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CONTENTS

Articles

- | | |
|---|-----|
| The phonology of Proto-Wambo
K. L. BAUCOM | 165 |
| Tonal iconicity in Bini colour terms
R. W. WESCOTT | 185 |
| Old wine in new wineskins: a critical appreciation of Sundkler's leadership types in the light of further research
J. P. KIERNAN | 193 |
| The forms of Igbo traditional poetry
R. N. EGUDU | 203 |

Book Reviews

- | | |
|--|-----|
| MICHAEL GELFAND <i>The Genuine Shona</i> (Gordon Chavunduka) | 211 |
| W. B. COHEN <i>Rulers of Empire: The French Colonial Service in Africa</i> (Keith Gottschalk) | 212 |
| S. J. NTARA <i>The History of the Chewa (Mbiri ya Achewa)</i> (D. N. Beach) | 214 |
| Report of the Education Commission of the Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society <i>Education Beyond Apartheid</i> (Allie A. Dubb) | 215 |
| G. JANSEN <i>The Doctor-Patient Relationship in an African Tribal Society</i> (Alison Chapple) | 217 |
| ROBERT BRAIN <i>Bangwa Kinship and Marriage</i> (M. G. Whisson) | 219 |
| FRITZ KLEPZIG <i>Kinderspiele der Bantu</i> (H. O. Mönnig) | 220 |
| H. V. MUHSAM <i>Beduin of the Negev: Eight Demographic Studies</i> (Allie A. Dubb) | 221 |
| DOUGLAS FRASER AND HERBERT M. COLE (eds) <i>African Art and Leadership</i> (H. Martienssen) | 221 |
| Publications Received | 223 |
| Instructions to Authors | 225 |



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THE PHONOLOGY OF PROTO-WAMBO

K. L. BAUCOM*

1. INTRODUCTION

In a recent article (Baucom, 1974) I briefly proposed a set of phonological correspondences between a reconstructed Proto-Wambo language and the twelve modern Wambo languages. Because of space limitations the subject was handled in a cursory fashion and evidence for the reconstruction and correspondences was not given. It is the purpose of the present article to explore more fully the sound system of Proto-Wambo although the treatment again is far from exhaustive.

The reconstruction here will differ from that of the previous article in that here I attempt to distinguish between surface structures and underlying structures in the reconstructed Proto-Wambo forms. In addition it now seems clear that certain forms previously reconstructed as separate are conditioned variants of the same underlying form. Thus the number of reconstructed Proto-Wambo underlying correspondences will be fewer than previously posited, although the number of surface contrasts will remain virtually unchanged. This distinction between underlying and surface phonological structures in reconstruction of Bantu forms seems essential for understanding of Bantu development.

2. THE CONSONANT SYSTEM

Proto-Wambo (PW) indicates a stage of Bantu development when, on the surface level as well as underlying level, the seven vowels of earlier Bantu had been reduced to five with corresponding increase in consonant inventory. The consonant system of Proto-Bantu (PB) when not preceding the PB vowels /i/ and /u/ tends to have straight-forward correspondences with PW and in turn with the modern Wambo languages (MWL). These straight-forward consonant components will be first examined below under the subsystems of plosives, voiced compounds, voiceless compounds, oral continuants, nasals, palatals.

2.1. PB CONSONANTS + /i e a o u/

2.1.1. *Plosives*: PB plosives /p t k/ normally appear unchanged in PW. Correspondences are as follows:

PB /p/ = PW /p/ = MWL /p/

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English	"at"	"blow"	"new"
PB	po	pemba	pya, pe
PW	po	(oku)pemba	pe
MWL	po	pemba	pe

PB /t/ = PW /t/ = MWL /t/

(Reconstructions in brackets are underlying forms as opposed to surface forms.)

English	"tree"	"heart"	"(my) father"
PB	muti	tima	ta
PW	omti [omuti]	omtima [omutima]	tate
MWL	omti (Except Evale, onti)	omtima (Except Evale, ontima)	tate

PB /k/ = PW /k/ = MWL /k/

English	"be dry"	"tongue"	"hand"
PB	kukuta	laka	
PW	(oku)kukuta	elaka	eke
MWL	kukutu	elaka	eke

As yet only two instances of less direct correspondences have been found for the plosives. First, under the influence of a following PB /i/, PB /k/ becomes PW /tʃ/. (The same correspondence occurs with PB /kʏ/, see below.)

English	"tail"	Noun prefix 7
PB	mukila	ki
PW	omtšila [omutšila]	otši
Kwanyama	omšila	oši
Kafima	omšila	oši
Evale	onšila	oši
Mbalanhu	omšila	oši
Dombondola	omšila	oši
Mbandja	omšila	oši
Ndonga	omšila	oši
Kwambi	omtšira	otši
Ngandjera	omtšila	otši
Kwaluudhi	omtšila	otši
Kolonkadhi	omtšila	otši
Eunda	omtšila	otši

(Of the languages listed above, the first six make up the Northern Division of the Wambo languages, the last six make up the Southern Division.)

Second, PB /tu/ before another vowel becomes /ts/ in surface structure. (The same correspondence occurs with PB /tw/, see below.)

English	"head"	"ear"	"sharp"
PB	tue	tui	tua
PW	omtse [omutue]	okutsi [okutui]	tsa [tua]
MWL			
Northern	omtwe ~ ompe	okutwi ~ okupi	twa ~ pa
Southern	omtse	okutsi	tsa
(Many speakers of Ndonga use /f/ rather than /ts/.)			

Of course it is very clear what has happened in the development of the modern surface correspondences of PB /tu/. At some point underlying /tu/ has become phonetically [tw] and this [tw] in the Southern Wambo languages has become phonetically [ts] and now in Ndonga is becoming [f]. The [tw] of the Northern languages is in the process of becoming [p]. Although a number of speakers of all Northern languages use [p] quite regularly, all whom I have asked report that they are using [tw]. There is very good argument that PW /ts/ was still phonetically [tw]. The choice of the surface symbol PW /ts/ is not meant so much to describe the phonetic shape of the phoneme (doing this definitely would not be possible) as to point out that what was formerly a consonant plus a vowel seems to have begun in PW to be dealt with as a unit on the surface. It is probable that this is only a surface phenomenon and that the underlying form in PW as well as in MWL is still actually /tu/.

2.1.2. *Voiced Compounds*: The voiced compounds of PB were maintained as such in PW and have remained in the modern languages.

PB /mb/ = PW /mb/ = MWL /mb/

English	"blow"	"sing"	"throw"
PB	pemba	gimba	
PW	(oku)pemba	(oku)imba	(oku)umba
MWL	pemba (Except Kwaluudhi peimbe)	imba	umba

PB /nd/ = PW /nd/ = MWL /nd/

English	"walk"	"push"	"swell"	
PB	genda			
PW	(oku)enda	(oku)undula	(oku)djinda	
MWL	enda	undula (except Kwambi undura)	Kwanyama Kafima Evale Mbalanhu Dombondola Mbandja Ndonga Other Southern	dinda dinda dinda zinda zinda djinda zinda zinda

PB /ŋɡ/ = PW /ŋɡ/ = MWL /ŋɡ/

English	"neck"	"spear"	"river"
PB	kɪŋgo	ɡoŋga	
PW	eʃɪŋgo	egoŋga	omlonga [omulonga]
MWL			
Northern	oɸɪŋgo	eoŋga	omlonga (Except Kwambi, omronɡa)
Southern	oʃɪŋgo	egoŋga	

In addition to the above regular correspondence, there is one example of PB /ŋɡ/ becoming PW /ɲj/:

English	"many"
PB	ɡɪŋɡi
PW	ɪɲji
MWL	ɪɲji (not found in Kwanyama)

It would appear that the well-known law of dissimilation of nasal-plosive compounds of Kwanyama did not occur as early as PW. According to this rule, the second voiced compound in a Kwanyama word loses the nasal component. Thus Kwanyama /**ombabi**/ "duiker antelope" has as its underlying form /**ombambi**/. Of the modern languages only the Northern languages have such a rule of nasal loss, and it seems fairly clear that this is a low level phonological rule in these languages. Of course it is possible that PW had such a rule and that it has disappeared from the Southern languages, but comparison with other Kunene-Kubango languages makes this appear unlikely.

2.1.3. Voiceless Compounds: PB voiceless compounds /**mp nt ŋk**/ appear on the surface level in PW as /**ɱp ɳt ɳk**/ respectively. [For typographical convenience, the symbols /**ɱ, ɳ, ɳ**/ are used here instead of /**m, n, ŋ**/ with superior point or degree sign, to represent voiceless nasals. Ed.]

PB /**mp**/ = PW /**ɱp**/

/**ɱp**/ is an infrequent phoneme in MWL and no examples have been found which can be related to PW words with /**ɱp**/. The following words will, however, give an indication of MWL correspondences with PW.

English	"here"	"foot"	"warthog"
PB		palj	
PW	ɱpaka	oɱpazi [omupazi]	oɱpinda
MWL			
Kwanyama	ɱaka	oɱadi	oɱinda
Kafima	mpaka	ompadi	ompila

Evale	maka	omadi	ominda
Mbalanhu	maka	omavi	ominda
Dombondola	maka	omazi	ominda
Mbandja	maka	omazi	ominda
Ndonga	mpaka	ompazi	ompinda
Kwambi	mpaka	ompazi	ompinda
Ngandjera	maka	omazi	ominda
Kwaluudhi	maka	omazi	ominda
Kolonkadhi	maka	omazi	ominda
Eunda	maka	omazi	ominda

PB /nt/ = PW /nt/

English	"person"	"breast"
PB	ntu	
PW	omntu [omuñtu]	oñtulo
MWL		
Kwanyama	omñu	oñulo
Kafima	omntu	ontulo
Evale	omñu	oñulo
Mbalanhu	omñu	oñulo
Dombondola	omñu	oñulo
Mbandja	omñu	oñulo
Ndonga	omntu	oñtulo
Kwambi	omntu	oñturo
Ngandjera	omñu	oñulo
Kwaluudhi	omñu	oñulo
Kolonkadhi	omñu	oñulo
Eunda	omñu	oñulo

PB /ŋk/ = PW /ŋk/

English	"guinea-fowl"	"strength, power"	"coast, river bank"
PB	ŋkanga		
PW	oŋkanga [oŋkanga]	eŋkondo [eŋkondo]	omŋkulo [omuŋkulo]
MWL			
Kwanyama	oŋanga	oŋolo	omŋulo
Kafima	oŋkanga	oŋkolo	omŋkulo
Evale	oŋanga	oŋolo	omŋulo
Mbalanhu	oŋanga	oŋolo	omŋulo
Dombondola	oŋanga	oŋolo	omŋulo
Ndonga	oŋkanga	oŋkondo	omŋkulo
Kwambi	oŋkanga	oŋkondo	omŋkuro
Ngandjera	oŋanga	eŋondo	omŋulo

Kwaluudhi	oŋaŋga	eŋondo	omŋulo
Kolonkadhi	oŋaŋga	eŋondo	omŋulo
Eunda	oŋaŋga	eŋondo	omŋulo

It must be pointed out that I am cheating a bit in the above reconstructions of surface voiceless compounds. For all modern languages, and thus I reconstruct for PW as well, have a rather general rule affecting other situations in which a nasal consonant precedes a plosive. This is true whether such a combination is a reflex of PB /**mp nt nk**/ or whether from the juxtaposition of the nasal and plosive as a result of the loss of a vowel after the nasal or from other situations. This rule (or set of rules) differs in the various modern languages but is clearly part of the nasalization rules present in Wambo and so common in other Bantu languages. These rules are discussed in greater detail below.

It is probably true, then, that PW as well as the modern languages have underlying /**mp nt nk**/. A later very low level phonological rule or set of rules is responsible for the surface voiceless nasals which certainly appeared on the surface in PW as well as in the MWL. Thus by reconstructing surface PW compounds as having a voiceless nasal component, I am actually saying that surface forms of PW had voiceless nasals which resulted from rules applied to underlying voiced nasals.

2.1.4. *Oral Continuants*: The PW correspondences of PB /**v l g**/ seem clear although evidence for correspondences of PB /**v**/ and PB /**g**/ is slight.

PB /**v**/ = PW /**v**/

English	Noun prefix 2	English	"count"
PB	va	PB	vala
PW	va	PW	(oku)vala, valula
MWL		MWL	
Northern	(o)va	Kwanyama	vala
Southern	(a)a	Kafima	vala
		Evale	vala
		Mbalanhu	yalula
		Dombondola	valula
		Mbandja	valula
		Ndonga	yalula
		Kwambi	yarura
		Ngandjera	alula
		Kwaluudhi	alula
		Kolonkadhi	alula
		Eunda	alula

In all MWL there is an optional rule inserting a /**y**/ or /**w**/ between a front vowel and a following back vowel. Thus Southern languages will have forms such as

Kolonkadhi /ešiyo/ "invitation" as a reflex of PW /ehivo/. The /y/ in MWL in such cases is not a correspondence of PW /v/ but is a result of glide insertion.

PB /v/ = PW /z/

English	"breathe"
PB	kɔva
PW	(oku)fuza
Kwanyama	fuda
Kafima	fuda
Evale	fuda
Ndonga	fuza
Kwambi	fuza
Ngandjera	fuza
Kwaluudhi	fuza
Kolonkadhi	fuza
Eunda	fuza

PB /l/ = PW /l/

English	"long"	"tongue"	"bite"
PB	le	laka	luma
PW	le	elaka	(oku)lumata
MWL	le (Except Kwambi re)	elaka (Except Kwambi eraka)	lumata (Except Kwambi rumata)

PB /g/

Before front vowels PB /g/ becomes PW /ž/ in surface structure. Underlying structure of PW is probably /g/ with surface /ž/ determined by low level phonological rules.

English	"egg"	"tooth"
PB	gi	gego
PW	eži	ežego
MWL		
Northern	ei	eyoo
Ndonga	eyi	eyego
Kwambi	ehi	ehego
Ngandjera	eži	ežego
Kwaluudhi	eži ~ ei	ežego
Kolonkadhi	eži ~ ezi ~ ei	ežego ~ ezege ~ eyego
Eunda	eži ~ enzi ~ ei	ežego ~ enzege ~ eyego

The /y/ of Northern /eyoo/ "tooth" is a result of glide insertion; it is not a correspondence of PW /ž/.

Before nonfront vowels PB /g/ becomes PW /g/ (This PW /g/ I had previously written as /j/).

English	"swim, bathe"	"kill"	"leg"
PB	g̃yoga		gulu
PW	yoga	(oku)zipaga	okugulu
Kwanyama	yowa ~ yoa	dipaa	okuulu
Kafima	yoa	dipaa	okuulu
Evale	yowa	dipao	okuulu
Mbalanhu	wawa	vipaa	okuulu
Dombondola	wawa	zipaa	okuulu
Mbandja	yowa	dipaa	okuulu
Ndonga	yoga	zipaga	okugulu
Kwambi	yoga	zipaga	okuguru
Ngandjera	yoga ~ oga	zipaga	okugulu
Kwaluudhi	yoga	zipaga	okugulu
Kolonkadhi	yoga	zipaga	okugulu
Eunda	yoga	zipaga	okuulu ~ okugulu

This last form "leg" should be compared with the form "nose", PB /gulu/, where the correspondence of /g/ occurs between a front vowel and a back vowel. PW /g/ is deleted by a low level phonological rule giving a surface PW /Ø/. Appropriate semi-consonants are added by MWL glide insertion rules.

English	"nose"
PB	gulu
PW	eulu [egulu]
Kwanyama	eyulu
Kafima	eyulu
Evale	eyulu
Mbalanhu	eyulu
Dombondola	ewulu
Mbandja	eyulu
Ndonga	eyulu
Kwambi	eyuru
Ngandjera	ewulu
Kwaluudhi	ewulu
Kolonkadhi	eulu
Eunda	evulu

2.1.5. *Nasals*: PW nasal correspondences of PB nasals are straightforward.

PB /m/ = PW /m/ = MWL /m/

English	"heart"	"bite"	"mother (my)"
PB	tima	luma	

PW	omtima [omutima]	(oku)lumata	meme
MWL	omtima	lumata (Except Kwambi, rumata)	meme

PB /n/ = PW /n/ = MWL /n/

English	"and"	"big"	"good"
PB	na	nene	
PW	na	nene	nawa
MWL	na	nene	nawa

In addition to the above one apparent example has been found of PB /n/ becoming PW /ñʒ/:

English	"me" (verb object suffix)
PB	ni
PW	ñʒe
MWL	
Northern	ŋge
Ndonga	ñje
Kwambi	ñje
Ngandjera	ñʒe
Kwaluudhi	ŋge
Kolonkadhi	ŋge
Eunda	ŋge

In all modern languages, and thus I reconstruct in PW as well, the noun and noun adjunct Type 1 (see Baucom, 1974), classes 1 and 3 prefixes contain syllabic /m/ in surface structure (the prefix is /om/). Because of the severe restriction on the occurrence of syllabic /m/ and because the prefix cited is /omw/ preceding vowel initial stems, it would appear that the nasal is syllabic only on the surface level, but that the underlying structure of the prefix is /omu/, as written in standard orthography for Ndonga and Kwanyama. (Actually of course /omu/ is not a single prefix in Wambo, as is clearly shown in vocative forms: /omnona/ "the child", /munona/ "child, voc."). The underlying /u/ is deleted at some point by a phonological rule. In all modern languages but Evale, Eunda and Ndonga, this deletion of /u/ takes place before the application of nasalization rules (see below), for in all languages but these the nasalization rules apply when syllabic /m/ precedes those consonants affected by the nasalization rules. In Evale a homorganic compound rule further transforms the syllabic /m/ into a nasal consonant homorganic with a following plosive. Of course there are other language specific low level rules concerned with the syllabic /m/.

2.1.6. *Palatals*: For the most part evidence for correspondences of PB palatals is slight.

PB /t̥/ = PW /t/

English	"five"
PB	t̥yano
PW	tano
MWL	tano

PB /k̥/ = PW /h/

English	"fish"	"eye"	"shame"
PB	k̥yui	g̥ik̥yo	k̥yonj
PW	ohi	eiho	ohoni
Kwanyama	oši	eišo	ohoni
Kafima	oši	eišo	ohoni
Evale	oši	išo	ohoni
Mbalanhu	ohi	eho	ohoni
Dombondola	oxi	eixo	ohoni
Mbandja	ohi	eiho	ohoni
Ndonga	oxi	exo	oxoni
Kwambi	oši	ešo	ošoni
Ngandjera	oši	ešo	ošoni
Kwaluudhi	oši	ešo	ošoni
Kolonkadhi	oši	ešo	ošoni
Eunda	oši	ešo	ošoni

English	"liver"
PB	
PW	ehuli
Kwanyama	exuli
Kafima	exuli
Evale	ehudi ~ ehuli
Mbalanhu	ehuli
Dombondola	ehwidi
Mbandja	ehuli
Ndonga	exuli
Kwambi	ešuri
Ngandjera	ešuli
Kwaluudhi	ešuli
Kolonkadhi	ešuli
Eunda	ešuli

No complete explanation can as yet be given for the difference in correspondence within the Northern Division. Most likely it is contiguity to a high vowel that conditions /š/ rather than /x/ or /h/. In previous work two separate forms /x/ and /h/ were set up to cover this conditioning and a third was being postulated. It would seem that common source in PB plus likely vowel conditioning and possible tonal conditioning are sufficient evidence, for the moment, for postulating a common underlying form /h/ in PW and MWL as well.

Before nonfront vowels PB /g/ becomes PW /g/ (This PW /g/ I had previously written as /j/).

English	"swim, bathe"	"kill"	"leg"
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Kwambi	yoga	zipaga	okuguru
Ngandjera	yoga ~ oga	zipaga	okugulu
Kwaluudhi	yoga	zipaga	okugulu
Kolonkadhi	yoga	zipaga	okugulu
Eunda	yoga	zipaga	okuulu ~ okugulu

This last form "leg" should be compared with the form "nose", PB /gulu/, where the correspondence of /g/ occurs between a front vowel and a back vowel. PW /g/ is deleted by a low level phonological rule giving a surface PW /Ø/. Appropriate semi-consonants are added by MWL glide insertion rules.

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PW	eulu [egulu]
Kwanyama	eyulu
Kafima	eyulu
Evale	eyulu
Mbalanhu	eyulu
Dombondola	ewulu
Mbandja	eyulu
Ndonga	eyulu
Kwambi	eyuru
Ngandjera	ewulu
Kwaluudhi	ewulu
Kolonkadhi	eulu
Eunda	evulu

2.1.5. *Nasals*: PW nasal correspondences of PB nasals are straightforward.

PB /m/ = PW /m/ = MWL /m/

English	"heart"	"bite"	"mother (my)"
PB	tima	luma	

(PB **l̥y** =) PW **l̥y**

I have not previously distinguished properly between PW /**l̥y**/, probable correspondence of PB /**l̥y**/, and PW /**ly**/, correspondence of PB /**ly**/ consonant cluster and PB /**liV**/ (see below).

English	"who?"	"stamp with the feet"
PB		
PW	l̥ye	l̥yata
Kwanyama	d̥yed̥ye	l̥yata
Kafima	d̥ye	l̥yata
Evale	d̥ye	l̥yata
Mbalanhu	l̥ye	l̥yata
Dombondola	l̥ye	l̥yata
Mbandja	l̥ye	l̥yata
Ndonga	l̥ye	l̥yata
Kwambi	re	rata
Ngandjera	l̥ye ~ le	l̥yata ~ lata
Kwaluudhi	le	lata
Kolonkadhi	le	lata
Eunda	le	lata

PB /**g̥y̥**/ = PW /**t̥š**/PB /**g̥y̥**/ = PW /**Y**¹/

English	"know"	English	"suck"
PB	g̥y̥uva	PB	g̥y̥am̥ya
PW	(oku)t̥šiva	PW	(oku)Yama
Kwanyama	š̥iiva	Kwanyama	ñama
Kafima	š̥iiva	Kafima	ñama
Evale	š̥iiva	Evale	ñama
Mbalanhu	š̥iiva	Mbalanhu	ñama
Dombondola	š̥ii	Dombondola	ñama
Mbandja	š̥iiva	Mbandja	ñama
Ndonga	š̥ia	Ndonga	yama
Kwambi	t̥š̥iwa	Kwambi	yama
Ngandjera	t̥š̥uwa	Ngandjera	ama
Kwaluudhi	t̥š̥uwa	Kwaluudhi	yama
Kolonkadhi	t̥š̥uwa	Kolonkadhi	yama
Eunda	t̥š̥uwa	Eunda	(y)ama

2.2. PB CONSONANTS + /**i** **u**/

As was stated above PW had only five vowels rather than the seven of PB. As a result PW had a number of consonants which PB did not have. These consonants result from the following generalized rule:

¹ /**Y**/ here represents a nasalized semiconsonant.

$$\text{PB } C_a + \left\{ \begin{matrix} i \\ u \end{matrix} \right\} = \text{PW } C_b + \left\{ \begin{matrix} i & e \\ u & i \end{matrix} \right\}$$

There is not enough evidence for PB as yet to determine the PW correspondences for all possible combinations of PB consonants plus /i u/, but the following correspondences can be established.

2.2.1. Correspondences with PB /j/

PB /pj/ = PW /ʃi/(?)

English	"narrow"	"reach"
PB	pjna (?)	
PW	ʃina	(oku)ʃika
MWL		
Northern	fina	fika
Southern	ʃina	ʃika

PB /tj/ = PW /ʃi/

English	"leave behind"
PB	tjga(la)
PW	(oku)ʃiga
MWL	
Northern	fia
Southern	ʃiga

PB /kj/ = PW /ʃi/

English	"neck"	"smoke"
PB	kjngo	umyokj
PW	eʃingo	omwiʃi [omuiʃi]
MWL		
Northern	efingo [Except Evale and Mbalanhu ofingo]	omwif
Southern	oʃingo	olwiʃi ~ oluʃi [Except Kwambi oruʃi]

PB /vj/ = PW /ʒi/

English	"dirt"
PB	vju
PW	eʒilo
Kwanyama	edilo
Kafima	edilo
Evale	edilo
Mbalanhu	evilo
Dombondola	eʒilo
Mbandja	edilo ~ eʒilo
Ndonga	eʒilo
Kwambi	eʒiro

PB /vj/ = PW /dji/(?)

English	"swell"
PB	
PW	djinda
Kwanyama	dinda
Kafima	dinda
Evale	dinda
Mbalanhu	zinda
Dombondola	ʒinda
Mbandja	djinda
Ndonga	zinda
Kwambi	zinda

Ngandjera **ezilo**
 Kwaluudhi **ezilo**
 Kolonkadhi **ezilo**
 Eunda **ezilo**

Ngandjera **zinda**
 Kwaluudhi **zinda**
 Kolonkadhi **zinda**
 Eunda **zinda**

PB /lɪ/ = PW /zɪ/

English	"foot"	"root"	"moon"
PB	palɪ	lɪ	gɛlɪ
PW	orɪpazi [omupazi]	omzi [omuzi]	omwezi [omuezi]
Kwanyama	orɪadi	omdi	omwedi
Kafima	ompadi	omdi	omwedi
Evale	orɪadi	ondi	omwedi
Mbalanhu	orɪavi	omvi	omwevi
Dombondola	orɪazi	omuzi	omwezi
Mbandja	orɪadi ~ omazi	omdi ~ omzi	omwedi ~ omwezi
Ndonga	orɪpazi	omzi	omwezi
Kwambi	orɪpazi	omzi	omwezi
Ngandjera	orɪazi	omzi	omwezi
Kwaluudhi	orɪazi	omzi	omwezi
Kolonkadhi	orɪazi	omzi	omwezi
Eunda	orɪazi	omzi	omwezi

PB /gɪ/ = PW /zɪ/

English	"name"
PB	gɪna
PW	ezina
Kwanyama	edina
Kafima	edina
Evale	edina
Mbalanhu	evina
Dombondola	ezina
Mbandja	edina ~ ezina
Ndonga	ezina
Kwambi	ezina
Ngandjera	ezina
Kwaluudhi	ezina
Kolonkadhi	ezina
Eunda	ezina

PB /gɪ/ = PW /vi/

English	"water"
PB	maigɪ
PW	omeva
Kwanyama	omeva
Kafima	omeva
Evale	omeva
Mbalanhu	omeya
Dombondola	omeya
Mbandja	omeya
Ndonga	omeya
Kwambi	omeya
Ngandjera	omeya
Kwaluudhi	omeya
Kolonkadhi	omeya
Eunda	omeya

PB /nɪ/ = PW /ni/ ~ PW /ne/

English	"master"
PB	inɪ

"shame"	"firewood"
kɪonɪ	kunɪ

PW	omwene [omuene]		ohoni	otšikuni
MWL	omwene	Northern	ohoni	ošikuni
		Southern	ošoni	otšikuni
		(Except Ndonga		(Except Ndonga
		oxoni)		ošikuni).

2.2.2. Correspondences with PB /ɸ/

PB /pɸ/ = PW /pɸ/ = PW /ɕi/ ~ PW /ɕu/

English	"blind"	"jealousy"
PB	popɸ	pɸpa
PW	poɕi	eɕupa
Kwanyama	pofi	efupa
Mbalanhu	pofi	efupa
Dombondola	pofi	efupa
Mbandja	pofi	
Ndonga	posi	efupa
Kwambi	posi	ehupa
Ngandjera	posi	ehupa
Kwaluudhi	posi	ehupa
Kolonkadhi	posi	ehupa
Eunda	posi	ehupa

I am here interpreting the surface /s/ and /h/ of the Southern languages as having common underlying form. My guess is that /s/ is conditioned by the following high front vowel, but this is pretty much speculation at present.

PB /tu/ = PW /tu/ = PW /ts/

English	"stamp"	"put down"
PB	tɸ	tɸla
PW	(oku)tsa [tua]	(oku)tula
MWL		tula (Except Kwambi tura)
Northern	twa	
Southern	tsa	

PB /kɸ/ = PW /fɸ/
/ɸ/
/f/

PW correspondences of PB /kɸ/ are varied and at present no suggestion can be given to determine which PW correspondences will occur except that /fɸ/ occurs before another vowel.

PB /kɸV/ = PW /fɸ/

PB /kɸ/ = PW /ɸ/

English	"die"	"we" (pronoun)
PB	kua	
PW	(oku)fya	fye
Kwanyama	fya	fye
Kafima	fya	fye
Evale	fya ~ fia	fye ~ ofye
Mbalanhu	sa	se
Dombondola	ša	šeše
Mbandja	sa ~ tsa	se ~ tse
Ndonga	sa	ose ~ otse
Kwambi	sa	se
Ngandjera	sa	se
Kwaluudhi	sa	se
Kolonkadhi	sa	se
Eunda	sa	se

English	"short"
PB	kupi
PW	fuپی
Kwanyama	xupi
Kafima	hupi
Evale	hupi
Dombondola	hupi
Mbandja	hupi
Ndonga	fupi
Kwambi	xupi
Ngandjera	šupi
Kwaluudhi	šupi
Kolonkadhi	šupi
Eunda	šupi

PB /kʊ/ = PW /f/

English	"breathe"	"leaf"
PB	kupa	
PW	fuza	efo
MWL		efo
Northern	fuda	
Southern	fuza	

PB /vʊ/ = PW /mv/

English	"rain, year"
PB	vula
PW	omvula
Kwanyama	odula
Kafima	odula
Evale	odula
Mbalanhu	ovula
Dombondola	ozula
Mbandja	odula
Ndonga	omvula
Kwambi	omvura
Ngandjera	ombula
Kwaluudhi	ombula
Kolonkadhi	ombula
Eunda	ombula

PB /lʊ/ = PW /dʒi/

English	"roar, croak"
PB	luma

PB /lʊV/ = PW /dʒV/

English	"come out"
PB	lua

PW	(oku)djima
MWL	
Northern	dima (Except Dombondola zima)
Southern	zima

PW	dja(ko)
MWL	
Kwanyama	dja(ko) ~ ja(ko)
Kafima	dja(ko)
Evale	ja(ko)
Mbalanhu	za(ko)
Dombondola	za(ko)
Mbandja	za(ko) ~ ja(ko)
Southern	za(ko)

PB /mɸ/ = PW /mV/

English	"suck"
PB	gɸamɸa
PW	Yama
MWL	
Northern	ñama
Southern	yama (Except Ngandjera and some Eunda ama)

PB /ŋgɸ/ = PW /nzi/

English	"sheep"
PB	ŋgɸ
PW	onzi
Kwanyama	odi
Evale	odi
Southern	onzi

2.3. PB CONSONANTS + SEMICONSONANT

PB had a limited number of consonant plus semiconsonant combinations. Although a complete inventory is not certain, the following correspondences can be established for PW and MWL.

2.3.1. PB consonant plus /y/

PB /py/ = PW /py/ = MWL /py/

English	"burn"
PB	pya ~ pia
PW	pya
MWL	pya

PB /ty/ = PW /ty/ = MWL /ty/

English	"say"
PB	tya
PW	(oku)tya
MWL	tya

PB /ky/ = PW /tʃ/ ~ PW /h/

English	Genitive cl. 7 prefix
PB	kya

English	"sand"
PB	kyeke

PW	tša	PW	eheke
MWL			
Northern	ša	Northern	eheke
Southern	tša (Except Ndonga ša)	Southern	ehekevi

PB /ly/ = PW /ly/

English	"eat"	Genitive cl.5 prefix
PB	lya ~ lia	lya
PW	(oku)lya	lya
MWL	lya	lya
	(Except Kwambi rya)	(Except Kwambi rya)

PB /gya/ = PW /ya/ = MWL /ya/

English	"go"
PB	gya ~ gia
PW	ya
MWL	ya

2.3.2. PB consonant plus /w/

PB /tw/ = PW /ts/

English	"take away"
PB	twala
PW	(oku)tsala [twala]
MWL	
Northern	twala
Southern	tsala
	(Except Ndonga fala)

PB /kw/ = PW /kw/ = MWL /kw/

English	Genitive cl.15 prefix
PB	kwa
PW	kwa
MWL	kwa

PB /vwa/ = PW /wa/ = MWL /wa/

English	Genitive cl.14 prefix
PB	vwa
PW	wa
MWL	wa

Dombondola	omšamane	oušilo
Mbandja	omsamane	oušilo
Southern	omsamane	uuzilo
		(Except Kwambi)
		uuziro

In addition to the above two uncertain consonants the relationship of PW /**ñ**/ to PB is of question. If one takes the position that PB did not have /**ñ**/ then PW /**ñ**/ is a correspondence of PB /**n**/. If PB did have /**ñ**/ then PW is a correspondence of that /**ñ**/.

English	"meat"
PB	nama ~ ñama
PW	ñama
MWL	ñama

3. THE VOWEL SYSTEM

For the most part vowel correspondences with PW and PB are quite clear. With the exceptions of /**i**/ and /**ʊ**/, PB vowels are normally identical with PW vowels, and PW vowels again are normally identical with modern ones in underlying structure. Examples of these vowel correspondences can be seen throughout the above discussion of consonants. Vowel elision and assimilation rules exist in all languages giving somewhat different surface vowels at times.

Correspondence with PB /**i**/ is also normally straightforward: PB /**i**/ = PW /**i**/. Examples of such correspondence can be seen in the examples above for such words as: woman, month, root, foot, heavy, leave, behind, firewood, shame, dirt, swell, neck, smoke. There are a few instances, however, in which PB /**i**/ = PW /**e**/. No rules can as yet be formulated as to when this takes place.

PB /**i**/ = PW /**e**/

English	"rub"
PB	tjnga
PW	šešenga
MWL	
Northern	fenga ~ fefenga
Southern	šešenga

Correspondences with PB /**ʊ**/ vary more frequently than with /**i**/. PB /**ʊ**/ becomes PW /**u**/ and /**i**/. No rules can as yet be formulated to account for the distinctions.

PB /**vʊ**/ = PW /**dji**/ in "belly"
 PW /**vu**/ in "earth"
 PB /**tʊ**/ = PW /**tu**/ in "put down"
 PB /**pʊ**/ = PW /**fi**/ in "blind"

PB /**lʊ**/ = PW /**zi**/ in "beard"
 PB /**kʊ**/ = PW /**fu**/ in "breathe"
 PW /**hu**/ in "short"
 PW /**si**/ in "bone"

It would appear from scant evidence that PB /i/ or /u/ preceding another vowel disappears in PW, although its influence on the preceding consonant remains.

English	"dance"	"suck"	"come out"
PB	ljana	gyamya	lua
PW	zana	Yama	dja(ko)
MWL	zana with appropriate /z/ correspondences	Yama , with appropriate /Y/ correspondences	za(ko) with appropriate /dj/ correspondences

4. THE SUPRASEGMENTAL SYSTEM

The behaviour of suprasegmentals in MWL is extremely complex and research has not reached the point where the suprasegmental structure of PW can be reconstructed. At present all one can do is hypothesize concerning PW suprasegmentals, but these hypotheses are of value only in the broadest terms. Certainly PW possessed at least two tones (the evidence seems to be pointing to three). In addition there was both upstep and downstep internal junctures which were posited at word and occasionally sub-word morpheme boundaries by rules related to syntactic structure (most likely phonological readjustment rules). There were at least two sentence terminal junctures — one used with questions, the other with statements, with another one highly likely with certain types of imperatives. Most morphemes had lexical tone although a few verb suffix morphemes seem to have no lexical tone of their own. Surface tonal structure was conditioned by both internal and terminal junctures, but it is here that the greatest problem arises in understanding the modern languages. It will be some time before the suprasegmentals of PW can be reconstructed more fully. It is because of the complex conditioning of surface tonal structure that no tone marks are used in examples in this paper. To give the tone as a word occurs in isolation has absolutely no meaning in Wambo. One must know the underlying tone plus the rules relating this to surface structure before one can say anything about tone in Wambo.

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TONAL ICONICITY IN BINI COLOUR TERMS

ROGER W. WESCOTT*

Bini, a Kwa language related to Ibo and Yoruba, is the dominant vernacular of the Mid-West Region of Nigeria. Iconicity, in the semiotic terminology of philosophers Charles Peirce¹ and Charles Morris,² is the resemblance of a signal — linguistic or otherwise — to its referent. Phonic iconicity, in these terms, is equivalent to what many psychologists have called "phonetic symbolism". (In keeping, however, with Peircean terminology, we may not accede to this usage, since Peirce defined symbols as arbitrary signals and contrasted them sharply with icons.)

Although Bini has a traditional orthography (that of the Church Mission Society), it has appeared in at least as many different phonic transcriptions as there have been linguists analysing it.³ In this article, I shall employ the conventional C.M.S. orthography, deviating from it only in those cases in which its symbols — monographic or digraphic — misrepresent phonemes by allophonic writing.

Of all analyses of colour terminologies with which I am familiar, the one I consider most inclusive in terms of its global sample and most promising in terms of discovery procedures, is the one set forth by Brent Berlin and Paul Kay in their book *Basic Color Terms*.⁴ In an earlier article,⁵ I applied the Berlin-Kay criteria to the Bini colour lexicon and found that it was extremely difficult to classify Bini stadially in their terms. More precisely, I found that, in terms of their stated criteria, it was possible to classify Bini either as a Stage I (chromatonymically primitive) or as a Stage VII (chromatonymically sophisticated) language, simply by applying their criteria strictly in the former case and permissively in the latter.

In this article, therefore, I shall not attempt sharply to separate "legitimate" from "illegitimate" Bini colour terms. Instead, I shall cite all forms with chromatic reference, deferring to Berlin and Kay only to the extent of citing first, for each colour category, those forms which seem most salient by their criteria and last those which seem least salient. Of the following chromatonyms, those with vowel

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¹ *Collected Papers*. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1931.

² *Signs, Language, and Behavior*. New York, Braziller, 1946.

³ See Roger W. Wescott, *A Bini Grammar*. Washington, D.C., U.S. Office of Education, 1962, Vol. 1, "Phonology", pp. 8 and 9.

⁴ Berkeley, Calif., University of California Press, 1969.

⁵ Bini color terms. *Anthropological Linguistics* 12 (9) December, 1970.

prefixes are nouns; those without lexical tones are verbs; and the rest (with tone but without prefixes) are modifiers:

WHITE

- fua** to be white
fuəfua to be very white
éfua whiteness, brightness
èyàn'èn⁶ albino
ébòó, ébǒ⁷ White man, European
ùfúa white yam
sèsèsèsè clear, clean
ghénrléngghénrlén⁸ shiny, glassy

BLACK

- khúirí** black
bhirlìbhirlì black
dúdúudú jet black
èkhúi black one
khuikhui to be black
núnúunú dark black
èbièbí, èbiebí blackness
ùsie black wall-decoration, Blackie
ìbí charcoal
kánkáankán very dark
sie to be dark
bi to be dark, to be ripe
so to get dark, to get ripe
isó (dark) sky

RED

- giàngiaangian** bright red
rlànràanrlàn scarlet
ódòdó red cloth

⁶ Bini has no phonemic consonant clusters. All digraphs here employed in Bini words represent single phonemes, as follows:

- kp** a voiceless labio-velar stop
gb a voiced labio-velar stop
bh a voiced bilabial fricative
kh a voiceless velar fricative
gh a voiced velar fricative
rh a voiceless apical trill
rl a voiced apical approximant

⁷ Before a consonant or a pause (graphically represented by a space or an apostrophe), **n** represents suprasegmental nasalization of the vowel preceding it.

⁸ An acute accent represents a high tone and a grave accent, a low tone. In a morphophonemic transcription, as also in a transcription of ceremoniously decelerated speech, these are the only two tones encountered in Bini. In conversationally accelerated speech, however, the loss of low tones from elided vowels leads to the generation of two more phonemic tones, a mid (or lowered high) tone, represented by a wedge, and a flat (or lowered low) tone, represented by a macron.

èsáàgié, èságié blood
 ófigbàn palm-oil
 àtàn rust
 baa to be bright, to be red

GREEN

èbéèbé, èbébé foliage, greenery
 èbé leaf, page

YELLOW

rièrièriè pale, yellow
 wònwònwòn withered, yellowed
 ègé yellow root, gold
 iyélò⁹ mulatto, light-skinned person
 rlùèrlùèrlùè smouldering, burning palely

BLUE

èbùlùù⁹ blueing
 rlághórlághó light blue
 dúndúundún dark blue
 súnsúunsún dark blue, dark

BROWN

bisibisi reddish brown, mud-coloured
 rlènhùnlènhùn dusty
 òtòè, òtò ground, soil

GREY

kùrlàà cloudy, dull
 èbhùù mist, misty

PINK

rlèghèrlèghè, rlèghèrlèghè pink, light red

ORANGE

àlimó'i, àlimó orange, citrus fruit

PURPLE

(no exemplars)

In assessing the tonality of the preceding terms, we shall eliminate those, like èsáàgié, "blood", which exhibit a mixture of high and low tone-levels on their base-morphemes. Having so done, we find that, of the thirty-four nouns and

⁹ The colour terms iyélò and èbùlùù are, of course, borrowed from English *yellow* and *blue*, respectively.

modifiers cited,¹⁰ eighteen have high base-tone and sixteen have low base-tone. Interestingly, moreover, these high and low base-tones do not occur randomly. Of the fifteen terms for black, green, and blue, all but one have high base-tone; while, of the nineteen terms for red, yellow, and brown, all without exception have low base-tone. (The terms for white and grey show no consistent tone pattern. The term for orange shows mixed or self-contradictory base-tone. And the sole term for pink, since it also means "light red", ought probably to be classed as red, with which it is tonally congruent.)

What we find, then, is that Bini colour terms line up with remarkable consistency in an alternating pattern, as follows:

	high base-tone	low base-tone
1	BLACK	
2		RED
3	GREEN	
4		YELLOW
5	BLUE	
6		BROWN

Readers of *Basic Color Terms* will notice at once that the numerals to the left of the six colours above correspond exactly to the first six of the Berlin-Kay stages of chromatonymic development. The question, of course, is why such a neat evolutionary zigzag should occur.

There are, it seems to me, three distinct hypotheses that might account for the tonal alternation in the sequence of Bini colour terms. The first of these is that there is no direct phonosemic connection between environmental colour and linguistic pitch in Bini but rather an indirect and fortuitous one. This hypothesis, which presupposes a Jakobsonian phonology, explains the apparent correlation of lexical tone with colour in terms of two intrinsically distinct iconisms, the first of which links tone with vowel quality and the second of which links vowel quality with colour. It is a fact that most of the Bini colour terms exhibiting low base-tone also contain low vowels while most of those exhibiting high base-tone also contain high back vowels. Examples are:

riɛriɛɛriɛ pale yellow
giangiaangian bright red
òtà'è earth, soil
isó sky
dúndúundún dark blue

And Roman Jakobson asserts that there is an objective and universal synesthesia

¹⁰ Modifiers (alternatively termed attributives or adverbs) usually modify verbs but sometimes modify nouns.

of the vowels **e** and **a** with the colours yellow and red on the one hand and the vowels **o** and **u** with the colours blue and black on the other.¹¹

The second hypothesis is that, just as colours are most clearly visible when in immediate juxtaposition with contrasting colours, so tones are most clearly audible when in immediate juxtaposition with contrasting tones and that, because the Berlin-Kay colour sequence constitutes a natural rather than an arbitrary seriation, colour terms will achieve maximal referential clarity when tonally contrastive with the terms which immediately precede and follow them in evolutionary sequence. The plausibility of this surmise is increased by the fact that there are other languages which exhibit zigzag phonic alternations, both specifically in colour-term sequences and generally in speech situations in which speakers have the option of either employing or omitting some freely elisable phonic feature. In Lalana Chinantec, an Amerindian language of Mexico, for example, the colour-terms from black through yellow are as follows (all four have low phonemic tone):

la:ʔ black

yô:h red

rə:ʔ green

nɛ:h yellow¹²

Here it is not pitch-level but consonant quality (occlusion as against friction) that alternates from colour to colour. And in French, "mute" **e**'s are normally elided in an alternating pattern, [ø] preceding and following [ə] but not [ø] in cases where both are variants of /ə/.¹³

The third hypothesis, like the first, invokes iconism. But, where the Jakobsonian view involves iconic representation of visual colour by vowel colour, this hypothesis involves iconic representation of environmental locale by pitch level. Specifically, in terms of an implicitly Aristotelian cosmography, Bini words for black, green, and blue may be regarded as having high base-tone because they represent "sky colour", while words for red, yellow, and brown may be regarded as having low base-tone because they represent "earth colour".

Needless to say, all three of these hypotheses exhibit weaknesses. The greatest weakness of the first, or Jakobsonian, hypothesis is the fact that it does not apply to the two high-front vowels **i** and **e**, which constitute two-sevenths of the inventory of Bini vowel phonemes. Even more importantly, the Jakobsonian model for correspondences between vowels and colours is a triadic model, based on the classic vowel triangle **i-a-u**. Bini, however, shows a basically dyadic pattern,

¹¹ *Child Language, Aphasia, and Linguistic Universals*. The Hague, Mouton, 1968, Section 27, "Agreements Between the Systems of Sound and Colour", pp. 82-84.

¹² In this transcription, the dotless question mark represents a glottal stop; **ô**, a rounded front vowel; and the subscript hook, vowel nasalization. The authority for the forms is Calvin R. Rensch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (personal communication, Session on Folk Classification, Annual Meeting, American Anthropological Association, New Orleans, Louisiana, December 1, 1973).

¹³ Joseph F. Foster, Anthropology Department, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio (personal communication, Session on Folk Classification, Annual Meeting, American Anthropological Association, New Orleans, Louisiana, December 1, 1973).

whether one thinks in terms of vowel-contrasts or of tone-contrasts. The only way in which the Jakobsonian triad could be made isomorphic with the Bini dyad is by neutralization of the front-versus-back opposition in the vocalism of Bini colour terms, in such a way that terms for black and blue had *i*, *e*, *o*, and *u* indifferently. But, as we have seen, the facts belie this interpretation, leaving us with the virtually impossible task of fitting a plane into a line.

The second, or tone-alternating, hypothesis has the defect of not covering colours prior to black or subsequent to brown. That is, it does not apply to Bini words for white, grey, pink, or orange (there being no Bini word for purple). Moreover, it requires prior acceptance of the Berlin-Kay sequence as a fact of nature or history rather than as a hypothesis itself. Without such acceptance, neither the tonal alternation of Bini colour terms nor the consonantal alternation of Chinantec colour terms can be shown to occur at all.

The third, or environmental, hypothesis shares with the second the defect of failing to account for colours prior to black or subsequent to brown in the Berlin-Kay seriation. Furthermore, it seems bizarre, to say the least, to classify green as a "sky" colour, especially when white and grey are not so classified.

Yet, while all three of these explanatory hypotheses exhibit weaknesses, not all those weaknesses seem equally damaging. The fatal defect of the first, or Jakobsonian, hypothesis appears to me to be its application of a triadic model to a dyadic situation, which virtually inevitates a misfit between problem and solution. And the serious drawback of the second, or alternating tone, hypothesis is that it holds only if one presupposes the validity of the Berlin-Kay seriation and if one does so, moreover, in terms of the Stage IIIA version of that seriation, in which green precedes yellow. If one substitutes the Stage IIIB version of the Berlin-Kay sequence, in which yellow precedes green, or postulates another kind of sequence, or, *a fortiori* rejects colour seriation, there will simply be no regular tone alternation to explain.

If these critiques are valid, we are left with the third, or environmental, hypothesis. At first blush, it looks as though we might be best advised to reject it with the others, since it covers only six of the eleven colours considered by Berlin and Kay and it forces us to classify green as a "sky" colour. The first of these difficulties is actually less serious than it seems, however, because all colours subsequent to brown in their sequence are treated by Berlin and Kay as representative of a single chromatonymic category — their Stage VII — rather than, like the antecedent colours, of separate categories. So we are left with only one non-conforming colour: namely, white. And even this recalcitrant case is less troublesome than might be supposed, since in fact, of the six Bini words for white which exhibit lexical tone, four have the low base-tone which we expect rather than the high base-tone which appears to contradict the alternating tone sequence of the colours which follow it.

Environmentally speaking, moreover, the reason why two out of six Bini words for white have high base-tone may be that some celestial phenomena, such as clouds, are in fact white, just as are many terrestrial phenomena, such as chalk or bleached cloth. And, in the same vein, we must keep in mind that Benin and the whole of the Mid-West Region to which it belongs fall within the confines of

Africa's great tropical rain-forest. In this area, the greenest green visible is that of the forest canopy, which never fades. By contrast, the ground-level green of farms and other cleared areas looks yellowed, particularly in the long dry season, when it is not only somewhat desiccated but often covered with a light powdering of reddish-brown dust blown off the parched laterite soil. Under these circumstances, forest green, if not literally a "sky" colour, may understandably be regarded as, at the very least, a "high" colour, of which high lexical tone is appropriately iconic.

In conclusion, it seems to me that the Berlin-Kay approach to colour terminology remains the best heuristic device currently available for discoveries in chromatonymics. At the same time, I believe, their approach must be regarded as highly tentative, be subjected to continued empirical checking, and be both refined and elaborated in terms of the criteria of lexical legitimacy.

As regards the tonal characteristics of Bini colour terms in particular, I think that the pitch-levels evident in the base-morphemes of these terms are best explained as corresponding iconically to the predominant physical altitudes of coloured phenomena most evident in southern Nigeria, words for black and blue exhibiting high or "sky" tone, while words for red and yellow exhibit low or "earth" tone.

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OLD WINE IN NEW WINESKINS

A Critical Appreciation of Sundkler's Leadership Types in the Light of further Research

J. P. KIERNAN*

The name of Sundkler is well known among Africanist students and particularly so among those engaged in the field of African religion. His published work on *Bantu Prophets in South Africa* (1961)¹ is widely held in such high regard that it virtually dispenses with the need for any introduction. That this is so is due in no small measure to his manifest interest in, and genuine concern for, the African Independent Church movement. Hardly less significant is the integrity and authority which ten years solid research and fieldwork brings to his work; a quality which few other specialists can equal. But, above all else, there is the magnitude and scope of his study, the great number and diversity of churches which he brought within the range of his investigation, which lifts his work to near monumental level. The richness of material which he provides was one of the most compelling attractions which drew me as an anthropologist into this field of research. Not unnaturally, *Bantu Prophets* became my field companion and a work from which I constantly drew inspiration.

Sundkler employs a number of approaches, both religious and sociological, in interpreting the phenomena he studied and several different themes engage his attention. Among these is the leadership issue. He concedes (p. 100) that "the obsession for leadership in the Church is . . . only a symptom of other underlying factors".² Nevertheless, leadership patterns within the African Independent Churches emerge as a central thematic concern and it is to this topic that I wish to direct attention in this article.

It is appropriate to render one more tribute to Sundkler before proceeding. He was the first to recognize and admit that his very strength was also a weakness; that the sheer breadth of the canvas on which he worked was also a limitation if not an obstacle. "With my experience from ten years of investigation into this subject I would now claim that the research area could advantageously be limited still further. One could have concentrated on one particular Independent Zulu leadership type is the outcome of a blend between the Kingship pattern and one or church, or on an area geographically more circumscribed than that of a whole tribe . . ." (p. 14). An anthropologist needs little encouragement to explore such a

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¹ In all subsequent references to this work, I indicate only the pages cited.

² E.g., racial discrimination. In the previous sentence, however, he appears to deny that this is any longer the issue. Cf. also Kiernan, 1974.

limitation, since what is advocated is the small-scale study which is his stock in trade. It is therefore from the perspective of research conducted on such a scale that I wish to reappraise Sundkler's work.³ If some of my subsequent remarks are critical of Sundkler's conclusions it is only because I have been able to exploit the gap which he so conveniently provided and to go further along the path which he so skilfully opened up. I hope therefore in some measure to add to, rather than detract from, his unquestionable accomplishment.

Sundkler's treatment of Independent Church leaders proceeds from two basic premises. The first is that, since these churches are Zulu in membership and Protestant Non-Conformist in origin, they accommodate two convergent tendencies, two sets of historical antecedents, which make their separate contributions to the formation of what one of his informants aptly described as "the Third Church" (p. 333). The historical features are the Zulu social system and the Non-Conformist and Pentecostal pattern of organization. At first blush, these would seem to be less convergent than suggested and to confront one another squarely, for the Zulu heritage⁴ is that of a fairly rigid rank system, while the Non-Conformist tradition is to eschew rank in favour of more democratic ideals.

The second premise on which Sundkler bases his position is that this uneasy historical combination is subject to a gradual but steady process of 'Bantuisation' (p. 118), i.e., the Zulu emphasis on rank is becoming dominant at the expense of the democratic beginnings. Thus, he considers that independent churches are engaged in recreating the historical past by reviving in the relationships between leader and followers the pattern of King and nation (p. 102). "The Kingship pattern of Zulu society is imprinted on the leadership in *all*⁵ the independent churches" (p. 102). "As the tribal Kingship loses much of its importance, the Kingship pattern is the more energetically projected on the church leader" (p. 106). According to Sundkler, the ascendancy of the Kingship pattern manifests itself in "the steadying influence" it exerts on firebrands and eccentrics, once they become successful leaders (p. 116); in the tendency for the church to become an organizational appendage of the leader's personality and to be identified with his name (p. 104); in the establishment of a definite trend for the position of leadership to be inherited (p. 117, ff.).

This nativization of church leaders is not however uniform. The dominant Kingship pattern gives rise to two different sub-types of leader, the Chief and the Prophet.⁶ The distinction between chief and prophet leaders corresponds to an organizational distinction between Ethiopian and Zionist churches, and each other of diverging patterns consistent with the difference between the two types of churches. "In the Ethiopian Church the Kingship pattern is modified by the adaptation of leader and mass to the requirements of the modern White civilisation. In the Zionist Church this same Kingship pattern is modified by a combination with another strong leadership pattern within Zulu society; that of the diviner or

³ Others who are in a position to make similar contributions on the basis of recent fieldwork are A. G. Schutte and M. West.

⁴ I.e., of the Kingdom broken by the British in 1879.

⁵ My emphasis.

⁶ It is not clear what significance the terms "King" and "Chief" carry in this context apart from the utility of expressing the bifurcation of the Kingship pattern.

witchfinder (*isangoma*). The outcome of this development is the Zionist prophet" (p. 109). A blend of royal elements with elements of executive leadership, of the kind found in White organizations (p. 108) yields chiefly leadership, while royal properties combine with those of the divining role in traditional religious practice to produce the type of prophet-leader who has the power of healing.

This distinction between chief and prophet is characterized, not only by clear-cut organizational differences, but in terms of other criteria as well. Thus, while "the prophet is the revolutionary element in the Independent Church" (p. 115), the chief tends to be an accommodating safe leader (p. 108). The Ethiopian chief-leader boasts of an acquired education, even if in reality it rarely amounts to more than four years of schooling; the Zionist prophet lays claim to a literacy granted instantly by means of an inspired revelation. Thirdly, it would appear that chief and prophet represent discernible somatic types. "His [i.e., a prophet's] type is other than the heavy mighty type of the chief. The ideal prophet should be thin, serious and highly strung, just as a diviner must be" (p. 115).

Having established the distinction between these two leadership types "in their inter-relation with the churches they represent" (p. 106), Sundkler, in his appendix to the second edition, complicated the issue by introducing a third type, i.e., the Messianic leader (p. 323 ff.). He had earlier recognized two kinds of Zionist prophet — the roving prophet and the healing prophet, who operated from a permanent healing colony, i.e., a *Bethesda*-type church (p. 109). After additional fieldwork, Sundkler had decided that the Bethesda churches with their Messianic leaders, such as Shembe and Lekganyane, "differ fundamentally from the Zionist groups" (p. 323) and, although he never explicitly says so, it would appear that in these churches both the Kingship and diviner patterns are absorbed into the dominant figure of the "Black Christ".

This is by no means all that Sundkler has to say about Independent Church leadership, but it fairly represents the core of his thinking on the subject. Bearing in mind that he is engaged in isolating ideal types which are not designed to fit reality in every respect, his analysis may be reduced to the following set of propositions:

1. The initial impetus in the Independent Church gave equal emphasis to notions of Zulu rank (Kingship) and to non-conformist democratic principles.
2. With the passage of time, considerations of rank outweighed respect for democratic procedures. A nativistic tendency asserted itself and the Zulu 'Kingship' was vested in church leaders.
3. The 'Kingship' pattern assumed three quite distinctive forms, so that leaders belong to one or other of three different types, namely, chief, prophet, messiah.
4. Each of these leadership types operates exclusively within its proper organizational framework. Thus, the chief type is proper to Ethiopian churches, the prophet type to Zionist groups.

It is possible to disagree with Sundkler's analysis on a number of counts. With regard to the historical model which he sets up, it is not necessary to disparage the historical approach as such in order to point out its weakness. That Zulu and non-

conformist antecedents exercised some influence upon Independent Church organization is a fairly sound assumption, but that such influence should take the form of emphasizing rank in the one case and democracy in the other, is a claim that is less acceptable. Democratic values are as entrenched in Zulu tradition as is respect for rank. Indeed, it is not possible to appreciate the authority of a Zulu chief without considering his obligation to sound out public opinion before taking important decisions (cf. Schapera 1937, 182-84; 210). Shaka apart, not even the Zulu King was able to dispense with some measure of popular participation in his decisions (Walter 1969: 216; Krige 1950: 218-19). Certainly, leadership by consensus was a Zulu tradition which pre-dated and survived the most autocratic periods of the Kingdom. Similarly, it would be possible to show that, in practice, non-conformist churches were unable to escape the intrusion of rank differences.⁷ Apart from this selectivity in constructing the historical model, some doubt must be cast on the usefulness of employing the historical approach. The existence of elements of rank and of democratic principles in the Independent Churches cannot be explained adequately by suggesting that they survive as projections of the past, as "an escape into history" (p. 102). More to the point is the relevance they may have for the contemporary situation in which members of these church groups find themselves.

Sundkler's second proposition, that rank gradually supplanted democracy in the exercise of leadership, is based on rather slender evidence. Does it follow that, because some church leaders seek to establish connections with royalty or claim noble rank or espouse filial succession, they are recreating between themselves and their followers the relationship between King and tribe? The connection is not established. Moreover, the evidence for these manoeuvres is also unsatisfactory in that it either cites the exceptional case, e.g., Shembe, or is inconsistent, i.e., Mabelitsa spurned his noble rank (p. 103). On the other hand, there is no denying that many of Sundkler's informants conceived their role of leader in terms of kingly characteristics. There is a strong possibility however that, when asked to provide a conceptual framework for what they do, informants obligingly cast about for the most convenient analogy available, in this case the pattern of chief's or King's rule. But an analogy is not an explanation. To say a motor car is like a lion may have some meaning, but it does not tell us what a motor car is.

Whatever conceptualizations Sundkler may adopt for distinguishing types of church leader, what he is really handling is the difference between certain types of actions; it is quite appropriate to call them ministerial actions and prophetic actions, in that they reflect categories which are implicit in Sundkler's own description of leadership activities. In prophetic actions, the accent is on healing (p. 109) while ministerial (pastoral) actions emphasize the care and conservation of followers, and lead to safe accommodating leadership (pp. 107-08). It is with Sundkler's final proposition regarding the distribution of these types of activities among groups and organizations that I am most directly concerned in the rest of this paper.

⁷ Cf. Bryan Wilson on the dilemma of the Pentecostal minister (Wilson 1967: 144).

He contends that each type of leadership is exercised solely within its appropriate organizational context, i.e., either in an Ethiopian or a Zionist (or Bethesda) Church. The corollary of this is that, as far as Zionist churches are concerned, only prophet leadership emerges in these groups and, conversely, the ministerial type of action is quite foreign to their framework. Consequently, I embarked upon my research into Zionist groups fully convinced that, whatever pattern of leadership appeared, this could be easily accommodated within Sundkler's model. I can only say that within the limited universe of my field this expectation was not realized.

The expected profusion of prophet leaders combined with the exclusion of ministerial leaders did not materialize. Instead I found both ministerial and prophet types active among Zionists. Moreover, their roles were not kept apart by their being located in separate Zionist groups. It was usual to find both types functioning together within the same small group or congregation (following the usage of Kiernan 1974: 82, I refer to these groups as 'bands'). Furthermore, in some instances the two roles were assumed by the same individual leader. These findings made nonsense of the hypothesis that the exercise of such leadership roles was organizationally separated and I was forced to work out an alternative to Sundkler's formulation.

The activity which is distinctive of the Zionist minister is that of preaching and recruiting (the term used for minister is *umfundisi*, meaning "teacher"), but a man engages in these activities at lower levels of ministry, first as a preacher (*umshumayeli*) and later as an evangelist (*ivangeli*). The prophet (*umprofeta*), on the other hand, allocates blame and responsibility for individual misdemeanour and prescribes treatment for affliction; he also singles out individuals for decoration and reward. The distinctive sets of actions associated with each of these specialists constitute the major stages of the 'work' undertaken by the band at every Zionist meeting. These stages of 'bandwork' are kept quite separate and distinct; first there is the Preaching (i.e., minister's work) and this is followed by the Healing (i.e., prophet work).⁸

Zionists themselves view these specialists as polar but complementary opposites and contrast the sober pastor with the wayward impetuous prophet. Prophets are deemed to be irresponsible ("they are like children") and their performances must be controlled by the minister. Prophets may deal over-zealously and too roughly with individuals and so estrange them from the band; ministers must keep a tight rein on such excesses and see to the reintegration of individuals when it becomes necessary. Even when prophets single out persons to be invested with special emblems, these rewards must be conferred by the minister himself who thus reabsorbs the individual according to his newly acquired status.

I have found it helpful to characterize these complementary roles of minister and prophet as those of *constituting* (minister-preacher) and of *allocating* (prophet).⁹ The constitutive role of minister is to attend to collective themes and to the conservation of members. The allocative role of the prophet concentrates on the

⁸ Cf. Kiernan, forthcoming.

⁹ I must acknowledge that the clarification of this distinction emerged from discussions I had with Dr B. Sansom, to whom I am indebted for many stimulating exchanges.

singular and the individual and it is carried out while the prophet submits himself to the inspiration and guidance of the Spirit (*umoya*). The eccentric and capricious behaviour attendant upon such states might easily give rise to the assumption that the prophetic role is essentially anarchic (e.g., Sundkler 1961: 115). However, in bandwork the Spirit is never unbridled and the prophet is never rampant. Because behaviour is subject to the governing role-relationship of minister and prophet, actions which at first blush might appear socially disruptive are to be assessed in their total context as leading to the ultimate restoration of social harmony and good fellowship.¹⁰ While the Zionist band is being broken up through the prophetic allocation to individuals of statuses and rewards, it is being constantly reshaped anew through the constituting and legitimating efforts of the minister. The continuity and well-being of the band depends, therefore, upon the dynamic interplay of the constitutive and allocative roles.

Nor is the role relationship ostensibly altered when both roles are filled by the same individual. The separation of roles is maintained and confusion is eliminated by the clear demarcation of the work phases, preaching and healing, in which the autonomy of each role is guaranteed. Nevertheless, if both roles are vested in the same person, a certain amount of overlap is unavoidable since the person who has been the minister is now the prophet and *vice versa*. Thus, for instance, decisions taken in the sphere of allocating can be directly influenced by considerations pertaining to the role of constituting. In this way, the dynamic tension inherent in the role-relationship is more or less eliminated by giving decisive weight to the aims of constituting.

The level at which Sundkler's study was conducted may have prevented him from arriving at a classification of leadership types in terms akin to my categories of allocation and constitution. Throughout his fieldwork he operated on the level of large-scale organization, the major focus of his attention being the denomination. The Zionist denomination usually has a geographical spread with branch congregations in many localities, often situated far apart from one another. The identity and unity of the denomination is centred upon the person of its leader and the headquarters where he resides. Viewed in this light, the question of leadership is relatively uncomplicated. Each denomination has but one over-all leader and the only problem that arises is that of ascertaining to which leadership pattern he belongs.

My interest was concentrated rather at the 'grassroots' level of organization, where branches of the denomination, the bands, operate as quasi-independent units enjoying a large measure of local autonomy from the centre. As I have indicated, the problems for analysis which arise here are somewhat different and are complicated by the simultaneous accommodation within band structure of different forms of leadership. In some matters the minister takes the lead, in others it is the prophet who leads. Both have their proper place and activity and the competence of each is respected by the other.

There is a sense, therefore, in which my dissatisfaction with Sundkler's typology and my attempt of reformulating it is a result of a different orientation in field-

¹⁰ For an analysis of this total context, see Kiernan, forthcoming.

work and, in particular, is the outcome of a difference in scale in the unit of study. Sundkler's was essentially a large-scale study in terms both of the number of churches he dealt with and of the size of his unit of investigation. The very discreteness of the organizational units he studied led him to adopt the view that types of church leaders occupied quite separate and unrelated spheres of influence.

Nevertheless, even at the level of denominational leadership, there are grounds for querying the relevance of his typology to actual circumstances. Denominational leadership is an achieved status. It is ascribed only in exceptional cases where the hereditary principle has gained acceptance. For this principle to operate with any success, a reasonably long history of independent and stable existence on the part of a denomination must be presupposed and this, as yet, is far from being the norm. In most cases, denominational leaders begin in a more modest fashion, as leaders of a band. Nor do they necessarily cease to act at band level on assumption of leadership of the denomination. Much of the leader's time and energy is given to an active engagement in the local band which meets regularly at his residence, rather than to administering the affairs of the denomination. In other words, it is only in exceptional cases that denominational eminence releases a leader from continuous involvement in the interplay between ministerial and prophetic functions at band meetings. Nor should it be further supposed that the assumption of denominational responsibility inevitably places the Bishop or President in the category of a purely constituting leader. The majority of denominational leaders known to me, admittedly a small number, enjoyed undisputed reputations as powerful prophets and continued to exercise the prophetic role in healing activities. Even at denominational level, therefore, there can be no acceptance of a simple dichotomy of forms of leadership appropriate to discrete organizations. Instead, types of leadership must be understood in terms of a relationship between interacting roles within organizations. However, this interaction has special significance for the organization of small groups. Direct observation of what happens in small groups of from six to thirty members makes it impossible to support the hypothesis of insulated leadership as opposed to the view that leadership is inextricably bound up with a negotiated order which is the outcome of interaction between different types of leader.

Sundkler's analysis is further hampered by his assuming the continuity of historical forms of leadership within the Independent Churches. Since Zulu types such as King and diviner do not emerge out of his data but exist antecedently to his material and are superimposed upon it, these types themselves tend to become the object of his analysis. Having begun with a pre-established morphology of Zulu types and forms he is unable to go beyond it. In effect, the classification of King, Chief, and Prophet is sociologically sterile and unproductive. The advantage of investigating Zionism at the level of band organization is that one's attention is riveted on the group's activity. The band is where the action is. Leadership has to be analysed in the context of action which is taking place here and now rather than in terms of traditional categories. Any classification of leaders must throw light on what leaders actually do rather than on what leaders are believed to have done in the past. It must be action-based and it must be relevant to present circumstances in order to be sociologically meaningful. Zionist leaders either take

action to constitute and shape the group, or they act to allocate statuses to individuals or they do both.

One consequence of this divergence regarding the kind of thing being analysed — types of traditional leadership or types of contemporary action — is to place a different emphasis on the importance of land for Zionist church leaders. According to Sundkler (p. 330), "each (Zionist) church prospered or not according to its success in finding land". The acquisition of land is an emotionally charged issue and it is regarded as being inseparably bound up with the royal and chiefly attributes of the church leader (p. 130). While I do not doubt the importance of land to Independent Church leaders, it seems highly dubious to claim that, from 1913 onwards, the desire for land has been at the root of the Zionist experience (p. 330). Certainly land will be less of an issue at band level than at denominational level. Concentrating on the land issue seems also to give undue prominence to the Bethesda-type churches in the success ratings since these must have land for healing colonies on which to hold massed rallies and to settle followers. The leaders of my study do not aim at colonizing adherents. Furthermore, not only do they operate at local level but they belong to the urban areas where Africans may not own any land. It would be untrue to say that the law prevents such leaders from wanting land but their ambition is limited to the acquisition of a stand on which to erect a modest church building. What they really require is a place or arena in which the work of Zionism, i.e., the action, can take place; for some groups a single room in the home of the minister is hopelessly inadequate. In any case, in these groups the focus of attention is the action itself, not land or any other extension of royal or chiefly types of leadership.

This leads us to consider the extent to which Zionist leaders attach importance to economic resources in general. In discussing "ministers' salaries", Sundkler rightly challenges the view that the churches have been established on the economic or profit motive and he points out "that to the African prestige matters more than money" (p. 126). Having thus distinguished between the economic and the social rewards of leadership he proceeds to demonstrate that, with the exception mainly of the 'Messianic' prophets, most Independent Church leaders, if they depended purely on church remuneration, would be comparatively poor. This is fine but one looks in vain for a corresponding analysis of the social rewards of leadership. It is precisely this neglected area that is pushed into prominence when one approaches Zionism at the level of bandwork. In such small-scale groups the material rewards are slender and marginal, to say the least, so that the competition for social resources becomes paramount. Allocative and constitutive types of leadership are employed to control the flow of these resources among members, to see to the distribution of status and prestige (as also their withdrawal) and to ensure that such a distribution does not undermine the unity and harmony of the group. In actual fact, this is entirely in accordance with Sundkler's starting-point where he distinguished ranked and democratic forms of leadership. He was misled into thinking that these patterns were either historically or organizationally sealed off from one another.

Bearing in mind the difference of approaches — an action-based approach to small groups meeting in an urban environment, as opposed to a concentration on

an historical approach to denominational units with a strong rural emphasis — I will conclude by summing up my findings in the following propositions:

1. Leadership is either of the constituting type or the allocating type.
2. These types do not necessarily belong to separate forms of organization.
3. The Zionist form of organization incorporates both types as interacting complementary roles.
4. Both roles can be satisfactorily filled by the same individual.

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W.J. Breytenbach

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THE FORMS OF IGBO TRADITIONAL POETRY

R. N. EGUDU*

According to Ruth Finnegan, "much of what is normally classed as poetry in African oral literature is designed to be performed in a musical setting, and the musical and verbal elements are thus inter-dependent".¹ The significance of this statement does not consist in any conceptual innovation in literary tradition, but rather in its calling attention to a truism that has always been, for the inseparable relationship between poetry and music has been for each of these arts an indispensable factor in its existence. And "among the earliest peoples, the arts which we have come to distinguish as music, poetry, and the dance were united in one common whole, the regulating force of which was rhythm, a factor which determined alike words, music, and dance figures".² Thus, indeed, it is not only with music, but also with dance that poetry is tied up in a holy wedlock which is cardinal to its being, for rhythm, which is one of the major elements of poetry, is also a major factor in the art of dancing, just as it is in music.

Another important nexus which unites these three arts, especially poetry and music, is sound. Poetry has been described as an art of sound; and it has been observed that poetry has ever been struggling to recover from music what this latter had stolen from it,³ that is to say, "sound". It is because of the way in which music has effectively blended sound and other elements that every good poem constantly aspires to the condition of music. It is not therefore surprising that a study of oral poetry which is an art of sound, of vocalization, should essentially be a study of traditional music.

In poetry proper, it is such elements as rhyme, alliteration, consonance, assonance, onomatopoeia, and the various forms of repetition, like anaphora and refrain, that make up the sound which is one of its major elements, and which enhances its music. It is because of the emphasis on this music of poetry that a poem is said to be hardly a poem until it is read aloud and heard. The vocal element, the song-factor, is thus as important in poetry as it is in the art of music; and it is mainly on the basis of this oral quality of poetry, especially the unwritten traditional poetry, and of the song-nature of this art, that I will attempt a discussion of the various forms which Igbo traditional poetry assumes. That is to

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¹ Ruth Finnegan, *Oral Literature in Africa*. Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1970, p. 4.

² Howard D. McKinney and W. R. Anderson, *Music in History: The Evolution of an Art*. New York, American Book Company, 1966, p. 18.

³ See C. M. Bowra, *The Heritage of Symbolism*. London, Macmillan, 1959, p. 9.

say, the forms of this traditional poetry discussed in this paper are based on the manner in which the songs or poems are sung.

Generally speaking, Igbo traditional poetry in its original context is monophonic in form, which means that it is basically sung in one pervading part. There is no question of three or four parts, and so on. But specifically this poetry has a number of different forms which can be distinguished on the basis of the organization of the lines of the poems, and on the basis of who sings which lines: the soloist or the chorus.

Thus many Igbo traditional poems have a form in which the lines sung by the lead-singer alternate with those that are sung by the chorus, and in which the opening line or lines are repeated at the end. This form is like that of the "rondel" music which flourished in Europe about A.D. 200-1300.⁴ The most important features of the form are that the song is shared between the lead-singer and the chorus, and that it is often a dance-song.⁵ This is the predominant form of Igbo traditional folk poetry *per se*. The lead-singer sings full lines, which are not often complete statements, and the chorus supplies a refrain, usually of one word, after every such line. The chorus-word may even be an ideophone without an identifiable meaning, but it is significant for its sound effect, and because it enhances the rhythm of the song. A beautiful example of this form is a piece titled "Gbagolu, Gbagolu, Gbagolu".⁶

Gbagolu, gbagolu, gbagolu

Sara (chorus)

Gbagolu n'ugwu enu,

Gbagolu n'ugwu anī,

Okuko nna m oche,

Nyili akwa one e?

Nyili akwa n'asatō,

Jee ivū ha avū,

Vūta ūmū n'abō,

Kute mmili enū,

Kute mmili anī,

Ka asaa ya ökpā,

Ökpa ö ji eje ije;

Na mgbada mgbada,

Agwō nō n'onuno,

Nwoke atinye aka,

Nwanyī atinye aka,

O wee taa ha;

Ma m etinye aka,

Mifū ya ka ögīya,

Climb, climb, climb

Sara (chorus)

Climb the high hill,

Climb the low hill,

Grandfather's hen,

Laid how many eggs?

Laid eight eggs,

At the hatching time

Hatched two chicks;

Bring water from above,

Bring water from below,

For washing her legs,

Legs she walks by;

Down the slope

A snake was in a hole:

A man put a hand in

A woman put a hand in

And it bit them;

But I put a hand in,

Pulled it out like *ogiya**

⁴ See Hugh Milton Miller, *History of Music*. New York, Barnes & Nobles, 1960, pp. 12-15.

⁵ Ibid., p. 14. I have discussed the general artistic features of some Igbo dance poems in an article titled 'The art of Igbo dance-poems' published in *African Studies* 29: 1970, pp. 271-78, but I did not give any special treatment to the form of the poems. The point of emphasis was the similarity between these poems and the English and Scottish Ballads.

⁶ Recorded at Umabi, Udi Division.

*A small rat noted for its agility.

Wee gbanahü agwö
 Gbagolu n'ugwu enu
 Gbagolu n'ugwu anĩ

And escaped from the snake.
 Climb the high hill
 Climb the low hill.

One peculiar feature of the interaction between the lead-singer and the chorus is that the chorus comes in between lines which taken together express a complete thought, but which taken separately may not. This pattern of balancing the utterances of the soloist against those of the chorus is the basic form of this type of Igbo traditional poetry. Furthermore, like the "rondel" type of music which is usually rounded, it begins and ends with almost the same lines, and thereby assumes the round form, even though, unlike in the "rondel" music, the opening lines repeated at the end are not refrain lines, but the soloist's lines.

Another example of this form of Igbo traditional poetry is "Ubo Mbekwu":⁷

Tewe übö
 Anachangoli (chorus)
 Übö mbekwu
 Anachangoli
 Übö na-aha
 Anachangoli
 Übö mbekwu
 Anachangoli
 Übö azüwa
 Anachangoli
 Übö mbekwu
 Anachangoli

Dance to übö*
 Anachangoli (chorus)
 Tortoise's übö
 Anachangoli
 Übö is sounding
 Anachangoli
 Tortoise's übö
 Anachangoli
 Übö is dinning
 Anachangoli
 Tortoise's übö
 Anachangoli.

There is here, as in the preceding piece, the same alternation between the lead-singer and the chorus; and in each case the chorus-word means little else than its sound effect. But two major differences can be noted. Firstly, the second poem is not rounded like the former; and secondly, there are actually two refrains in the second poem: namely that sung by the chorus, and that sung by the soloist (übö mbekwu), which tends to complete each statement he makes before the intervention of the chorus.

The second major form of Igbo traditional poetry is that in which the soloist sings only the first of a group of lines (or stanza) alone and the chorus and the soloist together sing the remaining lines, and in which lines are repeated separately or as a group. This form of Igbo traditional poetry resembles the European "sequence" form. This is an old song form in which some musical phrases are repeated, with varying words added.⁸ In musical terms proper, the sequences are "the repetitions of a definite group of notes or chords in different positions of scales, like regular steps ascending or descending".⁹ Originally, this song was "a form of Latin liturgical poetry" known as "sequentia", examples of which are

⁷ Recorded at Ebe, Udi Division.

*A string instrument.

⁸ Miller, *History of Music*, p. 14.

⁹ See *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* ed. by Eric Blom. London, Macmillan, 1966, Vol. VII, p. 702.

"Lauda Sion Salvatorem", "Stabat Mater", and "Veni Sancte Spiritus".¹⁰ The emphasis in this form of song or poetry is on the fact of the repetition of a group of notes or chords (in the case of music) and of phrases or a group of lines (in the case of poetry). An example of Igbo traditional poetry which has this form is "Nweke Njehiliöna"¹¹ which in some parts of Igbo land is also called "Nwaka Dimkpolo":

Gĩnĩ tigbulu Nweke Njehiliöna?	What happened to Nweke Njehiliöna? (name of a person)
E — E Nweke Njehiliöna	E — E Nweke Njehiliöna
Ukwa tigbulu Nweke Njehiliöna,	Bread-fruit crushed Nweke Njehiliöna,
E — E Nweke Njehiliöna.	E — E Nweke Njehiliöna.
Gĩnĩ melü ùkwa?	What happened to bread-fruit?
Mkpö kpöwalü ùkwa	Splinter split bread-fruit
Ùkwa tigbulu Nweke Njehiliöna,	Bread-fruit crushed Nweke Njehiliöna,
E — E Nweke Njehiliöna.	E — E Nweke Njehiliöna.
Gĩnĩ melü mkpö?	What happened to splinter?
Ökü lejili mkpö	Fire burnt splinter
Mkpö kpöwalü ùkwa	Splinter split bread-fruit
Ùkwa tigbulu Nweke Njehiliöna,	Bread-fruit crushed Nweke Njehiliöna,
E — E Nweke Njehiliöna.	E — E Nweke Njehiliöna.
Gĩnĩ melü ökü?	What happened to fire?
Mmili manyülü ökü	Water quenched fire
Ökü lejili mkpö	Fire burnt splinter
Mkpö kpöwalü ùkwa	Splinter split bread-fruit
Ùkwa tigbulu Nweke Njehiliöna,	Bread-fruit crushed Nweke Njehiliöna,
E — E Nweke Njehiliöna.	E — E Nweke Njehiliöna.
Gĩnĩ melü mmili?	What happened to water?
Ewu ñülü mmili	Goat drank water
Mmili manyülü ökü	Water quenched fire
Ökü lejili mkpö	Fire burnt splinter
Mkpö kpöwalü ùkwa	Splinter split bread-fruit
Ùkwa tigbulu Nweke Njehiliöna,	Bread-fruit crushed Nweke Njehiliöna,
E — E Nweke Njehiliöna.	E — E Nweke Njehiliöna.
Gĩnĩ melü ewu?	What happened to goat?
Önwü gbulu ewu	Death killed goat
Ewu ñülü mmili	Goat drank water
Mmili manyülü ökü	Water quenched fire
Ökü lejili mkpö	Fire burnt splinter
Mkpö kpöwalü ùkwa	Splinter split bread-fruit
Ùkwa tigbulu Nweke Njehiliöna,	Bread-fruit crushed Nweke Njehiliöna,
E — E Nweke Njehiliöna.	E — E Nweke Njehiliöna.

¹⁰ See *Collins Music Encyclopaedia* ed. by J. A. Westrup and F. L. Harrison. London, Collins, 1959, p. 595.

¹¹ Contained in *Poetic Heritage: Igbo Traditional Verse* by R. N. Egudu and D. I. Nwoga. Enugu, Nwanko-Ifejika, 1971, pp. 76-79.

This song is almost entirely sustained by repetition. Aside from the repetition of the interrogative phrase "Ginī melu", and of course, the refrain "E — E Nweke Njeghiliōna", there is the major repetition of each stanza by the succeeding one; and every stanza except the second one is longer by a line than that which immediately precedes it. This is a typical case of "incremental repetition" that is a feature of the Ballad.¹² It may be necessary to observe that though this poem has a refrain like the "rondel" type treated above, the refrain is sung not only by the audience but by the audience and the lead-singer together. The function of the lead-singer of the "sequence" poem is merely to introduce each stanza by asking the initial question. After that, the audience comes in and all of them sing the rest of the lines.

A variation of this form is that in which the repetition is a slight variation of the preceding phrase. This form very rarely has any refrain. In Igbo tradition, poems of this kind are often used to test people's ability to remember the sequence of the lines, for if there is any jump or omission, the music of the piece is ruined. Usually it is sung or spoken by a group of people. Two examples of this form of song or poetry are as follows:¹³

(a)

Nye m ube	Give me pear
Ube obelu	Parrot's pear
Nye m obelu	Give me parrot
Obelu nza	Wren's parrot
Nye m nza	Give me wren
Nza akpa	Moth's wren
Nye m akpa	Give me moth
Akpa nkwü	Palm's moth
Nye m nkwü	Give me palm
Nkwü anī	Earth's palm
Nye m anī	Give me earth
Anī akü	Wealthy earth
Nye m akü	Give me wealth
Akü bü ilo.	Wealth is hatred.

(b)

Abalu m n'öffia dī mgbagölö	I entered a crooked bush
Gbute oshishi dī mgbagölö	Cut a crooked stick
Wee tie ji dī mgbagölö	And staked a crooked yam
Welu ngwu dī mgbagölö	Took a crooked digger
We-e gwute ji dī mgbagölö	And dug the crooked yam
Nye nwanyi dī mgbagölö	Gave to a crooked woman
Ka oshie ne'ekwu dī mgbagölö	To cook on a crooked stand
Ke evūnye nwoke dī mgbagölö	To be given to a crooked man
Owe-e lie ji dī mgbagölö.	Who ate the crooked yam.

¹² Cf. Egudu, The art of Igbo dance poems. *African Studies* 29: 1970, p. 274.

¹³ The two poems are recorded in Udi Division.

The beauty of these pieces consists mainly in the pattern of repetition. In the first poem the repetition is both vertical and diagonal. The two lines in each couplet end with the same word; and this brings about at least an imperfect rhyme. Also the initial word of the second line of each couplet constitutes the ending of the lines in the succeeding couplet. This chain structure enhances the continuity of repetition and also makes for variation in sound. As for the second poem, the word "crooked" appears in all the lines, and in each case it is associated with almost entirely different words. Thus there is repetition as well as variation; but the rhythmical pattern remains practically the same in all the lines.

The last form of Igbo traditional poetry I have so far discovered is the "catalogue" type. Unlike in the preceding forms discussed above, there may be no regular or formal co-operation between the soloist and the chorus; but from time to time, the audience may throw in a word or ideophone which signifies applause, but which is not strictly speaking a part of the poem. However, there may be cases in which a regular responsorial word or phrase is sung by the chorus. This form generally resembles the Church "Litany".¹⁴ The Litany in the Catholic Church, for example, is always about one subject — a saint or a group of saints — examples of which are "Litany of the Blessed Virgin Mary", "Litany of the Sacred Heart of Jesus", and "Litany of the Saints". In Church tradition, it is often invocatory, supplicatory and eulogistic. In this context also, there is a refrain sung by the chorus after every expression of praise or supplication by the soloist.

In Igbo tradition, this form is seen clearly in songs praising the living or the dead. The praise-songs may not always contain invocation and supplication, but they are always certainly eulogistic. Another slight variation from the Church Litany is the fact that not all praise songs have responsorial phrases or words. Nevertheless, the catalogue of the deeds or qualities of the person or deity being sung about or addressed is always there, and this is a constant feature of this form of poetry.

Examples of the "litany type" of poems abound in our society. A praise-song about a young lady, for example, reads as follows:¹⁵

Nwagboghö, ìbü	Young lady, you are
Ugegbe afü n'anwü	A mirror* that must not go out in the sun
Nwa eje n'imo	A child that must not be touched by dew
Oji aji akwa ngwa	One that is dressed up in hair
Utukpe eji awhü üzö	A lamp with which people find their way
Önwa na-eti-anī	Moon that shines bright
Abüba-ugo di na-etu	An eagle feather* worn by a husband
Akala zii Cukwu kalü.	A straight line drawn by God.

Here there is neither invocation nor supplication, nor refrain. The piece is a straightforward imagistic itemization of the admirable physical qualities of the lady.

¹⁴ Miller, *History of Music*, p. 12.

¹⁵ Contained in *Poetic Heritage* by Egudu and Nwoga, pp. 30-31.

*The mirror and the eagle-feather are symbols of beauty and nobility respectively.

The next example is a song praising a dead woman who when she was living was very wealthy and kind to the people:¹⁶

Ögatu onye öna ara ahü, nnem le	Saviour of those in difficulty, mother
Ama mmiri akögh ncha, nnem le	Road to the stream never without soap, mother
Ülö shöpü m na ekome akwa, nnem le	Shop where cloths are displayed, mother
İbara di na nwanyĩ, nnem le	Joy of the married state, mother
Ülö öma m na eji eche akü, nnem le	Beautiful house where wealth is preserved, mother
Nne ukwu ümü azĩ, nnem le	Great mother of young children, mother
Oghu na ite nga, nnem le	She that cooks in a great pot, mother
İhüna sĩ ndomi ibe gĩ afütala	Don't you see, your fellow women have arrived
Ozirigbo ejiri chie gĩ eze majüö ha ma önökwa ya	<i>Ozirigbo</i> * used in your enthroning, is it still there I ask?
Unu kütü ozirigbo mele ya ma öna abĩa.	Somebody please play the <i>ozirigbo</i> , let me see if she will come.
Isi ingini na ehe ala, nnem ukwu	Engine head that shakes the earth, my big mother,
Ndomi ibe gĩ na akwa akwa.	Your fellow women are mourning.

This piece is very close to the tradition of Church Litany, especially in respect of the responsorial word, which is sung by the chorus. Besides, the piece is a catalogue of the virtues and kind acts of the woman; and it is invocatory since the singer is actually addressing her. Though there is no overt supplication, the fond wish (even if it is a futile one) that the woman come back to life to continue her protective activities for the people, is clearly expressed.

The form of an Igbo traditional poem is thus an important aspect of its existence as an artistic entity, for it (the form) reflects not only the pattern of its verbal composition, but also the mode of its vocal production. Furthermore, most of the forms treated in this study help to underscore the communal nature of the poetry, for except in very few cases of solo-recitation, the performance of the poetry is invariably a shared exercise. And finally, it is the forms of Igbo traditional poetry, more than any other features it has, that can be consistently "traditional". This is because even where the words of a song or poem may vary from generation to generation and from place to place, and where a relatively new and foreign expression like "engine" in one of the praise poems reproduced above, is introduced into the poetry, the form of this poetry has tended to remain fixed. Because

¹⁶ See *ibid.*, pp. 128-29.

* *Ozirigbo* is a large gong usually played by the leader of the women's dance group.

of this central importance of the forms of Igbo traditional poetry, therefore, one can rightly say that they have contributed immensely towards making this poetry achieve that important objective of any art, which is, to be a piece of beauty and a source of pleasure.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Genuine Shona. MICHAEL GELFAND.

Gwelo, Mambo Press, 1973. 205 pp., Rhod. \$3,70.

As a student of Shona society Professor Gelfand has already produced a number of books and articles on its various aspects. The aim of his latest, *The Genuine Shona*, is to show that there are many attributes of Shona culture that are worthwhile. He argues for the retention of such aspects of Shona culture as their manners; their concept of brotherhood; their love of a good family life; good neighbourliness and religion. Means must be found of blending these Shona cultural aspects with what the west has brought to Mashonaland. "Africa has something to offer the world in human behaviour and this the Shona man and woman can give by their fine example."

The first part of the book is both interesting and useful to students of social life. Traditional Shona manners ranging from greetings to table etiquette are portrayed in detail. Relationships between members of the Shona extended family are described as are Shona ideas of the good and beautiful, and right and wrong. Shona terms have been used extensively in the discussion. Those who have read Professor Gelfand's other books and articles will find little new in the parts dealing with religion and medical beliefs. He has dealt with these more adequately in his other books such as *Shona Ritual*, *Shona Religion* and *Witch Doctor*. The chapter covering marriage contains several interesting points that Professor Gelfand has not developed before. More should have been said, though, on marriage and family. In the last section an attempt is made to assess change in modern Shona society. Urban informants were questioned on topics such as their present views on marriage customs, kinship, death rituals and food habits.

As the title indicates, the book is mainly about traditional Shona society. But this society has undergone many changes over the last eighty years largely through urbanization, industrialization and contact with other cultures. Thus readers mainly interested in contemporary Shona society will not find much that is of use to them. Moreover, Professor Gelfand tends to describe how the Shona were or are expected to behave rather than actual behaviour itself. His interest in the ideal Shona sometimes obscures his vision of reality. For example, in describing ancestor spirits on page 121 he concludes that, "the *vadzimu* are in the daily thoughts of every Shona". On page 117 he says that "the Shona must always have their dead in mind and no one will doubt the findings of a *n'ganga* [traditional doctor] that the illness came simply because the guilty person had failed in some way to respect a spirit elder". With reference to education on page 125 he agrees with one of his informants that, "before any child is sent to school his father must seek the consent of the ancestral spirits of the family to make sure there is no objection". There are many such statements which do not apply to a large number of Shona people.

The book also gives a partial picture in another way. The emphasis is on what Professor Gelfand regards as functional aspects of Shona culture. Thus he ignores deviant behaviour, and the tensions and conflicts that occur in daily life; crimes

are committed, neighbours quarrel, divorces occur. This omission, however, may have been deliberate as Professor Gelfand has touched on some of these issues in other studies.

The last section dealing with the urban Shona and the degree of change could have been strengthened had greater use of recent studies been made. Peter Stopforth's *Survey of Highfield African Township* and *Two Aspects of Social Change, Highfield African Township Salisbury*, would, for example, have greatly enriched Gelfand's analysis of kinship and marriage in modern Shona society.

Its limitations notwithstanding, this study helps to fill a sad gap in our comprehension of Shona society. It also gives a standpoint from which subsequent changes can be viewed.

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Rulers of Empire: The French Colonial Service in Africa. WILLIAM B. COHEN. Stanford, Hoover Institution Press, 1971. 279 pp., 10 pls, 14 tabs, 5 apps, bibliog. \$9.50.

"Our intentions are pure and noble, our cause just; the future cannot fail us." Underlying this assertion of Louis Faidherbe, father of French colonial administration in sub-Saharan Africa, was the conviction that France would, through conquest, impose more enlightened and humane institutions on the regions she subjected. Professor Cohen's study addresses itself to an assessment of the role, in this context, of France's Corps of Colonial Administrators and the influences that shaped it. It was this Corps that was charged with administration of all areas under French jurisdiction other than Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria and Indo-China.

Major attention is given to the formal training of colonial administrators, with special focus upon the evolving character of the *Ecole Coloniale* (from its genesis in 1885 as the *College cambodgienne*, when initial concern was the training of Indo-Chinese students).

The extent of colonial administrative decentralization is strikingly reflected in the observation of a former Governor who served in the inter-war years that, in his thirty years of service, never once did he receive an instruction from the ministry for the colonies. "We were", he observes, "the real rulers of the empire; no one told us what to do" (p. 61).

Administrative strategy often found itself attempting to reconcile incompatible demands. Thus, whilst perpetuating 'traditional' structures to facilitate imperial control, it simultaneously undertook social engineering aimed at providing French employers and traders with the respective black labour and products they desired. The compulsion of African peasants to produce export market crops at the expense of domestic food-stuffs, forced self-sufficient cultivators to seek

employment from French companies or settlers, and eroded values, prerogatives and the whole social order of which chiefs and clans were but a part. French colonial administrators were suspicious of colonial nationalists, *évolués*, mass parties and labour unions; but few perceived the logical connection between the emergence of these phenomena and the export-orientated market economy the colonial administrators sought to establish.

Of the text itself, several criticisms may be made. The sub-title "The French Colonial Service in Africa" is misleading in so far as the book is restricted to sub-Saharan Africa and the executive part of the colonial service, the Corps of Administrators. Graver inadequacies stem from the book's narrow framework and lack of conceptual insight. It would be inapposite to compare a history of a colonial administrative corps with a work on colonial policy such as E. A. Brett's *Colonialism and Underdevelopment in East Africa*. Yet it nevertheless seems unsatisfactory to attempt a history of colonial administration without mention of the political economy. Repercussions of administrative actions penetrate deeper than the techniques themselves, and so a history of the Administrators' Corps remains incomplete without noting the consequences of its actions.

Faidherbe conceived the "pure and noble" intentions cited in this review's opening sentence as being specifically "to dominate the country at as low a cost as possible and through commerce get the greatest advantages" (p. 11). One would have appreciated some discussion of how the Corps of Colonial Administrators was an instrument to this end, and some mention of its impact upon pre-colonial societies.

The author's failure to render explicit the significance of facts or to elaborate conclusions constitute further flaws. Whilst the pertinence of class background, geographic origins, formal training and ideological outlook are correctly isolated in the introduction as having bearing upon the ways in which the French overseas bureaucracy functioned, the body of the text advances hardly beyond providing tables of raw and unprocessed data. What were the collective values and assumptions shared by the administrators with their similar class backgrounds and formal training? Did Governor-General Van Vollenhoven's childhood as a White *colon* in Algeria influence his decisions when the interests of indigenous peasants and French settlers conflicted? What were the administrators' attitudes on the key issues — whether France's Black subjects were best 'educated' by being employed by French settlers and companies; or 'civilized' by cultivating peanuts for export instead of millet for consumption? And did they consider it legitimate to employ state power to force African subjects to these courses of action? All too often, readers are left unenlightened or confined to scattered examples rather than explicit systematic analysis.

The value of the work would also have been further enhanced had the analysis paid some deference to the approaches and insights of theoretical studies of bureaucratic organization. One thinks in this context, for example, of the value of March and Simon's discussion of the informal social pressures that operate on managerial bureaucrats.

These criticisms notwithstanding, Professor Cohen has performed a useful service by filling a major gap in our knowledge. The book's readable style and

vivid quotations render it suitable for undergraduate students, while the work also provides valuable source material on the impact of French colonial policy in Africa.

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The History of the Chewa (Mbiri ya Achewa). SAMUEL JOSIA NTARA.

Translated into English by W. S. Kamphandira Jere with Comments by Harry W. Langworthy, edited by Beatrix Heintze.

Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1973. xx, 167 pp., 5 maps. 20 DM.

One of the most heartening features of African historical writing has been the refusal of Africans during the long decades of colonial rule, to wait for European and American academics to write their history for them. As literacy spread, devoted men, despite lack of formal training and full-time commitment to church or government affairs, spent much time seeking out older people and recording their traditions. Essentially this was an African response to pressures of the twentieth century, and many of these early researchers were concerned to show that their traditions were fully equal to the histories of the Europeans. This historical movement saw the work of Apolo Kaggwa in Buganda, Jason Machiwenyika and S. Muhlenga in Rhodesia, and Samuel Josia Ntara and Yohannah B. Abdullah in Malawi.

Because their efforts were initiated so early, African researchers were able to record many traditions now lost or surviving only in a shortened form, and for that reason one major task of modern researchers is to track down these early texts, which are often hidden in the obscurity of mission libraries or schoolmasters' houses and are usually, when found, still in the local language. This ought to be no problem to the modern researcher, who should be fluent in the two or three most important languages of his research area, as well as in the major European languages in which his archival sources are written, but unfortunately a gift for languages and an interest in history do not often go together, and in practice the researcher is often unable to interpret the material in the local language so temptingly visible. For this reason one is particularly grateful when editors and translators appear who are ready to make early texts more widely available.

Ntara's work, the result of years of travel and research, was originally published by the Nkhoma mission press in 1944-45, with new, enlarged editions in 1949 and 1965. This translation is based on the 1965 edition. Beatrix Heintze's editorial work is meticulous — if there are any typographical errors, they have escaped this reviewer — and W. S. Kamphandira Jere's translation is beautifully clear, while retaining a great deal of the flavour of the original Chewa. The printing of the text and sketch-maps is excellent, and there is a full bibliography and four indexes that should satisfy the most demanding researcher. Harry Langworthy, whose doctoral thesis was on the southern Chewa kingdom of Undi, provides detailed comments on and criticisms of Ntara's chapters as well as a valuable

Introduction commenting on the scope and nature of Chewa traditions and the limitations they forced upon Ntara's work.

Ntara's aim was avowedly to produce a complete history of the pre-colonial Chewa, so that the Chewa people could learn who they were, and how they came to live where they did, as well as to show how Chewa political and religious institutions arose and developed. But, perhaps because of his mission background, he was also concerned with the depiction of the past in order to instruct the leaders of the future. He had access to some written sources on late nineteenth-century Malawian history, but for several reasons his treatment of the onset and development of colonial rule was sketchy.

Ntara set himself a tremendous task, and it is hardly surprising that he was unable to carry it out to the full. The Chewa land stretches far into modern Moçambique and Zambia, but Ntara, although aware of this fact, concentrated mainly on the Chewa of central Malawi, his home. Again, he had no historical training, and this shows in many ways. Although his attempt to put the Chewa in an over-all African historical context was creditable for the 1940s, by the 1960s research into archaeology, Portuguese documents and traditions had shown that the general pattern was not as he had depicted it. Ntara could be critical of his sources — he had to be, since he often had to evaluate two or three versions of a tradition — but he seems to have failed to appreciate the extent to which he was receiving a symbolic, functional account, and he took some highly improbable statements literally, as when he accepts the claim that Undi established relations and frontiers with the Bemba and Lozi at the inception of his dynasty (pp. 44-47).

This work will be a useful source book to those studying the history of Malawi, with its mass of detail and its closeness to the original traditions. Langworthy's notes will be especially appreciated. A summary of Langworthy's own reconstruction of the Chewa past, perhaps in tabular form, would have been a welcome addition for the comparative stranger to the Chewa, who is otherwise forced to seek Langworthy's other writings. But this book is also of value to those using traditions elsewhere in Central Africa, for it provides some excellent comparative information on the function and nature of African traditions, and it is fascinating to see how, for example, Shona traditions about their predecessors or the onset of colonial rule are paralleled north of the Zambezi (pp. 98-101, p. 97).

D. N. BEACH

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Education Beyond Apartheid. Report of the Education Commission of the Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society.

Johannesburg, Christian Institute of Southern Africa, 1971. (SPRO-CAS Publication No. 5) vi, 89 pp., tabs. R1,00.

In September 1968, the Theological Commission of the South African Council of Churches issued a *Message to the People of South Africa* which "denounced the

country's racial policies as 'truly hostile to Christianity' " (p. 1). The *Message* states that

excluding barriers of ancestry, race, nationality and culture have no rightful place in the inclusive brotherhood of Christ... [and that the Holy Spirit has the power] to draw men into one community of disciples in spite of differences of languages and culture and it is thus the way by which the disunity of Babel is healed (p. 7).

In order to implement the *Message*, six study commissions were set up to report on present conditions and to recommend alternatives to the policy of apartheid. Four reports have already been published — *Anatomy of Apartheid*, *South Africa's Minorities*, *Directions of Change in South African Politics*, *Some Implications of Inequality* — and the present volume is the fifth.

The terms of reference of the report are set out in Chapter One (p. 4):

1. to consider and set out briefly an acceptable order of society;
2. to identify current principles and practices in South African education which are unacceptable;
3. to sketch long-term changes in education to accord with 1;
4. to consider what educational steps towards the acceptable order of society may most usefully be taken immediately.

In order to bring about change in the field of education, however, it is stated quite unequivocally that

fundamental changes in other aspects of South African society [must occur, and that in] particular, the ideology of apartheid must be abandoned for a new approach stressing co-operation, mutual respect and tolerance, and equality of worth and opportunity (p. 5).

The rest of the report is devoted to more detailed discussion of the Commission's ideological stand ("The Acceptable Society" and "Moral Education"); a critique of current educational policy and practice ("Unacceptable Principles", "Unacceptable Practices", "The Position of Private Schools" and an excellent appendix dealing with the controversial policy of Christian National Education); and, finally, recommendations aimed at both immediate and long-term improvement of the system ("Recommendations", "Patterns for the Future").

Although the report deals with educational policy and practice as it affects all language, religious and racial groups in South Africa, it focuses, not surprisingly, on the special disadvantages suffered by Indians, Coloureds and Africans. While the general pattern of this discrimination will be well known to many, the report does provide a useful and convincing summary of the particulars.

In evaluating *Education Beyond Apartheid* one suspects that the detailed factual material presented will give satisfaction to supporters of apartheid, while confirming the opposition of its opponents. Ultimately, the changes which the commission advocates depend on fundamental ideological positions. Thus the commission itself concedes that "there will be resistance on the part of many whites to the principles which underlie these recommendations... [and that]

those in power can be expected to resist change in the direction of a non-discriminatory society" (p. 59). It therefore seems naïve for it to suggest that if all South African Christians accepted and acted upon the fourteen (out of forty-nine) recommendations "which could be carried out by private initiative . . . a significant leavening force in the South African social situation will have been created" (p. 59). Dubious indeed is the possibility!

ALLIE A. DUBB

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The Doctor-Patient Relationship in an African Tribal Society. G. JANSEN. Assen, Van Gorcum, 1973. 224 pp., illus, tabs. Dfl. 29,50.

Much has been written about problems associated with the doctor-patient relationship within various cultural settings and there has been considerable discussion about problems of communication between the lower-class patient and the middle-class doctor. Dr Jansen's book is welcome firstly because little has been published about the doctor-patient relationship in situations where patient and doctor have different cultural backgrounds, and secondly because this is a book about a South African people, the Bomvana.

Dr Jansen wrote it after eleven years as a medical missionary in Bomvanaland, Southern Transkei. He first describes the country, its people, the disease patterns of the area, and factors such as the migrant labour system which may influence attitudes towards the doctor. (Some Bomvana men, for example, have their first contact with European doctors within the impersonal context of a mine-working situation.)

In Chapter Three the author outlines the indigenous medical system and stresses that unless there is understanding of patient background, and good communication between patient and doctor, any modern medical care system will fail. He discusses the many ways in which misunderstandings may arise. For example, before approaching a herbalist for medicine the traditional Bomvana patient goes to a diviner to establish why he in particular has been afflicted. The diviner may suggest the illness has occurred because of the wrath of ancestors or witchcraft. The author points out that unless the doctor understands the relationship between patient and diviner, he will not perceive what the patient expects first of the modern medical doctor. The diviner starts a consultation by guessing. He is not supposed to take a medical history by interviewing the patient. Thus the Bomvana patients may expect the European doctor to know their sickness without interrogating them.

Many cultural groups find it hard to express problems associated with one part of the body or another. Dr Jansen says that if the Bomvana have sexual problems they may complain of 'waistache' or gynaecological problems. Clearly if a doctor is to understand his patients he must not only understand their language but also the hidden meanings which lie behind expressions.

In Chapters Five, Six and Seven, the author deals in depth with problems that may arise during history-taking, examination, diagnosis and therapeutic action, due to lack of understanding and communication between patient and doctor.

In his concluding chapter the author points out that disease prevention is as important as its cure. However, it may be difficult to secure acceptance of preventive measures because, as Jansen says, "Curative aid interferes less with their way of life than do certain preventive measures directed to changing behaviour patterns". Thus not only knowledge of socio-economic conditions but also a good doctor-patient relationship are essential if ideas aimed at preventing disease are to be fully accepted.

It is clear that the author has read much of the sociological and anthropological literature associated with his subject. He points out that many of the conclusions reached about the doctor-patient relationship within a single culture cannot be applied to situations where doctor and patient have different cultural backgrounds. For example, the author examines the three conceptual models of the doctor-patient relationship that were described by Szasz and Hollender in 1956. He does not find these useful for explaining the doctor-patient relationship in an inter-cultural situation, and so formulates his own which are more applicable.

Although Dr Jansen discusses many issues of interest to the medical sociologist, some are dealt with only briefly. The conclusions reached lack supporting argument and remain contentious. His judgement of the relative usefulness of medical auxiliaries and nurses specially trained for carrying out certain doctors' tasks is an example of this.

Whereas some sections of the book lack sufficient detail, others contain too much: For example, there could have been less translation of the language, and details such as the patients' haemoglobin counts could safely have been omitted.

The above are minor criticisms and do not seriously detract from the over-all stimulating and readable nature of this book.

Robert Straus, writing in 1957, implied that whereas a doctor was well qualified to study 'sociology in medicine', (the study of disease process or factors influencing response to illness) he should not involve himself with the 'sociology of medicine' (medical organizational structure, study of role relationships, etc.) for two reasons. Firstly, there would be a problem of maintaining objectivity and secondly there would be a serious risk of the doctor alienating himself from his colleagues.

In spite of Straus's warning, Dr Jansen has added a valuable contribution to both the 'sociology of medicine' and 'sociology in medicine'. This book will be of particular interest to both medical sociologists and anthropologists, and essential reading for those in the medical profession who are considering working in a culture different from their own.

ALISON CHAPPLE

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Bangwa Kinship and Marriage. ROBERT BRAIN.

London, Cambridge University Press, 1972. ix, 195 pp., map, illus, £5.20.

The Bangwa chiefdoms, forming part of the wider Bamileke culture area, are found in that part of the Cameroons which passed from German to British or French rule during the colonial period. The different traditions of those colonial powers would have made a study of the interaction of colonial powers and chiefdoms in the area fascinating and significant, but while the author hints at the possibility of such an account in the future, the present book is concerned almost wholly with those matters indicated in the title. The result is a competent and detailed piece of ethnography, enriched by some of the fruits of recent developments in kinship theory, but not forced to serve the purposes of any one school of thought.

The area is not only one over which colonial powers from Europe have competed for control; it appears to be one into which a number of West African cultures of different types have obtruded, a border area between forest and savannah as well as between colonial influences. In consequence the social organization is complex, with a hierarchy of chiefly offices and title holders even within a chiefdom incorporating little more than 300 people. The nine Bangwa chiefdoms with a wide range of individual sizes embrace some 30 000 people *in toto*.

The socio-political hierarchy and the kinship structure are articulated together so totally that the terminology identifies father and son with master and slave, suggesting that the rights a father exercises over his household are analogous to, even paralleled by, those exercised by slave-owners over slaves, or chiefs over subjects. The relationship is dramatized at the time of marriage, when the groups of wife-givers — including those who gave the mother and the mother's mother of the bride — are seen as possessing rights over the bride and receive a significant part of the bridewealth. The explanation of this tradition is given in terms of slavery — that at one time all women were slaves and that their marriages did not, and do not, terminate the rights exercised by their former owners over them. The hierarchy of wife-givers tends to lead back to the chief who receives a share of the bridewealth of most marriages contracted within his chiefdom.

Descent is patrilineal, but the relationships created through marriage and the necessity to recognize wife-givers back for several generations, together with an ideology of biological contributions by each parent in the production of children and associations of sentiment, ensure that a strong matrilineal bias exists in the network of persons to whom a man feels responsibility and in whom he can trust. Matrilineal and patrilineal skulls are treasured as tangible evidence of a complex of interpersonal relationships. The distinction between dogma of descent and the web of matrilineal kinship is well drawn — the Bangwa do not recognize double unilineal descent of the Yakö type.

That well-beloved character of all kinship analysts, the mother's brother, emerges as the crucial figure in Brain's attempt to describe and explain the system. Within the framework of the dogma of descent, he is the representative of the wife-givers, but within the affective matrilineal kin group (*atsen'ndia*) he is a close and beloved relative. In the evolving hierarchy of wife-givers, he is a right

holder over his sister's daughters and their daughters. Analysts who have emphasized the significance of descent, and those who have preferred to emphasize alliance at the core of kinship and marriage, will each find some support for their positions in the complex relationship which exists between a man and his mother's brother — whether he be the 'real' brother of his mother, or the representative of the wife-giving group.

Students of kinship, and particularly those whose interests centre about western Africa, will be grateful for this contribution to our understanding of the systems there, and will doubtless look forward to another volume of similar quality from this thorough fieldworker and competent writer.

M. G. WHISSON

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Kinderspiele der Bantu. FRITZ KLEPZIG.

Meisenheim, Verlag Anton Hain, 1972. xxvi, 608 pp., illus. 106 DM.

The study of games is certainly a neglected subject in social anthropology. Very little has been done in studying the role played by games on the socialization of the individual, on the structure of games, and indeed on the function of games in human culture. This field has been left to psychologists and educationists. But there can be no doubt that anthropologists have left a gap in their claim for a holistic approach; nor that the comparative method of anthropology could advance an understanding of the phenomenon of games. Klepzig's work might further the interest in this type of study.

The author states (p. vii) that he attempts to answer the question which is often asked, namely why games play such a prominent part in the life of African peoples. He approached this question through fairly extensive correspondence with 385 correspondents in Africa. These ranged from a few trained anthropologists, to teachers, missionaries and members of the indigenous population who varied in age from 16 to 60 years. His correspondents replied to questionnaires, and were asked to observe and describe games. In this manner information was gained on some 3 000 games. This information was extended by further information obtained from literature.

The material obtained was regionally classified into four areas. For each region the games described are listed into a few categories, i.e., imitative games, games of chance and riddles, war games, competitive games, etc.

Unfortunately, this is as far as it goes. Klepzig does not answer his own question, why games play such a prominent part in the life of African people. No conclusions are drawn and there is no attempt at any theory. The book merely ends by summarizing the extensive material, without any interpretation. Perhaps this deficiency is the result of the very meagre use of literature, which leaves the most peculiar omissions.

In the end, then, the book remains merely descriptive, and that at second hand.

Its value lies in the very large variety of games it describes and in the attention it draws to a very worthwhile field for research.

H. O. MÖNNIG

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Beduin of the Negev: Eight Demographic Studies. H. V. MUHSAM.
Jerusalem Academic Press, 1966. 123 pp., tabs.

The volume comprises eight self-contained essays, four of which are reprints. Of these, seven are based on a 1946 census of Bedouin by the former British Mandatory Government in Palestine; the eighth assesses the effects of the establishment of the State of Israel on this population.

Apart from a few brief discussions — including fertility of polygamous marriages, some details of village structure, and the problem of sedentarization of the Bedouin — the essays are of limited interest to readers outside Israel. The author makes slight effort to relate the demographic characteristics of the Bedouin to those of other populations: He provides little background to their social organization and culture, and seldom attempts to explain (or even speculate about) the significance and implications of the findings.

But perhaps the most serious criticism of Muhsam's study arises out of the very nature of the population being enumerated. The essays abound in *caveats* regarding the reliability of the data: the Bedouin may have inflated their numbers (p. 14); incorrect information was given regarding sex distribution within families (p. 15); it was extremely difficult to study the age distribution since "the beduin themselves do not know their age" (p. 37); fertility rates were difficult to determine accurately because of "a suspected inclusion of fictitious children" (p. 79); and so on. Regrettably, the author's valiant attempts to correct these errors are not especially convincing. In summing up, then, we are forced to agree that "The wary observer might [conclude] . . . that 'Allah alone knows the truth' " (p. 24)!

ALLIE A. DUBB

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African Art and Leadership. Edited by DOUGLAS FRASER and HERBERT M. COLE.

Madison, Milwaukee and London, University of Wisconsin Press, 1972. 332 pp., illus., maps. £8.50.

The inability to classify a book may rest as much on the limitations of the critic as the elusiveness of the writing, and the fact that a book is neither art history nor art criticism does not mean that it is a failure, but perhaps only that it is different

in kind from either of the above groups. This collection of papers does, however, exemplify a current trend in writing about art — to ignore almost entirely any stylistic reference to the objects discussed, and this, together, in fact, with little visual description, can be embarrassing to the reviewer reading into its title a direction absent from its pages.

The book arises, as we are told in the Preface, from a symposium "The Aristocratic Traditions in African Art" — perhaps a title more definitive of the papers here assembled. To the original six participants have been added eight others. One of them was evidently an anthropologist, the others Professors of Art and Art History. Although three or four of the invited contributors are anthropologists one might have expected the major emphasis to have fallen upon art-objects themselves, but this is in fact not so. Several of the chapters (unfortunately those placed early in the compilation) refer little to visual aspects. Although the idea of an "integrated" approach is offered in the Introduction, this integration is not clearly defined because we are nowhere given a suggestion of what is to be regarded as 'art'. At first it seems largely equated with regalia and other ritual objects associated with traditional ceremonies:

Only at the end, in the Overview presented by the two editors, do we find an attempt to define art-objects as such: They are (tentatively) to be distinguished from other objects by their "uselessness" (p. 314). "Thus in Ghana the most important stool is the one which is *not* sat upon, the most effective weapons, those *not* used in war." But the intention set forth in the Introduction, "to bridge the intellectual gap between the functionalist and formalist approaches", is not fulfilled. Formal matters are, in fact, barely discussed at all. One of the best art-historical studies in the book, "The Fish-legged Figure in Benin and Yoruba Art", by Douglas Fraser, is actually an iconographical study and, as such, hardly touches on the formal or stylistic.

One should nonetheless mention the chapter by Hans Himmelheber, "Gold-Plated Objects of Baule Notables", which is a meticulous study involving visual qualities.

Scholars and critics working on the arts of any African area certainly do need background awareness of function and traditional links that will help them toward a more meaningful understanding of iconography and style. Out of this somewhat untidy bunch of papers they will certainly find some that will be of use. Of their value to the anthropologist or the Africanist generally, I am not qualified to speak, but he will learn here very little about the actual appearance of African art, especially as the quality of photography throughout the book is poor.

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Publications Received

The publications listed below are acknowledged with thanks.

- ACADEMIC FREEDOM COMMITTEES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN AND THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG. The Open Universities in South Africa and academic freedom 1957-1974.
- ADEDEJI, A. and ROWLAN, L. *eds.* Management problems of rapid urbanisation in Nigeria. The challenge to Government and local authorities. Ile-Ife: University of Ife Press. 1973.
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- O'FAHEY, R. S. and SPAULDING, J. L. Kingdoms of the Sudan. London: Methuen. 1974. (Studies in African History 9)



Instructions to Authors

1 MANUSCRIPTS

All manuscripts must be typed on a good quality paper, on *one side* of the sheet only and *double spaced* throughout. Leave a wide (at least 3 cm) left-hand margin. The original sheets — *not* carbon copies — should be submitted to the Publications Officer, Witwatersrand University Press. A copy of the MS should be retained as the original will not be returned with the galley proofs.

2 SPECIAL SYMBOLS

Linguistic contributors and others who make use of special symbols are requested please to submit, together with the article, a complete list of all specials used. In the interests of economy in editorial work and in publication costs, contributors are requested, in papers and reviews involving the use of such symbols, to limit themselves as far as possible to the series listed on the following page, and furthermore to use them as sparingly as possible in footnotes.

Glosses should appear between double quotation marks.

3 QUOTATIONS

Quotations, unless very short, should be indented without quotation marks. A quotation within a quotation should appear within double quotation marks.

Detailed references for quotations should be given in footnotes. The author, title, place of publication, publisher, date and specific page number should be cited. Thus:

M. Gluckman, The village headman in British Central Africa. *Africa* 19: 1949, p. 100.

G. B. Silberbauer, *Bushman Survey Report*. Gaberones, Bechuanaland Government, 1965, p. 14.

A. T. Traill, *The Compleat Guide to the Koon*. Johannesburg, African Studies Institute, 1974. A.S.I. Communication, No. 1.

4 FOOTNOTES

Footnotes should be numbered serially *throughout* the article. Superior numerals for these should not be enclosed in parentheses. The complete list of footnotes should be typed on a separate sheet.

5 REFERENCES

References which appear at the end of the article should be given thus:

Bohannon, L. Dahomean marriage: a revaluation. *Africa* 19: 1949, 273-287. (Note inclusive page numbers.)

Lewis, I. M. *Marriage and the Family in Northern Somalia*. Kampala, East African Institute of Social Research, 1962. East African Studies, No. 15.

6 TABLES

Tables should each be typed on separate sheets and laid out with reference to the proportions of the printed page. All units should be metric. For decimal fractions a comma should be used, not the decimal point.

7 ILLUSTRATIONS

Graphs and line drawings should be at least twice the size of the completed block, i.e., 19 cm × 26 cm (half page) or 38 cm × 26 cm (full page).

Photographs should be glossy prints, trimmed to show only essential detail, excellent definition and good contrast.

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