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I present this talk in the fashion of a report back, as I have been working with a particular dance team in Johannesburg, at George Goch Hostel. Dancing in this style is called Umzansi, which is a style originating around Durban and its outlying areas. The history is that it originated around Ndwe and Mapumulo and the Umvoti area, was taken up by the migrant workers around Durban and became very popular at the organised dance competitions that were held around the end of each year. The dance later became an integral part of the migrant worker culture in Johannesburg and more especially at Wemmer Hostel, which is a famous hostel at the bottom of Rissik Street. There are now currently two main areas in Johannesburg or groups of dancers who practise the dance, the people of Msinga, who I am going to talk about, and the people from Bergville. The information which I am going to divulge is taken mainly from the leader of the group, whose name is “Queen Victoria”. He is sixty-nine, very articulate, he has danced nearly every different style that there is to be danced, and he started this particular dance team in Johannesburg in 1941, it’s one of the oldest teams in Johannesburg and has been going ever since.

I am going to present my discussion in the form of a typical performance on a Sunday afternoon by giving a diagrammatical representation (see diagrams). The dance is structurally divided into Isipati, team dance, and One-One, which is individual competitive dancing. There seems to be an inter-regional accepted norm as to how the team dance should be danced. Most of the dancing in Natal stresses the fact that each team dance should be an original composition, in other words the structure of the kicks and stamps, the song that is sung, the interpretation of the rhythm. There must be an attempt made by the team to innovate. In the Umzansi tradition there are set traditional team dances — it is the style I have found where this occurs — which everybody knows and dances, sung to the songs which everybody dances year after year. In other words there is an undeveloped aesthetic of composition as far as the team dance is concerned but there is also a very powerful idea about original composition as far as the One-One is concerned. Each individual team dancer actually works out and practises his moves days before he comes to the team and dances in front of it. In my diagram 1, these are all the members of the dance team and these are the

**Diagram 1. Structure of team dance.**
drummers — it's quite a military theme. An interesting thing about Umzansi is the drums which are used, like isikhupe, and the isiZingili that uses one, two or three drums depending on how much the team can afford. The drum is a military drum and we have marching movements and sometimes saluting and things like that. The leader stands in between the drums and the dancers.

The first thing that starts which gets the crowd together is a cry of identification as to where these people come from. The leader will shout "Moo-li-wali", which means Mooi River, and then he will start to insult the imaginary enemy while they all reply to him "Ashe, ashe!" The crowd gathers around kind of smiling and waiting. They will then start a song which also follows a pattern, their history. They will then start the second theme, this is a pattern that is repeated every weekend. The second theme is that they sing what are called izinhlanvu which are short little songs also about identification, songs about the district they come from, some of them are about the wars that have been fought there, these are sung every weekend. Sometimes others are not sung, sometimes they are incorporated two or three weeks later. Here again there might be an incident in the hostel with a funny outcome, and here's a song "Ngempama endlini kugwele abantu" about two boys having a fight (sings). The song says "In front of everybody in the room he slapped the guy across the face and everybody witnessed it". The dancer who actually committed this act sits there in the crowd of dancers and gets all ashamed and embarrassed. So these little izinhlanvu songs start to make the group accessible and human to the audience and they can start identifying with the team.

The first team dance that usually opens the dance is called "Abafokuzane bazakwelwe emnti". The dance song is very slow. The leader will start to sing it. What happens is that the leader has a whistle and as the dancers are sitting on the ground with their sticks, the leader blows the whistle and everybody leaps up and gets into a kneeling position holding their sticks. The whistle also brings in the drums (sings). Then the dancers rise up very slowly singing the song. The leader blows another whistle at which two or three of the very best dancers will rush out and do a thing which is very close to a giya, a kind of war antic which the Zulus perform in the context of faction or stick fighting, and they will rush out, their movements suggesting combat, battle, and the leader will push them back in. The team then stands perfectly still with their sticks in the air.

The General Hospital has its own green bed sheets and these are sold to all the dance teams by people who work at the General Hospital and these form what they call a nappy, 'ikhosa' which is pinned around, very reminiscent of the Chinese and Indian cane-workers in the early period of the cane industry in Natal; and they might wear tuckies with little woollen paraphernalia and beads from their girlfriends showing if they are engaged or married, and they are standing and the drums are playing and they might be moving their sticks rhythmically to the singing. Two people in the centre will leap out in unison and deliver two short kick-stamps and then move back in. That opens the dance and then everybody moves forward and all the sticks move over together, and you have one whole line of sticks together (sings). There are some very difficult, some clever patterns worked out moving forwards, turning around, then backwards, holding the sticks sometimes like a rifle and then at the end of the performance everybody falls down, lying on their backs with their sticks like this (demonstrates), the whistle is blown, the sticks come forward and they end up holding each other's sticks, the whistle is blown again, everybody gets up, the whistle again and the drums stop. It's a warm-up. That same team dance is usually repeated next Sunday. The thing about it is that it is very stylised, very slow, and the dancers savour each movement, in sharp contradistinction to the 'One-One' where it's frenzy and lots of shouting, whistling and carry on. That same team dance you'll find being danced by other teams, in other words it's a dance of identity, you're not only identifying the fact that you're from an area in KwaZulu but you are also saying "I dance a dance which has an identity — everybody who dances this team dance dances Umzansi.

From this particular structure the people will come forward, they will be noticing and looking at certain dancers who they felt performed very well, and they will place money in front of them. The 'phoyisa', the person who is treasurer of the dance team goes and takes 20c or whatever it is and puts it together. The money is collected at the end of the year; meat and beer are bought before they go home at the end of the year and they have a big ceremony and everybody has a good time.

Once the team dance is over, the dancers get up and they'll be sitting down again and a very fast song is started, "Abadaliya bengoma" (sings). The drums start — ku-tsha, ku-du, ku-tsha, ku-du, the whistle goes, they all leap up and put the sticks on each other's shoulders making a long chain (sings), the whistle goes (sings), and they will break through the crowd (see diagram 2) and do this particular movement called 'intambo' which means a string, or 'ukushaya ihele", to go in single file, in both groups. This is a kind of rite of passage, because when they come through on the other side of the crowd this is a signal for tensions within the group to break out, that is, we are going to come now to competitive 'One-One' individual dancing. Whereas this was a statement about the fact that everybody came from Uthuli we Zula they dance this dance where they identify strongly with the movements, they are stressing their social solidarity, their cohesion as a group, also within the hostel against other dance teams. Then they come through here (diagram 2), going out through the crowd, lifting up their shields in their left hands. The drummers change their positions. The structure of the
dance is saying something — the layout, the way the dance is organised is saying something about the people who are dancing it, they come together, the drummers meet at the back of this circle here, and the dancers move in front of the drummers and they all face front in a very loose unstructured group of people, very aggressively pointing their sticks, pointing at the audience (sings). Then the leader tells them to sit down. They are given little planks from tomato boxes with which they will now help the drummers to generate rhythm. They will come together into a cohesive unit, very tightly packed, very small, so that you'll have a man in between your legs, and a man in between your legs, and a man in between your legs, and you're sitting on your stick and you can hit it against your plank when the music starts.

In this particular situation, tensions are now allowed to come out. You've made your initial statement about social solidarity, you're now allowing statements about the fact that in 1935 and 1957 these same people had two huge faction fights and there is still a tremendous friction amongst this group — the leader of the group, Queen Victoria, when he leaves, the team is going to totally break down into two or three separate dance teams, but so long as he's alive, and as long as he's there, he can manage to keep them together. The tensions are expressed in this 'One-One' individual competitive dancing.

I've put my conceptualisation of Zulu dancing in the form of a vertical and a horizontal grid. By doing this I categorise dances according to the vertical and the horizontal space they use. When you have a dance that uses a lot of space sideways or forwards, you place it on the horizontal grid. Then you have a dance which uses very short minimal moving space, say Shameni or IsiBaca where you don't move, you mark one place, the stress is on the isitiqo (?) movement in a very short, very small space, but lots of vertical movement up and down. The Umzansi is a horizontal dance — the aim is to use as much space as possible, up and down, turning and wheeling.
The interesting thing also about izimanzi is that it uses a form of warrior called ukukhuza. You are given a dancing name. When you join the team you are given a name and put into one of three categories, called No. 1, No. 2 or No. 3. No. 1 are beginners. No. 2 are the good young dancers and No. 3 are the good old dancers and you usually dance in that ratio, first the beginners, then the good young dancers and then the good old ones. There are some names that have now become tradition; the name I was given is a traditional Umzansi dance name — "Isibhutu bimva", the man with a big head of hair who comes from the Bluff, in Durban, and there are others like "Inja Mvula", Sotho dog, "Beaver Queen", "Queen Victoria", all these very English names.

I have a theory that the reference to 'Queen' which is very common especially among the Amangwane people, and the people from Msinga must have picked it up from there, they have a lot of names incorporating Queen Victoria, they seem to be very enamoured with the British in general. A friend of mine found that the old men among the Amangwane (said) "We are English people because we fought Queen Victoria's wars for her, we fought against the Zulu in the Zulu war against Cetshwayo." I don't know if you've ever heard of the troopship Mende? Those were all Amangwane, all people from Bergville. The Mende was sunk in the 1st World War and apparently they did a 'Birkenhead'. They couldn't swim so they danced as the ship sank. So I feel the reference to Queen Victoria comes from that.

Anyway, you are given a dance name and you are encouraged to think about the rhythm of the name, e.g. 'Khup' inkunzi,' take out the bull. We're all sitting here and the leader initiates the dance song which will be for example "Heyi hambsibani?" and people start clapping and the singing stops. Then the person who gets up — it's always one of the No. 1s, all the beginners come out and make some hilariously funny statement; the audience loves them, the No. 1s go down very well with the crowd and some of them make such very comic mistakes that they actually win money. So now when you step out into the stage, 'itiguni', you've got the rhythm behind you and the people will shout. That group of thirty or forty men will shout your praise name and you are to manipulate that praise name so as to make it work for you. So I'll give you an example, I'll do it for you (dances the word pattern, 'Khup' inkunzi'). The first basic movement you will learn as a beginner is the 'ukuthatele'. This is your introductory step in all Nguni dances. You step into, you initiate the dance and this particular one is one with a very powerful tension between the upper and the lower body. You always seem to feel that there is a power in the buttock and in the thighs which pushes the dancer and the rest of the body follows. So you step into the dance like that (demonstrates), so then you're taught simply to be able to repeat that movement.

According to the standing that you have among the dancers, if you're a good dancer they will accept your irritating them and they'll actually like it. You learn to play. The better dancers start to play with their praise names and irritate the shouters because they really shout them down, so the guys will do something like this — ukukomika. They will help you to be a comic. You might roll on the floor, you might sit down and look startled, they will praise you. With my name they say "Ijika oshhtlu", turn, man with the big head of hair (demonstrates). But if somebody who can't dance well tries to rely on these tactics they immediately start shouting. And in the end you don't have to do anything about the drums, you can think about your name, that's all you think about, how you are going to manipulate it, and you'll see guys standing there before the 'One-One' practising, going through the patterns that they are trying to memorise for the 'One-One'.

So tensions come out. On two or three occasions there's been problems with people armed with sticks which is very difficult because a dance is supposed to be a good thing, a moral thing, but the moment you bring in a drum and sticks you turn it into an ambiguous thing because people have a weapon at hand. In the beginning, in these dances, when the good young ones come out, they dance with a stick and they khomba. When you're actually describing how two or three people are fighting you say, "Ah, lo muntu wakhomba, wakhomba, wathii, wathii, wathii" — this person really pointed with the stick that he could really fight. The khomba and pointing in the dance is very insulting. The people who are the objects of being 'khomba'd feel very insulted so they get tense. A good leader can bring out everybody's hatred in a dance and there will be no fighting. A leader who has no respect and a leader who has taken a side, if one half of the dancers think that he is on the side of this part of the district, he's not on our side, every time that his dancers come out he allows them to insult us, but when we come out he doesn't allow us to go on with it, then there will be fighting. A good leader can handle it and keep control of it (demonstrates). There are all sorts of very insulting gestures you might use to insult your opponent but again the leader has to intervene, stop, hold back, hold them both, he might take off his belt and beat them both and be angry with them and push them back in, and if he has this ability a good leader can make the dancers forget their antagonisms by simply being a teaser.

I said that right at the beginning after the cries of identification they have izinhlanvu. The point of izinhlanvu is for the leader to build up a feeling of comradeship amongst the dancers. He sings these songs and they get into it and he stops, he teases them, he goes on to another one and they shout at him, it's a very gentle chastisement from the dancers. They'll shout out his praise names and say, "No, that's a lovely song — do it again!" and he says "No", and puts another song in, and now it's another one, a very nice song which they all enjoy singing. And so then they'll dance the team dance. What he does, the moment there is any tension, the moment that there is any kind of ugliness, the moment he notices one side of the team is not
shouting the praise names of the other district, he stops the dance. He shouts a few district-identifying names — Molisa! — whatever it is — he might even shout a few war cries, and because he’s someone who’s so attuned to the local level of politics, he can use this to advantage with the dance aesthetic, he can push the dancers to the utmost extremes before they’ll actually fight each other, because he understands who doesn’t get on with who and he’ll *qhata* them, he’ll bait them. He knows that so-and-so hit so-and-so in the room upstairs and he says OK and gives them a chance to symbolically fight it out, and he’ll put them in, he’ll *qhata* them. He might even make a statement, he’ll say, “I’m going to bait these two bulls against each other and they must kill each other”. So in the end the air is fraught with tension and the winner is usually acclaimed by the audience.

It’s a multi-ethnic audience, lots of Sotho, Venda etc., people who at some level often don’t understand the intricacies of what’s being said and done in a team, the local level politics, the actual history of the group, but they will respond to whoever they feel is the best dancer. So you’ve got a lot of different levels of communication and symbolic statements, a lot of things that are only understood in terms of the framework of the team itself. Peripheral meanings and messages and broad gestures spill out and the audience seize onto these. They try to pick up statements or shouting and swearing between say two or three of the people and the rumour goes through, “Oh, that guy’s from this part and that guy’s from that part and this is going to be a contest between the two”. Anyway, the winner wins and loser loses, and that might be a cause for a fight and the leader points in and he says, “Next week you’ll get your chance, you must go into the toilet and start shouting — Ah, Ah! — learn your dances, learn your patterns, OK?”

So, you dance against your name, secondly, what I’d like to talk about is where the movement is derived from. Queen Victoria says that the dance, or rather the derivation of the movement, comes from an old dance called *isigungu*, also called *inguna venduku*, which means the dance of the stick, where in a way you are actually showing your ability to handle a weapon. You’re dancing the stick, you’re not dancing yourself. This is a very slow stylised dance. I can’t dance the stick but I’ll show you the kind of movement that it incorporates. It’s very similar to what you’ve just seen. Here’s an *isigungu* song. There’s no clapping, you’re supposed to listen to the rhythm and the cadence of the song and place your foot onto the beat. “Lamulani nansi ingwenya, siyangshuma, lamulani nansi ingwenya, siyangshuma”. You are placing your stamp on where you hear the cadence in the words of the song.

Q. I was wondering earlier what Umzansi means because the name I’ve heard used is *isizulu*.

A. Yes, I’ve also heard that. I’ve also heard that the real name is indlamu. The word umzansi comes from the term abantu basenzansi, the people who live below us, and it’s a term used by the Zulu living in the Natal Midlands referring to the people who live towards the sea on the coast, and this is also an indication as to where the dance first developed, around Ndwenwe and Mapumulo areas. The people on the coast refer to the dance as *isizulu*, meaning ‘the true Zulu national dance’.

Q. The movements you say that have originally derived from the stick dance — what is the relationship between that and the stick fight and has the one replaced the other?

A. An interesting area to compare this is the marriage ceremonies. The Natal Zulu, after the marriage has been contracted, after the second day, they have a dance, whereas in Kwazulu they have what is called *umngana*, which is an inter-district stick fight. These are two different ways of expressing the same thing. An inter-district stick fight is a very well organised, rule-governed, armed confrontation between different portions of the district, in which each group of young men tries to attain glory and fame through its fighting prowess. The dance is a similar thing except that it’s doing it at a far more symbolic level. The word *ukuhla* means ‘to do well’. It also means ‘to stab’, and the actual movement, this stabbing movement, in a way when you’re fighting your opponent you actually are stabbing him and you look at him (demonstration). *Iluwo welebhu* — *inh! Imso welebhu* — *inh! Ashe!*

I forgot to talk about the off beat there. The off beat is the killing blow that you might use against an opponent. In killing him you might fall back and show how he has fallen from your blow. You switch identities in the dance, that’s another thing you’ve got to watch, and when you fall back you might actually be saying, “That’s what you’re going to feel from me if I really get my hands on you, you’re going to feel that off beat blow”, which in a translation of a real situation would be a kind of blow that is unexpected, in other words, “I’m full of tricks, I’m full of ideas relating to the fight, you know, and when I fall down I might even point to you!”. So these kinds of gestures are picked up by the audience even though they are not Zulu, you can actually see that antagonism working itself through.

Q. When you talk about an unexpected or an off beat, how unexpected, or off, is it really, because it isn’t just the dancer doing it by himself, he is doing it with the help of the drummers.
A. He's doing it against his name (demonstrates), you've got to throw up the beat there. Where you emphasize will be where you place your praise name. He's doing it by himself; it's on the first beat which is quite difficult. The other thatela, the other entry step, is to enter but point in the other way (demonstrates). You've got to put one more little beat in there to get your off beat. There's a little kick there -- a kick start! The dancers see it and are ready to catch it and so do the clappers. It is very hard to do an off beat which is not expected, because what it basically means is that you've got to know your praise name so well that any of these aids to kick you into the off beat you don't do. So you might find that the guy starts (demonstrates): I did it in my head! And the more I can keep in my head and conceal from the audience and the dancers, the easier it is for me to get in that off beat. The drummer doesn't worry because he plays one thing right through: Kwe-ku, kwe-ku, and where he emphasizes is up to him.

Q. I was interested in what you were saying about interpreting your praise names in the dance. I know these in the ukugya dance as izibongo zokugiya, and you have suggested earlier that these are very similar. These izibongo zokugiya that are interpreted in this Umuzinsi dance style, are they ones that you have created for yourself?

A. They are specifically dancing praise names.

Q. They are created by that group for you to interpret?

A. Yes, but you see, when you become a good dancer and you want to change your praise name, you have to look at the number of beats in your praise name. For example, 'Uzokhip' inkuni, that's six beats: U-zo-khi-p'inku-nzi.' Here's another one: 'Izibukazelo,' the secret drinker), that's five: I-zi-bu-ka-zelo.' Then you have something like 'Uzizi' which is three beats -- that's a different way of perceiving from a person who's got a lot of syllables. There's a guy in our team called 'Gandaganda bonyu' -- that's six beats as well (demonstrates): "Uuh, Gandaganda bonyu, Uuh, Gandaganda bonyu, Gandaganda bonyu, Uuh, Gandaganda bonyu, Uuh, Gandaganda bonyu, Uuh, Gandaganda, Ashe!" There, I did a nice Ashe!

Q. You mentioned that very often they stand there and say insults to one another. Is this related in any way to the qwubushela singing that you get in marriage dances?

A. You see, the whole thing is that the dance is an ambiguous thing. It's an expression of unity and it's also an expression of the fact that each one of these people is an individual and a warrior. The dance here is similar to society in a way, because every society has to cope with incorporating the individual into the group and making that incorporation meaningful. What the dance does is to allow the individual to explore other parameters and even parameters which refer directly to his manhood, his 'bull-nest', his constitution, his identity as a warrior and to manipulate that. As I said, it depends on the dance leader and that's why this particular dance team is so interesting. In fact I'm a bit worried about the information that it is generating because it seems to be so specific. Most of the dance teams tend to have quite a mixture of people from different districts which means that the leader of the group doesn't have that same intuitive understanding of the tensions in a group and he can't manipulate them. In those kinds of groups you tend to find him playing down these tensions and emphasising things like 'Two-Two', which is something I haven't talked about yet.

In 'Two-Two', this is also a very interesting and tense part of the dance. I get together with a colleague who is of my standard — either he's a two or a three and we work out together a series of movements, very complex and intricate which we'll do together in perfect unison. I'll give you an example. This particular movement is a direct extrapolation from the giya and in this example you're going to see a movement which is called nhlaba nlabeledo, which means 'the fighting stick is very sharp at the end here'. In a very close confrontation when you're together you haven't got the ability to really hit him and he's usually covering his head, so with this very sharp point you just push it straight into his face, like that. In a giya it's usually represented with your doing this with your shield (demonstrates) -- he's stabbed his enemy in the face. In this particular 'Two-Two' there is a fellow next to me, just imagine him, that movement is going to be incorporated against another turret from another side of the district. So you insult him, you've just told him you've stabbed him in the face with your nlabeledo, you can do that to him, and you stopped in midstream and you pointed and they all do the same back. Or they'll do their own routine which might incorporate the stick or funny gestures like "Wake up, you stupid!" in the dance.

Whereas you have the problem of fighting breaking out in the team very strongly in the 'One-One', in the 'Two-Two', although you can say a lot more, this is not as problematical because the structure of what the two people have worked out is binding. In other words his head is not wild; he's not building up aggression, he's not feeling it as it comes, he's not working on his praise name and he's not thinking about his creative ability. It's cool, calm and worked out. Everybody knows it and it's actually like a yoke over them both and they carry it through. You can get some very insulting things going on between the two but it seems to be rather formalised and acceptable in the 'Two-Two'.

Q. You've talked about incorporating tensions and individuals from different districts, how it's coped with in the dance. Can you tell us something about your position as a non-African?
A. I joined this team in 1978. I had been working for four years. I never really liked the Umzansi dance. I was a Shameni man, that's the tradition I grew up in. I decided to get involved in Umzansi because I saw certain things which were resonating. I was doing a thesis on Shameni and I'd seen certain correspondences coming up like team dancing, 'One-One' and certain of the warrior ethics coming out, in fact even more, and I wanted to work out whether this ideology of 'bull-ness', or whatever it is, permeates all the dances in Msinga, because that's the region I'm dealing with. The more I actually got involved the more I liked it. The team dance is exceptionally stylised and slow — go-do go-do, go-do go-do, whereas in Shameni dancing style it's very quick and enjoyable, the same rhythm and beat as you use in the 'One-One'. I was a vertical man, I knew how to understand and manipulate my body in rhythm vertically, and here was what we can call a horizontal dance using space. I wanted also in terms of my distinction paradigm to get involved in this. I knew that these people were dancing and on Sunday I went to George Goch and introduced myself. I was a known dancer, that was the first thing. I also had my own dance team in Johannesburg so my credentials were not at all suspect as I am very well known in the migrant labour community of Johannesburg. So they actually felt that it was an honour to have someone who had his own dance team to join as a soldier, a 'new one' as they call it, 'nyuwunzi'. And then in December 1979 I went back with the team to Msinga and we danced for the Chief there and this particular team has got three offshoots all under this guy Mazibulezulu. This one is at George Goch, the other one is at Diepkloof Hostel in Soweto, and the other one is at Thokoza Hostel in Alberton. We met once every two or three months — all these different offshoots of the same region, Uthul'ive Zulu'. This district is divided into uHlumela, 'cheeks', three of which followed the Zulu faction in 1935 against two who fought with the Mhunu faction. These two comprised the tensions in the team. This district is called 'Zulu dust', 'Uthul'ive Zulu', and it was given over by Mhunu royalty as a token of reconciliation to the Zulu royal house because the Chumus fought against Cetshwayo in 1879. They were part of the levies that were wiped out in the battle of Isandlwana, and this was a kind of reconciliatory measure to give the Zulu royal family some power in the Mhunu area. There was a big succession dispute starting in 1935 and a few people were killed, but the big battle took place in 1957 on the bridge at Keatsdrift at which 18 people were shot dead and many more were wounded. That particular incident still makes for this tension and our dance leader fought in both those battles. He's very respected as a man, he's also very learned in the traditional culture of his people, and although he fought on the Zulu side against the Chumus, in both cases the Zulu side lost the battle although they were more numerous than the Chumus. Although he fought in both battles people know and understand that he doesn't take sides any more. In fact he's moved out of Msinga and lives in Mahlabatini, but he still lives together with his old age-mates and home boys at George Goch Hostel. There is a succession crisis now in the team and he's put his son as well as a member of the Chunu faction as two pinto's (1), the second-in-commands. They are equal and they share the running of the team. The one Sunday the one will take over and the next the other and they share again, the split in the district being emphasised. This particular refraction of local level politics is seen in the structure of the dance and in the way in which this particular leader for thirty years has managed to use it to generate an aesthetic tension in the dance. It may simply be his own device — I'm not arguing that all Umzansi teams do this — it's just that in the four years that I've been with these people this has come out very clearly. I do know however that a similar situation exists around the corner with the Amangwane, because they are currently fighting now, their team has just dissolved and broken down.

Q. This thing of trying to frustrate the shouters and the drummers by going onto your knee, don't you think it's also a challenge between the dancer and the drummer? I've seen the Zingili when they train their drummers, they get the best dancers to see if they can beat at the right beat and they're always frustrated if he beats wrong.

A. Yes, there is an element of that. When you do that you are in a way insulting them because they put all their energy into helping you do your kicking stamp and you're not stamping. But if they like you and think that you are a good dancer, they'll let you get away with it, but if you are not they won't even shout, they say Futek?