

***Izwe Alithuthuki* by Phuzekhemisi  
as sung in KwaZulu-Natal:  
*Maskandi* song as social protest  
analysed as an Oral-style text**

**BY**

**JOSIAH SILLO HADEBE**

**In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements  
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University of Natal, Durban**

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## Declaration

I, Josiah Sillo Hadebe, declare that this article is my own work and that all the sources I have used and quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of references.

Signature : \_\_\_\_\_

Date : \_\_\_\_\_

## Dedication

This work is dedicated to Thabile, my wife, for loving the African Traditional values including the love of the music by the *Maskanda*.

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## Introduction

I believe that it is important in the present context in which we seek to reconstruct South African society in more human and inclusive ways for critics to engage with forms which have a great deal of “popular” appeal and cultural currency, but which have received little serious academic attention: forms like the complex musical and verbal texts of *maskanda* musicians such as Thami Vilakazi. (Muller 1994:231).

The above quotation lays the foundation for the study of *maskandi* song as social protest. Phuzekhemisi, like Thami Vilakazi, is a *maskanda* guitarist of KwaZulu-Natal who, through his music, has reflected the lives and feelings, beliefs and attitudes of at least one, and possibly many other, poverty-stricken community in current South African society.

In this study I write about traditional music that has been marginalised by educated Black society. It is important to note that this form of protest is different from that directed at the government of the Nationalist Party: This is the song by a Black man aimed at the government led by Black people.

This study does not discuss all types of protest song. It only takes into account the poverty-stricken community of *Umkhomazi* where Phuzekhemisi expresses the community's concern about there being no development. This study focuses, therefore, on one protest song, *Izwe Alithuthuki* (The area is not developing).

I found Carol Muller's article about *maskanda* guitarist, Thami Vilakazi, very useful and relevant to my study. Phuzekhemisi, like Thami Vilakazi, is a Zulu guitarist in KwaZulu-Natal. Muller defines the term *maskanda* as derived from the Afrikaans word *musikant* (musician), and like Afrikaans folk-

music, *maskanda* may be played on concertina, piano accordion, violin and is most frequently, performed on traditional Zulu musical bows (1999:221) Carol Muller (1999:220) comments thus:

Phuzekhemisi's Zulu guitar performance represents the consummation of the development of a highly individualised Zulu musical practice that intersects with a larger musical tradition more commonly known as *maskanda*.

She goes on to point out that:

In the rural areas, a *maskanda* wandered from one homestead to the next. In the urban areas, musicians may play when requested by their immediate community, or more frequently they seek out a deal to be recorded and mass mediated. (1999:221)

She further says:

Maskanda is an extremely fluid musical traditional, one that is constantly manipulated to reflect on and critique the social reality of individual musicians in the rural and urban environments of KwaZulu-Natal. (1999:221)

Muller continues to say that, more recently, musicians like Vusi Ximba, Phuzekhemisi and Khethani have become extremely popular because of the biting social satire expressed in their texts" (1999:221).

Song has been used for the establishment of identity, both individual and group, globally since time immemorial. As a member of the poverty-stricken rural people of Northern KwaZulu-Natal, I am aware that *maskandi* music is playing an increasingly important role as the voice of protest in such

communities, who feel betrayed and abandoned by the new democratically elected government. Phuzekhemisi's song is a vehicle which reflects people's feelings and emotions and directs them at the government because it is failing to deliver. Phuzekhemisi warns the government through his song to deliver on their political promises before people get angry and take action. Kgobe (1985:50) remarks that "Music is indispensable for all men's feelings and emotion".

Secondly, because *maskandi* is an oral tradition, it and its current modification have not yet been recorded in writing. This research project will place this oral tradition on record as a contribution to creating an "African Africa" (Amadou Hampate Ba) and an "African Renaissance" (Mbeki).

Thirdly, this analysis will demonstrate the powerful mnemonic effect of the gestual-visual/ oral aural elements of the song as identified by Marcel Jousse (1896-1961) in the *Oral Style* (1924 [1990]).

## Context

Song has been used traditionally in Africa as social monitor. Dyubhele (1994) in her article titled "My song is my weapon" examined the satirical vein found in Xhosa folk-songs and show how they contribute to the tradition or archives of the Xhosa culture and identity. Dyubhele (1994:143) examined the song sung in Xhosa society which warns the women to look after themselves carefully if they hope to win a partner in marriage. The song goes like this:

*Nontyolo, ho-oha Nontyolo!*

*Zithethelele, uzokubonwa ngamadoda.*

*Nontyolo, ho-oha Nontyolo*

Speak for yourself that you may be seen by men.

Dyubhele (1994:143) writes:

... Every member of society is expected to respect societal norms and values. Any violation of the norms arouses a situation whereby the offender is uncompromisingly attacked in song. The offender is satirised, for he or she is basically familiar with the norms and values of society.

This above quotation contributes to the tone in which I would like to write about *maskandi* protest song. Phuzekhemisi's song protests against those who break the norms and values of the society by not keeping their promises, in this case the newly elected democratic government.

Although Phuzekhemisi has not been constitutionally elected through the ballot box to represent his community in parliament, he has become the voice of the voiceless through his music. He expresses the people's views, feelings, attitudes and wishes that they are themselves not in a position to do because of their disempowerment through poverty, ignorance of governing structures, isolation from the seat of power and government, and, perhaps most significantly, a lack of access to the governing mode of communication - literacy. The people that Phuzekhemisi sings for are people who traditionally **sing** about their disempowerment and marginalisation, obliquely referring to their frustrations and unhappiness and their sense of betrayal. Dlamini (1994:88) confirms this idea when she says:

In traditional Swati society a woman never reaches a stage at which she gains freedom of speech. Even in her married life she has to respect her husband and her in-laws. The folk song therefore remains her only channel for expressing her feelings, views, attitudes and wishes.

## Who is Phuzekhemisi?

Like Muller who examines Thami Vilakazi, I examine Johnson Zibonele Mnyandlu widely known as 'Phuzekhemisi' (One-who-drinks-in-the-chemist) who comes from the *Umkhomazi* area of KwaZulu-Natal. The community there is poverty-stricken. During the 1994 election, campaigning political leaders promised people roads, water electricity, clinics, schools, halls, houses and employment. After the election, when the Black government took control for the first time in the 300 years of South African history, Black communities expected more. The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) was introduced but it seemed it was improving conditions only in White communities. This then led Phuzekhemisi to sing the song *Izwe alithuthuki* (The area is not developing) which is a protest song. This is central to this discussion.

Johnson got the name 'Phuzekhemisi' from his co-workers because he always crossed the road from where he worked to the nearby chemist, where he asked to keep drinking water in the refrigerator so as to keep it cold. He was then named 'Phuzekhemisi' – 'The-one-who-drinks-in-the-chemist'.

Phuzekhemisi first appeared on the South African music scene with his brother, Khethani. Their first musical contribution was an album, *Imbizo* (Traditional Meetings) produced commercially, which sold 100 000 copies, thus demonstrating its popularity with his community who felt that the song expressed their sentiments. Though their music was in isiZulu, that did not confine the album to KwaZulu-Natal and the hostels. The music spread like a fever and 'Imbizo', which was the title track became the popular song at 'street bashes' and music festivals.

The song, *Imbizo*, satirically refers to the *izimbizo* which are meetings held by traditional chiefs who are officials of local government in South Africa. Sadly, but not unexpectedly, the chiefs attending



*izimbizo* did not take kindly to the musical message - particularly Hostel Leaders who were the ones who often called *izimbizo*. Phuzekhemisi and his brother, Khethani, were barred from performing in most hostels in the urban areas, but that did not stop their thousands of fans from buying their music and their popularity grew. The two brothers issued their second album, *Emaphalamende* (In Parliament) in 1993. This album featured the hugely popular song, *Udlayedwa* (One-who-eats-alone). Like *Imbizo*, the song *Udlayedwa*, also irritated the traditional chiefs. The singers in this song lament the fact that some villagers have to pay taxes for their dogs. They asked facetiously, but very logically:

*Uma bethelela izinja zizoyiholela yini impesheni?*

If they pay dog tax will the dog qualify for a pension?

But 1993 was a year characterised by joy and pain for Phuzekhemisi, as - while they were still enjoying their success and popularity - Khethani was killed in a car accident. When I asked him in an interview about this time, he said he thought everything would come to an end when Khethani died. Nonetheless, Phuzekhemisi successfully subsequently released albums such as '*Impimpi*', ('Spy') '*ngo-49*', ('in 1949') '*Izwe Alithuthuki*' and '*Phansi Imikhonto*'. ('Down with the Spears').

In a short impromptu interview with Phuzekhemisi, he told me that he is committed to use his music to speak for the masses who cannot speak for themselves out of fear of reprisals from the authorities. He said he sang in the *maskandi* style because it was his culture, his tradition and his language. Phuzekhemisi's answer reflected the sentiment of Bhodloza's much-repeated statement during his SABC1 programme, '*Ezodumo*': that.

*Ngicula umculo ogijima negazi*

(I sing music that runs in my blood)

Phuzekhemisi's song is characterised by the call-and-response pattern as described by Nhlekisana and Kezilahabi (1998:181):

The leader starts the song and the rest of the group responds in a choral form. The words of the song are sung by the leader, and the chorus is sung by the group.

*Izwe Alithuthuki* is a song which is sung not only for entertainment but is also used in political contexts: this links well with Dyubhele (1994:148) when she writes about satire in songs:

The fact that satire in songs is not confined to cultural contexts, but is also used in political contexts, shows its role as a relevant social and political commentary.

When Phuzekhemisi performs the song, *Izwe Alithuthuki*, on the stage the culture of his people is transmitted, as pointed out by Okumu (1994:329):

Performance is the main form of transmitting the oral traditional materials of the ethnic group to its members.

Phuzekhemisi's song, *Izwe Alithuthuki*, "falls under oral traditions and it may be associated with different genres", says Soko (1994:63) when he wrote about Chitima Ndlovu's song.

The message is the most important thing in the song. That is why when Phuzekhemisi sings, his voice is loud and clear. But, in Phuzekhemisi's song, it is not only the lyrics that send the message to the government, but the performance is also very important. Nhlekisana and Kezilahabi (1998:170) have this to say about performance:

Performance has always refused to be contained by the margins drawn by the tip of the pen. With this in view, we therefore privilege ontology over epistemology. We look at performance as an opening up, a show in which human beings let themselves be what they are.

The message is also conveyed through body movement, gestures and the facial expression. Dlamini (1994:88) says:

The performer's voice, gestures, body movements and facial expressions are the devices used to manipulate the social situation and convey the message. The audience, in return, may respond by clapping hands, laughing, ululating or moving over to the performing group.

Literate members of society have now realized that *maskanda* is traditional music that must not be neglected. Hutchings (1994:346) wrote:

Great care should be taken before condemning as irrational those aspects of traditional practice that one does not understand.

*Maskanda* musical performance principles are integrally linked to Zulu tradition. Phuzekhemisi sings what he lives: *maskanda* music to him is life itself. Rycroft (1957:9-12) shares the same idea when he says:

To an African, music is life itself rather than a part of life.

The themes of Phuzekhemisi's songs emanate from his experience in the community. Kirby (1968:181) cited that:

Accordingly the themes of the songs tend to centre around events and matters of common interests and concern to the members of a community or the social groups within it.

The song, *Izwe Alithuthuki*, tells the government that it has failed to 'deliver', and the people need to tell the government how they feel. Kunene (Groenewald and Makopo 1991:79) writes:

It is an act of self-emancipation to be able to confront your oppressor face-to-face and tell him in uncensored language what you think of him.

*Izwe Alithuthuki*, presents - and represents - the face of poverty-stricken communities sung widely and publicly in the face of the government that it is satirizing, providing the requisite sense of self-emancipation that Kunene is referring to.

## Methodology

This study has been conducted qualitatively by collection, analysis, description and interpretation of the lyrics and performance of *Izwe Alithuthuki* as sung by Phuzekhemisi.

### *Interviews with some of Phuzekhemisi's supporters:*

I conducted a number of interviews with some of Phuzekhemisi's fans, and report and comment as follows. (Please refer to the Appendix A for a full record of all interviews conducted)

Mathenjwa described *Izwe Alithuthuki* as one of Zibonele Phuzekhemisi Mnyandu's greatest protest songs. He said it is the first time that *maskandi* song had been used to protest against the newly-elected government. He said it is interesting to note that the government will quickly understand Phuzekhemisi's plea because he makes use of traditional music. Even though he initially thought that

traditional music had no place in the academic world, Mathenjwa became excited when I informed him of my intention to document and analyse the song, *Izwe Alithuthuki*, and as a result of our interaction, he said it is high time that *maskandi* music should be documented.

Ntombela admired both the political songs for their “courage”, in which, she says, “Phuzekhemisi plays the role of the *imbongi* (praise singer to a king) to the government.” On the other hand, Ntombela said that she also loved ‘proposal songs’ by *maskandas*, as they make a lady realise how beautiful she is.

Hlatshwayo, an enthusiastic *maskandi* music follower, said he looked at Johnson - as he calls Phuzekhemisi - as the singer who chooses the theme of politics while others stick to the theme of love. Hlatshwayo regards Johnson as a true artist who does not only sing to entertain but also to teach people to stand up for their rights while continuing to exercise traditional *hlonipha* (politeness). Both Mathenjwa and Hlatshwayo expressed the hope that today’s generation would learn to respect traditional music, especially *maskandi*. They both try to instil the love of this type of music in their students. They agreed that the youth is currently more fond of *kwaito* music than *maskandi*, a trend that they would both like to change. Another informant, Buthelezi, confirmed that, in his experience, the youth of fifteen to twenty-one years prefer *kwaito* music or ‘R and B’ music as compared to *maskandi* music in taxis. Buthelezi also said he was pleased when he heard the sound of *maskandi* music played in the cars of highly educated people.

Mzimela, a Phuzekhemisi follower, said that all isiZulu teachers should include *maskanda* songs when they teach folklore in schools, and should teach their pupils to perform as *maskandas* during their African cultural day. Mntambo, another Phuzekhemisi fan, said that he felt that all radio stations should have *maskanda* programmes. Mntambo complained that other people are not aware of the traditional

importance of *maskandi* music, and the importance of marketing people's culture.

Yet another informant, V Nduli, expressed his satisfaction when he discovered that *maskandi* music is the topic of my academic study. Nduli took me to Eshowe Taxi rank where most of the 'combis' (taxis) play *maskandi* music. Among the *maskandi* music played in the 'combis', I heard such artists as *Ihhashi elimhlophe* (White Horse), *UThwalofu namankentshane* (The Twelve and the Wolves), *Umfaz' omnyama* (Black Women), *UPhuzekhemisi*, and *UBhekumuzi* (One who looks after the home). I specifically asked him about Phuzekhemisi. Nduli said all Phuzekhemisi's CD's are part of his life. Nduli referred to Phuzekhemisi as a political figure like Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Desmond Tutu to name a few. All these leaders are famous and loved particularly by the youth. Nduli felt that Phuzekhemisi was a public figure like them. Like them, he fights the unfairness on the part of the government.

Another informant, Solo – as he is known – expressed his love for the *maskandi* song, *Izwe Alithuthuki*. He resides at KwaNgwanase where the Reconstruction and Development Programme has failed to improve the lives of the people. Solo even said Phuzekhemisi is not singing about people of *Umkhomazi* only, but about all the people of Africa. He referred to African countries such as Ethiopia, Burundi etc. which are starving while European countries like Britain and America are well developed. Solo said the word *Alithuthuki* (it is not developing) and *Lithuthuka* (it is developing) could be used to refer to 'developed' and 'undeveloped' countries. The word *izwe* to Solo meant the 'world' not merely the local area as others might think. Solo said Phuzekhemisi expressed the public protest very well and the government had already started responding by supplying some rural areas with electricity, water and tarred roads.

Some informants commented on the skill and performance of the *maskanda*.

Mhlongo said he grew up as one of the boys making guitars using planks, cans and string. Mhlongo described the type of music they played as *maskanda* music. He felt *maskanda* music was superior to both *mhaqanga* and *isicathamiya*.

Lubisi, who was highly approving of the *maskanda* lyrics, said *maskanda* music reminds one of the olden days when a *maskanda* walked a long distance without realising it. This is because the *maskanda* is so focused on his guitar and the song that he forgets everything and everyone else. The rhythm of the song is realised in his movement which is also very fast. Lubisi said this movement was aimed at attracting the *izintombi* (girls): the guitar and the song added power to the words of proposal of the *maskanda*.

Cele described the performance of the *maskanda* as full of pride: some look sideways when they sing as if asking: “*Uyeywa?*” (Do you hear?) and “*Uyayizwa ingoma?*” (Do you hear the song?), referring in the first instance to their ability to play the guitar skilfully without looking at it, and in the latter to the message contained in the song.. In other words, the *maskanda* aims to make his listeners feel what he is singing about.

The range of opinions given above reflects the opinion of the listening public for the protest stance that Phuzekhemisi adopts and his skill as a musician and performer.

### *Collection of data: lyrics and performance*

#### *Observation of performance*

On the 4th of August 1999, Phuzekhemisi and his group singing *maskanda* music featured in a festival in the Patane area. Phuzekhemisi led the singing. Phuzekhemisi first sang the song through alone accompanied only by his instrument. During the second singing of the song, the group joined in the chorus. The performance was well-rehearsed and very professional. All the performers were traditionally clothed in *amabheshu* (traditional male attire made of cowhide to cover the buttocks), and they performed *ukusina* (dancing) while singing the *maskandi* songs. On this occasion I was able to observe the performance closely, and rely to some extent on this observation for the comments that I make.

I also bought radio cassette titled “*Izwe Alithuthuki*” in order to listen attentively to the lyrics of the song. I wrote out the lyrics of the song in order to arrange the song as the singer sings it. I then arranged the lyrics in lines in order to analyse each line, and to interpret the song. I also translated the lyrics into English so that they will be understood by an English readers of this study.

#### *Recording of the song, Izwe Alithuthuki*

I made video and audio recordings of the performance of the song for the analysis of the performance. The recordings assisted me in listening to the rhythm of the song and I was able to identify the balance and pattern in the lyrics and performance of the song.

#### *Observation of the Performance of maskanda by Phuzekhemisi*

Phuzekhemisi involves his audience when performing *maskanda*. The rhythm in *Izwe Alithuthuki* is brought about by the drums, lead guitar, bass guitar and the clapping of hands. Kunene (1986:47) had



this to say about the performer and the audience:

... the artist ... has the opportunity to engage his audience, and be engaged by them in a direct dialogue in which ideas are shared, something possible only in oral performances.

When Phuzekhemisi performs he draws on his experiences in *Umkhomazi*. Like Thami in Muller's article, Phuzekhemisi constructs in performance a particular vision of the urban environment in contrast to his "home" in Zululand" (1999:222).

Muller (1999:223) has this to say about the performance:

"Groove" is what draws listeners, audiences and community members into the motion of performance, it induces collective participation.

Muller (1999:224) continues to explain the performance by the *maskanda* singer, Thami. She says:

Performance begins with an introduction called *intela*, *izihlabo* or *isawundi*, in which the tuning is tested and skilfully executed pitch materials are presented. This is followed by an instrumental section-consisting of several interweaving lines - which introduces the lyrics: these comprise a sung section that is fairly repetitive in text and sound, the self-praises, and sometimes an additional narrative. The sung section is then often repeated, and finally there is an instrumental conclusion (with a gradual fading out of sound). There is some flexibility in the ordering of the verbal sections, so that Chakide's praises may be heard more than once, or the sung section might return with the lines of text presented in a new sequence. This flexibility is fairly common in oral performance.

The performance by Phuzekhemisi follows the much the same structure described by Muller above. Phuzekhemisi's performance begins with an introduction called *izihlabo* to tune the guitar. *Maskanda* followers can tell you which regional type of music the *maskanda* is about to play from the *izihlabo*. As in Muller's description, Phuzekhemisi follows the introduction with an instrumental section, consisting of several interweaving lines, which introduces the lyrics: these comprise a sung section that is fairly repetitive in text and sound, and includes the self-praises, and sometimes an additional narrative. The sung section is then often repeated, and finally there is an instrumental conclusion, with a gradual fading out of sound. To me self-praising is amazing because it is the *maskanda's* introduction to the audience or listeners. Usually the artist introduces himself at the beginning but in *maskanda* it is in the middle.

Nhlekisana and Kezilahabi, identify physical aesthetic features in performance: co-ordination, rhythm, vital force, pause and movement. In Phuzekhemisi's performance, his movement emphasises the beats, as he takes several steps forwards and backwards, and then sideways, and the movement of his legs move expressively up and down, balancing each other in a co-ordinating rhythm, demonstrating the anthropological balancing that Jousse identifies as a feature of the Oral style (1997). (see next section)

Charles Okumu (1994:332) has this to say about performance:

Oral songs are composed initially by individual composer-singers to the accompaniment of musical instruments. Individual composer-singers to the accompaniment of musical instruments. The original compositions are then performed to a responsive audience, which will give a critical evaluation of the songs. Since there is no copyright, any other member of the society can perform the same song in its entirety, or in modified form to suit his purpose and audience.

In my observation, the audience joined and sang with Phuzekhemisi while he performed, therefore Okumu in the above quotation is supporting what I also observed.

### **Theoretical Framework for the analysis of *Izwe Alithuthuki* as a performed mnemonic text**

#### **Marcel Jousse and Anthropological Global Oral Style**

In *The Oral Style* published in 1925, Marcel Jousse, anthropologist, psychologist, ethnologist, linguist and teacher, identified the characteristics of anthropological phenomenon in a wide range of cultural milieus throughout the ages. He identified the unique memorising properties of this behaviours of those living in such cultural milieus. He also traced and described those features which preserve and destroy Oral-style cultures and traditions.

I used the theoretical insights of Marcel Jousse to analyse the song *Izwe Alithuthuki*. Jousse's theory of Oral-style expression accounts simultaneously for the holistic and mnemonic use of the gestual-visual/oral-aural modes of expression. Jousse identifies four Mnemonic Laws: Mimism, Rhythmism, Bilateralism (balance) and Formulism which explain the process of human expression and memory. Jousse also identifies further memory support in the Mnemotechnical Devices of 'clamping' by the repetition of words or phrases (clamp-words - 'annomination'), the repetition of consonants (clamp-sounds - Aconsonantisation) and the repetition of vowel sounds (clamp-rhymes - Avocalisation). Other Mnemotechnical Devices that Jousse identifies include onomatopoeia, key words, and countdowns.

Jousse observed that "parallelism at once physiological, semantic and rhythmic, flows from the human bilateralism" (1997:27). Jousse says, the psycho-physiological law of parallelism operate by making two propositional gestures balance. Jousse regards the act of miming or imitation as the very first

expression of a new born human being: he called this “mimism”. What humans “mimism” or mime – “ex-press” is what the world around them “i(n)m-presses” upon them. Jousse sees this universe as a dynamic whole in which all the parts interact constantly.

Jousse goes on to identify the nature, function and mnemonic power of rhythmic imitation. Jousse identifies the “intussuscepting” (1997:79) effect of imitation – mimism being ‘rhythmed’ into the fibres of the human composite – “a complexus of geste” - as Jousse puts it (1997:14).

The actors, are being acted upon and react incessantly (Sienaert 1990:91). Jousse says what is ‘im-pressed’ and that which is ‘ex-pressed’ is “geste” (1997). In the performance of the song, *Izwe alithuthuki*, Phuzekhemisi ‘ex-presses’ his ‘im-pressions’. He is ‘voicing out-side’ what is ‘voicing in-side’ him. When he is singing this song, his body shows that he is singing about a situation that he does not like. Phuzekhemisi’s body “geste” is full of rhythm as he moves in an exaggerated balanced and patterned way, from one foot to the other.(see previous section)

In Zulu there is a saying which says: “*bhoboka*” (express your feeling). Africans do not encourage a person to sit on a problem hence it is customary to express your feelings especially if there is disagreement between you and someone else. This custom known as *Ukubhobokelana* provides an opportunity for both parties to express their feelings with the aim of burying the hatchet. Jousse notes that it is easier to understand a person when we see his or her gestures expressed. When I observed Phuzekhemisi performing – ‘ex-pressing’, I developed a deeper understanding of this protest song.

Phuzekhemisi’s performance “re-plays” (Jousse 1997:91) a multitude of gestes which are his ‘im-pressed experiences’. Phuzekhemisi’s song has a rhythm which is also aided by his guitar and the

band's drums. The rhythm and balance are obvious when he performs *ukusina* (dances), sings, and stamps his feet firmly on the ground. According to African theory such stamping is required to awaken the sleeping *amadlozi* (ancestors) so that they may hear his protest and pleas for assistance. The above explanation indicates balance between the living and the dead through rhythm. It is clear therefore that Phuzekhenisi is demonstrating Oral-style traditional behaviour in the performance of the song, *Izwe Alithuthuki*.

Jousse demonstrates that formulas become structured through constant and repetitive use of phrases or discrete units of meaning in human expression, as for instance, in traditional texts such as proverbs and nursery rhymes, songs and stories, *inter alia*. As the phrases of the Oral-style traditional texts are repeated by generations of speakers, they become fixed in a pattern which is balanced and rhythmical and therefore easy to remember. The chorus in the song *Izwe Alithuthuki* is such a 'developing/developed' formula: it is rhythmic and balanced, and that together with its relevance and topicality make it easy to remember. It is this rhythm, balance and formula that makes it possible for Phuzekhemisi fans to remember and sing his songs regularly in their daily lives.

**Chorus:**

*Ngisho ngoba*

*Izwe alithuthuki*

*Kodwa kobelungu*

*Lithuthuka nsukuzonke*

I say because  
No area development  
But to white community  
It develops daily

**The satire in *Izwe Alithuthuki*: “mimism” with a ‘twist’**

While the song, *Izwe Alithuthuki*, is a protest song, the tone of the lyrics is polite. The polite tone in Phuzekhemisi's song reflects the custom of *hlonipha*, or respect. Those less powerful, which can also include the young, women, and in this case the illiterate and poverty-stricken members of the community, are taught always to use politeness. In the song, *Izwe Alithuthuki*, Phuzekhemisi uses the word '*Ngicela*' meaning 'May I ...?' - a very polite form that seems at first to be inappropriate in a protest song. It is nevertheless a subtle and powerful strategy. The polite form signals powerlessness. This emphasises the lowly status of the protester-singer and the powerful status of the government. We must remember that in the anti-apartheid protest songs Black singers sang protest songs against the Nationalist government without using *hlonipha*. Former State President, P.W. Botha as representative of the apartheid regime was the target in the following song.

*Uyabalek' uBotha*

*Uyabalek' uBotha*

*Nezinja zakhe*

Botha is fleeing

Botha is fleeing

Together with his dogs

(Groenewald and Makopo 1991:87)

*Izwe Alithuthuki* is polite and subtle. In the singing of *Izwe Alithuthuki*, Phuzekhemisi is planting a seed – ‘impressing’ - the audience with the message that the government is not delivering to the Black population. The audience then sings the song themselves, repeating the chorus even when they are working. This repeated ‘expressing’ reinforces the ‘impressing’. By appearing to be polite, Phuzekhemisi cannot be accused of being ‘unpatriotic’ or ‘disloyal’ to the ruling government. Therefore, there is no justification for restricting him from singing the song nor his audience in repeating it. As the song is sung the message in the song is being ‘rhythmo-melodically’ (Jousse 1997:213) intussuscepted in the fibres of the people. This is a form of subtle, but very effective, persuasion that has been used over and over again in the history of *maskanda*. If we are to believe Jousse, then it can be argued that this process is operating a very slow, but sure form of brainwashing, of the kind that has the capacity to energise revolution.

#### **Analysis and Interpretation of the lyrics of *Izwe Alithuthuki* as an Oral-style text**

The Oral Style is a mode of mnemonic anthropological expression. To demonstrate that *Izwe Alithuthuki* is an Oral-style text, I identify the operation of the Mnemonic Laws of Mimism, Rhythmism, Bilateralism and Formulism in the song. I also identify the Mnemotechnical Devices such as Annomination, Aconsonantisation, and Avocalisation. I have used a video-recording of Phuzekhemisi singing the song for analysis of the lyrics and performance of the song.

#### **Analysis of the lyrics and performance of *Izwe Alithuthuki* as oral-aural/gestual-visual mnemonic expression.**

In an interview with Phuzekhemisi, he said his compositions are original, saying:

*Ngicula ngezinto ezenzeka empilweni yabantu bangakithi*

I sing about the things that happen in the life of the people in my community.

In Jousse's terms, Phuzekhemisi is "mimisming" the impressions of his world in the expression which is his song. Phuzekhemisi acknowledges his natural talent to express himself on the guitar. Phuzekhemisi refers to himself as the voice of the people: "It is only through my voice that I can speak on behalf of my people". While Thami in Muller's article calls himself *Uchakide*, Phuzekhemisi refers to himself as *Ubhejane* (rhinoceros).

Phuzekhemisi chooses to call himself a rhinoceros because he sees himself as a tough thick-skinned man. Certain political organisations have attacked him because of his songs which are satirical but he has never quit. He is like a rhinoceros in that he has a tough thick skin like that of the rhinoceros which is unaffected by the thorns and prickles of the bush. Phuzekhemisi absorbs the thorny criticisms like the rhinoceros feeds off the thorny trees. Like a rhinoceros which depends on the horn to defend itself and to make itself heard, Phuzekhemisi pricks the government through his *maskanda* music, which is his "*uphondo lukabhejane*" (the rhinoceros horn).

To other musicians, Phuzekhemisi is like a rhinoceros that bulldozes everything in his path, even trees. Phuzekhemisi cannot be beaten by other *maskandis* as he sells the best music in the market. Anyone who stands in his way is crushed to nothing. Phuzekhemisi says

*Mina ngingubhejane onophondo*

I am a rhinoceros with a horn

and:



*Ngibahlaba ngaloluphondo abanye omaskanda*

I prick other *maskanda* using this horn

Phuzekhemisi is not alone in this self-praise. Thami says to Muller (1999:227).

You see, I say to other *maskanda*, I say, ..... You are not very good for playing, you *maskanda*.

### **The Anthropos and Mimism and metaphor: what does *Izwe Alithuthuki* mean?**

Jousse (1997:14) describes the anthropos – ‘man’ - as an indivisible complexus of gestes, a psycho-physiological whole, a whole being. The “geste” is an impulse that is played into man - im(n)-pressed-by the surrounding environment, which man then “re-plays” - ex-presses. Jousse calls it “mimism”. Phuzekhemisi ‘ex-presses’ his ‘im-pressions’ in the song, *Izwe Alithuthuki*:

<i>Ngicel' ukamibuza</i>	May I ask you
<i>Webantu base - Africa</i>	People of Africa
<i>Leli zwe lobaba</i>	This country of our fathers
<i>Lisaphethwe abelungu</i>	Is still ruled by white people
<i>Ngiyabuza</i>	I am asking
<i>Ngisho ngoba kubantu</i>	I say this because to black areas
<i>Izwe alithuthuki</i>	There is no development
<i>Kodwa kobelungu</i>	But to white areas
<i>Lithuthuka nsukuzonke</i>	Development occurs daily
<i>Ngibuza kini webaholi</i>	I ask you leaders
<i>Ngiyabuza webaholi</i>	I am asking you leaders.

I have analysed the song according to its “remodelled” (Jousse 1997:91) meaning: meaning as a mirror or reflection of social reality. The title *Izwe Alithuthuki* suggests what the singer is observing in his country, South Africa. It is noticeable that although Phuzekhemisi is singing about his area he has used the word *Izwe* - perhaps to emphasise the seriousness of his purpose. Usually in rural areas Reconstruction and Development Programme was not effective because leaders of the people saw the chance of misusing funds. Leaders failed to build houses, to bring water and electricity, to construct good roads and to provide jobs for unemployed people, in spite of the fact that money was provided for this purpose.

*Ngicel'ukubuzi*

May I ask you

The above demonstrate the politeness of the *maskandi* while he is making people aware of the bias in government: the *maskandi* chooses to make this known, in a respectful manner.

*We bantu base-Africa*

People of Africa

The above is directed to all African people. It is debatable that the *Maskandi* meant people of the continent. I think that Phuzekhemisi means Black South Africans.

*Leli zwe lobaha*

Our fatherland

In the above the *maskandi* is an indigenous person. Phuzekhemisi refers to Africa as the land of the Black people given to his fathers by God. The singer's complaint is justified: he expects a Black government to deliver in the Black areas.

*Lisaphethwe abelungu*

Is still governed by whites.

In the above the singer is expressing his feelings that whites are still 'governing'. Phuzekhemisi sees no change from the past.

*Ngiyabiza*

I'm asking

In the above the singer repeats what he has said before. This question makes the *maskandi* song different from pre-1994 election songs. Songs of struggle were sometimes accompanied by *ioyi-ioyi* dance and were not polite as this one is. Songs like *Khulul' uMandela* (Release Mandela) were commanding and instructive. That song goes like this:

*Oliva Tambo*

*Thetha noBotha*

*Hha khulul' uMandela*

*Ihohha! Khulul' uMandela*

*Ihohha! Khulul' uMandela*

*Ihohha! Khulul' uMandela*

*Iyohha! Khulul' uMandela*

Oliver Tambo

Speak with Botha

To release Mandela

*Ihohha! Free Mandela*

*Ihohha! Free Mandela*

*Ihohha! Free Mandela*

*Ihohha! Free Mandela*

While the above demonstrates that the country is governed by Blacks, the example below shows that there is no development even if the government has provided people with Reconstruction and Development Programmes.

*Kodwa kobelungu*

*Lithuthuka nsukuzonke*

But to whites

Development occurs daily

The singer complains that in white areas (urban areas) development occurs daily while in Black areas (rural areas) there is no development, i.e. people are without tarred roads, electricity, water supply and decent houses. The singer therefore protests that there has been no change brought about by the government led by Blacks.

*Ngibuza kini webaholi*

*Ngiyabuza webuholi*

I ask you leaders

I am asking you leaders

The singer makes it clear that his question is directed to his leaders. The leaders in this case are people both in national and provincial government. The *maskandi* is exercising his right to ask the people he voted into power why there is no delivery.

In interpreting this song, I agree with Nadine Gordimer: "Black writers choose their plots and literary styles, their themes choose them" (as quoted by Kunene 1986:36). Kunene further spells out that the message alongside many a theme in a Black literature is: "The message is one: Simultaneous liberation and the creation of a new society". The song *Izwe Alithuthuki* carries the message that, if the government heeds its warnings, a new happy society will be created.

The *Maskandi* song is an oral form of the written memorandum that are submitted by organisations to political leaders. There is some indication that the government has responded positively. In some rural areas, but not all, electricity, water and clinics is now provided. Protest songs make people become aware of the situation.

## The Anthropological Mnemonic Oral-style Laws of Rhythm, Bilateralism and Formulism

### *The Anthropological Law of Bilateralism*

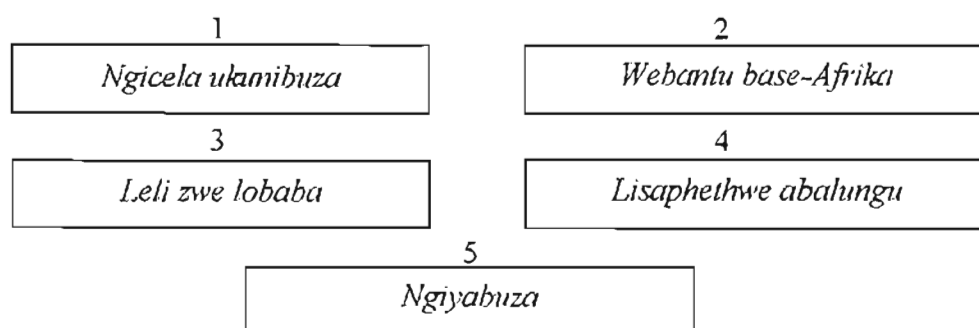
Jousse identifies that man is naturally balanced with a left and right side, and a front and a back, a top and a bottom. He notes that this bilaterality is used co-operatively with rhythm, to enable and reinforce rhythmic performance of a wide range of daily tasks which require both physical strength and skill, and the capacity to understand, learn and remember. He notes the way in which children choose to learn rhythmically and out aloud in a balanced sing-song way. The Bilateralism found in the song, *Izwe Alithuthuki*, is illustrated in the Rhythmic Schemas below.

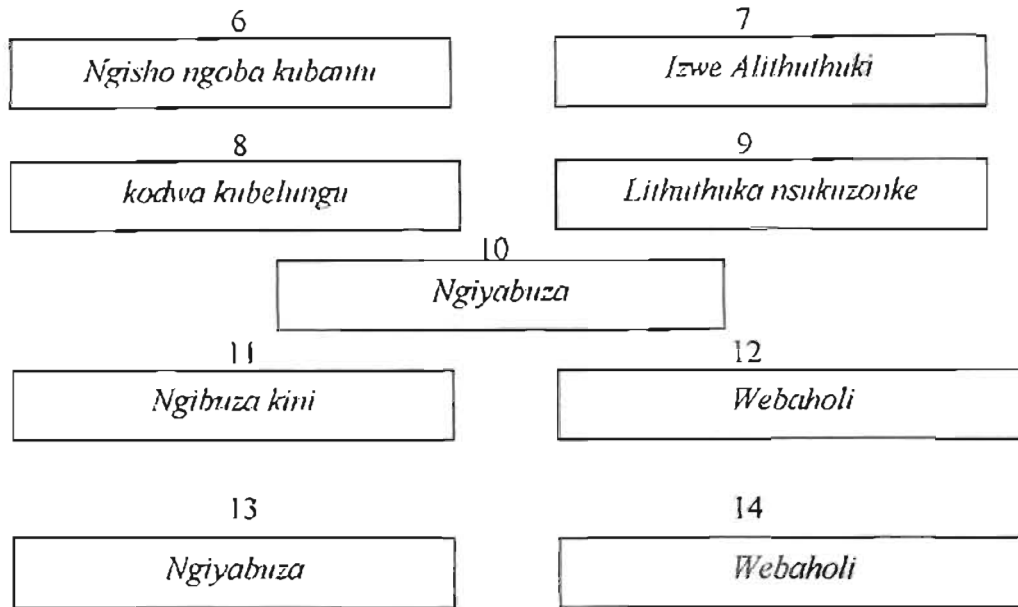
### *The Anthropological Law of Rhythmism*

Jousse identifies the essential rhythmical nature of man and his environment, and the role that such rhythm plays in all of the anthropos activities both voluntary and involuntary. He also observes the natural dependence of man on the process of rhythm in a wide range of behaviours and milieux. Rhythm and balance help each other in the song, *Izwe Alithuthuki*:

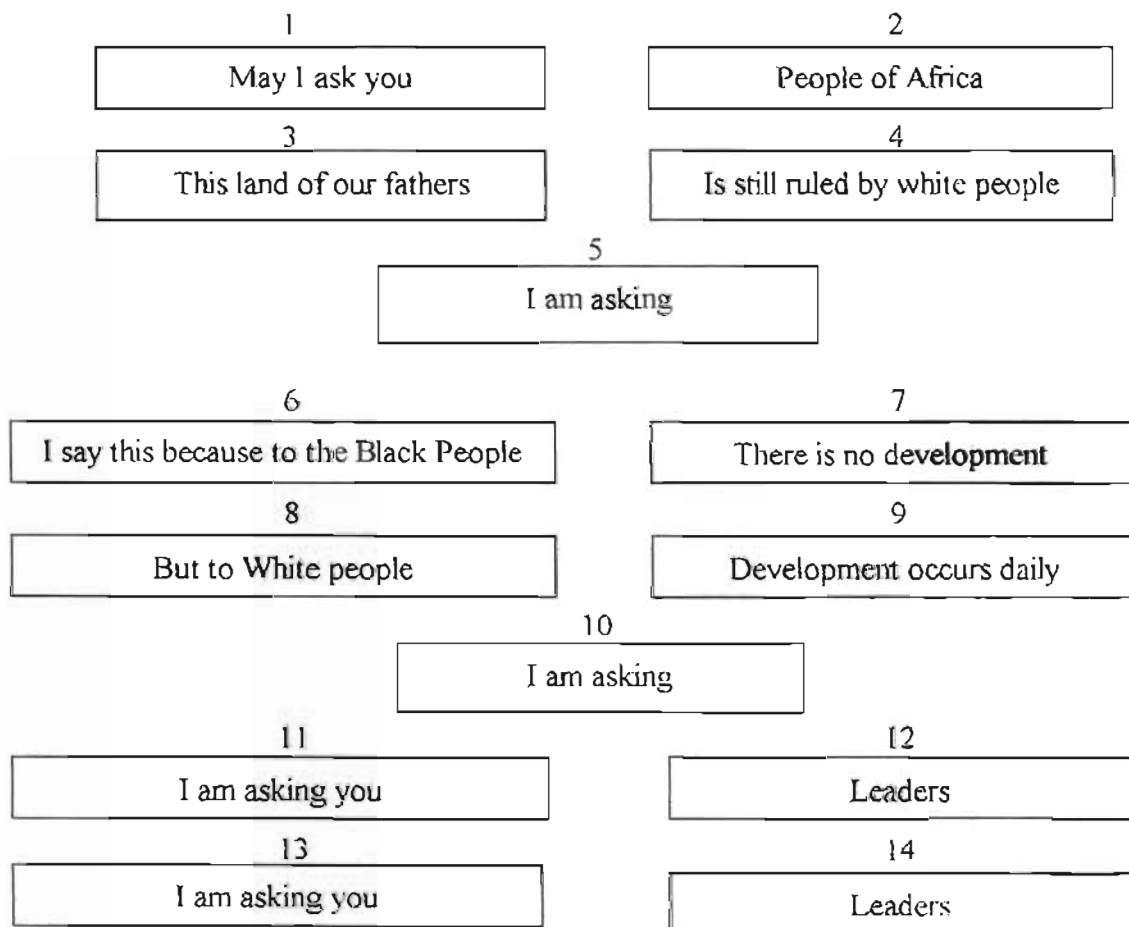
### *Izwe alithuthuki in Bilateralised Rhythmic Schemas*

The song is constructed as follows: Two binary rhythmic schemas (1-4) are followed by a single rhythmic unit (5) followed by two binary rhythmic schemas (6-9) followed by a single rhythmic unit (10) followed by two binary rhythmic schemas (11-14), as indicated in the following layout.





English translation of the above:



### *The Anthropological Law of Formulism*

With Rhythmism and Bilateralism interacting with each other, Formulism is a natural product. Any balanced rhythmical chanting very quickly suggests a series of patterns or 'formulae' which become conventionally structured through constant and repeated use. In the detailed analysis of *Izwe Aluhuthuki* that follows this is demonstrated.

### *Mnemotechnical Devices*

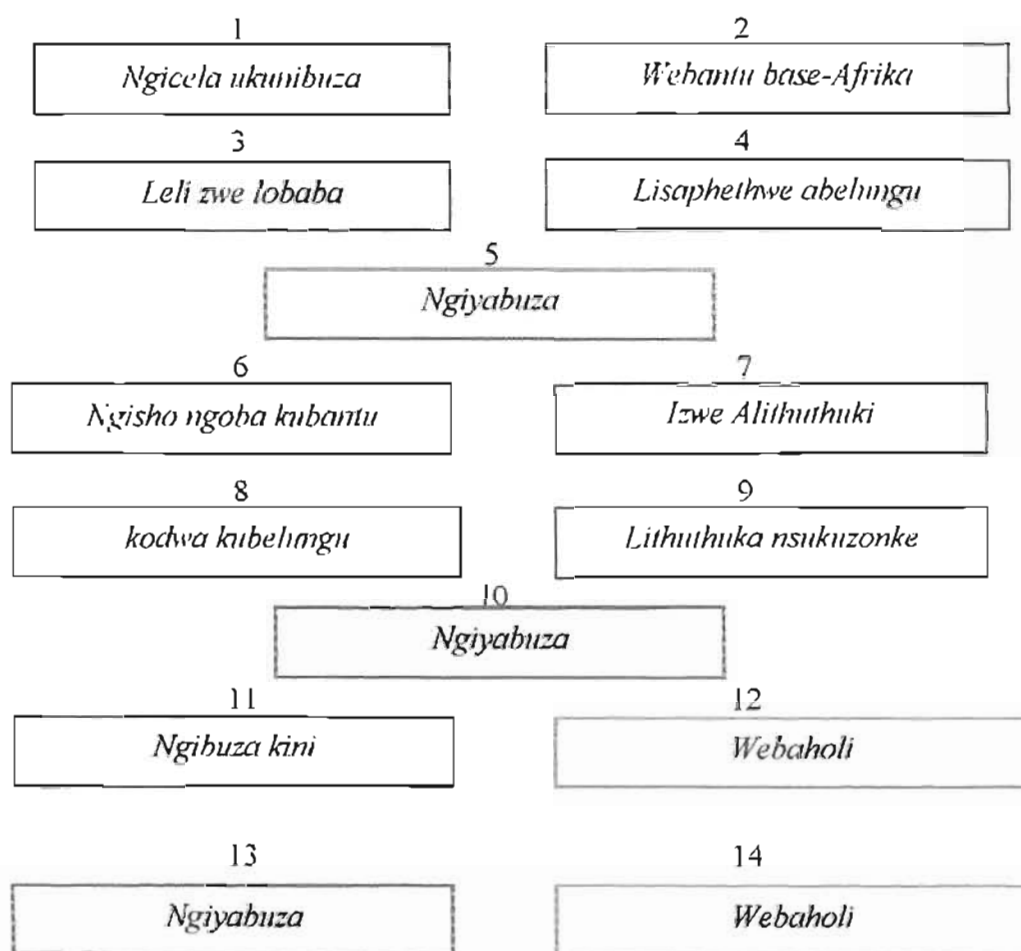
Marcel Jousse (1997) defines Oral Style as the system that operates effectively as a reliable record because it acts as an *aide-memoire* (memory-aid) through the use of Mnemotechnical Devices each of which employs one or more of Mimism, Rhythmism, Bilateralism and Formulism.

The *maskanda* song is characterised by a repetition of rhythmic units, morphemes, consonant sounds and vowel sounds. I have chosen to use this schema to demonstrate this repetition. Jousse calls the repetition of consonants - 'aconsonantisation' and the repetition of vowels - 'avocalisation'. The repetition of words Jousse calls - 'annomination'. Clamping therefore below indicates the repetition of words, vowels and consonants. Morphemes which are repeated are also indicated.



*The incidence of clamping devices as Mnemotechnical Devices at the level of whole rhythmic schemas – Formulas - in the song Izwe Alithuthuki -*

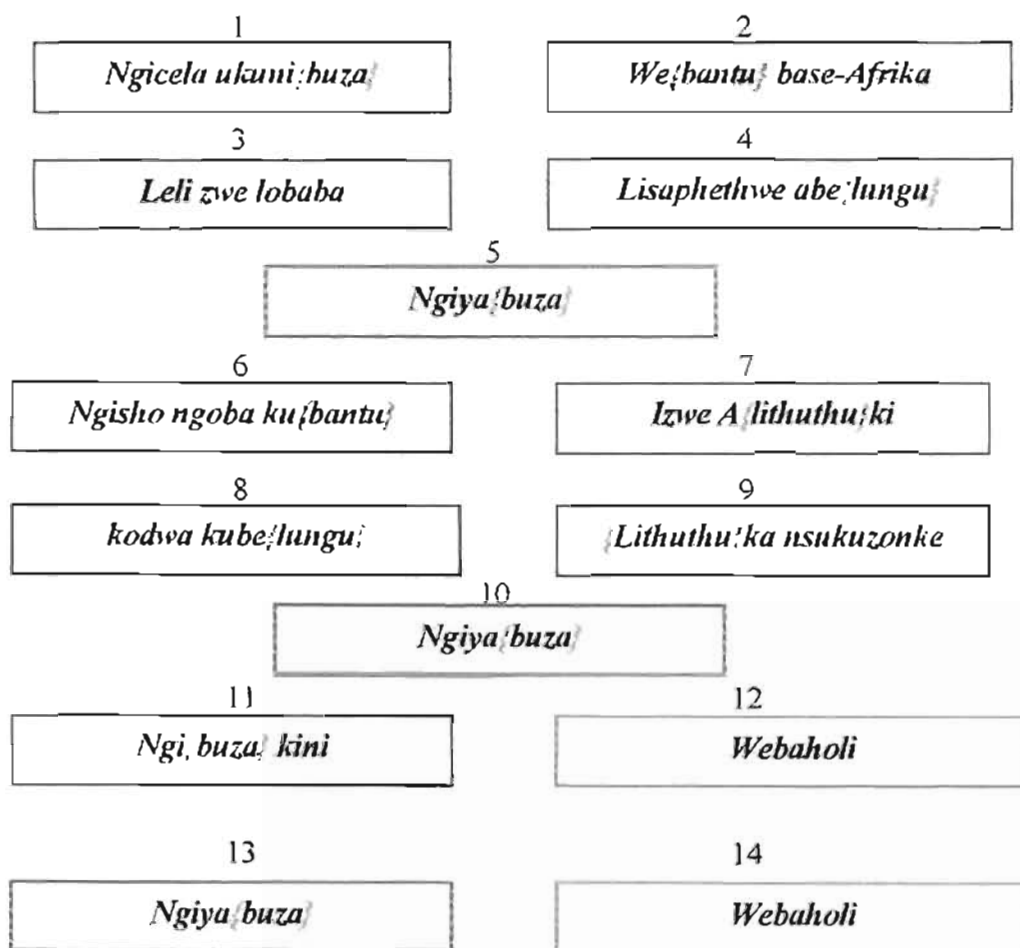
This presentation of the song, *Izwe Alithuthuki*, indicates the incidence of repetitions of whole rhythmic units, marked in coloured boxes.



*Ngiyabuza* is repeated three times and is marked in a blue box. *Webaholi* is repeated twice and is marked in a red box. Each repetition constitutes a formulaic clamping.

The incidence of clumping devices as Mnemotechnical Devices at the level of morpheme-combination in the song *Izwe Alithuthuki*.

This presentation of the song, *Izwe Alithuthuki*, indicates the incidence of repetitions of morpheme-combinations, marked in coloured braces, with the coloured boxes marking the repetition of whole rhythmic units carried forward.

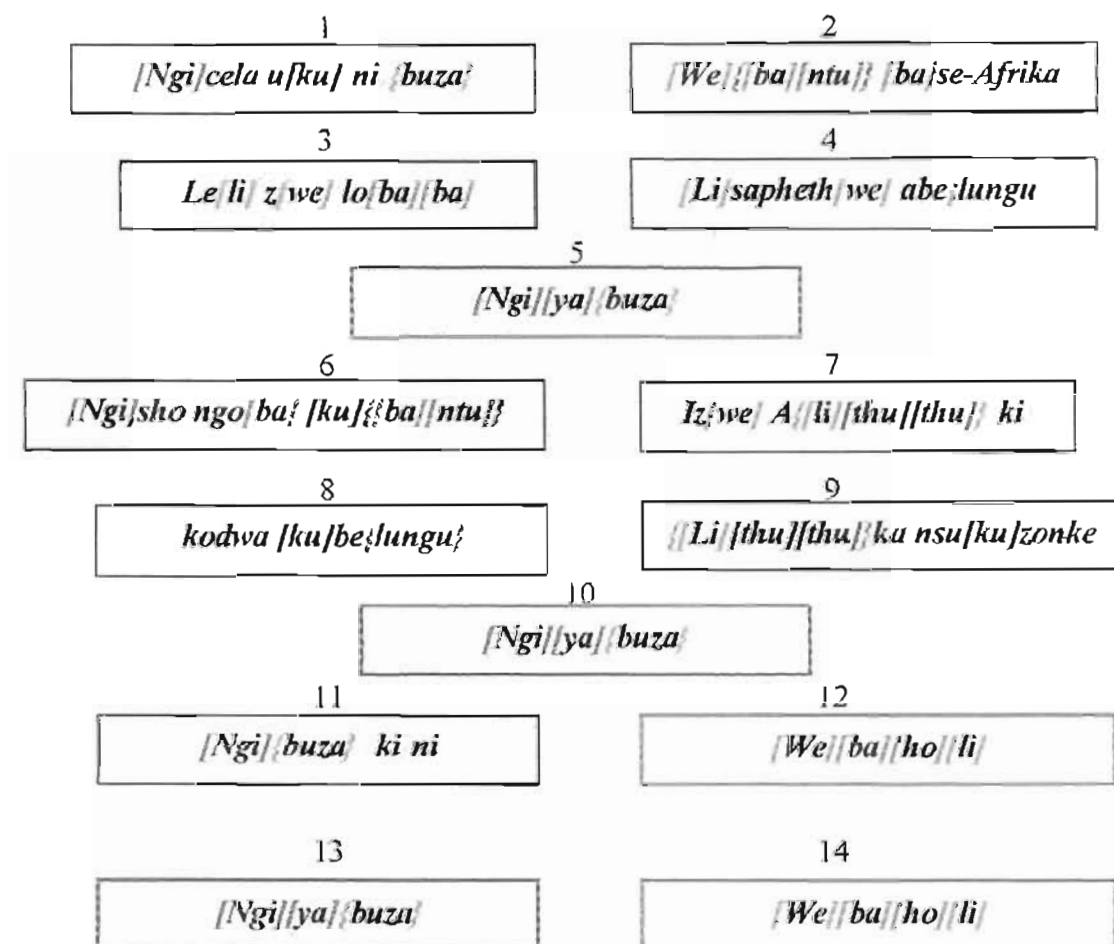


**Comment:** The Clumping Formulas in the above are marked as follows:

- {-buza}, brace-bracketed in turquoise, in Boxes 1, 5, 10, 11 and 13.
- {-bantu}, brace-bracketed in blue, in Boxes 2 and 6;
- {-lungu}, brace-bracketed in red, in Boxes 4 and 8;
- {-lithuthu}, brace-bracketed in green, in Boxes 7 and 9

*The incidence of clamping devices as Mnemotechnical Devices at the level of single morphemes in the song Izwe Alithuthuki*

This presentation of the song, *Izwe Alithuthuki*, indicates the incidence of repetitions of single morphemes, marked in coloured square brackets, with the coloured braces marking the morpheme-combinations and the coloured boxes marking the repetition of whole rhythmic units carried forward.



**Comment:** The Clamping Formulas in the above are marked as follows:

- *[-ba]*, square-bracketed in red, in Boxes 2, 3, 6, 12 and 14 (8 times in 6 boxes);
- *[-ngi]*, square-bracketed in green, in Boxes 1, 5, 6, 10, 11, and 13 (6 times in 6 boxes);
- *[-li]*, square-bracketed in blue, in Boxes 3, 4, 7, 9, 12 and 14 (6 times in 6 boxes);

- */-ku/*, square-bracketed in **black**, in Boxes 1, 6, 8, and 9 (4 times);
- */-yu/*, square-bracketed in **maroon**, in Boxes 5, 10, and 13 (4 times);
- */-we/*, square-bracketed in **pink**, in Boxes 2, 3, 4, and 7 (4 times);
- *-ni*, square-bracketed in **yellow**, in Boxes 1 and 11 (2 times);
- */-ntu/*, square-bracketed in **cerise**, in Boxes 2 and 6 (2 times);
- */-ho/*, square-bracketed in **green**, in Boxes 12 and 14 (2 times).

This demonstrates the ‘clamping’ as a memory-aid, making it easier to learn the song and to remember it. The initial, medial or final position of the (composite-)morpheme is significant.

- Where the repeated (composite-)morpheme appears **at the beginning of the rhythmic unit**, it performs as an ‘initial clamp’, as is the case of */-ngi/*, (Boxes 1, 5, 6, 10, 11, and 13), */-li/* (Boxes 4 and 9), */-we/* (Boxes 2, 12, and 14).
- Where the repeated (composite-)morpheme appears **within the rhythmic unit**, it performs as a ‘medial clamp’, as in the case of */-li/* (Boxes 3 and 7), *-we/* (Boxes 3, 4 and 7), */-ku/* (Boxes 1, 6, 8, and 9), */-yu/* (Boxes 5, 10 and 13), */-ba/* (Boxes 2 (x2), 3, 4, 6 (x2), 12 and 14).
- Where the repeated (composite-)morpheme appears **at the end of the rhythmic unit**, it performs as a ‘final clamp’, as in the case of */-li/* (Boxes 12 and 14), *buza/*, (Boxes 1, 5, 10 and 13), *lungu/*, (Boxes 4 and 8).
- Where the repeated (composite-)morpheme appears **in two positions**, it performs as a ‘cross clamp’, as in the case of */-ntu/* (Box 2 – medial and Box 6 – final), */-ba/* (Boxes 2 (x2), 3, 4, 6 (x2), 12 and 14 – medial and Box 3 – final), */-li/* (Boxes 4 and 9 – initial and Boxes 12 and 14 – final).

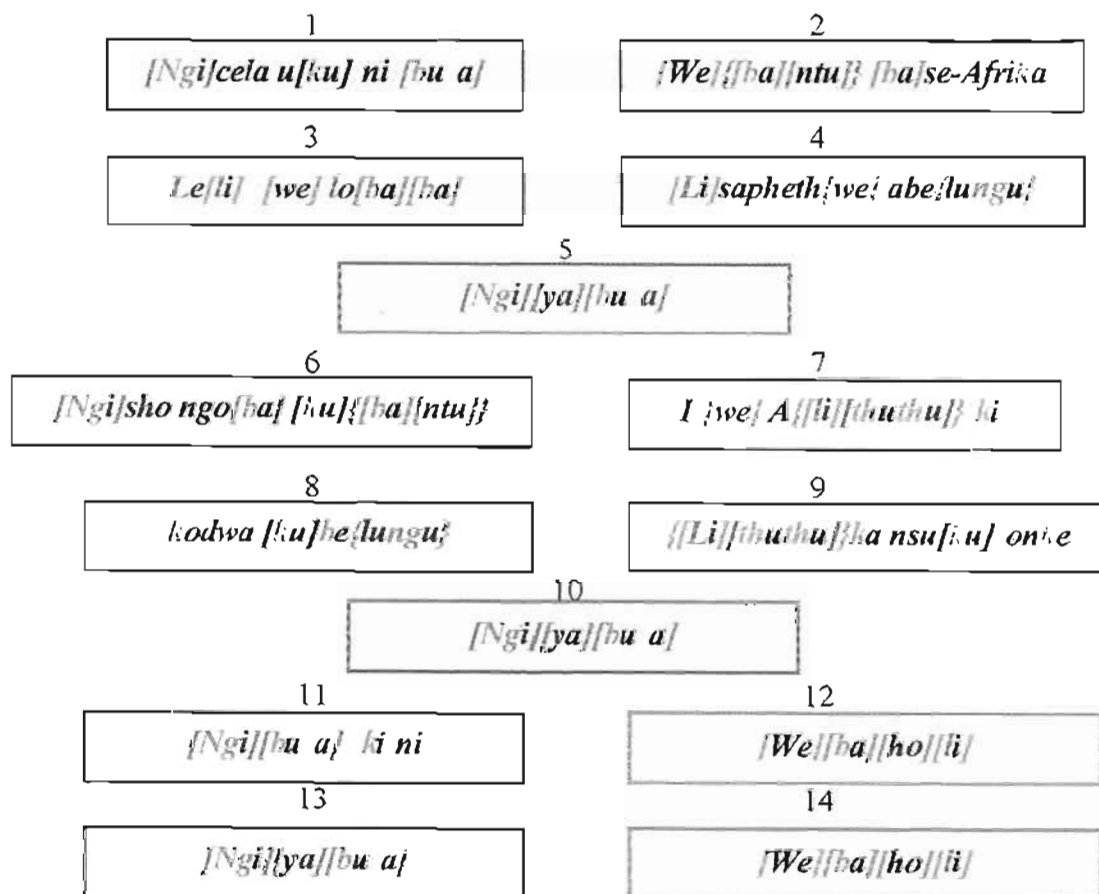
In addition to the morphemic clamping identified above, there is further repetition in the meanings of the lyrics which further support the mnemonic structure of the song. In rhythmic unit 1 there is 'ukamibuzza' (to ask you) which carries much the same meaning as 'ngiyamibuzza' (I am asking) in rhythmic units 5, 10 and 13, and 'ngibuzza' (I am asking) in rhythmic unit 11. In rhythmic unit 2, 'webantu' (people) and 'kubantu' (to the people) echo each other. In rhythmic unit 3, 'leli lizwe' (this land) and in rhythmic unit 7, 'Izwe' (the land) is repeated. In rhythmic unit 4, 'abelungu' (White community) and 'kubelungu' rhythmic unit 8 (to white community) is repeated. In rhythmic unit 7, 'alithuthuki' (it does not develop) is repeated in rhythmic unit 9 as 'lithuthuka' (it develops). In rhythmic unit 12 and 14, 'we baholi' (you leaders) is repeated.

*The incidence of clamping devices as Mnemotechnical Devices at the level of consonant sounds – aconsonantisation - in the song Izwe Alithuthuki*

Jousse refers to repetition of consonant sounds as 'aconsonantisation', another form of clamping as an aid to memory and learning. In the song, *Izwe Alithuthuki*, the following consonant sounds are repeated creating a clamping pattern, or formula, for example: *ng, l, k, b, , th*

- [ng] is repeated at the beginning of *ngicela, ngisho, ngiyabuzza, ngibuzza*.
- [l] is repeated at the beginning of *leli zwe*, and *lisaphethwe*.
- [k] is repeated in *odwa kubelungu* and *kini*
- [b] is repeated in *buzza, bantu, base-Afrika, lobaba, ngotha, webaholi*, in all the rhythmic units except rhythmic unit 1 and 9.
- [ ] is repeated in *bu a, onke, we*.
- [ ] is repeated in *alithuthuki* and *lithuthuka*.

This presentation of the song, *Izwe Alithuthuki* below, indicates the incidence of repetitions of consonant sounds, marked in colour, with the coloured square brackets marking single morphemes, the coloured braces marking the morpheme-combinations and the coloured boxes marking the repetition of whole rhythmic units, carried forward.



**Comment:** The Aconsonantisation Clamping Formulas in the above are marked as follows:

- *ng* in Boxes 1, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11, 13.
- *h* in Boxes 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14.
- *l* in Boxes 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 12, 14.
- *k* in Boxes 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11.
- *i* in Boxes 1, 5, 10, 13.
- *li* in Boxes 7, 9.

*The incidence of clamping devices as Mnemotechnical Devices at the level of vowel sounds - avocalisation - in the song Izwe Alithuthuki*

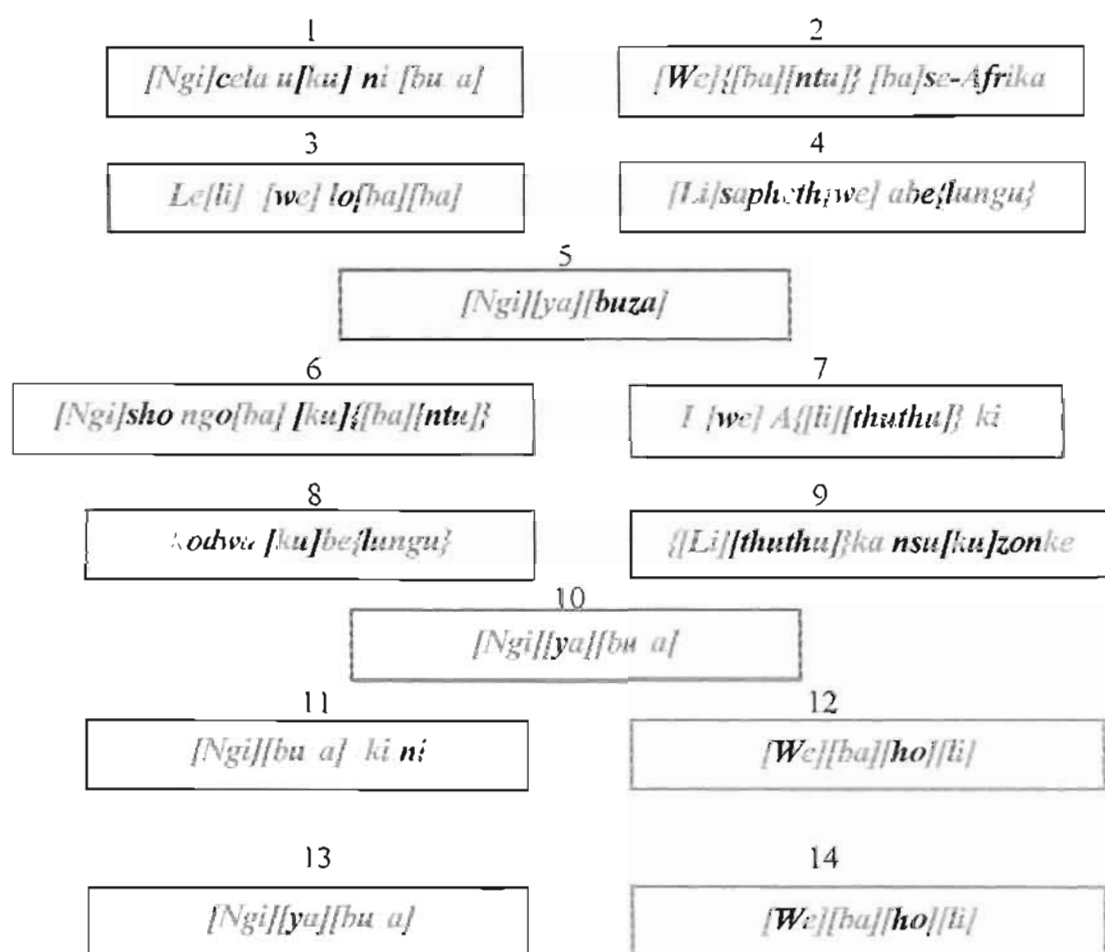
Jousse refers to repetition of vowel sounds as 'avocalisation', another form of clamping aiding memory and learning. In the song, *Izwe Alithuthuki*, vowel sounds are repeated creating a clamping pattern, or formula, which relates to rhythmic phrases. This is a very dense pattern of Avocalisation Clamping Formulas as can be seen from the following:

- *a* in all Boxes except 7.
- *e* in all Boxes except 5, 6, 10, 11, 13.
- *i* in all Boxes except 2, 8.
- *o* in Boxes 3, 6, 8, 9, 12, 14
- *u* in all Boxes except 3, 12, 14.

Examples immediately below include a demonstration of the use of each of the following: *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, for clamping.

- the repetition of the vowel [*a*] in *abelungu* and *alithuthuki*.
- the repetition of the vowel [*i*] in *ngicela*, *ukunibuzo*, and *leli*.
- the repetition of the vowel *u* in *kunibuzo*, *webantu*, *abelungu*, *ngiyabuzo* and *alithuthuki*.
- the repetition of the vowel [*e*] in *ngicela*, *webantu*, *zwe*, and *lisaphethu*.

The presentation below of the song, *Izwe Alithuthuki*, indicates the incidence of repetitions of vowel sounds, marked in colour, with the consonant sounds marked in colour, the coloured square brackets marking single morphemes, the coloured braces marking the morpheme-combinations and the coloured boxes marking the repetition of whole rhythmic units carried forward.



### The use of colour to mark formulaic clamping

The effects of using colour to mark all repetitions in the performed Zulu text of *Izwe Alithuthuki* is to reveal the beauty found in the sound of the song. While the song is primarily a socio-cultural archive and a vehicle for protest, there is also beauty in orality. The colour symbolises metaphorically the weaving of sound into a *textus* ('weaving' in Latin ) known to us as 'text'.

The brief analysis above indicates that clamping is an important element in the song *Izwe Alithuthuki*.

As a Mnemotechnical Device, clamping contributes to the mnemonic structure which, according to Jousse, enables learning and supports memory.



## Conclusion

Performance, including voice, gesture and movement, transmits the oral traditional materials of the ethnic group to its members. *Maskandi* song should be preserved for future generations. Guma says:

A people's past is its spiritual heritage, and as such, it should not only be nursed and nurtured, but preserved and jealously guarded for all times. This is because of the stability that it provides, for without it, a nation is like a tree without roots, liable to be blown over by the gentlest breezes, with it, it can withstand the strongest of hurricanes, because it is firmly rooted (in Okumu 1994:329).

In concluding this study I would like to highlight the fact that the *Izwe Alithuthuki* song by Phuzekhemisi has heeded the clarion call by the South African President when he speaks about the "African Renaissance".

Writing about *Maskandi* as a protest song revives the African tradition to use the genre of song in order to express emotions, opinions and feelings. It is important again to note that the *hlonipha* custom is a vital source of law and order in African societies, especially the Zulu society. The song, *Izwe Alithuthuki*, bears this custom while other protesting and political songs vilify the intended person. Mkonto (1988:6) shares this view in his writings when he says:

Naturally, a direct rebuke results in an intolerable feeling which may affect human relations.  
(1988:6).

This song, *Izwe Alithuthuki*, therefore is relevant because it maintains order between the rulers and the ruled in order for a society to uphold certain societal norms and values. Words like *ngicela* (I ask) and *ukumibuza* (to ask you) indicate politeness. This song also comments on political affairs. It is directed

at those people in government who make selfish decisions to serve their own interests.

I recognise that the *maskandi*, Phuzekhemisi uses his talent as a vehicle for applying social pressure on society. *Izwe Alithuthuki* as a song of protest reflects the nation's socio-cultural life, and as expression it asserts and confirms the nation's values. *Izwe Alithuthuki* is not confined to cultural contexts only, it is also used in political contexts. Therefore it has a place to be taken as a relevant social and political commentary. Like Xhosa folksongs are used to communicate ideas, and to control cultural norms and values, and are not merely a form of entertainment, *Izwe alithuthuki* forms a significant part of the oral socio-cultural archive that identifies the time and place in which we are currently living in South Africa.

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Appendix A: The following is a schedule of the interviews conducted in this study:

Name & status	Date	Place	Age	Duration	Subject	Address	Tel. No.
L.F. Mathenjwa Lecturer U.Z.	1999 June 2	Unizul	45	1hr	Song analysis	P/bag x1001 KwaDlangezwa	(035) 7933911
M. Lubisi Lecturer U.Z.	1999 June 2	Unizul	45	1hr	Word Division	P.Bag x1001 KwaDlangezwa	(035) 7933911
V.J.B. Nduli Teacher	1999 Jul 21	Eshowe	42	2hrs	Maskandi influence	P.O. Box 351 Esikhawini	(035) 7967629
V.F. Mhlongo Induna Yenkosi	1999 Jul 26	Esikhawini	60	2hrs	Traditional Songs	P.O. Box 35 KwaMbonambi	(035) 5809040
B.S. Cele Teacher	1999 Jul 30	Esikhawini	46	3hrs	Performance	Box 639 Esikhawini	(035) 7966264
M.S. Mathenjwa Metro Supervisor	1999 Jul 31	Inanda	40	1hr	Message	Box 444 Inanda (DBN)	(031) 4691204
E.J. Ntombela Teacher	1999 Aug 26	Lamontville	39	1hr	Performer	2132 Hull Road (DBN)	(031) 4691204
B.Mtambo Ex. SABC Presenter	1999 Aug 27	Durban SABC	38	1hr	Theme	N/A	083-4995304
C.P. Mzimela ex Brigadier SAP	1999 Sept. 25	Embabe	65	3 hrs	Value of Maskandi	Box 558 Kwambonambi	035-5809204
S.N. Hadebe Lecturer Esikh. College	1999 Sept. 29	Ngwelezana	42	2 hrs	Dance (ukusina)	Box 2604 Enpangeni	035 7940045
J.N. Khumalo Teacher	1999 October 09	Enseleni	31	2 hrs	Youth opinion	12 Esikhawini	083 5300899
S. Hlatshwayo Teacher	1999 October 11	Umkhomazi	30	1 hr	Guitar contribution	Box 565 Scottburgh	032 9452137
T. Mathonsi Student (Maskanda)	2000 January 12	Unizul	26	2 hrs	Who is Maskandi		083 9363847
J.Z. Mnyandu (Maskanda)	1999 Aug 04	Phathane	49	30 min	Message to the Govt.		
N.D. Mbokazi (Student)	1999 Nov 06	Embabe	18	1hr	Protest song	Box 558 Kwambonambi	035 5809050
L. Khumalo (Student)	1999 Nov 11	Embabe	19	1hr	Kwaito and maskandi	Box 1304 Kwambonambi	