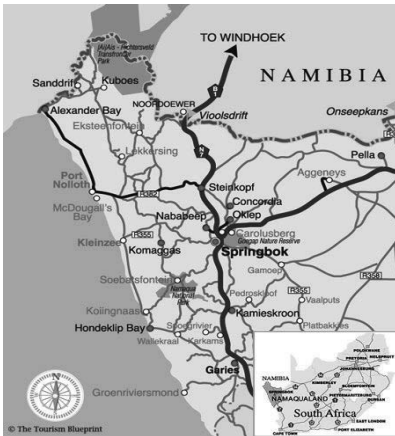


Mapping the Nama Stap: Reed-Flutes and *Nama Stap*

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Abstract



The Khoisan are the indigenous peoples of Southern Africa whose existence can be traced back some 2000 years to what is today South Africa. The Nama, the people whose dancing is the subject of this study, are the descendants of the Khoisan. *The Nama Stap* (Step) Dance is a reflection of traditional Nama values. Though the origins of the *Nama Stap Dance* cannot be confirmed, the Nama acknowledge the dance as a direct link with Nama pre-colonial history. The 'contemporary' versions of the dance, performed by Nama youth, re-

fect both colonial and present-day influences. However, all versions, I propose, may be related to the historic Nama reed flute and Nama reed-dance. This study investigates the relationship between these Nama dances.

Introduction

This work is about the Nama people of South Africa.¹ The Nama are a people whose existence can be traced back 2000 years to the Cape area of what is today South Africa. In pre-colonial times the Nama were nomadic herdsman, driving their cattle and sheep between suitable areas of grazing and watering as the seasons dictated. Their possession and maintenance of livestock distinguished them from hunter-gatherers of the region

such as the Soaqua or San. Their lifestyle and social organisation were defined by their need to find pasture and water for their herds. The language of the Nama is still spoken by a few thousand inhabitants of the Kalahari along the Orange River. They were once thought to be extinct, but direct descendants of the people who inhabited the Cape for a millennium prior to the arrival of any European still live in the harsh outback which forms South Africa's frontier with Namibia (see Figure 1: West Coast of South Africa). Two groups of Nama are distinguished; the Great Nama who live in Great Namaqualand in Namibia and Little Nama who reside in Little Namaqualand in the north-western region of South Africa. This research examines the dancing of the Nama of !Khubus village, Little Namaqualand.²

The Nama may be identified with a sequence of movement that is widely recognized throughout southern Africa as the *Nama Stap* (Step); the *Nama Stap* (NS) in turn is the major movement motif of the various versions of the *Nama Stap* Dance (NS/D); this movement motif is also the foundation of the *Nama Stap* Dance-Female Puberty Version (NS/P).³ Despite overt colonial influences within these dances, the Nama have declared these performance artifacts to be symbols of Nama identity.⁴ These dances, I suggest, contrast with more traditional Nama identifiers, such as the *matjieshuis* (mat house) and the Nama language itself. Through an application of research methodologies, especially Laban analysis, dance analysis, historiography, and field research, I suggest an interpretation of the dances that reveals traditional and contemporary, colonial and post-colonial markings within the dances. Further, I propose that although the NS/D is a 'contemporary' cultural symbol of the Nama, a connection between the NS/D and historic Nama reed-dance can be made.

The title 'Nama Stap Dance' is a generic label. When viewed as such, it does not designate a particular version of the dance but refers to the dance itself and its close association with various Nama social events, such as birthdays, funerals, weddings, and tourist activities at which the *Nama Stap* is performed. On these occasions, the *Nama Stap* motif may be performed informally where the stepping pattern is featured and no other motifs systematically accompany it. At other times, its usage is defined by the occasion it is used in conjunction with, such as government-sponsored or educational activities; this kind of multiple usage is not uncommon. In her study of Warlpiri women's dances of Australia, for example, dance ethnographer/notator Megan Jones Morais (1992) noted that similar movement was found in different dances. She notes,

In the process of documenting Warlpiri dance, I was able to distinguish three broad categories of movement: 1) movements which occur in almost every dreaming complex, and which have a general meaning; 2) movements which occur in many, but not all, dreaming complexes and which have a general meaning as well as a specific meaning...3) movements which occur in only one dreaming complex and which have a specific meaning. (Morais, 1992:140)

In much the same manner, the various versions of the *Nama Stap Dance* may be organised into three categories including: social activities, where the *Nama Stap Dance* is performed locally in conjunction with smaller and more intimate activities; tourist activities, that are typically government-sponsored occasions that may be larger affairs; and educational activities, organised in conjunction with the local school.⁵

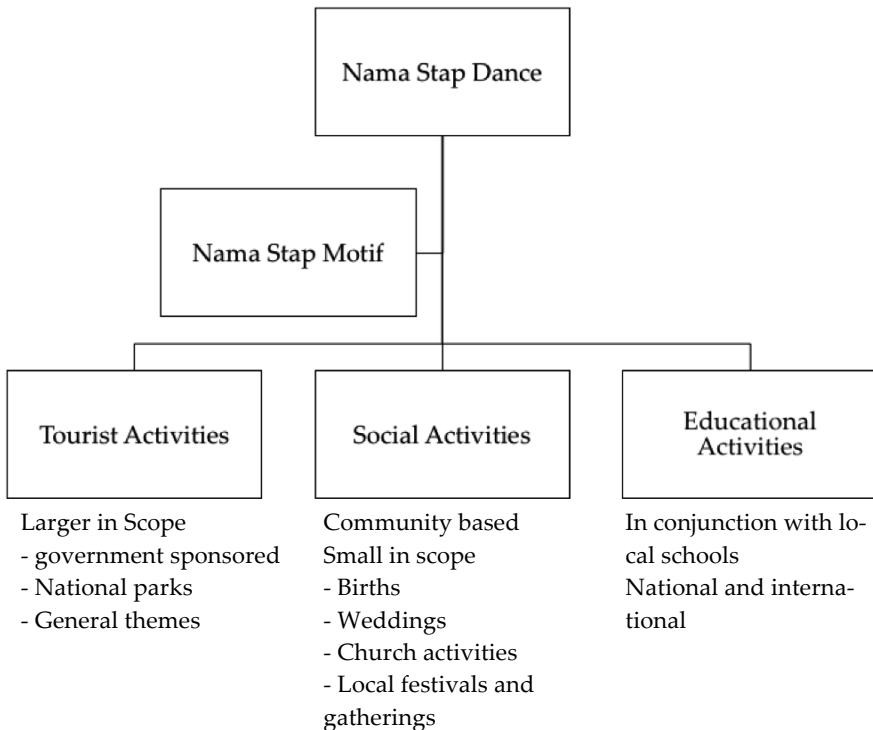


Figure 2: Organisation of the *Nama Stap Dance*

Based on this organisation of the dances, the *Nama Stap* is the central motif of the different versions of the *Nama Stap* dances. Due to its prominence in all of these dances, the NS motif may be perceived as a

‘movement signature’. Movement signature in this context is used to signify those movement phrases taken collectively to identify the NS as the NS and not, for example, a Xhosa Step or a *Pas de Chat*. A movement signature is readily recognised by regular users of it, in this case the Nama, and by knowledgeable ‘outsiders’ (Kaeppler, 1992a). A movement signature, like a personal, hand drawn one, is not static but, instead, operates within a dynamic range of possibilities. These deviations do not change the fundamental signature itself but reflect responses to internal and external social/political influences. Response to environment allows a movement signature to expand over time outside of a range of understood or agreed possibilities and, ultimately, to develop and to change.⁶ The movement signature of the NS described herein should be understood in this light. Therefore, the NS recorded here represents a constructed movement signature of the Nama during the period of this research.

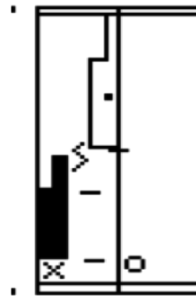


Figure 3

In order to understand the importance of this movement motif to the Nama, a movement signature based on an examination of the movement components of the *Nama Stap* in three different contexts (discussed further below) was created.⁷ A paradigm similar to that of English grammatical structure was applied to identify this Nama movement marker (Kaeppler, 1992a).

The analysis begins with the identification of kinemes or fundamental units of movement that have no meaning in themselves (Kaeppler, 1992a). These kinds of movement might be, for example, steps or a slide as seen in the NS (Figure 3). Taken in isolation, these actions have no significance to the Nama or importance within the *Nama Stap*. Like words of a language, however, these small units are essential as they are the fundamental elements from which a dance tradition is built (Kaeppler, 1992a). Further, in order to make a meaningful statement, these

fundamental elements must be used in combination with other appropriate movement units.

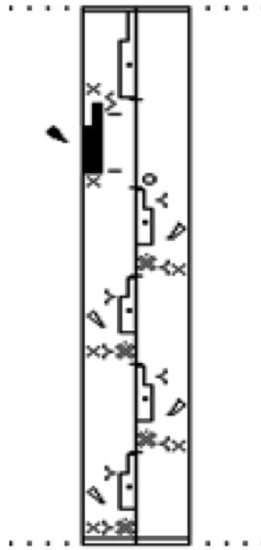


Figure 4

A morphokine 'is the smallest unit that has meaning in a movement.' This perspective is founded on the idea that only certain combinations are meaningful and a number of kinemes often occur simultaneously to form a meaningful movement. Morphokines, in turn, combine to form motifs (Kaeppler, 1992a). Based on this perspective, the NS is a motif, and the Laban analysis recording illustrates this effectively (Figure 4). But this kind of analysis is only part of the story. While this model addresses the 'grammatical' structure of movement an indigenous perspective to the interpretation and/or evaluation of Nama dancing needs also to be taken into account. An indigenous or 'culturally' informed perspective has been and continues to be a concern of researchers such as Kaeppler (1992a) from a dance perspective and Bohannan (1995) from an anthropological one more broadly; both have similar concerns. Kaeppler explains,

Important in the study of human movement systems is the study of movement theory and philosophy of movement from the point of view of the society in which the movement takes place. The use of Western dance theory for analysis of non-Western dance is inappropriate, and a researcher must attempt to discover indigenous theories about movement. (Kaeppler, 1992a, p. 155)

The *Nama Stap* as the chief movement sequence in all versions of the *Nama Stap Dance* observed was confirmed by various different sources, including indigenous cultural consultants and others in and outside of !Khubus. I met no one in !Khubus, or its neighbouring villages, for example, who was not familiar with the NS. Even outsiders, such as the headmaster of the local school and teachers who were not Nama, from !Khubus or any of the surrounding villages, had a good knowledge of it, could give a reasonable demonstration of the NS, and could readily discuss the NS/D. Even those further a field, such as Cape Town, had a good understanding of it. This culturally informed view of the NS is further substantiated by the fact that, among other signifiers, such as Nama guitar music, the *Nama Stap* motif distinguishes Nama groups from each other. Some Nama groups typically slide the feet along the floor (Figure 5), others skim or lift the feet from it (Figure 6), and the youth in !Khubus punch the feet into the ground (Figure 7). While these stylistic differences in the context of dancing distinguish Nama groups from each other, they also point to similarities between groups and dynamism of the *Nama Stap* motif itself.

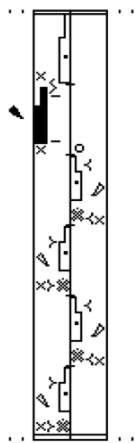


Figure 5



Figure 6



Figure 7

Though the origins of the NS cannot be confirmed via a western mode of validation, such as a linear chronology of its development, the Nama acknowledge this motif for what it represents for them—a historical link with Nama pre-colonial history and a bridge that connects the Nama to the future. The *Nama Stap* is, therefore, a cultural signifier; as such, it serves, at least, a dual role. Firstly, it represents the Nama as descendants of the ‘original’ people of South Africa; the ideology of these

early Nama is embodied most directly in the *Nama Stap* dances performed by mature women in !Khubus (see description below). Secondly, a focus on improvisation exhibited by Nama youth, encapsulate contemporary influences and a more recent representation of these descendants of the Khoekhoen. In the present day, it is the youth versions of the dance that is most frequently used to represent the Nama people as a group. This 'contemporary' version of the NS is interesting not only because it reflects and archives colonial and present-day influences, but also due to its proposed association with the Nama reed flute and Nama reed-dance.⁸

Until relatively recently, reference to the NS and/or NSDs in literature concerning the Nama or Khoisan people was sparse. Nowadays, a few carefully selected words keyed in to the World Wide Web will provide at least a starting point for research concerning it. What is not apparent from electronic research or even more text-based investigation is its affiliation with other activities or 'structured systems' within a Nama community as discussed here. Structured movement systems are 'systems of knowledge which are socially constructed...they are created by, known, and agreed upon by a group of people and primarily preserved in memory' (Kaeppeler, 1992a: 151). The *Nama Stap Dance* is socially constructed. This means that, as with other aspects of society, members of the group motivate the creation, recreation, content, definition, and values of the dance. 'African' dance scholar, Kariamu Welsh relates this to an 'African' dance context,

Dance is traditionally a communal and social activity. Rituals and ceremonies are often centered on the dance. In this way, dance is more than entertainment: it is an integral part of the society's worldview...Dance is an expression. It expresses in movement and rhythm the aesthetic values of a society. The perception of one's environment and its relationship with nature is an important part of aesthetic. (Welsh, 2004: 20)

The NS/D as described here most likely developed from the NS. In turn, the NS/D is performed in various different contexts as determined by group members in accordance with the demands of Nama society.

Take, for example, the female puberty ceremony described by Hoff (in Barnard, 1992). In this account, no mention of the NS or NS/D is recorded; nor is its association with marriage ceremonies, birthdays, popular dance, and so on noted. Perhaps the NS and NS/D did not exist at the time of Hoff's investigations, or, possibly, the absence of the NS or NS/D in this description suggests the NS and certainly the NS/D may be products of a later period. There is no confident means of assessing the emergence of these.

Conversely, during the course of this research (2001-2006) I observed three generations of Nama who have body knowledge of the NS and/or NS/Ds. This represents an age span of roughly four years to eighty years. I experienced the NS/D in two performance related contexts and a number of informal situations. Firstly, I witnessed it as a dance event in which it formed an integral part of the traditional female puberty ceremony (NS/P). In this version, it is danced by pairs of mature women of the community who dance it prior to encouraging the young female initiate to emerge from the seclusion of the *matjieshuis* in order to join a Nama community as an adult member. This version of the dance consists of a designated leader and is made up of three major dance motifs: a variation of the NS sequence, a series of partnered turning patterns, and arm gestures. A second version of the dance was observed as part of a government sponsored festival exhibiting Nama culture. This account of the dance was performed by the youth of the village aged roughly between seven to thirteen years. Similar to the NS/P of the mature women, this version has a designated leader and is performed on a counter-clockwise circular path in either single sex or mixed pairs; it should be noted that while there were single sex female pairs there were no single sex male pairs in the performance(s) observed.

This youthful version differs from that which accompanies the puberty ceremony in two distinct ways. First, the intent, purpose or function of the dance is dissimilar. This more youthful version is in the nature of a challenge or competition dance. The concern here is on who can perform the best; the challenge is open to both male and female and younger and older school-aged dancers. Secondly, as this is a challenge dance, the movement content is fresh, contemporary, and innovative. The best NS dancers are characterised by an ability to perform the NS sequence well and who also exhibit innovation, style, and energy. Those who are deemed to be good or 'best' *Nama Stap* dancers by the community will carry this distinction into adulthood. Both versions, mature women and youth versions, share movement vocabulary, such as the NS, turning patterns, and spatial orientation; both also consist of movement expressions typical of their own story.

Various scholars have investigated Khoisan people; of particular interest to this research is the work of Agnes Hoernlé. During her field research among the Nama between 1912 and 1913, Hoernlé recorded various rite of passage activities. Among these is her description of the Nama female puberty ceremony. Hoernlé's account of this ritual is one of the most detailed recordings of this traditional rite of passage among Nama women, and her account of this Nama activity is the foundation on which subsequent research of this topic is based. The ceremony recorded

by Hoernlé no longer exists. Instead, a contemporary rendering of the ceremony, the *Nama Stap Dance-Puberty Version*, is now performed. This modern day version incorporates many aspects of the historical ceremony, such as the presentation of an initiate. Despite its demise in its 'traditional' form, the Nama have maintained dancing as part of their contemporary interpretation. Further, in spite of the changing role of women within Nama society, a theme of female unity remains a significant aspect of the contemporary version.⁹ Although Hoernlé records dancing as part of the ceremony, she does not refer to the *Nama Stap* motif or *Nama Stap Dance*; she does, however, identify the Nama reed-dance as an aspect of the historical ceremony.

In his collection, *The Reed-flute Ensembles of South Africa: A Study in South African Native Music*, music scholar Percival Kirby (1933) catalogues a range of descriptions of South African reed-flute ensembles and the reed-dance that accompanied these. As seen through the eyes of early travellers, missionaries, government officials, musicians, historians, and others between 1497 and 1932, this compilation of reports explains the context, composition of the ensembles, the reed-flutes themselves, type of music played, as well as reed-dances. Although the collection examines the reed-flute and reed-dances of a number of different South African peoples such as Bavenda, Transvaal Basotho, Ndebele and 'Bushman', the following discussion will focus particularly on the reed-dances performed by Nama people.

The reed-dance or Nama reed-dance seems always to have been done in conjunction with reed-flute playing—the dance accompanied reed-flute music. Different Nama groups played reed-flute and did reed-dances on different occasions. Although authors have reported different aspects of the reed-dances among different Nama groups, nearly all agree on certain aspects of it. The reed-dances were, for example, typically held outdoors in the late afternoon or evening; they lasted for varying lengths of time from all night, into the following day or for several days at a time. These social and/or religious gatherings had no fixed number of participants, and they could be rather large affairs with some observers reporting 'hundreds' of participants. Even though women took part in reed-dancing, only men played reed flutes, and there was always a leader or head musician. The reed-dances were done in a circular formation in which the musicians faced the centre of the circle where the leader of the group stood; the women formed an outer ring around the musicians. Descriptions of the movement vocabulary of the reed-dance seem to indicate that while women participated in this activity, they were an accompaniment to it rather than a major component of it.

While dancing clearly formed part of the reed-flute gatherings, the dancing of men on these occasions has been described in greater detail than that of women. Women's dance movements were typified by forming a circle around the reed-flute players while singing and clapping; 'within the circular formation, they stamp their feet in time to the music of the reed-flutes and 'chassez' (sic) forward with small and graceful steps' (Kirby, 1933:344). On the other hand, it has been noted by Kirby that, 'only men are the performers at the dancing party'; that they make beautiful movement with their feet; that their dancing is characterised by 'elaborate step-dancing' (Kirby, 1933:316).

In examining descriptions of male 'step-dancing', two broad movement categories may be distinguished. These include movements that remain on the spot and those which travel through space. Both groups are characterised by the presence of a leader in the centre of the circle. Among other technical matters, such as tuning the flutes, it is his role to signal the start of the performance and to keep time. The flute players in both groups face the centre of the circle and direct their attention to the leader. The dancing of both groups of men include stamping on the ground, jumping, leaping, violent shaking, small jumps close to the ground, and movement of the feet. Those groups who do travel move forward and backward through space. Alternatively, it is noted that only those who play flutes 'change their place while dancing'; the flute players move on the periphery of the circle while performing 'the most baroque and most marvelous springing and bowing of the upper part of their bodies' (Kirby, 1933:342).

From the description of the movements of the two groups, men and women, movements common to both groups emerge. These include the presence of a group leader, circular formation, movement on the spot (in place) and, for at least some groups, travelling forward and backward through space. A correlation between the movements of the reed-dance and the contemporary *Nama Stap* can be made.

Figure 8: Movement Components of Reed-Dance and Contemporary Nama Stap

Movement Components of the Reed-Dance and Contemporary <i>Nama Stap</i>		
Reed-Dance	NSD-Puberty Version	NSD-Youth Version
Group Leader	Group Leader	Group Leader
Circular Formation	Circular Formation	Circular Formation
Stamping	-----	Stamping
Movement on the spot or in place	Movement on the spot or in place	Movement on the spot or in place
Travelling forward and backward	Travelling forward and backward	Travelling forward and backward
Aerial Forms: Jumping, leaping, jumps close to the floor, chasse	-----	Aerial Forms: Jumping, leaping, jumps close to the floor,
-----	-----	Aerial forms in which the legs and parts of the foot contact each other (Aerial embellishments)

The above comparison indicates that similar movements components of the Nama reed-dance may be found in the *Nama Stap* dance performed by both mature women and youth in !Khubus. The youth version of the *Nama Stap* dance exhibits all of the elements of the reed-dance listed in the chart above. Further, within this version of the dance, a development of the reed-dance may be seen in the inclusion of girls as full partners and not merely 'accompaniment' to the boys; contemporary influences such as complex aerial embellishments also differentiate this version from early descriptions of the reed-dance. A comparison of the puberty version to that of the reed-dance demonstrates that with the exception of two movements, stamping and aerial forms, these two dances consist of similar movement vocabulary. Whereas stamping is noted in the reed-dance, the feet slide along the ground in the puberty version. The similarities of movement components between the Nama reed-dance and the *Nama Stap Dance* seem to indicate a connection between the two. Other evidence of this relationship may be observed in terms of inclusion of the dance in various Nama social/political activities. The reed-dance has been

recorded in association with the female puberty ceremony (Hoernlé 1918, Carstens 2007) and Nama marriage ceremony (Carstens 2007, Sharp and Boonzaier, 1994). Today, the *Nama Stap* Dance rather than the reed-dance is performed in connection with contemporary performances of both of these activities. Sharp and Boonzaier (1994) note the following in reference to this and other contemporary 'Nama Symbols',

Outsiders...were confronted with a range of clear symbols of Nama ethnicity, the presence of a Nama choir, the singing of Nama songs, the construction of a traditional Nama *matjieshuis*, staging of the marriage ritual for a Nama bride...The symbols gave...a glimpse of their heritage, an indication of who they were, and an insight into the responsibility they believe they bear as intermediaries between past and future generations...The signing ceremony [itself] was designed to highlight the inhabitants ethnic identity. By emphasizing their Nama identity at a public ceremony the people of the N.R. [Namaqualand Reserve] stressed their conviction that there was continuity between themselves and the 'first owners' of the land. (Sharp and Boonzaier, 1994:406)

The Nama sanction the NS as one of their cultural signifiers and, as noted by Sharp and Boonzaier, it is used to identify the Nama as the decedents of the 'first owners of the land' (South Africa). This view presents a traditional view of the Nama as hunters and/or herders who live in a traditional manner in traditional *matjieshuis*, moving from place to place, and living more or less off the veld. This perspective would not be entirely inaccurate as, during the course of this research, I met some Nama who continue to live semi-nomadically. This way of life, however, is no longer the norm since 'the people of the Richtersveld have no desire to dwell in *matjieshuis*, which in the context of everyday life, they associate with poverty and the inability to afford modern housing' (Sharp and Boonzaier, 1994:409). The *Nama Stap*, I propose, is a 20th century development of the Nama reed-dance; it is a modern day cultural symbol of the Nama people generally and of the people of !Khubus village especially.

This discussion has attempted to map the development of what is today one of the most visible cultural identifiers of the Nama people, the *Nama Stap* Dance. I have tracked the motif from its most contemporary expression by Nama youth in !Khubus village to its 'traditional' interpretation by mature women in the villages of !Khubus and neighbouring village of Nababeep. I have also suggested a connection between the *Nama Stap* and Nama reed-dances described in accounts by various groups of people who witnessed Nama reed-flute ensembles and reed-dances between 1497 and 1932. In reviewing this source, account must be taken of

the fact that observers untrained in formal methods of documentation recorded these descriptions. Additionally, a consideration of the perception and/or attitude of western observers of 'African' culture prevalent during this period needs also to be considered.¹⁰ In addition to this, these descriptions have also been translated into English from a variety of different languages;¹¹ these points most certainly have a bearing on the descriptions of the Nama reed-dances as well as my own analysis, evaluation, and interpretation of the *Nama Stap* dance in relation to the Nama reed-dances. Notwithstanding these issues, of equal importance in evaluating this source is the association of the Nama reed-dance with various Nama activities—such as weddings and rite of passage ceremonies—not only by groups of travellers, but also by trained researchers including Hoernlé during the early part of the 20th century and Carstens, Sharp and Boonzaier during the latter part. Neither the travellers nor scholars document what we know today as the *Nama Stap*, *Nama Stap Dance*, or *Nama Stap-Puberty* version of the dance in connection with these crucial Nama activities. Since the *Nama Stap Dance* employs similar dance vocabulary and appears in similar social systems to that of the Nama reed-dance, the NS/D appears to be a development of the Nama reed-dance. This is an interesting association that offers insight into Nama pre-colonial dance activity, history, and social systems.

The *Nama Stap Dance* may be likened to a bridge. Through the reed-dance it is connected to the 'first owners' of the land, and the *Nama Stap Dance* and all its modern day variations offers a perspective of the Nama in the present day. The NS/D is also a guide to the future. This is the view of the Nama themselves.

...representatives from the media, the park Board, and the scientific community...were concerned about the fashionable issue of 'cultural survival'. For them, the purpose of the park was to provide sanctuary...for a 'traditional' culture which they saw as 'belonging' to the people of the reserve, and as under threat from the influence of the modern world. The Northern Richtersveld people clearly do not believe that their culture—in the sense of their lived culture—is in any danger of extinction at all; nor do they wish to shut themselves off from the modern world in order to maintain their traditions... (Sharp and Boonzaier, 1994, pp. 409-410)

Although the *Nama Stap Dance(s)* are often referred to as 'traditional', 'traditional dance' typically refers to dances as they were performed prior to the arrival of Europeans. Evolved traditional dance, on the other hand, can be used to refer to dances that are based on traditional ideas but have

also developed new movement vocabulary that reflects new ideas (Kaeppler, 1992a: 155; cf. Welsh Asante, 2000:14). Rather than models of static, traditional culture, the Nama reed-dance and *Nama Stap Dance(s)* are clear examples of cultural persistence and dynamism.

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Notes

- ¹ Alan Barnard, a leading authority on Khoisan societies, identifies the Khoisan as a group of southern African peoples that include the San, who are popularly known as Bushmen, the Khoekhoen (including Nama people), who are often referred to as Hottentots, and Damara. All Khoisan peoples share certain cultural features such as kinship, ritual, cosmology, territorial organisation, and gender relations. In the English compound *Khoisan*, the first syllable, *Khoi*, refers to the Nama people as well as other cattle-herding Khoekhoe. The second syllable, *San*, refers to the people known as San (sometimes Bushmen). The Nama and Korana, the two original herding peoples who still exist today, use the compound *Khoekhoen*, 'People of People', as their self-appellation (Barnard, 1992).
- ² In contrast to contemporary spellings of the word !Khubus, such as Kuboes, throughout this research the traditional Nama spelling '!Khubus' (meaning God is found here) that was related to me by cultural consultants will be used.

- ³ The term *Nama Stap-Puberty* version was not used by cultural consultants. This label was devised by the researcher to distinguish this version of the dance from other similar versions of it.
- ⁴ As explained by Sharp and Boonzaier, terms such as 'Nama identity', 'cultural signifier', etc. are used throughout this discussion to indicate symbols of 'Nama ethnicity'. As noted, 'Outsiders...were confronted with a range of clear symbols of Nama ethnicity, the present of a Nama choir, the singing of Nama songs, the construction of a traditional Nama *matjieshuis*, staging of the marriage ritual for a Nama bride' (1994:406).
- ⁵ This organization of the *Nama Stap Dances* was devised by the researcher in consultation with cultural consultants. It is not a 'Nama' organization of the dances.
- ⁶ Examples of change in environment might include for example language, housing, and the role of women in Nama society (see for example, Endnote 9 below).
- ⁷ I have discussed two of these contexts in this paper. The third, not recorded here, took place in Nabapeep, a neighboring Nama village.
- ⁸ Note that the Nama reed-dance discussed here is not connected to the well-known Royal Zulu Reed Dance.
- ⁹ Nama females have considerable power as adult members of the Nama community and this may be observed through an examination of a woman's role within the family. Women in pre-colonial Nama society had supreme authority within the homestead. The female puberty ceremony was a major rite of passage for young Nama females and it marked not only the transition from childhood to full adult membership, but also the division between males and females. Anthropologist Theophilus Hahn clarifies this point: 'In every Khoikhoi's house the woman....is the *supreme ruler*; the husband has nothing at all to say. While in public the men take the prominent part, at home they have not so much power even as to take a mouthful of sour milk out of the tub, without the wife's permission. If a man should try to do it, his nearest *female* relations will put a fine on him, consisting in cows and sheep, which are added to the stock of the wife' (Hahn, cited in Barnard, 1992: 185, *italic added*).

- ¹⁰ These early visitors did not, for example, recognise the distinctive groupings and or clans among the indigenous peoples such as the Cochoqua, Gorachoqua, Goringhaiqua, Khoikhoi/Khoekhoe/Khoekhoen and San, but, instead, identified them all as a single collective that they labelled Hottentot. It may be fair to suggest that these settlers just did not recognise that there were indeed distinct groups and clans between the Khoisan. This perception of the original people(s) of South Africa was popular in the colony at the Cape as well as at 'home' in Europe and is most certainly the foundation of present-day debate concerning nearly every aspect of these original people(s) (Boonzaier *et al*, 1996).
- ¹¹ Kirby notes the following in reference to the collection of this material: 'As the works to which reference has been made are in many instances difficult to obtain, and the references themselves are in many languages, I have considered it desirable to reproduce them in translation and in chronological order, so that a conspectus of the field, as complete as possible, may be available for future investigators' (Kirby, 1933:313). Kirby also acknowledges the assistance of a number of translators who helped with the transcription of the material from different languages into English. See also Edwards, 1998 and Temple, 1997.