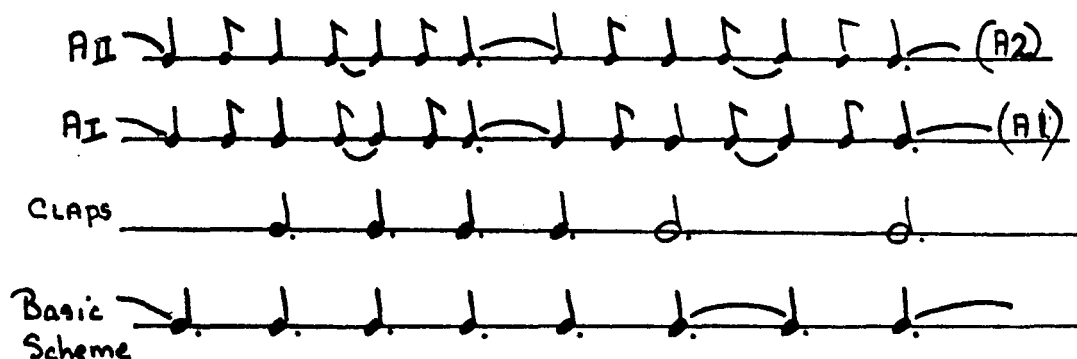
There is no doubt that, in this song, the clapped pattern is heard as a series of four shorter beats, followed by two of double value, that is, as

Figure 47 :



This is clearly apparent further on in the song, when two additional voice parts (A1 and A2 in the transcription) sing variant melodic phrases which begin on the second dotted crotchet beat of the basic metrical pattern:

Figure 48 :



When the singers clapped this basic metrical pattern, I observed that they did not make any simulated claps on the ' tied ' beats, as they did in the previously mentioned song. Since both songs were sung by the same company of people, it seems likely that the clap patterns, which are very similar, were nevertheless heard in different ways, as I have suggested.

The retrograde inversion of a musical pattern is part of a process of musical creation which has been employed consciously or unconsciously by musicians working within the framework of different cultures. Blacking has found this process, which may be described as one of thematic development and variation, active in African folk music. Several Western European composers have employed this process; it was adapted as the basis of a technique of composition by Schoenberg

and his followers. It is apparently a universal process and a natural endowment of man the musician and artist. In the above song (uZithulele) it is clearly perceptible in the basic rhythm of the song. I have no other hard evidence of the application of this process in Xhosa music, so I am unable to state whether this example is accidental, or whether the Cape Nguni employ it to any great extent in their music. I expected to find it in the context of vocal polyrhythm, i.e. where various voice parts combine and sing different aspects/versions of the same melodic phrase. I found, however, that none of the variant phrases were actually retrograde inversions of the melodic phrase, although they were variations of it. The fact that the Cape Nguni tend to ' split up ' a melodic phrase when treating it polyrhythmically would seem to preclude any possibility of melodic retrograde inversions. This song is the only example I have of retrograde inversion applied to the basic metrical pattern of a song.

Figure 51 is the transcription of yet another umbhayizelo song, sung by a group of Mfengu and Xesibe singers. I have discussed it at some length here, as its style is characteristic of so many other styles of Xhosa music, e.g. modern music sung by adolescents, and even the music accompanying the - gaja dancing of Xesibe ' dressed ' teenagers. The song is entitled Thozana, also the name of a girl (Figure 51; Ex. No. 30 on Tape 1a (cf. p. 356 for transcription)).

Umtshotsho structural features are retained in the song's basic rhythmic structure, which comprises four dotted

crotchets, repeated once to provide the basic metrical pattern of the song and also its total structure. The principle of shifting tonality is observed, but the regular recurrence of B natural in both song leader and chorus parts suggests (to Western ears) a shift from the ' tonic ' tonality (C) to a ' dominant ' tonality (G) rather than to a ' counter - tonic ' tonality (D) which is situated a whole tone above the ' tonic '. The tonality shift is emphasized at that point in the song when the music is accompanied by double claps, and the chorus sings only a tonal outline of the melody, on the tones located a fifth above the ' tonic ' and ' counter - tonic ' (this accompanies the song leader and assistant's (S2) part: ' Ho. . . he wa wen' urong ' . . (indicated with the sign α in the transcription).

When recording this song, I moved among the singers, and I noticed that some of the younger singers made no attempt to sing the B natural, but instead sang A. The B (or seventh tone) is definitely more prominent in modern Xhosa music sung by ' dressed ' people, than it is in genuine traditional music. It will be noticed in this song, that the B is harmonized by E, and also by F. This tritone combination is consistent with harmonic/melodic procedures followed in traditional Xhosa music. As I pointed out when discussing umtshotsho music, most (if not all) Xhosa traditional melodies are based on a hexatonic mode containing a semitone, and an augmented 4th interval. In harmonizing a main melody, singers are not so much concerned with retaining its intervallic progressions (which the

principle of harmonic equivalence makes impossible), as with retaining its overall pattern.

The system of double - clapping, which begins after nine varied repetitions of the main melody, and is coincident with what I have called the segmentation of the melody (it is split up and no longer sung in its original shape, as a continuous melodic phrase with a definite rhythmic profile), is employed in many styles of Xhosa music, both traditional (cf. especially intlombe music) and modern. A salient feature of this second part of the song is the ' off - beat ' syncopation which occurs (i) between the ' solo ' parts and claps, between chorus and claps, but never between all three vocal parts. There is always at least one vocal part that syncopates against two others who retain more or less the same rhythmic relationship. Furthermore, off - beating syncopation occurs only between the main beats of the pattern in each voice, i.e. between the first four claps (or two main claps) of the pattern, then between the next two, and so on. Voice and clap almost always coincide on the first clap, and always coincide on the last clap of every four (or two) dotted quaver (crotchet) clapped beats.

In Thozana, there is little tension created by the syncopation; umbhayizelo music played on guitars, and/or adapted from umbaqanga music, features a more complex and more vigorous syncopation over the regular beat.

Xhosa, Thembu and Mpondo umbhayizelo music is usually accompanied by pharyngeal sounds (uku - bhayizela), but the Mfengu have dropped this procedure, and instead produce

patterns of - bhodla sounds, as do the Xesibe and Bhaca when performing the equivalent type of music. The Bomvana and Mpondomise follow the same procedure; I observed that - bhayizela sounds are no longer a standard procedure in some districts. When Xhosa jazz is performed, these sounds are not produced. As one Mpondo boy told me, ' It does not fit in with the modern music '. The transcription of 'Ihozana includes some - bhayizela patterns which a few boys introduced, in spite of nudgings and jabs from the other singers who wanted them to stop doing it!

Figure 49 :

- (1) Transcribed extract from an umbhayizelo song, entitled uZithulele (name of a person); (cf. p. 344)

Pitch: present "B" = original A

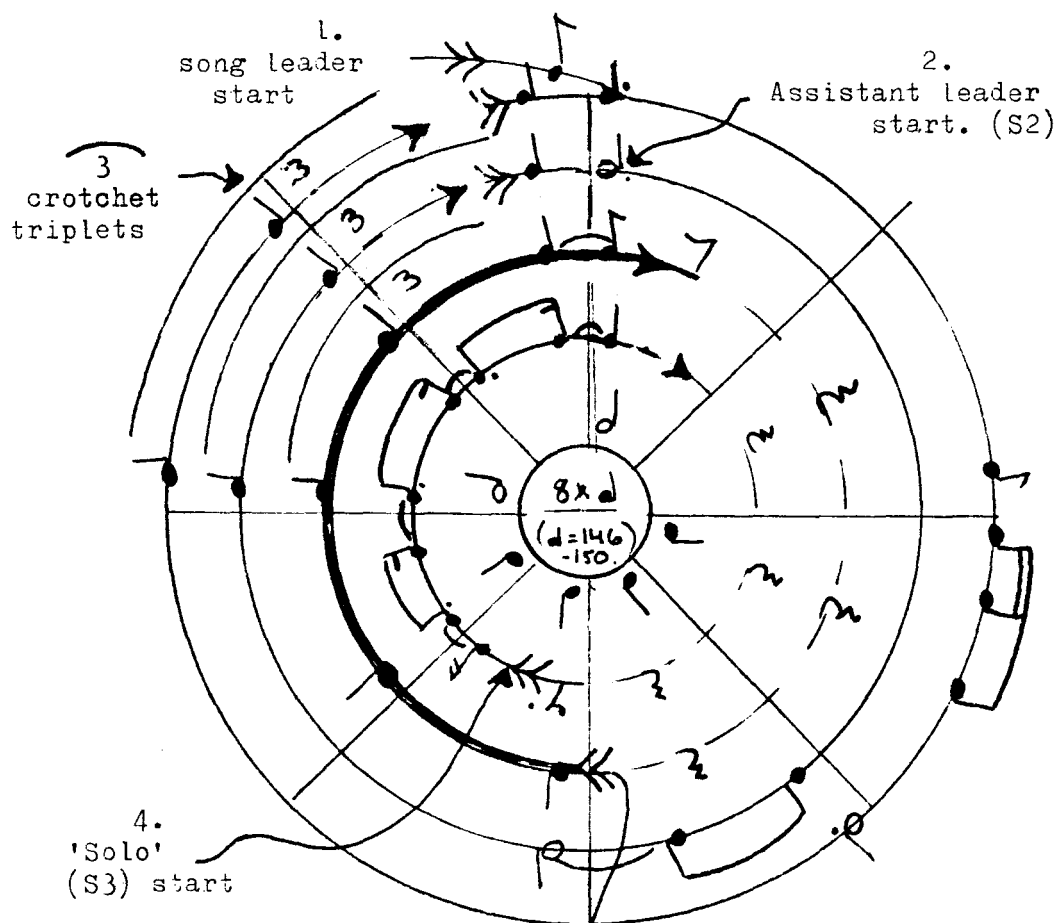
Strophe length: $8 \times \text{d}$

$\text{d} = 146 - 150 \text{ M.M.}$ Ex. No. 29 on Tape 1a.

Main voice parts:



Diagram representing alignment of voice parts (after Rycroft 1967):



Mode: Hexa-based pentatonic (<two major triads based on roots F and G. The tone F occurs rarely, and in an additional voice part (S3). Tonality here strongly suggests G major of Western European music.

Vocal patterns (including variations) in
the umbhayizelo song, uZithulele.

1. *Song leader (varied pattern).*
bu-ya zi-met-za, ha-ma, Kha-

2. *Song leader (varied pattern)*
bu-ya zonda-lu-sa, he-ma, Kha-

3. *Chorus: (varied)*
Chorus: bu-ya zondalutsa;... Ho-ya ho-he-ma-
SL: bu-ya zondalutsa;... Ch: Ho-ya-ya ho-he-ma

52. *Assistant leader (S2)- introduces tone f'*
Ma - he-mo - - o

53. *'Solo' 3 interpolation; S2 (varied).*
ma - hema-ma-ma - ma; who! ya wo-ya

53. *S3 (pattern extends over two executions of strophe)*
who! who! who! who!

1. *1.--Yelps (boy)*
Hh!h! Hh!h! ... etc.

2. *2.-bhayizela (boy)*
Hh!h! Hh!h! ... etc.

3. *3. - bhayizela (")*
Hh!h! Hh!h! ... etc.

52. *Assistant leader*
ye-the-nde-ka, Ye-the-nde-ka

52. *claps.*
Ye-wa-wo-wa, Ye-wa-wo-wo

Root progression
sequence in
strophe:

|| G - F - G - G ||

Extract showing Solo and Chorus parts, and a new pattern introduced by the song leader in the course of the song. (It is a variation of the main melody). The song has no clapped accompaniment.

Basic metre

SL.

Noz'kad' u-yay' thand'un-yan', Noz'kad' u-yay' thand'un-yan';

Ch: (tsa)

Noz'kad' 'thand'un-ya-na, Noz'kad' thand'un-ya-na

1. SL improvises new pattern: →

u-yay' thand'un-yan' (2x)

2.

Ye-ya-thu 'thand'un-ya-na Ye-ya-thu ;

1. & 2:

Patterns of uku-bhayizela produced by boys while dancing:

3 = Whistle pattern (produced by a dancer), emitted as tyhweee! with pursed lips.

4 = Rhythm of song-melody.

Hhuh! Hhuh! Hhuh! Hhuh! Basic metre

1. Basic metre

2. (oo-Hhi! oo-Hhi!)

3. ← tyhwee! = (Whistling).

4. Noz'kad' u-yay' thand'un-yan', Noz'kad'... etc.


Root progression sequence in strophe: C - C - C - D

Figure 51

Extracts from umbhayizelo song entitled Thozana;
(cf. pp. 348ss for a discussion of this song).

Pitch: Present "C" = original B

Mode: Heptatonic (resembling the Western diatonic major scale).

Strophe length: 8 x .

Tempo:  = \pm 80 Ex. No. 30 on Tape 1a.

- (a) Extract showing vocal/melodic patterns and phrases of song leader, assistant leader and Chorus. Both assistant leader(S2) and chorus remain unchanged during several executions of the strophe, while the song leader's pattern undergoes variation. S1 and S2 patterns are ' harmonically equivalent '.

1. 

2. 

Clap pattern in effect:



- (b) Two more variations of the song leader's melodic pattern. Chorus and S2 patterns remain unchanged and all voice parts sing along together.

SL. Wen u-vong u-vong' o man', Wen u-wa-se ha-la-la-;

Ye sti-mel-yi-zangizana, He si-ni-ke-la-xe-lel'wa-ban';

Hm! Hm! Hm! Hm!

(-bhayizela) (x1)

- (c) Chorus divides, and there is a change to double claps; chorus sings a tonal outline of the main melody (cf. p. 349).

Yo-ho-ho ho-ho ho-ho-ho hini ma-ma, o

CLAPS.

S2.

ho-yo-o-ho, he wa wen u-vong, ho-yo-ho-ho, we-na wen u-vong;

Ch.2.

Yo-ho-ho ho-ho-ho — ho-yo-ho hi-ni ma-ma, He

- (d) Another variation introduced by the song leader. Off-eating occurs between the main beats of the pattern in each voice part (cf. p. 350).

SL. Ngu ban'oben gangabu-law, Ngu ban'oben gangabu-law?

S2. He yoyema maye-maye he-ye ma-ma, ngangabu-law?

Chorus.

Yo-ho ho-o-o maye maye- ye-ho-ho-ho he-yo ye-ho

Figure 51 (ctd.)

(e) Final variant pattern introduced by the song leader. Chorus (and S2) combine in singing an ostinato phrase based on vocables: ho-mo ho-mo ho-wo-ha. This provides a harmonic/tonal background to the song leader's melody.

The number of strophe repetitions is not fixed, and varies from one performance to another. In three recordings of this song, by three different companies of singers, the repetitions varied in number. Also, there were some differences in the melodic patterns sung by the song leaders. Of all three performances, this was the most extended, owing largely to the song leader's acknowledged ability to improvise. This song provides good examples of ' harmonically equivalent ' melodies.

SL. Khwela noma Khwela no mam, Ndigo. khwela nomam?, Khwela no-mam?
 claps: Chorus (+S2)
 Ho-mo wa - ho-mo ho-mo hawa - ha, ho-mo ho-mo

SL. CLAPS as above:
 khwela no-ma; Khwela no ma Ndigo. khwela no mam?, ho-wo-ho;
 Chorus:
 ho-wo - ha, homo. ho-mo ho-wo - ha, ho-mo homo

SL.
 Ye-ye ho-wo-ho Claps as above. Khwela no mama ho-wo-ho;
 Ch.
 ho-wo - ho (as before)

Ye 'kheth' uyaliwa,
 mtaka mama,
 Wen' urong, urong
 o mam',
 Ye stimel' yizan',
 yiza na,
 He sinikela xelet'
 waban'?
 Nguban' obenganga-
 bulawa?
 Ndizokhwela nomam'.

You are chosen and you are rejected,
 Child of my mother,
 You are wrong, wrong,
 oh mother,
 Hey, train, come,
 come here,
 Who did we leave off talking to,
 (beseeching)?
 Who is it who has courage to be killed?
 I shall entrain with mother.