

granary is terminated by the form which evokes the closing of the egg of Amma—its four sides representing his four clavicles—and the end of creation. (See figure 2g.) Above this static sign of Amma, rises another, the conical roof (figures 2 k-m), built on a frame of nine posts, which allude to the nine parts of the *Kanaga*, which marks the end of Amma's creation, as well as the descent of the Arch, carrying the Resurrected Nommo and the eight original ancestors.⁴² The conical shape of this roof symbolizes the spiral:⁴³ the spiral of Amma, the spiral of the *pō* seed, the spiral of the descending Arch—in brief, the helical motion that lies behind all acts of creation.

This educes a somewhat curious feature of Dogon art: although the world was created as a spiral by God in the form of a spiral, and helical motion is associated with numerous mythic events, the spiral almost entirely absent from Dogon plastic art. Spiral forms exist in the repertory of graphic signs, helical development determines the ploughing of the fields and the motion of certain processions and dances,⁴⁴ but Dogon sculptural form is strictly rectilinear. Even the original spiral of Amma is translated, as we have seen, into a zigzag form; or, as here, into a cone. It is as if when Amma acts in his spiral, the act is so powerful and so mysterious that it can only be alluded to as *yala* and *tōnu*, never directly represented as *tōy*. Or, to put it another way, the spiral seems to represent the processes of time itself, whereas Dogon plastic art is concerned with timeless moments. The spiral is an image of happening, dynamic and immeasurable; Dogon plastic art deals with fixed, known quantities, taken out of time. Doors, locks, and free-standing statues embody results rather than processes, simultaneous forces rather than the unfolding of narrative events.

The dissimulated spiral of the granary roof seems to suggest that the granary hides the grains of Amma as well as the grains of men. Constructed of superimposed symbols of creation, disruption, sacrifice and purification, the granary is a storehouse of history as well as a storehouse of grains.

⁴² See *ibid.*, pp. 172, 421.

⁴³ See Calame-Griaule, "Notes sur l'habitation," p. 492. It might also be noted that in mathematical terms, a spiral is a cone rolled up. (See for example, D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson, *On Growth and Form* [Cambridge, 1952], 2: 759.)

⁴⁴ See Dieterlen, *Renard pâle*, p. 49, for a description of the spiral movement in the dance to the Lébé altar.

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Structure in Tsonga Music: An Analysis in Social Terms

THOMAS F. JOHNSTON

THE TSONGA are a patrilineal, virilocal people numbering about 1,200,000 in Mozambique and 700,000 in the Northern Transvaal. They grow maize, keep a limited number of cattle, and, except close to the missions, communicate with ancestor-spirits and practice polygyny when resources permit. The menfolk are much involved with migrant labor; the chiefs and the homelands have been (since 1969) consolidated under semi-autonomous rule known as the Matshangana Territorial Authority.

An unusually musical people, the Tsonga were the subject of Henri A. Junod's two-volume ethnography *The Life of a South African Tribe*; their musical instruments featured in Pervical R. Kirby's *Musical Instruments of the Native Races of South Africa*.¹ Nothing was written about the sound of Tsonga music, or its social base, until the inception of the present study in 1968. The study was designed to complete a link between a study of Venda music (see John Blacking's *Venda Children's Songs*), a study of Pedi music (see Yvonne Huskisson's "Social and Ceremonial Music of the Pedi"), and a study of Chopi music (see Hugh Tracey's *Chopi Musicians*).²

The study has an anthropological bias, beginning with the assumption that music is but one aspect of man's behavior and that its study is most meaningfully carried out in a cultural context, as opposed to the study of sound *in vacuo*. The benefits are many, as follows.

Work for this article was done under grants from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research.

¹ Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe* (London, 1927); Kirby, *The Musical Instruments of the Native Races of South Africa* (Johannesburg, 1965).

² Blacking, *Venda Children's Songs* (Johannesburg, 1967); Huskisson, "The Social and Ceremonial Music of the Pedi" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Witwatersrand, 1958); Tracey, *Chopi Musicians* (London, 1970).

1. Tsonga song-words contain historical references, cultural references, and genealogies useful for complementing the rather scanty archeological and documentary material.

2. Tsonga song-words contain archaisms and foreign words aiding linguistic historicism.

3. In the Tsonga musical system, speech-tone governs melodic contour. But the existence of a complex of musical mechanisms freeing melody from this control yields a clue to (otherwise elusive) *creative* processes.

4. Tsonga musical artifacts are measurable, collectable, and useful for examining relationships with the natural environment of Tsongaland. The lack of trees and game is reflected in the value placed upon drums and horns.

5. Tsonga musical artifacts reflect interesting diffusion processes and selective borrowing.

6. The tunings of Tsonga musical artifacts yield useful information concerning what happens to an instrument and its usual pitches when it crosses tribal lines.

7. The melodic intervals, melodic patterns, rhythms, and harmonies of the Tsonga musical system are capable of very precise measurement and statistical analysis; in fact, they provide a means of measuring what is really a system of *values*.

8. Tsonga musical performance reflects social, religious, economic, and political roles.

9. Tsonga music functions as an integrative mechanism, uniting groups on both sides of the Mozambique-South African border and uniting what is essentially a rather formless, segmentary society.

10. Tsonga music functions as an enculturative mechanism, shaping and moulding the beliefs and values of the young.

An important factor to note of Tsonga music is its seasonal base and its relation to horticultural activities, as follows.

Tsonga Musical Calendar

Nhlangula, "arrival of the rains" (October). This is the beginning of the Tsonga horticultural year; hoeing songs recommence with the new work cycle. Herding songs recommence with the renewal of herding activities, the cattle having been left to graze freely for the previous period, on the stripped maize fields which were harvested in May.

Hukuri, "month of the baby chickens" (November). Summer has begun. The evenings get longer and there is time for children's games featuring game-songs, before sundown. Musical beer-drinks become less frequent

because the women must be up early each morning to plant. Work parties sing planting songs.

N'wedzanhala, "month of the baby antelopes" (December). Pregnant women sing the antelope-in-the-womb song, which states that the antelope foetus learns to jump from its mother's jumping and the human foetus learns to distinguish right from wrong by its mother's actions during pregnancy.

Sunguti, "the beginning" (January). This term is European derived. Weeding is in full swing and work-parties sing weeding songs. The exciting nighttime exorcism rites commence, featuring spirit-specific rhythms played upon the set of four tambourines.

Nyenyenyani, "month of the small birds" (February). Women and children spend much time shaking loud rattles and singing forcibly in the fields to dissuade the crop-destroying birds from alighting on the newly seeded gardens. It is now rainy and hot, and children's games and dances are feasible only on level ground. Practicing for the girls' *xigombela* dance starts.

Nyanyankulu, "month of the big birds" (March). Autumn begins and brings the first green maize cobs. Children dance their *xifase* dance within the context of the boys' *xigubu* drumming school. As the nights get shorter and the evening fires are lit, grandmothers tell children's stories containing songs.

Dzivamusoko, "the rainbow at the end of the rain" (April). Men sing roof-repairing songs. Mud huts ruined by the rain are abandoned and roof-carrying songs are sung as the conical thatched roofs are salvaged and transported to new dwellings. The boys' circumcision school (organized only every four or five years) assembles and marches off to the secret lodge where the musical formulae are learned by rote.

Mudyaxihi, "the reaping of many varieties of fresh produce" (May). The harvest, which includes maize, pumpkin, squash, groundnuts, and sugar cane, is the signal for much musical activity as the social beer-drinks proliferate and the girls are free to go off to the all-important *khomba* puberty school musical rites.

Khotavuxika, "the clinging of winter" (June). Following the starting up of the girls' puberty school, the pre-puberty school known as *musevhetho* assembles. *Musevhetho* teaches certain songs and musical formulae to young girls, in preparation for the larger institution. Reaping songs continue through June, and as the fields are cleared cattle are brought back from the distant pastures to benefit from the maize stalks which are left (the soil benefits from the manure). One no longer hears herding songs or herdboys' flutes.

Mawuwani, "the wind goes *ma-wu-u, ma-wu-u!*" (July). Pounding songs increase as the harvest is completed and the enormous beer-brews proliferate. Inter-village competitive team-dancing takes the music of each village to neighboring regions. Gourd-bow players renew the disintegrating calabashes on their bows, from gourds of the right size selected from

the new crop. Xylophone players do likewise for the spherical resonators under their xylophone slats.

Mharwuri, "the wind goes *mha-rwu, mha-rwu!*" (August). The girls' puberty school is drawing to a close and the returned initiates are welcomed with a musical beer-drink, as are the circumcision school initiates.

Ndzhati, "the line across the path" (September). This name derives from the fact that September marks the dividing point between the old year and the new. It is also the dividing line between the end of a large number of recreational and social institutions featuring music, and the beginning of various types of work activity utilizing rhythmic work songs (for hoe sharpening, land clearing, etc.).

In addition to the types of music mentioned above, there are numerous forms of musical activity which are not regulated by the changing seasons, and which occur all year. Examples of these are those ceremonial beer-drinks celebrating life-cycle crises, general children's songs, solo instrumental music, *makwaya* (the Tsonga urban mine-dance), and Tsonga Christian church music (utilized by a minority).

The Tsonga names of the season-specific styles are given in the two listings below.

The Seasonal Occurrence of Different Musical Substyles for Adults

- Oct.-Dec. hoeing songs (*tinsimu ta kurima*)
- Dec.-Mar. weeding songs (*tinsimu ta kuhlakula*)
- Apr.-Jun. reaping songs (*tinsimu ta kutshovela*)
- Dec.-Mar. exorcism music (*mancomane*)
- Oct.-Sep. pounding songs (*tinsimu to kandza*)
- Oct.-Sep. beer songs (*tinsimu nta le byalweni*)
- Oct.-Sep. the national dance (*muchongolo*)
- Oct.-Sep. solo instrumental music (*xichaya*)
- Oct.-Sep. Christian church music (*tinsimu ta kereke*)
- Oct.-Sep. mine dance (*makwaya*) in the urban environment

The Seasonal Occurrence of Different Musical Substyles for Children and Adolescents

- Oct.-Apr. herding songs (*tinsimu ta varisi*)
- Mar.-Jun. the children's dance (*xifase*)
- Mar.-Jun. the girls' dance (*xigombela*)
- Apr.-Aug. boys' circumcision school (*murhundzu*) music
- May-Sep. girls' puberty school (*khomba*) music
- Jun.-Sep. small girls' pre-puberty school (*musevetho*) music
- Mar.-Sep. children's story songs within fireside tales (*mintsheketo*)
- Oct.-Sep. children's songs (*tinsimu to tlanga ta swihlangi*)
- Oct.-Sep. boys' drumming school (*xigubu*) music

The various musical styles of the Tsonga are classified into seven main groupings, each of which is associated with a recognizable set of melodic, rhythmic, and harmonic characteristics, and, through these, with a particular social institution. In other words, each Tsonga social institution possesses a musical style manifesting intrinsic, identifiable qualities that distinguish it from the proprietary music of other institutions. The seven groupings are as follows.

The Tsonga Classification of Their Musical Styles

1. Children's music, which in turn has five subdivisions: A. Story songs; B. Game songs; C. Songs of mockery; D. Counting songs; E. Herding songs. The first four are for both boys and girls. The last is for boys only.

2. Girls' initiation music, including assembly, dispatch, and greeting-back songs, plus a body of highly secret songs, formulae, dances, and mimes performed at the river.

3. Boys' drumming school music, including a body of non-lexical drum-learning syllables, a body of drum-and-voice conversations, a body of dance-songs, and two main dances.

4. Boys' circumcision school music, including a body of short didactic formulae, and a body of longer songs.

5. Social beer-drink music, which includes work songs and the music of the national dance, *muchongolo*, as well as beer songs.

6. Exorcism music, which includes three subdivisions matching the national origin of the spirit to be exorcised.

7. Solo instrumental music performed by quasi specialists.

The most often performed musical style is beer-drink music, which includes work songs and the national dance, *muchongolo*. This is partly because, within the rural population, both sexes are involved, and the frequency of performance must properly be reckoned in man- and woman-hours. The girls' puberty school music is highly important and often heard by women; it ranks second in popularity because men are excluded. The least performed musical style is that of the boys' circumcision school, because the school assembles only once every four or five years. Table 1 shows these various rankings.

The musical styles are learned by the Tsonga in stages, paralleling growth to adulthood. Table 2 shows the stages from boyhood to manhood, table 3 shows the stages from girlhood to womanhood, table 4 shows the stages which are jointly shared by the sexes dur-

ing growth to adulthood, and table 5 shows the complete "musical ladder," the musical stages of both sexes (where separate, women to the left, men to the right).

In certain of the more important musical and social institutions, officiants hold authority, which consists of one of two kinds: male or female. The male musical authority is further subdivided into two kinds: a business type of relationship to the chief who rules the musical participants; and an administrative relationship. Table 6 shows the male musical authority in the circumcision school, in exorcism, in the drumming school, and at the social beer-drink. Table 7 shows the female musical authority in the prepuberty school, in the puberty school, in the adult work party, and in the children's fireside group (which is a part of the social group to which belongs all the game songs, story songs, and other children's music).

The dichotomy of musical authority highlights the sex specificity of many of the institutions, as follows.

Exclusiveness in the Attendance at the Tsonga Sociomusical Institutions (i.e., with Regard to Age and Sex)

Exclusiveness by law: The girls' puberty school must be attended *after* puberty but *before* marriage, by girls only. The boys' circumcision school must be attended before marriage. The songs, dances, and mimes of both schools are strictly taboo to members of the opposite sex and to pre-initiates of both sexes.

Exclusiveness for convenience: Young girls are generally too busy drawing water, gathering firewood, learning to cook, and taking care of infants to attend the boys' *xigubu* drumming school, though attendance is permitted.

Exclusiveness for biological reasons: Young children are generally asleep by the time social beer-drinks and exorcism ceremonies get under way in the evenings, though there is no taboo on their attendance. Young children may learn an occasional beer-song from their attendance at daytime social beer-drinks, prior to learning certain children's songs. They are less likely to know exorcism songs. for Tsonga exorcism is typically an all-night affair.

Exclusiveness in the Playing of Tsonga Musical Instruments

Exclusiveness by reason of economics: There are certain instruments, such as the xylophone, that women and boys cannot afford

TABLE 1
THE FREQUENCY OF PERFORMANCE OF THE VARIOUS TSONGA MUSICAL STYLES
(This estimate includes one circumcision school)

beer songs 18%	} beer-drink music 40%
work songs 4%	
<i>muchongolo</i> 18%	
<i>mandhlozi</i> 12% <i>xidzimba</i> 5% <i>xiNdau</i> 3%	} exorcism music 20%
<i>khomba</i> assembly, dispatch, and coming-out songs 14%	} <i>khomba</i> music 15%
secret songs 1%	
children's songs 10%	} 10%
solo instrumental playing 10%	} 10%
<i>xigubu</i> songs 2%	} drum-school music 4%
<i>xigubu</i> didactic formulae 1%	
<i>xigubu</i> voice+drum conversations 1%	
circumcision <i>lingoma</i> ½%	} circumcision school music 1%
circumcision <i>linsimu</i> ½%	

to own, for they are expensive to purchase, barter, or manufacture.

Exclusiveness through travel restriction: Because of factors in both the Tsonga and the Whites' social systems, women and boys find it more difficult than men to get work and travel permits, and hence are exposed less to acculturative musical influences such as the playing of the concertina or saxophone. Economics features here, too.

Exclusiveness through lack of access to metal-working tools:

TABLE 2
THE MUSICAL STAGES FOR MEN AND BOYS ONLY

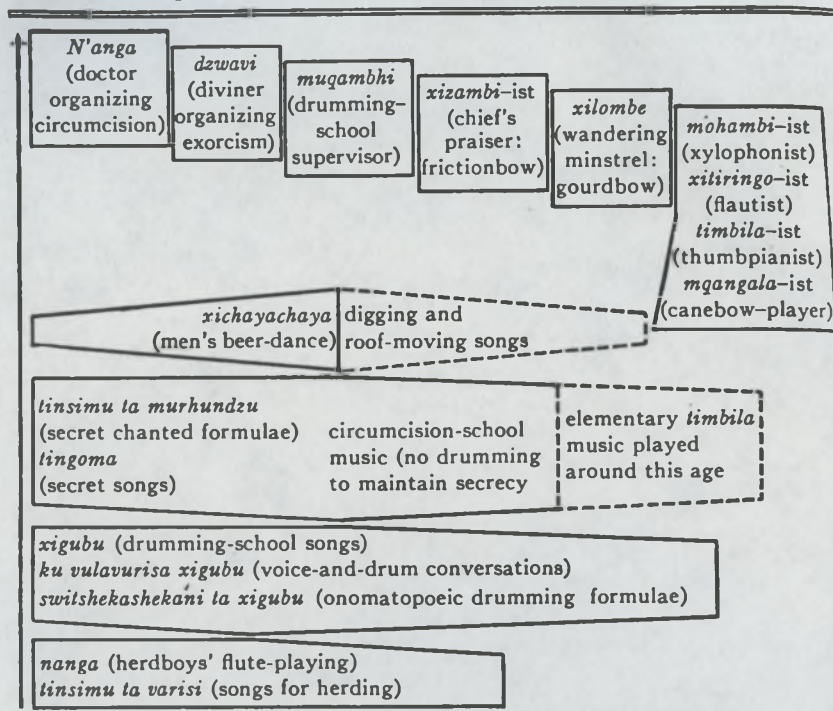


TABLE 3
THE MUSICAL STAGES FOR WOMEN AND GIRLS ONLY

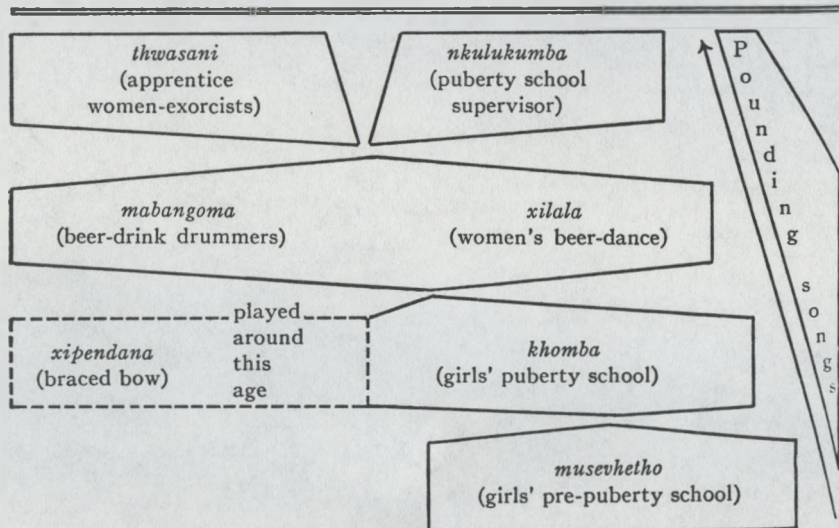


TABLE 4
THE MUSICAL STAGES SHARED BY BOTH SEXES

m i x e d w o r k p a r t y s o n g s	The three kinds of <i>mancomane</i> (exorcism music): <i>xiNdau</i> <i>xidzimba</i> <i>mandhosi</i>	Music of the beer-drink: <i>tinsimu nta le byalweni</i> (songs for beer-drinks) <i>rhambelela phikezano</i> (competitive team-dancing) <i>muchongolo</i> (the national dance)	A D U L T S
	<i>ku wamikapa</i> <i>xifase</i>	Dances of the teams which are ancillary to the boys' drumming school (<i>xigubu</i>)	A D O L E S C E N T S
	<i>tinsimu ta lingaringeto</i> (story songs) <i>tinsimu tavana to huhu</i> (game songs) <i>tinsimu to solana</i> (songs of mockery) <i>tinsimu ta ku hlaya</i> (counting songs) } Children's music	C H I L D R E N	

Women and young children (not boys) have less access to files and hacksaws, and are thus less likely to play instruments such as the metal-keyed mbira.

Exclusiveness through divergent rates of social change: Men forsake the old ways more easily than do the women, for they travel more and learn new languages and customs. Boys copy the men, and thus are inclined to manufacture such instruments as the five-string gas-can guitar.

Within and without the musical and social institutions, many Tsonga musical roles are restricted to individuals meeting special qualifications. While in many cases this amounts to sex/age specificity, a better typology—one showing cause—is the ascribed/achieved distinction, as shown in table 8.

In the same way, causation—or motivation—can be shown in the performance of the Tsonga musical styles and substyles (see table 9).

TABLE 5
THE COMPLETE TSONGA "MUSICAL LADDER"

girls' initiation supervisor	circumcision school doctor	trained diviner-exorcist	drumming school teacher	mixed female male work party
exorcist's apprentice	court friction-bow player	news-telling gourd-bow player		
xylophonist thumbpianist flautist cane-bow-player				
drummers	mixed beer-drink singers/dancers			
girls' initiation school	boys' circumcision school			
<i>xipendana</i> bow music	elementary thumbpiano music			
drumming-school's mixed visiting danceteam				
prepuberty school	boy drumming-school students			
mixed children's music		boys' herding music		

TABLE 6
MALE MUSICAL AUTHORITY

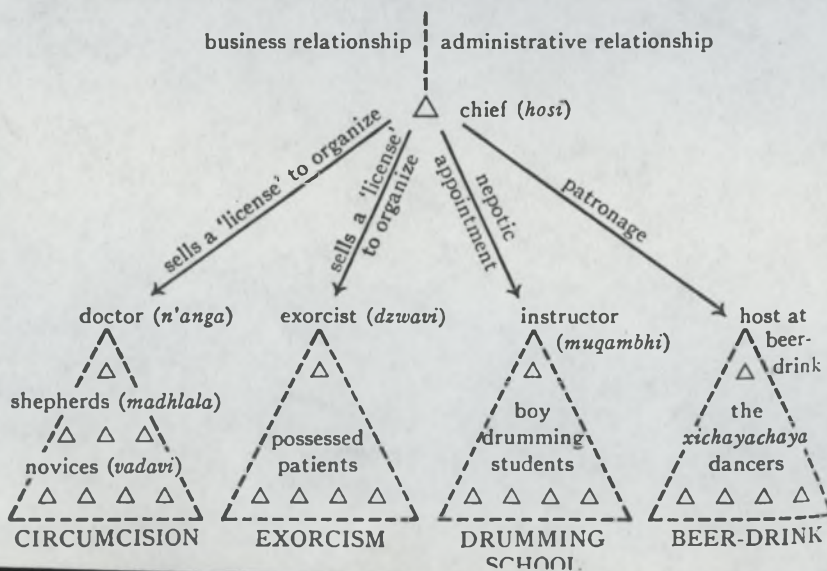
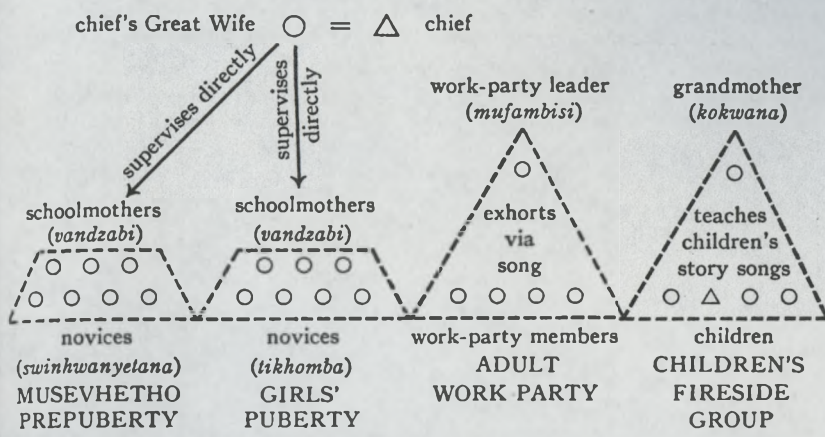


TABLE 7
FEMALE MUSICAL AUTHORITY



THE FUNCTION OF TSONGA MUSIC AT VARIOUS LIFE-CYCLE STAGES

One of the most conservative musical styles is that of Tsonga children. Many of the songs possess archaic or Ndaus words no longer understood; others perpetuate ancient beliefs, so that this body of music largely functions to carry on a segment of the folklore tradition, particularly that pertaining to monsters, ogres, and giants. Tsonga children are familiar with such beings inasmuch as admonitions to behave are frequently followed by a threat that the bogymen seize and abduct misbehavers.

Nine musical games popular in the Northern Transvaal during the period 1968–70 are given below.³ Such games are a persistent part of Tsonga culture, surviving even amidst an alien polyglot of Venda, Pedi, Lovedu, and White influences.

Ntshengu-ntshengu

A game in which an older girl protects small children behind her outstretched arms. Another older girl—the “thief” or “hyena”—tries to capture them one by one, singing *Va nga hela hiyo, manani ntshengu-ntshengu, hi timhisi* (Oh they are finished, mother *ntshengu-ntshengu*, by the hyenas).

Explanation:

In the set of Tsonga divining bones the astragalus of the hyena represents witchcraft because witches eat the flesh of stolen children, and hyenas dig up graves. The theme behind the game reminds one of the way in which children of the neighboring Zulu are sometimes disciplined

³ The music for most of these is to be found in Johnston 1972: 80–90.

TABLE 8
 TSONGA MUSICAL ROLES: A TYPOLOGY

<i>Tsonga</i> Musical Role	Role Activity	Role Type	Reason
<i>mungaringana</i>	children's story-song reciter	{ ascribed achieved	sex and age good repertory
<i>dzwavi</i>	exorcist	achieved	good psychiatrics & histrionics
<i>nwarimatsi</i>	recluse "composer"	ascribed	left-handedness
<i>n'anga</i>	herbalist	{ ascribed achieved	inherited and good psychiatrics
<i>nkulukumba</i>	girls' puberty school supervisor & horn-blower	{ ascribed achieved	chief's wife loyalty & musicality
<i>mbongi</i>	court retainer (friction-bow)		
<i>qambhi</i>	xylophonist	achieved	affluence & musicality
<i>muqambhi</i>	boys' drumming school instructor	ascribed	chief's brother
<i>xilombe</i>	wandering news-singer	{ ascribed achieved	psychopath declamatory skill
AGE <i>kepe-ngoma</i>	dance-team leader	{ ascribed achieved	physique choreographics
<i>mbongi wa ku pfuxa</i>	dance-team praise-poet	achieved	declamatory skill
<i>phuphula</i>	dance-team clown	achieved	acrobatics
<i>mufambisi</i>	beer-drink cantor	achieved	voice, personality, repertory
<i>bangoma</i>	beer-drink woman-drummer	ascribed	sex and age
<i>nsini, gayisa</i>	urban mine-dancer	achieved	rehearsed volunteer
<i>thwasani</i>	exorcist's apprentice	ascribed	psychopath
<i>qambhi</i>	mbira-player	achieved	metalwork & musicality
<i>ndzabi</i>	girls' puberty school schoolmother for musical rites	ascribed	sex and age
<i>gobela</i>	girls' puberty school 'medium' (doctor)	achieved	histrionics
<i>dhlala</i>	boys' circumcision school "shepherd" & song-leader	{ ascribed ascribed	sex and age sex and age
<i>risi</i>	herding flautist		
<i>ngayila</i>	children's game-leader	achieved	personality & repertory

by being told that they will be carried off by the *Isithwalangcenge*, a creature often thought to resemble a hyena.

Ke didimo, ke ja bana (I'm a thief, I eat children)

A game somewhat similar to *ntshengu-ntshengu*, except that the devouring of children is mentioned more explicitly and the response of the chorus is *Mee-mee-mee!*

TABLE 9
 TYPES OF MOTIVATION FOR THE PERFORMANCE OF SOME TSONGA MUSICAL STYLES AND SUBSTYLES

<i>Tsonga Musical Style</i> (all styles listed are enculturative)	delectative	educative	coercive	accreditative	remunerative	curative	annunciative
xylophonic (& mbira) boasting music of returned migrants.....							X
exorcism music.....						X	
beer-drink music.....					X		
girls' puberty school music.....				X			
circumcision school music.....			X				
boys' drumming school music.....		X					
children's music.....	X						

Explanation:

Mee-mee-mee is a Tsonga onomatopoeia representing the cry of a goat. Goats are the most common sacrificial animal of the Tsonga, and their pitiful cry is well known to Tsonga children. Stolen children are here compared to sacrificed goats.

Yiva-yiva! (Sway-sway-sway!)

Children stand in two opposed lines and sway from foot to foot as a "thief" pursues one of the children through the lines. One of the responses of this musical game goes as follows:

Kwhiri ra fanela hi nchumu a n'ta yiva n'wana.

The womb is most blessed when it produces children.

Explanation:

A woman who does *not* conceive children may attempt to borrow or steal a child. *Yiva* means also "to steal," thus the name of the song could be equally "Steal-steal-steal."

Mbita ya vulombe (The pot of honey)

Two opposite lines of children link arms diagonally and toss or swing a small child upon their crossed arms, singing *Ya reka-reka!* ("Quiver!").

Explanation:

An association is drawn between the diagonal crossing of the children's arms and the pattern of a honeycomb.

He xikelewa!

This is a question-and-answer game, rather like a children's introduction to the Tsonga adult pastime of asking riddles. To each repetition of the question "On what do you dine at home?" the participants must answer with the name of some item of food. As the question changes, the answers become harder. The title line occurs once only. A feature of the game is a chase sequence in which the caller asks *Ha honisa?* ("Do we ignore?") and the chorus respond with *Honisani!* ("Ignore ye!") followed by the caller's *Ha khoma?* ("Do we catch?") answered with *Khmani!* ("Catch ye!")

Explanation:

The word *xikelewa* is derived from the English sickle, the game thus being called Little Harvester.

Xifufununu xi rhwele (The beetle carries wonderful things)

This game is played in pairs, one child carrying another on his or her back, while on all fours. The rider taps on the "beetle."

Explanation:

A familiar beetle in Tsongaland is the *Tenebrionida*, which taps on the ground with its abdomen.

Xinyenyana, ho dlamulani, dlamulani, dlamulani! ("Bird, hop, hop, hop!")

The children divide into two teams. Those of one team advance one at a time, hopping. They take a stick and must plant it in their own territory, still hopping.

Explanation:

The game imitates the action of birds which hop looking for worms, and then dig them up.

Hamaxuxu mbanga-mbanga mangongori! Mbale-mbale! ("Somebody else's turn!" Mbale-mbale!)

This is a leg-counting song in which part of the sung portion asks questions concerning what types of food are eaten. The game and the song has been borrowed by the neighboring Venda.

Explanation:

A didactic element is to be found in some Tsonga children's game songs. In this song, the children are taught both to count legs and to recite common items of the Tsonga menu.

Makuluku Java-java! ("Great Alarm!")

An older child takes the part of a "wild dog" catching "young duikers," who stand with hands on hips in a line behind a protecting "mother duiker." The "wild dog" sings "Child, child!" while the small children jump in time to the rhythm of the song. Those captured become the property of the "wild dog."

Explanation:

The theme of this game is very similar to that of several other Tsonga games such as *ntshengu-ntshengu*, *Ke didimo*, and *yiva-yiva-yiva*. Children are valuable but liable to be stolen (die in infancy?).

The Functions of the Boys' Drumming School

The functions of the boys' drum music, called *xigubu*, are the same as those of the drumming school.

To teach drum manufacture.

To teach drumming techniques.

To teach didactic ideophones consisting of nonlexical drum-rhythm learning syllables.

To teach long antiphonal drum-and-voice conversations.

To teach a special body of songs which accompany adolescents' dances.

To provide a milieu for the organization and rehearsal of uniformed competitive dance teams which go on inter-village visits and perform before rival chiefs and villagers.

To bring about social and political awareness in young people, particularly with regard to the racial situation.

As an example of the latter function, I give the translation of the voice part of one of the *xigubu* drum-and-voice conversations.

Answer with the drum, Majajijaye

He is busy dancing at the village

Greetings relative, we are well

We are happy that we have arrived at the village

The old man, our aunts, our mothers and children

You our songwriter

At home there is only dust

He will put headrings on the old men

The country will revive and we shall have maize

We shall eat and sleep well
 We are caling all
 (Our in-laws included)
 In the language of the Afrikaners (Dutch)
 Don't climb up the tree
 You will fall down hard
 And cry when you're hurt
 We are raising dust that makes your mouths dirty
 We take it from you
 Sweep, burn the dirt
 Goodbye oh this dust
 Not in your clean beautiful village
 There should be no dust
 Oh this year, young men!

Here the team has arrived at the "away" village and is delivering the customary greetings from relatives. Then follows a reference to the drought and hardship back home, and the lack of dignity shown old men (who used to wear wax headrings as a status symbol). Then follows some lines which, before translation, were in Dutch-Afrikaans rather than in Tsonga, reflecting acculturation; they are addressed "even to the in-laws," with whom avoidance is normally practiced. The "foreign" lines state that any attempt to "climb" or better oneself will meet with rebuttal. The song finishes with an appeal to the young men to care and an implied hope that next year things will start getting better.

The music of the boys' circumcision school serves functions not unlike those of the girls' puberty school music (see below), except that it is the male societal role which is stressed. Male prowess, hardiness, and sexual virility are emphasized in the song words.⁴

The music of the girls' puberty school, *khomba*, is very much alive today and an important part of every Tsonga girl's growing up. From the end of the harvest until late September the long lines of women and girls wend their way from the villages to the river, for the secret rites, dances, mimes, and song performances considered necessary to the elevation of a girl to womanhood and marriageable status. The function of the music is the same as the functions of the rites.

Functions of the (Largely Musical) Girls' Puberty Rites

Cultural:

To validate Tsonga cultural prescriptions.

⁴ Several sets were recorded and are to be found in Johnston 1972: 214-19.

To ensure conformity to Tsonga cultural prescriptions.

To attempt to guarantee the cultural imperative of fertility (no bride wishes her family to have to return the cattle paid).

The following functions are also cultural but are listed under more specific headings.

Educational:

To teach the women's role as pleaser of the husband.

To teach the women's role as the bearer of children.

To teach the women's role as keeper of the home.

To teach the women's role as tiller of the soil.

To teach *vubasi*, clearness—a term connected with Tsonga concepts of the nature of blood and its dangers.

To teach *xinhanga*, ways of the girls' hut—including lengthening of the *labia minora*, a process begun prior to *khomba*.

Social:

To announce a girl's marriage eligibility and thus bring cattle to her father.

To provide musical recreation and to integrate the peer group.

Political:

To strengthen the chief's control (via the old women) over the constituency's young women.

Economic:

To bring in small cash and beer payments to the chief, from the families of the novices.

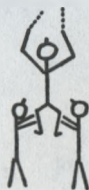
Psychological:

To serve a cathartic, expressive purpose, alleviating the continuous, monotonous nature of women's work in Tsonga society.

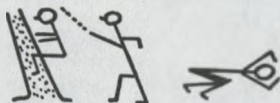
As an example of the didactic and symbolic nature of the musical activities of the *khomba* rite, table 10 shows the nine specific acts, mimes, or poses taught to novices on the riverbank, as part of the essential instruction of the school.

Following graduation from *khomba*, the young women assume changed status, most obviously in connection with their role during the following year's *khomba*, when they become school mothers. This change is also apparent, however, in their behavior at social beer-drinks, where they are no longer regarded as children. Their singing is louder and more assured, and their dancing often assigned preference in the eyes of the menfolk. The music and dancing of the Tsonga social beer-drink is a fully developed expressive medium with strong social overtones, particularly with regard to family structure, as shown in table 11. Positioning causes the emergence of

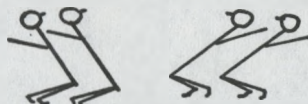
TABLE 10
 THE TSONGA FERTILITY MIME: NINE PROGRESSIVE STAGES OF POSTURAL
 ERECTION (the posture getting taller with each mime—a coincidence?)



The shoulder-high mime, with the novice (hoisted high by the others) wielding two sticks to demonstrate *labia minora* elongation measurements



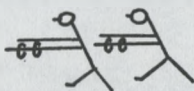
The tree-climbing mime, with the novice being beaten and a third novice in quasi-foetal position on the ground



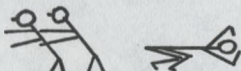
The backward-leaning 'prisoner' dance, with a song about not forgetting one's identification passbook in the town



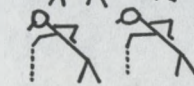
The mime in standing position with hands on head



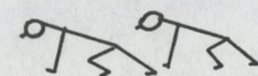
The bangle dance, with arm outstretched to receive bangle for protection from barrenness by witchcraft



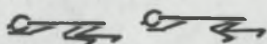
The hands-on-hips childbirth dance, with a novice in quasi-foetal position



The firewood-gathering mime with stick tapped on the ground



The crocodile mime and lobbing of the head

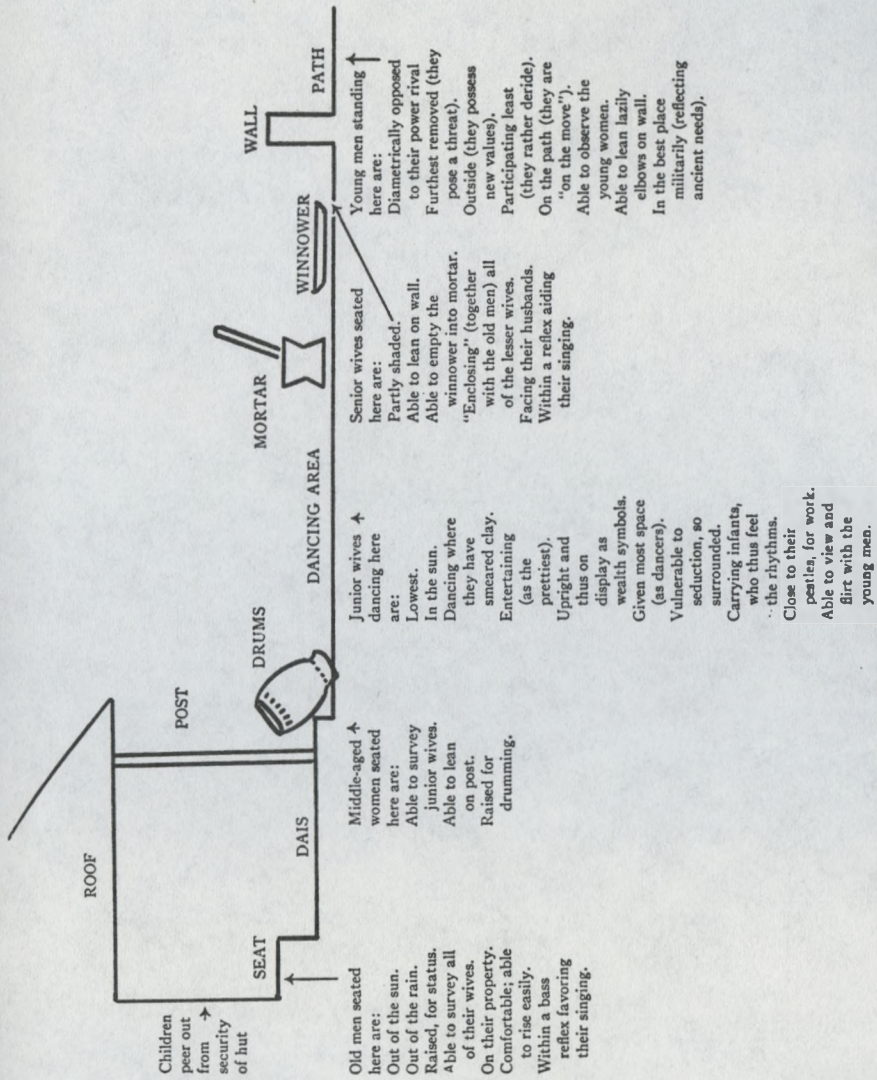


The 'baby-crawl' across the river-bed

situation-specific harmonic lines provided by the different sex and age groups.

Beer-drink music forms the hard core of the corporate body of Tsonga music; its characteristics penetrate other styles (table 12).

Because such rites as circumcision and *khomba* terminate in a ceremonial beer-drink, there occurs an overlapping of musical styles, with songs peculiar to *khomba* being sung to beer-drink



Children
peer out
from
security
of hut

ROOF

POST

DRUMS

MORTAR

WALL

WINNOWER

DANCING AREA

DRUMS

DAISS

SEAT

PATH

Old men seated here are:
Out of the sun.
Out of the rain.
Raised, for status.
Able to survey all of their wives.
On their property.
Comfortable; able to rise easily.
Within a bass reflex favoring their singing.

Middle-aged women seated here are:
Able to survey junior wives.
Able to lean on post.
Raised for drumming.

Junior wives dancing here are:
Lowest.
In the sun.
Dancing where they have smeared clay.
Entertaining (as the prettiest).
Upright and thus on display as wealth symbols.
Given most space (as dancers).
Vulnerable to seduction, so surrounded.
Carrying infants, who thus feel the rhythms.
Close to their patia, for work.
Able to view and flirt with the young men.

Senior wives seated here are:
Partly shaded.
Able to lean on wall.
Able to empty the winnower into mortar.
"Enclosing" (together with the old men) all of the lesser wives.
Facing their husbands.
Within a reflex aiding their singing.

Young men standing here are:
Diametrically opposed to their power rival
Furthest removed (they pose a threat).
Outside (they possess new values).
Participating least (they rather deride).
On the path (they are "on the move").
Able to observe the young women.
Able to lean lazily elbows on wall.
In the best place militarily (reflecting ancient needs).

TABLE 12
 EXAMPLES OF THE OCCURRENCE OF BEER-DRINK MUSIC WITHIN THE CONTEXT
 OF SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS OTHER THAN THE USUAL BEER-DRINK

instrumental music (<i>xichaya</i>) mainly adaptations of known beer songs)	B E E R D R I N K S U B S T Y L E
girls' puberty school (<i>khomba</i>) holds coming-out celebration	
boys' circumcision school (<i>murhundzu</i>) holds coming-out celebration	
boys' drumming school (<i>xigubu</i>) teaches the rhythms of the beer-drink dances	

dance rhythms, and performances of the men's dance *xichayachaya*. This creates a musical environment where the norms and standards of beer-drink music infiltrate and influence the music of other institutions and partly control it. Beer-drink music is the nucleus, the stabilizing and conservative force in Tsonga music, and it moderates stylistic variance due to the importation of Shona possession cults, Pedi initiation schools, and Ndaou and Venda sociomusical phenomena.

Beer-drink music also serves a political function, being the tool of music-conscious rulers. It is used to influence and even manipulate the allegiance of constituents, as follows.

*The Acquisition and Maintenance of Chieftly Power and Prestige
 Via Control of Musical Activities in Tsongaland*

1. The visible and audible effect of massed singing work parties tilling a chief's land is to emphasize the extent of the fealty paid him; specifically, it impresses visiting chiefs.
2. A chief's popularity with his constituents is usually in propor-

tion to the frequency of his social beer-drinks, with the attendant musical activity.

3. At these beer-drinks, the size of the massed singing ensembles and the number of large, carved wooden drums displayed is a measure of the host's power and prestige.

4. Because middle-aged women play the drums at Tsonga beer-drinks, the display of many drummers is a sign of many wives; many wives means much horticultural labor and many pots of food and beer. Music is a matter of available beer; beer is a matter of tilling the soil and filling the pots; tilling and filling is a matter for wives.

5. Another musical measure of chiefly power and prestige is the existence of a uniformed, equipped, and well-rehearsed inter-village competitive dance team. Chiefs provide the teams which represent them "abroad" with metal whistles, cloth for regalia, and portable drums; they also finance the time spent in rehearsal and underwrite the time wasted in travel. Success of the team in neighboring and perhaps rival villages assures the sponsoring chief of a broadened pyramid base of political support from the "fence-sitters" in his constituency.

6. Chiefs must extend hospitality in the form of beer, food, and shelter, to visiting dance teams. Their ability to underwrite the cost of this is a measure of their personal wealth. Chiefs often lend a wife for the night to visiting wandering minstrels who carry news from village to village, playing the gourd-bow. These *xilombe* possess a form of diplomatic immunity in that they relay insults and complaints from chief to chief, with impunity.

7. Chiefs often employ a professional court musical retainer who plays the *xizambi* notched friction-bow, and whose task it is to praise the chief with praise songs, and to entertain visiting dignitaries. Such a person usually doubles as a chief's aide or policeman.

8. Chiefs establish alliances with circumcision school doctors and with exorcism diviners, in order to gain control over the large following which these skilled individuals attract. "Licenses" to practice are granted in exchange for payment in the form of fowl, cattle, beer, or cash, on condition that much formal deference to the chief be practiced, and that the advantages of his rule be advertised.

9. Chiefs appoint relatives to the more important musical posts in order to gain and keep control over the region's young men and women. For instance, one wife is usually the supervisor of the all-important girls' puberty school, and one younger brother often in-

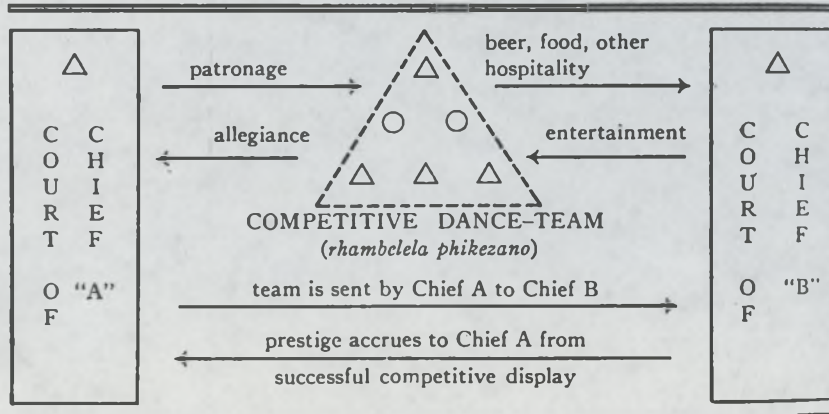
structs the boys' drumming school.

10. Chiefs often enhance their power and prestige by the demonstration of *personal* musicianship, playing the transverse three-hole flute (e.g., Chief Chavani of Ribola) or the ten-slat xylophone (e.g., Headman Maphophe of Langutani).

11. Social rank is often demonstrated visibly within the context of the important Tsonga social institutions such as initiation, such demonstrations serving to reinforce hierarchical social structure. For instance, in the boys' circumcision school it is the nephew of the chief who leads the marching, singing line of novices to the lodge, and in the girls' puberty school it is the supervisor, women drummers, and school mothers who lead the line to the river. This constitutes visible and audible affirmation of chains of authority.

Particularly observable among the above are the travelings and political effects of the rehearsed, uniformed, competitive dance teams, the function and reciprocity of which are illustrated in table 13.

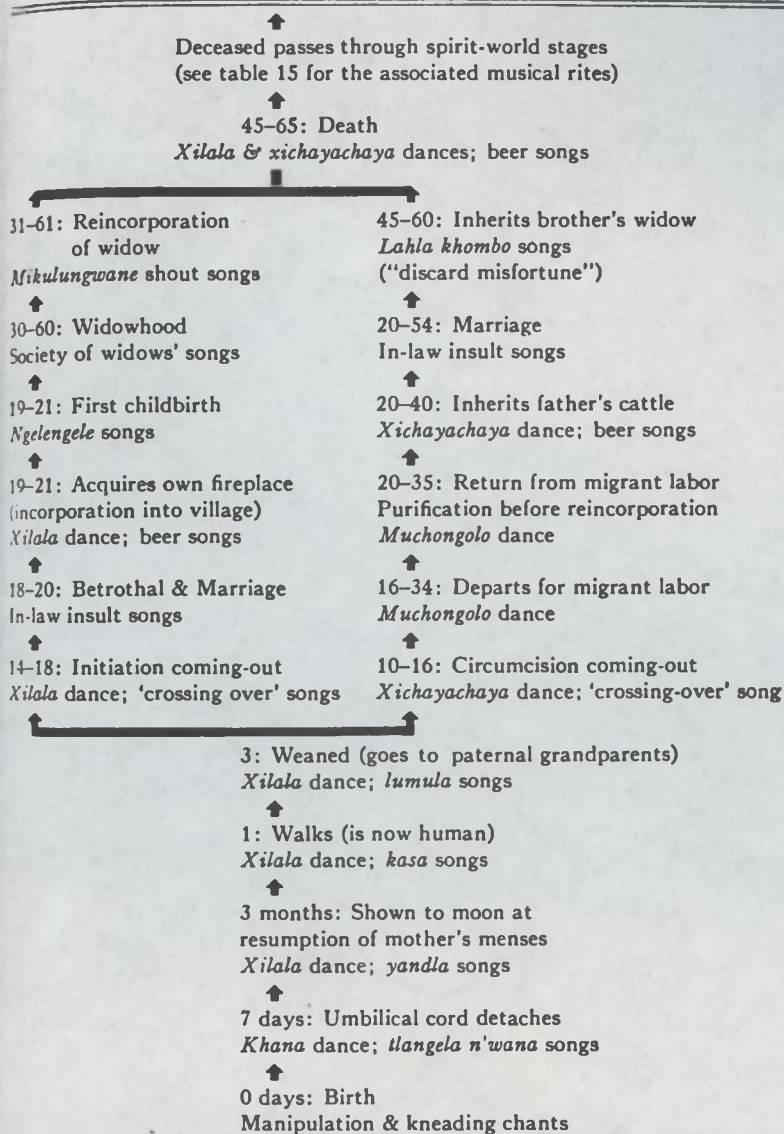
TABLE 13
CHIEFLY PRESTIGE THROUGH INTER-VILLAGE COMPETITIVE DISPLAY



Beer-drink music also serves to mark various life-cycle crises, shown in consecutive order in table 14.

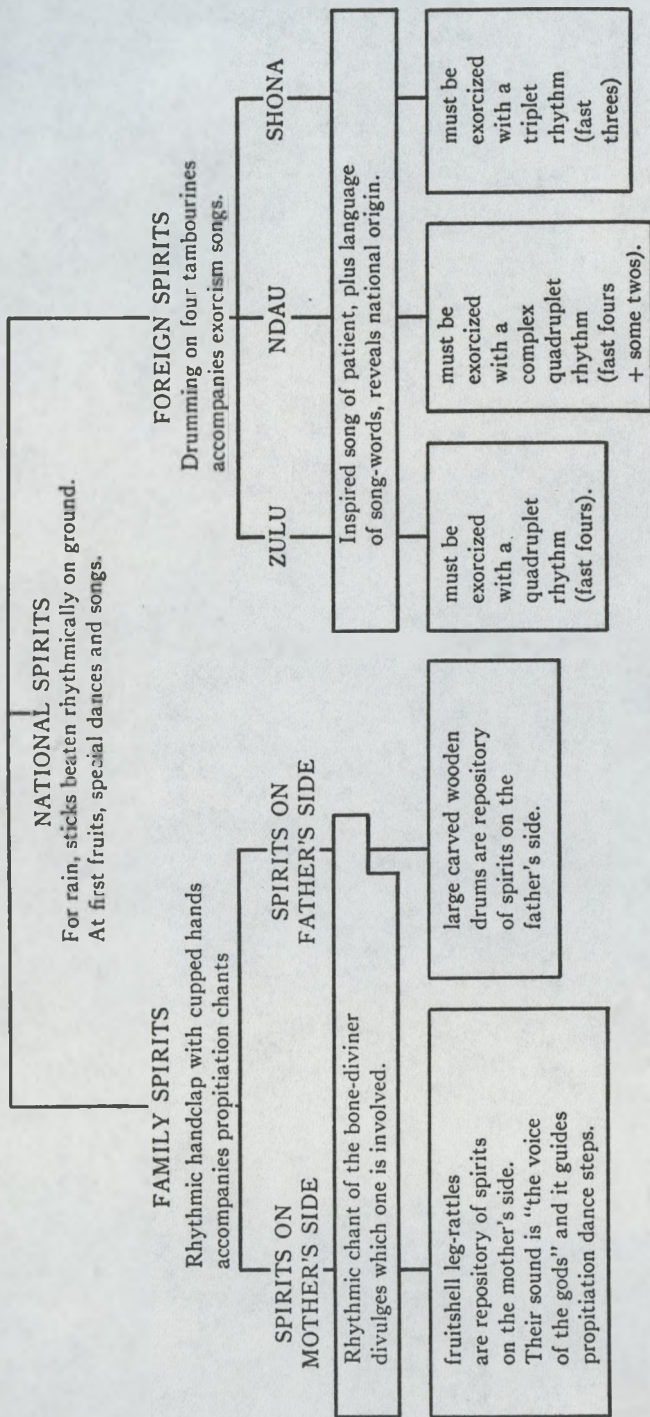
The music of the exorcism rites serves healing purposes; it is also an expressive medium by which Tsonga women alleviate the tediousness and monotony of their horticultural and housekeeping chores. The songs are often directed against feared spirits presumed to emanate from neighboring peoples such as the Shona, Ndau, and Nguni, and thus serve as an outlet for hostility. Largely performed

TABLE 14
LIFE-CYCLE CRISES CELEBRATED MUSICALLY AT THE TSONGA
CEREMONIAL BEER-DRINK



in connection with spiritual beliefs, exorcism music must be considered a part of Tsonga beliefs in a spirit-world and hence part of the Tsonga religious system. Musical behavior in connection with this system is shown in table 15.

TABLE 15
THE ROLE OF MUSIC IN THE TSONGA RELIGIOUS SYSTEM



USUALLY WITHOUT DRUG-USE

DRUG-USE

I have described the social aspects of the Tsonga musical system and dealt with the function of the vocal musical styles (instrumental music is the subject of another paper). It is necessary to note briefly three further aspects of Tsonga music: the song words, the supernatural beliefs associated with music, and the dances.

Although there is no firm correlation between the topic of Tsonga song words and the discrete musical style, analysis of the subject matter of 344 songs reveals that certain tendencies occur, as shown in table 16.

TABLE 16
THE TSONGA MUSICAL SUBSTYLES TO WHICH VARIOUS KINDS OF
SONG-WORD SUBJECT MATTER USUALLY BELONG

<i>Topic of the Song</i>	<i>Tsonga Musical Category in Which Generally Found</i>	
legendary animal figures, ogres, child eaters	} children's songs (<i>tinsimu to tlanga ta swihlangi</i>)	
drum learning-syllables		
frogs, lodge activities	boys' drumming school (<i>xigubu</i>)	
shaving, headcloths, maturity, water	circumcision school songs (<i>tinsimu ta murhundzu</i>)	
child-bearing	} girls' puberty school songs (<i>tingoma wa tikhomba</i>)	
betrothal, courtship marriage		
bride-labor (work)	}	
illness		
death		
widowhood		
food and beer		} beer-drink songs (<i>tinsimu nta le byalweni</i>)
hunger and drought		
rain		
journeying, visiting		
the Great Migration		
nines, urban life		
diviners		
co-wifely jealousy		
witchcraft accusations		
undesirable alien spirits		} exorcism music (<i>mancomane</i>)
war and history		
short mottos, often just a girl's name	} solo instrumental music (<i>xichaya</i>)	

For instance, of the following songs concerned with animals and birds, a large proportion are children's songs. The rest contain subject matter strongly related to the main body of lore found in

folktales, and thus many of the songs are known to children, who perhaps identify more easily with such material.

Songs Featuring Legendary Animal and Bird Figures
(Largely Humanized)

- N'wa-Mpfundla na N'wa-Mhunti riha tinyawa ta nga mayo!* (Master Hare and Master Duiker, replace my beans!)
- N'wa-Mpfundla, hi ya dla tinyarhi na timhunti na tinghala* (Master Hare, hunting buffaloes, duikers, and lions).
- Xinengana xa N'wa-Mpfundla* (Little leg of Master Hare).
- A va n'wi voni N'wa-Gwela* (They don't see the old buffalo).
- Vutlhari byi dlaya whe N'wa-Phungubye* (Too much cunning will be the undoing of Master Jackal).
- Teka ta wena u funengeta hi mbita Ntengu!* (Take your deeds and cover them with a pot, Master Drongo Bird!)
- Ha xi vutla mintsenge N'wa-Mangatlwani* (We tear out its feathers, this Master Kite).
- Nyenyenyana tilo!* (Bird-of-Heaven!)
- N'wana wa xikavakava!* (Master Goshawk!)
- Ndziko-ndziko xinyenyana, n'wana N'wa-Xinana!* (Ogre-bird, Master Frog!)
- N'wa-Madlayisani bokota!* (Master Bulbul the Destroyer!)
- Kanya-kanya N'wa-Rimpfana!* (Step, step, Master Chamelon!)
- N'wa-Hlarhu!* (Master Python!)

Songs Concerned with Animals and Birds
(Relatively Little Humanized)

- Ximbutana ahi tlheha hi ngi* (Goat, we sleep with hunger).
- Hon'wi! Wa kqanganyisa* (The hyena howls! You deceive me).
- Yiku tluka mbhee* (The calf jumps).
- I ngwenya yi lo rhumeriwa* (The crocodile sent as a curse).
- Tindyandhaye ya tindlopfu tile ku Chauke* (Men, elephants destroy corn at Chauke's).
- Yingwe ya mavala* (The leopard has spots).
- Ku tlula ka mhala* (The jumping of the antelope).
- Va teka byalwa va nyika nfene* (They offered beer to the baboon).
- Xifufununu xi rhwele xi na masingita* (The beetle carries miracles on its back).
- Xifufununu vuka vuka!* (Beetle, wake up!)
- Hayi nyoka leyo vimba mlomo* (I fear the snake which blocks my mouth).
- I nhlampfi baku mabomu* (The fish twists like this).
- Va ya dya masonja* (To go to eat worms).

Lomnya tinjiya mi ta dya Exitimeleni (Catch the locusts so that we may eat in the train).

Hoza u nga dyiwa nhloko hi majenje (The ants will eat your head).

Mavuluvulu nghondzo yi sukile (Tadpoles, the hammerkop has gone).

Tuva langutani Ma-Changana (Regard the pigeon, Shangaans).

Dlayani xikhova! (Kill the owl!)

Nhongani N'inin'ini makoti dluva-dluva (A fly buzzes, the vultures flutter for meat).

It was found that many of these references were derived from or related to well-known Tsonga proverbs, and represented real beliefs concerning the nature and behavior of animals and birds, i.e., their rather human-like activities such as spying, tale-telling, or making mischief while in the shape of an animal although they were "in fact" witches of human origin. The songs are thus a useful clue to both ecological relationships and Tsonga beliefs and values concerning the natural world.

With regard to the subject matter of beer-drink song words, it is noteworthy that, of 140 examined, 32 were concerned with either horticultural produce or rain, that is, with the source of nutrition. This does not necessarily reflect the source of anxieties. Not only do Tsonga beer-drinks feature the consumption of food and drink, and therefore must be expected to feature songs mentioning these items, but ordinary social beer-drinks are more common than ceremonial beer-drinks marking life-cycle crises, and the subject matter occurring within the songs of the latter will appear correspondingly rarer. Add to this the fact that the Tsonga are given to singing loudly and often about their crops of maize, squash, pumpkin, sugar cane, and groundnuts, regardless of the results of the harvest. A better measure of Tsonga anxiety level is the number and intensity of performance prescriptions and proscriptions surrounding different bodies of beer songs. For instance, songs that were tape-recorded on occasions when the participants at a beer-drink had gathered primarily to settle a witchcraft-accusation dispute, possessed numerous governing prescriptions and proscriptions such as indirect reference to the accused, the non-mentioning of names, and the production of evidence or eyewitness accounts from relatives of both sides, singing their contribution. Co-wifely jealousy (*vukwele*) songs are an important means of settling co-wives' disputes, and are bound by a number of performance recipes. Table 17 shows the frequency of occurrence of various kinds of beer-song subject matter, and table

TABLE 17

<i>Subject matter</i>	<i>Quantity of Songs in Sample</i>
Crop Yield { Food and Drink.....	16
{ Rain.....	16
Travel.....	14
Death.....	13
Witchcraft.....	12
Cities.....	11
Infancy.....	10
Courtship.....	10
Migration.....	9
Marriage.....	8
Co-wifely Jealousy.....	6
Widowhood.....	5
Medicine.....	5
Illness.....	5
TOTAL	140

18 shows the more significant relationship, that between Tsonga stress level and Tsonga prescriptive severity surrounding different song types.

With regard to the many Tsonga beliefs associated with music, a few are listed below.

TABLE 18

Stress Level	SITUATIONS INVOLVING WITCHCRAFT ACCUSATIONS	SITUATIONS INVOLVING CO-WIFELY JEALOUSY	DEATH	WIDOWHOOD	BIRTH	COURTSHIP	MARRIAGE	ILLNESS	DIVINING	CROPS	RAIN	MIGRATION	CITY LIFE	TRAVEL	Prescription Severity
5															5
4															4
3															3
2															2
1															1

Tsonga Music and the Supernatural

1. Singing and dancing is prohibited in the vicinity of a hut under construction lest the wizards be attracted therein prior to the provision of protective charms. It is also prohibited near a large beer-brew, lest the beer turn sour.

2. Whistling is forbidden in the maize fields between sowing and reaping, lest the witches be attracted there.

3. Certain work-party songs are believed to possess the power to kill a crop pest known as *nunu* (a type of beetle).

4. A whistle made from the leg bone of a Bateleur eagle is thought to possess the power to bring rain and to provide protection from being struck by lightning (this bird flies in a zigzag pattern).

5. The same whistle, when lent by an exorcist to the relatives of a patient who has died, is thought to possess the power to destroy the responsible witch.

6. Patients who live are often adorned with *mafowa* cocoon rattles as a protection against witchcraft.

7. The bone thrower when pointing to the astragalus of the goat, usually chants that "the goat is dancing."

8. Ancestor spirits are thought to sing, dance, and blow the *mhalamhala* antelope horn in the sacred woods.

9. Ancestor spirits are thought to reside in the fruitshell leg rattles and in the large carved wooden drums.

10. Undesirable alien spirits possessing Tsonga patients are "revealed" by an inspired song indicating, by its language, melody, and other aspects, the national origin of the spirit.

11. Many rhythmic subtleties permeate Tsonga religious observances: sticks beaten on the ground bring rain; the rhythmic handclap at propitiation differs from the secular handclap in that the hands must be cupped (*ku losa gupsi*, to humble oneself with hollowness); the rhythmic chant of the bone diviner reveals where propitiation must occur; drumming in fast fours dispels Zulu spirits while drumming in fast threes dispels Shona spirits.

Tsonga Music and Fertility

1. Nubile girls wearing fruitshell leg-rattles containing seeds believe that dancing round a man playing the friction-bow (which is rubbed with a fruitshell rattlestick containing the same type of seeds) increases receptivity to seed.

2. Pairs of xylophone slats are separated by a support bar, each pair being called a "married couple" (one of each is larger than the other). Xylophone music is thought to stimulate the growth of the fruit supplying the spherical resonators under the slats.

3. Women are forbidden to peer within the hole at the foot of drums, for fear that they may become sterile. The pegs driven into drums are sometimes referred to as *penes*.

4. Girl-initiates are deflowered with a large twisted horn from a

male kudu antelope. The same horn is snake-like in form; dreaming of snakes is taken to mean that sexual intercourse will occur.

5. Certain drum-rhythms in the girls' puberty school are said to elicit visions of snakes and the hearing of fertility-associated supernatural voices.

6. The bangle dance of the puberty school is said to aid in the protection of the initiate from sterility by witchcraft.

7. Numerous dances and mimes of the puberty school are oriented toward fertility; for instance, a mime in which initiates stretch a skin across a container of water while old women puncture it with poles is said to symbolize the flow of amniotic fluid at parturition, and initiates are made to climb a tree containing white sap ("mother's milk"; "semen"), and later squat on an upturned drum. All such mimes possess special music.

8. Numerous references to virility occur within the context of the boys' circumcision school. Initiates are made to climb poles, and to sing obscene songs.

9. A musical rite celebrates a child's weaning and hence the mother's potential for pregnancy (there is a taboo on sexual access during suckling).

In the field, the anthropologist most often encounters musical supernatural beliefs within the context of *dances*; the Tsonga possess an almost metaphysical attitude toward dancing, uniting as it does the fruitful earth, cosmic rhythms, the assembled participants, and the Tsonga musical style.

With regard to Tsonga dances, the most notable distinctions between them are as follows.

Distinctive Features of the More Important Tsonga Dances

In the *khomba* puberty school: *nanayila* features a circle of elaborately uniformed girl dancers round the drums, the rhythmic blowing of metal whistles, and the waving of wooden axes; *managa* features a pair of grass-skirted girl dancers who wave chiffon kerchiefs; *ku thaga* features hopping up and down in crouch position with the arms folded; *ku rhwala tingoma* ("to carry the ceremonial drums") features pairs of girls bobbing up and down with the left hand over the left shoulder and touching the right hand twisted back and under.

In the *xigubu* boys' drumming school: *ku wamikapa* features a circle of dancers containing a pair of dancers; *xifase* features oppos-

ing lines of dancers, who dance out in turn in pairs.

In the *murhundzu* circumcision school: *ku nenga* ("to walk hesitatingly like a chameleon") features shuffling of the feet and the wearing of red ochre.

In the social beer-drink: *xichayachaya* (the men's dance) features a trotting step and jerking up and down of the shoulders; *xilala* (the women's dance) features shuffling of the feet, swaying of the hips, and the wearing of leg rattles; *muchongolo* (the Tsonga national dance) features dramatic stamping, gesticulating, and pointing with a knobbed baton. One form features high kicking; *rhambelela phikezano* ("competitive team dancing") features inter-village visits by acrobatic, tumbling, and clowning mixed groups who are unformed and rehearsed.

In the exorcism rites: *ku femba* ("to smell out") features shaking, trembling, spinning, and the waving of a hyena-tail whisk.

Muchongolo, described in 1910 by Daniel da Cruz,⁵ is strangely omitted by Junod; it has been for some time the most popular and the most performed Tsonga dance. As such it has come under criticism from those schooled Tsonga who see it as a distraction from today's priority: the acquisition of Western technology. Excerpts from a recent literary debate are given below.⁶

Tsonga Intellectuals Debate the Value of Ancient Dances

For traditional dances:

1. The Zulu and Pedi have customs; we must retain ours.
2. Don't blame your ancestors that you are not Europeans.
3. Civilization is not intended to destroy our traditions.
4. We passed first-class even while exhibiting dancing.
5. *Muchongolo* must not be eaten by the "white ants."

Against traditional dances:

1. Education is worthier than ancient dances.
2. Bad characters linger at dances.
3. Our struggle is great, and dancing does not win the diploma.

That such a debate should occur at all illustrates the social importance of Tsonga music, and its role in establishing and maintaining cultural identity.

⁵ Cruz, *Em Terras de Gaza* (Pôrto, 1910), p. 177.

⁶ From letters in an article entitled "Swigubu na michongolo" [Drums and muchongolo dances], *Nhluvuko* [Progress], (Pretoria), May 1969.