C.L.S. NYEMBEZI'S

USE OF TRADITIONAL ZULU FOLKTALES

IN HIS IGODA SERIES OF SCHOOL READERS

BY

NOEMIO NOVERINO CANONICI

A Thesis submitted for the Degree of M.A.

at the University of Natal

Durban

January 1985

A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T S

C.L.S. NYEMBEZI'S
USE OF TRADITIONAL ZULU FOLKTALES
IN HIS IGODA SERIES OF SCHOOL READERS

CONTENTS

CHAPTER 3

Classification of Prose Narratives in IGODA

CHAPTER 4

The Folktale as a Cultural Event

CHAPTER 5

A Structural Analysis of Folktales in IGODA

FOREWORD

The first Zulu books I ever possessed were Sibusiso Nyembezi's LEARN ZULU, A COMPACT ZULU DICTIONARY and the IGODA series of school readers. Through those books Nyembezi was my first Zulu teacher, guiding my first hesitant steps in the use of the Zulu language and introducing me to Zulu culture by means of the numerous folktales, idioms and proverbs disseminated in IGODA. Later, when I came into contact with more advanced Zulu literature, I was pleasantly surprised to realize that Sibusiso Nyembezi held a very high position also in this field as well as in the field of collections of Zulu cultural material.

It is with a sense of gratitude to Sibusiso Nyembezi that I have undertaken this research into his use of traditional Zulu folktales in IGODA.

The foremost aim in Nyembezi's work has been the preservation of Zulu culture, so as to foster a national identity among the Zulu people. The best place to start with this task is with the school children, because they are tomorrow's leaders and must feel steeped in the life and history of their people in order to know who they truly are.

For centuries, folktales have been the textbook of African education. They have been used as a means of entertainment and as an attractive channel to pass on traditions and beliefs, ideas and customs. They are a mirror of life and of society. Although they do not present an organized system of philosophy or of morality, they are an effective means of education because they bring about that emotional involvement through which the child learns.

Folktales are essentially an oral art form which must be performed. By re-creating this art in writing, Nyembezi has stifled a part of its life, because he has had to curtail

references to the atmosphere and the environment which make the performance of a folktale a natural event.

He has, however, endeavoured to create the traditionally rural and familiar atmosphere in which folktales are born and kept alive. This oral art, in fact, has its roots in the past but the tree has grown through the centuries and its branches breathe to-day's air and are fed by our own sun. To cut them off from the past would mean to cut off their life-giving sap; to disregard the present situation would mean burning the leaves of this vigorous tree.

Both aspects, the past and the present, are needed, to make the folktale a credible and viable art form and an effective educational tool.

Richard M. Dorson (1972:3) remarks that only in recent years has the "rich, luxuriant folklore of Africa" been seriously studied. He offers the following reasons for this phenomenon:

i. The emergence of national states in which not all the population groups share in the same cultural background. "In the national culture, a schism divides the society."

ii. The emergence of a cosmopolitan élite, keen, educated and well prepared for the task of recording and analyzing the rich heritage of their tribes of origin, of which they are rightly proud.

iii. The rich folklore of Africa is increasingly used as a source for the new African literature in European languages.

iv. Traditional cultural elements are seen as a unifying factor for people trying to establish their political and cultural identity.

In using folktales in IGODA Nyembezi has not posed as an external collector, a field worker whose main aim is to publish some interesting paper. He has assumed the role of the traditional storyteller, the traditional creator and performer of folktales, who is also regarded as the educator in traditional societies.

R.M.Dorson (1972:11) remarks:

> The text of a tale or song written down from an
> oral performance falls far short of conveying the
> ambience of the event. The bard and narrator facing
> their live audience employ gestures, eye contact,
> intonation, pantomime histrionics, acrobatics, and
> sometimes costumes and props, as the author of
> written words never does.

Nyembezi, however, is not simply recording tale texts from
some performer. Following on the rich tradition of Zulu
folktales, he uses traditional motifs, episodes and stock-
characters to re-create a tale for his audience, composed of
school children.

This contextual situation forces him to use a language that
is both idiomatic and easily understandable, while keeping
in mind the educational value of folktales from the linguistic
and the social/moral points of view. The result is both
traditional and modern, is both entertaining and educational.
In this way the "rich, luxuriant" oral traditional forms
blend with the new medium of the written word to create a
harmonious product, without fear of oral tradition encroaching
on the path of written literature and viceversa, to invest
his writing with a truly Zulu sensibility and flavour.

This dissertation comprises five parts, corresponding to
the five chapters.

In the first chapter I present C.L.S. Nyembezi's life and
literary work, including a detailed exposé of his IGODA series
of school readers. In this part Nyembezi's important place
in Zulu literature, as well as his educational work, are
briefly examined.

The second chapter presents the folktale in the general
context of folklore, with a discussion of the main folklore
schools and different approaches to the understanding and
analysis of the folktale.

The <u>third chapter</u> considers a classification of the folktales in IGODA according to their content. There is also a brief presentation of Nyembezi's translation and adaptation of Aesop's fables as well as of Violet Dube's Phoshozwayo story.

The <u>fourth chapter</u> discusses the folktales as a cultural event in the light of the background information presented in IGODA. Since IGODA is a school series, the educational value of folktales is also discussed from both the literary and the social points of view.

The <u>fifth chapter</u> contains a discussion in terms of the morphological structure and the semantic content of the folktales in IGODA. I also present a translation and analysis of some chosen folktales.

The work concludes with an interview which Professor Nyembezi allowed me: this offers an insight into Nyembezi the man, and the way he feels about his literary work.

CHAPTER 1

C.L.S. NYEMBEZI'S LIFE AND LITERARY WORK

1.1   C.L.S. Nyembezi's Life

Cyril Lincoln Sibusiso Nyembezi was born on 5 December 1919
at Babanango in Zululand.

His father, I.N. Nyembezi, was a minister of the Methodist
Church. Every five years he was regularly transferred to a
different circuit. During his life he was appointed to the
circuits of Babanango, Ingwavuma, Vryheid, Indaleni, Edendale
and Nyanyadu.

There is a story in IGODA 6 (Ukuphuma Kwelanga: The Rising
of the Sun) in which Nyembezi pays tribute to the pioneering
work of the first black church ministers in establishing
Christianity and school education among the Zulu. Although
this is supposed to be a story, the attentive reader easily
discovers many authobiographical elements between the lines.
The minister in the story, a certain Reverend Mhlophe, goes
to his first assignment, Babanango, in 1916, as I.N. Nyembezi
did. He marries a lady from Northern Natal (Mrs Nyembezi was
from Driefontein, near Ladysmith). At Babanango, they
establish solid church communities in the whole district, and
a school run by the minister's wife. They are then trans-
ferred to Ingwavuma, where they do similar pioneering work,
then to Vryheid, where the story in the book ends. In
Ukuphuma Kwelanga the minister's wife appears as a woman
of good education, solid principles, wholehearted dedication
to the work of the church, and very shrewd and practical.
This is probably what Nyembezi's mother was like.

I.N. Nyembezi and his wife, concerned with their children's
education, soon sent Sibusiso and his two brothers off to a
school in Driefontein, where they stayed with their mother's
family, shielded from the regular transfers and the financial

difficulties of their parents. Sibusiso later went to High
School at Nuttal Training College at Edenvale, and finally
to Adams College to train as a teacher. While teaching he
matriculared as a private student, and in 1944 he obtained a
B.A. degree from the South African Native College at Fort
Hare. He then studied with the University of the Witwatersrand
for an honours degree, which he gained in 1946. He then went
to teach in a secondary school in Dundee. At this time the
poet and novelist Dr B.W. Vilakazi, the first Zulu language
assistant to Professor Doke at Wits, died. C.L.S. Nyembezi
was appointed to the post as from 1948 and in 1950 he
obtained an M.A. degree from Wits for a dissertation on Zulu
Proverbs. He remained at Wits until 1954 when he took the
chair of Bantu Languages at Fort Hare University College.
He was the first Zulu to be appointed to a professorship.
In 1959

> several English-speaking white members of the
> staff (at Fort Hare) were dismissed because
> they were, in the words of the minister of
> Bantu Education, "destroying the government's
> policy of apartheid"
>
> (Gèrard 1971: 262)

Nyembezi resigned his post in protest and solidarity. Since
then he has been working as a revisor of Zulu publications
with the printing firm of Shuter & Shooter in Pietermaritzburg.

In 1976 the University of Zululand conferred on him the
degree of D. Litt. Honoris causa. The Dean of the Faculty
of Arts said on that occasion:

> "By conferring the degree D. Litt. (Honoris causa)
> the University of Zululand pays tribute to a man
> whose name is a household word among both old and
> young".

Apart from his involvement in the publication of Zulu works,
C.L.S. Nyembezi is still deeply involved in the study of

Zulu language and customs.

He is at present:

  (a) Chairman of <u>Inqolobane</u>, the Bureau for Zulu
       language and culture.
  (b) Chairman of the Commission for the Zulu language.
  (c) A member of the Council of the University of
       Zululand.

Of his two brothers, one became a doctor and practised in
Johannesburg, and the other became a lawyer and was a
magistrate in Durban.

C.L.S. Nyembezi has five children: three daughters and two
sons.

(Chronological and biographical details obtained from
S.D. Ngcongwane, 1981).

When I asked Professor Nyembezi what he thought was his major
contribution to Zulu literature and education, he answered:

> "God gave me opportunities which have been denied
> many of our people. I was born into a family of
> educated parents who believed wholeheartedly in
> the value of education and made all the necessary
> sacrifices to see that we, their children, were
> properly educated. I was privileged to attend
> courses and then to teach at Zulu schools, at Fort
> Hare, at Wits. My privileged education is a debt
> which I feel I must repay by giving of my utmost.
>
> The uppermost aim of my life has been to research,
> record and preserve the cultural heritage of our
> nation, so as to assist future generations to know
> and understand their roots and to feel proud of
> them. I have tried to pick up as many cultural
> elements as has been possible, and in so doing
> to make a humble contribution to the preservation
> of our people's culture and to its future orderly
> development."

(The full text of my interview with Professor Nyembezi
appears in the Appendix at the end of this thesis).

1.2   Nyembezi's Literary Work

All his literary works reflect what Nyembezi calls "the uppermost aim of my life", namely the desire to record the Zulu cultural heritage in order to preserve it for future generations. In some of his works this is done directly and specifically, in some only indirectly.

His literary works can be divided into three groups:

(a) Novels

(b) Collection of traditional cultural elements

(c) Teaching material

1.2.1   Novels

C.L.S. Nyembezi is a major Zulu novelist who has written three novels and translated two from English into Zulu.

1.2.1.1   Ubudoda Abukhulelwa (Manhood does not depend on age). Johannesburg: A.P.B. 1953 and 1957. Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shooter, 1966.

A.T. Cope (1974:49) says that after the war there was a proliferation of moralizing short novels in Zulu, specifically directed to the school market. This novel falls into this category; however

Nyembezi's ability raises (it) above the level
of its forerunners, but there is little originality
in the theme and little interest in plot and
character.

In brief, Vusumuzi, an orphan left to fend for himself in a society in which he has no privileges and no protection, manages to overcome the many adversities he encounters in life, and to become a respectable and respected member of society.

1.2.1.2   <u>Mntanami! Mntanami!</u> (My child! My child!)
             Johannesburg: A.P.B. 1950; republished 1957.

This novel was published before <u>Ubudoda Abukhulelwa</u>, although
it was written after it. On publication it was hailed as
the best Zulu novel ever written. It makes use of the theme
of the prodigal son, of the country boy gone to town, which
had been successfully used in the major Zulu novel <u>Indlela</u>
<u>Yababi</u> by R.R.R. Dhlomo (1946) and made extremely popular
by Alan Paton's <u>Cry the Beloved Country</u> (1948).

Jabulani is the son of a respected church minister from
the Ladysmith area. After an argument with his stern father,
he leaves home and runs off to Johannesburg where he joins
a gang of <u>tsotsis</u> who lead him to a life of crime, violence
and murder. He is caught and sentenced, but his spiritual
life is saved through the influence of Alice, the delicate
and pious girl whom he loves.

> Says Cope (1974:49):
>
> Here Nyembezi makes a fully fledged novel out
> of a prototype: there is realism and excitement,
> tension as to plot, conflict as to character,
> particularly in the character of the hero, who
> is torn between what he does and what he knows
> he ought and ought not to do. The climax is
> neither the murder nor the trial nor the sentence,
> but his decision, through the influence of the
> girl, to redeem himself.

The style is lively and clear, the characters are portrayed
realistically, the sequence of events flows naturally and
comes to a clear end. This novel, however, is the child of
its times, namely of the moralizing school-oriented stories.
Nyembezi is still occasionally liable for this fault, as
when he delivers a tirade against family educational
practices.

1.2.1.3   Inkinsela yaseMgungundlovu   (The Tycoon/V.I.P.
           from Pietermaritzburg).
           Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shooter 1962.

This is the novel of Nyembezi's artistic maturity and it
signals, for me, the coming of age of the Zulu novel.

There are no stereo-typed plots or characters; there is no
blaming the white man's civilization for the country's evils.
It is a modern novel about today's way of life; it shows
naivety and ignorance on one hand, and the wicked ways in
which a confidence trickster can take advantage of the simple
people on the other. The white man, with his legal, educational
and commercial system, lies far in the background. What we have
here is a rural community, at Nyanyadu, which has been told
by government experts that they are overgrazing the land and
will have to do away with some of their livestock as a
consequence. This spells disaster for the rural Zulu, for
whom cattle is the only real wealth. Ndebenkulu, whose conduct
and actions seem to fit perfectly the categories normally
connected with the traditional inganekwane trickster - as
explained in Chapter Five of this thesis - tries to take
advantage of this "lack" situation by presenting himself as
the disinterested saviour ("lack liquidated") and the powerful
friend of the African people ("false friendship"). The people
give him the cattle to sell at fantastic prices ("false
contract"). This would be the last they would hear from
Ndebenkulu, but for the shrewdness of two young men who have
seen through him and have alerted the police. The trickster
is discovered and arrested just in the nick of time as the
cattle are already boarding the train to take them away to
Pietermaritzburg.

    Says Cope (1974:50):

    The plot is sound and it flows confidently and
    excitingly to the final climax. Nyembezi allows
    humour to play a far greater part than in his
    previous novels.

Depicting a sort of traditional trickster in the modern form
of Ndebenkulu is a stroke of genius because the novel echoes
traditional trickster stories, thus giving it the possibility
of portraying realistic and humorous situations which can be
well understood by readers familiar with traditional oral forms.

This novel was serialised by the S.A.B.C. TV2 in 1984.

1.2.1.4   Translations

A translation of a novel from English to Zulu can be considered
a form of creative work, due to the differences in grammatical
structure and idiomatic expressions of the two languages.
Nyembezi has produced two works:

Cry the Beloved Country by Alan Paton appeared in Zulu as
Lafa Elihle Kakhulu (What used to be very beautiful has died/
or The Old Order has changed), (Pietermaritzburg: 1958); -
and **Nakho Phela**, (Pietermaritzburg: 1981), a detective
novel, submitted in English by Senzenjani Lukhele, translated
and adapted in Zulu by S. Nyembezi.

1.2.1.5   The significance of Nyembezi's novels

There is a certain qualitative progression in the three novels
written by C.L.S. Nyembezi.

Ubudoda Abukhulelwa can be considered to follow the trend of
the moralizing stories intended for the school market during
the post-war period. There is no originality either in the
theme or in the plot.

Mntanami! Mntanami! does not represent a major departure
from the same trend. The plot, however, is well developed
and the characterization is effective.

Inkinsela yaseMgungundlovu shows a striking departure from
the previous themes and plot schemes, and each character is
well developed and adequately illuminated. Humour plays an
important part in it.

In spite of theme and plot limitations, all Nyembezi's novels
are appreciated for his use of language, which he strives
and succeeds to keep clear, colourful and idiomatic at all
times, reaching its highest perfection in his use of humour
in Inkinsela yaseMgungundlovu.

His novels are steeped in life, are a mirror reflection of
life in South Africa as it is, with race prejudices playing
an important part and the supposed superiority of the white
culture taken almost for granted by everybody. But Nyembezi
rebels against this attitude: he is the one who is concerned
with the preservation of Zulu cultural values which are easily
sacrificed, by the blacks themselves, on the altar of white
supremacy. Among others, an incident in Mntanami! Mntanami!
(page 19) expresses the author's suffering in this regard.
Old man Mthethwa goes to the post office where he is attended
by a young white boy. This boy is ignorant of the Zulu forms
of respect, ignores the fact that Mthethwa is much older than
he, insults the old man and feels insulted when he is addressed
as "We mfana" (you, boy).

S.D. Ngcongwane, in his Ph.D. thesis Die Verhaalkuns van
Sibusiso Nyembezi (1981), speaks of Nyembezi's novels as
portraying a people at its historical and cultural crossroads,
a people torn between western and African values and ways of
life. The novelist does not embark on a jeremiad of complaints
about the situation, since this is an inescapable historical
reality: he simply looks on it, with his eyes sometimes
amused and sometimes moist, at once detached and immersed,
able to smile and to show sympathy with those who are
victimised.

> Nyembezi writes about the Zulu and his life. The
> Zulu way of life has changed, but this does not
> call for the shedding of tears. The white man's
> culture has overtaken him and he cannot run away
> from it even if he wanted to; he must simply
> carry on with the task of living.
>
> (S.D. Ngcongwane: 1983 Conference).

The novelist finds refuge from the evils of the present
situation in his art, in the world of his creative inspiration
where hope is never allowed to die, and where artistic harmony
reigns supreme.

If a complaint has been voiced about Nyembezi's novels by Zulu
critics it is that these novels have not been translated into
English and so they are beyond the reach of a much wider
public and cannot influence change in societal attitudes as
literary works often do. Nyembezi said to me about this
criticism:

> When I write it is like when I pray: I speak the
> language which comes natural to me, in which I
> can be myself completely. If anyone wants to do
> a translation of my novels, I have no objection;
> but I cannot bring myself to do it.
>
> (12 October 1984).

1.2.2   Collection of Traditional Cultural Elements

Nyembezi's declared aim as a writer is to collect and preserve
cultural material for future generations, as he stated in my
interview of 12 October 1984. This is of particular importance
in the present changing situation of the Zulu: the pressures
of western culture, of Christianity, of changed economic
circumstances, are drawing people away from the cradle of their
culture and from the system of the extended family which was
the guardian of traditions. Furthermore, an educational
system based on western principles, coupled with the massive
impact of print, radio and television, is transforming Zulu
society at an impressive rate. The consequence of all this
is that today's Zulu hardly resembles his great grandfather
who grew up and lived at the beginning of this century. The
dangers of a loss of identity and of losing the nation's very
soul are evident.

Nyembezi is not trying to stem the tide of modernization, but
is convinced that no real growth is possible if one is cut off
from one's cultural roots. Find these roots, clear them of

the mud and dirt which have hidden them away, explain and
clarify them, so that future generations may know who they
are because they will know where they came from: this is the
task that he took upon himself. The result of this research
is contained in three major specific works (Zulu Proverbs,
Izibongo Zamakhosi, Inqolobane Yesizwe), but it is also
present in all of Nyembezi's writings.

Nyembezi's dissertation for his honours degree in Zulu is
entitled: The Historical Background to the Izibongo
of the Zulu Military Age. It was published in African
Studies, volume 7, September and December 1948.

His M.A. dissertation was on Zulu Proverbs which later appeared
as a book (University of the Witwatersrand: 1954, first
edition; revised edition 1963). In this book, after a wide-
ranging introduction on the nature, structure, content and
classification of Zulu proverbs, Nyembezi presents, translates
and explains in detail all the proverbs he has been able to
collect. For a Zulu, proverbs are the distilled wisdom of
centuries: they are used very widely in both everyday speech
and in formal speech. The more proverbs one knows the wiser
he is supposed to be. Nyembezi's book explains the origins
of each proverb, so that its full meaning and implication can
be properly understood.

Zulu traditional history is enshrined in the praise poems of
tribal ancestors. Izibongo (praise poems) of chiefs and
kings have been orally handed down from generation to generation,
but many details, historical and otherwise, have become obscure
due to the distance in time. Nyembezi had already done some
research on their historical background in his honours degree
dissertation. In 1958 he published Izibongo Zamakhosi
(Pietermaritzburg, Shuter & Shooter) with introductions and
explanatory notes in Zulu. The book contains the praise poems
of Zulu and Swazi Kings.

<u>Inqolobane Yesizwe</u> (The storehouse of the nation)
(Pietermaritzburg 1960). This is a book researched and
published with the co-operation of O.E.H. Nxumalo.

Cope (1974:44) describes its contents as follows:

> Names and descriptions of articles of dress,
> weapons, utensils, cattle (according to horns,
> colourings and markings), trees and plants,
> animals, birds and snakes, together with short
> descriptions of customs, lists of proverbs and
> idioms, and a dictionary of difficult words or
> words with unusual usage in addition to their
> primary meanings.

<u>A Review of Zulu Literature</u> (University of Natal Press, 1961).

This is a brief survey of Zulu literature given as a lecture
at the University of Natal. It offers a useful overview of
the subject, but it does not present any new insight.

1.2.3   <u>Teaching Material</u>

Nyembezi has played and is still playing a prominent part in
Zulu education. His novels are constantly among the prescribed
books for secondary schools, and his collections of traditional
material are easily obtainable and constantly consulted by
both teachers and students. However, he has brought out a
great number of publications specifically designed for the
teaching of Zulu.

1.2.3.1 In 1956 he published a Zulu grammar in Zulu, <u>Uhlelo
lwesiZulu</u>, based to a great extent on C.M. Doke's <u>Zulu Grammar</u>
(1927/1948). Doke's influence is also clear in his <u>Learn Zulu</u>
(1957, Shuter & Shooter) which has undergone several revisions.
Grammar, vocabulary, exercises and readings are carefully
graded and clearly explained. A late addition to this very
successful publication is <u>Learn More Zulu</u> (1970, Shuter &
Shooter) which deals with more complicated aspects of Zulu
syntax. This book, however, has few explanations and relies

on a wide basic understanding of Zulu. It cannot be considered
as a continuation or a second volume of Learn Zulu.

In the field of Zulu dictionaries, Nyembezi has co-operated
with G.R. Dent in Compact Zulu Dictionary (1959, 1964, Shuter
& Shooter), a pocket Zulu-English, English-Zulu dictionary
for beginners; and in Scholar's Zulu Dictionary (1969, Shuter
& Shooter), a fully-fledged, clear and modern English-Zulu,
Zulu-English dictionary.

In the field of Health and Moral Education, Nyembezi has
published: Saphela yizingozi nokuphelelwa wubuntu (1952,
Shuter & Shooter) (Crime is the cause of the loss of one's
dignity). This is a book dealing with road safety and also
with cultural loss, on the theme of country boy comes to town.
This was a didactic book which has now been out of print for
a few years.

Izincwadi Ezintsha Zempilo (1971, Shuter & Shooter: Health
Education for Standards 3, 4, 5 and 6, in collaboration with
G.R. Dent).

Better Health (1973/1974, Shuter & Shooter; with G.R. and
S.R. Dent).

After his resignation from Fort Hare in 1959, Nyembezi devoted
all his time to producing and editing school literature, of
which there was a great need, for the Printing House of Shuter
& Shooter in Pietermaritzburg. From 1959 to 1961 his first
anthology of poetry for schools appeared under the title:
Imisebe Yelanga (The rays of the sun), (A.P.B. Johannesburg).
A.P.B. had organised a poetic competition in Zulu. The poems
presented at the competition were of unequal value and
difficulty. Nyembezi was asked to sort out what was worth
publishing. He found that the poems had a great variety of
standards in levels of depth, language and understandability,
so he put them in order of difficulty in language and content
and graded them for usage at various standards in school.

Various anthologies of Zulu poetry were also edited by him
for Shuter & Shooter:

    1963:   Imikhemezelo (Soft Rains)
    1963:   Amahlungu aluhlaza (Fresh Green Grass)
    1963:   Izimpophoma Zomphefumulo (Spiritual Cascades)
    1980:   Isibuko Senhliziyo (The Mirror of the Heart)

All these are, according to Cope (1974:59):

> ... anthologies of poems contributed by many
> writers, arranged and graded for use in high
> schools.

1.2.3.2   The IGODA Series (1962/1964, Pietermaritzburg)

This is a series of school readers. The title means "The
Rope": it reveals the intention of presenting a tightly-
knit, properly graded series of books for schools. The
series comprises 8 volumes: Isigaba A and B (for Sub A and
Sub B classes), and Ibanga 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6. Standard
1 to 5 volumes are simply called IGODA, Ibanga 1, 2, etcetera;
the Standard 6 volume is called Izehlo Ngezehlo (Happenings),
with the sub-title IGODA Ibanga 6.

Since the object of my research is particularly Nyembezi's
use of traditional Zulu folktales in his IGODA series, I
intend to examine these books in some detail.

In the body of this dissertation I shall refer to the various
volumes of this series in the following way:

    IGODA, Isigaba A and Isigaba B;

    IGODA 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6   for

    IGODA, Ibanga 1, Ibanga 2, etcetera.

When I asked Professor Nyembezi (see my interview in the
Appendix) about the aims of his IGODA series, he declared

that foremost in his mind was the transmission of Zulu culture
through a series of well-graded school readers. The Zulu
must be clear and correct, to counteract the influence of
language mixtures now prevalent in urban areas. The contents
must be relevant and entertaining, while being in line with
Zulu cultural tenets and values. His series of readers also
tries to bridge gaps and widen horizons by introducing:first,
some aspects of life in a rural area where traditions and
customs are felt more strongly; secondly, life in a city
where the majority of school-going children now live; and
finally, some cultural elements of other African tribes and
of European history.

1.2.3.3   Content of IGODA

Isigaba A is a spelling book: the sounds of the Zulu
alphabet are presented gradually, in an easy and well-
graded way.

Isigaba B for Sub B pupils, is the first simple reading
book. Vocabulary and situations reflect the experiences
of a young child in an ordinary rural family: the home and
the family, friends and games, early school life and home
tasks. To bridge the gap between country and town, the
second part of the book deals with the excited visit of the
rural family to father in Johannesburg to spend Christmas
with him.

IGODA, Ibanga 1:   The situations are drawn from family
life during the children's summer holidays. The vocabulary
(which is graded and effectively reinforced by constant
repetition) is that of games, illness in the family, pets
and domesticated animals, house tasks for girls and the
herding of cattle for boys, forays to the shops and a visit
to Durban: all well within the range of experience of an
eight or nine-year-old child. Grammatical structures are
also graded: from the present tense of verbs and non-verbal
predicates in the first few chapters, to the recent past and

the descriptive past continuous tenses, then to the remote
past and the remote past continuous tenses. Dependent forms
of the verb are used sparingly and in clear linguistic
context at first (for example, with uma, lapho, nxa, in
Chapters 1, 2 and 3) then with few, most common, auxiliary
verbs. The subjunctive mood is introduced in a similar way.

In the first part of the book the new vocabulary is given
at the beginning of the chapter.

A few simple poems are introduced at regular intervals,
generally poems which have some bearing on the topic discussed
in a particular chapter.

This book contains four folktales, all told by grandmother.
A typical animal fable, Igundwane elingezwa (The Disobedient
Mouse) (chapter 10) where the proverb Isala kutshelwa sibona
ngomopho (the foolhardy sees by the oozing of his own blood)
is introduced and given as the moral of the fable.

Chapter 15 contains the folktale of Unwabu nentulo (the
chameleon and the lizard) with the traditional explanation
of the origin of death caused by the laziness and greed of
the chameleon and the idiom sibambe elentulo (we hold on to
the lizard's message). Chapters 16 and 17 contain an
entertaining description of the animals going to fetch their
tails and why the hyrax has no tail, with the proverb Imbila
yaswela umsila ngokulayezela (the hyrax is without tail
having sent for it).

Chapter 30 contains a trickster story: uChakijana nebhubesi
(Chakijana and the lion) where the lazy mongoose tricks the
lion into giving him its food and then lets it starve to
death.

The tales are told in order to teach and to entertain. What
is taught, however, is not only the language and the proverbs,
but how to make use of a basic form of the language through
imaginative expansion and repetition of some very common and

simple stories. Idiomatic expressions and ideophones abound,
but they are clearly explained. The children confess:
"We shall return to school knowing a lot of good Zulu
expressions, since granny has been teaching us through these
tales". (page 69).

IGODA, Ibanga 2:   The contextual situation is school and
family life of Standard 2 children. Episodes are descriptive
of school activities, recreational activities, shopping,
interacting with family, friends and neighbours. Nonhlanhla,
a cousin from Zululand who comes to stay with the family and
also attends Standard 2, adds another dimension to the
general experience by being able to refer back and to explain
traditional customs and games as well as to tell folktales
which her semi-rural cousins and friends have never heard.
The book contains six simple poems, several chapters on
what the children do, and twenty six izinganekwane (folktales).
Of these, two are typical animal stories, three are trickster
stories, five human stories, thirteen with human and
fantastic elements of various kinds, three modern humans
only stories. The happenings told in the descriptive
chapters form a kind of social framework for the performance
of izinganekwane. Although neither the vocabulary nor the
grammatical structures appear strictly graded, and the
language remains fairly simple throughout the book, there
is a crescendo in the complexity of the structure of the
stories as well as in the structure of the language used.

IGODA, Ibanga 3:   This volume contains fifteen animal
folktales translated and adapted in poetry from Aesop's
fables and thirty one chapters of general information and
education, which include the prevention of fires, road
accidents and dangers, children's games, etcetera. The
background of the book consists of a long stay in the
country by a young city boy who has been sent to his umalume
by the doctor in order to recuperate from a long and serious

illness. Nkunzi, the boy, delights his country cousins
with descriptions of city life, but he is also able to relate
to them road accidents which happen in town and many other
dangers of which one must be aware. In this way the scope
of the educational experience is considerably widened.

IGODA, Ibanga 4:   This is a book of stories: short
stories, folktales in prose, and animal tales in verse.

In the Foreword to this volume, Nyembezi expresses his
thanks to his sources: five Sotho stories are taken from
E. Motsamai's book Mehla Ea Malimo and one from S.M. Guma.
G. Sinxo has provided Xhosa stories; Miss A.D. Nyembezi
and Mr V.C. Nqwababa stories from former Rhodesia. The
stories of Nomvula and Phoshozwayo are taken from Violet
Dube's book Wozanazo. The animal tales in verse are adapted
from Aesop's fables.

The first chapter, "The Black Peoples of Southern Africa",
gives an insight into the Author's intention in this book,
that is, to expand the children's horizons by presenting
to them stories and traditions of other population groups
living in this part of the world. There are many folktales
in this volume, easily recognizable by traditional episodes,
stock characters and repetition, but there is no general
cultural or folkloristic framework for them. Some are
written as short stories rather than as izinganekwane and
are characterized by more realistic plots and characters.

However, there is an historical background to the Sotho
stories which are mostly about cannibals: Nyembezi explains
(4:9) that they are supposed to have taken place at the
time of Mshweshwe when the whole of Southern Africa was in
turmoil and people were driven to cannibalism by poverty
and hardship. Here cannibals are not looked upon as
fantastic characters to discipline children, but as true
human beings who have turned cannibal and have retained

their human characteristics, without assuming the imaginary powers of speed and endless greed associated with the amazimu among the Nguni.

I asked Nyembezi about this book and he made the following points:

(a) Aim: to widen the children's horizons by presenting to them cultural aspects proper to the Sotho and Xhosa. The children will also realize the similarities between their traditional culture and that of the other Southern African populations.

(b) Sotho and Xhosa stories were both translated and adapted.

(c) Violet Dube's stories were used as they were, with occasional editorial changes to simplify the language. Nyembezi knew Violet Dube personally and liked her stories and style. He felt that she had created a beautiful inganekwane in her Phoshozwayo by bringing out brilliantly traditional Zulu structures and motifs in a partly modern, partly fantastic traditional setting.

IGODA, Ibanga 5: The inside cover reads:

> "IGODA (The Rope). The last in a series of Zulu readers intended to broaden vocabulary and deepen comprehension. This book is suitable for Standard 5 pupils."
>
> (Second edition 1980).

In addition to the seventeen Aesopian fables in verse, this volume contains material to broaden the pupils' understanding beyond the Southern African boundaries, while at the same time deepening their understanding of Zulu life and culture.

From the international scene come the stories of The Great Rocks of Brittany, taken from the Oxford English Reader (O.U.P.)

and a story about George Stephenson. Zulu culture is repre-
sented in the book by the biographies of J.L.Dube and B.W.
Vilakazi, as well as by lists of proverbs and idioms connected
with particular topics, such as cattle, animals, birds.
Nyembezi also presents here a small play, uMaMkhize
noMaSishwapha (page 79) in which two matrons fight to defend
their rights and the rights of their families. The play is
full of conversational Zulu expressions and lively good-
humoured insults!

Some short stories are rather like mini-novels based on the
life of the Zulu in the modern world. One, uMazele, deals
with the nearly impossible conversion of a man who had sworn
he would never set foot in a church. Another, uGugu noThoko,
deals with the efforts of a young girl to help her best friend
to recover her health, and how the former eventually becomes
a surgeon to be able to operate on her friend.

Umcebo kaNyambose is another short story dealing with a very
common problem: how a simple man can be conned by unscrupulous
confidence tricksters who arrange supposed apparitions of
ancestor spirits. Must one show loyalty to past religious
practices or enthusiasm and dedication to the new Christian
ones?

The plots are not new nor is the moralizing trend new. These
stories, however, are very readable, the characters are simply
drawn and the plots tightly knit. They are meant as a
preparation for pupils to tackle more demanding literary forms
such as the novel.

IGODA, Ibanga 6:   Izehlo Ngezehlo (Various Happenings).
This is a completely new edition (1983) of what used to be
IGODA, Ibanga 6. It is recommended for Standard 6 pupils.

The book contains eighteen animal stories in verse translated
and adapted from Aesop, a drama about Shaka's life and two
short stories.

The first of these short stories uDlabantu deals with the
vicissitudes of a dog's life. The second one, Ukhuphuma
kwelanga (The Rising of the Sun), traces the beginnings
of Christian life and school education among the Zulu through
the work and dedication of the first black ministers.
Nyembezi uses a number of autobiographical anecdotes, as
the story reflects the vicissitudes of his own family.

S.D. Ngcongwane (1981:21) says that there is hardly any
genre at which Nyembezi did not try his hand, although his
greatest talents are shown in his novels. He mentions, as
examples, the drama pieces and the poetry which Nyembezi
has published in IGODA.

The play, Umdlalo (page 87): a small episode in Shaka's
life offers the plot for this short play. Shaka is discuss-
ing with his men the fact that although circumcision is a
custom handed down from the ancestors, it is not necessarily
such a good and important custom that cannot be changed,
as he is trying to do. The men feel tired under the
scorching sun and start relaxing and snuffing tobacco.
Shaka immediately seizes the opportunity, and launches into
the argument that the custom that anyone who is asked for
tobacco should refuse it at first, even if he has some, is
not necessarily a good custom. The men retort that no one,
in the whole nation, will ever part with his tobacco without
having first denied having it. Shaka is in a good mood,
and good-humouredly he sends two men out to test the
observance of this custom. When they finally return with
a man who has not refused them tobacco first, the king is
elated to be able to show that this man is even better than
those who first refused the snuff, because he is completely
generous. Having proved his point about the observance
of customs, Shaka rewards this generous man handsomely.
This is only a short play and the intellectual arguments
make the interventions of the characters rather long at
times. However, it is pervaded with irresistible good

humour, and Shaka appears friendly and careless, confident
in his arguments and in the common sense of his men. The
play also offers the setting for introducing some royal
tribal customs, such as the chanting of Shaka's praises
by the imbongi, the correct way of addressing the king and
other men, and the frankness which is allowed in Zulu
bandla courts.

Although I find Izehlo Ngezehlo rather limited in content
and substance, a Zulu teacher may find it useful in that
the lengthy stories and the play afford him an opportunity
for keeping the pupils' attention on the same subject for
quite a long time, and for developing the pupils' skills
in judging plot, setting, character development, language,
etcetera, skills which will be of great value when pupils
will have to tackle full-length novels and plays.

CHAPTER 2

THE FOLKTALE IN THE GENERAL CONTEXT OF FOLKLORE

2.1   What is Folklore?

In the seventeenth century John Aubrey collected and
published "miscellanies", or ancient tales and traditions
which he believed would enable him to better understand
the past. This was probably the first 'folklore' publi-
cation in the English speaking world. In 1846 William
Thoms introduced the word 'folklore' to the English lan-
guage; since then, researchers and scholars have tried
to define it by clarifying the field of folklore studies.

(a)   William Thoms (in Dundes 1965:5) wanted the word
'folklore' to describe

> Some records of old Times, neglected customs,
> fading legends, local traditions and
> fragmentary ballads.

In other words, folklore was for him a study of ancient
customs, beliefs and oral literary forms proper of the
'common man', not recorded in a written form. As
Dundes (1965:4) explains:

> The increasing awareness of folklore was closely
> associated with the romantic movement. The glori-
> fication of the common man included a nostalgic
> interest in his speech and manners which were
> believed to be dying out.

(b)   Alan Dundes (1965:1-3) tries to arrive at a definition
of folklore by analyzing the two parts of the word: folk
and lore.

> The term 'folk' can refer to any group of people
> who share at least one common factor. It does not
> matter what the linking factor is, ... but what is
> important is that a group ... will have some
> traditions which it calls its own.

He then explains that the term 'lore' refers to traditions
which are orally transmitted. Dundes warns, however, that
the 'oral transmission' criterion is not sufficient: not
everything orally transmitted can be called folklore and
not all folkloristic items are necessarily orally trans-
mitted. He then itemizes a long list of folklore forms
which correspond to the criteria of traditional material,
orally transmitted, peculiar to a group of people:

> Folklore includes myths, legends, folktales, jokes,
> proverbs, riddles, chants, charms, blessings,
> curses, oaths, insults, ...

and a very long list of other items.

(c)   Richard M. Dorson (1972:2) reiterates the idea that
folklore is not made up of oral traditional forms only, but
also of items such as art, crafts, customs. He divides
folklore into four parts:

  i. Oral literature: the spoken, sung and voiced
      forms of traditional utterance that show repetitive
      patterns. These include:
      i.i Folk narrative, such as tales, proverbs,
           riddles, folk speech;
      i.ii Folksong and poetry.
  ii. Material culture: techniques, skills, recipes,
      magic formulas.
 iii. Social folk customs: rites of passage, etc.
  iv. Performing folk arts such as music, dance, drama.

(d)   Francis Lee Utley (Dundes 1965:7) offers an operational
definition of folklore: "Folklore is literature orally
transmitted". He intends to delimit the field of study of
folklore to the field of oral literature, in order to exclude
items such as crafts and artefacts, music, customs, beliefs.
He does not say that these items cannot be studied as parts
of folklore: he only says that the field of enquiry would
be far too vast if every folklore field worker had to acquaint
himself with an endless list of subjects. He further explains

his approach by specifying that his definition embraces all forms of literature in non-literate societies as well as orally preserved literature in literate societies.

From the above descriptive definitions two elements emerge:

i.   That the content of folklore must be traditional and be preserved in some community or 'folk'.

ii. That it must be orally transmitted.

Additional, non-essential elements are: its repetitive nature; its particular belonging to one group - or to even various groups which possess it in a similar way; its being found predominantly in non-literate societies, and in literate societies but in oral form.

For the purpose of this dissertation only Zulu traditional folktales are considered, as they are found in the IGODA series. They qualify as folkloristic items because they are traditional in structure and content. Although they are found in a written form in IGODA, they have been transmitted orally in the past and are still performed as oral art, independently of the fact that they have been written down by C.L.S.Nyembezi; they are repetitive in pattern and are proper to the Zulu people, although similar versions are also found among other population groups.

The folktales in IGODA are told as traditional tales. The main storyteller is grandmother, the traditional per- former of **izinganekwane** among the Zulu. The milieu of books 1 and 2 is the rural area. This forms a sort of tra- ditional frame where folktales can be performed as they are still appreciated as an art form. In this way the Author uses a cultural medium of entertainment and education in a modern written form to educate children in a school situation.

The Author's stated aim is to preserve forms of traditional culture. His artistic creative objective is to retain the vividness and freshness of an oral performance by abiding by the unwritten canons of oral transmission for the enter- tainment and the education of his readers.

2.2   Approaches to Folklore Studies

Folklore has been studied diachronically (how, when, where
a given folklore item arose) or synchronically (the reality
of that folklore item now). Until quite recently the diachro-
nic approach was predominant, as it was encouraged by the
idea that whatever was 'primitive' was more genuinely human
(Romanticism), and that we must know our roots in order to
discover who we are (Historicism). For the greater part of
the present century, however, more emphasis has been placed
on the study of items of folklore as they are found now, to
discover both the social functions and context of folklore
and the artisitc form through which it is performed, re-
created and transmitted.

2.2.1   Diachronic Approach

2.2.1.1   The Solar Theory [1]

Max Müller - through a philological study of the influence
of Sanscrit on European languages - arrived at the conclusion
that all myths and legends of Europe came from ancient India
through the spreading of the Aryan people, who brought with
them their language and culture.

Müller postulated a mythopoeic age, when the truly noble
conceptions of the Aryan gods first arose. This age occurred
before language was equipped to convey abstract ideas. Two
processes developed to fulfil the task of communication:
>   polynomy: one word carried many meanings;
>   homonomy: one idea became attached to many words.
Myth arose from polynomy through the added process of metaphor.
For example: the word Dyaus (the supreme god, corresponding
to the Greek Zeus and the Latin Deus) could have been under-
stood as sun, sky, air, dawn, light, brightness. Metaphor

----

(1)   These ideas are taken from R.M.Dorson's article:
       The Eclipse of Solar Mythology, in Dundes (1965:57)

transferred names from the objects they referred to, to objects with which they had become poetically associated.

Primitive man had therefore created his pantheon around the sun, the dawn and the sky. The battle between good and evil was a metaphor for the daily battle between light and darkness, day and night. All the myths and legends of Europe were the result of this primitive creation approach to the sun's life-giving cycle.

2.2.1.2   The Evolutionary Theory

Following Darwin's anthropological evolutionary theories, scholars such as Frazer, Taylor, Lang and Morgan propounded a theory of evolution of culture. According to them, all men evolved along one evolutionary path through three identical stages: savagery, barbarism and civilization. In the course of the evolution of all cultures, vestigial remains of the previous evolutionary periods were preserved. Folklore was, according to these scholars, the study of these cultural 'survivals'.

Ruth Finnegan (1970:320) points out that it was because of this school of thought that folktales were never analyzed as the literary creation of the performer but rather as 'pieces' which were dissected to find their origin, authorship and transmission.

2.2.1.3   The Diffusionist Theory

This approach is followed by the so called Finnish School and by some American folklorists.

According to this theory, since there are so many 'variants' of the same tale spread all over the world, a given tale must have had its origin in one place, at a particular time, for a specific reason. The folklorist's task is to investigate the diffusion of this tale to find its place of origin and the process by which it travelled to other places and was

assimilated by other cultures. Marian Cox, for example, collected various versions of the well known Cinderella story and studied its distribution on a comparative basis.

In 1910 Antti Aarne published his Verzeichnis der Märchentypen, a kind of catalogue of synopses of most of the traditional folktales in the Indo-European world. The American Stith Thompson later published a six-volume Motif-Index of Folk Literature which covers the whole world and is universally used for the classification and comparison of folktales.

The Diffusionist School drew the interest away from symbolism studies to concentrate on the present-day distribution of folktales. Their emphasis on summary and content, however, neglects the literary value of the tale. As it tends to generalize, it loses sight of the individual performer's contribution in creativity and style. Furthermore, tale motifs are catalogued according to the characters who perform them rather than according to the action which is being performed: this practice leads to endless repetition.

2.2.1.4   The Psycho-Analytic Theory

Sigmund Freud saw all forms of popular literature as an expression and a sublimation of repressed sexual desires. Thus every element in folktales was interpreted as a symbol of male and female. He claimed that myths revealed the psyche of the childhood of the race.

> Such mechanisms as condensation, elaboration and
>   substitution transformed the childish, half-forgotten
> sexual urges into objects and images taken from
> everyday life.
>
> (Dorson 1972:26)

This thesis rejects the diachronic approach to the study of folktales. I consider folktales as a form of art which is constantly re-created in performance. However, as any form of art, folktales can also be considered as external expressions and conveyors of a living culture which has its roots in the past and is being re-moulded in the present; but they are not 'survivals'.

2.2.2   The Synchronic Approach

This approach studies the status of folklore now, as a
phenomenon in contemporary society, without looking for
its origins in the past. The main schools which follow
this approach are the Functionalist School and the Structur-
alist School. The first studies the role played by folklore
in a given society; the second studies the formal structures
of a given folkloristic item such as the folktale and why
and how it can be considered a form of art.

2.2.2.1   The Functionalist Approach

> One persuasive approach to folklore studies
> eschews questions of origin and distribution
> to concentrate on the role played by folklore
> in a given culture.
>
> > (Dorson 1972:20)

Representatives of this approach have been the British
anthropologists Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski and the
Americans Franz Boas and Ruth Benedict. Their studies
have concentrated on institutions in non-literate societies
and on how folklore functions in them and contributes to
their maintainance.

> In general, exponents of this school have been
> interested in local narratives in so far as they
> can be seen to have a specific social function.
>
> > (M.Oosthuizen 1977:15)

According to William Bascom (in Dundes 1965:279), any form
of folklore must be considered in its social and cultural
context in order to understand its social function.
The social context of folklore must consider aspects such
as the following:

(a)   When and where does a given form occur. Taking the
       folktale as an example: When can it be performed?
       Is there any specific place where the performance must
       take place?

(b)　　The performer of a given folklore item:　is it a man
　　　　or a woman? Is there any particular taboo regarding
　　　　the performer?　For whom does he or she perform?
(c)　　Dramatic devices used by the performer.
(d)　　The degree of audience involvement and participation.
(e)　　Which categories of folklore are recognized by the
　　　　people, and what is the people's attitude towards them?

The contextual aspects of folklore must consider the relation-
ship between folklore and other aspects of culture.　This
means, according to Bascom (in Dundes 1965:284), an investi-
gation to determine the extent to which folklore is a mirror
of culture and expresses also the society's beliefs　and
attitudes.

Bascom proposes four main functions of folklore:
(a)　　Folklore serves as a form of entertainment.
(b)　　It is a means of culture validation.
(c)　　It helps in the education of the young.
(d)　　It fosters uniformity.

(a)　　　Folklore as entertainment

The fact that legends, folktales, jokes, riddles, dances etc.,
are forms of entertainment is taken for granted by most
scholars.　Bascom, however, tries to resurrect a discussion
on the nature of entertainment which is as old as Western
Philosophy.　He suggests that sublimation of repressed
instincts could offer an explanation for trickster stories
as well as for tall tales and dirty jokes.　Aristotle had
already maintained that vicarious catharsis was the aim of
tragedy, and relaxation through escapism was the aim of comedy.
The folktale offers an escape into a world of fantasy, or
into a dreamland populated by fantastic characters.　It is
healthy for all age groups to be able to dream and fantasize.

(b)   Culture validation

>A second function of folklore is that which it
>plays in validating culture, in justifying its
>rituals and institutions to those who perform
>and observe them.
>
>   (Bascom, Op. Cit. : 292)

(c)   Education

Folklore educates in the ways of society. This has a great
importance in non-literate societies, but not exclusively
there. Bascom (Op. Cit.: 293) quotes from a study of O.F.
Raum based on the Chagas in East Africa. According to Raum,
young children are disciplined and scared by the telling of
ogre stories. At a later age

>fables or folktales incorporating morals are
>introduced to inculcate general attitudes and
>principles, such as diligence and filial piety,
>and to ridicule laziness, rebelliousness and
>snobbishness. Still later, proverbs are exten-
>sively used to impart the wisdom of society.

(d)   To foster conformity

>Folklore fulfils the important but often overlooked
>function of maintaining conformity to the accepted
>patterns of behaviour. Some forms of folklore are
>important as means of applying social pressure and
>exercising social control.
>
>   (Bascom, Op. Cit.:294)

Opler, quoted by Bascom, says of the Ashanti that, when a
norm is transgressed, the transgressor is asked: "Did you
have no grandparents to tell you the stories?" Approval
comes, to those who conform, in the guise of praise names
and songs of praise. Bascom concentrates here on the effect-
iveness of proverbs to direct and correct behaviour.
In Zulu society many proverbs are attached to folktales.
Therefore folktales are also used to help maintaining
moral and social standards.

Ruth Finnegan (1970:330) has this to say about the
Functionalist approach:

Various functions have been stated or assumed.
Stories, for instance, are told to educate and
socialize children, or, by drawing a moral, to
warn people not to break the norms of society.
Other narratives - in this connection always
persuasively called "myths" - are "charters"
which serve to uphold the present structure of
society in general, and the position of the rulers
in particular. Others again are said to fulfil
the function of providing a model through which
people can verbalize the relationships and
constitution of their society.

<div style="text-align: right">(Finnegan 1970:330)</div>

She then goes on to criticize this 'utilitarian' approach
for not paying any attention to the art forms of oral tradi-
tional literature. She concludes:

Scholars are now realizing that quite apart from the
actual mistakes disseminated by this school, a concen-
tration on just social functions and alleged contributions
to social structure means treating only one limited
aspect of oral narratives. Prose narratives (and
oral literature in general) are once again becoming
a field of interest in their own right.

<div style="text-align: right">(Finnegan 1970:333)</div>

I feel that the folktales in the IGODA series must not
be simply examined from the point of view of the art form
and of structure, but also from that of their function in
society. They have been included in a series of school
readers to make the learning process pleasant, but also to
pass on to children a deep love and respect for the Zulu
traditional culture which they reflect. Ruth Finnegan seems
interested in stressing the artistic aspect to the detriment
of the functionalist aspect of this very prominent form of
folklore. But I think that the one does not exclude the
other.

Heda Jason of Tel Aviv University wrote an article in
Current Anthropology (1969) entitled A Multidimensional
Approach to Oral Literature in which she tried to amalgamate
and correlate the various approaches to the study of folk-
tales. Commenting on the various interpretations given to

oral literature, she concludes:

> Oral literature is none of these elements alone -
> rather it is and does all of them together.
>
> It is:
>
> (a) A survival, in that it grew together with its
> society in an uneven historical process (which
> included a diffusional give and take from cultures
> of other societies), and it bears all the marks
> of its own past.
>
> (b) It is a kind of reflection of its contemporary
> society in that it is fitted to express the
> problems of it, be these social, psychological,
> or others.
>
> (c) It may be used for harmless entertainment or as
> a weapon in some social conflict (inside a
> society, or between competing societies).
>
> (d) It may be used as a serious ritual, central to
> the society's survival, or as a lubricant to
> keep the minor wheels of the society going.
>
> (e) Above all these, the item of oral literature
> is a work of art - a work of artistic presentation -
> and as such can be handled by the methods of
> literary criticism.
>
> (From Class Notes of the University of Fort Hare)

I intend to expand on the social and cultural context of
IGODA and on the social function of the folktales contained
in it in the fourth chapter of this dissertation. I intend
to offer a literary criticism in the form of a structural
analysis in my fifth chapter.

2.2.2.2   The Structuralist Approach

Instead of looking at the origin and spreading of folktales,
or at their function in a given society, the structuralist
approach studies the manifestation of the tale as a form of
art, in the same way that one would examine a written novel
or a drama. Since this is an oral literary form which is
created and lives only during the brief moments of its per-
formance, there are also other related elements of analysis,
such as time, place, performer and audience, as well as how
well it is performed.

Structuralist scholars work in three different directions
and follow three different approaches:

(1)   The morphological approach of Propp/Dundes.
(2)   The paradygmatic approach of Lévi-Strauss.
(3)   The oral-artistic approach of Finnegan and Scheub.

2.2.2.2.1   The Morphological Approach

This approach was proposed by Vladimir Propp for Russian
folktales in his study The Morphology of the Folktale (1928;
English translation 1958).

Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson had catalogued folktale motifs
according to the performing characters, that is, according
to who did what in a tale. Propp found that the same 'action'
can be performed by different characters while still remaining
basically the same action expressed in a determined position
in the overall structure of the tale. Consequently, rather
than examining the characters of a tale, one should examine
the actions, which he called 'functions', to find out how
they are performed and how they fit in the overall picture.
For example, the trick action - or function - in Zulu can
be performed by Hlakanyana or by Chakide or the hare or the
jackal, but the trick function remains the same and is bound
in a sequence of actions which widely correspond to each other,
whoever be the performing character. Most functions, Propp
found, are constant and invariable, while the characters
performing them are variable.

His method of analysis consists of three steps:

(a)   Note each action/function taking place.
(b)   Give the function a descriptive general name,
        ragardless of who performs it (Examples: contract,
        interdiction, violation, lack, etc.)
(c)   Note the position of the action/function in the
        sequence of events in the folktale.

'Functions' are realized, represented, actualized by
'terms': For example, the function of 'villainy' can be
realized by ogres, monsters, etc. Functions constantly
appear in a fixed order in a 'sequence' of events. A
group of closely linked functions constitute a 'move';
groups of moves constitute a 'section'. Propp found more
than 30 functions in the Russian folktale.

Alan Dundes, who translated Propp's book, followed his
method in analysing North American Indian tales. In adapting
Propp's Morphology he integrated it with the terminology
of Pike's (1954) linguistic patterns. He called Propp's
functions motifemes, which provided him with the useful
concept of allomotif. He further defined the functions/
motifemes which are constant and invariable as emic units,
while the culturally determined details of characters which
realize these structural units he called etic units.

However, while Propp only stresses the importance of text,
Dundes also underlines the importance of context, and
examines the tale on three levels: texture, text and
context.

> Texture: linguistic features such as rhyme,
> alliteration, ideophones, stress,
> pitch, intonation,etc.

> Text: The structure of the tale as a composite
> of motifemes and sequences.

> Context: The literary and sociological elements
> which condition a given tale in its
> text and performance.

2.2.2.2.2   The Paradygmatic Approach

This approach was proposed by Lévi-Strauss in his article
The Structural Study of Myth (1955). Rather than looking
at the horizontal or syntagmatic sequence of events or

functions in a tale, Lévi-Strauss examined it vertically,
paradygmatically, to find out its inner structure which,
for him, is based on the binary principle of thesis and
antithesis.

In this way one is able to discover the main ideological
factors and elements in the tale, how they contrast with
one another, and how they are finally resolved in a synthesis
through some form of mediation. Lévi-Strauss believes that
all the products of the human mind, such as myth, legend,
folktale, demonstrate the Hegelian dialectic principle of
thesis-- antithesis - synthesis. A tale, in the way it
is told, is but the exterior or surface manifestation of
a deeper and universal reality which must be discovered and
investigated by the anthropologist.

2.2.2.2.3   The Literary-Artistic Approach

This approach studies the formulas according to which oral
art is composed and transmitted, independently of its origin
and of its geographical diffusion. This approach was applied
to the study of oral poetry in Europe and also in Africa.
More recently it has been applied to oral prose forms in
Africa by such scholars as Ruth Finnegan (Oral Literature in
Africa, 1970) for the whole of Black Africa, and Harold
Scheub for Xhosa and Zulu folktales (The Xhosa Ntsomi, 1975).

Generally speaking these scholars demonstrate that it is
the actual performance of a folktale that counts, because
this represents the moment of its artistic creation and of
its life span. However, it is important to realize that the
performer makes use of a traditional repertory in order to
create her tale. Hence the discussion about what is
traditional and what is proper of the individual performer.

Here is a summary of Ruth Finnegan's approach:
Because of its oral nature, a tale is an art form which
comes to life only at the moment of its performance. It is

a literary piece, although it is not written.
Tradition supplies a number of motifs (Propp's 'functions'),
episodes and characters, but it is up to the individual
artist to choose a character to perform given actions.
Several motifs make up an episode and various episodes
constitute a full narrative. It is possible to equate
Finnegan's motifs with Propp's functions, her episodes to
his sequences, and her narrative with his folktale. The
performer draws from the traditional heritage motifs and
characters to re-create a story that is both new and
traditional.

Harold Scheub also emphasizes the oral nature of folktales,
the importance of the performer, and the extremely volatile
nature of the art form. According to his research among Zulu
and Xhosa storytellers, each member of the audience is a
potential performer and takes part in the performance with a
critical instinct to judge how successfully the performer
combines traditional elements, how well she builds up the
story, how tightly knit is the whole narrative, how effec-
tively she uses her personal talents such as voice, mimic,
tone, language, etc.

Tradition supplies the artist with a variety of core-clichés:
a song, a proverb, a saying, a refrain, which immediately
evoke a core-image: the kernel of the story. It is up to
the performer to objectify this image by choosing one of the
many stock-characters provided by tradition as well as by
choosing the kind of 'images' she wants her hero to perform.
The artist then begins her narrative and 'expands' on the
basic core image (by means of what Scheub calls 'the technique
of the expansible image'): she uses a system of cueing,
repetition and linkage, until the story assumes the form
envisaged by the performer and is judged apt for this particular
audience at this particular time.

A.T. Cope, in an article entitled Towards an Appreciation of
Zulu Folktales as a Literary Art (1978), discusses at some

length the application of the approaches of Propp, Dundes, Finnegan and Scheub to the study of the structure of Zulu folktales.

Following Dundes' adaptation of Pike's (1954) and Cook's (1964) structural linguistic models to the literary analysis of folktales, Cope proposes a distinction between _modes_ and _levels_.

> The three modes of feature, manifestation and distribution are as relevant to the morphology of the folktales as to the morphology of language:
>
> The _feature mode_ determines the emic units;
>
> The _manifestation mode_ describes their etic representations;
>
> The _distribution mode_ their contextual occurrence (Pg 191)
>
> Just as morphemes combine in rigid order to form words, so functions combine in function sequences; and just as words combine to form sentences, so sequences combine in sequence combinations. (Pg 192).

Cope suggests that there are at least three narrative levels in a folktale: motif, episode and narrative. Each of the three modes is represented at each of these levels, thus producing the following table:

M O D E S

	Feature	Manifestation	Distribution
Motif	(emic unit) function (cf. mor-pheme)	(etic unit) term	order of functions = sequence (see feature at next level)
Episode	sequence	realization in terms of functions	order of sequences = combinations (see feature at next level)
Narrative	combination (cf. sentence)	realization in terms of sequences	contextual situation?

L E V E L S (left margin label)

(Cope 1978:192)

In Zulu folktales, tradition provides the emic units of functions at Motif level and the order of functions and sequences at episode level; the contribution of the individual performer consists of the choice of terms (etic units), the realization of sequences and combinations in the mode of manifestation; of the combination of sequences in the feature mode; of the order of sequences and the contextual situation in the distribution mode. Hence a new table:

THE CONSTITUENT STRUCTURE OF THE FOLKTALE

	Communal traditional constituents	Individual creative constituents
Motif	function (feature)	term (manifestation)
	order of functions (distribution)	-
Episode	sequence (feature)	realization of sequence (manifestation)
	-	order of sequences (distribution)
Narrative	-	combination (feature)
	-	realization of combination (manifestation)
	contextual situation? (distribution)	contextual situation? (distribution)

L
E
V
E
L
S

(Cope 1978:195)

In this study Cope manages to answer the basic questions, left unanswered by Propp and Finnegan, of how the various elements in a folktale combine together to form a narrative unit; and on the relationship of traditional elements and individual creativity in the production of a folktale.

2.3   Approach adopted in this Dissertation

The aim of this dissertation is to study how C.L.S. Nyembezi
made use of traditional Zulu folktales in the IGODA series.

In the interview reported in the Appendix Nyembezi stated
that his main aim was the preservation of Zulu culture:
folktales are for him not only a means of entertainment and
of instruction in the art of reading, but also a means of
passing on cultural values and aspects of Zulu culture.
Hence the importance of studying the framework behind the
tales as it is described in Ibanga 1 and 2. The written form
does not lend itself to the same wealth of observations on
the social context of the tales as the oral form would:
the social milieu represented in these books, however,
describes the atmosphere necessary for a tale to be requested,
performed and appreciated according to traditional patterns.
Chapter 4 of this thesis will deal with the cultural elements
of folktales according to the principles outlined by the
Functionalist School, and also with the educational value
of folktales.

By writing down traditional oral forms Nyembezi has also
made himself into a traditional performer, one who re-creates
the story each time it is told, although his means of
performance is the printed and not the spoken word. The
compositional techniques used by a performer and explained
by the Structuralists, such as choice of functions and
episodes, linkage, narrative development, etc., will also
be applicable to Nyembezi's folktales. They will be
discussed in Chapter 5 of this dissertation. I shall follow
the method of structural analysis as proposed by Propp and
Dundes and as applied to the study of Zulu folktales by
Cope, against the background of the studies of Ruth Finnegan
and of Harold Scheub.

CHAPTER 3

CLASSIFICATION OF PROSE NARRATIVES IN IGODA

William R. Bascom, in an article entitled The Forms of
Folklore: Prose Narratives (1965) proposes a threefold
division of what he calls 'prose narratives', namely myth,
legend and folktale. Although this classification is based
on content and not on structural 'functions', it can be
used here as it is found useful.

3.1   Myths

Myths are described by Bascom as prose narratives which, in
the society in which they are told, are considered to be
truthful accounts of what happened in the very remote past.
They are taught to be believed and accepted on faith; they
can be quoted as authority in answer to ignorance, doubt
or disbelief. They are sacred and are considered the
embodiment of dogma; they are often associated with theology
and ritual. Their main characters are usually supernatural
beings, but with anthropomorphic attributes, whose actions
are set in an earlier, different world, or in the sky or
the underworld. Myths account for the origin of the world,
of mankind, of death, etc.

Myth does not appear as a prominent art form in Zulu oral
literature. Finnegan (1970:367) also noticed the rarity
of mythological narratives in Africa when she stated:

> ... myth in the full sense of the term has not
> developed as a typical art form in African oral
> literature.

Also Cope (1978) explains that, because of the intimate
nature of ancestor worship, Bantu religion does not lend
itself to the creation of a complicated mythology nor to a

complex system of legends.

According to Bascom's descriptive criteria, only two tales
in IGODA could partly qualify as myths: Sibambe Elentulo
(1:64) and Yazilaya Imbila (1:70). According to the first
story, in the beginning men did not die, and the Creator
decided that they should never die. He sent the chameleon
with the message of immortality, but this animal, always
slow in its movements and fond of wild berries, loitered on
the way to feast on the berries. The Creator was upset by
its slowness and greed and sent a lizard with the opposite
message. The lizard - fast and efficient - arrived first
and delivered the message of death. When the chameleon
eventually arrived, people scorned it and told it that they
would stick to the message delivered by the lizard: "Sibambe
elentulo", as the story is summarized. Nyembezi's descrip-
tive art excels in picturing the slow movements of the
chameleon, its fondness for the wild berries, and the speed
and directness of the lizard.

The second tale is an entertaining explanation of why the
hyrax, or dassie, or rock-rabbit, has no tail. When God
called all the animals to come to fetch their tails, the
hyrax was too lazy to go, and asked all the passing animals
to fetch a tail for it. They all forgot, and 'the hyrax is
without tail having sent for it', rather than going personally:
Imbila yaswela umsila ngokulayezela. This is a typical
animal story: Nyembezi describes the long procession of
animals on their way to the Creator's place, and on their way
home, with imagination, picturing each animal and its tail
with vivid resemblance to their physical characteristics.

In both stories the Creator is not the main character:
He is simply in the background. Both tales are told and
received as izinganekwane; they are not told in a sacred
and religious atmosphere, nor are they used as parts of a
ritual. Folktales are not to be taken seriously. Callaway

(1868:6) says that both the chameleon and the lizard are
hated by the Zulu. However, the chameleon is also regarded
with fear and a certain sense of respect because it can be
used for healing purposes, and is believed to have some magic
powers; while the lizard is hated so much that it must be
killed by anyone who sees it.

3.2   Legends

According to Bascom, legends are generally regarded as prose
narratives considered as true by the narrator and the audience;
they are set in a world similar to the present one in the not
so distant past. The characters are human beings often with
extraordinary powers, but the intervention of the supernatural
or the praeternatural is not excluded. Legends are often
regarded as the oral counterpart of written and documented
history.

No narrative in IGODA qualifies as a legend.

3.3   Folktales

Bascom says that folktales are prose narratives regarded as
fiction. Although they are set in the present world, they are
timeless and placeless. Characters are humans, animals,
monsters, ogres, etc. Folktales are not considered as dogma
or history: they may or may not have happened and they are
not to be taken seriously. They are told for amusement but
also as a means of transmitting cultural values.

The following table, suggested by Bascom, is a summary of the
distinctions between myth, legend and folktale:

TABLE 3.1

THREE FORMS OF PROSE NARRATIVES

Form	Belief	Time	Place	Attitude	Principal Characters
MYTH	Fact	Remote past	Different world: other or earlier	sacred	non-human
LEGEND	Fact	Recent past	World of today	secular or sacred	human
FOLKTALE	Fiction	Any time	Any place	secular	human or non-human

(Bascom 1965:5)

Classification of Folktales in IGODA

Marivate says:

> It has been customary to classify folktales according
> to either characters, content, form or function.
> Many scholars generally use all the criteria at the
> same time to classify folktale material. For example
> Bascom (1965:4) singles out human tales and animal
> tales, using the characters occurring in the tales
> as a criterion. To classify trickster tales, dilemma
> tales and formulistic tales, content or theme is
> probably taken into account.

(Marivate 1973:58)

It is therefore clear that different criteria could be used
for a classification of folktales. In this section I shall
only consider for classification traditional Zulu izinganekwane
composed by Nyembezi as they are found in IGODA 1, 2 and 4,
and I shall divide them in the following way:

3.3.1   Animal tales
3.3.2   Trickster tales
3.3.3   Human tales:
3.3.3.1   Humans alone
3.3.3.2   Humans with monsters and cannibals
3.3.3.3   Humans with animals
3.3.3.4   Humans with fantastic elements

I am not going to analyze the short stories translated from
Sotho and Xhosa or adapted from former Rhodesia because they
do not form part of 'traditional' Zulu folklore.

At the end of this chapter I shall devote a short note to
Nyembezi's poetic adaptation of Aesop's fables (they cannot
be considered traditional Zulu folktales), and another brief
note to Violet Dube's Phoshozwayo stories, without analysing
them in detail. Violet Dube's stories contain traditional
elements and structures, but were not composed by Nyembezi,
whose work alone I am considering.

3.3.1   Animal Tales

This is supposed to be the most typically African folktale
form. Cope (1978:184) laments the fact that some modern
folktale collections (such as Scheub's) do not include
animal stories, perhaps because they are considered unsuit-
able for the white man.

> ... it does seem they they have fallen out of
> favour in recent times. Marivate (1973) in his
> study of Tsonga tales actually says so.

It may also be argued that the close contact with nature
and with animals experienced in days gone by is no longer
there, and that modern people feel that animal tales are
too old-fashioned and no longer pertinent to our way of life.

Human society is represented in the guise of animals who

speak and act as human beings while still maintaining their animal attributes and their particular characteristics. Some of the animals involved in traditional animal tales are:

impungushe (jackal): deceitful, selfish and greedy.

impisi (hyena): a glutton and a simpleton.

indlovu (elephant): slow in motion, serious, ponderous, dutiful.

imvubu (hippo): slow and rather stupid.

ufudu (tortoise): slow, but steady and wise, like an old man. He is the only animal to outwit the unogwaja (hare), the trickster.

(List drawn from Cope's class notes).

Animal tales afford the possibility for criticism of society's foibles, for a subtle satire of individuals and groups, for moral education. But their main purpose seems to be unspoiled entertainment, because to see animals act and talk like human beings creates a comic situation, and also because animal characters afford the narrator plenty of scope for funny miming and impersonation.

> 'Animal' stories are distinct from 'human' stories in that although the animals behave in every way like humans in the real world, they represent not individual people but human character types. The animal stories may be described as comic satires: they give a critical yet tolerant and humorous assessment of human nature.
>
> (Cope 1978:184)

Nyembezi uses this form of traditional tales very sparingly in the IGODA series, although he uses 67 of Aesop's animal tales which he translates and adapts in verse.

In IGODA 1 there is a typical animal tale: Igundwane Elingezwa (1:39) (the disobedient mouse): mother mouse tells

her four offspring not to leave their hole. One of the
four wants to show that he knows better and gets out while
his mother is asleep. He enjoys the open spaces, the
feeling of freedom and a fresh loaf of bread, but he falls
prey of the waiting cat. Mother Mouse can do nothing to
help him when he cries for help, except to offer him the
wisdom of centuries in the closing proverb Isala kutshelwa
sibona ngomopho (He who refuses to do what he's told sees
by his own blood).

IGODA 2 contains a very similar tale, uMaqinase (2:10).
This time it is a young pig that gets away and into trouble.
To add insult to injury, he answers insolently those who
try to be his friends and to bring him to reason before it
is too late. He enters a vegetable garden and is chased
and badly bitten by a dog, even before he is able to satisfy
his hunger. Luckily he is able to get home, where, however,
he has to undergo his mother's cross-questioning and severe
scolding.

These are clearly moral tales: children may laugh at the
animals, but they also learn not to do the same: disobedience,
insolence and stubborness never pay.

The quasi-myth Yazilaya Imbila should also be considered
an animal tale, although it has some slight element of myth
and of aetiological or explanatory tales. I have already
spoken of this tale under Myth in this chapter. I feel that
it is used to teach a very important lesson: do yourself
what you must and do not expect others to do it for you.

3.3.2   Trickster Tales

The trickster is a universal character in African folktales.
He is self-centred and callous in directing events to his
own advantage. He tricks the innocent-looking buck as well
as the powerful lion with the same indifference. The only
animal he is unable to trick is the wise tortoise.

Roger D. Abrahams, in an article entitled <u>Trickster, the</u>

<u>Outrageous Hero</u> (American Folklore 1968:193) says about

Trickster:

> Whether he populates myth, general folktale, or
> jest, his undertakings are audacious, rebellious,
> egotistical, and always performed with the idea
> of giving freedom to personal action in the face
> of group restrictions. . . .
>
> As Radin says, "He wills nothing consciously.
> At all times he is constrained to behave as he
> does from impulses over which he has no control.
> . . . He possesses no values, moral or social,
> and is at the mercy of his passions and appetites."
>
> . . . his actions must represent a way of getting
> around taboos and other restrictions without
> actually upsetting the order of society. In other
> words, Trickster functions primarily as a release
> valve for all the anti-social desires repressed by
> the men who tell and listen to his stories.
>
> He is always presented as a creature with human
> characteristics, but one who lacks exactly those
> features which would qualify him as a member of the
> tribe.
>
> As Herskovits pointed out, "Psychologically, the
> role of the trickster seems to be that of projecting
> the insufficiencies of man in his universe onto a
> smaller creature who, in besting his larger adver-
> saries, permits the satisfactions of an obvious
> identification to those who recount or listen to
> these tales."

Trickster stories are extremely popular in Zulu. The
trickster character gets up to many forms of mischief which
are mostly amoral and sometimes unnatural and immoral.
Perhaps for this reason Nyembezi has chosen to present only
seven 'moderate' trickster tales in IGODA, leaving out many
which, although entertaining, might be considered of dubious
taste in a school series.

The trickster function is fulfilled by different characters
in IGODA: <u>uNogwaja</u> (the hare), <u>uChakijana</u> or <u>uChakide</u> (the
weasel), <u>iMpungushe</u> (the jackal), and also by a boy.
<u>Insimba</u> (a genet) also appears at the end of the tale

uMkhwekazi namasi (2:67) in which he saves the old lady from
sure death and manages to shift the blame for her disappearance
on the bush-shrike.

uChakijana neBhubesi (1:134) presents a hungry weasel tricking
a lion, which is building its house, by securing its tail
to the central pole so as to be able to eat all the lion's
meat in peace. The lion is left on the roof to die, while
Chakijana boasts of his achievements and gloats over the
lion's misfortunes.

In Wangiweza Phela (2:86) Chakide offers his services as a
nurse-maid to a woman with ten babies, then cooks and
presents to the mother to eat one baby at a time. At the
end he flees, transforming himself into a stone so as to
be thrown to the other side of a swollen river by the
pursuing woman, and then he boasts of his dubious achieve-
ments in the freedom guaranteed by the river itself.

In Imfene neMpungushe (2:94) the trickster is the jackal,
who repeatedly tricks the baboon into doing something stupid
or even self-destructive. The baboon grows angrier by the
episode and keeps looking for the jackal in order to take
revenge. Needless to say, each time he catches up with the
jackal, this has a new trick up his sleeve and the baboon
foolishly falls for it.

Two stories in IGODA 4 deal with the tricks of uNogwaja,
the hare, played at the expense of lions. In uNogwaja
ubulala iZingonyama (4:55) the hare destroys one hungry
lion after another while promising to lead to each of them
a herd of bucks. The lion must just hide below a rock with
its eyes closed, waiting until the bucks are right over it
before making a move. The hare rolls the rock down and
crushes the waiting lion. One lion opens its eyes just in
time to see the rock coming, then pursues the hare to take
revenge. The hare escapes into a cave with a large and a
small opening. The pursuing lion is trapped in the cave

and killed by a rock burst, thus leaving the hare free to gloat once more and to prepare for his next victim.

In uNogwaja neBhubesi (4:74) an old lion has ordered all his animal subjects to bring him food everyday. He confronts the disobedient hare menacingly, only to be told that he, the hare, must serve a younger lion who challenges the authority of the old king of the forest. Infuriated, the old lion wants to be taken to this young upstart to teach him a lesson. The hare leads him to a deep pool where the lion sprints against his own reflection in the water and drowns.

In Inhliziyo Yomthakathi (4:64) the trickster is a boy who has been promised to a wild beast by his mother in exchange for her own life. The boy, however, is too clever to fall for his mother's repeated ploys. He eventually kills the beast and tells his father about his mother's attempts on his life. The furious father puts the woman to death for 'having the heart of a witch'. The boy in this story bears a strong resemblance to Hlakanyana and to Chakijana Bogcololo, the heroes of well-known trickster series in Xhosa and Zulu folklore. The trickster is victimized but he always manages to emerge victorious, thanks to his intelligence in turning his mother's tricks to his own advantage.

In the two trickster stories in which humans are involved Nyembezi avoids some of the crudest aspects of the trickster's traditional character. In Wangiweza Phela he presents the weasel as a dutiful and resourceful nurse-maid at first, who only changes ways at a later stage when he gets tired and becomes lazy. In Inhliziyo Yomthakathi the hero does not rebel against his mother's will even when he can see through her schemes, nor does he boast or gloat of his victory or of her death. In these tales the traditional trickster appears 'watered down' a little, probably for the sake of the children's moral education.

3.3.3   Human Tales

By far the greatest majority of folktales in the IGODA series
have human characters, interacting with other human beings
or with animals, or with amazimuzimu (cannibals), or with
ogres and giants, or fighting their battles against superior
fantastic elements.

> In 'human' stories the humans are real people (not
> representations of character types) in a world
> partly real and partly fantastic, who are required
> to interact with strange creatures and monsters as
> well as with one another.   . . .
>
> The human stories seem to express the concern of
> man's sense of insecurity, his anxieties, fears
> and doubts. They are serious and complex, employ
> symbolism and present polarities, and could be
> regarded as philosophical statements.
>
> (Cope 1978:185)

3.3.3.1   Human Beings Only

These tales tend to instruct on social behaviour, while
satirizing weaknesses and foibles of human society. Faults
which are severely castigated, or made a mockery of, are
greed and gluttony, jealously and stupidity.

Stupidity is criticized in Incwadi Enamehlo (2:72) (The
letter with eyes), in which two uneducated men find themselves
in trouble for having stolen a sheep because they do not
understand the value and function of the written word which
they carry in a letter. This is a modern, good-humoured tale,
told by the school principal, which touches on the sore point
of illiteracy versus school education. In Indoda noMthakathi
(2:142) (The man and the witch) a credulous and fearful man
is so scared of witchcraft that he ends up chopping his own
foot in the dark of night thinking it to be a thokoloshe.
In Umfana nengwe (4:69) (A boy and a leopard), a boy always
takes the advice of his mother literally, and ends messing

up endless opportunities of doing something good and
profitable.

Jealousy is the theme of uBuhlaluse beNkosi (2:110): a
group of girls are jealous of Buhlaluse, the king's daughter,
and bury her alive in an ochre cave. When she is eventually
rescued, all the girls pay for their jealousy with their
lives. Jealousy between two sisters is also the theme of
uNkombose noSihlangusibayeni (2:33), of uNokuthula (2:45)
and of uMamba kaMaquba (2:79), although in this last tale
there is also the theme of stubborness and unkindness.
These three tales contain other fantastic elements as well
and will be discussed at a later stage.

Greed is the theme of uMkhwekazi namasi (2:67) (The mother-
in-law and the sour milk), of Indoda Eyayiligovu (4:61)
(The man who was eating alone), and of Umfana Owabe Omele
Amanzi (4:81) (The boy who was thirsty). In the first
tale the old mother-in-law surreptitiously eats sour milk
in her son-in-law's home, something which is against Zulu
custom. She is finally discovered and punished. In the
second tale a man eats alone the meat of his hunt while
his wife and children are starving. When he is discovered
he is so ashamed of himself that he suffers a heart attack
and dies. In the third tale a thirsty boy drinks so much
water from a spring belonging to a foreign chief that he
is unable to get up and walk; yet he refuses to apologize
or to show gratitude to the chief in question.

3.3.3.2   Human Beings with Cannibals

In the human struggle for survival there is nothing more
fearsome than a man who has adopted the life-style of a
beast. He has lost the attribute which makes him a member
of the human family, namely the respect for life, and has
become the symbol of whatever is evil. This aberration is
represented by the amazimuzimu, the cannibals: they are
half human and half animal, endowed with extraordinary

strength and a very swift foot, always hungry for human
flesh. Luckily for their intended victims, they seem to
have lost a great deal of intelligence, as well as other
human qualities, and quick-witted humans are normally able
to outwit them. In IGODA 4, the Author gives reasons for
the phenomenon of humans turning into cannibals: famine,
political upheaval with the consequent break down of the
structures of society, despair, greed. The stories in
IGODA seem to indicate that humans who have recently turned
to cannibalistic practices are worse than those who have
been following them for a long time, because they still
preserve some human attributes: they are shrewd, but
ruthless and merciless. The 'older cannibals' instead
are dim and gullible.

Cannibal stories are generally intended to discipline
children, to teach them never to venture alone in unknown
and lonely places, and perhaps to be on their guard when
meeting strangers and when travelling to strange regions.

There are six stories of humans with amazimuzimu in IGODA,
as well as several short stories on the same theme
translated from Sotho. There are four cannibal stories
in IGODA 2 and two in IGODA 4.

uMshayandlela (2:14): a boy and his 'magic' bull
Mshayandlela are captured by the amazimu together with
the whole herd. After many vicissitudes, the magic of the
boy's refrain sung to the bull succeeds in freeing boy and
animals from the cannibals and in finally destroying them.

uNokuthula (2:45) is a human story about two bickering
sisters who get lost in a forest and are protected by
Nokuthula, the daughter of a cannibalistic mother.
Nokuthula eventually manages to outwit her mother and to
save the girls' lives by restoring a unity of purpose
between them through her courageous friendship.

Izimu namantombazana (2:105) (The cannibal and the girls):
three girls are lost in a forest and end up at the house
of an izimu. The chief's daughter outwits the cannibals
and escapes. Amantombazana nezimu (2:114) (The girls and
the cannibal) is similar to both the preceding ones.

uNongweqe Nomlamu Wakhe (4:85) (Nongweqe and his in-law):
Nongweqe has recently become a cannibal. When his sister-
in-law comes to visit his wife, he eats her. He is eventually
defeated and killed by his brother-in-law. In this tale
the wife's sister is able to ward off the 'older' cannibals,
but not Nongweqe who has recently turned cannibal: he is
so unnatural that he no longer respects even family and
blood ties.

Izimuzimu Nentombazana (4:93) (The cannibal and the girl):
here Nyembezi gives both a Xhosa version and a Zulu version
(taken from V. Dube) of the story. A girl lives alone in a
forest house, defended by a strong swing door which she only
opens to her brother (Xhosa) or mother(Zulu) upon hearing
his/her song. An izimu learns the song and kidnaps her.
In the Xhosa version, the brother pursues the izimu, retrieves
the girl and delays the cannibal's pursuit by scattering
answering hair: the izimu is eventually killed and eaten
by his companions, whom he had invited to dine on the flesh
of the girl. In the Zulu version, the rescue is performed
by the girl's uncle, who places a fierce dog and many bees
in the sack in which the cannibal was keeping the girl. On
opening the sack, the izimu flees, bitten by the dog and
stung by the bees, and falls, head first, into a pool of mud
where he becomes a tree. The bees pursuing him make a beehive
in his posterior. Years later the same girl is collecting
honey from that particular hive when her hand is caught. Her
father has to slaughter fat oxen in order to appease the
izimu's spirit and to smear the girl's hand. The writer's
amused comment: Isala kutshelwa sibona ngomopho: 'once
bitten, twice shy'. (literally, He who refuses to do what
he is told sees by his own blood).

3.3.3.3   <u>Human Beings with Animals</u>

> There are humans (but not monsters) in the animal
> stories, where they represent the most negative
> type of character; and there are animals (as
> animals, not as representations of humans) in the
> human stories, small animals like birds, who,
> together with young girls and old women, play the
> part of the mediator or agent towards resolution.

(Cope 1978:185)

Most of the 'humans and animals' stories in IGODA deal
with snakes. Although the snake seems to be the most hated
animal in Zulu folktales, perhaps because it appears
unexpectedly and can cause harm to unsuspecting people,
it is, at times, looked upon as a mysterious being with
some magic power, especially when it appears in or from
a pool, which is the symbol of new life in Zulu culture.

In some tales the snake is regarded as a powerful enemy
to be chased, fought and destroyed. In others, as a
powerful and mysterious animal which can be befriended
because it could become useful to humans. All snake
folktales are in IGODA 2.

<u>uNkombose noSihlangusabayeni</u> (2:33) is a typical human
story in its first part: a mother has to contend with two
daughters. There is jealously between the two girls
because the mother loves the younger one - Sihlangusabayeni -
more than the older one - Nkombose. The latter tries to
break this bond by encouraging Sihlangusabayeni to disobey
their mother's orders. This leads to disaster, and the
furious mother is so upset that she strangles Nkombose and
then throws her body into a pool. Nkombose is kept alive
by the python which wants her to become the queen of the
pool. Nkombose re-appears in order to help her younger
sister. When the village people discover that Nkombose
is alive, they snatch her from the water snake and pay a
heavy price to have her back, in a kind of return of <u>lobola</u>

when the bride returns to her parents' home, or as a ritual
restitution and atonement for the crime committed. Here
the water snake is both frightening and beneficial.

A similar story is that of uMamba kaMaquba (2:79): a girl
is tricked by her jealous younger sister into believing
that her mother wants to kill her. In despair she flees
home and sets off to go and marry a snake, Mamba of Maquba.
However, she is kind to people on the way, even to the most
revolting ones, and she gracefully receives and follows
their advice. Mamba loves her and she has a baby by him.
Returning home to show her baby, she fires the jealousy
of her younger sister who also sets off to go and marry
Mamba. This girl, however, is haughty and insolent to
everybody; she does not follow people's advice and is
cruel to Mamba who pursues her to her mother's home. The
neighbours kill Mamba, but the elder daughter buries him
lovingly in her own hut, where he comes back to life trans-
formed into a handsome young man.

Both these stories portray snakes as mysterious, powerful,
magic. The mystery which surrounds snakes makes them
ideally suited to be connected with witchcraft. This is
the case in Inyoka Enamakhanda Ayisikhombisa (2:54) (The
snake with seven heads), where the seven-headed snake is at
the service of a witch. When the snake is set free by
children, it causes panic everywhere, until it is eventually
destroyed by a group of men who use thorn bushes on the
ground to make its skin burst.

Another way of getting rid of a fearsome, poisonous snake,
is illustrated in Inkosikazi Nemamba (2:61) (A woman and
a mamba): a woman prepares hot porridge with plenty of milk,
of which the mamba is fond, and entices the snake to eat it
and thus burns the inside of the snake.

uBhadazela noMningi (2:151): Bhadazela must get the fat
of the liver of a water monster in order to strengthen the

new king. The water monster, however, is well defended by
a fierce multi-headed snake, and Bhadazela must prepare
his plans properly if he wants to succeed. Here again we
see how the water monster and the snake guarding it are
supposed to have magic properties which can be used to men's
advantage.

Abantwana Bensizwakazi (4:114) (The children of the hornless
cow) represents humans interacting with two animals: a
beneficial cow, which gives birth to human twins and
protects them, and a water dragon whose skin is the most
prized possession a man could dream of. Mystery and magic
envelop this tale whose themes are courage and the keeping
of one's promises. The twins are adopted by the king who
promises them a kaross sewn from the multicoloured skin of
the water monster at their 'coming of age' ceremony. When
the king does not fulfil his promise, the youngsters set
off to find, fight and kill the fierce monster in order to
make their dresses. They are once again in danger for their
lives when their mother, the cow, shields them and saves
them.

In all these folktales the animals are seen as fantastic
characters, apt to fire the audience's imagination. There
are other stories, which, however, are not folktales, in
which the animals are described realistically, as animals,
not as folktale characters. Inyoka ngumhlobo womfana (A
snake is a boy's friend, 2:62) is the story of a young boy
who plays with a mamba. Abantu namabhubesi (People and
Lions, 4:45) is the story of seven people who are attacked
by a herd of lions at night. The six Zionists in the group
rely only on prayer, the unbeliever seeks shelter in the
branches of a tall tree. The Zionists are killed and the
unbeliever lives to tell the story. The Author advises not
to tempt God if one can do something positive in a dangerous
situation.

Indoda nendlovu (4:49) (A man and an elephant) is a story
from former Rhodesia which tells about a man who is pursued
by a lone elephant and is saved only by his wits. Wayethi
yinja (4:53) (She thought it was a dog) is another story
from former Rhodesia in which an unaware missionary lady
travels alone in an area infested by lions; when she sees
one, she thinks it is just a big dog and continues unperturbed
on her way.

3.3.3.4 Human Beings with Fantastic Elements

Daydreaming is a great pastime, especially for children.
Our dreams often transport us to a fantastic world partly
similar and partly different from our own, where our abilities
can be pitted against insurmountable odds which, however, we
easily overcome, because we are both scriptwriting and
directing the imagining game. Imagination, which Renaissance
artists called la pazza di casa (the mad woman in the house),
coupled with artistic inspiration, can bring about a creative
form which is entertaining and therapeutic for both narrator
and audience. This is how I think some of the most fantastic
tales, which practically populate every literature in the
world, came to be.

All 'human' folktales in IGODA contain a fantastic element,
because they draw their existence from a world partly real
and partly fantastic. They have, however, been considered
under different headings, such as 'Humans with Animals' or
'Humans with Cannibals'. Some, however, which do not fit
under any of the previous headings, are considered here.

uNanana Boselesele (2:137) corresponds to a North-Sotho
myth on the beginning of the baPedi. Nanana is a very
stubborn and determined lady. She builds a hut for her
children on a game path in spite of the foreseeable dangers.
Sondonzima, an enormous monster often pictured as an over-
sized elephant, passes by and swallows up the children, as
it has done with lots of other people, their homes and their

cattle. Nanana is determined to get her children back.
She provokes the monster and it swallows her too. Once
inside the monster's belly she puts to use the tools she
has: she starts to cut at the monster's belly with a knife
and to cook the meat on a fire. The monster soon feels
weaker and weaker until it eventually dies. Nanana is able
to cut a passage through the carcass and to free all the
people and animals which had been swallowed. In gratitude,
the newly freed people give her all their cattle (and, in
Sotho mythology, proclaim her son their chief).

uSilosikhulu nabantwana (4:77) (Silosikhulu and the children).
A prosperous and happy community in a fertile land is
troubled by Silosikhulu, a fierce and very powerful ogre
or giant, who kills and destroys everything and everybody.
The men decide to fight him but they need strong weapons
which can only be acquired in a far away place. Before
leaving for this place, they build an impregnable fortress,
with seven walls and seven very thick gates, where they leave
their children, after sternly warning them not to engage the
giant in conversation on any account. When Silosikhulu comes
to the fortress, a small child foolishly answers his questions
and angers him. The giant knocks down one gate at a time.
He is about to break down the last resistance and get to the
children, when the men return, give him battle and kill him.
Scheub (1972)   presents this as a Xhosa tale in which the
villain is an enormous bird called Ntanankulu and the foolish
child becomes the heroine who engages the villain in
conversation so as to give the men time to return and kill
the bird.

uSogebezana Namajikijolo (4:106) (Sogebezana and the
mulberries). This story is set against the background of
the difficulties of a young couple during their first years
of marriage. Sogebezana's young beautiful wife has left him,
tired of endless family quarrels. Sogebezana sets off to
fetch her and to make amends, but he disregards his mother's

warnings about taking the difficult road on the left instead
of the easy road on the right, and about not eating mulberries
on the way. The mulberries become a thick thorn bush which
persecutes him announcing in a deep hoarse voice that it
(the bush) is his wife. Sogebezana fights the bush several
times and eventually reaches his wife's village and convinces
her to return home with him. During the festivities before
their departure, the bush reappears and speaks again, chasing
everybody away, including Sogebezana's wife. His disobedience
to his mother results in his punishment and in his eventual
death.

3.4   Note on Aesop's Fables

In IGODA Nyembezi has used 67 animal stories which he
translated, adapted and put in verse from Aesop's Fables:
there are 15 Aesopian fables in IGODA 3, 17 in IGODA 4,
17 in IGODA 5 and 18 in Izehlo Ngezehlo. Nyembezi's stated
aim is twofold: to present fables which are widely known,
easily understandable and entertaining, and to introduce
his readers to easily enjoyable poetic forms.

The fables do not form part of the present dissertation
because they do not fall into the category of traditional
Zulu folktales. They occupy, however, a prominent place in
the IGODA series and I feel they are worthy of mention.

3.4.1   Aesop's Original Fables

According to tradition, Aesop (Aisōpos) was a Greek slave
from Samos who lived during the sixth century B.C. Being
terribly ugly, he was often the butt of people's sarcastic
remarks; being a slave he was not at liberty to answer these
remarks in kind in order not to offend his masters: he
therefore resorted to the use of animal fables which would
be entertaining and, at the same time, could afford him the
opportunity of answering back without exposing himself to
reprisals. Thus was born, according to tradition, the

literary form of the Aesopian 'Apologue' or fable. Since
then humanity has found it easier to portray itself in
the guise of animals who speak and act like human beings,
in order to look more clearly at its own foibles, idio-
syncrasies and weaknesses. If, instead of animals, men
should appear as characters, the fable would only have
episodic value and would not be a universal representation
of human life thinly disguised by the curtain of allegoric
fiction and made amusing by the funny image of animals who
reason and speak.

No original collection of Aesop's fables has survived. All
we have are fragments, quotations, adaptations, translations,
which have been put together at a later stage. The best
known collection of Aesopian fables is a verse adaptation
in Latin by Phaedrus, a Macedonian freedman who lived in
Rome during the reign of Augustus and Tiberius (1st century
A.D.) Phaedrus translated and versified some of Aesop's
fables, created others, and published his work as Aesopi
Fabulae, Aesop's Fables, tagging on to most tales also a
short moral. Phaedrus claimed his to be an original work,
a new creation, because he used his fables as a philosophical
and moral commentary on the society of his time. The fable
is made attractive by its deceptive simplicity of form
which veils what often amounts to deep satire.

During the Middle Ages Aesop's or Phaedrus' Fables became
a popular means of instruction and amusement, and they made
their way into the early literatures of the new European
languages which arose at the disintegration of the Roman
Empire. The most famous collection in modern times is the
seventeenth century verse re-creation by the French Jean
de la Fontaine.

La Fontaine kept the story lines of most of the traditional
Aesopian fables but he infused a new soul in them; he
transformed this simple genre into an acknowledged art form
by the use of outstanding poetic language and of a subtle

sense of humour which made them a clear satirical commentary
of people and events of his time. His aim was to paint a
tableau de vie, a tableau of life, or, as he professed,
'a comedy with a hundred acts and characters whose stage
is the universe'. Each of his fables is a realistic literary
masterpiece of nature and life. His animal characters are
depicted in their characteristic traits which make them more
clearly transparent as psychological symbols of human beings.
This transformation produces comic effects, while charming
the reader so that he can discover in the fable a deep
human truth. In this way the animal world becomes an open
textbook to discover wisdom. The moral of the fable becomes
so transparent that it is often left out.

In his Foreword to Books 7-12 of his 'Fables', dedicated
to Mme de Montespan, La Fontaine says (my own translation):

> The Fable is a gift from the gods: or, if it is
> a present from men, whoever gave it to us should
> be made a god.   . . .   This art is really a
> magic charm: it holds our minds captive, so that
> both our hearts and souls follow the tales wherever
> they lead us.

3.4.2   Aesop's Fables in Africa

I have paged through several readers for South African
schools in Zulu, Sotho, Northern Sotho and Tsonga. I have
found there a great number of Aesopian fables, some in prose
and some in verse. The reasons for the popularity of
Aesop's fables are easy to detect:

(a)   The first school readers in African languages
were compiled by European missionaries who were steeped in
classical literature. The fables were easy to translate,
afforded the possibility of a light-hearted and entertaining
reading, were easy for children to understand and enjoy.

(b)   The moral of the fable is often self evident, and
it can be used to inculcate human and moral principles in
the minds of the young readers.

(c)   Both Aesop's fables and African animal tales portray animals as their main characters. African authors of later school readers probably felt that, in using and adapting Aesop's fables, they were following both the western-classical and the African literary trends.

(d)   By portraying animals which are known to children, the fable can help their powers of observation of nature. As animals in the fable speak and act as humans, or stand for humans, the animal fable encourages a reflection on human conduct.

Possibly through school readers, Aesop's fables have already become part of African folklore, so much so that I have occasionally found typically Aesopian fables published in European glossy magazines as African folktales. This is proof of the fact that the oral and written words mutually influence each other and affect the course of tradition.

3.4.3   C.L.S. Nyembezi's Adaptation of Aesop's Fables

In his wide use of Aesop's fables in IGODA, Nyembezi brought about several adaptations worth noticing.

(a)   His Aesopian fables are a free translation in verse. The proverbial brevity and conciseness of Aesop's fables is often lost, because the versifier may need many words to express an action which is idiomatically and briefly expressed in the original, or because he needs to keep the rhythm and length of the line. However, Nyembezi's fables in verse are clear, full of Zulu idiomatic expressions, and well suited to introduce children to simple poetry.

(b)   Some animals in the original Aesopian fables are unknown in Zulu folklore. Nyembezi adapts the fables by introducing animal characters known by his audience. Thus the fable character of wolf is taken over by the jackal (impungushe) and the original fox has been changed into the hyena (impisi). The latter africanization, however, is not

very successful since many characteristics of the fox are
not shared by the hyena. Unogolantethe, the crane, is
unusual in African folklore, and so are the cat, the donkey,
the lamb and a host of other animals.

(c)   The scenery of Aesop's fables is transformed
into an African scene.

(d)   The moral is normally simple, sometimes simpler
than the one found in Aesopian collections. But this moral
does not constitute an acute commentary on the social
situation of the Zulu people: it is a simple and universal
reflection on human behaviour.

In summary: Nyembezi's adaptation refers to form rather
than to substance: prose has assumed a poetic form; the
language is clear and idiomatic Zulu, although I do not
think it is as incisive as in Aesop's prose translation.
The story line remains that of the universally known
Aesopian fables with a few adaptations to the African scene.
The animal story, however, does not become a new, intimate,
deeply felt reflection on the social situation of this
country or of the Zulu people or of their institutions:
it is a simple translation of universally applicable
feelings.

The comparison between the Penguin translation from Greek
of one of the best known and loved of Aesop's fables, that
of The Wolf and the Lamb, and its Zulu adaptation, should
be sufficient to illustrate some of the points I have made
above. (See Table 3.2).

TABLE 3.2

Translation from Zulu	Zulu Text	Penguin Translation from Greek
THE_JACKAL_AND_THE_LAMB	IMPUNGUSHE_NEZINYANE	ALWAYS_IN_THE_WRONG
A jackal wandering in his hunt Felt its mouth water abundantly When its eyes fell on a lamb Drinking by itself from a river.	Impungushe eyayizula izingela Yawagwinya kaninginingi amathe, Lapho amehlo ehlala ezinyaneni, Liziphuzela amanzi emfuleni.	A wolf, seeing a lamb drinking from a river, wanted to find a specious pretext for devouring him.
"Do not be so rude, you son of a sheep," said the jackal red with anger. "You see that I am drinking the water, And you stir it up and make it muddy."	"Awedeleli khona wena ngane yemvu," Kusho impungushe ifutheka ngolaka; "Uyangibona ngiziphuzele amanzi, Wena uyawadunga uwenza udaka."	He stood up the stream and accused the lamb of muddying the water so that he could not drink.
"Sorry, you great one!" Said the lamb shaking, "Don't be upset if I too drink, The water flows from your place to mine."	"Shwele wena owakhula silibele," Lasho izinyane seliqhaqhazela, "Ungakhathazeki noma nami ngiphuza, Amanzi asuka ngakuwe eze kimi."	The lamb said that he drank only with the tip of his tongue, and that in any case he was standing lower down the river, and could not possibly disturb the water higher up. When this excuse failed him,
"I see you're trying to be smart," said the jackal in great anger, "Last year you were rude to my father, I must teach you a lesson."	"Ngiyabona uzenza isihlakaniphi," Yasho impungushe ngolaka olukhulu, "Nanyakenye wena wedelela ubaba, Kumelwe kengikufundise isifundo."	the wolf said: "Well, last year you insulted my father."
"Sorry, Lord, you are wrong also in that; I never ever saw your father, Also I could not have insulted him last year, Because I was born this year."	"Shwele Nkosi, nalapho usenza iphutha, Uyihlo angikaze ngimbone ngawami, Futhi ngangingenakumeyisa nyakenye Ngoba mina ngilizinyane lanonyaka."	"I wasn't even born then," replied the lamb.

68

"I was waiting for you to make yourself a baby, because you are a clever lamb; But you are also full of rudeness, And I can never be deceived by you."

"I do not care about anything you say, You stupid who think yourself smart; I'll devour you, whatever you say, I'll destroy your insolence completely."

Those who have planned to harm others, Even if truth stares them in the face, They stamp it underfoot without a care, So that their plan may succeed.

"Ngokuzenza ingane bengikulindele, Ngoba ulizinyane elinobuqili; Kanti nendelelo nayo igcwele kuwe, Mina anginakuze ngikhohliswe nguwe."

"Anginakulalela lutho olushoyo, Siwula ndini othi uhlakaniphile, Ngizokuqhobozela noma ngabuthini, Ubuqhalaqhala ngizobuphelisa nya."

Abahlose ukwenza ububi kwabanye, Noma iqiniso selibagolozele, Balinyathela ngezinyawo banganaki, Ukuze iphumelele inhloso yabo.

(IGODA 3:112)

"You are good at finding answers," said the wolf,

"But I am going to eat you all the same."

When a man is determined to get his knife into someone, he will turn a deaf ear to any plea, however just.

(Penguin Classics, pg 29)

Observations

1.   It is not the lamb (izinyane/ingane yemvu) that represents simplicity, purity and kindness in Zulu folklore, but the buck.

2.   There are several extensions of meaning in the Zulu adaptation:

(a) The jackal feels its mouth "water abundantly" at the sight of the lamb. Finding a "specious pretext" is given in the original but understood in Zulu.

(b) The original has "insult" as an excuse, and only once. A Zulu child would never dare 'insult' an adult, but he is punishable for being rude (ukwedelela). Rudeness becomes the "specious excuse" in Zulu and is repeated three times.

(c) The jackal is described as "red with anger" and "in great anger". The first time anger is only a pretence, while the second time it reveals frustration for losing an argument.

(d) The lamb is described as "shaking", with fear of course.

3.   The dialogues are longer and more revealing in Zulu than in the original.

(a) The lamb uses respectful expressions, such as "You great one" (literally: 'You who grew up while we waited,' a praise found, for example, in the izithakazelo of the Mkhize clan), and ungakhathazeki ('Do not worry' or 'Do not be upset'). Twice he says 'Sorry', Shwele: 'Sorry, you great one' and 'Sorry, Lord'. His counter-arguments are simple and to the point, but presented in a respectful way.

(b) The jackal's answers constantly drive home the point that the lamb is rude because he is trying to be clever with an adult. Rudeness and smartness towards older people

are considered as insolence and are not tolerated in Zulu
society. This is why the jackal says that the lamb must be
taught a lesson.

(c) By calling the lamb "ingane yemvu", a normally
respectful expression since it is an honour to be called
by one's parents' name, the jackal hints at the hatred that
exists between the two animal families, as expressed by the
English saying: "There will never be peace between the
wolf and the sheep" (which probably derives from this
Aesopian fable).

3.   Nyembezi uses simple and clear Zulu, with several
idiomatic expressions such as: Shwele, wena owakhula
silibele; Shwele Nkosi; ngizobuphelisa nya.

4.   The moral of the fable is somewhat extended in Zulu and
it allows a more general application. It uses the plural -
abahlose - instead of the singular - a man - to show this
extension of application. When it says: "even if truth
stares them in the face, they stamp it underfoot without a
care, so that their plan may succeed", it shows a clearer
reference to the fable than "he will turn a deaf ear to any
plea, however just."

3.5   Note on Violet Dube's Phoshozwayo

By his own admission, Nyembezi made use of Violet Dube's
stories because he liked them since the Author

> had created a beautiful inganekwane in her Phoshozwayo
> by brilliantly bringing out traditional Zulu structures
> and motifs in a partly modern and partly fantastic
> traditional setting.

> (My Interview, see Appendix)

The title of the book is Woza Nazo, which is an expression
used by the audience to a storyteller who is about to leave,
to invite her to continue telling her stories on the way.

The story of Phoshozwayo is the longest and occupies a fair
part of the book.

Phoshozwayo can be divided into two main parts. The first
part contains a number of episodes in which Phoshozwayo has
to overcome the traps which his brother Qakala sets for him
in order to dispose of him. Qakala takes the initiative at
first, but our hero always manages to turn his misfortune
into a resounding success through a counter-initiative which
shows his cunning, until he eventually convinces Qakala to
tie a stone around his own neck and to let himself be drowned
in order to acquire a large flock of sheep which is supposedly
hidden at the bottom of a dam. It is a typical trickster
situation where Phoshozwayo, the intended victim, turns the
tables on his brother and becomes the winner. The episodes
are punctuated by Phoshozwayo's boasts - a praise poem which
grows with each event. The setting for the story is modern
Zulu: it deals with people living in the country, but within
reach of a town where Whites and Indians appear on the
horizon and are either conned or used for Phoshozwayo's
own purpose.

The second part of the story - which is presented in IGODA 4
as uPhoshozwayo neSiqwaga, (Phoshozwayo and the Giant) -
shows a development towards the fantastic. Our hero sets
off to steal the head-feather of a fierce giant, Nqaba, on
behalf of his king who promises his throne as a reward. The
boy meets different characters on the road, and, through his
kindness, wins their co-operation. At Nqaba's fort he is
helped by a deformed old hag called Shivane and her brother
Nqulwini. Shivane has captured the giant's magic and is able
to get Phoshozwayo through several daunting tasks set by
Nqaba. On the first day Phoshozwayo must plant mealies,
reap them, make bread with them and bring it to Nqaba before
sunset: Shivane pronnounces the magic words and things
happen. On the second day he must clear up a hill where
the soil and the grass are extremely hard: Shivane gives

a magic order and the hill is cleared. On the third day he
must steal the eggs of a snake in a pool which is impenetrable
by man. Shivane makes him cut her into pieces, throw her into
the pool and rescue her when she emerges with the eggs. On
the fourth day Phoshozwayo's task is to tame a wild white
horse, which has the combined powers of all the inmates of
the fort: the front part is the giant, the rear his wife,
the flanks are Shivane and Nqulwini. Phoshozwayo beats hard
the head and the rear of the horse, and Nqaba and his wife
are so shaken that they decide to kill him. Phoshozwayo
manages to get hold of the magic head-feather at night, and
he and his friends must now escape the giant's anger. As
they are pursued by Nqaba on his magic horse, the eggs of the
famous snake act as means to produce obstacles to delay the
pursuer. The first egg produces a thorn bush which is
promptly cut by the giant. The other eggs produce a forest,
a peach orchard, an orange orchard, and a mound with three
beautiful flowers. This last stratagem softens the giant's
heart, but he still gives chase to the three fugitives, who
now drop the sixth egg and transform themselves into three
church ministers preaching in three different languages on
the Ten Commandments, and especially on "Do not kill".
They also speak of God's merciful forgiveness. The giant
is converted, he changes his heart and his way of life. His
wife, however, does not agree with him and she continues the
chase. The seventh egg produces a wide and deep river in
spate which sweeps away horse and rider. The three now
separate and Phoshozwayo returns to receive the reward for
having captured the giant's feather. He eventually becomes
king of his land and forgets all about his adventures and
his former friends. But one day a mysterious horse is
brought to him which eats cooked food instead of grass or
hay. When the horse is killed there emerge from it
Shivane and Nqulwini restored to their youth and beauty.
They remind Phoshozwayo of his adventures and of the part
they played in them. Now the hero recovers his memory and

feasts and rewards his friends. At the end he marries the
beautiful Shivane and honours Nqulwini with a home and
cattle.

In the first part of the story Phoshozwayo is true to his
name: he is a cunning boaster who is forever seizing the
initiative in order to save his skin in the most desperate
situations. Like the traditional trickster, he has no
conscience, he shows no feelings, as long as he is able to
overcome his brother with tricks which are reminiscent of
Zulu folklore motifs in a modern setting.

Gèrard (1971:257) has this to say about Violet Dube's work:

> Violet Dube seems to have graded her stories so as
> to bring out with ever greater force the unbridled
> fantasy so often at work in narrative folk art. The
> next (= second part of) Phoshozwayo story cannot but
> call to mind some medieval Western romances dealing
> with the motif of the impossible task.

He then goes on, quoting Vilakazi[1]

> Vilakazi claims high literary quality for Violet
> Dube's work which calls to mind the exuberance of
> Yoruba lore . . . She "is not concerned with
> inventing new forms of literature, but with perfecting
> and building on the old"; "She puts her readers in
> possession of the ardour and exultation, with which
> the oral narrator worked out his arguments"; "her
> language abounds in pithy phrases and apt epithets,
> coined mostly from words of onomatopoeic origin";
> and, what is highly remarkable in view of most
> African writers' proneness to heavy-handed moralizing,
> she "has the story in view as her first consideration
> and never punctuates her narration with philosophising
> and moralizing."

---

[1]B.W. Vilakazi: Oral and Written Literature in Nguni
(1945:328)

TABLE 3.3

CLASSIFICATION OF FOLKTALES IN IGODA

I   MYTHS

1.	Sibambe Elentulo	Ref.:	1:64
2.	Yazilaya Imbila		1:70

II   ANIMAL TALES

1.	Igundwane Elingezwa	1:39
2.	uMaqinase	2:10

III   TRICKSTER TALES

1.	uChakijana neBhubesi	1:134
2.	Wangiweza Phela	2:86
3.	Imfene Nempungushe	2:94
4.	uNogwaja ubulala iZingonyama	4:55
5.	Inhliziyo yoMthakathi	4:64
6.	uNogwaja neBhubesi	4:74

IV   HUMAN TALES

(i) HUMAN BEINGS ONLY

1.	Incwadi Enamehlo	2:72
2.	Indoda noMthakathi	2:142
3.	Umfana Nengwe	4:69
4.	uBuhlaluse beNkosi	2:110
5.	uNkombose noSihlangusabayeni	2:33
6.	uMkhwekazi Namasi	2:67
7.	Indoda eyayiligovu	4:61
8.	Umfana Owabe Omele Amanzi	4:81
9.	uMadinqi	2:132

(ii)   HUMAN BEINGS WITH CANNIBALS

1.	uMshayandlela	Ref.:	2:14
2.	uNokuthula		2:45
3.	Izimu Namantombazana		2:105
4.	Amantombazana nezimu		2:114
5.	uNongweqe Nomlamu Wakhe		4:85
6.	Izimuzimu Nentombazana		4:93

(iii)   HUMAN BEINGS WITH ANIMALS

1.	uMamba kaMaquba	2:79
2.	Inyoka enamakhanda ayisikhombisa	2:54
3.	Inkosikazi Nemamba	2:61
4.	uBhadazela noMningi	2:151
5.	Abantwana bensizwakazi	4:114
6.	Inyoka Ngumhlobo Womfana	2:62
7.	Abantu Namabhubesi	4:45
8.	Indoda Nendlovu	4:49
9.	Wayethi Yinja	4:53

(iv)   HUMAN BEINGS WITH FANTASTIC ELEMENTS

1.	uNanana Boselesele	2:137
2.	uSilosikhulu Nabantwana	4:77
3.	uSogebezana Namajikijolo	4:106

CHAPTER 4

THE FOLKTALE AS A CULTURAL EVENT

C.L.S.Nyembezi's aim in writing the IGODA series was to
instruct his readers, the school children, by transmitting
to them the culture of their people. He made a wide use of
folktales because they are, both in form and content, a tra-
ditional oral art which reflects certain cultural aspects
of Zulu society.

According to Bascom (in Dundes, 1965) and other modern folklore
specialists (especially Ruth Finnegan (1970) and Harold Scheub
(1975)) it is not enough to record the bare text of a tale,
but it is necessary to record

> a series of related facts along with the texts, if
> the problem of the relation between folklore and
> culture or the functions of folklore, or even the
> creative role of the narrator, are to be analyzed.
>
> (Bascom in Dundes 1965:281)

In this chapter I intend to describe the cultural elements
revealed in both the text and the context of folktales in
IGODA under the following headings:

4.1 The performance of folktales
4.2 Categories of folklore recognized by the people
     involved
4.3 The cultural context of folktales
4.4 The educational value of folktales

4.1 The Performance of Folktales

Due to its oral nature, traditional literature only comes
to life in the fleeting moments of its performance, as the
performer is able and willing to formulate it according to
the occasion.

Ruth Finnegan (1970: Ch.1) explores the vital connection
between transmission and existence of oral literature, and
explains that traditional oral literature is similar to
music and dance rather than to written literature.

Also Harold Scheub (1975) states that the performance of a
ntsomi (Xhosa for folktale) is essentially the creation of
the individual performer, different from one artist to another;
even where the same performer is concerned, the 'same' ntsomi
will be rendered in a different way at different times, because
it is adapted to the occasion, to the audience and to the
atmosphere, depending on the spectators' age group, the presence
of adults, of strangers, of foreigners, and conditioned by
audience participation.

In connection with the performance of a folktale, Bascom (1965)
suggests that the following factors should be analyzed:
time and place of performance; the performer and his/her
dramatic devices; composition and participation of the audience.

4.1.1   Time and Place of Performance

The Zulu inganekwane is usually performed in the evening,
after the day's work has been done, around a fire on winter
nights or under the stars in summer. A widely held super-
stition forbids the narration of a tale during day time, lest
one should grow horns. This belief has been found among the
Nguni (Scheub 1975) as well as among the Transvaal Ndebele
and the Tsonga (Marivate 1973). In IGODA 1 granny jokes
about this superstition:

> Grandmother does not like to tell us a story during
> day time, but we beg her until she agrees.
> She says with a smile: "Do you want a folktale now?
> Don't you know that you will grow horns?"
> "Yes, Granny, do tell us a story now. We will not
> grow horns" answer the children.
> "All right, then, I'll tell you one. If you grow horns
> it is your business: don't come crying to me!"
>
> (page 70)

Scheub (1975:10) investigated this tradition and was told
that it is a way of preventing people, and especially children,
from wasting their time when other chores are to be attended
to, or from preventing adults to attend to their duties with
incessant pleas for a story.

In IGODA 1 the children are on holiday, and granny tells them stories at any time of the day, provided they have finished their allotted chores around the house. In IGODA 2 a number of stories are also told by grandmother after the children have returned from school, but after they have changed, eaten and done their chores. Some stories are told at the school as a means of teaching and of entertainment. Uncle tells some stories to instruct the children, but this is also done at a time of rest. In one instance (2:24) Deleni hides away to read a story because she knows she would be scolded for doing so because her chores are not yet done.

The occasions for an _inganekwane_ performance vary a great deal. The first tale in IGODA 1 (_Igundwane Elingezwa_ 1:39) is told to cheer the children who have been rather dispirited by the illness of Sipho, one of the young members of the family. Grandmother gathers all the children in Sipho's room and entertains them with a tale. Once (2:33) she tells them a story as a reward for bringing her sweets from the shop. Another time she wants to help one of the children forget snake stories before going to bed (2:67). The headmaster always tells a folktale at Friday's school assembly, both to make a pertinent point about some of the week's happenings and to create a relaxed pre-weekend atmosphere. The scholars always look forward to the headmaster's folktales.
In the classroom the Standard 2 teacher tells a story as a way of encouraging the children to acquire the book by telling them a lovely tale contained in it (2:14). At times she intends to encourage the children to read at home on their own or even to their parents. She often asks the children to repeat a story in the book or some other story they know to help them overcome their shyness and develop their speaking skills. It is clear, from these selective examples, that Nyembezi wants folktales to be used as educational tools: by satisfying the children's curiosity and their longing for the unusual and the fantastic contained in the tales, he ecourages them to improve their reading skills and to acquire the command of good and correct Zulu vocabulary and of correct grammatical structures. At the same time Nyembezi

creates a social frame for his folktales, fitting them
naturally into the life of a family and of a school.

There is no indication of time, place, occasion, performer,
or of any other external cultural element in the folktales
contained in IGODA 4.

4.1.2.1   The Performer in General

The performer is the most important element in the inganekwane
tradition.   In Zulu society the performer is mostly a woman,
but men may also tell a story, as is witnessed in IGODA 2,
where an uncle, the herdboy and the headmaster tell folktales.
I shall normally refer to the performer in the feminine.
No specific training is required to perform an inganekwane.
Children hear a story at home or at school and re-tell it to
their friends. The perfection of this performing art is,
however, achieved through long years of practice.   Scheub
(1975:25) compares the 'same' tale as told by different nar-
rators to show how practice and natural acting talents merge
to produce a well-polished performance. He goes on:

> A Hlubi woman told me that when she was young, she per-
> formed ntsomi images which were very short - 'one Zim
> and one girl, and the Zim chased the girl, and so on and
> so on, and then the end'. Never did her grandmother
> systematically attempt to teach her the craft, but when
> the little girl performed a ntsomi, her grandmother and
> her parents would make corrections. Then she created
> ntsomi productions outside the family, before her young
> friends. They often exchanged ntsomi performances.
> She witnessed such performances frequently, presented
> by the grandmothers and aunts and mothers of her cousins
> and friends. Her own ntsomi images became longer,
> became in fact performances rather than stories.
>
> (Scheub 1975:23)

The performer has at her disposal a traditional repertory
of core-refrains, core-songs or proverbs. This part of the
story is traditional and remains rather fixed; it is known
by most people, who will thus be able to participate in the
performance. This core calls immediately to mind a core-
image, as it is called by Scheub, which is the kernel of the

story. With these basic tools at her disposal and the various
compositional techniques supplied by tradition, the narrator
can now set about creating her complete narrative.

Each member of the audience is a potential performer who is
able to judge and enjoy the art of the others since she also
knows the core of the story and many of the details and episodes
attached to it. Drawing from both traditional and personal
performing ability, the performer can re-create an image which
is traditional and new at the same time. The performer's
art makes the tale a vivid and passing image, suitable for
her present audience.

Scheub says about one particular Xhosa performer:

> She utilizes the finite number of images in the ntsomi
> tradition as a poet uses language. ... One of the most
> direct and obvious ways in which she distinctly develops
> her ntsomi images is through her use of detail, particu-
> larly in the delineation of character, ... and in
> finding plausible motivations for all actions in her
> performance.
>
> (Scheub 1972:117)

Ruth Finnegan (1970, Ch.1) enumerates the resources available
to an African folktale performer:

(a) The expressiveness of the tonal languages of Africa.
(b) Musical tunes, which often accompany the refrains and
    are sung by both performer and audience.
(c) Visual resources, such as gestures, body movements,
    facial expressions, mimicry.
(d) Linguistically, the performer can make use of vivid
    ideophones, of dramatic dialogues, of imitations of
    animal calls. She can manipulate the audience's sense
    of humour and susceptibility to be amazed, shocked,
    moved, enthralled at appropriate moments.

Marivate states that Tsonga folktales are told in a high-
pitched voice and employing a rhythm which gives the recitation
a kind of poetic quality, as is the case with praise poems
in Zulu. However, the language used in an inganekwane

performance in Zulu is simple and realistic and it corresponds
to the language used in everyday conversation. The accomplished
artist, however, chooses her words and combines her sounds
carefully in order to achieve an artistic performance.

Philip D. Noss (1972:74) makes the following points about the
performance of a Gbaya to, or folktale:

i.   To is a traditional oral and dramatic art form, performed
       through the spoken word.

ii.   The spoken word has many dimensions: it is heard, seen,
       experienced, as the narrator becomes a swinging one-legged
       creature, a character with a long nose or two noses, or
       an ugly old lady with mattery eyes.

iii.   With varying degrees of animation, body movement, facial
       expression, tone of voice and rhythm of speech, the
       narrator presents the character and his plight.

iv.   To attract and hold her audience, the narrator must follow
       traditional aesthetic principles based on the usage of
       ideophones, names, imagery, narrative description,
       allusion.

As Nyembezi tries to follow the oral tradition, his folktales
comply with most of these principles, including the use of
ideophones, names, allusions, idioms and proverbs, descriptions.

(a) Ideophones. An ideophone is a word that creates an
emotion and a picture. It is sensual, enabling the audience
to identify feelings, sounds, colours, textures, expression,
movement or silence through its own senses. It is also poetic,
the expression of imagery in the purest sense. It is a means
of description, a concise way of showing an additional dimension
to the action of the story.

Examples: Kwakuthule kuthe cwaka (1:41): 'it was so quiet,
it said 'cwaka". As if to say: 'It was so quiet, you could
hear him breathing', or 'you would hear a pin drop', or
'I could hear myself thinking'.
Thathela ngejubane uthi vinini (1:67): 'Set off at great speed,
say 'vinini"; an image of swiftness.

(b)   **Names** are often used to tell the audience about the
character. A name contains the description of a person, as
is the case with praise names. In an oral performance the
narrator sometimes calls one of her characters by the name
of one of the audience who has some characteristics in common
with the character. This obviously cannot be done in IGODA.
In IGODA 2:10 the protagonist of the story is <u>Maqinase</u>, the
boisterous one. In 2:151 the antagonist is <u>Mningi</u>, multitude,
to describe the multi-headed snake. <u>Sondonzima</u> in 2:137
means 'heavy foot', to describe the oversized elephant-like
monster.

(c)   **Allusions**: Noss explains that the audience is already
familiar with episodes and motifs in a folktale, and is thus
able to supply its own details and personal dimension.
Stock-characters, for example, need no introduction, no
description, because the audience is already familiar with
them. The same applies to stock-places, which the audience
can easily recognize because it has got its own mental image
of them.
In the IGODA folktales, for example, there is no need to
explain who an <u>izimuzimu</u> is, what he looks like, what he
does or likes to do: everybody knows that. Or, who needs to
be told what a hare is able to do in a story? A hare is a
trickster: as soon as it is introduced, the audience prepares
to hear a trickster story.
In the same way, a house seen at night in a dark forest
"<u>uthi loko loko</u>" with a glimmering light or a burning fire
has got to be the house of an <u>izimu</u>.
The performer is also able to make use of expressions accompa-
nied by gestures, such as 'as big as this', 'bigger than that',
'as hard as the rock of Majuba', and similar expressions.
These visual expressions are not possible in a written story.
Nyembezi often uses idiomatic negative expressions to indicate
the opposite, as when he writes (2:79):   'Mother is not angry,
she is burning!" to mean that she is extremely angry indeed.

Noss also mentions the fact that sometimes an image is just
mentioned and then dismissed, left to the imagination of the
audience. I feel that, although this may be at times a
stylistic device, one must also consider the fact that story-
telling is an amateur art. The performer has no script and
she composes plot and narrative as she goes on. She may intro-
duce a detail at one stage and then forget it or be unable to
develop it in the next stage. There are examples of inconsi-
stencies, of underdeveloped images, of extraneous details,
which may be colourful in themselves but may have no logic
place in a particular performance. Take the example of the
"talking chicken drum-stick" in uNokuthula (2:45): two girls
are travell-ing and a chicken drum-stick in their provisions
says something; the younger girl thinks that it is her sister
speaking, but the older girl denies it. This happens twice,
then not another word is said about it. The image has no
details, no impact on plot, no consequence at all. It is
probably only evoked in conjunction with the food the girls are
carrying, and is left undeveloped.

In uMshayandlela (2:14), as the boy and his herd have forded
a river in spate, we are told that the waters "closed in
again after them." There was no mention before of waters
opening up to let them cross. It is an unnecessary detail.
In uMadinqi (2:132) the refrain sung by the boy-mother has
no connection with the story except the baby's name Madinqi.
The refrain goes like this:

> Grass hurts the eyes, Madinqi;
> It does not want to burn, Madinqi.

In another version of the story (Scheub 1972 :119) the re-
frain refers to the boy's breasts rising to feed the baby:
"Breasts, breasts, be full! Breasts, breasts, be full!".
This is certainly more appropriate and relevant to the story.

(d) Idioms and Proverbs: Idioms are expressions peculiar
to a language, not readily understood from the meaning of their
parts. Proverbs are pithy sayings, condensing the wisdom
drawn from experience.

Nyembezi's language in IGODA is both idiomatic and full of proverbs. Even the children in the supposed audience remark about it, especially in connection with grandmother's story-telling ability.

> The children laugh. They laugh because granny
> repeats again and again "for many, many, many years".
> They are happy because granny speaks beautifully.
> (IGODA 1:66)

And again:

> Thank you, grandmother, for the lovely story.
> We shall go back to school knowing many idioms and
> proverbs. We have already learned five proverbs:
> (the five proverbs are listed). We are going to
> learn (to speak) beautiful Zulu from granny.
> (IGODA 1:69)

(e) Narrative Descriptions: Especially grandmother takes great care to inculcate the wisdom of centuries in the form of proverbs and idioms. This has the effect of producing a narrative style which is vivid and picturesque, suitable for young children whose imagination is easily fired. It would take too long to give examples of Nyembezi's use of idiomatic language and proverbs. Here are some random examples of what I consider vivid descriptions and of idiomatic language usage:

A. From Igundwane Elingezwa (1:41)
    The small mouse is about to get out of the hole which has been his home until now. His mother is asleep, the other small mice are afraid. He is courageous and intrepid, but at the moment of getting out of the hole he takes all possible precautions:

Lahamba laqonda entubeni.	He made straight for the hole.
Laveza ikhanjana elincane kuqala.	He first showed his little head.
Alaze labona lutho.	He didn't see anything at all.
Laveza ikhadlana.	He put out his little nose.
Lahogela umoya kancane.	He sniffed the air briefly.
Alaze lezwa lutho.	There was no smell at all.

Kwakuthule kuthe cwaka.	It was absolutely quiet.
Lathi: ngishilo mina izingozi azikho.	He said: Didn't I say that there are no dangers?

The short sentences keep the suspense while also imitating the quick actions of a mouse. There is no description of the facial expressions of the performer, but they are easily imagined.

The repetition of Alaze lezwa lutho (twice) and of Alaze labona lutho (only once) is very effective, leading up to Kwakuthule kuthe cwaka, with the ideophone putting the last pictorial stroke on the picture.

The little mouse first puts out his head in order to see, then his little nose to sniff the air for any sign of danger, he then listens with his ears: the three senses used in animal and human sense perception are employed, to go from the general (sight) to the more particular (smell and hearing). His sense of smell is soon aroused - in the next paragraph - by the clean air (umoya omnandi) and by the smell of fresh bread; his sense of taste is then satisfied by gorging himself with bread; finally his touch is excited by the perception of open spaces - as opposed to the restrictions of his hole. This final perception drives him mad with excitement:

> Ladlala phansi: ligijime liqonde le. Libuye liphenduke
> ligijime liqonde le. (He played on the floor. He ran
> over there. He turned and ran somewhere else.) (1:42)

This sensual excitement causes him to lose his guard and precaution, and to fall prey of the waiting cat.

B. From Sibambe Elentulo (1:67)

The chameleon has just been told by the Creator to set off to go and tell the people that they will not die. It starts on its way like this:

Amehlo alo abheka phambili abuye aphenduka abheka emuva.	Its eyes looked ahead and then turned to look behind.
Nembala lwaphenduka unwabu.	Eventually the chameleon turned.
Wathuthumela umlenze waqonda phambili.	Its leg trembled and went forward

Lwawubeka phansi.	It put it down.
Lwaphakamisa omunye umlenze.	It lifted the other leg.
Wathuthumela nawo waqonda phambili.	It too trembled and went forward
Nalo-ke unwabu luhamba, yilokhu luphakamisa umlenze luthuthumela.	At last the chameleon is moving, shaking its leg each time it lifts it.
Amehlo yilokhu ebheka phambili, abuye futhi abheke emuva.	Its eyes keep looking in front and then looking back again.

The slowness of the chameleon is painful to watch, as the repeated description of the movements of its eyes and legs make abundantly clear. The determination of its movements add an atmosphere of mystery and magic to the scene. Tension in the audience is building up with expectation: will the chameleon ever make it on time to tell the people that they will not die?

C.   From uChakijana neBhubesi (1:135)

Chakijana is hungry. He smells the lion's meat cooking and intends sharing the meal. He tries to be extremely polite at first, hoping to win the lion's kindness.

"Sikhulekile Baba", kusho uChakijana.	"Greetings, Father", said Chakijana.
Ibhubesi lathi, "Nguwe lowo mfana?"	Said the lion: "Is that you, boy?"
"Yimi Baba. Yimi, wena owakhula silibele.	It is I, Father. It is I, you great one.
Isisu somhambi asingakanani. Singangenso yenyoni.	A traveller's stomach is not so large. It is like a bird's liver.
Siyobonga sisuthi, Baba."	We'll thank you when we are satisfied, Father."

The servile way is so uncharacteristic of the trickster that it causes immediate hilarity. Even the lion senses the trickster's hypocrisy and treats him as 'mfana', boy. But Chakijana first calls him with a praise —'while you grew up we waited', which means 'you are much greater than we' — then quotes a Zulu custom — expressed by another idiom regarding the smallness of a traveller's stomach — with regard to helping and feeding

travellers. The idiomatic expressions are picturesque, but
they are highly ironical in the trickster's mouth.

4.1.2.2   The Performer in IGODA

The tales in IGODA 2 are presented by a variety of performers:
the school principal, a man, tells three; the standard 2
teacher, a female, tells one; grandmother tells four;
Nonhlanhla, a child, tells four; the children's mother and
a neighbouring lady tell one tale each; uncle tells some
modern stories, while the herdboy tells a traditional folktale.

When the stories are told at home, the audience is mostly
made up of the family children, sometimes with the partici-
pation of one or two adults. At school, the principal's
audience is made up of both children and teachers, and once
the narrator invites the teachers to laugh together with the
children (2:14). When tales are performed in the classroom,
only the children and the teacher are present.

As regards the authorship of the tales: once we are told
that grandmother heard them from her own grandmother. The
principal does not disclose his sources, neither do other
storytellers. Nonhlanhla is an inexhaustible source of
folktales which she brings from her home district in the
heart of Zululand. Many stories are told in a "This reminds
me of ..." situation. Usizi lwethu (2:23) is a modern
'written' story. Other stories, among them a traditional
one, are taken from newspapers.

Only the first two volumes of IGODA describe the social
context of folktales. In the other volumes Nyembezi does not
refer to the situations which have given rise to the per-
formance of the stories. Aesop's fables in verse are simply
written to be read and studied. Stories in the fourth volume
are introduced in the Foreword as taken from books whose
authorship is gratefully acknowledged.

Volumes 3, 5 and 6 contain no izinganekwane at all, but
only poetic renderings of Aesop's fables.

It is evident that the folktales in volumes 1 and 2 are
created by Nyembezi, either by remembering the tales he heard
as a child and re-writing them for his IGODA series, or by
creating something completely new both in form and content,
such as the modern story Usizi lwethu (2:23). His adherence
to traditional methods of composition and delivery is evidenced
in all his traditional folktales.

As far as dramatic performing devices are concerned, Nyembezi
does not 'record' gestures, facial expressions, pantomime,
impersonation or mimicry used by the performers to make the
narrative an artistic and dramatic event. Since this is a
written work, dramatic performing devices should rather be
identified in the vivid descriptive style, in the use of
ideophones and alliteration, in useful repetition. The three
examples I examined above show Nyembezi as a master of suspense
in using short telling sentences, idioms and proverbs, while
he keeps to a style which is very clear and entertaining.

4.1.3   Composition and Participation of the Audience

As noticed above, the audience is normally critical of a
performance because each member of the audience is a
potential performer. Audience participation is vital.

The performer normally involves the audience by means of an
opening formula to arouse their interest; then the audience
replies. In Zulu there are several beginning formulas said
by the narrator:
Kwesuke sukela; Kwasuka; Cosi cosi; all meaning, more or
less, 'Once upon a time' (Marivate calls them: Time distancing
formulas). The audience replies: Cosi; or Cosi cosi; or Cosu.
This answer does not seem to have a clear meaning. A Zulu
friend of mine interprets it as "May the ancestors protect
us from growing horns!" Sometimes it seems to mean: "Ah,

we have now got you, and you must continue with the tale
to its end!" Perhaps it even refers to the breaking of a
reed or of a stick to place it among one's hair or in the
ground as a defence against growing horns.

The audience also participates by joining in the rhythmic
clapping of hands or stamping of feet to accompany the
climatic stages of the performance, or by repeating the re-
frain or the song when asked to do so by the narrator.
The audience is also supposed to underline the most vivid
and interesting parts by means of exclamations, by asking
questions, by transforming rhythm into a dance (this, accord-
ing to Scheub, especially if the performer is boring and
cannot control the mood of the audience). At the end of the
performance, when the narrator says Cosu cosu iyaphela or a
similar formula, the audience normally answers with a simple
Siyayibonga (Thank you for it). Sometimes it concludes with
Imnandi! (It is lovely). In IGODA the children normally
thank grandmother for the tale and remark about the story or
about the characters. But there is no fixed formula for
ending a story.

In IGODA 1 and 2 the stories are written to be read as units;
therefore the writer does not allow the narrative to be inter-
rupted by comments by the audience or about the audience.
Once the tale is started, it flows through to the end. The
audience, however, is always there, very much alive and always
taking part. Once (1:66) the children are said to laugh happily
at grandmother's insistent repetition of a single expression.
In IGODA 2 there is an instance where Nonhlanhla begins a
snake story and Sipho objects to it because he is scared of
snakes: he is simply told to go away and not to listen.

The initiative for an inganekwane performance normally comes
from the children who beg grandmother for a tale. They are
described as anxiously waiting for a tale. If they have
misbehaved, granny threatens to withold the performance until
they apologize and make up. Silly remarks and interruptions
are discouraged by the rest of the audience (2:54).

Some stories arise out of circumstances in the children's
life. For example, once one of the boys has dirtied the
bottom of his trousers by sitting on an oily stone. The
other children laugh at him saying that he looks like a monkey
with its shining bottom. Grandmother tells them a story
which explains why monkeys have a shining bottom (2:95).

Says Finnegan (1970:11)

> The artist adapts both his delivery and details of
> his story to the particular audience, referring to
> physical or social characteristics, to the behaviour
> and fortunes, of particular listeners.

At the end of the story the children normally show their
appreciation by commenting on grandmother's tales and on
their moral, a fact which allows grandmother to explain a
proverb or an idiom more fully, or to compare the behaviour
in the tale with that expected of her grandchildren.
At school the teacher thanks Nonhlanhla for her stories and
praises her, while also encouraging the class to clap.

4.2   Categories of Traditional Culture Recognized by the People

Bascom (1965:281) encourages the folklore researcher to closely
investigate which forms of folklore are recognized as such by
the people themselves, and the people's attitudes towards
these categories.

Nyembezi introduces his readers to a wealth of traditional
practices in his IGODA series. He recognizes as traditional,
customs which have been followed for a long time and which
still survive, especially in the rural areas, because there
the Zulu way of life has not undergone the same radical change
as in urban areas. These customs have often given rise to
idiomatic expressions which are still widely used, although
they may sound rather obscure for city dwellers.

Knowledge about animals, and cattle in particular, is presented

as traditional. This knowledge is scattered through the whole
series. IGODA 1 speaks about traditional ways of herding and
milking cattle, of making milk and sour milk, of crushing and
cooking various kinds of mealies. In IGODA 2 we find a va-
riety of information about snakes, and also about the chameleon
and other animals. IGODA 5 presents stories about both wild
and domesticated animals, and a list of proverbs and idiomatic
expressions referring to them.

Some games played by children are also presented as traditional
and explained at some length for the benefit of urban children.
Examples abound: playing with stones, modelling clay figures,
piercing a rolling wild pumpkin, etc.

I have already mentioned the fact that there is a wealth of
proverbs and idiomatic expressions, both in connection with
folktales and introduced as a commentary on a given situation.
In IGODA 1 grandmother often revises all the proverbs she has
taught the children. In IGODA 5, as mentioned before, after
each section there is a list of idioms and proverbs which
relate to that section. Riddles are introduced in IGODA 3.
Izibongo (praise poems) are only used in the short play on
Shaka's life in IGODA 6.

The best represented form of traditional culture in IGODA is
the folktale. Traditionally Zulu folktales were referred to
as either izinganekwane (children's stories) or as
izinsumansumane (fantastic or wondrous happenings). In
IGODA they are normally referred to as izinganekwane, but
sometimes also as izindaba (stories).

Izinganekwane are all the traditional stories and folktales.
These include the few examples of quasi-myth, such as the
one on the origin of death (Sibambe Elentulo 1:64) which
cannot be considered as a real myth since it is not used in
ceremonies and is told as a form of simple entertainment.
People's attitudes towards the story seems to be similar to
the attitude towards other stories, although, according to
Callaway (1868:6) the chameleon is still hated for loitering
on the road, but is regarded with some respect as having
magic powers, while the lizard is simply hated and killed.

Aesop's fables in verse are referred to as _izinkondlo_ (poems)
or _izindaba_. Modern tales, such as _Usizi Lwethu_ (dealing
with the plight of sweets in a jar on a shop counter), are
also considered _izindaba_. _Incwadi enamehlo_ (A letter with
eyes) is also _indaba_, as are stories about snakes read in a
newspaper, or a composition by a school child published in
a local paper. On the other hand, a folktale read in the
newspaper is also called _inganekwane_. Therefore it seems
to me that the dividing line between folktales and stories
is that the former are traditional in both form and content
while the latter are modern in content even if they are,
at times, traditional in form. The fact that some are
spoken while others are read does not constitute a distinction
in the eyes of the writer. However, even the traditional
folktales can fall under the more general and less specific
categories of stories or _izindaba_.

Typical of the attitude that tales are not supposed to be
taken as true is a short conversation among the children
regarding snakes' stories (IGODA 2:55)

> Sipho: Oh, I don't want a tale about snakes. I'm
> afraid of snakes.
>
> Deleni & Co.:   If you don't want to listen to it,
> it's all right. However, do you
> think that snakes will appear to
> you because we speak about them?
>
> Sipho: When we speak of a snake, it listens; then
> it comes to us and says: "Hey you, what are
> you saying about me?"
>
> Deleni & Co.:   Even what you are saying now _is a_
> _folktale_. Come on, do let Nhlanhla
> _tell the_ story!

In other words, Deleni suggests that traditional sayings
derived from folktales may represent superstitions not to
be taken seriously.

4.3   The Cultural Context of Folktales

> The problem of the 'cultural context' or the
> relationship between folklore and other aspects
> of culture is in itself far more important. This
> problem has two distinct facets:
>
> A.   The extent to which folklore, like language,
>   is a mirror of culture and incorporates
>   descriptions of the details of ceremonies,
>   institutions and social technology; and
>
> B.   The expression of beliefs and attitudes.
>
> (Bascom in Dundes, 1965:284)

I have already described the social context of a rural
family which serves as the framework for the narration of
folktales in IGODA. Here I intend to present social
cultural elements emanating from and reflected by the
stories themselves.

Zulu folktales in the IGODA series have Zulu social
institutions as their frame of reference; they reflect the
kind of life which both performer and audience know so well.
They are also meant to explain and to validate for the
children a system which is traditionally appreciated by
Zulu society.

It would be quite impossible in a study of this kind to go
into all the details of the Zulu social structure on which
the folktales under consideration are based; let few
examples be sufficient here, arranged according to the
categories pointed out in the above quotation from Bascom.

4.3.1   Details of Ceremonies

In Abantwana Bonsizwakwazi (IGODA 4:114) we find the
description of the so-called 'rites of passage' ceremonies.
The chief acts as a father to the twins born to him by his
favourite hornless cow. He presents the twins to the tribe
and gives them a name. Then he promises, in front of the

whole tribe, that he will give them blankets made of the
multicoloured skin of a most fierce water dragon at their
'coming of age' ceremony, when the twins reach puberty.
When the chief forgets his promise, the twins disappear
and only reappear after they have been able to slaughter
the dragon and so to provide themselves with the multi-
coloured blankets, which is normally the father's task to
provide at this ceremony.

In uBhadazela noMningi (2:151) the chief's induction cere-
monies are described. The chief must be strengthened with
the fat of the liver of a water dragon which is guarded by
a vicious multi-headed snake. Unless the chief is so
strengthened, the whole tribe will suffer. After all the
plans to get hold of this fat have failed, Bhadazela, a
young and rather insignificant man, manages to obtain it
through a carefully designed and boldly actualized plan,
and the chief can be anointed and strengthened.

4.3.2   Social Institutions

The lobola custom is often mentioned and taken for granted.
For example, at the end of the tale uMshayandlela (2:14),
the boy is given by his father his favourite bull,
Mshayandlela, to start his own herd with the view of
obtaining a bride.

The important role played by ugogo (grandmother) and umalume
(mother's brother) in the upbringing of the children is
shown all the time in the interest they take in the children
and in the numberless times they interact with them. Several
folktales are also concerned with the proper attitude of the
bride at the house of her in-laws, such as uMamba kaMaquba
(2:79). The bride must be submissive and obey every order;
she must also show her willingness to work hard. Her greatest
asset, however, is the bearing of a child. A particularly
interesting tale which reflects the customs governing some
forms of family etiquette is uMkhwekazi namasi (2:67):

a mother-in-law cannot take maas in the house of her son-in-law;. nobody is allowed to use the spoon, the dish and the stool of the family head, while he enjoys absolute authority over all members of his household.

4.3.3   Social Structures

The structure of traditional Zulu society is well reflected in Nyembezi's folktales. The clan and the extended family are the nucleus of society. The father is the provider of money and other needs. It is quite unbelievable that he should not fulfil his duty. In Indoda eyayiligovu (4:61) a man eats meat secretly while his wife and children are starving. When he is discovered he has such a shock that he has a heart attack and dies. The mother must have feelings of love and protection for her children. In Inhliziyo Yomthakathi (4:64) a mother promises a wild animal her unborn child in exchange for her own life. But the child is very clever and thwarts his mother's plans, and finally tells his father who immediately puts the woman to death for having 'the heart of a witch'.

The initiative and heroic efforts and struggles of a mother to bring up her children in a one-parent family are reflected in several tales, where the father is not even mentioned. Examples: uNanana Boselesele (2:137), Wangiweza Phela (2:86), uNkombose noSihlangusabayeni (2:33), and a few others.

The tribal structure is revealed but not strongly emphasized, perhaps because traditional Zulu life was centred around the clan rather than around a centralized tribal system as it came to be with Shaka and his successors. However, the two folktales quoted above in 4.3.1 deal with a tribal structure centred around a king. There are also folktales dealing with the privileges of a chief's daughter, such as uBuhlaluse Benkosi (2:110) and Inganekwane ephepheni (2:105).

The role of the herbalist - inyanga - as the provider of powerful medicines to cure all kinds of deseases is shown in

uMadinqi (2:132) where a woman who is unable to bear a
child is given a remedy by the isangoma. This medicine
falls into the hands of a boy who eats it and falls pregnant.
An evil umthakathi who keeps a snake with seven heads
appears in Inyoka Enamakhanda Ayisikhombisa (2:54). Diviners -
izangoma - are asked to provide medicines for the strength-
ening of the king, and then are consulted as to the best
plan for getting hold of the medicines in uBhadazela noMningi
(2:151).

4.3.4   The Expression of Beliefs and Attitudes

C.L.S. Nyembezi is a Christian. School education among the
Zulu has long been identified with main-stream Christianity.
The children in IGODA are often described as attending
Sunday School on Sundays or as praying at school assemblies.
Consequently, there is no folktale in IGODA dealing directly
with traditional ancestor worship. There is instead a Bible
story - Indoda Enomoya Ababi (2:118) - and two other stories
reflecting the beliefs of main-stream Christianity.

In Abantu Namabhubesi (4:45) (The people and the lions),
which is a short story rather than a folktale, six Zionists
and one unbeliever find themselves in a place infested by
lions at night. The Zionists rely only on prayer when
attacked by the lions, while the unbeliever seeks shelter
among the branches of a tree. The Zionists are quickly
disposed of by the lions, the unbeliever escapes unharmed.
Nyembezi comments that faith means co-operation with God,
not tempting him when one can do something to protect oneself.

Umcebo kaNyambose (5:108) is quite a lengthy story in which
Mhlungu - a honest man who tries to do everything right by
the amadlozi (ancestral spirits) - is conned and robbed by
unscrupolous people - including a false church minister -
who take advantage of his simple beliefs.

In uPhoshozwayo neSiqwaga (4:122) the ogre is converted after
hearing three church ministers preach on the Commandments.

As regards attitudes to life, folktales reveal the
longing for harmonious living in a properly structured
society. The social institutions in which the individual
must fit are tribe, clan and family. Key to social harmony
is the maintainance of order through respect and obedience
for one's elders and for the customs and traditions of
society. Any departure from the established order consti-
tutes a threat to the security of the individual and to the
delicate balance of social harmony.

Adventurous attitudes, such as that of Maqinase (2:10) or
of the little mouse (1:39), are discouraged because they
pose a threat to this delicate social balance and also
unnecessarily risk the lives of the people involved. Evil
is a danger lurking behind every corner and one can never
be too cautious. The old traditional ways have proved good
enough in the past and they should be good enough even now.

And yet the folktale tradition recognizes the fact that,
without adventurous characters and their bold actions, there
can be no progress. This point is borne out by such tales
as uBhadazela noMningi (2:151) and Abantwana bensizwakazi
(4:114): when there is a crisis the heroic action of one
or few individuals can save the situation and restore order
and harmony.

The answer to this apparent contradiction seems to be that,
when the normal rules of society are of no help, bold
action must be taken but either in the service of the
common good or with the knowledge and approval of those in
authority. In other words, a course of action which breaks
the traditional barriers, must have the fulfilment of a
social need as its objective.

The great threat comes from individuals who act anti-socially,
like the trickster. His breaking of contract, his fraud and
his resultant gloat and enjoyment of his victim's discomfort
are an escape from social restrictions and provoke a bitter

laugh in the realization that too many individuals act anti-socially as the trickster does. It is like a serious warning not to get involved in anti-social schemes.

Life is also a delicate and fragile gift which the individual is asked at times to put at risk for the sake of society. But when individuals put it at risk because of their recklessness, because they do not obey social warnings, then only the intervention of the supernatural can restore life and the proper balance, as is the case in uNkombose noSihlangusabayeni (2:33), in uNokuthula (2:45), and in uBuhlaluse beNkosi (2:110).

4.4   Educational Value of Folktales

> The ntsomi is an organic extension of the culture
> from which it springs; it is the image of the
> perfect society, preserved through the years and
> daily renewed in performance. The performer is the
> intellectual of this society, she is the educator.
> But she is also an artist, and she desires to
> project an image that is at once a reaffirmation
> of her own inherited ideals, an extension of her
> culture, and - most important - a thing of beauty.
>
> (Scheub 1975:88)

Scheub's description of the storyteller as the intellectual and educator of society underscores the educational value of folktales, especially in an oral society, as well as their frame of reference, their conceptual ideals, and their educational - or teaching - methods.

The main educational value of folktales arises from their frame of reference, which is 'the culture from which (they) spring'. A folktale is in fact steeped in life and it mirrors the society in which it is created. This is, however, no prosaic or pedantic reminder of what is already known, but it is an idealization which portrays - in front of the eyes of the audience - 'a perfect society, preserved through the years and daily renewed in performance'.

This society is only an ideal to which to aspire, towards which to work. The methods of teaching these values are the compositional methods of the _inganekwane_, a movement from crisis to resolution, through the mediation of an artistic form objectified in the narrative. This is not a slavish imitation or repetition of received traditional motifs and episodes - of an image or a story; an ideal situation which re-affirms the past and launches the imagination towards the future, thus extending accepted cultural values beyond the present and into the ideal world of that harmonious society which is the goal of man's aspiration. Through a well-balanced development of all the compositional elements, literary harmony is achieved, to mirror the harmony of the perfect society.

I intend discussing the educational aspects of folktales against this background view under two main headings:

    4.4.1   As a form of literature;
    4.4.2   As a means of social and moral education.

4.4.1   Educational Aspects of Folktales as Literature

Many ideas in this section form part of my personal approach to the study of literature in general and of folktales in particular. Evidently they are not original ideas, but thoughts, sayings and expressions which I have stored in my memory from my readings and studies, ideas of which I am now unable to retrace the sources. I express them here as my own, but I acknowledge the fact that they have been expressed by others, in either the same or in a similar form.

Literature forms part of the phenomenon of word communication. Facts and ideas can be transmitted either directly - just by stating what they are - or indirectly, through symbolism. Many literary forms are part of this symbolic communicative system; among them the novel, the short story, the theatre

and poetry. Folktales are part of the form of literature
which must be enacted in order to live, because they form
part of oral literature. Thus they can be compared to
theatre productions, to determine the educational value
of both forms of art.

We live in a world dominated by scientific research for
factual information. The scientific approach is now
reflected in much educational material. There is, however,
a fresh awareness among educationalists that the purpose
of education is to enlarge and illuminate one's life
experience.[1] The enlarging function is fulfilled by
literature, especially imaginative literature, and by art;
while the illuminating function is fulfilled by philosophy.
Hence the importance of imaginative literature in the
formation of the child. I shall also discuss this point
of view, comparing the educational value of folktales to
that of poetry.

4.4.1.1   Folktales and the Theatre

Folktales form part of the performing arts and share in
many of the characteristics of a theatre production. Like
theatre, folktales are audio-visual; they are directly
experienced by the audience; they are governed by a set
of rules which determine the time and place of performance,
the role of performer and audience, and a whole set of
compositional rules.

Before the introduction of wide-spread literacy, theatre
was considered the most powerful instrument to teach a
nation how and what to think, to form the minds and souls
of the people. Being a dramatic representation based on
some aspects of human life, theatre challenges and shocks
into action, while training the mind in its quest for wisdom.

---

[1] W.J. Bennett (1984): To Reclaim a Legacy: A Report on
the Humanities in Higher Education. Reported in Time
Magazine, 10/12/84, pg 79.

A folktale shares all these characteristics. During the
fleeting moments of its existence in performance, the tale
represents a slice of life, a section of the world stage;
however, it is not a faithful photograph of human life,
beautiful or ugly as it may be, but an idealization of it
which is able to set the imagination at work. A folktale
springs from a situation of imbalance or disequilibrium,
which has been created by an action contrary to societal
rules, or contrary to the harmony of human relations. The
plot must move towards its climatic resolution, which will
be achieved through the re-establishment of equilibrium
and harmony. Even in the most desperate situations, a
folktale shows that balance can be re-established: it is
a lesson that one should never allow himself to be crushed
by pessimism.

Personal relationships and societal harmony are the main
concern of the izinganekwane philosophy (Scheub, 1975:84).
These relationships are manifested by words, through which
human intercourse mostly occurs. Hence the imaginative
use of words in an inganekwane performance in which the
story is re-moulded and re-shaped in numberless ways, while
the more 'fixed' part - the refrain - underlines traditional
aspects and themes, and often even assumes the powers of a
magic formula. Among the many lessons taught in an
inganekwane performance, one always stands out very clearly:
the intrinsic power of words in making or breaking human
relationships.

But the audience can learn much more than this simple
truth. The very fact of re-using and re-shaping traditional
folktale motifs, episodes and characters shows that human
life is an "everchanging sameness", which both stays and
moves like the waters of the ocean. What was of value
yesterday is still valuable today; the dangers, the ideals,
the symbols of life and death of the past are still apt to
evoke a response now. In this way the folktale becomes an

'organic extension' (Scheub 1975:88) of culture; it instils
societal values and acceptable human responses in the minds
and souls of the audience.

There is, perhaps, no tremendous depth in the philosophy of
the inganekwane tradition. There is, however, a practical
and realistic vision of life, with the poles of good and
evil, with the understanding of what is helpful and what
is dangerous to the harmony of the perfect society.

Folktales, like the theatre, can portray a tragedy or a
comedy. While tragedy leads to a purification of self
through witnessing the punishment and expiation of others,
comedy helps one to forget more pressing and depressing
situations and to laugh at oneself and at society in a
relaxed atmostphere.

I think it was Bernard Shaw who said: "Punch and Judy
shows still hold the stage". Irreverent and often outra-
geous farce and satire is represented in African folktales
by trickster stories, which mostly fulfil the need for
entertainment, while also showing up the weaknesses of
normally powerful characters. The variety of names and
faces of the Zulu trickster can be interpreted as an
indication of the truth that the world will outlast all
the comic puppets on the stage of life.

4.4.1.2 Folktales as Imaginative Literature

In this section I shall follow a paper of K.M. Durham of
Rhodes University published in MENTOR, September 1984,
pg 119-122, under the title: Literature and Story-Telling
in Pre-Schools.

L.C. Knight, quoted by Durham (122), states:

> Shakespeare awakens imaginative energy we may not
> have known we had; and it is only through our
> Imagination that we do our real living.

Durham insists on the educational importance of developing this 'imaginative energy'. This function must be fulfilled by literature and especially by poetry.

It is my contention that folktales, be they oral or written, fulfil the same function in the education of a child.

Although animal stories are a rather realistic portrait of human society, the fact that animals assume distinct personal traits, that they speak, think and act like human beings, places animal fables on the level of the symbolic and the fantastic. According to Scheub (1975:75), the folktale is the meeting point of two worlds: the real or human world and the praeternatural world. These two worlds interact quite easily, and seemingly in a natural way, in a tale. This fact is, in itself, witness to the 'imaginative energy' which is required to take part in a folktale production.

Human beings interacting with animals or monsters often remain flat and negative characters because they are unable to make use of their imaginative powers to resolve an unpleasant situation, or to outwit the trickster, or to respond boldly to an unusual situation. On the other hand, those who are able to use their powers and to think clearly keep themselves a step ahead of even the smartest izimu or of any other obstacle, as is the case in Izimuzimu nentombazana (4:93) and other amazimu stories; or in uNanana Boselesele (2:137), where Nanana outwits and eventually destroys the all-powerful Sondonzima.

The performer of an inganekwane needs to constantly exercise her imagination in using the traditional material supplied by tradition in order to re-shape and re-create a story with ancient motifs and episodes; a story which must be acceptable to the present audience and in a given situation.

Above all, the folktale art is a constant exercise of the

faculty of imagination not only because it vividly
represents motifs and characters through mime, impersonation
and descriptive use of language, but especially because
it transports audience and performer in a fantastic world
where the normally observable rules of experience are
waived, and new rules, based on the freedom afforded by
the imagination, apply.

In the education of a child it is important to stimulate
his imaginative powers, to fill his mind with wonder about
himself and the surrounding world. Imaginative literature -
such as poetry or tales - fulfils this role and brings
about knowledge through discovery and revelation.

Durham states (1984:119):

> The poet's vision of the world and the intensity
> and vision of a very young child's imagination
> are one and the same thing. . . . The lives of
> both poets and children are fired by the imaginative
> energy of the delight, awe, reverence, empathy,
> fantasy, love, compassion - above all, an over-
> whelming sense of wonder and mystery.

Durham maintains that too much insistence on science early
in life is 'spiritually eroding' because it produces a loss
of imaginative excitement, thus shutting down   a very
important avenue for the stimulation of learning through
personal discovery. He quotes Coleridge who says that the
poet 'brings the whole soul into activity'; and John Stuart
Mill who believes imagination to be a power

> which enables us to conceive of the absent as if
> it were present, the imaginary as if it were real.

(Durham 1984:120)

D.H. Lawrence, also quoted by Durham (pg 121), states these
ideas even more forcefully when he says:

.

> The sheer delight of a child's apperception is
> based on wonder; and deny it as we may, knowledge
> and wonder counteract one another. So that, as we
> grow older, and become more familiar with phenomena,
> we become more contemptuous of them. . . . Now
> the great and fatal fruit of our civilization, which
> is a civilization based on knowledge and hostile to
> experience, is boredom. . . . Modern people are
> inwardly thoroughly bored. . . . They are bored
> because they experience nothing. And they experience
> nothing because the wonder has gone out of them.

Folktales fill the mind of both the audience and the performer
with this all important sense of the unusual, a sense of
wonder; they keep imagination active, alive and productive.

Giovanni Pascoli, an Italian literary critic and poet,
maintains that in every person there is 'un fanciullino', a
very small child, who is asleep, waiting to be awoken and
to be helped to grow. Pascoli's fanciullino is the capacity
to wonder, the energy of imagination, the need for day
dreaming; it is literary inspiration and a sense of
appreciation and expectation for what goes on beyond the
barrier of sense experience; it is the key which opens the
mind's eyes on the new and limitless horizons of the
fantastic.

If this is what poetry is able to do for a child, this is
also what folktales can do for him, because in a tale the
reality of life experiences becomes one with the fantastic
to form a new reality in which both audience and performer
are transported. Once there, there is no limit, no barrier,
to what may happen: a drowned girl becomes the bride of
the snake in a pool; a mountain springs up all of a sudden
to devour all the travellers and their cattle; a haven of
safety in a dark forest becomes the trap of a greedy izimu;
a frog inflates itself to be able to swallow a girl and to
return her to her parents. And the list could carry on
ad infinitum. The inganekwane, however, constantly keeps
in contact with the reality from which it springs: animals
and humans still remain endowed with their physical

characteristics, and ogres and amazimu still have some human
limitations, in spite of their unheard-of extraordinary
powers.

Durham (1984:122) warns against using children's literature
which only presents what is known: this only serves as a
reminder of previous experiences: it does not stimulate
the imagination towards new horizons and is thus anti-
educational.

> The wealth of traditional material is being crowded
> out by a myriad of books dealing with children's
> everyday lives and their domestic surroundings.
> This kind of material is anti-imaginative.
>
> . . . No, we must use literature so that young
> children experience the "very culture of the
> feelings" (Wordworth's poetry described by John
> Stuart Mill), so that woven into the texture of
> their lives is the compassion, reverence, tragedy
> and wonder of the world.

It seems to me that traditional Zulu education, based to a
large extent on izinganekwane, used once to fulfil this
task admirably, while also integrating the children in their
social and material milieu.

4.4.2   Folktales as a means of Social and Moral Education

Harold Scheub (1970:119) says:

> The ntsomi is the storehouse of knowledge of Xhosa
> societies, the means whereby the wisdom of the past
> is remembered and transmitted through the generations,
> an image of private conduct and public morality, a
> dramatization of values, an externalization of the
> Xhosa world-view. This ancient wisdom is communicated
> in an artistically pleasing manner.

In folktales we are not dealing with a systematic exposition
of dogma, nor with an organized explanation of morality or
knowledge, but with artistic productions which mirror the
'ancient wisdom' of a nation. In fact, social and moral

values are taught and absorbed through an emotional
involvement in the performance.

4.4.2.1   Moral Directives in Folktales

Since IGODA is a series of school readers, the didactic
aspect of a tale is sometimes made explicit either in the
body of the tale or at the end of a performance.

In IGODA 1:43, at the end of Igundwane Elingezwa one of the
children remarks:

> "Oh, granny, your story was lovely. I was nearly
> crying. I felt sorry for the little mouse."
>
> Grandmother answered:. "Indeed, my grandchildren,
> it is bad not to obey. The little mouse met death
> because it did not obey."

We notice here both the audience's emotional involvement
and the explicit reiteration of the moral of the tale.

In two more stories in IGODA 1 similar dialogues develop
which prompt the explicit statement of the moral.

At the end of Yazilaya Imbila (1:77) one of the children
asks:

> "Granny, is it from this story that comes the
> proverb which says: The rock-rabbit has no tail
> because he sent for it?"
>
> "Yes, my child, it comes from this story. Indeed,
> it is a bad habit to send people. A person must
> do things by himself. The rock-rabbit knows this
> now: he has learned it the hard way."

At the end of uChakijana nebhubesi (1:138) a child asks:

> "Granny, why did Chakijana say that the stomach of
> a traveller is not so big?"
>
> Grandmother answered: "It is an idiomatic expression
> of our language. If a traveller comes, he must be
> fed. He is satisfied even if he is given just a

small thing. He is not a chooser: he eats and
is satisfied with whatever he is offered, even
if small. For this reason we say that his stomach
is not so big. To say that it is not so big means
that it is small."

Thoko went on: "This is why mother gives food to
any traveller, then?"

Granny answered: "Yes, your mother knows the
custom. This is a good custom of ours."

At the end of uMaqinase (2:10) the headmaster says:

"Well, we do not want pupils like Maqinase in this
school!"

Often, however, the moral of the story need not be elicited
so clearly: it is clear from the events, or it is built
into the structure of the narration, especially when an
episode is compared with another, or a character with
another, as it happens in stories which contain what Scheub
(1971) graphically calls parellel images.

uMamba kaMaquba (2:79) is a case in point.   The contrast
between the older and the younger girl, their different
responses and attitudes to the elderly and the handicapped,
to authority and to a husband, all lead to either a reward,
for acts and attitudes which are considered right, or to
punishment for those considered wrong. The audience is
taught and learns through emotional identification with the
characters rather than through a final moral statement,
which, in this case, would be superfluous. The tale, in
fact, constitutes a moral statement in itself.

Most of the human stories (summarized on pp 54-63) arise
from a wrong which must be put right, often from a break in
human relationships, or in the harmony of the community
which must be re-established. It seems to me that the very
rhythm of the performance, created and kept alive by the
audience's choral repetition of the core-refrain, is a

symbolic and tangible image of the re-establishment of equilibrium, as well as the insistent and gradual revelation of theme. Scheub states:

> Songs and chants recapitulate actions, precipitate
> crises, and reveal extreme emotions. In most
> cases, they are introduced at key moments in the
> performances, and, as with other elements of ntsomi
> production, their central thematic function is to
> reveal rather than state emotions and actions.
>
> (Scheub 1975:54)

4.4.2.2 Themes in Folktales

In addition to the explicit or implicit revelation of the moral by means of statements and of contrasts, the under- lying theme of a tale can be gauged from the presence of some characters or by other narrative elements.

Scheub explains (1975:75) that an inganekwane performance is the meeting point of two parallel worlds: the real and the fantastic. When representatives of the fantastic world enter the world of human experience, they may act either as helpers in re-establishing the disrupted harmony, or as destroyers of this harmony and breakers of human relationships.

> The Zim is the fallen angel of the ntsomi tradition.
> . . . It is stupid, wholly a victim of its
> desires. It loves the smell of human flesh and
> likes nothing better than to devour children (its
> appetite extends, of course, to adults and animals
> as well).
>
> (Scheub 1975:77 & 78)

This wholly negative quality of 'zim-ness' can, however, be objectified by a cannibal as well as by other protagonists which appear as either constantly or occasionally evil. Evil can be found on two levels: the literal and the fantastic. In a similar way, positive ideals and values

can be found on the same two levels and have as many
expressions as the concept and representation of evil.

Some animals are beneficial, like the ox and the dove,
while others are ambivalent, like the snake which can be
a terrible killer or a kind healer, or a bird which may
bring good tidings or instigate an evil action.

This ambivalence is also reflected in the literal level
by relationships within a family. Not even parents are,
in their relationship with their children, fixed characters
in the oral tradition. Some are good, while others are
extremely evil to their children (Inhliziyo yoMthakathi,
4:64, where the mother is prepared to give up her child's
life to save her own). Siblings can be good to each other
(Izimuzimu nentombazana, 4:93); or envious and nasty to
one another (uMamba kaMaquba, 2:79).

> The fantastic level is largely subsumed in those
> performances in which man himself executes positive
> actions, the literal level now revealing theme.
>
> . . . The storyteller never preaches, but she
> always deals with this essentially moral problem
> of the good in man and his potential for evil.

<div align="right">(Scheub 1975:81 & 82)</div>

Scheub also points out that, in the same way as plot is
revealed by the whole performance, moving as it does from
conflict to resolution, so too is theme. One must not stop
to consider just one episode, one image, because the same
image may be used in many other contexts and combinations.
Theme is the considered line of thought behind the whole
production. Scheub seems to suggest that, in addition to
an overall theme for each performance, one should seek to
understand the general theme of the whole folktale production
and tradition.

Ntsomi images reflect a need for an ideal, ordered
society. Thematically, adherence to custom is
emphasized as the most effective means of ensuring
the continued equilibrium of the human community;
stylistically, animals and fabulous images are
worked into the plots to communicate vividly such
a harmonious or disharmonious society. . . .

Movement towards an ideal society forms the thematic
focus of the narratives, and cultural values are
discovered in the mechanisms applied by individuals
and the society as they attempt to duplicate the
natural harmony.

(Scheub 1975:84)

Cope (1978:196) has this to say about theme:

The traditional theme of the human stories is the
threat to security, the presence of evil in the
world, and the desire for harmonious relations
within society and between man and nature. The
nature-culture polarity is expressed in the human
stories, but not in the animal stories. The
representation of humans by animals may seem to
be the expression of this theme, but the animal
stories deal only with human nature, and they are
far less complex in structure. The individual
theme may be the greed of a father, the fear of
a mother, the terror of children captured by
cannibals.

In this thesis I shall deal with particular themes when I
present the translation, analysis and comments of some chosen
folktales in the IGODA series.

CHAPTER 5

A STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF FOLKTALES IN IGODA

In 2.3 above I stated that I intended studying the structure
of traditional folktales in IGODA according to the principles
of structural analysis as advocated by the Russian scholar
Vladimir Propp and the American folklorist Alan Dundes.
This morphological approach is integrated by the semantic
concepts exposed by Harold Scheub and with the synthesis of
most current theories as proposed by Trevor Cope. In this
chapter I also make extensive use of ideas and analytical
methods used by Marivate for the Tsonga folktale and by
Marguerite Oosthuizen for the Zulu folktale.

5.1   Basic Terminology

Cope (1978:188) suggests that a folktale should be analysed
both horizontally (= syntagmatically) and vertically (= pa-
radygmatically). Horizontal analysis is concerned with the
succession of events and with the determination of structures,
that is of functions, function sequences and sequence combi-
nation, at the levels of motif, episode and narrative respec-
tively. Vertical or paradygmatic analysis instead is concerned
with the deeper meaning of the tale in terms of the Hegelian
principles of thesis, antithesis and synthesis as proposed
by Lévi-Strauss.

M. Oosthuizen (1977:113) suggests that the structural analysis
advocated by Propp-Dundes (= syntagmatic analysis) should be
substantiated or objectified by the semantic dimensions
advocated by Scheub in terms of core-images.

I intend to examine the terminology proposed by Propp-Dundes
and apply their morphological approach to a syntagmatic
analysis of traditional Zulu folktales found in IGODA. I
shall then examine Scheub's terminology and apply it to a
semantic analysis of the same folktales. I shall not apply
Lévi-Strauss' paradygmatic analytical methods.

5.1.1   Function

Function represents an action of a character, or of dramatis
personae - to use Propp's (1971) term - or a motif.
Function is the minimal structural unit of a tale. It is an
abstract concept which stands for a variety of actions by a
variety of characters, in the same way as morpheme is an ab-
stract concept standing for all the various morphemes in a
language. Dundes suggests the word motifeme in place of
function as more easily understandable in terms of the narra-
tive. I shall, normally, use the term function in this thesis.
I find, however, Dundes' concept of allomotif, a slightly
different, and often parallel, manifestation of the same function,
very helpful and useful.

According to Propp, functions are constant, invariable and
limited in number. Propp found 31 functions applicable to
the Russian folktale (32 if one accepts LACK as a complete
function); Dundes could only apply 8 to North American Indian
folktales; Oosthuizen proposes 15 for Zulu tales. Functions
must be ordered in a sequence. Dundes further explains
functions in terms of emic units, because they are constant
and invariable. A function is described by an abstract word,
such as villainy, flight, deceit, reward, etc..

A function is actualized or represented by terms: these are
the etic units which are determined by tradition and chosen
by the individual narrator. For example, the function of
VILLAINY is actualized, in Russian folktales, by ogres,
monsters, humans or animals; in Zulu tales it can be repre-
sented by the izimu (cannibal), or by an animal, or by a
trickster, which could in turn be actualized by Hlakanyana or
Chakide or Chakijana or another animal or even a human being.

5.1.2   Function Sequence

Several functions constantly grouped together, so that one does
not normally appear without the other, constitute a function

formula. Example: DECEIT + DECEPTION. A function sequence
is a more loose grouping of functions which do normally
appear together but in which one or more functions may at
times be absent.

One or more function sequences constitute a move, that is
a narrative section more or less complete in itself, although
it may be used as part of a wider narrative by the performer.
A tale may thus consist of one or more moves.

Not all functions are present in every tale, but it is impor-
tant to note that their order of appearance is constant and
irreversible. Propp numbered his functions progressively,
from 1 to 31. Should a move show, for example, functions
number 1, 3, 7, 2, 4, 5, it would mean that that move is
made up of two function sequences, namely (1 + 3 + 7) +
(2 + 4 + 5).

The Zulu function sequence is, however, deceptive, because
there seems to be less complexity than in the Russian tale
as regards functions, but a greater complexity as regards
sequences. In fact, as it will become clearer in the course
of this analysis, in Zulu there exist some 'free' functions,
which can be inserted at different stages of the narrative,
and sometimes a principal function sequence may contain,
embedded, one or more subordinate sequences.

The narrative semantic content of a tale is constituted by
what Harold Scheub (1975) calls a core-image. Core-images
consist of clusters of details which relate to content.
They are chosen by the storyteller from the traditional
repertory of the inganekwane tradition. Core-images also
have a certain structural significance because they determine
the outline of the story.

5.2 Zulu Functions and Sequences

5.2.1 Cope's Suggestions

A.T.Cope (1978:196) points out that the number of functions
necessary to analyse a Zulu folktale has yet to be determined,
since folktales reflect cultural concerns. Thus functions
applicable to a certain culture do not necessarily apply to
another. He gives the example of the FALSE FRIENDSHIP func-
tion which is, according to him, always slanted in the
context of a trickster story.

> In Zulu folktales, the false friendship between the
> hyena and the jackal is different from the false
> friendship between the trickster and his victims.
> The hyena and the jackal make a contract to hunt together,
> and although they constantly violate it and deceive
> one another, they constantly renew it in the hope of
> future benefit. ... On the other hand, the trickster
> contract is always slanted at the outset, for the
> trickster's intention is clear, and the victim is
> completely innocent. The violation is a cruel fraud
> and the deception a heartless gloat.
>
> (Cope 1978:196)

He suggests to either recognize 'contract' and 'trickster
contract' as two different functions, or to treat one as the
etic manifestation of the other, or, in Dundes' terms, as
allomotifs. Furthermore, Cope recognizes the fact that,
in Zulu folktales, functions mostly appear as parts of a
sequence or of a function formula; it would therefore be
necessary to look into the configuration of these sequences
and formulas rather than into the nature of every single
function.

> The role of oral formulas is of paramount importance
> in the composition and performance of Zulu izibongo
> and izinganekwane, and we should direct our criticism
> of oral literature to the effectiveness with which they
> are used.
>
> (Cope 1978:199)

Cope then presents a table of suggested sequences and
functions.

Table 5.1

SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR ZULU FUNCTIONS AND SEQUENCES

Sequences	Functions
obedience:	Command + obedience + consequence
violation:	Interdiction + violation + consequence
chase:	Flight + pursuit + ploy + escape
contrary result:	Boast + challenge + deception + defeat (e.g. How the tortoise won the race)
false friendship:	Contract + violation + deception + conseq. (e.g. Why the hyrax has no tail)
trickster false friendship:	Trickster contract + fraud + gloat + triumph

(Cope 1978:197)

5.2.2   Oosthuizen's Suggestions

Marguerite Oosthuizen suggests her own list of functions
and a number of function formulas for the Zulu inganekwane.
First of all, she introduces the useful concept of 'free'
functions and 'free' formulas. A 'free' function is one
which may be at a fixed place in a sequence or it may appear
at other places; a 'free' formula may appear at different
stages of a function sequence, or at different places in the
narrative, often embedded in another sequence.

She then proposes the adoption of INITIAL SITUATION as a
fully-fledged (often free) function, because of its relevance
in Zulu tales. I concur with her as regards Initial Situation
as a distinct free function because it mostly underlines a
possible conflict situation or a disequilibrium from which
the tale develops towards its crisis and the final resolution
or the re-establishment of equilibrium. Oosthuizen also
maintains that the function sequence COMMAND + OBEDIENCE +
CONSEQUENCE can be considered an alternative of INTERDICTION
+ VIOLATION + CONSEQUENCE because of the inherent similarities
between the two formulas. I also concur with her on this
point: Interdiction is in fact a negative of Command,

and Violation is the opposite of Obedience; therefore there
is a justification for accepting the two formulas as differ-
ent manifestations of the same function sequence, and
Command as an allomotif of Interdiction and Obedience as an
allomotif of Violation.

Oosthuizen also adopts ESCAPE/RESCUE as alternative manifesta-
tions of the same function, or as allomotifs, and explains
that Rescue is brought about by external intervention, while
Escape is self-effected. It will become clear later that
Escape is via Ploy and shows the intrinsic superiority of the
escapee. Dundes' Attempted Escape is called FLIGHT by both
Cope and Oosthuizen. Here follows Oosthuizen's function list.

Table 5.2

THE FUNCTIONS APPLICABLE TO THE ZULU INGANEKWANE

1.   Initial Situation
2.   ⌈Lack
3.   ⌊Lack Liquidated
4.   ⌈Command / Interdiction
5. |Obedience / Violation
6.   ⌊Consequence
7.   ⌈Flight
8. |Pursuit
9.   ⌊Escape / Rescue
10.   ⌈Unrecognized Arrival
11.   ⌊Recognition of Hero
12.   ⌈Villain Exposed
13.   ⌊Villain Punished
      (Lack + Lack Liquidated - alternative position)
14.   ⌈Deceit   (This is a free formula, applicable at
15.   ⌊Deception   various stages of different sequences)
      (Square brackets define function formulas and sequences)

(Oosthuizen 1977:98)

Dundes (1965) speaks of greater <u>motifemic depth</u> in Russian folktales than in North-American Indian tales. Cope and Oosthuizen express the opinion that, although Zulu folktales do not present a great variety of functions (which would constitute '<u>functional depth</u>' or '<u>motifemic depth</u>'), they show a great complexity at sequence level, which gives them '<u>sequential depth</u>'. Oosthuizen graphically represents this concept by her analysis of the folktales in the Stuart collection according to their <u>Principal and Subordinate Function Sequences</u> (Oosthuizen 1977:105).

5.2.3   Functions and Sequences in IGODA

When I compare Cope's and Oosthuizen's function lists with Propp's (1971: Ch. 3), I find that the folktales in IGODA present an even greater number of functions than either Cope or Oosthuizen suggested. Here are some examples:

(a) <u>Absentation</u>: 'One member of the family absents himself from home. Absentation can be physical or otherwise.' In <u>Igundwane Elingezwa</u> (1:39) and <u>uMaqinase</u> (2:10) the mother is absent because she is asleep. In <u>uNkombose noSihlangusabayeni</u> (2:33) the mother goes away after giving a command. In <u>Inyoka Enamakhanda Ayisikhombisa</u> (2:54) mother goes out after giving an <u>Interdiction</u>: "Do not open that pot!". In <u>uMkhwekazi namasi</u> (2:67) the <u>Interdiction</u> is culture-bound: "Do not eat maas in the house of your son-in-law!"; <u>Absentation</u> is represented by the son-in-law and his wife going out to the fields.

(b) <u>Villainy</u>: 'The Villain causes harm or injury to a member of the family' (Propp 1971:30). This function is applicable to several <u>izimu</u> stories in IGODA. It may appear as a free function, found in different places and sequences.

(c) <u>Reward</u> / <u>Marriage</u>: 'The Hero is rewarded. The Hero is married and ascends the throne' (Propp 1971:63). <u>Reward</u> is present in several IGODA tales, often connected with the idea of <u>marriage</u>. The boy in <u>uMshayandlela</u> (2:14) is rewarded with his 'magic' bull, possibly with the view of starting his own herd for <u>lobola</u> payment.

In uMamba kaMaquba (2:79) the kind girl is rewarded with a
human husband. In uNanana Boselesele (2:137) the people
freed from Sondonzima give Nanana cattle as a reward.
In uBhadazela noMningi (2:151) the hero is promised and given
the king's daughter in marriage as a reward for his heroic
deed.

TABLE 5.3

FUNCTIONS APPLICABLE TO FOLKTALES IN IGODA
(Square brackets indicate function sequences)

Sequences	Functions
	1. Initial Situation
Lack	2. Lack
	3. Lack Liquidated
Violation/	4. Absentation
Obedience	5. Interdiction/Command
	6. Violation/Obedience
	7. Consequence
Chase	8. Villainy
	9. Flight
	10. Pursuit
	11. Capture
	12. Delay/Ploy
	13. Escape/Rescue
Contrary Result/	14. Challenge/Contract/Trickster Contr.
False Friendship/	15. Deceit/Violation
Trickster False Friendship	16. Deception/Fraud
	17. Defeat/Discovery
	18. Gloat
	19. Triumph/Boast
Return	20. Unrecognized Arrival
	21. Recognition of Hero
Villain's End	22. Villain Exposed
	23. Villain Punished
Reward	24. Reward/Marriage

Remarks

1. In Cope's <u>Chase Sequence</u> it seems to me that <u>Delay</u>
(or <u>Delay Tactics</u>) should be considered as an allomotif
of <u>Ploy</u>.

<u>Delay</u> is normally realized as

<u>Deceit + Deception + Consequence</u>

as it happens in <u>izimu</u> chase episodes such as the one in
Amantombazana Nezimu (2:114) in which an old woman cuts
the girls' hair to use it to deceive the pursuing <u>izimu</u>.
When the <u>izimu</u> calls the girls, the hair answers in one
place (Deceit); the <u>izimu</u> runs there (Deception) and finds
nothing. The 'talking hair' trick is widely used in chase
sequences. Another <u>Delay</u> trick is to send the <u>izimu</u> for
water with a leaking calabash, or simply to send him to wash
at a river. In u<u>N</u>okuthula (2:45) the girl throws an egg,
a stick and a stone on the road to produce obstacles to
delay her pursuing <u>izimu</u> mother. Bhadazela (2:151) instead
uses various ploys to escape from the pursuing snake.
The <u>Delay/Ploy</u> function can be repeated several times in the
same move, as it happens in the three stories I have just
quoted. It appears as an optional function in the sequence

$$\text{Flight + Pursuit} \mp \underline{/(\text{Delay/Ploy}) \times n/} + \text{Escape/Rescue}$$

(Note: $\mp$ means 'optional'; $\underline{x\ n}$ means 'repeated several times')

In a <u>Trickster Chase</u> sequence, however, such as

$$\text{Flight + Pursuit} \mp \text{Capture} \mp \text{Delay/Ploy} + \text{Escape}$$

it must be specified that IF Capture THEN Delay/Ploy: if the
trickster is captured the Delay/Ploy function is compulsory.
<u>Escape</u> is self-effected, while <u>Rescue</u> is through the interven-
tion of a third party or of a mediator. <u>Escape</u> is always
actualized via <u>Ploy</u>, and this shows the intrinsic superiority
of the escapee over the pursuer.

2. The sequence <u>Contrary Result</u> suggested by Cope could be
made to include also <u>False Friendship</u> and <u>Trickster False</u>
<u>Friendship</u> as alternatives. If this is acceptable, then

Cope's Boast should rather be considered as Initial Situation in the tale "How the Tortoise won the Race". Challenge could be understood as allomotif of Contract, of which Trickster Contract could be another allomotif. In the same way Violation (of Contract) can be considered an allomotif of Deceit, while Fraud can be taken as allomotif of Deception.

Discovery can also be considered as allomotif of Defeat, conditioned by the trickster environment, or Trickster Contract environment. If the trick is discovered a Chase Sequence follows, embedded in the principal Trickster Contract sequence. In fact the following sequence should be formulated:

Trickster Contr. + Viol. + Fraud + Discovery + Flight
+ Pursuit $\mp$ /Capture/Defeat +(Delay/Ploy)x n7 +Escape/Rescue

3. Triumph/Boast: this function normally appears at the end of a trickster sequence. The trickster's victory can be manifested by his Boast (when it is he himself praising his dubious achievements) or simply by Triumph when it is the situation itself that shows what he has achieved. Gloat is only different from Boast/Triumph if linked to trickster's enjoyment of victim's discomfort. Furthermore, Gloat is linked to Discovery: IF Discovery THEN Gloat. Example: in Wangiweza Phela (2:86) in both moves there appears Gloat (Chakijana enjoys mother's discomfort at having eaten her own children and at having saved him, Chakijana). Triumph is revealed by the mother's absolute helplessness in the situation.

4. Although not shown in my table 5.3, I accept Oosthuizen's idea that Deceit + Deception is a free formula which can be found at different stages of the narrative, and is often embedded in another sequence. This is one exemplification of the sequential depth of Zulu folktales.

5. The functions Lack Liquidated and Consequence can be found either in a fixed order (as shown in the table) or at other stages of the narrative. They can therefore be considered either fixed or free functions.

5.2.4   Description of Some Zulu Functions and Sequences

Cope observes that functions are culturally determined
and conditioned.

> The Herskovitses in their study of Dahomean Narrative
> (1958) use the title of False Friendship to classify
> and describe a number of morality tales, hunter stories
> and trickster stories, and Dundes (1971) notes that
> it is a common theme throughout Africa.   Folktales
> reflect cultural concerns. Beidelman (1961, 1963) has
> shown how Kaguru tales reflect the concerns of the
> conflicts of matrilineal relations, and in False Friend-
> ship we see the reflection of the concern of the
> obligations of friendship.
> <div align="right">(Cope 1978:196)</div>

1.   Initial Situation

The initial paragraph of a story or of a new move normally
depicts a situation with its inbuilt elements of crisis or
the possible disequilibrium. In fact, if everything was
smooth sailing, there would be no crisis and no story.
The element of crisis must be found in the possibility of
a break in the existing harmony. For example: "A mother
mouse had four children. One of them was stubborn and
rather disobedient." (1:40). Or "A mother had two daughters"
(2:45 & al.): jealousy between the daughters, competition
for the mother's love and attention, preferential treatment
for one daughter, are all possible starting points for a
story. Human faults, especially as they reflect on society,
are often outlined in the initial situation, and give rise
to the story.

Nyembezi does not present any 'jealousy between co-wives'
kind of story, although there are many in Zulu, presumably
because of the Christian approach to school education.
Initial Situation may appear at the beginning of each move.

2.   Lack + Lack Liquidated

Lack is often the motivation and starting point of a tale,
as it represents an inbalance which must be rectified.

<u>Lack</u> can take numerous forms and be objectified by many different situations. Examples from IGODA:

(a) "The king of a certain country had died and there was no fat of the liver of a water-dragon to strengthen the new one." (2:151)

(b) "Chakijana was hungry" (1:134)

(c) "A woman had ten babies and no nursemaid" (2:86)

(d) "The girl was not allowed to return home" (2:79)

(e) "The hornless ox looked as if it was to give birth any moment, but it never gave birth" (4:114)

<u>Lack Liquidated</u> may appear immediately after the function <u>Lack</u>, in which case there is hardly any story and the main story line consists of a different function sequence. Example: "An old woman was feeling lonely living alone (L); she went to live with her daughter and son-in-law" (L.L.) (2:67). Alternatively <u>Lack Liquidated</u> may come only at the end of the first move or even towards the end of the story. Other sequences can and are often embedded in this function formula (L + LL). In fact at times it is like a wide frame for the entire tale, as is the case in <u>uBhadazela noMningi</u> (2:151)

3.   <u>Absentation</u> + <u>Interdiction</u> + <u>Violation</u> + <u>Consequence</u>
I gave examples of Absentation (on its own) when I introduced this function in 5.2.3 above. Absentation is often followed by <u>Interdiction</u> which is going to be violated (<u>Violation</u>) and thus produce a <u>Consequence</u>. Examples of this sequence:

(a) A mother <u>umthakathi</u> tells her children not to interfere with a certain pot (where she keeps a seven-headed snake) during her absence. The children violate the interdiction, and the snake appears and causes trouble (Consequence).

(b) A mother, about to go out, tells her two girls to watch over her mealies. The girls go away to play and the fowls eat the mealies; mother is rightly furious at her return (2:33).

Absentation may not be physical, as is the case in <u>uMaqinase</u> (2:10) where the mother simply falls asleep. Interdiction may not be clearly expressed, but understood, especially if

it consists of a cultural element. Examples:
(a) Do not eat maas at your son-in-law's (2:67)
(b) Do not steal property entrusted to you (2:72)

A positive alternative or allomotif of Interdiction is
Command, and of Violation is Obedience. This alternative
can be expressed in this way:
Abs. + (Inter. + Viol. + Cons.) / (Comm. + Obed. + Cons.).
A command that is obeyed does not normally give rise to a
story, except when it is obeyed under duress or in very
difficult circumstances. Examples:
(a) uBhadazela noMningi (2:151): the Hero must conquer a
multi-headed snake in order to acquire the fat of the liver
of a water dragon for the king's anointment.
(b) In Umkhwekazi namasi (2:67) the old lady is sent to
fetch water from a frogless river.
(c) In uMamba kaMaquba (2:79) the girls must help repugnant
people if they want to be rewarded. The first one obeys and
is finally rewarded, the second girl violates the command
as is finally punished.

Absentation may not be always present in this sequence, and
Consequence may appear after some other sequence has been
introduced and embedded in the main sequence.
The two animal stories Igundwane Elingezwa (1:34) and
uMaqinase (2:10) contain this sequence expressed by
        Absentation + Interdiction + Violation + Consequence.

4.   Chase Sequence

This sequence is expressed by

Villainy + Flight + Pursuit + Capture + Ploy/Delay +Escape/Rescue

I see the difference between Villainy and Capture in this
way: Villainy is perpetrated on an innocent victim and it gives
rise to a chase sequence by a third party (an agent or a
mediator) ending in Rescue through a Ploy.
Capture is perpetrated on the villain or the trickster.

If it is a simple villain - not the trickster - then it is
equivalent to <u>Defeat</u>. If the captured character is the
trickster, then Capture must be followed by Ploy (compulsory
function here) and end with Escape.

An example of this sequence is <u>Izimuzimu Nentombazana</u> (4:93),
(Zulu version)   beginning at 4:99:
A girl hides in a strongly built house in a forest (Flight
understood?) and opens only to her mother. An <u>izimu</u> tries
to capture her by changing his voice (Ploy) and eventually
does capture her (Villainy), and puts her in a bag, to serve
her as a dinner to his family and friends. Now the mediators
(uncle and mother of the girl) intervene. The <u>izimu</u> flees
to his house (New Flight - pursuer becomes the pursued) and
the mediators follow him (Pursuit): they exchange the girl
in the bag with bees and a dog (Ploy) and rescue (Rescue) the
girl. A new chase sequence follows: The <u>izimu</u> flees (Flight)
followed by dog and bees (Pursuit); he throws himself into
a muddy pond, head first, to escape the bees (Ploy) but he
suffocates and dies there (Defeat). The introduction of a
third party causes the pursuer to become the pursued, and
<u>Flight + Pursuit</u> becomes an embedded sequence with reverse
parallelism conditioned by the introduction of a third party.
Villainy always gives rise to a chase sequence, but not every
chase sequence is caused by Villainy. In the same way, Capture
is always followed by Ploy, but not every Ploy is preceded by
Capture.

In a trickster sequence (Trickster False Friendship sequence)
a chase sequence is embedded in the function <u>Discovery</u>, or,
we may say, is compulsory after this function, and, if there
is the Capture function, then Ploy (the trickster's trick to
free himself) must follow. In <u>uNogwaja ubulala Izingonyama</u>
(4:55) the last lion dicovers the trickster's fraud (Discovery)
and chases the hare who flees into a cave (Flight + Pursuit).
The cave, however, has two openings, a big one and a small one
(Ploy); the lion is trapped inside and killed by a rock
burst while the hare escapes. (Capture + Ploy +Escape + Triumph).

<u>Delay</u> is a determined effort at deceiving the pursuer, often
through the use of magic objects (this is why it can also be
called Delay Tactics), as is the case in <u>uNokuthula</u> (2:45)
where the girl scatters magic objects on the road to delay
her cannibalistic mother. Also <u>Phoshozwayo</u> (4:122) throws
magic eggs on the road to delay the pursuing giant by the
creation of seemingly unsurmountable obstacles.
<u>Delay/Ploy</u> can be repeated several times. It is normally
realized as <u>Deceit + Deception</u>, a free formula which can be
embedded in different sequences of the narrative.

<u>Escape/Rescue</u> is represented by either a self-effected
liberation (Escape) or a liberation gained with the help
of a third party (necessary environment for Rescue). As
mentioned before, Escape is normally brought about by means of
Ploy/Delay and denotes the superiority of the escapee over
the pursuer. In <u>uBuhlaluse beNkosi</u> (2:110) Buhaluse is freed
by a woodcutter from the cave in which she has been buried
by her envious companions (Rescue). In <u>uMshayandlela</u> (2:14)
the <u>amazimu</u> take the boy and his herd (Villainy); he
eventually flees from them (Flight); they follow him (Pursuit);
he plays on them the trick of the rope which he releases in
the middle of the river (Ploy) and finally escapes (Escape).

5. False Friendship Sequence

I have explained above (5.2.3 Remarks 2 and 3) my reasons
for wanting to amalgamate three of Cope's (1978) sequences
in this one sequence. I only need to add here that <u>Defeat</u>
corresponds to Propp's <u>Victory</u> function in which the villain
is defeated. In a trickster sequence, however, it is realized
as <u>Discovery</u> and is followed by a chase sequence, and finally
by <u>Escape</u> and <u>Gloat</u> (Trickster's enjoyment of victim's discom-
fort) and/or by <u>Boast</u> (Trickster boasts of his achievements)
or <u>Triumph</u> (not the trickster, but the situation shows his
victory).

In <u>uChakijana neBhubesi</u> (1:134) Chakijana agrees to help
the mighty lion thatch his house (Trickster Contract); he
then ties the lion's tail to the house central pole (Fraud),
eats all the lion's meat in full view of the powerless lion
(Gloat) and leaves the lion to die on the roof (Triumph).
In <u>Wangiweza Phela</u> (2:86) Gloat is expressed by the trickster's
cruel words "You ate your children indeed! You ate your
children indeed!". Boast is expressed by Chakijana's final
words "<u>Ngcingci, wangiweza naphela</u>!" after having been thrown
to the safety of the other side of the river by his very
victim and pursuer.

The Contrary Result sequence can be illustrated by some of
<u>Phoshozwayo</u>'s adventures (4:122). The giant challenges him
to plant, reap, crush sorghum and make bread with it in one
day (Challenge); Phoshozwayo cannot, but Shivane does it
for him with a magic formula (Deception) and Phoshozwayo wins
the challenge and defeats the giant's aims (Defeat). This
sequence is repeated a few times, with different daunting
tasks which Phoshozwayo always overcomes with Shivane's magic
help.

6.   <u>Return</u>

The formula <u>Unrecognized Arrival + Recognition of the Hero</u>
does not seem very frequent in traditional Zulu folktales,
but it is found nevertheless - sometimes only understood -
and is mostly connected with <u>Reward/Marriage</u>.

In <u>Abantwana Bensizwakazi</u> (4:114) the children return home
at night dressed with blankets made of the colourful skin
of the water-dragon which they have conquered. At first
they are thought to be wild animals (Unrecognized Arrival),
then they are finally recognized through the mediation of
the hornless ox their mother (Recognition of the Hero).
They are taken in triumph to the chief, and the girl is

given in marriage to the chief's son while the boy is made
chief of another tribe (Hero weds and ascends the throne).

In Phoshozwayo (4:122) this sequence is repeated twice.
First Phoshozwayo returns with the magic feather which he
has snatched from the giant Nqaba: he is adopted by the king
and eventually ascends the throne. In the second instance
his helpers Shivane and Nqulwini arrive in the form of a
horse which only eats cooked food (Unrecognized Arrival).
When the horse is eventually killed, these two come out in
their youth and beauty (Recognition). Shivane becomes
Phoshozwayo's wife (Marriage) and Nqulwini is given a big
house and a lot of cattle (Reward).

In uBhadazela noMningi (2:151) this sequence forms a sort
of frame for the whole story. When Bhadazela goes to the
royal palace to offer his services, he is teased and laughed
at by the people because he seems young, frail and inexperienced
(Unrecognized Arrival). After performing his heroic deed
of killing Mningi he returns to the palace in triumph
(Recognition) and is given the king's daughter in marriage
as a reward (Reward/Marriage).

In uBuhlaluse beNkosi (2:110) the girl is first discovered
by a woodcutter buried in an ochre pit (Unrecognized Arrival).
Recognition happens when the chief's men present her to her
tormentors during a party. In this story the formula is
followed by that of Villain Exposed (the girls accuse each
other of burying Buhlaluse) and Villain Punished (all the
bad girls are put to death).

7.   Villain's End

This function formula is expressed by Villain Exposed +
Villain Punished. It is quite common in Zulu folktales.
I have just quoted the example in uBuhlaluse beNkosi.
In uMkhwekazi namasi (2:67) this formula constitutes the
ending of the first move: the old lady is discovered as

the maas thief and is punished by being assigned the nearly
impossible task of getting water from a frogless river.
In the animal stories uMaqinase (2:10) and Igundwane Elingezwa
(1:34) the culprits are discovered and punished: the little
mouse falls prey of a cat, and Maqinase is reprimanded by a
frog, a tortoise and an ass, while being chased and bitten by
a dog, and is finally castigated also by his mother.
In trickster stories the trickster is often exposed (Discovery),
but he always manages to escape.

5.2.5 Combinations of Zulu Functions and Sequences

Junod, quoted by Marivate (1973:93), refers to Tsonga tales
as "a plastic matter unconsciously undergoing constant and
extensive modifications in the hands of storytellers."
Wright, also quoted by Marivate in the same place, has this
to say about Lango tales:

> In many folktales several incidents and episodes,
> each of which constitutes a detachable motif, are
> strung together to form a narrative. The number
> of possible combinations of incidents in a narrative
> is large, and they vary with the skill of the
> story-teller.

Cope also says:

> Whereas Russian fairytales are apparently rigidly
> ordered throughout, Zulu folktales are not.
> The tradition orders the sequence of functions at
> the episode level, but it is the storyteller who
> determines the combination of sequences at the
> narrative level, and this is where the art of com-
> position mainly lies. ... There is no limit to
> the variety of combinations, which is the sphere of
> individual creativity.
>
> (Cope 1978:193)

In the second of Cope's tables which I have reproduced in
2.2.2.2.3, The Constituent Structure of the Folktale, Cope
maintains that:

(a) Tradition supplies the constituents of function in
     the feature mode at motif level; and of order of

        functions in the distribution mode, and of sequence
        in the feature mode, at episode level; while

(b)   the performer's artistic creaveity is responsible
        for the etic representation of terms, sequence and
        order of sequences, as well as for the combination
        at the narrative level.

It is therefore clear that the surface structure of a tale
presents a complex mixture of function formulas, function
sequences and free formulas which give the Zulu tale both
variety and depth.

5.2.6   Embedding and Sequential Depth

In the previous pages I have often mentioned the terms
'embedding' or 'embedded formula'. I have also used the
expression 'sequential depth'.

Marivate (1973:104) speaks of _motifemic depth_ in terms of
the number of functions (=motifemes) used to express a
sequence. He also shows how _Lack + Lack Liquidated_ may
contain, at times, another sequence as if embedded in it,
between the two functions. However he never mentions the
possibility of explaining this phenomenon as 'sequential
depth'.

Cope instead mentions, in my last quotation, the 'combina-
tion of sequences'. This cannot be simply understood as
placing one sequence after another: there must be some kind
of interweaving of sequences.

I understand _sequential depth_ as the number of sequences
employed to constitute a move. This concept, however,
does not stop at a linear level, but it goes into the
possibility of multi-layered depth, which I have expressed
up to now with the terms 'embedding' or 'embedded formula'.
It means that a single function may be further developed
by an entire sequence, which is thus 'embedded' in the function.

Table 5.4:

A Morphological Analysis of the folktale UMSHAYANDLELA
appears overleaf.

Table 5.4

U̲ ̲M̲ ̲S̲ ̲H̲ ̲A̲ ̲Y̲ ̲A̲ ̲N̲ ̲D̲ ̲L̲ ̲E̲ ̲L̲ ̲A̲

(Ibanga 2:14)

A MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

Principal Function Sequences	Subordinate Function Sequences	Story Line
M O V E 1		
Initial Situation		1. Amazimu take boy and his bull
[Command Obedience Consequence] x 4		2. Boy must sing refrain to get bull moving
		3. Bull agrees to be slaughtered
Villainy		4. Amazimu kill bull
M O V E 2		5. Amazimu wash at river
[Absentation Interdiction Violation →	[Command Deceit Deception Obedience	6. Boy to look after meat
		7. He sings to bull
		8. He tricks old woman
Consequence		9. Bull comes to life
M O V E 3		
[Flight Pursuit		10. Boy flees with herd
		11. Amazimu follow him
Ploy →	[False Contract 12.	Offers to help them cross river
	Deceit 13.	Makes and throws rope
	Fraud 14.	Releases rope
	Defeat/Triumph 15.	Amazimu drown in river
Escape		16. He escapes with herd
M O V E 4		
[Unrecognized Arrival Hero Recognized		17. Boy mourned
		18. Boy feasted
Reward/Marriage		19. Given the bull

Table 5.4 offers some examples of the concepts of embedding and of sequential depth:

(a) In the second move there are two levels of actions. The principal function sequence is represented by

<u>Absentation + Interdiction (understood) + Viol. + Cons.</u>

(where the understood Interdiction is the cannibals' command to the boy to look after the meat, not to let anything happen to it). Violation is represented by a sequence:

<u>Command + Deceit + Deception + Obedience</u>

which describes the boy's re-assembling the bull, and raising it to new life, while also tricking the old blind woman.

(b) In the third move, which is a chase sequence, the function Ploy is represented by a False Friendship sequence:

<u>False Contract + Deceit + Fraud + Defeat + Triumph.</u>

This sequence is embedded in the main sequence, and is the expression of the function PLOY.

(c) An <u>alternative analysis</u> of this folktale could be to consider <u>Villainy</u> as the closing of the first move and the beginning of the chase sequence. This interpretation would be represented as follows:

<u>MOVE 2</u>: <u>Vill. + /Abs. +Inter. + Viol. + (Com. + Deceit +</u>
    <u>+Decept. + Obed.) + Cons.7 + Flight + Pur. +</u>
    <u>+ Ploy + /False Contr. + Deceit + Fraud + Defeat7</u>
    <u>+ Escape.</u>

This representation would give us three layers of embedding, and even a fourth layer if we considered (<u>Dec. + Deception</u>) on its own, as another embedded formula, which it normally is.

M. Oosthuizen (1977:104) shows the application of the concept of sequential depth in her multi-layered analysis of tales in terms of <u>Principal</u> and <u>Subordinate Function Sequences</u>.

5.3   Moves

Propp describes the move in this way:

> Morphologically, a tale (skázka) may be termed a
> development proceeding from villainy (A) or lack (a),
> through intermediary functions, to marriage (W*),
> or to other functions employed as a dénouement.
> Terminal functions are at times a reward (F), a gain,
> or in general the liquidation of misfortune (K), and
> escape from pursuit (Rs), etc.   This type of develop-
> ment is termed by us a <u>move</u> (xod).   One tale may have
> several moves, and when analyzing a text, one must first
> of all determine the number of moves of which it
> consists.   One move may directly follow another, but
> they may also interweave: a development which has
> begun pauses, and a new move is inserted.

<div align="right">(Propp 1971:92)</div>

A function sequence does not necessarily constitute a move:
a move, in fact, may consist of a principal sequence and
of one or more subordinate sequences.   Theoretically, each
move could be used as the nucleus of a new story.   The
teller, however, often combines several moves in order to
produce an extensive and more fully structured narrative.
Different moves are connected by transitional details, such
as a journey (external link), or by details and hints which
the performer places at strategic points of the narrative
to be developed in the following moves (internal links).

When Propp says, in the above quotation, that

> One move may directly follow another, but they may
> also interweave: a development which has begun
> pauses, and a new move is inserted

Propp seems to suggest the concept of embedding one move
into another.   In fact in his Chapter III - <u>The Functions
of the Dramatis Personae</u> - he interrupts the progressive
numbering after function XXII (Rescue) to re-introduce a
sequence with functions VIII to XV <u>bis</u>.   After this 'embedded'
move he proceeds again with the normal numeration.   He
explains that a new Villainy commences a new story, and a
new move:

> A new villainous act creates a new 'move', and
> in this manner, sometimes a whole new series of
> tales combine into a single tale. (This) process
> of development ... does (however) constitute the
> continuation of a given tale, although it also
> creates a new move.
>
> (Propp 1971:59)

My remark in 5.2.6 (c) above regarding the possibility of
a different analysis of the tale uMshayandlela by embedding
the second move into a wider second move beginning with
Villainy is an illustration of Propp's remarks. Table 5.4
also illustrates how a tale can be analyzed in terms of
moves. Moves 1, 2 and 3 are considered principal moves
because they are necessary to the development of the story,
while move 4 is considered as a subordinate move because
it only adds a small final touch to the story which is
already complete, with the introduction of the return sequence
and of the Reward/Marriage final function.

5.4   Core-Images

An attractive term introduced by Scheub in all his publications
on Southern African folktales is that of core-images. He
presents them as the structural building blocks of an
inganekwane. Oosthuizen (1977:108) adopts the term 'core-
image' but interprets it as a semantic element because it
refers to the content rather than to the structure of the
folktale. Cope (1978) prefers to adopt the more general
terminology used by scholars such as Finnegan (1970) and
others, namely the terms Motif, Episode and Narrative,
which he takes as descriptions of different narrative levels.
He does, however, use also the term 'image', concurring with
Oosthuizen in referring it to semantic elements rather than
to structure.

I find it useful to refer to the semantic content of a tale
as core-image to describe a semantic unit of a folktale.

Says Oosthuizen (1977:109):

> The core-image (which is composed of a cluster of
> details) is the semantic input which is processed in
> performance according to a sequence of functions.
> Thus, the core-images are not structural units in the
> sense that functions and function sequences are
> structural units. The theory of Propp and Dundes
> accommodates more than adequately the purely
> structural features of the <u>inganekwane</u>, while the
> core-images relate to its semantic content. The
> core-image may be seen as the 'minimum free form'
> in <u>content</u>, and the details contained within it as
> its minimum constituent units. Similarly, the function
> sequence is the 'minimum free form' in <u>structure</u>, and
> the functions, its minimum constituent units.

Scheub describes the process of an <u>inganekwane</u> performance
according to the following basic steps:

(a) The storyteller chooses a <u>core-cliché</u>, or song, or
saying, which is the refrain attached to a folktale,
or a proverb emanating from it. This is an element
which is fixed, or nearly fixed, by tradition. I say
'nearly fixed' because alternative forms are also
found, sometimes with small differences, sometimes
with relevant differences.

Examples:

A. <u>Sibambe elentulo</u>   (We <u>have adhered</u> to the lizard's
message. IGODA)

<u>Sobamba elentulo</u>   (We <u>shall adhere</u> to ...)(Cope)

B. Hamba, Mshayandlela,   Tulube, weTulube!
Amasela, Mshayandlela,   Awuboni ukuba ngiyabuyawa[1)]
Amebile, Mshayandlela,   WeTulube!
Zimthumbile, Mshayandlela.   Hamba nje!
    (IGODA 2:16)   (Stuart, in Oosthuizen 143)

In the IGODA version the chorus, or fixed, part is clear.
The core-cliché is repeated by the audience as often as
the storyteller calls for it.

(b) The core-cliché immediately evokes a core-image, or a
'cluster of details' associated with it. This element
is also supplied by the oral tradition.

[1)] "Tefula" form for <u>ngiyabulawa</u>.

In the two examples above the core-images are:

A. How the Creator informed people about their death; and

B. How a boy escaped from cattle-thieves through the help of his magic bull.

The core-image only constitutes the essential element; the rest is to be fleshed out by the narrator. For example, in B. above Stuart's storyteller only mentions cattle-thieves; the Igoda story speaks of them as cannibals. Stuart's story has the boy riding the bull, Nyembezi's has the boy follow the herd on foot; another version tells of the boy having been born with the bull and living all the time on its back

(c) The storyteller chooses her details to flesh out the bone of her story (=the core-image) through a process of cueing and scanning. She scans the horizon of her story to remember and find out which traditional elements can be attached to it, while she also cues to the core-image itself, to the audience and to other aspects of her contextual situation to find possible inspirational points which would make her story both interesting and new.

(d) She drives her story towards its climax by repetition and linking. Scheub sees repetition as the means of image expansion, for images to be fully developed and appreciated. Cope, however, does not agree with this point of Scheub's. Linking instead means the placing of details at strategic points, to be picked up later in the performance, to make the story more engrossing and properly connected. The performer also establishes transitional details to connect the various moves and thus make the performance plausible and logical, so that the theme of the narration may result clear to all.

(e) By repetition and linking the performer produces an
    expanded image, a full story, which is unique and irre-
    peatable. The concept of the expansible image is central
    to Scheub's understanding and description of the
    inganekwane tradition.

A cursory comparison of uMshayandlela (IGODA) and UTulube
(Stuart Collection) should suffice to illustrate points (c),
(d) and (e).

In the Tulube story, the narrator simply has the boy repeat
his refrain each time the bull gets in the way and stops the
cattle. In Mshayandlela Nyembezi has the boy sing each time
an obstacle appears on the road and the bull refuses to
proceed. The Stuart version has the boy telling the thieves
to go and wash in a river without frogs - a Delay Sequence
used by Nyembezi in uMkhwekazi namasi (2:67) as a punishment
image but used in many stories as one of the Delay Tactics;
in IGODA the cannibals simply go and wash in a river.

Nyembezi also uses the secondary images of the trick played
on the blind izimu old woman as well as the Flight + Pursuit
sequence which are not present in the Stuart Collection.
By using the sequence Flight + Pursuit + Ploy + Escape +
Recognition + Reward the IGODA story is presented as a
parallel image set which means, according to Scheub (1971),
a two-level story where the second part is clearly designed
as a counter-part or a parallel of the first part. The
Stuart narrator develops the Unrecognized Arrival + Recognition
formula more fully, while Nyembezi's story develops the Reward
ending more fully.

The following table shows an analysis of the tale uMshayandlela
from both the structural and the semantic points of view.

Table 5.5

U M S H A Y A N D L E L A
(Ibanga 2:14)

A. MORPHOLOGICAL AND SEMANTIC ANALYSIS

Principal Function Sequence	Subordinate Function Sequence	Primary Core-Image	Secondary Core-Image

M O V E 1

Initial Sit.			
[Command Obedience Consequence] x 4		Amazimu steal a boy's herd and bull	
Villainy			

M O V E 2

Absentation Interdiction Violation			Amazimu wash at river
Command	Deceit Deception	Boy to look after meat instead he raises bull	
Consequence	Obedience		Boy raises bull. Boy deceives old woman

M O V E 3

Flight Pursuit		Boy flees and is pursued but escapes	
Ploy	False Contract Deceit Fraud Defeat Triumph		Tricks Amazimu with rope and drowns them
Escape			

M O V E 4

| Unrecognized Arrival
Hero Recognized
Reward/Marriage | | | Boy mourned as dead, then feasted and given bull |

5.5.1   Image Expansion

Most scholars of African folktales agree that each performance
of a tale is the product of traditional elements combined with
the personal input of the individual performer. This personal
input is what makes each performance different from any other;
this is also why no one version can ever be called the
'authentic' one.

Evans Pritchard points out both the external and the internal
differences, the traditional core and the individual input,
what affects both form and content, when he states:

> . . . every teller of a tale has his own particular
> style, his modes of emphasis, intonation, chanting,
> gesturing, sentence construction, and choice of words
> and expressions, so that he makes the story his own
> not only by omissions, additions, selections, and
> sequence of incidents, etc., but also by his style,
> which is never quite the same as, and may be very
> different from, that of others. . . .
>
> (Pritchard 1967:34)

Ruth Finnegan (1970:387) adds:

> The real originality, as it appears to the foreigner,
> is really only a difference in degree, for there is
> seldom any concept of a 'correct' version. In all
> respects the narrator is free to choose his own treat-
> ment and most stories arise from the combination and
> recombination of motifs and episodes with which the
> individual is free to build. Stories are thus capable
> of infinite expansion, variation and embroidery by
> narrators, as they are sewn together in one man's
> imagination.

Cope (1978:197) has shown that tradition determines functions
and their manifestations (= terms) at motif level, as well as
function sequences at episode level. These traditional elements
are continuously re-arranged and re-constructed to form a new
image, a new story which is new not only because the performer
uses different words (having no fixed written text), but because
she also introduces new functions and function sequences,
according to her needs, her mood, the mood and composition of

the audience, the prevailing circumstances. Thus the novelty
is not in the material itself, but in its combination at the
narrative level.

Scheub (1970:125) says:

> Repetition is the key structural device in the artform;
> action is enveloped and shaped by a single expansible
> image, or by a series of such images. This structural
> repetition harmonizes with a thematic repetition, often
> given form in parallel images.

Cope (1978:201), however, contends that:

> Repetition is as much a stylistic effect as a structural
> technique. I have shown that it is rather the structural
> formula that is the means of expansion.

Scheub (Ibid.) explains his theory that repetition is the
formative element of the expansible image by showing how the
same episode is repeated several times by the narrator, often
in exactly the same words and sometimes with little variations
which urge the story on, until a climax is reached in which
the basic formula undergoes a variation. He uses as an example
of this the Dubulihasa story, which corresponds to Nyembezi's
Mshayandlela story (2:14). In this version of the Xhosa story
the boy changes the imperative verb each time he sings the
refrain to indicate the new action required of the bull. In
this way the story moves on towards its climax. The Nyembezi
version instead only changes the imperative verb the last time,
thus signalling a turning point in the story, from Hamba
Mshayandlela to Vuka Mshayandlela. At this order the bull
rises to new life. It seems to me that Scheub's explanation
of the function of repetition proceeds from his understanding
of core-clichés as 'structural' elements rather than as content
elements with structural relevance, and that by 'expansion'
he means how to bring a story to the desired length.

Cope (1978:197) instead maintains that function formulas, which
he also calls oral formulas, are the structural units of an
inganekwane and the instruments of image expansion.

He explains this idea by taking Zulu core-sayings such as
Sobamba elentulo and Sobohla Manyosi; he says that these
cores are only the bare bones of the tale and each evokes
a simple core-image. By using the appropriate function sequences
(= expansion formulas) they become full narratives. In this
way, formulas are meant 'for the manifestation of functions'.

Taking Cope's point of view, it is clear that each and every
folktale, as it appears in IGODA, must have a simple core-image
as its kernel, which is expanded into a full tale by means
of function sequences and function formulas.

5.5.2   Image Extension

There is, however, another aspect, or another possible level,
to this question of image expansion, namely: how does a
narrator differentiate her present story from a similar one
told by another narrator, or even from her own version as
rendered a week ago, perhaps under different circumstances,
for a different type of audience, reflecting a different mood?
How can an image be not only expanded, but extended?

Here Scheub's idea of repetition and of additional details
can surely apply. These additional details can even be
additional formulas embedded in the basic expansion formula.

The comparison of James Stuart's and Nyembezi's versions of
Tulube and Mshayandlela respectively seen above may serve as
an example.

Another example: There are two stories in IGODA 2 recognized
as similar by the audience, (which means that they employ
the same basic stock characters, and the same expansion
formulas), namely Izimu namantombazana amathathu (2:105)
and Amantombazana nezimu (2:114). These are typical izimu
stories. The common core-image is that of girls lost (Lack)
in a forest at night who find shelter in a cannibal's house
(Lack Liquidated). The izimu plans to devour them (Villainy).

They discover his intentions (Discovery) and take to their
heels (Flight) pursued by the _izimu_ (Pursuit). To delay
the pursuer they use some trick (Ploy) and finally Escape,
and the _izimu_ is eaten by his disappointed comrades
(Villain Punished).

There are, however, a number of additional details, some
expressed by function formulas, as it appears from the
following comparison of the two stories in Table 5.6
(page 143 (b)).

TABLE 5.6	IZIMU NAMANTOMBAZANA AMATHATHU	AMANTOMBAZANA NEZIMU
Functions		
Initial Situation	Girls in forest trapping birds with king's daughter	Girls in forest for weaving grass
Lack	Overtaken by the night in forest ———→	
Lack Liquidated	Find a house with fire/light ——→	
Initial Situation	But it is an _izimu's_ house ——→	
False Contract		_Izimu_ feeds them, calls them 'Banta-bami', they call him 'Malume'.
Violation/ Villainy	They go to sleep in izimu's house. _Izimu_ plans to eat them. ——→	
Absentation	_Izimu_ off to call his companions ——→	
Discovery	Girls realize situation ——→	
Flight	They run away ——→	
Initial Situation	King's daughter returns to look for skin bag	
Contract Understood	(Look after king's daughter)	
Violation	Girls abandon king's daughter	
Ploy	Girl eludes _amazimu_	Delay hair-trick
Flight	She runs away	They run away
Pursuit	_Amazimu_ follow her	_Izimu_ follows them
Ploy	_Amazimu_ tie first _izimu_ with grass	Girls put _izimu_ to sleep and tie his hair with grass
Escape	Girl escapes	Girls escape
Villain punished	_Izimu_ eaten by his comrades ——→	
Vill. exposed	Betrayers exposed	
Vill. punished	Betrayers put to death	

A careful analysis of these two tales reveals that, although
the basic core-image is the same, the narrators introduce some
changes by expanding the basic image through the addition of
new function formulas. The first story is more closely-knit
than the second in that the detail of the king's daughter in
the Initial Situation and the possible Contract formula emanat-
ing from it (=Defend the king's daughter with your life!) has
a sequel in the middle and also in the end. Also the initial
details of trapping birds with skin bags are developed later,
first when both the girls and the cannibal eat the birds, then
when the princess returns among the cannibals to fetch the
forgotten skin bag and gives rise to the development of the
story. These are well-developed internal links in the story.
In the second story, on the other hand, the weaving grass of
Initial Situation is all but forgotten in the rest of the story.
There are, however, two function formulas not contained in
the first story:

(a)   The izimu calls the girls 'Bantabami' (my children) and
      they call him 'malume' (maternal uncle). This can be
      interpreted as a False Friendship Contract, which leads
      to the formula Violation + Fraud + Defeat. This
      contract' also serves as an internal link with the details
      of the girls offering to delouse the pursuing izimu and
      thus put him to sleep (Deceit + Deception) so that they
      may be able to affect their Escape. This additional
      image of malume + bantabami plus the Deceit + Deception
      formula of delousing him to put him to sleep are sequences
      also common in trickster stories, as well as the Fraud +
      Discovery + Flight + Pursuit + Ploy + Escape.

(b)   The old lady appears from nowhere when the girls are about
      to flee, and offers them her services: cut their hair to
      deceave the izimu with the trick of the talking hair:
      this is a delay formula which could be further specified
      as Command + Obedience + (Deceit + Deception) +
      Consequence.

As I have already mentioned, the first story is extended with the repetition of the formula <u>Villain Exposed + Villain Punished</u>, which is a sequence often connected with the presence of the chief's daughter in the tale.

A third story, <u>uBuhlaluse beNkosi</u> (2:110) is also considered similar to the previous ones by the audience, but here the <u>Villainy</u> function is fulfilled by jealous girls. In this story the girls are in the forest digging ochre. Buhlaluse, the king's daughter is among them (Contract understood: Look after the king's daughter). They are evidently jealous of her and bury her in an old ochre quarry (Villainy/Fraud). Back home, they tell the king that his daughter is lost (Deceit). The chief searches for her in vain (Deception) and finally abandons the search (Consequence). Some time later a woodcutter hears a song in the forest (Initial Situation): Buhlaluse identifies herself (Hero's Recognition?) and gives the man a message for her parents (Command). He unearths her (Rescue) and brings the king his daughter's message (Obedience). The king orders the girls to go to fetch ochre for him (False Contract) and has them feasted in the evening (Deception). Buhlaluse is produced (Hero Recognized) and the girls in fear accuse each other of having disposed of her (Villain Exposed). They are all put to death (Villain punished).

One notices several sequences which are common with the two <u>izimu</u> stories. The absence of the pursuing <u>izimu</u>, however, means that formulas connected with chase, ploy, escape, etc., are not used here.

5.6   Core Refrains

Harold Scheub (1975:18) gives great prominence to the <u>core-cliché</u>, which he described as the main "transmitted element of the <u>ntsomi</u> tradition." Oosthuizen (1977:115) however, disagrees with Scheub because she maintains that some core-songs are common to more than one tale, while others seem to

have little to do with the story line at all. She describes
what she calls 'core-songs, sayings, chants' as

> An easily remembered element of the core-image because
> it usually follows a definite rhythmic pattern.
>
> (Oosthuizen 1977:117)

I have already pointed out (5.4.(a)) that there are variations
of the core-songs.

Marivate (1973:43) has several interesting points with regard
to songs in Tsonga folktales. Here they are in summary:

1.   Songs are a necessary rhythmic device for the performance
of a Tsonga tale. A tale without a song is "like meat without
salt". They are so important in Tsonga folktale performances
that tales without a song are easily recognized as foreign
tales.

2.   Collectors and translators have often overlooked the
songs because of difficulties in recording and translating
them. This is because folktale songs often contain nonsense
words and sounds, corrupted foreign words and many ideophones.

3.   A Tsonga tale song is made up of solo and chorus parts.
The solo carries the theme and the story line, the chorus is
mostly a rhythmic repetition, sometimes with little or no
meaning.

4.   There is no rule as to how often a song is to be repeated
during a performance. It varies from one performer to another,
and from performance to performance. However, it is generally
understood that songs mark the episodic structure of a tale
and that they enhance its entertainment aspect because they
are means of audience involvement.

5.   Songs are a kind of magic formula which cause special
occurrences to take place. They especially make possible
the opening of channels of communication between humans and
either supernatural beings or animals, thus bringing about
supernatural or magic phenomena. They are also used as a
means of communication among humans, especially in crisis
situations.

In IGODA folktales one finds songs, sayings and refrains.
In some tales, however, there is no song. Unfortunately, no
musical scores are included in the books. Furthermore,
Nyembezi has curtailed the number of times a song or a refrain
is repeated in order to keep the story within a reasonable
length so as not to bore his readers.

In IGODA 1 the tendency seems to be to teach children something
morally instructive from each inganekwane. The teaching elements
are proverbs and idioms, and these constitute the core-element
of the folktale as well as its moral.

Igundwane Elingezwa (1:39) is based on the proverb Isala ku-
tshelwa sibona ngomopho (He who refuses to obey learns by
the oozing of his own blood, which could be freely translated
as 'Once bitten twice shy').
An idiom - Sibambe Elentulo (1:64) - (We are holding on to
the lizard's message) - forms the title and the core of the
second inganekwane.
The core of Yazilaya Imbila (1:70) is the proverb Imbila
yaswela umsila ngokulayezela (The rock-rabbit has no tail
having sent for it).
Even the trickster story uChakijana neBhubesi (1:134) is
used as a means to teach the custom of hospitality and the
connected idiomatic expressions Isisu somhambi asingakanani:
singangenso yenyoni. Siyobonga sesuthi (The traveller's
stomach is not so big: it is like a bird's kidney. We shall
thank you when we are satisfied).

None of these sayings constitute the rhythmic element which
gives the performance movement. In the first three tales
the core-element is only quoted at the end of the performance.
As for evoking immediately a full core-image with some details,
the second and third cores do evoke the relevant story, but
the proverb in the first is used in connection with other tales
with completely different images. The idiomatic expressions
of the fourth tale are never repeated in the body of the story,
neither do they evoke this particular narrative. Therefore
the cores in IGODA 1 hardly fit the definitions given above.

In IGODA 2 some core-elements do fit the descriptive definitions
of Marivate and Scheub while others do not.

uMaqinase (2:10) has a proverb as a core and as a moral, but it
is given only at the end of the tale. It is Alikho iqili
elizikhotha emhlane (No one is so clever as to be able to
lick his own back)

A similar situation is found in Imfene Nempungushe (2:94)
where the core-saying is represented by the idiom Ubhinca
amafutha ezinqeni njengemfene (His buttocks are as shining
as the baboon's). But this is only given at the end of the
story, and as both the occasion for performing the folktale
and the explanation of a popular saying.

The core-song in uMshayandlela (2:14) fulfils most of the
terms of the definition. It is repeated twice in the same
form and the narrator declares that the boy had to sing it
several more times. The third time the imperative verb changes
to 'Vuka' (instead of 'Hamba') to signal a change in the
direction of the tale. The refrain has magic properties: it
lets the boy communicate effectively with his bull and it is
the formula for the performance of the 'miracle' of the bull's
'resurrection'. Being a song it is also utilized to deceive
the blind old lady by giving her the impression that the boy
is just dancing while he is collecting the bull's parts and
performing its resurrection. The fact that the second part
of each line does not change at all means that this song is
performed as a solo and chorus, with the chorus just repeating
the word Mshayandlela, and the solo changing her word at each
line.

In uNkhombose noSihlangusabayeni (2:33) the first part of the
story - the two girls disobey their mother's order to guard
the mealies from the fowls - has no core-saying. The second
part, however, contains a core song which shows the solo and
the chorus parts very clearly. The Author, however, does
not specify the techniques of any performance.

S o l o	C h o r u s
Uthi klengu klengu nonyoko,	ntombi yamatshitshi,
Awuboni ngabulawa,	ntombi yamatshitshi,
Bangifaka esizibeni,	ntombi yamatshitshi,
Yathi imamba mangidliwe,	ntombi yamatshitshi,
Yathi inhlwathi mangiyekwe,	ntombi yamatshitshi,
Ngibe yinkosi yesiziba,	ntombi yamatshitshi.

The solo part develops the story line while the chorus part
is an exclamation repeated as an echo or as an invocation.
The core-song is a means of communication between a person
presumed dead and her living sister. The magic power of the
song is finally responsible for restoring to full human life
the dead girl. This core-song is clearly connected with the
core-image of the tale since it summarizes it.

In the performance of a folktale song, should the audience
not know the response, the performer teaches it quickly,
either before the performance or the first time the refrain
is met. This is easily carried out when the chorus part
consists of only one or two unchanging words.

In Inyoka enamakhanda ayisikhombisa (2:54) the refrain is
constituted by the dialogue among the seven heads speaking
in turns:

Lathi ikhanda lokuqala:	Wo, gigigi.
Lathi elesibili:	Kanti ababalekeli amakhanda?
Lathi elesithathu:	Babaleka ukuba enjani?
Lathi elesine:	Ukuba emaningi?
Lathi elesihlanu:	Abasondeli nawabuke?
Lathi elesithupha:	Abesabi ukudliwa?
Lathi elokugcina:	Khona lapho bangedliwe?

This refrain is repeated four times, always in exactly the
same words. It represents the communication of a fantastic
and frightening snake within itself - its seven heads - and
with human beings. The first part of the line can be used
as the performer's prompting of the audience, the second part as
the chorus line, although this may be found a little more
difficult to teach and to learn than the refrains in the
two previous folktales.

In <u>uMkhwekazi namasi</u> (2:67) the two main core-images are
encapsulated in two core-sayings. The first image is that
of the old lady leaving the field to go into the house and eat
maas. She uses a fixed refrain, perhaps in the belief that
this is a magic formula which should affect her transformation
into her son-in-law. The chorus part in this first core-
saying is not clear, but the core-element is constantly intro-
duced by the same words, which means that, were the audience
to know the refrain, it could easily join in.

> Bese sisho kakhulu sithi:
> "Yimihlola yini lena engivelelayo?
> Ngibizwa ngubani lokhu abantabami abekho nje?"

> Bese sikhumula isidwatshana sisigaxa emphinini wegeja.

> Bese sithi: "We geja, ubosala uzilima.
> Ngisayobona lona ongibizayo."

The second episode contains the well-known image of searching
for a river without frogs. The core-refrain can be divided
between solo and chorus parts.

<u>Solo</u>	<u>Chorus</u>
Akukho xoxo lapha na?	Klo, klo, ngikhona.

This is repeated several times, until there is no answer
from the frogs.
There is also an undeveloped core-dialogue in the third image
of the tale, but it is only used twice in this version of the
story. The arriving animals, seeing the old lady caught
in the roots of a huge tree by the river, ask:

> Ubani lo ohlezi emfuleni weNkosi?

The old lady answers:

> Yimi Nkosi, bengithi ngiyaphumula kanti ngizobhajwa.

The animals say:

> Iyeza iNkosi!

The narrator could have further developed this image, as it is
done in a similar tale in IGODA 4:81 called <u>Umfana Owabe
Omele Amanzi</u>.

In uBuhlaluse beNkosi (2:110) the core song is sung by the
girl buried in an ochre pit to attract the woodcutter's
attention. In the song the girl is identified and the whole
story is told. The magic effect is communication between a
half-dead person and the human world, and the eventual return
to full life of Buhlaluse. There is no mistaking the core-
image emanating from it.

> Muntu ogawulayo,
> Muntu ogawulayo,
> Ungikhonzele kubaba,
> Ungikhonzele kumama,
> Uthi uBuhlaluse beNkosi
> Bamgqiba emtatsheni webomvu.

uMadinqi (2:132) is the story of a boy who eats a medicine
meant to make a woman pregnant. He falls pregnant and has a
baby boy, Madinqi, whom he hides in the grass. When he goes
to feed him he sings his little song:

> Utshani bumxhopha Madinqi,
> Bushiswa bungashi Madinqi.

The only connection between this refrain and the story is the
name of the infant. I am told by an informant that this song
is used as a lullaby, outside of the context of this particular
story, or as a short nursery rhyme to encourage a baby to suck.

In uNanana Boselesele (2:137) there are two fixed dialogues
which constitute the core-refrains of the tale. The first
dialogue is between the animals and Nanana's children:

Animals: Abakabani laba bantwana abahle bahle kangaka?
Children: SingabakaNanana boselesele,
            Owakha endleleni ngabomu,
            Ethemba ubuqha nobungqokolo.
Animals: Uyeza uSondonzima.

This dialogue is repeated several times in exactly the same
words.   The monster Sondonzima himself repeats it twice, but
the second time, instead of saying 'Uyeza uSondonzima' he
swallows the children.
The second refrain consists of the dialogue between Nanana
and the animals as she is searching for her children:

Nanana: Nogwaja, Nogwaja, ake ungibonisele abantabami.
Hare: Dlulela phambili emachibini ezindlovu.
            Kodwa uyokuginga uSondonzima.

At each repetition the name of the animal addressed is changed.
The fixed replies can be used as chorus lines.
The two refrains present a certain parallelism: they are
dialogues with the mediators of the story, the animals; they
represent a warning about Sondonzima's ferocity. The warning,
however, is not heeded and the result is the same both times:
Sondonzima swallows his victims. This kind of dialogue is so
common in European folktales that for Propp it constitutes
the functions of Reconnaisance and Delivery. Propp says:

> The reconnaisance has the aim of finding out
> the location of children, or sometimes of
> precious objects, etc.
> Delivery: the villain directly receives an
> answer to his question.   (Propp 1971:28)

It is clear from the examples given from IGODA that, although
all folktales must have a core-image, not all core-images are
connected with a core-cliché, or a core-song or refrain, or a
proverb. The variety of the core-elements in IGODA shows that
these elements are not necessarily the ones which give the
story its rhythmic movement. In fact, proverbs may only appear
at the end of a story; dialogues may prove too long or too
difficult for the audience; sayings may have a loose rhythmic
pattern not suitable for singing. It must therefore be said
that many cores in Zulu izinganekwane do not fit the descriptive
definitions of Scheub and Marivate.

5.7   Linking the Narrative Elements

Up to this point I have discussed and applied to the tales in
IGODA the component elements of the folktale: from the
structural point of view I have described functions, function
sequences and moves; from the semantic point of view I have
examined core-refrains and core-images. All these elements
are supplied by tradition, and yet they are not rigidly fixed.

The question now arises: how are these elements joined together
to present a cohesive story? How does the storyteller operate
to bring all these traditional elements together at the narra-
tive level, so that her story - both new and steeped in tradi-
tion - gives the impression of a smoothly finished and tightly
knit work of art?

Harold Scheub has studied extensively the methods of image
linking. Says Cope (1978:201):

> His (Scheub's) greatest contribution, however, to the
> appreciation of the literary art of the storyteller,
> is his exposition of how she operates at the narrative
> level in the choice and integration of episodes: how
> she constructs the narrative unit of the combination.

Scheub (1975:134) describes the need for transitional elements
to be used as links between the various images:

> The use of transitional elements to bind images
> together is common simply because the bridges are
> so obviously necessary. In addition, it is often
> the only interlocking element between those images
> that are closely aligned in any case, so that further
> interlocking becomes unnecessary.

Linking can be brought about either externally or internally.
Scheub speaks of a scanning process and a cueing process.
I understand Scheub's scanning process as the action of the
performer who is looking ahead to determine which images to
use to extend and expand the performance at hand. The
experienced performer will then start dropping hints
(cueing process) in different places, to pick them up again
and bring them to full fruition at later stages in either
the same image or in the course of externalizing a new image.

I prefer to speak of the linking process in terms of internal
and external links. For internal links I mean details and
hints strategically placed by the narrator at various points
for the development of the story by the use of additional
core-images and full images, or simply in order to prepare
for a logical conclusion of the whole plot at hand.

External links instead should be considered transitional
details employed to link together moves or images. These
are available to the performer from her traditional repertory.
A traditional external link in a tale is a journey during
which the various events described in the tale take place.
Scheub says:

> In almost all performances that include two or
> more core-images, the transitional segments detail
> travelling. Travelling is, in fact, the central
> action throughout the ntsomi tradition.
>
> (Scheub   1975:135)

The journey situation is common and relevant in the IGODA tales.
Here are some examples of journey used as an external link
between images:
In Umfana nengwe (4:69) any time the boy protagonist goes out
something new happens to him. This 'going out', or 'going to
his uncle's' or 'returning from his uncle's' is a repeated
external link between the various episodes and images.
In uNkombose noSihlangusabayeni (2:33) the link between the
first and the second move is "Sihlangusabayeni went to the
pool to draw water, the same pool in which Nkombose's body
had been thrown." This is both an external link between two
images and an internal link, reminding us that Nkombose had
been strangled in the first image.
In Abantwana Bensizwakazi (4:114) movements and journeys link
the various images: first the hornless ox goes away to a
secluded valley to give birth to human twins (first link);
then she is brought back to the chief's village with the twins
(second link). The children go to the forest, to wait for their
promised blankets made with Nanabulele's skin (third link);
then they set off to find and kill Nanabulele (fourth link);
they finally return home (fifth link) to be feasted.

Beside this basic link, there are many others, both external
and internal, often expressed through undeveloped stories,
sometimes just mentioned and yet evocative of other images.
The inganekwane tradition is a fertile land on which succeeding
generations have sown and reaped a full harvest of motifs.

As noted in 4.1.2 (c), underdeveloped images or irrelevant details may or may not be artistic devices. At times they simply represent a performer's error, due to the amateur nature of the performer and of traditional performances. The artist may introduce a detail at one stage with the intention of developing it later and then forget about it. Or she may introduce a detail which she has heard from another narrator and then be unable to develop it. Or an attractive detail may come to her mind and she uses it as a kind of extra bonus for the audience, but without any consequence to the story. I have given some examples of these "story-telling errors" in IGODA in chapter 4.

The following random examples of external and internal links from the folktales in IGODA will show the variety of the connecting elements offered by tradition, and how a capable storyteller can make use of them to produce a highly polished performance.

The bull Mshayandlela (2:14) refuses to go forward during the first journey unless it is spoken to, "<u>ngoba engazi ukuthi kuyiwaphi</u>"; on the return journey instead "<u>uhamba phambili. Akasahluphi ngokuma manje ngoba uyabona ukuthi useya ekhaya.</u>" This internal link compares the first and the second part of the journey, the going out under duress and the coming back in freedom, thus creating a parallel in the story. Another subtle stylistic link between the beginning and the ending of the story is offered by the expressions, or questions and answers, of cannibals and boy. At the beginning, the boy is sitting on a rock which cannot be climbed by anybody else. The <u>amazimu</u> ask him: "<u>Ukhwele kanjani lapha, mfana?</u>" and the boy just answers: "<u>Ngikhwele kahle.</u>" At the end, the boy has crossed a river in spate. The cannibals ask him: "<u>Uwele kanjani wemfana?</u>". The answer is, again, deceiving in its simplicity: "<u>Ngiwele kahle.</u>"

There is also an external link between the two parts of this story: the detail of the cannibals going to wash at a river

after having killed and cut up the bull; this gives the boy
the possibility of resuscitating the bull and to set off on
his homeward journey. The boy deceiving the old blind woman
with his song, telling her he is just dancing, while he is
really performing an incantation to restore his bull to life,
can be seen as an unnecessary but attractive detail. Instead
the mention that the water closed up after the boy's crossing
is a narrative error, because there was no mention of the
water opening up for him before.

In uNkombose noSihlangusabayeni (2:33) the mother tells her
two daughters to guard the mealies against the fowls and
threatens them: "If you let the fowls eat the mealies, I'll
teach you a lesson" (Niyongibona kahle nina!). The fear of
this threat is manifested several times by the younger girl,
especially when she realizes that the fowls have eaten the
forbidden mealies. She even says: "We have had it now!
Mother is going to kill us." And the mother does kill the
older girl. Another internal link in the first part of the
story is the mother's preference for the younger daughter.
The elder exclaims: "No, not you! I shall be killed, but
nothing will happen to you because mother loves you and hates
me!" The refrain song of the second part is linked to both
these themes in the first part: "Go and cry to your mother,"
says the dead girl's song, "I have been killed and thrown
into this pool". There are several undeveloped details in
this story: the pool as a source of life; the custom that
older girls help their younger sisters load and carry water;
spotless white oxen given as a sacrifice to pool snakes as a
sort of restitution for a vicious crime and to rescue a girl.
Oral tradition possesses many such stock images and stock
places, which may be used as nuclei of new stories or may be
mentioned and left undeveloped, left to the imagination of the
audience, which is familiar with images and themes.

The folktale uNokuthula (2:45) contains a journey as an
external link: the girls set off for their uncle's place and

arrive there only at the very end of the story. Mother tells
them to turn right at a crossroad (Interdiction); they turn
left (Violation) and find themselves in trouble (Consequence).
The younger girl feels hungry (external link). When she is
eventually given something to eat, it is a talking drumstick
of a chicken. This whole 'talking drumstick' image does
nothing for the development of the story. It is an unnecessary
detail of no consequence left in mid-air; attractive perhaps,
but extraneous to the story. The girls arrive at an izimu's
home and are welcomed by Nokuthula, who is not herself a
cannibal, and she helps them to flee (Flight). The izimu
mother pursues them (Pursuit) but is prevented from reaching
them by the scattering of magic objects, which immediately
transform themselves into unsurmountable obstacles. The girls
finally reach their destination (Escape/Rescue). Several
transitional details, supplied by the oral tradition, are
present in this tale: children lost in a forest after
disobeying orders; they are attracted to an izimu's house
by a flickering fire or light 'uthi loko loko'; the trick
played on the izimu by substituting stones in a bed in place
of the sleeping girls; magic objects dropped on the road to
create obstacles for the pursuing izimu; the dust raised by
the fast one-footed izimu with its big toe, etc.

In uMkhwekazi namasi (2:67) the old lady moves in with her
wealthy son-in-law thus exposing herself to the temptation
of eating forbidden maas (Initial Situation). She does so in
the first image and is punished by being sent to fetch water
from a frogless river (journey - external link to second image).
When she finds such a river, this belongs to the king of the
animals (external link).

The son-in-law had spared her life but had sent her on a
nearly impossible mission. When she returns, her feat
accomplished, he is upset because "he had hoped she would die,
instead she is safe" (internal link).

Pretending to hear voices when no one is around, dressing the

hoe handle and ordering it to weed, putting on the son-in-law's
ibheshu, and the genet's trick of smearing somebody's feet with
the night dew, are all transitional images.

In uMamba kaMaquba (2:79) the journey situation is presented
on two levels: the older girl sets off on a journey with a
broken heart when her sister, in her jealousy, distorts the
mother's forgiving message into a death threat. She performs
all her tasks with kindness and is rewarded with a husband and
a baby. The younger girl sets off on the same journey driven
by jealousy and does everything unkindly, and she is finally
punished. The return journey of the first girl is a triumph
and a reconciliation, that of the second girl is a shameful
flight. The contrasting details of kindness and stubborness,
of reward and punishment, produce what Scheub calls a
patterned image (Scheub 1971:223), which is in itself a lesson
in social behaviour. Other internal links are:

1. The mother's forgiveness when she is told that the older
girl's calabash is broken, and her anger when told of the
younger girl's distortion of her message.

2. The first girl's acceptance of her fate when she marries
the snake Mamba as well as when he is killed. But this is not
a kind of passive acceptance, but an active one, as it is shown
by the fact that later she even buries the snake's ashes in her
hut and is thus able to witness his resurrection to a new,
human life.

Practically every detail in the first journey is matched in the
second journey, to show the different attitudes of the two girls
and to prepare the audience for the contrary final results of
punishment and reward.

As I said earlier, these are only random examples from the
folktales in IGODA. They show how careful Nyembezi is in
following up most details in order to present a well-balanced
and fully-integrated narrative in each of his tales. Some
slight errors do, however, occur.

5.8   Translation and Analysis of Chosen Folktales from IGODA

This section would not be complete without the careful application of the analytical principles discussed up to now to some chosen folktales in IGODA. I feel that it is not necessary for me to reproduce the Zulu texts here, since they are readily available in IGODA. I present, however, the English translation of ten stories, followed by an analysis of each.

I tried to translate the various folktales as literally as possible, concentrating on both faithfulness to the text and readability in English. This task has not been an easy one, because Nyembezi's Zulu is always vividly idiomatic, and vaguely corresponding English idioms would have led me too far from the text. I trust that my translation reflects the Zulu origin of each folktale and is not too boring in English.

The analysis which follows every tale is divided into four parts:

1. General Remarks, in which generalities about the tale are mentioned.

2. Structural Analysis, based on M. Oosthuizen's (1977) model of Principal and Subordinate Function Sequences and Primary and Secondary Core-Images. Function sequences and formulas are enclosed in square brackets. The sequential depth of each structure should thus become clear. Each analytical table is followed by some explanations regarding moves, sequences and formulas.

3. Core-Images: here I point out the core-refrains and the core-images, as well as some internal and external links contained in the story.

4. Themes: here I state what I think should be seen as the theme or themes of the tale.

<u>LIST OF FOLKTALES TRANSLATED AND ANALYZED</u>

	TITLE	NARRATOR	REFERENCE
1.	Yazilaya Imbila	Grandmother	1:70
2.	uMaqinase	Headmaster	2:10
3.	uMshayandlela	Teacher	2:14
4.	uNkombose noSihlangusabayeni	Grandmother	2:33
5.	uMkhwekazi Namasi	Grandmother	2:67
6.	uMamba kaMaquba	Child	2:79
7.	Wangiweza Phela	(book)	2:86
8.	Imfene Nempungushe	Grandmother	2:94
9.	uNanana Boselesele	Child	2:137
10.	uBhadazela noMningi	Child	2:151

Y A Z I L A Y A   I M B I L A
(Ibanga 1:70)

In very ancient times all the animals were without tails.
Dogs had no tails, cats had no tails, horses had no tails,
oxen had no tails, donkeys had no tails, pigs had no tails,
rabbits had no tails, lions had no tails, elephants had no
tails. All domestic and wild animals had no tails.

The Creator looked at the animals and realized that they did
not look nice. He then made many tails. He made long tails
and short tails, he made big tails and small tails. When he
had finished making them, he sent out a proclamation that all
the animals should come and fetch their tails.

The horse set off. When he arrived he admired the tails: he
liked the bushy one and chose it. He thought that it would
help him chase the flies away. He took it and fixed it on:
as soon as a fly would come, up sprang a lash. The horse was
extremely happy.

The pig set off too. He saw a little curly tail and liked it.
He thought a big tail would be too heavy and would keep him
warm, while he wanted to be cool.

All the animals set off on their way to pick their tails.
Their road passed by the house of the rock-rabbit. Now, the
rock-rabbit was very lazy: he just liked to sit on the rocks
basking in the sun. He saw the hare coming and said to him:
"Hallo cousin!" Answered the hare: "Oh, hallo cousin!"
The rock-rabbit went on: "You must help me, cousin!" And he
sobbed as if he was crying.
The hare replied: "How must I help you, cousin? Why are you
crying?" Said the rock-rabbit: "It is my child: he is not
well at all. I did not sleep at all last night. I am still
seeing through yesterday's eyes (= I haven't slept a wink).
I know no sleep, I am just sitting. I cannot go to fetch a
tail. Do help me, cousin: bring one for me, please!"

The rock-rabbit was lying: his child was not sick at all. He
was just too lazy to go. Said the hare: "Certainly, cousin,
I will see you here. I hope your child gets better!" And
the hare went off.

There appeared the donkey. He was walking and plucking grass
at the same time. The rock-rabbit reflected that perhaps his
cousin the hare might forget: it would be better to ask also
the donkey. He stopped the donkey saying: "Hallo, uncle Big
Ears." And again he sobbed as if he was crying. The donkey
answered: "Hallo, child of my sister. What is wrong with you
that you are crying?"
The rock-rabbit answered: "Please come off the road, uncle:
I must give you a commission." The donkey refused saying:
"I am rather in a hurry, child of my sister. I would rather
not get off the road. Just tell me, I can hear you. What is it?"
Said the rock-rabbit: "Don't say, uncle, that I am giving you
trouble. My child is sick. I don't even know sleep, I am just
sitting. I did not sleep at all last night. I did not sleep
a wink. I cannot go to fetch my tail now. Please help me,
uncle: do bring me one."

The donkey's ears moved and then stood up. He said: "Oh, this
is very little, my sister's child. You just stay here and look
after that child of yours. It is bad to leave a sick child
alone. I will bring it for you. Hope your child gets better."
The rock-rabbit said: "Thanks a lot, uncle. I am putting my
trust in you because I too would like a tail. I have also
asked my cousin the hare."

And so all the animals passed by. They were crawling, they
were panting. The chameleon passed, shaking as usual, but
forgetting even his wild berries. Dogs and cats passed, but
they were not fighting today. The rock-rabbit commissioned
them all. He asked his uncles, his cousins, his sister's
children, his grannies. He told them all about his sick child.
He told them that he had not slept, not even a wink. He asked
them all to bring him a tail. All promised to bring him one.

Part II

The animals arrived at their destination and found many tails.
Once they were fixed on they fitted nicely. There were long
tails and short tails; there were big tails and small tails.
The horses chose theirs, so did the donkeys, the baboons, the
elephants, the leopards, the lions, the dogs, the cats. Each
and every animal chose a tail that satisfied him. They chose
it, fixed it firmly on their backs and it stuck. They kept
looking at themselves. In their happiness they all forgot the
rock-rabbit's commission.

The animals started on their journey home full of joy in their
hearts. Joy shone from their faces for everyone to see. As
they walked, they kept admiring their tails. The donkey did
not even bother to pluck grass, the chameleon forgot to look
for berries, dogs and cats forgot to fight.

The rock-rabbit saw the donkey passing by. He said: "Your
tail is really lovely, uncle Big Ears." Answered the donkey:
"I think so too, my sister's child." Said the rock-rabbit:
"And where is mine, uncle?" The donkey replied: "Oh, my
sister's child, it is coming. I think that it is coming with
your cousin the hare. He is just behind me. You are going to
get it, I am sure. And how is your child?" The rock-rabbit
answered: "He is better now, uncle." The rock-rabbit was
glad to hear that his tail was on its way. He looked at his
uncle Big Ears walking away slowly and finally disappearing
with his tail. He sat down, waiting for his cousin the hare.

The hare appeared. The rock-rabbit smiled, thinking the he
was going to get his tail now. He said: "Welcome back, cousin!"
The hare answered: "Yes, I am back, cousin." The rock-rabbit
exclaimed: "I say, your tail is really nice. You must be very
pleased." Then the rock-rabbit started feeling apprehensive
at not seeing his own tail. Said the hare: "It is nice indeed,
cousin. I am glad you like it. Yours too is coming, cousin.
It is very nice. It is coming with your uncle the hyena."

The hare went off. The rock-rabbit looked at him jumping as
it went, until it disappeared. His hope returned as he waited
for his uncle the hyena. He said: "I know that uncle Hyena
is fond of me. He would never leave my tail behind."

Indeed the hyena came into view. The rock-rabbit said:
"Hurry on, uncle. I heard from my cousin the hare that you
have my tail. Where is it, uncle? Don't tell me that you
left it there, too." The hyena said: "Oh, your cousin was
only teasing you. I think somebody else has got it. Just
wait, because they are all coming now. How is your child?"
The rock-rabbit answered: "He is better now." The rock-rabbit
was disgusted and spoke to himself: "Everyone keeps asking
how is my child, but has forgotten my tail."

The animals returned. All were very happy, each one with his
tail. Some passed wagging their tails. The rock-rabbit asked
each of them about his tail. All said it was still coming;
that those behind had it.

The last animal appeared. The rock-rabbit was now disheartened,
he was shaking with apprehension. "Hallo, Shaky One!" said
the rock-rabbit greeting the chameleon. "Yes, hallo, you
Giver of Commissions," answered the chameleon laughing. The
rock-rabbit was deeply upset and said: "To whom are you saying
that? Where is my tail? They said it was coming with you."
The chameleon said laughing: "Sorry, not a single tail is left.
Even the smallest one was taken by the pig."

The rock-rabbit was deeply disappointed. In his sorrow he
went into his cave, his heart heavy with grief. He realized
that giving messages had been his downfall. He wished he had
gone himself, like the other animals, to fetch his own tail.

This is why the rock-rabbit has no tail.

ooooo OOOOO ooooo

Analysis of the Tale

1.   General Remarks

Because of the fact that the Creator is mentioned, this tale
is sometimes considered a myth. However, the Creator's
figure is very marginal in the story, and the tale has no
sacred atmosphere nor is it used in any religious rite.
Therefore it can safely be categorized as an animal story.

In the way this tale is told in IGODA, it shows the outstand-
ing descriptive and dramatic powers of the writer. In fact
all the animals come to life with their characteristics.
The rock-rabbit sniffing and sobbing as if crying, the hare
jumping until it is out of sight, the donkey always plucking
grass, the slow and ponderous chameleon, etc. This story
is a real feast for the eyes of any animal lover.

2.   Structure of the Tale YAZILAYA IMBILA

Principal Function Sequence	Subordinate Function Sequence	Primary Core-Image	Secondary Core-Image
Init. Situation			
Lack ————————————→		Animals have no tails.	
	Command ⎫	Tails are made	
	Obedience ⎬ x 2	and fixed.	
Lack Liquidated	Consequence ⎭		
Contract —————————————→		Rock-rabbit asks	His child
	Deceit ⎫	animals to bring	is ill
Violation	Deception ⎭	him tail.	
Deception		Animals forget.	
Consequence ...	(Contrary Result)	R-r. has no tail	
	Villain Exposed ⎫————————		Chameleon
	Villain Punished ⎭		teases r-r.

Observations

There is only one move in this tale.
The main function sequence is Contract + Violation + Deception
in which the Deceit + Deception formula is embedded (this
represents the pretext that the rock-rabbit's child is ill).

There are two subordinate function sequences: <u>Comm. + Obed.</u>
(the animals going for their tails, with the examples of the
horse and the pig) and <u>Villain Exposed + Villain Punished</u>
(the chameleon telling the rock-rabbit that he is a Giver of
Commissions, too lazy to go personally). The first subordinate
function sequence is embedded in the principal <u>Lack +</u>
<u>Lack Liquidated</u>.

In the main sequence: Contract is the request+promise to bring
a tail for the rock-rabbit; Violation occurs when the animals
forget about it; Deception occurs when they all say that it
is still coming.   The Contract is clearly a False Contract,
as it is shown by the use of family relationship terms. This
often occurs in trickster stories.

3.   Core-Images

Although there are a number of repetition for stylistic reasons,
there is no core-refrain. The core element of the story is
'why the rock-rabbit has no tail'. This core-image is expanded
with the procession of animals to and from the place where tails
are available and with the insight that the rock-rabbit is lazy
and commissions others to bring him a tail. This is expanded
also by his deception of all passers-by with the story of his
child's illness.

Transitional and linking elements are the reminder:"How is your
child now?" as well as the calling of the animals with family
relationship terms. Subordinate details are the detailed
descriptions of the various animals, their habits and their tails.

4.   Theme

This can be summarized in the proverb emanating from the story:
<u>Imbila yaswela umsila ngokalayezela</u> (The rock-rabbit is
without tail having sent for it). This means that one should
do what must be done, without awaiting for somebody else to do
it for him.

U M A Q I N A S E

(Ibanga 2:10)

There was a mother pig with five children. One of the children
was very fond of wandering about on his own. Furthermore, this
child was truly pig-headed.   His name, Maqinase (the Wily one)
fitted him perfectly. The mother did not like her children
to get out of her sight. Maqinase, however, was restless.
When all would be sitting at home he would suddenly disappear.
He would go off and return whenever he felt like it. His mother
kept scolding him sternly, but it did not make any difference
to Maqinase.

One day it was very hot: Maqinase's mother was overcome by
the heat and fell asleep. Maqinase realized that his mother
was asleep. He looked at his brothers and sisters and saw that
they too were asleep, overcome by the heat. He smiled to him-
self. He got up and tiptoed, not to awaken those who were
asleep. He went to the door and opened it slowly, without ma-
king any noise. He told himself: "When they wake up I will be
gone!"

As soon as he was out of sight of the house, Maqinase started
walking straight and fast as if showing off. The way he walked
just drew attention to him. There he is, over there! On the
way he met a donkey. The donkey said to him: "Where are you
making for, Maqinase?"

Without even stopping, Maqinase answered: "Leave me alone!
Do I look like a person who should be addressed by one with ears
as big as yours?" The donkey was upset to hear Maqinase an-
swer in such a way. He said: "You are arrogant! Why do you
insult me when I addressed you nicely?". "It must be the sun
that produces such strange happenings." answered Maqinase still
walking fast ahead. "How am I insulting you when I am telling
you the truth? Have you ever seen the length of your ears?
Do not bother me, when the sun is so hot!" And on he went.

As he walked, he came across a tortoise. The tortoise said:

"Where are you heading to, Maqinase? You are walking fast!"
Maqinase answered, still walking: "Am I having hallucinations
today?" He raised his little nose and said: "You drag your
feet so as to delay on the road and ask me such stupid questions?"
The tortoise was hurt and answered back: "Oh, Maqinase, why
answer me with bad manners when I asked you politely? What an
arrogant child you are!" Maqinase shot back: "I am used by
now to be called arrogant. Also that fool over there with long
ears called me that. You leave me alone, mind your own business."
And Maqinase was off, leaving the tortoise open mouth in asto-
nishment.

He then met a frog. The frog said: "By Jove, look at Mr Wily
in person! Where are you going with such a swinging gait?"
Maqinase was upset and answered: "Today it must be my unlucky
day. First the donkey, then the tortoise, and now you, all
asking me questions. You were gurgling as if tired to breathe
to waste time to ask me where I am going? Furthermore, are you
so well acquainted with me as to address me as Mr Wily?"
Said the frog: "Yes, indeed, Maqinase, you are really arrogant.
Let those who have eyes see what you are!"
"Let them see that enormous mouth of yours first and leave me
alone!" Answered Maqinase; and he walked on ahead.

After passing the frog he left the main road and crept through
a fence. He said to himself: "Better turn off the road lest
others see me. These fields look really beautiful. I shall
easily fill my stomach today. Let those who sleep eat their
sleep!"

However Maqinase had been seen as he came into the fields.
The farmer got up and called his dog saying: "There is Maqinase:
he is back. Get him!" He had not finished speaking when the
big dog made straight for Maqinase. Maqinase was heard crying:
"We, ho... ho ...ho... ! We ... ho ... ho ... ho... !" The
dog was not silent either: it kept barking "Heyi heyi heyi!
Heyi heyi heyi!"

When Maqinase crept through the fence again, it tore his skin.

He took to his heels, still crying. Seeing the frog he called:
"Frog, frog, please rescue me!" But the frog answered: "Sorry,
I am still fixing my mouth!"

Maqinase went on at top speed with the dog at his tail, often
cutting through him with its teeth. He saw the tortoise and
shouted: "Tortoise, tortoise, please rescue me!" The tortoise
answered: "How can I rescue you, I who can only drag my feet?"
Maqinase went on, always running. He saw the donkey and said:
"Donkey, donkey, please rescue me!" The donkey answered:
"Sorry, I have no time, I am still fixing my ears."

The dog bit him one last time, then turned back and went home.
"Where are you coming from?" Asked his mother. Maqinase an-
swered: "Nowhere in particular." His mother was now angry.
"Nowhere in particular, and you are squeaking and panting?"
Maqinase denied: "I was just running around on my own, amusing
myself, since you were all asleep." The mother asked: "And
why was that dog chasing you?"
"No, it wasn't chasing me, it was just accompanying me."
Said his mother: "So, you think you are clever, don't you?
Remember that no clever person can lick his own back."

<p align="center">ooooo OOOOO ooooo</p>

Analysis of the tale

1.   This is a purely animal story in which animals are cast
to represent humans with their virtues and faults. It is very
realistic because these faults are highlighted in no uncertain
terms, and also because animals, although they speak and be-
have like humans, are represented in their physical traits,
which adds to the entertainment of the performance by giving
the performer the possibility of mimicry and of funny imitations.
In this tale the pigs are said to go to sleep in the afternoon
of a hot day, as they normally do. The piglet cries: We ...
ho ... ho ... ho ... ; the dog barks: heyi, heyi, heyi, heyi.
The donkey appears with its long unsightly ears, the tortoise
tarries on the road, the frog gurgles as if unable to breathe.

2. Structure of the Tale uMAQINASE

Principal Function Sequence	Subordinate Function Sequence	Primary Core-Image	Secondary Core-Image

Initial Situation

Absentation
Interdiction
Violation

Disobedient piglet goes out while mother sleeps

Villainy x 3

Villainy
Flight
Pursuit

He insults donkey, tortoise, frog. Spoils garden Discovered & chased by dog

Villain Exposed
Villain Punished   x 3 + 1

Exposed by the three animals and the dog

Villain Exposed
Villain punished

Exposed and punished by mother

The whole tale is enclosed in one move within the formula or function sequence of

Abs. + Inter. + Viol. + Punishment

The subordinate function sequence is

(Villainy x 3 + 1) + (Flight + Pursuit) + $\lceil$(Vill. Exp. + Vill. Punished) x 3 + 1 + 1$\rfloor$

Embedded in the subordinate sequence there is a parallel between Villainy and Punishment. The number x 3 stands for the times Maqinase is rude to the three animals and is then punished by them (by being exposed for his rudness and not being helped), and the + 1 stands for 'spoiling the garden' (= Villainy) and being bitten by the dog (= Punishment).

The structural device of parallelism is often found in morality tales where there is a comparison between two sets of actions in order to drive home the moral more forcefully. Here it is even more forceful because it appears as a perfect reverse parallelism.

3.   Core-Images

The primary core-image is that of Maqinase going out, in
disobedience to his mother, and being finally taught a hard
lesson and punished.
The secondary core-image develops the 'arrogance' aspect of
his character and actions in the function Villainy, representing
the insults he launches at the donkey, the tortoise and the
frog. His final Villainy is committed when he starts spoiling
a vegetable garden. From here the reaction and the 'return'
part of the image starts: he is discovered and chased by a dog.
He meets again the three animals he has insulted, asks for
their help and is teased by them, while being constantly bitten
by the dog.

4.   Themes

The theme of this story is simple: respect and obedience for
one's parents and elders. No arrogance, disrespect and
non-conformity should be allowed. It is summarized in the
final proverb: No one is so clever as to be able to lick
his own back.

U M S H A Y A N D L E L A

(Ibanga 2:14)

A certain boy was herding a large herd of cattle, sitting on
a big rock. One day there arrived cannibals and saw the boy
sitting on his rock. They tried to climb the rock to catch
him, but they couldn't. Then they asked him: "Boy, how did
you climb up there?" "I climbed all right," answered the boy.
They told him to get down, but he refused. The amazimu said:
"Since we cannot climb your rock, we will take your cattle."

They rounded up the cattle and drove them away. The boy
climbed down from the rock and followed them. They had hardly
moved, when the bull stopped. It was a big bull, its name was
Mshayandlela. Although the amazimu were whipping the cattle,
the bull stopped in front and soon all the cattle stopped.
Said the amazimu: "But how are these cattle of yours driven,
boy?" The boy replied: "They go when I tell them to." The
amazimu said: "Tell them to go, boy, or we shall eat you."
Then the boy sang:

> Walk, Mshayandlela;
> The thieves, Mshayandlela,
> Have stolen him, Mshayandlela,
> They have taken him captive, Mshayandlela.

At this the bull turned round and walked, and all the cattle
followed. They arrived at a ravine. Mshayandlela stopped
again: he did not want to go ahead. The amazimu ordered the
boy again: "Sing, boy, or we will eat you!" Again the boy
sang:

> Walk, Mshayandlela;
> The thieves, Mshayandlela,
> Have stolen him, Mshayandlela,
> They have taken him captive, Mshayandlela.

The bull crossed over, and so did the cattle. All the way
Mshayandlela kept stopping and then going, not knowing where
they were directed. When the boy sang, Mshayandlela went ahead.
And so they travelled until they reached the amazimu's house.
Here the amazimu tried to get the cattle into the cattle kraal,
but the bull refused. The amazimu ordered the boy to sing if

he did not want to be eaten; the boy sang and immediately
the bull entered the kraal. Then the amazimu decided to kill
this bull, but it could not be killed. They ordered the boy
to sing his song or they would eat him. Indeed the boy sang
and the bull allowed to be slaughtered. When they wanted to
skin it, it would not be skinned. The boy sang again and it
was skinned: they skinned it completely. When they wanted to
cut it up, it would not; the boy had to sing his song again
and it could be cut. The various parts were placed on top of
the cattle kraal.

The amazimu then went off to the river to wash before eating
their meat. They left the boy at home, telling him to look
after their meat. With the boy at home there was an old izimu
woman who was quite blind. As soon as the amazimu had gone,
the boy took Mshayandlela's skin and spread it out in the cattle
kraal. He then took the various parts of the bull and placed
them in the skin. He struck the skin with his stick and sang:

> Wake up, Mshayandlela!
> The thieves, Mshayandlela,
> Have stolen him, Mshayandlela,
> They have taken him captive, Mshayandlela.

The old izimu woman, who was blind, asked him: "What are you
doing, boy?" The boy answered: "I am dancing, granny." He
then struck it again with his stick while singing his song.
The bull got up. The boy whipped all the cattle, telling them
to get on their way. He set off on the road and went, until
they reached a bank with a lot of water. The cattle crossed,
preceeded by Mshayandlela who was not stopping now, knowing
that they were going home. Once the boy and the cattle were
on the other side, the water filled up again behind them. 1)

When the amazimu returned home they found no meat, no cattle,
no boy. They realized that the boy had gone off with the cattle.

----

1) There is no previous mention that the water had parted to
    let them through.

They immediately set off at full speed in pursuit of the boy.
They saw him with his cattle, on the other side of the water.
They shouted to him: "How did you cross over, boy?" "I
crossed all right," answered the boy. Then he added: "Would
you like me to get you over here?" The amazimu replied in
the affirmative, saying that they would like him to help them
cross.

The boy told the amazimu to wait and he would help them to
cross. He made a long rope. When he had made it, he threw it
to the amazimu on the other side and told them to fasten them-
selves to it and he would pull. When they were all fastened,
the boy started pulling them. They got into the water holding
on to the rope. When they were all in the centre of the water
the boy let go of the rope. All the amazimu were drowned.

The boy now drove his cattle, going home. When he arrived
there he found the people crying and mourning for him because
they thought him dead. He then told his parents all that had
happened, and his father gave him Mshayandlela as a reward.

ooooo OOOOO ooooo

Analysis of the Tale

This is a very well-known folktale about a boy and his bull.
There are numerous versions of it all over Bantu Africa.
I have used it extensively already in previous pages as an
example. Its structure is represented on pg 132 where it
is also discussed. Its core-images and internal links are
given on pp 139 and 138 respectively. The solo and chorus
parts of the refrain is on pg 148.

Theme is in common with other izimu tales, namely man's re-
action to evil in whatever form and shape. Perseverance and
patience are further stressed in this story. Even when man
feels powerless in the face of the tide of evil which seems to
overcome him, he must persevere and will eventually overcome it.

U N K O M B O S E   N O S I H L A N G U S A B A Y E N I

(Ibanga 2:33)

A certain woman had two daughters: Nkombose and Sihlangusabayeni.
Nkombose was the eldest, Sihlangusabayeni the youngest.
Sihlangusabayeni was very much her mother's darling, being the
youngest. One day however the woman had to go out. She had
spread the mealies in the yard to dry. She called Nkombose and
Sihlangusabayeni and said to them: "I am going out, but I shall
not be long. Here are my mealies in the yard. I do not want
them to be eaten by the fowls. I want you to sit here and
watch the mealies until I return. Do you hear me?" The chil-
dren answered that they had heard her. The mother added:
"If the fowls get to the mealies and eat them, I shall teach
you a lesson you will never forget!"

And so the woman went out and left the mealies in the yard.
Nkombose and Sihlangusabayeni sat there watching the mealies.
The fowls saw the sisters watching the mealies and dared not
come near. Nkombose realized that the fowls were staying at
a distance and said to Sihlangusabayeni: "Mother is joking.
These fowls are not interested in the mealies. Let us go and
play elsewhere."

Sihlangusabayeni was afraid to go away. She said: "No, Nkombose.
Mother told us to stay put here and not to leave. She said to
sit here and watch the mealies. If we leave the mealies un-
guarded, mother will beat us."

Nkombose answered: "These fowls have already eaten enough.
They are not interested in the mealies. Just look at them:
they are keeping far away. Let us go and play, Bayeni."
Sihlangusabayeni was not convinced; she said: "I am afraid,
Nkombose. Furthermore, mother said she will not be long."
Nkombose laughed: "Oh, Bayeni, don't you know mother yet?
If she says she won't be long, she comes back late. If she
says she will be late, she returns quickly. Come on, Bayeni,
Do not be afraid."

At the end Sihlangusabayeni gave in. The girls went off to
play and left the mealies unguarded. As soon as the fowls saw
the sisters out of sight, they threw themselves on the mealies.
They had a great time, gorging themselves. As they ate, they
would from time to time lay down as if they had had enough, but
it was never enough. They scattered the mealies and picked and
picked, until they were absolutely full.

The children played for a long time. Then Sihlangusabayeni
said: "Let us go to have a look at mother's mealies, Nkombose."
Nkombose answered: "You are a nuisance, Bayeni. You are as
scared as a frog. The mealies are not going anywhere. They
are all right." Sihlangusabayeni retorted: "It does not matter
if (you say that) I am as scared as a frog. Just let us go
to have a look whether mother's mealies are all right."

Indeed the children stopped playing and went to check the mealies.
They had a nasty shock when they found nothing left: the
mealies had been completely cleaned up by the fowls.

Sihlangusabayeni said: "What did I tell you, Nkombose? We **have**
had it today: we are done for!" Nkombose answered: "Do not
say 'we have had it', because nothing is going to happen to you.
Indeed you are mother's darling. I am the hated one."

When the mother returned she immediately saw that the mealies
had gone. She called Nkombose: "Nkombose, where are the mealies?"
Nkombose said, her knees shaking with fear: "They have been
eaten by the fowls, mother! Sihlangusabayeni added: "I told
Nkombose that the fowls would eat the mealies, but she wasted
time playing."

The mother grabbed Nkombose saying: "I am going to show you
what I do to a child who wastes time playing instead of looking
after the mealies." The mother repeatedly squeezed Nkombose's
throat, until she strangled her. However she did nothing to
Sihlangusabayeni.

Part II

The mother had a terrible shock when she realized that Nkombose
had died. She picked her up and threw her into a pool.
Sihlangusabayeni was now alone and felt sorry for herself: all
the chores had to be done by her, all the water had to be carried
by her. Water was drawn from the very pool into which Nkombose
had been thrown.

One day Sihlangusabayeni took her calabash and went to draw
water. She filled up her container with the water brimming
over. Now she was unable to load it on her head because it
was too heavy. She sat down and exclaimed and cried:
"Nkombose, Nkombose my sister, please help me load (on my head)."
She had hardly finished these words when she noticed a movement
in the water of the pool. She was startled and wondered what
could cause the water to move in such a way. Her mouth open
in amazement, she noticed the head, then the shoulders, then
the full body of Nkombose appear.

Sihlangusabayeni said again:
"Nkombose my sister, Nkombose my sister, please help me load!"
Nkombose replied:

> Go and cry to your mother, young girl (Girl in your teens)
> Don't you see that I was killed, young girl?
> They threw me into the pool, young girl.
> The mamba said I should be eaten, young girl,
> The python said I should be left alone, young girl,
> To be the queen of the pool, young girl.

Then Nkombose came out and helped Sihlangusabayeni load (the
calabash on her head). She warned her: "Dare not say a word
at home!" With that she returned to the pool and disappeared
in the water. At home they were surprised to see Sihlangusa-
bayeni arrive with the calabash so full. They asked who had
helped her. She did not tell them, remembering Nkombose's
warning. The next day Sihlangusabayeni took her pot again
and went back to the pool. She filled her pot again right up
to the brim and was unable to put it on her head alone. Again
she spoke, like the day before:

"Nkombose my sister, Nkombose my sister, please help me load!"
Again Nkombose came out and said:

> Go and cry to your mother, young girl.
> Don't you see that I was killed, young girl?
> They threw me into the pool, young girl.
> The mamba said I should be eaten, young girl,
> The python said I should be left alone, young girl,
> To be the queen of the pool, young girl.

She then helped her load. After telling her again not to say
a word at home, she returned to the pool. When Sihlangusaba-
yeni arrived home, they asked her again who had helped her with
the pot. She denied at first, but they pressed her so much
that she eventually told them.

The next day, when she was going to the pool for water, they
went with her. They hid in the vicinity of the pool. Again
Sihlangusabayeni filled her pot up to the brim and then called:
"Nkombose my sister, Nkombose my sister, please help me load!"
Again the pool water moved and Nkombose appeared saying:

> Go and cry to your mother, young girl.
> Don't you see that I was killed, young girl?
> They threw me into the pool, young girl.
> The mamba said I should be eaten, young girl.
> The python said I should be left alone, young girl,
> To be the queen of the pool, young girl.

As Nkombose was reciting these words, her relatives came out
of their hiding places. They grabbed her and took her home.

The next morning, when they woke up at home, they saw snakes
standing at the door, saying that they wanted Nkombose imme-
diately. The people begged them to let her stay at home: they
would rather give them cattle. The snakes finally agreed, on
condition that they gave them two spotless white oxen.
Indeed the people came out of their home leading two spotless
oxen as white as snow. They gave them to the snakes. The
snakes then left, leading their cattle.

Analysis of the Tale

1. General Remarks

This is a human tale in two parts: the first part deals with
the stubborness of thoughtlessness of one sister, matched by
the mother's hot temper; the second part deals with **the changed**
attitude of the same girl towards her younger sister, as she
(the eldest) has undergone a purification and a re-birth in the
pool. The image of a girl becoming the bride of snakes in a pool
is quite common in folktales.   Snakes can be fierce destroyers
or kind healers: they heal the girl in this story, but they
threaten destruction of the family if justice is not satisfied.

2.   Structure of the Tale   UNKOMBOSE NOSIHLANGUSABAYENI

Principal Function Seq.	Subordinate Function Seq.	Primary Core-Image	Secondary Core-Image
M O V E 1			
Init. Sit.			
Absentation Interdiction Violation Consequence		Guard the mealies or else!	
Villainy		Mother kills daughter	
M O V E 2			
Lack			
	Command (understood) Obedience Consequence	Help younger sister	
	Interdiction Violation (1) Consequence		Don't tell about me
Lack Liquidated		Daughter restored	
	Command Obedience Consequence		Snakes compensated with oxen

Observations

The story is composed of two moves. The first move contains
the Absentation sequence and ends with the free function Villainy.

(1) Obedience first time; Violation second time.

The second move has a sort of a general frame expressed by
<u>Lack + Lack Liquidated</u>. The principal function sequence is
based on the custom that an older sister must help a younger
sister, especially loading something heavy. It is expressed
by a command sequence. Embedded in this there is a subordinate
sequence of interdiction. The final sequence represents the
request of, and compliance with, the snakes' claim. Perhaps
the interdiction sequence could be considered embedded in
another understood socio-cultural sequence, namely the duty
of helping a member of the family in a difficult situation,
which could be expressed as:

> Command (Help family (= eldest sister) in distress)
> Obedience (Reveal who helped her load)
> Consequence = Rescue of older girl

This kind of understood, deep-structure, sequence could then
be considered a parallel to the first sequence in the second
move, and come to mean that Nkombose's kindness to her sister,
in obedience to custom, is repaid by Bayeni's mediation in
restoring Nkombose to full human life.

3.   <u>Core-Images</u>

The image of the first part has a dramatic value only as leading
up to the strangling of Nkombose: it is therefore a preparatory
image for the second one, the well-known image of a girl in a
snakes' pool, eventually snatched to freedom by relatives.
There is a link between the two parts: the girl's body thrown
into the pool to which the younger sister comes to draw water.
The refrain contains a solo part, the variable part, and a
chorus part, fixed. It serves also as a centre of the whole
story, because it expresses all the important elements of the
tale, namely: Bayeni is the favourite daughter ('Go and cry
to your mother, young girl'); Nkombose's death ('I was killed');
her possible complete destruction in the pool and her restoration
to life ('The mamba said I should be eaten, The python said I
should be left alone').

4.   <u>Themes</u>: Obedience to parents and to customs.
The offering to the snakes is a kind of restitution for a crime,
and a repayement of <u>lobola</u> if the girl leaves her husband's home.

U M K H W E K A Z I   N A M A S I
(Ibanga 2:67)

There was an old woman who lived alone. As she was feeling
lonely, she went to live with her married daughter. The
son-in-law and the daughter were hard working people. Every
morning they got up and went to the fields. They worked in
the fields far away while the old lady worked in the field
near home. There at home there was plenty of maas: the old
lady liked it very much, but she could not eat maas at the
house of her son-in-law.

The old lady however devised a plan to get the maas. As the
others went off in the morning, she too took her hoe and went
off to weed. She had not done much work when she exclaimed
in a loud voice: "Strange things are happening to me. Who
is calling me while my children are away?" Then she took off
her little leather kilt and hang it on the handle of the hoe,
saying: "Hoe, stay here and weed on your own. I am going to
see who is calling me."

She went to the house, prepared the grinding stone, then took
some mealies and crushed them. When she had finished doing
this, she took her son-in-law's wooden spoon and his beer pot
and mixed in maas and mealies. She did all this without fear,
knowing that her people would not be returning from the fields
for a long time. Having finished doing the mixing, she took
her son-in-law's ibheshu and umutsha (loin cloth, both front
and back) and put them on. She then took his stool and sat
on it and started on the porridge with great enthusiasm.
When she had finished she replaced everything carefully and
went back to her weeding, working until the return of her
son-in-law and of her daughter.

At their return from the fields, they realized that something
was amiss. They asked the old lady about it, because she had
been weeding near the house, but she denied it, saying that she
had not come near the house from the moment she had left at
their departure.

Also the next day, when they returned home, they realized that something was amiss. The old lady vigorously denied any knowledge again. This went on for some time. But one day the son-in-law went out carrying his hoe as if he was going to the fields. He did not go, however; he came back and hid in the house. He waited for a long time with nothing happening: he thought he was wasting his time. But then he heard the old lady shout: "Strange things are happening to me. Who is calling me while my children are away?" The son-in-law looked through a hole. He saw the old woman putting her leather kilt on the handle of the hoe saying: "Hoe, stay here and weed on your own. I am going to see who is calling me." She then came to the house, prepared the grinding stone, took some mealies and crushed them. She then took her son-in-law's pot and wooden spoon and mixed. She also took his ibheshu, then his stool and sat on it. She was singing as she gorged herself with maas. While she was doing all these things, she never saw her son-in-law.

When she had helped herself twice or three times, the son-in-law came out of his hiding place and said: "So, it is you, mother-in-law, who is troubling us." The old lady had such a shock she nearly fainted. She did not know what to say. The son-in-law said to her: "I am not going to kill you, mother. Do not be afraid. But I want you to go and fetch me water from a river without frogs."

The old lady got up quickly, took a water pot and went off. When she arrived at a river she would ask with a moan: "Is there any frog here?" A frog would answer: "Klo klo, I am here." She would then get up and travel to another river. There too she would ask on arrival: "Is there any frog here?" and a frog would reply: "Klo klo, I am here." Asking in this way she came across many rivers. She was now tired: her legs did not want to carry her any further, her feet were like weights which she had to drag along painfully.

She arrived at another river. She asked again: "Any frog here?"

There was silence. The old lady was so happy she could die.
She asked again: "Any frogs here?" Again, absolute silence.
She got down on her knees, drew water and drank. She drank a
lot, then she filled the pot for her son-in-law.

Near the river there was a large tree throwing a cool shade.
She sat in the shade because she was dead tired. When she
went to get up to leave, she realized she was caught in the
roots so firmly that she could not move. The river from which
she had drawn water belonged to the king of the animals. Towards
evening the animals began to arrive to go to sleep there. When
they saw the old lady they asked: "Who is this, sitting near
the king's river?" The old lady was frightened and answered:
"It is I, lord; I was taking a rest and got caught." Said
the animals: "The king is coming."

Finally the king arrived. He asked who was the one sitting
near his river. The old lady answered: "It is I, Lord. I
thought I would take a rest but was caught by the roots."
The king was furious and told the animals that the old lady
would be eaten in the morning. So the animals went to sleep.

Among those animals there was a genet; the genet felt sorry
for the old lady. While the other animals slept, the genet
set the old lady free and accompanied her on her way. The
old lady walked and walked until she arrived home. She gave
her son-in-law his water. He was surprised indeed at seeing
her back: he had hoped she would die, but she had escaped
death.

The genet returned and wiped the dew on the feet of the bush-
shrike. The animals woke in the morning happily thinking they
were going to eat the old lady. They looked for her, but she
was not there. It was asked who had set her free but all denied
it. The genet proposed that they should find who had dew on
its paws. Indeed the dew was found on the bush-shrike which
was then killed.

ooooo OOOOO ooooo

Analysis of the Tale

1. General Remarks

This story is based on cultural prohibitions: do not eat
maas at the house of your son-in-law; Do not use cutlery,
stools and clothes belonging to the family head. It is
presented here in conjunction with three more images, namely:
the search for water from a frogless river, the drinking
from the king's river, and the genet's trick on the bush-
shrike.

2. Structure of UMKHWEKAZI NAMASI

Primary Sequences	Subordinate Sequences	Primary Core-Images	Secondary Core-Images

MOVE 1

Initial Sit.
Lack
Lack Liquidated —————————— Lonely old lady goes to stay with in-law's

Lack

Absentation
Interdiction
Violation   } x 3   Deceit   Trick to get hold
                        Deception   of forbidden maas
Consequence   Villain Exposed   She is discovered
Lack Liquidated   Villain Punished and punished

MOVE 2

Command   Lack   Journey to
Obedience   Lack Liquidated frogless river
Consequence   for water

MOVE 3

Init. Sit.
Interdiction   —————————— River belongs
Violation   to king of
Consequence   animals

MOVE 4

Interdiction
Violation
Fraud   —————————— Genet's
Defeat   trick on
Escape   bush-shrike

There are four moves in the story: moves 1 and 2 are main
moves, moves 3 and 4 are additions to the main story.
The core of the story is expressed by the first move, which
contains two sequences and two additional formulas.
The formula <u>Lack + Lack Liquidated</u> appears twice: first
referring to the old lady's loneliness, then referring to
'lack of maas'. In the second instance it serves as a frame
for the <u>Absentation + Interdiction</u> sequence which is embedded
in it. <u>Lack + Lack Liquidated</u> also appears as a manifestation
of the second move, where <u>Lack</u> signifies the search of water
from the frogless river.
The function <u>Consequence</u> appears three times: the first
time it is realized by the formula <u>Villain Exposed + Punished</u>;
the second time it stands for the procuring of water from
the frogless river; the third time is the death sentence
served on the woman by the king of the animals.
The fourth move contains elements of a trickster sequence
with <u>Violation + Fraud + Escape</u> expressed by the genet's
trick at the expense of the bush-shrike, which finally has
to suffer <u>Defeat</u>.

3. Core-Refrains and Core-Images

Three dialogues form the core-refrains of the first three
images: the exclamation of the old lady and her dialogue
with her hoe in the first image; the dialogue with the frogs
in the second image; and the dialogue with the animals at
the river side in the third image. The core of the fourth
image is the proverb: <u>Insimba yesulela amazolo ezinyameni</u>
<u>zegqumusha</u>, which is often used to describe people who,
instead of taking responsibility for their actions, manage
to blame others. Each refrain is well connected with a
well known core-image.
Although the story is made up of four distinct images, they
are well linked here, the main link being the old lady and
her greed for maas in the first image and the punishment
journey in the other three moves.

The impersonation scene in the first move is well developed:
the old lady tries to impersonate her son-in-law by putting
on his clothes, using his cutlery and his stool.

4.   Themes

The main theme is the observance of traditional customs
and taboos, even when this proves hard.
A second theme can also be detected: be honest, do not lie.
The lies told in the first image are eventually punished.
Yet, with a reverse parallelism applied to the final
trickster image (the genet and the bush-shrike), the genet's
lie goes undetected, and costs the life of the innocent
bush-shrike. An animal trickster may get away with dishonest
behaviour - this is part of the folktale tradition - but
not a human trickster.

U M A M B A   K A M A Q U B A

(Ibanga 2:79)

There was a woman with two daughters. One day she sent the
girls to the river to draw water with their calabashes. The
girls went. But as they were filling up the containers, the
elder girl's calabash slipped and broke. The girl was afraid
to return home because her calabash was broken. She said:
"Sister, please go and tell mother that my calabash is broken."

The younger girl went home and told her mother that as her
sister was filling up, her calabash slipped and broke. She
was now afraid to return home. Said the mother: "Why should
she be afraid to come home? It was an accident. Go and tell
her to come home. It is nothing."

The boisterous young sister ran back to her sister and said:
"Mother is red with anger. She says you must not dare to set
your little foot at home again." The older girl was devastated
at hearing her mother's words. She felt that she had nowhere
to go. Better go and find herself a husband.

She set off to go and marry Mamba of Maquba. On the way she
met an old woman: her eyes were completely closed with eye
discharge. The old woman said to the girl: "Please lick the
discharge from my eyes, my child." The girl did not make any
fuss: she just got down to it and did it: she licked the eyes
clean. The old woman said to her: "Go, my child: there is
marriage for you ahead." The girl got up and went.

She was still on the road when she met another person who was
lifting a load not on the head but on the buttocks. She said
to the girl: "Please help me lift this load, my child." The
girl did not make any fuss: she lifted the heavy burden and
put it on the woman's buttocks. The woman said to her: "Go,
my child: there is marriage for you ahead."

The girl went off and travelled and travelled. Eventually she
arrived at Mamba's home. At her arrival Mamba was out herding
his cattle. But there were other people at home. They greeted
her, asked after her health and then enquired on the purpose of
her journey. She answered that she intended to marry Mamba of
Maquba. They replied that Mamba was away, still herding his
cattle. They brought out some mealies and told her to grind
them finely. Indeed the girl knelt at the grinding stone and
ground them and ground them until they were very fine as she
had been told to do.

At lunch time Mamba returned. They immediately told him about
the girl who had come to marry him. Mamba was very happy to
hear this.

The girl was taken to a hut, which was closed firmly from the
outside, except for an opening in the roof. Mamba would enter
through this opening: he was in fact a snake. Indeed Mamba
came into the hut where the girl was through that hole. He
approached the girl who had come to be his bride and wrapped
himself round her. He placed his head on her neck. The girl
was silent, never giving any sign of fear. Mamba saw that she
was not scared. He left her and went out through the same
hole as before. He took the cattle out of the cattle kraal
and led them to the pastures. At sunset Mamba returned home
and closed the cattle in the kraal, then immediately went to
the hut where was the girl who had come to be his bride.

And so the girl became Mamba's wife and after some time she
gave birth to a child.

Part II

One day the girl asked Mamba to be allowed to visit her family
with the baby. Mamba was very fond of the girl and he loved
his child. He agreed that they visit her family. And so she
set off, with the baby, to visit her home. At home the people
were shocked and surprised when she appeared out of nowhere.
Furthermore, she arrived with a baby: sure sign that she had
got married.

Her mother asked her where she came from. The girl told her
that she had got married, she had married Mamba of Maquba.
Her mother asked her why she had left home and she related the
message sent through her younger sister. She declared that
that was what had driven her from home. The mother was very
upset at hearing this. She was however very happy that her
daughter was still alive and had come home with her grandchild.

The younger daughter was also at home. Realizing that her
sister was happily married, her jealousy arose. She decided
that she wanted to marry Mamba of Maquba, too, but she did not
know that he was a snake. Her older sister never explained
what kind of a husband she had.

The younger girl set off: she too was going to be Mamba's wife.
On the road she met the old woman whose eyes were filled with
discharge. Said the old woman: "Please lick the discharge
from my eyes, my child." The girl took offence: "Tell me,
do you see me as one who should have something to do with your
eye discharge? You must be out of your mind!" The old woman
said: "Go on ahead, you boaster. There is no marriage for you
ahead!" The girl replied testily: "Who asked you for the gift
of marriage? Not I!" And off she went, without giving another
thought to the old woman's words.

She travelled and travelled. While still on the road she met
the person **lifting** a load on her buttocks. The woman said
to her: "Please help me lift this load, my child." Arms
akimbo and nose in the air the girl answered: "What? Can't
you see who I am? Tell me, do you see me as one who has time
to waste lifting your load? You must be out of your mind!"
The woman said: "Go on ahead, you boaster. There is no
marriage for you ahead!" The girl did not give a fig about
the woman's words.

She travelled and travelled until she reached Mamba's home.
They asked her what she wanted. She answered she was getting
married. They gave her mealies and told her to grind them finely.

Indeed she took the mealies and got down to the grinding stone,
but she did not pay any attention to what she had been told:
instead of grinding them finely, she ground the mealies coarsely.

In the afternoon Mamba arrived. They told him that another
girl had arrived to be his bride. Mamba was very happy at the
prospect of getting another bride. He led the cattle into the
cattle kraal. The girl was taken to her hut which was firmly
closed from the outside, except for the small opening in the
roof through which Mamba would enter. As soon as he had locked
the cattle in, he made for the room where the girl was and
entered through the small opening.

When the girl saw the snake enter, she started to shriek. As
the snake tried to wrap itself aroud her, she would have none
of it. Mamba was furious. He asked her what did she think she
was doing, then ordered the door open for her. They opened it.
The girl got out and ran. She got on the road to her home.
Mamba was pursuing her fast, following her with a stick, until
she reached home. There they heard the girl scream as she came.
They came out and saw that she was being pursued by a snake:
they hit it and killed it, then made a fire and burned it.

The older girl collected the ashes of Mamba her husband, made
a hole in her hut and poured them into it. She then filled up
the hole and levelled the ground.

One day she noticed a crack in the place where she had buried
the ashes. Another day she noticed hair, the next day a head,
the next day a chest, until the whole body of Mamba of Maquba
appeared: but now he was a person, not a snake.

And so Mamba of Maquba went off with his wife and child to go
and establish his own home.

ooooo   ooooo   oooooo

Analysis of the Tale

1. General Remarks

This is a human story developing out of the jealousy of a
young girl for her older sister. The story underlines the
fact that this jealousy is a bad thing, because it proceeds
from the wrong attitude to life, namely selfishness and
stubborness. The world of the fantastic is represented here
by Mamba, the snake destined to become a man if and when loved,
who acts as a mediator, to bring about happiness as a reward
or unhappiness as a punishment. Mamba feels and acts like a
human being, but we are constantly reminded that he is a snake
from the way he enters the hut, the way he shows love to his
brides, the way he is killed and burned. Only the love and
foresight of the older girl are able to see more in him than
his snake nature. And she is finally rewarded for it.

2. Structure of the Tale UMAMBA KAMAQUBA

Principal Function Sequence	Subordinate Function Sequence	Primary Core-Image	Secondary Core-Image
M O V E 1			
Init. Situation		Sisters' jealousy	
	Deceit / Deception		Trick to get rid of sister
Lack		Old sister leaves home	
Command Obedience Consequence } x 3		Kindness and Obedience	
Reward/Marriage			
Lack Liquidated		Returns home with baby	
M O V E 2			
Init. Situation		Young sister's jealousy	
Command Violation Consequence } x 3		Unkindness and stubborness	
Flight Pursuit Rescue			
	Recognition of Hero Reward/Marriage		Older sister marries human Mamba

3. Core-Images

I have mentioned previously in this thesis Scheub's idea of
'parallel-image set' of which this story is a clear example.
The two Moves show this perfect parallelism, but Command is
firstly followed by Obedience and, in the second Move, by
Violation. Scheub would call this kind of parallelism a
'patterned-image set' (Scheub 1971:222) because the change
in one function shows contrast and is meant to bring out, more
clearly, theme.

The core-saying in this story is: "Go ahead, my child; there
is/ there is not marriage for you ahead." This refrain is
repeated twice in the first move and twice, in the negative
form, in the second move. From the form of the refrain develop
the two contrasting images: that of the obedient girl and that
of the younger upstart.

I consider the initial formula of Deceit + Deception as a
subordinate image because it is not essential, in the present
form, for the development of the tale, although the Author
uses it as an internal link at the beginning of the second move.
The final sequence of Recognition + Reward/Marriage I also
consider subordinate because it is only a means of making
explicit the reward/marriage at the end of the first move.

The peaceful return home of the first girl is also contrasted
with the Flight + Pursuit + Rescue of the second girl's home-
coming. The happiness achieved by the first contrasts with the
fear, unhappiness and disgrace brought on herself by the second.

4. Theme

When two moves are parallel and contrasting, theme is force-
fully emphasized by the tale itself. While the older sister
is prepared to submit to any command for the sake of following
the rules which keep the wheels of society running smoothly,
and thus she achieves a reward, the younger one is selfish and
presumptuous and destroys harmony rather than fostering it.
Compliance with custom, and obedience, is then the theme.

W A N G I W E Z A   P H E L A

(Ibanga 2:86)

A woman had ten children; she was distressed because she
had no nursemaid. But one day there arrived Chakijana; he
realized that the woman was in need and told her that, should
she be willing, he would be able to look after her children.
The woman was overjoyed at having a nursemaid now.

She got up in the morning to go to the fields to do the weeding.
She asked Chakijana to help by preparing food. Indeed, as
soon as she was gone, Chakijana went out hunting. He caught
a hare and cooked it. When the woman returned, she was so
hungry she could cry, Chakijana quickly served her his delicious
meal. After she had eaten her full, she asked Chakijana to bring
her the children to suckle: Chakijana brought them, one by one.
As soon as one was fed, he would take him back inside and bring
another one out. This he did until all the children had been
fed. The lady of the house was happy and went to sleep satisfied.

The next day the woman got up and went out to the fields again.
Chakijana went out to hunt once more: he got a small animal
and cooked it. When the woman returned in the evening, she
could smell the nice scent of food. She asked Chakijana where
had he caught the animal and he told her he had surprised it
in its sleep not far from the house. He dished out for the
woman and she ate. When she had finished eating he again
brought the children out, one by one, for suckling. They
indeed sucked until all of them were well fed and satisfied.

After some time, however, Chakijana began loosing interest
in going out to hunt. He thought it would be better if he
cooked the very children of the lady of the house. While the
woman was out in the fields, Chakijana took one baby, killed
him and cooked him. When the woman returned in the evening,
he dished out as usual, and she ate with great pleasure even
licking her fingers and extolled the delicious meat. When she
had finished, Chakijana brought in the babies, one by one, to
be fed; he brought in nine, then brought in the first one again

to make up the number.

The next day the woman went off to the fields again. Chakijana
killed another baby and made up a delicious meal with him.
When the woman returned, Chakijana dished out again for her.
Again she praised Chakijana's cooking and ate to her heart's
content. When she finished eating, again Chakijana brought in
the babies for their feeding. And so it went on the following
days, with Chakijana killing and cooking one baby per day,
until only one baby was left. When the woman returned from the
fields, Chakijana dished out for her the delicious meat she
had by now got accustomed to. When she finished eating, she
asked Chakijana to bring in the babies to be fed. Indeed
Chakijana brought in the only remaining baby. Before he was
fully fed, he took him back and then brought him in again,
saying he was bringing a different one. The baby was soon fed
to capacity and did not want to eat any more. Chakijana said
he thought the babies who did not eat much were probably not
too well. The woman believed him.

The following day Chakijana killed the last baby and cooked him.
When the woman returned in the evening, he dished out for her
as usual. She ate and praised the food. When she finished
eating, she asked for the babies to be brought in for feeding.
Chakijana however was by now standing over at the door. He
was laughing. He started to dance on the doorway, singing:

> You have eaten all your children!
> You have eaten all your children!

When the woman heard that, she shot up trying to catch Chakijana.
But it was impossible: he was off at great speed, heading for
the river. The woman ran after him, crying as she went.
Hearing the woman's cries, also her neighbours ran trying to
catch Chakijana.

When Chakijana reched the river, it was in flood. He threw
himself on the bank and transformed himself into a small round
stone. When the people arrived at the river side, Chakijana
was nowhere to be seen. They wondered where could he have gone,

since he could not have crossed the river in spate.

The woman started looking at those nice round stones which
are common on a river bank. She picked up a nice one and
looked at it for some time saying: "How lucky are you, Chakijana,
to have escaped! Because, had I found you, I would have
smashed you like this!" And in so saying, she threw it across
the river. There is the stone flying now, and it lands on the
other side. As soon as the stone touches down, look, it changes
back into Chakijana. And so the woman had helped Chakijana
cross to the other side.

The woman was terribly upset, but there was nothing she could
do now. Chakijana instead was full of joy, and he sang:

> Ngcingci! You threw me across the river!
> Ngcingci! You threw me across the river!

And so Chakijana went on his way.

<div align="center">ooooo OOOOO ooooo</div>

Analysis of the Tale

1. General Observations

This story comprises two episodes of a well known trickster
sequence: the trickster as a nursemaid and the trick to cross
a river.

Nyembezi seems concerned (for educational reasons, I presume)
about the atrocious amorality of the trickster, and he presents
him at first as a dutiful and industrious nursemaid who goes
out of his way to satisfy the needs of his mistress. Only
later, through laziness, does he resort to the systematic and
fraudulent killing and cooking of his mistress' children.
One may also notice a cannibalistic note in the mother, when
she extolls the high quality of the meat while she eats her
own children. She is also guilty of stupid credulity, when she
never checks whether the children are well or not.

The second sequence is a chase episode in which Chakijana transforms himself into a nice round stone to be thrown to the other side of a river in spate.

2.   Structure of the Tale   WANGIWEZA PHELA

Principal Function Sequences   Primary Core-Images

M O V E   1

Initial Situation   Woman with ten babies

Lack   Needs a nursemaid
Contract   Employs Chakijana as a
Lack Liquidated   nursemaid

Absentation ⎤   Chakijana hunts for food
Command   ⎬ x n
Obedience   ⎥
Consequence ⎦

Interdiction ⎤(understood)   Chakijana kills and cooks
Violation   ⎬ x 2 (or x 10?)   babies and feeds them to
Fraud   ⎦   mother

Fraud   Trick discovered
Discovery
Gloat

M O V E   2

Flight   Chakijana pursued by woman
Pursuit
Ploy   Changes into a stone
Escape + Discovery   He is thrown beyond river
Gloat
Boast/Triumph

The tale comprises two moves and two corresponding core-images. The first move is enclosed into, and expressed by the sequence:

Contract + Viol. + Fraud + Villain Disc. + Gloat

Move 2 comprises a Chase sequence:

Flight + Pursuit + Ploy + Escape + Gloat + Triumph.

The initial Trickster Contract is, however, embedded in the formula Lack + Lack Liquidated.
The story also comprises the sequence Abs. + Comm. + Ob. + Cons. Although this is an unusual sequence in a trickster tale, it

is used as a parallel to the sequence Comm. + Viol. + Fraud
in subsequent repetitions of the core-image. This parallelism
is also shown by the fact that the narrator uses the Obedience
formula twice and the Fraud formula twice, with Fraud further
developed by Villainy Discovered and Gloat the third time.

The second move comprises a straight forward Chase sequence
with the addition of Ploy + Escape + Gloat + Triumph common
in a trickster chase sequence.

This story does not present great sequential depth because it
has no secondary function sequences. However it contains a
great variety of functions.

3.   Core-Images

There are two core-refrains: the gloat expressions of the
trickster in the two images, which form the core of the two
images themselves, namely:

    Wadla abantabakho naphela!
    Wadla abantabakho naphela!
and: Ngcingci! Wangiweza naphela!
      Ngcingci! Wangiweza naphela!

These 'remembered elements' are developed into the first image,
that of the trickster-nursemaid, and the second image, that
of the trickster-round stone thrown across the river.

The woman's hunger after a full day in the fields can be consid-
ered an internal link with the supper ritual happening every
evening. Chakijana's ability to catch small animals in his
hunting trips serves as a further link, and a cover up, for
his fraudulent killing and cooking of the babies. The woman's
first concern for the welfare of the children is also reflected
in her final rage against the trickster in her sorrow at having
lost all her babies.

4.   Themes

This story may show up the complacency of well-to-do people
in trusting strangers. But I think it is a purely entertain-
ing tale with no moral attached to it.

I M F E N E   N E M P U N G U S H E
(Ibanga 2:94)

A jackal was so fond of eating sheep that he posed a serious
problem to a farmer who one day decided to trap him. And
he set a trap for him. The jackal came back as usual, but
this time he was trapped. While caught in the snare, the jackal
was trying to figure a way out of his predicament when there
arrived the baboon. The jackal said to him: "You arrived at
the best of times, my friend. I was just wondering about where
could I get hold of you so that we could play this very enter-
taining game together. It is more amusing than I can tell you."

The baboon was very glad to hear that his friend the jackal had
been thinking of him while playing interesting games. The
jackal said: "Do please come in here and get the feeling of
how nice it is." The baboon did as he was told. As soon as
he went in, he was caught. The jackal laughed and said:
"What a fool you are! Have you ever seen such a game before?"

In the afternoon the owner came to inspect his traps and he
found the baboon caught. He said: "So, it is you the one who
eats my sheep? I am going to teach you a lesson you will never
forget today." The baboon started crying saying that he had
been deceived by the jackal under the appearance that it was
an enjoyable game. He said that it was the jackal which had
been caught in the trap, and it was the jackal that ate the
sheep. The man let the baboon free.

The baboon was raging mad at the thought of the danger to which
he had been exposed. He went after the jackal. He found him
on a tree eating fruit. The jackal realized immediately that
the baboon was angry. The baboon said: "I have caught up with
you now. Who is it that you make the butt of your tricks?
Is it a nice game the one in which I was about to be killed?
You go on devouring sheep and make me appear guilty of it?
I am going to teach you a lesson today. Come down from that
tree!"

Said the jackal: "Take it easy, friend. You are so angry that I cannot understand a word you are saying about what I am supposed to have done wrong." Then he came down from the tree holding beautiful mouth-watering fruit. He gave them to the baboon saying: "I am just going to the toilet, my friend. When I come back I will explain what happened. Meantime, do enjoy these fruits."

The baboon got busy with the tasty fruit and his anger subsided. However, when a long time had passed and the jackal had not returned, the baboon realized that the jackal had tricked him again.He got up again in search of the jackal. He found him in a precipice. When the jackal saw the baboon approaching, he pretended to be holding a rock and to be putting all his strength into it. As soon as the baboon arrived the jackal said: "Bad luck is after me. Please come and help me here, my friend. Please hold here. This whole cliff is falling. I am going to search for poles to prop it up." Oh, the baboon put his shoulder to it and held it up so hard that he started perspiring. The jackal went off to go and search for poles and never came back.

The baboon began to think that perhaps the jackal was making fun of him once more. He feared however to let go of the rock in case it should fall on him. He was getting really tired now. He thought it better to try his luck by jumping away. He did indeed take a long jump and stood far away waiting to see whether the rock would fall, but the whole cliff stood as firm as a rock.

The baboon went off again in search of the jackal. He told himself that he would never be tricked again by that clever monster. Although the jackal thought he was clever, no one can be witty all the time, not even the jackal. He finally found him in his cave.

He said: "Did you not know that I would eventually catch up with you? Who did you leave in the trap? Then you went off, leaving me to hold up that cliff."

The jackal said: "Sit down my friend. Do not talk standing.
Take a little rest. Here is some honey." The baboon was very
pleased at the sight of honey. The jackal spoke to him nicely
and proposed that they should make peace. Since the honey was
going down nicely, the baboon agreed. The jackal went on:
"I am going to get you some delicious food. I am going to
steal butter from carts passing on the road."

Indeed the jackal went off and lay on the main road pretending
to be dead. A European came with his cart. He struck the jackal
with a whip but he was still. He then took him for dead and
threw him into the cart. The jackal got hold of a crate of
butter without being seen by the white man. He jumped with it
from the cart and brought it to his cave where he had left the
baboon.

The jackal said: "Here I am, with the food I had promised.
Let us eat. However, let us not eat it all today: we shall
finish it tomorrow. Some other day you will go to get butter."
As they were eating, the jackal said he was going out to stretch
his legs. However, he did not go anywhere. Also the baboon
went out for a walk. As soon as the baboon was out of sight,
the jackal came back and ate all the butter, then went out again.
At his return, the baboon was back. The jackal asked: "Where
is the butter?" The baboon answered: "When I returned, it
was not here any longer." The jackal was angry and accused the
baboon of cheating, while he himself had eaten the butter.

The jackal said: "Let us go and lie in the sun with our buttocks
up. The one whose buttocks will be oily is the one who ate
the butter." So they went out and put their buttocks in the sun.
Feeling the heat, the baboon was soon sleepy and it fell asleep.
While he slept, the jackal got up and smeared butter on his
buttocks: he had kept a little of it. Then he called: "Let us
get up now and have a look." They did get up. He said:
"So, it is you the one who ate the butter." Although the baboon
denied it, it did not help at all. The jackal chased him away
saying that he was a bad and unreliable friend.

Analysis of IMFENE NEMPUNGUSHE

1. General Remarks

This is a typical trickter story whose protagonists are animals.
The baboon is cast as a greedy glutton: his credulity makes
him the natural butt for the jackal's tricks; his greed is
used by the jackal to appease his anger. In fact he quickly
forgets his rightful anger when tampted with fruit, honey
or butter. The jackal, on the other hand, is cast as a sly
character, completely amoral (just as any other trickster
figure) and always ready to take advantage of the baboon's
easy gullibility.

The jackal's 'pretended death' trick in order to get into
the farmer's cart is found in the mediaeval Roman de Renard's
story about Autram Rufus' eels: Reynard the Fox lies on
the road as dead and is thrown into the cart by Autram;
here he finds the choicest eels for the Carmelite monastery.
Reynard helps the eels to escape sure death. (The Story
of Reynard, 1959:82).

2. Structure

Principal Function Sequences	Primary Core-Images
M O V E 1	
Initial Situation	
Trickster Contract	Trapped jackal traps
Fraud	baboon
Escape	
M O V E 2	
Discovery	
Pursuit	Baboon pursues jackal
Trickster Contract	Jackal offers fruit
Fraud	Asks to leave
Escape	Jackal runs away
M O V E 3	
Discovery-Pursuit	Baboon pursues jackal
Fraud	Jackal asks baboon to hold
Escape	rock, then escapes

M O V E   4

Discovery
Pursuit
Trickster Contract
    Deceit
    Deception
Violation
Fraud
Escape

Baboon is given honey
and butter. Become friends.

Smears butter on baboon's
buttocks and accuses him
of being a bad friend.

It can be seen that there are four moves in this story, each
with the same function sequence:

    Trickster Contract + Fraud + Escape.

There are, however, additions to this basic formula: the Initial
Situation in the first move, the Discovery + Pursuit in the
other three moves. Furthermore, the fourth move contains also
a Deceit + Deception formula and a glaring Violation of Contract.
The final Escape is different from the others because now it
is the victim that must go away, accused of being fraudolent:
a Contrary Result situation, which is a source of humour in
Zulu culture.

This story also contains an interesting repetition of sequences
but not of images: sequence formulas remain constant while the
semantic content expressed by the core-images changes.

A constant transitional element among the various moves is the
formula Discovery + Pursuit. This is a common formula in
trickster stories.

3.   Core-Images

There is no core-refrain in this story.
The basic core-image is: Jackal tricks Baboon. The realization
of this image however changes in each move. The whole story
also contains the journey as its background element.
Apart from the journey, another internal link is the gluttony
and gullibility of the baboon.

4.   There is no clearly defined theme in the story. Perhaps
one may suggest the moral that one should not trust easily
made friends.

U N A N A N A   B O S E L E S E L E
(Ibanga 2:137)

Once upon a time there was Nanana Boselesele (=of the frog)
who built deliberately on a game path relying on her self-
assurance and cunning. She had built on the game path and
lived there with her children.

One day Nanana went away and left the children alone.
There passed a hare, he saw the children and asked: "Whose
are these very nice children?" The children answered: "We
are the children of Nanana Boselesele, the one who built on
the game path deliberately, relying on her self-assurance
and cunning." The hare said: "Sondonzima is coming!" and
went away.

There appeared a buck and asked: "Whose are these very nice
children?" The children replied: "We are the children of
Nanana Boselesele, the one who built on the game path deli-
berately, relying on her self-assurance and cunning." Said
the buck: "Sondonzima is coming!" and went away.

Then a leopard appeared and asked: "Whose are these very nice
children?" The children replied: "We are the children of
Nanana Boselesele, the one who built on the game path delibe-
rately, relying on her self-assurance and cunning." The
leopard said: "Sondonzima is coming."

Thus many other animals passed by. All asked whose children
they were. The children always answered that they were the
children of Nanana Boselesele, the one who had built on the
game path deliberately, relying on her self-assurance and
cunning. All the animals said that Sondonzima was coming.

When all the animals had passed, Sondonzima himself arrived.
He asked the children, with his deep voice: "Whose are these
very nice children?" The children answered: "We are the
children of Nanana Boselesele, the one who built on the game
path deliberately, relying on her self-assurance and cunning."

Sondonzima repeated the question, and the children answered
in the same way as before. Sondonzima swallowed them all.

Then Nanana came home. When she arrived, she found the house
empty: the children had disappeared. She asked herself where
could they have gone. She then took a long knife, some fire-
wood and fire, and went off in search of her children. On the
road she saw the hare; she begged: "Hare, hare, please tell
me where my children are!" The hare replied: "Go ahead, to
the elephants' watering pool. However, Sondonzima will swallow
you."

Nanana travelled and travelled, until she saw the buck: "Buck,
buck, please tell me where my children are!" The buck answered:
Go ahead, to the elephants' watering pool. However, Sondonzima
will swallow you!"

She went on until she met the leopard: "Leopard, Leopard,
please tell me where my children are!" The leopard replied:
"Go ahead, to the elephants' watering pool. However, Sondo-
nzima will swallow you!"

Nanana met all the animals on the road. All told her to go
on ahead to the elephants' watering pool. All warned her also
that Sondonzima was going to swallow her.

After travelling a long distance, she reached Sondonzima in
person. She asked: "Sondonzima, Sondonzima, please show me
my children!" Sondonzima replied: "Go on ahead, to the ele-
phants' watering pool." Nanana asked again: "Sondonzima,
Sondonzima, please show me my children." Sondonzima got angry
to be asked a second time, and he swallowed her together with
everything she was carrying. When she arrived into Sondonzima's
stomach she found her children still alive. She also found
many other people. Nanana then lit a fire in Sondonzima's
stomach. She cut meat from Sondonzima's stomach with her long
knife. She roasted it and gave it to eat to all those people
in Sondonzima's stomach.

Life became pleasant in Sondonzima's stomach now that they had food. Any time they were hungry now, Nanana would cut Sondonzima's flesh and roast it, and they ate. Sondonzima however began not to feel well at all. He lay down and was unable to get up again. The other animals came to see what was wrong with him. They realized that he was indeed very ill because smoke was coming out of his nostrils when he breathed. They thought that he was rotten inside. The animals however were unable to decide how to help their king because such an illnes was unknown to them, namely this breathing out smoke. They examined him time and again, and eventually left him alone.

The illness gave Sondonzima no respite because Nanana was going on cutting, roasting and giving to the others to eat. At the end Sondonzima simply died.

When he was dead, Nanana took her long knife and pierced through Sondonzima's stomach. All who had been swallowed by Sondonzima came out. They came out alive. They gave Nanana a gift of cattle for saving them.

<div align="center">ooooo   OOOOO   ooooo</div>

Analysis of the Tale

1.   General Remarks

This is a well known story about the overpowering monster Sondonzima (Big Heavy Foot) and Nanana, the determined woman who eventually overpowers him. There is also a lot of interaction with animals.

The Stuart Collection contains a slightly different version of this story, but it can also be found in Sotho and in North Sotho. In the Stuart Collection version Nanabosele requires the people she has set free from the monster to become her subjects and they accept. In the North Sotho version (Padiŝo II:34) people argue whether to accept their saviour as their chief or whether to kill him as a witch: they finally kill him!

2.   Structure of the Folktale   UNANANA BOSELESELE

Function Sequences   Core-Images

Initial Situation   Heroine builds house on
                                            game path in self-reliance.

Absentation

Lack   Villainy   Sondonzima swallows children
        Flight
        Pursuit   Nanana pursues monster
                   Deceit   She deceives him into swallowing
                   Deception   her
        Capture

        Ploy   Cuts and cooks his stomach
        Defeat   Monster dies
L. Liq. Escape   Children saved + People
Reward   Gift of cattle to Nanana

Notes

1. There is only one move in this story.
2. Lack + Lack Liquidated forms the background of the story
   into which a Chase Sequence is embedded.
3. Deceit + Deception is presented as a motivation for Capture,
   which is in fact a parallel with Villainy: in both functions
   the monster swallows: first the children, then Nanana.
   Both functions are preceeded by the enquiries, first about
   who the children are, then about where they are.
4. Flight is only understood, not expressly stated.
5. Ploy is ambivalent: it has a beneficial effect on the people
   (Nanana feeds them) but an adverse effect on the monster
   who gets ill and dies (Defeat).
6. Escape constitutes also Lack Liquidated (freedom restored
   and children recovered) and Rescue for both children and
   trapped people.
7. The end Reward function represents the gift of cattle
   given by the people to their saviour.

3.   Core-Images

1. There are two core-refrains contained in the two repeated
   dialogues, both containing the threat of Sondonzima.

The second dialogue is parallel to the first one: the
animals involved are the same, the request is similar.
The last question is repeated twice in both parts, to
give rise to the monster's anger.

4. Themes

Sondonzima is a monster, and a danger to nature and to society
because of his quick temper and his insatiable appetite,
It takes a strong personality - a highly motivated mother -
to re-establish the disrupted harmony by getting rid of this
overpowering moster.

U B H A D A Z E L A   N O M N I N G I

(Ibanga 2:151)

The king of a certain country died. The kings of that country
were customarily strengthened with the fat of the liver of a
water dragon.

When the new king was installed, the country was told to get
ready for the day of his strengthening according to their custom.
Messengers were sent to the doctors to supply the fat in question,
but in vain: it was soon found that all the doctors were without
it.

It was then announced that there was a pool with many of those
water dragons, but that pool also had a snake with many heads
by the name of Mningi (Multitude). This pool was feared by
every single person because of this snake. No one dared attack
the snake. The doctors, when consulted, declared that Mningi
had to be killed if the dragon's fat were to be obtained. Each
doctor proposed a plan to achieve this, but all failed.

The king then issued a proclamation: the young man able to
get hold of the dragon's liver fat would be rewarded with the
hand of Ntanyana, the king's daughter, in marriage. As soon
as this was made known, young men vied with each other to get
the dragon's liver fat: each one was confident to be the one
to marry Ntanyana. But all failed miserably. The king was
greatly distressed at the news that the fat from the dragon's
liver was unobtainable. He realized that it would be a bad
omen were he not to be strengthened by such a medicine.

As people were running out of plans, a young man called
Bhadazela came forward. He said: "Your Majesty, I can kill
Mningi." This young man Bhadazela did not look very strong,
therefore, when he made such a daring statement, many laughed
at him saying: "How can you, being as you are, aspire to the
hand of Ntanyana?" Bhadazela, however, spoke with great confi-
dence. The king gave him his trust and told him to do what

he had set his mind to: should he succeed in getting the
dragon's fat, Ntanyana's hand would be his.

Bhadazela asked for some time to get ready, because he under-
stood that he was exposing himself to sure death (in case of
failure). He built a big house, leaving only a small aperture.
When the house was complete, he searched for young horses as
fast as the wind. He placed them at regular distances, so
that, when one was tired, he could mount another.

When all his preparations were finished, he set off to find out
where the snake placed its lamp at night, and then decided on
the day for attacking Mningi. He understood that, in order to
lure the snake away from the pool, he had to get hold of its
lamp. He prepared sharp weapons and left them at home. When
everything was ready he went to the king. "Your Majesty," he
said, "This is the day. Today I shall kill Mningi. I am going
to the pool now." The king and Ntanyana wished him good luck.

When the sun was setting he took his horse and made for the
pool. He stopped some distance away. He saw the snake's lamp
on the bank. He made a plan to take that lamp. It was the
snake's habit to leave the lamp on the river bank to lighten
the whole pool. When he had worked out his plan, he left his
horse at a short distance away and tip-toed towards the lamp.
The snake was not looking, and did not see him. He snatched
the lamp and jumped on his horse, driving it as fast as the
wind. There he is, going and disappearing. When he reached
the other horse, he jumped on it and left the tired one; the
same he did with the third horse.

But what about the lamp's owner? As soon as it realized that
its lamp was gone, it started off in pursuit. In spite of
its enormous mass, it was going very fast; its dust rose to
the sky. Bhadazela could hear its whistling noises getting
closer and closer behind him. Even the earth seemed to tremble.
He looked back and saw the dust getting dangerously close.
He khew that, should the snake catch him on the road, he was
as good as dead. But he was now near his house. Even the

horse was not just running, it was flying like the wind, as it
could feel the danger approaching at its back.

When he arrived in his yard, he immediately got inside the
house, still holding Mningi's lamp. He bolted himself in,
leaving the small aperture open. He had just finished locking
himself in when Mningi's massive frame was already in the yard,
having seen where he had entered. The aperture was just large
enough for one head at a time. But who had ever counted the
heads of that snake? Mningi wrapped himself round Bhadazela's
house with its whole massive body. Bhadazela however had built
the house strong that it should not crumble up. He waited
in silence inside, clutching his weapons. A head came in,
he cut it off smartly. Then another, and another and another,
until all were cut and Mningi fell completely dead.

At the king's palace people were sitting and waiting. A messen-
ger came from Bhadazela saying: "Bhadazela sent me, Lord; he
asks permission to bring Mningi's lamp which he has snatched
from the pool." What a surprise for all those gathered there,
including the king! They looked at the messenger as if he had
been talking nonsense. But when they realized that Bhadazela's
achievement made it possible to get the fat from the dragon's
liver, all acclaimed with great joy, including Ntanyana.

Every body dressed up for the occasion, waiting for the arrival
of Mningi's lamp. The king issued a proclamation to the whole
kingdom that all should be present when the lamp was brought in.
Indeed the crowd was large and thick that day. Then Bhadazela
appeared, holding the token of his heroic deed: he was happily
singing his own praises. All the people now looked on him with
different eyes.

After that Bhadazela went to catch the water dragon. He took
also Mningi's fat because it too was a powerful medicine to
strengthen the king. On the day the king was strengthened with
the fat from the dragon's liver, it was also announced that
Ntanyana was being given to Bhadazela. Bhadazela became an
important person.

Analysis of the Tale

1. General Remarks

This is not a typically Zulu folktale. Several foreign elements
can be detected, such as the king, his anointing or strengthening,
which supposes a centralized form of government which was only
introduced among the Zulu by Shaka. Another foreign element is
the use of a horse, which again was unknown among ancient Zulu.
There is no hint of a core-refrain: another indication of
foreign origin? (Cfr. Marivate 1973)
The Hero is one who is thought of, at first, as insignificant.
However, he is the only one who succeeds because he is able to
make a detailed plan to attract the enemy out of its stronghold
to be able to dispose of it. It is the victory of brain over
brawn, so often found in African tales.

2. Structure of the Tale UBHADAZELA NOMNINGI

Function Sequences   Core-Images

Lack
   Contract
      Deceit   How Bhadazela acquired the
      Deception   fat of the liver of a water
      Flight   dragon for the anointment of
      Pursuit   the king
      Ploy
      Escape
   Defeat
   Triumph
Lack Liquidated
Marriage of Hero

Observations: The quest for the fat, or oil, from the liver of
the dragon for the anointment of the king encompasses the whole
story: Lack + Lack Liquidated. This is somehow paralleled by
the promise of the hand of the princess in marriage, contained
in the sequence Contract + Defeat of Villain + Triumph + Marr.
The actualization of the plan is contained in the third sequence,
embedded in the second one, how to get the snake's lamp, in

order to get rid of the dragon's guardian. This is expressed
in the sequence:

    <u>Deceit</u> + <u>Deception</u> + <u>Flight</u> + <u>Pursuit</u> + <u>Ploy</u> + <u>Escape.</u>
<u>Dec.</u> + <u>Decep.</u> expresses the action of getting hold of the lamp;
<u>Flight</u> + <u>Pursuit</u> + <u>Ploy</u> + <u>Escape</u> is the flight and chase se-
quence in the story.
The story is tightly knit from beginning to end, and is structured
in only one move.

3.   Core-Images

There is only one basic core-image: how Bhadazela acquired the
fat of the liver of the dragon. The climax, however, is the
fulfillment of the plan to get rid of Mningi, the guardian of
the pool.
There are several internal links: the fearful strength of
Mningi, which is taken care of through the building of a strong
house; the number of its heads, conquered through the strata-
gem of the small aperture; its speed, overcome with fast young
horses. The king's anointing and Ntanyana's marriage are two
other links holding the story together. Also Bhadazela's growth
in stature and admiration, from insignificance to prominence,
binds the tale together. The initial insignificance of the
hero can be probably considered as the realization of the
idea that a mediator in a story is normally somebody no one
would think about at first.

4.   Theme

Intelligent planning is necessary to overcome great difficulties.
And also: Do not dismiss anybody as insignificant: he may
give you a surprise, especially if he is one who is able to
act rationally.

CONCLUSION

Folktale telling is a universal experience: the phenomenon
is found in both literate and non-literate societies.
Especially in non-literate societies this practice takes
on tasks which in other societies are fulfilled by other
institutions such as the school or the theatre. Folktales
are generally performed for entertainment, but they are
an educational form of relaxation which stimulates the
mind and the fantasy of both audience and performer and
unites them in an emotional experience which is both
inspiring and rewarding.

In non-literate societies, folktales give scope for
creative artistic expression, while being also a means
of culture validation, as they pass on societal values
through the veiled form of fiction and symbolism.

Marivate (1973) speaks of folktale performance in Tsonga
society as a fading custom due to the impact of radio (and
now television), to the fact that school children must do
their homework in the evening, and because most people
now live in towns or townships, in small homes, only with
the restricted family, and have no live-in grandmother to
tell the stories.

Nyembezi makes a very wide use of folktales in the IGODA
series in order to fulfil basically the same purpose as
traditional storytelling, but in a modern way: tales are
read and heard in school, where the young generations now
gather to absorb the wisdom of the past and to formulate
the prospects for the future. Tales are told in a graded
way in IGODA, chosen according to children's age and their
corresponding understanding of traditional forms. They
are told and re-created through the medium of the written
word to make the learning process easier and more
attractive.

Chapter 1 of this thesis presents C.L.S. Nyembezi's life
and his multi-faceted literary work. The wide use of
folktales in his school readers fits in well with the general
purpose of his literary output, which is to research tradi-
tional cultural material and to preserve it for others,
especially for the young.

In addition to using folktales in IGODA, Nyembezi has
published several books which deal specifically with Zulu
culture and customs. He is also an outstanding novelist
who, in his acclaimed novel Inkinsela yaseMgungundlovu has
given an example of the enduring vitality of traditional
themes and art forms. This novel, in fact, stems from present
day life but is structured along the lines of a traditional
trickster tale, as if to prove the point that traditional
culture, far from being close to extinction, can infuse new
life into modern literature and thus greatly contribute to
the preservation of a treasured heritage as well as to the
creation of something refreshingly new.

In this chapter, prominence is given to IGODA, the series of
school readers on which this research on Zulu folktales is
based. Books 1, 2 and 4 of IGODA contain a great number
of folktales belonging to the Zulu tradition or to the
culture of other population groups living in this part of
the world. In IGODA 1 and 2 Nyembezi also presents an
environment in which the performance of folktales appears
as a natural phenomenon, thus reproducing the cultural and
folkloristic context of izinganekwane, which is, according
to modern folklore scholars, as important as the actual text
of a tale for the understanding of this essentially oral
art form.

Chapter 2 briefly presents various schools of folklore
studies and different approaches to the study of folktales.
Synchronic approaches, which study the event of folktales
from the functionalistic and from the literary points of view,
enjoy pride of place because they present methods and ideas
consonant with my research. Folktales are studied first as
expressions of categories of folklore, then as an artistic

re-creation by the individual performer and as a work of art in its own right. Among the scholars who are followed here, are Cope (1978) as an exponent of the application of the principles and methods of the morphological approach of Propp/Dundes to the Zulu folktale, and Scheub (1975) for his studies contributing to a better understanding of the semantic input in folktales.

Chapter 3 presents an attempt at a classification of the folktales in IGODA according to their content and characters. It has been remarked by both Cope and Marivate that animal tales are losing favour, perhaps because they are considered too unsophisticated for modern man. Thus, what used to be the most typically African form of tale seems to be on its way out. IGODA only presents few purely animal stories. It is perhaps to give animal stories a new veneer of sophistication that Nyembezi adopts and adapts 67 animal stories from the most ancient European source, namely Aesop's Fables. He translates these fables in verse and adapts some of the animals, and many of the ideas, to Zulu folklore. Perhaps, as if to counter-balance this sizable adoption of western culture, he also presents a long section of Violet Dube's Phoshozwayo story, to show how a modern Zulu writer can make use of traditional Zulu themes and plots to create an attractive and viable literary work.

Phoshozwayo, as well as most of the IGODA stories, have humans as their main characters: humans who act with, and react to, animals, cannibals, extraordinary and fantastic elements, as well as other human beings. The 'human' tale presents many facets of human life, developing from a crisis situation to its resolution. These stories satirize human foibles and laugh about human weaknesses; but they finally present an optimistic view of human nature: in spite of our sad laughter, it is still possible to have

a guarded faith in human intelligence, and in such human
values as kindness and virtue.

Chapter 4 presents the traditional cultural aspects of
story telling as they appear in IGODA. Nyembezi has
become the painter of the social background, the story-
teller and performer of tradition, as well as the educator
of new generations.

Various aspects of performance, performer and audience
are discussed, as well as the cultural, philosophical,
social and moral value of folktales.

Because folktales have been constantly used as a means
of education, their educational value is considered and
discussed at some length. Folktales are a literary art
form and share the educational value of literature,
especially imaginative literature such as poetry, to
mould the minds of the young and to give scope to their
imagination: **this** creates an atmosphere of creative
learning. They also form part of the performing arts,
thus they share in the educational value of drama and
theatre productions. In addition to these purposes,
folktales are also a means of social and moral education.
They contain a kind of practical philosophical approach
to the art of living, based on the idea that the highest
goal is social harmony, which springs from **interior**
peace of mind and well-adjusted human relationships.
When harmony is broken, a solution must be found to re-
establish it, either by human means or by calling in the
supernatural to help.

Chapter 5 constitutes the centre of my research: how
to analyze the art form of the folktale in literary terms.
I have followed the morphological approach proposed by
the Russian scholar Vladimir Propp as applied to the
Zulu folktale by Marguerite Oosthuizen (1977) and

Trevor Cope (1978). I have examined the diachotomy tradition __versus__ personal creativity to find that tradition supplies the narrator with motifs and episodes, with functions and sequences, as well as with the semantic elements of stock characters, stock episodes, stock places. It is up to the individual performer, however, to organize the motifs and the episodes, or the functions and function sequences, to produce a well-polished, cohesive and convincing narrative.

Zulu folktales in IGODA present a wider spectrum of functions and sequences than either Oosthuizen or Cope have suggested. Furthermore, the complexity of the Zulu tale is revealed by a complex system of formula-embedding devices which produce a multi-layered narrative structure. Thus the folktales in IGODA, in addition to presenting substantial functional depth, are also structured in such a way that they show considerable sequential depth.

The semantic elements of __izinganekwane__ are discussed according to Scheub's (1975) understanding of Zulu and Xhosa folktales in terms of core-refrains, core-images and external and internal linking between images.

The chapter closes with the translation and detailed analysis of ten chosen folktales from IGODA.

It is my hope that this research will have the effect of focusing new attention on the form and content of Zulu folktales. The Zulu nation, I feel, is undergoing tremendous social and cultural changes. It is hoped that these will lead to real growth, and not to the mutilation of the people through the loss of the cherished cultural forms which have served them so well in the education of past generations. If traditional literary forms such as folktales are felt as valuable, or as an asset to the

harmonious development of the nation, people will become
proud of them once more rather than dismissing them as
things of the past. These cultural elements can thus
become a binding factor for the new generations and an
expression of their national identity.

A P P E N D I X

AN INTERVIEW WITH C.L.S. NYEMBEZI

At the beginning of October 1984, I phoned Professor Nyembezi.
I told him I was doing some research on the izinganekwane
in his IGODA series and asked to see him to discuss a few
points. I had the privilege of seeing him at his office
in Plessieslaer, Pietermaritzburg, on 12 October 1984. The
interview was friendly and open, and Professor Nyembezi
came across as a very honest and humble person.

Question 1:   Which aims and objectives did you have in
               mind while writing the IGODA series?

Foremost in my mind was the preservation and transmission
of traditional culture.

I had sorrowfully noticed our children's failure to read
fluently their own language. It was clear to me that
reading skills were not properly taught. Therefore I
devised a series of books in which everything would be
taught in a graded way: graded reading exercises, graded
vocabulary and graded grammatical constructions. Grammar
is not formally taught, but it must be absorbed by means
of graded repetition.

The greatest majority of our Zulu children do not hear
Zulu properly spoken at home: they are constantly bombarded
with spurious Zulu words derived from English or Afrikaans.

Especially the urban child misses out on the traditional
environment in which Zulu is properly and clearly spoken
and where Zulu cultural values still have a bearing on the
way of life. The two elements, language and culture, are
intimately related. My series tries to show this by
presenting at first a rural area situation where the way

of life is still flowing as it was many years ago; then the urban situation in which most of our young people are going to find themselves at one stage or another.

The great problem of Zulu schools is that classes are normally overcrowded, and the teachers are few, and often unqualified. My series wanted to offer some help in this kind of situation. Therefore the books are written in an easy flowing style, in clear Zulu, and their content is simple, varied and interesting. This should make the teaching of Zulu easier and more pleasant. The children themselves are encouraged to read privately at home by frequent references to stories which are coming up at a later stage in the book. It is also evident that many children do not live in the rural areas, and that even those who live there, are going to town at some time or another.

Book 3 introduces a number of 'caveats' by describing the dangers one may encounter, be they fire in the house, or traffic accidents, or others.

Book 4 aims at expanding the horizon of the child by presenting tales from the Sotho and the Xhosa cultures. This is to show how much we have in common and to prevent the feeling of isolation.

Book 5 expands this horizon even further with the presentation of places in Europe and events in European history.

Question 2:   What were your objectives in including
                so many folktales in IGODA?

I feel that learning must be achieved in a pleasant atmosphere. Folktales are firstly a form of entertainment: they create a relaxed atmosphere. However, I also used them to fulfil my avowed aim of preserving cultural values which would otherwise quickly disappear. Folktales are

also educational, to teach children what to do or not to
do. Take for example the tale <u>uMamba kaMaquba</u>: a girl
runs away from home in fear of her mother; on the way
she helps an old lady with mattery eyes and a man in diffi-
culty, then she follows the advice of the elders as she
prepares to receive Mamba, her serpent husband. Her sister
is jealous of her success, follows the same road but does
not help the people in need nor does she heed the advice
of the elders. The first girl is rewarded, the second is
punished. Nobody tells the child that proper behaviour
demands that she helps the disfigured or the handicapped or
the disabled, or that she must obey her elders: the tale
teaches this by showing the final punishment and reward.

<u>Question 3</u>:   Did you have any idea of the deeper
                       symbolism of folktales?

It never entered my mind!

<u>Question 4</u>:   Did you follow any particular method or
                       technique in composing <u>izinganekwane</u>?

We all know these folktales: we heard them as children.
It was a question of remembering and embellishing them in
a style to suit the IGODA series. Some tales I found in
written records and I re-wrote them to suit my style and
the needs of my readers.

<u>Question 5</u>:   Did you make a deliberate use of repetition
                       and of other traditional techniques?

I used repetition very abundantly in the first books as a
means of re-inforcement of vocabulary and language structures.
In the tales I did use repetition of episodes to a certain
extent, but I had to be aware of two points:

(a)   In a school reader one cannot use music, therefore
      the repetition of refrains becomes monotonous;

(b)   I wanted the story to flow naturally to its
      conclusion: too much repetition would have made
      it heavy and boring for the reader.

Question 6:   Did you have any particular reason for
                 using folktales only in Books 1, 2 and 4?

Books 1 and 2 are set in a rural area where folktales were
and are widely performed. Book 3 introduces the readers
to town life where they meet new challenges and dangers,
while in Book 4 they come across people of other tribes
and races. By using Sotho and Xhosa tales I tried to widen
the scope and horizons of the child's education by bringing
out similarities and differences among various Southern
African cultures. I chose and translated Sotho and Xhosa
tales which would serve these purposes.

Question 7:   Why and how did you make use of Violet
                 Dube's Woza Nazo?

I knew Violet Dube personally, and I liked both her stories
and style. I felt that she had created a beautiful
inganekwane in her Phoshozwayo by brilliantly bringing out
traditional Zulu structures and motifs in a partly modern
and partly fantastic traditional setting. I used the story
as it appears in her text, with occasional editorial changes
to simplify the language.

Question 8:   Why did you choose Aesop's fables instead
                 of more traditional Zulu animal stories?
                 And why in verse?

I always liked Aesop's fables in reading books. They were
already there, brought into our culture by the missionaries
who arranged the early school readers because it was easy
to see the moral of the fable. I re-wrote them in verse
in order to expose children to simple poetry which could

be easily understood while being entertaining as it flows
like a narrative.

Question 9:   Which source book did you use for Aesop's
                fables?

It was a book of fables in prose which I found lying around
a school or in the office. It was nothing sophisticated.

Question 10:   Are you re-doing the IGODA series?

Not really. I am just revising it from time to time for
new prints. Perhaps some parts should be fully revised and
restructured.

Question 11:   My bibliographical list ends with Isibuko
                Senhliziyo of 1980. Have you published
                anything else since?

A manuscript by Senzenjani Lukele was presented to us for
publication in English. We felt that the plot - a detective
story - warranted its publication, but it would have needed
a lot of editing. We decided then to translate it into
Zulu and to edit it properly. It came out in 1981 as Nakho
Phela. This is the kind of work I have been busy with
during the last few years.

Question 12:   Are you preparing any publication now?

I am preparing a Zulu-Zulu dictionary. I shall be sixty
five on my next birthday and I feel I must gather together
bits and pieces of material which I collected over the
years. I am looking back on all that I have done in order
to look forward to something which I feel will be useful
to preserve the culture of my people.

Question 13:   You have written outstanding novels and
                  a number of books on traditional culture
                  together with a very successful series of
                  school readers. How do you see yourself
                  in the general context of Zulu literature?
                  What do you think is your major contribution?

God gave me opportunities which have been denied to many of
our people. I was born into a family of educated parents
who believed wholeheartedly in the value of education and
made all the necessary sacrifices to see that we, their
children, were properly educated. I was privileged to
attend courses and then to teach at Zulu schools, at Fort
Hare, at Wits. My privileged education is a debt which I
feel I must repay by giving of my utmost. The uppermost
aim of my life has been to research, record and preserve
the cultural heritage of our nation, so as to assist
future generations to know and understand their roots and
to feel proud of them. I have tried to pick up as many
cultural elements as it has been possible in my experiences
and in so doing I hope I have made a humble contribution
to the preservation of our people's culture and to its
future orderly development.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

AESOP   1964   <u>Fables of Aesop</u>, Penguin Classics, Pengiun Books, London.

ABRAHAMS, R.D.   1968   "Trickster, the Outrageous Hero," in COFFIN, T. (ed.), <u>American Folklore</u>, Voice of America, Washington.

BASCOM, W.R.   1965   "Four Functions of Folklore", in DUNDES, A. (ed.), <u>The Study of Folklore</u>, New Jersey, Prentice Hall Inc.

     1965   "The Forms of Folklore: Prose Narratives", J.A.F. vol. 78.

CALLAWAY, H.   1868   <u>The Religious System of the AmaZulu</u>, London, Trübner & Co.

COPE, A.T.   1974   <u>The Zulu People, A Select Bibliography</u>, University of Natal.

     1978   "Towards an Appreciation of Zulu Folktales as Literary Art", in ARGYLE, J. (ed.), <u>Social System and Tradition in Southern Africa</u>, O.U.P.

DORSON, R.M.   1965   "The Eclipse of Solar Mythology", in DUNDES, A. (ed.), <u>The Study of Folklore</u>, New Jersey, Prentice Hall Inc.

     1972 a   <u>African Folklore</u>, (ed.) Bloomington, Indiana University Press.

     1972 b   <u>Folklore and Folklife</u> (ed.), Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

DUNDES, A.   1965   The Study of Folklore (ed.),
                                New Jersey, Prentice Hall Inc.

EVANS-PRITCHARD,
E.E.   1967   The Zande Trickster, O.U.P.

FINNEGAN, R.   1970   Oral Literature in Africa, OLAL
                                Oxford, The Clarendon Press.

GENEVOIX, M.   1959   The Story of Reynard, London,
                                Hamish Hamilton.

GÉRARD, A.S.   1971   Four African Literatures,
                                University of California Press.

JASON, H.   1969   "A Multidimensional Approach to
                                Oral Literature", in Current
                                Anthropology, (1969).

LA FONTAINE   1970   Fables, Bordas, Paris.

MARIVATE, C.D.T.   1973   The Form, Content and Delivery
                                of Tsonga Folktales, Unpublished
                                M.A. Thesis, UNISA.

NGCONGWANE, S.D.   1981   Die Verhaalkuns van Sibusiso
                                Nyembezi, Ph.D. Unpublished
                                Thesis, UNISA.

NOSS, P.D.   1972   "Description in Gbaya Literary
                                Art", in DORSON, R.M. (ed.),
                                African Folklore, Bloomington,
                                Indiana University Press.

OOSTHUIZEN, M.   1977   A Study of the Structure of Zulu
                                Folktales with Special Reference
                                to the Stuart Collection,
                                Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Univer-
                                sity of Natal.

PROPP, V.   1971 edition: The Morphology of the
                                Folktale, Austin, University of
                                Texas Press.

SCHEUB, H.   1970   "The Technique of the Expansible Image in Xhosa Ntsomi Performances", Research in African Literatures, Vol. I, No. 2

     1971   "Parallel Image-Sets in African Oral Narrative Performances" in Review of National Literatures, Vol. II, No. 2.

     1972   "The Art of Nongenile Mazithathu Zenani, a Caleka Ntsomi Performer", in DORSON, R.M. (ed.), African Folklore, Bloomington, Indiana University Press.

     1975   The Xhosa Ntsomi, OLAL, Oxford, The Clarendon Press.

VILAKAZI, B.W.   1945   The Oral and Written Literature in Nguni, Unpublished D.Litt. Thesis, University of the Witwatersrand.