

THE MUSIC OF THE XHOSA - SPEAKING PEOPLE

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8. Iingoma zentlombe/ iingoma zentlombeni yabafana
namantombazana (' intlombe dance songs ' or ' music
of the dance party of initiated young men and girls ').

Umfana pl. abafana is the Xhosa name for young men who have undergone initiation, consequently this music is performed by young adults of those chiefdom clusters who practice circumcision on a tribal scale, namely, all Cape Nguni except the Bhaca, Mpondo, Xesibe and Ntlangwini. Apart from the Ntlangwini (among whom I was unable to carry out comprehensive fieldwork, and so cannot come to any definite conclusions about their music), the Bhaca, Mpondo and Xesibe have similar parties which they call intlombe (Mpondo = iguburha, though they also use the term intlombe), the music of which is similar in its overall structure and style, although not in its sound, which is ' coloured ' owing to the peculiar vocal style (uku - gwaba) these people employ when singing.

Intlombe music is essentially traditional, in contrast to the music of the ' dressed ' social equivalents of abafana, i.e. iindlavini, whose music includes styles of modern Xhosa music. Like most social musical events which take place on a large scale, the intlombe dances (generally referred to in the locative, entlombeni pl. ezintlombeni), are normally held every fortnight during the winter months of leisure. Permission from the headman is merely a formality, and is refused only in very serious circumstances. During fieldwork, these parties were discouraged in Western Pondoland and Bomvanaland (Khorha district), owing to the restlessness of

the young men, and the serious faction fighting that was all too frequent. Beer is served only at formal intlombe dances, which take place once a month on a Saturday night and end on Monday at midday. Informal parties are normally held every fortnight, lasting until Sunday midday, and no beer is served. Because the dances were held irregularly during my fieldwork, most of them were formal affairs at which beer was served and full bead dress was prescriptive.

Intlombe music is also performed in the seclusion hut of girl initiates, especially on the night preceding their seclusion, and the night following their 'coming out' ceremony. The latter are screened off from the dancers by a hanging reed mat or blanket. I spent a short while behind such a screen with two initiates, and was able to hear and record the music, and observe the performers. Unfortunately I was unable to elicit any replies to my questions from the two girls who, as I later found out, had to remain silent.

Musical roles are identical to those assumed in the performances of umtshotsho music. Each intlombe group has a song manager who may or may not lead performances of the music. Dancing competitions between rival groups are held fairly regularly, and at these events the audience is the adjudicator, with one or two previously appointed persons as their mouthpiece. Compared with the dance movements executed by teenagers at their umtshotsho parties, the dancing of abafana is much more dignified and disciplined. Muscle - rippling, which is part of the - tyityimba movement, is developed to a greater extent. The dance

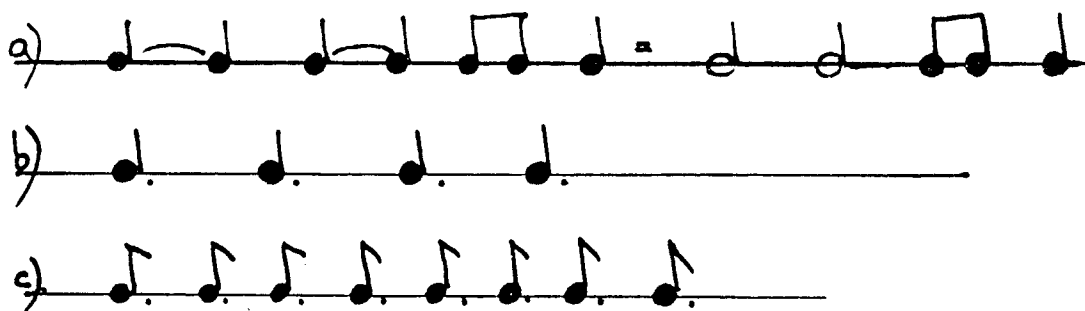
always begins quietly with a slow tempo dance; the men dance in an inner circle, while the girls sing, clap and occasionally dance around them. From time to time they perform ' solo ' dances among the men. When the event is over, the members leave quietly in pairs, and there is none of the rowdiness and noise which is characteristic of umtshotsho dances.

The music

Intlombe songs are virtually ' textless ' and any meaningful words which may occur during performances are largely incidental, and the improvisations of singers who draw on a stock of common phrases. A common phrase, and one which recurs constantly in other Xhosa songs, is mtaka mama (' child of my mother ') which, although not meaningful in the referential sense, is ' there in a song mainly to keep up the rhythm and the music ' (Mthamo), and thus it does have musical meaning. Technical features which are present in the music already discussed are also present in intlombe music, which is always accompanied by handclapping. The metrical patterns are predominantly divisive and based on crotchet beats. I have no evidence of intlombe songs with additive metres, which are a feature of some children's songs and umtshotsho music. The individual songs have basic metrical patterns of (i) 4 + 4 (most common) and (ii) 6 + 6 crotchet beats, each of which may form the overall structure (strophe) of the song. Most of the songs with a basic grouping of 4 + 4 crotchets, and which I recorded, have

The basic metrical patterns are always clapped as a succession of equal beats and never in two contrasting sections (with subdivided beats) as is the case in umtshotsho music. In the course of a performance, (which is frequently very extended), the basic metrical pattern of the song may be varied from time to time. In the song Ho lilongo (Figure 55 ; Ex. No. 31 on Tape 1a), the basic metre is varied as follows:

Figure 53 :



The tempo of the individual songs varies from 88. M.M. to 126 M.M. Mfengu intlombe songs generally have a much faster tempo (approximately 184 M.M.) and the basic metres of 4 + 4 crotchets are invariably clapped as 8 + 8 quavers. There is also much more off - beating between the melodic voice parts and clap patterns. In the period 1969 - 1972, the Mfengu style was very popular among young adults of neighbouring clusters, e.g. the Thembu and Mpondomise, who always included it in their repertoires of intlombe music.

Long before I witnessed and recorded performances of intlombe music, I was constantly being told by my guides and other informants that a treat was in store for me, and that

' those choruses of abafana are quite extraordinary, and unlike any music that children, and even other adults sing '. The reason why these songs were described as choruses (i-khorus) by the people themselves became apparent when I heard them sung for the first time. They have few, if any, words or phrases, and are sung mainly to vocables, although vocal interpolations may sometimes carry a few meaningful words. Although song leader and chorus parts are clearly perceptible at the beginning of the songs (the song leader being singled out by clear - cut, successive and regular alternations with the chorus), the rhythmic interplay of voice parts, which often commences rather suddenly (cf. Figures 54/57: 370/382; 58(d) : 385ss). produces so diffuse an effect that the two basic divisions are no longer perceptible. A young Thembu girl, Francesca Mgudlwa, described the music as ' going to pieces ' at this point. I think this is an appropriate description of the total effect of the music; it becomes so complex due to a continual piling up or accumulation of vocal - rhythmic figures, that one is hardly aware of, or is even able to estimate, the co - ordination of the singers.

Most of the basic melodic patterns are formed by the application of the melodic process already referred to in the styles of music previously discussed - the repetition of a melodic phrase on different degrees of a hexatonic mode. In view of this, it is not surprising that the basic melodic patterns of intlombe songs are very similar to those of many children's songs, as they are to the melodic patterns

of other styles of Xhosa music. They are shaped from the same melodic process, and when the same mode is used, the similarity is even more apparent. One could regard these melodic patterns as transformations of a basic melodic pattern, in that they are ' contrasting on the surface, but identical in substance ' i.e. ' in their last analysis, they are variations of one identical thought ' (Reti : 1961: 5).

The basic melodic patterns of many intlombe songs are characterized by a limited range of tones - usually three or four - and in this they lack the breadth and contour which Xhosa melodies generally have. For this reason, they are best described as melodic patterns or figures, rather than ' main melodies ', as I have described the melodies of the children's songs, and umtshotsho music. As was observed in these songs, the main melody has the character of a theme, - a continuous melodic line with a fixed rhythmic contour. The total structures of the songs - their themes and basic metrical patterns, are treated responsorially by the main voice parts - solo and chorus (the latter becomes extended in umtshotsho music) whose vocal phrases may interlock sequentially. When singers introduce varied statements of the main melody, it is always easily identifiable, and retains its shape as a whole. A different treatment of the basic melodic pattern is to be observed in intlombe music:

(i) it is always distributed between song leader and chorus at the beginning of the song, who sing it in responsorial style. Both voices have a share in presenting the melodic

material; (ii) after several successive repetitions by these voices, the melodic pattern is then segmented, i.e. it is divided into rhythmic motifs and sung by the different voice parts as rhythmic ostinati. This subdivision allows for freer motivic treatment, and makes the usual devices employed by Cape Nguni singers - repetition, variation and canonic imitation - not only more feasible but capable of extreme exploitation. These devices or techniques are more easily applied to segments of a pattern, than to the pattern as a whole. It is this technique which makes intlombe music so different in structure and in sound from the other styles of Xhosa music. The modes on which the melodies are based are also unique and this, together with the combinations of superimposed voices who reiterate rhythmic - motivic figures in ostinato style, results in a massive build - up of chordal patterns, the extent of which is possibly paralleled only by the polyrhythmic and polyphonic structure of some Beer songs and ritual initiation music of the C.T.P. Bhaca indlamu also reveals the creation of chordal structures by means of ostinato technique, although there is no polyrhythmic interplay of voices in this music.

The extent to which these techniques are employed varies from one song to another. Figure 52 is a transcription (excerpt only) of an intlombe song which was sung by a young intlombe group - average age 17 - 18 years. Ostinato technique was not employed in this performance. The polyphony is of a more contrapuntal nature, with each voice starting at

When selecting tones for harmonizing a melodic pattern, it seems that the singer's choice is also regulated by the position of the tones ' on top ' which must be harmonized. For example, if c' is on top, as it is at the beginning of the above Figure 54 (b), then g is a first choice as a companion tone, while e below it is a second choice. A song leader told me that ' all the voices must go down - ward like the song leader's part ', consequently singers will select tones whose sequences reflect to some extent the song leader's descending pattern. The melody - motifs include (i) a condensed version of the melody, in which the intervallic progression is partially retained, (Alto 1 in score, which sings the lower tones of the melody. e -d -c -a), and (ii), using three of the four lower tones of the mode, sung to the vocables he ma - ma. In each case, the voice parts combine and sing harmonically equivalent tones which I have given in Figure 54 (b).

Figure 57 : 381 is an extract from another intlombe song (C. No. 14), entitled Ho mo lengo - ho, the ' theme' of which is more constricted and appears as a simple melodic pattern rather than a true melody. It is also treated responsorially by song leader and chorus, who extend it when doing so. The total structure (strophe) of the song is repeated seven times in steady Call and Response style, after which, quite suddenly, the song leader begins an ostinato rhythmic motif of a descending Augmented 4th interval (Cf. Figure 54 (c): 370, for transcription illustrating this procedure).

The augmented interval is denoted by (a/+); Chorus 1 and 2, the assistant leader and individual singers (S2 and A1 in the extract) immediately take up the pattern, and sing ostinato motifs (which are ' filled out ' variants of the song leader's motif) in support of her melody - motif. The song leader thereafter improvises variations of the melody - motif in which the augmented interval becomes (b) a descending minor 3rd, (c) an ascending minor 6th, and (d) again a descending minor 3rd, all sung to vocables hm - m (the hm is accentuated). Figure 54 on the following page shows the different but nevertheless related ostinati sung by the different voice parts. (Ex. No. 33 on Tape la).

The same ostinato technique is to be observed in Song D (No. 15) which exhibits an even more complicated rhythmic - motivic interplay of voices (cf. pp. 383-88). Not only are they combined vertically, they are also combined polyrhythmically and polyphonically to produce a total pattern of sound formed from ' strands ' or phrases of melody which, though rhythmically distinct (the different pitches make them even more clearly perceptible), run parallel to one another. The different ' strands ' are thus independent yet related, not only rhythmically (they are controlled by the pattern of the handclaps), but also harmonically by harmonic principles which regulate the selection of tones that occur in the different ' strands '. Harmonic considerations also regulate the progression of these melodic phrases; superimposed as they are in layers, they together yield patterns or ' strands ' of chords. The

Figure 54: (c)

Ostinati sung by the different voice parts
in the intlombe song, Ho - mo - lengo - ho .

(Ex. No. 33 on Tape la).

(a)

Pitch: Present "C" = original E^b

cuaps.

S2 (a/t)

hi-zo-lo, hi-zo-lo, hi-zot, hi-zo-lo hi-

Chorus

ho, hewyo-ho, hewyo ho hewyo ho

S2

Ho-o-howyo-ho, O ho-o-howyo-ho, O

AI

hi-zo - ho hi-zo-ye -o-q-ho;

Song leader

Chorus

Assist. leader

Group of singers apart from Chor.

(b) Song leader's variations of the melody - motif (a/+)..

(a)

hi-zo-lo

(b) hm-m-hm - hm - hm-m

(c) hm hm-m, m-hm - m-hm m-

(d) hm, Hm-m hm - hm Hm-m-hm -

(a)

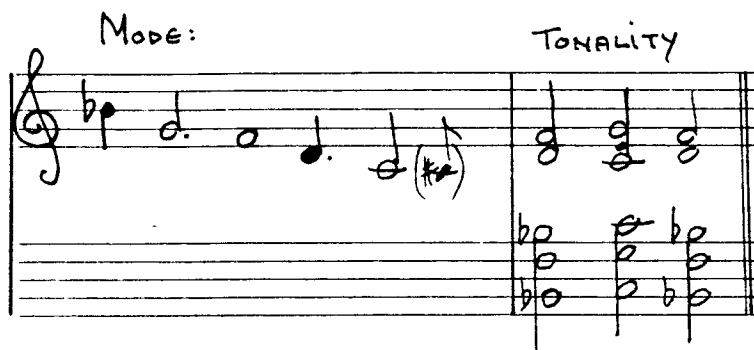
(b)

(c)

(d)

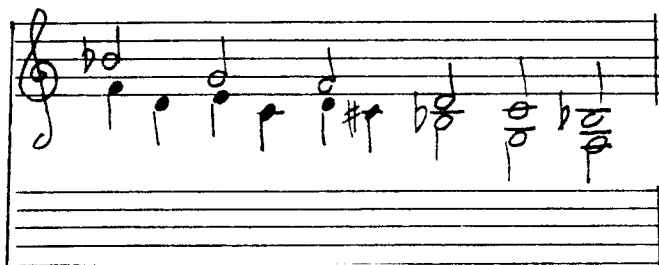
mode of the melody is:

Figure 58 (a) (Cf. Figure 58(d) : 383ss(transcription =extracts)



and the following Figure 58 (b) shows a number of acceptable combinations (i.e. chords) of izihlobo tones:

Figure 58 (b)



This important process of harmonic equivalence was first noted by Blacking in his analysis of tonal organization in Venda music (1970:(MS). The fact that the same process is also active in Xhosa music, suggests that it may well be a fundamental process in the music of other African peoples. In summarizing some of the principles of Venda harmony and tonality, Blacking states:

- 4. 4. 0. ' Every tone may be conceptualized as having a companion tone in harmony with it.
- 4. 4. 1. Any melodic line may consequently be conceptualized as a stream of chords.

4. 4. 2. Melodies may therefore be as much selections of tones from ' hidden ' patterns of chords, as the generators of chords '(Blacking 1970 (MS): 32 - 33).

These ' rules ' are equally valid for Xhosa music. When Cape Nguni singers sing together, and harmonize a basic melodic pattern, the tones they select are always systematically chosen from the tones which occur in the chords that implicitly accompany each shift of tone in the basic melody. In addition, the tones must belong to the mode on which the melody is based. The Xhosa musical tradition is essentially a hexatonic tradition, and, as I have shown in chapter 8, many melodies are based on hexa - or hexa - based modes.

Other principles governing Xhosa music are adhered to , e.g. the principle of polyrhythm (and polyphony), and the technique of ostinati and off - beating, all of which give Xhosa music a unique sound, which is quite different to that of Venda music, even though both traditions follow similar principles of harmony and tonality. In the music of these two African peoples, the horizontal (melodic) and vertical (harmonic) aspects may be viewed as a unified field; the music derives from a conceptual framework of chords, which are implicit (' hidden ') in the tones of the melodies.

The principle of shifting tonality is also observed in intlombe music and is achieved in two ways: (i) by melodic movement, and (ii) by varying the harmonically equivalent tones. The melody moves continually between two points or tonalities, that is, from one tonal centre to

another. The most common procedure is for the melody, as given out by the song leader, to shift from a ' tonic ' tonality to a ' counter-tonic ' tonality, situated a whole tone above or below the tonic 'root '. The chorus part always establishes and reaffirms the tonality of the music. Figure 52 (p. 362) corroborates this point. Actual shifting occurs at the end of the first half of the strophe (A) and tonality is re - established in the second half (B). In this particular song the tonality has shifted a whole tone downward (from D to C), but, as in other songs, it may also shift a whole tone upwards (C to D). In this song, the ' melody ' shifts from the tonality of one chord (D and its companion tones A, a fifth above and a fourth below it), to another chord generated from the tone C (and its companion tones G above and below it). One could regard these shifting harmonies as harmonic ' pillars ' or ' blocks ' on which the music rests. They are indeed harmonic goals which provide continuity and destination to the music.

The repetition, variation and ' development ' of a simple melodic pattern within a polyrhythmic framework results in a veritable ' web ' of music which, transcribed on paper, is both complex and awe - inspiring. In listening to this music, as manifested in intlombe songs, one is not immediately aware of its extremely contrapuntal texture. One experiences rather, a harmonic build - up which results in the creation of tonal massess. The Thembu girl's remark quoted earlier on, was a result of her having actually

performed this type of music. I, as a stranger to it, was totally unaware of the extreme individuation underlying its production, and which the girl appositely described as ' going to pieces '.

A non - musical friend who sometimes accompanied me on my daily trips, heard this music for the first time and made the following comment: ' It is as if the sound has stood still '. This seems to be a contradictory remark. - for sound cannot stand still - yet I knew what he meant. One is simply not aware of all the complex vocal organization which constitutes the music; rather, one is aware of a seemingly unchanging and therefore ' fixed ' i.e. static pattern of sound. The opening of the St. John Passion by Bach has a similar effect.

During performances of intlombe music, the men produce patterns of vocal sounds and also sing varied versions of the melodic patterns, employing - ngqokola vocal technique. Perhaps the most noticeable feature of the music is a rhythmic motif which occurs only in this particular style of Xhosa music, and which I have called the ' hoot ' motif. Its sound, produced by singing and prolonging a tone with closed lips, is reminiscent of the ' hooting ' sound made by tug - boats. It occurs in my transcriptions of songs 14 and 15 where it accompanies the vocables hm -m, m -hm (aspirated = No. 14), and m -m -mmm (unaspirated = No. 15). In the latter it has a definite pitch, the singer gliding up to it when producing it. The sound of this motif, particularly when heard from afar, immediately identifies the music as being

intlombe music; it is not produced in any other style of Xhosa music. I asked informants whether there was any special reason for this, and was told ' No, but it goes with intlombe music '. Thus it is a stylistic feature of this music. The motif has a definite function in that its tones reaffirm the tonality of the music. It may be sung by the song leader or second leader (assistant), and it may involve two tones (rarely a third, though I have examples of this). The motif is in fact a manifestation of the melody in its most attenuated form. As I shall show in the discussion of patterns of melody, all Xhosa melodies have reduced versions or appearances, which may consist of only two or three tones; they are usually sung in the context of ' filled out ' versions of the same melody.

Mpondo intlombe music, also called iguburha music, shows similar stylistic features. although the vocal organization is less complex than that of the Xhosa, Thembu and Bomvana intlombe songs. A salient feature of the music is the simultaneous sounding of ' major ' and ' minor ' third intervals. This is also evident in a few umtshotsho songs (cf. Figure 43 : 338 where it occurs successively). There is nothing extraordinary about this, since the Cape Nguni hear both intervals as being more or less similar - two manifestations of the same sound. I asked many singers whether they heard these two intervals as different intervals or as the same interval, and all of them said that the two were ' the same '. Major - minor clashes (to Western ears)

are to be found in many styles of Xhosa music, but they occur constantly in - guburha music. Xesibe intlombe music is very similar to the Mpondo style, not only in structure but also in sound; whenever men introduce vocal improvisations, they employ the - gwaba vocal style. The 'hoot motif' is not employed in the music of these three chiefdom clusters; its use is confined to the intlombe dance songs of the C.T.P. and the Mfengu, and I have heard it only in these contexts.

Figure 55 (a)

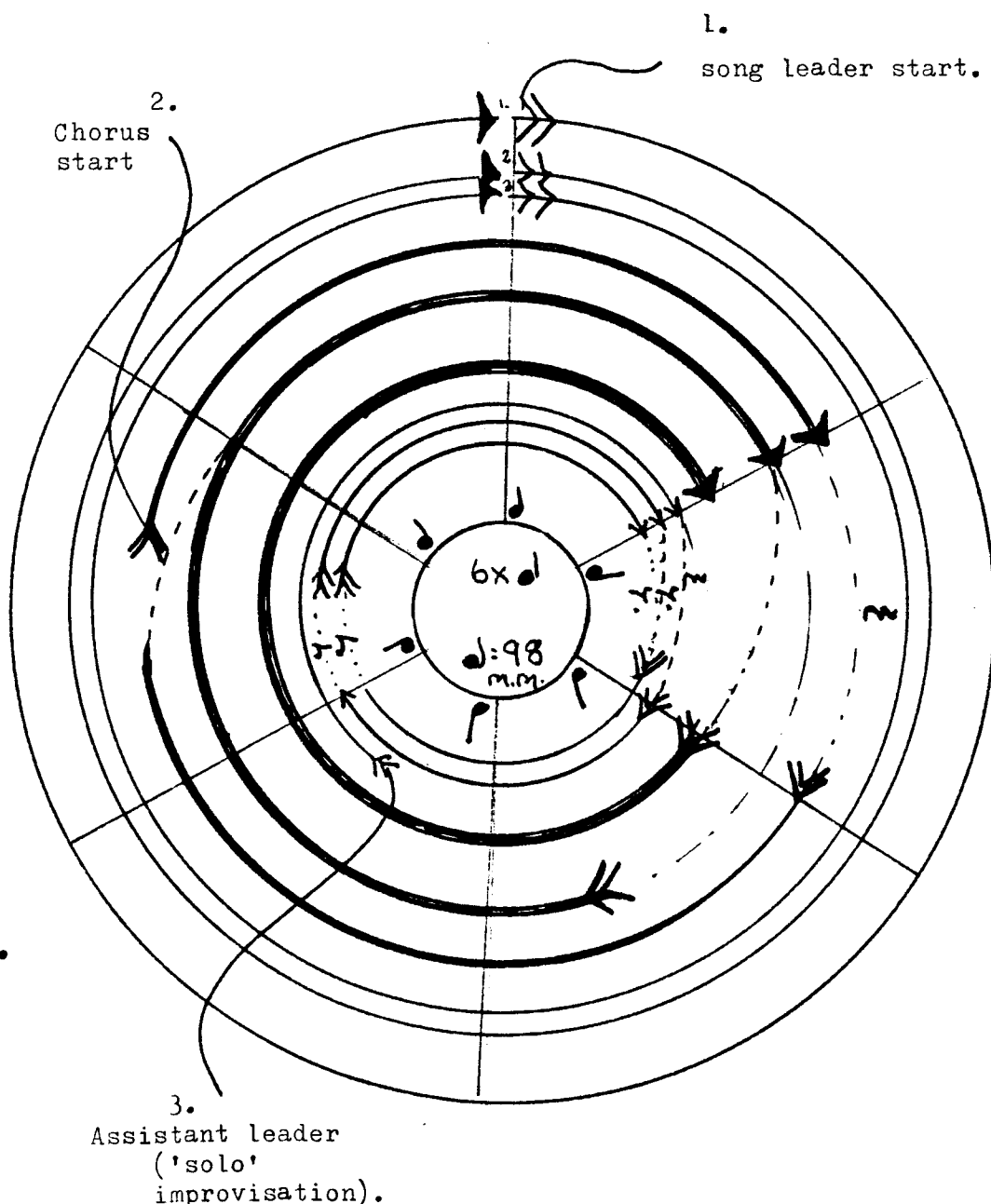
Diagram representing temporal relationship of
Solo, Chorus and Assistant leader's voice parts
in the intlombe song, Ho lilongo.

Ex. No. 31 on Tape 1a.

The song leader's entry is preceded by a simulated
clap on the 6th beat of the strophe, by the assistant
leader.

The assistant leader 'leads' the Chorus until, in
the eleventh execution of the strophe, she proceeds to
sing 'solo', commencing her vocal pattern between the
4th and 5th claps of the basic metrical pattern.

A



Extract showing the vocal phrases of song leader, chorus and Assistant leader in the intombe song Ho lilongo, Part 1.

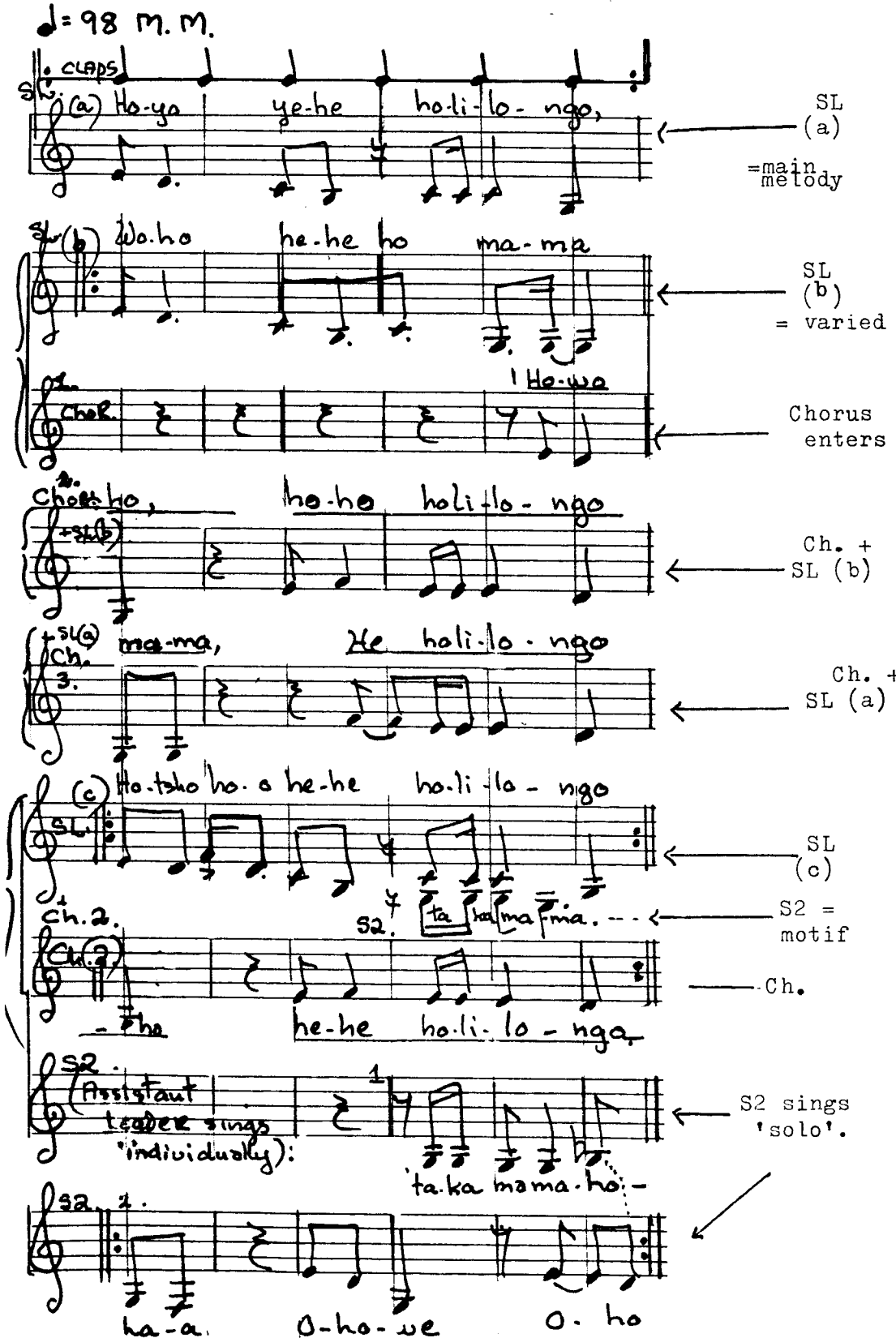
Pitch: Present "C" = original D; Strophe length: 6 x 

Mode: hexa-based pentatonic

All the voice parts sing along together. Song leader's variations are (b), (c); (a) denotes the main melody which is subjected to variation.

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

 = 98 M. M.



SL (a) = main melody

SL (b) = varied

Chorus enters

Ch. + SL (b)

Ch. + SL (a)

SL (c)

Ch. + SL (c)

S2 = motif

Ch.

S2 sings 'solo'.

Assistant leader sings individually:

ta-ka mama-ho

ha-a O-ho-we O-ho

Part 11 of the intlombe song Ho lilongo. There is no break between Part 1 and Part 11; the song leader 'links' the two sections by clapping , and singing a phrase with similar rhythm: This is followed by a single clap, and thereafter the song leader commences the strophe of this second section/part of the song. The tempo is metronomically slower, being $\text{♩} = 69$, but in effect is faster because of the use of a semiquaver pulse unit.



The musical score consists of three staves. The top staff is for the Song leader, starting with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. It contains the lyrics: "Ndi-li-za luphel'mnta-nam, Ho li-bet-shel' in-ko-mo, ho,". The middle staff is for the Chorus, starting with a bass clef and a key signature of one flat. It contains the lyrics: "start: Ho-ya-ho-ho-o-o, ho-ho-ya-ho Ho-ya-ho". The bottom staff is for S2, starting with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. It contains the lyrics: "Wo-za namnta-nam, Ho li-bet-shel' in-ko-mo-ho;".

Song leader

Chorus (1 & 2)

S2 (this phrase is varied in subsequent strophe executions)

(d) Diagram representing temporal relationship of Solo, Chorus and S2 phrases

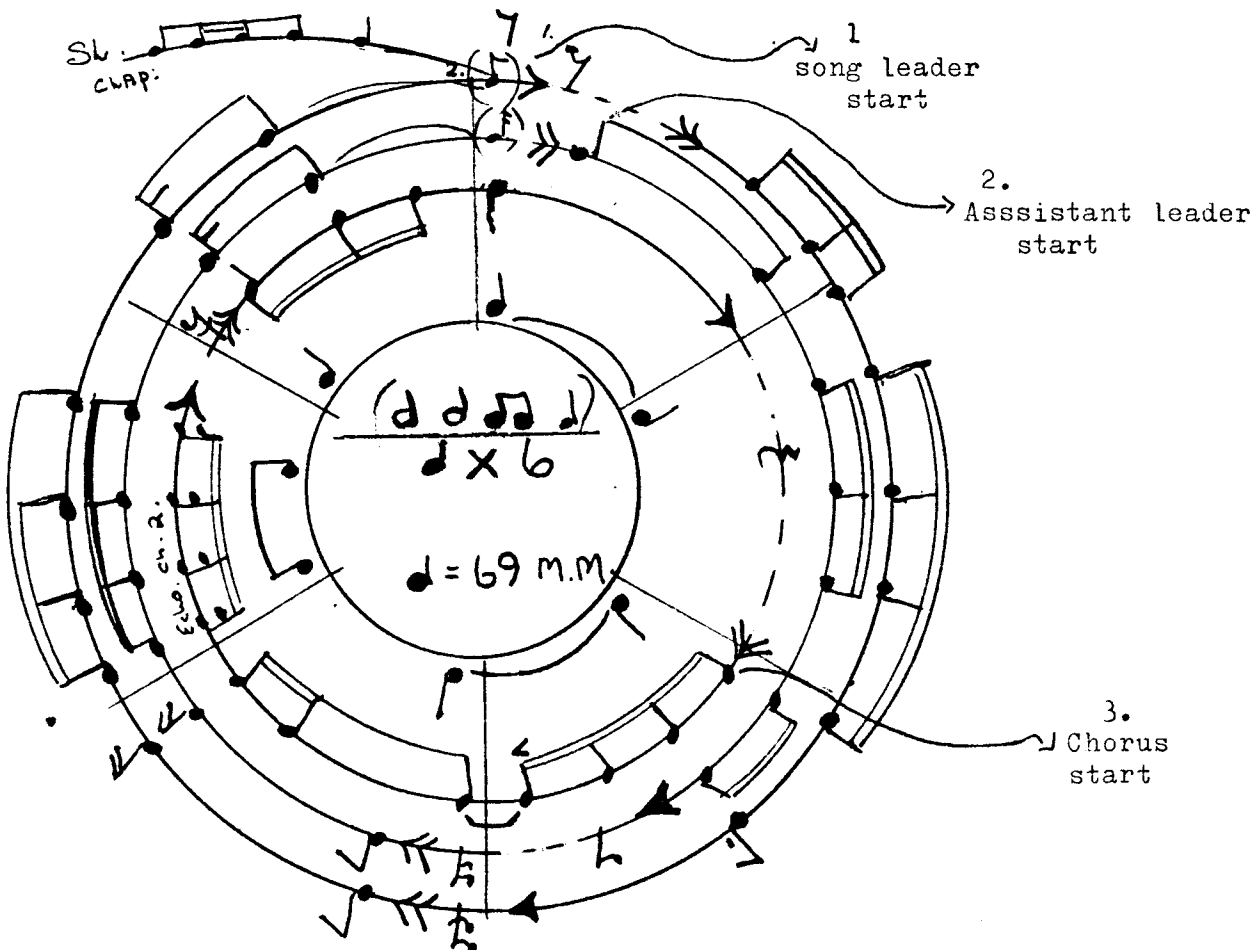


Diagram demonstrating alignment of voices in the intlombe song, Ho Hayi yo-ho.

(Cf. also pp. 362; 367-8; and Figure 52: 362).

B

The diagram shows vocal alignment in the first three renderings of the strophe. Thereafter the SL 's vocal pattern undergoes slight variations (mainly in the rhythm), while the Chorus part remains fixed, except for slight rhythmic variations on the 8th and 16th beats of the strophe. The assistant leader (S2) and additional voices (A1 & A2) continually introduce short varied phrases deriving from the main melody ' held' by the SL. The Chorus occasionally subdivides and sings along with S2, or with A1, or in echo effect to Chorus 1 (divided chorus).

Strophe length: $16 \times \text{♩} = (8+8) \text{♩}$'s.

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

Pitch: present "C" = original C

♩ = 126 M.M.

Ex. No. 32 on Tape 1a.

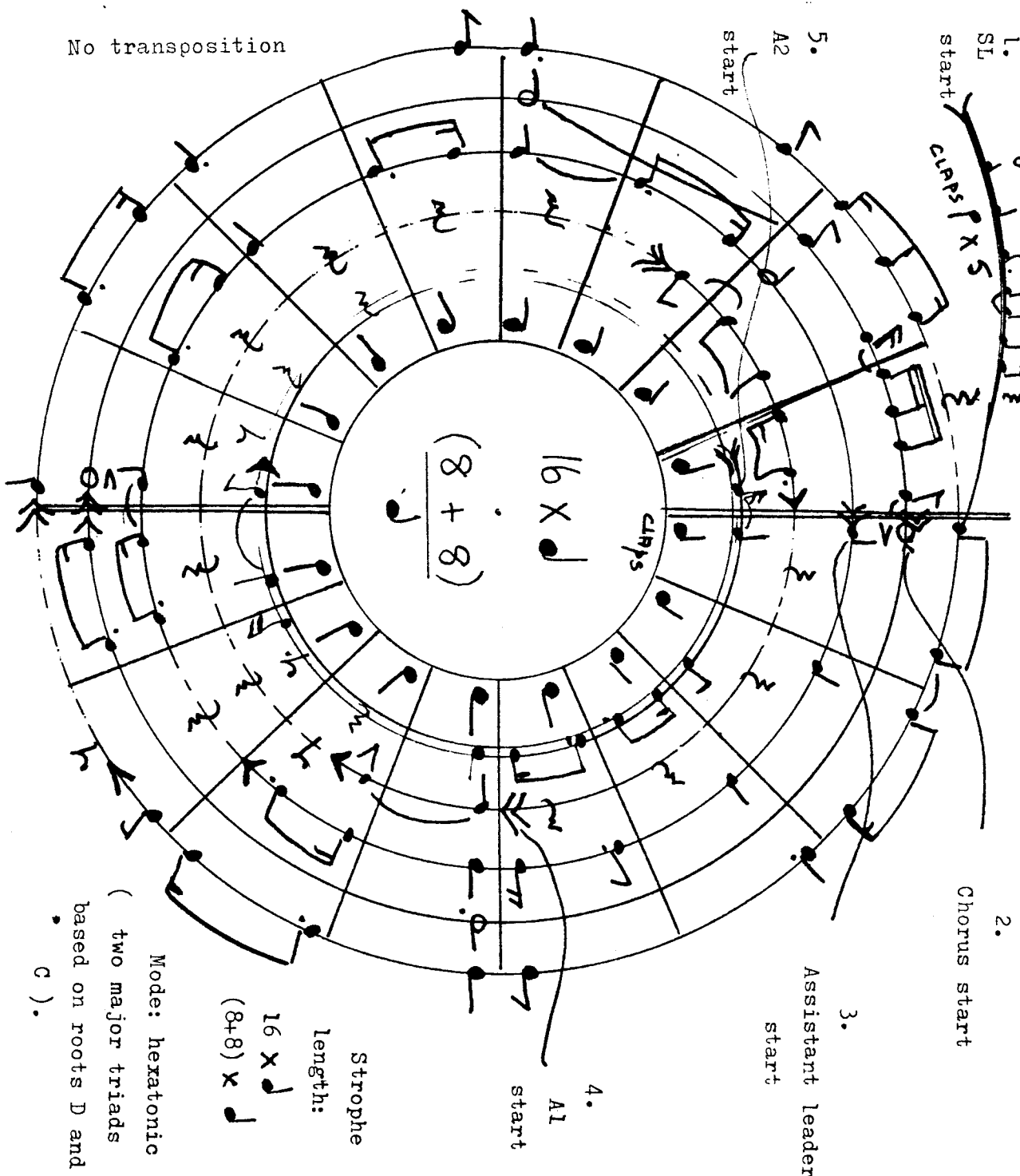


Figure 57 :

Transcription of part 1 of the intlombe song

Ho mo lengo-ho (cf. also pp. 368 - 369, and Figure 54 on p. 370). Ex. No. 33 on Tape 1a.

Pitch: Present "C" = original Eflat

Mode: hexatonic ($\Leftarrow$ two major triads based on two roots
D and C).

Part 1 comprises responsorial singing between the song leader and divided chorus. The tonality is strongly pentatonic, the 3rd above D root (F#) being absent in this part of the song.

The 'text' consists mainly of vocables; meaningful words refer to a festive event (umsitho), and to the village of Tsolo, which is located in Transkei, and in Mpondomise territory. This song is in fact a Mpondomise intlombe song, performed in this recording by an intlombe group of a Thembu area (Cacadu). The singers told me that they had ' borrowed ' the song from their neighbours the Mpondomise.

$d = 88 \text{ M.M.}$

claps

1. Ho mo len go ho Ho - lo - o

ch. 1. a. ho yo. yo. ho - o. Ye

ch. 2. Ho - lo - lo, ngo ho - o.

2. SL. ho we. dume -

ch. 1. Ho - lo - o Ho. lo ngo. ho - o - o;

ch. 2. Ho - lo - o. ho - ho,

P.T.O.

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

Figure 57 (ctd.):

Part 1 (ctd.):-

3. *2a - ne kungehehe;*

1. *Hi - na tso -*
2. *He - ya - wu*

lo - ne

Hi - na tso - lo ne kungehe - he,
3. *- gu - hu - hu*

Chorus undivided

4. *ho um - oitho*

Ho - wa - a

Ho ya wu ho w umsi - to ngo - oho!

He - yu - du - du

ch. as above ...
Ho - wa - a he yu du - du ngo oho!

Sl. *si (a/+)*

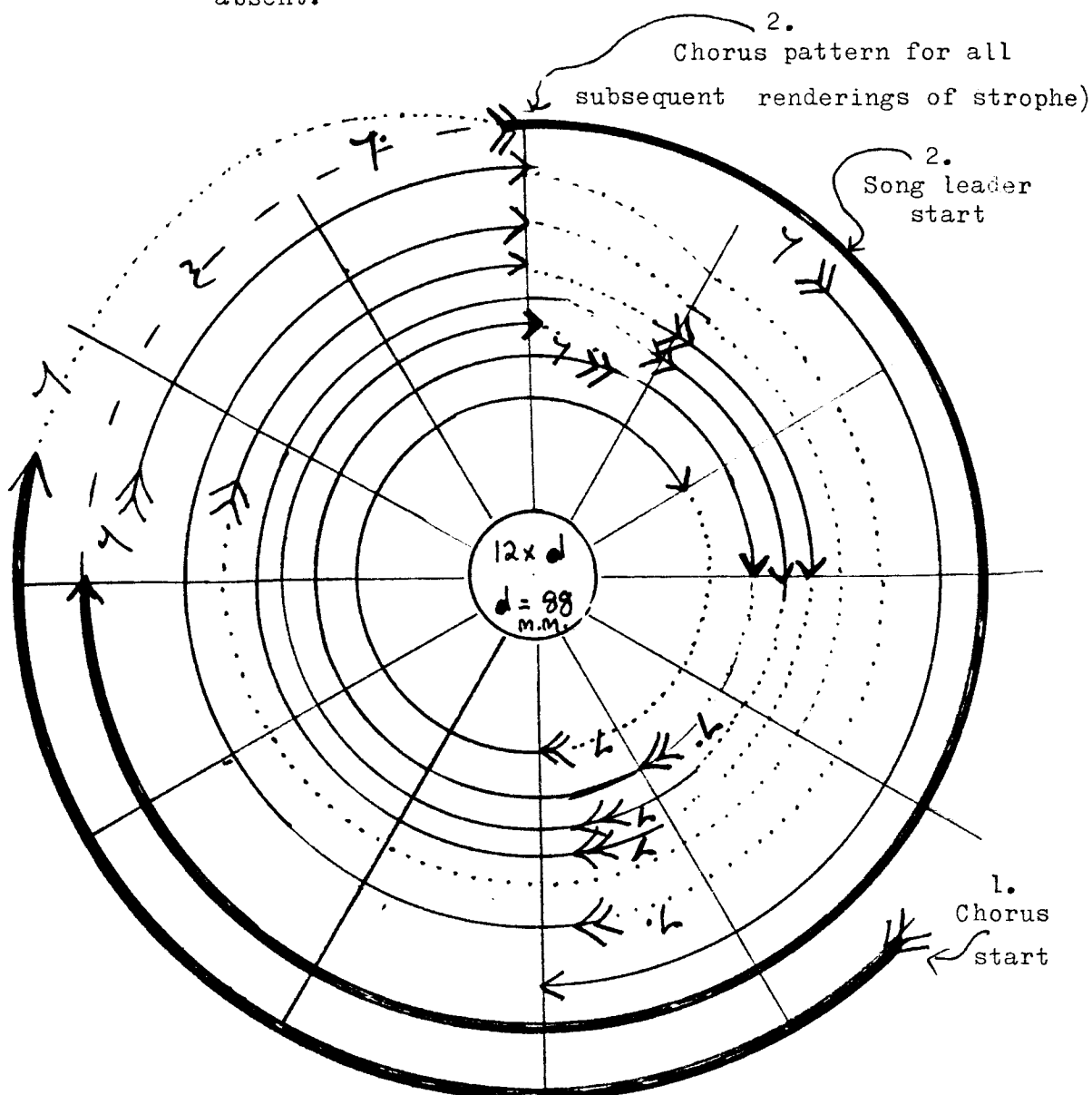
Commencing with the song leader at (a/+), at the end of strophe pattern No. 4, all the different voice parts (song leader, S2 (assistant leader), Chorus and group of individual singers (apart from the Chorus) sing ostinato motifs (or short phrases) which are ' filled out ' variants of the song leader's motif (cf. pp. 368 - 369 for discussion, and Figure 54: 370 for transcription of ostinati performance by the different voice parts.

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

Diagram representing form of the intlombe song entitled Hotshi Nkolonga ('Ho there, Nkolonga' = name of an area in Cacadu district).

Pitch: present "C" = original C (no transposition) D

Mode: hexa-based pentatonic (< two major triads based on roots C and B^b); the 3rd above C root (E) is absent.



(Cf. pp. 369 and 371; also Figure 58(a) and (b) on p. 371).

The Chorus pattern remains virtually unchanged, melodically; slight rhythmic variations occur, coinciding with changes in the syllables and vocables of the song's 'text'.

The song leader's pattern varies with each execution of the strophe. This diagram represents the first part of the song. Part II consists of a complicated rhythmic-motivic interplay of the individual voice parts.

Root progression sequence in strophe:

$\left(\begin{smallmatrix} 4 \\ 4 \end{smallmatrix} \right) \parallel \underline{B^b - - -} \mid C - B^b - \mid - B^b - B^b \parallel$

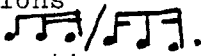
Extracts from the intlombe song entitled Hotshi Nkolonga .

The following ' Notes ' correspond with the Extracts, and are numbered accordingly.

1.

The song leader starts the song; her entry is preceded by two clapped beats, given by the assistant leader (S2).

2.

Principal strophe. This is rendered eight times, with slight variations in the Chorus part. These variations are mainly rhythmic, e.g. triplets are rendered as . The song leader's vocal pattern varies with each execution of the strophe. These variations (rhythmic and melodic) coincide with changes in the 'text' of the song, which is largely improvisatory. The main melody's basic shape is retained in the variations.

3.

The two main voice parts commence with 'Part 11' of the song, which consist of the rhythmic-motivic interplay of voices. S2, who has been leading the Chorus, enters on the last beat of the strophe's basic metre with a new vocal pattern (cf. Extract 3).

4, 5 & 6.

The interplay of voices continues. During the following five executions of the strophe, the voice parts sing the vocal patterns represented in Extracts 4 and 5. Slight variations coinciding with changes in syllables and vocables occur in all voice parts.

In Extract 6, a new vocal pattern commences with part of the Chorus, which now divides into two sections. At this point in the performance, the song leader proceeds to dance 'solo'. Her vocal phrases are brief, consisting of vocal tones which stress the tonality shift in the music. These tones (C and B^b), also occur at the end of the ostinato phrase sung by the Chorus (1). The other Chorus section continues with patterns given in Nos. 4 and 5. All voice parts sing along together.

7.

Vocal patterns interpolated by two male dancers who now 'sing solo'.

8.

The Chorus unites as one group, and, led by S2, sings a pattern of phrases whose vocal notes reaffirm the tonality of the music. This is sung in a higher pitch register than the song leader's vocal pattern, and for this reason has been placed above that pattern in the Extract. The song leader

commences a new vocal pattern based on an ostinato motif (characterized by a semitone interval), which occurred at the beginning of the song in the Chorus part. (Cf. Extract 1 : syllables hm - é and yhem - é). This motif ultimately becomes the 'hoot motif' (cf. Extract 10).

9.

Harmonic rhythmic patterns sung by the Chorus (each is repeated several times. These accompany the song leader's two-tone phrase-pattern.

10.

The 'hoot motif' sung by the song leader. This continues for several executions of the strophe (six in all), and is accompanied by the Chorus singing BOTH patterns given in Extract 9. The Chorus again divides in order to render both patterns.

1 ♩ = 88

Handwritten musical score for Extract 10. The score is written on three systems of staves. The first system is for the Song Leader (SL) and the Chorus (Chor.). The second system is for the Song Leader (SL) and the Chorus (Chor.). The third system is for the Chorus (Chor.).

System 1:

- SL:** Ho - heyo Nkolongo ho - li Nkolongo
- Chor.:** Ho ya - nko - o ya - ho hm - é Ho

System 2:

- SL:** Yo - ho ho mo - yo hotsiri Nkolongo ho.
- Chor.:** Wo . hoyo - hoyo Nkolongo yehé . yhem - é ;

System 3:

- Chor.:** (x10)

(♯) = When vocal tone c' is approached by d', the c' is slightly sharper than equal-tempered c'.

• (♯) = When vocal tone d' is preceded by c'♯, the tone c'♯ corresponds with equal-tempered c.

3. *Sl.* Ho-ya ho-ya ho hm-nē wo-ya-ya ho-o ho hm-nē

Ch. ho-o ho-ye ho wo-ye — ho, ho-ye ho-o ho Ho-ye

S2 sings along with *Ch.* *S2* Hewye start: *(solo)*:

4. *S2* Hewye ho-o Hewye ho-o ho-wo, Ho-ye ho-o-o hm-nē;

SL Ho-o ho-ye ho, Ho-ye Ho-ye

Ch Ho-ye ho-o ho, Ho-o Hewye ho, ho-ye ho-ye

5. *Sl.* Ye Hewye ho-o ho hm-nē ha-ha o-ho Ho-ya

S2

Chor Ho-ye Hewye ho-ye ho, Ho-ye ho ha-ha Hewye ho-ye

CLARINET
b. ch. 1

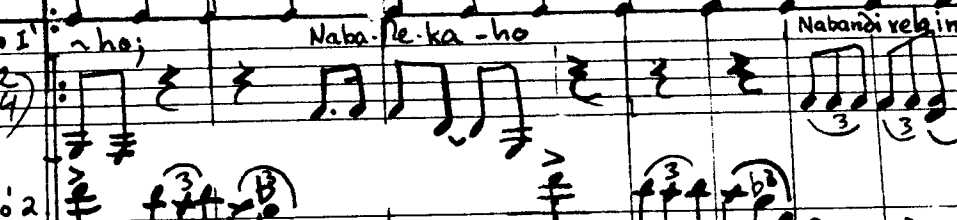
(2)
(4)

ch. 1 (ctd.)

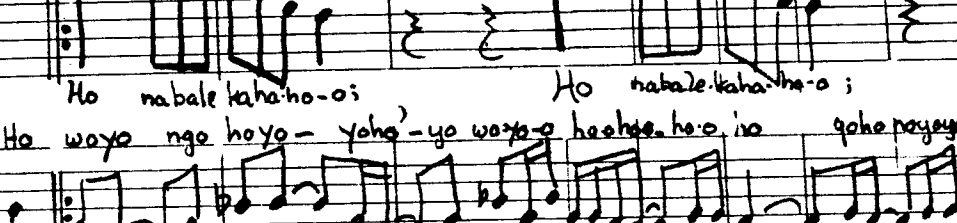
khul'he-ma, ugi khul'he-ma, Uli-sigwe ma uli-sigwe ma,

ch. 2 * SW:

he-ma he-ma he-ma he-ma

17.  Musical score for 'Solo 1' and 'Solo 2'. 'Solo 1' is in treble clef, 2/4 time, with lyrics 'Naba-le-ka-ho' and 'Nabandi re-in-ho;'. 'Solo 2' is in bass clef, 2/4 time, with lyrics 'Ho nabale kaha-ho-o;'. Both solos feature triplets and other rhythmic patterns.

Ch: Ho wayo ngo hoyo - yoho - yo wayo o ha-ha-ho-o no qoha payayo ho

8.  Musical score for 'Solo 1' and 'Solo 2'. 'Solo 1' is in treble clef, 2/4 time, with lyrics 'Ho nabale kaha-ho-o;'. 'Solo 2' is in bass clef, 2/4 time, with lyrics 'Ho nabale kaha-ho-o;'. Both solos feature triplets and other rhythmic patterns.

Sh: m - m hm-ne m hm-ne m . hm-ne m

q. Ch: Ya-ha-o Ya-ha-o Ya-ha-o.....

1

etc.: 12 x d

2

9. Iingoma zezindlavini/ iingoma zomtshotsho zezindlavini
 (' Iindlavini music/ music of the umtshotsho dance party
 of iindlavini young men ')

Iindlavini young men are the ' dressed ' social equivalents of abafana of the Cape Tribes Proper and the Mfengu clusters who attend intlombe dance parties. They have been well described and discussed by Hammond - Tooke, who writes in particular about Bhaca iindlavini:

'In the absence of specific rites the only thing that marks the transition from boyhood to manhood is the almost universal custom of going out to work for Whites at one of the large labour centres of the Republic. This is closely connected with the institution of the iindlavini gangs of young men of a location who roam the countryside ' looking for girls ' and fighting with gangs from neighbouring locations.

Bhaca young men over the age of about eighteen are organized into gangs consisting of most of the young men of a location. As Mfaba put it: "When a boy gets tired of school he will tell his parents that he is going to Johannesburg to work on the mines. When he comes back he puts on a pair of trousers, white shirt and a pair of long underpants and calls himself an umfana (young man".

The name ' iindlavini ' means ' worthless one ' and entrance into the gang is almost invariably preceded by a trip to the labour centres. . . The uniform of the iindlavini varies with the area, ranging from well - creased trousers and white silk shirts of the Njijini, Mvuzi and Lugangeni gangs to the fantastically flared and patched trousers, pinafores and animal - skin bags of some of them across the Kinira. The distinctive badge of them all is that they carry two sticks. Each gang has a leader (called inkosi, chief, or umphathi, controller) who is assisted by a lieutenant, (udrayiva), whose duty is to keep discipline and sound the war - horn at affrays. In some gangs a member is chosen as a head - man (isibondza) to settle disputes and hear cases' (1962: 79 - 80).

The same author continues:

'Discipline in the gang is strict and unruly members are likely to receive a cut with a sjambok from the udrayiva. Insubordinates are called before a meeting, reprimanded or fined and, if incorrigible, expelled.

Meetings are held periodically which all members are expected to attend and at which songs are sung, gang matters discussed and arrangements made for dances and dalliance. The aim of these gangs is frankly amorous, and diffident members are likely to be fined' (ibid.)

The Mpondo and Xesibe clusters have the same iindlavini gangs who ' become men ' by going to work on the mines, or in the cane fields of Natal. They also wear a uniform which is similar to those worn by the Bhaca iindlavini.

Iindlavini are nominally Christians. According to Hammond - Tooke, pagan young men are also organized into gangs and are called iintsizwe.

'They are found in pockets of conservatism in such places as Maboba, Cabazi, Lutateni, Njijini and Mvuza and are very much in the minority. The distinction is not entirely one of Christian versus pagan but rather that between conservative and progressive elements'

Unlike the iindlavini, the iintsizwe wear traditional tribal dress, including a loin - cloth (unontswintswintswi) and vests. (Iindlavini always wear trousers). During my stay among the Bhaca I enquired about iintiszwe young men but received vague answers to all my queries. Paramount Chief Wabana Makhaula replied in the negative, adding that ' today it is all iindlavini '. During my period fieldwork among the Xesibe, I was told that ' there are groups of iintsizwe, but they are very small and unimportant '. Whatever the real situation is, there is no doubt that some of the iintsizwe songs are still being sung by both small boys and iindlavini, e.g. Ziyabulalana (cf. p. 280), in which their actual name is mentioned.

The age at which a youth leaves the iindlavini gang is not

fixed, but most leave on marriage, as do abafana of the C.T.P. After marriage they no longer attend iintlombe, but instead attend beer drinks and other social events which are attended by married men.

The dance party of iindlavini was originally known as inkhandela pl. iinkhandela (from Eng. ' candle '), but today the name has been replaced by umtshotsho pl. imitshotsho, and all three chiefdom clusters (Mpondo, Bhaca and Xesibe) use this name. All of them also employ the same terms for officials within the group, e.g. inkosi, udrayiva and umphathi. The parties take place in a deserted hut (or one which has been specially vacated temporarily), and the dancing may even take place outside the hut, weather permitting. Again, permission from the headman is obligatory, and beer is served during the event. When the party is to disband, the ' calling ' (uku - bita, Xh. uku - biza) of the girls takes place, the young men selecting their partners for the night. The couples then pair off and sleep together, but are expected to practice uku - tshina (= Xh. uku - metsha, i.e. intra - crural intercourse).

Iindlavini music comprises several different types and styles of song which are also performed in contexts other than umtshotsho dance parties - at weddings, installations, and big beer drinks (umgidi pl. imigidi) which all adults attend by tacit invitation. These song types are;

- (i) amagwijo (' signature tunes ' of the different gangs)
- (ii) iingoma zokuhamba (' Marching/Walking songs ' to the various events attended by the gangs

- (iii) iingoma zempi (' War songs ' to stick - fights)
- (iv) indlamu, the stamping dance, and the forte of iindlavini; they are always mentioned in connection with this dance
- (v) umgajo, the shaking and muscle - rippling dance corresponding to uku - xhentsa (- tyityimba) of the C.T.P.
- (vi) songs which are sung between performances of indlamu and umgajo : these are called (i) ingoma pl. iingoma (' straight ' songs as they are described); (ii) ' Sounds ' (iii) ' Keys '. All of them are collectively called ' Breaks ' because they come between performances of the ' big ' dances, indlamu and umgajo.

(i) ' Signature tunes ' may take the form of Walking songs or ' Sounds '. The latter, strictly speaking, fall into the category of ' school music ' but, like the iindlavini themselves, they have become ' secularized ', and are sung by ' school ' people and pagans alike. Marching songs (Walking songs) to umtshotsho may also be sung en route to other social events, but there are certain Marching songs which, according to their owners, are sung ' especially for umtshotsho '. These are so similar in style to those sung by small boys, and which I have described (antiphonally structured melodies, embellished by voices sporadically singing the same melody in parallel motion, hence in linear style), as to be identical. I have already said that

children sing their versions of adult music; iindlavini songs are popular with all children. Their versions vary from those sung by the young men in sound only, and in texture. The songs are identical in structure and even in phrasing, and groupings within the phrase, a common pattern being

|| 3+3+2 | 4+4+4 | 3+3 | 3+3+2 ||

with an anticipation of the first quaver beat of the first phrase, by the song leader at the end of the strophe. The children's versions show only a small attempt at harmonization, the young mens' versions being richer in sonority because a greater number of singers will sing in parallel movement with the main melody. The sticks are beaten on the ground in exactly the same place, in both children's and young mens' versions of the same songs.

There is one Bhaca Marching song however, which differs in style from the majority of these songs, which have rather extended vocal phrases. This particular song is sung entirely to vocables; its form arises from the repetition of a rhythmic melody - motif, ' held ' (- bambelela) by the song leader and harmonized by the other singers, who sing variations of this motif. In its style, this song is most typical of an indlamu dance song. The Bhaca have several such Marching (Walking) songs in indlamu style (so I was told but I was able to record only this example); they differ from the dance song in that they are not sung with emphatic accents on the ' off - beat ', nor are they as fast. Also, their ' walking ' rhythm

and tempo is very evident, whereas it is totally absent in indlamu dance songs . (Cf. Figure 60 :405 -407; Ex. No. 35 on Tape 1a).

Indlamu is the dance for which iindlavini are noted, particularly the Bhaca iindlavini. Long before I went to KwaBhaca, I heard about the Bhaca and their version of indlamu; apparently their performance is far superior to that of the other clusters (according to Mpondo, Xesibe and Bhaca informants).

Bhaca, Xesibe and Mpondo styles are very similar, but the performances vary. Whereas the Xesibe and Mpondo tend to segregate the sexes, the Bhaca do not; yet even this procedure is falling away, because the other two tribal clusters are following the Bhaca pattern of desegregation.

The dance has a basic metrical pattern of 4 + 4 crotchets (= the strophe), or (4 + 4) (4 + 4) crotchets (= the strophe). The Xesibe and Mpondo have indlamu songs with basic metrical patterns of 4 + 4 dotted crotchets, but this is not as common as the simple pattern.

The following Figures are extracts from indlamu songs of the Xesibe, Bhaca and Mpondo clusters: Figures 61 - 64 : 408 - 411; Ex. Nos. 36 - 39, on Tape 1a.

The Xesibe and Mpondo indlamu songs show the same rhythmic - melodic patterning, thus all three indlamu styles vary only in the details. All three have extended introductions, in which the song leader sings the main words of the song in a free, declamatory style. While doing so, he may improvise and show off his vocal/musical and histrionic abilities :

sharp attacks onto high notes, followed by forceful swoops onto low notes; alternately singing and speaking, in which the group is addressed, or the gang praised (-bonga) . He may even perform acrobatic feats (the Mpondo seem to like doing so) or balancing acts with his stick on the palm of his hand. While doing all this, he keeps to the main theme of the song, drawing the group's attention to certain phrases with a gesture of the hand, or ' stabbing the air ' with his stick. While this is going on the group usually remain squatting on their haunches, beating the ground with their sticks and commenting on the song leader 's performance. During the recording of the Bhaca song Yhe dumisa sok' lakwaBhaca, the group was very noisy, and the song leader's attempts to quieten them went unheeded. He finally succeeded in a masterly way: instead of singing Dumisa maBhaca " (' praise the Bhaca '), he sang " Thulisa maBhaca " (' make the Bhaca keep quiet '). The remark went home and was acknowledged by one member of the group, who muttered ' Shut up ' under his breath. (This came over in the recording!)

These lengthy introductions (and the Bhaca have very extended ones indeed) are thematically related to the music of the indlamu dance proper, e.g. cf. Figure 65 (a) & (b): 413 - 416, Ex. Nos. 40 - 41 on Tape 1a): the theme of the introduction (on p. 413) is reintroduced toward the end of the dance song (on p. 416), now placing it (theme) within the rhythmic framework of indlamu dance music.

Introductions are followed by a choral section in which ;

leader and chorus sing antiphonally or in unison, e.g. the same song (Figure 63) where the music (leader and chorus in unison) carries the words Ha! asinamali yokuthenga (' Ha! we have no spending money '). Both Introduction and Chorus are called a ' Key ' - an apt name, for the music anticipates both thematically and rhythmically the music of the indlamu song. Thus, the ' Key ' (i - Keyi) literally ' opens up ' the song, hence the name. While the ' Key ' is sung, performers rise and start to take their places in the dance. All three clusters dance in a line or lines, thus the group of dancers presents a phalanx typical of Cape Nguni dance formations. There are two types of indlamu, corresponding to the way in which the actual stamping dance is performed: (i) ' single indlamu ' - as it is called by the iindlavini - in which the stamping steps are performed by one dancer at a time. He/she then performs several times while the rest of the group crouch down on their haunches, forming a half - circle and facing into it, and beat the ground with sticks as they sing. Some of them will, of course, clap. The dancer ' prepares ' each series of stamps by ' trying out ' (I am using colloquial terms) with short half - stamps alternately with each leg; he/she then changes direction from left to right as he/she does so.

(ii) Called indlamu - in which all dancers perform the steps at the same time. There is a division of singers and dancers here; from time to time, singers will take the place of dancers, who will then keep up the singing.

During the performance most but not all members are dancing at one time.

The dance is extremely tiring and does not allow singers and dancers to assume both roles at the same time. The Xesibe and the Mpondo iindlavini alternately hum and sing while they dance. When the actual stamping steps are being executed, the music is hummed; between the bouts of stamping, the performers revert to singing the words of the song (if any). Figure 62:409, which is also sung as a - sina dance song by teenagers, illustrates this procedure. My extract, Fig. 62, is the indlamu version of this song. The Bhaca retain vocables and humming throughout a performances. This is no doubt due to the fact that most of the members are performing at a time, so are not able to keep up the words, and also to the fact that the indlamu songs have few words ; some do not have any at all; those words which occur are usually improvised sporadically and introduced by a soloist. Humming is very emphatic, and certain tones are deliberately accented; changes in accentuation occur when singers introduce vocables with different vowel sounds, e.g. hm -m hm -m becomes hm -m hm -0 -hm -m (cf. Figure 64 : 411).

Both Mpondo and Xesibe make ' roaring ' sounds during the singing - sounds which are similar to the - tshotsha of the C.T.P., and which are, in this context, called uku - gwinga . The sounds are not produced as patterns, but occur at particular points in the music, e.g. just before the actual stamping is done.

Indlamu performances are preceded and followed by songs

in which there is little if any physical movement (singers often sit down on the ground). These songs serve as ' breaks ' between strenuous dancing and are called by that name - ' Breaks '. They include ' straight ' choral songs in four - part harmony, and Sounds (for which see later).

Iindlavini groups spend much of their time (pre - arranged) rehearsing new songs, especially the dance songs. They wear special sets of bells round their ankles or tied below the knees (amagedemsi) and hold their sticks before them, gripped by both hands at each end, as they execute the stamps. The tempo of the songs is fast, compared to the tempo of the dance music of the more southerly chiefdom clusters. Although they begin fast, they decelerate of necessity, in order to suit the steps of the dancers, who cannot perform the stamps at such a rapid tempo. Thus the tempo may begin at 158 M.M. but the song usually ends at a speed of 150 or thereabouts.

The clap - beats are augmented twice, from 8 crotchets, to 4 minims until, when the stamping takes place, a semi - breve, coinciding with the downward descent of the foot onto the ground. Once the clapping is over (even for a short time) there is invariably a return to the crotchet clap - beats. Singers sometimes introduce double beats shortly before the stamps, but this is not a standard procedure.

The basic melodic patterns of indlamu songs are shaped by rhythmic forces rather than by pitch differences. There are two tones (or three) in these patterns, more tones being less common; the third tone is usually a ' companion ' (isihlobo) of one of the other two tones. One might

regard indlamu melodies as having been reduced to their 'bare essentials', i.e. to their fundamental tones. Viewed vertically, (harmonically), these two tones constitute the fundamentals of the 'chords' they generate; The melody moves continually from the influence of one 'chord' to the other; in this shifting one observes the tonality shift which underlies all Xhosa music. In fact, all Xhosa melodies are susceptible of this 'reduction' to two tonalities (cf. chapter 8).

During the performance of the song, this abbreviated melody (and the music thereafter) literally expands as the different voices sing izihlobo tones to the tones of the melody (Figure 65(b): 415). From this process, a longer melody finally emerges (in the soprano chorus part), a melody with smaller intervals introduced by the individual singers when they sing variants of the basic melody. The aforementioned song (and the extracts in Figures 61 - 63) illustrate this cumulative process very clearly. What began as a three-tone melody finally achieves a definite melodic contour, enriched by the other voice parts who establish and stress the harmony and tonality of the music.

The polyrhythmic process is not applied in this music; rhythmic interest and vitality are achieved by the accentuation of certain 'beats' and sudden small shifts in dynamics on certain tones. Compared with intlombe music, (of abafana of the C.T.P. and Mfengu), indlamu music is less complicated, rhythmically. Both styles of music result from a quasi-heterophonic process in which all

singers sing variations of a basic omnipresent theme. Yet the texture of indlamu music is less dense than the texture of the intlombe songs, many of which show great density of texture. The main reason is the virtual absence of true polyrhythm in indlamu music, and its predominance in intlombe music. In the latter the different voices 'agree' (- vuma) to sing not only 'differing' tones but 'differing' rhythms as well.

In my opinion, there is more 'symmetry' in the inner metrical organisation of indlamu music. By this I mean that all voices tend to adhere to the same rhythm at the same time, and there is little polyrhythmic interplay of the voices. The nature of the dance would seem to prevent this. It is a vigorous and strenuous dance with a quick tempo, demanding precision in timing from the dancers and allowing little breath for singing. Yet the distribution of singing and dancing roles permits everyone to do both, although not necessarily at the same time.

In comparison, intlombe music seems to me to be more 'asymmetrical' regarding the rhythmic relationships between the individual voices, and the voice 'holding' the main melody. These voices 'agree' to differ and go their own ways without ever contravening the rhythmic limits of the music, as defined by the handclaps. In addition, they continuously 'conflict' with the rhythm of the main melody. This rhythmic freedom within limits is a characteristic stylistic feature of Cape Nguni music; it is most obvious in

the music of the southerly, and more conservative clusters (C.T.P.), particularly in intlombe music and the ritual music, and, to some extent, the Beer songs performed by these people. It is also apparent in the music of the northern clusters (Xesibe and Eastern Mpondo), especially in the music that is sung by onombola (' raw people ' = ' Red people ').

Iindlavini are neo - pagans, who have exchanged the traditional blanket for western dress. Their music seems to have relinquished some of its tribal trappings - the polyrhythmic principle, which is still the basis of music performed by their tribal counterparts - abafana young men.

Tribal people frequently arrange parties for iindlavini when they wish to have the floor of a new hut levelled. (The floors are prepared by being pounded with a wooden block or stone, then smeared with a mixture of manure and mud, and even ox - blood). The stamping of several pairs of feet in the performance of indlamu is both an enjoyable and a methodical way of levelling and hardening the floor.

With the advent of White domination to this country, and the subsequent availability of instruments which are capable of producing traditional harmonies, the Cape Nguni have developed a repertoire of instrumental music which did not exist in traditional times. Xhosa Mkhane is a noted accordion player who has composed many songs whose forms derive from forms of traditional music. His indlamu songs are well - known in Transkei, and are extremely popular. In these songs, which he plays himself, he retains the

characteristic rhythm and harmonic progression of the music; he produces the basic rhythmic pattern on the buttons of the instrument, in the form of a bass melody in additive rhythms (more commonly), and against this he plays a variation of it on the keys. At the same time he sings a countermelody (deriving from the basic melody). All three rhythmic - melodic patterns are varied continuously, the vocal ' line ' being interrupted by passages of - bonga (praises). The total result is truly astonishing, and unmistakeably indlamu.

Umgajo (also uku - gaja) is synonymous with uku - tyityimba of the C.T.P. and Mfengu clusters. It is thus the name of the ' shaking ' and muscle - rippling dance which is performed by all Cape Nguni males.

- Gaja music is characterized by its rapid tempo (compared with the other styles of Xhosa music), its overall form (it is performed as a series of 2 - 3 short ' movements '), and the deliberate acceleration in tempo which accompanies each ' movement '. The metrical patterns of the songs are based on 4 crotchet beats, clapped once or several times to form the total structure of the songs. The most common pattern is one in which 4 + 4 crotchets are clapped as a repeated sequence of two crotchets and one minim, e.g. Figure 67: 418 entitled He! libetshel' inkomo (' Hey! in search of cattle '). Another - gaja entitled Yhe mtaka bawo (cf. Figure 68 ; 420ss) has a more involved metre, and an unusual one: its structure comprises phrases of (4 + 4) + (4 + 4) + (4) crotchets (strophe length = 20 crotchets).

Each phrase is clapped as a sequence of two crotchets and one minim, as in the previous song. (Exs. Nos. 43 and 44 on Tape la).

The children's - gaja songs retain this basic grouping of 4 units, but have patterns of dotted beats (quavers) as well as undotted beats (quavers and crotchets). All - gaja songs sung by iindlavini have short introductions in which the song leader ' lines ' the song by introducing its main melody in a free irregular way; thereafter he sings the opening phrase of the melody in strict rhythm and introduces the claps. Song leader and chorus may proceed antiphonally (as in Figure 67 , in which the chorus answers with a fixed response at the end of the ' line '), or they may begin antiphonally and then proceed together to the end of the ' line ' (Figure 68). The pattern is repeated as many times as the song leader wishes, and usually ends abruptly. A short break ensues (during which the song leader may address and/or - bonga the group), after which the next ' movement is performed. This is merely a repetition of the first pattern in which slight variations are introduced ad lib. The tempo of this movement is faster than that of the preceding movement. At this point all crotchet beats are clapped as equal beats. The song leader may introduce as many variation - movements as he wishes, but most retain three. All repetitions are separated by short interludes, and the tempo accelerates with each movement. I came across one iindlavini gang who then reversed the process - slowed down after two accelerations - but this is not the usual process. Since a ' champion ' dancer

is ' one who shakes so much that he shakes the skin off himself ', this ritardando does not seem logical, whereas the usual procedure does, and is probably the rationale for presenting - gaja dances in this manner. Most of the iindlavini groups who performed this dance for me, always danced until they literally dropped onto the ground. The tempo of each movement accelerated accordingly.

Regarding the tempo in - gaja songs, the speed varies from 168 - 170 M.M. in the first ' movement ', to 184 M.M. in the second, and to 190 M.M. in the third ' movement '. The majority of - gaja songs vary in their overall tempo from 168 - 192 M.M.

There is always a syncopated relationship between the voices and the handclaps. The notes of the former tend to fall between the claps for the greater part of the pattern. (Syncopation does not occur constantly, but at certain points in the pattern). It is emphasized by ' pre - beating ', i.e. the voice parts anticipate the clap beats at a semi - quaver's distance, e.g:

Figure 59



Figure 60 : Bhaca iindlavini music:

Walking/Marching song to umtshotsho . Ex. No. 35 on Tape 1a.

Pitch: Present c' = original c'sharp

Mode: hexa-based pentatonic (< two major triads based on roots C and E); the 3rd above C root (E) is absent, thus tonality seems to be pentatonic.

Strophe length: 8 x 2

Tempo: ♩ = 94-96

The song is sung entirely to vocables; it is preceded by fanfares played on a bugle by a member of the group. These bugle (ixilongo) fanfares call the group members in the valley to join the marchers. The fanfares employ the tones of the Bflat major triad, but the singers begin the song on the tone C sharp. During the performance of the song, the bugler played short motifs on his bugle.

Bugle fanfares:

'Prelude' : (Calling members to join the march to umtshotsho) :
(Cf. Plates 30, 31, 32 & 33 : 786 - 787

The image contains five staves of handwritten musical notation. The first four staves are for a bugle, written in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The first staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The second staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The third staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The fourth staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The fifth staff is for a vocal part, written in treble clef with a key signature of one flat. It includes lyrics: 'Ho ho-ho-ho-ho' above the staff, 'hm ma hama hm ma hama' below the staff, and 'Ho hmo. ho-ho' below the staff. There are also some notes and rests on the staff.

Bugler continues to play intermittent fanfares while the group sings the Marching song as they walk to the umtshotsho hut.

(Singing of iindlavini gang some distance away from the bugler).

1. *hm ma mama hm mama hm ma mama hm mama, Hm*

SL (male) ←

1. Chor. (girls) ←

2. Chor. (men) ←

Ho-ho-ho, ho-ho-ho-ho-ma

2. *hm ma mama hm mama, hm mama mama hm ma-ma, Hm*

SL ←

1. Chor. ←

2. Chor. ←

short steps: *hm ma ma ma-ma, ho mama ho-ma-ma*

R L R L R L R L

3. *hm hm mama hm mama, hm hm mama hm mama;*

'Solo' (male) ←

'Solo' ctd. ←

2. Chor. ←

'Solo' 1 & 2. (varied) ←

4. 1. *Ho mama hm; ho mama hm ma-ma.*

Sticks beaten on ground. ←

'Solo': *Ho mama hm(mama) ..*

2. *as above.*

No claps yet. ←

sticks beaten on ground

Figure 50 (ctd.)

5. Ho hema ho Ho homa homa ho;

Ho-mo-ho ho-ho ho-ma;

6.

wa-ho . ho - wa Ha wa-a-na - a;

hm-ma-ho, Ho-ma ho-ma;

claps

The claps commence when the group are in the untshotsho hut; they are supplemented by stick - beating on the floor of the hut, done by the young men of the group. Throughout the performance, the main voice parts (SL, Choruses 1 & 2) sing their respective vocal patterns.

Figure 61

Extract from indlamu dance song of Xesibe iindlavini

entitled Hewuye! gibel' ibhasi! (' Hey there! take the bus! ')

Pitch: Present "C" = original C[#]; Ex. No. 36 on Tape 1a.

Mode: hexa-based pentatonic

Tempo: the song begins with a tempo of ♩ = 158 M.M. There is a gradual retardation during performance (to accommodate the dancers' stamps), from 158 - 152 M.M., with the song ending at a tempo of approximately 150 - 152 ♩ (M.M.).

S: hem hm. m. hm. m. m

Ch: hm. hm. m. m - m hm. m. m

'solo': We - a

Strophe length:

8 x ♩

S: he - he. We - a

Ch: he - he. We - a

Claps on main beats executed by some of the singers

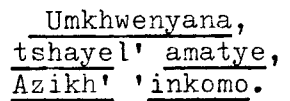
S: he - he. We - a

Ch: he - he. We - a

Claps on every beat executed by the rest of the singers.

(Stamps executed by dancers)

Strophe length: 16 $\times$ Tempo: = 138 M.M.



When dancers
commence stamping,
the words are
replaced by
humming.

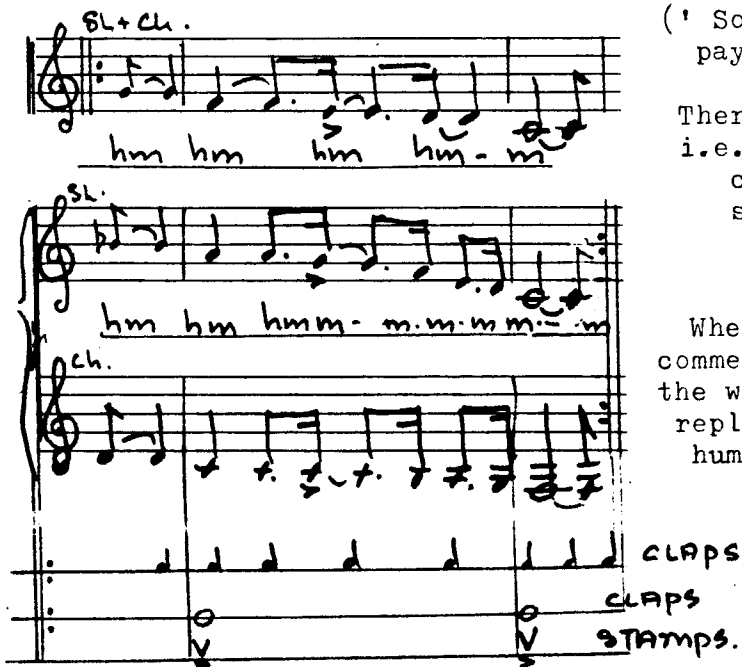


Figure 63

Introductory song:

Indlamu dance song of Bhaca and Xesibe iindlavinientitled Asinamali yokuthenga (' We have no money to buy ')

Ex. No. 38 on Tape 1a. i.e. We have no spending money ').

Pitch: Present "C" = original C# ~ (Dflat)

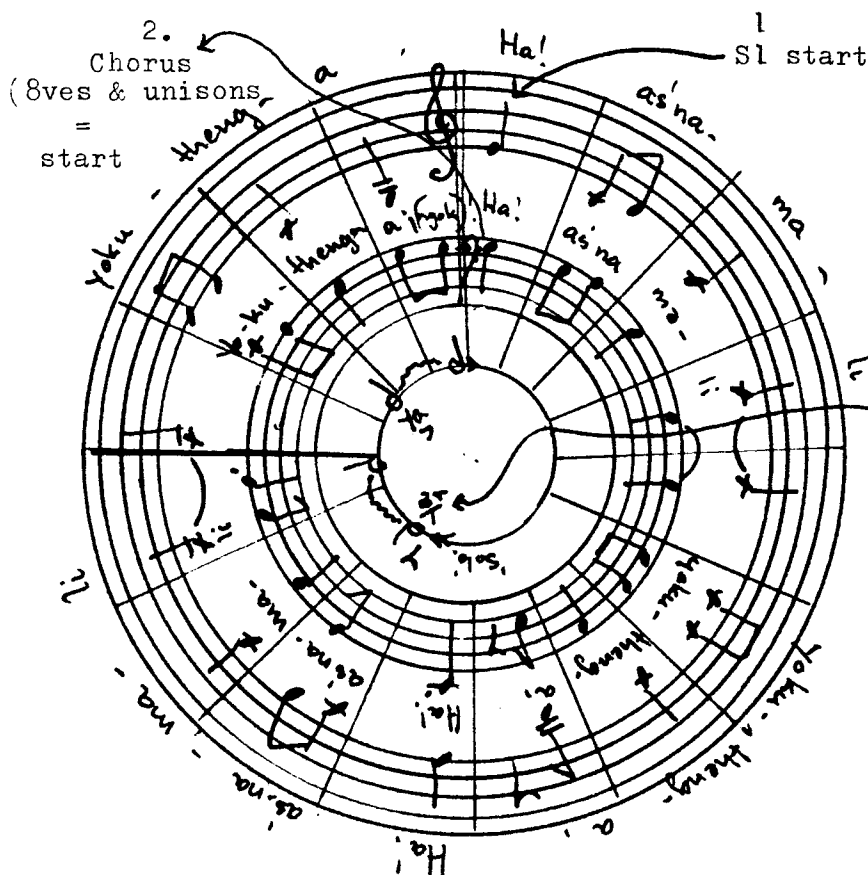
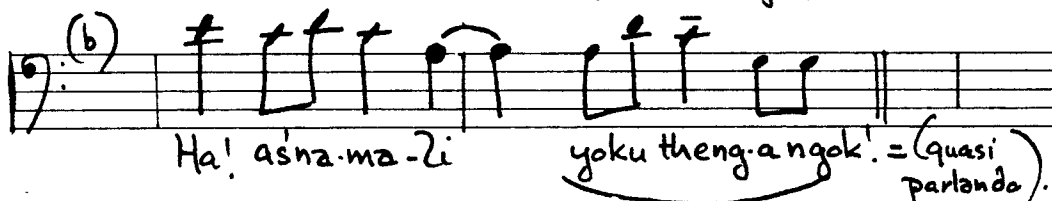
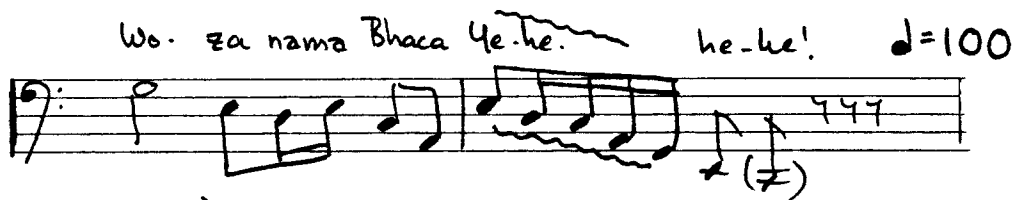
Mode: hexa-based pentatonic Strophe length: 16 x ♩ (8+8)Introduction: (sung by the leader of the iindlavini gang):

Figure 64 : Indlamu proper:

Extract from indlamu dance song of Bhaca, Xesibe and Mpondo
iindlavini:

Yhe, dumisa, soka lakwaBhaca (' Hey! praise!
(Part 2 of Fig. 63). bachelor of Bhacaland ')

Ex. No. 39 on Tape 1a.

Pitch: Present "C" = original D

Strophe length: 16X♩ (3+8)

Mode: hexa-based pentatonic (< two major triads based on roots
D and C; the 3rd above D root (F#) is absent).

Tempo: ♩ = 158 M.M. at the beginning, to approximately ♩ = 150 M.M.
at the end of the performance.

1. 2. (Varied)

SL. hm hm-m hm-m hm-m, hm-m, hm hm-o hm-m hm-o hm-m

Ch. m. m-m m-m - m-m-m, hm-hm-o hm-m - hm-m-m

SL. hm hm-m hm-m mm hm-m hm hm-o hm-m hm-o hm-m

Ch. m-m-m m-m - h-m-m-m, hm hm-o hm-m hm-o hm-m

CLAPS: d - d d d : d d d d :

STAMPS: V z z z V z z z : V z z z V z z z :

Root progression sequence in strophe:

|| C - D - C - - C | C - - D - D - C ||

Full text:

Intro. song: Ha! asinamali yokuthenga; Hmph! we have no spending
money;

Indlamu song Yhe, dumisa, soka Hey! praise! bachelor of
proper: lakwaBhaca, Bhacaland!
Hulele, mama! Hurrah! mother!

(trans. Ms T Mzinyathi

Figure 65 (a)

Introduction to indlamu : Ex. No. 40 on Tape 1a.

This is sung by the song leader, who stands in the centre of a semicircle formed by the other young men, who crouch on their haunches. As the song leader sings, he addresses the men who, in ones and twos, proceed to take their places for the indlamu dance. They form another semicircle which, in the course of the dance, straightens out into lines of dancers.

The song leader sings in a rather free, quasi declamatory style, while nevertheless adhering to the basic metre of the music, which I have indicated with crosses in the transcription. Some of his phrases terminate in spoken words (indicated with sprechstimme notation).

Figure 65 (b)

Ex. No. 41 on Tape 1a.

The Bhaca indlamu dance (there is no formal title).

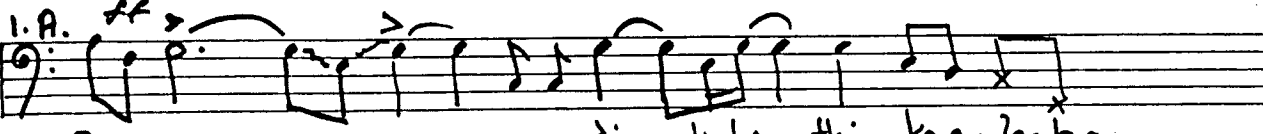
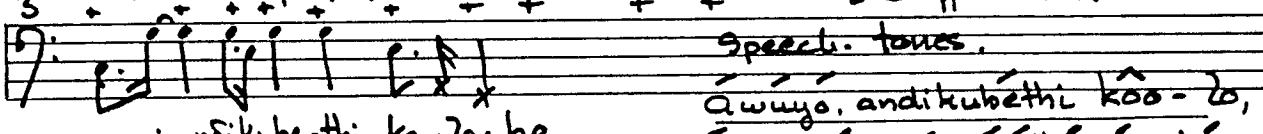
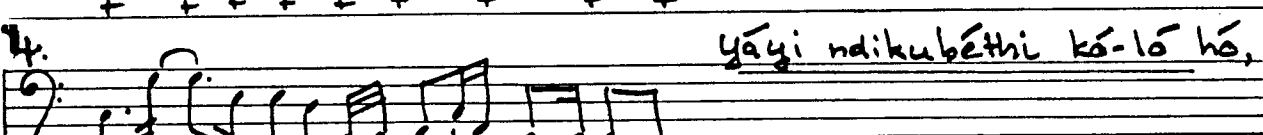
The song leader opens with the song in a rapid tempo (♩ = 144 M.M.), but this slows down soon with the entry of the girls' chorus. The tempo gradually slackens until a speed of ♩ = 118 - 120 M.M. is reached, and is maintained for some time. As the dancers tire, so the tempo is reduced. The song ends with a tempo of ♩ = 116 M.M.

The clap pattern is varied metrically and accentually. The V signs placed parallel with the clapped beats denotes exactly when the stamping feet meet the ground. Dancers perform the galvanic stamping dance in 'bouts' of 5, 4 and 2 stamps. The dance leaders indicate and prepare the stamps by swinging the leg far back, then returning it quickly and silently to its original position, always just before the series of stamps must occur. Chorus (1 & 2) and S1 voice parts are retained throughout the performance, except when the song leader enters with the opening theme of Introduction.

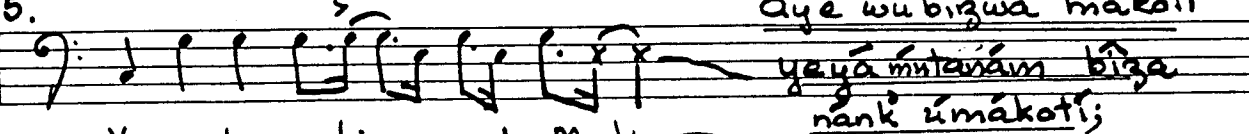
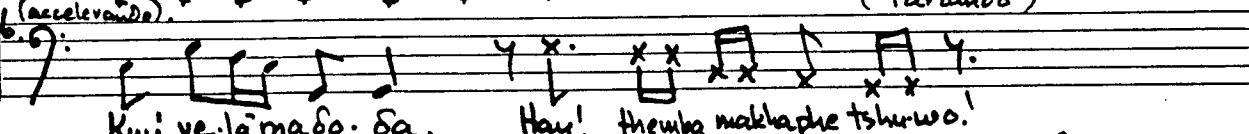
The song is sung entirely to vocables; the only meaningful words occur in the song leader's Introduction, e.g. andikubethi makoti (' I am not going to strike the bride '), and near the end of the song.

Introduction to indlamu (Figure 65 (a):

Pitch: Present "C" = original Csharp

1. A. 
 Awu-yo o, a-ndi- kube- thi ko-o- lo- ho,
 2. 
 a-ye-m n-thi ya-yo ye-mthi na ho-
 3. 
 ya-yi - ndi kube- thi ko- lo- ho
 4. 
 a-ye- wu bi- i- zwa makoti ye-miz- na- nko
 Tempo Primo.

$\downarrow = \text{approx. } 112.$
 speech- tones.
 Awu-yo, andikubethi koo- lo,
 Ayemthi yayo yemthi na ho,
 Yayi ndikubethi ko-lo ho,
 Aye wubi-izwa makoti
 yemiz nanko.

B.
 5. 
 Ye yam ta-nam bi- za nanku Ma-ko
 6. 
 Kuy ve-la ma- do. Sa. Hay! themba makhaphe tshu-wo.
 Tempo Primo.

Aye wubi-izwa makoti
yaya mntanani biza
nank' u makoti;
 (Parlando)
 Kuy'ela ma- do. Sa. Hay! themba makhaphe-
 tshu-wo.

7. 
 yemtan kanam bi- za nanku ma- ko- ti bo
 8. 
 biza nank' u makoti.

(Parlando).

Introduction to indlamu (ctd.) :

8 *(accel.)* *thandi kúbéthi kóló*

thandi-kubethi tho-za-bo, aw-ye-g' aw-ma-ko' ayin-zi-na,

+ + + + + + + +

âw'yéz' áw'má kot' ayingzi-ná,

9. $\text{♩} = 92-96$

Haw-ye-e zawu ma-ko-ti, ye-

ye-nzi-na nko-o.

+ ch. (Unison - 8 measures)

Tempo Primo.

11

ye yam-ta-nam bi-ga nankuma-ko-

12 *(poco)*

Yayi ku-be-thiko-za-ko! Hay! themba makho phe-tshuwo

13

Kulivela maSo-da.

14.

ye yam-ta-nam bi-ga nanku ma-ko-ti bo, yabizinhloqanumta-nam.

15. *pauze* *yabizinhloqanumta-nam.*

Yeyemakoti kúnjān' Zam.

Figure 65 (b) : indlamu dance song

Pitch: Present "C" = original Csharp

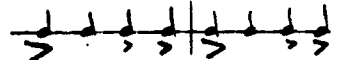
Mode: hexa-based pentatonic

Strophe length: 8 x Tempo: begins  = 144 MM.After 3 renderings of strophe:  = 138 MM.

SL (Male)

Chor.1
+ S2 (Tempo:  = 132 MM.)Chor.2
(men)

Claps:

Chor.2
(men)

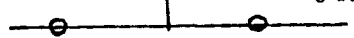
Additional 'Solo' part. (A1).

1.

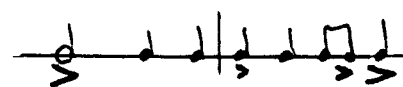
mm-po

'Solo' (A1); 1 - 3;
(girl)

Claps:



(♩ = 118-120) m.m.

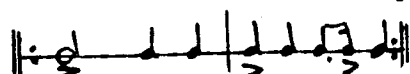


'Solo' (Male)

Chor.1 (varied)

Chor. 1 (varied)

Claps



'Solo' (Male)

SL (Male) Mm - mm-po Mm - mm-po

Chor.1
(girls + S2) Ho-o-o ho-ho Ho-o-o ho-ho

Ch2
(Men) mm-mm-po Mm-mm-po

Ch2

Additional 'Solo' part. (A1).

1.

mm-po

2.

-hm mm-po hm, mm-po

3.

-hm mm-po hm, mm-po

'Solo' (Male)

Wa-za-ha-ho,

Chor.1
(girls) Ho Ho ho Ho-ho

Chor. 1 (varied)

Ho ho-mpo Ho-ho-ho-mpo

T.1

Wa-a-ho

Claps: 

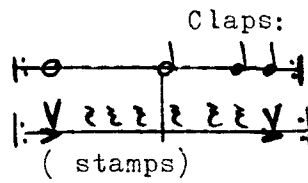
'Solo' (Male) 2 

1. mm-po

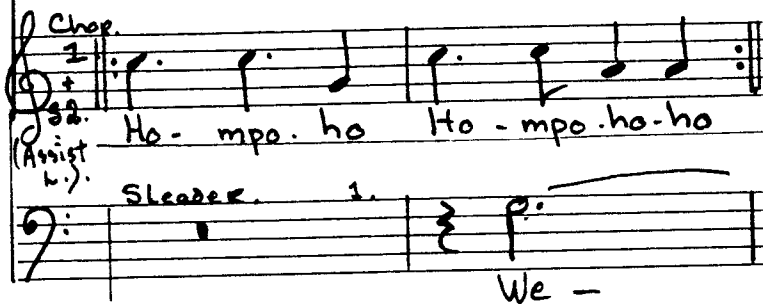
'Solo' 2 (Male)
(1 - 3)

2. ho, - mpo-hm; mm-po

3. ho - mm-po - ho mm-po

Claps: 

(stamps)

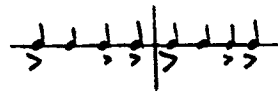
Chop. 

2. Ho - mpo. ho Ho - mpo. ho-ho

(Artist L.)

Slender. 1. We -

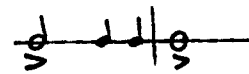
Chor. 1 (girls)



Song leader
(1 - 8)

2. e - - e - - - - we. ye - o -

3. we. yo-ho,



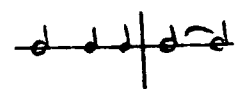
4. wu-ho; We nowo-na

(Choruses
ostinato)

5. We howo,

6. An-di kube- thi ko o - ?o-ho,

Intro: (theme)



7. Yhemta-nkanam bi' u ma-ko - o - ti

8. (Kot' ayenzi makoti) - rapid speech.

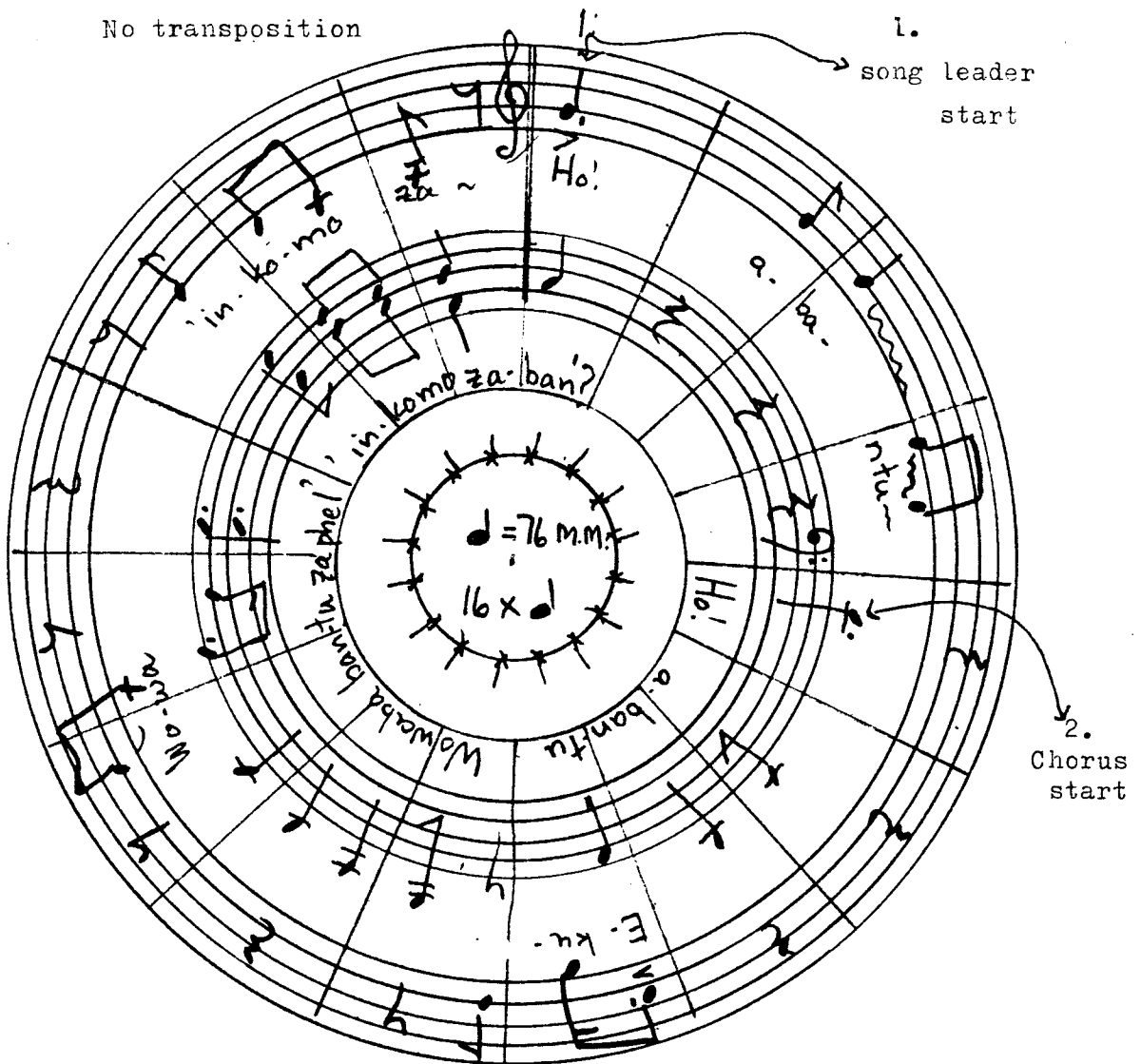
'I - keyi' or introductory song to an indlamu dance performance, entitled Awubhek' abantu (' Behold the people ').

Ex. No.42 on Tape 1a.

Pitch: Present "G" = original G; Strophe length: 16 x 

Mode: hexatonic (<two triads based on roots D and C; the 3rd above D root is sung as a minor 3rd (= F $\sharp$).

No transposition



1. song leader start

2. Chorus start

Text: Ho! abantu!

Ekuthin' zaphel'

'inkomo zaban'?

Sitsho.

Ho! people!

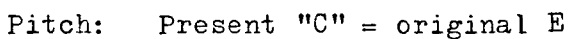
It seems to us the cattle were finished - by whom? (sarcasm)

So say we all.

(trans. R Jakuja)

He libetshel' inkomo!

Ex. No. 43 on Tape 1a.



Strophe length: 8 x

Tempo: ♩ = 168 - 184

Hé! libétshél' inkomó

Hey! in search of cattle

Siyawusebénza

We are doing work for the

úmsébenzi wélizwe.

country.

The phrase He! (li)betshel' inkomo occurs in many other styles of Xhosa music, where it is freely introduced by individual singers (cf. Figure 55(c), on p. 379).

Figure 67 (ctd):

Extract from umgajo (uku-gaja) song of Xesibe
iindlavini (also sung by Bhaca and Mpondo iindlavini).

The song is performed in 'bouts', each 'bout' comprising at least four - six executions of the strophe. The tempo begins at ♩ = 168 - 170 M.M. and attains a tempo of ♩ = 184 M.M. at the end of the performance.

The song leader's vocal phrase is varied with each execution of the strophe, while the Chorus phrase remains unchanged.

CLAPS.

SL. *o he yabe tshel inkomo -*

Ch. *Ye-he-he -*

SL. *Bha - a a mba ko-mo*

Ch. *ha. ha-ho ye-hehe,*

SL. *o ha ... mba hay-a he-he*

Ch. *Ha ... mba Wo - yehe ... Ha*

Transcription of umgajo dance song of
Xesibe iindlavini entitled

Yhi! mtaka bawo, uyabizwa

(' Hey you! my sister is being called ').

Pitch: Present "C" = original Bflat

Mode: hexa-based pentatonic (< two major triads based
on roots D and C; the 3rd above D root (F[#]) is
absent).

Strophe length: 20 x  Tempo:  = 182 - 184, and
 = 190 - 192

Ex. No. 44 on Tape la.

Text:

Yhi! mtaká bawó,

He! uyabizwa ngúntsha wayo

émánjeni (emfuleni).

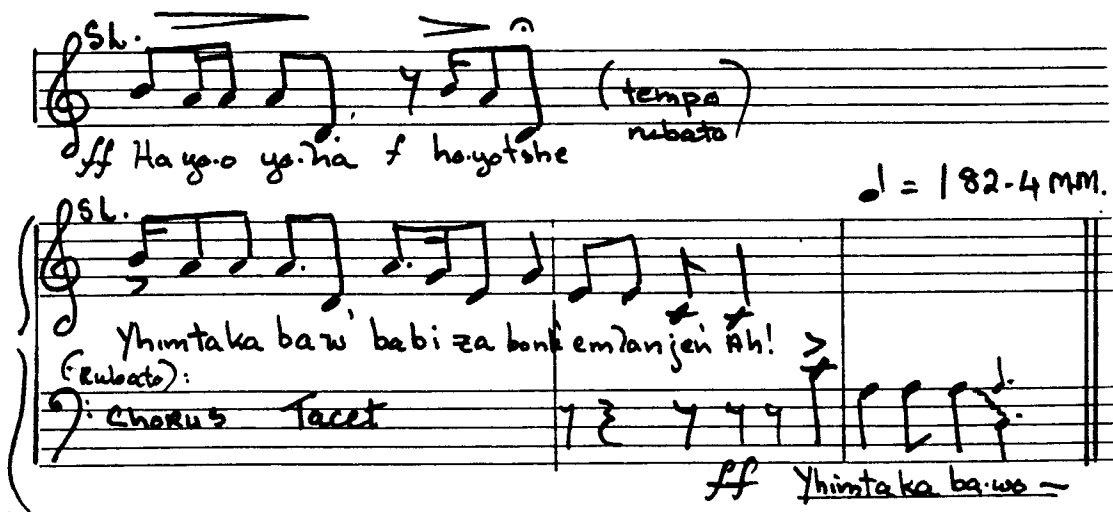
Hey you! my sister is

being called by her lover

at the riverside.

1.

Introduction by the song leader, (who ' lines' the song).



ff Haya-o ya-ha f ha-yotshe (tempo rubato)

♩ = 182-4 mm.

Yhintaka baw' babi za boni emlanjeni Ah!

(rubato):

Chorus Tacet

ff Yhintaka bawo ~

Figure 68 (ctd.)

The text is actually sung as follows (with elision of syllables:

Yhí mtaká baw(ó), Hé! 'yabizwa ngúntsh' émlánjeni,
Yhí mtaká bawó;

Hótshi! ho nina mokoena,

Wá'yabizwa bónk' émfulen' Ah!

Yhí mtaká mamá.

umfula = Zulu term for river, occurs in the second part of the performance (after a short 'break'), when the song is sung at a tempo of $\text{♩} = 190 - 192$. The term is sung in the locative - emfulen' (i.e. emfuleni).

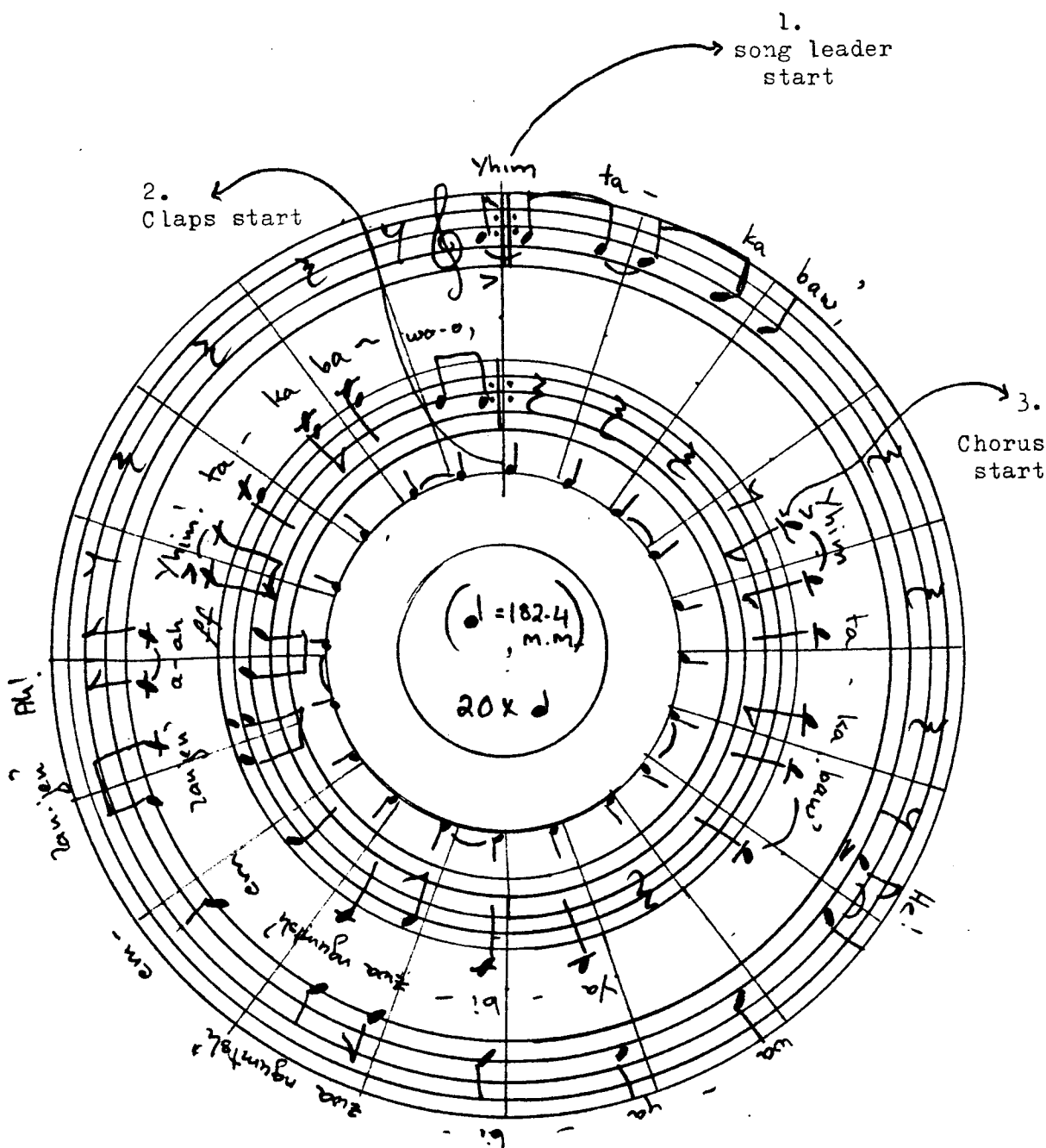


Figure 68 (ctd.)

Short ' break ': then the song is repeated at a faster tempo, with variations in the solo phrase.

The song leader again ' lines' the song , introducing the textual variations, which bring about changes in the vocal notes of the melody:

♩ = 190 - 192 M.M.

The musical score is written on four systems of staves. Each system has a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment line (bass clef). The lyrics are in Sesotho. The tempo is marked as 190 - 192 M.M. (Metronomic Marks).

System 1: The vocal line begins with a solo phrase marked 'Sl.'. The lyrics are 'Hotshi' Ho ni-na mo-koe-na Wa-ya-bi-zwa ngantthemfuten' ah!'. The piano accompaniment consists of a simple bass line.

System 2: The vocal line continues with 'Yhim ta-ka mama Ha-ho - - o- o-za work'. The piano accompaniment features a more active bass line with eighth notes.

System 3: The vocal line continues with 'Yhim ta-ka mam Ho ... o-za work'. The piano accompaniment features a more active bass line with eighth notes.

System 4: The vocal line continues with 'em-fu-zen' ah--- Yhim, em-fu-zen' ah Yhim ta-ka mam' o-ho'. The piano accompaniment features a more active bass line with eighth notes.

Text: Hotshi unina Mokoena (' Ho there, mother Mokoena ').
(Mokoena = Sotho name).

10. Iingoma zotywala (' Beer songs ')

Beer drinks are held whenever beer is available for many people to drink. The greater number of beer drinks, both informal and ceremonial, are held during the winter months (from late May to October), between the seasons of harvesting and ploughing.

Contrary to what certain South African travel brochures say, not all areas of the Republic of Transkei, and the Ciskei, are ' fertile, well - watered ' lands. Some are extremely arid, owing to several years of successive drought. I refer particularly to the districts of Tsomo, Cacadu and the ' dust bowl ' area of Engcobo district, in which the Leper Asylum is situated, and even parts of MaXesiben district, especially the low - lying areas. I was constantly going about these and other areas between the years 1964 - 1972, and the country never improved. The people had to rely on buying bags of maize, as their own crops were very poor, if there were any at all. 'Only the labours of an enterprising priest and a squad of women saved the situation in Cacadu district (before its incorporation into Transkei) by constructing small dams which might catch rain, should it fall. The freak fall of snow which occurred shortly after a few of the dams had been completed was providential (28th August 1970), and, as one man put it, ' saved us from otherwise having to kill ourselves (working) to keep alive '.

Workers walked as much as 12 kilometres each day to and from work, and received a midday meal and a small amount of grain in return for their labours. I visited them every day

and never heard them complain. They sang a great deal in the heat of the sun (still hot in a dry winter), most of them convinced that rain would eventually fall because of their endeavours. Thankfully it did - in the form of snow - which remained on the ground for about two weeks, isolating many of us from stores and communications.

Tsomo, Xhorha and Engcobo districts were very dry from 1969 until 1972, when a little rain fell in Engcobo. These drought conditions were so bad that rivers dried up; many activities involving ceremonial feasts were cancelled: the umtshilo dances of abakhwetha initiates were unheard of when I was in the field. I was told that the last abakhwetha dance had taken place in 1963. Thereafter nothing had occurred, other than a ' contrived ' affair which some photographer had paid for, with quite a sum of money. Bomvanaland (Xhorha) offered a contrast - the land lying alongside the coast, that is - because the night mists and sea air provided some moisture. The countryside was literally dotted with colourful ' spots ' of beer drinks - a welcome sight after the bleakness of the interior country, in which greenery was conspicuous by its absence. The ' mountain ' country of the Xesibe also contrasted sharply with the low - lying ' resettled ' areas. My guide and I would travel up rocky paths and arrive at a homestead in the semi - dark, - and this at midday! When we returned to the lower country, we always felt disorientated because we still had daylight at 1700hrs, whereas we had recorded in the dark only five hours earlier!

The darkness was, of course, due to the thick, heavy and saturating mists which seem to cover this part of the country perpetually. The homesteads situated on the slopes of mountains had lush gardens of cabbages and pumpkins, and even potatoes, some of which the homestead people sold to their neighbours ' down there ' as they referred to them, who could not hope to produce such crops.

(i) Beer drinks

Informal beer drinks are referred to in the locative - etywaleni - and are given by private individuals whenever they please. No invitations are necessary, as anyone is free to attend. Today beer drinks are attended by married couples and bachelors; in former times, however, only people who had been married for some time, and had had several children, attended these drinks.

Formal beer drinks are attended by married men and unattached women (idikazi pl. amadikazi; ijayela pl. amajayela = Thembu and Xhosa), and these have special names. These people are known as amaTshawe (from Tshawe, the ' Royal house of the Gcaleka '); they form an exclusive ' club ' and pay a small membership fee which usually goes toward financing their social activities. Traditional dress is compulsory at these drinks; as one headman Dalasile told me, ' You would be kicked out if you came wearing trousers '.

In Pondoland I arrived at one of these drinks, after having fallen down a mountain slope en route, and consequently my clothes were in a bad condition - torn and dirty. One woman,

quite unconcerned about this, proceeded to tell me that I ' had almost broken the rules, with my men's trousers ' (ibhulukhwe lamadoda, from Afrikaans ' broek ') - a joke which caused everyone to laugh. She said almost - because I was only a woman, and a White one at that, so it did not matter.

The beer drinks of Tshawe people are known as itimiti pl. iitimiti (all Cape Nguni) and ibhasi pl. iibhasi, a term used only by the Thembu and Mpondomise. Itimiti is also the name of the informal beer drink attended by everyone and is therefore quite distinct from the Tshawe beer drink. I was puzzled as to how the name ibhasi derived from the English word ' bus ', which the people said it did. Explanations such as ' because people caught the bus ' did not seem logical, because most people walk to these drinks. After some weeks in the field, the whole matter was clarified at one of these beer drinks, by one of the men attending it. The term ibhasi, deriving from Eng. ' bus ', denotes the way in which the sexes mingle at the event. They no longer sit apart, in separate groups, as was the custom, but instead they sit with each other ' just as they do in the bus ' - hence the name ibhasi. This is fast becoming the procedure at all beer drinks today.

(ii) Iitimiti beer drinks

Iitimiti are informal beer drinks attended by everyone, and are modelled on the ' tea - meetings ' attended by Christian Africans, at which normally no beer is served. Today, however, beer is often served, although the older people (Christians) frown on this.

Iibhasi/iitimiti songs which are sung by Tshawe people who attend these functions, are called iingoma zebhasi/zetimiti respectively (' ibhasi/itimiti songs '). The songs are additionally known as iingoma zamaTshawe (' Tshawe songs '), which category includes (i) all Beer songs and (ii) dance songs sung by Tshawe people at the events they usually attend. Thus ' Tshawe songs ' refers to the broader category, whereas ' ibhasi/itimiti songs ' refers to the songs of the exclusive and non - exclusive beer drinks. The two categories are used in everyday discourse, which is very puzzling to a stranger; I found that, more often than not, the speaker was referring to the exclusive beer songs.

Ceremonial beer drinks are held as part of important social events, e.g. the pre - circumcision ceremony (umgubho) and the umtshilo dances, and also the ' coming out ' ceremony and celebrations of initiated boys (umphumo); certain sacrifices, weddings (both traditional and Christian), and the ' coming out celebrations of girl initiates, at the end of their seclusion period. The songs performed at these events are related to the main event, e.g. umtshilo dance songs and other circumcision songs (iingoma zokwalusa) are sung by married women at umphumo . In addition, beer songs are adapted to suit the new contexts. Not only are the texts varied, but the music is also ' changed ' and characteristic rhythms are employed. I attended an umphumo of initiated boys and listened to some beer songs sung to the beating of sticks on a sail - cloth, an accompaniment that is usually reserved for initiation music. (The sail - cloth is the modern substitute for the ingqongqo).

(iii) Beer songs for work parties

Work parties are held by individuals whenever a rather tedious job of work has to be done, e.g. ploughing, planting, hoeing, weeding, threshing, scuffling and building a new hut. Among the C.T.P. and Mfengu, these work parties are known as ilima pl. amalima, while among the other Cape Nguni clusters they are known as isitshongo pl. izitshongo (Bhaca = ititshongo). Neighbours who agree to assist are rewarded with beer and food (usually meat). At these work parties men usually do the same work as the women, thus a work party for hoeing is one occasion on which men also hoe, a task which is always done by women.

At the end of a day's work, the workers may gather to drink beer and sing and dance. Alternately, they may wait until all work has been completed over several days, and then enjoy a big party of beer and meat. Most people I met much preferred this type of work party. Among the Bhaca, work parties are seldom organized for reaping, but at harvest time, workers are permitted to take home a small quantity of maize cobs and pumpkins (Hammond - Tooke 1962: 144). Bhaca ititshongo are also held when periodic visits between families take place. These are ' a logical extension of its primary meaning of the reciprocal exchange of meat and beer for labour performed to the exchange of gifts between the families of the bride and groom ' (op.cit. :120). The main visit is one which the Bhaca call ukubona umti (Xhosa umzi), which takes place at the groom's home; the bride's people bring presents to her in - laws. The visit is returned some months

later by the groom's parents. A feature of these visits, of which similar ones are made by people of the other clusters, is competitive singing between the women. Men, if present, may join in with dancing and a little singing. The only person who may not dance on these occasions is the mother of the bride (ibid.). Attendance at work parties is not compulsory, and if a person cannot manage to consistently attend one (until the work is done) he/she is not censured. Work party songs are really beer songs (' songs for beer ') but they are classified according to their social function. Thus they are known collectively as iingoma zelima pl.zamalima, and iingoma zesitshongo pl. zezitshongo/zetitshongo respectively. Their performance, whether it is done during or after work, certainly makes the work more enjoyable, as of course does the beer and meat. The only setback is, as I mentioned in chapter 3, that singing is often not conducive to a good job of work.

Apparently izitshongo are organized for Christians, and for children (cf. Hammond - Tooke op.cit. : 145) when firewood is to be collected; in neither case is beer served. As Hammond - Tooke writes:

'Beer is the sanction par excellence for work parties, and in the circumstances there is the tendency for Christians to do the work themselves. Only when work is too heavy is a party organized for them' (ibid.)

The same author adds that the increase of Christianity has led to a decline in this type of co - operative interaction.

During fieldwork, I seldom encountered work parties among the C.T.P. They were held frequently by the Xesibe and Eastern

Mpondo, however, who were more fortunate with their crops, and in their districts I recorded many beer songs.

Beer is sold at ' bars ' known as indali (Mpondo, Xesibe), ibali (from Eng. 'bar '), a term in common use, and potsoyi (Thembu and Mpondomise). Beer is also bought at tribal itimiti, and at beer drinks among the Mpondo known as ibhundela. Indali is in fact a Zulu term meaning ' bargain '; the word is usually splashed over shop windows in the towns and cities at Christmas time and after, when the summer sales commence. Beer at indali was certainly a bargain, at 5c a basketful, or canful. The bars were a great source of music. One had only to buy one or two rounds, and the singing would begin. People did not sing only Beer songs, but other types of music as well. Women tended to sing their own umngqungqo/ umgquzo songs, as well as a few circumcision songs. Most performances of beer songs take place at proper beer drinks.

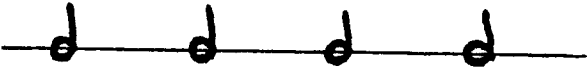
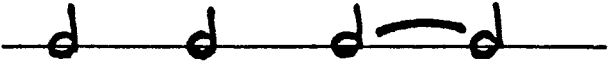
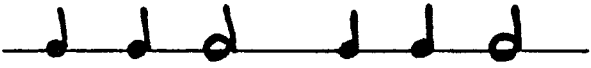
(iv) The music

The repertory of beer songs includes (i) songs that workers sing as they go about their work - these are not work songs, but simple versions of beer songs, the rhythms of which may or may not evolve from the work being done; (ii) songs which are not necessarily accompanied by dancing, although anyone may get up and dance if he/she wishes to do so; these songs are sung to ' open ' the beer drink, and between performances of real dance songs which have a faster tempo; (iii) lively dance songs which are accompanied by dancers who perform stereotyped steps or improvise their own.

Regarding (i), (ii) and (iii): the basic metrical patterns of all beer songs are based on (a) 4 minim beats and/or its divisions (the greater number of songs follow this pattern), and (b) 4 dotted crotchet beats, e.g. the basic metrical patterns of the following songs, which are representative of this broad category of music:

Figure 69 :

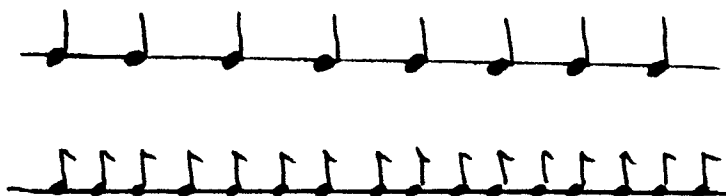
Tempo:

1. $\text{♩} = 64 \text{ M.M.}$ (Thembu/Mpondomise + Xhosa) 
2. Tempo:
 $\text{♩} = 76 \text{ M.M.}$ (Pondo) 
3. Tempo:
 $\text{♩} = 60$ (Thembu/Xhosa) 
4. Tempo:
 $\text{♩} = 96$ (Thembu/Xhosa) 
5. Tempo:
 $\text{♩} = 112 \text{ M.M.}$ (Xesibe) 
6. Tempo:
 $\text{♩} = 116 \text{ M.M.}$ (Xesibe) 
7. Tempo:
 $\text{♩} = 136 \text{ M.M.}$ (Xesibe/Mpondo)
(-138) 
8. Tempo:
 $\text{♩} = 150 \text{ M.M.}$ (Xesibe) 
9. Tempo:
 $\text{♩} = 150-152$ (Xesibe/Mpondo)
- dotted rhythm 

10. Tempo:

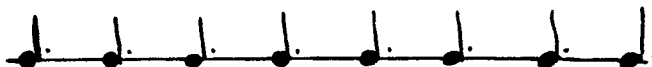
♩ = 158 - 160 M.M.

(Mpondo)



11. Tempo:

♩. = 84 (dotted rhythm)



This Table excludes any metrical patterns of Bhaca beer songs, as I was unable to record any during my stay in the Bhaca area. Recordings of Bomvana beer songs are few, and therefore I am unable to make any estimate of their approximate speed and their basic metrical patterns. In style, however, they reveal the vocal polyrhythm and polyphony which is typical of the music of the C.T.P. The Magistrate in Gatyana district refused to assist in any way, so, rather discouraged, I went down to this district with a guide to look about. The **reaction** of the people was such that we had to abandon any plans for recording in this area. Thus, I have no recorded items of music from this district, which is inhabited by Bomvana and Gcaleka peoples.

The above metrical patterns are simple enough, but they provide a solid metrical base against which to combine voices in polyrhythm. The most extreme cases of vocal polyrhythm and polyphony are to be found in the beer songs of the Thembu, Xhosa, Bomvana and Mpondomise; in comparison, the vocal

organization in Mpondo and Xesibe beer songs is less complex. In these songs, additional voice parts sing along with one of the two essential parts (solo or chorus) , so that a basic twofold temporal contrast is retained. The vocal parts together provide a counter - rhythm to the rhythm of the clap patterns (cf. chap. 8 : 620 - 621).

Isitshongo songs accompany spirited kicking/stamping steps (uku - ndinditha) of women, who usually dance in pairs while the others sing and clap. Men might take their turns, but they seem to prefer the beer songs with slower tempi for dancing. Both isitshongo and beer songs proper are referred to as amusements (izidlalo). Figures 73 and 74 are transcriptions of two isitshongo songs of the Xesibe and Mpondo clusters. Beer songs are also sung at traditional weddings by men and women. At the end of this discussion I have given some extracts from beer songs, together with a few details about their texts and other relevant matter. Location on the enclosed Tape(s) is also indicated alongside the title of each song. (Cf. pp. 444 - 451).

Figure 70 (Walala wayigum' intokazi) , for which I have given a fairly extended transcription) , has an involved metre which is rather unusual for beer songs. Its basic metre comprises (4 + 4) + (4 + 4) crotchets, which pattern is repeated to accompany two ' lines ' of the song - text. This is followed by a repetition of this same metrical pattern to accompany a further two ' lines ' of the song. Thus the total structure or strophe comprises two repetitions of the basic metrical pattern (in crotchets), and all repeats of the

Figure 70

Extracts from a Beer song of Xesibe Tshawe people,
entitled Walala wayigum' intokati (' He slept and
towered over the girl '). Ex. No. 45 on Tape 1b.

Pitch: Present "C" = original Bflat, rising to B⁽⁴⁾

Mode: Hexatonic (< three major triads based on roots
D, C and Bflat; the 3rd above D root is absent
(i.e. F).

Strophe length: (16 + 16) X  or (4+4) + (4+4) X 2  s.
Tempo:  = 138 M.M.

This is a very lively circle dance song, danced anti -
clockwise. It is usually sung after one or two 'warming
up' songs (when only one or two rounds of beer have been
passed) which are not accompanied by dancing.

Text:

<u>Ho ndrila</u> <u>namadoda</u> ,	Ho! I am sleeping with men,
Ho <u>madod'</u> <u>onke</u> ,	Ho! the woman for all men,
<u>Walala wayigum'</u> <u>intokati</u> ,	He slept and towered over the girl,
<u>We!</u> <u>ndrabona</u> <u>'maTshawe</u> .	Oh yes! I saw the Tshawe people.
(interpolation)	(trans. R Jakuja)

uMadod' onke is a derogatory name for a woman who sleeps
with any man, and not one particular man.

N.B.: The r is pronounced as in Afrikaans (rolled r).

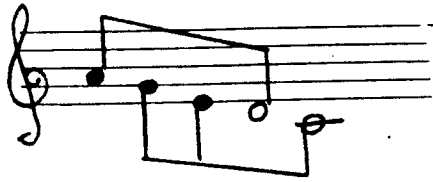
ndri/ndra = Xesibe dialect, and is equivalent to
ndi/nda in Xhosa. In the Xesibe dialect, the
consonant nd is commonly followed by an r .

intokati = Xesibe and Bhaca form of intokazi (Xhosa).

From time to time a singer entered the centre of the
circle and performed a 'solo' stamping dance (- ndinditha).
(Xesibe form: ndrindritha).

Hó! ndrilála ná mádoda,
Wálála wáyigum' intokati la.

Mode:



A

1.

(song leader = male) ; (Chorus 1 (mainly women)) 1.

SL. 1. *Ho ndri - za-za na ma-do-da ho-ha Ho*

Ch. 1. *Ho - ma-do-da ho-ha Ho*

(4/4)

2.

SL. 2. *yo-ya - ho - o - ho - gu ma - ti - la,*

Ch. 2. *- ho - o - o - - ho -*

AI + cu. *Ho -*

CLAPS

3.

SL. 3. *Wa - za-za Ho do-da ho-ha*

Ch. 2 (Tacet)

S2 + Chorus 2. *Ho*

A 1. = 'solo' female singer; Chor. 2 = men. S2 = assistant leader (woman).

4 A (ctd).

CLAPS
Sh

TACET

~ ho - o - ha - a way' gum ho - ho

PS2 + Ch2.

Chor.

5.

CLAPS

Sh. (-gwaba style)

Wa - za - za na ma - do - da

Chor. 2.

ma - do - da, Ho - o - ho

B1. BI: Ho ho - o - o, Hm -

PS2

Wa - za za na ma - do za, Ho -

6.

Sh.

ha - ya - ya - kho - hm Ho gum - a ti - za,

B1 - hm - m hm - yuh!

PS2

S3

A1 - ch. I

ya - ya - kho - hm

A1 + Ch. 1

Wo

7. A (ctd.)

wa-za-la ho so-so namadoda

Ho ha-ha - o way-i-gum, ho-o ha-wo

Ha-ha - o way gum ho-ha - ,

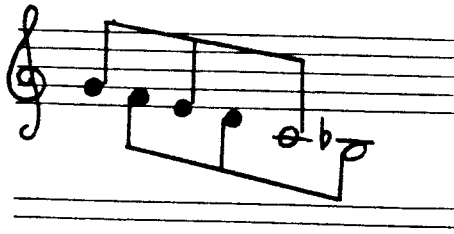
Ho-o - ha o-ha-a Way' gum ho-ha,

Bl. = 'baritone' (additional 'solo' voice part).

Tl. = 'tenor' (additional voice part = young man), singing 'solo'.

S3 = additional 'solo' voice part (woman).

Mode:



B.

1. **claps** **T1** **B1**

Way' jum' ho-ma, Ho

2. **T1** **B1** **ch. 2: 7** **B1**

ho-mo ngum ho-ma He

3. **A1** **B1** **ch. 2: 7** **B1** **ch. 2: 7** **B1**

Yo-ho-ho Way-gum, He ndvabo-na ma Tshaw?

Yo-o ho Way-gum?

4. **♩** **S2: Mē-yo-me** **T1** **B1** **ch. 2: 7** **B1**

ma-ma Way-gum -- he-ho Way-gum.

ma-me,

Figure 70 (ctd.)

Section B consist mainly of the sequential repetition of a dominant motif from the song's main melody, by individual singers plus Chorus.

B (ctd.):

Root progression sequence in strophe:

- (A): $\parallel : D - - - D \mid C - D - - D \parallel C - - - C \mid D - C - D - D : \parallel$
8 x d 8 x d 8 x d
- ((B): $\parallel : C - - B^b - C - B^b - C : \parallel$
8 x d

The above root progression sequences indicate that this song has triradical tonality.

song are in four ' lines ' to make up the strophe. After three or four repetitions, the voices break up and proceed to combine polyrhythmically, with the voice parts entering successively in the pattern. What is even more obvious is the excessive off - beating which occurs between the word - syllables and melodic accents and the regular handclaps. In general, off - beating is employed to a far greater extent in Xesibe and Mpondo music, than in the music of the Xhosa, Thembu and Bomvana peoples. Other beer songs reveal an extensive use of off - beating, supplemented by vocal rhythmic interplay of the voices at certain moments in the pattern. The transcription of a Thembu ibhasi song, Ndachola umngqa ka Jekulani (' I picked up Jekulani's beads ') reveals a more intensified application of the polyrhythmic technique (cf. Figure 71:441; Ex. No. 46 on Tape 1b).

One may compare this song with the song previously mentioned (Figure 70), and the extracts of a few Mpondo beer songs (Figures 72, 75 & 76), in which true polyrhythm is virtually absent. In these songs, polyrhythmic combinations occur mainly between the clap patterns and all the voice parts, who generally adhere to the same rhythmic patterns. This does not come anywhere near the complex vocal organization achieved by singers in Thembu and Xhosa beer songs. (Cf. pp. 444-5, & 449-51).

The dancing accompanying isitshongo songs is very hectic, when compared with the more restrained movements executed by Thembu and Xhosa men and women when singing their proper beer songs. The Mpondo also tend to perform more strenuous movements when singing their beer songs. The ' shaking ' movement is

Figure 71

Extract from a Tshawe Beer song of the Thembu cluster,
entitled Ndachola umngga ka Jekulani

(' I picked up Jekulani's beads ')

Ex. No. 46 on Tape 1b

Pitch: Present "C" = original "C"

(The song leader begins the song on a pitch corresponding
to Gsharp, but soon rises to A).

Mode: hexa-based pentatonic

Strophe length: 4 x d

Tempo: d = 60 M.M.

Full text:

Ndachola umngga ka
Jekulani,
Phezu kolwandle.

I picked up Jekulani's beads,
High above the sea.
(trans. N Q Dingiswayo).

Umngga = a string of white beads which are worn by diviners.
When buying them from a trading store, one asks: "Aw'nik'
umngga 'mhlophe" (' Give me white beads ') which denotes
one string of these beads.

The Chorus seldom sings complete words and phrases; these
are replaced by syllables which are drawn out and sung very
legato. The song leader 'holds' the melody throughout the
performance, varying its rhythm slightly just before the
song ends. This extract demonstrates the melodic/rhythmic
interplay of several 'solo' singers plus Chorus; in the
total performance of the song most (if not all) the other
singers interpolate phrases, while the song leader sings
the main melody as an ostinato. This song is representative
of Beer songs of the Xhosa, Thembu, Bomvana and Mpondomise
chiefdom clusters (of the Tshawe people). It belongs to
the category of ' delaying ' (i.e. slow) songs.

Figure 71 (ctd.)

CHAPS

St. *G-yo unda chol umncipkaJekulon* -

Ch. *ho-o-o-ho Ah.... mo-*

S4 *ho-o-o-ho; o-hi-ye-he Ah.... mo*

St. *ho-mo-o - mo; ho-.... mo-*

Ch. *ho-mo-o - mo; o-ho ho-o*

S4 *ho-mo-o - mo; o-ho ho-o*

S7 *ma-na, a-a, ha-a-a;*

S4 *Ho-ho-o-o; He*

Figure 71 (ctd.)

Sl.
 O - yo un - da - chal umngga Tekulan'
 Ch.
 O - yo un - da - chal umngga Tekulan' ;
 Ch.
 pha - ho - ho ho
 S. 1.
 O - ho Ho
 S2.
 Ho ye
 S3.
 Sl. as before
 Chorus:
 - phe - ay ho! wan - die;
 S4
 Ho
 S2
 yo phe - ay - ko Ho
 S3
 S4
 umngga
 S5.
 O - ye - ho hay - ha

Figure 72

Transcription of an Mpondo Beer song of
Tshawe people, entitled Hlek' uzugethuke
(' Laugh and fall over ')

Ex. No. 48 on Tape 1b.

Pitch: Present "E" = original G

Mode: hexa-based pentatonic (< two triads based on roots

Strophe length: 4 x d

A and G ; see below).

Tempo: d = 76 M.M.

Text:

Hlek' uzugethuké,

Laugh and fall over,

Khawuhlek' uzugethuké.

You laugh and fall over.

This particular Beer song is sung at Tshawe beer drinks
(itimiti pl. iitimiti) .

Mode: (the 3rd above root A (C#) is absent).



51. Ch: aw'ge.

Hlek' u-zu-ge - thu-ke

Slip

Ch: aw'ge.

aw'hlek' u-zu-ge - thu-ke, Khaw'ge

32.

thu-ke ye wa Khaw-ge

Figure 72 (ctd.)

Aw'hlek' u-zu-ge. thu-ke Khaw'ge-

TI 52. E E : TI Ye wo-wa

thuke; Ye - wa aw'ge

1 52. 3 (Clorus).

thuke; Ye - wo-wa aw'ge-

2.

thuke; Ye - ye - ye aw'ge-

3.

thuke; Ye - ye - he aw'ge-

4

thuke; Yi - ye - ya aw'ge-

(Y) d d d d

Figure 73

Extract from a Xesibe dance song for isitshongo

(a work party) entitled Ho buyakhathaza ubumene-mene

(' Oh! Gossip is rife! ') Ex. No. 49 on Tape

Pitch: present "C" = original C#

Mode: hexa-based pentatonic

Strophe length: 8 x d

Tempo: ♩ = 152 M.M.

1 SL.
Ho! bu-ya-khatha-za nda-ba songame-ne-mene; Ho! bu-yakha...ete.
Ch. Ho! bu-ya-khatha-za nda-ba sabu mene mene;
as before

2. SL.
bu-ya-khatha he-yu-ho We ya-ho - Ho
Ch. Hu ya ya-ho-ho
ff

Patterns 1 and 2 are repeated any number of times (ad lib).

Text:

Ho buyakhathaza ubumene-mene ,

He! ukwel' indaba

ngamamene-mene.

Oh! Gossip is rife!

Gossip-mongering by

prattling charlatans.

(trans. R Jakuja).

possibly the most violent movement performed by the Thembu and Xhosa. This relatively quieter dancing probably allows for more concentration on the music (which also has a slower tempo), than is possible in the isitshongo songs, which have a quicker tempo and accompany much more vigorous dancing. In the performance of these songs, singers simply stop singing, but keep up the clapping and add a few hummed phrases, while the dancers kick and stamp' (- ndinditha).

Many of the beer songs are topical in that they comment on events which have happened, or are about to happen, and which are of importance to the society. They might, in their texts, criticise someone or something, e.g. Inkomo yijithile, which is a good - natured criticism of a stingy man who has not had a feast for a long time - so long, that the beast that would have been slaughtered has aged and become tough and well - nigh inedible. Hunter has mentioned imidlalo ngochuku (' quarrel songs ', 1936: 368), but I did not come across this term during fieldwork. The songs of criticism were always called imidlalo (' games '): as the singers said of them, ' We are just joking '. Nevertheless, many of these songs showed keen perception on the part of the singers. The - qubula (' surprise ') song for Mpondo men, Mayiphele inkani Mangcoya (cf. Figure 75 449; ; Ex. No. 47 on Tape 1b), is a ' warning ' song as well as a song of criticism. The original recipient of the song (who was, by all accounts, very surprised when it was sung in his presence), is warned that he must stop being so obstinate, or he will be killed by Nyauza clansmen.

Figure 75

Mpondo Beer song entitled Mayiphele inkani Mangcoya

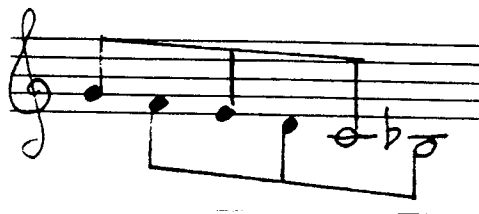
(' Stop your obstinacy Mangcoya ')

Also known as the 'mens' "Surprise" song ' (ingoma yomqubulo wamadoda). Ex. No. 47 on Tape 1b.

Pitch: Present "C" = original C (no transposition)

Mode: hexatonic (< two major triads based on roots C and B^b):

Tempo: ♩. = 176 M.M.



Strophe length:
16 x ♩.

3b.

f

Phe-le mayiphele Mangcoya phe - - - le

22 x Ch.

1 SL. Ch. 1

Maiphele he-e may' phele Ma-ngcoya Mayiphele inkani hemwa-me,

BASIC

METRE.

A

2 SL. Ch. 1

Bona maNyauz a-phetha im'khont kwam Ni-zaku bu-zaw, B

52. Ch. 2.

Siyaku-bona maNyauz a-phetha im'khont kwam, Ni-zaku bu-zaw;

A & B = total structure and strophe of the song.

Root progression sequence in strophe:

A: | : C - - B^b - C | C - B^b - - B^b

B: C - - B - C | C - - - B^b C : |

Figure 75 (ctd.)

3. 31. + ch. 1. .

May phe - ze may phe ze Mangcoya

May phel' ka-an

geya May ph' lin-ka-ni,

4. May phe - ze may phel Mangcoya, May phel inkani Henwa-me, A

geya May phel inkani

B as before.

The claps commence quite late in the performance (after three executions of the strophe).

According to informants, the original recipient of this 'surprise' song was an important man who had greatly annoyed his neighbours by his actions. This song was sung at a beer drink as a warning to this man, who was by all accounts both 'surprised' and 'dismayed' when he heard it.

Text:

Mayiphelé inkani Mangcoya,

Siyakubóna

Siyawabóna ámáNyatza,

Áphéthe imikhónto kwám.

Stop your obstinacy, Mangcoya,

You are to be killed by the
Nyauza clan,

Who carry spears.

(trans E Mbarhane)

There is always plenty of scope for solo performances and artistic display at beer drinks. Good singers and dancers come into their own, and have a critical audience to perform before (judging from the comments I heard). The majority of song leaders are women, which may be due to women's traditional role in musical performances: they are mainly singers. Good solo performers are usually musicians who accompany themselves on an instrument. They are almost always men, and the instruments are always Western European, e.g. James Mthamo, Barnabas Mhleli and Xhosa Mkhane, who are greatly admired and very welcome at beer drinks. Their solo instrumental songs are often topical, e.g. Mthamo's song about the Mpondo non - acceptance of self - government. The songs may have love themes (there are several of these), or they may be ' joking ' songs, in which, for instance, a woman is gambled away to another man at a beer drink. Just as beer drinks are incomplete without music, so is music incapable of being performed without the reward of beer. One or two cans or baskets of beer must be passed round before any singing is to commence. Successive rounds between performances induce more singing, hence the phrase ' the song is sweeter by repetition ', i.e. by repetition of a round of beer, and therefore, the music.

When there has been a good crop of maize, beer drinks take place almost without stop. Tshawe men and women will go about for some two or three weeks doing the round of beer drinks, gossiping, exchanging news and enjoying themselves. I went to the homestead of a certain headman to enquire about

a forthcoming umphumo ceremony for initiated boys, only to find that the man was not at home; he had in fact been away for some days. His wife told me that he ' was somewhere between the beer drinks ' and could not say when he would be home again!

(v) Walking songs to beer drinks

Tshawe people have special Walking songs which they sing en route to various functions - beer drinks, weddings, installations, and even to work parties. The structures of these songs are almost identical to the Walking/Marching songs of other core groups in the society: descending melodies sung antiphonally by song leader and chorus, and occasionally harmonized in parallel motion. The melodies are usually based on patterns of 12 or 16 quavers. The ' special ' Walking song of Xesibe adult men and women is rather unique in this category of music. Entitled Yinkosi leyo, iyawuthatha lomhlaba (' Behold the chief, he is confiscating the land ') (cf. Figure 77: 455; Ex. No. 52 on Tape 1b). Unlike the other Marching songs it has an irregular metre: two vocal patterns of vocables are sung to the main melody or its variation(s), one pattern retaining a basic metre of 11 crotchets; this is followed alternately by a second pattern of melody which has a varying metre of first 8, and then 9 crotchets.

In another version of the song (Figure 78) the same alternation of two basic metres is adhered to (cf. pp. 456 and p. 457), in this case, ' lines ' or patterns of 7 and then 6

Figure 77

Marching song of Xesibe tribal men and women:

Wubhekeni maXesibe (' Behold the land, Xesibe people ')

Pitch: Present "C" = original Aflat

Mode: hexa-based pentatonic (< two major triads
based on roots D and C; the 3rd above D root
(F#) is absent)

Strophe length: (see below)

Tempo: ♩ = 78 M.M.

Ex. No. 52 on Tape 1b.

Text - wise. the song is in verse form: lines of words and music are built up on basic metres of 11, 9 and 8 crotchets. The predominant pattern and its basic metre of 11 crotchets is repeated throughout the song, but each repetition is followed by a 'line' of words or vocables and melody whose basic metre is alternately 8 then 9 crotchets. Thus the whole song comprises successive patterns with ' variable ' metres:

11. . . .
8. . . .
11. . . .
9. . . .
11. . . .
8. . . . etc.

In singing, the words are replaced by vocables or are partly sung, e.g. maXes-O-o; then lapse into vocables. The song leader (a young man) sings in - tshotsha/-guburha style (uku - gwaba) which is employed by Xesibe (and Mpondo) men.

✕ = superimposed beats. The men shook their sticks on alternate beats, while a few of them beat their sticks on the ground on every beat. The song is usually sung en route to weddings and Beer drinks (iitimiti).

The song is alternately entitled : Yinkosi leyo (' That is the chief '), and Iyawuthatha lomhlaba (' he is confiscating the land ').

Text: Yinkósi léyo ,
Íyawuthátha lómhlaba ,
Wúbhekéni maXésibe .

That is the chief,
He is confiscating the land,
Behold (the land) Xesibe
people.
(trans. R Jakuja)

1. *Sl. Sl. ch. Yawa nta-wa-ntawa Wa-nta-wa-ya; Sl. Ya-*
Ya-ai-waa ff Sl+ch. wo-wa ff
7. ch. (guar+unison)

2. *Sl. -wa-wa-a wantawa-nawa, Yawa-nta-wa. d x 8*
Sl+ch. Yawa...nta...wa-Ah!

3. *Sl. wa-ntawa-a-a Wubhe-ke-en ho-lomblabaho ma-Xesi-yo-a)*
Sl+ch. fff Ya-Ah!
a. a. wawa-wantawa-ya wa-wa yin-ko-si zeyo

4. *wan-tawa Wubhe-ke-n'Ho-*
Sl+ch. fff d x 8
.wawa-wa-wa Wubhe-ke-n'Ho-

5. *Sl. Wowa wawantawa lomblab'iyawo' thatha lomblab' Xesi-o-o Sl d x 11*
S+ch. Chorus
i-yawu-thatha lom-habma-Xesi-be yawa

6. *Sl. ta-wa-n-wa Wubhe-ke-n'Ho-*
Ch. Sl+ch. d x 9

Figure 78

Second version of the Xesibe Marching song (cf. Figure 77)

Mode: hexa-based pentatonic (the 3rd above C root is sung as a minor interval occasionally).

Strophe length ; (see pp. 453 & 457.

Tempo: ♩ = 66 M.M. (♩ = 132 M.M.)

The musical score is written in staff notation with two parts: 'Sb.' (Soprano) and 'Ch.' (Chorus). The lyrics are written below the notes. The tempo is marked as ♩ = 66 M.M. (♩ = 132 M.M.). The score is divided into three systems, each with a repeat sign at the end.

System 1:

- Sb.:** Hla-ba Ho - - - ya.
- Ch.:** Wa sab' u- tsha -ba - na ~~~~~ = 14x ♩

System 2:

- Sb.:** Wu- bho - kio We! Xos' wa sab' ja'o o-aw.bhek' nke
- Ch.:** ~~~~~ = 16x ♩

System 3:

- Sb.:** Sa-bana O-nke sabana
- Ch.:** Wo- wa-ku sa-b a - za ~~~~~ = 14x ♩

Figure 78 (ctd.)

Sl. { Wa- waya-a-a n-jawa~

CH { ya-wa-tha-tha Ma Xo-suxa-ba-nja-a-2o-o; } 16r.s. } 8r.s.

Sl. { 2o-wa; a-yawa - a-a-a nja~

CH { Waw Sa-b'u-tshoba-na - - - - ye } 14r.s. } 7r.s.

Sl. { Wu-bhe-ken-he, Hewu-ye-he

CH { Wu-bhe-ken-he, Ma Xo-suxa-ba-nja-2o-o-o; } 16r.s. } 7r.s.

Vocal phrases which are sung in this performance:

Walaba saye

They are helpless (so they say),

Wowu maTshawe, uxolo!

Hallo Tshawe people, peace!

Aw'bhek! - njalo

Behold! It is like that,

Onke 'saba na;

All are fleeing from it;

'yawuthatha lomhlaba.

He is confiscating the land.

The song consists of repetitions of these phrases (each having a basic metre of 7, and 8 crotchets respectively).

The phrases are selected by the song leader, who is careful to retain a sequence of basic metres of 7, then 8 crotchets.

crotchets alternately. The transcriptions of these songs appear on pp. 455, 456 , together with details of the music and its performance. I did not find any other songs with this type of structure.

11. Isawundi pl. amaSawundi (' Sound pl. Sounds ')

The variety of styles in the musical tradition of Cape Nguni society reflects the variety of its social groups. Traditional Xhosa music has the greatest impact on amaqaba rural people, because it expresses aspects of their experiences as individuals in a rural society. Thus their music, or rather its sound, is effective only in the right social context. The sound of neo - Xhosa music, of which ' Sounds ' are representative, bridges cultural barriers and makes an impact not only on urbanized ' dressed ' Cape Nguni, but on people of other ethnic groups who may not know or speak the Xhosa language, but nevertheless sing these songs and enjoy them, without being aware of their original social context. This is because ' the sound of this ' new ' or ' modern ' music (called ' the now music ' - (in English) or ' i - modern ' by the people themselves), reflects and reinforces the values that are held by the new, urban group of Africans who live in a new socio - economic environment.

Sounds (pronounced mostly the English way) are sung by most, if not all the urbanized Black people of Southern Africa, who even share the same individual songs. Although I am concerned at this point with Xhosa Sounds, as a distinct style and category of Xhosa music, much, if not all that I have to say about them is valid for the Sounds sung by the

other ethnic groups.

The composers of Sounds are seldom if ever known.

As one informant put it, ' Sounds just crop up. Someone gets an idea about something that is going on, puts it to music and tries it out with a group - and that's it ' (Elijah Mbarhane). Their forms arise from the repetition of musical patterns, as do the forms of traditional music. Stylistically they reveal a combination of the harmonies of Western European hymn tunes (common chords and cadences), and the rhythms and parallel movement of traditional Xhosa music, and Afro - American jazz. They appear to be in simple or compound 4/4 time, but the basic metre of four beats is obscured by constructing melodies with additive and divisive rhythmic phrases, and by syncopation. This basic underlying metre is seldom expressed audibly in clapped or stamped ' beats '. Handclaps may occur, but they usually do so near the end of the song, e.g. when the chorus takes up the last repetition of the second part of the song. (Most Sounds are in A : B form, with repetitions). Thus the ' beat ' (' ngqongqo) is present in this music in the real jazz sense of the words; it is present not so much in the actual striking or beating of the time, or the pulsation, but in the ' swing ' that results. This ' swing ' is often manifested in a visible and physical way by school children, who sway and ' swing ' as they sing.

Sounds reveal other technical features which are present in jazz and its related musical styles: (i) the flare - up, which in jazz is ' the note held at the end of a chorus by

one musician to call for a final collective improvisation ' (Francis 1960: 178). A rudimentary ' flare - up ' is well illustrated in the song Izulu lelam (' The heaven is mine ', i.e. I am innocent ' , Figure 79 : 461), at the point where all three voices prepare for the chorus (sung to ' Izulu lelam lelam ' etc. The soloist or song leader draws attention to this not only musically (by holding and accenting tone B), but also verbally with the words ' Watsh' umlilo ' which accompany this preliminary phrase. Translated literally, this means ' light the fire '. The same song shows the use of another jazz device which is also essentially African - the ostinato, which in this song is the principal melodic phrase (it is rhythmic in character), and which also serves as an accompaniment to the other two voice parts. Paraphrasing, another jazz technique, is discernible in the same song. The accompanying ostinato phrase already referred to is enriched sonorously by the other voice parts singing a slightly altered variation of it. These two voice parts accent the off - beat tones, whilst simultaneously singing improvised words. As is the case in traditional Xhosa music, so in this neo - Xhosa music, the strict ' solo ' does not exist. When the song leader sings ' solo ' (as I have indicated in the transcription), he/she is nearly always accompanied, even if it is by a tenuto note in one of the other voice parts.

The ' scat ' style of singing is also employed in many Sounds, e.g. Yithina labo (' We are they ', Figure 80: 463- 4), (extract only), in which both solo and chorus sing a variation of the main theme, improvising on it with vocables

Figure 79

Xesibe iindlavini Walking song in the form of a 'Sound'
entitled Izulu lelam (' The heaven is mine i.e.

I am innocent ') Ex. No. 53 on Tape 1b

Pitch: Present "C#" = original C# (no transposition)

Mode: heptatonic

Strophe length: 16 X (8 X)

Text:

<u>Ízulu lélám,</u>	The heaven is mine,
<u>Wáts'h' úmlilo,</u>	There burns the fire, i.e. light the fire,
<u>Mamá nótatá.</u>	Mother and father.

This particular performance was given by three singers (men),
one of them acting as song leader, and the other two as a
Chorus.

♩ = 88-90. 3 singers.

Sl. # (±)

O Ma8-La ~ nden zenina,

"Chorus" (Vari 2+3)

The zulu le lam le The zulu le lam

Sl. # #

O Ma8-Za - a, zenina,

"Chorus"

ze, The zulu le lam ze, The zulu le - lam

Figure 79 (ctd.)

Watsi' um-ZiZo, I: O. K. Baba no mama

SL

"Chorus":
(Voices 2)

yhe zulu le lam ze lam ze lam yhe zulu. ze. lam

Watsi' um-ZiZo, I: O. K. Baba no mama,

SL

"Chorus"

yhe zulu ze lam ze lam ze lam yhe zulu ze lam

I he-za he-za He! lame-zu He

SL

"Chorus"

yhe zulu ze lam yhe zulu ze. O Ma-Dla
etc.

Figure 80 (ctd.)

'Scat' singing in Part 2 of the song:

Sh. *dö dö-dä dö dö ... etc. dö dö dö do . . . dö-dö*

Chorus. *dede dede da da da da - da . . . do. do. do. do*

dö dö dö dö dö-dö . . .

dö . . . dö dö etc.

Text:

<u>Yithiná labó</u> (or <u>lābó</u>),	We are they,
<u>Sávelá ngónyok'</u> <u>émnyango</u> .	We came concerning
	your mother.

de -de da da do etc . Inflection, yet another feature of the traditional music and jazz, occurs frequently in the singing of these songs, e.g. Balele bonke kwaNongqongqo (' They are all asleep/sleeping at Ngqongqo/Ngqongqo's place, in jail '), Figure 81 : 466; Ex. No. 55 on Tape 1b). Additive and divisive phrases alternate in this song. Inflection occurs at that point where the soloist and chorus combine in singing a divisive motif to the vocables ye ye ye. The soloist inflects on the first, and on the last tones of this motif. The inflection is very small, and is in the nature of a small glissando or ' swoop ' upward (an on - glide) from the adjacent note that is approximately a whole tone's distance from the first tone of the motif. The inflection never exceeds one degree of the scale. In traditional music, singers often inflect the first note of a phrase, but they also approach it from above. These are the ' sharp attacks ' on the high note of a descending melodic phrase which have been described by several writers on African music. The reverse procedure is more common in the singing of Sounds.

Sounds are sung by children and adults, and in a variety of contexts: at school concerts and tea - meetings (iitimiti), weddings, installations, school sports, fetes, special functions for eminent persons in the new urban society (e.g. School Inspectors and teachers).

Sounds are sung by iindlavini at their umtshotsho parties, and at umbolorho (iindlavini ' singing for the bride ' at Christian weddings). The whole corpus of wedding music consists of Sounds, now that traditional weddings have all

Figure 81

Extract from iindlavini 'Sound' entitled

Balele bonke (' They are all asleep ') Ex. No. 55 on Tape 1b.

Balele bonke kwaNongqongqo, They are all asleep/sleeping
at Nongqongqo/at Nongqongqo's
entolongwen'. place,
in jail.

Pitch: Original pitch

Mode: Heptatonic (< two major triads based on roots A and E)

Strophe length: 24 x  (grouped into divisive and additive patterns of 6 quavers).

Tempo:  = 132 M.M.



Sl. Bale-le bonke Ba-le-le bonke

Entolongwen kwaNo-nggo-nggo

Sl. Ye-ha-la-la-he, Ye-ha-la-la-he,

Entolongwen ff Ye-ye-ye

Ye-ye ye Ye ha-la-la he Ye-ye-ye Ye ha-la-la he;

Ye-ye-ye Ye-ye-ye

Root progression sequence in strophe: A - - - - - E
(Tonality shift = 'tonic - dominant of West. Eur. music').

but died out. Sounds have even found their way into the various African churches, in which context they are called ' choruses ', and the music accompanies religious texts. Sounds are being constantly ' taken over ' by tribal teenagers, who sing their own versions at their umtshotsho dances (C.T.P.) and ipati dances (' intrusive ' clusters).

The texts of Sounds are very short, and seldom exceed two ' lines '. A few of them have texts of only one or two words. The words of the texts reflect attitudes and opinions of segments of the new urban group, e.g. diverse political opinions are expressed in two Sounds which share a common theme: Sesithembele kuwe, Matanzima (' We trust you, Matanzima '), and Waghosh' Matanzima (' You are boasting, Matanzima (like a White man '). The ' don't - care ' attitude to South Africa's Pass Laws is exhuberantly expressed in one of the most popular Sounds - uFikizolo ubanjiwe ngamaPassi (' uFikizolo has been caught on account of the Passes '), Figure 82 : 468; Ex. No. 56 on Tape 1b. Important events are recorded in Sounds, e.g. u - Kres Pana (' Chris Barnard '), which emerged when the heart surgeon performed his first heart - transplant operation (Figure 83: 470; Ex. No. 57 on Tape 1b). The words of Sounds also tell of big city life, e.g. eGoli Notsokolo, atyiw' amazambane (' In Johannesburg, Notsokolo, potatoes are eaten '). Potatoes are regarded as a luxury in the rural areas of Transkei and Ciskei, where the staple diet is maize meal. Another such Sound is E - Kimbali, amadod' asemgodini (' At Kimberley the men are down in the dark holes (mines) ').

Figure 82

Transcription of a 'Sound' (i - Sound):

Ufikizolo ubanjiwe ngamaPassi (' Ufikizolo has been caught because of his Pass lit. the Passes ').

Ex. No. 56 on Tape 1b

Pitch: Present "C" = original E

Mode: heptatonic = diatonic major scale of western Eur. music.

Cadential progression underlying the melody: { I - V - I = (8x2) x d.

Strophe length: 32 x d. (8+8) + (8+8) { I - ii^b - Vⁿ - I = (8x2) x d.

Tempo: d. = 126 M.M.

Sh.

u. fi. ki. gol' u. banji - we

u. ban. jelw' ngama. Pa - ... ss'

Basic

R.

SL + Ch.

u. fi. ki. - zol' u. banji. we - - - - , uban. jelw' ngama. Pa ... ss,'

u. fi. ki. - zol' u. banji - we uban. jelw' ngama. Pa - - - - ss'

Basic

R.

SL + Ch.

u. fi. ki. - zol' u. banji - we - - - - uban. jelw' ngama Pa ... ss,'

u. fi. ki. - zol' u. banji - we - - - - uban. jelw' ngama Pa ... ss,'

Basic

R.

SL + Ch.

u. fi. ki. - zol' u. banji - we - - - - uban. jelw' ngama Pa ... ss,'

u. fi. ki. - zol' u. banji - we - - - - uban. jelw' ngama Pa ... ss,'

Basic

R.

* Ndiboleke imali 1 borrowed money (to pay his fine, understood).

Handwritten musical score for Figure 82 (ctd.). The first system consists of three staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "u. ban-jelw'ngama. Pa ss', u. ban-jelw'ngama Pa ss'". The middle staff is another vocal line with lyrics: "u. ban-jelw'ngama. Pa ss', u. ban-jelw'ngama. Pa ss'". The bottom staff is a bass line with lyrics: "u. ban-jelw'ngama. Pa ss'".

Handwritten musical score for Figure 82 (ctd.), continuing from the first system. The second system also consists of three staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "u. ban-jelw'ngama. Pa ss' u. ban-jelw'ngama. Pa ss'". The middle staff is another vocal line with lyrics: "u. ban-jelw'ngama. Pa ss' u. ban-jelw'ngama. Pa ss'". The bottom staff is a bass line with lyrics: "u. ban-jelw'ngama. Pa ss'". Below the bottom staff, there is a handwritten note: "Ho-iyo-o-o".

Transcription of i - Sound: uKres Pana ('Chris Barnard)

Pitch: Original pitch

Ex. No. 57 on Tape 1b.

Mode: heptatonic (corresponding to diatonic major scale of Western music)

Strophe length: 24 x 

Tempo:  = 76 M.M.



Ma-si' -y' e- k-a-pa Sobon' u- Kres Pa-na, Ma-si' -y' e- k-a-pa Sobon' u- Kres Pa-na, Ma-si - (i) -y' e- k-a-pa Sobon' u- Kres Pa-na, u. phintli-zi-yo, o u-fakintli-zi-yo; u- k - phin-tli-zi-yo, u-fa - kin-ti-zi-yo. Pana Pana

Masiy' eKapa

Sobon' uKres Pana;

Ukhuph' intliziyo,

Ufak' intliziyo.

Let us go to the Cape
and see Chris Barnard;
He takes out a heart,
He puts in a heart.

(trans. N Q Dingiswayo)

Even more distant places are referred to: Sayiwel' iKatanga kwa-vela umoya (' They say they went across to Katanga by air '), and Sidum' ephesheya (' We are famous overseas '), which refers to the 1976 Soweto riots. There are Sounds which tell of farewells and lost love, the melodies of which are very nostalgic, e.g. O! Thandiwe (' Oh! Beloved '), in which the solo singer's dragging footsteps provide a basic metre which off - beats against the vocal parts. These are called ' sad Sounds ' but are surpassed by the number of Sounds which are lively and exuberant. The greater number of Sounds are characterized by their optimism, even when they tell of grievances and injustices. The unrest and riots of 1976 in Soweto saw the emergence of a new kind of Freedom song, far removed from the Freedom song composed by Benjamin Tyamzashe many years ago (1929). His Hayi abant' abamnyama (' Alas! the Black nation ') was a good - humoured criticism of the White man's laws. The new Freedom songs and Sounds which have ' cropped up ', and which the government authorities are constantly trying to oppress, are no longer humorous; (it is an offence to possess any of these songs; the texts of several of them were given to me verbatim). They reveal that the Black man today no longer views the ' trials of modern life ' with the humour and optimism of his parents and grandparents. No longer must injustice be endured with cheerful optimism; rather, it must be removed. As a very good friend of mine put it, ' It is not that we have lost our sense of humour; it is just that there is nothing to laugh about '.

The texts of Xhosa Sounds contain many ' foreign ' words -

Figure 84

Transcription of i - Sound :

Ndibatla wena (' I want you ') Ex. No. 58 on Tape 1b.

Pitch: Present "C" = original G (g')

Mode: Heptatonic

Strophe length: 16 x 

Tempo:  = 132 M.M.



Handwritten musical score for "Ndibatla wena". The score is written on three systems of staves. The first system has two staves (treble and bass clef) and a third line for "BASIC METRE". The second system also has two staves and a "BASIC METRE" line. The third system has two staves and a "BASIC METRE" line. The lyrics are written above the staves. The score includes a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a time signature of 4/4. The lyrics are in Xhosa and Sotho. The score is marked with "ch. 1." and "ch. 2." and includes a "BASIC METRE" line at the bottom of each system.

ch. 1. Ndine ho ndi-ba-tla wena ndine ho, Ndine ho! 2.

ch. 2. Ndine ho ndi-ba-tla wena Ndi - ne ho! ~ho. Ndi-

BASIC METRE: tshay-ze tshay-ze Ndi - ne ho!

Text:

Ndine ho! ndibatla wena,
Ndiyatsamaya, ndiyelesuthu,
Nditshayile.

Oh! I want you,
 I am going to Lesotho,
 I have finished.
 (Trans. E Mbarhane)

(Text consists of Xhosa and Sotho phrases
 with the same meanings)

Zulu, Sotho, Tswana and English/American, e.g. cf. extract of the Sound entitled Ndine ho, ndibatla wena (' I want you, I am going to Lesotho '), Figure 84 : 472; Ex. No. 58 on Tape 1b. Even the ubiquitous expressions ' O.K. ' and ' All right ' have been united in a Sound, which is sung entirely on these words. There are no Sounds with Afrikaans words.

Finally, Sounds are also called ' Breaks ', when sung in the context of ' straight ' choral songs which show, in their rhythmic rigidity, the influence of Western hymn - tunes. The performance of Sounds between such songs literally ' breaks ' the tedium of having to listen to these songs, which often have innumerable verses. One man suggested a eupeptic function for Sounds: in his opinion, they ' make that heavy stuff go down more easily '. Sounds are popular items at social events, to the extent that, when they are sung repetitively, most of the spectators after a while are themselves the singers.

12. Iingoma zesikolo (' School music ')

This category of music comprises the Sounds discussed previously, and the choral songs (basically four - part), the learning and performance of which are emphasized in the musical curriculum of African schools in Southern Africa. These choral songs include arrangements of traditional melodies and original compositions by Black composers, many of whom are or have been school teachers themselves (cf. Huskisson 1969). In the performances of these songs, teachers and composers/ conductors pay much attention to their interpretation; they observe accurately the dynamics and expression signs which have

been introduced into the scores by the composers and teachers. The scores are written in tonic solfa notation. Arrangements of traditional songs are usually not written down. Their melodies are already known to the choir members, who embellish them under the guidance of the conductor and song leader.

These modern choral songs have been described as ' Western European ', not only with regard to their rhythms, but also to their overall style. In fact, the music is as African in style as it is Western European. Chordal progressions, which have been regarded as harmonic ' errors ' because they were ' treated incorrectly ' owing to the composers' lack of technical musical skill, are really chordal progressions arising from an African method of harmonizing a melody. The harmony of this modern music is:

' . . . based on a system of chordal streams, punctuated by plagal and perfect cadences at the end of phrases, or lines in the case of hymns. Chordal streams have been used by twentieth century composers such as Vaughan Williams and Bartok, reviving the organum technique of the early middle ages, in which voices moved in parallel motion at intervals of the fourth, fifth and octave' (Blacking 1968).

Although Blacking is writing in the context of Venda music, his explanation is valid for all African music south of the Limpopo. The same writer continues in his explanation, in which he shows how the system of chordal streams is merely a continuation of the same technique of harmonizing which is utilized in traditional African music:

'The division of phrases into /organum + perfect or plagal cadence/ may be compared to the antiphonal /solo + chorus/ of traditional Venda songs, in which the solo part varies according to changes in the words but the chorus remains the same throughout. This system

of harmonizing melodies is a fusion of /Venda/
organum with European cadences' (parentheses mine).

I have transcribed and studied the solfa scores of many African composers; the scores show that these composers embellish or harmonize their melodies in the traditional African style, even though they compose their songs on paper and in the solfa system. The main melody is harmonized by one or more counter - melodies which run parallel to it. Tyamzashe frequently includes 2 - 4 alternate versions which may be sung along with the main melody. He indicates these alternate versions by enclosing their tones in brackets.

Choral competitions between schools and Music Clubs are an important part of Cape Nguni social life. I attended many of them as well as rehearsals and I was able to observe how the songs were practiced. I noted that the singers seldom sang every tone that was written in the score; instead, they introduced spontaneous changes which did not disturb their conductor, or the adjudicators at the competitions. Most of the changes involved the substitution of semitones by whole - tone steps, or the freely improvised versions of the main melody, which did not appear in the original score. This ' traditionalizing ' of these songs is perfectly acceptable; even Tyamzashe himself said, ' It does not matter whether they sing the tones I wrote or whether they do not, as long as what they sing fits the pattern ' (Hansen 1968: 2)).

School music programmes emphasize the singing not only of choral songs in the vernacular, but also of English songs, which were a feature of school music lessons in

English schools some three decades ago. Rather tired favourites like the ' Holy City ' are also sung, in which the traditionalizing process is not always successful. European hymn tunes have been adapted for use in African church worship; their tunes have also been modified spontaneously by the congregation. Hymn tunes which have lent themselves to this adapting process are those with melodies which have proved most malleable, e.g. Uyeza, Uyeza, Umagwebi Omkhulu, (' Come, come, Great Creator '), from the Bantu Methodist Hymnal No. 345, also sung in the Roman Catholic church as Yizani Bantsundu (' Come, you brown people '). By eliminating the semitone steps, the melody is converted into a pentatonic melody which provides an ideal familiar base for the congregation to improvise harmonies. I have heard this hymn sung by a congregation of Christians and non - Christians in the Lumko Mission church; the result, harmonically, is ' incorrect ' from the Western European musical viewpoint, but totally acceptable from the Cape Nguni viewpoint, allowing for one or two ' European ' harmonies. I myself thought it was a vast improvement on the original hymn, because it acquired rich, sonorous harmonies and also some rhythmic - melodic movement. The non - Christians regularly attended church at Lumko on Sundays, not for the purpose of worship, but to collect post and to chat with friends. They attended in traditional dress and contributed greatly to the singing of the hymns. They did not join in the singing of all the hymns, but selected a few, of which Yizani

Bantsundu was one. The melody is popular among all the chiefdom clusters, and has been adapted for performance on instruments such as the accordion and concertina, which usually accompany singers who treat the melody polyrhythmically.

The cadential progressions which occur in ' school music ', and in other types of modern Cape Nguni recreational and institutional music, and which resembles the harmonic sequences in Western European music, are not an indication of a musical ' take - over ' of Western musical techniques:

' . . . the idea of shifting tonality implicit in dominant - tonic sequences is not foreign to traditional (Venda) music, whose root - progressions move to and from adjacent tones round a tone centre, just as European melodies fluctuate from tonic to subdominant, to dominant and tonic' (ibid.)

13. Iculo pl. amaculo (' Hymn/Hymns, religious music ')

The denominational hymns of the various churches, together with hymns which have been composed by African composers, are referred to as iculo pl. amaculo wase Tshetshi (' songs of the church ', from Eng. ' church '). These appeal mainly to the church members themselves, although some of them have become popular with other groups in the society. The hymns of the Revivalist churches, such as the Bhengu Sectarian church (amaBhengu), are extremely lively, but only their words, and not their music, have been incorporated into the music of other social groups. The sound of the music carries far more weight than the words that may accompany it. Hence the adaptation of the words only; to adapt the sound as well

would be to identify with the other, alien group (cf. divination music, pp.563ss).

The various styles of music in the townships and cities are called by their individual names, e.g. umbaqanga , ijez (jazz), phatha - phatha (versions of Twist and Rock music. They are referred to collectively as i - modern , cf. chap. 3: 105).

14. Iingoma zomtshato (' Wedding songs/music ')

What puzzled me most, during the first six months of fieldwork, was the absence of traditional wedding ceremonies. Although I had been told that they occurred rarely, I was not convinced that they had died out altogether. Furthermore, I knew nothing about any special music which might have accompanied such ceremonies. Early ethnographers have given detailed descriptions of wedding festivities at which the most important musical event was the umdudo dance (cf. Theal 1902: 70; Kropf 1889: 143). Cook, writing much later, in 1931, describes umdudo as being the name of a set of dances which were performed at weddings and at girls' initiation ceremonies. A detailed description of this same dance is given by John Henderson Soga in his book on the Xhosa people (1932). According to Soga, umdudo is ' the men's dance. It is usually the older men who engage in it '. There follows a description of the three movements which make up the dance (pp.236ss). The same dance is described in connection with intonjane - the girls' initiation ceremony - and again Soga states that it is the men's dance (p. 219ss).

Wherever I went I asked about this dance, but people were very vague and said they did not know about it, or that ' it was a thing of the past '. Nearly all informants said it had been performed at weddings and possibly at the end of the seclusion period of girl initiates. A few informants supported their statements by adding that umdudo was performed at these events because ' they were very big dances in which many people took part, men and women, and you always have a lot of people at weddings '. Other informants insisted that umdudo was associated with weddings only, but were unable to support their statements.

Writing in 1936, Hunter says of Mpondo wedding ceremonies (traditional):

'There are no special wedding dances, but if many people come they amuse themselves by dancing as at an umjadu' (Hunter 1936: 198).

(Umjadu is a big feast held at the end of a girl's initiation period). Hunter gives detailed descriptions of both traditional and Christian weddings, as does Hammond- Tooke of Bhaca weddings (1962: ch.5). I attended nineteen weddings during my fieldwork, and of these (which were Christian weddings and/or the celebrations which accompanied them) thirteen were attended by tribal as well as Christian people. In August 1970, informants who kept me in touch with events all over Transkei and the Ciskei and Eastern Cape, had notified me of a genuine traditional wedding which was to take place at the end of that month. Preparations were made, but three days before I was to go, a heavy snowfall occurred, which put paid to any travelling at all for about a fortnight. Some months later (March 1971)

I was invited to attend the marriage celebrations which were to be ' the biggest ever seen in years '. The wedding took place at a homestead in Maxesibeni district; it was attended by about 8000 people, the greater number being amaqaba from that district, and from the Mpondo and Bhaca districts (Siphagani and KwaBhaca) situated contiguously. The marriage celebrations followed those described by Hunter; there was no actual wedding ceremony as the couple had been married two years before. They were now enjoying the celebrations and killing of the beast which should have followed their marriage, but which for various reasons had had to be postponed. The singing of the bride's and groom's parties was kept up by the young men and women who sang and danced in the inkundla (courtyard), and in the hut where the important guests took their turns eating. The sound of this singing was over - powered by the sound of the traditional music which was being performed at the same time by the groups of amaqaba. Tshawe men and women, young men (abafana) and girls, iindlavini gangs - all performed their special wedding songs, many of which I have mentioned in the categories of music already discussed, - Tshawe songs, beer songs, intlombe/iguburha songs, Sounds, indlamu and umgajo dance songs. Even some izitshongo beer songs were performed, largely for my benefit. At other weddings which I subsequently attended, and which were much smaller than the aforementioned wedding, the same ' division ' took place: the ' school people ' continued with their music and dancing, while the tribal people, a distance away, continued with theirs. Women occasionally joined the ' school people '.

who were dancing in the courtyard, sweeping their blankets on the ground and ululating (uku - kikizela).

My experience of weddings, together with the information given me, has led me to conclude that Hunter was correct, and that: (i) traditional wedding ceremonies have been discontinued, or if they took place, I did not hear of them; (ii) tribal weddings had no special dances (as Hunter suggested); but wedding feasts were as spectacular and as lavish as people could afford them to be. The descriptions of the early writers were mostly descriptions of wedding feasts given by eminent and wealthy persons who could afford to, and did, entertain on a lavish scale (e.g. Kropf's description of the wedding of the Mpondo chief Mqikela, 1889: 145). An abundant supply of beer and meat would encourage large numbers of people to attend (and everyone is free and welcome to attend feasts), and consequently encourage large - scale performances of music. This is expressed in a Xhosa saying which I heard wherever I went: ' When there is meat and beer, there is a party; the more meat and beer, the bigger the party '.

The principal reason for the absence of traditional weddings is that many Cape Nguni have adopted Christianity, and that the traditional weddings that do occur are few, and held on a small scale, therefore one does not hear about them. Lavish parties are also rare, because people have not the money to pay for them. Important persons occasionally depend on the community to assist them. Apart from the grand wedding feast already referred to, the only other really ' grand ' affair I attended was the installation of a Mpondo headman. The guest of

honour at this installation was not the headman, but the son of the Paramount Chief of Eastern Pondoland, thus the entire district (' Red ' people and ' Dressed ' people alike) turned up to do him honour.

Christian weddings are the norm today. After the banns have been read, the bride goes into seclusion (behind a screen in a hut, or talks only to close friends and relatives in the house). Umbolorho parties take place, at which the young people ostensibly come to stamp mealies for the bride, but have a song - and - dance party in which they ' sing for the bride '. Afterwards they pair off for the night. Christians oppose this but cannot do much to prevent it. Umbolorho parties are usually organized by iindlavini young men.

The music performed at Christian weddings consists mainly of the styles described in the previous musical categories - choral songs, hymns, and above all, special wedding Sounds. Competitive singing (which was a feature of traditional weddings) takes place in the church (the two groups often sing two different songs at the same time), and in the courtyard, when the bridal couple parade up and down and show themselves to the people. It continues when important guests sit down at tables provided for them, and eat the wedding meal, and is interrupted only by the performance of the special ' wedding - cake ' dance, which is also sung competitively. The two girls from the bride's and groom's parties carry a small iced cake on the palm of the hand and lead two lines of dancers, who dance after them in follow - my - leader style,

singing the special Sound which accompanies this dance. (Hunter mentions a follow - my - leader dance which was performed competitively by groups of dancers. It was performed along with another dance - isiphethukane - which was more popular (1936: 357), and during fieldwork, I heard married women refer nostalgically to the dance, which was apparently very popular.

During all this singing and dancing the bridal couple retain the most dismal expressions on their faces. The bride keeps her eyes cast down and never looks up once. This is apparently an old custom, which is retained in a new context. A Christian informant gave the following reason: ' She must not show that she is happy as she might tempt fate; something might go wrong '.

The words of the Sounds reflect and comment on the social event, e.g. Iindonga ziwelene , which has several meanings, three of which are in the McLaren - Bennie dictionary. The translation given by informants on the occasion on which I heard it sung was as follows:

'Iindonga ziwelene are the two parts of the roof of a house. In this Sound, the couple are exhorted and told to be like these two roofs, which support each other. Should one collapse, the other will also '.

In other words, the couple are asked to remain faithful to each other.

The various churches have their individual repertoires of hymns which are also sung - in the church, and between the speeches that follow the church ceremony. The Bhengu church has its own set or Sounds, or rather, religious

' choruses ', which are sung in place of the secular Sounds, e.g. Woza Moya Oyingwele ('Come Holy Spirit') which accompanies the ' wedding - cake ' dance. Hymns include those with English texts, e.g. ' I stand right under the Blood ', and ' We are marching over to Jerusalem ', both of which are borrowings of Bhengu church music (i.e. the Assemblies of God church music). Performances of choral songs and hymns by a specially - rehearsed choir are a feature of some weddings. (Cf. Ex. No. 59 on Tape 1b: ' We are marching over to Jerusalem ').

15. Iingoma zengcubhe (' Music of the ingcubhe First Fruits ceremonies ').

First Fruits ceremonies existed among the Cape Nguni in the past, but have been discontinued for a few generations, so that only a vague memory of these remain. The Bhaca are an exception. A very detailed account of the First Fruits (ingcubhe) ceremonies among the Bhaca has been recorded by Hammond - Tooke (1962: 183ss). Briefly, the army features prominently in the ritual and much simulated fighting and dramatization of discord in which the army seems to express antagonism to the chief in ritual action (e.g. the rushing towards him, and the chanting of insults) takes place (cf. Gluckmann 1954, and 1955^b, for accounts of analogous ceremonies among the South - Eastern Bantu of Zululand, Swaziland and Mocambique, and the Swazi First Fruits ceremonies).

Most of the activities of the army, which features continually during these ingcubhe days, was done to the accompaniment of sacred chants, sung principally by the

warriors themselves, but with some participation on the part of the spectators. These songs and chants express in words, and clarify, the ritual dramatizations. Most of the songs have a war or hostility theme even though the praises of the chief also feature. Singing is not confined to men: the women sing and dance on the second day of the ceremony. They sing special songs, beat their thighs with small leather shields and perform a shuffling dance called ukutshekisa. There was also a special girls' dance called ukuchiza. Dancing is not prominent, and the army dramatizations are not called dancing by the Bhaca. The men stamp, leap and stab the air and the ground with spears. There was always a big feast and beer drink at ingcubhe.

Through my guide I was given a detailed explanation of the ceremonies by Paramount Chief Wabana Makhaula himself. As Hammond - Tooke has pointed out, the ceremonies are performed in an attenuated form today. The special ingcubhe sacred song, Watsha umGambezi, is still sung by the older men because they are the ones who still remember it. According to Chief Wabana, the song dates back to the days of Shaka (Ex. No. 60 on Tape 1b).

The indlamu dance is performed, but the men wear skins rather than trousers. With the assistance of Headman Kundlase Nontsheketshe I was able to record three ingcubhe war songs and one isibuliso (Praise song for a chief) at a trading store situated high up in the mountains in Siqingeni administrative area. I also recorded two performances of the indlamu dance performed by local iindlavini. During the latter dance a Bhaca horn (indwendweni - made from a length of metal piping) was blown.

The War songs sound very much like chanting rather than singing. One of them, Ngubani lo? (' who is that person? ') is a studied insult to a chief. The old men who sang the song, formed a phalanx and stabbed the air with sticks and spears, as they moved slowly forward, chanting the phrase. After a few repetitions they reversed direction, moving slowly backwards, still singing and stabbing the air with their weapons. This continued for some time, each movement forward bringing them nearer the headman. The climax came when, with a wild rush forward and a crescendo in the singing, the men threw their weapons into the air; these arched and landed head first in the ground, before the headman. The whole performance was very awe - inspiring.

16. Other ceremonies related to the agricultural cycle

Among the Thembu, there were several ceremonies associated with the ripening of the crops, in which song and dance had an important role, viz. the ceremony of ulibo, which took place when the crops were young and green. Uninitiated boys and girls played a prominent part in this harvest festivity; they opened it with singing and dancing. The symbolism of balance and similarity between the two - young crops and young people - is obvious. Special ulibo songs and dances continued throughout the first night, and went on for an entire week. According to informants, the older people gathered at the chief's homestead, where they had a special beer feast and performed special ulibo dance songs. By all accounts this festivity has been discontinued. My informants were Thembu men and women, who said they had not heard of it

being held for a very long time; the younger adults had never heard of it. Broster has briefly described the Thembu ceremony of intshatshoba, which ' is held to mark the flowering of the maize ', and which takes place in late February or early March. To mark the occasion a special dance is performed by the girls of the intlombe youth groups, and beer is brewed for the occasion (Broster 1976: 36). I do not know whether this is actually the ulibo ceremony that Broster is referring to.

When I began fieldwork in 1969, I spent the time shuttling between Engcobo, Umtata, Libode, Ngqeleni, Mqanduli and Xhorha districts. Thus I just missed an event which had apparently not taken place for several years. I learnt of it shortly after its occurrence, and quite by accident when I called in at a homestead one morning to speak to some people. The women sang songs and played their musical bows, and after a while one of the women began a song, Wen' utheth' amabhongo (' You are speaking amabhongo '), which the other women took up and clapped as they sang. Afterwards they told me that it was the ritual inqoloqho song, and had been sung just two weeks before, by a large group of young girls (from the intlombe groups) who had performed the ritual because of the terrible drought conditions.

I was told that the girls had assembled at a certain homestead in Engcobo district and, over a period of three to four days, made their way by night to the Great Place of Sabatha Dalindyabo, who was then Paramount Chief of the Thembu. The girls each wore only a fore apron (inciyo) and as they

danced along, performing light, skipping steps, they sang the ritual song. After three or four nights they arrived at Dalindyebo's Great Place, near the village of Elliotdale.

According to my informants, this dance was always sung by girls ' to drive worms away from the mealies ', and they usually wore no clothes, but smeared themselves with clay. Regarding the meaning of the word amabhongo (sing. umbhongo), McLaren-Bennie gives the meaning as ' a bellowing, or booming sound (1963: 15). The term can also denote ' going one's own way ' (cf. Rycroft 1962: 83). I was given a meaning by a Xhosa friend, who said that amabhongo referred to a person ' who made a lot of noise rather than sense when he spoke, i.e. farted rather than spoke ! ' I am as yet unable to come to any conclusions regarding the actual meaning of amabhongo, especially in the context of this song.¹

The melody is little more than a melodic phrase, which is repeated over and over again (cf. Figure 85 on page 490; Ex. No. 61 on Tape 1b). There is a similarity between this rite (inqologho) and one which was initiated by the Bhaca chief, and was known as abagijimisi bokudla (' runners of the food '). According to Hammond - Tooke, this rite is analogous to the Mpondo rite of ixoshombo (cf. ch. 3: 109). Both rites were performed for the protection of crops, particularly of maize from blight. Hammond - Tooke gives a description of this rite, in which girls smear themselves with clay, don isikhakha (Bhaca beaded aprons) and run through the mealie fields singing a special song (cf. Hammond - Tooke 1962: 178).

Thereafter the girls throw the rotten cobs they have picked while singing, into the river, ' and so get rid of the blight '. There is no doubt that the ingologho rite must have been recalled because of the serious drought conditions, and the consequently ruined crops. Although I made extensive enquiries, I was unable to obtain any more information about it.

Another old rite, or rather its name and the idea behind it, was resuscitated in Cacadu district in 1970, when a group of young girls (again of the intlombe groups) arrived at the mission where I was staying, dressed in their best dancing clothes, and performed a succession of circle dances. The name of the original rite was ingilana, and it was associated with the crops that had ripened and were ready for picking (the early crops, that is). According to informants, a ceremony was performed at this time, in which girls donned skirts and beads and performed a special circle dance which accompanied the singing of intlombe songs. When I saw this dance, it was being done in a new context: the girls had come to the mission to perform it in order to collect money for iKrisimesi (Christmas). They had given the event the name of the older rite; I subsequently learnt that groups such as these are very common towards December, when young people dance in order to obtain money for a big Christmas party (cf. Plates 64, 65 & 66: 801).

NOTES

- 1 If one assumes that amabhongo denotes something unpleasant or disagreeable, then, in the context of this song, it

denotes the blight which has struck the crops, following the drought. The song itself is one of defiance and insult in which the blight is personalized. However, this is conjectural. The singers were unable to give me a specific meaning for amabhongo, except to say that it 'meant something distasteful, not pleasing'.

Figure 85

△ Transcription of the ritual song of ingolohlo:

Wen' utheth'amabhongo (' You are speaking amabhongo ')

Ex. No. 61 on Tape 1b.

(No transposition)

Tempo: ♩ = $\frac{+}{-}$ 160 M.M.

Strophe length:

8 x ♩

Tempo: ♩ = $\frac{+}{-}$ 160 M.M. (claps)

Yewu-yo yewu-yo he he;

Chorus: tacet.

Yewu-yo -, ha-bo he he

Ye-wu-yo -, ha-bo ho ho;

Chorus:

Ha-a-a-a;

Yewu-yo yewu-yo- ho - ho;

Chorus:

Ha-wa - a-ngo;

Mode: Hexatonic

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



Root progression
sequence in strophe:
C - - D - C (D -)

*

An interpolated 2nd
clap begins softly
here

△ For help with this transcription I am indebted to
Mr D.K.Rycroft: personal communication, October 1979

17. Iingoma zokwalusa (' Circumcision music ' ; Music of
the rite of circumcision ')

In historical times circumcision was practised by all Southern Nguni peoples, indeed by all Nguni peoples. It is still practised today by all Cape Nguni clusters excepting the Bhaca, Mpondom Xesibe and Ntlangwini. For reasons that are not known, the Zulu discontinued circumcision during the reign of Shaka's father or grandfather, and as a result of Shaka's conquest of the other tribes in Zululand and Natal, it was soon discontinued everywhere among the Northern Nguni. Zulu boys undergo an operation at about nine years of age (the string under the foreskin is cut) but this is not a ritual occasion (Hammond - Tooke (ed) 1974: 229).

The Mpondo used to have initiation schools with circumcision rites, of which Hunter writes:

'Formerly the Pondo had circumcision schools through which every boy between 17 and 20 passed. Chief Faku (who died in 1867) during his reign prohibited these schools. His heir, Mqikela, was not circumcised. In some districts schools were held secretly, but those discovered taking part were fined. The reason given for the prohibition by Pondo councillors at the Great Place of the Paramount Chief of Eastern Pondoland, and three other independent informants, was that boys circumcised were often very ill. . . . In giving evidence before the Native Appeal Court Pondo assessors stated that it was dropped because Mqikela, owing to a physical infirmity, could not be circumcised. It is significant that the custom was dropped just at the time of the Zulu raids, when all the men available were needed for fighting. Circumcision incapacitated possible fighting men for a period. Whatever the reason for dropping circumcision, the schools have practically disappeared from Pondoland. Only a small Pondo clan, the amaNqanda, which at the time of the stopping of circumcision lived in Thembuland and only returned to Pondoland after the annexation, and a few Pandomise and Fingo groups living in Pondoland, retain it. Scattered Fingo send their sons to relatives in other parts of Transkei when the time has come for them to be circumcised.

But the schools are no longer a factor in the life of most adolescent Pondo. . . (1936: 165).

Nevertheless, Mpondo young men are starting to circumcise again, as are the men of other tribal clusters who formerly did not do so. In 1969, there was talk of the construction of small lodges for initiates on the outskirts of Umtata. These would be modern ' prefab ' lodges where circumcised youths, even though they may have had the operation performed at a hospital (as many do), could stay for a while in semiseclusion. I do not know whether this plan was actually carried out.

Hammond - Tooke has pointed out that, although the Bhaca do not practise circumcision, their neighbours the Hlubi have elaborate initiation ceremonies in two locations, and many Bhaca boys join the lodges each year. Also, the Mpondo are starting to circumcise. The same writer states that the scorn of the girls is an important factor among the Mpondo, but not among the Bhaca (Hammond - Tooke 1962: 81 - 82).

Xesibe informants told me that many of their young men undergo circumcision: ' They go to the hospitals for this; most of them are going because they know it is good for them '.

Circumcision among the Cape Nguni takes place when boys have already reached puberty, thus they are already young men. Circumcision itself is not merely a physical operation, it is an initiation into full tribal membership, and marks the transition of boys from social boyhood into manhood. A boy remains a boy (inkwenkwe) until circumcision, no matter what his actual age. Thus the attainment of physical manhood and

legal manhood are quite different realities. A boy never associates with men (amadoda); he is never addressed with the term reserved for a man (indoda), nor can he get married, a rule which is strictly adhered to. Neither may he sit with the men in council. Also, there is a recognized standard of social behaviour that does not apply to boys (cf. Hunter 1936: 476 - 477; Wilson (ed) 1953: 199; Soga 1932: 247).

Among certain other Bantu tribes circumcision took place even before puberty (cf. Eiselen 1929: Ashton 1952: 46ss); Cook 1931: 51ss). Among the Cape Nguni however, boys had to have at least reached puberty. From a political point of view, circumcision rites among the Nguni in Southern Africa were less important than elsewhere in Africa where, for example, boys were initiated into warrior groups upon whom the security of the tribe depended.

The details of circumcision rites differ from cluster to cluster (and even within the same cluster) and from generation to generation, as can be learnt by comparing the accounts given in the literature referred to above. The general pattern is, however, the same among the Cape Nguni.

Circumcision normally takes place in the early winter when abundant food supplies and beer are available. A circumcision school has only a small number of boys, the whole ceremony being a local affair and the boys of one area are circumcised together. Sometimes there is only one candidate. I was allowed to enter a seclusion hut where I spoke to one of two initiates who had been circumcised that

winter. The other had caught pneumonia and was hospitalized. Preparations are not an involved affair. A father of one of the candidates is appointed by agreement of the parents to be the ' principal host ' or umnini sisusa. From his home comes the food for the boys in seclusion; he is also responsible for the fulfillment of the customs (Soga 1932: 250).

A guardian (ikhankatha) is likewise selected; his principal task is to dress the boys' wounds, hence a knowledgeable man who knows the leaves reputed to have healing properties with which to bind the wounds, is chosen. Again, the ' surgeon ' (ingcibi), a man known for his skill, is appointed. None of these officials belongs to a recognized group as, for example, do the diviners. Finally, preparations are made for the building of the seclusion hut (ithontho/ibhoma/ibhuma/isuthu), in which the boys will stay after circumcision, and white clay is selected with which the boys will smear their bodies and faces daily during seclusion. The white substance is sometimes obtained from a certain stone which is in plentiful supply in the surrounding mountains. This stone is rubbed against another, larger stone, being dipped in water from time to time. The resulting white ' clay ' or ' paint ' is called ikoda which, I was later told, is a hlonipha word. During the seclusion period there are no formalized ceremonies; the candidates usually go about draped in blankets. They are easily recognized by their blanketed appearance, and by the long stick they carry, to which are attached numerous handkerchiefs, gifts from their girlfriends.

The initiate to whom I spoke (and whose singing I recorded) did not venture outside very often. The weather prevented this - it was bitterly cold and snow lay thick on the ground.

The first step in the actual ritual is taken when a prescribed sacrifice (uku - ngcamisa) is made at the home of each boy on the day preceding circumcision. If a chief's son is among the candidates, then the sacrifice is made at the homestead of the ' principal host ', and is known as uku - bingelelwa (ibid.). This sacrifice involves a feast, and a few chiefdom clusters hold a special dance known as umgubho. According to informants, the Thembu and Bomvana people still hold umgubho on the evening before circumcision. It is attended by all age groups, and the boys are given blankets or karosses (sheepskins) which they will wear while in seclusion, and which are burnt along with the lodge at its end. In the past, a special type of dance was held, called umguyo, but this appears to have been discontinued by most of the Cape Nguni clusters practising circumcision. The name is retained in the ritual song sung by the older men, before the rite is performed, and at the burning of the hut at the end of seclusion. Some informants volunteered information about the name umgubho. They stated that it derived from the verb uku - gubha , meaning ' to shiver, and to bathe ', and that it alluded to the event that was to take place the next day, namely the rite itself. To quote one informant, ' This umgubho is a splendid affair, and all the people dress in full tribal dress. There is much dancing and singing. But in spite of this the boys are always aware of what is waiting

for them the next day, and so they cannot really appreciate the feasting. The name of the feast reminds them that tomorrow they will have to take a cold bathe in the river, and this will not be the only thing that will make them shake; they will also shake with fear, though they will never show it '.

The boys are required to endure the circumcision manfully, i.e. without a cry, and with an expressionless face. When the boys are led to the place where the actual operation is carried out, they are escorted by men and boys who sing and leap about and shout cries of encouragement. At this stage the older men sing the very old ritual song of circumcision - uSomagwaza - (' the father of cutting ').

A period of seclusion (or semiseclusion) of from two to three months follows circumcision (in actual fact the period has been shortened and today about four to six weeks is the normal length of time spent in the seclusion ' lodge '). This information came from Khedamile Johannes Asiya (isiduko Cedume), one of the initiates I spoke to in the lodge. He was my main informant on what young men today think about circumcision. He told me that the usual period of four to six weeks was also observed by initiates of other chiefdom clusters (Asiya is a Thembu). The first eight to ten days is a time of severe privation, no liquids and only dry food being allowed. This is the period during which the wounds require the attention of the guardian. In former times, when the rite was carried out in its entirety, boys spent their time learning to sing formalized songs which were taught them by their guardian. Khedamile said that he was told by his father and grandfather,

that these had been ' special songs ', some of them with war themes, but he could not reveal much more about them. Today no such singing takes place. According to Khedamile, the operation itself and the seclusion period are the most important parts of the rite; all the music and dancing which were held up to about 1963, had been discontinued largely for economic reasons. His information supports that of other independent informants in other areas of Transkei, Ciskei and the Eastern Cape.

The period of privation terminates with a sacrifice at the seclusion lodge, a goat being slaughtered. There is also the ' burning of the lodge ' ceremony which takes place, followed by the umphumo or ' coming out ' ceremony of the boys as newly initiated youths (ikrhwala pl. amakrhwala, lit. ' new, inexperienced, beginning to ripen young men '). This ceremony is preceded by ritual ablutions in the river, and, at the feast itself, formalized speeches and the praises of the initiates which are celebrated by an official praiser. The youths are given new clothes and blankets, and their faces are painted with red clay, a procedure which they keep up for some months. Fortunately I was able to attend several umphumo ceremonies. On one occasion, I inadvertently and literally drove into a vast crowd of men and boys who carried sticks and spears, and who were shouting at something or some people in the midst of them. I was forced to stop my car and wait for the crowd to move on, which they did. As they thinned out, I saw that the objects of the shouting were a group of naked youths, who were being ' driven back ' to the homestead by the

crowd of people, as is the custom. An elderly man came up and asked me to remain in my car, which I did. He told me that on this sort of occasion the presence of women was not permitted, but he invited me to the umphumo ceremony which was to follow. He took a dim view of a White middle - aged woman who was having hysterics in a truck, a few metres away from my car. I subsequently spoke to her, and learnt that she had been living in the district for some years, and that from experience, knew that the young men were ' very excitable at such a time ', and she had never become used to it.

The performance of certain songs and dances commonly occupied a considerable part of the seclusion period; there were the umtshilo dances, the special dances performed by initiated youths (abakhwetha). The initiates donned a special ornamental dancing dress - grass skirts resembling the tutus worn by ballet dancers, and elaborate headdresses - and painted the exposed areas of their bodies with clay of different colours (cf. Cook's description of Bomvana umtshilo dances (1931) and Soga (1932) for the Xhosa version of the dance).

Apparently in the past there were dancing contests between rival schools of initiates. It was during the performance of the umtshilo dances that the women beat the ingqongqo ' drum ' and sang special songs, two of which are still sung today at the ' coming out ' ceremonies. There is no doubt, however, that these dances have been discontinued for economic reasons, as I have already stated.

Although I tried to track down these dances through numerous

informants all over the Cape Nguni areas, I was never successful in witnessing them. They simply did not take place.

The last umtshilo dance was held in Xhorha in 1963. I was shown a ciné film of this dance by Mr George Davis of Elliotdale village (1969), and it was enough to make me regret that I was unable to witness the real thing. The holding of such dances requires a great deal of money, to provide food and drink for the hundreds of people that attend them. The successive droughts in many parts of the country made such dances impossible. Many's the time I ' criss - crossed ' from one district to another overnight, on being informed of possible dances, only to arrive and find that no dancing and therefore no music was to be performed.

I learnt of three umtshilo dances that were arranged by certain persons who wished to photograph them with a view to publication. One man offered to arrange such a dance for me at a cost of R100 (£50) but I declined the offer. Khedamile, and two other abakhwetha to whom I spoke in Xhorha district, and three others in Umtata district, viewed umtshilo dances with some scorn. ' Asifun' umtshilo ' (' We do not want umtshilo ') they said. To them it was a waste of time in this modern age, and totally unnecessary.

The umtshilo dance is possibly one of the most widely known tribal events in Southern Africa. I found that any mention of the Xhosa - speaking people elicited a remark like ' Oh yes, those people who dance with those ballet skirts ' from White South Africans. It would seem that, although the dance has not been performed for many years, it is so well -

known that Whites in South Africa identify Cape Nguni (particularly the Xhosa) with this dance and little else. Articles and photographs appear from time to time in magazines, in which the most glamorous descriptions are given of the dance and the rite itself - and in which also the photographs, if they are too revealing, are blacked out! The facts as given in some of these articles are, to say the least, ridiculously incorrect. For example, in one article, the rite was referred to as ' the painful process of becoming a man ', which is still performed because ' even the modern Xhosa must submit to the primitive traditions of the past to be accepted by the tribe '. The rite is also ' one of the most solemn and secret rites of the great Xhosa nation ' and has almost never been witnessed by White men '. (I know of at least twenty White men who, in two years, witnessed the event three times in one part of a district). Great emphasis is laid on the ' coming out ' ceremony in the same article (to which I am referring), especially on the gifts received by ' the new man and his family '; to quote, ' thirteen bottles of brandy, an unlucky number even to the Xhosa - so one had to be broken '. Finally, the article tells one that the rite ' is now dying out among the Xhosa, for it takes a brave man to go through with it '. As if this was not enough, the article concludes that the ritual which had been described was ' unusual in that the young man undergoing the ancient ritual is a highly intelligent young man who is studying to be a teacher ' (Scope, April 6th 1973).

This and similar articles, and even programmes prepared for television, are intended to tell the public all about the Africans

in Southern Africa. Unfortunately, experts on African life and custom are never asked to contribute articles and programmes; instead, sensation - seekers are armed with money and cameras, and sent off to the ' bush '. They return with pictures, and texts which are not only grossly inaccurate but belittle the people concerned. I think that this is done deliberately. The initiation of a ' witchdoctor ' was the subject of a television programme, and also of an article in another popular magazine. In both, emphasis was placed on the sacrificial killing (camera close - up of beast, and facial expression of the sacrificer) and certain gestures made by the initiates. The reaction of the public was not surprising; while a few praised the programme/article, the majority criticised the publicising /publication of such an occasion, as they were ' so savage ' that they were not suitable for children, who also saw and read both media. Some of these persons threatened to stop subscribing to the magazine. Others again commented on the ' dreadful practices ' done by the ' Black man ' as being sufficient reason for justifying apartheid: ' We Whites cannot be expected to condone such practices, so better that we keep apart from the Black man, and keep our laws of segregation '. This sort of attitude is held by a large percentage of White South Africans of both language groups. As a researcher, I constantly came up against it, thus these sort of remarks are never a surprise to me.

The two songs mentioned by Soga in connection with the umtshilo dances, Mhala's song and the umyeyezelo song, are still sung today at the umphumo ceremony. Mhala's song, (ingoma ka

Mhala) is apparently a ritual song, dedicated to the ancestral shades. It is a song of ' asking ', and is also sung at the commencement of seances held by diviners. Both songs are said to be ' very old ' and are referred to as ' the songs of the old people ' (iingoma zaBadala). Some of my informants, who were old men, said that these songs are among the oldest, if not the oldest, songs in the Xhosa musical tradition. Soga mentions Chief uMhala, who was a son of Ndlambe, of the Ngqika tribe of the Xhosa cluster, in connection with the War of the Axe (Sixenxge, 1846 - 1847), (Soga 1930, and 1932: 258). uMhala (whose name means ' the wild cat ') apparently made some miraculous escape from the British during this particular war. He was said to have always refused to attack the British in the daytime, because ' I am surnamed the wild cat ' - a creature that travels at night, not in the daytime.

Both Mhala's song and umyeyezelo are sung by people of the Xhosa, Thembu, Mpondomise and Bomvana clusters. The Mpondo have taken over Mhala's song, as they have the ritual song of circumcision - uSomagwaza - which is performed by the older men just before the rite is performed, and again when the seclusion lodge is burnt. Both songs have been incorporated into the Mpondo category of diviners' music.

The recording of circumcision music presented problems. Firstly, many of the songs are no longer sung today, because the events they accompanied have been discontinued (e.g. umtshilo dances). Recordings of this music were eventually made at several umphumo ceremonies, where the songs were sung independently

and unaccompanied by any formal dancing. At some of these celebrations, the women ' played ' at being abakhwetha by performing the movements of the umtshilo dance, which showed their acquaintance with the style. Beer songs were also sung, having been adapted and arranged for performance in the new social context.

The ritual song of circumcision, uSomagwaza (commonly known as unguyo) , is still sung today, in the contexts which I have already mentioned. Since women are not permitted to witness these events, I was unable to record the music in its rightful context. Three different recordings were made on different occasions, when I spent much time talking to the older people about music and other topics. In each case, the singers (older men who traditionally perform the song), assured me that their performance was as authentic as it could be; thus I have to take their word for it. For these, and for other reasons (the restrictions mentioned in the Preface), my assessment of circumcision music, and its comparison with other styles of Xhosa music must, inevitably, be incomplete.

The tempo of this music is much slower than that of most Xhosa music, and ranges from $\text{♩} = 56 - 80$ M.M. The umtshilo dance songs have a tempo of $56 - 58 (\text{♩})$ M.M. which is retained throughout with metronomic accuracy. Umphumo songs, including the modified beer songs, have a quicker tempo: $\text{♩} = 66 - 69$ M.M. These songs do not accompany any prescribed dancing; singers may perform ' solo ', i.e. execute improvised steps and movements ad. lib. The metrical patterns of the umtshilo songs are based on a sequence of four (4) or (4 + 4) minims, and 4 dotted

minims = strophe duration. Apart from the ritual song, the basic metrical patterns are expressed explicitly by beats on the ' drum ' type instrument, usually supplemented by handclaps. Claps did not accompany the untshilo songs; these were formerly accompanied only by the steady beating of the ingqongqo by several women, who held the stretched hide off the ground with one hand, and beat it with an ornamentally carved stick (iqoga) held in the other hand. Today a piece of sail - cloth is used instead; it is placed flat on the ground, and the women sit back on their heels around it, and beat it with maize stalks or suitable sticks. If no piece of sail - cloth is available (and it seldom is, because it is expensive and a piece is also hard to come by), a cardboard box is used instead, being flattened out and beaten in similar fashion.

Figure 86^a on p. 505 gives the total structure or strophe of the ritual song (umguyo = uSomagwaza), which is not accompanied by ' drum ' beats. Small crosses in the transcription denote claps which were provided by a few onlookers who witnessed this performance. (Ex. No. 62 on Tape 1b).

Performance: As the men sing the descending melody, they walk in single file with the legs quite far apart, and with heavy steps. They sway as they walk, alternately bending forward from the waist, and back again to the former upright position. (Cf. Figure 86^b on p. 505 , where I have tried to give some indication of these movements by means of stick figures). It is interesting to note at which points in the melody the downward movements occur (indicated by Up and Down in Figure 86^b).

Figure 86 (a) : transcription of uSomagwaza (' The Father of cutting ') - ritual song of circumcision ceremonies.

Pitch: (No transposition) Pitch rises a semitone during
Strophe length: 12 x  (6 x ) performance
Mode: Hexatonic (two major triads based on B and A; the
3rd above B root (D#) is absent).

Tempo:

$$\dot{d} = 69 - 80 \quad (d = 138 - 160) \text{ M.M.}$$

This song is not accompanied by the ingqongqo 'drum'; the claps were performed by onlookers.

Ex. No. 62 on Tape 16

Handwritten musical score for a song, featuring four staves of music. The lyrics are written below the staves. The notation includes notes, rests, and bar lines. The lyrics are: Soma gwa-za ma-gwa-za o-ye he, O-wo-hoyo-he; he. Soma. gwa-za ma-gwa-za o-ye he, O-he o-he Soma o-he. Soma gwa-za ma-gwa-za O-ye he, O-wo-hoyo-he; Soma Ye Soma O-he, (Hooooo).

Figure 86 (b) : (cf. p. 504).

Handwritten musical notation for a song. It includes two staves with lyrics in Swahili: "Shi O-wo-ho-ye-he" and "gwa za magwa za O-ye-he, O-he a-he ye Soma-". Below the staves is a "Basic Metre" section with a sequence of notes and the text "metre generated by walking movements:". At the bottom, there is a "Root progression sequence in strophe:" section with the sequence "|| A - - - B A B - - A B - A ||" and a series of stick figures illustrating "Movements Up + Down".

On the syllables Ye So - ma (sung by the second leader) the men inhale audibly to the sound hoooo; as they do so they bend forward from the waist, and so there is a downward movement of the body. The point of tension (inhalation) is followed by an exhalation on the syllable gwa -, sung very loudly. At the same time the men swing their bodies upward and kick upward and outward with the right leg. Thereafter the whole pattern of music and motor movements is repeated until the song ends. The sound of the music (the vocal style in which it is sung), and its structure (its descending melodic line with the climactic point at the beginning of the line, expresses the tension and relaxation of the physical movements made by the singers. What is more, these two conditions are expressed to some extent in the concepts underlying the production of the music. Circumcision is probably the most important event in the life of the Cape Nguni male; it is the rite in which he is ' made a man ' and when he is supposed to be ' brought into a real relation to his ancestral spirits ' (Soga 1932: 248). The rite has to be endured stoically, as also the eight to ten days following it, which are physically very uncomfortable indeed. The music, or rather its sound, and the movements that accompany it, not only reflect this important event, but comment on it in an eloquent and compelling way. When singing, the men hold themselves rather stiffly and when they stoop downward, it is as if they do so with difficulty; all this, together with the wide - legged gait they assume, gives one the very definite impression that the singers are bracing themselves, as if to encounter a difficult situation.

Thus the music, and its mode of performance, comments on and reflects the social situation which the initiates have to endure stoically. My Thembu guide was not exaggerating when he told me that ' there is more to this song than you would think ' (James Gqoba, August 1969). Two elderly informants (men) told me that the wide - legged stance assumed by the men as they sang, was a simulation of the way the initiated boys had to remain sitting for some days after the performance of the rite. ' They have to just sit there with the legs apart, and that's about all that one can do; one even sleeps in that position '.

According to Soga, Umyeyezelo was sung at two different events: (i) at intonjane ceremonies where it formed the ' opening dance song ' of the three - movement mens' umdudo dance, which was performed every day for several days, and (ii) at the umtshilo dances of initiated boys, where it was performed before the actual umtshilo dance songs, of which Soga quotes two other important ones - ' ingoma ka-Mhala and umQolo we-Namba ' (Soga 1932: 219, 258). Soga's comments on the umyeyezelo song are interesting:

'The first of these songs mentioned has to cultivated ears no music in it whatever, and yet to the Bantu it is the most commonly used of all' (ibid.)

Kropf, writing forty - two years before that, comments even more derogatively, and compares the sound of the music with the buzzing of insects:

'Sie bewegen sich dabei bald rückwärts, bald vorwärts wiegend, bald nach dieser, bald nach jener seite nach dem Takte der Musik, die die Frauen mit dem Munde zummen und brummen, begleitet von den Paukenschlägen auf dem harten Oschenfell. (They move themselves now backwards,

now forwards swaying from one side to the other to the beat of the music, which the women, who zuzz and buzz with the mouth, accompany with drum strokes on a hard ox - hide ' (Kropf ;889: 125).

I heard umyeyezelo performed six times, on six different occasions far apart in time and locality (Cacadu, Engcobo, Mqanduli, Xhorha, Gatyana and Centane districts). When I heard it for the first time, after some six weeks in the field, I thought: I have not heard any Xhosa music quite like this. Thereafter, whenever I heard it I was able to identify it immediately by its sound, which is quite different to the sound of other umtshilo songs, and of circumcision music in general.

This difference in sound is explained by the concepts underlying the production of that sound, which differ from those underlying the production of less important dance songs. Umyeyezelo has a special function in the category of circumcision music; it is primarily a ' rejoicing song ', a ' praise song ' for initiated boys who, through its sound, are praised for having attained manhood. ' Its secondary use was to accompany the dancing of the initiates. It always opened the celebrations which were held for the initiates and even today, it is the first song to be sung at umphumo ceremonies, but it does not accompany any dancing.

The verb form uku - yeyezela is used to describe all music performed at umtshilo and umphumo events, because ' it is the most important music on these occasions '. (Information from informants). Thus if one is told ' sizakuyeyezela ngomgqibelo ' (li.t ' we will sing umyeyezelo on Saturday '),

one can be certain that an umphumo ceremony will take place, and that other types of circumcision music will be performed as well as umyeyezelo (cf. ch. 3: 90).

The song exhibits the general structural features of umtshilo music - its characteristic rhythm and tempo (4 minims at 59 - 63 M.M.). It is responsorially structured like all Xhosa music, yet the polyrhythm which is a salient feature of the old Xhosa music is negligible. (One may compare the transcription of this song (Figure 87: 514ss) with the transcription of another umtshilo dance song entitled Ndinyeleni ndomile (' Give me something to drink, I am thirsty '), Figure 89:524ss , which abounds in vocal polyrhythm and polyphony). The voices never establish cross - rhythms with the main beats and with each other for any length of time. The chorus part is committed to an ostinato response; when the song leader and chorus sing simultaneously, they sing mainly in synchrony. Apart from this lack of real rhythmic interest, there also appears to be a lack of any real melody. The core of any song is its melody set to words; the essential feature of Xhosa music is the variation of this melody and/or its elements through the process of polyrhythm. There appears to be no true melody in the umyeyezelo song, which might explain the virtual absence of polyrhythm. In fact, there is a melody, but it exists only in the mind of the song leader, who improvises on it in the course of the song. Umyeyezelo is an example of continual melody - improvisation; thus, the performance of the song depends on the presence of a good song leader who can fulfil

this role satisfactorily. The entire song hinges on her improvisations. When I heard the song for the first time, and remarked on it, my guide said that I was fortunate to have been able to hear such a good performance. The song leader was a very old woman, and according to my guide, one of the few old women who could ' still remember how to praise the boys properly with this song '.

It is no coincidence that the song leaders are invariably old women, who assume the lead not only because they may have good voices (many do not, on account of their age), but also because they have performed the song so many times in their lifetime that they know how it should be sung.

The song leader's improvisations are based on selections from a number of patterns she has accumulated and drawn on, in the past. ' I just sing more or less what I have always sung, but make a few things different ' (comment from one song leader at Buku Mafufu's homestead, 6 - 7 - 69). The whole song is based on repetitions of these patterns, in which the music accompanies meaningful words, or vocables. The music takes the form of melody - motifs or short melodic phrases, some of which are sung in quasi - parlando style. One has the impression that the song leader is sometimes speaking rather than singing; groups of tones are sung with indeterminate pitches, melodic phrases begin and end with spoken rather than sung words and syllables; yet all these are fitted into symmetrical regular groupings which synchronize with the basic metre of the music. Thus, rhythmic interest lies largely in the rhythmic relationship between the song leader's part,

and the music's basic rhythm expressed by the ' drum ' beats.

A deliberate attempt to delimit vocal interplay is seen in the distribution of the musical roles; although the song is always performed by a large number of women (25 - 30 is the ideal), there are never as many voice parts (melodic phrases) as there are singers. The song leader has the leading musical role, while the chorus comments on her improvisations. One could regard this song as being of the more virtuoso songs in the Xhosa musical repertoire, virtuosity lying in the song leader's ability to improvise ingeniously and to present the song satisfactorily.

A study of the transcription (Figure 87: 514 - 518) reveals that only a fixed number of melodic patterns is used in the course of the song. The song leader's melodic phrases derive from the harmonic sequences that are produced with the hexatonic mode, the mode in which most if not all traditional Xhosa music is set.

The chorus proceeds with systematic cadences at the end of every repetition of the strophe, suggesting the shifting tonalities which underlie all Xhosa music. Thus the chorus provides the tonal/harmonic background against which the song leader sings her improvisations. In doing so, the chorus gives not only tonality, but also meaning to the solo vocal part.

The words of the improvised text comment on the social situation, the initiation, and include an indirect request for beer! During the performance, Praises (ukubonga) and rejoicing sounds (uku - kikizela = ' ululations) and Calls are made by individual singers. The beginning and end tones

of the Praises and Calls always agree harmonically with the total pattern of the music. The same applies to the statement 'utterance' made by a second 'solo' singer (S2 in the score), whose melodic phrase carrying the words kwenjenjalo (' It has always been so, like this ') also includes a slightly sharpened initial tone A.

According to Xhosa opinion, umyeyezelo is a ' praising, rejoicing song for abakhwetha. It praises the boys for the courage they showed when being made men, and our singing of the song is a sign that we rejoice for them '. As a ' Praise song ', it offers a musical parallel to the non - musical form of izibongo (Praises). The latter are characterized by the rapid declamation of largely improvised words and phrases in a series of descending statements. By extension of this idea, one could regard umyeyezelo as a musical form of izibongo. It is characterized by the slower declamatory singing of largely improvised words and phrases in a series of descending melodic phrases. Just as a successful performance of izibongo relies on a skilled professional performer, who uses the medium to demonstrate his artistic, virtuoso abilities, so does a successful performance of umyeyezelo rely on a song leader who, although not a professional, must be both a skilful improviser and a good leader. This fact explains why the song was not sung at every umphumo I attended; the people insisted that they had no - one to lead them. It also explains why, when I paid a sudden visit to Bomvana country (Xhorha/Gatyana) to attend a special umgidi (feast for initiates), I had to wait another three hours for the acknowledged ' champion ' song leader (intshatsheli) to arrive and lead the song. The

people refused to sing without her; indeed they said that they could not sing this song at all without her.

Umyeyezelo illustrates very well the very close relationship that exists between form and content, i.e. between musical sound, and the social situation in which it is performed. If one is not aware of this, one will not realize why such a song sounds the way it does, and why its sound differs greatly from that of other songs belonging to the same musical category. The unique sound of umyeyezelo (which even Soga acknowledged, although it did not appeal to him) is more easily explained when one understands the concepts underlying its performance. Although the song is music, because it is sung (- vuma) by several persons, and the roles of song leader and chorus are clearly defined, it is also a ' Praise song ' for abakhwetha, and in this it approaches the non - musical category of izibongo. I suggested my rather tentative opinions to many people, in particular the elderly women who usually sang the song. When I also asked whether this song could perhaps be likened to the izibuliso (' Praise songs ') which are sung for eminent persons such as chiefs, and important headmen, the women said that it could not. The reasons they gave were based on the style of the music, and I quote the comments of the spokeswoman of one group to whom I spoke: ' Umyeyezelo is done by a woman (umhlabei) who sometimes sings like she speaks, and you do not get this with izibuliso, where it is all real singing with the umhlabei and chorus singing a lot '. Another woman in another group to whom I spoke,

Figure 87

Circumcision song: Umyeyezelo (lit. ' singing ye-ye-ye ') = a rejoicing/praising song for initiated boys. It originally accompanied their umtshilo dance, but today it is sung at 'coming out' ceremonies (imiphumo) held for initiated boys. The ingqongqo 'drum' was beaten by singers as an accompaniment to their singing, but nowadays a substitute 'drum' is used. In this performance, the singers (older married women) beat a piece of cardboard with maize stalks.

Pitch: (this rises a semitone): Present "C" = original G rising gradually to A flat.

Mode: Hexatonic (< two major triads based on roots E flat and F)



Ex. No. 63 on Tape 1b

Strophe length: $\text{d} \times 4$

Tempo: $\text{d} = 59 - 63 \text{ M.M.}$

The words of the text (which are mainly improvised, exceptions being two phrases which are 'fixed' elements in the song), allude to circumcision ceremonies, which today have no umtshilo dances. The whole affair is celebrated in an attenuated form nowadays.

Hó bantu básémzini, whó wéwayé,
Bantu básémzini,
Yémzi ká baw' ungángisa
amáthole;

Ho! people at the homestead, ahoy!
people at the homestead,
It is at father's home that he
is going to help catch the
young animals;

Hé'kwénjénjalo, héma-a,
thiná,
Ye bátsho bók' ábántwana
ábáthándayó,
Kanti uvá kúnjáni?

It has always been like this,
(from the old days), ah me, with us,
All the children declared, they
who are loved,
Nevertheless, do you see
how it has been shortened?

(trans. N Q Dingiswayo).

ingqongqo: 'drum':

1. Ho! bantu basem zi-ni;

2. 'fixed' phrase
Who we-wa-ye bantu basem - zi-ni;
Ho-!

3. Who we-wa-ye bantu basem - zi-ni;
Ho-.... Ho

4. 'fixed' phrase
la - hi-hi he-ma-ma-o
ye-he-... Ho - - o-ho

5. (2x)
Chorus: Ho!... ye-he
Ho ye-ho-ho

6. *Sl.* *Chorus.*
 Ye-mei kabaw' gangis'a-ma-tho
 ~ye-he Ho yo-ho-ho-

7. *Sl.* *S2.* *Chorus.*
 (i.e) Um-zi kabaw' gangis'a-ma-tho (i.e)
 ye-he; Ho-yo-ho-ho-He-

8. *Sl.* *S2.* *Chorus.*
 f He-ma-a
 kwen-jen-ja-to
 -ye-he; Ho-yo-ho-ho

9. *Sl.* *S2.*
 f He-ma-a
 kwen-jen-ja-to

Root progression sequence in strophe: (E) F - - - - - E

Figure 87 (ctd.)

Chorus continues with its fixed phrase, while the song leader repeats patterns nos. 4 - 5 (with ' fixed' and characteristic phrase of the song). Thereafter:

10.

SL. We khal u.khal' ummitari o.nga. nin,

Ch. ye.he - - O-wo ho ya-ho-ho

11.

SL. Ha hi-hi he.ma

Ch. - ye.he..... Ho ya-ho-ho

Chorus only for two executions of strophe, with fixed refrain. Thereafter:

12.

SL. batsho bonka bantuan' bathanda.nay'

Ch. e! batsho bonka bantuan' bathanda.nay'

13.

SL. zin kabaw + ngangis'a ma.tho -2e

Ch. Ho! - - - nga

Figure 87 (ctd.)

('drum' as before)

14. *Sl.* *33*

He! we-wu-hayye - he-ma - - - o!

~rsho!

15. *Sl.* *32*

Ha . . . hi-hi he-ma . Wo!

Ha - - - O - wowa-he-e

(Chorus as before).

16. *Sl.*

He kwenjenja-za thi-na

17. *Sl.*

Ha hi-hi thi-na

SL phrases :

18. *Sl.*

Wo'th u-va kunja-ni? he-ma

19. *Sl.* *32* *Ch.*

Wo'th u-va kunja - ni? he-ma,

O. he-le he-le ma - the

ye-he Ho - yo-ho-ho

Ch. as before

actually described the song as ' ingoma yokubonga ' (a song of praising ') - the one and only time I ever encountered this description. In view of this evidence, I think my conclusions above are valid, as they were accepted and confirmed by the people themselves. An awareness of these concepts therefore, explains why, in the category of circumcision music, and in the whole musical tradition of the Cape Nguni, there is no other song quite like umyeyezelo.

I have included the transcriptions of two circumcision songs so that the reader may compare them with the umyeyezelo songs. (The transcriptions provide the main patterns only, as the performances were very extended and included numerous repetitions). The two songs, Ndinyeleni ndomile (an umtshilo dance song, Figure 89: 524ss) and He ninonke ndingalamba (' Ho, all of you there, can I be hungry? '), an umphumo song, (cf. Figure 88: 521-3), represent circumcision music performed at the umphumo of initiated boys. They show the usual structural features of Xhosa music, but have the characteristic rhythms and tempo of circumcision music. The polyrhythmic principle is applied extensively in both songs. He ninonke . . is in fact a beer song, but is frequently performed at imiphumo. Its basic metrical pattern (4 + 4 dotted minims) which underlies many beer songs, is beaten in iseyile at a much slower tempo, to conform with the slower tempo of circumcision music.

Umphumo pl. imiphumo are very grand beer drinks at which meat is also served, thus one cannot say that the song is performed in an entirely new context. The deliberate slowing of the tempo, and the substitution of handclaps by ' drum ' beats are sufficient

to bring the music, and its sound, into closer association with circumcision music, and therefore with the institution itself, which is celebrated at these ' coming out ' ceremonies.

Extract from a Beer song adapted for performance at
umphumo celebrations:

He ninonke na (' Ho! all of you there ') Ex. No.64 on Tape 1b

Pitch: Present "C" = original Bflat

Mode: hexa-based pentatonic (< two major triads based on
roots D and C; the 3rd above D root (F#) is absent.

Strophe length: d.x8

Tempo: d. = 60 M.M.

Text:

Hé ninónke na,

Ndingálamba ábánye

Báléle?

Bhabhá nélizwe,

Bhabhá námázwe ,

Ló 'mfán' úza némpi,

Báyazingómbá, ngómba,

kanjáló?

Ho! all of you there,

Can I be hungry when others
are asleep?

Struggle (for freedom) for the
country,

Struggle for all the countries,
That young man is coming with
war,

They are beating their chests,
is that not so?

(Trans. N Q Dingiswayo)

The singers ask whether, in such a situation of oppression,
the other men are sleeping. This is a political 'freedom'
song, usually sung at beer drinks, but adapted for umphumo.
It is an appeal to the 'new' men (initiated youths) to align
themselves with the fighters of oppression, not only in their
own country, but also in other countries on the African
continent.

Mode:

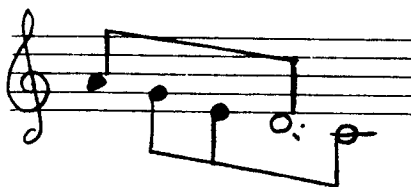


Figure 88 (ctd.)

1 "ngqongqo": d. d. d. d. d. 1

Assist. leader: (S2): Howonayo wa-yo wayo --

Song leader (old lady) Ho --- ni-

Tacet:

2

S1 no-nke nankya-ye he-he-ma, he-ma-a Ho - ndi-

S2 Ho-ya yo-yo-o hi-ye-he wenge-ha-ha

Ch.1 Ya-ha-ho

Ch.2 Ya-ha-ho.

"ngqongqo": d. d. d. d. d. d. d. d. d. 3.

S1 Sh. nga - lam-ba ngongo he ha-hyi - ma loo-ho... ndi-

S2 hi-ye-he Ho! yoo-ho hema;

Ch.1 who - - - - Ya-ha-ho

Ch.2 Ya-ho-ho..

4. In the repetition, S2 sings a varied phrase: Yendaba-ningzi woo-ho 4.

S2. S1 nga-lamba ngongo he ha-hyi - ma - ha Wo -

as before

5

St. no-nke ya - ngo-nag hi-wa hyi - ma Wo

S2. Hema-ba-nye ba-ze.ze wo-ho;

ch. I. Yoho-ho-ho-o-o

ch. Y Ya-wo-ha... ho-o. ho o-o Ya-ho-ho-;

'inggonggo'

Root progression sequence in strophe:

|| C - - D C - C | D - C - - - C ||

Figure 89

Circumcision song (sung at 'coming out' ceremonies);

Ndinyeleni ndomile (' Give me something to drink, I thirst ')

Ex. No. 65 on Tape 1b

Pitch: Present "C" = original AFlat; pitch rises a semitone during performance

Mode: hexa-based pentatonic

Strophe length: d x 8

Tempo: d = 56 M.M.

Full text:

Ndinyelēni ndomile ,

Give me something to drink,
I thirst,

Yimāzī yintsikizi,

It is the female rain bird,

Iyawakhāla;

It ought to be crying;

Hāy' lāmādoda,

Alas, this (affair) of men,

Iyakhāla,

It is crying.

Hā! wākhuphele,

Aha! there you poured it out
for them,

Wenzanī sibāli?

What are you doing, swaar?

Úkūngandixelēli,

You must not tell me,

Kantī lēndodā indólile.

Nevertheless this man has
rejected me.

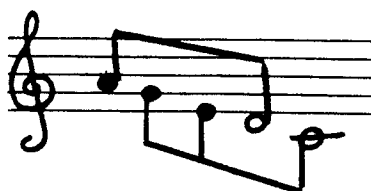
(trans. N Q Dingiswayo)

intsikizi = the ground hornbill (*Bucorvus cafer*) or 'brom voël' (Afrikaans). The Cape Nguni consider the bird to be an evil omen, usually sent by a witch (cf. Hunter 1936: 288). If the bird comes to a homestead, it means that lightning will strike there.

There is an association of ideas in the text (which is largely improvised): the rain which will come when the bird cries, and the beer which will flow when the singer ' cries ', i.e. sings.

sibali = from Afrikaans "swaar" , meaning brother-in-law.

Mode:



The 3rd above D root (F#) occurs only in a phrase introduced by one of the singers (S3 in score) shortly before the end of the performance (cf. p. 528 : S3).

"ingqongqo":

SL. Nōin - qe - leni nō - mi - le - e ho haya, Ho! i - yan - da - la; 1

Chorus. Ho - e Ho ho - ha - ho - ya;

SL. Nōin - yeleni nō - mi - le - e hahā, Ho! i - yan - da - la; 2

Ch. I - yawa - kha - la, Yok! - a Ho! i - yan - da - la;

SL. yi - mā - yintsi - ki - z' ho - o - ha - a - a. Ho! i - yan - da - - la; 3

Ch. I - yawa - kha - la Yok! - a Ho! i - yan - da - - la; (as before)

SL. O - yo - wa - ho wo - ho - ha Ho! ha - y - la - ma - do - da; 4

Ch. I - yawa - kha - la Yok! a, Ho! i - yan - da - - la (a)

SL. O - yo - wa - ho. Yok - - a, Ho! i - yan - da - ma - do - da 5

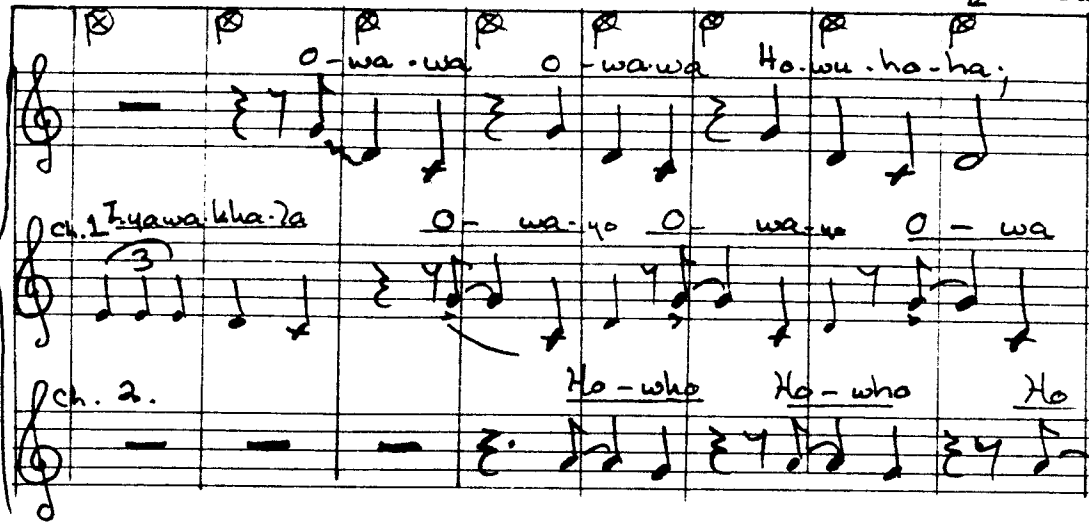
Chorus as before.

d "ingqongqo"

Root progression sequence in strophe:

|| C - D - C - D C - - - C D - C - - D - C - C ||

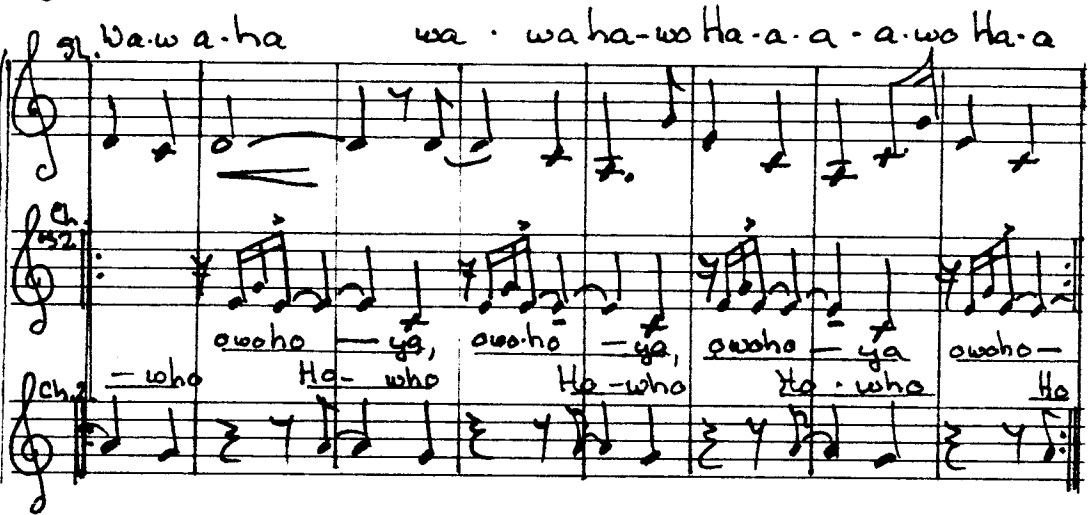
"ingqongqo"
'drum'

6. 

o-wa-wa o-wa-wa Ho-wu-ho-ha;

ch. 1. I-yawa kha-za o-wa-ya o-wa-wa o-wa

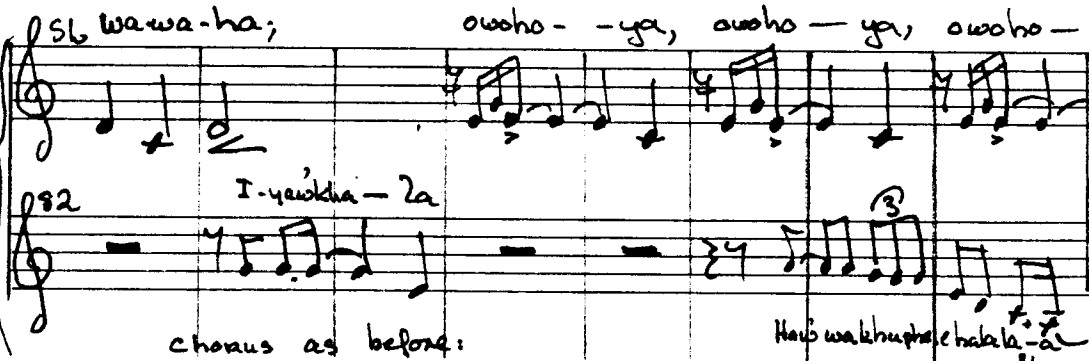
ch. 2. Ho-who Ho-who Ho

7. 

Na-wa-ha wa-wa-ha-wo Ha-a-a-a-wo Ha-a

owoho-ya, owoho-ya, owoho-ya owoho-

ch. 1. -who Ho-who Ho-who Ho-who Ho

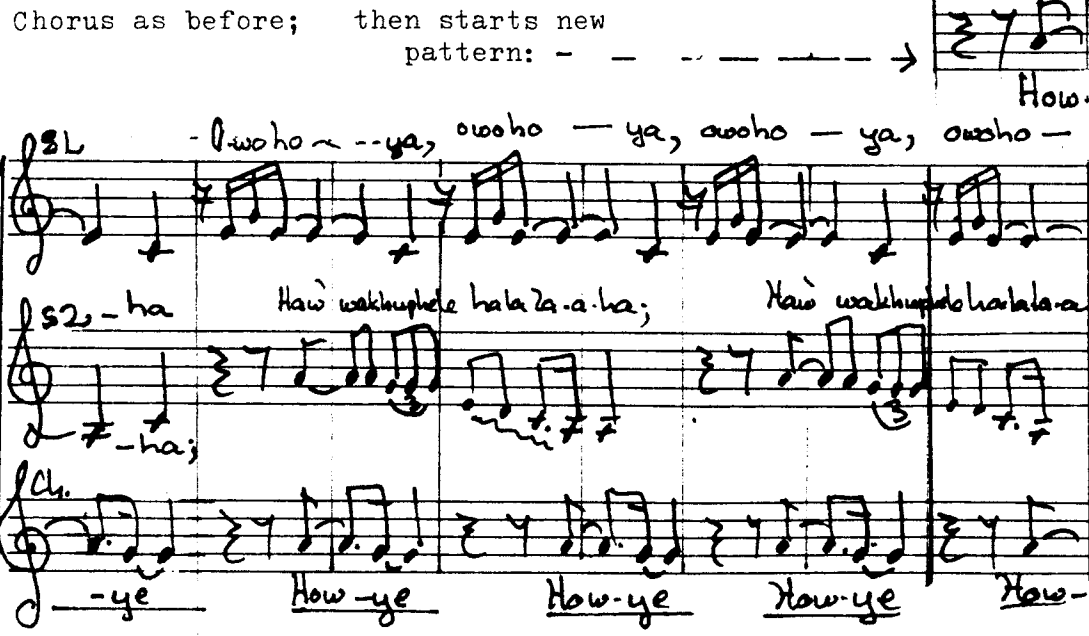
8. 

Wa-wa-ha; owoho-ya, owoho-ya, owoho-

I-yawa kha-za

chorus as before: How wakhupele haka-za

Chorus as before; then starts new pattern: - - - - -

9. 

owoho-ya, owoho-ya, owoho-ya, owoho-

-ha How wakhupele haka-za-a-ha; How wakhupele haka-za

-ha; -ye How-ye How-ye How-ye How-

10. "ingqongqo"

Sh - ya, owaho - - ya, Mayo - yoyoyaha, Ma - yo -

ha. Ye; Yo - ha - ha - ,

10.

11. Sh (o) - wa Mayo - mayo - wa, Ho zalus' si - ba - zi he' za?

He wugqomo - yegqo - ha - ma - a, Ho wwayo - o nala ha a,

Ch. ndinye - leni ha! ndinye - leni ha!

Ha - ha ha - wo' ha - ha, Ho - wo ha - ha, Ho - wo - ha ha -

11.

12. Sh. us' si - ba - li, he' zalus' Siba? ukungandi xe le l, ukungandi - re le l, Kanti lenda?

Ho Wa khuphele ka... ha - a, Ho wakhuphele ka la ba - ha -

Ch: Hewuyo ha - - o. Hewuyo ha - - o. Ho - wo - ho - - o Ho

12.

13. Sl. indoli-le, Kanti lendoo indolil; kanti lendoo indolil; Kanti lendoo indolil; Ho-ma-yo

13.

S2. -ha; Ho wakhiyehelo (a) Ch+S2. Ye hala-za-ho

Ch. 1.

-o-wo ho, ho-wo ho, Ho ... etc. Ho-wo-o, Ho-

S3:

I-ya-kha-la; I-yakha-la

d'ingqongqo: d d d d d d d

Sh. - wa, Mayo - wa, Mayo - wa, Owcho - wa

14

S2. Ye halala-ho-, Ye hala-za-ho -- wo, Ye ha-la-ho

Chorus:

- wo - ha Ha - wo - ha Ha - wo - ha Ha - wo - ha, Ha

d d d d d d d

18. Iingoma zentunjane / iingoma zokuthombisa (' Music of the girl initiate ' / ' music of the girls' initiation ceremony ')

All Cape Nguni girls undergo an initiation ceremony (ukuthombisa) on reaching puberty. The initiate is called intonjane (from the verb uku - thomba, meaning ' to bud, sprout, to menstruate for the first time '). The ceremony is in the nature of a private celebration and initiates undergo no physical operation. With the appearance of the menses for the first time, the girl goes into seclusion in a hut at her own home. Girls are sometimes initiated in pairs, e.g. two sisters or two cousins, or two close friends. The essentials of the ceremony have been described in detail, being

' . . . the seclusion of the girl in a hut. . . the observance of certain taboos during seclusion, the use of bleaching agents on the skin, the performance of certain ritual killings and ritual dances, a ritual cleansing at the end of the seclusion, and the behaviour of a girl for a period in her own home as if she were a bride' (Hunter 1936: 166).

The period of seclusion varies from three to six weeks; much depends on the availability of enough food and drink to feed the people who assemble at different times for the observance of the custom, and for the women attendants who are appointed to look after the girl. For this reason, intonjane ceremonies are performed during the winter months, when the harvest has been reaped and there is enough food and beer, and plenty of time for leisure and music.

On the first day of the seclusion period, the ritual dance umngqungqo / umgquzo (Mpondo) is performed by the

married women of the homestead, and close neighbours.

According to Hunter, ' Any married woman, even though barren, and any girl who has borne a child though she has never been married, is eligible to take part in the dance. It is immaterial whether the performer herself has been ukuthombisa ' (ibid.).

One thing which struck me, when comparing the groups of Thembu and Mpondo women who performed the dances on different occasions, was the marked difference in their relative ages. The Mpondo women were at least twenty years younger than their Thembu counterparts; indeed, had they not worn their hair as do married women, I would have taken them for teenagers. I commented on this to my guide, who conveyed the remark to a group of women who were standing a small distance away, watching the dance. Two of them came up to me and told me that some of the women did not have husbands, but nevertheless were eligible for performing the dance. One of them added, ' It's not having a husband or marriage that counts in this, it is whether a person is a virgin. No virgins do this dance '.

The ritual dance was performed twice daily during the seclusion period up to some twelve years ago. Today the dance is performed only at the beginning and the end of the seclusion period, and performances during the period depend on there being enough food for the people who may attend.

The intonjane remains behind a screen (a reed mat or a blanket) in the seclusion hut, and never leaves it during the day. She may leave it only at night, to relieve herself. Young people of the girl's own age gather in the hut at night and sing and dance the whole night long (this is the intlombe youth group).

They retire in the early hours of the morning (- metsha, as is usual), and resume their singing and dancing the following night, or another night which has been agreed upon.

The performance of the ritual dance is essential; the people say that if it is not done, then the girl has not been properly ukuthombisa. As Hunter has pointed out, ' initiation is definitely a preparation for marriage ' (1936: 70). It happens, however, that a girl cannot be ukuthombisa owing to the poverty of her parents or some other reason, and she may marry without having undergone initiation. Should anything go wrong in her affairs thereafter, e.g. should she fail to conceive, become ill, or should her family fall into trouble, it is attributed to her not having been initiated. She must then undergo the ceremony, which is usually performed in an attenuated form. I attended such a ceremony; the intonjane, a young married woman, had not borne a child after three years of marriage, and a diviner had attributed this to her non - observance of the custom. At another ukuthombisa ceremony, the intonjane was a woman with a sickly baby. She went into seclusion after the birth of the child, as she had never been ukuthombisa, and it was hoped that observance of the custom would ensure that her baby would become stronger and grow up healthy (cf. also ch. 3: 107).

The initiation ceremony undergone by Bhaca girls is referred to as (i) umguzo and (ii) umgubho (Hammond - Tooke 1962: 82). According to Hammond - Tooke, umgubho refers to the feasting and dancing at the end of the seclusion period and is used by Christians to make a distinction between the traditional pagan rites and the modified form of the ceremony practised by them.

The same author states:

'Indeed, today, with the majority of Bhaca nominally Christian, or at least 'dressed' (estimated at about 80 percent) the original ceremony has undergone considerable modification and the common term in use is ipati (Eng. 'party') which stresses even more definitely the break with heathendom. As informants say, "We call it ipati because we no longer do it as it used to be done. We just buy bread, make ijiki (beer) and kill an ox".

"The ipati is like the White man's twenty - first birthday". It is thus only in an attenuated form that the custom is observed today' (ibid.).

The ceremony is not undergone by all girls, and some do so only when they are married. Also, there are no ceremonies on a tribal scale, and each girl undergoes the rite at her father's homestead. Seclusion behind a screen in the hut is usual but is not enforced. The same sort of dancing of young people takes place in the hut:

'... each afternoon the young people of the location gather together and, after the stamping - blocks used for preparing stamped mealies for the feast have been removed from the store - hut, dancing and the 'calling' (- bita) of the girls continue far into the night. . . Throughout this time the initiate should remain in the hut. On the sixth or seventh day after entering the hut, the initiate rises early in the morning and goes to the river to wash. . . ' (ibid.)

On the final day of seclusion, the ungubho proper begins; it is also known as umjadu or feast, thus its name and function are similar to the feast given at the end of Mpondo girl initiates' seclusion period. 'There is much eating and drinking and music; the concentration of young people often gives rise to faction fights between the members of the iindlavini gangs belonging to the different areas, usually having their genesis in rivalry for the affection of the girls' (ibid.). Hammond - Tooke also

points out the similarity between the initiation of a girl and that of the isangoma diviner, which is to be seen in the use of the inyongo (gall - bladder), tasting of the imbetsu of the sacrificial goat, and coils of fat worn round the neck. ' In both cases the initiate is supported by friends ' (cf. 1962: 82 - 84).

I did not encounter the modified ipati described by Hammond - Tooke, and which was most common when he worked among the Bhaca, thus I was unable to record the music performed at such an event. Informants said that even these parties were becoming rare, but were unable to provide substantial evidence to support their statements. One of my guides, a Bhaca social worker, agreed that initiation parties were being discontinued, but added that they were still being celebrated by ' some people, including Christians '. Unfortunately I was unable to track down these affairs.

The umngqungqo / umgquzo dance is the most important musical item performed at intonjane celebrations. It is the only form of Cape Nguni communal music which is both sung and danced by people of the same sex - women. Furthermore, it is performed by women of the same age set who are known as amazibazana (cf. Hunter 1936: 167). Among the Mpondo, amazibazana can only come ' from the intonjane's mother's side (Mpondo informant), i.e. her co - wives, sisters and intimate neighbours, and the relatives of the father of the intonjane may not be among this group ' (Hunter loc.cit.). This dance is exclusive to women because the whole affair of ukuthombisa is ' women's business ' (indaba yabafazi) .

The music accompanying the dance is purely vocal, being unaccompanied by any sort of instrument, or clapping. Dance movements consist of ' walking ' and toe - heel movements from right to left and vice versa. In the toe - heel movement, the ball of the foot is placed on the ground, followed by a heavy stamp onto the heel of the foot. (This is in no way like the galvanic stamping of diviners). Both these basic movements are accompanied by swaying from side to side (the Mpondo women bend down from the waist) and slight muscle - quivering; the ' cadences ' at the end of each repeat of the strophe are usually accompanied by a spirited kick or jump which precedes and ushers in the opening phrase of the strophe. As in most Xhosa dance songs, particularly the traditional songs, everything is directed toward the recommencement of the strophe, so there is no true ' cadence ' suggesting finality in this music, as there is in the Sound, for example (cf. ch. 8: 619).

The women wear their most decorative dress: gored skin skirts (izikhakha), or, if they do not have them, braided skirts, which amplify and lend variety to the moving patterns of their bodies as they sway and swirl in the dance. Beaded necklaces and arm - bands, ornate turbans, or headdresses (Mpondo) and other ornaments contrived from keys and locks (very popular) complete their dancing attire. Xhosa, Thembu and Bomvana women adorn themselves with red, yellow or white clay, and carry sticks with small flags attached to them, and which they clash together as they dance.

The design of the dance is unusual, being circular, unlike

the design of the other Cape Nguni dances, which are ' straight ' dances, i.e. the dancers perform in straight lines. (Even the intlombe dances are not strictly semi - circular; the dancers assume this formation in rows mainly because the hut itself is circular). The basic formation is still linear, even though the dancers stand in semicircles. I witnessed a Qwathi intlombe group warming up for a competition outside the hut, and even in these circumstances, the dancers stood in rows or lines, i.e. in linear formation).

I was unable to find any explanation for the design of umngqungqo; people said it had ' always been like that '. I do not think one can attribute the designs of dances to the environment in which the people live, although one might be inclined to do so. The Cape Nguni people live in both flat, open country, and mountainous country. For instance, the Thembu live in flat open country, compared with the Bomvana, whose country is gouged by ravines. The Xesibe occupy both mountainous and low - lying flat country, as do the Mpondo. Yet all the chiefdom clusters perform both types of dance. It would be safer to say that the Cape Nguni style of dancing, although not suited to its environment, may not inevitably have been influenced by it. The umngqungqo dance is performed out - of - doors, in the courtyard of the homestead. Since it is usually danced by many women, a circular formation may have been adopted because it allows for a large number of people to group together in a confined space.

The dancers form circles, one within the other, the total number of circles depending on the number of dancers present. The performances of the dance are separated by dance songs

involving smaller groups of dancers, who perform ' solo ' dances with more lively movements. (I noticed that one or two women also ' spoofed ', i.e. danced in a deliberately comical way, which drew much laughter from the other dancers and the spectators). These dance songs are also called iingoma zentonjane , and include beer songs which are called izidlalo (' amusements '). These are treated differently in the context of girls' initiation ceremonies, by the addition of a special dance formation (one circle only) and by the relinquishment of handclaps which accompany the beer songs.

The melodies of umngqungqo are many and varied superficially, although all are related thematically. The ritual umngqungqo dance song has its own special melody which is easily recognized, even when sung by different groups of dancers of the different clusters, who treat the melody variedly. The Mpondo umngquzo ritual song is also easily identified. ALL music which accompanies the umngqungqo dances is referred to as ukutsholoza music (or umtsholozo), i.e. the ' rejoicing ' music which is performed at events connected with the initiation of girls. Hence uku - tsholoza means ' to sing and dance at ukuthombisa ', just as uku - yeyezela means ' to sing and drum for the abakhwetha' (in the wider sense). The performance of all ritual institutional music is described by a single word (cf. Diviners' music pp. 571ss).

The rhythms of umngqungqo songs follow closely the patterns of activity they accompany. I have already described the two main types of physical movement connected with umngqungqo

(cf. p. 534); their patterns indicate the basic metrical patterns of the music. I have also described how I went about recording the music (cf. ch. 6: 234 - 235), but I have not yet described how I improvised a method for securing the basic metrical patterns of the songs. I did so in the following way: I asked my guide to fetch a stick, and to hold it next to me. I myself held another stick in one hand; in the other hand I held the microphone. As the singers danced, I watched their foot - work, i.e. their toe - heel movements, focussing mainly on the dance leader and song leader. Each time they made a toe - heel movement (the movement is so quick that it totals one beat), I tapped the stick and at the same time I spoke the direction into the microphone, e.g.

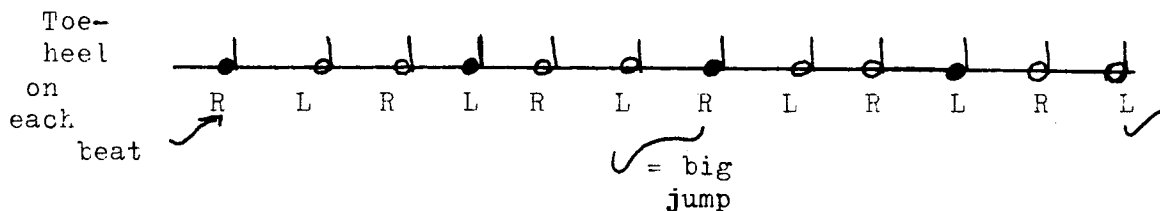
Figure 90:



R.L. = Right - Left (each movement involves a
toe-heel step to Right and Left
respectively)

Although this method was improvised spontaneously, it worked very well, even when more complicated metres had to be secured, e.g.

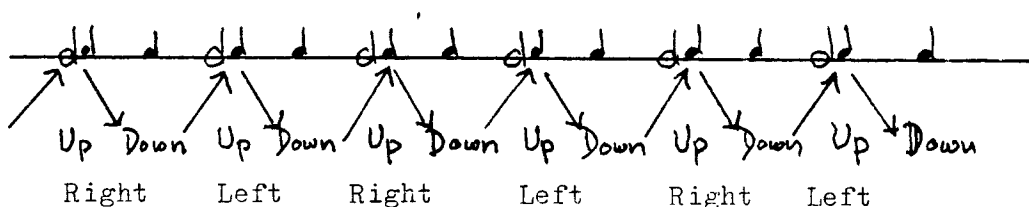
Figure 91:



For this reason, many of my recordings of the music include also my verbal comments, but this was the only way I could think of, at the time. When the women made any special movements, e.g. lifting of the leg, bending of the knee of the supporting leg, followed by a hard stamp on the last beat of the pattern, I similarly described all this briefly into the recording. It was not necessary to keep this up through a whole performance, as I soon found that the patterns were repetitive, and therefore the basic patterns of the music.

Umngqungqo is performed in two ' movements ' corresponding to the physical movements of the dancers already described. The first movement, in which the dancers walk alternately in anticlockwise, then in clockwise direction, has a basic metre of twelve crotchets (crystallized into 6 minims) which accompanies (and follows) the walking movements of the dancers :

Figure 92



The minim beats denote the steps upward followed by steps downward onto the ground, which occur between the minim beats, i.e. on what would be the crotchet beats. (Cf. Figure 101 which is the transcription of an umngqungqo song entitled Unoyongo/ Ulilongo).(Ex. No. 66 on Tape 1b). Transcription on pp. 539ss).

The first ' movement ends with a last restatement of the main

Figure 101 (a), (b), (c) & (d) :

Item of girls' initiation music (iingoma zentonjane)
Unoyongo/Ulilongo (voluntary title) = ritual
umngqunggo dance song, also known as a rejoicing song
 (ingoma yomtsholozo); Ex. No. 66 on Tape 11

The song has no fixed text; the words are improvised by the singers, who sing mainly vocables. This song was performed by 300 - 350 women who danced in circles, one within the other. The song has two sections:

(i) in which the women first walk in clockwise direction; thereafter they change direction and proceed anticlockwise.

The music has a leisurely tempo which suits the walking movements of the singers.

(ii) - tshetshelala (' to make to go fast ') section:

The women face inwards in response to the song leader's command ("jika!" = 'turn, change'), and perform a characteristic toe-heel stepping movement.

Pitch: Present "C" = original D flat.

Mode: hexa - based pentatonic

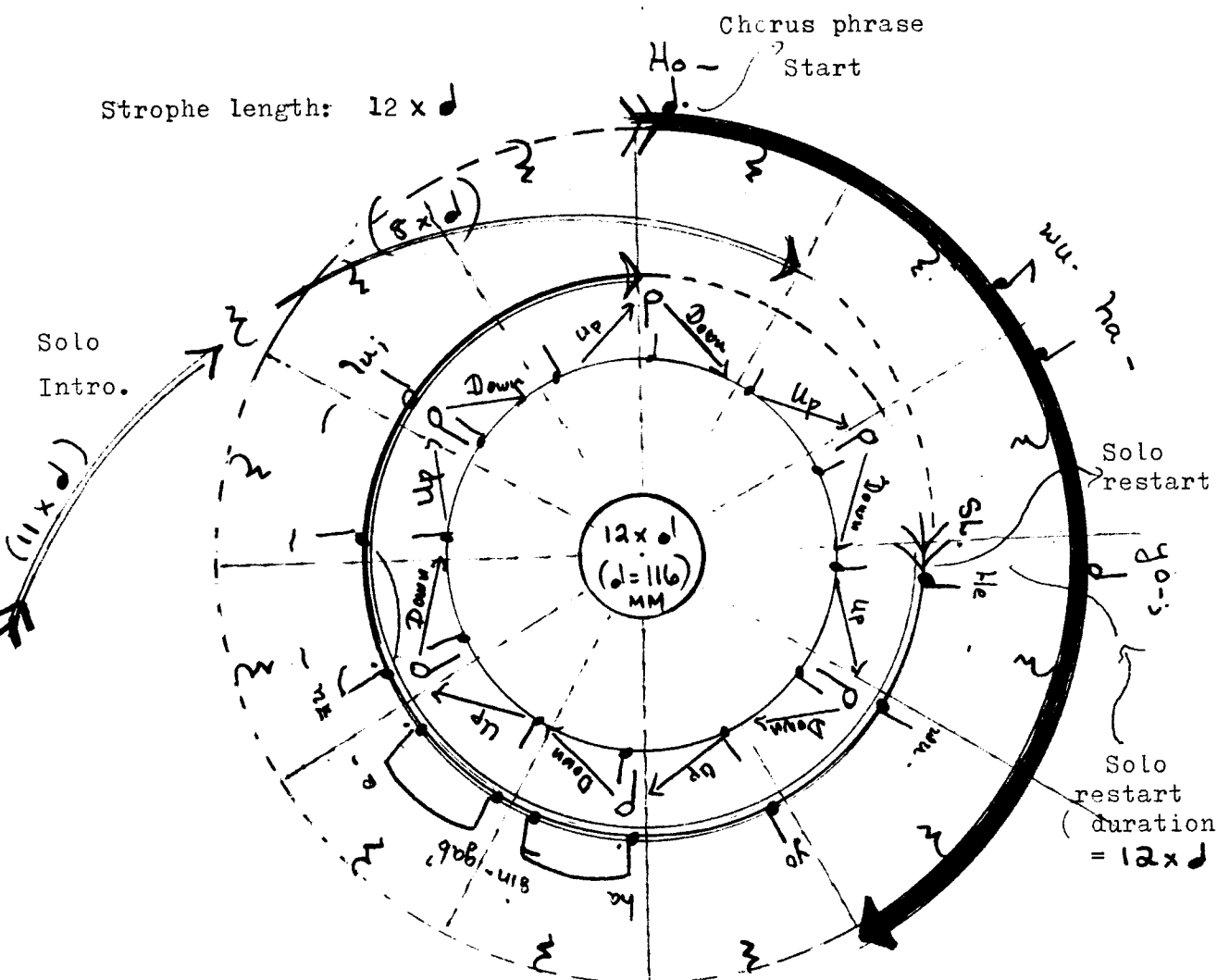
Strophe length: Section 1: 12 x ♪ Section 2: 10 x ♪

In this performance the women danced around a barrel of beer; from time to time a singer stepped out of one of the circles (five in all) and had a drink of beer. At one point, a woman shouted "nditshetshelale" (' I did go faster ') and made her way to the centre of the innermost circle, where she proceeded to dance 'solo' (- xhentsa yedwa) by shaking and making vocal sounds.

This particular song is known and sung by the Xhosa, Thembu, Bomvana and Mpondomise in Transkei, and by the Mfengu people living among or near these clusters.

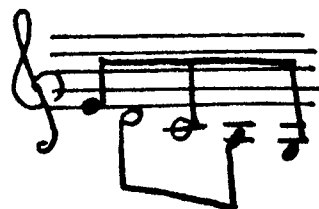
Figure 101 (a)

Diagram representing temporal relationship of solo and chorus parts in the Thembu umngqunggo song: Unoyongo/Ulilongo



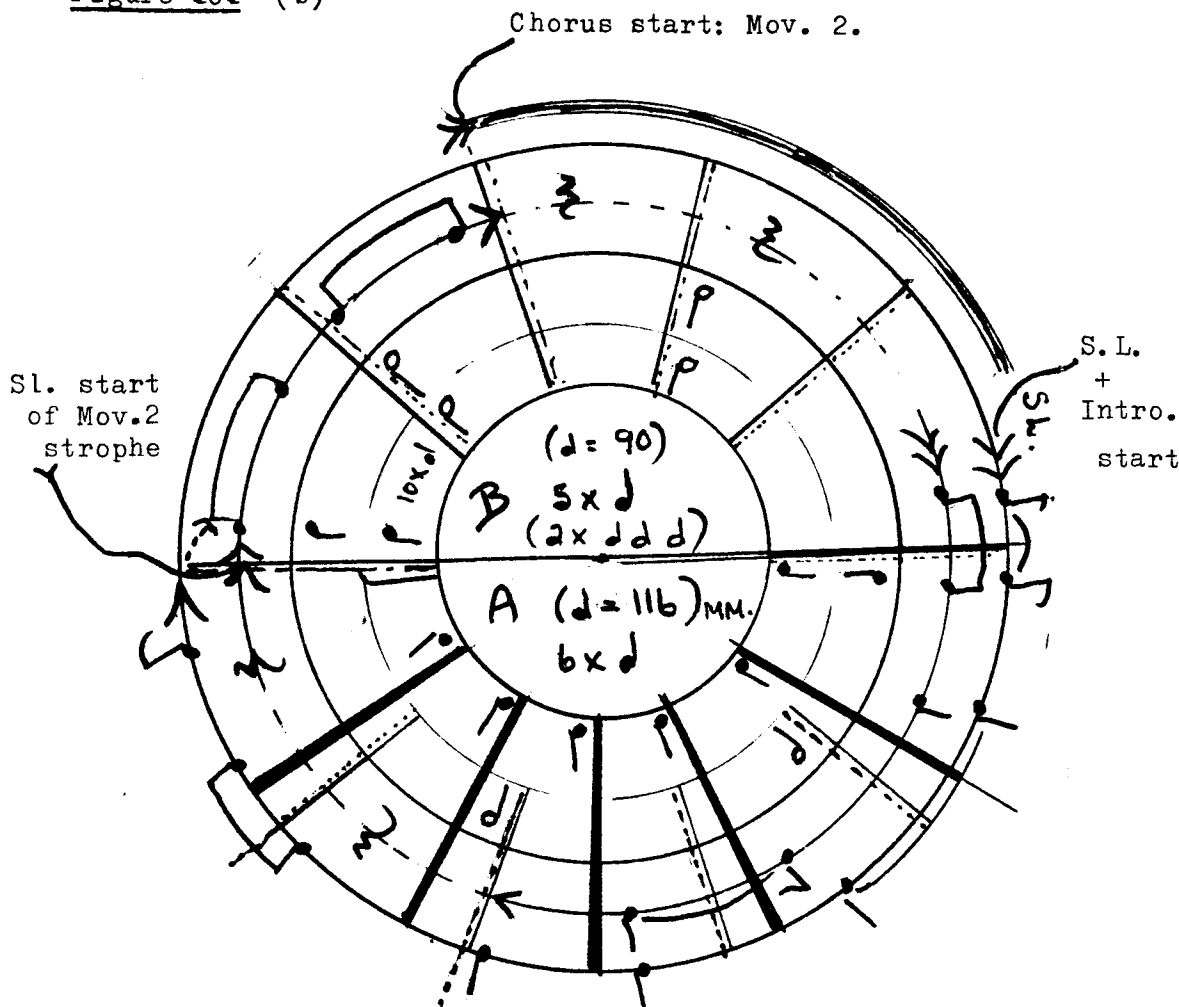
The song proper (after the song leader's introduction) comprises a strophe or cycle of 12 crotchets duration, continually repeated (though with some later melodic variation). The chorus phrase, with which the strophe commences (an arbitrary choice) occupies the first 5 crotchets of each cycle, resting for the remaining 7. The song leader's phrase of 9 beats duration starts on beat 4, i.e. 2 beats before the end of the chorus (which occupies beats 4 and 5) and continues up to the end of beat 12, being immediately followed by the next chorus re-entry, which begins the next repetition of the cycle.

Mode: Apparently pentatonic, but basically hexatonic (< two major triads based on roots C and D). One of the 3rds is absent (Fsharp relating to root D), thus giving the appearance of pentatonic tonality.



in the Thembu umngqunggo song, Unoyongo/Ulilongo .

Figure 101 (b)



A = exactly half the strophe or cycle of Mov. 1, during which the song leader introduces the 2nd ('-tshetshелеle') movement. The metric divisions are indicated by the unbroken thickened lines (—).

B = exactly half the strophe of Mov. 2; the metric divisions are indicated by (.....).

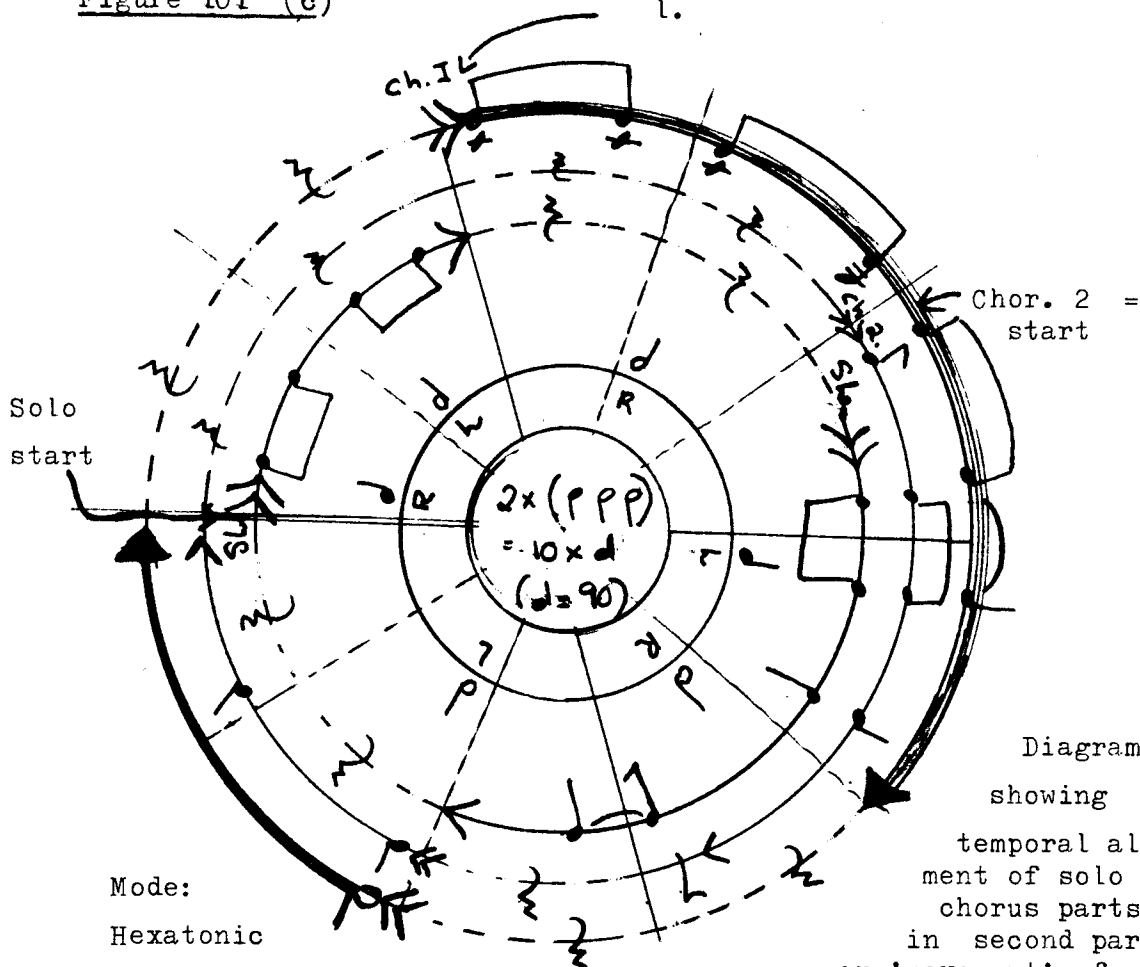
The song leader introduces the 2nd movement at almost the same point at which she entered in the 1st movement (only a quaver beat earlier). The Introduction has a duration of 6 and a half crotchets, ending on the 6th crotchet beat of the first strophe (Mov.1). Immediately thereafter, on the following crotchet beat, the song leader commences the strophe proper of Mov. 2.

This has a basic metre of $2 \times d d d$ ($d = 90$ M.M.).

The chorus part enters exactly midway between the 2nd and 3rd minims of the basic metre.

While dancing this faster 'movement', the dancers faced inwards.

The song leader prepared the 2nd movement by shouting "Jika!" and "Tshetshелеle!" while the chorus was singing 3 of its 5 crotchet phrase; the last 2 beats of the chorus phrase were omitted owing to the song leader's entry with the Introduction to Mov. 2.

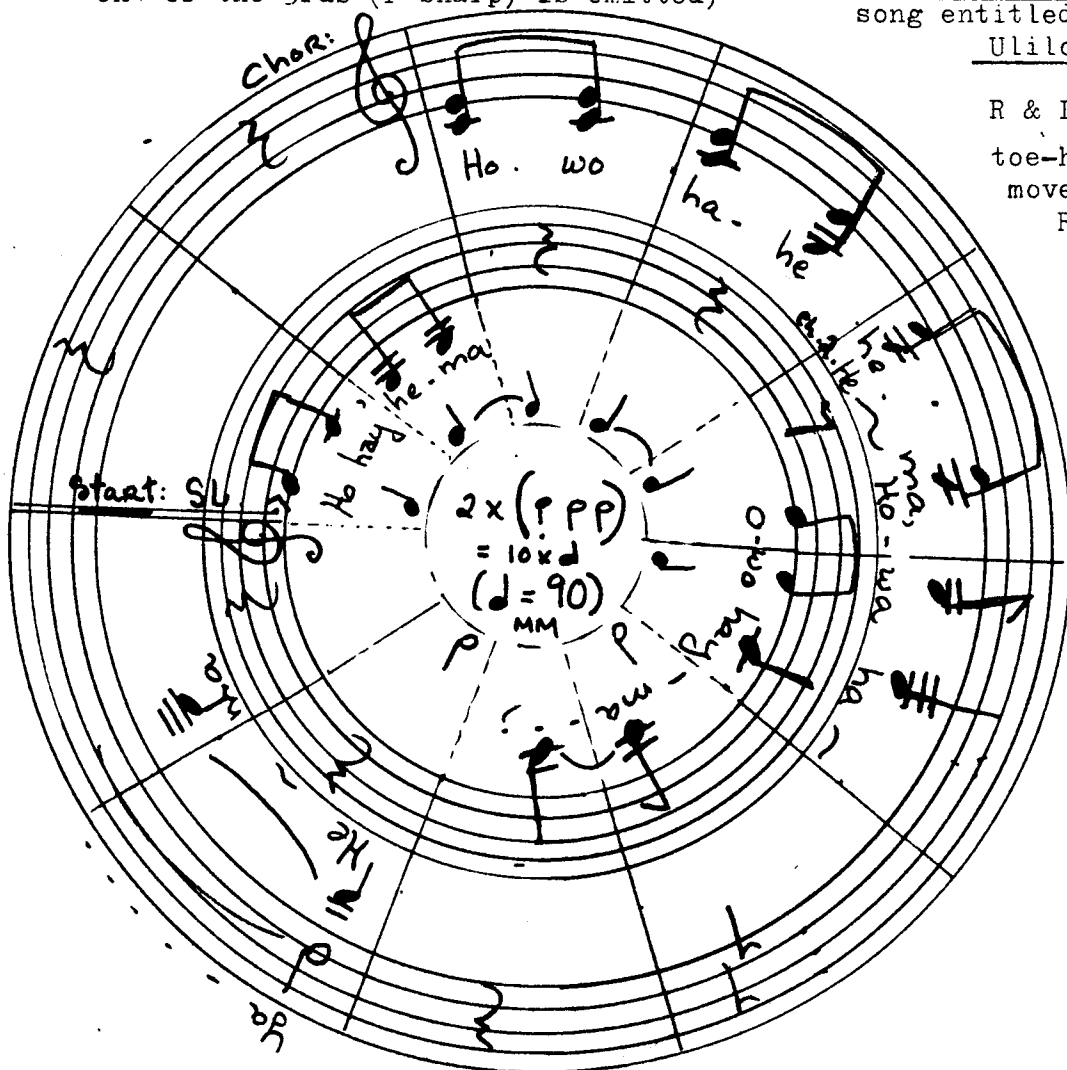


Diagrams
showing
temporal align-
ment of solo and
chorus parts
in second part

or 'movement' of
Thembu umngunggo
song entitled Unoyongo/
Ulilongo

R & L =
toe-heel
movements to
Right and
left.

Pitch:
Present "C"
=original
Eflat



pattern of 12 crotchets (or 4 dotted minims), which also underlies the - tsholoza songs of the other clusters, of which Figure 101 (Unoyongo etc) is an example.

The total structure or strophe of a song may consist of half the pattern quoted at (ii) above, e.g. the second part or ' movement ' of the same - tsholoza song (Figure 101^c), which has a basic metre of



Another umngqungqo song entitled Ndonakalelwa (' I was disturbed, confused ') has a basic metre comprising a repetition of this total pattern (cf. Figure 102 ; Ex. No. 67 on Tape (Transcription on p. 554; cf. also p. 553 (diagram).

Thus the basic rhythms of umngqungqo songs vary according to the dance steps being executed; the song leader selects the patterns accordingly. One pattern may underlie an entire performance, as is the case when several performances of the dance follow the performance of the ritual dance song. Consequently, to dance in ' movements ' would be too tedious, as well as ' boring ' as one woman put it, hence the selection of one and perhaps two patterns for dancing.

I had some difficulty in deciding just how the dancers conceive the length of each basic pattern. It seems to me that their conception of it in terms of one sequence of movements, balanced by another, is part of the explanation. Take, for instance, the following basic metrical scheme, which I derived from the movements and footwork of the singers:

Figure 95



(Cf. Figure 102: 554-55, transcription of Ndonakalelwa).

Every ' beat ', whether crotchet or minim, involves a movement to the left or to the right. On the first crotchet beat of the metrical pattern, the dancer, who holds a stick (or scarf) in one hand, and positions her arms so that they are held outward from the elbows, makes a toe - heel movement to the right. As she does so, her forearms describe a semicircle in the air in the same direction. Thus the movement to the right involving the right foot and distribution of much of the body weight to that side, also involves a graceful spatial movement of the forearms in the same direction. This is followed immediately by the same movements to the left, but, since the ' beat ' is now twice as long as the preceding ' beat ', the dancer makes an additional movement - she gracefully shakes her wrists, as if to indicate visually the extra ' beat '. This second phase is then repeated to cover the next minim beat; thereafter the whole pattern is repeated to cover half the basic metrical pattern, and rerepeated to cover the total pattern (strophe) of the music.

There seems to be a definite relationship between the patterns of dance movement and the correspondingly symmetrical patterns of music. The melody of Unoyongo/Ulilongo (Figure 101 :Ex. 66, ' first ' movement) is singularly lacking in tension; its range is narrow, and the shift of tonality which occurs, is very much obscured by the sequentially interlocking voice parts. The music reflects the leisure walking movements of the dancers which it accompanies. In the ' second ' movement, the melody is varied rhythmically, and treated antiphonally by song leader

and chorus groups, at a faster tempo. It accompanies the much livelier movements of the dancers at this point. The dancers toe - heel movements produce the rather unusual metre. They prepare for the highest, climactic point of the melody (its beginning = G in score at end of pattern) by stamping sharply onto the last beat of the metrical pattern (minim) and following up with a jump onto the crotchet beat which immediately succeeds the re - entry of the melody and subsequent repetition of the strophe.

The relationship between music sound and structure, and the movements that accompany it, is even more apparent in the performance and music of the ritual song Ndonakalelwa (Figure 102:553-55). Musically the tonal shifting is clearly perceptible; it occurs exactly midway in the strophe, and is established by the chorus. This shift from ' tonic ' to ' countertonic ' tonalities expresses a sequence of relaxation - tension - relaxation, the latter being restored in the second half of the pattern where there is a return to the ' tonic ' tonality. The movements made by the performers, however, produce this sequence in reverse, i.e. tension - relaxation - tension. The beginning and the end of the total pattern (which overlap) are accompanied by spirited jumps by the performers as they transfer their weight from one foot to the other. The central point of the pattern, where the melody is repeated in the ' countertonic ' tonality, is accompanied by a less emphatic movement.

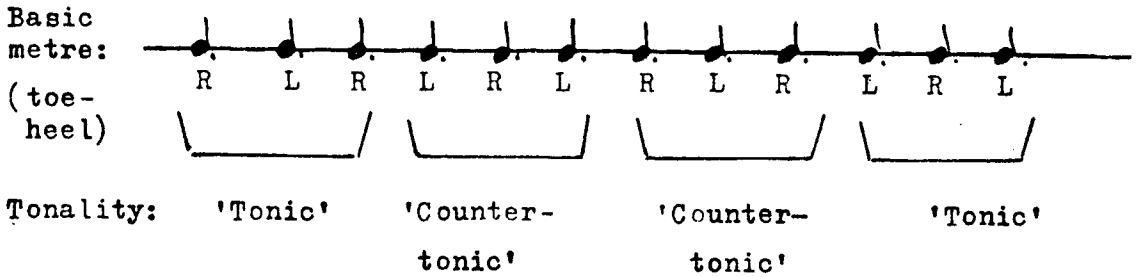
This is the main reason why, earlier on, I stated that the performers' conception of the lengths of patterns in terms of a sequence of movements balanced by another, is only part

of the explanation. I am certain that the shifting tonality of the music is another way in which they remember longer sequences of actions, combined of course with a most obvious way - a sequence of words in song leader and chorus parts, covering a number of ' beats ' and dance steps. Another version of Unoyongo/Ulilongo (Figure 103:556ss; Ex. No. 68 on Tape 1b), shows very clearly how this occurs. The basic metre comprises a succession of 12 dotted crotchet beats, which are indicated by the performers' steps from left to right, for one 'total pattern' and from right to left, for the repeated 'total pattern'. The first three beats accompany the melodic phrase which is clearly in the ' tonic ' tonality. Tonality shifting occurs over the next three ' beats ', mainly in the song leader's part, is re - affirmed by the chorus over the following three beats, and is re - established by the song leader during the last three beats. In terms of tension and relaxation, the song may be divided into four phases:

(i) relaxation	(ii) tension	(iii) tension	(iv) relaxation
3 beats	3 beats	3 beats	3 beats

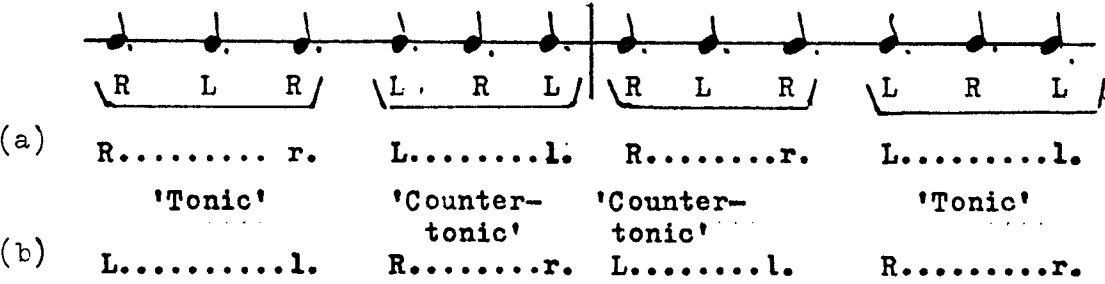
This is opposite to the procedure that was followed in the song Ndonakalelwa, which proceeded from tension to relaxation, to tension. The dance movements accompanying the music reflect this tonality shift very clearly, if one co - relates the dance - movements with the phases given above, e.g.

Figure 96



If the dance - steps (toe - heel movements) are grouped according to the shifts in tonality, and are viewed as larger patterns of movements containing smaller ones, then one finds that movements to the right and to the left coincide with shifts from ' tonic ' to ' counter-tonic ' tonalities, in the first half of the strophe, and the reverse procedure in the second half:

Figure 97



When the total pattern (strophe) has been performed once, it is repeated with reversed direction of the dance movements. The performers introduce the variant dance pattern by lifting the leg from the knee before the last beat of the preceding total pattern and stamping onto the last beat; then keeping most of the body weight on this leg (and foot) they proceed to repeat the total musical pattern while executing the toe -

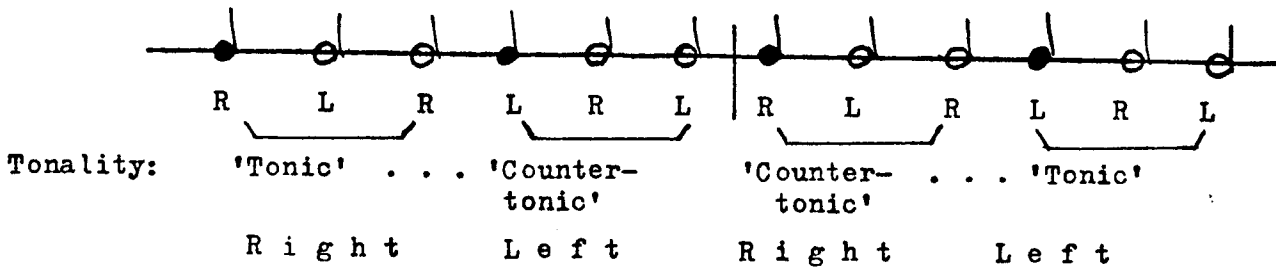
heel movements in the reverse order, i.e. if the first pattern was executed from right to left, then the repetition of the whole pattern will be executed from left to right (cf. Figure 103 : 556ss).

That pattern lengths may be conceived in terms of a sequence of vocal phrases sung by the song leader and chorus over a specific number of beats and a corresponding number of dance steps, is well illustrated in the transcription of Ndonakalelwa (Figure 102 : 554). Here, the shift in tonality occurs at the end of the first half of the strophe, where it is established by the chorus. In the second half of the strophe the chorus repeats the initial melodic phrase (introduced by the song leader at the beginning) and is answered by the song leader and assistant leader, who join the chorus in re - establishing the ' tonic ' tonality.

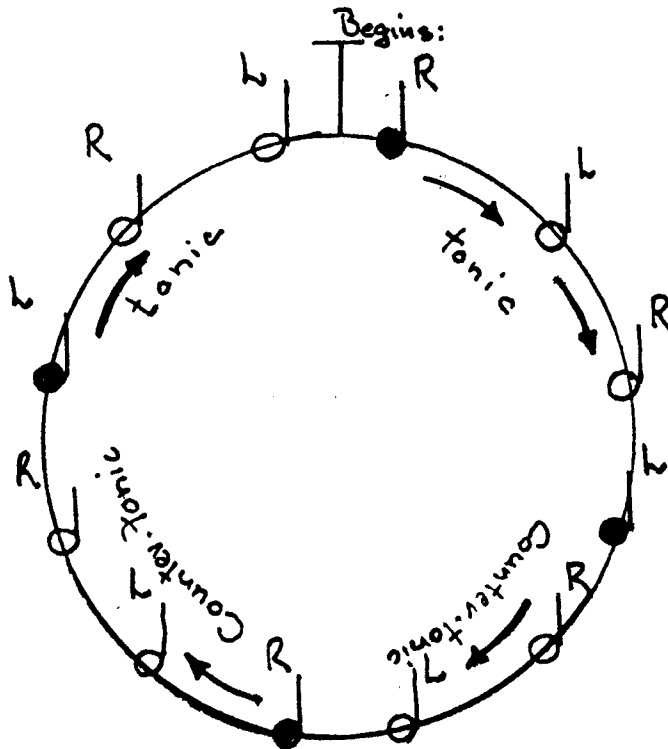
The melody of this song is based, like so many Xhosa melodies, on the process of phrase - repetition which I have mentioned several times in the course of this study. This process, which produces a melodic structure consisting of two balanced phrases on different degrees of a hexatonic scale or mode, corresponds with the process by which performers conceive the lengths of patterns, how they remember long sequences of actions - namely, in terms of one sequence of movements balanced by another. Both processes (which produce balanced structures) would seem to correspond with the process of tonality shift, in which a melodic pattern shifts from the influence of one tonality to another. Thus, all three processes may be regarded as transformations of one, single process. The

same balanced structure is revealed in the song leader and chorus parts, which in this particular song interlock sequentially, each sequence covering exactly one quarter of the strophe:

Figure 98



Although the tonality shift within the strophe proceeds from tonic - through counter-tonic - to tonic, this sequence of relaxation - tension - relaxation is not reflected in the dancers' movements, which, as I stated earlier on, follow the opposite sequence. The circular formation of the dance is reflected not only in this sequence of tension - relaxation - tension, which knows no finality, but also in the basic metrical pattern of the music, which also suggests a circle, because it has no real beginning and no real end. The two halves of the strophe are welded closely together by the minim 'beats' which overlap the two halves. Similarly, the 'end' of the strophe is closely linked to its beginning by the same overlapping (between melody and metre). The following circular diagram shows this 'cyclic' or circular form very clearly: (Cf. Figure 99 on the following p. 551);

Figure 99

Rycroft has already drawn attention to the circular form of Nguni music (Rycroft 1967: 88 - 103); He writes:

'Owing to the circular form of the music and the importance attached to recommencement rather than finality, there are in most cases no ' collective ' cadences of the Western type'. (1967: 103)

(Following Rycroft's example, I have employed circular scoring in this study (plus linear scoring occasionally), because it provides a much clearer method of describing the form of Xhosa music). The circular form of the songs is to be seen also in the way in which re - entry of the song -

melody always occurs at or near the end of the strophe, so that the song leader anticipates the melody just as the chorus is completing its vocal phrase in the strophe. Furthermore, when singers sing variations of the melody, they may (and often do) introduce them at any point, midway being the most common point of entry; regardless of where they actually do this, their patterns will always end at that point at which they introduced the variation. Sounds are the exception, as they have definite cadences which take the form of drawn - out notes and ' chords '; but they are examples of modern Xhosa music and can be expected to deviate from the traditional pattern to some extent.

The umngqungqo songs are, however, not only circular in their form, they are also circular in their choreography, and this is reflected in the basic metrical patterns of the songs, which result from the dance movements executed by the performers. It is no wonder then, that my guides and informants always referred to these dances as ' those in which the women sing and go round and round in circles ', and ' those round dances which go on forever ', such explanations being invariably accompanied by circular movements made in the air by the speakers' index fingers.

Umngqungqo songs are largely improvised, singers selecting from a store of words and phrases which are standard for this category of music. Many of the words have been suggested by the event itself, and by the general background of the singers' lives. Common phrases are ndiyalunywa (' I am being bitten, i.e. I have labour pains '), lazola (' the weather is fine ').

Diagram representing temporal relationship of Solo,
Choruses and additional voice parts in the umngqungqo song,
Ndonakalelwa (' I was confused/disturbed ')

Ex. No. 67 on Tape 1b

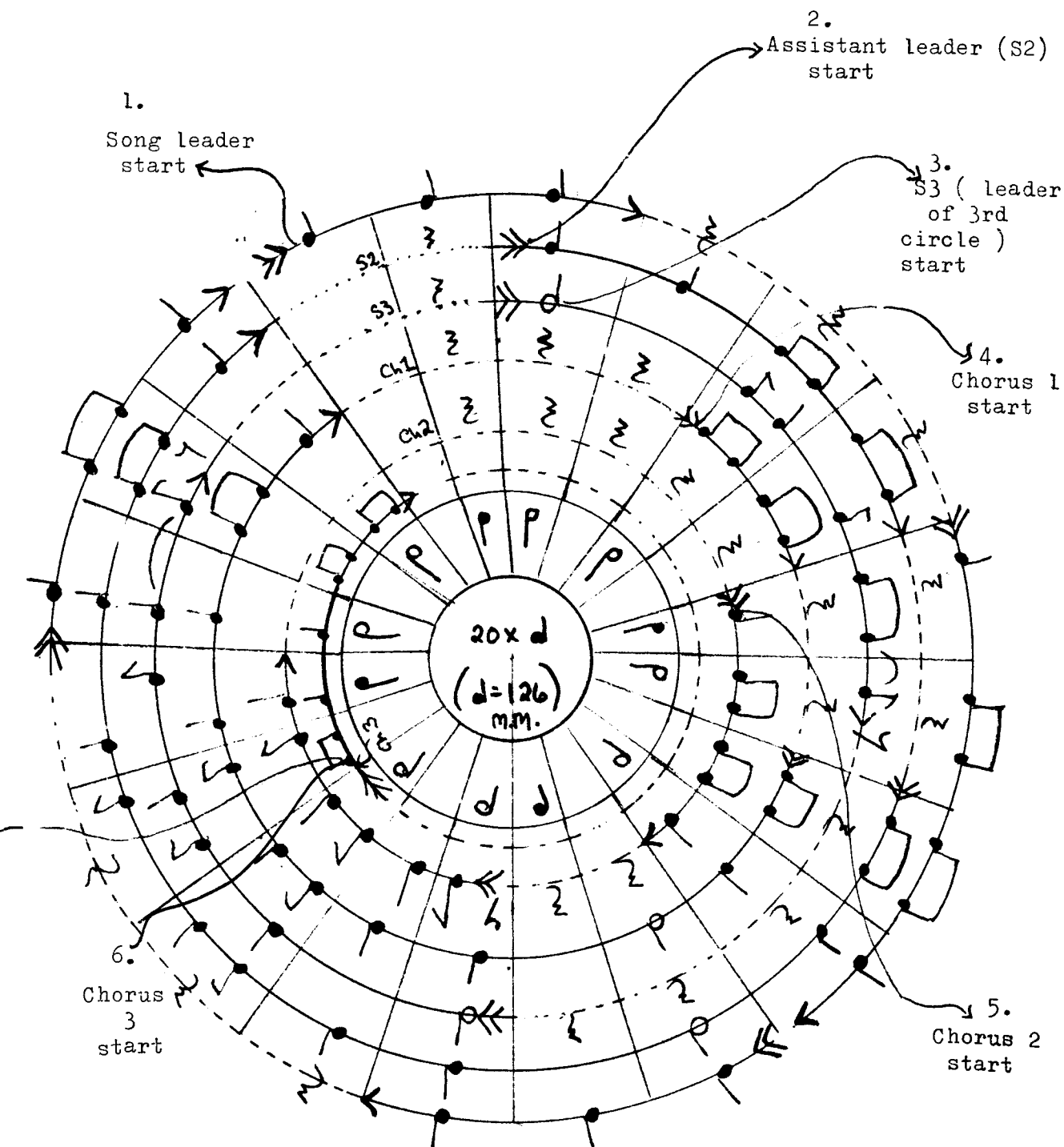
Pitch: Present "C" = original D rising to E

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

Strophe length: ♩ × 20

Tempo: ♩ = 126 M.M.

This is also a ' rejoicing song ' (ingoma yomtsholozo), and
is one of the best - known umngqungqo songs, being sung in
many parts of the Ciskei and the Eastern Cape, as well as in
the Republic of Transkei. Thembu, Gcaleka and Mfengu women
took part in this performance.



Three extracts from the umngqungqo song, Ndonakalelwa.

Ex. No. 67 on Tape 1b.

Extract No. 1 corresponds with the digram on the preceding page, (Figure 102 (a). The descending triad sung by the song leader at the beginning of the strophe is characteristic of this music; it occurs in other umngqungqo songs , although not necessarily in the song leader's part, (cf. p. 560). Chorus 1 mainly sings along with the assistant leader (S2), while Chorus 3 (shown in extract No. 1), is in fact a group of singers who usually sing along with the main Chorus (1), and who contribute an additional vocal phrase from time to time in the performance, thus increasing the number of parts which provide temporal contrast from five to six. This performance was given by a large company of women, and it was thus not possible to record each and every vocal phrase sung by individual singers. The extracts below show the main voice parts in the song.

Root progression sequence in strophe:

|| C - - - - D - - D | D - D - - - C - - C ||

Tempo: ♩ = 126 M.M. Strophe length: ♩ X 20

(Ho. he. ha)
E - ha - he

(Ho. he. ha)
E - ha - he

Ndonaka. 2a

S2. ngongo ha a a a ha ha ha (1) ye - ye ho. no. le nge he ndonaka. 2a;

S3 (2) Ye - Ye ho no. le. nge

Ch. 1. Wo - ha - a. ha pa

Ch. 2. He ho. no. le. nge

Ch. 3. He ~ he no. le. nge. e Hondo nakata,

Ch. 1. Ye ndonakalelwa,

Ch. 2. ho. e ho. ho. o. ho

Ch. 3. he he. a ha. a a. ha. a

(Toe-heel
on each beat):

2.

SL *E-ye-wa* *thau'i-Bizimisi, We-we-we* *Yho' thau'i-Bizimisi*

S2. *he-ha-ha-ya-ha* *he-he-nongoma-ha* *Ye!a ho-la-la;*

Ch. 2. *He yehe yongoma, Ha-ha...* *He' thau'i-Bizimisi*

Ch. 1 *Hiyo ho-ho-ma* *ha-a-wo, Howo yoho ho Nona-ka-a-la;*

3.

S3 *Wo-wa-we* *He yehe yongoma* *Wo-wa-ye ho kodwa la-zo-la;*

Yo hiye-ye nongoma *Wen'u-ha-a-la;*

S2. Ch. 1. *wo-wa-we, Hiyo-ho-ho-ho-ma,* *He-wa* *Nona-ka-a-la*

Ch. 2. *He yehe yongoma -ha* *Ha wo yoho ho Nona-ka-a-la*

R L R L R L R L R L R L

Body movement to the right Body movement to the left

Meaningful words in improvised text:

Yho! uthand' iBizimisi!

He! kodwa lazola.

Oh! you like this business!

Good! the weather is fine.

Figure 103

Extracts from the umngunggo dance song Unoyongo / Ulilongo
Ex. No. 68 on Tape 1b

Pitch: Present "C" = original D rising to E flat

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

Strophe length: $\text{d.} \times 12$

Tempo: $\text{d.} = 63 \text{ M.M.}$

This is also a -tsholoza song. The women danced in circles, and performed toe-heel movements from right to left, and then from left to right, thereby indicating the basic metre of the music - 12 beats, which I have indicated with dotted crotchets.

1.

Sh.
Uphini? ndodam? Ye ni-lo-yo ningandibul' A haw ho-we hom-na;

SR.
phi-mi? Aw! Aw! owo - yango - ma; - u.

Chorus.
Hi-ji-ji - Hweyohcho Ye-ni-lo-yo ningandibul' B-ho'

and
R L R L R L R L R L R L
L R L R L R L R L R L R

$\times$: - quick toe-heel movement

y : - Dancers stamp hard on this beat, lifting and bending the leg from the knee. This prepares for the repetition of the strophe, with direction of steps reversed: L R etc.

X : - Two leaders in the dance (from two circles) clash ornamental sticks on this beat.

2

SL.
Uphin' ndodam? hingandibuza-zi, Ho! la-zo-la;

S2.
-phi-ni Ho. U-phi

Ch.
Hi-ji-ji - Ho! Howayo he-ngoma ho-o ho - ho-ho - ho - ho-ma

3.

SL.
Hawu-lani lawlani ho! hoya-ngo-ma, ni-ngandibuza-zi hm.

S2.
-phi-ni?

Chorus.
Hi-ji-ji Ha-wo - o-haya - ha-ya-hm Ha-wo - hawu-wa-hayma

S3.
Uphi-ni -ha? Ya-ho-ho - ngoma.

(018 ady.)
leli lawlani ho - ho - hm;

R L R L R L R L R L R L
L R L R L R L R L R L R

Figure 104

Mpondo umgquzo song (for girls' initiation):

Masigoduke, umfan' uthombile (' Let us go home, the
boy has been initiated ')

Ex. No. 69 on Tape 1b

Pitch: Present "C" = original E

Mode: hexa-based pentatonic

Strophe length: d. x 8

Tempo: d. = $\pm$ 50 M.M.

The words in the title of the song also constitute its text, and they refer to a circumcised boy. I asked why this song was sung by women at girls' initiation celebrations, and I was told that the song had been 'borrowed' from those clusters who practice circumcision. Other informants said that, in the words of the song, the girl was being compared with ' those abakhwetha over there ' (meaning in Bomvanaland (Xhorha); like them, ' she has come out of a seclusion hut, like an initiated boy '. That the subject of the song is a girl is clear from the word - thombile (meaning initiated), and which applies only to girls (from v.i. ' to bud, sprout, menstruate for the first time). The causative form, uku-thombisa, is also the name for all ceremonies connected with girls' initiation.

This song is usually sung at umphumo ('coming out ') celebrations.

Root progression sequence in strophe:

||C - - - - D C - - - C| (A) = (d. d. d. d.)
||D - - - - C - D - C - C| (B) = (d. d. d. d.)

Figure 104

Mpondo ungquzo song: Masigoduke, unfan' uthombile.

Ex. No. 69 on Tape 1b.

Pitch: Present "C" = original

1

Sl. Yi-wa wa - ho-o wa-o u-thomb; Hi-ya

A.

Chorus: Ha yi-ya-wa u-m. fan' u-thomb;

2.

Sl. yo' fan' u-thomb' Hi-ya ho - ya - ho - ya

B.

Chorus: Hi-ya ho - ya ho

3.

Sl. yo' fan' u-thomb' Hi-ya ho-ya, Ye hehe he-ya

Chorus: Hi-ya - ho - ya - ya

4.

Sl. Yiya yiya ha um. fan' u. Ma-si-go-du-ke

Chorus: Ya-ya yi-ya ha um fan' u. thomb; Ha

5.

Sl. ha-a- hiya, Hiya

Chorus: Ha - hiya ha-a fan' u-thomb;

ff

Basic meter

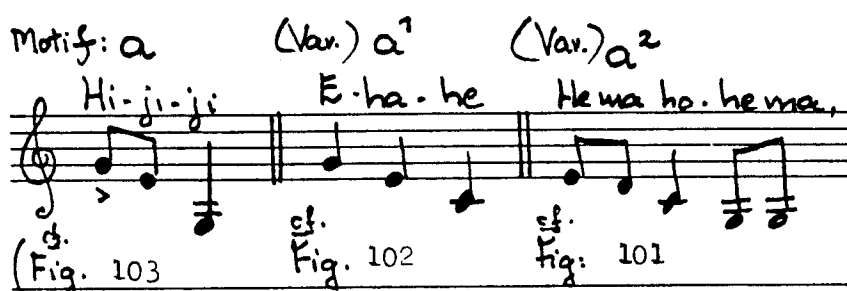
The whole performance consists of repetitions of A and B in the sequence A B B

(Dal Segno)

There are allusions to missing husbands, to cattle, and to a disturbed frame of mind in which ' everything is going about the other way ' (konakala), e.g. the title of the song, Ndonakalelwa (' I was disturbed ').

Hunter quotes some of the phrases, which have persisted for the last forty years (1936: 168). There is a certain motif which is peculiar to umngqungqo songs, and which does not occur in other styles of Xhosa music. The motif is:

Figure 100



It occurs at the beginning of the musical pattern, and is not always sung by the song leader. It is always accompanied by the same, or very similar, syllables (vocables).

During the performance of umngqungqo, one or two dancers may step into the centre of the inner circle, or outside the outer circle (depending on which is most convenient) and dance solo, e.g. exaggerate the muscle - quivering and ' shaking ' which is done in a more restrained manner by the main body of dancers. They usually punctuate the series of movements with vocal sounds - some are similar to yelps and barks. Beer songs (adapted) and intonjane songs are interspersed between performances of the ritual dance.

Apart from this music, the only other music performed during the seclusion period is intlombe music - music of young adult

men and women. They constitute the age - set which the intonjane will be eligible to join when she comes out of seclusion. I spent some short periods in various seclusion huts and was able to listen to, and record the music performed there. Apart from one or two umtshotsho songs, the music performed was intlombe music; this included some adaptations of well - known beer songs which were sung in intlombe style, that is, with its characteristic rhythm(s) and peculiarities of style and overall sound.

Umnggunggo is also danced out of context - at important events such as installations of chiefs and headmen. There is no special category of music to mark such events, so within the different clusters a choice is made of what is considered to be the ' best ' music in the society. Among the Cape Tribes Proper, umnggunggo is considered by tribal people and Christians alike to be the ' best ' music, not so much because the people who perform it can be expected to perform well, but because it can guarantee a ' big ' spectacle and a ' big ' sound.

For weeks my Thembu guide spoke of a forthcoming installation that was to take place, and where I would see and hear the ' best ' music possible. The headman - to - be, although very popular, was not the main attraction; the Chief of the Jumba tribe was. Extremely popular and highly respected, his presence guaranteed not only large quantities of music, but also large quantities of food and beer. The whole countryside contributed toward the function with labour and produce. On the day itself the bare veld was scarcely visible, being all but covered by the crowds of people that came from far and near. The performance of umnggunggo

was ' big ' in every sense of the word. 800 women performed in two groups of 400. The performance was in the nature of a competition in which the groups danced simultaneously.

As my guide put it, it was indeed ' a wonderful sight '.

He asked me what I thought about the music, and when I said that I could not (at that stage of fieldwork) make much out of it, and that it seemed to be one big mass of sound, he smiled and said,

'Yes, you see, with us it is not only the sound; it is also the making of that sound. You look about you now, not at the dancers, and you see everyone, but everyone, men, women, children the lot, and the singers, they are all enjoying themselves, even though most of them are not in the group'.

This remark (and others like it) made me very much aware of the value the Cape Nguni place on harmonious social relationships which are, as this incident shows, far more important than harmonious tonal relationships, to the extent that, when a large number of people get together to perform and listen to music, although certain standards of excellence have to be maintained, it is ultimately the communal performance itself, rather than the resultant sound, that is of greatest value, and has the maximum effect on people.

19. Iingoma zamagqirha: iingoma ze(zi)ntlombe zamagqirha
 (' The music of diviners; the music of the seance(s)
 of diviners ')

The diviner (igqirha pl. amagqirha); (isangoma pl. izangoma/
itangoma = Bhaca) is the important religious functionary in
 Cape Nguni society (cf. Hammond - Tooke (ed) 1974: 348).
 Even today, among both tribal and Christian people, there is
 still the strong belief that nearly all misfortune and ill -
 health are attributable to the evil influences of a witch or
 sorcerer (igqwirha) or neglected ancestral spirits. It is
 the work of the diviner to ' smell out ' (uku - nuka) the
 sorcerer, or to manifest the demands of the ancestors
 (amathongo, iminyanya/izinyanya); they are the spirits of
 the dead members of the lineage or clan. The diviner does so
 by means of incantations and divination at seances (intlombe
 pl. iintlombe). where he communicates with the ancestors. Thus
 the diviner is both a medium, and a ' resolver of doubts '
 (Soga 1931: 155).

The office of diviner is a vocation; the candidate may or
 may not desire it, and may be male or female, but in fact
 women predominate. The vocation always comes from the ancestors,
 who make their desire known by causing potential candidates to
 become ill (uku - thwasa) . This illness is characterized by
 ' troubles ' (inkathazo) which may take the form of vomiting,
 hysteria, pains in the head, nervous twitching of the muscles
 of the face, insomnia, and periods of dissociation. I spoke to
 many diviners of all the chiefdom clusters (excluding the

Ntlangwini) and with one exception, they said they had suffered from sleeplessness from time to time during their - thwasa period. On these occasions they had visions or dreams (amaphupharha); they made a clear distinction between these ' dreams ' and those which they had when they actually slept (amaphupha). These visions or dreams caused them to become completely detached from their surroundings. They only realized this when they came out of these trance conditions, and their friends and relatives told them what had happened. Three of the diviners used the word amaphupharha to describe their dreams, but stressed that the word was not really adequate (' not enough '). They and the other diviners, stated that the dream condition which they experienced was very close to the condition of ihlombe, but that it was not in fact ihlombe, which can only be induced by music.

The only cure for the illness is the initiation of the sufferer as a diviner. The period of training is long, and varies from one to three years (and even longer), and is supervised by a recognized diviner, who either visits the home of the novice (umkhwetha pl. abakhwetha) regularly, or (more common), takes the novice into his/her entourage where he/she can be under constant supervision. The initiation period is opened with a ritual killing and a feast, at which the ' burning of the bones ' (ukutshiswa kwamathambo) takes place, to mark the commencement of the novitiate. This opening ceremony is called umvulo (from v. uku - vula , ' to open ', and meaning ' opening ').

As Hunter points out, ritual killings are essential for a

novice. The number of killings made varies ' with what the novice "sees" and the economic position of her family '. Beer is made once or twice during the initiation period, and at least two feasts are held - the main ones being the umvulo, and the umphumo (' coming out ') ceremony, when the novice qualifies as a diviner. The days on which these feasts are held depends on the health and dreams of the novice, and no feasts are held during the summer months (cf. Hunter 1936: 324). This is logical since there is no economic surplus at that time.

During the novitiate, the novice is treated as a sick person; she is washed in a decoction of herbs and is given certain ' medicines ' to drink. She has to observe certain taboos, and fulfil certain commitments. She lives in semi - seclusion, and does not even move about freely with the women of her group. The taboos are bound up with the concept of umlaza ritual impurity, which applies mainly to women (cf. ch. 4: 165, note 18).

A central and vital feature in the treatment of the novice diviner is dancing (uku - xhentsa) and the confessing of dreams (uku - lawul' amaphupha). The ancestors communicate with the living in dreams and in visions, hence both are of great importance. The special diviners' dance (already described in ch. 2: 44ss), is essential for the curing of the illness of the initiate. The dance is performed ' solo ', as when the initiate dances to the singing and clapping of a group of singers, or simultaneously with diviners and novices on occasions when they are present, e.g. during the sacrificial

rituals, etc. A novice must dance as often as she can, because not only is music and dancing the principal means of curing her, but it is also especially pleasing and propitiatory to the ancestors who, according to diviners, love this music or ' playing ' (ukudlala). Usually a novice performs twice daily, morning and evening, but she will dance on any occasion when she can. She needs people to clap and sing for her in accompaniment, and willing hands are not always available; people tire and get bored with the routine. For this reason, the novice and her relatives will see that a supply of beer is always at hand, so that singers may be encouraged to sing, and consequently rewarded (cf. p. 609ss).

Apart from occasions when sacrifices are offered, meat and beer feasts afford an audience that is necessary for long performances of uku - xhentsa. A novice has the opportunity to dance at seances held by diviners. ' Seances are of therapeutic value, and provide the novice with practice in the technique of her profession ' (Hammond - Tooke 1962: 249). The novice joins the entourage of her supervising diviner as he goes from place to place in the interests of his profession. She thus gets an insight into the methods of procedure, and is gradually initiated into the mysteries of the profession.

Dancing always takes place indoors, except on the day when the climax of the ritual initiation is reached, and the novice ' comes out ' as a fully - fledged diviner (umphumo). On this day, the umlaza taboo is lifted, as both men and women diviners enter the cattle byre for the ritual killing. The whole affair is usually very elaborate, and people from all

over the area (and even further) attend it. A beast is killed ritually, to provide meat for the big feast (umgidi) which follows the ' coming out ' ceremony and intlombe (seance). This takes place outside, and in the daytime, which is unusual as all seances usually take place indoors and at night. The novice is crowned with a wreath of leaves, and during the seance she makes a long speech in which she confesses her dreams, and thanks the ancestors for having called her to her profession (cf. Plates 67 - 70: 802 - 3). The umrhumo custom then takes place at the end of the seance, during which the new diviner is given gifts including white beads, which all diviners wear (cf. Soga 1932: 165). The umphumo celebrations usually take place over a week - end, and may last for two or three days.

I attended three imiphumo and four seances among the Thembu, Mpondo and Mfengu (the latter being an enclave residing among the Thembu in Engcobo district; the main body of Mfengu live in Tsomo district and in parts of the Ciskei). I also attended an umvulo which took place among the Thembu, but which was presided over by a Swazi diviner who had Mpondo diviners and novices in his entourage. During my fieldwork I was able to talk to twenty - one diviners from various parts of the Transkei Ciskei and the Eastern Cape; they proved to be not only rich sources of information, but also even richer sources of music.

All of them were considered to be musicians by the people living about them, and, judging from their own explanations, their musicianship was due largely to the fact that diviners are

expected to be good at music, and that they cultivate their musicianship through their activities, which include so much music - making. As one of them put it, ' Whoever heard of a diviner who was not a good musician '. Since twenty - one is a very small number on which to base any conclusions as to how and why diviners become good at music, I cannot dogmatize on this point. I can only cite the following evidence obtained from talks with the twenty - one diviners: (i) none of them had had a parent who had been a diviner; in every case the office had been held by an aunt or uncle (father's sister less common, mother's sister or brother more common); (ii) four of them had had grandmothers who had been diviners; (iii) all of them had heard, and actively participated in performances of diviners' music from an early age; most had started as drummers; (iv) the majority (fifteen) said that they had ' started to become really good at music as abakhwetha, because we were doing it such a lot ' ; (v) although some of them had started to compose songs during their novitiates, most of them (eighteen) said that they had started composing songs after they had been initiated as fully - fledged diviners; (vi) of the twenty - one, nine were considered to be very successful diviners with extraordinary psychic powers, and ' big ' musicians who had composed many songs.

The twenty - one diviners included fourteen women and seven men. The nine who were regarded as ' big ' musicians comprised six men and three women. From the information I obtained, it would seem that, although there are many more female diviners than there are male, the men would seem to do

more composing than women. However, as I stated earlier, one cannot come to any conclusions based on information obtained from only twenty - one persons.

Certainly their music repertoire is very extensive; there appear to be three times as many divination songs as there are songs of other categories, and a Gcaleka diviner, Tsheleni Dongoza, said this was because 'diviners are composing and collecting songs all the time'.

Diviners travel about a great deal. Sithonana Gcorha, a Mpondo diviner, told me that this was one way he and his fellow diviners acquired songs. 'We go away to learn, even from the great doctors on the Rand, and we collect their knowledge and their music'. It is no wonder that many divination songs have a few foreign words in their texts - Sotho, Zulu and Pedi. From the people themselves, I was told that the 'greatest' diviners are the Mpondo diviners; almost as great are the Bhaca itangoma, who are regarded with awe, and even fear. I was unable to meet any Bhaca diviners and talk to them, mainly because my guides were very unwilling to make introductions. I never once asked to be presented to any diviner, but rather let events take their course. In all cases, once the diviners realized I was genuinely interested in them and their music (they heard this from the people about the place), they invariably extended invitations to attend a seance.

Hunter states of Mpondo diviners:

'... with all the Pondo doctors I know, the occasions of dancing have no connection with divining or treating'.

The same writer adds a foot - note: 'I was told that some Xhosa amagqirha dance before divining' (1936: 329).

I think perhaps Hunter means that it is not the music that precipitates trance, but that it is merely part of the machinery of socializing trance. According to the diviners to whom I spoke (in every district including some in which I was unable to carry out fieldwork), dancing and music are always performed at seances, regardless of what the main objective of the seance is. Music is very important, because it is through the singing, drumming and clapping (of crucial importance according to informants) that the diviner communicates with the ancestors.

The seances I attended were connected with (i) umphumo (ii) uku - nuka (' smelling out ') (iii) umvulo, and (iv) a request for rain to alleviate the drought. All these seances included singing and dancing and drumming. According to Soga, the diviner works within certain limits:

'The scope of his activities include cases of illness, sickness, poisoning, sudden death, lost property, failure of crops, epidemics of disease in human beings and cattle, mysterious deaths in flocks, times of national calamity, asking favours of the ancestral spirits on behalf of 'some important tribal interest' (1932: 156).

All my diviner informants confirmed this, as they did Soga's statement that diviners employ certain methods of divination, and are named according to these methods which, again, depend on the nature of the case being investigated. Most diviners (and all those to whom I spoke) employ the uku - vumisa and ukombela methods. Uku-vumisa (from v. uku - vuma , ' to agree, consent ') is a statement and assent method in which the diviner (i) dances to the music and communicates with the ancestors, and (ii) stops dancing and addresses the

audience from time to time, or utters prophetic passages he has learnt from the ancestors; his efforts are accompanied by the singing, clapping and drumming of the rest of the group, and the audience, which is known as ukombela/ukombelela (' to sing, clap and drum for ' the diviner). Uku - vumisa is a sort of hot - cold technique in which the diviner gauges whether he is close to the right solution by observing the way the audience responds. If he is doing well the audience will reply Siyavuma ! (' We agree! '); if he is on the wrong track, they will shout asiva! (' We do not hear! ') or uyaphosa (' You are missing out, making a mistake '). The clapping and shouted agreements become more vigorous as the diviner nears the truth. The truth, that is, the correct solution to the matter in hand, is usually known before the seance is held; by holding the seance, the diviner makes the truth known to the public.

Uku - qubula is another method of divination which I did not observe being employed. A diviner who uses this method is called igqirha egubulayo or igqirha lokuqubula (' the doctor who surprises ', from - qubula, v. meaning ' to come upon suddenly, in the nature of a surprise '. Such a diviner specializes in extracting some matter from the affected part of a person's body. First of all the pain is localized and a poultice of cow - dung and/or other matter is placed on it. The diviner kneads the poultice for a while, then places his mouth on it, and makes sounds as if he is trying to suck something out of it. Thereafter, he suddenly produces a small object seemingly from the poultice. Hence

the name of these diviners - people who suddenly produce the offending article or matter. According to some informants, music does not necessarily accompany this procedure. It does accompany the uku - bhula method used by diviners. The procedure here is similar to that followed in uku - vumisa (the consenting method), but the audience is asked to beat the ground with short sticks to help seek out the evil - doer, who is literally ' dug up, out ' (-bhula) in the process. Regarding ventriloquist diviners, I was told that they are rather rare today; two such diviners were cited in Gatyana district, but I never met them.

The method of divination employed will ensure that certain songs are performed, e.g. if an evil - doer is to be ' smelt out ', then the song umhlahlo will most certainly be performed. Soga states that the song is

'really an appeal from the decision of one diviner to another, in the certainty of innocence, and the hope of being cleared of the stigma attached to being "smelt out" (uku - nukwa). In cases where an appeal is made from one diviner to another against an adverse decision, the person who has been "smelt out" takes a goat or some other thing in order to have judgement reviewed. This is by way of a prepayment of the expenses of the appeal' (1931: 172 - 173).

According to my experiences, umhlahlo is nearly always sung at seances which are not necessarily held to ' smell out '. The song appears to be known to all Cape Nguni peoples, who refer to it as the ' old peoples' song '. Similarly, - qubula songs are sung at seances wherein the diviner employs the - qubula method. I recorded two of these songs at the Great Place of the late Khotso Sethuntsa who, I was told, employed this method from time to time. Mhala's song is sung at most seances, being a very old song and particularly

pleasing to the ancestors. An old lady told me that they liked this song very much because they (ancestors) would have sung it a great deal when they were alive. The ritual song of circumcision (uSomagwaza) was sung at the umvulo and umphumo ceremonies mentioned earlier on; this was in no way incongruous, as the song is also a ' song of the ancestors ', and therefore most suitable for performance at an umvulo, when the ancestors are asked to bless the new novice diviner. According to Hammond - Tooke:

'The activities of the diviner are seldom if ever performed solely for purely religious motives; there is always the pragmatic context; the orientation towards practical ends, mainly directed toward the healing of sickness and its diagnosis through the techniques of divination' (1962: 256).

A diviner expects to be paid for his work, which alone incurs some expense on his part (beer and meat, if the seance is held at his own homestead). My first experience of a seance took place quite unexpectedly, and in conditions which would prevent rather than encourage it. I was invited to attend the seance but was not told why it was being held. This became clear only toward the end of the seance, when I was able to make some sense of the diviner's rapid speech. The seance had been called on account of the drought which was ravaging the country for the fourth successive year. It was decided that the ancestors should be consulted to find out why this drought was persisting. (The people were in a very bad way, living on dried pig melon, which offers little nourishment). This became clear during the the course of the seance. Afterwards my guide explained to me that I had

been invited (after weeks of suspicion) because such an act might find favour with the ancestors. This was a generous gesture, as the seance itself was expensive to convene, but people were contributing the little they had. Although no sort of remuneration was mentioned, we all of us knew that I would reciprocate this invitation by providing some form of reward - which I did, in the form of meat, drink and cash.

The whole affair was very successful, not only from the point of view of recording music, but, more important, from the point of view of social relations. Thereafter I was able to move about freely in that district, as the diviner's attitude helped toward expelling suspicion and animosity, with which the people had up to that time regarded me. Furthermore, everyone was rewarded in some way - the people with food and drink, and the enjoyment of the social occasion, and myself with the friendliness of the people, and of course the music which they so generously and enthusiastically performed. What is more, good rains fell two days later!

The music which is performed at seances (iintlombe) is always accompanied by drumming. Each and every diviner has his/her own drum, made by someone who specializes in making these drums. The skin is usually that of an animal which has been killed for the diviner. The drum is the European - type drum which the Cape Nguni call igubu (cf. ch. 5: 171ss). As Hammond - Tooke has pointed out:

'The importance of the dance, with its accompanying drumming, is reflected in the names for mediumistic diviners which all have the root - goma (Zulu: isangoma; Sotho mokome; Tsonga and Venda: mungome;

Lobedu: mugome) meaning basically ' a drum' ,
and the tendency for this institution to diffuse
to other groups is striking' (Hammond - Tooke
(ed.) 1974: 350).

According to Bryant, who writes in the context of the Zulu
diviner, (as being distinct from the medicine - man):

'This latter has further titles, solely confined
to his own class, of um - ngoma (apparently
originally meaning "the drumming one" - cf.
Swahile, Gaude etc., m - goma = drum; Kikuyu
- ngoma = temporary madness)'
(Bryant 1909: pt.2.1).

Informants were unable to contribute any information as
to the possible root of the term - ngoma, and to the
importance of the drum in divination music. Those that gave
information were vague, and said that a diviner ' had always
been drummed for ', expressing this in the term uk - ombelela,
which denotes singing, clapping and drumming done at seances.
The music accompanying the therapeutic dancing of the novice
diviner does not, however, necessarily feature drumming;
if a drum is available, as it always is at the homestead of
a diviner, it is employed. If there is no drum, which is
often the case when the novice remains at her own home, singers
merely clap when they sing. I have seen women beat the ground
with sticks, but this does not produce any great sound. On
two occasions a woman hit an old cardboard box with a stick to
imitate the drum beats. Thus drumming is optional for the
dancing of a novice, but it is absolutely essential for seances.

Only one drum is employed, and it is usually played by
a woman, though I have known men to play it, and even a small
boy. At one rehearsal for a seance, the diviner took up the drum
and played for a while but this was unusual. She afterwards
told me that she was showing her company how the total music

should sound, and how the drum should be beaten - very loudly and not half - heartedly.

The drum is beaten with two short sticks or curved pieces of rubber. While some diviners insist that a drum should sound well, by being hit at a particular point on the heads, other diviners are not at all concerned about the quality of the sound. The drum used at an umphumo I attended had a large hole in it, and gave off a hollow sound when hit. No - one paid any attention to the drummer who repeatedly asked for another drum, and he had to keep playing until, shortly before the end of the seance, someone arrived with another undamaged drum. Novices usually wear thick layers of reeds round the lower part of the calves; these rattle and produce a rhythmic sound pattern as the novice dances. Diviners usually wear anklets of beads, which give off a slightly softer but no less audible sound. All anklets are referred to as iinkaca (sing. inkaca).

The full implications of divination music became evident only after I had witnessed and recorded several performances, and analysed and compared the transcriptions. I gave much attention to the social situation in which the music was performed. I recorded ' solo ' - xhentsa performances which were accompanied by small groups of women singing the appropriate music, and proper seance music, and I have detailed translations of the dialogues and monologues spoken at the latter.

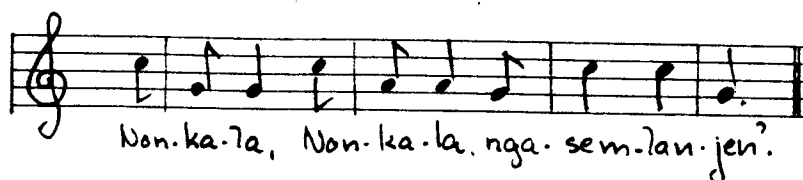
One thing which struck me forcibly was the fact that all the Cape Nguni chiefdom clusters know and sing the same divination songs, thus divination music is intertribal, unlike

the other categories of traditional Xhosa music, the individual songs of which are not known and sung by all the clusters. The intertribal aspect of the music was subsequently accounted for when I learnt that all diviners are members of an intertribal professional association.

The same songs are known by the same, and by different names, e.g. Amathol' ezilwana (' The young of wild beasts, i.e. evil spirits ') and Zula, Zulani (' Move, move about (like the evil spirits ') are one and the same song, as are Wenze ngabom (' She is doing it purposely ') and uNonkala (' Daughter of the crab '). Both songs are one and the same, and their text refers to the crab ' who is doing it purposely, that it cannot go straight into the river '. This (I was told) is an indirect reference to the diviner, who employs circumlocution in his divining method, so that he skirts the heart of the matter before attacking it directly. The relationship between the songs is apparent not so much in their words as in their melodies, which are virtually identical. Besides, the Cape Nguni are concerned not so much with song - titles as with song - types, and classify their songs on the basis of their social function. Song - titles are not given unless asked for, and then the informants often improvise titles from the song - texts. This is especially the case with divination songs.

Nearly all of them are connected in thematic unity; their melodies are ' formed from one identical musical substance '. Take, for example, the melody of one of the oldest divination songs. The fertility of its basic shape, which is (Figure 105: 578)

Figure 105



is to be seen in the great number of song - melodies which have evolved from it. The structure is based on the melodic process which I have described and referred to several times. (Cf. p.596 for transcription; Ex. No. 70 on Tape 1b).

Songs from other musical categories are freely ' borrowed ' and adapted for performance in diviner situations. Such songs are provided with rhythms and drum accompaniment which characterize divination music. The ritual song uSomagwaza , which has found a definite place in the repertoire of Mpondo divination music, is sometimes sung entirely to the word Magwaza. Among the clusters practising circumcision, the same song is sung in its original form; among the Thembu it has acquired a rather lengthy text with meaningful words, including a few Sotho words. Despite the new words (which influence the melody to some extent) and the changed rhythm, the song remains unchanged in its overall sound. (As Blacking has pointed out in his study of Venda music, when a song is adapted for performance in another context, the process of adaptation is related more to the social conditions of musical performance than to its intrinsic musical characteristics (Blacking 1973: 40 - 42). What is more, although this song (uSomagwaza) is performed in a different social context, it retains its original meaning: it is essentially a ritual song of the ancestors, and,

performed as it is at the seances of diviners, it acquires no new meaning, but enhances the social situation.

The texts of many divination songs include words which have been improvised and are often incomprehensible. The diviners themselves are unable to translate these words, or even to explain them. Many claim that they sang them under trance - like conditions. I played back a recording of one such song to a diviner, and he could not believe that he had ' sung such words in that way ', nor could he translate them.

Song texts may include words and phrases which derive directly from the Revivalist hymns, particularly those of the Bhengu sect, e.g. ' Abandon hope ', and ' Hope is gone ', and ' Hold onto hope '. The music of these songs is typically Cape Nguni in form and style. There is one song, however, a ' Thanksgiving song ' whose words and melody have been borrowed from a church hymn of the Bhengu church, e.g.

Ndiyakubonga ngantoni uMisiya wam? (' How shall I praise you, my Messiah? '). The melody is not typically Cape Nguni, being heptatonic, but it is harmonized in the traditional manner, by the song leader ' holding ' the main melody, and the other voices singing in parallel movement. This song is peculiar to the seances of Mfengu and Bhaca diviners. The texts of the older (traditional) songs contain references to the ancestors, to evil spirits, while more recent songs (including old melodies accompanying ' new ' texts) have modern themes. For instance, in 1969 - 1970, many songs referred to the drought conditions: ' This year we have not ploughed; we are eating waste; we die of hunger '. In their

words, the different divination songs express different ideas; in their music they express varying aspects of the same ideas. Beer songs, including Tshawe songs, and dance songs (intlombe yabafana) are also performed at seances, in which context they acquire new meaning. Performed as they are near the end of the event, they function as izidlalo (' amusements ') and provide relief from the tension which builds up in the course of a seance.

Seance music, together with the particular dance it accompanies, and its drum rhythms, constitutes a music that is on a different level from the ordinary music performed by people as a form of recreation. Although spectators do participate in it the bulk of the music is produced by highly trained devotees, who perform the music every time they gather for ritual purposes. Since this happens frequently, one can regard divination music as the most rehearsed music in the Xhosa musical tradition.

Drumming

Usually one drum is employed, and it is beaten with curved sticks with rubber heads, or curved strips of rubber. I saw two drums employed on one occasion only, and both were beaten in the same way and produced the same tone. (Divination music performed at the home of the late Mr Sethuntsa employed several drums, but this music is not representative of Xhosa divination music. Khotso's special band included five drummers and two horn players, and they played several styles of music). The drum is never beaten with the bare hand. Free - beating is employed, i.e. the player hits the stick on the drum so that it bounces off at once. (The curved rubber beaters would make this

inevitable). There is no muting of beats (holding a stick down after striking the drum head).

The drum accompaniment always supplements the basic metrical pattern expressed by the handclaps. This pattern is divided between right- and left - hand in the following way: the drummer duplicates the basic metrical pattern by beating it in double beats with the right hand on the right side of the drum, and fills in this pattern with one OR two beats played with the left hand between every right - hand beat, or every TWO right - hand beats. Drummers may play the right- and left - hand beats with up and down strokes, with down and up strokes, or with both hands up - stroking. A few drummers hit the drum - skin head - on with straight beats, thus there is no standard procedure. Drummers occasionally introduce tricky variations into their drumming, e.g. quick triplets, or they vary the sound accentually, but these variants are never kept up for any length of time.

There is thus no cross - rhythm or polyrhythm between the drummed and clapped rhythmic patterns; the drummer merely subdivides the main beats unequally, introducing notes (= beats) of half or quarter the value of the main beats of the clap pattern. Nonetheless, one can see in this the instinctive tendency to think polyrhythmically. The number of instruments (one), and the beating agents (two) employed, allows for limited exploitation of this process, so the hands ' agree to differ ' in an elementary way.

Figure 106 on the following two pages shows the basic metrical patterns of divination songs. The diviners' ' Greeting song ', entitled Molweni Zangoma (' Good morning, diviners '), has an unusual metre consisting of 8 + 8 + 4 crotchets, which is

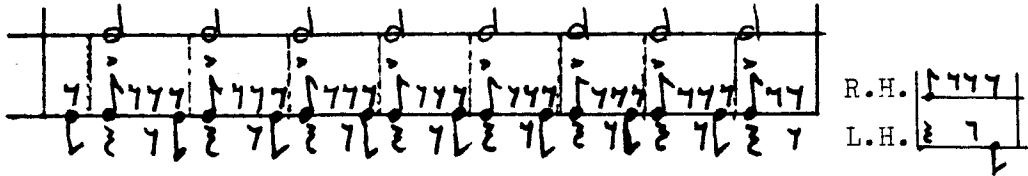
Figure 106 : The basic metrical patterns of divination songs.

1. (umhlahlo)

$d = 50 - 52$ M.M.

Claps:

Drum:

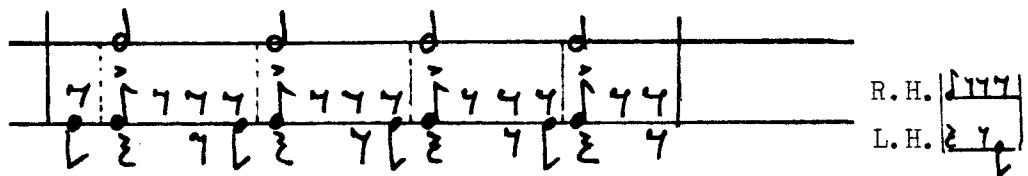


2. (Mhala's song)

Tempo initially: $d = 42$: $\rightarrow$ -
60 M.M.

Claps:

Drum:



3. (Most common rhythmic pattern) : Tempo accelerates:

$d = 72$ M.M.

($d = 144$ M.M.)

Claps:

Drum:

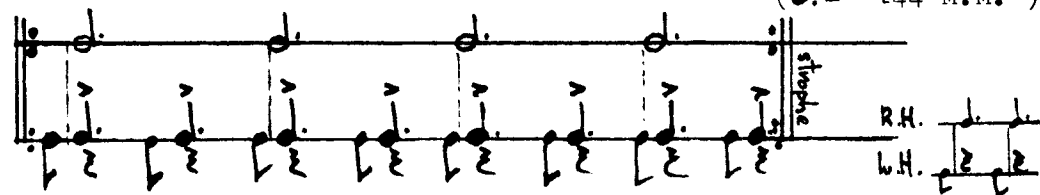


4.

$d = 72$ M.M.
($d = 144$ M.M.)

Claps:

Drum:



5.

$d = 138$ M.M.

Claps:

Drum:

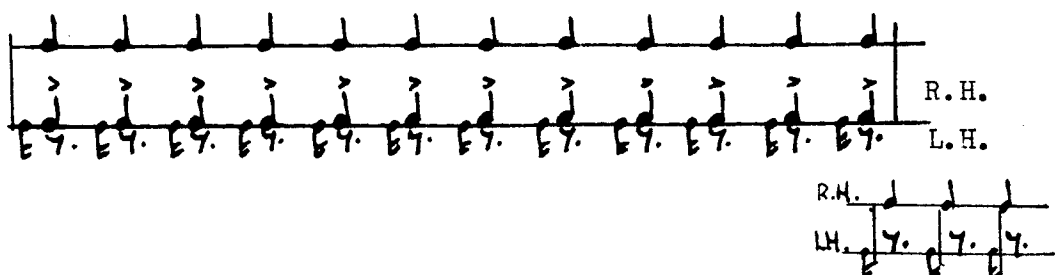


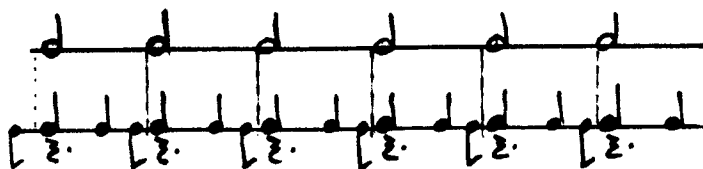
Figure 106 (ctd.) :

6.

 $\text{♩} = 84$

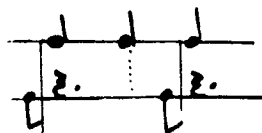
Claps:

Drum:



R.H.

L.H.



7.

Zula Zulani has pattern given under No. 6 (above).

The tempo accelerates during the seance, thus:

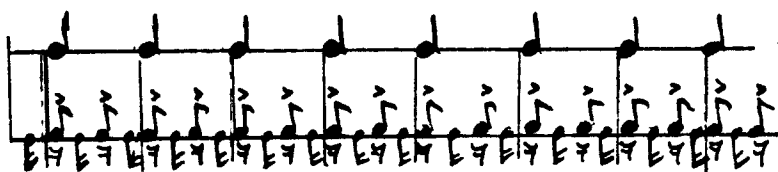
 $\text{♩} = 84 - 88 - 92 - 94 \text{ M.M.}$ ($\text{♩} = 168 - 176 - 184 - 188 \text{ M.M.}$)

8.

 $\text{♩} = 126 \text{ M.M.}$

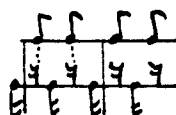
Claps:

Drum:



R.H.

L.H.

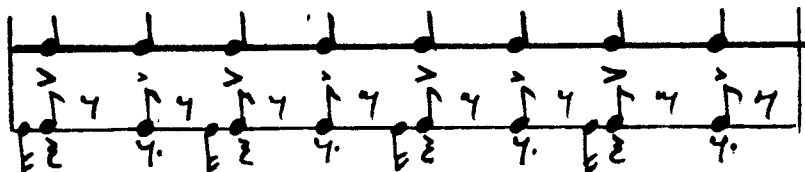


9.

 $\text{♩} = 132 \text{ M.M.}$

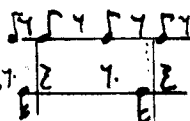
Claps:

Drum:



R.H.

L.H.



10.

 $\text{♩} = 112 - 116 \text{ M.M.}$

Claps:

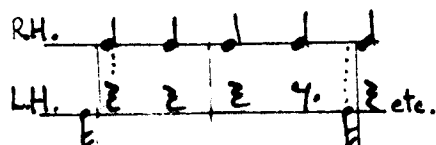
or

Drum:



R.H.

L.H.



clapped and drummed as follows:

Figure 107 :

♩ = 80 M.M.

Figure 107 shows musical notation for claps, right hand drum (R.H.), and left hand drum (L.H.). The top staff shows a sequence of claps (vertical lines) and a right hand drum pattern (notes with stems). The bottom staff shows a left hand drum pattern (notes with stems). The notation is labeled "Claps", "R.H. = Drum", and "L.H.". A note indicates "(Alternately executed as):" followed by a sequence of notes labeled "RH." and "L.H." with "etc." at the end.

(Cf. Figure 112: 598; Ex. No. 71 on Tape 1b)

Drummers, especially good ones, introduce slight variations which in no way alter the basic structure of the song. Tone variation is rare, but at one seance I observed the drummer proceeding in the following manner, alternately hitting the rim of the drum head, and then its centre:

Figure 108

Figure 108 shows musical notation for claps and drum patterns. The top staff shows a sequence of claps (vertical lines). The bottom staff shows a drum pattern (notes with stems) labeled "R" (Rim) and "C" (Centre). The notation is labeled "Claps:" and "Drum:". A legend indicates "R = Rim" and "C = Centre".

All singing, clapping and drumming which is done at seances is known collectively as ukombela, also spoken in the causative form, ukombelela, thus the term is equivalent to uku - yeyezela which describes the performance of circumcision music. When preparing for a seance, the diviner draws up a programme of music which is to be performed. He consults with certain members of his

group, notably the song leader and assistant leader, and the drummer. With them, he chooses the songs and establishes the order of sequence in which they are to be sung. His choice of songs depends to some extent on the nature of the seance. Accordingly, if the seance is part of a joyous occasion (umvulo or umphumo), then this must be reflected in the music, especially that which is to open the seance. If the seance is to be a serious affair, e.g. the ' smelling out ' seance, then the ' smelling out ' song must be sung at the beginning. The umvulo seances I attended began with a ' rejoicing song ' entitled Watsholoza zindaba (' Let us rejoice about all this business ', Figure 113 (extract) on p. 599; Ex. No. 72 on Tape 1b), which was appropriate to the occasion. The umphumo seance began with another appropriate song, the ' Greeting song ' already referred to. This song was most suitable, since the gathering included no less than seven diviners from various parts of Transkei, and the Ciskei. The chief diviner was aware of their probable attendance and chose the opening song accordingly.

All the songs performed during the seance have a meaningful relationship to the social situation. I shall give a brief description of one seance I attended, and the ' programme ' of music which the diviner had selected for it.

The seance was called by a powerful Mpondo diviner with a large retinue of novices (Mpondo, Thembu and Gcaleka). Two other visiting diviners were also present. The seance had been convened in order to find out who (or what) had caused the illness of a young man. His relatives had not told the

chief diviner whether the man was still alive; it was up to the diviner to demonstrate his powers and find out for himself.

The relatives and immediate neighbours assembled in the seance hut and awaited the diviner, who was preparing himself in the hut next door. As the people waited, an old lady began the song of uMhala - the ' taking off song ' (intsusa) which opens this type of seance. Thus the affair began in a very subdued fashion, which is only to be expected of a ' smelling out ' seance. To be ' smelt out ' is probably the most terrible fate that can befall a person. In former times such a person was put to death. Ingoma ka Mhala (' the song of Mhala ') is a song of supplication (' asking ') to the ancestors. Its slow tempo and its only meaningful word (ndingalila, ' could cry '), and the style of singing employed (heavy glissandi downwards), emphasizes the seriousness of the whole matter, which, when resolved, will have some dire consequences for someone.

The seance proceeds thus:

The diviner and his group enter and the music dies away. The diviner then addresses the audience briefly, bidding them welcome and asking them to listen well to what he has to say. A nod to the audience, and the old lady resumes Mhala's song, which is sung slowly and unhurriedly. The music shifts continually from ' tonic ' to ' counter - tonic tonalities, and the singers combine in vocal polyrhythm and polyphony, deriving melody - motifs from the ' chords ' of the two tonalities:

Figure 109

(Cf. Figure 114 : 600 ; Ex. No. 73 on Tape 1b).

The diviner again interrupts the music and, speaking rapidly, he tells the people of his hopes that he will succeed, and that the ancestors will help him. Statements and responses between the diviner and the audience follow, with the audience shouting Camagu! (' Be propitious! '). The song is resumed with claps in double time which lends some fire to the proceedings. The song is terminated by the diviner shouting Camagushela! (' Say mercy to the diviner! '), which the chorus answers with Siyavuma (' We agree '). Requesting the people to sit cross-legged, the diviner lays the case before the people. In a lengthy monologue, he warns everyone present that he/she could easily be in the same predicament as the sick man.

Chorus: Siyavuma!

Now the diviner asks the people to ' clap your hands and sing nicely, men, Tshawe people ' (there is no reference to women). The old lady starts of the ' smelling out ' song, umhlahlo, which the audience takes up (Figure 115 ; 602 (extract); Ex. No. 74 on Tape 1b).

During the singing, in which the phrase Ndoyika, ndoyikela (' I fear, I am afraid for (it) ') is sung by the old lady, the diviner speaks rapidly in an undertone. He fixes his eyes on a spot in the ceiling of the hut and asks himself questions. The song dies away as the diviner whirls round, skirts flying, and addresses the audience vociferously. He ushers in the umhlahlo song himself, and the audience takes it up at a faster tempo. At this point, the audience, who have been rather quite (there is considerable tension in the hut), suddenly comes awake in response to the diviner's shout Vukani! (' Wake up! ') and begins to sing as if possessed. Some of the novices are swaying violently from side to side, and singing with their eyes closed, as if they are totally lost in the sound. At this stage the song is a whole chorus; the singers emphasize the harmonic basis of the song, and their vocal patterns seem to imitate the pattern played on the drum:

Figure 110

Chorus:

Yewa-ho-ho-ho ho wo-wo-wo-ho

Yo-wo-wo-ho-ho wo-ho-ho. Yo-wo-wo-ho

Claps:

Drum: RH. LH. RH. LH.

The diviner then tones the first few words of the song Zula Zulani, and he and his entourage begin to - xhentsa ; the most important part of the seance commences, in which the diviner will communicate with the ancestors. This entire section, which culminates in a musical and emotional climax, and ends with the diviner's revelations, is musically subdivisible into four ' movements ' corresponding with the periods of singing and dancing, drumming (uk - ombelela). These are separated by vociferous dialogue and - vumisa between diviner and audience. The same song is performed each time, and always at a faster tempo. This deliberate acceleration is part of the pattern. Each time the music is resumed, the diviner sets the pace by beating time with his right arm, swinging it to and fro from the shoulder. The music's tempo also increases within the separated movements: the singers continue with the normal claps but adjust their singing to the drummer, who announces the accelerations with a few doubled beats played at a faster tempo. (I noticed that the drummer kept her eyes fixed on the diviner who, without even glancing at her, indicated by gestures and small signals - flicking of the beads hanging from his forehead - that the music should speed up).

Toward the climax, the dancers - xhentsa more violently, and the drummer beats more loudly. The dancers' hips and legs seem almost fluid as they advance and retreat in the same place, performing the special stamping steps. The three bouts of dancing last for about 2 - 3 minutes; the final bout continues for a longer time, 6 - 7 minutes. Prior to this last bout, the diviner, almost beside himself with excitement, addresses the audience.

He crouches down until he is sitting on his haunches; he moves rapidly about in this position, stabbing the air with his finger and screaming to the audience to Wombela! (' Sing and clap, all of you ! '). He alternately snarls, declaims rapidly, starts to stammer, then lapses into husky whispering which is punctuated with guttural explosions. His last statement introduces the song once more; this is the climax of the seance (cf. Ex. No. 75 on Tape 1b ; & Figure 116: A - E (extracts) on pp. 603 - 606).

The music is played and sung at its fastest tempo, and the dancers appear to be utterly abandoned to the music, which becomes wellnigh earsplitting. The actual climax is tumultuous: the drum beats are deafening and the movements of the drumsticks as they bounce off the drum head are scarcely visible.

At this point I observed that: the drummer was ostensibly possessed; her eyes were rolled half - way back into her head, and her arm movements were so rapid that one was scarcely aware of any up - and - down arm actions - there was just a blurred impression of movement; one of the novices fell into the seated audience in a paroxysm, and as there was little room to manoeuvre, the audience left her lying where she fell; two women tried to help her to a sitting position, but everyone else continued to sing as if nothing at all had happened. Another dancer performed - xhentsa on his knees, quite unaware of any pain, or what was happening to his knees in the process. They were very badly lacerated and bruised. The chief diviner, a big man, shook from head to toe as if he were receiving a series of electric shocks. The long hanging beadwork he wore added to his extraordinary

appearance. In the audience, the mother of one of the novices burst into tears and rocked from side to side, sobbing hysterically; no - one took any notice of her.

The singing and drumming became so earsplitting that one would hardly think that there was a disciplined performance behind the apparently chaotic improvisations of the singers. Although they sang with gusto, some of them did not appear to be greatly moved. A few of them had bored expressions on their faces. At one stage the diviner stumbled, saying as he did so, ' I fall, I fall, I cannot stand anymore ', - which brought laughter from some members of the audience.

This final bout of dancing terminates with the diviner shouting ' Silence! ' ((Hush, peace '). Immediately there is silence, everyone stops singing and dancing, and the dancers shake themselves and adjust their clothing, and appear to come back to reality. In a quiet voice, the diviner speaks. He thanks the ancestors for their assistance and eventually, without actually naming the person (who was known beforehand), he makes his accusation, giving details as to how the affair was managed. He warns the audience against evil deeds, but asks for mercy on behalf of the accused person. Then he introduces the unguyo (uSomagwaza ; Figure 117 (extract); Ex. No. 76 on Tape 1b, which is sung to praise the ancestors. This song is usually followed by the Mpondo umqambo (meaning literally ' a song made up in one's head '), the words of which refer to the diviner's recent actions (' I did it, gentlemen, doing it is the thing, gentlemen '). The song in this seance was sung mainly to vocables. It has a rapid tempo and is danced by all diviners at

the end of the most important part of the seance, and is a comment on it, so to speak. A Mpondo innovation, it has been adopted by diviners of other tribal clusters (Cf. Figure 118 : 607; (extract), Ex. No. 77 on Tape 1b).

The song is followed by three other songs, all of which are danced for pleasure and relaxation. These are (i) an intlombe song (Mfengu style) and (ii) two beer songs, normally sung at Tshawe beer drinks: O Ngumfazi walala yedwa (' Ho, it is the woman who sleeps alone '), and Gwebelele unamaqhingana (' By dishonest means, you have paltry tricks ') . All three songs are sung in their original styles, but all are provided with drum - rhythm accompaniments. The two Beer songs are led by two ' solo ' singers who employ -ngqokola technique through - out (Exs. Nos. 78, 79 & 80 on Tape 1b).

The seance ends, and the people move out of the hut to enjoy the feast which has been prepared.

Diviners are very emotional about their music; they speak of being transported (' taken far away ') and possessed (- banjiwe) during a seance, and they have no recollection of their actions at this time, although they are aware of speaking to the ancestral spirits. In view of the actions of some of the novices which took place at the climactic point in the seance, there is no doubt that the music and the music - making affect them considerably. The physical - psychological impact of drumming in a small, crowded hut, could induce possession. Drum beats create waves that literally beat on the body, something which I myself find excruciating to the eardrums. When I left the seance with the other people, I had great difficulty in retaining my balance, and

I have experienced similar sensations at discotheques, where the volume of the music and the lighting have left me feeling quite disorientated. This is my personal opinion, as I am extremely sensitive to loud noise, especially when produced in a restricted area. Psychologically, the music could hypnotize by repetitions and variations of the rhythmic patterns of sound. But the fact that the music is continually being interrupted by the diviner means that the tension that builds up during the performance of the music is continually being lowered. Nonetheless, judging from the effect the music had on the people, I do not think that these interruptions prevented possession. The people themselves said afterwards that the ' ihlombe of the doctors and their people was something quite wonderful to see '. As I saw for myself, everyone present was undoubtedly affected by the music and its performance, although in varying degrees. Sithonana Gcorha, the chief diviner at this seance, was reluctant to give any explanations after the seance, owing to mental and physical exhaustion, but he remarked that ' at such a business, you can see how people get ihlombe '. Thus the music is meant to induce this condition and does so among a large company of people. Hence the function is primarily to socialize trance. The people who were most affected, and who experienced ihlombe to a maximum degree, were the members of the diviners' cult. Divination music has a special meaning for them; it is an essential, even a vital part of their profession, and it is beneficial to their physical and mental health. The novice's mother who was reduced to tears was affected to a lesser degree than her daughter, who was

undergoing training and was, as the people said afterwards, ' struck down by the music '. But the mother was greatly affected nonetheless, through her emotional relationship with her daughter. The members of the audience who sang with enthusiasm told me that they had become ' full of ihlombe ', yet they could still look on and laugh at the diviner who was unable to remain standing. Being outside the cult, they sang and enjoyed the music as much as they would probably enjoy any recreational music. It would seem then, that ihlombe is a condition which can be experienced in varying degrees, depending on the meaning the music has for the people who perform and listen to it. The greatest manifestation of ihlombe is to be observed at seances where the cult members in particular (in their own words) are ' carried away ' by the music.

Figure 111

Transcription of the divination song:

uNonkala (' The crab ')

Ex. No. 70 on Tape 1b.

Pitch: Present "C" = original F

Mode: hexa-based pentatonic

Strophe length: ♩ × 12

Tempo: ♩ = 138 - 144 M.M.

Text: (Full text):

<u>Wenzé ngabóm,</u>	It is doing it on purpose,
<u>Háyi, wádidiyela,</u>	Oh no! it is confusing one,
<u>Wenzé ngabóm unonkala,</u>	The crab is doing it on purpose,
<u>ngasémlánjeni.</u>	It is not going straight into the
	river. (trans. N Q Dingiswayo)

The song is also known as Wenze ngabom. The words of the text allude to the diviner's method of divining: just as the crab approaches the river sideways, so the diviner arrives at a solution to a matter by circumlocution. To quote the words of one diviner: ' Like the crab, it is a way of a diviner to get to the point sideways '.

Root progression sequence in strophe:

|| C - D - C - - D | D - C - - C - C ||

Figure 111 : uNonkala (Divination song).

Tempo: ♩ = 138 - 144 M.M.

Drum:

R.H. L.H.

1. Ya - yo - ngo-wa Ya - yo - ngo-wa nga-sem-zan-jen; Ya -

Chorus: Tacet

nga-sem-zan-jen;

2. SL. - yo - ngowa. Ya - yo - ngowa-ya nga-sem-zan-jen;

Chorus: Nonka-za Nonka-za nga-sem-zan-jen-ni;

3. Sb. Nonka - - za; Wadidi-ye-za Nonka - za a - sem-zan-jen. ha-yo-ho

Ch. 2. Wadidi-ye-za Wadidi-ye-za Wadidi-ye-za Wadidi-ye-za

ch. 2. (solo singer): → kala bemla... ngen;

4. Sb. Wadidi-ye-za nonka-za nga-sem-zan-jen;

Ch. 2. No-nka-za ha-yo No-nka-za nga-sem-zan-jen;

Ch. 2. Tacet

Drum as above.

Figure 112

Extract from the diviners' ' Greeting Song ':

Molweni Zangoma (' Greetings diviners ')

Ex. No. 71 on Tape 1b.

Pitch: Present "C" = original A flat

Mode; hexa-based pentatonic

Strophe length: $\text{♪} \times 20 \text{ (} 8 + 8 + 4 \text{) } \times \text{♪}$

Tempo: $\text{♪} = 80 \text{ M.M.}$

Text:

<u>Molwéni Zángoma</u> ,	Greetings diviners,
<u>Hé ndiyahámba</u> ;	Oh yes I am going;
<u>Sátsho neZángoma</u> ,	Even the diviners say so,
<u>Siyaya babá</u> ,	We are going, father (Zulu),
<u>Siyaya bawó</u> .	We are going, father (Xhosa).
<u>Héwúyó héló mamá</u> ,	Hey there, hello, mother,
<u>Hé ndiyahámba</u> .	Oh yes I am going.

Figure 113

Extract from the diviners' ' Rejoicing song ' :

Watsholoza 'zindaba (' Rejoice about this business ' - by singing understood).

Ex. No. 72 on Tape 1b.

Pitch: Present "C" = original A flat

Mode: hexa-based pentatonic

Strophe length: $\text{d} \times 6$

Tempo: $\text{d} = 88 \text{ M.M.}$

Text: Wátsholóza 'zindaba, yé wátsholóza.

This song is sung at umvulo ceremonies which mark the commencement of a novitiate. It is sometimes sung at 'coming out' (umphumo) ceremonies of initiate diviners. These include a seance which is held out-of-doors and in the daytime, in contrast to other seances convened for healing, 'smelling out', which are held indoors and at night.

Figure 112

Extract from the diviners' ' Greeting song '
Molweni Zangoma (' Greetings, diviners ')
 Ex. No. 71 on Tape 1b.

The musical score is written in three systems. The first system contains the vocal melody and piano accompaniment for the first line of the song. The second system continues the melody and accompaniment. The third system includes a vocal line, piano accompaniment, and a drum part. The lyrics are written above the vocal lines. The piano part is written in 4/4 time. The drum part is written in 4/4 time. The score is handwritten and includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and bar lines.

Mol - we - ni Zango - ma, Molwe - ni Zango - ma o - hay?

o dlat?

Chorus: Ho - wo - hay?

SL: ma - ma Hew - yo, Hew ya he - zo

o - hay, Si - ya - ya

SL: he - lo nōpha mba. 2. Satshe (3: Molwe -) SL: Diviner

SL: A second diviner

Ch. Diviners + spectators.

CLAPS.

DRUM: RH. LH.

Root progression sequence in strophe:

C - - - - - D |
 D - - - - - C |
 C (D) C - C ||

Figure 113

Extract from the diviners' ' Rejoicing song ':

Watsholoza 'zindaba (' Rejoice about this business ')

Ex. No. 72 on Tape 1b.

Tempo: $\text{d} = 88 \text{ M.M.}$

CLAPS

SL: Ye wa-tsho-lo-za 'zin-dab' ye wa-tsho-lo-za

Ch. 2: Tsho-lo-za;

Ch. 1: Ye wa-tsho-lo-za 'zin-dab' ye wa-tsho-lo-za;

Ch. 2: Tsho-lo-za;

Solo: Ho-hay ho hay'ho tsholo-za; (< Diuine)

Ch. 1: Ye wa-tsho-lo-za 'zin-dab' ye wa-tsho-lo-za;

Ch. 2: Ye wa-tsho-lo-za 'zin-dab' ye wa-tsho-lo-za;

Drum: RH, LH

Root progression sequence in strophe:

$$\parallel C - D C - D - C - C D C - C \parallel$$

Figure 114

Extract from the diviners' song:

Ingoma ka Mhala (' Mhala's song ')

Ex. No. 73 on Tape 1b.

Pitch: Present "A" = original F sharp

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

Strophe length: $d \times 4$

Tempo: initially $d = 42$ Later tempo (*): $d = 84 - 100$ M.M.

According to informants, and to ethnographical information,
this song is one of the oldest in the Xhosa musical tradition.
It is commonly referred to by the Cape Nguni as a
' song of the old people ' (ingoma yabadala).

The tempo of the song varies from one district to the next.

Among the Xhosa and Thembu, the song may commence at a
tempo of $d = 40$, or 45 M.M., or $d = 50 - 60$ M.M.

The initial strophe in the extract, (accompanied by
slow clapping ($d = 42$ M.M.) is repeated four times.

The tempo $d = 50 - 60$ M.M. is more common.

Root progression sequence in strophe:

|| D - - C D - C - D

Text: largely improvised:

Wo! ndoyika! Woe is me! I fear (i.e. I am afraid).

Ho! ndingalila! Oh! I can cry!

d = 42. M.M.

CLAPS.

Sung 4 times

Sk. 1 Wo- wo-ho-ho - he-e, Wo nda-yi - ka-a

ch. 1

ch. 2 (x4)

Sk. 2 Yo- wo-o-ho - ho-ma, Ho ho ndinga zi-la;

ch. 1

ch. 2

Sk. 3 Wo - wo-ya-ya - ha - ha, A! ndinga-lil;

ch. 1

ch. 2

* d: 94
- 100
M.M.

RH.

Drum.

L.H.

Root progression sequence in strophe:

$$\parallel D \mid - D - C \mid - C - D - \mid (C) - D - \mid (C) D \parallel$$

Extract from the divination song:

Umhlahlo

Ex. No.74 on Tape 1b.

Pitch: Present "C" = original A Flat

Mode: hexa-based pentatonic

Strophe length: $\text{d} \times 8$ Tempo: initially $\text{d} = 50 - 52 \text{ M.M.}$

The musical score is handwritten and consists of several systems of staves. The first system includes a vocal line (Sb.) with lyrics "Ho - - wa Ndiyyika ham-hay" and a drum line (Drum: BH. HH.) with rhythmic notation. The second system features a vocal line (Sb.) with lyrics "Ho! - - - - - honyikha - a ha ham;" and a chorus line (Chorus.) with lyrics "Ha ho ham-ha". The third system includes a vocal line (Sb.) with lyrics "Ho - - - - - ham haye ye-ni ma-a;" and two chorus lines (Chorus 1. and Chorus 2.) with lyrics "Ha-ye-ho-ha - -" and "ha-ye-ho". The fourth system shows a root sequence (Root seq. C) and a vocal line (Sb.) with lyrics "Ho - - - -". The fifth system includes a vocal line (Sb.) with lyrics "Ho - - - -", a chorus line (Ch. 1) with lyrics "ho-ma;", and another chorus line (Ch. 2.) with lyrics "Ho - - - -". The score is written in a hexa-based pentatonic mode, with a tempo of 50-52 M.M. and a strophe length of 8 measures.

Figure 116Ex. No. 75 on Tape **1b**

Transcription of divination song:

Zula zulani (' Move, move about like evil spirits ')

Pitch: Present "C" = original G (Pitch rises a semitone during singing)

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

Strophe length: $\text{♩} \times 6$ Tempo: initially $\text{♩} = 168 \text{ M.M.}$ ($\text{♩} = 84 \text{ M.M.}$) ; this
accelerates during the performance, to
 $\text{♩} = 188 \text{ M.M.}$ (Cf. transcription)

Text:

Zula zulani namathol'

Move, move about with the

ezilwana ,young ones of wild beasts (i.e.
like evil spirits),Wena zula zulani namathol'

You, move, move about with the

ezilwana ,

young ones of wild beasts;

Hamb' usenza ,

Go and do it,

Wen' udliwa zizilwana .You are to be eaten by wild
beasts

Root progression sequence in strophe:

 $\parallel (C) - D - C D \mid C - D - D D \parallel$ After uku-vumisa, the song is again begun by the
diviner. During performance there is another rise
in pitch of a semitone. (Original G - - rising to A).

d = 84 M.M.

d = 168 M.M.

CLAPS.

A

1. SL (Diapine) Wo - ye wo - ye - wa We!

2. SL. zu - la zu - la - ni' mathole - zil - wa - na; Ah!

ch. Ho - ho ho - o Ho - ho - o He

DRUM: R. Hand L. Hand

3. SL. zu - la zu - la - ni ma - howa hm hoya - ha; Wowa

Chorus: Woho ho - wa - ho

4. SL. zu - la zu - la - ni - i wen' amathol' ezi - wa - na; Ah!

Chorus: Woho - zu - la - ni - Ho!

5. SL (Divine) zu - la zu - la kang' amathole - zil - wa - na; Ah! wa

SL (Divine) wen' u - di - wa zi - zil - wa - na ngama - tho - le;

Chorus: Wo - ho - ho - wa - ho;

CLAPS.

SL. (Variations of melody).

SL. (Var.) Zula zu - za - ni nga na - tho'le - zil - wana ho A! wa -

Choe. as before.

SL. (Variat.) Zula zu - za - ni nga - na - tho'le - gil - wa - na ho yoo - ho.

SL. (Var.) a! wa - Senza baw' wei u - dad' o - baw' -

Ch. 1. Dad' o - baw' - (o - - - ho - wa - ho

Ch. 2. Ho - wa - ho Ho - wa - ho - - ;

♩ = 88 MM

♩ = 176 MM. DRUM + Clap. as before.

Variations by SL. + S2:

B

SL. Var. Zula zu - za' na - na - tho'le - zil - wan', A!

S2: zula zu - za - na - na - tho - le zil - wan;

Tempo accelerates again: ♩ = 176 - 184 - 186 M.M.

C

Ch. Only Zu - la zu - za - ni Ho - wo - ho - wo - o - ho - - , A - wu

Ch. Only Zu - la zu - za - ni i Ho - - - - - ho

Ch. Only Zu - la zu - za - ni - i - ho - - - - - wo - o - ho - - , A - wu

Diviner terminates the singing suddenly by shouting

"Chos!" (' Peace! ')

Uku-vumisa between diviner and audience follows.

Thereafter the song Zula Zulani is resumed, in which the Chorus seems to emulate the drum rhythm:

Tempo: ♩ = 184 - 186 - 188 M.M. (Tempo accelerates)

D

The diviner's revelations follow.

More uku - vumisa occurs between diviner and audience, after which the diviner reintroduces the song Zula Zulani; this is then taken up by the Chorus.

E

Figure 117: Umguyo (uSomagwaza)

Ex. No. 76 on Tape 1b

Pitch: Present "C" = original Bflat rising to B (b)

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

Strophe length: 16 x d. (8 + 8) x d.

Tempo: d. = 144 M.M.

1

lom'tanomhlab' la-mev' la-mev' la-mev'

2. STROPHE

lom'tanomhlab' la-me-va lom' hab' la-mev';

Ch. 1

Ho - ho wo-ya Ho-ya Ho-ya;

RH.

LH.

3.

Sh. lom'tanomhlab' la me-va, la-me-va, I-

Ch.

la-mev' la-mev' la-mev';

4.

patyalak' i-bha-bhi? i-bha-bhi?;

i-bha-bhi? i-bha-bhi? i-bhobh'-

RH.

LH.

claps optional

Figure 118: Umqambo (Extract only)

Ex. No. 77 on Tape 1b.

Pitch: Present "A" = original Aflat rising to A

Mode: hexa-based pentatonic

Strophe length: $16 \times \text{♩} (8 + 8) \times \text{♩}$ Tempo: $\text{♩} = 138 \text{ M.M.}$

The song is introduced by the diviner, and then taken up by the chorus. It accompanies strenuous dancing by all diviners and novices. The main pattern is:

1 Chorus only.

Ho - wo-yo ho - yo ho - wo-ho

+ Drum: - Ho - wo - a-ho-yo - ho - ho-wo;

2

Drum: RH. LH.

It is repeated several times, with doubled Right Hand drum beat accompaniment, e.g:

Claps

R.H.

L.H.

Umqambo is followed by performances of three non - divination songs (cf. p. 592 for details).

Figure 119 : Ex. No. 81 on Tape 1b (Extracts only)

Diviners' dance song (ingoma yomxhentso kwamaggirha):

Wachithek' umntwana, zangom' (Wachitheka umntwana, zangoma)

(' The child wasted it, diviners ')

Pitch: Present "C" = original B

Mode: hexa-based pentatonic

Strophe length: $\text{♩} \times 8 \text{ (} 4 + 4 \text{)} \times \text{♩}$

Tempo: $\text{♩} = 100 \text{ M.M.}$

This song is sung for a novice diviner, who must of necessity dance as much as she (he) can, especially during her (his) novitiate.

In this performance, two women sang while the diviner rocked herself backward and forward whilst sitting on the ground, occasionally singing along with the two women. After five executions of the strophe, the diviner got up and began to dance, singing vocables as she performed uku - xhentsa. S3 in the extracts denotes the diviner's vocal phrases; SL and S2 denote the phrases of the two women, one of whom was a novice diviner.

This is an Mpondo diviners' song.

Start: (2/4)

Slw. (S2) (S3 (Divine))

Za- ngom

Am

Slw. (S2) (S3 (Divine))

Wa chi thek' um.tana zangom',

Wachi thek' umntwana za- ngom

O. hay' hay' ma

CLAPS

CLAPS Slw. (S2) (S3)

Wa chi thek' um.tana zangom',

Wachi thek' umtana zangom'

Figure 119 (ctd.)

Singer SL and S2 provide a Chorus, while the
diviner (S3) dances ' solo '.

SL & S2:

Ho wa. chi-thek' um-ta-na zan-gom', Ho wa. chi-thek' um-ta-na zan-gom' ;

S3: (2/4)

Yo-ho - we, yoho-ho-we hm-m-m-m hmhm-m-m;

CLAPS

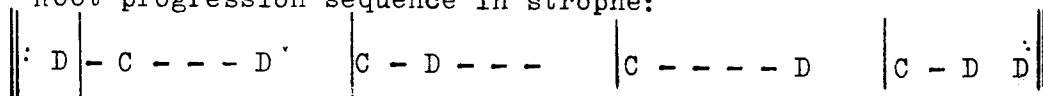
SL
S2

Ho wa. chi-thek' um-ta-na zan-gom' Ho wa. chi-thek' um-ta-na zan-gom' ;

S3

hm-m. a-wu-ma hm-m m-hm-m-m m hm m-m,

Root progression sequence in strophe:



20. Iingoma zamaZiyoni (' Music of the Zionists ')

Zionist church worship is a syncretism of tribal/traditional and Christian (pentacostal and Baptist) beliefs and practices (Hammond - Tooke (ed) 1974: 431). Many aspects of the diviner's ritual resemble certain phenomena in Zionist religious ritual, and both the diviner and the Zionist priest or prophet have similar functions. According to Berglund, ' . . . the (Zionist) prophet fulfills a two - fold function, that of the healer and that of diviner, the latter in Zionist circles defined as prophetism ' (1967: 10). The Zionists, however, have their own methods of dealing with witchcraft and sorcery, and are opposed to seeking the assistance of diviners and other medicine - men (Hammond - Tooke (ed) loc.cit.).

The Zionist churches have a large following all over the Republic, and in the Republics of Transkei and Bophuthatswana. Most of their members come from completely tribal backgrounds, having had no affiliation to the traditional churches of missionary background. The music also reflects the syncretism of traditional and Christian religious beliefs. It comprises hymns (iingoma) including alleluia choruses (also iingoma) which are accompanied by drumming. The drum rhythms are identical with the rhythms which accompany divination music, but they are played at a much faster tempo. The igubu drum is employed (one or two) and also two horns (cf. ch.5: 176 - 177). Both horns produce tones; these are a whole tone apart in pitch, and are played together or successively during a performance of the hymns. There is no tonal relationship between the tones of the tones of the horns and the tonality of the music. More often than

not, the horn tones clash with the pitches of the music (from the Western musical viewpoint, that is). Furthermore, these tones are played as long, sustained notes, and not as rhythmic patterns of the same tones. Contrived rattles (cf. ch. 5: 174) are also played; the different congregations have their own versions of rattles, and also name them differently.

Services are held regularly during the week - ends, and consist of: (i) lengthy prayer sessions during which people are ' caught ' by a spirit (uMoya) and become hysterical, and ' speak in tongues ' ; some even faint in the process; (ii) individual confessions before the congregation, and (iii) a special healing ritual.

Most of the hymn - melodies are additive (this is not common in divination music) and are accompanied by divisive drummed and clapped rhythmic patterns. Also, many of the melodies are heptatonic rather than hexatonic, but are harmonized in Cape Nguni style by parallel singing of the different voice parts. The alleluias are sung in a long drawn out manner; the vowels are deliberately elongated, as are some of the syllables of the words. These alleluias are sung, or rather, shouted repetitively, the tempo fluctuating between ritardando and accelerando. There are also choruses sung to the word ameni (' amen ') and these follow the hymns proper. All singing is antiphonal, and is usually accompanied by dancing (the Amens excluded).

According to Zionist friends, the music has been largely responsible for attracting people to the services, even though these people may not actually convert to Zionism. I know of

several Christian Cape Nguni families who attend both their own church services (Methodist and Congregational) and those of the Zionists. These people (aged 20 - 35 years) told me that they ' went to the Zionists because these people help each other ' ; because ' the music there is good, so good it lets one dance along with it ' ; because ' we are bored in our own church services, the singing is so slow, and so dead '. Whatever the real reason, there is no doubt that the music - making in the Zionist church appeals to people.

Members of the established churches (Anglican, Lutheran, Roman Catholic and Presbyterian) complain a great deal about the boredom that assails them in their church services; not only is the music boring, but also the sermon, especially when given by a White clergyman who has learnt the Xhosa language primarily so that he himself can deliver his sermon without the aid of an interpreter (who cannot always be relied upon to translate accurately, so I was told).

I was always hearing complaints about sermons that ' went on like the Kei river, now and again running dry ' of real meaning and association with everyday life. Another complaint which I heard frequently was that White clergymen ' did not like music which would give people ihlombe, so people could not sway or clap when singing '. Another criticism was directed at the singing which was done at such services, especially those attended by Whites. ' It is something terrible to hear every person, man, women and children, all blaring and singing the same sounds; can they not move about with their voices? ' (This was a direct criticism of the parallel singing in octaves which is done

by the average White congregation).

In many respects, the Zionist prophet has an advantage over the White clergyman; just as the diviner is expected to behave in a dramatic manner at seances, so is the prophet expected to preside over his church services in a similar manner. He invariably does so with a great deal of histrionic display, and he gets his message across to the congregation very effectively. This is what the people want - a sermon that holds their attention in its content and in its presentation - something which is sadly lacking in their own church services.

Similarly, music in the Zionist church is more enjoyable because people are able to participate wholeheartedly in producing it, without the restraint that is demanded of them in Christian church services. Many clergymen of various denominational churches have realized the need for a music that is ' suitable for use in African church worship ', but so far they have not fully realized that this music must come from the people themselves, who should have a working knowledge of Western musical techniques, so that they can manipulate their own music to these ends.

Zionist church music continues to flourish, enjoyed by those who produce it and those who listen to it. I attended many church services and rituals, and I was always struck by the freshness of the music. Being typically African in style, its melodies serve as bases for improvisations, consequently, like the traditional music, it will always remain original both in process and in the resultant sound - product.

(Zionist hymn: inyani ephezulu (' The truth is in heaven '),

Ex. No. 82 on Tape 1b.

CHAPTER 8

ASPECTS OF FORM AND STYLE IN XHOSA MUSIC

Structure

The structure of Nguni music has been discussed in detail by Rycroft in a number of publications.¹ For the sake of readers who are not familiar with them, I shall briefly recapitulate the form and style of this music with special reference to Xhosa music, which is my particular field of study.

The basic structure of a Xhosa song is a strophe of fixed duration, which is repeated ad infinitum with or without variations.² Strophe length varies in each song (there is no standard length), and is defined by a specific number of body movements and beats. Within each strophe there is at least one pair of complementary phrases comprising solo plus chorus, these being either consecutive or overlapping, but essentially having non - simultaneous entry points. The solo phrases, sung by a song leader or umhlabei, take a higher pitch register than the chorus phrases. In most cases these remain unchanged in the repetitions,³ while the solo phrases are subject to improvisation, and are frequently varied. The song leader may introduce new words (or vocables) into the solo phrase, which bring about changes in its melody.⁴ The chorus phrase carries the identifying part of the song. For example, the modern version of a traditional lullaby entitled Thula babana, which has acquired a ' modern ' text

with Xhosa translations of English words (iDin' = ' dinner ' ; iTi = ' tea '), is still easily recognizable as being a modern version of the old song because the chorus refrain, sung to vocables, remains unchanged (cf. Figure 19: 265).

Handclaps accompany most styles of Xhosa music; sometimes they are supplemented by drum beats (diviners' music and circumcision music, with the exception of the ritual song),⁵ and dance steps. In certain song - types the claps are absent, in which case strophe length (and the music's basic metre) is indicated by the drum beats and dance steps and movements. The latter are never absent. A basic principle of Xhosa music is that all music is accompanied by some form of physical activity, whereby the basic metre and tempo of the music is expressed or at least indicated. The type of song and the social situation in which it is performed will determine the precise nature of this activity (clapping, drumming and dancing), and its manner of performance, i.e. singly or in combination with one of the other two activities, or both.

As stated above, both solo and chorus phrases, which constitute the essential parts of a Xhosa song, do not commence their phrases at the same time; they ' observe the principle of non - simultaneous entry ', which is another fundamental principle of Nguni music (Rycroft 1967: 101). The extent to which this principle is realized varies from one musical category to another, and even within songs of the same category. See, for example, Figure 24 on p. 281, the transcription of a Xesibe - gaja (' shaking ') dance song, in which the principle is realized through simple antiphony, i.e. the two

main parts alternate without overlap. The strophe consists of two pairs of phrases. In a - sina dance song of the same chiefdom cluster, (Figure 21 on p. 275), antiphony occurs with overlapping phrases, the solo phrase re - entering on the fourth - last crotchet beat of the chorus phrase. Here the strophe consists of the varied repetition of a single melodic phrase (carrying a line of text), by song leader and chorus in sequence.

The small amount of overlap (start of the solo phrase near the end of the chorus phrase) has been termed ' single - ended overlap ' by Rycroft (ibid: 90). More extensive overlapping occurs through the interpolation of variations and additional phrases by the song leader and individual singers at certain points in the execution of the strophe, so that ' the start and end - points of phrases are moved, in relation to their original position in the strophe ' (ibid: 92). In such cases the solo phrases may ' commence halfway through a chorus phrase, and end halfway through the following chorus phrase so that the phrases are completely interlinked ' (ibid: 93). This type of overlapping (called ' double - ended ' by Rycroft), is a typical feature of the music of young people and adults of the older chiefdom clusters. It features less extensively in the equivalent music of the 'intrusive' clusters (cf. Figure 89: 525, and Figure 103 : 556 , which show extensive inter - linking of the vocal phrases).

Re - entry of the solo phrase just before or at the end of the chorus phrase in ' single - ended overlap ' joins the two main voice - parts together, so that the song seems to have no

end. ' It then becomes problematical whether the strophe should be said to commence with the ' call ' or, conversely, with the entry of the chorus - the ' call ' serving only as an introductory signal ' (ibid: 91).⁶ It seems reasonable to assume that this would depend to some extent on which of the two basic parts carries the greater load, in terms of phrase - length and complexity. (Cf. Figure 101: 540, in which each repetition of the strophe begins with the chorus entry; the song leader's proper entry point (after two introductory phrases) is on the fourth beat of the chorus phrase; cf. p. 540). Again, in certain types of Xhosa music, (in particular untshotsho and intlombe music of young people), the chorus often subdivides into two sub - groups (or even three or four, if the performing group is very large), which sing the same or contrasting (varied) phrases in sequence. These phrases follow one another so closely that the whole song sounds like a ' chorus '. The solo phrases become subsumed in the overall sound to the extent that they are scarcely discernible to the listener, or, if they are, they seem to ' tag along ' as improvisations above the chorus phrase. It then becomes even more difficult to assess where the strophe begins and where it actually recommences. However, whether or not it may be said to begin with the solo phrase or the chorus phrase, ' there are in most cases no " collective cadences " of the Western type. Unison, after chording, may possibly have " cadential significance " in certain items but, beyond this, no functional hierarchy of discord and concord seems consistently operative ' (ibid: 103).

Additional improvisations by individual singers who ' add their own words to make taste of the song ' (cf. p. 39), or ' throw their voices into the song ' (cf. p. 40), may be independent of, or dependent on, the two main parts. Dependent phrases usually consist of the words of one or other of the two main parts, (or vocables are often substituted), and are sung along with it in parallel movement, utilizing the same vocal notes or ' harmonically equivalent ' ones (izihlobo tones). Independent phrases comprise new words and melodies and/or new (varied) rhythmic patterns. They are sung sequentially by individual singers, thereby ' introducing a third, or even fourth level of offset temporal contrast - or concurrent " phrase shift "' (ibid. 96). The crucial difference between these two types of vocal organization is that in the one, a basic twofold temporal contrast is retained, even though the extra voices add to the complexity of the musical texture. In the other, the temporal relationship between the voice - parts is greatly increased. On the basis of this difference, it is possible to make a general distinction between voice - part interrelations in the music of the older clusters, and the music of the ' intrusive ' clusters: there is greater independence of all the voice - parts in the former, than there is in the latter.

In performances of Bhaca, Xesibe, Eastern Mpondo and certain items of Mfengu music,⁷ most of the extra voices sing along with one or other of the two basic parts, selecting izihlobo tones deriving from the notes of the mode in which the song is set.⁸ A few additional singers may improvise new texts and melodic phrases from time to time, and introduce sequential repetitions

of phrase - segments to interrupt the parallel chording and provide more rhythmic interest. All the voice - parts are introduced so as to ' off - beat ' fairly regularly with the beats of the basic metre. (Cf. Figures: 68: 420; 70: 434; 72: 444; 74: 447; 76: 451; and 77: 455, to cite a few examples). This supports Rycroft's conclusions regarding vocal organization and interrelations in certain Xhosa and Swazi songs, in which he states:

' . . in the majority of cases a twofold temporal contrast is maintained. . . this persists even in their three - and four - part songs, since extra voices share an existing line of text and move " in step " , often in tonal parallel ' (ibid: 101)

On the other hand, the songs of the Xhosa, Thembu, Bomvana, Western Mpondo and Mfengu living in Thembu areas, especially the songs sung by young people and adults (umtshotsho⁹ and intlombe music, and Tshawe beer songs), offer interesting parallels with ' certain old Zulu songs ' studied by Rycroft. In them, ' temporal contrast is increased beyond twofold, through separate entry of all parts ' (ibid.). (Cf. Figures: 43: 338; 55: 378; 56: 380; 57: 381; 58: 383; and 71: 441).

Patterns of rhythm

The metrical patterns which are given under Figures RHY. 1. and RHY.2 are intended to serve as references in this discussion of Cape Nguni patterns of rhythm. The patterns are the typical phrase patterns of Xesibe, Bhaca and Mpondo music, and similar types of music of the Xhosa Thembu, Bomvana and Mfengu clusters, including some divination songs. The songs have been divided into two groups: RHY. 1., which demonstrates patterns

of songs based on a straightforward beat that can be subdivided into two or four, or multiplied by two or four (i.e. equivalent to the crotchet), and RHY.2., which demonstrates the patterns of songs based on dotted crotchet beats. In cases where the song has no explicit beat (clapped or drummed), the basic metre (deriving from sequences of vocal sounds or beating of sticks on the ground) is given, together with descriptive comments. In each example, the rhythms of the melodic patterns sung by the song leader and chorus (and, where applicable, other individual voice parts), have been placed above or below the basic metrical pattern with suitable abbreviations to identify them (cf. pp. 635 - 641).

I am fully aware that these metrical patterns represent the external sounds, and therefore the surface structures of the songs' rhythms. Thus they may not report faithfully what is going on, i.e. they may not represent accurately the basic body rhythms that generate them. I have already attempted to reveal some of these in the discussions of music which has no audibly expressed accompaniment (e.g. the umngqunggo dance songs, and the umguyo ritual song), by describing the dance steps and movements which generate the rhythmic structures of the music, and relating the one to the other. In this discussion, I shall try to present some more evidence showing why Cape Nguni singers produce their music the way they do, as well as describe the inner body rhythms which give rise to the music.

Discussions of basic metres (denoting strophe length (have been included in my surveys and analyses of the Xhosa musical categories. These have revealed that : (i) although different

categories of music may have the same basic metrical patterns, these are not necessarily clapped in the same way, e.g. the dance songs of young children, and those of older children (umtshotsho music). In the former, the claps constitute a succession of regular clapped beats, whereas in the latter they establish a more complex rhythmic pattern. Furthermore, this is subject to variation, whereas the simpler metres of young children's songs are never varied in performance; (ii) although strophe length varies from one category to another, and even within the category, one finds a number of metrical patterns which underlie so many songs belonging to one musical category, that they may be said to be most representative of that particular category of music.

In all songs with a basic dotted crotchet beat, subdivisions of the beat are ' basically iambic () in quantity ' , but they may or may not be iambic in accentuation (cf. Blacking 1967: 160).¹⁰ Thus the subdivision may be accented as () or (). When dotted crotchet beats underlie a song, (especially those songs whose basic metres are not stressed audibly by claps or drum beats), iambic subdivisions are expressed and emphasized in the vocal sounds produced by the singers. The following Figure RHY.0. shows the rhythmic foundations of two such songs, in which the basic iambic patterning is indicated in the patterns of vocal sounds. (Cf. Figure RHY.0. on following p. 624).

With regard to the coincidence of melody and metre, Xhosa songs show two types of strophe structure: (a) those in which

Figure RHY.0.

(a)

Wen' u-la-la ne-phoy'sa ne-phoy'sa hm Wen' u-

Melody

rhythm

(-tshotsha)

Strophe

hhi-hi! hhi-hi! hhi-hi!

(b)

Noz'kad' u-yay' thand' un-yan' Noz'kad' u-yay' thand' un-yan'

Melody

rhythm

(-bhayizela)

Strophe

Hhuh! Hhuh! Hhuh! Hhuh!

the syllables and vocal notes of the melody (and its inherent accents) coincide with the claps at the beginning and at the end of the strophe, and (b) those in which the melodic accents and the ' beats ' (claps) of the basic metre coincide only at the end of the strophe. This is what Jones has described as the ' teleological trend ' in African music: songs ' lean towards the end of the lines; it is at the end where they are likely to coincide with their time background ' (Jones 1959: 49).

In the majority of Xhosa songs, the initial syllable and tone of the vocal phrase begins within the last clapped ' beat ' of the strophe, i.e. it anticipates the first beat of the strophe by about half a beat. Although both syllable and clap may coincide in the first statement of this pattern, they will never coincide in its repetitions. It appears to be a rule of Xhosa music that melodies should begin on an off - beat; this

coincides with the strong initial accent of the melodic pattern, and is always sung with a loud emphasis. Furthermore, the melody note (usually the highest tone in the strophe) is frequently ' tied over ' onto the following ' beat ' with clap), so that the next sung syllable falls once again between two clapped beats (cf. Figure RHY.1 : 3, 4, 6, 15, and Figure RHY.2 : 2, 6; all entries /commencements of the melody are marked with an asterisk). By beginning the melody on the off - beat, the whole melody is pulled a quaver or semiquaver beat to the left, so that the melodic accents tend to fall somewhere between the clap beats part of the time, and beats may fall between rests. (The rests within the strophe indicate the moments in the music where a voice part ceases to sing; they also indicate the beginnings and endings of melodic phrases, - cf. Figure RHY.1 : 19, and Figures 3 and 4 further on in this discussion - and in these parts I have used them in conjunction with slurs).

Writing in 1928, Erich von Hornbostel offered a theory of African rhythm in which he suggested a contrast between African and European concepts of rhythm. This theory was further elucidated and discussed by Blacking in 1955 (and others since), who writes:

'The contrast which Hornbostel suggests is therefore not so much one of procedure as of attitude towards movements and the production of musical sounds. He claims that Africans think of sounds as bi - products of rhythmical movements, whereas Westerners pay more attention to the sounds than to the movement which causes them' (Blacking 1955: 12)

Blacking then compares Hornbostel's theory with the ' dancing and ethos of much African music', and in this context quotes

A.M. Jones (1952: 1) who writes: ' In Africa, the music of the dance and the dance itself are one individual whole '.

Blacking then continues:

'This fact has been corroborated by so many other observers that there seems little reason to doubt its truth. Since music for dancing must be related to the dance movements and in many cases in Africa might be considered subordinate to them, one might expect to find musical concepts derived from the physical pattern of the movement' (ibid.)

The same writer mentions Curt Sachs who, in his book The World History of the Dance (1937) discussed in some detail the correlation between styles of music and dancing, and included some examples to support his statements.

The Cape Nguni concept of music further corroborates the fact that music and dancing ' go together ', and that ' they are the same thing ' (cf. ch.2: 19). The umngunggo dance songs, and the ritual song umguyo provide good evidence of the relationship between patterns of melody and patterns of physical movements, (dance steps in the former, walking in the latter). Blacking goes further in his ' notes ' on Hornbostel's theory of African rhythm, and draws attention to the relationship between patterns of dance movements and patterns of melodies in African music, which are the reverse of the general pattern in Western music. (The African pattern is one of tension - relaxation - tension - relaxation, while the Western pattern is one of relaxation - tension - relaxation). Blacking continues:

'Telescoping these larger physical patterns into the space of a bar of four beats, we find that the African up - beat should be the strong beat, equivalent to the Western down - beat. Physically the sensations are similar; the first beat is the strong beat; but in one case it is a movement upwards

and in the other a movement downwards. Musically, as Hornbostel suggests, the results are not the same: the Western music runs 1 - 2 - 3 etc., whereas the African music runs 1 - 2 - 3, 1 - 2 - 3 etc ' (1955: 5).

Blacking observes further on in his ' notes ':

'The syncopations of Jazz are often regular and monotonous, and it may be that this is due to a different conception of up - beats and down - beats. The upward lift, as opposed to the down ward beat, is surely what gives Jazz its bounce. . . It might well be shown that the fundamental innovation in Jazz was the replacement of the down - up movement found in most Western music and dances, by the up - down movement, a concept apparently derived from African dancing' (ibid.).

In assessing the extent to which Hornbostel's theory is applicable to African vocal and instrumental music, Blacking writes:

'Hornbostel deduces that theoretically the emphasis of the vocal line (and presumably that of melodies played on wind instruments also) should run at loggerheads with the audible beat of the percussion' (a diagram is given showing patterns of voice, percussion and body movement). ' If the whole body is strained and lifted in order to accentuate the melodic line, it cannot be expected to beat downwards at the same time. Perhaps this is why handclaps often occur systematically, on the off - beats of a sung melody; the raising of the arms and the spreading of the hands is an act of tension resolved by the clap' (ibid.) (underlinings mine).

If this explanation of African syncopation or ' off - beating ' cannot be applied universally, it nevertheless applies to Xhosa music. It has been discussed in some detail by David Rycroft (1962: 82 - 84), who pointed out that it had a physiological basis (of. p.643ss, for further discussion of ' off - beating '). It explains why the Cape Nguni feel it is more normal to start a melody on the up - beat (or off - beat, which is perhaps a better term); to quote one informant:

' We go up when you go down, and down when you go up '.

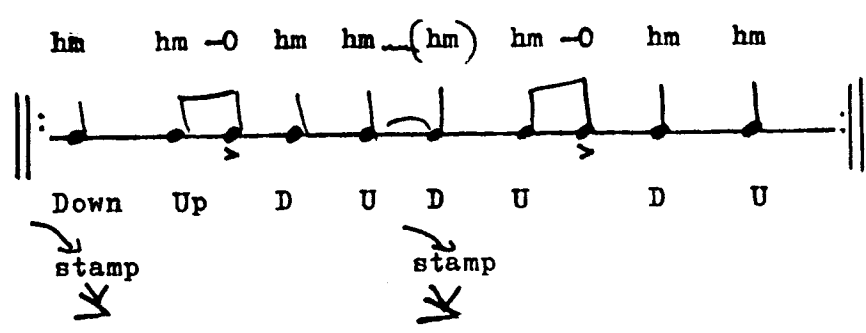
The same informant gave a reason for this procedure: ' We simply have to do this, as that is how we feel the music; if we do not, there is no swing, man ' (Sigidimi Xundu, Engcobo 1969); (ii) the upward - and - outward kicks which precede the stamps in ukusina and indlamu dance songs always coincide with the ' up - beats ' ; (iii) the diviner ' conducts ' his seance music by indicating all the strong beats (which diviner Gcorha referred to as ' loud ' beats), with an upward movement of the arm, and all the ' weak ' beats with a downward movement of the arm; when I asked Mr Gcorha why he called the off - beats the ' loud ' beats, he replied that it was ' because the voice comes out, i.e. sounds, on these beats ' ; (iv) many African teachers and choirmasters conduct in the same way; (v) women, when performing the walking steps and toe - heel movements in their umngunggo dances, (unconsciously) synchronize their upward steps and movements with the strong off - beats, which in Western music are regarded as weak beats.

By beginning a melody on the off - beat (Western up - beat/ ' weak beat ', African ' strong beat '), the melody accents which follow in the strophe, fall systematically somewhere between the claps, so that the beats of both clap and vocal patterns are staggered. In some songs this occurs so frequently (cf. Figure RHY.1: 2, & 3) that the song appears (to Europeans, at any rate) to be monotonously syncopated. The Cape Nguni see this syncopation as a combination of two rhythmic patterns ' which go together ', whose inherent accents are

crossed. In all music accompanied by clapping, the vocal effort frequently precedes the physical movement; the strong beats (off - beats) coincide with the singers' arms being raised and extended to clap; this is the act of tension which is resolved in the clap. The reverse procedure occurs on the performance of Bhaca indlamu music (cf. Figure RHY.1: 12), in which the greatest vocal effort occurs on the first beat, which now becomes a strong beat in the Western sense; it is accompanied by the downward stamp, and the voice which accents the syllable heavily. This procedure is to be observed only in Bhaca indlamu music. The Mpondo and Xesibe forms of the dance follow the typical Cape Nguni pattern of strong off - beats and weak down - beats.

An interesting feature in the Bhaca indlamu dance cited above (Figure RHY.1: 12) is the introduction of off - beat accents by the singers on the weak beats of the metrical pattern, e.g.

Figure RHY. 01



The Bhaca iindlavini ' Western ' concept of rhythm, as opposed to the other chiefdom clusters' African concept, may be explained by the ' cult of westernization ' which the Bhaca have adopted (cf. Hammond - Tooke 1962: 88). It may also be explained by their liking for military music, (something which I noticed on many occasions), which may have unconsciously influenced them in their attitude toward rhythm. I also noticed that, when singing and marching to their Walking (Marching) songs, the Bhaca tend to synchronize the Left - Right movements with the strong and weak beats of the pattern. The Xesibe and Mpondo do just the opposite: they proceed from Right to Left, so that the first beat of the pattern (strophe) coincides with an upward movement of the left leg as weight is transferred to the right leg.

In Xhosa music, I found that physical movements (clapping, drumming, dancing) coincide with the vocal effort almost as much as they do not. I went about assessing this in the following way: I superimposed the rhythmic patterns of the song leader, chorus, and any other prominent additional voice parts, above the basic metrical pattern of each song. I then counted the number of times (i) the same singer staggered her voice with the clapped beat; (ii) one singer sings one pattern and another the other, and noted where they coincided and where they did not; (iii) everyone sings together. (i) would support Hornbostel's argument, while (ii) would support Jones argument, and (iii) would also support Jones and refute Hornbostel's argument. At this point it is necessary to discuss the viewpoints of these two scholars.

Hornbostel's argument is about the feeling, the inner body experience that produces music, the impulse, the drive upwards and outwards, and the expansion of the body that precedes the actual sound. In proposing his theory of African rhythm he used African drumming as a model, but stressed that it could as well be replaced by handclapping or xylophone playing. As he himself put it:

'What really matters is the act of beating; and only from this point can African rhythms be understood. Each single beating movement is again twofold: the muscles are strained and released, the hand is lifted and dropped. Only the second phase is stressed accoustically; but the first inaudible one has the motor accent, as it were, which consists in the straining of the muscles' (1928: 52).

In an article on African drumming written six years later (1934) Jones referred to Hornbostel's theory, and stated that it was repudiated by an African informant. In comparing and contrasting the views of both Hornbostel and Jones, it is clear that, whereas Hornbostel states that ' all African peoples conceive their rhythms physically from motion rather than musically from hearing ' (cf. also Blacking 1955), Jones maintains that this sort of generalization is not valid as, from the evidence obtained from an informant, at least one group of African people does not think of rhythm in this way. In view of this, there may well be other African people who do not confirm Hornbostel's theory in their concept of rhythm.

Jones sees African music as being the product of at least two agents in a polyrhythmic relationship. He is more concerned with how order is put into the individual vocal/melodic and

clap patterns, and their rhythmic interrelationship (cf. Jones Studies in African music, 1959). He sees rhythm as being ' to the African what harmony is to Europeans ', and accordingly, forms of African music arise from the complex interweaving of contrasting rhythmic patterns. These patterns may be produced by the different voice parts, by the handclaps, beating of sticks, shaking of rattles etc., and according to Jones, there will ' practically always be a clash of rhythms '.

As we have seen in chapter 7, vocal rhythmic patterns are produced by singers against a time background of handclaps and/or drum beats, and body movements. The polyrhythmic principle is never applied to the time background, but it is in varying degrees to the voice parts, within the different styles of Xhosa music. The vocal organization may range from a general staggering of all the voice parts against the beats of the time background, to a more multilinear organization in which individual voices make successive entries against the time background, so that the staggering that occurs between the beats and the vocal effort is not only the result of physical movement, but also the result of polyrhythmic technique. (I do not think that the interrelationship of the voice parts and the time background can be described as polymetric; the rhythms of the voice parts , as well as their melodies, are essentially rhythmic - melodic variations (and elaborations) of the main melody and its metre; consequently the most suitable description for this rhythmic interrelationship is polyrhythm).

After counting up the number of times one person, and several

persons staggered the voice against the main beats of the basic metre, and how many times they coincided, I found that: in most songs, particularly those of the 'intrusive' clusters (Xesibe and Bhaca, and to some extent the Mfengu), off-beating between voice(s) and claps occurs approximately half the number of claps constituting the strophe. Thus, in Figure RHY. 1: 3, for example, the duration of the strophe is 16 beats (8 + 8); within this cycle, the song leader and chorus adhere to the same rhythmic pattern, but their melodic accents coincide with the clapped beats eight times out of the sixteen beats. In the first half of the strophe, voices and claps coincide on claps 4, 5 and 6 of the 8-clap pattern; in the second half the melodic accents and clapped beats coincide most of the time, i.e. on claps 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7. This makes a total of eight beats coinciding with the vocal effort, and eight that do not coincide with it.

Again, in Figure RHY.1: 4, the vocal effort and clapped beats coincide nine times within a strophe of 16 beats duration. In No. 5 (of the same Figure), four beats are staggered out of eight; in No. 6, fifteen beats are staggered out of twenty, and in all cases, the song leader and chorus adhere approximately to the same rhythmic pattern, i.e. they sing homorhythmically. In song No. 7 the rate of coincidence is high, there being only three staggered beats out of sixteen. In song No. 8, there is much more staggering of beats in the chorus part than there is in the song leader's part, but there is more of a poly-rhythmic relationship between song leader and chorus; thus the staggered beats would seem to result from polyrhythmic technique.

All the songs in Figure RHY.1: 1 - 10, are dance songs of the Xesibe and Bhaca people; Nos. 11 and 13 are two beer songs of the Mpondo, while Nos. 14 - 22 are dance songs of the Cape Tribes Proper; Nos. 23 - 26 are divination songs of the latter. In Figure RHY.2, Nos. 1, 3, 4 and 5 are also dance songs of the C.T.P., while Nos. 2, 6 and 7 are a beer song (No. 2) and two dance songs of the Xesibe and Bhaca. These three are characterized by off - beating between vocal and clapped patterns at an average ratio of three or four staggered beats out of eight (Nos. 2 and 7), and five out of eight beats (No. 6).

In contrast to these songs, there is much more polyrhythmic interplay of the voices in the songs of the C.T.P. Instead of each voice part singing a melody motif which occasionally off - beats against the clap pattern, as is the case in the songs of the ' intrusive ' clusters, in these songs (Figure RHY.1: 14 - 26, and Figure RHY.2: 3 - 5), the different voices sing melodic/rhythmic patterns which occasionally off - beat in their main accents as a result of successive entries. The Mpondo beer song is a typical example of polyrhythm, and here one could even say polymetre, in that the vocal and clap patterns never coincide (cf. Figure RHY.1: 13).

It seems to me, then, that in Xhosa music at any rate, the theories of both Hornbostel and Jones are combined; but, the extent to which they are combined (as confirmed by the musical evidence), reflects the main difference between the musical styles of the ' intrusive ' clusters, and the older chiefdom clusters. There is much more off - beating in the music of the

1. Fig. RHY: 1

- Gaja song.

1st word-pattern + melody

claps

Strophe length: $8 + 8 \times 2$

$d = 166-8$ M.M.

2. $d = 185-190$ nsina dance song (children)

M.M. Ch.

claps

$d = 185-190$ M.M.

3. $d = 120$ Walking song: mindlavini

Song-header + ch.

Sl. + Ch. with sticks

claps

Sl. + ch. + sticks

sticks.

claps.

TOTAL PATTERN

4. $d = 158$ Beev song for isitshongo

Sl. + Ch.

claps

-gaja song (adults)

$d = 168-170$ M.M.

claps

6.

Sl. Ch. Sl. + Ch.

claps

ch.

$d = 182-184$ M.M.

-gaja song (adults).

:-

Strophe length: $20 \times d = (4 + 4) + (4 + 4) + 4$ crotchets.

7.

Fig. RHY:1 (ctd.)

Tshawe Dance song:

SL. + Ch. (1st' line):

Total Pattern

CLAPS

(2nd' line)

$\text{♩} = 136 \text{ M.M.}$

8. -Gaya (adults) (indlavinu:

SL. Full Chorus *

Chori

ye ngo. ma. ma

CLAPS

$\text{♩} = 184 \text{ M.M.}$

9. Tshawe Dance song $\text{♩} = 138$

"Total Pattern"

SL. *

CLAPS

: Later: vocal interplay (with melody-motifs)

eg:

Ch. *

Sop. 3 7 5 4 3 2 1

Clap. *

7. 6. 5. 4. 3. 2. 1. (Tenor)

Ch. *

(Solo) Sopranos.

Clap. *

* = where solo phrase recommenced.

"Total pattern" = strophe

10.

Tshawe Sauce song:

♩ = 150 M.M.

11. Tshawe Beer Song:

(a)

♩ = 158 M.M.

12. Bhaca inllamu Sauce song.

♩ = 158-150 M.M.

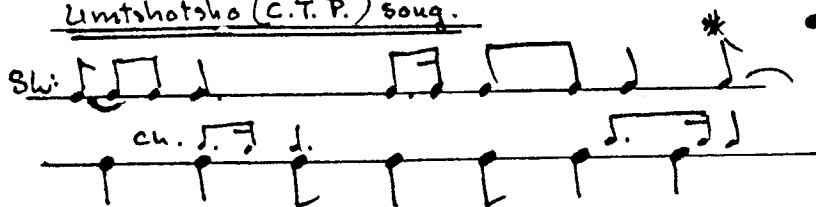
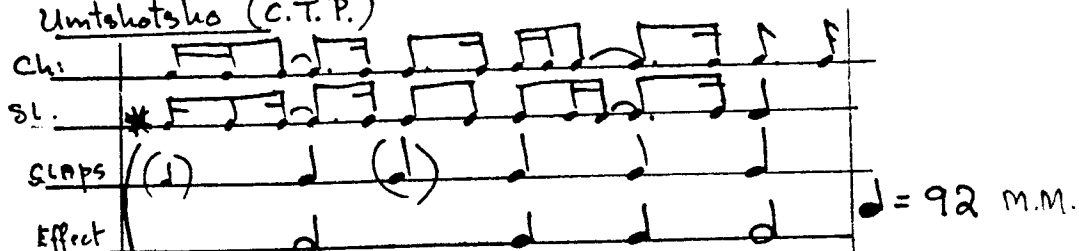
13. Beer Song. (Mpondo/Xesibe)

♩ = 76 M.M.

14. Umtshotcho (C.T.P.) song

♩ = 72 M.M.

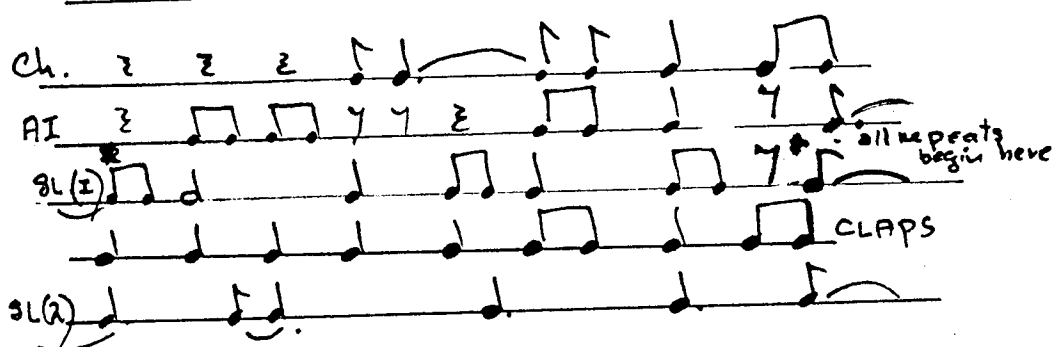
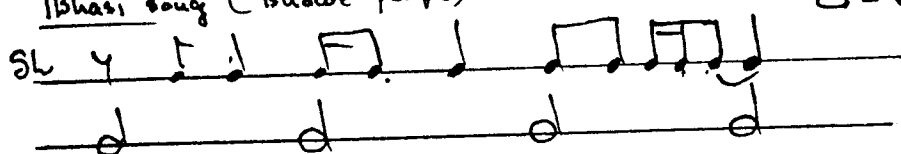
15. (ADDITIVE METRE:)

Umtshotsha (C.T.P.) song. $\text{♩} = 72 \text{ M.M.}$ 16. Umtshotsha (C.T.P.)

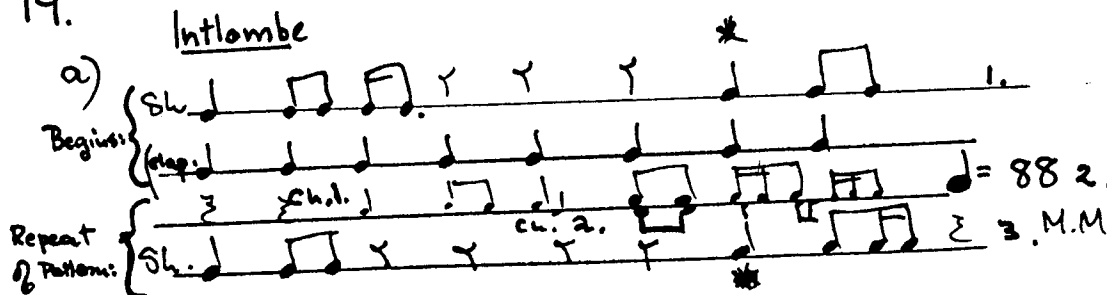
NB. Commencement of pattern of melody
does not coincide with an audible clap.

Umtshotsha: $\text{♩} = 116$

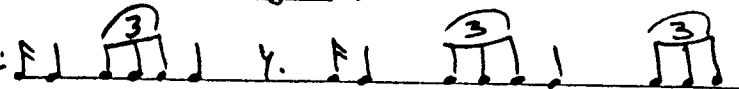
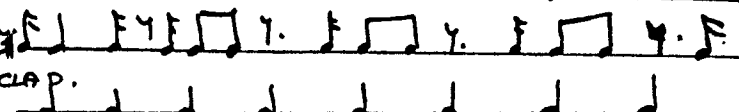
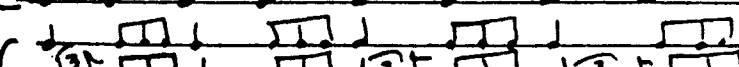
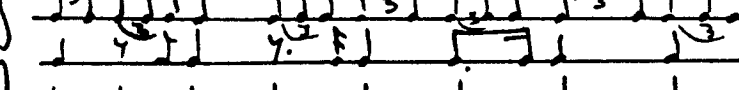
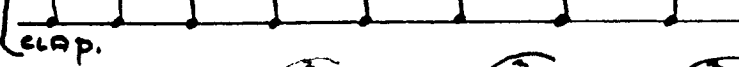
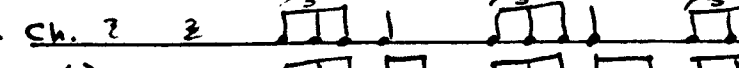
17.

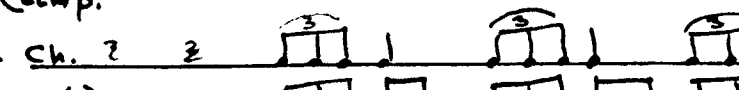
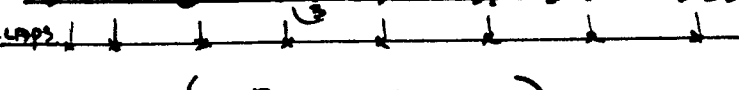
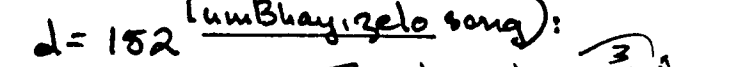
18. IBhasi song (Tshawe people) $\text{♩} = 60 \text{ M.M.}$ 

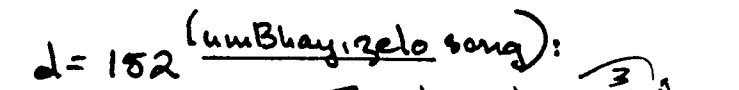
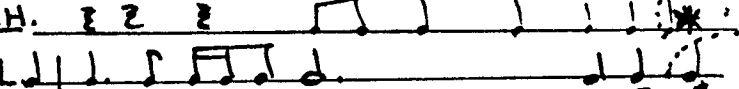
19.

Intlombe

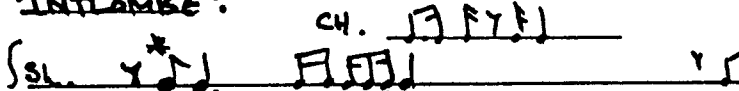
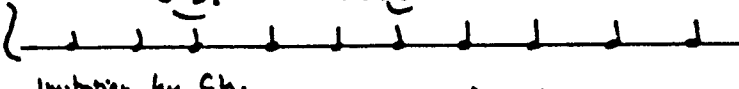
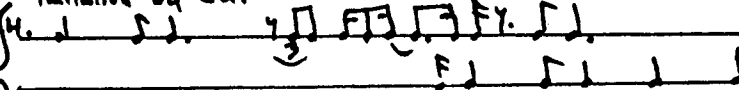
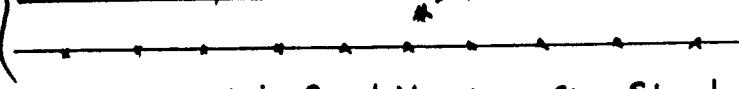
(Intlambe song. etc.):

19. (cf) ch.  4.
 (b)  5.
 clap.  6.
 ch.  7.
 (c)  9. (triplets)
 clap.  9.
 $d = 98$ M.M.

20. (d)  7.
 (19 ch.)  8.
 sl.  9. (Ends. 9.)
 claps.  9. (5 x d)

21. $d = 152$ (umBhay, zelo song):
 CH.  3.
 SL  3. (Phase begin (a) on last f.)
 3. (b).
 claps.  3.

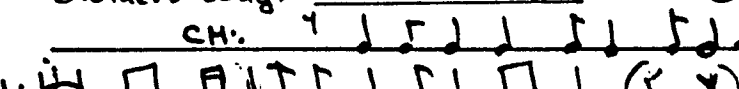
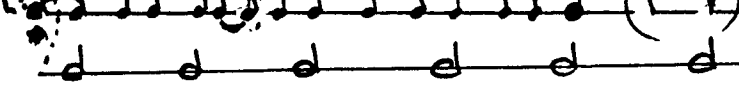
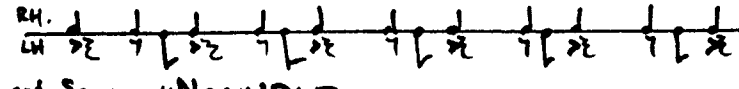
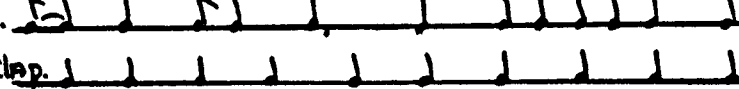
INTLAMBE:

22.  3.
 SL  3.
 Imitation by Ch.  3.
 3.
 successive entries of melodic pattern - Ch. + Sl. later, the 'music goes to pieces'. $d = 88$ M.M.

Divine's song: Zula Zulani

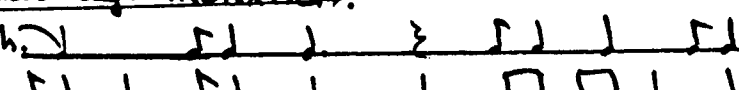
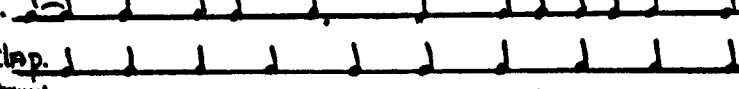
 $d = 84$ M.M.

23.

CH.  3.
 SL  3. (all repeats)
 claps.  3.
 RH.  3.
 LH  3. Drum supplement

Divine's Song: uNenkala.

24.

Ch.  3.
 SL  3.
 Clap.  3.
 SL  3.

(alternate pattern (i).

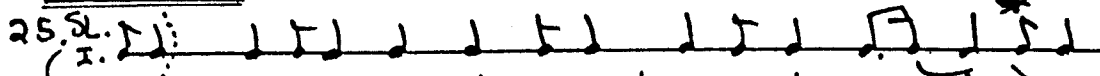
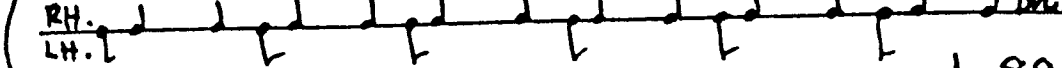
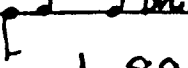
cf. transcription:

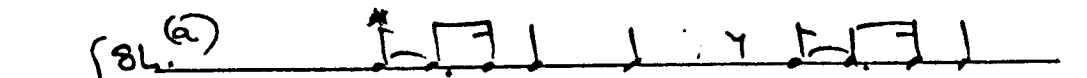
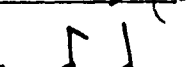
There are several variations of the melodic pattern.

 $d = 144$

M.M.

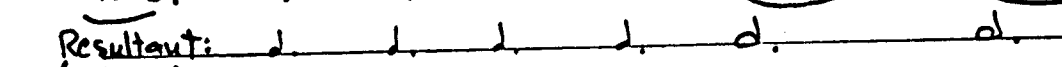
Polyphonic:

25. SL. 1. 
 CLAP. 
 SL. 2. 
 RH. LH. 
 Drum: 
 d = 88 M.M.

(a) 
 CLAP 
 26. (b) 
 S 2 (II) 
 (Diviner's Song) 
 d = 132 M.M.

RHY. 2

Umtshotsho song. C.C.T.P.): d. = 112. M.M.

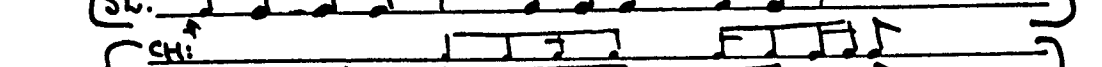
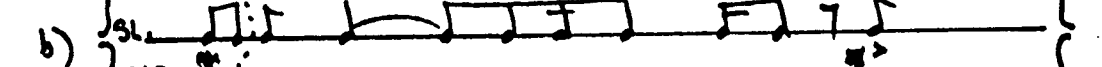
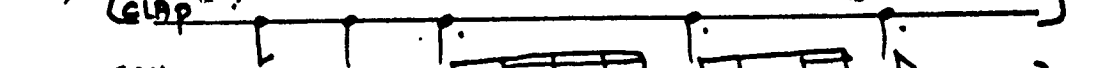
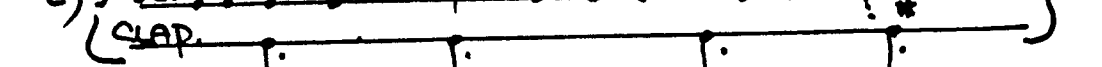
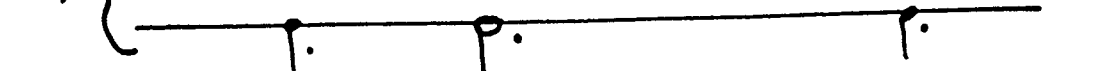
1. SL. 
 CLAP. 
 Resultant: 
 (Effect).

Beer Song: (Tshawe), CH.

2. SL. 
 CLAP. 

umtshotsho song:

d. = 72 M.M.

3. 
 a) 
 b) 
 c) 
 d) 
 CH. 
 SL. 
 CLAP. 
 CH. 
 SL. 
 CLAP. 

(isumbic patterning:) L R R R etc.

3. Catá). (untshatshe:)

Nos. 4 - 5:

Two songs whose basic metres are not emphasized by handclaps,

but instead by iambic patterning of vocal sounds:

4. $\text{♩} = 94-96 \text{ M.M.}$

Melody:

untshatshe: hhi-hi hhi-hi hhi-hi hhi-hi

5. $\text{♩} = 160 \text{ M.M.}$

Melody:

untshatshe: hhi-hi hhi-hi hhi-hi hhi-hi (-blayigela)

'Sob': yuh-hi yuh-hi yuh-hi yuh-hi yuh-hi yuh-hi (yelps).

(Effect)

Vocal Sounds:

6. INDLAMU: (Xesibe gang): $\text{♩} = 152 \text{ M.M.}$

SL. (Refain):

CH.

CLAP.

* (Ch. begins melody).

7. INDLAMU.

CH.

SL.

CLAP.

* (all subsequent repeats begin here).

Nos 6 and 7: S.L. and Chor. roles were reversed, as these songs were performed out of context, and by only a

few members of the gang.

former, than there is in the music of the latter; what is more, off - beating occurs as a note in the voice part staggered against a clap in the basic metre, or over a wider group, i.e. melody - motif staggered against two claps in the basic metre, this being the more common procedure.

For this reason, most songs have staggered beats which total half the number of beats of the basic metre. Yet again, one can see these off - beat relationships as also an attempt to have at least two different ' lines ' of rhythm running concurrently. The way in which the Xesibe and Bhaca (and to some extent their neighbours, the Eastern Mpondo), pitch in their voices and sing melody - motifs at times together, at times successively, against a background of claps, is well described in their own words (cf. ch.2: 40). The older clusters do not ' throw in their voices ', but instead, ' add different words to make taste of the song ' (cf. ch.2: 39). This ' quieter ' description describes a much quieter process of polyphony and polyrhythm, in which the individual singers sing melodic patterns rather than motifs, which interweave polyrhythmically, and accompany dancing which is less vigorous than that of the other clusters. It seems to me, that the presence of off - beat accents in Xhosa music, produced by polyrhythmic technique, and also by physical movements which compel the vocal effort to precede the physical effort, indicates the application of Jones' and Hornbostel's theories at the same time in one and the same musical tradition.

Off - beating, or, more specifically, the off - beat phrasing of melodic accents (accompanying word - syllables) against the

main beats of the basic clapped and/or danced metre of a song, is a characteristic stylistic feature of the Xhosa musical tradition. It has been studied by Richard Waterman (1952), and David Rycroft (1962: 82 - 84), who pointed out that it has a physiological basis, i.e. it is largely the result of physical movements which are made during the performance of a song. Rycroft writes:

'It is, of course, an instinctive human reflex to tense the diaphragm and hold the breath, by closing the glottis, at the actual moment of exertion - in fact, even babies do so during defecation. At the actual moment of this instinctive breath - holding during pushing, lifting, leaping and the like, the emission of vocal sound of any kind is, of course, impossible. But immediately before or after the moment of exertion - or both before and after it: "Huk - - - aaah" - sound of some sort is not only possible but very probable ' (1967: 83).

To demonstrate his point Rycroft gives a transcription of a Zulu song; in it the beat (heavy thud) is sounded always just before the beginning of the phrase, ' during vocal silence '. The same sort of off - beat relationship between word - syllables and muscular movements is to be observed in the dance songs of the Zulu, and the Xhosa. Speaking about this ' near miss relationship ' between words and clapping in Xhosa music, Rycroft states:

' . . . in Xhosa singing, instead of the beat being made to coincide with the release of a consonant - into a vowel, so that the onset of the vowel is on the beat, as is our own practice - it coincides with the initial closing or thrusting movement of the consonant (when this type of consonant occurs) so that the commencement of the vowel invariably occurs later, a little after the beat. This effect appears to be further exploited and exaggerated for stylistic purposes, and closure of the glottis - necessary in strenuous exertion - could, of course, also take place on the beat, during the consonantal closure, if required.

In passing, it may be of interest to observe that, in America today, one of the most highly paid singers of "pop" and cabaret songs - with their currently

favoured gimmicks of off - beating and deliberately loose word - phrasing - is Miss Miriam Makeba, a South African of Xhosa extraction, who played the leading role in the original production of the musical, King Kong' (ibid.)

Off - beating, which is found in other styles of African music apart from the Xhosa and Zulu, e.g. West Africa (cf. Waterman 1952: 213), is used to a greater or lesser extent in Xhosa music. When it occurs, the melody - notes for the word - syllables tend to fall somewhere between the clapped beats - either halfway, or even later, e.g. on the last semiquaver of a steady clap pattern of crotchets (a semiquaver before any clap). Although some chiefdom clusters use it much more than others, (the Mfengu in particular, who, as my guide put it, ' off - beat like anything '), it is never retained throughout a song, which would cause the melody notes always to fall regularly between the beats of the basic metre. If this was done, then ' the listener would readjust, and the total effect lost. . . off - beat phrasing of accents must threaten but never quite destroy the orientation of the listener's subjective metronome. . . This principle of off - beat phrasing . . . tends to heighten musical excitement ' (Waterman 1952: 213).

Regarding the off - beating of melodic accents and claps, Blacking has drawn attention to similar rhythmic features in Jazz, which have been defined by F.H.Garner and A.P. Merriam, under the heading ' Continual percussive phrasing of melodic accents '. They list two features (and therefore types) of rhythm:

- 'a. Phrase patterns in which melodic accents fall between dominant percussive beats.
- b. Melodic cycles of three beats superimposed on a fundamental rhythm of two or four beats, the beats themselves remaining equal in value'.

Blacking comments on these: Both (a) and (b) are the basic features of two processes of polyrhythm; one or both may be employed in the performance of a song (1955: 17). Regarding (a): this is a process in which the accents of the melodic pattern establish a systematic cross rhythm with the beats of the clap (or drum) pattern, or the beats indicated by dance steps, as in umngqungqo. Both melodic and clap patterns derive from the same constituent, the basic metrical pattern of the music (e.g. Figure RHY.1: 1 - 14). The result is an ' off - beat ' relationship between melody and metre, in which the tones of the melody fall one (or half, or quarter) beat ahead of the clap beats. According to Jones, this same process is employed in the drum combinations of certain tribes living north of the Limpopo. In these combinations, one drum is always used to establish a perpetual cross - rhythm to the other drum.

Very few Xhosa songs exhibit cross - rhythms in which the melody and basic metre are staggered perpetually. I have recorded one such song among the Mfengu people, in which melody and metre ' off - beat ' from the beginning of the strophe to its end (cf. Figure RHY. 2b on p.646). In these songs with off - beat rhythms, additional voice parts which may enter do not, as a rule, introduce new cross - rhythms; instead, they usually duplicate the rhythm of the song leader's melodic pattern, or the melodic pattern of the chorus (main part).

Figure RHY. 2b :

Mfengu Beer song: uMasalela (name of a man who loves to drink beer)

Ex. No. 83 on Tape 1b.

Pitch: Present "B" = original Bflat

Mode: Hexa-based pentatonic

Strophe length: ♪ x 16 (♪ x 8) Tempo: ♪ = 88 M.M.

Text:

Ngó Méyi, uMasálelá,

Ngó Méyi uyábíza

Nóntákázana;

Ngó Méyi uyábíla,

Undibíza ntóní?

Uyágeza, Nóntákázana.

In May, Masalela,

In May you call

Nontakazana;

In May you are boiling (maize),

What are you calling me for?

You are washing (something),

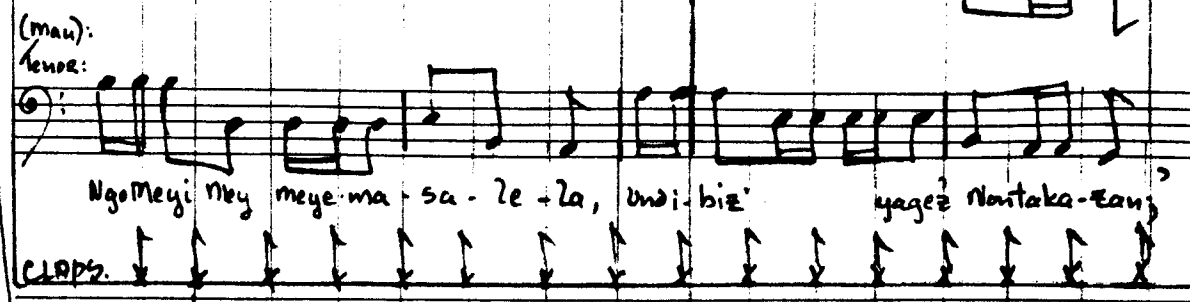
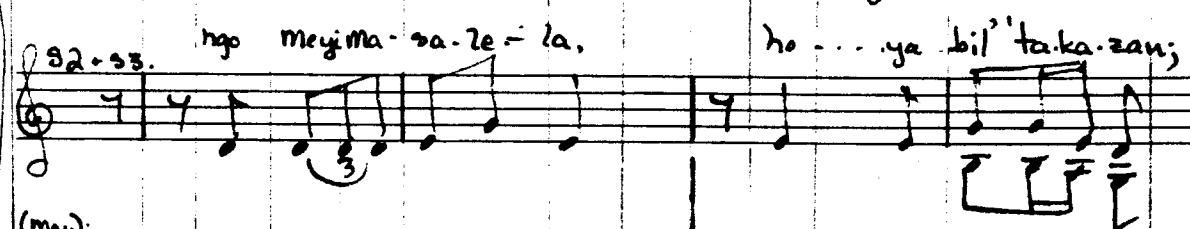
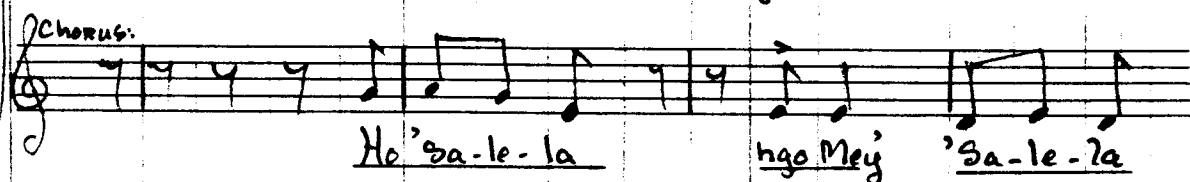
Nontakazana.

(trans. N Q Dingiswayo)



Mode:

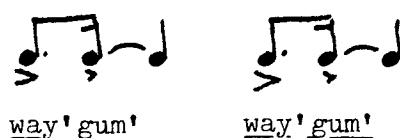
(< two major triads based on roots A and G; the 3rd above A root (C#) is absent)



Root progression
sequence in
strophe 1:-

G - - - A - G - A - A - - - G - G

This is the general trend in Xesibe, Mfengu, Mpondo and Bhaca music, but there are a few exceptions, e.g. the songs of Xesibe Tshawe people, which features a considerable amount of vocal - rhythmic interplay (cf. Figure RHY.1: 9). In this song (Walala wayigum' intokazi , meaning ' He slept and towered over the girl '), the individual voice parts enter successively with repetitions of the dominant phrase in the melody:



Here the divisions of song leader and chorus are retained, but additional rhythmic interest is provided by a ' tenor ' and a second soloist. The voice parts repeat the phrase successively, and together: thus each voice part produces a pattern of melody consisting of these phrase repetitions (a quasi - ostinato process, as it were). Through this rhythmic process, short rhythmic phrases merge into longer patterns of melody (viewed ' horizontally '). Viewed vertically, these patterns of melody produce blocks of harmony. This particular Xesibe song is an excellent example of the polyrhythmic principle applied to voices, with the result that the melodies emerge incidentally from rhythmic conceptualization. (Cf. Figure 70 : 434ss, for transcription and extracts of this song).

Regarding (b): this polyrhythmic process expresses ' the perfect co - operation of several performers who nevertheless preserve their individuality by maintaining different beats '

(Blacking 1969: 2). The Cape Nguni themselves have described it as a musical process in which individual singers ' add their own words to make taste of the song '. In using it, several performers combine in singing repetitions and variations of a basic rhythmic pattern (or its components), which has been established by the song leader and chorus. The number of performers depends on the social situation, and a group of thirty singers will produce a far thicker texture of poly - rhythmic figures than a smaller group of ten to twelve singers.

The vocal patterns need not have a simultaneous starting point; they may start successively, so that their points of entry are staggered (cf. Figure RHY.1: 9, 15, 17, 19, 20 - 23, and Figure RHY.2: 3, 5; cf. also the transcription of the umtshilo dance song, Ndinyeleni ndomile (Figure 89 :525ss) to name a few songs.

The vocal patterns may also start together, e.g. the umtshotsho songs of the C.T.P. (cf. Figure RHY.1: 14 & 15). There is no standard procedure, but in fact most of the adults' music features successive entries of the vocal patterns, whereas the umtshotsho songs show simultaneous entries of these patterns. It should be remembered that umtshotsho songs are children's songs, and serve as practice models for the polyrhythm of maximum variation within a framework of unity, which adults employ in their music. Coincidence of the vocal patterns at the beginning and (usually) at the end of the strophe, provides young singers with a stable rhythmic framework within which they can practice polyrhythmic combinations.

The rhythms of the vocal patterns are geared to the rhythm of the basic metrical pattern; singers may contribute their own

improvisations, but their patterns must synchronize rhythmically with the basic rhythmic pattern. Also, the tones of their patterns are regulated by the principle of 'harmonic equivalence', and the tonality of the music. Careful studies of transcriptions have revealed that singers do not sing just anything; indeed, there is much restraint in the use of variation. A certain number of patterns are selected, and are repeated and varied during the course of the song; they do not follow an order, nor are all these improvised patterns repeated the same number of times; a pattern may occur only once in a song, and never again. All the variant patterns do not constitute a number of separate standard patterns; the patterns produced by the song leader and chorus, assistant leader, (S2), Alto and other individual singers, against the clap pattern, are all related and have certain features in common, which demonstrate that they are really modifications and variations of one and the same basic musical pattern.

The clap patterns (or their equivalents in drum beats and dance steps) are the most important structural device in this sort of music. They provide what Jones has called the 'time background', and what the Cape Nguni refer to as a 'rim' or 'edge', against which the voice parts can merge and conflict temporarily. The presence of the handclaps permits a continuous creation of melodic/rhythmic vocal patterns within the prescribed limits of the basic metrical pattern.

Figure RHY. 3 on the following page (the sung and clapped rhythmic patterns of an untshotsho song, uMasakhane), shows how the singers' choice of patterns is guided by the claps. the

Sh. Ho wa-yo- he-he, Ho-wo-ya he-he; Ho

SII Yo-wo-ha-ha-o-o Yo-

CHOR. (ostinato) S3. S3.

CLAPS:

S.L. & S II (same rhythm) 1.

Chor. (ostinato) 2.

S3. 3.

S.L. 4.

S3. 5.

S.L. 6.

SII: 1) 7.

Var. 8.

ii) 9.

iii) 10.

(S.L. i) ii) 11.

iii) 12.

S.L. 13.

CLAPS. 14.

S.L. 15.

SII. 16.

SII. 17.

CLAPS. Basic Metre

main points are: (a) the different vocal patterns are not always coterminous with one another, or with the clap pattern; they sometimes begin together, or successively; (b) the melodic accents of the vocal patterns may or may not coincide with the claps (11, 12, 13, 14); off - beating occurs occasionally, but of greater importance is the co - ordination of different rhythmic patterns; (c) a singer may begin a pattern in the middle or toward the end of the strophe; when the song is repeated, she will start and end her pattern in exactly the same place; (cf. 8, in which the second leader/assistant leader (S 11 in this score) introduces a new variant pattern); similarly in 13, the song leader enters with a variant pattern halfway between the second and third claps of the basic pattern. She repeats her pattern, varying it again rhythmically, but she begins and ends the pattern in the same place. As Jones has pointed out, ' a definite mathematical relationship ' exists between the number of claps covered during the singing, and the number of beats (pulse groups) in the vocal part (ibid.). Individual singers may introduce patterns at any point during the singing (i.e. within the execution of the strophe); the metres of these patterns may differ from that of the basic pattern, but all must synchronize with the basic metre.

Examples of polyrhythm in adults' music are provided by Figure RHY.1: 19 (pp. 638 - 639), and Figure RHY.4 (on the following page), which demonstrate the rhythmic foundations vocal and clapped) of two intlombe songs. The melodies of both songs are antiphonally structured, and are sung by song leader and

Fig. RHY. 4.

1. Ch.
 2. SL.
 3. Claps
 4. ChCh.
 5. SL.
 6. Ch.
 7. Sll.
 8. SL.
 9. Ch.
 10. Sll.
 11. SL.
 12. Claps
 13. Ch. (i)
 14. SL.
 15. Ch. (ii)
 16. Ch. ii
 17. SL. (i)
 18. (ii)
 19. (iii)

♩ = 88
 CLAP:

'Hoot motif:
 (Shaded)

As in Fig. RHY 3, this Figure shows the metrical patterns of the various voice parts, how they combine polyrhythmically, and how all synchronize with the basic metre of the song, as emphasized by handclaps.

Strophe length: 12 X ♩

and chorus who enter successively in typical polyrhythmic patterning. After several repetitions of this basic melodic/rhythmic pattern (during which slight variations are introduced in the pulse groups, cf. RHY.1: 19(1 - 6), and RHY.4: 1 - 14 and 15 - 16), the music as it were ' goes to pieces ', as Francesca Mgudlwa described the Cape Nguni singing style . The different voice parts (including the chorus which subdivides) sing the same and different rhythmic motifs, repeating them ostinato in each repetition of the strophe, with the result that these rhythmic motifs merge into ' lines ' of melody, into chordal harmonies, and eventually into one great tonal mass.

Again the melody is the result of an essentially rhythmic process. Indeed, this process in which rhythmic figures accumulate and create melodies is analogous with hocketing: instead of singers singing isolated tones at specific points in the strophe, they sing rhythmic motifs. This technique is employed especially in the intlombe songs of the C.T.P. (Cf. also Figure RHY.4: 17 - 19, where this is most apparent). I must stress that my transcriptions of these songs give only an indication of the intentions of the singers, and do not include every figure and pattern produced by each singer; it would be impossible to do so. Some of the performances lasted between fifteen and twenty - six minutes, and my transcriptions were so long that I had to reduce them and point out and illustrate only the most important points. The intlombe songs are extreme cases of staggered phrasing (cf. Nketia 1962: 44 - 52; Blacking 1973: 51).

The rhythmic processes described in (a) and (b) may be active not only in one and the same tradition, but also in one and the same song, e.g. the Tshawe song described earlier (Walala wayigum' intokazi), and the intlombe songs and other adults' music of the C.T.P. Speaking generally, however, the off - beat rhythm is characteristic of the music of the northern ' intrusive ' clusters (Xesibe and Bhaca) and the Mfengu, whereas the polyrhythm of multiple metres (described in (b), is characteristic of the music of the Xhosa, Thembu, Bomvana and Mpondomise clusters. The Mpondo occupy an intermediary position, as their music exhibits both types of rhythm: off - beat rhythm, which is predominant in music performed by the Mpondo living in Eastern Pondoland, and therefore contiguously with the Xesibe, and true poly - rhythm in the music performed by the Mpondo living in Western Pondoland, and near the Thembu and Bomvana clusters.

According to my collection of Xhosa music, there are twice as many songs with a basic crotchet beat (or its subdivisions and multiples) than there are songs with a dotted crotchet beat. With a few exceptions (the Xesibe indlamu songs, which begin on the strong up - beat so that the melodic accents ' off - beat ' with the handclaps), these songs are clapped according to the Venda system of clapping described by Blacking, i.e. the beat is subdivided iambically (Blacking 1967: 160), and the clap coincides with the quaver. Figure RHY. 5 on following page 655 , shows this subdivision of the second beat of the basic metrical pattern. (This is an umtshotsho song, hence the varying of at least one of the beats of the basic metre).

Figure RHY. 5 :

Sk.
yo-yindab', Ha-mama Ho-yoyindab; Ha-ma-mo Ho.

Chorus:
Nank'u Nonja-za kunjan? Nank'u Nonja-za kunjan?

♩ = 72 M.M.
CLAPS.

Another example is provided by an umbhayizelo song which has no handclapped accompaniment. Iambic subdivision occurs in the pattern of vocal sounds produced by one of the dancers (cf. Figure RHY.2: 5 ; cf. also Figure RHY.0: 624). Similarly, in Figure RHY.2: 4, - tshotsha sounds emphasize iambic subdivisions in the additive melody of an umtshotsho Walking song (also in Figure RHY.0: (a).

Neo - African songs with a basic dotted beat are clapped in the same way, e.g. the Sound, Ziphi 'zinkomo? (' Where are the cattle? '), in which handclaps are introduced in the last repetition of the song (cf. Figure RHY.6 below). In the performance which I recorded, some of the singers subdivided the dotted beat and clapped in dotted quavers, but the majority clapped in double beats, which introduced iambic

Figure RHY. 6 (ctd.) :

Handwritten musical score for Figure RHY. 6 (ctd.). The score is written on multiple staves, including vocal parts and a basic metre/claps section.

Staff 1 (Ch. 1. + Ch. 2.): Ziphi zinko-mo ziwase Kolon' ziphizinkoma ziwase Kolon'

Staff 2 (SL (R. Jakuja): Ziphi zinkoma ziphizinkoma ziwase Kolon'

Staff 3 (T 1. (headman): 1 TI (wan): Ziwase Kolo-ni. Ziwase Kolo-

Staff 4 (Other voices as before; T 1.): 2 TI (ni) ziwase Kolo-ni - i ho! ziwase Kolon'

Staff 5 (Ch. 1.): Hom-tshi-ze-wu ziwase Kolo-ni ho! ziwase Kolon'

Staff 6 (SL & T 1.): Sh. ni, Ho ziwase Kolo-ni Ho! ziwase Kolo-

Staff 7 (Ch. 1. Hom-tshi-ze-wu ziwase Kolo-ni ziwase Kolon': shi- Abmtshri-ze-wu

Staff 8 (T 1.): - ni, ho! ziwase Kolo-ni ... ho! ziwase Kolo-

Staff 9 (Basic METRE CLAPS): Claps

Staff 10 (SL + (woman) TI (note): Ending in last execution of Strophe.

Staff 11 (SL: TI:):

Additive basic metrical patterns are rare, and I recorded only two songs with additive clapped metres (Figure RHY.7: (a) and (b) on the following page 659). They are more common in the melodies of Walking/Marching songs whose basic metres are not expressed explicitly. The following Figure RHY.8: (a), and (b) - (f) on page 660 , shows the melodies and/or basic metres of six Walking songs:

Fig. 8(a)

SL.
- klabá : wau sál' u-telá . ba . na Ho - ... ya
Ch. fff

(7 ps)

MELODY'S RHYTHMIC SCHEME:

SL.
we-l o--- nke
Ch. wa-bha... ko... Ma-xos . wa-sab'-ja-to-o awbhe'

Rhythmic Scheme (Melodic):

(8 ps)

The total structure of this song is unique in the whole corpus of Xhosa music. It comprises two patterns of melody with dissimilar metres: patterns with a basic metre of eight

Figure RHY. 7 :

Two umtshotsho songs with additive metres expressed explicitly with handclaps:

(a) ♩ = 72 M.M. (Cf. transcription: Fig. 43 : 338)

Ch. 2 2 7 2 7 2 7 7

SL.

Claps:

Ch.2 2 7 7 2 7 2 7 7

& S2

T. (1) 2 2 7 2 7 7 7 7

S3

T. (2.

(b) ♩ = 84 M.M. (Cf. transcription: Fig. 42 : 337)

He me me me ho me ho me me

SL.

Ch. (boys)

Claps:

Ch. (a) (girls)

and (b)

crotchets alternate with patterns with a basic metre of seven crotchets. The melody, which is varied each time, is additive, as I have indicated in the excerpt. In another recording of the same song, the same alternation of metres occurs: patterns with basic metres of eight and nine crotchets respectively, alternate with one pattern with a metre of eleven crotchets (cf. also transcription of this song on p. 455 , which has a divisive melody).

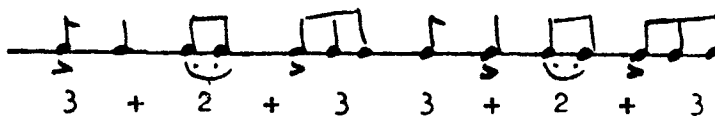
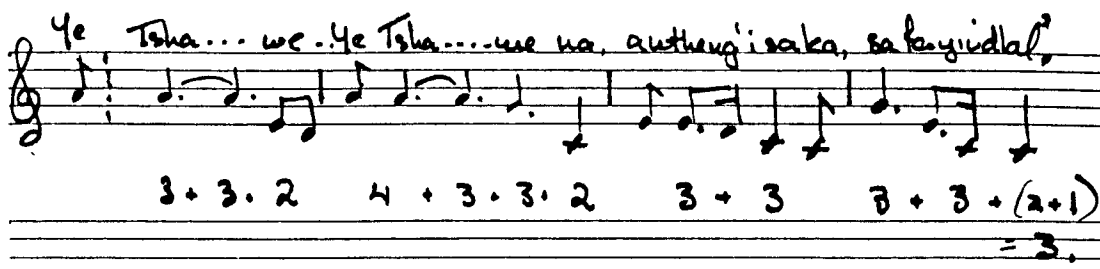
Figure RHY.8: (b) - (e) shows the additive patterns of Walking songs which follow the numerical grouping of $3 + 3 + 2$ and its variations (i.e. the numbers may be exchanged as $2 + 3 + 3$ etc., cf. following page for illustrations). (e) features irregular phrasing which I have observed in some Zulu music; (f) is an additive pattern of - tshotsha sounds which accompanies a divisive umtshotsho melody (Walking song and igwijo). Additive and divisive patterns may occur simultaneously, e.g. Figure RHY.9: (a) and (b): 662, which shows the vocal and clap patterns of a Xesibe - gaja song (a), and the vocal, clap and drum patterns of a divination song (b), of the Thembu people. In both songs the basic metrical pattern is divisive, and the vocal patterns are nearly all additive. This is the usual combination in Xhosa music. Zionist music has additive and divisive combinations, i.e. divisive basic metres and additive melodies.

Irregular phrasing occurs in many individual Sounds. Figure RHY. 10 is an extract from a ' special Sound ' which is accompanied by the beating of sticks on the ground. Uneven grouping such as this is more common in the music of the

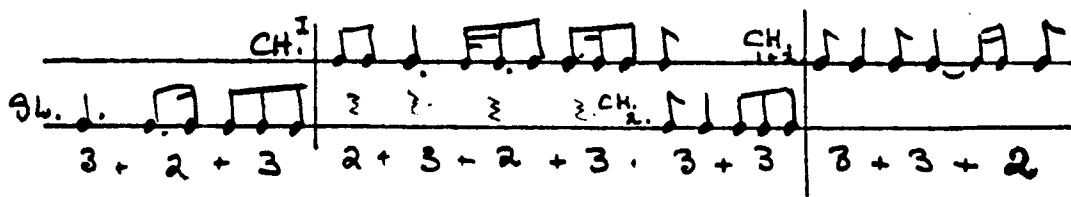
Fig. RHY. 8

(b) Bhaca Marching/Walking song:

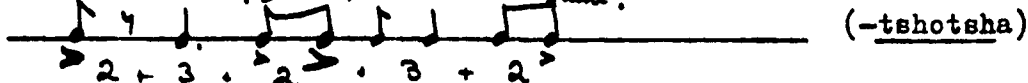
(Cf. Figure 60 : 406)

(c) Walking song of Xesibe and Bhaca iindlavini
and iintsizwe(d) Walking song of Xesibe iindlavini:Ziyabulala na (cf. p. 280)

(e) Walking song of Xesibe men and women (tribal):

Inkomo yijiyithile(f) Umtshotsho Walking song and igwijo:Masigoloze

Whi! hm ~yhu! Whi! hmna na-yhuli!



(-tshotsha)

This is 'sung' with the main melody, which has a

4 + 4 + 4 grouping (quavers).

Figure RHY. 9

(a) Additive and divisive patterns combined:

Xesibe - gaja dance song : Uyeph' umama? (' Where has mother gone? '

SL

Ye - phi - ma - ma, Ye - phi ngo ma u - ye - ngo - ma;

Claps

S2

Ye - phiphu ma - a ..., o ye - ye yophu - ma phi ngo - ma

Chor.

ma; Ye - ngo - ma - ma, ye - phi ngo - ma -

(b)

Divination song: Watsholoza zindaba (Cf. Figure 113: 599)

tshe - lo - za.

Ch. yewa tshe - lo - za ' fin - da b' yewa - tshe - lo - za -

CLAP

RH. DRUM

LH.

$\text{♩} = 88.$

northern Cape clusters - the Bhaca, Xesibe and Ntlangwini peoples (I was able to hear a few items of their music). This may be due to the influence of the Zulu people who live near these clusters. As I pointed out in the Introduction, these clusters moved down from the Zulu area. Their Zulu cultural connections (which I referred to in chapter 6, on p. 231, in the context of melody and metre and the treatment of song texts), are also apparent in the irregular rhythms of so many of their songs, and their vocal style (glissandi and nasalization) which is peculiar to Zulu music, and which these clusters utilize to a small extent in their music. Otherwise, their music in general does not differ significantly from the music of the other Cape Nguni clusters. Hemiola rhythms also occur more frequently in the music of these ' intrusive ' clusters. Figure RHY.11 illustrates the hemiola in 3 iindlavini songs. In each one, the hemiola appears in its simplest form, as a change from measure to measure (from apparent 6/8 to 3/4 time. (Cf. Figure RHY.11 on p. 664).

Tempo

The tempo of Xhosa music varies from one category to another; it also varies within one and the same category. For example, diviners' music ranges in tempo from ♩ = 100 M.M. to ♩ = 168 M.M. In certain categories the tempo of the music fluctuates, e.g. indlamu music, in which there is a definite ritardando after an initial quick tempo, to accommodate the dance steps; and - gaja music, which accelerates from one bout of dancing to the next.

Irregular phrasing in a 'special' iindlavini 'Sound':

Ch.
 u-Tel... etc.
 Transcription on P. 706ss.
 Sl. u-Tel' u Tel' u ye e. e. za u-Tel-
 4 4 6 5

Fig. RHY. 11. Hemiola rhythms in 2 iindlavini 'Sounds':1. (a) Balele bonke (cf. p. 466ss):

6/8 #+ + +
 Sl. si-ze-ze thina Ch: si-b-ze.
 Ch: yento. longwen' sl. Ch: Hwa no-nhango
 (As above) 6/8 ye-ho-da-ke fff ye-ye-ye ye-ye-ye.
 3/4
 Sl. #+ + +
 6/8 yemke yemke.

2. (b) Izulu lelam (cf. p. 461):

Sl. i-zulu le lam. ze oh. i-zulu le lam. ze
 CH. o na. dia. za a-Ma-dia'
 6/8 3/4 6/8 3/4 6/8 3/4

(c) Hemiola effect in iindlavini 'Sound': additive and divisive measures alternate (cf. p. 463ss):

3. yi-thi-na la-boi yi-thi-na la-bo...
 3 + 3 + 2 3 + 2 + 3 3 - 3 - 2 4/4
 3 + 3 + 2 4/4 (Vithina labo)

It is possible to make a general distinction between the overall tempo of the music of the Cape Tribes Proper, and the tempo of the music of the other clusters (the Bhaca, Xesibe and Mfengu). Regarding the C.T.P: the overall tempo is slower than that of the ' intrusive ' clusters, lying between the extremes of $\text{♩} = 60 - 144 \text{ M.M.}$, with an average tempo of $\text{♩} = 82 - 122 \text{ M.M.}$ Regarding the ' intrusive ' clusters: the overall tempo is much faster, lying between the extremes of $\text{♩} = 69 - 168 \text{ M.M.}$, with an average tempo of $\text{♩} = 90 - 126 \text{ M.M.}$

Patterns of melody, harmony and tonality

In this study of Xhosa music, I have chosen to regard ' scale ' and ' mode ' as synonymous, when referring to the limited number of different notes, or recurrent pitches, in a given musical performance, without implying that any one of those notes is necessarily the tonic or the tonal centre unless cited as such.

In 1959 the late Hugh Tracey proposed some guidelines towards an overall assessment of the great variety of musical scales or modes which are found to be in use within a single African musical tradition, or smaller community, e.g. a tribe. He stated:

'It will no doubt be agreed that if a number of scales or modes are found to be employed in any single community, some of which are more complex than others, that the community can be credited with a musical sensitivity corresponding to the more differentiated scale. Thus a tribe which sings one song in a pentatonic

mode and another in a heptatonic one should be credited with the greater pitch sensitivity of the latter ' (1958: 17).

According to my research results, a large amount of Xhosa music is hexatonic, employing the notes of a pentatonic mode plus the F sharp.¹² This mode may be conveniently represented in transposition as a descending sequence A - G - F* - E - D - C - (A). It is based on two roots (tonic and counter-tonic) a whole tone apart (C and D), plus the thirds and fifths above these. One of the thirds tends to be absent in quite a number of songs, giving the appearance of pentatonic tonality. The basis and evolution of this tonality is hypothetical.

The origins of certain scales employed by southern African Blacks in their vocal music were postulated by Kirby in an article written in 1926, in which he discussed some problems of (Bantu) harmony and polyphony.¹³ According to Kirby, these scales derived from the overtones of one instrumental note, produced on a string or wind instrument. He came to the conclusion that

' . . . the origins of polyphony and its sequel, harmony, are to be sought in the parallel progression of parts for which "tone" in language is primarily responsible, although influenced at an early period by the harmonic series, to a greater or lesser extent, through the invention of rudimentary stringed or wind instruments, or observation of natural phenomena which exhibit the harmonic series' (1926: 970).

Eight years later, in his mammoth work on the musical instruments of the native races of South Africa (1934, rev.1965), Kirby commented on the same possible derivation of Bantu scales from the harmonic series, adding that, although he was not prepared to make any definite statements,

he would suggest ' that there is every likelihood that such combinations must have affected musical scales to a greater or lesser extent ' (1934: 240).

It was Rycroft who took the matter further when, in 1971, he made the following observation:

'Kirby posited the origin of certain southern African vocal scales from harmonics of a single instrumental note, but he stopped short on the subject of possible derivation from two fundamentals and their overtones. I feel, however, that the latter possibility warrants consideration in the case of our present material ' (1971: 219).

In offering his hypothesis about the basis and evolution of vocal scales (and the tonality of Nguni songs), Rycroft proceeds to discuss the relation between them and gourd bow harmonics (ibid: 219 - 223). The Zulu, Swazi and Xhosa gourd bows with single string are played in a way to yield hexa modes consisting of the two fundamental bow notes and their resonated partials, nos. 3 to 5. The modes are not identical as the actual bow notes supplied by the Zulu and Swazi instruments on the one hand, and the Xhosa instrument on the other, differ in their intervallic distance. In the former they are approximately a semitone apart, while in the latter they are roughly a whole tone apart.¹⁴

Both the Zulu and the Swazi have a braced musical bow with a divided string, and which is apparently of recent borrowing (ibid: 222). Because of this its playing technique and musical repertory cannot be considered as source material for the possible derivation of vocal scales (ibid). It is played in a way to yield three fundamental tones which could be represented as D, E and F which, together with their resonated

partials, produce a hexatonic mode containing two semitone intervals.¹⁵

After comparing the vocal and instrumental pitches in several bow songs, (in particular those played on the unbraced gourd bow), Rycroft found that the singer's vocal tones ' matched ' those supplied by the instrument, i.e. the two fundamental bow notes and their third, fourth and fifth partials. This evidence strongly suggests that vocal scales in southern African music did in fact arise from ' bow technique ' and gourd bow harmonics, or at any rate were greatly influenced by them.

In concluding his hypothesis, Rycroft states:

'Although an unrelated note or two are occasionally found in some songs with the unbraced bow (Xhosa and Swazi as well as Zulu), I do not think that these "odd men out" necessarily negate the likelihood that the others are derived from bow harmonics. What cannot be clearly ascertained however, is whether the various local modes used in bow songs all actually took their birth from the bow or whether styles of bow tuning were not dictated by the requirements of one or two more known, pre - existing vocal scales - to which the addition of new notes may have been inspired by bow technique' (1971: 223).

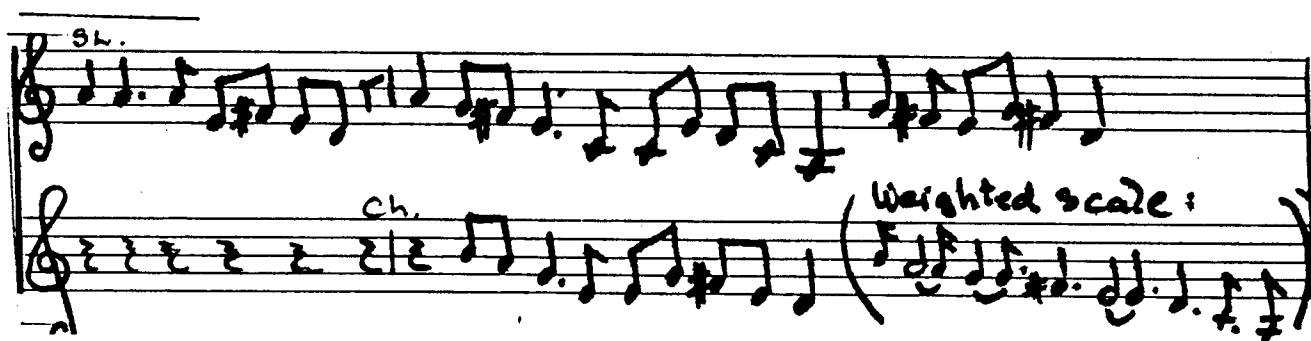
Another hypothesis offered by Rycroft, and which is equally plausible, suggests the possible origin of more complex scales from ' a rudimentary chain of fourths without instrumental intervention ' (ibid: 222). Rycroft demonstrates this in a number of Nguni songs in which conjunct and disjunct fourths structures comprising three rudimentary tones, are evident (ibid: 226 - 235). Although many of the songs use four, five and six tones, the three basic tones are always structurally prominent as a sequence of conjunct and disjunct fourths (ibid: 228). Thus penta, hexa and hepta modes may be seen as extensions of this rudimentary three - tone structure

by means of an ' evolutionary ' process involving ' the accretion of analogous whole tones '.¹⁶

Whatever the precise origins of vocal scales are (and Rycroft's hypotheses are most feasible), there is no doubt that there is a close relationship between the fixed scales or modes produced on the Xhosa gourd bow (uhadi) and mouth bow (umrhubhe) and the modes on which Xhosa melodies are based. Furthermore, there is also a close relationship between the tonal and harmonic systems of music played with the fixed scale, and the music that is sung.

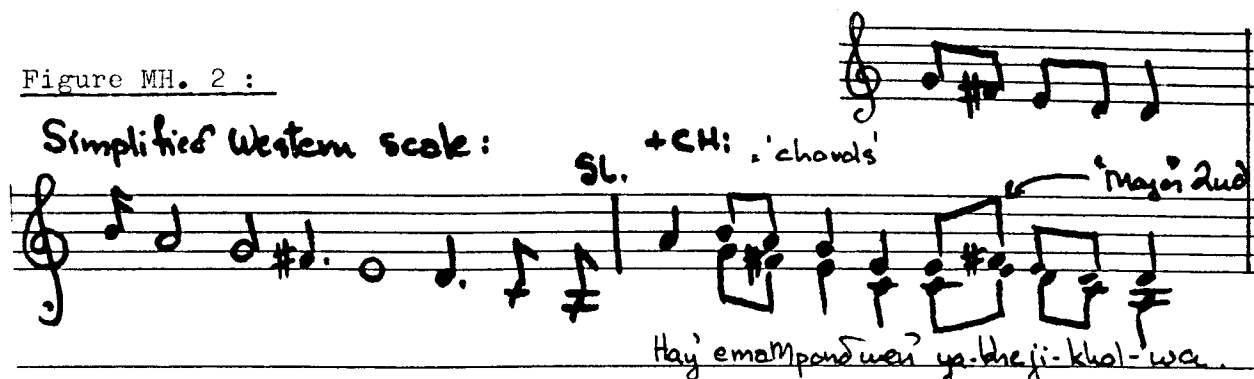
Take, for example, the following melody of a Xesibe ukusina dance song:

Figure MH.1 :



On the basis of the number of tones used, the melody may be classified as hexatonic. Further free embellishment of the melody by the chorus, some repetitions later, introduces the seventh tone (B), yet to label the melody heptatonic would be incorrect, although ' weighting ' the scale would produce the following simplified ' western ' scale (Figure MH.2 on p. 670):

Figure MH. 2 :



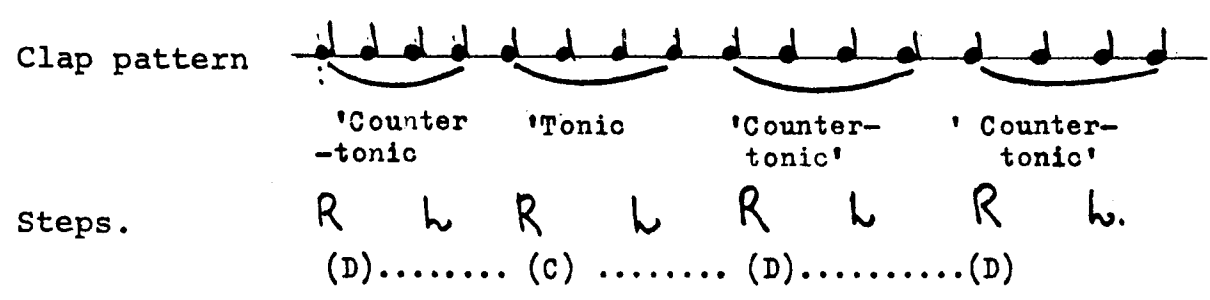
An analysis of the 'chord' progressions underlying the melody¹⁷ reveals that it is in fact based on a hexa mode, which is also yielded by the gourd bow and the mouth bow (i.e. the two bow notes and their third and fifth partials). In performance this melody is embellished (harmonized) by singers singing izihlobo ('harmonically equivalent') tones which lie within the limits of that mode. The principle of shifting tonality,¹⁹ which dominates all Xhosa music (and most, if not all African music, as far as I know), is to be observed in the root - progressions of the chords which underlie the melody, and which shift from one root - tone (D) to an adjacent root - tone (C) below it. These two fundamental tones, and the 'chords' which they generate, provide the tonal and harmonic foundation of the whole song.

Figure MH.3 :



In the pattern above, the song leader's ' Call ' centres round a ' counter - tonic ' tonality (which functionally resembles our western ' dominant ' tonality), while the chorus Response establishes the ' tonic ' tonality, but immediately returns to the ' counter - tonic ' tonality in which the pattern ends. Thus the overall shift in tonality is from tonic - counter- tonic - tonic. These tonality shifts are related to the physical movements of the dancers, who perform upward - and outward kicks with each leg alternately, each kick being preceded by a small jump on the balls of both feet:

Figure MH. 4 :



The dancers begin with an upward - outward kick with the right leg, followed by its return to a vertical position and a small jump with both feet together; each leg movement involves two clapped beats, which I have indicated above the dance steps, in Figure MH.4. The ' tonic ' tonality (C) is established between the seventh and eighth claps of the basic metrical pattern, when the dancers' movements involve the left leg. Thus over eight claps, there has been a shift from ' counter - tonic ' to ' tonic ' tonality, and a simultaneous

shift from right - leg to left - leg movements. Hence the relationship between tonality shift and the dance movements.

The umrhubhe songs provide ideal models for depth analysis of the tonal and harmonic progressions underlying melodies because, in them, these progressions are literally pared down to their bare essentials. Also, one does not have to decide which melodic tones are the essential tones, and which are the result of linguistic variations, (i.e. changes in speech - tone following changes in words or syllables of words). The bow songs are in addition good models for relating the individual perception to the communal experience, i.e. the individual selects from the communal the basic structure of a song, and works on them. By feedback, the experience of the individual is reinforced and used in communal performances.

Rycroft has drawn attention to the formal and structural parallels between Zulu choral songs and bow songs (1967: 88 - 103; & 1975/6: 63), and shown how the Zulu gourd bow (ugubhu) simulates the role of the chorus, while the player simulates the role of the song leader. The Cape Nguni umrhubhe (and uhadi) player does much the same thing; in her music (which may be an instrumental version of a dance song, or a private composition), she picks out the essentials of the communal music, and her instrumental medium allows greater individual creative expression.

When I recorded the bow song, which I subsequently selected as a model, something rather unusual and (at the time) totally unexpected occurred. The song, entitled

Izono zam zinzima, ('My sins are heavy ') is the private composition of a noted Thembu umrhubhe player. The words of the title and the text of the song obviously derive from a Revival hymn of the Bhengu church, which is particularly active in the area and has many followers. In the performance, the composer, Nozimbo Xuza (cf. ch. 2: ; & Plate 22 : 782), accompanied her mother, who sang the words of the song. Midway in the song, a group of children who had been watching the performance could not restrain themselves, and entered with the melody and words of a very popular beer song entitled Yangena le Poni (' There comes that short man Poni '). When I transcribed the music, I saw how well the two songs fitted together. Further detailed study convinced me that this music would be an ideal model to use, in order to demonstrate (i) the relationship between the structural principles underlying both instrumental and vocal music, and (ii) how Xhosa vocal music and instrumental music are linked by the same harmonic intervallic relationships. It would also illustrate how melodies arise from shifting blocks (' chords ') of harmony and why so many Xhosa melodies are ' contrasting on the surface, but identical in substance ', to the extent that one may be combined with another in one and the same song.

The structure of the song evolves from the repetition and variation of a short rhythmic pattern comprising two tones which are a whole tone apart. They are produced by bowing the open and then the stopped string of the instrument. (Cf. Figure MH. 5 on the following four pages, which have

(a) 1.

$\text{♩} = 76-80$

Pitch: "Present C"
 = original C#

(b)

(a)

Zo-no zam zin-zi-ma, 2.

(c)

(a)

(d)

Zo-no zam zin-zi-ma, Yew²yo-e-we-yi-ma,

(b)

3.

(a)

(b)

Yewu Yo-o ye ma-ma, a-ya-vel'a-ma-the-mba, 4.

CLAPS as before.

(a)

(b)

Yewu-Yo-o-ye mama, Yewu Yo-o we-yi-ma, 5.

6.
'zono zam zin-zi-ma, 'zono zam zin-zi-ma,

7.
'zono zam zin-zi-ma, ...etc.

8.
'zono zam zin-zi-ma ho ye.... yo-ho..(ho)

9.
Ho... o-wa-no-ho ho-o-ho-ho-wo

10.
'zono zam zin-zi-ma 'zono zam zin-zi-ma,

11.
ch. so. ze ndondze,

Chorus ÷ into 2 groups. So-ze ndondle

Chor. 1. ndondle ndondle 1. ndondle
2. so-ze ndondle 2. so-ze

ndondle ndondle ndondle
ndondle, soze ndondle

Chorus: yange-na

1. o - ho no-yo-o , 1. o-wo-ho - o - yo-o
2. So-ne sam 7in 7i-ma 2. o-wo-ho - o - yo-o

Ch: *So-ze ndondle*
le Poni thwalubungwa ndondle ndondle. *Yangena*

Ch: *le Po-ni thwalubungwa ndondle ndondle,*
ndondle *Soze* *ndondle,* *ndondle -*
Yangena

p.
 1. o-o ho-o-o ye-ho..
 2. Sone sam sin'gi-ma, aya-vel'a-ma-themba,

CLAP.

Izono zam zinzima ,
Ayaphel' amathemba ,
Yewu-yo ye mama,
Izono zam zinzima;
Ayavel' amathemba?
Soze ndondle ndondle
(amanye amadoda),
Yangena le Poni
uthwal' ubunzima,
Izono zam zinzima .

My sins are heavy,
 There is no hope,
 Alas! woe is me, mother,
 My sins are heavy;
 Is hope coming?
 I won't support you
 (For other men),
 There comes this short man Poni
 who carries a burden (i.e. has
 troubles),
 My sins are heavy.

trans. N Q Dingiswayo

There is a play on words here: Poni is compared with a donkey or pony (iponi), a ' short ' animal that also carries burdens. Yangena le Poni xa ndizakuhamba is an alternate version of line 7: (' There comes this short man Poni, just when I am about to leave '). This is a 'fixed' phrase of this Beer song. In this performance, the singers changed the words to suit the context. As the main singer said afterwards, ' People carry sins just like the donkey carries loads '.

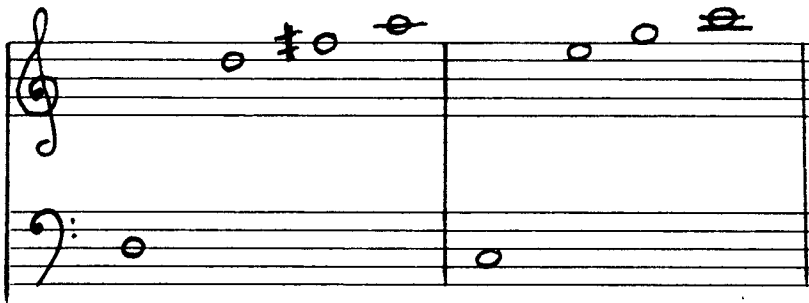
been numbered accordingly a, b, c, and d):

(a) in the transcription indicates the melody derived from the harmonic partials generated by the mouth and throat of the player.

(b) indicates the fundamentals (D and C), produced by ' bowing ' the string (a piece of wire) with a light stick or reed held beneath it.

(c) indicates the claps provided by the solo singer, whose melody is indicated by (d).

Thus the fundamentals and the harmonics used in the song are Figure MH.6 :



The instrumental melody thus arises from the bare motif of two tones, D and C, played as a rhythmic pattern. From here, it seems to me that two arguments are possible: (i) these tones (D and C) generate harmonic sounds which are used for melodic purposes; the combinations of sounds produce a scale or mode of six tones, on which the melodies of both the instrumental song and the beer song are based. In this I am suggesting a sequence of causation, from shifting tone, to harmonics, to ' harmonies ' and melodies resulting in communal music, which follows Kirby's suggestion (cf. Kirby 1934: 240).²⁰ The

two - tone motif constitutes a sort of ' dominant - tonic ' ostinato, and the constant shift from one tone to the other represents the shifting tonality which is observed in most (if not all) African music. I have already referred to the unified harmonic - melodic field which is present in Xhosa vocal music (cf. p. 372); it is apparent even in this simple type of instrumental music, whose melody consists of the harmonics of the basic string - tone pattern.

It can equally be argued that communal singing is reflected in the bow music, and that the social situation of vocal production, given alternating movement (e.g. from Right to Left in the dance) generates blocks of sound which are used for bow music. A good example of this is the way in which some Venda bow music and styles of vocal music, derive from the Venda national dance, tshikona (Blacking 1973: 87 - 98). It was because of this that Blacking questioned the general applicability of Kirby's argument in his study of Venda children's songs (1967).

In this respect, one is faced with a causative argument which cannot be resolved, certainly not at the present stage: man chooses sounds, versus sounds suggest musical ideas; thus, bow songs may either generate socio - musical structures, or else reflect them. Although I feel that Kirby may well be correct as far as the Cape Nguni are concerned, I am not absolutely certain of my data. For this reason I have used the bow song merely as a model, mainly to reveal the melodic and harmonic/tonal relationship between bow music and vocal music.

To return to the song: after a short instrumental intro - duction, the solo singer enters with the main melody which uses the same tones of the instrumental melody (the harmonics) with the exception of the tonic note C. The vocal and instrumental melodies move mainly in parallel octaves, but occasionally intervals of a minor 3rd, or its inversion, a major 6th, occur between these two parts. This happens mainly in the first phrase of each phrase - pair. After the entry of the children with the beer song (Figure MH. 5:676), the 3rd interval, both major and minor, occurs more regularly between solo vocal and instrumental parts, e.g. each time the chorus sings the refrain ' ndondle ndondle/ soze ndondle ' (cf. pp. 676 - 677).

Shifts in tonality which correspond with the shift from one fundamental tone to another lying a whole tone below or above it, produce whole - tone melodic intervals if the same harmonic partial of each root is used, e.g: D - C (fundamentals, or the 2nd or 4th or 8th partials of each), or A - G (third partials or 6th partials of D and C respectively), or F[#] - E (fifth partials of roots D and C). But a progression from a certain harmonic partial of one root, to a different partial of the other root, may yield a variety of melodic intervals, e.g: a semitone, from G (6th partial of C) to F[#] (5th partial of D); or a minor 3rd, from C (4th partial of C root) to A (3rd partial of D root); or a 4th, from A (6th partial of D) to E (5th partial of C), or from G (6th partial of C) to D (4th partial of D root); or a

tritone, from F $\sharp$ (5th partial of D) to C (4th partial of C root), and so on.

The tritone interval occurs in Xhosa vocal music as both an interval and a chord, and it occurs in conjunction with a tonality shift (cf. Figure MH.7., which shows an oblique tritone interval between the ' tonic ' (C root) and the third (F $\sharp$) above the ' counter - tonic ' fundamental (D). The fact that it does not occur regularly in all Xhosa songs, but is introduced freely by singers as an embellishment, the upper note serving as a isihlobo (' companion ') of a tone of the main melody, suggests that its use in vocal melody evolved from its use in instrumental music. I have several recordings of the same songs, in which the tritone occurs just as often as it does not, in one or other version.

When the chorus enters with the melody of the beer song, it sings a variation of the ' bare motif ' underlying the song:

Figure MH.8 :

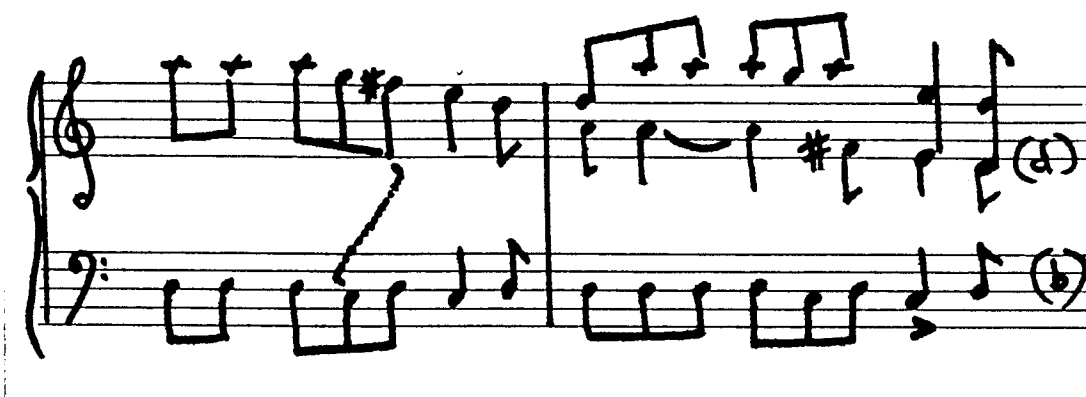


Thereafter it enters with the descending melody which is identical with that given out by the instrumental harmonics. In both instances, the chorus response centres round the ' tonic ' at the beginning and near the end of the strophe. The solo ' Call ', which retains its ostinato character,

Figure MH. 7 :

Extract from the umrhubhe bow song, Izono zam zinzima

(' My sins are heavy '). (Cf. also Figure MH. 5 : 674ss).



Root progression sequence in strophe:

D - - - - C D - C D D - - - - C D - C D

An oblique tritone interval occurs between the ' tonic '
(C root) and the 3rd above the ' counter - tonic '
fundamental (D).

centres round and ends on the ' counter - tonic ' (cf. Figure MH.5). Thus both the vocal song and the instrumental bow song are tonally and harmonically identical. Within the total structure of both songs, there is an overall shift of tonality from ' counter - tonic ' to ' tonic ', back to ' counter - tonic ' tonality, but, in both songs, the vocal/choral response emphasizes the ' tonic ' tonality, while the solo/Call emphasizes the ' counter - tonic ' tonality.

The Cape Nguni themselves do not describe the modes they use in their music. They have no special names for the individual notes of the modes, they merely say ' those are the sounds we sing '. I noticed, however, that song leaders frequently hummed a ' tonic ' tone preceded by the sixth and fifth tones above it, prior to commencing the performance of a song, (usually done quietly). When I questioned them about the tones they sounded, they were unable to say much, except to insist that the notes they sounded were ' important for the song '; ' they showed the way '. From this I deduced that these were the most important tones in the mode of their music. When I sounded the lowest tone for them (C), they described it as the ' at home ' tone (ekhaya). The tone above it was the ' side ' or ' right house ' tone (- nene) which ' held it up '; for this reason I have called this tone the ' counter - tonic '. I have used these terms as I think they correspond most to the meaning they have in Xhosa music. Izihlobo tones are those ' which everyone sings with the song leader '. The most important are located a fifth above and a fourth below the

' tonic ' and counter - tonic '. Informants demonstrated their importance when they pointed out that these two tones were often sung successively in a song; they represent what I have described as reduced version or outline of the main melody. Informants also heard them as different aspects of the same tone, as they said they were ' like each other ' i.e. the same.

Melodies are harmony - based. in that they are capable of being harmonized by any notes - but these must be within the mode on which the melody is based. Because singers are concerned with the ' pattern ' of the melody, they often sing tone combinations which clash to Western ears, e.g. the ' major ' 2nds in Figure MH.2: 670). But I noticed that much seems to depend on the location of the tone which must be harmonized. For example, if it is c', then it is usually harmonized by g or c below it; if it is a', the d (or f#) below it. Singers seem to choose the harmonizing tones as they appear descendingly in the mode. Octaves are not counted as great distances, but as the same note. ' They are the same sound, but sung by men and women '.

A descending hexa - based pentatonic mode forms the basis of an isitshongo song, (extracts of which are given in Figure MH. 9 (a) and (b) . The main melody is antiphonally structured and distributed between two groups of Song leader and Chorus 1, and assistant leader (S2) and Chorus 2. One group introduces the melody and repeats its outline, while the second group harmonizes it with izihlobo tones, e.g:

Figure MH.9 (a):

(a)

In every repetition of the strophe, individual singers continue to embellish the melody by repeating and changing the izihlobo tones:

Figure MH.9 (b):

(b)

The following Figure MH. 9 (c) shows a number of acceptable chords which occur in the course of the song:

Figure MH.9 (c)

"Chord" sequence in song

Hexabased pentatonic mode. - descending

MODE:

(> two major triads based on roots C and D; the 3rd above root D (F#) is absent).

In selecting izihlobo tones, singers choose tones from the same root triad as the original melody note. In the isitshongo beer song above, each tone of the pentatonic melody is harmonized in this way, and the parts generally move in the same descending direction. The result is a progression of chordal structures or blocks of harmony, compiled from the tones of the melody and their izihlobo tones. The selection of these tones is thus not haphazard, but based on root relationships; and when considering the two roots, the triad based on each is relevant in hexa songs (of which there are a great many), while in penta songs (of which the isitshongo beer song is an example), the 3rd of one or other of the triads is omitted. In this particular case the F[#] is omitted. If one lists the modal tones D - C - A - G - E, and observes how they are harmonized in Figure MH. (a), (b) and (c), it will be seen that the D and A combine only with each other, while C - E - G form the other family.²¹

Similar chordal structures arising from the harmonization of the tones of a melody by their izihlobo tones are apparent in the bow song and the dance song already discussed, just as they are apparent in all styles of Xhosa music.²² In the bow song, chords evolve from the repetition and embellishment of a two - tone motif; singers choose ' friendly ' tones from the combinations of harmonics generated by the fundamental tones played on the bow - giving six tones in all. In the isitshongo beer song, chords evolve from a pentatonic melody with izihlobo tones from the same root triads. Thus in both

instrumental and vocal music, the same structural principles are observed.

From this it is clear that the statement which I have heard and read so many times, that 'African music is music in which singers just sing what they like', is totally false. The 'rules' of harmony given above indicate that the Xhosa musical tradition is as carefully constructed as Western European 'art' music. Other writers and ethnomusicologists have shown that other African musical traditions also have such 'rules' of harmony and tonality.

The term improvisation has been used often to describe the main musical process of putting sounds together, in African music and in Jazz. It has also erroneously been thought to imply that singers just grab sounds from the air, but a detailed study of the results of such an apparently random process, in examples of both styles of music, has shown that improvisation implies no such thing; it means essentially variations on a standard pattern, within the bounds of certain social and musical rules, which already limits the number of sounds a singer may select. If one were to accept the statement that African singers sing just anything, one would find it difficult to explain the preference for certain melodic, harmonic and tonal progressions which are apparent in their music.

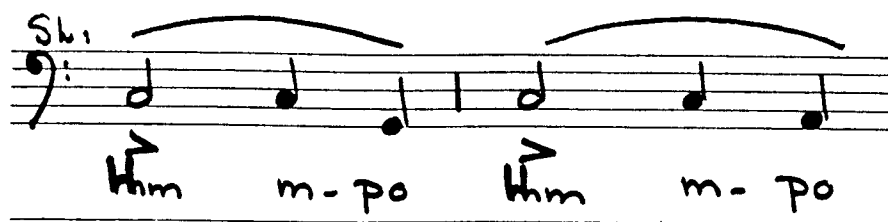
When harmonizing a melody with izihlobo tones, the resultant 'secondary' melody may well sound completely different from the main melody; rhythmic variations will stress this difference. Yet both versions, the original and its variant consisting of 'friendly' tones, are regarded as the same, even though they

may sound so different. In this respect, Xhosa music is governed by at least four rules of harmony and tonality which also govern Venda music. I have mentioned three of these earlier on in this study (cf. 371-2), but will repeat them here along with the other two, for the sake of clarity. The rules are:

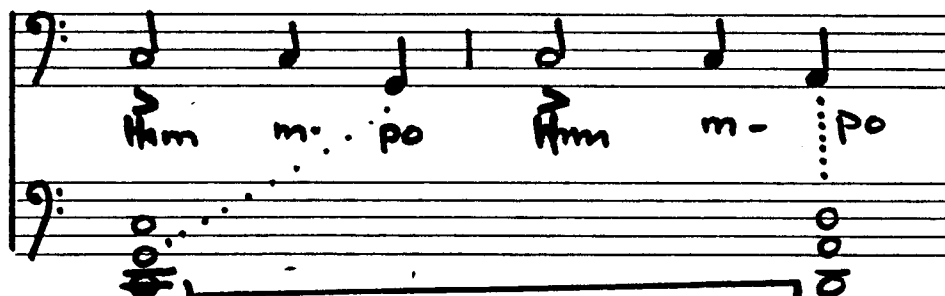
4. 4. 0. Every tone may be conceptualized as having a companion tone in harmony with it.
4. 4 .1. Any melodic line may consequently be conceptualized as a stream of chords.
4. 4. 2. Melodies may therefore be as much selections of tones from ' hidden ' patterns of chords, as the generators of patterns of chords.
4. 4. 3. The melodies which are harmonically equivalent are regarded as the same, even though their melodies may sound different.
(Blacking 1970 (MS): 32 - 33).

Bow songs are sometimes referred to as ' small songs ' (iingoma ezincinci), not because they are easy to play, (which they are not, as the Cape Nguni themselves admit), but because of the relatively small volume of sound their performance produces. Vocal songs involving a large number of people are called ' big songs ' (iingoma ezinkhulu) because, with a bigger performing group, their performance produces a ' big ' sound. A comparison of the structure of a few of these ' big ' songs will illustrate the working of the ' rules ' quoted above, and which are operative in even the ' simplest ' music.

The Bhaca indlamu songs have ' small ' beginnings; for example, in the extract below (Figure MH. 10), the fundamental ' theme ' of the song consists of the repetition of two similar melodic phrases whose intervals create harmonic progressions within the limits of the pentatonic mode:

Figure MH.10 :

The two phrases emphasize a hidden harmonic progression from ' tonic ' to ' counter - tonic ' tonality. This is even more obvious when the phrases are reduced to their bare essentials, i.e. to a motif that consists of the lowest notes of the two chords generated by the melodic tones of the phrases, e.g:

Figure MH.11 :

These two tones, C and D, are the basis of the melodic/harmonic/tonal conception of the music. The principle of cumulative effects is observed in the repetition and variation of these two phrases by individuals and groups of individuals, as follows (cf. Figure MH. 12 on the next page).

- (i) One section of the chorus repeats the theme of two phrases, singing the companions of the original tones.
- (ii) Alto ' solo ' sings a variant with some changes in the companions of the tones.
- (iii) Soprano chorus sings a filled out version of the basic

Figure MH. 12

Extracts from Bhaca indlamu dance (cf. Figure 65.(b)
on pp. 415 - 416)

Sl.

Song leader
(male)

ch 1.

(i)
Chorus group
(men)

'Alto'

(ii)
Alto 'Solo'

Ch.
(girls)

(iii)
Chorus group
(girls)

Ch. group.

(iv)
Chorus group
(girls)

Ch.
(girls)

(v)
Chorus group
(girls)

Ch. group.

(vi)
Chorus group

'Solo' 1

(vii)
'Solo' 1

I 'Solo' (men)

II 'Solo' (men)

etd.

etd.

Mm mm - po Mm - mm - po

hm m - po hm, m - po

-hm mm - po hm mm - po

Ho.o.o.o ho.ho ho.o.o.o ho-ho

Ho - mpo - ho Ho - mpo - ho-o

o-ho - ho . a, Ho - - ho

Ho - ho - mpo - ho. a - ho-mpo

wa. a - ho

wa. a.a.ho, mm-mpo

hm - mm - po hm, mm - po

Figure MH. 12 (ctd.)

2nd Solo

(viii)

'Solo' 2
= tenor

We - yo - ho

viii (Solo).

ix 'Solo' (wale).

(ix)

'Solo' 3

hm - m. po. hm - m. po

1.

(x)

3 singers (1, 2 & 3)

2. Hey! m! po hey ya. hey. yo

3. he - ya m! po hey ya. hey. yo

hey - ya m-po hey. ya he-yo

theme.

(iv) A chorus group sings the basic theme with additive rhythm.

(v) Soprano chorus introduces yet another variant.

(vi) Chorus varies the rhythm of the basic theme.

(vii) Solo male singer introduces a Call on the second phrase (similar to (v).

(viii) (Cf. p.691:viii): Second solo male (tenor) sings a variant of the Call.

(ix) Male solo sings a variant in the lower register.

(x) Three men take up this phrase in the lower register.

Both the song leader and chorus group repeat their parts ostinato throughout the song.

The song is not antiphonally structured, i.e. with clear - cut Solo and Response sections, consequently there is no regular shifting of tonality between these two sections.²³ The song is in fact a whole chorus, and it shows an extreme application of the ostinato principle. Thematic concentration is based entirely on the basic rhythmic pattern introduced at the beginning of the song by the song leader. Tremendous cumulation is achieved by means of ostinati and rigid consistency of figuration. Polyrhythm is absent in this music, but, by homorhythmic repetition and variation of a dominant rhythmic pattern, a large company of singers is able to create a powerful harmonic build - up.

All Bhaca indlamu songs follow this type of musical organization. The music rests on two tonal pillars created by shifting harmonies which, in the above song, move from

' tonic to ' counter - tonic '. The direction of harmonic movement varies in Bhaca indlamu songs, however, e.g. cf. Figure 61 : 408 , in which the tonality shifts from ' counter - tonic ' to ' tonic ', and back to ' counter - tonic ', from the beginning to the end of the strophe. The reverse procedure may be observed in the Walking song which preceded the ' big ' indlamu song discussed above (that is, in the performance), in which the tonality shifts from ' tonic ' to ' counter - tonic ', and back to ' tonic ' (cf. Figure 60: 405 - 407).

In the ' big ' songs of the Xhosa, Thembu and Bomvana peoples, huge cumulative effects are achieved by persistent polyrhythms. The umtshilo dance song Ndinyeleni ndomile (Figure MH.14:694), corroborates this point. All the melodic material in the song is thematic in the sense that it derives from the basic theme accompanying the main words of the song. It is stated in its entirety by the song leader, and the chorus response overlaps with its completion. The melody is based on a pentatonic mode, and consists of repetitions of two similar phrases on two different degrees of the mode, e.g.:

Figure MH. 13 :

(Mode: = hexa-based pentatonic)

SL: Ndin-ye-le-ni nba-mi ... CH: Ho... .. o Ho..he ha-ha-ya

SL: -le-e-ha-ha-ya ha i-yan-da-da

Figure MH. 14 :

Extract from the untshilo dance song, Ndinyeleni ndomile,

(' Give me something to drink, I thirst ').

(Cf. also Figure 89 : 525).

SL. (song leader)

Ch. (Chorus)

52 (Assistant leader)

*:

d d d d d d d d

* = Root progression sequence in strophe, indicating tonality shifts from ' tonic ' to ' counter-tonic '.

d = ingqongqo 'drum' rhythmic pattern underlying song.

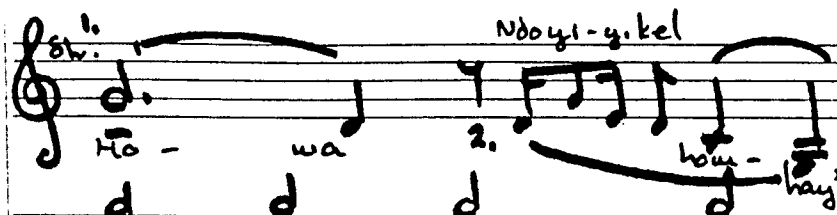
Here the theme is stated twice only, and thereafter the different voice parts sing varied versions of the theme, or select motifs from it as *ostinati*. Unity of form is based on the singers' ability to combine polyrhythmically, to repeat and/or vary different aspects of the theme in as many voices and combinations as possible. The vocal parts are held by the song leader, a second (assistant) leader, and a chorus which occasionally subdivides into two groups. In the song, the tonality moves away from the ' tonic ' at the beginning of the strophe, but returns to it at the end of the strophe. Within the structure, the melodic phrases ' shift continually from the influence of one implicit or explicit tone - centre to another ', e.g. in Figure MH. 14 (cf.p.694).

The chorus always establishes the tonality, and ends each execution of the strophe with a systematic ' cadence '. As Blacking has pointed out, the chorus must establish the tonality of the mode, or else a performance would have no established tonal centre (Blacking 1970 (MS): 29).

The melodic process of sequential repetition has already been encountered in the foregoing illustrated extracts, and I have referred to it several times. It is probably the most common form of melodic structure in Xhosa music, and occurs in some of the oldest songs, as well as in contemporary Xhosa music. This structure is to be observed in the melody of one of the oldest Xhosa songs, uNonkala (' Daughter of the crab '). which I illustrated on p.578. The outline of

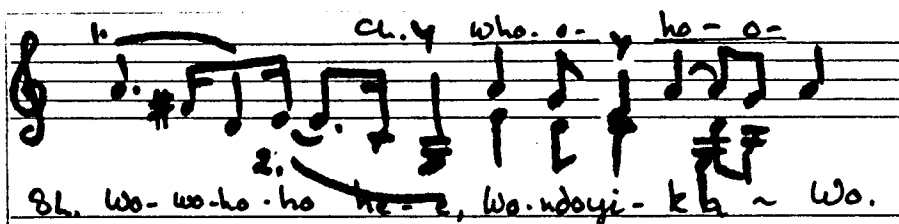
another old song also shows a repeated melodic phrase,
e.g. umhlahlo :

Figure MH.15 : (a)



as does the basic melody of the song of Mhala:

(b)



The process is not a mechanical one; were this the case, one would be confronted with the same melody with each occurrence of the melodic process. One could perhaps regard these occurrences in so many Xhosa songs as transformations of a basic idea. As the melody of the divination song uNonkala, it is probably the most ubiquitous phrase in the whole corpus of Xhosa music, for it forms the basis of so many different types (and therefore styles) of music. Figure MH. 16 on p. 697 demonstrates the melodies of seven different songs, in which the old melody is easily recognizable.

(e) is the earliest known transcription of a Xhosa melody by John Knox Bokwe (Xhosa clergyman 1855 - 1922). The melody

Fig. MH 16

a) Nonka-za Nonka-za ngaxem-lan-jen a) 1.

b) Mole-ni Zango - ma Mole - ni Zangaura b) 2.

c) Ho-yon-go-ma wa-wo-wo (Shi-yi-li-li) c) 3.

Shi: ya-phu-nge-we ta-ka-me-ha (Shi)we-na

(Shi) Ho-li-bo-lo Ch-Ho-ya-nga-ma

Shi: ha ya-phunga-we

d) Ngo Meyi Ma a Zela, Ngo Meyi 'yabiz' talagan? d) 4.

e) Ele .le .le homma, hom homma. THE 'CHANT' e) 5.

f) Yo-ho ma .za .ze za .o .ho .wo .ho talagan? f) 6.

Shi: + Ch. nga Gongo thwane g) 7.

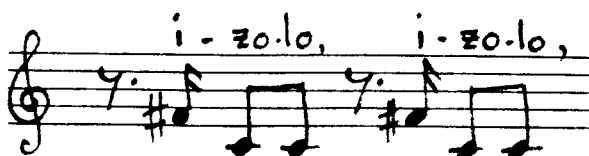
Ch. i-gqiva leu-dle za

Shi: i-gqiva leu-dle nga Gongo thwane.

is that of the Chant, which was composed by an early Xhosa convert, Ntsikana, allegedly under supernatural influence. This same melody was used by Benjamin Tyamzashe in several works he composed, including two Masses for the Roman Catholic church. He used the melody after a request from several churchmen to include some traditional music in his compositions. Thus Tyamzashe drew on the only ' written ' traditional Xhosa music he knew, and remembered well. Several African men and women who subsequently heard these works, were at first unable to recognize and name the song to which the melody belonged. Some said it was a beer song, others suggested it might be a diviner's song. One man was adamant that the melody came from a wedding dance song. As the examples show, all of these people were correct. They had not recognized a melody as such, but rather a melodic process, in which two similar phrases are repeated on different steps of a pentatonic or hexatonic mode.

Modern Xhosa songs show the use of the heptatonic mode/scale, which is usually embellished (harmonized) in the traditional way, with intervals of the 3rd, 4th and 5th accompanying the main melody (the system of chordal streams which I have discussed in the context of neo - African music). Church hymns are harmonized in the same way. I noticed that the 7th and 4th degrees of a heptatonic scale were often altered or even omitted by singers. In view of this, it is interesting to note that ' Red ' people who have been in little contact with Western music, sing the tritone interval which occurs in their traditional music with ease and accuracy. This sort of interval presents no difficulty to them:

Figure MH. 17 :



(Cf. Figure 54(c):

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Yet I have found many Europeans (musicians included) who are unable to sing it straight away, and without a little ' silent ' practice. Thus the tritone is definitely a part of their traditional musical system, and I have also suggested that its use may derive from the scale of instruments which are able to produce that interval.

Regarding tonal and harmonic movement in Xhosa music, I observed the following:

- (i) All songs which are antiphonally structured, and which feature off - beat phrasing between melody and percussive accompaniment, show a shift in tonality from the ' counter - tonic ' (around which the song leader's Call centres) to ' tonic ', which is established by the chorus.
- (ii) True polyrhythmic songs such as the dance songs of the Cape Tribes Proper, show small shifts of tonality within the strophe, but the tonality remains stable at the beginning and end of the strophe, being centred on the tonic. This makes for stability and cohesion in these songs, in which vocal - rhythmic interplay often reaches considerable complexity, from the linear point of view, (even though vertical combinations may not involve more than three or four parts in all).

(i) and (ii) apply to the majority of songs. There are exceptions in which (a) tonality may shift from ' tonic ' to ' counter - tonic ', a process which occurs even in extremely polyrhythmic songs. Whatever the tonality shift, the chorus always confirms the ' tonic ' tonality.

With regard to instrumental music as exemplified in the bow songs, the general tendency is for the tonality to move from the ' tonic ' to the ' counter - tonic '; this is a general tendency, and not a rule. The bow song discussed at the beginning of this section shows a tonal shift from ' counter - tonic ' at the beginning of the strophe, to the ' counter - tonic ' at its end. This reflects a sequence of tension - - tension which is practically uninterrupted (cf. Figure MH.5: 674-677). It is possible that the composer deliberately (or unconsciously) chose this tonal shifting when she composed the song which, as she described it, ' is the song of a desperate woman ', who has just about reached the ultimate point of despair. The singer's despondency is well expressed in the music, which hovers continually in the ' counter - tonic ' tonality (suggesting a state of perpetual tension); the melody is played rather urgently, and the whole effect is heightened by the singer's vocal style, and the small glissandi she employs at certain moments in the music (e.g. over zam in the text).

That this is a song of despair is made very clear in the text:

<u>Izono zam zinzima,</u>	My sins are heavy,
<u>Ayaphel' amathemba;</u>	There is no hope;
<u>Yewu -yo ye mama,</u>	Alas! woe is me, mother,
<u>Izono zam zinzima.</u>	My sins are heavy. (trans.
	Noxolo Queenie Dingiswayo).

NOTES

- 1 Rycroft, D.K. : 1959: 25 - 30; 1969 (Tervuren, Musee Royale...); 1971: 213 - 243; 1975: 61 - 92; 1975 (A royal account...): 351 - 402; 1977: 216 - 260;
- 2 More correctly, according to the song leader's wishes. In most of the performances I witnessed, the singing was terminated by the song leader, who suddenly stopped singing. She usually signalled to the group to do likewise. A few ' champion ' song leaders merely sat down or walked out of the group, when they felt that the singing had continued for a sufficient length of time, or when they felt tired.
- 3 Rycroft reports changes in the repetitions of the chorus, in the Sibhimbi anthem sung by Swazi princes and princesses (1967: 98). In this song the chorus part is divided. See Figure 22 on p. 279, which shows the transcription of a Xesibe Walking song. Although the chorus part undergoes textual variation, this is not accompanied by changes in the melody notes (cf. Variations (3) in Figure 22: 279).
- 4 Cf. again Figure 22: 279, which is a very clear example of this procedure.

- 5 Known as umguyo. Unlike other items of circumcision music, this song is not accompanied by the beating of the ingqongqo ' drum ' (or its substitute). Women, who traditionally play this instrument, are not permitted to participate in the events at which this song is sung. See pp. 503 - 520 for a discussion of this song, and also other items of circumcision music.

- 6 In his discussion of the structure of a southern Zulu work song (1967: 91), Rycroft took the chorus part as the commencement of the strophe. He adds that ' several alternative interpretations are possible '. In this particular song the chorus part is more complex than the solo part in length and number of vocal notes. Carrying as it does a greater ' functional ' load, it seems logical to assume that it marks the beginning of the strophe. But perhaps in many cases the choice may be an arbitrary one.

- 7 Mfengu enclaves situated near or among other Cape clusters show a great similarity in their musical styles. For example, the Mfengu living in Engcobo district, a pre - dominantly Thembu area, practice music that in style reveals the ' multi - part organization ' with greater independence of the voice parts, which is characteristic of the music of the older clusters. An Mfengu enclave situated near the Xesibe and Bhaca (in MaXesibeni) has a musical style that is closer to the styles of these peoples - a musical style in which a twofold temporal contrast is basically retained.

- 8 See pp. 367 - 372 for a discussion of this technique in the context of intlombe youth music. Cf. also pp. 681 - 688, where this technique is discussed in more detail.

- 9 In a number of umtshotsho songs the twofold temporal contrast is retained for several repetitions of the strophe, after which the parallelism produced by additional voice parts is ' displaced ' by sequential repetitions of vocal phrases. Cf. Figures 37, 32& 43, 54& 57, and 58(d): pp. 330, 311& 340, 370& 381, and 384ss.

- 10 A point in common which Xhosa songs have with Venda songs.

- 11 Tracey, H.T., ' Toward an assessment of African scales ', African Music, Vol.2, No. 1, 1958: 17

- 12 This was noted by Rycroft in 1971: 222.

- 13 Kirby, P.R., ' Some problems of primitive harmony and polyphony, with special reference to Bantu practice ', South African Journal of Science, 23, 1926: 951 - 970.

- 14 As noted by Rycroft in 1971: 221 - 222, the Zulu hexa mode has two semitones, and the Xhosa hexa mode has one semitone.

- 15 The Cape Nguni do not have this instrument (known as umakhweyana (Zulu) and makhweyane (Swazi). It is said to have been taken over from the Tsonga of Mocambique in the early part of the nineteenth century. ' It is used for accompanying less serious music than that which is sung with the unbraced bow ' (Rycroft 1971: 220). Cf. also Kirby 1934 (1965): 205 - 209. Plate 54A shows a Swazi girl playing the instrument, and Plate 56, 3 & 4 show the Swazi and Zulu forms of the instrument.

- 16 Cf. Figure 27 in Rycroft 1971: 232, which illustrates this process very clearly. As the author points out, ' This analysis does not conflict with Hornbostel's theory of fourths filled in by intermediate notes; rather, it suggests a means by which these, rather than the intermediate notes, should have found a place in Nguni pentatonic songs ' (p.232).

- 17 I followed the example set by John Blacking in his analyses of Venda music, and analysed my collection of Xhosa melodies on the basis of their ' deeper harmonic progressions ' rather than on their ' surface structures ' (Cf. Blacking 1967: 177 - 179; ibid. 1969: 21, 30 - 31; & ibid. 1973: 23).

- 18 Thus all apparent Nguni penta music could be evaluated as Hexa minus one note, the 3rd above either ' tonic ' or ' counter - tonic '. The 3rds may well be the latest additions (perhaps via bow harmonics) to a basic C (G) and D (A) series (cf. Rycroft 1971: 223).
- 19 Blacking drew attention to this important feature of African music in southern Africa in 1959, in his study of Venda ocarina music: ' Problems of Pitch, Pattern and Harmony in the ocarina music of the Venda ', African Music, Vol. 11, No. 2, 1959: 23. Rycroft pointed out that this essential feature ' is also evident, in embryo, even in the Zulu three - tone songs, in which an upper fourth and a lower fourth are contrasted ' (1971: 235).
- 20 As stated on p. 667, this was elaborated by Rycroft and offered as a working hypothesis about the evolution of scales in southern African music. He notes, however, that it is not possible to determine whether vocal modes derived from bow technique or whether bows were tuned in such a way that existing vocal modes could be reproduced on them (1971: 222).
- 21 Thus harmonization by the singing of izihlobo tones is not a ' free-for-all '. The system also differs slightly from the Venda system of harmonization, as described by Blacking (1967: 168), in which the harmonically equivalent tones of a particular mode can be derived only from that mode. The selection of tones is not based on root relationships, as it is in Xhosa musical performances. Figure 5 in Blacking 's discussion shows this very clearly: in a penta mode with the series of tones g' - e' - d' - c' - a, g' may be harmonized with d' or c'; and d' with a or g'; and e' with c' or a, and so on. According to Blacking, the selection of harmonically equivalent tones is guided ' by the requirements of the speech - tone patterns ' (p. 169).
- 22 Chordal structures or ' blocks of ' harmony ' arising from the parallel progression of voice parts, within the limits of the pentatonic scale, were described and discussed in some detail by Kirby in 1926, in a paper in which he offered a hypothesis about the origins of ' Bantu harmony and polyphony ' (cf. note 13).

- 23 Rycroft 1967: 95 has noted that a number of old Zulu songs 'tend to start with the fixed chorus part. . . also noted by Kirby in 1926 (B.S.l: 23ss)', and that this 'should possibly be taken as a hint that not all Nguni music derives directly from "simple" antiphony. . . the solo parts have possibly been added later, originally as improvised descants '.

Marching song and igwijo ('Signature tune') of
Xesibe iindlavini group. Ex. No. 86 on Tape 2a.

Leader: Khathula Matabatha

Title: uTel' uyeza (' We young men of Tela are coming ')

Pitch: Present "C" = original Bflat

Mode: Heptatonic

Strophe length: $\bullet \times 19$ (indicated by the beating of sticks
on the ground as an accompaniment to
the singing)

Text:

uTel' uyeza, We young men of Tela are coming,
'intomb' ézithánd' you girls who have lovers among us.
ábáfána. (trans. R Jakuja)

This igwijo is sung when the group go to weddings, and to
their dance parties (imitshotsho).

The song is followed by two items of choral recitation,
in which words and vocables are recited to a regular metre.

This is also regarded as music i.e. singing.

SL. u-Tel' u-ye-za-a, u-ye-za-a, 'ntomb' ez' thond' a-ba-fa-na-a

ch. u-Tel' u-Tel' u-ye-e-e-za, u-Te-za u-ye-za

SL. 'tomb' ez' thond' a-ba-fa-na.

ch. 'tomb' ez' thond' a-ba-fa-na.

P.T.O. ~

SL. *u. Tel' u. Tel' u-ye.e.e. za,* *u. Tel' u-ye.e.e. za u. Tel' u-ye...e. za*

Ch. *u. Tel' u. Tel' u-ye.e.e. za,* *u. Tel' u-ye.e.e. za*

SL. *fa-na.*

Ch. *'in-tomb ez' thanda-ba-fa-na.*

Repeat with slight variation in SL's part.

SL. *u. Tel' u-ye.e.e. za, Tel' ye...za,*

Ch. *u. Tel' u. Tel' u-ye.e.e. za,* *u. Tel' u-ye.e.e. za,*

BEATING STICKS ON GROUND

'tomb ez' thanda-ba-fa-na.

SL. *'tomb ez' thanda-ba-fana.*

Ch. *'tomb ez' thanda-ba-fana.*

sticks.

The basic metrical pattern of this song is unusual, and I encountered it only in Xesibe iindlavini songs.

Cf. also Fig. 68: 421, which shows another iindlavini song with an unusual metre: 20 x ♩

Figure RHY. 10 (ctd.)

(follows uTel' uyeza Parlando:1. $\text{♩} = 160$ *ff*

S.L.

Ch.

Hla

Si-ya - bla!

SL: ho mu - kumas ama - thu - na Siya - hla, Si-ya - hla,

CLAP

Siya - hla Siya - hla Siya - hla Siya - hla.

S.L. Chorus S.L. Chorus

2. *ff.*

SL.

Chorus:

u - tshon' o - lu - tsha - ni - na lu - lu khe - tha,

Khe - tha

u - tshon' o - lu - tsha - ni - na lu - lu khe - tha,

Khe - tha.

Khe - tha Khe - tha Khe - tha Khe - tha

SL. Ch. SL. Ch.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

As initially stated in the Preface, my research involved (i) conceptualization about music; (ii) behaviour in relation to music, and (iii) music sound itself. The matter of concepts is first discussed in Ch. 2, but it recurs inevitably throughout the thesis. Behaviour in relation to music is expressly dealt with in Ch. 4, while Chs. 3 and 7 provide specific details in connection with the different musical categories discussed. Music sound is covered specifically in Chs. 6 and 8, but it necessarily also features throughout the work.

The concepts underlying the practice and performance of music are verbalized by the Cape Nguni in expressive words and phrases. A clear distinction is made between music (ingoma/iingoma) and non - music: music is humanly produced sound, which must recur regularly within a metrical framework; it must have a rhythm, for which term modern Cape Nguni school children have coined the term ngqongqo or ' beat ' (also i - beat). The tribal people have no word for rhythm, but distinguish between the different rhythms of the different songs and say that they ' go differently ' ; they illustrate their explanations with clapping and/or dancing. It is rhythm that distinguishes singing from speaking, thus a pattern of words either sung or recited/ chanted to a regular metre constitutes music.

The Xhosa word - vuma (' to agree, admit, sing '), describes the general production of music, its performance by several persons, and the nature of Xhosa music - it is predominantly vocal, to the extent that this same word is used

to describe the performance of both vocal and instrumental music. The same word, which also has an extra - musical meaning, stresses the harmonic foundations of Xhosa music which, like much African music, is conceived harmonically.

The performance of ostensibly non - musical sounds, e.g. barks, yelps, snorts and grunts, as a rhythmic accompaniment to dancing, is also accepted as musical sound, but not in isolation from the musical context. The same is true of the pharyngeal roaring done by young boys at their dance parties (imitshotsho). A single tone produced on a horn, and blown as a sporadic accompaniment to ritual music, also qualifies as music. Vocal sounds are used judiciously for reasons of clarity and ' form '.

The basic metre of most Xhosa songs is expressed explicitly in clapping, i.e. uku - ghwaba, an onomatopoeic term imitating the sound of handclaps. An alternative phrase - ngokwenz' imiphetho ngezandla (' making borders/rims with the hands ') - stresses the function of clapping, which is that of organization. Handclaps emphasize the music's metrical framework within which several singers may perform polyphonically and poly - rhythmically. This process itself is explained as a method of singing whereby singers ' add different words to make taste of the song '. It is also applied to instrumental music, with different results. For example, in self - accompanied solo singing, polyrhythm occurs between two sounding agents - voice and instrument - as against several agents in vocal/choral music. The same process is applied to the movements of dancers, whose improvisations on a standard dance pattern add further rhythmic

dimensions to the music.

Nearly all communal music is accompanied by dancing, for which there are special words and phrases describing the dance steps and movements performed by all the chiefdom clusters, and those performed by specific clusters.

Regarding musical talent, the Cape Nguni consider everyone to be born with equal musical potential. The development of talent is, however, socially conditioned, and a person who is born and reared in a musical environment will most probably become a skilled musician. All the competent and 'big', 'great' musicians I met came from such an environment.

A concept held by certain Cape Nguni peoples, notably the Qwathi, further emphasizes the belief that musical talent develops according to a person's social background. These people maintain that twins, whom they consider to be abnormal socially, will almost certainly excel at something musical. Hence they maintain that all twins are usually good musicians; furthermore, they are unusually quick-witted even though they lack brains. Informants were unable to give specific reasons for this attitude towards twins (who are greatly feared and disliked by the Qwathi); they merely stated that 'it was so', and supported their statement by citing the names of many twins who were or had been skilled musicians.

There are no beliefs or stories concerning the ultimate source from which music originates; to the tribal people, music is something which has been done by men ever since they were created; to the Christians, music is something which comes from God (uThixo). The origins of specific songs are

attributed to an individual or a group of individuals, and his/her/their process of composition. Musical composition is recognized as a distinct process in which a song is 'made up in the head'. The statements from several composers (both 'Red' and 'School' people), in which they described their compositional processes, have led me to conclude that the Cape Nguni recognize three main sources from which composers draw their musical ideas for their songs: (i) events in the composer's life, and his reaction towards them; (ii) borrowing, and (iii) dreams. The majority of traditional songs are considered to have been composed by certain individuals rather than groups; through oral transmission they become the property of the group rather than any one individual. Thus it is not surprising that the composers of most traditional songs are unknown. Group - composed traditional songs do exist, however; they are the result of the musical collaboration of members of the same social group, who improvise Walking/Marching songs and 'signature tunes' en route to their dance parties and other social events they attend.

Neo - Xhosa music comprises a very large repertoire of sacred and secular choral music by amateur Cape Nguni musicians, who usually compose their songs in the solfa system, and a possibly larger repertoire of Xhosa light/instrumental music and Xhosa jazz, the composers of which may or may not compose in solfa or in staff notation. (I have a number of Jazz compositions by the late Jabez Foley, who wrote them down in tonic solfa).

The musician in Cape Nguni society is a person who is exceptionally good at music. He sings and dances well, and plays at least one instrument, knows many songs and composes his own.

He is named according to the musical role in which he excels, thus if he is an outstanding singer, or dancer, or prolific composer, he is called imvumi, umxhentsi, or umqambi/omkhulu (' big, great '). The appellation ' great ' is reserved only for persons who are highly skilled in one or more musical roles, thus the number of such musicians among the Cape Nguni is relatively small. Benjamin Tyamzashe was the only musician to be called umqambi wodumo (' famous composer '), in recognition of the fact that his Xhosa songs were sung all over Southern Africa, and by people of other ethnic groups.

Musicians are greatly appreciated by their neighbours, whom they please with their music, but they are not celebrated for their musicianship. (Again, Tyamzashe was the only composer to be celebrated by his people at a special function held in Zwelitsha in 1970). Some of them have professions from which they derive incomes, e.g. the diviners and herbalists in traditional society, and the teachers, parsons, lawyers, businessmen, and others who are educated and literate. (This was the situation in the period 1969 - 1972 ; I cannot say whether these distinctions can be made today). All are acknowledged as musicians, but their social prestige rests on their professional occupations and not on their musicianship, which can only enhance their already prominent status in society. They are ' musical professionals ', rather than ' professional musicians '.

Tribal/traditional musicians (and this includes herbalists), receive very little economic reward for their music; they rely on the generosity of their audiences for any reward at all, and if they are not given money, they are always given food and

drink. Such musicians perform music mainly for the love of it.

Music and dancing are of great importance to the diviner. Dancing is necessary for the curing of the novice diviner's 'trouble' during his/her initiatory period (ukuthwasa). Music is essential to the ritual of diviners, for it is through music that the diviner communicates with the ancestral shades, who are said to have a great love of music. A diviner selects the music for his seance with great care; he not only establishes the order in which the songs should be sung, but also allocates certain songs to be sung by certain singers. He also sets the tempi of the different songs. Most diviners compose their own songs, which remain exclusive to their group according to the diviner's wishes, or are made known to the public via frequent performance. Thus, through their profession, diviners are continually involved with music - making; in fact, their profession compels them to make music. Small wonder, then, that many of the diviners I met in Transkei and Ciskei were considered to be very good musicians.

The semiprofessional musicians are the wandering singers who play the accordion, the guitar and the concertina. They are always men, and their number includes herbalists, whose work involves much travelling about, but allows for sufficient time to be devoted to music. All of them are composers, and they rely solely on the generosity of their audience for any reward. Apart from entertaining people with their music, they also bring them the latest news, for which reason they have been called ama - effemm (' FM radios ').

Transkei has its own blind musician, a singer and accordion player whose music (based mainly on church hymns and sacred songs) appeals more to the Christians than to the ' Red ' people. His music is rather pessimistic, yet its impact on his audience is enormous. Such musicians are loved and admired by their public; in singing about the trials and complexities of life, they make their audience feel detached from these, even if only for a short period of time. The blind musician, and the rather tragic figure he presents, as well as his ability to play an instrument despite his infirmity, has probably as great an effect on his audience as the music he plays.

There is no specialization in music; everyone sings with and not for someone, thus there is no concept of ' solo ' performance. Nevertheless, there is no total musical levelling, because every musical performance relies on a song leader to start the song, and lead off the chorus. Since the music hinges on improvisation, the song leader must continually produce new statements. In doing so she must display a certain amount of virtuosity and musicianship. A satisfactory performance relies heavily on a good song leader, to the extent that certain songs cannot be sung at all without a skilled leader, e.g. umyeyezelo.

Although Cape Nguni singing emerges from a relatively relaxed throat, and has a smooth and rounded quality, it changes during a performance when the singers become increasingly excited and start to shout rather than sing, with the result that the singing is forced, tense and hoarse - sounding. An

overall ' big ' sound is the hallmark of a good performance, but since tone quality is fairly important, singers who screech or make similarly unpleasant sounds are instantly reprimanded. Children are encouraged to sing loudly and sing well, and are checked less sharply if they screech. They tend to sing at full volume, and it is taken for granted that they will learn to modulate their voices as they grow older. Adults who offend in this way are told not to sing like children. This does not apply to school choirs, who are trained rigorously by their teachers, who give much attention to tone quality as well as to the general interpretation of a song. (This is particularly so with Cape Nguni choirmasters and teachers).

Variation in tone quality is even more important than tone quality per se; the rhythmic ' heterophony ' which results when several people sing together takes on tone colour when some of the singers employ special vocal techniques. Some of these techniques are employed by all the chiefdom clusters, while others again are employed variedly by one or other cluster. The fact that some of these techniques are peculiar to certain areas and clusters helps one to differentiate the musical styles of the different areas. The most common technique is that which is known as uku - ngqokola, whereby the voice is changed so that its register is much lower than it would normally be. At the same time, the singer uses heavy rasping glissandi, thereby disturbing the legato phrasing which is characteristic of Cape Nguni singing; the vocal tension is considerable. Another form of - ngqokola is the deliberate use of nasalization; it is employed only rarely and is apparently a recent innovation.

11

Nasalization is a feature of a vocal style employed by Mpondo and Xesibe young men. When singing, the singer sings into his cupped hand while lightly resting his chin on the palm of that hand; at the same time he taps the area between the nose and the upper lip with the fingers of the cupped hand, thereby achieving a vibratory effect. This vocal style is called uku -gwaba/uku - guburha (general term/Mpondo specific term), and when it is performed by a large company of people, its sound carries over a great distance.

Vocal ornamental devices such as glissandi and yodelling are used by individual singers; in general, however, the Bhaca and Xesibe peoples make far more use of glissandi than do the other clusters. (The little evidence I have of Ntlangwini music indicates that they also use glissandi and nasalization).

Non - musical sounds are similarly employed, and, as I have already stated, they qualify as music when they are made in musical contexts. Such vocal sounds are - tshotsha (the roaring, growling and snarling noises made to a regular metre by boys at their dance parties (imitshotsho). Similar sounds are made by ' dressed ' boys who attend their special parties, and give these sounds another name - uku - bhayizela. Other sounds such as - bhodla, - godla and - gwinga are anything but musical to European ears (unless one is listening to music by Karlheinz Stockhausen, Peter Maxwell Davies, etc.,); to the Cape Nguni they are acceptable as music when they are performed in a musical context, and to a regular metre. these sounds are made exclusively by men when they dance. They occur

as cross - rhymes to the basic rhythm of the music, thus contributing to the complex interweaving of contrasting vocal - rhythmic patterns in a polyrhythmic performance.

From the foregoing summary, it is clear that the Cape Nguni have many formal verbalized concepts : they distinguish between singing and speaking; between singing and screeching; they speak to some extent of the characteristics of a good performance. They also discuss matters of pitch and tempo: they distinguish between high pitch and low pitch in terms of small and great, and they classify songs as being ' hurried ' or ' delayed ', although one category of music may include both types of song.

Although they do not verbalize aspects of melody and structure, and rhythm, they know exactly how a ' song must go', i.e. how it should be sung, and they are quick to point out errors in melody and rhythm, which they rectify by simply singing and clapping the parts correctly. A good singer must dance well and sing well; dancing must be energetic and vigorous, and singing must be loud and, above all, convincing. People who sing timorously or self - consciously invariably evoke laughter and derisive comments from the audience.

The successful performance of communal dance songs requires a great feeling for community, and this is ensured by the presence of at least two song leaders and two dance leaders (smaller groups have only one song leader). The secondary leaders are regarded as assistants to the main leaders, and are usually chosen by them. Without the smooth teamwork which occurs between leaders and assistants, and between these and the rest of

the group, a whole performance will collapse. For this reason, and for others, communal songs are practiced regularly so that leaders, assistants and the group learn to interact musically with one another.

Musical performances are judged in terms of good or bad, according to whether the singers have fulfilled the requirements of good singing and dancing, as have been mentioned. As Blacking has pointed out in his study of Venda children's music:

'The impact of music on an audience depends as much on its social significance as on the music itself. The expressive meaning of the same song may vary from one occasion to another. Music is referred to in terms of its social context, and hence its musical structure rather than its emotional content' (Blacking 1967: 195).

The careful observance of hundreds of musical performances and the spectators' reactions to them, has led me to conclude that, like the Venda, the Cape Nguni are as much affected by music sound per se, as they are by the social values underlying its performance. Thus the social aspects of the music are not paramount, but are as important as the music. The emphasis varies from one type of music to another. The transcendental quality of music as a ' bringer of ihlombe ' to both performers and listeners is crucial.

Music is produced with the voice, and with musical instruments, i.e. ' things that are made to cry '. The traditional instruments of the Cape Nguni were few in number, compared with those of the other ethnic groups in southern Africa, and they did not play an important part in Cape Nguni music (with exception of the ' drums '). Very few of the instruments described by Kirby are used today; only the bow instruments (uhadi and umrhubhe) are found in certain areas, and even these are slowly

falling into disuse. The drum - type instruments, ikhawu and ingqongqo, which accompanied the music performed at important social events associated with circumcision and divination, have been replaced by the Western bass drum, known as igubu.

Contact with Western civilization has extended the body of instruments, and today there is much more instrumental music than there was in former times. The most popular instruments are the guitar, accordion and concertina, all of which are played by men. The harmonica is popular with young men and women, both ' Red ' and ' dressed ' people, and is used to accompany traditional and neo - Xhosa music. The harmonium has also become fairly popular, and both church hymns and ' light ' music are played on it. The traditional bow instruments, which were used for individual music - making, were played mostly by girls and married women, so there seems to have been a reversal of roles: in former times women were the chief instrumentalists, whereas today men are the main players of instruments. All solo instruments are played for personal amusement, but good players always attract an interested crowd who invariably join in with the singing (i.e. if the type of song permits this).

The Western bass drum is the only instrument used in communal music - making, where it accompanies certain types of music, e.g. divination and Zionist music. It is also played in Jazz bands which have sprung up in the townships and administrative areas. This drum has not replaced the traditional ingqongqo: instead, a piece of sail - cloth (i - seyile), or a flattened cardboard box is beaten with

sticks to provide a steady ' drum - beat ' accompaniment.

Township music comprises jazz, and neo - African music whose styles are differentiated by different names such as phathaphatha and umbaganga, which are characterized by distinct rhythms and overall sound. The guitar is the major instrument in umbaganga music (including the electric guitar), while the instruments of Jazz bands predominate in phathaphatha, whose rhythm is similar to that of the ' Twist ' musical style of the ' sixties. In addition, youngsters have their own ' toy bands ' (' Spasm bands '), in which they play instruments that they themselves have made out of household articles. Guitars are usually played in these bands to give the basic ' beat ' and to strengthen the volume of sound.

Music is used in a variety of situations, each situation having a special type and style of music associated with it. Because the Cape Nguni are concerned mainly with music's social use, i.e. what it is for, they recognize and name their music in terms of the social situation in which it is performed. Thus the total number of songs performed at a particular social event constitutes a category of music. Each category has its own characteristic musical traits which give it its unique sound, and of these the most important is the basic rhythmic pattern which immediately identifies the category. Although the different categories vary in their musical details, all show an affinity with one another stylistically, and the sum total of their stylistic characteristics constitutes the general style of Xhosa music. Thus Xhosa music denotes the

musical tradition of the Cape Nguni, while the different categories denote styles and substyles within the tradition.

Although songs may have an emotional content, it is not expressed in their classification; thus, a song whose content is ' sad ' may be classified as a beer song, and a ' protest ' song may be classified as a Tshawe, or ibhasi song, or as an igwijo.

Amagwijo are the ' personal ' (' own ') songs of individuals and of groups of individuals, and they may be the original compositions of their owners, or ' borrowed ' songs, i.e. taken over from one of the categories of music. Amagwijo express the sentiments of their owners, to whose mental and physical disposition they always relate , and which they reflect. They are usually highly emotional, and are a medium for ' letting off steam ', and for expressing one's personal opinions. ' Protest ' songs, laments and ' songs of sorrow ' relating to injustices perpetrated by individuals and even governments, fall into this category, which does not have a prescriptive musical style. Many amagwijo take the form of self - accompanied solo songs; women are the only performers who use traditional instruments (uhadi and umrhubhe) while men employ the Western European instruments already referred to.

The production of the Xhosa folk - tale (intsomi pl. iintsomi) involves the use of ' short items ' of sung (and chanted) songs (' core - clichés '), also referred to as iingoma. They have characteristic basic metrical patterns and texts which have undergone little change, basically, over

the years, and are thus easily recognizable to the audience. Together with other constant and stylistic elements which are known to the audience (a narrative plot, certain gestures and actions, and vocal sounds), the song-cliché constitutes the basis of the intsomi form. All these elements are utilized by the intsomi performer (who is usually a woman) in a very individual way. The song-cliché occurs at critical moments in the intsomi, and is introduced by the performer, who may accompany her singing with physical movements, and dancing and clapping. This is then taken up by the audience, which has a total involvement in the performance. The number of song repetitions (typical of intsomi productions) varies in a performance; it depends on the performer, who uses the song as she likes. Antiphonal exchange between performer and audience in the singing of the song is common, although singing between them may follow the - vumisa (' consenting ') method, which is employed by diviners at their seances.

Mortuary rites of the Cape Nguni either prohibit, or restrict the use of music. Burials among the Cape Nguni today show a fusion of Christian and traditional ritual, and Christian burials include the singing of a few hymns. The traditional mourning rites of the Cape Nguni include the observance of certain taboos, of which music is one. The relatives of the deceased person have to undergo purification and fortification against possible pollution by death, thus during the mourning period visits between friends /neighbours and relatives of the deceased are cancelled, as are performances of music. The death of an important person necessitates general mourning, and all events involving music are banned for a time. Beer drinks are not banned, but no music

is performed at these events, until the period of mourning is over.

Although there are no restrictions on the use of recreational music out of its social context (e.g. beer songs are freely adapted for performance at the seances of diviners), ritual music is, with one exception, never performed out of context. The exception is the ritual dance umngqunggo, the performance of which is essential at girls' initiation ceremonies (ukuthombisa), but which is frequently performed at important events, e.g. the installation of Chiefs and popular headmen. Furthermore, ritual songs are never performed instrumentally ' out of respect ', i.e. because of their ritual significance.

While certain events and observances place taboos or restrictions on music, others again appear to lift them. For example, the avoidance taboo of umlaza (ritual impurity), which necessitates the avoidance of the courtyard and cattle byre by all women of child - bearing age, is apparently lifted on certain occasions involving musical performance: (i) when umngqunggo and intlombe music is performed in the courtyard during girls' initiation celebrations, by women and young adults respectively, and (ii) during the umphumo (' coming out ') celebrations of a novice as a fully - fledged diviner, which is held in the courtyard; the ritual killing which is carried out in the cattle byre is freely attended by diviners of both sexes.

Although the importance of language in Xhosa music should not be underestimated, its influence on the melodies of Xhosa songs is not as strong as has been suggested for other African musical traditions. A comparison of the speech - tone patterns

and melodies of Xhosa songs has shown that, although the tones of each syllable are not strictly realized in the melodies which accompany them, there is nevertheless a close correspondence between the two, especially regarding the direction of pitch movement. The influence of speech - tone is most obvious, and therefore exerts the strongest influence on (i) the melodies of ' solo ' songs with an instrumental accompaniment, in particular the original and ' personal ' songs of individuals who perform their music exclusively (excluding their instrumental versions of popular choral dance songs, and (ii) the beginnings of melodies, i.e. those parts which are sung by a soloist in choral dance 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, a feature which was noted by Blacking in Venda music, and by Rycroft in Nguni (in particular Zulu) music, generally.

Although there is a close correspondence between the contour of Xhosa melodies, and the overall surface pitch contour of the spoken words of the song - texts, (both have a descending pitch contour), to say that speech 'intonation ' causes it in Xhosa songs is difficult to prove. Most vocal music all over the world has a descending contour, and 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 requirements and ' intonation ' patterns.

Regarding the correlation between words and metre in traditional Xhosa music, I found little correspondence between the spoken and sung rhythms of the words. More important is

the fitting of vocal/melodic phrases to a basic metrical pattern that is characteristic of the music being performed. In doing so, the vowels and syllables of words are altered or even elided, and words are shortened drastically so that they and the melody they carry will synchronize with the basic metre of the song. This is done in such a way that the main accents of the vocal/melodic phrases will not always fall exactly on the ' beats ' of the basic metre. The extent to which the words ' off - beat ' against the basic metre, and coincide with it, marks the distinction between the traditional music of the Cape Tribes Proper, and the ' intrusive ' tribes, who moved down from the Zulu area, and have Zulu cultural connections. In the music of the older chiefdom clusters, the singers' melodic phrases ' off - beat ' only occasionally in their main accents against the beats of the basic metre, as a result of successive entries, whereas in the music of the ' intrusive ' clusters there is considerably more regular ' off - beating ' between the vocal phrases, and the beats of the basic metre. Thus my findings endorse the distinction made by Rycroft in 1959, between word/metre relationship in Xhosa music on the one hand, and Zulu music on the other.

Solo instrumental songs have the most extended texts; in these, the ' line ' or pattern of phrases is the basic unit. It is usually short and is repeated at various points in the song, forming the basic theme. In the course of the song it is expanded by the addition of other phrases which give a background to, or comment on the main theme. Alternatively, a phrase - pattern may be extended by the addition of meaningless

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words or vocables (which may or may not have implicated meanings).

Solo songs that are self - accompanied on the guitar and concertina sometimes have passages in ' - bonga ' style. In these interpolations, the words are delivered very rapidly indeed, at a much faster tempo than that of performances by professional praisers like Yali - Manisi, Ncamashe and others. This may be due to the fact that the words have to fit in with the metre of the music, i.e. they have to be spoken within a specific number of beats. The words are chosen for their sound rather than their meaning, which is often obscure and unintelligible.

Communal dance songs with clear - cut Call and Response sections have relatively short texts. In the course of a performance they may acquire fairly extended texts, resulting from the improvisations of singers who perform polyrhythmically.

The concern for musical sound and effect is to be observed in the many songs in which musical sounds have priority over meaningful words, e.g. intlombe and umnggunggo dance songs, the words of which are invariably replaced by vocables; these usually consist of alternations of consonants and vowels.

The words of songs are suggested by social situations, and each category of music has a number of words and phrases which are closely associated with it. These are freely utilized by singers in the performance of the music. Very often these words and phrases help to identify a song, e.g. ndiyalunywa, which would not be sung in any other context than girls' initiation music - umnggunggo .

Xhosa music is ' cyclic ' in form; the basic structure of a Xhosa song is a strophe of fixed duration, which in performance is repeated ad infinitum, with or without variations. Within each strophe there is at least one complementary pair of phrases, each comprising solo plus chorus, either consecutive or overlapping, but essentially with non - simultaneous entry points. The solo phrases, which are sung by a song leader in a higher pitch register than the chorus phrases, are usually varied in the repetitions of the strophe, while the chorus phrases in most cases remain unchanged.

The realization of the ' principle of non - simultaneous entry ' by solo and chorus phrases varies from one musical category to another, and even within songs of the same category. For example, it may be realized through simple antiphony (i.e. the alternation of the two main voice parts without overlap), or through antiphony with overlapping phrases, which is more common. Overlapping may be ' single - ended ', (in which the solo phrase recommences near the end of the chorus phrase), or ' double - ended ', ('in which additional phrases by the song leader (and individual singers) are interpolated at various points in the strophe) so that all the phrases are interlinked. This type of overlapping is typical of the dance songs of young people and adults of the Cape Tribes Proper, but features less extensively in the music of the ' intrusive ' clusters.

Additional improvisations by individual singers, who ' add different words to make taste of the song ', may be independent of, or dependent on, either of the two main voice parts. Dependent phrases usually share the text of one or other of these two main

parts, and are sung along with it in parallel movement, using the same vocal notes, or izihlobo (' harmonically equivalent ') tones. Independent phrases comprise new (or varied) words and melodies , with new rhythmic patterns, and are sung sequentially by individual singers, thereby introducing several levels of ' offset temporal contrast '. The crucial difference between these two types of vocal organization is that in the one, a basic twofold temporal contrast is retained, while in the other, the temporal relationship between the voice - parts is greatly increased. The difference between the two constitutes the difference between voice - part relationships in the music of the older chiefdom clusters, and the music of the ' intrusive ' clusters: there is greater independence of all the voices in the former, than there is in the latter.

Although strophe length varies from one category of song to another, and even within the category, there are a number of metrical patterns which underlie so many songs , that they may be said to be most representative of that particular category of music. Strophe length is defined by a specific number of beats; these are expressed explicitly by handclaps, which accompany most styles of Xhosa music. The claps provide the ' time background ' to the songs, and remain constant throughout their performance. The principle of polyrhythm is not applied to handclaps, whose metrical patterns are sometimes varied by accentuation, and by the rearrangement of the pulse groups.

Handclaps are sometimes supplemented by drum beats, e.g. divination music and circumcision music, (excluding the ritual song, umguyo). In certain styles of music, claps are absent

altogether, in which case strophe length (and the music's basic metre) is indicated by dance steps and movements.

All Xhosa dance songs are accompanied by some form of physical activity, whereby the basic metre and tempo of the music is expressed or at least indicated.

Two forms of polyrhythm are employed in Xhosa music, and one or both forms may be employed in one and the same song:

(a) a process in which the accents of the melodies of the songs establish a systematic cross - rhythm with the main beats of the percussive accompaniment (i.e. clapped and/or drummed).

(b) this is the polyrhythm of multiple vocal patterns used by the Cape Tribes Proper, whereby singers combine polyrhythm - ically in improvising individual variations on a basic melodic - rhythm pattern.

Regarding (a): this type of polyrhythm supports a theory of African rhythm advanced by Hornbostel in 1928, and discussed at length by Jones (1934), Blacking (1955), and Rycroft (1962), who pointed out that it has a physiological basis, i.e. it is largely the result of physical movements which are made during the performance of a song. When it occurs, the melody notes for the word - syllables tend to fall somewhere between the clapped beats - either halfway, or even later, i.e. a semiquaver before a crotchet clap beat. Aptly described by Rycroft as a ' near miss relationship ' between words and clapping, it is a characteristic stylistic feature of Xhosa music, in particular the music of the ' intrusive ' clusters -

the Bhaca, Xesibe, Hlubi, Mfengu - and also the Eastern Mpondo. Although some of the clusters use it more than others, (e.g. the Mfengu) , very few songs show perpetual staggering of melody and metre, and these appear to be monotonously syncopated (to Western ears). In most songs, the melody notes tend to fall between the beats of the basic metre part of the time, and not all the time.

Commenting on this off - beating between vocal and percussive patterns (which is found in other styles of African music apart from the Xhosa), Blacking states that it is the logical result of the African attitude towards rhythm:

' Africans think of sounds as bi - products of rhythmical movements, whereas Westerners pay more attention to the sounds than to the movement which causes them ' (Blacking 1955: 15).

My study of Xhosa music suggests that the Cape Nguni also think of rhythm in this way. Their attitude towards rhythm derives directly from dancing: upward movements of the body involve tension, while downward movements which follow are acts of relaxation which resolve tension. Thus the Cape Nguni concept of up and down movements, expressed as strong and weak beats, may perhaps also represent the reverse of the Western concept of up and down movements, which are expressed as weak and strong beats respectively. As Blacking has shown, ' Physically the sensation is similar; the first beat is the strong beat; but in one case it is a movement upwards and in the other a movement downwards ' (ibid.). Musically, the results are also different: in Western music the strong beat will be a downbeat, whereas in Xhosa music it may be an upbeat.

Hornbostel's theory was refuted by Jones, who had evidence that at least one group of African people did not think of rhythm in this way. If this explanation cannot be applied universally, it can be applied to Xhosa music. It explains why Xhosa melodies invariably start on the upbeat (in the Western sense); why singers accent the voice when doing so, and why physical movements upwards (kicks and clap - preparation) coincide with the strong upbeat (in the Cape Nguni sense), and why diviners and choirmasters conduct their music with strong upbeats and weak downbeats. By beginning the melody on the upbeat, the whole melody is pulled a beat (or half, or quarter beat) ahead of the claps, so that the melodic accents tend to fall somewhere between the clap beats; they may even fall on rests. The Cape Nguni see this off - beating as a combination of two rhythmic patterns (vocal and percussive) whose inherent accents are crossed. When additional voice parts enter, they do not as a rule introduce new cross - rhythms, but instead they duplicate the rhythm of one or other of the two main voice parts (solo and chorus phrases). There are exceptions, e.g. the Xesibe Tshawe songs, in which individual singers proceed with staggered entries of melody - motifs, with the result that ' lines ' of melodies emerge from an essentially rhythmic process.

The polyrhythmic process described in (b) supports Jones' theory of African rhythm, which maintains that forms of African music arise from a complex interweaving of contrasting rhythmic patterns against a fixed ' time background '. Since this process has been described in detail elsewhere in this study, it needs no further clarification here. The handclaps are an important structural device in this sort of music, because they keep the

singers geared to the basic metre of the music.

Thus within the Xhosa musical tradition, there is evidence of off - beating produced by physical movements, and by real polyrhythmic technique. The music of the ' intrusive ' clusters - the Bhaca, Xesibe, Mfengu - and the Eastern Mpondo, which is accompanied by more hectic and vigorous dancing, makes considerable use of off - beat phrasing of melodic accents (accompanying word - syllables) against the main beats of the basic clapped/drummed/ danced metre of a song, than it does of the elaborate interplay of polyrhythms, which characterizes the choral music of the older chiefdom clusters. Thus the arguments of both Hornbostel and Jones are valid for Xhosa music.

With regard to metre: additive metres expressed in claps appear to be rare; the majority of Xhosa songs have divisive basic metrical patterns. It seems logical to assume that the reason for this lies in the necessity for a definite and uncomplicated basic metrical pattern , to serve as a rhythmic foundation against which singers may combine and produce complicated patterns of vocal rhythms. Additive metres are more commonly used for Walking songs whose metres are not expressed explicitly. Apart from this, the usual combination in Xhosa music seems to be a divisive basic metre accompanying vocal patterns which may be either divisive or additive. The metres themselves are not all that important; what is important is that they synchronize with the vocal patterns in a rhythmically interesting way.

Songs with a basic dotted crotchet beat show iambic subdivisions of the beat; this is stressed in the clapped accompaniments of such

songs, and even in the rhythmic patterns of vocal sounds which accompany certain songs without a handclapped accompaniment.

Irregular phrasing (e.g. in the basic structure of a song) occurs rarely in the music of the Cape Tribes Proper; it is more common in the music of the ' northern' Cape Nguni - the Bhaca, Xesibe and Ntlangwini chiefdom clusters. I have suggested that this may be due to Zulu musical influences, since the Zulu people live near these clusters. Hemiola rhythm in its simplest form - as a change from measure to measure - is another device used mostly in the music of these clusters.

Regarding the tempo of Xhosa music, this varies from one category to another, and within one and the same category. For example, ' hurrying ' and ' delaying ' songs are to be found in one musical category, e.g. diviners' music, and umtshotsho and intlombe youth music. Certain styles of music exhibit changes of tempo during their performance, e.g. - gaja dance songs of the Bhaca and Xesibe, which are danced in ' bouts ' or ' movements ', each ' movement' being performed at a quicker tempo than the preceding ' movement '. Bhaca indlamu songs show a slowing of tempo, which allows the dancers to perform their stamping movements at a convenient pace.

Speaking generally, the overall tempo of the music of the older chiefdom clusters is slower than that of the ' intrusive ' clusters: the former have an average tempo of $\bullet = 82 - 112$ M.M., and the latter have an average tempo of $\bullet = 90 - 126$ M.M.

Although the melodies of Xhosa songs may employ, four, five or six tones respectively, they are all based on a hexa mode with one semitone interval (i.e. the notes of a penta mode plus the F sharp).

The tones of this mode are identical with the tones yielded by the single - string gourd bow (uhadi) and mouth bow (umrhubhe); two fundamental tones or ' roots ', and their 3rd, 4th and 5th partials. (In a number of songs one of the thirds is absent, giving the appearance of pentatonic tonality, but these apparently five - tone melodies are in fact hexa - based). Because of this, it was suggested by Rycroft that vocal modes may well have derived from the bow (its two fundamental tones) and its harmonic partials (Rycroft 1971).

Another hypothesis offered by Rycroft suggests the possible origin of vocal scales from ' a rudimentary chain of fourths without instrumental intervention ' (ibid: 222). This is demonstrated in a number of Nguni songs in which conjunct and disjunct fourths structures are evident, even in melodies based on penta, hexa and hepta modes; these are in fact extensions of this rudimentary three - tone structure, and they have occurred by means of ' an evolutionary process ' involving ' the accretion of analogous whole tones ' (ibid: 232).

Although it is not possible to come to any fixed conclusions regarding the precise origins of vocal scales, both hypotheses offered by Rycroft are plausible, in particular that which suggests the origins of vocal modes from bow technique and gourd bow harmonics. Comparative analyses of instrumental bow songs and choral dance songs has shown that there is not only a close relationship between the fixed modes or scales produced on the bow, but that there is also a close relationship

between the tonal and harmonic systems of music that is played with the fixed scale, and the music that is sung. To demonstrate this, I used, as a model, an instrumental 'personal' song (igwijo) played on the mouth bow (umrhubhe) and a beer song, which had been performed simultaneously, quite by chance.

The melody of the beer song is harmonized by singers selecting tones which are 'harmonically equivalent' to the notes of the melody. In selecting these tones, which the Cape Nguni refer to as izihlobo ('friendly') tones, singers choose tones from the same root triad as the original melody note. Thus the selection of tones is not haphazard, but based on root relationships, and when considering the two roots, the triad based on each is relevant in hexa songs (of which there are a considerable number), while in penta songs, the 3rd of one or other triad is omitted. This system differs slightly from the Venda system of harmonization by 'harmonically equivalent' tones, which is not based on root relationships.

A comparison of the instrumental song and the beer song revealed that, in both styles of music the same structural principles are observed: in the bow song, the two roots and their partials provide the harmonic progressions of shifting tonality which underlies all Xhosa music. In the beer song, which is based on the same hexa mode with one semitone interval, the principle of shifting tonality is to be observed in the root progressions of the 'chords' which underlie the melody, and which shift from one root tone to another adjacent root tone

below it. Thus in both songs, the two fundamental tones, and the chords which they generate (the harmonic partials in the bow song, and the izihlobo tones selected by singers, in the beer song), provide the tonal and harmonic foundations of each song respectively.

Thus Xhosa melodies derive from harmonic sequences that are produced with hexatonic (or hexa - based) modes, and so cannot be regarded as pure melodies unrelated to tonal and harmonic concepts. Analyses of the chord progressions underlying Xhosa melodies has shown that the melodies arise from chord progressions whose ' root ' tones shift from one tone to another adjacent tone, situated a whole tone above or below it. Melodies may therefore be ' . . . as much selections of tones from ' hidden ' patterns of chords, as the generators of patterns of chords ' (Blacking 1970(MS): 33). The same principle of shifting tonality is observed in Xhosa instrumental music. It is possible that modern Cape Nguni musicians have become enthusiastic exponents of Western European instruments such as the guitar and accordion, because the tonic - dominant progressions they would have heard played on these instruments are similar to the tonal and harmonic progressions of their traditional music; thus they can, and do produce these progressions in their own instrumental compositions.

Tonal and harmonic movement in Xhosa music may be summarized as follows:

(1) Within a total musical structure (strophe), tonality shifts from ' counter - tonic ' tonality at the beginning of the strophe, to the ' tonic ' tonality at its end (a whole tone

step down). This occurs in songs with well - defined solo and chorus sections, and with ' off - beat ' phrasing between the vocal parts and the clapped/drummed accompaniment.

(2) Tonality remains stable at the beginning and at the end of the strophe, being centred on the ' tonic ' , but harmonic fluctuations from ' tonic ' to ' counter - tonic ' (a whole tone up) occur within the strophe.

Most of the polyrhythmic songs of the older chiefdom clusters show this form of tonal motion. In instrumental music, the general tendency is for the tonality to shift from ' tonic ' at the beginning of the strophe, to ' counter - tonic ' tonality at its end. Alternatively, tonality may remain centred on the ' counter - tonic ' tonality at the beginning and at the end of the strophe (e.g. the umrhubhe song entitled Izono zam zinzima (' My sins are heavy ').

A considerable number of Xhosa melodies are based on a melodic formula consisting of the repetition of two similar phrases on different steps of a hexatonic mode. This formula is apparent in the oldest known Xhosa music, and in items of neo - Xhosa music. It is this feature, employed within the limits of a hexa mode, that gives Xhosa melody and therefore Xhosa music its characteristic, ' unique ' sound. Although peoples of other ethnic groups have similarly constructed melodies (e.g. the Venda, and the peoples of Namibia, whose Freedom songs employ this formula), the Cape Nguni appear to have employed it as a basis for shaping their melodies. If one cannot detect it at first hearing, closer analysis

of the music reveals it beneath the surface structure of such melodies, although in varied forms. The formula itself is derived from the root progressions of the chords of shifting tonalities which underlie Xhosa music. For this reason, most traditional Xhosa melodies, and many neo - Xhosa ones, are ' contrasting on the surface but identical in substance ' . Thus the melodies of many different styles of Xhosa music are really variations of one basic, procedural theme.

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APPENDIX 1

TRANSCRIPTIONS

In the transcriptions I have used the Western system of notation, and a few of the supplementary symbols suggested by Bruno Nettl in his book Theory and Method in Ethnomusicology (1964: 107).

The transcriptions are based on field recordings of particular performances of various styles of Xhosa music. In presenting them, I have used linear scoring, and also the circular scoring used by David Rycroft in his studies of Nguni music (1967). The latter has proved to be more satisfactory in the transcription of Xhosa songs, as it provides a clearer method of describing their forms. In certain types of music, e.g. umngqungqo dance songs, it is often very difficult to determine where the strophe begins and ends, and circular diagrams make it unnecessary to decide or make an unfounded guess. They are also particularly useful for showing the temporal alignment of voices and claps (and/or other percussive accompaniment), and vocal organization generally; for these reasons I have made considerable use of this type of scoring. Linear scoring has been used mainly for demonstrating the tones utilized in the songs, melodic variations, and tonal and harmonic progressions within the music.

In these transcriptions I have tried as much as possible to retain the essential features of the music - those features which characterize the musical style, and which are

retained in each and every performance of the song. A song is never sung several times over in exactly the same way; there are always some differences. Yet certain melodic and rhythmic patterns are always adhered to, which are so characteristically present in the song ' as to be almost predictable in their occurrence and location '. These constant features give a song, a musical style, its character and identity.

In selecting and transcribing these essential musical features, I relied largely on comparative studies of transcriptions and analyses of the same song by the same, and by different performers. In this I was assisted by the performers themselves, and by my guides and other informants, who between them knew almost all the songs that were recorded.

As this study has shown, Xhosa music is predominantly vocal and polyrhythmic, clearly more so than Venda, Pedi or Tsonga music (cf. Blacking 1967; Huskisson 1957; and Johnson 1972). The texture of the music within the various styles will vary according to the number of performers who produce the music. Since the greatest number of people producing the greatest (' biggest ') sound is a sign of a good performance, Xhosa music may be said, speaking generally, to have a dense texture. The intlombe songs, and umtshilo songs of the older chiefdom clusters, especially, show extreme density of musical texture; this results from the large company of people who usually perform these songs, each singer singing her own ' individual pattern of melody and rhythm, and thus contributing to the overall density of the music structure. In transcribing these songs, and others like them which also have dense textures (e.g. the beer

songs of the same clusters), I have given not only the relevant musical patterns but also some of the utterances of individual singers. In writing down the musical patterns as I heard them on my recordings (and as they were sung in the performance), I have tried to convey as clearly as possible the musical inclinations of the singers, and what they set out to do in producing the music. All regularly recurring and therefore constant musical features are included in the ' scores ', as well as some of the common melodic and rhythmic variations.

A Zulu friend, commenting on my recordings of Xhosa music, made the following remark: ' The Xhosa people certainly sing many more notes on pitch than we do; we wail a lot, we go ' AAAAAaaaaah! ' from one sound down to the next one '. He was referring to the tones of indefinite pitch, and the glissandi which occur in some of the songs. Glissandi are indeed a much more prominent feature of Zulu and Swazi traditional music, than of Cape Nguni singing (cf. Rycroft 1975/6: 64). Among the latter, the songs of young unmarried Mpondo and Xesibe men show frequent use of characteristic phrases which are sung with a sharp attack on a relatively high tone at the beginning of the phrase (what Rycroft calls ' rising glissando on - glides ' (ibid.), followed by a gradual glissando descent onto a relatively low tone. I have indicated these glissandi in the transcriptions with the usual sign:



Phrases executed in - ngqokola style whereby the legato phrasing characteristic of Cape Nguni singing becomes distorted (the singer deliberately slides from one tone to the next in a heavy glissando), are transcribed with wave - like markings (undulations) above or below them, e.g:



Slight deviations from our Western ' fixed ' or definite pitch also occur in Xhosa music. These are most obvious in the preliminary singing which is a feature of so many musical performances, whereby the song leader ' opens ' the song with an initial statement of the melody. (This is what Jones has called ' lining the song '). These pitches are either slightly higher or lower than the pitches given in the transcriptions, and I have indicated these accordingly with the symbols suggested by Nettl (ibid.). These are (i) a plus sign (+) for tones sung slightly sharper than the given pitch, and (ii) a minus sign (-) for tones sung slightly flatter than the given pitch. Indeterminate pitches also occur in many songs, where they carry syllables, words and/or phrases which are recited or chanted in a sing - song manner without any fixed musical notes. To indicate these approximate pitches I have used the symbol which denotes sprechgesang/sprechstimme (' speech - singing ') in Western music, e.g:



The rhythmic value of the tone is indicated by the appropriate note - head : - minim, crotchet, quaver (plus tail) etc. Dynamic signs have been used sparingly, and mainly to assist in the description of a typical trait within a musical style. When phrases occur repetitively, and are sung with certain inflections and nuances, then these become, together with the music itself, a characteristic trait of that particular style.

Barring or half - barring (which has been used by the majority of scholars in this field), has been used to mark the regular periods of time, and the melodic accents; half - barring (when used), indicates to some extent the grouping of the notes within a phrase. I have also provided some transcriptions with quasi time signatures, a device which has also been used by many researchers (Kubik, Johnson and others). Double - dotted bar lines indicate that the music within them is repeated,

Too much detail can make a transcription very difficult to read. To avoid this, I have transposed most of the songs into the same tone range, so that the scores are not overloaded with accidentals. This is indicated in each transcription as follows: "Pitch: Present a' = original G sharp ". If the pitch rises during a performance, this is also indicated by further explanation: ' . . . G sharp, rising to c' at the end '.

The chorus part is usually written below the song leader's part, on a separate stave, since its pitch is lower. (There are a few exceptions, which I have indicated in the scores). I have followed Blacking's method and underlined the chorus parts. In some transcriptions I have ' stretched ' the various melodic patterns

of individual singers over two (or three) additional staves. Additional voice parts which ' harmonize ' along with the main melody in parallel motion, are distinguished by the size of the note heads, and (occasionally) the direction (up or down) of the stems or tails. When two different tones are sung to the same syllable, the tone most commonly sung is written with a larger head than the one less commonly sung. Additional improvised voice parts, e.g. those which fill out the melodies with parallel and other moving parts, are also written in smaller notation, and may or may not have separate staves. If they occupy the same stave , they are distinguished by the direction of the note tails. (This applies to the extremely polyrhythmic music e.g. intlombe songs).

Xhosa music is syllabic, in that each word syllable is usually sung to one melody tone. Like Blacking, Rycroft and others, I have transcribed the standard note - value of each syllable as a quaver; however, this one - to - one relationship cannot be regarded as a ' rule ' of Xhosa music. In songs that are sung without words, or rather, with vocables, one syllable accompanying a series of different tones is fairly common, although the syllable is drawn out and extended. The intlombe songs of young Xhosa and Thembu adults are typical examples of this procedure. In these songs, a single clapped beat of the strophe is frequently ' filled out ' by a number of different sung tones in the vocal part(s). This also occurs in the umngqunggo songs. In both styles of music and, to a lesser degree, in the diviners' songs which are sung in - ngqokola

style, there is considerably more rhythmic interplay and embellishment of the single beat and syllable with several tones (different and identical), than there is in the beer songs. The songs performed by married women at boys' initiation ceremonies (e.g. umphumo pl. imiphumo) also show this embellishment.

Clap patterns

Xhosa music is, with a few exceptions, accompanied by hand - clapping which emphasizes the basic metre of the music. In my transcriptions I have allotted the clap patterns a separate line of their own, immediately above or below the vocal parts (depending on which location is more convenient). Different clap patterns comprising a number of claps or ' beats ' of definite duration, provide the predominant rhythms of the different styles of music. In my scores, the individual clap beats are connected by an unbroken line running through them. Since normal barring has been used in the music, I have also applied it to the clap parts. Claps(beats) which are not actually sounded, but are simulated, are tied over to the preceding clap , e.g. in the following twelve - pulse clap pattern which underlies many umtshotsho songs:



To demonstrate off - beat phrasing in the transcriptions, I have used tied notes where necessary, i.e. notes tied together across the underlying main beats, or across the bar lines which may separate the phrases, for the sake of

clarity. The two tied notes produce only one sound; the note - values indicate exactly when and where the displacement occurs. In the following Figure T.1., the beat is advanced in melodic execution, but the opposite procedure (delay or suspension of the melodic beat) is almost as common. (Cf. pp. 642ss for a discussion of off - beating).

Figure T.1:

Tempo: ♩ = 150 M.M.

CLAPS: (1) (1) (1) (1) (1) ♩

SL. ♩ I-la- nga li-ba-ze-ze-za, li-ba-le' u-bo-hom-

CHORUS: TACET

SL. ♩ ~ ba nento yak' bo-hamb' uy' - veze'; I-la-

CHORUS: ♩ uy' - veze';

Claps start.

Mode:
hexa-based
pentatonic
(two major
triads
based on
roots E and
D; the 3rd
above E root
(G#) is
absent)

Strophe
length:
♩ × 16
(8 + 8) × ♩

Isidlalo ('Amusement'): - ndinditha sance song of
Xesibe women, usually performed at weddings.

Text:

Úbohamba nento yakho, úhamb' úyivéza, ilanga libálele,

('Go about with your thing, and show it in broad daylight')

(trans. R Jakuja)

APPENDIX 11

GLOSSARY

The Xhosa words are entered alphabetically according to the first letter of the stem, disregarding the prefix. Hyphenation has been used here for clarification, but is not normally used.

is-abhabha (pl. iz-abhabha) a toy horn or trumpet made by children, out of waxed paper and a small strip of wire.

ukw-alusa to circumcise;
the rite of circumcision.

is-angoma (pl. iz-angoma) diviner (term used by Mpondo, Bhaca and Xesibe clusters; also used by the Zulu and Swazi).

uku-bambelela ' to hold on to ' ;
as a song leader ' holds on to ' a song-melody.

um-baganga (mbaganga) collective term for modern township music and instrumental/vocal arrangements of traditional songs; the guitar is an essential feature of this music.

um-beko (pl. imi-beko) an installation
(of a chief or headman).

i-bendi (pl. ama-bendi) a band of instrumentalists (from Eng. ' band ').

uku-betha lit. ' to strike, hit, beat ' ; ' to play a musical instrument ', e.g. drum, uhadi gourd bow; uku-betha iintonga = ' to play sticks ', i.e. to fight with sticks.

um-bhaco (pl. imi-bhaco) long cotton skirt trimmed with strips of black material and pearly buttons, worn by many tribal Cape Nguni women.

um-bhali wengoma (pl. aba-bhali we(zi)ngoma) . ' a writer of music ', i.e. a composer.

i-bhasi (pl. ii-bhasi) a formal beer drink attended by Tshawe people (married men and unattached women); loosely referred to as i-timiti (which see).

um-bhayizelo (pl. imi-bhayizelo). . dance performed by 'dressed' Cape Nguni young people; lit. 'Bay city music', often accompanied by the guitar; this is the 'dressed' equivalent of 'Red' imitshotsho dances.

uku-bhayizela roaring sounds produced rhythmically when dancing umbhayizelo; to make these sounds (see -tshotsha).

uku-bhodla to bring up wind from the stomach; belching sounds made to a regular metre by young unmarried men (abafana) at their dance parties.

um-bholorho (pl. imi-bholorho) . . a pre-wedding party organized by iindlavini which takes place at the home of the bride-to-be, and at which she is ' sung for '.

i-bhundela (pl. ii-bhundela) . . Mpondo beer drink where beer is sold.

uku-bitá (Bhaca; -biza = Xhosa). . lit. ' the calling of the girls ', which takes place at the end of dance parties of Bhaca, Mpondo and Xesibe iindlavini; the young men select their sleeping partners for the night.

i-bodi (pl. ii-bodi) . . a sub-headman

isi-bonda (pl. izi-bonda) . . a headman

aba-bomvu (< rel. st. - bomvu, 'red'; sing: o-bomvu): lit. 'red people', i.e. tribal people, who cling to traditional beliefs and way of life.

im-bongi (pl. iim-bongi) . . a Praiser, who may either be officially attached to a particular chief, or be recognised as an expert and called upon to perform at public functions.

uku-bonga to recite praises, celebrate, eulogize (done by an imbongi)

izi-bongo . . Praises declaimed by an imbongi; this is not a category of Xhosa music.

isi-buliso (pl. izi-buliso) . . a special Praise song for a Chief or important; sung as a ' Greeting ' song when the Chief attends a social event.

- i-cangca (pl. ama-cangca) Zionist hand rattles.
- uku-chasa to oppose, be against;
ingoma yokuchasa 'Protest song '.
- i-culo (pl. ama-culo) a hymn, sacred song;
 also modern love lyrics (especially those which are a
 feature of Radio Bantu programmes).
- um-culo (pl. imi-culo) a concert (of the
 'school' people).
- aba-dala (< adj. -dala, 'old';
 sing: om-dala); lit. 'old people', i.e. adults, or the
 ancestral spirits.
- in-dali (pl. izin-dali) sale, auction sale;
 Mpondo bar where beer is sold; Thembu type = i-potsoyi
 (which see).
- i-dikazi (pl. ama-dikazi) unmarried women who
 have born children, and unattached women (divorced, widowed)
 who belong to the Tshawe class (see i-jayela)
- uku-dlala to play (a game, a
 musical instrument); music-making generally; see also
-dlal' ama-stiki, = lit. ' to play sticks ', i.e. have a
 stick-fight.
- isi-dlalo (pl. izi-dlalo) an amusement, e.g.
 song(s) sung at work parties, and beer songs and dance
 songs sung at the seances of diviners.
- um-dlalo (pl. imi-dlalo) games, e.g. played by
 children.
- um-dudo (pl. imi-dudo) a big wedding dance, no
 longer performed today; uku-duda = to dance umdudo.
- isi-duko (pl. izi-duko) tribal or clan name.
- um-fana (pl. aba-fana) initiated young man.
- um-fazi (pl. aba-fazi) a woman, married woman,
 wife; umfazi unendevu lit. ' the woman has a
 beard ', - said of a woman who has an exceptionally deep
 voice; commonly used to describe a woman who has not had
 children, the reason being that 'she could not because she
 was almost made a man'.

uku-fihla to hide, conceal;
a 'Red' burial.

i-fleyiti (pl. ii-fleyiti) harmonica (from
Afrikaans 'fluitjie', = lit. ' little flute ').

uku-gaja to dance the muscle-
rippling, shaking dance of the Bhaca, Xesibe and Eastern
Mpondo; see - tyityimba.

um-gajo (pl. imi-gajo) name of the above
dance; also referred to as ukugaja (n.)

i-gaskiti (pl. ii-gaskiti). a three-layer collar
made from strips of rubber, to which small bells are
attached; worn by Thembu and Xhosa boys when they attend
imi-tshotsho dances, (from Eng. ' gasket ').

i-gedemsi (pl. ama-gedemsi) ankle - bells worn
by Bhaca, Xesibe and Mpondo young men (see i-kloko).

um-gidi (pl. imi-gidi) a big feast with
meat and beer, wedding feast, installation feast, 'coming
out' feast of boy initiates.

isi-gingci (pl. izi-gingci) the commercial guitar.

uku-godla throaty sounds made to
a regular metre, done mainly by men when dancing.

isi-godlo (pl. izi-godlo) ox-horn formerly used
as a signal horn, used today by Zionists at their services.

i-gonokhwece (pl. ama-gonokhwece) . . Hand rattles used by
Zionists in Cacadu district, very similar to ama-cangca
(which see).

i-gqirha (pl. ama-gqirha) diviner (Xhosa,
Thembu, Mfengu and Mpondomise); Mpondo also use the
term is-angoma, particularly the Eastern Mpondo.

um-gquzo (pl. imi-gquzo) Mpondo ritual circle
dance performed at girls' initiation ceremonies; synonymous
with um-nggungqo, (which see).

um-gubho (pl. imi-gubho) (i) big dance held
on the eve of circumcision, at which initiates are presented
with blankets or sheepskins; (ii) formerly Bhaca girls'
initiation ceremony, nowadays known as i-pati and celebrated
in an attenuated form (see i-pati).

i-gubu (pl. ama-gubu) (= Xh.); Bhaca and Xesibe = isigubu (pl. izi-gubu); . . a form of the European military drum, used by diviners and Zionists; (pl. = 'band').

i-guburha (pl. ama-guburha) dance party attended by young 'Red' Mpondo men and their girls; similar to the in-tlombe of the Xhosa, Thembu, Bomvana and Mpondomise (which see).

uku-guburha lit. ' to sing like the young men at i-guburha ', i.e. to sing into the cupped hand, at the same time tapping the area between the nose and upper lip with two fingers of the cupped hand; this achieves a vibratory effect, and the singing is nasal (see uku-gwaba/uku-tshotsha).

um-guyo (pl. imi-guyo) the ritual song of circumcision, entitled uSomagwaza; originally the name of a bigger ceremony at which this song was sung.

uku-gwaba Mpondo/Xesibe equivalent of uku-vuma (' to agree, sing '); thus -guburha is a special style of -gwaba; also known as uku-tshotsha.

i-gwabo (pl. ii-gwabo) a song (Mpondo, Xesibe version of i-ngoma).

i-gwijo (pl. ama-gwijo) ' personal ' song or ' signature tune ' of a person or group of persons, usually sung exclusively by the ' owner(s) '.

uku-gwinga Bhaca, Xesibe and Mpondo version of uku-godla.

u-hadi (pl. i-hadi) musical bow with a single undivided string and calabash resonator, played by striking the string with a light stick or reed; used for self-accompaniment in solo singing; also Xhosa term for the harmonium.

ama-hahlazo (pl. um-hahlazo) Mpondo ankle rattles made from the ilala palm leaf, reported by Kirby, and which appear to have died out.

uku-hlabela ' to sing ' = of one person only, e.g. the song leader, who starts a song and leads off the chorus.

um-hlabeli (pl. aba-hlabeli) a song leader.

u-hlanga (pl. iin-tlanga) an independent chiefdom.

i-hlankomo (pl. ii-hlankomo) . . . a fipple whistle.

uku-hlasimla . . . to shudder, as
when one sings and/or listens to music, whether one likes
the music or not; thus, music always affects a person.

isi-hlobo (pl. izi-hlobo) . . . a friend, intimate;
the name for tones which agree harmonically with the tones
of a melody - 'harmonically equivalent' or 'companion'
tones; primary izi-hlobo tones are situated a fifth above
or a fourth below a particular tone.

i-hlombe . . . the feeling of
joyous excitement and wellbeing which music induces in
people who perform and/or listen to it; the highest
degree of ihlombe is transcendence; this is attained
only through music.

i-hopskhothi . . . Cape Nguni version
of the game of Hopscotch.

um-jadu (pl. imi-jadu) . . . big feast held at
the commencement of girls' initiation ceremonies, and also
at their conclusion.

i-jayela (pl. ama-jayela) . . . Thembu term for
i-dikazi (pl. ama-), unattached women who have born children,
and belonging to the Tshawe class.

i-jayiva . . . jiving; uku-jayiva (v.).

i-jez . . . Jazz

Jika! . . . 'Turn! Change!'; a
change signal during dancing, indicating a change in direction
from left to right, or vice versa.

uku-jika 'lizwi (= ilizwi) . . . lit. 'to change the
voice', i.e. to sing in a certain manner, employing a
particular vocal style or technique.

i-katala (pl. ii-katala) . . . the commercial guitar;
also used to describe the 'toy guitar' made by young boys,
which resembles the ramkie, an early form of the plucked
lute.

isi-khakha (pl. izi-khakha) . . . gored cow-skin skirts
worn by married women when performing the umngqungqo dance.

uku-khala kabukhali . . . screeching instead of
singing; forcing the voice.

uku-khalisa ' to make to cry ', i.e. to
play a musical instrument, especially a string (bow)
or wind instrument.

isi-khalo (pl. izi-khalo) lit. ' in the style of
weeping '; a lament (musical type).

uku-khameka to ' squeeze ' the sound
from the throat, so that one screeches rather than sings.

i-khankatha (pl. ama-khankatha) . . guardian of
circumcised boys who tends their wounds when they
are in seclusion.

i-khawu (pl. ama-khawu) . . a small shield; a
rolled ox-hide 'drum' used at diviners' seances (Bhaca);
it is played by being struck with beaters (sticks or
pieces of rubber).

uku-khawuleza ' to hurry, hasten ' ;
used when distinguishing between ' faster ' and ' slower '
songs, e.g: iingoma ezikhawulezayo (' hurried, hastened
songs '), and iingoma ezilibalayo (' delayed songs ').

i-khodiyani (pl. ama-khodiyani) . . the accordion.

umkhokeli (pl. aba-khokeli) . . a leader; umkhokeli
emxhentsweni (' leader in the dance '); umkhokeli
entlabeleni (' leader in the singing ').

i-kholwa (pl. ama-kholwa) . . a believer, e.g. a
Christian.

u-khombe (pl. iin-khombe) . . the index finger;
a police - type whistle used by boys and young men when
dancing.

i-khorus a singing group ('chorus ')

um-khuhlane/umkhuhlwane catarrh; influenza;
used in conjunction with -ngqokola (which see), and
-ndyondya.

- khulu (adj.) ' big, great ' ; also
used to distinguish ' low ' pitch (-khulu) from ' high '
pitch (-ncinci = ' small '), that is, the voice registers
of men and women.

um-khwetha (pl. aba-khwetha) . . an initiate (e.g.
circumcised youth, or novice diviner).

uku-kikizela to ululate, as at
weddings and ' coming out ' ceremonies of boy initiates.
Always a sign of great rejoicing.

in-kinge (pl. iin-kinge) a single-string musical bow, played by plucking the string with a finger or plectrum, while the mouth is used as a resonator.

isi-kloko (pl. izi-kloko) ankle bells worn by Xhosa, Thembu, Bomvana, Mpondomise and Mfengu young men when dancing (see i-gedemsi (pl. ama-gedemsi).

i-kostina/ikonsatina (pl. ama-kostina/ama-konsatina). . the concertina.

i-krhwala (pl. ama-krhwala) . . . newly-circumcised youth.

kumnandi (rel. st. mnandi) = ' it is nice ', said of food, music and sex.

i-kwedini (pl. ama-kwedini) . . . an uninitiated boy (rather derogatory: ' you (thing in the) boy '.

i-lali (pl. ii-lali) . . . an administrative area, formerly called a ' location '.

uku-libazisa ' to delay, retard, hinder'; hence iingoma ezilibalayo = 'delayed' i.e. 'slower songs', as opposed to 'hurried songs', see -khawuleza.

u-libo Thembu agricultural ceremony connected with young crops, seldom performed today.

i-lima (pl. ama-lima). a work party (older chiefdom clusters and Mfengu); see isi-tshongo.

u-Mantyi (pl. o-Mantyi), also u-Majestili, less common) . a magistrate.

uku-memelela to hum (with open or closed lips).

uku-metsha intra-crural intercourse (without penetration); Bhaca = uku-tshina.

i-modeni 'modern', applies to township music strongly influenced by Jazz, Pop and Rock styles of music.

u-Mongameli (pl. o-Mongameli) . . the Transkeian President (also i-Presidanti, pl. ama-Presidanti).

i-mpempe (pl. ii-mpempe) . . . collective term for whistles, used by dance leaders to indicate changes in dance steps in communal dancing.

-ncinci, -ncincane 'little, small'; also
'high' - the voice register of women and girls (see - khulu).

i-Nciba the Great Kei river.

uku-ndinditha (i) stamping dance
performed by children of the older chiefdom clusters;
(ii) stamping dance of Xesibe women when performing
izi-dlalo (which see).

i-ndlamu (pl. ii-ndlamu) strenuous kicking/stamping
dance performed by Bhaca, Xesibe, Mpondo, Mpondomise and
Ntlangwini young men, also by Zulu and Swazi men.

i-ndlavini (pl. ii-ndlavini) member of all-male
iindlavini gangs of young unmarried 'dressed' men of the
Bhaca, Xesibe and Mpondo clusters.

i-ndwendweni (pl. ii-ndwendweni) a substitute bugle, i.e.
a length of brass-coloured piping used by iindlavini to call
gang members to a party or meeting; sometimes played when
a Walking song is sung, en route to a social event.

uku-ndyondya Bhaca and Mfengu term
synonymous with uku-ngqokola (which see).

i-ngcibi (pl. ii-ngcibi) the ' surgeon ' who
performs circumcision.

i-ngilana (pl. ii-ngilana) formerly the name of
an agricultural ceremony, - nowadays the name of an event
held for collecting funds for a Christmas party; girls of
the in-tlombe youth group (C.T.P.) participate.

i-ngoma (pl. ii-ngoma) a song, music.

ngomqala (uku-vuma ngomqala) lit. ' to sing with
the throat ', i.e. employ a certain vocal style or technique.

uku-ngqokola voice-changing technique
in which the singer sings in a deep, rasping voice ' as if
he has umkhuhlwane ' (catarrh, influenza; done mainly by
diviners; sometimes used with nasalization; Bhaca/Mfengu
term is uku-ndyondya).

i-ngqongqo (pl. ii-ngqongqo) rudimentary 'drum'
played by women at boys' initiation ceremonies; today has
several substitutes, e.g: (i) a piece of cardboard (ikhadibhodi);
(ii) a piece of zinc (izinki), and (iii) a piece of sail-
cloth (iseyile); all are beaten with sticks and by several
women.

ngqongqo the fundamental regular
beat in music (also 'i-beat'); used in constructions like
ukuthi-ngqongqo ('to keep time').

- um-nggunggo (pl. imi-nggunggo) . . . ritual circle
dance performed by married women (and social equivalents)
at girls' initiation ceremonies; Mpondo version = umgquzo.
- i-nkaca (pl. ii-nkaca) ankle rattles
made from layers of thin wooden rings, or plastic
cording, worn by diviners; also beaded anklets worn by same.
- i-nkhandela (pl. ii-nkhandela) alternate name for
Bhaca iindlavini parties, from Eng. 'candle'; the name
um-tshotsho is more commonly used (see umtshotsho).
- i-nkosi (pl. ii-nkosi) a chief.
- u-nombola (pl. o-nombola) lit.' a raw
person who paints with clay', i.e. a 'Red' Mpondo or
Xesibe person; synonymous with o-bomvu (aba-bomvu) and
i-qaba (ama-qaba) , = 'Red', 'pagan' person(s).
- ama-ngashele (pl.) ankle rattles made
from goatskin, reported by Kirby, but seldom seen nowadays.
- i-ngologho (pl. ii-ngologho) Thembu rite connected
with protecting young crops from blight, and with drought
conditions.
- uk-ombela to sing, clap and drum
at the diviners' seance (intlombe).
- i-pati (pl. ii-pati) (i) Bhaca girls'
initiation ceremony (from Eng. 'party'); (ii) dance
party of Xesibe teenagers, also known as ukusina (n.) ;
uku-sina (v.) =dance steps performed at this event;
the Bhaca ceremony was formerly known as um-gubho, but
is today known as 'i-pati', and is celebrated in an
attenuated form.
- i-phakathi (pl. ama-phakathi) a councillor.
- isi-phaluka (pl. izi-phaluka) a homestead settlement;
see also isi-xeko.
- i-phathaphatha Xhosa version of the
Twist (style of Pop music in the 'sixties').
- umphathi wengoma (pl. ama-phathi we(zi)ngoma) . . song
manager, song controller in young adult mens' dancing group.
- um-phetho (pl. imi-phetho) an edge, border, rim;
the long thatching rope wound round and round a roof of a
hut; ngokwenz' imiphetho ngezandla ='to make borders, rims
with the hands', i.e. to clap; see -qhweba.

- um-phini (pl. ama-phini) drum sticks, or
beaters made from curved strips of rubber.
- i-phupha (pl. ama-phupha) dream(s).
- i-phupharha (pl. ama-phupharha) a day-dream, vision.
- i-potsoyi (pl. ii-potsoyi)Thembu bar where beer
is sold; (synonymous with Mpondo in-dali).
- i-gaba (pl. ama-gaba)lit. 'one who paints/
smears with clay', i.e. a pagan, synonymous with o-bomvu
and u-nombola.
- um-qambi (wengoma),(pl. aba-qambi we(zi)ngoma) . . . a composer
(non-literate), general term used by all Cape Nguni.
- um-qambo (pl. imi-qambo)a composition.
- uku-qhwabato clap the hands
when singing (onomatopoeic).
- i-qoga (pl. ama-qoga)ornamentally carved
sticks, used by women to beat the i-ngqongqo 'drum'; rarely
seen today.
- um-qunge (pl. imi-qunge)Mpondo mouth bow,
synonymous with umrhubhe of the Xhosa and Thembu (see
umrhubhe).
- ramkie name used by Cape
Nguni for toy guitars made and played by boys; originally
a type of plucked lute with three (later four) strings, used
by the Hottentots in the 18th and 19th centuries.
- um-rhubhe (pl. imi-rhubhe)mouth bow with single
undivided string, played by being bowed underneath the string,
while the player's mouth acts as a resonator; used for solo
and communal performances.
- i-sawundi (pl. ama-sawundi) ' Sound ' = a
category of modern Xhosa music, showing the strong influence
of Jazz, and some elements of western European hymnody,
especially in the rhythm; from Eng. 'sound'.
- i-seyile (pl. ama-seyile) a piece of sail -
cloth, substitute for ingqongqo.

uku-sina Bhaca, Xesibe and East
Mpondo term meaning ' to dance ' ; (see uku-xhentsa)

e-sitikeni loc. ' at the place
of sticks ', i.e. the place of stick-fighting.

u-sizwe (pl. iint-sizwe) . . member of gangs of
Bhaca and Xesibe young men who wear traditional dress;
Bhaca groups have virtually died out.

i-tanki (pl. ii-tanki) . . police whistle used by
dance leader in boys' um-tshotsho dancing group.

um-teyo (pl. imi-teyo) . . Mfengu term for the
muscle-rippling dance performed at um-tshotsho dances;
also the term used by Cape Nguni mine workers on the
Rand for their version of the dance.

uku-thetha ' to speak, say, talk '.

isi-thili (pl. izi-thili) . . a district.

uku-thoba to lower the voice,
especially when one is singing too loudly and forcefully.

uku-thombisa ' to shoot, bud, sprout ' ;
' to menstruate for the first time ' ; girls' initiation
ceremonies (older cheifdom clusters) .

i-thongo (pl. ama-thongo) ancestral spirit(s).

i-thontho (pl. ii-thontho) seclusion hut of
circumcised boys; also known as i-bhuma/i-suthu/i-bhoma.

uku-thuthuzela ' to calm, soothe ' ;
ingoma yokuthuthuzela = ' a soothing song ' i.e. a
lullaby.

i-timiti (pl. ii-timiti) (i) formal beer drink
attended by Tshawe people; (ii) informal beer drink
attended by anyone; (iii) 'Tea meeting' of 'school'
people.

in-tlombe (pl. iin-tlombe) . . (i) seance of
diviners; (ii) dance party of initiated young men
(abafana) of the older chiefdom clusters.

isi-tolotolo pl. (izi-tolotolo) . . the Jew's harp.

in-tombazana (pl. aman-tombazana) . . a young girl.

i-ntonjane (pl. ama-ntonjane) . . . the girl initiate; also the whole initiation ceremony is referred to as i-ntonjane; (synonymous with ukuthombisa).

elu-tshabeni loc. ' at the place of the enemy ', i.e. venue for stick-fights.

in-tshatsheli (pl. iin-tshatsheli) . . a champion; one who excels in singing, dancing, etc.

um-tshato (pl. imi-tshato) wedding, marriage ceremonies.

um-Tshawe (pl. ama-Tshawe) older married who, together with unattached women, make up the Tshawe core groups in Cape Nguni society.

uku-tshayelesa graceful 'sweeping' movement from waist to ground, done by girls at imi-tshotsho dances (from - tshayela, ' to sweep ').

um-tshilo (pl. imi-tshilo) . . the special dance of circumcised boys; these are seldom if ever performed nowadays, but some of the music is performed at the boys' 'coming out' ceremonies (imi-phumo).

uku-tshiswa kwamathambo 'the burning of the bones', i.e. a ceremony observed at the commencement of an initiate diviner's novitiate; also referred to as umvulo, which see.

uku-tshitsha, also - tshikitsha . . . heavy stamping when done by young Mpondo and Bhaca girls, especially when improvising.

uku-tsholoza to sing and dance at girls' initiation ceremonies, e.g. to perform umngungqo.

isi-tshongo (pl. izi-tshongo, iti-tshongo = Bhaca) . . a work party = Xesibe and Bhaca clusters (synonymous with i-lima, which see).

um-tshotsho (pl. imi-tshotsho) . . . (i) the dance party of 'Red' uninitiated boys (ama-kwenkwe) and their girls (C.T.P.); (ii) the dance party of Bhaca, Xesibe and Mpondo iindlavini (also known alternatively as i-nkhandela, which see).

uku-tshotsha (i) to make the pharyngeal roaring sounds of boys when dancing at their imi-tshotsho dances; (ii) the special singing style of Mpondo and Xesibe young men at their dance party, i-guburha; synonymous with uku-guburha (loosely referred to as uku-gwaba; see -guburha and -gwaba); (iii) very similar to the roaring sounds (-bhayizela) done by 'dressed' boys at um-bhayizelo dances, the non-tribal version of um-tshotsho (C.T.P.).

i-tshunguza (pl. ama-tshunguza) name given to people who dance untidily, from -tshunguza (v.), 'to run about from place to place, all over the place '.

uku-tyityimbato perform the muscle-rippling, shaking dance, synonymous with uku-gaja of the Bhaca and Xesibe.

e-tywaleni loc. ' at the place of beer ', i.e. the beer drink attended by married couples.

um-vulo (pl. imi-vulo) the ceremony marking the commencement of a diviner's novitiate; from uku-vula , ' to open ', hence umvulo = 'opening'.

uku-vuma lit. ' to agree ' ; in music, to sing as a group, i.e. so that each singer's part will ' agree ' with each other, and with the song leader's part.

im-vumi (pl. aba-vumi) a good singer.

uku-vumisa the consenting method employed by diviners at seances.

uku-vuthela 'to blow' (i.e. to play) a wind instrument.

isi-xeko (pl. izi-xeko) a homestead settlement or neighbourhood.

uku-xhentsa 'to dance ' (general term), similar to uku-sina of the Bhaca and Xesibe.

isi-Xhosa the Xhosa language; also 'in the Xhosa style', 'according to the Xhosa custom'.

um-Xhosa (pl. ama-Xhosa) a Xhosa person.

i-xhwele (pl. ama-xhwele) a herbalist (Xh.); inyanga = Mpondo.

i-xilongo (pl. ii-xilongo) a trumpet, also the name for modern wind instruments employed in modern bands, e.g. clarinet, trombone, saxophone.

yedwa alone; as when one dances 'solo', i.e. improvises within a group = -xhentsa yedwa ; similarly to sing one's own part within a group = -hlabela yedwa; also as in self-accompanied solo singing.

um-yeyezelo the 'Praise song'
for initiated youths, traditionally performed by
married women who accompany their singing by
beating the ingqongqo'drum'.

uku-yeyezela to sing, dance and
beat the 'drum' at boys' initiation celebrations,
e.g. at umphumo ('coming out') ceremonies
nowadays.

ndi-zenzele lit. ' I made it
myself ', i.e. self-composed music.

um-zi (pl. imi-zi) a homestead.

i-zinki (pl. ii-zinki) a piece of zinc,
used as a substitute for the ingqongqo'drum'.

isi-zwana (pl izi-zwana) . . a chiefdom cluster .

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- AMA. TR- 22 (Xhosa/Thembu): (A.1 - 4)
- AMA. TR- 22 (Xhosa/Mpondo): (B.1 - 2)
- AMA. TR- 26 (Xhosa/Ngqika): (A.1 - 5) & (B.1 - 8)
- AMA. TR- 27 (Xhosa): (A.1 - 6) & (B.1 - 6)
- AMA. TR- 28 (Xhosa/Gcaleka): (A.1 - 7) & (B.1 - 6)
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Plates 1, 2 and 3:

Three Cape Nguni musicians:

1.

No-orange Lizo and
uhadi gourd bow



2.

Nomisile Dungulu and
uhadi



5.

Noxolo Dingiswayo and
uhadi

3.

Nombhobho Sandile and
umrhubhe mouth bow



Plates 4 and 5:

A musical evening at the homestead of
Mehloekati Lizo, Ngqokoto administrative
area, Engcobo district, Transkei

4.

Nombhobho Sandile and
uhadi gourd bow



5.

Noxolo Dingiswayo and
uhadi



8.

Fourboys ('Four o'clock')
Sethantxa singing with his
father's band

Plates 6, 7 and 8:
At the Great Place of
Khotso Sethuntsa
(5 - 10 - 70)

6, and 7:
Mr Sethuntsa and his
wives



7.

10.
Woman performing
'solo' umxhentsa



11.
Posture assumed by women
when dancing umngungu

8.
Fourboys ('Four o'clock')
Sethuntsa singing with his
father's band



Plates 9, 10 and 11:
Dance steps and postures

9.

uku-ndinditha

(as done by children,
"Cape Tribes Proper")



10.

Woman performing
'solo' umxhentso



11.

Posture assumed by women
when dancing umngqungqo



Plates 12, 13 and 14:
Three Cape Nguni musicians

12.

James Mthamo



13.

Barnabas Mhleli

Two Thembu married
women, and one
idikasi (with wide
turban)



14.

Tsutsu Ndokala

Young Xesibe
married woman



Plates 15, 16 and 17:

Cape Nguni women:

15.

Intlonbe/ iguburha dance par

Mpondo married woman

18.

Men singing in

-gwaba/-tshetsha

vocal style



16.

Two Thembu married
women, and one
idikazi (with wide
turban)

Intlonbe/ iguburha

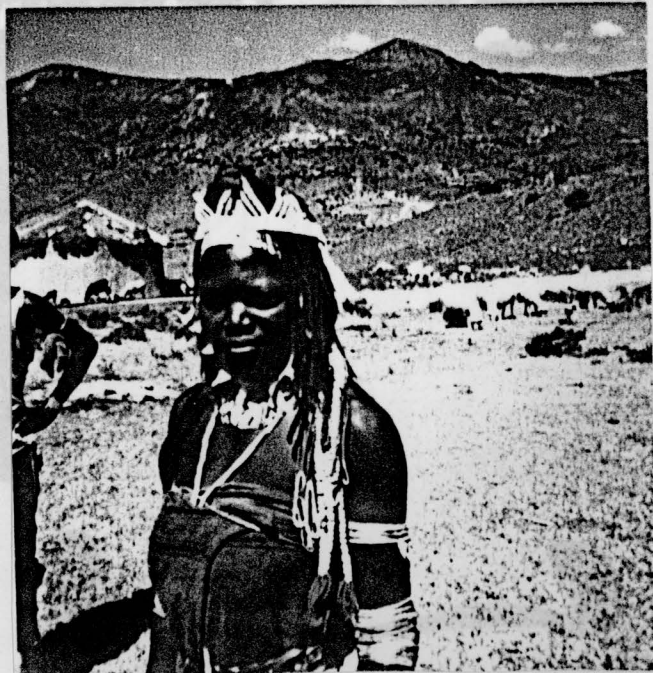
group of Xesibe

young men



17.

Young Xesibe
married woman



Plates 20, 21 and 22:

Plates 18 and 19:

Xesibe unmarried men who attend
intlombe/ iguburha dance parties

18. abahlungu Monco

Men singing in
-gwaba/-tshotsha
vocal style



21.

Sitshebela Gawulana

(isiduko Mangwane)

and jew's harp

(isitolotolo)

(Xesibe woman)

19.

Intlombe/ iguburha

group of Xesibe

young men



22.

Noziabo Xusa

(isiduko Zongosi)

and varhubhe;

Her mother,

Mwinititi Xusa,

stands next to

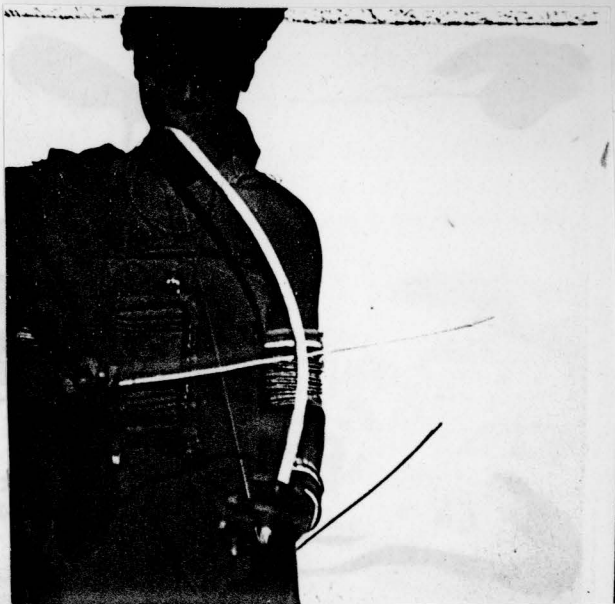
her

(Thembu/Hala

chiefdom)

Plates 20, 21 and 22:
Cape Nguni
instrumentalists

20. (Thembu/Hala chiefdom)
Novabuhlungu Monco
(isiduko Mgqunu)
and umrhubhe mouth bow
(Gcaleka young woman)



21.
Sitshebela Gawulana
(isiduko Mangwane)
and jew's harp
(isitolotolo)
(Xesibe woman)



22.
Nozimbo Xuza
(isiduko Zongozi)
and umrhubhe;
Her mother,
Nowiniti Xuza,
stands next to
her
(Thembu/Hala
chiefdom)



Plates 23, 26 and 27:

Plates 23 and 24:

Umtshotsho groups

(Thembu/Hala chiefdom)

'sind'avingi'

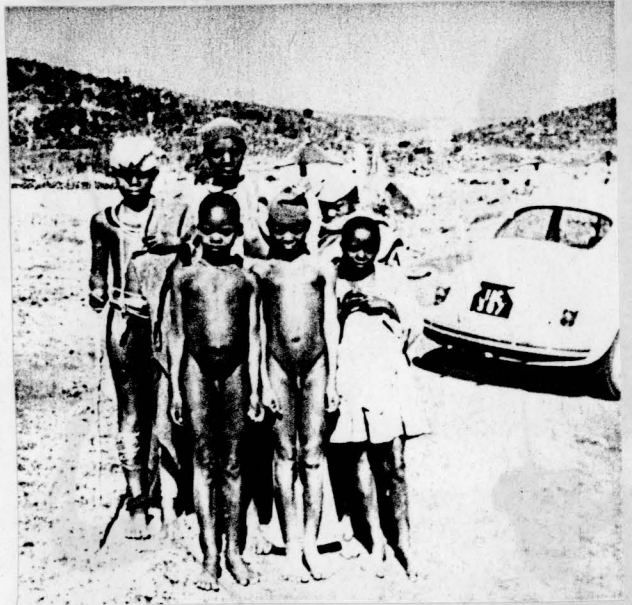
group

23. leader is the

Younger group

(9 - 12 years)

of age)



26.

Xesibe teenagers
who attend 'ipati'

or 'go to -sina'

(equivalent of

umtshotsho of the

24. chiefdom

Older group

(13 - 17 years

of age)



27.

Xesibe teenagers

living near the

Eastern Mpondo,

MaXesibeni,

at a wedding

Plates 25, 26 and 27:
Xesibe children

25.

A very young

'iindlavini'

group

(The leader is the
small boy in the
front row, centre)

sing and play
(whistles and
harmonica)



26.

Xesibe teenagers
who attend 'ipati'
or 'go to -sina'
(equivalent of
umtshotsho of the
older chiefdom
clusters)

'playing sticks'
(stick-fighting)



27.

Xesibe teenagers
living near the
Eastern Mpondo,
MaXesibeni,
at a wedding



Plates 28, and 29:

Group of boys en route
to umtshotsho

28.

Boy performing
-tyityimba
while the rest
of the group
sing and play
(whistles and
harmonica)



29.

Boys group march to
'playing sticks'
(stick-fighting)



Plates 30 and 31:

Bhaca iindlavini en route to
umtshotsho dance party

30. a Marching song en route
to umtshotsho

Bugler calls the group
members to join the
marching men and
girls



31.

The group march to
the umtshotsho
hut



Plates 32 and 33:

Bhaca iindlavini young men
and their girls singing
a Marching song en route
to umtshotsho

32.



35.

33. Tsomo district,
near the
'dust bowl'
area

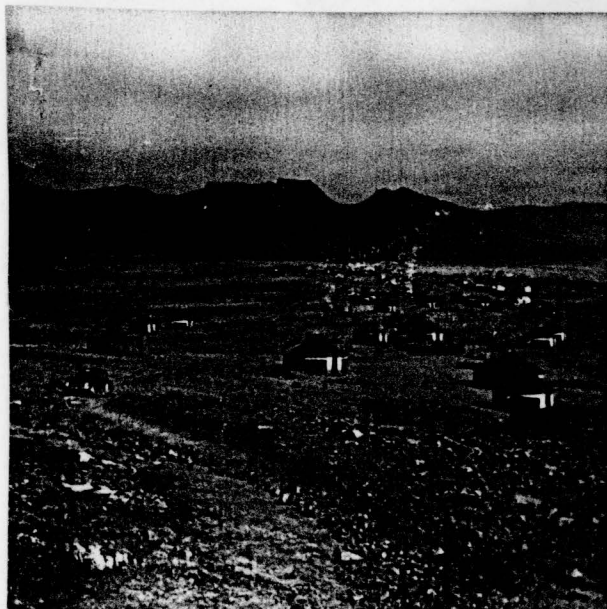


Plates 36 and 37:
 Plates 34 and 35:
 Winter in Xhosa districts

Two winter scenes in Transkei

34.

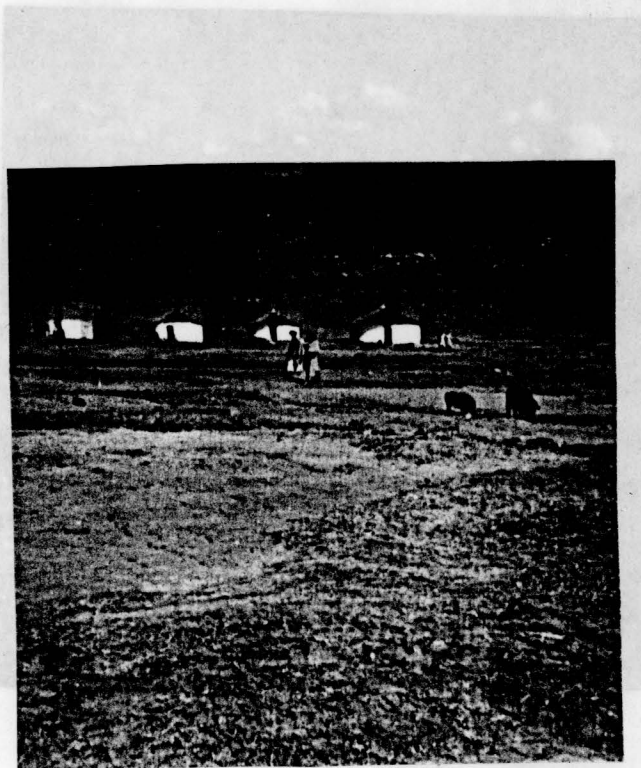
Cacadu district



37.

35. The countryside

Tsomo district,
 near the
 'dust bowl'
 area



Plates 36 and 37:

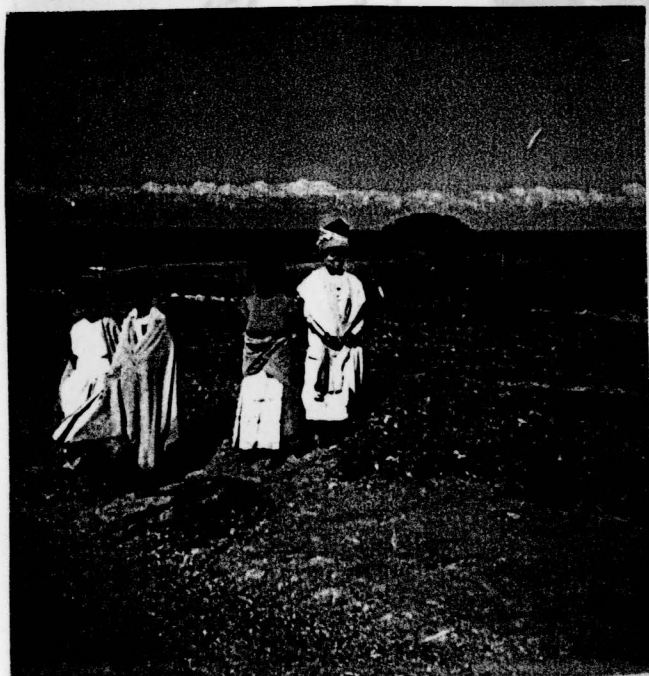
Winter in Xhorha district:

38. Xesibe amaTshave

36. shawe people)

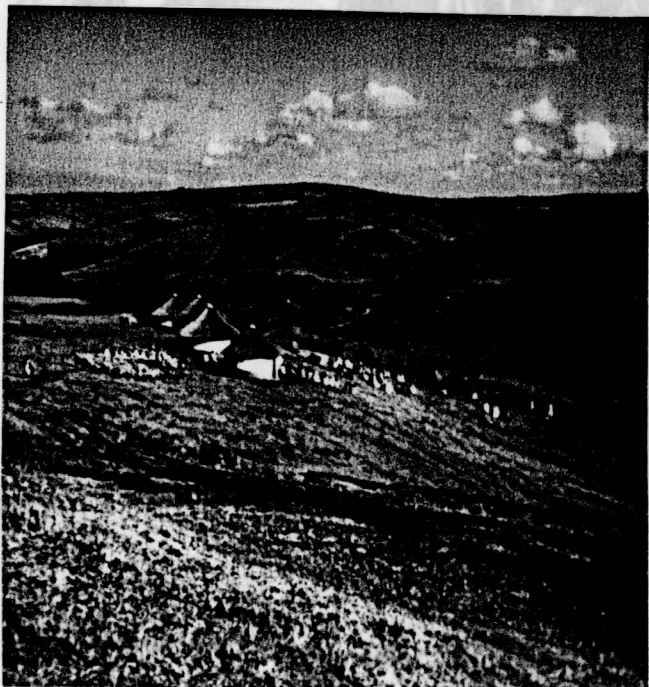
Bomvana / Tshezi women
en route to etywaleni
("place of beer" i.e.
a beer drink)

The occasion was
a wedding in
MaXesibeni district,
attended by 'Red'
and 'dressed'
Cape Nguni



37.

The countryside
was literally
dotted with
beer drinks



Plates 38, 39 and 40:

38. Xesibe amaTshawe
(Tshawe people)
i.e. older married
men and unattached
women who have
born children of
the Tshawe class)

The occasion was
a wedding in
MaXesibeni district,
attended by 'Red'
and 'dressed '
Cape Nguni



42.
Xesibe women
performing an
isithongo
dance song;
one woman
dances 'solo'
(uku-ndinditha)



40.



Plates 43 and 44:
 Thembu Tshawe people

Xesibe women at the wedding

41. bear drink

Xesibe married women
 (Woman in white on
 extreme right is of
 the Tshawe class)



42.

Xesibe women
 performing an
isitshongo
 dance song;
 one woman
 dances 'solo'
 (uku-ndinditha)



Plates 43 and 44:

Thembu Tshawe people
at their ibhasi
beer drink

43.



44.



Plates 45 and 46:

Mpondo women singing an
isibuliso for Chief
 Mpondobini Sigcau, at
 the installation of a
 headman

45.



48.

46.

initiate
 (umkhwetha)
 and writer



Plates 47 and 48:

47.

Thembu people
gathering for a
pre-circumcision ceremony
and feast (umgubho)



50.

Initiate
(umkhwetha)



48.

Initiate
(umkhwetha)
and writer



51.

Bomvana/Tehezi
'lodge' in
Xhorha district

Plates 49, 50 and 51:

49.

Initiation 'lodge'
 near the main road
 between Engcobo and
 Cofimvaba
 (Thembu)



50.

Initiate
 (umkhwetha)



51.

Bomvana/Tshezi
 'lodge' in
 Xhorha district



Plates 52 and 53:

Women assembling for a performance
of umnggunggo, to mark the
commencement of the seclusion
period of girls undergoing
initiation

52.



53.



Plates 54, 55 and 56:

Girls' initiation (ukuthombisa)

54.

Young mother undergoing
initiation, in the
seclusion hut



55.

Three initiates
and writer;
initiate is called
intonjane



56.

Guests gathering
for the 'coming out'
ceremony (umphumo)
of the initiates



Plates 57, 58 and 59:

Umphumo of girl initiates

57.

Women about to
perform the singing
circle dance, song
umngqungqo by a



58.

Performance of
umngqungqo
Yellow ochre is
used for
decorative
purposes



59.

Umngqungqo in
full swing

These women belong
to the Thembu cluster,
but some Xesibe
relations were
taking part



Plates 60, 61 and 62:

Umphumo of girl initiates

60.

Interlude:

Two women singing
an intonjane song
supported by a
chorus;

the song refers to
the disgrace of
having twins
(Ndahlazeka,
bantwana bam
babini)

(cf. p. 55)



61.

'Full of ihlombe'

62.

The mens' role
at ukuthombisa
ceremonies



Plate 63:



Christmas time,
in order to
collect money for a
big Christmas party

Thembu/Hala woman in full dancing dress, about
to participate in a performance of umngqungqo,
at the installation of a very popular headman

66.

Intlombe songs are
performed
in this context



Plates 64, 65 and 66:

Ingilana :

Performed by girls
of the intlombe youth
group, Cacadu district,
Transkei

64.

Girls dancing in
a circle



65.

Girls dance
ingilana near
Christmas time,
in order to
collect money for a
big Christmas party

Chief diviner
Moyesa and
visiting Xhosa
diviner from
Ciskei



66.

Intlombe songs are
performed
in this context



Plates 67 and 68:

Umphumo ('coming out')
ceremony of an initiate
diviner as a fully-fledged
diviner (igqirha/isangoma)

67.

Chief diviner
Marhadebe Miriam
Mayeza
(Mfengu)



70.

Initiate
'confessing
dreams'
(Nodoli Lantoni)

68.

Chief diviner
Mayeza and
visiting Xhosa
diviner from
Ciskei



Plates 69 and 70:

Umphumo ceremony

69.

Drummers
 (ababethi)
 and onlookers;
 man in white
 dress is an
umkhwetha
 (novice diviner)



70.

Initiate
 'confessing
 dreams'
 (Nodoli Lantoni)



Plates 71 and 72:

Umphumo ceremony

71.

Initiate
'confessing
dreams'



72.

Visiting
diviner
Nonishini
Sonyoka
(Mpondo)



Plates 73 and 74:

Intlombe yamaggirha ('Diviners' seance')

73.

Chief diviner
Sithonana Gcorha
(Mpondo)



74.

Diviner
Mbundana Gcorha
(Mpondo)

