

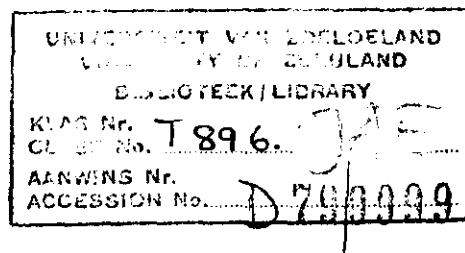
A SURVEY OF XHOSA DRAMA

by

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D E C L A R A T I O N

I declare that: A Survey of Xhosa Drama is my own work both in conception and execution.

Signed: *Dufafor* at Umtata
Date : 28/12/78

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Scope of Dissertation

This study is an attempt to give a survey of indigenous Xhosa dramatic expressions. The writer hopes to show that traditional Xhosa drama shares certain elements of this art with other cultures. In other words, there appears to be certain universals that identify all dramatic art.

Although the study mainly concerns itself with the analysis of indigenous forms of dramatic expression as found in oral tradition some literary forms of Xhosa drama are also discussed. The intention is to show how the literary forms have evolved or deviated from the oral tradition.

The survey covers all the Xhosa speaking people of the Ngqika, Ndlambe, Gcaleka, Thembu, Bomvana as well as Mpondo, Mpondonise, Hlubi and Bhaca. Although the Mpondo, Mpondonise, Hlubi and Bhaca have distinct dialectal differences with the other Xhosa groups linguistically they, nevertheless, share some common traditions with them because there is social interaction. They attend the same schools where Xhosa is taught irrespective of the dialect of the area. Intergroup marriages have also resulted in the intermingling of traditions. Basically all the rituals are common in all the groups except Umhlwayelelo (a health and fertility ritual) which is not practised by the Mpondo, Mpondonise, Hlubi and Bhaca. The 'ingcubhe'(first fruit ritual) has not been discussed because it is only practised by the Bhaca.

1.2 Method of Research

Most of the traditional dramatic material is oral and as such no written records exist. The information contained in this work was collected from personal contacts in the various Xhosa areas of the Ciskei and Transkei. Old men and women whose names appear at the appendix of this

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work, were used as sources of information. Although some of the rituals like Inghologho, intonjane, and in some areas war songs have phased out due to the influence of christianity, they were able to recall their experiences as people who had actually participated in the rituals.

Live performances of Umtshotsho and Intlombe for both social and ritual purposes were attended by the writer at Tshabho location, Berlin, in the Ciskei. This is a Ndlambe area and, therefore, characterises all the social songs and dances of the Ciskei. In the Transkei the intlombe dances of the Gcaleka area of Chizele, Idutywa and Lujecweni in Tsolo were representative of the Gcaleka and Embo traditional dramatic expressions respectively.

The writer has a repertory of iintsomi because she has had the advantage of experiencing such performances in her upbringing. However, some iintsomi performances were witnessed by the writer at Tyirha in the Qumbu area and Mganduli and Elliotdale.

The analysis of the traditional dramatic forms is based on the material itself. For a better understanding of these traditional dramas it is important to study them from their cultural point of view.

1.3 The meaning of drama in general and in Xhosa in particular

1.3.1 Drama as an art that involves imitation

Like all art, it is difficult to define drama as though it were a concrete object with a definite shape. Nevertheless it has certain distinctive features that identify it as an art. All literary scholars agree that drama is an art that involves imitation.

Man imitates by means of using colour or by doing something or even by saying something so that imitation involves both the concrete and the abstract. Man may imitate objects by means of colour or figure. He may also imitate by voice and action. Dramatic art imitates by using words, sounds, voice and action. It involves all those actions that are used by men to express themselves and their relationship to the environment. Imitation is universal in all dramatic art. It is congenial to man so that every individual is endowed with mimetic tendencies. Brown (1927, p. 5) corroborates this statement. He maintains that man is a "natural mimic" in so much so that even his physical features are adapted for mimicry. The flexibility of his body and plasticity of his face are adaptations to this mimicry. The resources of his voice which he can adapt to depict his likes and dislikes are a further adaptation to this kind of mimicry. He further points out that some of the habits of man are acquired through imitation so that he learns more about his environment through conscious and unconscious imitation.

Imitation as a universal element in drama can be observed in children's play. Children like to imitate what appeals to them so that they may learn both good and bad habits from adults through imitation. They derive pleasure in games that imitate life. They find it easy to imitate real life situations in their play, whether by making clay oxen which draw sledges that are made of mealie-stalks or making a noise that is associated with the hooting of a car. The language they use is that used by adults in a real life situation. Similarly, if they play 'house' they use the language that is used by adults. Nobody has taught them this imitative play but it develops on its own as a result

of their daily observation of real life situations.

Owomoyela (1971, p. 121) believes that it is the imitative instinct in man that has given rise to dramatic expression. He says,

'Basically drama consists of imitation and impersonation since these are part of human nature.'

He also disputes the claim that drama evolved from religious practices. According to him it is the mimetic instinct which develops much earlier in man, even before he can have any religious beliefs, inclinations and indoctrination, that has resulted in imitation of various kinds and consequently, drama. However, he does not rule out the relationship which occurs in religion and drama because they both draw people together for a common purpose.

It is the association of drama with imitation that it is regarded as a "game" or "play". The people who participate in the "game" are the characters and the "rules of the game" are determined by the dramatist.

Dramatic art imitates life and in doing so certain modes of expression like word, music, movement and mime are used. A dramatist attempts to give his picture of life by imitating people and events. It is, however, important to note that this kind of imitation does not give us reality but something that can be applied in reality.

Imitation is also found in indigenous Xhosa dramatic forms. The action in some dramatic forms is imitative of something. The song and dance drama usually communicates something to the public. When a group of mature men dance at intlolombe they always imitate the shape of the horns of their cattle. The status of a man is always enhanced by the number of cattle he owns. A dancer varies his dance steps according to the number of cattle he owns. A man who has one beast will have a monotonous style of dancing. This creates a spirit of competition among the members of the group so that they work harder to achieve a better social status. At the same time it adds to the aesthetics of

the dance known as ukumisa ngeempondo.

Oral tradition uses imitation as an artistic device. This is particularly the case with iintsumi (folktale) where the performer imitates the various characters who illustrate her story by voice, grimaces and gestures. Warriors and iimbongi (praise-singers) also use imitation in their dramatic performances. When the former prepare themselves for an attack they engage in a prewar dance. When they sing igwatyu (a war song) which is intended to instil bravery they demonstrate their anticipated victory by imitating how they will kill the enemy. The same type of dance may be repeated when they commemorate their victory after the battle. They may stage a mock battle where they demonstrate their prowess.

1.3.2 The sensory aspect in drama

Man does not imitate for the sake of imitation. There is a strong feeling that arouses in him the imitative instinct. The strong feeling emanates from the basic senses of man. The most important senses in dramatic art are the senses of sight, hearing, touch and to some extent smell. The senses of sight and hearing are of paramount importance in this art because they form the basis of man's behaviour. Before man reacts he first sees, hears and feels something. The intensity of the feeling thus aroused prompts him to react in a particular manner. It is this intense feeling that finds expression in dramatic art.

Harryson (1935, p. 43) associates art with this sensory aspect. She advances the view that man has always expressed his feelings of anxiety and satisfaction in some form of art. She supports her argument by citing the pre- and the post-war dances in what she calls "primitive society". Before a war expedition the warriors experience some conflict as regards the outcome of the expedition. There is the fear of the impending danger that accompanies such expeditions and at the same time they entertain the hope of victory. They find themselves bursting into song and dance. The dance is an outburst of accumulated inhibition which can no longer be contained by the tensed up nerves. It is a relief from tension. By a series of imitative actions it

instils courage and confidence in both the warriors and other members of the community.

The sensory aspect underlies all dramatic performances. It is the essence of our dramatic experience that our emotions are continually stimulated so that we are held in a state of increasing tension until there is some kind of emotional orgasm. This occurs whether one is watching a sophisticated modern drama or participating in a traditional song and dance. Mahood (1966, p. 25) records what the Nyakyusa of Tanganyika (Tanzania) reported to Monica Wilson about their vigorous funeral dances. They said,

We dance because there is a
war in our hearts, a passion
of grief and fear exasperates
us

The sensory aspect determines action in drama. Firstly, the dramatist is aroused into action and subsequently the audience reacts to what he gives them.

Brown (1927, p. 25) in supporting the importance of this strong feeling that leads to action cites the emergence of the first player. He states that the first player came about as a result of some pressure to express his feelings. Whenever something pleased his eye or ear he "gurgled in inarticulate delight". He expressed this feeling by producing a work of art,

'whether it was a painting, a
sonnet or a tragic trilogy'.

The same idea applies to the Xhosa praise-singer, imbongi. He is an emotionally sensitive artist. When he is inspired by something he finds it difficult to contain himself and may burst into singing and performing very good izibongo which he sings spontaneously.

The sensory aspect affects both the performer and the audience. The audience becomes emotionally and in some instances even physically involved in any form of dramatic performance as is the case in watching a play in the theatre or participation in an open air song and dance. It is only the expression of its involvement in the performance that differs. For instance, the Xhosa people show their involvement by active participation in the performance. They may join in the song and dance without upsetting the order of the performance by the main performers. They may also shower the performers with gifts while they are dancing. This practice is known as ukuhloma. In the case of iintsomi emotional involvement may be expressed by means of exclamations and interjections of amusement, encouragement, sympathy and contempt.

In western drama the emotional involvement of the audience is expressed by the identification of the audience with the characters on the stage. It appreciates the problems of the characters and shares their aspirations and frustrations.

Clark (1947, p. 540) sums up the significance of the sensory aspect in drama by saying,

It is the passion which leads to action that is dramatic and the effect of the action on the human soul .

It is not just simple exuberance that prompts a warrior to sing and dance. What is important is what gives rise to the action and the effect of that action on the people concerned.

Thus drama is not just imitation of people and events. It is imitation that is brought about by a strong feeling within the individual and also capable of eliciting a certain response from those who are involved. The sensory aspect underlies all dramatic performances whether it is a simple ritual, song and dance, verse or a play in the modern theatre.

It is this kind of feeling that keeps the dramatist and his audience together and also the members of a group in traditional societies.

✓ 1.4 Drama as a communal art

Drama draws a group of people together to share an experience that is imaginatively communicated to them by the artist. This presupposes that drama is a theatrical art that relies more on the visual and auditory senses than others. Whereas other types of literature can be enjoyed by a privileged few who can afford to read in privacy, drama relies more on public performance so that it reaches a wider section of the population. It may be distinguished from other types of art like the graphic art by the fact that the artist shares the creation of his art from the beginning to the end with his audience. The ideas unfold through the medium of the plot, characters and action in front of the audience.

As a communal art it takes cognisance of a performer or actor and an audience and a place where it is performed, the theatre.

✓ The term "theatre" has always been associated with a place where a performance by trained artists takes place. Nicoll (1965, p. 11) distinguishes between drama and theatre. He believes that theatre

✓ besides its significance as a building,
refers to a performance given by one
group of people who may be called actors
before an assembled audience .

✓ Drama, according to him refers to a literary work written by an author or several authors in collaboration, in a form that is suitable for the stage. Theatre is an all inclusive term that refers to all types of performing arts including drama, song, dance, mime.

The African concept of a theatre is not the confines of a physical structure where multitudes congregate to witness a performance. African theatre knows no such physical limitation as it takes place where the people are. It is part of the life of the people and is embedded in their social system. / Theatre in African society and also among the Xhosas is an expression of life. Scott (1973, p. 14) says of the African theatre that it is an

embodiment of all forms of African art for it combines all the different art forms that are found in oral traditions .

The above explanation indicates that it has nothing to do with a physical structure but is a medium of artistic expression.

Nwoko (1970, p. 73) says that the theatre is

first and foremost a visual expression using music, sound (sung or spoken) movement walked or danced, colour ... and a text to build up an association with the world of nature .

Although he admits that there may be a theatre without a text he does not accept a text that lacks visual expression as theatrical. It is just literature.

The communal aspect of drama, therefore, takes into account a group of people who are brought together in a common place for a common purpose. They either share an experience that is created for them by the dramatist and relate it to their experience as all dramatists recreate a human experience, or come to participate simultaneously in a social event that has an established procedure set by tradition and not claiming anybody's authorship because it is part of the social system.

✓ What comes out clearly is that drama involves the participation of a group of people. Unlike a graphic art it cannot be performed in private.

1.5 Drama as a spectacle

Although drama is a picture of life, it does not give us the whole picture but a compendium of life. As a picture of life, it has to be representational and made to appeal to the eye aesthetically and also to the intellect. Use is made of different kinds of paraphernalia.

✓ Costume is an indispensable element to any theatrical performance. It contributes to the beauty and dignity of any performance. It also helps to create an illusion of reality so that the audience is able to merge its picture of life with the picture of what its sees in front of it, in order to enjoy a dramatic experience. For instance, a play that depicts the 16th century England is better received when the costume also depicts that period. The costumes bring the audience nearer the period so that it is influenced to accept what it sees as reality. At the same time the costume also affects the behaviour of the character as it does not only identify him with it but also with the role he plays and how he should play it. For instance, the majestic costume of a queen demands the type of movement, dignity and respect accorded such a status in real life and an actor representing such a character would not behave like a clown or magician. If the same character could be given the role of a diviner he would use the attractive costume appropriate for such a role and behave in exactly the same manner that such people do in real life. Whether costume is used as a representational device or to enhance one's role, it helps to make the whole performance colourful and spectacular.

Design is another important contribution to the spectacle. The stage decor, properties and lighting effects produce a beautiful spectacle. This is particularly the case in representational drama where the setting has to be recreated.

Traditional Xhosa dramatic forms do not depend on design for their effect because they mainly deal with a life situation. The spectacle is provided by the colourful costumes used. The absence of stage design and decor makes the performance free from any possible physical restrictions in terms of space. The varying dance patterns, costumes and make-up used by the different performers at different stages of a performance enhance the aesthetics of the whole performance.

1.6 Summary

Imitation is thus the basis of action in drama. In literary drama it is the dramatist who imitates life by creating an imaginary world with imaginary people who interact as though they were in a real life situation. Indigenous Xhosa drama does not boast of a dramatist who directs the action. The action is set by tradition and the people enact their desired experiences as demanded by tradition.

The sensory aspect is what gives rise to the atmosphere in the performance. In indigenous Xhosa dramatic forms it determines the degree of involvement in the performance. The communal nature of the performance is strongly supported by this feeling. Everybody participates in the performance because the members of the community feel strongly involved in what is going on. This is particularly the case with ritual and song and dance drama.

The communal aspect characterises all types of drama. People come together for a common purpose. A performance by one person for himself does not fall under dramatic performance. In all forms of indigenous Xhosa drama there is group participation. Everybody plays an important part because the dramatic performances are woven in the fabric of their social system.

The next chapter identifies the different types of indigenous Xhosa drama.

CHAPTER 2TRADITIONAL XHOSA DRAMATIC FORMS2.1 Ritual drama

Ritual is associated with some form of religious performance. Rites form the pivot of Xhosa behaviour patterns. They control society and individuals because they are highly revered. In a traditional Xhosa society they are performed for the good of the person and the group. For instance, a birth ritual, imbeleko has to be observed whenever a baby is born. It is believed to influence the behavioural development of the child even in later life. Without the observance of this ritual, it is believed that the child may not only become weak physically but also develop anti-social habits.

Anthropologists also equate ritual with some form of worship. Wilson (1972, p. 189) says that it is

primarily religious action directed to securing the blessing of some mystical power

It is an expression of faith in the same manner that a Christian participates in the liturgy of his church as part of the Christian tradition.

Firth (1972, p. 3) does not confine ritual to religion or the supernatural. He brings it to the life of the people as a socially controlling force. He regards it as

a symbolic action that is not only related to the sacred but also as a formal procedure of a communicative but arbitrary kind, having effect of controlling or regularising a social situation.

It is something that is performed not only to normalise the existence of man in relation to the spiritual sphere but also in relation to his day to day life. For instance, certain verbal and bodily rituals of greeting and parting are symbolic actions that are not only related to the sacred but also act as a formal procedure of a "communicative but arbitrary kind" so that they help to establish a kind of mutual understanding between members of a community.

Of importance are the rituals that are associated with individual development. These are transitional rites or rites of passage. They are not only restricted to the physical and social changes in human beings but also include the change of nature with regard to seasons. Most preliterate people believed at one stage that seasons only came about when certain rituals were performed. There were winter rituals that marked the death of vegetation and spring rituals that marked the birth of vegetation. Similarly, the development of man was also associated with seasons in terms of symbolic death and rebirth. A parallel can be drawn between the beginning of life in plants and human beings. A seed is planted and symbolically dies before it germinates to give rise to new life.

The Xhosas observed these transitional rites with respect to the development of individuals. There were rituals that were performed on behalf of an individual from birth through adolescence to adulthood and ultimately death.

Two points emerge from the above exposition of ritual, namely:

- (i) It is a form of prayer that is directed to the ancestors or spirits which govern the universe. According to traditional Xhosa beliefs ancestors are always petitioned for definite things. The performance of a ritual is a way of communicating with the ancestors.
- (ii) It is performed so as to stabilise and maintain the social order. It promotes peaceful coexistence between members of the group who believe in them. There are certain codes of

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behavior which are observed by individuals towards one another after they have undergone a transitional ritual. A girl or boy who has gone through the initiation has to behave in a particular manner as demanded by his new status which he cannot assume unless he has been officially received or welcomed to it. Thus ritual is a binding force between man and his ancestors and man and man.

2.2 The Dramatic aspect of ritual

A question may be asked as to whether a ritual is dramatic or not. Although dramatists agree that drama developed from ritual it still remains a contentious matter that ritual is in fact drama.

Jane Harryson (1935, p. 25) traces the derivation of the word "drama" from the Greek word "dromenon" which literally means "things done", a rite. She hastens to explain that it is not everything done that is a rite. She regards a rite as a stereotyped action that commemorates a certain action. It does not intend to reproduce an object but desires to recreate an emotion. For instance, a group of warriors who come together before a war expedition observe a ritual action so that by singing and dancing they release their tensed up nerves. They are trying to arouse a particular feeling of bravery and national pride among themselves. After the war they sing and dance to commemorate their victory. The prewar dance and song are a kind of ritual while the second song and dance are dramatic because they do not only commemorate one victory but several victories. Although drama and ritual share the elements of collectivity and emotional tension they differ in that drama recreates a past experience. It is commemorative or representational whereas ritual is not.

The view that ritual is not drama but a source of drama finds its roots from the rituals that were observed for the change of seasons among the Greeks. When man discovered that seasons could change even if no ritual was observed he introduced certain innovations to the ritual. The monotony of ritual was gradually replaced by the introduction of Greek mythology. It was not part of the ritual but was introduced

during the time of the ritual. Instead of having the whole group participating, certain people were introduced to recite the deeds of great Greek heroes. A new concept of the actor and audience was introduced and this gave rise to Greek drama.

The development of drama from ritual is also supported by Echeruo (1973, p. 22). When discussing the dramatic limitation of the Igbo ritual he finds it difficult to accept wholeheartedly that ritual is drama. He, however, admits that ritual shares certain characteristics with drama in so far as the action found in singing and dancing is concerned and also the general spectacle and costume. He claims that it lacks the elements of dialogue and a continuous plot or myth. Tracing the development of drama from ritual he cites the Greek festival of Dionysos and that drama only developed from ritual when the latter was transformed into a celebration and converted

the mythic structures of action from the
religious and priestly to the secular plane .

The common factor between drama and ritual is that they both reinforce common values. The members of a group come together to a communal happening. He points out that the main difference between drama and ritual is that the former allows for the

reinterpretation of life through a pattern of
ordered events through that fragment of history
we usually call plot .

(Ibid, p. 23)

and yet ritual is a representation of faith. The pattern of action does not tell a story. It reasserts the essence of faith in symbolic terms and therefore, the action in a rite is to reaffirm or dedicate certain tribal values.

The writer differs with Echeruo in the basic difference of a continuous plot that tells a story. The performance of a ritual has a definite

meaning and procedure which finds expression in symbolic action. Every art uses certain symbols whether verbal or otherwise that are used as a basis of interpretation. The Xhosa ritual makes use of both verbal and symbolic expressions which are of significance to the members of a group. The ritual, unlike a simple communication with one's peers, employs symbolic action as a mark of reverence. The sequence of actions is in itself part of the plot content of a ritual and dialogue is also symbolic as is going to be shown in the following chapters. To somebody who understands the African philosophy and his relationship to the universe, the performance of a ritual is dramatic in both content and action.

Havemeyer (1966, p. 23) regards ritual as dramatic in essence. According to him primitive man always enacted what he wanted whether it was food, rain or sunshine. These were always expressed in action which formed short dramas. The people communicated with their gods through symbolic action that was understood to be a supplication to the spirits for certain definite things. It was the enactment of what was desired that made ritual dramatic.

Herskovits (1956, p. 435) also agrees with Havemeyer. According to Herskovits religious rituals form the backbone of dramatic expression in non-literate societies. While literate societies have plays written by specialists for other specialists to stage, the non-literate societies have their ritual ceremonies as dramatic expression. The rituals

enact various myths or recapitulate group experience of an earlier day, or comprise rituals demanded by the current system of belief to achieve ends held imperative for survival such as insuring rainfall or fertility or victory in combat .

The emphasis here is on group experience as well as the current system of belief that enables the community to achieve means of survival. Herskovits even goes further to give ritual a structural design. Just

like literary drama ritual has a plot and the complexity of the ritual plot may vary according to organisation. This structural design is discussed in the subsequent chapters of this work.

Wilson (op. cit., p. 200) also shows that ritual is dramatic. She says that the execution of a ritual may be in itself poetic and, therefore, dramatic as established by the norms of the culture in which it is found and by the community which observes it. "Poetic" implies some linguistic content which lends the execution of the ritual dramatic.

Soyinka (1976, p. 6) regards the division between ritual and drama as artificial. He ascribes it to the Western European critic who uses a specialist terminology that results in compartmentalisation. Ritual theatre, according to him, is the "drama of the gods". Although the discussion centres around the Yoruba gods of Sango, Ogun and Obatala who control the universe, they find parallel in Xhosa through the ancestral spirits which also command the universe. They do not only govern the lives of the living and determine the order of things but also control the world around them.

The difference between ritual and drama has been brought about by technology where the cosmic arena has been reduced to the limitation of the stage. The ritual has thus been transposed from its natural habitat where the god was and where the familiar surroundings easily evoked the communal feeling and participation, to other man created environments.

Soyinka further shows that the problems of whether ritual is dramatic or not may also arise from the fact that as a "cleansing, binding communal recreative force" it has been replaced by the christian practices. Both ritual and drama use symbolism as an expression of man's struggle against the cosmic forces. He cites the lone example of a figure on the stage where his silhouette appears in a darkened stage. The type of anxiety that the members of the audience experience as to whether the character would be able to take a very high note in an opera or remember his lines is in reality an internalised fear of

whether the person will "survive confrontation with forces that exist within the dangerous area of confrontation". He points out that the difference between drama and ritual is that ritual theatre would not consider the safety of the individual more than that of the community as a whole. The welfare of the individual is inseparable from that of the total community (Ibid. p. 42).

The writer associates herself with Soyinka's view that ritual is dramatic. Drama and ritual share common features and only differ in the manner of expressing the same art. Both use symbolic action, have audience involvement though differing in degrees. The theatre is a place where man projects himself, in a way, consciously or unconsciously in relation to the universe. As Soyinka points out the cosmic representation has shrunk into a moral one that can be interpreted in terms of rewards and penalties.

In traditional Xhosa society rituals form part of the life of the people. They link them with their past, present and future. At the centre of the ritual is the ancestor worship without which nobody can survive because the ancestors keep surveillance over their living. A consistent form of communication should be maintained between the living and the dead or departed who rejoin the life cycle as ancestral spirits.

2.3 Relationship between the living and ancestors

In order to understand ritual drama it is important to know the relationship between the living and the ancestors.

The ancestors are the superior powers of the Xhosas in that they control their welfare, health, fertility, good relationship, climatic conditions like rainfall, drought and any other weather conditions that may either result in the destruction or survival of mankind.

The ancestors are the departed old members of the community. After the death of an old member of the family a ritual is performed which returns him/her to the home as an ancestor. The returned spirit or ancestor is now accorded greater respect. The communication between

the living and the spirits is not a direct one but is effected by symbolic action. The living enact what they desire from the ancestors.

The ancestors protect their subjects as long as they observe all that is good according to tradition. It is believed that as soon as man's weakness dictates to him the ancestors withdraw their protection and some calamity befalls the community, whether it is disease, drought or some other disaster. As soon as there is a kind of social disequilibrium a ritual is performed in order to normalise everything. The ritual is either performed to counteract a calamity that has befallen a community as a result of its negligence towards vital issues that sustain a harmonious relationship between the living and departed, or to avert any possibility of such a calamity.

While other African people may have commemorative rituals that are observed at a particular time of the year, the Xhosa people have no commemorative rituals. Their rituals are occasioned by the needs of the moment. They are a form of supplication to the ancestors for definite things. For instance, an outbreak of disease, drought, famine and any other general social upheavals of a disturbing kind would necessitate the performance of a ritual.

2.4 Types of Ritual Drama

There are certain things which are beyond the power of an ordinary man and that of a medicine man for that matter. When man finds it difficult to harmonise with his environment he appeals to the supernatural power for the restoration of harmony. In a traditional Xhosa society this happens when man is disturbed by anything that threatens his survival like disease, drought, pestilence, barrenness whether vegetational or human, deteriorating human relationships.

There are various types of rituals but only those that are of national significance are considered in this work.

2.4.1 Umhlwayelelo ritual

This ritual is a propitiatory offering to the people of the river who

reside at the bottom of the deep river pools.

It is a common belief among the Xhosa people that their ancestors inhabit the bottom of deep pools or waters in big rivers. They guard the boundaries of the land as these are always marked by big rivers. They are believed to be a colony under the water where life continues after death. They usually come out of the river to inspect terrestrial activities at night. It is for this reason that one has to throw a stone before one crosses a river at night so as to warn "the people of the river". If this practice should be disregarded they may look at him although he cannot see them. Consequently, his face may become distorted. His eyes turn to one side and the mouth twisted to another side while the whole body may develop a kind of eczema. The person is said to have seen strange things (ukwalama) and umfukamiso ritual may be performed to pacify the people of the river.

Sometimes a person may take ill and the illness may be of such a nature that even the best medicine men cannot cure it. A diviner is consulted and prescribes umhlwayelelo ritual. Usually the patient has been suffering for a long time from some form of nervous disorders of some kind, headache, sharp pains and palpitation. The patient is diagnosed to be suffering from inkathazo (trouble) and that the ancestors desire the person to be white (umntu omhlophe). This means that the ancestors want him to communicate with them as a diviner. The diviner then prescribes an umhlwayelelo ritual whereby the "people of the river" are to be requested not only for the health of the individual when going through the initiation stages of being made a diviner (ukuthwasa) but also petition the health and fertility of the whole community. The libations offered to the people of the river also indicate that what is petitioned is not only on behalf of the sufferer but of the community as a whole because the individual is inseparable from the community. The execution of the ritual involves the participation of the whole community.

This ritual is also followed by an intlombe song and dance. This is a ritual song and dance of diviners that is generally regarded as of a

communicative kind with the ancestors. The diviners celebrate with it and invoke the presence of the ancestors with it. They also get their inspiration from it so that they become extremely sensitised to the presence of evil and their divining powers are easily aroused.

2.4.2 Inqholoqho

Inqholoqho is a ritual that is observed to drive away locusts which attack vegetation and crops during times of drought. The word inqolohqo is related to ukunqoloha meaning to "search and expunge". The process of searching and expunging is called inqolohqo and the girls who participate in the actual 'driving out' are also called inqolohqo.

The ancestors, as mentioned earlier, are believed to be responsible for the good fortune and general welfare of the living. They also command good climatic conditions that are conducive to the survival of humanity. As long as they are not disturbed things run smoothly for everybody. But once they are disturbed then they withdraw their protective powers and man becomes a victim of evil and general misfortune. His very means of survival is threatened through the destruction of vegetation and crops. This is a national calamity and merits the attention of every member of the group. The members of the group engage in a communal happening of driving out the evil brought about by the locusts and at the same time present their appeal to the ancestors for the restoration of cordial relationship. In that way the ancestors are able to protect them and ward off any type of evil.

The ritual is also accompanied by ritual song and dance which mark both the supplication to the ancestors and the celebration of the occasion. A detailed analysis follows in Chapters 3 and 4.

2.4.3 Initiation Ritual

2.4.3.1 Boys' initiation

In a traditional Xhosa society there is no stage in the physical and emotional development of the individual that is as important as the transitional stage from adolescence to adulthood. This is a stage when the individual passes from the non-significant stage of adolescence to the most significant and responsible stage of adulthood. Traditionally a Xhosa man starts to be born anew on the day of his initiation from which day he starts to count his age as Mqhayi (1957, p. 61) says,

Sibambana ngeSilimela thina -
 Yona nkwenkwezi yokubal' iminyaka
 Iminyaka yobudoda, yobudoda!

(We share the Pleiades (month of June)
 It being the star by which to count years
 Years of manhood, of manhood).

The boys' initiation is, therefore, a national happening which does not only concern the individual but the whole group. Without its observance the individual would never experience manly dignity and be able to fulfil his obligations to the group. The group would also be incomplete without him.

The boys' initiation is dramatised by the type of song and dance that accompany it. The change from boyhood to manhood is marked by a serious conflict in the person undergoing it. There is the fear of isolation both from the group and his previous way of life. There is the psychological fear of the physical operation. The members of the community come together to perform the umguyo song and dance so that he also joins in the singing and dancing and at the same time is assured of the support of the group. When the boy is taken to the circumcision lodge he is symbolically surrounded by the male

population who engage in a war song and dance, Somagwaza which is intended to instil bravery and national pride so that the initiate may create a picture of himself as a powerful member of the group. All these desires are implied in the execution of the initiation ritual.

2.4.3.2 Girls' initiation (intonjane)

The word intonjane has a common root with the word ukuthomba which originally meant 'to get the first menstruation'. A girl who has had her menstrual periods is a fully fledged woman, intombi. Intonjane was a ritual which was observed by a young girl who had had her menstruation in order to prepare her for her adult role as a woman and mother of children. After the intonjane ritual, then the girl could be given away in marriage.

The intonjane ritual is not only observed by young girls who reach womanhood. It is also observed by mature women who may be married. The purpose of intonjane is not only to celebrate the coming of age of a woman. It is also intended to rid the woman of possible misfortune or illness and that she should fulfil all her marital obligations without difficulty. It is believed that a woman who is given away in marriage without having observed the ritual experiences a lot of difficulties in her married life. She may lose the affection of her husband. She may not bear children, and if she does, they may show some physical weakness and deformity as well as some mental weakness. Some of the children may even develop anti-social habits like theft, bed-wetting, etc.

The intonjane ritual is performed as a form of protection against evil and also a way of normalising a situation that has caused disharmony between members of the group. Intonjane serves as an initiation rite, a fertility rite, a propitiatory rite for definite things.

The initiation of both boys and girls is of national significance. They are both educational and religious and as such the community is brought together. All the members look forward to such times when they enjoy themselves and at the same time are assured of the continuity

of the group. The good things of life are emphasised so that the initiation rituals do not only prepare the initiates for a balanced emotional and physical transition but also give them a strong moral base which enables them to face the future with confidence. This is done in such a way that the 'new adult' should feel part and parcel of the community.

Both the boys and girls initiation rituals are accompanied by ritual songs and dance which are a medium of communication and a way of celebrating life.

2.4.3.3 Ritual Song and Dance

Every ritual is accompanied by its own song and dance. In ritual the song and dance serve different purposes.

Firstly, the song and dance in ritual are meant to bring cohesion among the members of the group. Secondly, they are a vehicle of communication with the supernatural. Thirdly, they have a profound psychological effect on those who perform them.

The umhlwayelelo ritual is accompanied by intlombe yamagqirha (a diviners' song and dance). This is a type of song and dance that facilitates communication between the ancestors and the diviners so that the latter may easily expunge evil. The boys initiation is accompanied by umguyo song and dance. As already stated, this ritual song and dance put the initiate at ease and assure him of the solidarity of the group.

Intonjane song and dance usually announce the progression of the ritual so that people may start preparing for the great day when the intonjane comes out.

The igwatyu song and dance is only associated with the war ritual. The igwatyu instils bravery in the warriors who are about to undertake a war expedition. It transforms them from frightened and weak-willed people to aggressive warriors who become so brave that they minimise any possibility of impending danger. The war song and dance create a world of illusion because the warriors no longer think of their

anticipated victory as a possibility but as a reality. After the war the same type of song and dance may be performed to celebrate victory. The war experience may be recreated and the same kind of singing and dancing takes place.

The ritual song and dance are not performed for amusement only. They are intended to change the nature of man immediately so that he may play his role in society adequately. They cannot be performed outside their traditional context. Soyinka (op. cit., p. 36) also shows the strengthening force of ritual song and dance. After a ritual the community emerges from the ritual experience

charged with new strength for action .

There is no doubt that after the ritual song and dance the group feels stronger than before. It emerges with new zeal for life.

2.5 Song and Dance Drama

The song and dance drama falls within the realm of secular drama. All forms of secular drama seek to communicate with man. They are meant to establish good relationship between individuals and the group. The song and dance dramas also serve to control society and guard against moral decay. This is illustrated by the fact that the contents of the songs record some unusual happening that is usually derided by the moral values of the group. A song may be composed on the spur of the moment about something that offends the group and it may be picked up by the other members of the group. In this way it takes care of the moral aspect of life. The practice of publicising what a person has done is meant to act as a deterrent to other would-be moral offenders. The song has a type of text that expresses the likes and dislikes of the group. What is regarded as of great value to the group is lauded in song and what is morally degrading is decried as in the song of Nodyokolo who refused to stay at her home in-law after she had been 'twalwaed' (carried away by force).

The text in the song has as much meaning as one would get in a literary

drama. What is communicated reaches a wider range through the song and may be passed from generation to generation.

Dance is also another way of communication art. While the song has a definite trend of communication through its words and rhythm, dance may not have meaning without song. It becomes a kind of communication when it is accompanied by song. In some Xhosa dances the parts of the body may be used as a kind of language. In social intlambe men use their hands to imitate the horns of their cattle. This does not only announce the status of the dancer but also acts as an incentive to the young men to acquire more cattle. After all, a wife is only acquired by a man who is able to pay 'lobola' with live cattle. The more cattle one has the more wives one may acquire. This is not only a status symbol but a contribution to the community. "The more we are the stronger we become" seems to be the important philosophy in group life.

The most common communication dance is Nothalila. This is a girls' dance. It consists of two groups of dancers who challenge each other to a dance by means of a song. As the song progresses the two dancers quarrel over the possession of a loved one. They hurl insults at each other by enacting the meaning of the insult. The hands indicate the swearing while the body sways and wriggles to the rhythm of the song.

In some dances the pattern of the dance may lend it to a form of dialogue. The dancers divide themselves into two groups, one the challenger and the other a respondent. Each group does a different step to oppose the other group at the same time. The challenger uses a particular dance step to select her opponent (ukukhomba) and the respondent joins in her own style.

Song and dance have an important role in society. Like literature they reflect on the society of which they are a product. They are regarded as dramatic because they have action which communicates something to the participants and also provide a spectacle which characterises all art of this nature.

Havemeyer (op. cit., p. 101) points out that dance was the earliest expression of dramatic desire before poetry took over. It was always accompanied by song and added vividness to the words of the song.

It could be said without fear of contradiction that song and dance belong to dramatic literature. They share all the dramatic elements of action, dialogue, movement and costume. In addition to these elements the performance is not restricted to any particular person but involves the whole group in varying degrees. The kind of emotional involvement experienced by the different participants in song and dance drama is the same as that experienced by an audience watching a play on the stage. The only difference lies in the nature of response to the emotional sensitivity. The passive audience only shares in the aspirations and frustrations of the characters while the traditionalist joins in the action. From the early days of western drama, dance and song always formed part of dramatic expression. The phallic songs were regarded as a source of comedy while the Dithyramb was a source of tragedy in Greek drama. The choral song and dance together with poetry made drama a form of art by which the dramatist could express himself. In modern drama the rhythm of the song and dance has been translated into the progression of action (Schlegel 1906, pp. 36 - 37).

2.5.1 Types of song and dance drama

The social song and dance are part of the social organisation of the group in traditional Xhosa life. Each age group has its own song and dance but these are also open to the other members of the community.

2.5.1.I Umtshotsho song and dance

This is a song and dance for young boys and girls who have not been initiated into adulthood. The purpose of the umtshotsho is to enable the participants to perpetuate the values of the group without the supervision of adults. They, therefore, enact a small society establishment among themselves. They have leaders who act the role of

authority. It is at such performances that they try to criticise social transgressors among their group by composing songs about them. They may also engage in oblique sayings (ukusosa). This is an art of speaking whereby the substance of what is said is aimed at a particular person without mentioning his or her name.

2.5.1.2 Intlombe song and dance

The social intlombe is a song and dance for mature men and women who come together for amusement. Just like umtshotsho, it also guards against moral decay because the members always draw the eyes of the public to some moral irregularity. The songs may be composed on anything that disturbs the solidarity of the group. Oblique sayings may also check against social evils like disobedience, dishonesty, flirting, theft or any other type of misdemeanour which disgraces the group as a whole.

Both umtshotsho and intlombe song and dance encourage moral uprightness. The members of the group come together to reaffirm their values and in this way their traditions are preserved.

Both umtshotsho and intlombe are held over week-ends when all the people who are expected to participate are free. They are held in the evening on Saturday night through to Sunday. The performers have the same type of expectation as a week-end theatre-goer who looks forward to the next dramatic performance.

2.5.1.3 Action or work songs

It is a common practice among the Xhosa people to appeal for help whenever a person cannot cope with some work. The people come to work as a group and form ibhoxo or ilima. They work for no pay. They only promote good will and cooperation with one another. The group starts singing as it works so that the rate of the job becomes faster than would otherwise be the case. The song also guards against fatigue.

The recurrent rhythm of the song determines the pace for the job at the same time it sustains the workers through an otherwise arduous task.

The content and rhythm of the work songs vary according to the nature of the chore. For instance, the following song was sung by a team of road workers.

Leader: Yiyo le
 Chorus : Yiyo le madoda
 Leader : Weva
 Chorus : Weva kummand'entla kwedolo, wenyuka
 wayihlab' ecaleni
 wathi gcum kuyo.

(Leader : This is it
 Chorus : This is it fellows
 Leader : And you felt
 Chorus : And you felt it nice above the knee and you moved up
 And pricked it at the side
 And pricked it accurately.)

The song directs the workers. The first part points to the part to be dug. When they come to the part which says "and you moved up" they all raise their picks high above their heads and bring them down all at the same time to prick the soil accurately, as the song suggests. The uniformity of the action makes the performance so artistic that even passersby may watch and later join in the work.

2.5.1.4 Izidlalo abafazi (Song and dance by women)

Izidlalo zabafazi literally means "women's play things". When women meet for collective chore - ilima they usually engage in the performance of izidlalo. In some areas these are known as Iingoma zabafazi because they are sung as is the case with the Ngqika, Ndlambe, Gcaleka and Thembu women. The Hlubi, Bhaca, Mpondo and Mpondonise may say their

rhythmically or sing them.

Traditionally, women are forbidden from talking about their marriage situation outside their families. When they meet at such collective chores they get a chance of sharing their common experiences in marriage. They usually compose impromptu songs and sayings that reflect their relationship with their in-laws as well as other members of the group. By externalising their feelings and ideas they rid themselves of the tensions and frustrations which build up in the marriage situation. They are able to advise one another about the various problems of marriage. Every woman has a typical composition that relates to her marriage situation. As some of the experiences are common, these izidlalo may be picked up by other women who have similar problems. For instance, all women who experience frustration with their husbands because they are interested in other women may say

"Leader: Kub' emzini
Kubi!"

Chorus: Sukuhambis' okwendoda"

(Leader: It is bad at the home-in-law

It is bad.

Chorus: Do not do as the husband does).

Izidlalo zabafazi are directed at building harmony in marriage. By advising and chiding one another the women try to enhance their role in a stable society.

2.6 Izibongo as drama

The word izibongo literally means praises. There are different kinds of izibongo. These are:

2.6.1 Iziduko

These are praises of the clan and fall within the genealogical category. All people who come from the same genealogical tree share the same

iziduko. These are sung in honour of a person who has done a praiseworthy deed. They are usually sung by women during family occasions when they encourage their offspring in dance and also after the accomplishment of a task.

The women usually compete against each other so that each one sings the praises of her home, or home of marriage. They dance to the praises from different sides of the inkundla (courtyard). The competition takes the form of a challenge to the others. For instance a bride's mother's people may praise their niece by singing the iziduko of their clan

Khawubone ukuzala kwentombi
KaMashwabadel' inkomo-
Neempondo!
Mfanandini uyagagamela
Uya kumthini umntwana ohlamba ngobisi?

(Just look and admire the offspring of the daughter
Of Mashwabadel' inkomo_neempondo
Young fellow you are too big for your boots
How will you manage a child who washes with milk?)

Then the groom's people come forward to sing iziduko of the groom as a response to the challenge from the bride's side

Uze ulibambe lingatshoni!
NguKhuboni lo, uQunta Mafu
Owaphekwa neliyete
Kwavuthwa lona
Lashiye! iBhele!
Ndiyakusizela ntombindini!"

(Hold it that it may not set (the sun)
This one is Khuboni, Qunta, Mafu
Who was cooked with a stone
The stone was cooked
And Bhele remained uncooked!
I pity you young girl!

It is this type of contest that makes the singing of iziduko a dramatic performance.

2.6.2 The short personal izibongo

These are praises that are descriptive of a person's appearance and behaviour. They are used as an extension of one's name and are known as izighulo. They do not fall within the dramatic praises which are sung in public but they have a significant effect on the person to whom they refer. The person thus praised becomes courageous in the face of danger as when, for instance, young men prepare for a stick fight or duel.

The personal praises may be sung by other people when they encourage a particular person. They may be sung by the individual himself when he is satisfied with his successful performance in any kind of a challenging undertaking, e.g.

Ngaba bekungafikanga
 Irhamba lasezixhotyeni
 Useph' empuncu-mpuncu
 Unanko-nanko
 Namhl' engenzanga nto.

(Unless he had not come
 The puff-adder of the rocks
 The slippery soap
 The one - there - he - is - there-he-is
 Even when he has done nothing).

2.6.3 Izibongo zesizwe (national praises)

National praises have a wider range than personal praises. Although the object of praise is a person of higher rank, the praises are related to his role in society.

The izibongo are performed by an imbongi (a praise-singer). Imbongi is a special person with special qualities which make him stand above the ordinary people. He has several roles which are implicitly shown in

the context of his praises. He is a man of peace and justice. He plays this role by pointing out any conflict areas in the administration of the king. For this reason he is free to criticise even the most respected figure without fear of prosecution. He establishes the solidarity of the group by drawing the people together. He informs them about matters of state and educates them on certain administrative procedures. It is through his art that imbongi plays different roles of chronicler, educator, critic, peace-maker as well as entertainer. He composes his material and performs it while the other members of the community acknowledge what he says by exclamations of approval. The composition and style of performance as dramatic art are discussed in Chapters 3 and 4.

2.7 Iintsomi (Folktales)

An intsomi is a highly improbable story which is presented as though it were real.

Story-telling is a universal art which is prevalent in pre-literate societies. In traditional Xhosa life, iintsomi are used as a means of perpetuating the values of the group. Although they are not meant to give credible truths their credibility is not questionable because the artistic presentation is consistent with the nature of the intsomi. The fantastic things that take place in an intsomi situation, like singing and talking stones, birds that command weeds to grow and rivers that flow from a monster's stomach are highly improbable in a real life situation but are not rejected because they serve a particular purpose in the meaning of intsomi.

Intsomi belongs to drama because the narrator is not just anybody. It is a special person, usually an old lady who, through her experience, has acquired an art of presentation and a good repertory of iintsomi. As one of her duties is to inculcate the values of the group, she knows what intsomi to perform and how she should perform it. She plays the different roles of the characters in an intsomi by imitating them. This falls within art of performance although she may link up parts of the story by a short narrative.

Intsomi is performed at night when all the day's work is done. It is usually performed around a fire, inside or outside a hut. It is told when people are completely relaxed so that it may be well received. Some may be relaxing on their mats. It is taboo to perform an intsomi during the day unless a short ritual is said to ward off evil, e.g.

phu, phu, ndingaphum' iimpondo emini

(Let me not grow horns during the day)

It is believed that one who tells an intsomi during the day will grow horns. (A detailed dramatic analysis follows in Chapters 3 and 4).

CHAPTER 3CONFLICT AND PLOT3.1 Analysis

Conflict and plot are treated together in this chapter because they are complementary to each other. Conflict is the central force in any drama because it starts the ball rolling whether it is within the individual or an individual against an external force. What an individual does as a result of conflict gives rise to the plot. As the conflict intensifies the plot progresses to different levels. The intensification of the conflict and its ultimate resolution designs the structure of the plot.

3.2 Conflict3.2.1 Meaning

Conflict finds its origin from the Greek word "agon" which means a struggle or contest.

The struggle or contest was always between the seasons of the year which were associated with either fertility or barrenness. Spring was associated with fertility because it was regarded as the beginning or awakening of nature. Winter was associated with barrenness because nature was dying and was at its worst. The coming and going of the seasons was marked by rituals in which the dying season was symbolically buried. When the new season came it was also welcome with great jubilation and celebration. According to Harryson (1935, p. 61) conflict started with the struggle or contest between the two seasons. There were two contesting sides which represented the different seasons. The two sides tested their strength against each other.

The use of the term conflict in drama does not only refer to the physical tussle as shown above but also refers to ideas and interests that are at variance either within the individual, in which case the conflict is

internal, or with those of other people or external forces. In the latter instance it is external.

Fairchild (1944, p. 58) explains conflict as a

process situation in which two or more human beings or groups seek actively to thwart each other's interests even to the extent of injuring or destroying the other .

A further exposition of this explanation limits conflict to a human struggle that results from differences in personal or individual interests and the

quality of egoism impels each party to seek to eliminate the other to the extent necessary for the satisfaction of his own desires.

The important idea that emerges from this definition is the idea of actively trying to thwart each other's interest. It is this type of struggle by the contending forces in trying to oust one another that creates suspense and interest in any dramatic work.

Some students of African drama doubt that indigenous dramas have conflict at all. Scott (1973, p. 43) brings out the difference between Western and African drama. According to him Western drama is based on conflict while African drama is not. He says in comparing the Western and African dramas, that

the former is based on conflict or clash while the African theatre is based on poetry of life and its rhythms and life cycles .

To somebody who is familiar with African life and drama, it is clear that the element of conflict does exist in all the traditional dramatic forms although the contending forces may not balance.

Conflict may be seen clearly where one is familiar with the traditional beliefs and philosophy of the Xhosa people.

3.2.2 Conflict in Ritual Drama

Before discussing conflict in ritual drama a short preamble about the importance of rituals in the life of the traditional African is necessary. It is needless to emphasise that every aspect of life in traditional society is marked by prescribed rituals from time to time.

It is a common belief among amakhosa traditionalists that the ancestors are responsible for the continuity of life. They control man and his activities as well as the universe. They are able to command the elements of nature so that rains may fall and enable everything to thrive. They bestow good fortune, good health, human and vegetational fertility.

The ancestors (izinyanya) keep surveillance over their wards (the living). Their assistance is always sought as nothing can ever succeed without their blessings. A constant link has to be maintained between the living and the ancestors by means of sacrifices. The ancestors become pleased and a healthy communication is established between man and his ancestors. As long as this link is maintained everything runs smoothly. The people's health improves and no untoward things occur. The society becomes stabilised. As soon as this communication is disturbed the society becomes disorganised. Man's existence becomes threatened by various adversities. Disease, pestilence, barrenness both human and vegetational, and war may disturb the social equilibrium. What is even worse is that man finds it difficult, if not impossible, to offer resistance on his own. Such adversities are an indication that man has deviated from the normal course as set out by tradition and has brought himself into direct conflict with the ancestors. His interests are no longer in harmony with those of his ancestors. A situational conflict results between man and his ancestors. The performance of a ritual is an attempt to resolve the conflict by re-establishing the broken communication between man and his ancestors. This is where ritual comes in.

Soyinka (1976, p. 52) explains that communication between man and his gods assures him of the continuity of life. He maintains that life

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is a cycle from birth to death in the same manner that the seasons follow each other in nature. He says,

Where society lives in a close interrelation with nature, regulates its existence by natural phenomena with observable processes of continuity, ebb and tide waxing and waning of the moon, rain and drought, planting and harvest, the highest moral order is seen as that which guarantees a parallel continuity of the species .

Anything that destroys this continuity accelerates man's destruction. He points out that in ritual drama man is in conflict with the forces which challenge his efforts to harmonise with his environment, be they physical, social or psychic . Soyinka's definition of ritual drama as the struggle of man against exterior forces takes into account the element of conflict in ritual drama.

The important observation to make in this type of conflict is that the contending parties are not of equal strength. The ancestors are superhuman, and, therefore, no direct confrontation takes place except by symbols which convey this kind of conflict.

3.2.2.1 Conflict in Umhlwayelelo

The ancestors do not communicate directly with their subjects but use certain symbols. Those who happen to communicate with them do so through other media such as dreams and visions (amathongo nemibono). It should be noted that the individual through whom they appear is chosen as a member of the group and not as an individual who is divorced from the community. Similarly if they should indicate their displeasure through an individual it is not the individual who suffers but the whole group.

Ancestors are believed to inhabit the floor of deep waters of rivers, forests and the courtyard or inkundla. Those who inhabit the floor of deep waters are known as the people of the river (abantu bomlambo).

Each community has its own river where the ancestors live.

In a traditional Xhosa society illness is always taken to be caused by some evil spirits and to some extent believed to be caused by black magic. The medicine man always finds it easy to expunge evil and cure the illness. However, when the medicine man cannot arrest the illness by his mundane expertise some other force beyond human control is believed to be responsible. As pointed out earlier, the ancestors are responsible for the welfare of mankind for they control the universe. It appears that as soon as they are displeased they withdraw their protection and man finds himself confronted with evil forces.

An indication of the conflict shows itself through the perpetual ailment of an individual. This kind of illness baffles medicine men. A diviner's advice is sought. He may diagnose an ukuthwasa (illness caused by the ancestors). As soon as this is diagnosed it ceases to be an individual affair but involves the whole community because every now and then the invocation of the ancestors has to be performed. The diviner prescribes the umhlwayelelo ritual to petition the health of the individual and general fertility. The people of the river are thus approached by means of the umhlwayelelo ritual.

Besides the symbolic observation of the conflict between the living and the ancestors the diviner who is the main performer in this drama demands that the illness or misfortune be expunged from the victim and be washed away by the river

Ukufa okusekh' apha

Makumke nomlambo .

(The suffering in this home must be washed away by the river).

The above is usually spelt out when the community is dogged by misfortune, death and incurable ailments.

Gitywa (1963, p. 109) shows that the conflict arises because the individual could not respond to what the ancestors had wanted her to do -

(ukuthwasa). She only responded after a lengthy period of illness and decided to undergo training for divinership. The main performer, the diviner, who directs the whole performance implies that there is a conflict in petitioning the health of the individual from the "people of the river". He appeals to them as follows:-

Ndithunywe ngamaGqwashu ukuba ndizokucelela intombi yavo,
uNogozina impilo ngomso kusasa kumi Cihoshe. Camagu".

(I have been sent by amaGqwashu to petition good health on behalf of their daughter, Nogozina, from you, tomorrow morning Cihoshe. Please accept our plea (of worship).

The conflict here can be observed from two angles. Firstly, man has brought himself into disfavour because of his weaknesses that have offended the ancestors. As a form of making man aware of their displeasure, the ancestors expose him to all sorts of adversities. He finds himself confronted with evil which he is not able to tackle on his own. Attempts are made to expunge the evil. Secondly, man is so weak that he cannot withstand the forces of evil on his own. An appeal is made to the people of the river to prevail over evil and restore good health and general prosperity. The umhlwayelelo ritual drama is propitiatory offering to the people of the river to throw out the life line so that life should continue. The performance of umhlwayelelo as ritual drama centres around this conflict between man and his ancestors.

3.2.2.2 Umgqubhuzo ritual

The umgqubhuzo and umfukamiso are health rituals. Umgqubhuzo is a deideophonic noun meaning to dip into the water while umfukamiso means brooding.

While in umhlwayelelo the conflict is indirect in umfukamiso it is more direct. As the ancestors live at the floor of deep waters they usually come out at dusk. Nobody is expected to cross a river at this time

lest he is seen by "the people of the river". It is for this reason that it is essential for a person to throw a stone as an expression of respect and warning to them. Failure to do that results in serious confrontation. If an individual disregards this code of behaviour the people of the river may express their displeasure by looking at him. His whole body may itch unbearably, his head may be twisted backwards, his face and eyes become distorted and his mouth twisted to one side. Even in this case the individual's desires have cut across traditional codes and in so doing has brought himself into conflict with the ancestors. In this case the ritual is called umfukamiso (brooding) because the individual has to be kept alone in a dark room for a number of days. It, therefore, becomes clear that the ritual performance takes place because of conflict between man and his universe that is governed by the ancestors.

3.2.2.3 Ingolqho ritual

The idea of conflict in Ingolqho is related to man's idea of his cosmic world. As mentioned in the preceding chapter, the Xhosa traditionalists believe that the ancestors control the seasons and consequently the elements of nature. The conditions are always conducive to growth whenever a good communication is maintained. It is known and accepted that if an individual contravenes a social order the ancestors would show their wrath by permitting untenable weather conditions, usually drought, to prevail. It is a common saying that one who contravenes a moral code is precipitating drought - uzisa imbalela.

As long as the ancestors are contented with traditional man's way of doing things rains will come at the right time so that crops and vegetation may thrive well. When they are displeased the community's means of existence is threatened in that drought conditions prevail. Crops and vegetation fail. Pestilence sets in. Man is confronted with evil which is concretised and objectified in locusts (iinkumbi) and caterpillars (orhuxeshe).

Ingolqho is an attempt to resolve the conflict between man and his

ancestors so that conditions of living should be normalised to ensure the continuity of life.

The Ingologho ritual is initiated by a change in the normal equilibrium of life that enables man to harmonise with his environment. Traditional man believes that the ancestors cannot deny him the control of life without cause. Their responsibility is to provide for their subjects in every possible way so that there should be continuity of life. If there should be any developments that are contrary to such continuity it should be understood that man has erred against the ancestors. Ingologho is also a propitiatory ritual for vegetational fertility and to some extent human fertility.

3.2.2.4 Initiation rituals

Initiation rituals are the most important rites of passage in Xhosa. As the individual develops he is introduced into the important facets of life and his new role in society is emphasised. The ritual is a public acknowledgement by the society that the individual is accepted as a fully fledged member of society. The blessings of the ancestors are also solicited.

3.2.2.4.1 Boys' initiation

An individual who undergoes initiation has to undergo a complete change from his old, carefree type of behaviour to a new and more responsible one. Hitherto, anything done by a boy could be ignored because he is not taken as part of the community as far as serious roles are concerned. It is only after he has been initiated that he is regarded as a responsible member of society. The whole process of initiation concerns itself with the training and preparation of the individual for his new role.

The element of conflict is found in the change from one stage to the other. Firstly, the individual does not choose to be initiated. It is an established way of life. He cannot exercise his right otherwise he would be cutting across the grain of social order.

Secondly, there is a symbolic contest between the old, i.e. irresponsible person, and the new, the mature person who emerges from initiation. The element of conflict is also intensified by the fact that the individual is kept in seclusion for a considerable time where he is made to observe a special pattern of behaviour. This type of behaviour could be an attempt to free the individual from such a conflict so that there should be a smooth transition from one stage to the next.

Freud (1950, p.112) advances an interesting point about conflict in initiation rites. The initiation rites are a psychological means of liberating the individual from the fear of castration and sexual envy based upon a conflict between man's instrumental desires and the role he wishes to play in society or which the society wants him to fulfil.

The significance of the explanation lies in the conflict which the individual experiences between his own desires and those of the group. The conflict in initiation is also shown by the type of song and dance that is performed. The umguyo song and dance is meant to encourage the individual and instil bravery in him. The songs are also meant to instil a spirit of nationalism so that the individual should feel part of the group and not to imagine that he is about to be killed. The umguyo song and dance is an attempt to liberate the individual from the conflict which he experiences so that he may subdue himself to the desires and ambitions of the group.

3.2.2.4.2 Girls' initiation (Intonjane)

When a woman reaches maturity she is introduced to the adult community. She is made aware of her new role as a woman whose prime duty is to multiply the species so as to ensure the continuity of the group. This duty can only be rightfully fulfilled through marriage. Again, man does not have the right to multiply at will but the ancestors, through their blessing, are responsible for such development in the human species. When the intonjane ritual is performed it is not only a means of familiarising the woman with her new role in society but also a means presenting her to the ancestors.

The element of conflict may be observed when a woman has not been initiated. A woman is usually initiated when she gets her first menstruation. If this is not observed the woman suffers from innumerable ailments. She becomes incapable of fulfilling her marital obligations. She may become barren so that her relationship with the members of the community may be adversely affected. If she conceives her uterus may be so weak that she gets abortions. Should she be lucky enough to carry her pregnancy through, the children may become such weaklings that they may die at a very early age. If they survive they may develop anti-social habits like kleptomania, bed wetting or general physical debility.

As indicated earlier, it is vital for traditional man to maintain the communication link with the ancestors for general protection. Whenever the link is broken, usually by disregarding a traditional moral code, the angered ancestors withdraw their protection. Like all rituals that petition the restoration of equilibrium the first part of the ritual is marked by the conflict between man and evil. The conductor of intonjane engages in the process of expunging the evil known as ukungxola (to scold). This suggests the presence of a direct conflict otherwise there would be no need to expunge evil. The intonjane is taken to the gate-post (exhantini lobuhlanti) where the ancestors are believed to be. The following may be said by either the girl's parents or a medicine person who directs the proceedings:

Nobani, sikungenisa emkhusaneni, ungaphinde ukhathaze .

(Nobani, we are taking you behind the screen so that you should not suffer again).

When the woman has developed antisocial habits the following may be said:

Nobani, hlukana neendlela ezigwenxa, buyela ebuntwini .

(Nobani, abandon your unbecoming behaviour, return to decent living).

The second part of the intonjane is a celebration which is a public acknowledgement that the individual has reached adulthood.

The ritual itself is observed as a force that fights against the forces of evil as manifested in infertility, ill-health and deteriorating personal relationships. All these factors make it difficult for the individual to harmonise with his environment.

3.3 Conflict in Song and Dance

The conflict in song and dance can be seen from two angles. The first one concerns the ritual songs and dances that are connected with the communication code with the ancestors while they help the group to harmonise with its environment and thus ensure its survival. The other angle is that of the songs and dances which are directed at other members of the group so as to encourage the preservation of customs and traditional codes.

3.3.1 Ritual Song and Dance

3.3.1.1 Intlombe song and dance (for diviners)

The diviners are people with extraordinary powers and are highly sensitive to anything that is likely to upset the cordial relationship between man and his ancestors and between man and man. They are able to communicate with the ancestors through dreams and are able to transmit them to the public. Sometimes the diviner does not get a clear communication from her ancestors and her vision of things may be blurred. This is indicative of a kind of conflict between her and the ancestors. The diviners then hold intlombe song and dance where they revive their powers by appealing to the superior spirits. While they are together they may practise their art of driving out the evil. This is where they are in conflict directly with the evil forces.

The following song indicates this type of conflict.

Leader: Wen' uneshumi lezilwanyana
 Chorus: Uyahamb' emzinam, uyahamba
 Leader: Wen' uthakath' emini
 Chorus: Uyahamb' emzinam
 Uza kuhamba kusakhanya.

(Leader: You with ten animals
 Chorus: You are going from my home, you are going
 Leader: You who practises witchcraft in broad daylight
 Chorus: You are going from my home
 You are going while it still shines).

The word ishumi does not refer to ten here but means numerically countless with regard to quantity. Izilwanyana refers to all kinds of creatures used by the witches including zombies.

3.3.1.2 War Song and Dance

This is another type of ritual song that is used to call forth a desired state of mind within the individual. It also promotes group coherence and solidarity.

War songs are special songs that are sung under emotional conditions. The conflict element is found in the war song and dance that are performed before a war expedition. In a war situation there is always the internalised fear for the individual's safety because war involves the risk of one's life. The individual naturally fears for his life and if he had a chance to make a choice he would opt out. Unfortunately the social set up is such that no room is given for any form of individual expression. One is expected to play one's role as demanded by society. A conflict also develops between the desires of the individual and those of the society. Such a conflict would lead to a half-hearted participation that would not be good enough for both the individual and the group.

A special war song called igwatyu is sung. It is meant to instil courage and bravery in the warriors at the same time it promotes a

spirit of nationalism. The individual is liberated from the constraints of conflict. He develops such aggression that he becomes dauntless. He no longer thinks of his own safety but the victory of the group. The Xhosa war song is Somagwaza. The words of the song condition his mind while the rhythm incites him into action. He imagines himself as invincible as the song suggests. This is all implied in the prefixal morphemes So - which means the father of
 ma - one who always does something
 -gwaza - stab

Some war songs indicate that there is conflict where an individual is pitted against another or a group against another group. The following song implies this kind of conflict when the young men are urged to arm themselves and bring the cattle home.

Leader: Qula kwedini, qula kwedini kabawo
 Chorus: Ze nize nazo makwedini
 Yo! Yo! makwedini kabawo

(Leader: Arm yourself young man, arm yourself young man of father
 Chorus: You should return with them young men
 Yo! Yo! young men of father).

The words which actually appeal to greatness and suggest the feeling in the individual of belonging to the group are 'kwedini kabawo'. They make him confident and at the same time endear him to his group so that he becomes more determined than before for success in the war encounter. "Kwedini" is a poetic endearment and abbreviation of "nkwenkwendini" "you boy" and "kabawo" is a possessive that gives an impression of closeness - solidarity. Such a praise elevates the spirit of nationalism and the conflict which the individual experiences disappears.

3.3.2 Social songs and dance

All social songs are a product of the social structure in which they occur. They are not just a social heritage that is passed from generation to generation for entertainment only. The help to stabilise society and help to inculcate certain group values that are highly cherished. Like all folk songs they also promote group solidarity and identity.

The composition of the song on some event is a way of recording history and at the same time it identifies certain social evils. These are decried so that they may not find root and thus disturb harmony. The individual or group who breaks the social or moral law is identified by name. The song becomes an indictment against that person or group while it still serves as entertainment.

The conflict starts when the goals of the individual are contrary to those of the group.

Duerden (1977, p. 78) in dealing with social transgressors who may be pointed out as witches shows that "non-conformity to social establishment" results in a kind of conflict. Traditional society does not permit individual expression as opposed to group values. He also makes the observation that as soon as an individual develops an urge for individualism he becomes unable to harmonise with his social or economic environment.

The social songs are directed to man by man. They are also graded according to particular age groups and occasions. Each group takes care of its obligations to its members. Anything that creates conflict is depicted in the song and it is therefore decried. In this way the social harmony of the group is maintained.

3.3.2.1 Work or action song

Work or action songs are usually sung by a group of people who are doing a common task. This usually occurs in chores like cutting

grass for thatching, felling trees, hoeing in the fields, making bricks or repairing a road.

The conflict is based on the individual desires against those of the group. As every member of the group is expected to participate for no material benefit no-one can afford to keep away. A member's acceptability to the group depends on whether he honours the group desires. The ibhoxo is meant to inculcate the spirit of cooperation and helpfulness. At the same time it acts as a bond of solidarity and creates a sense of belonging. These are very important values in the life of the people. The task is usually a physically taxing one so that a person who is weak-willed may be easily discouraged. The accomplishment of the task is regarded as an achievement. The song is meant to arouse some kind of excitement that displaces the conflict in the individual. The song sustains him. It does not only make him more determined to accomplish the task but also makes him feel equal to it.

The content of the song may not be indicative of the conflict that is experienced by individuals because on the surface the team work appears to be voluntary. The song helps the individual to fit into the work situation and strengthen him for the job. The arrangement of the song may be such that every individual plays his part. For instance, the imbongolo song makes sure that every individual works at the same pace.

Mbongolo, mbongolo
 Mbongolo, ibigqith' apha
 Imbongolo ibigqith' apha

(Donkey, donkey
 The donkey has been passing here
 The donkey has been passing here).

The metaphorical reference is that the group should feel as strong as possible. When they say, "it has passed here" everyone starts passing the bricks if this is the task being performed. This ensures

a continuous line of work. It discourages loafing and it is a way of ascertaining that no one exerts himself more than the others.

The group chores are done as part of the obligation of every individual to the group. A kind of conflict would arise when an individual is unwilling to participate in group activity. This is regarded as a serious affront to the values of the group as far as responsibility, cooperation and solidarity are concerned.

There is also another category of songs that is used as work songs in group tasks. The group tasks are often those that are done for remuneration. The attitude of the team is completely different from that of the communal chore which is taken as part of the social structure. Unlike a communal chore, there is no social obligation except that which is demanded by the work contract. The conditions of service may be unfavourable. The wages may be a pittance although the work is physically exerting. Nonetheless, the workers are compelled to work for their survival. A conflict situation may arise between the workers and employer or supervisor who determines these conditions. The worker, however, finds it difficult to cope with the situation and only satisfies himself by externalising the conflict in song.

The song may thus be used by the group to express a kind of long suffering and conflict in the work situation.

Jahn (1968, p. 156) expresses the idea of conflict in work songs. He relates this to the Negro spirituals which were sung by Black Americans. He points out that the African had not been schooled in the art of recording his feelings of protest in writing. He had to register his protest against the unfavourable conditions under which he worked in a manner that fulfilled his expression of humanity and at the same time evoke pity. The song was thus meant to register protest and at the same time arouse the emotion of pity and fear for the suffering which these people endured as slaves.

A team of workers may find the work song a suitable medium of expressing this conflict. The following song clearly indicates the protest of

the workers which is indicative of the conflict between them and their supervisor. The man must have had a deformity which earned him the name of small arm (Nomkhonwana).

Leader: Yini Nomkhonwana
 Chorus: Hee, kunzim' eGoli (refrain)
 Leader: Umlung' okhoyo utheth' into ayithandayo
 Chorus: Hee, kunzim' eGoli

(Leader: Alas Mr Small arm
 Chorus: Oh, it is hard going in Johannesburg
 Leader: The present type of white man says anything he likes
 Chorus: Oh, it is hard going in Johannesburg).

The song depicts the kind of conflict that is caused by the harshness and crudeness of the supervisor. EGoli does not necessarily refer to Johannesburg but to any work situation of hard labour.

Another type of work song may express extreme bitterness and the workers can only get rid of their emotional tension by spitting venom at the supervisor:

Leader: Siphukuphuku
 Chorus: Somlungwana
 Leader: Umahlal' edakiwe
 Chorus: Somlungwana
 Leader: Asenjiwa-njalo
 Chorus: Somlungwana

(Leader: Fool
 Chorus: Of a little white man
 Leader: One who is ever drunk
 Chorus: Of a little white man
 Leader: We are not treated like that
 Chorus: Of a little white man).

One cannot doubt the fact that the workers resent the superiority of the

white man over them when he does not merit it. After all they would do the job well without him if better motivated perhaps.

3.3.2.2 Umtshotsho Song and Dance

The songs of the umtshotsho group deal with matters that are likely to create a conflict between members of the same group.

Although the participants of this song and dance are boys and girls they have the right to ridicule any social transgressors. The following umtshotsho song is an interesting analysys of the conflict between the girls and boys. It derides pride and selfishness on the part of the male. The girls claim that the boys do not want to lobola them with their cattle, just like the white man who refuses with his by demanding very high prices when he does not need them for lobola. The social law requires a man to pay lobola for his wife.

Leader: Lakhal' ihobe

Chorus: Hobe

Likhala kamnandi xa lintyiloza

Leader: Xa ninonke matshawe

Chorus: Matshawe

Nizenz' abeLungu ngeenkomo zenu

(Leader: The dove coos

Chorus: Dove

It coos pleasantly when it sings

Leader: And the whole lot of you princes
You think you are the white men
With your cattle).

The first part of the song metaphorically refers to the complaints of the girls or rather protest as the cooing of a dove which sings beautifully. Then the song takes a twist that shows the girls' displeasure at the boys' pride and selfishness. They do not want to part with their cattle just like the white man who keeps cattle for pleasure and not for lobola. Both girls and boys know that there

are strict formalities which are observed before marriage. Any party which does not honour these upsets the social order and creates a conflict situation.

3.3.2.3 Social intlolome and dance

As this is a song for mature men and women their songs concern themselves with adult matters. They never find substance for their songs from what boys and girls do although the latter can draw from the experiences of men and women. They concern themselves with moral issues like faithfulness in marriage on the part of women, permissible sexual practices and general conformity to the social code. Any deviation from these results in social ostracism. The following songs depict the type of conflict that an individual with weak morals creates between himself and the group.

Leader: He Nocawe

Chorus: Washiy' umzi wakho wodaka
Waya kwamany' amadoda

Leader: O! yini ihlazo

Chorus: Thath' okwakho
Washiy' umzi wakho wodaka

Leader: O! yini ihlazo.

(**Leader:** Nocawe

Chorus: You left your own mud kraal
And went to other men

Leader: O! what a disgrace

Chorus: Take everything of yours
You left your own mud kraal

Leader: O! what a disgrace).

Nocawe's moral weakness has alienated her from her husband. The chorus in rejecting Nocawe represents both the husband and the society.

The songs do not only point out women's weaknesses but also men's. For instance it is generally accepted that a man can have as many wives as his virility permits him as long as he is able to lobela them.

The society is a patrilineal one so that the man brings the woman to his home. When a man leaves his own home and goes to stay with his wife's people he has not only disgraced himself but the whole male group. Such a practice upsets the social order.

The following song illustrates the above idea.

Leader: Ziyamlilela
 Chorus : Walobola ngaye
 Ziyamlilela
 Wee malobola ngaye

(Leader: They are crying for him
 Chorus: He paid lobola with himself
 And one who always pays lobola with himself.)

This song means that his actions cry for him because he paid lobola with cattle and again with himself because he has chosen to stay with his wife's people and thus deprives his people of his services.

3.3.2.4 Izidlalo zabafazi (Women's Song and Dance Sketches)

The name izidlalo means "play-things". These are short songs or sayings that are either sung or said to the accompaniment of dance.

The participants are mainly women who come together after a collective chore to sing and dance. After the women have helped themselves to a feast of Xhosa beer, meat and other delicacies, they get a chance to advise one another on the hard knocks of marriage. It is the only chance they have of airing their difficulties. They do not only seek expert advice on their problems but also get satisfaction in sharing their common experiences.

Although these izidlalo are meant to entertain the group after the accomplishment of a collective chore they are also an externalisation of a type of conflict that has been building up as a result of the

clash between a daughter-in-law's desires and those of her people-in-law. Her frustrations and disappointments in her marriage have often given rise to a conflict. A married woman is traditionally expected to endure whatever treatment is meted out to her by her in-laws. This is a value which she has to maintain in order to conform to her role.

Duerden (1977, p. 122) observes that women often satirise one another in their songs. He points out the ambivalence which one has always felt as a member of a social group and as a

separate personality attempting to express egotistical desires apart from the group as a cause of conflict .

Some egotistical desires which manifest themselves in jealousy, selfishness, intolerance and disobedience are some of the causes of conflict in a marriage situation.

The conflict may be situational. The individual is not pitted against any direct person as such. She experiences frustration in the marriage situation because nothing seems to work according to her expectation as the following dance song illustrates

Leader: Shu, shu, ndiyatsha
 Chorus: Libhongo lokwenda
 Ndiyatsha

(Leader: Shu, shu, I am burning
 Chorus: By the pride of marriage
 I am burning).

The song expresses the harsh treatment which one gets from her marriage. It is so unendurable that she finds it difficult to stay. She uses the image of fire so that the other participants should realise how much the situation has become intolerable. Another woman who experiences the same thing may stand up to advise her and implore her to settle down.

Leader: Hlala phantsi !

Chorus: Wakh' umzi lo!

(Leader: Sit down!

Chorus: And build this home).

The following song indicates the type of frustration that a jealous wife experiences when her husband philanders. The response from the other women advises her not to do as the husband does.

Leader: Kub' emzini, kubi!

Chorus: Sukuhambis' okwendoda

(Leader: It is unpleasant at the home in law, it is unpleasant.

Chorus: Do not do as the husband does).

A daughter-in-law may be pitted against other individuals as found in the following songs:

(1) Between husband and wife

A conflict situation between husband and wife may be expressed by song in the following manner:

Leader: Ndiba ngaxhela le nkuku

Le ndod' iyahamba

Chorus: O-hoyi - mama

Uyavuy' umnt' endimthandayo.

(Leader: Every time I slaughter this chicken

This man goes away

Chorus: O-hoyi - mama

She is glad the person I love).

(2) Between co-wives

Cowives are always jealous of one another although tradition does

not permit them to show signs of it. Such attitudes are discouraged in African society. But it happens that they sometimes challenge each other to a physical tussle. The following song shows this kind of conflict.

Leader: Andiyoyiki intwazan' engangam

Chorus: Aph' ezweni

Leader: Nokuba seyikhula ifuna ukuba ngangam

Chorus: Aph' ezweni

(Leader: I am not afraid of a young one as big as I am

Chorus: In the world

Leader: Even if she grows and wishes to be as big as I am

Chorus: In the world).

The conflict between the cowives is that of status and seniority emphasised by nokuba seyikhula ifuna ukuba ngangam. The senior one does not seem to like the idea of popularity enjoyed by the junior wife who develops such confidence that she looks down upon her senior cowife.

The following song is meant to warn the other wife who has a tendency to report all the petty quarrels to the old man - husband. As a result one who is found to be the cause of trouble is often punished and thus alienated from her husband.

Leader: Mxeleleni

uMabani lo

Chorus: Ezithutha nje

Ezisekhehleni

(Leader: Tell her

This daughter of So and So

Chorus: As she carries it (news)

And carries it to the old man).

(3) Between daughter-in-law and mother-in-law

Barrenness is always a cause of conflict between a married woman and her in-laws. A childless woman is not expected to send anybody's child neither is she expected to punish him. The following song expresses the kind of conflict that arises between daughter-in-law and mother-in-law

Leader: We mtshakazana

Chorus: Wabeth' abantwan' emzin' ufika

Leader: We mtshakazana

Chorus: Zala abakho

'Zubathume

Zala abakho

(Leader: You newly married woman

Chorus: You hit children being a new comer at your home-in-law

Leader: You newly married woman

Chorus: Bear your own

And send them

Bear your own).

Flirting, witchcraft, laziness, theft are some of the intolerable vices among amakhosa. A woman who has such weaknesses cannot be tolerated and is often ostracised.

The following song is directed at her:

Leader: Thsa - thsa

Chorus: Thsa - zimdle

(Leader: Of setting dogs after a person

Let them eat her).

Such a woman is rejected together with her offspring.

Leader: We mfazindini!

Chorus: Wambi

Wambi nabant' abakho

(**Leader:** You woman

Chorus: You are bad

And you are bad with your children).

The izidlalo express the element of conflict that is found in human relationship. The conflict is always between the acquired member of the family (umtshakazi, umendi) who finds it difficult to adjust herself to the new situation. She is expected to observe certain social codes of behaviour that befit her new status and invariably these are at variance with her own desires. She finds herself pitted against her husband, her cowives, mother-in-law and the members of the community. She thus finds it difficult to harmonise with her community. By singing and dancing she is trying to relieve herself of the tension that is building up as a result of the conflict. By externalising the cause of the conflict she tries to restore the social equilibrium which is disturbed by unhealthy social relationships.

3.4 Conflict in Izibongo

Imbongi plays a very important role among the Xhosa speaking people. There is no occasion of national importance where he does not feature. He is the backbone of the nation because he is capable of building the solidarity of the nation.

Jordan (1973, p. 26) points out the onerous task of imbongi that he does not only sing praises about the good things but also sings about the bad ones. This is the only way he may fulfil his obligation to the nation as a man who has to see to it that justice is done. In the performance of izibongo there are two levels of conflict which are discernible in the performance.

Firstly, the imbongi experiences some conflict as regards the execution

of his duties to the nation. He has been elevated above the ordinary status of man and everybody looks upon him as a kind of protector. He has to maintain a good degree of impartiality so that people should have faith in him. In pursuing this duty he must not feel reluctant even to criticise the administrative and political heads who are chiefs by tradition.

Mqhayi (1915, p. 37) shows this type of conflict when he feels obliged to play his role as imbongi. He has to interpret the traditional philosophy about the powers of the King. He says,

Hoco-yini! Hooo-yini
 Athi ke mna mntu walibelethayo
 Athi ke mna mntu wathi uyakwaz' ukuthetha
 Kazi ke nina nanisithi ndisisilo sini na
 Esi sinokuthetha nezinto ezingathethekiyo

(Listen! Listen!

Alas, as for me a person who committed himself
 Alas, as for me a person who claimed to be able to speak
 I wonder what type of animal you thought I was
 This which can say even things that are unspeakable).

It becomes clear from what the imbongi says that he experiences a conflict between what he thinks he is worth and what the people expect him to be.

Secondly, he identifies the conflict areas in his declamation of the object of praise who happens to be the head of the nation. The imbongi uses certain techniques which expose the conflict. Although these techniques may be oblique they bring out the conflict effectively. He may use dialogue to depict conflict between two streams of thought. He is the one who represents the two conflicting sides in the presentation of the declamation so that the people are able to deduce the conflict from what he says.

Mabunu, Paramount Chief K.D. Matanzima's imbongi often employs this technique when he depicts the conflict between political parties. During the opening of the Transkei Legislative Assembly in 1963 he said,

Singamashumi asixhenxe
 Simel' izigidi ngezigid
 Zomphesheya-Nciba
 Vumani!
 Asivumi
 Anivumi ntoni na bafondini?
 Sithi thina asiwufuni lo mthetho
 Sibathathu qha
 Simel' igcuntswana
 Kodwa siyathetha.

(We are seventy
 We represent millions and millions
 Of Transkei
 Agree!
 We do not agree.
 Why do you not agree you fellows?
 We say we do not want this law
 We are only three
 We represent a minority
 But we are talking).

Although imbongi presents the above himself it can be seen from the arrangement that there are two conflicting sides. The following can be arranged

1st side: Singamashumi asixhenxe

 Vumani!

Opposing side: Asivumi

1st side: Anivumi ntoni na bafondini?

Opposing side: Sithi thina asiwufuni lo mthetho

 Kodwa siyathetha.

(1st side : We are seventy

•••

Agree

Opposing side : We do not agree.

1st side : Why do you not agree you fellows?

Opposing side : We say we do not want this law

•••

But we are talking).

The second technique is to use metaphors which refer to the object of praise. These metaphors identify the cause of conflict between the chief and his subjects. In the praises of Ngangelizwe Mtirara the imbongi shows that the cruelty of the chief, his selfishness and inconsiderateness have resulted in a serious conflict between him and his subjects. Thus imbongi in Rubusana (1906, p. 203) says,

Ngukhalakhulu liluml' abantwana
Liluml' uManga noGqirhana

Ngugez' elagezelwa ngamagqwirh' akowalo
Lagezelwa nguMngomeni noGiladile

Ngumthunz' ongqongqo waseMbbase
Oqhawuk' ubuy' uhlangana
Kub' ughawulwa nguMbanga noGqirhana .

(He-is-the-bitter-aloe which weans children
It weans Mbanga and Gqirhana

He-is-the-mad-one who was bothered by the wizards of his home
He was bothered by Mngomeni and Giladile

He-is-the-strong shade of Mbashe
Which breaks and joins again
Because it is broken by Mbanga and Gqirhana).

In all the quotations above the conflict between the chief and the councillors is apparent. The chief himself is not free from blame but he seems to be paid back by his own coin.

His severity has alienated him from Mbanga and Gqirhana, his selfishness, silliness, inconsiderateness cost him the support of Mngomeni and Giladile who are also as mad and silly as he is.

His authority is shaking because it is shaken by Mbanga and Gqirhana.

The metaphors of bitterness, cruelty and selfishness as exemplified by ngukhalakhulu, ngugeza, ngumthunz' ongqonggo, oqhawuk' ubuye uhlangana all indicate the unsavoury character of the chief which results in a serious conflict between him and his councillors.

3.5 Conflict in intsomi

An intsomi fosters certain codes of behaviour which, when observed, make it possible for a member of the group to harmonise with his environment. Obedience to authority, honesty, diligence, cooperation and general mental alertness are some of the virtues that stabilise the traditional social order and are thus cherished in all intsomi performances.

Disobedience, depravity, jealousy, dishonesty, laziness, selfishness, greed and stupidity are vices that make it impossible for the members of a community to live together harmoniously. Such vices are always decried. The youth are exposed to intsomi performances so that they may internalise the implication of the story. It forms a basis of their philosophy in later life. The conflict in intsomi is always good against evil. The evil is all that brings disharmony in the social establishment of the community.

Scheub (1975, p. 147) indicates that the structure of intsomi is based on a conflict-resolution pattern. The central character wants something but there is something that stands between him and the object he strives for. He says,

The life of the central character has been fragmented by something that has disturbed the equilibrium of his relations with others .

For instance, in the intsomi of Intombazana nenja the girl's life is fragmented by the loss of her inkciyo (a small beaded apron that covers the private parts). She goes back to the forest and wanders until she strays to the house of a hound. The conflict develops between the girl and the hound when the latter demands its "marital rights".

An intsomi may have various conflict situations which form the basis for the various motifs. In the Intsomi kaSihamba-ngenya there are several conflicts in one performance:-

- (1) The first conflict is caused by jealousy. The cowives are jealous of a beautiful young wife because she enjoys the attention of her husband.
- (2) The young wife loses her husband's love because she is barren. This conflict is soon resolved because she bears a child named Thangalimlibo.
- (3) The birth of the child brings another conflict between man and nature. Her beauty upsets the order of things to such an extent that she is given a new name, Sihamba-ngenya.
- (4) Sihamba-ngenya cannot obey the laws of tradition without upsetting nature so that when she is forced to obey man, nature revolts. The river from which Sihamba-ngenya is captured turns blood-red and follows her captors. A sacrifice is offered after which the water recedes.

3.5.1 Internal and external conflict in intsomi

There is an internal conflict where an intsomi character deviates from the prescribed order of things as a result of the dictates of his own desires. He knows the instruction but his own weakness does not permit him to observe it. The boy in the Intsomi Yenkwenkwe Neyeza is asked to fetch a fertility medicine from a medicine person. His greed and dishonesty take the upperhand of him and he fails to honour his mother's wishes. He takes the medicine himself. His action makes him suffer the discomfort of pregnancy and eventually he is deprived of the baby he bears. The individual has to weigh, as it were, his own desires against those of the society. In the Intsomi yeNtombazana neMbulu the girl makes her own choice against that of the group. She thus enters herself into a conflict situation although she is not aware of the consequences of her action.

The external conflict occurs when the characters are pitted against one another. Although Jordan (1973, p. 9) says that in stories between man and animal a conflict does not normally occur, instead the animal usually assists man; there are iintsomi where man is pitted against animals as in the Intsomi yeNtombazana neNja, Umfazi neMfene, UDubulihasa Namasela, UMakhulu noDyakalashe, Intombazana neMbulu.

Man may be pitted against birds, e.g. Umfazi Nentak' enkulu, and Intsomi Yentaka Yamasi.

Man may be pitted against monsters like Izim, igongqongqo, ukrwebede, Man agaisnt nature, rivers and forests as in the Intsomi of Sihamba-ngenyanga and Igongqongqo.

Although the contending parties in the intsomi conflict may be man and animal or man and inanimate objects the conflict details the disruption of social harmony and the animals and things represent human vices and desires.

3.6 Conflict in Written Plays

The written plays in Xhosa are a product of missionary education in that when the first play appeared about 1940, Impene kaDebeza by G.B. Sinxo the school and the church had become formal educational institutions.

Such change from traditional to modern schools created a change of values. The community was clearly divided into two groups, viz. the traditionalists and the modernists. The former were termed amaqaba and the later amaggobhoka.

The traditionalists pride themselves in their customs and traditions and still ascribe to the philosophy of group identity and conformity as a basis of harmony. The modernist is more inclined towards individualism and all things that satisfy the self more than the group are cherished. This difference in the basic philosophy of life led to fierce clashes between the two groups because the whole system of group values was challenged. Important traditions observed in matters of national importance like marriage institutions, laws of succession and the whole body of traditional beliefs were equated with superstition. The type of conflict that abounds in written plays reflects this change in ideology which finds its roots from western culture. The different types of conflict found in written plays may be grouped as follows:

3.6.1 Man against the supernatural

Rituals have shown the dependence of traditional man on the supernatural powers that control the universe - ancestors in this case. For his survival he must harmonise with them so that the prevailing conditions should be conducive to his existence. Man is not able to communicate directly with the ancestors but the diviner acts as an interpreter for both the living and the departed spirits. The diviner or medicine man is believed to get his power from the ancestors hence he is able to help the living in any difficulty. The medicine man is to some extent responsible for the survival of man. He is able to look into the future and advise accordingly. He can reflect on the past and build the future. He is capable of controlling the elements and cause

drought, rain, hail lightning at will. He is able to induce fertility with both humans and vegetation. He is able to expunge evil and bring good fortune. Love charms as well as protective charms are provided by him. His role is, therefore, very important in the life of traditional man.

The influence of christianity has so prevailed on the modern Xhosa dramatist that he has come to view the above philosophy as mere superstition. The belief in medicine people is associated with witchcraft. It is the intention of the dramatist to make people realise that their beliefs are contrary to christianity. The conflict which results from this philosophy appears to lack balance. Mmanga, A.M. in uDusha has this weakness. The people become victims of quacks who pretend to be medicine people. They are made to believe that there is a monster known as uDusha who is the cause of death. Unless it is destroyed by the power which they have, death will never cease. The conflict is, therefore, between man and the supernatural and all the action that takes place is towards this end. He exploits the same theme as the cause of the conflict in Law' ilahle. Even in this play man is pitted against the supernatural. The people are exploited by crooks who pretend to have powers that can save the nation against destruction by an ember. The ember is hovering over them. Unless it is stopped it is going to kill them on Christmas day. The quacks also claim to have powers to control the elements of nature. They claim that they can control hailstorm and save their crops. In Law' ilahle the conflict is also between man and the supernatural.

Ngani, M.P. in Umkhonto kaTshiro also deals with the conflict, between man and the supernatural. The 'supernatural' is death which is caused by witchcraft. The King, Tshiro is thus determined to fight against witchcraft and establish a kingdom which is free from witches. The conflict in Umkhonto kaTshiro is taken to the human level because although Tshiro is fighting against the loss of life, it is the witch or wizard who causes it.

3.6.2 Social Conflict

This type of conflict arises when the members of the group deviate from the traditionally established way of life. The individual strives to express himself in his own way.

The traditionalist shares everything with his fellowmen. Their laws are his laws, their aspirations and sufferings are his. He does not challenge what is dictated to him by tradition. The modernist does not seem to honour the values of the group when they do not agree with his desires. This has often led to a vigorous type of conflict between parents and their offspring. The following are the conflict areas between parents and children:

3.6.2.1 Marriage

The choice of a marriage partner has created some problems for the modernist who believes that it is a private and personal matter. Traditionally parents always make the choice for their children because they know from experience what makes a successful marriage. The background of the spouse is taken into consideration with regard to witchcraft, diseases, mental weakness and general respectability and above all whether the man can afford to pay lobola. The modernist guide is only affection which can commit two people in marriage. This is an individualistic approach which cuts across tradition. Mmango deals with this kind of conflict in UDike noCikizwa. Nomazala raises a pertinent question that clarifies the philosophy of the traditionalist when Cikizwa rejects her father's choice of a husband for her. She says,

'Wala indoda xa esazi ntoni ke yena, ubuso bendoda buziinkomo nje?

(How can she reject a man, what does she know,
the face of a man is cattle).

Cikizwa represents modern thinking when she says,

Ubuhle nokufudumala komzi
 Ukuphila nokomelela komfana
 Asizona zinto zinganditsalela enkundleni
 Eyona nto luthando

Nomazala: Umdala ungaka nje kanti usacinga ngezinto
 zendlalo yobuntwana uthando?
 Yhu tana ungakhe uphinde uyithetha mntwini le nto
 Uya kuhlazeka uhlekwe ngaphezulu .

(The beauty and the wealth of the home
 The strength and health of the young man
 Are not the things that can attract me to the alter
 The main thing is love).

Nomazala: (You are old as you are now
 And yet you still think about childish playthings like love?
 Alas, you should not say that to anybody
 You will be disgraced and above all ridiculed).

Tamsanqa has also exploited this kind of conflict in Buzani Kubawo
 where Gugulethu is pitted against his father Zwilakhe because he forces
 him to marry Thobeka instead of the girl of his choice, Nomampondomise.

3.6.2.2 Succession and Inheritance

Succession and inheritance are also determined by the laws of tradition.
 The conflict arises when an individual has other motivations other than
 those of the group. Ntloko in UNgodongwane deals with this kind of
 conflict between father and sons on the question of succession. The
 sons of Jobe cannot wait for their aged father to abdicate in their
 favour. They conspire to murder him but their treacherous deed is
 ripped in the bud.

Mthingane in Inene Nasi Isibhozo deals with the conflict that arises
 when a step mother becomes too anxious for her son's rights to the
 inheritance. Because she always tries to do things in a distorted
 fashion she accidentally poisons her own son after which she runs
 beserk.

3.6.2.3 Individual against State

The individual is pitted against the establishment by an infringement of a state law. This is an indication that the tradition of law and order held by the traditional institutions has shifted to that of state, administered by the police. P.M. Ntloko has written about the conflict that arises from the greed of man. Corruption disrupts the smooth running of administration. In Isighelo Siyavoyisa Ingqondo he exposes the corruption of government officials who accept bribes. Although the culprit is arrested he still tries to work his way out by means of bribes. He attempts to bribe the magistrate and prosecutor who are to handle his case.

Jolobe in Amathumz' obomi shows the conflict that develops when an individual finds it difficult to survive under normal moral laws. MaDlomo finds it difficult to make ends meet after the death of her Evangelist husband. She decides to augment her wages as a washer-woman by dealing in illicit liquor business. She does not only break the church law which does not permit church members to drink or sell liquor, but also the state law which does not permit the selling of liquor in the townships. The play marks the change in both social and economic structure. MaDlomo would enjoy the freedom to brew her Xhosa beer for consumption in the traditional set up but she has to sell it for a living. Her children also pick up anti-social habits in the street as they have to keep watch and warn their mother when the police raids start. MaDlomo is thus torn between the laws of the church where her husband enjoyed a high status and respect and the state which prohibits illicit sale of liquor. At the same time she must see to it that her children are provided for.

3.6.2.4 Individual against other individuals

The social organisation in a traditional Xhosa society is group centred. Modern society is largely individualistic so that the conflict is not based on non-conformity to group solidarity or anything which threatens group existence but on individual weaknesses. Such a conflict cannot be identified as peculiar to a certain cultural group or ideology but

is common to human beings. It is this human weakness that makes it difficult for the individual to harmonise with other individuals or groups.

The modern dramatist has concerned himself with certain character traits that make it difficult for an individual to live peacefully with his fellow men. Mbulawa in MaMfene deals with the clash of personalities in an otherwise revered profession of ministry. Jezula's character is incompatible with the office he holds as a spiritual and administrative leader of the church. He is more materialistically than spiritually inclined. His moral weakness of greed, callousness and selfishness bring him into conflict with the leadership or management of the church. The president holds all the virtues of a man of his standing like humility, honesty, understanding of human situations and generally moral uprightness.

Mtywaku in UNcumisa noNqabayakhe also scorns the social snobs. Bambela and his wife, Nosenti find it difficult to live among people who are not as educated and rich as they claim to be. They seem to be disturbed by the company which their daughter keeps. Although their daughter eventually gets married to a teacher, Nqabayakhe they do not accept him because his background is that of iqaba. The conflict is between two families whose children are closely attracted to each other.

3.6.2.5 Internal and external conflict in written plays

A conflict is internal when an individual is torn between two ideas or beliefs of equal importance that have different goals. An individual may have his own desires that may not be harmonious with those of the group but does not have the freedom to express them as he wishes. This is the force of the moral law. This is the kind of conflict which occurs in traditional society where individualism is repressed. This is the type of conflict that one finds in song and dance drama as in umtshilo wabakhwetha dance, and war song and dance.

In written Xhosa plays internal conflict may occur in a character.

In some cases it is a way of character development in that the dramatist allows us to see the different facets of his character as he enters into an emotional debate with himself as is the case in Umkhonto kaTshiwō by Ngani. Magwaza and Khwane are two trusted councillors who are honoured by the Xhosa king, Tshiwō to execute witches. Magwaza discovers to his dismay that he is executing innocent souls and in the process destroys the country which he is supposed to be building. He is fully conscious of his position of trust in which he is placed by the king and his loyalty to his ruler. At the same time his conscience does not allow him to continue with the nefarious task of executing innocent people among whom are rich men and healthy warriors. In such a case the character experiences incompatible inner drives or needs that are of comparative intensity. As a result a state of uncertainty results and he is thrown into a situation of emotional turmoil. If he is not able to resolve the conflict satisfactorily he may find death as his only way of escape as is the case with Magwaza.

An external conflict occurs when an individual is pitted against an external force whether it is another person, group or environment. Even when the conflict is ideological it is expressed by individuals whose goals oppose each other. The external conflict may also involve an internal conflict. For instance in Umkhonto kaTshiwō the conflict is between man and a supernatural force - witchcraft. But one of the persons whose actions oppose those of the supposed witches has moments of reflection about the moral admissibility of the action and he has doubts about the execution of innocent people.

3.7 Plot Structure

Shaw (1905, p. 289) expresses a plot as a

plan or scheme to accomplish a purpose .

It is further explained as a "series of carefully devised and inter-related actions that progresses through a struggle of opposing forces (conflict) to a climax and denouement.

Although plot is always associated with the story line in both a novel and drama it is more than that. It emphasises cause and effect in drama. To some extent, plot structure may also include all the elements that make drama because they help to make the myth or the substance of action. The interaction of characters in action results in a certain sequence of events. There is always something that motivates characters to do something and the effect of what they do on others.

Plot structure may be expressed in literary drama as a totality of the actions of characters. It may be designed through dialogue and action.

Traditional drama depends largely on symbolic action for its plot content. The use of symbolic action lends meaning to what is done and it is understood well in its cultural context. A great controversy exists among African scholars as to whether rituals are dramatic at all; whether they can, in actual fact, boast of any dramatic structure.

Echeruo (1973, p. 21) when discussing African festivals in Nigeria agrees that they are dramatic because of their

action, singing, dancing and costume although they lack some plot and linguistic content, represented interaction of characters and specialised scenery .

In Xhosa rituals action conveys a particular meaning even though there may be no elaborate verbal content. The sequence of action tells a story to those who understand it. The people who participate share a common experience. There is group interaction as the ritual is executed. The specialised scenery may not be there because the Xhosa ritual enacts an experience and does not recreate past experience. What is done has an effect on the participants for they emerge with new vision and hope for existence. The linguistic content may be very little, being only used for a specific purpose during the performance of the ritual. What is intended is enacted. One important observation to make is that whether the plot is expressed symbolically or linguistically it has a particular form or structure.

Herskovits (1956, p. 691) supports this idea when he says that all forms of dramatic expression

have in common whether simple or complex, whether performed by specialists or a group as a whole, form and structure .

They all show a unity which is the distinguishing mark of any artistic product. They have a beginning and an end. Lee Harvey in Dorson (1972, p. 173) quotes Paul Goodmans interpretation of Aristotle's structural idea of plot with a beginning, middle and ending as a "logic of a temporal sequence". This is the particular order or sequence that is observed in ritual drama. The actions follow a certain sequence and though they may be complete for a particular time, they are considered as part of a whole. These episodes, though complete in themselves, are part of the whole and follow a particular sequence in terms of time and meaning.

Bierman, Hart and Johnson (1958, p. 78) describe plot structure as though it were made of several strands which the dramatist puts together. The strands are picked up in the exposition and are put together in the complication and tied up as a knot in the crisis and climax. After the climax the strands unravel at the denouement or falling action and then the end comes. The plot structure in drama is understood to follow the pattern of the strands where we have the five stages in the development of the plot consisting of the exposition usually the beginning of the conflict, the complication which is the intensification of the conflict and the climax which is the turning point, the denouement is a point towards the solution of the conflict and finally the end. This kind of structure is the basis of a dramatic plot whether it has one, three or five acts.

The following plot analysis of traditional drama is based on the pattern structure of exposition, complication, climax, denouement and conclusion.

3.7.1 Plot Structure in Ritual Drama

Ritual drama follows a particular order which results in a definite structure. The plot content is built by the sequence of action.

It is important to observe that ritual drama does not observe the unities of time and action. While the modern dramatist works within the time limit of one and half to two hours, ritual drama does not observe this type of limitation. The duration of the performance is determined by the need. It may continue for days as is the case with umhlwayelelo, initiation and song and dance drama. These rituals have to follow a prescribed and acceptable order at specified times. There is no need to sustain the attention of the people as is the case in Western drama because everybody participates.

As regards place, ritual drama takes place at its natural habitat so that this helps to maintain the atmosphere conducive to it. It is not surprising that the performance of one ritual takes place at different places. Although the performance takes place at different times in different places the action takes a particular sequence which builds up to the highest point. A ritual is enacted in itself although it forms part of the whole. The action progresses to the second phase and subsequent phases until the whole ritual stages have been passed. None of these phases can be transposed or omitted. The significance of the ritual lies in the sequence of these phases.

3.7.1.1 Exposition in Ritual Drama

Just as the dramatist assumes that life has been going on before he gives the beginning of the conflict in the exposition, so is ritual drama. The performance of a ritual is necessitated by man's failure to harmonise with the universe. Owing to his weakness man is not capable of restoring his harmony and appeals to the powers of a diviner. The consultation of a diviner is in itself dramatic and forms the first phase of ritual drama as the exposition. This is particularly the case with umhlwayelelo and umgqubhuze rituals.

In Ingolqho the exposition consists of the announcement of the pestilence. A man stands on a mountain that faces the fields and shouts "zifikile" (they have come) while another one is sent round to collect young girls to the Great Place where they prepare themselves for the ritual.

In intonjane the girl is presented to the ancestors at the gatepost. The head of the household takes the girl to the gatepost while the other members witness the procedure. In presenting her to the ancestors he says,

Maqoco, singenisa uNobani ukuze angabi nangxaki
ekukhuleni kwakhe,
Akhululeke kuyo yonke imeko yobubhinqa. Camagu.

(Maqoco, we help Nobani into adulthood so that she should not have difficulties during her development stages and that she should be free from misfortune and hardship in all her female roles. Accept our worship).

When intonjane is performed in order to restore good health the "patient" is taken to the gatepost and the head of the household in presenting her to the ancestors speaks harshly so as to expunge evil ukungxola, as in

Nobani, namhlanje siyakulungiselela
Ungaphinde ukhathaze.
Buyela ebuntwini.
Camagu, Maqoco .

(Nobani, today we are preparing for you so that you should not experience hardship.
Return to decent life.
Accept our worship, Maqoco).

What is said at this stage states the purpose of the intonjane ritual.

The ritual stage in boys' initiation is enacted by the initiate himself. The boy symbolically announces his transition stage from boyhood to adulthood. This mainly consists of symbolic actions which indicate that he is "wasted" uyaguga. The boys usually move in groups. They apply black make-up which symbolises death (of the old boyish life). They wear hessian skirts which have been tweezed to give the impression of rags. They wear small calabashes to which they attach chains which jingle as they dance. The boys dance from village to village announcing when they intend going to the circumcision lodge. Among the Hlubi and Mpondonise the time for initiation is May and they sing the dance song of May

Yiza Meyi

Ye noMeyi

Hop, Hop".

(Let the month of May come
Month of May
Hophu - Hophu (of dancing rhythm)).

3.7.1.2 Complication

Complication implies the intensification of the action by the contending forces. At this stage their strength measures against each other so that it is not possible to predict with any amount of certainty, which side is going to win. In ritual drama the conflict is between parties which do not communicate directly. Man has suffered because he has allowed his moral weakness to alienate him from the ancestors. It is now up to him to intensify his actions in trying to counteract the evil and at the same time restore the broken link between him and the ancestors.

In all ritual drama that purports to restore good health on behalf of a person, attempts are made to facilitate communication between the ancestors and the person concerned.

In such ritual drama complication involves the withdrawal of the

individual from active life. This creates the necessary atmosphere that is conducive to symbolic interaction between the person and ancestors. In umhlwayelelo the individual is isolated and left alone in a dark room so that she may have visitations from the ancestors. The diviner and other members of the community remain in another hut. There is no jubilation. The sombre atmosphere which prevails signifies man's remorse for his weakness.

For the boys' initiation complication starts with the umguyo song and dance. As stated earlier, umguyo song and dance is a way of rallying around the initiate so that he should be brave and also develop a strong spirit of nationalism. The song "Simayintango" (we stand as a fort) is a popular umguyo song. This assures the initiate of protection and support. Somagwaza is a war song which is sung during umguyo so that the initiate should feel part of the group. The song is the first suggestion of his adult role in society as a defender of the nation.

Intonjane also withdraws from social activity so that when the initiate comes out she emerges as a 'new' person altogether with a new role in society. Other young men and women come to intonjane where they put into practice the virtues of obedience, tolerance, responsibility and the respect of group values. The structure of the society is recreated where the different young men and women play certain roles. There is a Dindala and Dindalakazi who represent parental authority. They direct all the proceedings at intonjane. While intonjane (the girl initiate) is oriented for her new role by inkazana (an aunt) the other participants are made to enact the sex-game called Twenana. The game is meant to train the youth in taking care of their sex-drives and at the same time familiarise them with traditional values. The Dindala and Dindalakazi exercise their authority in choosing sex partners for the members in the same manner that marriage partners are chosen for them in real life. As a game this type of association need not culminate in marriage.

Inqologho performers are also kept in seclusion under strict guard. On the first night which precedes the ritual the girls remain inactive so

that they may give respect to the ancestors for what is petitioned.

It should be noted that during the preparation stage for the ritual the participants are experiencing a great deal of anxiety and fear as to whether their pleas are going to be accepted by the ancestors. This accounts for the lack of activity as part of the procedure in the performance of a ritual. This is the type of feeling which is generated by the uncertainty of the outcome.

3.7.1.3 Climax in ritual drama

In literary drama a crisis is a turning point of events. The events always work towards a crisis and away from it. This is a stage where the actions and counteractions of the contending parties are so heightened that they clash with such a bang that something cracks. After this crack there is a realignment of forces. This is also a moment of highest emotional intensity when the parties become so strained that they can no longer control themselves. There is an emotional breakdown. This is also taken to be the climax.

Boulton (1971, p. 43) maintains that a play may have "several crises that are a culmination of motivated actions". Although she says that each action in a play has its own crisis she also points out that these crises lead to one climax. This applies equally to ritual drama. Each phase in ritual has its own crisis but these phases progress towards a climax. The climax is reached when the rite is executed. In some rites like the fertility and health ritual, this is when a symbolic contact is made with the ancestors while in the rites of passage it is when the initiate is accepted by, and welcome to the adult society.

In umhlwayelelo the climax is reached when a symbolic contact is made between the group and the "people of the river". The contact is made at the river where propitiatory items are offered. The participants go to the river at the break of dawn. Citywa (1963, p. 109) observes that the chief performer who directs all proceedings in umhlwayelelo goes to the river to inform the "people of the river" about the

intended visit of the petitioners. When they come on the next day it is as though they are expected. The diviner salutes the "people of the river" to invoke their blessing by singing their praises.

Camagu nina bakwaMqoco
 Kwajojo kwaButsolobentonga
 Size kucela impilo kaNogazula
 Camagu".

(Camagu you people of Mqoco
 Of Jojo of Butsolobentonga
 We have come to petition the health of Nogazula
 Camagu).

Then there is the presentation of what is petitioned in terms of seeds of crops, beer, tobacco and beads. These are placed individually in an empty calabash. As each item is offered the blessings of the people of the river are invoked. For instance the following may be said when pumpkin seed is offered

Ngezi ntanga siyacamagusha. Sicela nisandisele nisiphe
 loo nto isifaneleyo
 Makube chosi, kube hele .
 The others respond by saying, "Camagu".

(By these pumpkin seeds we praise you and ask for your blessing.
 We petition you to give us what is good for us. Let it be pleasant and peaceful).

It is believed that the people of the river enjoy the same type of life as that enjoyed by the living. The propitiatory items are intended to induce the type of fertility expected from the spirits. By symbolically sharing what they have with the "people of the river" they hope to get more in return. This is the climax of the ritual.

with a prized stick umngayi because this umhlambi is so heavy that a weak man cannot endure it. Umtshilo song and dance does not only check on the work of ikhankatha. It also helps to inculcate all the virtues that make one an important member of society. Various initiates come together to compete for umngayi. Other members of the community participate. The women play ingqongqo, ox-hide drums to keep rhythm for the dancers while others ululate and sing izibongo of their clans while cheering the initiates.

The second crisis comes when the initiates leave their circumcision lodge. The important significance of this stage is that they should emerge with maturity, prowess and skills for various things. They should forget the past and regard themselves as newly born. They run to the river where they wash their white make-up. The three boys who arrive first at the river earn themselves a high social status. When they emerge from the river they are anointed by a specially selected man with butter-fat. The significance of this is that they should be rich and prosperous. The 'fat' symbolises fertility and good fortune. They are given new clothes which signify their rebirth. Somagwaza is sung and a typical war dance is performed. The initiate is made to feel part of the group.

The young men, now known as amakrwala, are admonished by the old men who boast of experience in the social matters of the group. Every person welcomes them with a gift known as ukusoka. This is the highlight of the initiation ritual. It is important that the initiates should be welcome to the adult. In all the performance the initiate is enacting his own experience and what is desired is also enacted through the suggestion of song and dance.

3.7.1.4 Denouement and conclusion

Denouement refers to the unravelling of the knot which was tied up at the climax.

There is no doubt that the participants in ritual drama become very anxious about the acceptability of the ritual to the ancestors. Its

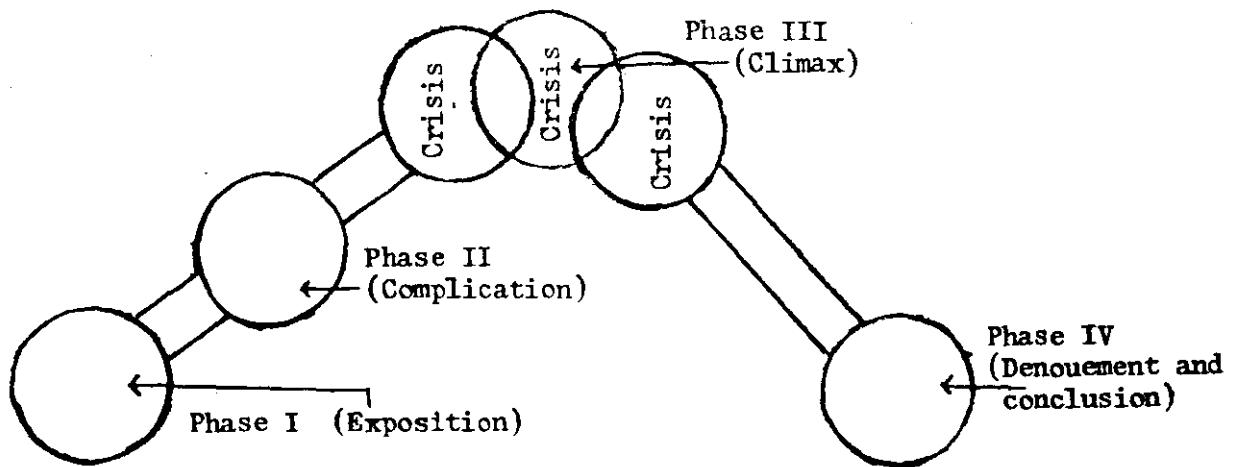
unacceptability spells doom for the whole nation. As soon as the participants satisfy themselves that the prescribed procedure has been followed and, therefore, ascertained of the acceptability of the ritual, the anxiety diminishes. The conflict cannot go on endlessly and the performance of the ritual assures the group that it has been resolved. The denouement is marked by the diminution of anxiety. There is general celebration by song and dance. In umhlwayelelo the participants return to inkundla where they give a verbal report of what has taken place at the river-side. The diviners may perform intlambe dance as a celebration for the anticipated results of the fertility and health ritual. There is general merriment and feasting. All the members of the community emerge with new hope for a better life while they are kept together as a group.

Ingoloho girls wind up by singing and dancing. The medicine man "doctors" the stalks so that the yield may increase. The community gets together for a song and dance while the people drink Xhosa beer which is prepared from the corn of the previous year.

Intonjane is also celebrated with song and dance. This is an assurance that the ritual has been performed accordingly and also a public announcement that the girl is accepted as an adult. It is also a way of acknowledging the blessing of the ancestors.

The young men have to observe some social taboos as amakrwala before they join the full cycle of human activity. An ikrwala has to show extreme humility and respect. This is a period of adjustment when he observes what goes on. After a short period of about a month he joins the adult world. He takes his position as a responsible member of the family and the group. It is only at this stage that he begins to 'live'.

The different stages of ritual drama may be represented diagrammatically as follows : -



Phase I is complete but the action progresses to phase 2. This part is completed and progresses tp phase 3 which takes various forms each leading to the height of the performance. After the climax the ritual is concluded with celebration by song and dance.

3.8 Plot structure in song and dance

The performance of song and dance helps the individual to relieve himself of tension which builds up as a result of the conflict which he experiences with regard to a particular undertaking. The ritual songs serve this purpose. On the other hand, the social songs are meant to inform the group about certain matters and regulate inter-personal relationships. The arrangement of these songs and dances differs according to type. All songs are accompanied by special dances.

In some ritual songs such as intonjane the song may not have particular words. The rhythm is important. This may be kept by humming with open lips as in "Ho - yo - yo - ha - ha" and the other participants may join in. The rhythm is so slow that it is not possible for one to dance to it except to sway the body steadily. This usually happens during the first few days of intonjane. The sombre nature of the song may be interpreted as a form of 'prayer' to the ancestors and an expression of the uncertainty of the results of the ritual. However, when intonjane initiate comes out, the songs become more hilarious and the dance more vigorous as in "Nongabe" song.

Nongabe - ehe - he
 Yaphum' intonjane ...
 Ihi-hi-za mntanam
 I-hi-hiza mntanam .

(Nongabe ...
 There appears the intonjane
 Come my child
 Come my child).

The war song and dance always starts at a climactic point because the warriors have to attack and it is only strong rhythm that is capable of inciting them. The war song and dance put the warriors in a particular frame of mind. Their animal spirit has to be aroused forcefully. The women also help to build up the necessary atmosphere for aggression by their spine-chilling yells and war cries. As the warriors sing

Leader: Somagwaza, Magwaza
 Awu - ye - he
 Chorus: Awu - ye ..

The women ululate and shout

Wayekela
 Magwalandini
 Kufayayo!

(And you do not reinforce
 You cowards
 There is no other way of survival).

This contemptuous suggestion by the women is meant to disturb those who are not brave enough so that they may join the warriors with more determination.

Both the men and the female performers in the ritual song and dance experience some emotional orgasm. They do not sing and dance because

they are happy. They sing and dance because they experience the emotions of fear and pity. They all fear for their safety but at the same time relish in the thought of anticipated victory. They cannot contain these emotions until they burst into song and dance as well as yells and shrills.

The social song and dance have a particular arrangement. The song starts slowly so that the dancers go through their steps slowly. The first part of the song may inform the participants about something as in the following song

	Nqo - nqo
	Watsh' useven
	Ndifikelwe yincwadi ngezolo
(elila)	I thi uNonceba uses 'bedlele
	Uyakhal' uNonceba
	Ngowam
(ephika)	UNothalila ma
	UNongqovu
	(Nqo - nqo
	Seven strikes
(crying)	I received a letter yesterday
	Saying Nonceba is in hospital
	Are you crying
	Nonceba is mine
(denying)	Nothalila mother
	That old one).

When singers say "seven strikes" a dancer is challenged to the ring. Then when they start opposing each other, the dance becomes more vigorous and each dancer advances as though she is going to fight while the hands are used to suggest insults to the opposing dancer. All social songs start with a slow rhythm but as they warm up they become faster and the clapping becomes more vigorous. The song is usually pitched very high with yells and shrills. It is at this

point that the cheering crowd also joins the dancers. The umtshotsho songs follow this pattern and some intlolombe songs.

3.8.1 Izidlalo zabafazi

The woman who composes a song and dance about her marriage situation is not doing that as an expression of appreciation for the reward she gets in marriage. On the contrary, she is externalising what has been worrying her all the time but could not vocalise it because of the traditional restrictions of marriage.

Traditionally a married woman is not expected to complain about anything. Whatever dissatisfaction she has, she is not expected to divulge it unless permission has been granted by her in-laws. The short songs and sayings are an indication that something unsatisfactory has been going on. By externalising it she is getting rid of the tense feeling. It is always a healthy practice to bring one's pains and problems to the open and the stage is an excellent medium for this. By saying or singing about her hardships, she relieves herself of the tension. At the same time she gets satisfaction in sharing her burdens with other fellow sufferers. They form a coherent group with common problems so that they are able to advise one another from common experience.

The saying or song is expressive of a situation which can no longer be contained. It is expressive of the highest emotional intensity. This is a climactic point. When a daughter-in-law has been so ill-treated by her in-laws that they expect her to desert them she may decide to resist every effort to send her away and vow to stay. This is meant to discourage any further ill-treatment since the sufferer has taken a firm decision. The song does not explain what has been going on because the context of these izidlalo is known. The woman then says,

Leader: Ndakufel' ekwendeni
 Chorus: Hawu .. jija - wo ..

(Leader: I shall die at the place of marriage

Chorus: And endure it).

They may consist of a sentence that is uttered by the leader and the chorus may only join in enhancing the dance rhythm and enlisting their support as in the above example. Some sentences may be as short as one word. The following sentence which consists of an ideophone and verb illustrates this.

Leader: Thsa, zimdle!

Chorus: Zimdle, zimdle, zimdle !

(Leader: Let the dogs eat her

Chorus: And let them eat her!)

This is expressive of the height of conflict when a daughter-in-law cannot be tolerated by her in-laws. When dogs are set after a person it is the worst symbol of human rejection. The woman is so evil that she can only be eaten by dogs when she dies.

In some cases the isidlalo may consist of a complex sentence that gives a well developed idea. A woman who is talked ill about may challenge her conspirators to come to the fore.

Phuman' elalini

Kuba sendikho!

(Come out of the village

Because I am already here

(I challenge you)).

These songs and sayings are short dramatic sketches that are drawn from the experience of women. In other izidlalo the performer appeals for advice on what has been going on and even informs the other participants of what she has done as part of her obligation.

Leader: Ndiba ngaxhela le nkuku
 Le ndod' iyahamba
 Chorus: O-ho - mama
 Uyavuy' umnt' endimthandayo".

(Leader: Even though I always slaughter a chicken
 For this husband he still philanders
 Chorus: Oho - mama
 The one I love is glad).

The response of the chorus seems to suggest that there is no possible remedy as long as the husband's love is reciprocated by the one he loves.

Every woman performer has her own isidlalo which depicts her own marriage situation. This does not stop other members from using the composition and applying it to their own circumstances.

3.9 Plot Structure in Izibongo

In traditional izibongo the imbongi deals with word content unlike the other forms of traditional dramas where much depends on actions more than words.

The izibongo are hero centred. They declaim the head of the group to whom all owe allegiance. Although the composition is always spontaneous the imbongi works his presentation in a particular sequence. The imbongi is aware of the fact that he has to captivate the attention of his listeners and sustain it. He does not only rely on his verbal resources and action but also on the arrangement of the subject matter. He takes into consideration his role in society as a person who builds up the reputation of the king. He creates confidence in him so that his subjects may subdue themselves to his authority. He is aware of his position of trust as somebody who stands for the interests of the group and, therefore, has a right to pin-point areas of conflict where they occur.

3.9.1 Exposition

In hero-centred izibongo the imbongi usually introduces his object of praise at the beginning of the composition. The hero is saluted by a praise-name which is suggestive of his character and physical appearance.

Payi, a praise-singer for the late Paramount Chief Mxolisi Sandile, salutes him as follows:

A! Bazindlovu

(Hail! Bazindlovu)

(A greeting which refers to the chief's physical and political power).

Mabunu in eulogising Paramount Chief Matanzima hails him as

A! Daliwonga

Ufafafa olumadolo lukaMhlobo .

(**A!** Daliwonga

The tall and broad-kneed son of Mhlobo).

It may also be part of his exposition to trace the genealogical tree of the chief so that people should accept him as a rightful leader.

Payi traces Mxolisi's tree of descent as follows:-

NguBazindlovu umzukulwana kaMalangana

NguBazindlovu umzukulwana kaNkosi yamntu

NguBazindlovu umzukulwana kaPhalo

NguBazindlovu umzukulwana kaGonya

NguBazindlovu umzukulwana kaFaku. ✓

(This is Bazindlovu the descendant of Malangana

This is Bazindlovu the descendant of Nkosiyamntu

This is Bazindlovu the descendant of Phalo

This is Bazindlovu the descendant of Gonya

This is Bazindlovu the descendant of Faku).

There are various ways of introducing the hero. The imbongi may not confine himself to the genealogical tree as in the above example. He may associate the hero with some honourable deeds. Burns-Ncamashe does this when he eulogises Paramount Chief Velile of the amaRarabe. He says,

Mphatso

Imbishimbishi embombosholo yakuloMbombo nakuloMbede
 Ungcith' emdaka yingonyama, sona silo sikumkanayo
 ... untong' isemaXhoseni nasemaMfengwini kwelakwaRarabe
 Uthumbu lingwanzilili
 Uthumbu linamagumbi okungen' izizwe nezizwana
 EzasemaXhoseni nezasemaMfengwini! (Burns-Ncamashe 1961, p. 90).

(The fat and firm one of Mbombo and of Mbede
 The one whose mane is dark is a lion which is a reigning
 beast
 One who reigns over amaXhosa and amaMfengu
 The one with tough stomach (intestines)
 A stomach with chambers to accommodate tribes
 Of the amaXhosa and amaMfengu).

Although imbongi is identifying the hero with regard to appearance he uses the body thickness as an image of responsibility. In introducing him he gives him his place as a ruler over amaXhosa and amaMfengu.

3.9.2 Complication and Climax

Izibongo are characterised by repetition. This is a technique that is used to draw the people's attention to an important fact which must not be missed. While it helps to emphasise a particular fact, repetition also improves the rhythm of izibongo. The repetition may either be of the same words or an idea restated in different words. The sentence structure may also be the same.

Mqhayi (1957, p. 70) makes use of this type of repetition when he develops the idea which he introduces in the beginning when he identifies the Prince of Wales by fire images. He develops this idea by repetitive

words that have the same meaning but have a wider emotive range.

Le nt' umzimb' uyaqhuma ngathi liziko;
 Le nt' umzimb' uyavutha ngathi lidangatye
 Le nt' iqhuqhumb' iintlantsi ngathi nguSindiyandiya
 Le nt' itshawuz' imibane ngathi sisibhakabhaka .

(This thing whose body smokes like a hearth
 This thing whose body burns like a flame
 This thing which radiates sparks like gun powder
 This thing which flashes lightning like the sky).

Kunene (1971, p. 88) expresses the idea that repetition is employed for emphasis and that such a repetition builds up to a climactic point. In the above example the imbongi gives the powerful image of fire and lightning to depict the mightiness of the Prince of Wales. The imbongi refers to his ruthlessness, intolerance and fearfulness by using the similes of a gunpowder, flames and lightning. The image starts from a small area, the hearth as a smoke, and then becomes a flame and the flame develops into several deadly sparks that kill many more people than a flame. Finally he uses the image of lightning which is not only fast but cannot be controlled by man. The sky is not only beyond the reach of man but covers a wider area than the hearth and the gunpowder. It is the universe. Kunene shows that the climax is always the more important idea or ideas which are loftier than others. The writer would like to add that it is not only a lofty idea but also a wider range of meaning as in the above example.

The imbongi always presents his ideas in a kind of hierarchy in importance and he works this to a climactic point. This happens in the same rendering as he develops his idea on a particular aspect. For instance when Mqhayi warns about the hard times ahead he first alludes to the world situation as a whole and uses the image of birth. He starts by generalising and ends up by specific results, from the sign or indication of trouble to the outcome of the trouble. This is the part that he is leading to and is his climax.

Kunamhlanje ilizwe liyazuza
 Kunamhlanje lo mhlab' uyalunywa
 Int' esesiwini maze niyindwebele
 Namhla ngathi kuza kuzalw' uGilikankqo
 Ngathi kuza kuzalw' isilo esingaziwa mnquma .

(Being today the world is restless
 Being today this earth is feeling birth pains
 The thing in the stomach you must watch it
 That thing in the womb you must beware of
 Today is as if a Gilikankqo is to be born
 As if a monster of unknown burrow is to be born).

In some instances the presentation starts from the important idea after the exposition. Then after this idea imbongi dwells on this main idea by relating it to the object of praise. After Zanzolo has passed the verdict in Ityala Lamawele the people still remain puzzled. It is then that imbongi says, (Mhayi, op. cit. p. 30)

Godukani zizwe liphelil' ityala
 Godukani bantu, iphelil' int' ebithethwa
 Utsho ke yena uZanzolo

(Go home countrymen the case has ended
 Go home people what has been discussed is finished
 So says Zanzolo).

From this point the imbongi only eulogises the person who has passed the verdict.

3.9.3 Dencouement and Conclusion

From the climax the imbongi may try to elucidate on what he brought out at the climax. This may be the unravelling of what has been declared at the climax. Ncamashe in the eulogue of Velile declares that Velile, as his name signifies, has appeared to fetch the medals of the amaXhosa from the British. He goes to explain how the latter stripped the

amaXhos a of their kingdom. In the denouement he explains how the other Xhosa chiefs failed to retrieve their lost kingdom. He says,

Yemk' intshinga yasemaXhoseni yawel' ulwandle
 Wanqatyelw' uRili kukuyiphuthuma
 Kukud' eBritani asikokweenyawo!
 Wanqatyelw' uGwebinkumbi kukuyiphuthuma
 Amathol' amaNglesi ampunyumpunu!
 Kungoku nje kungangembishimbishi
 Yon' ifunde yafunda yada yayityekeza. (Burns-Ncamashe op. cit. p. 91)

(So went the medal (crown) of Xhosaland and crossed the sea
 And Rili could not fetch it
 Britain is too far to be reached on foot
 Gwebinkumbi could not fetch it
 The English are slippery (cunning)
 And now the task is equal to the huge one
 Because he is highly educated).

From this point the imbongi withdraws from the performance. Each imbongi has his own style in each performance. Burns-Ncamashe in this performance uses ideophonic words that suggest a pause. He says,

"Ndee nqo, ndee ngqu, ndee nqumama".

(I move straight, I knock against (something), I pause).

The denouement and conclusion are also marked by the modulation of the voice to a lower pitch than the main presentation which leads to a climactic point. It is at this stage that imbongi summarises the gist of his izibongo and underlines his message. In hero-centred praises he may end up by reiterating what he said about the hero so that the people should be aware of his role as the mouthpiece of the chief. Mqhayi (1915, p. 31) approaches the conclusion by eulogising Zanzolo.

Luthethil' uhlwath' olumadolo lukaKhala
 Uthethil' ujongwa-ntshiyini, bath' uqumbile
 Inkunz' abayikhuz' ukuhlab' ingahlabanga
 ... Godukani ude waphendul' uSoraroba
 Godukani ide yakhal' inkunz' enkulu!
 Ncincilili !!

(So the sweet broad-kneed one of Khala has spoken
 He has spoken the one who is presumed angry from
 his eye-brows
 A bull which is said to gore even before it does
 Go home, Soraroba has answered at last
 Go home, the big bull has bellowed at last
 And that is the end.)

3.10 Plot Structure in Intsomi

3.10.1 Exposition

The exposition is presented in a narrative which gives the setting of the story together with the normal family or community relationship. This is an improvisation that makes for the lack of visual representation of a special setting that would be well represented in a modern stage.

The exposition gives a harmonious pattern of relationship until there is something that upsets the balance of things. Folklorists like Scheub point out that until a lack occurs everything is normal. The relationship between characters is good. The lack is the beginning of the conflict. There is something which the character lacks so that it becomes difficult for him to harmonise with his fellowmen. This happens to be the motivation for action by the main character who sets out to get what is lacking. In the Intsomi Yomfazi Nentak' enkulu the scarcity of firewood is the lack which sets the woman in action. It is at this stage that the relationship is normal and the procedure for what is to be done is given. This is what tests the loyalty of the character to the values of the group.

3.10.2 Complication

In the complication the hero sets out to realise his goal. It is at this stage that the character is put to a test against the demands of his society. In a subtle kind of way the virtues that enable the individual to harmonise with the group are suggested. It is the departure from such virtues that the conflict becomes evident and the plot develops with the acceleration of this conflict. In the trickster stories the contract between the characters is violated. In the intsomi of Makhulu no Dyakalashe Dyakalashe does not honour the contract and cooks Makhulu for his own consumption in order to satisfy his hunger which is the motivation for the establishment of the false friendship.

It is in the complication that suspense grows about the fate of the hero. The hero tries several leads which may seem unsuccessful at this stage. These are marked by several repetitions which help in the development of the plot. This often happens when a character is in pursuit of something which causes a fragmentation in his life like a lost child, personal article or relative. For instance, in the Intsomi Yemfene Nosana, the woman in search of her child moves from one group of people to another repeating the same song. At each point she changes the first line of the song to refer to that particular group. She says,

Bafaz' abahle
 Khange nimbon' uGquthe
 Empheth' umntwanam
 Emphethe ngesandla"

(Beautiful women
 Did you not see Gquthe
 Carrying my child
 Carrying him by hand).

She repeats the song to another group.

Scheub (1975, p. 147) also mentions the significance of repetition in the development of an intsomi plot. He says that each repetition of the

expansible image pushes the developing plot a step forward .

The repetition does not only develop the plot but creates suspense about the fate of the hero. At this stage nobody is certain about the fate of the hero.

Repetition may not only be action but also a song or cliche' which creates the emotional intensity that abounds any dramatic performance. In the Intsomi Yentombazana Nezim the song is repeated when our emotions of fear and sympathy are aroused because the izim seems to be about to get his victims. The ntengu bird perches on a branch and starts singing

Ntengu-ntengu Macetyana
 Kaz'ba abantwana benkosi aba
 Benze ntoni na
 Mthi gomololo!

(Ntengu-ntengu Macetyana
 What have these children of the chief done
 Tree, be as you were!)

After the repetition of the song the izim becomes more angry and it chops more vehemently and faster. The song helps to build up the necessary tension that gives life to the performance. From this stage the plot develops to climax.

3.10.3 Climax

The social function of an intsomi also modifies its structure. Scheub (op. cit. p. 173) alludes to the didactic nature of an intsomi although this is not done consciously. The virtues which are inculcated through the intsomi art are internalised until they are applied later in life as a basis of one's harmony with one's environment. Scheub says,

Proper social responses within Xhosa traditional communities are idealised and dramatised in production and the need for order is fulfilled by the structural patterns which define and support custom .

The crisis or climax should bring to the nonconformist the results of his actions so that he should be aware of how discord can disrupt harmony in life. The first type of conflict may result in a situation where the hero suffers as a result of his weakness. For instance, in the intsomi which shows disobedience and unreliability the character experiences difficulties. The girl who disregards her parent's instructions is robbed of her clothes by the imbulu. The greatest suffering and humiliation is where she is treated like a dog instead of a niece because her place has been taken by the imbulu under false pretences. This is to make her aware of the fact that if she had been honest to herself and parental authority she would not have suffered. Where the character has been operating under false pretences so that some other people suffer as a result of such trickery, the truth is revealed or the character is revealed. This is intended to reveal the moral of the story in a subtle way. For instance, in the intsomi yomfazi nentak' enkulu the woman is forced by her husband to confess her infidelity to him by disclosing that it is the Mighty Bird that collects good firewood for her. This happens at the peak of emotion of anger on the part of the husband and fear on the part of the woman. The jackal in the intsomi kaMakhulu noDyakalashe reveals to the children that they are eating their grandmother. From this point the performance takes another direction. The jackal is discovered and a new conflict rages between him and his pursuers. The izim who also captures a young girl who gets lost in a forest is also tricked by the people. He tries to deceive them by claiming his bag can sing and commands it to sing for various people. The girl is saved from the ogre. The humans use their intelligence which is much higher than that of izim to replace the girl with venomous insects. The plot still develops to a climactic point where the expectations of the izim grow

for the delicacy he is going to enjoy to the exclusion of his children. The irony of the situation is that the izim instructs his children to close every possible apperture in the room so that his victim should not escape. He is not aware that the bag is full of vermonous insects.

According to Scheub (op. cit. p. 146) the basic structure of the intsomi plot shapes from the conflict-resolution. There is an obstacle which lies between the main character and what he wants. The intsomi details the development of the obstacle. Sometimes it so happens that after the obstacle has been overcome a new direction develops with its own climax so that in one intsomi there could be more than one climax. Scheub ascribes this to the fact that a performer brings a

number of narrative plots together, diverse plots which could be externalised singly or in a variety of arrangements.

She binds these plots together and gives them a unity. (Ibid, p. 159)

The first climax involves the basic image or idea that is related to the hero. This is what Scheub calls a semi-climax because from this point another development ensues and it also leads to another climax that relates to that particular idea. In the Intsomi kaSihamba-ngenya the first climax is the birth of Thangalimlibo. The conflict is caused by jealousy of cowives and barrenness between husband and wife. The development of the plot details how this conflict is resolved by the birth of Thangalimlibo. From this point a new development takes place and it involves Sihamba-ngenya (Thangalimlibo). The climax occurs after Sihamba-ngenya's in-laws have contravened a taboo that controls her activities. A new conflict ensues where her in-laws are pitted against nature. By forcibly capturing Sihamba-ngenya from the river they invite the wrath of nature. The climaxes are thus linked up with basic themes that are woven in one performance. Although intsomi may have several climaxes, they all form part of the whole.

3.10.4 Dénouement and conclusion

After the climax the balance of things which have been upset is gradually regained. The character who finds himself in difficulties due to his own weakness is assisted in surmounting them. He is given a chance to

re-examine himself and thus realise that non-conformity to moral law leads to difficulties. For instance, the girl who is lazy and disobedient to her parents leaves her chastity apron (inkciyo) in the forest. This is a symbol of moral weakness and as a result she is associated with a hound. She is humiliated in that she is degraded to the level of animals like dogs. The hound makes demands of a husband to her. She is fortunate to escape in that she leaves a singing hair in her place while she runs home to safety.

In some iintsomi there is a menacer who disturbs the social harmony. People are sometimes pursued by these menacers who are either amazim (ogres) or amagongqonggo (monsters). These are enemies of man for they always seek to destroy him. In the denouement the menacer is caught and usually punished by death. Izim is always ravaged by dogs which happen to be going with hunters as in the Intsomi Yentombazana Nezim. The izim is delayed by the ntengu bird which keeps on commanding the tree to come together until the band of hunters arrive with their dogs. The gongqonggo is always caught and its stomach ripped open. Many things come out of the stomach like live cattle, people and water that is enough to fill rivers. The monster cannot molest humans perpetually. The victims have been swallowed because they failed to honour their contracts as in the boy who promised the igongqonggo his sister if it could give him water.

It is possible for an intsomi performer to have several images in one performance. This means that each image will be developed in the performance to its conclusion. It is thus possible to have a new development from the same performance. This is the case with Sihambangenyanga. The first image of jealousy and barrenness has its climax in childbirth and the denouement comes with the restoration of normal family relationship. Sihambangenyanga is given away as a bride under certain conditions. This leads to its own climax and the denouement is also worked out in trying to restore harmony between man and his supernatural world. A sacrifice is offered on the advice of the doves after which harmony is restored. Sihambangenyanga whose beauty symbolises nature is reunited with her child and family.

3.11 Plot Structure in Written Plays

Although written Xhosa plays follow the conventional plot structure that characterises this type of art, it is to be expected that, as an art that serves a definite purpose it has to be designed according to its needs. The Xhosa dramatist has exercised the freedom of adapting both the western style and the traditional style in order to produce a unique kind of art.

3.11.1 Exposition

The exposition introduces one to the created and imaginary world of the dramatist. The cause of the conflict is identified against the background of a normal social structure. The main characters are introduced and identified according to their roles and relationship. It is in the exposition that the type of atmosphere which is conducive to the whole play is established. In Umkhonto kaTshiwō the mysterious circumstances that surround the sudden illness of the chief's daughter, Nonkosi, cause anxiety to her father and councillors. The matter seems to be beyond the powers of an ordinary man. A comic atmosphere may also be suggested in the exposition. In Uncumisa noNqabayakhe this is effected by the satiric presentation of the main characters who are obsessed with education and material wealth.

3.11.2 Complication

It is in the complication that the characters intensify their actions which are calculated to thwart one another's efforts.

In most Xhosa plays the complication sees the progression of the actions of the protagonist which are not equally matched by those of the antagonist in intensity. This is due to the fact that the conflict in traditional Xhosa drama is situational. It is the situation that creates a conflict and the characters find themselves in opposition. The social structure is such that parties belonging to different social levels cannot face each other directly. This is the influence

of ritual where man must always harmonise, through a series of symbolic actions, with the ancestors. In the case of a situational conflict the dramatist aims at pointing out the serious effects of certain beliefs on those who still cling to them. He aims at forcing them to change by making them suffer as a result of their own folly. The emphasis is, therefore, on the actions which lead to a realisation of the truth as intended by the dramatist. There is the main course of events to which the parties react either positively or negatively. Those who are negative form a kind of opposition which is restrained by the power vested in the protagonist. This is what happens in Ngani's play Umkhonto kaTshiwu where people are killed by the chief because he claims they are witches. The victims do not offer active resistance except by appealing to the emotions of their executors.

Mmango who also deals with a situational conflict where people suffer as a result of their deep seated beliefs in the supernatural, develops the actions of the protagonists. In his plays the opposition offers passive resistance to what is done so that it does not generate the necessary force which would develop the conflict on its side. In such plays, the motivated actions of the main characters develop in an ascending order until they reach the highest point. In his plays uDusha and Law' ilahle Mmango's characters build up their actions in ascending order in trying to effect their false prophesies. For instance, in Law' ilahle the ascending order of events which lead to the climax is as follows:

- (i) The false promise of the Abanyibilikisi
- (ii) The elimination of opponents by death
- (iii) The destruction of pigs

These lead up to the climax.

3.11.3 Climax

As the events develop in an ascending fashion the emotional intensity builds up to such an extent that something cracks. This is the crisis or turning point.

Lawson (1947, p. 540) regards a crisis as

a point at which the balance of forces is so strained that something cracks thus causing a realignment of forces, a new pattern of relationships .

In a written play events work towards a crisis and away from it. For this reason this is always in the middle of a play. In Xhosa drama the climax may come earlier than the middle or later than the middle, much depending on how the dramatist develops his plot. In MaMfene the climax occurs when Jezula is caught burning the mission house (Act 4, Scene 8). As Boulton (op. cit., p. 43) has indicated a play may have several crises which are a culmination of motivated actions and that they all work towards one climax. This view finds support in MaMfene. The following crises build up to a climax:

1st crisis An attempt to poison Kheswa and his wife by Jezula and Noqinile but the poison is taken by their own children (Indima 3, umboniso 7, p. 85).

2nd crisis: Locking of the mission house by Jezula, Gosa and Matilda (Indima 4, umboniso 5).

3rd crisis and climax: Burning of the mission house and apprehension of the culprits.

After the climax there is a new change - or realignment of forces. In Buzani KuBawo the crisis occurs when the groom refuses to sign the marriage register in church. This is the greatest confrontation between father and son and also between the traditionalist and the modernist. The same applies to UDike noCikizwa. Cikizwa also refuses to sign the marriage register in church. This is also the point where daughter and father have a direct confrontation. In some Xhosa plays the climax comes when the protagonist becomes aware of the consequences of his actions. In Umkhonto kaTshiwu the protagonist, Tshiwu, destroys all the people whom he claims are witches. Even though one of his right

hand men, Magwaza, commits suicide he is still undeterred in his actions. The only moment of truth comes when he is attacked by enemies and he is not able to raise an army. It is only at this stage that he realises the fault of his actions (Act 5, Scene 1, p. 83) when he says,

ukuzenza akufani nokwenziwa .

(I cannot blame anybody but myself).

3.11.4 Denuement and Conclusion

The overpowering force triumphs so that the course of events changes. The actions of characters change and the conflict approaches an end.

The dramatist must not leave his audience in doubt as to what his plot purports to show. The playwright often has a message to convey to his audience and this has to come out clearly in the denouement. He has a moral obligation to his audience. This is the case in all plays that deal with moral issues. Jezula in MaMfene has disgraced the church and the playwright must show that even though a man may be callous if he accepts the word of God, he belongs to him. Jezula is, therefore, tried again as a novice of the church and confesses his evil. He is accepted as a new minister after serving punishment. This indicates change. A public confession by the character may also indicate his penitence. The confession rids him of all evil. This is the case in Mmango's plays. In both UDusha and Law' ilahle his characters confess before they die. Siqungu in UDusha (Act V, Scene 1, p. 65) says,

Endaweni yokundinceda amaqhingga am andingenise emgibeni wokufa

E Amagqira aya kuhlala engathembekanga kuba ngoku kum liphelile ixesha lamaqhingga, kufuneka ndithethe inyaniso".

(Instead of helping me my lies have led me into a death trap

... Diviners will never be trusted because with me now

time for lies is over I must speak the truth).

Sidima in Law' ilahle also confesses before he dies (Act 9, Scene V, p. 100)

Ilahle ebendinixeleta ngalo ndisithi lisesibhakabhakeni
alizange libekho ibingumsebenzi wobutshijelo bam,
ndizama ukuphumelela ngokumikhohlisa .

(The ember which I have been telling you about saying
it is in the sky was never there, it was my lie I was
trying to succeed by cheating you).

In Buzani kuBawo Zwilakhe realizes his folly and when the judge sentences Gugulethu to six years imprisonment he wants to serve the sentence because he holds him responsible for the destruction of human souls.

The conclusion brings out the message of dramatists. A play is often judged tragic or comic or a combination of the two according to the manner in which the ending affects the hero. If there is a reconciliation of the contending parties the ending is regarded as comic as in UNCUMISA noNqabayakhe by D.T. Mtywaku, MaMfene by L.M. Mbulawa, Isighelo Siyayovisa Ingqondo by P.M. Ntloko. Where the end is catastrophic to the hero it is regarded as tragic, as in A.M. Mnango's plays UDusha, Law' ilahle, UDike noCikizwa and W. Tamsanqa's Buzani KuBawo and A. Mthingane Inene Nasi Isibhoho to mention only a few.

The use of tragedy here is not limited to the specifications of tragedy as propounded by Aristotle but on what is regarded as good and evil in the context of the Xhosa tradition. In terms of the Xhosa traditionalist philosophy tragedy results from man's eccentricity with regard to the social order as established by the ancestors. When he deviates from this established order he fails to harmonise with his environment. He commits such disastrous acts that even though he realizes this he cannot ratify them. Some plays are a combination of tragedy and comedy. There may be suffering and disaster in the play but the end may be a happy one for the hero. This is the case in A.M. Ngani's play, Umkhonto kaTshiwo. Such a play is as a trag-comedy.

CHAPTER 4

CHARACTER, ACTION AND DIALOGUE

4.1 Analysis

The dramatic elements of character, action and dialogue belong together. Action and dialogue are the main vehicles of characterisation. Characters in a play are known by what they say or what is said about them, i.e. dialogue and also by what they do, i.e. action. Thus action and dialogue form a speech-gesture imagery in the whole play. This imagery includes people who are the characters in the play.

4.1.1 Characterisation

Characterisation is a term that is used to describe the manner in which a dramatist has symbolised his ideas through people who imitate them. These people are known as characters. These characters are not real people who represent actualities but should be regarded as "symbols of a poetic vision" (Reiter, 1973, p. 186).

Scholes and Klaus (1971, p. 55) also express the opinion that a character in drama is not a real person but "portrays human potentialities". The character only shows what a human being is capable of doing. It does not present a human being as a model. They, however, warn us that we should not lose sight of the fact that the dramatist has the prerogative to mould his characters in such a way that they suit his desires. Characters are often drawn from human experience and thus depict something about man. They represent human nature. Although they are not real they are endowed with human capacities. They talk, act and interact with one another. They have feelings and act on them. In view of their human characteristics we find ourselves responding to their humanity. We are tempted to judge them as though they were real human beings. It is for this reason that they resemble as closely as possible the fictitious person. The resemblance to the fictitious person is enhanced by the appropriate speech accompanied by the appropriate action and gesture.

4.2 Characterisation in Traditional Xhosa Drama

Characterisation in traditional Xhosa drama is unique in that there is no re-enactment of a past experience where characters play roles that are not theirs as representative of an idea or some other person. In ritual drama there is no re-enactment of a recreated past experience. The participants enact what they desire through the medium of the ritual and are not representing any other people except themselves. They enact their own experience as they go through it, as in the initiation rituals. The participant enacts his experience in a manner that is determined by tradition. He cannot improvise his own style otherwise it loses its significance. Traditional drama, therefore, does not aim at portraying characters. It aims at reaffirming the value of the group through participation. The people who take part are participants or performers.

Traore (1972, p. 113) notes that actors in ritual drama become characters through disguise. They use masks and make-up which make them feel that they are other people. According to this view characters are the participants who enact a ritual drama. We may observe two types of participants. They are the main participants who play the major role and the subsidiary participants who are complementary to the main participants. This latter group would be regarded as an audience in a western drama. The spectators in ritual drama are also participants because they do not observe passively but also register their approval by emotional and physical involvement. They may be required to support the main performers by a particular response whether verbal or mimetic. The basic patterns in the performance of ritual drama are established over a long period so that they are well known to the group.

Another important feature in other types of traditional Xhosa drama is that characters involve both human and non-human. This is particularly the case in iintsomi. The non-human are given human attributes so that it becomes possible for a stone to think, talk, feel and behave

like a human being. The intsumi characters are represented by human characters in the performance. The fact that these non-human characters are made to talk, think, experience certain human sentiments of love, hate or sympathy puts them within human experience and are thus viewed with some measure of credibility and consistency in the context in which they are found.

4.2.1 Characterisation in Ritual Drama

The performance of a ritual involves the participation of the whole community because it is a group experience. There is no scope for a passive audience. Group identity comes to the surface while individualism is submerged. Although there is group participation, there are participants who become more prominent than others. The director of the proceedings who happens to be a medicine person and also the person on behalf of whom the rite is performed are such participants. Although these emerge as the most important characters in ritual the role of the complementary performers cannot be ignored. Their support in encouraging the main performers by prompting, song and dance or dialogue, creates the necessary atmosphere for the ritual. Moreover, they enhance group identity by associating themselves fully with what goes on as representative of one voice and one wish.

4.2.2 Symbolic rebirth of character in ritual

In all types of ritual drama the intention is to emerge with new vitality to face life more confidently. Whether it is a ritual for health, fertility or rite of passage the basic aim of the performance is that the individual, and, therefore, the group should come out with more determination for better living, restore life to what it should be. The idea of change from one form to the other is thus envisaged.

The change of character from one stage of development to the other may be compared with the beginning of life in plants. The seed dies a symbolic death when it is planted but it is reborn when it gives shoots to new plants. In the umhlwayelelo ritual where the health of an

individual is petitioned, the performer is isolated in a dark room which spells the symbolic death but is reborn after the performance of the ritual at the river. The same applies to initiation rites. The individual is also isolated and is out of normal social circulation until he is reunited with, and received by the community as a new person, ikrwala.

In all the ritual performances the individual enacts the experience. For the main performers in a fertility and health ritual the individual experiences what he goes through while the other members acknowledge the change. The change takes place in different stages which are publicly exhibited for that particular period in an organised manner. The initiation ritual sees a boy change from inzevu, umkhwetha, ikrwala and ultimately indoda when he becomes an ordinary man.

This type of rebirth which the individual performs removes him/her from the rank of common people and makes him different for the duration of the performance.

4.2.3 Costume as a mode of characterisation in ritual

Besides its aesthetic value, costume helps to identify characters as regards their type, status, age and period. In traditional Xhosa drama costume does not help in the imitation of anybody else but it helps to enhance the personality of the performer. It aids him to express himself better than otherwise.

Traore (op. cit., p. 56) expresses the importance of costume in traditional West African drama. He says,

The actor strives through his costume to bring to life
the mores and customs of the ancients .

The masks which are used by the actors are representative of certain gods in the context of West African tradition and they are thus

incarnated by them. In Xhosa traditional drama costume is also an extension of character in that it acts as a disguise because it helps to transform the individual psychologically to a different medium which facilitates the type of communication intended. In ritual drama the participants wear special costumes which help to create the awesome feeling that surrounds them. The emotional effect of costume on character is also mentioned by Peacock (1957, p. 176). He says that it adds to

expressive meaning whether in realistic setting or in association with symbolic decor

and that it contributes to the emotional mood of the play. The different costumes used by ritual performers do not only distinguish them as to rank but also create such sensitivity as make them a ready medium between the living and the ancestors. The different costumes used in the different rituals are examined in so far as they are an extension of the performer.

Diviner's costume

In umhlwayelolo ritual the diviner is the main performer and director. He is the go-between the living and the "people of the river".

White is the colour for diviners. Both men and women wear skirts made of white blanket sheeting (ibhayi). These are edged with white beads and white buttons. Men wear a baboon skin hat called isidlokolo. Women may wear bloated bladder sacks or bile sacks as part of their head gear. White, bushy leggings (amanqashela) made of a goat's skin may be worn by both male and female diviners. A pair of small bells is attached to the leggings so that they jingle as they dance. A white tail of an ox or gnu may be used to ward off evil. The diviner usually throws it in all directions while he dances.

The most important part of the diviner's costume is beads. All diviners wear white strands of beads around the head, all joints and limbs. A white make-up is also applied all over the body. This does not only act

as a mask to disguise the wearer but also to make him immune to any forces of evil.

It is only when the diviner is in this type of costume that he is able to perform his part. He is able to interpret what the ancestors reveal to him and what the community desires.

The initiate's costume

As a main performer the initiate wears a special costume which distinguishes him from the other complementary performers.

The inzevu costume symbolises the "dying" stage of the boy. The make-up consists of a black mask which disguises the wearer. In some areas they wear nothing except small calabashes which cover the private parts. These are decorated with fancy beads and chains which clutter on the calabash as they dance. They may wear crowns made of feathers.

Umkhwetha costume

The abakhwetha (initiates) wear a special costume for umtshilo dance. They wear a special skirt made from palm tree leaves. The skirt is known as umhlambi. It is so heavy that it needs the strength of two tough men to lift it. The purpose is to test the strength of the initiates in the artistic shaking of the skirt and the endurance of the weight while they dance. They wear a grass mask called ingcambane which covers the face. This is another way of disguise because they should not be identified before they are presented to the public as adults. It is also intended to ward off evil. The whole body is covered with white make-up (ifutha). Certain patterns may be designed on the whole body. These may resemble a fierce animal with which the particular group of initiates associates. For instance the body may be dotted with black and white spots that are arranged to resemble the shape of a leopard.

Ikrwala costume

This is the last stage before the initiate joins the adult world. The

costume consists of red blankets known as isabhalala. They wear a short striped skirt with a black background and use a black head scarf (iqhiya). They apply a red make-up (imbola) mixed with vaseline. This is a socially inactive stage when the initiate adapts himself to the full social circle.

Girls' initiation costume

The intonjane does not have a special costume which influences her personality in anyway. She only wears a finery of beads which she has been designing while undergoing initiation. It is only the spectacle of colourful costumes that contributes to the aesthetics of the ritual.

In all ritual drama costume is not representational. It is expressive because it helps the performer to express himself adequately through its medium.

4.3 Characterisation in song and dance

There are three types of performers in song and dance. They are:

- (i) The main performers who are always inside a circle
- (ii) The complementary performers who sing and clap for the main performers
- (iii) The second group of complementary performers who are elderly members of the community. It is the group that ensures that there is continuity of the life patterns of the group.

The nature of song and dance is not to depict any character but to inform the members of the community about certain evils that threaten the harmonious existence of the group. All that is cherished by the group is expressed in song and dance. Any implication of character is suggested in the body of the song. The following umtshotsho song alludes to the moral weakness of Nocawe who has eloped with another man and has deserted her own home-in-law.

Leader: We Nocawe
Chorus: Washiy' umzi wakho wodaka
Waya kwamany' amadoda
Leader: O, hay' okwakho".

(Leader: Nocawe
Chorus: You left your own mud kraal
And you went to other men
Leader: O, as for this practice of yours!"

The performers of song and dance are acting as moral watch-dogs on behalf of the group. They try to eliminate all the evil by renouncing it publicly. Each group of performers in song and dance has its own costume which distinguishes it from the others. The social song and dances are graded according to groups.

4.3.1 Costume in song and dance

Umtshotsho costume

The girls wear a short, beaded apron called inkciyo. It is suspended from the waist by a beaded belt with one strand of beads. The boys wear their golden arm bangles called imiliza and imitseke which cover the wrists and ankles. Colourful pom-poms of red, white, yellow and orange may be attached to the bangles. Different types of whistles (iimpempe) are used during the singing and dancing.

Intlambe costume

The women wear short skirts made of ibhayi. These are dyed ochre-red which is the traditional Xhosa colour. They also wear inkciyo with two strands under the skirt. The number of strands indicates the maturity of the woman. They adorn themselves with different types of beads, with white and blue as the dominant colours. The most popular necklaces for this group are idiliza, a flat square necklace with white and blue beads, iphalaza and umkhinkqo. An ithumbu, a tubular necklace

in several colours may be worn. In addition women wear a collection of bangles made of copper and bone.

The young men wear mid-calf length skirts which are also decorated with beads and buttons. The popular necklace for men is isidanga which consists of long strands of beads which sway from side to side as the performer dances. Mature young men wear ingcaca, made of sea-shells while the newly initiated wear black scarves around their heads.

4.4 Characterisation in izibongo

An imbongi is a composer and performer of his art. Characterisation in izibongo can be seen from two levels. The first level consists of the various roles which the imbongi plays and the second level that of the object of praise.

In his declamation of the hero the imbongi gives his complementary performers his ideas about a situation and also interprets what the other people think of the hero. In presenting the izibongo he takes cognisance of his many roles in society which are indirectly projected in the performance. He is a man who should exercise impartial judgement of a situation because it is through his role as an adviser that the strength of the nation can grow. As an adviser he has to point out both the strong as well as the weak points in the object of his praise. This task gives him the role of a critic.

Imbongi in Mqhayi (1915, p. 16) plays this role by openly critisizing the chief for undermining himself and seeking help from Majeke when the matter is very simple. As a critic he points out to the people how stupid the chief is and, at the same time, how he (chief) has caused people to lose confidence in him. He says,

Se zingaphi na ngok' iinkunzi zalo mzi kaPhalo?
 Fuda sisithi nguHintsa, akukho yimbi
 Fuda sisithi sisirorho Sonobutho sodw' inkunzi
 Ndidane ndayinko ndakuv' ukuba izithenile
 Yazinikela eNqabara kwabakaMajeke .

(And now how many bulls of this place of Phalo?
We have been saying it is Hintsa and no other
We have been saying it is the great one of Sonobutho
he is the only bull
I was as disappointed as a loose opening
When I heard he had castrated himself
And surrendered himself to Nqabara of the people of Majeke.)

As a critic he evaluates a situation and rectifies any mis judgement of a situation. When the chief passes verdict in Ityala Lamawele the people become so restless that they do not hide their dissatisfaction while others accuse the chief of cruelty. The imbongi emerges with a balanced interpretation of the situation and defends Hintsa as a just man. Mqhayi (op. cit. p. 30) says,

Itsho inkunzi abayikhuz' ukuhlaba ingekahlabi
Kazi boze bathini na mini igwebayo
Kuba yoz' igwebe ngelomkhambe ndakukhangela .

(So says the bull which they think it gores even before it does
I wonder what they will say the day it gores
Because it will gore with that of a rhinoceros as far as I see).

It can be deduced from the above that the image of aggression and severity is conveyed by the words inkunzi (bull) and ukuhlaba (to gore). The imbongi gives a true exposition of the character of the chief as a just man of discipline who is only severe in deserving cases and not as cruel as he is presumed to be.

As an educator the imbongi fulfils this function by informing the nation about various things pertaining to their nation. He helps to perpetuate the values of the group. This gives him the role of a narrator or chronicler. Imbongi (Ibid, p. 30) says,

Yivani, zizwe, sininik' indyebo yentliziyo
Yivani zizwe sinibalisele
Ngemihla yakudala mini kwavel' iintaba

Kwabekw' umntu wamnye, wokuphath' abanye
 Kwathiwa ke loo mntu ngumntu wegazi
 Kwathiwa loo mntu yinkonyana yohlanga".

(Listen, countrymen, let us tell you pleasant tidings
 Listen, countrymen, let us tell you stories of the
 olden days, the days when the mountains appeared
 One person was created for ruling others
 It was said that that person is a person of (blue) blood
 It was said that that person is the calf of the nation
 It was said that that person must be obeyed by everybody
 And that he in turn should obey Qamata).

This is not a simple narration but it is intended to reinforce the hierarchy of power which should be honoured by every member of the group in order to ensure peaceful existence.

In his declamation of the hero he may identify him by drawing his character sketch through a series of metaphors. Imbongi in the praises of Ngangelizwe Mtirara, in Rubusana (1906, p. 292) says of him,

Sisigcaw' esinoboya sakwaNgubengcuka
 Ngukhalakhulu liluml' abantwana!

(He is the hairy spider of Ngubengcuka
 He is the bitter aloe that weans children).

The above two lines do not only give the appearance of the eulogised chief but also give a reflection on his character as a ferocious leader whose subjects keep away from him. This is suggested by the metaphor of the bitter aloe and the image of weaning.

4.4.1 Costume in Izibongo

The costume used by imbongi enhances his personality. Unlike that of the diviner it does not help him in communication with the spirits but it identifies him as regards to his role.

Imbongi has a special costume which he wears for the performance. He wears a skin blanket called umnweba over a short skirt. The present-day imbongi wears a short pair of khakhi trousers. They wear a hat made from a baboon's skin known as isidlokolo. He carries a short spear and a knobkerrie in one hand and a small shield in the other. As he performs he may wield his kerrie in the air or the spear and shield if he has to emulate the prowess of heroes of the nation. He also wears a necklace for men called isidanga. This is a long necklace that hangs as far as the knees and it also swings as the imbongi leaps and dances.

4.5 Characterisation in Iintsomi

Iintsomi is the only type of traditional drama that consists of a long, coherent but oral text. It is created and performed by an intsomi performer. To some extent the intsomi performer, like the imbongi, depends on the complementary performers who support her by their exclamations of joy, disgust, contempt and sympathy. These are the emotions aroused by the performer through her art and are expressed overtly.

4.5.1 Imitation as a mode of characterisation

The intsomi performer relies on the resources of her voice and the flexibility of her body in depicting intsomi characters. The performer imitates each character by voice and gesture. The modulation of the voice suggests the type of character thus depicted. It is common practice to depict weak characters in an intsomi by a frail, high pitched voice. A deep and confident voice depicts a strong and powerful character. In the Iintsomi Yomfazi Nentak' enkulu the bird, although naturally smaller than the woman in real life, is depicted as a strong and fierce character. Whenever it meets the woman it enquires authoritatively and threateningly whether the woman has managed to keep the secret between them. The woman often replies in a shrieking voice which becomes weaker as the tension grows between her and the mighty bird.

4.5.2 Consistency in characterisation

Although the performance of intsomi is intended to reaffirm social and moral relationships it does not fulfil this function overtly. Intsomi does not state in definite terms that a particular character, as depicted by the performer, symbolises a certain virtue or vice. This is implied in the idiom of the whole intsomi situation so that both the performer and his complementary performers are able to apply it to their way of life. The characters are, nonetheless, created and developed according to the theme of the intsomi. This, however, does not mean that they are flat characters. The performer gives them "form, flesh and credibility". (Scheub 1975, p. 54) Both human and non-human characters are put in familiar human environment in that they do what humans do. For instance, in the Intsomi yenja nentombazana the hound is depicted as an authoritative male who demands his rights as any head of a household does. On the contrary the girl despises the hound and feels that she cannot succumb to 'him'. When she is seriously threatened by the hound she realises that she is powerless and responds positively though she does so under duress.

Although some intsomi characters do fantastic things they are consistent with the nature of intsomi. For instance, a toad is capable of swallowing a big girl and deliver her to her people. The relationship between humans and reptiles is established through the helpfulness of the toad. It saves itself from destruction by declaring the purpose of the journey at the nick of time. The song makes it possible for the attackers to change their cruel intentions. As a reward for its kindness the toad is transformed into a handsome prince who marries the girl.

There are, however, type characters whose roles are predefined. These are the characters which are consistently regarded as embodiment of evil like izim, igongqonggo, (ogre and monster respectively). An izim is an outlaw who victimises humans. It is ever in pursuit of human lives but fortunately it never succeeds because it is often thwarted by the humans. Igongqonggo is such a monster that its gluttony is beyond human conception. It drinks rivers dry, swallows cattle alive, "nqwam-nqwam" skin, bones and all. Even in its case it is overcome by humans who rip its stomach and release all its captives. Small birds are usually human saviours

like the doves which supply fertility pellets and the bird which produces amasi (sour milk). Big birds are ferocious creatures which are capable of destroying humanity as the intak' enkulu which kills its victim.

4.6 Characterisation in written plays

4.6.1 Use of names in characterisation

Obiechina (1977, p. 82) attributes the influence of names in characterisation to a cultural philosophy in African literature. The tendency in a name is to identify it with the essence of its object. He says,

Man and his name are not divisible
The name is the man and the man is the name .

It is a common belief among the African people and amaXhosa too, that a child often behaves according to the meaning of his name. Wellek and Warren (1962, p. 219) also point out the significance of naming in characterisation as

"vivifying, animizing and individuating".

Tamsanqa in Buzani KuBawo shows the influence of tradition in the role of his main character, Zwilakhe (His-own-word). His bigotry leads to a tragic situation where many lives are lost because he cannot take anybody's advice. He only believes in his own word and he behaves according to his name. Zamuxolo in uDusha tries to be at peace with everybody in so much so that he cannot give direction to anybody as a head of state would normally do. This weakness of trying to please everybody plunges the whole nation to a serious calamity from which he escapes by committing suicide.

4.6.2 Symbolic characters

Characters are images of the dramatists' ideas. Even though they are not real people they are moulded against a definite cultural background

with which they have to be consistent.

The Xhosa dramatist seems very keen to bring about some moral and philosophical change in his audience. The characters appear as though they are representative of certain virtues and vices which he would like to emphasise. For this reason they become symbolic of good and bad. This symbolism is closely linked with the role of the character in real life. For instance, the traditional Xhosa social establishment puts the head of the nation and family in a position of power which is bestowed on him by ancestors. He, therefore, maintains this position of power under all costs and believes that he has an obligation to his people by perpetuating group values. He becomes an unwavering adherent to tradition and feels threatened by the imposition of other modern influences. This is illustrated by what Sango in uDike noCikizwa says when he is advised against a forced marriage for his daughter. He says,

Andenzanga nto inxaxhileyo emthethweni
Yimfanelo yomzali emntwaneni ukuba amkhulise, amenzele
onke amalungelo afanelekileyo umntwana wakhe. Ngaba
ndinkqangiswa ngantoni ngoku xa ndilungiselela umntwana
wam

Ndimakhela ikhaya. Andithi ikhaya lekamva lomntwana
oyintombazana lisekwendeni? Wena unga lo mntwana wam
angaphalala ndakufa.

(I have not done anything against the law
It is the obligation of every parent to bring up his
child and accord him all his rights. Is there any-
thing wrong in providing my child with a home? Is it
not true that the future of a girl lies in marriage?
Do you wish that my child became homeless when I die).

Sango is thus depicted as an authoritative and unsympathetic character who is determined to crush anything that hampers his obligations to his daughter. The same applies to Zwilakhe in Buzani Kubawo.

In trying to project the image of his characters as symbols of certain virtues and vices the Xhosa playwright uses exaggeration so that they appear worse than they are. This is an artistic device of emphasis. Mbulawa in MaMfene depicts Jezula, Matilda and Noqinile as intolerably callous people, extremely materialistic who are incompatible with their calling as spiritual leaders of the A.M.E. church. The other type of good characters which symbolise ideal leadership are represented by Kheswa, Sangweni, Nobantu and Mongameli so that, as a kind of contrast, the audience should also view the other side of the church.

The symbolic characters are by no means flat characters. They are symbolic in so far as they represent certain ideas and are well motivated. As soon as the character is made to realise his weaknesses he adopts a new direction which enables him to harmonise with his fellow men. Tshiwu in Umkhonto kaTshiwu destroys his strong warriors because he believes that they are wizards. He intends to build a wizard-free nation. When the people whom he meant to destroy show up as allies to defend him he confesses his guilt and says,

Lusapho lukaBawo, mzindini kaXhosa
 Nindibona nje andinazwi lamlomo
 Engekuba ndinalo liphelela engquleni
 Namhl' andithethi ndom' umlomo
 (Indima 5, Umboniso 2, p. 86)

(Children of father, you Xhosa nation
 As you see me I have no word of mouth
 The one I may have cannot pass my larynx
 Today I cannot speak I am tongue-tied).

4.6.3 Confession in characterisation

Mmango in his plays uDusha, Law' ilahle, and uDike noCikizwa has used confession as a way of making the character reveal himself to the audience. It is a public acknowledgement of guilt and by confessing it the character is relieved. Through confession the character's true colours are revealed by himself. This happens at the end of the book

as a kind of summary which indicates that good triumphs over evil. Sidima in Law' ilahle confesses before he dies and tells the audience directly what type of a person he has been. He says (Indima IX, Umponiso V, p. 100)

Ilahle ebendinixeleta ngalo ndisithi lisesibhakabhakeni alizange libekho, ibingumsebenzi wobutshijolo bam, ndizama ukuphumelela ngokunikhohlisa ... Ndakuba ndiyifumene imali ndibe nomona andafuna ukwahlulelana nabandinawa bam

(The ember which I have been telling you about, saying it is in the sky was never there, it was the work of my rascality, trying to live by cheating ... When I got the money I became jealous and refused to share it with my younger brothers).

Nonjoli in uDike noCikizwa also confesses her guilt before she dies. She says,

Bendizimisele ukuba ndicholwe sendingamathambo; kodwa uMcwangcisi wezinto ongavumeli nto ifihlakeleyo akavumanga ukuba ndife ndingenzanga ngxelo ngehambo yam emhlabeni. Ukuba beningazi yazini ke namhlanje ukuba uNonjoli ulelona tshijolokazi lakha lakho kulo mhlaba kaMhlontlo. Ebomini bam bendikuthanda ukuzanelisa ndizilolonga isiqu sam

(I had intended to be picked up as bones; but the Almighty from whom nothing is concealed has not permitted me to die before I have confessed about my journey on earth. If you did not know, you must know today that Nonjoli is the worst rascal who ever lived in this land of Mhlontlo.
In all my life I tried to please myself, I was selfish...).

This is the type of confession that marks the reform of the character from evil to good.

4.7 Action in ritual drama

The sequence of action takes the following pattern in all forms of ritual drama:-

- (1) Seclusion
- (2) Execution of the rite
- (3) Celebration by song and dance

4.7.1 Seclusion

The person or group which performs the ritual is kept in seclusion. The performers are made accessible to the ancestors who command nature and, therefore, responsible for the survival of man. In umhlwayelelo 'the person on behalf of whom health is petitioned is kept in a darkened room until the next day. The inqolohqo girls are also isolated and kept in a special hut until they go out to drive the locusts away. The initiates, both boys and girls, are secluded for a long period during initiation. The boys may take three to six months or even nine months while the girls take a month at the most.

The seclusion is symbolic of death. The ritual is intended to bring new life so that the initiate emerges as a new person, the inqolohqo girls bring new life for survival and umhlwayelelo new and good health. Isolation is not the only symbol of death. Darkness in which the performers are kept is a symbol of death in umhlwayelelo, inqolohqo and intonjane. The intonjane initiate even covers herself with a blanket should she be forced to answer the call of nature during the day. The boy initiates are not kept in darkness although their ibhuma is dimly lit by fire. The symbol of death is illustrated by the attempt to make them different by using a different language, by avoiding people and living away from normal social environment.

While the main participants are in seclusion the complementary performers also identify themselves with what the main performers do as they belong to one group. In umhlwayelelo the complementary performers are also secluded in their own room and there is no joviality.

People speak in low tones as if there is real death. In intonjane the Twenana game is enacted by the complementary performers while the intonjane initiate remains inactive. In boys' initiation, it is during the seclusion that they are taught their adult roles by "doing". The community only joins in the umtshilo wabakhwetha when the initiates come to display what they have learnt during the seclusion. Seclusion is the first phase of the action in the change of the individual.

4.7.2 Execution of the rite

In umhlwayelelo the diviner approaches the people of the river with herbs so that they should guide the diviner-to-be. The next day the diviner, together with selected members of the community, go to the river to petition the health of the person and also to offer propiation to the people of the river. When they go to the river they follow a particular order. The diviner leads the way while the person on whose behalf the rite is performed takes a second place and the others follow after her until they arrive at the river. They stand along the river in a straight line. The items offered are those in which fertility is requested. They are: Xhosa beer, tobacco, white beads, white thread and two seeds of each of maize, pumpkin, corn (amazimba). The desired action is concretised by this action. What is offered is expected to be returned in multiples so that there should be abundance and prosperity in everything. When they return home they reverse the order. The diviner keeps the vanguard.

In ingolqho the girls run to the field in a bee-line. They start singing their ritual song,

Sizinqoloqho
 Sizintombi zakwaNkama
 Sivela kwaMbombo etc.

(We are the inqolqho
 We are girls of Nkama
 We are from Mbombo etc.)

The locusts are believed to flee from the girls. As they sing they

pluck all the infested stalks from field to field. The diseased stalks are taken to the headman's kraal where the members of the group congregate. They are burnt while the girls sing and dance around the fire, singing the above songs. The locusts are symbolically driven away while the fertility of the crop is symbolically petitioned.

When the boy enters the initiation his change is enacted in various ways. When the surgical part is performed the boy has to announce by saying, "ndiyindoda", (I am a man). They are made different from the other people by observing certain taboos. They do not drink water for ten days and if they should be thirsty they drink water with mud. They use a different language that only lasts for this period. This is their stage of symbolic death which makes them feel different from the ordinary people. Their symbolic resurrection or rebirth starts on the day when they leave the seclusion lodge. They run to the river where they are received and washed by experienced men of the community. While they run to the river, their lodge is burnt down together with all that they have been using while they were abakhwetha (initiates). The other members of the group both men and women cheer the initiates while running to the river by ululating and yelling. It is important to know which boy reaches the river first as this is taken as a sign of strength and endurance as well as general alertness.

Then the next stage is the anointing of the initiates with butter-fat (amafutha ephehla) which symbolises prosperity. From this point they emerge as new people, amakrwala covered with new blankets and are surrounded by men who take them to inkundla for the next ceremony of admonishing and giving them presents, (ukuyala nokusoka).

The intonjane rite starts when the girl or woman is presented symbolically to the ancestors at the gate-post (exhantini). The girl kneels at the gate-post while her father commends her to the ancestors. A goat is slaughtered so that there should be 'spilling of blood' (ukuchithwa kwegazi) which is a means of petitioning blessings from the ancestors. The intonjane initiate tastes a piece of grilled meat

which is cut from the shoulder - intsonyama - before everybody else. On the day of the formal presentation of intonjane young men of good physique engage in competitive sport which is part of the intonjane celebration. A leg of beef (inxaxheba) is left at the gate post as a challenge to any man. It has to be taken by a fugitive who runs away with it while the other young men chase after him. When they apprehend him a mock battle starts and promising warriors display their prowess. The intonjane initiate goes to the kraal where the senior members are congregated, to display her good, healthy body. She is also anointed with butter-fat.

4.7.3 Celebration by song and dance in ritual

All rituals are accompanied by song and dance. Umhlwayelego is accompanied by a song and dance after the offering has been done at the riverside. The umhlwayelego song is related to the special songs of the diviners. For instance, the one interviewed by the writer used the following song:

Leader: Abuyil' amabandl' onke
 Chorus: Ezithabathaba

(Leader: The communities have all returned
 Chorus: With various gifts)

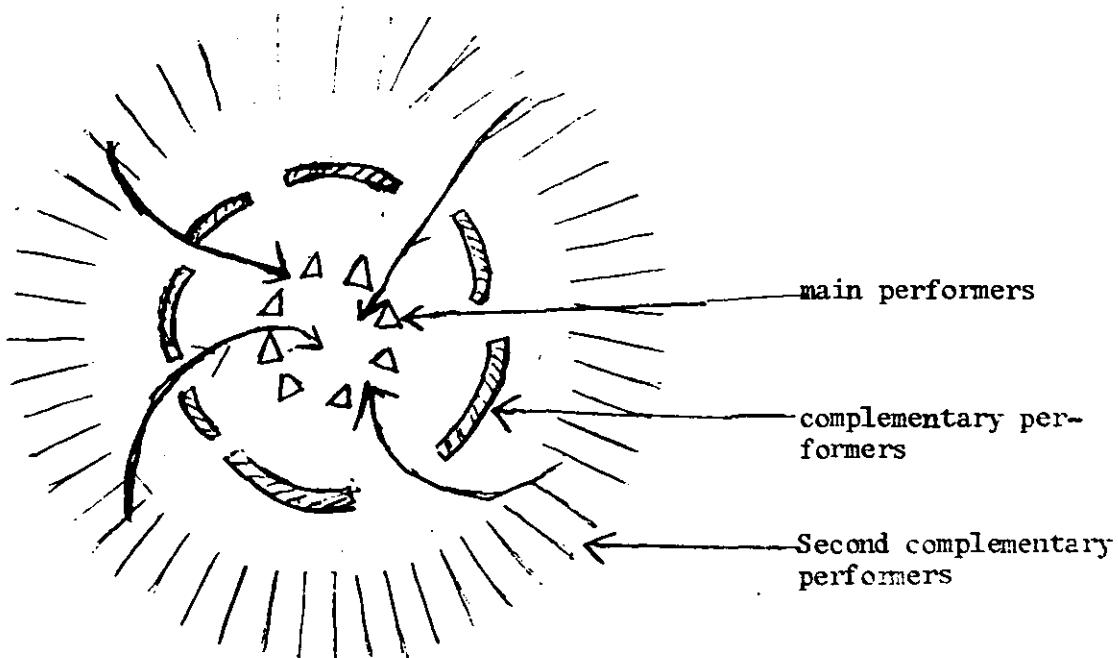
When the performers return home, they give a report of what happened at the river. The success of the ritual is celebrated by a diviner's song and dance, intlombe. Although this is not a divining session the diviners may be so excited that they may pounce upon anybody among their complementary performers and interpret what they get from the ancestors about that particular person. This is known as ukuthakelwa (to be taken by surprise).

Inqolohlo song and dance takes place during and after the symbolic driving away of the locusts.

The boys initiation song is Somagwaza and Simayintango. The men form a strong wall around the initiate who is placed in the middle. They beat their sticks against their shields. The women keep on ululating. The men dancers move in a semi-circle around the initiate and occasionally one may come forward to dance before the initiate. This is the umguyo dance. On the final day the umtshilo song and dance is performed by the initiates. The splendour lies in the artistic shaking of the heavy skirt in all directions. The initiates are sustained by the rhythm of ingqongqo and the women's cheering yells and cries. When the initiates are taken to the kraal for presentation and admonishing the ceremonial song and dance of Somagwaza is performed.

4.8 Action in song and dance

In this type of song and dance there is no psychological intent of transforming the participants from the ordinary level to a sacred one as it is in the ritual song and dance. The social song and dance are an intergroup communication that acts as a social control. The performance involves everybody whether it is umtshotsho or intlombe. The group involvement may be illustrated by the following diagram



The complementary performers sing and clap for the main performers. The second complementary performers register their approval of what is done by throwing presents into the ring while they dance next to the person they

cheer. They ululate and sing clan praises referring to the group in the same manner that they do during weddings (see Chapter 3). This is known as ukutshayelala (to encourage performers).

The action in umtshotsho song and dance consists of a foot and arm coordination movements. The dancers move in a circle. The boys are the main dancers. They move the toes forward and lift the heels while the arms and chest muscles shake rhythmically. They groan rhythmically by inhaling air deeply through which they vibrate the vocal words as in

"Oho - ho - ho
Oho - hoho - ho

The girls form the outer circle. They sing and clap for the dancers. The elderly members of the community join umtshotsho in the morning. Anybody who feels ihlambe (uvakalelo) empathy comes to the ring and dance.

The highlight of umtshotsho is the stick fight or mock battle in the morning. Boys from different areas participate. The girls, just like the women in a war situation, ululate and support the boys of their area. This is not just a plain sport but a means of training the boys for more responsible roles as defenders of their nation.

The intlambe dance consists of the shaking of the breast and arm muscles, (ukutyhuluba) while the foot moves backwards and forwards on the spot. The arms are shaped according to the horns of one's cattle. This is a polite way of announcing one's social status. The dance is accompanied by an aspirated prepalatal affricate type of noise as in

tshi - tshi (tʃhi tʃhi)

The men are also the main performers as in umtshotsho while the women are complementary performers. Other people may participate actively except boys and girls.

The dance is the action that accompanies the songs which are directed at the members of the group. The significance of the song and dance

drama lies in the meaning and intention of the songs as part of the social establishment. It is in Izidlalo zabafazi that the dance demonstrates the meaning of the song. When a main performer says,

Thsa, Thsa,

Thsa zimdle!

(of setting dogs after a person,
Let them eat her).

she demonstrates by her hands while the chorus claps. Another participant may dance and demonstrate how the person thus identified may try to avoid the dogs.

Action is largely determined by the nature of the song. In a song where a performer challenges her rivals she walks from one end to another challenging the other performers as if they are the real rivals as in

Phuman' elalini kuba sendikho
Ndikho bo, sendikho bo;

(Come out of the village because I am already here
I am present folks, I am already present folks).

4.9 Action in Izibongo

The action of an imbongi during a performance interprets what he says. He usually dances in a manner that captivates the attention of his listeners to what he says.

Cope (1968, p. 21) interprets the actions of an imbongi during a performance of ukuguya as exhibitionism or self-display. He says the imbongi rushes

hither and thither, stopping and starting, leaping and twisting, rattling spear against shield,

glaring with ferocious aspect towards an imaginary enemy, all at the accompaniment of one's praises shouted by one's fellows and by oneself .

What the imbongi dance illustrates here is the valour which every able-bodied man should display and in that way he attracts the attention of the complementary participants.

A typical Xhosa performing imbongi usually carries a shield with his left hand and an assegai and knobkerrie with his right hand. He usually gores with his head when he illustrates the power of the bull often interpreted as authority and his isidlokolo headgear also swings beautifully with the head. He swings his knobkerrie and spear as if to attack an imaginary enemy and sometimes hits them against the shield.

When Mqhayi sends away a team of young men to assist as dockworkers during the war he demonstrates how they should work as follows

Nakufik' ezibukweni
 Nenjenje nenjenje
 Nenjenje nenjenje
 Nenjenjeya - a - a - a

(Imibengo. 1940, p. 185).

(When you arrive at the harbour
 You should do like this, do like this
 And do like this, and do like this
 And do like that)

As he says nenjenje he demonstrates how they should lift heavy articles from the ships to the shore.

The movement of the imbongi is determined by the content of izibongo as well as the nature of the occasion. Although it is not common practice to have funeral dirges among the Xhosa people an imbongi may express condolence after the burial by performing. Although he

may wear his usual costume his movement may be restrained and also his voice. The tone becomes sombre as in Ukutshona kukaMendi where Mqhayi consoles the nation on its great loss after the Mendi disaster. The other complementary performers acknowledge what the imbongi says and register their approval by exclamations of surprise, joy as in Isandlwana (Mqhayi 1957, p. 78)

Awu, mhm - Ewe

(Alas, mhm - Yes)

and this acts as an assurance of their support. They prompt him when necessary. The women also praise him and ululate while he performs. The performance of izibongo is one of those special arts that have to be experienced and not described to be understood.

4.10 Action in Intsomi

Action in intsomi centres around movement. The movement is two dimensional. It is the escape-pursuer type of movement as in the Intsomi Yentombazana Nezim and Intsomi Yemfene Nosana. In each case the character tries to escape while the other follows in hot pursuit. The intsomi performer does not have the opportunity of demonstrating how the action takes place because the performance takes place while she relaxes on her mat and the complementary performers are also sitting down. The performer illustrates the appropriate action by gestures. The gestures are reinforced by the use of evocative language. Scheub (op. cit., p. 61) says that language does verbally what the body does physically. For instance an intsomi performer will use words that suggest that particular movement with the appropriate gesture. In the intsomi yamantombazana nezim she illustrates how the girls run up the tree

Amantombazana phince phince emthini

Lafik' izim nko, nko, nko umthi

Wathi xa usithi tle-tle-tle

(The girls climbed fast to the top of the tree
 And the ogre came (of chopping hard)
 and chopped furiously)

4.11 Action in written plays

Action in written plays forms a closely knit unit with dialogue. There may not be much physical movement in terms of walking but there is a lot of action that consists of gestures. It is also evident that action also includes motionlessness and speechlessness as these may have effect on the reaction of those concerned.

4.11.1 Action directed by playwright

The Xhosa playwright is also a director of his play in that he does not only indicate the coming in and going out of characters but also directs what the character should do. For instance, Tamsanqa indicates the action associated with words uttered by the character in Buzani Kubawo (*Indima 1, umboniso 2, p. 10*).

Yhu Thixo! Kwowu, andothuka
 (ebamba esifubeni)

(Touching her breast)

In more serious dialogue where councillors are engaged in serious matters it is not necessary to have physical movement. The emphasis is on what is said. In Umkhonto kaTshiwu the chief and his councillors sit in a semi-circle and it is only the twitching of his facial muscles that indicates his emotional disturbance by the mysterious disease which is threatening to kill his beloved daughter, Nonkosi. (*Indima 1, Umponiso 1, p. 2*).

The nature of the dialogue often dictates the action in the play. Mmango in Law' ilahle does not indicate how the character expresses his surprise and fear of the mysterious ember that is about to destroy the village. But the dialogue directs the character on what to do as

the following extract shows: (Indima III, Umboniso III, p. 30)

Sidima: Kukho ilahle elihamba esibhakabhakeni
 Silapha nje sihamba ngomkhondo walo.
 Ngoku lijinga phezu kwale lali.

Silinga: Ekuhabeni kwalo esibhakabhakeni linanto
 liyenzayo?

Sidima: Nkosi yam! - Liyabhubhisa!

Mdeni: Liyabhubhisa?

Sidima: Liyabhubhisa! ...

(Sidima: There is an ember that is wandering in the sky.
 We are here on its track. Now it is hanging
 above this village.

Silinga: In its wandering in the sky does it have any
 harm?

Sidima: My lord! - It annihilates!

Mdeni: Annihilates?

Sidima: Annihilates).

4.11.2 Recreation of a situation as part of action

It is one of the devices of a Xhosa dramatist to recreate a situation that would help to dramatise the situation more vividly. The actions of the contending parties work to a climax that is created on the stage. In all the plays where the children and parents clash on the idea of match-making a wedding situation is enacted as part of the action of the play. The confrontation between the parties reaches a turning point. This is the only effective way used by a playwright to draw the people's attention to a social evil. This is the case in Buzani Kubawo and uDike NoCikizwa. The wedding scene is recreated and enacted within the play.

The evil doers are always punished for their malpractices and the court of law is the body that metes out this punishment. It is common to find court cases enacted within the play so that the offender is tried publicly. This is the case with Jezula in MaMfene and Gugulethu in Buzani Kubawo.

The same applies to burials which are conducted on the stage as part of action as in uDusha (Act VI Scene IV, p. 89) and uDike noCikizwa (Act IV, Scene V, p. 38) where the dramatist tries to reach his audience by appealing to their emotions. This type of action also helps to develop the desired atmosphere. The dramatist is making an attempt at trying to influence his audience to judge the situation and partly projecting it in a manner that he would like his audience to accept.

4.11.3 Dramatic silence and motionlessness as part of action

The characters in a play engage in some form of interaction usually by dialogue. Silence and motionlessness are employed as devices which show resistance towards a certain ideology by a junior person. In Buzani Kubawo Gugulethu reaches his zenith in arguing against a forced marriage. When he is eventually asked to repeat the marriage vows by the officiating priest he keeps a dramatic silence (Act 4, Scene 1, p. 63). The effect of the silence is a state of anxiety on the part of his father who forces him to sign and eventually decides to sign on behalf of his son. Nomampondomise also keeps quiet when her father confronts her about rejecting Mcunukelwa (Act 3 Scene 6, p. 61) in Buzani Kubawo.

In MaMfene Nomhle refuses to move and talk when she brings food for the new minister and his wife (Act 4, Scene 2, p. 102).

4.11.4 Shifting action

The Xhosa dramatist has movement in his play which does not take cognisance of the physical limitation of the stage. Whereas in an intsomi performance the performer is able to link the movement of his

characters by a short narrative the dramatist does not have this advantage with stage drama. As a result the movement moves very fast from one environment to the other so that a change of scenes on the stage does not only become elaborate but also takes a long time and yet the action quickly passes on to another situation e.g. in Buzani Kubawo (Act 5, Scene 2) Nomampondomise disappears from home. Her parents search for her and report her to the Tsolo police. She is discovered at Umtata.

4.12 Dialogue

4.12.1 Dialogue in Ritual Drama

The relationship between the living and the dead is not as straightforward as is the case between individuals. The departed are so revered that they cannot be approached directly. Their places of habitat are always avoided by humans as pointed out in Chapter 2. The deep waters of rivers and inkundla (cattle kraal surroundings) are the places which are believed to be inhabited by them so that all performances connected with them start there. The communication that is directed at them by individuals is expressed symbolically as when they cross a river. Similarly, the ancestors do not communicate directly with their subjects. They show themselves through visitations by dreams. They may appear as domestic animals like dogs, cats and sometimes bees. Their appearance is a suggestion that something must be offered so as to maintain the link between themselves and their subjects. A ritual is observed and the purpose is also explained to the public. If the deceased head of the family appears with his back to the person in his dream this is interpreted as a bad omen and a goodwill sacrifice is observed. It follows from the above that dialogue may not be direct as though it were between people. In most rituals the action symbolises dialogue and most rituals have very little dialogue. Action gives meaning to the ritual together with song and dance.

Umhlwayelelo and Intonjane

The people who execute the ritual address the izinyanya (ancestors)

firstly at the river on the day before the observation of the ritual. The main performer who happens to be the diviner addresses the people of the river as though he were talking to them. He says,

Camagwini mzi wakwaMqoco kaJojo
 Size kucamagusha
 Sicela impilo kaNobani
 Siyangxengxeza sithi
 Makube chosi
 Kube hele

Chorus: Camagu

(Camagwini (of petitioning peace and protection)

People of Mqoco of Jojo
 We have come to petition
 We petition the health of Nobani
 We ask for pardon and say
 Let there be peace
 And happiness

Chorus: Camagu).

On the day of the ritual the same address is repeated. When the various propitiatory items are presented the word camagu echoes from the main performer and the other complementary performers. It is believed that the ancestors share what they are offered with their subjects because a portion of the tobacco is said to be returned and smoked there and then. The water is believed to ripple and send back waves after every offering and this is interpreted as a response from the people of the river that their requests have been accepted (icamagu livumile).

The same applies to intonjane. The girl is taken to the gate-post of the cattle-kraal (ixhanti lobuhlanti) where the ancestors are believed to live. The senior member of the group who happens to be the main performer addresses himself to the givers of health and fortune as

follows:-

Leader Camagwini Maqoco
 Chorus : Camagu!
 Leader: Size kucela impilo kaNozibani
 Ingaphinde ikhathaze. Siyamlungisa
 Simcamagushela kuni bakwaMqoco kaJojo
 KaButsolobentonga .

Chorus : Camagu!

(Leader: Let there be peace Maqoco
 Chorus: Let there be peace
 Leader: We have come to petition the health of Nozibani
 so that it should not worry her again. We are
 putting her right and commanding her to you of
 Mqoco, of Jojo, of Butsolobentonga).

Then the sacrifice that is offered is first tasted by the person who is being 'thonjiswaed' because the ancestors are supposed to restore her health through such a sacrifice. A special part of the meat is grilled and given to her (intsonyama).

Ingoloqho dialogue

Dialogue is also symbolic in ingoloqho. The community speaks through the ingoloqho maidens who form a singing chorus that introduces themselves, where they come from and what their purpose is. The following song illustrates the point,

Sizinqoloqho
 Sizintombi zakwaNkama
 Sivela kwaMbombo
 Sisebenzel' umbona

(We are the inqoloqho
 We are the girls of Nkama
 We come from the place of Mbombo
 We are working for mealies).

The response is always expected and acknowledged when the rain falls after the ritual and also after the locusts have been expelled.

Dialogue is discernible in these rituals because there is a kind of symbolic interaction between the performers of the ritual and the ancestors. The ancestors do not respond verbally but use supernatural symbols which are interpreted in a particular way.

The consultation of a diviner by people in the process of executing a ritual does provide some overt dialogue. This is usually between the diviner and the inquirers. The diviner becomes the initiator of the dialogue while the inquirers respond in a particular manner that is meant to encourage her to reach the climax. The dialogue is designed to investigate and identify the cause of the disturbance. The consultation is also part of the ritual and it has an established course of dialogue between the diviner and inquirer. This often takes the form of suggestions by the diviner to which the inquirers assent and have a particular phrase which illustrates the correct course of ukuvumisa (divining).

4.13 Dialogue in social songs and dance

There are two types of songs that are distinctive in Xhosa. One type relies on rhythm without any distinct words. This type is typical of the intlambe and ritual songs of umngqungqo type (dancing). They are usually hummed with open lips with notes ranging from very high descending to very low. The vigorous clapping of hands accompanies the song. The other type consists of songs that have definite words. The words communicate something.

Dialogue in song appears in the arrangement of the song. The song usually has a leader who introduces the song and initiates action. The leader is an acknowledged expert in the composition and arrangement

of the song and can put in as much information in the song as she wants. There is the chorus which reinforces what the leader says. Sometimes the chorus expresses an opinion in response to what the leader says.

The following song illustrates the type of dialogue arrangement that may be expressed in an intlambe of young men and women. The woman leader approaches a man for marriage in an oblique manner and the chorus expresses a surprise because a woman is not expected to take the initiative in such matters.

Leader: Ndicel' ukwendela kwezo lali mna

Chorus: Yhu, uyintombazana

Leader: Makhe siye kwezo lali mna

Chorus: Yhu, uyintombazana

(Leader: I request to be married to those villages

Chorus: O, no, you are a young girl

Leader: Let us go to those villages

Chorus: O, no, you are a young girl).

The following umtshotsho song also decries the habit of love making during the day. The leader blames Phalezweni but the chorus puts the blame on the leader for having permitted Phalezweni to do such a thing.

Leader: Uyinkunz' uPhalezweni

Chorus: Ubuvumela ntoni ukulal' emini
Ubuvumela ntoni we ntombazana?

Leader: Bath' inkunzi ngumlomo

Chorus: Ubuvumela ntoni .

Leader: Phalezweni is a bull

Chorus: Why did you consent to sleep during the day
Why did you consent young girl?

Leader: They say the bull is the mouth

Chorus: Why did you consent young girl?).

Some songs do not have a dialogue between the leader and chorus. The leader may express an idea in the song and the chorus always joins in a refrain. The following intlolombe song illustrates this point. The young men are advised to marry suitable girls.

Leader: Hee madoda
 Chorus: Zekani, Hee zekani
 Leader: Abafazi bokwenyani
 Chorus: Zekani, Hee zekani

(Leader: You fellows
 Chorus: Marry, O marry
 Leader: Suitable wives
 Chorus: Marry, O marry).

Izidlalo zabafazi

Izidlalo zabafazi, whether in song or short poetic saying, are arranged in a dialogue form. There is the leader who introduces her problem and the chorus responds by offering the necessary advice. If necessary, they support what the leader says. For instance, a woman who experiences a serious frustration with her marriage may appeal for an advice and the complementary performers respond e.g.,

Leader: Shu, shu
 Ndiyatsha libhongo lokwenda
 Chorus: Ndiyatsha
 Leader: Ndithini na
 Chorus: Nyamezela .

(Leader: Of burning pain
 The pride of marriage is frustrating me
 Chorus: I am burning
 Leader: What must I do
 Chorus: Endure it).

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In some instances the leader and chorus express ideas that are representative of the parties. The following song expresses the disappointment of a woman whose husband has deserted in spite of the good food she offers him. The chorus expresses the pleasure of the man in loving somebody else.

Leader: Ndiba ngakhela le nkuku le ndod' iyahamba

Chorus: O - yo - mama

Uyavuy' umntw' endimthandayo".

(Leader: Whenever I slaughter this chicken this man goes away

Chorus: O - yo - mama

She is glad the person I love).

When the women agree on a particular point they all reiterate what the leader says,

"Leader: Thsa zimdle!

Chorus: Zimdle!"

(Leader: Let them eat her

Chorus: And let them eat her)

The songs and dances are meant to inform and also correct a social wrong while they amuse the participants. The dialogue only expresses what is desired and that part may be repeated several times while performers are dancing. It does not have to be developed any further as long as it conveys the desired idea.

4.14 Dialogue in izibongo

Dhlomo (1939, p. 34) expresses the idea that imbongi always presented his izibongo dramatically although they were not arranged in dialogue form. They could, nonetheless, be restructured in dialogue to express the different ideas.

Dialogue is implicit in the izibongo where the imbongi presents two streams of thought in one performance. Although the imbongi does not state explicitly in some cases that he projects conflicting ideas it can be deduced from the presentation. Mabunu, Paramount Chief K.D. Matanzima's imbongi, uses this type of dialogue in expressing the conflict between two political parties,

- A. Singamashumi asixhenxe
Simel' izigidi ngezigidi
Vumani!
- B. Asivumi
- A. Anivumi ntoni na bafondini
- B. Sithi asivumi
Sibathathu qha
Simel' igcuntswana
Kodwa siyathetha .

- (A. We are seventy
We represent millions and millions
Agree!
- B. We do not agree
- A. Why do you not agree friends
- B. We say we do not agree
We are only three
We represent a minority
But we are speaking).

It can be observed that there are two sides A and B which are talking and in this way the imbongi points out the conflict. Typical dialogue is found in children's isihobe (dramatic verse) as the following shows,

- A. Nomathemba
Ubethwa ngubani?
- B. Yilaa ndoda
- A. Iphi ngoku?
- B. Nants' esapha
- A. Yibiz' izapha

- B. O, hayi ndiyanqena
 A. Khwel' ihashe
 B. O, hayi ndiyanqena
 As'ke ehl' amathambo ukubhek' ezantsi

- (A. Nomathemba
 Who hits you?
 B. It is that man
 A. Where is he now?
 B. He is nearby
 A. Call him to come here
 B. O, no, I am lazy
 A. Ride a horse
 B. O, no, I am lazy
 And there my bones become heavy and go down).

This short dialogue depicts the laziness of this child even when harm has been done to her.

4.15 Dialogue in iintsomi

There are two levels of dialogue in an intsomi performance. There is the interaction between the performer and her complementary performers. They respond to the performance by actively participating and responding by exclamations of pleasure, pain, sympathy and contempt. When the performance starts the audience responds by acknowledging it and encouraging the performer to go on.

Performer: Kwahlala kwahlala kwayintsomi

Comp. performer: Chosi chabalala!

(Performer: It was long ago, it was long ago, it became an intsomi

Comp. Performer: With pleasure, and develop further)

The complementary performer may engage in the dialogue when they are expected to play the role of the other characters in the intsomi.

For instance, in the intsomi of Umfazi nemfene when the woman enquires from the different characters in the intsomi the complementary performers may respond by taking the side of the other character, e.g.

Woman enquirer: Bafaz' abahle
 Bafaz' abahle
 Khange nimbon' uGquthe
 Empheth' umntanam
 Emphethe ngesandla .

Complementary performer:

Mfaz' omhle
 Khange simbon' uGquthe
 Empeth' umntanakho
 Emphethe ngesandla"

(Woman enquirer: Beautiful women
 Beautiful women
 Have you not seen Gquthe
 Carrying my child
 Carrying him by hand?

Complementary performer:

Beautiful woman
 We have not seen Gquthe
 Carrying your child
 Carrying him by hand).

The second level of dialogue is between the intsomi characters whose different roles are played by the performer. Dialogue between the intsomi characters who are depicted by the performer takes the following forms:-

4.15.1 Characteristic dialogue

As the intsomi makes use of human, animal and non-animate things the dialogue usually typifies the type of character. When a character is

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4.15.1 Characteristic dialogue

As the intsomi makes use of human, animal and non-animate things the dialogue usually typifies the type of character. When a character is

an animal the dialogue becomes characteristic of the animal in voice, tone and manner. In the intsomi yentombazana nenja the dogs ferocity is suggested in the dialogue as follows:-

Inja: Kowu, heke! Ntombazana khawundiphothulele kudala ndingixhwa ngengxangxa

(Inja: Alas, good luck! Girl, please grind cooked mealies I have long been forced to eat sour milk and cooked mealies).

"Intombazana: Yhu, undijonge wandijonga wacinga ukuba ndingowokuphothulela izinja? Zange ndiphothulele zinja mna nasekaya .

Yhu (of surprise and disgust) you look and look at me and think that I am for grinding mealies for dogs? I have never ground mealies for dogs even at home.

Inja: Hawu, hawu, hawu!
Ndakuqwenga-qwenga ngo -- ho - ku!

(Hawu, (of barking)
I shall tear you just now!)

(Intombazana: Yho-oo-o, mamo!
Uxolo, mhlekazi! (yatsho yaphothula)

(Yho-oo-o, mamo!
Sorry, sir! (and she begins to grind).

The dialogue clearly shows the relation between the characters. The hound makes a reasonable request but because the girl is proud and disobedient she answers contemptuously even though the dog has given her shelter. Then the dog is bound to display its viciousness

and threatens to tear the girl into pieces. When the girl is threatened she tries to make peace with the dog by doing what she is instructed to do but no further. Whenever a new demand is made the dialogue is repeated and the mounting ferocity of the hound is depicted while the frightened girl surrenders herself to the dog.

4.15.2 Songs and chants as forms of dialogue

The use of poetry in dialogue appeals readily to our feelings. Poetry is considered to be the apt medium of expressing one's inner feelings. Intsomi makes use of poetry in songs and chants to convey the appropriate feeling of the character whether it is distress, happiness or seriousness of purpose.

An intsomi character uses a song as a kind of appeal for help when he is searching for something. For instance, the woman who is searching for her baby who has been stolen by a baboon enquires about her child by a song. The song is meant to depict her emotional disturbance while at the same time it draws the people's attention to her plight. Whenever she passes a group of people she starts singing,

Makhwenkw' amahle
 Khange nimbom' uGquthe
 Empheth' umntanam
 Emphethe ngesandla .

(Beautiful boys
 Did you not see Gquthe
 Carrying my child
 Carrying him by hand?)

The boys reply by song,

Mfaz' omhle
 Simbonil' uGquthe
 Empheth' umntanakho
 Emphethe ngesandla .

(Beautiful woman
 We have seen Gquthe
 Carrying your child
 Carrying him by hand).

Each group replies in a characteristic manner as is the case with the baboons which reply in song in their groaning manner,

Baboon: Oho - simbonile
 Oho - uGquthe
 Oho - emphethe
 Oho - umntanakho
 Oho - emphethe
 Oho - ngesandla".

(Baboon: Oho - we have seen
 Oho - Gquthe
 Oho - carrying
 Oho - your child
 Oho - carrying him
 Oho - by hand

A song may be used as a form of dialogue between two characters when they meet. For instance the song which the woman sings whenever she meets the intak' enkulu is a reply to what the bird asks. When the woman arrives at the middle of the forests after she has been given firewood the bird asks,

Ungab' utshilo
 Ungab' utshilo
 Kwabasekhaya
 Ukub' uthzelwa
 Yintak' enkulu .

(You should not have said
 To the people of home
 That firewood is collected for you
 By the mighty bird).

Woman: Mna anditshongo
 Kwabasekhaya
 Ukuba ndithezelwa
 Yintak' enkulu

(I have not said
 To the people of home
 That firewood is collected for me
 By the mighty bird).

Although the song is repeated for the extension of the plot and to enhance the beauty of intsomi it helps to build up the anxiety about the safety of the character who is pressurised by her husband to reveal her secret with the mighty bird on the one hand, and by the mighty bird on the other. The song shows the divided loyalty of the woman who is flouting tradition by disobeying and cheating her husband. She suffers in the end because she is forced to confess and she is killed by the bird.

A chant or saying may also be used as a form of dialogue. The chant usually comes at a crucial moment when the life of a character is in danger. For instance, in the intsomi of the girls who are chased by izim they climb up a tree which the izim chops down vigorously. When it is about to fall the intengu bird commands the tree to be as it were,

Ntengu-ntengu Macetyana
 Kaz' ba abantwana
 Benkosi aba
 Benze ntoni na?
 Mthi, gomololo!

Response: Wema umthi njengoko ubunjalo .

(Ntengu-ntengu Macetyana
 I wonder what these children
 Of the chief
 Have done
 Tree, stand as you were!

Response: And the tree becomes as it were).

It is possible for the other character to respond either by action as in the case of the intengu and the tree or to react verbally. The toad which carries Mvulazana home in the intsomi yentombazana nesele sings whenever the boys are about to kill it,

Mna andisele

Mna andisele libulawayo

Kunina

Ndiza noMvulazana ke ngoko kumina .

(I am not a toad

I am not a toad to be killed

To her mother

For I bring Mvulazana to her mother).

When the shocked parents of Mvulazana ask what this frightfully big toad wants it only replies,

Thsiki-thsiki ndim

Unina kaMvulazana: Yintoni na leyo

Toad: Thsiki-thsiki ndim"

(Mvulazana's mother : What is that

Toad : Thsiki-thsiki, it is I)

This chant is a repeated way of identification by the toad. It is what it says when it is asked.

4.16 Dialogue in written plays

While traditional drama relies more on action than dialogue written plays make effective use of dialogue.

4.16.1 Naturalistic dialogue

The Xhosa playwright seeks to put characters in their natural situation

so that the dialogue used is natural dialogue that is intended to depict the situation and the character realistically. It is so powerful that from the beginning of the play one may get a direction of the play and what type of characters to expect. For instance, in MaMfene the first appearance of Jezula on the stage suggests what type of a person he is and the possible cause of conflict when he meets Nyophoza he says,

Siphilile nathi (qhuzu). Uyawagajuliswa sesi senzo somkhuluwa wakho uBheka, sokubhuqisa amasimi akho ngabom ngeenkomo zakhe azikhaphelayo.

(Mamfene, Act I, Scene II, p. 15)

(We are also well (laughter). You are again made to wander about by this act of your elder brother, Bheka of deliberately grazing his cattle on your fields by driving them to it).

The significant words that suggest malice in the speaker and always somebody who sows seeds of discontent among brothers are uyawagajuliswa (you are again bothered unnecessarily) by this act of your elder brother sokubhuqisa amasimi akho ngabom and ngeenkomo azikhaphelayo (by driving his cattle to your field intentionally). Nyophoza replies and reacts as Jezula expected,

Kukh' ukuthini? Ndiyabona ndogqibela ngokuzisa esikithi .

(What else can be done? I realise that I shall eventually impound them).

Jezula: Woba ukholisile, soz' uvune ukuba ulibele yinceba engenambuyiselo .

(You will be right, you will never reap anything if you waste time with mercy which has no reward).

The dialogue exposes Jezula as a man who does not practise what he teaches. As a man of religion, he should be the pacifier and promoter of good neighbourliness and mercy but instead he instils hostility between brothers. On the other hand, Nyophoza easily falls into Jezula's trap and agrees to impound his own brother's cattle instead of settling the matter amicably as tradition demands.

The dialogue may also depict a situation as in Umkhonto kaTshiwo. Tshiwo is worried by the plague that kills his warriors and which has also struck his daughter. His concern about the situation is brought out by what he says to Dumezweni,

Umzi kabawo namhla uvelelwe ziinkuntsela zitsibe
nelikaPhungela. Endothatha ndidibanise nayo
andiyazi ngentomb' esomi, ibhongo lam .

(Today something unknown has befallen my father's house (fatherland). It is the rogues who are beyond control. I do not know what I shall do to save my beautiful daughter, my pride).

The naturalness of dialogue has led some critics of Xhosa literature to regard it as desultory. Owing to the limitation of stage drama dialogue should be so streamlined that it should only lead to the development of the plot. There are certain situations which would be unnatural if they were taken out of their cultural context. For instance, it is customary for people to converse about other things that concern the welfare of one another or some other people before they come to their own business. This depicts the communal life of the people. It is what gives the dialogue its cultural tinge. Mtywaku in UNCUMISA noNqabayakhe depicts a naturalistic situation where Fudumele and Sibonda concern themselves with other community activities besides the court procedure (Indima 3 Umboniso VII, p. 30).

4.16.2 Use of soliloquy

Soliloquy is associated with the emotional state of the character.

The character looks at himself and tries to come to terms with himself. Through soliloquy the character externalises his thoughts and feelings so that the audience is given a true image of him by himself.

Cikizwa in uDike noCikizwa lacks the courage to challenge tradition openly and to reject the marriage arrangement between her and Mjongwa. Although she has accepted Nonjoli's advice of refusing to take the marriage vows, she lacks the courage to do it and has to convince herself that she is doing the right thing for herself and no authority will dominate her in this regard. Soliloquy depicts her determination to overcome her weakness,

Amehl' abukhali makangabi nakuyikrazula intliziyo yam.
 Amazwi alukhuni makangabi nakulenzakalisa elam
 elithambileyo. Ndingumfazi ngaphandle, mandibe yindoda
 ngaphakathi (Act VI Scene I, p. 51).

(Piercing eyes should not tear my heart. Hard words
 should not hurt my weak ones. Externally I am a woman.
 Let me be a man internally).

Dike always declares his unwavering fidelity to Cikizwa in soliloquy although he is not able to save her from the forced marriage in good time. The audience is thus able to understand Dike's feelings.

Soliloquy is used by the Xhosa playwright, Mmango, not only to reveal the emotional condition of the character but also as a means of revealing the intention of a character in taking a particular course of action. Siqungu in uDusha reveals his plan of cheating people. In Act I, Scene VI, p. 15 he says,

Ubutyhakala beenkolo yobuthi busendele. Kusaya kuthabatha
 amanye amawaka-waka eminyaka phambi kokuba buphele ...
 mandingaziyekeli. Mandisebenze ngale nto ... Ngubani lo
 uthwesa amagqwirha ubugqi bokuthakatha? - Lishologu lokufa!
 Ngubani eli shologu lokufa? Ngukufa ngokwakhe! Oo! yiyo

le nto amaggwirha angapheliyo! Kufa amanye ukufa
kuvelise amanye .

(The stupidity of superstition is still deep seated. It will still take thousands of years before it is stamped out ... Let me not miss this chance. Let me work on this thing. What shall I do with it? Who teaches witches the mystery of witchcraft? ~ It is the evil spirit of death. Who is this ancestor of death? It is death itself. Oo! Is that why witches are never exterminated! Some die while death brings others).

In this monologue the speaker projects his thoughts to the audience so that it should know the intention of the subsequent actions. It appears as if the dramatist wants to convince his audience that he does not in any way support superstition so that when one reads further he should be aware that the whole action in the play is meant to effect this public cheating. The tragic part of it is that people suffer because a quack exploits their deep seated traditional beliefs which are not synonymous with superstition.

CONCLUSION

In the previous chapters the writer has tried to show that although traditional Xhosa drama is oral it shares common structural features which characterise this type of art. Many dramatists have also pointed out that traditional African dramas which consist in the enacting of rituals are not drama because they lack the structural design as postulated by Aristotle.

Drama is a cultural product and it reflects to a great extent the cultural organisation of the people although it has some universals as shown in the structure. It is not only difficult but grievously erratic to confine any form of art to a strict formula. This does not only kill the spirit of the art but restrains the artist in his creation. In traditional Xhosa drama we find the core structure, as it were, that characterises it as art but its nature, as an oral tradition demands a particular structure and presentation.

Banham (1976) realises the uniqueness of African drama and its functional nature. In his introduction to the African Theatre Today he expresses the idea that the rituals of birth, adulthood and death are performed for a definite purpose. They also serve to bring the community together at special times. Owing to the functional nature of this art he advocates a special analysis which would not confine it to the Aristotelian structure of beginning, middle and ending and also to the condensation to a time limit of $2 - 2\frac{1}{2}$ hours. Traditional drama does not need such a time limitation because there are no people who are glued to the chairs.

The main difference between traditional Xhosa drama and western drama lies in the nature of the linguistic content. As an oral art Xhosa drama depends largely on action which has a definite meaning to those who are brought up in that culture. In some cases the content may consist of one or two word sentences which are repeated over and over again.

as in songs and izidlalo zabafazi, e.g.

Thsa zimdle!

(of setting dogs after a person)

In this one sentence the necessary emotional involvement is aroused and the chorus joins in in echoing the words of the leader. The resentment which the leader feels permeates through to the complementary performers and the anger, disgust and hostility cannot be doubted. The forceful swinging of the body and the twisting and turning of the head as if searching for the rival among the other performers, all project hatred and the expulsion of the undesirable character. This enacts the type of relationship that exists between married women. The circumstances which have given rise to this kind of relationship are well known and the meaning of this sentence is, therefore, as effective as would be any dramatic performance with the same theme. The izidlalo zabafazi are a compendium of certain life situations.

5.1 Traditional Xhosa drama as part of the social system

Traditional Xhosa drama serves a particular purpose. It is part of the social organisation and its structure is modified by the needs of the society. It serves to perpetuate group values and guard against total obliteration of these values. The members of the community enact some group experiences which ensure the continuity of life and the solidarity of the group. The rituals centre around the expulsion of evil and death and the induction of life. The rites of passage, the initiation rites and the fertility rite of Inqologho and umhlwalelelo serve this purpose. Through the enactment of these rituals the community becomes revitalised. Their bonds of unity are strengthened while their souls are enriched.

Each social group has organised theatrical performances that help to direct its development. The songs and dances are thus directed at the entire population. It is through such dramas that some change is brought about. This is another basic difference between African and

western drama. The westerner claims that to him the theatre is not meant to precipitate immediate results. It does not bring about immediate change, either imagined or real. He goes to the theatre to relish on the aesthetics of art and if he should relate that to life it would only be a synthesis of what the dramatist gives him about life and his own knowledge of life. In other words he enjoys art for its own sake. The amaXhosa express themselves through their dramatic art and expect to effect some form of social change both spiritually and morally.

5.1.1 Social and dramatic roles

Traditional Xhosa drama does not address itself to a person as an individual but as a member of the group. It emphasises those areas which make it difficult for him to harmonise with the group. While in western drama characters participate in action and dialogue to reveal themselves, the traditionalist has performers who act out those things which propagate group identity as well as those that threaten the social stability.

The performers who participate in all the traditional dramas are fulfilling a social function as part of the establishment. On special occasions umhlwayclelo, inqolohlo and initiation rituals have to be observed. They are observed by particular people who act as main performers on behalf of the group. The diviner has a definite social status as the protector of the nation and a medium between the living and the departed. She acts out this function with the community. She uses symbols and suggestions which are interpreted by his complementary participants in a manner that suits them. She now enters the dramatic arena. What she acts out does not aim at revealing her personality traits but expressing the wishes of the group.

Similarly the initiates in their rites of passage participate by enacting what is expected of them. They observe certain codes of behaviour and taboos which are peculiar to them at that particular stage. They act out what is circumscribed by tradition. All the procedure followed is

directed by tradition and the community comes to approve of it and also acknowledge that everything has been done accordingly. Even in modern drama the dramatist, though in the background, directs his actors in movement and dialogue. Although each actor may excel according to his ability none of them can give an impression contrary to what is suggested by the dramatist.

5.1.2 Group participation

Traditional Xhosa drama emphasises group participation. All drama is meant for performance. While the western dramatist works with an audience which sits passively watching the movement of actors on the stage, traditional drama involves active participation by everybody. The only type of involvement in western drama is the emotion that exudes from what is said and done on the stage. Group participation characterises the traditional Xhosa drama. As stated earlier, traditional man does not think of himself as separate from the group. The members of the group come together for a common cause. It is for this reason that everybody has got to participate although the degree of participation differs. There is a core of performers who play a leading role and are supported by the complementary performers. The emotion invoked by the performance is common to all.

Bradbrook (1965, p. 22) says that the theatre offers a collective experience which is given by the dramatist. Collectivity in both ritual and drama strengthens personal security and offers common cohesion. She further explains that in more sophisticated social organisation each individual builds up his own response although he is a member of the group. Each individual acts his "intrapersonal drama" in order to understand and respond to what goes on.

Both the traditional and modern drama are dominated by emotion but they express it in different ways. The western audience restrains itself while the traditionalists express theirs openly through physical involvement. They support the main performers by song and dance or by expressing their appreciation by small tokens of gifts which are also

offered dramatically. To somebody who is strange to the culture of the group this participation can be interpreted as a mob reaction.

The group participation takes a definite form and it is quite organised. The complementary performers know exactly when to come in and what their function is. For instance, in a war song and dance drama, warriors start singing and dancing while the women start yelling and ululating. The women lift their skirts and throw away their head-scarfs. This is an important element in this situation because it creates the necessary feeling of aggression and a psychological frame of mind. The men cannot afford to be cowardly when the women are able to take up the front line. The diviner also depends on the response which she gets from the enquirers. By a series of suggestions and promptings she begins to see things more clearly. The dancer does not feel competent until the audience gives him active support by joining him in the dance and throwing small gifts. All these people make the performance meaningful. They are interdependent. The main performers need the complementary performers. The group's involvement is facilitated by the lack of physical separation between the main and complementary performers so that there is free interaction between the two groups of performers during the performance. It is for this reason that open air performances are always preferred even by the modern African dramatist. It always allows for the spontaneity of the art from both types of performers and makes people feel together physically and emotionally.

Even though the performers may involve one age-group of the society all the other members attend so as to make sure that the performance is done according to tradition. In an umtshotsho song and dance the boys and girls enjoy themselves but the members of the public join them when they perform the mock battle to cheer them and, at the same time, prepare them for hard times. Their gifts and their short izibongo give them the necessary incentive for a performance of that kind.

5.1.3 Occasion for the performance

The traditional Xhosa dramatic performances are not altogether impromptu.

Their occasion is known and usually announced in good time so that everybody may attend.

The initiation ritual drama occurs every year. Each year sees a different batch of initiates who enact their experience. These are held at specific times of the year when the crop is good. They are usually accompanied by great feasting and drinking. The participants prepare their own costumes.

The initiates weave their umhlambi skirt. The girls also prepare their bead work while the other young men and women sing and dance. The intonjane is announced after the girl has been taken behind the screen (umkhusane) by the song and dance which take place every night from the day the girl goes into seclusion until the final day of the intonjane when she is presented to the public.

Ingolohlo is a special performance that occurs during a particularly dry season. It is also announced to the public by the headman. The preparation involves the scouting for girls between the ages of fourteen and sixteen. The girls congregate at the Great Place with their parents. Ingolohlo is performed as the need arises. It is determined by circumstances.

The social song and dance are more frequent than the other traditional dramas. They occur weekly and the members of the public look forward to these performances in the same manner that more sophisticated people think of going to the theatre after a week of hard work. Because of the frequency of these social dramas there is no special preparation. The frequent occurrence of the song and dance make it possible to check social relationships and maintenance of tradition.

The other social songs and dances are performed when the occasion arises. Izidlalo zabafazi are usually impromptu songs and sayings which become absorbed as part of the social system. Many of them are composed on the spur of the moment but with relevance to the situation of that particular individual. Just like izibongo the performer depends on her

experience and knowledge. It is possible that as soon as isitshongo, ilima, ibhoxo are announced women start thinking about ways of getting themselves rid of emotional tension through song and dance, but there are no rehearsals. Each woman performs as she wishes.

5.1.4 Setting

The setting in all traditional drama is natural. There is no evidence of special reconstructed scenery. The ritual is usually performed primarily at the place where the ancestors are because they are responsible for the continuity of life. The ritual drama starts at the inkundla (courtyard) where the initiate is taken before he is sent to seclusion. In umhlwayelelo the person on whose behalf health and good fortune are petitioned is taken to the deep pool where the "people of the river" live. The rest of the performance takes place at the inkundla where everybody participates. This is an open air theatre which has no problem of congestion.

The performances are usually held during the day to enable pedestrians to reach the venue and return to their homes easily. The social dances take night and day over the week-ends. Social dances are held at a kraal where accommodation is available. The owner of the kraal is given a barrel of Xhosa beer and fuel as a token of appreciation. In the morning all groups congregate at the inkundla for the communal dance.

5.2 Illusion in drama

It is an accomplished fact that drama stimulates the imagination of man. The dramatist creates an imaginary world with characters who live in it. The actor and audience have to use their imagination in addition to the guidance of the dramatist in order to understand what takes place. They have to share the lives of imaginary people who are not altogether unlike known living people.

The Western dramatist emphasises this re-creation of experience in trying to depict situations that are as close to reality as possible.

The Western audience enjoys what it sees as an imitation that is very close to reality. The dramatist creates this illusion of reality. The setting of the stage, the stage properties, the kaleidescope of lights and costumes bear testimony to this fact. The audience enjoys this illusion but it is aware of the fact that it is an illusion. The pleasure of the theatre lies in the synthesis of what the dramatist gives and what happens in real life. This is part of dramatic experience.

The traditional drama deals with this kind of illusion but in a different way. In traditional Xhosa drama there is no re-creation of a past experience but performance of a desired action. The performance is that of an experience and it is expected that after the performance some changes will occur. The experience is a real one because the performers are fulfilling a social function without which life would not continue. The illusion is, therefore, not in what is done but in the manner of doing it. The execution itself gives this type of illusion in that the performers are psychologically put in a certain frame of mind that makes them believe that their function is something more than that of the ordinary man. The costumes used indicate the significance of the occasion. The performer wears a particular costume that distinguishes him from the others. He is not trying to emulate somebody else. The costume extends the character and gives a theatrical significance associated with the performance at a particular time.

The symbols used in communication are not the real things as we know them. The offerings at the umhlwayelelo ritual are believed to be returned in multiples through a recycle of more fertile crops and a healthier person. These are believed to bring about the desired effects after some time. To me this is the same type of illusion which makes man behave well towards his fellowmen because failure to do so would have catastrophic consequences. The difference between this type of illusion is that in Western drama the audience is aware that it is an illusion whereas in traditional drama the performance is believed to be real.

Intsomi performance produces the same type of illusion. The intsomi is fiction. The characters in the intsomi are not only imaginary but are both human and non-human. The illusion of reality lies in the fact that they are given human attributes and in addition to the human attributes they do fantastic things that would never happen in reality. Stones talk, birds produce amasi (sour milk). The audience, young and old, enjoy this type of illusion. However, the important thing is that this illusion contributes towards the stabilisation of the society. The philosophy that underlies every intsomi performance is internalised and forms the basis for coexistence.

Izidlalo zabafazi and some of the work songs also show this illusion. In izidlalo zabafazi there is no special costume as such because the performance takes place after a communal chore. The women experience difficulties of varying degrees at their places of marriage. Tradition forbids them from divulging the circumstances of the marriage. A good wife is one who never divulges her family secrets to other people other than her parents-in-law. In their izidlalo they give an impression that they are play-things whereas in actual fact they are trying to externalise their complaints in an oblique manner. The externalisation of the complaint through song and dance by the sufferer makes the burden lighter because she has emptied her chest and thus got rid of an intense emotion which might develop from such a situation of conflict. Izidlalo zabafazi check against moral injustices like cruelty, witchcraft, jealousy and some of the things that do not promote good marital relationships like bickering, unfaithfulness, disobedience, unkindness, stinginess and childlessness. The married group of the community looks forward to these performances because they are the only channels through which they can air their complaints without suffering any stigma in the marriage situation. The occasion is a happy one but the performer may be feeling the grudge while she pretends to be jovial because the situation demands it.

5.3 Future development

5.3.1 Stage limitation in modern plays

Traditional Xhosa drama is being replaced by modern literary plays which

are staged in church and school halls. Some of these present serious problems in staging because the physical limitations of the stage have not been taken into account by the playwright. Although some dramatists advise against preoccupation with stage requirements because they tend to limit the creativity of the artist, it is important that this should be taken into account. There are incidents which form the pulse of the play so that if they are narrated in a type of prologue the effect of the play may be weakened. For instance, in Umkhonto kaTshiwō the emphasis is on the brutal execution of wizards and witches. They are thrown at the precipice at Ntabosizi where they cry in anguish as they are beaten to death. The action is supposed to take place on the stage for effect and this is impossible.

In Law! ilahle the same problem arises when Dwala's house is burnt on the stage while the other people look on and also when the hut of Sidima, Ziki and Sizo is burnt in public. With advanced technology, the producer can effect some representation of these.

5.3.2 Future development

The future of vernacular drama is very bright. The demands of the school syllabus acquaint students and teachers alike with drama. Pupils have made it a practice to dramatise their school books in school halls and church halls in order to raise funds for their schools or churches. Some pupils even write and produce short one-act plays which, though not very successful, point to a brighter future of creativity.

The Xhosa Radio service has relayed some Xhosa plays. These are written by promising authors like Morris Qalase and Dambile Tuswa whose Igongqongqo won a prize for the best radio play in 1968 and Sazela Ndiyeke in 1972. Drama has been found to be the most effective medium of drawing the public's attention to some burning issues of the day. These include both social and political issues. The native language of the people makes a better and lasting impression than a foreign one. A play in the language of the people is well received even by a person who cannot read or write because he can see and hear what is done and said.

Moreover, the playwright is able to deliver his message within a reasonably short time.

S U M M A R Y

CHAPTER 1 deals with the meaning of drama as an art that results from imitation. There are strong feelings which rage inside a person as a result of what he observes in life and he expresses his feelings in some form of art whether by colour, word symbols or action. Drama is a communal art which draws people together for a common experience that unfolds in front of them. It is marked by a spectacle of costumes, make-up and stage decor which are all used to enhance the aesthetics of the art.

CHAPTER 2 identifies all the types of indigenous drama as found in rituals, various types of song and dance, izibongo and iintsomi. The emphasis is on doing or acting what is desired. The people are brought together and what they enact is meant to stabilise their solidarity and ensure the continuity of life.

CHAPTER 3 explores the elements of conflict and plot as found in the different types of indigenous drama as well as modern drama.

Conflict is the driving force in all drama and what the contending parties do to resolve the conflict gives the plot structure. In ritual drama the conflict is caused by man's weaknesses which clash with the desires of the ancestors who command the universe. The plot structure results from the various attempts by man to resolve this conflict through a series of symbolic actions as found in umhlwayelelo, inqolokho as well as the rites of passage. The social conflict is found between man and the social establishment. Man's weaknesses make it difficult for him to harmonise with his group. This also threatens group solidarity. Conflict areas are identified so that they should not be perpetuated and thus peaceful existence is ensured. This occurs in song and dance, izibongo, iintsomi and modern plays.

CHAPTER 4 also explores the elements of character, action and dialogue. Character in Xhosa drama is not based on character portrayal. Action and dialogue do not reveal the character trait of a person but express the body of group values. The character becomes the main and complementary performer who executes what is desired and who expresses the wishes and desires of the group. Costume is not used to imitate anybody but is an extension of the performer and helps in his performance which reaffirms group values. Action involves what is done.

Dialogue is oblique in ritual because it makes use of symbols which are interpreted by the members of the community. The ancestors communicate by symbols. In other forms dialogue is implicit in the arrangement of the song and dance as well as in the presentation of izibongo and iintsomi. In written plays dialogue is naturalistic and verbal between characters.

CHAPTER 5 puts together all the dramatic aspects in indigenous Xhosa drama and the emphasis is on the functional aspect of the art as part of the social establishment. The functional aspect is effected dramatically in that -

- (i) People participate as "actors" who enact an experience and prepare themselves for the function. They have special costumes that enable them to stand out in public as special people in the performance;
- (ii) They enjoy what they are doing because it is presumed real. They believe they are making contact with the ancestors, a new person is born from the rites, famine and pestilence driven away by their singing and dancing. This is the illusion common to drama;
- (iii) They occur as special times like all theatrical performances but they are open to everybody because they are a national occasion.

I S I S H W A N K A T H E L O

ISAHLUKO 1 sicacisa intsingiselo yedrama njengobugcisa obuzalwa kukulinganisa nokwenza. Kukho uvakalelo oluethethe olungenaku-cinezelwa kangangokuba luthi lwakudubula umntu azibone elinganisa nokuba kungomzobo, okanye ngezenzo. Idrama ibumba abantu kuba kuhlaziye ka amava abo ngobom ababubukele busenzeka. Ubukhazi-khazi bezihombiso zesinxibo esilungiselelwe umdlalo buphakamisa umxhelo bunike nesithozela kule midlalo.

ISAHLUKO 2 sivelisa zonke iindidi zedrama yemveli kumaXhosa ezinje ngezicamagusho, iingoma ngeengoma, izibongo, neentsomi. Owena ndoqo ngowokuba loo nto inqwenelekayo kwensiwa umfuziselo wayo ngokulinganiswa. Bonke abantu bamxhelo-mnye kuba yonke into eyenziwayo ilusindiso kubo.

ISAHLUKO 3 sicalula ukrutha-kruthwano okanye uxambuliswano oluthi lubekho xa kukho ukubetha-bethana kwezimvo okanye ukuchasana kweminqweno yabantu entlalweni. Ukrutha-kruthwano oluphakathi komntu nezinyanya ludalwa bubuthathaka bakhe basenyameni obuthi benze ukuba aphambuke kumendo osekwe zizinyanya. Ngolo hlobo uzeka ingqumbo yazo athi ayithibaze ngezicamagusho zezingxengxezo, acele amathamsanqa, impilo nentlutha ukuze aphile. Konke akwenzayo kwezi zicamagusho kulandela amaqondo athile atsho anike indlela ethile yesicamagusho.

Ubuthathaka bomntu bumenza ukuba avumele ezo zinto azithandayo kodwa zichasene nentlalo yakhe yemveli. Loo nto imenza ukuba angahlalisani kakuhle nabanye abantu. Iingoma, izibongo, iintsomi nemidlalo ebhaliweyo zibonakalisa olu krutha-kruthwano. Izinto ezenziwayo ukuphelisa olu krutha-kruthwano zizo ezizoba isakhiwo somdlalo lowo.

ISAHLUKO 4 siqwalasela abalinganiswa, intshukumo nencoko njengeempawu

Ngokwedrama yemveli abalinganiswa asibobantu abaveliswa kuba kufundiswa ngesimo sabo. Bangabadlali abalinganisa loo nto ifumeka entlalweni elungileyo nefanelekileyo. Izinto abazenzayo azivelisi bume babo koko zivelisa, zibethelela ezo zinto zixabisekileyo entlalweni.

Abalinganiswa apho bakhoyo basetyenziswe ukubonisa ezo zinto zilungileyo nezo zinto zingalunganga.

Incoko ephakathi kwabatlali yincoko yokusosa enganggalanga. Ephakathi kwabantu nezinyanya yengomfuziselo kuba izinyanya azithethri ngomlomo koko ngeempawu ezithile.

ISAHLUKO 5

Idrama yemveli izama ukumqulunqa nokulungisa intlalo yabantu.

- (i) Bonke abantu banenxaxheba abayithathayo kuba yindlela yokuzikisa nokuzinzisa intlalo. Ubumdlalo budalwa kukuba kukho abantu abangabadlali abaphambili kanti nababukeli nabo bayancedisa ngokutshayeleta ukuze babonise ubungqina babo nenkxaso kuloo nto yenziwayo. Izinxibo zabozizodwa zicacisa ukuba yimidlalo eyodwa.
- (ii) Abantu bakholelwa ukuba loo nto bayenzayo inje ngokuba beyenze. Xa becamagusha bakholelwa ukuba baqhakamshelana nezinyanya ngezenzo, xa kusokwa umntu uzalwa ngokutsha, xa kuvunywa kugxothwa iinkumbi. Yinkohliso eyonwabisaabantu emidlalweni le.
- (iii) Zonke ezi ndidi zedrama zenzeka ngexesha elithile elaziwaye nelilungiselelweyo. Wonke umntu uvumelekile kuba zakha isizwe.

A P P E N D I XLIST OF INFORMANTSCISKEI

1. Chief Makinana of Tshabo Location, Berlin, contacted through Mr V.V. Hoyana of Zwelitsha:
Umtshotsho and intlambe dances were organised for me.
2. Mqoco of Middledrift: 70 years old
Contact for umhlwayelelo ritual
Chief Burns-Ncamashe of Alice:
Another contact on umhlwayelelo ritual which is also known as intlwayelelo.
3. Mr Bhele Nkilana of Kwelegha, East London: 65 years old
On intlambe yamaggirha and umfukamiso.
4. Mr A.S.M. Sityana of Fort Hare: 69 years old
On all indigenous Xhosa drama of umtshotsho, intlambe, umfukamiso, intlwayelelo.
5. Mr I.M. Time of Zwelitsha: 66 years old
Who gave an account of Simayintango

TRANSKEI

1. Chief Sigidi of Chizele Location, Idutywa:
Who organised umtshotsho, intlambe song and dance and also invited me to umtshilo wabakhwetha.

2. The late Chieftainess Nozizwe Sigcawu of Nqadu, Willowvale:
Who organised ilima/ibhoxo for women; izidlalo and umtshotsho,
intlombe.
3. Mrs MamTshawe Zilindile (about 75 years old):
Who performed iintsomi at Elliotdale
4. Mrs MamQoco Sitofu of Mqanduli (about 65 years old):
An intsomi performer
5. Mrs MamJwara Tonjeni of Tyirha Location, Qumbu (about 70 years):
- iintsomi performer.
6. Mr Mjadwini Nokhele of Centane: 69 years old
Who performed Somagwaza

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