L.C.L.S. NYEMBEZI'S

USE OF TRADITIONAL ZULU FOLKTALES
IN HIS IGODA SERIES OF SCHOOL READERS

BY

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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 vice versa, 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 third chapter 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 fourth chapter 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 fifth chapter 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.
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 autobiographical 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 transferred 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 matriculated 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" (Gérard 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 Ingolobane, 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).

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.
This novel was published before *Ubudoda Abukhulelwa*, 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 *Indlela Yababi* by R.R.R. Dhlomo (1946) and made extremely popular by Alan Paton's *Cry the Beloved Country* (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 *tsotsis* 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 *ingenekwane* 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.

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, Ingolobane 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.
Ingolobane Yesizwe (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.


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 Teaching Material

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, Uhlelo lwesiZulu, based to a great extent on C.M. Doke's Zulu Grammar (1927/1948). Doke's influence is also clear in his Learn Zulu (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 Learn More Zulu (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 Health and Moral Education, Nyembezi has published: *Saphela yizingozi nokuphelelewa 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.


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*, *laphe*, *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 nehhubesi* (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 Phoschawayo 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 *amazimù* 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, Ibang 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 represented 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 noMshishwapha (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 discussing 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' publication in the English speaking world. In 1846 William Thoms introduced the word 'folklore' to the English language; 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 glorification 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 transmitted. 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 performer of izinganekwane among the Zulu. The milieu of books 1 and 2 is the rural area. This forms a sort of traditional 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 entertainment 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 diachronic 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 artistic form through which it is performed, re-created and transmitted.

2.2.1 Diachronic Approach

2.2.1.1 The Solar Theory

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 understood as sun, sky, air, dawn, light, brightness. Metaphor

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(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 Structuralist 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 relationship between folklore and other aspects of culture. This means, according to Bascom (in Dundes 1965:284), an investigation 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 extensively 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 effectiveness 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.

(Finnegan 1970:330)

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

Scholars are now realizing that quite apart from the actual mistakes disseminated by this school, a concentration 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.

(Finnegan 1970:333)

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 folktales. 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 performance, 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 paradigmatic 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, regardless 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 analyzing 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 Finnegans (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 Finnegans 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 effectively 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, 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, Finnegar 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.

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MODES</th>
<th>Feature (emic unit)</th>
<th>Manifestation (etic unit)</th>
<th>Distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Motif</td>
<td>function (cf. morpheme)</td>
<td>term</td>
<td>order of functions - sequence (see feature at next level)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Episode</td>
<td>sequence</td>
<td>realization in terms of functions</td>
<td>order of sequences - combinations (see feature at next level)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narrative</td>
<td>combination (cf. sentence)</td>
<td>realization in terms of sequences</td>
<td>contextual situation?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>THE CONSTITUENT STRUCTURE OF THE FOLKTALE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Communal traditional constituents</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motif</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>function (feature)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>order of functions (distribution)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Episode</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Narrative</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L E V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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 descriptive 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Belief</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Attitude</th>
<th>Principal Characters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MYTH</td>
<td>Fact</td>
<td>Remote</td>
<td>Different world: other or earlier</td>
<td>sacred</td>
<td>non-human</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEGEND</td>
<td>Fact</td>
<td>Recent</td>
<td>World of today</td>
<td>secular</td>
<td>human or sacred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOLKTALE</td>
<td>Fiction</td>
<td>Any time</td>
<td>Any place</td>
<td>secular</td>
<td>human or non-human</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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 unsuitable for the white man.

... it does seem 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: I pundwane 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, *uMaginase* (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 stubbornness 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 *Trickster, the Outrageous Hero* (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 adversaries, 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: uNogwaja (the hare), uChakijana or uChakide (the weasel), iMpungushe (the jackal), and also by a boy. Insimba (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 achievements 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 nursemaid 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.
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 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, jealousy 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 noSiBlangusibayeni* (2:33), of *uNokuthula* (2:45) and of *uMamba kaMaquba* (2:79), although in this last tale there is also the theme of stubbornness 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 Human Beings with Animals

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.

uNkombose noSihlangusabayeni (2:33) is a typical human story in its first part: a mother has to contend with two daughters. There is jealousy 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 lobola.
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 transformed 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 oversized 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, idiosyncrasies 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.
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.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zulu Text</th>
<th>Penguin Translation from Greek</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>THE JACKAL AND THE LAMB</strong></td>
<td><strong>ALWAYS IN THE WRONG</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A jackal wandering in his hunt</td>
<td>A wolf, seeing a lamb drinking from a river, wanted to find a specious pretext for devouring him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Felt its mouth water abundantly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When its eyes fell on a lamb Drinking by itself from a river.</td>
<td>He stood up the stream and accused the lamb of muddying the water so that he could not drink.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Do not be so rude, you son of a sheep,&quot; said the jackal red with anger.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;You see that I am drinking the water, And you stir it up and make it muddy.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Sorry, you great one!&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;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.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Said the lamb shaking, &quot;Don't be upset if I too drink, The water flows from your place to mine.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;I see you're trying to be smart,&quot; said the jackal in great anger, &quot;Last year you were rude to my father, I must teach you a lesson.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Sorry, Lord, you are wrong</td>
<td>&quot;I wasn't even born then,&quot; replied the lamb.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
"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."

"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.

(IGODA 3:112)

(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 neSigwaga, (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 pronounces 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.

Gérard (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  
2. Yazilaya Imbila  

**Ref.:** 1:64, 1:70

**II ANIMAL TALES**

1. Igundwane Elingezwa  
2. uMaqinase  

**Ref.:** 1:39, 2:10

**III TRICKSTER TALES**

1. uChakijana neBhubesi  
2. Wangiweza Phela  
3. Imfene Nempungushe  
4. uNogwaja ubulala iZingonyama  
5. Inhliziyo yoMthakathi  
6. uNogwaja neBhubesi  

**Ref.:** 1:134, 2:86, 2:94, 4:55, 4:64, 4:74

**IV HUMAN TALES**

(i) **HUMAN BEINGS ONLY**

1. Incwadi Enamehlo  
2. Indoda noMthakathi  
3. Umfana Nengwe  
4. uBuhlaluse beNkosi  
5. uNkombose noSihlangusabayeni  
6. uMkhwekazi Namasi  
7. Indoda eyayiligovu  
8. Umfana Owabe Omele Amanzi  
9. uMadinqi  

(ii) HUMAN BEINGS WITH CANNIBALS

1. uMshayandlela  
2. uNokuthula  
3. Izimu Namantombazana  
4. Amantombazana nezimu  
5. uNongweqe Nomlamu Wakhe  
6. Izimuzimu Nentombazana

Ref.: 2:14 2:45 2:105 2:114 4:85 4:93

(iii) HUMAN BEINGS WITH ANIMALS

1. uMamba kaMaquba  
2. Inyoka enamakhanda ayisikhombisa  
3. Inkosikazi Nemamba  
4. uBhadazela noMningi  
5. Abantwana bensizwakazi  
6. Inyoka Ngumhlobo Womfana  
7. Abantu Namabhubesi  
8. Indoda Nendlovu  
9. Wayethi Yinja


(iv) HUMAN BEINGS WITH FANTASTIC ELEMENTS

1. uNanana Boselesele  
2. uSilosikhulu Nabantwana  
3. uSogebezana Namajikijolo

2:137 4:77 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 traditional 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 superstition 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!"

(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 (2:74). 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 encourages 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 narrators 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 performed 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, particularly 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 Maqinase, the boisterous one. In 2:151 the antagonist is Mningi, multitude, to describe the multi-headed snake. Sondonzima 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 izimuzimu 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 "uthi loko loko" with a glimmering light or a burning fire has got to be the house of an izimu.

The performer is also able to make use of expressions accompanied 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 storytelling is an amateur art. The performer has no script and she composes plot and narrative as she goes on. She may introduce a detail at one stage and then forget it or be unable to develop it in the next stage. There are examples of inconsistencies, 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 travelling 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 uMadingi (2:132) the refrain sung by the boy-mother has no connection with the story except the baby's name Madingi. The refrain goes like this:

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

In another version of the story (Scheub 1972 :119) the refrain 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 storytelling 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:

Labamba 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 ledgeza 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 ligonde le. Libuye liphenduke ligijime ligonde 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.

Its eyes looked ahead and then turned to look behind.
It put it down.

It lifted the other leg.

It too trembled and went forward

At last the chameleon is moving, shaking its leg each time it lifts it.

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.


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. A traveller's stomach is not so large. It is like a bird's liver.

Singangenso yenyoni. We'll thank you when we are satisfied, Father."

Siyobonga sisuthi, Baba."

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 participation 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. Uzizi 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 performance 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 Compo sitio n 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 refrain 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, according 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 Sivayibonga (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 interrupted 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 withhold 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 variety 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 multicoloured blankets, which is normally the father's task to provide at this ceremony.

In uBhadazela nokningi (2:151) the chief's induction ceremonies 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 uqogo (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 kaMaguba (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 epheni (2:105).

The role of the herbalist - inyanga - as the provider of powerful medicines to cure all kinds of diseases is shown in
umadingi (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 - isangoma - are asked to provide medicines for the strengthening 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 mainstream 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 mainstream 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 cooperation 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 unscrupulous people - including a false church minister - who take advantage of his simple beliefs.

In uPhoshozwayo neSigwaga (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 constitutes 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.\(^\text{1}\) 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.

\subsection{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.

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 instills 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 atmosphere.

I think it was Bernard Shaw who said: "Punch and Judy shows still hold the stage". Irreverent and often outrageous 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 Boseleselc (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 overwhelming 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 nehubesi (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 uMqinase (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 parallel images.

uMamba kaMqubba (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 underlying 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 kaMaqoba, 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.

(Scheub 1975:81 & 82)

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 (= paradigmatically). Horizontal analysis is concerned with the succession of events and with the determination of structures, that is of functions, function sequences and sequence combination, at the levels of motif, episode and narrative respectively. Vertical or paradigmatic 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' paradigmatic 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 abstract 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 narrative. 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 represented 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 other 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 important 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 function 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sequences</th>
<th>Functions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>obedience:</td>
<td>Command + obedience + consequence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>violation:</td>
<td>Interdiction + violation + consequence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chase:</td>
<td>Flight + pursuit + ploy + escape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>contrary result:</td>
<td>Boast + challenge + deception + defeat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e.g. How the tortoise won the race)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>false friendship:</td>
<td>Contract + violation + deception + conseq.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e.g. Why the hyrax has no tail)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trickster false</td>
<td>Trickster contract + fraud + gloat + triumph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>friendship:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Cope 1978:197)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 different 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 manifestations 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 INGANENKWEANE

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 motifemic depth 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 'functional depth' or 'motifemic depth'), they show a great complexity at sequence level, which gives them 'sequential depth'. Oosthuizen graphically represents this concept by her analysis of the folktales in the Stuart collection according to their Principal and Subordinate Function Sequences (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) Absentation: 'One member of the family absents himself from home. Absentation can be physical or otherwise.'
In Igundwane Elingezwa (1:39) and uMaginase (2:10) the mother is absent because she is asleep. In uNkombose noSihlangusabayeni (2:33) the mother goes away after giving a command. In Inyoka Enamakhanda Ayisikhombisa (2:54) mother goes out after giving an Interdiction: "Do not open that pot!". In uMkhwekazi namasi (2:67) the Interdiction is culture-bound: "Do not eat maas in the house of your son-in-law!"; Absentation is represented by the son-in-law and his wife going out to the fields.

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

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

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

1. In Cope's Chase Sequence it seems to me that Delay (or Delay Tactics) should be considered as an allomotif of Ploy. Delay is normally realized as

Deceit + Deception + Consequence

as it happens in izimu 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 izimu. When the izimu calls the girls, the hair answers in one place (Deceit); the izimu runs there (Deception) and finds nothing. The 'talking hair' trick is widely used in chase sequences. Another Delay trick is to send the izimu for water with a leaking calabash, or simply to send him to wash at a river. In uNokuthula (2:45) the girl throws an egg, a stick and a stone on the road to produce obstacles to delay her pursuing izimu mother. Bhadazela (2:151) instead uses various ploys to escape from the pursuing snake. The Delay/Ploy 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

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

(Note: \(\div\) means 'optional'; \(\times n\) means 'repeated several times')

In a Trickster Chase sequence, however, such as

Flight + Pursuit + Capture + Delay/Ploy + Escape

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

2. The sequence Contrary Result suggested by Cope could be made to include also False Friendship and Trickster False Friendship 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:

\[
\text{Trickster Contr.} + \text{Viol.} + \text{Fraud} + \text{Discovery} + \text{Flight} + \text{Pursuit} + \frac{\text{Capture/Defeat} + \text{(Delay/Ploy)}x \ n}{\text{n}} + \text{Escape/Rescue}
\]

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 Friendship we see the reflection of the concern of the obligations of friendship. (Cope 1978:196)

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.
Lack 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)

Lack Liquidated may appear immediately after the function Lack, 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 Lack Liquidated 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 uBhadazela nominingi (2:151)

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

(a) A mother umthakathi 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 umaginase (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) "Bhadazela 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 uMginase (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 Defeat. 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 Izimuzimu Nentombazana (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 izimu 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 izimu 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 izimu 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 Flight + Pursuit 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 Discovery, 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 uNogwaja ubulala Izingonyama (4:55) the last lion discovers 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).
Delay 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 *uNokuthula* (2:45) where the girl scatters magic objects on the road to delay her cannibalistic mother. Also *Phoshozwayo* (4:122) throws magic eggs on the road to delay the pursuing giant by the creation of seemingly unsurmountable obstacles. *Delay/Ploy* can be repeated several times. It is normally realized as **Deceit + Deception**, a free formula which can be embedded in different sequences of the narrative.

*Escape/Rescue* 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 *uBuhlaluse beNkosi* (2:110) Buhaluse is freed by a woodcutter from the cave in which she has been buried by her envious companions (*Rescue*). In *uMshayandlela* (2:14) the amazimu 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 *Defeat* corresponds to Propp's *Victory* function in which the villain is defeated. In a trickster sequence, however, it is realized as *Discovery* and is followed by a chase sequence, and finally by *Escape* and *Gloat* (*Trickster's enjoyment of victim's discomfort*) and/or by *Boast* (*Trickster boasts of his achievements*) or *Triumph* (not the trickster, but the situation shows his victory).
In uChakijana neBhubesi (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 Wangiweza Phela (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 "Ngingci, wangiweza naphela!" 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 Phoshozwayo'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. Return

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

In Abantwana Bensizwakazi (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 storyteller.

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 composition 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 creativity 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 'combination 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

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

**A MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS**

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

Absention + Interdiction (understood) + Viol. + Cons.

(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:

Command + Deceit + Deception + Obedience

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:

False Contract + Deceit + Fraud + Defeat + Triumph.

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

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


This representation would give us three layers of embedding, and even a fourth layer if we considered (Dec. + Deception) 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 Principal and Subordinate Function Sequences.
5.3 Moves

Propp describes the move in this way:

Morphologically, a tale (skázkə) 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 development is termed by us a move (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.

(Propp 1971:92)

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 - The Functions of the Dramatis Personae - he interrupts the progressive numbering after function XXII (Rescue) to re-introduce a sequence with functions VIII to XV bis. 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 inganekwane, while the core-images relate to its semantic content. The core-image may be seen as the 'minimum free form' in content, and the details contained within it as its minimum constituent units. Similarly, the function sequence is the 'minimum free form' in structure, and the functions, its minimum constituent units.

Scheub describes the process of an inganekwane performance according to the following basic steps:

(a) The storyteller chooses a core-cliché, 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. Sibambe elentulo (We have adhered to the lizard's message. IGODA)
   Sobamba elentulo (We shall adhere to ...) (Cope)

B. Hamba, Mshayandlela, Tulube, weTulube! 1) Amasela, Mshayandlela, Awuboni ukuba ngiyabuyawa
   Amebile, Mshayandlela, WeTulube!
   Zimuthumble, 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 ngiyabulawa.
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 irrepeatable. 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 the 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

UMSHA YANDELELA

(Ibanga 2:14)

A MORPHOLOGICAL AND SEMANTIC ANALYSIS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Principal Function Sequence</th>
<th>Subordinate Function Sequence</th>
<th>Primary Core-Image</th>
<th>Secondary Core-Image</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>MOVE 1</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initial Sit.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Command]</td>
<td>x 4</td>
<td>Amazimu steal a boy's herd and bull</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obedience</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consequence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Villainy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| MOVE 2                     |                               |                    |                     |
| Absentation                |                               |                    |                     |
| Interdiction               |                               |                    |                     |
| Violation                  |                               |                    |                     |
| Consequence                |                               |                    |                     |
| Command                    |                               | Boy to look after meat instead he raises bull |
| Deceit                     |                               |                    |                     |
| Deception                  |                               |                    |                     |
| Obedience                  |                               |                    |                     |
| Amazimu wash at river      |                               |                    |                     |
| Boy raises bull.           |                               |                    |                     |
| Boy deceives old woman     |                               |                    |                     |

| MOVE 3                     |                               |                    |                     |
| Flight                     |                               | Boy flees and is pursued but escapes |
| Pursuit                    |                               | Tricks Amazimu with rope and drowns them |
| Ploy                       |                               |                    |                     |
| Escape                     | False Contract                |                    |                     |
|                             | Deceit                        |                    |                     |
|                             | Fraud                         |                    |                     |
|                             | Defeat                        |                    |                     |
|                             | Triumph                       |                    |                     |

| MOVE 4                     |                               | Boy mourned as dead, then feasted and given bull |
| Unrecognized Arrival       |                               |                    |                     |
| Hero Recognized            |                               |                    |                     |
| Reward/Marriage            |                               |                    |                     |
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 treatment 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 inganskwane 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Functions</th>
<th><strong>IZIMU NAMANTOMBAZANA AMATHATHU</strong></th>
<th><strong>AMANTOMBAZANA NEZIMU</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Initial Situation</td>
<td>Girls in forest trapping birds with king's daughter</td>
<td>Girls in forest for weaving grass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack</td>
<td>Overtaken by the night in forest</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack Liquidated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initial Situation</td>
<td></td>
<td>Izimu feeds them, calls them 'Bantabami', they call him 'Malume'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>False Contract</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violation/Villainy</td>
<td>They go to sleep in izimu's house. Izimu plans to eat them.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absentation</td>
<td>Izimu off to call his companions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discovery</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flight</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initial Situation</td>
<td>King's daughter returns to look for skin bag</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contract Understood</td>
<td>(Look after king's daughter)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violation</td>
<td>Girls abandon king's daughter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ploy</td>
<td>Girl eludes amazimu</td>
<td>Delay hair-trick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flight</td>
<td>She runs away</td>
<td>They run away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pursuit</td>
<td>Amazimu follow her</td>
<td>Izimu follows them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ploy</td>
<td>Amazimu tie first izimu with grass</td>
<td>Girls put izimu to sleep and tie his hair with grass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escape</td>
<td></td>
<td>Girls escape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Villain</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punished</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vill.exposed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vill.punished</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 emanating 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 deceive 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 Villain Exposed + Villain Punished, which is a sequence often connected with the presence of the chief's daughter in the tale.

A third story, uBuhlaluse beNkosi (2:110) is also considered similar to the previous ones by the audience, but here the Villainy 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 izimu stories. The absence of the pursuing izimu, 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 core-cliché, which he described as the main "transmitted element of the ntsomi 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 kutshelwa 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 Scheut while others do not.

*uMaginase* (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 ezingeni 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.
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 ukhwekazi namasi (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 introduced 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?
Ngidizwa ngubani lokhu abantabami abekho nje?"

Bese sikhumula isidwatshana sisigaxa emphinini wegeja.

Bese sithi: "We geja, ubosalu 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Solo</th>
<th>Chorus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Akukho xoxo lapha na?</td>
<td>Klo, klo, ngikhona.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Umfana Owabe Omele Amanzi.
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.

*uMadingi* (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,
Ovakha 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:
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 Reconnaissance and Delivery. Propp says:

The reconnaissance 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 narrative level, so that her story - both new and steeped in tradition - 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 ICODA 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, "ngoba engazi ukuthi kuyiwaphi"; on the return journey instead "uhamba phambili. Akasahluphi ngokuma manje ngoba uyabona ukuthi useya ekhaya." 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 amazimu ask him: "Ukhwele kanjani lapha, mfana?" and the boy just answers: "Ngikhwele kahle." At the end, the boy has crossed a river in spate. The cannibals ask him: "Uwele kanjani wemfana?". The answer is, again, deceiving in its simplicity: "Ngiwele kahle."

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 kaMaguba (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 stubbornness, 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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TITLE</th>
<th>NARRATOR</th>
<th>REFERENCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Yazilaya Imbila</td>
<td>Grandmother</td>
<td>1:70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. uMaqinase</td>
<td>Headmaster</td>
<td>2:10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. uMshayandlela</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>2:14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. uNkombose noSihlangusabayeni</td>
<td>Grandmother</td>
<td>2:33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. uMkhwekazi Namasi</td>
<td>Grandmother</td>
<td>2:67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. uMamba kaMaquba</td>
<td>Child</td>
<td>2:79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Wangiweza Phela</td>
<td>(book)</td>
<td>2:86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Imfene Nempungushe</td>
<td>Grandmother</td>
<td>2:94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. uNanana Boselesele</td>
<td>Child</td>
<td>2:137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. uBhadazela noMningi</td>
<td>Child</td>
<td>2:151</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.
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 outstanding 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Principal Function Sequence</th>
<th>Subordinate Function Sequence</th>
<th>Primary Core-Image</th>
<th>Secondary Core-Image</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Init. Situation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack</td>
<td>Command</td>
<td>Animals have no tails.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>obedience</td>
<td>Tails are made and fixed.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lack Liquidated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Contract</td>
<td>Deceit</td>
<td>Rock-rabbit asks animals to bring his child</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violation</td>
<td>Deception</td>
<td>His child is ill</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deception</td>
<td>(Contrary Result)</td>
<td>Animals forget.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Villain Exposed</td>
<td>R-r. has no tail</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Villain Punished</td>
<td>Chameleon teases r-r.</td>
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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: Comm. + Obed. (the animals going for their tails, with the examples of the horse and the pig) and Villain Exposed + Villain Punished (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 Lack + Lack Liquidated.

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 description of the various animals, their habits and their tails.

4. Theme

This can be summarized in the proverb emanating from the story: Imbila yaswela umsila ngokalayezela (The rock-rabbit is without tail having sent for it). This means that one should do what must be done, without waiting for somebody else to do it for him.
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 himself. He got up and tiptoed, not to awaken those who were asleep. He went to the door and opened it slowly, without making 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 answer 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 astonishment.

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 answered: "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."

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 behave 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

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Principal Function Sequence</th>
<th>Subordinate Function Sequence</th>
<th>Primary Core-Image</th>
<th>Secondary Core-Image</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Initial Situation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Absentation</td>
<td>(Disobedient piglet goes out while mother sleeps)</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interdiction</td>
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<tr>
<td>Violation</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Villainy x 3)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Villainy Flight Pursuit)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Villain Exposed Villain Punished x 3+1)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Exposed by the three animals and the dog)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Exposed and punished by mother)</td>
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The whole tale is enclosed in one move within the formula or function sequence of

Abs. + Inter. + Viol. + Punishment

The subordinate function sequence is

\[(\text{Villainy x } 3 + 1) + (\text{Flight + Pursuit}) + \sqrt{\text{(Vill. Exp. + Vill. Punished) x } 3 + 1 + 17} \]

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 rudeness 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.
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, preceded 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 themselves 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.

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 reaction 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.
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 children 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 unguarded, 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 Sihlangusabayeni 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 Sihlangusabayeni 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 immediately. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Principal Function Seq.</th>
<th>Subordinate Function Seq.</th>
<th>Primary Core-Image</th>
<th>Secondary Core-Image</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MOVE 1</td>
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<td>Absentation</td>
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<td>Violation</td>
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<td>Consequence</td>
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<td>Villainy</td>
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<td>MOVE 2</td>
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<td>Lack</td>
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<td>Command (understood)</td>
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<td>Obedience</td>
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<td>Consequence</td>
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<td>Consequence</td>
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<tr>
<td>Help younger sister</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lack Liquidated</td>
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<td>Command</td>
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<td>Obedience</td>
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<td>Consequence</td>
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<tr>
<td>Don't tell about me</td>
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<tr>
<td>Daughter restored</td>
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<tr>
<td>Snakes compensated with oxen</td>
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</table>

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 Lack + Lack Liquidated. 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. Core-Images

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. Themes: Obedience to parents and to customs.

The offering to the snakes is a kind of restitution for a crime, and a repayement of lobola if the girl leaves her husband's home.
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.

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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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary Sequences</th>
<th>Subordinate Sequences</th>
<th>Primary Core-Images</th>
<th>Secondary Core-Images</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MOVE 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Initial Sit.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lack</td>
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<td>Lack Liquidated</td>
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<td>Lack Liquidated</td>
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<td>Absentation</td>
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<td>Interdiction</td>
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<td>Violation</td>
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<td>Deceit</td>
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<tr>
<td>Deception</td>
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<td>Villain Exposed</td>
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<tr>
<td>Villain Punished</td>
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<tr>
<td>Trick to get hold of forbidden maas</td>
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<td>She is discovered</td>
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<tr>
<td>and punished</td>
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| MOVE 2            |                       |                     |                       |
| Command           |                       |                     |                       |
| Obedience         |                       |                     |                       |
| Consequence       |                       |                     |                       |
| Lack Liquidated   |                       |                     |                       |
| Lack Liquidated   |                       |                     |                       |
| Journey to frogless river |

| MOVE 3            |                       |                     |                       |
| Init. Sit.        |                       |                     |                       |
| Interdiction      |                       |                     |                       |
| Violation         |                       |                     |                       |
| Consequence       |                       |                     |                       |
| River belongs to king of animals |

| MOVE 4            |                       |                     |                       |
| Interdiction      |                       |                     |                       |
| Violation         |                       |                     |                       |
| Fraud             |                       |                     |                       |
| Defeat            |                       |                     |                       |
| Escape            |                       |                     |                       |
| Genet's trick on 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 Lack + Lack Liquidated 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 Absentation + Interdiction sequence which is embedded in it. Lack + Lack Liquidated also appears as a manifestation of the second move, where Lack signifies the search of water from the frogless river.

The function Consequence appears three times: the first time it is realized by the formula Villain Exposed + Punished; 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 Violation + Fraud + Escape expressed by the genet's trick at the expense of the bush-shrike, which finally has to suffer Defeat.

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: Insimba yesulela amazolo ezinyameni zeggumusha, 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.
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 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 around 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.
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 stubbornness. 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

<table>
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<tbody>
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<td>Function</td>
<td>Core-Image</td>
<td>Core-Image</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sequence</td>
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</tbody>
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**MOVE 1**

**Init. Situation**

- Sisters' jealousy

- Lack
  - Command
  - Obedience \( \times 3 \)
  - Consequence
  - Reward/Marriage

**MOVE 2**

**Init. Situation**

- Young sister's jealousy

- Flight
  - Pursuit
  - Rescue

- Recognition of Hero

- Old 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 homecoming. 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 forcefully 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.
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 he had 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 losing 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 reached 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.

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

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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 straightforward 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 considered 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 entertaining tale with no moral attached to it.
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 entertaining 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 stuck 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 trickster 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 tempted 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**

\[
\text{MOVE 1} \\
\text{Initial Situation} \\
\text{Trickster Contract} \\
\text{Fraud} \\
\text{Escape} \\
\text{MOVE 2} \\
\text{Discovery} \\
\text{Pursuit} \\
\text{Trickster Contract} \\
\text{Fraud} \\
\text{Escape} \\
\text{MOVE 3} \\
\text{Discovery-Pursuit} \\
\text{Fraud} \\
\text{Escape}
\]

**Primary Core-Images**

Trapped jackal traps baboon

Baboon pursues jackal

Jackal offers fruit

Asks to leave

Jackal runs away

Baboon pursues jackal

Jackal asks baboon to hold rock, then escapes
MOVE 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.
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 deliberately, 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 deliberately, 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, Sondonzima 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 elephants' 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 illness 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.

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 (Padišo 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

<table>
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<td>Heroine builds house on game path in self-reliance.</td>
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Initial Situation

Absention

Lack  Villainy
      Flight
      Pursuit
      Deceit
      Capture
      Deception
      Ploy
      Defeat

L. Liq., Escape

Reward

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 preceded 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 monster.
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 confidence. 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 knew 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 messenger 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.

Everybody 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lack</th>
<th>Contract</th>
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<td>Deceit</td>
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<tr>
<td>Deception</td>
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<td>Flight</td>
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<td>Escape</td>
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<td>Defeat</td>
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<td>Triumph</td>
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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:

\[ \text{Deceit} + \text{Deception} + \text{Flight} + \text{Pursuit} + \text{Ploy} + \text{Escape}. \]

\text{Deceit} + \text{Deception} expresses the action of getting hold of the lamp; \text{Flight} + \text{Pursuit} + \text{Ploy} + \text{Escape} is the flight and chase sequence 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 stratagem 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 traditional 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 izingane kwane, 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 storyteller 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.
APPENDIX

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 Flessieslaer, 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 *umamba kaMaquba*: a girl runs away from home in fear of her mother; on the way she helps an old lady with matterly eyes and a man in difficulty, 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.

**Question 3:** Did you have any idea of the deeper symbolism of folktales?

*It never entered my mind!*

**Question 4:** Did you follow any particular method or technique in composing *izinganekwane*?

*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.*

**Question 5:** 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.
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.
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