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4, 1 (1973) = 108-30.

tics and Sociology of Music, Gunduliceva 6, P. P. 528, 41001, Zagreb, Jugoslawien, anzumelden. Zu Beginn 1974 werden die angemeldeten Personen eine Antwort seitens des Organisationskomitees des Symposions über die Bedingungen einer Anwesenheit und über die Aufenthaltsmöglichkeiten in Zagreb erhalten.

In einem ihrer Communiqués wird die IGMw ihren interessierten Mitgliedern den Vorschlag unterbreiten, die Nummern der International Review, in denen das Material des Symposions veröffentlicht wird, zu abon-

nieren.

Die offizielen Sprachen auf dem Symposion werden Deutsch, Englisch und Französisch sein. Es wird keine Simultanübersetzung geben.

Ivo SUPICIC Zagreb

## THE SOCIAL DETERMINANTS OF TSONGA MUSICAL BEHAVIOR

An intensive socio-musical research project was recently completed among the Shangana-Tsonga of Mozambique and the Northern Transvaal, by the writer, under grants from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research (#2504) and the University of the Witwatersrand. To accomplish the study the writer learned to speak Tsonga and resided with local specialists – musicians, diviners, exorcists – for two years, 1968–70, studying also the religion (ancestor worship) and the social, political, and economic systems.

The aim was to be able to describe Tsonga music in terms of the people's own musical concepts. Additionally (and this is the role of the scientist) it was desirable to analyse the music as 'cultural sound', to investigate musical behavior in the context of social institutions such as initiation schools, exorcism ceremonies, and social beer-drinks, and then to present certain propositions concerning the internal logic of the Shangana-Tsonga musi-

cal system.

The people concerned are the outstandingly musical inhabitants of southwestern Mozambique and the northeastern Transvaal, numbering about 1,200,000 and 700,000, respectively. They are linguistically and culturally distinct from the Tonga of Zambia, Rhodesia, and the Inhambane area, and use the distinguishing prefix Shangana because it derives from the name of an ancient chief, Soshangane.

The Tsonga, as we will call them here, were, in Junod's The Life Of A South African Tribe (Macmillan, London 1927, 2 vols.), the subject of a detailed and authoritative ethnography, slightly faulted only by the occasional musical inaccuracies. They remained, until the present socio-musical study commenced in 1968, one of the few Bantu-speaking groups in southern Africa whose music had not been the specialized subject of at least a partial investigation – this despite their relative uniqueness as members of

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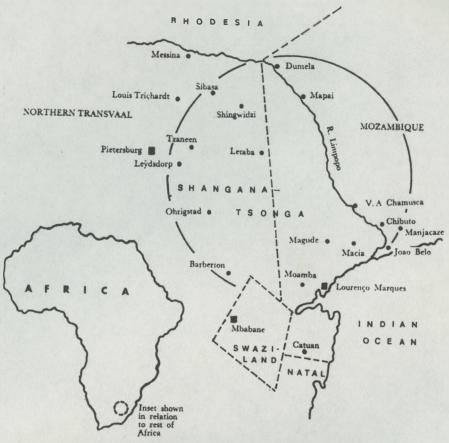


Figure 1. Map showing area inhabited by the Shangana-Tsonga

segmented clans spatially separated into two large groups by an international border, the heuristic value of the present Venda/Tsonga symbiosis (certain intriguing social and musical exchanges are going on in the Louis Trichardt and Sibasa areas), and the colorful patterns of acculturation involving the nearby Shona (who export possession cults), Swazi, Pedi (who export initiation schools), Ndau, and Chopi. It is from these last two that the Tsonga obtain their xylophones. Typical cases of social and musical diffusion are shown in Figure 2.

A major goal was to characterize Tsonga musical structure at a level of abstraction adequate for cross-cultural comparisons, and to describe distinctions, similarities, and interrelationships between the various important musical substyles within the system. These substyles form a musical 'ladder' (Figure 3), paralleling social and biological maturation of the individual.

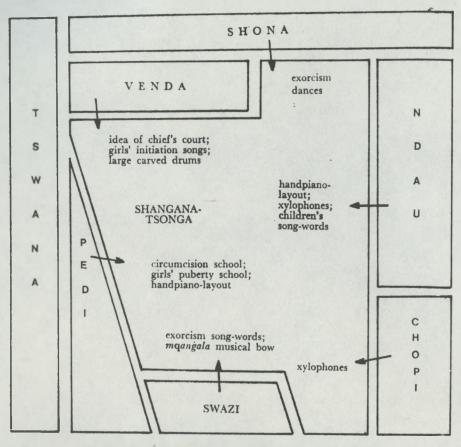


Figure 2. Social and musical diffusion in Tsongaland

The indigenous classification of, organizing principles of, and preferences for groups of traditional songs are fairly easily determined by the anthropologist by observing social function, and from statements taken from performers and informants. The technical aspects of musical differences – the scales used, intervals preferred, and rhythms played – are not easily verbalized by the Tsonga. Distinctions here have to be inferred by the analyzer after taping and transcription, by constructing interval-counts, looking for pentatonic or heptatonic melodic patterns, cases of limited-versus-extended vocal range (some performers transpose the melody only part of an octave in order to stay in range, while others sing as-is or transpose a whole octave), quadruplet/triplet drumming-style preferences, and short or long complete metrical cycles in songs. Some of these constituent elements in Tsonga music are shown in Figure 4.

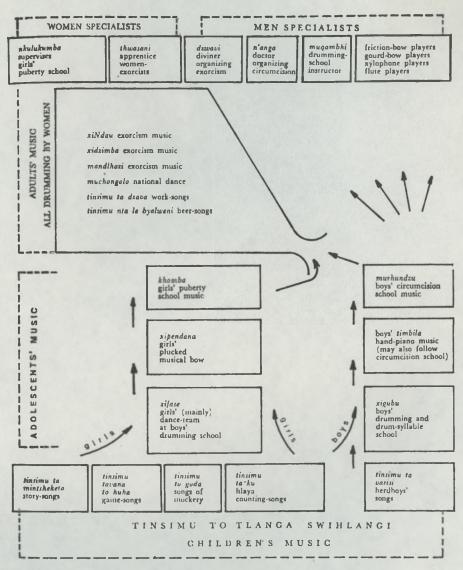
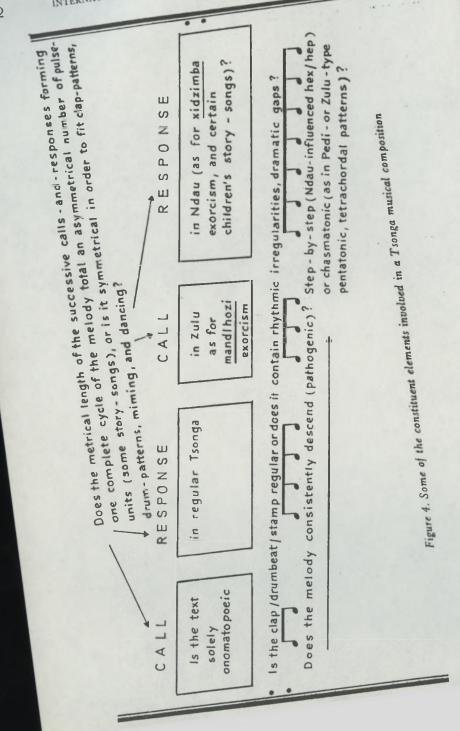


Figure 3. The Tsonga musical 'ladder' of substyles.



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There are other important divisions within the Tsonga socio-musical system. For instance, certain types of songs are wholly dependent upon the changing seasons of the Tsonga horticultural year (hoeing songs, weeding songs, reaping songs), while others are less dependent. Some substyles are specifically suited for ritual purposes (short, didactic, direct musical 'messages'), others have a use which is not at all ritual, such as the instrumental hand-piano music of strolling individuals. Both of these indigenous distinctions within the Tsonga musical system are shown in Figure 5.

A further indigenous distinction is that drawn between music which is the private property of 'businessmen' who contract with chiefs to provide medical and musical services, and music which is communal property and administrated by appointed officiants. There is also a hierarchy of musical authority in Tsongaland, through which the chief controls the young people of his constituency. By appointing important elders and kinsmen to key social and musical posts, the ruler maintains his grip on the community via the rigid initiation-school performing-situation, and via the drumming-school recruitment. For instance, the drumming-school organizes a competitive dance-team which visits the courts of other chiefs, displaying its uniforms and dancing skills. In this way the young people learn allegiance to their ruler. The appointed/permitted dichotomy, the hierarchy of musical authority, the drumming-school administration, and other facets of Tsonga musical organization are shown in Figure 6.

Two important findings of the study are as follows. Firstly, the Tsonga recognize several distinct, homogeneous bodies of music, each possessing clearly identifiable musical characteristics of its own, and each belonging exclusively to a specific social institution. Secondly, the vocal harmony found in Tsonga music is probably not derived from the natural series via the physical properties of stretched strings (as has been thought hitherto by some writers). What is more likely is that the Tsonga established norms for their communal vocal music over their long history, these norms deriving from psychological and historical factors. They then looked for musical instruments which coincidentally provided the characteristics they were looking for. Such an instance is to be seen in Tsonga use of the xizambi notched friction-bow, shown in Figure 7.

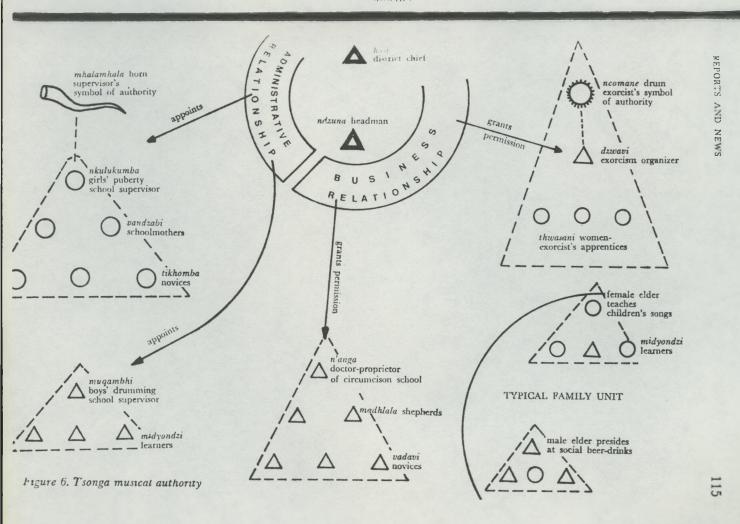
The xizambi notched friction-bow produces a fundamental when the notches on the arc are rubbed with the rasped rattlestick. The player then puts his mouth to the vibrating 1/2"-wide palmleaf strip, and resonates selected partials, usually the 8ve, 5th, and 4th. By fingering, he is able to produce any desired melody, but the point is, he does not produce any melody or harmony beyond that which is characteristic of the vocal music in vogue. Tsonga instruments are chosen and utilized as they easily fulfill vocal requirements. This should be obvious, for vocal music is all-important and performed in large groups (100–300 people) under ritual circumstances, while instrumental music is found only here and there, played by inconsequential individuals (exceptions to this are the case of the court retainer and that of the wandering news-relayer).

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xirimo - 'time of hoeing' (rainy & hot)

Figure 7. A Trongst musical calendar showing season-specific and other musical



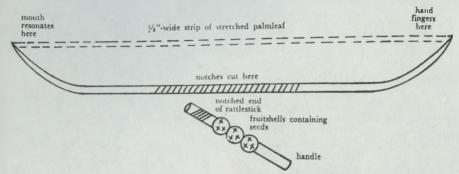


Figure 7. The xizambi notched friction-bow of the Tsonga

In the case of the friction-bow, it duplicates the pairing of notes normally found in Tsonga vocal harmony, and is therefore popular. This duplicating is not, of course, inherent in the natural series, for Tsonga vocal harmony consisting of the alternate 4ths and 5ths of vertically superimposed pentatonic scales – E and A together followed by D and A together followed by C and G together followed by A and D together. To achieve this the bow-player must finger the string of the instrument. Part of the evidence that vocal music is not bow-derived lies in the fact that Tsonga vocal harmony is not exactly parallel, while bowstrings characteristically emit parallel 5ths, no matter where and how they are fingered.

The friction-bow's duplication of Tsonga vocal norms is shown in Figure 8.

One of the most important sets of musical principles involved in Tsonga musical composition involves conformity to Tsonga speech-tone, plus a set of principles which allows the composer/singer/player to 'violate' speech--tone. Composition occurs thus: a idea or a situation materializes, which is then expressed in words, often in a 'poetic' form. This constitutes the first line of the song, and the first line of melody is usually guided by the speech--tone contour of the syllables. Subsequent lines of words are to some extent selected according as they fit the previously-set rise-and-fall, but may vary if their digression is musically localized and is set to what is considered to be an acceptable tonal substitute. This tonal substitution is a prime factor in much Tsonga composition, performance, and harmonization. It constitutes a system of harmonic equivalence, whereby notes a 4th or 5th away from the melody-note are considered proper alternatives. In other words, a syllable may rise where it should fall, as long as it rises to an acceptable harmonic equivalent (see the top half of Figure 8 for typical equivalents), and new words with a new speech-tone contour may be introduced by taking advantage of the alternative melodic pathways offered by tonal substitutes.

Factors freeing Tsonga vocal music from speech-tone control include the use of melismatic nonsense-syllables (rather like the English tralala), which permit abandonment of the one-to-one ratio between syllable and melody-



Tsonga common melodic pattern GEDCAG.

Top row: customary harmonic equivalents
arrived at by span process.

Bottom row: true melody tones.

Friction - bow coincidentally yields culturally prescribed tonal pairings

Tsonga common friction - bow pattern GEDCAG.

Top row: resonated tones.

Bottom row: 2nd harmonic of fingered/
unfingered nala string.

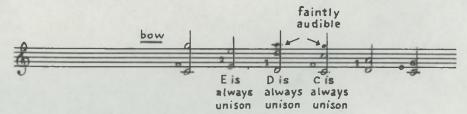


Figure 8. The friction-bow's duplication of Tsonga vocal norms

-note. Nonsense-syllables possess no fixed speech-tone, and can therefore rise and fall at will. Other factors countering speech-tone control are shown in Figure 9.

Note in Figure 9 diagram that Tsonga musical performance may depend to some extent upon the sex/age distribution of the participants. The characteristic call-and-response style results usually in a middle-aged woman with a high voice giving the call, and a heterogeneous group giving the response. The latter contains the harmonization and a wide distribution of

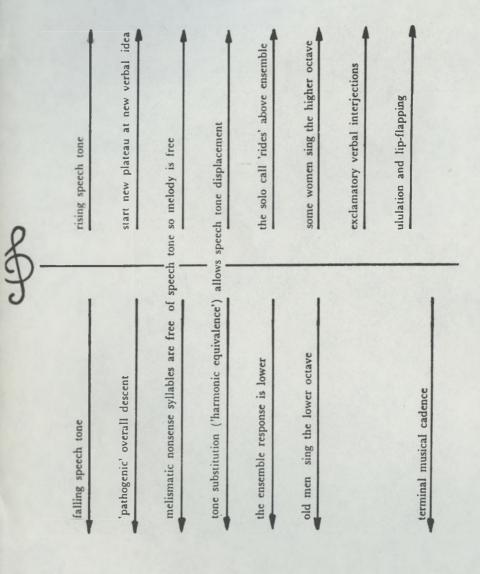


Figure 9. Factors governing the rise and fall of Tsonga melody

voice-parts, according as there are high, low, broken, or far-ranging voices. Tsonga music may therefore be said to be situation-specific. This is illustrated in Figure 10.

It may be remembered that Figure 2 showed that the Tsonga 'borrowed' exorcism dances from the Shona. This is one way in which heptatonic (7-tone) scales have come into Tsonga usage. Different scales are found in different Tsonga institutions, reflecting Tsonga history, migration patterns, and acculturation. The use of the scales is institution-specific, resulting in

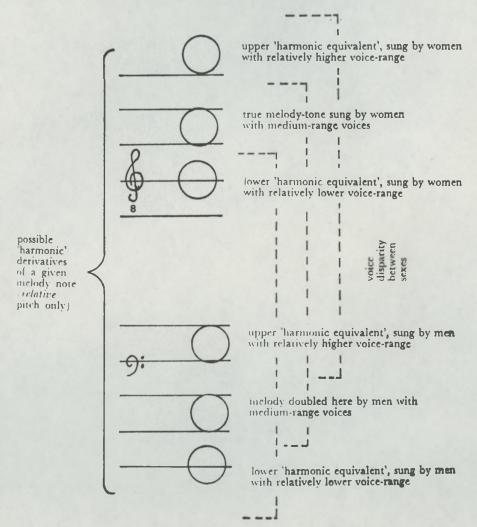


Figure 10. Sex/age specificity in Tsonga harmonization

clear lines being drawn being the music of one sex/age group and the music of another. The Tsonga scales are listed in Figure 11, as are the scales of neighboring peoples.

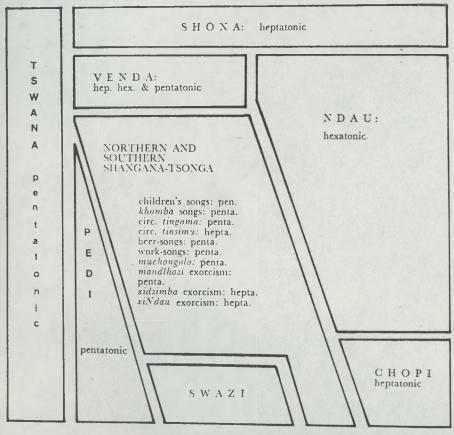


Figure 11. A map of musical scales in use in southeastern Africa

While musical influence from the Shona, Venda, and Chopi has brought heptatonicism to the Tsonga, the mainstay is still the pentatonic scale. The latter takes several forms among the Tsonga. For instance, on the typical Tsonga hand-piano (timbila) it consists of the descending pattern DCAGFD, elaborated upon by adding notes above and below, and by occasionally pushing the lamellae in a little to raise the whole series by a semitone. A large number of tunings were collected in the Northern Transvaal, and analysis reveals that the following four varieties are the most common (Figure 12).

Tsonga hand-pianos are played by the two thumbs, each performing a different motor pattern, often in the rhythmic ratio of 6-against-4. Tsonga



Figure 12. Four typical Tsonga hand-piano tuning-systems

music does not achieve the rhythmic sophistication of, say, West African drumming; the Tsonga appear to prefer a four-square base to their music (usually provided by the drums), over which the handclapping, dance-steps, and syllables usually take the form of multiples of the drum-beat, but staggered and 'across the beat', so that there appears to be several different tempos operative at once. Only occasionally does one find those dotted-crotchet rhythmic formulae which add up to 12 quavers and which so conveniently subdivide into combinations of twos and threes so beloved of, say, the Ashanti and Ewe, of Ghana. These are sometimes found among the Venda, northern neighbors of the Tsonga. Figure 13 shows the core rhythmic pattern underlying much Tsonga communal music.

It is not only the rhythm which distinguishes Tsonga music from that of their neighbors. The Tsonga use particular varieties of drum-shapes and drum-sizes to obtain the timbre required within different settings and situations. For instance, social beer-drinks, with their bustle of arriving guests and competing of dance-teams, use large, deep-toned drums, while exorcism, for which four drums are beaten hand-held, uses a lighter form of drum designed to 'speak' to the undesirable alien spirits possessing patients and to dispel them with spirit-specific combinations of sound. In the girls' initiation school, a tall goblet-shaped drum is used which, when inverted, has a phallic appearance and on which the girls are required to squat. These various drums are dance-specific, as is shown in Figure 14.

We have mentioned the variety of voice-ranges and the bustle of social activity at Tsonga beer-drinks – perhaps the most important Tsonga music occurs here. It is certainly the most frequently performed of all Tsonga musical substyles.

The Tsonga social and ceremonial beer-drink is an integrative institution where conciliation between groups (in-laws, plaintiffs and defendants, people involved in accusations of witchcraft against each other) is effected, and, during life-cycle crises, statuses are redefined. For instance, at a wedding one group is losing a valuable member to another group, for the bride nust go and reside at the groom's village, thus adding to his agricultural workforce. In this case the bride's people sing songs of insult at the in-laws and open confrontation in speech could cause irremediable rupture of social elations. In co-wifely jealousy songs the new, young wife will often attempt o discredit the Great Wife, to whose sons her sons are 'inferior'. The Great Wife will sing songs indicating her jealousy of the younger wife's monopoizing of the husband's bedtime hours.

The Tsonga social beer-drink is also the forum where chiefs' dance-teams compete, bringing power and prestige to the home ruler by increasing his popularity via music. A chief with a good singing-team and a good dance-team is likely to possess a broad pyramid-base of political support. The



Figure 13. The core rhythmic pattern which appears to underlie much Tsonga communal music

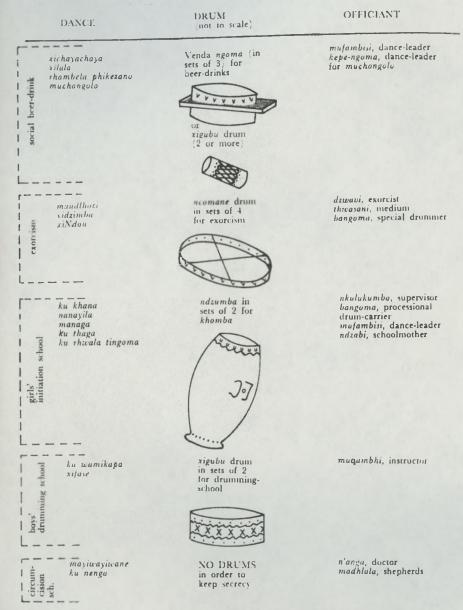


Figure 14. Institution-specificity and dance-specificity of drums

Tsonga beer-drink is also the forum where legalistic duels occur in music, those singing the loudest winning by virtue of their 'proof' of numerical superiority.

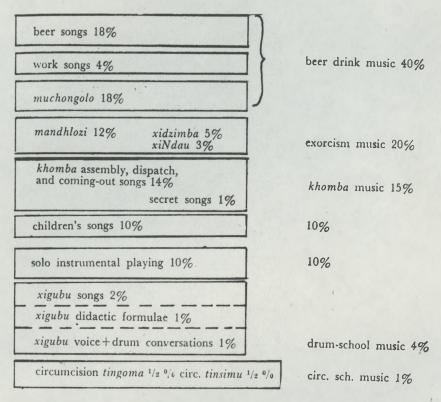
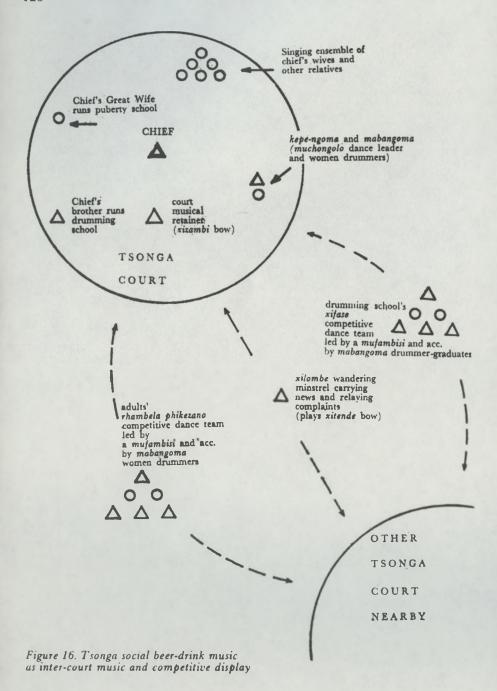


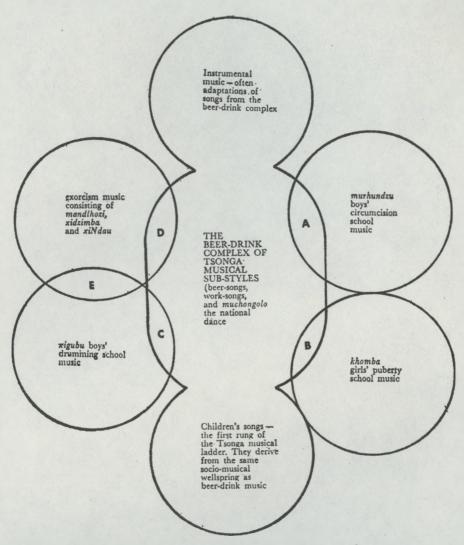
Figure 15. The predominance and frequency of beer-drink musical performance

The popularity and frequency of beer-drink music is shown in Figure 15, the inter-court functions of beer-drink music are shown in Figure 16, and the inter-institutional influence of beer-drink music is shown in Figure 17.

The Tsonga social and ceremonial beer-drink is related to all other Tsonga social institutions by specific social situations, namely, the coming-out celebrations of the two initiation schools, the beer-song rhythms taught within the drumming school, those occasions during which a variation of muchongolo (the national dance) is danced at 'exorcism' rites, and the instrumental adaptation of beer-songs during solo instrumental per-lormances.

That configuration of musical sub-styles which constitutes beer-drink music may therefore be properly regarded as the nucleus of Tsonga vocal and instrumental music. Furthermore, the reciprocal exchange between Tsonga





- A. This area represents circumcision coming-out songs sung at the final day beer-party with the relatives.
- B. This area represents puberty school coming-out songs sung at the final day beer-party with the relatives.
- C. This area represents beer-drink rhythms taught within the boys' drumming school.
- D. This area represents muchongolo danced within an exorcism context.
- E. Unrelated to beer-drink music. It represents exorcism rhythms taught within the boys' drumming school (included here for completeness).

Figure 17. The far-reaching influence of beer-drink music is to be seen at initiation school coming-outs and other events, for then the music of the lesser institutions takes on the 'adult' characteristics of beer-songs, symbolizing in music the maturation of adolescents

chiefly 'courts', of competitive dance-teams performing beer-drink dances, and of wandering minstrels singing and playing adaptations of beer-songs, emphasizes the *integrative* and *consolidating* role of this musical style.

Tsonga music, in its fast tempi, frequently extended metrical cycle, contrasting of long and short melodic lines, and climactic surge toward summits of melodic and rhythmic intensity, is atypical of most Southern African music. It occasionally exhibits Central African musical tendencies, and aspects are reminiscent of the Plateau and Zambezi Tonga. There are elements, also, of southern (Pedi) influence, especially in the case of khomba puberty school songs.

Particularly evident in Tsonga music is the prevalence of lengthy, sophisticated combinations of brief call+extended response and extended call+brief response. This is not so often found in, for instance, Venda music. Examples are given in Figure 18.

While the subject-matter of Tsonga song-words is not an ideal means of classifying Tsonga musical material (the Tsonga way has already been described: by sound), there are certain principles which emerge from a careful examination of song-texts. For instance, children's songs are largely concerned with legendary figures, ogres, and child-eaters; songs of the xigubu boys' drumming-school are frequently made up of ideophonic syllables representing drum-sounds (so as to teach ,ideal' drumming and skin-damping); puberty-school songs are frequently concerned with women's role as pleaser-of-the-husband, bearer-of-the-children, keeper-of-the--home, and tiller-of-the-soil. Beer-song topics tend to reflect situations involving life-cycles crises such as birth, marriage, and death, while exorcism songs stress ancient wars and 19th-century history when the Zulu marauders drove the Tsonga westward to safety (this is explained by the fact that undesirable alien spirits possessing Tsonga patients are considered to be of foreign origin - Shona, Ndau, Zulu - and therefore require words in a forcign language, foreign-style rhythms and scale-patterns, and topics concerned with tribal interaction such as war and historical events). This distribution of the subject-matter between the various discrete musical substyles is shown in Figure 19.

This system of designating indigenous musical categories by topic should be used with reservations. Here, the musical categories were first determined by sound, and the word-content then analyzed for various rather indeterminate correlations. Those folklorists and others who collect African songs indiscriminately, failing to note their social function in the context of the culture, and then arrange them into convenient chapters of books for discussion of the topics, often ignore the real, all-important classification created and used by the performers, and leave their readers to infer that African topics are category-specific (which they are not).

It is only through anthropology that the essence of African musical behavior can be fully understood, and the recent trend has been for studies to be carried out by those musicologists who have learned the anthropolo-

song	A	(call = 9 d + response = 3 d + call = 9 d + response = 9 d + call = 3 d + response = 3 d)	<u>Tot</u>	<u>al</u>
Song	В	(call = 4 d + response = 4 d + response = 14 d)	2	26 <b>J</b>
Song	С	(unison chorus = 2 d + call = 4 d + unison chorus = 2 d + call = 4 d + divided chorus = 4 d)	1	6 4
Song	D	(call = 6 J + response = 3 J + call = 6 J + response = 9 J)	2	24 J
Song	E	(call = 4 d + response = 4 d + response = 8 d)	2	ال 0
Song	F	<pre>(call=10 d + response = 4 d + call=4 d + response = 4 d + call=4 d + response = 4 d)</pre>	30 4	
Song	G	(call = 4 d. + response = 7 d. + call = 1 d. + response = 12 d.)	24 J.	
Song	Н	(call=61 + response = 101 + call = 61 + response = 101 + call = 51 + response = 271)	64 J	
Song	I	(call = 2 d + response = 3 d + call = 2 d + response = 11 d -)	18 1.	
Song	j	(call=18d + response=18d + call=2d + response=4d + call=3d + response=3d + call=3d + response=3d + call=3d + response=3d)	60 J	
Song	K	(call=6 d + response = 4 d + call=6 d + response = 4 d + call=2 d + response = 4 d + call=2 d - response = 4 d)	32 J	
	F	igure 18. Representative Formal Structures Evinced By Tsonga	Songs	

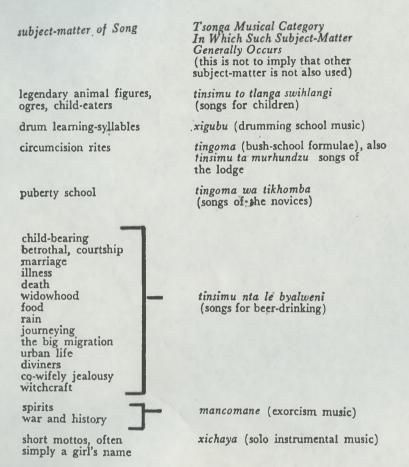


Figure 19. Distribution of the subject-matter of Tsonga songs between the various discrete musical substyles

gical way and devote a large part of their time to painstaking participant-observation. It was by this method that the intriguing diversity of Tsonga musical behavior and dynamic nature of the Tsonga creative process in music was unravelled, and, with it, the Tsonga socio-musical process of selection – modification (re-creation) – assimilation.

## REVIEWS

Essays in Musicology in honor of Dragan Plamenac, Edited by Gustave Reese and Robert J. Snow, University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh 1969, pp. XVI+391. – Arti Musices, 3, Muzikološki zavod Muzičke akademije u Zagrebu, Zagreb 1972, pp. 148.

Though these two »Festschrifts« for two Croatian and Yugoslav musicologists, published within three years of each other, do not appertain to the special scholarly fields to which this *Review* is devoted, and though the authors themselves to whom they are dedicated respectively have not, in their still rich and productive scholarly lifetime, specialised in these fields, the books should at least be noticed, if not critically reviewed, here – and

this for two main reasons.

The first is that it is question of two very distinguished living Croatian musicologists, whose many scholarly contributions, made - it is true - in considerably different ways, were very closely bound to their native country. Plamenac, who is known world-wide, is one of the greatest names in the study and discovery of early Croatian music and its important works like those of Lukačić, Čecchini and Skjavetić. Plamenac's contribution to Croatian musicology both before he left his native country and entered upon an internationally known musicological career, and after his departure for the United States, remains highly significant and valuable in many respects. On the other hand, Josip Andreis' continuous and strenuous activity in his own country has been one which has covered many most important fields. He was the editor in chief of the first outstanding Yugoslav Musical Encyclopaedia, published in Zagreb (1958-1963), the first President of the Institute of Musicology of the Zagreb Academy of Music and, for many years, Head of its Department of Music History, which has for more than two decades educated young musical critics and historians of music (mainly engaged in studying the Croatian musical past). Andreis is editor of numerous publications of the Music Department of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts, and others, and author of a series of prominent studies and books, too many to enumerate here. We must mention, if only briefly, his History of Music in Croatia, the first well documented and comprehensive one, which is to be published this year, in English, in a more up to date and extensive version.