Zulu Marriage Values and Attitudes Revealed in Song:

An Oral-style Analysis of *Umakoti Ungowethu*

as performed in

the *Mnambithi* Region at *Kwahlathi*

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Zandile Heavygirl Manqele

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own work and that all the sources I have used and quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of references.

Signature: ....

Date: ....

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Introduction

Early scholars such as Dundes (1965) and Bascomb (1965) claim that the value of folk-song depends only upon its function as entertainment. With further research, folk-songs have been discovered to reflect the broad ethical framework of the society in which they are composed. This is seen as a logical development, especially if one considers that literature and society are interdependent, and that human expression is a window through which one views the norms and values of a society

In this brief discussion I propose, as the title suggests, to analyse a marriage song which expresses/ manifests the attitude of the groom' family to young bride in the Zulu community. Mkhonto (in Dyubhele 1994:142) observes that:

> The use of verbal attack against others amongst human beings is a very ancient form which
> appears to have its roots in primitive practices such as formulaic in primitive curses and
> magical incantations. Such an attack is not without motive, which in all probability is to
> ridicule human frailty.

In some cases this verbal attack is provoked by human weakness of misbehaviour, and is an outburst of anger directed at the individual or situation concerned. In this case the attack is provoked by a human sense of selfishness, where the groom's family develops a negative attitude towards the young bride. The groom's family looks at the young bride as a person who is responsible for doing all the household chores in her new husband's home. While many new Zulu brides are welcomed as daughters to their husband's homes, it is not impossible that the young Zulu bride could be treated like a 'Cinderella' with quasi-slave status.

Aim of the study

The study of Zulu marriage values and attitudes observed in the analysis of a song in its context reveals that the Zulu song constitutes a form of oral communication which has its relevance in the social system of the Zulu people. Sishi (1996:50) supports this by saying:

> Oral messages conveyed by these songs touch directly and indirectly not only the life of the marrying couple but the life of every Zulu. Hence this reflects the way of life of the Zulu people irrespective of where they live.

I am a Zulu *makoti* (daughter-in-law), and I am therefore in the position of providing an insider or "implicated" (Stoller, 1996) view of the role of the *makoti* in Zulu society. From this perspective, I wish to investigate and record a marriage song which displays a particular set of values and attitudes towards Zulu brides. This oral tradition plays a regulating and cohering role in the fabric of the Zulu people. Because this is an oral tradition, it has not yet been recorded in writing. This study will contextualise this oral tradition in a social framework and place it on record. In addition, the research project will demonstrate that the gestual, rhythmo-melodic and linguistic features operate mnemonically in the performance of the song (Jousse 1997). It is intended that this research will make a contribution to the renaissance of an "African Africa" (Amadou Hampate Ba).

Scope of the study

The study is not intended to trace those Zulus who conducted their weddings in traditional ways of the pre-Shakan period. Further, this study does not undertake to describe, investigate or analyse the song *Umakoti Ungowethu* in ethno-poetic, linguistic, grammatical or ethno-musicological terms. Instead I have undertaken to demonstrated how the Mnemonic Laws and Mnemotechnical devices discovered by Marcel Jousse can be applied to the gestual-visual/oral-aural performance of the song, thus identifying the manner in which custom is embedded in human memory.

This study has a twofold focus:

1. It examines some marriage values among modern Zulu brides in the KwaHlathi area of the Mnambithi region in KwaZulu-Natal,

2. It demonstrates a rhythmo-mnemonic Oral-style analysis of a Zulu marriage song.

This study takes into account that as societies change, their institutions also change This is also true of the Zulus. Zulu marriages have assumed a new dimension in contemporary contexts and the songs and other performative acts reveal this innovation.

The language used in these performed acts is attuned to this change, yet express continuity of tradition Finnegan (1970) observes that "even in society apparently dominated by the printed word, the oral aspect is not entirely lost" This quotation explains the persistence of these performances in spite of the onslaught by forces of modernisation and education (Sishi 1996:2).

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Literature Review

In this study, information about Zulu marriages has been drawn from a variety of sources, which include some of the following.

In her compilation of the social systems of the Zulu people, Krige (1974) gives the reader a thorough understanding of the Zulu people. Her book embraces the social structure and organisation of the Zulu people, some of which still obtain today and still influence their thinking and their behaviour.

In *Oral Literature*, Finnegan (1970) provides very extensive and useful information on elements of oral performance. She also gives a general analysis of the performance elements in their contexts. A great deal of this information has been very useful in providing clear direction for this research project.

Braadveldt (1927) gives an elaborate account of old traditional marriages, their customs and ceremonies. This has been most valuable in discovering the old and the new in Zulu marriage customs. Khumalo's (1997) analysis of the traditional Zulu marriage includes terms like *umlobokazi* (the bride) and *udwendwe* (wedding ceremony). These terms were mostly used during the pre-Shakan period. Khumalo's thesis provided insights into pre-Shakan marriage customs out of which the post-Shakan and modern marriages have developed.

Magwaza (1993) deals with a number of traditional ceremonies such as *ukuthomba* (the stage where a girl reaches the mature stage and experiences mensuration), and *umemulo* (the traditional marriageable ritual of a young Zulu woman). The above ceremonies are performed before the process of *lobola* and the wedding ceremony. Magwaza highlights the cultural importance of the ceremonies she describes,

of which marriage is only one.

The dynamic nature of women's traditional songs

Traditional Zulu marriages are celebrated differently from Christian weddings. The whole concept of the traditional Zulu marriage institution and its mores have been revolutionised by Christianity. Christian marriage means acceptance of one wife and the condemnation of traditional Zulu polygamy. Vows are made before the Christian God, and not before the traditional members of the extended family as the case used to be in traditional Zulu marriage ceremonies. It also means the creation of a new concept, that of contemporary Zulu wedding songs which did not exist previously.

The role of song as a significant element associated with marriage rituals is not restricted to Zulu society. Boodhoo (1994) highlights traditional songs of marriage settlement known as *barachia* (the protection of the bridegroom) songs in the *Bhojpuri* tradition of the people of Mauritius. In traditional Indian societies, the choice of marriage partners is generally settled by parents. The foremost of the procedures of *Bhojpuri* marriage is the selection of a suitable bridegroom by the father of the girl. After the bride's father has made the selection, the *barachia* ceremony is held. The initial step reflects the solemn determination of both parties to have the marriage consummated.

The formal acceptance of the bridegroom is marked by a ceremony in which the bride's father or brother applies a *tilak*, or red mark to the forehead of the groom as a mark of acceptance. After this practise, women sing joyous songs to mark this event. They describe the ceremony in detail, and mention the various gifts that are brought for the bridegroom by the bride's party. This marks the formal integration of the two families.

Bhoodoo (1994:135) observes thus:

> The post-wedding songs herald the bride's departure for her future home. They are very emotional and pathetic refrains that symbolise the separation of the bride from her family and her integration into a new family, where she will raise children of her own. She is enjoined to respect her father-in-law and mother-in-law, and to bear her tribulations with patience and stoicism.

In Hindu marriages, jewellery is very important in a married woman's life. The traditional Hindu family follows an extended nuclear family pattern, although nowadays it is becoming more a one-unit family (Bhoodoo 1994:156).

Methodology

Interviews

In the course of this study, I conducted interviews with nine married Zulu women selected because the song *Umakoti Ungowethu* had been sung at their marriage ceremonies and they were therefore *makotis* (traditional Zulu daughters-in-law). The respondents' ages ranged from twenty-six to sixty-two years of age, with an average age of thirty-six years. All of the respondents were residents of KwaHlathi, and had been married for between one to forty-five years. The reason for the interviews was to obtain information directly from the relevant people who are experiencing the life of being Zulu married women. I wished to establish the values and attitudes of the women towards their status as *makotis*. These interviews were conducted both with women who live with their extended families and those who live with their nuclear families.

Four of the respondents wanted to remain anonymous and co-operated on condition that they would not be named. These four respondents were all comparatively recently married – between one to twelve years - and numbered among the younger of the respondents, with an average age of thirty years of age.

Interviews were conducted in Zulu, the mother-tongue of the respondents, and in neutral and comfortable surroundings. Interviews averaged just under one hour each. During the interviews I encouraged the interviewees to give an account of their experiences, insights and opinions spontaneously and in an unstructured way, as I wanted to encourage honest and natural responses. The questions I put to them were intended to draw out their feelings, opinions and attitudes towards their roles as a *makotis*, and the song *Umakoti Ungowethu*, which indicated to them what this role would be.

Participant observation

I attended a number of Zulu weddings at which the song, *Umakoti Ungowethu* was sung, which were celebrated in the 1980s, the early 90s, the late 90s and one in the 21st century on the 8th of January 2000. (See Appendix for details) In all instances, I observed that the song, *Umakoti Ungowethu*, has been modified to reflect the current style of living.

Responses of interviewees: the values and attitudes of some Zulu married women towards their status as *makotis*.

All interviewees responded enthusiastically and welcomed the opportunity to air their feelings and opinions on the subject of the status of the *makoti* in Zulu society

Respondent Mrs Makhosazane Zwane of KwaHlathi area is an old woman who is now a pensioner, a granny and is 62 years old. She was married at the age of eighteen, in 1955. Mrs Makhosazane Zwane stated that she believes in the old-fashioned life-style where the *makoti* (daughter-in-law) should break away from her age-mates and join the older women of the community so that they can give her guidance and advice about accepted direction and behaviour. Mrs Zwane stated that the *makoti* truly **belongs** — in the material sense of the word - to the groom's family. She said the main reason for this is that a payment of *lobola* (a bride-price of cattle) has been made by the groom and his family for the bride, and the bride's and the groom's *amadlozi* (ancestors) have been made aware of the marriage. This is a doubly binding contract between the families involved. The old lady, Mrs Zwane, said that, as a younger woman, she used to enjoy *ukukotiza* (hard work as a new bride) while she was a young *makoti* because hard and active work and giving birth to many children was a matter of pride to her as an *makoti*. She also stated that the *makoti* should demonstrate *hlonipha* (respect) in all she does including her manner of dress and speech, and the foods demanded of her because of her *makoti* status.

Interviews Conducted with Women in the 40-50 Age Range

Of the women I interviewed, two of them were in the age range forty to fifty years. They were Mrs B.T Mncube who was married in 1985 and Mrs G. Kunene of KwaHlathi who was married in 1982.

They both enjoyed *ukukotiza* (hard work as new brides) and they are proud of that. These two women are currently not commercially employed. They say that while they previously saw no need to be employed, they now feel the need to find paying work and earn money in order to raise their standard of living, and because they want a good education for their children. One of these sources stated that there is nothing wrong in giving birth to many children. She said it is a matter of pride for women to

give birth to many children so as to prove that the *lobola* that was paid for her was not wasted. Both these sources do not favour breaking away from the major extended family unit: they want to stay together with their-in-laws. They know very little about women's rights.

Interviews Conducted with Women in the 20-40 Age Range

Isources in this age-range included Mrs V. Khoza of KwaHlathi who was married in 1991 and Mrs J. Zwane who was married in 1996. Another four sources requested that they not be named. All these respondents' marriage ceremonies were conducted in KwaHlathi

These women are well-informed about the Zulu culture, and are fully aware of the traditional role and its implications with regard to their status as Zulu *makoti*. Nevertheless, they stated that they prefer living in nuclear families with their husbands and children. They preferred not to live in *inxuluma* (extended family unit of many houses and many members of the family). These sources stated that they want to enjoy their rights as women of the 90s. Four of them are employed and well-educated with university degrees. They said they enjoy living with their nuclear families. They stated that they want to live in well-developed places where water, electricity and transport are available. They remain in their nuclear families for a long periods at a time, and do not visit the extended families regularly. The *gogos* (grandmothers) in the extended family system complain about this custom because the very old women want every member of the family to live within the extended families. The reason why these women do not want to be named is that this issue is very sensitive.

The sources stated that they support the celebration of Zulu cultural practices, and believe that it is right and proper, for instance, to wear *inzilo* (black mourning dress for the deceased family

member). All these women stated that they want to maintain contact with their families and their cultural roots. They perform the duties of being a *makoti* when they are with their families in the rural areas. This usually takes place if there is a ceremony or a ritual, a *makoti* will work hard and do all the duties like brewing *umqombothi* (Zulu beer). I doubt that they will encourage their daughters to be traditional *makotis:* as it is their daughters know very little about rural life since they live with them in the urban areas.

I, on the other hand, because of my positive experience as a *makoti*, will encourage my own daughter to be a traditional *makoti* and visit her parents-in-law regularly even if she is working and living at a distance from the traditional homestead. I would encourage this because I believe that by so doing, she will be able to maintain good contact with her cultural roots. I believe that personal identity and focus is dependent on knowing 'where we come from'.

Of this group. Mrs J. Zwane is the only *makoti* who enjoys staying with the extended family. She said she experiences no difficulty being a rural *makoti* these days because there is a supply of electricity in rural areas. She also said if she wants to go to town, it is not a problem because taxi transport is available. In terms of hard work, she said she enjoys working hard but some of the duties are not performed by herself alone as she is helped by her sisters-in-law. Mrs J. Zwane said she enjoys her life as a Zwane *makoti* because her parents-in-law and her husband, Siphiwe, love her very much. For Mrs Zwane, her role as a Zulu *makoti* is a matter of extreme pride and she has chosen to fulfil her role and perform her duties in a traditional way as an indication of respect and *hlonipha* (politeness). This is demonstrated by the fact that she will never walk across the front of the hut of her parents-in-law, that she keeps her eyes lowered in the presence of her husband and members of his family, and is selective

about the terms she uses when referring to the members of the family.

The other *makotis* in this group performed these roles and observed the traditions in varying degrees, but mostly their modern lifestyles and attitudes imply an erosion and modification of the traditional behaviours. Modifications in this context are the changes from the traditional life of doing things to the modern lifestyle. Some modifications are accepted by the members of the extended families for example allowing women to be employed.

Observations of the song, *Umakoti Ungowethu*, and its modification when sung in *KwaHlathi*

The song *Umakoti Ungowethu* is related to the required behaviour of a woman in the Zulu society, echoed by the interviewees of all ages. The young woman is expected to work hard and bear children for the family. It is clearly indicated that the function of the *makoti* in Zulu society is to provide service for the groom's family, and be ready to be a life partner to the groom.

During a Zulu wedding ceremony, the group of people from the groom's family and entourage will sing *Umakoti ungowethu* to inform the bride and to tell the public that the bride will henceforth belong to them, the groom's family. The song also informs the bride about her duties, and the expectations of her by the groom's family.

In the course of this study, I attended a number of wedding ceremonies in *KwaHlathi* as part of my observation during data collection. I observed that the song *Umakoti Ungowethu* was sung in each instance and that in the singing of the song, the bridegroom's family expressed their feelings and attitudes about the bride as a new member of the family, their prescriptions about the new bride's

behaviour and activities, and their expectations of the duties that she would perform in the home.

In 1985, at the wedding of Mr J. Mncube of Danhauser and Mrs T. Mncube of *KwaHlathi*, the song was sung and the groom's family was very excited after the signing of the marriage agreement at the church. In 1990, at the wedding of Mr J. Manqele of Ntuzuma and Mrs Z. Manqele of *KwaHlathi*, the song was sung with the same words and meaning as that sung at the marriage in 1985 (as below), which was interesting in that the groom's family came from Durban, which is some distance from *KwaHlathi*.

The *KwaHlathi* rural version of the song includes the prescription that:

Angawahambi amabhayisikobho

She must not go to films

Whereas the Ntuzuma Township in Durban version includes the prescription that:

Angawahambi amahhotela

She must not go to the hotels

There is modification in the lyrics from 'films' to 'hotels'. The urban people sing about 'hotels' because they are living in a place where there are hotels near them, unlike in rural areas where people are living far away from town and where there are no hotels for easy access.

In 1996 I attended the wedding of Mr S. Zwane of KwaHlathi and Mrs J. Zwane of Limehill. At this wedding *Umakoti Ungowethu* was sung and the groom's family was excited at the prospect of a new

makoti in the family. What was particularly significant was that this was the first *makoti* in the Zwane family, as she had married the first-born son in the family who was therefore the Zwane family heir.

In September 1999 I attended the wedding of Mr and Mrs Khoza where I observed *Umakoti Ungowethu* being sung again.

Every time this song is sung, the audience becomes animated and involved and even end up participating by not only observing but also by moving up and down celebrating that the bride belongs to the groom's family. The singing of the same song has been observed at all weddings I attended before and during the research process.

This picture shows the wedding ceremony of Theodorah Sombu Zwane and Jabulani Mncube who got married in 1985. They are in the church where the marriage agreement was signed. The same song *Umakoti Ungowethu* was sung immediately after the signing of the church register, to celebrate the status of the *makoti* as belonging to the groom's family. The researcher is the bridesmaid on the left.

The picture above was taken at the marriage of Mr and Mrs Manqele at KwaHlathi area. The picture was taken on the 15[the] of December 1990. The thatched building in the background is the traditional Zulu house – *indlu yakwa gogo* (granny's house or the house of the *amadlozi*, the ancestors) - that is used in variety of ceremonies. On this occasion, on the Thursday prior to the wedding on the Saturday, the bride's grandfather gathered the family in this *indlu yakwa gogo*, to report the forthcoming marriage to the ancestors, and to invite them to bless the wedding and to give their support so that the marriage would be successful. In this instance, the song *Umakoti Ungowethu* was sung, on the first day of the wedding at the bride's home, by the group featured in the photograph. A stick of the kind used in the performance of the song, *Umakoti Ungowethu* (see page 21) can be seen carried in the right hand of a man dressed traditionally in the background on the right of the photograph. It must be noted that although this marriage had already been solemnised at the Methodist Church in Dundee, it remained for the traditional marriage rites to be performed fully before it was considered binding. The ceremony in the *indlu yakwa gogo* was only one of a number of traditional rites that were performed.

Modification to the status of *Makoti*

Urbanisation and globalisation result naturally in a shift away from a traditional life to a more modern way of life. Traditional customs are often eroded by the norms and needs of technology and the contact with other societies. There are some current modifications to the role and duties of the *makoti*.

Traditionally, *makoti* was expected to do everything at home, the cooking, the washing, working in the garden and looking after the children. What I have observed is that the grooms' families have changed their attitudes towards *makotis*. These days a *makoti* can go and seek employment and be employed. The *Makoti* can decide with her husband on the number of children they want. It is unlike the olden days where the parents-in-law decided on the number of children that the couple would bear. (p.c. with Gogo Zwane)

The way of dressing has changed, the modern *makoti* can wear a skirt without wearing the *iphinifo* (an overdress sewn with gathering at the waist). I have observed that modern *makotis* live in their nuclear families, and merely pay visits to the extended family during the *umsebenzi* (times of functions) The *makoti* (bride) has to *hlonipha* (respect) all members of the groom's family starting from the day of payment of *lobola*, that is before marriage. What is observed is that some of the *makotis* practice respect and some do not show any respect. Levin (1946:24), writing about Xhosa customs demonstrates the similarities between the Xhosa and Zulu traditions in this regard:

> During the betrothal period the girl was not allowed to visit the young man at his home, and she avoided passing the kraal in which he lived. If she met any of his male relatives she would run away and hide.

The above quotation indicates the part of *hlonipha* (respect) that starts before marriage. This aspect of respect is linked to "custom". Reuter (1963:24) defines custom as:

> The usual practice, habit or manner of conduct, that is, an actual way of behaving. In course of time this manner of acting may become an obligation of conduct, a binding rule for one's behaviour, it any, as we say, obtain the force of law. This two distinct things, observance or manner of acting and ensuring obligation to act in that way, combined to form a legal custom, which is commonly interpreted as established usage having the force of law.

Traditionally and even now in the modern times, people are expected to show good and accepted kind of behaviour. People should do things according to the rules that guide the particular society in which they live.

A traditional *makoti* can do the traditional work of the *makoti* when she is with the extended family. She can also be employed and go to work when she is in her nuclear home.

How do *makotis* – married Zulu women - cope with living in two worlds?

I have observed that living in two worlds is easy for people who understand the reasons why they should live in two worlds. For example, I am one of those people. I live in the township, that is, *Esikhawini* township. I live in a township, that is where I am employed and where my children attend school. These opportunities do not exist in the rural areas where my parents-in-law live. In this place I practise modern life. I am a well-educated and employed woman. I am free to come up with my ideas in my family. I regularly go back to the extended family, where my parents-in-law are staying with

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other members of the family. When I am in the rural areas, I do not behave like a visitor, but I adjust to the local custom: I wear the traditional 'uniform' of a *makoti*, *viz. iphinifo* (pinafore), *nkuhlonipha* (a cloth scarf worn around the neck to indicate the married status of a woman) and an *idhiku* (a scarf wound around the head) and perform all the traditional duties of a *makoti*. When I am in the rural areas, my behaviour must to suit the local people and be accepted. I do not stand aside and pretend that I know nothing about rural life, but I involve myself in everything that is taking place in the homestead. For example, if there are some preparations for a function that is to be performed, I become actively involved in *nkuphisa ntshwala besiZulu* (the brewing of Zulu beer).

I choose to live in two worlds because I do not want to forget my roots. I love the place where I come from and I love my family and relatives that are in the rural areas. I value the place and the people very much. I keep on going back home because I do not want to break away from the family. At home (in the extended family) is where I learn a lot about the history of the family, and the values and beliefs of the family. I believe that a person who runs away from his/her family is like a 'tree without roots'.

In this kind of situation, the *makoti* is not required to work alone, and therefore being the *makoti* is not inbred traditionally as servant to all other members of the husband's family. This more modern attitude is becoming increasingly prevalent.

The above picture shows *makoti* performing one of her duties after the funeral of her mother-in-law. The *makoti* is the one who has covered her head and is washing a three-legged pot. The other three ladies standing are the sisters-in-law of the *makoti*. The girls seated on the chairs are the daughters of the *makoti*. It is accepted that the young girls will watch the older *makoti* work: in the future they will perform the same role. but they are, as yet, not yet of an age and do not have the status that requires them to perform the duties of a *makoti*.

Theoretical Framework for the analysis of *Umakoti Ungowethu* as an Oral-style text

Jousse's theory of the Anthropology of *Geste* and Rhythm is suitable for the analysis of a traditional song because the theory accounts for all aspects of the oral-aural/visual-gestual mode of Oral-style expression evidenced in the performance of the song. The structure that Jousse suggests reflects the structure of the human body with a 'spine' down the centre and the balancing of the 'limbs' on either side

Jousse's Theory of Expression and Memory: the Oral Style

Marcel Jousse (1886-1961) who was born into an oral milieu, demonstrated "his capacity to bestride the oral-literature interface in his inspired lifetime" (Editor's and translators' foreword Jousse 1997).

Jousse is responsible for many valuable insights pertaining to human expression in a variety of ways and for a variety of functions. Jousse's theory of *"From Mimism to Music in the Child"* traces the development of human expression in the young anthropos[1] both as an individual and as species (Jousse 1997:91). According to Jousse, when the anthropos is impressed s/he will have to express what is within him/her. During the period of expression the anthropos, could use the voice or gestures or any kind of expressing the feelings or voicing out the message. This applies to all forms of human expression including song, hence this analysis (see pages 20ff).

Jousse also focuses on the balanced bilateralism of the human whole - the left side and the right side, the front and the back, the top and the bottom. - and noted that we also acknowledge the importance of balance even in our emotions. We talk conversationally of 'mental and emotional imbalances' as a negative condition needing re-balancing. The combination of balance and rhythm ensure that the propositions of meanings expressed by the anthropos are equally balanced and rhythmical, and that this combination becomes viscerally embedded with the rhythms of body function, and then the whole body remembers. Learning, memory and expression for Jousse are holistic - a whole-being process. Jousse also identifies "rhythm" as a natural capacity in man reflected intrinsically and systematically in the rhythms of his body functions. Balance and rhythm become audible and visible in the performance of the song, analysed and 'put-on-the-page' in this analysis (see pages 25ff).

When presenting an oral text, there is a spine down the centre of the page with the right and the left structures of the song on either side: this demonstrates the relationship between the 'song-as-performed' and the 'song-as-written'. (See below)

Presentation of the Analysis of the Song *Umakoti Ungowethu*

The presentation of a song text on the page is problematic in that it then appears to be a written text. The following is the Zulu verbal text of the song, *Umakoti Ungowethu* with an English translation presented conventionally as written texts.

The lyrics of the song, *Umakoti Ungowethu*

ZULU	ENGLISH
Umakot' ungowethu	The bride is ours
Siyavuma	We agree
Ungowethu ngempela	She is really ours
Siyavuma	We agree
Uzosiwashel' asiphekele	She will do the washing and the cooking for us
Siyavuma	We agree
Sithi ê-é-é! ê-é-é!	We say yes! yes!
Siyavuma	We agree
Umakot' ungowethu	The bride is ours
Siyavuma	We agree
Ungowethu ngempela	She is really ours
Siyavuma	We agree
Uzosiwashel' asiphekele	She will do the washing and the cooking for us
Siyavuma	We agree
Sithi ê-é-é! ê-é-é!	We say yes! yes!
Siyavuma	We agree
Uzosiwashel' asiphekele	She will do the washing and the cooking for us
Siyavuma	We agree
Uzosiwashel' asiphekele	She will do the washing and the cooking for us
Siyavuma	We agree
Uzosiwashel' asiphekele	She will do the washing and the cooking for us
Siyavuma	We agree
Sithi ê-é-é! ê-é-é!	We say yes! yes!
Siyavuma	We agree

Angawahambi amadis'kho	She must not go to the disco's
Siyavuma	We agree
Angawahambi amabhayis'kobho	She must not go to the films
Siyavuma	We agree
Singamuthol' emaphathini	She must not attend parties
Siyavuma	We agree
Sithi ê-ê-ê! ê-ê-ê!	We say yes! yes!
Siyavuma	We agree
Ngo 'buzosiwashel' asiphekele	Because she will do the washing and the cooking for us
Siyavuma	We agree
Uzosiwashel' asiphekele	She will do the washing and the cooking for us
Siyavuma	We agree
Uzosiwashel' asiphekele	She will do the washing and the cooking for us
Siyavuma	We agree
Sithi ê-ê-ê! ê-ê-ê!	We say yes! yes!
Siyavuma	We agree

The song, *Umakoti Ungowethu* presented as an Oral-style text in Zulu

In the representation below, to avoid the perception that the written song text is the same as a performed song text, I have placed the latter text in the centre of the page. In this way the text is not aligned to a left-hand margin but creates its own 'shape' around a 'spine' running down the centre of the reproduced 'oral' text:

Umakot' ungowethu
Siyavuma
Ungowethu ngempela
Siyavuma
Uzosiwashel' asiphekele
Siyavuma
Sithi ê-ê-ê! ê-ê-ê!
Siyavuma

Umakot' ungowethu
Siyavuma
Ungowethu ngempela
Siyavuma
Uzosiwashel' asiphekele
Siyavuma
Sithi ê-ê-ê! ê-ê-ê!
Siyavuma

Uzosiwashel' asiphekele
Siyavuma
Uzosiwashel' asiphekele
Siyavuma
Uzosiwashel' asiphekele
Siyavuma
Sithi ê-ê-ê! ê-ê-ê!
Siyavuma

Angawahambi amadis'kho
Siyavuma
Angawahambi amabhayis'kobho
Siyavuma
Singamuthol' emaphathini
Siyavuma
Sithi ê-ê-ê! ê-ê-ê!
Siyavuma

Ngo'buzosiwashel' asiphekele
Siyavuma
Uzosiwashel' asiphekele
Siyavuma
Uzosiwashel' asiphekele
Siyavuma
Sithi ê-ê-ê! ê-ê-ê!
Siyavuma

The song, *Umakoti Ungowethu* **presented as an Oral-style text in English**

The bride is ours
We agree
She is really ours
We agree
She will do the washing and the cooking for us
We agree
We say yes! yes! yes!
We agree

The bride is ours
We agree
She is really ours
We agree
She will do washing & cooking for us
We agree
We say yes! yes! yes!
We agree

She will do the washing and the cooking for us
We agree

She will do the washing and the cooking for us
We agree
She will do the washing and the cooking for us
We agree
We say yes! yes! yes!
We agree

She must not go to the disco's
We agree
She must not go to the films
We agree
She must not attend parties
We agree
We say yes! yes! yes!
We agree

Because she will do the washing and the cooking for us
We agree
She will do the washing and the cooking for us
We agree
She will do the washing and the cooking for us
We agree
We say yes! yes! yes!
We agree

Umakoti Ungowethu and the Oral-style Law of Mimism

Jousse describes the anthropos – 'man' as an "indivisible complexus of gestes, a psychophysiological whole being". (Jousse 1997:14) The geste is an impulse that is played into man - 'im(n)-pressed'[2] - by the surrounding environment, which man then 're-plays' - 'ex-presses'[3]. Jousse calls it "mimism". in other words, people 'ex-press' what is 'im-pressed' into them. The result of this process can be seen in the following photograph taken at the wedding ceremony of Zandile Zwane and Jabulani Manqele.

This photograph was taken on the 16th of December 1990. Zulu weddings usually take place over two days in *Mnambithi* (Ladysmith). This photograph was taken on the second day of the marriage ritual, which had by this time progressed into the latter aspects of the ritual. This aspect of the ritual was performed at the groom's home. At the time that this photograph was taken, the song *Umakoti Ungowethu* was being sung. The *makoti* keeps her eyes lowered as a sign of respect for her husband's family - part of the *hlonipha* code of polite behaviour. The ladies with their hands up were showing their excitement as they sang:

Sithi ê-é-é! ê-é-é!
Siyavuma

We say yes! yes!
We agree.

Some of the singers had their hands raised up, swaying them to the right and the left rhythmically, moving from side to side as they sang, showing the balance in the song. When *Umakoti Ungowethu* is sung there is the involvement of gestures. The legs move from left to the right. When they sing [*sithi ê-é-é!*] the right foot stamps down and when they sing the second [*ê-é-é!*] the left stamps down and when they sing [*siyavuma*] the right foot again stamps down and that shows a distinct formula. What

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is important is that the whole body moves during the performance of this song manifesting what Jousse calls the 'corporeal-manual geste'[4] (Jousse 1997:92).

On the right at the back of the photograph, an old woman with the rug over her shoulders - 'the bearer of tradition' and a young child - 'the apprehender of tradition'[5] were watching the performance of the song. The old woman was *ululating* to show her excitement. Ululating is an African way of applause, and is performed by older people - usually women - in most traditional Zulu ceremonies especially weddings and is the traditional way of expressing appreciation. Audience-participation heightens the performance

In the background, there is an audience that is observing the performance of the song. Some of the members of the audience are seated on the chairs enjoying their drinks, but they are also observing and listening to the singing of *Umakoti Ungowethu*. Small children have joined the crowd that is singing. We can see in the photograph a young girl and a boy are among the singing crowd; in this way custom is traditioned:

> *Umakoti ungowethu*
> *Siyavuma*
> *Ungowethu ngempela*
> *Siyavuma*
>
> The bride is ours
> We agree
> She is really ours
> We agree

The text is thus sung to inform the public that the marriage agreement has been signed, and now the bride belongs to the groom's family:

Uzosiwashel'asiphekele
Siyavuma
Sithi ê-ê-ê! ê-ê-ê!
Siyavuma

She will do the washing and the cooking for us
We agree
We say yes! yes!
We agree

In the above, the instructions are given by the groom's family to the bride. The bride is instructed as to what she is going to do in the new family. The bride is given duties to perform; the groom's family - indicated by the use of 'us' - repeats seven times that she will do the washing and cook for the whole family.

Uzosiwashel'asiphekele
Siyavuma
Uzosiwashel''siphekele
Siyavuma
Uzosiwashel'asiphekele
Siyavuma
Sithi ê-ê-ê! ê-ê-ê!
Siyavuma

She will do the washing and the cooking for us
We agree
She will do the washing and the cooking for us
We agree
She will do the washing and the cooking for us

We agree
We say yes! yes!
We agree

The above has the repetition of some sounds. That indicates the emphasis and the strength of the directive. That is why sounds are repeated.

According to the Zulu culture, a *makoti* has to do things according to the society in which she lives. The new *makoti* is expected to do away with some of the practices that she used to do before marriage. The following words of the song shows the rules which need to be respected by the bride:

Angawahambi amadis'kho
Siyavuma
Angawahambi amabhayis'kobho
Siyavuma
Singamtholi emaphathini
Siyavuma
Sithi ê-ê-ê! ê-ê-ê!
Siyavuma

She must not go to disco's
We agree
She must not go to the films
We agree
She may not be found at parties
We agree
We say yes! yes!
We agree

The above shows us that there must be a difference between a married woman and a single woman. The married woman should do things according to the cultural norms and values. To maintain the respectful status if one is a Zulu woman is very important: one must not to go to disco's and parties. The Zulu woman should do the household work and look after the parents-in-law. The bride has to bear children and also bring them up in an orderly way. The above verse shows that the young bride is not there in the groom's family for enjoyment, but for hard work and to show respect.

This is the reality of the Zulu married woman's lifestyle, reflected mimismologically in the words of the song, *Umakoti Ungowethu*, and sung and danced in rhythmic 're-play' or 'ex-pression'

Umakoti Ungowethu and the Oral-style Laws of Balance and Rhythm

Jousse identified the central role of rhythm in the expression and memory of the human being, and favoured the presentation of performed texts in balanced Rhythmic schemas placed in way that demonstrates their pattern or formula.

The song *Umakoti Ungowethu* is sung rhythmically and it has balance: in the singing, the singer moves from side to side - from left to right - as the words are sung. In other words, there is a left to right and central system of placing sound in relation to the movement of the body. Some of the uttered units are on the spine of the page and there are others in a balance on either side of the spine. This kind of analysis and representation of performance is a Joussean convention.

It is important to note that when the song *Umakoti Ungowethu* is written down, the uttered units are spread on either side of the spine of the page. This has a particular impact on the division of units of utterance that are usually combined, namely, in this instance, *Siyavuma* and *Sithi-e-e-e! e-e-e!* In these two instances, the units of utterance are divided in a non-grammatical presentation across the spine of the page. Thus : *Siya-* and *-vuma* and *Sithi-e-e-e!* and *e-e-e!*

Umakoti Ungowethu in Rhythmic Schemas

1	2
Umakoti	*ungowethu*

3	4
Siya-	*-vuma*

5	6
ungowethu	*ngempela*

7	8
Siya-	*-vuma*

9	10
Uzosiwashel'	*asiphekele*
11	12
Siya-	*-vuma*
13	14
Sithi ê-é-é!	*ê-é-é!*
15	16
Siya-	*-vuma*
17	18
Uzosiwashel'	*asiphekele*
19	20
Siya-	*-vuma*
21	22
Uzosiwashel'	*asiphekele*
23	24
Siya-	*-vuma*
25	26
Uzosiwashel'	*asiphekele*
27	28
Siya-	*-vuma*
29	30
Sithi ê-é-é!	*ê-é-é!*
31	32
Siya-	*-vuma*
33	34
Angawahambi	*amadis'kho*
35	36
Siya-	*-vuma*
37	38
Angawahambi	*amabhayis'kobho*
39	40
Siya-	*-vuma*

41	42
Singamutholi	*emaphathini*

43	44
Siya-	*-vuma*

45	46
Sithi ê-ê-ê!	*ê-ê-ê!*

47	48
Siya-	*-vuma*

Umakoti Ungowethu is constructed of twenty-four simple binary rhythmic schemas, balanced rhythmically on either side of the 'spine' of the page. The twenty-four binary rhythmic schemas are divided into three sets of eight binary rhythmic schemas (Set One: Rhythmic schemas 1-16; Set Two: Rhythmic Schemas 17-32; Set Three: Rhythmic Schemas 33-48). At the end of each section there is a chorus of six rhythmic units in binary pairs:

Siya-	*-vuma*
Sithi ê-ê-ê!	*ê-ê-ê!*
Siya-	*-vuma*

The Formulaic refrain

Siya-	*-vuma*

is repeated twelve times in the song, in rhythmic schemas numbers 3-4, 7-8, 11-12, 15-16, 19-20, 23-24, 27-28, 31-32, 35-36, 39-40, 43-44, 47-48.
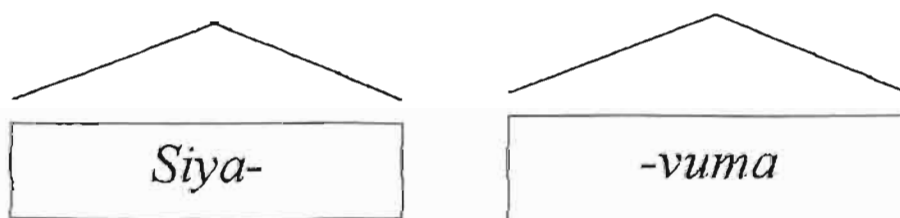
Jousse (1997:99) identifies four rhythms: The Rhythm of Duration, The Rhythm of Intensity, the Rhythm of Timbre and the Rhythm of Pitch. In this analysis of *Umakoti Ungowethu*, the Rhythm of Pitch is clearly demonstrated in the performance of the song, where the pitch of the voice moves up and down, usually mirroring or matching the movement of the body and hands; thus the "corporeal-manual" (body and hands) (Jousse 1997:65) and "laryngo-buccal" (speech) (Jousse 1997:90) mode of expression are working together. The movement of the pitch of the voice is demonstrated in the graphics below:

The pitch of the voice in /ê-è-è! ê-è-è/ is observed strongly on the {e}` with a circumflex on the first [e] and a rising inflection on the last two, in each instance.

| Sithi ê-é-é! | ê-é-é! |

As this formulaic chorus is chanted, the singer's fingers point the emphasis of the words in the short firm upward jabs, found with greater intensity on the right side and then on the left side. The Balance, Rhythm and Formula is clearly evident in the gestual performance of the song (see next section on Corporeal-manual geste).

The simple Binary Rhythmic Schema - [*Siyavuma*] - is marked by a circumflex Rhythm of Pitch as observed in Rhythmic Schemas numbered 3-4, 7-8, 11-12, 15-16, 19-20, 23-24, 27-28, 31-32, 35-36, 39-40, 43-44, 47-48.

| Siya- | -vuma |

Corporeal-manual geste

Jousse identifies the corporeal-manual geste - the expression of meaning with the body and the hands. The song *Umakoti Ungowethu* demonstrates this mode of expression, simultaneously with the first vocal sound of the song. In my observance of the performance of the song, as the singer sings the first note, the right foot steps down while the right hand is used in a quasi-pointing gesture, with a finger semi-extended in the air. With the second unit of the rhythmic schema, the weight of the body shifts from the right foot to the left, and the pendulum-like swaying of the body, in strict congruence with the rhythmic schemas, continues throughout the singing of the song, with the hands and voice also moving synchronously.

Umakoti Ungowethu and the Oral-style Law of Formulism marked by Mnemotechnical Devices

Marcel Jousse (1997) defines the Oral-style as a system that operates effectively as a reliable mnemonic record because it acts as an *aide-memoire* (memory-aid) through the use of Mnemotechnical Devices which operate as 'clamping' devices.

For an example in the following:

5	6
ungowethu	*ngempela*

7	8
Siya-	*-vuma*

Jousse identifies repetitions, e.g. of sounds – [ng] - and words - [siyavuma], as clamping devices and memory-aids (Jousse 1997:565-568). The arrangement of the song in Rhythmic Schemas makes it easier for us to identify clamping of sounds, words and of vowels in various positions in the text of the song.

The song *Umakoti Ungowethu* is characterised by a repetition of consonants, vowels and words. I have decided to use this schema to demonstrate this repetition. Jousse calls the repetition of consonants – 'aconsonantisation', and the repetition of vowels -'avocalisation'. The repetition of words, Jousse called – 'anomination'. Clamping below, therefore, indicates the repetition of words, vowels and consonants.

Mnemotechnical Devices in the performance of *Umakoti Ungowethu*

Jousse identified repetition as a means whereby expression was embedded in memory. Jousse identifies repetition of sounds and streams of alliterative sounds, 'clamp-sounds' or 'aconsonantisation'. Assonantal repetition he calls 'clamp-rhymes' or 'avocalisation'.

Words, sounds and vowels are repeated in this song, for example

33	34
Angawahambi	*amadis'kho*

37	38
Angawahambi	*amabhayis'kobho*

The above is the example where a word-*Angawahambi* is repeated. Jousse calls the repetition of word units, as clampwords.

The 'stream of sound' {si} is repeated in each of the rhythmic units clamping the propositional geste in the Rhythmic Schema:

The repetition of the vowels and consonants have a cohering effect which 'clamps' the text, i.e creating

cohesion in the text:

uzosiwashel'	*asiphekele*
uzosiwashel'	*asiphekele*

Jousse identifies the 'proposition', a rhythmic balancing expressing a completed notion, usually

performed as a 'stream of sound', for example:

Siya-	*vuma*
Siya-	*-vuma*
Siya-	*-vuma*

The above words have been repeated in the song to stress that the groom's family really agrees that the

Umakoti (the bride) belongs to them (their family).

Clamping

Initial rhyme is employed by arranging syllables in a particular order to form a particular formula. In the

example below, {*si*} shows the initial rhyme that is found in the song sung by the groom's family.

Siya vuma
Sithi ë-é-é! ë-é-é!
Siya vuma

The 'clamping' in the lines below are indicated by isolating the repeated sounds in braces.

{U}{m}akot' {u}{ng}ow{e}th{u}
{Siya}vu{m}{a}
{U}{ng}ow{e}th{u} {ng}{e}{m}p{e}la
{Siya}vu{m}{a}

The bride is ours
We agree
She is really ours
We agree

In the example below, there are clamp vowels, clamp sounds and clamp-words

Angawahambi
Amadis'kho
Siyavuma
Angawahambi
Amabhayis'kobho

The above part of the song shows 'clamp-units': {ama}. There are also 'clamp-sounds' like: {k} and {m}. We also have 'clamp-vowels' like: {a}, {i} and {o}. The repetition of *anga-* and *ama-* are examples of initial clamping which Maphumulo describes as follows.

Lapho sithola igama elisekuqaleni komugqa liphindwa kolandelayo khona ekuqaleni. Kungase kube yilo lonke igama noma kube yigama eseliguquliwe laba ngolunye ucezu lwenkulumo. (1993:88)

(That is where we find the word at the beginning of the sentence being repeated at the beginning of the following sentence. Sometimes it's the whole word or the part of speech.)

Coding repetitions in colour

Coding mnemotechnical devices - repetitions or clampings - in colour makes their complexity and effect immediately visible. Jousse advocated this approach for this reason.

In the following presentation of the song, I have marked the repetition of whole Rhythmic Schemas in coloured 'boxes'. The use of colour shows 'partnerships'. All those rhythmic units that are not 'paired'

or 'partnered' are marked in black. It is interesting to note that some of the single rhythmic units in black, are the ones that mark the restrictions upon the behaviour of the *makoti*, namely that she may not attend disco's (*Angawahambi amadis'kho*), parties (*Singamutholi emaphathini*) or go to films (*Angawahambi amabhayis'kobho*). The coloured - and therefore 'paired' or 'partnered' - rhythmic units mark the instructions to the *makoti* (*Uzosiwashel' asiphekele*) or the chorus (*Siyavuma Sithi è-è-è! è-è-è*). It is usually the single rhythmic units - the restrictions on the behaviour of the *makoti* - that are changed and modified according to the context in which the song is sung.

1	2
Umakoti	*ungowethu*

3	4
Siya-	*-vuma*

5	6
ungowethu	*ngempela*

7	8
Siya-	*-vuma*

9	10
Uzosiwashel'	*asiphekele*

11	12
Siya-	*-vuma*

13	14
Sithi ê-è-è!	*ê-è-è*

15	16
Siya-	*-vuma*

17	18
Uzosiwashel'	*asiphekele*

19	20
Siya-	*-vuma*

21	22
Uzosiwashel'	*asiphekele*

23	24
Siya-	*-vuma*

25	26
Uzosiwashel'	*asiphekele*

27	28
Siya-	*-vuma*

29	30
Sithi ė-ė-ė!	*ė-ė-ė*

31	32
Siya-	*-vuma*

33	34
Angawahambi	*amadis'kho*

35	36
Siya-	*-vuma*

37	38
Angawahambi	*amabhayis'kobho*

39	40
Siya-	*-vuma*

41	42
Singamutholi	*emavhathini*

43	44
Siya-	*-vuma*

45	46
Sithi ė-ė-ė!	*ė-ė-ė*

47	48
Siya-	*-vuma*

In the following presentation of the song, I have carried forward the repetition of Rhythmic Schemas in coloured 'boxes', and marked the repetition of units of sound in colour:

1	2
Umakoti	*ungowethu*

3	4
Siya-	*-vuma*

5	6
ungowethu	*ngempela*

7	8
Siya-	*-vuma*

9	10
Uzosiwashel'	*asiphekele*

11	12
Siya-	*-vuma*

13	14
Sithi ê-è-è!	*ê-è-è*

15	16
Siya-	*-vuma*

17	18
Uzosiwashel'	*asiphekele*

19	20
Siya-	*-vuma*

21	22
Uzosiwashel'	*asiphekele*

23	24
Siya-	*-vuma*

25	26
Uzosiwashel'	*asiphekele*

27	28
Siya-	*-vuma*

29	30
Sithi ê-è-è!	*ê-è-è*
31	32
Siya-	*-vuma*
33	34
Angawahambi	*amadis'kho*
35	36
Siya-	*-vuma*
37	38
Angawahambi	*amabhayis'kobho*
39	40
Siya-	*-vuma*
41	42
Singamutholi	*emavhathini*
43	44
Siya-	*-vuma*
45	46
Sithi ê-è-è!	*ê-è-è*
47	48
Siya-	*-vuma*

In the following presentation of the song, I have carried forward the repetition of Rhythmic Schemas in coloured 'boxes', and the repetition of units of sound in colour, and added an indication of how the word **Umakoti** is linked to the rest of the text by means of the vowel sounds – 'avocalisation' as Jousse called it:

1	2
Umakoti	*ungowethu*

3	4
Siya-	*-vuma*

5	6
ungowethu	*ngempela*

7	8
Siya-	*-vuma*

9	10
Uzosiwashel'	*asiphekele*

11	12
Siya-	*-vuma*

13	14
Sithi ê-è-è!	*ê-è-è*

15	16
Siya-	*-vuma*

17	18
Uzosiwashel'	*asiphekele*

19	20
Siya-	*-vuma*

21	22
Uzosiwashel'	*asiphekele*

23	24
Siya-	*-vuma*

25	26
Uzosiwashel'	*asiphekele*

27	28
Siya-	*-vuma*

29	30
Sithi ê-è-è!	*ê-è-è*

31	32
Siya-	*-vuma*

33	34
Angawahambi	*amadis'kho*

35	36
Siya-	*-vuma*

37	38
Angawahambi	*amabhayiskobho*

39	40
Siya-	*-vuma*

41	42
Singamutholi	*emaphathini*

43	44
Siya-	*-vuma*

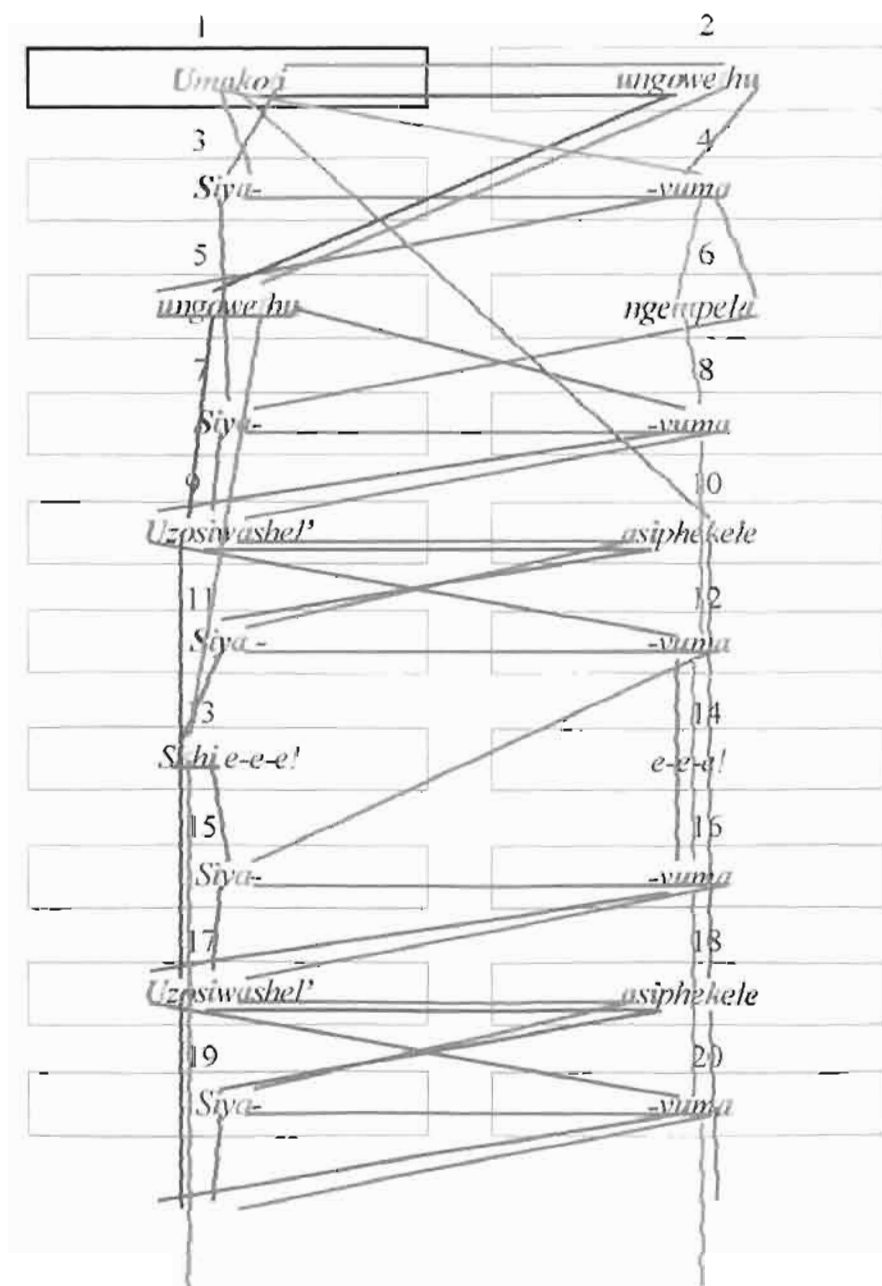| 45	46
Sithi ê-è-è!	*ê-è-è*

47	48
Siya-	*-vuma*

Comment: All repetitions are marked in colour. The use of colour immediately shows the sound patterns, which have a clamping or cohesive effect on the song, thus making it easier to remember. In the analysis above, I have used the following colour-coding:
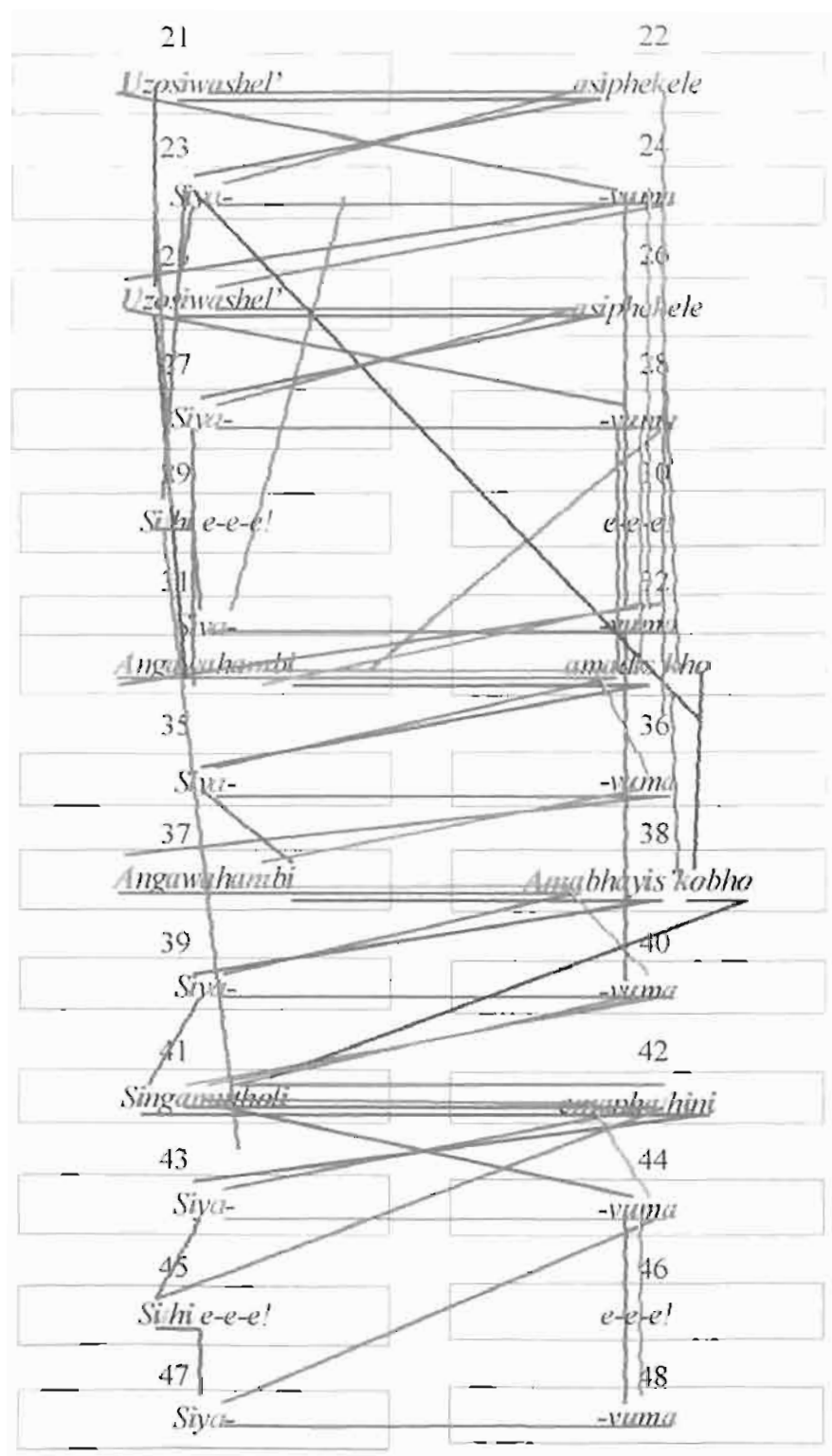
- *u* = brown
- *a* = pink

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- o = blue

- i = maroon

Linking *Umakoti* to the rest of the text

In the following presentation of *Umakoti Ungowethu*, I demonstrate the 'avocalisation' formulaic rhythm, by means of lines linking the incidence of the vowel and consonant sounds comprising the word '*Umakoti*' to the rest of the text and colour-coded as follows Umakoti:

21	22
Uzosiwashel'	*asiphekele*
23	24
Siya-	*-vuma*
25	26
Uzosiwashel'	*asiphekele*
27	28
Siya-	*-vuma*
29	30
Sihi e-e-e!	*e-e-e!*
31	32
Siya-	*-vuma*
Angawuhambi	*amadlozkho*
35	36
Siya-	*-vuma*
37	38
Angawuhambi	*Angabhayis'kobho*
39	40
Siya-	*-vuma*
41	42
Singamutholi	*onyubuhini*
43	44
Siya-	*-vuma*
45	46
Sihi e-e-e!	*e-e-e!*
47	48
Siya-	*-vuma*

Comment on the above representation:

Even though the word '*umakoti*' is mentioned only once in the song, it is clamped to the song in a 'danced weaving of sound connections'. The density of connections is visible in the colours used. The seven sounds – four vowels and three consonants – are repeated sufficiently frequently to create a weaving of sound that 'clamps' the song in memory.

The incidence of the Mnemonic Laws and the Mnemotechnical devices identified by Jousse as elements of the Oral-style is clearly evident in *Umakoti Ungowethu*.

Conclusion

In traditional Zulu society, women play a major role in ensuring the well-being of the family physically and emotionally. The old women were, and still are, the teachers of customs, myths, morals to the young generation. By so doing they transmit the cultural norms and values of the society from generation to generation by mouth - orally and body - gestually.

Most of the Zulu wedding songs are brief and are characterised by a lot of repetition like *uzosiwashel' usiphekele* in part three of the text of the song, *Umakoti Ungowethu*. Wedding songs are repeated and repetition becomes a device for committing them to memory. In *Umakoti Ungowethu*, the structure of this repetition is dependent upon the Oral-style Mnemonic Laws of Mimism, Rhythmism, Bilateralism (Balance) and Formulism and the Mnemotechnical clamping devices identified by Marcel Jousse.

Zulu marriages have values and attitudes which can be understood by analysing some of the songs especially the song *Umakoti Ungowethu*, which is about *Makoti*, the daughter-in-law. She is given

orders and rules, values and norms and given advice about the *hlompha* (respect) required of her in the groom's family. It has been observed that as society changes the life of the people also change: *Umakoti Ungowethu* reflects some such modifications to suite social change

What does not change is that all people need their roots and an understanding of where they come from. If an individual/anthropos is living in an urban area it can be good not to break away from the family in rural areas. The person without a living connection to an extended family is like the tree without the roots which may die at any time due to the lack of water and minerals from the soil. Modifications cannot be hindered but roots must remain connected. The Oral-style Mnemonic Laws and Mnemotechnical devices identified by Jousse and demonstrated in this study contribute to those roots and connections, embedded in memory

Endnotes

Anthropos: Jousse used this term to refer to the generic 'man'.

'in(m)-press': Joussse alerts his readers to the nature of 'im-pression' - that which is 'pressed in'.

Ex-press': Jousse alerts his readers to the nature of 'ex-pression' - the act of 'pressing out'.

Corporeal-manual geste: Jousse uses this term to describe the movement of the body and the hands - therefore the whole body - to express meaning.

Apprehender': Jousse uses this term to refer to those who learn with their 'whole beings': learning in performance.

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APPENDIX

Interviews

Date	Duration	Subject	Age	Name & Status	Year of marriage	Venue
99-07-16	9.30-10.45	Marriage	62	Mrs M.M. Zwane (Granny)	1955	Kwa-Hlathi
99-07-16	12.00-12.30	Marriage	40	Mrs T.B. Mncube (old makoti)	1985	Kwa-Hlathi
99-07-16	9.30-10.00	Marriage	32	Mrs ------ (Makoti)	1990	Kwa-Hlathi
99-09-24	11.15-12.30	Marriage	27	Mrs ----- (Makoti)	1993	Kwa-Hlathi
99-09-24	13:00-14:00	Marriage	32	Mrs ------ (Makoti)	1988	Kwa-Hlathi
99-09-26	10:00-11:00	Marriage	34	Mrs J. Zwane (Makoti)	1996	Kwa-Hlathi
99-09-27	8:30-9:00	Marriage	26	Mrs ----- (Makoti)	1999	Kwa-Hlathi
99-09-27	10:30-11:30	Marriage	42	Mrs G. Kunene (Makoti)	1982	Kwa-Hlathi
99-09-27	11:00-12:00	Marriage	30	Mrs V. Khoza (Makoti)	1991	Kwa-Hlathi

Observations of weddings at which *Umakoti Ungowethu* was sung

Date	Place	Groom	Bride	Role of Researcher	Page Reference
1985	Danhauser	J Mncube	T Zwane	Bridesmaid	12, 13
1990	KwaHlathi	J Manqele	Z Zwane	Bride	12, 14
1996	KwaHlathi	S Zwane	J Ziqubu	Observer	12
1999	Emondlo	B Khoza	T Manqele	Observer	13