

TRICKSTERS AND TRICKERY
IN
ZULU FOLKTALES

by

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ABSTRACT

Tricksters and Trickery in Zulu Folktales is a research on one of the central themes in African, and particularly Nguni/Zulu folklore, in which the trickster figure plays a pivotal role. The Zulu form part of the Nguni group of the Kintu speaking populations in sub-Saharan Africa. Their oral traditions are based on those of the whole sub-continent, but also constitute significant innovations due to the Nguni's contacts with the Khoisan peoples and to the history that has shaped their reasoning processes.

Folktales are an artistic reflection of the people's culture, history, way of life, attitudes to persons and events, springing from the observation of nature and of animal and human behaviour, in order to create a "culture of the feelings" on which adult decisions are based.

The present research is based on the concept of a semiotic communication system whereby folktale "texts" are considered as metaphors, to be de-coded from the literary, cultural and behavioural points of view. The system is employed to produce comic entertainment, as well as for education.

A careful examination of the sources reveals the central role that observation of the open book of natural phenomena, and especially the observation of animal life, plays in the formulation of thought patterns and of the imagery bank on which all artistic expression is based, be it in the form of proverbs, or tales, or poetry.

Animal observation shows that the small species need to act with some form of cunning in the struggle for survival. The employment of tricks in the tales can be either successful or unsuccessful, and this constitutes the fundamental division of the characters who are constantly associated with trickery. They apply deceiving patterns based on false contracts that create an illusion enabling the trickster to use substitution techniques. The same trick pattern is however widely employed, either successfully or unsuccessfully, by a score of other characters who are only "occasional tricksters", such as human beings, in order to overcome the challenge posed by external, often superior, forces, or simply in order to shape events to their own advantage.

The original mould for the successful trickster figure in Kintu speaking Africa is the small Hare. The choice of this animal character points to the bewildered realization that small beings can only survive through guile in a hostile environment dominated by powerful killers. The Nguni/Zulu innovation consists of a composite character with a dual manifestation: Chakide, the slender mongoose, a small carnivorous animal, whose main folktale name is the diminutive Chakijana; and its counterpart Hlakanyana, a semi-human

dwarf. The innovation contains a double value: the root ideophone *hlaka* points to an intelligent being, able to outwit his adversaries by "dissecting" all the elements of a situation in order to identify weaknesses that offer the possibility of defeating the enemy; and to "re-arrange" reality in a new way. This shows the ambivalent function of trickery as a force for both demolition and reconstruction. Chakijana, the small slender mongoose, is like the pan-African Hare in most respects, but with the added feature of being carnivorous, therefore a merciless killer. He makes use of all its powers to either escape larger animals, or to conquer other animals for food in order to survive. Hlakanyana, being semi-human, can interact with both humans and animals; Chakijana is mostly active in an animal setting.

The unsuccessful trickster figure in Kintu speaking Africa is Hyena, an evil and powerful killer and scavenger, associated in popular belief with witches by reason of his nocturnal habits and grave digging activities. The Nguni/Zulu innovation is *Izimu*, a fictional semi-human being, traditionally interpreted as a cannibal, a merciless and dark man eater. *Izimu* is another composite figure, prevalently corresponding to Hyena, from which he draws most of his fictional characteristics. The figure further assimilates features of half-human, half-animal man-eating monsters known in the folklore of many African cultures, as well as the ogre figure prevalent in European tales. The anthropophagous aspect, taken as its prevalent characteristic by earlier researchers, is a rather secondary feature. The innovation from a purely animal figure (Hyena) to a semi-human one allows this character to interact mostly with human beings, thus expressing deeply felt human concerns and fears.

Trickery is the hallmark of comedy, the art of looking at life from an upside-down point of view, to portray not the norm but the unexpected. Thus the metaphors contained in trickster folktales, as expressions of comedy, are rather difficult to decode. The ambivalence, so common in many manifestations of African culture, becomes prevalent in these tales. Human tricksters, who try to imitate the trick sequence, are successful if their aims can be justified in terms of culture and tradition; but are unsuccessful if their aims are disruptive of social harmony. Ambivalence is also predominant in "modern" trickster folktales, and in some manifestations of the trickster themes in recent literature.

The trickster tradition is an important aspect of the traditions of the Zulu people, permeating social, educational and literary aspects of life and culture. The Nguni/Zulu innovations of Hlakanyana/Chakijana and of *Izimu* point to the dynamic and inner stability of the culture, a precious heritage and a force on which to build a great future.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that *TRICKSTERS AND TRICKERY IN ZULU FOLKTALES* is my own work, and that all the sources I have used have been acknowledged by means of complete references. I acknowledge, however, that having studied and taught the subject of Zulu oral traditions for many years, ideas initially found in disparate sources may have become part of my own approach to such an extent that the original sources might have been occasionally forgotten.

Although many ideas were arrived at under the guidance of my main Supervisor, Prof. W.J. Argyle, I take full responsibility for possible shortcomings.

This work has not been previously submitted, in part or in total, to any other university for the purpose of obtaining a degree.



NOVERINO NOEMIO CANONICI

December 1995

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my wife, Catherine Burns Canonici, as a small acknowledgement of her tremendous support over the years of my studies and research, and as a token of gratitude for providing the ideal home environment in which I was able to study, reflect and express my ideas in a relaxed and congenial atmosphere.

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NOTE: To avoid producing a very bulky volume, this work has been typed on Times New Romans 12 points font with 1.3 line spacing.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 GENERAL OVERVIEW

Folktales are fictional creations performed for entertainment and relaxation. Their educational function is seen in the fact that they reflect aspects of human life and communicate simple messages, based on home spun wisdom, encoded in the stories. In order to sustain interest and to create suspense, the tales represent some form of conflict that must be resolved.

Even a superficial reader of Zulu folktales realizes that the problems and conflicts represented in them are generally solved by some kind of cunning plan. This consists in giving one of the parties the illusion that he/she is going to benefit from accepting the offer of goods (=food) or services proposed by the other party. The tables are then fraudulently turned on the unsuspecting victim, thus causing his/her defeat. This deception sequence is called "trickery". It requires intelligence, cunning and careful planning in order to succeed.

Many trickster folktales are animal fables, based on nature observation which is then transferred to the sphere of human behaviour. The successful practitioners of trickery are small animals, which appear to have no alternative but the use of cunning and intelligence in order to ensure their survival in a hostile and highly competitive environment dominated by powerful killers. Some of their physical characteristics are taken as manifestations of alertness, carefulness and guile: all traits needed in order to either avoid being caught, or to procure food by stealthily attacking others. When larger animals use similar tactics against smaller beings, or when they try to catch them by sheer physical strength, the small trickster reacts by devising a careful plan that will eventually lead to his own victory and to the destruction of the powerful enemy. There is therefore a clear distinction between successful and unsuccessful tricksters in the tales. Trickery comes to symbolize the success of brain over brawn, of small over big and powerful.

The African tradition seems to look with amazement at the staying power of small animal species: their survival can only be attributed to intelligence and guile. They are thus apt exemplars of what human beings should be if they too want to survive and prosper.

The original mould for the successful trickster figure in Kintu speaking Africa is the small Hare. The Zulu/Nguni oral traditions acknowledge Hare's skills, but they present an important innovation in their imagery bank in the form of *Ichakide*, the slender mongoose, normally referred to in folktales by its personalized diminutive form, *UChakijana*. This is a

composite character that incorporates all the features of *UNogwaja*, the Hare, while also making use of the mongoose's traits of being carnivorous, therefore a hunter and a killer. To facilitate Chakijana's interaction with humans, a further innovation appears: Chakijana becomes the semi-human dwarf *UHlakanyana*, the representative of cleverness.

A similar phenomenon of assimilation and improvement seems to apply to the figure of the unsuccessful trickster, whose African original mould is Hyena (*Impisi*). The Nguni/Zulu innovation is represented by *Izimu*, a semi-human fictional figure that contains all the characteristics of Hyena, while also incorporating elements of the man-eating monster of several African cultures and of the ogre of European folklore. *Izimu* is a dark figure that threatens human life and personifies human anxieties and fears.

The aim of the present study is to analyze the folktales built on the trick sequence and containing characters closely related with trick and trickery. The structure of such narratives, or the formula employed to deceive, will indicate what the Zulu consider as "clever" or "cunning" practices, while the images associated in the stories symbolize either the elements considered as values and worth fighting for, or as defects to be avoided within the culture. Since trickery is a narrative function widely employed, the Zulu tradition presents a number of characters that are normally associated with trickery, either successfully or unsuccessfully, and many other figures that make use of the trick sequence occasionally in order to obtain their aims. The African roots of the tales and of their content can never be stressed enough; but the significance of the Zulu/Nguni innovations need to be carefully pursued.

The reasons for this study are several. First of all, trickster folktales seem to dominate the field of Zulu oral narratives, with manifestations of trickery found in most stories. In spite of this practical predominance, little systematic research has been carried out in this specific field. Secondly, the attention paid to the trickster in international research demonstrates that the subject should be extremely interesting because it poses questions whose answers are far from easy to find. Thirdly, recent research in modern Zulu literature has demonstrated the dynamic and enduring legacy of oral traditions in general, and of the trickster tradition in particular, as it finds expression in oral and written works, as well as in education and in comedy. If the tree is so vigorous and luxuriant, its roots must be deep and all embracing.

The method used for this research has been, primarily, a close analysis of Zulu texts. Rather than beginning with the presentation of theories worked out in international circles, I chose to concentrate on the Zulu data, to let them talk to me, to reveal their inner depths. By so doing I have avoided the danger of imposing foreign concepts on a local phenomenon, thus perpetuating a system of cultural colonialism. Some elements of international theoretical studies are certainly applicable to the Zulu situation, while others are not. The exercise has, however, also demonstrated that Zulu culture is deeply rooted in the fertile soil of African culture, and that several Zulu cultural expressions reach well beyond the borders of South Africa.

This introductory chapter is intended to place the whole research in perspective by presenting a few basic concepts. After an exposition of the overall plan of study and a few points delimiting its scope, I shall endeavour to place my work against the background of international and local research on trickster figures, and then to discuss the way that folktales are going to be analyzed to produce the desired results. The chapter ends with a presentation of the folktale sources employed for my research.

1.1 PLAN OF STUDY

It is customary for an introductory chapter to deal in some detail with the theoretical and methodological approaches needed to place the entire study in perspective. In the field of trickster studies, there is quite a considerable amount of work done in other countries and in Southern Africa and this is briefly presented in 1.3. Such work should serve as a theoretical frame to understand the social function of trickster tales. My work, however, is mostly practical, as it is based on the analysis of Zulu trickster folktales. My understanding of this literary genre and the methods utilized for its analysis follows in section 1.4. The analytical method is based on the principle that folktales are part of the oral communication system (= form, literary aspects) and are also means to identify particular aspects of culture (= content, interpretation of communicative symbols). The main collections of Zulu source material used in this study are introduced in 1.5.

Chapter 2 lays additional foundation layers by initially outlining a typology of the Zulu trickster figures, to justify my overall division of tricksters into successful, unsuccessful and occasional, following in part Denise Paulme's studies (1976 and 1978) in West Africa. The link among the three categories resides in the fact that they are all trick initiators. The exposition then begins to concentrate on **successful tricksters**, the first type to be identified. Since the largest section of trickster folktales represents animal characters, an explanation will be given on the use of animal metaphors, with special emphasis on the figure of Chakijana / Hlakanyana that constitutes a Nguni innovation, placed against the background of pan-African animal trickster figures. The chapter then investigates the attitudes of the Zulu to tricksters and trickery by means of a lexical research which has produced interesting cultural insights in the form of proverbs connected to the animals one meets in folktales as successful tricksters. These lexical and proverbial items reveal an ambivalent attitude towards tricksters: admiration for their cleverness on the one hand, and concern for possibly disruptive consequences on the other.

Having laid the theoretical, methodological and cultural foundations for the study, the dissertation continues with successful tricksters. **Chapter 3** outlines narrative patterns and motifs present in folktales dealing with successful tricksters, which reveal the existence of a large African and Nguni imagery bank, freely and widely drawn upon and re-arranged by

performers and writers. Callaway's, Stuart's and Mbatha's collections will be considered more closely than others, because they are the most ancient ones, and can therefore be considered as more traditional and genuine Zulu material. We shall also discover that most of the actions attributed to successful trickster figures in the various collections can be found in Callaway's and Stuart's works.

Chapter 4 attempts to decode the literary metaphors by the identification of some characteristics of the successful figures to be understood within the confines of Zulu culture. Here the problem of authentic cultural representation comes to the fore: modern writers have indiscriminately assimilated elements from other parts of Africa, from Europe and from America; thus it becomes difficult to decide what is genuinely traditional Zulu culture and what is not. Some trickster characteristics are considered positively, some negatively. But the veil of ambivalence covers them all and links them to a very great extent.

There follows (**Chapter 5**) a presentation of **unsuccessful tricksters**, that is, of those characters that look like mirror images, or inept imitators, of their successful counterparts, but are always condemned to a bad end. In spite of its new name, *Izimu* appears remarkably like the pan-African Hyena and his tales exemplify deeply felt human anxieties and concerns.

The use of the trick sequence by human characters is discussed in **Chapter 6**, where the concept of **occasional tricksters** becomes quite relevant, as it highlights the point that trickery should be considered an extensively employed narrative function, rather than being restricted to an exact character. People's ambivalent attitude towards tricksters and trickery becomes perfectly clear in the tales quoted in this chapter: a trick may be fun in an animal setting, but is disruptive in human society when used for unethical purposes.

Chapter 7 draws the general lines from the insights gained in the research and investigates the endurance of some trickster themes and motifs as they inspire modern literature and reflect important elements in the process of self-identification, as well as in the context of education and entertainment.

I need to highlight now a number of restricting considerations in order to focus my work.

1.2 DELIMITATION OF SCOPE

Although my research has been quite wide, having consulted all the literature on the subject of tricksters and trickery I could lay hands on, the scope of the thesis has been restricted to Zulu narratives that deal with trickster figures, as listed in 1.5 below. As I have already mentioned, the most relevant among them are Callaway's collection (1868), James Stuart's unpublished folktales, as well as some modern versions written especially for school use. Callaway and Stuart collected their material from oral performances during the second half of the 19th century, when the Zulu people had not yet been widely exposed to western influences, as represented by

the colonial administration, the church and school education. Their collections are therefore important manifestations of the traditional repertoire of folktale characters, motifs and themes.

In referring to the content of the sources as Zulu **oral traditions** and Zulu **traditional culture**, I make the following assumptions: the **Zulu** - speaking people form part of the Nguni group of Kintu speaking populations (N.B. The universally accepted term "Bantu" is avoided in this work as it is considered offensive in South Africa for historical reasons). The term "Zulu" is taken to mean what is part of the particular heritage of the Zulu people, that is, of the people who recognize themselves as 'Zulu' at present because they speak the language *isiZulu* and claim descent from families and clans traditionally recognized as Zulu (*amaZulu*). In this context 'Zulu traditions' (*amasiko esiZulu*) can be generally taken to mean what is at present said or written in Zulu, and has its origins in the pre-history and history of the Nguni populations.

Other ethnic groups in Southern Africa present a number of insights, both similar to and different from those of the Zulu people. In the folktale field, where one finds stories distributed with great freedom, the Zulu have developed a number of traditions of their own. In the specific field of trickster folktales, for example, the Zulu tradition employs the slender mongoose, **Chakijana**, as the star trickster, while most other cultural groups make use of the nearly pan-African figure of the hare for the role, while the Venda and Northern Sotho people also have Huveane, a figure that spans mythology and folktale. Furthermore, the Tsonga and other traditions present the figure of hyena as the unsuccessful trickster in opposition to the hare (cf Marivate 1973 and Kuper 1987), in place of the legendary Nguni figure of *Izimuzimu* (a composite figure of hyena and ogre) while Sotho speakers have developed the *ledimo* (cannibal/ogre) character in very realistic terms, possibly because they experienced the phenomenon of anthropophagy more cruelly than the Zulu during the *Imfeqane* period. This means that non-Zulu material can only be used to supplement the Zulu sources, rather than as a guideline.

Oral is taken in the sense that the material under investigation can lay claim to an oral origin, which was the main form of communication and transmission before the introduction of writing. Written texts based on oral transmission can be considered as "secondary orality".

Tradition refers to the oral culture handed down through various generations, which forms the background to the understanding of life and of man's function in it; to his relationship with family and group, with the natural world and the supernatural.

Having outlined the main boundaries of this study, this introductory chapter now proceeds with the following topics, aimed at establishing the theoretical and practical framework of the dissertation.

1.3 Theoretical context of the research;

- 1.4 Trickster folktales: their characteristics, interpretation and analysis;
- 1.5 Zulu material consulted or analyzed.

1.3 THEORETICAL CONTEXT OF RESEARCH

The trickster plays an important role in many oral cultures the world over, to the point that Carl Jung (in Konrad, 1983:177) defines the trickster figure an **archetype**, that is, according to Stevens (also in Konrad, p 177):

an active living disposition . . . that performs and continually influences our thoughts and feelings and actions.

Tricksters and trickery are indeed central in the Zulu oral traditions, as testified by the wealth of published folktales dealing with trickster figures. The subject, however, has not received enough analytic attention. This study intends to fill the gap by looking at the Zulu representation of the trickster as part of the African oral culture from which it originated, and also by investigating the possibility that it may contain aspects that are specifically Zulu, or at least Nguni, and to show what these aspects may reveal about the Zulu traditional way of life and world view. The exercise promises to be very rewarding, especially if it is placed within the wide context of international and local scholarship. So I present here a brief historical survey of the literature on the subject.

1.3.1 Survey of existing studies

The trickster has been widely studied by anthropologists and folklorists because it is a popular figure in the oral traditions and represents inherently opposing clusters of concepts. The character appears either as a unitary concept, that is, a figure that initiates trick sequences but may either succeed or fail in his efforts (the "duper/dupe" concept); or a clear distinction is drawn between successful and unsuccessful trickster figures. Furthermore, the trickster may be part of a population's pantheon and thus touch the sphere of mythology. Or he may be seen at the origin of social structures and be considered the hero of a group, thus touching the sphere of legend. Or he may simply be the fruit of unbridled imagination and appear as an entertaining and malicious jester.

1.3.1.1 Mythological and legendary figures

In some cultures the trickster belongs to the realm of **mythology**. He is celebrated in ritual and is connected with the Supreme Being. Having been originally entrusted with the creation or the organization of the world, his energies were later poured into sowing chaos in the very universe he had helped to order. From his observation of natural phenomena early man could not imagine a creator endowed with supreme goodness, since both nature and humanity revealed a double face of goodness and evil. The trickster figure became the externalization of the perceived conflicts. He is enigmatic because his actions reveal positive aspects, while also outrageously running counter to religious, social and ethical codes. This is the case with Legba in West Africa, studied by John Argyle (1966) and Robert Pelton (1980), and with the American-Indian trickster, Wadjungaka, studied by Paul Radin (1956). We further find Loki in Scandinavian mythology; Hermes in Greek mythology; possibly Lucifer, the devil, in Jewish-Christian cosmology. Most of these characters embody success and failure in tricking activities in the same figure.

Of particular interest is the American-Indian trickster, Wadjungaka, because a large number of studies in the Anglo-Saxon world make reference to him, especially, but not exclusively, after the publication of **Paul Radin's** seminal work, *The Trickster: A Study in American Indian Mythology* (1956).

First of all, Radin makes it clear that each ethnic and cultural group has its own trickster or tricksters with distinct narrative cycles which have, however, many narrative motifs and themes in common. The myths should not be bundled together as if the phenomenon had homogeneous manifestations. Secondly, the American-Indian trickster forms part of mythology and of the people's religious system, and possibly of cosmology, in spite of the deeply contradictory roles played by the character. He is, in fact, a Culture Hero, who is at the origin of social and religious institutions; as well as a buffoon or clown, who often becomes a parody of himself. These two aspects are represented in different ways: in some American-Indian traditions the same character impersonates the two roles; in others, especially where Hare represents the Culture Hero, a second character impersonates the self-defeating buffoon. Thirdly, Radin explains the trickster cycles as giving expression to psychological developmental processes: Wadjungaka, who initially appears as socialized (a tribal chief, with a human family and a group of faithful subjects), turns to a disorderly and lonely way of life, where he is firstly only in contact with the forces of nature, then gradually becomes conscious of his own body, and finally fully re-discovers himself. Only in this final stage can he be socialized again, as he has reached a complete level of human consciousness. The buffoon character places the trickster in the comic world, where man can laugh at himself, at his history, and perhaps at his religious system. Radin's trickster has no well-defined and fixed form, "an inchoate being of undetermined proportions, a figure foreshadowing the shape of man" (Radin, 1956:x).

Everything he does is permeated by laughter and humour, and the audience reacts to his antics also with "laughter, but tempered by awe".

Close to the mythological figures, and often hardly distinguishable from them, are tricksters considered as **Culture Heroes**, who established a nation or its laws and customs. They therefore touch the realm of **legends**. They too, however, are often an ambiguous mixture of the deliverer and benefactor on the one hand and of the hurtful demon on the other (Alice Werner, 1933:171).

1.3.1.2 The social jester

In other cultures the trickster is a mischievous jester in the oral narratives. Here one may mention Rénard the Fox in Mediaeval Europe; Coyote in American-Indian tales; Anansi in West African oral traditions; Ture among the Azande of Southern Sudan; Chakijana or Hlakanyana in Zulu; Hare in other Kintu-speaking groups, and a host of other colourful characters. Most of these figures are animals and perform various actions some of which are ascribed to their mythological and legendary counterparts in other traditions.

Following Lévi-Strauss' idea of reversals (cf following sub-section), Barbara Babcock-Abrahams (1975 and 1978) interprets trickster stories as a comical vision of "the world upside down". Human beings are able to use the principle of negation in a creative way: through negation they affirm the existence of the opposite reality. When the world is deliberately seen upside down, it becomes comical, that is, recognizable but non-correspondent. Comedy proceeds from the *aesthetic negative*: we know and respect social interdictions, but are delighted to witness the breaking of such norms and taboos. The trickster is thus seen as a representation of the rebel, who constantly tries the opposite of what is expected, and thus creates chaos, followed by comic release and mirth.

1.3.1.3 The 'social mediator' function

The study of tricksters has been one of the most interesting of folklorists' endeavours. Before the turn of the century anthropologists dealing with American-Indian or with African folklore had already focused on the figure of the trickster in various cultures. Abrams and Sutton-Smith (1978:29) identify two main schools of thought. The first one, starting with Franz Boas, maintains that, since ample trickster cycles are present in cultures which lack well-structured heroic legends, trickster narratives must be the **sign of a less complex society**, and trickster cycles the counterpart of mythological or legendary epics. The Winnebago trickster, Wadjungaka, has been used as a classic example to prove this theory.

A different view derives ultimately from Hegel's and Marx's theories of the dialectic which pervades every aspect of human nature and society (**social opposition theories**). According to authors supporting this view, the trickster is a liminal figure living on the boundaries of society, and a mediator able to break down social restrictions, which he constantly puts under scrutiny and strain to see how far he can go without being checked.

The French anthropologist **Claude Lévi-Strauss** interprets the trickster as an important social conflict mediator, according to his theories whereby myth is a puzzle to be sorted out because the people who believe in it are no longer able to see its message clearly. The real meaning of a myth does not lie in its syntagmatic or surface level, but in its paradigms constructed according to a scheme of binary oppositions, transformations and levels that must be resolved through the help of a mediator. The opposing poles and levels are to be identified through the story and, especially, through the knowledge of contextual realities. The story is further structured according to symmetric schemes, which reveal either surface or deep strata patterns, or inversions that might have taken place during the process of transmission and diffusion. The trickster's mediating role is due to his rebellious and anti-social activities that place him on society's boundaries. He thus helps to identify and resolve the oppositions and to bring the contrasting forces together in a final synthesis.

Mary Douglas (1966) depends on Lévi-Strauss' basic approach in her discussions of the role of purity, pollution and danger in any well-ordered society. The trickster is a polluter and anti-structure, constantly transgressing clearly demarcated social boundaries in order to create chaos and confusion, through which the deepest social values are re-affirmed and clarified.

From a different source, Nietzsche's ideas of the superman, who acts out of utter self-interest without any consideration for others, are also often touched upon in the interpretation of the trickster figure.

The various interpretations of the trickster's social function are an important topic of discussion, touched upon by various writers. For, while folktales are generally acknowledged as means of children's socialization, tricksters are normally connected, on the one hand, with socially unacceptable unedifying incidents, as Evans-Pritchard (1967:29) puts it with reference to the Zande trickster, while, on the other hand, their disorderly conduct is seen as the manifestation of social forces bent on social renewal, because it reveals the limitations and weaknesses of social structures. These opposed views of the trickster figure and his function have led anthropologists to regard the trickster either as an inept member of society, or as the representation of a more sophisticated level of culture which pushes known social principles to their *limina*, while playing his mediatory role to resolve contradictions perceived in either the belief system or in the whole social fabric (cf Abrams & Sutton-Smith, 1978:30, *passim*).

Zinta Konrad (1983) has done a more recent study of the trickster in Ewe oral traditions. Her approach is based on **semiotic analysis** and considers trickster folktales as cultural metaphors to be de-coded by the audience at the cognitive, emotional and behavioural levels.

Several points contained in the studies briefly mentioned here have proved very useful in my present research and will be referred to when applied.

1.3.2 Southern African studies

This brief survey of the literature on our topic demonstrates that, if the research world wide has borne so many interesting fruits, its application should prove fruitful also to Zulu oral traditions, where no systematic study has appeared so far, though a few published papers contain references to Nguni tricksters, considering them either from the anthropological or from the literary points of view.

The foremost source of information is Callaway's 1868 *Zulu Nursery Tales*, which contains an annotated version of the Hlakanyana cycle. The story and the notes are widely used by commentators and constitute the principal source of this study. Alice Werner (1933) summarises Callaway's Hlakanyana story and contextualizes it through a comparison with the Venda / North Sotho figure of Huveane, a human trickster connected with the mythological system, who is not the pan-African Hare.

Hammond-Tooke, heavily depending on Lévi-Strauss, has touched on the subject in a number of publications, from 1974 to 1992, dealing with liminal figures in the South African cultural context. He applies the theories of binary oppositions and mediation to Nguni symbolism, while Prins and Lewis (1992) extend the same line of research with reference to the sorcerer and the Bushman as mediators in Nguni societies.

Adam Kuper, in his 1987 book, has a chapter on "Cannibals, tricksters and twins in Southern Bantu folklore" (cf chapter 5 below) in which he identifies cannibals as tricksters, and then any ambiguous fictional character, but not the Nguni Chakijana, as both a cannibal and a trickster. His approach also depends on Lévi-Strauss and on the concept of liminality.

From the literary point of view, Harold Scheub (1975) discusses the Xhosa *Zim* (ogre or cannibal) especially in the context of the folktale performer's art in arranging traditional material into new narrative patterns. His findings regarding the structural patterns of various images will be valuable in our discussion.

Trevor Cope (1978) proposes an amalgamation of approaches to the literary analysis of Zulu folktales, and the "Trickster False Contract sequence" as the identifying structural element in trickster tales. This concept is going to be expounded in the present research.

I have also published a number of exploratory papers on the subject (1989; 1990; 1992; 1993; 1994). My previous research will serve as a basis for the present attempt, as I wish to

present an overall view of my previous suggestions, to organize them in a meaningful way and to demonstrate a substantial progress in my approach. Thus I hope to remedy the previous relative neglect of the trickster figure in Southern African studies, where one finds a true abundance of folktales containing trickster figures but relatively little detailed analysis applied to the texts themselves.

1.3.3 Position of the present study

My study concentrates on manifestations of the complex phenomenon of tricksters and trickery in Zulu folktales. As it selectively applies approaches proposed in other parts of the world to the analysis of the Zulu folktale corpus, it represents an effort to focus on aspects that might be considered as particularly Zulu, so as to understand the Zulu culture and traditions, and to further develop what has been locally achieved.

My approach will include a wide selection of texts to let them initially speak for themselves, rather than imposing external and pre-conceived views on them. This procedure will occasionally render my presentation descriptive and discursive rather than argumentative.

However, it may be helpful if I provide here some of the positions which I have come to adopt in working through the mass of material.

- (a) The Zulu trickster figure is not a unitary concept, as it embraces a variety of characters. The link between them is to be found in the fact that they are all **initiators of a trick sequence**. Some of them are normally **successful**, while others are generally **unsuccessful**. Some of them are **regularly** connected with trickery, while others are only **occasional** tricksters (cf 2.1 below).
- (b) The Zulu trickster represents a cultural or behavioural **archetype**, but only in a limited fashion, while it is especially a simple, if wide spread, **narrative function**, based on the intelligent use of deception through illusion or substitution in the stories.
- (c) No real connection can be established between the successful Zulu star trickster Hlakanyana / Chakijana on the one hand and the unsuccessful trickster Hyena/*Izimu* on the other, and **mythology** or **legend**. Zulu tricksters are not part of the religious system, or of ritual, nor are they culture heroes responsible for the establishment of the nation or of its laws and customs. Some of the tricksters' actions do reflect, however, motifs and themes ascribed to mythical or legendary figures in other traditions. One may thus contend that there exists a world-wide repertoire of images relating to trickery and deception (cf Stith Thompson, 1957, indicated in the following chapters with a K followed by the relevant motif-index number) as well as a parallel, and often overlapping, African imagery bank, differently adapted by various cultural groups, and

individualized in Zulu by the cunning character of Hlakanyana / Chakijana and by the gullible dark figure of *Izimu*. The "foreign connection" is often difficult to identify because many motifs are spread world-wide and have been assimilated into Zulu narratives with that natural flair that is typical of many forms of oral traditions.

Under the aspect of literary analysis, we consider oral literature as an artistic communication system that makes use of associative patterns whereby the meaning is expressed in culturally coded metaphors. These are understood, or de-coded, by the audience in terms of its cultural background and emotional mode. The main aspects referring to trickster folktales as literature are presented in 1.4 below.

Under the cultural aspect, which is necessary for appreciating the emotional impact of folktale performance, some theoretical studies reveal the deep strata opposition that expose conflicts in social structures. Trickster tales, being comic idealizations of the reality of human existence, are built on exaggerations of negative aspects which are used as a confirmation of the opposite values (cf Babcock-Abrahams) and as sources of entertainment and tension-release valves (cf Radin). We therefore maintain that it is possible to analyze trickster folktales at the literary / linguistic level as well as at the anthropological / cultural level: the two go hand in hand and are often interdependent.

The manifest function of trickster tales seems to be to entertain, while at the same time the characters' antics convey important points in social education and help in sharpening the children's minds to the dangers surrounding them in society. Trickster tales do, however, also reflect some more latent features of the society from which they spring, as well as philosophical and ethical principles captured at the deep levels of the narrative.

The cultural impact of trickster tales will emerge at various points throughout the study and particularly in chapters 4, 5 and 7. We now move to the presentation of the actual Zulu source material, by initially explaining the way I look at the whole phenomenon of folktales, then by introducing the actual folktale collections that have been investigated and analyzed.

1.4 TRICKSTER FOLKTALES

My research is mainly concerned with manifestations of tricksters in Zulu folktales, which are one of the major genres of oral literature. This section is going to deal with the characteristics of trickster tales as animal stories, then with the methods employed for their cultural interpretation and literary analysis.

1.4.1 Characteristics of folktales

Folktale is a general term used to represent the whole body of traditional oral prose narratives. The Zulu term *Inganekwane* carries this collective meaning, although specific names are also employed for the sub-genres of myth (*Inganeko*) and legend (*Umzekeliso*). Another general term often found is *Izinsumansumane*, which seems, however, to refer mostly to wonder tales. Folktales referring to the trickster do not have a particular name, although one occasionally hears people refer to them as *ezikaChakijane* (Chakijane's folktales).

Folktales are artistic expressions of the human associative faculty whereby one thing is made to stand for another. The ability to abstract and to associate concepts and ideas renders possible the establishment of an imagery bank, expressed in folktale images and known to a whole community, from which every member of the group may draw both his inspiration and the means for effective communication. Literature, which is based on the artistic and creative use of language and of the imagery bank, is a system of metaphoric expression: one thing (word, image = the **signifier**) stands for something else (events, people, objects, fears, etc. = the **signified**). Folktales are therefore culturally encoded metaphors, or carriers of meanings which must be de-coded.

Trickster folktales make abundant use of **animal characters**, drawn from the general imaginary and symbolic stock on the basis of their suitability for specific roles.

Among all the power-charged and significant items in man's experience there are no others with which he identifies as readily and as completely as with animals. They are the only symbols which are personified in African folktales, and when there is mention of metamorphosis, the human being turns into an animal. . . . They populate his mythology, and some are regarded as having appeared on earth together with him, or even to be his ancestors. (Kriel, 1986:118)

The technique of animal metaphorization derives from nature observation transposed to the human experience. Some characteristics are assigned to several animals, while others seem to be peculiar to only one species. In the struggle for survival, Chakijana must fight to obtain food and to escape larger animals that want him as food. This means that he must obstinately look after his own interests and openly compete with others in order to survive.

The use of animal metaphors is a **generalizing** and **distancing** technique widely recognized in literatures from many parts of the world. **Generalization** occurs because animal characters are used as stereotypes of behaviour, feelings, attitudes, etc. that can be observed in human behaviour in general, without pointing a finger at anybody in particular. The portrayal of deviant characters produces comical or satirical effects, as the audience is able to de-code the image and to apply it to its own world of experience. **Distancing** results from a seemingly objective vision of the animal world, which may or may not be applicable to the human

condition. Thus, while the signifier is animal behaviour, the signified is the human condition, and more specifically the society in which the tale is performed.

Trickster folktales can be more specifically identified for the purposes of our study in view of aspects that will become clearer in the course of the dissertation.

- i. They are culturally based on the observation of animal life and on people's experience of **hunting and trapping**, and therefore of competing for the scarce food resources. **Trapping** is effected by placing an attractive bait for the intended victim, in order to create an **illusion** of immediate benefits (such as food); and by catching the victim unaware. **Hunting** corresponds to a frontal attack, or to the encircling of the victim (as with fire, or by driving it towards a water course) to leave it no escape (also a form of entrapping), or to the deception of the victim by enticing it to follow a false prey (**substitution**) and then attacking it. These techniques form the skeleton of the plot to be identified as the **trick sequence**, or "trickster false contract" to be more fully dealt with in 1.4.3 below.
- ii. Trickster folktales are identifiable by the presence of a trick initiator who may or may not be one of the characters who is normally associated with trickery (cf 2.1 below).
- iii. These tales are primarily performed for comic entertainment. They are also educational, as they demonstrate the importance of using intelligence and cunning in situations where one is trapped, or where one needs to trap somebody else. They serve as a release valve for tensions and anxieties, especially because they often deal with life and death situations in which only the fittest (either physically or intellectually) is likely to survive.
- iv. The trickster's motivation is selfish, as he intends to draw benefits for himself (especially food); or he is in a tight spot and needs to use intelligence, cunning, or even brute force to either free himself, or to take revenge for a wrong received.

1.4.2 Interpretation of trickster folktales

In a well-constructed study of folktales referring to **Yiyi**, the Ewe trickster, Zinta Konrad (1983) proposes an analytical approach that bridges, to some extent, purely literary studies and socio-anthropological ones. Her research is based on 30 folktales which she personally collected in Togo, Ghana and Benin.

Konrad's thesis views trickster narratives as a **semiotic system** with two complementary aspects: communication and significance. The performer communicates the message by encoding it in a story, and the audience decodes its meaning according to three modes: conceptual, emotional and behavioural. Although she recognizes that trickster folktales are

essentially a form of entertainment, the ability to amuse the audience intellectually is seen in the exercise of their intelligence in order to decode the message conveyed (conceptual mode), while emotional involvement in performance produces the desired ethical - behavioural response (ethical and behavioural modes). The audience is able to arrive at the meaning because the signs in which the metaphors are encoded belong to their cultural system and stimulate their emotional responses.

Decoding at the cognitive level cannot be carried out in a vacuum, but needs the identification of repeated narrative patterns found in various texts and in the light of cultural tenets and practices in the community. Social and cultural objects (signs) are carriers of conventional meaning, which is further derived from the position of the sign within a pattern. It follows that we are dealing with different layers of meaning: at the **surface level** the events of the story can be easily followed by most people; at the **deep structure level**, however, one needs the help of a de-coding key to understand all the nuances of the message being conveyed.

Trickster folktales must therefore be interpreted at various levels. On the surface level, in fact, the animal characters show a prevalence of practices that could be considered as negative or unethical. This could lead the superficial observer to the conclusion that trickster folktales reflect an a-moral society. The truth is, however, that circumstances are important in judging a particular action, and that the exaggeration of the evil aspects of trickery constitutes the confirmation of its positive counterpart and the re-affirmation of society's moral standards.

On the emotional and behavioural levels, the function of trickster folktales is to amuse, but also to warn the audience against figures that display suspicious behavioural traits. In the battle for survival one cannot take chances with strangers who may be driven by ulterior motives: hence the insistence on warning youngsters against outsiders. There seems to be, in fact, a connection between some exaggerated actions of the trickster figures and the evil machinations of witchcraft, which is branded as the greatest evil in society. The breaking of norms, however, seems to be treated with some kind of condescending amusement, especially because the trickster is a small animal and may represent the capricious behaviour and irresponsibility common in children. Other aspects of the amusement value in trickster tales could be the following:

- (a) Representing a system of metaphorical communication in a comical vein, these tales amuse the children by their story line. Their intelligence is challenged and their emotions are aroused, so that they become imbued by what is and what is not acceptable in society. This amounts to a system of "preventive education", whereby children are not taught to emulate the trickster, but rather to guard against practices and people that could be considered as bordering on trickery.

- (b) The stories may also constitute a positive challenge: the small size of animal trickster figures brings the stories to the children's level and gives expression to the struggle for recognition of small people and of those oppressed by internal or external tyrants, represented by occult witchcraft practices, or by oppressive social systems.
- (c) The performance of the tales brings the family together and builds a community of like-minded people. It is also a means of social and psychological release because the stories represent a paradoxical, comic view of social and moral deviances, and constitute the expression of some aspects of the Zulu sense of humour.

Further points in this regard will be made in the context of tale analysis.

1.4.3 Literary analysis of trickster folktales

Trickster folktales are literary creations analyzable, like any other fictional narrative (cf Msimang, 1986), under the headings of **plot, setting, characterization, theme, style**. Oral compositional techniques, such as repetition of words, sentences, episodes, patterns; linking and cueing elements; simple syntagmatic structures; use of stereotyped characters, etc., are also important literary aspects that form part of the creation and recall processes of oral style.

I have dealt with approaches to the literary analysis of folktales in a number of papers (cf Canonici 1985 (a) and (b); 1988; 1990; 1994; etc.). I feel it is now only necessary to repeat the essential concepts discussed there.

Plot structure

Trickster folktale plots will be analyzed following **Vladimir Propp's** (1928-1978) morphological method, especially with regard to the trick *sequences and functions*. **Functions** are abstract names given to the actions of a character; **sequences** are clusters of functions that normally belong together. Thus we speak of a **trick sequence**, that involves the functions of **false contract, fraud, etc.**

An **Initial Situation** describes the predicament the trickster finds himself in, mostly referring to his search for food that he must snatch from those who possess it. Or alternatively the trickster might feel slighted by the fact that a powerful enemy has food and does not want to share it. Or his enemy has caught him in a trap and he must find a way out.

The trickster proposes a kind of **False Contract**, whereby the victim is deceived into believing that what the trickster offers is to his (the victim's) advantage (*Trickster False Contract* is a term coined by Cope in his 1978 paper, following Dundes' (1971) *False Friendship* description). Konrad (1983) specifies that the trickster creates an *illusion* by *deception* and *substitution*. I agree with her that, through such contract, the trickster deceives his intended

victims into believing that he wants to help them; then, through *fraud and deception*, he breaks the contract and performs some form of *substitution*, and the adversary discovers the *villainy* when it is too late. The trickster then escapes, often gloating over his enemy's discomfort and boasting about his own cleverness. The trick sequence could be formulated as follows, in Propp's terms as adapted in some of my papers:

**False Contract --> Fraud : Illusion, Deception and Substitution -->
Discovery --> Flight and Pursuit --> Escape --> Gloat and Boast.**

This sequence becomes the organizing force and the central narrative element in the story, and several of its parts are present in most successful and unsuccessful trickster folktales.

Setting:

With regard to **setting**, trickster narratives create an illusion rooted in a temporal framework corresponding to a golden age of antiquity when wondrous things happened (cf Konrad, 1983:91); or when, as the Zulu proverb puts it, *Itshe lisancinza ngozipho likhale* (A stone, just pricked with a finger nail, would cry), i.e., when things are imagined to have been in a state of primitive flux, and even stones enjoyed some degree of sense perception. This means that trickster folktales can be regarded as timeless and placeless fiction, situated between the world of fantasy and that of reality. They closely reflect, however, the animal world or the human world, as well as the social structures of the community in which they are re-created.

Characters and characterization:

With regard to **characters and characterization**, animal tricksters are stereotyped fictional figures rather than individuals with distinctive personal characteristics. Even so, a number of features of each trickster character are reflected from the zoological attributes that render the figure an apt vehicle for conveying the literary metaphor. Moral and social characteristics are, in most cases, left to the artistry of the performer. The salient physical traits of Chakide, the slender mongoose, and of hyena/*Izimu* are discussed in chapters 2, 3 and 5.

Themes:

Literary **themes** can be recognized by identifying constantly repeated trick sequences, while cultural and educational themes should be sought in the deep structure of the narrative, through an understanding that the surface action must be de-constructed to reveal the opposite of what appears, because trickster tales constitute a reversal of what is socially acceptable (cf chapter 4). Msimang (1986:133-176) identified a number of themes in folktales, which may be integrated with my own perceptions in the following way:

- i. Life is man's greatest asset and a gift from above, worth fighting and even suffering for.
- ii. The preservation and continuation of life is the central human concern.
- iii. A good person's life is transformed and never destroyed.
- iv. Each person is responsible for his/her own actions, whose value must, however, be judged according to the circumstances.
- v. There is discrimination between good and evil, weak and strong, poor and rich, with sympathy going to the good, weak and poor.
- vi. Justice can be achieved if the strong, powerful and rich administer their gifts responsibly, and share them generously with the weak and the poor. Sharing is an aspect of justice, not of charity.

A careful reading of Makgamatha's paper on Northern Sotho trickster figures (Makgamatha, 1993:63) helps to further specify the above themes in the context of Northern Sotho trickster *dinonwane* (folktales), applicable to Zulu trickster folktales:

- i. The weak and small in society can only survive by employing intelligence and cunning when confronted by oppressive and unjust situations or by tyrants.
- ii. The strong and powerful should not be allowed to have things always going their own way.
- iii. Stupid beings deserve to be tricked when they believe everything a tricky character tells them, without checking his credentials.
- iv. The a-social behaviour of young people must be looked upon with some indulgence, because they are trying to gain experience independently of their seniors.

In the course of our discussions it will become clear how the above themes are reflected, to a greater or lesser extent, in Zulu trickster folktales.

Style:

I mentioned above that oral compositional techniques, meant to help the recall and production processes, are important stylistic devices. They need be identified both at the surface structure and the deep structure levels.

Content units, which point to both theme and compositional style, are identifiable, following **Harold Scheub's** (1975) method, as *patterned images*, that reveal the trickster's *modus operandi* within the culture. Patterns are revealed by repetition, often carried out at different narrative levels; and by opposition, whereby the tale turns to the opposite of what had began to initially appear. Scheub calls these patterns: *mirror images*, *expansible images*, *patterned images*.

Denise Paulme (1976 and 1977) proposes a number of names or subdivisions to describe various patterns initially identified by both Propp and Scheub. The most important ones are:

Cyclical narratives, whereby the story begins in a particular place, then proceeds to other places, to finally return where it started from. This idea is also stressed by Lévi-Strauss when he explains geographical and cosmological levels.

Ascending and descending patterns, whereby the trickster may find himself at an initial disadvantage, but manages to come out on top through his guile; while the trickster's opponent, who initially enjoyed the upper ground, ends at the bottom, often destroyed or dead. This dual system is also called by Paulme, with a self-explanatory image, **the hour glass pattern**.

This thesis does not generally analyze folktales on the surface stylistic level, but patterns in the arrangement of images for the revelation of meaning play an important part in my comments. The body of Zulu source material to which I have applied such analytical techniques and concepts is now outlined.

1.5 ZULU LITERARY SOURCES

My research on trickster folktales is based on the analysis of available written texts, since it has been impossible for me to do extensive field research for this study. I know that, being a living art form which comes to life in performance, the folktale should be preferably examined in a living context. My analyses, however, deal especially with folktale content rather than with its oral dramatic characteristics, and I feel my limitation to the available texts is justifiable. Written material based on the oral traditions is regarded as "secondary orality" (Okpewho, 1992).

1.5.1 Principal literary sources

In order to gain a comprehensive understanding of the folktale tradition, I have read most of the publications containing Zulu tales. My analysis is, however, restricted to a limited number of stories that present trickster figures as their protagonists, and especially to the most ancient sources, because these reveal a more genuine Zulu situation. The following are the main collections that I have scrutinized and quoted:

- i. Callaway, H. (1868): *Zulu Nursery Tales*.
- ii. Stuart, J.: *Zulu Fairy Tales*, a manuscript in the Campbell Collection of the University of Natal, Durban.
- iii. Dube, V. (1935): *Woza Nazo*.

- iv. Mbatha and Mdladla (1927): *UChakijana Bogcololo* (1986 edition)
- v. Nyembezi, S. (1962) *Igoda* : a school reader series.
- vi. Du Toit, B.(1976): *Content and Context of Zulu Folk-Narratives*.

Not all these sources can be considered of equal value. Callaway's and Stuart's are the most ancient collections, containing material recorded directly from the oral sources. Oral performance aspects may, however, be less accurate than the actual tale content. Callaway affirms (Preface) that he recorded the stories from live performances, or got the performer to re-tell him the tale later and wrote it under dictation, a method which would curtail the creative spirit of the storyteller and minimize the contextual elements, which might have been further filtered through Bishop Callaway's religious and cultural ideas. James Stuart used to jot down notes, stories and observations in a sort of personal shorthand on paper pads which he always carried with him, and then re-write the story in long-hand at home (cf Introduction to the *James Stuart's Archives*). Stuart's stories largely preserve the freshness of the oral tradition and performance, but there is the possibility that some may have been 'sanitized' for inclusion in the Stuart's school readers' series.

A different situation applies to the other sources. Du Toit encouraged his school educated students to write down folktales 'from memory' in the 1970's. These students must have been largely western educated and possibly Christians, with the result that some genuine traditional elements might have been misconstrued. Such students might have further considered as part of the Zulu heritage a number of folktales which they had read in Zulu school readers prepared by missionaries in which European and American folktales were presented. Mbatha and Mdladla also *wrote* their folktales as a school reader, not as recorded oral texts. Although they were still very close to the oral tradition, as an examination of their texts reveals, they could have used both Callaway and foreign sources as their inspirational material. The requirements of a school reader could have also imposed a number of adaptations and omissions in the original stories. Nyembezi wrote a large number (88) of folktales in his *Igoda* series of school readers, and he also included 50 Aesop's fables, which he adapted in verse. This author occasionally acknowledges his sources (Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho, etc.), but the young scholar may not readily realize that many folktales are not originally Zulu. It is to be assumed that the fixing of texts in writing has somewhat changed the external form of the tales, but not the traditional content, which does however probably reflect the educated background of the Christian writer.

Violet Dube seemingly re-created the Phoshozwayo story using a young man as the main character who imitates to some extent traditional African and European motifs but in a modern context. There are striking parallels between Phoshozwayo's adventures and some of the fairy tales written by the Grimm Brothers. Her inspiration was therefore drawn from the Zulu oral traditions and from European written folktales.

1.5.2 Literary sources used occasionally

Since the recent introduction of traditional literature in the African school syllabi for Phases 3 and 4, a substantial number of anthologies of folklore material have been published. Here is a sample of the works I have used extensively for my research:

- a. Z.W. Gule, A.M. Maphumulo & J.J. Thwala (1991): *UBhedu* (Beast's fat reserved for herdboys). Lexicon, Isando.
- b. L.T.L. Mabuya & N.P. Khathi (1986): *UMchachazo* (A babbling brook). Erroll Marks Publishers, Pretoria.
- c. L.T.L. Mabuya (1988): *Izinhlansi Zomlilo* (Sparks of fire). Shuter and Shooter, Pietermaritzburg.
- d. L.T.L. Mabuya (1988): *Ukushona Kwelanga*, (Sunset). Vivlia Publishers, Cape Town.
- e. C.T. Mabuya (1989): *Indonsamasuku* (The planet Jupiter). Juta & Co., Cape Town.
- f. L.T.L. Mabuya, E.T.Z. Mthiyane, S.Z. Mbokazi (1988): *Izihlonti* (Firebrands). Shuter and Shooter, Pietermaritzburg.
- g. N. Makhambeni (1986): *Amantshontsho* (Bits of meat). De Jager-Haum, Pretoria.
- h. D.B.K. Mhlongo (1986): *Igula Lawokhokho* (The forefathers' calabash). Juta & Co., Cape Town.
- i. D.B.K. Mhlongo (1987): *Iziko* (The hearth). Hodder and Staughton, Bergvlei.
- j. C.T. Msimang (1991): *Inkosi Yinkosi Ngabantu* (A king is a king by the people). Out of Africa Publishers, Bloemfontein.

I am privileged to know most of these writers, and I have often questioned them about how they see themselves *vis-à-vis* the oral nature of their folklore publications. They generally maintain that they have either '*recorded*' their folktales from live performances and then re-written them, or edited them, for school use; or that they have *composed* the tales in writing from recollections of performances witnessed as children. They therefore insist on the traditional oral origin of their folktales, even if not from *verbatim* recordings.

It is quite possible that many tales are not originally Zulu or Nguni, or even African for that matter, but re-creations of modern writers who have extensively read material from other African cultures or from European or American sources, or have accepted as Zulu a number of tales found in early school readers compiled by foreign missionaries. For example, the Brer Rabbit and Uncle Remus tales, widely elaborated among African Americans, are often echoed in Zulu stories. It would be rather difficult to ascertain the extent of such "foreign" influences because folktale motifs are widely diffused. An investigation of this kind would side-track my present research, which is based on folktales that the Zulu people consider as their own and part

of their heritage for the simple fact that they appear in Zulu, irrespective of their distant origins. The world of folklore is constantly in a dynamic flux, and traditional motifs are re-used by one generation after another in order to re-create new stories by using ancient motifs and sequences. This renders it impossible to select what is genuinely part of the Zulu original memory bank and to discard the rest. This means that we shall probably never be able to sift the wheat from the chaff in order to determine what is pre-colonial and what is colonial and post-colonial Zulu tradition.

The folktale texts used most frequently in the dissertation appear in an Appendix at the end of the thesis.

1.5.3 Appendix data base

In order to facilitate the reader's reference to the stories frequently quoted in this study it was thought useful to provide a data base in the form of a representative Appendix. This contains 22 folktales with parallel Zulu and English texts, divided into numbered paragraphs. They are referred to, in the course of the dissertation, by their number and paragraph. E.g., App. 5:8 = tale no. 5, paragraph 8. When I refer to the entire tale this appears as, e.g., App. No. 3.

The Appendix is not meant to be exhaustive, but includes the following themes:

Tale 1 is Maqinase's story: a general animal fable that identifies the trickster as a boisterous and irresponsible youngster.

Tales 2 to 4 present the trickster as a partially positive character, and underline the special position of Chakijana.

Tale 5 contains the long Hlakanyana story collected by Callaway, which can be considered as the most complete and extensive trickster cycle.

Tales 6 to 15 contain variations of sections found in Callaway to which new motifs have been attached. No. 6 is a list of trick motifs enacted by *Sankambe*, an unusual trickster figure (cf 3.4 below where it is analyzed further). Nos. 7, 8, 9 and 10 contain Chakijana as the star trickster. Nos. 11 and 12 have Nogwaja, the hare, as the main trickster figure. Nos. 13 - 15 have other animal tricksters: *Impungushe*, the jackal; *Ufudu*, the tortoise; *Inkawu*, the monkey.

Tale 16 contains Violet Dube's story of the human trickster Phoshozwayo.

Tales 17 to 21 are *Izimu* folktales.

Tale 22 is an *Imbulu* (monitor lizard) story.

A quick look at the Appendix Table of Contents will show that six tales are taken from the James Stuart Collection; four are from Nyembezi; three I found among various old papers in the Department of Zulu Language and Literature at Natal University with no indication of their source; three were tape-recorded by me from a live performance of the late Bongani Mthethwa in front of our second year students at Natal University in May 1991; two each are taken from Callaway, Violet Dube and Brian du Toit.

Some unpublished folktales, especially but not exclusively of James Stuart (not in the Appendix), are referred to as 'Canonici 1992' or 'Canonici 1995': these are privately published (for departmental use) anthologies of Zulu folktales taken from Callaway, Nyembezi, Stuart and other sources.

Summary and conclusion

This introductory chapter has presented a number of basic concepts important for the development of the whole study. The introduction has attempted to give an overall view of the dissertation and of the important role played by trickery in solving problematic situations. Then I have expounded the plan and the limitations of the present research and positioned it, through a cursory survey of the literature available on my chosen topic, against the background of local and international scholarship. The Plan of Study has served to justify the general layout of the chapter and of the whole dissertation, based on the understanding that folktales are means of artistic communication, metaphoric in form and structure, so as to be capable of communicating real-life messages. Since most of my work deals with folktales it was thought expedient to outline my understanding of this fascinating oral genre and then to list the collections utilized during the course of my research, as well as the Appendix which contains the folktales most commonly used in the thesis.

From the amount of analytical interest that the trickster figure has provoked among scholars and the considerable number of folktales published in Zulu school readers, it must be clear that the trickster phenomenon plays a central cultural role and is also rather complex and difficult to analyze. In order to avoid imposing categories and concepts associated with the trickster phenomenon in other cultures, the next chapter will propose a simple typology of Zulu trickster figures, based on the principle that a character that initiates a trick sequence is a trickster. I then propose to investigate various concepts related to trickery as manifested in the animal characters, in the Zulu lexicon and in that storehouse of Zulu culture constituted by proverbs.

Chapter 2

ZULU PERCEPTIONS OF TRICKSTERS AND TRICKERY

Animal metaphors and cultural attitudes

2.0 INTRODUCTION

Beidelman (1980:28) recommends that, in discussing a particular concept such as that of trickster, which appears in different forms and in different cultures, we should "ask what texts suggest about a particular society's mode of thought and form of organization", so as to avoid often misleading generalizations that make us see phenomena or concepts in a particular society through the eyes of our own culture. It is interesting to note, in this regard, recent tendencies to analyse almost everything according to Lévi-Strauss' method of oppositions and reversals, as I have pointed out in my summaries of theoretical sources with reference to the trickster figure in general. This methodology has also been applied to African cultures by scholars such as Hammond-Tooke (1977) and Kuper (1987), without seriously enquiring whether the method did justice to the people's perceptions of their fictional characters or not. My approach is to look closely at the texts to let them reveal what they are about. I thus hope to achieve more balanced results.

This chapter intends to identify the concepts that accompany the ideas of trickster and trickery in Zulu culture. The simple mention of the words calls to mind a number of components, which include animal figures, narrative motifs and proverbs. Since the phenomenon of trickery is a rather complex one, embracing several different aspects, a basic typology of Zulu trickster figures will be set out at the beginning as a reference point.

It has been stated in 1.4.1 that trickster folktales make wide use of animals as metaphors of the human condition. It is therefore necessary to consider the main animal figures found in the Zulu trickster imagery bank to identify traits that make them apt vehicles of the literary metaphors. This is followed by a lexical research to clarify the variety of concepts necessary for understanding the metaphors in context. Rather than theoretical definitions, lexical analysis has produced a number of illustrative proverbs connected with the Zulu perceptions of tricksters and trickery. A composite picture of the way the Zulu feel about trickery should emerge from this practical approach.

2.1 ZULU TRICKSTER TYPES

In chapter 1, I introduced a wide variety of viewpoints relating to the all-important problem of determining who should be considered a trickster and what corresponds to the concept of trickery. These can be summarized as follows:

- (a) A narrow approach would consider as tricksters only those characters defined as such in a particular cultural tradition, that is, by people's answers to the question: "Who plays the trickster's role in your traditional folktales?" Zulu speakers would clearly name Hlakanyana / Chakijana, Nogwaja, and perhaps Mpungushe.
- (b) The literary analysis of folktales suggests a wider approach that considers as trickster any trick initiator because it fulfils a "trickster narrative function." This suggestion reflects the definition of trickery conceived as (*Funk and Wagnall's Standard Desk Dictionary*, 1983): "A device for getting an advantage through deception". According to this definition, also *izimuzimu* (ogre), *imbulu* (monitor lizard), *imfene* (baboon) can be considered as tricksters since they initiate trick sequences and "use devices to gain an advantage through deception". So can human characters that make use of the trick sequence.
- (c) Anthropological studies, based on the dual aspect of some trickster figures comprising the duper / dupe dualism, suggest an even broader method. This is centred on the perceived mediation function, which considers ambiguity, liminality or boundary transgression as key concepts. This conflated approach would identify as a trickster any "liminal" character, be it because of its physical characteristics that set him apart, or for reasons so interpreted within the symbolic system of a culture (cf Beidelman, 1980; Kuper, 1987; etc.). This procedure depends in no small way on Lévi-Strauss' ideas regarding the structure of myth, based on a system of binary oppositions and reversals. A number of modern commentators favour this approach, although many criticize Lévi-Strauss' intuitions.

There have been, however, other proposals that seem closer to the texts, such as Denise Paulme's (1976 and 1977) and Zinta Konrad's (1983:95). The latter proposes a typology based on whether the trickster:

- (a) is successful
- (b) fails
- (c) is duped.

At the end of her 1977 paper (pg 95-98), in which she mainly compares the figures of Spider, Hare and Hyena, Denise Paulme presents some illuminating conclusions:

- (a) All tricksters have deception in common, but each differs according to particular contexts.
- (b) **Spider/Anansi** is characterized by cunning and wily intelligence, but he has serious faults, such as laziness, insatiable gluttony, presumptuousness, excessive optimism. His successes show the weaknesses of the powerful; but his great faults often lead him into defeat. He is thus either successful, or unsuccessful.
- (c) **Spider/Anansi** is either a winner or a loser according to the partner assigned to him. He thus represents a double-function original figure that combines the two aspects of duper and dupe. This double figure is subsequently separated into two: Hare and Hyena, who represent the two faces, or aspects, of the same character.
- (d) **Hare** is culturally regarded as a positive trickster and wins almost always. He is mostly opposed to **Hyena**, who never wins because he represents negative values. Hare succeeds where Hyena acts without thinking.

In a paper published in 1990 I proposed a typology for Zulu tricksters based on folktale texts. It takes cognizance of the three general approaches outlined above and also of Paulme's categorization, while further maintaining that each type must be seen as a cluster of characters and characteristics. My typology goes as follows:

1. **Successful animal tricksters** are those characters that are widely recognized as tricksters in Zulu folktales and that are normally successful, such as Hlakanyana / Chakijana (the slender mongoose), who is a typical Nguni figure, and Nogwaja, the Hare, which is a nearly pan-African figure. Successful animal tricksters form the main topic of discussion in this chapter as well as in chapters 3 and 4.
2. **Unsuccessful trickster figures** are trick initiators, but marred by ineptitude in their imitation of the star trickster (cf chapter 5). While traditions relating to figures such as Ture and Anansi in Africa, and Wadjungaka in America, combine success and inept buffoonery in the same character, the Zulu tradition tends to separate the two and represents the unsuccessful trickster mainly in the figures of *Izimuzimu* (ogre) and *Imbulu* (monitor lizard). There are also signs of the presence of the pan-African negative character, *Impisi*, the hyena.
3. **Occasional tricksters** constitute a third, more complex, category. These characters are not normally associated with trickery, but make use of the trick sequence in their actions in order either to deceive others, or to free themselves from a tight situation. Ambiguous

markings are often indicative of their trickster function. Human tricksters (cf chapter 6) fall under this third category, which overlaps the first and second ones.

The Zulu oral tradition presents clusters of narrative elements, such as the motifs linked to the trick sequence, as being normally associated with particular characters. They are, however, often borrowed on a large scale by other characters. This means that there are groups of figures that are constantly linked with trick patterns based on fraud and deception by means of illusion and substitution, and other figures that may occasionally use the trickster's techniques to obtain their goals. Some figures are normally successful in their employment of tricks, others are not. The aspect of liminality, based on Lévi-Strauss' paradigms, does not seem a determinant factor in the identification and categorization of specific Zulu trickster figures, although it might be concomitant with them to varying degrees.

The African (Zulu) experience of life, as reflected in folktales, is often a harsh one. Life is a long and arduous journey from the security of the home village through inhospitable places where one meets ambivalent strangers that might be either helpers or destroyers. Signs of friendship or of family ties are welcomed with appreciation, while unrecognizable signs are looked upon with suspicion, since everyone seems to be out to get something in a competitive and often cruel world.

The unexpected and swift movements needed by tricksters to create an illusion and to deceive, and the fact that tricksters sometimes resort to magic means in order to succeed in their enterprises, give rise to mistrust and suspicion in the face of ambivalent characters and actions. Folktales thus reveal fears of magic and of forces beyond human control, and the fictional characters, both successful and unsuccessful, are often linked to these mysterious powers which they may employ to produce either positive, or negative, but mostly unexpected, results. Due to the exaggeration and polarization common in oral narratives, such characters often go to the extremes and use witchcraft as a method of "sowing filth and chaos in the human environment" (Mary Douglas), thus causing that kind of surprise that leads to merriment and laughter in the audience. Friendly or unfriendly characters, as well as stereotyped successful and unsuccessful tricksters, are mostly represented by animal figures in the narratives.

2.2 ANIMAL TRICKSTER FIGURES

The animal world is a commonly available source for the creation of narrative images that reflect human life. Animal life shows a keen competition for survival and for the means to survive, often centred around the provision of food, which follows the rule of "eat or be eaten". The "animal society" appears dominated by physically strong characters, such as lion and elephant, who look lazy during the day, but still take the largest share of food resources, thus depriving

smaller and weaker animals of their fair portion. It is a wonder that small beings, such as hare or mongoose, should be able to survive at all in the competitive world of the bush or the savanna. They are unable to overpower larger animals by force and need cunning to entrap them. When they fall prey to larger animals, they must again be able to escape from their clutches either by running away at great speed, or by employing cunning to disentangle themselves from the trap. Their secret for success must be found in telling characteristics, such as alertness, elusiveness, speed, jumping ability, coat colour, etc. These traits are interpreted as signs of intelligence and cunning, and are then transposed to signify qualities that human beings should display if they too are to survive in a hostile environment.

Apart from their symbolic aspect as communicative metaphors, animals are often considered as carriers of specific powers that are associated with either beneficial or negative elements in the human experience. The animal world also provides models for trapping methods, which may follow either of two patterns, or a combination of the two:

- (a) Using ways to attract the prey into a trap, by choice food morsels, or by imitating the calling sounds of a particular species (fraudulent friendship);
- (b) Lying in wait - carefully hidden - for an animal and then jumping suddenly on the unsuspecting prey (ambush).

These patterns are reflected in the ways fictional trickster animals tend to approach their victims and to offer them their services (False contract) in order to be able to finally jump on them. Once the victim discovers the trap, or is startled by the predator, it runs off and is chased by the attacker. The skills required for both trapping and escaping are metaphorically considered as manifestations of tricking and deceiving abilities.

'Feeling trapped' is a universal existential sentiment that often reflects historical events. Animal metaphors can therefore easily apply to the human condition without having to stretch the imagination too far.

The animals that the Zulu experience, reflected in the folktales, considered as **successful tricksters**, that is, as being constantly able either to lay a trap or to escape from one, are now described, together with their physical and symbolic location. Their bodily traits are the vehicles for the formulation of the metaphors attached to them by the Zulu symbolic system.

2.2.1 **Successful animal tricksters**

Zulu folktales present the following series of smallish animals whose physical characteristics are taken as indicative of their ability to act deceptively, either to entrap others or to save themselves. They can be roughly divided into carnivorous and non-carnivorous animals.

Carnivorous animals are characterized by a cruel streak in their attacking and killing abilities, and by an intense competitive spirit. Herbivorous animals are more adept at hiding and running. The star trickster is Chakijana / Hlakanyana, which assimilates motifs and themes ascribed to Hare in other African oral traditions, but with some Zulu / Nguni peculiarities. Hare is also present in Nguni, although in a less prominent position. By extension, other animals of the *lepus* (hare) family are also considered as possessing the ability to trick. Less representative and occasional trickster figures will be presented when they appear in relevant tales. The descriptive details have been gleaned from books dealing with South African fauna, particularly Maberly & Gloss (1986), and from different dictionaries, especially Doke and Vilakazi's *Zulu-English Dictionary*, referred to as D. & V. hereunder. Since animal tricksters are fictional characters in folk narratives, each may assume traits that belong more specifically to other animals, thus representing clusters of characteristics which may or may not correspond to physically or behaviorally distinguishing markers.

Carnivorous animal tricksters:

- (a) ***Ichakide***, which is normally used in its personal form *UChakide*, or, more often, in its diminutive form *UChakijana* or *UChakijane*: the slender mongoose, or *herpestes gracilis* (for its slender body) or [Smither's 1983 *The Mammals of the Southern African Subregion*: *galerella sanguineus* (for its reddish colour)]. This small carnivorous mammal is found over most of sub-Saharan Africa. Variations of the species are also found over the rest of Africa and most of Europe, where it is often confused with the weasel. In English "a weasel" is a metaphor for a deceitful or treacherous person. [Note: Callaway, Werner and Krige translate the name *Chakide* as 'weasel' rather than 'mongoose'] The animal has a reddish coat; long body and long black-tipped tail but short paws and ears and very sharp nails; rather small but protruding beady eyes. Its hind-legs are longer than the front ones and are structured in such a way as to make the animal able to stand on its hind-legs and a good jumper. It is a snake hunter but it also catches fowls and birds. Callaway explains (App. 5:1-4) that this animal hunts mambas in their holes (showing fearless daring), steals bait from traps (is a daring thief), and is able to make noises like the roaring of a lion to frighten unwelcome intruders (deceives by creating an illusion). He is a bad omen for any hunter, for he chases away game animals by his deceitful roar. All these traits are often met with in folktales, where Chakijana is the Zulu star trickster figure.
- (b) ***Insimba***, the genet (*genetta felina*): a feline carnivore, with a long body, spotted coat and a long tail. The genet is extremely agile and a very good hunter. It appears in a limited way in folktales, but there are several proverbs referring to it.

- (c) *Impungushe*, the black-backed jackal, *Canis mesomelas*, or the striped jackal, *Canis adustus*. Both varieties appear in Southern Africa. The second is a merciless and very fast killer and tends to live in groups. As I explain in ch. 3, the jackal seemingly appeared rather late as a trickster in Zulu folklore, where it does not play a prominent role.

Herbivorous animal tricksters (belonging to the *lepus* family):

- (d) *Unogwaja*, the rabbit or hare (D.& V. identify it as *lepus saxatilis*, rock hare, but probably *Lepus capensis* - or Cape hare, which is smaller than *saxatilis*): a small rodent mammal, with long ears but short tail, brownish coat, hind-legs developed for high agility and jumping. Large protruding eyes which give the impression of intense alertness. A split upper lip. This animal is found over the whole of Eastern Africa and also in the Sahara. It is the star trickster over much of Kintu-speaking Africa, but is less prominent in Nguni.
- (e) *Umvundla*, the rabbit or large hare (probably *Lepus saxatilis*, southern bush or scrub hare). A small rodent mammal of the *lepus* family, with prevalently greyish coat, larger than *unogwaja*; very long ears, found in the Western and Eastern Cape and KwaZulu/Natal. It has large protruding eyes, whiskers on upper lip and well developed incisor teeth. The Zulu etymology may come from the verbal root *vundl-* (to skirt, go around, avoid, side-track). *Ivundlandlela* (Lit. what lies off a path) is an outsider or a stranger. This animal occasionally appears as a trickster as it is related to *Unogwaja* with which it is often confused.
- (f) *Intenesha*, or *ithenesha*, the red hare (*lepus crassicaudatus*). A hare which lives in rocky country and has a reddish coat, and, as the Latin name suggests, a bushy or large tail. Also this animal plays the trickster role because of its relationship to *Unogwaja*.

Unsuccessful tricksters, such as *Izimuzimu* (ogre, cannibal), *Imbulu* (monitor lizard) and *Impisi* (hyena), will be described when their functions are discussed in full. *Izimu* and *Impisi* are carnivorous and therefore share some of the characteristics of Chakijana; *Imbulu* does eat some flesh, but is represented as being very fond of sour milk: in Xhosa folktales he is referred to as *Imbulu makhasana*, the sour milk lizard.

The African trickster tradition seems much impressed by the reality of these small animals' survival in a hostile environment, dominated by much larger beasts. Their success cannot be due to their physical strength, but to characteristics that enable them to withstand the general competition and which are taken as indicative of cunning, the weapon of successful trickster figures. Their physical characteristics comprise the following:

- i. In conjunction with their smallness, they are fast and very mobile (adept to surprise the enemy). Smallness is figuratively associated with childish charm and mischief, but also with physical weakness and material poverty.
- ii. The majority have protruding eyes, which convey the impression of intense alertness and of clear and extended vision.
- iii. Their coat lends itself to camouflage (to create the illusion of sudden appearance and to facilitate hiding in ambush). Kuper (1987) argues that light colours are indicative of closeness to the good ancestors (who are supposed to be white), while dark or red colours indicate a connection with evil and witchcraft. This criterion is not applicable to Chakide who is reddish. Colour mixture (spots, several colours) could be the carrier of mixed symbolism.
- iv. Some have extended hind legs, which enable them to stand erect and to jump. Kuper interprets this as the ability to transgress from the realm of animals to that of birds (jump = fly) and of humans (erect posture), and therefore to "mix fundamental conceptual oppositions". A more obvious interpretation is that it helps them to anticipate and evade danger.
- v. The shape and length of the tail is also considered by Kuper as an indication of ambiguity: small tails would then indicate near-human qualities; long tails would indicate marked animality. This criterion, apt for hare, does not fit Chakide nor the genet, who have very long tails.
- vi. Their habitat is the long grass or savanna, or a rocky area where they live in holes or caves. The savanna is an in-between area, which renders tricksters suspicious strangers and possible mediators. Kuper argues that the cave world is connected with the realm of the departed who are buried underground. This constitutes, for him, another indication of ambiguity.
- vii. Carnivorous animals are merciless killers and strongly competitive. They must be skilled trappers and fast pursuers to secure their game.

(Note: Kuper (1987) makes trickery equivalent to liminality and proposes four criteria for the identification of trickster figures: Transgression of natural realms and boundaries; Colour coding; Economy, food and tail; Witches and mediators. His generalizations are based on the principle that anything that displays ambiguous traits is liminal, and anything liminal is a trickster. Some of his ideas will be expounded in ch. 5 as we deal with unsuccessful trickster figures such as *amazimuzimu*, who form the centre of Kuper's typology.)

Chakijana, the slender mongoose, is a Nguni innovation in the spectrum of trickster characters, possibly assimilated from the Khoisan symbolic system. The verb root *-chak-* means:

- i. To expose, or speak evil of someone;

- ii. To betray, to hand over to the enemy;
- iii. To reveal a secret.

The name *UChakijana* therefore carries the connotations, beside the identification of the animal that gives rise to the literary metaphor, of the one who exposes evil, the betrayer, the revealer of secrets.

Chakijana is often found as **Hlakanyana** (cf Callaway, 1868; Theal 1886), a semi-human dwarf with a large old man's head, a tiny wrinkled body, and a tail. The dualism of young / old, small / grown up, animal / human, are therefore present in the figure. Hlakanyana introduces trickery into the human environment, rather than simply in the realm of animal folktales. With regard to age, Radin (1955:165) points out, with reference to the Winnebago trickster:

This individual [the Indo-American Wadjungaka] is often represented as an old man. Yet 'old' must not be taken too literally here. It seems to imply ageless, existing from all time.

Callaway (App. 5:1) states that Hlakanyana "is also known as Chakijana Bogcololo", the slender mongoose, who is evidently an animal. The name **Hlakanyana** derives from either the verb root *-hlakaniph-*, 'be wise', or its ideophone root, *hlaka*, which carries the meanings of (cf D & V):

1. Scattering, spreading about, disorder.
2. Breaking down, demolishing.
3. Exposing, divulging.
4. Wisdom, cleverness, mental ability.

Professor Argyle tells me that */gara* means "to scatter" in at least one Khoisan language, and *n/Gaa* means "to spread out" in another. Said root might conceivably lie behind the *-chak-* verb root. Either Zulu derivation (from the verb root or from the ideophone) suits the folktale character of Hlakanyana, who thus becomes "Mr. Clever" or "Mr. Cunning", an apt description for a character that is interpreted, according to Callaway, as "being weighed down by his intelligence and cunning". The ideophone shows a significant progression of meaning, which partly corresponds to those for *-chaka*, from the idea of *analysis*, or vivisection of accepted facts and norms into parts, on which true knowledge is based, to that of divulging such knowledge in a *synthetic form*. The trickster appears as a clever creature with mental elasticity, as well as an agent of dissolution or separation into parts in the social fabric; a force for bringing about change (by 'breaking down, demolishing' and exposing the weak points of the old order) while also divulging knowledge or skills; the incarnation of the principles of cleverness and mental ability (wisdom?). The trickster Hlakanyana / Chakijana may therefore be considered as

someone who is capable of putting the human world under stress and strain, to instil some form of reflected wisdom. The ideophone *hlaka* further shows a progression from negative (scattering, demolishing) to very positive aspects (mental ability, cleverness, wisdom), which are indicative of the possible functions of the character.

The question may be asked as to why, in the Kintu-speaking world, only Nguni folklore uses the slender mongoose as its main trickster figure, although the animal is widely known in Africa, and *Herpestes ichneumon*, or the Egyptian mongoose, was an Egyptian deity. I have no definite answer, but suggest that the reason may possibly be found in two facts:

1. The animal was considered a clever trickster by the Khoisan people. The noun *Ugcololo* (slender mongoose) may derive from Khoisan. Professor Argyle tells me that **oo, g *oo [ʔ<*(g) *oro]*, with the alveolar click, means "slender, pointed" in at least three Khoisan languages. The mongoose is both, since its snout is clearly pointed.
2. The two names, Hlakanyana and Chakijana, bear striking resemblances and might be considered as "cognates" both in form and because they cover a similar field of meaning. It is possible to argue that the two stems */-hlak-/* and */-chak-/* may ultimately derive from the same Common Bantu root, with the click sound being introduced as part of the playful aspect in language transformation that one is able to witness in several instances in the process of borrowing the click sounds from Khoisan (clicks seem to be introduced at times "because they sound nice" rather than because the language users follow a set rule). If this common origin was the case, then one would argue that Zulu speakers perceive the affinity of the near-synonyms, as has been confirmed to me by discussions with some Zulu members of my Department. Furthermore, the two words constitute a nearly perfect pair as, over and above the root, both have the same number of syllables and both end with the diminutive marker */*-yana/*.

The Nguni might have wanted to emphasize "cleverness" (rather than "liminality") in their vision of the trickster, who must be a good example of survival in a cut-throat competitive world, where there is no room for the weak and the faint-hearted. The physical characteristics of the slender mongoose seemed to fit their understanding of the trickster function as a cunning figure able to use its hunting skills to reflect the need to be always on guard against possible enemies and suspicious social change. They thus chose Chakijana, the killer, which, through its linguistic resemblance, is also a constant reminder of Hlakanyana the clever. Both aspects of cleverness and cruelty are strongly emphasized in the proverbs referring to Chakide or Chakijana. One may therefore say that Hlakanyana is Chakijana and Chakijana is Hlakanyana: a perfect correspondence, or a cognate pair. Chakijana is widely used in most tales, while Hlakanyana is only found in Callaway and Theal. These two researchers might have found Hlakanyana more

suitable for human stories than would be the case for Chakide / Chakijana who is evidently an animal.

With regard to whether this trickster is human or animal, Werner (1933:155) states:

Though the people who told this story to Bishop Callaway explained this [that Hlakanyana was a person like a mongoose] for his small size and cunning, it may well be that he had actually been an animal to begin with.

Oral episodes and motifs are mobile and interchangeable and they can be included in most narrative frames, often irrespective of the frame itself. Radin (1955:166) makes a similar point about the Winnebago trickster:

Although his identity fluctuates . . . generally he is given an animal name. Since here, as in fact everywhere, he can transform himself at will into any form, the animal form simply represents one of his aspects.

The nearly pan-African figure of *UNogwaja*, the hare or rabbit, remains present as the main character in several folktales in which he may be taken as synonymous with (or an alias of) Hlakanyana or Chakijana. But what happens when the two characters are found together? Is a distinction made between them? These questions are answered in the following section.

2.2.2 Hierarchy of successful animal tricksters

The Zulu / Nguni oral traditions are a dynamic continuation of the traditions of the Kintu speaking populations with which they are linguistically related. The star trickster among the Eastern and many Western Kintu nations is Hare, which is largely represented also in Zulu folktales as Nogwaja and related species, such as Mvundla and Ntenesha. We have, however, shown that the Nguni genius has chosen Chakijana / Hlakanyana as its star trickster, because of the wish to identify the trickster with intelligent or cunning deeds.

The question may now be asked as to whether the Nguni tradition allows the establishment of a hierarchy among the various trickster figures, or should we simply accept them all on a par, as completely interchangeable, depending on the whim of a performer, and perhaps on the tradition of a particular area?

James Stuart's folktale *Eyezinyamazane* (The story of the animals, App. No. 2) supplies an enlightening answer to the question.

The Red Hare (*Intenesha*) perceives a threat to the animals when he hears a man knocking on trees in the forest. As he runs off he is joined in his flight by the other animals, one by one. Chakijana is the last one to join the group. Chakijana proposes the

formation of a society in which labour and benefits are shared by all. The animals build a fence with branches to secure a byre, then go to eat in the savanna and return to defecate in the kraal to produce manure for the common gardens. They post a guard to protect the 'fruit' of their labour. *Inkayimeva*, seemingly a mythological animal (cf Oosthuizen 1977:171), establishes a trick pattern to defeat the animals' purpose: he puts to sleep the animals guarding the precious manure, by playing the "de-lousing one another" game which, by massaging the scalp, induces relaxation and eventually sleep. He then eats the manure. Nkayimeva repeats this pattern successfully with Nogwaja the Hare, then with Ntenesha, the Red Hare. But Chakijana refuses to be put to sleep and forces the enemy to sleep by means of the same game; he overcomes and kills Nkayimeva, thus freeing the young society of its a-social intruder. The animals find a beautiful tree and send first Hare then Red Hare to the king to ask which part of it (or of Nkayimeva's body) they can eat and which part should be reserved for him. Hare and Red Hare forget both the message and the reply as they jump over a river (a sort of 'river of forgetfulness') that delimits their property. [Krige (1967:29) states that medicines are placed at the gate of the cattle byre to make witches forget the purpose of their nocturnal visits.] Chakijana is finally sent and he remembers the message: the fruit of the tallest branch must be kept for the king and the rest may be eaten.

The story clearly states Chakijana's superiority over the other trickster figures, Nogwaja and Ntenesha, both belonging to the hare family. When the animals are running for shelter, Chakijana is the last to join the group. Olrik (1908, in Dundes, 1965:137) states:

Whenever a series of persons or things occurs, then the principal one will come first. Coming last, though, will be the person for whom the particular narrative arouses sympathy.

Here Ntenesha, the red hare, comes first and causes the animals to congregate. Chakijana appears last and becomes the centre of attention as the one who will arrange things in a successful way.

The animals then perceive the threat coming from Nkayimeva and post carefully chosen guards to defend their manure. Hare puts up a fight against the enemy but is eventually defeated and, in consequence, killed and eaten in punishment. Ntenesha, the red hare, goes through the same motions, and eventually suffers the same fate. Chakijana is finally posted: he is a strongly competitive killer, thus able to overcome Nkayimeva by the same trick. With a touch of showmanship Chakijana ties the enemy to the gate posts (where the protective medicines are placed), calls all the animals to show them his victim, then kills him. Nkayimeva is evidently an unsuccessful trickster, initially successful with the two tricksters of the hare family, but eventually defeated by the slender mongoose. Being a carnivore, Chakijana traps, attacks and kills, with the single-mindedness of an avenger: there is no room for the weak in his world.

There follows a conflation of motifs: the animals send envoys to the king to ask what part of Nkayimeva he wants reserved for himself. The performer forgets Nkayimeva's meat, and

stresses a parallel motif regarding the fruit of a beautifully ripe tree (cf App. No. 3). This is a minor discrepancy in an oral performance. The important point is that Nogwaja, Ntenesha and Chakijana are sent, in turn, to the king with the request. The first two forget the king's message as they cross the river. Chakijana is the only one able to overcome the river's negative influence and to bring back the important message.

The tale therefore seems to establish and emphasize a clear hierarchy among the successful trickster figures: Nogwaja, the Hare, recognized as the star trickster in other cultures, is clever, but not invincible. Ntenesha, the red hare, who belongs to the same family, is also a clever trickster, but not that clever. The absolute star in the story is Chakijana: he helps in organizing the animal society; he is the only one able to defeat a sinister trickster animal because of his killer instinct; he is also the only one stronger than the anti-witches medicines placed at the boundaries of the animal kingdom, as symbolized by the gate posts and the "river of forgetfulness."

I have mentioned above that Nogwaja is used as the equivalent of Chakijana in some tales. One may argue that these tales reflect their pan-African origin, as most trickster motifs do anyway. In stories, however, in which Hare appears together with Chakijana or Hlakanyana, he is found either to co-operate with the main trickster in defeating other animals (App. No. 4, where Hare and Chakijana destroy an arrogant and greedy elephant), or he is duped by Hlakanyana, showing perhaps the superior intelligence and dogged determination of the Nguni trickster figure (cf chapter 3, Ca. 22, where Mvundla, the large rabbit, is defeated by Hlakanyana), or, as in *Eyezinyamazane*, he is placed on a step lower than Chakijana.

I consider next a study which offers another categorization of humans and animals into clearly definable groups, based on spatial environment which may be reflected in the symbolic system outlined in the folktales.

2.2.3 Animals and their spheres of activity

The Zulu world view is anthropocentric and circular. The individual identifies himself with his round home, *indlu*, his round village, *umuzi*, surrounded by a fence, *uthango*, at whose centre the cattle byre, *isibaya*, is built to shelter the cattle, which constitute the family wealth and a link with the ancestors, and where sacrifices are made to the departed also buried there. The rest of the world and of the cosmos is seen in relation to *umuzi*: it either radiates from the village, or tends towards the village. So do animals, among which one finds those that are considered as tricksters in the fictional world of folktales.

A recent interesting study by Frans Prins and Hester Lewis ("Bushmen as Mediators in Nguni Cosmology", 1992) argues that the Nguni symbolic system is largely based on a tripartite

taxonomy of animals with homologous spatial categories. The authors state that animals are classified by the Nguni as (1992:134-35):

- (a) Flesh-eating animals and wild beasts (Xhosa *amarhamncwa*, Zulu *izilwane*);
- (b) Small game animals, including antelope (Xhosa *iinyamakazi*, Zulu *izinyamazane*);
- (c) Domestic animals (Xhosa and Zulu: *imfuyo*).

The corresponding spatial categories are:

- (a) Forest (Xhosa and Zulu *ihlathi*);
 - (b) Grassland or savanna (Xhosa and Zulu *ithafa*);
 - (c) Homestead (Xhosa *umzi*, Zulu *umuzi*).
- (I have corrected some of the Zulu terminology in the original paper)

Prins and Lewis apply the above categories, following Lévi-Strauss' binary oppositions methods, to the small Bushman, whom they identify with animal tricksters that live in the savanna outside the human settlements. *Izinyamazane* are animals that feed either on grass or on other animals, and use trickery to survive. The savanna is a transitional space located between the two major conceptual poles, *umuzi* and *ihlathi*. This is where many human adventures take place, as it is the starting stage for the journeys that constitute the frame of most tales. Savanna animals constantly make inroads into the forest, where they establish connections with flesh-eating animals. They also interfere with the homestead world. They can be considered boundary transgressors, moving life energies from one space to another. They may thus be identified as mediators, or in-between beings, on a par with sorcerers or even diviners, who are also considered as strangers and outsiders to the human society. The study emphasizes the ambivalent position of trickster animals in the description of the physical, conceptual and emotional universe.

Although the paper offers valuable insights, the wholesale identification of tricksters as boundary transgressors and mediators disregards the clear division of successful and unsuccessful trickster characters suggested by the folktale data. In so doing, the paper misses the point that the trickster's picaresque actions represent comic reversals of socially acceptable behaviour and thus confirm the established rules. This aspect is clarified in my chapter 4.

The outline of the physical characteristics of animal trickster figures has given us a fair idea of what the Zulu might observe about tricksters. Such observations form the basis of cultural statements contained in proverbs, which broadly confirm some of the perceptions already identified.

2.3 ZULU PROVERBS

Zulu proverbs, which arise out of the same cultural background as the folktales and often reflect them, are another valuable source of information about the Zulu speaker's attitude towards animal trickster figures and the concepts that come to mind at the mention of their names. I have found a number of such proverbs in Doke and Vilakazi's *Zulu-English Dictionary* as illustrations of lexical entries referring to individual tricksters. I have also searched C.L.S. Nyembezi's (1954) *Zulu Proverbs*. Out of a large crop I have decided to present only a limited number here, specifically referring to animal tricksters.

- (a) *Kaziphelanga, kwasala uChakide noNogwaja* ('Not all the animals were used [in the preparation of the concoctions to strengthen the newly born baby]: the mongoose and the hare were left out'). The proverb is used to describe a foolish person. It refers to the custom of strengthening a baby with magic concoctions, containing elements belonging to many animals mixed together, to ensure that the child will grow up with the qualities connected by tradition with such animals. A foolish person is described as one whose early 'medicine' lacked elements belonging to the two animals that are considered as the cleverest, that is Chakide the mongoose and Nogwaja the hare. It is interesting to note how the two animals are grouped together as having the same qualities. Another proverb with similar semantic content is: *Ofuna ukuhlakanipha wakh' eceleni kweqili* ('He who wants to be wise must live near a clever person'; or 'Cleverness is catching.') The Grimm Brothers have a European fable, "The Wolf and the Fox", in which Wolf asks Fox to be godfather to his child so that the child may gain some cleverness from Fox.
- (b) *UChakide uhlolile imamba yelukile* ('Chakide is at ease: the mamba has gone out'. Or: "When the cat is away the mice will play") This proverb reflects the popular belief that the mongoose fights snakes even in their own holes. The proverb reveals the characteristics of playfulness and also of foolhardy daring in the trickster, who challenges dangerous opponents and is often able to get the better of them.
- (c) *Phuma Chakide, wadliwa yimamba!* ('Chakide, come out or you'll be devoured by the mamba!') This is said to warn a person who is misbehaving of the arrival of the authority. It is connected with the previous proverb. A similar proverbial expression is: *Chakide, nans' imamba!* (Chakide, here is the mamba!)
- (d) *UChakide wosinda ngokwelelesa* ('Chakide saves himself by committing another criminal act'. 'The end justifies the means', or 'Attack is the best defense') The proverb

reflects the reality presented in the animal world as mirrored in trickster stories, where Chakide often saves himself by having others blamed for his own mischief, even when this leads to the death of an innocent victim. His tricking plan often involves the pre-identification of some scapegoat to be blamed for the trickster's actions. Extreme measures are no obstacle to the trickster's enterprising movements: Chakide is a killer bent on personal survival. A similar proverb states: *Amev'abangulwa ngamanye* ('Thorns are extracted by means of other thorns'): substitution is a strategy of deception. It also contains the meaning of 'A tooth for a tooth', and is often used to justify revenge when one perceives oneself to have been wronged.

- (e) *Ukuthemba uboya bentenesha* ('To trust in the fur of the red hare'. i.e. to base one's hopes on something unstable or unreliable.) A trickster is not to be trusted, as he turns the tables on his opponents, even when he has made a solemn promise or has stipulated a 'contract' with them.

- (f) *Umvundla ziwunqande phambili* ('They have turned the rabbit in front') i.e. Escape has been cut off, and the trickster is caught. A similar situation is outlined in two more proverbs: *Umqambo weqil'uphalele* ('The secret mixture of the clever one is spilt'; or 'The beans are spilt') This proverb refers to the belief that some tricksters use witchcraft medicines to carry out their tricks. Figuratively, it points to the secrecy necessary for hatching and carrying out a trick to ensure the element of surprise. The possible negative outcome of a trick is also stated by the proverb: *Akukho qili elazikhoth' emhlane* ('No clever person ever licked his own back').

- (g) *Insimba yasulela amazolo ezinyaweni zegqumusha* ('The genet wiped the dew on the paws of the bush-shrike') This proverb refers to a folktale (cf 6.2.4 below) in which an old woman is caught by animals and condemned to be eaten the next morning. During the night the genet frees her and accompanies her out of the place, then wipes the dew from its feet onto the paws of the bush-shrike, who is consequently accused of the crime and killed. The proverb applies to a person who does something deserving severe punishment but implicates a gullible fool to take the blame. This substitution pattern often occurs in trickster tales.

- (h) *Akunsimba yazuz'ibuzi ngokuhlala* ('No genet ever got a field-rat by sitting down,' i.e. idleness brings no gain) Perseverance is the mark of a determined person: one must, like the genet, persevere at all costs and against all odds if one intends to succeed.

- (i) *Insimba ibanjwa amagod'ebolile* ('The genet is caught when the ropes are rotten.' i.e. perseverance overcomes all obstacles.) This proverb makes a point similar to the previous one. Here, however, the elusive genet is the victim to be caught by determination and perseverance. One may have to wait for a very long time, 'until the ropes rot', if one expects to succeed.

'Reading' the proverbs

Proverbs originate from within the culture, of which they are witty aphorisms. They give expression to people's ideas, emotions, ways of life, beliefs, etc, by the use of images drawn from the store of the cultural background, which constitute the signals, or the "vehicles" to link the sign with the reality or concepts it expresses.

The composite image of trickster figures emerging from the proverbs contains several aspects:

- i. Chakide and Nogwaja are used as symbols of cunning, cleverness and wisdom (a). Trickery is therefore a manifestation of cleverness.
- ii. Chakide, the daring snake fighter, is seen as a reckless and adventurous youngster (b and c), but also as a merciless killer.
- iii. A trickster may be revengeful, and he is not afraid of incriminating others in order to save his own skin (d and g).
- iv. A trick does not always meet with success: it might be discovered and punished (f), especially in a human context.
- v. Perseverance is the key to success (h and i). This idea also involves the perception that a blood feud may be pursued through various generations.

The use of trickery is therefore admired as a manifestation of intelligence, cunning, daring, perseverance; it is also feared because it may get out of hand and upset the social order. Knowing that a person who feels wronged by another will instinctively seek revenge, heightens the atmosphere of mistrust and mutual suspicion in the wider society. Revenge is often sought through witchcraft means. This institutes a wariness of any stranger who may have a score to settle with anyone. I now present some further concepts revealed by Zulu lexical items dealing with both abstractions and figurative manifestations of the trickster, which confirm the insights already gained on the subject.

2.4 ZULU TERMINOLOGY

The lexical search for general concepts referring to trick, trickster, trickery, has produced some revealing results by clarifying the deep roots of perceptions which one might have otherwise taken at face value. The terms are often illustrated by means of the proverbs enumerated above. Rather than abstract terms and definitions, the Zulu vocabulary generously presents characters and actions as practical manifestations of ideas.

The Zulu concept of trickery is expressed by yet another click form, the abstract noun **ubuqili**, glossed as (D & V): "cunning, cleverness, craftiness, trickery". The trickster is referred to as **Iqili**, translated (D & V) as: "a clever, cunning, crafty person". These terms derive from the ideophone **qika**, which is glossed in D & V as:

1. of suddenly seeing, unexpectedly lighting upon. *Inyamazane yathi qika emuva* (The buck suddenly appeared and then went back).
2. of suddenly occurring to the mind.
3. of baffling, puzzling.
4. of drawing back, starting back.

The following words are derived from the above ideophone:

Ukuqika:

1. to obstruct, prevent [cf. *vimba*]. *Siqikwe ucingo ukuphuma* (We were prevented by the wire from getting out.)
2. to overthrow, defeat. *Ukuqika isitha* (to defeat an enemy):
3. to baffle, puzzle. *Le ndaba yasiqika* (This affair baffled us).

ukuqikaza:

1. to appear suddenly and turn back (from danger); draw back quickly.
2. to baffle, puzzle.
3. to chance upon, come upon unexpectedly.

(Professor Argyle tells me that *!~ai* (with the palatal click) means "to be startled" in at least one Khoisan language.)

Ukuqiliza: to be cunning, to play tricks, to act craftily.

The terms point to sudden vision or understanding, to actions that are puzzling because they are unexpected, baffling for the victim who is suffering some form of illusion, to reactions effected with speed and deceitful means, as well as with hard-headedness. There is also the idea of an outsider suddenly appearing to interfere with the normal course of life. Thus most of the terms point to the aspects associated with intelligence, cleverness and cunning, which we had already connected with the names of some of the animal trickster characters or had found in the proverbs.

Summary and conclusion

This chapter has endeavoured to identify the cultural perceptions in Zulu oral traditions referring to tricksters and trickery in preparation for the analysis of folktales referring to successful tricksters in chapter 3. Life is a battle, and one must be prepared to fight with intelligence and cunning to survive. The Nguni trickster is a character that stands out and succeeds because he is able to analyse things and events intelligently, and to act or react decisively in a world where the weak cannot survive. The added implication of cunning is further associated with comical entertainment.

We have initially introduced a trickster typology based on our reading of relevant folktales: animals that are generally looked upon as tricksters are admired if they use the trick sequence successfully, or are scorned if they use it unsuccessfully. The employment of trickery, however, goes beyond the use made by these characters: occasional tricksters are a wide category, which justifies our contention that trickster is a narrative function rather than a simple character identity. The animal characters that play mainly successful trickster roles in folktales have been introduced. The Nguni innovation of Hlakanyana / Chakijana has been discussed, together with a possible hierarchy based on the Nguni view that their trickster is better than its pan-African counterpart, more effective because of his intelligence and determination to succeed in a very competitive and hostile environment. We have also briefly reflected on the symbolic position of successful tricksters in Nguni animal taxonomy, their spheres of activity and the physical space they inhabit. Prins and Lewis (1992) would have us view Nguni animal tricksters as outsiders, occupying an in-between space, further marginalized through a hinted connection with the dark forces of sorcery. While there probably is some element of liminality in the Zulu vision, the Hlakanyana/Chakijana cultural twist seems to emphasize the fact that the Zulu primarily regard their tricksters as manifestations of the qualities of cunning, intelligence and determination which are necessary for survival.

The excursion through the Zulu imagery bank, as revealed in the proverbs, has brought to light the existence of an ambivalent attitude towards tricksters and trickery: admiration for intelligence, cunning, perseverance, daring; but also a suspicion for socially unacceptable aspects. Life is harsh, and food reserves are scarce: one must be prepared to fight for survival, and be on the alert because many others are after the same commodities. Hence the insistence on concepts of deep thinking that leads to wisdom, separating modes of reasoning, and of suddenly scattering reality about and even destroying it, in order to possibly reconstruct it in a different way: all ideas underlined in the lexicon and in the proverbs, which further manifest contradictory feelings towards the trickster, expressing the ambivalence that pervades the deep strata of Zulu thought patterns. Existence is unpredictable, and each opportunity in life is

multifaceted. One must look at both sides of the coin because even truth is relative, as it is a process of continuous becoming.

The picture of the Zulu successful trickster is beginning to take shape as a cluster of characters sharing a number of physical traits and of narrative functions, often overlapping and contradicting one another. Through his intelligent actions, the trickster causes a kind of confusion that forces a reflection on social and moral tenets which might otherwise be taken for granted in the normal flow of life. Positive and negative, good and evil, take on new existential dimensions.

Tricksters seem to possess a high degree of mental and moral elasticity, which makes them at the same time shunned and admired. They express the ambivalence resulting from an imperfect fusion between the cheat and the hero; between the innocence of a child and merciless selfishness. They further represent the victory of brain over brawn, of subtlety over brute force, of small and weak over big and strong. But also of cruelty and selfishness, as if to manifest the ambivalence and instability inherent in the human condition.

Chapter 3

SUCCESSFUL TRICKSTERS: MOTIFS AND PATTERNS

3.0 INTRODUCTION

Even a hurried look at the sources listed in 1.5 will convince one that there is a veritable abundance of trickster folktales in the Zulu oral repertoire from which the various collectors have freely drawn. The wide-spread repetition of trickster motifs demonstrates the existence of a corpus of stories relating to the trickster which could be considered a sort of narrative cycle - a group of stories sharing a common theme or subject - that no one has fully exhausted in recording or in writing.

Studies in other African cultures reveal that many of the motifs present in Zulu are widely diffused throughout Kintu and non-Kintu speaking Africa and some have transmigrated to the Americas through the slave trade. While Anansi, the West African trickster, can be either successful or unsuccessful in his tricking activities, the almost pan-African Hare is normally successful, as he generally represents the small and the weak fighting for survival and recognition against initially overwhelming odds. His strength does not lie with physical power, but with alertness, intelligence and cunning. Hare's Zulu/Nguni counterpart is Hlakanyana/Chakijana, the slender mongoose, who adds to Hare's qualities those of superior intelligence and obstinate determination as the animal figure is also a carnivore and therefore a killer.

Several trickster motifs are also found in the folklore of other parts of the world, as witnessed by Stith Thompson's (1957) *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, whose Volume 4, section K, deals with **deception**, to which occasional reference will be made. Out of this nearly inexhaustible imagery bank, this chapter is concerned with the presentation of motifs and patterns referring to successful trickster figures in Zulu oral traditions. Only three of the sources quoted in 1.5 link the tales together: these are Callaway, Mbatha and Mdladla, and Makhambeni.

The most complete set of episodes is found in Callaway's 1868 *Zulu Nursery Tales*, under the title *UThlakanyana*, which we shall spell in the modern way, namely *UHlakanyana*, and refer to the source as 'Callaway' or (Ca.). The unusual length of the story suggests that the author has conflated various trickster narratives into a sort of cycle linked by the presence of Hlakanyana and possibly attributing to Hlakanyana motifs and stories assigned to other trickster figures. In fact, contrary to what Callaway does with other tales, he does not state anything about the way he collected this particular story: whether in one sitting, or over a long period of

time; whether from one person or from many. He goes so far as to say that Hlakanyana is the same as Chakijana (which means some trickster stories were related to him with Chakijana as their main character), and he further introduces substantial variants of some episodes, true folktales in their own right. The result of Callaway's unification of the stories might be an artificial kind of unity and perhaps even a distortion of the original material. We shall see, however, how more recent writers attribute practically any of the trick motifs to any trickster figure. An extensive parallel version of the story is found in George McCall Theal's (1886, reprinted in 1970) *Kaffir Folk-Lore*, 'The Story of Hlakanyana', which, again, brings together all the stories attributed to the successful trickster. This is an English rendition of texts which Theal collected among the Xhosa. It is sufficiently close to the Zulu texts to justify its inclusion here to clarify some of Callaway's episodes or to fill some gaps. It will be referred to as (Th.).

The other important and substantial source which might be considered a cycle is Mbatha and Mdladla's 1927 (re-issued in 1986) *UChakijana Bogcololo*, here referred to as 'Mbatha', or (Mba.). The authors present a number of tales dealing with Chakijana together with some unconnected tales. They have evidently tried to give a certain unity to their booklet according to its title, while drawing freely from the trickster tradition (details given later in 3.3). Makhambeni's little book, *Amantshontsho* (Bits of Meat, 1986), consists of four unconnected folktales only linked by their main character, Chakijana. This source does not contain substantially new material.

The other sources listed in chapter 1, including the James Stuart collection (Stu.), contain a number of separate stories, in many of which the trickster plays the major role. These are not linked together in any way, therefore cannot be considered as cycles, but only borrowings from the generous oral repository.

After a brief reflection on the main patterns in trickster folktales, this chapter presents a synopsis of Hlakanyana / Chakijana's birth narratives found in our main sources (Callaway, Theal, Mbatha, Stuart), progressively numbered for later reference and comparison, then a summary of other trickster tales, first of Callaway, then of Mbatha and Stuart. Finally, selected trickster episodes from all our sources, which contain new motifs or themes, are presented under the sub-heading of "Other exploits by the trickster".

3.1 FOLKTALE PATTERNS

I have stated in 1.4.1 that trickster folktales can be identified by:

- (a) The presence of a trick initiator or of a trickster figure;
- (b) The structure based on a *False Contract* sequence, which becomes the organizing device of the narrative giving rise to patterns of deception.

Zinta Konrad (1983:98) states:

The trick not only defines the structural relationship between characters, it is the central organizing device which focuses dramatic action and shapes the emotional response of audience members. The more successful the trick - and the more outrageous, often downright horrifying - the greater the delight of the audience and the more enthusiastic the audience's reaction.

Konrad further explains that the trick is characterized by two structural features:

- (a) Patterning;
- (b) The creation of an illusion which is used to deceive an opponent. Disguise, substitution and deception are the major operational devices to produce the illusion.

In Callaway's Hlakanyana folktale, the trickster often uses a reverse technique to punish his adversaries, as it is clear in the episode involving the *ukuphekana* game (cf 3.2.2.1 below): Hlakanyana is supposed to be cooked by an old *Izimu* woman as food for her children, but he is able to cook her and to serve her to her own children for dinner. Denise Paulme (1977) defines this situation as "hour-glass pattern" whereby the one who is initially in a disadvantaged position gradually overcomes the obstacles by putting his adversaries in the position he was, and thus freeing himself.

Deception is aimed at deceiving the opponent by giving him/her the **illusion** of benefits to be accrued, and thus lulling him/her into a feeling of false security as long as the terms of the 'contract' are adhered to, according to the agreed pattern. The trickster, however, surreptitiously alters the established pattern and the partner becomes the victim.

A **trick pattern** or **sequence** can be briefly highlighted by considering du Toit's folktale **How rabbit got a split lip** (App. No. 12) (Note: du Toit's titles are in English) as an example:

Nogwaja is trapped, alone, on a small island in the middle of a river infested by crocodiles. He is unable to swim to safety (Trickster trapped). One of the crocodiles maliciously suggests that he goes to fetch some of his relatives so that they may live happily on the island (Illusion of friendship, deception). Nogwaja seemingly agrees, and makes a counter-proposal: the crocodile must assemble all his kin so that he may count them and then return with an equal number of rabbits (False contract: the croc thinks he is getting a bargain!). Rabbit then asks that all the crocodiles line up, from the island to the shore, so that he might count them carefully. In so doing he jumps on each crocodile and reaches the shore (Disguise, illusion, deception). When he has taken advantage of the stupid animals, Nogwaja turns to laugh so heartily at their gullibility (Gloat) that his upper lip splits, a mark which he carries even today. He then goes to his family and tells them the story of how he has managed to deceive the crocodiles (Boast) and all laugh.

The crocodile is an inept trick initiator, or an unsuccessful trickster, as he starts the trick sequence to satisfy his greed but is unable to see his plan through: his effort at deceiving Nogwaja through illusion is too transparent to stand a chance of success. The trickster's need (Propp's *Lack* function), true or imaginary, is the disequilibrium starting point of most tales. Here the crocodile is greedy for food, while Nogwaja wants to free himself from the trap he is in. The difference between the two characters lies in the way they go about meeting their respective needs. The crocodile hatches a simple ineffective plot, relying on the superiority afforded him by his physical strength and the environment (water). Nogwaja, however, shows his ability to meet his need through an inventive trick that pits him against stronger animals that lack intelligence. It is through calculated cunning, giving the greedy croc the illusion of major gains, and substituting his enemies for the non-existing bridge, that Nogwaja is able to free himself from his trap situation to the delight of the audience.

The pattern can be set out schematically as follows:

| | Crocodile | Rabbit |
|--------------------------|---|---|
| Initial Situation | free | trapped |
| Need: | food | freedom |
| Contract: | offer of benefit | counter-offer of greater benefits (illusion) |
| Agreed plan: | go to land call friends return with friends | count friends escape to land (plan altered) gloat and boast |
| Consequence: | no food | freedom - |

This could be described as a *Patterned mirror image*: the two opposing actors play largely symmetric parts, but the trickster finally prevails through his ability to alter the pattern by cunningly using it to deceive others to his own advantage. Other patterns will be revealed as we analyze various folktales.

3.2 CALLAWAY'S TRICKSTER HLAKEYANA (App. No. 5)

In 2.2.1 we have stated that Hlakanyana "is the same as Chakijana" in the Nguni imagery bank, and further that most motifs attributed to this trickster are to be found in the pan-African tradition of the Hare, but the Zulu tradition, by the choice of Chakijana as its star trickster, seems to place particular emphasis on the trickster's intelligence, cunning and determination rather than on the general concept of liminality.

Callaway's Preface to Hlakanyana's Stories (App. No. 5:1-6)

Callaway identifies several characteristics of Hlakanyana in the preface to his tale (bracketed numbers refer to paragraphs in the Appendix):

- i. He is a small and dwarfish *person* (5:1), of the size and appearance of the slender mongoose (5:6), thus despised by the people he tricks because he is so small and they feel superior to him, as they do not accept to be deceived by a 'child' and do not realize that he has not grown up due to his being 'weighed down by his shrewdness and wisdom' (*ngokusindwa wubuqili nokuhlakanipha*) (5:1, 3 & 6).
- ii. He (Chakijana) is troublesome to people through his ability to deceive by making people believe he is something else: he frightens them by making noises resembling the roar of large wild animals (cf the characteristic growling of the mongoose when threatened mentioned by Callaway). This trait is considered 'deceitful' as it creates an illusion.
- iii. He shows daring and possible recklessness as he fights snakes (5:4), especially the mamba (*Iyazondana kakhulu nezinyoka*) (cf the proverbs referring to Chakijana). The trickster captures them by entering their holes, head first. He also steals the bait from traps set for other animals (5:2).
- iv. He is a wizard, a bearer of bad luck (*Ichakide linesisila esikhulu*), therefore not to be trusted, but rather to be feared (5:5). He spoils man's chances for a profitable hunt if he appears on a hunter's path.
- v. The other names by which Hlakanyana / Chakijana is known are his praise names *Bogconono/Bogcololo* (belonging to the mongoose family, as *ugcololo* is another name for the slender mongoose) and *Mahlab'indoda-isemi* ("He who stabs a man first, while the man stands" despising him because he is so small). He should not, therefore, be under-estimated because of his small size (5:6).

Our description of Callaway's story will be divided into 3 parts:

- (a) The Trickster's birth;
- (b) Hlakanyana's travelling adventures and fights;
- (c) The Trickster as an occasional benefactor.

Each narrative **motif** (= "an element - a type of incident, device, reference, or formula - which recurs frequently in literature." (Abrams, 1988:110)) will be identified with an initial progressive number for later reference. Theal's contributions, as well as Mba. and Stu., are included in Callaway's story in square brackets [] where they can be considered as simple clarifications or extensions of Callaway's. Where, however, they do not belong to the same

motif, they are assigned new numbers in the series. Stith Thompson's (1957) "international motifs" will appear in brackets, and are preceded by the letter K (e.g. K 1.3.4), since this is the internationally recognized numbering method. I use the term 'motif' in this analysis, rather than Propp's 'function', because motif stands for a unit of narrative content, whereas function is an abstract structural and functional unit.

3.2.1 The Trickster's birth (App. No. 5:7-19)

The birth narratives should be seen under the dual aspect of the trickster figure, namely:

- i. Unusual and highly ominous events (here they take place either before, or immediately after his birth, or during his first few days of life) which may indicate a connection with magic, as do also his physical attributes or peculiarities;
- ii. Actions performed according to a trick pattern.

'Birth' is connected with 'smallness', which is in turn reflected in trickster characters. This is accentuated here by Hlakanyana being considered 'just a baby', and an ugly one at that. The episodes represent a young being enthused by the mission of reacting to the depletion of his father's cattle, which are the property of the ancestors. It is consequently an uphill battle for recognition, especially by his father, the elders of the tribe, and other boys. He performs extraordinary feats of strength and courage, which involve the use of unorthodox means, and enjoys outsmarting even wise old people through tricks which demonstrate his cunning.

1. Hlakanyana is the son of a royal couple, and is often called *Mntwanenkosi* (Chief's son, or Prince).
2. Stu., Mba., Th.: His mother is pregnant for a long time (three years). They decide to sacrifice a bull to ask for the ancestors' intervention in delivering him.
3. He speaks before his birth and begs his mother three times [and contradictorily] to deliver him quickly [before the meat of the bull is finished] so that he can put an end to the wasting away of his father's cattle by the men of the tribe.
4. When he is eventually born, [Th. he emerges as a male child of minuscule proportions but with an old man's face and a tail], he immediately walks and talks, as he is in a hurry to accomplish his chosen mission. He cuts his own umbilical cord with his father's spear.
6. Hlakanyana goes to sit with the men of the king's council in the cattle byre, which is the family shrine where the ancestors are buried and is out of bounds to young children and women. [Th.: He asks his father for a piece of meat three times, but the father refuses as he does not know him. The king even crushes him under his foot and leaves him for

dead, but Hlakanyana rises up again, like the coarse veld grass.] The men soon recognize his intelligence and wisdom, as he speaks with sense the very day he is born.

7. In revenge for being despised and for the men's greedy eating of his father's cattle, he immediately tricks the men and the boys out of a leg of beef (part of the cattle he is supposed to save?). Since he is shunned by the men and the boys because of his small size, he competitively challenges them to a test of speed, strength and manhood. He asks the king to throw a leg of meat out of the cattle kraal, and while all the men fight to get out of the narrow upper gate, the little mongoose is able to slip through a hole in the lower fence unhindered and to retrieve the prize.

This first trick establishes a pattern: the trickster reacts to a situation that he regards as untenable and that calls for some form of revenge. He offers the men something that they feel would benefit them (a leg of beef, which they cannot fail to win as Hlakanyana is too small to carry it). They must however follow a pattern of behaviour (retrieve it through the only opening available to them, the main gate). He is able to alter the pattern and thus gain the advantage (being small 'like the mongoose' he goes out through a narrow back exit in the lower fence; cf Ca.26 below), thus winning the prize. Here only the men's pride is damaged, but in later tricks the unsuspecting victim may lose his/her life.

8. Th.: He offers to take the leg of beef [or meat portions allotted to the old men by the king] to the men's huts (K 361.1). They tease him because he is so small, but he lifts up the meat, a feat which the old men cannot accomplish. He *hidēs* and eats the meat himself (greed) and smears the mats [which he leaves in front of their huts] with blood, thus pretending that the meat has been stolen [or eaten by the dogs. The men beat the women and children for having carelessly allowed the dogs to steal their meat. Hlakanyana boasts to himself that he is stronger and cleverer than all the king's councillors.]

The trick pattern here becomes even clearer: Hlakanyana offers a service, outwardly beneficial to the men (a 'contract' producing the 'illusion' of humble service). He breaks the agreed pattern through fraud (eats the meat himself), manufactures or substitutes proofs of guilt (mats are smeared with blood), and blames others for the outcome. His victims suffer for their careless trust in one they do not really know, while others are blamed for Hlakanyana's misdeed, and he gloats about their discomfort. All the elements of the trick sequence are present: false contract, illusion, fraud, word deception, substitution, victim's discomfort.

9. Hlakanyana's mother feels proud of her son. The royal women, however, express their bewilderment at the day's events: like the chorus in a Greek tragedy, they reflect on what they have just witnessed; they praise Hlakanyana's achievements while also warning the boy's parents that such extraordinary events might be manifestations of prodigious and mysterious powers:

*Namuhla kuzelweni na?
Uzelwe umuntu onjani na?
Ngeke sikubona loku.
Nibe nimthumelani na,
njengoba niyabona ukuthi unguHlakanyana?
Nithi ungumuntu waka wanje
Okwazi ukukhuluma kangaka esemntwana,
aqine kangaka,
ahlule amadoda la amadala.
Nibe ningamboni yini ekuthatheni kwakhe umlenze wenkabi?
Ninganiqondile lapho,
ukuthi lo muntu akamithwanga;
ungene nje lapha enkosikazini;
ungene-nje, akamithwanga.
Nenkosi ayiyena uyise wakhe.
Uzokwenza imihlola, ngoba naye ungumhlola.*

(What was born today? What kind of a person was born?
We never saw anything like it.
Why did you send him? Don't you see that he is Hlakanyana?
What kind of a person would you say he is,
who can speak so fluently being just a child,
who is so intelligent as to surpass the elders?
Did you not realize this by the way he took the leg of beef?
Can you not see that this person was not conceived in the normal way?
He just entered into his mother; he just entered, he was not conceived.
And the king is not his real father.
He will work prodigies, because he too is a prodigy.)

10. Hlakanyana quickly seizes the notion that he is extraordinary, a child prodigy, and not the son of his parents.
11. With an action typical of the mongoose, Hlakanyana steals birds from other people's traps and gives them to his mother for cooking, and tells her that he will come to eat them in the morning. The mother enthusiastically praises his trapping skills, ironically not realizing that she is going to suffer the next trick.
12. He goes to sleep with the other boys, but they tease him for his smallness, although they acknowledge his cunning which they try to belittle by stating that he is all talk and no substance: "Your power is all in your mouth and in your words."

13. Th.: He surreptitiously kills two cows, eats all the meat and smears one of the boys with blood. In the morning the boy is killed for supposedly slaughtering the cows and stealing the meat (Similar trick pattern: greed, fraudulent action, deception by substitution, blaming others; disastrous consequence for the innocent victim) (K 1840).
14. During the night he slips under the door of his mother's hut, eats the birds and puts dung in their place, leaving the heads on top (Fraudulent action, disguise and substitution). Th.: The mother hears a noise and starts chasing the thief with a stick in the dark. Hlakanyana barks to pretend that a dog is stealing the meat (Mongoose's behaviour = Illusion and disguise). In the morning, he accuses his mother of having let his birds turn into dung through her laziness (Blames others).
15. Th. and Mba. present here Chakijana / Hlakanyana's rather complex exploits as a herdboys (not found in Ca.) that closely resemble Hermes' trick on Apollo's cattle: Hlakanyana takes the chief's cattle out to pasture while a cow is being cooked. He ties the animals to trees by their tails in a forest, then shouts that they have been stolen by enemies, cutting himself in several places to show that he has put up a valiant fight (triple illusion to deceive people). He sends the men running after the herd and the supposed thieves in the wrong direction (new deception) and he returns to the village, sends an old man for water to a far-away river (pretence = illusion, to avoid witnesses to theft) (K 337.1) and eats all the meat, observed by a few young children who are hiding (K 433) (young people often see through a trickster's plan). When the old man returns and falls asleep exhausted from his long trip, Hlakanyana places bones beside him and smears his mouth with fat, to pretend that the old man has eaten the meat (Substitution, wrong markers to deceive by creating illusion, and then blaming others). He then retrieves the cows. The people are about to kill the old man for eating the meat when the children tell on Hlakanyana, who denies everything (verbal deception). But he has lost face and decides to go away. The king's soldiers chase after him. He changes into an old woman (illusion that he is somebody else, i.e., through disguise) near a river and tells the men that he has seen Hlakanyana cross the river (deception). He can thus escape.
16. Ca.: Hlakanyana insults his mother for not looking after his birds. The mother gives him a milking pail in place of the birds. He sets off on his wanderings [Th.: because he feels cleverer than all the chief's councillors], where new adventures are in store for him. This is the beginning of a *formula tale*, full of repetitions, which appears at the end of Callaway's story (nos. 35-36) but is placed here in Mba., Th. and Stu. It is evident that Callaway wants to make room for a variety of episodes within his chosen frame, in order to create a kind of unity in his story.

This "birth narrative" section of Callaway's story shows Hlakanyana reacting to a situation which he deems dangerous for his nation: the depletion of the communal wealth through which the nation is also linked with the ancestors (cattle are used for special sacrifices and also to extend the lineage by paying *lobolo* for a new bride). After the first few actions directly concerned with the herd, and which might be seen as a form of just revenge, Hlakanyana becomes intent on proving himself and on showing his cunning, sometimes at the expense of the very cattle he initially intended to save.

An overall reflection on the whole section may point us to Lord Raglan's ideas (1935, in Dundes 1965). This myth-ritualist investigated mythical narratives referring to the "Hero of Tradition" or the "Culture Hero", that is, to figures which oral traditions identify as the founders of a nation, or great conquerors or law-givers, who were often endowed with divine attributes. The narratives of such a hero's birth present the following motifs, easily recognizable in Callaway's story:

- (a) His mother is a royal virgin, or a queen;
- (b) His father is a king;
- (c) The circumstances of his conception are unusual;
- (d) He is also reputed the son of a god;
- (e) Extraordinary events accompany his birth;
- (f) After his birth he goes away.

The Zulu trickster, however, does not form part of the Zulu mythological or cosmological systems, since he is not venerated as a deity. Nor is he the hero of his people (= Culture Hero), connected either with the foundation of the nation or with the establishment of its ancient customs. The resemblance with Lord Raglan's episodes, based on epic legends from other parts of the world, could be explained as the fruit of fortuitous similarities in creative imagination, or as a survival of a very ancient tale-type, perhaps with a religious aspect, lost in the memory of the people, but still present in their imagery bank. As Propp puts it (1978:106): "Every day life and religion die away, while their contents turn into a folktale". Barbara Babcock (1978:97) also proposes the possibility of interpreting episodes such as those contained in the birth narrative as 'Mock Epic', to make a mockery of fictional epic figures. If we consider the Zulu trickster stories to be primarily a form of comic entertainment, Babcock's approach is relevant.

Hlakanyana's birth is interpreted by the women as a magical event. When he is shunned and marginalized because of his small size and ugliness, he up-turns the social order, mostly in revenge for the waste of his clan's wealth and for the way he is despised. He discovers a tricking pattern that allows him to do the unexpected to prove that he is cleverer than anybody else: three times he boasts of his superior cunning in Theal's birth narrative. He is the incarnation of a rebel

figure with great inventiveness to serve his drive to deceive; a rebel whose exploits fire the imagination and create mirth and laughter by their paradoxical nature.

From the narrative point of view, Hlakanyana's tricks are patterned around the **False Contract/Deception** structure: he creates the illusion of doing something positive for his adversaries, who willingly and thoughtlessly accept his proposed terms; but then he breaks the contract by verbal or other deceitful techniques, defeats his victims, implicates a gullible fool to take the blame, and gloats about the misfortune his adversaries have largely brought upon themselves by carelessness.

3.2.2 The Trickster's travelling adventures

Callaway places the following separate episodes within the tenuous framework of a long journey which Hlakanyana undertakes when he leaves his father's place after having an argument with his mother. During his wanderings, in places reflecting the forest, the savanna or the human habitat, the main motivations for using trick sequences refer to obtaining food, or to revenge a perceived wrong. The episodic plot structure contains three major narrative links: the *journey* (movement in time and space), the *need to procure food*, and *reactions to free himself* from sticky situations. Like the mongoose which, as an animal, is constantly searching for food, Hlakanyana comes across a number of circumstances in which food is available only if he has a fight for it. He also meets characters who pose a challenge and arouse his anger either because of their size and strength, which entails them to the largest share of food supplies, or because of their stupidity, and who sometimes initially get the better of him by their imitation of the trick sequence and must be eventually overcome. He can thus be seen as a fighter against superior forces, and a liberator. Like the mongoose, he shows a great desire to fight and a strong determination to succeed against any major odds, where his intelligence and cunning are able to come to the fore.

The first and most important of such fearsome and stupid characters is *izimuzimu*, the "personification of the destructive aspects of oral needs" (Bettelheim, 1989:162), who is the Nguni correspondent of the pan-African unsuccessful trickster Hyena. He is described by Scheub (1975), with a sweeping metaphor, as "the fallen angel of Nguni mythology", as he shows characteristics of man and beast and, through his connection with Hyena, is also a link with the world of witchcraft. Hlakanyana tries either to snatch the food procured by *Izimu*, or to avoid ending up in his pot. But he also meets and tricks seemingly innocent characters, such as a rabbit, a monitor lizard, an old man, and a leopardess with her cubs, who attract his attention either because they have food, or can become food.

This long section, which contains motifs found in many other trickster folktales, can be subdivided into 4 main encounters, which form the core of four or five different stories.

3.2.2.1 *Izimu's* bird traps and the *ukuphekana* game (App. 5:20-24)

Chakide is portrayed (Callaway's introduction, cf iii above) as an animal that steals even the bait in traps set for other animals. In a similar vein, the temptation to get the birds already trapped by an *Izimu* has the better of Hlakanyana, who, like most animals, takes the food wherever it is available. He acts compulsively and daringly, without taking any precaution.

17. Hlakanyana steals some birds in an *Izimu's* trap out of greed and is caught in the birdlime placed there by the owner to ensnare possible thieves. When the ogre appears on the scene, Hlakanyana cannot flee: he is caught and is about to be killed and eaten on the spot (trickster initially betrayed by his greed and daring) (cf App. 6:1 and 13:1). This constitutes the **Initial Situation** of the story.
18. In reaction to this extreme danger, Hlakanyana sets the stage for one of his clever 'escape' tricks, using a plot that recalls the "Hansel and Gretel" European fairy tale. He makes a sort of **False Contract**: he creates the illusion (verbally) that his flesh would be bitter if eaten immediately, and therefore the ogre should rather wait if he wants to enjoy his prey (delay tactic, similar to Hansel refusing to be force-fed by the witch to become succulent enough for her pot). He then sets definite preconditions to be eaten (K 551): he must be washed and cooked by the ogre's mother the next morning; he must be cooked in the ogre's absence. The stupid one falls for the trick. Th.: Hlakanyana offers one of two cows to be eaten in his place and the *Izimu* accepts (Substitution).
19. When the ogre has left the next morning, Hlakanyana hatches a deception by substitution escape plan: he persuades the old woman to make a huge bonfire and to play with him the game of *ukuphekaphekana* (cook one another a little), as a way of granting him his last wish before his impending and inevitable death [or, Th., in order to re-acquire her lost youth (K 116)]. What follows is a very clear way of establishing a trick pattern, which is going to be fraudulently altered by Hlakanyana for his own ends. The trickster explains the rules of the game: I get into the pot on the fire; when the water gets hot I call out: *Phe, phe, phe, sengivuthiwe!* (I am now cooked) and you let me out. Then you get into the pot, and when it gets too hot you say the same formula and I'll let you out (Gretel convinces the witch to show her how to test the fire and throws her into it). The old woman stupidly agrees in order to please the unfortunate little one. Hlakanyana jumps into the pot first, and stays there until the water gets warm. When he shouts the formula he is let out and it is the woman's turn to get in. The trickster makes sure that the water soon comes to the boil. The poor victim pleads with him to let her out, but he alters the pattern: he says that it is not fair (K 475), since he has remained in the water much longer. The old woman cries "*Phe, phe, phe, sengivuthiwe!*" (I am cooked

now!), as he had done, but Hlakanyana roguishly answers that she cannot be cooked yet, since she is still able to talk, and the flesh of an old woman is tough. The game only ends when the woman is fully cooked, and dead.

20. Hlakanyana pushes his luck further in order to pursue the revenge by substitution sequence: instead of fleeing immediately, he puts on the old lady's clothes to impersonate her when the children return, and makes a tasty stew of the meat. The children enjoy what they are told is Hlakanyana's meat (deception and substitution), which is supposed to have swollen up in cooking, until the youngest one discovers (children are the first to discover a trick) that they are eating parts of their own mother's body. Hlakanyana runs away and teases them from a safe distance by accusing them of cannibalism as they have eaten their own mother (Gloat over victim's discomfort).
21. They give chase to the trickster, who, however, is far away by now (cf. 15 above). He is trapped again between a raging river and his pursuers; he reacts by magically changing into a weeding stick [Th.: into a nice round stone] (Substitution through magic). *Amazimu*, in their frustration, throw the stick [the stone] to the other side of the waters, thus setting the trickster free, and he immediately returns to his own form and boasts about his adventure, teasing his helpless pursuers [Th.: and telling the world how clever he is].

This episode is very popular and many individual versions are found. Cf App. 6:6; 11:2 & 4.

A Proppian morphological analysis would appear as follows: -

| | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Initial Situation (=Lack) | Hlakanyana is trapped |
| False Contract | Better ways to enjoy my flesh |
| Fraud: | Game of <i>ukuphekaphekana</i> |
| New False Contract | |
| Alteration of pattern | |
| Consequence | Old woman cooked |
| | Children eat their own mother |
| Discovery of fraud | |
| Chase sequence | |
| New entrapment | Hlakanyana stopped by river |
| Magic transformation | Hlakanyana changes into stick/stone |
| Escape/Rescue | |
| Gloat and Boast | Hlakanyana thrown to other side |

A **pattern analysis** (following Scheub and Paulme) shows parallels between the first and the second part (parallel image formation, because both parties suffer the same experiences), identifiable as follows:

Hlakanyana trapped by birdlime
Verbal illusion: promise of tastier meat
Substitution: old woman in pot + stew (to make meat tastier)
Transformation: Hlakanyana wears woman's clothes
Discovery + Insulting boast + Escape

Hlakanyana trapped by river
Illusion by magic transformation
Substitution of stick / stone
Escape (thrown to the other side of river)
Re-transformation
Discovery + Boast + Gloat + Escape

The final outcome could again be described as a "Hour-glass pattern" (Paulme, 1976:41): two characters showing different or opposing behaviour find themselves, at the end, each in the initial situation of the other.

3.2.2.2 Hlakanyana's occasional encounters

22. The Trickster comes across a large rabbit, *umvundla*, which can provide a good morsel for the starving traveller. Hlakanyana proposes to tell him a story (Friendly approach = Verbal deception technique to win confidence as part of a false contract). Now the rabbit is also considered a shrewd trickster, as he belongs to the *lepus* family, and since "*amaqili awathengani*" (Tricksters do not deal with one another), the rabbit refuses to come close to Hlakanyana. The latter eventually catches the rabbit and eats it. He then makes a whistle out of a bone of his victim and goes off playing and singing. The episode seems to demonstrate the superior skill and determination of the Nguni star trickster over the pan-African Rabbit or Hare.
23. Hlakanyana meets a monitor lizard (*uxamu*), looked suspiciously upon as a relation of *intulo*, the one who brought the message of death to early man. The lizard asks to try the whistle (False pretence). Hlakanyana refuses at first, but then eventually agrees. The lizard beats the trickster with its powerful tail and runs away into a river with the whistle (Fraud). The trickster is beaten, humiliated, and continues with his journey. He will return much later to claim what is his and to take revenge on another inept trick initiator.

A similar episode is found in App. No. 11, where Nogwaja, the Hare, asks to "borrow" a lovely whistle from a frog. The frog refuses, and the trickster moulds a clay shell around the frog and steals the whistle. Later in the same story Hare asks Red Hare to allow him to try a flute that sounds better than his whistle. When Red Hare refuses, Nogwaja teaches him the *ukuphekana* game and is thus able to take the flute after Red Hare's death. The trickster seems interested in whatever belongs to others which he appreciates. Both episodes follow the pattern of enclosing/entrapping (in a shell or in a pot) in order to obtain what the trickster wants.

24. Hlakanyana steals some maize steamed dumplings (*isinkwa*) from an old man and then runs off to hide in a mamba's hole from his pursuing enemy (mongoose's characteristic). He is now entrapped and must establish a new deception pattern to free himself. The old man puts his hand into the hole, and when he catches Hlakanyana the trickster shouts that the man has caught a root, while when the man catches a root, Hlakanyana shouts that he is squeezing and killing him (Deception by telling lies). The old man pulls and pulls on the root, until he is so exhausted that he abandons his catch. The trickster is free to eat his dumplings in peace. (cf App. 8:6)

3.2.2.3 Hlakanyana as nursemaid (App. No. 5:25-26)

Nature observation has shown a cruel streak in larger animals, and especially in leopards: if a cub is killed or seriously hurt by another animal, or if the mother is extremely hungry, she may devour her own brood. Also male hyenas are known (cf Maberly, 1986:62) to eat their own cubs if found unprotected. The mongoose is also likely to attack young animals, and they are succulent morsels for the ever hungry Hlakanyana. The trickster poses as nursemaid to a leopardess and her cubs (K 346). This is one of the best-known motifs, found in many versions in several trickster narratives (cf App. 6:3-5; 8:1-6).

25. Hlakanyana comes across two leopard cubs and starts nursing them. When the mother returns from her hunt and shows anger at the intrusion of a stranger in her household, the trickster offers to look after the babies, to cook for her and to build a proper house. The leopardess finally accepts the false contract offer (Illusion of friendly service).
26. The next day, while the mother is out hunting, Hlakanyana builds a house with a narrow entrance and a small sloping tunnel as a rear exit. Maberly (1986) notices that the red hare, *intenesha*, burrows this kind of hole. The trait might be transferred to Chakide, or it might be in common between the two animals. Hlakanyana insists on bringing the cubs out one at a time to their mother for suckling, and the leopardess eventually agrees (Illusion pattern established).

27. The next day he eats one of the cubs, sharing the meat with the mother on her return, and brings her the other one twice for suckling (Alteration of pattern and substitution).
28. When the leopardess forces her way into the house, she realizes that only one cub is left. Hlakanyana runs out from the tunnel exit, too narrow for the larger animal to use. He fixes four assegais near the main entrance. When the leopardess sees him there, she jumps to catch him, but is transfixed by the assegais and dies. The trickster now has all the time in the world to eat the other cub, then the mother, and then he goes off carrying a leg of his prey as food reserve.
29. Th. : The leopardess sees Hlakanyana emerging from the small exit, gives chase and finally catches up with him standing on a large rock. New motif: He shouts to her that the rock is about to fall and asks her to wait for him while he goes off for poles to steady the rock (K 547.14). She complies and he is able to run away (cf App. No. 13:4).
30. Callaway briefly presents another version of the tale, where a doe has 13 babies. The trickster plays the same trick on the doe, and there is a final chase sequence to a river, where Hlakanyana changes into a stone (K 522) and is thrown to the other side by the frustrated mother (cf 21 above).

A parallel North Sotho version analyzed by Makgamatha (1993) introduces the more credible motivation of hunger and revenge for the cruel trick. The trickster Tortoise looks after a lioness' cubs while the mother goes hunting. The lioness regularly returns with succulent game and feeds the cubs, but gives Tortoise only scraps and bones. Tortoise feels slighted by the treatment and decides to eat the much tenderer cubs in revenge.

3.2.2.4 Hlakanyana meets three separate ogres (App. 5:27-36)

There follows now, in Callaway, a long series of incidents in which the trickster deals with, and finally destroys, various *Amazimuzimu*, against which he had struck the first fatal blow at the beginning of his journey, thus gaining their enmity. Kriel (1986:121) reports an observation by Smith and Dale about the Ila regarding a perceived lasting feud between man and animal:

We have known men who have a special feud against the fierce beasts. If a man's relation has been mauled, and more especially if he has been killed by a lion or a leopard, he declares his unfailing enmity against the whole species, and loses no opportunity of killing them.

Hlakanyana has a lasting enmity with *Amazimuzimu*, who are also constantly motivated by greed for meat and are thus perceived as competitors for the same food supply. In order to destroy

them, Hlakanyana plays on their greed by offering them meat, as well as on Hyena's tameness in front of non-threatening humans (cf Maberly, 1986).

31. In order to ingratiate himself and to give the *Izimu* a sense of belonging, Hlakanyana insists on calling him *malume*, 'my uncle', and is eventually accepted as *mshana*, 'my sister's child' (cf Hyena's 'ritualized greeting pattern' in chapter 5). Having established this trusting family link with the first *Izimu*, Hlakanyana proposes that they share the meat of two cows which they have captured (creates an illusion of family and friendship in order to establish a contract). After killing the cows, he urges the *Izimu* to build a house where they can live in harmony and be protected from the approaching hail and thunder storm. But he weaves the ogre's long hair into the roof thatch (K 338). He then eats all the meat and leaves *Izimu* on the roof to be killed by hunger, hail and lightning. (Ploy also used on lion in App. No. 10)
32. Hlakanyana does not seem to have the same easy luck with ogre No. 2, who goes around playing a large and beautifully sounding drum. This character is evidently rather sophisticated, and refuses to be taken in by Hlakanyana's friendly talk (cf Rabbit in 22 above). But the trickster has other cards up his sleeve. He becomes friendly with ogre No. 3, who has built himself a nice house, then attracts ogre No. 2 by making musical noises on skins. Ogre No.2 scares off ogre No. 3 by boasting that he just guzzles down any person, without even bothering to chew him. No. 2 thus establishes himself in No. 3's house, and finally accepts Hlakanyana as a nephew, to stay with him (K 354). The trickster collects a bag of poisonous animals and insects and leaves it in the house. He then builds up the doorway and asks the ogre to open the bag. The ogre is bitten and dies, and Hlakanyana gloats over his destruction by cheeky lamentations, a sort of mock mourning dirge. He then re-opens the house and accepts ogre No.3 as his servant: No. 3 had been overcome by No. 2 and Hlakanyana has now overcome No. 2, so he is the better and stronger of the pair.
34. When his 'ogre homestead' is burned to the ground, Hlakanyana decides to return to his mother, where he is warmly welcomed.

This rather repetitive section pits Hlakanyana against *Amazimuzimu*, the successful against the unsuccessful tricksters. They are both after the same goal: the obtainment of juicy meat. The semi-human hyena/ogre appears, through his greeting ceremony, like a loner who is also looking for a relationship and a kind of re-incorporation into human society. Hlakanyana plays on this need in order to destroy him. The section can be briefly summarised with a Proppian analysis:

| | |
|---------------------------|--|
| Initial Situation | Hlakanyana is trapped: life-threatening situation consisting of ogre's presence. <i>Izimu</i> is an inept trick initiator, although not openly here. |
| False Contract: | Hlakanyana creates an illusion of friendship by: offer of family relationship; offer of food; offer of service (building house together); living together as family; |
| Fraud / Deception: | Hlakanyana ties <i>Izimu</i> 's hair to roof; brings biting animals and closes door; |
| Consequence: | <i>Izimu</i> is trapped with no escape. |
| Villain punished: | Ogre killed. |
| Gloat and Boast: | Cheeky lamentations |

Following Denise Paulme (1976), we could identify a **descending pattern** for the ogres (from fortune to catastrophe) and an **ascending pattern** for Hlakanyana (from catastrophe to fortune). One may wonder whether Hlakanyana really needs much intelligence to overcome the stupid *amazimu*, or whether his adversaries, in spite of their fearsome nature, are not too gullible to be a real match for him. The irony of the situation is that his 'enemies' are normally self-confident, trusting in their strength or guile in the face of a seemingly harmless creature, who also endears them to himself by using mellifluous or very respectable language. There is the possibility that this kind of narrative constitutes what is sometimes called a "mockery of the opposite numbers" (cf Babcock-Abrahams, 1978:97), whereby the trickster only represents an improbable instrument to deflate the overblown ego of his opponents. Through his cunning actions and *amazimu*'s eventual defeat, these are made fun of and discredited.

3.2.3 The Trickster as an occasional benefactor (App. 5:39)

In a long, repetitive and incremental *formula tale*, the trickster offers, as a sign of service and friendship, some tools to the people he meets, to help them accomplish their tasks (K 251). They destroy, lose or damage his gifts, and have to repay him with something of greater value, as is the case in Grimm's "The Little Farmer", where the Farmer obtains a living cow in compensation for his small wooden calf lost by the Shepherd boy. Hlakanyana's request is formulated like the English nursery rhyme "Little Crooked Man", with the addition of two new lines for each episode. The incremental formula tale has some importance from a performance point of view, as it brings the audience together in song, it challenges the intelligence to remember each gift and donor, and may cause some mirth when something is forgotten. It further drives home the important lesson that a gift must be appreciated and cared for: people careless with a gift are severely punished. As it was mentioned earlier, the parallel to this section in Theal's and

Mbatha's stories comes at an earlier stage, when Hlakanyana / Chakijana leaves his mother's home for the first time.

The trickster, in cultures where he is identified with the culture hero, is presented as a social organizer, as a teacher of positive values, as a midwife who brings forth progress by introducing new ways of life or new laws. Hlakanyana's story might be interpreted as a reflex of such motifs if one was looking for links with mythology, but his gifts are means of false contract out of self-interest. There is also a difference in what the trickster has to offer, and consequently in what he can receive as compensation when his 'gift' is damaged or lost. For example, Theal's trickster is paid back for his gifts with a goat, a calf, a cow, rather than with tools, revealing a pastoral social system rather than one where instruments of war (traditional weapons?) are valued.

35. Hlakanyana, after his home coming, has gone to a wedding dance. While returning home, he digs up a tuber and brings it to his mother to cook for him. The mother tastes the tuber, which is usually eaten by herdboys; she likes it and finishes it all. Here the *formula tale* or incremental tale begins, with Hlakanyana asking for what is his own by means of a refrain to which he adds on the history of the new element each time. The mother apologizes for eating the tuber. Then, at his insistence, she gives him a milking pail (cf 16 above).
36. The boy goes off with his pail. He meets boys who are milking into broken pieces of pottery, teases them for wasting the precious substance and lends them his milking pail. When they break it, the trickster requests that they return his pail, given him by his mother, who had eaten his tuber, which he had dug up on his way back from a wedding dance. The boys have no pail and give him an assegai. The story is developed by the repetition of this pattern and by an ever expanding refrain: the tools are lent, they get broken or lost, and Hlakanyana requests something else as replacement.

The trick pattern is similar to previous ones: Hlakanyana offers something which his victims find useful, with the understanding that they return it as it is. They carelessly destroy the gift and have to repay him with something more valuable. Callaway remarks (1868:38) that whenever something lent gets broken, one is customarily obliged to give something greater in return.

Callaway's tale ends here: an open-ended story, standing as an invitation to other storytellers to add on to it new episodes and new tricks, which can be attributed to the very energetic and inventive trickster Hlakanyana. Mba. and Th. present this section in a similar way, but with variations in the kind of gifts supplied. It is interesting to examine Mbatha's refrain:

*"Nonginika nduku zami;
nduku zami njalo ngiyiphele bafana;
bafana njalo bulele thunga lami;
thunga lami njalo ngiyiphele bafazi;
bafazi njalo bulele khamba lami;
khamba lami njalo ngiyiphele mama;
mama njalo dle bende bami;
bende bami njalo ngiyiphele baba."*

(Give me my sticks;
My sticks so given me by boys;
Boys so broke my pail;
Pail so given me by women;
Women so broke my pot;
My pot so given me by mother;
Mother so ate my blood pudding;
Pudding so given me by father.")

Callaway (1868:38) notes that when the Trickster gives something he uses correct and idiomatic language; when, however, he requests his gift back he uses baby language, dropping prefixes and using 'wrong' objectival concords, to make people feel sorry for him.

Theal ends his story by reporting two further motifs:

37. Hlakanyana, who has not eaten meat for some time, pretends to be dead (cf App. 13:6) and gets the Jackal to proclaim the news from the roof top, so as to gather all the animals in a hut to show them his dead body. Then he jumps on them and eats them all.
38. One day, while herding his father's cattle, Hlakanyana feels sorry for, and picks up a slow-walking tortoise. When they arrive home, the tortoise refuses to leave Hlakanyana's shoulder. Hlakanyana's mother pours boiling fat on the animal, but the tortoise quickly withdraws into its shell and lets go of its grip, and Hlakanyana is scalded to death.

Theal's description of Hlakanyana's death is not found in any Zulu source and may not be traditional among the Zulu, for whom trickster stories constitute an open-ended narrative: "*EzikaChakijana kazipheli*", 'Chakijana's stories have no end,' as Mhlongo (1986:27) states. It is also interesting that it is Tortoise to cause the trickster's death, the only animal who is able to outwit him by his slow and intentional movements as opposed to Hlakanyana's swift actions. Hlakanyana's death is brought about by means of boiling fat: fire and hot substances are the ways used in folktales for the destruction of the negative forces of *Amazimuzimu* and snakes.

Does Hlakanyana bring real progress to people? If the Zulu character is compared to other cultures' heroes, one notices that his gifts are not praised, they have no positive sequel, nor do they become starting points for a new way of life based on higher forms of technology. He therefore only seems to emphasize the importance of using gifts carefully as a sign of appreciation for what is given. This point is also stressed in the near pan-African etiological tale reported by du Toit (1976:25): **Why Hens scratch the ground**. The fable relates how mother hen asked the hawk for the loan of an axe to chop down mealies. After using the tool, she got careless and lost it. The hawk, in revenge and repayment, picks young chicks every day, while all fowls still scratch the ground hoping to find that fateful axe. The point of contact with the

trickster's *modus operandi* is the fact that he offers something beneficial, but this turns out disastrous in the end because the receiver uses it carelessly.

Alice Werner (1933:171) quotes W. Wundt (1914) as saying that folklore often presents three kinds of legendary heroes: the deliverer and benefactor; the malignant and hurtful demon, and the mischievous jester who stands midway between the two. Sometimes one may find "all these qualities united in one and the same being". Hlakanyana could be classified as the jester, but with a limited dose of the 'deliverer' and of the 'demon' in him.

3.3 MBATHA'S CHAKIJANA BOGCOLOLO (Mba.)

The small school reader *UChakijana Bogcololo* was published in 1927 by two school teachers, Alban Hamilton S. Mbatha and Garland Clements Mdladla. It has been re-issued several times, and it appeared in 1986 in the new orthography. It contains 37 short (one to two pages) chapters, each followed by few comprehension questions. Ten chapters present Chakijana as the main character (5 stories), and narrate his adventures from the time of his birth to when he "goes up north". Out of 27 identifiable motifs referring to Chakijana, 17 are in common with Callaway and 10, referring to Chakijana's herding exploits, are found in Theal. This may be an indication that the two writers might have used both Callaway and Theal as their sources, beside the stories heard as children from their grandmothers. Three chapters (9, 10, 11) only present Chakijana at the beginning of the story in which his sister is the heroine in contention with *amazimuzimu*. The other chapters contain ten general folktales without any mention of Chakijana. Most chapters contain traditional folktales, but chapter 12 contains only *Imilolozelo* (lullabies), chapter 22 narrates the story of how the Dladla clan became subservient to the Chunu clan, and the final chapter (37) describes the great rains and floods of 1925. The language is idiomatic, simple and clear, while the oral style is abundantly reflected in the use of formulae, repetitions and refrains, and in the lack of explanatory passages which would normally accompany a work created in writing and to be simply read. There are no details about the main character, whether he is an animal or a person, and his name is consistently given as Chakijana, the small slender mongoose. The authors address an audience familiar with the oral traditions which does not need explanations regarding character attributes, events and general context.

We have already presented an integrated version of the trickster's motifs with regard to his birth and to the formula tale that illustrates part of his journey. At the end of the formula tale, structured along the lines of: "gift given and misused; greater gift requested", Chakijana lends an axe to an old lady chopping firewood. Her loss of the axe and inability to 'repay' it, gives Chakijana an excuse for forcing her to play the *ukuphekana* game, which is followed by a chase sequence by her children (Ca. 19-21). Chakijana returns to his old form at the other side of the river and boasts: "Indeed, you have helped me to cross!" (*Nangiweza phela!*).

Chakijana continues his journey. He receives meat from some people who are having a meal. They also give him the lower foreleg of the beast for his journey (Ca. 29). He eats the meat and makes a flute out of the bone (Ca. 22), and walks around playing.

There follows the meeting with a monitor lizard (Ca. 23), and the episodes connected with Chakijana's herding exploits (Th. in Ca. 15). The circumstances for hiding the cattle revolve around the killing of the chief's prize bull for meat. In fact, when the meat is finished, Chakijana kills the bull at night using the spear of one of the sleeping soldiers and returns the spear unnoticed (cf Th. in Ca. 13). In the morning there is an enquiry about the slaughter of the king's bull, and Chakijana suggests that the soldiers' spears be examined. The soldier found with blood on his spear is put to death. The women start cooking the meat, but Chakijana does not like sharing the meat he has 'procured'. So he hides the cattle and then deceives everybody as in Th.

Towards the end of the book, we find Chakijana living with his old father in *amazimu's* country, 'up north'. This story is generally referred to as *UGubudela namazimuzimu* (Gubudela and the ogres) (Stuart's version in App. No. 17) and will be discussed in chapter 5..

Since most of the motifs have been integrated in Callaway's cycle, there is no need of repeating them here in detail, nor to present any of Mbatha's tales in the Appendix.

3.4 JAMES STUART'S TRICKSTER STORIES (Stu.)

In 1952 James Stuart submitted a collection of "Zulu Fairy Tales" to Shuter and Shooter for publication. The Pietermaritzburg publishers refused the collection allēging that it needed further editing, as "some of the language is coarse and offensive" (Letter from the publishers, in KCM collection). Thus the manuscript of "Stuart's Folktales" (KCM 23472, File 23) has remained stored in the Campbell Collection of the University of Natal in Durban among the "Stuart Papers", waiting for a patient editor. The author had used a number of folktales in his series of school readers published between 1925 and 1932. Stuart gave the collection a double title: "Zulu Fairy Tales" and "*Sixoxele Inganekwane*" (Let us tell folktales). In this extremely rich collection (54 chapters, 150 typed pages) there does not appear a trickster cycle, but five separate tales with different typical trickster figures. These are placed in no particular order in the collection, but are simply identified by a progressive number in the Index, followed by the title. Here I shall put them in the order that will make the comparison with Callaway's story easier. Three successful trickster tales are reproduced in the Appendix (Nos. 2, 3 and 6), as well as three of unsuccessful tricksters (Nos 17, 18 and 22). As I mentioned in chapter 1, these folktales were collected from live performances a long time ago and preserve a genuine oral flavour. Many have also been read by generations of Zulu pupils in the Stuart's school readers.

No. 43: *UChakijana Bogcololo* ✓

This tale contains several motifs of Chakijana's birth and a slightly changed formula tale that ends with the *ukuphekaphekana* game (cf Ca. 1-7; 19-21 and 30).

No. 8: *UChakide Bogconono* ✓

1. Chakijana comes across a lion building a house on its own. The trickster is intrigued by the fat meat cooking on the fire. He accepts to help King Lion build (cf App. No. 10).
2. He thatches the Lion's tail into the roof, starts eating the fat breast of the animal and being insolent to the Lion, who in vain tries to jump over him (Ca. 23 and 31).
3. Eventually the Lion frees himself. Chakijana runs off with the Lion on his tail (Ca. 28.)
4. Chakijana escapes by hiding in a mouse hole (characteristic mongoose behaviour) with the meat, and the lion eventually abandons the chase (Ca. 24; also in App. 8:6).
5. The trickster meets a woman with four babies and offers himself as a nursemaid (same as Ca. 25-27 with the same results) (cf App. 8:1-5).

No. 9 *Eyezinyamazane* (App. No. 2) ✓

This folktale has been commented on already in 2.2.2 above in connection with a possible "trickster hierarchy" because Chakijana appears as the most intelligent of the animal tricksters. We shall further deal with the tale in chapter 4, section 4.1.1, where we will contend that Chakijana appears responsible for the organization of society, for establishing its rules, and for instituting a link with the authority and the power of the king, who is the ceremonial centre of the nation. Although neither the tale nor its motifs are contained in Ca. and Mba., the story is widely spread in modern collections and in parallel non-Zulu traditions, where the positive influence of the trickster is often balanced with his disrupting final trick, as it appears in the next folktale.

No. 33 *UManjazi* (App. No. 3)

This tale is a collection of uncoordinated narrative motifs with no relevance to the trickster, except for the last part (in App. No. 3) where Nogwaja, the Hare, shows both positive and negative trickster characteristics. This section of the story largely follows, in summary, the episodes of the previous one, but without the appearance of Nkayimeva or the comparison of other animal tricksters. There is a remarkable difference at the end. Nogwaja is solely responsible for the formation of the animal society, and for getting the message to and from the

king, which he then misuses. Chakijana does not appear at all. This may prove a pre-Nguni, or a pan-African origin of the tale.

6. Hare gathers the animals after telling the red hare that people are hunting and killing animals in the vicinity. The animals pass on the message. They take refuge in a valley, where there is a large tree laden with ripe fruit. They want to ask the king what kind of tree it is, and what parts of it may be eaten and which parts should be reserved for him. Nogwaja brings the king's message that they should reserve the top branch for him but may eat the rest.
7. During the night Nogwaja eats the fruit of the top branch and places pips and skins of the fruit in the anus of the sleeping elephant (Ca. 13). The next morning there is a great outcry with regard to the crime committed. Nogwaja proposes that the anus of each animal should be examined. The elephant is found guilty and killed, skinned, quartered and eaten.
8. Nogwaja is given the elephant's liver, because he is the cleverest of the animals, and has brought them together; he then boastfully reveals the trick he has played.
9. The affair is reported to the king who condemns Nogwaja to death, but the trickster escapes and is pursued by the other animals (Ca. 21). At a river he magically changes into a nice grinding stone and is thrown to the other side by the pursuing animals (Ca. 21). He changes himself back into his normal form and boasts about his escape (same points in Ca. and Mba.). The animals return home angry and disappointed.

The positive actions of the trickster highlight the ambivalence of the character. They are just occasional tricks, not deriving from his nature. Thus, after having done a service to the community, he uses his knowledge to commit deeds which are anti-social, and constitute a challenge to the very authority which he has helped to establish. The emerging narrative pattern confirms what we have already discovered:

Trickster overcomes enemy elements through intelligence;

Trickster makes use of acquired knowledge to annul positive results. For this he follows previously established trick patterns, such as illusion, substitution, blaming others, etc..

No. 31 *USankambe* (App. No. 6)

Sankambe is a trickster who performs actions attributed to Chakijana or Nogwaja in other versions. I have found this name only in this particular folktale collected by Stuart. The name may derive from *umsanka*, a terrible body smell; and *-hamba*, 'to go': thus 'the one who smells as he goes', or 'the skunk'.

10. Sankambe steals a farmer's mealies and is caught in the bird lime (Ca. 17) (theft characteristic). He denies responsibility and blames *Izimu* for the theft, and is let free (blame others by lying). (cf App. 13:1)
11. He comes across a lion building a house, offers his services, ties its tail with ropes (K 338), takes the meat and goes off with it (Ca. 31; Stu. 1-2), leaving the lion to die there on the roof. (cf App. No. 10)
12. He meets a lioness that has given birth and offers to look after her cubs (K 346). He eats them one per day (Ca. 25-29) (App. No. 8). When he has finished eating the cubs, he scratches himself (K 83.1) to pretend that he has been attacked by enemies who have stolen the cubs (cf Theal in Ca. 15), and leads the lioness to a school of baboons, the supposed kidnappers.
13. (New motif) He teaches the baboons a riddle (K 341.19) that says: "We have eaten the lion's cubs and nothing has happened to us!" (Common game playing pattern). He hides the lion in a bundle of grass, asking him not to move and to pretend to be dead (Huvene's trick, cf Werner, 1933:158). He promises the baboons the bundle as 'nice food' if they 'play the game'. As they do so (i.e. repeat the refrain), the lion attacks and kills them. A baboon child has seen the lion's eyes and has told his father (K 433), but the old one has not paid any attention (cf Ca. 20) (youngsters often see through the trick). Sankambe secretly cuts off the baboons' tails and contends that all the tail-less ones are his (K 171.4). He thus quarrels with the lion and then goes away.
14. He meets an old woman, plays the *ukuphekana* game with her, then serves her flesh to her children, and runs away boasting about it (Ca. 19-20; also Mba. and Stu.; also App. No. 7)

Most of the motifs in this tale are found in Ca. and Mba. and also in a number of modern collections. Stuart's folktales do not present a trickster cycle, but separate tales containing many motifs drawn from the store of oral traditions and already present in Callaway or in Mbatha, as well as a number of new motifs, some of which may, however, be considered as variations of previously encountered ones. The trickster has a variety of names but makes use of similar trick motifs. We can thus affirm that the successful tricksters examined so far constitute a cluster of characters, narrative motifs and physical characteristics. "Successful trickster" is thus a collective name, or a compound reality that allows for some form of internal hierarchical structure. Trickery identifies a narrative function rather than a character.

3.5 OTHER EXPLOITS BY SUCCESSFUL TRICKSTERS

It would be too long and repetitive to analyze all individual folktales presented by modern writers in which we find successful trick agents. Numerous trick motifs, however, do not appear in the tales already summarized and need to be briefly outlined in order to gain a more complete picture. I feel I should repeat here an observation made in 1.5 with regard to the origin of many trickster motifs found in Zulu collections: folktale motifs travel extensively and are easily diffused. Some have travelled from Africa to the Americas where they underwent further developments through a confluence of cultural forces, and were later re-introduced to Africa, often in writing, where they found a very receptive and fertile soil. It would be quite futile to investigate the real origin of individual elements, motifs, patterns, sequences: the oral culture knows no real boundaries, and the tenets of the Finnish Diffusionist School have long been discarded, although they still hold a great fascination because it is interesting to find parallels of cultural expressions in widely different settings. Southern Africa is a particularly interesting melting pot, because the Kintu speaking populations have assimilated many cultural elements from Khoisan communities, and were further exposed to written material of European, American and African origin. Early school readers, prepared by missionaries, exposed several young generations to European and American folktales. It would be impossible now to unravel the skein. Where glaring borrowings come to mind, these will be briefly mentioned.

The "new" trickster motifs are presented under the following headings:

Successful tricksters and larger animals;

The trickster Jackal;

Other successful trickster figures.

3.5.1 Successful tricksters and larger animals.

Animal narratives are used as metaphors of human behaviour and social organization. Apart from *amazimu* and *isilo*, the leopard, already met, the butt of the trickster's devastating cunning are usually large animals, especially lions, elephants, crocodiles. They expect the largest share of the scarce food supplies, which they even waste, as they often take for granted their superior physical strength that is taken as a symbol of social status and authority. In any society the people who stand on a pedestal are in the spotlight, and are therefore more likely to be criticized, especially if they are blinded by greed, or by hunger for power and status. They are confronted by the ethical standards of the society and are often found wanting. Chakijana is the representative of small characters taking on the big and powerful through the only means available to him, that is cunning and intelligence. Marginalization techniques are based on the

indirect indication of faults, especially with regard to eating habits, or to cruelty in dealing with one's subjects. Excesses in food (=greed) and power (=cruelty) are exaggerated to the point of appearing ridiculous, or even sinister and evil. The trickster's real weapon is the artful use of illusion and deception in the most unexpected ways, so as to turn the tables on his opponents and to upset the 'normal' or expected course of events, thus producing merriment in the audience.

Two main patterns appear in the folktales presented in the Appendix:

Inept imitation of the trick sequence;

Animals made the butt of the trickster.

3.5.1.1 Inept imitation patterns

The trick initiator is a large animal, sure of his ways, and yet unable to bring to completion the trick pattern, and is eventually duped. I have already mentioned this pattern in 3.1 in connection with the folktale **How rabbit got a split upper lip** (App. No. 12). The following are further illustrations.

Inkawu noshaka (The monkey and the shark, App. No. 15) confirms the pattern. Both characters are unusual folktale figures in Zulu, and the tale might have a foreign origin, as hinted at by the borrowed noun *ushaka*, 'shark'. The theme of crossing dangerous waters on amphibious animals and either tricking or being tricked by the carrier is found in many African tales.

The shark would like to set its teeth into the flesh of a monkey that lives on trees near the sea shore. It invites him for a joy ride in the ocean, on its back, knowing that monkeys cannot swim (Illusion of friendship). The monkey accepts but is aware of the danger. Once out in the open sea, the shark tells him that the king of the sharks is ill and needs the heart of a monkey to be healed. The clever monkey feigns sympathy for the predicament of the ailing monarch and says that he is more than willing to sacrifice himself for such a patriotic cause; he has, however, left his heart at home on the tree, since monkeys do not take it with them when they go out (Verbal deception). The shark falls for the trick and returns his guest home, from where the trickster can laugh heartily at the stupidity of his adversary (Gloat). The trick initiator therefore remains empty-handed.

The shark initiates the trick sequence to obtain food, but is easily deceived by an inventive monkey who uses an incredible verbal deception device. Recent collections (Mhlongo, 1987:2 and Msimang, 1991:68) contain a tale concerning the false friendship of Hare and Hyena, which closely reflects motifs found in several parts of Africa, as testified by Beidelman's research among the baKaguru in Tanzania (Beidelman, 1975 and 1980). The story follows the pattern of

the inept trick initiator (Hyena) who is eventually deceived by the "good" trickster Hare. A number of similar stories are found in our sources, but there is no need to quote them here.

These stories deal with successful tricksters being attacked by unsuccessful ones, as Hlakanyana is in Ca. 17-21. They demonstrate the "inept imitation" pattern: large animals think that they can win the day because they are strong or have a territorial advantage over their opponent. Although their tricks seem to initially succeed, they finally turn on the initiators: the duper becomes the dupe. The small successful trickster is too quick to fall for the deception and turns the ruse against its perpetrator. Denise Paulme (1977) presents a large number of such tales from West Africa, which she identifies as "impossible imitation stories", and maintains that it is almost impossible to imitate the star trickster successfully. The trickster is trapped, but he quickly realizes the weak points of his adversaries and is ready to play on them, so as to gain an advantage. The entertainment value of such tales is easily identifiable: the strong and the powerful are defeated by the small and weak trickster, who can only rely on his cunning to produce unexpected solutions. Thus there is a 'comic release of tensions', as dangers and fears are defused into laughter.

3.5.1.2 Butts of the trickster's pranks

The challenge to unintelligent physical superiority through ridicule appears in a widely spread satirical story found in du Toit, **How Chakide rode the Lion** (App. No. 9). Chakijana is small, and quite powerless in comparison to Lion, the powerful king of the animals. With ingenuity, however, he finds a way to humiliate the self-assured king. The motif is also found among African Americans as "Brer Rabbit tells the girls that he can make Brer Fox his riding horse" (Puckett, 1926:36). It is also common in West Africa where Mr. Turtle rides Mr. Leopard.

Chakijana, during the Lion's absence, boasts to other animals that their king is his horse (= his servant) (Challenge). Lion is furious when he hears about the boast and vows to kill the trickster. Chakijana denies all charges (Verbal fraud) but agrees to go back to the animals with the lion to find out the exact words that were uttered (Contract). On the way Chakijana says that he is feeling quite ill and Lion agrees that he ride on his back (K 11.2). He then asks for a whip to chase away the flies, and for a cap to protect his head from the sun (creation of an illusion). As they approach the congregated animals, Chakijana suddenly whips Lion to a gallop (Fraud or Villainy), and this is how they appear in front of them, thus proving the trickster's boast.

The theme of fooling the more powerful animal by riding it is also found in Mabuya and Khathi's (1983:17) *Ngobuwula beMpisi* (Hyena's stupidity), where the trickster Jackal intends to gain the affection of Hyena's promised bride and boasts to her that Hyena is his horse (cf Brer Rabbit and Brer Fox above). When Hyena challenges Jackal about it, the latter simulates severe sickness,

so as to need to be carried on Hyena's back, and appears in front of the girl riding 'his horse', thus gaining her admiration.

Several other stories show king Lion being made the butt of the trickster's cunning. The following one, *UNogwaja ubulala amabhubesi* (Hare kills Lions), is found in Nyembezi (1962:4:54). Hare teases and destroys king Lion, who symbolizes the way those in power take advantage of the weaker members of society in order to satisfy their greed. Hare takes advantage of a devastating famine oppressing the land.

The lions need meat, because the game has migrated to greener pastures during a drought. Hare identifies the need and offers a solution which the lions find to their advantage: he convinces one lion after another that he can shepherd towards them other animals (Contract) (cf Th. in Ca. 37). The lion must just close its eyes and keep very still, pretending to be dead when he hears the noise of approaching animals. The trickster, however, rolls noisy boulders (Illusion through Deception) on top of each lion and kills it. Instead of being a helper he becomes a destroyer. The last lion opens its eyes (= alters the pattern) just in time to see that the approaching noise is caused by a falling rock and not by a herd of animals. It jumps away and then chases the fraudulent trickster, who escapes into a cave with two holes, a large one and a narrow one (*Itshe likantunjambili*) (cf Ca. 24 & 26), where the lion causes a rock burst by its movements and is killed (cf Ca. 28) while Hare escapes through the smaller opening (Red Hare's characteristic behaviour).

The theme of a starving large animal is found in other stories, as well as in some foreign ones, as the initial movement or reason for action, but with different motifs and characters. In Mhlongo's (1986:1) *UChakide neMpisi endala* (Chakide and Old Hyena), old starving Hyena catches Chakijana and wants to eat him. The trickster, however, promises to lead bigger animals to Hyena if he (Hyena) pretends to be dead (a wide-spread motif in European folklore, and also Th. in Ca. 37) (K 246). Hyena agrees and Chakide fulfils his promise by bringing a giraffe first, then Hare. The giraffe is easily caught and made a meal of, but the second animal - who is also a trickster - asks stupid Hyena to make certain movements to prove that it is really dead. Hyena falls for the trick and Hare escapes. Msimang (1991:66) has a similar story with Lion and Hare. Lion is too greedy and does not want to share the meat he has got from the trickster's plan and efforts. In revenge, Hare proposes that they repair the roof of the house (a 'classic' motif found in many tales concerning trickster and Lion, e.g. App. No. 10, or Hlakanyana and *Izimu*) and ties the Lion's tail to the roof and leaves him there to die, while he eats all the meat alone (Ca. 31).

Mabuya and Khathi (1983:1) report another story, *UBagabangaye - umntakaNogwaja* (Bagabangaye, the Hare's child), involving Hare and Lion, which contains motifs often connected with *Izimu* and a girl (cf App. No. 20), and with "Mrs Frog" and an all-devouring monster (*UNanana Boselesele*, Stuart Collection), and with Hare and Hyena (in Beidelman, 1975).

Hare has built a house above a river, which can only be reached by means of a rope that Hare's child drops when he hears his mother sing the tune:

Woza, woza Bagabangaye!
Woza, woza Bagabangaye!
Awungiphosele intambo, Bagabangaye!
(Come, come Bagabangaye!
Drop me the rope, Bagabangaye!)

Lion would like to catch the child, and so learns the tune and sings it to him, but Hare's child is shrewd and recognizes Lion from his deep voice. Lion undergoes a kind of throat operation to thin his voice: he places a red hot pole in his throat and his voice eventually changes into soprano (cf App. 20:1-3, where *Izimu* does the same). This motif is also found in European folklore, where Wolf deceives his victim by transforming himself or his voice (Illusion by disguise). Nogwaja's child is deceived, lowers the rope and is soon swallowed by Lion. When mother Nogwaja returns home and finds Lion there and no child, she immediately realizes what has happened. She takes a knife and a basket with some fire, and goads Lion into swallowing her too. Once inside the Lion's stomach, she begins to cut and cook the villain's intestines for herself and her child. Lion eventually falls ill and dies, and Hare can cut through his ribs and emerge with her child unscathed. The "trickster that kills a big animal from inside" is a very well-known motif.

These stories follow similar patterns and reveal some of the weak points of the trickster's adversaries which make them likely objects of the trickster's guile: their blindness caused by greed; their abusive exercise of authority, based on mere physical strength. When such strength becomes insufficient because of old age or illness, those who lack moral authority are condemned to destruction. It is the crude law of the jungle, possibly adduced as justification for the senseless murder of people who were once powerfully protected. At the opposite end of the spectrum stands the trickster: small and seemingly weak by himself, he claims the high ground because of his intelligence, which can help him even in the most desperate situations.

3.5.2 *Impungushe*, the Jackal

Jackal is found as a successful trickster in many African cultures. Callaway (1868:149, footnote) states that Jackal has entered Zulu folklore from Hottentot folktales where he also plays a trickster's role. Werner (1933:26) also contends that jackal stories among the baSotho are probably borrowed from the Khoisan, "who have no opinion of the hare's intelligence, and tell you that it is the jackal who is the clever one." He may have further entered through European folktales reproduced in school readers prepared by the early missionaries, where *Impungushe* plays the role of either Fox or Wolf, thus creating a confused character. Some of the tricks attributed to Jackal are uncommon and unknown in the major traditional collections. I have

quoted above Mabuya's tale *Ngobuwula beMpisi* (The Hyena's stupidity) where Jackal makes a fool of Hyena and steals his bride-to-be. I have found a few more stories in which Jackal plays the trickster's role.

Nyembezi (1962:2:94) presents the fable *IMfene neMpungushe* (Baboon and Jackal) (App. No. 13), where one finds several motifs that clearly reflect a European setting, such as the stealing of sheep, or of butter (cf Grimm's "The Dog and the Sparrow").

Jackal steals sheep from a farmer and is trapped: the motif of trapping the thief is common (cf Ca. 17 and Stu. 13). Baboon passes by and Jackal, on pretence of teaching him a nice game (common 'game teaching motif'), gets him into the trap in his place and runs away. The farmer scolds Baboon, but then realizes that he is innocent and lets him go (Stu. 13). Baboon pursues Jackal and finds him eating delicious fruit in an orchard (uncommon motif). To appease Baboon's anger, Jackal offers him lovely ripe fruit, then makes the excuse that he must go to the toilet (uncommon motif) and disappears. When Baboon realizes that he has been deceived once more, he runs around threatening death to the wily Jackal. The latter sees his enemy coming and puts his shoulder under a cliff as if to hold it up. He then asks Baboon to please put his shoulder to it, so that he can go to fetch poles and stones to prop up the falling rock (not uncommon. cf Th. in Ca. 29). Baboon falls for this new trick and Jackal disappears once more. When they meet again Jackal proposes a peace treaty, then steals butter from a farmer's cart by lying as dead on the road (K 371.1) - a trick that *Rénard* the Fox plays in a XIV Century French tale where he steals eels destined for a monastery ('pretence of death', cf. Ca. 37; App. 6:4; 'pretence of illness', App. 9:3). They eat the butter in great friendship, then agree to leave some for the following day. While the two are out to stretch their legs, Jackal returns into the cave un-noticed, eats the butter, and then accuses Baboon of having stolen it ('Blaming others', very common motif) (K 401). At Baboon's protestations that he has done no such a thing, Jackal proposes that they lie in the sun bottoms up: the butter will ooze out of the culprit's posterior (cf. Stu. 13). Baboon falls asleep and Jackal smears a little butter on his buttocks thus proving his guilt, and then accuses him to be a greedy and unreliable friend. They thus part company for ever. A Zulu idiom emanates from this story: *Uchincha amafutha ezinqeni njengemfene* (He oozes fat from his buttocks like the baboon), used to describe the dirty loin cloth or trousers of somebody who has fallen into mud. The idiom might have an origin independent of this particular tale, or it might reflect a more ancient folktale no longer attested.

The tale presents a very clear pattern: the trickster is trapped and offers something nice (a game, fruit, butter) to be able to effect his escape, mainly by substitution. Several motifs are, however, rather uncommon on the surface, because they are probably borrowed from foreign traditions.

Another tale of the trickster Jackal is found in du Toit (1976:66): **Lion outwitted by Jackal**. It contains a number of traditional motifs, found in other pan-African trickster tales involving Hare and Hyena.

As Lion and Jackal hunt together, having promised to share the spoils, Jackal takes his catch to his own house (cf Ca. 8) (K 361.1). Lion is furious and searches for him aiming to kill him. He catches up with him just in time to grab the tip of his tail as Jackal disappears into a hole (Ca. 24). Jackal shouts that Lion is holding a tree root, and Lion lets go of the tail, then awaits in hiding outside, but Jackal keeps shouting that he can still see him. Discouraged the Lion goes home. Lion tries to trick the animals into believing that he is very ill so that they come to pay their respects before he dies. He springs on them and devours them (Cf Theal in Ca. 37). Jackal however notices that the animals' hoofprints go into the Lion's den but do not come out; he discovers the trick and warns the other animals. Lion tries a further trick by inviting all horned animals to a feast, so that he can then kill some without Jackal's interference. Jackal makes honeycomb horns and attends the party, but he falls asleep near the fire and the horns melt. He is thus discovered and chased by Lion (trickster tricked by his own deception), who eventually finds him standing on top of a massive rock. Jackal warns Lion that the rock is about to fall and tells him to go and fetch poles to reinforce it (Ca. 29 and App. 13:4) (K 547.14). While Lion is away Jackal escapes. They eventually renew their friendship and hunt together again, and this time Lion chooses the best parts of the prey for himself and the rest should go to Jackal. The latter is asked to bring the Lion's share to the Lion's house and to return for his own share. He however takes the best parts to his home and the rest to the Lion's. The king of the animals chases him again, but this time cannot find him and has to give up the pursuit.

In Mhlongo's (1986:27) tale *EzikaChakijana Kazipheli* (There is no end to Chakijana's stories), the Jackal is presented as a great friend of Chakijana, who however dupes him all the time. Jackal thus appears like Hyena in the previous section. A number of motifs - going fishing, freezing the tail, stealing sheep - are not found in the more traditional sources and are evidently late borrowings from European folklore.

Chakijana proposes that the two friends steal a sheep each from a white farmer (a non-traditional motif already encountered). Chakijana is quickly successful as he can slide through a hole in the fence with his prey (cf mongoose's skill), but Jackal is too large for that, especially when he tries to escape with a sheep. The farmer catches him and beats him up badly. Then Chakijana proposes that they go fishing (a very uncommon motif), since grilled fish is delicious. He puts his hands in the water and catches some large fish, but Jackal puts his tail in the water and the fish do not bite. He thus spends the whole evening and night in such position, and the tail is caught in the ice forming at night (another unusual motif). They then hunt bucks. Chakijana jumps on his victim, which runs and runs until it tires and the trickster can kill it and eat it in peace. Jackal catches the buck's tail and holds on to it with his teeth. The buck runs everywhere, over stones and bushes (a further unusual motif), and Jackal is badly bruised and dies.

As stated above, the Jackal has appeared quite late in Zulu folktales, possibly from Khoisan folklore reinforced by missionary school literature and English readings about African countries or African American folklore. This approach would explain the number of 'new' motifs originally attributed to either Fox or Wolf in European tales. Jackal's character is thus rather

confused in modern tales, as he is found as either a successful trickster (possible copy of Fox) or as the dupe (possible copy of Wolf or Hyena).

3.5.3 Other animal tricksters

Zulu folktales marginally present three more characters, two of which are regarded as successful tricksters in other traditions (Tortoise and Frog) and one (Genet) which I have only found in one Zulu tale. Tortoise emerges as a figure cleverer than the traditional trickster Nogwaja, whose pride he deflates, and Frog manages to thwart the evil machinations of figures which show some of the characteristics of the *izimuzimu*. It can be argued that these animals fit well in the Zulu symbolic system, and are therefore easily assimilated from the folklore of other nations, although they do not assume a prominent position. I offer a few remarks on the tortoise and the genet.

3.5.3.1 *Ufudu*, the Tortoise.

Ufudu, the Tortoise, is considered a wise old man, whose slow movements signify solemn wisdom and dogged perseverance. He is the only animal able to outwit even Hare or Hlakanyana. Tortoise appears as a good-humoured twister of the trickster's intentions or of the pride of a fast animal in one Zulu story, *Ihhashi nofudu* (The Horse and the Tortoise) (App. No. 14) where, in the African and European animal race motif, he outruns the horse, or even Nogwaja (in a different version in Nyembezi). The slow Tortoise sets other tortoises at strategic places in the grass track (K 11.1), to give his contender the constant illusion that he (Tortoise) is ahead in the race (illusion by substitution: one is many), and appears at the goal before the very fast and proud horse, or before the wily and swift hare. In another tale (Gule et al., 1991), *UNogwaja noFudu* (Nogwaja and Tortoise), Tortoise institutes a court case against Nogwaja and defeats him (K 11.3). Here he stands for the hard-core of conscience and ethical values that should reign supreme above cunning and intelligence.

Theal's final motif describing Hlakanyana's death (Ca. 38) shows Tortoise as a symbol of sheer perseverance. Werner (1933:27) points out:

Perseverance is surely one of the characteristics of the Tortoise [in folklore], as proved by more than one story. Where it bites, it holds on. For its size, it is one of the most difficult animals to destroy. It represents that hard kernel of righteousness which addresses man when and where it is least welcome, and which leads to his final undoing if he insists on destroying it.

The calm, determined movements of this animal, and its steadfast resistance and seeming indestructibility, come to symbolize the ideal qualities of the African man, "who should not flare up like a woman, but bear the vicissitudes of life stoically" (Kriel, 1986:147).

Both Krige (1967:312) and Berglund (1976:50) point to Tortoise as a symbol of self-sufficiency among the Zulu. Its bones are used in medicines against storms and lightning: Tortoise reputedly does not only lack fear of the weather phenomena, but adds a note of insult by spurning water to demonstrate his unruffled emotions during a storm.

The tortoise is claimed to spout out water upwards when it is to thunder, the spouting occasioned by anger in the tortoise. "So the medicine with this animal in it says to the storm, 'Go the other way! Let your anger go the same way as the anger of the tortoise!'" (Berglund, 1976:50)

The trickster's positive qualities of intelligence and dogged perseverance are thus aptly symbolized in Tortoise. Perhaps Tortoise should be viewed as a demonstration that trickery must be overcome by calm reasoning and clever planning, playing on the self-assurance of animals who only consider exterior qualities. This is also the way the trickster acts, but he can be beaten at his own game by one who is calmer and more determined than he is. *Iqili lafel'ebuqilini* ('The Trickster was destroyed in his own cunning'), says a Zulu proverb.

3.5.3.2 *Insimba, the Genet*

We met the genet in some proverbs and he is also encountered in one Zulu tale, namely in Nyembezi's *UMkhwekazi namasi* (The Mother-in-Law and the Sour Milk; cf chapter 6, section 6.2.4). An old lady has stolen sour milk in the house of her son-in-law and in punishment is sent to fetch water from a frogless spring. When she eventually finds such water, she is caught by the animals who want to eat her for their breakfast. During the night Genet frees her and accompanies her back to her home. He then wipes his feet on the paws of the sleeping bush-shrike, and convinces the animals in the morning of the bush-shrike's guilt (Deception by substitution). Hence the proverb *Insimba yasulel'amazolo ezinyaweni zeqqumusha* (The genet wiped the dew on the bush-shrike's paws). The trick of freeing the condemned old lady is performed by other tricksters in other versions, while the motif of 'blaming somebody else / a sleeping animal or person' is very widely spread in trickster folktales (cf. Ca. 15; etc.). The three proverbs I quoted in chapter 2 relating to *Insimba* show that the character is better known in folklore than the published folktales manifest.

The physical characteristics of the genet are similar to those of other successful tricksters: it is a small and agile carnivore; it sports a light coloured coat with spotted skin like the leopard: this is ideal for camouflage, and for the possible surprise element; a dark line runs from

the genet's head to its very long tail. Its attacks are as fast as lightning as it springs, like the hare or the leopard, and takes a firm grip of its victim. The proverbs relating to the genet also emphasize its power of endurance and its perseverance when stalking its prey.

Due to the fluid nature of oral traditions and the ease with which narrative motifs are transferred from one character to another, it does not surprise to find that the genet assumes the trickster role in areas where it is better known. This genet imagery merely supports the analysis of successful trickster characteristics assigned to other animals in folktales.

Summary and general conclusion

This chapter has presented the wealth and variety of the oral tradition with reference to successful trickster figures. We have noticed a variety of animal characters, as well as of trick motifs and patterns. It has made us deeply aware of the nearly inexhaustible imagery bank diffused among African, American and European populations. The Zulu genius has been able to borrow from it, by making use of wide-spread motifs connected, among others, with the figure of Nogwaja the Hare and of Mpungushe the Jackal, and to enrich it, by creating the Chakijana figure that is particularly Nguni.

We have analyzed in some detail the Hlakanyana/Chakijana cycle found in Callaway and in parallel versions, as well as trickster motifs found in Mbatha and Mdladla and James Stuart. Stuart's tales set the pattern found in other recent publications, where the trickster appears in separate stories, in no particular order, and under different names, with some motifs drawn from the basic cycle and some not. This shows that Callaway's is far from being a complete rendition of the whole Chakijana tradition, and that it probably represents the organization of widely disparate material which has, at its core, the use of trick patterns employed to overcome superior odds and conflicts.

The chapter has briefly presented the characteristic patterns of trickster folktales, which involve a **false contract** between the trickster and his opponent. Chakijana either reacts to some form of provocation, or identifies the need (or 'lack') in a situation and offers a solution which looks beneficial to the parties concerned, but which is finally meant to fulfill his own tricky aims. Through deception, Chakijana breaks the pattern established in the contract while performing an illusionary act on his victims. The basic pattern may be amplified by the presence of 'inept imitators', who are intent on trapping the trickster but end up being tricked, and often destroyed. The inventive ways in which this is brought about excites the emotions of the audience, especially its sense of humour, aroused and delighted by the victory of brain over brawn, of intelligence over gullibility, of small and weak over big and powerful.

The **trick pattern** can be schematized as follows:

| | |
|---------------------------|--|
| Initial situation: | Lack or need identified: Need of intended victim identified by trickster; Reaction to being trapped, or need of trickster for food or something new, better, interesting. |
| False contract: | Offer to supply to the need (in order to deceive). Sequence of actions / pattern / formula is established Victim eventually agrees to formula / pattern. |
| Fraud: | Trickster alters pattern / formula, through deception , and substitutes something for fulfilment of his side of the bargain. |
| Discovery: | Victim discovers fraud when it is too late to remedy it. Either the victim is destroyed , or The trickster is chased . |
| Chase sequence: | When the trickster is chased: If trapped , he must find another trick through some form of illusion or magic transformation . |
| Escape or Rescue: | Victim helps to free trickster through own ignorance. |
| Boast: | Trickster boasts about his achievement. |
| Gloat: | Trickster gloats over victim's discomfort. |

The oral traditional storehouse is constantly renewed by new insights reflecting traditional and modern feelings, perceptions and forms. The 'new' collections, published for school use, draw from this generous imagery bank, greatly enriched by written sources filtering through from many parts of the world.

Because of his inventiveness and cunning, Chakijana holds central stage in Zulu folktales. He represents the victory of intelligence over brute strength, as he moves about trying to fulfil his needs, or to escape traps set against him. At his first appearance on the scene, he is welcomed with a light heart by the young audience. He arouses laughter because the very idea of his existence is ridiculous. Everyone expects him to ingeniously re-create his tricks to overcome any crisis, whether within or without the framework of established norms.

Episodes connected with the trickster's birth and early life echo wide-spread mythological epics about the Culture Hero, a figure which, in other cultures, represents great expectations. But the wily one soon breaks the incantation by performing tricks on his own parents and all around them: we realize he is not part of mythology, and he is not the hero of the people, but a comic characterization of an upside-down vision of the world. He then goes off as if to fulfil

his positive mission of teacher and provider, but his boundless capacity for trickery has the better of him and his gifts become heavy burdens. He combats evil elements such as *amazimu* and wild animals, but then performs the same tricks on seemingly innocent victims, whose only fault is not being as alert, smart and clever as he is. Providence and cruelty, generosity and greed, shrewdness and effrontery, all seem to want to be represented in this small bodily frame.

He is quick in establishing a correlation between the needs of the intended victim and the trick he intends to play. He plays on this need, gains the trust of others, makes a sort of contract with them which they deem advantageous. He then fraudulently strikes his deadly blow, often maintaining an air of respectability and honesty to the very end through substitution techniques, when it is too late to remedy the disaster.

Thus the benefits which the trickster is supposed to offer by his actions or services - which show respect and obedience to the sacred customs of the land - soon change into deception and fraud for the unsuspecting victim, and the wily one unrepentantly boasts and gloats about his exploits, as if enjoying the helpless fate of his victims.

The patterns through which this small being outsmarts the strong and powerful in competition for food are conducive to comical entertainment. Comedy proceeds from the ability to unsettle reality. When we would expect events to develop normally, because of the numerous Don'ts by which society safeguards itself, the trickster is able to unsettle our normal expectations, to take a different route, to break laws and taboos, to do the unexpected. As a consequence, the folktale performer, in her personal re-creation of a story, produces suspense and keeps the audience's interest alive, and this results in joy and laughter issuing from the unusual turn of events, and from witnessing ingenious deviant behaviour. -

Chapter 4

CHARACTERISTICS OF SUCCESSFUL TRICKSTERS

4.0 INTRODUCTION

Chapter 2 has presented an initial division of Zulu trickster figures into successful, unsuccessful and occasional, based on their ability to use trick motifs and patterns and on the frequency of their identification with trickery. This classification echoes Denise Paulme's view (1977:97) that Spider/Anansi was a double-function original trickster that could be either successful or unsuccessful, whose figure was then split into two: Hare (successful) and Hyena (unsuccessful). Chapter 3 has explored the folktales referring to successful tricksters and has identified the narrative motifs and sequences leading to success or failure. My comments there were limited to salient points concerning either animal trickster characters or narrative patterns. On reflecting about what has been presented so far, we could state that, in contrast to those trick initiators and inept imitators whose actions lead to failure, the successful tricksters succeed because:

- (a) they plan their tricks with great care;
- (b) they are quick to discover the weak points of their adversaries;
- (c) they are secretive and able to play their cards close to their chest, thus maintaining the element of surprise through illusion and substitution;
- (d) they are nimble in introducing subtle alterations to the agreed pattern.
- (e) Furthermore, Hlakanyana/Chakijana displays great determination to succeed at all costs, being driven by the need to save himself from death in a world dominated by carnivorous beings; or by revenge for a wrong suffered; or by the desire to show his superior intelligence by playing on the gullibility of his competitors.

This chapter is aimed at decoding those characteristics of our "heroes" in socio-cultural terms, to discover which actions are culturally considered as justifications for the trickster's success, or which actions meet with social approval or disapproval.

So far we have established that the main successful trickster in Zulu folktales is Chakijana / Hlakanyana, who however shares a large number of characteristics with the pan-African Nogwaja, the Hare. Chakide, the slender mongoose, is a small carnivore (Hare is not carnivorous), therefore adept at trapping or attacking other animals for food through techniques that are taken as manifestations of cunning and intelligence. He is a merciless killer, since there is no room for the weak in the highly competitive struggle for survival in an often cruel world.

If caught by larger animals he must find a way out of his trap by the same cunning methods that he uses to trap others.

Reacting to the wholesale application of foreign theories to the African situation, Beidelman (1980) rejects approaches to the study of tricksters that go from general definitions to the specific, because they tend to be culture bound and to impose categories which are not present in a particular milieu. He states:

"Unless we know particular tricksters and their contexts well, we cannot assume that they represent a valid analytical grouping." (Beidelman, 1980:28)

This means that although the theories of anthropological writers could be quite useful, one must be aware of their limitations when applying them, because generalizations might amount to the inaccurate imposition of a foreign framework on a specific cultural phenomenon. Beidelman further maintains that Hare is successful because he represents positive values of Kaguru culture, while Hyena is unsuccessful because he is foolish and represents negative social aspects. Thus "positive" and "negative", success and failure, amount to cultural approval or disapproval of certain behavioural patterns.

As we tackle the task of a socio-cultural analysis of the successful Zulu trickster figures in terms of positive/negative, approval/disapproval categorizations, we must remind ourselves of a number of limiting factors:

i. **Trickster folktales are metaphors.**

The narrative elements must be decoded in terms of the history, cultural background, religious and social systems, etc. These elements hold the key to the interpretation, or to the real message. In fact, if social approval leads to narrative success, how is it possible that the trickster is successful when he performs acts that are clearly socially detestable? The ambivalence of the tradition might be taken as an element of explanation, but this is not sufficient. We should rather see such actions as manifestations of a system of comical inversion, because, according to Babcock-Abrahams' studies, the trickster represents inversions meant to stress and exaggerate the opposite of what they state on the surface. This makes sense within our understanding of preventive education, a system that warns the audience about traits that must be avoided or guarded against. Success in trickery does not necessarily carry the stamp of social approval.

Furthermore, trickster folktales are means of comical entertainment, playing on unexpected associations of elements that are culturally contradictory in order to produce laughter. The decoding process is often harder than it looks to the superficial observer. Barbara Babcock's vision of the "World Upside Down" (cf chapter 1, section 1.3.1.2) emphasizes the principle that the negation of social structures, or of moral tenets, serves to clarify their

inherently positive aspects and values. Mary Douglas (1966) maintains a similar approach when she explains that dirt is simply "matter out of place", and speaking of dirt implies a set of ordered relations, and a contravention of that order. Dirt thus becomes a necessary element to define "purity", disorder to define order. Through the following discussion it should become clear what the main concerns are, or which fears obsess the people with regard to the possible destruction of the system of life to which they have grown accustomed.

ii. **Trickster folktales as mirrors of culture?**

The figure of Chakijana has its roots in the pan-African successful trickster Hare, with which it is often associated as either an alias, or a dynamic development that stresses the cunning and intelligence factors. This ancient origin highlights the possibility that we are dealing with cultural phenomena quite different from those prevalent nowadays, as demonstrated by substantial shifts in the attitudes of many modern writers of Zulu folktales.

When success and failure are taken as signs of approval or disapproval of certain behavioural patterns, we must remember that the social values system is constantly changing. We should ask ourselves, for example, which society are we talking about? Due to the dynamic nature of the oral traditions, none of the folktale sources we possess is absolutely genuine. It is possible to surmise that Callaway's and Stuart's collections were filtered through the eyes and culture of the two researchers. Modern collections should be treated even more carefully, because the various writers are western educated and evidently *amakhohwa*, or Christians; they further write for school audiences whose attitudes are to be formed in a way different from those of pre-colonial Zulu society. Recent projects of my own students to collect folktales in the field have produced a dismally poor crop of tales and motifs which reveal the overwhelming dependence on school material, be it originally Zulu or imported. The effort to reach the real heart of the folktale tradition in order to discover the philosophy of life and the social attitudes of the ancient Zulu might prove quite fruitless when these limitations are considered. We should accept the fact that some original aspects are untraceable and that what we have is a composite of pre-colonial elements and of modern attitudes.

We must further beware of an idealistic approach that sees pre-colonial life in South Africa as idyllic and care-free. The idealization of African cultural elements by the *Négritude* movement sounds very appealing, but it is often in sharp contrast with the crude and even cruel reality exposed in the folktales, where the struggle for survival assumes extremely realistic tones. People were not living in an ideal world, but in an often hostile environment. "Positive elements" were those that helped to survive, while "negative elements" were those leading to destruction or annihilation of individuals, clans, nations.

iii. Ambivalence of "positive" and "negative" categories

Beidelman's "positive" and "negative" characteristics in terms of the Kaguru cultural value system are going to be used as a general structural frame for this chapter. Beidelman maintains that success in a trick generally implies cultural approval of the trickster's action. Approval and disapproval seem, however, rather relative categories when a number of points are considered. What is "positive" for one culture may not be considered so in another, and what is viewed sympathetically in some circumstances might be considered negatively in others. In the struggle for survival, where there is a situation of "everyone for oneself", Chakijana's use of cunning and intelligence to either destroy, or to escape from larger animals such as lion and elephant is considered positively; but the same strategies used by big and powerful characters, such as *Izimu*, against the small trickster or defenceless beings are considered negatively. For one they are survival skills, for the other they are oppressive means. The situation is therefore fraught with **ambiguity**.

A further element of ambivalence is presented by the fact that some normally successful tricksters appear to have lost their "invincibility status" in some modern versions of folktales. This change might be ascribed to the influence of foreign traditions, where the trickster appears as both the duper and the dupe; or to modern *amakhohwa* sensitivity whereby the trickster's actions are seen as evil and therefore punishable, as in cases where the trickster tries to justify his actions as reactions to untenable situations, such as seeking revenge for a wrong suffered. The trickster's freedom to act without any clear justification causes concern to *amakhohwa*. In fact, the last part of this chapter (4.3) may indicate society's anxiety with regard to unchecked freedom of self-expression: the normally successful tricksters Nogwaja and Mpungushe are brought to book and defeated.

4.1 POSITIVE CHARACTERISTICS

In many of his actions the trickster is driven by three powerful forces: *Anger* against real or perceived enemies, or zeal in situations that need redressing; *Desire to fight* against any opponent, or in revenge for perceived injustices; *Will to succeed*, which assures him of final victory, whatever the costs involved. These three drives are considered culturally desirable. They are, however, ambivalent concepts, as exemplified by the idea of anger, *ulaka*. According to Berglund (1976:255), the verb *ukuthukuthela* (to become angry) also describes doing something with great zeal and energy. It is the expression of power and ability, the opposite of *ukuvilapha* (to be lazy and good for nothing). An energetic and well organized lesson in a classroom is described as being driven by *ukuthukuthela*. Legitimate anger is like zeal aimed at sustaining order, discipline, the "good life". Immoral anger is geared towards destruction and annihilation. The three drives also constitute the essential facets of the make-up of a hero or a

champion. Barbara Babcock (1975:151) discusses the idea that a social bandit is one who has volitionally decided to live on the boundaries of society, to prove that oppression and forms of unjust constraint can be up-turned, to the point that a social misfit will often acquire the halo of the hero.

The trickster lives in the imagination as an ambiguous, daring and determined anti-hero, for ever ready to do the opposite of what is expected, and thus the affirmation of the negative, who however succeeds because of cunning, intelligence and *ukuthukuthela*. Some of the characteristics attributed to him might be the result of either an evolution from, or an assimilation with ambivalent mythological or legendary trickster characters of the duper/dupe kind, who are often and unexpectedly able to turn positive actions into springboards for reversals.

Our treatment of positive aspects will include:

- 4.1.1 Social organizer;
- 4.1.2 Careful planner;
- 4.1.3 Music lover;
- 4.1.4 Adaptability and inventiveness;
- 4.1.5 Enemy of snakes, *amazimu* and large animals.
- 4.1.6 Avenger.

4.1.1 The Trickster as social organizer

In 2.2.2 above I presented Stuart's folktale *Eyezinyamazane* (App. No. 2) which seems to establish a hierarchy among the various successful trickster figures. Two further tales (Stuart's *UManjazi*, App. No. 3, and Mthethwa's *UNogwaja neNdlovu*, App. No. 4) refer to a similar situation and can be considered as parallel versions of the same story. These folktales present Chakijana or Nogwaja as responsible for establishing an animal society. The reason for this organization is the fear of an intruder into the forest world, and anger towards him. A society should be able to defend its members by its sheer strength of numbers. In Mthethwa's version, *UNogwaja neNdlovu* (App. No. 4) it is the ravages of drought and famine that force the animals together. As the various characters scurry away in a seemingly endless flight, Chakijana (or Nogwaja) gives sound advice: stop the running and form yourselves into a group capable of dealing with any threat. Thus the animals decide to build a kraal for themselves and to start cultivating a field to procure food. The plan involves the production of animal manure to fertilize the soil. Guards are posted against possible intruders that would interfere with the manure or with the garden produce.

In such an organization based on every member's work, justice and equality are the basic laws, and the lazy and the tyrants constitute the two major internal dangers. The penalty for infringing the laws is inevitably death, in a society where the procurement of food is supreme,

and the struggle for survival is the pattern. *Inkayimeva*, a disruptive trickster, is dangerous because he is lazy and eats what the others have produced, namely the dung, which is supposed to give power to vegetables to grow in the common gardens. *Inkayimeva* establishes a trick pattern, presented as an enjoyable game and inherently a sign of respect for status and seniority: "I delouse you and you delouse me". This is an action of respect, used in society to show submission and respect to an elderly person. The trick is used elsewhere to trap *Izimu*, because the relaxation produced by the massaging of the scalp inevitably induces sleep (at least in folktales). The victim agrees, but the beneficial pattern is broken when the action causes the victim to fall asleep, and this gives *Inkayimeva* the chance to eat the manure and then to escape (K 331.2). The intruder is successful twice, and the careless guards are mercilessly slaughtered and eaten. Then Chakijana intervenes and, inevitably, rises to the challenge. He is able to reverse the pattern by forcing *Inkayimeva* to be deloused first (K 625). The trick initiator falls asleep and is overpowered, killed and eaten. Chakijana is thus recognized as the hero of the new society.

Ubulongwe, fresh dung, is used as a scatological detail in *Eyezinyamazane*, to the obvious amusement of the young audience. It is, however, a narrative element strongly emphasized by a four-fold repetition which suggests important symbolic implications. The fact that animals go to eat then regularly return to relieve themselves in order to fertilize the fields, shows the cyclical nature of life. *Nkayimeva* disrupts this cycle and must therefore be destroyed as a sinister intruder. Cow dung is also utilized to smear hut floors, thus to keep the house in a clean and welcoming condition for inmates and visitors. Manure production is therefore symbolic of orderly communal work, as it is a means of survival and of wealth and progress. It binds society together and helps it grow.

Commenting on the possible symbolism of excreta, Mary Douglas (1966:120 ff.) has this to say:

Primitive cultures treat [body] dirt as a creative power. . . . Why should bodily refuse be a symbol of danger and of power? . . . Any structure of ideas is vulnerable at its margins. We should expect the orifices of the body to symbolise its specially vulnerable points. . . . When rituals express anxiety about the body's orifices, the sociological counterpart of this anxiety is a care to protect the political and cultural unity of a minority group. . . . The anxiety about bodily margins expresses danger to group survival.

The Zulu clearly distinguish between animal dung, which is clean, and human faeces that are dirty (cf Berglund, 1976:95). In the context of our story, dung can therefore symbolize the fact that the small animal society is still under threat from outside, and possibly from inside. In Stuart's *UManjazi* (App. No. 3), Nogwaja, considered the intelligent one by the congregated animals, tries to destroy the original society he has established, making once more use of the

sleeping elephant's dung, which is transformed by him, from a means of health and growth, into an instrument of death. He thus skips parts of the cycle of "eat - defecate - grow - die". This "short-cut" is a formula for disaster.

A social danger similar to that of *Inkayimeva* is posed by the tyrannic elephant in Mthethwa's tale, as also the elephant wants to take the garden produce at night (stealth and deceit), but without helping in the work during the day. Here Nogwaja and Chakijana plan together the tyrant's downfall and destruction: Nogwaja hides in the largest pumpkin, which the elephant is surely going to eat, allows himself to be swallowed, and then causes the enemy's death from inside his belly by endlessly playing his drum and driving the elephant crazy. Chakijana the hunter is then able to cut the elephant's side and to free Nogwaja. This collaborative effort reminds one of the proverb: *Kaziphelanga: kwasala uChakide noNogwaja* (Not all the animals were represented in the medicine: Chakide and Nogwaja were left out), which points to the collaboration of the two 'clever' animals and to the elephant's stupidity (= its childhood strengthening medicine lacked the elements of the two cleverest animals).

After ridding the newly formed society of its enemies, the trickster is also instrumental in the establishment of communication links with the authority of the king, who is the energetic heart of the nation, as he possesses the strongest magical power. The enemy to be overcome in this section is a kind of forgetfulness caused by anti-witchcraft medicine, if we accept Krige's (1967:29) proposal, as suggested in 2.2.2. The animals want to know the name of the tree at the centre of their valley, and which part of its fruit should be reserved for the king. Naming the tree signifies power over it and possession of its magic energies, and selecting a particular part for the chief identifies what kind of magic power the king needs in order to keep his people powerful. Nogwaja and Ntenesha are the messengers sent in turn to the king, but they fail to remember the message (a sign of disrespect) when they cross the river that serves as a boundary to the animals' compound. Chakijana, however, is able to overcome the influence of this "African Styx" or "river of forgetfulness" and to remember both the name of the tree and the part to be reserved for the authority (= the forbidden royal branch). This episode is linked to the *Umkhosi omncane* ceremonies, when the chief receives the first fruits of the harvest and shares them with his subjects.

Just as we are ready to praise the trickster for his positive roles of social organizer, defender of the law, of justice and equality, and avenger against evil doers, in the version of the story contained in App. No. 3 (Stuart's *UManjazi*) he changes tune and becomes the villain of the play (Note: here Nogwaja is the only trickster figure). Nogwaja makes a mockery of the whole system of authority by employing the usual tricking pattern of stealing and blaming others: while all the animals are asleep, he roguishly steals and eats the forbidden branch (Fraud) and has the elephant blamed for the misdeed by planting the pips of the fruit (sign of culpability) in the anus of the sleeping giant (Substitution), the animal most likely to challenge the king's

authority because of its size and strength, and who is possibly hated by the other animals because of his laziness, and also because he regularly takes the largest share of the food. In the morning there is an outcry at the realization that the "royal branch" has been eaten. Nogwaja demands a mock trial to discover the culprit, and the elephant is proven guilty, quartered and eaten. Nogwaja is even given the choicest morsel, the liver - which was considered the centre of one's emotions and strength. The trickster is praised by the animals for his wisdom in organizing them and in discovering the supposed culprit:

Wena Nogwaja ongumuntu ohlakaniphile kakhulu.

(You, Nogwaja, who are a very wise man)

He cannot, however, resist the temptation to boast about his sinister exploit and tells the animals about the trick he has played on the elephant.

*Kwase kuthiwa isibindi sayo esithwahlwe unogwaja asise la izodlelwa khona.
Wayesesithatha unogwaja wathi:*

*"Ngadl' umuthi,
Ngaqambela ngendlovu."*

*Zase zithi izinyamazane: "Uthini nogwaja?" Uthi: "Siyangisinda isibindi sendlovu."
Abuye aphinde unogwaja athi:*

*"Ngadl' umuthi,
Ngaqambela ngendlovu!"*

Zathi izihwane: "Uthini, nogwaja na?" Uthi: "Siyangisinda isibindi sendlovu."

(It was decided to offer the elephant's liver to Nogwaja, who had led them to that place. Nogwaja took it and then said:

"I ate the tree; I told a lie about the elephant."

The animals asked: "What are you saying, Nogwaja?"

He answered: "The liver of the elephant is too heavy for me."

He repeated once more:

"I ate the tree. I told a lie about the elephant."

The animals asked once more: "What are you saying?"

He replied: "The elephant's liver is too heavy for me.")

The animals cannot believe him, and he repeats his boast, and refuses to take the elephant's liver because it is "too heavy" for him: a reward for something wrong. He is thus condemned to death by the chief and has to run away from the community he has helped to establish. At a river, which is used again as a boundary, he magically transforms himself into a stone (illusion of being something else) and is thrown to the other side by the angered animals. From this safe position he changes back to his normal form, then derides the animals (gloat) and boasts about his superior tricking abilities.

Makgamatha (1993:63) reports a parallel version of the tale in Northern Sotho, where the successful trickster role is played by Tortoise, *Mokhudu*. The thief of animal dung is a wrinkled old woman. Tortoise overcomes her by the delousing game (a very apt trick because it is a gesture of care for old people). Tortoise is however excluded from the celebratory eating of the fruit of the beautiful tree. In revenge he steals the fruit of the "royal branch" at night and hides the pips and peels in the anus of the sleeping elephant, who has taken the largest share of the garden produce and of the fruit of the tree, thus depriving others of a larger share. Tortoise's revengeful trick emphasizes the need for a just system based on social equality.

The ambiguity inherent in at least one of the three Zulu tales with regard to the trickster's social concerns is further illustrated in the initial part of the Hlakanyana cycle where the emphasis is on the preservation of the family cattle, which constitute the wealth that links the family and can be further interpreted as a socio-religious link to the world of the ancestors. Hlakanyana proclaims his mission to save the dwindling cattle numbers. Immediately after his birth, he makes for the byre where his father and the senior members of the nation are gathered. He seemingly punishes the older people for their greed by stealing their meat, and by winning a leg of beef for himself. His stated redeeming purpose makes use of his drive to revenge by trick and deception, in order to establish some form of justice: an obvious parallel to what happened in *UManjazi*.

4.1.2 Careful planner

Paulme (1976) affirms that where Hare succeeds, Hyena fails because he acts compulsively and without thinking. African life flows in harmony with the rhythm of nature, of the day, of the seasons. A person's growth is marked by rites of passage, which are held in the presence of the community to acknowledge the stage reached in the maturation process from childhood (*ubungane*), to puberty (*ubufana*), to manhood (*ubudoda*), to full maturity (*ubukhehla*). In the effort to ensure the community's approval (including the invisible ever-present ancestor spirits), adequate steps must be taken at various stages.

This graded growth is supposed to produce wise people, able to consider events and problems from various aspects. The man who thinks at length before reacting to a new situation is considered wise, like the slow-moving tortoise or the chameleon. According to Mazisi Kunene's view of traditional wisdom, expressed in an interview contained in Jane Wilkinson's book (1990:142):

... the chameleon is very slow and all the qualities it has are qualities of cosmic order: slow movement, ability to change itself according to its different creative moods. It has the ability to see in all directions. . . . It looks 'old', wise and

timeless. . . . This is a very accurate symbol of the idea of permanence, the permanence of things. In Africa, if you are too fast people think there is something wrong with you. You have to be 'slow': slowness means reflection, respect and reverence. . . . In opposition to the chameleon it is logical that the lizard, the salamander, which has got speed and is ugly, should symbolize death. The salamander can only see in one direction: it is the messenger which does not stop to think, does not reflect, but just goes in one direction. Speed has always symbolized death to Africans.

Like *intulo*, the lizard, Chakijana acts quickly, but not inconsiderately, because he carefully plans everything he does, and in this he is rather like the chameleon. Brian Street (1972:85) describes the duper/dupe Zande Ture as a "master of the short-cut formula", as he is constantly aware of the procedures to be followed, but impatiently disregards some aspect of the sequence and tries to hurry to the end. Chakijana, instead, who is the opposite of blindly compulsive Hyena/*Izimu*, is clever and even able to defer gratification. He always seems to know where he intends to go and what he wants to achieve, be it when he needs to save himself from death, or simply when he wants to obtain food or to trick in order to prove his superior intelligence or his enemies' gullibility. In every situation he sees a challenge to be met efficiently, with no moral or social restriction. In fact, the clearer the social or the moral interdiction, the greater his satisfied gloat.

Typical examples of careful planning can be seen in the way he deals with the two ogres (Ca. 31-34) and in how he saves himself from *Izimu* by the *ukuphekana* game (Ca. 17-21). In this last story, he creates a powerful illusion in his captor, who would impulsively like to devour him immediately, that his flesh is not going to taste nice if he is eaten there and then. He lays down the conditions for the *Izimu* to achieve maximum gratification from his efforts - one night soaking in the dew, being washed and cooked by a careful mother in the *Izimu*'s absence, etc. - while all the time carefully planning a substitution that will allow him to escape. Hlakanyana knows that his dim adversaries are driven by unintelligent impulses, while he is able to see through things, to dissect and to judge with discernment. This is what makes him successful, in spite of his seemingly quick reactions to any situation.

A similarly careful planning is shown when Hlakanyana offers himself as a nursemaid: his aim is to eat the succulent babies, but he creates a clever illusion of his credentials for the job of protector/guardian by proclaiming his praises:

*Mina-ke ngiyakwazi ukuphatha abantwana kahle;
NginguChakijana Bogcololo
Umphephethi wezinduku zabafu;
Kakukho okwedlula mina!*

(I am able to look after the babies properly;
I am Chakijana son of Gcololo,

Able to doctor the men's fighting sticks;
There is no one better than I)

He then insists to the mother that the babies must be fed one at a time and not all together, so as to be able to eat one baby per day without being discovered. At the end he is still able to escape the punishment for his cruel actions because he has built a two-door house, with a narrow exit that cannot be used by the enraged mother. In Stuart's *USankambe* (App. No. 6), his careful planning involves scratching himself to pretend that he has been attacked and has put up a fight, and patiently teaching baboons a tricky riddle, or a "game":

*"Yilokhu sadla abantwana bebhubesi
Asenziwa lutho."*

(Since we ate the lion's babies
Nothing has happened to us)

This "game" diverts the lioness' wrath on the gullible baboons, while Sankambe is able to enjoy the spoils in the shape of the baboons killed by the enraged mother. Careful planning has handsomely paid off.

4.1.3 The trickster as music lover

It is widely stated that Africa's greatest contribution to artistic expression consists in its music, and in particular in its rhythm and dance. One easily finds lonely herdboys entertaining themselves by playing simple instruments, or young men playing their guitar while travelling alone. Hlakanyana reflects this cultural aspect during his travels. We saw (Ca. 22) Hlakanyana's ingenuity in transforming a bone into a whistle or a flute, and how he entertains himself by playing and singing. This love of music could be considered an expression of artistic creativity, as the trickster transforms a common object into an advanced instrument (inventor and innovator).

The musical instrument theme is repeated in a few folktales. In Ca. 32, Hlakanyana wants to get hold of a beautifully sounding drum belonging to *Izimu* (*amazimu* are often presented going around with a singing drum that contains the girl they have captured). Since *Izimu* refuses, Hlakanyana eventually kills him and gains the drum. In the folktale *UNogwaja neselesele* (App. No. 11, already mentioned in chapter 3) Nogwaja wants to get hold of a nice sounding whistle possessed by a frog. He asks to borrow it, but the frog refuses because Nogwaja is not trustworthy. One day he finds the frog asleep near a river and he quietly builds a clay dome over it, so as to be able to steal its whistle. He later meets a red hare with a lovely sounding flute. He asks to borrow the instrument, but in vain. He invites red hare to sit down

and listen to his stories, but, once again, in vain: animals do not trust him, as they know him as a thief and a fast runner. He then invites red hare to a game, which turns out to be *ukuphekaphekana*. When red hare is cooked, Nogwaja takes the flute untroubled.

This tale demonstrates the unscrupulous inventiveness of the trickster in devising methods to achieve his own aims, irrespective of the consequent suffering inflicted on others. The trickster does not seem interested in objects for their own intrinsic value, but because they belong to others and look better than his own. "He enjoys creating ends for the sake of the means to attain them" (Street, 1972:83). The story of hare and frog also affirms Nogwaja's superiority over other trickster figures (red hare, frog), as discussed in 2.2.2.

The "musical instrument" theme is found in trickster stories from other parts of the world. For example, the Greek Hermes invents the lyre by taking a tortoise shell as a frame and making thin strings out of cow-hide. When Apollo is enraged with him for stealing his cows, Hermes plays the lyre and appeases the sun god who then barter some privileges with Hermes for the sake of the musical instrument.

The Zulu trickster, however, is not praised as a great inventor, but he simply appears as a music lover who is prepared to go to any length to obtain the best musical instrument. While music elevates the spirits, Chakijana's competitive actions tend to destroy. If one possesses something valuable he is duty-bound to share his good fortune with others, or he may create such envy that will eventually lead to his being targeted with witchcraft and robbed of his property and of his life.

4.1.4 Adaptability and inventiveness

Section 4.1.2 has shown how the trickster responds with careful planning to every situation that constitutes a new challenge. He faces challenges with fearless daring, he even taunts his adversaries and is not afraid to rush into dangerous places. Some further examples are provided to demonstrate his qualities of inventiveness and adaptability to circumstances.

In the folktale *Unogwaja nendoda* (Hare and man) (cf Canonici, 1992:23), which contains some motifs possibly drawn from Brer Rabbit, the hare has been caught by a farmer while eating in the latter's field (being trapped is a traditional Zulu motif). The farmer knocks the animal on the head and sends it, supposedly dead, to his wife to prepare it for dinner. But the hare is not dead: he has feigned death to avoid being beaten any harder. On the way the hare conjures up a trick to take his revenge. Through a lie, he convinces the boy that carries him to tell his mother to cook the fat red cock for him (new motif based on a European one), rather than to have the hare cooked (substitution). He then eats the sumptuous meal and goes to have a siesta under a tree. When the man returns home and hears of what has happened, he chases after the villain, but the hare takes refuge in a snake's hole (Chakijana's trick). He then establishes

another trick pattern to save himself (cf Ca. 24): when the man catches him with a hooked branch, the hare pretends that he has caught a root. When the man catches a root, the hare cries that the man is killing him. Eventually the branch breaks and the man falls backwards and hurts himself, and the hare can escape unscathed. Capture, ploy to free himself, substitution, escape, are common functions in a trickster narrative sequence, but their realization is quite original. Even if the details may be borrowed, the fact remains that ingenuity in devising new strategies to free himself is a major characteristic of the trickster. Evans-Pritchard, in Street (1972:96), remarks about the Zande trickster, Ture: "The interest in the tales lies with the tricks by which Ture obtained the benefits, rather than with the benefits themselves."

The trickster shows adaptability and inventiveness, when he needs to save himself, also by using his magic powers, which allow him to perform transformations: into a stone, or a stick, or an old lady, etc. Although the trick pattern is quite constant, the details of its application are dictated by the circumstances in order either to trick or to escape a trap.

The "formula tale" (cf Ca., Mba. and Stu. in 3.2.3 above), that is, the section about Hlakanyana's second journey when he lends something useful, which gets lost, and he requests something better, represents the trickster as an inventive benefactor of sorts, providing those in need with instruments to fulfil their tasks. He is quick in recognizing the needs of others and to take advantage of them by providing the tools to perform a job properly. One might speculate that the fact that Chakijana constantly gains out of the transaction could be seen as an indication that commercial enterprises were never considered as forms of mere service, but as means to enrich oneself by following the rules of a "demand and supply" economy, which is meant to benefit both the purchaser and the supplier. Another cultural interpretation is that one who receives becomes bound to the giver.

Another aspect of inventive creativity can be seen in the trickster's desire to "teach a game", *ukufundisa umdlalo*, such as *ukuphekaphekana*. A game demands the ability to make abstractions, to devise and remember rules, to see through the actions of one's opponents. A game thus becomes constructive role playing and an educational experience. Chakijana's opponents constantly fail the final test in playing the game when they disregard some aspect of the rules, and are consequently destroyed. "Playing a game" constitutes a re-affirmation of the need to observe society's rules, and the necessary outcome (punishment) if prescriptions are not observed. Chakijana adduces the cleverness of his tricks as a justification for his breaking the rules of the game.

4.1.5 Enemy of snakes, *amazimu* and large animals

According to Callaway, the mongoose is an enemy of snakes which he captures in various ways. Chakijana is presented in the proverbs engaged in fighting mambas: proverbs evidently reflect

the Zulu experience of the slender mongoose, and the mamba stands for all snakes negatively perceived in the Zulu imagery bank. Mamba is connected with lightning, and therefore with rain and even with the rainbow. Rain and water are also connected with the origin of life, and the snake is a phallic symbol linked with male sexual activity and thus with the power of the ancestors to give life (the sperm is considered water donated by the ancestors to create life; cf Berglund, 1976:97). The sudden appearance of some harmless snakes is taken as a token of the presence of the shades, and is therefore frightening. This figure is thus ambivalent: connected with both birth and death. Berglund's informants also stressed the fact that a mamba is an evil animal, a familiar of witches and evil-doers: both *abathakathi* and snakes are *izibi*, rubbish (Berglund, 1976:99 and 305). Ambiguous Chakijana thus seems justified in being an enemy of snakes in general and of mambas in particular.

This fighting attitude is extended in the narratives to include animals that are perceived as negative forces of nature, such as *Izimu*/hyena, but also other strong and powerful animals, such as lions and leopards: they demand a large share of the economic/food resources of a community and may even seem to complacently waste them while others are starving. The small trickster fights them in order to survive and to bring some form of justice and equality in society.

Many of Hlakanyana's adventures have him reacting against, or simply fighting, *amazimu*. His first major trick outside his home (cf Ca. 17-21) is a battle against *Izimu* that has trapped him in the bird lime. The *izimu*'s trap is cleverly reversed into becoming the *ukuphekana* game, through which Hlakanyana traps the old *Izimu* mother in a pot and boils her, and in so doing gains for himself the eternal enmity of all *amazimu*, according to the belief that, once you have killed one animal, all the animals of that species become your enemies (Kriel, 1986:121). This is probably why each time Hlakanyana meets *amazimu* there follows a fight to the end.

Amazimu are unsuccessful tricksters, extensions of the hyena symbolism in other African cultures which link hyena with witchcraft, *ubuthakathi*, as stated by Beidelman (1975:190). *Ubuthakathi* is considered the most abominable crime and the most serious threat to human society, as witches are sinister, secretive and dangerous in everything they do. Witches are thought responsible for disease and death, and they also disturb the graves of people who have died recently. They thus interfere with both the living and the dead, with the life-cycle, and with religious practices. The trickster fights *amazimu*, the possible narrative connection with witchcraft (App. 5:27-36).

In 4.1.1 above the trickster appears as the one able to establish links with the authority of the chief, the political and religious centre of society. But, following the ambivalence inherent in Zulu thought patterns, we have also seen how the trickster may assume an antagonistic attitude towards the chief by blatantly disregarding his orders, thus becoming a caricature of the social reality. In some of the tales he is an enemy of large animals (cf 3.5.1 above), the excessive food

guzzlers that show no respect for the needs of others. Such animals are constantly used, in everyday language, as metaphors to refer to people in authority. Thus the king is referred to as *Ingonyama*, the Lion, and greeted *Bayede, Ngonyama!* "Hail, Lion!" The queen is *Indlovukazi*, the She-Elephant. When praising a person of high status one hears forms of address such as: *Wena wendlovu!*, "You of the Elephant family!", or *Wena wesilo!*, "You of the Leopard family!"

By fighting against and often destroying such large animals, in spite of his smallness and seeming helplessness, Chakijana becomes the standard-bearer of the criticism and protest which are major functions of African oral literature, which aims at some form of social equality and sense of justice. Protest is, however, used in an indirect way, by showing up the weaknesses of those in authority who are often blinded by greed for power or for material possessions (as symbolized by food).

Another indirect method of criticism consists in showing the moral superiority of the oppressed over the oppressor. This is largely reflected in the ability of the community, as represented by the audience, to laugh at the abuse of anger in the exercise of authority by those in power, especially through the rebellious attitude of the trickster.

4.1.6 The trickster as avenger

Chakijana's behaviour is largely structured according to his animal characteristic traits. Animals' main concern is the procurement of food, for which they are prepared to fight to the end. As a result of the mongoose's carnivorous nature, Chakijana is also a merciless killer: anyone who dares to stand in the way or to place obstacles to his attainment of food is viewed as an enemy and destroyed; the more so when the food possessor is perceived as an unconcerned waster. Even anyone who possesses the food that Chakijana wants meets the same fate as a kind of justifiable "revenge".

Revenge is viewed as a response to being slighted or offended in any way, as well as a levelling strategy against those who possess something that the trickster needs or wants and are not prepared to part with it. "Envy, jealousy, selfish greed, the sowing of confusion and disharmony" (Berglund, 1976:270) are considered sufficient reasons to attract anger and revengeful actions. Revenge is meted out for the simplest of excuses. "An eye for an eye" seems to be the dominant rule of conduct for this character. *Ameva abungulwa ngamanye* ('Thorns are extracted by means of other thorns'), says a Zulu proverb. And another: *UChakide wosinda ngokwelelesa* ('Chakide saves himself by committing another crime', or, 'Attack is the best defence'). These are clearly ambivalent proverbs as they stress the need for some kind of justice and yet seem to condone the use of violence as a means to obtain it. There is no room for forgiveness or compromise in the trickster's philosophy. He may wait for the right opportunity,

but revenge is assured: *Insimba ibanjwa amagod' ebolile* (The genet is caught when the ropes get rotten). It does not matter to him that his anger may be misplaced, nor that his desire to fight may be misdirected towards apparently innocent victims; nor that his will to succeed may be immoderate, with a complete disregard for the rights of others. He appears as Nietzsche's superman, solely intent on his personal advancement, ruthless in his competitiveness.

Established social norms are also a challenge to the trickster, who enjoys trying to go further than anybody has ever gone without being caught. Consequence of his audacity is thus expressed by his constant need to react against elements that have placed him in sticky situations and even threaten him with death. He is so brazen, that he seems to enjoy finding himself in environments from which he can hardly hope to escape. However, as one writer puts it at the end of Hlakaniphani's story (du Toit, 1976:65):

Inkomo yamisa ngezimpondo, ikati ngamehlo akhanyayo ebusuku. Nawe hlakanipha ukuze ube yisicebi.

(A cow relies on its horns, a cat on eyes that glow at night. You should also be clever in order to succeed to become a rich man.)

Here cleverness and cunning are recommended as means to become wealthy, or to defend oneself and to attack others in order to obtain what they have. It is, once more, an illustration of ambivalence. The successful trickster is for ever ready to take up the challenge, the greater the better, and always succeeds in the end.

Chakijana shows that an object may become more desirable because it is unobtainable under normal circumstances, or by simple people. Envy for what others are felt to possess unjustly is considered as a justification for "taking revenge", even by means of *ubuthakathi*. The trickster intends to demonstrate that justice will be brought about, that barriers of any kind can and will fall, if one had a determined desire to fight and a strong will to succeed. The greatest challenge to the physically small Chakijana comes from large and powerful animals, who are considered as supreme in the animal kingdom because they have what he does not: wealth (=plenty of food) and authority. He cannot suffer to submit to their yoke and takes a form of revenge against the powerful lion by openly challenging him in front of other animals, as is the case in du Toit's (1976:46) story "**How Chakide rode the Lion**" (App. No. 9). This type of story is a revengeful parody of authority: if one cannot fight a powerful character directly, one makes him appear ridiculous in front of his subjects. This technique helps in the release of those tensions caused by the strict enforcement of social rules.

Revenge appears as part of the righteous use of *ulaka*, anger, and the application of *ukuthukuthela*, to become angry. As pointed out in 4.1, anger is a highly ambivalent concept, as it might degenerate into unjustifiable and immoral (Berglund, 1976:266) anger that becomes destructive, evil and devastating, since it "is the root of *ubuthakathi*" (Ibid pg 270).

Circumstances dictate when revenge is justifiable and when it is not. These considerations lead from the 'positive' to the 'negative' aspects of the trickster's behaviour.

4.2 TRICKSTER'S NEGATIVE CHARACTERISTICS

Negative characteristics have to be seen, as stated several times before, in the context of a kind of "comedy of the absurd", performed in order to provoke laughter by presenting a character and his actions which are so outlandish and contrary to "normal" social norms that they cannot exist. The social values are stressed by their absurd negation, and by the breaking of the rules that protect them. For these reasons, negative aspects outnumber the positive ones by a very wide margin in a comical setting, and show the trickster as a danger to society, thus reinforcing the customary norms on which society is based. The interpretation of the semiotic system becomes complex: the signifier and signified grow rather blurred in the process of creating a comic atmosphere.

Most characteristics are ambivalent: we are dealing with the animal world where human laws do not apply but are sometimes simply reflected. Some animal actions are presented as acceptable if they demonstrate intelligence, cunning and determination used by small animals as means of self defence or of self promotion. The same actions are judged negatively if used as means of unjustifiable oppression by larger animals against the small members of the animal kingdom. What a superficial modern reader may find repugnant at first, might become reasonable when all the circumstances are analyzed.

Our treatment of the trickster's negative traits includes the following:

- 4.2.1 Boisterous youngster;
- 4.2.2 Trickster as family destroyer;
- 4.2.3 Trickster as a thief;
- 4.2.4 Trickster's greed;
- 4.2.5 Dishonesty and pretence;
- 4.2.6 Loquacity and double talk.

4.2.1 Boisterous youngster

Roger Abrahams (1968:193) describes in general terms the attributes of Radin's trickster:

His undertakings are audacious, rebellious, egotistical, and always performed with the idea of giving freedom to personal action in the face of group restrictions.

These points, which are ambivalent rather than strictly negative, are amply reflected in Chakijana's birth narratives, especially the one found in Mbatha. Before birth, Chakijana orders the mother to deliver him, and in three different places: "*Mama, mama, ungizalele!*" (Mother, give birth to me!). As soon as he is born, the attending women want to cut his umbilical cord, but he proudly refuses help, gets up and walks to his father's spears and cuts his own umbilical cord. They want to wash the baby, but he again refuses and goes out immediately to the cattle byre where the father is sitting with his old councillors. The byre is normally out of bounds to young children, but Chakijana enters it and immediately asks his father for meat, thus astonishing both father and the men for his audacity and precociousness. The father looks at him and declares he does not know him (the official ceremony of the baby's recognition by his father has not taken place), and tries to crush him underfoot, but Chakijana rises up again, like the dangabane grass, and proceeds to demand meat. All these actions reveal Chakijana's "audacious and rebellious" nature. The old men first despise and fear him, then assume a praising attitude for his precocious ability to speak and to make sense. This praise is picked up by the royal women in Callaway's version (Ca.9), (the women warn, however, of possible witchcraft connections), and especially by the trickster's mother. Later on, the same day, he boasts about his ability to trick the old men, and then the boys, and eventually he says that he is the cleverest of the king's children and subjects. Self-praise recurs several times in Theal's birth narrative.

The usual ambivalence of trickster narratives is further emphasized by the fact that, while Chakijana easily tricks mature people who are confident of their wisdom, his tricks are seen through, or discovered by young people. The innocence of a child opposes the complications of a trick scheme. This is revealed when the young boys reject Hlakanyana at night (Ca. 12) and, in Stuart's *USankambe* story, where a baboon child discovers the killing lion hidden in the trickster's food bundle. Smallness is therefore an advantage for the trickster, and young and innocent children are 'in tune' with him and can see through his tricks.

The trickster's ambivalent and boisterous nature is further highlighted in a humorous folktale where the main character's name is "Mr Trickster" or "Mr Wily" (*UMaqinase*), (Appendix No. 1). In this modern tale, which contains a large number of European elements, Nyembezi presents the popular perception of the trickster as a disrespectful and boastful youngster, eager to assert his personal freedom in the face of family's or society's restrictions.

Young age, or small size, are clearly associated with childhood, that is considered a period of capricious behaviour and social irresponsibility, which does however manifest the potential of the child to grow into a responsible and enterprising adult (as the royal women in Ca. 9 say, "*Umgumhlola, uzokwenza imihlola*": "He is a prodigy and will work prodigies"). Misbehaviour at this young age is partly condoned, as it is interpreted as the expression of slowly developing independent talents, which, if properly and lovingly fostered, should ensure an appropriate development. It seems that a child has an inevitable desire to break the rules to

assert his independence, and, like any trickster, thinks that the cleverness of his trick is a justification for disregarding authority. There is a kind of pleasure in breaking social conventions, because such an act represents the need for balance between order and chaos.

Maqinase is one of a large litter of piglets (European element). He does not want to listen to his mother and likes to wander about on his own. One afternoon, while the mother and his siblings are resting, Maqinase ventures out on one of his explorations. He meets and is cruelly disrespectful in turn to a frog, a donkey and a tortoise, openly insulting them for their physical features. He then breaks into a vegetable field, but is discovered by the farmer who sets his dog on him (other European motif). As he flees for dear life, Maqinase asks for help from the very animals he has insulted. They evidently enjoy to see him in trouble and let the dog bite him at will. When he gets home and tries to lie to his mother, she scolds him severely for his disobedience and his lies: *Akukho qili elazikhotha emhlane* ('No trickster ever licked his own back.' I.e. Your own trickery has let you down).

This is evidently a written folktale and shows the *amakhosha's* perceptions of trickery in an orderly society. It reflects, however, social attitudes towards Chakijana as highlighted in Mbatha's story. At the deeper metaphorical level the three animals towards whom Maqinase is disrespectful may be taken to represent the following, through their cultural connections:

Imbongolo, the donkey: he is a recent addition to the number of domesticated animals. He is considered an unassuming hard worker and represents servants and other hard working people in the family or society that one tends to take for granted.

Ixoxo, the frog, through its connection with rain-making medicines, stands for preternatural forces.

Ufudu, the tortoise, being the wise old man of folktales, stands for slow and wise old people.

The headmaster represented as telling the story concludes: "*Angibathandi oMaqinase lapha esikoleni sami!*", "I don't want any Maqinases in my school!" Therefore the modern educated attitude towards tricksters is mostly negative, although one perceives the amusement factor and the obvious enjoyment of narrator and audience in witnessing forms of deviant behaviour (ambivalent attitude).

In spite of its title (Mr. Trickster), and the presence of elements reflecting Chakijana's story, the tale does not contain a trick sequence based on false contract, illusion and deception, and its characters (pigs, donkey) demonstrate a modern setting. The trickster seems to be in constant movement and to react offensively to people who are kind to him. Its two-directional journey is a perfect frame for the parallel pattern characteristic of many moral tales and initiation

stories. It further ends with a typical Zulu proverb that deals with trickery, while it also reinforces another unstated principle condensed in another proverb: *Isihlahla sendlela asinyelwa* (One does not pollute a road-side bush: he may need to find rest or protection there some other time. Or: Don't be unkind to casual acquaintances as you may one day need their help).

Because of his disrespectful behaviour the trickster has no friends: nobody trusts him, as he breaks all social norms. The hare's opponents tell him, in one tale (App. No. 11): "We don't want to play with you, or to lend you anything, because you are so full of tricks, and so fast in moving, that you are going to run away with our things!" In a community where social approval is of paramount importance for self appreciation, the trickster cuts the pathetic figure of a loner, with no one to turn to but himself and his wits.

4.2.2 The trickster as family destroyer

Family, be it the nuclear or the extended family, expressed by the clan name and the praise names, is the cornerstone of Zulu society, the unit which kept the migrating Kintu-speaking groups together over the centuries. Its complex structure, especially with regard to a polygamous household, or the extended net of blood relationships, is still deeply felt and respected, as it represents the microcosmos in which the individual attains his full development and status. It is based on the belief that life is a gift coming from God through the ancestors, and that each member is only a link in the chain of life, the sum of all that has gone on before him and the promise of what will follow. An individual is the sum-total of his family, past, present and future. Close links with the ancestral spirits guarantee the general welfare of all family members, as well as the preservation of the magic powers they need to propagate and strengthen their lineage.

The affective centre of the family is the mother's lodge, *indlu*, where the child is born and spends the first few years of his life together with his closest siblings. Linked with this affective centre is grandmother, *ugogo*, the family educator who takes care of the young children. The father's figure, *ubaba*, is seen as the authority centre, rather distant from the very young members of the family. The male figure linked with the mother's affective circle is the maternal uncle, *umalume*, literally "the male mother". Guarding over the process of life-giving and life-fostering are the *amadlozi*, the ancestor spirits of the family and clan.

The trickster quite often appears to infringe intentionally on the 'sacred' links of family and blood ties for comical effects and thus finally to strengthen them. Hlakanyana tricks his own mother on the very day he is born, and then challenges his father's authority (App. 5:11 & 18). He will eventually return to his mother when his "initiation journey" in the outside world is completed, and his "initiation lodge", which he shared with *amazimu*, is burned down (Ca. 34).

Most of these aspects can be considered either comical exaggerations, or signs of genuine attachment to his family.

The picture changes, however, when he deals with his enemies. He makes use of their traditional attachment to family values in order to overcome them and possibly destroy them. Thus he pretends to respect old women by calling them 'grandmothers', but then boils them in a pot through his cruel *ukuphekana* game (Ca.17-21). He professes the intention of helping mothers provide for their young children by offering his services as nursemaid, so as to free the mother for her work in the family gardens, or for hunting, but then kills the babies entrusted to him, and has the audacity to share their flesh with the mother, to make her partly responsible for the cruel misdeed and to implicate her in the abominable practice of cannibalism (App. No. 8). Children constitute the future of the family unit and are regarded as sacred gifts to be jealously cared for. Fertility is considered the greatest asset for a woman and a gift of the ancestral spirits. But the trickster destroys the children of careless mothers and so interrupts the chain of life.

A similar fate awaits other important members of the family, the grandmother (*ugogo*) and the maternal uncle (*umalume*). Hlakanyana abuses these relationships by urging old women to act as his grandmothers, and *amazimu* to accept him as their *umshana* (nephew). But, once he has established a blood relationship entailing mutual respect, care and trust, he convinces 'grandmother' to jump into a boiling pot, and destroys his 'uncles' in a variety of ways.

Linked with respect for family is the veneration for the dead. Hlakanyana offers a woman's flesh as a meal to her children after mixing it with flour to make a tasty stew of it (App. 5:23); he throws away her bones so that she will not be buried and venerated. Thus he shows himself as anti-family and anti-religion, when the victims are humans. When they are animals, however, his actions can be interpreted as a fight to destroy the enemies in every possible way. In Theal's version, Tortoise uses Hlakanyana's attachment to his mother to bring about the trickster's death (Ca. 38).

Hlakanyana shows a similar form of disrespect towards friendship: he constantly pretends to establish friendly ties, which, according to Dundes (1971), are the all-important base of social intercourse in Africa, but then he breaks them systematically and without any remorse. A trickster cannot be trusted, not even when he makes the firmest promises of deep friendship. In his peripatetic lifestyle he has no friends, no point of reference (except his mother's place), no rule of conduct.

4.2.3 The trickster as a thief

Animal life, as reflected in folktales, shows a constant struggle to obtain life's necessities. He who has must be prepared to share. Zulu traditions emphasize the need for respect of property, which must be shared with others through the sacrosanct custom of hospitality which indicates

the ideal of human solidarity with anyone who is in need. Each family member is taught to use family property with moderation in order to supply to his or her needs without infringing on the rights of others. For comic effects, the trickster surreptitiously takes advantage of the customs regarding property and of hospitality: other people's belongings fascinate him not for their intrinsic value or usefulness, but simply because they belong to others and he feels the urge to appropriate them. He cannot be taught to respect other people's property, even when getting what others have may involve their death. We mentioned earlier (4.1.6) that envy for one's possessions may become so serious that *ubuthakathi* is used to destroy the owner, in a drive to level the playing field. Hlakanyana gets so involved in the plot to get hold of an *izimu*'s fine sounding musical calabash (Ca. 32), that he eventually seems to forget the calabash and to concentrate solely on the tricks he is playing. This characteristic shows the trickster as greedy and selfish: two vices strongly condemned in Zulu society.

The excessive craving for whatever belongs to others may have a positive aspect in it: it might indicate that the Trickster is an **innovator**, as he always tries to get the best for himself; and also an **imitator**, as he wants to have what others find useful. He is fascinated by whatever is new, whatever he has not seen before. He becomes irrepressible and irresponsible. Like a spoiled child, he cannot accept the fact that others may have something better than himself. Thus he tricks to death a lion cooking a large pot of meat (App. 10:1-4), or a family of wild dogs who are having their supper, even though he has just had a meal (App. 10:5-8). He enters into a heated discussion with a lion who has just killed a whole school of baboons, because he wants to eat them all, and deprive the lion of his share of the prey (App. 6:5). We find him stealing birds in traps set by other people, the meat of the old men at his father's court, an old man's dumplings. When he agrees to help larger animals to hunt, he takes the meat to his own house and leaves his partners empty-handed. Most of the examples refer to his greed for food and to his lack of moderation, as they reflect mongoose's animal nature. In fact, food and property go together as they are linked by the duty of hospitality and of good manners.

4.2.4 The trickster's greed

The Zulu used to live according to a basic subsistence economy in which the provision of food played an extremely vital role, as is also the case among animals. While the men were traditionally the hunters and provided meat for the family, women extended their life-support role by cultivating the family fields. Both successful hunting and harvesting depended on the favour of fate or of the sky. People got used to cycles of fatness and of leanness according to the seasons. The few who could prosper even during lean periods were considered lucky and blessed by the ancestors, or were suspected to have obtained their wealth through witchcraft.

A man's prosperity in days gone by was reckoned by the number of wives and children he had (to look after his fields and cattle) and by his well-fed external appearance. Junod (1927:408) says, about a man who has achieved a high status:

He will become large and stout, and shining, which in South Africa is a sure sign of wealth and nobility. The stouter he gets the more he will be respected.

This amounts to a shameless declaration that "fat is beautiful", to which one should add its close parallel, that "fat is powerful". One cannot underestimate the connection between wealth, status and power, especially magical power, which is what matters most. As a consequence, the man who possesses food and wealth shows that he has acquired a greater magical power than others. In an ambivalent social environment he may be suspected of sorcery, and therefore be targeted for revenge.

Moderation in eating is, however, greatly appreciated in social circles. But Chakijana's appetite, like the mongoose's, seems insatiable, especially when it comes to meat. He is not satisfied with just any kind of food: he is discriminating: he wants fat and juicy meat, and not bones and scraps. He does not mind eating baboons, a kind of meat normally avoided by the Zulu, but palatable to the mongoose; but he does not like the tough flesh of wrinkled old women. The customary norms of etiquette are therefore openly disregarded by Chakijana. There is an evident interplay between humanity and animality, whereby mongoose's animal traits become means of demonstration of unacceptable human behaviour. A person who eats immoderately is like an animal.

The folktales show that the need for food is so basic that Hlakanyana often uses it as a means of deceiving his victims, by tempting them with the offer of food. He makes friends with an *izimu* by sharing with him a leopard's leg, then by proposing that they eat together the two cows they have caught (Ca. 29 & 31). It is by expertly cooking a mother's baby that Chakijana proves to the unsuspecting mother that he is a good housekeeper and can look after the children well (App. No. 8). In the western inspired folktale *Imfene nempungushe* (App. No. 13), when the jackal sees the furious baboon pursuing him to take revenge over a costly prank played at his expense, he tempts his victim with deliciously ripe fruit, and later with fresh butter (both non-Zulu motifs), knowing well that "the way to a man's heart goes through his stomach". These offerings of food appease the greedy baboon, and establish a basis for friendship, which is later fraudulently used by the jackal to destroy his victim.

Chakijana's constant and inordinate quest for food, while acceptable in the animal world, is not welcomed among humans, because the Zulu feel that greed is a sign of disorder and of bad behaviour. The counterpart of greed is generous hospitality, through which people share in whatever they have received as a gift from the ancestors. Eating together, sharing food and

congenial conversation create a community, and, as the Zulu proverb *Ukupha wukuzibekela* (To give is to store away for oneself) states, prepares one for the day when he or she may need somebody else's hospitality.

The folktale *UChakijana neBhubesi* (App. No. 10) is based on this and other cultural norms, while also re-affirming the trickster's role as an avenger. Chakijana is hungry, as always, and he smells meat cooking somewhere. He follows his nose, in the hope of getting some food, which is never denied a traveller. He finds a lion building a house, on his own. This reveals the lion's stinginess because *ukwakhiselana* (to help one another in building) is a social event: the newcomer in a community prepares beer and food and sends an invitation to all his neighbours (*omakhelwane*) to come to his building party. This is especially so in the case of a chief, as the lion is supposed to be. But this lion does not want to share his food, and thus intends to build on his own. Chakijana greets him very politely and reminds him of the traditional rules of hospitality towards travellers by quoting the proverb:

Isisu somhambi asingakanani; singangenso yenyoni. Siyobonga sesuthi, baba.
(A traveller's stomach is not very large; it's like a bird's kidney. We shall thank you when we have eaten, father.)

But the lion asks him to keep his side of the custom, and to help him build. Lazy and greedy Chakijana does not like this part, but he agrees thinking of the final reward of a sumptuous meal. When dinner time comes, however, the lion eats all the meat and throws Chakijana scraps and bones: he does not treat him as an honoured guest but as a slave and an outcast. He thus refuses to build a community with him. Chakijana's anger becomes revenge when he ties the lion's tail to the central pole, eats all the lion's food in front of his very eyes, and leaves him to die hanging from the roof.

Traditional culture shows a deep suspicion of anyone who, in a friendly and gregarious community such as the Zulu village, dares to eat alone. Greedy and selfish men who hide away their food sources leaving their family to starve are severely castigated with either death or divorce in some folktales. Witches are said to eat alone because they consume secret substances to obtain their evil powers. Any normal person will share his food. The trickster plays both sides: he, like a witch (and an animal), voraciously eats alone, not wanting to share his meal. But when somebody else eats alone, he is there to punish him or her for not wanting to share. This trait further demonstrates the ambivalence of the trickster.

4.2.5 Dishonesty and pretence

Honesty implies truthfulness, sincerity and fairness. Such qualities are highly valued as society can only exist if people are honest with one another, chiefs are honest with their subjects, parents

with their children. The trickster, however, is given to cheating, lying and dishonesty in order to create the false impression (or illusion) of his good intentions. in order to mislead. He is not frank and sincere, and he does not try to earn his keep in a conscientious manner. The whole exercise of trickery involves the creation of an illusion through fraud and deception. As he sizes up a situation of need, he offers his services, outwardly meant to help to solve the relevant problem, but inwardly aimed at the achievement of a sinister goal.

For example, he pretends to be well qualified to be a nursemaid able to look after a mother's babies, but then he eats them (App. No. 8). He pretends to be subservient to King Lion and to help him build a house, but then he ties the lion's tail to the central pole and leaves him to die on the roof (App. No. 10). He reports to the animal assembly the king's message about the part to be reserved for the king, then eats it during the night (App. No. 3).

His effrontery goes so far as to blame others for his dreadful actions. He kills the king's prize bull and accuses a soldier of the deed by placing a blood stained spear at his side (Th. in Ca. 13); he eats all the meat of a beast and then smears an old man's mouth with fat (Ca. 15); he eats the birds he has stolen and accuses his mother of gluttony (Ca. 35), etc. He uses mendacity as a way of life, regardless of the consequences to the accused and to society. As long as he can get away with lies, he is prepared to use them quite systematically. Some Zulu proverbs are sad and realistic reflections of this practice, which often prevails in society:

Umlomo yishoba lokuziphungela

(The mouth is the tail with which to chase away flies; i.e. Make use of lies to drive away any trouble)

Icala ngumphikwa

(A crime means a denial; i.e. Responsibility for a crime is never accepted)

We have seen how the trickster is praised for his cunning in freeing himself from tight situations, even by means of deceit and lies. The concept of honesty is therefore ambiguous: it should be upheld in human society, and yet one seems to be justified in using deceit if he can get away with it. In order to emphasize the great importance of honesty, the trickster's actions are stigmatized as anti-social and are used as examples of deviant conduct, as well as markers of people to be avoided. The very insistence of the oral tradition on these negative traits shows how much their opposites are valued.

4.2.6 Loquacity and double talk

Wit and humorous public speaking are highly valued in Zulu society and give rise to that subtle sense of humour which is the mark of intelligent and well-adjusted people, and characterizes oratorical interventions in the assemblies of men. Excellent proficiency in communication is

the mark of a clever and intelligent person, since speech reveals the person, and a good sense of language reveals study, breeding, family lineage, level of education, social status.

Due to his ambivalent nature, the trickster is a master in the use of language to his own advantage and to deceive. A recent example of this aspect is the 'modern' trickster Phoshozwayo, the Chatterbox, who constantly turns misfortune into good luck by lying to his brother and to others, and who takes advantage of each of his successes to add a few lines to his personal praises (cf App. No. 16 and chapter 6, section 6.4.1)

When Hlakanyana goes to sleep with the other boys in the family, at the end of his first day (cf. App. 5:16), the boys threaten and bully him because he is so small, and especially because they resent what he has achieved through his verbal tricks during that day. In fact, by words he has created illusions that have allowed him to overcome the various obstacles, either by deceiving others, or by denying responsibility for evil actions.

*"Unamandla, kodwa ngawomlomo namazwi akho;
ungasihlula ngomlomo."*

(You are powerful, but your power is all in your mouth and your words. You surpass us by your mouth.)

Chakijana is able to convince his victims, time after time, of his good intentions and of the benefits that they should derive from his services. He even assumes an unctuous and humble attitude towards bigger and stronger animals. In *UChakijana neBhubesi* (App. No. 10) quoted in 4.2.4 above, the meeting between Chakijana and the lion begins with the following extremely polite exchange:

*"Sikhulekile, Baba", kusho uChakijana.
Ibhubesi lahleka lathi: "Nguwe lowo mfana?".
UChakijana waphendula wathi:
"Yebo, yimi Baba. Yimi, wena owakhula silibele.
Isisu somhambi asingakanani; singangenso yenyoni.
Siyobonga sesuthi, Baba!"*

("Greetings, Father!", exclaimed Chakijana.

The lion laughed: "Is that you, boy?".

Chakijana replied: "Yes, it is I, Father.

You grew to greatness while we stayed small! (You are very great!). The traveller's stomach is not that large. It is as big as a bird's kidney.

We shall be grateful once we have had our fill, Father!")

Once the lion lets himself be persuaded to allow Chakijana to help him build his house, he falls prey to the trickster's schemes and loses first his food, then his life. The lesson is obvious: don't let yourself be taken in by smooth-talking strangers who might have a hidden agenda. By

endowing the trickster with a high degree of language skills, the Zulu tradition also warns that smooth-talking characters are often wolves in sheep's skin, and that one must guard against them as against the plague.

Connected with the trickster's ambiguous use of language is his teaching of some absurd word game which will finally destroy the victim and allow Chakijana a free hand in whatever he is planning to do. Children the world over are ready to be distracted from the fulfilment of their duties by the prospect of a new, ingenious game. Being a master of double talk, the trickster is able to lead his victims to the goal he intends, even when this is their death, craftily engineered as revenge for some real or supposed misdeed. Old women are thus easily convinced to play the unbelievable game of *ukuphekaphekana* under pretence of recovering their youth, but are led to death. Mothers are convinced to trust Chakijana with the precious gift of their children. We have also remarked how the trickster makes use of family relationship terms to endear himself to his intended victims.

Having now reviewed both positive and negative aspects of the successful tricksters, it should be interesting to see how relative these are, as is demonstrated by a number of modern re-workings of folktales where normally successful tricksters fail in their tricks.

4.3 TRICKSTER'S DOUBLE VALUE

In 2.1 above I briefly reported how Denise Paulme (1977:97) treats Spider, the most widely known trickster figure in West Africa, as a double-function original character that could be either successful or unsuccessful, whose figure was then split into two, Hare (successful) and Hyena (unsuccessful). I further stated that the Nguni oral traditions clearly distinguish between the two aspects of duper and dupe, with Chakijana playing the role of the successful trickster and *Izimu* that of the unsuccessful one. There might be a case for using the double-value trickster figure in Zulu if one were to consider seriously some recent Zulu folktale collections, where one finds the successful tricksters, Hare and Jackal, presented as trick initiators who fail at the end. It is impossible to say whether this is a clear innovation based on the authors' wide reading of African or African-American material, or simply the re-discovery of traditional themes not previously recorded. The presence of motifs that are not typical of the Zulu tradition should point to the foreign origin of the stories, but they might just as well be reflections of a local inventive writer. We know that folktales are easily transmitted. Tradition is a dynamic force, always ready to change and to assimilate new elements that reflect the people's way of life and are able to strike a chord in the people's imagination. Of particular interest is Gule et al.'s collection *UBhedu* (1991), that presents five tales in which the duper becomes the dupe. Two tales refer to the trickster Nogwaja, two to Jackal (one as successful and one as unsuccessful trickster) and one

to a group of teenage girls in search of a husband. The tales referring to Hare and Jackal are summarized hereunder:

***Ijuba neMpungushe* (Dove and Jackal) (pg 77):**

The famished trickster Jackal catches a dove and wants to make a meal of it. Dove convinces Jackal that she (Dove) is Jackal's friend and was on her way to tell him tremendously important news: Jackal's world is about to be destroyed and he must urgently pray with hands joined and eyes closed to be saved from the coming catastrophe. Jackal immediately joins his hands and closes his eyes, and Dove escapes.

The motifs of "end of the world" and of "prayer with joined hands and closed eyes" are clearly of European origin, although they are successfully integrated into an animal trickster tale. Here Jackal is unsuccessful because he is greedy, and because he is confronted by Dove who represents positive values, being associated with the sky and with the spirits. The following tale is more typically African and reflects Hyena's trait of stealing domestic animals at night, even from a stable (cf Maberly, 1986:66).

***Impungushe neMpisi* (Jackal and Hyena) (pg 94)**

Jackal and Hyena are great friends and share all their hunting adventures and also all their food (African motif). One night Jackal proposes that they go together to eat some sheep in a farmer's enclosure. Jackal is contented with eating only one animal, but greedy Hyena eats several (Hyena as a stupid and compulsive eater is an African motif). While Hyena is still engaged in his destructive deeds, Jackal gets out of the enclosure and closes the gate (European motif), then raises the alarm that the sheep are being destroyed by Hyena. The farmer and his sons come out and catch Hyena as he tries to get out of the byre and kill it.

Here Jackal plays the false friendship trick because Hyena is stupidly greedy and immoderate: a theme reflecting Fox and Wolf in European folklore. Jackal also blames others for a misdeed for which he is also partly responsible. A similar, but more complex tale, that closely resembles the one recorded by Beidelman (1975) among the baKaguru and is reported by Mhlongo (1986) as *EzikaChakijana kazipheli*, shows Jackal as the perennial butt of Chakijana's false friendship (cf 3.5.2 above). The next tale presents two African animal trickster figures: wise Tortoise and impetuous Hare.

***UNogwaja noFudu* (Hare and Tortoise) (pg 80)**

Greedy Nogwaja accuses Tortoise of stealing from him, but Tortoise strongly denies the charges. Since Hare insists with his accusations, Tortoise suggests that they should submit to a diviner's trial. The diviner proposes a trial by boiling. Tortoise gets into the

pot first and is let out unscathed after a suitable time and when he uses the proper formula. Then Hare gets into the pot, but the water soon gets hot and he is completely cooked before his time is over. Tortoise then makes a flute out of Nogwaja's bone and goes away.

It is easy to recognize the *ukuphekana* false game, but here Hare loses out to Tortoise. The "trial judge motif" is well-known in Africa (cf Finnegan, 1970) and is found in at least another Zulu folktale, where Chakijana acts as a judge between a man and a snake he (man) has saved from a fire. When the snake wants to bite its benefactor, man proposes that they should appoint Chakijana as a judge. The trickster asks the snake to show him exactly how it was when the flames threatened to destroy him. Snake accepts to demonstrate by returning under a large rock and is left to die there by Chakijana. A similar motif is found in Aesop's fables, where Crane extracts a bone from Lion's throat. Nogwaja is also defeated in the next tale, where he lets his *joie de vivre* take over, thus becoming careless like the stupid *Izimu*.

***Imikhuba kaNogwaja* (Hare's tricks) (pg 87)**

Nogwaja intends to attend a party for horned animals. Ram-goat gives him his dead brother's horns. During the party Hare gets drunk and starts dancing. In the movements and the heat the horns fall, Nogwaja is recognized and chased away.

This tale is widely spread in Africa, and it also appears in Zulu in du Toit's and in other publications. Nogwaja plays a trick, but he is betrayed by his excessive enthusiasm.

The stories may demonstrate that neither Nogwaja nor Mpungushe are considered as constantly successful tricksters, at least in modern folktale collections which probably depend on foreign motifs and themes. Stupid credulity is what renders Jackal unsuccessful in the first story, but moderation makes him successful in the second where he is compared to Hyena's excessive and unreasonable greed. Hare falls for Tortoise's trick in his first tale (like a stupid ogre or gullible old women) and is betrayed by excessive enthusiasm in his second one. Some of these negative characteristics are found in Hyena, the generally unsuccessful African trickster, and in *Izimu*, the main unsuccessful trickster of the Nguni tradition, as it will be seen in the next chapter.

Summary and conclusion

This chapter has endeavoured to identify the cultural perceptions associated with trickster folktales. This has been no easy task, because the society that folktales are supposed to reflect has changed considerably and the "sources" have been transformed, from oral to written, from

a typical pre-colonial African tradition to one that has largely assimilated western culture, standards, and folktale motifs.

What modern, or *amakhohwa* Zulu perceive as "negative" was often considered positively in a society concerned with survival in a hostile environment. Furthermore, the same actions aroused different reactions even in the more homogeneous pre-colonial society where the application of the law was largely left to individuals. The concepts of fairness, justice/injustice, success/failure, etc. shifted in emphasis depending on the person or group that was affected. It follows that many of the elements identified as "positive" or "negative" are only relatively so, and that ambivalence should be considered as the overall characteristic of most aspects referring to the trickster figures and to their actions.

The first cluster of folktales examined, regarding the trickster as social organizer, contain the most important key to solve the main puzzles: the aim of an orderly African society is harmony, but achieved through an active involvement in social justice, whereby everybody acts responsibly and for the welfare of the whole group. Justice is a levelling factor: those who have must share, since mother nature provides for all. The greedy, the wasters and the lazy who try to take advantage of the "small fry" are digging their own grave. Anger, zeal, revenge are driving forces that cannot be stopped.

My exposition of the most striking negative characteristics of the successful Zulu trickster has further underlined the fact that trickster folktales are to be seen as a 'comedy of the absurd' as they are used as comical entertainment, and therefore the opposite of what is the norm is often used to create a relaxed atmosphere in the audience. The ethical and social values that the narratives stress are to be found in their comical negation. The result is a catalogue of the social ideals instilled in the minds of Zulu children through an educational system that uses comedy and satire as its most attractive techniques, and that aims at the creation of a "culture of the feelings" on which adult responses will one day be based.

We have dealt especially with successful trickster figures so far, although we have often had the chance to mention unsuccessful figures, *Izimu* in particular. The next chapter is meant to discuss *Izimu* and other unsuccessful characters.

Chapter 5

UNSUCCESSFUL TRICKSTER FIGURES

5.0 INTRODUCTION

Previous chapters have established that a trickster is a character that initiates a trick sequence, that is, one who, out of self interest, uses illusion, deception and substitution to obtain his goals. His trick often amounts to laying a trap, through a sort of contract, from which the intended victim should not be able to escape. Although we have, up to now, concentrated our attention on successful trickster figures, we have had ample opportunity to mention the other side of the coin, namely the fictional characters that try to imitate and implement the trick sequence but are inept and therefore unsuccessful.

In chapter 2, section 2.1, I introduced Denise Paulme's classification of the main trickster figures in West Africa, namely Spider, Hare and Hyena. Paulme (1977) states that the most widely diffused trickster figure in that area is Spider, who is very intelligent and mostly successful, but whose serious faults prevent him from succeeding all the time, so that he presents the double aspect of winner and loser, duper and dupe. Paulme further states that the two roles are split when they are impersonated by the other two well-known characters of Hare and Hyena. Hare becomes the normally successful trickster, and Hyena the unsuccessful one. This two-figure cluster is widely spread over Kintu speaking Africa, and is represented in Zulu especially by Chakijana and *Izimu*.

The Zulu star trickster Chakijana is successful because he is quick in identifying the needs and the limits of a situation in which he is initially at a disadvantage, as well as the weak points of his victims. He plans his attack or his escape carefully and keeps his plans secret, especially when he alters the agreed formula or pattern of behaviour, often creating the illusion of keeping his side of the contract for the victim's benefit by substituting something or somebody else.

Unsuccessful figures are tricksters because they initiate the trick sequence against smaller and defenceless characters. They fail because they fall short in one or more important aspects. They disregard the full formula for success (Street, 1972) and sometimes openly give themselves and their plans away, as they enthusiastically spill the beans before they are sure of achieving their goals. Greed, hunger for power, sexual aberration, stupidity, lead to their downfall.

This chapter presents the Nguni/Zulu unsuccessful characters, after a survey of Beidelman's and Kuper's presentation of the traits of Hyena that should be considered the pan-

African original mould for this kind of figure. Folktales in which Chakijana and *Izimu* act together are rare (cf Ca.17-21 and 31-34), and the differences between the two characters in Zulu narratives are difficult to identify in the same story. *Izimu*, however, remains always a trickster and always unsuccessful, whether he tricks animals or humans. His threat of utter destruction provokes extreme reactions through clever plans that lead to *Izimu*'s final downfall. The unsuccessful characters and their fictional attributes are going to be discussed through a selection of folktales in which they play the main role. I shall further attempt to "read the signs", that is, to interpret the folktale metaphors in the light of relevant elements in Zulu culture, and to identify their comical entertainment and instructional value.

5.1 HARE, HYENA AND *IZIMU*

Before tackling the Zulu unsuccessful trickster figures it is necessary to outline the characteristics associated with Hyena, which is the pan-African counterpart of the Nguni *Izimu*. The two figures share a large number of characteristic traits. Finnegan (1970:355) quotes Posselt (1927) who asserts that the ogre/cannibal figure is a development of Hyena among warlike South African populations. Finnegan insists, however, that man-eating half-human monsters appear in the folktales from many parts of Central Africa as well as of South Africa. In my Zulu sources, Hyena only appears in recent collections as an adaptation of folktales found in other African cultures. I therefore use the works of Beidelman and Kuper for the purpose of my analysis.

5.1.1 Beidelman's Kaguru tricksters

Beidelman (1975) identifies Hyena as the main Kaguru trick initiator that becomes the dupe, or the victim of Hare's actions. He gives as the reason for their failure and success the values that each of the two often complementary characters represent in Kaguru culture: Hare is mostly regarded as a positive trickster, and must therefore succeed, while Hyena is always a negative one and must fail. Beidelman validates his categorization by presenting a number of tales in which the two characters act together, often beginning with a friendship situation that Hyena tries to exploit to his own advantage.

In his 1975 article, Beidelman summarizes the contrasts between the two characters by means of this table:

HYENA

large
senior
selfish
voracious
cunning but short-sighted
unsuccessful medium between
nature/culture
(false conjurer of wild
into domestic plants)
inflexible and stubborn
loyal only to kin (own species)

HARE

small
junior
generous
moderate
clever and shrewd
successful medium between nature/culture

(successful hunter of wild game
for social consumption)
highly adaptable
potentially friendly to others (including hyena)

Hare and Hyena, therefore, often oppose and complement one another: Hyena performs a negative, menacing, grotesquely comic role, while Hare has a positive one.

Hyena's characteristics (Beidelman, 1975:190 and 1980:29) represent moral attributes which are often associated with the actions and physical qualities of this animal, thus showing once again that the world of the tales is rooted in the observation of nature.

- i. *Physical characteristics:* Hyena has a strong, solid body and an ungainly walk; he is dirty looking, unkempt, with a coarse spotted coat, revolting to the baKaguru.
- ii. *Greed,* seen in the fact that Hyena has very strong jaws and teeth, eats carrion, however badly decomposed, and kills smaller animals. He likes to crush bones and is considered 'stupid' because he prefers bones to meat. He is 'uncultured' because he follows a very indiscriminate diet, which people (baKaguru) believe is responsible for his terrible stench.
- iii. *Quasi-human qualities:* He has a wild, almost human, laugh; he is supposedly hermaphroditic, and therefore socially unreliable. He is also considered untrustworthy, scheming and calculating, and yet he is ultimately doomed to failure because of his clumsiness and shortsightedness.
- iv. *Witchcraft:* He is closely associated with witchcraft, which is a deviancy from morality and normality. He is active at night and is therefore represented as a witch's familiar: he digs up graves for the witch and shares the corpse with her. He is thus a cannibal because he eats human flesh. Witches fly great distances at night strapped to the underbelly of their friends, the hyenas.

By contrast, **Hare's qualities** are described as follows:

- i. *Physical characteristics:* Small, agile body that makes him the swiftest animal in the bush.
- ii. *Intelligence:* Hare is considered the cleverest and shrewdest of animals.

- iii. *Relationship with Hyena*: The two are often portrayed as kinsmen and friends. In such cases Hyena is usually a harsh and exploitative mother's brother or elder, and Hare an unjustly persecuted nephew or junior who eventually gets his own back through guile.
- iv. "The actions of the hare are almost always presented as justified, self-defensive retaliations against the abusive hyena. Where he appears less favourably is when he is paired with and opposed to innocuous creatures such as guinea fowl and bushbucks. By contrast, even when other animals are paired with hyena, the latter always appears in a bad light." (Beidelman, 1980:29)

Chakijana's physical characteristics and their similarity with Hare's have been pointed out in chapter 2 (section 2.2.1).

5.1.2 Hyena and *Izimu* compared

Most of Hyena's characteristics identified by Beidelman are transferred to *Izimu* in Nguni folklore, which, however, reflects only indirectly the traits referring to distinctive marks, such as coat colouring, un-earting of corpses, bone crushing, ungainly walk, nocturnal habits, loud and unsophisticated laughter. Beidelman's "quasi-human qualities" and "hyena's association with witches" have probably facilitated the passage from a purely animal character to the more complex figure of *Izimu*, which appears as a semi-human figure. I feel that the comparison between the two characters is worth pursuing further.

Maberly (1986:60-71), in his book on Southern African mammals, states that we find two types of hyena in Southern Africa: the **spotted hyena** and the **brown hyena**. The spotted hyena is larger and stronger than the brown hyena, but is no longer found in the eastern coastal regions, while brown hyena is found over most of Southern Africa. Maberly's description of the animal shows clear correspondences with most of the characteristics Zulu tales attribute to *Izimu*. These further coincide with hyena's traits present in the pan-African imagery bank (outlined by Beidelman), which are taken for granted and never stated in full in Zulu tales.

- i. *Physical characteristics*: Spotted hyena has a large and strong body with a coarse coat of short head and body hair, a longer mane on its robust neck, and a short tail. Brown hyena has a longer coat of shaggy hair and a slightly smaller body.

Izimu is described as a large semi-human being with abundant body hair. His long and unkempt head-hair is often tied up by his enemies as a way of controlling and even killing him.

Both hyena species possess very strong shoulders that allow them to carry even a heavy prey long distances (cf *Izimu*'s bag). The head is massive, and they have longer front

legs than hind legs, a trait conducive to the animals' ungainly walk, although they are reported to cover even 80 km in one night.

Izimu is also supposed to have some physical deformity (one leg, or a large toe that gives him great speed, a horn, two mouths, etc. These might be assimilations from other man-eating monster figures).

Hyena has highly developed sense of smell, hearing and eyesight (this allows it to see at night as it is mainly a nocturnal animal).

Izimu smells or sees the game from far away, a trait conducive to his unexpected attacks, as he seems to appear out of nowhere. He is so fast (hyena can reach about 50 or 60 km an hour when chasing its prey) that his approaching dust can be seen from miles away. Hyena inhabits especially savanna areas that are suitable to its hunting habits. Brown hyena is known to attack domestic animals at night, even in farm enclosures.

- ii. *Eating habits:* Hyena is omnivorous, called "nature's dustman" as it is a great scavenger and eats carrion, no matter how decomposed. It is also a fierce and effective hunter, able at times to kill lions and wild dogs, especially when hunting in large packs. It follows lions and wild dogs at a distance (thus giving the impression of shyness or cowardice) to clean up the carcasses of their hunt. It is an insatiable carnivore, with a special preference for youngsters who are unable to oppose much resistance. When it has caught a large animal, it calls its companions to share the carcass with an eery howl. Its cave is surrounded by large mounds of bones and its fixed latrines are covered with white droppings from its bone diet.

Izimu eats both human and animal flesh, but is particularly fond of well-fed youngsters. He hunts alone or in a group, and often gathers his companions to share his prey. He is an indiscriminate guzzler. His cave is characterized by the stench of rotting flesh and is often "adorned" with human skulls.

- iii. Hyena, like *Izimu*, is considered rather *stupid* and easily *gullible*. If it approaches feeding lions or wild dogs, it is normally chased away and must content itself with their leftovers. It also has the habit of leaving its prey behind in order to attack new game. It shows, nevertheless, great caution, cunning and determination when approaching its quarry. It goes near the game silently, seems to study the situation from some distance (using its acute senses of sight, smell and hearing), then it attacks suddenly, snatches and runs off in a moment.

These are also characteristics of the trick sequence employed by *Izimu*.

- iv. Hyena's *social system* is matriarchal, since females are stronger and heavier than males as they have to defend their young. Males are known to eat their own cubs if found unprotected.

Izimu stories show a prevalence of female characters, whereby a mother sometimes attacks her own children, or even snatches a daughter's cheek.

- v. *Social manners:* When hyenas meet, there is a ritualized greeting ceremony, with sniffing of front and rear as well as signs of submissive animal squealing. Maberly (1986:65) states that hyenas are very antagonistic towards lions and wild dogs, but tend to become extremely tame, if not threatened, in front of humans. Beidelman's Hyena is "loyal to kin" and has a "quasi human laughter". Maberly describes the varieties of hyena's chuckle and its wide range of modulations.

We saw Hlakanyana's meetings with *amazimu* following a set pattern to establish a sort of family relationship (Beidelman's Hare is "potentially friendly even to Hyena"). *Izimu*'s false friendship towards travellers in the tales shows him as initially 'tame'. One of Callaway's informants told him that men turned into *amazimu* (an extension of the ogre concept) would catch a lonely traveller by approaching him with understanding and kind words before abducting him in order to kill and devour him:

Athi angambona umuntu ehamba yedwa, ebeseya kuye, amyenge, azishaye enomusa, amphathe kahle, akhulume kahle naye, kungathi angazukwenza lutho.
(Callaway, 1868:156)

(If they saw a person travelling alone, they would go to him and seduce him, making themselves out as merciful people. They would treat him kindly and spoke gently with him, like people incapable of doing any harm.)

- vi. Maberly mentions that, in popular belief, hyenas are linked with witches of either sex, who ride great distances on hyenas at night. Hyenas are the counterpart of the Werewolf in European folklore.

This analysis clearly shows a close correspondence of the *Izimu* figure to the pan-African Hyena. The Nguni fictional character also incorporates the figures of semi-human man-eating monsters found in some African cultures, as stated by Finnegan (1970:355). *Izimu* is therefore a composite figure that comprises:

- i. Hyena, from Kintu speaking Africa (this also connects *Izimu* with witchcraft);
- ii. Man eating half beings (half human, half animal) of various African traditions;
- iii. Ogre (in some stories of European and other origin);

- iv. Cannibal, based on Hyena's scavenger trait and unearthing of corpses, and as an extension based on possible historical events, often unduly emphasized by outsiders.

Although I am aware of the differences in meaning between *Izimu* and 'ogre', I am using the two terms interchangeably in this work for stylistic variation.

5.1.3 Kuper's Southern Bantu tricksters

Another author who deals with African trickster figures, and with *Izimu* in particular, is **Adam Kuper**, in a paper entitled "**Cannibals, beasts and twins**" (1987), which I therefore need to consider. Kuper tries to interpret the Southern Bantu narratives in terms of Lévi-Strauss' categories of binary opposition, levels and reversals. His starting point is the Bantu anthropocentric description of the cosmos, constituted by three levels referring to man, the sky world and the underground world of the departed. Everything that conflicts with man comes from the two levels external to that of humanity, and is seen as a potential threat to man's survival: "Tricksters are defined as ambiguous, intermediate figures, who mix up fundamental opposition" (1987:180).

Kuper concentrates his discussion on *Izimu*, which he interprets as man's opposite, therefore as a cannibal, a dark man-eater. Kuper identifies the physical, social and economic elements that distinguish the cannibal from man: the cannibal is partly human, partly beast and partly spirit. He has many human qualities, as he was once a person, but has turned half-animal because of witchcraft practices. He shares a number of animal characteristics: eats humans and animals, does not cultivate but hunts, has body hair, etc. He is also partly spirit (based on the *dimo/zimu* etymology): he lives in caves (=underground, like the *abaphansi*, the departed); he appears suddenly, like the whirlwind, and is connected with witchcraft (operates at night and sleeps during the day, like a witch).

Kuper therefore follows the early researchers and missionaries who assimilated *Izimu* with the cannibal, forgetting his pan-African Hyena base and emphasizing the sub-human aspects supposedly produced by man-eating traits. Kuper goes one step further, as he assigns to *Izimu* the spiritual qualities of *amadlozi*, the ancestral spirits, disregarding the fact that the spirits of the departed are venerated and considered beneficial agents, even if with some fear, by the Nguni people.

From these few elements one realizes that Kuper imposes Lévi-Strauss' theories on the data rather than let the data speak for themselves. He then transposes ambiguous 'cannibal' elements to all the characters that show any form of irregularity or liminality, and calls them "tricksters", because he sees them as dubious characters in terms of Lévi-Strauss' theories of

levels and boundaries. Therefore, instead of looking for narrative elements that lead to a distinction between the various categories of tricksters, Kuper looks for any trait, physical or otherwise, which would point to ambiguity and trickery. Instead of separating, Kuper assimilates.

Kuper also maintains that the pointers for the identification of the true meaning of the narrative metaphors are to be found in the physical traits of the various figures, especially tail, colour coding, eating habits, physical habitat. Cannibals are interpreted by Kuper as the spirits of bad ancestors, mostly from another tribe or clan, or of people who practised witchcraft. They further have a number of characteristics in common with witches, that Kuper interprets as human beings who have given up some of their human traits to become intermediate beings.

My research has demonstrated a marked distinction between successful and unsuccessful tricksters in Zulu/Nguni narratives. Furthermore, what has been exposed in the previous section clearly points to *Izimu* being an extension of Hyena, whereby the elements of cannibalism and witchcraft are only secondary and culture specific. This confirms the research carried out by Paulme and Beidelman in other parts of Africa with regard to Hyena. Kuper, however, disregards this distinction, as he separates cannibals and hyenas. In order to make the data fit his theories, he chooses not to mention Chakijana / Hlakanyana even though he draws most of his data from Callaway's folktale collection. And in considering his central piece, the cannibal, Kuper is unable to disentangle the figure from the layers of western/missionary interpretations that concentrated on the man eating aspect and on witchcraft connections in order to assimilate *Izimu* with the Christian/Jewish figure of the devil.

Kuper's "trickster characters" are simply considered from the point of view that they present some suspicious traits and are therefore to be seen as outside of the norm, and can behave dangerously towards man. This wholesale assimilation of all suspicious characters with trickery is a generalization not warranted by the data. In the Zulu tradition, especially represented by the collections of Callaway and Stuart, the *amazimuzimu* and the mythological monitor lizard *imbulu* are, indeed, tricksters and a danger to human life, but they are constantly linked with lack of success.

5.1.4 Animal or human tales?

Izimu appears in only a limited number of tales opposite the successful trickster Hlakanyana (cf Ca. 17-21 and 31-34), while in Beidelman's and Paulme's studies Hyena seems to be constantly contraposed to Hare, with which he shares the savanna as a feeding ground. Since both Hare and Hyena are animals, their opposition in the animal world seems natural. I have previously pointed out (chapter 2) that Chakijana is an animal and naturally appears mostly in animal stories, while Hlakanyana is considered a semi-human dwarf and can thus easily interact with both animals and

humans. Due to the near-assimilation of Hlakanyana / Chakijana, it is possible to find *Izimu*, a semi-human figure, interacting unsuccessfully with both characters. *Izimu*'s characteristic failure is then transposed and extended to all folktales in which he is present.

The Nguni folktales I have studied represent *Izimu* or *Izimuzimu* opposing humans and never acting opposite other animals, except occasionally Hare or Rabbit which are often aliases of Hlakanyana. *Izimu* therefore seems to represent hyena's transformation in a way that allows this fictional figure to easily interact with humans, while further assuming characteristics that identify him as a composite figure resulting from different traditions. *Izimu* stories can therefore be considered as a special section of human folktales, because humans are the intended victims and must react intelligently to the danger posed by *Izimu*. Such stories constitute an exemplification of the concerns confronting human society and individuals, and are also a celebration of human ingenuity in responding to life-threatening challenges.

My discussion will initially concentrate on *Izimuzimu*, which is generally considered quite independently of the pan-African Hyena in Zulu tradition, to demonstrate that *Izimu* corresponds to Hyena in most respects. I will later move on to *imbulu*.

5.2 FROM HYENA TO IZIMUZIMU

Izimu (D.& V.: 1. ogre of folklore; 2. cannibal) appears in the folktales as a great threat to human life as he declares himself (cf Ca. 32) an eater of man and beast and an indiscriminate guzzler.

Ngingumyobozeli. Nembuya ngiyayiyobozela; umuntu ngiyamgwinya nje; angimhlafuli, ngiyamgwinya nje. (App. 5:31)

(I am Mr. Guzzler. I guzzle down even the wild spinach. And as for a person, I just swallow him; I do not even chew him.)

He therefore boasts about the fearsome threat he is to any form of life through his legendary swallowing capacity, which is a reflex of hyena's omnivorous habits and perceived insatiable greed. When such animal traits are transferred to a human environment, as they are in *Izimu* folktales, the character assumes exaggerated dark colours as a great enemy of mankind. Callaway, with his 19th century missionary mentality, states (1868:158):

It is perfectly clear that the cannibals of the Zulu legends are not common men; they are magnified into giants and magicians; they are remarkably swift and enduring; fierce and horrible warriors.

Here Callaway interprets the fictional character as assuming a 'human' image, but we realize that it still maintains the characteristics of hyena ('remarkably swift and enduring'; 'fierce and horrible'). The element of 'magnified giants and magicians' describes a European folkloristic view associated with the 'ogre' figure. Callaway, in fact, says further (1868:155): "*Ngokuba ngokuqala amazimu abe ngabantu*" (Because ogres were originally people).

The transformation from a fictional animal figure to a fictional human or semi-human one, might be considered a Nguni/Zulu twist, to render the tales more human orientated, in a way reflected in the transformation of the pan-African Hare figure into the Nguni Hlakanyana. The Hyena/*Izimu* shift might be further interpreted as the result of historical events, of which we know little, except the fact that in Callaway's and Colenso's time (mid- to late 19th century) the Zulu were still mixing fiction and history by projecting the phenomenon of anthropophagy to the hardships caused by the *Imfeqane* period and by the great drought of 1812.

In fact, Bishop Colenso's *Zulu Dictionary*, under the word **ZIMU**, gives the following note (1878:705), which identifies *Izimu* with anthropophagy, and therefore with a most serious threat to human life:

Cannibals are said to live a long way north of Zululand, who have long hair, which they anoint with human fat. Not very long ago there was a great famine in Natal through a long drought; and UmDava, Chief of the amaBambo, told his people to scatter themselves, and go over the veld, and catch all the people they came upon in the paths to serve as food. They did so, and those people lived on human flesh, till the time for the crops came round, but then they did not choose to leave their cannibalism; for they were now used to eating human flesh, and liked it better than beef.

One may notice both historical (possible reference to the 1812 great drought?) and legendary details in Colenso's description. Also Callaway devotes a number of pages (155 - 164) to *amazimuzimu*. His informants relate the phenomenon of anthropophagy to a severe famine, but in tones that show both the Zulu abhorrence of the practice, and the possibility that the whole series of events might be the fruit of a narrator's imagination rather than of historical accuracy. Luthuli Dladla, for example, ends his testimony (Callaway, 1868:158) by stating that what he knows might all be the result of legendary narratives:

Yiloko-ke engikwaziyo engikuzwile ngabazi insumansumane.

(This is then what I know as I have heard it from those who know the fantastic stories)

The man-eating element is therefore transposed from the realm of fiction, where it is associated with Hyena and with the half-human man-eaters of Central Africa, to the realm of historical fact, where humans become eaters of human flesh out of extreme need. The element of

anthropophagy is so utterly revolting that any manifestation of it is easily transformed into fantastic stories, which are, however, based on animal (hyena) traits. The folktales show that this fearsome being is defeatable by intelligence and cunning.

The Zulu/Kintu lexicon further reveals a connection between the figure of *Izimu* and the world of the spirits, exploited by Kuper (1987) for his assimilation of cannibals and tricksters. *Izimu* has many cognate words, derived from *DIMU, a root of Niger-Congo origin widely spread in Kintu speaking Africa and connected with the concept of darkness. According to Werner (1933) and Kuper (1987), the root shows a clear connection with the spirit world. Here are a few examples:

Sotho:

ledimo (cl 5) (pl. **madimo**), cannibal, cannibals.

Modimo (cl 1) God, and **badimo** (cl 2), the spirits.

Swahili:

Zimwi for ogre or cannibal,

kuzimu (Cl 17) is 'the place of the spirits', thought of as underground, while **muzimu** (Cl 3) is the place where offerings are made to the spirits (Werner, 1933:174).

Other languages have **irimu** (Wachanga and Akikuyu); **eimu** (Kamba); **edimo** (Duala) for "spirit".

In spite of this 'cognate' evidence, we must notice that Nguni languages have adopted a different noun, *idlozi* / *amadlozi*, for their ancestors, who are normally perceived as positive and beneficial forces. *Izimu*'s connection with the spirit world is of very secondary importance in Nguni. It is possible to argue that missionaries over-emphasized the lexical connection because of their concern with the figure of the devil, of which *Izimu* seemed a 'natural' incarnation. The missionaries' position was further strengthened by the folkloristic connection of hyena/*Izimu* with the hated and feared practice of witchcraft.

The noun *Izimu* often appears as *Izimuzimu*, i.e. in a reduplicated stem form, which implies "a considerable number of" or "many of the same". In the same way as hyenas often hunt in packs, *amazimuzimu* are often shown to act as a group in folktales, at least when the prey has been caught. Hyenas may turn on, and eat each other in cases of extreme hunger, or when one of the pack is ill and weak, or when it has been killed by lions. *Izimu* stories show a similar attitude among *amazimu*: when one of them does not provide the promised food for the group he is mercilessly devoured by the others (which is, supposedly, also a characteristic of witches).

Alice Werner (1933:172-191) demonstrates that *Izimu* is not a purely Nguni character as she offers an extensive survey of the figure in Kintu speaking Africa. Her presentation, however, shows a certain confusion of *Izimu* with other African man-eating monsters, and this further

demonstrates the point I made earlier that *Izimu* is a composite figure. The following aspects summarize most of the previous points and have relevance here in order to place Zulu folktales in perspective.

1. In some cultures it is felt that *Izimu* was originally a person that chose anthropophagy as a way of life, but who may return to the original human form either to deceive, or as a result of purification through fire (bewitched men in snake form are returned to humanity through fire in Zulu folktales). There is also a wide belief that *amazimu* are the spirits of evil people who either killed in life, or practised witchcraft. This final point is relevant in the context of Hyena's association with witches.
2. The fictional figure is represented with either a very large or a rather small physique (in some Zulu tales he appears small, but, in most, big and powerful: the difference between smaller brown hyena and larger spotted hyena?). Werner reports explanations that would want to assimilate the small *amazimu* with the small Bushmen, *abaThwa*, who are feared for their elusive ways, live in caves at the margin of the village and use mysterious medicines to heal and poisonous arrows to kill (cf Prins & Lewis in 2.2.3 above).
3. Physical deformities mentioned in some tales: one eye, one arm, one leg or big toe or small finger, a large red protruding tooth. When toe, finger or tooth is cut open, out come the cattle and people who had been swallowed (assimilation with all-devouring and man-eating monsters, which are not exactly the same figure as *Izimu* in Zulu folktales). In Stuart's tale *Intombi eyayiyochanguza* (cf Canonici, 1995(a):65), the heroine ends up in a village of one-legged "people", where she is forced to bear one-legged children for the chief.
4. Magic powers, connected with physical deformities: if it has several heads, these grow back as soon as they are cut off. E.g. in Callaway's *UZembeni* (App. No. 21), when the ogress is cut to pieces by Sikhulumi's dogs, she keeps coming alive, until the dogs grind her body to powder and throw it into a flowing river: evil seems to have many lives. Also Gubudela (App. No. 17) makes sure that the *amazimu* he has burned do not return to life by sprinkling their ashes in a flowing river.

Hyena/*Izimu* thus becomes the sum-total of negative elements, the *absolute negative* (Babcock-Abrahams, 1978). The folktale tradition heaps all the scorn it can muster on this unsuccessful character, so as to make it so ridiculous that the child's imagination may be able to perceive the dissolution of threats and fears into laughter.

5.3 INEPT IMITATION

In spite of all the fear that *Izimu*/hyena inspires for his cruelty and omnivorous greed, he is a trickster that can be defeated because he shows weaknesses and faults that render his tricking imitation patterns unsuccessful. We have previously stated that the folktale tradition is based on an association between the observation of phenomena in the animal world and human behavioural patterns. A trick sequence highlights the trickster's basic approach intended to dissipate the victim's fears, as animals try to befriend the one they intend to catch or trap (cf hyena's ceremonial greeting ritual and its tame attitude towards people when it is not threatened). The bait is something positive (food, friendship, family relationship, happiness, etc.), accompanied by the establishment of a behavioural pattern or formula. This gives the illusion of security or of possible benefits, and the victim is trapped into a corner from which it cannot escape, especially since the trickster secretly alters the pattern.

Street (1972) makes the point that the Zande Ture is a fast, but hurried, learner of magic formulae. He is amazed at the power of formulae and wants to use them immediately, but he either forgets the formula, or is impatient with its details and tries to short-cut it. Denise Paulme (1977) states that unsuccessful tricksters are inept imitators as they try to imitate the star tricksters, but either do not persevere to the end, or lack the knowledge of the full formula for success. They are thus derided as bungling fools, marked as misfits to be marginalized or got rid of. The obsession with formulae and subsequent mix up are also characteristic of *Izimu*, as it appears in the following folktales.

In Callaway's Hlakanyana's story *Izimu* is presented (Ca. 17-21) as a threat to Hlakanyana's life, as hyena is to hare in Beidelman's stories. For all his strength and fearsome threats, *Izimu* is, however, shown as a defeatable and inept trick initiator who easily becomes the butt of the trickster's plots. He establishes a formula to catch his prey: he spreads bird lime around his traps. When he catches Hlakanyana, this one convinces *Izimu* to accept a variation of the formula: instead of eating him (Hlakanyana) immediately, *Izimu* must take him home to be cooked by his (*Izimu*'s) mother, who is then trapped into a pot by means of the *ukuphekana* game. *Izimu* is eventually tricked into eating his own mother (Ca. 17-21) in substitution for Hlakanyana. This tale is a clear representation of *Izimu* as an inept trick initiator, and might just as well be hyena.

Then three different *amazimu* are successively trapped in their own homes and destroyed by Hlakanyana by various means (Ca. 31-34). The first *Izimu* initially tries to befriend Hlakanyana by calling him *mshana* (my sister's child) (cf hyena's meeting ritual, reflected in Kaguru tales by Beidelman's description of hyena as an 'exploitative mother's brother'). Hlakanyana accepts the compliment and immediately calls the ogre *malume* (my mother's brother). Once this friendly relationship is established, Hlakanyana builds his destructive

scheme on the trust that should exist in a close family circle: he tells the ogre the story of how he has caught a leopardess, whose meat he offers to share with *Izimu*; he then helps *Izimu* catch two wandering cows, which they slaughter to share the meat (sharing a meal is a sign of family relationship. It also reflects both hyena's insatiable greed, which is tempered by its custom of sharing a large prey with the group). Hlakanyana finally suggests that they build a house, or a shelter, because a storm is approaching. *Izimu* gratefully accepts all these suggestions, and praises Hlakanyana for his wisdom and foresight. Hlakanyana, however, has something else in mind: while the *Izimu* is thatching the roof-top, Hlakanyana tightly knits the ogre's long hair (hyena's longish mane?) in the thatch and leaves him there to die, while he (Hlakanyana) eats all the meat. *Izimu* had unwittingly began the trick sequence, but he was too anxious to finish all the preparations for the sumptuous meal to realize Hlakanyana's subtle alteration of the pattern by means of tying the ogre's hair in the thatching grass.

The other two *amazimu* are tricked and finally destroyed in different ways, but always following the pattern of a false friendship accepted by *Izimu*. There might be some echo of hyena's ritualized greeting being taken advantage of by Hlakanyana. *Izimu* thus seems to fall constantly into the illusion and substitution ploys of the star trickster. Callaway's Hlakanyana's story therefore shows *Izimu* as a fearsome threat to life, because his main inclination is to eat everything and anything (hyena is omnivorous), who is, however, conquerable by cunning and intelligence.

The obsession with a formula and *Izimu*'s inability to follow it to the end in order to ensure success is demonstrated in several folktales in which *Izimu* plays his threatening role. The intended victims are mostly young and inexperienced people, who, however, demonstrate ways to defeat *Izimu* and to dispel the fears he represents.

The first folktale of this kind to be considered is Stuart's *UGubudela kaNomantshali* (Gubudela, son of Nomantshali, App. No. 17), which is found in several parallel versions, including one in Mbatha and Mdladla.

1. Gubudela is a plump young man herding his family cattle. *Izimu* sees him and wants to catch him for his pot. He proposes to play with him the game (learning a formula = offer of friendship) of getting in and out of his skin bag, similar to the trapping technique evidenced by the *ukuphekana* game. This is meant to catch the young man in the bag and carry him home where he would be roasted and eaten in company (Hyena's strength and carrying ability coupled with its sharing of food with its social group). Gubudela discovers the ploy when he overhears the ogre's conversation with the wife (fraud discovered). On the third day, when *Izimu* intends to enclose the young man in the bag during the game, Gubudela traps the ogre instead, carries him to the ogre's home and has the ogre's wife light the fire to roast him (duper duped at his own game).
2. Transitional image: the *amazimuzimu* are furious and vow revenge, which is legitimate in their minds since one of their group has been killed. One day that Nomantshali,

Gubudela's father, has slaughtered a beast, they crash the party, eat the meat and then devour their host. Gubudela escapes.

3. Now it is the young man's turn to plan his legitimate revenge, to avenge his father's death. He prepares a large party with plenty of meat and drugged beer, and invites all the *amazimu* he can find (offer of friendship, parallel to that of playing a game). When they are all happily drunk, he closes the doors on them (parallel to the first *izimu*'s closing the bag on him) and sets fire to the huts (parallel to the ogre's instruction to his wife to set fire to the house). As they helplessly shout, scared by the fire, Gubudela reveals the aim of the party:

Nimbekaphi ubaba? Mkhipheni khona manje!
(Where did you put my father? Bring him back right now!)

There seems to be here a reference to the *ukubuyisa* [= 'bringing back'] ceremony to honour the dead and restore them to family veneration. There may be an even stronger reference to the duty of family revenge: *Ukubuyisa isidumbu* (to return the corpse) means to pay someone in kind for a murder: a clear application of *lex talionis*. The *amazimuzimu* are all reduced to ashes, which the young man throws into a river (purifying water in which *amazimu* cannot survive).

4. Another transitional image follows, to conclude the story: *amazimu* families draw water from that river. The water is now heavy and sweet, tasting of meat, and they drink so much that they cannot stand up (hyena's insatiable greed for meat and carrion). They invite Gubudela to drink it (attempt at new trick to save themselves?), but he refuses, asking them again where his father is, and then destroys all the remaining *amazimu*.

The story drives home the legitimacy of revenge in human society, as it is also applied in the animal kingdom. *Amazimu*, like hyenas, are hunters who try to follow the same hunting pattern as the successful trickster, but they fail dismally because they are too greedy, do not keep their plan a secret and are obviously driven by impatience in applying the formula for success. *Amazimu* families are tricked by the meat substance contained in the ashes that have been thrown into the water (hyena's heightened sense of smell?). This is as if the ashes still contained the essence, or the shadow, of the deceased.

Parallelisms between the first and second major sections (1 and 3), as well as the two transitional images (2 and 4: in the first Nomantshali - a member of Gubudela's family - is killed; in the second Gubudela still asks *amazimu* where they have put him, and then completely destroys the families of *amazimu*) are clear, as it is clear how the performer shows the inept imitation by the *amazimuzimu*. The symbolism is encoded in the complementary signs of bag and house, where Gubudela should have been caught and killed and the *amazimu* are trapped and killed instead. Also food and drink, normally associated with the establishment of friendship, are fraudulently employed as means of trapping the greedy ogres. Fire keeps hyenas away from a human environment at night, and *amazimu* are destroyed by it. Water represents the source of life in Zulu symbolism. *Amazimu* are life destroyers, therefore they cannot survive in it.

Another example of the inept imitation in the use of a formula can be seen in Violet Dube's folktale *Izimuzimu nentombazana* (The ogre and the girl, App. No. 20), whose parallel versions are found in Callaway (1868:74 ff) as *USithungusobenhle*, and in a Sotho story - *Tselane* - collected by Arbousset in 1842 and quoted in Werner (1933:80). The story involves a young girl as the intended victim of *Izimu*. Many *Izimu* stories begin with a girl, or a group of girls, lost in a forest and approached by *Izimu* (cf App. no. 19), who acts like Hare's senior exploitative relative in Kaguru Hyena tales. We should be aware of the possibility of late European "ogre" modernizations in Dube's stories.

1. A family has built a new home, but Nomvula, the daughter, does not want to move to it and stays on, alone, in the old house at the edge of the forest which she loves. (This motif is not common in Zulu)
2. Nomvula's mother regularly comes to bring her food. Like the evil witch in Grimm's "Rapunzel", she sings a little refrain to be recognized: (NB "Singing a refrain to open" is a wide-spread African motif also found in Callaway's *Intombi namazimu*)

Nomvula mntanami! Mntanami Nomvula!
Thath'ukudla udle, Nomvula mntanami!
 (Nomvula my child, take your food and eat!)

Nomvula answers with another refrain:

Ngiyezwa Ma, Ma ngiyezwa!
Izwi lakho, mama, lihle liyathokozisa! -
 (I hear you, Mother! Your voice is lovely and brings me joy)

3. The following motif of the ogre's efforts to gain entrance in order to kidnap the girl is used in several tales and is also quoted by Beidelman (1975) as Hyena's trick to get to Hare's elderly mother. The ogre becomes obsessed with the song (formula). He learns it and sings it but is betrayed by his coarse voice (Hyena's fearsome howling at night?) and rejected. He furiously inspects the surrounds of the house with the utmost care (hyena's study of the situation) and realizes he can only enter through the door. He must therefore change his voice, so as to avoid scaring the girl (cf Hyena's trick in Beidelman, 1975). He repeatedly burns his vocal cords with red-hot needles and finally manages to be mistaken for the girl's mother and to get into the house (K 311.3). In other versions *izimu* ingratiates himself with the girls by calling them *Bantabami* (my children) and allowing them to call him *Malume* (uncle; Beidelman's 'exploitative mother's brother'). Fears are thus dissipated by either the voice or the sweet talk, and the trick sequence is successfully initiated.
4. In a flash, *Izimu* kidnaps the girl and puts her in his bag (entrapment through fraud; Hyena's snapping and carrying ability). He, however, bungles the enterprise as he squeezes the girl forcing her to sing while on his way home (he does not keep his deception secret). This motif of a girl in the ogre's bag singing out her fate is widely

spread. It appears in one of Theal's stories as well as in Grimm's fairy tale Rapunzel. The girl sings:

*Uthi mangikhale ngithini na?
Lokhu izinkomo zobaba zingangotshani.
Wo, laze langishonela namhlanje,
We, baba nomama!*

(You want me to sing. What should I sing?
At my father's place the cattle are as tall as grass.
Poor me, today the sun sets the last time for me.
We, mother and father!)

5. *Izimu* feels hungry on the way and decides to call in at a house to ask for food. A wedding has recently taken place and there is plenty of meat available.
6. The house belongs to Nomvula's maternal uncle. The *izimu* boasts that he has a singing animal in the bag and makes it sing for food (K 341) (betrayed by his own greed). (Other versions [e.g. Theal's and Tselane] present *Izimu* as a village fool, who gets the trapped girl to sing to entertain the people). The girl's voice and message are recognized and her uncle plans her rescue (K 435). Or a young cousin recognizes Nomvula's toes sticking out of the bag and tells her parents. The fool has bungled his trick!
7. The uncle makes *Izimu* leave the bag outside (cf Hyena leaving a bone when distracted by more appetizing approaching game) and sends him to fetch water with a leaky calabash (K 605) (to delay him as long as possible) and substitutes the girl in the bag with a fierce dog and stinging bees (K 526). After the ogre has eaten he goes off, carrying his bag and unaware of the exchange (K 11.1 & 437.1). He pinches the girl to sing and the dog sings imitating the girl's voice (K 131.1).
8. At home he boasts about the juicy game he has got in his bag, which he places at the back of the hut (the place where food for the spirits is placed) overnight.
9. The next day he sends his wife to fetch the bag, but she is bitten by the dog. He sends the children who are also bitten. Furiously he goes himself, brings the bag into the room and closes the door (self entrapment), thinking of eating the girl on his own.
10. When he unfastens the bag, he is thoroughly bitten by the dog and stung by the bees. He tries to escape at great speed and falls into a mud pool, head first and legs sticking out in mid air. The fool is defeated.
11. The body of the *izimu* grows into a tree trunk, and the pursuing bees nest in his anus.
12. In a final attempt at kidnapping his girl, as Nomvula tries to get the honey, her arm is trapped into the hole by the power of the ogre (new trick).
13. Nomvula's father slaughters an ox and frees the girl's arm by pouring the fat into the hole (Sacrifice to the ancestors to overcome witchcraft) (Duper duped again).

The *Izimu* performs the trick efficiently at first, but is unable to carry it through to completion because he allows escape routes to remain open, or lets his secret become known (betrayed by greed and stupid enthusiasm). His imitation is therefore inept. The object of his greed is a girl, who is naïvely trying to assert her independence, and is therefore possibly of marriageable age.

Her mother's family comes to her rescue through *umalume* (the "male mother", or "mother's brother"), at whose home girls often find their future husbands among their cousins' friends.

We can see how the images in the story are set out in a parallel fashion:

- (a) *Izimu* kidnaps the girl and carries her in his bag, in order to eat her. The obstacle to the smooth fulfilment of his plan is constituted by his coarse voice (animality), which he eventually overcomes through transformation.
- (b) *Umalume* substitutes the girl with wild biting animals (cf Ca. 32). There is a delay caused by a leaky calabash ploy (common in *izimu* stories). A false friendship link is established by a food offer to the ogre, as a sign of hospitality and community building.
- (c) The girl sings and reveals her identity. The dog (humans' allied against ogres) sings and hides its true identity.
- (d) The ogre's bag (symbol of food and therefore of life) becomes a death trap.

All the marks assignable to Hyena or *Izimu* as inept trickster are present in this story, which, however, does not present two strongly opposing characters, as was the case in *UGubudela kaNomantshali*, where the imitation pattern could be more clearly defined. The trick imitation is not an immediate surface reality, but is found in the way *Izimu* acts out his planned trick. In the first story the intended victim was an attractive (=fat, juicy) young man, a parallel to Nomvula in this tale. But while the girl needs the family to come to her rescue through a substitution trick, and she sets in motion the rescue effort by singing out her fate in a refrain, Gubudela (a boy) takes the initiative to free himself and to avenge his father's death. He thus becomes the hero in the fight against evil elements in nature and in society.⁷ It is interesting to note that male family members often come to the girl's rescue, as is also the case in another of Callaway's *amazimu* folktales, *Intombi namazimu* (Callaway, 1868:140-152), where the girl's brother rushes to his sister's help, warned of her danger by the ancestors through a dream. His dogs play an important part in ridding the young people of the pursuing *amazimuzimu*, as is also the case in Sikhulumu's tale (next section).

Izimu is heaped with negative characteristics that mark him for a negative and unsuccessful role, probably because he really represents the traditional African fictional 'villain', the Hyena. Callaway (1868:159) indicates that some of the traits attached to the figure of *Izimu* in the narratives (long hair, different physical features = mostly Hyena's features) are connected by the people with generalizations regarding foreigners, who are looked upon as threats among the Zulu, in spite of the powerful custom of hospitality.

In section 4.2.4 the importance of hospitality in Zulu culture was explained. This is a pillar of social intercourse which should, however, be seen against the background of the struggle for survival in an environment that offers scarce economic resources. A traveller must be made welcome, but must also be guarded against. He belongs, in fact, to another community

that might be bent on the destruction of the host family or clan. He might be there on a spying mission, or he might even be sowing evil medicines on behalf of envious enemies. Greed in eating what is offered, or refusal to eat what the home can provide, could be construed as signals that the traveller's intentions are not genuine. Sexual indiscretions would also mean his intention to interfere with the life sources of the clan. These attitudes might eventually translate into murderous activities, often carried out through the use of witchcraft. If we accept that *Izimu* is connected with witchcraft, as Hyena is, then we can see how the clan's ancestors protect their offspring against witches, as it is demonstrated in the next section.

5.4 TRICKERY, MAGIC AND WITCHCRAFT

Hyena's social system is matriarchal, where females are clearly dominant. Hyenas are further believed to be witches' familiars, and, by extension, witches. A mother ogress, who is a possible witch, has destroyed all the men in the neighbourhood and tries to use her beautiful daughters as a bait. Magic powers are needed to counteract the mother's witchcraft. This is presented in Callaway's folktale *UZembeni, noma UZwanide* (The Axe Bearer or Long Toe, Callaway, in App. No. 21), whose details are further specified in Callaway's *USikhulumi* (1868:42 ff) (cf. also Theal, 1886).

1. Axe Bearer (Zembeni) or Long Toe (Zwanide) (a physical deformity of man-eating monsters) is a powerfully built woman who has destroyed all the men in the neighbourhood. She has two daughters, famous for their beauty in the whole country. She tries to eat the cheek of one of them, but the meat turns very bitter and she desists, leaving the daughter disfigured (cf hyena's snatching habit against sleeping humans).
2. Sikhulumi, a royal prince with magic powers, searches for a bride in Zembeni's homestead, helped by the gall-bladder of a bird given him by an old woman (help of positive magic), and is sheltered by the damsels who make a hole in the ground to hide him (protection by the ancestors who live underground against hyena's nocturnal habits?).
3. On her return, Zembeni goes wild with joy when she smells human flesh in the place (*Kumuka santungwana*, "There is a smell of something nice" or of something that resembles human smell. cf Hyena's chuckle when it has felled an animal), but the girls do not let her search their dwelling. Next morning, on the gall-bladder's advice, the prince and the non-disfigured damsel leave after Zembeni has gone out hunting.
4. On her return, Zembeni discovers the elopement of the young people and chases after them (cf hyena's long tracking abilities helped by well-developed senses of sight, hearing and smell and by its great speed). When they see the dust of the pursuing ogress rising on the horizon, the young couple take refuge on a tall tree, which Zembeni sets to chopping down. Sikhulumi summons his dogs (men's allies against wild animals and witches), who keep attacking Zembeni, but she keeps coming back to life (hyena sometimes looks dead after having been attacked by lions, but it snaps back into life as soon as the danger has passed), while also the tree restores itself each time it is about to

fall. The dogs eventually manage to destroy Zembeni, to reduce her body and bones to powder and to throw her remains in a flowing river.

5. The young couple can now continue their journey undisturbed. When they arrive at the prince's place there is a great wedding party offered by the people who had already given Sikhulumu up for dead.

Zembeni traps Sikhulumu in her evil home, which is like the room from which ogres themselves cannot escape. He is saved by the girls (first mediators) who put him into an underground shelter for protection by the *abaphansi*, the departed, and by the gall-bladder (other mediators). During the escape sequence he is trapped again, but takes refuge on a tall tree, that serves as a bridge between the human world and the spirit world (protection of forest and of spirits, *amathongo*) and is defended by his dogs. Zembeni / Zwanide has a physical deformity (a long toe that gives her speed) as well as the moral deformities of *Izimu*, that make her a fearsome destructive power, like hyena. It could be speculated that her aberrations with regard to 'eating men' might be connected with unscrupulous sexual advances that predatory older women (and some mothers-in-law!) are popularly accused of in some rural areas. But it probably only reflects the dominant role of female hyenas that often snub and chase away the weaker males. She goes as far as disfiguring her daughter, as hyena snatches parts of a victim and witches may devour their own children.

The chase sequence, similar in many ways to the obligatory car chase in TV "cops and robbers" thrillers, is an inversion, because it is not the "offended party" that chases the villain, but the villain that wants to catch the innocent victim. The forest becomes a symbol of the wide living shield that protects human life, because forest trees span the three cosmic circles: the sky, the earth and the underworld. When man is chased by evil forces the forest opens up to protect him (cf M. Kunene, 1995). The tall tree, which represents the constantly self-rejuvenating forest and a kind of ladder to the sky world, magically redresses itself to protect the young couple, who hold in themselves the promise of new life. Dogs are allied to humans in their fights against intruding animals, ogres and witches. The battle between good and evil seems unequal, as usual. But good elements seem to have greater resilience than their evil counterparts: through supernatural protection they are able to overcome the forces of darkness.

From a literary point of view it is interesting to note how the seemingly satisfied chuckle of hyena when it has caught its game is reflected in the formula uttered when *Izimu* smells the prey (hyenas have a highly developed sense of smell), which is found in many Zulu tales: *Kunuka santungwana* (There is a smell of something nice here) (cf App. 21:4). Such a formula, which makes *amazimu* narratives very popular with young audiences, corresponds to the English nursery rhyme:

Fee, fie, foe, fumb,

I smell the blood of an Englishman.

Also in Italian one finds a similar rhyme:

Niccio niccio,

Che puzza di cristianiccio!

O c'è o c'è stato!

(I scent the smell of something of a person. He is either here now, or he has been here!)

The ogre's chase sequence, with magic delay elements thrown on the path to create illusions and obstacles, is also prominent in Nyembezi's tale *UNokuthula* (App. No. 19). This story parallels, in part, Theal's tale called *USikhulumi*, reported with some Sotho and Tswana details in Werner (1933:184). A further tale found in Nyembezi (1962:2:105), called *Izimu namantombazana amathathu*, reflects a number of motifs found in Nokuthula's and Zembeni's stories.

1. Two young girls, lost in a forest for not following their mother's directions at a crossroad, arrive at Nokuthula's home to ask shelter for the night. Nokuthula's mother is an ogress, *Izimu*, and the girl Nokuthula feels anxious for the fate of her two guests. She hides them in her dwelling.
2. The ogress gets suspicious when Nokuthula returns to her own place with her food, supposedly to eat on her own. The presence of the guests is discovered. Nokuthula arranges logs and stones under a blanket to give the appearance of the sleeping girls, and runs off with her companions, having taken a basket with an egg, a stick and a stone.
3. The ogress repeatedly hits on the blanket with her axe during the night, but when she goes there in the morning to take the corpses she discovers her daughter's ruse and immediately sets out on a fast moving chase.
4. Nokuthula sees the dust of the approaching mother from far away. She drops the egg, which changes into a thick mist to stop the pursuing *Izimu*. When the mist lifts, Nokuthula drops the stick which grows immediately into a thick forest (hyenas rarely hunt in forests). The *Izimu* must return home to fetch her axe, which is also magic: at the first blow the forest disappears. Nokuthula finally drops the stone, which changes into a mass of sharp boulders that delay the mother for a long time. When her dust appears again, Nokuthula plucks some of her hair and some of the girls' hair and buries it in several places in the ground. The ogress sees a reflection of the girls, who keep answering her calls from different corners. She is thus caught in this magic circle and eventually has to give up the chase and return home empty handed (K 626). (Although hyenas are very persistent in chasing their game, they sometimes give up when they get too tired)
5. Nokuthula finally arrives with her protégées at their uncle's home. She is thanked through the slaughter of a beast and remains there until she gets married.

This tale confirms a number of points that have already surfaced in previous stories. The objects of the ogress' greed are young girls, who show some sign of confusion (as when having to choose the correct path at a crossroad) and are lost and seek help from an unknown stranger. They are

attracted to a house in the forest which shows some kind of human life and warmth (*Umuzi othi loko loko emnyameni* - 'A house with a flickering fire in the dark', App. 19:4). This turns out to be the house of *Izimu*, therefore a place of supreme danger. The ogress threatens to trap and kill them, and their rescue is initiated by someone who has some knowledge of magic means to counteract the ogress' witchcraft. During the chase sequence everyday objects are transformed into anchors of salvation: the egg, the stick, the stone.

The **egg** is the mysterious principle of life, a wholesome feminine element which encloses in its shell a water-like sustaining and defending substance and the life-seed, the yolk. Its circular shape is also the symbol of perfection (cf Kriel, 1986:114). When thrown to the ground in the tale, it produces a mist, a confusing natural element that creates seclusion and protection, like the magic circle. In Callaway's tale *Intombi namazimu*, mist protects the escaping girl and confuses the ogres.

The **stick** is part of the vegetable world of the forest, that great and ever-renewing reality which symbolizes life itself. When dropped it produces a forest, that life-power that scares the ogress since she is trying to destroy life. These two eminently feminine elements are very suitable to protect the girls, who are destined to be life receptacles for the continuation of the human species.

The **stone** represents the mineral world, unchanging and yet with hidden powers, since the Zulu believe that initially even stones were alive. Several tales show rocks opening up to protect humans in danger.

Finally Nokuthula uses **hair** and buries it in separate spots in the ground. Hair, being part of the body, still maintains some of the vital forces of the person, and can thus impersonate the owner and constitute another protective magic circle in which the life destroyer is utterly confused. Elements from the animal, vegetable, mineral and human worlds are called into play to protect the girls from the *Izimu*.

It is interesting to note that also this tale is built on the frame of a journey in search of something or somebody; that its main characters are confused young girls; that it ends with the mention of marriage.

Stuart's folktale *UMabhejana* (App. No. 18) establishes a clear link between unsuccessful trickery and witchcraft, as the trick initiator is a witch, therefore a human being, who uses witchcraft to obtain her aims. This tale only reflects various elements of *Izimu* stories, but cannot be considered on the same level as it portrays a completely human situation.

1. Mabhejana is a powerfully built woman, with a horn growing on her head (abnormal physical traits mark ogres and witches). Her daughter is sought by prince Mahloko, who sends a delegation of ten men to the girl's family to ask for her hand in marriage.

At the in-law's, the men are sprinkled with ashes, are sent to herd cattle and then killed by Mabhejana through a hailstorm she has called purposely. The second delegation suffers an identical fate. The prince then decides to go personally, accompanied by his retinue.

2. An old woman, met on the road, asks the prince to perform the unpleasant task of licking her oozing eyes, then gives him the gall-bladder of a house lizard to instruct him on how to avoid the sorcery in Mabhejana's home. The party thus refuses all the offers by the host (entering from the main gate, meat, clean beer, sleeping in the upper room, blankets). They do the opposite of what the people around Mabhejana expect them to do. While herding, they hide under the cattle's bellies and are sheltered from the lethal hailstorm.
3. On the way home with the bride, Mahlokohloko does not walk on the path but on the grass in order to avoid leaving his footprint in the sand, that could be used by the pursuing witch. When they are far from the bride's home he carelessly walks on the path, his footprint is scooped up by Mabhejana and Mahlokohloko is turned into a furious black bull. The bride manages to get possession of the magical gall-bladder.
4. Back at the prince's home, the bull goes to sleep in the cattle byre, with the other cows. The gall-bladder instructs the bride to kill and burn the bull and to throw the ashes in the river. The prince's other wives accuse her of destroying the chief by witchcraft.
5. The next morning the bride goes to the river and sings the chief's favourite song. The other wives join her. Soon Mahlokohloko begins to emerge from the waters re-transformed into a person and eventually joins in the singing. There is a great wedding party and the bride is no longer accused of witchcraft practices.

Mabhejana's physical deformities and her use of magical powers identify her as a witch. She is able to call down a vicious hailstorm on her guests by the simple invocation of her ancestors. She is opposed by Mahlokohloko, a chief, therefore a person with magic powers, the more so since he is the son of Sikhulumu who appears as a powerful opponent of *amazimuzimu* in other Callaway tales (cf Callaway, 1868:41 ff. and *UZwanide*).

Mabhejana initiates magic tricks to gain an advantage over the pretenders to her daughter's hand. Her actions reflect an essentially human situation, as she seems to dramatically exaggerate the loss that a family suffers when a daughter leaves to marry into another clan. Krige (1967:29) says that a traditional father, or the senior member of a family, tries to resist the advances of the bridegroom's party, *abakhongi* (marriage negotiators), who have come to negotiate *ilobolo*, or the bride dowry. He declares: "*Nangihlaba kakhulu!*" (You have stabbed me deeply). Mabhejana takes advantage of the perfunctory exterior enmity, name-calling and insulting practices between the two clans, that are soon to be united through marriage, in order to do bodily harm to the bridegroom's party and clan. In a kind of false contract, she commands the *abakhongi*, who have come to finalize marriage negotiations, to herd the cattle to demonstrate their readiness to work for the bride (a subtle indication of the *lobolo* requirements: *Umfazi uyasetshenzelwa*, "A wife must be worked for", a Zulu proverb states), then she causes a hailstorm to destroy them and render their mission fruitless. Cattle are the property of the

ancestors: they are instrumental in causing the death of the first two delegations, but protect the third party that contains the chief's son. The chief evidently possesses greater power than the witch. The gall-bladder works as a mediating and protecting magical agent. The fact that the chief takes personal charge of the final stages of the negotiations signifies that he is really earnest about his marriage.

Mabhejana further tries to entrap the bridegroom's party with all the means at her disposal, as the guests are supposed to follow the ritual pattern established for this great occasion: she tries to take advantage of demonstrations of hospitality for her own evil intentions (False contract), but her plans are thwarted by the gall-bladder's mediatory advice. Mabhejana wants to encircle her guests in a close room (as ogres were destroyed by Gubudela); she offers them food and beer (which might have been doctored); she gives them sleeping blankets (to obtain part of the chief's essence or body dirt to be able to use it for her magic practices). The chief side-steps all these alluring temptations, alters the pattern and is spared. Mabhejana's people, acting in unison with the witch, keep on asking: "What are we going to do to these men since they side-step all our tricks?" In fact, the bad beer the guests drink and the open space where they sleep render Mabhejana's plots against Mahlokohloko powerless. Mabhejana cannot work her magic unless she is able to get hold of something that belongs to the chief or that contains his shadow. When Mahlokohloko, during the return journey, inconsiderately leaves his footprint in the sand, the witch can cup it as it is like a shell still containing his vital powers. She can now exert her evil influence on him and transforms the pretender to her daughter's hand into a fearsome black bull, that is, into an animal that will be unable to marry her daughter. Her trick seems to have succeeded.

But the gall-bladder (help against witchcraft), held by the bride, is still at work. Through its advice the black bull is slaughtered, to destroy Mabhejana's evil influence (traditionally a completely black bull was reserved for very special sacrifices to the ancestors) and burned on a huge bonfire ("Fire is the gift of the shades to men. When a man is making the shades happy with meat, then there should be something coming from them in return." [Berglund, 1976:232]), the magic spell is broken by means of a kind of death-resurrection ploy, and the wedding can take place. Fire, coming from the shades, can produce and consume life; it is both a purifying and destroying, as well as a life-initiating element, while water represents life giving power.

There is no redeeming aspect in Mabhejana's character. She uses completely evil means to "protect" her daughter, to hold on to her as long as possible, not wanting to part with her for a stranger who intends to marry her. The Zulu word for bridegroom is *umyeni*, from the proto root **yeni*, 'stranger'. Traditional Zulu society, while open to strangers through the hospitality rule, is also very suspicious of them, as they might be emissaries of enemy clans intent on the destruction of the clan or family or envious of its wealth and health. A similar attitude is demonstrated by Mahlokohloko's jealous older wives when the new bride arrives: they are

suspicious because she might bring the sorcery from her own home with her. Only after she has shown that her ambivalent powers are to be used for good rather than for evil is she accepted.

Mahlokohloko is a typical Zulu man in constant need of magic to prop himself up in his effort to win the heart of his new bride. He needs the support of the gall-bladder, given him by an experienced old woman. This indicates that, even in a polygamous society, the choice of a marriage partner is extremely important and needs mature and careful consideration. One can never consider himself an old hand at the love game. After all, the future of the clan depends on the choice of the correct bride.

It is also interesting to note that magic formulae accompany each stage of plot development, concluding in a rather mysterious song at the end of the tale. This final choral refrain might indicate that the chief, after his initial infatuation with the new bride that has made him forget all his other duties, is now restored to his full social functions. The hero's achievements are for the benefit of his community.

I have mentioned already the dominant female role in hyenas' social organization. The three folktales analyzed in this section present women as either ogresses or witches. The concepts (woman - witch - *Izimu*) must have something in common in the people's minds, although they distinguish between *amazimu*, who are not fully human, and *abathakathi*, who are. African culture has a great veneration for women as life givers, because the continuation of life is the greatest blessing. This veneration produces awe for the women's power, and, due to the ambivalence so frequently noticed, fear for its possible misuse.

"Witchcraft is mostly associated with women", declares one of Berglund's informants (Berglund, 1976:260), who then explains that witchcraft is strongly inclined towards sexuality (ibid, 268), and it is the result of "offensive and vile sexual relations that aim at destroying fertility in men, beasts (especially cattle) and fields." "*Ubuthakathi buhambisana nolaka lwabasifazane*" (Witchcraft results from the anger of women) (Ibid, 268), but is thought to operate outside the lineage or clan. "It is because witches are women that they are feared so much. They are cunning and sly, which is a form of anger greater than that of men" (Ibid, 269). Since there is no possibility of real 'conversion', through a heart-felt confession, on the part of witches, as soon as they are discovered they are mercilessly killed. Which is a way for a husband, who suspects his wife of infidelity, to deal with the problem in a drastic way. A woman's sterility may be an indication of her being a witch (Ibid, 260), because she is accused of wanting *uhlangothi wabathakathi* (the increase of the species of witches) through relationships with her lover, rather than normal sexual intercourse with her husband. Witches are thought to seek sexual union outside accepted and recognized standards of married life to influence a person of the opposite sex to become *umthakathi* (Ibid 275). The test to undergo in order to be accepted in the community of witches is the killing of a human being, possibly a

senior or one in authority, or a strong young man or woman, or even one from the witch's own family (Ibid, 276).

Our stories demonstrate the *ulaka* (anger) of these women, similar to hyena's all-destroying persistence while pursuing its prey, as well as the women's ruthless behaviour even towards their own children. They find their match in people endowed with positive magical powers, such as benevolent old women, or young girls, who make use of material objects that could be employed ambivalently, for good or evil, since magic is a two-edged weapon. While witchcraft is the "incarnate power in people that may be geared towards harm and destruction of the lineage" (Berglund, 1976:263), the ancestors, who are supremely interested in the continuation of life, are the helpers in the fight against witches. "Shades are males, but witches are mostly females" (Ibid, 277).

5.5 LITERARY ASPECTS OF *AMAZIMU* TALES

Hyena tales are animal stories where the trick initiator is unsuccessful: he tries to imitate the trick sequence of Hare, but fails dismally because Hare can see through the scheme and reacts accordingly, thus causing Hyena's final downfall. I have stated that *Izimu* stories can be considered as a "human folktale type" because they portray human beings in their epic struggle against the forces of evil, and on their way to the attainment of some goal. One therefore notices a switch from an animal to a human setting. Such tales somehow parallel fairy tales from other cultures in which either the heroine is unjustly persecuted, or the hero is seeking a treasure, or adventures, or the hand of a fair princess. The Proppian structural analysis points to a similarity with trickster folktales, as it reveals two inter-related structural patterns (NB. I use the masculine pronoun for *izimu*, although I know that many *amazimu* in the tales are female characters):

- i. **False contract and inept imitation**, where *Izimu* acts as a trickster: he makes a sort of contract with his intended victim, then is unable to keep secret his plan to alter the agreed pattern. A substitution takes place, and the ogre is finally fooled. Or, the victim escapes and the ogre pursues her (chase sequence). The girl uses a number of delay tactics or ploys (often based on deception / illusion / substitution patterns) to trap and destroy the ogre.
- ii. **Intended villainy and chase sequence**: *Izimu* intends to trap his victim, who escapes and uses a number of ploys to delay him, often utilizing magic means. The ogre eventually gives up the chase and the victim escapes. The girl's marriage often ensues.

These can be summarized in the general plot formula:

False Contract + Fraud + Discovery + Chase + Delay or Ploy + Mediator's Intervention + Escape or Rescue.

The plot formula is similar to the one prevalent in successful trickster tales. The main difference is that the Discovery function produces in the intended victim a great fear, because of the life and death situation that he finds himself in, and this gives rise to Escape attempts, which naturally result in a Chase sequence by *Izimu*, or by the family of the intended victim. Delay and Ploy are techniques of keeping *Izimu* busy while the family substitutes the girl in the ogre's bag. The Mediator intervenes in either chasing *Izimu*, or in trying to help the victim escape. The story thus becomes quite dramatic and full of suspense, so much so that Ruth Finnegan (1970:355) can state the following:

Other stories could be called thrillers. The hero struggles against ogres and monsters who are trying to devour him. These fearsome ogres are stock characters in many stories in Bantu Africa.

Finnegan sees the ogre's victim as a "hero" or "heroine" because of the extreme difficulties to which he/she is subjected and which he/she is able to overcome. In order to stimulate the excitement and emotional appeal, or the suspense necessary in a thriller, as Ruth Finnegan categorizes ogre tales, the story must present great dangers to be conquered by straining the physical and intellectual abilities of the intended victim. Danger supplies the basic constituent of suspense, on which the narrative plot is constructed. As the oral performer makes use of stereotyped characters, it is quite enough to mention the name *Izimuzimu* for all its traditional terrifying attributes to be called to mind, without any need for further specification of details, except perhaps family situations in which the danger is constituted by an estranged mother, who thus becomes the personification of witchcraft and of "*ulaka lwabesifazane*" (women's anger).

The stories summarized above have a journey as a frame, since, as the Zulu proverb states, *Ubuqili benziwa kudlulwe umuzi* ('A trick is performed away from home,' or, 'Once away from those who can protect you, anything may happen'). This is exemplified in our tales by girls alone or lost in the forest, or a young boy (Gubudela) herding his family cattle alone in *amazimu* infested country. The journey gives rise to two patterns, mentioned above and widely recognized in folklore studies as applicable to "initiation tales". These describe the stories from a more specifically thematic point of view. They are identifiable as:

- 5.5.1 The unjustly persecuted heroine;
- 5.5.2 The seeking hero.

5.5.1 The unjustly persecuted heroine

Ilana Dan (1977), in the wide-ranging paper "The Innocent Persecuted Heroine", interprets stories, in Hebrew folklore, that display strong similarities with some of the Zulu *Izimu* tales analyzed above, as "Initiation" or as "Rites of passage" folktales (under van Gennep's influence), in which the heroine is shown as leaving a corrupt family (or a corrupt young person leaving a good family) to undergo rites of purification and transformation and to be finally re-integrated either in her own family or in a new family. This theme is structured according to the formula:

Separation + Initiation (trials and mediation) + Re-incorporation.

This formula reveals a fully or partly cyclical story, as the heroine, after leaving her home and undergoing endless trials, finally either returns to her home, or is incorporated into a new home through marriage. It is easy to realize that this traditional plot scheme has found its way into the romantic novels of many nations.

The heroine, who is the unsuspecting victim of the *Izimu*'s evil actions, must be the image of innocence and helplessness, a girl confused at the crossroads of life, as she grows towards adulthood. To draw a moral, she is also often at least partly responsible for finding herself in a precarious situation. In some stories, girls are lost because they have not followed the mother's advice regarding the path to follow (cf App. No. 19), or have wandered away in the forest for longer than necessary, or have been cruelly tricked by unreliable companions. The girl is thus exposed to danger. In such a frightful and lonely situation the stage is set for the master of evil to lay a trap and to take advantage of the unsuspecting victim.

The trials are personified in Hyena/ *izimu*, who uses a friendly opening (False friendship contract), such as the mother's reassuring voice, or calling the girl '*mntanami*' (my child), or letting her call him '*malume*' (uncle). But the ogre soon reveals himself as a threat to life and sets in motion a plan to devour his victim (Fraud and deception). In some macabre versions, when he finds a number of lost girls sleeping in his house, he makes a choice of which girl he is going to eat first, leaving the one with a lighter complexion last as the most succulent morsel, as she is a chief's daughter. The bungling creature is, however, so sure of himself and so excited that he is unable to keep his secret: in many tales the girls overhear his plans and manage to run away while he goes to invite his comrades to share his feast; or while he goes to the river to fetch water (with a leaky calabash) or simply to wash before his dinner. Or, when his trapping plan has been initially successful, he lets the contents of his bag be revealed when he asks the girl to sing for the entertainment of people and as a way to earn his own supper. This amounts to the function of "discovery", which recalls another type of initial sequence, namely the "ambush", where the ogre simply jumps on the unsuspecting victim and tries to catch her/him, without any preliminary form of false contract, and immediately reveals his evil intentions.

A chase sequence normally follows (this is a connection between the two Proppian patterns set out at the beginning of this section 5.5) during which the villain is delayed and teased by dropping choice morsels on his path: sesame seeds, cakes of fat, even a loin skirt which still maintains the smell or the shadow of its wearer, or by dropping magic objects to create obstacles and delay the pursuit. If he happens to catch up with his victims, these entertain him with the de-lousing game (the trick employed by *Inkayimeva* to put his victims to sleep, in App. No. 2): he falls asleep, and they tie his long hair to a tree or to hardy grass and leave him there to die (a motif similar to that of Chakijana and the lion or Hlakanyana and the ogre seen in chapter 3), sometimes with his head splitting to reveal his glands water at the expectation of a juicy meal.

When the girl is placed in a bag, she normally sings a song to make herself known to relatives or friends, and this sets in motion the mediation sequence, often consisting of a chase, with the pursuer (*Izimu*) becoming the pursued (especially when it is a brother rescuing a sister). Or a ploy is hatched to substitute the girl with biting or stinging animals. *Izimu* is thus defeated at his own game, and his victim is rescued. But the final dénouement often contains a moment of last suspense, with the ogre, already transformed into a tree trunk, trying to take revenge on the girl he had originally kidnapped by sucking her hand into his anus, which demands a sacrifice from the girl's family to set her finally free (App. 20:11). The girl's rescue serves to re-incorporate her into her own family; or she marries into a new family. This outcome signals the utter defeat of *Izimu* and the completion of the narrative cycle.

According to Paulme (1976:34), a **cyclical story** is one where the final situation of the hero or heroine is similar to his/her initial status, although rendered better by the dreadful experience undergone. This is the essence of "initiation" stories, such as those examined in this chapter.

5.5.2 The seeking hero

This type of tale, exemplified by Sikhulumi's adventures in the folktale *UZembeni* and widely used in both European and African folklore, involves, like the previous one ("The unjustly persecuted heroine") the hero's separation from home, a journey with its concomitant trials and tribulations brought about by *Izimu*, the discovery of the treasure the hero is seeking, or the girl of his dreams, new trials to ensure possession of the treasure/girl, and finally a home return. The plot formula comprises: *Separation + Journey + Trials + Discovery + Fights + Return*.

In both tale types the ogre acts as the menacing force intent on the destruction of the young people, or the prevention of the realization of their dreams, especially when a mother-ogress opposes a likely son-in-law. The negative magic employed by the ogre seems to centre on the concept of the **magic circle** (Cf Mbiti 1969:164): the victim is attracted inside such a circle, represented by the *Izimu*'s house or by his ever present bag. The attraction may be

constituted by a prospective bride, or by the need of shelter for the night. Once inside the house or the bag the victim has no power to escape, except by breaking the spell through other forms of magic, or by ingenious or extremely daring actions, or by requesting help from the outside. Such reaction-type magic means are manifested in songs or fixed refrains, which assume the function of magic formulae through which the victim calls for help from the ancestors or from members of her family. Other helpers are found in objects connected with material elements, such as cakes of fat, used to smear rocks which the stupid hyena/*Izimu* will mistake for fat meat and break his teeth chewing. Further anti-ogre elements are those containing magic powers that emanate from the human body: hair clippings, which, as extensions of the body, will impersonate the essence of the person and be able to talk and to form a new magic circle to confuse or entrap the pursuing enemy; a person's leather skirt, which maintains the energies of the person (cf Hyena's keen sense of smell, its omnivorous habits as it is "nature's dustman").

Small and biting animals, such as bees and insects, or poisonous animals such as snakes or fierce dogs, are often used to take the place of the girl entrapped in the ogre's bag: these are uncontrollable forces of nature over which the ogre has no power, employed in order to punish him as severely as possible. Another powerful force of nature used to destroy *Izimu* is the fire, which is a purifying and destroying element, seen as a manifestation of supernatural powers (as in lightning) which has been domesticated by humans to carry out some functions (in cooking, clearing of bush or veld, destroying effects of disease, etc.). Flowing water, both in the form of torrential rain or of a strong flowing river, is another force that the ogre cannot control, as it is a purifying agent of nature.

A schematic representation of the five tales analyzed in 5.3 and 5.4 could be as follows (N.B. the names of the hero/heroine are used for identification of the tales):

| | Separation | Journey Trapped | Helpers | Rescue/Escape |
|---------------------|----------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------|
| Nomvula | old house | in bag dog | family | own home |
| Nokuthula | forest | ogre's home | friend & magic | new home |
| Sikhulumi | ogre's country | ogre's house girls, dogs, tree | gall-bladder | home / marriage |
| Mahlokholoko | ogre's country | ogre's home | gall-bladder, old woman, bride | home / marriage |
| Gubudela | open country | in bag | own cunning | full revenge |

Izimu/Hyena is generally seen as a horrible threat to human life. In the struggle for survival his indiscriminate voracity appears as a challenge to be overcome: in a life and death situation no half-measures are sufficient. In the same way that Hlakanyana defeats *Izimu* by careful planning

and by the use of intelligence, so the stories we have described demonstrate that the horrifying monster is defeatable: he is unsuccessful if approached with appropriate means. Winning is not a game here, but is everything: the stake is life itself. It goes without saying that ogre folktales give expression to and artistically transpose the concerns that accompany people in various stages of life. These will be analyzed hereunder.

5.6 **IZIMU STORIES AS METAPHORS OF HUMAN CONCERNS**

Scholars of folklore are in general agreement that many of the stories narrated to children contain cruel and often terrifying episodes, representing horrible threats to human life. Such "horror" stories are aimed at making the children aware of the dangers surrounding them as they move through successive life stages, as well as to help them develop defensive and offensive mechanisms so as to be able to successfully cope with the various challenges. *Izimu*, as a sinister trickster, appears as a tremendous threat that can however be finally defeated.

In this section I shall examine salient aspects of human concerns and anxieties reflected in *amazimu* stories. They are connected with young age and childhood, some with adolescence, and finally some encompass the whole of life and touch even on death.

5.6.1 ***Izimu* stories and childhood concerns**

The birth of a child is traditionally considered an event of tremendous importance in a Zulu family. The child is the visible sign of the ancestors' blessing. If it is the first born, it sanctions the acceptance of the mother into her husband's clan with all the concomitant privileges; it further renders the father acceptable in the council of elders. The child contains the promise of a continuation of the clan's life and the assurance that the father will one day be counted among the ancestors. A new baby is therefore a great treasure to be carefully guarded and nurtured. Any threat to a child's life constitutes an attack on society. In the extended family system prevalent in Africa, older girls are entrusted with nursing the baby, while grandmothers have the responsible duty of the child's entertainment, socialization and education.

In Ca. 25-30 we saw how Hlakanyana posed as a nursemaid in order to destroy the offspring of a leopardess. The story is found in a number of versions in the Appendix (5:25-26; 6:3; No. 8) and in modern folktale collections and stresses the mother's first duty to look after her children and not to entrust them to a stranger. Two Tsonga tales found in Marivate (1973) extend the message of the tale. In the first, the mother leaves her baby under a tree while she tills the field; Hare comes and steals the unattended child. In the second, birds steal a baby left alone in the house. The mother's desperate concern comes too late to save the situation. In these stories, Hlakanyana, Hare and birds foreshadow *Izimu*'s function: young lives are destroyed if

not looked after with absolute care. This reflects male hyenas' propensity to eat their young when left unprotected by stronger females.

Amazimu tales sound like European 'horror stories' that seem particularly directed to those young girls entrusted with looking after their younger siblings: they must learn to see the lurking dangers and to guard their charges with their lives; they must show courage and resourcefulness in the face of external threats. The tales are also meant to fire the imagination of young boys, who see in the ogre a threat to their personal security and comfort (e.g. the food supplies; the presence of their loved ones) and that of their closest family, in the form of their younger sisters.

Once the story is heard, it becomes part of the imaginary world of the child, who then starts toying creatively with its various elements. His fantasy allows him to depict *Izimu* in such horrible colours, and his cruelty in such absurd terms, that he becomes a parody. The child takes pleasure in gory and absurd creative details: the more horrible he can make the monster, the greater the psychological release of fears. The supposed invincibility of the persecutor is shown as only apparent, as the child's courage to save himself and his dear ones finds expression in the folktales, where the child can identify either with the resourceful young girl who is able to overcome the malice and strength of the ogre, or with the brother who snatches his little sister from the ogre's snare. The fact that young children are often the first ones to see through a trick sequence, coupled with the positive ending of ogre tales, contains a reassurance that evil can be vanquished. The ability to tinker with magic means in his fantasy world gives the child a further sense of security, and helps him to establish or consolidate his inner equilibrium.

5.6.2 *Izimu* stories and adolescent anxieties

We have noticed that the majority of ogre stories present a teenage girl as the intended victim of the *Izimu*'s plot, as he aims to get her into his 'sack'. Bruno Bettelheim (1989) suggests that corresponding stories in European folklore, where Werewolf plays the role of Hyena in African tales, express the anxieties of young people *vis-à-vis* the mysterious happenings that accompany their sexual development and the consequent prospect of marriage. One should remember that in many societies, including Zulu, marriage was arranged by parents long before the girl had reached puberty, and that the bridegroom was often relatively unknown to the bride until the wedding day.

In Zulu society on reaching puberty a girl used to run away to the bush, where she would eventually be found by her companions and age mates and brought back to her home after a ritual bath in the river. There followed a period of seclusion, during which the girl received sex education and initiation from her mother and older girls. She would eventually be introduced to the community during a special feast, dressed in a manner that marked her new status as a

woman of marriageable age. The community was therefore there to demonstrate the social importance of the "rite of passage", and to lend support.

A girl's anxiety when left alone, between the old and the new status in life, plays an important part in some folktales, as, for example, in Stuart's *Intombi eyayiyochanguza* (The girl that reaches puberty) (Canonici, 1995:65), where the girl is betrayed by her companions and left to face, alone, situations that threaten her life and her life-giving capacity. Loneliness during a dangerous journey is also presented in *Imbulu* folktales and, as we have seen, in *Izimu* stories.

Our stories seem to reflect the desire and concern of the young characters to make the right decisions independently of their families, as it is normal for teenagers. The wish for self-assertion and for independent adventure comes vividly to the fore, although it is accompanied by anxieties regarding the concomitant risks stemming from lack of experience and wisdom. In this unsettled state of mind, neither the mother's advice, nor a younger sister's reminder of the proper ways of behaviour (the younger sister is like the voice of conscience in Nokuthula's tale), have any effect.

This naïveté seems reflected in the rather easy way the girls are taken in by a cunning trickster's techniques: his mellifluous voice, often disguised; the proclamation of love, care, affection (ogre calling a girl *mntanami* and allowing her to call him *malume*); or the promise of fun and entertainment (= game). The ogre's false friendly approach is extended by the light flickering at night from his house.

The girl soon finds herself trapped: in the ogre's 'sack', where she is valued only for the pleasure she can give to the other (*ukudla*, to eat, often used as a metaphor for man's sexual activities) without any consideration of her own wishes, pleasures, well-being; and in an inhospitable house, among unfriendly people, manifested by the obligations imposed by the new family (the *umakoti*, or young bride, has all the heavy tasks to perform); being treated as a nice piece of furniture to be shown off ("Sing, my fat madumba root!" says *Izimu* in App. 20:3).

A brighter side of the picture is manifested by the friendship and care of older girls, such as Nokuthula (App. No. 19). In a Zulu family the older girls are the recognized advisors in matters of love relationships. The positive aspect becomes magnified when the mother's family comes to the rescue, either in the form of the girl's brother, or the *umalume*. These are strong stabilizing influences in a girl's life, showing that, in spite of her silly behaviour, someone still loves her unconditionally.

The delay tactics used to defeat the ogre parallel the magic means employed in chase sequences (cf *UNokuthula*), which involve deep symbolism that brings together heaven and earth for the defence and preservation of the life-source, or of a socially important lineage. Magic, family members, dogs, birds, old women, all contribute to the communal effort to thwart the impending dangers.

Stories which have a young man as the protagonist (App. Nos. 17, 18 and 21) are structured according to the scheme of the "seeking hero", who must prove himself able to re-establish the family lineage through close links with his ancestors (Gubudela), and the family pride by avenging the death of a relative; or by marrying a beautiful and strong girl to guarantee the continuation of the blood line (Sikhulumini and Mahlokohloko). The hero must show courage in the face of great adversity to prove that he is capable of earning himself a wife, and to look after her through work and even hardships. Perseverance in the face of superior odds shows the temper of a man, transforms him into somebody valuable to society, and makes him acceptable in the council of elders.

5.6.3 Concerns about witchcraft practices

We have stated that Hyena is associated with witchcraft, and Hyena/*Izimu* tales have a bearing on social concerns about the evil practices of witches. Mabhejana's folktale (App. No. 18) demonstrates how witchcraft threatens the whole fabric of society, and especially those periods in a person's life in which he/she is more vulnerable as he/she is in a state of "passage" between one stage and another. Protective anti-witchcraft measures are taken at every stage of a person's life and at his rites of passage. Purification and strengthening rituals also accompany many events, from conception, to birth, to hunting, to war. Only a few of these are directly reflected in folktales, but *amazimu* tales show that one can never sit back and take for granted social peace and harmony, or an individual's health, as unknown forces lurk at every corner, ready to jeopardize even the most festive occurrences in life.

The greatest concern about witchcraft shown in *amazimu* stories seems connected with marriage, because both bride and bridegroom may be carriers of their respective clan's *ubuthakathi* to be used against the clan into which they are being accepted through marriage. In fact, they are strangers from other clans, that may have ulterior plans on the property of the clans they are establishing social contracts with. Ambivalent attitudes towards tricksters in any guise reflect on any form of contract, and families must be on their guard to protect themselves. This idea affords some credibility to the exaggerated reactions of Mabhejana and Zembeni to their prospective sons-in-law, as well as to the mistrust with which Mahlokohloko's senior wives welcome Mabhejana's daughter among them. After all, isn't love infatuation a sort of dementia that diminishes a person's ability to see through people and events? The prospective husband or wife might be blind to the danger, but parents are not.

I have already highlighted the ways shown in folktales to react to witchcraft practices: the ancestors of the clan grant their protection, when invoked through the right formula and the appropriate sacrifices; by enlisting the mediation of life forces (egg), nature vegetation (forest), inanimate mineral world (stone), objects containing the shadow of a person (hair). But the

greatest power is contained in a family which unites to fight back against evil practices (*umalume* and brother; all Mahlokohloko's family and his wives).

Mabhejana uses her powers over the weather (sends a hailstorm), and tries many ways to entrap Mahlokohloko's shadow to perform some black magic on him. But as she is a famous witch, so is he a famous magician who can enlist the help of a lizard's gall-bladder to counteract his mother-in-law's enterprises.

Gubudela's folktale points to another kind of concern: since *amazimu*, like witches, destroy human life completely (hyenas crush even the bones of their victims), Gubudela's father has no possibility of being given a decent burial and of being called back as a tutelary spirit to look after his family, through the *ukubuyisa* ceremony. His life-cycle is therefore irreparably terminated. This fact gives Gubudela the incentive to insist with the ogres on the return of his father's body or to face the consequence of utter destruction in revenge for their misdeed. Gubudela keeps saying: "Where is my father? Bring him back!".

For the Zulu, death is a simple, if painful, passing on to a new status, a continuation of the present life in a new form. The most important rites of passage must accompany it. When rituals are denied or rendered impossible, the person is no longer able to become an ancestor and to enjoy the veneration of his family. Kuper (1987) mentions the legend that King Moshoeshoe could not bring himself to kill a group of cannibals who had attacked and devoured his grandfather. He used to say: "How can I destroy my grandfather's grave?" It is believed that an unburied person can neither rest nor travel to the world of the ancestors. This belief also partly explains the Zulu fear of the ocean and of deep pools or lakes, where people may perish without any hope of their bodies being returned. Aquatic monsters are the most terrifying ones in folktales.

Witchcraft practices are no laughing matter, and they overhang, in a sinister way, a number of folktale plots. In the fantasy world, at least, witches can be defeated, thus provoking a deep release to performer and audience. Exaggeration of the attributes of *abathakathi* transforms them into fearful, but beatable cheats.

5.7 THE UNSUCCESSFUL TRICKSTER *IMBULU*

Besides *amazimu*, several animals are presented as 'inept trick imitators' or unsuccessful tricksters. It would be too long to analyse them all. There is, however, at least one more 'failed trickster' character that frequently appears in Nguni tales and merits some study, namely the *Imbulu* (monitor lizard).

Imbulu is an unsuccessful trickster which shares several narrative traits with the ogre. D. & V. gloss the noun as follows: (My comments are in square brackets [])

- Imbulu:**
1. The tree iguana or monitor lizard [The folktale presents the animal rather as the Water Monitor Lizard, *Varanus Niloticus*];
 2. A fabulous lizard . . . a deceiving creature;
 3. A deceptive, double-faced person [metaphoric meaning];
 4. Rough scales of dirt on skin of hands, feet, etc. [This explains its folktale technique to cover the girl in mud].

Hammond-Tooke (1977:81), after reporting the above from D. & V., gives the following analysis of the figure in his explanation of Callaway's tale *Untombi Yaphansi*, which parallels Stuart's *UMphangose* (App. No. 22), which I have chosen here, in many respects.

Further information comes from Berglund, who has made a special study of Zulu symbolism (Berglund 1976). He informs me that *imbulu* can either mean the monitor lizard which lives in rivers [Water monitor?], or a large multi-coloured lizard that tends to become red in old age, but is sometimes green, blue, yellow, grey or black [deceiving qualities?]. . . . A diviner told Berglund that the *imbulu* dresses itself in the clothing of a male witch (*umthakathi*) and has an inordinate desire for sexual intercourse with female witches, so much so that it completely wore away its penis. Quite unabashed it is supposed to have said: 'But behold my tail, it is even better than the thing of men'. . . . To be noted also is the tail's attraction to sour milk (*amasi*), a feature which causes the downfall of the *imbulu* [in the folktales. In Xhosa tales the character is often referred to as *Imbulu makhasana*, the lizard connected with sour milk].

I have chosen the folktale *UMphangose* as an illustration of this unsavoury character. The tale can be briefly summarized as follows:

1. Mphangose is a teenage girl orphaned (= made lonely) and kidnapped (= snapped away from home) by an invading army that has killed both her parents. She has been spared because of her beauty. She manages to escape the band of soldiers when they go off to raid cattle. She then decides to go to her father's sister, Mkindinkomo.
2. At a river crossing she is accosted by *Imbulu*, that tricks her into exchanging places with him and giving him her clothes (K 351). She is then covered in mud (transfiguration into *Imbulu*, through dirt, mud, scales) while he appears like a girl (beautiful clothes cover him and hide his tail).
3. At her aunt's house, *Imbulu* introduces Mphangose as his slave. In spite of his ugliness, it is accepted that he is going to marry Mkindinkomo's husband. He is given a room where calabashes of sour milk are stored. Zulu customs strictly forbid a bride-to-be to touch milk products. But every morning the calabashes are found empty.
4. The real Mphangose is sent, in the company of an old man, Xhegwana, to guard the fields from birds. She simply sings a song and the birds fly away:

Tayi! tayi! tayi!

Insimu kadade le!

Noma kungedade walutho

This is my sister's field!

Though she is no good as a sister.

*Kwaf'izwe, ngadinga,
Babethi oBaba noMa,
Angoya kwaMkindinkomo*

My nation perished, I was in need,
Father and mother had told me
I should go to Mkindinkomo's place.

The refrain is similar to the one found in the parallel version in Callaway, where Ntombi yaPhansi is waylaid by *Imbulu* on her way to her sister's place (hence the refrain references to her "sister"). The refrain is repeated a few times. Towards midday Mphangose goes to the river to wash, and, once she is made beautiful again, she summons her father's cattle and finches come and serve her sour milk and meat.

5. At night she again summons food and cattle from the ground. She eats the "food from her home" and shares it with the old woman she is boarding with. On the second day at the river Xhegwana sees her in all her splendid beauty, mounted on her ox and singing a song that is echoed by the animals and the trees. At night he secretly reports to the chief about her beauty and about the magic way she chases the birds away.
6. On the third day the chief sees her transformed at the river and recognizes her as the true Mphangose. He has a pit dug, sour milk is placed at the bottom, and then he orders all the brides to jump over it. The *Imbulu's* tail is attracted by the sour milk and he falls into the pit, where he is scalded with boiling water and then buried. Mphangose is married to the chief with a great celebration.
7. The *Imbulu's* eye squeezes out and grows into a huge pumpkin. When Mphangose has a baby, the pumpkin *Imbulu* rolls itself against the baby, but the chief hears the mother's and the baby's cries and pierces the pumpkin, cuts it up and burns it thoroughly.

Imbulu is a trick initiator, who stands for the three oppressive elements against the unjustly persecuted heroine: the army, the *Imbulu*, and the chief. Initially it is the army that raids the village and commits a villainy against Mphangose by destroying her family: war is always a destructive element and a human disaster. Mphangose is saved by her beauty and by the distant cattle after which the soldiers run, thus leaving the girl alone and enabling her to flee. Then it is *Imbulu* that transforms Mphangose from a bride into the scabious and horrible form of itself (mud covering similar to the lizard's dirty scales) and a slave, thus a kind of sexless object unable to perpetuate life. Then it is the chief who unwittingly plays into the hands of *Imbulu*, and unquestioningly accepts the girl as a slave.

Imbulu is initially successful in his trick and causes much pain to Mphangose, an innocent victim, by substituting himself for her. The falsity of his 'contract' can be seen from the very beginning, as he roughly manhandles Mphangose into accepting the situation he imposes. But then there are a number of marked contrasts aimed at unmasking the deceitful "pretender", identifiable in the eating habits of the two: Mphangose only eats the *amasi* provided by her father's cattle and thus remains within the law and the customs, as she does not accept milk products from the chief's family; this would be tantamount to reneging on any possibility of marrying the chief. *Imbulu* eats *amasi* from the chief's cattle, which is severely forbidden to a bride-to-be as it would make her a member of the agnatic group and therefore unable to marry within the family.

Amasi, linked with cattle, plays an important role in the symbolism of the tale, as it establishes a clear connection with the ancestors to whom the cattle belong:

Mphangose is freed from the soldiers when they are distracted by the cattle.

She is transported to her new home by her ox (and becomes a slave when she dismounts the father's ox).

She is fed by the cattle from her father's place (birds' mediation):

at the river;

at night;

again at the river.

Imbulu is constantly opposed by the cattle:

He has to 'steal' Mphangose's ox to travel.

He eats sour milk at night.

He is attracted to his destruction when his tail sees milk at the bottom of the pit.

Imbulu thus constitutes a great threat to the sanctuary of human life, the family. His false sex would render him fruitless; his eating habits (stealing sour milk) render him a thief and an intruder, capable of disseminating suspicion and discord in a well-settled family. The threat to family life cannot pass unnoticed by the ancestors, who are the jealous guardians of all life-giving processes. They intervene by means of cattle and birds: birds (sky creatures, therefore connected with the spirit world) and cattle (from home's byre, where ancestors are buried; means of exchange for *ilobolo*, therefore associated with marriage) symbolize the spirits' and the ancestors' intervention in favour of righteous Mphangose and their rejection of the impostor *Imbulu*. Through supernatural help, Mphangose is not only fed, but transformed back to her former beauty and status, and is thus recognized as a suitable bride. The *Villain discovered* and *Villain punished* sequence is similar to that used for *amazimu*: hot water, fire and heat are employed to castigate and destroy *Imbulu*.

The parallel **False bride vs True bride** established in the first part of the story is briefly repeated in the "moment of last suspense" move: Mphangose, the true bride, gives birth to a child; *Imbulu*, the false bride, produces an outsized pumpkin. The pumpkin-*mbulu* tries to destroy the human baby but is stopped by the husband, who again uses fire to destroy the false offspring.

Imbulu is a pretender who creates the illusion of being somebody he is not: he proclaims himself Mphangose, and a relative of Mkindinkomo. The theme of a false bride usurping the place of a princess is also found in European folklore, e.g. in Grimm's "The Goose Girl", where an arrogant maid exchanges places with a virtuous princess, whose true identity is however

finally revealed by Falada, a talking horse. There are a number of parallels in the two tales, which we can't explore here as it would make our presentation too long. *Imbulu* transforms himself into a human woman, but is brought to destruction by his tail, sign of his animality and sexual aberration, which is externally expressed by his greed for milk products that are severely forbidden to a young bride. As a trickster, he covers his steps by lying and denying any charges, but he is finally discovered and punished.

Mphangose finds herself entrapped in a seemingly hopeless situation. She is helped in her reaction by her sad memories of home, of her comfortable status before her long journey. These are so vivid that she feeds on them, as it were, day and night. Her marriage dreams are also shattered, but she keeps trying to break through the shield of falsity with which *Imbulu* has surrounded her, by means of showing her true self at the river and of her sung refrains. The ancestors are thus reminded of who she is and what they should be doing for her. The *amadlozi*'s protection is evidenced by the birds, who constantly obey her (giving a manifestation of her magic powers) and come to feed her. Also her father's cattle, which are the property of the ancestors, come to her rescue and help. With such powerful allies she cannot fail.

It is possible to interpret also this tale as a metaphor of the long process towards a successful marriage. The period of hardship is a school of life, during which the possibly spoiled and immature girl of the past is brought face to face with life's new realities. While part of herself - symbolized by *Imbulu* - would like to enjoy marriage and life without any hardships, the other part reflects on life as a duty to society and accepts its challenge. During these periods of reflection beside the life-giving water, the ideal family life she has had at home comes back to her as an ideal to strive for. With the help of all her mediators her true colours, qualities and talents are discovered, initially by the old people and eventually by the chief. This leads to her final victory which is crowned when she becomes a joyful and satisfied bride, fulfilled by her giving birth to a child. The unsuccessful trickster *Imbulu*, instead, is betrayed by his greed and the transgression of customs, and is scalded, burned and buried.

Summary and conclusion

This chapter has constituted a shift in our study from the metaphorical world of the animals to one that closely touches the reality of human life. The shift has taken place because the Nguni have moved away from the pan-African Hyena as the representation of the unsuccessful trickster, to the *Izimu* character, a part-animal, part-human figment of the imagination, who is a composite of hyena, man-eating monster and ogre figures, assimilating many physical and narrative features attributed to the three characters, while also linking the 'new' composite figure more closely with the human situation. *Izimu* roughly corresponds to Hyena, but is presented as a stereotype that

may have been initially human but has allowed his animality to become prevalent, thus losing the qualities that would make him a member of the human society.

This point is itself a warning that one cannot take for granted even belonging to the human race, since lack of *ubuntu*, and asocial behaviour, as represented by greed (as opposed to hospitality), sexual deviances (as opposed to family and life-giving and nurturing practices), thirst for blood (as opposed to openness, availability and service to others), witchcraft connections, and stupidity, are all aspects that stigmatize a character as a non-person and marginalize him or her from the human commonwealth.

Our use of Beidelman's trickster categories in Kaguru society and of Maberly's (1986) book on Southern African fauna, has produced a clear understanding that *Izimu* generally corresponds to Hyena in its fictional make-up, because the narratives present physical aspects of the character that can only be found in Hyena. The figure also contains some human characteristics that make possible his constant interaction with human beings. Such a character has no real correspondent in English, and our use of the words 'ogre' and 'ogress' must be considered not as a proper translation, but as an approximate stylistic variation.

From the **structural** point of view, the trick sequence still remains the all-embracing *leit-motif* of the tales, with the important difference that the trick initiator is unsuccessful. The reaction set in motion by *Izimu*'s or *Imbulu*'s opponents is in itself the manifestation of a new trick sequence. The similarities between successful and unsuccessful trickster tale structure can be gauged from the following table:

False contract / Attempted false contract:

The ogre ingratiates himself, or tries to, with his intended victim. Family relationships play a relevant role in this. Even *Imbulu* initially offers himself as a companion for the journey.

Illusion and Deception:

The victim falls for the ruse and ends up in the ogre's bag. Mphangose is forced to accept her position as a slave.

Plan uncovered:

Girl or boy discovers true identity of ogre.

Chase and Pursuit sequence:

This might be of two kinds:

The ogre is chased (e.g. Gubudela)

The ogre chases his intended victim.

Substitution, Ploy, Delay tactics, Magic intervention:

These are all means to thwart the ogre's plans, to delay him, or to rescue the victim.

Escape / Rescue:

Escape is self-effected. Rescue is effected by a third party.

Villain punished:

The ogre is destroyed. *Imbulu* is scalded, burned and buried.

Not all these "functions" are found in every tale, and not all with the same clarity. One may further notice that when it is an ogress that sets out to pursue her intended victim, magic intervention becomes a *sine qua non*, as she is also seen as an evil witch driven by a powerful dose of evil *ulaka* and *ukuthukuthela* (anger) that can only be overcome by positive magic means. The ogre is, however, an inept and stupid character, although female ogresses appear as more subtle and determined in their techniques, and therefore as less stupid than their male counterparts. For all their horrific powers, ogres can be overcome, either by human cunning and intelligent plans, or by magic means, which indicate, in varying degrees, the intervention of the good ancestors through the mediation of old people, birds, cattle, gall-bladder, etc.

In trying to de-code the metaphor of *Izimu*, I have stressed two points:

- (a) Evil is personified as a reaction to fears and concerns that beset young children, adolescents and adults.
- (b) The exaggeration of the ogre's negative aspects leads to dissolution or re-dimensioning of fears through ridicule, and this causes a comic release of tensions, because it emphasizes the villain's failure and the hero/heroine's success.

A further point that has come to light is the possible connection of ogre stories with the institution of pre-arranged marriages, and with the name-calling and insulting practices between two clans during marriage negotiations. Some of the stories also reflect the themes of "the searching hero" and of "the unjustly oppressed heroine" found in folklore world-wide.

The assimilation of Hyena and *Izimu* allows a human level of folktale analysis. Some aspects are too close to the real world for comfort: the ogre represents a man (or a woman) who has degenerated into an animal, intent on the utter destruction of human life, driven by greed and witchcraft. He/she has consciously chosen to abandon human society ['volitional outsiderhood', in Babcock-Abrahams' (1975:151) terms] in order to become a member of the animal kingdom, and of that section of it which thrives in the opposition to human society and all its values. Human responsibility has deserted him/her, and so has the intelligence to discern where to draw the line between the desirable, the possible and the undesirable.

If family is the cornerstone of Zulu society, Hlakanyana is certainly out of step with it, in his disregard for his parents, whom he tricks, and in his openly asocial behaviour. But the

ogre goes much further than Hlakanyana, as he, through his connection with the evil witches, like Hyena, is prepared to eat his own children. For Chakijana the maximum humiliation he can inflict on his victims is precisely getting them to eat the flesh of their own relatives, a fact that would brand them as cannibals; but for the ogre this seems to be quite normal. Hlakanyana tests the boundaries of blood relationships, the ogre does not even recognize such boundaries. *Izimu* is the most striking example of Denise Paulme's (1976) concept of '*La Mère Dévorante*', the Swallowing or Devouring Mother.

For all its 'horror', this kind of folktale contains a clear warning to children that their parents are right when they give them directives on how to behave in strange places and with strange people, or when they insist on the children's not venturing alone into a deserted place or a forest, whether singly or in the company of others: those places might be infested with hostile animals, with witches and their familiars. Parents must be obeyed over and above peer group pressures, as they unconditionally want what is good for their children.

Some scholars of European folklore read sexual interpretations in ogre fables, such as Red Riding Hood: Wolf/Hyena would represent unscrupulous males who surreptitiously attract young girls into their homes and onto their beds, to "eat" them symbolically, i.e. to rape them. There is nothing in the Zulu texts that precludes such an interpretation, except the fact that many ogre stories have females and mothers as the evil protagonists. The dark practices ascribed to witches, who are believed to be able to kill their own children to demonstrate their utter evil to their companions (Berglund, 1976:267), may be a more likely explanation.

Other concerns also run deep in Zulu society: the unity and harmony of the extended family, linked by common blood and a deep respect for the tutelary spirits; the fight against external forces which may try to overcome the energetic centre of the family by putting in danger its magic power through witchcraft; industrious work for the provision of food and its proper distribution; taboos concerning food products and proper behaviour within family and clan structures.

Unsuccessful tricksters put to the test all these values in a completely negative way. They place the whole social fabric in danger, and are thus excluded from it. They are, however, so extreme as to become ludicrously absurd, and are therefore condemned to laughter-producing utter failure, which offers the possibility for shining success to the fictional heroes. In the struggle for survival against such utterly destructive powers as omnivorous Hyena, only a complete victory is satisfactory.

Chapter 6

HUMAN TRICKSTERS

6.0 INTRODUCTION

Literature is a mirror of life, and folktales reflect human relationships. We have seen how the *corpus* of trickster tales is constituted by animal stories, because animal figures represent a universalization of human situations described not only with humour, but also with sensitivity for the feelings of individuals and society. The Zulu fictional world is not limited, however, to animal metaphors, but also presents more realistic narratives where humans assume the leading role. We have thus seen, in chapter 5, human characters pitted against *Izimu* and *Imbulu*, which are representations of evil. *Izimu*, with its pan-African Hyena origin, is still clearly distinguishable as at least partly animal, and in its stories the identification of good and evil is a clear-cut affair. More subtle is the situation involving *Imbulu*, because this ugly animal is envious of the human family and disguises itself into a bride, thus making an entrance into this innermost sanctuary of human life in order to destroy it by making the institution of marriage fruitless through deception. Thus the fight against *Izimu* assumes epic proportions, and the one against *Imbulu* is only resolved by the eradication of the pretender who undermines family life by disseminating dark suspicions.

In *Izimu* and *Imbulu* stories the mask of metaphor is very thin, as they portray human characters trying to find in themselves and their culture the means to overcome threats to their existence as human beings. We are now going to consider stories in which human characters appear as trick initiators, where the artistic metaphor gives way to a more realistic representation of the problems and tensions besetting human life. These are more complex stories, transpositions that apply and clearly highlight the message implicit in the animal tales. Cope (1978:185) states:

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

We have repeatedly stated that trickery is a central theme in Zulu folktales, and that a trick sequence may be used by successful, unsuccessful and occasional tricksters in their battle for survival. Human folktale characters are mostly **occasional tricksters**, who make use of cunning to overcome superior odds. They are likely to make use of the trick patterns we have established thus far:

- (a) When humans fight against superior forces of nature or of the environment, they are successful if they use their intelligence to identify the weak point of their adversary and to cunningly make plans to take advantage of it.
- (b) They initially establish a sort of "false contract" with their enemy, through the use of false friendship and other illusion creating techniques.
- (c) When humans try to unjustly trap other humans for evil purposes, they, like *Izimu*, may be initially successful but are eventually discovered and punished. Or their trick might be discovered and thwarted from the beginning and a reaction-type trick sequence is set in motion to defeat the inept tricksters at their own game.

This chapter is meant to highlight how the Zulu tradition sees the use of trickery in human society. It can be broadly divided into three major sections, namely: the use of intelligence and cunning to overcome a negative and dangerous opponent; the use of trick patterns to accomplish one's unethical aims; the re-working of the figure of the successful trickster Chakijana in a modern milieu in the figures of Phoshozwayo the Chatterbox and Hlakaniphani the Clever. The first section considers humans reacting to evil influences mostly through the use of their own resources, although there is also a body of tales that shows people overcoming unequal odds by supernatural or preternatural help. The second section reveals the social attitude that humans who use evil tricks unjustifiably are not allowed to get away freely from the disruptive consequences of their actions. The third section presents the intelligent trickster Phoshozwayo, who is successful in his tricks as he is constantly egged on to use deception by his stupid brother, Qakala, the representative of the inept imitator's figure. Hlakaniphani is, instead, a totally unscrupulous and quite repugnant young man who makes use of tricks without any real justification, except his own gratification. The ambivalent attitude towards trickery, which we have stressed from the very beginning, that is, admiration on one hand and condemnation on the other, is clearly demonstrated in most human stories.

Phoshozwayo is a character created in writing as a modernisation of the trickster tradition: the setting is contemporary, but most of Phoshozwayo's actions closely reflect the Chakijana themes, while also incorporating many motifs found in European folklore. Some of the other "human trickster" folktales contain clear signs of European influence, more or less

cleverly integrated and adapted to African and Zulu folktale patterns and frames. There are also transpositions of motifs found in animal stories into human tale types.

It would be an unmanageable task to analyze the vast body of tales that present occasional human tricksters. I have therefore decided to select a few representative stories which should offer an overview of the subject matter according to the tripartite division outlined above.

6.1 HUMAN INTELLIGENCE AGAINST BRUTE FORCE

The mysterious forces of nature are regarded with concern and are often personified in monster figures. Man keeps a healthy distance from them. Folktales sometimes show humans intent on taming them for their own purposes, especially when such monsters are believed to possess the energies necessary to obtain or exercise power. Since the physical strength of such elements is initially overwhelming, the only chance humans have to counter them is by means of cunning and trickery. Man makes his opening move by offers of food, as a gesture of friendship, in order to expose the weak side of the 'enemy' and to take advantage of it. In fact monsters, like other wild animals, cannot control their greed and gluttony, which are thought of as innate characteristics of nature in its raw state. Exploitation of greed is also the method we have seen used by Gubudela, in 5.3 above, against the ogres who had devoured his ageing father. He plays their game, enticing them to a sumptuous dinner party which they cannot resist, then, when they are off guard and inebriated, he sets fire to the hut in which they are feasting and destroys the rowdy crowd. What he could not achieve by direct confrontation, he obtains by a well planned trick.

Knowing the weakness of the various monsters (greed and gluttony) and enticing them to expose it and to be caught off guard, is the method used in Nyembezi's folktale *UBhadazela noMningi* (Bhadazela and "Multitude"). Although the tale is thoroughly modern and shows a large number of motifs transposed from European folklore (the monster's lamp, the horses, the unlikely fortification of the hut, the obtainment of the hand of a princess in marriage, etc.), multi-headed snakes and water snakes or water monsters are common features in African and Zulu folktales, and the offer of dumplings to attract them out of their water hideout is found in several folktales in Callaway, Stuart and du Toit. Furthermore, the successful trickster is normally a physically small or weak being that does not pose a visible threat to the powerful antagonist.

1. A new king cannot be strengthened with powerful medicines because the diviners do not have the fat of the liver of a water dragon, an essential ingredient for the ceremony. All efforts by the *amaqhawe*, or warriors of the tribe, to obtain the precious fat have failed, because the dragon is guarded by a multi-headed snake (similar to Heracles' Hydra) called Mningi (Multitude), fierce and extremely fast on water and land. At the end of his wits, the king promises the hand of his daughter in marriage to any man able to obtain

the all important liver fat. After a new wave of braves and diviners have failed, Bhadzela, a frail young man and an unlikely hero, proposes to accomplish the feat.

2. Bhadzela makes a meticulous plan: he cooks a large amount of maize dumplings, of which Mningi is inordinately fond, and by throwing these to the enemy he entices it out of its deep pool, steals the lamp that allows it to see clearly at night, in order to allure it away from its stronghold to a place where it can be defeated. The snake pursues the young man at full speed, but Bhadzela throws dumplings on the path to slow it down. He has also stationed fresh horses at strategic points, so that he can change his mount at regular intervals (this is an evidently imported motif in Zulu folktales). He thus arrives at his home, which he has carefully fortified (another 'modern' motif), except for a narrow opening that only allows Mningi to put in one head at a time. With sharp assegais, the boy cuts each head as it comes through the hole, until the last head falls and Mningi is killed (Heracles and Hydra?).
3. Now Bhadzela sends the snake's lamp to the king as an announcement of what is about to come. He can then leisurely return to the pool, kill the defenceless dragon, extract the fat of its liver, and deliver it personally to court, where the king is strengthened and Bhadzela receives the princess' hand in reward for his heroic achievement.

This is a clever re-working of European "impossible task" tales, where the hero has to prove his worth by great deeds to win the hand of a fair princess. The all-precious substance is the fat of the liver: this organ is considered the seat of life, strength and emotions, and its fat should contain all the magical powers that go with strength, wisdom, creativity, initiative, etc., which are essential qualities in a good ruler. The monster's 'fortress' is a deep water pool, considered as a highly ambivalent force of nature: the mysterious place of possible destruction or a life-giver. Bhadzela succeeds not by force, as Heracles did and the heroes of the tribe tried to do, but by carefully planning and executing a succession of intelligent tricks, based on his understanding of the multi-headed snake's weaknesses and strengths, and on the precautions taken to match its threats step by step.

Bhadzela's reaction is therefore similar to the one we have come to expect of Hlakanyana: intelligence and cunning are the means to survive and to succeed against overwhelming odds. The trick pattern is also similar to Chakijana's reaction to difficult situations: establishment of a kind of false contract, by offering dumplings (the monster's weak spot); defrauding Mningi of its lantern to deny it the advantage and to get it away from the deep pool where it cannot be defeated; tiring it with a long chase and weighing it down by giving it irresistible food (delay tactics during a chase sequence); leaving only a small opening in the wall of his house so that each head can be singly cut off. Instead of a frontal attack on a very powerful enemy, Bhadzela chooses an intelligent and cunning one. And he is successful.

Several folktales in Stuart and Callaway are based on similar motifs and patterns, which need not be cited here. As mentioned above, they often reflect the "impossible task" theme found in the folklore of many nations, which highlights the traits necessary for a person to prove himself worthy of the halo of a hero. Due to the central role of trickery in Zulu folktales, such

tales should also be seen as simple demonstrations of positive trickery, and evident recommendations that, in time of need, one must make use of one's intelligence, weigh all the difficulties and carefully draw up a plan of action. The aspect of trickery emphasized here is the intelligent search of new, or unusual, ways to solve problems, especially when the old ways have failed. This aspect was also evident in Chakijana's folktales. Trickery thus constitutes a challenge to the old establishment, a call for fresh thinking, a celebration of human endeavour, intelligence and progress, but without the sinister consequences which often accompany the actions of animal tricksters. Bhadzela's tale clearly demonstrates the **ascending pattern** seen in *Izimu* stories: from a position of weakness, the hero is able to rise to one of victory and power. The greater the challenge, the greater the glory achieved through heroic deeds.

6.2 INEPT TRICK INITIATORS

A number of folktales represent humans who try to use evil tricks against other humans, especially unsuspecting members of their own family. Blood and friendship ties constitute the strongest associative forces in a group and give rise to affective ties that one does not normally question. But the tales show that nothing can be taken for granted in the struggle for survival: even the strongest human relationships contain an element of ambivalence. As Alan Dundes proves in a 1971 essay, the making and breaking of friendships is at the centre of human relations, and consequently of narrative patterns, in Africa. The tricksters' actions may enjoy an initial success, but are eventually thwarted because the actors are inept imitators and end up all the worse for wear, as they are eventually discovered and punished. These tales contain clear educational elements, expressed in parallel image sets that constantly compare the opposing parties and their reactions, as they go through the same experiences. The stories are often identified as "initiation tales", because they reflect periods of preparation for the rites of passage into a new stage of life. Four tales of this type are presented here. The three folktales taken from Nyembezi are clever re-workings by a gifted writer of traditional stories also found in Callaway and Stuart. The "foreign elements" are, however, much fewer than in the Bhadzela tale presented in the previous section.

6.2.1 *UBuhlaluse benkosi* (Nyembezi 1962:2:110)

(cf Stuart's *Intombi nezimu*, and *Indaba kaBuhlaluse*)

(The story is widely spread in Africa, and it is quoted also in Finnegan (1970)).

1. Buhlaluse is the chief's favourite daughter, and, as a result, the object of fierce envy from her age mates who seem prepared to go to any length to get rid of her. The girls go off, in a friendly company (False friendship) to dig for red ochre to beautify themselves for a coming feast, and the evil group decides to bury the princess in the ochre pit (Villainy

or Fraud). At home they report that she got lost, going off on her own (Deception by telling lies). All efforts by the king and his army to find her are in vain (Buhlaluse is trapped).

2. Some time later a woodcutter chops down a tree in the forest near the place where Buhlaluse has been buried [or, in one of Stuart's versions, a hunter passes by with his dogs]. The girl finds the strength to call on him with a refrain that reveals the whole story:

| | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| <i>Muntu ogawulayo, muntu ogawulayo</i> | (Woodcutter, woodcutter |
| <i>Ungikhonzele kubaba</i> | greet my father for me |
| <i>Ungikhonzele kumame</i> | greet my mother for me |
| <i>Uthi uBuhlaluse beNkosi</i> | tell them that the king's Buhlaluse |
| <i>Bamgqiba emtatshweni webomvu.</i> | they buried in an ochre pit) |

The refrain evidently parallels refrains used in *Izimu* tales, where the trapped girl sings her fate out. The man exhumes her and secretly reports the whole affair to the king (Trick discovered).

3. When the princess is fully recovered, a plot is hatched to punish the evil girls by getting them to confess their trick. They are sent to the same area and feasted, by the king's envoys who accompany them, in a hut built near the ochre cave (a motif reflecting Gubudela's plot to destroy *amazimu*). When they are in high spirits, Buhlaluse appears, like a ghost from the past. The girls cannot escape from the room, and resort to accusing each other (trickster's motif: blaming others). They are thus found guilty and put to death.

The girls are trick initiators, but the trick misfires on them. Cruel envy - the reason for the trick - and falsehood or deception - the means by which the trick is carried out - are not acceptable in human society. The girl's refrain song is a feeble voice calling on the ancestors and on humans, to come to her help. Trickery is not used by the princess, but by the trick initiator girls, and, in a parallel development, by the king and his envoys, as if to punish the girls with the same cruel means they had devised for Buhlaluse. The 'woodcutter' figure sounds like a German motif rather than a Zulu one. Traditionally it was young people and women that went *ukutheza izinkuni*, to collect firewood. Larger trees were, however, felled by men, and this is a very ancient practice, as the well-established verb root *-gawul-* (to fell a tree) testifies. There is nothing incongruous therefore in having either a woodcutter or a hunter discover the buried *Ubuhlalu*, or treasured gem stone.

The tale could be identified as an "hour-glass pattern" (Paulme), because it shows the alternation of fate for the parties involved: from victory to destruction for the girls, and from catastrophe to triumph for the princess. Buhlaluse further exemplifies the cyclical pattern: from happiness to reversal and from catastrophe to happiness. These elements make the tale ideal as an indirect means of education. There are a number of patterned images running through the first and the third parts of the tale (the second part may be considered as a transitional or linking image) and make it easily remembered:

- (a) Buhlaluse is trapped in a cave and nearly dies;
The girls are trapped in a house and are killed.
- (b) The initial companionship first becomes complicity in crime, as the girls bury Buhlaluse and then lie to the king, then it breaks up in a flurry of mutual accusations.
- (c) Buhlaluse is 'dead' and resurrected through the intervention of nature, humans, king. The girls are initially alive, free from the competition of the king's daughter (envious trick initially successful), but are eventually crushed. They do not accept personal responsibility for their action, but try the trickster's substitution technique of "blaming others". This does not work, however, since Buhlaluse is the living witness of their misdeed, and she is bent on having a full revenge taken.

6.2.2 *UMamba kaMaquba* (Nyembezi, 1962:2:79)

This tale can be described as a parallel image set narrative, in which two parties are submitted to the same experiences but with varied results, which depend on each character's attitudes and consequent responses to life challenges and to society's norms. The opposition is constituted by two sisters looking for marriage to Mamba, a prince in a snake form. The motive for conflict and trickery is, once more, envy on the part of the younger sister, who is the trick initiator. Parallel versions of the tale are found in Stuart (*UBuhlaluse*) and in Callaway (*UNtombinde*). The story is also analyzed in a paper by Harold Scheub (1970).

The elder sister's quest

1. Her calabash falls and gets broken while she is drawing water with her younger sister. The latter reports the incident at home and then lies to her older sister that their mother is furious and that she does not want to see her face again. The older girl, in despair, sets off to marry Mamba of Maquba, a mysterious distant character about whom she knows nothing. He is evidently a snake, but parallel versions identify him as a prince reduced to his present state by witchcraft performed on him by his mother's jealous co-wives.
2. On her way, the girl meets a repulsive old woman who asks her to lick the oozing from her eyes (cf *UMabhejana*, App. 18:3); then another deformed person asks her for help to load a heavy burden on the hips. The girl kindly complies and is promised success in marriage. At Mamba's village she is respectful towards older people, she follows their advice and prepares finely ground maize meal for Mamba, waits for him in the room and does not panic when the large snake finally appears. Mamba is very pleased with his submissive suitor, marries her and they eventually have a baby.
3. The girl one day asks Mamba for permission to visit her family and to show off her new baby. Mamba agrees to the request. At home the girl clears the air with her mother, who discovers the younger girl's deception.

The younger sister's quest

4. The younger girl is envious of the success of her elder sister, whose competition she thought to have eliminated, and goes off to offer herself as a wife to Mamba, without knowing that he is a snake. She insults the two old deformed people on the road and does not help them; she is careless with the older people at Mamba's village and does not grind the mealies finely for him. She is terrified when he appears in the form of a large snake and runs off towards her home, with Mamba in pursuit.
5. At home the people kill and burn the pursuing Mamba, but the older girl collects his ashes and buries them in her own room. After a few days there appears a head, then the shoulders, then the whole body of the handsome prince (cf *UMabhejana*, App. 18:11) who takes his wife and child and sets off to re-establish his kingdom.

The theme of a prince transformed into an animal by witchcraft and restored to a human form by the love of a woman is found in many tales, in both Europe and Africa. The younger girl is the trick initiator, driven by envy for the fortune and position of her elder sister. She fails because she is blinded by envy and does not realize that her sister's achievements are fruit of personal effort and sacrifice, which the younger sister is not prepared to do. She is so conceited that she does not seek help, nor does she care to 'learn the full formula' (Street, 1972) for success. The old women on the road show ambivalent values: they can either be beneficial or cause trouble, depending on the girl's response to their requests. The older girl passes the test, but not the younger one. This is another "initiation story" that vividly portrays the attitudes which society expects young women to display towards marriage, where they are supposed to play a subservient role.

James Stuart's version, however, presents an opposite ending: human Mamba takes the younger girl as a wife because she has been instrumental in bringing about his return to the human condition through her stubborn refusal to subject herself to humiliating forms of treatment, such as accepting marriage to a snake. Neethling (1990(a)) has done an interesting study of women's attitudes to their subservient status in marriage as revealed in Xhosa folktales. In this light, Stuart's ending might be construed as feminist protest literature, reflecting the trickster as the one who advances human endeavour by challenging oppressive aspects of established human institutions.

The trick pattern is evident at the beginning of Nyembezi's story, where the younger girl tells lies in order to rid herself of her sister's competition (Envy driven Deception). In the rest of the tale the younger girl is a trickster like Maqinase (cf App. No. 1), that is, a boisterous self-centred youngster characterized by capricious behaviour and social irresponsibility. In Stuart's ending, the girl's stubbornness initially produces the disaster of Mamba's death, then becomes the promise of reform and renewal in the institution of marriage. Trickery, or the application of a trick pattern that holds the story together, is therefore not central to this tale, which, however,

demonstrates how elements identified as parts of the trickster tradition are found scattered in the most disparate stories.

6.2.3 *UNoqandakazana* (Stuart Collection, in Canonici 1995(a):48)

This story also presents the rivalry between two sisters who are seeking to marry the same chief. Although polygamy would allow a double marriage to take place, the younger sister, Noqandakazana, does not want her sister Thembeletsheni's competition for the heart of the chief, probably knowing from the start that Thembeletsheni would win any battle because of her kind and virtuous nature, as opposed to her own wilful, deceitful and stubborn ways. She thus resorts to a series of tricks to get rid of Thembeletsheni. She is initially successful, but supernatural intervention rescues the innocent victim from her tricks and helps her to final victory.

Ilana Dan (1977:14) describes this type of tale as a "female fairy tale [that] tends towards the sacred legend" because of the repeated intervention of supernatural envoys in favour of "the innocent persecuted heroine":

The heroine and villains act and are judged in the framework of the society's religious and ethical value systems. The heroine is depicted as particularly virtuous. . . . The villains, in contrast, are sinners: seducers, slanderers, murderers and misers. (Dan, 1977:14)

Dan further determines five *narrative roles* in this type of story, which are clearly reflected in our tale:

- i. The heroine, Thembeletsheni
- ii. The bridegroom, the chief
- iii. Positive mediators: the stewards, the Cape canary, the finches, the old man Somaxhegwana; the little girl at the end.
- iv. The villain, or antagonist: Noqandakazana
- v. Negative agents: dogs, cannibals; Nsolo the sorcerer, Nsolo's snake.

The tale is summarized hereunder and divided into four parts.

First part: Marriage negotiations.

Noqandakazana is a wilful girl who tends to appropriate everything belonging to her quieter sister, Thembeletsheni. When envoys from a distant chief surprise the two girls bathing at a river, they choose Thembeletsheni as a bride because of her beauty and pleasant character and the girls' father agrees to the match. Noqandakazana, however, insists on going with her sister, in spite of her father's prohibition. On the way to the chief's place Noqandakazana misleads Thembeletsheni and sends her off to a dogs' house, where she is insulted and starved by the dogs (in another version collected by Neethling,

the dogs try to rape her). Noqandakazana arrives at the chief's place and lies about her sister, saying that she has changed her mind. The chief accepts her but provisionally suspends his marriage arrangements. A bird, the Cape canary, perches on the fence of the cattle byre and reveals what has happened to Thembeletsheni:

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>Ngiwumzwilili, zwilili</i> | (I am a Cape canary, a canary! |
| <i>Ngizokukubikela, Nkosi.</i> | I have a message for you, chief. |
| <i>UThembeletsheni ulahliwe uNoqandakazana</i> | Thembeletsheni was misled by Noqandakazana. |
| <i>Wamyalela umuzi wezinja.</i> | She sent her to the dogs' homestead. |
| <i>Izinja zidla zidle</i> | The dogs eat and eat |
| <i>Bese zimnika amathambo.</i> | Then give her bones, saying: |
| <i>Bese zithi, "Nani abakithi enibafuyile</i> | "You too, to our people kept by you |
| <i>La nidla inyama nibanika amathambo.</i> | When you eat meat you give bones. |
| <i>Singeke sikuphe nathi."</i> | Neither will we ever give you meat.") |

Second Part: Thembeletsheni's encounters

Fleeing from her encounter with the cruel dogs, Thembeletsheni ends up in *amazimu's* cave, where she collects some stones and climbs onto a shelf waiting for the owners' return. *Amazimu* smell the presence of a human being (cf Hyena's sharp sense of smell), but they are too busy with the day's catch to bother about the girl on the shelf (cf Hyena's stupidity). While they are asleep, Thembeletsheni urinates on the chief *Izimu*, who thinks that it is raining:

| | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>Liyana, bantabami!</i> | (It is raining, my children! |
| <i>Pho, imvula ingenaphi?</i> | Where does the rain come in?) |

Afraid of being discovered and caught, the girl hurls a stone on the chief's chest and he dies, then she smashes the others. Fleeing from this second frightening experience and absolutely famished, Thembeletsheni arrives at a river, on her way to the chief's place. She strikes the ground with a magic wand and finches appear who proclaim her the chief's rightful bride: *Vu! Vuma! Uyinkosikazi!* (Here you are: You are the queen!). The birds supply her with plenty of beer and meat.

Third Part: Noqandakazana's victimization of her sister and the latter's triumph

Thembeletsheni travels further and meets her sister at another river. Noqandakazana tells her that the chief does not want her any longer (cf younger girl's trick against her older sister in *UMamba kaMaquba*), and that she could even be put to death because of her 'marriage to the dogs'. Noqandakazana promises, however, to protect her if she agrees to act as her slave, or fool, and to make herself unrecognizable by smearing herself with mud. The rest of this part is similar to the *Imbulu* tale, *UMphangose*, examined in 5.7. The 'pretender' here is Noqandakazana. At the chief's place Thembeletsheni is sent to guard the fields together with an old man, Somaxhegwana. She chases away the birds three times by singing a refrain which reveals her true identity.

| | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>Yinsimu yenkosi le!</i> | (This is the chief's field! |
| <i>Inkosi eyayizocela mina</i> | The chief who asked me |
| <i>Ukuba ngibe yinkosikazi!</i> | To become his queen!) |

In the afternoon she goes to the river to bathe. Once clean of her muddy scales and transformed back into her beautiful self, she sings a song and the finches appear again

with her food. Somaxhegwana discovers her true identity and reports the matter to the chief. The next day the chief hides near the river and surprises her in the splendour of her beauty. She is forced to reveal the whole story of her sister's treachery, and is finally proclaimed the rightful queen.

Fourth Part: Noqandakazana and the sorcerer

Noqandakazana is chased away from the chief's place and she marries Nsolo, a sorcerer, who keeps, in a huge pot, an enormous multi-headed snake as his familiar. The girl cannot resist her curiosity: while Nsolo and all the people are away, she opens the pot and is bitten by the snake which then refuses to return into its pot. A young girl sees the dead bride and announces the event to the family working in the fields.

This is a rather complex story that brings together kings and commoners, dogs and ogres, a sorcerer and a multi-headed snake. Noqandakazana is the trick initiator, like *Imbulu*, intent on becoming the wife of a chief who does not really want her and thus becomes a threat to the harmony of his family. Thembeletsheni is like Mphangose: she plays no trick to react to her envious sister, but constantly relies on supernatural help. There are parallels between the two sisters (a "mirror tale"), as the two main characters are opposed to one another while pursuing the same goal. Paulme's "hour-glass" pattern seems evident in the way that the initial winner becomes the loser, and the initial loser is proclaimed the winner because she embodies society's values. We can schematically identify the following trends in the tale:

| | |
|----------------------------|--|
| False friendship: | Noqandakazana accompanies Thembeletsheni ostensibly to be her friend and possible servant. Noqandakazana gives Thembeletsheni false directions Noqandakazana accepts Thembeletsheni under her false protection as a slave. |
| Consequence: Fraud: | Thembeletsheni ends in dogs' house: threat to be raped; In <i>amazimu</i> 's house: danger to be eaten; Alleged death threat by king if recognized; Transformed into repulsive being by mud covering. |
| Mediators: | Cape canary reveals fraud; Finches serve her at river three times; Old man mediates with king. |
| Transformations: | Noqandakazana unsuccessfully attempts to transform Thembeletsheni into a dogs' wife; Into ogres' food; Into a scabious and repulsive slave. |
| Re-transformation: | Thembeletsheni is re-transformed: Into beautiful girl and queen; |
| Mediation: | Water, finches, old man. |
| Discovery: | By old man (close to ancestors) By chief (family head); Recognition by envoys; |
| Reward: | Marriage to king. |

Reversal:

Noqandakazana chased away;
She marries Nsolo, a sorcerer, opposite of king;
She is bitten to death by snake;
Discovered by a young girl.

Evil trickery, characterized by deception, lies, false friendship - all marks of a trickster's workings - does not help the tricky Noqandakazana, whose fraudulent and deceitful actions are not allowed to go unpunished in human society, and they are certainly not a solid basis on which to build a successful marriage. Grimm's "The Goose Girl", already quoted in connection with Mphangose, is constructed on similar motifs, but its symbolism is far removed from the African one.

6.2.4 *UMkhwekazi namasi* (The mother-in-law and the sour milk) (Nyembezi 1962:2:67)

(Parallel versions are found in Callaway: *UGungqu kubantwana*; du Toit: "The water where no frogs croak"; Stuart: *Eyezinzawu*; *Eyesalukazi*; and *UNomhlangeni*.)

The story presents a greedy old woman who is very fond of sour milk, a food substance that custom does not allow her to have in her son-in-law's home. She is prepared to play a complex trick to satisfy her greed, in a way that resembles *Imbulu*'s stories. Beidelman (1980:31) states: "Often old women are portrayed as greedy, evil and dangerous, and sometimes sharp-toothed." In Zulu folktales old women mostly fulfil mediating roles, as they help young people in trouble and give them sound directions for proper behaviour. In this role they are generally interpreted (cf Msimang, 1986) as manifestations of Nomkubulwane, the rainbow princess, who always heeds the prayers of her protégées. The present tale, however, sounds more like the representation of old women's negative trickster traits. This story (in its three main versions in Nyembezi, Callaway and du Toit) was fully analyzed in a 1989 paper of mine, "The sour milk of contention". I shall summarize the tale and some points relevant to our discussion.

1. An old lady decides to move in with her married daughter, where there is plenty of sour milk of which she is inordinately fond, although this is taboo to her. While the daughter and the son-in-law go out to distant fields, she tills the garden near the house. She decides to take the opportunity of their absence to help herself to the sour milk. She pretends to hear her children calling her (Fraud). She puts her little skirt on the handle of her hoe and orders it to carry on the work (Substitution).

Yimihlola yini lena engivelelayo?
Ngibizwa ngubani abantabami abekho?
We geja, ubosala uzilima nje!
Nisayobona lona ongibizayo.

(What portents are happening to me?
Who calls me as the children are away?
You hoe stay here and hoe!
I'm just going to see who's calling me)

She goes into the house, puts on her son-in-law's clothes, takes his eating utensils, sits on his stool (pretence and substitution), and mixes the maas with mealies, then eats to her heart's content singing all the time. When the young couple return and find that the maas is missing, she denies any knowledge (avoid blame by denial). The trick is repeated several times. The son-in-law eventually hides in the house and surprises her red-handed (and naked, in du Toit's version).

2. The son-in-law sends her, in punishment, to fetch water from a frogless pool (and, in du Toit, she punishes the son-in-law for seeing her naked by requesting that he brings her the liver of *Inzawu*, a water monster). She sets off and tries one water source after another but in vain. When she is exhausted and about to give up, she finds a pool with no frogs.
3. In her happiness, she fills her calabash and then drinks so much water that she cannot get up, as she is also caught by a tree root. The water belongs, however, to the king of the animals. When these come to drink, in the late afternoon, they warn her that the king is coming and he will not look kindly on her infringement of his realm.

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>Ubani lo, ohlezi emfuleni wenkosi na?</i> | (Who is sitting by the king's river?) |
| <i>Yimi, nkosi!</i> | It is I, Lord. |
| <i>Bengithi ngiyaphumula kanti ngizobanjwa.</i> | I was resting but was caught. |
| <i>Zathi izilwane: "Iyeza inkosi!"</i> | The animals said: "The king is coming!" |

King Lion decrees that she will be eaten the next morning. In Callaway's version, the monster king swallows her immediately.

4. During the night the genet (or other animals in other versions) sets her free and accompanies her part of the way, then wipes the dew of its feet on the paws of the sleeping bush-shrike. When her escape is noticed in the morning, the genet suggests that the paws of each animal be examined. Dew is found on the bush-shrike, which is condemned. *Insimba yasulela amazolo ezinyaweni zeqqumusha* (The genet wiped the dew on the paws of the bush-shrike). Substitution of an innocent but gullible victim saves the real culprit, as usual.

The trick pattern employed by the old lady to satisfy her greed initially succeeds then fails, as is the case with inept trick imitators, such as *Imbulu*, in spite of the great care taken by the woman to cover her tracks. Her actions are particularly obnoxious because she, who is supposed to be an example of honesty, breaks the rules relating to sour milk, and thus infringes on the heart of family life and makes herself a human *Imbulu* (cf 5.7 above).

Cultural connotations of sour milk

Cattle are the property of the ancestors to be used for the extension of the lineage. Milk is therefore reserved for the agnatic group, as it is the life-sustaining element from the ancestors. Orphaned children are adopted into a family by being given a share of either the mother's or the cow's milk. The cow thus becomes a 'mother substitute'. A woman cannot partake of the milk products of her intended in-law's until she has shown her fertility and has become a full member of the clan, through her child, by producing an heir. She could otherwise be considered a 'milk

relative' and this would make it impossible for her to marry into the family (exogamous marriage rules). For a mother-in-law to partake of milk products would mean that she is trying to make herself the wife of the family head. The mother-in-law in this story is prepared to break these very serious taboos in order to satisfy her greed. She devises a plan to get around the norm, or to trick the family and the ancestors.

Trickster's characteristics

The mother-in-law makes a *false contract* with her daughter and son-in-law, which appears favourable to the young couple, while it gives her a chance of getting them out of the way: "You go to the fields far away and I shall till the fields near the house." *Fraud* is accomplished during the absence of the people in authority (*absentation*), and is a characteristic of trickster stories. This appears from the following elements:

- (a) She waits to put her plan into action until her people are away. The trickster does the same: *Ubuqili benziwa kudlulwe umuzi* (A trick is performed away from home).
- (b) The mother-in-law abandons the field and her tilling work: unsuccessful folktale tricksters are never fond of hard work, as they try to get out of any demanding obligation by the use of short-cut formulae.
- (c) She is able to get to the sour milk in the absence of any eye witness: this will enable her to deny any responsibility for the disappearance of the milk: *Icala ngumphikwa* (Crime means denial).

Trickster transformation

The trickster often undergoes some kind of disguise in order to perform his tricks, to create the illusion of being somebody else. In this story:

- (i) The old woman pretends to transform the hoe into an *alter ego* by dressing the handle with her own kilt, while using a kind of magic formula to pretend that the hoe should do her work while she is absent. The trick brings to mind Goethe's Sorcerer's Apprentice, who, being lazy, orders the broom (through a magic formula) to transport water to fill his master's bath, but then forgets the formula to stop the broom and the whole house is flooded. This substitution motif is only found in Nyembezi's and du Toit's versions, and the possibility cannot be excluded that it is borrowed from European tales.
- (ii) In the house the woman pretends to transform herself into her son-in-law by dressing in his clothes, by making use of his utensils (dish and spoon, which are out of bounds to everyone else in the family) and of his stool (his 'throne', or seat of authority). In du Toit's version, the woman keeps saying: "*UMkhwenyana udla (uhlala, ugqoka) enze njalo!*" (This is how my son-in-law eats, or sits, or dresses up).

- (iii) She expects the pretended transformation to fool the son-in-law (the authority in the house) as well as the ancestor spirits, the jealous guardians of social norms: they are supposed to be old, rather blind and hard of hearing, thus easily fooled by external appearances. If she can pass as her son-in-law, then she should be allowed to eat the sour milk without running the risk of being punished for her transgression. Later in the story, when she is caught drinking from the private pool of the animals' king, she again tries to deny responsibility. Eventually the genet saves her and itself by doing exactly the same thing, that is, denying a charge by creating the illusion that it is somebody else's fault. And the innocent bush-shrike gets killed!

The *trickster's fraud* circumvents social norms and breaks social taboos. In this folktale the mother-in-law:

- (a) Undresses in public (in the open) in order to dress up the hoe.
- (b) Appears naked in the main room, or the family room, where she is eventually surprised naked by her son-in-law. This amounts to her trying to take the wife's place: a sexual indiscretion punishable with death.
- (c) She uses the utensils and clothes of her son-in-law.
- (d) She eats the forbidden sour milk, thus making herself a 'milk relative' and a member of the agnatic group.
- (e) She gloats about her actions, as the trickster does, when she sings to herself while preparing and eating the food.
- (f) She lies about her actions, trying to cover up her fraud, as the trickster does.

A human trickster is often caught and so is the old lady when the son-in-law discovers her. When the trickster is captured he must either *escape* (by performing a self-liberating act, often involving a new series of tricks; or by denying any fault), or be rescued by a mediator. Here the woman tries to *escape* by denying responsibility for her crime, but in vain. There is no real or lasting *escape* for a negative human trickster, except in the recognition of his or her fault and in the acceptance of the need to make amends: Berglund (1976:151) explains the traditional practice of confession as a preliminary to a sacrifice of reconciliation. The son-in-law makes it clear that he could kill the old woman if he wanted, but is prepared to give her a chance to redeem herself by setting for her the nearly impossible task to procure water from a frogless river. In du Toit's version also the woman gives the son-in-law the task to atone for having seen her naked by sending him on the extremely dangerous mission of getting the liver of *Inzawu*.

The woman's acceptance of the need for atonement changes her from animal trickster to a human being. She sets off on her long pilgrimage, through new adventures, until she reaches her goal and returns with the sweet-tasting and saving clear water, helped in her task by the genet, another trickster figure who, however, has the bush-shrike blamed for his (the genet's)

action. Humans must atone for their faults by fulfilling very risky tasks, while animals are allowed to get away with a crime by blaming others!

Callaway presents a different ending to the story: the master of the pool is an all-devouring monster, who swallows the woman without giving her a chance to escape. Inside the monster's stomach, the enterprising old lady immediately begins to cut its intestines, to cook them and to distribute the food to the other inmates of the unearthly prison. The monster is gradually weakened and eventually dies, and the woman cuts through its ribs and sets free all the people that lived inside, together with their cattle. In recognition of her leadership the people proclaim her their queen. The initial rebellion against a restrictive custom (the sour-milk taboo) is therefore seen as the manifestation of independent enterprise, which further blossoms in the face of grave dangers. The little unimportant and rebellious old woman is a leader and a heroine at heart.

6.3 HUMAN TRICKSTERS IN TRADITIONAL STORIES

The folktales analyzed so far in this chapter show two main themes:

The impossible task,

which requires heroic qualities to be accomplished. This is often linked to the theme of the "seeking hero", because seemingly impossible conditions are laid down. In our context such stories reveal a typically Zulu attitude: the hero is not a strapping young man of great physical prowess, but a person who looks like a weakling but possesses a gift that few can lay claim to, that is, intelligence, wisdom and cunning. As is the case with Hlakanyana, the person who acts with shrewd intelligence is invincible, as this quality sets man apart from animals and from even overpowering monsters. To accomplish a heroic or outstanding deed careful planning is needed, and this is based on a trick pattern to deceive one's opponent into showing his weaknesses so that he can be attacked safely, especially when he lacks the normal advantage of his environment where he can rely on his brute force.

The inept imitation of trick sequences.

Selfish tricks are initially successful but are finally doomed to failure. The reasons for lack of success could be:

- i. The motives for employing deception and illusion techniques are socially unacceptable. These have been identified as:
- ii. Envy with regard to popularity (Girls in *UBuhlaluse*) or wealth or status.
- iii. Envy with regard to the choice of a husband (in *UMamba kaMaquba* and in *UNoqandakazana*)

- iv. Uncontrolled greed for food which leads one to attempt to deceive even family and ancestors (in *UMkhwekazi namasi*).

The lack of success of inept trick imitators underlines the deeply held belief that norms and customs must be regarded as unshakeable as they form the bases of a harmonious society and of all human relationships. I have however mentioned different endings of the tales in 6.2.2 and 6.2.4. These present the unexpected success of deviant characters. Both stories deal with norms that are recognized as particularly oppressive by women: the fact that a woman must be subservient at all costs, even when her husband is a "snake"; the taboo imposed on women in respect of food, and especially of the only food, the sour milk, that might be considered a bit of a luxury in a subsistence economy based on an uninspiring and unappetizing staple diet of maize meal and vegetables. The two female "tricksters" revolt against such customs which they judge unreasonable, and are eventually vindicated. We must remember that women are the main shareholders of the folktale tradition because most of the performers are women. It is natural to expect them to choose motifs that express their feelings and attitudes at any particular time, and that reflect either communally held desires, or personal expectations.

These "rebellious" stories demonstrate the ambivalent and yet healthy aspect of tradition: a person who objects by breaking down well-established norms might be seen as socially undesirable, because he or she places the whole social fabric under scrutiny and forces people to rethink the validity of customs taken for granted. But his or her actions might be just the shake that society needs to be forced into new ways of thinking. The "rebellion" is the seed of eventual positive change and of progress. Zinta Konrad (1983:177) quotes Stevens, who writes:

The trickster principle offers 'a kind of divinely sanctioned lawlessness that promises to become heroic.'

6.4 'MODERN' TRICKSTERS

Trickery plays such a prominent role in traditional oral narratives that it is only natural that some modern writers should have created 'new' stories incorporating traditional trickster themes and motifs. I shall deal here with two such stories: *Indaba kaPhoshozwayo* (Phoshozwayo's story) by Violet Dube, published in 1935, and *Hlakaniphani the Clever*, found in Brian du Toit's 1976 publication. Both stories have a young man as their central character.

6.4.1 Phoshozwayo's story

Violet Dube was a teacher, and the first Zulu woman writer. Her book *Woza Nazo* is a collection of some traditional folktales and a re-working of others in the ancient mould but incorporating

new themes and motifs. Phoshozwayo's story is the longest tale in the book and represents an original creation using the Chakijana theme and European (Grimm's) folktales. *Phoshoza* means (D.& V.) 'to gossip; to talk much; to chatter continuously, to be garrulous'. Therefore *Phoshozwayo* is 'the Chatterbox'. '*Qakala*', his dim-witted brother who sets the trick sequences in motion, means (ibid.) 'to start, initiate', or 'to provoke, incite, make unfounded attacks on'; therefore 'the Unjust Provoker'.

The story reflects typical Hare and Hyena stories, where Hyena initiates the trick from a position of strength, often posing as a senior relative, but Hare reacts cunningly and leads Hyena to eventual self-destruction. It can be clearly divided into two parts, each reflecting a separate tale of the Grimm Brothers: the first consists of Phoshozwayo's struggles against his elder brother Qakala, who repeatedly tries to destroy Phoshozwayo through brute force and deceit, driven by envy, selfishness and greed. The younger brother, however, is clever and manages to turn his misfortunes and his brother's threats to his own advantage, and to finally let Qakala walk to his own death. Qakala is constantly unable to see his tricks through to the end as he tries, by means of what Denise Paulme (1977) calls "The Impossible Imitation in African Stories", to match his brother's successes at every step (parallel image pattern), until this leads to self-destruction. The second part contains a mixture of European folklore motifs, especially Grimm's "The Drummer", and of trickster/ogre African themes, incorporating a number of "Impossible Task" sequences.

In 4.2.6 the successful trickster was presented as a master in the use of language. When Hlakanyana goes to sleep with the boys, at the end of the first eventful day of his life, the boys reject him saying that all his power proceeds from his mouth, and by his words he surpasses both young and old people (cf App. 5:16). Phoshozwayo admirably fulfils such a role. He is younger and less wealthy than his brother. He reacts to his inferior status with what he has got: cunning and determination. He is able to play with words to the extent that he creates perfect illusions and fools everybody, including Qakala. Qakala, in fact, sees the results of Phoshozwayo's trickery in his brother's growing wealth, but when Qakala asks for the cause, Phoshozwayo is able to provide some specious story, which Qakala immediately sets out to imitate without probing its truth. Nor is he careful to follow the full formula for success. He is therefore an inept imitator, while Phoshozwayo, who is subjected to his brother's envy, is finally victorious because he reacts with astuteness.

Due to the length of the story, only the first part is reproduced in the Appendix (App. No. 16) as it contains clearer markers of its traditional African source motifs. This first part is summarized here.

First part: Phoshozwayo and Qakala

1. After their parents' death, the two brothers live with their old grandmother in a peri-urban area. Qakala has inherited all his father's livestock, and Phoshozwayo only possesses two horses. Qakala kills these horses out of envy and spite for his brother (cf Hlakanyana reacting to the dissipation of his father's herd, App. 5:7). Phoshozwayo reacts to this act of wanton destruction by skinning one horse and cleaning its gall-bladder (Destruction turned to good use). One evening, unseen, he witnesses a robbery. When this deed is discussed in front of the chief, Phoshozwayo pretends that his gall-bladder speaks and reveals where the stolen booty and the thief are hidden (K 424) (cf Grimm's Little Farmer who witnesses the Miller's wife's adultery while pretending to be asleep, and then tells the Miller where the good food is hidden, pretending that it is his raven that speaks). The wealthy owner of the stolen goods rewards him with many horses in exchange for the 'magic' gall-bladder.
2. The youngster deceives his brother into believing that he has acquired so many animals by selling the hides of his slaughtered horses in town. Credulous Qakala kills ten of his own horses and goes to town with the hides (same motif in Grimm's Little Farmer) which are not even properly dry, but is spotted and pursued by the police, probably because of his unhealthy and unlicensed sale practices.
3. Qakala then becomes so despondent that he tries to kill his brother, but the wily one swops places with his grandmother, and Qakala kills her instead of him. Phoshozwayo takes the carefully bound body in a basket to an Indian-owned hotel in town, and tricks the Indian waiter into believing that he (the waiter) has killed the old woman, and demands a large monetary compensation. Deceit has now turned into blackmail.
4. After giving his grandmother a decent burial, Phoshozwayo tells his brother that he has got the money from the sale of their grandmother's body, which white people intend to use as powerful manure. Qakala kills two old women in cold blood, takes the bodies to town, but is again chased by the police who now see him as a murderer, and he hardly manages to escape with his life.
5. The older brother grows so envious of his young brother's successes that he finally ties Phoshozwayo in a bag and goes to throw him into a dam (In Grimm's tale, the Little Farmer is put in a barrel to be thrown into a lake). While Qakala is in a shebeen getting drunk to overcome his scruples about the action he is about to do, having left the bag outside (cf *Izimu's* motifs: bag left unattended, eating/drinking delay, substitution of contents), Phoshozwayo convinces a passing old man, who is tired of life, to take his place in the bag, and the old man rewards him with a large flock of sheep (In Grimm's tale, the Little Farmer convinces a gullible shepherd that the villagers have got him in the barrel because they want to make him the town's mayor. The shepherd gladly exchanges places with the farmer and rewards the latter with his flock) Qakala believes Phoshozwayo's story that he has found all those sheep at the bottom of the dam, and decides to try the venture himself (So do the villagers in Grimm's story). Phoshozwayo allows him to tie himself into a bag and to a heavy boulder and helps him only by pushing him into the water. Qakala is, of course, drowned (*Izimu's* end in water). Phoshozwayo is now unmolested and can enjoy his wealth and sing his own praises in peace. Revenge is sweet!

The reasons for Qakala's failure are traditional ones: wrong motivation (= envy), blinding greed, stupid gullibility, use of short-cuts, etc. This action - reaction type of narrative may be considered as patterned, but the story is really a spiral (Paulme, 1977) because it takes us through the successive stages of Qakala's self-destruction process. Phoshozwayo's justification for his actions is to be seen as self-defence against Qakala's envy, and then as a vengeful reaction to his brother's murderous activities. Phoshozwayo must react in order to avoid being destroyed, and in so doing he must also take the initiative by misleading his brother into ruination.

As stated above, this section of the story is a clever adaptation of Grimm's "The Little Farmer", except for the important aspect that the "Farmer" is a successful trick initiator, defrauding a number of gullible rich enemies, while Phoshozwayo becomes a trickster in reaction to his brother's attacks. The Farmer is very poor and has no cattle: he has a wooden calf made and placed in the meadow, and, when this disappears through the herdsman's carelessness, the Farmer is compensated with a living cow. When this cow has to be slaughtered, the Farmer goes to sell it in town. On his way he picks up a wounded raven, then witnesses the adultery of the rich Miller's wife and tells the Miller where she has hidden the good food prepared for her lover, pretending that it is his wounded raven that speaks. The Miller gives him plenty of money for the revelations and finally for the raven and so the Farmer is able to set himself up comfortably. He tells the village people that he has made his fortune by selling his cow's skin in town, and they all slaughter their cows and try to sell the hides but get little or no reward. The envious and furious villagers condemn the Farmer to be rolled into a lake in a barrel until he dies, but he manages to get a shepherd to take his place and wins the latter's large flock. The villagers believe his story that he has acquired this flock at the bottom of the lake and they all throw themselves in the water and die, leaving the Little Farmer the sole owner of all their property.

It is interesting to examine Phoshozwayo's praises, which he composes and adds on to throughout the development of the narrative, and which may give a glimpse of the way the author thought the character felt about himself:

*Naku lapha esengakhona
uGqibigqebe kwezinde nezimfushane,
Phond'olud'enkomeni;
Wo! He! Mina Lumalahle!
Ofunayo makathathe iziswebu zakhe, angilandele!
Inguluzane kade kwasa beyiguluza;
uMachusha behlanganisile;
uNompunyumpunyu bemphethe;
uMthwazilothwishi!
uNdlebe zikhany'ilanga!
uGxamalaza kuphum'ijongosi!
UBojaboja kaMsengane!*

(Behold, here I am,
 The Conqueror of long-horned and short-horned cattle;
 The longest horn [= the leader] in the herd;
 Look! I am the one who can bite and throw away!
 Let him who wants take up his whips and follow me!
 The tough one, they have tried to bash him for a long time.
 The breaker through, even when fenced in.
 They thought they had him, but he escaped through their hands.
 The very tall one,
 Whose ears let the sun shine through.
 He who stands with open legs and a young bull come through.
 Bojaboja (= Inveterate liar), son of Msengane!)

Phoshozwayo boasts that he is the herd leader, because he has the longest horn (=intelligence, cunning). The author describes him, initially, by means of a Zulu idiom that compares his cunning, tenacity and perseverance to that of a stone:

*Ngokuhlakanipha, kwaphekwa yena kwaphekwa itshe,
 Kwavuthwa lona kuqala kwasala yena.*
 (As for intelligence, if he and a stone were to be cooked,
 the stone would cook first, not he.)

He can do what he wants with his life, as he feels superior to everything and everybody. He is a modern man who can afford not to be careful about what he has (*uLumalahle* : 'he can bite and throw away'), even about the people he has relationships with. His enemies thought they had cornered him, but he escaped like an uncontrollable young bull, and amassed enormous wealth in the process, as the traditional trickster does in reaction to being trapped. He feels like the chosen one of fortune: the sun shines through his ear lobes (a classic metaphor for a white man). He is a very clever liar! He is also a modern representative of those trickster stories where the unassuming, normally smaller, contender finally reaps victory because the stronger one first tries to catch him, then to ineptly imitate his tricks.

Second part: Phoshozwayo and the Giant

This second part is drawn from Grimm's "The Drummer" and partly from Theal. In Grimm's story, a young Drummer must save a princess from a glass mountain where she is held captive, with her two sisters, by a wicked witch. The Drummer goes into a forest peopled by giants, whom he forces to take him into the glass mountain fortress. There he is able to pass extraordinary tests through the help of the invisible princess and he thus frees her from the evil spell and eventually marries her. Here follows a summary of Violet Dube's story.

1. An old king has no heir. He promises his kingdom to anyone who is able to steal a magic feather from an ogre or giant (*isiqhwaga*: 'Giant; great or fearsome person; person of great strength' D.&V.) who lives in a dark fortress and spreads terror in the whole kingdom (cf Zembeni, who has destroyed all men in the countryside). The feather enables the giant to see everything that is going on, even at a distance, so as to plan his sudden attacks (cf *Izimu*/ Hyena's extraordinary speed).
2. Phoshozwayo tries the enterprise, and, through kindness, wins the friendship of two deformed inmates of the fortress, the wrinkled woman Shivane and her brother Nqulwini ['the On-the-hip-bone']. Nqaba ('the Refuser'), the giant, and his wife, set impossible tasks for the boy (motifs found in Grimm's story and in European folklore in connection with the winning of a princess' hand in marriage, also present in some Zulu stories).
3. Identical tasks are set in the three sources mentioned above. On the first day Phoshozwayo must plant and reap mealies, make bread with them and bring it to Nqaba before sunset. When the boy falls asleep exhausted and discouraged, Shivane pronounces a magic formula and everything happens at once. On the second day Phoshozwayo must clear a hill where the soil, the grass and the wood are extremely hard. Again Shivane gives a magic order and the hill is cleared. On the third day the boy must steal the eggs from a fierce snake in a deep pool which is impenetrable to men. Shivane gets Phoshozwayo to cut her into pieces and to throw her in the water. When she reappears on the surface, she has got the eggs and is whole again. On the fourth day the boy must break in a wild white horse, made up of Nqaba (front) and his wife (back), and Shivane and Nqulwini (flanks). Phoshozwayo whips the front and rear of the horse vehemently and eventually tames it. By evening the Giant and his wife are absolutely exhausted and fall into a profound sleep. Phoshozwayo is thus able to steal the magic feather at night and to run off, also holding the magic eggs of the pool snake. He is accompanied by his two companions.
4. A typical *Izimu* chase sequence takes place now. When Nqaba and his wife pursue them, the three fugitives throw the eggs one at a time (cf. Nokuthula's-story in chapter 5 section 4, and App. No. 19) to produce first negative, then progressively positive and attractive obstacles: a forest, a stony hill, a fruit orchard, an orange grove, a mound with three beautiful flowers.
5. The three fugitives eventually turn themselves into church ministers who preach the Ten Commandments and especially "Thou shall not kill". Nqaba's heart is touched and converted, but his wife continues to chase the fugitives, until she is swept away by a raging river (*Izimu*'s end). The three friends part company.
6. Phoshozwayo brings the feather to his king who rewards him with the kingdom. Many years later King Phoshozwayo is brought a horse which only eats cooked food. When the horse is killed there appear Shivane and Nqulwini, beautiful in their youth (transformation into a better life), who remind the king of their common adventures. Phoshozwayo marries Shivane and makes Nqulwini a chief, giving him subjects, land and cattle.

The story represents an amalgamation of African and European folktale motifs. The first part takes as its setting a modern rural, peri-urban and urban milieu, with police pick-ups, Indian hotels, a monetary economy, etc., where a clever and smooth-talking young fellow succeeds by his wits and by using deceit, blackmail, fraud, to counteract his unscrupulous brother's attacks,

much on the line of the pan-African Hare - Hyena dichotomy. The second part represents quite a significant shift: it is a flight of the imagination into a world peopled with giants, magicians, fortresses, horses, etc., where the young man vanquishes his enemies by using traditional magic means, as well as modern incantation signs, such as preaching Christian principles to an inveterate and gigantic witch. The counterpart to the fight between Chakijana and the *amazimu* of traditional stories is set in a world different from that of ancient oral traditions, where new moral principles begin to apply, although it may look as if the characters and their actions are very similar, in that they still succeed through deception. The identification of Nqaba with the *amazimu* is clear, although there is redemption for him, but not for his cruel wife, at the end of his dark career, something which the tradition did not contemplate. Qakala also shows many characteristics usually connected with the figure of the dim-witted and finally self-destructing *izimu*, as well as the trickster-buffoon, or the duper-dupe figures of both African and American folklore. The villains in both parts of the story deserve to be conquered by their young opponent, who is shrewd, unscrupulous and remorseless in the first part, but appears quite innocent in his powerlessness in the second. This modern trickster thus reacts to evil actions or to evil forces, and becomes the liberator and the executioner, or the avenger.

Should one look for the manifestation of moral principles in this tale, one would notice another important shift between the first and the second part: the waster of the first part, who can 'bite and throw away' as he wishes, can no longer afford to do so in the second part: destiny, which has brought him into fruitful contact with Shivane and Nqulwini and has made him an instrument of the giant's conversion, now brings his old friends back, to claim their rightful share in his good fortune. He can no longer 'throw them away', after using their services, and he acknowledges them by sharing with them his fortunes, the more so since the "seeking hero" has now found his princess. The lying season is finished, and one must take seriously one's social obligations.

6.4.2 Hlakaniphani, the clever

This story also has a modern setting, and the trickster is a young man living and moving about in our present world, intent, as his name implies, on imitating Hlakanyana. Although the tricks are quite 'modern', as determined by the milieu, the story must be quite widely spread as it was written down for Brian du Toit by one of his student informants around 1975, was recorded again with few variations by Noleen Turner in 1990 (Turner, 1991), and its final trick serves as the basis for an entertaining short story by Maqhawe Mkhize - *Umngcwabo kaSathane* (Saturn's funeral: "Saturn" is the name of the hero's supposed uncle) published in *Emhlabeni Mntan'omuntu* (Van Schaik, 1977). Du Toit comments (1976:60) that:

The story reflects South Africa's political climate. The significance of this tale lies in the fact that our young hero could outwit Indian traders and white policemen, that his Afrikaans linguistic ability served as a passport to success as it does for many whites, and that we find a certain degree of role reversal - entering luxury hotels and being served by white waiters, for example.

Here follows a summary of the story:

Hlakaniphani Khuzwayo is a country boy, the son of a witch, *umthakathi*, who always shelters him from evil critics and takes his side. He is lazy to work and decides to go to Durban to try his luck and make his fortunes. He has a good knowledge of Afrikaans - necessary to succeed as a government employee, - a sharp mind and a great will to make it big at whatever cost, without any moral scruple whatsoever. He steals some clothes from an Indian shop on the way, then pretends to be a detective to get cockroaches from a cleaning gang. Stylishly dressed and with these insects he manages to get free meals in the poshest restaurants (he drops the cockroaches on a plate when he has eaten most of the food and refuses to pay for anything so dirty!). Taking advantage of the strict pass laws governing blacks, he visits women who brew illegal liquor and are probably illegally in town, tells them that he is a detective but does not intend to cause them trouble if they feed him and give him drinks. He then hears that sailors are willing to pay large sums of money for dagga. He buys a coffin, travels to the interior and fills the coffin with the illegal substance. When the police stop his van, he has two weeping women crying their eyes out, pretending to be accompanying the corpse of dear uncle Saturn to a funeral. Hlakaniphani returns to the harbour and sells the dagga to foreign sailors. With the large amount of money thus acquired he returns home, builds himself a beautiful house, buys a shop and settles down to a happy and peaceful life, with no regret for his unorthodox behaviour.

In spite of a change in setting, the trickster is still largely the same as the tricksters of tradition, as demonstrated by his name, although he has no moral ground to start acting as he does: the only thing he reacts to is a state of poverty and the apartheid laws that he uses to his own advantage. He does not kill, but he is ruthless and unscrupulous, having learned these traits from his mother, who is an evil witch: he is an outsider to the city world; he is a young person (=small and not considered dangerous by the adults and the powerful); he is a master in the use of language; he uses unorthodox ways to obtain what he wants; he gains an advantage through deception. He acts out of selfishness, thinking that his cunning is enough justification, regardless of the effects it has on others. For example, he protests loudly about his food, after placing cockroaches on his plate, and thus drives all the customers out of restaurants. He sells dagga, with no regret for what it will do to its users. He does not pose himself any moral problem, as he is the egoistic superman bent only on his own interests and advancement, which he achieves by the unjustified and unjustifiable exploitation of others for self-gratification.

There is something really repellent about this character, but the folktale does not pass any negative judgement on him or his actions; it rather praises his cleverness in the last sentence:

"*Nawe hlakanipha ukuze ube yisicebi*" (Be clever if you want to get rich!). The trickster seems to have come full circle: from the entertainer (Hare), to the intelligent jester and fierce upholder of righteousness (Hlakanyana); from one who reacts vigorously to a brother's unwarranted provocation (Phoshozwayo), to one who has learned the way to trick gullible people and does it with unscrupulous satisfaction (Hlakaniphani, the shrewd Tsotsi). When I introduce the trickster theme to my students, I often ask them for their first reactions to the presentation of *Iqili*, the trickster. Their general feelings are normally negative, although they admit that trickster tales are a form of comedy and entertainment. This kind of negative attitude is probably the result of coming across a revolting figure such as Hlakaniphani, the Clever.

Summary and conclusion

This chapter has underlined the fact that the metaphors presented by animal stories are really a description of the human situation. Humans must, in fact, be aware that the world in which they live is not peopled only by those who follow the social norms that are supposed to guarantee a harmonious and trouble-free life, but that there are a lot of unsavoury characters ready to take advantage of others' needs for their own advantage, in the sinister way that Hyena/*Izimu* does in the tales.

Opposition to the ideals of peaceful and ordered living may come from initially overwhelming outside forces, such as monsters impersonating the mysterious powers of nature and of the supernatural, or from people who are motivated by the cardinal weaknesses of mankind, that is, envy, greed, lust, avarice, jealousy.

The folktale answer to the first type of danger is that one should avoid a frontal attack, and rather use the greatest human weapon: intelligence, careful planning, determination. Even a weakling stands a chance of vanquishing the enemy and of obtaining the highest goals if he makes use of such weapon.

The second type of danger, the one posed by evil-intentioned humans, is more subtle as it is more difficult to detect. It may come from age mates, companions, friends, relatives. They use trick sequences out of envy and in order to unsettle one's way of life, and are ready to lie about their intentions and their fraudulent actions. Being on guard, aware of the ambiguity present in life, is a great help, but it might not be enough. The real strength comes from one's righteousness that serves as a guarantee that the family and possibly the ancestors will be willing to help. A discerning mind is able to see the signs of an approaching storm, as well as the signposts to real help in the form of words and advice given by old people or even by unspoiled and unsophisticated youngsters, who are normally the first ones to detect the presence of an evil element.

Some traditional tales have also indicated the social function of pushing human institutions to their limits by questioning their intrinsic value in a constantly changing world. Initial suspicion of tricky characters changes into admiration for their ability to re-dimension some social norms. Apparent lawlessness might be a sign of a real social need. Thus a rebel might finally become a hero.

'Modern' tricksters, such as Phoshozwayo and Hlakaniphani, show a transposition of the traditional phenomenon into our own world, with its inherent ambivalence. Phoshozwayo's actions, in fact, even when objectively reprehensible by our standards, seem justified as reactions to his brother's unjust and repeated attacks and therefore driven by the need for 'adequate' revenge. Our hero reacts to provocation not by complaining, but by making use of what nature and life offer him. His cunning and perseverance make him the chosen one of fate, as his ears shine in the light of the sun. Hlakaniphani also shows that determination and clever thinking may change one's fortunes, as he embarks on a "rags to riches" journey. But his actions further underline the dangers inherent in the modern attitude to wealth: one who single-mindedly seeks wealth and personal advancement at whatever cost is likely to use means, such as drugs, that will cause harm to others. He is an unscrupulous "tsotsi", with no conscience and no direction in life; one just as likely to trick a stranger as to destroy his own mother. Has apartheid dulled all sense of moral responsibility to this low low level? Or is apartheid only a specious excuse for the lack of ethical standards? Mankind will not survive if human values are trod underfoot.

Chapter 7

THE TRICKSTER'S ENDURING LEGACY

7.0 INTRODUCTION

This study has highlighted a number of important points about the trickster phenomenon in Zulu oral traditions. It is now time to draw some conclusions by summarizing the most important results of the research, especially the dynamic nature of the trickster tradition and aspects that show its relevance; then by searching for traits that indicate whether the tradition is still active in present times, in particular as an inspiration of literary expression.

7.1 RESULTS OF THE PRESENT RESEARCH

The salient results of my research, with regard to the dynamic nature of the trickster tradition, its form and content and its educational value, can be briefly summarized as follows:

7.1.1 Dynamic growth in the tradition

This research has emphasized the intimate connection between African oral traditions in general and the Zulu/Nguni traditions. This connection should have been a natural starting point, but it was not, because most modern studies tend to concentrate on particular phenomena in restricted environments, thus losing sight of the wider context, except in cases where scholars impose extraneous theories on a particular culture and selectively choose elements, that may or may not belong together, as proofs of their approach. I initiated my research by considering first the Zulu tradition and from there I moved to the wider African context. African oral traditions are the seed bed in which the Zulu trickster tradition has germinated and grown, by applying a dual system of selection and assimilation.

The African field offered various possibilities of growth: the mythological path, the culture hero of legends, the double-function trickster (such as Anansi and Ture), the split characters of Hare and Hyena. The Zulu/Nguni choice has taken this last path, but it has further adapted it by transforming Hare into the carnivorous slender mongoose, Chakijana, further developed into the semi-human dwarf Hlakanyana, and by changing Hyena into the semi-human character of *Izimu*. Some of these innovations might be the result of contact with the Khoisan culture, or simple transformations that include aspects of the historical events that have shaped the present cultural milieu.

Modern Zulu folktale writers have continued in the evolutionary path of selection and assimilation, by scanning the field for figures, motifs and themes found in written records from various parts of the world. Gifted performers only need a canvas to re-create characters and events and to adapt them according to the needs of their audience and the prevalent feelings of their culture. In the same way, various writers have been able to use material from Europe, America and Africa. The tricksters in modern written folktales are therefore composite figures, reflecting multicultural influences.

7.1.2 Content and form

I have repeatedly stressed the close link between observation of animal life and trickster folktales. The dominant *leitmotif* is the struggle for survival in an unfriendly world. The Nguni/Zulu innovation of Hlakanyana/Chakijana indicates a stress on intelligent actions that can disintegrate and reconstruct, as the ideophone *hlaka* suggests. The carnivorous aspect of the mongoose further points to competitiveness and determination to the bitter end, while its "roaring" ability reflects an innovative way of tricking by pretending to be somebody else.

The *Izimu* innovation brings the dangers posed by Hyena right into the human world, and *Imbulu* takes them into the institution of marriage. But these are unsuccessful tricksters, dark personifications of human anxieties and concerns. A more serious threat to one's peace of mind comes from Chakijana, who often appears as the avenging angel bent on bringing about social retribution and revenge against tyrants of any kind. In this aspect Chakijana seems to take over the characteristics of *Ufudu*, the tortoise, who is a trickster in several African cultures and who represents the innate core of just aspirations inborn in human conscience. It follows that the trickster's actions are highly ambivalent, as what may be considered as wrong on the surface might have a seriously justifiable reason at its core.

As for form, trickster folktales are readily analyzable by means of Propp's sequence schemes on the surface, and by the employment of Scheub's and Paulme's patterns. Lévi-Strauss' binary oppositions are also useful tools for the identification of conflict-generating forces and of themes.

A journey is the most common frame for trickster narratives: unexpected experiences are life threatening, while they also help in the maturation process as they constitute challenges to be adequately met. The journey is the symbol of life, of movement, of growth, and an apt metaphor for the interstitial status of those undergoing initiation programmes, when they are no longer what they were, and not yet what they will be. The dangers come from animals or from humans, both familiar and unfamiliar, all interested in gaining the scarce resources for survival supplied by the environment.

Africa is still the continent with the densest wild life population in the world. The animal world is a reality, and was even more so in the past. Nature observation provided information on how animals behave among themselves and how they react to humans. This information was considered educational as a body of examples on how to react to animal threats, and was then transposed to human social behaviour. In the battle for survival, man soon realized that he could not live by sheer physical strength, since many beasts were stronger and faster than himself. The only possible way to victory and survival rested with what makes man a human being, namely in his intelligence, but utilized in an inventive and inconspicuous way, that is, by stealth and cunning. This is a likely reason for the prominence of trickster motifs in folktales. Frequent confrontation supplied the stage for action; shortage of food supplied the motivation; language, rhythm, gestures supplied the sublime tool for re-enacting the events and for gradually transforming real-life dramas into stories.

7.1.3 Practical applications

In the course of my exposition I have often remarked on educational and comical aspects of the tales. These can be briefly summarized as follows:

i. Primacy of intelligence

Hlakanyana constitutes a narrative demonstration of the need to use intelligence and cunning, rather than brute force, in order to survive and prosper. The stories further contain a constant call for allowing a spirit of initiative and some form of freedom, in a highly conservative society, to ensure progress and re-thinking of established norms and customs.

ii. Sense of justice

The trickster often appears as the avenging angel, bent on levelling the playing field; a critical force against tyrants who take advantage of their political or physical power in order to oppress the weak, the small and the poor. Injustice of any kind gives rise to revenge, which may be brought about after generations. Those who do wrong should not forget what they have done: retribution is bound to come.

iii. Preventive education

Trickster stories are often a sad reflection of social evils, lurking behind every corner and embodied in people and animals. Life is a struggle, and is therefore dangerous. One must constantly be on the lookout for characters that may pose a threat to one's security. This is a system of education that teaches not what to do, but rather whom and what to

avoid. Trickster tales further stress the importance of looking at problematic situations from every possible angle, and to devise solutions based on intelligence and cunning> This aspect might be considered as part of the Zulu character and national identity.

iv. **Comedy and sense of humour**

The performance of trickster folktales is a manifestation of comedy, as people and events are presented in an upside-down form. This causes entertainment and amusement, while it also stresses the values opposed to those represented on the narrative surface. The audience enjoys the portrayal of deviant characters, who are able to go counter to all social norms, because they have a high degree of moral elasticity. The absurd is the counterpart of reality, and a re-affirmation of the real values by which society lives and prospers.

The trickster tradition is, however, primarily a literary phenomenon, because trickery is a narrative function. Since the trickster phenomenon, and oral literature in general, touch the very core of culture, it is natural to expect that its legacy should endure in the present world, finding varied ways to express itself in literature and general cultural events. The following summaries are to serve as incomplete examples of the permanence and dynamic vitality of the literary trickster tradition.

7.2 **TRICKSTER'S INSPIRATION IN MODERN LITERATURE**

The trick sequence is constantly used by successful and unsuccessful tricksters, as well as by occasional tricksters and human characters in order to achieve their aims. It is, in fact, the pivotal element around which everything else revolves. In our presentation of human tricksters we have also noticed a kind of return to the Spider/Anansi double value, since many characters initiate a trick sequence with great flair and gusto, but finally fail in their endeavour because they have some major fault, or overlook some important element, or display some socially unacceptable traits. We have further remarked that the traditional attitude towards trickery is ambivalent: admiration for initiative, intelligence, perseverance, non-conformity on one hand, and concern about negative results on the other.

Oral literature has served the Zulu adequately through numberless generations because of its dynamic vitality and its ability to express the needs of a group at any particular time. It is natural that written literature, which has developed from oral forms and has flourished during the last 70 years or so, should reflect, to some extent, the characteristics and inspirational forces of the oral tradition, its cultural substratum and some of its structures. Modern literature is a dynamic continuation of the oral past, and displays what Ong (1982) calls "the oral residue", that

is, some aspects of orality even after the introduction of writing. Trickery, as a narrative function, appears in many guises, filtered and adapted, in works that express a genuinely Zulu inspiration.

Oral literature is a community choral affair in which the artist addresses the needs of the community and becomes its voice (cf Canonici, 1995(d)). Hence the importance of contextualizing any text, be it oral or written, because this should manifest associations of images, words and feelings in a way that highlights both the sources in the collective memory bank and the personal intuitions and artistry of the creator or performer of the piece. Since the symbolic system is known by the in-group but often not by outsiders, some modern writers and oral artists make use of traditional symbols or motifs to express criticism of the regime or of individuals in a way that is understood by the African audience but would escape outsiders, such as government appointed censors.

Oral literature makes use of a semiotic system based on metaphors that are decoded by the audience at the cognitive, emotional and behavioural levels. One should expect modern Zulu literature to employ a similar system, whereby the story is open to a number of interpretations, generally depending on the context of its inspiration (historical period, audience to which it is directed, genre, etc.). Animal metaphors are transposed to a human environment, but some of the attributes that accompany the oral characters are applied to its modern counterpart. This point becomes especially relevant in the analysis of deviant figures that display a number of features traditionally associated with Chakijana or *Izimuzimu*. Harold Scheub states:

There is an unbroken continuity between the Zulu oral tradition and the newly imported western forms and ideas. . . . Oral tradition provides the structure and many of the stereotyped characters for Zulu literature, the themes of which reveal conflicts created by western incursions. (Scheub, 1985:493)

It would be too long to offer even a sketchy overview of the trickster's presence in modern Zulu literature, a phenomenon which I have discussed in several papers dealing with the interplay of orality and literacy (1991, 1992, 1995(b),(c),(d)). I briefly deal here with the following aspects as the most striking ones:

- 7.2.1 The trickster in popular poetry;
- 7.2.2 Calques of the trick sequence;
- 7.2.3 Pervasive manifestations of trickster themes.

7.2.1 Popular oral poetry

The popular attitude towards tricksters is ambivalent in general, but definitely negative when the trickster acts as a disruptive force in human society. Some of the *Izihasho*, or

"praises/dispraises" of ordinary people, orally composed to satirize unsavoury characters, have been collected by Noleen Turner for her 1990 M.A. dissertation on manifestations of satire in Zulu oral traditions. Turner was able to convince her senior students to research and write down popular poems, especially salacious ones, known in their communities. She then analyzed them in her thesis. Out of several gems, that clearly reflect the trickster tradition, I choose one example to demonstrate how trickster motifs are used for satire.

Izibongo zikaGobongwane (Turner, 1990:79 ff.)

| | | |
|----|--|---|
| 1 | <i>Gobongwane kaMntungwa,</i> | Gobongwane, son of Mntungwa, |
| 2 | <i>Chakijana kaMjololo.</i> | Chakijana, son of Mjololo. |
| 3 | <i>Umphephethi wezinduku zabafo,</i> | The doctor of men's fighting sticks, |
| 4 | <i>Umtungi wembeng' ebanzi,</i> | The maker of wide-mouthed baskets, |
| 5 | <i>Angathung' ezincane</i> | When he weaves small ones |
| 6 | <i>Ziya zibekelana.</i> | They cover each other. |
| 7 | <i>Zinyawo ezinkulu ezendlovu.</i> | Big elephant's feet (= <i>Izimu</i>). |
| 8 | <i>Lizwi elikhulu elebhumbesi,</i> | Big roar of a lion (= Chakijana), |
| 9 | <i>Hhanana hha, mud' umlungu indlulamithi!</i> | Tall white man, giraffe! |
| 10 | <i>Gqibigqebe kwezinde nezimfushane!</i> | The overcomer of long and short things! |
| 11 | <i>Phond' olud' enkomeni!</i> | Long horn among the cattle! |
| 12 | <i>Wo! He! Mina lumalahle!</i> | Wo, he! I bite and throw away! |
| 13 | <i>Inguluzane kade kwasa beyiguluza.</i> | The tough one they tried to bash for a long time! |
| 14 | <i>UMachusha behlanganisile,</i> | The breaker through thick barriers, |
| 15 | <i>UNompunyumpunyu bemphethe</i> | The escaper through their hands |
| 16 | <i>UMthwazilothwishi!</i> | The tall one! |
| 17 | <i>UNdlebe zikhanya ilanga!</i> | He whose ears let the sun shine through! |
| 18 | <i>UGxamalaza kuphum' ijongosi.</i> | Stands with open legs and a young bull comes through. |
| 19 | <i>UMajik' eduze njengenalankala.</i> | He who takes sharp turns like a crab. |
| 20 | <i>USiduk' usithile,</i> | Clears the way of obstructions, |
| 21 | <i>UMfavuke njengedangabane.</i> | He who dies and rises like a dangabane plant. |
| 22 | <i>Silwane sokhuni,</i> | A hardy animal, |
| 23 | <i>Mgeqi wezimbiza zotshwala</i> | Swallower of beer pots. |
| 24 | <i>Uyindlovu! Uyingwenya!</i> | You are an elephant! A crocodile! |
| 25 | <i>Thu bhobho, thu sheleni!</i> | Two bobs, two shilling! |
| 26 | <i>Sidakwa esidakwa singakhokhanga.</i> | Drunkard who gets drunk without paying. |
| 27 | <i>Maqhamuka qede, kufihlwe utshwala</i> | He appears, hide the beer! |
| 28 | <i>Mudli wembuzi ayiqede,</i> | Eater of a whole goat alone, |
| 29 | <i>Mgeqi wamabhodwe,</i> | Swallower of entire pots of food. |
| 30 | <i>Engabe kwakhala nyonini?</i> | What went really wrong? |
| 31 | <i>Phunyuka bemphethe</i> | Escaper from his captors |
| 32 | <i>Mafa avuke njengedangabane.</i> | He dies and rises like a dangabane plant. |
| 33 | <i>Gubhela wezinkomo zamadoda,</i> | The devourer of men's cattle, |
| 34 | <i>Mboleki wempahla ngaphandle kwabaniniyo</i> | Borrower of things in the absence of owners. |
| 35 | <i>Bathi bambonile kanti uzophunyuka.</i> | They saw him, but he disappeared. |
| 36 | <i>Chakijana kaMjololo!</i> | Chakijana, son of Mjololo! |
| 37 | <i>Phunyuka bemphethe.</i> | He escapes as they hold him. |
| 38 | <i>Silwane sibuzwa ebafazini,</i> | Popular animal among women, |
| 39 | <i>Silevu eside ebafazini.</i> | Long beard among women. |
| 40 | <i>Mudli wabafazi bamadoda,</i> | Devourer of other men's wives, |

1 *Udle okaDlamini wadla okaShenge*
 2 *Mnqolo ogombotsheni,*
 3 *Machoba izintwala zikanina,*
 4 *Engabe kwakhala nyonini?*
 5 *Sigebengu esichama sigijima okwenja,*
 6 *Mabona abulalwe,*
 7 *Silwane helele emzini yamadoda,*
 8 *Thu bhobho, thu sheleni,*
 9 *Nompunyumpunyu bemphethe.*

He devoured that of Dlamini and that of Shenge.
 Who stays at home with women,
 Who crushes his mother's lice,
 What went really wrong?
 Thief that urinates as he runs, like a dog,
 When seen is killed on sight,
 Watch out for the animal, at the men's homes,
 Two bobs, two shilling,
 The breaker free from their hands.

The person being "praised", or rather satirized, is Gobongwane, son of Mntungwa, who must be a jail bird, a thief, a womanizer, and a mean sponger. He is a tall person (lines 9 and 16), as big as a white man (line 9), a veritable "giraffe". He is also "big footed" (lines 7 and 24, a reference to *Izimu's* big foot), and as lazy as a crocodile (24).

Gobongwane is a trickster, referred to as Chakijana (2, 3, 8, 21, 35, 36, 37); as Gubudela (Gubudela's praises in 4, 5 and 6); as Phoshozwayo (Phoshozwayo's praises in 10, 11, 12, 17).

- (a) **Chakijana:** Line 2 is a perfect parallel of line 1, and Gobongwane is presented as the incarnation of Chakijana, whose praises are then added: Son of Mjololo, or as sly as a mongoose. The one who doctors man's fighting sticks, a mysterious reference that probably means that men's greatest strength - when fighting - lays in their shrewdness and intelligence rather than in physical power. Line 8 is a reminder of the mongoose's ability to roar like a lion in order to frighten passers-by (cf Callaway's Introduction to Hlakanyana). Lines 21 and 32 compare Gobongwane to the dangabane plant, which is alluded to in Theal's birth narrative of Hlakanyana (cf Ca. 6 above) where the trickster's father crushes him underfoot and leaves him for dead, but Hlakanyana rises up again immediately. Lines 34-37 compare Gobongwane to Chakijana as a thief ("He borrows things when the owners are absent") and allude to his elusive activities ("They thought they saw him, but he was gone in a flash", and "He is able to slip through their fingers"). Line 43: He delouses his mother to put her to sleep, so that she does not know what he is doing: a reference to Chakijana's way to defeat *Inkayimeva* in App. No. 2.
- (b) **Gubudela:** Lines 4-6 repeat Gubudela's mysterious praises that refer to the boy's ability to weave large and small baskets, meaning to plan tricks on a large and small scale, with attention to detail and to secrecy.
- (c) **Phoshozwayo:** The reference to Gobongwane's height in line 9 calls to the composer's mind Phoshozwayo's praises: the one who overcomes things tall and short, the leader of the herd ("the longest horn among the cattle"), the one who can afford to do as he wishes with property ("he bites and throws away"). The second reference to height (line 16) serves as a new reminder of Phoshozwayo, and another praise (line 17) comes to the composer's mind: "His ears let the sun shine through", which indicates good fortune, but also elusiveness.

Gobongwane's main achievements are evidently linked to being able to escape from jail (14, 15, 21, 22, 31, 32, 35, 40, 49) and the police (13, 21, 22, 31, 32), which is another of Chakijana's characteristics linked to his elusiveness. This weasel-like and slippery character is also satirized for:

- i. **Sexual behaviour:** Gobongwane is well-known for sexual escapades, often described in very crude terms (18, 19, 20, 33, 38, 39, 40, 41), and for liking female company and being lazy (42 and 43).
- ii. **Food:** His eating and drinking habits are also criticised (23, 26, 27, 28 [a reference to Manyosi's appetite in devouring a goat alone]).
- iii. **Meanness:** He is accused of being mean: he is repeatedly called "two bobs, two shilling". He does not like to part with his money but is always ready to sponge off others, like the trickster, in one of the proverbs, who waits that the herdboys are satisfied with their roasted locusts before offering to share his own catch: *Iqili elintethe zosiwa emuva* (The wily fellow whose locusts are roasted at the end) (lines 25, 26, 27, 48).
- iv. **Stealing and cowardice:** He is a renowned thief (lines 33, 34, 35), but, if caught, he cowardly runs away like a scared dog (lines 45 and 46).

Gobongwane is therefore a trickster, and his "praises" reflect the ambivalent social feeling that, while such a character might be fun to watch in action, there is no place in human society for him because trickery is bad news, and one should guard against people such as Gobongwane. This brief analysis demonstrates how present day popular poetry is steeped in the traditional mould and makes use of images and phrases referring to trickster figures to describe a person that is not liked. Not all *Izihasho* are as full of the trickster as the one presented here, but direct and indirect references to oral characters and trickster motifs abound in Zulu praises, poetry and popular satiric forms.

Allusions to either clever or evil trickery also abound in *Izibongo*, since the bard constructs his apostrophes as expressions of the people's attitudes towards the ruler and national events, and makes use of the imagery bank and the metaphors known and appreciated by all because they are contained in the folktales. A prominent person, or a scoundrel, is thus immortalized, as the bold images take on a life of their own and become part of the imagery bank from which oral culture is fed. The Zulu say, in fact, that a man is his praises, and that these live on long after the person has disappeared from the historical scene:

Kofa abantu zisala izibongo zibalilela

(People die, but their praises live on to mourn them).

Elizabeth Gunner (1984:68) aptly states the importance of "praises", even when they are not complimentary to the person:

Praises which during a man's life could be received with respect but also with hilarity and which may have commented on the man in cutting terms, are after death absorbed into a wider religious and celebratory framework. . . . Without a praise name a man would very quickly become one of the great mass of undifferentiated dead, but his praise name keeps alive the memory of him as an individual.

Folktale motifs sink their roots in very ancient times and in a kind of life that is both golden and imaginary. This is why the imagery can be utilized by poets and storytellers of all times, and for varied purposes. Similar techniques are also identifiable in published literary works.

7.2.2 Calques of the trick sequence

In linguistic terms, a **calque** is a loan translation that closely follows the lines of the original text. The term is used here to identify a trend in Zulu literature whereby a novel or a play is structured, in form or content, in a way that is an open reminder of traditional tales. C.T. Msimang has published (1986) a serious and far-reaching study on the phenomenon of modern novels' dependency on oral narratives, especially with regard to structure and themes, entitled *Folktale Influence on the Zulu Novel*. I briefly discuss a play and a novel here, with the added view that the most sensitive Zulu writers have made use of traditional forms to subtly criticize the political and social system of the day.

The first published drama originally written in Zulu was **Nimrod Ndebele's** play *UGubudela namazimuzimu* (Gubudela and the ogres, 1939). On the surface it appears as a simple dramatization of the well-known folktale analysed in 5.3 above. But when the drama is read, as it was read by the African élite at the time, against the background of the bitter feelings of the Africans in the late 1930's, after the passing of the Land Act of 1936 which allotted only 13% of the land to 85% of the population, it is easy to understand the ominous message of the simple metaphor. *Amazimu* represented the greedy white colonists who, after being welcomed with the usual African hospitality, had taken advantage of the simple and powerless people and made themselves owners of the whole country. In terms of trickster folktales, their actions were considered as an unjustifiable excess which called for avenging reaction, in the same way that wasteful large animals and *amazimu* cause the trickster to set in motion some of his devastating tricks. The younger generations (= Gubudela, who represents the trickster principle), however, were not going to stand idly by for ever, and the time of reckoning would come when a bloody

revenge could take place, to ensure an equitable distribution of wealth and to bring about social equality.

The white *amazimu* are shown as callous, greedy, wasteful, self-assured, more than a little dim, unable to see through Gubudela's plot, just like Hyena in African tales. Part of their trouble is that they are 'from another tribe', as *Izimu* is supposed to be. Their initially friendly approach (= False contract) consisted in the offer of education and a worldwide religion. The play subtly expresses the attitude of some of the literati that, by converting Africans to Christianity, the whites had created a great divide in traditional societies, that had been held together by the veneration of their ancestors (part of the message in Gubudela's story), a practice rejected as 'pagan' by the strict Calvinist colonists. But the ancestors, buried in the soil, are the rightful owners of the land for which they have fought, and they pass the right on to their descendants, not to foreigners. The clarion call to revenge and to a new consciousness in African cultural and political circles had been sounded, and accepted by the leadership of the African National Congress and the Council of Traditional Chiefs, which were the leading fora of African opinion at that time. Nothing happened on the surface, but the flame of liberty was kept alive. It is significant that language and literature are used as a sort of secret weapon, to communicate messages which only 'initiates' can understand, and to state the moral superiority of the oppressed over their oppressors.

If Nimrod Ndebele used an ogre folktale to express a reaction to an oppressive system and an unjust law, **Sibusiso Nyembezi** uses the trickster tradition to castigate those black characters that take advantage of the situation created by unjust laws in order to defraud the simple rural people. In what has been widely hailed as one of the finest Zulu novels, *Inkinsela YaseMgungundlovu* (The Pietermaritzburg Tycoon, 1962), Nyembezi portrays a modern confidence trickster who makes use of *Izimu*'s methods. Like the man eating monsters of old, Ndebenkulu (Big Lips) sports a large tooth in his big mouth. The monster was able to destroy his victims by using his abnormality, but, when caught, would let the stolen herds of animals come out of his long toe, or extra-large tooth, or enormous forefinger. Ndebenkulu is after the cattle of the people, which constitutes their only real treasure and the link to their ancestors. He arrives suddenly on the scene, tries to be friendly but speaks Zulu mixed with a number of borrowed English words and expressions (*amazimu* spoke with a cavernous voice and in the *thefuya* dialect), is secretive about his plan (initially does not want the chief to know about it), offers an unbelievable monetary reward for every head of cattle ('contract' falsely beneficial to the intended victims), etc. After several meetings with the people, he eventually convinces them to part with their cattle and has the animals led to the station, where they will board the train to Pietermaritzburg to be heard of no more. Fortunately for the people of Nyanyadu, where the story takes place, two young men are home from college (young people are the first to see through a trickster's plot in folktales) and grow suspicious of everything that Ndebenkulu

promises. They manage to enlist the help of a detective (external help, like *umalume's* intervention in folktales) and to unmask the trickster just before he loads the precious cattle on the train. In the ensuing scuffle, Ndebenkulu's big tooth falls and the cattle are saved. Ndebenkulu has no real justification for his actions: he is not "taking from the rich to give to the poor", but is simply trying to enrich himself at the expense of the already poor people. He is not a successful and positive trickster, but a negative one who must fail. It is easy to detect a calque of *Izimu* tales in all these details.

This novel is characterized by a lively sense of humour, in both the descriptive passages and in the dialogues, as trickster tales normally are, since they constitute a large slice of oral comedy. Ndebenkulu, the human trickster, plays the part of the refined ogre who goes around playing his drum: the V.I.P. from Pietermaritzburg never misses a chance to sing his own praises (Chakijana does the same!). But tradition does not allow a disruptive human trickster to succeed. The old Nyanyaduans are taken in by this fast-talker and swift-dealer, but not the young people, who are again at the vanguard of reaction to the evil that may befall the whole district. Their enterprising action saves the day and demonstrates the lively endurance of the trickster tradition.

7.2.3 Pervasive manifestations of trickster theme

It would be too long and repetitive to scan the horizon of modern Zulu literature to identify other manifestations of the trickster theme. I have tried this enterprise in some of my published and conference papers, from 1991 to 1995. It should suffice here to point out that the trickster literary tradition is all-embracing and all-pervasive, and therefore apt to infiltrate literary creations in many subtle and different ways.

One could therefore see examples of the "initiation journey", constructed according to the scheme of *Separation + Initiation through trials + Re-incorporation*. The major section of the tale deals with the second part, where the hero/heroine is subjected to a great deal of tribulations and trials, often personified in *Izimu* or a similar character. The idea of movement as a process of becoming, exploration and eventual growth and rebirth is extremely common in African literature, as it reflects the vastness of the African continent as well as the endless migrations that have shaped present-day ethnic and cultural groupings. The journey theme is not, however, necessarily connected with the trickster, but the unsavoury tempters one meets often use either Hlakanyana's methods, or reflect characteristics of *Izimu*.

A similar situation applies to some forms of protest literature, where the apartheid government is criticised by means of images and details that recall the dark figure of *Izimu*. Interesting research has been carried out in this regard on B.W. Vilakazi's poetry, and on modern historical drama, such as Elliot Zondi's *Insumansumane* (1986).

Many works of modern Zulu literature demonstrate the enduring legacy of the oral tradition and especially of the trickster phenomenon. Being intended for schools, this literature has found a way of restating the vitality of traditional images and of expressing the voice of the socially and politically oppressed, of the "small fry" of society proudly represented by the resourceful traditional trickster. The oral motifs and images, unspecified on the surface, are understandable by the audience and can thus communicate special messages, because African literature must be analysed at different levels of meaning.

Chapter summary and general conclusion

This concluding chapter has tried to answer the unstated question: What does the trickster tradition mean for the modern Zulu person? Is this study a simple return to the past, or has it some real value for contemporary society? Reflecting on what has been discussed throughout the dissertation, a number of points were identified as being of particular contemporary relevance. Some of these points were dealt with in detail, while others were simply stated.

Modern literary expression, be it oral or written, makes wide use of the trickster motifs and sequences, especially to identify unsavoury individuals or to castigate social mores or political oppressors. Trickster identification is open, and often bawdy, in oral satire, but subtle and highly entertaining in novels, while in poetry and drama the negative characteristics of *Izimu* serve as cultural references to illustrate the evils and the evildoers of modern society.

The study of Zulu trickster figures is a help in the process of self-identification because it pursues a cultural thread that goes well beyond the recent historical past relating to the golden era of Zulu nation building, to sink its roots in ancient times, even before anything that could be said to relate to modern Zulu. Chakijana, in fact, is an adaptation of Hare, the pan-African successful trickster figure, with which it has many features in common, while it also stresses the Nguni innovation of superior intelligence and of extreme determination. *Izimu* is a composite figure, largely based on the pan-African Hyena, but also presenting important character innovations that allow the figure to interact with humans, thus more clearly giving expression to their deep concerns.

The tradition goes so far that people are no longer looked upon from the angle of being or not being Zulu, but simply people. It thus affirms that man is man because of his thinking ability, *homo sapiens*, because of the intelligence that sets him above the animals, and the innate sense of justice that regulates his actions. He has survived during the troublesome times of his migrations because his intelligence and cunning have afforded him a superiority over the untamed forces of nature, and his sense of justice has sharpened the boundaries of his society.

Intelligence and cunning make possible the production of unexpected actions and reactions that allow man a mastery over most situations and are viewed with a detached and

amused sense of humour. This leads to comedy, which is expressed by a vision of the world turned upside down so as to create an active confusion, both puzzling and entertaining, because the decoding of disorder points to an inherent order, and the description of impurity to purity.

From this sense of comedy derives entertainment in a relaxed atmosphere that leads to the assimilation of social norms and customs, and therefore to a healthy holistic education which, again, is rooted in self-identity and the creation of a culture of the feelings that forms the background of any well-adjusted person.

The recent experience of colonialism has clipped the wings of heroic poetry and of truly independent thinking. But it has also helped in the diffusion of literacy, and consequently in the recording of oral texts as well as in the creation of new original written material. This has guaranteed the survival of traditional culture, which filters through to the written genres. The trickster, so central in the ancient oral traditions, finds pride of place in modern works, both as an inspirational force, and as a ready-made complex of images employed for comedy and entertainment as well as for castigating socially deviant characters, be they powerful government representatives or ordinary men and women. It also finds an important role as an inspirational frame for the creation of genuinely new literature.

Modern literature, as all literature worthy of the name, reflects the problems besetting human life. These are never easy to identify, and even less to solve with ready-made remedies. Therefore there is an all-pervading feeling that whatever solution one applies, one can never be sure of the results. Hence the bewildered sense of ambivalence permeating even the most comical narrative representations of life, such as trickster folktales.

In Zulu oral traditions Chakijana and *Izimu* do not represent the opposing polarities of social and moral behaviour, but the profound ambivalence that permeates human life. It has been pointed out, in fact, that in many tales also Chakijana performs negative tricks on seemingly innocent victims just for devilment and to amuse himself. This is the reason for the concerns that he inspires, and for the general condemnation of the use of trickery in human society, because it results in chaos if used by deviant characters.

The effort to divide the human experience into neat packages, clearly representing good and evil, is as old as mankind, and has preoccupied man's mind since the beginning of time. No completely satisfactory answer has yet been forthcoming as there constantly remains a vast grey area - the *limen* or boundary from which the ambivalent trickster performs his actions - that eludes categorization, as the two basic principles of good and evil occupy the same hearts, and the very same ground.

The Zulu folktale tradition reflects, with a sense of detached irony, an ethical system based on circumstances: man is the centre of the system, but he is forced to fight with all his powers in order to survive. The same actions may be justifiable if they are perceived as reactions to injustice, or condemned if they are manifestations of an unjust system. Ancient myths of the

Creator's mixing bowl in which good and evil, lights and shadows, are stirred together to be thrown into man's heart, are echoed in many literatures the world over. The human experience is baffling, good and evil entwined, positive and negative, simply two shades of the same picture that is man. Positive and negative tricksters are ambivalent because they share the same stage and are not easily distinguishable, as they may use similar means for completely divergent reasons and to obtain vastly different ends.

One may conclude that a population with great images of itself and a profoundly felt culture will never become irrelevant or subservient. And the trickster tradition will thus continue to play its very important role, as long as people want to know who they are and to distinguish themselves from others.

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1. **UMAQINASE** (Nyembezi, IGODA, Ibanga 2)

Kwesukesukela

Cosi

UMaqinase

Sampheka ngogozwana!

1. Kwakukhona ingulube eyayinabantwana abahlanu. Omunye umntwana wayo wayethanda kakhulu ukuzula. Futhi lo mntwana wayeqine kabi. Wayefuze igama lakhe elalinguMaqinase. Unina wayengathandi ukuba abantwana basuke eduze kwakhe. Kodwa uMaqinase wayelunywa wunyawo. Bathi behlezi bonke ekhaya, uMaqinase yena anyamalale. Uzohamba aze azibuyele ngesikhathi esithandwa nguye. Unina wayemthethisa kakhulu kodwa uMaqinase anganaki.
2. Ngolunye usuku, ilanga lishisa kakhulu, unina kaMaqinase wacotshwa yilanga walala. UMaqinase wabona ukuthi unina ulele. Wabheka abafowabo nawodadewabo. Wabona ukuthi nabo balele. Nabo bacotshwe yilanga. Wahleka kancane uMaqinase. Wasuka wanyathela kancane ngamanzonzwane. Wayengafuni ukuvusa abaleleyo. Waqonda emnyango wavula kancane. Akazange abange umsindo. Wakhulumela phansi wathi, "Bayothi bevuka bengingasekho."
3. Uthe angasithela ekhaya uMaqinase washayela phezulu esehamba sengathi uyaqhenya. Wahamba sengathi uyabukisa. Wuye lowaya. Endleleni wahlangana nembongolo. Imbongolo yathi kuye, "Ubangephi weMaqinase?" Waphendula uMaqinase ehamba wathi, "Ngiyeke mina. Ungibona ngifanele ukukhulunyiswa yinto enamadlebe angangawakho?" Yadumala imbongolo lapho izwa uMaqinase eyiphendula kanje. Yathi, "Waze waliqhalaqhala bo. Lokhu ngikubuza kahle nje, ungiphoxelani?" "Yimihlola iyangivelela kushisa nelanga," kusho uMaqinase eshayela phezulu eqonde phambili. "Ngiyakuphoxa uma ngikutshela iqiniso? Wena awuwaboni amadlebe akho lana ukuthi made? Ungangicasuli mina kushisa nelanga." Wadlula njalo uMaqinase.
4. Uthe esehamba wahlangana nofudu. Ufudu lwathi, "Ubangephi na weMaqinase ushayela phezulu nje?" "Kanti imihlola ingiqondile yini?" kuphendula uMaqinase eshayela phezulu. Waphakamisa ikhadlala lakhe wathi, "Utotoba nje ngoba ulinde ukubuzana nami imibuzo engicasulayo?" Ufudu lwadumala lwathi, "Hhawu, wangiphendula kabi Maqinase ngikhuluma kahle nawe. Waze waliqhalaqhala bo". Waphendula uMaqinase wathi, "Sengikujwayele ukubizwa ngokuthi ngiyiqhalaqhala. Nalesiya silima esinamadlebe amade sisho njalo. Yeka mina wena." Wedlula uMaqinase elushiya ufudu lukhamisile wukumangala.
5. Wabuye wahlangana nexoxo. Ixoxo lathi, "Hhawu bandla, nangu uQini. Ukhaphuzela ubangephi weQini?" Waphendula uMaqinase ecasukile wathi, "Kanti yilishwa lami namuhla. Yimbongolo, lufudu, manje sengibuzwa nguwe. Ubitoza nje sengathi ukhathele ukhefuzelela ukuzobuzana nami ukuthi ngiyaphi? Futhi usungejwayele kangangokuba ungibiza ngokuthi nginguQini?" Ixoxo lathi, "Yebo-ke Maqinase, qhalaqhala elikhulu. Bayoze bakubone abanamehlo." "Ake babone le nkebelele yomlomo wakho kuqala bayeke mina," washo edlula uMaqinase.
6. Uthe angadlula ixoxo wayesephambuka echusha ocingweni. Wakhuluma yedwa wathi, "Kungcono ngiqhamuke ngapha eceleni yikhona bengezukungibona. Zaze zabukeka kahle lezi

1. MAQINASE

Once upon a time.
Cosi!
Maqinase.
We have got her cornered!

1. 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.

2. 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!"

3. 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. "Am I insulting you when I am telling you the truth? Don't you see that your ears are long? Do not bother me when the sun is so hot!" And on he went.

4. As he walked, he came across a tortoise. The tortoise said: "Where are you heading for, 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 in such a nasty way when I ask you politely? What an arrogant child you are!" Maqinase shot back: "I am used by now to being 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 mouthed in astonishment.

5. 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 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.

6. After passing the frog, he left the main road and crept through a fence. He said to himself: "Better for me to come from the other side so that they may not see me. These crops look really beautiful. I shall easily fill my stomach today. Let those who sleep eat their sleep!"

zilimo. Ngizosina ngizibethele namuhla. Asazi-ke abalibele wubuthongo. Bayodla bona ubuthongo babo."

7. Kanti uMaqinase uboniwe engena lapha engadini. Wasuka umniningadi wabizainja yakhe. Wathi kuyo, "Nanguya uMaqinase esebuyile. Phezu kwakhe." Wabe akashongo, yasuka izithontoinja iqonde kuMaqinase. Wezwakala uMaqinase esekhala ethi, "We...hho...hho...hho!" Nayoinja ayithule ilokhu ithi, "Hheyi hheyi hheyi! Hheyi hheyi hheyi!"

8. Uthe lapho echusha ocingweni uMaqinase ucingo lwamdabula isikhumba. Wathathela ngejubane elokhu ekhala. Wabona ixoxo wamemeza wathi, "Xoxo Xoxo, ake ungilamulele." Laphendula ixoxo lathi, "Hhiya, ngisalungisa umlomo wami."

9. Wasuka ngejubane uMaqinase nenja nayo ilapha, ilokhu imuthi nti ngezinyo. Wabona ufudu wathi, "Fudu, Fudu, ngilamulele." Lwaphendula ufudu, lwathi, "Ngingakulamulela kanjani mina lokhu ngiyatotoba nje?"

10. Wagijima uMaqinase eqonde phambili. Wabona imbongolo wathi, "Mbongolo, Mbongolo, ake ungilamulele." Yaphendula yathi, "Hhayi, anginaso isikhathi, ngisalungisa amadlebe ami." Inja yamuthi nti ngezinyo okokugcina yase iphenduka igoduka.

11. "Uvelaphi wena?" kubuza unina. Waphendula uMaqinase wathi, "Angiveli ndawo." Unina wathukuthela wathi, "Awuveli ndawo njengoba unswininiza nje, usukhefuzela." Waphika uMaqinase wathi, "Bengizigijimela nje ngidlala ngoba nonke nilele." Unina wathi, "Pho,inja lena ibikuxoshelani?" "Qha ibingangixoshi. Ibingiphelekezela." Unina wathi, "Konje ucabanga ukuthi uhlakaniphile wena? Alikho qili elazikhotha emhlane."

Iyaphela-ke

7. 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!"

8. When Maqinase crept through the fence again, the wire 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!"

9. Maqinase went on at top speed with the dog at his tail, biting him with its teeth. He saw the tortoise and shouted: "Tortoise, tortoise, please rescue me!" The tortoise answered: "How can I rescue you since I drag my feet?"

10. 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.

11. "Where are you coming from?" asked his mother. Maqinase answered: "Nowhere in particular." His mother got angry; "Nowhere in particular, and you are squeaking and panting?" Maqinase denied this: "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 has ever licked his own back."

This is the end of the story.

2. **EYEZINYAMAZANE** (James Stuart Collection, No. 9)

Kwesukesukela Cosi

Izinyamazane noChakijana. Sampheka ngogozwana

1. Kwesukela indoda yahamba yayogawula. Yafike yathi, nqo, emthini. Yaphinda futhi yathi, nqo! Kwasekuvuka intenesha. Yase ibaleka. Kwase kuqhamuka impunzi. Yayisithi, "Yini wena okantenesha na?" Yase ithi, "Ngithe ngilele nje, ngezwa kuthi gqu gqu nje, ekhwapheni nje."

Kwase kuqhamuka unkonka. Usethi, "Yini wena okantenesha na?" Usho intenesha ibaleka. Yase ithi, "Ngithe ngilele nje, ngezwa kuthi gqu gqu nje ekhwapheni nje."

Kwase kuqhamuka inxala, yathi "Yini wena okantenesha na?" Yathi, "Ngithe ngilele nje ngezwa kuthi gqu gqu nje, ekhwapheni nje!"

Kwase kuqhamuka iwula, lathi, "Yini wena okantenesha na?" Yase ithi, "Ngithe ngilele nje, ngezwa kuthi gqu gqu nje, ekhwapheni nje."

Kwase kuqhamuka unogwaja esethi "Yini wena okantenesha na?" Yase ithi, "Ngithe ngilele nje, ngezwa kuthi gqu gqu nje, ekhwapheni nje."

Kwase kuqhamuka intenesha futhi enye, yathi, "Yini wena okantenesha na?" Yase ithi enye, "Ngithe ngilele nje, ngezwa kuthi gqu gqu nje, ekhwapheni nje."

Kwase kuqhamuka imbila, yathi, "Yini wena okantenesha na?" Yase ithi, "Ngithe ngilele nje, ngezwa kuthi gqu gqu nje ekhwapheni nje."

Zonke le zilwane zisho zibaleka ziyilandela intenesha ebalekayo. Zase zigijime zonke. Kwase kuqhamuka uChakide. Wasethi, "Yini wena okantenesha na?" Yase ithi, "Ngithe ngilele nje ngezwa kuthi gqu gqu nje ekhwapheni nje."

Wasegijima uChakide elandela zonke izinyamazane, zasezigijima zonke zilandela intenesha.

2. Zase zifika zima ndawonye-ke. Zase zihamba-ke, ziyogawula amahlahla okwakha isibaya. Zase zifika nawo. Sezisakha-ke isibaya, zonke. Sezihamba-ke ziyokudla. Sezifika zinya ubulongwe la esibayeni sazo. Sezihamba ziyokudla futhi. Zifike zithi, "Nogwaja, hlala la, ubheke inkayimeva."

3. UNogwaja esyedwa, ibisithi inkayimeva, "Nogwaja, ake sichobachobane." Abesethi unogwaja, "Akuchotshwe wena kuqala." Ibisiyala inkayimeva, ibisibamba unogwaja, ibisimchoba. Abeselala unogwaja. Inkayimeva ibisidla ubulongwe obusesibayeni bezinyamazane zonke lezi ebezilandela ithenesha. Bese ihamba inkayimeva isibudlile ubulongwe.

4. Uyaqambe evuka unogwaja, usethi, "Hhawu! ubulongwe bazo zonke izinyamazane sebudliwe inkayimeva!" Abesehamba egijima, ayokhwela entabeni. Abesethi:

"Ubulongwe bazo zonke,

Budliwe yinkayimevana!"

Bese zithi izinyamazane ehlathini, "Ake nithule!" Abesethi unogwaja:

"Ubulongwe bazo zonke,

Budliwe yinkayimevana!"

Bese zithi, "Osele, osele!"

2. THE STORY OF THE ANIMALS

Once upon a time.

The animals and Chakijana. We cooked him in a small pot.

1. Once upon a time there was a man who went to chop wood. He got there and knocked on the tree. He knocked again! The red hare was awoken. It ran away.

There appeared a duiker. It said, "What is the matter, you of the red hares?" It said, "When I was just sleeping, I heard **gqu! gqu!** just in my armpit."

There appeared a bushbuck. It said, "What is the matter, you of the red hares?" It said while the red hare was running. It said: "When I was just sleeping, I heard thud! thud! just in my armpit."

There appeared a roebuck. It said, "What is the matter, you of the red hares?" It said, "When I was just sleeping, I heard **gqu! gqu!** just in my armpit."

There appeared an oribi. It said, "What is the matter, you of the red hares?" It said, "When I was just sleeping, I heard **gqu! gqu!** just in my armpit."

There appeared a hare. It said, "What is the matter, you of the red hares?" It said, "I was just sleeping, I heard **gqu! gqu!** just here in my armpit."

There appeared another red hare. It said, "What is the matter, you of the red hares?" The other said, "I was just sleeping, I heard **gqu! gqu!** just in my armpit."

There appeared a dassie. It said, "What is the matter, you of the red hares?" It said, "I was just sleeping, I heard **gqu! gqu!** just in my armpit."

All these animals ran following the red hare which was running away. Indeed, they all ran away. There appeared **chakide** (slender mongoose). He said, "What is the matter, you of the red hares?" It said, "As I was just sleeping, I heard, **gqu! gqu!** just in my armpit".

Chakide then ran, following all the animals, which all ran following the red hare.

2. They all came and stopped in one place. They then went to cut down branches to build an animal shelter. They came back with them. Then they all built a shelter. They went out then to graze. They came back, they relieved themselves of dung there in their kraal. They went then to eat again. They arrived saying, "Hare stay here, and look out for (guard against) the **inkayimeva**."

3. The hare was then alone, the **inkayimeva** said, "Hare, let us delouse each other." The hare said, "Let it be you to be deloused first." The **inkayimeva** refused; it took hold of the hare, it deloused him. The hare fell asleep. The **inkayimeva** ate the dung in the kraal, of all the animals that had followed the red hare. After eating the dung, the **inkayimeva** went away.

4. When the hare awoke it said, "Hawu! the dung of all the animals has been eaten by the **inkayimeva!**" It ran off and climbed a hill. It then said:

The dung of all,
has been eaten by the little **inkayimeva!**

The animals in the forest said, "Just keep quiet!" The hare said:

The dung of all,
has been eaten by the little **inkayimeva!**

They cried, "The one who stays behind will have himself to blame!"

5. Sezijijima-ke zonke, ziya kuyena unogwaja. Sezifika zimbamba. Zimhlanganyela zonke, zimdonse macala onke, zimudle. Bese zihamba futhi ziye esibayeni. Sezifika zinya ubulongwe futhi. Sezibeka ithenesha. Sezithi, "Bheka la, ubulongwe lobu bungadliwa yinkayimeva. Siyokubulala nxa budliwe yinkayimeva." Bese zithi, "Akobe ubonile kade sibamba unogwaja, simudla." Sezinya ubulongwe-ke. Sezihamba, seziyodla imithi ehlathini.

6. Seyiqhamuka inkayimeva, ithi, "Ntenesha, ake sichobane." Bese iyala intenesha. Bese yehlulwa intenesha. Bese ibanjwa, ichotshwe. Ibe seyilala. Isukume inkayimeva, idle ubulongwe ibisihamba nxa isibudlile. Iyaqambe ivuka intenesha, isihambile. Bese ihamba iye entabeni, isithi:

"Ubulongwe bazo zonke,
Budliwe yinkayimevana!"

Bese zithi izunyamazane, "Ake nithule!" Isiphinda futhi intenesha ithi,
"Ubulongwe bazo zonke,
Budliwe yinkayimeva."

Zigijime izinyamazane ziya kulona. Zifike ziyibambe, ziyidle. Sezihamba futhi ziye esibayeni. Sezibona uChakide esibayeni. Bese zinya ubulongwe. Sezithi-ke kuChakijane: "Ubobheka ubulongwe bungadliwa yinkayimeva. Siyokubulala."

7. Ibisiqhamuka futhi inkayimeva. Izilwanyazane sezihambile. Ibisithi, "Akuchotshwe wena kuqala Chakijana." Abesala uChakijana. Abambe yona inkayimeva le edla ubulongwe njengazo zonke izinsuku. Ayichobe. Ibisilala inkayimeva. Uyasuka uyibeka phansi uChakijane Bogcololo. Ayicamelise etsheni. Usegijima-ke, eyomemeza entabeni, ethi:

"Ubulongwe bazo zonke
Budliwe yinkayimeva!"

Bese zithi, "Ake nithule!" Aphinde futhi asho njalo. Zigijime-ke. NoChakijane agijime eseyobulala inkayimeva ayibeke phezu kwesibaya, eseyihlinzile. Zifike izinyamazane. Zithi ziyambamba uChakijana abesethi yena, "Ake nibheke phezu kwesibaya." Zibheke. Zifice inkayimeva eseyibulele wayibeka phezu kwesibaya. Bese ziya kuyona zijabula.

8. Sezithuma unogwaja enkosini zithi, "Hamba nogwaja, uyobuza ukuthi kuzodliwa kushiywe nyamani eyoya enkosini?" Ahambe-ke unogwaja. Ibisithi inkosi akubodliwa kushiywe igatsha eliphezulu. Uyabuya unogwaja useyotshela izinyamazane, weqa umfula, wayesekhohlwa yinto atshelwe yona yinkosi. Wayesephindela emuva eseyobuza futhi enkosini. Isithi inkosi "Angithi ngikutshelile na?" Isithi, "Akuyodliwa kudliwe, kushiywe igatsha eliphezulu." Wayesehamba-ke unogwaja. Kuthe la esehambile, usebuya eqa umfula, usekhohlwa. Wasale eseya kuzona izinyamazane noma esekhohliwe yinto atshelwe yona. Esefika ethi ezilwanyazaneni, "Ngikhohliwe."

9. Sekuthunyelwa intenesha. Seyifika futhi intenesha ikhohlwa yinto eyayitshelwe yinkosi, ukuthi akuyodliwa kudliwe kushiywe igatsha eliphezulu. Kwase kuthunywa uChakide. Usehamba-ke uya enkosini. Seyimtshele-ke inkosi, ithi akuyodliwa kudliwe, kushiywe igatsha eliphezulu. Kaze akhohlwa-ke yena. Wafike wazitshelake izinyamazane. Zase zidla-ke, zishiya igatsha eliphezulu.

Cosi cosi iyaphela.

5. They all ran towards the hare. They came and took hold of it. They all attacked it, pulled it from all sides and made a meal of it. Then they all went again to the shelter and relieved themselves of dung again. They posted the red hare (as a guard). They said, "Guard the place: this dung must not be eaten by the inkayimeva. We are going to kill you if it is eaten by the inkayimeva." They said, "You have seen (how) we caught the hare and ate him." They relieved themselves of dung. They went off to eat from the green vegetation in the bush.

6. The inkayimeva appeared. It said, "Red hare, let us delouse each other." The red hare refused and then was overcome. It was caught; it was deloused, it went to sleep. The inkayimeva got up, ate the dung and then it went off. When the red hare awoke it had disappeared. It [red hare] went to the hill and said:

"The dung of all,
Has been eaten by the little inkayimeva."

The animals said, "Just keep quiet!" The red hare repeated:

"The dung of all,
Has been eaten by the little inkayimeva."

The animals ran back to it (the red hare), took hold of it and ate it. They again went to the kraal. They saw Chakijane in the kraal. They relieved themselves of dung. They said then to Chakijane, "Watch that the dung is not be eaten by the inkayimeva, or we will kill you."

7. Inkayimeva appeared again. The animals had already gone. It said, "Let it be you who is deloused first Chakijane." Chakijane refused. He took hold of that very inkayimeva which had been eating the dung every day. He deloused it. The inkayimeva fell asleep. Chakijane Bogcololo got up and held it (inkayimeva) down. He put it down, leaning it on a stone. He ran then, calling from the hilltop:

"The dung of all,
Has been eaten by the inkayimeva!"

They said, "Just keep quiet!" He repeated what he had said.

They ran. Also Chakijane ran and, after killing inkayimeva, placed it above the kraal, already skinned. As the animals arrived they were about to catch him, when Chakijane said, "Just look on top of the kraal". They looked. They saw the dead inkayimeva there. They went to it, rejoicing.

8. They sent the hare to the chief saying, "Go, hare, and ask what meat may be eaten and what reserved for the chief?" The hare went then. The chief said they may eat and leave (only) the top branch. The hare returned to tell the animals; as it sprang across a river, it forgot the message given him by the chief. It went back and asked the chief again.

The chief said, "Have I not told you already?" He said, "You may eat anything leaving the top branch." The hare went on his way. As he sprang across the river he forgot the message again. He did not like to go to the animals having forgotten the message. When he arrived he said to the animals, "I have forgotten."

9. They then sent the red hare. When the red hare came back it had forgotten the message given by the chief that they may eat anything but leave the topmost branch. Chakide was then sent. He went to the chief who told him that they should eat and leave the topmost branch. Indeed he did not forget. He arrived and told the animals. They ate then, leaving the topmost branch.

Little by little it has come to the end.

3. UMANJAZI (James Stuart Collection, No. 33)

1. UNogwaja usebaleka. Usehlangana nothenesha. Selibuza ithenesha lithi: "Yini we nogwaja?" Usethi unogwaja: "Ngiyahamba sengibona abantu bezingela, bezosibulala."

2. Sezitshelana zonke-ke izinyamazana. Sezibaleka. Seziyobuthana esigodini esikhulu. Kukhona umuthi ovuthiwe, umdadaliyane. Sekuthiwa ake kuyobuzwa enkosini ukuthi lo muthi ovuthiwe kangaka umuthi muni. Sekuthunywa unogwaja, sokuthiwa: "Ake kuyobuza wena nogwaja, uweni ndoda ehlakaniphila, wena owasitshela abantu bezingela, bezosibulala." Wahamba-ke unogwaja wayobuza enkosini ukuthi umuthi ovuthwe kangaka wumuthi muni na? Yathi inkosi: "Umdadaliyane. Niyowudla niwudle nishiye igatsha eliphezulu." Zawudla-ke izinyamazane. Zalishiya igatsha eliphezulu. Kwalalwa-ke.

3. Kwathi ebusuku wavuka unogwaja, wayodla igatsha eliphezulu, elashiywayo. Wehla nezinhlamvu eziphethe ngesandla. Wayesezifaka endlovini engquza. Sokuvukwa kusasa. Sokuthiwa: "Igatsha lenkosi liyengaphi?" Esethi unogwaja: "Ake kubekwe zonke izinyamazane, amagolo azawubonakala olidlile, kuzophuma izinhlamvu, ziwe kuyena egolo." Zase ziwa-ke lapha endlovini. Indlovu yayisibulawa yahlinzwa.

4. Kwase kuthiwa isibindi sayo esithwalwe unogwaja asise la izodlelwa khona. Wayesesithatha unogwaja wathi:

"Ngadl' umuthi,
Ngaqambela ngendlovu."

Zase zithi izinyamazane: "Uthini nogwaja?" Uthi: "Siyangisinda isibindi sendlovu." Abuye aphinde unogwaja athi:

"Ngadl' umuthi,
Ngaqambela ngendlovu!"

Zathi izilwane: "Uthini, nogwaja na?" Uthi: "Siyangisinda isibindi sendlovu."

5. Sezimuzwile izinyamazane ukuthi uyena obulele indlovu kanti. Sezibikela inkosi, ukuthi unogwaja uyena obulele indlovu. Isithi inkosi: "Abanjwe abulawe!"

6. Sebethi bayambamba, usebaleka. Sebemxosha. Usefumanisa umfula ugcwele, esephenduka imbokojwana. Seziyithatha izinyamazane zathi: "Uba besimfunyanisile ela besizomjikijela ngaleli tshe." Besho belijikijela ngaphesheya komfula. Selibuya liphenduka unogwaja. Sezikhohlwa-ke izinyamazane ukuthi zizowela ngani. Usebaleka unogwaja.

Sokuba ukuphela-ke.

3. MANJAZI

1. Hare was running away when he met a red hare. The red hare asked: "What's the matter with you, Hare". Hare answered: "I was walking around when I saw people hunting and coming to kill us."

2. All the animals passed on the message and ran away. They gathered in a wide valley where there was a large ripe tree. They decided to send a messenger to the king to ask what that ripe tree was. Hare was sent with the request: "You go to ask, Hare, you who are a wise man; you told us that people were hunting to kill us."

Hare went off to ask the king the name of the wonderfully ripe tree. The king answered: "It's a mdadaliyane tree. You may eat whatever you want of it, but leave the topmost branch." The animals set about eating, but left the topmost branch. They then went to sleep.

3. During the night, however, Hare got up and went to eat the topmost branch which had been spared. He climbed down holding the branch of the plant in his hand and placed them in the anus of the [sleeping] elephant. When they woke up in the morning they asked what had happened to the king's branch. Hare said: "Let's us examine every animal: the anus will reveal who has eaten it, and the branch will be there, falling from his anus." They were found hanging from the elephant. The elephant was killed and skinned.

4. It was decided to offer his liver to Hare as a reward for indicating where the branch should be found. Hare took it and then said:

"I ate the tree!

I told a lie about the elephant!"

All the animals exclaimed: "What are you saying, Hare?" He confessed: "The liver of the elephant is too heavy for me." He then repeated:

"I ate the tree,

I told a lie about the elephant!"

The animals insisted: "What are you saying, Hare?" He said again: "The liver of the elephant is too heavy for me."

5. Having come to know that Hare was the one who had killed the elephant. They sent a message to the king to tell him that Hare was responsible for the elephant's death. The king decreed: "He must be captured and killed!"

6. But when they tried to catch him, he ran away. They chased him. He came to a swollen river and transformed himself into a small grinding stone. The animals got hold of the stone saying: "Had we found him, we would have hit him with this stone!" In so saying they threw the stone to the other side of the river. The stone changed again into the Hare.

The animals did not know what to do to cross the river and Hare ran off.

This is the end of the story.

4. INDLOVU NONOGWAJA (Narrated by Bongani Mthethwa)

Kwesukasukela! Cosu!

Indlovu Nonogwaja. Sampheka ngogozwana

1. Kwathi ngomunye unyaka kunendlala kakhulu ezweni, izilwane zonke zilambile, kwasekuba nembizo enkulu kwahlanganwa kwacebiswana ukuthi: uma kunendlala engaka ezweni kuzokwenziwa njani? Wayesevela omunye wathi "Mina madoda ngithi kuhle ukuba silime izivande ukuze siphile ngazo singalambi."
2. Wonke amadoda lelo zwi alithelela umquba athi, "Elethu," Hawu nendlovu, inkosi yezilwane, yavuma, noChakijane bonke bavuma bathi, "Elethu!" Kwathiwa wonke umuntu kufuneka abe khona uma kuzosetshenzwa izivande. Nebala wonke umuntu afike, kuthi mbo.
3. Kuqalwe kulinywe kulinywe kulinywe kulinywe, kuzwakale omunye ethi, "Hawu, uNdlovu ukuphi?" UNdlovu akekho, uziphumulele emthunzini. Bese bethi: "Ake sithule ngoba uma sikhuluma ngaye uzosibulala ngoba uNdlovu unamandla." Bathi abanye, "Kodwa akulona iqiniso ukuthi sisebenze abanye bephumule."
4. Hayi-ke, zikhule izitshalo, ezivandeni. Zithi uma sezikhulile uNdlovu afike ebusuku azodla zonke izitshalo, amathanga nemifino nokunye. Phela uNdlovu uma esedla akashiya lutho, ngoba unesikhulu isisu lesi. Zakhala izilwane, zabona ukuthi lezi zinyawo ebezihamba lapha esivandleni ebusuku ezendlovu, kodwa inkinga ukuthi ziyayesaba indlovu ngoba inamandla.
5. Kwase kuphinda kubizwa imbizo. Kwathiwa: "Wena Nogwaja ucabanga ukuthi kwenziwe njani?" Wathi unogwaja, "Thulani nje nizobona ngami." Abese ebiza uChakijane, athi, "We Chakijane, asivule leli thanga." Nangempela balivule ithanga balithi kipiliti, bakhiphe izintanga zonke phakathi. Abesethatha uNogwaja isigubhu sakhē kanye nomkhonto wakhe angene phakathi, athi, "Uyabona Chakijane, ngizongena ngihlale lapha phakathi, ngithi fothololo." Bayazi phela ukuthi indlovu izofika izontshontsha ukudla ezivandeni bese idla leli thanga.
6. Nangempela angene phakathi unogwaja, uChakijane abeselivala ithanga bese ecasha. Ifike indlovu ebusuku isideshezela: deshe deshe, iqalaze, ithi, "Hawu ithanga elingaka!" Mimiliti, ithanga iligwinye, ithi, "Hawu ngasutha," iphinde futhi idle okunye. Ayazi ukuthi igwinye uKhalulu, uNogwaja, icabanga ukuthi idle ithanga.
7. Hawu, uNogwaja akhiphe isigubhu sakhe, abesesithinta, Du dugudu, Du dugudu, iNdlovu iqalaze, ithi "Hawu kushophi?" Ibaleke icabange ukuthi kusho ehlathini. Kuphinde futhi Du dugudu, Du dugudu. Ibaleke indlovu kuze kuse ibaleka. UChakijane uthule nje uyayibuka indlovu ipaquza, phela ubethunyiwe ukuba abheke ukuthi indlovu izokwenze njani. Igijime indlovu ize ikhathale. Kubonakale ukuthi manje isikhandlekile. Ilale phansi ize iphangalale ife. Hawu uNogwaja wathatha umkhonto wakhe wayidabula isisu. Wabe esebiza izilwane wathi, "Sengiphumile mina, sengiyibulele indlovu!" Zathi, "Uyibulale kanjani indlovu?" Kwatholakala ukuthi uNogwaja ulitholile iqhinga. Hawu zajabula izilwane.

Cosu cosu yaphela.

4. THE ELEPHANT AND THE HARE

Once upon a time

The elephant and the hare. We cooked him in a small pot.

1. It happened that one year there was a great famine in the land and all the animals were starving. They held a meeting and discussed what could be done when there is such a great famine in the country? One of the people said: "As for me, my men, I suggest that we till the gardens so as to eat (the produce) and do not starve."

2. The idea pleased all the men who supported it saying : "We agree!" (We make the word/idea our own). Also the Elephant, the king of the animals, was in agreement, and so were Chakijana and others who made the plan their own. It was agreed that every one had to be present when the gardens were tilled. Indeed, every one came, to the last one.

3. Tilling was started, and they tilled, and tilled, and tilled. Just then someone was heard saying: "But where is the Elephant?" The Elephant was not there, he was resting alone in the shade. Then they said: "Let's keep quiet, because if we talk about him he will kill us, as the Elephant is strong." Some said: "But it is not right that we should work while others are resting."

4. Indeed, the plants in the gardens grew up. As soon as they were fully grown, the Elephant started coming at night to eat all the plants, the pumpkins, the veggies and everything else. In fact when the Elephant eats, he does not leave anything because his stomach is very large. The animals were complaining, and saw that the footprints leading to the gardens at night were the Elephant's, but the problem was that they were scared of the Elephant because he was so strong.

5. They called a second meeting. Hare was asked his opinion about what to do. He said: "Keep quiet: I'll show you!" Hare called Chakijana: "Let's open up this pumpkin," he said. Indeed they opened the pumpkin completely, and took out all its insides. Hare took his drum and his spear and got into the pumpkin. "Do you see, Chakijana, I'm getting into the pumpkin and settle down comfortably." They knew in fact that the Elephant would come at night to steal the food from the gardens and would also eat that pumpkin.

6. And so Hare got inside, and Chakijana closed it and went to hide. The Elephant arrived in the evening with his heavy gait (*deshe, deshe*). He was surprised to see such a large pumpkin. Without chewing, he swallowed the pumpkin and said: "Hawu, I've eaten now!" But he went on and ate other stuff. He did not realize that he had swallowed Mr Clever, the Hare. He thought he had only eaten a pumpkin.

7. Hare took out his drum and started playing it: *Du dugudu; du dugudu*. The Elephant got a fright: "Where does the sound come from?" He started running thinking it was coming from the forest. The drum went on: *du dugudu, du dugudu*. The Elephant started running, and in the morning he was still running. Chakijana kept quiet and observed the Elephant going around in circles: his mission was to see what would happen to the Elephant. The latter went on running until it got tired. Now he appeared exhausted. He lay down until he gave the last breath and died. Hawu, now Hare took his spear and made an opening in the stomach. He then called the other animals and said: "I am out now. I've killed the Elephant!" The animals asked: "How did you kill him?" And so it became clear that Hare had solved their problem. The animals were very happy.

Little by little it is finished.

5. UHLAKANYANA (Callaway, 1868)

Isingeniso

1. UHlakanyana umuntu ohlakaniphe kakhulu, mncanyana kakhulu, ungangoChakide. Lo muntu wayedeleleka sonke isikhathi kubantu ayebonana nabo ebakhohlisa, bona babethi bangekhohliswe umntwana, bangakhohliswa umuntu ongangabo. Babengaqondi ukuthi kwakungenxa yokungalungi nokwesindwa ubuqili nokuhlakanipha okwamenza wabhasha, waba imbhashelana yokudelelwa, kepha akhohlise umuntu engabonakalisi ukuthi nguye ngempela ofanele ukukhohlisa. Kwakuthiwa futhi uChakijana Bogconono, Mahlab'indoda isemi.
2. Ichakijana yinyamazane encanyana ebomvana ehlakaniphe kakhulu kunezinye ngoba inobuqili obukhulu. Kuthi uma kuthunywe insimba lifike ichakide kuqala edlelweni, lithathe umjonjo obekelwe insimba liwudle, iyafika insimba umjonjo usudliwe yichakide.
3. Futhi lihlupha abantu ngokuthi uma lingathandi ukusuka endleleni kuthi uma libona umuntu eza, lichezuke kancane endleleni, libhodle, lethuse umuntu. Lo muntu aze agweme lapho ethi uvinjelwe yisilwane, kanti yichakide. Kumbe kuthi lapho esehambe kude ehamba ebheka, abone selisuka ligijima; umuntu ajabhe aphelelwe amandla, athi "O, indlela le ngiyishiyiswe yilesi silinyana!" Abuyele endleleni.
4. Futhi, liyazizonda kakhulu nezinyoka, ngoba liyazidla. Kuthi lapho libona kujwayele khona imamba liyilinde laze libone ukuthi iphumile iyokwaluka, lisale lingene emgodini wayo, ukuze ithi ifika ilifce esephambili. Liyibona iseza, libe liselunga selibheke ikhanda, ukuze ithi isangena imamba liyibambe, ngoba phela ingena emgodini wayo, ayazi lutho liyibambe ikhanda liphume nayo selibhodla liyibulale, lidlale ngayo isifile liyeqe liya emuva naphambili ekugcineni liyidle.
5. Okunye, ichakide yinyamazane eneshwa elibi. Uma abacuphi becuphe izinyamazane kwabanjwa lona, lowo mcuphi akabe esethemba ukuthi izinyamazane uyozebamba. Uyazi ukuthi ichakide liyalandula, emuva kwalokho kubi. Noma ehlangene nalo endleleni linqamula indlela, akathembi ukuthi lapho eya khona uyothola ukudla; uthi, "Ngihlangene nomthakathi, nokudla angisayikuthola."
6. UChakijana ulingana nechakide, futhi uluhlobo olufana nalo yingakho nje ebizwa ngegama lechakide, ubuncane nobuqili bakhe bungangalobo bechakide. Amanye amagama athi Bogconono, Mahlab'indod'isemi, izibongo zakhe zokutshengisa ubuqhawe bakhe; uwezwa ngazo. Lapho kuthiwa Bogconono, uma sikuhumusha owakwaGconono, isizwe sakubo esiphambili. Ogconono elinye igama elingahlangani kakhulu nelokuthi uMahlab'indoda. Lilodwa lona ngoba lisho oChakide. Uma sihumusha Umahlab'indoda lilodwa lona, lithi uyihlaba kuqala isamedelela ibona emncanyana, icabanga ukuthi inganyana nje; ayibulale ingakamenzi lutho.

5. HLAKANYANA

Introduction

1. Hlakanyana is a very cunning person; he is also very small, the size of a mongoose. This person was always despised by the people he met and deceived, because they thought they could not be deceived by a mere child, but only by a person as big as themselves. They did not understand that he had not grown up because of the weight of his cunning and cleverness. He was therefore an undersized and contemptible dwarf, and they despised him at all times. But he used to deceive people, not being seen as the person who himself could be deceived. He was also called Chakijana Bogconono, the one who stabbed a man while standing.
2. The slender mongoose is a little reddish animal with a black-tipped tail. This animal is considered very cunning, cleverer than all other animals, because it is full of tricks. If a trap is set for a genet, the mongoose comes quickly to the trap and steals the mouse set there as a catch. When the genet comes, the mouse has been eaten already by the mongoose.
3. It is also troublesome to man: in fact, when it sees a person approach and it does not like to get off the path, it gets off the path slightly and from there it growls and frightens the passing person. The person thus takes a wide turn, thinking that there is a wild animal obstructing the path; instead, it is only a mongoose. In fact when the person has gone some way, should he turn to have a look, he might see the mongoose come out of its hiding place and scattering away. The person feels ashamed and downhearted and exclaims: "Look at it! I have been made to quit my path by this insignificant animal!" He then returns to his path.
4. Another of his characteristics is that he has a deep dislike for snakes, which he eats. When he discovers a place frequented by a mamba, he watches it until he sees that the snake has gone out to feed; he then gets into the snake's hole, so that when the snake returns it will find him there. When he sees it returning, he gets ready by observing the snake's head, so that as the snake enters the hole, he may catch it and drag it out of the hole unawares. He kills the snake and then plays with it pulling it back and forth, until at the end he eats it.
5. Furthermore, the mongoose is an animal that causes bad luck. When an animal trapper happens to catch a mongoose, he loses hope of ever catching another animal. Should he even just see the mongoose on the path, his hopes of catching any food disappear. He says: "I have come across a witch, and I shall never get any food."
6. Chakijana is like the mongoose. He seems to have originated from that species, as the name indicates. His smallness is like the mongoose's, as is his cunning. He resembles the mongoose in all respects. Other names by which he is known are: **Bogconono**, **Mahlab'indod'isemi**: these are the praises by which his achievements are extolled. Bogconono signifies his belonging to the mongoose family. This praise name does not fit in with the other one that says "He stabs a man as he is standing", still despising him, seeing that he is so small and regarding him a mere infant; he kills the man before he (man) does anything to him (Chakijana).

UHLakanyana ukhuluma engakazalwa.

7. Inkosikazi yakhulelwa. Kwathi ngolunye usuku wakhuluma umntwana esiswini wathi, "Ngizale masinya; izinkomo zikababa ziyaphela abantu." Wathi unina, "Ake nize nizozwa nanku umhlola; umntwana uyakhuluma kimi esiswini lapha." Bathi, "Uthini na?" "Uthi angimzale masinya; uthi, 'Izinkomo ziyaphela esibayeni.' "
8. Uyise wayehlabe inkabi. Bafika abantu babuthana kwaphuma namadoda esibayeni wathi "Wozani nizozwa nanku umhlola, umntwana ekhuluma." Washo uyise wathi kakhulume umntwana njengokusho kwakhe. Wakhuluma umntwana wathi, "Yebo ngithi kangizale urname ngoba izinkomo ziyaphela esibayeni; nami ngithi angize ngizozihlinzela inyama." Bamangala abantu, bathi, "Kuzokwenziwa njani na?"
9. Wathi uyise: "Akuphunywe endlini; awuzale, simbone ukuthi umuntu yini? Ngumhlola lo." Baphuma bonke. Wathi uyise, "Akungahlali muntu. Bonke abantu abaphume ngoba uqale ukukhuluma eyedwa nonina." Baphuma-ke. Waphuma umntwana esiswini. Wathi esaphuma wema. Wathi unina, "Woza lapha, ngikunqume lokhu okulengayo." Wathi umntwana, "Qhabo, musa ukunginquma, ngizokuzinquma nami ngimdala; ngiyindoda yebandla." Wathatha umkhonto kayise wazinquma, wahlala phansi. Wathatha amanzi unina wamgeza.
10. Waphuma ke nomkhonto; wawuthatha phandle unina; wawushiya, wangena esibayeni. Ibandla labaleka. Wahlala eziko wadla imbengo ebidliwa libandla. Labuya lathi, "Yindoda kanti; ngumuntu omdala: besithi ngumntwana." Abuza amadoda, athi, "Wuye umntwana na obekhuluma esiswini sakho na?" Wathi unina, "Wuye." Bathi, "O, siyabonga, nkosikazi: usizalele umntwana ohlakaniphe esazalwa. Asikaze simbone umntwana onjengalo mntwana; lo mntwana ufanele ukuba abe umntwana omkhulu kunabo bonke abantwana benkosi, usimangalisile ngokuhlakanipha kwakhe."
11. Wathi umntwana, "Yebo! Baba, loku nithi ngingumntwana, thatha umlenze wenkomo uwuphonse lapha ngenzansi kwesibaya sibone-ke ukuthi ungathathwa ngubani na? Basuke bonke abantu bakho nabafana namadoda, siye kothatha umlenze ukuze sibone oyindoda; kuyoba nguyeyoyindoda oyothatha umlenze." Wawuthatha-ke uyise, wawuphonsa ngenzansi kwesibaya. Bonke bagcinana ngasesangweni elingesenhla. Yena waphuma ngenzansi kwesibaya, echusha. Wahlangana nabo esebuya nawo umlenze. Wathi, "Mame, yamukela nansi inyama yami." Wathi unina, "Ngiyajabula namhla, ngoba ngizele indoda ehlakaniphile."
12. Wabuya waya esibayeni, uyise wapha enye nenye indoda inyama. Wathi uHlakanyana "Letha kimi, ngiyokubekela endlini yakho." Wathi, "Yebo-ke, mntwana wenkosi." Wayithatha inyama wangena endlini; wethula isithebe nephini, wabhucela igazi esithebeni nasephinini, waphuma nayo, wayisa inyama kunina; wathi, "Mame, yamukela nansi inyama yami." Wabonga kubo bonke bebandla; wabuya wenza njalo nakwenye indoda, wayithatha njalo, wathi, "Letha kimi ngiyokubekela endlini yakho." Wenza njalo njengoba enze kweyokuqala. Wabhucela igazi esithebeni nasephinini, wahamba wayiyisa kwabo; wathi "Mame, yamukela nansi inyama yami." Wabonga unina, wathi, "Ngizele indoda namuhla." Kulo lonke ibandla akubanga khona namunye owathola inyama yakhe. Yaphelela kwabo yena lowo mfana ozelwe ngelanga lelo kuhlatshwe inkabi kayise.

Hlakanyana speaks before birth.

7. A woman got pregnant. One day the baby in her womb spoke: "Give birth to me at once; my father's cattle are being finished by the people!" Exclaimed the mother: "Come, listen to this wonder: the baby speaks to me from inside me." They asked: "What does he say?" "He asks to be delivered at once. He says that the cattle are being finished off in the cattle byre."

8. The father had slaughtered a beast. The people came together; even the men came out of the byre and he (father) said: "Come and hear this wonder, of a talking baby!" The father ordered the baby to repeat what he had said to his mother. The baby spoke: "Yes, I have asked my mother to give me birth because the cattle are being finished off in the byre. And I say, let me come out and prepare the meat for myself." The people were amazed and wondered: "What can we do?"

9. The father said: "Let's all get out of the house. Let her give birth to it that we may see what kind of a person it is. This is a prodigy indeed." All went out. The father said: "Let no man remain. Let all people get out as the child started talking when still in his mother's womb." They went out. The child was born. As soon as he was born he stood up. Said the mother: "Come here that I may cut off that thing hanging from you." The child said: "Not at all, do not cut it; I shall cut it myself; I am an adult, a man of the chief's council." He took his father's spear, cut (his umbilical cord), then sat down. His mother got some water and washed him.

10. He got out of the house holding the spear. His mother took it from him and he let it go and went into the cattle byre. The assembly ran away. He sat down by the fire and ate a strip of meat which the men had been eating. The assembled men returned and exclaimed: "But he is a grown man. He is an old man! We thought him a child!" The men asked: "Is this the child that was talking from inside your womb?" "He is indeed!" answered the mother.

They said: "We thank you, madam: you have given birth (for us) to a child grown wise while being brought to light. We have never seen a child like this before. This child must be greater than all the king's children, as he has astonished us by his wisdom."

11. The child said: "All right! Father, since you keep referring to me as a child, take a leg of beef and throw it down there below the byre, and let us see who can retrieve it. Let all your people, boys and men, try to retrieve the leg of beef, that we may see who is a man; the one who gets the leg of beef will be considered a man." His father took it and threw it below the kraal. They all crowded the opening at the upper end of the kraal. But he (Hlakanyana) went out at the lower end, creeping through the enclosure. He met them as he was returning with the leg. He exclaimed: "Here you are mother, here is my meat!" His mother said: "I am glad today, as I have given birth to a wise man!"

12. He went back to the byre while his father was giving meat to one man. Hlakanyana said: "Hand it to me: I shall put it in your room." The man said: "Yes, prince." He took the meat and went into the room; he took down the eating mat and the stick and smeared blood on them. He came out with the meat and went to his mother. He said to her: "Mother, accept this meat of mine." He thanked each man of the assembly (as he took the meat from him); and he did the same thing with another man: he took the meat in the same way, saying: "Let me take the meat to your room." And did the same thing he had done to the first one: he smeared the mat and the stick with blood, then took the meat to his place saying: "Mother, please receive this meat of mine." The mother thanked him, saying she had given birth to a real man. Among all the men of the assembly, not one got any meat in his room. It all ended up in the place of that fellow who had been born that day when his father's beast had been slaughtered.

13. Lashona ilanga; bambuza bonke abomuzi bengayitholi inyama yabo, wathi: "Bhekani amaphini nezithebe ukuthi angiyibekanga na ezithebeni ngethula namaphini ngayihloma phezulu njengoba inyama iyahlonywa." Bathi "Yebo; siyazibona izithebe zibomvu, namaphini abomvu, kepha yethulwe yini na?" Wathi-ke "Nazo-ke izithebe zibomvu nje." Kubo bonke kwaba njalo, yena wama ngelokuthi izithebe zibomvu.

14. Abesifazane bomuzi bakhala bathi,
 "Namuhla kuzelweni na?
 Kuzelwe umuntu onjani na?
 Azange ibonakale into enje.
 Nina nimthumeleni lokhu.
 Niyabona ukuba uHlakanyana lo na?
 Nithi umuntu na?
 Nithi umuntu wake wanje,
 akwazi ukukhuluma kangaka esengumntwana,
 aqine kangaka ahlule amadoda amadala?
 Beningamboni yini ekuthatheni kwakhe umlenze wenkabi?
 Bekufanele niqonde lapho ukuthi
 lo muntu kamithwanga, ungene nje lapha enkosikazini,
 nenkosi le kasiye owayo.
 Siyamphika sonke thina bafazi,
 nani nina madoda nizombona ngelinye ilanga,
 uzokwenza izinto ezinkulu ngoba ukhulume esesiswini.
 Nansi inyama yenu enephucile ngomlomo, nibadala nonke,
 waze wakhohlisa noyise ngomlenze wenkabi yakhe.
 Usazokwenza imihlola, ngoba naye engumhlola,
 isibili somhlola."

Yaphela-ke inyama leyo.

UHlakanyana uya ukuzingela

15. Wahamba waya kozingela ngasemfuleni; wafumana izithiyo, ziningi kakhulu, zibhabhise izinyoni, izinhlanzi, zonke izithiyo zingambili nangantathu. Wazikhipha zonke, wazibopha umthwalo wagoduka nazo. Wafika ekhaya wangena kunina, wathi, "Mame, ngethule ngiyasindwa." Wathi, "Uthweleni na?" Wathi, "Ngithwele izinyoni zami, bengiye kozingela." Wabonga unina, wathi, "Mfana wami, uyindoda, uhlakaniphile. Wena uyawedlula amadoda onke noyihlo, nabangane bakho." Wathukulula ke. Wathi, "Zipheke zonke; uzinameke." Wazipheka-ke unina. Wathi umfana, "Namuhla ngizophuma lapha endlini, ngiye kolala kwabanye; uze ungazibukuli izinyoni zami lezi ngiyofika mina kusasa khona ziyoba mnandi."

16. Waphuma waya kolala kwabanye. Bathi "Uyaphi lapha na? Asithandi ukulala nawe." Wathi, "Yini ngingalali nami ngoba nami ngingumfana njena? Ngiyintombazane yini?" Bathi "Qha, uhlakaniphe kakhulu. Wakhohlisa obaba ngenyama yabo beyiphiwe yinkosi, wathi uyobabekela ezindlini zabo; ayibange isabonwa nangoyedwa kuwowonke umuzi weNkosi. Nathi siyabona ukuthi awusiye oweNkosi." Wathi, "Ngingokabani?" Bathi, "Asikwazi akekho owenkosi onjengawe nje. Wena ungumhlola impela. Ikhona into oyoze uyenze. Ungumhlola impela." Wathi, "Noma nisho njalo ngizolala ngenkani." Bathi "Ngenkani yani, ungumfana

13. In the evening, all the people of the village enquired from him when they did not find their meat. He replied: "Look at the mats and the sticks: I did place it on the mat and hang it up on the stick as the meat should be hung." They said: "Yes, we see that the mats are red and the sticks are red. Has the meat been taken down?" He simply replied: "Behold, the mats are red!" All made the same enquiry and he answered them all the same way, stating that the sticks were red.

14. The village women exclaimed:

"What is born today?
What kind of a person is born?
We never saw anything like it.
Why did you send him?
Don't you see that he is Hlakanyana?
What kind of a person would you say he is,
who can speak so fluently being just a child,
who is so intelligent as to surpass the elders?
Did you not realize this by the way he took the leg of beef?
Can you not see that this person was not conceived in the normal way?
He just entered into his mother; he just entered, he was not conceived.
And the king is not his real father.
All we women deny it now;
and you too, men, will realize it one day:
He will perform great deeds since he spoke from his mother's womb.
He made your meat disappear by the power of his tongue,
(And you could not see it coming) you old as you are;
He deceived even his father in the matter of the leg of beef.
He will work prodigies, because he too is a prodigy, a real prodigy."

All that meat was finished.

Hlakanyana goes hunting

15. Hlakanyana went hunting by the river. He found a large number of traps which had caught birds and fish in twos and threes. He extracted them all, made them into a bundle and went home with them. At home he came into his mother's room and said to her: "Mother, relieve me of my load: I am weighed down." She asked: "What are you carrying?" He replied: "I am carrying my birds; I went out hunting." The mother praised him: "My son, you are a man, you are clever. You surpass all the men and even your father as well as your friends." She untied the birds. He said: "Cook them all and cover them with cowdung." The mother just cooked them. The boy said: "Now I am leaving this room and go to sleep with the others. Do not take the cover off my birds. I shall come back in the morning when they will taste nice."

16. He went to sleep with the other boys. They asked him: "Where do you think you are going here? We don't like to sleep with you." He replied: "Why can't I sleep with you, since I am also a boy? Am I a girl?" They said: "No, it's because you are very clever. You deceived the old men with regard to the meat given them by the king, pretending to put it in their rooms; not one of them, of the whole royal household, saw even a piece of the meat. We too can see that you are not one of the king's children." He asked: "Whose son am I then?" They answered: "We don't know, but there is no one belonging to the king that is like you. You are truly something else. You must be up to some mischief. You are not normal." He replied: "Although you say this, I shall sleep here as a challenge." They asked: "What challenge? You are just a boy. Have you got strength to fight? All your power proceeds from your mouth and

nje? Uthi namandla unawo okulwa? Unamandla kodwa ngawomlomo namazwi akho; ungasihlula ngomlomo; amandla wona awunawo ngoba usengumntwana usand'ukuzalwa; kodwa amazwi akho obuhlakani ayasahlula kanye nawobaba bethu." Bathula ke, wathula naye walala.

17. Lakhala iqhude. Wavuka wathi "Sekusile. Sengiyahamba mina, ngoba izinyoni zami zingaze zikhishwe abantu namagwababa." Waphuma, wangena kwabo. Akavulanga, waphakamisa isivalo sendlu yakwabo, wangena unina esalele. Wazibukula embizeni, wadla izinyoni zakhe; akazidlanga izinhloko zazo zonke wadla imizimba, waziqeda zonke. Waphuma wayolanda umquba, wangena wawuthela phakathi embizeni wabeka izinhloko ngaphezu komquba wanameka. Konke lokhu ukwenza unina usalele. Waphuma ngezansi kwesivalo wahamba isikhashana, wabuya futhi wathi, "Mame, mame, ngivulele." Wangena wakha amanzi wageza; wathi "Ngiphe-ke izinyoni." Wayethe esangena, "Nisalele futhi! Izinyoni zingaze ziguquke umquba zonke, ngoba ilanga seliphumile, njengoba seliphumile nje singase singazitholi."

18. Wase ezibukula-ke wathi, "Sekunjalo, umquba wodwa, sekusele izinhloko zodwa." Wathi unina, "Kwenziwe yini na?" Wathi uHlakanyana, "Uyazi ukuthi kwenziwe yini?" Wayesethi "Yimina owaziyo, wena ungumntwana omncane. Wangizala Yini? Angithi kwasho mina, ngathi, Ngizale masinya, izinkomo zikababa ziyaphela esibayeni? Wake wamuzwa umntwana esho njalo, ethi akazalwe? Ngimdala kakhulu. Angisiye owakho, nobaba, umuntu nje, umuntu wethu nje; ngoba mina ngilalile nje kuwe, wena ungumfazi wakhe. Asizukuhlala ndawonye nani, ngizozihambela nje ngedwa, ngihambe nje, nginishiye nizihlalele khona lapha ndawonye. Mina ngizohamba umhlaba wonke nje."

19. Zophulwa, wathi unina, "Wo! Mntanami, ushilo wathi zingaze ziguquke umquba ngaphansi kwembiza" Nembala sekungumquba wodwa ngaphansi kusele izinhloko zodwa ngaphezulu." Wathi umfana, "Ake ngizibone." Wabona, waziqeda izinhloko yena futhi, wazidla wathi, "Lokhu izinyoni zami uzidlile, angisezukukunika nenhloko nje ngoba wena udle inyama yazo." Waziqeda izinhloko. Wathatha induku yakhe, waphuma ethetha ethi, "Izinyoni zami, hhayi ukuba zidliwe ngihleli ngithi ngizodla izinyoni zami ebeziphekiwe, kanti kuzolalwa futhi, zize ziguquke umquba zonke." Wathula.

Umdlalo wokuphekaphekana

20. UHlakanyana wahamba waze wafika esithiyweni sezimu wakhipha inyoni. Uthe esakhipha lafika izimu. Wathi, "Musa ukungibulala," ebhajiwe umfana. Izimu lalibona ukuthi izinyoni zikhishwa umuntu. Labeka inomfi ngezinti phambi kwesithiyo, wabhajwa-ke yiyo inomfi. Wathi, "Musa ukungishaya ngizokutshela. Ngikhiphe ungigeze inomfi, uhambe nami. Awunanyoko yini?" Lathi izimu: "Ukhona." Wathi umfana, "Kepha ungonelani na, ungangikhiphi ungigeze inomfi uhambe nami? Ngizobaba angizukuba mnandi uma ungishaya nje. Ngigeze, uhambe nami ungise kwenu ngiphekwe unyoko; ungibeke ngome ubumanzi, uhambe wena, ungishiye nje ekhaya; ngingaphekwa ukhona, ngingamubi ngingebe mnandi."

21. Lamthatha-ke lahamba naye kanye nazo izinyoni zalo. Lafika ekhaya kunina lathi, "Mame, nansi inyamazane ebidla izinyoni zami. Namuhla ngiyitholile, ngiyibambe ngenomfi yami; ithe angiyikhiphe, ngiyigeze ubumanzi benomfi. Yathi ngingayishayi; yathi izobaba uma

your words. You may be able to surpass us by your mouth, but as for physical strength, you are a newly born child. But as for your words, they are your wisdom with which you surpass us as well as our elders." They then kept quiet, and he was silent and went to sleep.

17. The cock crew. He got up and exclaimed: "It is now daytime. I must get out because my birds could be stolen in my traps by crows and men." He left and went to his own house. He did not open the door, but lifted it and entered and found his mother still asleep. He uncovered the pot and ate his birds, only the bodies, not the heads: he ate all of them. He went out and fetched some manure; then poured it in the pot, placing the heads on top, then covered the pot again. He did all this while the mother was still asleep. He got out from under the door and walked around for a short while, then returned and shouted: "Mother, mother, please open the door for me!" Once inside he drew water and washed, then said: "Do give me my birds, please." As he was coming into the room he exclaimed: "Are you asleep again? The birds may all change into manure, since the sun is high. When the sun is high we may never find the birds."

18. While he uncovered the pot he said: "And so it is, they are all just manure; all that is left are the heads. The mother said: "How did this happen?" He replied: "You should know how it happened." He added: "I am the one who knows, since you are the one who is only a small child. Did you really give birth to me? Wasn't it I who asked you to bring me out at once, because father's cattle were being finished in the byre? Have you ever heard a child saying such things before he is born? I am really old. I do not belong to you, or to father. I am not a mere person, one of the clan. For I simply slept inside you, you being his (the king's) wife. I am not going to stay here with you. I am going off on my own, wandering about, leaving you here. I shall travel the whole world."

19. The contents of the pot were taken out. His mother said: "My child, you did indeed tell the truth when you said that the birds might turn into manure at the bottom of the pot. They are manure indeed, except for the heads at the top." The boy said: "Let me see." He had a look and ate also the heads on his own. He went on: "As you have eaten my birds, I shan't give you even these heads as you have eaten their meat." He thus finished off the heads.

He took his walking stick and went out chiding: "It was not right that my birds should be eaten, when I said that I would eat them after they were cooked. She went to sleep again, however, and all the birds turned into manure." He then kept quiet.

The game of cooking one another

20. Hlakanyana walked until he came to the traps set by an ogre. He took out the birds. As he was taking them out, the ogre arrived. The boy, when caught, said: "Don't kill me!" The ogre had noticed that his birds were stolen by someone; he had therefore put birdlime on sticks in front of the traps. Hlakanyana had been caught in the birdlime. Hlakanyana said: "Don't hit me, and I will tell you. Take me out and cleanse me of this birdlime, then take me home with you. Haven't you got a mother?" The ogre replied: "Yes, I have." The boy said: "Why then do you spoil me and not take me out and cleanse me of the birdlime and take me home with you? If you beat me in this way I shall be bitter (to taste), not sweet/nice. Cleanse me and take me home with you to be cooked by your mother. Set me there to dry, then you must go away and leave me at your home. I cannot be cooked in your presence: I would be bitter, I would not be nice (to eat)."

21. The ogre took him, with the birds, and went home with them. On arriving home he said to his mother: "Mother, here is an animal that was eating my birds. Today I found him; I caught him with the birdlime. He told me to take him out and to wash him from the birdlime. He told me not to beat him. He said he would be bitter if I beat him. So I agreed: I washed him and

ngiyishayile. Ngavuma-ke ngayigeza ngayithwala. Yathi anginamame na? Ngathi ukhona, ngisho yona le nyamazane. Ithe iyophekwa nguwe ngingekho mina. Yathi ingebe mnandi uma iphekwe ngikhona. Ngiyavuma-ke. Uzoyipheke kusasa. Ayilale nje." Bavumelana nomfana ongumfowabo bathi, "Ayilale."

22. Kwasa ngakusasa lathi, "Mame nanso inyamazane yami." Wathi uHlakanyana, "Ngithathe ungibeke phezu kwendlu ngome, ngihlatshwe ilanga." Wayenzela ukubona izimu lapho lishona ngakhona. Wabekwa-ke phezulu endlini. Lahamba nomfowabo; washona ngokhalo. Wehla uHlakanyana wathi, "Mame, usalele na?" Wathi unina wezimu, "Yebo." Wathi uHlakanyana, "Vuka, siphekane." Wathi, "Nami uzongipheka ingcosana; kuzophekwa ngenkulu imbiza ngoba ngizokhukhumala, ngigcwale imbiza. Nanso imbiza enkulu engapheka mina." Wathi unina wezimu, "Yebo-ke, uqinisile wena ngoba uyazazi ngokuphekwa kwakho." Wathi, "Thatha-ke uyibeke eziko." Wabasa uHlakanyana, wabasa kancane wathi, "Mningi umlilo." Wathi, "Ake sizwe amanzi ukuthi asedashisa na?" Wafaka isandla, wathi "Qha, kufanele ungifake; kuqalwe ngami." Wavuma unina wezimu. Wamthatha wamfaka wazibekela; wathula phakathi embizeni. Wasethi, "Ngephule-ke." Wamephula. Wathi, "Yiya! Ake ngibase futhi." UHlakanyana wathi, "Ngiwezile amanzi ukuthi awakafudumali ake kubaswe." Wabasa kakhulu; walunguza, wafumana esebila. Wathi, "Khumula izingubo amanzi asefanele ukuba ungene, ngoba nami ngingene enje. Kodwa kuwe asefudumele kahle manje." UHlakanyana waqala ukumthukulula. Wathi, "Ngiyeke, ngizikhumule mina, musa ukungiqinela. Ungiqineleni?" Wathi uHlakanyana, "Kunani uma ngikukhumulile ngiyinyamazane nje ezodliwa amadodana akho nawe? Kunani na, ngiyinyamazane nje, ezodliwa amadodana akho kanye nawe na?" Wamfaka wazibekela. Wakhala wathi, "Hlakanyana, ngophule ngasha!" Wathi "Qhabo, awukashi wena, ukuba usushile ngabe awusho ukuthi usushile. Ngiyezwa ngiyindoda nxa umuntu ethi, "Ngiyasha," kakashi. Uma eseshile, akasho ukuthi uyasha, usha nje kube kuphela." Wathi, "Hlakanyana ngivuthiwe." Wathi uHlakanyana, "Qha awukavuthwa nakhu usasho ukuthi uvuthiwe. Ngiyazi nxa umuntu esevuthiwe, akasho ukuthi usevuthiwe; uyathula nje uma esevuthiwe." Wavuthwa-ke wathula. UHlakanyana wathi, "Manje-ke ngiyakholwa ukuthi uvuthiwe, ngoba awusasho manje; usuthule, yikhona ngithi uvuthiwe-ke, uzodliwa amadodana akho. Yebo-ke, yikhona uvuthiwe impela manje ngoba usuthule."

23. Wathatha izingubo wazigqoka wamkhulu, walala lapha bekulele khona isalukazi unina wezimu. Bafika bathi, "Mame," waphendula wathi, "We," ngelincane izwi njengonina. Wathi, "Ningibizelani na? Nansi inyamazane yenu isikhuluphele isinkulu, imnandi njengoba ibishilo. Dlanini-ke angizuvuka mina. Kade ngiyidla." Bophula umkhono; base bedla. Wathi umfana wezimu, "Lezi zandla kungathi ezikamama." Lathi elikhulu, "Ukhuluma kanjani? Uyamhlelela umama." Wasethi, "Hayike angisasho." Badla njalo, baqeda umkhono. Baphula umlenze badla. Waphinda umfana wezimu, wathi, "Lolu nyawo kungathi olukamama, noma uthe ezandleni ngingasho ukuthi sengathi ngezikamama, ngiyasho. Futhi lolu nyawo kungathi ngolwakhe." Lamshaya. Waphenduka uHlakanyana elele wathi, "Mntanami, lo mthakathi angangidla yena, ngoba uthi edla inyamazane abe eyibiza ngami, eyifanisa nami. Thula nje, mntanami dlana nje wena."

24. UHlakanyana wathi, "Ake niqhe ngiphume. Ngizobuya. Nihlale nidle nina." Lathi izimu, lapho esemnyango uHlakanyana, "Yebo, lesi sithende kungathi esakhe urname." Wethuka

brought him home. He asked whether I had a mother. I told him - this animal here - that I had. He said he should be cooked by you in my absence. He said he would not be nice if cooked in my presence. So I agreed. Do cook him in the morning. Just let him lie down tonight." The ogre and a boy, his brother, assented, saying: "Let him sleep tonight."

22. Early in the next morning the ogre said: "Mother, here is my buck." Hlakanyana said: "Take me and place me on the roof that I may dry in the sun" (hoping he should be able to see in which direction the ogre would disappear). So he was placed on the roof of the house. The ogre and his brother went away, and disappeared over the ridge of the hill. Hlakanyana climbed down and said: "Mother, are you still lying down?" The ogre's mother said: "Yes." Hlakanyana said: "Get up and let us play the game of boiling each other. You will boil me a little, and I you. Let the boiling be done in a large pot, for I shall swell out very much and fill the pot. There is the large pot fit for boiling me in." The ogre's mother said: "Yes, surely; you are telling the truth because you are speaking about your own boiling." He said: "Take it, then, and put it on the fire." Hlakanyana kindled the fire; he kindled it a little and said: "The fire is sufficient. Let us just feel the water, if it is hot already." He put in his hand and said: "All right, put me in; let us begin with me." "Yes, surely," said the ogre's mother. She took him, put him in and placed the lid on the pot. He was silent in the pot. After some time he said: "Just take me out now." She took him out. He said: "Let us get on with it. Let us kindle the fire a little more." Hlakanyana made up the fire and said: "I have already felt the water: it is not hot. Let us stoke the fire." He made a big fire, looked inside and saw the water boiling. He said to the ogre's mother: "Take off your clothes, for the water is now right for you to get in. I also went in when it was just like this. It is now your turn: it is now pleasantly warm." Hlakanyana started to undo her clothes. She said: "Leave me alone, that I may undress myself. Don't be smart. Why are you trying to be smart with me?" Hlakanyana said: "Does it matter if I undo your clothes, I who am mere game soon to be eaten by your sons and yourself?" He put her in and placed the lid on. She cried out: "Hlakanyana, take me out! I am scalded!" He said: "Indeed not, you are not yet scalded. If you were really scalded you would not be able to say that you were scalded. I am a man, and so I understand that if a man says he is scalding to death he is not yet scalded; if he is scalded, he cannot say that he is scalding: he is scalded, and that is all." She said: "Hlakanyana, I am done." Hlakanyana said: "No, you are not yet done. There, you are now saying that you are done. I know, when a man has been thoroughly done, he does not go on saying 'I am done.' He just says nothing, when he is done." So she was boiled and spoke no more. Hlakanyana said: "Now I believe that you are done, because you no longer say so. Now you are silent: that is the reason why I believe you are thoroughly done. You will be eaten by your children. Indeed, I see now you are properly boiled, because you are now silent."

23. Hlakanyana then took all the ogre's mother's clothes and put them on, and looked big (because of the garments). He then lay down where the old woman had lain. At length the ogres returned and called, "Mother!" Hlakanyana answered "Yes," in a weak voice like the mother's. "Why do you call me? Here is your game: it is now swollen to a great size, and is nice, just as he said it would be. Do eat. I shall not get up. I have already eaten some of it." They drew out an arm. They ate. The boy ogre said: "These arms are just like mother's." The elder one said: "Mind what you say. You are predicting evil for mother." He replied: "No, I withdraw what I said." So they ate and finished the arm. They drew out a leg and ate. The boy said again: "This foot is just like mother's. Although you said I should not say so regarding the hands, I still say it. I still say that this foot is just like hers." The older one beat him. Hlakanyana, still lying down, spoke: "My child, that wizard would eat even me, for when he is eating game he calls it by my name, and thinks he sees a resemblance with me. Just be silent, my child, and go on eating."

24. Hlakanyana then said: "Just get out of the way of the door; I am going out; I will be back soon. Carry on eating." When Hlakanyana reached the doorway, the elder ogre said:

uHlakanyana wesaba kakhulu waphuma ngokushesha endlini yezimu. Waqala ukuzikhumula izingubo, wazivuthulula zonke; wagijima, waqinisa kakhulu. Wabona ukuthi usekude, abasezukumfika, wamemeza, wathi "Nidla unyoko njalo, mazimu!" Ezwa amazimu aphuma. Wathi umfana wezimu, "Ngithe kungathi izandla zikamama lezi, nonyawo lwakhe." Bamxosha, wafika umfula ugcwele. UHlakanyana waphenduka uhlaulo phezu kwamanzi. Afika amazimu; abona unyawo emhlabathini, alubona uhlaulo; aluthatha lathi izimu "Uwelile." Laphonsa uhlaulo lathi, "Uthe" lashi liphonsa uhlaulo. Kanti uye, ufike waphenduka uhlaulo. Wathokoza esemi ngaphesheya wathi, "Nangiweza!" Athi, "A! kanti wuye uhlaulo, lokhu besithi luhlaulo nje." Abuya-ke.

UHlakanyana ungumzanyana

25. Wahamba uHlakanyana wafika ingwe izele; ingekho yona abantwana bebedwa. Wahlala nabo abantwana, yaze yafika ingwe iphethe impunzi. Yakhukhumala yathukuthela ukuba imbone. Yathukuthela kakhulu yayibeka phansi impunzi yahamba yaya kuye. UHlakanyana wathi, "Nkosi yami, musa ukuthukuthela. Uyinkosi impela wena. Ngizohlala nabantwana bakho, uyozingela wena. Ngizobabheka uma uye kozingela. Ngizokwakha indlu enhle, ungalali lapha phansi kwetshe nabantwana bakho. Ngizoyakha kahle, ngiyifulele indlu yakho." Yathi, "Yebo ngiyavuma, uma uzosala nabantwana ubabheke ngihambile. Sengiyavuma-ke." Wathi uHlakanyana "Ngizokunika abantwana ubancelise ngabanye." Yathi, "Letha omunye umntwana wami. Musa ukuthi akancele yedwa, abancele bobabili ukuze omunye angakhali." Wathi uHlakanyana, "Qhabo! Ake uncelise lowo kuqala anduba ngikunike omunye, lowo abesebuyela kimi". Yathi, "Qhabo angenzi njalo mina uma ngincelisa. Musa ukungifundisa ukuncelisa abantabami, balethe nje bobabili." Wathi uHlakanyana, "Woze, ulethe lowo enginike kuqala." Yaze yamnika owokuqala; wayinikela omunye. Yathi, "Phuma manje lapho, uze lapha uzohlinza impunzi yami, upheke inyama njengokusho kwakho, njengoba uthe uzopheka." Wasuka-ke wahlinza wapheka. Yadla ingwe nabantwana bayo. Kwalalwa kwavukwa ngakusasa.

26. Yathi ingwe, "Sala-ke ubheke nampo abantwana bami ubabheke kahle." Wayakha indlu wayiqeda, wayenza umnyango, wamncane kakhulu; wamba umgodi omude waze waphumela kude intunja yawo, wanquma imikhonto yakhe yamine. Yafika ingwe ifika nempunzi yathi, "Hlakanyana!" Wathi, "Hi!" esabela. Umntwana wabesemdlile omunye esesele emunye. Yathi, "Letha-ke abantwana bami." Wayinika ingwe, yamncelisa. Yathi, "Letha omunye." Wathi, letha lowo-ke." Yathi, "Hhayi, letha bobabili." Wala uHlakanyana wathi, "Wozulethe lowo kuqala, anduba ngikunike lo." Yamnikela ingwe. Wabuya waphindisela lowo; ngoba umntwana eseyedwa. Yathi, "Phuma-ke uyohlinza inyamazane." Waphuma wayihlinza, wayipheka. Yadla ingwe nomntwana. Wangena, yathi yona, "Nami ngizongena manje." Wathi uHlakanyana, "Ngena-ke manje." Yalinga ukungena kwalukhuni ngoba uHlakanyana umnyango ewenze ngobuhlakani bakhe, ngokwazi ukuthi umntwana uzomudla, ingwe ithukuthele kakhulu; wathi, "Yikhona iyominyana ingakwazi ukungena kahle ukuze kuthi isaminyene ngibe ngihamba ngaphansi emgodini omude; yikhona iyothi ifika, ngibe sengikude nendlu." Wangenake emgodini ongaphakathi kwendlu leyo; yase ingena ingwe. Yangena yafika umntwana emunye. Yathi, "Wo! kanti uHlakanyana lo, unje! Umntanami uphi? Umudlile." Yangena emgodini lapho engene khona, yathi iyophuma ngalapha; wayesephume kuqala, esebuye wangena futhi, wambela imikhonto emnyango. Yafika khona ngasemnyango, yahlatshwa imikhonto yomine yafa. Wafika isifile; wajabula wathatha umntwana wengwe wambulala. Wahlala-ke wadla

"Surely, this heel is mother's?" Hlakanyana got a shock; he was afraid now; he went out as fast as he could and hastened to get away from the house. He began to undo all the clothes, slipped them all off, and ran with all his might. When he saw that he was far enough for them to be able to catch him, he shouted: "You have been eating your mother all along, you ogres!" The ogres heard and went out. The boy ogre said: "I told you that those were mother's arms and feet." They chased him. Hlakanyana came to a swollen river and changed himself into a weeding stick on its banks. The ogres came and found his footprint on the ground, and also saw the weeding stick. The ogre lifted it and said: "He has got across." He threw the stick saying: "He did thus," throwing the stick as he spoke. However, it was Hlakanyana: he had turned into a stick on arriving at the river. He was happy when he stood on the other side, and said: "You threw me across!" They said: "Oh, it was he who had changed into a stick, although we thought it was only a stick." So they returned home.

Hlakanyana acts as a nurse-maid.

25. Hlakanyana went on his way and found a leopard which had had cubs; she however was not at home, but only the children. He stayed with the children. At last mother leopard came carrying a buck. She swelled herself out and was angry seeing him; she was very angry; she put the buck down and made for him. Hlakanyana said: "My lord, don't be angry. You are a lord indeed. I am going to stay with your children; you will go out to hunt and I will take care of them when you are out. I shall build a beautiful house, so that you do not lie here at the foot of a rock with your children. I shall build your house well, and thatch it." The leopard said: "Very well, then, I agree that you stay with the children and take care of them when I am out. Now then I agree." Hlakanyana then said: "I shall give you the children to suckle one by one." So he gave her one child. She said: "Bring my other child also. Don't say, let one suck by itself. Let them both suck together, lest the other cries." Hlakanyana said: "Not at all! Just suckle that one first, and I will give you the other when that one has come back to me." She said: "By no means. I do not do it that way when I nurse them. Don't try to teach me how to suckle my children. Just bring them both together." Hlakanyana said: "Come, hand over that one which I gave to you first." At length she handed him the first and he gave her the other. She said: "Now, come out from there, and come to me, and skin my buck; and cook its flesh according to your word, for you said you would do the cooking." So he went and skinned the buck and cooked it. The leopard ate, together with her little ones. They went to sleep. They woke in the morning.

26. The leopard said: "Stay here, look after these children of mine; look after them well." Hlakanyana built a house and finished it; he made it with a very small doorway; and he dug a long burrow, which had a distant outlet, and cut off the hafts of four assegais. The leopard arrived; she brought back a buck with her; she said: "Hlakanyana!" He answered: "Yes". He had already eaten one of the cubs; there was only one left. She said: "Bring my children." So he gave it to her and she suckled it. She said: "Bring me the other." He replied: "Hand back that one." She said: "No, bring them both." Hlakanyana refused and said: "Just hand back that one first, and then I will give you this." The leopard gave it to him. He gave it back to her, for now there was but one child. She said: "Come out now, and skin the buck." So he went out, skinned it and cooked it. The leopard ate with her little one. Hlakanyana went into the house. The leopard said: "I too shall go inside now." Hlakanyana said: "Come in then." She went in. It was difficult to go in, for Hlakanyana had cunningly contrived the doorway, thinking that he intended to eat the cub, and the leopard would be very angry. He said: "She will be thus compressed, and not enter easily; thus, while she is squeezing in, I shall go down into the long hole; and thus, when she gets in, I shall be far from the house." So he went into the hole which was in the house. Also the leopard entered. When she was inside, she found only one cub. She said: "Dear me, so then this is Hlakanyana - he is this kind of fellow. Where is my child? He has eaten it." She went into the hole into which he had gone intending to get out

ingwe nomntwana wayo, waqeda wathwala umlenze, wahamba, ngoba wayengumuntu ongahlali ndawonye.

UHlakanyana uhlangana namazimu

27. Esahamba, wahlangana nezimu lathi, "Sawubona Hlakanyana." Wathi uHlakanyana, "Ngibona wena, malume wami." Lathi izimu, "Ngiyakubona, mfana kadadewethu." Wathi, "Ngibona wena malume wami." Waqhubeka wathi, "Woza lapha ngikutshele nansi indaba ebesinyenza nengwe ngemuva lapha." Lathi, "Yeboke." Wathi, "Ake udle nansi inyama." Labonga izimu. Lathi "Mfana kadade, ungisizile; bese ngilambe kakhulu." Ladla izimu, naye wadla. Kwavela izinkomo ezimbili, enye imhlophe enye imnyama. Zabonwa yizimu lathi, "Naziya izinkomo zami." Wathi uHlakanyana, "Eyami emnyama." Lathi izimu, "Eyami emhlophe nangaphakathi." Bahamba-ke bayozeqela. Wathi uHlakanyana, "Malume, akwakhiwe indlu." Lathi izimu, "Uqinisile, khona sizohlala kahle, sidle izinkomo zethu." Yasheshiswa indlu yakhiwa kwaqoqwa utshani. Wathi uHlakanyana, "Ake kuhlinzwe eyakho, malume wami, emhlophe kuqala, nangaphakathi sike sibone ukuthi injalo-ke na, njengoba ushilo; wathi, imhlophe nangaphakathi." Lavuma izimu, lathi, "Yebo." Yabulawa-ke inkomo; yahlinzwa bayithola yondile. Wathi uHlakanyana, "Angiyidli mina enje. Ake kubanjwe eyami." Lavuma izimu. Yabulawa; yafunyanwa inonile kakhulu. Lathi izimu, "Mfana kadade, uhlakaniphile impela ngoba uhle wayibona wena, ukuthi inonile eyakho." Wathi uHlakanyana, "Akufulelwe indlu-ke manje; anduba sidle ukudla kwethu. Izulu uyalibona, sizonetha." Lathi izimu, "Uqinisile, mfana kadade, uyindoda impela lokhu uthi asifulele indlu, ngoba sizonetha." Wathi uHlakanyana, "Akwenze wena mina ngizongena ngaphakathi, ngikuhlomele endlini."

28. Lenyuka izimu. Izinwele zalo zazizinde kakhulu impela. Wangena phakathi; wayihlomela-ke. Izinwele wazakhela khona ethunga eqinisa izinwele zezimu kakhulu; wayelokhu ezibopha njalo ezakhela njalo ezicaphuna kakhulu, eqinisa ukuze kuqine endlini. Wasebona ukuthi ziningi izinwele lezo, alisenakwehla phezulu, nxa ephuma endlini. UHlakanyana ukuphuma kwakhe waya eziko, lapho kuphekwe khona ibele lenkomo. Wophula, wabeka esithebeni, wathatha umkhonto, wasika wadla. Lathi izimu, "Wenzani mntakadade? Ake uze siqede indlu, sikwenze lokho; sizokwenza nawe." Wathi uHlakanyana, "Yehla-ke, angisezukungena endlini. Kuphelile ukufulela." Lathi izimu, "Yebo-ke" Lathi liyasuka kwanzima ukusuka. Lakhala lathi, "Mfana kadade, wenze njani ekufuleleni kwakho?" Wathi uHlakanyana, "Zibonele wena mina ngifulele kahle; ngoba umsindo awusezukupha khona, sengizodla kahle ngingabangi namuntu sengingedwa enkomeni yami."

29. Waqhubeka wathi, "Ubuzani lokhu eyakho izacile ayinonile nje. Yehla ngamandla akho okhwele ngawo. Angikwazi ukuzokusombulula." Wasika enyameni emhlophe wathi, "Mina-ke." Lathi, "Ilethe lapha. Khwela-ke ulethe lapha, mfana kadade. Ngisize ungithukulule, ngize lapho kuwe. Angizukwenza umsindo ngizophiwa nguwe; ngoba inkomo yami ngiyibonile ukuthi yondile, inkomo enonile eyakho. Ubani owake waba nomsindo entweni yomuntu, kungesiyona eyakhe?" Lafika izulu namatshe nemibani. Wathutha uHlakanyana, wathuthela endlini konke okuyinyama, wahlala endlini. Wabasa lafika izulu namatshe nemvula. Lakhala izimu phezulu kwendlu lashaywa ngamatshe; lafela khona phezulu. Lasa izulu, waphuma uHlakanyana, wathi, "Malume, yehla-ke uze lapha selisile izulu, alisani, nesichotho asisekho, nokubanika akusekho. Uthuleleni na?"

from the other end. Hlakanyana had got out first and returned to the house and fixed his assegais in the earth at the doorway. When she came to the doorway, she was pierced by the four assegais and died. When Hlakanyana came to her she was dead. He was happy. He took the leopard's child and killed it. So he stayed and ate the leopard and her child. He took however one leg and went on his travels, since he was a person who did not like to stay long in one place.

Hlakanyana meets some ogres

27. On his journey he met an ogre, who said: "Hello, Hlakanyana!" He replied: "Hello, my uncle." The ogre said: "Good morning to you, child of my sister." Hlakanyana replied: "Good morning to you, my uncle." He then went on: "Come here and I will tell you about my dealings I had with Mrs Leopard back there." The ogre said: "Certainly!" Hlakanyana said: "Just eat; here is some meat." The ogre thanked him and said: "Child of my sister, you have helped me; I was extremely hungry." The ogre ate and Hlakanyana with him. Two cows made their appearance - one white and one black. They were discovered by the ogre. He said: "Those cows are mine." Hlakanyana said: "The black one is mine." The ogre said: "The white one is mine. Which is white also inside." They went on to them and turned them back. Hlakanyana said: "Uncle, let us build a house." The ogre said: "You speak well; then we shall live comfortably and eat our cattle." The house was hastily built and grass gathered. Hlakanyana said: "Let your cow be killed first, uncle, the one which is white outside and inside, that we may just see whether it is, as you said, white also inside." The ogre agreed. So the cow was killed and skinned. They found it lean. Hlakanyana said: "I, for my part, don't eat a thing like this. Let mine be caught." The ogre agreed. It was killed and found to be very fat. The ogre said: "Child of my sister, you are wise indeed, for you saw at a glance that this cow of yours was fat." Hlakanyana said: "Let the house be thatched now; then we can eat our meat. Look at the weather: we shall get wet." The ogre said: "You are right, child of my sister; you are a man indeed in saying let us thatch the house or we shall get wet." Hlakanyana said: "You do it then, I shall go inside and push the thatching needle for you inside the house."

28. The ogre went up. His hair was very very long. Hlakanyana went inside and pushed the needle for him. He thatched in the ogre's hair, tying it very tightly; he kept knotting it into the thatch, taking it by separate locks and fastening it firmly, that it might be tightly fastened to the house. He saw that the hair (fastened in) was enough and that the ogre could not get down, if he should go outside. When he was outside, Hlakanyana went to the fire where the udder of the cow was being cooked. He took it out and placed it on an eating-mat; he took a spear, and cut and filled his mouth. The ogre said: "What are you doing, child of my sister? Let us just finish the house, and then we can get down to that. We can do it together." Hlakanyana replied: "Come down then; I am not going into the house any more. The thatching is finished." The ogre agreed. As he tried to get up from the roof, he was unable to do so. He started crying saying: "Child of my sister, how have you managed your thatching?" Hlakanyana said: "Look at your own work, because I have done mine well; I am not going to have any dispute. I am now going to eat in peace. I no longer dispute with anybody, for I am now alone with my cow."

29. He continued: "What are you asking, since yours is thin and has no fat at all? Come down with that same strength of yours with which you climbed up there. I cannot come and set you free." He cut into the fat meat and said: "Take this." The ogre said: "Bring it at once, then. Come up and bring it to me, child of my sister. Help me, untie me, that I may come to you. I am not going to make a noise (to have an argument). You shall give me, for I have seen that my cow is lean; the fat one is yours. Whoever made a dispute about what belongs to another man, to which he has no right?" The weather broke with hailstones and lightning. Hlakanyana took all the meat into the house and sat there and lit a fire. It hailed and rained. The ogre on the roof of the house cried; he was struck by the hailstorm and died there. It cleared.

30. Wayidla-ke inkomo yedwa, waze wayiqeda. Wahamba-ke, wahlangana neline izimu liphethe isigubhu esikhulu. Wathi, "Malume." Lathi, "Ngingumalume wakho ngani na?" Wathi, "Awungazi yini?" Lathi, Angikwazi mina." Wathi, "Qhabo! Ungumalume impela." Lathi izimu, "Angibuthandi lobo buqili. Ngiyakwazi wena ukuthi unguHlakanyana. Angikhohlwa mina ngiyindoda. Thula nje ngeke ngavuma ukuthi ungokadadewethu." Wathi, "Qha, ngiboleke isigubhu lesi." Lala izimu lathi, "Qha! ngeke ngihlangane nawe impela." Wadela.

31. Wahamba; wafika elinye izimu, wafika lisendlini. Wangena. Lathi "Uvelaphi na?" Wathi, "Ngivela ngapha. Benginozimu, umalume wami; nawe ungumalume wami." Kanti liyalandela lona lelo ayehlangane nalo lala nesigubhu. Lathi leli alithole endlini. "Asishuke ingubo yami, mfana kadade." Bayishuka-ke. Sezwakala isigubhu sathi du kakhulu. Waphuma uHlakanyana wathi, "Uyayizwa yini le ndaba?" Lathi, "Yiphi-ke?" Wathi, "Nansi phandle." Laphuma izimu lalalela lasizwa isigubhu sikhala kakhulu. Langena lathi, "Ishuke, siyishuke." Laqinisa kwakhona umsindo wokukhala kwesikhumba wafundekela kakhulu. Kwathi umsindo waphikelela kakhulu. Wathi uHlakanyana, "Angithi uthe akukho msindo phandle na? Usuphikelele ngani?" Sakhala eduze manje. Baphuma bobabili, babheka. Waqhamuka umniniso. Kwathi izimu lema kwenye intaba, uHlakanyana wema kwenye intaba, labuza lathi, "Ungubani wena osethusayo?" Lathi eliphethe isigubhu, "Ngingumyobozeli. Nembuya ngiyayiyobozela; umuntu ngiyamgwinya nje, angimhlafuni, ngiyamgwinya nje." Labaleka-ke ukuba lizwe lokho ukuthi umuntu kahlafunywa.

32. Wabuya-ke uHlakanyana, weza kuleli lesigubhu. Lase lingenisile endlini. Wafika uHlakanyana wathi, "Malume, mina bengihleli-nje ngingumntwana, nakuwe ngizoba umntwana wakho ngoba nalapha bengingumntwana nje. Ngithanda ukuhlala nawe, ngoba ungumalume wami impela." Lathi, "Kulungile, ngoba wena umncinyane kunami: hlala-ke." Bahlala nezimu lesigubhu. Lathi, "Sala-ke lapha ubheke umuzi wami, umfokazi engimxoshile angaze ashise umuzi wami." Wathi uHlakanyana, "Yebo-ke, hamba uye kazingela." Lahamba-ke, wahlala nje.

33. Wathatha isikhwama wahamba uHlakanyana. Wahlangana nenyoka; wayibamba wayifaka esikhwameni; wahlangana nomnyovu wawufaka esikhwameni. Wahlangana nofezela, wawubamba wawufaka esikhwameni, zonke ezilumayo ezinobuhlungu kakhulu, wazibamba, wazifaka esikhwameni. Sagcwala isikhwama. Wabopha, wathwala wabuyela endlini. Lafika izimu. Wathi, "Kufanele ukuba umnyango uncishishwe ube mncane, mubi umnyango omkhulu," Lathi izimu, "Qha, angiwufuni umnyango omncane." Wathi, "Yebo-ke, ngiyavuma. Ngisazohamba ngiye ekhabomame, ngifuna ukuza nomzala wami; azohlala lapha." Isikhwama wahamba naso; wasithukusa. Kwahlwa wafika endlini khona lapha izimu lalikhona, wafika nezintingo zokunciphisa umnyango wendlu. Wavula, wangena; waphinda waphuma. Wawakha-ke umnyango wamncane, owalingana nomntwana, ukuba angaphuma khona. Kwasa esehleli emnyango uHlakanyana, wathi "Malume! Malume!" Lathi, "Ubani?" Wathi, "Yimi malume." Lathi, "Wuwe, mfana kadade?" Wathi, "Yebo, Vula ngizokutshela indaba; ngibuye endleleni, angifinyelelanga yindaba embi engiyizwile." Lavula izimu, lathi liyavula kwaqina. Lathi, "Mfana kadade, kulukhuni ukuvula." Isikhwama singaphakathi esingenisile uHlakanyana ebusuku enciphisa umnyango lowo. Wathi, "Thulula isikhwama leso usilethe usiveze lapha. Nami ngimangele ngokuncipha komnyango. Thulula usithintithe, usiveze kule ntubana, umnyango ngizokuwandisa."

Hlakanyana went outside and said: "Uncle, just come down, come to me. It has cleared up now; it no longer rains and there is no more hail, neither is there any lightning. Why are you so silent?"

30. So Hlakanyana ate the cow alone and finished it. He then went on his way. He met another ogre carrying a large musical calabash. He greeted: "Uncle!" Said the ogre: "How am I your uncle?" He said: "Don't you know me?" The ogre replied: "No, I don't know you." He said: "You don't mean that. Indeed you are my uncle." Said the ogre: "I do not like that cunning of yours. I know you: you are Hlakanyana. But you can't deceive me. I am a man. Just hold your tongue. I shall never admit that you are my sister's child." He said: "No indeed? Just lend me this calabash." The ogre refused: "No, I am not going to have any communication whatsoever with you." Hlakanyana then left him.

31. He went on his way and found another ogre in a house. He went in. The ogre said: "Where do you come from?" He replied: "I come from over there. I was with Mr Ogre, my uncle; and you, too, are my uncle." However, the ogre he had met who had refused to lend him the calabash, was following. The one he found in the house said: "Let us wash my dress, child of my sister." So they washed his dress by rubbing it. The musical calabash sounded very loudly now. Hlakanyana ran outside and said: "Do you hear this?" The ogre said: "Where?" He replied: "There outside." The ogre went outside and listened: he heard the calabash sounding very loudly. He went in again and said: "Rub the dress and I shall rub it too." He worked hard at it. There arose a great noise from the rubbing of the skin. The calabash now resounded very loudly; and now the sound came with loud blowings. Said Hlakanyana: "Did you not say that there was no noise outside? Why does it persist?" It sounded very close now. Both went out, both looked: there appeared now the owner of the calabash. As the ogre was standing on one hill and Hlakanyana on another, the ogre asked: "Who are you that is frightening us in this way?" The ogre who was carrying the calabash said: "I am Mr Guzzler. I guzzle down wild spinach; and as for a person, I just swallow him, I do not even chew him." The ogre ran away when he heard that a person is not even chewed.

32. Hlakanyana returned to the one with the calabash. He had already taken possession of the house. Hlakanyana came and said: "Uncle, I used to live here as a child, as I have in all the other places where I have been. And with you too I will stay and be your child. For I lived here as a mere child, as well as in all other places. I wish to live with you because you too are my uncle." The ogre said: "Very well, as you are smaller than I, you can stay." So he and the ogre with the calabash lived together. The ogre said: "Just stay here and watch my home, so that the vagabond I have driven away may not come and burn my house." Hlakanyana said: "Certainly. You may go hunting." So the ogre departed and Hlakanyana stayed on behind.

33. Hlakanyana took a bag and departed. He met with a snake; he caught it and put it in his bag. He met a wasp: he put it in his bag. He caught a scorpion and put it in his bag: all poisonous and biting animals he collected in his bag. The bag was full. He tied it up and carried it back to the house. The ogre returned. Hlakanyana said: "Uncle, we must restrict our doorway, to make it small: it is bad to have a large doorway." The ogre said: "No, I do not like a narrow doorway." He said: "Very well, then, I agree. I am now going to my mother's village to fetch my cousin, and return here with her, that she may live here." He took the bag with him and hid it. When it was dark, Hlakanyana came to the house where the ogre was, with some rods with the purpose of narrowing the doorway. He opened the door, went in, then went out again. He built up the doorway, making it smaller; it was only large enough for a child to go out. In the morning Hlakanyana, still sitting by the door, called out: "Uncle, uncle!" The ogre asked: "Who are you?" He said: "It is I, uncle." The ogre asked: "You, child of my sister?" He replied: "Yes. Open the door for me; I have news to tell you. I am back from my journey; I did not reach my mother's: it is bad news that I have heard." When the ogre tried to open the door, it

34. Lathulula. Kwaphuma inyoka yaliluma isandla kwaphuma inyosi yalisuzela esweni; kwaphuma umnyovu wasuzela esihlathini. Lathi izimu, "Mfana kadade, lokhu okwenzile namhlanje angikaze ngikubone lokhu ngazalwa umfazi nendoda. Ngisize ngiyalunywa lapha endlini yami; angisaboni." (Ufezela walisuzela izimu.) Wathi uHlakanyana, "Nami angazi ukuthi lezo zilwane zingene kanjani esikhwameni lapha." Lathi izimu, "Vula-ke ngiphume." Zaphuma zonke izilwane zalidla, lafa ngobuhlungu bezinyoka, nezinyosi, nawofezela, neminyovu. Lakhala lakhala-ke laze lafa izimu. Wavula-ke uHlakanyana wathi, "Malume, usuthukuthele na? Kawabe usezwakala manje na, lokhu bengithi uyakhala na? Malume wami, khuluma. Uthukuthele na? Awushaye isigubhu sakho, ngilalele ngizwe." Waze wangena wafika selifile. Walikhipha endlini wangenisa wahlala manje.

35. Lafika izimu eliwumninindlu. Lathi "Mfana kadade, ngikubonile; bengikhona lapha ngibona ukuvala kwakho lapha emnyango, ngabona ukuthi uyindoda ngoba uvalela umuntu owangixosha emzini wami." Wathi uHlakanyana, "Nawe manje sengimkhulu kunawe, ngoba ngimehlulile umngane wakho. Sengiyakuthola nawe namhla." Lathi izimu, "Kulungile, ngoba kubonakele ukuba ngehluliwe mina." Bahlala-ke.

36. Wathi uHlakanyana, "Ngiyahamba nami. Imbande yami, selokhu ngayaphucwa uxamu." Wahamba-ke wavele wenyusa umfula. Uxamu wabe elukile, eyokudla ubulongwe abudlayo nembande eyiphethe. Wafika uHlakanyana, wakhwela phezulu emthini athamela kuwo wamemeza wathi, "Xamu, Xamu!" Wathi uxamu, "Ngibizwa ubani lokhu mina ngizozifunela, lowo ongibizayo akeze lapha." Wasethi uHlakanyana, "Uqinisile-ke. Sengiyeza-ke lapho udla khona." Wehla uHlakanyana; wafika wathi. "Iphi imbande yami?" Wathi: "Nansi." Wathi, "Kunjani-ke namhlanje? Sipi-ke isiziba? Sikude!" Wathi uxamu, "Uzongenzani lokhu nansi imbande yakho, futhi-ke yashiywa nguwe nje; ngathi ngikubizela yona, wawusuhambile." Kodwa-ke uHlakanyana wamshaya uxamu wamephuca imbande, wambulala wamshiya esefile.

Wahamba wabuyela ezimini. Wafika, izimu lingasekho nendlu isishile. Wahlala-nje obala, wahlupheka.

UHlakanyana ubuyela ekhaya

37. Wabuyela ekhaya, wafika kunina. Kwathi ukuba unina ambone, lokhu kwase kuyisikhathi eside ahlukana naye, wathokoza kakhulu unina ebona umntanakhe ebuyile. Wathi unina, "Sawubona mntanami; ngiyathokoza ukukubona ubuyile. Kuhle impela ukuba umntwana, noma ehlukenene nonina isikhathi eside, aphinde abuyele kunina. Ngasengidabukile ngithi uyofa ngoba wahamba usumncane ngithi kazi uyodlani na?" Wathi yena, "O, sengibuyile mame, ngikhumbule wena." Wakufihla ukuhlupheka, ngoba wacabanga wathi "Uma ngithi kumame, ngibuye ngokuhlupheka, kuyothi mhla ngonile kuye, angixoshe athi, Hamba lapha uyisoni esidala nalapha uvela khona uxoshwe yile mikhuba." Ngaleso sizathu wakufihla ukuhlupheka kwakhe wagqamisa ukuthi "Ngibuye ngokuthanda wena, mame," enzela ukuthi unina amthande njalonzalo; kungathi ngamhla bephambene amthuke, ngoba uHlakanyana amacala akhe ubewafihla ngokwazi ukuthi uma ewaveza angaphathwa kabi.

was stuck firm. He said: "Child of my sister, it is hard to open." Hlakanyana's bag was inside; he had put it in during the night when he narrowed the doorway. He said: "Just open that bag, bring it and put it here. I too wondered at the narrowing of the doorway. Untie the bag, shake it and bring it to this little hole. As for the doorway, I shall try to widen it."

34. The ogre now untied the bag. The snake came out and bit his hand; the bee came out and stung him in his eye; the wasp came out and stung him on the cheek. The ogre cried: "Child of my sister, this thing which you have done today, I never saw the like of it, since the time I was brought into the world by a woman and a man. Help me: I am eaten alive in my own house! I can no longer see." (The scorpion stung him too). Hlakanyana said: "I do not know how those animals got into my bag." Said the ogre: "Open, that I may get out." All the animals came out of the bag and ate the ogre, and he died of the poison of snakes, of bees, of scorpions and wasps. He cried and cried until he died.

Hlakanyana opened the door and asked: "Are you still angry, my uncle? Are you no longer crying so as to be heard? For I thought you were screaming. Speak, my uncle. Why are you so silent? Just play your calabash, that I may listen and understand." Finally he entered. He found the ogre dead. He took him out of the house, took possession of it and lived there.

35. There arrived the ogre to whom the house belonged. He said: "Child of my sister, I saw what you have done. I stood here and saw how you closed the doorway. I realize that you are a man, as you closed in the person who had chased me from my home." Hlakanyana answered: "You too see now that I am greater than you, as I have overcome your friend. It is time that I deal with you now." The ogre said: "All right, it is clear that I have been subjugated by you." And so they stayed together.

36. Hlakanyana said: "I am going now. I must get my flute, stolen from me by the monitor lizard some time ago." So he went out. He came to the place and went down to the river. The monitor lizard was out feeding on dung, which is its food, holding on to its flute. Hlakanyana mounted the tree where the lizard sunned itself and shouted: "Lizard! Lizard!" The lizard answered: "Who is calling me, since I came here to feed on my own? Let him who calls me come to me!" Hlakanyana replied: "All right! I can hear where you are feeding." Hlakanyana descended and came to the lizard and said: "Where is my flute?" The lizard replied: "Here it is." Hlakanyana said: "How is it today? Where is the pool? It is far away!" Said the lizard: "What are you going to do to me, since here is your flute? And remember that it was left with me by yourself: I called you, but you were already gone." But Hlakanyana beat the lizard and took the flute from it. He killed it and left it dead.

Off he went and returned to the ogre. When he arrived he could not find the ogre and the house had been burned down. He sat down in the open, lonely and dejected.

Hlakanyana returns home

37. He made for home and arrived at his mother's place. On seeing him after such a long time his mother rejoiced greatly, seeing her son returned. She said: "Hello, my child. I am so glad to see you back. It is so nice that a child, even though he has been separated from his mother for a long time, should return home to his mother. I was so worried thinking you might die, as you left being still a child, and I wondered what you would eat." He replied: "Yes, I have come back, mother. I remembered you." He kept his troubles to himself because he thought: "If I tell her that I returned because I am in trouble, should I one day offend her, she could chase me away saying: 'Go back where you came from, you old scoundrel, as you were chased even from there!' " For this reason he hid his worries and told a lie, saying: "I have returned out of love for you, Mother!" This would endear him constantly to his mother. In this

38. Kwathi ngangomuso wahamba waya ekhethweni; wafika wabuka ikhetho, zasina izintombi. Baqeda ukusina wagoduka. Wafika entabeni, wafumana umdiyadiyane, wawumba. Wafika ekhaya wawunika unina wathi, "Mame, ngiphekele umdiyadiyane wami ngisaya kosenga." Wawupheka unina. Wavuthwa, wathi unina, "Ake ngizwe ukuthi kunjani." Wadla, wezwa kumnandi, wakuqeda. Wafika uHlakanyana, wathi, "Mame, ngiphe umdiyadiyane wami." Wathi unina, "Ngiwudlile, mntanami." Wathi "Ngiphe umdiyadiyane wami; ngoba ngiwumbe esigqumagqumaneni; bengiy'ejadwini." Unina wamnika umkhengqe. Wawuthatha, wahamba nawo.

UHlakanyana uyahamba ngokwesibili

39. Wafumana abafana belusa izimvu, besengela ezindengezini. Wathi, "Minani, nanku umkhengqe wami; sengelani kuwona; nize ningiphuzise nami." Basengela kuwo. Kwathi owokugcina wawubulala. Wathi uHlakanyana,

"Nginikeni mkhengqe wami,
'mkhengqe wami ngiwunikwe 'mama;
mama edle 'mdiyadiyane wami;
mdiyadiyane wami nguwumbe sigqumagqumaneni;
bengiy'emjadwini."

Bamnika umkhonto. Wahamba-ke. Wafumana abanye abafana bedla isibindi, besika ngezibengu. Wathi "Minani, nank'umkhonto wami; bengani ngawo nize ningiphe nami." Bawuthatha babenga badla. Kwathi kowokugcina waphuka umkhonto. Wathi,

"Nginikeni 'mkhonto wami;
'mkhonto wami ngiwunikwe 'bafana;
bafana bebulele 'mkhengqe wami;
'mkhengqe wami ngiwuphiwe 'mama;
'mama edle 'mdiyadiyane wami;
'mdiyadiyane wami ngiwumbe singqumagqumaneni,
bengiy'emjadwini."

Bamnika izembe. Wahamba. Wafumana abafazi betheza izinkuni; wathi, "Bomame, nitheza ngani na?" Bathi "Asithezi ngalutho, baba." Wathi, "Minani nansi imbazo yami. Thezani ngayo. Uma seniqedile niyilethe kimi." Kwathi kowokugcina yaphuka. Wathi,

"Nginikeni 'mbazo yami,
mbazo yami ngiyinikwe 'bafana;
'bafana baphule 'mkhonto wami,
'mkhonto wami ngiwunikwe 'bafana;
'bafana baphule 'mkhengqe wami;
'mkhengqe wami ngiwunikwe 'mama;
'mama edle 'mdiyadiyane wami;
'mdiyadiyane wami ngiwumbe sigqumagqumaneni,
bengiy'emjadwini."

way, should he cross her, she would not curse him. Therefore Hlakanyana concealed his faults, knowing that, should he reveal them, he might be treated badly.

38. It happened that one day he went to a marriage dance. He observed the dance; the girls danced. At the end he returned home. On a hillock he found some edible tuber and dug it up. When he came home he gave it to his mother and said: "Mother, please cook this tuber for me. I am going to milk the cows." His mother cooked the tuber. When it was cooked, the mother said: "Let me taste it to see what it is like." She ate it, found it tasty and finished it off.

When Hlakanyana returned he asked his mother for the tuber. She said: "I ate it, my child!" He protested: "Give me my tuber, because I dug it up and a hillock on my way from the wedding dance." His mother gave him a milk-pail. He took it and went off with it.

Hlakanyana's second journey

39. He met some boys herding sheep and milking into broken pieces of pottery. He said: "Look, here is my milk pail; milk into it. Do give me some milk to drink." They milked into it. But at the end they broke it. Hlakanyana said:

"Give me my milk pail,
my milk pail given me by my mother;
my mother who had eaten my tuber;
my tuber dug up on a hillock
on my way from a wedding."

They gave him an assegai and he went off. He met other boys who were eating liver, slicing it with the rind of the sugar cane. He said: "Take this assegai of mine and slice your meat with it, and give me some also." They took it and used it and ate. But at the end they broke the assegai. He protested:

"Give me my assegai;
my assegai given me by boys;
boys who had broken my milk pail;
my milk pail given me by my mother;
my mother who had eaten my tuber;
my tuber dug up on a hillock
on my way from a wedding."

They gave him an axe and he went off. He met some women gathering firewood. He said to them: "My mothers, what are you cutting wood with?" "With nothing, father," they answered. He said: "Here is my axe. Use it. When you finish return it to me." The axe broke in the hands of the last one. He protested:

"Give me my axe,
my axe given me by boys;
boys who had broken my assegai;
my assegai given me by boys;
boys who had broken my milk pail;
my milk pail given me by my mother;
my mother who had eaten my tuber;
my tuber dug up on a hillock
on my way from a wedding."

Abafazi bamnika ingubo. Wayithatha, wahamba nayo. Wafumana izinsizwa ezimbili zilele-ze. Wathi, "A, bangane, nilele-ze na? Aninangubo yini?" Zathi "Qha." Wathi "Yembathani ingubo yami le." Zembatha-ke. Zazide zidonsisana ngayo ngoba incane. Yaze yadabuka. Wathi ngakusasa,

"Nginikeni 'ngubo yami;
'ngubo yami ngiyinikwe 'bafazi;
'bafazi baphule 'zembe lami;
'zembe lami ngilunikwe 'bafana;
'bafana baphule 'mkhonto wami;
'mkhonto wami ngiwunikwe 'bafana;
'bafana baphule 'mkhengqe wami;
'mkhengqe wami ngiwunikwe 'mama;
'mama edle mdiyadiyane wami;
'mdiyadiyane wami ngiwumbe sigqumagqumaneni,
bengiy'emjadwini."

Zamnika ihawu. Wahamba-ke. Wafumana amadoda elwa nesilo, engenamahawu. Wathi "Aninahawu na?" Athi, "Qha" Wathi, "Thathani elami leli, nilwe ngalo." Balithatha-ke; basibulala isilo. Kwadabuka umgabelo wokuphatha. Wathi,

"Nginikeni 'hawu lami;
'hawu lami ngilunikwe 'zinsizwa;
'zinsizwa zidabule 'ngubo yami;
'ngubo yami ngiyinikwe 'bafazi;
'bafazi baphule 'zembe lami;
'zembe lami ngilunikwe 'bafana;
'bafana baphule 'mkhonto wami;
'mkhonto wami ngiwunikwe 'bafana;
'bafana baphule 'mkhengqe wami;
'mkhengqe wami ngiwunikwe 'mama;
'mama edle 'mdiyadiyane wami ngiwumbe 'sugqumagqumaneni,
bengiy'emjadwini."

Bamnika isinkemba wahamba-ke.

The women gave him a blanket. He took it and went off with it. He met two boys sleeping with nothing on. He said: "Are you sleeping with nothing on, friends? Don't you have a blanket?" They answered: "No." He said: "Cover yourselves with this blanket of mine." They covered themselves with it. They kept pulling it, as it was small, until it was torn. Next morning he protested:

"Give me my blanket;
blanket given me by the women,
women who had broken my axe,
my axe given me by boys,
boys who had broken my assegai;
my assegai given me by boys;
boys who had broken my milk pail;
my milk pail given me by my mother;
my mother who had eaten my tuber;
my tuber dug up on a hillock
on my way from a wedding."

They gave him a shield and he departed with it. He met some men fighting with a leopard without a shield. He asked: "Don't you have a shield?" They answered: "No." He said: "Take this shield of mine and fight with it." They took it and killed the leopard. The handloop of the shield broke. He protested:

"Give me my shield,
my shield given me by young men,
young men who tore my blanket,
blanket given me by women,
women who had broken my axe,
my axe given me by boys,
boys who had broken my assegai;
my assegai given me by boys;
boys who had broken my milk pail;
my milk pail given me by my mother;
my mother who had eaten my tuber;
my tuber dug up on a hillock
on my way from a wedding."

They gave him a war assegai, and he went on his way.

6. **USANKAMBE** (James Stuart Collection, No. 31)

Kwesukesukela. Cosu.

USankambe. Sampheka ngogozwana!

1. Kwesukela uSankambe waya ensimini, eyokweba ummbila. Wafika umnikazi wensimu, wayesethi, "Hhawu! insimu yami idliwe yini lapha?" Laphaya entabeni kwakuhlezi izimu. Lase lithi izimu. "Kwenzenjani na?" Selibuza kumnikazi wensimu. Wathi umnikazi wensimu, "Insimu yami mngane." Lathi izimu, "Yenzenjani?" Wathi, "Idliwe yisilwanyazana, izinyawana zincane, angiziboni ukuthi ngezani." Lase lithi izimu, "Pho, kawuthathi inomfi yini?" Wayesethi lo wensimu, "Ngiyenzani?" Lathi, "Uyigaye! Uyibeke la sihamba khona." Wayeseyibeka inomfi. Wayesebanjwa uSankambe. Ngokubanjwa kwakhe, wayesethi kumnikazi wensimu, "Akumina engidla insimu," kusho uSankambe. Wayesethi umuntu wensimu, "Idliwa ubani?" Wathi uSankambe, "Idliwa yizimu leliya." Wathi, "Ngikhulule mina." Wamkhulula umnikazi nsimu. Wayesethi, "Ngizokuthatha inomfi ngiyoyinika izimu okuyilona lidla insimu." Wamkhulula umnikazi wensimu. Akabe eseza futhi ensimini.
2. Wahamba, wafunyanisa isilo sakha indlu. Wathi, "Ake ngikufulelise." Savuma isilo. Wasakhisa. Wayesebophela umsila wesilo ngezintambo, isilo sipheke inyama. Wayeseyokwephula inyama. Isilo sathi siyasuka kwala. Wayesethatha inyama, wahamba.
3. Wayesefunyanisa ibhubesi lizele. Wayesethi, "Ake ngikuphathele abantabakho." Lavuma ibhubesi. Lahamba layozingela. Wayesefika elipha inyama yomntwana. Lase lidla. Lase lithi akalethe abantwana. Wamkhipha ngamunye umntwana. Wayesebuya ephinda yena lowo ake wamkhipha. Kwasa lahamba ibhubesi. Wapheka omunye futhi umntwana. Lafika. Walikhiphela umntwana, lamudla. Lase lithi akalethe abantwana. Wabuya waphinda bona labo akade ebalethile. Kwasa futhi lahamba ibhubesi, wasala wapheka owokugcina. Lathi lingakafiki wayesezihuqa phansi. Wayesezidweba imidwa wonke umzimba. Selifikile, wakhala elihlangabeza lizeza. Esethi, "Nkosi, abantwana abasekho. Bakhona abantu ababathathile."
4. Usegijime waya kulabo bantu, yizimfene. Afike izimfene zithe phosho, zidlala, zizidlalela zodwa. Usefika ethi, "Ake nginitshene ukudlala okuhle." Athi, "Thanini, yilokhu sadla abantwana bebhunesi, asikaze senziwe lutho," Etshela izimfene, uSankambe. Sekuzothi kuqhamuka ibhubesi abeselihlangebeza. Abesekhala ethi, "Kufike abantu bathatha abantwana." Lathi ibhubesi, "Baphi lapho bekhona?" Wathi, "Ngiyabazi mina." Lathi, ibhubesi, "Ngiyise khona." Wathi ebhubesini, "Angikubophe ngotshani, khona bengezukukubona babaleke." Wayeselifulela ngotshani. Wayeselithwala. Esefika-ke ezimfeneni. Esefika ethi, "Ake nisho umkhuba wenu omuhle. Ngizonipha nakhu ukudla okuhle." Bese zithi-ke, "Yilokhu sadla abantwana bebhunesi, asenziwa lutho."
5. Sekuthi-ke ingane yemfene isibona iso lebhunesi livele otshanini. Isitshela oyise, ithi, "Ngimbonile, uSankambe, uthwele ibhubesi." Sebethi oyise, "Hha! Wona ukudlala kwethu!" Ingane le yabaleka njalo yona, ngoba ibona iso lebhunesi. USankambe walithukulula ibhubesi. Lase libulala izimfene lezi, lizidla. Wayesethi ezakhe izimfene ezinqunywe imisila, ngoba kuthe ibhubesi uma lizibulala, yena wanqamula imisila, ibhubesi lingaboni, ukuthi uyazinquma imisila. Usethi-ke, ezakhe ezinqunywe imisila. Usexabana nebhunesi. Sebehlukana-ke nebhunesi. Useyahamba.

6. SANKAMBE

Once upon a time! Little by little!
The story of Sankambe. We cooked him in a small pot!

1. Sankambe went to a field to steal mealies. The owner of the field arrived and said, "Hhawu! What has eaten this part of my field?"

There was a zimu sitting over there on a hill. The zimu asked the owner of the field: "What is the matter?" The owner answered, "It is my field, friend." The zimu said, "What about it?" He said, "It has been eaten by a smallish animal; the feet are small. I can not recognize whose they are." The zimu said, "Therefore, why don't you use birdlime?" The owner of the field said, "What shall I do with it?" It said, "You grind it; you put it where it (the animal) walks." He put down the birdlime.

He caught Sankambe. When he had been caught he (Sankambe) said to the owner of the field: "It is not I who eats your crop." The owner said: "Who eats it then?" Sankambe said, "It is eaten by that zimu over there." He said: "Free me!" The owner set him free. He said, "I will take the birdlime and use for that very zimu that eats the field." The owner let him go then. Sankambe did not return to the field again. (cf 5.20)

2. He set off and came across an animal (leopard) building a house. He said: "Let me help you thatch." The animal agreed. He helped him build. He tied the tail of the animal with ropes. The animal was cooking meat; Sankambe took the meat off the fire; the animal tried to get up but failed. Sankambe took the meat and went off. (5.27-28)

3. He came upon a lioness which had given birth. He said, "Let me look after your cubs." The lioness agreed and went off to hunt. He stayed and cooked one child. The lioness returned. He gave her the meat of the cub. The lioness ate it. She asked him to bring the children [for suckling]. He brought out one child at a time. He brought that same cub which he had given her back again. Then the lioness went off. He cooked another cub. when she returned he served her the meat of the cub; she ate it. She said he should bring the cubs. Again he brought those back which he had already brought. Again the lioness went off; he stayed and cooked the remaining one. (5.25-26)

Before the lioness' return, he dragged himself on the ground. He scratched himself all over his body. When the lioness arrived, he cried going to meet her as she was coming along. He said, "Chief, your children are not here. There are people who have taken them away."

4. He ran and went to those people; they were baboons. On his arrival, he found the baboons playing on their own. He immediately said, "Let me teach you a nice game. You say, 'Since we ate the lion's children, nothing has happened to us!'" So Sankambe taught the baboons. When the lioness appeared he went to meet her. He cried: "Some people came and took the cubs." The lioness said, "Where are they?" He said, "I know them!" The lioness said, "Take me there!" He said to the lioness, "Let me tie you up in grass, lest they recognize you and run away." He covered her with grass. He carried her. He arrived at the baboons' place. He said, "Just do your nice trick. I will give you this good food." They said then, "Since we ate the lion's children nothing has happened to us."

5. A young baboon saw the lion's eye through the grass. It told its elders: "I have seen it, Sankambe is carrying a lion." The father said, "Hha! You are spoiling our game" That child ran away because it had seen the lion's eye. Sankambe untied the lioness. She killed those baboons and ate them. He said that the baboons that had their tails cut off were his, because, as the lioness killed them, he chopped off their tails without the lioness seeing him do so. He said the tail-less ones belonged to him. He quarrelled with the lioness and parted company with her. He went on his way.

6. Usefunyanisa isalukazi, usefika ehlala emzini waso. Sekufika umntwana wesalukazi, ebeyozingela. Usehamba ngakusasa umntwana wesalukazi, usesala esipheka isalukazi lesi. Usethi, "Nanso inyamazana engiyithole ngiyozingela." Usephula-ke, usedla unina. Eseqedile ukumudla, usethi uSankambe, "Wadla unyoko!" Usephuma ebaleka uSankambe.

Sekungukuphela kwayo-ke.

6. He found an old woman: he arrived and stayed at her home. The child of the old woman, who had been hunting, arrived home. The next day the child of the old woman went away while Sankambe stayed and cooked this old woman. He said to the child, "Here is the game I caught when I was hunting." The child took the pot off the fire and ate his mother. When he had finished eating her, Sankambe exclaimed: "You have eaten your mother!" He then left and ran away. (cf 5.22-23)

That is the end of it (the story) then.

7. UGOGO NOCHAKIJANA (Narrated by Bongani Mthethwa)

Kwasukesukela! Cosu!

Ugogo noChakijana. Sampheka ngogozwana

1. Kwathi ngelinye ilanga uChakijana elambile, wahamba, wahamba, wahamba, wazithela emzini womuntu, wakhuleka, wangena ekhaya, wafica ugogo omdala ebase umlilo egodola.

Wathi uChakijana, "Sawubona we gogo"

Sathi isalukazi, "Ngabe uChakijana yini?"

"Hawu gogo uyagodola?"

"Hawu ngiyagodola Chakijana"

"Hawu Gogo, mina ngingakusiza ufudumale."

"Hawu Chakijana kumakhaza kangaka, ungangisiza ngani?"

"Gogo, ngizokutshela mina ukuthi ngizokufudumeza kanjani."

Hawu, ugogo amangale nje, athi, "Ngoba ngimdala nje Chakijana?"

2. "Gogo, uyawazi umdlalo kamaphekaphekana?"

Athi ugogo, "Cha, angiwazi lowo mdlalo womaphekaphekana. Yini leyo, Chakijana?"

Wathi uChakijana: "Uzobona-ke gogo, ngizobasa umlilo mina gogo." Nangempela uChakijana abase, abase, abase masinyane, abesethatha ubhazabhaza webhodwe, alithi nze emlilweni, aqulele amanzi phakathi, abesethi "Uzobona-ke gogo." Asuke uChakijana, "Uyabona-ke gogo; ngizohlala lapha emanzini, wena bese uvala ngaphezulu. Kothi emva kwesikhathi ngobe sengithi "Tshwe! tshwe! tshwe! sengivuthiwe."

Bese ngithi okwesibili, "Tshwe! tshwe! tshwe!" Okwesithathu, ngobe sengithi "Tshwe! tshwe! tshwe, sengivuthiwe," bese uyangivulela ngiphume embizeni. Nawe-ke uyokwenza njalo uma seku nguweni; bese ngiyakuvulela uphume. Ngumdlalo kamaphekaphekana-ke lowo gogo."

3. Hawu, ugogo anganaki. Asuke-ke uChakijana angene embizeni athi, "Vala-ke, gogo!" Asuke ugogo avale. Gembeqe, mbo! Ahlale, ahlale, ahlale, aqala manje amanzi ukushisa, uyezwakala usethi "Tshwe! tshwe! tshwe, sengivuthiwe! Tshwe! tshwe! tshwe, sengivuthiwe gogo!" Nebala ugogo avule, aphume uChakijana, ahlale ngaphandle. "Manje-ke, gogo, sekuzongena wena." Nebala athabuluke ugogo ayongena emanzini, uChakijana asithi nze isivalo esikhulu esisindayo.

4. Ugogo athi, "Hawu, kanti la manzi ayashisa." Ahleke uChakijana. Athi ugogo, "We Chakijana, vula, vula, vula bo!" Athi uChakijana, "Gogo, kuthiwa, Tshwe! tshwe! tshwe, sengivuthiwe!" Ugogo athi: "Tshwe! tshwe! tshwe, singivuthiwe! Vula-ke manje." Athi uChakijana, "Cha gogo, kushiwo kathathu." Siphinde futhi isalukazi sisheshise sisho kathathu. Athi uChakijana "Hawu gogo, mina ngihlale isikhathi eside, wena ngesikhashana esincane nje usuthi usuvuthiwe! Usuvuthwavuthwe manini? Musa ukungikohlisa, awukavuthwa wena!" Athi uGogo, "Ngikhiphe! Ngaze ngafa!" UChakijana athi, "Hlala bo, kufanele uhlale isikhathi esifanayo." Ugogo apaquze phakathi . . . Hawu do, ugogo aze aphangalale.

5. UChakijana abase omkhulu umlilo. Hawu, ugogo aze avuthwe abe yinyama. Abese emkhipha uChakijana, elisusa ikhanda ukuze abazukulu bangaboni ukuthi yikhanda likagogo wabo. Abese ephaka inyama eyibeka ezithebeni. Kuthe kusenjalo, gagaga! nampaya abazukulu sebebuya kotheza. Yenzeka indaba, "Gogo! Hawu, uphi uGogo? Ngubani lona? Hawu, Chakijana! Uphi ugogo?" "Ugogo wani, yidlani nakhu ukudla, ugogo usaphumile." "Hawu

7. **GRANDMOTHER AND CHAKIJANA** (cf 5.20-25)

1. One day it happened that Chakijana was hungry. He travelled and travelled and came upon a human house. He greeted and entered. He found an old lady lighting the fire for she was cold.

Chakijana said: "Good day, grandmother!"

The old woman replied: "Is that you Chakijana?"

"Are you cold, grannie?"

"Yes, I am shivering, Chakijana."

"Grannie, I will help you to get warm."

"Hawu Chakijana, it is so cold, how can you help me?"

"Grannie, I'll tell you how am I going to warm you up."

Grandmother wondered and said: "Old as I am, Chakijana?"

2. "Grannie, do you know the game of 'cooking one another'?"

Grandmother answered: "No, I don't know that game of cooking one another. What is it like, Chakijana?"

Chakijana said: "You'll see grannie. First I'll make a fire."

Indeed, Chakijana quickly stoked and stoked and stoked the fire. Then he took a very large pot and placed it nicely on the fire. He poured in water and then said: "You'll see, grannie; you'll see!" Then he went on: "Look, grannie: I'll sit right here in the water, and then you close the lid. Then after a time I shall say: **Tshwe, tshwe, tshwe, I am cooked!** Then I'll say that again a second time, **Tshwe, tshwe, tshwe, I am cooked;** and then for a third time I shall repeat: **Tshwe, tshwe, tshwe, I am cooked.** You will then open up for me and I shall come out of the pot. You will then do the same thing when it is your turn, and I shall open up for you and you come out. This is the 'cooking-one-another' game, grandmother."

3. Grandmother did not mind. Chakijana got up and went into the pot, saying: "Close now grannie!" Grandmother immediately closed the pot, firmly and tightly. Chakijana stayed and stayed and stayed. And when the water started to feel warm he was heard to say: "**Tshwe! tshwe! tshwe, I am cooked. Tshwe, tshwe, tshwe, I am cooked, grannie!**" Indeed grandmother opened, and Chakijana got out and sat outside. "And now, grannie, you get in." With some difficulty grandmother got into the water. Chakijana placed a large heavy object over the lid.

4. Grandmother exclaimed: "But this water is hot!" Chakijana just smiled. Grandmother said: "You, Chakijana, open, open, open now!" Chakijana replied: "Grannie, you must say: **Tshwe! tshwe! tshwe! I'm cooked!**" Grandmother said (quickly): "**Tshwe! tshwe! tshwe! I am cooked! Open up now!**" Said Chakijana: "Now, grannie, you must say it three times!" Grandmother again said it three times. Chakijana said: "No, grannie! I stayed there for a long time. And you after a short time already say that you are cooked? How can you be even half cooked? Don't try to deceive me, you are not cooked yet!" Grandmother exclaimed: "Take me out! I am dying!" Chakijana said: "Just stay there. You must remain there for a reasonable time." Grandmother struggled to free herself. And then, grandmother could not be heard: grandmother finally died.

5. Chakijana made a big fire. Grandmother was finally cooked and became meat. Then Chakijana took her out, removed the head that her grandchildren may not realize that it was their grandmother's head. He then dished out the meat placing it on trays. He was still doing this when all of a sudden, **gagaga!** there are the children back from gathering firewood. Naturally they asked: "Grannie! Where is grannie? Who is this one? Hawu, Chakijana! Where is grannie?" "What grannie are you talking about? Eat your meat here! Grannie has just gone out for a while." "Hawu, Chakijana, we want our grannie!" Eventually the children started to eat

Chakijana, sifuna ugogo." Hawu, mimiliti, zidle inyama izingane. Bese isola ingane ibisithi, "Hawu, sengathi uzwane lukagogo nje lolu." Athi uChakijana, "Suka, yidla! Uzwane lukagogo okade enzenjani. Wake walubona uzwane lukagogo wakho lunje?" Hawu, iphinde isole le ngane. Ibisithi, "Hawu, Chakijana, sengathi yisithupha sikagogo nje lesi!"

6. Zimsukele izingane uChakijana abaleke aze ayothi gagaga emfuleni. Abone manje ukuthi kubi, emanzini kukhona izingwenya zizosuke zimsobozele. Kanti ufeleba lona uyazesaba izingwenya. Wayesethi wanyawanya efuna amakhathakhatha akhe, umuthi phela, uChakijana lona ngumthakathi; wakhapha intelezi yakhe, wazibhila, wazibhila ngentelezi, waphenduka imbokodo. Zafika izingane, "Chakijana ubulapha, Chakijana ubulapha." Izingane nazo ziyesaba ukungena emanzini ngoba phela kukhona izingwenya. "We, uChakijana ungaphesheya noma kanjani?" ithi enye. "Uma angase aqhamuke uChakijana, ungamenze njani?" Enye iphendule ithi "Ngingamudla ngamazinyo." Ithi enye, "Ngingathatha le mbokodo ngimuthi phihli ngayo." Isho iyijikijela imbokodo ngaphesheya komfula. Kanti ngane ndini, usujikijela uChakijana! Kuthe imbokodo isingaphesheya komfula, yaphenduka uChakijana, wayesethi, **"Ehe, pe, pe, pe, nangiweza phela! Pe, pe, pe, nangiweza phela!"**

7. Wabe esezishayela imfengwane yakhe, wayehamba. Zathukuthela izingane zagana unwabu. Izingane zicabange ukuwela umfula, kodwa zikhuzane ngoba kunezingwenya lapha emanzini.

Cosu cosu! Iyaphela.

their meat greedily. Then one of the children became suspicious: "Doesn't this look like grannie's toe nail?" Chakijana replied: "Don't be a fool, just eat! How can this be your grandmother's toe? Have you ever seen your grandmother's toe look like this?" But the child went on suspecting: "Look, Chakijana: this looks like grandmother's thumb!"

6. The children got up and started chasing Chakijana who ran off as far as the river. He now realized things were looking bad, as in the river there were crocodiles which would make a quick meal of him, and the big boaster was afraid of crocodiles. He searched for his magic medicines (as Chakijana is a witch). He got his magic protective medicines and sprayed and sprayed himself with his magic concoctions until he turned into a river stone. The children arrived: "Chakijana, you were here! You were here! (Where have you disappeared to?)" The children were also afraid of getting into the water because there were crocodiles. "Chakijana, have you crossed all the same?" One (of them) said: "Should by chance Chakijana come out, what would you do to him?" "I would devour him with my own teeth!" Another child said: "I would take this stone and smash him to pieces with it." Saying this, he threw the stone to the other side of the river. You, boy! You have thrown Chakijana himself to the other side of the river! The stone changed into Chakijana again, who then said: "**Pel pel pel You have just helped me to cross the river! Pel pel Pel You have just helped me to cross the river!**"

7. He set off playing his flute. The children were terribly upset, they changed into so many different colours (like the chameleon). At first they thought of crossing the river, but they discouraged each other from doing so because of the crocodiles in the water.

Little by little it came to an end!

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8. **IMPUNZI NOCHAKIDE** (Natal University)

1. Kwake kwathi ngesinye isikhathi impunzi yazala abantwana abathathu, yabafunela umzanyana wokubagcina ngoba kwakwethwese ihlobo, ilima. Yathola uChakide wathi, "Mina ngiyakwazi ukuphatha abantwana kahle, ngokuba igama lami nginguMphephethi wezinduku zabafo, nginguChakijana kaMjololo, akukho okwehlula mina."

2. Ngakusasa impunzi yavukela ekulimeni, abantwana basala noChakide. Kwathi lapho impunzi isihambile, uChakide wasala wabulala omunye umntwana wempunzi wampheka wamudla, wayishiyela nayo impunzi. Emini yabuya yafika yathi, "Chakide nginike abantwana bami ngibancelise." Wathi uChakide, "Ake udle nansi inyama yomgwajana, ngiwubulale ngalapha enzansi komuzi." Wayephula inyama, wayinika impunzi yadla ngoba yase ilambile.

3. Abantwana bempunzi, uChakide wayebafihle esidindini sotshani kude. Wahamba wafike wathatha waba munye wabuya naye wamnika impunzi yamncelisa; uma esencelile wambuyisela waletha omunye wesibili, naye uma esencelile wambuyisela; ngenxa yokuba wayengasekho owesithathu, wabuya nalowo abemlethe kuqala, yafike yathi impunzi, "Hawu, Chakide, usuthini lo mntwana wami na?" Wathi uChakide, "Ngike ngabapha ukudla lapho ungekho." Yajabula impunzi ayaze yabona ngoba abantwana bezimpunzi bayafana bonke.

Ngosuku lwesibili yavukela ekulimeni njalo futhi impunzi; waphinda futhi uChakide wambulala owesibili umntwana kwasala wabamunye, wampheka wamudla, wayishiyela futhi impunzi. Emini yabuya isizoncelisa abantwana bayo, nayo futhi isilambile, yafike yathi "Letha abantwana bami Chakide, ngibancelise." Wathi uChakide, "Ake udle nansi inyama yezinyane likanogwaja, ngilishaye ngesagila ngalapha eqeleni." Wayephula inyama uChakide wayinika impunzi, yadla yaqeda; wase uyahamba uChakide wabuya nomntwana yamncelisa impunzi.

Wamthatha uChakide, walanda omunye, kanti sekungukuphela kwakhe yena lowo. Wambuyisela yena lowo, yafike yathi impunzi, "Hawu, Chakide ingani usuthi nje na?" Wathi, "Phela mina ngisala ngibaphe, basuthi bonke namhlanje." Wambuyisela walanda owesithathu, wabuya naye esuthi futhi. Yajabula impunzi ukubona abantwana bayo besuthi bonke.

4. Ngakusasa futhi impunzi yavukela khona ekulimeni; uChakide wasale wambulala owo kugcina umntwana wempunzi, wampheka, wamudla, wayishiyela impunzi. Yafika impunzi emini isibuya ekulimeni; wathi uChakide, "Ake udle kuqala." Wayiphakela inyama yadla yasutha; wasuka wagelekeqeka waye wema laphaya kude yathi impunzi, "Balethe phela ngibancelise." Wathi uChakide, "Mina nginguChakijana kaMjololo, umphephethi wezinduku zabafo; lo mfazi uyashinga, udla adle abantwana bakhe abese ebabiza kimina."

5. Yasuka impunzi yayocinga lapho bebefihlwa khona yabona isikhundla nje sodwa. Kwabaleka okunguChakide. Yakusukela. Kwaba kudekude ngejubane. UChakide wabona umgodi omncane wakhalakathela kuwo ngejubane. Yafika impunzi yathi iyangena yehluleka, ngoba wawumncane kakhulu kuyona. Yathi, "Kuqambe kushilo ngizokulungisa ngoba ngizokuhlalela khona lapha, kungaphumi kuze kubulawe yindlala."

6. Yahlala impunzi eceleni komgodi, athi uma ethi uyaphuma uChakide ayifunyanise impunzi imlindile ngaphezu komgodi, abuyele emuva, athi "Wewu kanti lo mfazi usangilindile!" Kuthe ngelanga lesibili, kwalamba yona impunzi, yasuka yakha ihlamvu lomuthi yalihloma

8. THE DUIKER AND CHAKIJANA (5.25-26)

1. Once upon a time a duiker gave birth to three babies and was looking for a wet-nurse to look after them because it was the beginning of summer and she was busy hoeing the fields. She got Chakide (mongoose) to look after the children. Chakide agreed saying: "I can look after the children well, since my name is 'The blower of the people's protective medicine', I am Chakijana son of Mjololo; nobody surpasses me."

2. Next morning mother duiker got up and went to the fields while the babies stayed with Chakijana. When the duiker had left, Chakide killed one of the duiker's babies, cooked it and ate it, leaving some for her. At midday she returned and asked immediately: "Chakide, bring me my babies to feed." Chakide said: "Do eat this meat of a young rabbit. I killed it just here near the house." He dished out the meat, gave it to the duiker who ate it because she was hungry.

3. As for the duiker's babies, Chakide had hidden them in a patch of high grass far away. He went out, fetched one of them and brought it to its mother who fed it; when it was satisfied, he took it back and brought the second one in, and when this too was fed he took it back; since there was no third child, he brought back the first one, and the duiker soon said: "Chakide, how is it that this child is already satisfied?" Chakide answered: "I just happened to give them some food while you were away." The duiker was happy, never realizing the ruse, since duiker's babies all look the same.

Next day mother duiker got up and went to the fields again; Chakide again killed a baby - only one was left now; he cooked it and ate it, leaving some for the duiker. In the afternoon she returned to feed her babies, she too being hungry. She immediately said: "Bring the babies, Chakide, that I may feed them." Chakide said: "Just eat this meat of a rabbit, which I hit with a knoberry at the other side of the hill." He dished out the meat and gave it to the duiker who ate it to the last bite; then he went off and fetched the child for the duiker to feed.

Chakide took it and went off to fetch another, but this was the only one left. He brought it back and immediately the mother said: "Hawu, Chakide, how is it that it is satisfied already?" "Well, I must have fed them then. They are all fed today." He took it and pretended to fetch the third one, returning with the same child. Mother duiker was happy to see her children well fed.

4. The next day mother duiker got up and went to the fields again. Chakide stayed behind and killed the last baby, cooked it and ate it, leaving some for the mother. In the afternoon mother duiker returned from the fields. Chakide said to her: "Do eat first." He dished out the meat, she ate it and was satisfied. Then Chakide got up and quickly went to stand quite far away. The duiker said: "Bring them to me that I may suckle them." Chakide said: "I am Chakijana, son of Mjololo, the blower of the people's medicine. This woman is a villain: she kept eating her own children and then asks for them from me."

5. The duiker went to look for them in the place where they had been hidden, but only found an empty lair. Chakide ran away with her at his heels. They were quite close (she was about to catch up with him). Chakide saw a small hole and quickly disappeared into it. The duiker tried to get into it, but in vain as it was far too small for her. She said: "I swear I'll fix you; I am going to sit here that you may not come out and will starve to death."

6. The duiker sat beside the hole. When Chakide tried to get out, he saw the duiker waiting for him over the hole; he turned back saying: "But this woman is still waiting for me!" On the second day the duiker was hungry; she took a branch and placed it over the hole, so that, if Chakide tried to get out, seeing the shadow of the branch, he would think it was the shadow of the buck still there waiting for him and would turn back.

phezu komgodi; athi lapho ethi uyaphuma uChakide, abone ithunzi lehlamvu abuyele emuva ecabanga ukuthi yimpunzi, isamlindile.

Kwathi lapho naye eselambe kakhulu, wazidela wathi, akusenacala, ngingaze ngafela emgodini; kungcono ukuba ngifele khona ngaphandle. Kwaputshuka ngelikhulu ijubane, kweqa kwaye kwakhahleleka laphaya kude, lona ihlamvu lihlonywe phezu komgodi. Wabe uyazihambela uChakide wazibonga wathi,

"Le mpunzi ayingazi ukuthi mina
nginguChakijana kaMjolo, lo,
umphephethi wezinduku zabafo."

Wase eshaya impempe yakhe ethi:

"Mfee, mfee, wadl' abantabakhe;
mfee, mfee, wadl' abantabakhe."

Iyaphela lapho.

9. UCHAKIDE UGIBELA IBHUBESI (B. du Toit, 1976)

1. Kwesukesukela:

Emandulo izilwane zisahlala ndawonye, inkosi kwakuyibhubesi. UChakide watshela izilwane ukuthi ibhubesi leli ezilesabayo yihhashi lakhe. Ibhubesi lalingekho, lisayofuna ukudla kwalo. Izilwane zamangala nje ukuthi uthini ngenkosi. UChakijane wazishiya ethi: "Uma nithanda, ningayitshela inkosi!"

2. Emva kwesikhashana ibhubesi labuya. Izilwane zaphangelana ukuyotshela inkosi okushiwo nguChakide. Ibhubesi laba nolaka olukhulu ngokuzwa lokho. Lathi lifuna ukubona uChakijane. Lathi malingalali lingayidlanga inyama kaChakijane. Lamfuna lamfuna laze lamthola, lathi kuye: "We, Chakijane, utheni wena wathi mina ngiyihhashi lakho na? Abangane bakho sebengitshelile." "Hawu, Nkosi, mina angizange ngisho lokho: masiyobabuza kahle!". "Asihambe siyobabuza!", kusho ibhubesi.

3. Endleleni uChakijane wathi uphethwe yikhanda, engakwazi ukuhamba kahle. Lathi ibhubesi lizombeletha eqolo. Besahamba, bathola imvubu. UChakide wathi: "Mawungiphe leyo mvubu, Nkosi, ngizokuphunga izimpukane." Ibhubesi lenza njengokushiwo nguChakide. Bathola ngembilijisi nesigqoko, wathi uChakijane: "Nkosi, ilanga selingibulele ezinyaweni nasekhanda. Mawungiphe lezo zinto ngigqoke kahle." Ibhubesi lamnika imbili nesigqoko, uChakide wagqoka aphelele.

4. Manje sebezqhamukela lapho kudla khona izinyamazane. Bathi bethi thushu nje, waqala uChakijane walishaya ibhubesi ngemvubu. Ibhubesi lasuka ngejubane liyodlula ngasezilwaneni. UChakijane wezwakala ethi: "Niyabona-ke ukuthi ibhubesi yihhashi lami ngempela!" Wabe edlula uChakijane nehhashi lakhe. Uthe engafika ngasefokozini, uChakijane wagxuma washaya utshani. Wathi ebhubesini: "Sala, wena, silima!".

Iyaphela-ke

When Chakide also got very hungry, he took a chance thinking that it did no longer matter: since he was going to die in the cave anyway, it would be better to die outside. He sprang out at great speed, jumping and going to fall far away; he stood up, thinking the buck would be all over him, but he saw that it was a branch placed over the hole. Chakide walked off at leisure praising himself:

"This buck does not know that I am
Chakijana son of Mjololo,
The blower of the people's protective medicine!"

He then blew his reed-trumpet saying:

"Mfee, mfee, she ate her own children!
Mfee, mfee, she ate her own children!"

Here the story ends.

9. CHAKIDE RIDES THE LION

1. Once upon a time: in the olden days the animals were still living together and the lion was their king. Chakide told the animals that this lion they all feared was his horse. The lion was away, searching for its food. The animals were surprised to hear what he was saying about their king. Chakijana left them saying: "If you want, you can tell the king!"

2. After a short while the lion returned. The animals crowded around to tell their king what Chakide had said. The lion was furious at hearing that. He said he wanted to see Chakijana. He said he would not go to sleep without having eaten Chakijana's flesh. He searched and searched for him until he found him. He said to him: "You, Chakijana, what did you say, that I am your horse? Your friends have told me." Chakijana replied: "What, your Majesty? I never said that: let's go and ask them clearly!" "Let's go and ask!", said the lion.-

3. On the way, Chakijana said he had a headache and could not walk properly. The lion said that he would carry him on his back. While walking, they found a sjambok. Chakijana said: "Please give me that sjambok, Lord, that I may chase away the flies for you". The lion did what Chakide said. They also found breeches and a cap. Chakijana said: "Lord, the sun is killing me both on my feet and on my head. Please give me those things that I may cover myself properly." The lion gave him the breeches and the cap, and Chakide put on the complete outfit.

4. Now they were approaching the place where the animals were eating. As soon as they were in sight, Chakijana started to hit the lion with the sjambok. The lion went off at speed and passed through the animals. Chakijana was heard to shout: "Do you see now that the lion is my horse indeed?" And so it was that Chakijana passed there with his horse. As soon as they got to a bushy place, Chakijana jumped off and hit the grass. He shouted to the lion: "Good bye, you fool!"

This is the end, then.

10. **UCHAKIJANA NEBHUBESI** (Nyembezi, IGODA, Ibanga 1)

1. Kwakukhona uChakijana. UChakijana wayelambe kabi. Wahamba ezula efuna into angayidla. Uthe esahamba amakhala akhe ahogela usi lwenyama. Wama uChakijana waphakamisa ikhala efuna ukuzwa ukuthi usi lwenyama luqhamuka ngaphi. Kuthe uma eseneqiniso, wayesehamba eqonda ngakhona. Uhamba esikhotheni. Wathi ukuhambahamba wayeseqhamukela endaweni esobala. Wafika emzini webhubesi. Ibhubesi lalisebenza lakha umuzi walo. UChakijana wabona umlilo. Emlilweni kwakukhona imbiza. Leli phunga elimnandi lenyama lalisuka kule mbiza enkulu.

UChakijana wagwinya amathe.

2. "Sikhulekile Baba," kusho uChakijana. Ibhubesi laphenduka labheka uChakijana. Lathi, "Nguwe lowo mfana?" UChakijana waphendula wathi, "Yimi Baba. Yimi, wena owakhula silibele. Isisu somhambi asingakanani. Singangenso yenyoni. Siyobonga sisuthi Baba." Ibhubesi lahleka kancane lathi, "Yilokhu waba njalo nokuthanda ukudla. Ake uzobamba lapha emsebenzini uzongisiza." Waphendula uChakijana wathi, "Cha Baba akusikho ukuthi ngenziwa wukuthanda ukudla. Bengikhuleka nje. Phela uma umuntu ekhuleka usho njalo. Yikho nami ngithi isisu somhambi asingakanani."

3. Ibhubesi lathi, "Awu suka, uthi angikholwe yilokho. Ake ukhohlwe ngesisu sakho esincane uzobamba lapha." Nembala uChakijana wayosiza ibhubesi. Inhliziyo kaChakijana yayingekho lapha emsebenzini. Yayilaphaya embizeni ebilayo. Amathe ayelokhu econsa. Indlala nayo isizithathela nje. Kuthe sebesebenze isikhathi eside ibhubesi lathi, "Ake siphumule mfana. Ngiyabona ukuthi nembiza yami isilungile." Ibhubesi laqonda eziko lephula imbiza. UChakijana uselokhu egwinya amathe. Ibhubesi lavula imbiza lase lithatha ugqoko lwalo. Layikhipha inyama layibeka ogqokweni. Lahlala phansi laqala ukudla. Lalikhetha inyama ekhuluphele lidle yona. Uma lihlangana neqatha elizacile liliphose kuChakijana. Namathambo lawaphosa kuChakijana. Ibhubesi laqeda yonke inyama ekhuluphele. UChakijana inhliziyo yakhe yaba buhlungu ngoba ethole inyama ezacile namathambo kuphela. Zonke izinsuku ibhubesi lalipheka inyama. Zonke izinsuku uChakijana wayesiza ibhubesi. Zonke izinsuku ibhubesi lalidla yonke inyama ekhuluphele. UChakijana wayedla ezacile namathambo.

4. Baqala manje ukufulela indlu. Bafulela ngotshani. Ibhubesi liphezu kwendlu. UChakijana yena ungaphakathi. Umsila webhubesi wawulengela ngaphakathi. Wawubona uChakijana umsila wathi, "Ngizolilaya leli bhubesi." Wabopha umsila webhubesi wawuhlanganisa nensika yendlu. Ibhubesi lalinganakile. Lalingasoli lutho. Lalicabanga ukuthi ngamazenze alihlupha emsileni. Laqhubeka lithunga utshani. Seliphetha indlu, ibhubesi lezwa sengathi ukhona othinta imbiza. Lamemeza uChakijana lathi, "Kwenze njani lapho? Ngubani lowo ozenza mina othinta izimbiza zami?" Waphendula uChakijana wathi, "Akekho." UChakijana wathatha ugqoko. Ibhubesi lezwa lathi, "Kwenze njani lapho bo? Ngubani lowo othatha ugqoko lwami ozenza mina?" Waphendula futhi uChakijana wathi, "Akekho." UChakijana wayiphakela ogqokweni yonke inyama. Waphumela phandle nenyama leyo. Ibhubesi lambona. Lathukuthela kakhulu labhodla. Lasuka ngewala lifuna ukwehla liqhobozele uChakijana. Kwathi ngqi. Lezwa ukuthi libhajiwe ngomsila. Wahleka kakhulu uChakijana ezitika ngenyama wathi, "Ngubani lona omdlisa amajwabu namathambo?" UChakijana wakhetha yonke inyama ekhuluphele waqala ngayo. Wadla wadla waze wayiqeda yonke inyama. Ibhubesi akaze alinika lutho ngisho namathambo. Uthe uma eseqedile uChakijana wangena indlela

10. CHAKIJANA AND THE LION (5.27-29)

1. Once upon a time Chakijana was hungry indeed. He went wandering about in search of something to eat. On the way his nostrils caught the smell of meat. He stood and raised his nose trying to determine where the smell came from. When he was sure, he made for the place, walking in the long veld grass, until he arrived at an open space. He had arrived at the lion's house. The lion was working, building his home. Chakijana saw a fire; on the fire there was a pot. That nice smell of meat was coming from that big pot. He swallowed his saliva.

2. "Greetings, Father" exclaimed Chakijana. The lion turned and looked at Chakijana. He said: "Is that you, boy?" Chakijana answered: "It is I, Father. It is I, you great one! A traveller's stomach is not very large. It's like a bird's kidney. We shall thank you when we have eaten enough, Father." The lion laughed softly and said: "You are always the same, always looking for food. Do just come here and help me in my work." Chakijana replied: "Father, it isn't that I am driven by my greed for food. I was just greeting. In fact, when a person greets, he speaks like that. This is why I said that a traveller's stomach is not very large."

3. The lion said: "Come on, you: do you expect me to believe that? Just forget about your small stomach and come over here." And so Chakijana went to help the lion. But his heart wasn't in his job; it was rather in the boiling pot over there. His saliva kept on dripping. His hunger was conquering him firmly. After working for a long time, the lion said: "Let's just have a rest, boy. I can also see that also my meat pot is ready." The lion went to the fireplace and took the pot out, while Chakijana kept swallowing his saliva. The lion uncovered the pot and then took his wooden tray. He took out the meat and placed it on the tray. He sat down and began to eat. He chose the fat pieces of meat and ate them. When he found a lean piece he threw it to Chakijana. He did the same with the bones. He finished all the fat meat. Chakijana's heart was sore, as he had only lean pieces and bones. From then on the lion cooked his meat daily. Every day Chakijana helped the lion. Every day the lion ate all the fat meat and Chakijana ate the lean meat and bones.

4. They now started to thatch the house. They thatched it with grass. The lion was on top of the house and Chakijana inside. The lion's tail was hanging down. When Chakijana saw the tail, he said: "I'm going to fix this lion!" He tied the lion's tail to the central pole of the house. The lion did not notice, did not suspect anything. He thought it was flies troubling him on the tail. He went on sewing the grass. When the roof was completed, the lion heard a noise as if somebody was touching his pot. He shouted to Chakijana: "What's going on there? Who is there, pretending to be myself and touching my pots?" Chakijana answered: "No one!" Chakijana took the wooden tray. The lion heard and said: "What's going on there? Who is taking my tray as if he were me?" Again Chakijana answered: "No one!" Chakijana dished out all the meat on the tray and went out with it. The lion saw him. He was very angry and roared. He went to jump quickly to crush Chakijana. He was stuck. He felt caught by his tail. Chakijana laughed heartily while gorging himself with meat: "Who was fed with lean meat and bones by you?" Chakijana chose the fat meat and started eating that. He ate and ate until all the meat was finished. He did not give the lion even the bones. When he had finished, he left, leaving the lion on the roof. The lion stayed there until he starved to death.

wahamba. Washiya ibhubesi phezu kwendlu. Ibhubesi lahlala lapho phezu kwendlu laze lafa libulawa yindlala.

Isiphetho esehlukile (Natal University)

5. Uma esesuthi unogwaja, wasuka wahamba wakushiya ukudla embizeni. Wabuya ngelinye ilanga eselambile esezoqedela ukudla owabekushiye, walifunyanisa ibhubesi selawela phansi, umsila sewangqothuka. Wasizakala, walihlinza wanquma ikhandla walikhipha lihlangene nesikhumba, eqonde ukuba aze akugqoke azifanise nalo ibhubesi, esatshwe, futhi abalekelwe yizo zonke izilwane. Waseneka isikhumba nekhandla kwaze koma, wase uyakugqoka, wasuka wahamba esefana nalo ibhubesi. Zonke izilwane ezimbonayo zamesaba zicabanga ukuthi yibhubesi uqobo lwalo, futhi zalibona ukuthi leliya bhubesi linolaka ngoba lihamba lingqavule amazinyo.

6. Wahamba waze wafika emzini wamankentshane, wawafunyanisa ebulele impunzi, eyibulalele abantwana bawo, isabekwe phansi ingakadliwa. Ambona qede abaleka onke, ecabanga ukuthi yibhubesi, abantwana babaleka bangena emgodini. Wasondela unogwaja empunzini wafike wasikhumula isikhumba kanye nekhandla, wakubeka phansi, wayidla impunzi. Ngemuva kwesikhathi esithile baphuma abantwana becabanga ukuthi selihambile ibhubesi. Bafunyanisa unogwaja edla impunzi yabo, balibona ibhubesi lilele phansi. Bahlala besaba babukela. Wayeka ukudla unogwaja, bambona eseqonda ebhubesini elalilele phansi. Wafike wasiphakamisa isikhumba wasigqoka, wase efana nalo ibhubesi. Uma esebuyile amankentshane, abantwaba bawo bawatshele ukuthi bekungesilo ibhubesi, bekungunogwaja egqoke isikhumba sebhubesi. "Simbonile thina uma esedlile. Usukile wahamba waya ebhubesini wafike waliphakamisa walifaka phezu kwakhe, sambona eseyilona.

7. Ngelinye ilanga lafika ibhubesi emzini wamankentshane, onke ehlezi nabantwana bawo ngaphezu komgodi wawo. Ambona qede ahlakazeka abaleka ashona emahlathini. Abantwana bangena emgodini bacasha phakathi njengakuqala. Bashsha babuya abantwana bazolunguza emgodini. Balibona ibhubesi liza lingqavule amazinyo, uma seliseduze nokudla kwabo; balibona lidilikela phansi kwasala unogwaja, base bambona esedla ukudla kwabo. Abuya amankentshane. Afika amela kude, alunguza ngezikhala zemithi ambona unogwaja edla ukudla kwabantwana bawo. Ikhandla nesikhumba kwebhubesi kuthiwe fulukuhlu, phansi laphaya. Esaba ecabanga ukuthi unogwaja uhamba nebhubesi. Esaba ukusondela kodwa avela obala, acosha amatshe amjikijela unogwaja. Wawabona amankentshane eseseduze naye, wethuka, wagxuma wagelekeqeka waye wema laphaya kude. Wasikhohlwa isikhumba sakhe sebhubesi ngenxa yovalo.

8. Wabaleka unogwaja amxosha amankentshane. Wawashiya ngoba unogwaja unejubane elikhulu. Abuya amankentshane esehlulekile ukumbamba. Uma esebuyile afike asibuka isikhumba nekhandla lebhubesi. Amangala ukuthi kanti esatshiswa yize nje, nokuthi la mazinyo ahlala angqavuleka mhla ibhubesi lifa. Kwase kubanjalo okokuphela, kwawamangalisa amankentshane ukuhlakanipha kukanogwaja.

Iyaphela-ke.

Different ending (Natal University)

5. When the hare was satisfied, he got up and went away, leaving some food in the pot. One day, hungry, he came back to finish the food he had left; he found the lion on the ground, as the tail had broken off. He took advantage of the situation: he skinned the lion, chopped off the head and fixed it to go well with the skin, thinking of wearing it to make himself look like the lion, to be feared and to give chase to all the animals. He stretched out the skin and the head to dry, then he put it on and went off looking like the lion. All the animals that saw him were scared, thinking it was the lion itself, also realizing that that lion was very fierce because it was going around showing its teeth.

6. He travelled and travelled until he arrived at the house of wild dogs. He found them having killed a buck for their children: it was still on the ground, not yet eaten. They saw him and immediately all ran away, thinking it was a lion; the children ran and got into a hole/cave. The hare approached the buck, then he took off the kaross and the head, placed them on the ground, and started eating the buck. After a while the children came out thinking the lion had left. They saw the hare eating their buck, while the lion was lying down. They sat in fear, but were observing (the happenings). They saw that when the hare stopped eating, it approached the lion which was lying down. He then lifted the kaross and put it on, and then he looked like the lion.

When the parents returned, the children told them that it was not the lion, but the hare wearing the lion's skin. "We saw him ourselves when he finished eating. He got up and went to the lion, lifted its skin and put it on himself; we saw how he looked like the lion."

7. One day the lion arrived again at the home of the wild dogs, the parents being there with their children above their cave. As they saw it they scattered about running and disappearing among the bushes. The children entered the cave and hid like the first time. Soon the children came out from the cave to have a look. They saw the lion approach, grinding its teeth. When it was close to their food, they saw it lying down and there appeared the hare; then they saw him eat their food.

The wild dogs returned. They stopped to look at him from some distance, watching very carefully, and they saw the hare eat their children's food. The skin and head of the lion were lying on the ground, over there. They were scared, thinking that the hare was going around with the lion. They were afraid to approach, but they took courage and started throwing stones at the hare. He saw the wild dogs near him, and was afraid of them: he jumped away and went to stand over there, far away. In his fear he forgot the lion's skin.

8. The hare ran away with the wild dogs at his heels. He outdistanced them because the hare is very fast. Having failed to catch up with him, the wild dogs returned home and examined the head and skin of the lion. They were surprised to realize that they had been scared for nothing, and that those teeth remained completely open, having been left open when the lion had died. And finally the wild dogs were amazed at the hare's shrewdness.

It is finished.

11. UNOGWAJA NESELESELE (Natal University)

Kwesukesukela Cosu

UNogwaja neSelesele Sampheka ngogozwana!

1. Kwakukhona unogwaja owayehlakaniphe kakhulu, wayenomtshingo owawukhala kahle. Ngelinye ilanga wahlangana neselesele nalo liphethe owalo umtshingo owawukhala kakhulu kunokanogwaja. Wawuzwa unogwaja ukuthi umtshingo weselesele ukhala kangcono kunowakhe. Wase eyawufisa sengathi kungaba owakhe, wathi unogwaja, "Ngitsheleke owakho mfowethu kengiwuzwe." Lenqaba iselesele lathi, "Angifuni, ngoba wena ngiyakwesaba, uhlakaniphe kakhulu; futhi unejubane funa ubaleke nomtshingo wami ungishiye."

2. Unogwaja waba nenzondo enhliziyweni yakhe, wafuna icebo angase ephuce ngalo iselesele umtshingo walo ube owakhe. Waze walithola icebo: ngelinye ilanga wase eyahamba eyofuna iselesele, walifumanisa lilele eceleni komfula liwuphethe umtshingo walo, wabajabula unogwaja. Wagijima unogwaja wathapha ibumba walibumbela phezu kweselesele lilele lingezwa lutho, waze waqeda unogwaja iselesele libanjwe obukhulu ubuthongo. Wase enyonyobisa isandla sakhe ethatha umtshingo weselesele walivalela ngebumba phakathi kwathi ngqi, wahlala phansi wawushaya; owakhe wawugxumbuza emanzini.

Laphaphama iselesele livuswa ukukhala komtshingo, lashukuza, lashukuza, lifuna ukuphuma kwathula kwathi ngqi, laze loma ibumba, iselesele lafela phakathi. Wasuka wazihambela unogwaja nomtshingo weselesele okhala kahle.

3. Ngelinye ilanga wahlangana nentenesha nayo ishaya owayo odlula okanogwaja ngokukhala kahle. Waba nomona futhi unogwaja, wathi entenesheni, "Ake sishintshane ngemitshingo yethu, mina ngishaye owakho, wena ushaye owami." Yenqaba intenesha yathi, "Bathi wena uliqili; wephuca abantu izinto zabo bese ubaleka nazo ngoba unejubane elikhulu." Wanengwa unogwaja wasuka wahamba. Ngemuva kwezinsuku eziningi, unogwaja wayibiza intenesha wathi, woza sizodlala ukuphekana, yathi intenesha, "Angiwazi mina umdlalo wokuphekana." Wathi unogwaja, "Muhle umdlalo wokuphekana, mina ngiwudlala zonke izinsuku; woza ngizokufundisa ukuthi udlalwa kanjani." Yavuma intenesha, yafika iwuphethe umtshingo wayo, ngoba wawungasali noma iyaphi.

Kwahanjwa-ke kwayiwa emzini wakhe unogwaja, wafike wathatha imbiza enkulu wayibeka eziko, wayizibekela ngesizibekelo sayo, ngaphansi kwayo wabasa umlilo, wathi, "Uyabona-ke kuzongena mina kuqala phakathi embizeni, wena-ke bese uyavala ngesizibekelo. Uma sengimemeza ngithi, ngivulele, uboshesha ungivulele ngiphume, bese kungena wena, nawe wenze njengami. Kuba mnandi uma umuntu ephakathi."

4. Wangena unogwaja phakathi embizeni; yazibekela intenesha, imbiza yayingakashisi. Kuthe lapho unogwaja eseqala ukuzwa ukuthi sekuyaqala ukufudumala, wamemeza wathi, "Ngivulele-ke manje." Yasisusa isizibekelo intenesha, waphuma unogwaja.

Kwase kungena yona-ke intenesha, wazibekela unogwaja weleka itshe elisindayo ngaphezu kwesizibekelo. Wakhwezela umlilo wavutha kakhulu kwashesha kwashisa. Masinyane yamemeza intenesha yathi, "Ngivulele ngiphume, kuyashisa lapha, ngiyafa bo!" Wathi unogwaja, "Awukahle kancane, ngisaqedela ukubhema ugwami wami; ngizokuvulela khona manje." Yagungquza intenesha, isha, ishaya isizibekelo izama ukusivula iphume, akwaze kwasiza lutho ngoba kwakwelekwe itshe elisindayo phezu kwaso. Yasha yaze yafa intenesha. Unogwaja wathatha owakhe umtshingo wawushisa emlilweni, wase ethatha owentenesha okhala kahle kunowakhe wahamba nawo. Cosi cosi iyaphela-ke.

11. THE HARE AND THE FROG

Once upon a time. Cosu!
The Rabbit and the Frog. We've got her cornered!

1. A very clever hare was going around with his flute (reed pipe) which had a beautiful sound. One day he met a frog which also had a flute which sounded better than his own; the hare heard it and realized that the frog's flute was better than his. He longed to have it as his own. He said: "Lend me yours, brother, that I may hear/try it." The frog refused saying: "I don't want to, because I am afraid of you as you are very cunning. You are also very fast, and you may run away with my flute and leave me behind."

2. The hare was furious in his heart and was looking for a plan to deprive the frog of its flute and to make it his own. One day he finally found a plan, and he went off to look for the frog; he found it asleep at the side of a river holding on to its flute: the hare was very happy. He ran off, dug up some clay and modelled it above the frog which was asleep and did not feel anything; up to the end of the operation the frog was fast asleep. He then introduced his hand softly, took the frog's flute and covered the frog with clay, completely; he then sat down and played. His flute he threw into the water. The frog opened its eyes, awoken by the playing of the flute, it tossed and turned, wanting to get out, but it was firmly enclosed, as the clay had dried. The frog died inside. The hare went off with the frog's flute which gave a lovely sound.

3. One day the hare met a red hare also playing a flute which sounded better than his own. The hare was again envious and said to the red hare: "Please, let us just exchange flutes, I will play yours and you mine." The red hare refused: "They say you are clever; you take people's things then run away with them because you are fast." The hare was disappointed; he got up and left. After many days, the hare asked the red hare to come and play the game of 'cooking each other', but the red hare answered that he did not know the game. Said the hare: "It is a nice game, this one of cooking each other; I play it every day; come and I'll teach you how to play it." The red hare agreed, and came holding on to his flute, since he did not leave it wherever he went. They went off to the hare's house. He immediately took a big pot and placed it on the fire with its lid; he lit a fire under it and said: "Just look, I will get in first, into the pot, then you close it with the lid; when I shout telling you to open for me, open quickly and I get out; then you get inside and do the same as myself; it is so nice to be inside!"

4. The hare went into the pot; the red hare put the lid on when it was not yet hot. When the hare felt that it was starting to get hot, he shouted: "Open up now!" The red hare lifted the lid and the hare got out.

Then the red hare got in, and the hare closed the pot and placed a heavy stone on the lid. He stoked up the fire and made it high and hot so that it was soon burning. The red hare soon shouted: "Open up and let me out, it is burning inside here, I am dying!" The hare replied: "Just a little longer, I am just finishing to smoke a cigarette! I'll open up just now." The red hare rattled, got angry, beat the lid trying to open it and to get out, but it was no use because there was a heavy stone on top of it. The red hare boiled to death. The hare took his own flute and burned it in the fire, then he took the red hare's which played better than his own and went off with it.

And so, little by little, it came to an end.

12. **UNOGWAJA NEZINGWENYA** (B. du Toit, 1976)

Kwesukesukela. Cosi.

1. Ngesinye isikhathi unogwaja wayehlala esiqhingini somfula omkhulu. Lomfula waba nezingwenya eziningi. Unogwaja wayesaba impela ukuwela phesheya, ngoba wayekwazi ukuthi izingwenya zithanda ukudla abantu nezilwane uma kuhamba eduze nemifula.
2. Ngelinye ilanga yaphuma ingwenya yeza kunogwaja, yathi makawele aye kwelakubo ikhona ezobuya nabanye bazohlala kahle esiqhingini. Unogwaja waphendula ngenjabulo enkulu, ngoba esebona isu elingcono lokuwelela ngaphesheya. Wathi unogwaja, kuhle ingwenya ihambe kuqala iyolanda abakubo, ikhona naye ezolanda onogwaja abalingana nazo. Nangempela ingwenya yaziqoqa ezinye yabuya nazo. Wathi unogwaja kuhle zime uhele ziye zifike ngaphesheya komfula yikhona ezozibala kahle. Zenza njalo njengoba unogwaja eshilo.
3. Unogwaja waqala ukuzibala, kodwa wathi kuzo: "Ngoba angikwazi ukunibala kahle nokubona abasekugcineni, kuhle ngihambe phezu kwenu nginibale ngamunye ngamunye, ngiye ngifike kosogwini." Nangempela zenza njengoba unogwaja eshilo. Waqala-ke unogwaja umsebenzi wakhe wokuzibala, ehamba phezu kwazo ngayinye ngayinye, waze waphumela ngaphesheya, waphenduka wabheka emuva ebuka izingwenya zimile zimlindele ukuba abuyele emuva, kanti phinde unogwaja ukubuya.
4. Wathi ebona ukuthi izingwenya zingaze zabona isu lakhe, wayehleka kakhulu waze waqhekela umlomo wakhe wangenhla. Zasala zijabhile izingwenya zabuye zacusulwa ukubona zihlakanishelwa isilwane esincane kunazo. Kwaba ukusinda kwakhe unogwaja ekufeni. Wafike waxoxa ekhaya kwabanye, wabaxoxela ukuthi uze kanjani lapha ezweni, njengoba kade ehlala esiqhingini somfula onezingwenya.

Iyaphela-ke.

12. THE RABBIT AND THE CROCODILES

Once upon a time. Così!

1. A rabbit was staying on the island of a large river. This river was infested with crocodiles. The rabbit was truly scared to cross to the other side, because he knew that crocodiles like to eat people and animals which venture close to the rivers.
2. One day a crocodile came out and approached the rabbit inviting him to cross over and go to his relations so that he may then return with others and they would live happily on the island. The rabbit agreed with great joy, seeing a great opportunity to cross over to the mainland. The rabbit said that it would be a good idea if the crocodile went first to fetch some of its relations, so that he too could return with as many rabbits as there were crocodiles (with an equal number). Indeed, the crocodile gathered the others and returned with them. The rabbit suggested that they should stand in line to reach the other side of the river so that he may count them properly. They did as the rabbit asked them to.
3. The rabbit started counting them, but he said to them: "As I am unable to count you properly and to see even those of you who are standing at the end; it would be better if I walked on top of you to count you one by one, until I reach the one at the end." Again they did as the rabbit had asked them to. The rabbit then started his job of counting them, walking on them, one by one, until he came out the other side of the river. He then turned to look back, and saw the crocodiles standing waiting for him to return, but the rabbit did not go back.
4. When he realized that the crocodiles had not suspected his plan, he laughed so much that his upper lip broke apart. The crocodiles stood there, disappointed, furious to have been fooled by an animal so much smaller than themselves. That was the way the rabbit saved himself from death. He went home to the other rabbits, and told them the story of how he had come to their place, since he had been living on an island of the river infested with crocodiles.

This is the end, then.

13. **IMFENE NEMPUNGUSHE** (Nyembezi, IGODA, Ibanga 2)

Kwesukesukela. Cosi.

Imfene nempungushe. Sampheka ngogozwana.

1. Kwakukhona impungushe eyayidla izimvu. Yayisihluphe kakhulu le mpungushe. Le ndoda edlelwa izimvu zayo yazimisela ukuba iyicuphe. Nebala yayicupha ngonoxhaka. Pho-ke lokhu ithi ingacaba ithambo yeywayele, yabuya futhi impungushe. Yase ifike ibhajwa. Ithe isaxakiwe impungushe ukuthi izokwenzenjani, kwafika imfene. Yathi impungushe: "Waze wafika kahle mhlobo wami. Ngihlezi nje ngicabanga ngawe ukuthi ngingakubonaphi sizodlala lo mdlalo omnandi kangaka. Akushiwo nokuthi umnandi." Yajabula imfene uma izwa ukuthi umhlobo wayo umpungushe uyayikhumbula lapho edlala imidlalo emnandi. Yathi impungushe: "Ake uzongena lapha uzwe ukuthi kumnandi kanjani." Nebala imfene yavuma. Kwase kungena yona kunoxhaka. Yahleka impungushe yathi: "Yeka, lesi silima. Wake wawubona wena umdlalo onje?"

2. Ntambama yafika indoda izokondla esifeni sayo. Yafika kubhajwe imfene. Yathi: "Kanti, nguwe mfene lona odla izimvu zami? Uzongifunda ungiqonde namuhla." Yazikhalela imfene. Yathi ikhohliswe yimpungushe yathi ngumdlalo omnandi. Yathi yimpungushe eyifake kunoxhaka. Yiyo impungushe edla izimvu. Indoda yase iyikhumula imfene.

3. Imfene yathukuthela yafa isibona ingozi ephunyule kuyo. Yahamba ifuna impungushe. Yafika impungushe izihlalele emthini idla izithelo. Impungushe yabona ukuthi imfene ithukuthele. Yathi imfene: "Mina lapha wena. Ngubani lona omenza isiphukuphuku sakho? Yiwona mdlalo omnandi lona uma ungibulala? Udla udle izimvu bese uthi yimi? Uzongifunda kahle wena namhlanje. Dilika lapho emthini." Impungushe yathi: "Kahle, mhlobo wami ngolaka ungakayizwa nento engibambile." Yase yehla impungushe iphethe ezimnandi izithelo eziconsisa amathe. Yanika imfene yathi: "Ake uzilibazise ngalokhu, mhlobo wami. Ngisaya ngaphandle. Ngizobuya ngikuchazele kahle ukuthi kwenze njani."

4. Imfene yayisihlala ilibala yizithelo ezimnandi. Negwebu lolaka lathi ukwehla. Kodwa kuthe ukuba kwedlule isikhathi eside ingabuyi impungushe, yabona imfene ukuthi impungushe iyikhohlisile futhi. Yasuka futhi ihamba ifuna impungushe. Yayifuna yaze yayifika ngaseweni. Impungushe ithe ukuba ibone imfene iqhamuka yenza sengathi ibambe iliwa. Yazabalaza impela. Ithe ifika nje imfene kwaqala yona impungushe yathi: "Amashwa angiqondile. Ake uzongisiza lapha kuqala mhlobo wami. Ake ubambe lapha. Liyadilika leliwa. Ngisayofuna izingodo sizoliphasa." Wo, yatibila imfene isunduza, kwehla umjuluko. Yahamba impungushe iyofuna izingodo ayabe isabuya. Yaqala manje imfene ukusola ukuthi izothi iyayeka iwa lidilikele phezu kwayo. Manje sekuqala ukufika nokukhathala. Yabona ukuthi okungcono ayizame iqhinga lokugxumela emuva. Nebala yagxuma kakhulu yayohlala laphaya ifuna ukubona ukuthi iwa lizowa yini. Labe lilokhu lizimele iliwa.

5. Yase ihamba futhi imfene iyofuna impungushe. Yathi manje ingeke isakhohliswa yileli qili. Noma impungushe icabanga ukuthi iyiqili eliwedlula onke, alikho elizikhotha emhlane. Nayo ngeke izikhothe emhlane. Yahamba imfene ifuna impungushe yaze yayithola emgedeni wayo. Yathi imfene: "Ubuwazi ukuthi ngiyoze ngikuthole qili ndini? Ngubani lona owamfaka kunoxhaka? Uyasuka lapho ungibambisa iwa?"

13. THE BABOON AND THE JACKAL

Once upon a time. Cosi.

The Baboon and the Jackal. We have cooked her in a small pot.

1. 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 was caught in the snare. While he was trying to figure a way out of his predicament there arrived the baboon. The jackal said to him: "You arrived at a very appropriate time, my friend. I was just wondering about where to get hold of you so that we might play this very entertaining game together. It is more amusing than I can describe to 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 personally 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?"

2. 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? Today I am going to teach you a lesson you will never forget." The baboon started crying saying that he had been deceived by the jackal who told him 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.

3. 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 devour 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: "Just enjoy these. I am going to the toilet, my friend. When I come back I will explain what happened."

4. 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 the vicinity of 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 search for poles and never returned. The baboon began to think that perhaps the jackal was teasing 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 firm.

5. 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 cunning 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, you dirty trickster? 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

Impungushe yathi: "Hlala phansi mhlobo wami. Musa ukukhuluma umile. Ake ubambe umoya, nazi izinyosi." Yajabula yafa imfene isibona izinyosi. Impungushe yakhuluma kamnandi ithi abaxolelane. Kwathi ngoba izinyosi zehla kamnandi emphinjeni, imfene yavuma. Impungushe yaqhuba yathi: "Kunokudla okumnandi kabi engizokutholela khona. Ngizohamba ngiyodiliza ibhotela ezinqoleni ezedlula ngomgqwaqo."

6. Nangempela yahamba impungushe yafike yalala emgwaqweni yenza sengathi ifile. Wafika umlungu nenqola yakhe. Wafike wayishaya ngesiswebhu impungushe kodwa yaqinisela. Wase eyithatha ecabanga ukuthi ifile, eseyiphosa phezulu enqoleni. Impungushe isiginqa umphongolo webhotela engaboni umlungu. Nayo isigxuma yehla enqoleni isihamba nebhotela iqonda emgedeni lapho ishiye khona imfene.

7. Yathi impungushe: "Sengifike nakho-ke ukudla ebengikhuluma ngakho. Asidle-ke. Asizukuliqeda kodwa leli bhotela. Siyoliqedela kusasa. Ngelinye ilanga kuyohamba wena uyolanda ibhotela." Bathe bangadla impungushe yathi iselula amadolo. Kanti ayiyi ndawo. Nemfene nayo yazihambela. Ithe ukuba imfene isithele yabuya impungushe yalidla lonke ibhotela. Yahamba-ke manje impungushe. Ithe ibuya yafica imfene isibuyile. Yathi impungushe: "Liphi ibhotela?" Yathi imfene "Nami ngilifice lingasekho." Yathukuthela yafa impungushe yathi imfene iyaphosisa. Yiyo edle ibhotela.

8. Impungushe yathi: "Okungcono asiye elangeni sibhekise izinqe phezulu. Lowo izinqe zakhe ezizochinca amafutha kuyobe nguye odle ibhotela." Nangempela base beya elangeni. Babhekisa izinqe elangeni. Uzwani imfene isizumeka lapho izwa ukufudumala kwelanga. Yalala zwi. Ngesikhathi ilele, impungushe yasulela amafutha ezinqeni zemfene. Isithi ukuthula kancane impungushe. Yase ithi: "Ake sivuke manje kesibone." Nembala bavuka. Yathi: "Ha, kanti nguwe mfene?" Yabathe iyaphika imfene akwaze kwasiza lutho. Impungushe yayixosha yathi kayihambe ngoba ingumngane omubi ongethembekile.

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Ngalokho-ke sithi umuntu uchinca amafutha ezinqeni njengemfene.

Cosi cosi iyaphela!

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."

6. Indeed the jackal went off and lay on the main road pretending to be dead. A European came with his cart. He struck the jackal with a whip but he was still. He then took him for dead and threw him into the cart. The jackal got hold of a crate of butter without being seen by the white man. He jumped with it from the cart and brought it to his cave where he had left the baboon.

7. 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 wasn't here any longer." The jackal was angry and accused the baboon of cheating, while he himself had eaten the butter.

8. 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 soon felt drowsy and 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.

This is why we say that a person oozes fat in the buttocks like a baboon.

Little by little it came to an end.

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14. **IHASHI NOFUDU** (Narrated by Bongani Mthethwa)

Kwesukela! Cosu!

Ihhashi nofudu - Sampheka ngogozwana

1. Izilwane zaba nembizo enkulu, zathi: "Madoda, njengoba silapha, ngubani ongagijima asishiye sonke na?"

Yathi impunzi, "Yimina!"

Wathi unogwaja: "Nginganishiya!"

Yathi ingwe: "Uthi ukhona ongashiya mina?"

Lathi ihhashi: "Nonke nginganishiya ngejubane. Yimina enginishiya nonke!" Lathi ihhashi gabhaqa, gabhaqa, gabhaqa.

Bathi: "Hawu, kanti ihhashi lenza nje!"

2. Lwaphamuka ufudu, lwathi tabu, tabu, tabu.

Lwathi, "Mina nginganishiya nonke; ngingakushiya nawe hhashi." Lathi ihhashi: "Uthi wena ungashiya mina ngejubane? Ungabhedlapha wena, kungekhulume izingwe kanti."

Lwathi ufudu, "Mina ngingakushiya ngejubane."

Hawu, kwanqunyelwana amanqamu. Kwathiwa: "Ngalanga lithize siyobukela umqhudelwano omkhulu lapha, kobe kugijima ufudu nehhashi. Sifuna ukubona ukuthi ufudu luyakwazi yini ukugijima." Lwathi ufudu "Uma sengithandle mina ngiyakwazi ukugijima ngishiye ihhashi!"

3. Ufudu luhlakaniphile, lwahamba lwayomisa ezinye izimfudu, olunye endaweni yaphakathi kwensimu, olunye endaweni yokugcina kwensimu. Bese lwathi, "Niyabona, kuzothi kulesiya sihlahla esiphakathi nendawo ufike wena hhashi ubheke ukuthi ngikhona. Uma ungangiboni kobe kusho ukuthi ngikushiye; uma ungibona ongidlula endleleni."

Lathi ihhashi, "Sizohlangana esihlahleni, sojika kulesiya sokugcina sibuye, izilwane zonke zobe zilinde lapha ngasekuqaleni." Kwathiwa, "Nakho-ke, azisuke!"

4. Lathi ihhashi, "Mina ngeke ngisuke kanye nofudu." Laqale laziphumulela nje ihhashi, lwasukuma ufudu lwathi tabu tabu tabu, lwayosithela otshanini. Lwashabalala lwangabonakala. Kwathiwa, "Hayi bo wehhashi, ufudu selukushiye!" Lathi ihhashi, "Suka bo! Ufudu lungashiya mina?" Kuthe makhathaleni lasuka ihhashi lathi, "Awubhekeke!" Gabhaqa gabhaqa, gabhaqa, lathi liyafika esihlahleni, tabu tatu tabu.

Lwathi ufudu: "Sengilapha!" Lathi "Ini?"

Lasuka ihhashi, lathi, "Futhi ngiyofika kuqala phambili!" Lathi gabhaqa gabhaqa gabhaqa. Lathi liyafika lapho kuqedwa khona, nalu ufudu, tabu, tabu tabu. Lwathi, "Sengiyabuya mina manje." Lathukuthela ihhashi sengathi liyafa, lasuka ngejubane, gabhaqa gabhaqa gabhaqa. Lithe lifika lapho zizoqeda khona, izilwane zathi: "He! he! he! ihhashi lisele!" Kanti lolu fudu lokuqala selubonile ukuthi nali ihhashi selifika, lwaphuma esikhotheni, lwathi tabu tabu tabu.

Lwathi, "Ihhashi ngilishiye!" Lathukuthela lafa ihhashi.

Cosu Cosu iyaphela.

14. THE HORSE AND THE TORTOISE

Once upon a time. Cosu!

The Horse and the Tortoise. We've cooked her in a small pot!

1. One day the animals had a great meeting. They said: "Men, since we are all here, let's find out who is the fastest among us."

The gazelle said: "It is I!"

The rabbit said: "I can leave you behind!"

The leopard said: "Do you think there is one who can beat me?"

The horse said: "I can beat you all in speed. It is I who can leave you all behind!"

The horse went **gabhaqa, gabhaqa, gabhaqa** (gallop, gallop, gallop). They all said: "Hawu, the horse can do what he says."

2. The tortoise appeared, going **tabu tabu** (slowly). It said: "I can beat you all. I can beat even you, horse!"

Said the horse: "You say you can be faster than I? Don't be silly. If it had been the leopards talking, may be!"

The tortoise insisted: "I can be faster than you!"

Hawu, the details were agreed upon. It was said: "On such and such a day we shall return for the great competition here, when the tortoise and the horse will be competing. We must see whether the tortoise can run at all."

Said the tortoise: "If I set my mind to it, I can run faster than the horse."

3. The tortoise was clever. He went and placed other tortoises at intervals, one half-way through the field, another at the end of the field. He then said: "Look, when you arrive at that bush in the middle of the place, you horse must look to see whether I am there. If you don't see me it means that I am already ahead. If you see me, you can pass me."

The horse said: "When we reach that bush we'll turn back, and all the animals will be waiting for us here at the start." It was said: "Here it is (All right!), let them start."-

4. The horse said: "I'm not starting at the same time as the tortoise." The horse first took a rest, but the tortoise set off, going **tabu tabu tabu** (slowly), and disappearing in the grass. It disappeared and was not seen again. It was said: "Hey, you horse, the tortoise is beating you (has left you behind already)."

Said the horse: "Be sensible! Can the tortoise leave me behind?" After a while the horse started off, exclaiming: "You will see now!" He went gallop, gallop, gallop. When he arrived at the bush, he heard **tabu tabu tabu** (the tortoise). The tortoise said: "Here I am!" The horse said: "What?" The horse said: "I am still going to come first at the winning post!" And he went gallop gallop gallop. But as he arrived at the turning point, there is the tortoise, going **tabu tabu tabu**. Said the tortoise: "I am turning back now!" The horse was furious. He got up at full speed, gallop gallop gallop. When he arrived at the finishing line the other animals said: "He he he! The horse was left behind!" In fact when the first tortoise saw the horse approaching, he got out of the grass, going **tabu tabu tabu**. It exclaimed: "So, I have beaten the horse!" The horse was so furious.

Cosu cosu (little by little) it is finished.

15. **INKAWU NOSHAKA - INHLANZI ENKULU** (Natal University)

Kwasukasukela,

Kwakukhona inkawu eyayihlala esihlahleni eduze kolwandle. Yayihlakaniphile kakhulu. Ushaka wayedamane ethamela ilanga eduze kwalesisi hlahla ayibone inkawu le. Ngelinye ilanga ushaka wacabanga iqhinga lokuyiyenga inkawu. Wayebona nje ukuthi uma engayithola uyodla emnandi inyama.

Yathi isahlezi inkawu esihlahleni ushaka wathi: "Sawubona nkawu." Yathi, "Yebo, shaka." "Uyathanda yini ngikuvakashise ubone ulwandle?" kusho ushaka. "Kodwa ungakusho kanjani lokho, ngoba thina zinkawu asikwazi ukuhlamba?" "Wo! yinto encane leyo," kusho ushaka. "Gibela emhlane sihambe." Kwasho kwathi kote emhlane kashaka okuyinkawu.

Bathi sebephakathi nolwandle, wathi ushaka, "We nkawu, uyazi ukuthi ngikufunelani?" "Mameshane, uthini manje, angithi uthe uyangivakashisa?" "Lalela-ke, inkosi yethu thina boshaka iyagula, manje udokotela uthi ingasinda uma kungatholakala inhliziyu yenkawu." "Wo! waze walenza iphutha shaka, Ubungasho ngani siselaphaya ogwini? Waze wahlupheka. Manje thina zinkawu asihambi nezinhliziyu zethu. Njengoba ngihlala kulesiya sihlahla nje isele kuso. Guquka-ke sihambe siyoyilanda." Nguye loya ushaka ephenduka nenkawu emhlane.

Bafika-ke ogwini. Nombe, inkawu emthini. Yase ishilo ngegilo eligcwele ukuhleka. "Hamba kahle shaka." Wathukuthela wafa ushaka wathi: "Ngiyoze ngikuthole nkawu ndini."

15. THE MONKEY AND THE SHARK - A LARGE FISH

Once upon a time.

There was a monkey which lived on a tree along the sea coast. He was clever. A shark often basked in the sun near that tree and saw this monkey. One day the shark worked out a plan to catch the monkey. He (shark) realised that he could get tasty meat out of the monkey.

While the monkey relaxed in the tree, the shark said: "Good morning, monkey." Monkey said: "Good morning, shark." "Would you like me to take you for a ride and see the sea?" asked the shark. "How can you say that since you know that monkeys can't swim?" "Ho! that is no problem," said the shark. "Climb on my back and we can go." The monkey jumped onto the shark's back at once.

When they were in the sea, the shark said: "Hey, monkey, do you know why I wanted you?" "What now! What do you say now? Didn't you say you were taking me for a ride?" "Listen, the King of us sharks is taken ill; now the doctor said he will only get better if a monkey's heart is obtained." "Ho! what a mistake you have made, shark. Why did you not tell me while we were on land? What trouble you have let yourself in for. We monkeys do not carry our hearts with us. As I live in that tree, it has been left there. Turn back and let us fetch it." The shark immediately turned back with the monkey on its back.

They reached the shore. The monkey swiftly clung onto the tree. He then laughing loudly said: "Good-bye, shark." The shark was angry with the monkey and said: "Sooner or later I will get you, monkey."

16. **INDABA KAPHOSHOZWAYO** (From Violet Dube's *Woza Nazo*)

1. Kwesukela: isalukazi sasala sodwa sondla abazukulu baso uQakala noPhoshozwayo, bonke abanye sebafa. UQakala okwakungomdala, wayengathi kahlakaniphile kahle. UPhoshozwayo kungomncane eyiphoshophosho ekhulumela futhi, ngakhoke kwathiwa uPhoshozwayo. Njengoba uQakala kwakungomdala, ifa kwaku ngelakhe. Izinkomo, nezimbuzi, namahhashi kungokwakhe. UPhoshozwayo yena wayenamahhashi amabili zwi. Kepha ngokuhlakanipha, kwaphekwa yena kwaphekwa itshe, kwavuthwa lona kuqala kwasala yena.

2. Kuthe ngelinye ilanga, uQakala ehamba ehlola imihlambi yakhe, wabona amahhashi omfowabo emahle, wawahawukela, wafisa sengathi nawo kungaba awakhe. Pho! Lokhu umona usuka esweni utshele inhliziyo! Wawabulala omabili khona lapho.

Kwathi ngakusasa, uPhoshozwayo evela kocupha izinyoni, wabona amahhashi akhe edindilizile buqama naye, wasondela eduze, wafica kuyiwo ngempela, nokwenza lokhu efile. Wasehlinza elinye, wakhipha inyongo, wayifutha, wahamba nayo. Sekuhlile waphambukela emzini, wabathe uyakhuleka kwathi nya! Wakhwela phezu kwendlu walala; phela wayesaba izingonyama. Kwakukhanya endlini. Kuthe lapho ubuthongo sebuqala ukwehla, wezwa kuguduza endlini; wathi esalalele lokhu, wabona umuntu edidizela nomqingo, angawazanga ukuthi ngabe kusilwane sini zizonke; umuntu waze washona nawo ehlathini. Kanti umqingo lowo yinyama. Wabuyela endlini futhi wahosha umkhonto ezintungweni wayowuthukusa emseleni wamanzi, owawugijima ezansi kwesibaya. Waphindela futhi endlini; kanti umuntundini uyisela. Kwathi lapha seliphakathi lona isela, baqhamuka abaninimuzi; lagxuma laziphonsa emphandeni. Bafika benganake lutho, beneme bezidlele amanzi amponjwana, (utshwala) bengazi lutho ngokusemphandeni. Yase ithi indoda: "Ake usondeze inyama leyo phela mame." Yasuka inkosikazi, yabathe gwada ebhodweni, phinde inyama yasimze yacwila esizibeni somhluzi. Yabikela umnyeni wayo yathi: "Inyama ayisekho lapha yelowa!"

3. Ewu! Kuphele amandla nasozwaneni kumnumzane! babeyaphonse amehlo ethandani lapho bekubekwe khona umhlubulo wenkomo, phinde, nawo awusekho. Indoda yaphuthuma emkhontweni wayo, yabethwa zintungo. "Yehheni! Nomkhonto wami awusekho, Mbanjeni!" (UMbanjeni lona inkosi yakhe) sekusho indoda. Kwawumhlola nalowo olandela omunye. Ngakusasa yabikwa ebandla.

4. Kwathi lapha sekuzokusa, uPhoshozwayo wehla phezu kwendlu, waqonda entabeni waze wabuya sekuzokhulunywa ngawo umhlola lowo, owawuvele. Kuthe lapho selibantu bahle, babuthana abantu bangangezibi. Waseqhamukile uPhoshozwayo nenyongo yakhe eyiphethe! Wafika waqoshama phezu kwetshe. Ambheke-nje amadoda lo mfanyana ongena phakathi kwawo. Inyongo yehhashi lakhe leyo, wayengayishiya noma eya ngaphi.

5. Kuthe lapho ikhulunywa le ndaba, kwathuleka kwathi du! Ngoba phela kwakungekho ozoqqa kahle. Kuthe lakusathulekile njalo, uPhoshozwayo wayeseyicindezele inyongo! Yathi: "Nkwi!". Mamo, amadoda! Esemthethisa athi: "Hawu! Yini leyo? Kushophi mfana na? Hlala kahle, ucuthane! Musa ukuqoshama!" "Cha, bobaba, kanti njalo akwenzi nakuqoshama. Bekungase kube yinto ethokozisayo, uma nginitshela ukuthi ngihlezi kahle kabi lapha phezu kwetshe", sekusho uPhoshozwayo. "Le nyongo yami engiyiphethe, iyakhuluma, ithi 'Qondani ehlathini nizoyithola inyama.' "

16. PHOSHOZWAYO'S STORY

1. Once upon a time: An old woman was left to look after her two grandchildren QAKALA and PHOSHOZWAYO: everybody else in the family had died. Qakala was the elder son, and did not seem very intelligent. Phoshozwayo was the younger son, very talkative and unreliable: hence his name Phoshozwayo. Since Qakala was the older one, he inherited all his father's estate: cattle, goats and horses were his. Phoshozwayo only had two horses given to him. But, as for his intelligence, if he and a stone were cooked at the same time, the stone got cooked before him (= He was very cunning).

2. As Qakala went around one day inspecting his herd, he saw his brother's two beautiful horses. He became jealous and wished they were his. Well, when jealousy starts from the eyes it informs the heart; there and then he killed both horses.

The following day, as Phoshozwayo was returning from setting bird traps, he saw his horses lying dead a short distance away. He came closer, and saw that they were really his own horses and that they were truly dead. He skinned one of them, took out the gall-bladder, inflated it and went off with it. When night came, he branched off to a homestead near by: although he greeted repeatedly, there was no reply. He climbed on the roof of the house and slept. He was afraid of lions! Suddenly there was light in the house. When he was just about to fall asleep, he heard some movement inside the house. When he began to listen attentively, he saw a person tottering under the weight of a large bundle, which he couldn't tell whether it was an animal or a person; this person then disappeared with the load in the forest. The bundle turned out to be meat. (The person) then returned to the house, pulled a spear out of the grass roof, and hid it in the drain at the lower end of the cattle kraal. He then returned to the house. Indeed, this person was a thief. While the thief was still in the house, the home owners appeared: he jumped into a large pot. They arrived, unaware of anything, quite happy after a beer party, not realizing that there was someone in the house. The husband said: "Will you bring me that meat, mother?" The woman was startled: no matter how hard she searched for it, there was no meat in the pot. It seemed as if it had all sunk into the pool of the gravy. She told her husband: "There is no more meat here!"

3. Alas! The man's strength disappeared even in his toes! They carefully searched in the place where they had put the side of the beast, it was no longer there. The man rushed for his spear, but had a complete shock. "Hawu, my spear is no longer here either, by Mbanjeni!" (This was the man's chief) he exclaimed. This was a second mystery he could not explain, immediately after the first one. On the following day the matter was reported to the chief's council.

4. When it was nearly daylight, Phoshozwayo climbed down from the roof and went off to the mountain. He came back just when this strange happening was about to be discussed. In the afternoon quite a large crowd of people had gathered. Also Phoshozwayo appeared on the scene, carrying his gall-bladder. He squatted on a rock. The men eyed this little fellow who had come to sit in their midst. He never left behind the horse's gall-bladder, wherever he went.

5. As that matter was discussed, there was absolute silence: no one could offer an explanation for it. As the silence persisted, Phoshozwayo squeezed the gall-bladder. It squeaked. The men were furious! They scolded him saying: "Hawu, what is that? Where does that sound come from, boy? Sit properly with your legs together, do not squat." He replied: "No, my fathers; squatting is not the reason for this. I can tell you that I am very comfortable on this rock. It is this gall-bladder of mine which speaks. It says now: "Go into the forest and you will find the meat!"

6. At first they did not take him seriously, they were slow to get up, thinking that this young

6. Baqale bedelele-nje, badonde nokusukuma, abantu bebona umfanyana omcane kangaka efuna ukushinga ngabo. Kwavela mvelivelayo wathi: "Cha, mina madoda ngisayodela khona." Kwasukuma kwethanyana labantu bengadlulile eshumini beyobona. Bathe besathi ukungena ehlathini, bawubona nempela umhlubulo wonke wenkomo uphela. Bathi: "Hhabe! Nans'inyama ngempela." Basho beshaya izandla bebabaza. "Kanti uyabona lo mfana! Sacishe saziphuthisela! Uzowukhipha nomkhonto, nizobona." Baqala ukumesaba.

7. Yathwalwa-ke inyama sebebuya nayo. Kwathula futhi njengakuqala. Wayeseyicindezela futhi inyongo yakhala yathi: "Nkwi!" "Seyithini-ke Fana?" sekubuza amadoda. Awasho manje ukuthi kahlale kahle. Asembheka amethembe. "Ithi: 'Phandani laphaya odakeni emseleni nizowuthola umkhonto.'" sekusho uPhoshozwayo. Nembala babuya nawo. Kwathula futhi, yaphinda "Ithi: Vulani emphandeni nizombona owenze konke lokhu.'" Baya emphandeni sebebangelana ngemikhonto, babeyamgwaza njalo, wafela khona lapho. Kwathi selithambeme, zabuya izimpahla ethafeni. Pho! Kwakuyimfuyo leya! Wena hhashi! Wena nkomo! Wena mbuzi! Konke kubuzwa kuye lowo mnikazimuzi. Wayesethi umnumzane kuPhoshozwayo: "Nxa ungase unginike le nyongo yakho, ngizokunika noma yini oyifunayo phakathi kwemfuyo yami."

8. UPhoshozwayo wathi: "Kulungile baba, ngifuna amahhashi. Ungayithola inyongo, nxa unginika wona." "Hawu, akuzobanani Fana, nxa ngike ngathola leyonyongo yakho.", sekusho umnumzane. "Futhi, amahhashi ayahlupha, abulawa isimoliya. Thatha wonke ngokuthanda kwakho." Zembiwa yinsele kuPhoshozwayo, wawakhukhula wonke, akwasala ngisho nenkonyane. Wagibela wahamba.

9. UPhoshozwayo wafika qede ekhaya, wawathela uyaba amahhashi ehlangeni; wahambake eseyokhombisa ugogo wakhe ethi: "Awudele-ke gogo!

Sengihlabene ngaphandle kwezikhali,

lakuhamba mina:

Gqibigqebe kwezinde nezimfushane,

Phond'olude enkomeni;

Wo! He! Mina lumalahle;

ofunayo, makathathe iziswebu zakhe, Angilandele."

Sethuka kabi isalukazi, sesaba sengathi uwantshontshile; sathi nokusho: "Maye, uzongibangela amacala wena leli gqayingana! Sengizigugele! Mina angithandi neze ukuyoma ebandla; ngingumuntu wesifazane. Futhi ngingazange ngithethe nelilodwa icala, selokhu ngazalwa; ngisho kusekhona oyihlomkhulu noyihlo. Maye, ngakubona, ngakubeletha!" Sasho kwachiphika izinyembezi.

10. Wahlala phansi uPhoshozwayo esejabhile. Phela ukujabha akungakanani, kwehla izihlathi. Wasilandisa-ke kahle konke ukuma kwendaba. Kwathi lokhu isalukazi, besesihlinile, sesisibi sesabeka senziwa ukukhala, sasesiyaxola; saqala nokuhleka, nezinyembezi sazesula. Wasiyala waze wasidonsa ngendlebe! Eth i singabomtshela uQakala, ukuthi amahhashi uwathole kanjani.

11. Uthe uQakala esefika, wabona ngomhlambi wamahhashi udla ehlungwini. Wabuza wathi: "Hawu! Lo mhlambi ongaka wamahhashi okabani na?" "Owami," sekusho uPhoshozwayo. Wabuza futhi uQakala wathi: "Kodwa uwuzuze kanjani mtakaMa?"

6. At first they did not take him seriously, they were slow to get up, thinking that this young boy wanted to make fools of them. Eventually one said: "No, I'll go to have a look there." Immediately a handful of the men got up, not more than ten, to go and have a look. As they entered the forest they came across the side of the beast. They exclaimed: "Truly, here is the meat!" They clapped their hands while expressing their surprise. "This boy is a diviner indeed. We nearly let a good opportunity slip us by. He will discover also the spear, you'll see!" And they began to regard him with respect.

7. They loaded the meat on their backs and brought it back. Again there was silence as in the first instance. Phoshozwayo squeezed the gall-bladder again, and it squeaked. "What does it say now, boy?" the men asked. They were no longer telling him to sit down properly. They looked at him trustfully. "It says: 'Dig in the mud over there in the drain and you will find the spear!'" They indeed came back with it. Silence descended over the council again. The gall-bladder made again a noise. Phoshozwayo said: "It says: 'Open the big pot and you will discover who did all these things.'" They rushed to the big pot, carrying their spears; (they found the culprit), stabbed him and he died there. In the late afternoon, the stock returned from the pastures. It was a truly impressive array of animals: horses, cattle, goats. All of them belonged to the owner of the homestead. The owner said to Phoshozwayo: "If you give me that gall-bladder, I shall give you anything you choose from my stock."

8. Phoshozwayo said: "All right, father: I want horses. You can have my gall-bladder in exchange for them." "Oh, that is nothing, really, my boy, if I can get hold of that gall-bladder of yours," said the owner. "In any event, horses often give trouble, they die of horse sickness. Take as many as you like." This was the easiest thing for Phoshozwayo to do: he drove them all away, not leaving even a foal behind. He rode away.

9. When he reached home, Phoshozwayo left them loose in the harvested mealie field and went to show them to his grandmother, saying: "Just look, granny,
I have succeeded without any struggle,
In my enterprises
The one who overcomes long things and short things,
The long horn among the cattle;
Wo! He! I can bite and throw it away;
He who wants, let him take his fighting sticks
And follow me.

The old lady was startled, afraid that he might have stolen them. She even said: "Oh my! You'll get me into trouble, you naughty. I am old now. I do not want to be taken to court, being a woman. I have never appeared in court since I was born, even during your grandfather's and father's lifetime. Poor me, for having looked after you and having carried you on my back." As she spoke tears welled up in her eyes.

10. Phoshozwayo sat down, disappointed. Disappointment may arise from nothing: it shows on one's cheeks. He then told her the whole story. She was terribly ugly, having borne a grin and having been crying; she now became peaceful and began laughing, and wiped off her tears. He however cautioned her sternly not to tell Qakala how he had come into the possession of the horses.

11. When Qakala returned, he was surprised to see a large herd of horses grazing in the newly harvested fields. He asked: "To whom do these here belong?" "They are mine," answered Phoshozwayo. Qakala asked again: "How did you get them, child of my mother?" Phoshozwayo told him: "You see, as you killed my horses, I skinned one of them and went and sold its skin to the white men in town. I kept shouting while walking:

UPhoshozwayo wamlandisa wathi: "O! Uyabona-ke wabulala amahhashi ami, ngalihlinza elinye, ngase ngiyothengisa ngesikhumba kubelungu edolobheni. E, ngihamba njalo ngimemeza ngithi:

"Bani funa sikhumba!
Bani funa sikhumba!"

12. Ngathi ngisathi qhamu naso, baphangelana ngaso, banginika amahhashi owabonayo." "Ewu! Uyadela ndoda!" UQakala wansondo usho ubambelele esilevini. "Uyabona, mina ngizobulala abeyishumi, khona ngizothola abemaningi kakhulu. Ngigibele ngokuthanda kwenhliziyo yami." Washo qede wadumela izikhali zakhe, wanikela khona emahhashini. Wabulala ayishumi ngempela, wase eyawahlinza. Zathi zingakomi kahle nezikhumba, wazithutha ephlekezela, waze wafika edolobheni. Waseshilo ngengila, wathi:

"Bani funa sikhumba?
Bani funa sikhumba?"

13. Kwabe awabonile amaphoyisa. Amjaha! Waze wakhamisa ukugijima. Phela kwenza nangoba waqala akaze anaka ukuthi ngabe axosha yena, wacabanga ukuthi abantu abazothenga; waze wabonela mveni nje ukuthi kepha lokhu kugijima amaphoyisa njena, futhi wonke aqonde kuye, walahla phansi izikhumba wabaleka. Ayethi azombopha ngoba uzobanga izimpukane ngezikhumba ezimanzi; izimpukane zithwala ukufa. Amxosha njalo, waze waziphosa emgedeni, wawuyawacashela njalo, akabe esambona.

14. Wafika ekhaya exega amadolo; wafika kuPhoshozwayo wathi: "Hawu! Mfowethu! Kanti wena uyaye wenzenjani lapha uyothengisa? Angiyithandi indaba yamaphoyisa! Acishe angenza kabi. Ngabe ngilele ejele. Angixoshe njalo ngejubane, nezikhunjana lezo ngizidaceke phansi, ngahlaba ngemicondo." UPhoshozwayo wathi: "Mina ngenza njengoba ngakutshela; kumane kwayishwa lakho nje nawe." Yedlula-ke leyo baze bayikho hlwa leyondaba yokwenzelana phansi.

15. Kwahlala kwahlala isikhathi eside, kanti bahleli-nje uQakala usalifuna iqhinga lokubulala umnewabo. Amahemuhemu aze afika kuye okuthi uzobulawa. Kwathi ngobusuku ayezobulawa ngabo, uPhoshozwayo wabika imbiba wabika ibuzi, ethi isisu sakhe siyamluma, akuvumi ukuba alale endaweni yakhe, wathi kuthi kalale ngasendaweni yesalukazi, esingugogo wakhe. Nempela wendlala ngasezintungweni, walala. Phakathi kobusuku, sisazumekile isalukazi, uQakala wangena nocelemba; wafika waphumputha endaweni kaPhoshozwayo, wamswela. Wedlulela kweyesalukazi indawo, wasigenca intamo, waphuma wabaleka.

Abuzange behle ubuthongo kuPhoshozwayo ngalelolang. Wazisonga inkashana njalo ngaphansi kwesiphuku, akabe esakhwashaza. Ekuseni ngakusasa wagibela ihhashi, waqonda edolobheni. Wafika wathenga indwangu emhlophe, waphindela ekhaya. Wanela wafika ekhaya, wadabula umdweshu, wathatha ikhanda likagogo wakhe, waligxumeka elinkinkela ngawo umdweshu lowo, lema phuhle, Wasiphonsa umnqwazi waso isalukazi leso; wasifaka esilulwini; wasiqinqa njalo isilulu kudekude edolobheni.

16. Kwathi ukuba afike ehhotela leNdiya, wasishiya phandle isilulu ngasesihluthu. Wangena phakathi, wabiza zonke izitshulu. Zeza njengoba ethanda. Wayesethi kuweta akamukisele ugogo wakhe itiyi, esilulwini esingasesihluthu; wathi akabovula kahle kungangeni ilanga, ngoba liyamxhoph. Washo entshweni kuweta. Walithela walisheshisa walimukisa lona itiyi. Wafika wavula kahle nempela wathi: "Salukazi! Nangu lotiyi kawena." Sithufele nje isalukazi,

Who wants a skin?
Who wants a skin?

12. No sooner had I appeared with it, than they scrambled for it, and gave me the horses you see." Qakala commented, holding his chin: "You are a lucky man. Look, I am going to kill ten, so that I may get many more. Then I will be able to ride to my heart's content." Having said that, he took his weapons and went straight to the horses. He killed exactly ten, and skinned them. Even before the skins were properly dry, he carried them in several bundles/ loads until he reached town. He then started shouting at the top of his voice:

Who wants a skin?
Who wants a skin?

13. It happened that the police saw him; they made for him. He ran and ran until he could no longer close his mouth. The reason for this was that it took him time to realize that they were really after him, as he had taken them for people who were coming to buy his hides. Only after a while did he realize that the people running towards him were the police. And all of them were heading for him. Then he dropped the hides and ran away. They were trying to arrest him because his dumped skins were attracting a lot of flies, and flies are carriers of disease. They chased him a long way, until he threw himself into a cave and disappeared from their view.

14. He arrived home shaking in his knees. He immediately asked Phoshozwayo: "Brother, what do you normally do when you go out selling? I don't like the story of the police. They nearly messed me up. I could be sleeping in a jail now. They were running so fast after me that I had to drop those skins and rely on the help of my thin legs!" Phoshozwayo replied: "All I did was what I told you. Perhaps it was your unlucky day!" That event passed and was soon forgotten, as was the plan of ruining one another.

15. They lived together for a long time, but Qakala kept looking for a chance to kill his brother. Such rumours finally reached him. On the night he was going to be killed, Phoshozwayo was fidgety (reported this and that); he gave the excuse that his stomach was in great pain and that he had difficulty in sleeping in his own place, and he asked to sleep in the place of the old lady, his grandmother. Indeed he spread his mat near the wattle wall and went to sleep. In the middle of the night, when the old lady was fast asleep, Qakala entered holding a cane knife. He blindly searched for Phoshozwayo but, not finding him, moved over to where the old woman was, chopped her neck off and ran out.

Phoshozwayo could not go back to sleep that night. He rolled himself up in his skin blanket and hardly moved. Early the next morning he mounted a horse and rode to town. He bought a white piece of cloth, then returned home. As soon as he was at home, he tore the cloth into strips, tied up granny's head and fixed it onto her neck so that it would stand straight. He tied a headscarf round her head, put her in a grain basket, then rolled the basket into town.

16. When he came to an Indian owned hotel, he left the basket outside on the pavement. He walked in and ordered all kinds of stews. These were brought to him as he had ordered. He asked the waiter to take a cup of tea to his granny who was standing in the basket on the pavement outside. He warned the waiter to open the basket carefully to prevent the sun from getting inside, lest it hurt her eyes. The waiter did as he was told: he poured the tea and quickly brought it out to her. He opened the basket carefully and called out: "Old woman, here is your tea!" The old woman was just staring at him, without moving her eyes. The waiter called again, excited: "Old woman, here is your tea. Why are you showing off?" He was getting angry and speaking aloud.

He then grabbed her by the head-scarf: the head simply came off and fell into the drain, as he tried to draw her attention thinking that she might be deaf. The waiter had a shock! He

siqhunsule amehlo, phinde ngisho nokucwayiza. Aphinde futhi uweta athi: "Salukazi! Nangu lotiye kawena! Yinindaba wena gabisa, gabisa?" Esho naye esefutheka lapho.

Uthe esuka wasidumela ngawo umnqwazana lona esesiwuthwele, laphuma ikhanda lalahleka phansi esihluthu, ethi phela uyasiqhweba, mhlawumbe sesivaleke izindlebe. Laphuma laqhasha ikhanda. Watatazela uweta! Wase ebamba eyeka; kwachitheka tiyana, kwaphuka nkomishana; wakhohlwa isu.

17. Mamo uPhoshozwayo! Waselapha wathi: "Khokha gogo wami!" Kuthe lapha uweta esathi uyamlandisa ukuthi kwenzeke kanjani wathi qhamu wathi: "Sh! Angikubali konke lokho mina, ngifuna isalukazi sami manje, ngingaze ngimemeze amaphoyisa."

Abuthana amaNdiya ezoshweleza kuPhoshozwayo athi kuhle asho into ayifunayo uzonikwa. Wasethi: "Ngifuna imali." Pho! abantu bengazi nokuthi ngabe kwenzenjani, bamthinsilela ngesizucu semali. Wathatha washuqula, waphonsa esilulwini, waphindela ekhaya. Wafika wasingcwaba kahle isalukazi. Wabuya qede wasithukulula isijumba semali, wayibala enebe thwishi! Eseqedile ukuyibala, wazihasha wathi:

Wadla Gqibigqebe kwezinde nezimfushane,
Phond'olud'enkomeni;
Wo! He! Mina Lumalahle,
Ofunayo makathathe iziswebu zakhe, angilandele
Inguluzane kade kwasa beyiguluza;
UMachusha behlanganisile;
Unompunyumpunyu bemphelethe."

18. Kwathi kusenjalo wafika uQakala wababaza eshaya izandla wathi: "Ha, ha, ha, ha, ha! Imali engaka uyithathaphi?" "O! Uyabonake" njengoba wawuthi uyangibulala, wabulala ugogo. Ngamthwala-ke sengiyomthengisa. Ngaqala ukumemeza entabeni ngathi:

"Bani funa sidumbu?
Bani funa sidumbu?"

Ngathi ngingakangeni nasedolobheni, beza sebephangelana ngaye ugogo. Bethi nokusho bazothola umanyolo obukhali. Yonke le mali engithengise ngayo ugogo," sekusho uPhoshozwayo.

19. "Ewu! Waze wajabula mtakaMa!" kusho uQakala. "Uyabona-ke mina, ngizozifuna zibe zimbili izalukazi, khona ngothola eningi imali le. Kodwa awu! acishe angenza kabi amaphoyisa ngaleliya langa. Angikakhohlwa! Kuhle ungiphelekezele phela khona sengiyobonela kuwe." UPhoshozwayo wathi: "Hhayi, mfowethu! Ngisakhathele; sesingaze sibone ngesonto elizayo." "Wu! Kude kangaka!" UQakala lowo ovela ngalelo. "Wothi umane uyala-nje; hlala nxa ungathandi." Washo wadumela umkhonto wakhe, waphuma wahamba. Lalibalele kabi ngalelo langa. Wathi eseqhamuka esihlahleni wabe eselamela isalukazi. Wawuyasibhuxeka njalo ngomkhonto, safa. Kwachitheka nogwayana esasiwubhema, wasithwala wahamba naso. Ngasentabeni wasibona esinye, sichoba izintwala, sisanda kuqeda ukuwolela amalongwe, naso wafika wasigwaza. Wathutha ephelekezela. Athathe esinye, athi njengalaphaya buqamu, asibeke phansi, abese elanda esinye. Wajuluka wamanzi te! Kodwa abuye athi akunani ngoba uzothola imali.

20. Wanela waqhamuka ngentaba, washo kakhulu wathi:
"Bani funa sidumbu

threw everything in the air and ran. The tea was spilt, the cup fell and broke, and the waiter knew no longer what to do.

17. Phoshozwayo was furious! He was on the scene in seconds. "You pay for my granny!" As the waiter tried to tell him what had happened, he did not want to hear it, saying: "Sh! I do not care about all that; I want my old lady now, or I am going to call the police."

The Indians got together trying to appease Phoshozwayo; they asked him to name his price: he would get whatever he asked for. He said: "I want money!" Well, the people, not knowing exactly what had happened, off-loaded all their money on him. He collected the bundle, put it into the basket, and returned home. There he gave grandmother a decent burial. He then opened his bundle of money, relaxed and counted it. Having finished counting, he praised himself saying:

He has conquered,
the conqueror of short and long things,
The long horn among the cattle;
Wo, He, I can bite and throw it away!
Let the volunteer take up his fighting sticks and follow me
The tough one. For a long time they tried to bash him.
The breaker through, even when fenced in.
They thought they had him, but he escaped through their hands.

18. Just then Qakala arrived, and clapping his hands in surprise he exclaimed: "So much money! Where did you get it?" "Oh, you see: as you tried to kill me, you killed grandmother instead. I then carried her away and sold her corpse. I started shouting from the top of the hill:

Who wants a corpse?
Who wants a corpse?

Even before I entered town, people came in fierce competition for granny's corpse. They said they would get very strong manure out of it. This is the money I got selling grandmother's corpse." Phoshozwayo stated.

19. "Oh, you must be very happy, child of my mother!" commented Qakala. "Look, I am going to look for two old ladies that I may get a lot of money. But, oh, the police nearly got to me that other day: I haven't forgotten. It would be nice if you could come with me, so that I may learn from you." Phoshozwayo answered: "No, my brother, I am still tired: perhaps we can try next week." "That's too far away," answered Qakala. "Say that you are just refusing. All right, stay behind if you do not want." He took his spear and went off. The sun was extremely hot that day. As Qakala approached a bush, he saw an old woman. He immediately stabbed her with his spear and she died. Even the bit a snuff she was sniffing was spilled. He carried her away. Somewhere on the hill he saw another one, killing lice, just after she had collected dry dung. She too was stabbed. He carried them in relays: he would carry one to a certain point, put her down and go to fetch the other one. He was soaked in sweat. But he did not mind this because he was sure to get a lot of money.

20. As soon as he appeared at the top of the hill (overlooking the town) he started shouting:

Who wants a corpse?
Who wants a corpse?

Before he could swallow his saliva many times, he saw the glittering colours of the police, all of them heading for him; there was even a police inspector. He got off at speed, not

Bani funa sidumbu?"

Engakaligwinyi kangaki, wabona ngobumenyemenye bemibala yamaphoyisa, yonke ibheke ngakuye, ngisho nonongqayi imbala. Wo, suka! Umuntu engakakhohlwa okwake kwamenza, wathinsiza phansi isidunjana leso, wathi, "Galo yaphuka!" Kwakungathi kanyatheli phansi. Bheka-ke lokhu kwakwenile, kugcwele nezihlahla zameva! Akakhathalanga, wayesezihlohlela-nje. Ameva ambulala! Ababemlandela abakwazanga ukuhamba lapho echushe khona; wawuyabacashela njalo.

21. "Wokhu! Ngacishe ngafa mina kababa namhlanje!" UQakala uzekela umfowabo. "Kanti wena mfowethu uthengisa kanjani? Yini indaba mina bafune ukungibopha njalo lapha ngithi ngiyathengisa?" Waphendula uPhoshozwayo wathi: "Kade kwasa ngikutshela wena. Futhi phela lokhu wena uhambe wangishiya. Mina bengizokuphelekezela. Nakhu usuqhalazela ungishiya. Yibo phela ukuqhalazela lobo." Zahlana zacishe zatholana phezulu. Ayike nokho yabuya yaphela-nje eyomndeni, njengoba ngithi nani niyazi ukuthi eyomndeni ayingenwa. Babuya bahlalisana kahle futhi.

22. UQakala yahlala ibuhlungu inhliziyi yakhe, ngoba wayengakasikhiphi isibhongo sakhe; ehlezi elifuna isu lokubulala uPhoshozwayo. Wathi ethuka ngolunye usuku uPhoshozwayo, wasegilwa umnewabo, wamfaka emgodleni, eseyomphonsa esizibeni. Lokhu okunguPhoshozwayo kwakusekuncane wakutshatha kalula; wahamba nakho wayodlula ngasethwathwa; ethi wenzela ukususa amahloni nesihawu. Kwathi lapha esezongena khona ethwathwa, umgodla wawushiya weyeme eduze kwesihlahla, esasimile ngasesihluthu. Wangena isikhathi eside ethe twa! Wayenzela khona ezothi ephuma, afike adumele ngendluzula, angabe esanaka lutho. Lesosikhathi esalibele ukuphuza, esendlini, kwaqhamuka ixhegu lazodlula ngasemgodleni, lihamba liqhuba izimvu eziningi kabi. Kepha lase liguge! Umdodovu! Ngokuguga kwalo laselifisa ukufa; lilusiswa ukuhlupheka, ngoba lingasenabani wokulincedisela.

Lithe lisanwabuzela nebheshwana eseliqothuke uboya, namadodlwana aseyintshwamunce, lezwa izwi liphuma emgodleni lithi: "Babamkhulu! Kunjani? Kade kwasa udla oKhisimusi: awuthandi ukufa namanje?" kwakusho uPhoshozwayo. Ixhegu lathi: "Ngabe ngisizakele mntanomntanami. Awazi wena sengihluphekile. Ontangayethu kade bafa, bangishiya." Lasho lijabula lisondela ngasemgodleni. Layikhumula intanjana eyayibophe emlonyeni womgodla. Waphuma uPhoshozwayo, langena ixhegu. Wabopha futhi ngayo intambo. Laselithi kathathe wonke umhlambi wezimvu, liyamupha. Wamomotheka yedwa uPhoshozwayo, wasuka wahamba; wafika nazo ekhaya qede wazithetha ethi:

Nakhu lapha esengikhona:
UGqibigqebe kwezinde nezimfushane
UPhond'olude enkomeni;
Wo! He! Mina lumalahle,
Ofunayo makathathe iziswebhu zakhe angilande.
Inguluzane kade kwasa beyiguluza;
UMachusha behlanganisile
Unompunyumpunyu bemphele;
UMthwazilothwishi!
UNdlebezikhanyilanga!
UGxamalaza kuphum'ijongozi.

having forgotten what had happened to him before, he dropped that poor corpse and ran away. It seemed as though he wasn't even touching the ground. The vegetation was thick, and the place was full of thorn bushes. He did not care, he just forced his way through. The thorns hurt him terribly. His pursuers could not pick their way where he had picked his. And so he managed to hide from them.

21. "I nearly died today!" said Qakala to his brother. "I can't understand how you do your selling, my brother. Why is it that they want to arrest me each and every time I try to sell anything?" Phoshozwayo replied: "I have told you this many times already. Furthermore, you insisted on going alone (left me behind). I would have accompanied you. But you proudly walked away and ignored me. This is the result of your cunning." They started arguing so much that they almost came to blows. After a while, just like other family affairs and squabbles, the animosity subsided, for indeed other people's family affairs should not be interfered with. And they lived peacefully together once more.

22. Qakala's heart was however heavy, because he had not succeeded in anything outstanding (to gain his personal praises); he kept looking for a way to do away with Phoshozwayo. Suddenly one day Phoshozwayo was caught by his brother, who put him into a bag, aiming to throw him into a dam. As Phoshozwayo was still small, he had no difficulty in carrying him. As he was on his way, he went into a shebeen, where he hoped to remove shyness and remorse. As he entered the shebeen, he left his baggage leaning against a tree on the pavement outside. He spent a long time in the shebeen, thinking that when he came out, he would be able to grab his load easily and carelessly and go with it to his destination. During this time that he was drinking, indoors, there came along an old man driving many sheep. He was very old and weak indeed. Because of his very old age, he was wishing he could die. He was so poor that he had to herd personally, not having anybody to help him.

While tottering past in his *ibheshu* which had lost most of its hair and on his shrivelled old knees, he heard a voice coming from the bag, calling out to him: "Grandfather! How is it? You have enjoyed many Christmases, haven't you? Would you not want to die now?" The old man replied: "That would be a real blessing, my grandchild. You don't know how much I suffer: all my peers have long since died, and left me behind." a long time ago." He said so wishfully, as he approached the bag. He un-tied the string with which the bag was tied. Out came Phoshozwayo and in went the old man. He tied the string again. The old man told him that he could take the flock of sheep as a reward. Phoshozwayo smiled to himself and left. As soon as he reached home with the flock of sheep, he praised himself saying:

Here I am
the conqueror of short and long things;
the long horn among the cattle;
Wo, He, I can bite and throw it away;
Let the volunteer take up his fighting sticks and follow me.
The tough one. For a long time they tried to bash him.
The breaker through even when fenced in.
They thought they had him, but he escaped through their hands.
The very tall one.
The one whose ears let the sun rays through.
He who stands with open legs and a young bukk comes out.

23. Qakala left the shebeen in a stupor. He picked up the bag forcefully, not even feeling the weight of the old man, and went and dropped it into the dam. Thus the old man died. Qakala was extremely happy on his way home. He was even saying to himself: "Now I have really helped myself to all good things: his money and his horses are all mine. I am going to be a fat wealthy man. I am going to be an important person." However, although he was saying

23. Wasala waphuma uQakala ethwathwa. Wawuqukula ngamandla umgodla, engasezwa nokusinda kwexhegu; wafika waligxambukisela nebala esizibeni, layothenga amageja (lafa). Wabuya ethokoza yini pho! Esho nokusho: "Ngazisiza mina kababa! Imali, namahhashi, sekungokwami konke. Maye ngizoke ngikhuluphale! Ngizoba isigemfunga sensizwa." Kanti, usho njalo nje usaswele omnyenyezelayo ukuthi, ukhe phansi, uPhoshozwayo usengasekhaya.

24. Uqale uyafika ekhaya uzwa ngosi lwenyama lunuka; abese ezindla ngokuthi konje ngabe ubani lona ohahazisa inyama yokosa endlini, lokhu ugogo wakhe kade amgenca; kanti uPhoshozwayo umjike esizibeni, yena ma ezikhohlisa. Wagcina wabuza esephumisela kamuva wathi: "Ubani olapha endlini yami na?" "Yimi, mfowethu," sekusho uPhoshozwayo. UQakala wacishe wavuma phansi uvalo, esequleka; wasimze wakhungatheka nje. Izinhloni zabuya naye zamuthi, shaqa! Waseqhubeka uPhoshozwayo ethi: "Sondela sidle nanku umbengo mtakababa; mina ngiyakuthanda kakhulu nje; kodwa wena uyangizonda."

25. Bala-ke bayinephuza inyama yemvu. Phela kwathi ukuba afike nazo izimvu ekhaya, wahlaba enye khona ethi usakhipha isishwapha sendlala nobushada. Kuthe lapho sezicwebezela izisu, zisuthi inyama phela wabhoboka manje uQakala, emlonyeni, wavulela ingevu wathi: "Uyithathephi le nyama ehlwabusa kangaka na? Wona lo mhlambi omningi wezimvu uwuthathephi?" Waphendula uPhoshozwayo wathi: "Uyabona-ke njengoba ubuyongiyelisela emfuleni, ngizifce ziningi yini pho! Ngamane ngaqhweba-nje kanye ngesandla, zeza kimi izimvu ziphangelana: kuthe lapha sengiphuma zangilandela. Yizo lezi ozibonayo." UQakala wayesethi: "Awu, mntakaMa! Nami uzoke uyongiyelisela. Ayi nanini, kusasa lokhu okusayo. Futhi mina ngifuna ubophele itshe elikhulu, khona kothi noma sengifuthelana ngingasheshi ngiphume. Maye, ngizoke ngiziqhweba! Sengathi ngabe sekusile." "Kulungile," sekusho uPhoshozwayo, "Kodwa mina ngeke ngikutshathe; futhi netshe lelo elikhulu olishoyo, uzoligingqa wena, mina ngizongena ngokukusunduzela phakathi." Nempela kwasa ngakusasa bancama bathi du! Bahamba nomgodla, kanye nomchilo wokuthelekezela itshe. Bathe ukuba bafike khona emfuleni, uQakala wayigingqa enkulu inguzunga yetshe, eyisondeza eduzane nesiziba, wasengena emgodleni.

26. Kuthe esengenile, uPhoshozwayo wathatha umchilo walinkinkela itshe kuwo umgodla, waseyamsunduzela umnewabo phakathi esizibeni wathi: "Hamba kahle. Kuzoke kwehle nokudla nobuthongo bodwa lobu. Hawu! Selokhu ngahlala izibindi zami ziphakeme njengenyamazane. Othi ugwaza mina, uzigwaza yena ngowakhe. Kusho mina:

"Gqibigqebe kwezinde nezimfushane,
Phond'olud'enkomeni,
Wo! He! Mina lumalahle,
Ofunayo makathathe iziswebu zakhe, angilandele
Inguluzane kade kwasa beyiguluza
UMachusha behlanganisile;
UNompunyumpunyu bemphele.
Umthwazilothwishi!
Undlebezikhayilanga.
UGxamalaza kuphum'ijongosi;
Umajik'eduze njengenalankala
USuduk'usithele.
UMafavuke njengedangabane
UBojabhoja umntakaMsengane."

Nazo-ke izibongo zikaPhoshozwayo ayevala ukuzihasha ngazo. Isikhuni sabuya nomkhwezeli.

a fat wealthy man. I am going to be an important person." However, although he was saying this, he was still poor, and wondering whether he could have missed the mark in any way: perhaps Phoshozwayo might have made a hole in the ground (in the water), and be still alive and come home.

24. As he reached home, he was surprised to smell roasting meat. He wondered who could be that was roasting meat in his house, now that he had chopped granny's head off and had dropped Phoshozwayo into the dam; but he was cheating on himself. In the end he shouted: "Who is there in my house?" "It is I, brother," answered Phoshozwayo. Qakala nearly dropped dead with fear, fainting; he was completely confused. A strong sense of shame played tricks on him and overcame him. Phoshozwayo continued: "Come over, that we may eat this nice piece of meat, son of my father. In fact I love you very much, although you hate me."

25. Indeed they settled down to eating the mutton. In fact, as soon as Phoshozwayo had reached home with those sheep, he had immediately slaughtered one of them to kill his hunger and his craving for meat. When their stomachs were bursting full, filled with the meat, Qakala started speaking: "Where did you get this very tasty meat? And where did you get this flock of sheep?" Phoshozwayo answered: "You see, as you had just thrown me into the river, I saw a large number of them. I just beckoned to them with my hand, and they all came, rushing towards me, and they followed me when I came out. The sheep you see are those." Then Qakala said: "Hawu, child of my mother! You must throw me into the river as well. And not some time in the future, but tomorrow morning. I also want you to tie a big rock to me, so that, even if I am about to suffocate, I should not come out too quickly. Oh, I am going to beckon so many of them! I wish it were morning already now." "All right!" answered Phoshozwayo. "However, I am not going to carry you, and you will have to roll the big stone yourself. My only job will be to push you in." Indeed, the morrow arrived and they broke the fast. They took a bag and a rope to tie the stone. When they came to the river, Qakala rolled a very large rock, bringing it close to the river bank, and he quickly got into the bag.

26. When he was inside the bag, Phoshozwayo took the rope and tied the rock to it and then pushed his brother into the river and said: "Good bye. I am now going to enjoy both food and sleep. I have lived in fear of my life like a buck until now. When he tried to stab me, he stabbed himself with his own spear. I can now say:

The conqueror of short and long things;
The longest horn among the cattle;
Wo, He, I can bite and throw away;
Let the volunteer take up his fighting sticks and follow me.
The tough one, they have tried to bash him for a long time;
The breaker through, even when fenced in.
They thought they had him, but he escaped through their hands.
The very tall one!
The one whose ears let the sun through.
He who stands with open legs and a young bull comes out.
Who can turn his luck around like a crab;
Who clears the path in spite of obstruction;
Who dies and rises like the dangabane plant;
Bojaboja, son of Msengane."

These are Phoshozwayo's praises with which he always praised himself. The firebrand comes back with the one who stokes the fire.

17. **UGUBUDELA KANOMANTSHALI** (James Stuart Collection No. 54)

1. Kwesukela, uGubudela kaNomantshali,
UmThungi wembeng'ebanzi,
Angathung' ezincane
Ziyazibekelana

Wakhipha izinkomo wazisa emadlelweni, wayokwalusa. Indawo inamazimu. Kwathi ngolunye usuku, kwafika izimu, labona ukuthi yinsizwa ikhuluphele. Lathi, "Sawubona, Gubudela kaNomantshali! Woza mngane wami sidlale." Laliphethe ingogo (isikhumba senkomo esiphindiweyo). Lalifaka kusona abantu, uma libabulele. Wafika-ke kulona uGubudela. Lathi, "Ngena la!" Wala wathi, "Akungene wena." Laselingena. Laphuma-ke. Wayesengena uGubudela. Sebedlala. Laze lashona ilanga bedlala ngokungena bephuma engogweni. Ntambama behlukana. UGubudela waqhuba izinkomo.

2. Lafika ekhaya lalo izimu lathi, "Ngibone insizwa ekhuluphele kakhulu. Kade ngiyingenisa lapha engogweni. Kungadlula izinsuku ezintathu ngizoyithwala ngize nayo lapha ekhaya. Ngiyothi nxa ngiqhamuka laphaya phezulu okhalweni, ngiyomemeza ngithi, 'We Nobamba, we Nobamba! Shis'indlu leyo!' Ngiyawufika naye, besengimphonsa ngakini elangabini." Wewu! Kwasa ngakusasa futhi, uGubudela wazikhipha izinkomo waya nazo khona lapho. Lafika izimu, badlala njengayizolo. Kuthe nxa selishonile, uGubudela kwangathi uhambisa izinkomo, kanti kazihambisile. Lahamba laya ekhaya lalo, kanti uyalilandela. Lathi lifika ekhaya lalithi, "Kade ngidlala naye futhi. Ukhuluphele yini pho!" Ayesethi amanye amazimu, "Wobuya naye kusasa sizomudla." Kanti nangu uGubudela, eceleni kwendlu esithumbanjeni. Kanti uyezwa konke lokhu okukhulunywa amazimu.

3. Basebethi "Uyomemeza ukuphi na?" Lathi, "Ngiyomemeza ngisokhalweni. Ngobiza uNobamba. Ngiyawufika ngimngenise egogweni kathathu. Ngokwesine ngomthwala ngihambe naye, ngize ngifike naye lapha. Wena Nobamba, ushise indlu." Wahamba-ke uGubudela esekuzwile konke lokho. Waze wafika ekhaya. Kuthe ekuseni wavulela izinkomo, ephethe amawisa akhe. Kuthi esafika kuleyo ndawo lafike izimu. Lathi, "Asidlale, mngane wami. Woza, kungene wena kuqala." UGubudela wala wathi, "Akungene wena kuqala." Laselithi, "Hhawu! Wenziwa yini namhlanje, Gubudela kaNomantshali?" Wathi, "Ngena engogweni, sidlale." Laselingena-ke. Laphuma wabuye wangena. Waphuma; langena nalo. Kuthe ngokwesithathu, elithwelwe uGubudela, lathi, "Hhawu ngehlise mngane wami. Musa ukungithwala isikhathi eside."

4. Wathi, "Hayi, ngizobuye ngikwehlise." Wahamba nalo. Wabheka ekhaya lalo. Uthe esebona ekhaya lezimu, wamemeza wathi, "WeNobamba!" UNobamba wasabela. Wathi, "Shis'indlu leyo!" Lathi izimu, "Hhayi! Wena unamanga. Yimina angithweleyo." UGubudela wathi: "Utshelwe ubani ukubanga umsindo ngikuthwele, lesi siphukuphukwana." Walehlisa phansi, washaya ngewisa engogweni. Wabuye walithwala. Wamemeza wathi, "WeNobamba! Shis'indlu leyo!" Lathi, "Hayi! Unamanga wena! Yimina angithweleyo." Wayesethi uGubudela, "Thula! Ubanga umsindo!" Wayeselishaya ngewisa, eliqinisa, ethi, "Thula! " Wamemeza futhi uNobamba, nalo izimuzimu lamemeza ukuthi unamanga, "Yimina angithweleyo: ungayishisi." Walibeka phansi uGubudela, walishaya kakhulu. Kuthe eseduze wamemeza uNobamba wathi, "Shis' indlu leyo!" Wayishisa uNobamba indlu. Wafika

17. GUBUDELA, SON OF NOMANTSHALI

1. Once upon a time (there was a person) Gubudela son of Nomantshali,
The maker of wide basket-covers,
When he does weave small ones,
They cover each other.

He released the cattle and drove them to the veld to graze. That place was infested by amazimu. One day an izimu appeared and noticed that he was a plump young man. It said, "Greetings, Gubudela of Nomantshali! Come my friend, let us play." It was carrying a skin bag (a folded cow hide). It used to put people in that bag after killing them. Gubudela came to him. It said, "Get in!" He refused saying, "You get in first." It got in. Then it got out. Gubudela got in. They played. They played getting in and out of the bag until the sun turned to the west. In the late afternoon they parted. Gubudela drove the cattle home.

2. The izimu arrived at its home and declared, "I have seen a very plump young man. Soon I shall have him in my bag. In three days' time I will carry him, and come home with him. When I appear over the ridge there, I will call out saying, 'We Nobamba! We Nobamba! Burn down this house!' Then I will come with him, and I will throw him towards you in the flames." Wewu! Early the next day Gubudela took out the cattle and went with them to that place. The izimu arrived, they played just like the day before. Towards sunset Gubudela pretended he was driving his cattle home, but he did not. It (the zimu) went to its home, and Gubudela followed it. When it arrived home it said, "I have been playing with him again. He is plump indeed!" The other amazimu said, "Come home with him tomorrow and we will eat him." But Gubudela was there, near the door of the home. Therefore he heard all the things spoken about by the amazimu.

3. They said, "Where will you shout from?" It said, "I will shout when I am at the rise. I will call Nobamba when I get there. I will let him get into the bag three times. On the fourth time I will catch him and I will come with him here. You Nobamba must burn the house." Gubudela, having heard all this, went away. He arrived home. In the morning he opened up for the cattle and took his clubs. As soon as he arrived at that place the izimu also arrived. It said, "Let us play, my friend. Come, you get in here first." Gubudela refused saying, "You get in first." It said, "Hhawu! What is the matter with you today, Gubudela of Nomantshali?" He said, "Get in the bag, we will play." Then it went in. It came out; he got in. He came out; it got in. The third time, Gubudela lifted and carried it. It said, "Oh! Let me down my friend. Do not carry me for a long time."

4. He said, "No, I'll put you down in a moment." He went with it. He went towards its house. When he saw the izimu's house he called out saying, "We Nobamba!" Nobamba responded. He said, "Burn that house!" The zimu said, "Hhayi! You are lying. It is me who is being carried." Gubudela said, "Who told you to make a noise while I'm carrying you, you stupid thing." He put it down, he hit the bag with a club. He lifted it again. He called out again, "We Nobamba! Burn that house!" It said, "No! You are lying! It is me who is being carried." Gubudela said, "Keep quiet! You are making a noise!" He hit it hard with the club again saying, "Keep quiet!" He called Nobamba again, and the izimu also shouted again that he was lying, saying: "It is me who is being carried; do not burn it." Gubudela put it down and hit it hard. When he was near, he called Nobamba saying, "Burn that house!" Nobamba set fire to the house. He came there and threw it into the burning house. As he was leaving he shouted, "Eat (all of you), there is your meat!"

5. Wewu! He eventually arrived home, and all the amazimu were absolutely furious. Gubudela's father proposed that they should kill a cow among the cattle in the veld. They did

waliphonsa phakathi endlini eshayo. Wahamba wabuyela emuva, wathi, "Dlanini! Nansi inyama yenu!"

5. Wewu! Waye wafika ekhaya, amazimu ethukuthela onke. Uyise kaGubudela wathi abayohlaba inkomo ezinkomeni endle. Bafika bayihlaba. Bathe la beyosayo, usi lwenyama lwaye lwayozwakala emizini yamazimu. Afika lapho. uGubudela wawabona. Wathi kuyise ababaleke. Wabaleka uGubudela. Uyise wala ukubaleka. Wayesemgqiba ngomswani wenkomo. Afika ayidla inkomo le. Kanti elinye izimu selithe lisemswanini lapha, labona unyawo. Laselilunquma liludla. Athe ngokuqeda kwawo inyama yenkomo, asedla uyise kaGubudela.

6. Kuthe ngemuva kwezinsuku, uGubudela wathi, akugaywe utshwala kubo. Wahamba wavuna izinhlamvu zensangu. Wathi abavubele ngazo utshwala. Kuthe sebuvothiwe, waphuma wayowamema emizini yawo. Wahlabisa izinkomo ekhaya lapha. Asalayo, angafikanga kuwona. Wabiza nezingane, nabafazi. Eza, kwagcwala-ke ekhaya. Wawafaka izindlu zonke. Wewu! Aphuza-ke. Athi, "Bumnandi, Gubudela kaNomantshali." Wathi, "Nangisiza nangibulalela ixhegwana, laselingihluphile." Athi, "Impela, Gubudela kaNomantshali." Wathi, "Wewu! madoda phuzani, kuvalwe ezindlini. Kubi uma amadoda edla kube kuvulwe emnyango. Kwase kuvalwa zonke izindlu lapho ekhona amazimu. Wayesebeka izinyanda zotshani emnyango. Amemeza athi, "Kufudumele mngane wethu!" Wathi, "Wo! phuzani madoda!" Wayesewokhela umlilo ezindlini. Esememeza ethi, "Hhawu! Kuyashisa Gubudela!"

7. Wathi, "Nambekaphi ubaba? Mkipheni khona manje! Ngizawunishisa lezi ziphukuphukwana!" Wewu! Asha-ke onke amazimu. Athe eseshile impela wayeseya emakhaya awo eyobulala ababesele. Wawabulala-ke, kwasinda ingane, yabaleka. Yaye yafika kwamanye amazimu akude. Wayesebuya-ke uGubudela eseya ekhaya.

8. Sekuzwakala emazimini ukuthi uGubudela uwaqedile amazimuzimu. Wewu! Uyafika ekhaya uthi akubuthwe umlotha lo obushisa amazimuzimu wathi awuyothelwa emfuleni. Wehla namanzi. Kuthe lapha amazimuzimu ebuthene khona ekhuluma ngendaba kaGubudela, amanzi ayesedungekile umlotha. Ayesethuma intombazana ukuba iyokha amanzi. Yayisifika ikha iphuza. Kwangabe kusavuma ukuba isuke. Yayisiphuza njalo.

9. Sekuqhamuka elinye, selimemeza. Isithi intombazana, "Nginatha amanzi!" Laselithi, "Khuphuka, kushiye ekunatha amanzi lapho." Isithi intombazana, "Ungewezwe njena wena na?" Laselehla. Langabe lisasuka. Aze aphelela wonke, isizwe samazimuzimu lapho, nezingane. Kuthe kuyisikhashana, waqhamuka uGubudela. Wabona amadoda nesifazane nezingane emfuleni. Wathi, "Hawu! Luhlobo luni lolu olugcwala nesifazane emfuleni kangaka?" Athi, "Natha amanzi Gubudela kaNomantshali,
UmThungi wembeng' ebanzi,
Angathung' ezincane
Ziyazibekelana!"

10. Wathi, "Ninatha amanzi ani? Onke amadoda nesifazane azonatha amanzi?" Bathi, "Ungewezwe nje" Wathi uGubudela, "Nizawungibona lezi phukuphukwana! Nisho kubani ukuthi, Angewezwe nje? Uphi ubaba?" Athi wona, "Hhayi, wena Gubudela kaNomantshali, mngane wethu." Wayesefika-ke uGubudela, esewabulala onke. Aphela-ke ezweni lakubo kaGubudela Cusu! Cosu! Iyaphela.

so. When they were roasting it the smell of the meat reached the homesteads of the amazimu. They came there but Gubudela saw them. He said to his father that they should run away. Gubudela ran. The father refused to run. He buried himself in the chyme of the animal. The amazimu came there and ate that cow. Unfortunately one izimu looked at the chyme and saw a foot. It chopped it off and ate it. When they had finished eating the meat of the cow, they ate Gubudela's father.

6. After some time, Gubudela ordered beer to be brewed at his place. He went to collect dagga leaves. He had them mixed with the beer. When it was ready, he went and invited the amazimu. He slaughtered cattle at his home. The only amazimu left were those he did not go to. He invited also the children and the women. They came; his home was packed. He put them in all the rooms. Wewu! They started drinking. They exclaimed, "It is delicious, Gubudela of Nomantshali." He said, "You helped me, you killed for me the old man who was bothering me." They said, "Is that so, Gubudela of Nomantshali?" He said, "Wewu! Men, drink, the houses must be closed. It is bad for men to eat with the door open." He then shut all the rooms, where the amazimu were. He put bundles of grass at the doors. They called out saying, "It is hot, friend!" He said, "Wo! Drink men!" He set fire to the rooms. They called out saying, "Hhawu! It is hot, Gubudela!"

7. He asked, "Where did you put my father? Bring him here now! I will burn you, you stupid things!" Wewu! All the amazimu were burnt. When they were indeed all burnt up, he went to their homes and killed all those that had stayed behind. He killed them all, but one child was saved as it ran away. It came to (the place) of other amazimu far away. Gubudela went back home.

8. At the place of the amazimu the news was spread that Gubudela had finished off all the amazimuzimu. Wewu! At home he ordered that the ashes of all the amazimuzimu be gathered and thrown into the river. The ashes were washed away by the water. In the place where the amazimu had gathered and spoke of the matter of Gubudela the water was polluted with ash. They sent a girl to draw water. She got there, she drew the water and drank. She was not able to get up. She went on drinking.

9. Another one appeared and shouted. The girl said, "I am drinking." The other said: "Get up, stop drinking that water." The girl replied, "Why don't you taste it yourself?" The other came down and was not able to get up. They all perished there, the nation of amazimuzimu, and their children as well. Then after a short time Gubudela appeared. He saw the men and women and children at the river. He said, "Hhawu! What kind of people and women are those crowding at the river side like that?" They said, "You drink the water, Gubudela of Nomantshali, The maker of wide basket covers, When he does weave small ones, They cover each other."

10. He said, "What are you drinking heavily for? All the men and women will drink?" They said, "Why don't you taste it?" Gubudela answered, "You will see me, you stupid things! To whom are you saying, 'Why don't you taste it?' Where is my father?" They said, "No, you, Gubudela of Nomantshali, friend!" Gubudela came there then and killed them all. They (the amazimu) were thus finished in the country of Gubudela.

Little by little it came to an end.

18. **UMABHEJANA** (James Stuart Collection No. 1)

1. UMabhejana wayengumfazi onophondo olude ekhanda. Wazala intombi. Yahamba intombi yayogana enkosini, igama lenkosi kunguMahlokohloko kaSikhulumi, inkosi engenanza namuntu. Yafika intombi. Kwathiwa abayoyibika abantu. Bahamba-ke bayishumi. Bafika khona kubo. Kwathiwa abangene endlini engenhla. Kuthe kusa ekuseni wayengena unina, uMabhejana. Wafike wabathela ngomlotha, wathi: "Phumani niyokwalusa; kuyeluswa lapha!" Wayebulala abantu lowo mfazi. Baphuma-ke, bazikhipha izinkomo. Bathe besentabeni, wathi: "Alifike izulu lakwethu kaMabejana!" Lafika izulu, lababulala bonke.

2. Kwase kuthunyelwa ukuthi sebafa. Yathuma abanye abantu futhi inkosi, abayishumi. Bafika. Kwathiwa abayongena endlini engenhla futhi. Wangena unina, wabathela ngomlotha futhi. Wathi: "Hambani niyokwalusa; kuyeluswa lapha kithi!" Baphuma boyokwalusa. Kuthe besentabeni wathi: "Alifike elakwethu, lakwaMabhejana, libabulale bonke!" Lafika, lababulala bonke lapho. Bathumela ukuthi bafike, makuze intombi nenkosi, yende manje. Bala, inkosi yamema abantu ukuba kwendiwe.

3. Bahamba-ke. Kukude kakhulu kubo kantombi. Bahamba, bahamba, bafika isalukazi, sathi: "Sanibona!" Bathi: "Yebo!" "Niyangaphi bobaba?" Bathi: "Siyenda." "Nendaphi?" Bathi: "Sendela intombi." Sathi: "Eyakabani?" Bathi: "EyakwaMabhejana." Sathi: "Iyo egana kuMahlokohloko?" Bathi: "Iyo." Sathi: "Hha! Yekumtawenkosi! Uphi yena?" Bathi: "Nangu." Sathi: "Woza, baba!" Waya kusona isalukazi. Sathi: "Ngikhothe ubhici." Bala, inkosi yasikhotha. Sathi-ke. "Uyabona, nkosi, ngizokunika inyongo yesibankwa. Iyokutshela konke. Kodwa-ke, akothi nxa nifika, niyokuma enhla nomuzi. Kuthi uma benikhombisa indlu engenhla, ningangeni kuyo, niyongena endlini esesangweni, efuze eyezinkomo."

4. Bahamba-ke, bafika khona. Benyuka beyoma ngenhla. Kwathiwa: "Ngenani lapha bakhwenyana!" Yathi inyongo: "Hambani niyongena esangweni." Bahamba bayongena khona. Bathi laba: "Nenzani, bakhwenayana ukuba niyongena esangweni na? Inkosi niyoyingenisa la kukubi?" Bathula nje. Kwalethwa amacansi ukuba bahlale. Yathi inyongo: "Waleni amacansi. Hlalani phansi." Bawala. Bathi: "Hhawu! Bakhwenyana, nihlaleleni phansi?" Bathula nje. Bangenisa utshwala obunamaphela, nobunezimpukane, nobunezintuthane, nobuhle, obumnandi kakhulu. Yathi inyongo: "Buyekeni, ningabuphuza lobu obumnandi. Phuzani obunamaphela." Bala baphuza obunamaphela. Bathi: "Hhawu! Inkosi nayiphuzisa amaphela!" Bathula nje. Bathi: "Hhawu! Sizokwenzenjani, lokhu bangamaqili njena namhlanje?"

5. Base beletha izingubo zokulala. Yayisithi inyongo: "Musani ukulala. Phumani nihlale phandle kuze kuse." Bala, baphuma. Bahlala phandle kwaze kwasa. Kuthe ekuseni bangena endlini. Bathi: "Hhawu! Nilala phandle, niyizinkomo yini?" Bathula nje. Wangena unina. Wabathela ngomlotha, wathi: "Phumani niyokwalusa; kuyeluswa lapha kithi." Bala baphuma.

6. Yathi inyongo (isenkosini): "Niyabona, akothi lase lifika izulu, ningene phansi kwezinkomo zonke. Kuzofika isangquma esikhulu." Bala, bazikhipha izinkomo, bafika endle. Waphuma unina, wathi: "Alifike izulu lakwethu, libabulale bonke." Lafika bala. Bangena phansi kwezinkomo. Lashaya, lashaya. Laze lasa. Bathi: "Wo! Libabulale. Sidelile ngoba kufe uMahlokohloko uqobo lwakhe." Bathe besasho njalo, babona sebeqhamuka nazo izinkomo. Bathi: "Hhawu! Sizokwenzenjani kanti? Uzobulawa ngasu lini lo muntu?" Wathi unina wentombi: "Kuzogcina mina. Ngiyakumbulala, nanini nanini."

18. MABHEJANA

1. Mabhejana was a woman with a long horn on her head. She had a daughter. The girl went to marry a chief by the name of Mahlokohloko, son of Sikhulumi, who was a very kind chief. When the girl got there people were sent to report (her arrival). These people set out, ten of them, and arrived at her place. They were told to go into the upper house. The next morning her mother Mabhejana came in. She threw ashes upon them and said: "Go and take the cattle out for grazing. People must herd at our place." That woman used to kill people. They left and drove the cattle out. While they were on the mountain she said: "Let the lightning of our place, at Mabhejana's, come!" The lightning struck and killed them all.

2. A message was sent (to Mahlokohloko) that they had died. The chief sent ten more men. When they came, they were told to go to the upper house. The mother came in and threw ashes on them saying: "Go and take the cattle out for grazing. People must herd at our place." Indeed they went out to herd the cattle. While they were on the mountain she said: "Let the lightning of our place, at Mabhejana's, come and destroy them all!" It struck and killed them all. A message was again sent that they had all died, and that the chief and the girl should now come for the wedding. Indeed the chief invited people so that the wedding should take place.

3. They set out. The girl's place was very far away. They travelled and travelled. They came upon an old woman who said: "Greetings!" They answered: "Yes (We greet you)." "Where are you going, gentlemen?" They answered: "We are going to a wedding." "Where are you going to celebrate the wedding?" They answered: "We are going to the girl's place." She asked: "What is her clan?" They answered: "She is of Mabhejana's clan." She asked again: "Is she the one who chose Mahlokohloko in marriage?" They answered: "That is the one." She exclaimed: "Hha! Oh for the chief's son. But where is he?" "Here he is," they answered. She said: "Come here, sir!" He approached the old woman and she said: "Please lick my eye oozing." The chief licked the old woman. Then she said to him: "Chief, I am going to give you this gall-bladder of a house lizard. It will tell you what to do. When you get to the place, go and stand above the homestead. When they direct you to the upper house, do not go there; rather go to the house near the gate, the one stripped by the cattle." -

4. They continued with their journey. When they arrived they went to await above the homestead. They were told: "Come in here, you of the bridegroom's party." The gall-bladder said: "Go and enter at the gate." They entered by the gate. The others asked: "What are you doing, bridegroom's party? Why do you enter by the gate? Why do you make the chief enter where it is filthy?" They gave no answer (they kept quiet). Mats were brought for them to sit on. The gall-bladder said: "Refuse the mats and sit on the floor." They refused the mats. The people asked: "Hhawu, you of the bridegroom's party, why are you sitting on the floor?" They simply kept quiet. They brought in beer full of cockroaches, flies and ants; and another pot with nice and tasty beer. The gall-bladder again said: "Leave this beer alone: do not drink the nice one but the one full of cockroaches." They drank the beer full of cockroaches. The others exclaimed: "Hhawu, you make the chief drink filthy stuff!" They just kept quiet. The people exclaimed: "Hhawu, what are we going to do, since they are so cunning today?"

5. They then brought in blankets for sleeping. The gall-bladder said: "Do not sleep! Rather go to sit outside until morning." Indeed they went outside and sat there until it dawned. In the morning they came into the house. The people commented: "Hhawu, you slept in the open: are you cattle?" They did not answer. The mother came in and sprinkled them with ashes. She said: "Go out and take the cattle out for grazing. People herd here at our place." They obeyed and went out.

6. The gall-bladder (in the chief's hand) said: "Listen, when the storm comes you must

7. Bafika ekhaya. Bahlathiswa inkomo. Yathi inyongo: "Ningayidli, kanye nomakoti, angayidli. Anoyipha bona." Bala, yahlinzwa, yaqedwa; yaphekwa, yephulwa, bayingenisa; bayipha abantu yonke. Bathi: "Hawu, bakhwenyana, le nkomo kanti siyihlabise bani na? Eningasayidli na?" Bathi: "Siyayidla ngobidliwa abantu." Yathi inyongo: "Hambani naye umakoti; ningamshiyi. Futhi wena Nkosi ungahambi endleleni. Uzokulandela unina wentombi. La uke wahamba endleleni, uyofike alume-ke unyawo lwakho, akubulale, la ubona unyawo lwakho lukhona." Bala, bahamba. Wahamba eceleni kwendlela njalo. Kanti unina wentombi uyalandela ngemuva. Kuthe sekukude emuva naphambili, wangena endleleni. Yathi intombi: "Hhawu, Nkosi! Wangikholisa, unyathelelani endleleni? Lokhu uMa, ngoba nga uyasilandela." Yathi inkosi: "Sekukude."

8. Bala, uthe efika unina, wayelubona unyawo, la enyathele khona. Wayelugcaba; walulumeka. Waphindela emuva. Manje inkosi yaqala ukuthi: "Ngakhathala!" Yathi: "Ngisindwa yizinduku zami." Bazithatha abantu, bazithwala bona. Yahambahamba, yathi: "Madoda, ngisindwa yisiphuku sami." Eyayisembethe. Basithwala abantu. Yahambahamba, yathi: "Hhawu, madoda! Ngisindwa yibeshu lami." Balithatha abantu. Yahambahamba, yathi: "Hhawu! Ngisindwa yinkamanga yami." Bayithatha. Yahambahamba, yathi: "Ngisindwa umzimba wami." Bathi: "Nkosi asikubelethe." Iyakhala intombi le, ithi: "Nkosi, ungikholisile, wanyathela endleleni."

9. Bayibeletha. Bahambahamba, yathi: "Ngehliseni, sengiyanesaba." Bayehlisa, bathi: "Nkosi, sizokwenzenjani? Kuhle, Nkosi, sikubelethe nakuba usesaba, uyofela ekhaya." Bathe besasho njalo, uMahlokohloko wayesephenduka inkomo, inkunzi emnyama; wabhodla. Wagijima, esebaleka. Bamxosha, ehamba ethi umuntu: "Ningayishayi! Yinkosi! UMahlokohloko!" Bamxosha waya wafika ekhaya, emzini wakhe. Esengena esibayeni. Walala khona, bonke abantu bakhe sebelala esibayeni.

10. Abafazi bakhe bakhala ngale ntombi. Yathula intombi, yacabanga isu, ukuthi izokwenzenjani. Yathi inyongo: "Thatha isinqindi, ufike ugwaze inkosi!" Yathi intombi: "Ngizongena ngenze njani esibayeni na?" Yathi inyongo: "Akothi labethi, ungenelani esibayeni sasemzini, ubusuthi: 'Kangazukuthi ngisagane bani.' " Bala yasithatha isinqindi ekuseni. Bayibona iphuma yayongena ngesango. Yenyuka. Athi amadoda: "Hhawu! Nangu umlandakazi engena esibayeni!" Wathi: "Kangazi ukuthi ngingumlandakazi kabani, lokhu inkosi isiyisilwane." Bathe besababaza lokho wayeseyigwazile ngesinqindi. Babaleka abantu, amadoda ayehlezi nayo. Yaxisithi inyongo: "Hamba utheze izinkuni, uzibekele, zibe ziningi." Wahamba wazitheza. Yathi inyongo: "Wothi abakuthathise." Bala, wathi abamthathise. Bamthatha bamkhiphela ngaphandle, bamkhipha esibayeni. Babasa omkhulu umlilo. Bamshisa, washa waze wab' umlotha. Yaxisithi inyongo: "Wuthele emanzini (umlotha)." Bala, kuthe kusa, wayewuthutha, eyowuthela emanzini.

11. Kuthe ebusuku, yathi inyongo: "Vuka uvunule." Yavuka intombi, yavunula. Yathi inyongo: "Phuma uhlabela igama ayelihlabela. Bazophuma abafazi bakhe, beze kuwe. Uhambe uye emfuleni, kungakasi kahle." Bala, waphuma-ke. Wahlabela. Baphuma abafazi, beza kuye (kuyona intombi) bamvumela. Bahamba baya emfuleni. Yahlabela yathi:

Inyanda yomkhonto, Ahlom'ahlasel'uNdaba!

conceal yourselves under the standing cattle. A tremendous hail-storm is going to come." They drove the cattle out and came to the veld. The mother went out and exclaimed: "Let the storm of our place come and destroy them all." Indeed the storm came, but they crept under the cattle. It hailed and hailed and then it cleared. The people's said: "Wo! It must have killed them! We are satisfied because even the chief in person is now dead." They were still speaking when they saw them approach with the cattle. They exclaimed: "Hhawu, what are we going to do this time? How can this man be disposed of?" The girl's mother said: "I shall eventually triumph. I am going to kill him, no matter when!"

7. They returned home and a beast was slaughtered in their honour. The gall-bladder said: "Do not eat it, nor must the bride touch the meat. Give it to them." The people skinned and cooked the beast, took it off the fire and brought it to them. They gave it all to the people. They said: "Hhawu, you of the bridegroom's party, for whom did we slaughter this beast which you refuse to eat?" They answered: "We are eating it, since the people are consuming it." The gall-bladder said: "Go off and take the bride with you; do not leave her behind. And you chief, do not walk on the path, as the bride's mother is going to follow you. If you walk on the path, she will bewitch your foot-print and kill you if she can see where your foot-print is." They set out. The chief walked on the side of the path all the time. The bride's mother was following indeed. When they were half way between her place and theirs, he set foot on the path. The bride exclaimed: "Hhawu, chief, you are causing trouble for me. Why do you walk on the path while my mother might be still following us?" The chief said: "She is far behind us by now."

8. Yet when the mother got there she saw the foot-print, she incised and cupped it. Then she went back home. Soon the chief began to say: "I am tired!" Then he said: "My sticks are too heavy for me." The people took his sticks and carried them. After a little while he said: "Fellows, my kaross is too heavy for me." This is the skin cloak he was wearing. They carried it. After a little he said: "The gall-bladder is too heavy for me." and gave it to the girl. Then he said: "My body is too much for me!" They carried him. The girl cried: "Chief, you got me into real trouble by walking on the path!"

9. They carried him on their backs. After a little he said: "Put me down, I am scared of you!" They put him down, saying: "Chief, what are we going to do? It is better that we carry you even if you are scared of us. You must die at home." As they were speaking he changed into a black bull. It roared. He ran and ran away. They chased him. One cried: "Do not kill him, it is the chief, Mahlokohloko!" They chased him and arrived home and went into the cattle kraal. As he slept there all his people came and slept there.

10. His wives blamed this new bride. But she kept quiet, trying to devise a plan of action. The gall-bladder said: "Take a short assegai and stab the chief." The girl asked, "How can I enter the kraal?" The bladder said: "If they ask you, 'How can you enter the byre of your in-laws?', you must answer: 'I do not know whom I am married to.' " In the morning she took the short assegai. They saw her going out. She went through the gate and went up. The men said: "Hhawu, here is the bride entering the cattle kraal." She said: "I do not know whose bride I am, since the chief has turned into an animal." They were still astonished, and she stabbed the chief with the assegai. The people who were sitting with the chief fled. The gall-bladder said: "Go and collect a huge heap of firewood." She did so. Said the bladder: "Ask them to help you carry it." Indeed they helped her. They took the bull, Mahlokohloko, out of the byre. They kindled a huge fire and burnt him into ashes. The bladder said: "Throw them into water." At dawn she took the ashes and threw them into the water.

11. In the evening the gall-bladder said: "Get up and put on your festive clothes." She got up and dressed herself in beautiful finery. It said: "Go out and sing the song he used to sing. His other wives will also come to join you. Proceed to the river before dawn." She went out and

Bavumake. Bathe bebona, wayevela ngekhandla emanzini. Bahlabelela-ke njalo, besho njalo. Waze wavela, wagamanxa. Kuthe-ke manje, bathula nje. Babuye bahlabelele, inkosi, ayangabe isaqhubeka, ukuba ikhuphuke, iphume. Yayisithi inyongo: "Othani, Wayigingq' imbokodo! Bazokufa; Namp'abaRulazi!" Basho-ke, bathi: Wayigingq' imbokodo! Bazokufa; Namp'abaRulazi! Abanye bathi-ke: Bayeza! Namp'abaRulazi! Waze waphuma-ke, waphumela ngaphandle. Kukhona amadoda-ke manje. Kwathi-ke, inkosi, isihlabelela yona, yathi: "INqaba yethu yokutholwa, Ngangingenje!" Bathi-ke abantu: "Bayez' abezayo." Kwahanjwa-ke, kwaye kwayofikwa ekhaya-ke. Kwakuhle-ke. Abangabe besayisola intombi, ukuthi yabulala inkosi.

Yayisiphela-ke laphe indaba.

sang. The women came out and joined her, accompanying her in song. They made for the river. Her song went thus:

A pile of spears, Ndaba arms himself and attacks!

They accompanied her in song. Suddenly his head emerged from the water. They carried on singing. Eventually half his body emerged. Then he stopped moving. Although they went on singing, the chief did not emerge any more. The bladder said: "You must say: 'He is rolling the grinding stone! They are going to die; Here are the destroyers!'" Then they said: "He is rolling the grinding stone! They are going to die! Here come the destroyers!" The others said: "They are coming! Here are the destroyers!" At last he emerged completely out of the water. By then even the men had come. Then the chief himself began to sing: "Our fortress which we found. I was not like this!" Then the people said: "The guests are coming!" Then they proceeded home and everything was very pleasant. They no longer blamed the bride for having killed the chief.

The story ends here.

19. **UNOKUTHULA** (Nyembezi, IGODA, Ibanga 2)

1. Amantombazana amabili ake ecela kuyise ukuba avakashele kwagogo, ekhabonina. Wabuza uyise ukuthi asecelile yini kunina. Aphendula athi cha. Uyise wathi awahambe ayocela kunina kuqala. Amantombazana ayeseya kunina. Afika athi: "Mama, sicela ukuvakashela ekhabomama." Unina wathi: "Senicelile yini kuyihlo?" Avuma athi asecelile kuyise. Unina wathi naye uyavuma uma uyise evumile. Unina wase ebenzela amaqebelengwana nenkukhu. Wabalaya-ke wathi maboqaphela lapho izindlela zahlukana khona. Mababohamba ngendlela engakwesobunxele; bangalokothi bahambe ngendlela engakwesokudla.

2. Amantombazana avuma, athi ayokwenza njengokusho kukanina. Ahamba-ke. Ahamba, ahamba aze afika lapho izindlela zahlukana khona. Athe nxa efika ekwahlukaneni kwezindlela, wathi omdala umama uthe sibohamba ngendlela engakwesokudla. Waphika omncane wathi akushiwongo njalo, wathi bangalokothi bahambe ngendlela engakwesokudla, mabohamba ngengakwesobunxele. Akaze alalela lona omdala. Wahamba nje waqonda phambili. Lona omncane wenqaba ukuhamba ngaleyo ndlela; yena wahamba ngengakwesobunxele. Wahamba lona omncane waze wafika ehlathini elikhulu. Indlela yayidabula kulo leli hlathi. Wafikelwa wuvalo, wesaba ukungena yedwa, wabona ukuthi angahle ahlange nezilwane ezimbi; wabona ukuthi okungcono wukuba aphindele emuva alandele udadewabo.

3. Nebala waphenduka waphindela emuva. Wahamba masinyane ebona ukuthi udadewabo usekude, usemshiyile kakhulu. Wafika lapho izindlela zihlangana khona, wangena endleleni engakwesokudla: yindlela udadewabo ahambe ngayo. Wahamba wahamba waze wafika kudadewabo. Wathi, "Ubuyeleni?" wathi lona omncane, ubuyile nje. Wayesecela ukudla kudadewabo omkhulu, wathi uselambile. Udadewabo omkhulu waphendula wathi ulambalamba manini ngoba yena akakalambi. Wathula nje lona omncane akaze aphendula.

4. Udadewabo omkhulu wayesehlala phansi esekhipha ukudla. Wathatha amaqebelengwana wanika udadewabo omncane, yena wadla inkukhu. Akaze amnika udadewabo omncane inkukhu. Bathe bangaqeda ukudla wayesesukuma udadewabo omkhulu esethi kuhle bahambe bangaze bashonelwe yilanga. Nebala base beyasukuma sebehamba. Kuthe besendleleni lashona ilanga. Lona omncane wayesethi, "Sizolalaphi?" Omdala waphendula wathi yena uyolala kwamalume wakhe. Omncane wabuza ukuthi kanti kukuphi ekhabonina. Wathula nje lona omdala ngoba wayesecasukile, engasafuni ukuphendula imibuzo. Wathi udadewabo omncane unemibuzo eminingi. Kuthe besendleleni, babona umuzi ababelokhu bewubona uthi: loko loko emnyameni. Base bengena kulo muzi. Abawazi lo muzi ukuthi ngowakwabani. Bangena ngoba sekuhlwile. Bafuna ukucela indawo yokulala. Lapha kulo muzi bafika intombazana. Ithe lapho ibabona le ntombazana yathi, "Hhawu, ezaphi nkosi lezi zingane ezinhle kangaka? Hhawu, ngaze ngabakhalela laba bantwana." Yase ibangenisa endlini isibafihla emphandeni wayo.

5. Kuthe emuva kwesikhashana wafika unina. Wamemeza esesangweni wathi, "We Nokuthula! We Nokuthula! Usuphekile yini na?" Waphendula uNokuthula wathi, "Yebo sengiphekile." Unina wabuza futhi wathi "Amanzi wona usuwakhile na?" Waphendula uNokuthula wathi, "Yebo sengiwoxhile." Wabuza futhi unina wathi, "Endlini khona ususindile na?" Waphendula uNokuthula wathi, "Yebo, sengisindile."

6. Lo muzi kwakungumuzi wezimu. Unina kaNokuthula kwakulizimu. Nomfowabo kaNokuthula naye wayelizimu kodwa uNokuthula yena wayengesilo izimu. Unina ufika nje ubeyozingela. Uphethe umuntu ofile. Wayesethi kuNokuthula, "Siza mntanami ungigezele

19. NOKUTHULA

1. Two girls asked their father to be allowed to visit their grannie on their mother's side. The father asked whether they had their mother's permission. They answered negatively. Their father told them to ask their mother first. They went to their mother and said: "We would like to go to visit at grandmother's place." Mother enquired whether they had asked their father. They answered yes. The mother said she was also in agreement if their father was, too. Then the mother cooked some pancakes and a chicken for them. She warned them then to be very careful where the road branched off: they should take the road on the left, not the one on the right.

2. The girls promised, saying they would follow their mother's advice, and then set off. They walked and walked until they reached the fork on the road. When they got there, the elder one said that mother had told them to take the road to the right. The younger one contradicted her, saying that their mother had told them to take the road to the left, and to dare not take the road on the right. The older one did not pay any attention. She went off ahead, on her own. The little one refused to go to the right and went off by the road on the left. She walked and walked until she arrived at a large forest: the road passed through that forest. She was overcome by fear, afraid to go in on her own. She realized that she might meet wild animals. She thought it better to go back and to follow her sister.

3. Indeed she turned back. She walked fast, realizing that her sister must be far away: she had left her far behind. She arrived at the fork and set off on the right-hand road, on which her sister had gone. She walked and walked until she saw her sister. When she caught up with her, her sister said: "Why did you come back?" The younger one simply said: "I have just returned". She then asked her older sister for some food, saying she was hungry. The older one said that she could not be very hungry, since she herself was not hungry yet. The younger one kept quiet, and answered nothing.

4. The older sister then sat down and took out the food. She took out the pancakes and gave them to her little sister, while she ate the chicken. She never gave any chicken to the little one. When they had finished eating, the older sister got up and said they'd better start off again lest they be surprised by nightfall. Indeed they got up and went. They walked and walked. They were still on the road when the sun started setting. The younger one asked where they would spend the night. The older one answered that she was going to sleep at her uncle's place. The younger one asked where was grandmother's place. The older one kept quiet, because she was now irritated and did no longer like to answer any questions, saying that her younger sister was asking too many. They eventually saw a house with a flickering light in the dark. They then entered into that house without knowing whose it was. They entered because it was now dark and wanted to ask for a place to sleep. They found a young girl in the house. As soon as the young girl saw them, she exclaimed: "Hhawu, where do such nice children come from? Hhawu, I pity these children." She then made them enter into a room and hid them in her hiding place.

5. After a short while the mother arrived. She shouted, from the gate: "Nokuthula! Nokuthula! Have you done the cooking already?" Nokuthula answered: "Yes, I have done it already." Again the mother asked: "Have collected the water?" Again Nokuthula answered: "Yes, I have." Again the mother asked: "Have you cleaned up the house?" "Yes, I have," answered Nokuthula.

6. The house was the home of an ogre. Nokuthula's mother was an ogress. Also Nokuthula's brother was an ogre, but Nokuthula was not. The mother was returning from hunting. She was carrying the corpse of a man. She then said to Nokuthula: "Come and help,

ibhodwe ngiziphekele nansi inyamazane yami." Wayeseligeza uNokuthula. UNokuthula akaze asho lutho. Wahamba-ke uNokuthula waya elawini lakhe. Wafike wakhapha amantombazana emphandeni wathi akeze bazodla. Kuthe emuva kwesikhashana unina wathuma umfana wathi, "Ake uhambe uyolunguza mfana wami ukuthi wenziwa yini ayodla yedwa namhlanje." Nebala aye umfana. Umfana afice amantombazana amabili edla noNokuthula. Umfana uthe angakubona lokho wayesephuma. UNokuthula wamlandela wathi, "Ungisize mfowethu ungamtsheli umama."

7. Umfana wafika exhibeni wahlala phansi. Wathi kunina akaficanga lutho. Wambuzisisa unina wathi, "Awuficanga lutho? Uzihlalele nje?" Ubuza nje unina uNokuthula uhlezi lapha emnyango, ulalele ukuthi bathini. Bese ethi umfana, "WeMama, njalo kukhona amantombazana laphaya endlini kaNokuthula." Wathi lapho unina ezwa ukuthi kukhona abahlezi noNokuthula wathi, "Thula-ke mfana wami. Sizokubalungisa."

UNokuthula waphakama masinyane waya endlini yakhe. Wathi, "Akusekho ukwenza ngokunye. Asisukuba sisalala ngoba useshilo umfana kumama." UNokuthula wathatha iqanda nenduku netshe. ONokuthula bathatha izingodo ezinde namatshe. Bembesa izingodo ngezingubo zokulala. Amatshe bawabeka ngenhla kwezingodo. Base bephuma njalo sebehamba. Kuthe phakathi kobusuku unina wathatha ucelemba. Wangena endlini kaNokuthula. Washaya kakhulu ngocelemba. Wabuye waphinda futhi washaya kakhulu. Waphinda futhi okwesithathu. Wayesephindela elawini lakhe futhi eyolala.

8. Kuthe ekuseni wavuka unina kaNokuthula wayosusa izingubo abalele ngazo oNokuthula. Wafica kungekho muntu. Wathukuthela wafa. Wabona ukuthi kanti ubeshaya izingodo lezi ngocelemba. Waphuma ngejubane elandela oNokuthula. Washesha wawuthola umkhondo wabo. Bathe sebekude oNokuthula baphendula amehlo babheka emuva. Balubona uthuli emuva kwabo. Wathi uNokuthula, "Wo, safa-ke namhla. Kangazi ukuthi ngizokwenze njani."

9. UNokuthula wase ewisa phansi iqanda. Kwase kuvela inkungu esuka iyothi ngci esibhakabhakeni. Unina wafika yamvimba inkungu. Wama isikhathi eside eswele ukuthi uzokwenze njani. ONokuthula bona abamile. Bayabaleka baqhubekela phambili. Wahlala lapho unina yaze yaphela inkungu. Ithe ingaphela wathathela futhi ngejubane emva kwabo. Lwasuka futhi uthuli lwabheka phezulu. UNokuthula wabona unina esesondela futhi. Wayesewisa induku. Kwavela ihlathi elikhulu elimnyama. Unina wabona ukuthi angeke adlule kuleli hlathi. Wayesephindela ekhaya masinyane eyolanda imbazo. Wabuya nembazo waligenca ihlathi leli. Washaya kanye nje ngembazo yakhe lanyamalala ihlathi. Wayesegijima futhi ebuyisela imbazo ekhaya. Walandela futhi emkhondweni woNokuthula.

10. Weza, weza, weza, wabona uNokuthula ukuthi uzobafica manje unina, wayesewisa itshe uNokuthula. Kwavela amatshe amaningi ahlabayi. Unina wama esaba la matshe ngoba ebona ukuthi azomlimaza. UNokuthula wakhuluma namantombazana amabili wathi, "Angazi ukuthi sesizokwenze njani ngoba sekukuphela kwalo itshe leli."

11. Aphela amatshe ahlabayi endleleni, unina wengena indlela futhi walandela. UNokuthula wayesephula izinwele kubo bobathathu. Waziqgiba phansi. Unina useseduze kakhulu manje. Wayesebona bethi sithe, kanti ubona izinwele. Ubona isithunzi sazo. Namantombazana asegiijimela ukuzibulala ngoba sekuseduze ekhabonina. Unina kaNokuthula abone kuthi shalu.

my child. Wash a pot that I may cook for myself this game of mine." Nokuthula went and washed it. She kept quiet and did not say a word. Nokuthula went off to her room. When there, she brought the girls out of their hiding place and told them to come out and eat. But after a while the mother sent the boy saying: "My boy, just go and have a look, to find out what causes her to want to eat on her own today." Indeed the boy went, and found two girls eating with Nokuthula. He saw them and went away. Nokuthula followed him and said to him: "Brother, please help me; do not tell mother."

7. The boy came back to the place and sat down. He told his mother that he had found nothing. The mother insisted: "Did you not find anything? Is she just sitting there on her own?" As the mother persisted with these questions, Nokuthula was sitting there at the door, listening to what was being said. Then the boy said: "Mother, there are two girls there in Nokuthula's room." When the mother heard that there were people staying with Nokuthula, she said: "Keep quiet, boy: we'll fix them." Nokuthula got up quickly and went to her room. She said: "There is nothing more we can do now. Let us pretend that we are just asleep, because the boy has told mother." She took an egg, a stick and a stone.

Nokuthula collected some long logs and some stones. They covered up the logs with blankets and put the stones a little distance from the logs. Then they went out and walked away. But in the middle of the night Nokuthula's mother took a bush-knife. She entered Nokuthula's room. She started hitting powerfully with her bush-knife. She kept striking and hitting again and again with her weapon. She did so again for a third time. She then returned to her room to go to sleep.

8. In the morning Nokuthula's mother, as soon as she was up, went to remove the blankets in which Nokuthula and her friends were sleeping. She found nobody there. She was mad furious. She realized that all she had been hitting with her bush-knife were those logs. She set off immediately at great speed to chase Nokuthula and her friends. She soon found their trail. Being far away, Nokuthula and her friends looked back, turning their heads. They saw a cloud of dust rising behind them. Nokuthula exclaimed: "We are done for, today! I do not know what to do."

9. Nokuthula then threw an egg on the ground. There arose immediately a mist which soon reached the sky. When the mother arrived there, she was prevented by the mist. She halted for a long time, thinking of what to do. Nokuthula and her friends, as for them, they were not standing around/ (waiting idly); they were running, going forward.

The mother stood there, waiting, until the mist disappeared. As soon as this had gone, she took after them at great speed once more. A cloud of dust rose again. Nokuthula saw her mother approaching once more. She now dropped the stick. There arose immediately a large dark forest. Her mother realized that she could never cross that forest. She returned home in a hurry to fetch her axe. She arrived back with her axe and started chopping that forest. At her first axe strike, the whole forest disappeared. She ran back again to return her axe home. Then she returned once more to follow Nokuthula and her friends' trail.

10. She came and came, and Nokuthula realized that her mother was about to catch up with them now; she dropped her stone. There arose many sharp stones. The mother stopped realizing that those stones were going to bruise her. Nokuthula spoke to the two girls, saying: "I do not know what else to do, since my tricks end with that of the stones."

11. When the sharp-cutting stones disappeared, Nokuthula's mother set off again on the road, following them. Nokuthula pulled out some hair from the three of them. She buried them in the ground. Her mother was approaching very fast now. She saw them within reach, but all she saw was their hair; she saw their shadows. Also the girls were running like mad now because their grannie's place was finally close by. Nokuthula's mother saw a shadow; she

Acabange ukuthi nguNokuthula amemeze athi, "Yini lapho?" Kuthi nya. Abuye amemeze futhi. Ezwe uNokuthula esabela lena emuva. Unina agijime abheke emuva lapho izwi livela khona. Afike ashaye phansi ngonyawo athi, "Kade kusile ngikubiza!" Wamemeza futhi ngoba engamboni uNokuthula. Wezwa manje kusabela phambili. Walokhu eya emuva eya phambili alandela izwi waze wadela. Wayesegoduka.

Agijima amantombazana aze afika ekhabonina. Wahlatshiswa inkomo uNokuthula bembonga ngoba esindise la mantombazana. Naye akabange esagoduka ngoba unina wayezombulala. Wahlala lapha waze wagana.

Cosu, cosu. Iphela kanjalo-ke inganekwane yethu.

thought it was Nokuthula. She called out, saying: "What is that?" But there was silence. She called again. She heard Nokuthula answering from there, at her back. She turned back, running towards the place where she thought she had heard the voice. She arrived there and hit hard on the ground with her big foot, exclaiming: "I have been calling you since this morning!" She called again, because she could not see Nokuthula. She now heard her answering from somewhere in front. She kept running backwards and forwards following where she heard Nokuthula's voice, until she gave up and returned home.

The girls ran and ran until they got to their grandmother's place. Nokuthula was honoured with the slaughter of an ox to thank her for having saved those girls. Furthermore, she never returned home, knowing that her mother would kill her. She lived there until she got married.

By and by. And so our story ends in this way.

20. **IZIMUZIMU NENTOMBAZANA** (Nyembezi, IGODA, Ibanga 4, from Violet Dube)

1. Kwesukela: abantu ababenezinwele ezinde, zifana nesiluba zommbila. Inyama babeyidla ngezinsungulo.

Kwakukhona indlu emhlophe enkulu eyayibonakala kude. Kukhona nezinye izimpahla zezinhlobo ngezinhlobo, ezinjengamathusi, izinsimbi kanye nobuhlalu. Base bethutha kuleyo ndawo, bashiya leyo ndlu emhlophe imile. Indodakazi yabo uNomvula wenqaba ukuhamba kanye nabo; wasala yedwa, zwi! Kwakuye kuthi njalo ekuseni nantambama, unina amlethele ukudla, abese ehlabela ethi:

"Nomvula mntanani! Mntanami Nomvula!
Thath'ukudla udle, Nomvula mntanami."

UNomvula naye amphendule unina ngokuhlabela athi:

"Ngiyezwa Ma, Ma ngiyezwa,
Izwi lakho mama lihle, liyathokozisa."

2. Ngemuva kwezinsukwana lafika izimu lasho ngedoshaba, izwi elikhulu lalingisa unina kaNomvula lathi:

"Nomvula mntanami! Mntanani Nomvula!
Thath' ukudla udle, Nomvula mntanami."

Kuthe lapho uNomvula elunguza emnyango, wasola, wabona ukuthi akusiye unina lowo, osho ngezwi elibhodla kangaka. Wasevula kancane emnyango, wabuya wabuyisela kahle isivalo wavala ngci! Izimu lona lilibele ukuzungeza umuzi. Lathi lingehluleka ladikila lahamba. Selihambile izimu, wasale wafika unina kaNomvula, esemlethele ukudla. Wahlabela lona igama lakhe lansuku zonke, nendodakazi nayo yaphendula njengokwamalanga onke.

3. Unina wafika wamxoxela uNomvula ukuthi enxiweni elisha sekwakhiwe indlu enhle kabi, eyedlula nalena asala kuyo, emwotawota ethi kuhle bahambe manje baye ekhaya elisha. Kodwa uNomvula wenqala njalo nje; wasehamba unina, wamshiya khona ezindaleni (enxiweni / emzini omdala). Kanti uzimuzimu ndini uhambe nje uyisongele intombazane, kathukuthele uqumbile. Wafika qede ekhaya, wadumela izinsungulo wazifaka emlilweni zasha zaze zabomvu klebhu! Wazigwinya washa amalaka, izwi lase liba isihosha. Seyibathe nenkosikazi konje ngabe kwenzenjani, lobukhwishikhwishi obani, izimu alaze layinika mlomo. Laphuma njalo laphulukundlela selibange kuNomvula. Lafika izwi selifana nelikanina. Kwathi lingekaqedi nokuthi "Nomvula mntanami," umntwana waseyovula emnyango. Kwabe kavulile, lamgola lamfaka emgodleni walo. Lajabula lafa, sekuyilokhu lixhelwa ngamathe lithi: "Kuze ngiyithole inyamazane namhlanje" Lathatha umgodla lahambela phezulu. Kuthe selikude lathi kuNomvula: "Khala mdumbadumbane!" Wahlabela uNomvula phakathi emgodleni wathi:

"Uthi angikhale ngithini na?
Lokhu izinkomo zobaba zingangotshani:
Wo! Laze langishonela namhlanje:
We, baba nomame!"

4. Lase liyaqhubeka izimu, kodwa kwase kukhona nokukhathala kancane, sekuxubene nendlala, lase liphambukela emzini lafika langena endlini, umgodla lawushiya egumeni.

20. THE OGRE AND THE GIRL

1. There were once people with very long hair, like that of the mealie-cob. As for meat, they ate it with long awls.

There was a big white house which was visible from far away. There were also many other beautiful objects, of various kinds, such as copper, iron and beads. One day the people moved from that house, and left the white house standing empty. Their daughter Nomvula, however, refused to move with them; she stayed on there alone. For some time her mother brought her food, in the morning and in the late afternoon. She would then sing:

Nomvula, my child! My child Nomvula!
Take your food and eat, Nomvula my child.

Nomvula would answer her mother with the song:
I hear you, mother; Mother I hear you.
Your voice, mother, is beautiful, it gives me joy.

2. After a few days there came an ogre and sang in a baritone, imitating Nomvula's mother:
Nomvula my child! My child Nomvula!
Take your food and eat, Nomvula my child.

Nomvula peeped through the door with suspicion, realizing that could not be her mother singing with such a deep voice. She opened the door a little, and closed it immediately and firmly. As for the ogre, it spent some time going around and inspecting the house. When he could not find anything, he gave up in disappointment and went away.

After the ogre had left, Nomvula's mother arrived as usual, bringing her food. She sang her usual song, and the daughter answered in the same way as always.

3. The mother told Nomvula how, in the new place, they had built an extremely nice house, more beautiful than the one in which she was staying now; while hugging her, she pleaded with her that it would be better if they should both leave now and go to the new house. Nomvula however kept refusing obstinately, as always. The mother went off, leaving her there in the old place. Our Mr Ogre however had gone off, planning to get back at the girl, as angry as anything with her. As soon as he arrived home, he took some iron needles and placed them in the fire. They burned, got hot, absolutely red hot. He swallowed them, burning his vocal cords, until he had a soprano voice. When his wife asked him what he was about to do, and why he was going about it with such secrecy, he never answered her a word. He got out in a hurry and went towards Nomvula's house. When he got there, his voice sounded just like Nomvula's mother's. He hadn't finished singing "Nomvula my child" that the child opened him the door. She was still opening when he grabbed her and threw her into his bag. He was so happy. He kept swallowing his saliva and saying: "At long last, I got my game today!" He loaded his bag and went off at great speed. Once he had gone some distance, he said to Nomvula: "Sing now, you big madumbe root!" Nomvula started singing from inside the bag:

"You tell me to sing, what can I say?
The cattle at the place of our fathers are as thick as grass;
Poor me, I am done for, today / I have had it!
We, father and mother!"

4. The ogre was walking along, but he started feeling a little tired, and he was fighting hunger, and eventually he turned off towards a house. He arrived and entered the house, leaving the bag near the windscreen at the entrance.

Intombazane yakhona eyayiselitshitshana yaphuma. Ithe lapha isithe qekelele laphaya kude, isibange emnyango weguma, yathi ukubuyisa amehlo, yakhangwa umgodla, yase iyathinteka yayisibhekisisa eduze.

Kanti izimu liphambukele kulo muzi nje kukwamalume wayo intombazane lena esemgodleni. Lalingazi lutho lona. Lahamba-ke itshitshana seliyobikela unina lathi, "We, Mame! Ngiyasolasola emgodleni kazimuzimu, umunwe ovele khona, ufana kabi nokaNomvula. Ngisho nalapho alunywa khona inyoka mhla siyofula esifeni esiphezu komfula."

"Awu, suka bo wena! Khuluma Noncwazi ngizwe kahle. Hhayi mntanami musa ukungibulala ngovalo. Gudluka ngiyobona." Washo njalo unina ezilahla phandle etatazela. Wafika wabuza ehebezela emgodleni wathi, "Ubani olapha emgodleni na"?

5. "NginguNomvula," sekusho khona emgodleni. Yampayiza inkosikazi! Yabamba, yayeka, yasangana ingqondo, yase iyobikela umyeni wayo. Kwathi ukuba ezwe umalume wentombazane ukuthi kanti uzimuzimu uzogolozela nje, uthwele umntakadadewabo, wathukuthela kabi; wakhohlwa nayisu azoqala ngalo lokhu wayesathi uyabhema. Akazanga ukuthi wasukuma nini; wathi nje lacu! Kwaze kwagxambukela nendlelo kagwayi okhambeni olwalunotshwala.

Waphuma waphulukundlela, waqala waqonda kuwo umgodla, wabuye wajika wangena endlini lapho kukhona izimu. Wafika wathi aliyokha amanzi, lizophiwa inyama. Phela kwakukade kugcagca indodakazi yakhona enkulu, ngakho inyama kwakuziqinqi.

6. Lase linikwa isitsha esivuzayo, lahamba lithetha laze layofika emfuleni. Labathe liyawakha amanzi, asimze avuze wonke lingakasuki nasemthonjeni. Lase lizwakele ngengila lathi: "Kuyavuzavuzo bo!" "Nameka ngodaka!" sekuphendula umalume kaNomvula, naye ememeza ekhona lena ekhaya.

Ayi-ke uzimuzimu aphindele khona, awakhe amanzi noma sekuvuza kangakanani, ngoba nakhu unethemba lenyama. Afune nodaka anameke. Kwathatha isikhathi eside ukuba kuvaleke isitsha.

Izimu lisalibele ukunamekana nesitsha leso, basala bemkhipha uNomvula bafaka iminyovu kanye nesinqawunqawu senja esilumayo; yase ifihlwa intombazane. Baze baqeda konke lokho lisalibele ukunameka.

7. Lafika limanzi te ukuvuzelwa. Lase liphiwa inyama. Ladla qede lathatha umgodla walo lahamba. Selisendleleni lanyakazisa umgodla, lifuna ukwazi ukuthi usekhona yini uNomvula phakathi. Lase liwubeka phansi umgodla, lawukhahlela kakhulu lapho kungakhonainja, lawuthi, guklu! Lase lithi: "Yisho!" Yase ishoinja ngephimbo, yathi:

"Uthi angikhale ngithini na?

Lokhu izinkomo zobaba zingangotshani;

Wo! Laze langishonela namhlanje,

We Baba nomame!

8. Lajabula izimu lagxuma, selisuthi nokusutha. Lahamba laze lafika ekhaya kwalo, lineme kabi, yabona nenkosikazi ukuthi kukhulu ekuphathelwe namhlanje. lahhema lahhema, lixoxa ngelikubonile nelikwenzile lithi: "Ngiyibambile inyamazane eyayingehlula; ngenisani umgodla wami lowo." Wangeniswa-ke wakhwezwa emsamo kwenzelwa ukuba uzodliwa ngakusasa. Ekuseni lase lithumela inkosikazi ukuba ilethe umgodla kuzodliwa umdumbadumbane. Yahamba nempela inkosikazi, yathi iyathinta nje yashevulwainja esandleni, yawulahla phansi umgodla yakhala yathi: "Kuyayumayuma!" Langxama kabi izimu, lathi nokusho: "Akusizi

A young girl from the place, who was still quite young, came out, and while standing still quite far away, made for the entrance to the windscreen; when she turned her eyes, she was attracted by the bag, and started to touch it and feel it and looking at it carefully from close by.

In fact, the ogre had turned into this homestead which belonged to the uncle of the very girl he had captured in his bag. He did not know that at all. The young girl went off and told her mother: "Hey, mother, I am suspicious about the bag of the ogre. A toe creeping out looks very much like Nomvula's toe. Even where she was bitten by a snake the day we were harvesting in the garden above the river."

"Awu, away with you! Talk carefully Noncwazi, my girl, that I may understand you well. Hay, my child! Don't kill me with fear. Move out of the way, I am going to have a look." As she said this, the mother rushed outside acting in an excited and hurried manner. Once there she asked who was making a noise in the bag, saying: "Who is there in the bag?"

5. "I am Nomvula," came the answer from the bag. The woman was shocked. She touched and let go, she was out of her mind; then she went to tell her husband. But as the girl's uncle heard that the ogre had come to ask for food while carrying his own niece, he was furious. He couldn't even think about the first thing to do. Although he was taking snuff, he did not simply get up, he jumped. Even his snuff box ended up thrown into his full beer pot.

He bounded out: he went first towards that bag, then turned and went into the house where the ogre was. As soon as he got there he told him to go and fetch water and then he would be given meat. In fact his eldest daughter had just got married and there was plenty of meat in the house.

6. The ogre was given a leaky container; he went off nagging all the way to the river. As he tried to fill it up, the water kept running out from all sides. He was heard shouting at the top of his voice: "This container is full of holes." "Fill them with mud!", answered Nomvula's uncle, he too shouting but without moving from the house.

The ogre took some time to return, filling up with water running out on all sides, although he was trying to close the holes, in the hope of getting meat. He went looking for mud to stop the water from coming out. It took him a long time to stop the leaks.

While the ogre was delayed trying to close the leaks on that container, those at home took Nomvula out, and put inside wasps and a wild and fierce dog; they then hid the girl away. They finished doing all these things while the ogre was still busy trying to fix the container.

7. He arrived back soaked to the bones. He was then given meat. He ate, and then he took his bag and went off. While still on the way, he shook the bag, to make sure that Nomvula was still inside. He put the bag on the ground and gave it a big kick where there happened to be the dog, going 'bang!'. He then said: "Sing!" The dog then sang with a full voice, saying:

You tell me to sing, what can I say?

The cattle at the place of our fathers are as tall as grass.

Poor me, I am done for, today / I have had it!

We, father and mother!

8. The ogre jumped for joy, already savouring his juicy meal. He walked off and travelled until he arrived at his own home, showing such happiness that even his wife realized that it was something big that he had carried that day. He talked a lot of nonsense for a long time, speaking about all he had seen and done, saying: "I have caught the best game ever. Bring in that bag of mine." It was brought in and placed at the back of the room, with the intention that it should be eaten the next day. In the morning he sent his wife to bring in the bag so that the fat animal could be eaten. Indeed the wife went, but as she touched it, she was bitten in her hands by the dog. She let the bag fall crying: "There is something biting here!" The ogre got very angry, and said: "It is no use to bring you food. You are now disparaging it. You won't

lutho ukuphathela nina ukudla. Ngakho-ke uzoncishwa wena. Ngeke uyinuke nokuyinuka nje inyama yami ngoba uyashinga." Lasho selifutheka. Lase lithumela ingane. Yahamba-ke nengane imagange. Ithe lapha isathi iyathinta, nayo yalunywa. Kwaba ukuwudedela kwayo-ke umgodla lowo waze waqumbeka phansi. Yazibika nayo yathi: "Awu, kuyayumayuma baba bo!"

9. Mamo! Izimu selithukuthele, lakhaba yonke into elihlangana nayo. Laya ngamawala emgodleni, lawudumela, labuye lawudinsiza phansi. Labaphuthaze ngapha nangapha, phinde, nalo lalunywa, laze lahluleka ukuwuphakamisa. Zagunya izilwane eziphakathi, zingasafuni ukuthintwa yilutho. Lase libaxosha bonke lathi kühle kuvalwe umnyango, khona lizozidlela kahle lilodwa.

10. Nempela baphuma sebelakanyana abantwana emnyango. Lase liyawuthulula umgodla. Wo, zase ziphumile izilwane! Zalenzani! Inja yazikholisa ngamazinyo neminyovu yalitinyela konke nasemehlweni. Lavuvuka izimu lehluleka ngisho nokubheka. Lase lizwakele ngengila: "Ngivuyeyeni bo ngafa!" "Tshana ukutsha kwakho!" Kwasho inkosokazi.

Lithe lisuka lagumula sona isivadlwana lesi, lathathela ngejubane. Lafika exhaphozini lazishiqeka ngekhandla odakeni, izinyawo zabheka phezulu. Laze lafela khona lapho, laze laphenduka ukhuni oselomile.

11. Sekwadelula isikhathi eside izinyosi zafika zakhela kulolo khuni. Ngolunye usuku uNomvula eyotheza nabanye, wabona amakhekheba egcwele okhunini, wafaka isandla ethi uyathapha, sabanjwa ngqi! Amantombazane amanye ayobika ekhaya. Uyise waqhuba inkomo ekhuluphele, eqonde kulo khuni. Yafika yahlatshwa, kwaxhonxwa amafutha, kwagcotshwa ngawo esandleni leso esibaniwe, sancomuka. Babuyela ekhaya bejabula.

Isala kutshelwa sibona ngomopho.

even smell my meat, because you are acting disrespectfully." He said so, getting hot. He then sent a child. The child went eagerly. But as he too touched it, he too was bitten. He let go of the sack and it fell down. He too called out to his father: "But father, this thing does bite!"

9. Mamol The ogre was now furious, throwing aside everything that stood in his way. He went hurriedly to the bag, he attacked it, then threw it down. He lifted and knocked it one side and the other, but in vain, he too was bitten, and he was unable to lift it. The animals inside the bag became vicious, not allowing anything to touch them. He finally chased everybody away saying it would be better to close the door, so that he may have a nice meal on his own.

10. Indeed, the children rushed out of the door. He then opened the bag. Wo, the animals did really come out! And what did they do to him! The dog just kept biting him from head to toe, and the wasps bit him all over, even on his face. The ogre stood up, but was unable to see anything. Then he shouted at the top of his voice: "Open the door for me, I am dying!" "Eat your own food", exclaimed his wife.

He then came out breaking down the small door and ran away at great speed. He came to a swamp and threw himself into the mud head first, his legs in the air. He soon died there, and quickly turned into a dry tree.

11. A long time went by, and bees came to nest on that trunk. One day Nomvula was gathering firewood with other people; she saw full hives on the trunk, stretched her hand to take the honey, and it was caught firmly. The other girls went to tell her people at home. Her father drove a fat ox towards that trunk. There he slaughtered it, the fat was taken out and it was smeared on the hand that was caught, thus setting it free. They returned home happy.

He who refuses to be told, learns by the oozing of his blood.

21. **UZEMBENI noma UZWANIDE** (Callaway, 1868)

1. UZembeni kwakuwumfazi omkhulu. Wazala izintombi ezimbili; kepha wadla abantu kulelo zwe lapha ayekhona waze wabaqeda, ebadla nezinyamazane; abulale umuntu kanye nenyamazane, apheke inyama yomuntu neyenyamazane ndawonye. Kuthe ukuba baphele abantu bathi nya, kwasala yena nezintombi zakhe ezimbili. Izintombi zakhe zazidumile ezweni, zidume ngobuhle. Wayibamba enye intombi yakhe (kwathi ngokuphela kwabantu esebaqedile), wayiluma isihlathi sanganyane; wasipheka wasidla: sababa, akabesathanda ukuyiqedela ngoba inyama yayo yamhlupha ngokubaba. Wamangala akaqondanga ukuthi yini ukuba ibabe na. Ngelokho izintombi zakhe zasinda kuye.

2. Kwafika insizwa, umntwana wenkosi. Igama laleya nsizwa uSikhulumi, wayezokhetha intombi enhle kulezo zintombi. Wafika emini, uZembeni engekho eyozingela. Elinye igama lakhe kwakuthiwa uZwanide, ngoba uzwani lwakhe lwalulude kakhulu. Yilona eyebonakala ngalo esaqhamuka, kuthunqe izintuli yena engakaveli zenziwa uzwani lwakhe ngoba belufika kuqala lapha eya khona.

3. Kuthe ukuba afike uSikhulumi, nebala wazifumana izintombi lezo zombili; wabona nembala ukuthi zinhle. Zamkhalela kakhulu izinyembezi, zithi, "Awufikeli ndawo lapha. Siyahlupheka; asazi ukuthi sizokubekaphi, ngoba umame udla abantu. Nathi usibona nje siyahlupheka." Yathi enye "Awubheke isihlathi sami. Uyena nje umame! Asazi ukuthi sizokubekaphi." Kunjalo nje uSikhulumi ufika yedwa lapha ezintombini. Ekhaya waphuma ehamba nomhlambi wakhe wezinja; kodwa wazishiya emhlangeni. Izintombi zenza icebo lokuthi, "Uma sithi akahambe uZwanide uzomlandela." Zamba umgodi phakathi endlini zamfaka zabuye zafulela zahlala phezu kwawo.

4. Kwavela uthuli ekuhambeni kosuku zathi, "Nango-ke eseza." Lwafika uzwani kuqala, walandela emva kwalo. Uthe efika wayehleka yedwa, wahleka wabukuzela; ethi "Eh, eh! endlini yami lapha namhlanje kunuka santungwana. Bantabami nenze njani na? Leli phunga livelaphi na?" Wangena wahleka yedwa, ebabhansa ethi, "Bantabami, kukhonani lapha endlini?" Izintombi zathi "Yiya! Musa ukusifundekela; asazi ukuthi utho siluthathaphi." Wathi, "Ake ngizifunele ke, bantabami." Zathi, "Asazi nozokufuna ukuthi uzofunani kungekho lutho njena." Wathi, "Ake nisuke phela ngizifunele." Zathi "Asizusuka singazi lutho thina. Yenza okuthandayo nje. Asazi ukuthi uzothini kithi ngoba nakhu sewasona sesinje." Yasho imkhombisa isihlathi sayo asidlayo. Wadela walala.

5. Kwasa waphuma wayozingela. Uthe esephumile zabona ukuthi lwaphela uthuli usesithele. Zamkhipha uSikhulumi. Yathi enye, "Asihambe." Enye yathi, "O mntakababa, hamba wena. Mina ngingehambe nawe, ngihambe ngikuhleba, ungibona senginje umame wangona. Salusuhamba wedwa. Mina sengisalele ukuba uZwanide aze angiqede."

6. Yahamba-ke noSikhulumi; laze lashona behamba. Waya ngasemhlangeni elanda izinja zakhe, wazithatha zahamba naye. Kwasa behamba, benqenile ukuthi uma belala uzobafica. "Asihambe imini nobusuku, kuze kuse kumbe singamshiya." Wafika ekhaya uZwanide; wafica intombi yakhe iyinye. Kabange esabuza ukuthi, "Umntanami uyengaphi?" Wahamba kwasa. Kuthe emini balubona uthuli uSikhulumi nentombi. Yasho intombi kuSikhulumi yathi: Nango-ke uZwanide, uyena lowa; usefikile. Sizoshonaphi-ke?" Base bebona umkhoba omude; bagijima, bakhwela kuwo; izinja zasala ngaphansi.

21. THE AXE-BEARER or LONG-TOE (Zembeni or Zwanide)

1. Zembeni was a powerfully-built woman. She had two daughters. However she had eaten the people of her country down to the last one, eating them together with game; she hunted both man and beast and then cooked human flesh and animal meat in the same pot. When the people were completely finished, she was alone with her two daughters. Her daughters were famous in the whole country for their beauty. As the people were finished because of her hunting, she got hold of one of her daughters and cut off the side of her cheek, cooked it and started eating it: but it was bitter, so bitter in fact that she could not finish eating it: her daughter's flesh displeased her so much because of its bitterness. She could not understand why it was so bitter. As a consequence the girls were now safe.

2. There arrived a young man, the son of a king, his name was Sikhulumi (the Orator): he had come to choose for himself the prettier of those two girls. He arrived during the day while Zembeni was away hunting. This lady was also called by another name, Zwanide, (Long Toe), because her toe was extremely long. Thanks to this toe she could be seen from far away as she approached a place: her dust would appear long before her. Her toe was like her messenger, as it always arrived first at any place where she was going.

3. So, when Sikhulumi arrived, he found the two girls, and he immediately realized that they were extremely beautiful. However, they felt sorry for him and said: "This place is not good for you. We are in trouble and don't know where to put you, because our mother eats people. Even we are in danger." One of the two said: "Just look at my cheek. It was mother herself (who did this to me). We don't know where to hide you."

Sikhulumi had arrived there on his own, but he had left his home accompanied by his pack of dogs. However, he had left the dogs in a reed-bed. The girls discussed a plan: "If we let him go, Big Toe will follow him". They therefore dug a pit in their room, hid him inside it, covered it up and went and sat on top of it.

4. Towards sunset there appeared the dust. Said the girls: "Here she comes now." The toe arrived first, and she arrived after it. As soon as she arrived, she smiled to herself, then she laughed rolling herself on the floor saying: "Eh, Eh! There is a sweet smell here in my house today. What have you done, my children? Where does this smell come from?" She entered and laughed alone, patting them: "My children, what is there in the house?" The girls replied: "Away with you, do not bother us; we don't know where are you getting ideas from." She said: "Let me look for it myself, children." They said: "Even if you look, we don't know what you would be looking for, since there is absolutely nothing here." Said she: "Just stand up and let me look for myself." They replied: "We are not getting up, because we know there is nothing. You do what you like. We do not know what you will do to us, since you have already injured us, and we are now as we are." So saying one of them pointed to the cheek she had eaten. She gave up and went to sleep.

5. The next morning she went out to hunt. After she had left, they watched the dust disappear as she had gone over the hill. They took Sikhulumi out. One said: "Let's go." The other one said: "Child of my father, you do go. I cannot go with you to be a disgrace to you in his presence: you know how mother has injured me. Do you go alone. I shall stay and wait for Long Toe to come back and finish me off."

6. So one of the girls went with Sikhulumi, and they travelled until the sun set. He went by the way of the reed-bed, where he fetched his dogs. He took them and they (dogs) went off with him. It got dark that they were still walking, knowing that if they stopped she would catch up with them. They were saying: "Let us travel day and night, until the morning; perhaps we shall outdistance her." When Long Toe arrived home, she found her girl alone. She never stopped

7. Wafika uZembeni, umfazi onamandla kakhulu. Wafika nembazo yakhe. Wabheka phezulu wababona. Akab' esabuza, wangena ngembazo emthini; wabe esegawula ngamandla umuthi izinja zase zimsukela zimluma. Kuthe uma uzwakala ukuteba umuthi, sewephuka, izinja zambamba ngamandla; enye yamnquma inhloko, nenye umkhono; ezinye zamkipha izitho zonke, ziyakumlahla laphaya kude; ezinye zadonsa amathumbu. Wahluma umuthi masinyane, waba njengakuqala. Wabuya uZembeni wavuka; zahlangana zonke izitho zakhe; wavuka, wathatha imbazo wagawula ngamandla umuthi. Kuthe uma uzwakala uteba izinja zabuya zamnquma inhloko nezitho; kwaba yileyo yagijima nesinye iya emfuleni edwaleni zonke zenza njalo; zathatha izimbokodo, zagaya izitho zenza impuphu.

8. Wase ehla uSikhulumi nentombi emthini; bagijima bemuka baya kubo kaSikhulumi. Zayithela emanzini inyama kaZembeni, isiyimpuphu. Zahamba-ke zilandela uSikhulumi. Wafa-ke uZembeni waphela. Wafika ekhaya uSikhulumi kubo kwakhalwa isililo. Kwahlatshwa izinkomo kwajatshulwa kakhulu bethi, "Le ntombi enhle kangaka uyithathephi na? Sasingasho ukuthi usekhona. Sasesithi sewafa."

Iphela lapha indaba yethu.

to ask "Where has my other child gone?" She set off and travelled until morning. By about midday Sikhulumi and the girl saw the dust. The girl said: "Here comes Long Toe: it is she indeed; she is nearly upon us. Where shall we go?" They then saw a tall yellowwood tree; they ran and climbed on to it; the dogs remained at its foot.

7. Long Toe arrived, the woman with extraordinary strength. She had brought her axe. She looked up and saw them. Without hesitation she applied her axe to the tree. While she was hewing with all her might, the dogs set upon her and bit her. The tree was heard to creak as if breaking, and the dogs seized her firmly; one tore off her head, another her arm; others tore off her limbs and took them away to a distance; others dragged away her intestines. The tree grew strong immediately and returned to its former shape. Also Long Toe came back to life: all her limbs came together; she rose up, took her axe and hewed the tree with might. As the tree was heard to creak, the dogs again tore off her head and limbs, and each went with one to the river or to a rock; all did the same: they took stones and ground her limbs to powder.

8. Then Sikhulumi and the girl climbed down from the tree and ran away to Sikhulumi's people. The dogs threw Axe-Bearer's flesh into the river, ground to fine powder, then went off and followed Sikhulumi. That was the end of Axe-Bearer. When Sikhulumi arrived home found his people holding a funeral lamentation for him. At his arrival they slaughtered oxen and there was great rejoicing, saying to him: "Where did you get such a beautiful girl? And we thought that you were no longer in the land of the living. We thought you dead."

Our story ends here.

22. **UMPHANGOSE** (James Stuart Collection, No. 23)

1. Kwafika impi kubo kaMphangose, yavimbezela umuzi. Yayisibulala bonke abantu, kwasala yena. Naye wasala ngoba wathathwa omunye umuntu, wathi, "Yintombi yami le, yinhle kakhulu, ningayibulali." Basebemthatha-ke, impi leyo, behamba naye. Esefika ethi endleleni, sebehamba naye kakhulu laba bantu abamphangileyo. Sebethi abantu laba ahamba nabo akame, "Sala uma la! Nazi izinkomo ziyaphangwa nga la." Bathi nabo basayophanga izinkomo. Bathi kasale ema lapho. Bahamba-ke. Uma sebehambile, wayesebuyela emuva yena. Base befika kanye nezinkomo, lapha bemshiye khona, base befumanisa engasekho. Wayesethi omunye. "Asibuyele emuva siyomfuna, singelahlekelwe yintombi yethu enhle kangaka." Wasethi omunye, "Cha! Asihambe. Zizolahleka izinkomo zethu, zithathwe abanye." Base behamba-ke laba akade bemphangile. Baya ezweni lakubo, ababe besamlandela.

2. Wayesezicabangela-ke yena, esethi, "Babethe obaba noMa, uma kufa izwe angoya kudawabo kababa, kwaMkhindinkomo." Wahamba-ke. Walala. Wahamba, walala, wavuka. Wahamba, wahamba. Kwathi la esekubona la eya khona, kwase kuqhamuka imbulu. Yayisithi imbulu. "Sawubona mntanethu." Wayesethi, "Yebo!" Yayisithi imbulu, "Uyangaphi?" Wayesethi, "Ngafelwa yizwe; ngiya kodawabo kababa." Yayisithi imbulu, "Ngizakuhamba nawe, ngikuphelekezele."

3. Base behamba-ke, sebeshona emfuleni. Imbulu yayisicwilisa umsila wayo emanzini. Yayisimnyenyeza ngamanzi. Yayisithi, kakhumule izimpahla zakhe. Wayesezikhumula. Yayisithatha udaka, isiluxova. Yayisimhuqa ngalo. Yayisithatha izimpahla zakhe, sezifakwa iyona imbulu. Basebehamba-ke, bobabili. Sebefika-ke kulowo muzi, la beya khona oMphangose. Isifika ithi imbulu, "Yimina, ngize kudawabo kababa, ngize kuMkhindinkomo. Obaba noMa sebefa, kwafika impi." Sekukhalwa-ke, ngoba isisho ukuthi umuzi sewafa, wabulawa impi. Sekuthiwa abendlalelwe. Isithi yona imbulu, "Mina ngingeze ngihlala nalokhu, isichaka sami lesi, okuzongininda ngodaka." Isihlala yodwa-ke imbulu. Usethi uMkhindinkomo, "Hhawu! Mphangose (esho kuyona imbulu), kodwa usuwenziwa yini ukuba njena, lokhu wawumuhle kangaka?" Ithi yona "Yizindaba zokuhlupheka, mntakababa, nokufelwa yizwe."

4. Bahlala-ke. Besekuthiwa-ke uMphangose kwathiwa uyogana la kumyeni kaMkhindinkomo, udade wawoyise. Sekuthiwa imbulu leyo uyena umakoti. Sekuthiwa kuyena isichaka sembulu kahambe ayolinda. Likhona futhi ixhegwana elinye elatholwayo elihlala khona lapho kulowo muzi. Sekuthiwa aboyolinda naye, kodwa abayi ukuyolinda nsimu yinye. Nalo ixhegwana liyolinda kwenye insimu, naye alinde kwenye insimu. Ixhegwana lizisuse izinyoni kweyalo insimu. Besezisuka ziya kulena elindwe uMphangose. Bese lithi ixhegwana, "Nazo luChwazi!" angaze eziphonsa ngesandla, ahlale exhibeni. Abesethi:

Tayi! tayi! tayi!
Insimu kadade le!
Noma kungedade walutho.
Kwaf izwe, ngadinga,
Babethi obaba noMa,
Angoya kwaMkhindinkomo.

Zisuke izinyoni ukuba esho njalo. Njalo zibe ziyafike kuxhegwana athi, "Nazo luChwazi!"
Athi:

22. **MPHANGOSE** (The Kidnapped Girl)

1. An army came to the place of Mphangose and besieged the village. It then killed all the people. She was the only survivor. She survived only because she was taken by a man who said, "This is my girl, she is very beautiful, do not kill her." They took her then, that army, and went away with her. Once on their way, those people who had abducted her walked very fast. Then those people with whom she had been travelling said she should stop, "Wait here! There are cattle being plundered over there." They said they too were going to plunder the cattle. They said she should stay put there and wait. They went off then. As soon as they had gone, she made for her home. When they arrived with the cattle where they had left her, she was gone. One of them said, "Let us go back and look for her. We should not lose a girl as beautiful as that." Another said, "No, let us go. We will lose our cattle, they will be stolen by other people." They left then, those who had kidnapped her. They went to their own country without chasing after her.

2. She took stock of her situation then. She said, "Father and mother told me that, should the country be devastated, I must go to my father's sister, at Mkhindinkomo's place." She set off then. She slept. She woke. She travelled, she slept, she woke. She travelled and travelled. When she came in sight of the place she was going to, there suddenly appeared an imbulu. The imbulu said, "Greetings, child of our clan." She said "Yes! (Greetings)" The imbulu said, "Where are you going?" She said, "I have lost my people; I am going to my father's sister." The imbulu said "I will go with you and accompany you."

3. On their way they came to a river. The imbulu dipped its tail into the water. It sprayed her with water. It said that she should take off her clothes. She took them off. It took mud, kneaded it and smeared her with it. It then took her clothes, that imbulu, and put them on. Then they both proceeded on their way. They arrived at that village where Mphangose (and imbulu) were going. On their arrival the imbulu declared, "It is I! I have come to my father's sister, I have come to Mkhindinkomo. Father and mother are now dead. An army came." There was weeping, because it had said that the clan had perished, killed by the soldiers. A sleeping place was prepared for them. Then the imbulu said, "I will not stay with that thing! This is my slave; it will dirty me with its mud." The imbulu stayed alone. Then Mkhindinkomo said, "Oh! Mphangose (he said to the imbulu), what has made you look like this, you who were so beautiful?" It replied, "It is because of suffering, child of my father, and the destruction of our country."

4. They stayed then. It was then decided that Mphangose would marry the husband of Mkhindinkomo, her father's sister. It was understood that the imbulu would be the bride. The servant of the imbulu was to go to guard the fields. There was also a certain old man who had been received into the homestead (i.e. adopted), who stayed there at the village. It was said that they should both guard, but they would not guard the same field. The old man should guard one field, and she should guard another. The old man drove off the birds from his field. They went off into the field guarded by Mphangose. The old man said, "There they are Luchwazi (slave)!" She did not chase them with her hands, she stayed in the hut. She called:

Tayi. tayi, tayi!

This is the field of my sister!

Although she is a sister that is good for nothing,

My people were destroyed and I was in need,

My father and mother had told me,

I should go to Mkhindinkomo's place.

The birds flew off when she spoke thus. Always when they came to the old man's (field) and he would say, "There they are Luchwazi!" she would sing:

Tayi! tayi tayi!
 Insimu kadade le!
 Noma kungedade walutho.
 Kwaf' izwe ngadinga,
 Babethi obaba noMa,
 Angoya kwaMkhindinkomo.

5. Zisuke futhi izinyoni. Balinda lize lishone. Abesethike uxhegwana, "Asibuye." Babuye. Bafike ekhaya. Ixhegwana bese liyizeka-ke indaba, lithi, "Ningezwa ukuphonsa kukaLuchwazi izinyoni." Kuthi la bethi bamupha ukudla akwale, angaze akudla. Bese bebuza embulwini, bethi, "Lo Luchwazi lwakho owaluthola, aludli kudla yini?" Ithi imbulu, "Asidli isilima lesi. Sidla izinto zasendle nje."

6. Ulala lapha kulala uxhegwana khona kwaSalukazi. Kuye kuthi ebusuku, avuke angabi nalo udaka lolu, abemuhle; belele laba alele nabo. Athi phansi ngenduku, "Gqo! Akuvele ukudla, akuvele izindlubu!" Zivele. Athi futhi, "Gqo! Akuvele amasi." Avele. Athi, "Gqo! Akuvele inyama!" Kuvele konke akuthandayo. Athi, "Gqo! Akuvele utshwala!" Ivele yonke into ayithandayo. Adle. Acaphune kulokhuya, acaphune kulokhuya. Abesevusa isalukazi, esesipha. Sekubuye kushona phansi. Besekusa-ke.

7. Esehamba-ke eseyolinda noxhegwana. Sekuthi ekulindeneni selithi ixhegwana "Nazo! Luchwazi!" Esethi uMphangose, "Wongiphondela ngisayogeza." Ahambe-ke ashone emfuleni. Afike ageze. Ahlale njalo emfuleni, ilanga lize liphakame. Ixhegwana lathi, "Hhawu! uLuchwazi, ulibele yini emfuleni kangaka?" Kanti usefike emfuleni wathi akuphume konke ukudla kwakhe lokhu. Wathi akuphume yonke impahla yakhe. Wathi akuphume izinkabi zikayise. Ixhegwana lathi, "Ake ngiyobona ukuthi ubanjwe yini?" Laqhamuka ixhegwana. Lafinyanisa esekhwele phezulu enkabini yakwabo entusi, eneshoba elimhlophe, eya le, eya le. Sekuhlanganise ithusi emfuleni, sekucwazimula. Umzimba wakhe usucwazimula, usuyithusi. Esethi:

Enkundleni kababa!
 Sasithi!
 Kwezimashob' amhlophe
 Sasithi!

Enza njalo phela, yigamu. Uyahlabelela. Inkabi iya le, iya le. Ahlabelele athi futhi:

Enkundleni kababa!
 Sasithi!
 Kwezimashob' amhlophe. Sasithi!

8. Liyabuka ixhegwana. Ehlike enkabini. Abeselibiza ixhegwana, athi, "Woza lapha!" Bese liya ixhegwana. Esethi, "Uyothe uboneni na?" Lathi ixhegwana, "Ngiyothe angibonanga lutho." Wayeselipha konke ukudla ekade ethe akuphume phansi. Esethi-ke, akushone phansi futhi, kanye nezinkomo lezi. Esethatha udaka, esezihuqa ngodaka. Esethi kuxhegwana, alimhuqe ngasemuva. Lamhuqa. Laqeda. Base bebuya-ke beya ekhaya.

9. Laphaya ekhaya, la kulala khona imbulu, umakoti, ayaphela amagula, adliwa yimbulu ebusuku. Ixhegwana-ke layizeka le-ndaba ekade beyenza emfuleni noLuchwazi, eyizeka ngokuyifihla. Wayesethi uMkhindinkomo, "Cha, uMphangose lo!" esho yena lo owahuqwa

Tayi, tayi, tayi!
This is the field of my sister!
Although she is a sister that is good for nothing,
My people were destroyed and I was in need.
My father and mother had told me,
I should go to Mkhindinkomo's place.

5. The birds again flew away. They waited until sunset. Then the old man said, "Let us go back." They returned. They arrived home. The old man recounted the affair saying "You should hear how that Luchwazi chases the birds away." Any time they gave her food, she refused it and did not eat. They asked the imbulu, "That slave of yours, which you adopted, why does it not eat any food?" The imbulu said, "This beast does not eat. It just eats the things of the veld."

6. She slept there where the old man slept, at (the house) of an old woman. In the night she woke up and did not have on that mud: she was beautiful; the others who slept there with her were still asleep. She hit the ground with a stick, "Gqu! Come forth food, come forth ground nuts!" They came forth. She said again, "Gqo! Come forth sour milk!" It came forth. She said, "Gqo! Come forth meat!" All the things which she wanted came forth. She said "Gqo! Come forth beer!" Every thing she wanted came forth. She ate, ladling out from this and that. She woke the old woman and gave her some. Then everything disappeared into the ground. Morning came.

7. She went then to guard the fields with the old man. While keeping guard, the old man shouted, "There they are Luchwazi!" Then Mphangose said, "Chase them for me, I am going to wash." She then left, came to the river and washed. She stayed a long time at the river until the sun was already high. The old man said, "Oh! What is keeping Luchwazi so long at the river?" But it was because she made appear all her food. She ordered all her clothes to come out. She ordered all her father's cattle to come forth. The old man said, "Let me go and see what is keeping her." He came upon her and found her mounted on a red and white ox with a white tail and going here and there. The river was shining the colour of copper. Her body was also shining like brass. She sang:

At my father's meeting place
This is what we used to do;
To those with white tails,
This is what we used to do!

That's all she said, in song. She sang. The ox moved around, here and there. She sang again:

At my father's meeting place
This is what we used to do;
To those with white tails,
This is what we used to do!

8. The old man was watching. She came down from the ox. Then she called the old man, saying, "Come here!" The old man went there. She said, "What are you going to tell you have seen?" The old man replied, "I will say I have seen nothing." She then gave him all the food that had appeared out of the ground. She then ordered that everything should disappear into the ground again, together with the cattle. She took mud and smeared herself with it. She asked the old man to smear her back and he obliged, to perfection. They then returned home.

9. There at home, where the bride imbulu slept, calabashes of milk were disappearing, eaten at night by the imbulu. Naturally, the old man related the matter of what he had discovered about the slave at the river. He reported it secretly. Mkhindinkomo said: "So, that

imbulu ngodaka. Kwase kuthiwa la ekhaya, ake kumbiwe umgodi. Wawusumbiwa umgodi, wenziwa igebe. Kwase kuthiwa abayokweqa omakoti khona kuzawubonakala umakoti oweba amagula. Base beyake, ngasegebeni. Kwase kuthiwa abeqe omakoti. Umkhuba abazokweqa ngawo bathi Jwi! jwi! jwi! bathi:

Izimvubu zikaManyongwana
Azidliwanga yimina,
Zidliwe umpheki wazo.

Esethi-ke: "Wo, lusinga gqabuka, ngeqe!" Esethi ngqeshe! ngaphesheya. Njalo bonke. Bathi, Jwi! jwi! Isisuka nayo imbulu, isisho nayo isithi:

Jwi! jwi! jwi!
Izimvubu zikaManyongwana
Azidliwanga yimina,
Zidliwe umpheki wazo
Wo, lusinga, gqabuka ngeqe!

Yathi iyeqa kanti imbulu izophoseka phakathi, ngoba iyona ekade idla amagula. Yayisigqitshwa ngomhlabathi. Kwase kuphuma iso layo laqhuma, laqhuma laqhuma, laye lawela kude. Bayigqiba, bayibulala. Yathi imbulu, "Noma ningangibulala, ngike ngayidla inkomana enkonazana." Isho ngoba kade ibusa kuthiwa umakoti. Bayigqiba-ke.

10. Kwathi la kwawela khona iso lembulu, kwase kumila ithanga. Laselihlanza ithanga elikhulu. Lona-ke, base bembonile ukuthi uMphangose, uyena ozalwa ngumnewabo kaKhindinkomo. Wayesegana-ke yena uMphangose kuMkhwenyawabo. Wayesemitha. Wayesezala umntwana. Kuthe la esemzele umntwana wathi ehlezi yedwa emini, kwase kuqhuzuka ithanga leliya, iso lembulu, langena endlini, la abelethele khona. Lase lithi, "Ngamgixa! ngamgixa!" Ligixa uMphangose. Kwase kufika yena umyeni wakhe esezwa ekhala umkakhe. Esefinyanisa ithanga selimgixa. Eselithatha ithanga, elibamba. Usephuma nalo. Esefika eliklabela yena umyeni kaMphangose. Eselithatha, eselifaka emlilweni, eselibasela. Selisha kuze kube umlotha. Usewubutha umlotha usewuthatha, uwuthela emanzini.

Iyaphela-ke.

is Mphangose!" meaning the one covered in mud by the imbulu. He gave the order to dig a pit there at home. A hole was dug and a pit prepared. All young brides were then ordered to jump across, in order to find out which bride stole the calabashes. They came to the pit. The brides were made to jump. It was customary, when they leapt, that they should say **Jwil jwil jwil** They sang:

The hippos of Manyongwana
Were not eaten by me,
They were eaten by their cook.

Each one added: "Wo, sinew break off so that I may jump across!" She went **ngqeshel** to the other side. And so all of them complied and said **Jwil jwil jwil** Also the imbulu came and sang:

Jwil jwil jwil!
The hippos of Manyongwana,
They were not eaten by me,
They were eaten by their cook!
Wo, sinew break off so I may jump across!

It jumped, but the imbulu fell in, because it was it who had eaten the milk in the calabashes. They threw soil and covered it. But its eye sprang out, shot off and rolled itself, stopping some distance away. They buried and destroyed it. The imbulu said, "You kill me now, but I took my chances (I have eaten the contents of the calabashes)." It said so because it had had a long enjoyable life spell as a bride. Then they buried it.

10. Where the eye of the imbulu stopped, there grew a pumpkin. It began to bear fruit. As for the other guest, they realized that it was indeed Mphangose, the one born to Mkhindinkomo's relative. Mphangose then married her in-law. She fell pregnant. She bore a child. After she had born the child, one afternoon that she was on her own, the pumpkin which was the eye of the imbulu knocked itself off the plant and entered the room, where she had delivered the child. It (the pumpkin) said, "I am carving her up, I am carving her up." It hit Mphangose. Her husband came when he heard his wife's cries. He came upon the pumpkin hitting her. He took the pumpkin and went out with it. Mphangose's husband cut it up into slices. He took it, put it in the fire and burned it until it was ashes. He gathered the ashes, picked them up and threw them in the water.

It is finished.

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