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TSONGA EXORCISM SONGTEXTS

Thomas F. Johnston

The Essay below, of which this is the first of two parts, is a presentation of field work carried out over the years 1968-1970 in Mozambique and the Northern Transvaal, under a grant from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. So far as I was able to discern, it was the only musical study ever made of the Tsonga up to that date.

Part I is a brief discussion of some Tsonga exorcism songtexts collected in Mozambique and the Northern Transvaal. Tsonga exorcists consider foreign terms and non-Tsonga melodies and rhythmic characteristics suitable for the exorcizing of undesirable foreign spirits. The terms and the music, therefore, are spirit-specific. The instruments required for the exorcism are four shallow, round drums called mancomane.

In Part II, which will be published in a later issue, I will place the music of the friction-bow in a social context and illustrate the distinctive features of the music.

The following song-text is partly in Rotse language, and was used to exorcize an undesirable Ndau spirit. The Rotse live far to the north of the Tsonga, while the Ndau live to the east.

We Nyambo

Call:	Mukaci wa knaya we nyambo we-e-e nyambo, hiya!	
ponse:	We, nyambawe, hiya, hiya!	
Call:	Mukaci wa knaya we nyambo we-e-e nyambo,	

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Response:	We, nyambawe, hiya, hiya!
Call:	Nsati wa hemba a ndzi nga swi koti
	Leswi ndzi swi tshungula
Response:	We, nyambawe, hiya, hiya!

Before the Gods

Call:	Your wife speaks untruths before the gods
Response:	The gods are supreme!
Call:	Your wife speaks untruths before the gods
Response:	The gods are supreme!
Call:	It is not certain that these charms will
	expel the evil spirit
	Oh! Someone is lying, my children
Response:	Hey! Hi yah! Yay gods!

Drums, hand-clapping, dancing, and the sound of maronge leg-rattles accompanied the above song; the rhythmic aspects of the exorcism ceremony are called gongondzela, meaning 'a drumming-out-of'.

We Nyambe

Call:	Mukaci wa kanya we Nyambe we-e
Response:	Nyambe we Nyambe we!
Call:	We Nyambe hu ya-ya
Response:	Nyambe we Nyambe we!
Call:	A Nyambe nguvu yana n'wa-Zwanga
	Wenyamusoro we a-he
Response:	Wayi ha wayi!
Call:	Ye mukaci wa kanya we Nyambe we
Response:	Wayi ha wayi!

Before the Gods

Call:	Your wife speaks untruths before the gods
Response:	The gods are supreme!
Call:	Your wife speaks untruths before the gods

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Response:	The gods are supreme!
Call:	The exorcist smells the garments
	Of the Daughter-of-Zwanga
Response:	Way! Yee!
Call:	Your wife speaks untruths before the gods
Response:	Wah! Yee!

This alternative version of the nyamusoro's ('smeller-out') song was performed by a group of forty elderly women; it was again accompanied by drums, hand-clapping, dancing, and the sound of maronge leg-rattles. The term Nyambe, in the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, and eighth lines, is not a Tsonga word, but a word designating 'god' in certain other African languages, such as Rotse. Exorcism songs are often in a foreign or archaic tongue, and officiants at exorcism rites often employ secret phrases. The employment, here, of the term Nyambe is of interest because it suggests a unity of terminology right across the continent. Nzame among the Fan, Nyame in Ghana, and Nyambe among the Luyi of the Zambezi, and from Botswana to the Congo, all mean 'god' and may stem from a common origin.



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Va Nyamusoro

Solo: Va-Nyamusoro va pfula khwiri Madyela ndlwini ku dya ku tsonana Va tata makhwiri

Chorus:

Ha vu mamaza! Ha vu mamaza! Ha vu mamaza! Ha vu mamaza!

The Exorcists

Solo: The exorcists stay with their stomachs outside They eat within the house and offer none to others Their stomachs remain full

Chorus: We guzzle beer! We guzzle beer! We guzzle beer! We guzzle beer!

The Tsonga are a hospitable people and observe strict codes of etiquette with regard to eating. To eat alone and offer none around is presented here as the custom of exorcists (who are often aliens living amidst the Tsonga) and thus the epitomy of foreignness. To eat alone is unpardonable and leads to social ostracism, as the following Tsonga proverb suggests:

> Madya swaku, ku nga khamba Eat-by-himself is a bandit

The nyamusoros often acquire considerable wealth and property by means of successful exorcism and thus do not lack food and drink. Henri Junod, author of The Life of a

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South African Tribe (London: Macmillan, 1927), witnessed an exorcism during which the nyamusoro overheard certain secrets and demanded that he be paid one or two oxen and he would keep silent. On another occasion the relatives of the bewitched came to the xinusa, paid him one pound, and asked him to find out the murderer.

The chorus lines of our song employ the word mamaza, a derivative of mama, which Cuenod translates as "to suck, as a baby from the breast." This represents an allegorical use of the term, for they are 'sucking' or 'guzzling' beer.

Dzelela Moya

Call:	Dzelela moya
Response:	Dzelela moya, dzelela moya-a
	Hayi ayi-ayi

Scold The Spirit

Call:	Scold the spirit	
Response:	Scold the spirit, scold the spir	rit
	Havi avi-avi	

Note the use of the Zulu term dzelela instead of the expected holovela; this song is prominently featured during the rites to exorcize undesirable mandhlozi (Zulu) spirits.

Helele Zulu!

Call:	Ye hayi, ye hayi hayi
Response:	Ye-ya Helele Zulu, helele Zulu! Sengilele

Oh, Zulu!

Call:	Ye hayi, ye hayi hayi
	Үе-уа
Response:	Oh, Zulu, oh Zulu!
	Now I sleep

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In accord with the common Tsonga principle of association of like phenomena, exorcism songs which mention the Zulu by name or sing of the Zulu are considered particularly efficacious for the expelling of undesirable mandhlozi (Zulu) spirits. Among the Tsonga, there is still a degree of awe and hatred for the Zulu, who in the nineteenth century overran Tsongaland, carrying off the women and children and inducting the men into Zulu regiments.

Tsonga exorcism song-texts give a clue to the many psychohistorical factors which have gone into forming what is today recognized as Tsonga culture: the diffusion of possession cults from that area in the north which once constituted the great Monomotapa Empire, the social and economic role of exorcists now living among the Tsonga, and the great southern uprisings resulting from Shaka's ascendancy to power.

-University of Alaska

MUMBLETY PEG, ANYONE?

Theron Collins

When you and I were young, Maggie, in the day when the horse was still competitor to the machine, and one's time was more enjoyed than spent, "peg" was one of the diversions for entertainment. There were two separate games of peg, greatly differing in that one, stick peg, was physically demanding of coordination and speed and strength, and the milder game, mumblety peg, was more for fun and joke.

Mumblety is only one of several dialectal renditions of the name of the game, mumble-the-peg and mumble peg being two other common ones. The game itself is quite old. There are references to it that date as far back as the early seventeenth century. A game similar to this was called knifie in Scotland,¹ and a still more formal game in England having some rules characteristic of mumblety peg was known as trap ball. The latter game, however, was played with conventional apparatus of a cup shaped trap which had a ball attached by a cord and a bat to eject the ball from the trap.² It is typical of children's games, as well as other types of folklore, that one aspect of a folk item will be detached from its source and applied to a different item, a fact which makes variations of a popular game the rule rather than the exception.

A game of stick peg was started when one found an unbroken mop handle and had the time, energy, an open field, and a competitor. An approximate eight-inch piece of the handle was whittled to a point much as a pencil is sharpened. This piece was called the peg. The remaining portion of the handle was called the stick, and was used much as a