A STUDY OF THE DINAKA PIPE DANCE OF THE PEDI PEOPLE IN SOUTH AFRICA

by

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Abstract: This article provides a description and musical analysis of the Pedi genre known as dinaka, as it is currently practised (2016) in the rural areas throughout the Limpopo province. The role of this music is examined along with the implications of learning and performing it as a cultural outsider. The construction, methods of tuning, and playing techniques of the pipes, drums, and other instruments associated with dinaka are discussed. The form and structure of the music are interpreted as well as the idioms of rhythm, melody, and dance repertoire which imbue the genre with a distinct sound. Common methods for creating improvisational variations among the instrumental and dance parts are explained. The connection of dinaka to styles of Pedi vocal music is examined along with the proverbial meanings of the songs with which these melodies and rhythms are associated. Transcriptions of the dance steps, pipe melodies and drum rhythms have been developed to provide a visual representation of the music. The aim is to provide a resource from which one can study and understand the many aspects of dinaka.

Keywords: Dinaka, kiba, Pedi music, drumming, pipe ensembles, dance, transcriptions, South African music.

Introduction
Several publications explore the cultural context in which Pedi music is used (Huskinsson 1958, James 1997, James 1999, James 2000, Mapaya 2014). These provide general descriptions of the instruments and the occasions for their use. There are publications which examine Pedi musical styles related to dinaka, such as kiba and sekgapa, as well as musical studies of other pipe ensembles in the region, such as that of the vhaVenda (Ballantine 1965, Kirby 1933, Thema 2006, Tracey 1971, 1992, 2013). The musical elements of dinaka itself, though, had yet to be examined in a way that allowed for analysis and understanding. The name, dinaka, comes from the Sepedi name for pipes or flutes, naka being the term for a single pipe and dinaka being plural. Dinaka is considered by many as the quintessential form of Pedi music as it contains the musical structures and concepts on which nearly all other Northern Sotho genres are based (Mapaya 2014). This article focuses on technical descriptions of how the instruments are constructed and played along with an approach to the melody, rhythm, form and timbre which give the music its distinct sound. Notes on current performance practices and several transcriptions of the pipe melodies, drum rhythms, and dance steps are included to offer some idea of how one can go about learning the music.

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I was based in the city of Polokwane and conducted research in the surrounding villages where dinaka was being performed (Figure 1). I spent most of my time working with two specific groups of musicians. The first, with which I became most involved, is called Magongwa CCV (Magongwa City Company). Magongwa CCV members were my primary informants. This group is based in the village of Magongwa, outside the city of Mokopane. This is a group of relatively young all-male musicians who travel throughout the region to perform at weddings, social events, and traditional dance competitions. The second group, B. Sekhaolelo is based in the village of Sebora and is comprised of mostly middle-aged or older men and women who perform mainly within the surrounding area of Mashashane. It is common for dinaka performers residing in different villages to share basic concepts of the music and instruments, but to have a differing repertoire of songs and alternate names for the songs they do have in common (Huskisson 1958). The two groups mentioned above represent a case for the variances in practice across a generational and geographical divide.

Observations on the research and local perception of dinaka
My research included traveling with these groups to events where they were hired to perform, to film the performances and observe the customs of the occasions. I conducted informal interviews with experienced group members as well as the audience members. I commissioned sets of instruments in various locations to compare how the construction and tuning of them may differ. I took many lessons from Magongwa CCV members to learn each aspect of the music and properly play each instrument. I traveled to Magongwa at a prearranged time, usually twice a week, to spend the
afternoon with experienced group members who would teach me how to perform the music. This included the parts for each of the five different pipes and four drums along with common dance steps for each piece. Each part was demonstrated individually, then in combination with the other instruments and dance steps. It should be noted that many of the performers had a more difficult time at consistently playing the pipe parts when doing it independently of the larger musical context, especially with the drum rhythms absent. Group members played the instruments and danced with me until I was certain of the correct placement of each part and could perform it with them. From these lessons, I transcribed the music into a format that I could quickly reference for recalling the rhythms and dance steps of each piece. After several months of training, I was invited to perform as a member of the group at weddings and social events, as both a drummer and dancer.

Many other researchers have spoken about the complications and obstacles that one may encounter when attempting a formal study of a traditional music. It is often feared that gender and educational or social background might act as an obstacle to connecting with those most knowledgeable about the music (Thema 2006, Huskisson 1958). Fortunately for me, the musicians I encountered were very willing to share their music and cultural practices. They were excited about being recorded by someone who had an interest in their culture. They were very welcoming and willing to accommodate my requests which at first must have seemed odd to them. For example, the idea of playing a single pipe in isolation, to hear exactly what each part is meant to play, was a foreign concept to them. This music is meant to be experienced in its complete form, with each performer and instrument inseparable from the entire context, so many performers were puzzled by my requests to start and stop on demand.

From the perspective of a Western musician, it was surprising that the primary teaching method was to call the entire group together to perform for my benefit. I was expected to immediately join in and learn by doing. The people teaching me learned the music in this manner, by watching and following routines from when they were very young. However, given my limited time to learn the music, I spent several months navigating to a middle ground in which my Pedi teachers could separate the music into parts so that I could identify the structure and learn each element more efficiently. There may be no way to recreate for others my experience of learning this type of music within its context, but I approached it with the goal of creating a systematic approach for transcribing and teaching it accurately to those outside the culture. In this way, I aim to spark in others an interest for Pedi music to help promote the preservation of dinaka.

Dinaka, like many oral music traditions, is constantly evolving. New melodies and dance steps are being composed by performers to reflect current aesthetic values. This makes it an exciting but tenuous art form, especially when considering the general lack of written records or good quality recordings of the music. The existence of dinaka is dependent on its continued practice. Traditions like the dinaka dance, I was told on numerous occasions, are seen by many South Africans as a custom for those who are poor, uneducated, and who have no other way of occupying their time. There is little
economic incentive for performing the music. While dinaka groups are still hired to perform at events, the compensation for doing so, especially in rural areas, usually takes the form of food and drinks and perhaps an amount of money that is often so small that it barely covers the cost of transporting the musicians to the venue. It has become very rare to find young people participating in and continuing the practice of this music; those that do often leave the groups to find work in urban areas. Many Pedi people I interacted with in cities said that they had never seen the dance before viewing my recordings of the dance.

When I began performing with Magongwa CCV, fellow dancers often declared me the “Man of the Match,” a phrase usually reserved to recognize the most valuable player in a sports team, but in this case meant to denote the best dancer of the group on that day. I am confident that this title was not earned from a superior knowledge of the repertoire or impressive physical abilities. Rather, I was granted that designation because I elicited the strongest reaction from the crowd. I was also “bought” fairly often. This is a practice in which members of the crowd give a gratuity, usually ten or twenty rand, to the leader of the group or to a particular dancer with the expectation that the person will then act as the head dancer during the next piece or perform a solo during an ongoing piece. Despite the fact that I was the least experienced practitioner of dinaka in the group, my role as an outsider taking an interest in this traditional practice prompted these types of reactions.

I was told that my presence as a member of the group apparently created an increase in the popularity of the tradition. The group was more frequently asked to play at events and there were larger than usual turn outs to see “the white man” dancing. However, it could very well be counterproductive if the interest brought about by my involvement was merely a gimmick whose benefit has waned now that I have left. I took several measures to further benefit the popularity and reputation of this music. This includes purchasing uniforms for each member of Magongwa CCV and B. Sekhaolelo. Hard copy recordings of each group were created and distributed to the group members so that a lasting record of the music will exist in the area of its practice.

Sixty years ago, Huskisson went as far as to suggest that this music would be unknown in ten years’ time (Huskisson 1958). For this reason, I approached this research from a largely pedagogical point of view with the intention of laying the groundwork toward making it accessible for outsiders.

The traditional costume and form of the dance
Dinaka is performed with a group of male dancers arranged in a circle which moves counterclockwise around a group of drummers, traditionally all women. Each dancer holds a one-note pipe which is played simultaneously while dancing the highly energetic, rhythmic footsteps that form the main point of interest in the music. Though I did not encounter anyone with knowledge of the history of this tradition beyond their own childhoods, the origins of it being a dance for men are thought to come from the use of flutes by soldiers during times of war, with the costumes and props alluding to
historic weapons and costumes of warriors and hunters (Mapaya 2014).

*Dinaka* is a style of music that is performed only for recreation. It is not directly used for religious functions like many other styles of traditional music in southern Africa, although it is customary for a group to begin and end a performance with a prayer to the ancestors. This music is generally only found at joyous occasions such as weddings, tombstone unveiling ceremonies, or as the weekend entertainment at a local tavern. Modern performers use the word “game” when discussing *dinaka* and refer to sets of pieces as the “games” for the day. The only time one may find *dinaka* being played at a solemn event, like a funeral, is if the deceased person were an active member of a *dinaka* group and if that person or his or her family makes a request to have this music at the event. In this case, the group would usually repeatedly play the deceased’s favourite piece rather than the usual variety. Otherwise, it is considered rude and disrespectful to play these instruments anywhere within the vicinity of an ongoing funeral.

A traditional *dinaka* costume consists of loose fitting skirts (made from animal skin, if available), large ostrich feathers on the head, and colourful beaded garments or decorative strips of animal skin on the upper body (see Figure 2).

This costume, like the instruments, has been modernized for more resilience and accessibility. Magongwa CCV dancers wear kilt-like skirts and adorn their arms with neck ties or other colourful garments to visually accentuate movements (see Figure 3).

Many theories exist as to how plaid skirts came to be adopted for use in dancing. It may be the result of the Pedi coming into contact with Scottish military (James 1999) or

Figure 2. *Dinaka* group led by Dennis Ledwaba in more traditional attire. Photograph courtesy of Dennis Ledwaba.
used by the British military to trick Pedi warriors into thinking British soldiers were women and thus harmless. Either way, modern availability has made these the most common substitute for traditional skirts.

Shakers, known as *mathotse*, are strapped to dancers’ legs to audibly highlight the rhythm of the dance steps. These shakers are made by soaking whole macadamia nuts in water until two holes can be bored into the shell from either end and the debris is scraped from the inside. These shells are then filled with small seeds and mounted in three rows of four, or a similar ratio, onto metal rods which are then fitted with rope and tied around each dancer’s ankles (see Figure 4).

A typical performance is comprised of several sets. Each set consists of about three to five
pieces each, depending on the variable length of each piece and general stamina of
the dancers, with breaks in between each set for food, drinks, and socializing. This
format is maintained from the time the group arrives at the venue in the morning until
sunset. A set begins when the leader of the group blows a whistle as a signal to the
group members to assemble in the location where the dance is about to start. The initial
location of the dancers is usually in a cluster removed from the main dance area. The
dancers make their way into the circle from there. The leader then blows the whistle
again and announces which piece the group should begin playing. The leader may be
an experienced dancer in the group, or, in other cases, whichever member is playing the
lead drum at the time acts as the group leader and selects the pieces.

There are certain pieces which have specific roles and times, such as Monti, which
is the first piece played at an event or in a set. Tšhitšhile is the last piece played at any
given day’s festivities. Otherwise, the pieces do not tend to have a designated order or
consistent, overarching sequence to them. The other exception to this rule is that some
pieces, such as Alemale or Konkoriti, have dance steps which naturally lend themselves
more to being effective methods of entering or leaving the main dance area. These
pieces are used as the bookends of a set. The first set of the day usually concludes with
the group dancing toward the proprietor of the event, squatting around that person’s
feet, and playing a few cycles of the melody to show respect to the person who is
allowing the festivities to take place. While many of the same pieces are performed by
groups in different areas, many groups prefer playing certain pieces more often than
others. The pieces performed are usually determined by the leader on the spot or during
the downtime immediately preceding a set. Either way, the rest of the group does not
usually know what piece is next until it is announced.

At the point when the leader announces the next piece, he or she may specify a
certain member of the group by name (or humorous nickname. Many dancers earn the
name of the animal which most closely resembles his physical appearance and dancing
style). When this occurs, it means that the chosen person must act as the head dancer
for that particular piece. The head dancer’s role is to act as a conductor to the rest of
the group by using preparatory dance steps to physically signal to fellow dancers when
to begin the main steps. This person will either step into the center of the circle, for
improved visibility, or to the fore of the group if the circle has not yet been formed. In the
case of pieces like Marago and Ga Bedi Ga Bedi, each with a considerably large repertoire
of dance steps, the head dancer performs a main step of his choosing which will then be
the basis of that performance of the piece. Whichever main step the head dancer selects
will be copied and musically expanded upon with embellishments by the rest of the
dancers. The performance ends when this head dancer dramatically feigns begging the
drummers to stop playing or leads the dancers in a procession out of the dance space.

This spontaneity gives the dance a deceptively improvisatory appearance. It is
fair to say that there are many elements which are not specifically predetermined or
rehearsed, such as the exact order of dance steps. However, as with any genre containing
improvisatory elements, a seasoned practitioner of the music is never completely making
it up on the spot. The improvisation is based on the musical language of the style. Each dinaka piece has a distinct formula of dance steps, drum rhythms and stylistic embellishments which are learned and developed by watching or performing alongside experienced players. While each performance of a piece may differ, the flexibility for a group to achieve this comes from each member becoming intimately familiar with the repertoire of steps and rhythms associated with each piece. Each member knows the musical language well enough to recognize what his or her fellow musicians are doing and perform accordingly. It usually takes only a few pulses for the rest of a group to recognize what step the head dancer is performing. This intimate knowledge allows each dancer to embellish the dance steps to varying degrees while still maintaining the rhythmic integrity of the original step.

The inherent flexibility of dinaka music leads to a variety of distinctly unique renditions of the same piece by a single group at a given performance. As stated above, certain pieces are used primarily to serve the function of entering the dance space, although there is not a specified order in which they should be performed. However, the performers will control the pacing of the overall performance to create a sense of momentum that helps to engage the crowd. Dinaka is an extremely lively, spirited music and the energy level tends to build throughout the day's performance. Pieces with relatively slower tempi, such as Monti and Tšhoša o bagomele are used earlier in the day when the musicians are physically warming up and are greetsing the crowd of observers or guests. As the day wears on, musicians and observers alike gradually become more relaxed and enjoy food and drinks, and the dance tends to become more and more animated. Fast paced pieces that allow for more free embellishment and improvisation, like Ditšhwene tša ga Matlala, are more commonly performed at this point.

In contrast, the pieces Marago and Ga Bedi Ga Bedi, having such a vast repertoire of steps, are frequently performed several times in any given set. There can be dozens of different renditions of these particular pieces throughout a day's performance. The form of these pieces can be altered to adhere to the overall level of energy that is available. Early in the day, head dancers usually pick slower paced steps and move to more rhythmically involved steps as the day progresses. Later performances of these pieces become shorter with head dancers sometimes stepping out after a single cycle of a step to allow more dancers to show off more steps and intensify the pace of the performance.

Regarding aesthetics, the relationship between the musicians and the audience seems to be the paramount factor in determining the success of a performance. The goal of the musicians is to attract the audience's attention for involvement in the performance. Friendly competitions between dance groups can be arranged by local leaders or may arise when two or more groups are invited to perform at the same event. The winner of these types of contests is decided by which group attracts and maintains the largest audience. In such cases, traditional steps often give way to flashy feats of agility, showmanship, and the synthesis of modern urban dances into the dinaka style.

The dance steps are the aspect of the music most subject to personal expression and so have the biggest role in propelling the music forward. The repertoire of steps
is unique to each dinaka piece. Each melody of the pipes determines which steps are appropriate. The distinct sound of the pipes is the most recognizable feature of dinaka.

**Construction and tuning of the dinaka pipes**

Each pipe produces a single note and the number of pipe players/dancers in a group can be as many as the number of pipes that are available. The number of pipes considered as a complete set varies among different musicians (see Figure 5).

Many consider it as few as seven, but the group leaders that I spoke to cite an ideal group size, one player on each unique pipe, as being eleven in the case of B. Sekhaolelo, and fifteen for Magongwa CCV. Regardless of the total number of instruments, these sets of dinaka produce a five-note scale and each of those five notes is designated a certain rhythm in each piece. The collections of notes used by these two groups closely resemble the western pentatonic scale. The five types of pipe, one for each note in the scale, are known by some variance of the names phalola, kgomo, sereko, phetudi (setšhene), and tateledi.

Phalola is the lead pipe and is the first instrument to begin playing in most pieces. In certain pieces, tateledi and kgomo occasionally fill that role. These sets of notes typically span several octaves and each duplication of a note in a different octave plays the same part as its corresponding pipes in the other octaves. For example, kgongwana (small cow), kgomo (cow), and mmamogolo wa kgomo (mother cow) are three pipes of differing sizes, but each one plays the same note in its respective octave so that all three will play the same rhythm. The interaction of different pipe parts was often compared to the variety of voices that constitute a western styled choir. When all five parts are played

![Figure 5. Two complete sets of dinaka made by William Mothapo of Sebora, a B. Sekhaolelo member. Photograph by Author.](image)
together in pre-arranged combinations, the resulting sound is the melody of each piece. These melodies are relatively short, usually twelve or sixteen pulses in length, and are repeated cyclically throughout the duration of the piece.

The original dinaka were constructed out of a bamboo-like river reed. These reeds would be harvested from a nearby body of water and cut to size to produce the desired pitch. Longer pipes produce lower pitches while shorter pipes produce higher pitches. One of the natural nodes which gives the distinct sections to this type of cane is left intact to act as the solid end of the pipe. Another method of sealing the reed pipe is to chew a piece of plant material small enough to fit inside the pipe. When soaked in water, the blockage grows large enough to create a completely blocked off surface for the air to reflect off (Kirby 1933).

These reed pipes have been out of common use for a long time. Even the oldest musicians with whom I spoke have only intermittently made and used the natural reed pipes. They would inherit the metal pipes from their relatives and learn to make their own. They explain that the metal pipes, unlike the reed ones, create a more pleasing sound, are easier to tune to the desired pitch, and do not suffer from the tendency to dry out and crack with use. The most common dinaka found today are made from round aluminum piping, usually about 12mm in diameter, sometimes thinner for the highest pitches. Steel or copper pipe is sometimes substituted, but these materials do not seem to offer the same balance of malleability and durability, with aluminum being hard enough to maintain its shape and avoid damage under normal use without being so brittle that it breaks during the making of the pipes.

The two variations in the construction of the pipes are still maintained. Modern makers sometimes seal one end of each pipe by beating it closed with a hammer or rock while others chew wet newspaper into the proper consistency for creating a plug that is inserted into the pipe. The plugged version of the pipes offers flexibility in tuning with a thin rod being used to adjust the position of the plug within the pipe, thus effectively increasing or decreasing its length. Groups that use impermanently tuned pipes play a few cycles of a predetermined piece (only the pipe cycle) before beginning a performance while the leader of the group, or another member with sufficient aural skills, checks that each pipe is tuned properly in relation to the intervals between different pitches as well as between different octaves of the same pitch.

In all cases, the pipes are played by having the tongue hang out of the mouth and placing the pipe against the tongue, keeping the pipe vertical with the open end facing upward. The player then blows, directing the air downward, into and across the far edge of the open end. The tongue is used to help direct the air as well as stabilize the pipe, keeping it in place during the rigorous dance movements. This should produce a fairly thick, reed-like timbre with a clear, fundamental pitch. It is very easy to sound an overtone by misdirecting the air stream, but this is not desirable in the music. The pipe is usually held in place by the player’s right hand while the left hand either accentuates the dance with gestures or holds a staff or other prop to add further decoration to the movements.

When constructing a new set of pipes, the tuning of the new set is usually built to
directly match a set currently in use by the group. The builder tunes each pipe to the length and pitch of the corresponding pipe in another set. It seems likely that tunings used among groups should have stayed fairly consistent since the widespread use of metal began. However, I have heard players demonstrate sets to me in which two pipes of the same name are as much as a western semi-tone apart from each other, making it difficult to pinpoint a definitive Pedi tuning. Mapaya accounts for these common discrepancies in pitch as being a desired effect that gives the group a fuller, more textured sonority when the pipes play together (2014).

Table 1 below lists the names for each pipe in a complete dinaka set. These names were given to me during interviews with members of Magongwa CCV and B. Sekhaolelo. They are listed in order of size beginning with the smallest, highest pitched, pipes at the top and the largest, lowest pitched, ones at the bottom. These differences in name, and even in the spellings of similar names, result from the groups residing in different areas where different linguistic dialects are in common use.

| Magongwa CCV | B. Sekhaolelo | Scale degree |
|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Pipe Name    | Pipe name    |              |
| Setšhenyana  | 4            |
| Ntšhenyana   | 5            |
| Phalonyana   | Phalolane    | 1            |
| Kgomonyana   | Kgongwane    | 2            |
| Sereku       | Sereko       | 3            |
| Setšhene     | Phetudie     | 4            |
| Tateledi     | Teteledie    | 5            |
| Phalola      | Phalola      | 1            |
| Kgomo        | Kgomo        | 2            |
| Sereku       | Mmamogolo wa kgomo | 3 |
| Setšhene     | Sereko se si golo | 4 |
| Tateledi     |              | 5            |
| Phalola      |              | 1            |
| Mmamogolo wa kgomo |              | 2            |

Each pipe melody in the dinaka repertoire is unique, but they all intentionally and generally share the same melodic shape. Phalola is considered the lead pipe. It is the first pipe played when most pieces begin. All other players use it as a point of reference for entering, and it is thought of as playing the first note in the pipe cycle. It is followed by kgomo, then sereko, and finally setšhene (phetudi), as illustrated in Figure 6. Tateledi is the wild card of the group as it does not have a consistent place in this scheme. It has a fixed part for each piece, but its placement in relation to the other notes varies much more than any other.
This general ordering of notes gives *dinaka* melodies an overall descending sound throughout the repertoire despite the fact that each piece is unique in melody and distinctly recognizable by experienced listeners. This consistent melodic sound of beginning on a high note and ending on a low note is very common in Pedi music and is at least partially attributed to the strong traditions of vocal music in the area in which melodies were composed with regard to following the breath, with high notes being easier to sing at the beginning of a phrase and working toward low notes as a singer’s breath runs out (Huskisson 1958). This order of notes also suggests a consistent harmonic progression, as *phalola* and *setšhene* tend to overlap at the beginning and end of the melodic cycle, creating an interval very close to a perfect fifth. To my ear, *sereku* is the note that acts as a point of dissonance, creating tension and leading to the resolution back to the fifth. This gives each melody a simple harmonic progression that keeps the music propelling forward.

Although most experienced *dinaka* musicians can play nearly any pipe or supporting drum part to any piece, each member of a group tends to specialize in playing a specific pipe that they become most adept with while dancing. One can often notice a correlation between dancers of shorter stature playing smaller pipes and the other way around. Dancers can become lead drummers by demonstrating to the leaders of the group a thorough knowledge of the drum rhythms. Often, this knowledge comes from many years of listening to others play and finding opportunities in between bouts of playing at performances to practice the necessary skills.

There are two additional wind instruments that can make an appearance in this ensemble. The first is known as a *letsiye* (see Figure 7). This is a small pipe made from an impala horn with openings carved at both ends to create a hollow tube. It is blown at the wider end in the same manner as the *dinaka*, except the bottom is closed off by a finger which is quickly released once the sound is produced to create an effect that is meant to be onomatopoeic with the instrument’s name. It is used infrequently in comparison to the other instruments discussed here. It is played out of time and usually makes an appearance when a dancer or onlooker wishes to express excitement. The larger counterpart of this instrument is called a *phalaphala*. These are made from the larger horns of a kudu. The sounds from this instrument are deeper and are produced by buzzing ones lips directly onto a hole cut into the side near the pointed end of the hollowed out horn. The use of the police whistle has largely replaced the *phalaphala* in its former role of directing the dancers.
All the pipes and horns in a dinaka ensemble combine to create a very rich sound. The Pedi have a recognizable set of drums which contributes to the nature of how dinaka music has developed and formed.

![Figure 7. A letsiye made by Magongwa CCV members. Photograph by Author.](image)

**Naming, construction, and musical functions of the drums**

The Pedi word for a drum is moropa; the plural is meropa (see Figure 8). Drummers in a dinaka group are traditionally women with the men being the dancers and pipe players. There is a thought that women became the primary drummers in Pedi ensembles because they are otherwise usually vocalists and would naturally take to playing the instruments that would not obstruct the ability to sing (Huskisson 1958). There are three moropa players in a typical dinaka group. The names of each individual drum can vary between different areas, though the number of drums used and the manner of playing them in dinaka, and other related styles of Pedi music, is widely consistent. The largest of the drums is called kiba. Alternate names include kibo and sekgokolo, meaning “big and round”. Kiba is the name for the women’s counterpart to dinaka which features a similar dancing style and drumming patterns but with the short melodies being sung by the women dancers rather than played on pipes. Kiba translates as the verb “to stamp,” and, as it illustrates the dance movements of both styles, it is used to refer to the genre as a whole.

The two smallest drums are known by Magongwa CCV as dipoti; poti being the name of one drum, dipoti being the name for the set of two or more. B. Sekhaolelo members call these drums dikoti while other names are dititimetšo, matikwane, dithopana, and dititinti. They are played as a pair, by one person, to produce two distinct tones, one high in pitch and the other lower. These names are meant to evoke an onomatopoeic representation of the rhythms commonly played by the drums. Native speakers of Pedi languages can often recognize words and phrases by the melodic shape of the words. Common patterns played on these drums are often taught and referred to using phrases that suggest the rhythm and pitch of the pattern. For example, the following pattern is commonly called matsapane ka pitsang, meaning “potatoes in the pot”. Kiba and dipoti have mainly a supporting role in the scheme of the music, forming the rhythmic structure and groove of each piece. The two rarely play simultaneously (see Figure 9).
Kiba provides the sparse, but steady bass sound while the dipoti fill in the space between these kiba beats to outline the meter of the piece. The most common poti patterns are those labeled as “original patterns” in Figure 10. They not only fill in the gaps of sound to keep time but also delineate the smallest rhythmic subdivision used in the piece. The dance step and drum rhythms do not contain smaller note values than those established by the support patterns. For example, the most common support pattern (pattern 3 in Figure 10) outlines a twelve pulse pattern, divided into four groups of three pulses. All rhythms performed by the dancers are derived from those twelve pulses. There are no further divisions of those pulses or any rhythms that do not line up with them.
A poti player with a strong sense of awareness of the form and flow of dance steps may add embellishments and variations to the patterns to temporarily take a more leading role and maintain musical interest between the main dance steps and at the beginning of a song before all the instruments have begun playing. These variations are typically formed by maintaining the rhythmic structure of the original poti pattern, but removing or adding certain notes and moving high poti notes to the low poti to alter the feel by adding different points of rhythmic emphasis.

Figure 10 shows examples of common variations of poti patterns. For example, the first variation of the first pattern shows pulses 6-8 and 14-16 omitted, and pulses 4 and 10 moved from high to low poti. The first staff within each of the three sections shows the original pattern while each subsequent staff shows a different example of a variation. The note heads on the bottom line of each staff shows the kiba rhythm, which is kept constant, and the two top lines show the poti rhythms. The note heads in parenthesis show optional kiba notes that can be played to further subdivide the cycle. Each variation is the length of one cycle of the pipe melody in the type of piece the pattern would be found in, with the exception of variation 2 in the 12-pulse patterns, which consists of two cycles. The variations can be repeated over several cycles, but each one is normally only played for one or two repetitions before returning to the original pattern.

The final drum has been referred to by many names, including sekgokolo, mpholo,
Figure 10 (continued). Transcriptions of common variations on poti patterns. Transcribed by Author.
phousele, kaedišo, keedišo, poisele, kgalapedi, and pousene. Among the people I worked with, it is most commonly referred to by this last term, similar to the English word, “poison”. In contrast to the cyclical material of the other instruments associated with dinaka, the pousene has its name because it “controls” the dancers and a good player will incite dancers into performing the most exciting, acrobatic steps. The term is thought to have originally derived from warnings about the dangers of the dynamite containers from which these drums were once constructed (Mapaya 2014). The pousene player must constantly be watching to follow the dancers and directly interacts with them to accentuate the rhythms of their steps and amplify the body movements. Many times the pousene directly duplicates the rhythm of the dancers’ feet hitting the ground. However, there is a subtle language to the pousene rhythms that make this drum’s role more intricate than it may first appear. For example, in a piece like Ga bedi ga bedi, there are many times when the pousene player will omit the first pulse of the pipe cycle because that pulse is covered and better emphasized by the kiba beat that lands at the same time. The pousene will play on pulses that accentuate lighter “ghost steps” and specifically rhythmic lifting of the dancers’ legs. It will strategically fill in spaces of time between the impacts of steps to ensure that the pousene rhythms function as complete musical ideas and maintain the desired time feel.

The pousene is played with a sort of “tone” stroke by holding each hand as flat as possible and striking the drum head with the palms of the hands about a quarter to a third of the way from the edge of the drum. Experienced players have a highly tuned sense of aural timbre which guides them to finding the ideal beating area on each individual drum. The goal is to produce the most clear pitch and resonant tone possible. The sound quality of this drum, in particular, is critical to the aesthetic of the music. Magongwa CCV possesses several pousene drums and ranks them based on which produces the most desirable timbre. Each individual pousene is given a name after a strong, influential woman in the owner of the drum’s life. For example, the most used pousene of Magongwa CCV is named “Paulina,” the owner’s grandmother.

When not striking the drum, the heel of the player’s hand rests within the edge on the surface of the drum. The resting hand dampens the drum just enough to keep the sound from ringing too long and blurring the rhythms while allowing enough resonance to produce the desired tone. For this reason, many players tend to heavily favour their right hands for playing rhythms while keeping their left hands in this rest position to control the drum’s resonance whenever possible. The left hand is incorporated for rhythms that would be too fast to play one-handedly. Even when both hands are occupied with striking, they must each quickly return to the dampening position between groups of notes to keep the drum sounds at an appropriate length. This results in a common practice of playing “ghost notes” in between dance rhythms and makes the coordination of the hands in between strikes as important as playing the notes themselves.

The kiba is struck about two thirds of the way toward the center of the drum head with either the bottom of a loose fist or a mallet made from wrapping a stick with the
woven plastic material that makes up a large maize meal sack. Dipoti are played with hollow, relatively hard, rubber tubes cut to size. Common garden hose is a frequently used material. Many players will even use a different type of tubing in each hand in order to accentuate the tonal differences between the drums. In general, a softer material will tend to produce a better tone on larger, lower pitched drums while harder materials sound better on smaller, higher pitched drums.

The drums used in dinaka were originally constructed out of wood. Today, like the pipes, the drums have been updated, now being made from recycled metal containers such as milk churns and oil drums. The basic principles in constructing the instruments have remained largely intact. The body, whether wooden or metal, is outfitted with a series of holes just below the rim of the open end. An animal hide, usually cow, but buffalo or donkey is said to be more durable and hold pitch more consistently, is soaked in water for two to three days until it is pliable enough to be cut into an appropriate size for the drum and placed to completely cover the open end. Wooden pegs are cut to size and then inserted through a slit in the skin into one of the holes in the body of the drum. A peg is placed in each hole so that the skin stretches evenly and tautly across the opening, forming a drum head.

More hide is then cut into thin strips, about two centimeters in width, and connected to each other until it is long enough to encircle the drum approximately four times. This strip acts as a belt for the drum head and is wrapped, in different combinations, above, below, and around the pegs to keep them in place. The belt is attached to a peg at each end as well so that, when left to dry for another two to three days, it and the drum head will shrink, tightly secured to the body. When drums are completed, they are brought to the desired pitches before a performance by either heating the head near a fire to further dry the skin and raise the pitch or applying a small amount of water to the skin to loosen it and lower the pitch.

The drums are tuned to produce pitches consonant with the pipes. Ideally, low poti is tuned an octave higher than pouse and high poti is a further octave above. Often, the poti players will keep one or two extra drums in their playing area so that the drums can be easily switched during, or between, pieces to keep this sonority as accurately as possible. The pitch of the kiba is not usually monitored as closely since it is much lower in frequency.

All these instruments, even in the modern forms made from recycled metals, are becoming scarce as the music is practised by a declining number of people. This is an additional obstacle in the way of preserving the music, but what may be more concerning is that the instruments are tools for conveying folk tales and other aspects of Pedi culture.

The repertoire
The following is a list of the pieces most commonly performed by Magongwa CCV. The explanations for the proverbial meanings of the pieces are translated and interpreted by an English-speaking member of the group, Lesiba Munyai. In the manner that pipe and
drum names vary among groups from different villages, the same song may be referred to by a different name among different groups of musicians. Any of these alternative titles are listed in parenthesis. Although this is an instrumental music, many of these melodies are derived from vocal songs. Many of the titles by which dinaka pieces have become known are the lyrics to those songs and the pipes are meant to replicate, or at least resemble, the melody to that song.

A great number of pieces listed here share common themes promoting hard work, responsibility, and devotion to family. This music, especially when it was more widely known, played a vital role in promoting the values of society. The messages each song carries are often veiled in metaphors and symbolic language. It is difficult for an outsider to interpret the relation that some of the literal translations of the titles have to the stories they represent, but to an insider, they are lessons that teach the young to become respected, and respectful, members of society. Many Pedi believe that ignorance of these traditional values is a main contributor to corruption and violence, especially in urban areas. The pieces are:

**Monti** — This is meant to be the first piece played at any performance when the group arrives. The literal meaning speaks about signs of war, that is, “shields and spears,” and, “the house on the mountain is burning.” The purpose of the piece is to greet the king, chief, or whoever owns the land where the performance is taking place. It is a sign of respect and symbolically requests permission from this person for the music to continue. It is also used as a sign of respect to the spiritual ancestors. As stated earlier, it is the tradition to begin and end each performance with a prayer to the ancestors asking for safe travel and success.

**Ga Bedi Ga Bedi (Mmadikoti)** — This is one of the most commonly performed pieces, having a vast repertoire of dance steps that allow for several unique performances at a single event. The title refers to the two dimples on a woman’s face which are considered a classic sign of beauty on a woman. The piece is said to be about a chief who was attempting to describe the beauty of his queen, comparing her beauty to that of a peacock.

**Marago** — Marago is a playful term for a person’s backside. This is referenced by the dancers typically ending each step with a dramatic turnaround and flip of the skirt to teasingly expose what lies beneath. It is another piece with a large repertoire of steps that can be frequently repeated within a single performance. The proverb of the song is about discouraging and mocking laziness in a person. An African man must keep with local values by working hard to support his family; otherwise, he will lose that family to a man who outworks him. The same goes for women who must wake up early in the morning to cook, sweep, and clean the house or risk causing their marriage to fail.

**Alemale a ja Ditšie, Nthwa di jewa Mošate** — Translated, this title says that while a stubborn person eats locusts, moths are feeding on the palace. This is a proverb which is meant to guide and discipline people, saying that people who are spoiled, who do not listen and are overcritical of others will be doomed to face a future of hardships and have their arrogance contested. The message in this piece leads to its common use in
the traditional dance competitions, where the performers hope that the implications of the music will cause competing groups to become angry and unfocused.

*Konkoriti-Dumela Lekgarebe (Dumela Tsheri)* — Translated, this song says, “hello ladies”. It is meant as a greeting towards the female audience members or an important figure in attendance. The dancers often use this piece as an opportunity to single out women that they like by directing their dancing towards a certain person or even going as far as planting a kiss on an audience member as the exclamation point to a dance solo. The implication is that local women are known for being promiscuous and the musicians want to acknowledge the beautiful women, but not become romantically involved.

*Diepa Thaba (Kobereka)* — This is a song that would be sung by miners on their way to a mountain to begin working for the day. The lesson of it is another warning that a man must work hard and if he does not live up to expectations, he will be ridiculed by those around him.

*Ditšhwene tša ga Matlala* — This piece translates to “the baboon from the village of Matlala”. The story behind the title is about farmers who lived near mountains where baboons would come and steal crops when nobody was around. The song asks, “where are you going, baboon?”, assuming the role of a farmer yelling at a baboon not to steal the crops. Many of the movements attempt to mimic the actions of a person making threatening gestures or a baboon comically jumping around, storing ears of maize under an armpit, then dropping that maize after trying to place more food under the other arm.

*Seremela-Mantsha o Tlogele (Tšamang Wale)* — This title speaks about a wholesale market which is said to be a metaphor for the natural beauty of Africa. It is a celebration of Africa’s richness in resources, from natural mineral deposits and wildlife to scenery.

*Segwata-gwatane* — This is another piece which warns against the consequences of being a spoiled or stubborn person and it encourages hard work. It states that a person must not take pride in things that do not belong to him or herself. Instead, one must only derive pride from possessions obtained through work.

*Tšhoša o bagomele, Magokobu a go bona* — Translated, this means “to be scared and run back to where you came from”. The proverbial meaning is that the truth always comes out. It warns people against pretending to be a good person while committing evil acts in secret or behind a person’s back. One’s true actions will always be revealed.

*Tšhekgetli (Lekgema) a bolawe (A le bolawe)* — (“I’ll kill you!”) The story is that there was once a giant or monster terrorizing a village and eating its people. This song is from the point of view of those villagers gathering to defend themselves and kill the giant. It is also a metaphor meant to warn against fighting among different cultures. The song encourages people to make peace with one another and unite against larger problems.

*Mogatša-Ntona, O re jela bana (Tshamalala)*— “Wife of the chief, you are eating our children!” The story behind this startling statement is that a woman from a poor family once married the chief. Once she found herself in this new position of power, she began treating people poorly and acting as if she were better than the general public.
The message in this story is that a person must never forget where he or she comes from. No matter where one finds oneself in life, one must not forget one's roots or turn one's back on old friends.

*Tšhitšhire, Mmamogolo wa Nta — Tšhi tšhire* are small insects like “bed bugs” or fleas which can be found in the bedding or clothing of a person who is considered dirty. This piece warns people to clean up after themselves and acts as a message about keeping a certain level of general neatness. Wash yourself, your clothes and your bedding or you will attract the aforementioned pests. This also tends to be the last piece traditionally performed at an event. It signals the end of the performance and the approach of nightfall.

*O Robala ka Masaka Malesela* — This title means “sleeping on the sacks” which is a reference to the circumcision schools which are common in the area. In traditional practice, all young men of around fifteen leave their homes in late June for an isolated area in the bush with no comforts (like a bed), no clothes or water, and minimal food. Here, they are circumcised and, taught by initiated men, learn the skills for initiation into manhood. This song is a declaration from the point of view of these young men that they are ready to face the challenges that this process brings. It also has an alternative meaning applicable to all youth. It says that children who leave their family home prematurely to avoid being under their parents’ control will lead a life of suffering. It is better to adhere to your parents’ guidance and learn what you can from them. This is another piece of music which is played as a signal for the departure of the performers immediately before a break or the end of an entire performance.

*Ba ga Mmamabolo, Ba gana go bušwa ke mapankulla* — This piece tells the story of a group that refused to be ruled by any other peoples throughout a struggle for power among several chiefs. It is a declaration that although people may want to control everything around them, “I refuse to be ruled”. That message makes this another piece that is frequently used in competitions to taunt competing groups and insinuate that they have a false sense of superiority.

*Sepanere* — The title means “children are sitting under the marula tree”. It is a signal that it is time to rest and is played to signal the end of a performance or section of a performance.

These stories are now rarely known, even by many current performers of the music. Many of the traditions referred to in the songs are waning from common practice as well, such as circumcision schools, due to growing fear of the medical dangers associated with the practice and increasing pressures on finding employment in urban areas. The music is relatively better known than the stories and the following transcriptions of the pipe tunes (*koša* in Pedi) which I learned to play should serve as a guide for further study and analysis.

**Interpreting the transcriptions**

Figure 11 is a collection of the pipe melodies of the above pieces as taught by Magongwa CCV members. Each transcription shows one cycle which is repeated indefinitely.
Figure 11. Transcriptions of dinaka melodies with supporting drum patterns and suggested tempos as taught by the Magongwa CCV. Transcribed by Author.
throughout the performance of the piece. The vertical thickened line delineates the last pulse in each cycle. Each song is notated on two staves of five horizontal lines. The exception is Tšhitšhire which shows a continuation of the cycle onto a second set of staves. The end of the second line should repeat to the beginning of the first line.

The top staff shows the pipe melody divided into the five unique parts. The small

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Figure 11 (continued). Transcriptions of dinaka melodies with supporting drum patterns and suggested tempos as taught by the Magongwa CCV. Transcribed by Author.
vertical dash shows the approximate entry point of each pipe of that specific type. The horizontal line following the dash shows the approximate length of time each note should be held before being released. The proper aesthetic is to have a continuous sound once all the pipes enter. Therefore, in most cases, the ending point of each note is not exact, but

Figure 11 (continued). Transcriptions of dinaka melodies with supporting drum patterns and suggested tempos as taught by the Magongwa CCV. Transcribed by Author.
the pipes should maintain their sound at least until the entrance of the next pipe. It is also common to begin the flow of air into the instrument slightly before the point of entry so that the melodic gap is filled with a full sound, remembering also that the pipes are blown with force, and that it takes a few microseconds for them to speak. In *Ga Bedi Ga Bedi* and *A le bolawe*, the pipe notes in brackets show optional notes to add to the pattern. The bottom staff shows the *kiba* and *poti* patterns in the same way as in Figure 10.

Regarding the rhythm, *dinaka* is played with an energetic lilt provided by the most common *poti* patterns dividing the pulses into groups of three. *Segwata-gwatane* and *Ga Bedi Ga Bedi* are two of the exceptions which use the sixteen-pulse “*matsapane ka pitsang*” pattern, outlining the rhythm into groups of four pulses. During these songs, a slight “swing” feel is applied to the rhythm. For true accuracy in these cases, the drum pulses, dance steps and pipe entrances that occur on even numbered pulses would sound slightly after where they are written, as in a light “shuffle”. For simplicity and clarity, I have placed each note directly on the pulse it would land on in a straight, even rhythmic feel because, when asked to demonstrate this *poti* rhythm independently of any other parts, Pedi drummers played it evenly, as I have notated, and usually applied the “swing” lilt when in the heat of a full performance.

Also listed beside each is a suggestion for approximate performance tempo in bpm (beats per minute) of the *kiba* notes as they are notated. For example, in *Konkoriti*, the listed tempo is “*kiba* = ±60 bpm”. Therefore, a *kiba* note, and subsequently six total pulses, should pass each second. The exception to this system is *Mogatša-Ntona* which is the only piece in this collection without an equal spacing between *kiba* notes. In this case, the “bpm” marking refers to each individual pulse.

The way each piece begins is by one player of the lead pipe, *phalola*, playing one or two cycles of his or her pattern. All other pipe players then gradually enter with their patterns by using the *phalola* rhythm as a point of reference. The *kiba* and *dipoti* then begin their patterns once the pipe melody has been established. After the drum patterns have also been established, the dancers and *pousene* begin playing steps. The exceptions to this concept are *Tšhoša o bagomele* and *A le bolawe*. To the right of the cycles, on these transcriptions, is an altered pattern for *tateladi*, in *Tšhoša o bagomele*, and *kgomo*, for *A le bolawe*. These patterns are played by those respective pipes to begin the piece. Once the other pipes have successfully entered, those starting pipes switch their patterns to the ones notated in the full transcription of the melody.

I have used the *kiba* beat as the starting point for each of the transcriptions because it provides the most rhythmically consistent point of reference in each song and is the beginning or ending point of dance step cycles. The role of the *kiba* player is considered by many as the foundation of *dinaka* and the success or failure of the performance (Mapaya 2014).
Figure 12. Transcription of Marago pipe melody, drum rhythms, possible dance steps and form. Transcription by author. [See Video 1: MVI_2038-Marakgo.MOV]

KEY: Symbols used to represent each dance motion

- impact of the foot on the ground
- “ghost step” (impact of foot without a full, discernible lift. The foot only raises a couple centimetres off the ground)
- darkened horizontal lines following footsteps indicate on which leg the dancer’s body weight should be resting
- arcing lines connecting footsteps show when a foot should remain in the air until the next impact of that foot
- rhythmic lifting of the leg
- kick the foot forward
Figure 12 is an example of how to include dance steps in *Marago*. The method for notating these movements was heavily influenced by the work of Andrew Tracey and Laina Gumboreshumba on Venda Tshikona dancing (Tracey 2013). The top two staves are a reiteration of the pipe melody and support drum patterns to show more clearly where in the cycle the dance steps fall. Dance steps in *dinaka* are based on a rhythmic stepping of the feet. Any movements done with the arms or upper body are stylistic additions that should not interfere with the rhythm of the stomps. Consequently, the leg motions are performed in an exaggerated manner with the feet spread shoulder width apart and a posture of sitting back on the waist to give the movements the correct look.

Each staff shows a different dance step. The top and middle lines of each staff show the footwork with the top line representing the left foot and the middle line representing the right. The bottom line of the staff shows the corresponding *pousene* rhythm that should accompany the step. No intermediary “ghost notes” have been included, only the main rhythm as it associated with each dance step.

Step A is a “movement step” which is usually performed two or three times between main steps but it can be repeated as many times as desired. This motion is performed while traveling in the counterclockwise circle. When the lead dancer ends a cycle by varying this step in some way, usually by adding more steps and making the movements noticeably bigger, it is a signal for the group to move into a “main step”.

Steps B1 through B4 are a few examples of the main steps used in *Marago*. There is available a large repertoire of main steps of varying lengths. They always begin and end in the same pulse of the pipe cycle. The steps I have provided here are each two cycles long for clarity of notation. A main step is performed in its entirety twice before moving to step C, which is the “transition step”. The transition step indicates the end of the main step and is used to shift back into the movement step. The whole process is then repeated. The whole form is illustrated as follows with any of the B steps viable for substitution in the B sections:

\[
\begin{align*}
A & \quad A & \quad A & \quad B & \quad B & \quad C & \quad \text{[Repeat to beginning]} \\
\uparrow & & & & & & \\
\text{Movement Step} & \quad \text{Main Step} & \quad \text{Transition Step}
\end{align*}
\]

Figure 13 is a transcription of the dance steps for *Konkoriti*. There is only one main step in this piece, represented by Step B. The movement step may be repeated indefinitely between performances of the signal step and main step. A\(^1\) shows an example of a “signal step”. This step is performed to indicate to the *pousene* and other dancers to move into the main step for the next set of cycles. There is no transition step in this piece. The structure of the steps creates a fluid transition directly back into the travel step. The whole form would be performed as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
A & \quad (\text{repeat as desired}) & \quad A^1 & \quad B & \quad \text{[Repeat to beginning]} \\
\uparrow & & & & & \\
\text{Movement Step} & \quad \text{Signal Step} & \quad \text{Main Step}
\end{align*}
\]
Ga Bedi Ga Bedi (Figure 14) is comparable to Marago in that there is a huge repertoire of main steps which can be plugged into the overall dance form. The movement step (A) can be repeated indefinitely prior to the first entrance of the main step, after which, it is typically danced twice between each reiteration of the main step. The three main steps (B1, B2, or B3) notated here are among many common examples which can be used. They are not meant to be interchangeable within a performance of the piece. Rather, one main step is chosen for each separate performance which is repeated and expanded upon through improvisation. Steps B1 and B3 are repeated each time through the form while B2 occurs only once per form, as shown below:

A - A - B1 - B1 - [Repeat to beginning]

Or

A - A - B2 - [Repeat to beginning]

Or

A - A - B3 - B3 - [Repeat to beginning]

It should be noted that the starting point for the pipe melody is offset by eight pulses compared to how it is notated in Figure 11 in order to begin on the point in the cycle where the dance phrases begin and end while Figure 11 emphasizes the common ordering of pipe entrances mentioned in Figure 6. The kiba beats in parenthesis on pulses five and thirteen indicate notes that can sometimes be played to further support the time feel but are optional.
Figure 14. Transcription of *Ga Bedi Ga Bedi* pipe melody, drum rhythms, possible dance steps and form. Transcription by Author. [See Video 3: MVI_2039-Gabedi Gabedi.MOV]
Figure 15 contains both a signal step (B) and a transition step (D) to return to the movement step (A). Each segment of the main step is repeated once before continuing to the next line, making the main step twelve cycles long in total:

A (Repeat as desired) - B - C₁ - C₁ - C₂ - C₂ - C₃ - C₃ - D - [Repeat to beginning]

↑ ↑ ↑ ↑

Movement Step    Signal Step    Main Step    Transition Step

Figure 15. Transcription of Alemale a ja Ditšie pipe melody, drum rhythms, dance steps and form. Transcription by Author. [See Video 4: MVI_2042-Alemale.MOV]
A (Repeat as desired) – B₁-B₂-B₃-C-[Repeat to beginning]

↑  ↑  ↑
Movement Step  Main Step  Transition Step

Figure 16. Transcription of Tšhoša o bagomele pipe melody, drum rhythms, dance steps and form. Transcription by Author. [See Video 5: MVI_0506-Tshosa o bagomele.MOV]
A (Repeat as desired) – B₁-B₂-B₃-[Repeat to beginning]

↑ Movement Step  ↑ Main Step

Figure 17. Transcription of A le bolawe pipe melody, drum rhythms, dance steps and form. Transcription by Author. [See Video 6: MVI_2040-Alebolawe.MOV]

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