

FORM AND FUNCTION OF XHOSA FOLKSONGS

BY

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ABSTRACT

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Folksongs, like any other oral literature category has a form or structure, which may differ according to the occasion they are composed for. Most traditional folksongs are made up of short verbal phrases. Contemporary folksongs may be longer than traditional ones, especially gospel folksongs.

Folksongs as one representation of art forms have a communicative function, and that reinforces the fact that folksongs have a role to play in society. This is also proved by the presence of an audience during performance. Also to prove the communicative function of folksongs is the fact that there should be an audience during folksong performance. Folksongs play a vital role in maintaining social stability. Songs of ridicule have an impact on social stability as they may reprimand those involved in vices.

Folksongs can be categorized according to different values they have in society. These values assist in presenting different functions, which are of utmost importance to societies. Without these functions members of society may not live to the required expectations, such as conforming to the norms and values of society. It has also been established that in pursuit of forms and functions, folksongs can be categorized according to typology.

Date:

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that Form and Function of Xhosa folksongs is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Thokozile Valencia Mabeqa
SIGNED:

Date:

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I thank GOD for everything, without faith in HIM I would not have achieved anything in life, including this study.

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To my children Thembalakhe, Mziwembeko and Busisiwe, this work is entirely yours.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND

Folksongs are generally considered to be part of the discipline/field known as folklore. The term folklore is a complex one. The fact that folklorists do not have consensus as to the exact content of folklore is an indication that the discipline is really complex and broad (Dundes 1965:1). Folklore literally means the knowledge of people. At the same time one cannot escape the fact that folklore as a body of knowledge, is connected to the culture of people. People possess knowledge which stems from their cultural background, and which informs their patterns of behaviour and human relationships.

Dundes' interpretation of folk is that of any group of people who share at least one common factor (1965:2). This indicates that folklore has to do with the knowledge of a group of people who share common factors. My interpretation of these will embrace some of the factors Dundes has individualized, such as religion, language and race. All of these factors encompass culture.

One popular (and acceptable) view of folklore is that of Dorson, who mentions that folklore has four components, namely, oral literature, social folk customs, performing folk arts and material culture (1972:1). Not unexpectedly, these components are culturally bound. Folksongs, which are the focus of this research, can be accommodated within all four components:

- Folksongs have literary features
- Singing is intimately linked with customs
- Folksongs have a performative aspect
- There is dress/costume and cultural artefacts linked to singing

These are not watertight subdivisions and overlapping might occur, that is, various folklore forms might find application in more than one component.

My interpretation of folksongs is that of songs originating from a certain group, but which contemporarily might have been taken over by other groups. These songs are traditional in nature, in that they concur with and reflect the social patterns of the group from which they emanate. Ntshinga in Sienaert's *Oral tradition and its transmission* (1994:127) seems to be in support of the above view by stating that there is an undeniable shift from traditional functions to contemporary functions, from traditional contexts to contemporary ones. Three groups of folksongs I will be investigating are contemporary folksongs representing the following types: *izitibili* or "*iisawundi*" according to Hansen (1981:104) which represent a style of music that is very popular today (songs performed by choirs other than choral music), gospel songs, which has its influence from Christianity and traditional folksongs, which are connected to rituals.

Folksongs are characterized by poetic qualities therefore they are literary. They are often connected with customs and they have a performing aspect. They are often sung with the performers wearing particular attire and are often accompanied by instruments; therefore they

have a connection with material culture. Nowadays songs that used to be performed orally can be found in notational form, but that does not contradict the fact that folksongs are essentially oral in nature.

All four components of folklore namely, social folk customs, performing folk arts, oral literature and material culture have a societal relationship. Jordan in Towards an African Literature (1974:4) emphasizes this relationship. He points out that literature reflects the society that produced it, and that the understanding of the social forces at work in that society is vital to appreciating that society's literature. This entails that when one analyses the four components of folklore, one should not see them as isolated entities, but rather as interlinked components of a particular society.

This study will therefore investigate form and function of Xhosa folksongs and reveal the cultural role that Xhosa folksongs play in society.

1.2 THE STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

What is the role of folksongs in contemporary Xhosa society? Are there different manifestations/forms of folksongs? Do these correspond with different functions?

All art forms, of which folksongs is one representation, have a communicating as well as a modelling function, that is, it is a representation or model of reality. Do lyrics have any communicative role in folksongs? What about action carried out during performance? Is attire or costume also a contributing factor in the communication process of folksongs? What about paralinguistic features such as pitch, intonation, loudness and softness etc.? Do they impact on the conveyance of the message?

What are the structural features of Xhosa folksongs? Are there many different manifestations or forms? Do they conform to one type of form, or do they have different forms?

1.3 HYPOTHESIS

The hypothesis to be investigated will be what folksongs do in society and why they are there.

The main focus of this study will be on form and function of Xhosa folksongs in contemporary society.

Folksongs in Xhosa society are sung for entertainment and for ritual proceedings. The nature of singing and sometimes of the choice of folksongs depends on the ritual to be performed. One can for example, differentiate between folksongs performed in the "*ukungena kwenkwenkwe*" tradition (initiation of a boy), and for example, the one performed during the vigil of a family member who passed away. Many rituals are still performed.

From the above statements, one can deduce that folksongs have a communicative role or function. Traditionally people communicated through songs under certain circumstances. Even today there are issues that are communicated better through songs, more especially issues

pertaining to certain groups of people and even individuals. Some groups may need to pay attention to certain issues; hence another group alerts them to the problem through songs. That is significant in, for example, in the case of the daughter-in-law who may be discontent because of the treatment of her in-laws.

Particular events may obviously serve as the inspiration for the composing of songs. There is, for example, a song "*Amagorha oo-Apollo*" (The heroes of Apollo), which was composed after the American astronauts reached the moon and executed the first ever moon landing. The heroism of those men prompted the composer to create that song. This indicates that songs are often shaped by events as much as they are shaped by the norms and values of the society. That will also be investigated in this study.

Xhosa folksongs are, most of the time accompanied by action/movements. The performers connect some songs to the wearing of specific attire. In some cases the occasion of the performance would dictate the attire to be used for those particular songs. This is indicative of the fact that action and attire contribute to the communicative elements in songs.

This study aims to investigate the dynamic role played by songs in contemporary Xhosa society. It will also endeavour to expose the cultural elements embedded in Xhosa folksongs, as songs are used as a vehicle for transmitting knowledge from generation to generation. Songs may also emphasize the past i.e. history, seeing that some songs refer to particular events that occurred in the past. Xhosa folksongs are also connected with the rites de passage of individuals in the community. Each developmental stage in the life of individuals in Xhosa society has a ritual connected to it and songs connected to that ritual.

The main objective of this study is to investigate, and in so doing, also highlighting cultural features as these are reflected in the song.

This study also endeavours to show that culture is dynamic. Because of the current reverberation about the African Renaissance in this country and also on the rest of the continent, the researcher is of the opinion that this study may contribute to highlight and foreground a cultural phenomenon peculiar to Xhosa society.

1.4 A RESUME OF RELATED LITERATURE

Lyrics in Xhosa folksongs play a vital role in the communication process, hence most Xhosa folksongs contain them. Ruth Finnegan in her work "*Oral Literature in Africa*" (1970:24) supports the above assumption by stating that lyric is the most common form of poetry in Sub-Saharan Africa. A song is basically a poem set to music. She further claims that songs appear in an almost unlimited number of contexts. This enhances the assumption that songs in Xhosa society are also found in many contexts.

Folksongs are culture oriented. The fact that they are sung on so many occasions indicates their cultural importance. Ruth Finnegan emphasizes the fact that the wealth of culture often finds expression in music and poetry. She further states that rites de passage is very common occasions for singing (1970:243).

Elizabeth Gunner (1990:78) shares the same sentiments when she states that the Bakonzo (which

is a nation in Zaire in Africa) need a song at every crucial moment of their lives – they can't live fully without it, neither can they die and be at peace without it. That is exactly the case with the amaXhosa.

Songs have both a societal and historical significance within the culture of amaXhosa. Xhosa life is always connected to singing. Whenever a ritual is practiced, singing for example takes place. Ruth Finnegan supports this by saying that in Africa there are songs about wives, husbands, marriage, animals, chiefs etc... (1970:274) and of course, many others.

In relation to the above assumption Ulli Beier (1966:4) states that a study of the Ewe traditional song is a study of the philosophy of life and of the values of the Ewe people. Beier refers to the Ewe people in Nigeria, but because African people share many spiritual characteristics this may also apply to amaXhosa.

Ntshinga in Sienaert's Oral Tradition and innovation (1994:110 - 111) further elaborates on the above by stating that songs cannot be studied in isolation, but should rather be studied in relation to the factors that have helped to shape that culture.

Zuckerhandl (1973:46) highlights the fact that music is sound that is organized into socially accepted patterns, and music making may be regarded as a form of learned behaviour. He therefore supports the fact that songs have a sociological significance. He further states that the function of music is to enhance in some way the quality of individual experience and human relationships: its structures are reflections of patterns of human relations.

As mentioned before, movement nearly always accompanies Xhosa folksongs. Performance is also culturally related. In relation to the above, Bauman (1978:46) mentions that the setting is the culturally defined place where performance occurs. Groenewald (1998:42) supports Bauman by indicating that it seems justifiable to distinguish two aspects of the total situatedness of performance, namely situation and context. Situation is the immediate setting of a performance, and context is the broader socio-political climate.

Songs play a vital role in shaping the behaviour of people. If someone is engaged in human vice, he/she may be reprimanded through songs of ridicule. Alan Dundes in support of this view states that ridicule is one of the means of protesting against disgusting practices, and of getting rid of things undesirable (1965:313).

Dundes further claims that one of the most important functions of folklore is its use as a vehicle for social protest. Wherever there is injustice and oppression, one can be sure that the victims will find some solace in folkloric expression (1965:308). Often in the South African context, if for example, workers are treated in an unjust manner they may resort to protest, and songs of protest may accompany this.

Folksongs have a communicative function even if they have no lyrics. Jafta (1972:13) supports this view when she says that it is the totality of the actions of the characters that conveys a particular meaning even though there may be no elaborate content in terms of words.

Ngara (1990:15) is of the opinion that any work of art is a communicative utterance produced by the performer and received as such by the audience. In outlining the above assumption, one can

refer to Jakobson's general communication model, which clearly states the communicative channel. The sender in the case of folksongs is the performer, the message is the communicative elements in the folksong, whether it be lyrics, dance, paralinguistic features etc. or the combination of any of them, and the audience functions as the receiver.

Dundes in his work "The Study of folklore" claims that form is relatively stable whilst content may vary (1965:10). Coffin (1968:32) on the other hand states that lyrical folksongs are amorphous, they adapt to particular situations and they change form and shape according to the demands of both the singer and audience. He further claims that stanzas are improvised and that folk lyrics often consist of idioms of the people. Ngara seems to be in agreement with Coffin when he argues that form is determined by social and historical conditions, and that there is a relationship between form and content (1990:13).

Ngara (op.cit) states that form has a more general application. He refers to both the external and internal structures of the poem or folksong. He mentions parts of the internal structure of a poem such as the use of images, symbols, allusions, peculiar idioms and other poetic devices, such as repetition and parallelism. He further claims that form is more conditioned because of historical and social factors and they will be marked by the use of traditional cultural elements and oral forms. This is true when one considers the form of most Xhosa folksongs. Repetition and parallelism are prevalent in most Xhosa folksongs. Peculiar idioms are used more especially in songs of ridicule. Ngara emphasizes the fact that the form of folksongs is influenced by historical, social and cultural factors of the society.

According to Hansen (1981:111) Xhosa music is collective in performance. She further echoes that 'It is a shared experience both socially and musically'. Hansen confirms the fact that all Xhosa songs are performed by groups of people who sing and dance in a highly co-ordinated manner, each performer maintaining his individuality even though he is a member of a group.

1.5 RESEARCH PROCEDURES

In pursuing this study the following procedures were followed:

- (a) Empirical research through attending and observing performances,
- (b) Bibliographical research,
- (c) Interviews and
- (d) Questionnaires.

The main objective of using these procedures is to gather a wide range of information pertaining to the form and functions of Xhosa folksongs.

Interviews with performers and audiences were conducted. The advantage of such interviews was to get first hand information from the performers and from people knowledgeable about Xhosa culture.

Bibliographic research is another important source to cover theories and approaches to folklore studies, as well as published research on folksongs particularly in Africa.

Questionnaires were convenient for gathering information from persons with a vast knowledge of

Xhosa culture, but who were not easily accessible to the researcher.

1.6 OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS

Chapter 1 is the introduction. In this chapter the background of the study is explored. Statement of the problem as well as the hypothesis is also addressed. A literature review is included to support the study. The research methodology is also outlined.

Chapter 2 investigates folklore as a discipline, with the emphasis on definitions and assumptions of different theorists. Also the position of folksongs in the discipline of folklore will be explored.

Chapter 3 deals with song as an art form. Different definitions of folksongs will be presented. Form and functions of folksongs will be explored as well as typology and analysis of folksongs.

Chapter 4 is a summary of some of the major findings of the study.

CHAPTER 2

FOLKLORE AS A DISCIPLINE

2.1 WHAT IS FOLKLORE?

As already mentioned in the introduction, folklore covers a very wide field of study. It is therefore very difficult to define the term adequately. That is, *inter alia*, indicated by the twenty-one definitions of the term found in the Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend (Leach:1949) Various folklorists interpret folklore in various ways. In most of these definitions the oral nature of folklore has been identified. This then suggests that oral tradition forms an integral part of folklore.

In cultures without writing, almost everything is transmitted orally. By contrast, in cultures with writing, only some issues are transmitted orally, particularly issues pertaining to cultural beliefs such as initiation.

The suggestion that folklore only exists in an oral form could be challenged. In both these cultures, the oral and the written, some orally transmitted information could not be regarded as folklore. The point is that there are some materials that are transmitted orally but are not folkloric in nature, that is, do not deal with matters traditionally considered as folkloric. This is supported by the Clarkes (1963:1) when they say that for the few who do read, folklore is that powerful all pervading portion of knowledge acquired apart from formal education, that is, knowledge gained from the environment. In their statement, the Clarkes mention the environment, which is perceived as the environment where cultural activities and expressions prevail. They further claim that as one of the folk, you experience your own beliefs and practices as perfectly natural and that only the beliefs and practices of the 'other' folk are considered odd. I fully agree with the Clarkes because one's culture is inherently intrinsic to oneself and because of its naturalness, one does not feel uncomfortable when participating in cultural activities, and because of that nothing seems odd about spontaneously participating in cultural activities. But 'other' people may find certain forms of cultural expression strange. That, however, does not mean that one should downplay or neglect one's culture. The remedy to this, particularly in the South African context where indigenous cultures may have been marginalized, is that there should be an awareness and respect for the diversity of cultures. Human culture is made up of many separate cultures, each being different from the others.

The Clarkes (1963:8) present the following definition of folklore:

"Folklore consists of all lore (knowledge, wisdom, action) transmitted by tradition." This implies that people transmit particular forms of knowledge, wisdom through sayings and advice and their actions from generation to generation. These are transmitted orally and they represent and are influenced by tradition. For instance, in the marriage tradition of the amaXhosa, there are many aspects of knowledge, wisdom and action. Words of wisdom are communicated by the elders of the family, and action takes place in the form of dancing and singing. 'Lobola' is one of the traditions included in the marriage process of the amaXhosa. It is not the commercial exchange of a girl as perceived by some who are not knowledgeable about the amaXhosa customs and

traditions. Lobola in its original sense is 'ikhazi', that is, cows are given as a gesture of creating a bond between the families of the bride and the bridegroom. In Xhosa we talk of "ukukhupha ikhazi", that is to take out cows, but these days due to economic pressures money has taken the place of cows.

Okpewho (1992:4) claims that folklore implies more than just literature and in some quarters underplays the literary aspect of what the folk do. I support Okpewho in his claim as the deeds or actions of people may not be literary although in some cases there may be some literary aspects involved. For example, in the case of folksongs, dancing and attire may not be regarded as literature, although the singing that comprises lyrics may be regarded as literature. Okpewho further describes oral literature as "literature delivered by word of mouth".

Finnegan (1992:5) states that folklore is commonly defined in terms of orally transmitted material. Finnegan reaffirms the fact that folklore is oral in nature and that it is responsible for the transmission of knowledge from generation to generation.

Finnegan (1992:12) cites Wonko (UNESCO:1989a:8) who made the following definition of folklore: "Folklore (or traditional or popular culture) is the totality of traditional based creations of a cultural community expressed by a group of individuals; they reflect its cultural and social identity; its standards and values are transmitted orally by imitation or by other means. Its forms include, among others, language, literature, music, dance, games, mythology, rituals, customs, handicrafts, architecture and other arts."

What Wonko is expressing is that folklore is about the philosophy of life of people. He further expresses the fact that there are many forms that reflect the culture of people. He also points the fact that through folklore one's identity and culture is easily recognized and that standards of the people are firmly held and are passed orally and by other means from generation to generation.

Okpewho (1992:4) states that folklore implies more than just literature and in some quarters underplays the literary aspect of what the folk do. I share the same sentiments as Okpewho because the deeds of people may not be literary in nature although there may be some literary aspects involved. For instance, in the case of folksongs, dancing and clothing may not be regarded as literary, although singing, which may comprise lyrics or not is regarded as oral literature. Okpewho further describes oral literature as "literature delivered by word of mouth".

Beuchat (n.d.) in her paper on 'Folklore as literature' quotes Richard Waterman, who defines folklore as follows:

"Folklore is that art form, comprising various types of stories, proverbs, sayings, spells, songs, incantations and other formulas which employ spoken language as its medium." Waterman is then clearly biased in viewing folklore as verbal art, excluding other possible forms.

Beuchat also quotes MacEdward Leach:

"Folklore is the generic term to designate the customs, beliefs, traditions, tales, magical practices, proverbs songs, etc; in short the accumulated knowledge of a homogenous unsophisticated people." One could challenge folklore as belonging to an "unsophisticated people". This is a rather old-fashioned view and modern folklorists are at pains to emphasize that folklore forms are found in all societies, traditional and modern, and at all levels of sophistication.

It is clear that Leach's definition is wider than Waterman's in that he mentions the accumulated knowledge of a homogenous people who have not lost their traditions and customs. He does not narrow it down to simply the verbal art forms.

Both Waterman and Leach therefore acknowledge great variety in folklore forms.

J. Russel Reaver and George W. Boswell (1962:11) in their work **Fundamentals of Folk Literature** give a more acceptable description of what folklore could comprise. They highlight the fact that folklore is intimately linked to an oral tradition. They say: "Too frequently folklore is concerned for the most part with outmoded survivals of earlier periods.... (Yet even the modern countries, any modern people) is full of folklore, for folklore is traditional belief, literature, exaggeration, knowledge and skills orally conceived or transmitted from one generation to the next or disseminated among the members of the same generation. It is preserved in the memories of the people. Its indispensability is unwritten tradition."

Reaver and Boswell's definition is thus far more satisfying than the others. Folklore does not concern only traditional folk. Modern folk have folklore too. Modern folk also have traditional beliefs and participate in customary activities. Most of its norms and values emanate from customs and traditions. Modern folk also possess knowledge and skills that they have inherited from their fore-bearers and these are preserved in the memories of people and transmitted orally when necessary.

According to Reaver and Boswell (1962:11), folklore can be divided into four main types, namely:

1. The Action type:

This involves dances, that is, bodily movements of performers and sometimes of the audience. Gestures, practical jokes, games, mime, religious and other ceremonies are also involved in this type. A good example is that of ritual ceremonies where action such as singing, dancing and the actual practicing of the ritual takes place.

2. The Science type:

This type involves all beliefs, ideas, folk philosophy, myth, wisdom, prophecies, cures and remedies. Each folk have its own beliefs, ideas and folk philosophy. To discredit any of these would be unacceptable. One should not be deprived of one's right to exercise one's beliefs. Cures and remedies, particularly those associated with traditional religion also play a role. "Amagqirha" or traditional healers have a place in Xhosa society. There are cures that can only be performed by them and remedies that are only known by them.

3. Linguistic Folklore:

This entails the study of speech, phonology, dialect phrases, curses, jokes, incantations, blessings, idioms, proverbs and riddles. Each nation has its own language, which it uses to relate its experiences. One would easily understand a joke if it is told in one's own language and the same applies to all other linguistic expressions.

4. Folk Literature:

This constitutes the “ aristocratic type” of folklore and would cover a vast area. In folk literature we have legends, tales, epics, drama, songs, ballad etc. These are replete with traditional material. Folk literature is passed from generation to generation through language. Human experiences in literary form are transmitted from generation to generation. One could obviously challenge the position of forms such as proverbs, idioms and riddles in Type 3. They could ostensibly also be considered as ‘literary’ in nature.

Folksongs, the focus of this study, can be accommodated in more than one type because they feature not only in one type.

A slightly different way of typifying folklore forms is the following. It corresponds in part with Reaver and Boswell’s typology, but there are also differences. The following four categories can be distinguished: 1) Oral Literature, 2) Social folk customs, 3) Performing folk art, 4) Material Culture.

1. Oral Literature:

Oral Literature is one of the most important categories of folklore. As the name indicates, there are literary forms that at least originally, only knew an oral form. These forms were dependent on being transmitted orally from generation to generation. This was the case before, and still is the case in illiterate societies. As these societies were introduced to writing, it was natural that these old forms were put into print. That is why it is common nowadays to find original oral literature in writing. This is also the case in Xhosa society. This does not detract from the importance of oral literature. Even today many of these forms are still transmitted orally. The folktale tradition amongst the amaXhosa is a good example, even if it is restricted to rural areas these days.

What is important is that in most societies oral tradition paved the way for written tradition. Oral forms can therefore be seen as forerunners of modern literature. The roots of the people can be traced in these oral forms. It is clear that oral forms are still in existence, and that oral literature constitutes one important category of folklore. One could distinguish between prose and poetry. Under prose we have myths, legends, folktales, fables and historical narratives. These are often called narrative prose. Non-narrative forms of prose like proverbs, idioms and riddles are accommodated here. Both these types of prose could at times be didactic in nature. Under poetry we have lyrical poetry dealing with folksongs and dramatical or praise poetry. Poetry could also be didactic.

2. Social folk customs:

The emphasis here is on group interaction rather than individual skills. It has to do with traditions and customs as they are revealed by social norms of behaviour. Social folk custom is often connected to the rites de passage of the individual, like birth, initiation, marriage and death. These traditions are bound together by folk beliefs and these folk beliefs may even include and be informed by superstition. Various kinds of religious expression can be accommodated here. Whenever a group meet for a social gathering, folk singing and dancing usually take place.

3. Performing folk art:

This category refers to traditional songs, traditional dance and drama type performances. There is thus a conscious attempt to perform in front of an audience, unlike the more casual singing or dancing which is often a spin-off at a cultural gathering celebrating a particular custom, ritual, or tradition. These performances are often done in social gatherings.

4. Material Culture:

Material Culture refers to the visible rather than the audible. It refers to traditional skills, art, recipes and formulas that are transmitted from generation to generation. It includes tangible products like domestic utensils, tools, clay material, beads etc. Some components of material culture like drums, shakers, beads, clothes are visible in folk singing performances.

If one looks at these categories thoroughly, one would find that these are interwoven, and drawing dividing lines is problematic. Songs, the focus of this study, is a good case in point: songs have literary qualities, and hence could be accommodated in category 1, Oral literature. But songs also feature when customs or rituals are practiced and it is of essence a performing art. When representatives of a culture sing traditional songs, they often display forms of material culture, i.e. dress and other accoutrements or decorations. During the developmental stage of an individual, a ritual linked to that stage would be performed. That ritual will often be accompanied by folksongs and dance. This proves that folklore embraces culture.

2.2 THEORIES OF FOLKLORE

Over the years various approaches have given way to others as folklorists realized which were more fruitful. Many approaches initially focused on one particular aspect to the exclusion of others, but as the previous section on the definition of the field suggested, a combination of approaches is probably the best way forward in enhancing the development of the field.

A brief outline of popular approaches in the past and also currently will follow. Where relevant, the usefulness of a particular approach or theory for this study will be indicated. I have referred to Dorson as the main source for my theories.

2.2.1 The Historical - geographical approach:

Exponents of this approach try to reconstruct the history of a complex folklore item. It may be a folktale, folksong or any other folklore item. This method was designed to stop hasty generalizations particularly about the origin and meaning of folktales through a thorough and unprejudiced examination of each individual tale. There are misconceptions about other folklore items as well, as far as their origin and meaning is concerned. Folksongs have been identified as one of those folklore items that have been misconstrued. I therefore feel that this approach is still relevant, as there are still individuals who misconstrue the origin of folksongs.

According to the premises of this method, a tale that has been found in hundreds of variants must

have originated in one time and one place by an act of conscious invention. That is also the case with folksongs, particularly contemporary ones like 'izitibili' performed by choirs and religious groups. This tale and / or folksong must have travelled in ever-widening arcs from its point of creation. 'Izitibili' with Xhosa lyrics but sung by other cultural groups, is a case in point. Surely their origin is from the cultural group whose language is interwoven in the lyrics. This method implies that the present and the future often have its origin in the past.

There is criticism from many scholars regarding this method. One of them is that the method ignores aesthetic and stylistic elements and the human side of the narrator. These are very important elements of the oral tradition that need not be ignored when analyzing any oral art form.

2.2.2 The Historical – Reconstructional approach:

The name is self - explanatory, i.e. this approach tries to reconstruct the past from available evidence that often is scanty.

According to Dorson (1972:14) a thorough analysis of each individual tradition according to certain criteria should be made:

- Have the tradition carriers resided continuously in the same locality, so that visible landmarks reinforce the story line?
- Does the culture institutionalize oral historians?
- Are the tribal traditions supported by other kinds of evidence – linguistic, ethnological and documentary?

He further states that if such questions can be answered affirmatively, the presumption of historical trustworthiness increases.

In the South African situation, where some communities had vanished because of economic and racial pressures this method may be considered suitable. The Khoisan community appears to have lost its identity and culture because of such pressures although there are currently initiatives to revive that culture. In order to piece together a history, one has to rely primarily on reminiscences, recollections and traditions. This approach might be suitable for gathering information pertaining to folksongs. I will definitely use it during my investigation.

2.2.3 The Ideological approach:

This approach has its focus on the use of folklore items to support an ideology, usually of a group or nation.

If one investigates Xhosa folksongs, particularly those that were familiar during the liberation struggle in South Africa, one would find that they bore sentiments of nationalism, while at the same time highlighting the plight of Black South Africans under the apartheid rule.

This approach could be considered relevant in the South African situation. Black communities have been discriminated against and these communities struggled to uphold a sense of nationalism and voicing their ideology. Because of their commitment to nationalism, they managed to retain their culture as well as their nationality although there were some dying elements of their culture. The call for an African Renaissance will give people the opportunity of

reviving and preserving those elements of African tradition, which were on the verge of collapsing because of colonialism. This means that African folklorists in South Africa have a big role to play in their communities in facilitating this process.

Toyi-toying was prevalent among Black South Africans during the liberation struggle in South Africa. This type of dancing is usually accompanied by folk singing. One could argue that this type of folk singing and dancing contributed to the liberation of black South Africans and the birth of the new South Africa.

2.2.4 The Functional approach:

What this approach is saying is that folklore forms have a role to play in society. Folklore contributes to the maintenance of social institutions. This means that folklore functions in culture. As mentioned before, developmental stages in African communities are often accompanied by ritual activities. These are culture oriented. These ritual activities perform a function in society. This is indicative in the amaXhosa tradition when one becomes ill because one did not perform a ritual proceeding connected to one of the developmental stages.

Stories told to children, particularly folktales have particular functions to perform. They might educate, warn and/or may sharpen wits. Proverbs that are included in the everyday expressions of people, serve a very important function to the society. They may help settle legal decisions as in *Mqhayi's Ityala lamawele* (1978:10). Riddles, also included in the everyday activities of the amaXhosa, served another important function, that of sharpening wits. Myths were told so as to validate conduct. Songs were sung to entertain, to ridicule and to reprimand. This indicates that each and every aspect of folklore has a function to perform hence most folklore items are performed in front of an audience. If there is no audience the folklore item performed is meaningless. Dorson (1965:210) supports this when he says that a tale is not a dictated text with interlinear translation, but a living recitation delivered to a responsive audience.

Folklore also performs a function of validating belief, conduct and ritual. “*Ukwaluka* “ (initiation) tradition of Xhosa men is a case in point. It is a belief in Xhosa culture that when a boy reaches adulthood, he should be initiated. During the initiation process the initiate is educated on good manners and behaviour. That is where validation of conduct features. The mere fact of being engaged in the ritual indicates the validation of the ritual itself.

2.2.5 The Psychoanalytical approach:

This approach involves the analysis of folklore items within this framework. This approach is connected to Sigmund Freud's psychoanalytical school. This type of interpretation is often problematic, not only because one has to “read between lines”, but also because conclusions arrived at might be considered individualistic and not generally acceptable. Interpretation of dreams might go hand in hand with folk beliefs. If for example one dreams of a social gathering with traditional beer, the amaXhosa believe that is an indication that one should make beer (*umqombothi*) for the ancestors. That does not end there. One may be fortunate in many things or one's problems may come to an end or diminish because one has responded to the plea of the ancestors. In Xhosa tradition, dreams are always linked with social beliefs. One could say that dreaming is one of the belief systems of the amaXhosa. The occasion that may take place as a

result of the dream will, of course, include people, and folk singing and dancing may be done.

2.2.6 The Structural approach:

Structural folklorists are interested in the composition of folklore items.

This has to do with the structure of folk-material, with particular reference to oral literature, which is composed of narratives like myths, legends, folktales and poetry including lyrical poetry, i.e. folksongs.

Most theorists perceive Vladimir Propp as the father – figure of structuralism. He focused on the syntax of the Russian folktale. Folksongs also have a form or structure. The structure of folksongs may differ according to the occasion they are composed for. The structure may depend on the performers as well. Folksongs often contain ‘oral formulaic’ forms because of their oral nature. As I will be investigating form of folksongs, this approach is quite relevant in this study.

2.2.7 The Folk-cultural approach

This approach emphasizes the importance of tangible folk products. In order to understand the culture of a folk, one should understand the products of the folk. Why do they use drums as accompaniment to their music? What is the drum made of? If it is made of cow skin, what does that mean? One should be able to answer such questions in order to claim knowledge of the culture of a particular folk. Dress code is another feature of folk products. Sticks (*iintonga*), mats (*amakhuko*), clay pots (*iingqayi*) and assegais (*imikhonto*) are some of the tangible products of the amaXhosa. Definitely this approach is applicable in this study as folk singing in Xhosa tradition is often performed with the presence of tangible folk products such as some of the above mentioned. This approach will lead us to the contextual approach.

2.2.8 The Contextual approach:

This implies that one should study folklore within context. According to Dorson (1972:45) folklore concepts apply not only to a text, but also to an event in time in which a tradition is performed or communicated. One cannot analyze a song fully if it is just recorded on radio. If it is televised one can at least see the event. But it is preferable that one physically attends the occasion in order to analyze a folklore item fully. Folksongs are performed in context and in front of an audience. Therefore it is crucial for a researcher of folksongs to attend occasions where these are performed, and that is exactly what I will be doing during my research.

2.2.9 The Performance approach:

The following descriptions of performance, affords one an insight into what is regarded as performance. Groenewald (1998:31) cites Bauman and Briggs who describe performance in this way:

“ Performance, the enactment of the poetic function, is a highly reflexive mode of communication. As the concept of performance has been developed in linguistic anthropology, performance is seen as a specially marked, artful way of speaking that sets up or represents a special interpretive frame within which the act of speaking is to be understood. Performance puts

the act of speaking on display – objectifies it, lifts it to a degree from its interactional setting and opens it to scrutiny by an audience. Performance heightens awareness of the act of speaking and licenses the audience to evaluate the skill and effectiveness of the performer’s accomplishment”.

Bauman and Briggs highlight the poetic aspect of performance. They emphasize the enhancement of the speaking act through performance. Through performance, people evaluate the accomplishment of the performers. This shows that performance plays a big role in communication. Performers could be regarded as senders of a message, performance as the message and the audience as receivers of the message.

Drewal & Thompson (1991:1) describes performance as follows:

“ In the broadest sense, performance is the praxis of everyday social life; indeed it is the practical application of embodied skill and knowledge to the task of taking action. Performance is thus a fundamental dimension of culture as well as the production of knowledge about culture. It might include anything from individual agents’ negotiations of everyday life, to the stories people tell each other, popular entertainments, political oratory, guerilla warfare, to bounded events such as theatre, ritual, festivals, parades, and more.”

Drewal and Thompson highlight the fact that performance is a group as well as an individual effort. Through performance, cultural aspects are exposed.

Okpewho (1992:135) states that there are roughly two patterns of performance in songs: the solo performance and the group performance. He further states that group performance may in turn be broken into two types: monochoral and antiphonal. He says monochoral performance implies that a chorus sings the text together all the way from the beginning to the end of the performance. However, he states that such a performance is not common in traditional oral performances for a group to sing a song through without initial or periodic prompting lines from a lead singer. He says the most popular style of group performance is thus antiphonal. The group may comprise two or more persons, but the important element in antiphony is that one party provides a “call” and the other a “response” and this may sometimes take the form of “question” and “answer”, but more frequently it is a device that allows the performers to take turns in bringing out various sides and aspects of the same subject.

Okpewho (1992:134) also claims that the performance of song is usually accompanied by music and dance in accordance with steps that are either culturally familiar or else related to the particular style dictated by the song.

Groenewald (1998:32) says although the performance theory is of relatively recent origin, the word performance has been used since the early 1900s to refer to ‘enacted’ folklore. He further says that researchers were calling attention to the ‘enacted’ event.

Dan Ben Amos (in Ben – Amos and Goldstein 1975:3) says performance ‘releases’ folklore from the literary bonds imposed upon it in archives and libraries, and views it as human verbal symbolic interaction of a performing kind.

Conclusion:

The above theories are based on Dorson's theories regarding researching folklore items except the Performance theory, which is based on Drewal's and Bauman & Briggs' opinions about performance. I have chosen some of them, as they seem to be relevant tools for this study. I have endeavoured to contextualize them to my arguments with reference to my research topic. I have left out some, not out of underestimation but because my argument does not cater for them. Idealistically, they are very good theories for one who is undertaking research on folklore concepts.

2.3 THE POSITION OF FOLKSONGS IN THE DISCIPLINE OF FOLKLORE

Folksongs are familiar in almost all the nations of the world. A song is like a spoken language to amaXhosa. When a woman washes clothes, she sings. When a man is ploughing, he sings. Children sing when they play and when they are engaged in household chores like sweeping, collecting wood etc. The amaXhosa sing even during hard times.

Folksongs have a position in folklore in the sense that they deal with the knowledge of people. Culture forms the basis for knowledge of the folk, hence one finds that folksongs are often culturally oriented.

As already mentioned, folklore has four main categories, namely: oral literature, social folk customs, material culture and performing folk art. If one investigates these individual categories, one would find that folksongs might feature in all of them. Verbal variability is another feature of folksongs. This implies change of words, style and sequence of the episodes. Such additions and changes may feature in all of them. We will then examine the position of folksongs in each category in order to verify the fact that these categories are intertwined regarding the accommodation of folksongs.

1. Oral Literature:

Oral Literature deals with the transmitting of forms with literary qualities from generation to generation. Folksongs can be viewed as poems that are expressed musically. They convey various messages to the audience. Folksongs have significance in actual performance. The performer/s has/ have scope to improvise and/or to create new elements. Variations may be changes that naturally take place within the current cultural conventions.

Folksongs contain literary characteristics pertaining to poetry such as oral- formulaic forms like repetition, imagery, parallelism etc. Just like poems and other oral forms, they are performed in front of an audience. Their functions have relevance to those of poems. This will be dealt with in the next chapter.

Folksongs are hereditary in nature in the sense that they are transmitted from generation to generation, hence there is no known original composer of folksongs.

Folksongs contain characteristics prevalent to oral literature namely; they are didactic in nature in that they may warn, reprimand, praise, ridicule etc. All these functions are done metaphorically

and satirically in many instances.

2. Social folk customs:

Whenever a ritual is executed in Xhosa tradition, there is singing involved. Rituals in Xhosa society are characterized by folksongs in the sense that each ritual has its own type of songs. For example the type of songs sung after the ritual dealing with the birth of a child (*imbeleko*) differs from the one sung during the initiation tradition (*ukwaluka*). Bascom (in Dorson 1972:284) claims that folklore is a 'mirror of culture' in the sense that it sometimes sets out how ceremonies are to be performed. It also sets out what the beliefs of the group are.

Bascom further claims that folksongs are used as a means of applying pressure and exercising social control in order to maintain conformity to accepted patterns of behaviour.

In Xhosa society the different age groups play significant roles in folksongs. Even if the same tradition is performed, different age groups will sing their own songs relevant to the occasion/ritual. The version of the song is still rooted to its context. Another important factor is that these songs are relevant to the social life of society. Folksongs form an integral part of custom.

Concerts have developed as social entertainment for contemporary Xhosa society. *Izitibili* (action songs sung by choirs in a choral music situation) sung in concerts are viewed as contemporary folksongs as they possess characteristics prevalent in folksongs, namely, they are communicative in nature, they are transmitted verbally through generations, they may educate, warn, ridicule reprimand etc. and they are sung in front of an audience. In the townships concerts are still part of social folk custom. A large number of choirs have emerged locally and nationally. These choirs present concerts occasionally as a means of entertainment and of course to raise funds for their sustainability. 'Radio Umhlobo Wenene' has a weekly programme on 'izitibili, conducted by Thozamile Nyakatyha. This enhances the validity of 'izitibili' as folksongs. According to this presenter, 'Radio Umhlobo Wenene' has an obligation of preserving the culture of amaXhosa of which 'izitibili' is part.

3. Material Culture:

Folksongs are relevant to material culture. Material culture has to do with the tangible products produced by individuals in a given society. Folksongs could also be accompanied by tangible products created by individuals in a given society. Drums could be a source of accompaniment to a song as well as shakers. There is a wide range of tangible products that may accompany folksongs.

In Xhosa tradition some folksongs are connected with particular attire, particularly songs related to some particular rituals, age groups and gender. Attire is a tangible product of folk, for example 'izibheshu' worn by young men when doing the 'intlombe' dance. 'Imvubu' (sjamboks) and sticks ('iminqayi') are used when men are doing an 'umngqungqo' dance. These are all tangible products that are visible during the singing performance. There are many of these products that make singing more attractive.

4. Performing folk art:

From the previous argument one would see that folksongs are always performed. In many instances folksongs are accompanied by dance. Body movements are prevalent in folksongs. Paralinguistic features play a role in song performance as well.

Performance has a poetic function. It is perceived as a specially marked artful manner of singing, therefore it has a very strong communicative effect. Performance is capable of displaying the act of singing. Groenewald (1998: 32) reinforces the above statement by saying that performance heightens the awareness of the act of singing and licenses the audience to evaluate the skill and effectiveness of the performer's accomplishment.

Performances are context related. They integrate arts and cultural activities. If a song is performed in a ritual that is supposed to be performed by each member of the amaXhosa society, that indicates the fact that a folksong is regarded as art and ritual as a cultural activity.

Conclusion

Folksongs have an important position in the discipline of folklore. The main four categories of folklore re - affirm the relevance of songs in folklore. It is a fact that folksongs are performed in context: therefore it would be unacceptable to isolate them from context. Another important factor to consider about folksongs is that if there is no audience they are meaningless. As indicated before, they serve particular functions to society. These functions will be dealt with in detail in the following chapter. This means that listening is a crucial element during song performance.

CHAPTER 3

SONG AS AN ART FORM

3.1 ON DEFINING FOLKSONGS

Folksongs can be defined as songs originating from a particular group of people that often reflect the social organization of that group. This is in line with one of the categories of folklore, namely, social folk custom, and also the historical geographical approach, which postulates that a folklore item must have originated at one time and in one place by an act of conscious invention. A folksong is a vocal, dramatic and visual art that is performed in front of an audience. This concurs with the performance theory as described by Drewal and Thomson (1991:1). We could therefore also say that a folksong represents communal art. They are carriers of culture, because the culture of people is often embedded in these forms.

Chiwone in Sienaert (1991:109) provides another definition of a folksong: “The folksong is a dynamic and resilient genre. It reflects the dialectic of tradition and innovation. It continues to be a communal property, although it is adaptable to popular music played on modern musical instruments”. It is true that folksongs are dynamic in any society and they will exist as long as people are present. Although culture changes as time goes on, folksongs remain, but due to the cultural change they also undergo adaptations. Coffin (1968:32) seems to agree with this when he says folksongs are amorphous, they change form and shape according to the demands of both the singer and audience. But we should bear in mind that content may also undergo adaptations. At times folksongs also reflect logical discussions through questions and answers as a means of investigating truths and reflecting on the philosophy of the people. Because they are creations of the people, they belong to the people. This notion is supported by Reaver and Boswell (1962:11) when they suggest that a “Science Type of folklore” exists, which according to them involves folk philosophy, beliefs, ideas, myths, wisdom, cures, remedies etc.

It should be emphasized that folksongs are songs originating from a particular group of people that reflect the social organization of that group. This means that the culture of a people is embedded in folksongs. It should also be stressed that a folksong is a vocal, dramatic and visual art performed for an audience, it is only in performance that one would be able to interpret a folksong fully. The performance theory reiterates this notion. As already mentioned, a folksong could also be regarded as communal art in the sense that it is often performed by a group, and it belongs to a group of people as it had been composed in the particular community.

Another view of folksongs comes from contemporary scholars Sunkuli and Miruka (1990:35-36) who describe them as popular country song perpetuated through generations by oral transmission and performed in traditional gear. They further claim that a folksong reveals a composer's thoughts and feelings, but we should bear in mind that Xhosa folksongs have no original composer. There is, of course, a general feeling that they were composed by individuals at one point, but due to illiteracy among the amaXhosa in the early times, the names of the composers were never recorded, and because of their oral nature, they are sustained by oral transmission from generation to generation. I asked a certain Mr Mzamo, an 80 year old man from Langa Old Flats in Cape Town, which ‘*izitibili*’ (contemporary folksongs sung as choral music) he remembers as a youth. I was surprised when he mentioned some that are still sung today. He

mentioned “*Tshotsholoza kwezo ntaba*”, which is a popular folksong during sporting activities and also a symbol of unification of different racial groups in the new South Africa. This folksong acquired this status when the Springboks, that is, the South African national rugby team, which was mostly composed of White South Africans, were playing against New Zealand in the 1995 World Cup finals. Both Black and White South Africans supported the national team irrespective of its composition. The spirit of nationalism and unification was prevalent on that occasion. It also came to the fore in the spontaneous creation of the term *amaBokoboko* by the Black fans. Mr Mzamo also mentioned that this folksong originated as a work song sung by mineworkers when they were working on the gold, diamond and coal mines in South Africa. He said it was also sung by mine workers on their way to their work places. He mentioned others as well like ‘*Azi sotshona phi*’ (Where will we hide) and others. As for traditional folksongs that are performed during rituals, he mentioned that they were still the same as they were when he was young. The tune, the wording and context are still the same. This confirms the notion that oral literature forms are transmitted orally from generation to generation.

A folksong could also be regarded as a way of expressing public opinion and bringing pressure to bear on individuals:

The following folksong, which was popular during the days of the political struggle in South Africa, concurs with the above assumption.

Oliver Tambo
Thetha noBotha
Asayinel’imfazwe
Asoyiki thina
Umnt’omnyam’uza kunqoba
Asoyiki thina

In English this folksong reads like this:

Oliver Tambo
Speak with Botha
That he signs for the war
We are not afraid
The Black man shall win
We are not afraid

By singing this folksong the Black people in South Africa were trying to convince the apartheid regime that they were prepared to go to war for their freedom. They were asking the leader of the African National Congress, Dr Oliver Tambo to tell the president of South Africa, Mr P.W. Botha to agree to sign for a war. This was a way of putting pressure on the apartheid regime to start the process that would lead to political freedom. This shows that songs can be directed at opposing groups or individuals. This concurs with the ideological approach, which has its focus on sentiments of nationalism, in this case, supporting an ideology of nationalism amongst Black South Africans.

Msomi (in Sienaert 1994:19) defines folksongs as the medium through which the African communicates all his feelings and emotions. Moropa (1995:33) concurs with Msomi when she

says that songs are present at all gatherings of African people, and that there are songs for the youth and for adults. Msomi's definition is valid when we think of daughters-in-law who are only able to express their feelings against their in-laws through songs, as in the following example, which was sung for me by Mrs Nomzi Sifumba a newly wed woman (*umakoti* in Xhosa). She told me that she sings this song when she feels irritated by her mother-in-law, who often seems to be unsatisfied with whatever she does. She told me that after singing this song in the presence of her mother-in-law, she noticed by the change of attitude that she got the message.

We-e mamazala
We-e mamazala
Yintoni kanye oyifuna kum?
Ndixelele, ndixelele
Ndidikiwe mna ngoku
Ndidikiwe

The English:

You mother-in-law
You mother-in-law
What is it that you want from me?
Tell me, tell me
I am fed up now
I am fed up

The oral nature of a folksong is its most important characteristic, and it implies the presence of an audience:

This implies that a folksong is sung and dramatized. The musical aspect consists of songs with lyrics and those without. Usually the lyrics that refer to incidents of the remote past are vague. These characteristics make a folksong an illusive oral genre.

A song is an enacted communication:

By virtue of that, performance is a very strong feature of folksongs as well as other oral genres. To be able to describe folksongs fully, one needs to look at the performance theory. Performance could be viewed as integrating events that is, integrating arts and day – to – day life. Performances are events incorporating different kinds of interactive actions and discourses in different kinds of contexts. It is a fact that performances are central to the social lives of people, especially in Africa. Drewal and Thomson (1991:2) expresses some of these issues as follows: "In Africa, performance is a primary site for the production of knowledge, where philosophy is enacted, and where multiple and often simultaneous discourses are employed . . . Not only that, but performance is a means by which people reflect on their current conditions, define and/or re-invent themselves and their social world, and either re-enforce, resist, or subvert prevailing social orders".

Folksongs are often categorized together with praise poems because they share some common features. Folklore forms, of which a folksong is one, depend on a performer for their actualization. The performers give meaning to their performances and blend renditions with action such as body movements, facial expressions, gestures and vocal tone devices used to manipulate the social situation and convey the message, and these create very dramatic

performances.

Both folksong and praises are performed in front of a live audience on special occasions, such as ceremonies, weddings and funerals, to name a few. The audience in turn responds to these performances by taking part in the dancing and the singing in some instances. The audience might respond by clapping hands, stamping their feet on the ground and doing other movements that follow the tune and/or rhythm of the folksong or praise poem. The interaction between performer and the audience enlivens the performance. This indicates that folksongs and praise poems may be structured in a more or less similar way and they may serve the same functions as will be discussed later on.

Zuckerhandl (1973:25) supports the above by stating that a folksong is a poem, that is, a verbal structure composed in poetic fashion. He further goes on to say that it tells a story, evokes a situation and expresses feelings. He insists that there can be no doubt that the words of the song are all important; the tune plays second fiddle. Like the other forms of oral literature, folksongs mirror the culture and the philosophy of life of a people. They reveal how people view the world they are in contact with around them.

Folksongs could be viewed as intimate, personal and subjective:

They are descriptive of joys, hopes, sorrows and inspirations of an individual or a group. Brevity and high allusiveness in nature are other characteristics of folksongs, according to Moyo in Mamba et al (1980:184). Moyo further states that folksongs are available in both authoritarian populism and an emergent popular democratic culture. Therefore they are at the center of a contested terrain and are a key art form in the political discourse of the particular group in a society. Performers are always viewed as representatives of a group of people, and the words within the folksong point to cultural practices, which pertain to particular sections of society. Sometimes the words are not from the particular performer's point of view, but they nevertheless represent perceptions of the group by society.

Improvisation is one of the important features of folksongs:

Performers have the liberty of improvising when performing. They may have forgotten the original material or they may see a need to make some adaptations to the original song. Improvisation depends on the performers and the situation or context of the performance. Contemporary folksongs have undergone a lot of improvisation due to culture change. The following folksongs support the above notion.

UMbombel'uhamba ngamalahle
UMbombel'uhamba ngamalahle
UMbombel'uhamba kabuhlungu
UMbombel'uhamba kabuhlungu

English version:

The train moves by coal
The train moves by coal

The train moves painfully
The train moves painfully

In the olden days the train was the most popular means of transport for long distances. For its movement the train depended on coal. Coal trains were very slow as if they were struggling to move, hence the folksong.

Because of change in culture, brought about by changes in the socio-economic environment, buses have become a popular means of transport for long distances. They are faster than trains and passengers seemed to enjoy its motion, hence '*ihamba kamnandi*' (it moves well). See the following song:

Ibhasi ihamba ngedizili
Ibhasi ihamba ngedizili
Ibhasi ihamba kamnandi
Ibhasi ihamba kamnandi

English Translation:

The bus moves by diesel
The bus moves by diesel
The bus moves well
The bus moves well

Aesthetics is another important feature of folksongs:

Body movement, poetic use of language, gestures, tone of voice, use of imagination and improvisation are significant techniques of aesthetics. One is able to appreciate the beauty of folksongs through the above-mentioned techniques. Folksongs mirror the background and environment of the singer's society and the audience. Poetic use of language, body movements, gestures, tone of voice, use of imagination and improvisation are, of course, personal in character. Performers will do these differently and the level of competence will differ.

Text and context are major issues in performance studies. The lyrics of a song represent the text. The situation and place of performance represent the context. It is a fact that songs are not performed in a vacuum, there has to be a relevant situation for performance. Groenewald (1998:36) claims that in the process of describing context, researchers have tried to identify and describe every possible type of context, ranging from an institutional context to the context of situation. This concurs with the assumption that a folksong needs to be analyzed in context, not just the institutional context but the situational context as well. This is in support of the performance approach, which stresses that performance plays a big role in communication. It should be taken into cognizance that through performance cultural aspects are exposed.

The notion of performance as put forward by theorists does not only call for textual and contextual studies, but also for an approach in which one searches for poetically patterned contextualization cues in performance, so says Bauman and Briggs in Groenewald (1998:36) It is therefore important for the researcher to be present at the performance in order to be able to

collect and interpret data. That again reinforces the argument that in order to be able to analyze a folksong fully, one needs to be present during the actual performance of the folksong and to interact with the performers and/or cultural groups, which own the folksongs.

According to Groenewald (1998:37) performance is reflexive in nature – it reflects on and draws attention to its own processes, and in so doing performers are constantly redefining issues (ethnicity, etc) related to performance. This is true when it comes to folksongs. Folksongs draw attention to social issues of the group. They could also be used as tools for redefining social standards. This will be dealt with comprehensively when we deal with functions of folksongs.

Performance contains and highlights language use:

Sometimes folksongs have no lyrics and are hummed instead, because the original may have become irrelevant. Groenewald citing Baumann and Briggs says this gives rise to the potential for decontextualization. These theorists further claim that the features that potentiate decontextualization are well known to “literary” folklorists. At the centre of such features is repetition. Repetition is one remarkable feature of folksongs. This is true when it comes to Xhosa folksongs. When form of Xhosa folksongs is discussed in the next section of this chapter, the truth of the above assumption will be revealed.

Folksongs are narratives expressed musically. They often convey a message to the audience. The messages they convey vary as far as functions are concerned.

According to Dundes (1980:36) folksongs are characteristic of Oral Literature in the following manner:

- Actual performance is significant in folksongs.
- Improvisation is one feature of folksongs and original composition in general.
- Variations are introduced in original forms or even totally new forms in terms of the detailed wording, the structure or the content.
- Verbal variability is prevalent in folksongs. Words, style, sequence of episodes may change. New elements may also be introduced and the content may change. Such additions and changes naturally take place within the current literary and cultural conventions and some degree of individual creativity is involved.
- Another essential factor is the face-to-face confrontation of the performer/s with the audience.

One can clearly see that folksongs are part of oral tradition, and they may be associated with different genres.

Dundes (1980:360) proposes three elements of folksongs, namely, textual, textural and contextual. According to him textual elements refer to those that concern texts, that is, verbal elements. Textural elements refer to non-verbal features of performance such as facial expression, voice, body movement etc. Contextual elements refer to the situation or contexts of a performance. The point is that meaning depends on the analysis not only of a verbal interplay and overtones, but also of the various detailed devices, which the performer has at his disposal to convey his art form. African literature, like any other, rests on the basis of language, and language is basically regarded as a communication system.

Nketia (1974:228) claims that the search for the meaning of a song is a search for the (regional) tradition of culture. Nketia reaffirms the notion that knowledge of the culture of a people is essential for the understanding of the meaning. Some dimension of tradition is inherent in the song. Nketia also asserts that music that is frequently integrated with dance is bound to emphasize and develop those features that can be articulated in bodily movement, or to relate its form and content to the structural and dramatic requirements of the dance.

Dance can also be used as an artistic medium of communication:

Dance may be closely related to the theme of a song, and therefore used to illuminate the meaning contained in words of songs. Sometimes the performance may be dominated by dance, with little or no linguistic content at all. The common practice of some functionalists, who attach traditional functions to folksongs, should be discouraged according to Nketia (1974:228). With regard to the above statement, Nketia advises that one should take into account the contemporaneity of folklore performance. He further says that there is an undeniable shift of songs from traditional functions to contemporary ones, from traditional contexts to contemporary ones and from a traditional audience to a contemporary one. For example, the folksong “*Somagwaza*” is a folksong sung during the initiation process and it has a ritual function. Contemporarily, it can also be sung in concerts for entertainment purposes only.

Songs in African societies are present at almost every occasion or gathering:

Okpewho (1992:137) supports the above view by stating that it is important to bear in mind that there is hardly any occasion or activity in traditional African life that is not accompanied by songs. This indicates that music is an integral part of culture. A song is so powerful that it stirs up emotions. Traditional music in South Africa has been educative to the indigenous people. Music has kept South Africans surviving during trying times, and to some extent it has shaped the outlook of who they are and where they are going. Music has kept the cultural flame burning. Xhosa people resort to folksongs when in times of hardship. This is illustrated by the following folksong:

We-e-e tata wabant’abam
We-e-e tata wabant’abam
Uthi mandithini
Uthi mandithini

Wandishiya way’eGoli
Uth’uyosebenza
Uthi mandithini
Uthi mandithini

Awubhali nokubhala
Awuthumeli namali
Uth’abant’ab’am batya ntoni
Uth’abant’ab’am batya ntoni

English version:

You father of my children
You father of my children
What do you think I should do?
What do you think I should do?

You went to Johannesburg
To find work
What do you think I should do?
What do you think I should do?

You do not even write
Let alone sending money
What do you think I should do?
What do you think I should do?

A woman who has been abandoned by her husband usually performs this song. In the context of the song this man never wrote since he left home, never mind sending money for food. This woman is singing this song to express her hardship of struggling to feed and clothe her children. She hoped that her husband would be committed to his convictions of being a head of the family. In Xhosa culture a man is supposed to be a responsible person, who sees to the needs of the household as a whole. This man is not doing his duty as a head of the family, as a result his wife finds herself in a very bad situation. Even during times of political suppression, Xhosa people resort to folksongs. That was reflected during the days of apartheid in South Africa.

One of the important characteristics of folksongs is that it changes or rather that singers change it. Folksongs have a rhythmic pattern, which is determined by words, tempo, aesthetics and effect. Some songs have no lyrics and they are just hummed, but tempo, aesthetics and effect are still maintained. Songs with lyrics adapt to particular situations. They change form and shape according to the demands of both the performer and audience. In such cases stanzas are improvised. Coffin (1968:115) claims that lyrics are conveyed in the language of the people and they are based on norms and values of the people.

Okpewho (1992:133) states that the song is characterized by the highest degree of musicality (both vocal and instrumental) and of other aspects of performance (e.g. audience participation). He further states that in the song we reach the highest level of vocal manipulation: the singer exploits the high and low tones of speech at several levels to achieve even a higher degree affecting melody.

I want to conclude this section by highlighting the following points about folksongs:

- Folksongs are oral in nature and that implies the presence of an audience.
- Performance is a very strong feature of folksongs and other oral forms.
- Folksongs are culture-bound. They reflect cultural traits of people.
- People's emotions are expressed through folksongs.
- Folksongs are poetic in nature. Mnemonic devices present in folksongs, such as repetition, imagery, high allusiveness etc. reflect this.

- People in a group compose folksongs, and the group becomes owners of the folksongs.
- Because of illiteracy among Xhosa people in the olden days, Xhosa folksongs have no known composers.
- Folksongs undergo adaptations because of dynamism of culture.
- Lastly, folksongs are sustained by being transmitted orally across generations.

3.2 FORM OF FOLKSONGS

According to the structural approach folklore forms may be studied according to their structural patterns. Folksongs, the main focus of this research, could then also be studied according to their morphological structure. The structure of folksongs may obviously differ according to the occasion they are composed for. The structure of folksongs may also depend on the performers. Folksongs often contain 'oral formulaic' forms because of their specific, often repetitive structure. These will be observed in all examples of folksongs that will be given in this study.

Form has a more general application, referring to both the external and the internal structure. Parts of the internal structure of a folksong may contain images, symbols, allusions, peculiar idioms and other mnemonic devices such as repetition and parallelism. These could often be considered as "oral formulaic" forms. To elucidate the above, let us analyze the following folksong:

Juku juku juku juku
 NguJujuj'u maqegw'amdaka
 Inamb'enkul'ecand'iziziba

Juku juku juku juku
 Phinyela loo maqethuka
 Usithele kwezoo ntaba

Juku juku juku juku

English version:

Choo choo choo choo
 It is the train, the black mamba
 A huge mamba that crosses rivers

Choo choo choo choo
 Go through those steep hills
 And vanish among those mountains

Choo choo choo choo

"*Juku juku*" reflects an image of the train in motion, particularly a steam train. Coal trains were used in the olden days for long distances and they were very slow as compared to electric trains. The sound they made whilst in motion reflected its motion. '*Juku*' is an ideophone imitating the

sound the train makes, as the English ‘choo’ suggests. “*Inamb’enkulu*” symbolizes the train, which looks like a huge mamba, and its slow motion resembles that of a snake. It is an image of a train disappearing through the mountains. Repetition and parallelism are also prevalent in this folksong. The idiophone ‘*jukujuku*’ is indicating the sound of the movement of the train and has been repeated to attract the attention of the audience to the realization of this contemporary means of transport. This folksong is usually performed in social gatherings. It is in praise of the train, which men used as a means of transport when going to work in the mines. It has been adapted to a contemporary folksong called ‘*isitibili*’.

In most Xhosa folksongs, there is a leader or leaders, who start the song. Members of the group follow the leader as in the following folksong:

Yee bafazi bale lali	
Yee bafazi bale lali	
Olu lwimi lungaka	
Naniluve ngabani na?	(Leaders)
Besiluve kwangawe	(Followers)
Ndandisitsho ndisithini na?	(Leaders)
Wawusith’uyancokola	(Followers)

English Translation:

You women of this village	
You women of this village	
This gossip	
Where did you get it?	(Leaders)
We heard it from you.	(Followers)
What did I say?	(Leaders)
You said you were just chatting.	(Followers)

This folksong developed as a result of the gossip in the village. The composer wanted to express her sentiments about the gossip that was prevailing in the village in order that those involved in the gossip should be aware that they are known. This is what prompted the composer to compose this folksong. That is indicative in the words of the song. One person would hear the song performed by the other and it spreads like that. Mrs Nomzi Mgwayi, a woman from Langa Township in Cape Town related this information. I met her in an initiation ritual. It was women who performed this folksong. Mrs Nomzi Mgwayi also indicated that by virtue of the performance of the folksong, it is evident that the culprit is present. The leaders sing the first part.

Repetition is one of the poetic devices used to refresh the memory, and it also has a mnemonic function, that is, it has a way of strengthening the ability to remember the folksong. The following contemporary folksong called ‘*isitibili*’ reflects the repetitive nature of folksongs:

Wi - - wi----- Wi - - wi----- A - wi ----}	x 2
Sizonge - na	(leaders)
Nalaph’emzini, nalaph’emzini	
Nalaph’emzini—siz’onge - -na	(followers)

Sicel'amalungelo—sichel'amathamsanqa---
A--- wi--- siz'onge - - na (leaders)

English Translation:

Wi - - wi----- Wi - wi----- A—wi -----
We shall get inside

Even in this household, even in this household
Even in this household --- we shall get inside

We are asking for rights --- we are asking for blessings
A -wi--- we shall get inside

Ms Nontombi Mkonto, a chorister of PSS (Princess Square Singers) singers of Guguletu indicated that this folksong is a wedding song. It refers to the clan of the bride, who claim that they will also get into the household of the bridegroom legally, that is, through the marriage tradition. They are asking the bridegroom's clan for blessings and rights as marriage partners. According to Xhosa culture they will definitely get those rights and blessings. The PSS singers performed this folksong in a concert for raising funds for AIDS orphans on the 8th May 2001 in the Guguletu Community Hall.

One cannot always tell from form alone what the associated function is. If, for example, a song is performed at a wedding ceremony, the function of the folksong will have its basis in the ceremony and its proceedings. It may be that the bride or bridegroom is advised on how to behave as married people. It also depends on who performs the folksong. If married women perform the folksong, it may have a function related to issues of married women. But this does not confine the function to one group of people alone. This enhances the relevance of the contextual approach, which emphasizes that folklore needs to be studied in context. To illustrate the above argument, let us look at the following folksongs, which have the same form but different functions when performed in different contexts.

We - e - na Nozizwe---
We - e - na Nozizwe ---

Umahamb'ehlala, ukhuko lomtshakazi
Umahamb'ehlala, ukhuko lomtshakazi

Kulungile na --- ukuhamba uhlala
Kulungile na --- ukuhamba uhlala
We - - na--- Nozizwe
We - - na---- Nozizwe

English version:

You Nozizwe

You Nozizwe

A mat that is used by a married woman when sitting
A mat that is used by a married woman when sitting

Is it right to sit anywhere?
Is it right to sit anywhere?
You Nozizwe
You Nozizwe

In a wedding situation this folksong is reminding the newly wed woman about her mat which she should always use when sitting. The proper name “*Nozizwe*” is a metaphor for the new name of the newly wed woman. In Xhosa culture a newly wed woman is given a new name by her in-laws as a signal that she has now reached a new stage in life, that of being a married woman and also to show respect to her. When this folksong is performed in a youth gathering, its function is to reprimand a woman who is involved with different men. “*Ukhuko lomtshakazi*” in this sense refers to the woman who sleeps around. The proper noun “*Nozizwe*” in this context refers to the woman who welcomes every man.

Ngara (1990:14) states that form is socially conditioned. He further states that styles arise because of historical and social factors, and that styles will be marked by the use of traditional cultural elements and oral forms. Peculiar idioms are widely used as lyrics in most songs of ridicule as illustrated by the following folksong:

Isala kutyelwa sibona ngolophu
Isala kutyelwa sibona ngolophu

Zifundis'ukumamela Nokhontoni
Zifundise, zifundise kuba

Isala kutyelwa sibona ngolophu
Isala kutyelwa sibona ngolophu
Ho- o helele , Ho- o helele---

English version:

If you do not listen, you will find yourself in trouble
If you do not listen, you will find yourself in trouble

Teach yourself to listen, Nokhontoni
Teach yourself, teach yourself because

If you do not listen, you will find yourself in trouble
If you do not listen, you will find yourself in trouble
Ho- o helele, Ho- o helele---

The peculiar idiom in this song is “*Isala kutyelwa sibona ngolophu*”. This means one who does not listen when reprimanded will end up in trouble. The name “*Nokhontoni*” (What will happen?)

is used as a metaphor for a person who always questions whatever is said as a means of controlling social order.

Xhosa people believe in ancestors. Ancestors are members of the family who had passed away. This means that Xhosa people believe that there is life after death. People slaughter cows, sheep and goats as a gesture of respect and thanksgiving to God (*Qamata*) and ancestors intercede. When there is assurance that things are in order (*icamagu livumile*), folksongs relevant to the occasion will be performed. "*Icamagu livumile*" is also a peculiar idiom used by Xhosa people when things seem to be in order. The following folksong is relevant in any ritual proceeding:

Ho! Icamagu livumile
Malibuyel'ekhaya
Ewe - -e—e—
Malibuyel'ekhaya

English Translation:

Ho! Ancestors have agreed
They must come back home
Ye—s -----
They must come back home

When the animal to be used as a sacrifice makes a sound when it is about to be slaughtered, Xhosa people believe that the sound is an indication that things will be in order, that is, "*icamagu livumile*".

In most folksongs, there are two groups that partake in the performance. The one group leads the song and the other one follows the first group. These groups work collaboratively in the sense that one conveys an idea and the other complements it, or one group may ask a question and the other answers the question. The following example reinforces the above argument:

Nomkangaye! Nomkangaye!
Ndakuyidiliza le ndlu yakho
Ndakuyidiliza (the leading group)

Diliza
Diliza (the group that follows)

English Translation:

Nomkangaye! Nomkangaye!
I will destroy your house
I will destroy it (the leading group)

Destroy it
Destroy it (the group that follows)

Polygamy (*isithembu*) was accepted among amaXhosa. The man was supposed to rotate his visits to all his wives. If he spends more days in one wife's house, it may indicate that he loves her more than the others and this may result in jealousy with the other wives. This folksong

expresses dissatisfaction with and jealousy to the wife who is loved more by the husband. It is performed in a gathering where this woman is present, and she may answer in a cheeky manner and say '*diliza, diliza*' (destroy it, destroy it).

A folksong has many interchangeable phrases and dramatic patterns. Unlike other genres like folktales and poems, a folksong is made up of short verbal phrases. The following folksong, which is often sung during initiation, supports the above argument.

Somagwaza, gwaza ngomkhonto
Awe ---- Awe ---- ho – ho – ha
Awe ---- Awe ---- ho – ho – ha

This version shows the interchangeability of phrases:

Gwaza, gwaza ngomkhonto
Somagwaza, gwaza ngomkhonto
Awe ---- ho – ho – ha
Awe ---- ho – ho – ha

Dramatic patterns are the following: '*Somagwaza, gwaza*', '*ngomkhonto, ngomkhonto*', '*awe, awe*', '*ho ho ha, ho ho ha*' and '*gwaza, gwaza*'. Repetition is evident as usual.

"*Somagwaza*" is a name given to a man who does the circumcision of boys as well as to the initiate. According to this folksong, the man who does the circumcision is ordered to stab with the assegai. This is a metaphor because in reality, circumcision is executed by using a special kind of knife called "*umdlanga*" in Xhosa. This folksong is actually a war song. It is also a hero's song. "*Somagwaza*" in a war context refers to soldiers who use assegais when fighting. It is also used as a contemporary folksong, "*isitibili*". The tune has been blended to suit its context.

Although it was mentioned that a folksong is made up of short verbal phrases, some particularly contemporary folksongs may have more than one verse. In support of the above assumption let us investigate the following folksong. In this folksong the leading group consists of sopranos. Altos, tenors and basses follow.

Uz'ubha---le kakuhle
Kwelo ---phepha – lakho
Kuba liya kude ---
Pheshe –ya kolwandle ---

Yiyo --- le indawo
Yoku ---tshatisela
Oonyana ne – ntombi ---
Zohla --- ng'olu - - - ntsundu

English version:

You have to write well
 In your paper
 Because it is going afar
 Overseas

This is the place
 For marrying
 Sons and daughters
 Of the Black nation

This is a wedding folksong performed in church when the bride and bridegroom sign marriage papers in the presence of the church minister. It is repeated until the signing procedure is finished. Although this is a contemporary folksong, there is no known composer of the song.

I attended a wedding in Alice in December 2001, and I met Mrs Mamkwayi Mkaza, an elderly woman whom I asked about this folksong, i.e. whether it was sung in weddings or not during her youth. She indicated that it was sung when they were still young and that they grew up during the period of enlightenment, that is, during the time of modernization when formal education was in existence. She even boasted that she was a product of the Lovedale institution, which had Christian and modern convictions. Lovedale is one of the oldest missionary schools in South Africa. Most Black politicians in South Africa were educated at Lovedale and Fort Hare University. Mrs Mamkwayi Mkaza also had no idea of who composed the song.

I also attended another wedding in Cape Town in March 2002 where I asked Mr Amos Mtsi, a 75year old about the composer of this folksong. He also could not figure out who the composer of the song was. He also indicated that they used to sing this folksong at weddings during his young days.

Folksongs derived from hymns also have more than one verse. The tune is blended in such a way that it allows 'oral formulaic' devices such as repetition, metaphors, parallelism etc. These types of folksongs have known composers whose names are documented in church hymns. The following hymn is an example of the above argument.

67

8.6.8.6. *From 'Dear Lord, I need Thee'*

KEY Ab.

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m : -f | m : r \quad d : l_1 | s_1 : s_1 \quad || \quad l_1 : d \quad | f : m \quad | m : - \quad | r : - \\ s_1 : -l_1 | s_1 : s_1 \quad l_1 : f_1 \quad | m_1 : m_1 \quad || \quad f_1 : s_1 \quad | s_1 : s_1 \quad | s_1 : - \quad | s_1 : - \\ d : -d \quad | d : d \quad d : d \quad | d : d \quad || \quad d : d \quad | t_1 : d \quad | d : - \quad | t_1 : - \\ d_1 : -d_1 \quad | d_1 : m_1 \quad f_1 : l_1 \quad | d : d_1 \quad || \quad f_1 : m_1 \quad | r_1 : d_1 \quad | s_1 : - \quad | s_1 : - \end{array} \right\}$$

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m : -f | m : r \quad d : l_1 \quad | s_1 : s_1 \quad || \quad l_1 : r \quad | d : t_1 \quad | r : - \quad | d : - \\ s_1 : -l_1 | s_1 : s_1 \quad m_1 : f_1 \quad | m_1 : m_1 \quad || \quad f_1 : l_1 \quad | s_1 : f_1 \quad | f_1 : - \quad | m_1 : - \\ d : -d \quad | d : t_1 \quad d : d \quad | d : d \quad || \quad d : f \quad | m : r \quad | t_1 : - \quad | d : - \\ d : -d \quad | d : s_1 \quad l_1 : f_1 \quad | d_1 : d_1 \quad || \quad f_1 : f_1 \quad | s_1 : s_1 \quad | s_1 : - \quad | d_1 : - \end{array} \right\}$$

Wakrazulwa ngenxa yami,
Liwa laphakade!
Kuze ndizifihle kuwe,
Nxeba likaYesu!

Yeyani na le mikrozo,
Kwelo cala lakho?
Yeyegazi, yeyamanzi,
Mandihlanjululwe.

Iinyembezi zeminyaka,
Azingefeze nto;
Nguwe, Nkosi, osusayo
Zonk'izono zomntu.

Andinanto esandleni,
Ndize kanye, Nkosi!
Se ndondele ekrusini,
Ekubethelweni.

Wakrazulwa ngenxa yami,
Liwa laphakade!
Kuze ndizifihle kuwe,
Nxeba likaYesu! Amen.

English translation:

You were torn apart because of me,
Rock of Ages!
So that I can hide myself in thee,
Wound of Jesus!

What are these queues for,
In your side?
They are for blood, they are for water,
Let me be redeemed.

Tears of yesteryears,
Cannot achieve anything;
It is you, Lord, who redeems
All the sins of a person.

I have nothing at hand,
I have nothing at all, Lord!
I am looking at the cross,
At the crucification.

You were torn apart because of me,
Rock of Ages!
So that I can hide myself in thee,
Wound of Jesus! Amen.

Repetition, parallelism, imagery are mnemonic devices found in folksong derived from this hymn. Rhythmic patterns are also evident in 'Wakrazulwa' folksong, as performers manage to blend various poetic techniques (see page 53). Because of change of tune, these devices have been created by the performers. The original hymn does not cater for these devices. This indicates that hymns are not originally folksongs; they have been adapted to become folksongs by the performers. In the first sentence of the song, "*Wakrazulwa ngenxa yami*", one would notice that a vowel 'i' has been added to the possessive pronoun 'yam'. When Xhosa people sing, they add the vowel 'i' to the pronoun ending in a consonant and the possessive pronoun will sound as if it is in the Zulu language for the sake of emphasis and audibility.

It is evident that folksongs have a form like any other folk material. The internal structure of folksongs comprises of repetition, metaphors, parallelism, alliteration, allusion, images etc. Peculiar idioms are used particularly in songs of ridicule. In most Xhosa folksongs there are two groups, which work hand in hand. One group may convey an opinion and the other may support the opinion. Historical and social factors impact on the styles of folksongs. This means that form of folksongs is culturally conditioned. Most traditional folksongs are very short verbal phrases, particularly those that are connected with rituals. Also some contemporary ones like folksongs performed as choral music (*izitibili*). Most folksongs derived from hymns have more than one verse. In conclusion, form does not determine the function of folksongs. In the following section, functions of folksongs will be explored.

3.3 FUNCTIONS OF FOLKSONGS

The functional approach emphasizes the fact that folklore forms have a role to play in society. Folksongs as part of folklore obviously then fulfill some function in society. The fact that they are performed in front of an audience is an indication that they have a role to play. As already mentioned in chapter 2, folklore contributes to the maintenance of social institutions. This emphasizes the fact that folklore forms have an important role to play in culture. I will therefore outline some of the many functions of folksongs.

A folksong can be viewed as a way by which singers hope to influence society while at the same time avoiding the danger of speaking directly. Because the song is conventional in nature, that is, it is quite familiar in almost all occasions in Xhosa society, it makes it possible to indicate in public what could not be said privately or directly to a man's face. Dyubhele in Sienaert 's Oral Tradition and Transmission (1994:27) states that satire is a communicative strategy in Xhosa folksongs. He further states that in folksong, satire is used as an indirect method of communicating what may not be said to avoid open confrontation. Morality is an important feature in Xhosa society. The following folksong performed by married women supports the above assumption.

He bafazi bale lali
He bafazi bale lali
Olu lwimi lungaka
Naniluve ngabani na

Sasiluve kwangawe
Nanindive ndisithini na
Wawuthe uyancokola
Nanindive ndisithini na
Wawuthe uyancokola

This folksong simply says in English:

You women of this village
You women of this village
Such a gossip
Who told you about it

You told us
What did you hear me say
You said you were just chatting
What did you hear me say
You said you were just chatting

This folksong is trying to reprimand a woman who is a gossip. This is done in a satirical manner in order to avoid direct confrontation. It is assumed that the woman concerned will definitely get the message and change her behaviour. Mrs Nomzi Mayekiso of Langa Township related this information. She felt that gossip was a woman's issue in the past. Men were not involved in gossip as men of today. This folksong was performed by married women during an initiation ceremony of the boys coming back from the initiation school (*ukuphuma kwenkwenkwe*), which I attended on 21 December 2001. Mrs Nomzi Mayekiso said that the reason that the folksong was performed in such a context was that the culprit was present on the occasion and she needed to be censured immediately. She mentioned that folksongs of this nature are performed on any occasion as the need arises. Women who performed this folksong were in traditional Xhosa attire and they had small blankets over their right hand shoulders. I asked Mrs Nomzi Mayekiso about the significance of the blanket and she indicated that it was just a sign of being adult women. Girls are not allowed to carry the blanket over their shoulders. Their dance was also dignified, assumingly signifying the status of the women. They were shaking their upper body and lifting their heels a bit whilst their toes touched the ground. They danced with bare feet.

A folksong could also be regarded as a way of expressing public opinion and bringing pressure to bear on individuals. The following folksong, which was popular during the days of political struggle in South Africa, concurs with the above assumption.

Oliver Tambo
Thetha noBotha
Asayinele imfazwe
Asoyiki thina

Umnt'omnyam'uzonqoba
Asoyiki thina

In English this folksong is as follows:

Oliver Tambo
Speak with Botha
That he signs for war
We are not afraid

The Black man will win
We are not afraid

By singing this folksong, the Black people of South Africa were trying to convince the apartheid regime that they were prepared to go to war for their freedom. They were asking the leader of the National Congress, Dr Oliver Tambo to tell the president of the Republic of South Africa, Mr P.W. Botha to agree to war. This was a way of putting pressure on the apartheid regime to let the Black people be free in their land. This also shows that folksongs can be directed against opposing groups or individuals. This concurs with the ideological approach, which states that the use of folklore items (being folksongs in this instance) may support an ideology, usually of a group or nation. I happened to watch this folksong performed in Khayelitsha near Cape Town on the 23 May 2002. Residents of Mandela Park in Khayelitsha were against the eviction of people from their houses because of non-payment of their mortgage bonds. I asked Mr Luzuko Mthiya, one of the protesters, why they were performing that folksong in the new South Africa, which is led by the ANC government. He replied that there are still Mr Bothas in the new South Africa. He regarded the financial institutions as the 'Bothas' in this context. He mentioned that these institutions are expecting the residents to pay for poorly built houses. I asked him if they reported the damages to the bank officials and he said they did but the bank officials did not take any steps regarding their complaints hence they decided to embark on a non-payment strategy. He was adamant that they would continue their struggle of non-payment until their demands are met. As this is a political folksong the dance is very energetic. The performers would lift their legs very high so that the knees nearly touch the chin. The attire remains the usual modern clothes.

Folksongs often play an essential part in rites of passage, when an individual moves from one status to another in society. The transition is celebrated by folksongs connected with the ritual, marking the new status. In this case rituals as well as folksongs connected to them are interpreted and analyzed. Folksongs sung by boys, which are heard and accepted by their audience, are an important aspect of their claim to adulthood. Among the amaXhosa, weddings are also an obligatory occasion for praises of the bride and bridegroom, and also for reprimanding the two by the audience who will sing folksongs relevant to that assumption. The following folksong concurs with the above assumption:

Umakoti azange alale
Azange alale
Uze uziphathe kakuhle
We bhuti wethu
Uze uziphathe kakuhle

We bhuti wethu
Uze uziphathe kakuhle
We sisi wethu
Uze uziphathe kakuhle
We sisi wethu

In English this folksong reads like this:

The newlywed woman never sleeps
She never sleeps
You must behave yourself
You, our brother
You must behave yourself
You, our brother
You must behave yourself
You, our sister
You must behave yourself
You, our sister

This is a wedding folksong reprimanding the newly weds. The bride is told that a newly wed woman wakes up early in the morning and is the last to go to bed. She has to make morning coffee for all the members of the household using fresh water from the river. This meant that she had to fetch water from the river in the early hours of the morning, and she had to walk a long distance to the river. She is the last to go to bed as she has a responsibility of ensuring that the house is tidy before she goes to bed. The groom is told to behave himself by being a good husband who does not have extra marital affairs and is exemplary to his family. This folksong was performed at a wedding I attended in Alice in December 2001. Mrs Lydia Mkaza related all the information regarding this folksong to me. Performers wore traditional attire such as 'umbhaco' and they danced and some waved blankets and ordinary cloths ululating. Men performers were carrying sticks (*iintonga*) and demonstrating the game of stick fighting. The dance was a mixture of traditional and modern dance.

The following folksong marks the praises of bride and groom:

We bhuti wethu
We bhuti wethu
We bhuti wethu
Iyho - - - yho - - - yho-----

We sisi wethu
We sisi wethu
We sisi wethu
Iyho - - - yho - - - yho -----

Iyho --- yho --- yho-----
Iyho --- yho --- yho-----
Iyho - - - yho - - - yho----

Miss Nomzamo Magaxa, who was one of the performers of this folksong, said that by singing this folksong they are just praising the bride and the bridegroom for embarking on this important stage in life, and that they feel proud that they will now be regarded as their brother and sister. Miss Nomzamo Magaxa was related to the bridegroom. Attire and dance was the same as in the performance of the above folksong.

Another function of folksongs is that it validates culture. This overlaps with the previous function because rites of passage have a cultural connotation. Folksongs justify rituals and institutions of those who perform and observe them. In Xhosa culture, folksongs are found in almost every gathering. Rituals are one of the social structures of the amaXhosa. Each ritual has folksongs connected to it as already mentioned in the previous section. The institution also determines which folksongs are to be performed and this notion concurs with the contextual approach as well as the psychoanalytic approach. The following folksong justifies the marriage ritual and institution where a custom of giving sour milk (*ukutyisa amasi* or *utsiki*) to the newly-wed woman is performed. This custom allows the newly-wed woman to eat dairy products at her marriage home, because unless that custom is performed, she cannot eat any dairy product. This occasion also involves the ancestors, therefore the killing of an animal is obligatory and it is also an assurance that this woman is holistically part of this family. The host will have to eat a certain part of meat called *injeke* in Xhosa. The following folksong marks that occasion:

Ho – yo – ngo – na
 Ho – ha – yo – ngo – he – hamba
 Ho – yo – ngo – na
 Yo – ha – yo – ngo – he – hamba
 Uza kutya injeke lo mntwana
 Ho – ha – yo – ngo – he – hamba
 Uza kusela amasi lo mntwana
 Ho – ha – yo – ngo - na

English Translation:

Ho – yo – ngo – na
 Ho – ha – yo – ngo – he – go
 Ho – yo – ngo – na
 Yo – ha – yo – ngo - he – go
 This child will eat the spleen
 Ho – ha – yo – ngo – he – go
 This child will drink sour milk

It is only married women who perform this folksong and it serves as an assurance that a woman has married. The dancing is coupled with clapping of hands. Obviously in such an occasion attire is traditional and the blanket over the shoulders of the performers is significant. The newly wed woman would sit quietly with her eyes looking down.

Folksongs also play a role in education, particularly in illiterate societies. They are an important means of applying social pressure and exercising social control. They are also responsible for

expressing social approval of those who conform. This view is supported by the following statement cited in Wonko (UNESCO: 1989a:8) by Finnegan (1992:12) "Folklore is the totality of traditional based creations of a cultural community in so far as they reflect its cultural and social identity; its standards and values are transmitted orally or by other means". These functions could be considered under the single function of maintaining the stability of culture. Dundes (1965:298) reinforces the above by claiming that folklore operates within a society to ensure conformity to the accepted cultural norms and continuity from generation to generation through its role in education and the extent to which it mirrors culture. Folksongs can be used to inculcate customs and social standards in the young, and in an adult to reward him or her with praise when he conforms or to punish him or her with ridicule or criticism when he or she deviates. Below is an example of a folksong, which censures misbehaviour. It was performed in a ceremony for the opening of Siyabulela Primary School in Langa Township near Cape Town on the 27 October 2001.

We- e Nomayakayaka, Nomayakayaka
 We e Nomayakayaka, Nomayakayaka
 Yinton'ukuhleba kangaka
 Yinton'ukuhleba kangaka
 Hayi mphixanisi, yek'ukuphixanisa
 Ho – ho – ho – ho
 Ho – ho – ho – ho

English Translation:

You Nomayakayaka, you Nomayakayaka
 You Nomayakayaka, you Nomayakayaka
 Why do you have to gossip like this
 Why do you have to gossip like this
 No, you person causing trouble, stop causing trouble
 Ho – ho – ho – ho
 Ho – ho – ho – ho

Langa Choristers performed this folksong. Mr Xolile Mabhu, the choirmaster related the following information regarding this folksong: '*Nomayakayaka*' is just a name referring to a gossip. One would realize that '*iyakayaka*' is a cloth that is ripped, and that indicates the hatred of people against a gossip. They may want to rip him or her apart so that he or she does not exist. The choir was not really aware of the presence of the gossip on the occasion. They were just singing the folksong for entertainment, but at the same time if it happened that a gossip was present, he or she would get the message and maybe stop the habit. He even mentioned that at the same time the folksong is reprimanding even those who are not engaged in the act of gossiping not to start it. We must remember that children need to be disciplined whilst still young so that they grow up to be good citizens. What is interesting is that even in modern activities amaXhosa like to wear traditional attire, even if it is mixed with modern attire. The Langa choristers wore their traditional gear, that is '*imibhaco*' and they were barefoot. The dance was modern. Here is a folksong applying social pressure and exercising social control:

Saphela isizwe
 Nkosi yam

Saphela isizwe
Ngumona

Yekani umona
Bantu bakuthi
Akuvunwa nto
Kumona

Wena unomona
Uzophendula
Uzophendula
Ngenye imini

English Translation:

The nation is dying
My Lord
The nation is dying
Because of jealousy

Please stop jealousy
You, our people
Nothing is reaped
From jealousy

You, who are jealous,
You will answer
You will answer one day

This folksong is warning people that jealousy is dangerous. Instead of developing people it destroys them. It also warns people that out of jealousy one gets nothing, and that the perpetrator will answer one day for his or her deeds. The assumption from one member of the Langa Choristers, the choir that performed the previous folksong, by the name of Nomazizi Vuza, was that, the one causing discomfort to others because of jealousy will answer when the day of judgements come. This choir performed on the same occasion as the above with the same attire but the dance was different but also modern.

Folksongs have a communicative function even if they have no lyrics. Jafta (1972) supports this view when she says that action conveys a particular meaning even though there may be no elaborate content (within songs in this case) (ibid: 73).

The above- mentioned folksongs could be categorized according to their value to the society:

The entertainment value

Folksongs for entertainment are about issues that unite people. Every one can perform these folksongs and they are performed on all occasions where people are entertained. These include

issues related to maltreatment of some by others. Newlywed women may be ill-treated by their in-laws, young boys may be ill-treated by older ones, the community may be ill-treated by the authorities or members of the community may be ill-treated by other members. These folksongs may also address broader social issues, not only complaints against one another. This category includes folksongs according to age groups, such as folksongs for the youth, folksongs for girls, folksongs for boys, folksongs for young men, folksongs for young women and folksongs for adults. Folksongs for entertainment purposes in general deal with issues related to the social stability of society. In relation to the above see the following folksong found in '*Sasinoncwadi kwatanzi* (Satyo et al:1996)

Umz'unqabile
Umz'unqabile
Ndihlakula ndikofola
Umz'unqabile, ndiyawusebenzela
Yimani ngokuma
Umz'unqabile, ndiyawusebenzela

English translation:

The household is scarce
The household is scarce
I hoe and plough
The household is scarce; I work for it
Pull up your socks
The household is scarce; I work for it

In Xhosa culture it is perceived that it is a must that a girl get married. It is a belief that in order to be seen by men one should not only be beautiful but one should be diligent. It means that the girl should be seen working hard at home and in the fields hoeing and ploughing. It is believed that such a diligent woman will be a good wife.

This is also aesthetic in nature. It is the beauty of the song that entertains the audience. This beauty includes things such as dance, attire, tune and lyrics of the song. These folksongs are lighthearted in nature. See the following folksong called '*isitibili*':

UNonkala whi whi mha ---
UNonkala whi whi mha ---
UNonkala whi whi mha ---
UNonkala whi whi mha ---

Unonka -- l'uyadidiyela --
UNonkala ngasemlanjeni --
Unonka -- l'uyadidiyela --
UNonkala ngasemlanjeni --
English translation:

The crab whi whi mha

The crab whi whi mha
The crab whi whi mha
The crab whi whi mha

The crab dances
The crab, by the riverside
The crab dances
The crab, by the riverside

Folksongs mainly serve the entertainment function in society, both for the performers and the audience. In social gatherings and in informal get-togethers, folksongs are performed for recreational purposes, that is, to excite and entertain people.

The communicative value

Folksongs are communicative in nature as already mentioned. They convey meaning to the audience. Sometimes the song may be directed to one individual, and because of the message the individual referred to is expected to respond to the message conveyed. Such songs are performed in front of the perpetrator who by hearing the message will have to change his actions.

One should remember that communicative elements in folksongs could be lyrics, paralinguistic features and dance. The receiver of the message is the audience. To illustrate the communicative value of folksongs, let us analyze this gospel song.

UYesu zang'alale	(leaders)
Za -- ng'ala --le wayetha -- ndaza	(followers)
UYesu zang'alale	(leaders)
Za --ng'ala -- le wayetha -- ndaza	(followers)

Mpompoza mthombo	(leaders)
Mpompo -- za mtho -- mbo wosindiso	(followers)
Mpompoza mthombo	(leaders)
Mpompo --za mtho -- mbo wosindiso	(leaders)

English version:

Jesus did not sleep
He did not sleep, He was praying
Jesus did not sleep
He did not sleep, He was praying

Flow, fountain
Flow, fountain of redemption
Flow, fountain
Flow, fountain of redemption

The message conveyed by this song is that Jesus never slept, instead He kept on praying. This is a warning to people to persist in praying because by doing that the fountain of redemption will not

stop flowing, that is, people will always be watched and saved by Jesus or God. This gospel song is also regarded as a folksong in the sense that it complies with the characteristics of oral literature of which folksongs are one genre. As Christianity is relatively new in Xhosa culture, attire is also modern. Dance is also characteristic in gospel songs. Gospel folksongs are usually performed in modern religious gatherings, although they may also be found on traditional occasions like in initiation ceremonies, but as forms of entertainment and of praising the Lord for the ritual to be successful.

Let us again investigate the following song, which was performed by the deputy president of South Africa, Jacob Zuma, on 4 May 2002 in Bisho Stadium at the funeral of Mr Steve Tshwete, who was the minister of Safety and Security in South Africa. It elucidates the communicative value of folksongs.

Lihambile, lihambile, li - - - -
Lihambile- - - - itshawe lamatshawe
Lihambile itshawe lamatshawe (x2)

Hamba kahle, hamba kahle - - - -
Hamba kahle - - - - hamba kahle
Hamba kahle we tshawe lamatshawe
Hamba kahle we tshawe lamatshawe

English version:

He has gone; he has gone
He has gone; the hero of heroes
He has gone; the hero of heroes (x2)

Go well. Go well
Go well; the hero of heroes
Go well; the hero of heroes

Deputy president Jacob Zuma sang this song with dignity as he bade farewell to the late minister of safety and security Mr Steve Tshwete. He regarded Mr Tshwete as the hero, as he was generally regarded. Mr Tshwete was nicknamed Mr Fix it, because of the heroic manner in which he dealt with socio-political as well as with security issues. He was well known for being straight - forward, saying whatever he felt was the truth irrespective of how one feels. That is why he was regarded as the hero of the heroes. Mr Jacob Zuma was the lead singer during this folksong performance. There was no dancing during this folksong performance. Both Mr Zuma and the audience were just standing still as they performed this folksong. One member of the audience, Miss Nyameka Goduka indicated that the folksong needed to be performed in the same manner as the national anthem as it was in respect of a national figure. I asked her about the other songs which were performed on this occasion, if they were not in respect of the deceased. He indicated that this was unique in the sense that it referred directly to Mr Tshwete.

The social value

This has to do with conformity to norms and values of society. This expresses the acceptable behaviour of society, but folksongs can also ridicule, criticize, humiliate, expose or tease. If someone is engaged in misbehaviour, he or she may be reprimanded by folksongs of ridicule. Someone may be criticized in his or her wrongdoings through folksongs. To illustrate the social value of folksongs, let us investigate the following example:

Imkile laa nto	(leaders)
Kwanga kuyaxokwa	(followers)
Ujikeleza umzi wenye indoda	(leaders)
Owakho uwushiye nabani	(followers)

English version:

That thing has gone
It is as if that is untrue
You walk around another man's house
With whom did you leave your house

This folksong is censuring a married man, who has an extramarital affair with a married woman. Although he may think that he is doing that in secret, the song reveals that people know what he is doing and that he must change his behaviour by conforming to the norms and values of society, which are against adultery. This folksong was performed in a social gathering on 26 December 2001 at Gaga Location near Alice. Both sexes were present and the performers comprised of both sexes. Mr Loyiso Mkaza, a middle aged man, made the interpretation of the folksong. Traditional gear was again the order of the day. As is often the case with folksong performances, the folksong was accompanied with dance. Men were carrying sticks and they pointed them as if pointing to the culprit, particularly when these words were conveyed: 'that thing has gone' and 'you walk around another man's house'.

There is no written Xhosa law on shared values and norms in any form of constitution or government gazette. These laws were taught and learnt through oral literature and as such, every member of society was expected to abide by and respect these norms and values. Any deviant behaviour or violation of these norms and values prompted a situation whereby the offender was uncompromisingly attacked usually satirically, so as to be forced to conform to the social norms. By indirectly establishing what is considered to be proper behaviour, people are using folksongs as an instrument of cultural indoctrination where aspects of the Xhosa values, traditions and expected code of behaviour are inculcated into the younger generation. The satirical compositions could be performed at any of the social gatherings.

The historical value

The historical value of folksongs is present in exposing or reminding people about historical events. Folksongs contain historical evidence as in the folksong 'uApolo leveni', which reads like this:

U-Apolo leveni
Wenyuka uApolo leveni
Wenyuka uApolo leven
Amagorha ooApolo
Amagorha ooApolo

In English this folksong reads like this:

Apollo eleven
Apollo eleven went up
Apollo eleven went up
The heroes, Apollo eleven
The heroes, Apollo eleven

This refers to the first astronaut to reach the moon. The historical value also lies in the revealing of praise names and deeds of people. Here are folksongs to support the above proposition. Siyabulela Primary School choir performed this folksong during the opening of their school on 27 October 2001. They wore their school uniform whilst performing this folksong. The historical narrative contained by the folksong indicates that it is a contemporary folksong. It was obviously accompanied by modern dance. We should remember that culture changes as time goes on. Formal education is one of the features that indicate dynamism of culture. Events like opening of schools are new in Xhosa culture as many other events I will not deal with presently. Folksongs operate in such events replacing the 'real' thing. Most social gatherings have been adapted and some are totally new creations and these serve as platform for the operation of traditional activities, which may also be adapted sometimes.

1. UMqhayi waseNtabozuko (x2)
Wayeyimbongi imbongi yesizwe
Siyamkhahlela ngomsebenzi wakhe
Siyamkhahlela

In English this folksong reads like this:

Mqhayi of Ntabozuko
Was a praise singer, a national praise singer
We salute him for his work
We salute him

Samuel Edward Krune Mqhayi was born on 1 December 1875 at the old mission station at Gqumahashe near Alice in the Eastern Cape province of South Africa. He was the man who first brought together the oral and written traditions in Xhosa. Because of that, he stands as a unique figure in Xhosa literary history. By the time he was in his late thirties, he had been given the title '*Imbongi yesizwe jikelele*', the national poet of the Xhosa people. After his death in 1945 the great Xhosa novelist A.C. Jordan (1973:105) wrote of him: "His contribution to Southern Bantu Literature is easily the largest and most valuable that has hitherto been made by any single writer". Mqhayi died at his home, Ntabozuko, The Mountain of Glory, near Berlin in the Eastern Cape on 29 July 1945. He was mourned as one who had identified himself deeply with his people. He had been a true patriot who was loyal to the principles, which govern his society.

Judging from his profile, Mqhayi is a man who will not be forgotten by the amaXhosa, hence the above folksong. This is a contemporary folksong called "*isitibili*". It was performed at the farewell function of Grade 7's in Khayelitsha Primary School, Cape Town on 21 October 2000. One would realize that this folksong was performed in the right context (the school context) where school children need to know about this hero and educationist. This is the view I got from Mrs Rosinah Mtsi, one of the teachers in the school. One of the learners, Simphiwe Duda, indicated that the folksong is reminding them of Mqhayi's contribution to Xhosa literature. He also indicated that he was glad that Mqhayi is praised for his deeds and that his name is preserved through written and oral traditions.

The following folksong is also historical in nature. It is based on a novel "*Ingqumbo yeminyanya*" (The wrath of the ancestors) by A.C. Jordan.

1. UZwelinzima inkosi yamaMpondomise
Azange awahloniphe amanyange
Azange awahloniphe
Azange awahloniphe

In English this folksong simply says:

Zwelinzima, chief of Mpondomise tribe
Did not respect the ancestors
He did not respect them
He did not respect them

This is also a contemporary folksong called "*isitibili*". It was performed in the same context as the above. One would recognize that in most cases, it is literate communities that perform contemporary folksongs. This is indicative of the above folksong, as the content may be applicable to school subjects like history and literature. The above folksong emanates from the novel "*Ingqumbo yeminyanya*" (The wrath of the ancestors) by A.C. Jordan. Zwelinzima is a fictional character in the novel. He played a role of chief of the Mpondomise tribe, who was too westernized, in as much that he ignored his tradition. The Mpondomise tribe belongs to the Xhosa nation. The AmaXhosa have great respect for their ancestors. Finally, Zwelinzima reaped bitter fruits for not respecting his ancestors. He ended up dying a tragic death preceded by that of his wife and son. Mr Zwelakhe Magqashela, a teacher at the above-mentioned school, felt that this folksong is teaching pupils that literature is about respect for ancestors. The performers of these folksongs were in school uniform, perhaps because of their status as school children. Some performers on such occasion may wear traditional attire particularly members of adult choirs.

The political value

Folksongs associated with politics often reveal social displeasure. They reflect public opinion. Protest songs are often associated with politics and they go back a long way. They have been passed on from generation to generation and from worker to worker. An old song that is still very much part of our lives and has a deep political value is "*Hamba kahle Mkhonto*", (Fare well member of Mkhonto), often performed when a member of "*Umkhonto weSizwe*" (The Spear of the Nation) (the ANC military wing) is buried. *Umkhonto weSizwe* has been disbanded since the

emergence of the new South Africa. It has been integrated into the then South African National Defence Force. The latest performance of this folksong was during the funeral of Steve Tshwete, Minister of Safety and Security on 4 May 2002.

Ha---mba-----	(leaders)	
Hamba kahle Mkhonto	(followers)	
Mkhonto -----	(leaders)	x2
Thi---na-----	(leaders)	
Thina majon' oMkhonto sizimisele		
Ukuwabalala wona la maBhulu	(followers)	x2

English Translation:

Go-----
 Go well member of Mkhonto
 You member of Mkhonto, the organization of the nation

We-----
 We soldiers of Mkhonto, we are dedicated
 To killing these Boers

This was a freedom song. Soldiers of *Umkhonto weSizwe* in training camps, during the apartheid regime, used to perform this folksong. It was transmitted orally to other members of the Black people by those soldiers who secretly entered South Africa without the knowledge of the authority as they faced prosecution if found in the country. In all political gatherings of Black people this folksong would be performed. This was a way of putting pressure on the authorities to listen to the demands of Black people in South Africa. The term “Boers” was used because the South African government comprised mainly of Afrikaans speaking people. This indicates that folksongs reflect public opinion in criticizing and cautioning the authority of his actions. The criticism is however not to stir up dissent, but rather to express popular opinion and to moderate excessive behaviour (ibid: Opland 1983:17). The audience in the funeral of Mr Steve Tshwete performed this song with dignity and respect, in as much that there was no movement.

The religious value

Religious folksongs include folksongs performed during ritual proceedings, folksongs performed by traditional healers and folksongs performed for occasions. These folksongs connect people with ancestors, therefore they are religious in nature. God is often worshipped through songs. Many religious gatherings and ceremonies are accompanied by singing, which not only help to transmit religious knowledge from one person or group to another, but also help create and strengthen corporate feeling and solidarity Mbiti (1969:67) mentions an important point. He says that out of the widespread feeling of respect which African people show towards God, some feel at certain times that man should not, or is unworthy to approach God alone. The person may therefore need the mediating help of others in praying or in rituals, whether these are living or departed. He goes on saying that the reason for this feeling and practice seems to derive mainly from the social and political life of the peoples concerned. That is the case with the amaXhosa. Ancestors are perceived as a mediator between God and the people. For example, it is a custom

among the amaXhosa for the children to speak to their fathers through their mothers as a gesture of respect. There are, however, many occasions when individuals or groups approach God directly without the use of intermediaries. An example is when someone prays individually, or goes to church and prays God with the congregation. It is interesting to note that contemporary religious folksongs are also performed in situations where ancestors are involved. It should also be noted that traditional religious folksongs have no known composers, and contemporary ones have known composers as already mentioned in the section on form of folksongs. Below are examples of traditional religious folksongs and contemporary religious folksongs starting with the former to the latter:

He icamagu livumile
Ewe – e – e
Malibuyel'ekhaya

English Translation:

The ancestors have arrived
Ye- s ---
They should come back home

I attended a ritual of “sour milk drinking” (*ukusezwa amasi*) in Langa Township near Cape Town on 22 July 2000. The aim of my attendance was to gather information about folksongs performed on such an occasion. I did not feel as a gatecrasher as one of the family members is my friend and she knew that I was doing research on folksongs. This ritual is part of the marriage ritual. A newlywed woman is not allowed to eat any dairy product after marriage before this ceremony is conducted. As this is a religious ceremony, sacrifices are performed. A sheep or goat is slaughtered, and once it bleats or bellows before it is slaughtered, the above-mentioned folksong is performed as an indication that this woman has been accepted in her new household. Mr Amos Mtsi, the father-in-law of this newlywed woman gave me this information.

Wakrazulwa
Wakrazulwa ngenxa yam, liwa laphakade
Kuze ndizi ...
Kuze ndizifihle kuwe, nxeba likaYesu

Kuze ndizi ...
Kuze ndizifihle kuwe, nxe nxeba likaYesu
Kuze ndizi ...
Kuze ndizifihle kuwe nxe nxeba likaYesu

This folksong is derived from the popular Christian hymn “Rock of ages”
English Translation:

You have been ripped off
You have been ripped off, rock of ages
So that I can hide myself in thee, the wound of Jesus

So that I can
 So that I can hide myself in thee, wound of Jesus
 So that I can
 So that I can hide myself in thee, wound of Jesus

Sacrifices and offerings constitute one of the most common acts of worship among the amaXhosa. Mbiti (1969:58) explains sacrifices and offerings as follows: "Sacrifices refer to cases where animal life is destroyed in order to present the animal, in part or in whole to God, supernatural beings or spirits of the living dead. Offerings refer to the remaining cases, which do not involve the killing of an animal, being chiefly the presentation of foodstuffs and other items. In some cases, sacrifices and offerings are directed to one or more of the following: God, spirits and living dead. Recipients in the second and third categories are regarded as intermediaries between God and man, so that God is the ultimate Recipient whether or not the worshippers are aware of that". Xhosa people value and respect sacrifices and offerings like most Black nations. It has been mentioned that every rite of passage is characterized by sacrifices among Xhosa people. Each ritual has folksongs connected to it. Such folksongs are religious in nature and they have religious value. The folksong "*Icamagu livumile*" is one of the religious folksongs. It is performed in every ritual, during the slaughter of an animal.

Ho! Icamagu livumile	(leaders)
Malibuyel'ekhaya	(followers)
Ewe - e - e - -	(leaders)
Malibuyel'ekhaya	(followers)

English Translation:

The ancestors have agreed
 They must come back home
 Ye - -s -----
 They must come back home

Mr Amos Mtsi of Langa Township in Cape Town, gave me the following information about this folksong: Once the animal cries after it had been stabbed, amaXhosa believe that the crying is a symbol that the ancestors are satisfied that the ritual has taken place, hence '*icamagu livumile*', the ancestors have agreed. One would note that the noun '*icamagu*', although it is in the singular form refers to ancestors of the clan at large. The synonym for '*icamagu*' is '*izinyanya*'. The performance of this folksong will start in the kraal by the men folk, where the animal is slaughtered. Women will join in the singing where they were during the slaughter. They may be inside the house or outside but not in the kraal and they will dance lifting their heels and touching the ground with their toes.

Traditional healers are generally regarded by amaXhosa as closely linked with ancestors. Their performance, including folksong performance, is regarded as religious. The folksong '*Oonomathotholo*', which traditional healers perform when they are in the process of examining a patient elucidates the above assumption. They will sing this song with dignity accompanied by the clapping of hands and dancing with the upper body shaking. When the singing becomes stronger and stronger, traditional healers will be seen making some jumps from one place to another. They would wear their traditional attire for traditional healers, which comprise of skirts

made of cow skin, white t-shirts and necklaces and earrings made of white beads. Even the colour of the skirts and t-shirts are usually white. It should be noted that traditional healers are part of the social fabric of amaXhosa. Healing and telling the patient news about his or her illness through the healers is a common activity. The folksong goes like this:

Oonomathotholo	(leaders)
Bayeza kusasa bayeza	(followers)
Oonomathotholo	(leaders)
Bayeza kusasa bayeza	(followers)

English version:

The ancestors
 They are coming in the morning. They are coming
 The ancestors
 They are coming in the morning. They are coming.

This folksong indicates hope of communicating with the ancestors, who will come and have a voice. Their voice is like the voice of the radio, hence 'oonomathotholo'. A radio is 'unomathotholo' in Xhosa. Mr Mguga, a traditional healer in Phillippi near Cape Town, said that 'oonomathotholo' mean people who are only visible to the traditional healer, who are of course the ancestors of the traditional healer concerned or ancestors of the patient. The folksong goes on saying 'bayeza kusasa,' they are coming in the morning. According to the beliefs of amaXhosa, it is perceived that the early morning is the appropriate time for dreaming. Mr Mguga was adamant that ancestors come in a dream, and in the dream they tell the one who is dreaming what to do, what causes the illness and how to cure it. That is the message behind the folksong 'Oonomathotholo'. Ideally, when the song is performed during the healing process, the traditional healer will be able to verify the problem and how to deal with it. According to Mr Mguga, sometimes the traditional healer would know in advance that the patient would come to him for help. That would have happened through a dream as well. In the dream he would also be told which medicine to use in order to heal the patient.

"Somagwaza" is another religious folksong if performed in its proper traditional context, that is, during the initiation of a boy and as a war song. This folksong is regarded as religious because it is perceived that it involves the ancestors as well as God as these two are regarded inseparable. The type of occasion determines the presence of these two. Example:

Somagwaza gwaza ngalo mkhonto
 Ha - - yo - ho - -ho - ha
 NguSomagwaza gwaza ngalo mkhonto
 Ha - - yo - ho - - ho - ha

English Translation:

Somagwaza stab with this assegai
 Ho - ha - - - ho - ho - ha
 It is Somagwaza, stab with this assegai
 Ho - ha - - - ho - ho - ha

In the initiation context, *Somagwaza* also refers to the initiate as already indicated in page 37. In

Xhosa culture, once a boy has undergone initiation through circumcision and all its related activities, he is regarded as a man. Any man is expected to fight for the nation as well as for his household. It is always assumed by the amaXhosa that men should be brave. It is usually men both old and young who perform this folksong in the initiation context. It is accompanied with dance, which is rhythmic in nature and they will also demonstrate the stick fighting. Mr Malusi Zonke of Mavuso location near Alice said that the demonstration of the stick fighting is an indication that the initiate has reached a stage where he will have to defend his family and the nation at large. Men would perform this folksong with blankets over their shoulders, which they also use when demonstrating the stick fighting. Traditional attire is also prevalent during this folksong performance. In the olden days assegais were used as fighting weapons. In the context of war *Somagwaza* refers to soldiers fighting against the enemy. This folksong is regarded as an encouragement and inspiration that soldiers use their war weapons swiftly against the enemy. Soldiers would perform this folksong with the accompaniment of dance, which is energetic in nature and with their assegais pointing to the direction of the enemy. This war song is performed at various other rituals because of its religious connotation.

Religious folksongs are usually performed to express thankfulness and appreciation of what God has done or offered to those engaged in the ritual, and ancestors are used as mediators between God and people.

The educative value

Education often takes place informally in many social situations. At home children are educated to be adults who conform to the norms and values of society. Education is not only confined to children. Adults are also educated in many issues pertaining to the well being of society. Folksongs may also teach how to behave in an acceptable manner, as this one, which is directed to the newlywed woman.

Uze uziphathe kakuhle
We dade wethu
Uze uziphathe kakuhle
We dade wethu

Umakoti zange alale
Umakoti zange alale
Umakoti zange alale
Umakoti zange alale
Uze uziphathe kakuhle
We dade wethu
Uze uziphathe kakuhle
We dade wethu

English Translation:

You behave yourself well
You our sister
You behave yourself well
You our sister

The newlywed woman never sleeps
The newlywed woman never sleeps
The newlywed woman never sleeps
The newlywed woman never sleeps

You behave yourself well
You our sister
You behave yourself well
You our sister

This folksong is instructing the newlywed woman to behave well in her new home. She is also reminded that a lazy woman is despised by amaXhosa, therefore she should not sleep till late nor must she go to bed early. She has to ensure that everything is in order before going to bed. This folksong was performed in a wedding ceremony I attended in Gaga location near Alice. The female section of the performers wore straight cut long dresses made of Swazi material. Nomzamo Magaxa, one of the performers, said that contemporarily it is usual to wear anything that is African irrespective of which tribe one is from. The male section wore black trousers with t-shirts made of the same fabric, as that of dresses worn by the female section. The folksong was accompanied by modern dance mixed with traditional dance with waving and ululating.

Here is another folksong, which is also directed to a newlywed woman and is educational in nature and reflects the social organization of amaXhosa. It is a contemporary folksong called 'isitibili' or 'sound' (*isawundi*) as Doris Hansen (1981:104) calls it in her Phd dissertation:

Qhude makoti
Yakhala kabini kathathu
Sekusile amanzi awekho mama (x2)
Sekusile amanzi awekho mama (x2)

English version:

Kukuru kukuku newlywed woman
It has crowed two, three times
It is dawn already and there is no water
It is dawn already and there is no water

“*Qhude*” in this sense is synonymous with the crow of the rooster. A rooster usually crows three times in the morning. The first crow is in the early hours of the morning between 2h00 and 3h00. The second one is between 4h00 and 5h00 and the third one is between 6h00 and 7h00. In Xhosa culture a newlywed woman is supposed to wake up during the second crow of the cock and fetch water from the river. She will use that water to make morning coffee for her in-laws. Water from the previous day is regarded as too stale to use for cooking or making coffee or tea.

Once the rooster crows for the third time and the newlywed woman is still asleep or is only beginning to wake up, she is regarded as lazy. This folksong is to remind contemporary women what is expected from the newly-wed woman. A lazy woman is despised by the amaXhosa even today. This folksong was performed in the same context as above, with the same attire and a mixture of modern and traditional dance.

Some folksongs teach about health related issues. These are directed to every member of society. They warn and inform people about different kinds of diseases particularly those that spread easily like HIV/AIDS. These can be performed in any gathering, as the message is so urgent that it cannot wait for a particular occasion. An example of such a folksong is the following, which has been adapted during the plight of the HIV/AIDS epidemic. This is a contemporary folksong, as we know that HIV/AIDS has just erupted in our societies. This folksong was performed at a Xhosa Awareness Day celebration on 27 May 2002 at Maccassar Township in Cape Town. The Khulani High School choir from Langa Township performed this folksong. The teacher of the school, Miss Nosisa Nazo, said that the song is aimed at educating the community that HIV/AIDS is in existence and that it is a killer disease, therefore people must take all the necessary precautions to avoid it. The folksong reads like this:

Saphela isizwe - - - - -
 Nkosi ya - - - m-----
 Saphela isizwe yiHIV/AIDS x2

Yekani ukwabelana -----
 Ngesondo bantwana
 Lide lifike ixesha x2

Hlala kwiqabane elinye----- (space)
 Bhuti nawe sisi -----
 Hlala kwiqabane elinye ---- (space)
 Awusayi kosuleleka

Saphela isizwe -----
 Nkosi yam -----
 Saphela isizwe yiHIV/AIDS

English Translation:

The nation is dying
 My Lord
 The nation is dying of HIV/AIDS

Abstain from sex
 All of you children
 Till time comes

Stick to one partner
 Brother and sister
 Stick to one partner
 You will not be infected
 The nation is dying
 My Lord
 The nation is dying because of HIV/AIDS

Okpewho (1992:115) emphasizes the fact that through songs younger members of the society

absorb the ideas that will guide them through life and the older ones are constantly reminded of the rules and ideals that must be kept alive for the benefit of those coming behind them.

The cognitive value

The cognitive aspect refers to the ability of the mind to grasp the message of the folksong. It can also refer to how folksongs psychologically affect the audience, as well as their reactions to the impact (Kgobe 1997:49). The melody and the tone of the folksong stimulate people's imagination and arouse intense emotions and different kinds of reactions in an audience and in a way channel crowd behaviour. Folksongs help in inducing an attitude of pride, solidarity, bravery, turmoil and hatred. For example, during the apartheid period, when political activists were in prison, people in political gatherings would sing songs reflecting attitudes of solidarity and turmoil. An example of such a song is the following:

Bahleli bonke entolongweni
Bahleli bonke kwaNongqongqo
Bahleli bonke entolongweni
Bahleli bonke kwaNongqongqo
Hi – hi – hihi – halala
Hi – hi – hihi – halala

English version:

They are all in prison
They are all in Fort Glamorgan prison
They are all in prison
They are all in Fort Glamorgan prison
Hi – hi – hihi – halala
Hi – hi – hihi - halala

The New Africa Theatre Association: “ Robben Island on the move” group performed this folksong during the 2001 June 16 celebrations at Robben Island. ‘Nongqongqo’ is the Xhosa name for the Fort Glamorgan prison, which is in East London. I asked Sphiwe Zuma, one of the singers, why the song specifically refers to Nongqongqo prison as most Black political prisoners were held on Robben Island. He said *Nongqongqo* was used to symbolize Robben Island prison. He further said that in Xhosa we talk of ‘*umthetho ongqongqo*’, which means the law is very strict and severe. He said for people to understand the strict and severe conditions political prisoners had to endure on Robben Island, ‘*Nongqongqo*’ seemed suitable to reflect those conditions. Performers of this folksong wore dark green prison clothes and brown shoes. They really looked like prisoners. Sphiwe Zuma indicated that to wear prisoners’ clothes will highlight and emphasize the context under which the folksong was performed. Their movement was a bit soft as if in sorrow. When they sang the ‘hi – hi –’ part, they were as if they were crying, and Sphiwe said they depicted the terrible situation in which the prisoners were.

Furniss and Gunner (1995:52) claim that some of the songs advise, some are concerned with what people ought not to do, others direct our attention to things done during the year. They further claim that some of the songs tell the history of the people, remembering those who were once with us but are gone, and the lessons that are derived from their exemplary behaviour. These theorists also claim that we are inspired by our desire to derive some good examples from the

songs for our own lives in the world. What these theorists are claiming is true when we consider the various values of folksongs.

In pursuit of forms and functions of folksongs, it is evident that folksongs can be categorized according to typology. Therefore we can categorize folksongs under the following:

- According to age groups. Examples: Folksongs for the youth, folksongs for boys and girls, folksongs for boys only and folksongs for girls only.
- According to gender. Example: Folksongs for men (young and old), folksongs for married women, folksongs for boys and folksongs for girls.
- According to the situation in which they are performed. Example: Folksongs for traditional healers, folksongs performed during war situations, etc.
- According to movement and dance. Example: Folksongs performed for different kinds of dances. These dances or movements may be performed on different kinds of occasions or on the same occasion by different age groups or gender.
- According to the people connected with the folksong. Example: Folksongs for traditional healers, folksongs for young men, etc.

Conclusion

Because of the multitude of folksongs and of the fact that they resemble one another and often overlap, it is probably fair to say that most folksongs function in a religious context and also have an entertainment function. According to Hansen (1981:87) people's description of their different styles of music emphasize its utilitarian function; it is always 'done on a special occasion; it goes with that occasion, it belongs to it'; 'it is used for that business' i.e. event. She further elucidates by saying that the music performed at *umtshotsho* is classified as '*umtshotsho* music' or 'music of *umtshotsho*'; wedding songs are classified as 'songs of the wedding' (*iingoma zomtshato*), while the songs which are performed at events related to the initiation of boys are collectively referred to as 'music of circumcision' (*iingoma zokwalusa*). It should be noted that one folksong could be performed in different situations. It should also be noted that people praise or pray even in entertainment situations. There are also work and protest folksongs. Some work songs, particularly those pertaining to crop harvesting and working in the fields have a religious connotation. Also protest songs have a religious connotation in the sense that there is praying and praising entailed in them.

Folksongs are creations of the folk, and because of that they mirror the culture and philosophy of life of the folk, which created them. Folksongs play a vital role in society, that of ensuring and maintaining social stability. They are usually transmitted orally from generation to generation. Brevity, repetition and their allusive nature make it possible to remember and but also to improvise them. Again I must reiterate that to watch a folksong performance on television and to listen to them on the radio does not suffice in getting to know the culture of the people who created them. It should be taken into cognizance that performance is situated behaviour. In the performance situation we have settings, which are the culturally defined places where performance occur, and institutions such as religion, education etc. This implies that situation can be seen as the immediate setting of a performance and context as a broader socio-political atmosphere.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

This study sets out to investigate form and function of Xhosa folksongs. In order to do so I set out to reveal cultural elements embedded in Xhosa folksongs; looking at the role of folksongs in contemporary Xhosa society and also looking at forms of Xhosa folksongs as well as functions of Xhosa folksongs.

The research shows that folksongs originate from a particular group of people that often reflect the social organization of that group. But this does not mean that other cultural groups may not perform these folksongs, particularly those that are contemporary in nature. It should also be taken into cognizance that even traditional folksongs can be adapted to contemporary ones, and once they are adapted, it means that they are performed in a totally different context from the original and have a total different function as well.

It has been pointed out that folksongs are oral in nature, and that implies the presence of an audience. The mere fact that an audience is compulsory during folksong performance is an indication that folksongs perform a function and/or functions. This also reinforces the fact that a folksong is an enacted communication, whether it contains lyrics or not. A folksong may only contain movement and paralinguistic features, and these are also communicative in nature. That is why it is always recommended that one be present in folksong performance in order to be able to analyze a folksong fully, or any folklore item for that matter, as folklore items integrate arts and day – to – day life.

The research has further concluded that folksongs have a form or structure, which may change according to different occasions. Performers may also contribute to the change of form of folksongs. Use of “oral formulaic” forms indicates the oral nature of folksongs. These are used to refresh the memories of the audience. Folksongs are also characterized by repetition, which is also a mnemonic device. One cannot always rely on form for its associated function. Different contexts may prescribe different functions of the folksong. The research has also concluded that a folksong is made up of short verbal phrases, particularly traditional ones.

The research also showed that folksongs have a role to play in society. Folksongs as one genre of oral literature, which is one genre of folklore, contribute to the sustenance of social institutions, that is, they function in culture. It has been pointed out that morality is an important source of law among amaXhosa. In cases where it is difficult to confront someone directly, satirical folksongs are performed. Satire is used as an indirect method of communicating what may not be said to avoid direct confrontation. Folksongs are used to reprimand those who do not conform to the values and norms of society.

The research also points to the significance of the rites of passage among the amaXhosa. Rituals connected with these are often performed and they have folksongs connected to them. The role of

such folksongs is to educate, instruct, reprimand, inform and above all to mark the new status of the individual concerned.

Another conclusion is that folksongs are important means of applying social pressure and exercising social control, thereby maintaining the stability of culture. This means that folksongs are used to inculcate customs and social standards in the young, and to reward adults who conform or to punish those who do not conform to ridicule or criticism.

The research has also concluded that folksongs have different values of which historical value is one. Historical value gives historical evidence. This is necessary to preserve the history of the nation, particularly one that has to do with nation building. The younger generation needs to be aware of the history of its nation.

All in all, the research has concluded that folksongs validate culture.

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APPENDICES

1. Questionnaire

You are kindly requested to fill in this questionnaire, which pertains to Xhosa folksongs. This is an endeavour to do my research on “Form and function of Xhosa folksongs”. I want to thank you in advance for your valuable information, which will facilitate this research. *Maz’enethole! Ungadinwa nangomso!*

Name:

Address:

.....

.....

Gender:

Age:

Religious Affiliation:

Place of birth:

1. How would you define a folksong?

.....
.....
.....

2. When do Xhosa people sing and why is that?

.....
.....
.....
.....

3. Do Xhosa folksongs have any impact on the community? If your answer is ‘yes’, what impact do they have on the community?

.....
.....

4. Do you have any knowledge about Xhosa folksong composers?

.....
5. When you listen to Xhosa folksong performances, do you identify any particular form or structure?

.....
.....
.....

6. If your answer is 'yes', how is the structure of Xhosa folksongs?

.....

7. Do you ever identify any Xhosa folksongs according to age groups or according to gender? If you do, why is that so?

.....
.....
.....

8. What is the significance of the folksong '*Somagwaza*' during the initiation of a boy? Do you think this folksong has a specific message connected with the initiation of a boy? Elaborate.

.....
.....
.....
.....

9. Seemingly most folksongs are performed at different functions. Does this mean that their role changes according to the function or situation or it stays the same even in different situations?

.....
.....

10. If this same folksong is performed in different situations or functions, are there any adaptations to it as far as tune, rhythm and dance is concerned? If there are, why?

.....
.....
.....
.....

11. Do you regard '*izitibili*' as folksongs? If your answer is 'yes' or 'no', give reasons for your answer.

.....

.....

.....

I am grateful to the following people who returned the questionnaires. Out of fifty questionnaires I issued, thirty-three people responded with very valuable contributions.

1. Miss Lindiwe Madonci, Xhosa Subject+ Advisor in Cape Town. She is quite knowledgeable about Xhosa culture and is quite interested in the field of Oral Literature in as much that she is encouraging the teaching of the subject in schools.
2. Miss Ntombekhaya Dywili is also Xhosa Subject Advisor in Cape Town. She has a vast knowledge of Xhosa culture and she is a great motivator regarding the teaching of Oral Literature in schools as she is of the opinion that the subject will inspire pupils to be proud of their culture.
3. Mr Thando Ngwevela is a teacher at Nomlinganiselo Primary School in New Crossroads near Cape Town. He is very proud of being of Xhosa origin and he values his culture. He is quite knowledgeable about Xhosa folksongs and its impact on the community. He is a Christian but still holds firm on his traditional religion.
4. Mr Gcobani Mtsi is a teacher at Siyazingisa Primary School in Guguletu near Cape Town. He is proud of his culture and still upholds it. He insists that Oral Literature should never be ignored in schools, as children need to be well versed about their original ways of living.
5. Mr Monwabisi Ralarala is a lecturer at Stellenbosch University near Cape Town in the Department of African Languages. He claims that Oral Literature has been one of his fields of interest as it pertains to the philosophy of the people. He is very knowledgeable about Xhosa culture, which encompasses folksongs.
6. Mrs Lungiswa Thinzi is a principal at Andile Primary School in New Crossroads near Cape Town. She is knowledgeable about Xhosa culture and its dynamics.
7. Mr Zolani Kupe is a student at the University of the Western Cape. He is doing Xhosa Studies as one of his courses. He is a praise poet and is quite knowledgeable about Xhosa culture. He links folksongs to praise poetry as far as functions are concerned. His place of birth is in Idutywa.
8. Mr Luthando Tsika is also a student at the University of the Western Cape. He is also doing Xhosa Studies as one of his courses. He is a great believer of traditional religion and is quite knowledgeable about Xhosa culture. He was born in Middledrift in the Eastern Cape Province.

9. Dr Joyce Nduna is a lecturer at Peninsula Technikon in Bellville near Cape Town. Although she did not major in Xhosa, she claims that she is proud of being Xhosa and she knows and adores every bit of her culture.
10. Mrs Thenjiswa Ntwana Mgijima is a lecturer in the Xhosa Department at the University of the Western Cape near Cape Town. She is a scholar of both Oral and Modern Literature. She is very knowledgeable about Xhosa culture. She teaches media and Performance Arts Studies as well, of which folksongs are part.
11. Mrs Phumla Nomtshongwana is a former member of Princess Square Singers. Her field of interest is Music, both traditional and modern. She has a vast knowledge about Xhosa culture and its dynamics.
12. Mr Melikhaya Tasana is a choir conductor in Khayelitsha near Cape Town. He is knowledgeable about Xhosa culture and folksongs in particular.
13. Mr Malibongwe Dlephu is a teacher at Siyazingisa Primary School in Guguletu near Cape Town. He majored in Xhosa at university because of his interest and conviction in his culture.
14. Mr Sazi Mguga is a traditional healer in Philippi near Cape Town. He has a vast knowledge about Xhosa culture and its dynamics.
15. Mr Nqaba Mtsi is a resident of Langa Township near Cape Town. He is a preacher of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa. He is knowledgeable about Xhosa culture. The Methodist Church of Southern Africa embraces Africanism (African tradition).
16. Mr Mongezi Mthombeni is an old man residing in Langa Township near Cape Town. He has a vast knowledge about Xhosa culture and still practices Xhosa customs.
17. Mr Wilson Mehlokhulu is a retired teacher. He is a great believer of Xhosa Traditional Religion and therefore quite knowledgeable about Xhosa culture.
18. Mr Dumile Plaatjie is a herbalist. He resides in Langa Township near Cape Town. He knows Xhosa culture very well.
19. Mr Dira Nokhonongo is a resident of Langa Township and a gas shop owner. He believes in African Traditional Religion and holds firmly on his culture.
20. Mr Xolani Mabeqa resides at Mavuso Location in Alice. He works as a computer technician at Fort Hare University. He is quite knowledgeable about Xhosa culture

and still upholds it.

21. Mr Manie Gwayi is also a resident of Mavuso Location in Alice. He works as a post office official. He still practices his customs and has a vast knowledge of Xhosa culture.
22. Mrs Gwayi is a nursing sister at Fort Beaufort Provincial Hospital. She believes in Xhosa tradition apart from her nursing career and still practices all customs pertaining to her culture.
23. Chief Phakamile Mavuso, (A –A- Heshangophondo!!) resides at Mavuso Location in Alice. He believes strongly in African Traditional Religion and motivates his people to hold on to their culture in order to nurture and sustain their identity.
24. Mrs No-Amen Mqumevu is a resident of Tyhume Location in Alice. She knows and values Xhosa culture with all its dynamics.
25. Mr Zolile Mlambo is a resident of Site C in Khayelitsha near Cape Town. He is a motor-car mechanic who is self employed. He claims that he knows everything pertaining to Xhosa culture.
26. Miss Nosiphiwo Mava resides in Guguletu near Cape Town. She is a member of the Princess Square Singers. She claims that she is proud of her culture and adores folksongs as they are connected to culture.
27. Miss Nokuzola Zicina resides in Khayelitsha near Cape Town. She is a member of the Khayelitsha Primary School choir. She claims that her parents always encourage her to participate in any cultural activities.
28. Mr Luyanda Ziko resides in Guguletu near Cape Town. He is a member of the Princess Square Singers. He claims that he is proud of being Xhosa and having to participate in its cultural activities.
29. Miss Zukiswa Mkontwana is a former member of the Princess Square Singers. She is quite knowledgeable about Xhosa culture.
30. Mr Duke Ngcukana is deputy principal of Ntlanganiso High School in Khayelitsha near Cape Town. He is a jazz singer, saxophonist and former conductor of Langa Adult Choir. He holds a degree in natural sciences. He is quite knowledgeable about Xhosa culture and its dynamics.
31. Ms Zini Mqhayisa is a teacher at Zimasa Primary School in Langa near Cape Town. She has a vast knowledge of Xhosa culture and is a great believer of African

Traditional Religion.

32. Mr Bulelani Zantsi is a teacher at Phakama High School in Philippi near Cape Town. He is also a praise singer. He knows and values Xhosa culture.
33. Mrs Nosisi Zantsi is a lecturer in the Xhosa Department at the University of the Western Cape. She has an interest in both Oral and Modern Literature. She values and adores Xhosa culture.

N.B. Most African churches have been Africanised.

Interview Questions:

1. How do you categorize the song you have just performed?
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2. Why do you think the songs you have just performed are so short?
.....
3. What is the message conveyed by the folksong you have just performed?
.....
4. Do you think '*izitibili*' have any significance to the Xhosa people or to the community?
.....
5. Do you like *izitibili*? Why is that so?
.....
6. Could you categorize '*toyi-toyi*' under folksongs?
.....
7. Why?
.....
8. Do you think '*toyi-toyi*' songs played a role to the people of South Africa during the apartheid regime? If your answer is 'yes', what role did they play?
.....
.....
9. Do these movements or actions that you are doing when performing songs convey any message to the people or you are just moving because you are just enjoying the music?
.....
10. Do you think that folksongs performed during rituals have any significance regarding the stages of human development? If your answer is 'yes' please motivate your answer.

.....
The above interview questions were used to interview the following people because of their knowledge about Xhosa folksongs in particular and Xhosa culture in general.

1. Ms Nobuntu Mnguni, a teacher at Siyabulela Primary School in Langa.
2. Ms Sylvia Sixaba, a teacher at Nompumelelo School for the disabled at Guguletu.
3. Ms Nonzuzo Maqhina, a personnel officer at Peninsula Technikon.
4. Ms Nomandlovu Xaphile, a nursing sister at Peninsula Technikon Health Centre.
5. Mrs Nomazotsho Myamya, a nursing sister at Peninsula Technikon Health Centre.
6. Mr Nkosinathi Skade, a lecturer at the University of the Western Cape.
7. Ms Nomawethu Somhlahlo, a director of international students' placement.
8. Ms Zoliswa Gaqa, an ex-teacher at Mdantsane.
9. Ms Vuyokazi Nomlomo, a lecturer at the University of the Western Cape.
10. Mr Dumisani Spofana, a lecturer at the University of the Western Cape.
11. Mr Manelisi Dubasi, a journalist for SABC.
12. Mrs Nosisa Ndubela, a deputy principal at Xolani Primary School.
13. Ms Nomntu Nqundwana, a teacher at Xolani Primary School.
14. Miss Susan Ntete, a lecturer at the University of the Western Cape.
15. Mrs Sheila Mngomeni, a teacher at Siyabulela Primary School.
16. Mrs Nofinitshi Masinda, a community member.
17. Mr Thembalakhe Sidiki, a candidate attorney at Mallinicks Attorneys.
18. Miss Lindiwe Mqhayisa, a saleslady at Furnisher City.
19. Mrs Nokulunga Mabhungane, a teacher at Siyabulela Primary School.
20. Ms Nomonde Ntete, a teacher at Siyabulela Primary School.
21. Mr Luvuyo Sidiya, a community member.
22. Mr Nikelo Mehlwana, a community member.
23. Mr Mbulelo Rulashe, a community member.
24. Mr Sipho Vavi, a community member.