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THE PROSODY OF TSONGA CHILDREN'S ORAL POETRY

Mary Cameron Bill

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Arts
of the University of the Witwatersrand,
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ABSTRACT

THE PROSODY OF TSONGA CHILDREN'S ORAL POETRY

BILL, Mary Cameron. MA, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. 1988

The dissertation, taking a performance based approach, explores the prosody of the oral genre of children's traditional poetry in Tsonga, a Bantu language of Southern Africa.

The raw data is drawn from video recordings of the performance of Swisasin'wana swa Vana (children's little songs). Based on the observer's perceptions of rhythm in the performed language, the relationship between a hypothesised abstract rhythmically patterned series of pulses and the suprasegmental features of tone, pitch and duration is explored. The analysis is in part supported by observation of body movements of the performers. An iconic system of description is incorporated within the textual transcription of the material. This enables the concealed data of rhythmical body movements to be included as textural elements.

The prosodic system is described as a periodic phonological rhythmical system within which aperiodic morphological rhythms act as reinforcers. The study shows that primary (length) stress as well as secondary (intensity) stress are rhythmical organisers within the syllabic tier. The performers allocate syllables according to performance conditions, and semantic and syntactic constraints, to the pulses making up the abstract rhythmical pattern.

DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is my own, unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Arts in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted *before for any* degree or examination in any other University.

Mary C. Bell

21st day of October, 1988

DEDICATION

In memory of my father

William Watson (1900 - 1968)

who taught me to love music and mathematics

PREFACE

There is a long personal history behind the writing of this work, a history which started when I, as a *young and inexperienced* missionary wife first started learning Tsonga in 1958. The period spent at the mission stations of *Lemana* and *Elim*, near Louis Trichardt in the Northern Transvaal, was my first exposure to an African language.

Weekdays were spent in visiting parishioners, in attending social and other gatherings and on Sundays, many hours were spent in church services, *either on* the mission station or out 'in the bush' - and before long I was asking why the hymns 'sounded wrong'. The rhythms of the hymn tunes, imported either from the Swiss Reformed tradition, or from the American *revivalistic era*, contradicted what I had come to perceive as the rhythms of spoken Tsonga. By translating the original hymn words into Tsonga, and then setting the Tsonga words to the original tunes, the early missionaries had *produced an oral religious* genre, the rhythmical nature of which was in many ways a contradiction of that of any other poetic genre of the oral literature of the Tsonga people.

As the years passed, the relationship of words to music remained a puzzle to me, and I determined to find out more about this aspect of language - what *is* that makes language rhythmical, and why some rhythms sound right and others sound wrong. During my post-graduate studies for the BA Honours Degree in 1974, I wrote an assignment on the topic "Meter as a component of the *Bantu poem*", and I declared that "when a poem is read aloud, it seems that the stressed syllables are spoken with a regularly recurring beat. The intervening unstressed syllables are either slower or faster to fit in between this *regular* beat" - and although my analysis was based on written poetry, my *inclination* was already towards the spoken poetic word. Like Gerard Manley Hopkins, I felt that poetry was to be heard, not read.

In preparing the material for this dissertation, I have been influenced by the performance approach to the study of oral literature, and by the work of *Richard Bauman, Charles Bird*, Andre Coupez and Th Kamanzi, and Dennis Tedlock in particular. The initial stimulus for the research came from a challenge by David Rycroft to scholars to move away from the transcriptions of oral texts *and from* written texts in order to seek for the source of meter in African poetry in extra-linguistic features like musical accompaniment and/or body movements which are associated with performance. My initial ambitious aim was to describe the prosody of Tsonga oral poetry as a *whole, but the more I listened*, and the more I read, the more it became obvious that so many different elements of keying and patterning are in operation in this corpus, that specialisation was both desirable and necessary.

The focus of the present work is thus on children's poetry, on the Tsonga equivalent of the English 'nursery rhyme', or the French 'comptine'. There are two Tsonga equivalent terms for this Western cultural concept, and the Swinsin'wana swa vana (children's little songs) or Switihokovetselo swa vana (children's poems) as they are also known, fulfill all the functions of the Western genre. Whether these poems are sung or chanted makes no difference to the Tsonga. The poems are performed as the children play during the day, either at home or at school, or as they amuse themselves in the evening before going to sleep. Sometimes the poems are taught to them by their mothers, sometimes they learn them from their peers, sometimes they learn them in the early school years. The purpose of the research is to investigate and describe the rhythmical nature of the poetic language of the genre - to try to capture this elusive thing called 'prosody', and to describe the 'slippery bits' of language which make it up.

One of the advantages of having learnt not only Tsonga, but also French as a young wife, is that I have had access to the rich and many faceted work of scholars working in Francophone Africa. The University of the Witwatersrand has on two occasions granted me study leave to enable me to consult with colleagues overseas and to spend time in their institutions. I trust that the results of these study periods will provide enrichment to this work, and that the ideas found here which are not well known in our country, will be of benefit to my colleagues in African Language Departments in other South African universities. We so often forget that we live and work on the tip of Africa, and our intellectual loss, compounded by the political isolation of the present time, can only be regretted. How much richer our research output would be if scholars, black and white, in South Africa, were able to access publications in French, German and Portuguese, and if knowledge of these languages was one of our intellectual tools.

The work would not have been possible without the cooperation and assistance of many people, and to them all, I say simply "Thank you!"

"Ku dya i ku engeta"
(To eat is to ask for more!)

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Mary Gill
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abs.	Absolute	C, c	Consonant
Adj.	Adjective	V, v	Vowel
Ass.	Associative	CV,cv	Syllable
Con.	Concord	S1	First Syllable
Cop.	Copulative	S2	Second Syllable
Dem.	Demonstrative	S3	Third Syllable
Dim.	Diminutive		
Ext.	Extension		
Id.	Ideophone		
Loc.	Locative		
Poss.	Possessive		
Pref.	Prefix		
Pron.	Pronoun		
Subj.	Subject		

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CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

1.0 Abandoning the Quest for Meter

Rycroft, in a paper read to the *Third African Languages* Congress of the University of South Africa, entitled "The Question of Metre * in Southern African Praise Poetry", came to the conclusion that the search for meter should be altogether abandoned, especially if it meant a

> *further combing* of abstracted textual transcripts in search of familiar types of intrinsic metre such as are found elsewhere in the world.
>
> (Rycroft, 1980:298)

He challenged scholars to rather focus their attention on the study of "actual oral performances of this essentially oral art form" (Rycroft's emphases). The time had come for consideration to be given to the *totality of the performance* event, including all the factors

> such as bodily movements, or gestures or hand-clapping; because, in some *cases at least, I* believe we shall find that these actions provide a kind of extrinsic metre, against which the oral delivery is timed and regulated.
>
> (*Rycroft's* emphasis)

Although this statement refers to praise poetry, it was *the stimulus for the present* research into the prosody of Tsonga children's oral poetry. The quest for the meter of this simple poetic type was undertaken in the belief that an extra-linguistic timing factor would be found to explain why these poems were perceived as *rhythmical, and* that this timing factor is itself a "kind of extrinsic metre".

The problem is, however, not as simple as this. One understanding of the

---

* The American spelling 'meter' has been adopted throughout this work, with the exception of direct quotes containing the English version 'metre'

term 'meter' is

> the "ideal" patterns which poetic rhythms approximate. If "meter" is regarded as the ideal rhythmical pattern, then "rhythm" becomes "meter" the closer it approaches toward metrical regularity and predictability.
>
> (Preminger, 1986:141)

It *rapidly becomes apparent* that *meter* cannot be considered as 'extrinsic' to language. It is an abstraction, but not an abstraction separate from the basic human experience or from human *conceptualisation* of rhythm. This is expressed in the same passage from Preminger in rather basic terms as

> the pleasure universally resulting from foot-tapping and *musical time*-beating seems to suggest that the pleasures of meter are definitely physical and that they are as intimately connected with the rhythmic *quality* of *man's* total experience as are the similar alternating and recurring phenomena of breathing, walking, and love-making.

For this reason, it was decided at an early stage in the research to avoid the word 'meter' and to rather refer to 'rhythmical patterns' for the simple genre which had been chosen as the subject of the study. Should our investigations eventually lead to the discovery of a metrical system, this would be a topic for further research.

A second reason for abandoning the search for meter is that the concept is so closely tied to traditional understanding of meter and metrical patterns as "themselves inherently and permanently beautiful" (Preminger:143), that it is difficult to rid ourselves of concepts closely associated with meter like 'foot', 'tension', and others like 'iambic pentameter' which are derived from them, and in particular with the connotation of numerical control of the *number of syllables making* up a 'foot', and of patterns of different types of syllables, arranged in feet, making up the 'verse line'. It was immediately apparent that there was *no such control or patterning* observable in the Tsonga children's poems, which were characterised by what appeared to be quite random ordering of both these features. The area of metrical *and*

prosodic theory is fully explored in Chapter Two.

Thus it was decided to use the term 'prosody' for the key element in the study, and to explore the associations between rhythmical patterning and language.

> Prosody is the most general term used to refer to the elements and *structures involved in the rhythmic or dynamic aspect of speech* [...] as a part of traditional study [...] prosody was the study of "accent" [...] of phonetic properties (chiefly temporal) of syllables and words as relevant to the measure (Gr. metron) of rhythm especially in verse.
>
> (Preminger:219)

That bodily movements are associated with speech is undeniable, since much of communication in the everyday context is paralinguistic, and equally *undeniable is the fact* that, as certain elements of language are highlighted in the oral (as in the written) production of poetic language, so the accompanying body *movements are more obvious and more emphatic*. Preminger continues,

> the act of speech may be conjoined with other action and *so further* complicated rhythmically, by the stylized movements of ceremonial activities or by the elaborated rhythms of music or the dance. The rhythm of song or of chant differs from that of words only spoken or recited.

Indeed, he warns that it is "an error to analyze verbal rhythms only in terms of their correspondence with other rhythm, notably the musical". The key word would appear to be 'conjoined' - the bodily movements are but one aspect of the rhythm of speech, and the limbs or parts of the body involved in the movements are controlled by the same nervous system which is controlling the speech organs in the production of rhythmical language. What *is more important for the present work* is the description and analysis of the association of language with rhythmical pulses, and in particular, a determination of those elements of *the Tsonga language which are* considered by its speakers to be potential loci of prominence.

The other side of this question is that of the perception of rhythm. And here the observer places herself in a very vulnerable position. By saying "I perceive..." she is saying that these observations are her perceptions of immeasurable quantities, and another observer's may be different. She can say that her observations are in part substantiated by the observation of the body movements of the performers of poetry, but in the end, perception can only be subjective, and must be evaluated accordingly.

1.1 Scope of the Research and the Methods of Investigation and Analysis

Responding to Rycroft's challenge to *focus on the totality of the* performance event, it was decided to record performances of children's poetry. The decision was taken to *record, not just the words*, but all the textural elements which accompany performance, melody, and body movement of *whatever sort. Modern technology has* made the realisation of this ideal attainable, and equipment for video recording on cassettes makes field work *not only* pleasureable, but immeasurably more efficient.

Once the data was available, the work of transcription, of translation and of analysis would be undertaken. The first two stages of these processes are described in Chapter Two, and the third in Chapter Three, within which a prosodic argument which attempts to account for the facts revealed by the data, is developed.

1.1.1 Transcription and translation

The attempt to describe the data fully was complicated by the fact that no taxonomy *exists for the description of* body *movements* which was suitable for our purposes. A simplified system based on *Labanotation, a highly complex* description of dance movements was adopted - and adapted - to enable the data to be handled in a

comprehensive yet economical manner. The result is not one unified transcription which contains all the aspects perceived and observed, viz. words, movements, rhythmical language elements and the underlying rhythmical system, but rather two transcriptions. The first of these supplies the text, its translation, the symbolic description of body movements, and its poetic structure in verse lines and in stanzas. The second, a rhythmical transcription, attempts to capture the rhythmical patterning of the words as well as to indicate those syllables which are accompanied by body movements. An attempt to include all these elements in one transcribed version would have resulted in an overloaded and impenetrable text.

1.1.2 Analysis

In the original research proposal which initiated the present work, we spoke of "the battle field of metrical analysis" - and indeed this is what the theoretical area most closely resembles. On the one side stand those scholars who believe that the performance of poetry is irrelevant to its metrical analysis, those for whom meter is an abstraction which is distinguished both from the orthographic representation of the poem, and from its phonetic realisation in performance. On the other side, stand those for whom the perception of the sounds of the poetic language, or at least their manifestation within the 'mind's ear', are essential to an understanding and analysis of the poem's prosody and meter. This question is further developed in Chapter Two, but it will be evident that the standpoint taken in the present research is within the second of these two positions. We are convinced that the prosodic system which is the subject of our research is not one within which a classical prosodic

analysis can be applied, but that we are dealing with a system in which the organizing principle is rhythm, and that the prosody of Tsonga can be described by isolating and describing those linguistic prosodic elements of normal speech which interact with rhythmical features.

1.2 Basic Hypothesis to be Tested

We have not attempted to test Rycroft's hypothesis that bodily actions function as an extrinsic meter, *which regulate the oral delivery* in performance. As explained above, we have come to see that physical actions may be conjoined *synchronously with the production of language* as markers of emphasis, whether this be rhythmic or semantic, but we do not believe that *they control the oral production.*

Our hypothesis is that, underlying the verbal material of the poem, there is, in performance, an abstract rhythmical series of temporal pulses. These are a representation, within time, of the alternating prominent/non-prominent elements which seem to symbolize all rhythmical activity. The pulses are perceived as being patterned by stronger and weaker prominence. During performance, the allocation of syllables from the *syllabic* tier to positions of stressed or unstressed pulses is not a mechanistic, one to one process. Indeed, given the random number of *syllables which appear to belong* to one 'verse line', such a one to one allocation would not be possible. Rather the *speakers of the language tend to show preference* for allocating certain types of syllables to certain positions. At this point, it should be *noted that we are not referring to phonological* criteria, but rather to the semantic and syntactic conditions which govern the allocation of syllables *to positions* of prominence or non-prominence in normal speech. Thus the natural prosodic linguistic features of normal speech are highlighted during

performance. The underlying rhythmical series of patterned pulses not only acts as a rhythmical organiser of the verse line, but tends to function also as the organizing principle for stanzaic structure.

1.3 Conclusion: Structure of the Dissertation

Chapter Two provides the theoretical background to this study, within which both Western and African approaches to and thinking on the topic of meter and rhythm are explored and described. The appropriacy of these approaches is investigated, and certain basic decisions which underlie the further development of the argument are outlined.

Within Chapter Three, the approach is descriptive, and focuses on the process of collection of the data and the way in which the poems were transcribed and translated. The question of transcription is not *straightforward, and even if, as* Tedlock claims, we consider everything that is on the tape as the "primary text" , this still needs the work of *interpretation,* and one of the vital areas of concern "lies in the temporal dimension" (Tedlock, 1983:4). This leads us into a discussion of the ways in which the totality of the performance events can be captured, and transcribed in an efficient yet economical way. Body movements in particular, demand attention, and we present a taxonomy of these, as well as a symbolic representation which enables us to integrate these as textural elements, within both the textual transcription, and the rhythmical transcription. The latter is an attempt to represent the perceived temporal dimension of the performances, within the spatial dimensions of black marks on white paper.

Chapter *Four presents the theoretical argument,* within which we develop a system of conventions which will represent the way in which syllables from

the verbal material of the poem are allocated during performance to positions of prominence or non-prominence within the syllabic tier. We do this by examination of the data, its occurrence in terms of rhythmical language; we determine the types of syllables which are chosen in performance to be potential bearers of prominence; we define two types of linguistic stress, not only one as has previously been the case in description of Tsonga, and we discuss the nature of these types of stress.

The final chapter, Chapter Five, summarises briefly the exposition and argument of this dissertation and raises questions as to possible lines of future research. It is followed by three appendixes.

Appendix I contains the textual and rhythmical transcriptions of the recorded material, thirty three poems in all. Each poem is accompanied by annotations referring to translation difficulties and terms of cultural significance; comment is further given on the context of the poem's performance; the nature of the performance is described in terms of the mode of delivery, participation of performers, and body movements are described in cases where the symbolic description based on the taxonomy developed is inadequate.

Appendix II contains a transcription of any melody which accompanies the performance of the poem. Of the 33 poems, 15 have musical accompaniment. These are presented without comment at this stage, but it is hoped that in ongoing research, we will be able to make use of these for comparisons of linguistic tone and musical pitch.

Appendix III contains photocopied reproductions of published versions of the poems. These are provided, without comment, as comparative material.

Detailed textual discussion and comment on *stylistic features of the poems* were deemed to be beyond the scope of this present study. Of the 33 poems recorded, published versions of 17 were traced in the literature.

The dissertation is accompanied by a set of two tapes. The first of these is an E-60 video cassette tape which presents, in the alphabetical order in which the poems are given in Appendix I, *the recorded performances of the* poems. This tape lasts for just over 45 minutes. The second tape presents the recorded voices only, on a C-60 tape. This recording lasts for about 50 minutes. There were two reasons for providing both versions: the first was that several poems are available only in this form, since the recordings were made before the video recording equipment was available, and the second is that for ease of analysis and comparison, working with audio tapes is more rapid.

The dissertation concludes with a complete reference list, and a selected bibliography.

CHAPTER TWO THEORIES OF METER AND RHYTHM

2.0 Introduction: Western and African Concepts of Meter and Rhythm

Nketia, writing on the linguistic aspect of style in African languages (Nketia:1972), has issued a clear warning against an uncritical application of European or western criteria to the analysis of African verse forms,

> the prosody of unwritten traditional African verse is different from conventional European forms and must, therefore, not be analysed in terms of such metres but in terms of other prosodic devices which mark it off as a literary form from prose. In addition, analysis of sung-poetry should take into account the mutual expectancies between verse and melody, particularly in respect of tone and rhythm. One of the controlling principles is symmetry. This may be in the time span of linear units, or in the use of stylistic markers.
>
> (Nketia:744)

Nketia gives an example of symmetrical control of the length of linear units (for which we use the term 'verse line') from the heroic recitations of the Bahima of Ankole. Within this poetry, linear units correspond to a grammatical entity and occupy the same time span in the recital. Syllabic *control is strict, as is morphological and tonal control and patterning.* In African oral poetry, stylistic devices which tend to be symmetrically employed are alliteration, balance of form and ideas through parallelism, chiasmus, linking and/or repetition as well as the deliberate use of tonal rhyme. Nketia underlines the close link between the rhythms of song and poetry, "one may analyse verse in terms of the distribution of regulative beats per linear unit" (:746), which is of course a quite different procedure from that of the classical and western metrical systems as described below. In general, however, Nketia concedes that since so little investigative work has been done in the area, no generalisation can be drawn for the whole of Sub-Saharan Africa, but

the indications seem to be that unwritten verse is somewhat free metrically. There is a general absence of quantity or stress as the sole determinant of the spoken or sung linear unit.

(Nketia:742).

In this, Nketia's conclusion partly bears out the earlier, but startling conclusion of Greenberg that

the vast majority of African peoples south of the Sahara, including [...] all the Bantu peoples except the Islamicised Swahili, do not possess prosodic systems.

(Greenberg,1960:928)

Greenberg comes surprisingly rapidly to this depressing conclusion, and apart from only two indigenous African forms, viz, the tone riddles found among the Efik and the alliterative devices employed in Somali poetry, he ascribes all the prosodic systems which had been described thus far in the literature to Arabic influence in Africa.

Before contextualising the statements of Nketia and Greenberg within the findings of other researchers working in Africa, it seems essential to survey briefly the basic concepts involved in any discussion on prosody and meter. This will enable us to arrive at a set of uniform definitions of the concepts which are often used ambiguously in the literature.

2.1 Brief Survey of Metrical Theories

In his work The Rhythms of English Poetry , Attridge (1982) provides a useful outline of the main approaches to and theories of meter. We shall follow his framework (making use of bold print to highlight the key concepts) in the discussion below. He distinguishes between "traditional approaches" and "linguistic approaches".

2.1.1 Traditional approaches:

a) The Classical approach

"takes as its fundamental unit the foot [...] a group of syllables, each of which is defined as stressed or unstressed, matching the 'long' and 'short' of the classical originals". Meters "then consist of the same foot repeated a fixed number of times and the traditional names of the meters derive from the type of foot and the number of its occurrences in the line". Thus the 'iambic pentameter' of English. Other terms derived from classical analysis are caesura "a pause within the line created by the syntax"; end stopped "a line which ends with a syntactic break" and run-on (or enjambed) "where the syntax runs on to the next line". Within this approach, two levels are represented, the simple underlying meter, and a superimposed level, being a complex pattern representing the pronunciation of the words. Between these levels is "interplay, or counterpoint, or tension" (Attridge:6-9). (See Malof (1970); Shapiro & Beum (1965); Fussel (1979))

b) The Temporal approach

offers "an analogy with musical form". Within this approach, use is often made of musical notation, which although "it offers very little insight into the metrical structure of the line" gives "an impressionistic record of one possible reading of it". Another characteristic of this approach is the use of bars, or measures of equal duration, thus implying that

> stresses function in the same way as musical beats, and that the line, when read, is divided into temporally equal intervals [...] Individual syllables (do) bear simple durational ratios to one another [...]. Measurable intervals of silence function as an integral part of the rhythmical structure.
>
> (Attridge:19-21)

Most authors adopting this approach are careful to point out, as did for instance Patmore, one of the leading early writers (1857), that "isochrony is not an exact and absolute phenomenon, but an approximate equality towards which speech tends, and that its rhythmical beats may occur mentally rather than materially" (as summarized by Attridge:23). One is reminded in this connection of the remark of Lehiste, based on actual measurements, that for English

> many actual differences in the duration of interstress intervals may be below the perceptual threshold [..] listeners tend to impose a rhythmic structure on stretches of sound and thus subjectively to perceive isochrony even in sequences where the durational differences should be above the perceptual threshold [...] speakers also have a tendency to aim at isochrony in production.
>
> (Lehiste,1977b:259).

We agree however with Attridge that

> this does not mean that we can ignore the temporal dimension in discussing metre; it merely emphasises that the life of poetic rhythm resides not in physical patterns that a machine can register, but in the reader's subjective response to the totality of the text, a response which blends the perception of sheer *sound* [...] with the intellectual and emotional apprehension of the structures of language embodied in that sound.
>
> (Attridge:26)

Attridge makes another remark in discussing the temporal approach, which refers us back to the challenge of Rycroft which was quoted in Chapter One (:1),

> the *cardinal difference* between the rhythms of song and those of verse is that in the former it is the note-values which constitute the metrical structure, and the words are pronounced in accordance with this external authority, whereas in the latter the rhythmical properties of the words themselves provide the determining impulse [...] to chant poetry is to convert it from verse into a kind of song, in which the temporal values suggested by the words are allowed to become a determining grid acting upon them.
>
> (Attridge:24-5)

Can Attridge's "external authority" be equated to Rycroft's *"extrinsic metre"*? Rycroft's conclusions based on his analysis of Zulu bow songs led him to state that there, the melodic constraints act as a "well conceived and systematic metrical discipline" (Rycroft,1975b:67). He goes further, and suggests in a footnoted comment on the claim of Jones that African lyrics are "metrical" (Jones,1964:7), that

> it would seem more reasonable to consider such texts to be inherently unmetrical in themselves, and to regard their metrical organization as something imposed upon them.
>
> (Rycroft,1975a:80).

For this genre of Zulu songs, the determing element is the musical rhythm, and this over-rides what Attridge called "the rhythmical properties of the words themselves". The difference between the temporal approach and the classical approach has been encapsulated by Lehiste, who remarks that

> in poetry, rhythm is one of several possible organizing principles; in many languages, a poetic line is structured in terms of rhythm, while in others, a poetic line may be structured *in terms of, for example, number* and type of syllables.
>
> (Lehiste,1985:145)

Foremost among writers basing their analyses of children's verse upon the temporal approach have been Brailoiu (1954) and Burling (1966). Brailoiu's article **Le rythme enfantin** ranges widely over traditional *children's poems and songs* of Europe (from Norway to Turkey) and includes examples from Tuareg, Senegal, Dahomey, Sudan and Formosa. His analysis is strictly isochronic, and is a totally autonomous system, "obéissant à d'autres lois que celle de la rythmique classique" (obeying other laws than that of classical rhythm) (Brailoiu:64). It is a vocal rhythm, within which the

scansion absolument inflexible, de ces vers ferait croire à une versification quantitative, ou l'on percevrait des longues et des brèves valant le double ou la moitié les unes des autres. L'examen prouve cependant que les durées ne découlent en aucune mesure de la nature des syllabes. Leur brièveté ou leur longueur n'a d'autre raison que l'emplacement occupé par ces syllabes dans un dispositif rythmique, que l'on dirait préétabli et auquel la parole s'ajuste selon des modalités nombreuses et variables

(Brailoiu:65)

absolutely inflexible scansion of these verses would lead one to believe in a quantitative rhythm, within which one perceives long and short (syllables) of double or half value of each other. However, examination reveals that the length in no way derives from the nature of the syllables. Their length or shortness depends only on their position within what we might call a pre-established rhythmical framework to which the words accomodate themselves according to numerous and variable conditions.

(Brailoiu's emphasis)

Brailoiu is as astonished as we are that this positioning of accents appears unchangeable within such a wide variety of languages, but he attributes this to the universality of the five basic principles which he enunciates. These are, in summary,

i) the binary nature of alternation of long-short syllables

ii) each verse line is initiated by a prominent syllable

iii) the basic unit is that of the length of a short syllable, (which he represents by a musical quaver note)

iv) occasionally heterochronic sequences may be incorporated

v) a sequence may be initiated by an anacrusis ('up-beat'), but this in fact is drawn from a 'silent beat' in the preceding verse line.(Brailoiu:68)

Brailoiu's analysis is detailed and comprehensive, attempting to cover the wide variety of languages and examples of children's verse which he has described. We shall return to his claim for the universality of rhythmical patterning in children's poetry. He concludes that

> la symetrie rigoureuse qui y regne prouve que ce système procède sinon de la danse, du moins d'un mouvement ordonné, qui s'y apparente
>
> (Brailoiu:96)

> the rigid symmetry which governs (children's rhythms) is derived, if not from dance, then from regulated movement which is related to it.

Burling in a cross-linguistic comparison of the metrics of children's verse makes a similarly universal claim in that he attributes the many rhythmical similarities to "our common humanity" (Burling,1966:1418). Comparing children's verse from English, Chinese and Bangkulu he comes to the conclusion that "the metrical pattern is obviously closely related to the rhythm of music". However

> it would go too far to dismiss the rhythm of poetry as nothing but the penetration of music into language [...] The more reasonable attitude would seem to be that we have general rules of rhythm, which are neither predominantly musical nor predominantly poetic, but stand equally behind both music and spoken verse, and to which we must adapt both melody and language.
>
> (Burling:1425)

Burling describes the obligatory nature of the rests in poetry and their essential presence in any reading of verse, "they serve to maintain the sequence of four beats" (:1421) within the "four-beat line [...]. The pattern's persistence ought to raise the question of the extent to which it is uniquely English, and the extent to which it is generally human" (:1426). He concludes that if it is universal, then

> the comparative study of metrics would then be the study of the diverse ways in which different poetic traditions depart from the common basis of simple verse [...] the study of the humble nursery rhyme might amount to more than just a pleasant game.
>
> (Burling:1436)

In recent work, Selkirk presents a similar argument for the universality of the principles of rhythmic organisation, whether these be of music or of speech.

> speech - like music [...]- is a rhythmically organized activity. Just as the rhythmic schemes of the different musical traditions are a codification presumably reflecting both universal properties of rhythmic organization and the conventionalized choices about particulars made by the culture [...] so too [...] do the *diverse* rhythmic patterns of prominence found in language reflect both universal and particular aspects of rhythmic organization. [...] a successful theory of rhythmic structure in language will involve sorting out what is language-particular and what is universal in that code [...] There is arguably a universal rhythmic ideal, one that favors a strict alternation of strong and weak beats.
>
> (Selkirk,1984:36-7)

Selkirk's own analysis is based on that of Liberman (1975) and Liberman and Prince (1977) "which embodies the claim that the rhythmic organization of speech is quite analogous to that of music" (Selkirk:9; cf. Jackendoff and Lerdahl,1980 for an example of this approach).

While the Temporal Approach as described by Atteridge offers many possibilities for our analysis, we shall take care to avoid the strict application of isochronicity to verse lines. We shall be aware of Nketia's approach which investigates the distribution of regulative beats in the verse lines, but we shall apply his ideas with flexibility, as indeed, this would appear to be the direction in which our Tsonga data will take the prosodic argument. That the argument appears partly to substantiate the theory of universality of rhythmical organisation will be a rewarding outcome, but the binary nature of this organization will not be presumed a priori.

2.1.2 *Linguistic approaches*

a) The Phonemic approach

made use of Bloomfieldian analysis and the work of the Prague School. This was extended by scholars like Trager and Smith (1957) when in their discussion of English structure they were led to a consideration of the suprasegmental phonemes, which they defined as pitch, juncture and stress (='loudness'). They postulated four degrees of stress for English (primary, secondary, tertiary and weak) (Attridge:31). Among the works of the structuralists, Jakobsonean metrics is not strictly phonemic, but falls within this school. He describes six aspects of language, each of which determines a function of language, one of these being the poetic function, "the set towards the message as such". The indispensible feature of any poetry is, for Jakobson, equivalence, i.e. syllables, word stresses, word boundaries, syntactic pauses in the same sequence are equalized, or assumed to be equal. "Syllables are converted into units of measure, and so are morae or stresses" (Jakobson,1967:302-4). Elsewhere, Jakobson describes parallelism, which is such a recurrent feature of African oral poetry, within which "contiguous metrical units are more or less consistently combined through a grammatical parallelism into pairs, or optionally, triplets" (Jakobson,1968:599-600). These "figures of grammar" are as important as the "figures of sound" for Jakobson.

b) The Generative approach

in which the basic unit is the verse line. Basing their seminal work on Chomskyan concepts, Halle and Keyser for example, developed a metrical grammar based on two components, an "abstract metrical pattern" of alternating weakly and strongly stressed syllables, and "correspondence rules", which relate this pattern to the stress

contours of particular stretches of language (Attridge:38)

Stoin and Gil (1980) have developed a generative grammar which is hierarchical, from the syllabic to the stanzaic level. They examine simple four-beat verse, for example nursery rhymes and sports cheers in English, Hebrow and other languages, and conclude that whether the verse is spoken, chanted or sung, there are prosodic structures and prosodic markers which characterise all such speech utterances. They show how Burlings' descriptions can be stylised within a hierarchy of verse types which accounts for final pauses ('rests'). Basing their typology on Burlings' statement, that

> while rests may occur at the last beat of any line [...] they are most common in the fourth line, but they are almost as common in the second. The first line has a rest far less frequently, but rests in the third line are the most unusual of all,
>
> (Burlings:1421)

they schematize their hierarchy as follows:-

a)	b)	c)	d)	e)
/ / / /	/ / / /	/ / / /	/ / / 0	/ / / 0
/ / / /	/ / / /	/ / / 0	/ / / 0	/ / / 0
/ / / /	/ / / /	/ / / /	/ / / /	/ / / 0
/ / / /	/ / / 0	/ / / 0	/ / / 0	/ / / 0

where / represents a stressed syllable, and 0 a rest (Stein & Gil:202)

They maintain that

> prosodic markers pertaining to the 'text' of an utterance (e.g. SYLLABIC DISTRIBUTION) reflect deep prosodic structure [...] whereas prosodic markers governing the performance of an utterance (e.g. MELODY and STRESS) reflect derived stages of derivation
>
> (Stein & Gil:231)
> (Their emphases)

They argue for "an underlying iambicity intrinsic to ordinary language, independent of phonological, syntactic and semantic properties of language" (:234). This claim, we shall discuss further in Chapter

Five. While their work would appear to offer a promising framework for future theoretical analysis of simple verse forms like those encountered in Tsonga children's oral poetry, for the present, our analysis will focus on an empirical argument which will enable us to develop a prosodic statement for this poetry.

According to Attridge,

> one of the unsatisfactory features of the generative approach is that, for all the valuable insights it has thrown up about the permissible or forbidden arrangements of syllable types, it has lost touch with the material out of which verse is fashioned: the sounds of the *language moving through time*, or, to be *more* accurate, the reader's perception of that rhythmical activity
>
> (Attridge:53)

We conclude this overview by giving an indication of the framework within which our analysis will be carried out. We shall adopt a performance approach. This implies that the data, gathered within the context of performance, will be discussed and described according to the way in which its rhythmical patterns have been perceived. From this basis, we shall endeavour to develop a system of conventions which will link the phonetic realisations of verse lines in performance, with an abstract rhythmical pattern. *We will analyse the data principally* on the basis of the "regulative beats" (Nketia:746), but we will endeavour to avoid the rigidity of physical isochrony. We shall be guided by the remark of Welsh, whose work will be further discussed in Chapter Three, that

> poetry is not a simple pattern [...] its organizing powers of rhythm are not derived from song only, from speech only, or from incantation only, but from all the deep rhythms in language.
>
> (Welsh,1978:241)

2.2 Versification Systems

Lotz, emphasises that a study of versification systems should include a consideration of both the linguistic constituents of the meter as well as the metric superstructure (Lotz,1972:9). For Lotz, "verse" is a sub-set of all language phenomena; "prosodic" refers to pitch, stress and duration, but excludes syllabification, while "meter" is the "numerical regulation of certain properties of the linguistic form alone" (Lotz:2-4). Within his discussion of metric superstructure, Lotz gives a useful typology of the various systems of versification encountered within different cultures. Basing his discussion on the linguistic feature of syllabification, and the three prosodic features of duration, pitch (or tone), and stress, he distinguishes metric types as being either simple or complex.

simple: pure syllabic meter in which only the number of syllables is regulated within the various syntactic frames of word, colon or sentence. An example of this meter is Hungarian folk poetry, which is isosyllabic, each phrase containing 6 syllables.

complex: in addition to syllabic control (which is not as rigid as in simple meter) certain types of or combinations of types of prosodic features must occur. According to their kind, three sub-classes are found:

i) Durational meter, in which the length of the syllables is controlled, and occasionally, the complexity of a following consonantal cluster. For example, Classical Greek and Latin verse.

ii) Dynamic meter, in which heavier and lighter pulses are required within certain positions in the verse line. For

example, English and German verse.

iii) Tonal meter, in which within certain positions specific well defined tonal classes are required. For example, even and non-even tone in Classical Chinese verse. (Lotz:12-16)

One is reminded at this point in the discussion of Jakobson's terms, "syllabic", "chronemic", "accentual" and "isotonic" to refer to the above concepts (Jakobson, 1967:305-6). We note further that Lotz specifically excludes the possibility of verse being organized by a temporal referent, "music cannot be the basis for metric analysis" (Lotz:4), neither is it possible to talk of a versification system in a poetic corpus within which there is neither "regulation" nor "control" of the number of syllables.

Our research will attempt to determine whether indeed any of these *versification systems* is adequately able to capture the prosody, meter and verse systems of Tsonga children's poetry, or whether we shall in the end have to agree with the conclusion of Greenberg, quoted in the introduction to this chapter, that no such system exists.

2.3 Metrical and Prosodic Research in Africa

2.3.1 General overview

Within the African language field, and in the Bantu *language family* in particular, the published works dealing with meter and prosody are minimal in comparison with the *output* dealing with language and linguistics, and are characterised, as far as rhythm is concerned, *by* "une *constatation de carence*" (a statement of its absence) (Coupez,1963:31). We are reminded of the warning of Nketia which

initiated the discussion in this chapter, but it seems to us that the problem may have arisen, not so much because metrical organization does not exist in Bantu languages, but because researchers have been looking for it in the wrong place, in transcriptions of poetry. If Rycroft and Lehiste are right that there is an extra-linguistic beat against which the performance of several poetic types is timed, then it is only in performance that the rhythmical, if not the metrical basis of Bantu language poetry will be discovered. It is our contention that, for Tsonga children's poetry at least, the external rhythm is not imposed mechanistically upon the verse lines in performance, but it interacts in the context of performance with intrinsic linguistic prosodic elements to produce a coherent and explicable prosodic system.

Finnegan's encyclopaedic work on **Oral Literature in Africa** (1970) and the latest work, **Literatures in African Languages**, of Andrzejewski et Al. (1985) give adequate descriptions of the many stylistic, sociological, functional and linguistic works which have appeared dealing with the oral literatures and the oral poetry of Africa. The majority of writers has sought to determine the prosody of the particular language under discussion, on the basis of transcriptions of oral poetry, or on more recently composed written poetry. Among these, some have adopted a purely stylistic approach to this material, describing the poetic grammar and highlighting the stylistic, syntactic or morphological features which appear to highlight, or for some, even create, rhythm. Other writers have attempted to use the classical tools of the traditional approach outlined above, and have

taken syllable counts, length of verse line, feet and stanzaic structure into account in their analyses. Many authors situate their descriptive and functional work, within historical and social contexts. There does not appear to have been any attempt to establish generative metrical theories for a language of the Bantu family.

The emphasis in folklore research in general has moved towards the study of verbal art forms in performance (Abrahams (1971), Bauman (1975,1977), Bauman and Sherzer (1974), Ben-Amos and Goldstein (1979), Dumperz and Hymes (1972), Paredes and Bauman (1972), Okpewho (1979,1983), Seitel (1980), Tedlock (1977,1983)). The influence of the work of Parry and Lord, and Lord's **The Singer of Tales** (1960), in particular, has been profound. However, a few of the earlier writers on African oral art forms did precede this recent development in their descriptive work, which is found most usually in single analytical articles published in the lesser known journals. It is here that are found the works of those who attempt to analyse prosody in terms of the author's perception of rhythmical patterns. These range from purely impressionistic and romanticised statements to more serious analyses. For Senghor "C'est le Verbe de Dieu, c'est-à-dire la parole rythmée, qui créa le monde" (Senghor, 1956:61) (It is the Word of God, that is the rhythmical word (speech act) which created the world). Earlier, Senghor described the essential rhythm of African poetry as being

> non celui de la parole, mais des instruments à percussion qui accompagnent la voix humaine, plus exactement de ceux d'entre eux qui marquent le rythme de base
>
> (Senghor,1951:118)

not that of the word (speech act) but that of the percussion instruments which accompany the human voice, and more precisely of those among them which mark out the basic rhythm.

For Jahn

> Puisque l'homme possede la maitrise des choses grace à son pouvoir de leur commander par le verbe, le rythme est indispensable à ce dernier, c'est lui qui le rend actif
>
> (Jahn,1961:186)

> Since man controls things thanks to his ability to direct them by the verb, rhythm is indispensable for this activity which it empowers.

On a more prosaic level, there is the work of Boelart (1952), who claims that for Nkundo prosody, the grammatical and the rhythmical syllables are not necessarily coincidental (Boelart:353). He claims that there is not necessarily any relation between tone and rhythm (:361); there is never dynamic accent on the last tone of a word; neither on the first tone of a word; and that of the two dynamic accents, (the radical accent, falling on the first syllable of radicals and stems, and the linguistically predictable penultimate accent, which he calls the 'mechanical' accent), the radical accent is of greater importance in Nkundo poetry (:362-5). Hauenstein (1969/70) finds evidence of rhythm in the conversation, divination formulae and folklore of the Vimbundu, Tchokwe and Humbi people of South-west Angola. (vide van Avermaet (1965)). Jones (1964) focuses on the perception of rhythm during actual performances. He, in particular, emphasises the importance of the extra-linguistic basis provided by body-movements as the regulator of poetic rhythm. Rycroft has pointed out that many contradictions mar Jones' analysis (Rycroft,1970:307, footnote 19).

More recently, Bird (1972), in describing the prosody of the West

African Manding language underlines the constraining influence of the rhythm of the musical accompaniment on poetic language. In a later article Bird describes how in a Manding performance of mana, a hunter's epic poem, by the bard Adama Diabete,

> a high percentage of the utterances coincided with the rhythmic measure [...] clearly, these units of speech divided into regularly recurring rhythmic patterns were definable as lines [...] there seemed to be no grammatical or phonological constraints defining the linguistic shape of the line [...] it seemed that any number of syllables could be uttered within the time space provided by the rhythmic measure.
>
> (Bird,1976:90)

The most important feature of this performance was that it was without accompaniment of the nkoni "a banjo-like instrument", which Diabete had used the day before for the same poem. In his research, Bird recorded the poems of Kele Monson, and describes how rhythmical constraints operate in an increasing way in his performances

> in the least constrained form [...] line formation is governed only by the external rhythm of his accompaniment. He may then switch to a form where the external rhythm coincides with stressed and unstressed syllables internal to the line. He may move into a mode where melodic constraints are placed on the line [...] In the most highly constrained form, both the rhythmic and melodic properties of the line coincide with the stress and intonation pattern of the language.
>
> (Bird,1976:95)

Bird describes how it would be necessary to derive a "poetic competence" based on "poetic formulae" which govern the poet's performance, but his development of this argument is not carried through within this article, beyond a very rudimentary stage. We shall however, be aware of Bird's analysis in our own argument.

Kubik, developing an argument for the inter-relationship between musical patterning and verbal rhythms, gives a useful definition of

the concept 'pulse' which we shall use in our own argument

> the elementary pulses are the smallest time units or shortest distances between strokes in a musical piece. They are a primary unit of timing in African music [...] an unaccented isomorphous pulsation [...] they do not constitute a framework for metrical reference [...] a further important dimension is the relation of the musical patterns to larger units of reference , combining two, three or four elementary pulses. This is the gross-pulse or Beat
>
> (Kubik,1984:330)

"each syllabic unit represents in the time dimension one elementary pulse" (:328). Similarly, Arom, states that "the pulse (is) a sequence of equal standard units serving as temporal points of reference and excluding a regular strong beat" (Arom,1984:35).

2.3.2 Coupez and Kamanzi

The work of Coupez and Kamanzi (1970) has been very influential in the methodological approach to the present study, and a brief outline of its features will illuminate our subsequent discussion in Chapters Three and Four. Their description of the poetry of the royal court of Rwanda is socially and functionally orientated, describing the Warrior Poetry, the Pastoral Poetry and the Dynastic Poetry. They include a useful analysis of the rhythmical basis of all these poetic varieties, of which the most systematically patterned is the Pastoral Poetry. In Kinyarwanda, the language of Rwanda, both tone and vocalic length are phonemic. Within the Pastoral Poetry,

> le rythme est constant et régulier [...] la base des mètres est constitués par la more, unité de quantité vocalique valant une voyelle brève ou une demi longue
>
> (Coupez & Kamanzi:120)

> the rhythm is constant and regular [...] the basis of the meters is the more, a unit of vocalic length representing a short or a half-long vowel.

The Pastoral Poetry is constituted of verse lines made up of, most usually, 12 morae, although occasionally verse lines of 9 and 10 morae occur, but within any one poem, the verse lines will be of one type only. The 'mora' of Coupez and Kamanzi corresponds to what we, following Kubik and Arom, have called a 'pulse'. The authors proceed to a schematic rhythmical representation of the morae in each verse line of a poem as follows:

Morae	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Verse Line													
1		-	-----		-----		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	-	-----	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3		-----	-	-	-	-----	-	-	-	-----			-
4	-	-----	-	-	-	-----	-	-	-	-	-		-
5		-	-	-	-----		-	-	-----		-----		-
6		-----		-	-----		-	-	-----		-----		-
etc.													

Position of long vowels		a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k
Number of long vowels		15	2	0	23	0	3	6	9	1	12	0

In this representation, 0 indicates initial vowels of the verse line
- indicates a short vowel, and
----- indicates a long vowel

(Coupez & Kamanzi,1970:121)

The table concludes by giving an indication of the positioning of long vowels, indicated by lower case letters a,b,c to k, and finally the number of long vowels in each position is given.

Coupez and Kamanzi then establish overall frequencies of occurrence of long vowels for each of their defined positions within the verse lines, and in subsequent discussion, they show how certain positions are favoured for the placing of long vowels. The results are plotted

on a graph. (:228). In descending order of significant frequency, which, although they do not define it, would appear to be greater than 40%, favoured positions are d, a, j. Positions in which the placement of long vowels is avoided, are k "ou la longue est exclue par le langage" (where a long vowel is excluded in the language); b, c, e, f and i (:123)

We have adopted - and adapted - their method in our discussion and analysis of the data from Tsonga children's poetry. The main difference between Kinyarwanda and Tsonga phonological systems is that vocalic length is phonemic in the former and governed by phrasal position in the latter, with the exception of certain inherently long ideophones. This subject is further discussed in Chapter Four.

2.3.3 Coupez's typology

Coupez (1983) has recently written an overview of African poetic rhythms which he synthesizes into a typology. Such prosodic systems as have been described in the literature to date are integrated within the typology. It is necessary to clarify Coupez's use of terminology, as this does not always coincide with its usage elsewhere in literature (as for example Attridge's usage of the terms as described in 2.1 above). For Coupez, "prosody" is "l'utilisation rythmique des phonèmes suprasegmentaux" (the rhythmical use of suprasegmental phonemes); as for "meter", it "étudie les rythmes périodiques qu'ils soient ou non engendrés par des faits prosodiques" (studies periodic rhythms, whether these are, or are not, generated by prosodic features); "rhythm" is "la récurrence d'éléments phonologiques et/ou mo phologiques sous une forme quelconque" (the recurrence of

phonological and/or morphological elements in any form whatsoever); and "periodicity" is "le type de récurrence qui se laisse définir par des nombres stables" (the type of recurrence which can be defined by invariable numbers) (:34-5). It should be noted that for Coupez, an aperiodic rhythm cannot be metrical. "Periodic rhythm" could however be *generated by non-prosodic*, that is morphological elements. He makes the further useful point that

> les rythmes africains semblent fonctionner indépendamment du sens, du moins pour l'essentiel. On n'y trouve donc pas la notion d'"écart" qui paraît fondamentale en Europe et par laquelle certains auteurs, tel De Groot, entendent les exceptions qu'un poème fait à son propre rythme pour mettre le sens en relief
>
> (Coupez:35)

> African rhythms seem to function independently of meaning, at least as far as the essentials are concerned. Thus we do not find there the concept of 'tension' which appears fundamental in Europe and by which certain authors like De Groot refer to exceptions which a poem makes to its own rhythm in order to foreground the meaning.

The rhythmical bases of Coupez's typology are thus phonological and/or morphological elements. Morphological rhythm will include the phonological elements, while phonological rhythm may, but not of necessity, include morphological elements. A rhythm is defined as "phonological" if at least one of its aspects can be defined independently of morphology. By combining these two bases with the concept of periodicity, Coupez deduces four rhythmical categories:-

i) Periodic Phonological Rhythm:

Periodic syllabic rhythm is relatively unattested in Africa. The syllable ("a group of phonemes" (:57)), is the only phonological group capable of generating periodic rhythms. Of the suprasegmental phonemes, only quantity and intensity appear to function as generators of periodic rhythm.

Coupez's examples of this rhythmic type are a) the intensity accent rhythm of Mongo (Hulstaert (1950) Boelart (1952)); b) the quantitative rhythm of Rwanda (Coupez and KamAnzi (1957; 1970)); and c) the quantitative rhythm of Somali (Coupez gives no reference, but vide Andrzejewski (1985:338) who gives the names of Maxamed Xhaashi Dhamac and Cabdullaahi Diiriye Guuleed, with reference to their articles in Xiddigta Oktoobar with the dates, 1976 and 1978).

ii) Aperiodic Phonological Rhythms

These rhythms make use of the same units as periodic rhythms, but less consistently. More characteristic of such rhythms are assonance, alliteration and rhyme. Examples quoted are a) Somali, in which alliteration reinforces the *quantitative rhythm (Andrzejewski and Lewis(1964)); b)* tonal rhythm of Mongo, in which tonal rhyme reinforces the intensity rhythm (Hulstaert (1950)); c) tonal rhyme in Luba-Kasayi (Stappers (1952), Morris (1951). One could add to Coupez's list the work of Uzochukwu (1981) who describes an isotonic verse system with distinctive tonal patterning in Igbo. Coupez emphasizes the frequent occurrence of partial or irregular rhythms based on assonance and alliteration, generated by certain aspects of the phonology and morphology of African languages. Repetition of consonants, consonantal sequences and vowels plays an important role in the creation of rhythmical patterns, however fragmentary these may be (:46-9). Coupez, speaking of the amazina, the pastoral poetry of Rwanda, notes that these phonological recurrences

"s'enchainent, se superposent, s'entrecroisent tout au long des versets" (they link up, are superimposed and cross through each other right through the verses) (:51).

iii) Periodic Morphological Rhythm:

Coupez claims that these are very rudimentary and tend to be mechanical. He cites for example Latin verse in which the number of words is controlled, and also Hebrew biblical verses made up of two equally long syntagmatic units (:38). However, partially or irregularly periodic rhythms are found in Africa which are based on morphemic, word or syntactic repetitions, and these arise largely from the particular structure of African languages. Coupez states that unless these are reinforced by phonological rhythm or patterns of meaning, they tend to be dull and lacking in poetic quality (:38-9).

iv) Aperiodic Morphological Rhythm

Morphological and syntactic repetition in the form of linking, parallelism, chiasmus or cross-parallelism act as creators or reinforcers of aperiodic partial and irregular rhythm, however fragmentary this may be. There are many attestations to these aspects in the literature (:36-56). Coupez characterises these morphological repetitions as "méchanique" (mechanical) (:54) and concludes that they belong more properly to the domain of "jeux et chansonettes" (games and little songs) than to that of literature proper.

The most innovative aspect of Coupez's work appears to be his

emphasis on the general tendency in African poetry to exhibit rhythm which is not linked to meaning, which is not a characteristic of the Western poetic tradition. This leaves one free to explore and discuss Rycroft's challenge to search for extra-textual sources of meter. We shall attempt in Chapter Five to place the prosodic system of Tsonga children's oral poetry within one of Coupez's categories.

2.3.4 South-East Bantu Zone

Within the South-East Bantu Zone, no complete theoretical metrical or prosodic description of oral literature has as yet been attempted, although sporadic references are made in the literature to the key concepts outlined above. Serious analyses of written poetry usually appear only as unpublished academic theses and dissertations, and only two of these, Ntuli's The Poetry of B W Vilakazi (1984) and Lenake's The Poetry of S K Ntsane (1984) have been published. In Opland's Xhosa Oral Poetry (1983), the only performance based approach to oral literature to have appeared thus far, the question of prosody and metre is left unanswered (Opland,1983:159). In view of the fragmentary nature of the material available, to be found often in single journal articles, it has been decided to describe this work, neither in chronological order, nor in the usual categorization of language, or language groups, but rather in terms of key concepts. It is felt that this approach will highlight the frequent confusion and lack of clarity surrounding the usage of these concepts as well as, hopefully, the occasionally helpful comments in this area. It should be emphasized that apart from Blacking's Venda Children's Songs (1967), parts of Johnston's The Music of the Shangaan-Tsonga (1971), Weinborg's thesis

Zulu Children's Songs (1979), and her subsequent collection of Zulu children's songs Hlabelela Mntwanami (1984), no complete work dealing with children's poetry has appeared, thus our approach will involve a sifting through of the available material, with the selection of seemingly relevant remarks being our objective. There are two further restrictive conditions which will have a bearing upon our approach. The first of these is that many of the works consulted have as their main focus, praise poetry, which "are regarded by the Bantu themselves as the highest products of their literary art" (Lestrade,1937:295), but within these, the authors occasionally make interesting remarks about the simpler oral art forms like songs, children's poetry and games. The second restrictive condition is that in almost all cases, the authors' analyses are based upon transcriptions of poetry, and apart again from *the works of Blacking, Johnston and Weinberg, which are* ethnomusicological in approach, and Opland's work, performance analyses are totally lacking in the literature of this zone.

Attention will be focussed on the key concepts of

A: Verse line, which will include discussion on 'breath group', 'caesura', and the syntactic and semantic nature of the linguistic material within the verse line

B: Feet and 'nodes'

C: Rhythm, which will include discussion on 'rhythmic(al) units' and 'rhythm(ic) segments'

D: Suprasegmental features, prosody and metre.

(The definitions of terms enclosed within quotation marks will be provided within the ensuing discussion).

A: VERSE LINE

One of the earliest attempts to define the verse line, and linking it with the concept of 'breath group', was that of Grant, who describing the Zulu royal izibongo ('praises'), stated that

> apart from the clear emphasis on the penultimate syllable of each word, additional emphasis fell periodically on the penultimates of certain words, each of which would be followed by a perceptible pause. Thus the poem would be broken up into short phrases, each of which appeared to be uttered in one breath [...] an effort has been made to preserve this in the "lines" of the praises as here recorded.
>
> (Grant,1929:202)

Grant was one of the few precursors of the modern performance school in that his transcriptions were based on actual performance events.

In an article in 1935, entitled 'Bantu Praise Poems', Lestrade gave a definition of verse line based on syllable groups

> each line of verse is made up of a number of groups of syllables, which we shall here call nodes, usually three or four, each node containing one stressed syllable and a varying number, usually two, three or four, of unstressed syllables grouped around the stressed syllable [...] we have a three-node line [...] a four-node line.
>
> (Lestrade,1935:4)

This quotation has been of seminal importance in subsequent prosodic discussion for over fifty years. In 1937, Lestrade modified his definition only slightly by stating that "each line containing a varying number of words, with however a more regular number of strong stresses [...provided...] the balanced metrical form" of praise poetry (Lestrade,1937:295). For Lestrade, the concept of 'verse line' was linked to the strong stresses which make certain syllables more prominent than others. Ryzroft (1980) has levelled severe criticism against the Lestradean definition, showing first of all that "exactly the same kind of patterned stress-grouping is also to be heard in ordinary spoken Zulu";

secondly that, based on observation of both performed and transcribed praise poetry, "Lestrade's claim about there being 'usually' three or four nodes per line (is) totally unacceptable"; and, finally, "he tells us nothing at all about what he means by a 'line'" (Rycroft, 1980:296). It is Rycroft's description of the vain search for metre in South African praise poetry which eventually leads him to make a claim for an "extrinsic metre against which the oral delivery is timed and regulated" (:298). We shall consider this claim in further discussion.

Blacking (1967), describing Venda children's songs, gives us the timely reminder that

> the concept of a 'line' of verse or music obviously cannot exist where there is no tradition of writing
>
> (Blacking:18)

and his own use of our literate conception of 'line' is determined by what he calls the "basic metre of the song". This is

> established in the first word pattern, or 'line', the remainder of the text generally conforms to this pattern, and the number of syllables is controlled accordingly
>
> Each 'line' of a song is in itself a total pattern [...] a syllable or two may lie outside the 'endpillars' of the metrical pattern either at the beginning or the ending of a 'line' [...] provided that the metrical pattern is not affected.
>
> (Blacking:156 & 159)

For Blacking, the concept 'verse line' is bound up with the rhythmical patterning of the melody, and indeed he expresses explicit agreement with von Hornbostel, that there is no such thing as spoken verse, "only everyday language and song" (von Hornbostel,1928:55), and in Venda, spoken verse and song "are united in the same category by virtue of their metrical difference from ordinary speech" (Blacking:155. Blacking's emphasis).

> the term "songs of the Venda" **nyimbo dza Vhavenda** includes all tunes that "are sung" or "played on instruments", as well as patterns of words that are recited to a regular metre.
>
> (Blacking:16)

Blacking's data lead him to conclude however that

> the rhythms of the Venda children's songs are not children's rhythms so much as fairly elementary Venda rhythms.
>
> (Blacking:160. Blacking's emphases)

He thus does not support the universalistic claims of Brailoiu that rhythmic patterns based on eight short beats are most characteristic of children's poetry, with the use of triplets being aberrations (Brailoiu:7). Of the 58 songs collected and analyzed by Blacking, 28 are based on dotted crotchet (i.e. triplet) beats.

Marolen makes an ambiguous link between 'verse line', 'breath group' and 'semantic unit' for Tsonga, when in his description of the Tsonga folktale technique he states that

> **Tinxaxa leti landzelaka masungulo lawa ti hlayiwa hi ku longoloka hi tinxaxa-xaxa ta switlhokovetselo kumbe swiphato. Rixaxa rin'wana ni rin'wana ri fika ri hela laha mutshekoti a fikaka a hefemulaka kona, kumbe laha mhaka yi hela kona. Hi mhaka yaleyo, tinxaxa ta utshekoto ta hambana-hambana hi ku leha ka tona: tin'wana ti lehile, kasi tin'wana ti komile**
>
> (Marolen,1966:15-16)
>
> The lines following this introduction are told in the same way as the lines of poetry or praises. Each line ends at the point where the narrator draws a breath, or where the topic ends. For this reason, the lines of the tale are of different length, some are long, while others are short

Marolen's conflation of the techniques of folktale narration (folktales in Tsonga are poetic in structure and style), general poetic performance technique and the performance of praises leads to an unclear definition, and his further explanation does not clarify his use of the concepts.

Kunene's description of the verse line of Sesotho lithoko 'praise poetry' is similar to that of Damane and Sanders for this genre. For Kunene the guiding principle is "that of the phrase for the determination of the verse line" (Kunene,1971:53), while for Damane and Sanders "the lines [...] are units of meaning" (Damane and Sanders,1974:52), with the result that

> most lines can stand as complete sentences in themselves, for the relations between them are seldom made explicit [...] each [...] may be inconsistent with the lines around it.
>
> (Damane & Sanders:57)

They make a strong statement as to the presence of

> a marked caesura in the middle of a line (which) may occasionally be so lengthened that it becomes in effect a division between lines.
>
> (Damane & Sanders:53)

This would appear to imply that a 'line' may be either made up of two 'units of meaning', or that two 'lines' make up one 'unit of meaning', in praise poems. The ambiguity is not resolved by comment by the authors, and we recall that in the classical definition of the caesura, it is linked to a "pause within the line created by the syntax" (see Attridge:8, our emphasis).

Ryoroft's investigation into the relationship between linguistic text and musical accompaniment of the Xulu bow-songs led him to the conclusion that non-simultaneity of vocal and instrumental phrases are characteristic of this genre.

> the two parts are in an overlapping arrangement [...] the vocal entry point also has a fixed position provided that the lines are of equal length [...] the longer the line of text, the earlier its commencement
>
> (Ryoroft,1975b:63, Ryoroft's emphasis)

While this explanation sheds some light on the inter-relationship between linguistic text and melodic line, it is not particularly helpful for our purposes of definition of the concept of 'verse line'. We note however, in the same article, but in the context of metre, that Rycroft remarks that

> the lines are mostly 'unmetrical' by Western standards, having varying numbers of syllables , and no regularly recurrent pattern of long and short, or of strong and weak syllables. Texts of this kind are very common in most categories of Zulu song, though izilolozelo ('children's songs') are usually more metrically stereotyped.
>
> (Rycroft, 1975b:66)

In a footnote comment on Jones' claim that "any song which can be sung during dancing must, ipse facto, be metrical" (Jones,1964:7), Rycroft concludes that

> it would seem more reasonable to consider such texts to be inherently unmetrical in themselves, and to regard their metrical organization as something imposed upon them.
>
> (Rycroft,1975a:80)

The whole thrust of Rycroft's investigations has thus led him to a definition of 'verse line' which differs radically from the classical understanding of the term, and which is closer to the analyses of Bird (1972,1976). While we shall follow certain of Rycroft's arguments, the nature of our data will not necessarily lead us to identical conclusions.

Shole has a different approach to the concept of a Tswana 'verse line' which he associates with rhythm, with 'thought unit', with 'breath span', and even, usually, with syntax, unless this is run-on, or enjambed to the following verse line

> the most reliable unit of rhythm in a line, which may consist of any number of syllables, but which forms a complete unit of thought. Except in cases of enjambement, a line forms a phrasal

> unit [....its...]) length is not based on the number of syllables only, but also on breath-span: lines are of equal length if they can be uttered within equal breath spans
>
> (Shole,1981:118-9)

This omnibus definition attempts to capture all the essential elements of the concept of 'verse line', but its weakness, in our opinion, lies in two aspects. Firstly, the equation of 'unit of rhythm' = 'line' = 'unit of thought' = 'phrasal unit' would appear to beg several questions. Is a 'line' made up of only one 'unit of rhythm'? Does this imply that only one prominent syllable is perceived in each 'line'? Is a 'unit of thought' always phrasal? Secondly, the concept of 'equal breath spans' introduces a physiological element into the discussion, one which has proved extremely difficult to define. This was pointed out as long ago as 1938 by one of the earliest African commentators on Zulu verse, Vilakazi, when in a discussion on the development of Zulu poetry he stated that

> a unit of poetry or verse in Zulu is a breath group of words. Allow the poet to recite slowly, and he will always breathe at certain intervals and inhale before starting on another verse. But if you allow the poet to be carried away with ecstasy, he may take two verses in one breath [...] you will detect in the middle of the verse a very short break, which I would mark with a caesura. Then the verse is composed of two rhythmical parts, each of which may have one or more stressed sounds, accompanied by unstressed ones.
>
> (Vilakazi,1938:112)
>
> (It should be noted that for Vilakazi, 'verse' is the equivalent of 'verse line' in modern usage)

Ntuli, commenting on Vilakazi's written poetry, shows how Vilakazi has interpreted this caesura, as being dictated not only by a rhythmic break, but also by a sense break (Ntuli,1984:225).

We conclude this brief discussion of the concept of 'verse line', by a

a few quotations from Dhlomo, whose series of articles in the Native Teachers' Journal in 1947-8 on 'Zulu Folk Poetry' contains several helpful insights on the nature and characteristics of what he calls 'folk' or 'tribal' poetry:

> [in] the poetry of our forefathers, of the soil and the soul of the country [...(they)..] observe with sure and artistic instinct this universal law of rhythm
>
> (Dhlomo,1947:5)

> [...] depended on rhythm and stress (...) it employed a line divided into two or three rhythmic parts with stressed and unstressed measures, divided by a caesura or pause. Stress [...] did not depend on the number of syllables [...] The irregularity of the caesura was due [...]not to haphazard and illogical methods,, but to the musical nature and origin of some of these folk compositions. The words, it seems to me, sometimes followed rather a musical than a purely poetic foot.
>
> *(Dhlomo,1948:47)*

> it would appear that some of the folk poems sprang from or with the dance. The dance is rhythmical, and rhythm is the essence of poetry [...] the poetic compositions have outlived the ritual and the dance. But the point is that in tribal society poetry and the dance played a living part and were inseparable twins (or triplets, if we include music).
>
> (Dhlomo,1948:48)

We have seen that for the Venda, *"spoken verse and song are united in* the same category" (Blacking:155), and that for the Zulu, "poetry and dance are inseparable twins". It will become evident in our argument in Chapter Four that we share these understandings, and for the simple poetry we are considering, spoken verse, song, poetry and dance are often indistinguishable rhythmically. Our definition of verse line will have more to do with rhythm than with breath group or syntax or meaning.

B: FEET AND NODES

These terms have sometimes been used interchangeably in the literature on the South-East Bantu Zone, and it would appear advisable to

initiate our discussion by restating the definitions that we have given above. We accepted, with Attridge, that the foot is "group of syllables, each of which is defined as stressed or unstressed" (Attridge:6) and this is a suitable point at which to define the different types of classical feet, since many subsequent analyses refer to them by their classical names:

bisyllabic feet	x	/		iambic foot or iamb
	/	x		trochaic foot or trochee
	x	x		pyrrhic foot or pyrrhic
	/	/		spondaic foot or spondee
trisyllabic feet	x	x	/	anapaestic foot or anapaest
	/	x	x	dactylic foot or dactyl

A further classical foot, not described at this point by Attridge, is the amphibrach, which can be denoted in his convention by

x / x

Using the transcription of Attridge, and without prejudice to our further argument, x represents an unstressed syllable, and / a stressed syllable (Attridge:6).

We have given (:35) Lestrade's definition of the "node" as

> a group of syllables [...] usually three or four, each node containing one stressed syllable and a varying number, usually two, three or four of unstressed syllables grouped around the stressed syllable.

The only common elements in these definitions are that the unit in question is made up of a group of syllables, and that some of these are stressed while others are unstressed. In the foot as defined, there is no limit on the number of syllables, or on the number of stressed or unstressed syllables. The Classical tradition, however, does place restrictions upon the number, the lower limit being two

syllables and the upper limit being *three syllables. The point to be* emphasised is that in the foot, by definition, more than one syllable may be a carrier of stress, the type of stress bei determined by the particular linguistic code. On the other hand, in the Lestradean mode, only one syllable will be stressed, and it will be "surrounded by" two to four unstressed syllables, thus from a minimum of three to a maximum of five syllables per mode. It is clear from Lestrade's discussion (1935) that his "stressed" syllable corresponds to the word penultimate syllable, but he does not describe the nature of this stress, and its syntactically determined position is disguised by the fact that his examples are taken from Zulu, written conjunctively, and *from Sesotho, written disjunctively.*

qg Uthaku / lwabafazi / bakwaNomgabi
'the play of the women of Nomgabi'

Kxomo / di kene / ka yona / di se ile
'the cattle enter into it on their way'

These are examples of a 'three-mode line' and a 'four-mode line' respectively (Lestrade,1935:4). By 1937, Lestrade is talking of

> strongly marked dynamic stresses, occurring in more or less regular positions in all words of the same language, and the fairly regular incidence of long syllables also usually in the same positions.
>
> (1937:303)

These "dynamic stresses" are the "basis of Bantu prosody" (1935:4) for Lestrade, and the resulting terminological confusion in the literature may largely, we feel, be traced back to his equation of "dynamic stress" with "long syllables also usually in the same positions". One could also raise questions as to the dynamic nature of a stress which occurs in "more or less regular positions in all words". Does Lestrade mean by this, 'penultimate position'? The nature of stress in the

South-East Bantu languages will be further discussed under the rubric of suprasegmental features.

Early commentators on the status of the poetic foot in Bantu oral poetry emphasized for instance that "Zulu has none of these outward decorations" (Vilakazi,1938:111); for Tswana, it "has no prosody" (Thema, 1939:44); for Northern Sotho, "the rhythm is somewhat irregular[...] there is always a dominating foot throughout" (van Zyl, 1941:119); for Zulu, "folk poetry did not of course use the poetic foot based on each syllable of the word" (Dhlomo,1948:47); for Rycroft "in the izibongo [...] such things as regular feet are not to be found, but rather the natural rhythms of speech" (Rycroft,1962:81). In spite of these sometimes contradictory statements, and the influence of the idea of the Lestradean mode, one finds a hankering in the writers of this era to find some reflection, however pale, of the classical poetic feet.

Thus, we find Vilakazi stating that

> the metrical basis of rhythm in Zulu will naturally be dactylic. But there are *so* many derivative words with added syllables to which this does not apply that Zulu will range between dactylic and trochaic metres [...] the poet will always use a dactylic verse to begin his narrative, and in this break the law of penultimate stress.
>
> (Vilakazi:1938:112)

Dhlomo considered that

> our poetry can use the trochee in disyllabic, and the amphibrach in the trisyllabic words. I think we can also employ the spondee and [...] the dactyl, if we break the rule of penultimate stress.
>
> (Dhlomo,1947:45)

The fact that the application of the classical concept of the poetic foot should lead to the 'breaking' of a phonological rule of the Zulu

linguistic code should have been a warning sign to those whose Western-based literary education was misleading them into an uncritical acceptance of its precepts.

Moloto accepts the Lestradean node, "with the word 'length' (mutatis mutandis) wherever Lestrade employs the term 'stress'" (Moloto,1970:30). He continues

> 'nodes' are the embryo of the 'verse-foot', or are in fact to the Tswana verse what the English verse-foot is to the English verse.
>
> words or 'nodes' or verse-segments or 'verse-feet' bear the diatonic pattern short-long-short, which may, in written practice, develop in the same relation to Tswana verse, as the amphibrach foot to English verse.
>
> (:31 and 33)

(The 'words' to which Moloto refers are praise names)

Moloto was even prepared to argue for a "chiselling or polishing" of nodes in Tswana poetry, which could thus be "developed into 'verse-feet' in the popular sense" (Moloto:31).

Moloto's argument for a basic trisyllabic metrical foot has not been unchallenged, as we shall discover when describing Sholo's work, but we turn briefly to an earlier writer who also put forward the idea of a trisyllabic amphibrach foot being the basis of South Sotho oral poetry.

Khaketla, in his introduction to Lipshamathe (1954), describes the rhythm of Sesotho as being based on

> linoko tsa mantsoe tse nang le kima, ha li arohantsoe ke se le seng kapa li le peli, tse se nang kima [...] 'me ha motho a bala melana ena, ho tlaha monate o mong. o kang ou pere ha e khelopa e iketlile, e se koatlaka [...] e holokile nako
>
> (Khaketla,1954:viii)

> the syllables of the words which have stress, are not divided by one, but by two from those without stress [...] thus when one says these lines, in order to show their essence, it is like a horse galloping quickly, saying **koatlaka** [...] it is keeping time
>
> (koatlaka - an ideophone representing the galloping of a horse)

Kunene has summarily rejected these ideas, or what he calls

> the galloping horse poetry...how do you get a *galloping-horse* rhythm out of a language whose main-stressed syllables are separated by widely varying numbers of syllables carrying secondary and tertiary stresses?
>
> (Kunene,1971:xiii)

Kunene, as we have seen above, bases his concept of verse line, not on poetic feet, but on paragraphs.

Nkondo is the only modern Tsonga poet to have made any comment upon the nature of the poetic foot. In his introduction to his collection of poems **Nthavelo ya Mishloketo** ('The Spring of Thoughts'), Nkondo discusses poetic form

> **Xitlhokovetselo xi na xivumbeko xa xona. A xi fani na leswi mahungu man'wani, ma nga tsariswa swona, xikombiso, eka 'Nkosi wa Bamuza', languta leswi va nge i <u>milenge</u> ya <u>xitlhokovetselo</u>**
>
> ˘ – ˘ – ˘ –
> I ndzhe - nga wa - xixi - ka
>
> **Laha mi vona <u>milenge</u> <u>mirharhu</u> na xiphemu xin'we xa nongo**
>
> (Nkondo,1971(?):viii)
>
> Poetry has its own form. It is not the same as other literature in the way it is written, for example, consider, from (the poem) **Nkosi wa Bamuza**, what are called <u>poetic feet</u>
>
> 'It is a winter afternoon'
>
> Here we have <u>three feet</u> and one part of a foot
>
> (Underlined words are in heavy print in the original Tsonga.)

Nkondo has marked the unstressed syllables by the usual convention (˘) and the penultimately lengthened syllable by a hyphen sign within the

text. His interpretation of this line of text as iambic appears unnatural however, since the wa (possessive concord) would not carry stress in either natural or poetic diction, unless it was in phrase penultimate position. Nkondo makes no further attempt to elucidate the prosody of his poetry, but it is certainly not characterised by iambic feet.

An altogether different approach to the concept of 'verse foot', is that adopted by Groenewald, in his discussion of a simple song which opens the action of Maaberome, a Northern Sotho play by Franz (1949). Groenewald describes the metriese maatstaf (metrical measure) of this poem as being based on a pentasyllabic group which is woordgroepfonologies bepaal (determined by the phonological word group). It consists of a ritmies-dinamiese sillabe x en [...die..] ritmiese-passiewe sillabe - (a rhythmically dynamic syllable x, and a rhythmically passive syllable -). These are patterned as (-)---x. The rhythmically active syllable corresponds to length and/or immediately following tonal level shift (Groenewald,1972:24-5). He describes the song as being built up of verse lines made of two 'membra'. In beginsel is elke vyfde sillabe 'n membreumgrens (in principle, every fifth syllable represents a membrum boundary). This syllable is rhythmically active and has a demarcative function; every tenth syllable is a period boundary (or, to use our terminology, 'represents the end of a verse line'), which Groenewald also describes as a koordinasiepunt (coordination point); and the membra making up each 'period' are separated by a korrespondensiepunt (a correspondence point) (:26). This would not appear to be related to the concept of caesura, since in Groenewald's analysis it represents a break between 'metrical

measures' rather than a semantic or syntactic break. Unfortunately, Groenewald does not indicate syllabic tones, and his determination of the pentasyllabic group appears to be a mechanistic and artificial manipulation of the linguistic material.

for eg. **Ge ke le kuwa Tukatole** (9 syllables)
While I was there at Tukatole

is split up into

Ge ke le kuwa	(5 syllables)
Tukatole	(4 syllables)

for no other reason than that it should follow the **segmenteelfonologiese reeks** and the **woordgroepfonologiese reeks** (:24) (the phonological segmental series and the phonological wordgroup series) which led him to an acceptance of the 'metrical measure'. Syntactically and semantically **Ge ke le kuwa Tukatole** would appear to be one unit.

Our discussion of 'feet' and 'nodes' has not led us to any helpful decisions for the analysis of the Tsonga children's poetry which make up our data, and we continue our overview of prosodic work in the South-East Bantu Zone by a consideration of the writing of Shole, Ntuli *and Lenake*.

C: **RHYTHM**

These three writers appear to have made a determined effort to break with attempts to identify verse lines based on feet or nodes, and have rather focussed on 'rhythm' as the dominant concept. In this, they endeavour to systematize previous writers' references to the feature of rhythm as organizing principle, since most of these were of a very general nature (Grant (1929); Vilakazi (1938); Dhlomo (1947-8);

Lestrade (1937:294); Schapera (1965); Cope (1968:40); Makuya (1971:37 Damane and Sanders (1974:52)). Finnegan, after an encyclopaedic summary of the evidence concludes that in Africa,

> rhyme and regular metre are uncommon or non-existent [...] in other cases again, it seems that either the musical setting, or such features as repetition, linking, or parallelism perform certain of the functions we normally associate with metre or rhyme. But the whole question is a difficult one [...] relatively little study has apparently yet been made of this aspect of African literature.

(Finnegan,1970:74-5)

Finnegan has in later work pointed out that poetic rhythm is "not a physical but a cultural and relative" concept; it may grow on musical roots, but these are not universal , yet (quoting Edmonson), "the simplest, most fundamental and most widespread feature of poetry is rhythmic structure" (Finnegan,1977:91-2).

Shole, Ntuli and Lenake have, each in their own way, attempted to define this rhythmic feature for Tswana, Zulu and Southern Sotho, respectively and we shall describe their analyses and draw conclusions applicable for Tsonga children's poetry from them.

Shole emphasises the oral nature of rhythm which is

> a sound device which must be judged with the ear rather than the eye [...] it refers to the arrangement of sound units like syllables into patterns that give a particular movement to the poem [..and...] regulate the pauses between groups of words or syllables forming rhythmic segments.

(Shole:112-3)

He warns however against a blind acceptance of Western concepts like 'stress', as a regulator of rhythm - it is "foreign to the sound system of Setswana" (:114). He equally rejects tonal patterning as regulator of Tswana poetic rhythm, as well as numerical syllabic control, though "in some children (sic) poetry we do find an equal

number of syllables to corresponding lines of a poem" (:115). For Shole

> rhythm at its best is irregular and flexible as we find in most English free verse and in our own oral poetry.
>
> (Shole:116-9)

In ongoing discussion, focussing on modern (by which he means *'written') Tswana poetry, he comes* to the conclusion that

> a rhythmic pattern can therefore be regarded as the organization or arrangement of lines of a poem into various lengths and forms [...] length is not based on the number of syllables only, but also on breath-span

By this, one presumes that he is referring to the recital of written poetry - or else that the poet composes 'orally', and then commits his work to writing, (see for instance his reference to the Tswana poet R Molefe, Shole:113). Shole equally rejects penultimate syllabic length as rhythmical organiser, "since not all rhythm segments are marked off by it" (:117)

> the most reliable tools for attaining rhythm in Setswanan poetry [...(are)..] the kind of rhythm expressing what the poet desires, and following the rhythmic quality of natural speech. We do not come across any regulated accentuation or patterning of "stresses" and "nodes".
>
> (:126)

For Shole thus, rhythm in poetry cannot be conceived of apart from its aesthetic function, and its nature is that of "natural speech". We find difficulty in following some of his argument, since he has rejected "stress" (by this does he mean 'intensity'?), which he says "would surely interfere with the tonal patterns of words" (:117), as well as tone and length as regulators of rhythm. One wonders what other feature of natural speech could perform the poetic organising function.

In Ntuli's analysis of the poetry of Vilakazi he comments on the

nature of rhythm and on the role of the suprasegmental feature of length in particular as rhythmical organiser in Zulu. Although he is discussing Vilakazi's written poetry, his definition of rhythm is performance based:

> by rhythm in a poem we generally mean a more or less regular recurrence of time patterns and patterns of successive and positional association of emphatic elements to less emphatic ones. These patterns include a combination of the various degrees of stress, duration or length and tone (...) languages like Zulu use patterns of tone and length.
>
> (Ntuli,1984:220, our emphasis)

The most important rhythmical organiser in his opinion is length

> this means that we shall have cases where a whole line is a 'verse-foot' because it only has one length [...] we suggest the term 'rhythm segment' when we refer to the interval between these lengths. The occurrence of these lengths at well-regulated intervals, therefore, gives a rhythmic pattern to the poem.

However, since syllabic length determined by syntactic position does not always occur in Zulu, Ntuli finally decides that the

> pause, rather than the length, [...] is a better criterion for determining the boundary of a rhythm segment. We get such a pause wherever sense dictates that we must have a break or caesura between items [...] if we use the pause as our key concept we shall have more agreement because we can use it to mark the end of a rhythm segment irrespective of the presence or position of length in the preceding syllables.
>
> (Ntuli:224-225)

Ntuli thus makes the rhythm segment dependent on meaning, the sense break resulting in a pause, but this does not define 'verse line', nor is it, seemingly, related to 'breath group'. However, cadential fall in voice pitch at the end of sentences, especially if the sentences are "of more or less equal length" (:225) will, he claims, reinforce rhythmical patterns.

Lenake's discussion of the poetry of Ntsane touches briefly on rhythm, and he concurs with Ntuli's analysis, although Lenake prefers

the term "*rhythmic segment*" (*Lenake*,1984:153) to Ntuli's "rhythm segment". Discussing Ntsane's poem Lemo ea 1939, which Lenake shows to have many features of praise poetry, he remarks that

> we have rhythmic segments demarcated by pauses. The pauses indicate (a) either a brief delay between the first and second members of a couplet [...] or (b) a longer or full break at the end of a couplet [...] The segments coincide with verse lines [...] but there [...] are pauses within the lines. Thus there is *more* than one rhythmic segment in (some) lines.
>
> (Lenake:162)

After attempting to capture patterning within segments, however, Lenake concludes that rhythm is very complex -"a special study of this aspect is still to be undertaken by scholars of African poetry" (Lenake:163-165)

The work of these three writers, Shole, Ntuli and Lenake, has however shown that some progress has been made towards more precise definition of rhythm. Possibly the least successful analysis has been that of Shole. We shall make use of some of their analyses and ideas in ongoing discussion in Chapter Four.

D: **SUPRASEGMENTAL FEATURES, PROSODY AND METER**

We conclude this overview of studies dealing with theories of meter and rhythm in the South-Eastern Zone by a brief consideration of the descriptions of the roles of the suprasegmental features of tone, length and intensity in poetic language. We have made passing reference to these in the discussion above (in particular in considering the remarks made by Shole, Ntuli and Lenake) and our aim here will be to summarise, as far as possible, the disparate views expressed.

Typical of many of the early commentators, whose Euro-centred

understanding of the features of poetry effectively prevented them from 'hearing' Bantu poetry, were Dieterlen and Kohler, who remarked that for Southern Sotho

> in these eulogies, there is neither rhythm, metre nor rhyme, in other words nothing that constitutes *proper verse as we use it*

(as quoted by *Kunene*,1971:i).

In partial support of these ideas, we find Rycroft's *claim* that for the Zulu bow-song "it is the accompaniment that in fact *supplies* metrical regularity" (Rycroft,1975a:81. Rycroft's emphasis)

What both are effectively *saying* is that these poetic forms are not controlled by any known system *of prosody or* meter. The worst interpretation that could be put on the *remarks is* that the languages are intrinsically non-rhythmical; that they *have no inherent* linguistic features which are capable of rhythmically organising *them* as poetic languages. We would wish however, to argue that while we find some sympathy with Rycroft's position, we cannot accept that musical rhythm, or, in its absence, rhythmical body movements, are the sole controlling elements in poetic language. Rycroft's states further that

> Bow-songs and leading parts, choruses in dance-songs, and children's jingles thus demonstrate three *different degrees of* metrical organisation for the text: firstly, apparent rhythmic freedom, with overall timing control supplied by the extrinsic metre *of the accompaniment*; secondly, imposed metre, causing textual distortion; and thirdly, inherently metrical texts (which appear to be *only fit for* children).

(Rycroft,1975a:83)

A fourth type of metrical organisation *described* by Rycroft is that found in the praise poetry, for which "*such things as* regular 'feet' are not to be found, but rather the *natural rhythms of speech*" (Rycroft, 1982:81). By "inherently metrical texts" Rycroft *implies*

"metrical lines with regularly recurring feet" (loc.cit.) as found in the *imilolozelo*, traditional *children's jingles*. Our discussion of Tsonga children's poetry will show that even texts which do not have "*regularly recurring feet*", are rhythmically organised by an interaction between the rhythmically patterned pulses and the intrinsic suprasegmental features of length and intensity. This argument will be developed in Chapter Four.

The underlying cause of the confusion surrounding the definitions of rhythm, metre, and prosody has been the lack of clarity about the nature of stress in South-Eastern Bantu languages. We shall therefore initially clarify our own understanding of 'stress', which is based on the analysis of Hyman (1977). Phonetically, a "stressed syllable is frequently characterised by pitch change, by greater duration, and by *greater intensity*" (Hyman:40). In terms of linguistic function, stress may be 'fixed', i.e. its position can be predicted from a word-boundary, thus it has a demarcative function e.g. in Polish; or else it may be '*free*', non-predictable, thus lexical, in which case "it will fall on the same stem syllable throughout the declension", for e.g. in Russian. Its function will in this case be morphological.

> We therefore distinguish between *lexical and grammatical stress*, with the latter being further differentiated into morphological vs. demarcative sub-functions.
>
> (:39)

We take note of Hyman's footnote 39 (:77) "that in a tone language, pitch will tend not to be the primary perceptual cue of stress". Our empirical argument will lead us to propose that duration and intensity

are the chief stress cues for Tsonga, but we *will also bear in mind* Rycroft's warning (with reference to the failure of instrumental efforts to *measure intensity stress*) that

> where the investigator (or even the speaker himself) subjectively feels dynamic stress [...] it seems feasible to suggest that - in *Bantu languages* generally - the listener may tend to project, conceptually, a kind of 'lexical prominence' on to root syllables by reason of their semantic importance, whether or not they happen to be actually louder.
>
> (Rycroft,1970:308, footnote 23)

We note however, that Rycroft has in the introduction to his Concise siSwati Dictionary made a claim that

> dynamic stress is potentially associated with the first syllable of each root or stem. Speech rhythm, based on isochronous stress timing in siSwati, may condition *additional stresses* in words of more than three syllables.
>
> (Rycroft,1981:xi)

Rycroft presents no reference for research which would back up these claims. With this caveat in mind however, our argument can only claim to be based on our subjective perceptions, whether these be conceptual projections or not.

All of the suprasegmental features, in isolation, or in various combinations have at one stage or other been proposed as rhythmical organisers for the Bantu languages of South Africa. We give a selection of these below:

i) 'stress' (= intensity?)

> the initial syllable of the first verse in Zulu poems is stressed. *This point reminds one of* musical beats, where the first note must be emphasised
>
> (Vilakazi,1938:117)

ii) '*stress*' or '*dynamic accent*' (= length?/intensity?)

> by which syllables are made more prominent [...] every complete Bantu word has a main stress on one of its syllables, secondary stress falling at intervals on other syllables of polysyllabic

words. The m in stress is then a great factor in word-building [...and falls..] typically on the *penult syllable*

(Doke,1954:43)

Doke defines two other prosodic elements which he calls 'length' and 'tone'.

iii) 'prominence' (= length?/intensity?)

prominence on the penultimate syllables of sentences [...] is in many cases preserved in the meter of the songs by lengthening *those syllables, if not* accenting them

(Blacking:165)

iv) 'tone' together with 'length'

seem to play an important part in the determination of (Venda) rhythm

(Makuya,1971:38)

We note however, that Makuya provides *no* proof for this statement.

v) 'length' and/or 'tonal level changes'

die ritmiese kern (d.w.s x) word woordgroepfonologies bepaal en kan in Noord-Sotho saamhang met lengte en/of 'n toonvlaks-verandering direk daarna

(Groenwald,1972:25)

The rhythmical nucleus (i.e. x) *is determined on the basis of* the phonological wordgroup and can be concomitant in North Sotho with length and/or directly following tonal level changes

vi) 'intensity' and 'length'

despite such *alterations of the length patterning* in song, the position of intensity stress in each word appears to remain unaltered [...] syllables bearing 'prominence', either by length or stress, *need not necessarily fall on* a metrical down beat

Syllables with an 'inherent' length feature [...] appear to be *less subject to alteration* in song, on the other hand 'imposed' length [...] is very frequently either displaced or 'lifted off'

(Rycroft,1970:308-9;
vide also Lanham,1960:146 ff)

vii) 'tone' and 'length'

In the African languages, accent or stress are only ad hoc *prosodic features*, their primary prosodic features being high or low tone on syllables and various degrees of length on the

penultimate syllables of specific syntactic units

(Lenake:152)

viii) 'tone' and 'length' and 'stress' (=intensity?)

languages like Zulu use patterns of tone and length. In Zulu certain syllables are sometimes articulated with a measure of emphasis. We regard this emphasis as stress, and it normally goes together with length, especially the length of the penultimate syllable

(Ntuli:221)

We noted above that Ntuli mentions "the various degrees of *stress*" (:220) which are used in different languages , and we have some difficulty in reconciling this present statement, which appears to underline the emphatic role of stress and its explicit link with the length of the penultimate syllable. Lanham (1960) has described the role and nature of emphatic stress in Zulu.

For Tsonga, very little has appeared in the literature on the nature or function of stress, and these few references are noted, without undue comment, in chronological order of publication.

i) Berthoud (1908) in his posthumous Shangaan Grammar describes the five vowels

pronounced as in Italian or German. They are sometimes long, sometimes short. Ex.: famba, to go, the first syllable is long, the *second is short*

(Berthoud,1908:1).

Berthoud was also the first to recognise the fact that all syllables in 'Shangaan' are "open, viz. they all end by (sic) a vowel" (:4)

ii) Junod (1932) in the first complete grammatical description of Tsonga, Elementary Grammar of the Thonga-Shangaan Language under the heading 'Syllabic system and accentuation' states

The accent is well marked. It falls on the penultimate, when the word is polysyllabic [...] Monosyllabic words have generally no accent

(Junod,1932:12. Junod's emphasis)

iii) Ouwehand in Everyday Tsonga states quite simply "usually the accent in the word is on the last syllable but one (the penultimate)" (Ouwehand,1965:11)

iv) Junod's Vuvulavuri bya Xitsonga, which is a revised version written in Tsonga for school use of the 1932 work refered to above, refines his initial definition as follows:

Ku ni nawu wa ntikelo, hi leswaku xitwari lexi nga peletwaneni leri rhangelaka ra makumo xi tikisiwa, xi lohisiwa

(Junod,1967:6)

There is an accentuation rule by which the vowel in the penultimate syllable is accentuated, it is lengthened

v) The UNISA Handbook of the Speech Sounds and Sound Changes of the Bantu languages of South Africa, distinguishes clearly for Tsonga between

a) long vowels (which) occur in the penultimate syllable of a word in isolation, or of a word at the end of a phrase or sentence e.g. ku vóna 'to see'; ku vóna wansáti 'to see a woman'; b) half-long vowels (which) occur in the penultimate syllable inside a sentence or phrase vona.ti va vóna vanhu 'the women see the people'; and c) short vowels which occur in certain ideophones, and at the end of interrogative clauses

(Ziervogel et al,1967:56-7).

We note also their conclusions regarding stress:

stress is not an inherent or essential characteristic of the southern Bantu languages. It is only a concomitant occurrence appearing sometimes to indicate clearly a difference in tone or length. When a speaker wishes to indicate clearly that a syllable has high tone or length, he also stresses that syllable

(Ziervogel et al.:58)

> In this context 'stress' would appear to be the equivalent of 'intensity', but one finds difficulty in imagining the social or communicative context in which a speaker would have the desire or necessity to indicate the presence within the utterance of a syllable with higher tone or length.

2.4 *Conclusion:* Linguistic and/or Musical Rhythm?

"No one doubts that spoken language has rhythm" (Allen,1975:75) and equally, as we have already seen, "the most fundamental, and most widespread feature of poetry is rhythmic structure" (*as quoted by* Finnegan), *or meter.* Our discussion in this chapter has attempted to shed some light on the nature of rhythm, in oral poetry in Africa in general and in the South Eastern Bantu Zone in particular. As Finnegan has remarked,

> even where strict metre has not been discovered, it is *striking* how often observers have commented on the 'rhythmic' nature of the utterance.
>
> (Finnegan,1977:93, our emphasis)

This raises the question of what sort of rhythm *it is* that the observers *are perceiving* in these non-metrical texts - is it linguistic rhythm? Or musical rhythm? Is this expressed by the musical accompaniment or by the rhythmical body movements of the participants? Or is there a universal rhythmical principle in operation in poetry to which *the observers are responding? We repeat* what appears to us to be a crucial remark of Selkirk:

> the diverse rhythmic patterns of prominence found in language reflect both universal and particular *aspects of rhythmic* organisation
>
> (Selkirk:36)

Persuasive arguments in favour of universal rhythmical patterning of language, and indeed of many linguistic and motor aspects of human behaviour have been advanced (for e.g. Allen (1975). *Most of* these theories *are based on* the premise of alternation of some form of prominent vs. non-prominent elements. However, these arguments cannot be carried so far as to

state that linguistic rhythm, whether produced or perceived, is rooted in musical rhythm alone. While Brailoiu (1954), Burling (1966), Calvet (1979), Stein and Gil (1980) have been able to make out a case for simple forms like children's verse, cheers, sports songs, chants and political slogans having a universal rhythmic base, we find difficulty in stretching these arguments to oral poetry in general. Calvet has *distinguished* three potential conflict zones in the *relationship* between language and music, these being *mélodique* [...] *duratif* [...] et accentuel (melodic, durational *and accentual*) (Calvet,1979:85). Referring specifically to the potential conflict between different rhythms, he claims that

> Il en va de même de toutes les productions poétiques, puisque toutes ont existé avant l'écriture *et ont été associés*, à l'origine, à un rythme, la danse ou le chant. Plus tard, lorsque l'écriture a été *utilisée* et que la poésie a été transcrite, cette influence du rythme non-linguistique sur la linguistique a du être traduite à l'aide de formules variées: le mètre, la longueur, l'alternance de syllabes accentuées et non-accentuées, selon les langues, en conservant bien sur les caractéristiques propres à la tradition orale: rimes, allitérations et assonances. La contrainte *originelle, extérieure* à la langue, est donc technique ou corporelle: les instruments utilisés, les claquements de main, les battements du pied, la marche, la danse. Et cette conjonction de la langue et d'une rythmique non-linguistique *unifie* des productions de types divers: slogans, comptines, chansons, épopées de griots [....(mais)..] d'autre part elle tendrait à nier la présence du rythme dans la langue: le rythme viendrait d'ailleurs. Or si la langue se plie volontiers aux impératifs *rythmiques* du slogan ou de la chanson, c'est peut-être parce qu'elle porte déjà le rythme en elle et que nous la *reduisons indument* en la ramenant au système digital symbolisé par la transcription orthographique et enterriné d'une *certaine manière par* l'analyse phonologique traditionelle.
>
> (Calvet:42-5)

> The same phenomenon is observable in all poetic productions, since they all existed before writing and *were associated*, originally, with rhythm, dance or song. Later, when writing was used and the poetry was transcribed, the *influence of the* non-linguistic rhythm had to be interpreted in different ways, by meter, by length, by the alternation *of accented and* non-accented syllables, according to the languages, all the while preserving the particular characteristics of oral tradition: rhymes, alliteration and assonance. The original constraint, outside of language, was thus technical or *physical*: the tools used, hand-clapping, foot tapping, walking, or dancing. And this union of language and non-linguistic rhythm typifies various kinds of

> production, slogans, nursery rhymes, songs, narratives of the griots [....but] on the other hand, this (argument) may tend to deny the presence of linguistic rhythm: since the rhythm comes from elsewhere. Now if language submits easily to the rhythmical imperatives of the slogan or of the song, it is perhaps because it already possesses its own rhythm which we have inappropriately reduced by denoting it to a digital system symbolised by orthographic transcription and ratified by a certain method of traditional phonological analysis .

This is a long, and a strong, quotation from a scholar who has forcefully argued in the same work for the existence of "rhythmical competence", and "poetic competence" as well as "linguistic competence" in the Chomskyean sense. "C'est aussi que le rythme qui préside à la profération de certains textes oraux [...] est [...] en même temps constitutif de la langue" (:50) (Thus the rhythm which rules the utterance of certain oral texts [...] is [...] at the same time constitutive of the language).

In the final analysis, we can but agree with Calvet. We note in conclusion a statement of Lehiste for whom

> the essence of the suprasegmental structure of a language is crystallized in the meter of its oral poetry [....] rhythm is one of several organizing principles.
>
> Even though poetic form superimposes a set of rhythmic constraints on spoken language, these constraints operate with the possibilities provided by the suprasegmental structure of the language.
>
> (*Lehiste*,1985:145 and 150)

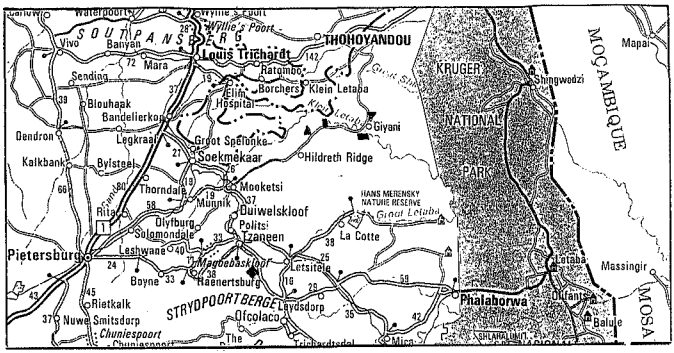
Thus our answer to the question "Linguistic and/or musical rhythm?" is that it is in the interaction between these two organizing principles that poetic rhythm is manifest.

CHAPTER THREE THE COLLECTION, TRANSCRIPTION AND DESCRIPTION OF THE DATA

3.0 Introduction

Within this chapter, the data collection process will firstly be outlined. Since there was no pre-existing body of material available in recorded form, in either the aural or the visual medium, a period of fieldwork preceded that of analysis and research. The geographical and social situations within which data were collected will be outlined. Attention will be given to describing the performance events, their organization, the characteristics of the performers, and the presence of other participants or audience. A further factor considered in this initial section will be that of any possible bias introduced into the data by reason of the methodology chosen or by inadvertent oversight.

Although the approach to the argument is performance-based and the recorded material is submitted as the primary text and as an integral part of the dissertation, the data collected during fieldwork has to be presented in a written form as well, for the purposes of description and analysis. The second part of the chapter therefore, deals with the process of transcription, translation and annotation of the data. The taxonomy developed for the description of body movements which accompany the poetic performance will be explained and discussed. The performers' body movements represent 'concealed' data in that they are not normally represented within textual transcriptions. The solutions adopted for reflecting these within both the textual transcription and the rhythmical analysis will be explained and illustrated. Reference is made to melodic accompaniment which is transcribed within Appendix II of this dissertation. Additional input referring to children's poetry obtained through an interview with a mother tongue speaker will be discussed within this section.



MAP SHOWING AREAS OF FIELDWORK

Mbhureni ▲ Hlaketo ▮ Sukani ▼ Ngove ▬ Burgersdorp ♦

Finally, attention is given to a general description of the nature of the data. This involves discussion of the types of children's poetry recorded, the children's performance styles, as well as a brief outline of the various structural characteristics of the poetry. Reference is made to published versions of the poems, which are presented in Appendix III.

3.1 The Collection of Data

3.1.1 Geographical and social loci

Fieldwork was carried out in the period 1982-83 during three trips to the Tsonga 'Homeland' of Gazankulu. Schools and villages in the Giyani and Ritavi areas were the loci of the data collection exercise. Giyani is the capital of Gazankulu and is situated in the Hlavi area. Within this area the Xihlavi dialect, upon which the standardised form of Tsonga is based, is spoken. Data were recorded at three schools, Mbhureni Higher Primary School in Khanani village (approximately 20 Km west of Giyani); Hlaketo Primary School, in Basani village (about 15 Km west of Giyani); and Sukani Primary School in Giyani itself. Further recording took place in the village of Nosi (Chief) Ngove, about 8 Km south of Giyani, across the Klein Letaba River. In the Ritavi area, where the Xinkuna dialect is spoken, data were recorded at Burgersdorp, a Tsonga village approximately 25 Km S-East of Tzaneen. (The location of all these areas is indicated on the map *facing this page*).

The theoretical framework within which the data collection was undertaken has been described in Chapter Two. Once the decision to focus on performance had been taken, a search for suitable data was made. It was realised that very little existed in the way of audio recordings

of the genre, apart from a few children's songs in the reel-to-reel material collected by Johnston (Johnston, 1971), and no video recordings of poetry performances existed at all. The decision to focus on schools was a pragmatic one, since in the rural area, villages tend to be scattered throughout the bush, and the school playground is the regular and natural meeting ground for children. With the cooperation of local school principals and class teachers, the organization of recording sessions presented very few problems. The children's ages ranged from about six to thirteen years. Within the school setting, the children tended to perform in class groups, thus the age groups corresponded roughly to the average for that class level. Within the two village settings where recordings were made, the children were not grouped by age, but by the social circumstance of living in the same village.

3.1.2 Period and duration of recording trips

The original plan for the collection of data had envisaged one exploratory trip to Gazankulu, followed by at least three trips for the purposes of recording, during 1982-83. In the event, after the exploratory visit, only two further visits were made.

(a) Exploratory Trip, 15th to 17th April, 1982

This was a contact visit during which ground plans were made for later recording sessions; permission was sought and obtained from the Offices of the Departments of the Interior and of Education for the purpose of visiting schools within Gazankulu; and initial visits were made to Mbhureni, to Hlaketo and to Sukani Schools. At Mbhureni, some audio recordings were made, but at that stage, the video equipment was

not available. During this time, interviews were held, both with officials of the Department of Education and with Tsonga speakers interested in oral poetry.

(b) First Recording Trip, 3rd to 16th July 1982

Following on arrangements made by correspondence with the School Principals concerned, video recordings of performances of children's poetry were made at Mbhureni, Hlaketo, and Sukani schools. A visit was made to the village of Nosi Ngove, where further performances were recorded. At Giyani, video recordings were made of oral poetry performances of some of the same poems by two adult women. These unrehearsed performances at Ngove and Giyani were to prove of great value for later work of verification and comparison during the period of transcription.

(c) Second Recording Trip, 16th to 19th December 1983

This trip focussed on the area near Tzaneen, and recordings were made in the village of Burgersdorp. Here a group of children living in and around the village, performed their poetry spontaneously. In contrast, during the first recording trip, the school teachers had, for the most part, arranged a choice of poems, and had chosen particular classes to recite them. The classes, we suspect, were made to rehearse before the recording sessions. These spontaneous recordings, from the Xinkuna dialectal area, were thus of considerable value for the subsequent work of transcription and comparison.

3.1.3 The recording process

(a) Equipment used.

A Sony TCM-757 tape recorder was used both for interviews and during the recording sessions. This relatively inexpensive piece of equipment

which has a built-in microphone proved adequate for the purposes. Standard C-90 recording cassettes were used.

Two possibilities are available for the making of video recordings, either to make use of sound film equipment, or to use a video cassette recorder (VCR). For the first of these, the initial capital outlay may be less by a factor of several thousand rand. The disadvantages however rapidly outweigh this seeming advantage. There are no monitoring facilities for the operator; it is almost impossible to separate the sound track from the visual track for analytical purposes; the sound track is often of inferior quality; frequently the reproductive process leads to unsatisfactory or unusable results; there is frequently difficulty in the editing process because of time-lag between the visual and the sound tracks. There are many advantages to the use of VCR equipment, and it was decided to employ it because of its ease of operation, its portability, the possibility of re-use of cassettes and, most especially, because of the instant play-back and ease of monitoring the film. The camera used was a National WV-3200 N with the field monitor. The equipment carries its own batteries, which are rechargeable overnight off standard electricity supply, but in the event, these batteries were found to be of insufficient duration for field work. Use was then made of a car battery. This equipment has many advantages in use, the only disadvantages encountered were with the microphone, which would have given better quality recordings with a windshield; and with the trolley upon which the equipment was installed for 'easy' transport - the wheels were too small to cope with the rough terrain encountered in some of the school grounds and villages. Also an overall plastic cover would have obviated the entry

of the fine dust which settled on and inside everything. The presence of obtrusive equipment, lights and unnecessary paraphernalia should, in our opinion, be avoided as much as possible in field work, especially when the performers are children.

Subsequent replay facilities were provided by the Central Television Unit of the University of the Witwatersrand, and use was made of the Panasonic VCR NV 8200 machine. This equipment facilitated analytical work, as playback of the tapes could be slowed down considerably so that the inter-relationship of spoken syllables, body movements, and melodic accompaniment could be established. Obviously this was only a few steps better than a purely impressionistic approach to the question of synchronicity, but it was felt to be adequate for the purpose. Finely graded segmentation of the visual record was not deemed necessary at this stage of the research (vide. Condon & Ogston, 1966, 1967; Kendon, 1980). The sound tracks of the video cassettes were transferred to audio tapes for rapidity and ease of transcription.

(b) Recording Procedure

Möhlig has recently (1981) warned against the fatal error of relying on one's own perceptions in language analysis, particularly if one is not a mother tongue speaker, no matter how proficient one has become as a foreign language learner of the target language. Discussing prosodological analysis, Möhlig states as his 'First analytical principle' that

> un corpus de réalisations linguistiques doit être collectionné. Ce corpus doit contenir des textes libres ainsi que des textes systématiquement conditionnés
>
> (Möhlig,1,81:36)

a body of linguistic representations must be collected. This body

must contain free texts as well as systematically controlled ones He also underlines how important it is to have recordings from many mother tongue speakers. Even at the early stage of data collection, the building up of a body of material which can be used for comparative purposes is a goal not to be lost sight of. Thus the need for multiple recordings of the same free texts and by speakers from different geographical areas was a guiding principle during the project. It is a well-documented fact that no two performances of an item of oral literature are 'identical'; there is no one 'correct' text (vide. Scheub,1970) and it is with this understanding that multiple recordings of the 'same' poem were considered in the recording process to be 'free texts'. 'Systematically controlled texts' may become the object of further data collecting , with different objectives at a future date. One could envisage for instance, a comparative study in which dialectal differences within a specifically selected number of the same poems might be traced on a geographical basis.

Since the aim was the collection of a body of free texts, very few restraints were put upon the performers. Upon arrival at a school, in a village, some time was spent talking to the children and adults present, about the songs and poems that they knew. Before long, the children would offer to sing some songs or recite some poetry. Once they started performing, and as they began to get into the mood of the occasion, the equipment would be set up. At this stage, questions would be answered about what each piece of apparatus was for. In all cases, recording took place outdoors, usually in the shade of a large tree in the school playground, or in the usual village meeting place. Specific poems were not requested, except on the third trip, when

analytical and comparative work was being planned. It was of interest for instance to discover whether a poem like Xikhongolotana, of which four different recordings had been made near Giyani, was equally well-known at Burgersdorp near Tzaneen. In some cases, as mentioned above, school teachers had prepared a 'Programme' of poems and this led to a regretted lack of spontaneity. However, the teachers usually allowed the children to add other items to the programme. Once recording had started, the children were asked to repeat a poem, where the words in the first rendition had been unclear, or a lorry had passed by, or the children had been distracted by bigger children laughing at them. The usual procedure was to allow the children to produce poems in group recitation until they reached the end of their programme, or if they began to find it difficult to think of other poems. At that stage, some sweets would be offered to the performers, and attention moved to the audience. The audience was usually made up of other children, mothers, women from the nearby villages and some old men. General conversation on the quality of the performance, with expressions of interest and enjoyment in the event were the usual topics discussed. Occasional comment on language use would be made, but the audiences were not over critical. The children would be asked if they had thought of any other songs or poems, or if they had any games that they would like to play which contained songs or poems. Recording sessions lasted usually for about one and a half to two hours.

(c) Factors which may have biased the data

In the early stages of the project, the gathering of as much material as possible constituted the main goal. The focus soon shifted from quantity to quality, and the later video and audio material is certainly an improvement, technically speaking, on the earlier

material. The school-based locus of the recording sessions was introducing several factors which could influence the data and its subsequent interpretation. The first of these was the most obvious one, that many poems which were being performed had been learned from the same published poetry collections. Thus we were no longer dealing with 'free texts', but with texts 'fixed' by the process of publication. A type of textual control was thus introduced which had not been anticipated at the initial stages of the recording process. The advantage of this however was the provision of material which was comparable in terms of the rhythmical interpretation of the same texts in different performance contexts. The second factor which was initially perceived as a negative one was that the classes had been over-drilled by enthusiastic teachers. This resulted in a reciting style which over-emphasised the rhythmical patterns, often led to a falsification of intonation patterns, a sing-song type of delivery which was sometimes exaggeratedly slow, and sometimes too fast, in comparison with what could be called 'normal' speech rate. On the other hand, over-emphasised rhythmical patterns are not false patterns, and since the main interest in analysing the material was the relationship between intrinsic linguistic stresses and the underlying rhythmical patterned temporal pulses, the observer's task was made that much easier. Over-emphasised intonation patterns, and variable speech rates can be considered as irrelevant variables. The possibility of recording adult performance, as well as in two out-of school loci was therefore welcomed, as this provided the opportunity of access to material which was not pre-rehearsed, was removed from the direct control of a teacher and was spontaneously offered. This material in effect can be considered as 'control' material in so far

as it was not affected by the above school-based factors.

3.2 Transcription, Translation and Annotation of Data

The data collected has been transcribed, translated and annotated, and is presented in Appendix I:203ff. The corpus consists of thirty-three poems. It must be emphasised that this collection does not aspire to offering a complete representation of Tsonga children's oral poetry. No attempt is made to classify the poetry according to its type (e.g. counting poem, game poem, 'nursery rhyme'); according to its temporal setting (e.g. relationship to seasonal or cultural activities); according to performance style (e.g. sung or chanted; unison, responsorial or antiphonal performance; voice usage); according to structural characteristics (e.g. with or without stanzaic structure) (for examples of such classificatory presentation, see Opie (1969), Blacking (1967), Scott (1955), Johnston (1971)). Our collection is we believe, a representative sample of Tsonga children's oral poetry and it is used as the basic data for rhythmical analysis. Since children's poetry in all cultures very seldom has a 'title', but is known by the words of the first line, the poetry is presented here in the alphabetical order of the first word of the first line, and the first line is given as the 'title'. It is by this convention that the children referred to their poetry, with the one exception of the poem Mina ximanga xa nhova ('I am the cat of the bush'), which was preceded by the declaration of the title "N'waMpfundla" ('Mr. Hare') (cf. Poem Number 17). The poems are numbered according to the alphabetised order, with different versions of the 'same' poem being indicated by 'version a', 'version b', etc.

It will be recalled from the discussion in Chapter Two that one of the main concepts around which controversy has arisen is that of 'verse line', and

its relationship to 'breath group'. Without anticipating the detail of the prosodic argument which is presented in Chapter Four, it is necessary at this stage to clarify our usage of this concept. We define a 'verse line' as being 'that linguistic material within the cv (syllabic) tier which is rhythmically organised by the underlying series of pulses' (:110). The thrust of our argument is that there exists for this simple art form, an abstract rhythmical scheme which can be represented by a series of temporal pulses. These are perceived as being patterned by prominent pulses or 'beats'. These interact with the syllables of the syllabic tier within the *context of performance* to produce a verse line, which in its phonetic realisation, is rhythmically patterned. By assigning syllables to strong or weak positions in the schema, the performers produce 'rhythmical language', i.e. language which is rhythmically patterned, and which is perceived as such by the observer. We recall Blacking's use of the phrase "patterns of words that are recited to a regular metre" (Blacking:16) as a sub-set of the Venda concept of 'song'. However, we would prefer to state this as 'patterns of words that are recited to a regular rhythm'. The strong pulses, by being assigned to syllables in the linguistic string, produce prominence which may, or may not coincide with the prominence which is produced and perceived during natural speech. We believe, with Liberman and Prince that "patterns of stress are a phonetically real and linguistically significant aspect of speech" (Liberman and Prince,1977:331). Within the performance of poetry, these "patterns of stress" are foregrounded. The objective of the prosodic argument is to investigate the relationship between what Bird has called the two types of prosodic constraints

> the first type [...] is one stated in terms of the linguistic units of the language. For example, a line might be defined as a sequence of ten syllables, or it might be *defined as four accented or stressed* syllables [...] we call prosodic constraints stated in terms of linguistic units, internal constraints. External constraints defining

> the *line* are those stated in terms of extra-linguistic factors [...] for example [...] an instrumental accompaniment
>
> (Bird,1972:207-8; Bird's emphases)

It is worth stating at this point that we consider the term 'constraint' to be too restricting, and we prefer to refer to the rhythmical pattern as a 'foundation' upon which the poetic structure is built. It is evident that we make no distinction between recited, chanted and sung poems, since they can all be analysed within the same methodological framework. (This last point is discussed further under 3.3 below).

Our data show that in the majority of cases, verse line coincides with breath group. Where intra-linear breath is drawn, this is indicated by the sign # in the transcription of the rhythmical analysis. We have described verse lines which are patterned by 8, 12 and 16 pulses, the latter being a sub-set of the 8-pulse verse lines. Within the corpus of 789 verse lines, 483 are defined by an 8-pulse pattern; 209 by a 12-pulse pattern, and 97 by a 16-pulse pattern. We shall illustrate our transcription, translation and annotation process by reference to one poem, number 28, Tinyimpfu hi leti ('Here are the sheep') (Appendix I:264ff; Video 290; Tape 2-67)

3.2.1 Transcription of the text

This poem is performed in a chanted unison monotone, as an accompaniment to a simple game in which the children move around in a circle, each child holding onto the shirt or skirt of the child in front, presumably as sheep *walk round following each other*. Structurally, the poem consists of two stanzas, each made up of a repeated couplet, thus we have eight verse lines, each of which is performed to the 8-pulse rhythmical pattern.

=1= Tinyimpfu hi leti
Here are the sheep

2 **Ti lava mafurha**
They are looking for fat

3/4 ....as 1/2

=5= **Ti karhele, ti karhele**
They are tired, they are tired

6 **Ti khomana hi mincila**
They hold each other by the tail

7/8 ....as 5/6

Verse lines are numbered, and the equal sign bracketing a number indicates the commencement of a stanza.

3.2.2 Textual translation

The second stage in the transcription process was that of translation. At this stage, a choice had to be made between three alternative presentations of the English text. The first would be a basic one-to-one formally equivalent version, or what one might call "Tsonga-English"

e.g. **Tinyimpfu** **Li** **leti**
Sheep they-are these

The second alternative would be to present a linguistically congruent version, i.e. a reproduction in recognisable English of the formal translation, or what one might call "English-Tsonga"

viz. 'Here are the sheep'

The third alternative is that of the presentation of a dynamically equivalent version, or what we could call "English-English"

viz. 'We're sheep!'

(For discussion of these translation terms, see Hill,1982. Sub-linear translations are not presented within quotation marks in our analysis).

The second alternative was chosen as having the advantages of being

faithfull to the original Tsonga; of being readable English; and of avoiding the problems of searching for idiomatic English expressions which might result in the loss of the idiomatic flavour of the Tsonga text.

As a final step in the translation process, comment was added, below the transcribed text and following the verse line numbering, on difficult expressions, on idiomatic significance, on words of unknown meaning or origin, on ideophones, or on culturally significant lexical items.

e.g. 2: The children were unable to explain why the sheep were 'looking for fat' (Appendix I:265)

In multiple version poems, only one version is given in full. Textual comment on other versions, which often differ by only a few words, or in the ordering of verse lines, is then given.

3.2.3 Graphic representation of textural and textual body movements

By slowing down the replay of the video cassettes, the observer is able to determine the relationship between the performers' body movements and their speech. The observable synchronicity between gesture and uttered syllable has been well documented for many types of speech behaviours and interactions (vide Condon and Ogston (1966,1967)). They have described how, in observing very fine segmentation (one forty-eighth of a second) of cine film of social interaction

> the body of the speaker was found to 'dance' synchronously with his speech.
>
> (Condon and Ogston,1967:234)

Other work in this area focuses on the categorisation, description,

and usage of non-verbal behaviours, gestures in particular being the focus of the work of Sandor (1967), Cresswell (1968), Ekman and Friesen (1969), Morris (1978) and Kendon (1980). Kendon has emphasised how

> gesture is not so much a common accompaniment to speech but [...] it is an integral part of the whole act of uttering [...] it may encode the most central and abstract ideas also being encoded in speech.
>
> (Kendon:355)

In his work, he defines a "gesticular unit" which is made up of one or more "gesticular phrases" or "G-Phrases". The gesticular phrase

> is distinguished for every phase in the excursionary movement in which the limb, or part of it, shows a distinct peaking of effort [...] such an effort peak [...] is termed the stroke of the G-Phrase. It is usually preceded by a preparation, ie a phase in which the limb moves away from its rest position to a position at which the stroke begins. The stroke is then succeeded by a recovery or return phase in which the limb is either moved back to its rest position or in which it is readied for another stroke
>
> (Kendon:342; Kendon's emphasis)

> G-Phrases are manifestations of the "idea units" the utterance is giving expression to [...(they)...] may be distinguished in terms of nuclei of kinesic emphasis, much as Tone units, may be distinguished in terms of nuclei of vocal prominenc.
>
> (:348-9)

> (It should be noted that the basis of the definition of "Tone Unit" is intonational and not segmental (Crystal,1980:356-7)

We shall, in several poems, find evidence of G-Phrases, as well as many examples of simultaneity of G-Phrasal strokes with the utterance of significant syllables.

In order to avoid the ambiguity surrounding the terms "gesture" ("observed action", Morris:24) and "gesticulation" ("a manual action", Morris:27), which are too often used in the literature to mean only "manual gesture", we have used the term "movement" in our description, and this movement is always qualified by the concomitant use of the

name of the body part involved, i.e. arm, foot, torso. We have developed a simplified descriptive taxonomy which satisfactorily handles the data. Its outline is as follows:

1. Textural Movements
   a) Baton movements "which time out, accent or emphasize a particular word or phrase" (Ekman and Friesen:68)
   b) Affective movements, which indicate the emotions of the performers, or their feelings or attitudes towards the events, actions, persons, animals or objects being described within the poetic text
2. Textual Movements

   These are illustrative movements, which may be
   a) Imitative movements, by which the performers attempt to mimic the action of a person or animal described within the poetic text. (This item represents a conflation of Morris' "mimic gestures" (:28) and "schematic gestures" which are "gestural shorthand" (:29))
   b) Symbolic movements, by which the performers attempt to express the nature of a person, animal or object described by the poetic text. A "symbolic gesture [...] indicates an abstract quality that has no simple equivalent in the world of objects and movements" (Morris:30)
   c) Descriptive movements, by which the performers attempt to indicate the size, shape or characteristics of a person, animal, object in the poetic text

d) Expressive movements, by which the performers attempt to describe the feelings or attitudes of persons or animals in the poetic text, towards other persons, animals, objects, actions or events within the text.

e) Indicative movements, in which performers point to their own bodies, indicating body parts mentioned in the text.

Our division of movements into textural movements and textual movements owes something to Opland's usage of Dundes' terms

> textual concerns are opening and closing formulas and the internal structure; textural concerns are rhythm of delivery or vocal effects that would not be apparent from an examination of the verbal text of the performance.
>
> (Opland,1983:238)

Opland conflates both of these into one, viz. the "expressive" element, and he uses "textural" to mean "nonverbal aspects audible and visible to audiences" (:239). These are the hidden data which we attempt to describe by our categorisation of "textural movements". Bauman, discussing the performance of oral narrative has claimed that there is an "indissoluble unity of text, narrated event, and narrative event" (Bauman, 1986:2), and our textual and textural description is an attempt to express this unity of text, textual movement and textural movement within the context of poetic performance. The movements are all what Ekman and Friesen have called "illustrators...movements which are directly tied to speech" (Ekman and Friesen:68), but the baton movements are the only ones which

> have no independent meaning or connotation when viewed without hearing the words [...] they are forms of rythmic (sic) iconic

> encoding. They tell no message [...(but)...] they are still iconically coded, but in terms of rhythm.
>
> (Ekman and Friesen:69-70)

We have also drawn on the work of Desmond Morris (1978), and have taken from him the usage of "imitative" and "symbolic" as descriptive categories for movement (vide also Sandor (1967) for a similar descriptive system for story telling).

To return to our example, the children's movements round the circle are described as imitative textual movements in that they attempt to mimic the head-to-tail movement of sheep following each other.

We turn now to a consideration of how the description of body movements is symbolised, and to the graphic representation of these within the textual transcriptions.

The taxonomy is based on Labanotation, a system which is used in choreography. The basic elements of this system are

> The PART OF THE BODY that moves (or several parts)
> The use of SPACE
> The TIMING of the movement (fast or slow)
> The DYNAMICS, the texture of the movement (strong or light,
> The pattern or FLOW in the movement (bound or free)
>
> (Hutchinson,1954:11; Hutchinson's emphasis)

We have not taken over this system in its entirety, as it is extremely complex, but we have attempted to extract its essence, to adapt it to our data. We had also to aim at producing a system of iconic symbols which would be computer compatible. Apart from the basic elements outlined above, direction symbols (up,down; left,right; forward,backward); body parts (hands, arms, shoulders; feet, legs, pelvis; head, chest, hips, whole torso); and the different categories of movement (tilting, rotating, shifting, facing) were needed within

TAXONOMY OF BODY MOVEMENTS

BODY PARTS	up	down	to left	to right	DIRECTION SYMBOLS
Hand L	(^	(.	-(	(-	
R	)^	).	-)	)-	
Hands	()^	().	-()	()-	
Arm L	(^	(.	-(	(-	
R	)^	).	-)	)-	
Arms	()^	().	-()	()-	
Leg L	/^	/.	-/	/-	
R	\^	\.	-\	\-	
Legs	/\^	/\.	-/\	/\-	
Foot L	<^	<.	-<	<-	
R	>^	>.	->	>-	
Feet	<>^	<>.	-<>	<>-	

	tilt	rotate	shift-face	CATEGORIES OF MOVEMENT
Head	o^	o. o@	-o	o-
Pelvis		o. o@	-o	o-
Torso	8^	8. 8@	-8	8-

OTHER MOVEMENTS

clap	+
step	/S \S
skip	/s \s
stop-skip	/Ss \Ss
----	other movements as described in analysis

LABANOTATION: THE BODY SIGNS (Hutchinson:263)



the taxonomy. Labanotation is based on a stylised representation of the human body, viewed from the back, so that movements made by body parts on the left hand side of the body are seen represented on the left hand side of the printed page. Our simplified taxonomy is shown on the facing page, together with the "Body Signs" of Labanotation (Hutchinson:263)

The following will be noted:

DIRECTION SYMBOLS (Hutchinson:13)

i) circumflex sign indicates upwards movement: ^
full stop sign indicates downwards movement: .

ii) hyphen sign preceding body part indicates movement to the left
e.g. -/ left leg moves left;
hyphen sign following body part indicates movement to the right
e.g.)- right arm moves right
(forward and backward movements are not indicated in the graphic representation of movement)

BODY PARTS (Hutchinson:151)

i) curly brackets identify hands:
{ left hand, } right hand, {} both hands

ii) curved brackets identify arms:
(left arm,) right arm, () both arms

(Shoulders are not indicated in the taxonomy)

iii) 'less than' and 'more than' signs identify feet:
< left foot, > right foot, <> both feet

iv) slash signs identify legs:
/ left leg, \ right leg, /\ both legs

v) upper case O identifies the pelvis; lower case o identifies the

head and the figure 8 identifies the whole torso

Chest, shoulders and hips are not indicated within the taxonomy, as such body parts seemed not to play a major role in accompanying movement, but one could for instance use |, the vertical dotted line for chest; square brackets [ ] for shoulders; and the variant sign ~ for the hips.

CATEGORIES OF MOVEMENT (Hutchinson:151)

i) "tilting" refers to "inclining, bowing or bending" and we have equated these terms with up and down movement, thus our ^ and . are used for this category

ii) "rotating" refers to "twists in the body", which we indicate by the 'at' sign @

iii) "shifting" is "the displacement in space...usually on a horizontal plane". *We have equated this to right and left movements, and* the hyphen sign is used as explained above

iv) "facing" means "turning towards the direction stated", which again we have interpreted as right and left movement by using the hyphen sign.

OTHER MOVEMENTS

i) clapping is a frequent accompaning movement which we have indicated by the usual musicological convention of the plus sign +

ii) stepping and skipping are common movements in games, and we show these by upper case S and lower case s respectively. In combination, step-skip, these are shown Ss, preceded by the indication of the leg, viz right or left

iii) any other body movement, not covered by these iconic symbols is indicated by *-------*, and the movement is described in the text.

We return to the poem chosen, in order to illustrate the taxonomy in use. The iconic symbols are placed in the line immediately above the textual transcription, and correspond in spatial position as closely as possible to the perceived temporal relationship between observed *movement* and heard syllable. Only the strokes of the G-Phrase is marked, since to indicate preparatory and recovery phases would result in overloading of the text .l transcription with unnecessary detail, which is not of any value for our analysis. The complete graphic representation of the textural and textual transcription is thus

```
        /S      s   \S s
=1=  Tinyimpfu hi leti
     Here are the sheep

        /S    s \S s
 2   Ti lava mafurha
     Looking for fat

 3/4 ...as 1/2

        /S  \S    /S   \S
=5=  Ti karhele ti karhele
     They are tired, they are tired

        /S  \S    /S   \S
 6   Ti khomana hi mingila
     They hold each other by the tail

 7/8 ...as 5/6
```

This is to be read, verse line by verse line, as

=1= "left leg step-skip, right leg step-skip"

2/3/4 (as above)

=5= "left leg - right leg step, two times"

6/7/8 (as above) (Appendix I:265)

One is occasionally placed in a descriptive dilemma when confronted with such data - are these "textural baton leg movements" or are they to *be interpreted as "textual imitative movements"? A decision was*

taken to consider these as "textural baton leg movements" as they were perceived as "timing out" (Ekman and Friesen:68) the utterance of the verse lines by a hefty thump of the feet on the ground. The children's action in holding on to the skirt or shirt of the child in front are *however described as* "textual imitative" movements as they "mimic the action of a person or animal described within the poetic text". Our descript.. .s of both textural and textual movements can be verified by reference to the visual material submitted as an integral component of this dissertation (Video :290), but in the final analysis, the decision taken in favour of one category rather than another is often subjective.

A further textural element i. hat of melody. Of the thirty three poems recorded, fifteen are sung, while eighteen are chanted. (This aspect of delivery style is further discussed under 3.3.2 below). Since our primary interest is in prosody, and in particular in its rhythmical basis, we shall not pursue in this dissertation the question of the relationship between melody and linguistic tone. It was decided however to include the transcriptions of the melodies within the present work. They will be found in Appendix II:295 ff. These poems are numbers 2, 6, 11, 12, 14, 16, 19, 20, 22, 24, 25, 27, 29, 31 and 32.

3.2.4 Rhythmical transcription

The perceived rhythmical pattern of this poem is one of the three 8-pulse patterns, which we represent as

x X x x x X x x

in which x is to be read as an unstressed, and X as a stressed pulse.

There is no variation in this pattern within the performance of the poem, each verse line commencing with an unstressed pulse followed by a stressed pulse. Basing our transcription on the analytical method followed by Coupez and Kamanzi (1970), we make use of eight columns which correspond to the eight pulses. Within these columns, the syllables of the verse line which are performed to the abstract rhythmical pattern which these pulses represent, are transcribed in lower case letters, word boundaries being indicated by a space, and syllabic junctures by a hyphen sign. Perceived vowel lengthening is indicated by transcribing the vowel twice, separated by a hyphen viz. e - e. In the majority of cases, the verse line corresponds to a breath group, and the transcription should be understood as conveying this information. The end of the stanza ("verse" in popular terms) is indicated by ## and this may co-occur with extra long syllables. The concealed data, i.e. textural movements, are shown within the rhythmical transcription by making use of upper case letters. In all cases, these capitalised syllables will have been observed to be those which correspond to the stroke of the G-Phrase. At the right hand side of the rhythmical transcription is a column marked "S:P". "S" represents the number of syllables within the verse line, while "P" represents the number of pulses. This poem is made up of two repeated couplets, which accounts for the highly regular nature of the S:P relationship. It will be rapidly apparent from a perusal of the data in Appendix I that such regularity is the exception rather than the rule in Tsonga children's poetry. The S:P relationship will be found to be a useful analytical tool in the prosodic argument which is presented in detail in Chapter Four.

verse line	x	X	x	x	x	X	x	x	S:P
1	ti	- NYI-	mpfu	HI ~	i	LE -	e	- TI	6:8
2	ti	LA -	va	NA ~	a	- FU -	u	- KHA	6:8
3	ti	- NYI-	mpfu	HI ~	i	LE -	e	- TI	6:8
4	ti	LA -	va	NA ~	a	- FU -	u	- KHA##	6:8
5	ti	KA -	rhe-	LE	ti	KA -	rha-	LE	7:8
6	ti	KHO-	ma -	NA	hi	MI -	nci-	LA	7:8
7	ti	KA -	rhe-	LE	ti	KA -	rha-	LE	7:8
8	ti	KHO-	ma -	NA	hi	MI -	nci-	LA##	7:8

This rhythmical transcription is an attempt to capture, in print, the observer's perception of the phonetic realisation of verse lines in performance. The presence of the concealed data, which is textural in nature, is also indicated within this transcription. *Neither* the textual-textural transcription nor the rhythmical transcription is a "performable text" in the sense in which Tedlock uses this term (Tedlock,1983:6) i.e. a script from which one could deduce all the 'stage instructions' necessary for a passable reproduction of the original performance. Both transcriptions however, do offer a visual representation within the written medium of the significant textural features of the oral performance. Since our focus is on prosody, we decided to maintain the presentation of the rhythmical transcription as shown, rather than attempting to use the elements employed by Tedlock to indicate the temporal and other acoustic features, viz. by the use of different type faces, long strings of repeated vowels, as well as vowels transcribed in falling or rising lines of type to indicate falling or rising glides in speech. The rhythmical transcription we have developed *serves as the basis of our analytical argument,* and this tabulation represents the final step in the process of transcription, translation and annotation of the data. (For discussion on

or 'tiple transcription texts vide Fine (1984) Ch.4:89ff)

Once the 68 recordings of poems had been transcribed, they were grouped into poems with the same "title" (i.e. the "same" first line). Poems which had melodies based on haptatonic, rather than traditional pentatonic scales (Johnston, 1971:112), and which were marked by Western or 'township' rhythms were rejected. For instance a very popular children's song is performed to the tune of "Auld Lang Syne", and the rhythm of the Tsonga words is quite Western (e.g. long final vowels). Similarly rejected were two Sipedi songs which the children sang at Burgersdorp. This process of selection finally resulted in a corpus of 33 poems, varying in length from 2 to 78 verse lines, giving a total of 789 verse lines in all. This total of 789 verse lines consists of 483 8-pulse verse lines, 209 12-pulse verse lines and 97 16-pulse verse lines.

In order to reduce this data for analytical purposes, and so that results would not be skewed by a preponderance of certain types of verse lines, it was decided to adopt the convention that repeated verse lines in the same performance would only be counted once. However, if the same verse line was performed by another group of children, or by the same group of children on another occasion, it would be be counted twice. This procedure resulted in the production of a body of 365 8-pulse verse lines; 112 12-pulse verse lines and 97 16-pulse verse lines. (There were no repeated 16-pulse verse lines).

3.2.5 Interview with Mr Lybon Mtsetweni

We conclude this section with a consideration of the comments and the poetic performance of Mr Lybon Mtsetweni, a Tsonga poet. These were

ascertained during an interview held in his office on the 1st of April 1982, in which the question of the rhythmical basis of Tsonga children's poetry was discussed. It was felt that his views added weight to the observer's perceptions and reinforced what were initially our very tentative intuitions. Mr Mtsetweni exposed his understanding of the topic by performing four examples of the genre.

a) The first of these was the initial two stanzas of Xikhongolotsana (poem 32, Appendix I:272 ff) which he sang to the accompaniment of hand claps as follows

```
  +     +  +
Xikhongolotsana m m
Little millipede m m

  +     +
Xikhongolotsana
Little millipede

  +           +  +
Xi kondletela ndzilo m m
It pokes up the fire m m

  +           +  +
Xi kondletela ndzilo m m
It pokes up the fire m m

  +           +
Xi kondletela ndzilo
It pokes up the fire

+           +  +
Khavhi wa ku wa ta  m m
Your father is coming m m
```

He described his performance by saying

> hi ndlela leyi hi nga ku ku na 'rhythm' eka swinsin'wana na mintlangu leyi vana va Vatsonga va yi yimbeleleka
>
> in this way we can say that there is rhythm in the songs and games which Tsonga children sing.

We have analysed our recorded versions of this poem within the

corpus in terms of a regular underlying rhythmical series of 12-8-12 pulses per verse line; these pulses being patterned by 3-2-3 beats per *series* (Appendix I:282 ff).

b) His second example was preceded by a brief description of the game action in what he called **Mamachuchubanga** (poem 16, Appendix I:240 ff). The performance was accompanied by four hand claps per verse line. (As shown in our discussion of this song, the words are untranslatable).

```
+    +    + +
Mamachuchubanga

+    +    + +
Banga mangololi

+    +    + +
Mangololi yame
```

In our analysis, we show this song to be organised by the most frequently recurring 8-pulse pattern X x x x X x x x .

c) The third song was Tsema tsema nhonga ya nga (poem 29, Appendix I:266 ff), which he said "yo kota leyi" ('is like this', i.e. the *preceding one) and* which he accompanied in performance by eight claps per verse line

```
 +     +     +     +  + +   +     +
Tsema tsema nhonga ya nga   nhonga ya nga
Cut   cut   my stick, my stick

 +    +      + + + +   + +
Veka veka ndleleni  ndleleni
Put (it) put (it) in the road, in the road

 +    +      +  + + +  +  +
Va ta hindza va teka   va teka
They will go past and take (it), take (it)

 +    +    +   + + +  +   +
Va lumbeta Mabihani  Mabihani
They accuse Mabihani, Mabihani
```

He followed this performance by counting out its rhythm as

"1 2 3 4, 1 2 3 4"

and this referred to the eight claps tapped out in his performance. However, he added

> loko mi ringeta ku pimanisa na leswi ndzi nga mi yimbeleriza swona eku sungeleni, leswi a swi ri "1 2 3"
>
> if you try to compare this with what I sung for you in the beginning, that was "1 2 3"

by which he was referring to the first and third lines within each stanza, which he had accompanied with three claps as they were sung.

d) Mr Mtsetweni's final performance was of a short antiphonal poem, called Beba, which he described as being performed by a solo caller and with group response. This he performed without claps, as follows, after explaining that he did not know what beba meant. (No performances of this were offered by children)

C: Beba beba * Ra: Beba

Ncila wa mangove * Beba
The tail of the mongoose * Beba

Loko u kumile * Beba
When you have found (it) * Beba

Loko u chelile * Beba
When you have dug (it out) * Beba

Na swimun'wana * Beba
With a little salt * Beba

Swa swikhegana * Beba
Of the little ? * Beba

Swo tsoko-tsoko * Baba
It is just sweet, sweet * Baba

'C' indicates the Call, separated from 'Re' the Response by the asterisk sign; the apostrophe indicates what are perceived as stressed syllables. This poem would thus appear to be rhythmically organised by a pattern of three strong beats with twelve pulses per verse line (for discussion on the nature of 12-pulse verse lines see Chapter Four:181 ff).

3.3 Nature of the Data

Within this section the various types of children's poetry recorded will be discussed. Attention will be paid to the structural characteristics of the poetry and to the various performance styles used by the children. Finally, a brief description of the literature search which concluded the period of time spent on data collection, transcription and preparation will be given.

3.3.1 Types of poetry and number of poems

No attempt has been made to classify the poems into different types. One could for example divide them structurally into poems with or without stanzaic structure; or functionally, as counting poems, or game poems; or texturally, as those with or without body movements, or with or without melody. No correlation was found between any of these categories and the different perceived rhythmical patterns, thus such attempts at classification were considered to be superfluous to the purpose of this study. We shall briefly discuss the various types of poems within such possible classificatory schemes below.

TABLE I: RHYTHMIC PATTERNS, STRUCTURAL CHARACTERISTICS, AND MELODIC ACCOMPANIMENT IN 33 TSONGA CHILDREN'S POEMS

Poem Number	Rhythmic Pattern	Non-Stanzaic [-St]	Stanzaic [+St]	Chanted [-M]	Sung [+M]
1	:8		[2]+9[4]/[2]+8[4]	*	
2	:8		3[4]+[6]		*
3	:8	(22)		*	
4	:8		[2]Rp	*	
5	:8	(5)/(5)		*	
6	:8		{[2(2)]+[2(1)]}Rp		*
7	:12		[1(C*Rs)]+4[3(C*Rs)]	*	
8	:12		]3(C*Rs)]Rp	*	
9	:8	1(C*Rs)+2(C*Rs)		*	
10	:8	6((C)+(Rs))		*	
11	:8		[4]+8[3]		*
12	:8		3[4]+[2]		*
13	:8	(9)		*	
%14	:12	(5)			*
15	:16	(10)/(11)		*	
16	:8 (5)+(6)Rp/(4)Rp/(6)Rp/(8)				*
17	:16/:12 (8)			*	
18	:8		[4]Rp	*	
19	:16	(12)/(13)/(14)			*
20	:16		2[2]		*
21	:8		{{4(C*Rs)}+{2(1)}}Rp	*	
22	:8		2[2(2)]/2[2(2)]		*
23	:16	6(C*Rs)		*	
%24	:8		6[4]		*
25	:8		2[2+2(1)]		*
26	:8		7[3]/7[2]	*	
27	:8	(7)			*
28	:8		]2(2)]+]2(2)]	*	
29	:16	(10)/(9)/(10)			*
30	:16		{2(C*Rs)}+]2(C*Rs)}	*	
%31	:8		2[2]+[6]		*
32	:12/:8		22[3]+(2)/10[3]+1/33[3]/24[3]		*
33	:8		(1)+6[3]+(2)/6[3]+(2)+3[3]+2	*	
TOTALS	22(:8)	13	20	18	15
	2(:12)				
	6(:16)				

Key: () enclose verse lines; [] enclose stanzas; numbers before brackets indicate *the number of repetitions*, thus 6(C*Rs) represents 6 repetitions of Call-Response verse lines; Rp indicates countless repetitions, and is placed behind brackets, thus [4]Rp represents countless repetitions of a stanza of four verse lines

C,Rs indicate Call and Response respectively; (C*Rs) indicates Call-Response within verse line; {C*Rs} indicates Call-Response in alternate verse lines; % indicates verse lines of Call-Response structure, performed in unison

/ indicates differing versions of the same poem

a) Structural criteria

Of the 33 poems recorded, 20 have a discernible stanzaic *structure*, which we indicate by [+St], the remaining being [-St] (see TABLE I on facing page).

i) Non-stanzaic poems could possibly be considered as poems with one stanza, but it was felt that the concept "stanza" implies more than a *simple series of verse* lines. For Preminger, a stanza is

> a structural unit in verse composition, a sequence of lines arranged in a definite pattern of meter and rhyme scheme which is repeated throughout the work.
>
> (Preminger:267)

These non-stanzaic poems range in length from 5 verse lines (poem 5), through countless repetitions of 4, 5 or 6 verse *lines* (poem 16), to 22 verse lines (poem 3). Within the verse lines, antiphonal structure is sometimes apparent and performed as such (poems 9, 14 and 23); in another poem, however, the antiphony *is expressed in alternating* verse lines (poem 10); in one case, while antiphonal structure is evident within the verse lines, they are performed in sung unison (poem 14).

ii) Stanzaic poems range from two stanzas of 2 verse lines each (poem 20) to the longest poem in the whole corpus made up of 33 stanzas of three verse lines each. It should be noted that *stanzaic structures* within one poem may not be identical, e.g. poem 1 consists of an initial stanza of 2 verse lines, followed by 9 (version a) and 8 (version b) stanzas of four verse lines each. *Antiphonal structure*

occurs within these stanzaic poems as described above, but in *all the recorded versions*, none was found in which antiphony extends across verse line endings. Poems 24 and 31, while being antiphonal in structure, are performed in sung unison.

iii) Rhythmical structure of the poems may be based on series of 8, 12 or 16 pulses, and this is indicated within TABLE I by the figure :8, :12 or :16 following the poem number. 22 of the poems are based on 8-pulse patterns; 2 on 12-pulse patterns; and 6 on 16-pulse patterns. Poem 17 is unique in that it is the only poem with an irregular pattern, *the initial and fourth* verse lines being based on a 16-pulse pattern while the remaining six verse lines are based on a 12-pulse pattern. Poem 32, Xikhosgolotana, as discussed above (:87) has a *regularly recurring* 12-8-12 pulse pattern in each stanza.

b) Syntactic Structure of Verse Lines

A brief consideration of the syntax of the language of the verse lines may be carried out by a comparative consideration of the *structures in 8- and* 16-pulse verse lines, grouped under the following headings:

Noun Phrases - consisting of at least a noun or its substitute, *but lacking* the Subject-Predicate structure of a clause (Crystal:244 & 270)

Simple Sentences - whether Declarative, *Interrogative*, Imperative or Exclamatory. The main

TABLE II: EXAMPLES OF SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES IN 8-PULSE VERSE LINES

NOUN PHRASES

chela chela 'frog frog'	(8a-1)
xifuva khwirhi milengo 'chest stomach legs'	(32a-2)
xikhongolotsana 'little millipede'	(32a-1)
swinyanyana swa ntlhanu 'five little birds'	(26b-1)
kwale lenkoveni 'over there in the valley'	(13-1)
eshlarukweni 'at the drift'	(32c-77)
sweswi vana 'now, children'	(25-1)
xipene xa mananga 'the steenbok of the desert'	(32c-65)
kasi gomu leri 'but this bulging forehead'	(1a-3)
xa ku tshwuka ngopfu 'the very red one'	(32a-53)

SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

xi tshama eshlokweni 'sitting on the head'	(2-2)
ndlela va nga gandli 'not stamping the road'	(1-17)
loko ri ndzi vona 'when it sees me'	(8a-2)
a veka epotweni 'putting it in the pot'	(11-7)

SIMPLE SENTENCES

Ximanga xa ku luma 'The cat is biting you'	(4-2)
A hi tsutsumeni 'Let's run away!'	(26a-26)
Khanhi wa ku wa ta 'Your father is coming'	(32a-11)
Nenge wa ku hara! o! 'The leg goes sprawling out! Oh!'	(8b-4)
I tipipi leti 'These are pipes'	(1a-17)
A hi mavoya lawa 'This isn't fur'	(1a-35)
Ku na N'weNwachela 'There is the daughter of the frog'	(13-3)
N'anga yi na ntlhashi 'The herbalist has a herd'	(32a-38)
Chava nkondlo 'Look out, mouse!'	(4-1)
Engeta kambe 'Do it again!'	(10-11)

COMPOUND SENTENCES

Ha khoma? Khomani! 'Should we catch you? Catch!'	(9-6)

COMPLEX SENTENCES

Xi vuya xi ku tshema nenge 'Then it cuts your leg'	(16b-18)
U ta sala u ku tlhukwa! Gaa! 'You will just jump up and fall back!'	(22-6)

criterion is that the sentence has one Subject-Predicate unit (Crystal:320-1)

Subordinate Clauses - clauses which are dependent upon or constitutive of other clauses (Crystal:338)

Compound Sentences - sentences with two or more main clauses (Crystal:77)

Complex Sentences - sentences with a main clause and at least one subordinate clause (Crystal:75), by which we understand with either deficient or *auxilliary* verbs, verbs in the *Participial* or Subjunctive Mood, *and* Relative verbs.

The frequency of occurrence of these types within a corpus of 317 8-pulse verse lines and 96 16-pulse verse lines, (omitting verse lines which consist solely of nonsense syllables, euphonic fillers or ideophones from the total), is

	8-pulse		16-pulse	
	Number of occurrences	% n=317	Number of occurrences	% n=96
Noun Phrases	99	31,23	12	12,50
Simple Sentences	56	17,66	4	4,17
Subordinate Clauses	148	46,69	23	23,96
Compound Sentences	5	1,58	32	33,33
Complex Sentences	9	2,84	25	26,04

FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE OF SYNTACTIC *STRUCTURES IN* 8- and 16-PULSE *VERSE* LINES

Examples of each type of structure are given in TABLES II and III (facing pages 93 and 95).

For the 8-pulse verse lines, Simple Sentences predominate (46,69%), but Noun Phrases and Subordinate Clauses together make up almost half of the material (31,23 + 17,66 = 48,89%). This implies that the syntax of the sentences is either extremely rudimentary, and is end-stopped, or else that it is run-on, using this latter term here with its traditional meaning (<u>vide</u> page 13, above). Examination of the data shows that a syntactical sentence may in performance extend over two or three verse lines, that is to say its rhythmical organisation is patterned by more than one rhythmical unit. The language is centred on Nouns with simple descriptive elements and it will be obvious from all the examples used for illustrative purposes in Table II, that the poems reflect the objects, actions and childlike pleasures of children brought up in a rural setting.

For the 16-pulse verse lines, we are considering a corpus of 96 verse lines. It is obvious that with the larger numbers of syllables per verse line possible in the 16-pulse verse lines, increased structural complexity occurs. We note that more than half the material consists of Compound and Complex Sentences. However, the 16-pulse verse lines are characterised by frequent repetition of words and phrases or clauses. (This is further discussed in Chapter Four, 1161 ff.). The increasing syntactic complexity does not necessarily entail a greater semantic load. The words used remain those of the everyday world of the Tsonga

TABLE III: EXAMPLES OF SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES IN 16-PULSE VERSE LINES

NOUN PHRASES

murhi wo tshwuka, delengwa delengwa delengwa red medicine, delengwa delengwa delengwa	(23-4)
xingomana tundundu! tundundu! the doctor's little drum tundundu tundundu	(27a-6)
mina ximanga xa shova ntlo! I, the cat of the bush ntlo!	(17-1)

SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

wo dlaya wena, delengwa delengwa delengwa which kills you, *delengwa* delengwa delengwa	(23-5)
va nga heli hi mintlhambi, vulanga they cannot be finished in great numbers, vulanga	(30-2)

SIMPLE SENTENCES

Ndzi rhandza tiya na xilayisi xa xinkwa *I* like tea with a slice of bread	(20-1)
Va ka MaXavela va ta lungha m-m The people of MaXavela will be disappointed m-m	(19c-6)
Ndzi lava va*Machachulela* m-m I want those (people) of Machachulela m-m	(19a-7)

COMPOUND SENTENCES

Xi ya koka yo! Xi ya koka It (the train) pulls yo! It pulls	(19b-13)
Lowu i mombo-nkulu, lowu i mombo-nkulu *This is a big forehead*, this is a big forehead	(15b-3)
Va ta lungha a ndzi va lavi m-m They will be disappointed, I don't want them m-m	(19b-8)

COMPLEX SENTENCES

Va *vuya va* ndzi haxa mpama m-m Then they hit me m-m	(19b-4)
Va ta hindza, va teka va teka They will go past, they take (it), they take (it)	(29c-3)
I nana a vuyaka a vuyaka It is mother who is coming back, coming back	(29a-9)

child, referring to familiar animals, birds, people and actions in the natural and home environment as is shown by our examples in TABLE XII, facing this page.

c) Functional criteria

Only one criterion emerged as having functional significance in the corpus, and that is that some poems accompany children's games. Of the 33 poems, 11 were performed with this function, and within this category, only one could be called a "counting out" poem, viz. poem 16. The call Mbhalele Mbhale, and the two short poems Pocilo and Amachuchubanga are all part of the process of eliminating members from the group, this being done by the caller tapping out the rhythm of the song on the outstretched legs of the children seated on the ground (Video:173 ff.). The other poems are often accompanied by rhythmical body movements, these being either textural or textual in nature. Poems performed as game accompaniment are numbers 4,6,7,8,9,10,12,16,21,28 and 30, and description of the games is included with the transcriptions in Appendix I. The other poems were all performed by the children in what we call a "concert" mode, i.e. the children, either with the initiation coming from the class teacher, or spontaneously, offered a "programme" of poems, which they chanted or sang, standing in a more or less formal group. The different modes of performance can best be appreciated by viewing the visual material which accompanies this study. We could describe them as being arranged along a continuum from "frozen" to "free", these modal terms reflecting the children's behaviour register which

ranged from the fixed conscious awareness of the presence of the teacher, the watching audience and the recorder, to the relaxed natural behaviour of children at play.

These contexts and modes can be illustrated as follows:

CONTEXT:	Concert -	Supervised play -	Spontaneous concert -	Play
MODE:	Frozen -	Controlled -	Relaxed -	Free

c) Melodic criteria are indicated by the feature [+M] or [-M] in TABLE I. 15 poems are accompanied by melody, while the remaining 18 are performed as chants. The dichotomy between "sung" and "spoken" poetry would not seem to be a relevant factor in poetry performances in Africa, and is in fact explicitly rejected by Andrzejewski and Innes. They claim that "whether we treat a particular oral composition as a sung poem or as a song with a poetic text is a matter of emphasis" and they make use only of the term "poem" in their descriptions (Andrzejewski and Innes, 1975:9). Nketia also talks of "poetry - sung or spoken" (Nketia,1972:742). Finnegan describes the three performance modes as being expressed through the

> singing, intoning and spoken voice [...] but a recitative type of delivery is also common

(Finnegan,1977:118-9)

It is not clear from this description whether Finnegan's "intoning" or "recitative" mode corresponds to our use of the term "chant" (see also Rouget (1966)). We shall follow Andrzejewski and Innes, and Nketia in referring to all our data as "poems", but for further clarification of our use of the term "chant", we turn to the work of Welsh (1978).

According to Welsh, the three distinct roots of "melopoiea" - the musical property of words - are "charm melos", "dance melos" and "speech melos", which he describes respectively as

> the rhythms and sounds of primitive charms [...] the rhythms of dance-songs [...] and the rhythms of [...] man speaking to man.
>
> (Welsh:22)

In "charm melos"

> the external rhythms of music organize and direct the words of a song. A regular rather than an irregular rhythm, it is based on pure, physical pulsation [...] human art expresses such rhythm first with dance and drum. And when such rhythms, essentially independent of language, enter language, we have song [...] Primitive songs sung primarily for pleasure and entertainment seem mainly to use the ordinary language of everyday speech, but the language is always subservient to the musical rhythm [...] we find in the songs of many cultures words and syllables that are truly "nonsense" sounds, or rather sounds which make only rhythmical sense [...] they are sounds used as time-makers, as part of the rhythmical pulse.
>
> (Welsh:162-3)

In "chant" however, the "poetry (is) organized by both the internal rhythms of language and the external rhythms of music" (:166). In chants, the "speech rhythm gives way to chant rhythm, yielding a special chant language characterised by strong patterns of repetition in sound, word and verse-line" (:172). Among the chants which Welsh describes, he includes "the game-songs of children, and the songs and chants of football games or protest marches" (:175. Vide also Stein and Gil (1980), and Calvet (1979)). It is with those insights that we shall use the terms "chant" and "chanted". Our poems are thus categorised as being "sung" or "chanted" by which we imply that they are performed either with or without melody. Our data indicate that

the rhythmical organization in performance is the same for both modes, and the presence or absence of melody is not a significant feature, as is shown by the following matrix which shows the relationship between stanzaic form, [+St] or [-St], and melody [+M] and [-M]:

	[+St]	[-St]	Totals
[+M]	10	5	15
[-M]	10	8	18
Totals	20	13	33

g) A further aspect of performance is that of participation. The poems in our corpus are further described as being sung or chanted "solo", "in unison", "responsorially" or "antiphonally". Only the latter two categorisations need definition: "responsorially" is used to mean that a call/response pattern is evident in the poem, and this is effected in performance by two groups, for example, boys and girls; while "antiphonally" means that the call-response structure is effected by a solo call with a group response. The relationship between stanzaic form and participatory mode is shown by the following matrix:

	[+St]	[-St]	Totals
Solo	0	1	1
Unison	16	9	25
Responsorially	0	1	1
Antiphonally	4	2	6
Totals	20	13	33

The large number of songs which is evident in this breakdown as

being performed *in unison*, is probably a reflection of the recording situation in which what we have termed above as the "concert" *context*, predominated. Further fieldwork would be necessary to substantiate or refute unison performance as a typical characteristic of Taonga children's poetry.

f) The relationship between stanzaic form and rhythmical structure, which we have briefly described *above* as being organized by *either* 8-, 16-, or 12-pulse patterns, is shown by the data extracted from TABLE 1, and given in the matrix below:

	[+St]	[-St]	Totals
8-pulse	15	7	22
12-pulse	2	1	3
16-pulse	2	4	6
Irregular 12-/16-pulse	1	0	1
Regular 12-/8-pulse	1	0	1
Totals	21	12	33

The rhythmical structure with the highest frequency of *occurrence* is that of poems *with* 8-pulse verse lines, with stanzaic structure; while the *same* rhythmical structure, *but* without stanzaic *structure*, is of the next highest frequency of occurrence; the 16-pulse rhythmical structure (which we show in Chapter Four *to be* a sub-set of the 8-pulse rhythmical structure) occurs in 6 poems in the corpus, *with non*-stanzaic poetic structure *being* more characteristic. If we combine the figures for the 8- and 16-pulse patterns, we *have* 28 of the 33 poems occurring with this form, and these pulse series are patterned

with four beats. Brailoiu's argument therefor for a "universal" rhythmical patterning in children's poetry is thus in part substantiated by our data. We do have however, poem 33, in which the stanzas are regularly made up of three verse lines, rhythmically patterned by a regular 12-8-12 pulse series, with 3-2-3 beats. Then we have three poems, 7 and 8, and 14, with 12-pulse series, rhythmically patterned by 3 or 2 beats (for theoretical discussion on this point, see Chapter Four:184 ff; and the individual poems in Appendix I:220, 222 and 235). For the large part however, our data would appear to support Brailoiu's statement.

g) Blacking makes a comment on Venda children's song performances, describing the age and sex differences in performance styles, which is fully substantiated by our experience in Gazankulu:

> It may be said that Venda children's songs are performed as are children's songs anywhere else in the world: they are *sung haltingly*, breathlessly and huskily by tiny children, brashly by growing boys, and shyly and self-consciously by young girls; they may be rattled off at top speed, or yelled by a group of giggling girls as they run away, after saying that they do not know any songs. Small children enunciate the texts and music very deliberately, while older children often slur their *melodies* and *glide from one pitch to another*.
>
> (Blacking:35)

These varying styles of vocalisation and the affective factors which are age and sex related may be clearly perceived in the visual material which accompanies this dissertation. They do not *affect* either poetic or rhythmical structure however, and have not been taken into consideration within our theoretical argument.

3.4 Literary Versions

The final stage in the research process was to undertake a literature search which involved attempting to trace published versions of the recorded poems. Of our 33 poems, 17 versions were found in the literature, mainly occurring in collections of poetry for school children. Many of these collections, dating mainly from the early years of what we have called the era of "Tsonga Creative Writing" (Bill, 1983), were written for the first school years, and contain transcriptions of traditional oral poetry, as well as the early writings of Tsonga poets like Ndhambi, Marolen, Ntsan'wisi, and the Venda poet, Rasengane. In personal correspondence, Rasengane has explained that he deliberately created the word mitlhokovetselo (recitations) for his collection, in favour of switlhokovetselo (poems) favoured by other poets, for his title. Both Nouns are derived from the verb ku tlhokovetsela (to recite clan praises (C)). The motivation for his deliberate choice of a neologism was that he wanted a "new terminology quite different from the current terminology (of) swiphato (praise poems). [...] but only the current popular ones (i.e. children's rhymes) were included in the volume" (Rasengane, 1985, personal communication) The occurrence of the poems in the literary collections is indicated below:

	Poem Number and Title	Collection
1:	A hi mina mfenhe	Nkuna (1979:16)
2:	A ku ri na xinyanyana	Rasengane (1963:15)
9:	Heyi skolumuni	Marolen (1954:10-11) Ntsan'wisi (1960:7-8)
10:	Hi wena mani wena	Rasengane (1963:32)
11:	Mure, mure, mure	Rasengane (1963:16)

12:	Khangala, khangala khangala	Ntsan'wisi (1960:47-8) Rasengane (1963:15)
15:	Lexi i xikozikosi	Ntsan'wisi (1960:48-9) Rasengane (1963:19)
16:	Mbhalele mbhale	Kidd (1906:101-2) Barthy (1933:93-4) Ntsan'wisi (1960:9) Rasengane (1963:14) Blacking (1967:52-4;56-9;61-2) Rikhotso (1985:74-5)
18:	Mpfula mpfula	Ndhambi (1950:80) Ntsan'wisi (1960:27-8) Rasengane (1963:20-3)
19:	Ndzi hlangene na ntlhanu wa majaha na rin'we	Rasengane (1963:20)
22:	Nhloko, makatla	Nkuna (1979:14)
23:	N'wana manana	Rasengane (1963:18)
24:	N'waNhlarhu	Ntsan'wisi (1960:50-1) Rasengane (1963:18)
25:	Sweswi vana	Rasengane (1963:7)
29:	Tsoma tsoma nhonga ya nga	Ntsan'wisi (1960:45-6) Rasengane (1963:20)
31:	Vonani n'wana wa nga	Rasengane (1963:9) Nkuna (1979:12)
32:	Xikhongelotana	Ntsan'wisi (1960:43-4) Rasengane (1963:21-2)

These published versions (with the exception of those in Johnston's unpublished thesis) are reproduced in Appendix III:300 ff. Since the focus of this present study is on performance, we have not attempted a prosodic analysis of these published poems; indeed, the thrust of our argument in Chapter Two was that such traditional analyses have failed, precisely because the poems have often been, to quote Coupez, transcrits de manière déficiente (Coupez:52) (transcribed in an

unsatisfactory manner). Detailed comparison of published versions and performance-based prosodic analysis is considered to be beyond the scope of the present study, but for illustrative purposes, two published versions of poem 31 are given below, written in verse lines and stanzas which follow exactly the printed versions. These are followed by our rhythmical analysis.

a) Vonani n'wana wanga (Rasengane, 1963:9) (Appendix III:311)

Vonani n'wana wanga,
Sekurendze, kurendze, kurendze...,
U ala na ku dya ha!
Sekurendze, kurendze, kurendze, kurendze...!

N'wana wanga, hicho, hicho, hicho!
Wa mandleve, hicho, hicho, hicho!
Si ya dledlo, hicho, hicho, hicho!

b) N'wana wanga (Nkuna, 1979:12) (Appendix III:311)

Vonani n'wana wanga
Sekurendze, kurendze, kurendze
Sekurendze, kurendze
U ala na ku dya
Sekurendze, kurendze
Kurendze kurendze.
Na tindleve
Zinjoo, zinjoo, zinjoo ---!

c) Vonani n'wana wanga (Appendix I:272)

x)	X^1	x	x	x	X^2	x	(x	(x	
vo	-ns	-ni	n'wa	-na	wa	-nga	0 //		7:8
se	K'RE	-nde	K'RE	-nde	K'RE	-nde	0 ##		10:8
u	a	-la	ni	ku	dya	-a	0 //		6:8
se	K'RE	-nde	K'RE	-nde	K'RE	-nde	0 ##		10:8
	n'wa	-na	-wa	nga	hi	-nco	-o	0 //	6:8
	hi	-nco	-o	-o	hi	-nco	-o	0 ##	4:8
	n'wa	-na	-dle	-ve	hi	-nco	-o	0 //	6:8
	hi	-nco	-o	-o	hi	-nco	-o	0 ##	4:8
	si	ya	dlo	-dlo	hi	-nco	-o	0 //	6:8
	hi	-nco	-o	-o	hi	-nco	-o	-o	4:8

We note that it is precisely in the transcription of the rhythmical markers made up by the nonsense syllables of (se)kurendze that both the Rasengane and the Nkuna versions fall short of giving an indication of the rhythmical nature - and hence of the organising principle - of the poem. The Rasengane version has three and four repetitions of the word in lines 2 and 4 respectively, while the Nkuna version has three, two, two and two repetitions in lines 2,3 and 5,6 respectively. A scholar attempting a traditional prosodic analysis of this poem, and faced with these two versions would surely find the task very daunting, if not impossible.

3.5 Conclusion: the "Mistakes that Confound and Puzzle us"

We are reminded of Dhlomo's remark concerning the form and rhythm of the praise poems of the Zulu that

> further research will prove that it is those who put them down to writing who made the mistakes that confound and puzzle us

(Dhlomo,1948:47)

It is our contention that oral literature has traditionally been handled as though it was written literature; that the analytical tools employed have been those used in (written) literary analysis, be these the metrical systems as defined and refined in classical prosodic analysis, the stylistic explorations of literary criticism, or the formal and functional descriptions of contextual analyses. All of these are but functions of what Tedlock has called the 'seeing eye', while performance based analysis, such as is attempted in the present work, needs to rely on the 'listening ear' (vide for instance the introduction by Tedlock,1983:3-13). The collection of a corpus of visual data; its transcription according to what is heard, seen and perceived; its rhythmical analysis according to the felt pulsations of song and chant - these, we claim are the procedures to be followed in an effort to correct what we consider to have been the "mistakes that confound and puzzle us", the errors that possibly led Greenberg to conclude that "all the Bantu peoples [...] do not possess prosodic systems" (Greenberg,1960:920).

The thrust of the search for a relevant oral poetics, of which the present work is but a first hesitant step for Tsonga oral poetry is to listen, and to feel, and to participate. As Tedlock has said

> we shall never develop an effective oral poetics if we begin by reading the texts taken down from dictation [...] if we begin with the structural analysis of conventional written texts [...or...] by attempting to incorporate the full dimensio[illegible] of the live performance in a new and enlarged structurali[illegible]scheme [...rather...] poetry must be listened to with an ear th[illegible] not bent solely on alphabetic reduction to familiar written forms. [...] The critical texts of an oral poetics must be detailed librettos, graphically reflecting the character of oral performance.
>
> (Tedlock, 1977:507-517. Tedlock's emphasis)

CHAPTER FOUR *PROSODIC ARGUMENT*

4.0 Introduction: the Structure of the Chapter

Underlying our argument is the hypothesis that within the context of the performance of the specific genre of children's poetry, there exists an abstract but perceptible underlying rhythmical system, which consists of series of temporal pulses patterned by alternating strong and weak accents. These pulses are allocated during performance to the linguistic material of the poem, with the result that during the process of their phonetic realisation, the syllables become rhythmically patterned. The rhythmical system not only tends to exert a temporal influence upon the syllabic tier, but also patterns the linguistic material into verse lines. The word 'meter' (Rycroft (1980)) is not used within this argument, since it implies a theoretical construct which is, at this stage, not yet available as descriptive or analytical tool. We maintain that while the rhythmical system may be a psychological abstraction, or even a psychological universal, its particular patterning is genre specific. The allocation of pulses to performed syllables is not an automatic, mechanistic process, but is the result of a dynamic inter-relationship between the abstract rhythmical pattern and the reality of language specific suprasegmental features of natural Tsonga speech. In some cases, these features may be given additional prominence, or they may be perceived as 'normal'. In other cases, they may be neutralised or even distorted. The poetic rhythm of performance speech for this genre may thus be perceived as being a manifestation of either highlighted, normal, neutralised or distorted speech rhythm.

The thrust of the argument will be to elaborate, by approximation, a set of conventions which will enable us to describe how the linguistic material is associated with the rhythmical pattern. Our empirical argument will show how

the allocation of pulses to syllables *is determined by performance* constraints, linguistic criteria which are mainly suprasegmental, parsing conditions and semantic considerations.

The rhythmical patterning is perceived subjectively by the observer. Slowed down replay of the visual record enables the observer to establish which *syllables within* the utterance are being physically highlighted by the performers, either by emphatic baton movements, or by other gestures. The statistical relationship between the number of perceived stressed syllables and those accompanied by *observable G-strokes* is investigated. A significant relationship between these would confirm the validity of the observer's perceptions.

The recorded material was described briefly as being patterned by three different pulse series, the 8-pulse, the 12-pulse and the 16-pulse *series* (Chapter 3 above). The argument will be developed for the 8-pulse pattern, focussing initially on the prominent pulses; initial definitions are followed by the development of five Approximative Prosodic Statements, which take account both of the *rhythmical nature of* the data and its semantic and syntactic features. The existence of secondary stress occurring on root syllables in Tsonga is hypothesised. This leads to the formulation of a General Prosodic Statement, whose application to the *other pulse patterns* is then discussed.

4.1 8-pulse Pattern

4.1.1 Pulses, pulse patterning, degrees of stress, and positions

The pulses are perceived as occurring in series of eight. These are indicated by

x x x x x x x x

in which lower case x indicates a pulse. Each pulse represents in the syllabic tier, a slot, i.e. a position to which a syllable may be allocated during performance. Each temporal pulse *thus represents* a syllabic slot, which may be filled by one, more or no syllables. This infers that a silent pulse may be phonetically represented by an empty slot, and this, we claim, is an integral part of the rhythmical *patterning of poetic speech* in performance.

The pulses are *not perceived as being* of equal prominence. Two are perceived as strongly stressed, indicated by upper-case X, and two as weakly stressed, indicated by underlined lower-case x. The remaining pulses are perceived as being without *stress*. We *shall* indicate the two strongly stressed pulses by X^1 and X^2 respectively. We shall refer to the two strong stressly pulses as rhythmical pillars (cf. Blacking's term "end pillars" (Blacking:159)). The 8-pulse series *is thus patterned* by two degrees of stress, which alternate with unstressed syllables x to produce a binary abstract rhythmical pattern, which we represent as

X^1 x x x X^2 x x x

This an abstract representation of the perceived rhythmical pattern

strong-zero-weak-zero-strong-zero-weak-zero

and it yields a four beat verse line, the *beats themselves being* patterned as strong-weak-strong-weak. Our discussion will show that this, although it is the most frequently occurring 8-pulse pattern, is not the only pattern. Our data show that the verbal material of the poem *may, in performance*, consist of verse lines initiated by one or two unstressed syllables. We understand these phonetic representations

to be manifestations of two variations of the basic 8-pulse patterns. For the sake of completeness, we note these patterns here, delaying the discussion of their nature to 4.1.4. We shall call the first pattern the Type I 8-pulse pattern while the other patterns we shall call Type II and Type III 8-pulse patterns, and they are represented, together with the Type I pattern as

Type I: X^1 x $\underline{x}$ x X^2 x $\underline{x}$ x

Type II: x X^1 x $\underline{x}$ x X^2 x $\underline{x}$

Type III: x x X^1 x $\underline{x}$ x X^2 x

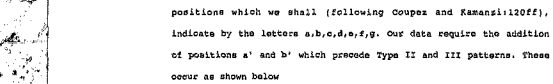
(The reason for the columnar lay-out will become evident in our discussion). For the moment we note simply that each is based on 8-pulses, patterned in a different way. When we wish to refer to the 8-pulse patterns in general terms, we shall use the representation

x) x) X^1 x $\underline{x}$ x X^2 x (x (x

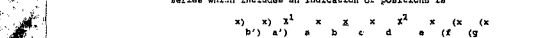
where x), is to be read as unstressed pulse(s) which initiate(s) Type I and II patterns; (x, (x are to be read as unstressed and weakly stressed pulses which conclude Type III and II patterns. We note that according to our definition, a series initiated by a strong pulse X will be concluded by an unstressed, a weakly stressed and an unstressed pulse respectively. A series initiated by one unstressed pulse will be concluded by an unstressed and a weakly stressed pulse, while a series initiated by two unstressed pulses will be concluded by one unstressed pulse.

A concept which underpins our argument is that of position which we define as a slot boundary. The inclusion of this concept becomes necessary to allow us to consider instances in the data in which vowel lengthening is perceived in performance. These lengthened vowels are

perceived as being assigned to two or more temporal slots, and we shall speak of them as being lengthened across slot boundaries in positions which we shall (following Coupez and Kamanzi:120ff), indicate by the letters a,b,c,d,e,f,g. Our data require the addition of positions a' and b' which precede Type II and III patterns. These occur as shown below



The general representation of the rhythmical patterns for the 8-pulse series which includes an indication of positions is



in which b'), a'), (f and (g are to be read as optional positions. For a Type II pattern, the positions available are from a' to f, while for a Type III pattern, the positions available are from b' to e.

4.1.2 The syllabic tier, verse line, breath group, enjambement, compensation, silent pulses and S:P relationship

The 8-pulse patterns are considered to underlie, during performance, the verbal material of the poem. We will refer to the verbal material, or linguistic string, as the syllabic tier or CV tier. We thus define a verse line as being that linguistic material within the CV tier which is rhythmically organised by the underlying series of pulses (cf. Bird,1976:50). This may, or may not, correspond to a breath group. In some cases, a breath may be taken within the verse line, at what may, or may not appear to be a suitable syntactic or semantic

break. This occurs only in 12-and 16-pulse patterns, but is noted here for completeness' sake. These intralinear breaks are indicated by #. Where # does not appear within the written representation of a performed verse line, it is to be understood that the verse line and breath group coincide. Intralinear breath breaks often lead to verse lines being run-on or enjambed, and th e is indicated by //. An example of this is to be found in poem 15, version b, lines 3 and 4 (which we indicate by the parenthesis (15b-3/4))

> Lexi i mombo-nkulu lowu, i mombo-nkulu,
> This is the big forehead, it is the big forehead,
>
> Lexi i switsayi-tsayi leswi, i switsayi-tsayi
> These are the eyes, they are the eyes
>
> ....etc.

In performance these 16-pulse verse lines become

> LE-e-xi i MO-mbo-NKU-lu LO-ow' # i MO -mbo-NKU-lu //
> LE-e-xi 'swi-TSA-yi-TSA-yi LE-ESW' # 'swi-tsa-yi-tsa-yi //
>
> ....etc.

Duplicated vowels e.g. e - e indicate vowel lengthening; capitalised syllables e.g. LE- are a representation of these accompanied by observable body movements; the apostrophe ' indicates vowel elision. Enjambement occurs, according to our definition, when the series of temporal pulses are perceived as being continuous, i.e. without break or pause for breath at the end of the verse line. It should be noted that when enjambement occurs, the series of pulses in each corresponding verse line is a complete series. When either of these is incomplete, the phenomenon of compensation is observed. According to Franinger, one of the ways in which compensation occurs is

when an extra syllable in one foot may be said to compensate for a missing syllable in another, or when a missing metrical unit in one line may be compensated for by an extra unit in an adjacent line

(Preminger:42)

e.g. Ri ya hoxetela
Wa keep on hitting (it)

Ku hela pongo leri
This noise stops

Ku hela pongo leri (13-7/8/9)
This noise stops

his realises in performance as

X^1	x	X	x	X^2	x	X	x
a	b	c	d	e	f	g	

RI	ya	NO	-xe	-TH	-e	LA	# [ku
HE	-la	PO	-ngo	LÆ	-e	RI	# [ku
HE	-la	PO	-ngo	LÆ	-e	RI	

The first verse line corresponds to only 7 pulses, and the initial syllable from the following line, is allocated to the slot *corresponding* to the eighth pulse. Compensating syllables are preceded by a square bracket [. The written representations of performance *speech manifestations* will be distinguished, in on-going discussion, from textual transcriptions, by the insertion of >$ preceding the first word in the line.

Whenever a slot is perceived as containing no audible material, the pulse is considered as being a silent pulse, and this is indicated by the zero sign 0 in the syllabic tier. Silent pulses are perceived as necessary for the maintenance of the rhythmical pattern. When a silent pulse is accompanied by an observable body movement, this is indicated by underlining, 0.

e.g. Bweswi vana
Now children

Hi ta hlaya swirho
We shall say (count) our limbs (25-1/2)

x^1 x x x x^2 x x x
a b c d e f g

>8 swe -e -swi -i va -a na 0
hi ta hla -ya swi -i rho 0

It is important to emphasize that while the rhythmical series consists of 8 pulses, the data collected consists of verse lines containing from 3 to 11 syllables. This nature of the relationship between syllables and pulses we indicate by the proportional sign ⊓⊔. The syllabic content of the verse lines does not appear to be controlled by any known factor, e.g. numerical constraints, regular patterning of syllables (short-long; heavy-light; high-low tone), or stanzaic demands, as in classical or other meters (see Chapter I). In poem 3 for instance, the numbers of syllables per verse line are

9-6-6-7-5-8-5-6-6-6-6-7-6-6-6-7-6-6-5-6

and no numerical patterning is apparent, yet each of the verse lines is rhythmically patterned by 8 pulses.

4.1.3 Second strongly stressed slot x^2 and the development of the first two approximative prosodic statements

We initiate our prosodic discussion by a consideration of the situation represented by the second of the two rhythmical pillars, i.e. the second strongly stressed slot x^2.

Of the total number of 789 verse lines, a corpus of 493 verse lines is perceived as being organised by the 8-pulse pattern. We shall refer to these as 8-pulse verse lines. It will be recalled that according to the convention adopted for the transcription of the recorded data, verse lines repeated within one performance were transcribed once

TABLE IV: VOWEL LENGTHENING ACROSS SLOT BOUNDARIES, 8-PULSE VERSE LINES

Pulses / Positions	x) b')	x) a')	x^1 a	x b	x c	x d	x^1 e	x (f	(x (g
S:P									
3:8	0	7	12	12	12	12	12	11	0
		0	12	7	12	7	12	3	
4:8	0	3	14	14	14	14	13	11	0
		0	10	4	11	1	12	3	
5:8	0	1	36	36	36	36	36	33	2
		0	10	22	4	0	35	0	0
6:8	2	37	185	185	185	184	185	185	173	5
	0	2	63	1	43	1	141	3	4
7:8	0	20	71	71	71	71	71	61	7
		0	29	0	6	0	38	0	6
8:8	12	19	31	31	31	31	31	23	6
	0	0	5	0	0	0	16	0	3
9:8	1	5	10	10	10	10	10	8	4
	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	2
10:8	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
11:8	0	0	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3
Totals:	15	93	365	365	365	364	365	364	325	2
	0	2	129	34	76	9	258	10	18	
%:		2,1	35,3	9,3	20,8	2,5	70,7	2,7	5,5	

S:P Number of syllables in the verse line:Number of pulses (=8)
First row for each S:P gives the total number of occurrences of verbal material in the slots in the syllabic tier
Second row for each S:P gives the total number of occurrences of vowel lengthening across slot boundaries, i.e. for each position

Totals: for each slot and position

%: Number of occurrences of vowel lengthening as a percentage of total number of occurrences for each position

TABLE IV: VOWEL LENGTHENING ACROSS SLOT BOUNDARIES, 8-PULSE VERSE LINES

Pulses / Positions	x)	x)	x^1	x	x	x	x	x^2	x	/x	(x
		b')	a')	a	b	c	d	e	(f	(g	
S:P											
3:8	0	7	12	12	12	12	12	12	11	0	
		0	12	7	12	7	12	3			
4:8	0	3	14	14	14	14	14	13	11	0	
		0	10	4	11	1	12	3			
5:8	0	1	36	36	36	36	36	36	33	2	
		0	10	22	4	0	35	0	0		
6:8	2	37	185	185	185	184	185	185	173	5	
		0	2	63	1	43	1	141	3	4	
7:8	0	20	71	71	71	71	71	71	61	7	
		0	29	0	6	0	36	0	6		
8:8	12	19	31	31	31	31	31	31	23	6	
	0	0	5	0	0	0	16	0	3		
9:8	1	5	10	10	10	10	10	10	8	4	
	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	2		
10:8	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	
		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
11:8	0	0	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	
		0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	
Totals:	15	93	369	365	365	364	365	364	325	29	
	0	2	129	34	76	9	258	10	18		
%:		2,1	35,3	9,3	20,8	2,5	70,7	2,7	5,5		

S:P Number of syllables in the verse line:Number of pulses (=8)
First row for each S:P gives the total number of occurrences of verbal material in the slots in the syllabic tier
Second row for each S:P gives the total number of occurrences of vowel lengthening across slot boundaries, i.e. for each position

Totals: for each slot and position

%: Number of occurrences of vowel lengthening as a percentage of total number of occurrences for each position

only. (Chapter 2.86). The 483 verse lines are thus reduced in number for analytical purposes to 365. TABLE IV (opposite) gives the data for these verse lines with the data arranged according to the number of syllables per verse line. The horizontal headings give the general statement of the 8-pulse patterns, with positions across slot boundaries as described above. Within the table, the horizontal rows show the number of occurrences of verse lines with the indicated number of syllables within the corpus of the data. Thus 3:8 indicates verse lines made up of three syllables, :8 refers to the 8 pulses.

We will consider for illustrative purposes, the verse lines made up of 5 syllables. There are 36 of these in the total corpus of 365 verse lines. Vowel lengthening across slot boundaries is perceived 10 times in position a, 22 times in position b; 4 times in position c; 35 times in position e; and not at all in positions a', d, f and g. The three final rows of the table give respectively the total number of occurrences of perceived syllables in each slot; the total number of vowel lengthening occurrences for each position; and finally, the number of vowel lengthening occurrences is calculated as a percentage of the number of occurrences for each position. The highest percentage 70,7% occurs in position e, where in 258 cases, vowel lengthening which corresponds to the linguistically predictable phrase penultimate lengthening in normal speech would take place. An example of this type of occurrence is

xi fambs hi nhova (3-5)
it travels through the bush

X^1 x X x X^2 x X x
a b c d e f g

>$\S$xi fa -mbs hi nho -o -va 0

Our first general conclusion is that within performance, the vowel of the penultimate syllable in the verse line, and which would predictably in normal speech be stressed by lengthening, is assigned to the slot corresponding to the second strongly stressed pulse, and lengthened into the next slot, in a large majority of the recorded occurrences.

It could be argued that this conclusion is an over-generalisation, since the data in TABLE IV disguises the occurrences of the three different types of 8-pulse patterns. However, the figures below, which show the breakdown of the data in TABLE IV, within the categories of the three types of 8-pulse patterns, substantiate our statement:

	x) b')	x) a')	x^1 a	x b	x c	x d	x^2 e	x (f	(x (g
Type I		272	272	272	272		272	272	267 29
			91	27	68	0	181	10	18
%			33,4	9,9	21,3	0	66,5	3,7	6,6
Type II	78		78	78	78	78	78	77	51
		2	37	7	17	9	66	0	
%		2,5	47,4	9,0	21,8	11,5	84,6	-	
Type III	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	*7
	0	0	1	0	1	0	11		
%	-	-	6,7	0	6,7	0	73,3		
Totals:	15	93	365	365	365	365	355	364	325 29

(* these occurrences arise as a result of the phenomenon of compensation, which has been discussed in 1.3 above)

Percentage Occurrences of Vowel Lengthening for the Three Types of 8-Pulse Patterns

We note, that irrespective of the pattern type, slot boundary x^2 - e i.e. position e, is favoured by the performers for the allocation of the linguistically predictable penultimate vowel lengthening. We shall briefly interpret the situation in each of the pattern types in turn,

leaving detailed and illustrated discussion to 1.3.1 below.

a) Type I

The syllable carrying penultimate length is assigned to $\breve{x}^2 - x$ in 181 occurrances, i.e. 66,5% of all occurrenc . The penultimate slot $\breve{x}$ is filled in 267 occurrences, while the final slot is filled in only 29 cases, and none of these are enjambing or compensating syllables for the 8-pulse verse lines, i.e. in 243 occurrences the final slot is an empty slot.

b) Type II

The syllable carrying penultimate length is assigned to $\breve{x}^2 - x$ in 66 out of 78 occurrences, i.e. in 84,6% of all occurrences. There are only 51 occurrences of final vowels in the final slot for this pattern $\breve{x}$, which, as in all cases of final vowels is perceived as being devoiced. Although in the abstract rhythmical pattern, this pulse is weakly stressed, in the actual data, a syllable allocated to the corresponding slot is most often inaudible. Final vowel elision would thus appear to be a feature of Type II 8-pulse verse lines.

c) Type III

The syllable carrying penultimate length is assigned to $\breve{x}^2 - x$ in 11 out of 15 occurrences, i.e. 73,3% of all occurrences, and the final vowel is elided in all cases. The 7 occurrences in $\breve{x}$ arise from the phenomenon of compensation which we discuss more fully in 4.1.3.1 below, we note merely that this represents what would appear to be a ninth pulse.

4.1.3.1 The final pulse and a first prosodic statement

In only 29 occurrences of the 365 verse lines i.e. 5,9%, is there any audible material perceived within the final slot x. A brief examination of the nature of the syllables occurring in this

TABLE V: PERFORMANCE MANIFESTATIONS OF THE 29 OCCURRENCES OF SYLLABLES IN FINAL SLOT x, *8-PULSE VERSE LINES*

	..... x^2	x	x	x	
		e	f	g	
3:8	zero				
4:8	zero				
5:8	(i)	ma	-a	-ka	-tla	(22b-1/3)
6:8	(ii)	BA	-ra	O	~o	(8a-5)
	(iii)	ba	-nga	-la	~an'	(16a-5)
	(iv)	na	tse	-ma	~a	(16a-6)
	(v)	ma	-te	-nde	~e	(16a-8)
	(vi)	nghu	-nu	-we	~e	(16a-9)
7:8	(vii)	BA	-ra	O	~o	(8a-4)
	(viii)	ba	-ra	o	~o	(8b-4/5)
	(ix)	xi	-no	-ni	~i	(16a-7)
	(x)	ya	ya	kho	~ondl'	(16a-20)
	(xi)	ya	ya	kho	~ondl'	(16c-20)
	(xii)	FA	-mba	FA	~amb'	(22a-5/7)
	(xiii)	fa	-mba	fa	~mba	(22b-5/7)
8:8	(xiv)	VU	-ya	RI	~ni	(6-1/3)
	(xv)	TSHWO	-o	TSHWO	~o	(12-13/14)
	(xvi)	-LE	-EN'	HA	~YI	(21-2)
	(xvii)	XI	-NKWA	HA	~YI	(? 3)
	(xviii)	PE	-EN'	HA	~YI	(21-4)
	(xix)	KHWIrhi	si	-LE	~eng'	(22a-2/4)
	(xx)	khwirhi	si	-le	~eng'	(22b-2/4)
9:8	(xxi)	KHA	-nga	-h	~la	(12-1/3)
	(xxii)	TSE	-ma	NE	~nge	(16b-16)
	(xxiii)	TLHU	-kwa	GA	~a	(22a-6/8)
	(xxiv)	tlhu	-kwa	ga	~a	(22b-6/8)
10:8	zero					
11:8	(xxv)	nyi	-ka	x'-ma	~nga	(16a-18)
	(xxvi)	dye	-te	-te	~el'	(16a-19)
	(xxvii)	NYI	-ik'	x'-MA	~ang'	(16d-14)
	(xxviii)	nyi	-ka	x'-ma	~nga	(16c-18)
	(xxix)	dye	-te	-te	~el'	(16c-15)

(Roman numerals are referred to within the discussion)

slot, will shed some light on the subsequent discussion. The words represented by these 29 occurrences are shown in TABLE V, facing

a) As the number of syllables to be accommodated to the 8-pulse series rises from 3 to 11, that is as the performers assign more and more linguistic material to the rhythmical pattern, the more they will tend to allocate syllables to the slots corresponding to pulses near the end of the series of eight, i.e. after 6, the favoured position for the allocation of the penultimate lengthened vowel. This is shown by the figures below, which give the number of occurrences of verse lines containing material allocated to slots $\underline{x}^2$ - x - $\underline{x}$ - x, as a proportion of all occurrences for that S:P.

No. of syllables	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
No. of verse lines with $\underline{x}^2$-x-$\underline{x}$-x full	0	0	1	5	7	7	4	0	5
Total no. of verse lines	12	14	36	185	71	31	10	1	5
Percentage	0	0	2,7	2,7	9,8	22,6	40,0	0	100,0

We note the rising percentage with increasing syllabic content.

b) In six cases (ii, vii, viii, xvi, xvii, xviii,) final slot x is occupied by the final vowel of an exclamation, viz o!, -yi! (Heyi!)

c) In two cases (xxiii, xxiv) final slots $\underline{x}$ - x are occupied by the long vowel of the ideophone gaa! ('falling backwards in surprise') traditionally written with a double vowel. It would appear that the performers consider it important to preserve this inherent ideophonic length.

d) Five verse lines (iii to vi, and ix) come from the first poem Pendle of the cyclic performance of poem 16, Mbhalele Mbhale, which is extensively discussed in Appendix I:241. The rhythmical *analysis shows that these lines are* performed with final vowel length in position g. This appears to be different from the rhythmical patterning established by the rest of our data, and more closely resembles the rhythms described for Venda children's music, although the words of the song are neither Tsonga nor Venda (Blacking:57-59). We note however, that the other two verse lines (x and xi) from the second poem Amachuchubanga of this cyclic poem, penultimate vowel lengthening *is preserved in* performance, and the final vowel is elided

ya ya khondla >$ ya ya kho - ondl'

e) Ten verse lines are syntactically similar, consisting of two content words, and are discussed together here

Reduplicated verb (xii, xiii and x)

famba famba 'to walk around'. It is worth noticing that two different performance strategies are employed by the children in these two different versions. In the first, penultimate lengthening is preserved, and the final vowel is elided >$fa-mba FA-amb'. In the second, both words are phonetically realised in full but this involves the disappearance of predictable prefinal vowel lengthening, viz >$fa -mba fa -mba

tshwo tswho >$TSHWO-o TSHWO-o is derived from the verbal radical tswha 'to burn', and is a speech form particularly used by women and children. It has no semantic significance whatsoever, and *in normal speech is similarly lengthened.*

Verb plus noun (xxii, xxvii, and xxviii)

tsoma nenge 'cut the leg' >$TSE-ma NE-nge, i.e. four short syllables

nyika ximanga 'give it to the cat' which is realised in two different versions as >$nyi-ka x'ma-nga four short syllables with the elision of ~i- of the Noun Prefix xi-/ and as >$NYI-ik' x'MA-*ang'*, two *long* syllables, with the deletion of word final ~a and the profixal ~i-, respectively. These examples show how normal speech patterns are transformed in different ways in response to the rhythmical pattern.

Two nouns (*xix* and *xx*)

khwirhi milenge 'stomach legs' in which five syllables are realised phonetically as four short syllables with final vowel elision, >$KHWIrhi mi -LE -eng'. The first two syllables are *perceived* to occupy only one temporal slot.

Verb plus adverb (xiv)

vuya rini 'come back when?' >$VU -ya RI -ni, i.e. four short syllables

g) khangala, dyetetela (*xxi*, xxvi and xxix) are nonsense words, which by analogy with real words, take prefinal vowel lengthening. In the first of these, the final vowel is preserved in performance,

khangala >$KHA -ngs -A ~la; while in the second two incidences, from two different performances of poem 16, the final vowel is elided

dyetetela >$dye -te -te -el'

b) In >$ma -a -ka -tia 'shoulders' (i), the penultimate length expected on -ka- is lifted off and coincides with the utterance of the Noun Prefix >$ma-a. This is an example of what we call 'displaced penultimate length'.

To sum up the preceding facts, it is clear that

i) the amount of linguistic material available in the CV tier of each verse line is a factor determining its realisation in performance.

ii) secondly, the nature of the syllable is also important. The speakers of the language do not consider it appropriate to elide semantically significant syllables of content words which are allocated to the two final slots.

Taking account of all the factors raised thus far in the argument, our first approximation towards a prosodic statement in which we attempt to describe the syllabic nature of the verbal material allocated to the various slots is

APSI First Approximative Prosodic Statement

x) x) X^1 x $\underline{X}$ x X^2 x (X (x
b') a') a b c d e (f)g

..... $\left\{\begin{matrix} CV - V \\ CV \quad cv \end{matrix}\right\}$ $\left\{\begin{matrix} cv & 0 \\ cv & cv \\ 0 & 0 \end{matrix}\right\}$

where, without prejudice to our further argument, ... represents that linguistic material within the CV tier whose nature and allocation within performance has yet to be described.
CV - V indicates a prominent syllable within which the vowel is lengthened. Or, to express this in other words, a syllable realised with length stress in performance. We make allowance for

the occurrence of a syllable without length in X^2 by CV cv. Although the second x is a representation of a weakly stressed pulse, in performance it is most usually perceived as unstressed, thus cv indicates a syllable within which the vowel is unstressed, or may even be strongly de-voiced. Similarly, in final slot x, such a syllable may occur, or the slot may be empty, representing a silent pulse, and three alternative possibilities are allowed for in the initial statement. We are using 'CV' and 'cv' as idealised representations of the concept 'syllable', and are not at this stage concerned with the variant forms of the Tsonga syllable, i.e. V, C or VC

4.1.3.2 Degree of tension, syllabic load and a second approximative prosodic statement

There will be a varying degree of tension (DoT) between the rhythmical pattern, based on a series of eight pulses, and the number of syllables (from three to eleven), making up the linguistic material of the verse line. This tension is resolved by the use of various strategies during performance, by means of which the verbal material in the CV tier is accommodated to the abstract rhythmical pattern. According to our first prosodic statement, and for Type I 8-pulse pattern, there are still four available slots for the allocation of this material. We define DoT as having zero value when there is exact equivalence between the remaining syllables in the verse line and the rhythmical pattern. For DoT=zero, and continuing to assign the syllables of the CV tier to the pulses of the rhythmical pattern from right to left, our second approximative prosodic statement is

APSII Second Approximative Prosodic Statement

$$x) \quad x) \quad X^1 \quad x \quad X \quad x \quad X^2 \quad x \quad (X \quad (x$$
$$b') \quad x') \quad a \quad b \quad c \quad d \quad e \quad (f \quad (g$$

$$\ldots\ldots\ldots *cv \quad *cv \quad *cv \quad *cv \begin{Bmatrix} CV - V \\ CV \quad cv \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} cv & 0 \\ cv & cv \\ 0 & 0 \end{Bmatrix}$$

*cv is to be interpreted as a syllable whose *nature is as* yet unspecified.

Based on *our argument* thus far, and for the majority of occurrences, a "typical" Type I *8-pulse verse* line will be of the format

$$>8*cv \quad *cv \quad *cv \quad *cv \quad CV - V \begin{Bmatrix} cv & 0 \\ cv & cv \\ 0 & 0 \end{Bmatrix}$$

representing the verse line in *its performance* realisation.

It will be noted that this represents, in the *overwhelming* majority of cases, a verse line made up of 6 syllables performed in the *rhythmical* framework of 8 pulses, i.e. 6:8 is prototypically 6:8. Examination of TABLE IV reveals that it is verse lines whose nature corresponds to this prototype *6:8* which occur with the highest recorded frequency of occurrence in the observed *material*. 185 verse lines of 6 syllables were recorded, i.e. 50,7%. There appears to be a tendency for verse lines in this simple type of poetry to be structured *with zero degree* of tension, or, in other words, that a "typical" 8-pulse verse line is made up *of 6 syllables*.

The concept of DoT is defined in terms of what we call the syllabic load *of the verse* line. According to our definition, a syllabic load of 6 syllables represents *DoT=0* within the 8-pulse

pattern. A typical verse line of zero DoT, and with a syllabic load of 6 is

Loko ri ndxi vona

when it (the frog) sees me ($a-2)

$$\underset{a}{x^1}\ \underset{b}{x}\ \underset{c}{\bar{x}}\ \underset{d}{x}\ \underset{e}{x^2}\ \underset{f}{x}\ \underset{g}{\bar{x}}\ x$$

>$lo -ko ri ndxi vo -o -na 0

The allocation of syllables to pulses on a one:one basis is not automatic, and ongoing *discussion will show* how different strategies, determined by semantic and syntactic considerations, are used during performance.

When the number of syllables in the verse line is greater or less than 6, the syllabic load increases, either positively or negatively, and this leads to a change in the degree of tension, as shown below

Syllabic Load	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Degree of Tension	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5

Thus, while the syllabic load is numerically equal to the number of syllables in the verse line, the degree of tension varies and is of a different nature whether the syllabic load is greater or less than 6, and the performers employ different strategies in order to allocate the syllables to the rhythmical pattern. Performance strategies for the following 19 verse lines, with increasing *syllabic load, are illustrated* by the performance realisations given in TABLE VI, facing :124.

TABLE VI: PERFORMANCE REALISATIONS OF 8-PULSE VERSE LINES OF VARYING DEGREES OF TENSION

	x)	x)	x^1	x	X	x	x^2	x	/x	(x
		b')	a')	a	b	c	d	e	(f	(g
DoT = -3; Syllabic Load = 3										
(i)			>$ntho	-o	-tho	-o	-thc	-c	-o	0
(ii)		a		-khwe-e	-e	-s	-e	-e	-mhe	
DoT = -2; Syllabic Load = 4										
(iii)			swe	-e	-swi	-i	va	-a	-na	0
(iv)		ti	-hu	-u	-ku	-u	ku	-e	0	
DoT = -1; Syllabic Load = 5										
(v)			xa	-a	dli	-va	ti	-i	-io	0
(vi)			e	-n	-hla	-xu	-kwe	-e	-ni	0
DoT = +1; Syllabic Load = 7										
(vii)		xi	-MA	-nga	XA	ku	LU	-ua'	0	
(viii)		xak'	CHE	-la	n	-pho	-hwa	-a	-ns	
(ix)		ma	-ns	-a	-na	u	swe	-sk'	-le	
DoT = +2; Syllabic Load = 8										
(x)		xi	TSHA	-ma	o	-x'sa	-KE	-en'	//[s	
(xi)			ve	ZE	-ks	x'bak'	-ta	-a	-na	0
(xii)			a	ya	vhe	-nge	-le	-en'	ha	-yi
DoT = +3; Syllabic Load = 9										
(xiii)		ndzi	SU	-ka	n'ta	-ka	X'SI	-ib'	0	
(xiv)	ndzi	xi	khu	-lu	-k'sa	na	ma	-st'		
(xv)			KHAngala		KHAngala		KHA	-nga	-A	-ls
(xvi)			U	ta	SA	-i'u	k'THLU-kwa		GA	-a
DoT = +4; Syllabic Load = 10										
(xvii)		sa	-K'RE-nde		K'RE	-nde	K'RE	-nde	0	
DoT = +5; Syllabic Load = 11										
(xviii)			te	-ka	r'ko	-k'u	nyi	-ka	x'mang'	
(xix)		x'mang	xa		kon'	xa	dye	-te	-te	-si'

(Roman numerals are referred to in discussion)

DoT = -3; Syllabic Load = 3

(i) Ntho-tho-tho! (18-2)
Drip, drip, drip!

(ii, akhwembe (11-6)
euphonic filler, derived from khwembe 'pumpkin'

DoT = -2; Syllabic Load = 4

(iii) Swaswi vana! (35-1)
Now children!

(iv) Tihuku-ke? (9-5)
What about the fowls?

DoT = -1; Syllabic Load = 5

(v) Xa dliva tilo (32c-47)
It bumps the sky

(vi) Enhlarukweni (16c-75)
On the bank

DoT = +1; Syllabic Load = 7

(vii) Ximanga xa ku luma (4-2)
The cat bites you

(viii) Ku chela mphowa a (10-6)
To pour out a little millet

(ix) Manana u swekile (11-3)
Mother has cooked

DoT = +2; Syllabic Load = 8

(x) Yi tshama exisakeni (2-2)
It lives in a nest

(xi) Vo teka xibaktana (3-8)
They just take a little bucket

(xii) A ya vhengeleni hayi (21-2)
He goes to the shop hayi!

DoT = +3; Syllabic Load = 9

(xiii) Mdzi suka ami teka xisibi (2-9)
I get up and take the soap

(xiv) Mdzi xi khulukisa na mati (2-13)
I rinse it out with water

(xv) Khangala *khangala* Xhangala (12-1/3)
euphonic filler, possibly based on the name of an unknown bird

(xvi) U ta sala u ku tlhukwa! gaa! (22a-6/8)
You will just *jump* up tlhukwa! and fall back gaa!

DoT = +4; Syllabic Load 10

(xvii) Sekurende kurende kurende (31-2)
euphonic filler

DoT = +5; Syllabic Load 11

(xviii) Teka rikoko u nyike *ximanga* (16a-18)
Take the *crust* and give (it) to the cat

(xix) Ximanga xa kona xa dyetetela (16a-19)
That cat will dyetetela (?)

The various strategies used by the performers may be summed up as follows:

(a) When the syllabic load < 6; degree of tension is negative

- vocalic nuclei are lengthened, resulting in distortion of normal *speech* rhythms (i to v). For instance

  swe.swi in normal speech, becomes >$ɜwe-a-awi -i

  tihu.ku in normal speech, becomes >$ti-hu-u-ku-u

  in these examples of performance speech. We note also that the prefixal ti- is *'dislocated'* and lies outside of the first rhythmical pillar . In other words, it is realised as an unstressed syllable in the *syllabic tier*, which precedes the first strongly stressed syllable allocated to T^1. Type I pattern thus becomes a Type II pattern. By analogy, it appears that the *'prefixal'* a- in the euphonic filler akhwembe is allocated to the initial unstressed slot and this strategy is common to other examples (xii and xvii)

- the interrogative enclitic ke is lengthened phrase finally (iv) which would correspond to its use in rhetorical questions, where its occurrence results in length on the *penultimate* syllable as well as unchecked length on the *enclitic itself*.

e.g. **Wa *famba-ke?*** *('So, you're going, are you?')* in ordinary speech *is realised as* **wa famba: ke::**

(b) when the syllabic load is > 6; degree of tension is positive
- *there* is an increasing tendency to allocate syllables to the *unstressed* slots preceding the initial stressed slot X^1 (xvii to x, *xiii, xiv and* xvii)
- increasing use *is made of the* final slot x (xii, xv, xvi, xviii and xix)

- increasing elision of prefixal, suffixal and final vowels, e.g. *exisakeni* >$ e-x'sa-KE-en' (x)

u ta *sala* u ku >$U ta SA-l'u k' (xvi)

and the deletion *of consonants* within function morphemes e.g. ndzi >$n' (xiii)

On the other hand, content words, *and especially* their root syllables, do not appear to be deformed in *this way* e.g. khulukisa >$khu-lu-k'sa (xiv)

and xikoko >$r'kok'; ximanga >$x'mang' (xviii and xix)

- syllables become temporally "crammed" together, e.g. the tri-syllabic khangala is perceived *as being* performed in the time of two temporal pulses (xv)

- the inherent shortness or length of ideophones is preserved e.g. tlhukwa!, short vowels, and gaa!, a long vowel (xvi)

- the consonants -m- and -n- may function syllabically, i.e. as a mellamatic syllable, occupying a pulse slot (viii and vi).

This discussion of the *performance of 8-pulse* verse lines has thus far given an indication of some of the strategies used by performers in the allocation of syllables to rhythmical pulses. We have seen that the penultimate syllable of verse lines is in a large majority of cases anchored to the *second rhythmical* pillar, x^2. Syllabic load and the resulting degree of tension between the number of syllables and the availability of pulse slots leads to other strategies which enable a 'fit' between the abstract rhythmical pattern and the verbal material of the *syllabic tier to be* attained. This consideration has led to the development of two approximative prosodic statements.

4.1.6 *First* strongly stressed slot x^1 and a third approximative prosodic statement

We now turn our attention to the first strongly stressed pulse, x^1. Further examination of the data in TABLE IV shows that vowel lengthening is perceived in position a, i.e. between slots x^1-x, in 129 occurrences out of the 365 tokens, i.e. 35,3%. In the other 246 occurrences, which make up the majority of the data, the syllables in slot x^1 are perceived as being spoken/chanted/sung louder or higher than the preceding or succeeding material. (Discussion on whether this represents an *intensity or a pitch stress* will be postponed for the moment). In view of the close link between the second strongly

stressed pulse, and the lengthening of the penultimate vowel in the syllabic tier, it is not surprising that an equivalent phonetic response is sought by the performers to the equally strongly stressed pulse X^1. The figure of 35,3% indicates that it is advisable to reformulate the prosodic statement to allow for the possibility of either intensity/pitch or length stress in this position.

APSIII Third Approximative Prosodic Statement

$$\begin{matrix} x) & x) & & X^1 & & x & & \underline{x} & & x & & X^2 & & x & & \underline{/x} & (x \\ b') & a') & & a & & b & & c & & d & & e & & (f & & (g \end{matrix}$$

$$\ldots\ldots\ldots \left\{ \begin{matrix} {}^{*}CV & {}^{*}cv \\ CV - & V \end{matrix} \right\} \; {}^{*}cv \quad {}^{*}cv \left\{ \begin{matrix} CV & - & V \\ CV & & cv \end{matrix} \right\} \left\{ \begin{matrix} cv & 0 \\ cv & cv \\ 0 & 0 \end{matrix} \right\}$$

in which *CV is to be read as a syllable perceived as prominent either because of higher pitch or of greater loudness, its exact nature being as yet unspecified. CV - V we have already defined as being a prominent syllable of greater duration, which is the third possible phonetic manifestation of associated strong stress.

4.1.4.1 Type I and Type II patterns and the nature of x)

Examination of the data in TABLE IV above, as well as the discussion in 4.1.3.2, provide proof that the Type I pattern, initiated by a strong stress, although the most frequently occurring pattern, is not the only rhythmical pattern used in performance. We have seen further, that the allocation of syllables to slots is not a mechanistic proceedure. Performance constraints, for example the desire to maintain a steady beat, are but one aspect of the assignation of syllables from the CV tier to the rhythmical pattern. Linguistic criteria, parsing conditions and semantic considerations also play a role. In many cases, verbal material is perceived in the unstressed slots preceeding X^1. We

now proceed to a discussion of the content of the slot(s) x).The immediate question which arises is whether the *syllables* occurring in these slots x) are enjambing or compensating syllables?

a) Enjambement occurs by definition only where the pulse series in both *verse lines* are complete and occurs usually only where intralinear breath breaks are taken in 12- and 16-pulse verse lines (which will be discussed in full under 4.2 and 4.3 below). It may also occur when two *verse lines* are performed within the single breath span, and this is often observed in 8-pulse verse lines, where a Type I pattern succeeds a Type I pattern:

e.g. Chela,chela,
Frog, frog,

Loko ri ndzi vona...
When it sees me,... (5a-1/2)

X^1	x	X	x	X^2	x	X	x	
a	b	c	d	e	f	g		
>$ch	-e	-la	-a	cho	-e	-la	0	//
lo	-ko	ri	ndzi	vo	-o	-na	0	...

Similarly, enjambement may take place when Type II or Type III patterns follow each other.

Xin'wanyana xi ku
One of them says

Wanuna ni xibamu!
A man with a gun! (26a-3/4)

x)	X^1	x	X	x	X^2	x	X		
a'	a	b	c	d	e	f			
>$xi	-N'WA	-nya	-WA	-a	xi	-ik'	0	//	
wa	-NU	-na	NI	xi	-BA	-am'	0	##	

We note that in *occurrences* like these, the first verse line of the couplet concludes with a silent pulse, which completes the rhythmical series, but without taking breath, the performers

carry on to the next verse line. The desire to maintain the rhythmical beat, which is particularly insistent in some poems, is a possible explanation for enjambement. The rapidity of utterance rate also often allows little time for the drawing of breath. We emphasise once more, that in our usage, the term does not imply the carrying over of syntax from one verse line to the next, as in the classical understanding of the term, but simply that the two series of pulses are perceived as continuous.

We can illustrate the phenomenon of enjambement schematically as follows:

Type I verse line followed by Type I verse line

$\ldots\ldots x^2 \quad x \quad \underline{x} \quad x \quad // \quad x^1 \quad x \quad \underline{x} \quad x \ldots\ldots$

Type II verse line followed by Type II verse line

$\ldots\ldots x \quad x^2 \quad x \quad \underline{x} \quad // \quad x \quad x^1 \quad x \quad \underline{x} \ldots\ldots$

b) Compensation however, is a strategy for the stabilization of "a basically irregular foot or line" and one of the ways in which it occurs is when a "*missing metrical unit in one line*" *is* compensated for "by an extra unit in an adjacent line" (as defined by Preminger:42). Since we are avoiding the use of the terms 'metre' and 'metrical'in the present work, we shall define compensation as the filling of a final slot in a pulse series by a syllable from the beginning of the next syntactic unit in order to stabilize rhythmical patterning within poetic language.

Before this phenomenon is illustrated however, a brief resumé of the structure of stanza and poem will be given. One of our underlying claims in the present work is that the underlying rhythmically patterned pulse series organizes verbal material

into verse lines, and the other claim is that it tends to have a temporal influence upon the syllabic tier. We have thus far discussed only the second of these claims, but some attention must be given to the organization of stanzas and of the poem itself.

Examination of the data reveals that the arrangement of verse lines is not haphazard, but that formal patterning both at the level of the stanza and of the poem as a whole is apparent. By this we mean that pulse patterns of the three types are themselves patterned. We have already established (Chap 3. TABLE I) that the large majority of the poems recorded follow only one pulse series. 22 poems are organised rhythmically by the 8-pulse series; 2 by 12-pulse series; 6 by 16-pulse series; 1 (poem 32) by a regular arrangement of 12- and 8-pulse series; and only one poem (poem 17) has an irregular arrangement of 16- and 12-pulse series. We focus now on the poems which have 8-pulse verse lines and on the arrangement or sequencing of the three types of 8-pulse patterns.

Of these 23 poems, i.e. including poem 32, 16 have a stanzaic structure, and 7 are non-stanzaic, or consist of a verse paragraph, "one or more sentences unified by a dominant mood or thought" (Prominger:296). We shall discuss these in terms of regular and irregular patterning, and this will be described as occurring either as intrastanzaic or interstanzaic patterning for the stanzaic poems, and as intraparagraphal patterning for the non-stanzaic poems respectively. TABLE VII (facing :132) gives

TABLE VII: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POETIC STRUCTURE AND S-PULSE PATTERN TYPE

STANZAIC POEMS Poem Number	Intrastanzaic Patterning	Interstanzaic Patterning
	Regular/Irregular	Regul /Irregular
1	I	yes
2	II*	yes
4	I*	yes
6	I	yes
11	II*	yes
12	I and II	I-II-I-I
18	I*	yes
21	I	yes
22	I	yes
24	II-I-I-I*	yes
25	I	yes
26a	II	yes
26b	I*	yes
28	II	yes
31	II and I	II-II-I-I-I
33	I	yes

NON-STANZAIC POEMS Poem Number	Intraparagraphal Patterning
	Regular/Irregular
3	I
5	I
9	I
10	I-II-III
13	I*
16	I
27	II

*Poems within which compensation occurs as a strategy to stabilize rhythmical patterning

the data for these 23 poems.

The obvious tendency in children's poetry is towards regularity, both within and between stanzas, and the strategy of compensation is consistently used by performers in order to attain this ideal. The most frequently occurring situation is when a Type II pattern becomes a Type I pattern, as in poems 4, 18,24, 26b and 13. We can illustrate this compensation schematically as follows:

Type I verse line followed by Type II verse line

$$.....x^2 \quad x \quad \underline{x} \quad \begin{matrix} x \\ \underline{x} \end{matrix}) \; x^1 \quad x \quad \underline{x} \quad x.....$$

e.g. Chava *nkandlo!*
Watch out, mouse!

Ximanga xa ku luma
The cat is biting you (4-1/2)

x^1	x	$\underline{x}$	x	x^2	x	$\underline{x}$	x
a	b	c	d	e	f	g	

>$CHA	-a	-VA	-a	NKO	-o	-NDLO [xi-
MA	-nga	XA	ku	*LU*	-ua'	*g* *0*

In this example, a silent final slot is filled by the initial syllable from the syllabic tier of the following verse line. This results in all 8 pulses in the first verse line having syllables allocated to them, while in the second verse line, the existence of the final silent slot is shown by the final hand clap, represented in the rhythmical analysis by an underlined g. (Similar examples can be seen in poems 13 and 18). The two versions of poem 26 are of interest in that, although they are the 'same' poem, the patterning in version a is regular intrastanzaic Type II, with enjambement in the verse line final

position, but in version b, the patterning *is regular* intrastanzaic Type II, with compensation.

e.g. version a

Xin'wanyana xi ku
One of them says

Wanuna ni xibamu
A man with a gun (26a-3/4)

x X^1 x X x X^2 x X
a' a b c d e f

>$xi -N'WA-nya-WA -n XI -i ku //
wa -NU -na Ni xi -BA -am' 0 ##

version b

Xin'we xi ku
One says

Wanuna ni xibamu
A man with a gun (26b-3/4)

X^1 x X x X^2 x X x
a b c d e f g

>$xi -i -n'we-n xi -i ku (wa-
nu -na ni xi BA -a -mu 0 ##

The other main occurrence of compensation is found when a Type III pattern becomes a Type II pattern, as is shown in poems 2 and 11. We can illustrate this schematically as follows

Type II verse line followed by Type III verse line

.....X x X^2 x $\begin{matrix} X \\ x' \end{matrix}$ x X^1 x....

e.g. A ku xi na xinyanyana
There was a little bird

Xi tshama exisakoni
Sitting in a nest

A xi navela ku haha
It wanted to fly

A xi navela ku heha
It wanted to fly (2-1 to 4)

x x^{i} x x x x^{2} x x
a' a b c d e f

>9a ku ri ma xi -nya -nya -na
xi TSHA -ma E -x'sa-KE -en' [a
xi NA -ve -LA ku HA -ha [a
xi NA -ve -LA ku HA -ha 0 ##

This stanza has been given in full, as it illustrates not only compensation, but also the way in which rhythmical patterning is often established by the first line of the poem. We note also that in this case, compensation results in syllabic adjustment being made in verse line 2, whereby the final vowel is elided to make place for the compensating syllable. A further aspect to note is that the total number of pulses is 32, viz a multiple of 8, and this is similarly illustrated by poem 11, where the total number of pulses per stanza is 24. These are striking illustrations of the close affinity of this malic poetry to its musical roots. The incremental repetition in poem 11, and its unvarying number of syllables in each verse line render its performance particularly rhythmical.

.....epotweni
.....in the pot

U ta sweka na makwemba
She will also cook pumpkins

Akwemba
(pumpkin)

A veka epotweni
Putting (them) in the pot

U ta sweka na....
She will also cook (11-4 to 8)

```
x    X¹   x    x    x    X²   x    x
  a'     a    b    c    d    e    f

          ......'po  -twe -ni -i ## [u
ta    swe  -ka  na   ma   -kwe-a    -mbe
a     kwe  -e   -e   -e   -e   e    -mbe
a     ve   -ka  'po  -twe -ni -i ## [u
......
```

In the *non*-stanzaic, or verse paragraph poems, regular intraparagraphal patterning is maintained by compensation in poem 13 as follows, where a Type II line becomes, by compensation, a Type I line

Teka pha! Xi wela
Take that! It falls down

Ni ya hoxetela
We keep on hitting it

Ku hela pongo leri
This noise stops

Ku hela pongo leri
This noise stops (13-6 to 9)

```
X¹   x   x   x   X²   x   x   x
   a   b   c   d    e   f   g

>%TE   -ka PHA xi   WE   -e  -LA D
  HI   ya  HO  xe   -TE  -e  -LA [ku
  HE   -la PO  -ngo LE   -e  -RI [ku
  HE   -la PO  -ngo LE   -e  -RI
```

Interstanzaic patterning is characterised by regularity, with only two exceptions, poems 12 and 31, in which the stanzas are organised by Type I-II-I-I, and by Type II-II-I-I-I patterns respectively. Stanzaic closure is characterised by accentuated downdrift, by unchecked final vowel length and by pronounced pause. When a stanzaic poem is sung, as for instance in Xikhongolotana, poem 32, then the melodic accompaniment, which we have discussed in Chapter 2, as being distinguished in Tsonga by a cadential drop, is a further cue to stanzaic closure. Apart

from the final vowel, a decrease in tempo is not a feature of final verse lines in these poems. If anything, the children tend to speed up the pace as they perform their poems.

We can conclude this section of our argument by stating that enjambement would appear to be a performance characteristic of certain sung and chanted poems, in which the external rhythm is particularly insistent. For these poems, the verse lines appear to be more tightly constrained by the rhythmical framework. Compensation, on the other hand, is a strategy used by performers to ensure that regularity of rhythmical patterning is achieved within stanzas or verse paragraphs. We do not consider that the rhythmically patterned series is rigid and constraining in all cases however. Rather it is flexible and is made use of by the performers to produce poetry which is, for this genre, characterised largely by four beat verse lines.

4.1.4.2 A fourth approximative prosodic statement

We return now to the Third Approximative Prosodic Statement and, continuing to allocate syllables from the right in accordance with our perception of the recorded material we rewrite it as

APSIV Fourth Approximative Prosodic Statement

$$\begin{array}{cccccccccccc} x) & x) & \underline{x}^{1} & x & \underline{x} & x & \underline{x}^{4} & x & (\underline{x} & (x \\ b') & a') & a & b & c & d & e & (f & (g & \end{array}$$

$$cv) \quad cv) \begin{Bmatrix} {}^{+}cv & cv \\ cv - v \end{Bmatrix} {}^{*}cv \quad {}^{*}cv \begin{Bmatrix} cv - v \\ cv \quad cv \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} cv & 0 \\ cv & cv \\ 0 & 0 \end{Bmatrix}$$

in which cv) is to be read as unstressed syllable(s) which initiate Type II and III 8-pulse patterns.

4.1.5 The nature of *cv; syntactic and semantic considerations; the development of a generalised prosodic statement

The prosodic statement at this stage in its development contains two types of syllables whose nature is not as yet ascertained, viz *CV and *cv. Discussion of these will be initiated by a consideration of *cv, following which attention will be given to syntactic and semantic aspects of the syllables in x^2 and x^1 which will enable us to define the nature of *CV, thereafter the prosodic statement will be generalised for 8-pulse verse lines. The argument thus far has taken into account very few semantic or syntactic factors, and these will be then be considered before we turn to an examination of 16- and 12-pulse verse lines

4.1.5.1 The nature of *cv

The figures below are extracted from TABLE IV, and they show, in descending order of frequency, the perception of lengthened vowels in positions other than e and a, which have been discussed fully above. We have described position e as being the most favoured position for vowel lengthenening, i.e. in 70,7% of occurrences. Position a where vowel lengthening is perceived in 35,3% of occurrences follows as the next most favoured position for this type of stress manifestation, and the other positions follow in what we call a hierarchy of favoured positions as shown below, in the order c, b, g, f, d, a',

position c (slot boundary x-x)	20,8%	a > 0
position b (slot boundary x-x)	9,3%	0 > a
position g (slot boundary (x)-(x))	5,5%	a > 0
position f (slot boundary x-(x))	2,7%	0 > a

position d (slot boundary $x\text{-}x^2$) 2,5% 0 > S

position a'(slot boundary $x\text{-}x^1$) 2,1% 0 > S

Using the abbreviations S, s and 0 to indicate strongly, weakly and unstressed syllables respectively, we can indicate the *nature* of change in stress level for each of these positions. We note that for positions *c and g, this change is* identical, i.e. from a weakly stressed pulse x to an unstressed pulse x. For position b, *the change* in stress level is from an unstressed pulse x to a weakly stressed pulse $\underline{x}$. These changes in stress level do not occur on meaningless elements, but between syllables, which may be morphemes, constituents of words, or even words. We have chosen to focus on length as surface phonetic manifestation of stress for the simple reason that it is the most easily perceptible in the performance situation, and in recordings of such performance. Where vowel lengthening is not perceived, the perception of stress is that of either a louder or a higher pitched syllable. According to our approximate prosodic statement, two syllables whose nature is as yet undefined, are allocated to the slots $\underline{x}$ and x, whose boundary we have named position c. In slightly over one fifth of all occurrences, 20,8%, vowel lengthening is perceived *in this position*.

Position c

On analogy with positions e and a, where the shift is from strong stressed to unstressed slot, we should not be surprised that the performers, aiming at the production of rhythmical language, make a phonetic response to this slot boundary which represents a change in stress level from a weakly *stressed to an*

unstressed pulse.

e.g. Tinyimpfu hi leti (28-1/3)
These are sheep



In the *other* 79,2% of occurrences, intensity/pitch stress is perceived in the phonetic realisation of the syllable allocated to *slot* x

e.g. Ka n'we mi dya yini
At your home, what do you eat? (9-3)



This argument enables us to decide that into slots x and x, performers will most frequently *allocate* a weakly stressed syllable, which we shall call cv followed by an unstressed syllable, cv; they may however, allocate one syllable only to these slots, which is perceived as a weakly stressed syllable with a lengthened vowel cv ~ v. We thus replace *cv in the approximative prosodic statement with these idealised symbols

APSV *Fifth* **Approximative Prosodic Statement.**



where cv represents a weakly stressed syllable and cv ~ v a

syllable with lengthened vowel, which is perceived as weakly stressed.

Before leaving this area of our discussion, the situation in positions b and g where the occurrences of vowel length are 9,3% and 5,5% respectively, will be briefly discussed.

Position b

Of the 34 tokens where vowel lengthening occurs in this position, which represents a shift from an unstressed pulse x to a weakly stressed slot $\underline{x}$, 13 are from the four different versions of sung poem 32, which has a tendency to be syncopated, i.e. showing "an occasional departure" from "a relatively stable metrical structure" (Preminger:48).

e.g. A ti dyi byasi (32a-26) &(32d-26)
They (the cattle) do not eat grass

Tilo ri vuya (32b-41)
It is raining

Rinhu ra mhingu (32c-14)
The stick of the peg (?) (Meaning unclear)

x^1	x	$\underline{x}$	x	x^2	x	$\underline{x}$	x
	a	b	c	d	e	f	g

>$a	ti	-i	dyi	bya	-a	-ai	0
ti	-lo	-o	ri	vu	-u	-ya	0
ri	-nhu	-u	ra	mhi	-i	-ngu	0

We note that there is a deformation of normal speech patterns, e.g. ti.lo ri vuiya in normal speech becomes tilo: ri vuiya in poetic performance.

Of the other 19 verse lines of this type, all are verse lines with a negative degree of tension, and 13 of these are verse lines of 3 or 4 syllables, where extreme vowel lengthening

occurs, e.g. >$a ~ khwe -e -e -e -e -e -mbe. Five other occurrences are of final vowel lengthening in variants of the word swonge ~ senge ~ xenge 'like, as'. This may be a manifestation of inherent length on the final syllable of this word, but phonetic data based on normal speech patterns would be needed to confirm such a hypothesis.

e.g. Swonge tihokwe (3-21)
like the parrots

Xenge xipene (32a-88)
like a steambok

	x	x	x	x^2	x	x	x
	a	b	c	d	e	f	g

>$swo -nge -e ti -bo -o -kwe 0
and xe -nge -e xi -pe -e -ne 0

An observation of body movements confirms the validity of this perceptual analysis. For instance in the singing of lines 51, 52 and 53 of poem 32, version A, one little girl is performing small textural timing out movements, and her hand moves as follows

up - down - up

xe - nge -e

In all other cases, the syllable in x is perceived as being without stress

e.g. Twana pongo ra kwe (13-4)
Listen to his noise

	x	x	x	x^2	x	x	x
	a	b	c	d	e	f	g

>$TWA -na PO -ngo RA -a KWE 0

For position b, we can conclude that our initial deduction that it represents an unstressed syllable cv in slot x, was correct.

Manifestations of length in this position represent occurrences of syncopation, which we consider to be a performance factor, and thus do not affect our prosodic statement.

Position g

For position g, where a frequency of occurrence of vowel lengthening of 5,6% is noted, 11 of the 18 occurrences are from verse lines of high positive Degrees of Tension, and are phrase penultimate vowels, not allocated to the most favoured position e because of the high syllabic load; 6 are inherently long final vowels of ideophones; the other occurrences are from the first poem of the cyclic poem 16, which we have shown to have anomalous rhythmical patterning in phrase final position. These are all illustrated below.

e.g. i) High positive degree of tension, DoT = 11

Teka xifeka u nyika ximanga
Take the maalie cob and give (it) to the cat (16d-14)

X^1 x X x X^2 x X x
a b c d e f g

>$YE -ka x'FAK'u NYI -ik'x-MA -ang'

ii) Inherently long vowel of ideophone

Wenge wa ku bara! o!
The leg goes bara! o! (5a-4)

X^1 x X x X^2 x X x
a b c d e f g

>$NE -nge wu ku BA -ra o -o

iii) Anomalous (non-Tsonga) rhythmical patterning

Hangalan, na tsema (16a-6)
(meaning unknown)

X^1 x X x X^2 x X x
a b c d e f g

>$HA -nga -LA -an MA tse -MA -a

Positions f, d and a' with percentages below 3% are considered to be non-significant. All three represent stress changes from an unstressed pulse to either a weakly or strongly stressed pulse. For positions f and d, it will be seen from TABLE IV that the occurences are most frequent in verse lines of low Degree of Tension, i.e. where excessive vowel lengthening occurs across almost all the slot boundaries in the syllabic tier of the verse line, thus the data is skewed by these figures. For position a', the two occurrences come from one performance, version A, of poem 26, and the perception of lengthened vowel in a' is contradicted by the performance of the same verse line, without lengthened vowel in version B of the same poem, thus the data is inconclusive.

To conclude this section, we generalise our prosodic statement including all the above considerations,

GPS-8 General Prosodic Statement for 8-pulse verse lines

$$(cv)^{m}\begin{Bmatrix} CV & cv \\ cv - v \end{Bmatrix}\begin{Bmatrix} cv & cv \\ cv - v \end{Bmatrix}\begin{Bmatrix} CV - V \\ cv \end{Bmatrix}\begin{Bmatrix} cv & 0 \\ cv & cv \\ 0 & 0 \end{Bmatrix}$$

where $0 < m > 2$

In generalising the approximative statement, we have taken the following steps:

(i) the rhythmical framework has been omitted, including the indication of positions across slot boundaries.

(ii) the expression $(cv)^{m}$ indicates none, one or 2 unstressed *syllables preceding the first strongly stressed* syllable X^{1}

(iii) the expression cv - cv provides for the possibility of

two *syllables*, viz. a weakly stressed followed by an unstressed syllable, or

(iv) the alternative *possibility* is indicated by ex - v which is to be read as one *syllable*, *with a lengthened* vowel, but perceived as weakly stressed.

4.1.5.2 The syntactic and semantic nature of *syllables falling* within slots X^1 and X^2

We have established that the two equally strongly stressed pulses X^1 and X^2 are representative of two *different* linguistic situations. To consider the second of these *first*, *since* it represents a situation of fixed, linguistically predictable *stress*, we have been able to show that performers, in the large majority of cases, allocate to X^2, the second rhythmical pillar, the phrase penultimate syllable, lengthened in performance as also in normal speech utterance. This we call the primary stress, both in normal and in performance speech. It derives from the syntax of the *verbal material*, it is demarcative in function and its nature, as perceived in our *data*, is durational. We have described the first situation in X^1 as *being associated* with a prominent syllable, involving either *intensity or pitch stress*, allocated by performers to this slot. Most usually, *the syllable is* in phrase initial position. As a working hypothesis, we *propose* that the data can not be successfully explained without postulating that this is a syllable which in normal speech is a bearer of what we will call secondary stress, which is lexical in origin. This syllable is normally the first or only syllable, but in

polyeyllabic words it may fall on the second syllable. We shall call the syllable bearing this stress the root syllable. It is perceived in nominal stems, verbal radicals, conjunctions, adverbs, and other content words. The role of secondary stress is to accentuate this syllable, and its nature as suprasegmental phoneme is that of intensity which is concomitant with the tonal phoneme which accompanies every Tsonga syllable. We further postulate that performers, faced with a choice of syllables within the verbal string which are to be allocated to the abstract rhythmical pattern, favour the choice of a syllable which in normal speech carries secondary stress, above that of a syllable which is unstressed in normal speech. Within the context of the performance of these simple poems, small children thus acquire, through the process of internalisation, the underlying *rhythmical patterns associated* with the *genre*, as well as the rhythmical patterning of normal speech. This is the "poetic competence" of which Bird speaks (Bird,1976:95), and it coexists at a sub-conscious level with *linguistic and communicative* competence.

Since the identification of secondary stress and its locus within the word has not as yet been the subject of investigation in Tsonga, it is necessary for illustrative material of both these *facets* to be adduced to prove our hypothesis. We now turn to a consideration of the data showing the syntactic and semantic nature of the syllables found in the two strongly stressed pulses. TABLE VIII (*facing:146*) *gives this breakdown, first of* all, of the words within which the syllables occur, within the

TABLE VIII: SEMANTIC-SYNTACTIC *NATURE OF SYLLABLES IN* X^1 AND X^2, 8-PULSE VERSE LINES

	X^1 Tokens	% (n=365)	X^2 Tokens	% (n=365)
NONSENSE WORDS				
Euphonic fillers, and Exclamations	55	15,1	39	10,7
CONTENT WORDS				
S1 of Stem	53	14,2	119	32,6
Radical	62	17,0	43	11,8
Adverb	8	2,2	14	3,3
Dem.Pron.	-		3	0,8
Abs.Pron.	10	2,7	16	4,4
Id.	3	0,8	9	2,5
S2 of Stem	2	0,5	7	1,9
Radical	2	0,5	23	6,3
Adverb	-	-	-	-
Dem.Pron.	-	-	-	-
Abs.Pron.	-	-	2	0,5
Id.	-	-	-	-
S3 of Stem	-	-	1	0,3
Radical	-	-	1	0,3
Copulative	20	5,5	-	-
Adj. Stem	1	0,3	4	1,1
Conjunction	30	8,2	-	-
Sub-total	191	52,3	240	65,8
FUNCTION WORDS				
- prefixal				
Subj.Con.	44	12,1	8	2,2
Poss.Con.	17	4,6	7	1,9
Adj.Pref.	1	0,3	4	1,1
Noun Pref.	21	5,8	24	6,6
Verbal Markers	30	8,2	-	-
Loc.Pref.	4	1,1	-	-
- suffixal				
Verbal Ext.	1	0,3	7	1,9
Loc.Suff.	-	-	10	2,7
Dia. Suff.	-	-	25	6,8
Asc.Cop.	1	0,3	-	-
Enclitic	-	-	1	0,3
Sub-Total	119	32,6	86	23.6
TOTALS	365		365	

(List of abbreviations on page ix)

general semantic categories of nonsense words (which includes euphonic fillers and exclamations which are often purely rhythmical stabilizers), content words and function words. (These semantic categories are indicated by capitalisation). Within these categories, the frequency of occurrence of syntactic categories within which the syllables occur, is calculated, making use of the abbreviations in customary usage for Tsonga linguistic description (the list of abbreviations will be found on page ix). We shall not consider further the category of nonsense words in our argument.

a) **The situation in x^2: primary stress**

Within x^2, we would expect to find syllables which are derived from words usually occurring phrase-finally, and this is indeed the case, as shown by the high percentages representing syllables, either first (S1) or second (S2), of stems and radicals. Typical syntactic structures with stem or radical in phrase-final position are Noun Phrase - Verb - Noun Phrase and Noun Phrase - Verb Phrase respectively. (Examples of sentence types actually occurring have been illustrated in TABLE II facing p93). There are syllables from 127 nouns occurring in x^2, (i.e. 119 represented by their first syllable, S1; 7 represented by their second syllable, S2; and 1 represented by its third syllable, S3). There are syllables from 67 verbs in x^2 (represented by S1 in 43 occurrences; by S2 in 23 occurrences and by S3 in one occurrence). These figures must obviously be seen in the context of phrasal position - if they represent penultimate syllables, they would by prediction carry a length stress in normal speech, and we have shown above how closely associated x^2,

the second rhythmical pillar, is with phrasal penultimate syllables. Primary stress in this position co-exists with secondary stress, and in fact obliterates it.

Even within this discussion of the situation in X^2, we can still make out a case for the existence of secondary stress, and also for performers associating syllables with secondary stress to X^2, by considering the 63 examples of non-penultimate syllables which occur in X^2. What sort of syllables are allocated to this position? Examination of the data reveals that of these,

29 are first *syllables of stems*

e.g. ...X^2 (x x x; c f g)

$KHWI-hi mi -LE -eng' (22a-24)
stomach legs

12 are first syllables of verbal radicals

e.g. ... .X^2 (x x x; e f g)

$KA -rhe -LE O (26-5/7)
....tired

2 are first syllables of ideophones

e.g. ....X^2 (x x x; e f g)

$tihu -kwa ga -a (27b-6/8)

We see then that even in a situation where the penultimate syllable is not associated with X^2, preference is given (in 45 out of 68 occurrences) to a semantically significant syllable within a content word.

We return to TABLE VIII, and we note that apart from the predominating position of syllables of content words, i.e, 65,8%, the only other high figures are those of 6,6% for Noun Prefixes

and 6,8% for Diminutive Suffixes. Of the 24 occurrences of Noun Prefixes in X^2, 22 precede monosyllabic stems, (they are in penultimate position, and are performed with length on the prefixal vowel

e.g. ....X^2 x (e) x̲ (f) x (g)

$swi -i -rho U (25-2)

In only 2 of the 24 occurrences are the Noun Prefixes not in penultimate position and in neither of these is the Noun Prefix performed with length on the vowel.

e.g. ....X^2 x (e) x̲ (f) x (g)

$MU -nhu ME' O (1a-2)

The relatively high occurrence of Diminutive Suffixes is a reflection of the nature of the language used in the genre. As in children's poetry throughout the world, objects, animals, or *people* described are 'little; or 'small', thus we have *exinkobyanini* 'in the little valley' (32a-33), *mphohwana* 'a little millet' (10-8), *xikhongolotana* 'the little millipede' (32) and *ewimatanini* 'in the little pool' (literally, 'in the small amount of water') (13-2).

(b) The situation in X^1: secondary stress

The argument concerning X^2 will be continued below, but we turn again to TABLE VIII for a consideration of the situation in slot X^1. The highest frequency of occurrence is for syllables found in *radicals* and *nouns*, 17,0 and 14,2%, respectively. The next highest frequency of occurrence, is for Subject Concords, 12,1%, *Verbal Markers and Conjunctions* 8,2%. To take the case of the

verbal radicals first, there is obviously a positional factor at work here, since, according to the linguistic rules in operation in Tsonga, the verb in phrase initial position, unless it is in the Imperative Mood, will be preceded by at least a Subject Concord, if not also by markers indicating mood, tense, and/or negation. It will be helpful at this stage of the argument to determine whether the syllables allocated to the unstressed slots x) preceeding X^1 are in fact formatives of this type.

i) When both the unstressed slots x) are filled.

In all cases, the syllables in x) are function words, being markers of various kinds which precede a verb in X^1

e.g. x) x) X^1....
b' a' a

$u ta swe-ka ... (11-5)
she will cook...

ii) In the case of only one unstressed slot x) being filled, in five cases this is by the first syllable of a content word which initiates the verse line, the second syllable being allocated to X^1

e.g. x) X^1 ~....
a' a b

$ta -ta -na (24-13)
father

The other occurrences are manana (x2) 'mother', wanuna 'a middle aged man' and one other occurrence of tatana. This raises the question of which is in fact the root syllable which receives the lexical, secondary stress in these Noun Class 1a words? Data like these would appear to confirm our suggestion that it is not necessarily the first syllable in polysyllabic words which carries the root stress. The tonal patterns for the Singular

forms of the words are tatana L-H-L, manana H-H-L, and wanuna H-H-H respectively. One might conclude that secondary stress is linked to high tone, but this would be a premature assumption, and its validity would not be borne out by the lexicon.

In 22 cases, Noun Prefixes precede a Noun in X^1

```
e.g. x)   X¹    x....
        a'  a    b

     $ti  -NYI  -mpfu...          (28-1/3)
     sheep
```

In 4 cases, slot x) is filled by the first syllable of a Verb, the second syllable being allocated to X^1

```
e.g. x)   X¹    x...
        a'  a    b

     $hla  -MBA  -nya...          (10-10)
     swear
```

We have suggested that it is the root syllable, carrying secondary stress which is allocated to the first rhythmical pillar, X^1_1 and data such as we have shown above for tatana, manana, wanuna and -hlambanya would appear to substantiate our hypothesis. The tonal pattern on hlambanya is L-L-L, thus it would appear that it is not necessarily a high toned syllable which is allocated to a rhythmical pillar during performance. The question of tone and stress is further discussed below.

The other occurrences of content words filling x) are Copulative Verbs

```
e.g. x)   X¹    x   x....
        a'  a    b

     $i   MA   -a   -ndza          (12-5/7)
     they are eggs
```

iv) Finally, in 41 cases, slot x) is filled by a function word preceding a Verb in X^1

e.g. x) $X^1_{a'}$ X^1_{a} x....

Sndzi SU -ka (27-5)
I leave...

There are 93 verse lines in all (vide Table IV) in which these unstressed slots contain verbal material. Ten of these verse lines consist of nonsense words, and for the balance of 83 verse lines, in the majority of cases (77 out of 83), syllables which are function words precede X^1. These formatives break down into 32 Subject Concords, 15 Verbal Markers, 13 Noun Prefixes, 5 Copulatives, 5 Possessive Concords, 4 Object Concords, and 3 Locative Prefixes.

It is of importance for the development of the argument at this stage, to look more closely at verse lines of zero degree of tension (DoT=0), because it is, by definition precisely in verse lines of this type that we would not expect that performers would need to displace syllables outside of the rhythmical framework of eight pulses, since there are sufficient slots available for the syllables on a one to one basis. As we have shown in the above discussion, in 77 occurrences, the root syllable of a Noun (or its equivalent, e.g. an Absolute Pronoun) or of a Verb allocated to X^1 is proceeded by a function word in the unstressed slot(s) x). 35 of these 77 occurrences are verse lines of zero degree of tension. This implies that the performers, having allocated a root syllable to X^1, are then obliged to use other strategies to

TABLE IX: EXAMPLES OF PERFORMANCE STRATEGIES FOR 8-PULSE *VERSE LINES* OF ZERO DEGREE OF TENSION, INITIATED BY A VERB OR NOUN

	x)	x^1	x	X	x	x^2	x	X	
VERBS (i)	>Shi we eat sorghum	dya	-a	ma	-xa	-la	-A	-ca	(9-4)
(ii)	o he is aiming at us	ko	-ngo	-ne	hi	-NA	-s	0	(26a-10)
(iii)	ti they are looking for fat	LA	-va	MA	-a	-FU	-u	-RRA	(28-2/4)
(iv)	ndzi carry me, carry me	BE	-e	-bu	ndzi	BE	-e	-bu	(33a-4)
(v)	ndzo I just refuse, I just refuse	A	-a	-la	ndzo	A	-a	-la	(33b-12)
NOUNS (vi)	ka what do you eat at your place?	nwe	-e	mi	dya	yi	-i	-ni	(9-3)
(vii)	i what sort of eggs are these?	MA	-A	-NDZA' a		YI	-i	-NI	(12-5/7)
(viii)	n'wa Mr Python, Mr Python	-Nhla	-a	-rhu	n'wa	-Nhla	-a	-rhu	(24-1)
(ix)	e on top of the tree	-HE	-e	-NHLA	ka	MU	-u	-rhi	(26a-2)
(x)	xi another one says	-M'MA	-mya	-MA	-a	xi	-i'k	0	(26a-3/5)
(xi)	ti these are sheep	-NYI	-mpfu	HI	-i	LE	-e	-YI	(28-1/3)

(Discussion in text refers to small Roman numerals)

allocate the remaining syllables to the rhythmical framework. Examples of these strategies are illustrated in TABLE IX (facing), and they are discussed in turn below.

According to the Third and *Fifth Approximative* Prosodic Statements, the prototypical *verse line with 6 syllables*, and DoT = 0 would be

CV cv cv cv CV - V cv 0

i) Monosyllabic verbal *radical dya is* allocated to X^1-x, with the vowel lengthened, *in preference to stressing* the Subject Concord hi;

i.e. cv cv CV - V cv cv CV - V cv

ii) By avoiding lengthening any syllable of the verb kongoma, the performers have two alternative strategies available, to lengthen either the first or the second syllable of the emphatic Absolute Pronoun hina which occurs in the Object slot. The first alternative would result in a long vowel in position d which is, as we saw above, a very seldom used position for length stress. The second alternative is chosen, which results in a silent pulse concluding the verse line.

i.e. cv cv cv cv cv CV - V 0

iii) Intensity *stress is* placed on the root syllable of lava, avoiding *allocating* the Subject Concord ti to X^1, which is then allocated to x). This results also in the lengthening of the Noun Prefix of *mafuzha*

i.e. cv CV cv cv cv - v CV - V cv

iv) bebu is derived from the radical bebula 'to carry child on one's back in baby-sling' (C). Guénod also gives the *form bebu* i.e. with a length stress on the second syllable as an Interjection, *'of mother to child when she wants to take it on her back'*. In this performance, however, length is placed on the first syllable of bebu which is allocated to X^1

i.e. cv CV - V cv CV - V cv

v) As in iv), length stress is placed on the root syllable of verbal radical which is allocated to X^1, thus avoiding the placement of stress on the Subject *Concord mbo*

i.e. cv CV - V cv CV - V cv

vi) owe-e is an abbreviation, characteristic of the Nkuna dialect, of the standard form of the Absolute Pronoun n'wina, (2nd Person Plural). Even in ordinary speech, the vocalic nucleus is lengthened, and carries the tonal pattern L-H, which is also that of the unabbreviated version. In this example, the *performers'* choice is to stress this syllable, n'we and to lengthen it, rather than the Locative *Concord ku*.

i.e. cv CV - V cv CV - V cv

vii) mandza 'eggs' has an alternative plural form matandza. Length is placed here on the plural Noun Prefix ma- , and the syllable is allocated to X^1, while the Copula i is allocated to the unstressed slot x). We note also the deletion of the semi-vowel y- of the Possessive Prefix ya

i.e. cv CV - V cv cv CV - V -cv

viii) Length stress is placed on the root syllable of the stem -mhlarhu, and the Noun Prefix is allocated to the unstressed slot x) preceding the rhythmical pillar X^1

i.e. cv CV - V <u>cv</u> cv CV - V cv

ix) The performers avoid allocating the Locative Prefix e- to the slot X^1, choosing instead to accentuate the root syllable of the adverb hamba

i.e. cv CV - V <u>cv</u> cv CV - V cv

x) A further example of avoidance strategy, where the Adjectival Prefix xi-is less favoured for allocation to the position of stress than Adjectival Stem -n'wana-, which is followed by the Diminutive Suffix, -nyana- lengthened in its final syllable. The final vowel of the verse line -u is elided, and enjambement occurs

i.e. cv CV cv <u>cv</u> - v CV - V O

xi) The root syllable -nyi- of the bisyllabic stem -nyimpfu is allocated to the slot X^1 rather than the Noun Prefix ti-. The vowel of the Copula hi is then lengthened

i.e. cv CV cv <u>cv</u> - v CV - V cv

We can conclude from the above discussion that performers of this simple poetry feel no obligation to constrain the verse lines between the boundaries of the rhythmical framework. Unstressed pulses preceding the first strongly stressed pulse are often filled by function words. X^1 thus remains a locus for prominence on a significant syllable of a Verb or Noun.

We turn now to a consideration of TABLE X (facing), which is

TABLE X: RELATIVE FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF SYNTACTIC CLASSES IN X^1 AND X^2, S-PULSE VERSE LINES

Frequency of Occurrence	Categories occurring with this frequency of occurrence in X1	in X2
ZERO CATEGORIES	S1 of Dem Pron. S2 of Adverb Dem.Pron. Abs.Pron. Id. S3 of Stem Radical Loc.Suff. Dim.Suff. Enclitic	S2 of Adverb Dem.Pron. Id. Copulative Conjunction Verbal markers Loc.Pref. Ass.Cop.
1 - 10	Adj.Stem (1) Adj.Pref. (1) Verbal Ext. (1) Ass.Cop. (1) S2 of Stem (2) S2 of Radical (2) S1 of Id. (3) Loc.Pref. (4) S1 of Adverb (8) S1 of Abs.Pron. (10)	S3 of Stem (1) S3 of Radical (1) Enclitic (1) S2 of Abs.Pron. (2) S1 of Dem.Pron. (3) Adj.Stem (4) Adj.Pref. (4) S2 of Stem (7) Poss.Con. (7) Verbal Ext. (7) Subj.Con (8) S1 of Id. (9) Loc.Suff. (10)
11 - 20	Poss.Con. (17) Copulative (20)	S1 of Adverb (12) S1 of Abs.Pron. (16)
21 - 30	Noun Pres. (21) Conjunction (30) Verbal markers (30)	S2 of Radical (23) Noun Pref. (24) Dim.Suff. (25)
31 - 40	-	-
41 - 50	Subj.Con. (44)	S1 of Radical (43)
51 - 60	S1 of Stem (53)	-
61 - 70	S1 of Radical (62)	-
71 --------110	------	-------
111 - 120	-	S1 of Stem (119)

Syntactic categories are arranged in ascending order of frequency of occurrence

compiled from the data in TABLE VIII, and shows the relative frequency of occurrence of the various syntactic categories. Once again, nonsense words, euphonic fillers and exclamations are excluded from the data. The categories are arranged in ascending order of frequency of occurrence, and the table starts with an indication of zero categories, i.e. those categories which are not found in X^1 and X^2.

We note firstly, that there are fewer zero categories in X^2 than in X^1. This confirms our claim that as a locus of predictable primary stress, the second rhythmical pillar is no respecter of syntactic category. The content of Column 2 in this table, i.e. the relative frequency of occurrence within X^2, is a reflection of the type of syllables carrying primary, linguistically predictable length stress. It tells us something about phrasal/sentential structure, at least as far as the syllable in the phrase penultimate position is concerned.

The content of Column 1 on the other hand, reflects what we propose to call a hierarchy of attractability since as we have discussed above, speakers of the language, while utilizing the rhythmical framework to organize the spoken language into verse lines and also to organize the CV tier within the verse lines, are not constrained to confine the linguistic material to this framework. It is treated by them as a flexible temporal framework, within which the syllables of the CV tier are allocated, not mechanistically, but in response to performance constraints, to syntactic criteria and to semantic considerations.

We have shown that syllables carrying secondary, or lexical stress are more likely to be allocated to this first, strongly stressed slot, given obviously, their proximity to the phrase/sentence initial position. Depending also on the degree of tension which arises from the number of syllables in the verse line, performers are more likely to allow stress to fall on the first syllable of a radical, or of a stem and not to allocate function words like Subject Concords, Noun Prefixes and Verbal Markers to the first rhythmical pillar, x^1. These tend, as we have seen, to be performed during the pulses corresponding to the unstressed slot(s) x). Given all the above conditions, we would thus expect that the first syllable of a stem, with a frequency of occurrence of 53, will be allocated to x^1 in preference to a Subject Concord, which has a fregency of occurrence of 44, which will, in turn, be preferred above the first syllable of the Absolute Pronoun, with a frequency of occurrence of 10.

In the same way as Column 2 tells us about the frequency of occurrence of syllables in phrase/sentence prefinal position, so Column 1 also tells us about the types of syllables occurring in phrase/sentence initial position. The thrust of the argument has been to show, that given the factor of syntactic position, Tsonga speakers show preference in the type of syllable which they allow to carry stress, and the most favoured of these are the syllables carrying lexical stress. Examination of the frequency distribution of syllable types shown in TABLE X throws further light on the argument at this stage. We note firstly that in x^2, there is a much greater variety of syllabic types occurring

with very low frequency of occurrence (13 different types occur < 10 times in the data). The two most frequently occurring syllable types in X^2 are S1 of Stem (119 times) and S1 of Radical (43 times). In contrast for X^1, there are 10 different syllable types occurring with very low frequency (<10 times). The two most frequently occuring types are S1 of Radical (62 times) and S1 of stem (53 times).

4.1.5.3 Stress and tone

One major question remains, and that is the relationship between this secondary, lexical stress, and tone. For primary stress, and in normal speech, length is concomitant to tone, since it relates to syntax. By this we mean that whether the syllable in penultimate position has high or low tone, its phrasal position will result in length being superimposed upon it in normal speech. However, the relationship between secondary, lexical stress and tone has not yet been explored. We believe that a study such as the present one, may be able to give some answers as to the nature of this relationship in performance speech, and may enable us to propose some general conclusions as to the relationship in normal speech. In an attempt to define the nature of the syllable in X^1, we are faced with questions like the following: Are these syllables perceived as being prominent because they carry high tone (or low tone)? Or, are they perceived as being prominent only because their allocation to X^1? This could be rephrased as: are the observer's perceptions influenced by tone, or by rhythm? Is tone irrelevant in the perception of prominence in performance speech? Can we even talk about tone in musical or chanted performance? To ask these

questions from the point of view of the performers, we would like to find out whether the performers show a preference in allocating high or low tone syllables to x^1? Or do semantic and syntactic considerations, as well as phrasal position, determine the allocation?

Given that we are *considering recordings* of group performance, the perception of tone appears to be impossible. It was decided to mark tones determined by other means, on the syllable within x^1. The citation form was used for this purpose since it was felt that data obtained in this way would give some indication of the preference shown by the performers in allocating syllables to x^1. The research was hampered at this stage by the conspicuous lack of published work dealing with Tsonga tone. The work of Endemann Die Intonasie van Tsonga (1952) which is based on voice recordings made on a kymograph and on the researcher's perception of tape recordings, has never been discussed further in the literature, and some of the findings appear to be controversial. Cuénod's 'Tsonga-English Dictionary' (1967) marks high and low tones by the usual convention of accent *marks. Louw and* Marivate are working on an analysis of Xhosa and Tsonga tone, but this has not *yet been published (private communication).*

Making use of Cuénod's tonal markings for the most part, and with some reference to Endemann's categorisation of syntactic elements by tone, the following results were obtained for the frequency of occurrence of high and low tone in x^1. Of the 300 identifiable morphemes and/or words in x^1, high tone is marked for 147 tokens, and low tone for 153 tokens. These represent *percentages of* 49,0

and 51,0 respectively. Within the poetic *context*, *performers* thus appear to show no preference for allocating either high or low tone syllables to the first rhythmical pillar x^1. Our initial conclusion that x^1 is occupied by a syllable which is *perceived as* being prominent because of either a pitch or an intensity stress can now be modified to state that the perception of stress for this slot is of intensity. The observer's perception is also *conditioned by performance factors* like presence/absence of melody, insistent rhythm, clapping of hands or other body movements. We have shown above that the performers preferentially allocate to x^1, syllables *which, in normal speech,* would be marked by what we have called secondary stress. This, provisionally, we consider to be manifested as intensity, which will occur as a concomitant with tone, whether this is high or low. This lexical stress is attached to the root syllable, which is most usually the first syllable of a stem or radical, but our data would appear to show that the second syllable may be the locus for secondary *stress in* bi- and polysyllabic stems and radicals.

To conclude this discussion of the nature of the relationship between the type of syllable allocated to x^1 and its tone, our data shows that tone is not a significant factor. *Within the* constraints of phrasal position, the performers appear to choose a semantically significant syllable from a content word to be allocated to the first rhythmical pillar, and they tend to avoid *choosing syllables which in normal speech* are unstressed, for instance syllables which are, or are part of, function words.

Semantic and syntactic factors are thus of greater importance in the allocation of a syllable from the syllabic tier to the abstract rhythmical pattern.

4.1.6 Body movements and the perception of rhythm

We have thus far, focused mainly on the observer's perception of rhythm in performance, and we have claimed the validity of these perceptions will be substantiated by observation of the performers' body movements, and of the G-stroke in particular. The G-stroke represents a peaking of the excursionary movement of the limb which is preceded by a preparatory phase and followed by a recovery phase. It has been claimed (Kendon:353) that these movements are "an integral part of the whole act of uttering". This synchronicity arises, as Kendon remarks, because "the speech production process is manifested in two forms of activity simultaneously: in the vocal organs and also in bodily movement" (Kendon:341). It will be evident from the transcription of our data that synchronicity of body movement and uttered syllable is well attested. Of the total of 483 8-pulse verse lines, a visual record is available for 314 verse lines. Within the transcription of performance, we have used capitalisation of the uttered syllable which is accompanied by the stroke of a G-phrase, as a means of indicating the hidden data of these visual recordings. The figures below show the total number of syllables which are observed to coincide with the stroke of a G-phrase for 314 verse lines. We shall call these syllables G-syllables (or 'gesticular syllables')

	x)	x)	x^1	x	x	x	x^2	x	(x	(x	3
No of G-syllables	-	-	173	14	128	14	214	13	123		
Percentage [n = 314]	-	-	55,1	4,4	40,8	4,4	68,2	4,1	39,2		

These figures are *derived* from observation of performances in a variety of contexts, ranging from 'concert' to 'play', which resulted in the children's behaviour varying between 'frozen' and 'free'. Within the more tightly controlled context of the concert performance, body *movements tended* to be restricted, or even absent altogether. As the context becomes less controlled however, the performers body movements were more relaxed and expansive. There is thus a varying amount of movement observable in the recordings of the *different performances*. Given these factors, the above figures appear to be significant, and we find that they validate the observer's perceptions of rhythm.

4.2 16-Pulse Pattern

Within the data, there is a small corpus of seven poems which were perceived of as being made up of verse *lines rhythmically organised* by a 16-, and not an 8-pulse pattern. In all, 97 verse lines of this type were recorded. These could have been considered as being 8-pulse verse lines with a very heavy syllabic load (varying from eight to eighteen syllables per verse line) but this proved not practicable. *The poems (numbers* 15,17,19,20,23,29 and 30) were transcribed as being made up of verse lines within which the syllabic tier was temporally patterned by 16 pulses. As there are no repeated verse lines in these poem', the corpus available for analytical purposes is also 9" verse lines.

4.2.1 Pulses, pulse patterning and the relationship *between 16- and 8-pulse patterns*

The pulses are represented *again by lower case* letter x

x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x

These pulses are not of equal prominence, two are perceived as being strongly stressed, X, viz. the first and the ninth pulse, while two are perceived as being weakly stressed, x, viz. the fifth and the 13th pulse. This yields four beat verse lines as is the case with the 8-pulse pattern

i.e. X x x x x x x x X x x x x x x x

We thus have the same binary type of basic pattern as was found for the 8-pulse verse lines, with the difference being that there are more available slots within which the syllables of the syllabic tier may be allocated. The two patterns are shown together for comparison

X x x x x x

X x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x

We have, as in the 8-pulse verse lines, two degrees of stress, strong stress X, weak stress x, as well as unstressed x. Stein and Gil give the example of the stress patterning of the verse line in the English nursery rhyme, which runs 'Baa Baa black sheep, have you any wool',

i.e. strong-weak-strong-weak-strong-weak-weak-weak-strong.

They argue, in an endeavour to explain the weak-weak-weak sequence, that a

> theory of prosody incorporating only a two-way stress distinction resulting from a linear concatenation of strong and weak positions cannot account for such meters.
>
> (Stein and Gil:184)

They claim that it is thus necessary to assume the existence of a Temporal Mapping Rule, which "maps terminal nodes of prosodic structures - either positions or subpositions - onto isochronous intervals". Each "foot" consists of "two successive two-way expansions: one, expanding the foot into two positions, the other expanding each position into two subpositions" (Stein & Gil:183-5).

While we are not yet in the situation of being able to develop a prosodic argument of the sophistication of that of Stein and Gil, it would appear that the *concept of 'subpositions'* provides a useful tool for the *description* and analysis of the material to hand. It will enable us also to adjust the General Prosodic Statement to cover the verse lines typical of the 16-pulse patterns encountered in Tsonga, since the basic pattern of the four beats remains

strong-weak-strong-weak

4.2.2 16-pulse verse lines, enjambement, breath groups and compensation

Five examples of such lines, of increasing syllabic load, are shown below. Their performance realisations follow, with the 8-pulse pattern superimposed on the 16-pulse pattern:

(i) Syllabic Load 8

ndleve makapu-kapu ntloo! (17-4)
very big ear ntloo!

(ii) Syllabic load 10

Ndzi lava N'weMachachululela mm (19c-9)
I want the daughter of Machachululela

(iii) Syllabic load 12

Tsema tsema nhonga ya nga nhonga ya nga (29c-1)
Cut, cut my stick, my stick

(iv) Syllabic load 14

Ndzi hlangene na mthanu wa majaha na .in'we (19c-1)
I met up with six young men

(v) Syllabic load 18

Leri i xihlutela-byalwa, leri i xihlutela-byalwa (15b-6)
This is a beer strainer, this is a beer strainer

These realise in performance as

:8 X^1 x x X^2 x x

:16 X^1 x x x x x x x X^2 x x x x x x x

>$ndle-e -ve ma -ka -a -pu -u -ka-a -pu-u ntlo-o -o 0

>$ndzi LA -vaN'wa -ma -CHA -a -CHU -u -LE-e -LA 0 u -n 0 0

>$tse -ma tse -ma NHO -o -ng'YA-a nga-a # # aho -o ng'ya nga //

>$ndzi hla -nge -e -ne na NTLHA-nu wa ax ja -z -ha na RI -i -n'we 0

>$le -e -x'i xi -hlu-tel'bya -lwa le -ex' # 'xi -hlu-tel' bya-lwa//

Two aspects are obvious from these transcriptions: firstly, that if we consider each pulse as representing two slots at the level of the syllabic tier, in other words, as representing two possible loci for syllable allocation during performance, then the 8-pulse pattern can represent 8- as well as 16-pulse verse lines; secondly, we shall need to make allowance for unstressed pulses which precede the first strongly stressed pulse, which we shall, following our usage above, call x^1. The second strongly stressed pulse we call x^2. According to the data, only two unstressed pulses occur, and we shall represent them by x). The data requires three types of 16-pulse verse lines

Type I X^1 x x x x x x X^2 x x x x x x x

Type II x X^1 x x x x x x X^2 x x x x x x

Type III x x X^1 x x x x x x X^2 x x x x x

which we shall generalise by writing the representation

x) x) X^1 x x x x x x X^2 x x x x x (x (x

Allowing again for the positional loci of lengthened vowels, we shall call these a', b', c'....e', and the positions corresponding to the unstressed slot(s) x) we shall call a" and b". The generalised rhythmical statement for 16-pulse verse lines is

x) x) x^1 x x x x x x x^2 x x x x x x (x (x
b") a") a' b' c' d' e' f' g' h' i' j' k' l' m' (n' (o'

Several general aspects need to be highlighted in these verse lines recorded above:

a) Non-coincidence of verse line and breath group is a feature of many 16-pulse verse lines. (cf. ii) and iv)). Of the 97 verse lines, 46 have intra-linear breath breaks, and 51 coincide with breath groups. As we noted above breath may be drawn at what do not appear to be 'suitable' semantic or syntactic breaks. In poem 29, for instance, of which three different versions were recorded, the last phrase of each verse line is repeated, and is included within the 16-pulse rhythmical framework. In performance however, it is perceived as being separated by a breath, in spite of its obvious association with the meaning of the proceeding words, and it is linked by enjambement with the next verse line. This underlines our claim that the concept 'verse line' is to be understood as the verbal material which is rhythmically organised by the underlying series of patterned pulses. The concept is independent of 'breath group' and of any syntactic or semantic conditions. That breath should be drawn intralinearly, and that this often leads to enjambement, is an aspect of performance.

This is best illustrated by consideration of several consecutive verse lines of poem 29, taken from vernier *y* (Appendix I:267)

1 **Tsema tsema nhonga ya nga, nhonga ya nga**
Cut, cut my stick, my stick

2 **Va veka endlelani, endlelani**
They put (it) in the road, in the road

3 **Va hindza, va teka, va teka**
They go past, they take (it), they take (it)

4 Va lumbeta Mabihani, Mat .hani
They accuse Mabihani, Mabihani (29a-1 to 4)
etc.

Each of these verse lines is rhythmically patterned by 16 temporal pulses. In performance however, these verse lines are divided as follows (where # indicates a breath group, and // the resulting enjambement). The resulting distortion of meaning and syntax is immediately apparent in the transcription based on breath grouping

tsema tsema nhonga ya nga #
nhonga ya nga // va veka endleleni #
endleleni // va hindza va teka #
va teka // va lumbeta Mabihani #
Mabihani // .....#

This is discussed further below.

Poem 15, Lexi i xikosi-kosi, lexi i xikosi-kosi shows the same phenomenon of non-coincidence of verse line with breath group, resulting in enjambement across normal syntactic and semantic breaks (Appendix I:236 ff). It must be emphasised that the decision to write the verse lines as above, 1 to 4, etc, was not based on semantic or syntactic grounds, but on the basis of the perception of a 16-pulse pattern. That these verse lines should be split up intra-linearly by a breath break was considered to be an aspect of performance.

b) When the syllabic load is less than 16, i.e. the situation corresponds to a negative degree of tension, considerable vowel lengthening takes place. In 1) for instance, the syllabic load is 8

ndleve makapukapu ntloo!

x¹ x x x x x x x x² x x x x x x x

>$ndle-e -ve ma -ka-a -pu-u -ka-a- pu -u ntlo-o-o 0

TABLE XII: VOWEL LENGTHENING ACROSS SLOT BOUNDARIES, 16-PULSE VERSE LINES

Pulses/ Positions	x)	x^1 a')	x a'	x b'	x c'	x d'	x e'	x f'	x g'	x h'	x^2 i'	x j'	x k'	x l'	x m'	x (n'	x (o'
8:16		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
		1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1		
9:16	1	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	5	4	1	0
	0	2	0	0	0	4	3	4	4	5	0	1	0	3	1			
10:16	1	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	18	0	22	22	11	11	
	2	0	1	0	21	1	21	1	21	0	0	0	19	2	1			
11:16	13	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	17	9	22	22	8	4	
	0	3	3	1	0	19	1	12	0	19	2	1	0	20	2	2		
12:16	2	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	2	3	15	14	13	13	
	0	1	0	0	0	13	3	9	1	15	0	0	0	10	1	0		
13:16	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	
	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0		
14:16	3	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	6	13	13	11	10	
	0	7	1	0	0	1	5	0	0	7	5	0	0	2	5	0		
15:16	no occurrences																	
16:16	2	14	9	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	5	14	14	11	8	
	0	11	0	0	0	3	0	3	0	11	0	0	0	5	0	2		
17:16	no occurrences																	
18:16	1	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3		
	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	0		
Totals:	4	37	97	97	97	97	97	97	97	97	97	97	47	31	97	95	61	4
	0	0	31	5	2	0	44	13	30	6	83	8	4	0	62	12	5	
%:			32,0	5,1	2,1		0 46,0	13,4	31,5	6,2	85,6	8,2	5,9	0	63,9	12,6	5,2	

(8-pulse pattern is superimposed on the 16-pulse pattern; by 'no occurrences' it is to be understood that no verse lines with this number of syllables was recorded)

A further strategy employed in such cases, is the use of non-significant slot fillers like m - m, which serve the purpose of maintaining the external rhythm

x X^1 x x x x x X^2 x x x x x

e.g. >$ndzi la -va M'wa-Ma-CHA-a-CHU-u-LE-e-la 0 m - m 0

c) As in the 8-pulse verse lines, use is made of unstressed slots preceding X^1 for function words, thus allowing syllables from content words to occupy this strongly stressed slot (ii and iv)). This will be further discussed below.

d) With increasing syllabic load, the strategy of elision of final vowels becomes more frequent (iv and v). This aspect too will be further discussed below.

4.2.3 Strongly stressed slots X^1 and X^2

TABLE XI (facing) gives a breakdown of the 97 verse lines and shows the occurrence of vowel lengthening across slot boundaries, and it is to be noted, that as in the case of the 8-pulse verse lines, there are certain positions which are favoured for the allocation of syllables containing lengthened vowels.

4.2.3.1 Strongly stressed slot X^2: primary stress

The high figure of number of occurrences of vowel lengthening in position i', across slot boundary X^2 - x, i.e. 85,6% of the total, is surprising, since this does not represent the penultimate phrase position - which one would have expected to find, on analogy with the situation in 8-pulse verse lines, by the allocation of the penultimate long syllable to position m', across the slot boundary between the 13th and 14th pulses i.e. between x - x. In this position, vowel lengthening is perceived in 64,3% of occurrences. The explanation for the high

figure in X^2 is to be found in the fact that in many of these 16-pulse verse lines, the syllable allocated to X5 does indeed occupy the penultimate phrasal position, since the rest of the verse lines are made up of repeated phrases, fillers or nonsense words. This is reflected by the fall off in the number of occurrences of syllables allocated to the 11th and 12th slots, i.e. directly preceding the second weakly stressed pulse x. This break, often perceived between the 12th and 13th slots, and represented by a silent pulse and/or a breath break, is the closest our data come to reflecting the presence of a caesura. It would appear as though repeated phrases, fillers or nonsense syllables all act as rhythmical stabilisers, providing verbal material which is allocated to the last four pulses.

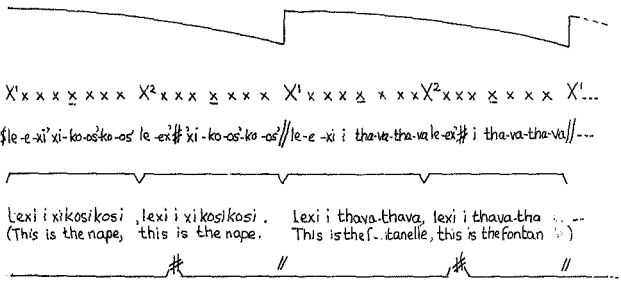
It will be helpful for this stage of the argument to consider more closely the nature of the material occurring in slots 13-16. Of the 97 verse lines, 53 conclude with a sentence/clause/phrase which is a repetition of words occurring previously in the verse line - and in 46 of these cases, this repeated material occurs after a breath, and the end of the verse line is rhythmically enjambed to the next verse line. One might argue that these words should then be written as the beginning of the next rhythmical unit. There are three counter arguments to such an interpretation, the first being the syntactic and semantic links which would argue for cohesion in verse line structure. As illustrated above, verse line division on the basis of breath groups results in distortion of the discourse structure of the poem, while verse line division on the basis of rhythmically organised series of

pulses satisfies both the temporal organisation of the poem as well as semantic and syntactic considerations. The second argument is that the intonation curves indicate verse lines which *correspond* to those perceived as being organised by the 16-pulse pattern. These 46 verse lines under consideration are from poems 15 and 29, the first of these being chanted and the second sung to a simple melody line. In poem 15, the falling intonation curve is perceived to rise again to its initial pitch at the point of *syntactic and semantic break, in spite of the non-coincidence* of breath group with verse line, and where enjambement occurs in performance. There is no work on intonation in Tsonga apart from that of Endemann (1952), but in spite of its title, it tells us far more of tone, and tonal patterns than of intonation. In fact, for Endemann, 'intonasie' is

> die melodieuse eienskap van 'n woord, sin of passaat of enige ander taaluiting in die geheel, wat ontstaan as gevolg van die opeenvolging van verskillende toonhoogtes wat op die verskillende fone in die woord, sin of passaat gebruik word
>
> (Endemann:10)

> Intonation is the melodic characteristic of a word, sentence or passage or any other utterance in general, which arises as the result of the sequence of differing tonal heights which are used on the different phones of the word, sentence or passage

In general linguistic discussion on intonation, agreement has been reached that sentence and clause intonation can most usually be represented by a contour line which can be represented as a falling curve (Crystal,1980:191). For this simple poetic type, *one smoothed intonation contour* is present in the performance of each rhythmical series.



POEM 15, VERSE LINES 1 and 2

1. Smoothed intonation curve
2. Rhythmical pattern
3. Performance realisation
4. Syntactic grouping
5. Verse line with translation
6. Breath group #/#, with enjambement //

The situation occurring can be visualised in the representation given on the facing page, which shows the co-occurrence of the boundary of *the rhythmical series*, the rise in pitch of the smoothed intonation curve, and the syntactic break. The breath group on the other hand, *is an aspect of performance* which is not related to these other elements.

To turn to the second example, poem 29, which is sung, the melodic line, for each verse line, with minor intra-verse line variations, falls from an initial high note to a lower note (*Appendix I.*;295). We are reminded of Johnston's remark that Tsonga melody in general "exhibits pathogenic descent" (Johnston,1974:*38*) - indeed this point was made very early on in the history of research into Tsonga by Henri-Alexandre Junod.

> ...] le refrain commence sur une note elevée, puis décend, décend jusqu'à ce qu'il meure sur une note basse. On recommence tout en haut pour dégringoler de nouveau [...] ce caractère langoureux et triste de la *musique des Ba-Ronga* [..(est)..] ce phénomène de perpetuelle décente
>
> (Junod,1897:31)

> ...] the refrain starts on a high note, then goes down, down until it dies with a low note. Then it starts up again *before falling* once more [...] the listless and sad nature of the music of the Ba-Ronga is (realised through) this phenomenon of perpetual descent

And *Junod repeats these remarks*, in his own English translation, in The Life of a South African Tribe (1927:II,296) in his discussion of 'The Musical *System of the Thongas*'. While intonational and musical factors thus support our decision to include the material in slots 13-16 within the verse *line*, the *final* argument in defence of our transcription can only be the perceptual one - this is how the rhythm is perceived, and on the basis

of the 16-pulse pattern, verse lines are transcribed accordingly.

Looking more closely at the syntactic structure of the 97 verse lines we note that four main types of structure occur:

(i) 53 verse lines contain a phrase/clause/sentence, part of which is repeated after the breath break. The repeated material may be the first part of the phrase

e.g. Xi ya koka, yoo! Xi ya koka. (19a-12)
It is pulling, yoo! It is pulling.

Or, it may be a repetition of the final part of the phrase

e.g. Va hindza, va teka, va teka. (29a-3)
They will go past, taking (it), taking (it).

In the majority (33) of cases, x^2 - x contains the lengthened final vowel of the phrase, while x - x contains the initial syllable of the repeated phrase, sometimes allocated with a length stress

```
.....x   x   x²   x   x   x   x   x   x
      g'  h'  i'  j'  k' l'  m'  n'  o'
```

```
...>$te -e  -ka  -a  0   #   VA  -a  te  -ka//
```

and sometimes without a length stress, for instance from the same recording of this poem

Va lumbeta Mabihani, Mabihani (29a-4)
They accuse Mabihani, Mabihani

```
...>$-bi  -ha -NI  -i  0  #   MA  -b'h-a -ni -i//
```

There is no consistent pattern in the way in which length is assigned to syllables in this slot, for this poem. We note however, that in general, there is a tendency for the syllable in x to be associated with a length stress (63,9% in TABLE XI). We have called this 'displaced length stress', and it would appear to be perceived as more 'natural' than

the second example shown above, in which the predictable *penultimate length* stress is allocated to position n', i.e. representing a change across an unstressed-unstressed slot boundary.

In the 19 cases where X^2 does contain the penultimate vowel of the first utterance of the phrase, this occurs with a length stress across X^2 - x, while $\underline{x}$ contains a vowel without length.

e.g. Lexi i thava-thava lexi i thava-thava (15a-2)
This is the fontanelle, this is the fontanelle

....X^2 x x x $\underline{x}$ x x x
i' j' k' l' m' n' o'

...>$le -ex'# i tha -va -tha-va//

(ii) 24 verse lines contain a phrase/sentence/clause followed by a filler e.g. m, and in all these cases, the penultimate syllable is allocated to X^2 - x, while the filler is allocated to $\underline{x}$ - x and lengthened.

e.g. Va vuya va ndzi kombela fole m (19a-2)
Thoy replied, asking me for tobacco m

....X^2 x x x $\underline{x}$ x x (Type II pattern)
i' j' k' l' m' n'

...>$FO -o -LE O M -m (ndzi...

(iii) 11 verse lines consist of a complete sentence, and in all cases, a syllable is allocated, with length, to X^2 - x, while the penultimate syllable is allocated with length, to $\underline{x}$ - x in 10 out of the 11 occurrences.

e.g. Ndzi khandza tiya na xilayixi xa xinkwa (20-1)
I like tea with a slice of bread

.....x^2 x x x x̲ x x (Type II pattern)
i' j' k' l' m' n'

....>$la -r -yix' xa xi -i -nkwa

(iv) Finally, we note the presence of 9 verse lines made up of a phrase/clause/sentence followed by an ideophone or another, usually, 'nonsense' word. The data is not clear for these verse lines, as the three following examples show.

i) Vuswa u nga dyi, delengwa, delengwa, delengwa (23-2)
You mustn't eat porridge, delengwa, delengwa, delengwa

ii) Mina ximanga xa nhova, ntloo! (17-1)
I am the cat of the bush, ntloo!

iii) Vana, vana, vana va nga, vulanga (30-1)
Children, children, my children, vulanga

....x^2 x x x x̲ x x x
i' j' k' l' m' n' o'

...>$DE -le -e -ngwa DE -le -ang (Type II)

...>$nho -o -va -a ntlo-o -o 0

...>$VA -nos ŋ vu -LA -s -NGA 0

The data is not clear enough to come to any conclusion here.

The association between penultimate phrasal position and the two slots x^2 and x̲ is thus far less clear for 16- than for 8-pulse verse lines. What is clear however, is that x^2 can still be labelled as the 'second rhythmical pillar', both because of its association with the underlying strong pulse, and also because of its use by speakers to allocate syllables containing vowels with a length stress to it in 85,6% of occurrences. In the remaining cases, the syllable occupying this slot is perceived to be prominent, but whether this is because of intensity or pitch stress has not yet been defined.

4.2.3.2 Degree of tension

It is necessary to reconsider the definition of Degree of Tension, which was based on the situation occurring in 8-pulse verse lines. It will be recalled that this was linked to syllabic load, and was derived from the cases in which there was a majority of verse lines in the corpus with 6 syllables. For that situation, we defined the Degree of Tension as being zero, while for verse lines with syllabic load > 6, the Degree of Tension was positive, and for verse lines with a syllabic load of < 6 syllables, the Degree of Tension was negative. For the present material, the basic pulse pattern is 16, and the syllabic load varies from 8 to 18, and while the concept of Degree of Tension remains useful as a descriptive tool, it is almost impossible to define it numerically. As TABLE XI shows, there is no clear cut peak of occurrence of verse lines with a certain number of syllables. In fact the frequency distribution graph, if drawn, would be bipolar, with the two peaks corresponding to verse lines of 10 and 11, 14 and 15 syllables respectively. This may arise from the fact that we are dealing with a smaller body of material, and further field work might indeed show that there is a 'typical' verse line for the 16-pulse pattern, as the verse line of 6 syllables is 'typical' of the 8-pulse pattern. For the moment, therefore, we shall continue to use the concept of Degree of Tension, but accepting that at this stage, it cannot be numerically specified. Speakers of Tsonga, performing the simple poetry we are considering, will use the same strategies as those described for the 8-pulse verse lines in order to allocate the varying numbers of syllables from the CV tier to the rhythmical

pattern.

4.2.3.3 Strongly stressed slot x^1, the nature of unstressed syllables preceding x^1 and secondary stress

For 16-pulse verse lines x^1 shows vowel lengthening in 32,0% of occurrences, the remaining verse lines being perceived as being initiated by a syllable of greater prominence. As with the 8-pulse verse lines, a consideration of the strategy of initiating verse lines by unstressed syllables in the unstressed slots preceding x^1, and a discussion of their nature, as well as that of the syllables within x^1 will assist our argument at this point.

There are 37 verse lines in this corpus which are performed with syllables allocated to these unstressed slots, being 33 verse lines of Type II, i.e. with one unstressed syllable preceding x^1, and 4 verse lines of Type III, with two unstressed syllables preceding x^1. This gives a total of 41 syllables and, as was found for the 8-pulse verse lines , the large majority of these (37) are function words. Of the 37, 30 are Subject Prefixes and 1 is a verbal marker, preceding Verbs in phrase initial position, 4 are Noun Prefixes and 2 are Possessive Prefixes preceding Nouns in phrase initial position.

e.g. Subject prefix

Ndzi fika.... (19c-6)
I arrive....

Subject Prefix plus Verbal marker

Va ta hamba..... (19c-10)
They will keep on....

TABLE XII: SEMANTICO-SYNTACTIC NATURE OF SYLLABLES IN X^1 AND X^2, 16-PULSE VERSE LINES

	X^1 Tokens	% (n=97)		X^2 Tokens	% (n=97)	
NONSENSE WORDS						
Euphonic fillers and Exclamations	1	1,0 (15,1)		9	9,3 (10,7)	
Sub-total	1		1,0			9,3
CONTENT WORDS						
S1 of Stem	9	9,3 (14,2)		11	11,3 (32,6)	
Radical	26	26,8 (17,0)		9	9,3 (21,9)	
Adverb	-	- (2,2)		1	1,0 (3,3)	
Dem.Pron.	19	19,6 -		19	19,6 (0,8)	
Abs.Pron.	1	1,0 (2,7)		2	2,1 (4,4)	
Id.	-	- (0,8)		-	- (2,5)	
S2 of Stem	-	- (0,5)		8	8,2 (1,9)	
Radical	3	3,1 (0,5)		5	5,2 (6,3)	
Adverb	-	- -		-	- -	
Dem.Pron.	-	- -		-	- -	
Abs.Pron.	-	- -		-	- (0,5)	
Id.	-	- (0,2)		3	3,1 -	
S3 of Stem	-	- -		13	13,4 (0,3)	
Radical	-	- -		6	6,2 (0,3)	
Copulative	3	3,1 (5,5)		-	- -	
Adj. Stem	-	- (0,3)		-	- (1,1)	
Conjunction	-	- (6,2)		-	- -	
Poss.Stem	-	- -		3	3,1 -	
Sub-total	61	62,9%		80	82,5%	
FUNCTION WORDS						
- prefixal						
Subj.Con.	20	20,6 (12,1)		1	1,0 (2,2)	
Poss.Con.	5	5,2 (4,6)		1	1,0 (1,9)	
Adj.Pref.	-	- (0,3)		-	- (1,1)	
Noun Pref.	4	4,1 (5,8)		-	- (6,6)	
Markers	6	6,2 (8,2)		-	- -	
Loc.Pref.	-	- (1,1)		-	- -	
- suffixal						
/erbal Ext.	-	- (0,3)		-	- (1,9)	
Loc.Suff.	-	- -		3	3,1 (2,7)	
Dim.Suff.	-	- -		-	- (6,8)	
Rel.Suff.	-	- -		3	3,1 -	
Ass.Cop.	-	- (0,3)		-	- -	
Sub-total	35	36,16%		8	8,2%	
TOTALS	97			97		

[List of abbreviations on :ix]

Noun prefix

Murhi wo tshwuka..... (23-4)
Rud medicine....

Possessive prefixes

Va ka Xavela.... (19a-S)
The people of Xavela...

which in performance become

```
x)      x)      x1      x.....
  b"      a"      a.....

      >ndzi     fi      -i...
va      ta      ha      -mba...
        nu      -NHI    wo.....
        va      ka      Xa-....
```

Content words in these unstressed slots are not frequent, only 3 being recorded in all and they are variants, again from recordings of poem 19, of the radical -hlangana 'to meet' and in each case, the second syllable is the one allocated to the stressed slot X^1.

e.g. ndzi hlangane (19a-1) and ndzi hlangene (19b-1; 19c-1) both glossed as 'I met'

```
x)    x)    x1    x     x....
  b"    a"    a'    b'

>ndzi hla  -nga -a -ne

  ndzi hla  -nge -e -ne
```

We proceed now to an examination of the syntactic nature of the syllables allocated to the two strongly stressed slots X^1 and X^2. TABLE XII (facing), gives the data for the frequency of occurrence of syntactic classes within the broader semantic categories of nonsense, content and function words. For comparative purposes, the percentages of frequency of occurrence

for the 8-pulse verse lines are shown in brackets for each category.

It would appear necessary to make some initial comment on the apparently high frequency of occurrence of Demonstrative Pronouns (19,6% in both X^1 and X^2). We are dealing here with only 97 verse lines in all, and these 19 tokens all come from two recordings of poem 15. The verse lines are structured of two hemistiches, each of the same form, viz Demonstrative Pronoun-Copulative-Noun::Demonstrative Pronoun-Copulative-Noun (where :: indicates the syntactic break). The first syllables of the two Demonstrative Pronouns fall into X^1 and X^2 respectively, and this would appear to have skewed the data slightly. It should be noted that syllables representing content words still rate highly in frequency, both in X^1 and X^2. The high figure of 20,6% for Subject Concords in X^1 would appear to be a factor of phrase position. A table of relative frequency of occurrence could be drawn up (see TABLE X for 8-pulse verse lines), but even a cursory examination of TABLE XII reveals that there are very many more grammatical classes falling within X^2 than in X^1. As we have argued, slot X^2 in the large majority of cases still represents a locus for prominent syllables.

The significant nature of the data can, however, best be appreciated by comparison with the figures for 8-pulse verse lines, and by conflating the data within the semantic categories of Nonsense/Euphonic filler/Exclamation (N) - Content (C) - Function (F) words.

	x^1			x^2		
	N	C	F	N	C	F
8-pulse	15,1	52,3	32,6	10,7	65,8	23,6
16-pulse	1,0	62,9	36,1	9,3	82,5	8,2

Syllables representing *content words* predominate in both x^1 and x^2 in the 8- and in the 16-*pulse verse* lines; syllables representing function words are *of much less prominence* in x^2 in the 16-pulse verse lines, but are of *greater importance* phrase-initially in both 8- and 16-pulse verse lines.

We can interpret these figures in the following ways:

i) the *performers are* handling verse lines within which the syllabic load *is considerably* more than in the 8-pulse verse lines. Purely in *terms of the* physical requirements, considerable skill is necessary to *utter up* to 18 syllables, and to mentally process and assign these to a *rhythmical pattern*, especially for small children. It seems to be of *importance that* the significant words which carry the message of the *discourse* be clearly audible, thus content words are favoured *above others* for allocation to stressed slots.

ii) as the linguistic string is longer, there is more likelihood that the *syntactic structures* will be more complex, function words are thus *again more* likely to be glossed over so that the message can be conveyed *with success* by the content words.

(For examples of syntactic *structures* actually occurring in 16-pulse verse lines, see TABLE *III*, *facing* :95)

4.2.3.4 Secondary stress and tone

In order to confirm the data obtained for the 8-pulse verse lines, where one could have made a hypothesis that it is syllables carrying high tone which are allocated to the initial strongly stressed slot $X1$, the syllables were marked for tone in this position, following the same procedures used for the 8-pulse verse lines. Omitting ten proper names, within the remaining corpus of 87 verse lines, low tone occurs on 41, and high tone on 46 of the syllables. Our argument then that it is the root syllables which carry secondary, lexical stress, irrespective of the tone of this syllable, which are favoured for allocation to x^1 is thus reinforced, as these figures represent 46,6 and 52,3% of the total respectively, which does not reflect a significant difference.

4.2.4 Gesticular syllables and the perception of rhythm

Of the 97 verse lines recorded, 94 are accompanied by a visual record of performance. The hidden data of the body movements compared with the perceived rhythmical patterns yields the following figures:

	x^1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x^2	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
No of G-syllables	28	1	16	2	63	0	30	0	41	0	21	0	47	0	21	0
Percentage [n=94]	29,8	1,1	17,0	2,1	67,0	0	31,9	0	43,6	0	22,3	0	50,0	0	22,3	0

(None of the 37 perceived syllables in x) are accompanied by gesticular syllables).

These figures, arising from observation of performance in different modes, for the 16-pulse verse lines, lend some support for the validity of perceived rhythmical patterns.

4.2.5 Revision of general prosodic statement

The generalised prosodic statement as developed for 8-pulse verse lines reads as follows

GPS-8

$$(cv)^{n}\begin{Bmatrix} CV & cv \\ cv - v \end{Bmatrix}\begin{Bmatrix} \underline{cv} & cv \\ \underline{cv} - v \end{Bmatrix}\begin{Bmatrix} CV - v \\ CV \quad cv \end{Bmatrix}\begin{Bmatrix} cv & 0 \\ cv & cv \\ 0 & 0 \end{Bmatrix}$$

where $0 < n > 2$

In the light of the data for 16-pulse verse lines discussed above, we find that, since we are considering each of the 16 pulses as a 'subposition' in a possible future generative model, that our general prosodic statement for the 8-pulse pattern can be successfully applied to this data, with very little adjustment necessary. Allowance must be made principally for the greater number of syllables occurring between the slots carrying stress, whether strong or weak; and for further slots for syllables in final verse line position. These can all be handled by adjustment as follows

GPS-16 General Prosodic Statement for 16-pulse verse lines

$$(cv)^{m}\begin{Bmatrix} CV & cv \\ cv - v \end{Bmatrix}(cv)^{n}\begin{Bmatrix} \underline{cv} & cv \\ \underline{cv} - v \end{Bmatrix}(cv)^{n}\begin{Bmatrix} CV - v \\ CV \quad cv \end{Bmatrix}(cv)^{n}\begin{Bmatrix} \underline{cv} - v \\ \underline{cv} \quad cv \end{Bmatrix}\begin{Bmatrix} cv & cv \\ cv & 0 \\ 0 & 0 \end{Bmatrix}$$

where n=2

Combining these two, GPS-8 and GPS-16, we obtain a generalised prosodic statement for four beat verse lines

GPS General Prosodic Statement for Four Beat Verse Lines

$$(cv)^{m}\begin{Bmatrix} CV & cv \\ cv - v \end{Bmatrix}(cv)^{n}\begin{Bmatrix} \underline{cv} & cv \\ \underline{cv} - v \end{Bmatrix}(cv)^{n}\begin{Bmatrix} CV - v \\ CV \quad cv \end{Bmatrix}(cv)^{n}\begin{Bmatrix} \underline{cv} - v \\ \underline{cv} \quad cv \end{Bmatrix}^{p}\begin{Bmatrix} cv & cv \\ cv & 0 \\ 0 & 0 \end{Bmatrix}$$

where $0 < n > 2$;

$n = 0$; $p = 0$ for 8-pulse verse lines
$n = 2$; $p = 1$ for 16-pulse verse lines

4.3 12-pulse Patterns

There exists within the total corpus, a body of material which is perceived of as being performed to an underlying 12-pulse pattern. There are a total of 209 recorded verse lines which are organised rhythmically by 12-pulse patterned series. According to the convention adopted for the transcription of the data, whereby repeated lines are transcribed only once for the purpose of rhythmical analysis, these 209 verse lines, because of the highly repetitive nature of the poems within which they occur, and poem 32 in particular, are reduced to 112 verse lines on which analysis is carried out. The syllabic loads range from 5 to 11, i.e. they all present a negative Degree of Tension between the number of syllables, S, and the number of pulses, P = 12. As the pattern takes two forms, they will be discussed separately .

4.3.1 Binary 12-pulse pattern

In 107 of the verse lines, the twelve underlying pulses being indicated by lower case x, as before, are patterned by three equally strongly stressed pulses, indicated by upper case X, viz. the first, fifth and ninth pulses, which we shall call X^1, X^2 and X^3 respectively; three weakly stressed pulses, indicated by underlined lower case x, viz. the third, seventh and eleventh pulses; the six remaining pulses are unstressed, viz. all the even numbered pulses. It is for this reason that we shall call this type of pattern a binary 12-pulse pattern, which yields six beat verse lines. In terms of stress, this could be written as

strong-zero-weak-zero-strong-zero-weak-zero-strong-zero-weak-zero

The beats are themselves patterned as

strong-weak-strong-weak-strong-weak

The patterned rhythmical series is thus:

x^1 x x x x^2 x x x x^3 x x x

As we have seen above, allowance will be made for data in which an unstressed syllable slot precedes the first strongly stressed slot x^1, as well as for positions across slot boundaries within which occurrences of vowel lengthening can be recorded. We shall call these positions a'',a',b',c'...k'. TABLE XIII below gives the relevant data for vowel lengthening in various positions for these 107 12-pulse verse lines

Pulses/ Positions	x) a'')	x^1 a'	x b'	x c'	x^2 d'	x e'	x f'	x g'	x	x^3 h'	x i'	x j'	x (x k'
S:P													
5:12		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0
		1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0		
6:12		25	25	25	25	25	25	25	2	25	25	12	0
		5	19	1	0	25	0	2	0	25	10		
7:12	3	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	0	60	60	18	0
	0	10	1	2	0	60	0	0	0	0	60	12	
8:12	4	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	3	19	19	11	0
	0	3	0	0	0	19	0	3	0	19	7		
9:12	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	0
	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0		
Totals:	9	107	107	107	107	107	107	107	6	107	107	44	0
	0	21	20	4	0	107	1	5	0	107	29		
%:		19,6	18,7	3,7	0	100,0	0,9	4,7	0	100,0	27,1		

TABLE XIII: VOWEL LENGTHENING ACROSS SLOT BOUNDARIES, BINARY 12-PULSE VERSE LINES

Of these 107 verse lines, 86 are found in the 4 different versions of the long sung poem Xikhongolotsana (Appendix I:273). Examination of the verse lines shows immediately their resemblance to the 8-pulse verse lines which are also found in these recordings. This poem is unique in that it is the only one in the whole corpus within which the stanzas

are organized on a basis of regularly patterned verse lines. Each stanza consists of three verse lines, patterned by 12, 8 and 12 pulse series respectively. The third group of 4 pulses in each verse line is filled with meaningless linguistic material which we have described above as 'filler', either m-m, in three of the versions, or i-i in version d. These meaningless syllables occupy slots 9 and 10 in every verse line in versions a, b and d, and slots 9,10 and 11 in version c. The poem is characterised by incremental repetition in which the new verbal material, either a phrase, or a word, is introduced in the final verse line in each stanza. A visual representation of the poetic structure is given below for versions a,b and d; for version c the only difference is that the final syllable occupies three slots

	x^1	x^2	x^3
Stanza 1 >$	a a a a a a a a a a m - m 0 0		
	a a a a a a a a a a		
	b b b b b b b b b b m - m 0 0		
Stanza 2	b b b b b b b b b b m - m 0 0		
	b b b b b b b b b b		
	c c c c c c c c c c m - m 0 0		
Stanza 3	c c c c c c c c c c m - m 0 0		
	.....etc.		

a a a..; b b b..; c c c...indicate (without defining either their nature or number) the syllables of the CV tier.

This representation also illustrates the highly repetitive nature of the language in this poem. New material introduced in the third verse line of each stanza is repeated, with the filler, as the first verse line of the next stanza; repeated again, without filler, as the second verse line of the stanza. In discussion on the transcription of these poems, it is remarked that 'the children eventually stopped singing only because the adults in the group began to grumble and one had the

clear impression that they could have happily carried on singing for much longer in this fashion" (Appendix I:274). This sung poem is typical of children's poetry all over the world, in which repetition and rhythm are of far greater importance than is the sense of the poetry.

These 12-pulse verse lines can, for purposes of linguistic analysis, be considered together with the 8-pulse verse lines, which they resemble exactly, apart from the filler syllable. Because of the convention adopted for the transcription of the poems however, in which repeated verse lines within the same performance of a poem are not counted for statistical purposes, the verse lines have in fact already been included in the analysis of rhythmical structure, semantic characteristics and syntactic form, as well as in the tonal analyses, and it is for this reason that we have made no comment on the nature of the syllables allocated to the three rhythmical pillars. In the case of x^1 and x^2, comment would be exactly the same as for the 8-pulse verse lines; in the case of x^3, the concluding material is totally made up of lengthened a or i, which act as rhythmical stabilisers or filler material.

Within the 107 binary 12-pulse verse lines, there are 15 verse lines apart from those derived from Xikhongoletana.

i) 8 of these verse lines make up chanted poem 7, and they consist of a simple call-response, with identical response for each verse line. Each verse line in this poem consists of 12-pulse verse lines.

```
Call: La nga ta tsutsuma Response: Heke!
      The one who runs           Heke

      I n'wana xibodze           Heke
      Is the child of a tortoise Heke      (7-12&13)

x)    X1   x   X   x   X2   x   X   x   X3   x   X   (x
  a'')  a'  b'  c'  d'   e'  f'  g'  h'  i'  j'  (k'

    >$la   nga ta  tsu-tsu  -u   -ma  #  * he  -e   -ke   0
i     n'wa -a   -na xi -bo   -o   -dze #  * he  -e   -ke
```

ii) 6 verse lines come from chanted poem 17, which is irregularly patterned into verse lines of 12 and 16 pulses (Appendix I:246)

In each of the 6 12-pulse verse lines the final monosyllabic word, allocated in performance to slots 9-12, is the ideophone ntlo! (the meaning of which is unclear).

```
      Mshlo ndzhulwana ntloo!
      Large protruding eyes ntloo!

      Ya hosokela kule ntloo!
      Staring all around ntloo!                  (17-2&3)

x)    X1   x   X   x   X2   x   X   x   X3   x   x   (x
  a'')  a'  b'  c'  d'   e'  f'  g'  h'  i'  j'  (k'

    >$ma   -a -hlo ndzhu -lwa -a   -na -e   ntlo -o   -o  (ya
ya    ho   -no-ke  -la   ku   -u  -le -e   ntlo -o   -o
```

The strategies employed to assign syllables to the rhythmical pattern are familiar to us, and there are no further comments arising from these verse lines. We note that for these poems, the verbal material allocated to slots 9 to 12 is again ideophonic, or nonsense syllables which maintain the rhythmical pattern, without adding anything to the meaning of the poem.

Of the poems, only poem 8 and version B of poem 32 were recorded with video equipment, thus there are only 44 verse lines for which gesticular syllables could be observed. Their occurrence compared with

the rhythmical perception for the binary 12-pulse verse lines is as follows

	x)	x^1	x	x	x	x^2	x	x	x	x^3	x	x	x
No of G-syllables	-	8	-	9	-	23	-	3	-	7	-	-	-
Percentage (n=44)	-	29,8	-	9,1	-	52,3	-	6,8	-	15,9	-	-	-

These results are, given the context of the two performances, satisfactory. For poem 8, we note that

> the movements [...are those...] of the arms of the caller, whenever she is visible on the recording. The other children's movements tended to drag behind here, and even to stop altogether.
>
> (Appendix I:224)

For poem 32, version B, we note that

> the body movements of the children [...] are mainly imitative textual movements
>
> (Appendix I:281)

thus timing out is not as important to these performers as describing or imitating movements and characteristics mentioned within the poetic text.

4.3.2 Tentative prosodic statement for 12-pulse verse lines

Our generalised prosodic statement, which we have evolved for the 8- and 16-pulse verse lines, is not able to handle the binary 12-pulse verse lines described above. Very tentatively, we would expect, by analogy, that a prosodic statement for binary 12-pulse verse lines, where three rhythmical pillars are perceived, would need, based on our interpretation of the data in TABLE 12, to allow for three positions of prominence in the syllabic tier; according to the data in our, admittedly limited corpus, these three positions are characterised by intensity or length stress in x^1, and by length stress in x^2 and x^3; it would need to make allowance for one, or no, unstressed syllables

preceding the first prominent syllable, and for a final silent pulse.

In view of the small amount of material, however, this generalised prosodic statement for binary 12-pulse verse lines is tentative at this stage, and further collection of data and analysis might disprove its proposed form.

GPS-12 Generalised Prosodic Statement for Binary 12-Pulse verse lines

$$(cv)^{s}\left\{\begin{matrix}cv\ cv\\ cv-v\end{matrix}\right\}\left\{\begin{matrix}cv & cv\\ cv-v & \end{matrix}\right\}\ cv-v\ \left\{\begin{matrix}cv & cv\\ cv-v & \end{matrix}\right\}\ cv-v \qquad cv\ \ 0$$

where $0 < s > 1$

4.3.3 Ternary 12-Pulse Pattern

The data for this type of verse line is very inconclusive, and is based on only 5 verse lines in the whole corpus, being the verse lines of poem 14. We find here not a binary expansion, but a ternary expansion in the rhythmical pattern. The 12 pulses are patterned by two strong beats, x^1 and x^2 which occur on the first and seventh pulses, and between these two rhythmical pillars are two weakly stressed pulses, perceived to be the third, fifth, ninth and eleventh pulses respectively, these are separated by unstressed pulses. In terms of stress, this can be written as

strong-zero-weak-zero-weak-zero-strong-zero-weak-zero-weak-zero

and this pattern yields a six beat verse line, but of a different rhythmical nature from the verse lines described above. The beats are *patterned themselves as strong-weak-weak-strong-weak-weak*

x^1 x x x x x x^2 x x x x x

Structurally, each verse line is made up of an ideophone kwee!, (the cry of a chicken) followed by a simple phrase or clause, and then five

repetitions of kwee!

Kwee! I manana. Kwee, kwe kwe kwe kwe
Kwee! It is mother. Kwee, kwe kwe kwe kwe

Kwee! a vuyaka. Kwee, kwe kwe kwe kwe
Kwee! coming back. Kwee, kwe kwe kwe kwe

.....na xibodze....
.....with a tortoise....

.....hi ta swekz....
.....we shall cook (it)....

.....hi khula murhu....
.....sipping the gravy..

X^1	x	X	x	X	x	X^2	x	X	x	X	x
	a'	b'	c'	d'	e'	f'	g'	h'	i'	j'	k'
>$kwe	-e	i	ma	-na	-ma	kwe	-e	kwe	kwe	kwe	kwe
kwe	-e	a	vu	-ya	-ka	kwe	-e	kwe	kwe	kwe	kwe
kwe	-e	na	xi	-bo	dze	kwe	-e	kwe	kwe	kwe	kwe
kwe	-e	hi	ta	swe	-ka	kwe	-e	kwe	kwe	kwe	kwe
kwe	-e	h'khu	-la	mu	-rhu	kwe	-e	kwe	kwe	kwe	kwe

In these five verse lines, we note that vowel lengthening takes place only in positions a' and b'. While this simple little song is terms of its unique nature, it has not been taken into consideration in the general prosodic discussion. Perhaps further fieldwork may reveal more such Tsonga songs in which ternary expansion takes place. The performance was not recorded on video equipment, as it took place during the exploratory trip, thus we can not make any comment on the observation of body movement which might validate our rhythmical perceptions.

4.4 Conclusion: Rhythmical Patterns as Foundation in Performance

The argument developed above has attempted to prove a hypothesis advanced as an explanation as to why these poems are rhythmical. The hypothesis had two main thrusts. Firstly, that, within performance, there is an abstract rhythmical system which is specific to the genre of children's poetry.

Secondly, that this system functions as a flexible rhythmical framework within which the language of children's poetry is expressed. This system is an abstract representation of a psychological reality, that of the production and perception of *rhythmical activity. This reality can be* carried out on many levels of human existence, from the subconscious physiological movements of heart beat and breathing, through the mundane movements associated with work or play, to the production and perception of aesthetically pleasing oral and visual art forms. For the simple oral art form of children's poetry, rhythmical language satisfies both the child's need to learn about those patterns of rhythm which are culturally acceptable and linguistically appropriate, and the child's sheer delight in the production and perception of rhythm for its own sake.

The first claim of the hypothesis was that a system of rhythmically patterned rhythmical pulses series is constitutive of the genre of swinzin'wana swa vana (children's little songs), also known as switlhokovetselo swa vana (children's poetry). Through learning to perform the poems, the children are learning, not only more about the reality of their world, but also how the rhythm of the language of the poems is organized. By associating certain syllables with prominent pulses in the patterned series, the children are at the same time learning more about the rhythms of normal speech. They learn that syllables which are stressed in normal speech, are the same syllables which are highlighted by being allocated to stressed pulses in poetic speech. We have shown that two main types of stress function as rhythmical pillars within the poems. The first of these is primary stress, which is a length stress, associated with phrase endings in normal speech, as it is associated with verse line endings in poetic speech. The second of these, which may be masked by the primary

stress, depending on the position of the word within the phrase, is secondary stress, which is an intensity stress, linked with the semantically meaningful syllable of content words, which, *in ordinary language as in poetic language*, conveys the message from speaker to listener.

The second claim of the *hypothesis* was that the rhythmically patterned series perform not only the function of imparting rhythm to the words within the verse line, but also that of creating a system of regularly rhythmical verse lines so that the poems constitute an aesthetically satisfying, albeit unsophisticated, *poetic genre*. By learning these simple poems, either from their mothers or from their peers, the children are being introduced to the wide and richly varied oral art forms which make up the oral literature of the Tsonga speaking people.

The main thrust of this chapter has been to develop, by an empirical argument, a conventionalised system of *description which would* enable us to *show how* syllables from within the syllabic tier are allocated to the strongly and weakly stressed and the unstressed pulses of the rhythmical series. Because the verse lines, defined by the rhythmical series, are made up of differing numbers of syllables, *it was necessary* to discover which syllables are chosen, and why, for allocation to these pulses. By means of this argument, and with illustrations drawn from the corpus of recorded data, it has been possible to develop a generalised prosodic statement. This, for the two most frequently *occurring types of* verse line, shows how the syntax of verse lines determines the penultimate syllable, which as locus of primary, or length stress, is allocated to the second strongly stressed pulse. A syllable carrying secondary, or lexical, stress is the one most usually allocated to the *first strongly stressed* pulse in the verse line. These root syllables appear to be the ones favoured by Tsonga speakers

for allocation to positions of prominence in the verse line, while the choice of such syllables frequently results in other strategies, such as allowing function syllables which precede nouns and verbs to occupy unstressed slots which precede the first strongly stressed slot; the elision of terminal vowels of nouns and verbs, or of vowels within function words such as markers of tense, mood, negation, or prefixal morphemes; the more rapid utterance of words, so that they are perceived as being temporally squeezed together, with resulting vowel elision and consonantal reduction. All these are ways in which the performers accommodate the verbal material to the rhythmically patterned series.

Substantiation for the observer's perceptions of the rhythmical organization of the verbal material was sought in the elaboration of a system of symbols which could be used in the transcription of performed material, to reveal the concealed data of the body movements of performers. Gesticular syllables, which are those uttered synchronously with observable body movements, were highlighted by capitalization within the transcription of the rhythmical analysis. While the results of the correlation between syllables perceived by the observer as being prominent and those accompanied by body movement were not as high as could have been wished for, they were encouraging, and can be read as at least partial validation of perceived rhythmical language. Against these results must be held the facts of the circumstances within which the recording of data took place. What has been called the 'concert context' predominated, and this undoubtedly led to a lack of spontaneity which was regretted.

The argument has shown that there is a dynamic and flexible interaction between the abstract rhythmical patterns and the verbal material of the poetic language. Far from the former being a limiting force which might be

conceived as constraining the language within rigid shuttering, it should rather be seen as an undergirding foundation, upon which the poetic structure is built in performance. The fact that the generalised prosodic statements are able to generate a large number of combinations of syllables, organised into verse lines of varying types of rhythmical patterns is a reflection, not so much of the argument followed, but of the incredible richness and variety of the rhythmical language of Tsonga children's oral poetry.

Taking an analogy from *music*, the time signature, and the musical beat which this represents, can be compared to the concept of poetic meter, or to use the terminology adopted in this work, the patterned rhythmical series. The rhythm of music however, its flow through time, its accelerandos and ritardandos, its pauses - all these can be compared to the rhythm of oral poetic language. This is not a monotonous, rigidly isochronous, syllable timed flow of verbal material, constrained by an abstract binary patterned rhythmical framework which acts like a metronome, but the dynamic, flexible and variable utterance of poetic language in performance. Of all the poetic genres, children's poetry is possibly, with the exception of ritualistic incantations or charms, the most closely tied to the musical roots from which it has sprung, yet, even in this simple genre the language in performance is varied and everything but mechanical. Performed poetic language represents a dynamic interplay between the psychological internalised abstraction of an ideal system of alternating strong and weak pulses, and the stresses of normal Tsonga speech. Three suprasegmental features can function in language to produce prominence on syllables. These are intensity stress, length stress and pitch stress. It has been shown by the argument of this chapter that of the three, length stress and intensity

stress fulfill this function as features which highlight the poetic language of the genre of Tsonga children's oral poetry.

CHAPTER FIVE CONCLUSION: THE PROSODY OF SWINSIN'WANA SWA VANA

5.0 Introduction

Our exploration of the performance of swinsin'wana swa vana (children's little songs) has brought us to the point where we can draw some conclusions, not only as to the nature of the prosodic and versification systems of Tsonga children's traditional poetry, but also as to possible lines of future research. The problems were stated in Chapter One, and the theoretical background to the present work, as well as the methodological approach to our research, were outlined in Chapter Two. Within Chapter Three, the processes of collection, translation, transcription, translation and annotation of the raw data were described. The taxonomy for the description of body movements was developed in the same chapter. The hypotheses underlying the research, as well as the development of a set of conventions describing the allocation, during performance, of syllables from the CV tier to a rhythmically patterned series of pulses, were the focus of the discussion in Chapter Four.

What general conclusions can be drawn from these chapters? What are the possible directions for future research?

5.1 General Conclusions

5.1.1 The rhythmical basis of the prosody of Tsonga children's poetry

Lehiste has claimed that "in many languages, a poetic line is structured in terms of rhythm" (Lehiste, 1985:145), and confirmation of this is found for African languages in Finnegan's general remark that "the musical setting" (Finnegan, 1970:174) can act as a determiner of rhythm or meter. Our argument has led us to accept that this is the basis of the prosody of the genre we

have been studying. "The sounds of the language moving through time" (Attridge:53) are rhythmically organised by what Nketia has called "regulative beats" (Nketia:745). These undergird the structure of poetry. The "life of the poetic rhythm" (Attridge:26) however does not derive from regular beats, but from the interplay between these and the prosodic linguistic elements intrinsic to the Tsonga language which are the essential suprasegmental features of length and intensity. These are the elements which, to rephrase Lehiste, crystalise the poetic structure. (vide Lehiste, 1985:145). We are far from accepting that the "regulative beats" act as constraints - they are like rhythmical pillars which lend support to the poetic structure, and around and between which the language of the verse lines flows. We have seen that even when melody is absent, when the poems are chanted, the rhythmical patterns remain. Just as in the performance of Adams Diabete, where "a high percentage of the utterances coincided with the rhythmic measure" even without the accompaniment of the usual musical instrument (Bird, 1976:90), in the performances of Tsonga children, the roots of rhythm remain.

Our definition of the performed verse line in terms of the underlying patterned series of pulses is a departure from much of past practice, in which breath group was considered by many to be a criterion for the definition of the linear unit. In this, we are closer to what Ntuli and Lenake have called the "rhythm segment" and the "rhythmic segment" respectively (Ntuli, :274; Lenake:163), and although their definitions concern mainly written poetry, both contain references to spoken language. The

influence of the ideas of Bird (Bird, 1972) is obvious in our definition, as it is equally obvious in our development of the General Prosodic Statement, which is an extension of his idea of a "prosodic schema" (Bird, 1972:214).

5.1.2 The universality of rhythmical patterning in children's poetry

Several claims have been made for the universal occurrence of the four beat line within children's poetry (Brailoiu, Burling, Welsh, Calvet). Within the corpus of our data, the bulk of the material, whether 8- or 16-pulse verse lines do show this pattern. Of the total of 789 verse lines, 580 are patterned by a strong-weak-strong-weak beat. There are however 209 12-pulse verse lines for which the pattern is either three equally strong beats, or two strong beats, patterned in a ternary extension. For the first of these verse lines, we need to speak of three rhythmical pillars. Our data thus lends partial support to universalistic claims, but it is not conclusive.

Brailoiu's statement that the length or shortness of syllables depends entirely on their position within the pre-established rhythmical framework (Brailoiu:65, our translation, :15) is not supported by our data. Rather we have seen that syntactic and semantic factors to a large extent determine the allocation of syllables to the strong, weak, or unstressed pulses of the rhythmical pattern.

That there are "general rules of rhythm" (Burling, 1966:1425) or indeed "an underlying iambicity intrinsic to ordinary language"

(Stein and Gil:234), is substantiated by the Tsonga material, but only in so far as within this genre the underlying rhythmical pattern is of a binary nature. It is our feeling that the general rules and the intrinsic iambicity arise, however, more from psychological perceptions and conceptualisations of the nature of rhythm, than directly from within the linguistic code. In this, we tend to support Selkirk, for whom "the diverse rhythmic patterns of prominence found in language reflect both universal and particular aspects of rhythmic organization" (Selkirk, :37). Each language will manifest these patterns according to its own structures and phonological features within normal speech, while for poetic language, the features will be highlighted by being patterned according to the characteristic rhythm and meter of the particular poetic genre. For our children's poetry, the iambic (or trochaic?) nature of the rhythmical patterns is often apparent, particularly in initial position within the verse lines. The situation in the final verse line position is less clear. The status of the poetic foot as a poetic entity is highly problematic for this genre, and, we would hazard, for other poetic genres, not only in Tsonga but also in the other Bantu languages of the Zone. This discussion is however leading us into the field of meter, away from the rhythmical prosody which is our main focus, but it does indicate one possible line of future research.

While we reject the idea of a constraining underlying rhythmical grid, whether musically derived or not, we equally reject the idea that body movements are regulators of spoken poetic rhythm.

Brailoiu's claim that the *rigidly* symmetrical nature of children's rhythms derives from regulated movement, if not from dance (Brailoiu:96, our translation, :16) is similar to that of Jones, for whom "any song which can be sung during dancing must, ipso facto, be metrical" (Jones:7). That these poetic productions are rhythmical cannot be denied, but rhythm cannot be equated to meter since all meter is rhythmical, but not *all rhythm is* metrical. As Preminger states, "rhythm *becomes* meter the closer it *approaches regularity* and predictability" (Preminger:141). Gunner claims that for the Zulu izibongo (praise poetry) "it is possible that body movement may relate to, and provide a kind of metronome for, the actual recitation" (Gunner:76) but it is equally possible that these body movements, emphasising semantically significant syllables in initial verse line, as well as other positions, and syllables *lengthened in* penultimate verse line position, *and which are* allocated to these positions because *of an as* yet undiscovered rhythmical system for that genre, are perceived by the observer as isochronous, but that they metronomically control the performance seems not yet proven. Certainly, for our data, body movement may coincide with what are perceived as stressed syllables, i.e. they function as maintainers of rhythm, but they *equally coincide* with semantically *significant syllables*, which may, or may not be in *positions associated* with the rhythmical pillars. Body movements as observed in our data, both emphasise rhythm and highlight syllables which are important for the communication of meaning, but they do not regulate the rhythm.

5.1.3 The versification system of Tsonga children's poetry

Our problem with attempting to describe the versification system of these simple poems, is that all the models described by Lotz refer to metrical systems. There appears to be no place within his metrical typology for poetry in which rhythm is the organizing principal - indeed he explicitly excludes such a principal from his considerations (Lotz:4). The closest we could come to qualifying the nature of the poetry would be to call it an 'accentual-quantitative' system, if, and only if further research could prove that the rhythmical system we have been describing is also metrical. This would offer a further possible line of research, in which the nature and position of prominent syllables, made prominent by intensity and length respectively, would be explored in order to discover whether there is a metrical superstructure, made up of patterns of prominent syllables, which could generate all the possible acceptable verse lines for the genre, and equally, explain those which are unacceptable. Our General Prosodic Statements are but one step along the way of such an exploration.

Turning away from exploring this area, which appears not to offer much promise at the moment, we consider the typology offered by Coupez (1983), which focuses on rhythm, and not on meter. We recall that Coupez combined the concepts of phonological and/or morphological rhythm, and of periodicity, in order to produce a categorisation of African poetical rhythms. We have made very few stylistic comments on our material, thus the nature and

occurrence of assonance, alliteration, parallelism, chiasmus and *other stylistic features within the data have not* been explored. What has come to the fore however is that the material is highly repetitive, both within verse lines and between verse lines. The "repetition of a sound, syllable, word, phrase, line, stanza, or metrical pattern is a basic unifying device in all poetry" (Preminger :228) and our material provides ample evidence of these. For Coupez, a rhythmical system can be generated by suprasegmental phonemes and/or morphological features, and a rhythm is defined as phonological if at least one of its elements is independant of morphology. It would appear that the system we have been dealing with is certainly phonological, since the rhythm is based upon syllables with non-phonemic intensity and length. That it is periodic arises from the definition of the rhythmically patterned pulse series *which underlies it.* Further research would be necessary to establish precisely which stylistic features operate, and in which manner, but intuition tells us that these are aperiodic. Hence, whether these are phonological (eg. through syllabic patterning, which produce assonance and alliteration, or as yet undescribed tonal patterning within the verse line); morphological (eg. morphemic and word repetition); syntactic (eg. word groups, phrases, clauses and sentences patterned by parallelism, linking or chiasmus); or poetic structures (eg. verse lines, choruses or stanzas), they reinforce, albeit aperiodically, the periodic phonological rhythm of Tsonga children's oral poetry.

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5.2 Possible Lines for Future Research

We have indicated above several avenues of possible future research. These are concerned mainly with the metrical nature of the rhythmical system described. Are there higher orders of patterning within the syllabic tier? Are there or are there not caesural breaks? If there are, do these define colons? Above the level of the verse line, are stanzaic patterns apparent? If the General *Prosodic Statements* developed in this work are used as generators of verse lines, are they comprehensive and sufficient to account for all possible verse lines within the genre? A lack which was strongly felt in the present research was firstly that of adequate data on Tsonga tonology, and secondly that there is no data whatsoever dealing with natural speech rhythms and the suprasegmental features which organize these rhythms.

Moving away to a more socially and contextually based concern, the present study has not explored the forms and functions of Tsonga children's games and game playing within the overall cultural life of the people.

In order to build up an ethnography of speaking of the Tsonga people, one would need to look at other neglected areas, for instance that of lullabies, sung by mothers to their babies - are the rhythmical patterns the same as those of the children's poetry? Or are they adult rhythms? The language of these lullabies has never been described, yet there are surely many fascinating cultural and sociological aspects waiting to be discovered there. Mother-child talk too has never been explored for Tsonga, and results obtained in this area might illuminate on-going research into rhythm. Further performance based

research into the more highly developed oral genres of folktales and praise poetry is urgently necessary. Both prosodic and stylistic research into these genres, with more focus than in the past on performance aspects, for instance the keying, patterning and emergent nature of performance, needs to be undertaken. The whole question of the indigenaity of the praise poetry genre among Tsonga speakers needs exploring.

Eventually, research based on written poetry needs to follow on the above, so that the relationship between the spoken and the written poetic word be established. How far do the rhythms of oral traditional poetry influence the poems written for children - and how far does this influence stretch into poems written for adults?

5.3 Concluding Remarks

Without doubt, this work represents only the first few steps along the way in determining the nature of the prosody of Tsonga oral poetry. Beginning with a simple genre like that of children's poetry, certain important organizing principles in the performance of oral poetry have been established. The future for such performance based research is wide open and promises many rewards to those who will turn to oral texts, and to their production in performance. Not only to their texts, but to the textures of the performance and to the contexts of the performance, so that subsequent analysis with the listening ear and the seeing eye will bring new knowledge and understanding of these living, dynamic traditions.

APPENDIX I

Appendix I contains the transcriptions of thirty three of the poems recorded during field work. The collection of poems transcribed below represents a sample of Tsonga children's oral poetry, and is the raw data from which is extracted the data for all subsequent analysis. The poems are arranged in alphabetical order, according to the first word in the title (cf. Chapter 3). The poems are numbered according to their alphabetised order. They are discussed within the following framework:

Poem number — i.e. 1,2,3, etc. and TITLE

Poem number.1 — material indicated by the first decimal digit is of a general nature, and concerns the circumstances of the recording(s). It gives at least the place and date of recording(s) and details any special circumstances pertaining to the recording(s) (cf. Chapter Three);

version a, b, c, d - in several cases, different versions were recorded, these are distinguished as version a, version b, etc. The location of the versions in the accompanying video and audio tapes is indicated by reference in parenthesis, (Video *:Tape *), where * refers to Counter numbers using a Panasonic VCR HV 8200 monitor and a Sony TCM-757 cassette tape recorder. The material on these tapes is presented in order corresponding to the number of the poems.

Comment is made on performance context (concert, play); performance mode (frozen, free); participatory nature (unison, solo, responsorial, antiphonal); performance style (spoken, chanted).

The functional nature of the poem is commented on i.e. as accompaniment to a game, as well as reference being made to possible folktale origin.

Finally, a brief structural description is given, viz. number of stanzas, number of verse lines per stanza, presence or absence of refrain, etc. (cf. Chapter Three, TABLE I, facing:91),

Poem number.2.1 — Within the second paragraph, the textual transcription is given, with its interlinear English translation.

Each verse line is numbered. Verse lines which initiate a stanza are distinguished by placing the 'equals to' sign on either side of the number, viz. =6=.

The iconic representation of accompanying body movements is given above each verse line, as described in the Taxonomy of body movements (Chapter Three:75 ff.).

Each textual transcription is followed by brief textual annotations which describe difficulties in translation, outline elements of cultural significance or expand on the literal translation.

Poem number.2.2 Only one version is given in full in 2.1. In 2.2, differences between the various recorded versions are discussed, with complete transcriptions of the different versions being provided in the rhythmical analysis which follows in 4 below.

Poem number.3.1 Body movements which accompany the performance of the poem are described for each verse line in cases where no symbols exist in the simple taxonomy, or where these symbols inadequately represent the observed textural or textual movement. Such occurrences are indicated by the symbol

----

above the words of the verse line.

Poem number.3.2 Any accompanying game is briefly described in this section.

Poem number.4 This section gives the subjectively perceived rhythmical analysis in terms of pulses, using the analytical method developed by Coupez and Kamanzi (1970) and adapted for the present study (as described in Chapter Three:84 ff).

There are 8,12 or 16 pulses per verse line (cf theoretical discussion in Chapter Four).

Each verse line is to be read as corresponding to a breath group. If breath is taken intralinearly, this is indicated by the symbol #. When this does occur, verse lines are often run-on, and this is indicated by the symbol // at the end of the verse line. It will be recalled that in the classical understanding of the term 'run-on' (or 'enjambed') the notion of continuity of syntax is implied, but within our material this is very seldom the case, and the symbol // should be read as meaning that the next series of temporal pulses is perceived without a breath or silent pulse intervening (see Chapters Two and Four for discussion of this aspect).Silent pulses are indicated by the zero symbol 0. Breaks between call and response are indicated by *.

Stanzaic breaks are indicated by the repetition of the symbol for breath breaks, i.e. ##.

Above and on the right hand side of the rhythmical transcription are the letters S:P, which is a representation of the number of syllables (S) in each verse line which is based on a pulse series made up of a certain number of pulses (P), which will be either 8,12 or 16.

Vowels which are perceived as lengthened appear twice, viz e - e; syllables which correspond to the stroke of a G-phrase are capitalised, viz.-LA-Silent pulses which are accompanied by a G-stroke are indicated by underlining the zero symbol 0.

The simple melodies which accompany many of the poems are given in an Appendix II:295 ff. Literary versions found in published works are referred to parenthetically [within square brackets] at the conclusion of the entry for each poem, and are presented in reproduced form in Appendix III:300 ff.

It will be obvious from the transcriptions that not all of the above elements are present in every performance. For the sake of uniformity however, the numbering of the framework will be maintained.

In 2.1, numbers in round brackets after Nouns denote the Noun Class number, using the Meinhof classification e.g. gomu (5) ''arge protruding forehead'.

1. A HI ME MFENHE ME

1.1 Two versions of this poem were recorded, at Hlaketo (Video 11: Tape 1-8) and at Burgersdorp (Video 21:Tape 1-21). The poems were, on both occasions, chanted in unison, with the Hlaketo concert context being less relaxed that the Burgersdorp spontaneous concert context. The verse lines are strongly rhythmical and pronounced textural and textual body movements occur. The text of the Burgersdorp recording is used as basis for description of the poem. This version, version A, consists of an introductory stanza of two verse lines, followed by nine four-line stanzas.

1.2.1

```
      +        {}.   {}.
=1=   A hi me mfenhe me,
      It's not me that's a baboon me,

       + {}^{}^   {}
 2    Hi me munhu me,
      No, I am a person.

      {}^  {}^
=3=   Kasi gomu leri?
      But this bulging forehead?

      +
 4    A hi gomu leri,
      This isn't a bulging forehead,

      +   {^
 5    I kepisi leyi
      This is the cap

       +   {^
 6    Ya majaha leyi.
      Of the young men.

       +          {}    {}
=7=   Kasi min'wala leyi?
      But these nails?

      + {}       {}   {}
 8    A hi min'wala leyi,
      Those aren't nails,

      {}{}  {}   {}
 9    I tiforoko leti
      Those are the forks

      {} {}{}   {}
10    Ya majaha leti.
      Of the young men.
```

```
                 {}
=11=  Kasi matihlo lawa?
      But these eyes?

       {}
 12   A hi matihlo lawa,
      These aren't eyes,

          {}
 13   I matochi lawa
      These are the torches

       {}
 14   Ya majaha lawa.
      Of the young men.

        +      {^
=15=  Kasi mhompfu leyi?
      But this nose?

 16   A hi mhompfu leyi,
      This isn't a nose,

 17   I tipipi leti
      These are the  pipes

 18   Ya majaha leti.
      Of the young men.

        +       {}^
=19=  Kasi marhimila lawa?
      But this nasal mucus?

     {}.{}.   {}.    {}.
 20   A hi marhimila lawa,
      This isn't nasal mucus,

        +
 21   I khondaso leyi
      This is the condensed milk

       {}.  {}.  {}.
 22   Ya majaha leyi.
      Of the young men.

        +          {}.  {}.
=23=  Kasi switshamo leswi?
      But these buttocks?

     {}.{}.     {}.  {}.
 24   A hi switshamo leswi,
      Those aren't buttocks,
```

```
                {}
=11=  Kasi matihlo lawa?
      But these eyes?

      {}
 12   A hi matihlo lawa,
      These aren't eyes,

          {}
 13   I matochi lawa
      These are the torches

          {}
 14   Ya majaha lawa.
      Of the young man.

        +       (^
=15=  Kasi mhompfu leyi?
      But this nose?

 16   A hi mhompfu leyi,
      This isn't a nose,

 17   I tipipi leti
      These are the  pipes

 18   Ya majaha leti.
      Of the young man.

        +         {}^
=19=  Kasi mavhimila lawa?
      But this nasal mucus?

     {}.{}.   {}.    {}.
 20   A hi mavhimila lawa,
      This isn't nasal mucus,

        +
 21   I khondase leyi
      This is the condensed milk

       {}.  {}.  {}.
 22   Ya majaha leyi.
      Of the young man.

        +          {}.  {}.
=23=  Kasi switshamo leswi?
      But these buttocks?

     {}.{}.     {}.  {}.
 24   A hi switshamo leswi,
      These aren't buttocks,
```

```
      {}.{}.{}. {}.
25    I  masofa lawa
      These are the sofas

      {}.{}.{}. {}.
26    Ya majaha lawa.
      Of the young men.

          {}  {}   {}
=27=  Kasi mavoya lawa?
      But this fur?

      {}{}   {}   {}
28    A hi mavoya lawa,
      This isn't fur,

      {}{} {}   {}
29    I tingoti leti
      These are the strings

      {} {}{}   {}
30    Ya majaha leti.
      Of the young men.

      +  +   +    +
=31=    ¿i ncila lowu?
      But this tail?

32    A hi ncila lowu,
      This isn't a tail,

            +    +
33    I xamboko leyi
      This is the ejambok

       +  + +    +
34    Ya majaha leyi.
      Of the young men.

                /S     \S
=35=  Kasi milenge leyi?
      But these legs?

      /S\S   /S    \S
36    A hi milenge leyi,
      These aren't legs,

      /S\S/S    \S
37    I tibutsu leti
      These are the boots

      /S \S/S   \S
38    Ya majaha leti.
      Of the young men.
```

3: gomu ~ gomo (5), refers derogatively to a large protruding forehead. The more usual word is mombe (3).

21: khondese, cf. masi ya khondese (T&O:61.) 'condensed milk'

37: tibutsu (11) has an alternative plural in mabutsu (6), and is derived from the English 'boots'.

1.2.2

Version b is shorter by one stanza, and the order of the stanzas is different from that in version a above.

version a	version b
gomu	gomu
min'wala	matihlo
matihlo	tinhompfu 'nostrils'
nhompfu	voya
marhimila	min'wala
switshamo	switshamo
voya	milenge
ncila	ncila
milenge	

1.3.1 Body movements

version a

line 3:	hands brought up twice to point at forehead
lines 7-8:	hands waving; fingers moving in scratching motion to indicate long nails
line 11:	hands pointing to eyes
line 15:	hands pointing to nose
line 19:	hands pointing to nose again
lines 23-26:	hands beating buttocks
lines 27-30:	hands rubbing over trunk, up and down movements
lines 35-38:	stamping of feet plus arm movements indicative of marching

The children's body movements in version a are very rhythmical and controlled. Body parts are indicated with precise indicative textual movements; the covering and protective function of body fur is shown by the symbolic textual movements accompanying lines 27-30, while during the performance of lines 35-38, symbolic marching movements describe the function of the tibutsu. Textural claps initiate 13 of the 38 verse lines

In version b, almost identical indicative movements are made, but with less enthusiasm. The children appear slightly over-awed by the presence of teacher, spectators and observer.

1.4 Rhythmical analysis

Both versions of this poem are strongly rhythmical, based on Type I 8-pulse pattern.

Verse lines coincide with breath group throughout, and the silent pulse coincides with the intake of breath. This confers on the performance a very insistent rhythm.

version 1

verse line									S:P
	X	x	x	x	X	x	x	x	
1	h	hi	me	-e	MFE	-nhe	MI'	0	6:8
2	HI	-i	ME	-e	MIN	-nhe	MI'	0##	7:8
3	KA	-a	-si	-i	GO	-mu	lor'	0	6:8
4	A	-a	hi	-i	go	-mu	lor'	0	6:8
5	I	-i	he	-e	-PI	-si	ley'	0	6:8
6	YA	-a	ma	-a	-JA	-ha	ley'	0##	6:8
7	KA	-a	-si	mi	-N'WA-	-la	LEY'	0	7:8
8	A	-a	HI	mi	-N'WA-	-la	LEY'	0	7:8
9	I	-i	TI	-fo	-NO	-ko	LEE'	0	7:8
10	TA	-a	MA	-a	-JA	-ha	LEE'	0##	6:8
11	ka	-a	-si	ma	-TI	-hlo	law'	0	7:8
12	A	-a	hi	ma	-ti	-hlo	law'	0	7:8
13	i	-i	ma	-a	-TO	-chi	law'	0	6:8
14	ya	-a	ma	-a	-JA	-ha	law'	0##	6:8
15	KA	-a	-si	-i	NHO	-mpfu	ley'	0	6:8
16	a	-a	hi	-i	nho	-mpfu	ley'	0	6:8
17	i	-i	ti	-i	-pi	-pi	let'	0	6:8
18	ta	-a	ma	-a	-ja	-ha	let'	0##	6:8
19	KA	-a	-si	ma	-NHI	-mil'	law'	0	8:8
20	A	-a	HI	ma	-NHI	-mil'	LAW'	0	8:8
21	I	-i	hho	-o	-nde	-si	ley'	0	6:8
22	YA	-a	ma	-a	-JA	-ha	ley'	0##	6:8
23	KA	-a	-si	swi	-TSHA-	-mo	LESW'	0	7:8
24	A	-a	HI	swi	-TSHA-	-mo	LESW'	0	7:8
25	I	-i	MA	-a	-SO	-fa	LAW'	0	6:8
26	YA	-a	MA	-a	-JA	-ha	LAW'	0##	6:8
27	ka	-a	-si	MA	-VO	-ya	LAW'	0	7:8
28	A	-a	HI	ma	-VO	-ya	LAW'	0	7:8
29	I	-i	TI	-i	-NOO	-ti	LET'	0	6:8
30	TA	-a	MA	-a	-JA	-ha	LET'	0##	6:8
31	KA	-a	-SI	-i	NCI	-la	LOW'	0	6:8
32	a	-a	hi	-i	noi	-i	low'	0	6:8
33	i	-i	ma	-a	-MBO	-ko	ley'	0	6:8
34	YA	-a	MA	-a	-JA	-ha	ley'	0##	6:8
35	ka	-a	-si	mi	-LE	-mge	LEY'	0	7:8
36	A	-a	HI	mi	-Lc	-mge	LEY'	0	7:8
37	I	-i	TI	-i	-NU	-ksu	LEE'	0	6:8
38	TA	-a	MA	-a	-JA	-ha	LET'	0##	6:8

version b

verse line									S:P
1	a	hi	mi	-na	mfe	-e	-nhe	0	6:8
2	hi	MI	-i	-MA	MU	-u	-nhu	0##	6:8
3	KA	-a	-si	-i	GO	-mu	ler'	0	6:8
4	A	-a	hi	-i	GO	-mu	ler'	0	6:8
5	I	-i	ke	-e	-PI	-si	ley'	0	6:8
6	YA	-a	ma	-a	-JA	-ha	ley'	0##	6:8
7	KA	-a	-SI	ma	-TI	-hlo	LAN'	0	7:8
8	A	-a	HI	ma	-TI	-hlo	LAN'	0	7:8
9	I	-i	TI	-i	-TO	-chi	LEY'	0	6:8
10	TA	-a	MA	-a	-JA	-ha	LEY'	0##	6:8
11	KA	-a	-SI	ti	-NHO	-mpfu	LEY'	0	7:8
12	A	-a	HI	ti	-NHO	-mpfu	LEY'	0	7:8
13	I	-i	TI	-i	-PI	-pi	LEY'	0	6:8
14	TA	-a	MA	-a	-JA	-ha	LEY'	0##	6:8
15	KA	-a	-SI	-i	VO	-ya	LEBY'	0	6:8
16	A	-a	HI	-i	VO	-ya	LEBY	0	6:8
17	I	-i	TI	-i	-NGO	-ti	LEY'	0	6:8
18	TA	-a	MA	-a	-JA	-ha	LEY'	0##	6:8
19	KA	-a	-SI	mi	-N'WA-la		LEY'	0	7:8
20	A	-a	HI	mi	-N'WA-la		LEY'	0	7:8
21	I	-i	TI	-fo	-RO	-ko	LEY'	0	7:8
22	TA	-a	MA	-a	-JA	-ha	LEY'	0##	6:8
23	KA	-a	-SI	swi	-TSHA-mo		LESW'	0	7:8
24	A	-a	HI	swi	-ZSHA-mo		LESW'	0	7:8
25	I	-i	MA	-a	-RO	-fa	LAW'	0	6:8
26	YA	-a	MA	-a	-JA	-ha	LAW'	0##	6:8
27	KA	-a	-SI	mi	-LE	-nge	LEY'	0	7:8
28	A	-a	HI	mi	-LE	-nge	LEY'	0	7:8
29	I	-i	MA	-a	-SU	-tsu	LAW'	0	6:8
30	YA	-a	MA	-a	-JA	-ha	LAW'	0##	6:8
31	KA	-a	-SI	-i	NCI	-la	LOW'	0	6:8
32	A	-a	HI	-i	NCI	-la	LOW'	0	6:8
33	I	-i	SA	-a	-MSO	-ko	LEY'	0	6:8
34	YA	-a	NA	-a	-JA	-ha	LEY'	0##	6:8

[A written version is found in Nkuna:15. It consists of two introductory verse lines, followed by six four-line stanzas. The sequence of stanzas differs from both version a and version b above, viz. gomu - matihlo - marhimila - voya -switshamo - milenge]. (Appendix III:300)

2 A KU RI NA XINYANYANA

2.1 One version of this poem was recorded, at Burgersdorp (Video 33: Tape 1-3½). It consists of three stanzas sung in unison. The first two stanzas are of four verse lines, and the final one of six verse lines. It would appear, comparing this version with that of Nxwangana (Rasengane:15) (cf. Appendix II:301) that the poem was incorrectly sung, and verse lines 11 and 13 (stanza 3) should not have been repeated. The poem is sung to two simple melody lines.

2.2.1

=1= A ku ri na xinyanyana
There was a little bird

{}. {}^ {}.
2 Xi tshama exisakeni
Sitting in a nest

{}. {}. {}.
3 A xi navela ku haha,
It wanted to fly,

{}. {}. {}.
4 A xi navela ku haha.
It wanted to fly.

{}. {}.
=5= A ku ri na xinhwelana
There was a little louse

{^ {^
6 Xi tshama enhlokweni
Sitting on a head

{^ {^
7 A xi navela ku luma,
It wanted to bite,

{^ {^
8 A xi navela ku luma.
It wanted to bite.

}. }.
=9= Ndzi suka ndzi teka xisibi
I get up and take the soap

/S\S/S\S /S\S
10 Ndzi rhelela nambyeni
I go down to the river

----
11 Ndzi ye hlantswa xinhwalana,
I am going to wash out the little louse,

~~~~~~~~~~~~~

12 Ndzi ya hlantswa xinhwalana.
I am going to wash out the little louse.

~~~~~~~~~~~~~

13 Ndzi xi khulukisa na mati,
I flush it out with water,

~~~~~~~~~~~~~

14 Ndzi xi khulukisa na mati.
I flush it out with water.

2.3.1 Body movements

lines 3-4: both hands moving in an symbolic textual flying motion
line 6: hand to touch head in an indicative textual movement
lines 7-8: four imitative textual biting gestures
line 10: alternate left-right arm and foot imitative marching movements
lines 11-12: imitative textual movements indicating washing of hair
lines 13-14: both hands moving away from the body, in 2 rinsing or flushing imitative movements

(For the accompaning melody, see Appendix II:295)

2.4 *Rhythmical analysis*

The rhythm of this sung poem is based on Type II and III 8-pulse patterns, with compensation where a Type III pattern follows a Type II pattern

verse line	x)	x	X	x	x	x	X	x	(x	
1		a	ku	ri	na	xi	-nya	-nya	-na	8:8
2		xi	TSWA	-ma	E		-x'sa-KE	-en'//(a		8:8
3	a	xi	NA	-ve	-LA	ku	HA	-ha	//(a	8:8
4	a	xi	NA	-ve	-LA	ku	HA	-ha	O ##	8:8
5		a	KU	ri	na	xi	-NWWA-la		-na	8:8
6		xi	TSWA	-ma	e		-nhlo-kwe	-en'//(a		7:8
7	a	xi	NA	-ve	-la	ku	LU	-ma	//(a	8:8
8	a	xi	NA	-ve	-la	ku	LU	-ma	O ##	8:8
9		ndzi	SU	-ka	a'ta	-ka	X'SI	-ih'	O	9:8
10		ndzi	RHE	-LE	-LA	'NA	-MBYE-EN'	//(ndzi		8:8
11	ndzi	ya	hla	-ntswa	xi	-nhwa-la		-na	//(ndzi	8:8
12	ndzi	\a	hla	-ntswa	xi	-nhwa-la		-na	//(ndzi	8:8
13	ndzi	xi	khu	-lu		-k'sa na	ma	-ns'	//(ndzi	9:8
14	ndzi	xi	khu	-lu		-k'sa na	ma	-a	-ti ##	9:8

(Rasengane's version has identical words as the version recorded at Burgersdorp, but his final stanza consists of four unrepeated verse lines). (Appendix:301)

3 AVUXENI MPHEPHU

3.1 This poem was recorded at Mhureni (Video 40; Tape 1-43). It is chanted in a unison monotone. Apart from the initial salutation given by the boys, the rest of the poem is chanted by the girls. Rhythmical control is not very strong in this performance, which appeared to be hesitant and unsure. The poem consists of one stanza of *32 identifiable verse lines*. The initial verse lines were particularly unclear, and have not been considered for analytical purposes.

3.2.1

=1= Avuxeni Mphephu! (Boys)
Good morning, Mphephu!

2 Xi! Kasi a hi mina Mphephu, (Girls)
Xi! But I'm not Mphephu,

3 Hi mina N'waTholatholani
I am N'waTholatholani

4 Xa ku *tshika ndlela*
The one leaving the road

/S \S/S
5 Xi famba hi nhova.
It goes through the bush.

6 Vanhwanyana va lomu
The girls from that place

7 Vona ni vona
They themselves

8.
8 Vo teka xibakitana
They take a small bucket

{. {. {.{.
9 Vo bakutela
They just draw water

10 Hvutsongwanini (?)
In early childhood (?)

11 Ya ka N'waMangoro
The one of N'waMangoro

12 Kasi N'waMangoro
But N'waMangoro

13 A nga famba tolo
She left yesterday

14 **Ni xiyisa xikulu**
By the big thing

15 **Xa magandlandlela**
Of the road-stamper

16 **Ndlela va nga gandli,**
They did not stamp the road,

17 **Va gandla nchochwani.**
They stamp the little tassel.

18 **Kuku leyi nga kona**
The hen which is there

19 **Yo tshikela mandza**
The one laying eggs

(.

20 **Ni tsutsu wa yona**
And its yolk

21 **Swonga tihokwe**
Like parrots

22 **Hokwe ya mananga**
The parrot of the desert

(23 tape unclear....)

9: -bakutela from the ideophone **baku** 'of drawing water in a closed container' (C). Cuénod also has -bakuta 'scoop or ladle out water'

14: **xiyisa** (7) refers to any large, heavy object

15: **magandlandlela** (6) a compound noun formed from -**gandla** 'to stamp' and **ndlela** 'road'. Possibly, 'a steam-roller'.

17: > **nchocho** (3) 'head of papyrus, millet, sorghum' (C), with the diminutive suffix -**ana**

21: **tihokwe** (11) more usually **vahokwe** (2a), 'generic name for parrots' (C).

It is difficult to determine a coherent meaning for this poem,and no other versions were encountered during the recording period. No written versions exist in Tsonga literature.

3.3 Body movements

line 5: three imitative textual steps taken, indicating the movement of leaving

line 8: bending down, imitative textual movment, of picking up something

line 9: four textural baton hand movements, beating time

3.4 Rhythmical analysis

This poem is rhythmically organised, apart from the third verse line, by Type I 8-pulse pattern.

verse line									S:P
		X	x	x	x	X	x	x	x	
(1		tape not sufficiently clear.....								
2								.....)		
3	hi	min' Nwa		-Thola-tho		-la	-a	-ni		9:8
4		xa	-a	k'tshi-ka		ndle	-e	-la	0	6:8
5		xi	PA	-mba	hi	NHO	-o	-VA	0	6:8
6		va	-nkwa-nyan'		va	lo	-o	-wu	0	7:8
7		vo	-o	-na	ni	vo	-o	-na	0	5:8
8		vo	TE	-ka	K'hak'-tsa		-a	-na	0	8:8
9		VO	-o	BA	-ku	-TE	-e	-LA	0	5:8
10		e	-vu	-tso	-ngwa	-ni	-i	-ni	0	6:8
11		ya	ka	N'wa	-Ma	-ngo	-o	-ro	0	6:8
12		ka	-si	N'wa	-Ma	-ngo	-o	-ro	0	6:8
13		A	nga	fa	-mba	to	-o	-lo	0	6:8
14		hi	-i	x'yi	-sa	x'ku	-u	-lu	0	7:8
15		xa	ma	-ga	-ndla	-ndle	-e	-la	0	6:8
16		ndlo-la		va	nga	ga	-a	-ndli	0	6:8
17		va	ga	-ndla	ncho	-chwa	-a	-ni	0	6:8
18		hu	-hu	ley'	nga	ko	-o	-na	0	7:8
19		yo	tshi	-ke	-la	ma	-a	-ndza	0	6:8
20		ni	TSU	-tsu	wa	yo	-o	-na	0	6:8
21		swo	-nge	-e		ti	-ho	-o	-kwe	0	5:8
22		ho	-kwe	ya	ma		-na	-a	-nga	0	6:8
23		tape unclear....)								

4.1 CHAVA NKANDLO

This simple two line poem was recorded at Burgersdorp (Video 48: Tape 1-53). It is chanted rapidly in unison in the play context, during the playing of a cat-and-mouse game. The words are accompanied by rapid claps, the two verse lines forming a continually repeated couplet.

4.2.

1 + + + +
Chava nkandlo!
Look out, mouse!

+ + + +
2 Ximanga xa ku luma.
The cat is biting you.

4.3.1 Body movements

There are four textural baton claps per verse line.

4.3.2

The game is played by a group of boys and girls. One child is chosen to be the 'cat' and another to be the 'mouse'. No specific procedures were involved in the choice of these two players. The children stand in a circle, and the cat runs around, trying to catch the mouse. The children try to prevent the mouse from escaping through to the outside of the circle, but do not seem particularly concerned if this should happen. Eventually the mouse is caught. The children chant the poem, clapping out the rhythm as the verse lines are repeated. In most of the many versions of this game described by Iona and Peter Opie, the children in the ring, by holding hands, either try to prevent the cat from catching the mouse, or protect the mouse from being caught (Opie:114-5).

4.4 Rhythmical analysis

The rapid hand claps emphasize the regular rhythm of this sung poem, performed to Type I and II 8-pulse patterns, with compensation at the end of the first verse line.

verse line										
	x)	X	x	x	x	X	x	x	(x	5:P
1		CHA	-a	-VA	-a	NKO	-o	-NDLO	[xi	4:8
2	xi	-KA	-nga	ZA	ku	LU	-um'	Q	##	7:8

5. CHELA CHELA

5.1 Two versions of this poem were recorded, the first at Mbhureni during the exploratory trip (Tape 1-63), and the second at Burgersdorp (Video 55: Tape 1-67). The two versions differ very little, the Burgersdorp text is taken as the basis for discussion. Both performances were spontaneous, the children producing the poem without teacher intervention in the first case, and as one of a series of self-chosen poems in the second. At Mbhureni, the concert context was more marked, while at Burgersdorp the group and context were quite informal. The poem was chanted in unison in both instances, while at Burgersdorp the children squatted down on the ground, imitating frogs.

5.2.1

version a

	↓	↓
1	Chela, chela,	
	Frog, frog,	

```
                +                +
2       Loko ri -lxi vona,
        When it sees me,

                +       B^          +B^
3       Ri ku tlhukwa!¹ tlhukwa!
        It jumps, jumps,

                +                 + -/ /-
4       Nenge wu ku bara o!
        The leg goes sprawling ou ., oh!

                + -\ \- + -/ /-
5       Bara o! bara o!
        Sprawling out oh! sprawling out oh!
```

3: tlhukwa! Ideophone 'jumping up in surprise' (C)

4: barara! Ideophone 'lying sprawled out; be low or squat' (C). This ideophone either in its full form or in the shorter form bara, can also refer to anything big and rubbery which drops heavily onto the ground, e.g. an elephant's foot.

5.2.2

version b differs from the above only in verse line 3, which has ro in place of ri ku i.e. ro tlhukwa 'it just jumps'

5.3.1 Body movements

These are circumscribed by the children's squatting down, which we can describe as a descriptive textual position, rather than 'movement', in that their crouched and rounded position is a physical representation of the size and shape of the frog. From the squatting position, they perform imitative movements as shown below.

line 3: the bodies bounce up-down twice

lines 4-5: coinciding with the three occurrences of bara, there are three sideways kicking movements of left-right-left leg with the leg being pulled back on each ejaculation o! These represent the sideways kick of the frog.

During the second recitation of the poem, some of the spectating children clapped out the rhythm, two claps per verse line on each of the stressed syllables.

5.4 Rhythmical analysis

The rhythmical pattern is regular Type I 8-pulse pattern.

verse S:P
line

version a

	X	x	x	x	X	x	x	x	
1	CHE	-e	-la	-a	CHE	-e	-la	0//	4:8
2	LO	-ko	ri	ndzi	VO	-o	-na	0//	6:8
3	RI	ku	TLHU	-kwa	TLHU	-u	-kwa	0	6:8
4	NE	-nge	wu	ku	BA	-ra	0	-o//	7:8
5	BA	-ra	0	-o	BA	-ra	0	-o	6:8

version b (No analysis of body movement available)

1	che	-e	-la	-a	che	-e	-la	0//	4:8
2	lo	-ko	ri	ndzi	vo	-o	-na	0	6:8
3	ro	-o	tlhu	-kwa	tlhu	-u	-kwa	0	5:8
4	ne	-nge	wu	ku	ba	-ra	o	-o	7:8
5	ba	-ra	o	-o	ba	-ra	o	-o	7:8

6 HAMBI U TA VUYA RINI?

6.1 This poem is sung to a simple repeated melody. It was recorded at Burgersdorp (Video 59: Tape 1-72). The song accompanies a dance like game and is sung in unison with hands clapping the rhythm. It consists of one stanza and a refrain which are repeated throughout the game. Both stanza and refrain are made up of two repeated verse lines.

6.2

```
                /S    s    \S    s
                +     +    +     +
      =1=       Hambi u ta vuya rini?
                Indeed, when will he return?

                /S  s  \S  s
                +   +  +   +
      2         Jo jo flayi
                George flayi

      3-4       ....as lines 1-2

                /S \S /S\S /S \S /S\S
                <  +  + + +  +  +  + +
(Rf)=5=         Xi le le   le le le (xi)
                Fi le le   le le le

      6         ....as line 5
```

2: jo jo flayi possibly a corruption of 'George' and an unidentifiable surname.

5: Some of the children concluded this line with xi

6.3.1 Body movements

The body movements are all textural baton movements, timing out the musical rhythm.

lines 1-4: (stop-skip) x8, together with 8 claps
lines 5-8.1& steps, while twirling around, with hands on hips;
change of direction between steps 8 and 9; with 16 claps.

6.3.2 Game

The children stand in a circle, both boys and girls taking part. While everyone sings, one child skips from the middle of the circle towards another child. They link arms, twirl around once, change direction pausing briefly to place hands on hips, then twirl around once more in the opposite direction. The second child then moves into the centre of the ring and the process is repeated. The actions are strongly reminiscent of some of the movements in Scottish country dancing, e.g. in an eightsome reel.

(For accompanying melody, see Appendix II:295)

6.4 Rhythmical analysis

The rhythm of this sung poem is tightly controlled by the music of the song, and is regular Type I 8-pulse pattern.

verse line									S:P
	X	x	x	x	X	x	x	x	
1	HA	-a	-MB'U	ta	VU	-ya	RI	-ni	8:8
2	JO	-o	-JO	-o	FLA	-a	-YI	0	3:5
3	HA	-a	-MB'U	ta	VU	-ya	RI	-ni	7:8
4	JO	-o	-JO	-o	FLA	-a	-YI	##	3:8
5	XI	-i	LE	-e	LE	-e	-E	0	3:5
6	LE	-e	LE	-e	LE	-e	-E	##	3:8

7 HEKELEHEKE

7.1 This poem was recorded at Mbhuroni (Video 7: Tape 1-97). The poem is chanted as accompaniment to a game which involved walking around in a circle. There seemed to be no particular purpose to the game, and the children were unable to explain why they played it the way they did. The poem consists of a basic antiphonal pattern, within a three-line stanza. The initial stanza is preceded by a single call-response, which initiates the game. The meaning of the poem is conveyed by the caller, while the rest of the group respond with heke which are meaningless euphonic syllables. Apart from the regular stepping movement around the circle, there were no observable body movements.

7.2.

1 (Ch) Hekeleheke.(R) Heke.
Hekelehoke. Heke.

=2= (Ch) Hekelehoke.(R) Heke.
Hekelehoke. Heke.

3 (Ch) La nga ta chupula, (R) Heke.
The one who will wriggle free, Heke.

4 (Ch) I n'wana xipululu. (R) Heke.
Is the child of a lizard. Heke.

=5= (Ch) Hekelehoke. (R) Heke.
Hekelehoke. Heke.

(6 (Ch) La nga ta (???). (R) Heke.).....omitted

7 (Ch) I n'wana donki. (R) Heke.
Is the child of a donkey. Heke.

=8= (Ch) Hekelehoke. (R) Heke.
Hekelehoke. Heke.

9 (Ch) La nga ta tshika, (R) Heke.
The one who will give up, Heke.

10 (Ch) I n'wana mbyana. (R) Heke.
Is the child of a dog. Heke.

=11= (Ch) Hekelehoke. (R) Heke.
Hekelehoke. Heke.

12 (Ch) La nga ta tsutsuma,(R) Heke.
The one who will run, Heke.

13 (Ch) I n'wana xibodze. (R) Heke.
Is the child of a tortoise. Heke.

=14= (Ch) Hekelehoke.(R) Heke.
Hekelehoke. Heke.

4: n'wana xipululu, donki, mbyana, xibodze, are common derogatory terms used by Tsonga children at play.

7.3. Body movements

It is difficult to discern rhythmical movements in this game, as the children tended to shuffle around the circle in an uncoordinated fashion.

7.4 Rhythmical analysis

Rhythmical control in this chanted poem was loose and the performance tended

to be ragged. The rhythmical pattern perceived was that of a 12-pulse verse line, patterned by three strong pulses. The large majority of the lines are initiated by a strong pulse, but verse lines containing the copulative structure were initiated by an unstressed pulse, which, by compensation, fills the last slot of the preceding verse line.

No syllables have been capitalized in the rhythmical transcription as movements were uncoordinated and shuffling of the feet, rather than clearly observable textural stepping, characterized the performance.

verse
line

		x) X	x	x	x	X	x	x	x	X	x	(x		
1			ha	-a	-ke	-le	-ho	-e	-ke	*	ha	-e	-ke	0	7:12
2			ha	-e	-ke	-le	-ha	-e	-ke	*	ha	-e	-ke	##	7:12
3			la	nga	ta	chu	-pu	-u	-lu	*	ha	-e	-ke	[i	8:12
		i	n'wa-a	-na	xip'	-lu	-u	-lu	*	ha	-e	-ke	##	9:12
5			ha	-e	-ke	-le	-ho	-e	-ke	*	ha	-e	-ke	0	7:12
6		(.....?)													
7		i	n'wa-a	-na	-a	do	-o	-nki	*	ha	-e	-ke	##	7:12
8			ha	-a	-ke	-le	-ho	-e	-ko	*	ha	-e	-ke	0	7:12
9			la	-a	nga	ta	tshi	-i	-ka	*	ha	-e	-ke	[i	7:12
10		i	n'wa-a	-na	-a	mbya	-a	-na	*	ha	-e	-ke	##	7:12
11			ha	-a	-ke	-le	-ho	-e	-ka	*	ha	-e	-ke	0	7:12
12			la	nga	ta	tru	-tsu	-u	-ma	*	ha	-e	-ke	[i	8:12
13		i	n'wa-a	-na	xi	-ho	-o	-dzo	*	ha	-e	-ke	##	8:12
14			ha	-a	-ke	-le	-ho	-e	-ko	*	ha	-e	-ke	0	7:12

8 **HEKELEHEKE....TSHAMA EHANSI!**

8.1 This chanted poem, with the same basic call-response pattern as poem 7 above, was recorded at Burgersdorp (Video 86: Tape 1-108). Again, the poem is the accompaniment to a game played in a circle, but the game, as described below, seemed to be more purposeful. The meaning of the verse lines is conveyed by the solo caller, with the response of the group being invariably **Heke!** Each stanza contains three verse lines, each of which is antiphonal. This poem has not been previously transcribed in the literature.

8.2.1

		().().()^().	()^().
=1=	(S)	**Hekelehekel**	(Ch) **Heke!**
		Hekelehekel	**Heke!**
		().()^().	()^().
2	(S)	Wena Popi!	(Ch) Heke!
		You there Popi!	Heke!
		(). ()^ ().	()^().
3	(S)	**Tshama ehansi!**	(Ch) **Heke!**
		Sit down!	**Heke!**

```
                    (). ()^().              ()^().
=4=   (S)  Hekeleheke!      (Ch) Heke!
           Hekeleheke!           Heke!

                    (). ()^().              ()^().
5     (S)  Wena Dan!        (Ch) Heke!
           You there Dan!        Heke!

                    (). ()^ ().             ()^().
6     (S)  Tshama ehansi!   (Ch) Heke!
           Sit down!             Heke!
```

The poem continues in this pattern, with the names of all the children in the ring - Paulo, Kondi, Mbi, Nwagu, Jo, Pinini, Henke, Seni, Adaniya, Ssni, Dodo, Joni, Josepha, Dorri, Hoaiai and Nandi -being substituted one by one in the second verse line of each stanza. The poem then continues:

```
                    (). ()^().              ()^().
1'    (S)  Hekeleheke!      (Ch) Heke!
           Hekeleheke!           Heke!

                    ().()^().               ()^().
2'    (S)  Na mina!         (Ch) Heke!
           And I too!            Heke!

                          (). ()^().              ()^().
3'    (S)  Ndzi ta tshama ehansi! (Ch) Heke!
           I will sit down!      Heke!


                    (). ()^().              ()^().
=4'=  (S)  Hekeleheke!      (Ch) Heke!
           Hekeleheke!           Heke!

                    ().()^ ().              ()^().
5'    (S)  Wena Adaniya!    (Ch) Heke!
           You there Adaniya!    Heke!

                    (). ()^().              ()^().
6'    (S)  Suka'n yima!     (Ch) Heke!
           Stand up!             Heke!

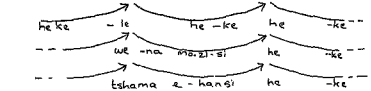
                    (). ()^().              ()^().
7'    (S)  Hinkwenu!        (Ch) Heke!
           All of you!           Heke!

                    ().()^    ().            ()^().
3'    (S)  Sukani mi yima!(Ch) Heke!
           Stand up!             Heke!
```

8.3.1 Body movements

As the children moved around in a ring, they slowly, holding hands, swung

their arms up and down. As they began to sit down when each name was called, obviously the walking movement ceased, but wherever it was possible they were still holding hands and swinging arms. The stepping movements were uncoordinated, but the arm movements can be described as textural baton movements. The movements indicated in the text refer to the movements of the arms of the caller, whenever she is visible on the recording. The other children's movements tended to drag behind here, and even to stop altogether; they seemed to find the game rather monotonous. High and low points of arm swing, viz the stroke of the G-phrase, coincide with stressed syllables as shown in the rhythmical transcription, and which can be visualised as follows:



8.3.2 Game

There seemed to be little purpose in the game except for the children to sit down, one by one, as the names were called out by the caller. After the last name was called, the caller herself sat down. She then started to call out the names again, starting with Adaniye, with the instruction to stand up, but since the group was a large one, she then, sensing that her friends had had enough of it, called on the whole group to stand up at once.

8.4 Rhythmical analysis

A detailed analysis of this poem will not be attempted, as it would be very repetitious. However, below are given the basic patterns for call-response, and for mono-, bi-, -tri- and polysyllabic names. The pattern is one of the two 12-pulse patterns, with three stressed pulses.

basic solo call and choral response

S:P

X	x	x	x	X	x	x	x	X	x	x	x		
HE	-e	-ke	-le	HE	-e	-ke	-e	* HE	-e	-ke	0	*	7:12

call with monosyllabic name and choral response

WE	-e	-na	-a	JO	-o	G	G	* HE	-e	-ke	0	*	5:12

call with bisyllabic name and choral response

WE	-e	-na	-a	DO	-o	-do	G	* HE	-e	-ke	0	*	6:12

call with trisyllabic name and choral response

WE -e -:a Jo -SH -e -fa 0 * HE -e -ke 0 * 7:12

call with polysyllabic name and choral response

WE -e -n'A -da -WI -i -ya 0 * HE -e -ke 0 * 8:12

9 HEYI SKELUMUNI!

9.1 This poem was recorded at Burgersdorp (Video 114: Tape 1-147). It accompanies a game of catch, played by boys and girls. The poem consists of one stanza of ten verse lines, chanted antiphonally, with one boy giving the initial call which starts the game off. As the game is played, the call is given by the growing group of those who are caught. The meaning of the verse lines is given both by call and response, which are of a dialogue nature. The context is one of play, and the game was obviously enjoyed by all the participants.

9.2

=1=	(S)	Heyi Skelumuni!	(Ch) Yebo!
		Heyi, Skelumuni!	Yes!
2	(S)	Ka n'we mi dya yini?	
		At your place what do you eat?	
3	(Ch)	Hi dya maxalata.	
		We eat sorghum.	
4	(S)	Tibuku-ke?	
		What about the fowls?	
5	(Ch)	Ti dya wusokoti.	
		They eat ants.	
6	(S)	Na khoma?	(Ch) Khomani!
		Should we catch you?	Catch!
7	(S)	Na honisa?	(Ch) Honisani!
		Should we let you pass?	Let us pass!

2: yebo!zulu affirmative

4: maxalata ~ maxalana (6) a species of sorghum (C)

9: -honisa 'used in a game of children, in which they catch one another and use the phrases ha honisa "we let you pass, we leave you alone", and honisani "let us pass, leave us alone" ' (C)

9.3.1 Body movements

The poem is rhythmical, *but is not accompanied by* coordinated body movements as the children run around in different directions, waiting for the end of the call.

9.3.2 Game

The game is played by boys and girls. *They stand in a group behind* an imaginary line while the boy who is 'on' stands some distance away. He initiates the game with the first solo call and the poem proceeds until the final choral response **Bonisani**, at which point the children run towards the boy, trying to pass behin. him beyond another imaginary line. He tries to catch them by touching as many of them as possible. Those who are caught then join him in initiating the poem again. Eventually all the children are caught, the last one then becoming the new solo caller when the game is *played again*. The game has been described three times in Tsonga literature, first by Marolen (Marolen:10-11) who includes it in his collection of boys' games. H W E Ntsan'wisi's description of the game in the Sub B reader in his *series* **Makombe-Ndlela** *(Ntsan'wisi,1971:37-38)* also includes reference to it being a boys' game, but the illustration in the reader shows children of both sexes playing the game. Johnston's reference to this poem as being related to **Mbita ya vulombe** *is confusing.* "**Ha Xikelewa** and **Mbita ya vulombe** are normally two separate game songs, but they are here found combined." (Johnston,1971:88 and 108). Johnston transcribes **Mbita ya vulombe** which he says "opens with **Ha Xikelewa** and other spoken lines" *(Johnston:loc.cit.)* but the game he describes is quite different from the game as described by Marolen and Ntsan'wisi and as observed at Burgersdorp. According to Johnston, it is the mention of honey which causes the two songs to combined into one game. The Opies give several versions of this game, closest probably being Black Peter, which has a history dating possibly as early as 1590 (Opie:124-131).

9.4 Rhythmical analysis

The rhythmical patterns in this poem were perceived only with difficulty, *as the rhythm* tended to be ragged. The first call response appears to be based on a 12-pulse pattern, while the rest of the poem is based on Type II 8-pulse pattern.

verse lines														8:P
		x	X	x	x	x	X	x	x	x	X	x	x x	
1			he	-ey'	ske	-lu	-au	-u	-ai	0	* ye	-e	bo -o*	8:12
2		ka	n'we	-e	ai	dya	yi	-i	-ai	*				6:8
3		hi	dya	-a	ma	-xa	-la	-a	-ta	*				6:8
4		ti	-hu	-u	-ku	-u	ko	-e	0	*				4:8
5		ti	dya	-a	vu	-so	-ko	-o	-ti	*				6:8
6		ha	kho	-o	-ma	* kho	-ma	-a	-ai	*				6:8
7		ha	ho	-nis'ho		-ni	-sa	-a	-ai	##				8:8

[Written versions Marolen:10-11 and Ntsan'wisi:10] (Appendix III:301)

10 EX WENA MANI WENA?

10.1 This chanted responsorial poem was recorded at Mbhurani (Video 135: Tape 1-179). It consists of a single 12 line stanza, made up of a question-answer dialogue. The questions are asked by the boys, and the answers are given by the girls. This performance took place in a concert context, and the children's performance style was frozen, which probably accounts for the lack of body movements.

10.2

1 Ni wena mani wena?
Who are you?

2 Ni mina N'waMhunguti.
I am the daughter of Mhunguti.

3 U ya kwihi wena?
Where are you going?

4 Mdzi ya kwale masin'wini.
I am going over there to the fields.

8.

5 U ya teka yini?
What are you taking?

6 Mdzi ya teka xikhwena.
I am taking a little clay pot.

7 Xa ku chela yini?
To pour out what?

8 Xa ku chela mphohwana.
To pour out a little millet.

9 Hlambanya wena!
Swear to this!

10 Hlambanya Mkhacani!
(I) swear by Mkhacani!

11 Engata kambe!
And again!

12 Kumdululuka Mkhacani!
Turn around Mkhacani!

10 HI WENA MWI WENA?

10.1 This chanted *responsorial* poem was recorded at Mbhuteni (*Video* 135: Tape 1-179). It consists of a single 12 line stanza, made up of a question-answer dialogue. The questions are asked by the boys, and the answers are given by the girls. This performance took place in a concert context, and the children's performance style was frozen, which probably accounts for the lack of body *movements*.

10.2

1 Hi wena mani wena?
Who are you?

(^

2 Hi mina N'waNhunguti.
I am the daughter of Nhunguti.

~(

3 U ya kwihi wena?
Where are you going?

4 Ndzi ya kwala masin'wini.
I am going over there to the *fields*.

S.

5 U ya teka yini?
What are you taking?

----

6 Ndzi ya teka xikhuwana.
I am taking a little clay pot.

*

7 Xa ku chela yini?
To pour out what?

*

8 Xa ku chela mphohwana.
To pour out a little millet.

)^

9 Hlambanya wena!
Swear to this!

)(^

10 Hlambanya Mkhacani!
(I) swear by Mkhacani!

11 Engeta kamba!
And again!

88----88

12 Hundzuluka Mkhacani!
Turn around Mkhacani!

8: mphoho (3) finger millet (*Eleusine coracana Gart.*)(*C*). > mphohwana a 'a small quantity of *millet*'

10.3.1 Body movements

The *childrens'* body movements tended to emphasise semantically important words rather than to be a rhythmical accompaniment to *it*.

line 2: indicative textual movement, pointing to self
line 3: an expressive textual movement, the boys *pointing* at the girls with a *certain disdain*
line 5: bending down to pick something up off the ground, an imitative textual gesture
line 6: hands together to indicate a round pot, moving the hands up and down, a descriptive textual movement
lines 7-8: an imitative textual movement of *scooping something* up
line 9: a symbolic textual *movement*, pointing upwards, the gesture used when taking an oath, or swearing by something
line 10: the girls repeat the gesture
line 12: girls turn around on the *spot*, imitating the action expressed by the verb.

10.4 Rhythmical analysis

The rhythmical *constraints* of this poem are not strong, probably due to the responsorial nature of the performance. Patterns of all three *types* of 8-pulse verse lines are perceived in the *performance*.

verse line											8:8
	x)	x)	X	x	x	x	X	x	(x	x)	
1			hí	we	-za	ma	-ni	we	-a	-na *		7:8
2			hí	MI	-na	N'wa	-Mhu	-ngu	-u	-ti *		8:8
3		u	ya	KWI	-i	hi	-í	we	-en'	*		6:8
4		ndzi	ya	kwa	-le	ma	-zi	-n'wi-in'		*		9:8
5		u	ya	TE	-ka	yi	-i	-ni	0	*		6:8
6		ndzi	ya	TE	-ka	ni	-khu	-wa	-en'	*		8:8
7				xa	ku	CHE	-la	yi	-i	-ni	0 *	6:8
8			xak'	CHE	-la	n	-pho	-hwa	-a	-na *		7:8
9			hla	-MBA	-a	-nya	we	-a	-na	0 *		5:8
10			hla	-MBA	-a	-nya	Mkha	-ca	-a	-ni *		6:8
11				a	-a	-nge	-ta	ka	-a	-mbe	0 *	5:8
12				HU		-ndzu-luk'Mkha		-ca	-a	-ni	0 *	7:8

(*A written version of this poem is found in Rasengane:32*) (Appendix *III:302*)

11 HURE HURE HURE

11.1 This unison sung poem, consisting of an introductory stanza of four verse lines, followed by eight three line stanzas, was recorded at Mbhureni during the introductory exploratory trip of April 1982 (Tape 1-186). No video equipment was available during this trip, thus no analysis of body movement has been possible. The structure of the poem shows incremental repetition in the object slot of the first verse line of each stanza.

11.2

=1=	Hure hure hure! Hurray, hurray, hurray!
2	Ahee, hi tsakile, Indeed we are happy,
3	Manana u swekile Mother has cooked
4	Vuswa ni xikevo. Porridge and relish.
=5=	U ta sweka na nakwembo She will also cook pumpkins
6	Akwembo (pumpkin)
7	A veka epotweni. Putting (them) in the pot.
=8=	U ta sweka na marhanga She will also cook marrows
9	Arhanga (marrow)
10	A veka epotweni. Putting (them) in the pot.
=11=	U ta sweka na swifake She will also cook moalies
12	Afake (moalie)
13	A veka epotweni. Putting (them) in the pot.
=14=	U ta sweka na xingwimbi She will also cook pumpkin

15 A[illegible]
([illegible])

16 A veka epotweni.
Putting (them) in the pot.

=17= U ta sweka na timanga
She will also cook peanuts

18 Amanga
(peanut)

19 A veka epotweni.
Putting (them) in the pot.

=20= U ta sweka na tindluwa
She will also cook cow peas

21 Adluva
(cow pea)

22 A veka epotweni.
Putting (them) in the pot.

=23= U ta sweka na tinyawa
She will also cook beans

25 Anyawa
(bean)

26 A veka epotweni.
Putting (them) in the pot.

=27= U ta sweka na xingwimbi
She will also cook pumpkin

28 Agwimbi
(pumpkin)

29 ....the song trailed off at this point.

1: hare Tsonga adoptive of English 'hurray'

5: Akwemba the second verse line of each stanza consists of a euphonic repetition of the root syllable of the noun used in the Object slot in the first line of each stanza.

11: swifake (8) are mealies which are boiled on the cob

14: xingwimbi (7) is a dish of cooked pumpkin, flavoured with ground nuts and salt

23: tinyawa (11) the generic name for dried beans

29: This poem could obviously go on for as long as a child could think of a suitable slot filler. Once inspiration dried up, and repetition was apparent, the song came to an end.

(For the melody accompanying this poem, see Appendix II:295)

11.4 Rhythmical analysis

The persistent song rhythm was very evident in this performance. The use of nonsense syllables as ma ntainers of rhythm and the simple and highly repetitive stanzaic structure reinforce the perception of rhythm. From the second stanza on, the first two verse lines are sung with one breath. The rhythm is based on Types II and III 8-pulse patterns. Only the first line of the poem follows the first type of 8-pulse pattern. Compensation occurs frequently between verse lines of different types.

verse line	x)	x)	I	x	x	x	I	x	(x	(x	S:P
1			bu	-re	hu	-re	hu	-re	0	[a	6:8
2		a	-he	hi	tsa	-ki	-le	-e	[na		6:8
3		ma	-na	-a	-na	u		swe	-ek'	-le	7:8
4		vu	-swa	ni	xi	-xe	-vo	-o	##[u		6:8
5	u	ta	swe	-ka	na	ma	-kwe	-e	-mbe//		8:8
6		a	-kwe	-o	-e	-e	-s	-e	-mbe		3:8
7		a	ve	-ka	'po	-twe	-ni	-i	##[u		7:8
8	u	ta	swe	-ka	na	ma	-rha	-a	-nga//		8:8
9		a	-rha	-a	-a	-a	-a	-a	-nga		3:8
10		a	ve	-ka	'po	-twe	-ni	-i##	[u		7:8
11	u	ta	swe	-ka	na	swi	-fa	-a	-ke//		8:8
12		a	-fa	-a	-a	-a	-a	-a	-ke		3:8
13		a	ve	-ka	'po	-twe	-ni	-i##	[u		7:8
14	u	ta	swe	-ka	na	xi	-ngwi	-i	-mbi//		8:8
15		a	-gui	-i	-i	-i	-i	-i	-mbi		3:8
16		a	ve	-ka	'po	-twe	-ni	-i##	[u		7:8
17	u	ta	swe	-ka	na	ti	-ma	-a	-nga//		8:8
18		a	-ma	-a	-a	-a	-a	-a	-nga		3:8
19		a	ve	-ka	'po	-twe	-ni	-i##	[u		7:8
20	u	ta	swe	-ka	na	ti	-ndlu	-u	-wa//		8:8
21		a	-dlu	-u	-u	-u	-u	-u	-wa		3:8
22		a	ve	-ka	'po	-twe	-ni	-i##	[u		7:8
23	u	ta	swe	-ka	na	ti	-nya	-a	-wa//		8:8
24		a	-nya	-a	-a	-a	-a	-a	-wa		3:8
25		a	ve	-ka	'po	-twe	-ni	-i##	[u		7:8
26	u	ta	swe	-ka	na	xi	-ngwi	-i	-mbi//		8:8
27		a	-gui	-i	-i	-i	-i	-i	-mbi		3:8
28		a	ve	-ka	'po	-twe	-ni	-i##	[u		7:8
29			.....								

[A written version of this poem occurs in Rasengane:16, in which inaccurate transcription of vowel repetition during performance of the second verse lines of each stanza disguises the rhythmical nature of the poem]. (cf. Appendix III:302)

12 KHANGALA

12.1 This poem was recorded at Hlaketo (Video 140: Tape 1-202). It consists of three four-line stanzas made up of couplets, followed by a two-line stanza made up of a single couplet. The poem is sung in unison as accompaniment to a simple game.

12.2

	* * * *	
=1=	Khangala khangala khangala	
	Khangala khangala khangala	
	* * * *	
2	Khangala khang'.	
	Khangala khang'.	
3-4	....as lines 1-2	
	* * * *	
=5=	I mandza ya yini?	
	What eggs are these?	
	* * * *	
6	I mandza ya tuva.	
	They are dove's eggs.	
7-8	....as lines 5-6	
	* *	
=9=	Teka khala ra wena!	
	Take your ember!	
	* * * *	
10	Ndza tshwa hi ndzilo.	
	I am being burnt by the fire.	
11-12	....as lines 9-10	
	* * * *	
=13=	Khangala teka, ndza tshwa tshwa!	
	Khangala take (it), I am burning, burning!	
14	...as line 13	

1: khangaka most likely a kind of bird, which I have not been able to identify

13: tswho the final -o is a characteristic of women's speech in Tsonga and is also often used by children

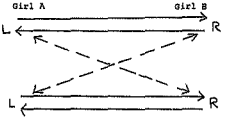
12.2.1 Body movements

Slow replay of the video cassette shows how the stones are passed from hand to hand in a rhythmical fashion with the words of the song being timed to coincide with the movements. These movements can be considered both as textural baton movements, as well as being affective textual movements, when they coincide with the verb teka, expressing the feeling of pain felt in the hands from the hot "eggs". The passing of the stones can be represented as follows:

(i) Stanzas 1 & 2 (lines 1-8). Stones passed from left to right hand, each girl making 32 movements.



(ii) Stanzas 3 & 4 (lines 9-14). Stones passed from Girl A to Girl B, each girl making 16 movements in stanza 3 and 8 movements in stanza 4



12.3.2 Game

The game is played by girls, sitting in pairs on the ground facing each other. It involves passing stones from hand to hand (stanzas 1 & 2), and from one girl to the other (stanzas 3 & 4), as rapidly as possible without dropping them. There does not seem to be any competetive element in the game. The use of khale, a burning ember, and -tawha indicate that the 'eggs' are being compared to stones heated in a fire.

(For the melody accompanying the game, see Appendix II:295)

12.4 Rhythmical analysis

The rhythmical pattern here is that of types one and two of the 8-pulse pattern. The first and third stanzas, as well as the concluding couplet are performed to the first 8-pulse pattern type, while the second stanza is performed to the second type.

verse line	x)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	(x	S:P
1		KHAngala	KHAngala	KHA	-nga	-A	-la			9:8
2		KHA	-nga	-A	-la	KHA	-a	-ANG'	0	4:8
3		KHAngala	KHAngala	KHA	-nga	-A	-la			9:8
4		KHA	-nga	-A	-la	KHA	-a	-ANG'	0##	4:8
5	i	MA	-a	-NDZA'-a		YI	-i	-MI		6:8
6	i	MA	-a	-NDZA'-a		TU	-u	-VA		6:8
7	i	MA	-a	-NDZA'-a		YI	-i	-NI		6:8
8	i	MA	-a	-NDZA'-a		TU	-u	-VA##		6:8
9		ta	-e	-ka	-a	KHAL'	ra	WEN'	0	7:8
10		NDZA	-a	tshwa-a		h'NDZI	-i	-LO	0	5:8
11		ta	-e	-ka	-a	KHAL'	ra	WEN'	0	7:8
12		NDZA	-a	tshwa-a		h'NDZI	-i	-LO	0##	5:8
13		KHAngala	TEK'	ndza	TSHWO-o			TSHWO-o	0	8:8
14		KHAngala	TEK'	ndza	TSHWO-o			TSHWO-o	0	8:8

[This poem has been transcribed by Ntsan'wisi and Rasengane (Ntsan'wisi:47-8; Rasengane:15] (Appendix III:303)

13 KWALE LE NKOVENI

13.1 This short one stanza poem was recorded at Burgersdorp (Video 146: Tape 1-212). The poem was chanted on a monotone in the spontaneous concert context which characterised the Burgersdorp performances. No published versions of this poem were found.

13.2.1

(). ()^

1 Kwale le nkoveni,
over there in the valley,

(). () ^ (). ()^

2 Kona eswimatanini,
There in the little pool,

(). ()^

3 Ku na N'wamachela.
There is the daughter of a frog.

(). () ^ (). ()^

4 Twana pongo ra kwe!
Listen to its noise!

(). () ^ (). ()^

5 Ko ko rhu! Ko ko rhu!
Ko ko rhu! Ko ko rhu!

(). () ^ (). ()^

6 Teka pha! Xi wela.
Take that! It falls down.

```
                ().   ()^ ().()^
7               Hi ya hoxetela,
                We keep on hitting it,

                   ().  ()^   ().()^
8               Ku hela pongo leri,
                This noise stops,

                   ().  ()^   ().()^
9               Ku hela pongo leri.
                This noise stops.
```

2: swimatana literally 'a small amount of water'

5: ko ko rhui Ideophones representing the croaking of the frog

6: phai Ideophone representing a smacking noise

13.3.1 Body movements

Accompanying body movements are regular arm swings, as in a marching movement, with the top point of the swing being reached two times in each verse line. These can all be described as textural baton movements of the arms.

13.4 Rhythmical analysis

The rhythm of this simple poem is regular and insistent. The first seven verse lines are performed to Type I of the 8-pulse patterns, while the last two verse lines are performed to the Type II pattern.

verse line x)	X	x	x	x	X	x	x	(x	S:P
1		kwa	-le	le	nko	-VE	-e	-NI	0	6:8
2		KO	-na	SW'MA-ta		-NI	-i	-hI	0	7:8
3		ku	na	N'wa	-sa	-CHE	-e	-LA	0	6:8
4		TWA	-na	PO	-ngo	RA	-a	-KWE	0	6:8
5		KO	ko	RHU	0	KO	ko	RHU	0	6:8
6		TE	-ka	PHA	xi	WE	-e	-LA	0	6:8
7		HI	ya	HO	-xe	-TE	-e	-LA	∮[ku	6:8
8	ku	HE	-la	PO	-ngo	LE	-e	-HI	[ku	7:8
9	ku	HE	-la	PO	-ngo	LE	-e	-HI		7:8

14 KWEE I MAMANA

14.1 A simple repeated one line melody accompanies this sung poem which was recorded at Mbhurani (Video 151: Tape 1-220). The poem is antiphonal in structure, but is sung in unison. There are no perceptible body movements on the visual recording of the performance. The poetic structure is one of incremental repetition, where the 'message' of the song is conveyed by changing one phrase in each final verse line.

14.2.1

1	Kwee! I manana, kwee! kwee! kwee! kwee! kwee! Kwee! There is mother, kwee! kwee! kwee! kwee! kwee! kwee!
2	Kwee! A vuyaka, kwee! kwee! kwee! kwee! kwee! Kwee! Who is coming back, kwee! kwee! kwee! kwee! kwee!
3	Kwee! Na xibodze, kwee! kwee! kwee! kwee! kwee! Kwee! With a tortoise, kwee! kwee! kwee! kwee! kwee!
4	Kwee! Hi ta swaka, kwee! kwee! kwee! kwee! kwee! Kwee! We will cook, kwee! kwee! kwee! kwee! kwee!
5	Kwee! Hi khula murhu, kwee! kwee! kwee! kwee! kwee! Kwee! We sip the gravy, kwee! kwee! kwee! kwee! kwee!

2: kwee! Ideophone for the noise a fowl makes when it is being caught

5: The tortoise is being compared to a fat chicken

9: -khula 'to sip a hot liquid, drink gingerly' (C)

(For the melody line accompanying this poem, see Appendix II:296)

14.4 Rhythmical analysis

This was the only poem encountered in which a 12-pulse pattern is perceived as carrying two beats rather than three (cf. poems 5 and 7 above). The musical rhythm interacts with the morphological rhythm created by the highly repetitive text to make this a very rhythmical performance.

verse line												S:P
	X	x	x	x	x	x	X	x	x	x	x	x	
1	kwee-e	i	ma	-na	-na	kwee-e	kwee	kwee	kwee	kwee	10:12
2	kwee-e	a	vu	-ya	-ka	kwee-e	kwee	kwee	kwee	kwee	10:12
3	kwee-e	na	xi	-bo	-dze	kwee-e	kwee	kwee	kwee	kwee	10:12
4	kwee-e	hi	ta	swe	-ka	kwee-e	kwee	kwee	kwee	kwee	10:12
5	kwee-e	h'khu	-la	wu	-rhu	kwee-e	kwee	kwee	kwee	kwee	11:12

15 LEXI I YIKOSIKOSI

Two versions of this chanted poem were recorded, the first at Sukani (Video 158: Tape 1-230), and the second at Mbhureni (Video 164: Tape 1-241). The Sukani version is taken as the basis of discussion, version a. The poem consists of 10 verse lines, the first 9 of which are made up of identical hemistiches. The children's body movements in both versions were descriptive of the text, rather than baton actions. The poem is obviously taught in

schools as a means of enabling the children to learn the names of body parts. The earliest literary version of this poem is found in P E Ntsan'wisi'e 1960 collection (Ntsan'wisi:48-9) where it carries the title Swirho 'parts of the body,limbs'

15.2.1

version A

1	Lexi i xikwikosi, lexi i xikosikosi. This is the nape, this is the nape.
2	Lexi i thavathava, lexi i thavathava. This is the fontanelle, this is the fontanelle.
3	() () () () () () Lowu i mombonkulu, lowu i mombonkulu. This is the big forehead, this is the big forehead.
4	Leswi i switsayitsayi, leswi i switsayitsayi. These are the eyes, these are the eyes.
5	() () Lexi i thimila-n'watsa, lexi i thimila-n'watsa. This is blowing the nose, this is blowing the nose.
6	() () Lowu i nkolo-ku-mita, lowu i nkolo-ku-mita. This is the throat, this is the throat.
7	() () Lexi i maheta-ngula, lexi i maheta-ngula. This is the stomach, this is the stomach.
8	() () () () Lawa i mavoko-ku-tirha, lawa i mavoko-ku-tirha. These are hands, these are hands.
9	Leyi i milenge ya nga, leyi i milenge ya nga. These are my legs, these are my legs.
10	Hinkwawo lowu i mirhi wa nga, ndza wu hlayisa. All of this is my body, I look after it.

1: xikosikosi (7) the nominal stem is reduplicated for rhythmical purposes

4: switsayitsayi (8) the eyes are compared to fireflies

5: -thimila or -rhimila 'to blow one's nose with one's fingers closing nostrils alternately' (C). -n'watsa 'to shake liquid off one's hand' (C). thimila-n'watsa thus refers both to the action of blowing the nose and to shaking the mucus off the fingers. The imitative textual actions accompanying this line are quite explicit.

6: mkolo-ku-mita literally 'throat to swallow'

7: mabeta-ngulo literally 'that which finishes the grain basket', comparing the stomach and its appetite to a thing which can empty out even the large round grain basket

8: mavoko-ku-tirha literally 'hands to work'

15.2.2

version b

The following differences are found in the Mbhureni version:

line 2: Lexi i mdzhwalela ....
This is a burden-bearer....

< -rhwala 'to carry' > mdzhwalela (3)

line 5: this line was unclear on the tape and has been omitted from analysis

line 5a: Lexi i somunoma....
This is the mouth....

line 5b: Lexi i xilehvulehvu...
This is the chin....

(Lines 5a and 5b are additional verse lines)

lines 7-10: omitted, but replaced by 6a,b and c

line 6a: Lexi i xifuva-hava....
This is the chest....

-hava 'to lack, be without, be lacking, missing, absent'(C). The phrase could thus be glossed as 'flat-chest', the significance of which becomes clear in line 6b

line 6b: Lexi i xikhoma-majaha....
This is what the young men hold, or handle.

-khoma 'to hold' > xikhoma (7) 'handle'.
The descriptive action is clear on the tape, the children's describing round imaginary breasts, and the movement is also imitative, as they hold on to them.

line 6c: Lexi i xihlutela-byalwa....
This is the beer strainer....

xihluto (7) 'beer strainer', byalwa (14) 'maize beer'
The movement of the hands, indicating the stomach, conveys the meaning that the stomach's function is like that of the

Further differences between the two versions mainly concern the use of the Demonstrative Pronouns. In version a, concordial relationships are usually maintained in the Copulative and Predicate

e.g. Lowu i mombonkulu, lowu i mombonkulu (line 3)

Dem. Pron. (3) i Noun (3)....

Leswi i switsayitsayi, leswi i switsayitsayi (line 4)

Dem. Pron. (8) i Noun (8)

In version b, however, all the verse lines are introduced by the Class 7 impersonal Demonstrative Pronoun lexi, but on repetition, during the second half of the verse line, the concordial relationship is expressed across the copula.

e.g. Lexi i mombonkulu, lowu i mombonkulu (line 3)
It is a big forehead, this is a big forehead

Lexi i switsayitsayi, leswi i switsayitsayi (line 4)
This is fireflies, these are fireflies

15.3.1 Body movements

version a: apart from the imitative textual movement of line 5, all the body movements are indicative textual movements

line 3: tapping the forehead
line 5: blowing the nose and shaking off mucus
line 6: touching the neck
line 7: touching the stomach
line 8: waving hands

version b: all the movements in this version are indicative textual body movements

line 1: touching the back of the head
line 2: touching the forehead
line 4: touching the eyes
line 5a: touching the mouth
line 5b: stroking the chin
line 6: stroking the throat
line 6a: touching the chest
line 6b: touching the breasts, left-right, 8 times
line 6c: touching the stomach, 6 touches

15.4 Rhythmical analysis

These versions were both strongly rhythmical, patterned by Type I 16-pulse pattern, and both are characterised by intralinear breath breaks and run-on verse lines.

version A

verse
line S:F

```
   X  x  x    x  X  x    x    x    X  x    x  x  X  x    x    x
1  la -e -xi 'xi -ko -os' -ko  -os' le -ex' / 'xi -ko -os' -ko  -os' // 16:16
2  le -e -xi  i  tha -va  -tha -va  le -ex' /  i  tha -va  -tha -va  // 14:16
3  LO -o -wu  i  NO  -mbo -NKU -lu  LO -o'  /  i  NO  -mbo -NKU -lu  // 14:16
4  le -e -swi'swi-tsa-yi  -tsa -yi  le -esw'/'swi -tsa-yi  -tsa -yi  // 16:16
5  le -e -xi 'TNI-mi -la  -n'wa-tsa le -ex' /'TNI -mi -la  -n'watsa // 16:16
6  lo -o -wu  i  NKO -lok 'mi  -ta  lo -ow' /  i  NKO -lok'mi  -ta  // 16:16
7  le -e -xi 'ma -NE -ta  -ngu -la  le -ex' / 'ma -NE -ta  -ngu -la  // 16:16
8  la -a -wa 'ma -VO -kok 'TI  -rha la -aw' / 'ma -VO -kok'TI  -rha // 18:16
9  le -e -yi 'mi -le -nga  ya  nga  le -ey' / 'mi -le -nga ya  nga  // 16:16
(10 ....rhythm breaks down in this verse line)
```

version B

```
1  LE -e -xi 'xi -KO -os'  -KO -os' LE -ex' / 'xi -KO -os' -KO  -os  // 16:16
2  le -e -vi  i ndzhwa-a   -le -la  lo -ow' /  i ndzhwa-a  -le  -la  // 12:16
3  LE -e -xi  i  NO   -mbo -NKU-lu  LO -ow' /  i  NO   -mbo-NKU -lu  // 14:16
4  le -e -xi 'swiTSA  -yi  -TSA-yi  LE -esw'/ 'swiTSA  -yi  -TSA -yi  // 16:16
(5 ....unclear; omitted)
5a LE -e -xi  i  NO   -mo  -no  -mo  LO -ow' /  i  NO   -mo  -no  -mo  // 14:16
5b le -e -xi 'xi-le   -bvu -le  -bvu le -ex' / 'xi-le   -bvu-le  -bvu // 16:16
6  le -e -xi  i  nko  -lok'mi  -ta  lo -ow' /  i  nko  -lok'mi  -ta  // 16:16
6a le -e -xi 'xi-fu   -va  -ha  -va  le -ex' / 'xi-fu   -va  -ha  -va  // 16:16
6b le -e -xi 'xi-kho  -nam'ja  -ha  le -ex' / 'xi-kho  -nam'ja  -ha  // 18:16
6c le -e -xi 'xi-hlu  -tel'bya -lwa le -ex' / 'xi-hlu  -tel'bya -lwa // 18:16
```

[Literary versions of this poem are found in Ntsan'wisi:48-9; and in Rasengane:19, with accreditation to 'P.Ntsan'wisi'. This second version is different from Ntsan'wisi's 1960 version in several respects. The Mbhureni version as recorded above is closest textually to the Ntsan'wisi 1960 version, while the Sukani version as recorded above resembles most closely Rasengane's version]. (Appendix III:303-4)

16 MBHALELE MBHALE

Four recordings were made of this poem which accompanies a well known game. The 'poem' consists of an initial call-response couplet, which we have titled Mbhalele Mbhale, followed by two different short stanzas, of varying lengths in the different versions recorded, titled Pecile and Amachuchubanga respectively.

version A Mbhureni (April 1982, during the exploratory trip, when no video recording equipment was available) (Tape 1-253)

version b Giyani (July 1982)
(*Video 173: Tape 1-267*)

version c Mbhuroni (July 1982)
(*Video 175: Tape 1-273*)

version d Sukani (July 1982)
(Video 203: Tape 1-326)

There would appear to be elements of different traditions present in the recordings, and not all of them occur in each version, *nor in fact do* they all occur in the various literary versions. These elements may be word(s), stanzas which accompany the initial 'counting-out' actions in the game. For purposes of discussion and ease of reference, these have been entitled *as* follows:

A	Mbhalala mbhale
B	Pocilo
C	Amachuchubanga

Their occurrence in the literature and in the versions recorded in the present study *is indicated as* (+) in the following table:

	A	B	C
Kiad (1906:181-2)			+
Earthy (1933:93-4)	+		
Ntsan'wisi (1962:9)			+
Blacking (1967:52-69)		+	+
Johnston (1971:95,110-1))	+		+
version a (1982)	+	+	+
version b (1982)			+
version c (1982)	+		+
version d (1982)	+		+
Rikhotso (1985:74-5)	+		+

The most comprehensive version is thus version A, as recorded at Mbhuroni in April 1982, and discussion will be based on this. It should be noted that *most of the text is* incomprehensible, and glosses are supplied only when there is some certainty as to the meaning of the words (see also Blacking:loc.cit. and Earthy:loc.cit.).

16.2.1

A: Mbhalala mbhale

This four line stanza, is antiphonal in structure, and is chanted.

1=	(S)	Mbhalala mbhale
2	(Ch)	Mbhale
3	(S)	....as line 1
4	(Ch)	....as line 2

B: Pocilo

This five-line stanza is sung as a solo by the caller of the previous stanza.

=5=	(S)	Pocilo hangalan	
6		Hangalan na tsema	(<ndza tsema 'I cut'(?))
7		Tsem tsem xinoni	
8		Xinoni xo gama	
9		Xo gana matende	
10		Matilo nghununwe	(matilo 'the sky')

C: Amachuchubanga

This six-line stanza is sung as a solo by the caller, as in B

=11=	Amachuchubanga	
12	Banga mangongoni	
13	Mangongoni ya kwo	
14	Teka rikoko u nyika ximanga Take the porridge crust and give it to the cat	
15	Ximanga xa kona xa dyetetela That cat it ???	
16	Kukuwe ya ya khondla (<-khondla 'to fold arms or legs' Kukuwe it is folding up	

These three stanzas complete the first part of the game (of 16.3.2 below).

16.2.2

Variations in the texts of the different versions are discussed under 16.3 below.

16.3.1 and 16.3.2 Body movements and the game

The children are initially seated in a row on the ground, legs outstretched The leader kneels before them, or stoops down.

A: Mbhalele mbhale:

During the call-response verse lines, the leader's hand brushes across the legs of the children, just below the knees. Her hand moves in one direction during the call, and returns during the response. Earthy in her study The Valenge Women describes a game called Balambalani, played by children at Nkumbeni, about 24 km east of Xai-Xai.

> Using the old Lenge language...the children *sit on the ground*, and the one who acted as mother beat their legs, tapping them between the knee and the ankle, singing a little rhyme for which I was unable to obtain a satisfactory translation, as it appears to be in an archaic form of the language.
>
> (Earthy:93)

In Johnston's version of the game **Amachuchubanga**, it is preceded by a 'shout: **Mbale-mbale**' (Johnston:110). Our variants c and d of the present study have the same call-response pattern as variant a above, while Nikhotso, in his recently published **Kolo a nga ha vuyi** ('Yesterday will not come back again') describes the same game, which he calls **Mbambalembale** (Nikhotso:74-5). (For a West African version of this game vide Béart.Vol.2:643 ff.).

B: **Pocilo**

The poem continues *with a solo sung stanza*. The melody (cf.Appendix II:296) resembles very closely the melody given by Blacking for **Potilo**, viz. the first of his 'counting songs for boys and girls' (Blacking:52-4, 59). The words of our recorded poem would appear to be Tsonga versions of the *Venda words, and no-one* could explain what they mean, thus this research can throw no further light on the question of whether the Tsonga borrowed the poem from the Venda, or vice versa. While singing the song, the leader taps the legs of each child in turn, the four taps coinciding with the stressed syllables. On the final syllable -we of the last word **nghunuwe**, the leader's hand stops, and the child whose leg is being touched must then pull it out of the line by folding it up under the buttock. The first stanza A is then repeated with the same brushing motion of the leader's hand across the legs.

C: **Amachuchubanga**

As with stanza B, *the leader* taps out the rhythm of the words on the children's legs. On the final syllable -we of the word **khunuwe**, possibly a euphonic variation on **nghunuwe**, the leg not tapped must be withdrawn. Variants of the words of this stanza, as found in variants b, c and d, and in the literature are:

amachuchubanga	**mutshutshubanga** (Kidd, glossed by him as 'Beetle-Knife')
	n'wamici-banga (Ntsan'wisi)
	matshutshuru-banga (Blacking)
	n'wamici-banga (Nikhotso)
	cf. also Cuénod: **mmkutubanga** (?) 'kind of game'
mangongoni ya kwe hilo wangongoni	**mangongoni nga ami?** (Kidd) whose mangolngoli?
	mangongoli ya mo (Ntsan'wisi) *my* mangongoli
	mangongori a vho (Blacking) their mangongori

mangongori ya nga (version b)
my mangongori

mangongori ya kwe (version d)
his mangongori

mangongoni ya vo (Nikhotso)
their mangongoni

The stanzas are repeated until all the legs are withdrawn.

The Opies' discussion of the elimination rhymes used for counting out emphasizes the durability of sound-related rhymes and points out how 'children who cannot remember their eight-times table for half-an-hour, can nevertheless carry in their heads assemblages of rhythmical sounds' (Opie: 144).

> Children are merely marking-off; their requirement is rhyme and regular rhythm to help the memory, and four beats seem to come more naturally than five [...] their pleasure is in assonance, and reduplication.
>
> (Opie:50).

Whether or not this is a universal cannot at this stage be established, but the present work certainly adds weight to the Opies' claim. Counting out using feet is also a universally popular game starting strategy.

(For the melodies accompanying the stanzas, see Appendix II:296)

16.4 Rhythmical analysis

Mbhalele mbhale: this call could not be analysed in rhythmical terms as it tended to be very drawn out.

Pocilo and Amachuchubanga are both based on Type I 8-pulse patterns, but it will be noted that the rhythmical organisation of the two songs is different.

version a

verse line									S:P
	X	x	x	x	X	x	x	x	
=5=	po	-ci	-lo	-o	ha	-nga	-la	an	6:8
6	ha	-nga	-la	-an	na	tse	-ma	-a	6:8
7	tse	-ma'	tse	-em'	xi	-no	-ni	-i	7:8
8	xi	-no	-ni	-i	xo	-ga	-na	-a	6:8
9	xo	ga	-na	-a	ma	-te	-nde	-e	6:8
10	ma	-ti	-lo	-o	nghu	-mu	-we	-e	6:8

C:

=11=	a	-ma	-chu	-chu	-ba	-a	-nga	0		6:8
12	ba	-nga	ma	-ngo	-ngo	-o	-ni	0		6:8
13	ma	-nga	-ngo	-ni	ya	-a	kwe	0		6:8
14	te	-ka	x'ko	-k'u	nyi	-ka	x'ma	-nga		11:8
15	x'mang	xa	kon'	xa	dye	-te	-te	-el'		11:8
16	ku	-ku	we	-a	ya	ya	kho	-ondl'		7:8

(version g of C: is exactly as above)

version h (This version was performed, not in a game context, but by two adult women, who clapped out the rhythm, four claps in each verse line)

D:

=1=	A	-ma	-CHU	-chu	-BA	-a	-NGA	0		6:8
2	BA	-nga	MA	-ngo	-NGO	-o	-RI	0		6:8
3	MA	-nga	-BOO	- i	YA	-a	NGA	0		6:8
4	x'VU	-ya	XI	ku	TSE	-ma	NE	-nge		9:8

version d (Performed in a game context)

D:

=11=	A	-ma	-CHU	-chu	-BA	-a	-NGA	0		6:8
12	BA	-nga	-MA	-ngo	-NGO	-o	RI	0		6:8
13	MA	-ngo	-NGO	-ri	YA	-a	KWE	0		6:8
14	TE	-ka	x'FAK'	u	NYI	-ik'x'MA		-ang'		11:8
15	x'MA	-nga	XI	ku	BYE	-le	-EKL	0		9:8
16	BYE	-le	-TE	-la	RHA	-rhi	WE	0		8:8
17	BYE	-le	-TE	-la	RHA	-rhi	WE	0		8:8
18	*KWE*	*-mbe*	*RA*	*nga*	*CHO*	*-do*	*0*	*0*		*5:8*

(Literary versions, Appendix III:305-6)

17 MINA XIMANGA XA MHOVA

17.1 This chanted verse paragraph was recorded at Mbhuroni. It describes the physical appearance of the hare, comparing it to that of a cat. The recitation by the group of children, performing in an informal concert context, was preceded by the announcement of the title: "N'weMpfundla", i.e. 'Mr Hare'. No analysis of body movement was possible as the recording was made during the exploratory trip (Tape: 1-358)

17.2.1

=1=	Mina ximanga xa mhova ntloo! I am the cat of the hueh ntloo!
2	Mahlo ndzhulwana ntloo! Large protruding eyes ntloo!
3	Va honohela kule ntloo! They are staring all around ntloo!
4	Ndleve makapukapu ntloo! Very big ear ntloo!

5 Rihlelo ra ndleve ntloo!
A basket of an ear ntloo!

6 Malebvu ya ximanga ntloo!
The whiskers of a cat ntloo!

7 Dsovo ra ncinda ntloo!
Stringy fur ntloo!

8 Milenge ya ximanga ntloo!
Legs of a cat ntloo!

1: ntloo! I was unable to identify this ideophone

2: nzhulwana (3) 'The plant gifappel and other species of similar appearance; round yellow fruit of the same, or with the figurative use, large protruding eyes' (C)

4: makapukapu the meaning is unclear, but possibly refers to the shape of the hare's ears. cf. ' tindleve za mikupu 'drooping ears' (C)

5: rihlelo (5) a large winnowing basket, woven from the leaves of the milala palm (C)

7: ncinda meaning unclear, but possibly refers to the texture of the hare's fur. cf. rincinda wild cotton, hence 'stringy fur'

17.4 Rhythmical analysis

The verse lines in this poem are of 12 pulses, excepting for lines 1 and 4, which are of 15 pulses each. While rhythmical patterning over the whole poem is irregular, within each verse line, one is aware of the insistent rhythmical beat. Verse lines 3,5,6 and 8 are initiated by an unstressed syllable.

verse line																						S:P
	x)	X	x	x	x		X	x	x		x	X	x	x	(x							
		X	x	x	x		X	x	x		x	X	x	x	x	X	x	x	x			
1		mi	-i	-na	xi		-ma	-a	-ngs	xa	nho	-o	-va	-a	ntlo-o-o		0					9:16
2		ma	-a	-hlo	ndzhulwa		-a	-na		-a	ntlo-o	-o	0									6:12
3	ya	ho	-no	-ke	-la		ku	-u	-le	-e	ntlo-o	-o										8:12
4		ndle-e		-ve	ma		-ka	-a	-pu	-u	-ka	-a	-pu	-u	ntlo-o-o		0					8:16
5	ri-hle		-e	-lo	ra		ndle-e		-ve	-e	ntlo-o	-o										7:12
6	ma-le		-bvu	ya	xi		-ma	-a	-ngs	-a	ntlo-o	-o										8:12
7		dso	-o	-vo	ra		nci	-i	-nds	-a	ntlo-o	-o	0									6:12
8	mi-le		-ngs	ya	xi		-ma	-a	-ngs	-a	ntlo-o	-o										8:12

18 MPFULA MPFULA

18.1 This poem was recorded at *Giyani* (Video 218: Tape 1-368). It was recited by two old ladies who affirmed that they had learnt it when they were "still very small". They chanted the poem on a monotone. It would not appear to be linked to a game, but was learnt merely as a rhyme. Johnston gives a melodic version of the same poem, stating that it occurs "within stories about drought" (Johnston:98-9). No published versions of such tales could be located. The version recorded at Giyani differs but little, apart from the order of the stanzas, from the literary versions of the poem. The main difference in the versions is the repetition of mpfula 'rain'in the first verse line of each stanza instead of the more usual mpfula a yi vuya 'let the rain come back' which is found in the published versions to date.

As in the poem Kure Kure Kure (poem 11 above), the cycle continues as long as the performers can still think of the name of a suitable food sort to place in the appropriate slot in the third verse line, where the incremental repetition is located.

18.2.1

=1=	**Mpfula mpfula** *Rain, rain*
2	**ntho-tho-tho,** drip drip drip,
3	**Hi ta dya mtimba** We will eat sugar cane
4	**ntho-tho-tho.** drip drip drip.
=5=	....as line 1
6	....as lines 2/4
7	**Hi ta dya marhanga** We shall eat marrows
8	....as lines 2/4/6

These stanzas were repeated several times in a desultory fashion, then the cycle petered out.

1: ntho-tho-tho Ideophone of rain falling in drops <-thoma 'to drop'(water)

2: timba (5) refers to the sweet cane or suiker riet as opposed to the sugar cane mova

3: marhanga (6) refers to various varieties of vegetable marrows

18.3.1 There are no observable body movements accompanying the poem.

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18.1 This poem was recorded at Giyani (Video 218: Tape 1-368). It was recited by two old ladies who affirmed that they had learnt it when they were "still very small". They chanted the poem on a monotone. It would not appear to be linked to a game, but was learnt merely as a rhyme. Johnston gives a melodic version of the same poem, stating that it occurs "within stories about drought" (Johnston:98-9). No published versions of such tales could be located. The version recorded at Giyani differs but little, apart from the order of the stanzas, from the literary versions of the poem. The main difference in the versions is the repetition of **mpfula** 'rain'in the first verse line of each stanza instead of the more usual **mpfula a yi vuya** 'let the rain come back' which is found in the published versions to date.

As in the poem **Hure Hure Hure** (poem 11 above), the cycle continues as long as the performers can still think of the name of a suitable food sort to place in the appropriate slot in the third verse line, where the incremental repetition is located.

18.2.1

=1=	Mp.ula mpfula Rain, rain
2	ntho-tho-tho, drip drip drip,
3	Hi ta dya matimba We will eat sugar cane
4	ntho-tho-tho. drip drip drip.
=5=	....as line 1
6	....as lines 2/4
7	Hi ta dya marhanga We shall eat marrows
8	....as lines 2/4/6

Those stanzas were repeated several times in a desultory fashion, then the cycle petered out.

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3: marhanga (5) refers to various varieties of vegetable marrows

18.3.1 There are no observable body movements accompanying the poem.

18.4 Rhythmical analysis

Rhythmical patterning in the poem is based on Types I and II of the 8-pulse pattern, with compensation.

verse line		x) X	x	x	x	X	x	x	(x	S:P
1			mpfu	-u	-la	-a	mpfu	-u	-la	0	4:8
2			ntho	-o	tho	-o	tho	-o	-o	[hi	3:8
3	hi		ta	-a	dya	ma	-ti	-i	-mba		6:8
4			ntho	-o	tho	-o	tho	-o	-o	0	3:8
5			mpfu	-u	-la	-a	mpfu	-u	-la	0	4:8
6			ntho	-o	tho	-o	tho	-o	-o	[hi	3:8
7	hi		ta	-a	dya	ma	-zha	-a	-nga		6:8
8			ntho	-o	tho	-o	tho	-o	-o	0	3:8

[Ntsan'wisi:27-8; Rasengane:20-1, with accreditation to 'P.Ntsan'wisi'. Ndhambi (Ndhambi:80) has a poem entitled Risimu ra swihlangi 'children's song',with the comment at the conclusion of the poem musimi a nga tiviwi 'unknown composer'. The poem is obviously Ndhambi's elaboration of the traditional Mpfula.] (Appendix III:306-7)

19 NDZI HLANGANE NA NTLHANU WA MAJAHA NA RIN'WE

This poem is well known in all the areas in which recordings were made. Three versions were recorded, differing but little in lexical content. Discussion will be based on the version recorded at Burgersdorp (Video 227: Tape 1-387), version a, with those made at Hlaketo (Video 236: Tape 1-406),version b, and Nbhureni (Video 244: Tape 1-425), version c, referred to where differences occur.In all the versions, the poem is sung by the whole group, to one basic melody line, which is repeated during the twelve verse line stanza which makes up the poem. The poem is initially strongly rhythmical, but the rhythm tends to break down towards the end of the stanza, possibly due to the heavy syllable count which has to be adjusted to the 16 pulse rhythmical pattern. The final three verse lines in particular tended to be sung in a ragged fashion.

19.2.1

```
                    +                   ()^
1       Ndzi hlangane na ntlhanu wa majaha na rin'we,
        I met up with six young men,

                    *-----*().()^().
2       Va vuya va ndzi kombela fole   mm,
        They asked me for some snuff mm,

                    *---*     *---*
3       Ndzi vuya ndzi ku fole ndzi hava mm.
        I replied, saying, I haven't any snuff.
```

```
                                +
4       Va vuya va ndzi haxa mpama mm.
        They replied, hitting me, mm.

                          ().    ().().
5       Va ka Xavela va ta lunga mm.
        The Xavela people will be disappointed mm.

                          ().*     *   *
6       Va ta lunga, a ndzi va lavi mm.
        They will be disappointed, I don't want them mm.

                          OOOOOOO
7       Ndzi lava va Machachulela mm,
        I want the (ones) of Machachulela mm,

                          OOOOOOO
8       Va ta famba va ndzi chachulela mm.
        They will carry on dancing for me mm.

                                +
9       Swi pfuna hi ku khandziya xitimela ndzi ya eJoni,
        It helps to get on the train and go to Johannesburg,

                          *---*
10      Ndzi ya wisa vusiwanwo, xa koka.
        I am going to rest from my heartsore, it pulls.

                          *----------------------*
11      Xi ya koka, Mahani, xi ya koka,
        It is pulling, Auntie, it is pulling,

                          *--------------------*
12      Xi ya koka, yoo, xi ya koka.
        It is pulling, alas, it is pulling.
```

1: **ntlhanu wa majaha na rin'we** literally 'five of the young men and one'. Junod points out that the traditional Twonga counting system was based on the unit 5, with higher numbers being indicated as 'five plus one', 'five plus two' etc, up to the number khume 'ten' (Junod, 1927:161; see also Earthy:90)

2: **va vuya** literally 'they come back', but in this context it acts as a deficient verb with the meaning 'and then'

To ask for snuff is a typical conversation initiation strategy - and in this particular case, is the opening gambit of a flirting conversation between the young men and the young women

4: **-haxa mpama** literally 'to throw the palm', with the idiomatic usage 'to strike with the palm of the hand'

5: -lungelunga 'feel weak in the joints; have a weak back, be round shouldered; fig. be in despair after great misfortune'(C)

8: -chachula 'to dance with rhythmic quivering of the body'(C). This dancing movement is typical of Tsonga women's dances. The quivering movements cause the folds of the xitlhakutana, the short heavily pleated skirt, to move consciously up and down

10: xa koka 'it (the train) is pulling'

12: yoo! an exclamation of distress or pain

19.2.2

version b (Recorded at Hlakato)

The poems are identical to the end of line 4, which is followed by

line 4a Ndzi suka ndzi ya kaya ka hinoo mm
I left and went off to our home mm

line 5 Mashavele for Xavela

lines 7-8 Ndzi lava N'waMachachulela mm
I want the daughter of Machachulela

A ta hamba a ndzi chachulela mm
She will carry on dancing for me mm

line 9 swi tlula in place of swi pfuma
'it is better...'

lines 11-12 *are* inverted
xa koka yoo, xa koka,
Xa koka, Hahani, xa koka

version c *(Recorded at Mbhurini)*

This version includes two additional lines:

line 4a Ndzi suka ndzi ya kaya ka *hina mm*
I left, and went off to our home

line 4b Ndzi fika ndzi tshama hansi mm
I arrived and I sat down

19.3.1 Body movements

version A

line 1: two hands up, six fingers pointing, a symbolic textual movement

line 2: hands cupped together, the gesture being a symbolic textual movement, indicating request or reception

line 3: a symbolic gesture indicating 'nothing'

line 4: one clap on -hex- indicating a striking or hitting noise

line 5: one boy gives three upward shoulder shrugs on ndzi..lav-...mm, which we can interpret as affective textural movements

lines 6-7: four swaying hip movements per line movements imitating the women's dance movements

lines 10-12: bodies swaying in symbolic textual movements, in rhythm with the *pulling of the train,*

version b

lines 5-6: the little Sub A children at Mbhureni tended to use imitative movements eg. wagging of fingers to mimic the action of scolding, down-up 6 movements

version c

line 6: hands pushing something away, an imitative textual movement 5 movements

lines 7-8: very rhythmical imitative dance movements

(For the melody accompanying this poem, see Appendix II:297)

19.4 Rhythmical analysis

All tho versions are based on the three types of 16-pulse verse lines, initiated either with a stressed pulse, or by a stressed pulse preceded by either one or two unstressed pulses. The perception is not one of tight rhythmical control, but rather one of loosely organised rhythmical language, thus enjambement and compensation do not feature in the performance.

version A

Verse line x)	x)	X	x	x	x	X	x	x	x	X	x	x	x	X	x	(x	S:P
1	ndzi	hla	-bga-a	-ne	na	NYLHA	-a	-nu	wa	aa	-ja	-ha	aa	RI	-n'w'		14:16
2		va	vu	-ya	va	ndzi	KO	-o	-mba-la	FO	-o	-LE	O	M	-m	O	11:16
3		ndzi	vu	-ya	ndzi	ku	FO	-o	-le	ndzi	HA	-a	-va	O	M	-m	O	11:16
4		va	vu	-ya	va	ndzi	HA	-a	-xa	-a	mpa-a		-ma	O	m	-m	O	10:16
5		va	ka	Xa	-ve	-la	VA	-a	ta	-a	LU	-u	-mga	O	M	-m	O	10:16
6		va	ka	-a	-lu	-mga'NDZI		-i	va	-a	LA	-a	-vi	O	M	-m	O	10:16
7		ndzi	la	-va	va	Ma	-CHA	-a	-CHU-u		-LE-e		-la	O	m	-m	O	10:16
8		va	ta	fa	-mb'va	ndzi	CHA	-a	-CHU-u		-LE-e		-la	O	m	-m	O	11:16
9		swi	pfu	-na	hi	ku	kha	-ndzi-yax'ti			-me-la		ndziya	Jo-on'			O	16:16
10		ndzi	ya	wi	-aa	vu	-si	-wa-s		-a	-no-o		*xi*	ya	ko-ok'		O	12:16
11		xi	ya	ko	-o	-ka	ha	-a	-ha	-a	-ni-i		xi	ya	ko-ok'		O	11:16
12			xi	ya	ko	-ka	yo	-o	-o	-o	-o	-o	xi	ya	ko-ok'##			9:16

version h

	x)	x)	X	x	x	x	X	x	x	x	X	x	x	x	X	x	(x	(x	
1	ndzi	hla-nge	-o	-no	na		NYLHA	-a	-wo	wa	-m'ja-a		-ha	na	RI	-n'w'			14:16
2		va	vu	-ya	va	ndzi	KO	-o	-mbe-la		fo	-o	-le	0	M	-m	0		11:16
3		ndzi	vu	-ya	ndzi	ku	FO	-o	-le	ndzi	HA	-a	-va	0	M	-m	0		13:16
4		va	vu	-ya	va	ndzi	HA	-a	-xa	-a	mpa-a		-ma	0	M	-m	0		10:16
5		ndzi	su	-ka	ndzi	ya	ka	-a	-ya	ka	hi	-no	-o	0	M	-m	0		11:16
6			va	ka'M-shs		-vel'va		-a	ta	-a	LU	-u	-MOA	0	M	-m	0	0	11:15
7			va	ta	lu	-ng'a	NDZI	-i	VA	-a	LA	-a	-VI	0	M	-m	0	0	10:16
8		ndzi	la	-va	n'wa	-ka	-CHA	-a	-CHU	-u		-LE-e	-LA	0	M	-m	0		10:16
9		a	ta	ha	-mb'a	ndzi	CHA	-a	-CHU	-u		-LE-e	-LA	0	M	-m	0		11:16
10		swi	tlu	-la	hi	ku	KHA	-ndzi	-ya	xit'	we	-le	ndzi	ya	Jo	-on'0			16:16
11		ndzi	ya	wi	-sa	vu	-si	-wa	-a	-no		-o	-o	xi	ya	kok'0	0		12:16
12			xi	ya	ko	-ka	ya	-o	-o	-o		-o	-o	xi	ya	kok'0	0	0	9:16
13			xi	ya	ko	-ka	ha	-a	-ha	-a		-ni	-i	xi	ya	koka-s-a-a##			11:16

version c

1	ndzi	hla	-nge-e		-ne	na	NYLHA	-wu	wa	ne	-ja-a		-ha	na	RI	-n'w'			14:16
2		va	vu	-ya	va	ndzi	KO	-o	-mbe-la		fo	-o	-le	0	M	-m	0		11:16
3		ndzi	vu	-ya	ndzi	ku	FO	-o	-le	ndzi	ha	-a	-va	0	M	-m	0		13:16
4		va	VU	-ya	va	ndzi	HA	-a	-xa	-a	mpa-a		-ma	0	M	-m	0		10:16
5		ndzi	su	-ka	ndzi	ya	KA	-a	-ya	ka	hi	-i	-na	0	M	-m	0		11:16
6		ndzi	fi	-i	-ka	ndzi	TSHA	-ma	ha	-a		-a	-a	-nzi	b	M	-m	0	9:16
7			va	kaM'	-SHS	-vel'VA		-a	ta	-a	LU	-u	-nga	0	M	-m	0	0	10:16
8			VA	ta	LU	-ng'a	NDZI	-i	VA	-a	LA	-a	-VI	0	M	-m	0	0	10:16
9		ndzi	LA	-va	va	Ma	-CHA	-a	-chu-u			-le-e	-la	0	M	-m	0		10:16
10	va	ta	ha	-mba	va	ndzi	CHA	-a	-CHU-u			-LE-e	-LA	0	M	-m			11:16
11		swi	tlu	-la	hi	ku	kha	-ndzi	-yax'	ei	me	-la	ndziya	Jo	-on'0				16:16
12		ndzi	ya	wi	-na	vu	-si	-wa	-a	-no	-o	-o	bya	ko	-o'	0			11:16
13			xi	ya	ko	-ka	yo	-o	-o	-o		-o	-o	xi	ya	ko	-ok'0	0	9:16
14			xi	ya	ko	-ka	ha	-a	-ha	-a		-ni	-i	xi	ya	ko	-o	-ka-a-a##	

11:16

[Literary versions are found in Rasengane:20, which corresponds most closely to version c above, and in Johnston. His version of this poem, which he entitles Va ndzi kombela fole, is accompanied by the statement that 'it derives from a "sonatsa" story which is no longer told, and its words have become changed" (Johnston:83 and 99). The form of the song bears but little resemblance however, to the typical form of the song in the Tsonga folktale (cf. Gill:1954 and Marivate:1974)] (Appendix III:308)

20 NDZI RHANDZA TIYI

20.1 This unison sung poem, was recorded at Mbhureni in April 1982 (Tape 1-444). Since no recording equipment was available, no analysis of body movement was possible. It consists of a single stanza made up of a couplet and a refrain.

20.2.1

=1= Ndzi rhandza tiyi na xilayixi xa xinkwa.
I like tea with a slice of bread.

2 ....na i

3 Gamalo gamalo tiwale, gamalo gamalo tiwale
Gamalo gamalo tiwale, gamalo gamalo tiwale

1: xilayixi (7) from English 'slice'

3: Meaningless jingle

(For the melody accompanying this poem, see Appendix II:297)

20.4 Rhythmical analysis

The musical rhythm tends to dominate over linguistic rhythm in this performance, and is based on Type II 16-pulse pattern.

verse
line S:P
x X x x x X x x x X x x x X x x

1 ndzi rha -a -a -ndza ti -i -yi na x'la -a -ay''xa xi -i -nkwa 13:16
2 gama lo gama -lo ti wa -a -le gama-lo gama-lo ti -wa -a -le 18:16

21 NDZI RHUNE MFANA

21.1 This poem is chanted rhythmically, on a monotone, during a skipping game played in a circle. It was recorded at Sukani (Video 251: Tape 2-2). It consists of a single stanza made up of four verse lines, chanted solo, with a ono-word choral response, followed by a 'refrain' made up of a repeated phrase.

21.2.1

/S s \S s /Ss \S s
=1= (S) Ndzi rhune mfana, (Ch) Hayi!
I sent a boy, Hayi!

/S s \S s /Ss \S s
2 (S) A ya vhengelani, (Ch) Hayi!
He went to the shop, Hayi!

/S s \S s /S s \S s
3 (S) A ya xava xinkwa, (Ch) Hayi!
He went to buy bread, Hayi!

/S s \S s /S s \S s
4 (S) Xa xuken na peni. (Ch) Hayi!
For a sixpence and a penny. Hayi!

/S s \Ss/S s \S s

=5= (S) A famba so...
He went like this...

6 ....as line 5

4: zukwa 'sixpence'. The derivation of this word which occure widely in the Bantu languages of South Africa, is obscure

5: so 'like this', possibly derived from the Afrikaans 'so'. This word is commonly used in Tsonga to indicate an action or movement

21.3.1 Body movements

The children moved around in a circle, step-skipping as shown, following the leader's movements. The leader, a boy, stood in the centre of the circle, and on the words famba so! he changed his skipping style, e.g. to hopping on the right leg only; hopping with head nodding from right to left. The game continued until the children tired of it. The step-skip movements are textural baton movements, and could not be linked to any words in the poem.

21.4 Rhythmical analysis

The first verse line is based on Type II of the 8-pulse pattern, while all the other verse lines follow Type I pattern.

verse line										S:P
x)		X	x	x	x	X	x	x	(x	
1	ndzi	RHU	-ME	MFA	-NA * HA		-YI	0 *		7:8
2		A	YA	VE	-NGE	-LE	-NI' * HA		-YI *	8:6
3		A	YA	XA	-VA	XI	-NKWA * HA		-YI	8:8
4		XA	EU	-KWA NA		PE	-NI * HA		-YI *	8:8
5		a	fa	-mba -a		so	-o	0	0	4:8
6		a	fa	-mba -a		so	-o	0	0	4:8

22 NHLOKO MAKATLA

22.1 Two versions of this unison sung poem were recorded, the first at Mphurani (Tape 2-7), and the second at Burgersdorp (Video 25: Tape 2-12). The texts are practically identical, and discussion is based on the Burgersdorp version for which video material is available. The poem consists of two four-line stanzas; each stanza is made up of two identical couplets.

22.2.1

version a

=1= ()^ ()^
Ohioko, makatla,
head, shoulders,

```
                 {}^    {}     {}.
2                Xifuva, khwirhi, milengo.
                 Chest, stomach, legs.

3/4              ....as lines 1/2

                          \S    /S
=5=              Hambi wo famba-famba,
                 Even if you just walk around,

                 \S    /S        \S      /So^
6                U ta sala u ku tlhukwa! gaa!
                 You will just jump up and fall back.

7/8              ....as lines 5/6
```

6: tlhukwa! Ideophone indicating jumping up in surprise

gaa! Ideophone referring to the movement of falling back in surprise

It is difficult to understand the link between stanzas 1 and 2

version b

The only textual difference between the two versions is in

line 6: I ta kala i ku tlhukwa gaa!
It (Impersonal) will eventually jump up and fall back

22.3.1 Body movements

lines 1-2/3-4: hands point to head, shoulder, chest, stomach and legs consecutively, with indicative textual movements

lines 7-8/9-10: steps taken, right-left, in a marching movement. These movements are textural baton movements; on gaa! the head is thrown back, imitating the action of falling backwards

(For the melody accompanying this poem, see Appendix II:297)

22.4 Rhythmical analysis

The rhythmical pattern of Type I 8-pulse pattern is followed regularly in this poem.

version a

verse line									S:P
	X	x	X	x	X	x	x	x	
1	NHLO	-o	-ko	-o	MA	-s	-KA	-tla	5:8
2	xi	-i	-FU	-va	KHWIrhi	mi	-LE	-ang'	8:8
3	NHLO	-o	-ko	-o	MA	-s	-KA	-tla	5:8
4	xi	-i	-FU	-va	KHWIrhi	mi	-LE	-ang'##	8:8
5	ha	-a	-mbi	wo	FA	-mba	-FA	-amb'	7:8
6	U	ta	SA	-i'u	k'TLHU	-kwa	GA	-a	9:8
7	ha	-a	-mbi	wo	FA	-mba	-FA	-amb'	7:8
8	U	ta	SA	-i'u	k'TLHU	-kwa	GA	-a	9:8

version b (No video material available)

1	nhlo	-o	-ko	-o	ma	-s	-ka	-tla	5:8
2	xi	-i	-fu	-va	khwirhi	mi	-le	-ang'	8:8
3	nhlo	-o	-ko	-o	ma	-s	-ka	-tla	5:8
4	xi	-i	-fu	-va	khwirhi	mi	-le	-ang'##	8:8
5	ha	-a	-mbi	wo	fa	-mba	-fa	-mba	7:8
6	i	ta	kal'	i	k'tihu	-kwa	ga	-a	9:8
7	ha	-a	-mbi	wo	fa	-mba	-fa	-mba	7:8
8	i	ta	kal'	i	k'tihu	-kwa	ga	-a	9:8

(A literary version of this poem is found in Nkuna:14] (Appendix III:30ff)

23 N'WANA MANANA

23.1 The poem was recorded at Burgersdorp (Video 258: Tape 2-16). It is a rhythmical chant which was accompanied in performance by hand claps. The poem is antiphonal, the meaning being conveyed by the solo call, while the choral response is a meaningless jingle. The stanza is made up of six calls with response. The structure of the poem is suggestive of a possible folktale origin.

23.2.1

1	(S)	N'wana manana,	(Ch) Delengwa delengwa delengwa
		Mother's child,	Delengwa delengwa delengwa
2	(S)	Vuswa u nga dyi!	(Ch)....as above
		Don't eat the porridge!	....
3	(S)	Va thele mxrhi,	(Ch)....as above
		They have put medicine (in it),	....
4	(S)	Mxrhi wo tshwuka	(Ch)....as above
		Red medicine	

```
                +              +         +         +
5    (S)  Wo dlaya wena    (Ch)....as above
          Which kills you

                +              +         +         +
6    (S)  M'wana mamma     (Ch)....as above
          Mother's child
```

23.3.1 Body movements

Apart from the four claps per verse line, no perceptible body movements were observed.

23.4 Rhythmical analysis

The poem is very rhythmical, and its highly repetitive structure, the syllabic balance of the verse lines, and the response made up of the same word, reinforce the insistent stressed pulses. Type II 16-pulse verse line is regular throughout the poem.

```
verse                                                                S:P
line
      x  X    x  x    x   X x x x    X x x x    X x x

1     m'wa-NA  ma  -ma  -na  DE -le-e -ngwa DE -le-e -ngwa DE -le-eng' 14:16
2     vu  -SWA u   uga  dyi  DE -le-e -ngwa DE -le-e -ngwa DE -le-eng' 14:16
3     va  GHE  -le ma   -rhi DE -le-e -ngwa DE -le-e -ngwa DE -le-eng' 14:16
4     mu  -RHI wo tshwu -ka  DE -le-e -ngwa DE -le-e -ngwa DE -le-eng' 14:16
5     wo  DLA  -ya we   -na  DE -le-e -ngwa DE -le-e -ngwa DE -le-eng' 14:16
```

[Rasengane's (Rasengane:18) transcription of the poem consists of two verses, the first stanza as above, the second giving an appeal not to drink the poisoned light beer. The typographical layout *of the Rasengane version* disguises the rhythmical nature of the poem.] (Appendix III:309)

24 M'WANHLARHU

.1 This poem is sung as an integral element of the well-known folktale of the same title, Mr Python. Its structure is typically antiphonal, although in the recording made at Mbhurem in April 1982, the children actually sang the song in unison (Tape 2-25). Within the tale, the song has the magical function of conveying information from the human world, represented by the *child singing the song*, to the animal world, represented by the python doctor. The song consists of six stanzas in a call and response structure. The meaning of the stanza is only conveyed by the call, and the response is a meaningless jingle. In the sixth stanza, the response differs slightly.

24.2.1

```
=l=     M'waNhlarhu, M'waNhlarhu,
        Mr Python, Mr Python,

2       Brimambo
```

	3	**Manjengenja**
	4	**Brimambo.**
	=5=	**Mdzi ta ku vitana,** I am coming to call (you),
	6/7/8	....as lines 2/3/4
	=9=	**U vita hi tatana,** You are called by my father,
	10/11/12	....as lines 2/3/4
	=13=	**Tatana a vabyaka,** My father who is sick,
	14/15/16	....as lines 2/3/4
	=17=	**U dlawa hi tindluwa,** He is being killed by the groundnuts,
	18/19/20	....as lines 2/3/4
	=21=	**Tindluwa ta manangа,** The desert groundnuts,
	22	**Ta manangoo** Of the desert
	23	**manjengenja**
	24	**ta manangoo.** Of the desert

2: **brimambo** The meaning of the response is unclear. Harivate suggests brimambo might be a corruption of guru mambo 'big chief' (Ndau)

3: **majengenja.** Berliner in his The Soul of Mbira gives njeginja as the ideophonic representation of the sound of mbira, the traditional instrument of the Shona (Berliner:51). The words of the songs in folktales are often the stablest element in transmission, thus a Shona (or Ndau) origin could possibly be postulated for this tale.

11: **tindluwa ta manenga.** There is a Tsonga superstition that if one eats groundnuts growing in the desert, they will continue to grow in the stomach, since they are magical groundnuts

12: **manangoo** The terminal -o suffixed to noun carries no meaning. The vowel is frequently lengthened in speech; it is characteristic of women's and children's speech

(For the melody which accompanies this poem, see Appendix II:298)

	3	Manjengenja
	4	Brimambo.
	=5=	Ndzi ta ku vitana, I am coming to call (you),
	6/7/8	....as lines 2/3/4
	=9=	U vita hi tatana, You are called by my father,
	10/11/12	....as lines 2/3/4
	=13=	Tatana a vabyaka, My father who is sick,
	14/15/16	....as lines 2/3/4
	=17=	U diswa hi tindluwa, He is being killed by the groundnuts,
	18/19/20	....as lines 2/3/4
	=21=	Tindluwa ta mananga, The desert groundnuts,
	22	Ta manangoo Of the desert
	23	manjengenja
	24	ta manangoo. Of the desert

2: brimambo The meaning of the response is unclear. Marivate suggests brimambo might be a corruption of guru mambo 'big chief' (Ndau)

3: majengenja. Berliner in his The Soul of Mbira gives djenjinje as the ideophonic representation of the sound of mbira, the traditional instrument of the Shona (Berliner:51). The words of the songs in folktales are often the stablest element in transmission, thus a Shona (or Ndau) origin could possibly be postulated for this tale.

11: tindluwa ta mananga. There is a Tsonga superstition that if one eats groundnuts grow..ng in the desert, they will continue to grow in the stomach, since they are magical groundnuts

12: manangoo The terminal -o suffixed to nouns carries no meaning. The vowel is frequently lengthened in speech; it is characteristic of women's and children's speech

(For the melody which accompanies this poem, see Appendix II:298)

24.4 Rhythmical analysis

The rhythmical pattern of this poem is that of verse lines made up of alternating Type I and II 8-pulse patterns, with compensation.

verse line	x)	X	x	x	x	X	x	x	x	(x	S:P
1	n'wa	-nhla-a		-rhu	n'wa	-nhla-a		-rhu			6:8
2		bri	-i	-ma	-a	-mbo	-o	0	//	[ma	3:8
3	ma	-nje	-e	-nge	-e	-nja	-a	0	//		4:8
4		bri	-i	-ma	-a	-mbo	-o	##			3:8
5	n'	ta	-a	ku	vi	-ta	-a	-na			6:8
6		bri	-i	-ma	-a	-mbo	-o	0	//	[ma	3:8
7	ma	-nje	-e	-nge	-e	-nja	-a	0	//		4:8
8		bri	-i	-ma	-a	-mbo	-o	##			3:8
9	u	vi	-ta	hi	ta	-ta	-a	-na			7:8
10		bri	-i	-ma	-a	-mbo	-o	0	//	[ma	3:8
11	ma	-nje	-e	-nge	-e	-nja	-a	0	//		4:8
12		bri	-i	-ma	-a	-mbo	-o	##			3:8
13	ta	-ta	-na	a	va	-bya	-a	-ka			6:8
14		bri	-i	-ma	-a	-mbo	-o	0	//	[ma	3:8
15	ma	-nje	-e	-nge	-e	-nja	-a	0	//		4:8
16		bri	-i	-ma	-a	-mbo	-o	##			3:8
17	u	dla	-wa	hi	ti	-ndlu-u		-wa			7:8
18		bri	-i	-ma	-a	-mbo	-o	0	//	[ma	3:8
19	ma	-nje	-e	-nge	-e	-nja	-a	0	//		4:8
20		bri	-i	-ma	-a	-mbo	-o	##			3:8
21	ti	-ndlu-wa		ta	ma	-na	-a	-nga			7:8
22	ta	ma	-na	-ngo	-o	-o	-o	0	//		4:8
23	ma	-nje	-e	-nge	-e	-nja	-a	0	//		4:8
24	ta	ma	-na	-ngo	-o	-o	-o	-o			4:8

(Ntsan'wisi's version of the poem (Ntsan'wisi:50-1) consists of 13 couplets which give not only the human-animal message, but also the animal-human response to the message. Rasengane's version of the poem (Rasengane:18) is a seven-verse line, one stanza poem) (Appendix III:309-310)

25 SWESWI VANA

25.1 This sung unison poem was recorded at Sukani (Video 264: Tape 2-32). It consists of two four line stanzas sung to a melody which shows strong Western influence, if not origin. The poem's educational function is to teach children the names of the various parts of the body.

25.2.1

=l= Sweswi vana,
Now children,

```
        2           Hi ta hlaya swirho.
                    We will say our limbs

        3/4         ....as line 2

                      {}^     {}^
        =5=         Nhloko, makatla,
                    Head, shoulders,

                    {}        {}.
        6           Xifuva, xisuti,
                    Chest, hip,

                    {}.           {}.
        7           Matsolo, swikun'wana.
                    Knees, toes.

        8           ....as line 7
```

2: -hlaya 'to read, count, tell'

The word *swirho* 'limbs' has been used, though strictly speaking not all the body parts named are 'limbs'

25.3.1 Body movements

The first stanza has no perceptible body movements, while in the second stanza, the children use indicative textual movements, to point in turn to each of the body parts named.

(For the melody accompanying this poem, see Appendix II:298. This is an example of a heptatonic melody, within which the patterning of the poetic language does not appear to be anomalous).

25.4 Rhythmical analysis

The rhythm of this poem is based on Type I 8-pulse pattern

verse line	x	x	x	X	x	x	x		8:P
1	swe	-a	-swi	-i	va	-a	-na	0	4:8
2	hi	ta	hla	-ya	swi	-i	-rho	0	6:8
3	hi	ta	hla	-ya	swi	-i	-rho	0	6:8
4	hi	ta	hla	-ya	swi	-i	-rho	0 ##	6:8
5	NHLO	-o	-ko	ma	-KA	-a	-tla	0	5:8
6	XI	-fu	-ve	xi	-SU	-u	-ti	0	6:8
7	MA	-tso	-lo	sw'ku-N'WA-a			-na	0	7:8
8	MA	-tso	-lo	sw'ku-N'WA-a			-na##		7:8

[A literary version is in Rasengana:7] (Appendix III:310)

26 SWINYANYANA SWA NTLHANU

26.1 Two versions of this seven stanza unison chanted poem were recorded, at Mbhuroni (Video 271: Tape 2-42) and at Burgersdorp (Video 277: Tape 2-49). Discussion is based on the second of these, i.e. version a, and differences between this and the Mbhuroni version, version b, are highlighted thereafter. Each stanza consists of a couplet, but the last stanza is a repetition of the second line of stanza 6. No literary versions of this poem have been traced.

26.2.1

version a

```
                                  ()^
=1=     Swinyenyana swa ntlhanu,
        Five little birds,

                ()^()^   ()^
2       Khenhla ka murhi,
        On top of a tree,

                  -()--()-
=3=     Xin'wanyana xi ku,
        One of them says,

                ()-  ()- *-----*
4       Wanuna ni xibamu!
        A man with a gun!

                  ().().  ().
=5=     Xin'wanyana xi ku,
        One of them says,

                   /S\S/S\S/S\S
6       A hi tswtsumeni!
        Let us run away!

                  -()-
=7=     Xin'wanyana xi ku,
        One of them says,

                  *---------*
8       A hi tumbeleni!
        Let us hide!

                  ().
=9=       Xin'wanyana xi ku,
        One of them says,

                        ()-
10      U kongome bina!
        He's aiming at us!

=11=    Xin'wanyana xi ku,
        One of them says,
```

0808080

12 A hi n'wi chavi hina!
We, we aren't afraid of him!

13/14 ....as line 12

26.2.2

version b

The only difference in version b, is the use, in lines 3,5,7,9 and 11 of xin'we in the place of xin'wanyana, i.e. 'one says'

26.3.1 Body movements

line 1: five fingers pointing upwards in a symbolic textual movement
line 2: arms up to indicate a tree, with hands moving around like branches, in a symbolic textual movement
line 6: 6 steps, running on the spot, in imitative textual movements
line 8: crouching down, as if hiding
lines 12-14: hips swaying, hands on hips, showing disdain, in an expressive textual movement

26.4 Rhythmical analysis

version a With the exception of the first verse line, based on Type I 8-pulse patterns, all verse lines are based on Type II 8-pulse pattern, and enjambement if a feature of this performance.
version b Both Types I and II 8-pulse patterns are used irregularly, with compensation being a feature.

version a

verse line										S:P
	x)	X	x	x	x	X	x	x	(x	
1		swi	-nya-nyan'swa			NTLHA-a		-nu//		7:8
2	e	-HE	-a	-NHLA	ka	MU	-u	-nhL##		6:8
3	xi	-N'WA-nya-NA			-a	xi	-ik'	0//		6:8
4	wa	-NU	-na	NI	xi	-BA	-am'	0##		7:8
5	xi	-N'WA-nya-NA			-a	XI	-ik'	0//		6:6
6	a	-a	hi	TSU	-TSU	-MB	-EN'	0##		6:8
7	xi	-N'WA-nya-na			-a	xi	-ik'	0//		6:8
8	a	-a	hi	TU	-mbe	-le	-en'	0##		6:8
9	xi	-N'WA-nya	-na		-a	xi	-ik'	0//		6:8
10	u	ko	-ngo	-me	hi	-NA	-a	0##		6:8
11	xi	-n'wa-nya-na			-a	xi	-i	k'		6:8
12	a	hi	n'wi	CHA	-AV'	HI	-I	-NA		7:8
13	a	hi	n'wi	CHA	-AV'	HI	-I	-NA//		7:8
14	a	hi	n'wi	CHA	-AV'	HI	-I	-NA###		7:8

version h

	x)	X	x	x	x	X	x	x	(x	
1		swi	-NYE-nyan'swa			NELHA-a		-nu	O	7:8
2		e	-he	-nhla ka		wu	-u	-vhi	O##	6:8
3		xi	-i	-n'wa-e		xi	-i	ku	(wa	4:8
4	wa	-nu	-ne	xi	xi	-NA	-a	-anu##		7:8
5		xi	-i	-n'wa-e		xi	-i	ku	(a	4:8
6	s	hi	-i	TSU	-TSU	-NE	-i	-NI##		6:8
7		xi	-i	-n'wa-e		xi	-i	ku	(a	4:8
8	s	hi	-i	TU	-mbo	-le	-e	-ni##		6:8
9		xi	-i	-n'wa-e		xi	-i	ku	(i	4:8
10	i	ko	-ngo	-me	hi	-i	-NA	-a##		6:8
11		xi	-i	-n'wa-e		xi	-i	ku	(a	4:8
12	s	NI	n'wi	CHA	-av'	NI	-i	-NA##		7:8
13	s	NI	n'wi	CHA	-av'	NI	-i	-NA//		7:8
14	u	NI	n'wi	CHA	-av'	NI	-i	-NA###		7:8

27 TIMBEVA LETINHARHU

27.1 This poem, recorded at Mbhurani (Video 287: Tape 2-62), was the only poem found which appeared to be a translation from a known English nursery rhyme. The 'Three blind mice' of Tsonga folklore are, however not blind. they do not run after the farmer's wife, and their tails are cut off with a hoe, not with a carving knife. The poem was sung to a melody closely resembling that of the English nursery rhyme. The children's body movements are descriptive of the text, coinciding with stressed syllables. No written version of this poem has been found in Tsonga literature.

27.2.1

	()^---------()^
1	Timbeva letinharhu,
	These three mice,
	()^---------()^
2	Timbeva letinharhu,
	These three mice,
	/S\S/S \S/S\S
3	Ti tsutsuma kanjani!
	How they run!
	/S\S/S \S/S\S
4	Ti tsutsuma kanjani!
	How they run!
5	A wona wansati emurhini,
	He sees the woman in the tree,

```
                ().                ().
6       A tsema ncila hi xikomu,
        Cutting the tail with a hoe,
                ()^----------()^
7       Timbeva letinharhu.
        These three mice.
```

1: mbeva (9) '(generic) mouse' (C). The term may also be applied to the striped field mouse which is hunted by small boys during harding. Either gloss would be appropriate to the context.

27.3.1 Body movements

lines 1-2: holding up hands, showing three fingers in a symbolic textual movement
lines 3-4: imitative running steps
line 5: imitative cutting movements, as with a large knife, on tse- and xi-. We note that these are knife, not hoe cutting movements
line 7: arms up, three fingers pointing upwards

(For the melody accompanying this poem, see Appendix XII:)

27.4 Rhythmical analysis

The rhythmical pattern is based on Type II 8-pulse pattern

verse
line

	x	X	x	x	x	X	x	x	8:P
1	ti	-MBE	-va	le	-ti	-nha	-arh'O		7:8
2	ti	-MBE	-va	le	-ti	-nha	-arh'O		7:8
3	ti	TSU	-TSU	-MA	KA	NJA	-AN'	O	7:8
4	ti	TSU	-TSU	-MA	KA	NJA	-AN'	O	7:8
5	a	vo	-a'wanat'	a	mu	-thi	-ni		9:8
6	a	TSE	-ma	ncil'	hi	XI	-ko	-mu	9:8
7	ti	-MBE	-va	le	-ti	-NHA	-a	arh'	7:8

28.1 TINYIMPFU NI LETY

28.1 This chanted unison poem was recorded at Sukani (Video 290: Tape 2-67). It accompanies a game in which the children walk around in a circle, imitating sheep following each other. Structurally the poem consists of two stanzas, each made up of a repeated couplet. No published versions were found.

28.2.1

```
          /S      s  \S s
  s1=  Tinyimpfu hi leti
       Here are the sheep

            /S      s \S s
    2   Ti lava safurha
        Looking for fat

  3/4   ....as 1/2

            /S  \S     /S    \S
  s5=  Ti karhele ti karhele
       They are tired they are tired

             /S  \S    /S    \S
    6   Ti khomana hi mizila
        Holding each other by the tail

  7/8   ....as 5/6
```

2: The children were unable to explain why the sheep were 'looking for fat'

28.3 Body movements and game

lines 1-4: During this stanza, the children make two step-skip textural baton movements in each verse line

lines 5-8: During the second stanza, the children take four running steps per verse line

During the whole of the 'game', which consists solely of moving around in a circle, each child holds onto the skirt or shirt of the child in front of her/him, like sheep 'holding each other by the tail', and this we can describe as an imitative textual movement.

28.4 Rhythmical analysis

Regular pattern of the second type of 8-pulse patterns.

verse line									S:P
	x	X	x	x	x	X	x	x	
1	ti	-NYI	-mpfu	HI	-i	LE	-e	-TI	6:8
2	ti	LA	-va	MA	-a	-Fu	-u	-RHA	5:8
3	ti	-NYI	-mpfu	HI	-i	LE	-e	-TI	6:8
4	ti	LA	-va	MA	-a	-Fu	-u	-RHA##	6:8
5	ti	KA	-rhe	-LE ti		KA	-rhe	-LE	8:8
6	ti	KHO	-ma	-MA hi		MI	-nci	-LA	8:8
7	ti	KA	-rhe	-LE ti		KA	-rhe	-LE	8:8
8	ti	KHO	-ma	-MA hi		MI	-nci	-LA	6:8

29 TSEMA TSEMA NHONGA YA NGA

29.1 This poem is well known throughout the recording area. Three versions were recorded, at Hlaketo, version a (Video 300: Tape 2-79), at Giyani version b (Video 306: Tape 2-88), and at Burgersdorp version c (Video 311: Tape 2-96). The poem which is sung in unison, consists of a single twelve verse line stanza.

29.2.1

version a

1 Tsema tsema nhonga ya nga, nhonga ya nga
Cut, cut my stick, my stick

8. 8* 8. 8*
2 Va veka endlelani, endlelani.
They put (it) in the road, in the road.

8. 8* 8. 8*
3 Va ta hindza, va teka va teka
They will go past, taking (it), taking (it)

{}. {}. {}.{}.{}. {}.
4 Va lumbeta Mabihani, Mabihani,
Accusing Mabihani, Mabihani,

{}. {}. {}.{}.{}. {}.
5 Mabihani xa Ngwenya xa Ngwenya.
Mabihani of the crocodile, of the crocodile.

* * * + + * *
6 Xingomana tundundu, tundundu
Little drum tundundu tundundu

----
7 Xa ku beba Hlavati Hlavati.
It carries you Hlavati Hlavati.

----
8 Hlavati u nga rili u nga rili,
Hlavati, don't cry, don't cry,

{@----------@
9 I manana a vuyaka a vuyaka,
Here is mother coming back coming back,

----
10 A vuya na sila mbilu, sila mbilu.
Coming back with a (???).

11 Rhanga rhanga xa ku tata mbita na rihlelo
Pumpkin pumpkin to fill a pot and a basket

12 Tlhuku! Tlhuku! Dlomu!
Jerk! Jerk! In the water!

1: nhonga a 'walking stick or club' (C)

4: lumbeta carries the connotation of a false accusation

Mabihani personal name

6: ngomana (9) is the large drum used during circumcision rites; it is also *the name given to the rites themselves.*
ngomana > xingomana (7) a small initiation drum

7: -beba is a contraction of -bebula 'to carry on the back in a baby sling' (C)

10: -sila mbilu literally 'to grind the heart', but the meaning is unclear

12: tlhuku! (Id) 'to jerk up (child on mother's back) (C)

dlomu! (Id) 'from -dlomuta 'plump into deep water as a big stone' (C)

29.2.2

version b (Giyani)

line 3: *wa ta hundza* -hundza - -hindza
they will pass

line 1: Mabulani - Mabihani, another trisyllabic personal name

line 5: Mabulani N'waNgoma Mabulani the daughter of Ngoma

line 7: xa ku rila Chavangwe 'Crying Chavangwe' (Chavangwe - personal name)

line 10: omitted in this version

line 11: rhakarhaka 'small thorny pumpkin, edible fruit of a *creeper, size of a hen's egg, red*' (C)

line 12: cukucuku! (Id) 'hurl far away, with one or both hands' (C)

version c (Burgersdorp)

line 2: Ndzi yi veka endlelani...
I put it in the road...

line 4: Mabihana - Mabihani variant forms

line 5: Mabihana wa Ngwenya Mabihana, the daughter of Ngwenya

lines 7-8: omitted in this version

line 10: **u vuya na siya mhilu**
As in version a the meaning of this is obscure, -siya 'to leave'

line 11: **nhakarhaka ra manana ra matata mbita na *rihlelo***
Mother's little pumpkin, filling the pot and the basket

lines 12-12a: **Cukucuku! Dlomu! Pela nambu!**
Throwing away! Into the water! Cross the river!

Kwale ka Vagwambe na Vachopi
Over there at the place of the Gwambe and the Chopi
i.e. at the place of the ancestors

29.3.1 *Body movements*

lines 2/3 bending down, two textual movements down-up, down-up of the whole torso, *imitating the action of putting something down on the ground (line 2) and picking something up off the ground (line 3)*

line 6: 6 rapid but not *isochronous claps on the syllables of* tundundu, tundundu

line 7: hands held together, behind the back, palms up, on the hips, in a textual movement imitative of *holding up the buttocks* of a baby

line 10: 6 imitative textual grinding movements, the hands moving wrist down in a grinding movement on an imaginary stone

version b

The two adult ladies singing this poem in unison, kept up a steady 8 claps per verse line with the sixth clap falling on the silent pulses as shown in 29.6

version c

line 1: two imitative textual movements, showing the action of cutting a branch, *on nho- and ra*

lines 2/3: as in version a, imitative textual movements of the torso, bending down

line 6: 8 regular textural drum tapping *movements on xingo 'ra.*

(For the melody accompanying this poem, see Appendix II:299)

29.4 Rhythmical analysis

All the verse lines, in all three versions, are perceived as being organised by the 16-pulse pattern, initiated by a stressed pulse. Intralinear breathing is a feature of these performances, with resulting run-on verse lines. Regular pulsation tends to break down a ver verse line 12.

version a

```
verse                                                                S:P
line
    X  x   x   x   X   x     x   x  X  x  x  x  X   x     x   x
1   tse-ma tse -ma  nho -ong'ya  -a nga-a O  #  nho -ong ya  nga //  12:16
2   va -a  ve  -ka 'NDLE-e      -le -e -ni-i O  #  'NDLE-e     -le -ni //  11:16
3   va -a  hi  -ndza VA  -a     te  -e -ka-a O  #  VA  -a     te  -ka //  10:16
4   va lu  -mbe-ta  MA  -a      -bi -ha-MI-i O  #  MA  -b'ha-ni -i  //  12:16
5   Ma -bi -ha -ni  XA  -a      NGWE-e-NYA-a O  #  XA  Ngwe -NYA-a  //  10:16
6   XI -ngo-ma -na  TU  -u      -NDU-u-NDU-u O  #  TU  -u     -NDU -NDU//  10:16
7   xa ku  be  -ha  HLA -a      -va -a-ti -i O  #  Hla -a     -va -ti //  10:16
8   Hla-va -ti u    nga -a      xi  -i-li -i #  u   nga  -a    -xi -li //  11:16
9   i  ma  -na -na  A   -a      VU  -ya-ka-a O  #  a   vu     -ya -ka //  12:16
10  a  vu  -ya na   SI  -la     MBI -i -LU-u O  #  SI  -la    MBI -lu //  12:16
11  (.....)
```

version b

```
1   TSE-ma TSE -ma  NHO -ong'YA  -a NGA-a O  #  NHO -ong' YA nga //  12:16
2   VA ve  -KA -a   NDLE-e       -LE -e -NI-A O  #  'NDLE-le    -E -ni //  11:16
3   VA ta  HU -ndza VA  -a       TE  -e -KA-a O  #  VA  ta     -E -ka //  10:16
4   VAa lu -MBE-ta  MA  -a       -B'LA-a -NI-i O  #  MA  -a     -B'LA-ni//  12:16
5   MA -bu -LA -ni  N'WA-a       -NGO-o -MA-a O  #  M'WA-ngo   -O -ma //  10:16
6   XI -ngo-MA -na  TU  -u       -NDU-u-NDU-u O  #  TU  -u     -NDU-ndu//  12:16
7   XA ku  BI  -la  CHA -a       -VA -a-NGWE-eO  #  CHA -a     -VA-ngwe//  10:16
8   CHA-va-NGWE u   NGA -a       XI  -i  -LI-i #  u   NGA -a    XI -li //  11:16
9    a  -NAN'a      VU  -u       -YA -a -KA-a O  #  A   vu     -YA -ka //  12:16
10  (....)
```

version c

```
1   tse-ma tse -ma  NHO -ong'YA  -a nga-a O  #  nho -ong' ya nga //  12:16
2  ndzi yi ve  -ka 'NDLE-e      -le -e -ni-i O  #  'NDLE-e     -le-ni //  12:16
3   va ta  hu -ndza VA  -a       te  -e -ka-a O  #  VA  -a     te -ka //  10:16
4   va lu  -mbe-ta  Ma  -a       -b'ha-a -na-a O  #  Wa  -a     -b'ha-na//  12:16
5   Ma -bi -ha -na  wa  -a       Ngwe-e-nya-a O  #  wa  -a     Ngwe-nya//  10:16
6   XI -NGO-MA -NA  tu  -u       -ndu-u-ndu-u O  #  tu  -u     -ndu-ndu//  10:16
7   i  ma  -na -na  a   -a       vu  -ya-ka-a O  #  a   -a     v'ya-ka //  12:16
8   u  vu  -ya na  s'ya -a       mbi -i -lu-u O  #  s'ya-aa    mbi -lu //  12:16
```

[Published versions of this poem are found in Nt... ...isi :45-6 and in Rasengane :20 with accreditation to P.Ntsan'wisi] (Appendix III:310-311)

30 VANA VANA VANA VA NGA

30.1 This chanted poem was recorded at Burgersdorp (Video 320: Tape 2-111). It accompanies a game which resembles the Western **Oranges and Lemons**. The poem consists of two stanzas, the second being a repeated couplet, and these stanzas are repeated throughout the game. The stanzas are antiphonal, the meaning being conveyed in the first of the two stanzas by the words of the caller, and by both caller and the responding choral words in the second stanza. Some of the words are of unclear meaning, with the meaning of the first stanza being particularly obscure.

30.2.1

```
                /s \s/s   \s   /s      \s          /s\s
=1=   (S)  Vana vana vana va nga          (Ch)  Vulanga
           Children, children my children         Vulanga

                /s \s  /s   \s      /s     \s          /s\s
 2    (S)  Va nga hali hi mintlhambi             (Ch)  Vulanga
           They cannot be finished in great numbers    Vulanga

                /s  \s   /s      \s   /s    \s          /s   \s
=3=   (S)  Xi ku xi ku xa ngheza xi ku,          (Ch)  Xi mita chela
           Saying, saying as it enters, it says,       It swallows the frog

 4         ....as line 3
```

3: hi mintlhambi literally 'like herds' i.e. in great numbers

30.3.1 Body movements

Each verse line has eight textural baton steps.

30.3.2 Game

The game is played exactly as 'Oranges and Lemons', but the words and melody bear no resemblance to the Western tune of that name. Two children, who have previously each chosen a favourite object, stand facing each other, holding hands in a high arch. The other children pass through the arch, running in a large circle while the verse lines are sung. On the repetition of the word mita the arms come down and the 'frog' is 'swallowed'. The child thus caught listens to the whispered names of the chosen objects, decides on one and then stands behind the child whose object it is. After the last child is caught, a tug-of-war takes place, and the strongest team is the winner. In the particular performance recorded, the two objects were xikhuta kumbe movha 'a scooter or a car'. Maroen describes this game in his collection of boys' games (Maroleo,1954:63-4), with the title Xitimela xa Mati 'a train and water'.

30.4 Rhythmical analysis

Regular Type I 16-pulse pattern occurs in performance.

```
verse
line                                                              S:P
     X  x  x  x    X  x    x  x  X    x  x    x  X  x  x  x
1  VA -a -A -na  VA  -na  VA  -na VA    nga  0  * vu -LA -a  NGA 0     11:16
2  VA -a -A -nga NE  -li  HI  ni  -WXLWA-mbi 0  * vu -LA -a  NGA ##    11:16
3  XI ku -U xi   KU  xa   NGHY-na XI    ku   0  * xi MI  -ta CHE -la  14:16
4  XI ku -U xi   KU  xa   NGHE-na XI    ku   0  * xi MI  -ta CHE -la  14:16
```

31. VONANI N'WANA WA NGA

31.1 This sung poem was recorded at Sukani (V(deo 335: Tape 2-135). In consist of five call and response couplets. These are antiphonal in form, although the children sang the whole poem in unison. In structure, the poem resembles closely the characteristic folktale form, but no references to it has been found in the published folktales.

31.2.1

=1= Vonani n'wana wa nga
See my child

8. 8. 8.
2 Sekurende kurende kurende
Sekurende kurende kurende

=3= U ala na ku dya
He is even refusing to eat

4 ....as line 2

=5= N'wana wa nga hinco
My child hinco

6 Hinco, hinco
Hinco, hinco

=7= N'wansdleve hinco
Daughter of Big-ear, hinco

8 ....as line 6

=9= Si ya dlodlo hinco
We are going dlodlo hinco

10 ....as line 6

6: N'wansdleve (1a) literally 'daughter of Big-ear'. The use of the class 6 noun prefix wa- gives, in Tsonga, the connotation not only of something big, but also something ridiculous, and its use conveyn also the sense of stupidity.

7: si this line is obscure in meaning, even if this is read as the Zulu form of the Subject Prefix, first person plural. No

explanations for the words sekurenda, dlodlo or hinco can be offered.

31.3.1 Body movements

lines 2 and 4: the children jump down to a crouching position on each utterance of kurenda. This movement, together with the use of N'wamadlewe, may be an imitative textual movement, since the term is often used to refer to the hare in Tsonga folktales.

(For the melody accompanying this poem, see Appendix II:299)

31.4 Rhythmical analysis

The first two couplets are performed to Type II 8-pulse pattern while the rest of the poem follows Type I 8-pulse pattern

verse line	x)	X	x	x	x	X	x	x	(x		S:P
1	vo	-na	-ni	n'wa	-na	wa	nga	0	//		7:8
2	se	K'RE	-nde	K'RE	-nde	K'RE	-nde	0##			10:8
3	u	a	-la	ni	ku	dya	-a	0	//		6:8
4	se	K'RE	-nde	K'RE	-nde	K'RE	-nde	0##			10:8
5		n'wa	-na	wa	nga	hi	-nco	-o	0	//	6:8
6		hi	-nco	-o	-o	hi	-nco	-o	0	##	4:8
7		N'wa	-na	-dle	-wa	hi	-nco	-o	0	//	6:8
8		hi	-nco	-o	-o	hi	-nco	-o	0	##	4:8
9		si	ya	dlo	-dlo	hi	-nco	-o	0	//	6:8
10		hi	-nco	-o	-o	hi	-nco	-o	0		4:8

32 XIKHONGOLOTANA

32.1 This poem, sung in unison, was recorded in the Giyani area on four occasions. Each version has a different number of three verse line stanzas.

version a Mbhurani (Tape 1-141)
22 stanzas plus one incomplete final stanza

version b Hlaketo (Video 340: Tape 2-172)
19 stanzas plus one incomplete final stanza of a different form from the other stanzas

version c Ngove (Tape 2-205 - no video material is available for this because of an accidental over-recording).
33 stanzas plus an incomplete final stanza

version d Giyani (Video 360: Tape 2-251)
24 stanzas, with a final inaudible stanza which would appear to be of a different form.

CYCLIC STRUCTURE AND DISTRIBUTION IN FOUR VERSIONS OF XIKHONGOLOTANA

Column A	Column B	versions a	b	c	d
CC 1 xikhongolotana		2(1-6)	2(1-6)	2(1-6)	2(1-6)
CC 2 rharhu		2(7-12)	2(7-12)	2(7-12)	2(7-12)
CC 3 rinhu		3(13-21)	3(13-21)	3(13-21)	3(13-21)
CC 4 tihomu		4(22-33)	4(22-33)	4(22-33)	4(22-33)
	PC 1 vuyokoyokwani		2(34-39),		2(34-39)
	PC 2 ntlhambi	3(34-42)			6(40-57)
	PC 3 enxinkobyanini			5(34-48)	
CC 5 tilo		2(43-48)	2(40-45)	2(49-54)	2(58-63)
CC 6 n'wana		3(49-57)	3(46-54)	3(55-63)	3(64-72)
	PC 4 xipene	3(58-66)	1(55-57)	4(64-75)	
	PC 5 enhlarukweni			5(76-90)	
CC 5 tilo				2(91-96)	
CC 6 n'wana				1(97-99)	
		+1(67-8)	+1(58-60)	+1(100)	+0
	Total number of stanzas	22+1	19+1	33+1	24

Each version is made up of cycles, each dealing with one topic which we define for analytical purposes by the 'head word' which introduces it. *Six* cycles were common to all four versions, and comprise the same number of stanzas in each version. We call these COMMON CYCLES, abbreviated to CC, and numbered 1 to 6, and the head words are as follows:

CC 1	xikhongolotana	'little millipede'
CC 2	rharhu - rharhi	'father' (obsolete noun)
CC 3	rinhu - rinhi	'thin stick'
CC 4	tihomu	'cattle'
CC 5	tilo	'sky'
CC 6	n'wana	'child'

There are, further, five cycles, not common to all versions, and comprising different numbers of stanzas in the different versions, which we call PARTICULAR CYCLES, abbreviated to PC, and numbered 1 to 5, and the head words are as follows:

PC 1	vuyokoyokwani	'huliabaloo'	*versions* b and d
PC 2	mthambi	'herd'	*versions* A and d
PC 3	enxinkobyanini	'in the little valley'	*version* c
PC 4	xipene	'streenbok'	*versions* a, b and e
PC 5	enhlarukweni	*'at the drift'*	*version* e

The Table facing, gives a structural comparison of the four versions. Column A gives the Common Cycles, column B gives the Particular Cycles, and the *final four columns show* the structure of each version, using the convention

2(1-6) to be read as 'two stanzas (verse lines 1-6)'
3(49-57) to be read as 'three stanzas (verse lines 49-57)'

It will be apparent from Table I and from the textual transcriptions that the poetic performances were highly repetitive. The longest version, version g, has been chosen as the basic text. The cycles have been indicated by vertical bracketing. Cycles conclude with the final verse line of a stanza, which introduces the *new* head word of *the following cycle*. It will be recalled that the Ngove performances were completely spontaneous, and the length of this version represents, not so much new material within the poem, as significant differences between it and the other versions, as the *repetition of the content of previous cycles*, with the substitution of a new head word. The children eventually stopped singing only because the adults in the audience began to grumble, and one had the clear impression that they could happily have carried on singing for much longer in the same fashion. *Differences* between version g and the other versions are discussed in 32.2.2 below.

32.2.1

1	Xikhongolotana mm Little millipede mm	----	CYCLES
2	Xikhongolotana Little millipede		

3 Xi khongo'ela ndzilo mm
Encourages the fire mm.

=4= Xi khongotela ndzilo mm
Encourages the fire mm

5 Xi khongotela ndzilo
Encourages the fire

6 Rharhi wa ku wa ta mm
Your father is coming mm

(From this point on, repeated verse lines will not be given in full)

=7= ....as line 6

8 Rharhi wa ku wa ta
Your father is coming

9 U tela ku tsema mm
He is coming to cut mm

=10= ....as line 9

11 U tela ku tsema
He is coming to cut

12 Rinhu ra mhingu mm
The thin stick of the stake mm

=13= ....as line 12

14 Rinhu ra mhingu
The thin stick of the stake

15 Ra matsheketani mm
Of the cuckoos mm

=16= ....as line 15

17 Ra matsheketani
Of the cuckoos

18 Tsheketa roxe mm
Narrate alone mm

=19= ....as line 18

20 Tsheketa roxe
Narrate alone

21 Tihomu ta Vahlave mm
The cattle of the Vahlave mm

---> CC 1 xikhongolotana

---> CC 2 rharhu

----> CC 3 rinhu

=22= ....as line 21 ----|

23 Tihomu ta Vahlave
The cattle of the Vahlave

24 A ti dyi byanyi mm
Do not eat grass mm

=25= ....as line 24

26 A ti dyi byanyi
Do not eat grass

27 Ti dya vululwani mm
They eat maize tassles mm ----> CC 4 ti/homu

=28= ....as line 27

29 Ti dya vululwani
They eat maize tassles

30 Loko va hulele mm
When they have threshed (them)

=31= ....as line 30

32 Loko va hulele
When they have threshed (them)

33 Exinkobyanini mm ----|
In the little valley mm

=34= ....as line 33 ----|

35 Exinkobyanini
In the little valley

36 Ku nga fela rharhu mm
Where father died mm

=37= ....as line 36

38 Ku nga fela rharhu
Where father died

39 Rharhu Malengedzu mm
Father Malengedzu mm

=40= ....as line 39

41 Rharhu Malengedzu
Father Malengedzu

42 Lengedzu-lengedzu mm ----> PC 3 exinkobyanini
Lengedzu-lengedzu mm

=43= ....as line 42

44 Langedzu-langedzu
Langedzu-langedzu

45 Xa dliva tilo mm
It bumps the sky mm

=46= ....as line 45

47 Xa dliva tilo
It bumps the sky

48 Tilo ri vuya mm
It is raining mm ----

=49= ....as line 48 ----

50 Tilo ri vuya
It is raining

51 Ri vuyela n'wana mm
It is raining for the child mm ----> CC 5 tilo

=52= ....as line 51

53 Ri vuyela n'wana
It is raining for the child

54 N'wana Ntshikiwana mm
The child of Ntshikiwana mm ----

=55= ....as line 54 ----

56 N'wana Ntshikiwana
The child of Ntshikiwana

57 Xa ku tshwuka ngopfu mm
The very red one mm

=58= ....as line 57

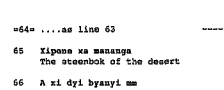
59 Xa ku tshwuka ngopfu
The very red one

60 Xi nge xipene mm
Like the steenbok mm ----> CC 6 n'wana

=61= ....as line 60

62 Xi nge xipene
Like the steenbok

63 Xipene xa mananga mm
The steenbok of the desert mm ----



3: -khongotela 'to encourage' has probably been substituted by the children for the more usual -kondletela 'to poke up a fire'

12: rinhi - rinhu (11) 'a thin wand or stick' (C)
mhingu (9) 'a peg or stake' (C)
The meaning of this verse line is obscure

15: The meaning is unclear. tsheketani (9) 'red-chested cuckoo (Cuculus solitarius)' (C) would normally have a plural in Class 11, i.e. titsheketani. Matsheketi it might however be a reference to someone well known for skill as a narrator of the mitsheketo 'folktales', < -tsheketa 'to tell tales or narrate'

27: vululwani - vulelwanyi (14) 'tassles of maize ears, eaten by cattle after threshing' (C)

30: hulela < -hulela 'thread or string, as beads or fish' (C)

39: Malamgodzu possibly a surname, the final syllables of which are repeated as euphonic repetition in line 42

45: -dziva 'knock one's head against something which is too low, as lintel' (C)

48: tilo ri vuya literally 'the sky is coming back' but often said by Tsonga speakers of rain falling

32.2.2

Textual differences are discussed below for each of the other versions, using the cycle headings. The equals sign = is used to indicate that no differences exist between the version under discussion and version c as given above.

version b Mbhureni

xikhongolotana =

rharhu =

rinhu =

tihomu line 24: byasi which is a dialectal variant of byanyi

line 29: vulungwani (14) 'variety of red bead, kind of hard-shelled small fruit used as bead' (C)

ntlhambi line 33: N'anga yi na ntlhambi
The herbalist has a herd
line 34-5....as line 33

line 36: Ntlhambi wa tinyarhi
A herd of buffalo
line 37-8....as line 36

line 39: Wu ya dyiwa tilo
It (the herd) is being eaten by the sky
The meaning is not clear, and it could be that the children have substituted dyiwa 'to be eaten' for the less usual verb -dliva

tilo =

n'wana =

xipesa *lines 59-65, as in version c*, are a repetition of the tihomu cycle, with xipesa as head word

The fourth stanza of this cycle is incomplete and of a different form from the preceding stanzas, and brings the performance to a close

line 67: Loko va hulele
When they have threaded (them)

line 68: Khawu! Khawu! Khawu!
Ideophone, probably derived from -khawuka 'to cease to flow, to do an accustomed thing; abandon a habit' (C)

version b — Hlaketo

xikhongolotana =

rhorhu =

rinhu — line 18: wexe Exclusive Adjective, Second Person Singular in in place of roxe

tihomu =

vuyokoyokwani — lines 33-5: vuyokoyokwani "Ideophone derived from the behaviour and chatter of the bird mayokoyokwani Jardine's Babbler, which seated in a large flock makes a loud and continuous noise. Hence, figuratively, the behaviour and talk of a village in which everybody is disagreeing with everyone else, and nobody listening to what the other person says." (Personal communication: T R Schneider)

yokoyoko (5) 'red-billed hoopoe' (C) would give the same derived form for behavioural characteristics - there is thus lack of clarity as to the meaning here, except that it possibly refers to behaviour like that of birds.

tilo =

n'wana =

xipene — This cycle consists of only one stanza in this version

lines 55-7: xipene xa nhova
the steenbok of the bush

lines 58-60 make up the final stanza of the poem, and have a different stanzaic structure from all other stanzas

Khaputela byasi
Nibbling the grass

Khap! Khap! Khap!
(Ideophonic repetition < -khaputela)

version d

xikhongolotana =

Note: the first stanza in this version consists of two verse lines only, corresponding to lines 2 and 3 in the other versions, thus for the sake of consistency, the numbering is retained. The bilabial hum mm which characterises the other three versions is here performed as a lengthened vowel i-i sung on one note, and it is not melismatic as in the other versions.

rharhi =

rinhu	=
tihomu	line 27: **vulungwani** *as in* version a above
vuyokoyokwani	line 36: **Ndzi hlangene** *na* **ntlhambi** I met up with a herd lines 37-8...as line 36
ntlhambi	The cycle consists of 6 stanzas line 42: **Wu longolokile** *Walking* in single file lines 43-4...as line 42 line 45: **Wu ya rila tate** It *is crying* sister lines 46-7...as line 45 line 48: **Tate Malengedu** Sister Malengedu cf. version c, lines 39-44 *lines* 49-50....as line 48 *line* 51: **Lengedu-lengedu** Euphonic repetition lines 52-3....*as line* 51 line 54: **Xi ya dliva tilo** It is bumping the sky
tilo	=
n'wasa	The poem concludes with the final verse line (72) of this cycle. The final stanza was a barely audible *rush* of words, *finishing* with **khodoo!**, an exclamation often used to conclude the narration of a folktale

32.3.1 **Body Movements**

version a Mbhureni

This version was recorded during the exploratory trip, hence no analysis is possible

version b Hlaketo

The body movements of the children singing this version of the poem are mainly imitative textual *movements*, and associated almost exclusively with verbal radicals, and repeated on each occurrence of the radical.

lines 2/3	**khongotela**	imitative action of poking a fire
lines 6/7	**wa ta**	imitative *beckoning* movement of hand and arm
lines 9-11	**tsema**	imitative cutting action
lines 24-6	**a ti dyi**	imitative action of *eating*

lines 27-9 ti dya	imitative action of eating We note that the action is expressed by a negative verbal form in lines 24-6, and expressed in the *positive form* in lines 27-9, but the hand-to-mouth movements are the same for each case
lines 36-8 dliva tilo	arms raised in symbolic textual movements to indicate the sky
lines 39-41 vuya	*imitative arm movements, showing* the action of returning
lines 48-50 tshwuka	a symbolic textual movement, the hand brushing around and over the face to indicate its redness
lines 57-9 khaputela	imitative movements to indicate eating which are repeated in the final verse line with the utterance of Khap! Khap! Khap!

(version c

No description possible due to accidental over-recording)

version d

No observable body movements

(For the melody accompanying this poem, see Appendix II:)

32.4 Rhythmical analysis

This poem is the only one in the collection which shows regular patterning of 8- and 12-pulse verse lines, in the order 12-8-12 for each stanza. Without exception, the verse lines are initiated with a stressed pulse.

version a

verse line													*S:P*
	X	x	x	x	X	x	x	x	X	x	x	x	
	X	x	x	x	X	x	x	x					
1	xi	-kho	-ngo	-lo	-ta	-a	na	0	m	m	0	0	7:12
2	xi	-kho	-ngo	-lo	-ta	-a	na	0	//				6:8
3	x'kho	-ngo	-te	-la	ndzi	-i	-lo	0	m	m	##		8:12
4	x'kho	-ngo	-te	-la	ndzi	-i	-lo	0	m	m	0	0	8:12
5	x'kho	-ngo	-te	-la	ndzi	-i	-lo	0	//				7:8
6	rha	-rhi	wa	ku	wa	-a	ta	0	m	m	##		7:12
7	rha	-rhi	wa	ku	wa	-a	ta	0	m	m	0	0	7:12
8	rha	-rhi	wa	ku	wa	-a	ta	0	//				6:8
9	u	te	-la	ku	tse	-e	-ma	0	m	m	##		7:12
10	u	te	-la	ku	tse	-e	-ma	0	m	m	0	0	7:12
11	u	te	-la	ku	tse	-e	-ma	0	//				6:8
12	ri	-nhu	-u	ra	mhi	-i	-ngu	0	m	m	##		6:12
13	ri	-nhu	-u	ra	mhi	-i	-ngu	0	m	m	0	0	6:12
14	ri	-nhu	-u	ra	mhi	-i	-ngu	0	//				5:8
15	ra	ma	-tshe-ke		-ta	-a	-ma	0	m	m	##		7:12
16	ra	ma	-tshe-ke		-ta	-a	-ma	0	m	m	0	0	7:12

	X	x	x	x	X	x	x	x	X	x	x	x	
17		rn	an	-tsho-ka		-ta	-a	-na	0	//			6:8
18		tshe	-ka	-e	-ta	ro	-o	-xe	0	m	m	##	6:12
19		tshe	-ka	-e	-ta	ro	-o	-xe	0	m	m	0 0	6:12
20		tshe	-ka	-e	-ta	ro	-o	-xe	0	//			5:8
21	t'ho		-mu	ta	Va		-hla -a	-ve	0	m	m	##	8:12
22	t'ho		-mu	ta	Va		-hla -a	-ve	0	m	m	0 0	8:12
23	t'ho		-mu	ta	Va		-hla -a	-ve	0	//			7:8
24		a	ti	-i	dyi	bya	-a	-si	0	m	m	##	6:12
25		a	ti	-i	dyi	bya	-a	-si	0	m	m	0 0	6:12
26		a	ti	-i	dyi	bya	-a	-si	0	//			5:8
27		ti	dya	vu	-lu	-ngwa-a		-na	0	m	m	##	7:12
28		ti	dya	vu	-lu	-ngwa-a		-na	0	m	m	0 0	7:12
29		ti	dya	vu	-lu	-ngwa-a		-na	0	//			6:8
30		lo	-ko	va	hu	-le	-e	-le	0	m	m	##	7:12
31		lo	-ko	va	hu	-le	-e	-le	0	m	m	0 0	7:12
32		lo	-ko	va	hu	-le	-e	-le	0	//			6:8
33		n'a	-nga	yi	na	ntlha-a		-mbi	0	m	m	##	7:12
34		n'a	-nga	yi	na	ntlha-a		-mbi	0	m	m	0 0	7:12
35		n'a	-nga	yi	na	ntlha-a		-mbi	0	//			6:8
36		ntlha-mbi		wa	ti	-nya -a		-rhi	0	m	m	##	7:12
37		ntlha-mbi		wa	ti	-nya -a		-rhi	0	m	m	0 0	7:12
38		ntlha-mbi		wa	ti	-nya -a		-rhi	0	//			6:8
39		wu	ya	dli	-va	ti	-i	-lo	0	m	m	##	7:12
40		wu	ya	dli	-va	ti	-i	-lo	0	m	m	0 0	7:12
41		wu	ya	dli	-va	ti	-i	-lo	0	//			6:8
42		ti	-lo	-o	ra	vu	-u	-ya	0	m	m	##	6:12
43		ti	-lo	-o	ra	vu	-u	-ya	0	m	m	0 0	6:12
44		ti	-lo	-o	ra	vu	-u	-ya	0	//			5:8
45		ri	vu	-ye	-la	n'wa	-a	-na	0	m	m	##	7:12
46		ri	vu	-ye	-la	n'wa	-a	-na	0	m	m	0 0	7:12
47		ri	vu	-ye	-la	n'wa	-a	-na	0	//			5:8
48		n'wa	-na	Ntshi-ki		-wa	-a	-na	0	m	m	##	7:12
49		n'wa	-na	Ntshi-ki		-wa	-a	-na	0	m	m	0 0	7:12
50		n'wa	-na	Ntshi-ki		-wa	-a	-na	0	//			6:8
51		xa	-a	k'tswhu-ka		ngo	-o	-pfu	0	m	m	##	7:12
52		xa	-a	k'tswhu-ka		ngo	-o	-pfu	0	m	m	0 0	7:12
53		xa	-a	k'tswhu-ka		ngo	-o	-pfu	0	//			5:8
54		xa	nge	-e	xi	-pe	-e	-ne	0	m	m	##	6:12
55		xe	nge	-e	xi	-pe	-e	-ne	0	m	m	0 0	6:12
56		xe	nge	-e	xi	-pe	-e	-ne	0	//			5:8
57	x'pe		-ne	xa	ma	-na	-a	-nga	0	m	m	##	8:12
58	x'pe		-ne	xa	ma	-na	-a	-nga	0	m	m	0 0	8:12
59	x'pe		-ne	xa	ma	-na	-a	-nga	0	//			7:8
60		a	xi	-i	dyi	bya	-a	-si	0	m	m	##	6:12
61		a	xi	-i	dyi	bya	-a	-si	0	m	m	0 0	6:12
62		a	xi	-i	dyi	bya	-a	-si	0	//			5:8
63		xi	dya	vu	-lu	-ngwa-a		-na	0	m	m	##	7:12
64		xi	dya	vu	-lu	-ngwa-a		-na	0	m	m	0 0	7:12
65		xi	dya	vu	-lu	-ngwa-a		-na	0	//			6:8
66		lo	-ko	va	hu	-le	-e	-le	0	m	m	##	7:12
67		lo	-ko	va	hu	-le	-e	-le	0	//			5:8
68		kha	-a	-wu	0	kha	-a	-wu	0	kha	-a	-wu###	6:12

version b

	X	x	x	x	X	x	x	x	X	x	x	x	
1		xi	-khu	-ngo	-lo	-ta	-a	-na	0	m	m	0 0	7:12
2		xi	-kho	-ngo	-lo	-ta	-a	-na	0	//			6:8
3		x'KHO	-ngo	-ZE	-la	NDZI	-i	-LO	0	M	m	##	6:12
4		x'KHO	-ngo	-ZE	-la	NDZI	-i	-LO	0	M	m	0 0	6:12
5		x'KHO	-ngo	-ZE	-la	NDZI	-i	-LO	0	//			7:8
6			rha	-rhu	wa	ku	WA	-a	ta	0	m	m	##	7:12
7			rha	-rhu	wa	ku	WA	-a	ta	0	m	m	0 0	7:12
8			rha	-rhu	wa	ku	WA	-a	ta	0	//			6:8
9			u	te	-la	ku	TSE	-e	-ma	0	m	m	##	7:12
10			u	te	-la	ku	TSE	-e	-ma	0	m	m	0 0	7:12
11			u	te	-la	ku	TSE	-e	-ma	0	//			6:8
12			ri	-nhu	-u	ra	mhi	-i	-ngu	0	m	m	##	6:12
13			ri	-nhu	-u	ra	mhi	-i	-ngu	0	m	m	0 0	6:12
14			ri	-nhu	-u	ra	mhi	-i	-ngu	0	//			5:8
15			ra	ma	-tshe	-ke	-ta	-a	-ni	0	m	m	##	7:12
16			ra	ma	-tshe	-ke	-ta	-a	-ni	0	m	m	0 0	7:12
17			ra	ma	-tshe	-ke	-ta	-a	-ni	0	//			6:8
18			tshe	-ke	-e	-ta	we	-e	-xe	0	m	m	##	6:12
19			tshe	-ke	-e	-ta	we	-e	-xe	0	m	m	0 0	6:12
20			tshe	-ke	-e	-ta	we	-e	-xe	0	//			5:8
21		t'he	-mu	ta	Va	-hla	-a	-ve	0	m	m	##	8:12
22		t'ho	-mu	ta	Va	-hla	-a	-ve	0	m	m	0 0	8:12
23		t'ho	-mu	ta	Va	-hla	-a	-ve	0	//			7:8
24			a	TI	-i	dyi	BYA	-a	-zi	0	m	m	##	6:12
25			a	TI	-i	dyi	BYA	-a	-zi	0	m	m	0 0	6:12
26			a	TI	-i	dyi	BYA	-a	-zi	0	//			5:8
27			ti	DYA	-a	v'lu	-lwa	-a	-ni	0	m	m	##	7:12
28			ti	DYA	-a	v'lu	-lwa	-a	-ni	0	m	m	0 0	7:12
29			ti	DYA	-a	v'lu	-lwa	-a	-ni	0	//			6:8
30			lo	-ko	va	hu	-le	-e	-le	0	m	m	##	7:12
31			lo	-ko	va	hu	-le	-e	-le	0	m	m	0 0	7:12
32			lo	-ko	va	hu	-le	-e	-le	0	//			6:8
33			vu	-yo	-ko	-yo	-kwa	-a	-ni	0	m	m	##	7:12
34			vu	-yo	-ko	-yo	-kwa	-a	-ni	0	m	m	0 0	7:12
35			vu	-yo	-ko	-yo	-kwa	-a	-ni	0	//			6:8
36		byi	ya	DLI	-va	YI	-i	-lo	0	m	m	##	7:12
37		byi	ya	DLI	-va	YI	-i	-lo	0	m	m	0 0	7:12
38		byi	ya	DLI	-va	YI	-i	-lo	0	//			6:8
39		ti	-lo	-o	ri	VU	-u	-ya	0	m	m	##	6:12
40		ti	-lo	-o	ri	VU	-u	-ya	0	m	m	0 0	6:12
41		ti	-lo	-o	ri	VU	-u	-ya	0	//			5:8
42		ri	vu	-ya	-la	n'wa	-a	-na	0	m	m	##	7:12
43		ri	vu	-ya	-la	n'wa	-a	-na	0	m	m	0 0	7:12
44		ri	vu	-ya	-la	n'wa	-a	-na	0	//			6:8
45		n'wa	-na	Ntshi	-ki	-wa	-a	-na	0	m	m	##	7:12
46		n'wa	-na	Ntshi	-ki	-wa	-a	-na	0	m	m	0 0	7:12
47		n'wa	-na	Ntshi	-ki	-wa	-a	-na	0	//			6:8
48			xa	-a	k'TSHWU	-ka	ngo	-o	-pfu	0	m	m	##	7:12
49			xa	-a	k'TSHWU	-ka	ngo	-o	-pfu	0	m	m	0 0	7:12
50			xa	-a	k'TSHWU	-ka	ngo	-o	-pfu	0	//			6:8
51			se	nge	-e	xi	-pe	-e	-ne	0	m	m	##	6:12

	X	x	x	x	X	x	x	x	X	:	x	x	
52		se	nge	-e	xi	-pe	-e	-ne	0	m	m	0	0	5:12
53		se	ngo	-e	xi	-pe	-e	-ne	0	//				5:8
54		x'pe	-e	-ne	xa	nho	-o	-va	0	m	m	##		7:12
55		x'pe	-e	-ne	xa	nho	-o	-va	0	m	m	0	0	7:12
56		x'pe	-e	-ne	xa	nho	-o	-va	0	//				6:8
57		kha	-s	y'ts	-la	bye	-a	-ai	0	m	m	##		7:8
58		kha	-s	·ap	0	kha	-a	-ap	0	kha	-a	-ap	0	3:8

version 6

1		x'kho	-o	-ngo	-lo	-ta	-a	-na	0	m	m	m	0	7:12
2		x'kho	-o	-ngo	-lo	-ta	-a	-na	0	//				6:8
3		x'kho	-ngo	-te	-la	ndzi	-i	-lo	0	m	m	m	##	8:12
4		x'kho	-ngo	-te	-la	ndzi	-i	-lo	0	m	m	m	0	8:12
5		x'kho	-ngo	-te	-la	ndzi	-i	-lo	0	//				7:8
6		rha	-zhi	wa	ku	wa	-a	ta	0	m	m	m	##	7:12
7		rha	-zhi	wa	ku	wa	-a	ta	0	m	m	m	0	7:12
8		rha	-zhi	wa	ku	wa	-a	ta	0	//				6:8
9		u	ts	lav'	ku	tse	-e	-ma	0	m	m	m	##	8:12
10		u	ts	lav'	ku	tse	-e	-ma	0	m	m	m	0	8:12
11		u	ts	lav'	ku	tse	-e	-ma	0	//				7:8
12		ri	-nhu	-u	va	zhi	-i	-ngu	0	m	m	m	##	5:12
13		ri	-nhu	-u	ra	zhi	-i	-ngu	0	m	m	m	0	6:12
14		ri	-nhu	-u	ra	zhi	-i	-ngu	0	//				5:8
15		ra	ma	-tshe	-ke	-ta	-a	-ni	0	m	m	m	##	7:12
16		ra	ma	-tshe	-ke	-ta	-a	-ni	0	m	m	m	0	7:12
17		ra	ma	-tshe	-ke	-ta	-a	-ni	0	//				6:8
18		tshe	-ke	-e	-ta	ro	-o	-xe	0	m	m	m	##	6:12
19		tsha	-ke	-e	-ta	ro	-o	-xe	0	m	m	m	0	6:12
20		tshe	-ke	-e	-ta	ro	-o	-xe	0	//				5:8
21		t'ho	-nu	ta	Va	-hla	-a	-ve	0	m	m	m	##	6:12
22		t'ho	-nu	ta	Va	-hla	-a	-ve	0	m	m	m	0	6:12
23		t'ho	-nu	ta	Va	-hla	-a	-ve	0	//				7:8
24		a	ti	-i	dyi	bya	-a	-nyi	0	m	m	m	##	6:12
25		a	ti	-i	dyi	bya	-a	-nyi	0	m	m	m	0	6:12
26		a	ti	-i	dyi	bya	-a	-nyi	0	//				5:8
27		ti	dya	vu	-lu	-lwa	-a	-ni	0	m	m	m	##	7:12
28		ti	dya	vu	-lu	-lwa	-a	-ni	0	m	m	m	0	7:12
29		ti	dya	vu	-lu	-lwa	-a	-ni	0	//				6:8
30		lo	-ko	va	hu	-le	-e	-le	0	m	m	m	##	7:12
31		lo	-ko	va	hu	-lo	-e	-le	0	m	m	m	0	7:12
32		lo	-ko	va	hu	-le	-e	-le	0	//				6:8
33		e	-xi	-nko	-bya	-ni	-i	-ni	0	m	m	m	##	7:12
34		e	-xi	-nko	-bya	-ni	-i	-ni	0	m	m	m	0	7:12
35		e	-xi	-nko	-bya	-ni	-i	-ni	0	//				6:8
36		ku	nga	fo	-la	rha	-a	-zhi	0	m	m	m	##	7:12
37		ku	nga	fo	-la	rha	-a	-zhi	0	m	m	m	0	7:12
38		ku	nga	fo	-la	rha	-a	-zhi	0	//				6:8
39		rha	-zhi	Ma	-le	-nga	-e	-dzu	0	m	m	m	##	7:12
40		rha	-zhi	Ma	-le	-nga	-e	-dzu	0	m	m	m	0	7:12
41		rha	-zhi	Ma	-le	-nga	-e	-dzu	0	//				6:8
42		le	-nge	-dzu	le	-nga	-e	-dzu	0	m	m	m	##	7:12
43		le	-nge	-dzu	le	-nga	-e	-dzu	0	m	m	m	0	7:12

	X	x	x	x	X	x	x	x	X	x	x	x		
44	le	-nge	-dzu	le	-nge	-e	-dzu	0	//				5:8	
45	xa	-a	dli	-va	ti	-i	-lo	0	m	m	m	##	6:12	
46	xa	-a	dli	-va	ti	-i	-lo	0	m	m	m	0	6:12	
47	xa	-a	dli	-va	ti	-i	-lo	0	//				5:8	
48	ti	-lo	-o	ri	vu	-u	-ya	0	m	m	m	##	6:12	
49	ti	-lo	-o	ri	vu	-u	-ya	0	m	m	m	0	6:12	
50	ti	-lo	-o	ri	vu	-u	-ya	0	//				5:8	
51	ri	vu	-ye	-la	u'wa	-a	-na	0	u	n	n	##	7:12	
52	ri	vu	-ye	-la	n'wa	-a	-na	0	u	n	n	0	7:12	
53	ri	vu	-ye	-la	n'wa	-a	-na	0	//				6:8	
54	n'wa	-na	Ntshi	-ki	-wa	-a	-na	0	m	m	m	##	7:12	
55	n'wa	-na	Ntshi	-ki	-wa	-a	-na	0	m	m	m	0	7:12	
56	n'wa	-na	Ntshi	-ki	-wa	-a	-na	0	//				6:8	
57	xa	ku	tswhu	-ka	ngo	-o	-pfu	0	n	n	n	##	7:12	
58	xa	ku	tswhu	-ka	ngo	-o	-pfu	0	n	n	n	0	7:12	
59	xa	ku	tswhu	-ka	ngo	-o	-pfu	0	//				6:8	
60	xi	nge	-e	xi	-pe	-e	-ne	0	m	m	m	##	6:12	
61	xi	nge	-e	xi	-pe	-e	-ne	0	m	m	m	0	6:12	
62	xi	nge	-e	xi	-pe	-e	-ne	0	//				5:8	
63	x'pe	-ne	xa	ma	-na	-a	-nga	0	m	m	m	##	8:12	
64	x'pe	-ne	xa	ma	-na	-a	-nga	0	m	m	m	0	8:12	
65	x'pe	-ne	xa	ma	-na	-a	-nga	0	//				7:8	
66	a	xi	-i	dyi	bya	-a	-nyi	0	m	m	m	##	6:12	
67	a	xi	-i	dyi	bya	-a	-nyi	0	n	n	n	0	6:12	
68	a	xi	-i	dyi	bya	-a	-nyi	0	//				5:8	
69	xi	dya	vu	-lu	-lwa	-a	-ni	0	m	m	m	##	7:12	
70	xi	dya	vu	-lu	-lwa	-a	-ni	0	n	n	n	0	7:12	
71	xi	dya	vu	-lu	-lwa	-a	-ni	0	//				6:8	
72	lo	-ko	va	hu	-le	-e	-le	0	m	m	m	##	7:12	
73	lo	-ko	va	hu	-le	-e	-le	0	n	n	n	0	7:12	
74	lo	-lo	va	hu	-le	-e	-le	0	//				6:8	
75	e	-n	-hla	-ru	-kwe	-e	-ni	0	m	m	m	##	6:12	
76	e	-n	-hla	-ru	-kwe	-e	-ni	0	n	n	n	0	6:12	
77	e	-n	-hla	-ru	-kwe	-e	-ni	0	//				5:8	
78	ku	nga	fe	-la	rha	-a	-rhi	0	m	m	m	##	7:12	
79 - 99	....as linos 41 - 61													

variaon d

	O													
1														
2	xi	-kho	-nge	-lo	-ta	-a	-na	0	//				6:8	
3	ko	-ndle	-te	-la	ndzi	-i	-lo	0	i	i	##		7:12	
4	ko	-ndle	-te	-la	ndzi	-i	-lo	0	i	i	0	0	7:12	
5	ko	-ndle	-te	-la	ndzi	-i	-lo	0	//				6:8	
6	rha	-rhi	wa	ku	wa	-a	ta	0	i	i	##		7:12	
7	rha	-rhi	wa	ku	wa	-a	ta	0	i	i	0	0	7:12	
8	rha	-rhi	wa	ku	wa	-a	ta	0	//				6:8	
9	u	te	-la	ku	tse	-e	-ma	0	i	i	##		7:12	
10	u	te	-la	ku	tse	-e	-ma	0	i	i	0	0	7:12	
11	u	te	-la	ku	tse	-e	-ma	0	//				6:8	
12	xi	-nhu	-u	ra	mhi	-i	-ngu	0	i	i	##		6:12	
13	xi	-nhu	-u	ra	mhi	-i	-ngu	0	i	i	0	0	6:12	
14	xi	-nhu	-u	ra	mhi	-i	-ngu	0	//				5:8	

	X	x	x	x	X	x	x	x						
15		xa	ma	-tshe	-ke	-ta	-a	-ni	0	i	i	##		7:12
16		xa	ma	-tshe	-ke	-ta	-a	-ni	0	i	i	0	0	7:12
17		xa	ma	-tsho	-ke	-ta	-a	-ni	0	//				6:8
18		tshe	-ke	-te	-la	to	-o	-xe	0	i	i	##		7:12
19		tshe	-ke	-te	-la	to	-o	-xe	0	i	i	0	0	7:12
20		tshe	-ke	-to	-la	to	-o	-xe	0	//				6:8
21		t'ho	-mu	ta		Va	-hla	-a	-ve	0	i	i	##	8:12
22		t'ho	-mu	ta		Va	-hla	-a	-ve	0	i	i	0	0	8:12
23		t'ho	-mu	ta		Va	-hla	-a	-ve	0	//				7:8
24		a	ti	-i		dyi	bya	-a	-nyi	0	i	i	##		6:12
25		a	ti	-i		dyi	bya	-a	-nyi	0	i	i	0	0	6:12
26		a	ti	-i		dyi	bya	-a	-nyi	0	//				5:8
27		ti	dya	vu		-lu	-ngwa	-a	-ni	0	i	i	##		7:12
28		ti	dya	vu		-lu	-ngwa	-a	-ni	0	i	i	0	0	7:12
29		ti	dya	vu		-lu	-ngwa	-a	-ni	0	//				6:8
30		lo	-ko	va		hu	-le	-e	-le	0	i	i	##		7:12
31		lo	-ko	va		hu	-le	-e	-le	0	i	i	0	0	7:12
32		lo	-ko	va		hu	-le	-e	-le	0	//				6:8
33		vu	-yo	-ko		-yo	-kwa	-a	-ni	0	i	i	##		7:12
34		vu	-yo	-ko		-yo	-kwa	-a	-ni	0	i	i	0	0	7:12
35		vu	-yo	-ko		-yo	-kwa	-a	-ni	0	//				6:8
36		nd'hla	-nga	-ne		na	ntlha	-a	-mbi	0	i	i	##		8:12
37		nd'hla	-nga	-ne		na	ntlha	-a	-mbi	0	i	i	0	0	8:12
38		nd'hla	-nga	-ne		na	ntlha	-a	-mbi	0	//				7:8
39			ntlha	-mbi	wa		ti	-nya	-a	-rhi	0	i	i	##		7:12
40			ntlha	-mbi	wa		ti	-nya	-a	-rhi	0	i	i	0	0	7:12
41			ntlha	-mbi	wa		ti	-nya	-a	-rhi	0	//				6:8
42			wu	lo	-ngo		-lo	-ki	-i	-le	0	i	i	##		7:12
43			wu	lo	-ngo		-lo	-ki	-i	-le	0	i	i	0	0	7:12
44			wu	lo	-ngo		-l[illegible]	-ki	-i	lo	r	[illegible]				6:8
45			wu	ya	ri		-la	ta	-a	-te	0	i	i	##		7:12
46			wu	ya	ri		-la	ta	-a	-te	0	i	i	0	0	7:12
47			wu	ya	ri		-la	ta	-a	-te	0	//				6:8
48			ta	-te	Ma		-le	-nge	-e	-dzu	0	i	i	##		7:12
49			ta	-te	Ma		-le	-nge	-e	-dzu	0	i	i	0	0	7:12
50			ta	-te	Ma		-le	-nge	-e	-dzu	0	//				6:8
51			xi	ya	dli		-va	ti	-i	-lo	0	i	i	##		6:12
52			xi	ya	dli		-va	ti	-i	-lo	0	i	i	0	0	7:12
53			xi	ya	dli		-va	ti	-i	-lo	0	//				6:8
54			ti	ri	ri		ya	vu	-u	-ya	0	i	i	##		7:12
55			ti	ri	ri		ya	vu	-u	-ya	0	i	i	0	0	7:12
56			ti	ri	ri		ya	vu	-u	-ya	0	//				6:8
57			ri	vu	-ye		-la	n'wa	-a	-na	0	i	i	##		7:12
58			ri	vu	-ye		-la	n'wa	-a	-na	0	i	i	0	0	7:12
59			ri	vu	-ye		-la	n'wa	-a	-na	0	//				6:8
60			n'wa	-na	Ntshi		-ki	-wa	-a	-na	0	i	i	##		7:12
61			*n'wa*	*-na*	*Ntshi*		*-ki*	*-wa*	*-a*	-na	0	i	i	0	0	7:12
62			n'wa	-na	Ntshi		-ki	-wa	-a	-na	0	//				6:8
63			xa	ku	tswhu		-ka	ngo	-o	-pfu	0	i	i	##		7:12
64			xa	ku	tswhu		-ka	ngo	-o	-pfu	0	i	i	0	0	7:12
65			xa	ku	tswhu		-ka	ngo	-o	-pfu	0	//				6:8
66			se	nge	-e		xi	-pe	-e	-ne	0	i	i	##		6:12
			se	nge	-e		xi	-pe	-e	-ne	0	i	i	0	0	6:12

```
          X   x   x       X   x   x   x

67        se   nge  -e    ka  -pe  -e   -ne  0   //              5:8
68          ....7)
```

[Written versions of this poem are found in the Ntsan'wisi and Rasengane collections (Ntsan'wisi:33-4; Rasengane:21-2). The Ntsan'wisi version consists of seven stanzas, each made up of a pair of stanzas of similar form to those described above. The Rasengane version consists of thirteen stanzas]. (Appendix III:312-3)

33 XINANA

33.1 Two versions of this rhythmically chanted poem were recorded, at Mbhureni (Video 372: Tape 2-274) and Burgersdorp (Video 380: Tape 2-286). In both versions the poem is chanted in unison. The Burgersdorp version is longer than the Mbhureni version and the order of the stanzas is different. Both texts are given in full. No literary versions of this poem have been found.

33.2.1

version a Mbhureni

This consists of an initial verse line, or call, followed by six three-lined stanzas. The content of the verse lines is repetitive, being based on a single sentence, introduced as incremental repetition at the beginning of each stanza and repeated with slight variations throughout the stanza.

```
=1=     Xinana! Xinana! Xinana!
        Toad! Toad! Toad!

                              ()^
=2=     Xi! Xi ku ndxi bebu!
        Xi! It says, carry me!

                              ()^
 3      Xi! Xi ku ndxi bebu,
        Xi! It says, carry me

              ()^       ()^
 4      Ndxi bebu, ndxi beba.
        Carry me, carry me.

                              ()^
=5=     Xi! Mina ndxe ala,
        Xi! Me, I just refuse,

                              ()^
 5      Xi! Mina ndxe ala,
        Xi! Me, I just refuse,
```

```
                    ()^         ()^
 6                  Ndzo ala, ndzo ala.
                    I just refuse, I just refuse.

                                ()^
=7=                 Xi! Loma xo rila,
                    Xi! It, it just cries,

                                ()^
 8                  Xi! Loma xo rila,
                    Xi! It, it just cries,

                       ()^      ()^
 9                  Xo rila, xo rila.
                    It just cries, it just cries.

=10=                Xi! Vana va koma,
                    Xi! Those children,

 11                 Xi! Vana va koma,
                    Xi! Those children,

 12                 Va koma, va koma.
                    Those ones, those ones.

=13=                Xi! Va dyile swilo,
                    Xi! They have eaten things,

 14                 Xi! Va dyile swilo,
                    Xi! They have eaten things,

 15                 Swilo, swilo.
                    Things, things.

                                  ~()~
=16=                Xi! Khwiri ra koma,
                    Xi! That stomach,

                                  ~()~
 17                 Xi! Khwiri ra koma,
                    Xi! That stomach,

                    ~()~      ~()~
 18                 Ra koma, ra koma.
                    That one, that one.

                    ().().
=19=                Xi! Pfepfenene
                    Xi! Pfepfenene!

 20                 ....as line 20
```

1: xinana 'short-legged toad (Breviceps mocambicus)' (C)

2: beba > -bebula 'to carry on the back like a baby' (C)

3: pfepfenene appears to be a meaningless jingle

version b Burgersdorp

This version consists of nine three-line stanzas of similar form to those in version a (i.e. verse lines 1-17 and 21-28). Verse lines 18-20 and 30-31 are meaningless jingles. The initial interjection, by a solo voice, is usually a euphonic rendering of the root syllable of the head word of each sentence or phrase in the stanza. It should be noted that the title differs slightly from that of version a, but the content is so similar that the two poems were grouped together for analytical purposes.

XI! XI RI XINANA

{}.

=1= Xi! Xi ri xinana,
Xi! It, being a toad,

{}.

2 Xi! Xi ri xinana
Xi! It being a toad,

{}. {}.

3 Xinana, xinana,
A toad, a toad,

{}^

=4= Xi! Xi ku ka mina,
Xi! It says to me,

{}^

5 Xi! Xi ku ka mina
Xi! It says to me,

{}^ {}^

6 Ka mina, ka mina.
To me, to me.

{}^

=7= Xi! Xi ku ndzi bebu,
Xi! It says, carry me,

{}^

8 Xi! Xi ku ndzi bebu,
Xi! It says carry me,

{}^ {}^

9 Ndzi bebu, ndzi bebu.
Carry me, carry me.

{}^

=10= Mi! Mina ndzo ala,
Mi! Me, I just refuse,

{}^
11 Mi! Mina ndzo ala,
Mi! Ijust refuse,

{}^ {}^
12 Ndzo ala, ndzo ala.
I just refuse, I just refuse.

{}^
13 Xo! Xona xo rila,
Xo! It, it just cries,

{}*
14 Xo! Xona xo rila,
Xo! It, it just cries,

{}^ {}*
15 Xo rila, xo rila
It just cries, it just cries.

-()-
=16= Khwi! Khwiri ra kona,
Khwi! That stomach,

-()-
17 Khwi! Khwiri ra kona,
Khwi! That stomach,

-()- -()-
18 Ra kona, ra kona.
That one, that one.

=19= Tse! tsenenenje
Tse! tsenenenje

20 ....as line 19

)-
=21= Va! Vana va kona,
Va! Those children,

)-
22 Va! Vana va kona,
Va! Those children,

)-)-
23 Va kona, va kona.
Those ones, those ones.

)^
=24= Va! Va dyile swilo,
Va! They have eaten things,

)^

25 Va! Va dyile swilo,
Va! They have eaten things,

)^)^

26 Swilo, swilo.
Things, things.

()^

e27a Khwil Khwiri ra kona,
Khwil Its stomach,

(.)^

28 Khwil Khwiri ra kona,
Khwil Its stomach

()^ ()^

29 Ra kona, ra kona.
That one, that one.

30 Tse! tsenenenje!
Tse! tsenenenje!

31 ....as line 21

13: tse tsenenenje are meaningless syllables

32.3.1 Body movements

The accompanying movements were stronger in version b, which is taken for descriptive purposes here.

line 2/3: textural baton movements by hand
lines 4-6: both hands brought up to chest in indicative textual movements
lines 7-9: both hands up and over alternate shoulders, as if putting a baby on the back - four imitative textual movements
lines 10-12: shoulders shrugging in refusal - four expressive textual movements
lines 13-15: hands to eyes, crying movements - four imitative textual movements
lines 16-18: both hands held in front of stomach to show its huge size - four descriptive movements
lines 21-3: right hand out to show height of the children - four descriptive movements
lines 24-26: hand to mouth, four imitative eating movements on the syllable swi-
lines 19-20: both hands held in front of stomach - four descriptive textual movements. We note that these movements do not coincide with the word khwiri 'stomach', but with the Impersonal Absolute Pronoun. They could thus be called textural, rather than symbolic textual movements.

33.4 Rhythmical analysis

In version a, all verse lines except the first, which is a 12-pulse verse line, are based on 8-pulse patterns. The stanzas are patterned with two verse lines of Type I, with the final line being of Type II. This form of stanzaic pattern is also found in version b. The verse lines made up solely of meaningless syllables follow Type I 8-pulse pattern. In both versions, the highly repetitive content and almost unvarying numbers of syllables per verse line contribute to the tightly constrained rhythmical patterning.

version a

Verse line	X x x x X x x x X x x x x) X x x x X x x x (x	S:P
1	xi -na -a -na xi -na -a -na xi -na -a -na 0	9:12
2	xi xi ku ndzi BE -e -bu 0	6:8
3	xi xi ku ndzi BE -e -bu//{ndzi	6:8
4 ndzi	BE -e -bu ndzi BE -e -bu ##	6:8
5	xi mi -na ndzo A -a -la 0	6:8
6	xi mi -na ndzo A -a -la//{ndzo	6:8
7 ndzo	A -a -la ndzo A -a -la ##	6:8
8	xi xo -na xo RI -i -la 0	6:8
9	xi xo -na xo RI -i -la //{xo	6:8
10 xo	RI -i -la xo RI -i -la ##	6:8
11	xi va -na va ko -o -na 0	6:8
12	xi va -na va ko -o -na//{va	6:8
13 va	ko -o -na va ko -o -na ##	6:8
14	xi va dyi -le swi -i -lo 0	6:8
15	xi va dyi -le swi -i -lo //	6:8
16	swi -i -lo -o swi -i -lo ##	4:8
17	xi khwi-ri ra KO -o -na 0	6:8
18	xi khwi-ri ra KO -o -na //	6:8
19 ra	KO -o -na ra KO -o -na ##	6:8
20	xi pfe -PFE -ne -NE -e 0 0	5:8
21	xi pfe -PFE -ne -NE -e ###	5:8

version b
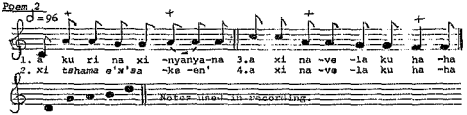
1	xi xi ri xi -NA -a -na 0	6:8
2	xi xi ri xi -NA -a -na//{xi	6:8
3 xi	-NA -a -na xi -NA -a -na ##	6:8
4	xi xi ku ka MI -i -na 0	6:8
5	xi xi ku ka MI -i -na//{ka	6:8
6 ka	MI -i -na ka MI -i -na ##	6:8
7	xi xi ku ndzi BE -e -bu //	6:8
8	xi xi ku ndzi BE -e -bu//{ndzi	6:8
9 ndzi	BE -e -bu ndzi BE -e -bu ##	6:8
10	mi mi -na ndzo A -a -la 0	6:8
11	mi mi -na ndzo A -a -la//{ndzo	6:8
12 ndzo	A -a -la ndzo A -a -la ##	6:8
13	xo xo -na xo RI -i -la 0	6:8

	x)	X	x	x	x	X	x	x	(x	
14		xo	xo	-na	xo	KI	-i	-la//ˌ ˀ		6:8
15	xo	KI	-i	-la	xo	KI	-i	-la	##	6:8
16		khwi	khwi-ri	ra	KO	-o	-na	0		6:8
17		khwi	khwi-ri	ra	KO	-o	-na	//[ra		6:8
18	ra	KO	-o	-na	ra	KO	-o	-na	##	6:8
19		tse	tse	-ne	-ne	-nje-e		0	0	5:8
20		tse	tse	-ne	-ne	-nje-e		0	0	5:8
21		va	va	-na	va	KO	-o	-na	0	6:8
22		va	va	-na	va	KO	-o	-na	[va	6:8
23	va	KO	-o	-na	va	KO	-o	-na	##	6:8
24		va	va	dyi	-le	SWI	-i	-lo	0	6:8
25		va	va	dyi	-le	SWI	-i	-lo	0	6:8
26		SWI	-i	-lo	-q	SWI	-i	-lo	##	4:8
27		khwi	khwi-ri	ra	KO	-o	-na	0		6:8
28		khwi	khwi-ri	ra	KO	-o	-na	//		6:8
29	ra	KO	-o	-na	ra	KO	-o	-na	##	6:8
30		tse	tse	-ne	-ne	-nje-u		0	0	5:8
31		tso	tso	-ne	-ne	-nje-e				5:8
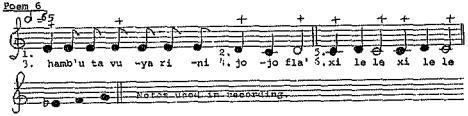
APPENDIX TWO

THE TRANSCRIPTION OF THE MELODIES

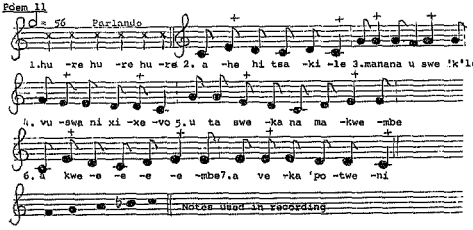
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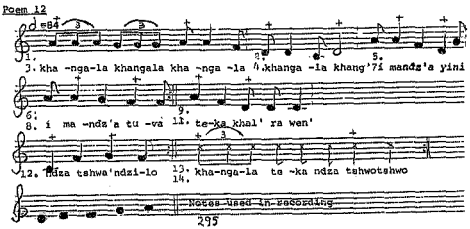


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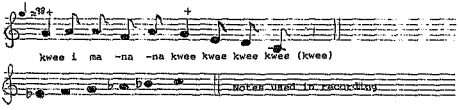


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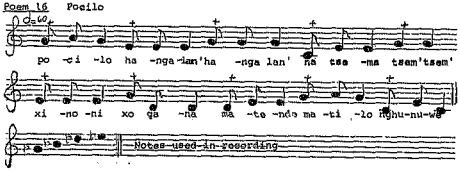
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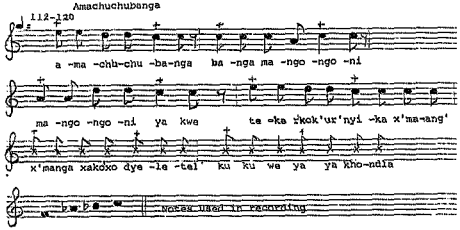
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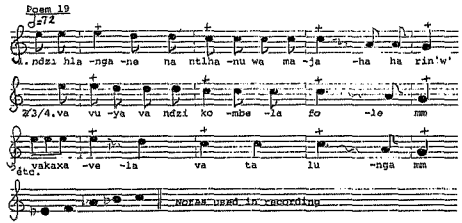
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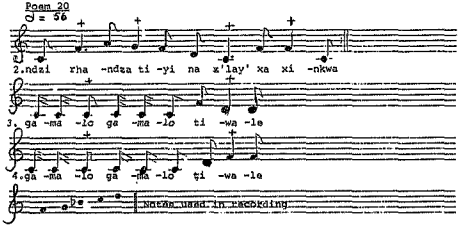
Amachuchubanga



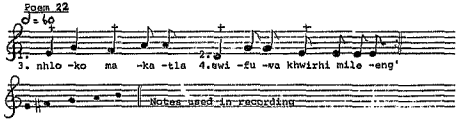
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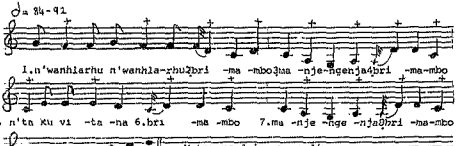


Poem 20



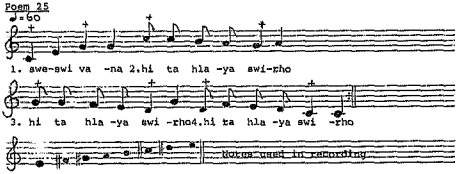
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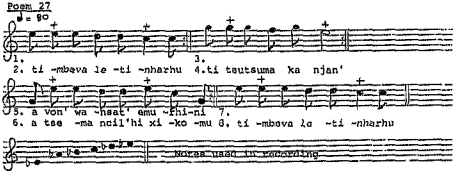
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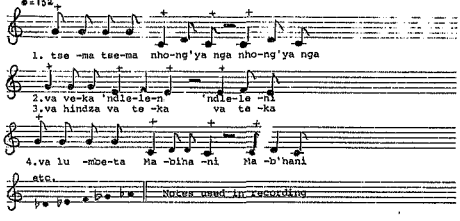


Poem 25



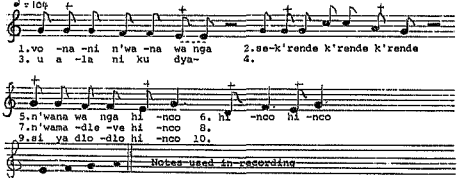
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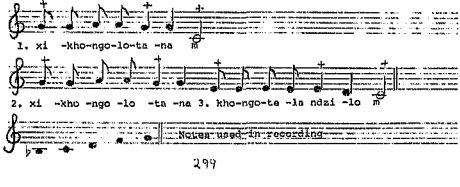


Poem 29



Poem 31



Poem 32



APPENDIX III

PUBLISHED VERSION OF THE POEMS

APPENDIX III

Reproductions of published versions of poems recorded in preparation for this work, are presented in this Appendix

Poem I A HI MINA MFENHE

15. MFENHE

A hi mina mfenhe,
Hi mina munhu.
Kasi i gome leri,
A hi gome leri,
I kepisi leyi
Ya majaha leyi.
Kasi i mahlo lawa
a hi mahlo lawa
I mathonci lawa,
ya majaha lawa.
Kasi i marhimila lawa,
A hi marhimila lawa.
I tipipi leti,
ta majaha leti.
Kasi voya lebyi
A hi voya lebyi
I tinkoti leti,
ta majaha leti.
Kasi switshamo leswi
A hi switshamo leswi
I masafa lawa,
ya majaha.
Kasi milenge leyi,
A hi milenge leyi.
I mabutsu lawa,
ya majaha lawa.

Nkuna, 1979:16

Poem 2 A KU RI NA XINYANYANA

26. XINYENYANA (XIVONDLWANA)

A ku zi na xinyenyana,
Xi tshame xisakeni,
A xi navela ku haha.
A xi navela ku haha.

A ku zi na xinhwalana,
Xi tshame enhlokweni,
A xi navela ku fuma.
A xi navela ku fuma.

Ndzi suka ndzi teka xisibi,
Ndzi tlhelela nambyeni,
Ndzi ya hlantswa xinhwalana
Ndzi xi khululela ni mati.

Rasengane 1963: 15

Poem 3 HEYI SKELUMUNI

i) "He Xikelewa!
Vona va ku: "Hecel" kumbe Hyevo!"
Yena a tlhela a ku: "E ka nwina mi dya yini?"
Vona va hlamula, va ku: "Hi dya mxxtlana"
Se a ku futhi: "Na yini?"
Se vo va ku: "Na n'wahuva!"
A engeta a ku: "Tihuku-ke?"
Vona va hlamula va ku: "Ti dya vusoko!!!"
Se a ku: "Na hunisa?"
Va va ku: "Hunisa!!"
A tlhela a ku: "Na khoma?"
Vona va ku: "Khomani!"

Marolen, 1954:10-11

ii)

13. Xokola

Heyi! Xokola, Yoo!
Ka n'wina mi dya yini?
Hi dya mxxnlana.
Na yini ke?
Na n'wahuva.
Tihuku tona ke?.
Tidya vusoko!.
Ha hunisa,
Honisani.
Ha khoma,
Khomani!

Ntsan'wisi, 1960:10

Poem 10 HI WENA MANI WENA?

59. U YA KWIHI

U ya kwihi wena?
Ndzi ya emasin'wini.
U ya teka yini?
Ndzi ya teka xikhuwana.
Xa ku ci ela xivimphokwana.
Hlambanya wena?
Hla! huku ndzi fuwile,
Angeta kambe.
Hla! homu ndzi fuwile,
Angeta kambe.
Hla! donki ndzi fuwile,
Angeta kambe.
Hla! mbuti ndzi fuwile,
Angeta kambe.
Hla! nkuku migodini . . . !

Rasengane, 1963:32

Poem 11 HURE! HURE! HURE!

29. HURE!HURE

Hure! hure! hure!
Ahe hi taskile!
Manana u swekile vuswa ni xi- zvo
U ta sweka ni makwemba . . . kweeee . . . eembe a veka porweni.
U ta sweka ni tindluwa . . . ndluuuu . . . uuwa a veka porweni.
U ta sweka ni tinyawa . . . nyaaaaa . . . aawa a veka porweni.
U ta sweka ni timanga . . . maaaaaa . . . aanga a veka porweni.

Rasengane, 1963:16

Poem 12 KHANGALA KHANGALA KHANGALA

i)

27. KHANGALA! KHANGALA

Khangala! Khangala! Khangala! Khangala!
Khangala! (1)
I mandza ya yini? I mandza ya tuva.
Teka khale ra wena ndza tshwa hi ndzilo. (2)
Khangala teka nkha tshwoo!

P. Ntsanwisi

Ntsan'wisi, 1960:47-48

ii)

49. Khangala.

I

Khangala, khangala, khangala, khangala!
Hi mandza ya yini?
Hi mandza ya tuva.

II

Khangala, khangala, khangala
Hi mandza ya yini?
Hi mandza ya tuva.

III

Teka kala ra wena, ndza tswha hi ndzilo
Teka kala ra wena, ndza tshwa hi ndzilo
Anwukeln, tlakula, ndza tswha hi ndzi loo—!

Rasengane, 1963:15

Poem 15 LEXI I XIKOSI-KOSI

Ntsan'wisi has two versions; the third is Rasengane's version

50. Xikosi xa nga

i)

I

Xikosi xa nga. Xikosi xa nga—
Hai marhwala hi kona, marhwala hi kona—
Lowu i mombo wa nga, mombo wa nga—
Lawa i mavoko ku xa, mavoko ku xa—

II

Leyi i bala nfene, i bala nfene—
Lexi xinambruttwana, i xinambruttwana—
Lawa i danga meno, i danga meno—
Lexi xilebvu lexi, xilebvu-lebvu lexi—

III

Malebvu ya nghala, malebvu ya nghala—
Lowu i nkolo ku mila, i nkolo-ku-mila—
Lexi xintlhentlhenthe, i xintlhentlhenthe—
Lowu i mukwana hombe, mukwana hombe—

IV

Lawa i mavoko hombe, mavoko hombe—
Lawa i mavoko ku tirha, mavoko ku tirha—
Le'ti tincondzo-nconzo, tincondzo-nconzo—
Leyi i milenge ya mina.

ii)

51. Swirho

I

Lexi i xikosi-kosi-kosi-kosi
I ndhwalela, ndhwalela.

II

I mombo nkulu, mombo nkulu
I switsayi-tsayi, tsayi-tsayi

III

I mphimila n'watsa, mpimila n'watsa
I nomu-nomu, nomu-nomu

IV

I xilebvu-lebvu, lebvu-lebvu
I nkolo ku mita, nkolo ku mita

V

I mfuva-hava, mfuva-hava,
I nkhoma-madjhaha, nkhoma-madjhaha

VI

I hlutela-byalwa, *mutela-byalwa*
I xisuti-suti-suti-suti.

VII

I matwasa kule twasa kule,
Muti na hosi Gooo—!

Ntsan'wisi, 1960:48-49

iii)

38. SWIRHO

Levi xikosi-kosi lexi, xikosi-kosi!
Lexi i thava-thava lexi, i thava-thava!
Lowu i mombo wukulu lowu, i mombo wukulu!
Lewi i switsayi-tsayi lewi, i switsayi-tsayi!
Lexi i thimila-thwatsa lexi, i thimila-thwatsa!
Lowu i nkolo-ku-mita lowu, i nkolo-ku-mita!
Lexi i mahete-ngula lexi, i mahete-ngula!
Lawa i mavoko-ku-tirho lawa, i mavoko-ku-tirho!
Leyi i milenge yanga leyi, i milenge yanga!
Hinkwawo lowu i miri wangu,
Nda wu hlayisa.

P. Ntsanwisi

Rasengane, 1963:19

Poem 16 MBHALELE MBHALE

i) Kidd's description focuses on the game, and he transcribes the second poem as follows:

Ra s gambekambe,	It is "gambekambe,"
Ra s muti u no ngqiwa ;	It is a tree that is eaten ;
U no ngqiwa mangongoi.	It is eaten mangongoi.
Mangongoi nga ani ?	Whose it the mangongoi ?
Nga s mutshutshubanga.	It belongs to Beetle-knife
Ts`no ku ona	We have seen you
Nyamutshi,	Nyamutshi,
U nembere pamunwa,	You have a burn on your back,
Thitutshi nyamutshi.	There it is, there it is, nyamutshi

Kidd, 1906:181

ii) Junod's focus is on the game, and he gives no words

iii) Earthy focuses on the game, which she calls BALAMBELANI

iv)

11. N'wam'cici—banga

I

N'wam'cici—banga,
Banga—mangongoli,
Mangongoli -ya' me,
Xipihlda—pindana
Chedzo!

Ntsan'wisi, 1960:9

v)

25. N'WAMCICI-BANGA

N'wamcici-banga,
Banga-mangongoli,
Mangongoli ya me,
Xipin kwa-tlhi ana
Chedzo!

P. Ntsanwisi

Rasengane, 1963:14

vi) Blacking gives words for both poems

13 Potlo

A Standard version

1 Potlo,[1]
2 Hangala,
3 Hangala,
4 Nda tema,[2] (I cut)
5 Tswiso? (that which helps to cut)
6 Tshinoni (the bird)
7 Tsha gala[3] (it sits on)
8 Mutanda (a dry log)
9 Mandute,[4]
10 Guni-wood[5] (a large piece of fire-wood)

16 Ha matshutshuru-banga

1 Ha matshutshuru-banga,
2 Banga mangongori,
3 Mangongori avho.
4 Ha matshutshuru-banga na tshi
5 Puna-puna range ra mushiku-shiku
6 Shi vhuya karungwe.

Blacking, 1967:53

vii) Rikhotso describes the game as follows:

Mbambalembale: Vana va malembe ya mune kumbe ku tlula va tshama va navile milenge. Un'wana wa yima a fambisa voko ehenhla ka milenge a ku: "Mbambalembale... !" Swifanyetana ni swinhwanyetana le-swin'wana swi hlavelela swi ku: "Mbale... !" U sungula ku yimbelela a ku: "N'wamcinci-banga, banga mangongoni, mangongoni ya vo. N'wavhulamthetho ngooo!" U yimbelela marito lawa a finyile tintiho a fambisa eka nenge wun'wana ni wun'wana wa lava nga nava. Loko rito ra "ngooo!" ro ya heteleka eka nenge wa un'wana, u fanele a khondla nenge wolowo. U yimbelela marito lawa ku kondza "ngooo!" yi enela milenge hinkwayo leyi faneleke ku khondla. Loko milenge hinkwayo yi helerile va sungula mbambalembale nakambe.

Rikhotso, 1985:74-75

Poem 18 MPFULA NPFULA

60. RISIMU RA SWIHLANGI

Mhani, mpfula ya vuya mpfula mhanel
Ina hi ta diya swifuki mhanel
Mavhanga na makwembe mhanel
Timanga na matimba mhanel
Mirobo na tinyawa mhanel

Va vuya mpfula mthototo toto!
Mpfula ya na mthototo toto!
Yi tata mugova mthototo toto!
Hi ta bambela mativa mthototo toto!
Xihaja na mupfuyo swi ta hluka mthototo toto!

Mpfula gangamaka ndzi n'wana wa rikatse,
Ndzi ta ya pfuva mikhono tendzelel
Ndzi ba na migoro tendzelel
Ina ya gangamaka tendzelel
Tendzele tendzelo tendzelel

Ndhambi, 1950:80

(Musimi a nga tivi)

11)

28. Mpful'a yi vuye M'thothotho

I

Gierrrr—phtvnvan-ntho-ntho-ntho—wanan—!
A yi vuuyee—! ku hlambanyisa swihlangi!

II

Mpfulu yi vuya mthothotho,
Hi ta dya matimba mthothotho!

III

Mpfuln' yi vuye mthothotho,
Hi ta dya bambelo mthothotho!

IV

Mpfuln' yi vuye mthothotho,
Hi ta dya timnnga mthotho!

V

Mpfuln' yi vuye mthothotho,
Hi ta dya tindluvu mthothotho!

VI

Mpfuln' yi vuye mthothotho,
Hi ta dya xinghwimbhi mthothotho!

VII

Mpfuln' yi vuye mthothotho,
Hi ta dya marhanga mthothotho!

VIII

Mpfuln' yi vuye mthothotho,
Hi ta dya xisense mthothotho!

IX

Mpfuln' yi vuye mthothotho,
Hi ta dya swifuki mthothotho!

X

Mpfuln' yi vuye mthothotho,
Hi ta dya mihlata mthothotho!

XI

Mpfuln' yi vuye mthothotho,
Hi ta dya mailmba mthothotho!

Ntsan'wisi, 1960:27-28

iii)

41. MPFULA I VUYE

Clerrrrr-phavavaan-ntho-ntho-ntho-waaa . . . !
A yi vuuyee . . . ! ku hlambanyisa xwihlangi!
Mpfula yi vuye mthothotho,
Hi ta dya matumba mthothotho!

Mpfula yi vuye mthothotho,
Hi ta dya mabembela mthothotho!
Mpfula yi vuye mthothotho,
Hi ta dya timanga mthothotho!
Mpfula yi vuye mthothotho,
Hi ta dya tindluwa mthothotho!
Mpfula yi vuye mthothotho,
Hi ta dya Xinghwimbhi mthothotho!
Mpfula yi vuye mthothotho,
Hi ta dya marhengo mthothotho!
Mpfula yi vuye mthothotho,
Hi ta dya xisarse mthothotho!
Mpfula yi vuye mthothotho,
Hi ta dya swifeki mthothotho!
Mpfula yi vuye mthothotho,
Hi ta dya mhlala mthothotho!
Mpfula yi vuye mthothotho,
Hi ta dya matimba mthothotho!

P. Ntsanwisi

Rasengane, 1963:20-21

Poem 19: NDZI HLANGENE NA NTLHANU WA MAJAHA NA RIN'WE

40. NTLHANU WA MAJAHA NA RIN'WE

Ndzi hlangene ni ntlhanu wa majaha na rin'we,
Va vuya va ndzi kombela fole . . . mmmm!
Ndzi vuye ndzi ku fole ndzi hava . . . mmm!
Va vuya va ndzi baxa enpama . . . mmm!
Ndzi suka ndzi ya ka hina . . . mmmm
Va ku Xewula va ri lungha . . . mmmm!
Va ta lungha a ndzi va lavi . . . mmmm
Ndzi lava N'wa-ma-chachulani . . . mmmm!
A ta famba a ndzi chachulani . . . mmmm
Swi tiula hi ku khandziya xitimela ndzi va Joni.
Ndzi ya wisa vusiwane . . . xa koka,
Xa koka hatlane xa koka
Xa koka . . . yo , xa kokooo

Rasengane, 1963:20

Poem 22 NHLOKO MAKATLA

13. SWIRHO

Nhloko, makatla, xifuva
Khwiri, milenge
Nhloko, makatla, xifuva
Khwiri, milenge
Hambi wo famba-famba
U ta kala u ku tlukwa gaa!
Hambi wo famba-famba
U ta kala u ku tlukwa gaa!

Nkuna, 1979:14

Poem 23 N'WANA MANANA

35. N'WANA MANANA

N'wana mananа, delengu, delengu, delengu,
Vuswa u nga civi, delengu, delengu, delengu,
Va chele murhi, delengu, delengu, delengu.
Murhi wo tswituka, delengu, delengu, delengu,
Wo dlaya wena, delengu, delengu, delengu,
Dyana miroho, delengu, delengu, delengu.

N'wana, mananа,
Delengu, delengu, delengu,
Madleke u nga nwi,
Delengu, delengu, delengu,
Va chele murhi,
Delengu, delengu, delengu,
Murhi wo tswituka,
Delengu, delengu, delengu,
Wo dlaya wena, delengu, delengu, delengu,
Nwana mati, delengu, delengu, delengu.

Rasengane, 1963:18

Poem 24 N'WANHLARHU

53. Nwa-nhlarhu

i)

Nwanhlarhu—nwanhlarhu,
Brimamboo—njengenjaa—!

Ndzi tile ka wena,
Brimamboo—njengenjaa—!

Makwerhu wa vabya,
Brimamboo—njengenjaa—!

O vabya hi tindluwu ta mananga,
Brimamboo—njengenjaa—!

Ndzi rhumile hi tatani,
Brimamboo—njengenjaa—!

Va ku ndzi ta vita hosi,
Brimamboo—njengenjaa—!

Hosi ya ka khulwana,
Brimamboo—njengenjaa—!

Ndza ta ndza ha longa,
Brimamboo—njengenjaa—!

Byi tsandza la'vakulu
Brimamboo—njengenjaa—!

Ni tinhunguvana ni machovo ya bo',
Brimamboo—njengenjaa—!

Ni Vashevele ta vo',
Brimamboo—njengenjaa—!

Mi ta riva ndzi nanga-nkulu,
Brimamboo—njengenjaa—!

U vabya hi tindluwu ta mananga,
Brimamboo—! njengenjaa—!

Ntsan'wisi, 1960:50-51

ii) 36. N'WA-NHLARHU

N'wanhiarhu, N'wahiarhu, *Brimambo*, manjengenja.
Brimambo!
Ndzu ku vitana, *Brimambo*, *manjengenja*! Brimambo!
U vita hi tatana, Brimambo, manjengenja! Brimambo!
Tatana a vahyaka, *Brimambo manjengenja*!
Brimambo!
A dlawuka hi dindlima, Brimambo, manjengenja!
Brimambo!
Hi tindlawa ta mananga.
Ta mananga, manjengenja! Ta mananga!

Rasengane, 1963:18

Poem 25 SWESWI VANA

2. VANA HI HLAYA SWIRHO

Sweswi vana hi ta hlaya swirho,
Hi ta hlaya swirho,
Hi ta hlaya swirho!
Nhloko, makatsa, xitiva, xisuti,
Matsolo, swikunwana . . .
Matsolo, swikunwana.

Rasengane, 1963:7

Poem 29 TSEMA TSEMA NHONGA YA NGA

i) 45. Nhonga yu nga

I

Va tsema nhonga yu nga,
Nhonga ya nga:
Va veka nàlelèni,
Ndlelèni va ta hundza va teka.

II

Va lumbeta mahlhana,
Mahlhana nwana Ngomana:
Ngomana xingomana tunduu—! tunduu!
Xingomana tunduu—tunduu!

III

Nwananga u nga rili,
U nga rili duu—!
I manan'a vuyaka.
A vuyaka ni marhanga ya ku tala.

IV

Ya ku tala
Ya tata mbita na rihlelo
Tlaku! Tlaku! dlhomu!
Pela milambuu - !

Ntsan'wisi, 1960:45-46

ii) 8. TSEMA-TSEMA NHONJA YANGA

Tsema-tsema nhonja yanga, nhonga yanga,
U yi veka ndleleni, ndleleni,
Va ta hundza va teka, va teka,
Va lumbeta nakhumi, khakhumi,
Makhumi a ri n'wana N'wa-ngwenya, N'wa-ngwenya
Xingomana tundzundzu, tundzundzu,
Xa ku rila Tovoki, Tovoki,
Tovoki u nga rili, u nga rili,
I matsasa a vuriks, a vuriks,
A vuyaka na Nsila-mbilu, Nsila-mbilu,
Rhekarhaka lera nga ra matsara mbita ni ribhelo,
Thukuduku diamu yeia mambu,
Lomu ka Vagwambe ne Vacopee!

P. Nkanivisi

Rasengane, 1963:20

Poem 31 VONANI N'WANA WA NGA

i) 9. VONANI N'WANA WANGA

Vonani n'wana wanga,
Sekurendze, kurendze, kurendze . . .,
U ala na ku dya ha!
Sekurendze, kurendze, kurendze, kurendze . . . !
N'wana wanga, hicho, hicho, hicho!
W'a mandleve, hicho, hicho, hicho!
Si ya dlodlo, hicho, hicho, hicho!

Rasengane, 1963:9

ii) *10. N'WANA WANGA*

Vonani n'wana wanga
Sekurendze, kurendze, kurendze
Sekurendze, kurendze
U ala ni ku dya
Sekurendze, kurendze
Kurendze, sekurendze.
Na tindleve
Zinjoo, zinjoo, zinjoo———!

Nkuna, 1979:12

Poem 32 XIKHONGOLOTANA

1)

43. Xikhongolotana 'mm

I

Xikhongelotana 'mm—
Xikhongelotana kondletela ndzilo 'mm—
Kondletela ndzilo 'mm—
Kondletela ndzilo rharhu wa kwe wa ta 'mm—

II

Rharhu wa kwe wa ta 'mm—
Rharhu kwe wa ta u ta ni mbuti 'mm—
U ta ni mbuti 'mm—
U ta ni mbuti mbuti ya xinyayi 'mm—

III

Mbuti ya xinyayi 'mm—
Mbuti ya xinyayi a yi na matimba 'mm—
A yi na matimba 'mm—
A yi na matimba yi na miklotlotlo 'mm—

IV

Yi na vulungwana 'mm—
Yi na vulungwana loko va hulele 'mm—
Loko va hulele 'mm—
Loko va hulele e mikovanini 'mm—

V

E mikovanini 'mm—
E mikovanini ya mzukumbela 'mm—
Ndzi hlonge ni nilhambi 'mm—
Ndzi hlonge ni nilhambi nilhambi wa tinyarhi 'mm—

VI

Ti ya dihuva-dihuva 'mm—
Ti ya dihuva-dihuva tilo ri ta ku va 'mm—
Tilo ri ta ku wa 'mm—
Tilo ri ta ku wa ri wela nwana 'mm—

VII

Ri wela n'wana 'mm—
Ri wela n'wana, n'wana nkirimana 'mm—
N'wana nkirimana 'mm—
'Nwana nkirimana mhisi ya vusiku 'mmmm—!

Ntsan'wisi, 1960:43-44

42. XIKHONGOLOTANA MM

Xikhon lotana mm . . .!
Nikhongolotana kwadlietela ndzilo mm . . .
Kondletela ndzilo mm . . .
Kondletela ndzilo thathi waku wa ri mm . . .
Rhathi waku wa ri mm . . .!
Rhathi waku wa ri u ri ni mbuti mm . . .
U ri ni mbuti mm . . .!
U ri ni mbuti ya xinyayi mm . . .
Mbuti ya xinyayi mm . . .!
Mbuti ya xinyayi a yi na matimba mm . . .
Mbuti ya xinyayi a yi na matimba mm . . .
A yi na matimba mm . . .!
A yi na matimba yi na *mdzhatla* mm . . .
Yi na vulungwana mm . . .!
Yi na vulungwana loko va hulele mm . . .
Loko va hulele . . . mm . . .!
Loko va hulele emikovanini mm . . .
Emikovanini mm . . .!
Emikovanini ya masikambela mm . . .
Ndzi hlonge ni ndhambi mm . . .!
Ndzi hlonge ni ndhambi, ndhambi
wa rinyathi mm . . .!
Ti ya dliva tilo mm . . .
Ti ya dliva-dliva tilo ri ta wa mm . . .!
Tilo ri ta ku wa mm . . .
Tilo ri ta ku wa ri weka n'wana . . . mm!
Ri weka nwana mm . . .
N'wana nkirimana mhisi ya vusiku mmmm!

P. Ntsanetsi

Rasenjane, 1963:21-22

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