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THE COMMUNICATIVE STRATEGIES, THE SIGNIFICANCE, THE CONTENT AND THE ROLE OF THE PERFORMANCE OF *MANGAE A MAKOLOANE A* BASOTHO (BASOTHO BOY INITIATES' MUSIC)

BY

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2010185

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE PhD DEGREE

IN THE

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

SUPERVISOR: DR. E.B. ZUNGU

2020

DECLARATION

I declare that **THE COMMUNICATIVE STRATEGIES, THE SIGNIFICANCE, THE CONTENT AND THE ROLE OF THE PERFORMANCE OF *MANGAE A MAKOLOANE A* BASOTHO (BASOTHO BOY INITIATES' MUSIC)** is my own original work and that neither part of it nor its entirety has been submitted at any University, and all the sources I have cited have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.



Thabo Martins — 15 June 2020 Date

This thesis has been approved by my supervisor as a partial fulfilment of the PhD degree



Dr. E. B. Zungu — 15 June 2020 Date

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I acknowledge that this work is a product of a concerted effort of many individuals and bodies and whose contributions and names have been directly and indirectly recognised below. First and foremost, my heartfelt thanks go to the God Almighty for his guidance, protection, power and blessing in the completion of this work.

I wish also to extend my appreciation to the Government of Lesotho through National Manpower Development Secretariat who sponsored my studies. If it were not because of you, this dream would have been a nightmare. I owe a lot of obligation to the National University of Lesotho: The Faculty of Humanities, Department of African Languages and Literature; and the Localization and Training Board for offering me a chance to further my studies.

Another vote of thanks goes the University of the Witwatersrand for considering my application. A lot of thanks are directed in particular to the Department of African Languages and Linguistics for giving me a space to study under their auspices. I owe a deepest recognition and indebtedness to my supervisor and promoter Dr. E.B Zungu for her educational guidance, commitment, counselling and mentoring in the preparation of this study. Dr. Zungu, I cannot forget your words: "**PhD is a marathon**, **relax**, **go home**, **I don't want you to graduate posthumously, etc**." Your words kept me pushing and are still ringing in my head even now. Thank you again Dr. Zungu.

I further pass my indebtedness to the members of the African Languages and Linguistics Department of the University of the Witwatersrand, particularly, Professor Innocentia Mhlambi and Mr. Lwazi Mjiyako for their motivation, support, coaching and friendship during the odd times. Members of the Library staff, especially the interlibrary loan department also deserve a lot of praise for the assistance they gave in finding relevant and yet scanty literature in the preparation of this study.

The performers of *mangae*, traditional leaders and practitioners of Basotho male initiation are by far most invaluable people in achieving this study. I am grateful to you for the insightful data and information I got from you while in pursuit of this research. Long live to the initiation culture of the Basotho.

Of all the people, I owe my family a lot of thanks who despite their skepticism about my desire to go to school gave me a green light and stood by me throughout the journey. My mother always wondered what I was looking for, still there is no answer **'m`e** but I have made it; and be proud. Words cannot be enough to thank my wife 'Mamonyane Martins. **Letebele**, you gave me permission to leave you with the family while I left for school. In my absence, you had either stepped low or high to fill up the position of the husband, the father and the family man. I left you as vulnerable and lonely **Letebele**. Nonetheless, you adapted and adopted to the situation

and still was my cheer leader. In your efforts to give our family and yourself stature and shape, often, I micromanaged in some instances and perhaps showed little appreciation in your strides to become both father and mother and all while I was away. It was sheer academic stress that acted all out; and which you helped me overcome with your unrelenting support.

My children, Tumisang, Tlotliso and Botle: I thank you so much for your support during my studies **bana baka**. You always wanted to see me through. You cried every day I left for school. I cried too while you wouldn't see. I knew I had left a hollow space of fatherlessness in your lives. The thought of you kept me working relentlessly in order to come back home **Bakoena**. I was also tired of crying and had to come home. But I must confess boldly, that family is all I have and the highest blessing that my God has bequeathed me with.

My gratitude further goes to Professor David Coplan who shared ideas with me and gave massive indicators on how to navigate through my research. Dr. Marathane Reggy 'Metso, I am highly thankful to you for the preliminary input and remarks at early developmental stages of this study. You gave not only fruitful input but also a lot of insightful contributions. Additionally, I wish also to salute Mr. Nthoesele Mohlomi for his time and advice in every stage of my paper. **Ntate** you gave enormous academic pointers in this study which I would have not realised had you not devoted your time. Professor Francina Moloi, I thank you for the editorial and advisory input in this research. To my colleagues at Wits, Ms. 'Mapitso Lebuso and Ms. Itumeleng Seotsanyane, you stood rock solid behind me and soothed me while I was lamenting about my studies. The Friday's shout: "where are you" helped to destress, you can recall. Tšepo Tumeli you were my typeset, technician and all, and forever you will be. Tse Kholo F.C., gentlemen; the recreation you put up was a colossal refresher. My research assistants, especially Mr. Maloka Phamotse also deserve a vote of thanks for being there day and night helping me with data collection and the related issues. To all friends of all forms and nature you pushed me and inspired me in different ways. *Ha e sise bana ba thari e ntšo*.

DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to a cohort of all humankind; of ***virtue*** and ***vice*** who gave me strength to push through in the preparation of this work. Of ***virtue***, I give my devotion to my family: late father and sister ntate Moshe and ’Maliteboho; and to my mother ’m`e ’Mamahlape, to my siblings, to my wife ’Mamonyane and to our children: Tumisang, Tlotliso and Botle. The thought of you during the preparation of this work; and your prayers endowed me with strength, endurance and consideration.

ABSTRACT

The study investigated the contemporary performance of *mangae* in order to find the communication strategies, the significance, the content and the role they perform. By rendition and style, the performance of *mangae* is considered as total theatre. Despite only a pure vocal performance of *mangae*, a consolidation of styles is blended to form a contemporary oral style of *mangae*. The union of styles during the performance of *mangae* reproduces a new trend of performance-within-performance during rendition. Traditional and modern theatrical actions are fused in, either concurrently or sporadically within the performance of the songs.

The performance of *mangae* demonstrates a serious flexibility and turn-around by incorporating the resources from two different art spaces. In the process, it successfully strikes a balance between the two cultures; it does not totally shed off all the traditional artistic qualities while at the same time it does not fully and exclusively rely on modern-day resources. The balance that the performance of *mangae* strikes between the traditional and modern-day culture marks it as the popular culture of the Basotho.

Thus, the contemporary performance of *mangae* uses popular discourse to place it within modern day popular culture of Basotho. It draws from the bank of traditional language as well as from the modern-day library and blend them to mark a contemporary art of the performance of *mangae*. This strength of the performance of *mangae* to fuse the two cultures together is important for the conservation, conformity and continuity of the culture. The topics that form the contemporary performance of *mangae* include industrialisation, modern politics, unemployment and social life of the contemporary Basotho.

Obsolete as well as modern day terminology and expressions are used among other things to delineate the new self-identities, self-righteousness, masculine virility and heroic identities of the initiates. The performance of *mangae* invariably uses language, popular discourse and themes accessible both to youth and the old populace of the Basotho. It also relates to modern-day popular music, dances styles, christian liturgy and biblical stories, themes alluding to cognisance of the impact of modern-day and social media technologies to cite a few.

The modern-day performance of *mangae* is the renowned cultural heritage of the Basotho upon which a combination of styles is presented during its presentation. Despite the complex of styles found among the Setšekha, Senotši/Sesotho and Sekaota style, the contemporary performance of *mangae* reproduces subjects and themes relating the social, economic, political, climatic and psychodynamic aspects of human life. It also alludes to some indigenous knowledge base of the Basotho, for example, the rain making and stopping capabilities. Thus, the performance of *mangae* serves as a repository of the worldview and thought of the society within which it is rendered.

DEFINITION AND DELIMITATION OF TERMS USED

- **Audience**: Listeners or coaxers present during the performance of *mangae*.
- **Bese/kharu**: Deep throated voice or bass line in the performance of *mangae*.
- **Boshemane**: State of being uninitiated or boyhood or young male child.
- **Ho kena:** It is a 3 months long journey where the initiates are entering into a new phase of life. They are separated from the rest of the society to a sacred and secret location where they will be initiated into principles of rite of passage.
- **Ho qacha:** A 3 months long trial that the initiates spent at home gathering firewood.
- **Ho qhalana**: The phase when *makoloane* are no longer invited to perform *mangae* and are simultaneously officially dispersed by the owner of the school.
- **Ho tsoa:** It is the final phase of the initiation journey. This is the time of reunion of the initiates with the society. There is no exact duration the initiates are expected to complete this time.
- **Khotla:** A thatched hut where *bashemane* stay during *ho qacha* and after return from *mophato* (before they are dispersed).
- **Koma:** The secret songs and sacred initiation teachings executed to *bashemane* during *ho qacha* and *ho kena* phases. They are neither sung nor performed in public.
- **Lebollo:** The rite of passage from childhood to adulthood.
- **Lekhele**: A song that the initiates sing while walking or one that is led by *mosuoe* while crouching on the ground.
- **Lekoloane** (singular)**/makoloane** (plural): A group of boys graduating from initiation returning from seclusion. They are called *makoloane* until a new school is opened in the subsequent traditional calendar year.
- **LELP**: Lesotho Education and Language Policy
- **Lengae** (singular)***/Mangae*** (plural): A song performed and led by *mosuoe* or *lekoloane* constituted of a leading voice, a chorus of voices and *lithoko* and *lifela* complementing one another to complete the communication thought.
- **Leqai** (singular)**/Maqai** (plural): Uninitiated male.

- **Linakeli:** It is nocturnal sneaking out of boys from their homes to the veld to practise the singing of *mangae* and minor initiation tutorials. It is headed and supervised by immediate alumni of the institution as their first internship programme. Failure (by beginning teachers and/or sometimes by the trainees) to attend the sessions is punishable by the traditional laws guarding initiation. Boys who go to *linakeli* may choose to get initiated or not to. There is no traditional law that compels them to be initiated.

- **MMC**: Medical male circumcision

- **Mokorotlo:** A celebratory or worship song sang when the initiates are incised (*ba phatsoa*) when they ascend the mountain to *mophatong* (*ha ba kena*) and when they return (*ha ba tsoa*).

- **Mophato/mophatong**: An out-of-the-way place, commonly in the mountains or gorges miles away from the village where the boy initiates stay during *ho kena* phase (seclusion).

- **Moshemane** (singular)/**bashemane** (plural): A boy who is still undergoing initiation during the phases of *ho qacha* and *ho kena*. Sometimes derogatively used to label the uninitiated.

- **Mosuoe** (singular)**/basuoe** (plural): Teachers/instructors/educators at the initiation school

- **'Molli (mobolli)**: A man who has been initiated.

- **Performance**: The song, music or composition of *lengae*.
- **Performer**: The active composer during the performance of *mangae*.

- **Qalo/qalong:** An isolated area outside the village given to initiates as their resting place during the day when they are undergoing *ho qacha* (trial).

- **Sefela** (singular)**/Lifela** (plural): Statements sung concurrently or intermittently within the song providing additional information on the whole text of *lengae*. During the recital of *lifela*, the chorus of voices sometimes keeps quite while in others they run concurrently with the solo leading voice.

- **Sekaota:** A famous *mangae* style found in the Southern districts of Lesotho; Mafeteng, Mohale's Hoek, Quthing and Qacha's neck and some parts of Maseru, known as *Sekaota*. *Sekaota* takes its origin from the regiment (Makaota) of one chief Mojela who lived in Mafeteng. It is the most renowned and popular style that its producers and even people originating from this area guard it with robustness against other styles.

- **Sesotho or Senotši:** A notorious style of the performance *mangae* originating from the name of the village called Linotšing based on the foot of Tsikoane plateau extending to Qoqolosing,

Pela-Tšoeu, and Pitseng. This is typically the song style of *makoloane* of the Leribe district and some parts of Botha-Bothe and Berea district.

- **Setšekha:** It is the song style that has become greatly popular in the districts of Berea, patchy in some parts of Leribe district sharing boarders with Matšekheng (Bela-Bela) area, Botha-Bothe, Mokhotlong and Thaba-Tseka. Setšekha is the word that takes its origin from Makhabane's (younger brother of Great King Moshoeshoe I) regiment called Matšekha. Letšekha was the initiation name given to Makhabane. Most people of the Berea district strongly revere the Setšekha song style.

- **Thoko** (singular)**/lithoko** (plural): A short but succinct statement, phrase or word delivered at the periodically when the chorus singing of *lengae* has stopped which gives substantial, additional or independent information to the whole text of *lengae* and to the audience.

- **TMC**: Traditional male circumcision
- **TMI**: Traditional male initiation
- **Tsoetse**: A female like voice or tenor in the performance of *mangae*
- **Tšosi**: Sharp voice like one scaring away something in the performance of *mangae*.
- **VMMC**: Voluntary male medical circumcision

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This chapter makes a general overview and contextualization of the topic of this study. It is subdivided into the following sections: background information and contextualisation to the study as well as an outline of the research problem, the statement of the problem, the research objectives (the broader issues to be investigated) and the hypotheses.

1.2 Background Information and Contextualisation of the Topic

The study is set out to investigate the reasons behind the performance of *mangae* by the Basotho boy initiates. The researcher intends to look at the form and the structure (i.e. external and internal characteristics) of the performance of *mangae* as an indigenous oral performance of the Basotho. The aim of the study is to make an enquiry about the style and mode of communication, content, implication and function of the performance of *mangae*. In contextualizing and outlining the research problem and the topic, this section delineates the background of the Sesotho male traditional initiation, which is the donor of the performance of *mangae*. It introduces and makes a brief discussion of the initiation which is the rite of passage of the Basotho, the oral culture, popular discourse and social meaning as well as the Western forces, modernity and the decline.

1.2.1 Initiation as the rite of passage of the Basotho

The formation of the Basotho came after the *Lifaqane* wraths that overwhelmed the sovereignty of Southern Africa around the 1800s. *Lifaqane* is the name that was used to define the chaotic and violent wars that scattered and spread various indigenous inhabitants of Southern Africa between 1815 and 1830 (Lye, 1967). The Basotho nation is composed of the various ethnic groups such as the Batlokoa, Baphuthi, amaXhosa, amaZulu and amaNdebele. Despite the union of these ethnic and cultural groups, there are notable cultural, linguistic and social divisions and barriers that marginalise the minority groups. According to the Lesotho Education and Language Policy (LELP) (2019), Sesotho has been seen not only as a major language, but it is also considered as the country's official language, along with English, while other languages and ethnic groups are the minority groups. Efforts by the minority ethnic groups to seek cultural and linguistic autonomy and recognition from Sesotho have proved futile over the years. The establishment and enactment of the LELP in January 2019 was set, among other things, to emancipate and autotomize the languages and cultures that were undermined throughout the years.

As a result, these linguistic and cultural subjugations have seen most of the ethnic groups undergo the Sesotho cultural practices. Because of this trend, some young males from these

groups undergo Sesotho initiation tradition rather than their own. The Suggestions of where Basotho learned the initiation practice remain irretraceable. There are, however, some contentions that Basotho copied it from Baroa (the San) (Ellenberger and MacGegor (1912), Guma (1965) and Guma (1966)).

The initiation ritual is also known to many Basotho as Ha Ratlali (the place of Ratlali). It is believed to have been invented by Mopeli (also known as Tlake). Later, the institution was reviewed and upgraded by Ratlali (Mokheseng), the son of Monaheng/Kali. Ratlali was the bravest and most eloquent man who is said to have composed all the national songs of war and of initiation (particularly *koma*-sacred chants with obscure language) that are still used even in this day (Ellenberger and MacGegor, 1912). The initiation practice got a massive response from the natives and since its inception the Basotho boys of appropriate ages enroll in great numbers into this academy annually.

While the nations that practise the equivalent culture refer to it as the traditional male circumcision (TMC), the Basotho call it *Iebollo* (initiation). Unlike other cultures that place emphasis on circumcision as the most significant aspect during the initiation, the Basotho initiation ritual is based on cultural education as the main component of the rite of passage from childhood to adulthood (Rathebe, 2018) (Rathebe, 2018). Currently, most Basotho boys who are initiated have been the subjects of the Voluntary Medical Male Circumcision (VMMC) campaign that was introduced in Lesotho in February 2012 (Skolnik et al., 2014). That is, a great number of Basotho boys who undergo Sesotho traditional initiation have been circumcised in hospitals and in the local clinics. This is proof that Sesotho male initiation is not merely about penile surgery, as perceived by some people. If the Sesotho traditional male initiation was principally about circumcision, such a crop of boys would not be additionally initiated traditionally.

The Sesotho traditional male initiation (*lebollo*) in the context of the Basotho refers to three unrelated and independent issues. These include the detachment of the umbilical cord of a newborn, the medical penile surgeon and the rite of passage from childhood to adulthood (Matobo et al., 2009). In this thesis, initiation (*lebollo)* is considered as the rite of passage from boyhood to manhood in the context of the Basotho. It is one of the customs of the rite of passage of the Basotho and it is intended to construct the identity of the manhood of a Mosotho male child. It is the rite of passage in the manner that young men pass the stage of puberty and cross over into the stage of manhood or adulthood. In the light of Basotho, *lebollo* is practised both as a sign of cultural identity and as a sacred or religious fulfillment.

According to the culture and beliefs of the Basotho, the males are supposed to be initiated in order to transit from childhood to adulthood as well as for them to be fully incepted into the society. The average age for the boys to be initiated is around 18 years of age and above. In the Sesotho cultural context, a person of 18 years can be tried in a traditional court. The young men

spend time in a secluded area in order to initiate them into the principles of adulthood (full discussion in subsection **1.2.2**) and to the other lessons such as the embracement of cultural identity and respect, the values of livelihood and the hardships. These lessons prepare the initiates for warfare, for accountability within their cultural tradition, for masculine sexuality and fertility, for marriage preparation and for self-confidence (Upvall and Dodge (2009), Silverman (2004) and Rathebe (2018)). They are also taught crafting, arts and the composition of poetry and songs.

In the past, the Sesotho initiation was the only basic form of native education that prepared youngsters for the ways of adulthood. It was basically the main form of formal education that they had to undergo in order to be initiated into the principles of adulthood and incepted into society. Currently it is done to validate manhood, to conform to the culture, for spiritual reasons and for economic purposes, sometimes. For the owners of the schools and traditional doctors, interest is on fame and financial gain. Personal reasons, rather than the traditional ones surrounding Sesotho traditional initiation, have seriously affected the practice. Such reasons include the relaxation and revision of the water-tied laws that protect the culture from external forces. For example, the duration of initiation, the time of enrollment and the age of initiates are sometimes compromised. Irrespective of the adverse circumstances surrounding the ritual of initiation, the boy initiates intake keeps growing year-after-year. This study assumes that such growth ascertains the continuity and preservation of the Sesotho culture.

1.2.2 Phases in Sesotho male traditional initiation

The initiation practice is arranged into three different phases, namely *ho qacha* (trial), *ho kena* (seclusion) and *ho tsoa* (reunion). van Gennep (1960), Turner (2008) and Mavundla et al (2009) suggest that these phases are historically referred to as:

- **Separation:** where the initiate is literally separated from the community to a secluded area for some time,
- **Transition (liminality):** the phase where an initiate is healing from the circumcision operation and simultaneously undergoing the initiation teachings and aspects of manhood,
- **Reintegration:** a celebratory phase marking the birth of a newly acquired stature when the initiate is reunited and welcomed back into the community.

As discussed in the paragraphs above, the Sesotho traditional initiation phases differ slightly with those of other tribes practising similar customs in a few ways. The Sesotho initiation custom is divided in the manner given below.

- ***Linakeli***: It a self-driven phase which boys who intend to get initiated may choose to undergo before *ho qacha*. The act of *linakeli* is when the boys intending to be initiated sneak out of their homes at night to go the veld or gorge to practise the singing of *mangae* and minor initiation tutorials.
- ***Ho qacha*** (trial): *Ho qacha* is a 3 months long journey that the initiates spend at home gathering firewood. During the day, they stay at *qalong* (a secluded area outside the village given to initiates as their resting place) crouching all day to continue from the *linakeli* lesson plan. At night they stay at *khotla* (a thatched hut where they stay during *ho qacha*).
- ***Ho kena*** (seclusion): The second phase which is *ho kena* is also a 3 months long journey. *Ho kena* literally means to enter. The initiates are now entering a new phase of life. They are separated from the rest of the society to a sacred and secret location in the mountains or gorges where they are initiated.
- ***Ho tsoa*** (reunion): The final phase is *ho tsoa*, translating into to get out. This is the time of the reunion of the initiates with the society. A huge ceremony is made, and the families of the initiates cook food and brew alcohol in celebration of the initiation success (Matšela (1990) and Wells (1994)). Currently the initiates entertain the community and commemorate the initiation success by performing *mangae* for their families and the community. These various facets of oral tradition are conveyed to the society with diverse forms of discourses and meanings.

1.2.3 The oral culture, the popular discourse and the social meaning

This section is dedicated to the discussion of the aspects that contextualize the oral performance of *mangae.* A general overview of the concepts that delineate and place the performance of *mangae* under contemporary studies are discussed. It further relates to the stages and transformations that it has undergone to place it under the modern-day oral indigenous performances.

1.2.3.1 The ritual

In this study, the ritual is taken to mean a sacred ceremony entailing a sequence of actions and deeds that are performed arbitrarily in accordance with the principles of a group of people. There are several rituals that the Basotho perform to-date and the ritual of initiation is a subset of them. To the Basotho, initiation is more than just a customary or cultural undertaking. It is considered a sacred religious undertaking. One of the fundamental religious teachings includes the learning and recitation of the renowned Sesotho traditional prayer. In terms of structure, form and language, the Sesotho traditional prayer is rendered in the similar manner as *likoma*. The Basotho

perform it in order to conform to the norms and principles of the nation. It is one of the celebratory rituals. One of the basic forms of celebrating it is the performance of *mangae*.

1.2.3.2 Culture

The word culture in this study means the arts and other aspects of human consciousness practised collectively. It refers to the philosophies, customs and societal behaviour Williams (1983:236) provides the following three definitions:

- 'a general process of intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development'.
- 'a particular way of life, whether of a people, a period or a group'.
- 'the works and practices of intellectual and especially artistic activity'.

These definitions entail that culture refers to the practices and deeds of a certain group of people in the likely manner that signifies which society they belong to.

1.2.3.3 Orality

According to Ong (2002), orality refers to the mode of communication exclusively through speech, with little or no exposure to writing. This study focuses on orality from the point of view of "primary orality" as suggested by Ong (2002). Most aspects of Sesotho tradition are oral by nature. There are, however, some that have been recorded on paper by the missionaries and their converts as well as by modern anthropologists. Oral productions of the ritual of initiation of the Basotho are exclusively verbal but there are scanty records that remain for the culturist to refer to in order to commence with the teachings in the subsequent years. The repetitive nature and learning by doing every time are paramount to the whole arrangement of initiation and many customs. The initiates rely on their mnemonic aptitude to recall songs and poetry. The reproduction of verses and chorus singing is not spontaneous. The initiates are obliged to repeat the same lines over and over without improvisation, distortion or insertion of a kind- they are not required to be creative during the rendition of the performance. That is, one of the principles of initiation in Sesotho is to teach the boys how to keep information in their memories and to retell it in the manner and order with which it was encoded to them.

1.2.3.4 Oral culture

Oral culture is manifest in oral tradition. It entails the tradition through which the cultural artifacts are orally communicated to the society. According to Ong (2002 oral culture is one with no knowledge of writing. Like Ong (2002), Maxwell and Macaulay (2006) says, there is generally no common definition that could be attached to it (oral culture). She argues that presently, there are no pure non-literate oral cultures because of the overlap of literate and oral forms that have been exacerbated by globalisation and yet literate societies still possess a degree of orality. Oral

culture gives a result to oral performance which is characteristic of most Sesotho pure oral traditions.

1.2.3.5 Oral performance

Oral performance is a component of Sesotho oral traditional artifacts. It entails all facets of orality and human productions and arts. It involves both voiced and non-voiced human action. For example, it embraces speech and bodily movements, tone of voice, body posture and gestures. In this view, Blackburn (1981) adds that performance is concerned with the mode and skill of production and play-acting method that relays much of human activity. Oral performance holds several functions within it that affect the performer and those performed for. This is done to facilitate communication or sometimes to evoke certain reactions from the performer himself and his audience as well. Oral performances in Sesotho range from ballads, riddles, proverbs, folk narratives and music, for example. The performance of *mangae* which is integral to the present study is understood to reveal the etiquette of the folk that practices it. The performance of *mangae* is a component of oral tradition that falls under music.

Music or song according to Kobia (2017) is a component of oral prose form that is endowed with the power of versatility and communicability. He argues that all the issues of human life can be expressed through singing. On the similar issue, Olieho (1997) says that a song [music] reflects the social, political and economic experience of human beings. *Mangae* are themselves music. They are part of the Sesotho oral traditions. Like most Sesotho oral traditional narratives, *mangae* are assumed to be a society's valuable literature upon which multi-faceted subjects can be revealed. They are also believed to share characteristically, the similar communicative and verbal cues found in other components of oral or cultural artifacts of the Basotho. They are believed to reveal the etiquette of the people that practice them, disclose the social, political, economic and psychological codes present in the studied society and how they interrelate or reflect the underlying social relations specific to that literature (Martins, 2007). In defining what the song is, Guma (1967:102) gives a more detailed explanation thus:

> [music is a]…descriptive of the joys, sorrows, hopes, and aspirations of the individual. It may also treat devotional themes, in which the emotional rather than the narrative element is uppermost.

It is evident from this quotation that music can be used as a communication tool through which the artist expresses his emotions, experience, concerns and aspirations to cite a few. The performance of *mangae* was analysed in the manner defined above in order to find out how far the graduating boy initiates reflect on their lives, setting and experience and of their society as well and how knowledge and skills transfer is interleaved within the performance. As Guma (1967) and Zondi (2008) note, music represents a heightened expression of human feelings. Even

though the performance of *mangae* is a component of the ritual of initiation, this study only focuses on the reasons for their performance.

The performance of *mangae* is a communal activity rather than the mystery of actual initiation. While *makoloane* are observant of the initiation privacy, thereby protecting its true nature, disposition and depth, they perform *mangae* during the final initiation ceremony in their respective families. *Mangae* are principally sung to celebrate the initiation success, to commemorate the accomplishment of passage from childhood to adulthood and to entertain the public. To a lesser degree, all the parties, especially the community, concentrate on the aesthetics of the performance of *mangae* rather than other salient features that this study was intended to uncover.

Apart from other textual features and qualities that may be contained in the performance of *mangae*, this study intends to interrogate the communicative strategies, the significance, the content and the role embodied in the performance of *mangae*. It sets out to be a groundbreaking and comprehensive one that makes an in-depth analysis of the performance of *mangae* as an independent oral art form or performance. A few studies done so far on the issues relating to *lebollo*, either looked deeply into the cultural (ritual) aspect rather than the linguistic or literary one. The performance of *mangae,* as an indigenous cultural production, has suffered great ignorance as a subject of debate throughout the years of its existence. In support of this view, Ong (2002) reveals that there was a huge misconception from many people that oral art forms were principally inept and not important to study.

In contrast to the sparking wave of interest on other forms of pure oral art forms, the ritual of initiation is seemingly regarded as a primitive, oral culture entrenched in the remote traditional art space, hence its antecedent: the performance of *mangae*. In this study, the author departs from the traditional art life and ventures into the contemporary space in order to investigate why the boy initiates of Lesotho perform the present day *mangae*.

1.2.3.6 Popular discourse

Williams (1983:237) defines the word 'popular' in the following four different ways:

- 'well-liked by many people';
- 'inferior kinds of work';
- 'work deliberately setting out to win favour with the people';
- 'culture actually made by the people for themselves'

This study considers the word popular to entail all the above four explanations. Therefore, popular is taken to mean the culture that is invented and liked collectively by individuals within a specified setting on the one hand. Discourse, on the other hand means the communication of thought through words, talk or conversation. The performance of *mangae* is considered as a

discourse by nature of its composition. This study is intended to find the discourse of the performance of *mangae*.

Generally, popular discourse in this study is taken to mean the revered culture that is performed on a certain place, over a certain space of time. It is a discourse informed by the culture that emerged at the convergence of traditional culture and the elite culture that prompts a new set of communication aptitude and social behaviour. This study investigated the contemporary performance of *mangae* by Basotho boy initiates today to find out how popular discourse is reflected during their performance and what it means to the society.

1.2.3.7 Social meaning

Social meaning in this study will be taken to refer to what the oral performance of *mangae* imparts to the listeners. In deducing the social meaning, the author will strive to uncover the layers of meanings the performance of *mangae* conveys. Lessig (1995:951) defines social meaning as:

> the semiotic content attached to various actions, or inactions, or statuses, within a particular context…[the point is to] find a way to speak of the frameworks of understanding within which individuals live; a way to describe what they take or understand various actions, or inactions, or statuses to be; and a way to understand how the understandings change.

The above quotation suggests that social meaning is a subject-matter derived from various human actions within a certain context; this situation provides some frameworks for understanding the environment within which the individuals live and how to comprehend how understanding changes. Social meaning is also said to vary within the communities and among people. It further provides an array and distribution of meanings. The effects of social meaning are non-optional and yet inevitably empower or constrain people (Lessig, 1995).

Meaning is a vital aspect of human communication. *Mangae*, as earlier outlined, are practically communication. It is therefore proper to investigate the popular discourse of the performance of *mangae* in order to unearth the social meaning that they contain. The study investigates how social meaning is created by the boy initiates (*makoloane)* during the performance of *mangae*, how it is replicated and how it is distributed. In pursuit of the social meaning derived from the performance of *mangae*, we were able to uncover, among other things, how they control our relations and reflect on our collective behaviour. In support of this aspect, Anderson (2010) suggests that the meanings that we derive from social interaction or practices affect us even if people overlook their content. It is in this light that the study focused on the singer's style of performance, his reproductions to interpret how the performer and the listeners perceive and understand the social meaning of the performance of *mangae*.

1.2.4 The Western forces, modernity and the decline

The Sesotho initiation custom and other cultural practices were seriously opposed by the western authorities. The early western education systems and religion worked relentlessly to discourage Basotho youth from enrolling in the initiation custom; the natives resisted the challenges tenaciously. The boys who underwent the initiation custom were rejected if they intended to continue with classroom education. The western establishments such as the church and the school manipulated and undermined the rich custom and forced the Basotho to substitute it with their own custom (Matobo et al., 2009). They attached discerning labels to it and discouraged the natives from practising *lebollo*. For example, Laydevant (1978) calls it a heathen custom. In the process of the discerning attitude against *lebollo*, its moral and philosophical aspect towards the natives was ignored.

Today, unlike in the past, *lebollo* has changed and is continually changing alongside the nascent global developments. For example, the profit-ridden trend has relaxed the time required for the initiates to spend in initiation (particularly in the mountains). Greed for monetary gain and modern education school calendar clashes have seen the antique pattern compromised. Serious and various transformations are now brought in and they have relaxed many of the earlier water-tied laws. The initiates can spend far less time in initiation than is required; subsequently they are forced to attend remedial classes to supplement the lessons that they had omitted.

In order to complete the trying times of initiation, the initiates used to spend 12 months in the school (Sekese, 1975). Due to modernisation, western intervention (formation of schools and churches) and industrialisation (the migrant labour system) the duration of initiation was shortened to 6 months. Further and in order to align themselves with 'formal education' school calendar, the traditional leaders have set up revisions to counter the problem of student dropouts from 'formal' schools.

In the wake of this cultural transformation and relaxation, the elderly uninitiated males also enroll either for cultural preservation, spiritual calls or for pride of being a real man. This tendency has also given a wide gap and enough room for those who fear to be tried for longer time to sneak in. Even the lawbreakers and criminals escape to the place of initiation if the law enforcers investigate them for a crime that they committed. No regulatory measures have been taken until now to normalize the situation and to protect the tradition from the traditional manipulations. The time of *ho kena* sometimes goes beyond the normal 3 months journey. Because of the 'formal' and modern school calendar year and the 'ethnic' school calendar, some initiation schools go to seclusion with a small number of initiates. At the end of the 'formal' school calendar, other boys join the group when it is already in seclusion. In order to allow the latter group of boys to spend at least a month there and sometimes even a shorter time, extension is sought.

In the past, late enrolments were not allowed. From the 1970s, scores of males can join even if they are very late. Anyone who joins late is charged for firewood, food, contravening the required route of joining (*ho titimela*), *lenaka* (the horn that mixes the medicine). Payments are also made for teachers as well. Commercialization of *lebollo* has brought various transformations that have relaxed some of the earlier strict laws. Some initiates spend a short time in the initiation place than is required. Upon return or completion of initiation, all the initiates, irrespective of time spent in seclusion, couch together to sing in celebration of their success.

1.3 Motivation for the study

Since my early days of life, I have observed the rich and fascinating ritual of initiation in the Sesotho traditional context. The basic reasons for following the performance of *mangae* and the associated ceremonies was for entertainment and to acquire some knowledge on how it is conducted. The boys' growth in traditional Lesotho is designed to conform to the ritual of initiation, because of this belief it was necessary for one to acquaint himself with the protocol of the ritual. To a lesser degree, however, the significance of their performance was not given serious attention. However, I was mindful of the discourse, style and content of the performance of *mangae* and the ritual of initiation, both of which gave me the opinion that any male who had not been initiated was not man enough and that *boqai* was a horrible thing. The manhood of a Mosotho man in the performance of *mangae* is reflected through despising of *boqai* and his performance of heavy-duty tasks. Having participated in the various traditional ceremonies of the ritual of initiation made it easy for me to know how to conduct myself during the data collection processes and to select the relevant subjects and information.

Since my early days of childhood, I have followed the ritual of initiation and performance of *mangae* with serious tenacity. Most importantly, since I became a student of oral traditions, I have been making a close observation of the performance of *mangae*. I came across scholarly articles which exposed the secret undertakings of initiation. I was captivated by the revelation of the truisms of initiation put on record. I was naïve and thought that ridiculing the Sesotho cultural practices was interesting. Like earlier writers, I did not consider the moral and philosophical value of Sesotho traditional practices such as *lebollo* to the Basotho*;* I saw it as a backward and heathen practice. This regrettable attitude warrants an investigation of the ritual of initiation as an attempt to contest the ridicule and misrepresentation of the custom by earlier writers.

Sesotho rituals such as the initiation of the boys have been under serious attack from Christianity and other western forces. The literature shows that Basotho have been utterly discouraged from conforming to the custom. The ritual goes with sturdy secrecy and it is a serious cultural crime to divulge the initiation goings-on publicly. Some earlier writers shamed the custom by recording

the private initiation secrets and availing them in bound book forms. Until now, the ritual is further attacked seriously on social media platforms. The secrecy of initiation is availed on social media and discredited by Basotho themselves. Having realized how Basotho have shed their cultural ways and, in turn, adopted those of the foreigners, I felt compelled to research on the performance of *mangae* to unfold their significance and their role towards the citizens of Lesotho. However, the secret aspects of initiation do not form part of this study.

Additionally, the literature shows studies conducted in relation to the Sesotho traditional initiation by a few scholars. Despite their important contribution to the oral traditions and the Sesotho ritual of initiation, none of them focuses on the performance of *mangae*. Those who investigated the oral aspect of initiation analysed *likoma* (secret and opaque songs performed at *mophatong*). In the Sesotho cultural context, the revelation of *likoma* and other secret processes of initiation to the public is forbidden. It is a serious offence for someone who has not been initiated to perform them. In my personal view, the revelation of *likoma* by earlier scholars is a rejection and deriding of the culture that otherwise has maintained the social order and assemblage of the nation over the years. It is within this premise that, I felt challenged to make and in-depth analysis of the performance of *mangae* as an indigenous oral tradition of the Basotho. I assume that the value of the ritual of initiation has been seriously ignored while looking at other factors considered immoral and torturous by earlier scholars.

Out of respect and appreciation of the ritual of initiation, the study investigated the reasons behind the singing of *mangae* by Basotho boy initiates. It investigated the communication strategies (language techniques mode and style), the content (the central idea), the significance (the implication) and the role (the purpose) of the performance of *mangae,* using a two-pronged theoretical framework, namely the Narrative Paradigm and Hermeneutics.

This aim of the study was achieved through a triple-faceted survey. Firstly, the study interpreted the performance of *mangae* as a tenet of orality (oral culture); secondly, it investigated how the oral performance of *mangae* prompts popular discourse (how orality overlaps with popular discourse); thirdly, how orality and popular discourse are encrypted within contemporary studies. The researcher intended to transcend from the cultural anthropology as a point of departure to investigate how the ritual of initiation informs the performance of *mangae,* how orality prompts popular discourse and how these concepts are converted or synchronized within contemporary studies.

The findings of this study may be beneficial to the students of cultural studies, anthropology and ethnomusicology as they serve as the record and point of reference for the oral literature students. The study also attempts to influence the perception of people towards the performance of *mangae* as it reflects on the wisdom embodied in the singing. It uncovers the importance of *mangae* as a communication conduit on social, economic, political and cultural

factors affecting the Basotho nation in the contemporary world. It also brings the virtues of humanity of the Basotho to the surface. It is further intended to preserve the culture of the Basotho nation that has not been given much thought. This study may also serve as a reference point in the areas of ethnography, anthropology, ethnomusicology and sociology for the researchers intending to study the ritual of initiation of the Basotho.

1.4 Statement of the problem

The issues pertaining to the institution of initiation have been held with sensitivity by many Basotho since its establishment (Wells, 1994). There seems to be a notable lack of output on the ritual of initiation as the indigenous cultural production of the Basotho. The reason behind this could have been brought about by several factors. For example, the missionaries and westerners launched a fierce battle against *lebollo*. Together with their converts, they labeled *lebollo* a pagan belief. Laydevant (1978:7) mentions, that "one (initiation) of the customs which heathenism has preserved with greater tenacity is that of the initiation of the young, which in Basutoland (sic.) is called LEBOLLO." As a result, many Basotho Christian converts, and church brethren desisted from annoying the church leaders by making a note of a custom that was labelled heathen lest they could also be disgraced by being excommunicated from the churches.

The political rift between the traditionalists and the westerners widened upon the institutionalization of their (westerners) model of education. Students were either barred or sanctioned from school if they underwent initiation. Punitive measures were and are still dispensed upon their parents by being excommunicated (*ba khaoloa*) from their churches (Matobo et al., 2009). *Lebollo* was generally seen as a dreadful culture because of these political handicaps that seriously forbade any allegiance to this custom (Moitse, 1990).

The traditionalists' guardianship of *lebollo* was another monster. The Basotho never divulge any sacred and secret undertakings of *lebollo*. Anyone who trespasses the law is dealt with aggressively. They literally tie him (especially the uninitiated) with ropes (*ba mo fasa*) and drag him to seclusion to serve his punishment. Even the initiated ones undergo severe charges for breaking the initiation regulations/code of conduct. In ensuring its sacredness and secrecy, 'they guarded it [*lebollo*] with jealous care and surrounded it with severe laws' (Ellenberger and MacGregor, 1912:282). This behaviour continues even during the performance of *mangae*. The women, the children and the uninitiated males are apportioned only a marked area which they are not permitted to cross as opposed to the initiated ones. If anyone contravenes this, the initiated ones execute all forms of abuse possible. Throughout the performance of *mangae*, the uninitiated of all ages are mocked, discriminated and insulted.

The above-mentioned scenario seriously cramped scholarship and research on the ritual of *lebollo*. Even a matter of communal recreation such as the performance of *mangae* still remained unspoken for the writers and society. Perhaps they were no longer able to draw the line between sensitive and less sensitive *lebollo* issues. The current study is made, on the one hand, 'to break the silence' about the contemporary performance of *mangae* and, on the other, to find out why the *mangae* are sung after all.

1.5 Research objectives: Broader issues that were investigated

Because of various challenges that the performance of *mangae* and most of the Sesotho traditional artifacts are faced with, it is important to examine the modern-day performance of *mangae* in order to find out the social meaning that they impart and the rationale that they hold for the nation today. The study further investigated about the cultural or social measures that the performance of *mangae* entail to protect and preserve it from extinction, as reflected through their music. The study investigated how the performance of *mangae* maintain their status quo despite the various transformations that are rampant in the world today.

The study investigated the performance of *mangae* and reflected on the social, cultural, economic, political and psychodynamic issues that the Basotho are faced with today. It also went on to find out the extent to which the modern Basotho boy initiates' performance of *mangae* is relevant to the challenges of the changing world and the needs of its society. It further examined how far the institution of initiation is relevant and necessary to its people in relation to the current transformations and developments brought about by globalisation.

In addition, it sought to find out the extent to which the performance of *mangae* shows resilience and continuity in the modern Lesotho. The performance of *mangae* is reflective of the underlying socio-cultural codes, experiences and values present in the society of the Basotho. This research was undertaken to interpret how the performance of *mangae* reveals the performers' knowledge of their location and how it navigated the experience of their lives in relation to the socio-cultural, economic, political, technological and psychodynamic circumstances that surround the Basotho in the contemporary world. The primary aim was to make a content analysis of the performance of *mangae* in order to unearth the social meaning/symbolic meaning and rationale behind the performance of *mangae* in the world today.

This research set out to make an in-depth analysis of the performance of *mangae* as an independent oral art form. I attempted to blend the performance of *mangae,* as a component of oral tradition, with popular discourse to uncover how *mangae* are manifest in contemporary studies. I further investigated how orality informed and coincided with popular discourse and how the two were encrypted within contemporary studies. While the study critically examined the superficial echelon of the performance of *mangae* as an oral art form, on the one hand, it

also closely examined the supra-textual layers that it embodied and imparted. The principal objective of this study was to identify the reasons for the modern-day Basotho boy initiates' performance of contemporary *mangae*. It sought to pursue the following objectives.

1.5.1 To investigate the mode and style of communication used in the performance of *mangae*

The performers of oral productions usually pay attention to the act and mode of communication during the oral performance. The term communicative strategies/techniques owe its origin to the speech acts proposed by Austin (1962) and Searle (1969). Most traditional oral compositions are not only relayed without any aim, but they also constitute some of the richest treasures within the African societies (Zondi, 2008). Another objective was to identify the diction (the art of language use including figures of speech and language), style and mode of communication (relating issues such as satire, humour, sarcasm, symbolism and allegory) and language techniques as the bases of intellectual life.

1.5.2 To unearth the significance of the performance of *mangae*

In this study, the word significance means the implications of the performance of *mangae* . The various underlying layers of meaning and the hidden implications and perceptions of the performance of *mangae* were uncovered from a three-pronged platform, namely the performer-performance-audience strata.

1.5.3 To determine the diverse number of subjects, themes and subject-matter and/or content embodied in the performance of *mangae*

In this context, the subject-matter means a central idea contained in the performance of *mangae*. The researcher's personal experience is that the singer communicates a central idea in each single performance of *mangae.* One objective of this study was to critically examine the kinds of subject-matter, the subjects, the themes and the content of the performance of *mangae*. The basic themes and content of the performance of *mangae* were drawn from a factual, concrete and abstract analysis.

1.5.4 To investigate the role of the performance of *mangae*

The word role means the position or purpose that a certain thing has in a certain situation, organisation, society or relationship. It is the degree to which something is involved in a situation or an activity. It refers to the effect that something has on another. The objective of this study was to analyse the performance of *mangae* in order to uncover the purpose of their performance towards the society within which they are sung.

1.6 Hypothesis

The performance of *mangae* primarily serves as a conduit of thought of the Basotho which involves the use of a well-chosen diction, specialized mode of communication and the style involving a diverse number of subjects, themes and subject matter portraying various hidden implications and perceptions.

1.7 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the background information and the contextualisation of the study. It has further unpacked, unveiled and outlined the objectives of the study as well as stating the research problem. Of greater importance, the chapter made an overview of the culture of initiation as the rite of passage of the Basotho and its significance to the Basotho. A distinction between traditional male initiation (TMI) and traditional circumcision (TMC) and voluntary male medical circumcision (VMMC) was provided. The chapter further made a thorough delineation of the performance of *mangae* as the oral culture of the Basotho. It also outlined the motivation for the choice and undertaking of the research.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE AND THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

Studies have been carried out in Lesotho and elsewhere in the World about either traditional male circumcision or traditional initiation. In some instances, readers are made to conceive of the two aspects differently, in others they are made to conceive of them similarly and even as aspects that are colluded together as one thing. The ritual of male initiation or traditional male circumcision has ignited some interest in humanities, anthropology, ethnography, and medicine until now. The literature reviewed for this study covers the literature records dealing with both traditional male initiation and traditional male circumcision.

2.2 Aspects of the Basotho traditional circumcision and traditional initiation

In the case of the Basotho, the customary practice is called traditional initiation and not circumcision. Reports and studies made by western scholars, the non-natives, Christian converts and academics are strongly negated by nationalists as a plain attack on the custom, a distortion, and a misrepresentation. Because of the debacle surrounding *lebollo* by westerners and other forces and the sternness of the traditional leaders in conserving and protecting it, the literature subjected many folklorists and students of oral literature to refrain from researching about it. However, amidst this challenge, some scholars have made some notes about *lebollo*.

Scholars such as Ellenberger and MacGregor (1912), Guma (1965), (1966) and (1967), Laydevant (1978), Makhisa (1979) and Phaila (ibid) pioneered into researching about the ritual of initiation of the Basotho. Most of their coverage was directed to an anthropological record of the steps of the rite of initiation, ranging from the preparation for the enactment of the activity, actualisation of *lebollo* and revelation of *koma,* which in the spectacle of a Mosotho, are neither topical nor public issues. They exposed the sensitive and supposedly secretive information which to them comprises the practices and behaviour of the *basuoe* and traditional leaders towards the initiates. Apart from that, they gave *lebollo* negative labels. For example, they named it a heathen practice. Guma (1965, 1966 and 1967) is, by far, the leading scholar who showed stern interest in exposing the secrets of the rite of initiation, thereby embarrassing the natives and discouraging the youngsters from partaking in the custom. Remarkably, most of the earlier scholars who humiliated the ritual of ignition were the white western migrant inhabitants of Lesotho. Following from their steps were their early Christian converts and educated Basotho such as Makhisa (1979) and Phaila (ibid) respectively. What one assumes is that, the western writers first saw Basotho and their customs as their research subjects, not worthy of respect. The

second assumption is that they considered their culture as being superior to that of the Basotho and wanted to impose their way of life which they considered as being elite.

Out of the researchers above, Guma, (1967) dedicated a section of his study to the literary analysis of *likoma*. Although *likoma* are topical issues that are not supposed to be disclosed publicly, Guma (1967) divulged his ethical standpoint and managed to access the primary data, thus disobeying the custom by exposing its secrets. Even though, Guma's contribution to the study of the ritual of initiation posed serious threats to the custom as well undermining it, he found the ritual of initiation as a field worth researching on. Some of the analytical procedures used by Guma (1967) in synthesizing the form, the content and technique of *likoma* have been adopted and adapted in this study. As such, irrespective of Guma's insensitivity of Guma towards the ritual of initiation, he has paved the way towards the *likoma* content analysis.

Even the Basotho such as Makhisa (1979) and Phaila (ibid) followed the trend set by the western scholars to ridicule the by exposing its secrets and sensitive information. They do not explain how they accessed such data as well as the methods used to collect it. This is unethical. The ritual of initiation remained seriously under siege in the hands of earlier local and international scholars. This dispositioned, cramped and paralysed most of the cultural practices and participation by the locals.

The ritual of initiation showed some degree of resilience despite these pressures. Without presenting published evidence, Basotho strongly negate the above-mentioned remarks as null and void. The christian-studded contribution to the literature and research on *lebollo* totally discouraged the practice of initiation. Despite the negative pressures the Basotho proved to be immune to such forces.

Despite their perceptions of the Sesotho customs, including *lebollo*, the above-mentioned researchers' contribution was ground-breaking. It interrogated the ritual of initiation. Among other things, it serves as a point of reference for the researchers. They draw some notes relating to initiation and other cultures of the Basotho. Importantly, these previous researchers have preserved and conserved certain oral traditional customs of the Basotho that would have otherwise gone extinct if they had not been recorded. The focus of the above-mentioned scholars was particularly on the customary practices of initiation. The issue of the performance of *mangae* seemed not to capture their interest. It is in the light of this gap that this study was set to investigate the reason behind the performance of *mangae*. In order to find the answers to this question, the current study was intended to examine the performance of *mangae* and intently investigate their communicative strategy, their significance, their content and their role.

Jankie (1939) was the first Mosotho to take a different approach about the issues relating to *lebollo.* He made a recorded transcription of *mangae* without analysing them. This was the first

ever document of *mangae* as a component of indigenous oral production done in Sesotho. Jankie was probably following Mangoaela's (1921) work on *Lithoko tsa marena a* Basotho (Basotho indigenous oral poetry). His output remains a treasure upon which some scholars drew some bravery in researching about the issues surrounding *lebollo*. He transcribed the *mangae,* as they were sung by the new initiates. He did not make any critical analysis of *mangae.* Jankie's contribution to the study of *mangae* has directly paved way for the present research. Because Jankie did not make any form of analysis on the performance of *mangae*, his study leaves an academic gap for the researcher to make an in-depth analysis of the contemporary performance of *mangae*.

Additionally, researchers such as Sekese (1975), Matšela (1990) and Lesitsi (1990) devoted certain sections/chapters in their books to the custom of male Basotho initiation. Although not explicitly revealing the secrecy of *lebollo*, they make some allusions to some controversial issues of this initiation which were not revealed in this study. Credit is however, given to them for recognising this lore as a field of literature that could be studied. Importantly, they have shown a considerable understanding in the way they have handled their culture. Even though proving to be sensitive to some degree when dealing with the performance of *mangae*, their publications fall short by not making an in-depth content analysis. Their studies are purely on cultural ethnography and less on oral traditional production which is the focus of this research. Their contribution serves as reference for other researchers on the history of the ritual of initiation and other customs of the Basotho. Whereas their contributions concentrated on other Sesotho cultural aspects and, to some degree, on the ritual of initiation, the present study made an in-depth inquisition about why the Basotho boy initiates perform *mangae*.

The first attempt to make an analysis of an oral performance associated with the ritual of initiation was by Makhoali (1985). In the light of his analysis Makhoali labels initiation as circumcision. According to the previous research, there is a difference between initiation and circumcision. Initiation is considered as a traditional ritual through which members of the society are introduced to a certain aspect of life. For example, the ritual of initiation means coming of age whereas circumcision as a surgical procedure in which the foreskin of a male is cutoff.

In his study, Makhoali discusses the origin of *lebollo* and its value within the society as an instructional model. Among other things, he shows that the teachings of initiation are principally oral (through verbal instruction). He provides examples of sentences which, according to him, are drawn from *likoma* (secret teachings of initiation) and reveals their significance. In the ritual of initiation, *likoma* are performed only in the initiation lodge. They are not a public matter, and anyone found divulging them must undergo serious cultural punitive measures.

What Makhoali finds is that the value of *likoma* is to educate the initiates about life as whole. According to his analysis, *likoma* teach the initiates about the significance of cattle, hospitality, inheritance of animal wealth, respect and honour of adults, especially the old ones and those who have died. Unity, enforcement of a good code of practice and reprimanding of youngsters about immoral practices such as theft are also taught. According to Makhoali, these moral values are disseminated through a secretive and opaque *likoma* language.

The relevance of Makhoali's study in this research is that, it foregrounds the present study that goes further to make an analysis of the oral performance associated with the ritual of initiation. Importantly, as is the case in the current research study, it made an analysis of the excerpt taken from *likoma* in order to uncover their value in society. The present researcher makes an analysis of the performance of *mangae* to uncover their content, their significance and their role. Because of this similarity, Makhoali's research is important because it has shed light not only on the need to investigate the ritual of initiation but also one that sets oral performance associated with the ritual worth of study.

Despite its impetus to this study, Makhoali's paper drastically defies the order of culture by attacking its privacy and thereby dreading on the sacred and secret undertakings of the ritual. It is observed that despite the sensitivity of the subject that Makhoali was dealing with, he neither appends any source of his information nor describes any ethical considerations that he had adhered to while making his research. Because of this, Makhoali's study lacks credibility and could be considered as a matter of wild imagination. Unlike what Makhoali did, this study makes an interpretation of the excerpts collected from the primary sources while the initiates perform *mangae* publicly.

Whereas most previous studies concentrated on the ritual of initiation and its secrecy rather than the oral compositions which were first pioneered by Makhoali (1985), Swanepoel (2011) took a different turn by analysing *lengae* text. He analysed the song that was recorded from Qwaqwa by the Basotho boy initiates titled "*o no ya kae*"(where were you going to). In his analysis, Swanepoel considered the significance of the song which is revealed in the *lengae*. He transcribed and analysed what the song was relating, looked into the ethnomusicological aspect of the songs (analysing it through tonic sol-fa scale), how the song was performed and how such a song "fits into the fuller programme of *lebollo*" (Swanepoel, 2011).

Swanepoel's study is, so far, the first that was dedicated to an analysis of *mangae* as an independent text. However, like many schools which made a record about the ritual of initiation, Swanepoel (2011) also investigated some of the non-oral aspects of Sesotho initiation. He did this to trace how the composition of *mangae* fits into the full programme of initiation.

Additionally, in his study, he analysed the song through sol-fa tonic scale in order to derive its melody. Finally, he made an analysis of the singer deportment during the singing of the song and how such posture resonated with the whole composition.

There is close resemblance between what Swanepoel (2011) did in his research and the present study. As was the case in his study, this study made a transcript of the recorded audios and select some excerpts for analysis and syntheses of what they entail. Relatively differently from Swanepoel's study, the present one adopts a multi-pronged theoretical framework (Narrative Paradigm and Hermeneutics) to synthesize what is communicated by the singers. Swanepoel did not use any theory for analysis of his study. Moreover, this research did not make a tonic sol-fa representation of the performance of *mangae***.** The focal area of this research study is to extrapolate and derive the communication strategies, their significance, their content and their role.

A totally new approach relating to initiation was undertaken by Moitse (1990) and Wells (1994). Differently from many scholars, although touching on purely anthropological and ethnographical issues, their studies looked at the actual performance of *mangae* and their analysis as indigenous oral production. Moitse (1990) made a compilation and analysed a few Sesotho traditional songs. She also investigated the aspect of the role significance of the songs that she was analysing. She categorized her study into both female and male music. Her study remains a rich repository of the knowledge of the music of the Basotho. Essentially, her research contributed immensely by keeping the records of the music that would have been lost from the memories of the Basotho. Some of the analytic methods that Moitse (1990) used were acquired in this research. This study adopted her style of analysing the roles and the significance of the songs. This study differs from Moitse's because it analyses the performance of *mangae* and not any other Sesotho oral indigenous performance that she analysed. Furthermore, this study was framed on a two-way theory of Narrative Paradigm and Hermeneutics which Moitse (1990) did not incorporate in her analysis. Lastly, Moitse uses tonic sol-fa scale to analyse the songs. This study makes a detailed analysis of the communicative strategies, the content, the significance and the role of the performance of *mangae*.

Similarly, Wells (1994) dedicated a section on the analysis of the ritual of initiation under the major topic titled men's songs. Like Moitse (1990), Wells (1994) refers to the sacred issues of the ritual of initiation such as the ones performed in seclusion and further uses the tonic sol-fa scale to represent and analyse the songs. Importantly however, he makes a content analysis of *mangae* to uncover the layers of meaning that they relate to the society. This study also made an analysis of *mangae* in order to uncover the communication techniques, the significance, the content and the role of the performance of *mangae*. Wells' study paved the way for this study. Some of the

analytic methods that he used were adopted for this research study. The songs were transcribed and translated. Some excerpts were provided and analysed accordingly.

Whereas the scholars, researchers and academics mentioned above made various contributions of a diverse nature to *lebollo*, some concentrated purely on subjects that are not the focus of this research. Others such as Guma (1967) made an analysis of *mokorotlo* and *koma* which resides outside the scope of this research. Their research and contributions, however, are of great motivation to our study as they shed some light on what other factors can be investigated in relation to *lebollo*. In brief, their contributions have directly and/or indirectly paved the way for this study to develop. They have shown us an edge that has not been tackled and yet at the same time elevated some theoretical, methodological and conceptual gaps that are needed to be filled.

2.3 Traditional male circumcision: insights and debates in sub-Saharan Africa

Studies have also been undertaken elsewhere on traditional male circumcision. Massive publications are available in South Africa, particularly on Xhosa male initiation. In Lesotho the rite of passage for young Basotho males is referred to as traditional male initiation. The central theme of Basotho male initiation is the initiating the young men into the principles of manhood whereas other natives such as the Xhosas engage in male penile surgery. Quite contrary to what is the core of this paper, studies undertaken in other countries mostly focused on the surgical aspect of male circumcision and the resultant complications (morbidity and mortality) and intervention strategies, policy formulation, responsiveness to the scourge of diseases versus preservation of the culture and traditional validation of manhood etc. Other studies are purely based on medical anthropology rather than on oral traditions. Serious debates between traditional male circumcisions (TMC) versus medical male circumcision (MMC) were made.

In 2006, Wanyama studied the Bukusu circumcision music to investigate how the emerging technologies and scourge of deadly diseases have had remarkable alterations on the socio-cultural patterns of the traditional ceremonies and how they led to the shift in form, content, significance and the performance of music. He points out that the Busuku community struggle to balance between the traditional and modern aspects in the form, content, organisation and performance of Busuku circumcision music. This problem/situation gave rise to three sub-divisions in Busuku society in which some advocated the traditional culture while others believed in the combination of the traditional and the modern culture and yet others supported the modern culture solely (Wanyama, 2006).

What Wanyama (2006) discovered was that there have been several constant cultural patterns alteration in the nature of the tradition of the Busuku community due to the cultural adjustment brought by technology and other modern factors. The dichotomy is such that the traditional

leaders still advocate for pure traditional elements in the composition of the music. Those who are semi-traditional mix the traditional elements with the modern ones while others totally reject the traditional components and use only the foreign ones in the composition of the Busuku circumcision music.

In his study, Wanyama (2006) examined and explained the structures, forms, meaning and functions of the Busuku circumcision music that are influenced by modernity. Like Wanyama, the current study investigates the meaning and social function of the performance of *mangae*. Whereas, Wanyama's focus is the form and content of the Busuku circumcision music, with its convergence to traditional standards and divergence in associating modern imports, the present study seeks to identify the language techniques used and the implication of the performance of *mangae*. Additionally, whereas Wanyama focuses on the traditionalists' advocacy of traditional fossils while others mix modernity and tradition or opt for only modern elements, the present study seeks to examine the ability of the performance of *mangae* to consolidate resources from both traditional and modern art space.

Another study was undertaken by Wanyama and Egesah (2015) who interrogated the message encoded through ethnographic initiation rites through music and performance as well as how such messages are important to the Babukusu community. Their assumption was that the Babukusu circumcision practice has a moral bearing not only on the initiates but also on the whole society Wanyama and Egesah (2015) conclude that the Babukusu male circumcision music reveals the messages that do not only relate to the initiates' ambitions but also re-counts the aspirations of the whole world.

Even though Wanyama and Egesah (2015) emphasise circumcision, it overlays the way for this research by giving out some insights on how far the performance of *mangae* can relate to the ways people's aspirations and believes. Wanyama and Egesah (2015) concluded that Babukusu circumcision music conceals the actual practices of initiation. They derived some ethnographic interpretations of the music to uncover the covert meaning of the practices of male Babukusu circumcision community. Wanyama and Egesah's research sheds light and elevates the direction to be used in pursuit of the underlying layers of meaning of the performance of *mangae*.

Setswe et al. (2015) researched on how men and women in South Africa perceived and accepted male circumcision. They concluded that male circumcision is conventional to various cultures in South Africa even though some doubt whether it is secure from HIV transmission. As a result of this skepticism and the safety of the procedure, they choose medical circumcision over traditional circumcision. Some of them hold the belief that circumcision increases sexual pleasure. To others,

especially the traditional advents, traditional male circumcision is a means of cultural preservation rather than hygiene or sexual pleasure.

Observant of the need for an intervention to eliminate complications associated with the traditional male circumcision, Douglas et al (2016) designed a policy brief which advised the policymakers on the ways of preventing death and injuries associated with the complex environment in which traditional male circumcision occurs in South Africa. The policy proposed a need of inclusivity of all stakeholders to combat the challenge. The study concluded that morbidity and mortality are preventable if there is mutual respect, understanding, cooperation and common purpose between the health departments, traditional leaders, local communities and the initiates themselves.

In appreciation of the policy in place intervening mechanics were proposed by Nqeketo (2008), Kepe (2010), Douglas and Maluleke (2016), Douglas et al (2017) and Peltzer (2008). Numerous issues pointing to the source of the complications were identified and collateral inputs from various stakeholders were suggested to mitigate the problems. Rather than concentrating on the politics of the power struggle between the traditional leaders and the state, a matter of great impetus such as the loss of life must be prioritised as the key concern. They propose that no sector should be allowed to override others' rights. Importantly, they suggest that if any health-related complications arise during the phase of circumcision, it is important to engage only the circumcised male health professionals to intervene rather than engage the uninitiated people. They further recommend that the traditional custodians of the custom should work together to ensure the safety of the initiates, that the sanitary conditions should improve and that a balanced diet should always be provided. Additionally, they recommend the formulation of the policies that pursue the endorsement of the recommendations.

While the injury and death rates have threatened some of the local communities that participate in traditional male circumcision and hence opt for medical male circumcision, problems of stigmatization of the uncircumcised by the circumcised remains a new dimension of controversy. Mavundla et al. (2010) conducted a study on stigmatization and marginalization of the uninitiated Xhosa males by their initiated male counterparts. Their study reveals that the initiated rejected, discriminated, humiliated and disrespected the intact (Douglas et al., 2016). While the response and volunteerism towards male initiation is high, these researchers remark that there is a serious urge to engage social interventions and preventive measures that seek to protect the initiates from harm. On this issue, they recommend that there is a need for mitigation to reduce the risks of negative physical and mental consequences of the ritual of circumcision process.

Problems of stigmatization and marginalization may have been exacerbated by the traditional leaders' paranoia and loyalty to their tradition. Mavundla et al. (2009) confirm that to Xhosa male circumcision is a religion rather than a mere symbol of the rite of passage from boyhood to manhood. This is seen as the basic cause of the socially constructed divisions. Even though the traditionalists perceive circumcision culture as their property, they recommend that there is a serious need to enact mutual partnerships between the "health sectors and traditionalists in areas of high complications and training of surgeons and caregivers on basic health requirements to avoid cross-infections leading to injury" (Mavundla et al., 2009).

Despite observable social constructs of segregation identified, Mavundla et al. (2010, Mbachi and Likoko (2013) propose a new dimension regarding the perceptions about the Bukusu of Kenya. 'It (male traditional circumcision) has had several implications on the community and the initiates involved' (Mbachi and Likoko 2013), particularly on the socio-economic and psychosocial life of the Bukusu community. Being circumcised in Bukusu accords the initiates the status of responsibility and leadership. The boys' self-esteem is boosted because they are engaged in community activities after graduation. On the other hand, it has negative socio-economic implications because of the high costs, high health risks and poor hygienic standards.

Emphasis on research done in some parts of Africa is on the complications of surgical operations associated with traditional circumcision and intervention strategies. Although Mbachi and Likoko (2013) referred to music, it was on a minor scale and it was sung during the operation by the Babukusu tribe. Cognizant of the rampant complications which have hit the headlines of the World debates, intervention strategies were set up by various people at different levels to overcome the problem. Legislation and policies were put in place as solutions. Traditional leaders and local communities were consulted to find their perceptions over the whole issue. Suggestions have been made that social, cultural and political tug of war must cease and that focus must be directed towards the morbidity and mortality of the initiates.

Brewer et al. (2007) undertook a study about male and female circumcision associated with prevalent HIV infection in virgins and adolescents in Kenya, Lesotho, and Tanzania. They report a substantial proportion of male and female virgins who are infected with HIV during circumcision. The study suggests that in the above-mentioned countries, HIV is potentially transmitted through practices of unhygienic circumcision procedures. It concludes that the circumcised youth in these countries, even without any sexual experience, seem to have acquired HIV through circumcision. However, HIV prevalence in intact adults is more likely than in circumcised ones.

Although Brewer et al. (2007) make this conclusion, there is serious doubt about the credibility of these outcomes about female circumcision in Lesotho. Firstly, the records and traces of

Basotho female initiation c.f. Ellenberger and McGregor (1912), Guma (1965), (1966) and (1967), Makhisa (1979), Bosko (1981), Moitse, (1990), Wells, (1994) have not been disclosed. There are only speculations about how the rite is instituted and no clear-cut explanation has been given. Secondly, aspects of initiation in Lesotho have, over the years, been kept secret. The researchers owe the readers a great deal of explanation and sources relating to both the execution of either male or female circumcision of the Basotho youth and the HIV infectious surgical procedures alluded to. This research study further seems to dwell on the transmission of HIV associated with circumcision. Its relevance to this research study is that it was devoted to the ritual of circumcision as the rite of passage of the Basotho.

Incidents of the botched circumcision, human-inflicted accidents, unbalanced diet and dehydration have been on the spotlight about traditional male circumcision (TMC), hence the advocacy by foreigners to abolish it in the Republic of South Africa (RSA). The motive behind TMC has been overlooked except for the cry over the subjugation of human rights. Aligned with this outlook, Sarvestani et al. (2012) pursued a qualitative focus group discussion analysis relating to traditional male circumcision in Uganda. They found that male medical circumcision (MMC) was an ideal mechanism in the fight against HIV/AIDS escalation and that it was recommended for adoption by Sub-Saharan Africa. They further recommend a form of collaboration between TMC and MMC although they were skeptical that there is limited knowledge about the TMC landscape and traditional beliefs. While the basic inclination is that the Ugandan TMC promoted the scourge of HIV/AIDS to some degree, they noted that the focus groups expressed an interest in acquiring the means that would reduce the notable adverse effects. On this note, a roll-out plan of devising safer and effective methods through innovative approaches proved essential.

The plague of HIV/AIDS has attracted much attention with respect to TMC. The research study by Sarvestani et al. (2012) seems to make a comparison between TMC and MMC as effective mechanisms in the fight against HIV. Although that study was set within a cultural and medical perspective it has some relevance to the present research because it narrates the issues relative to the ritual of circumcision which is a component of the traditional male initiation in other areas. However, it only focuses on the surgical procedure of circumcision and its effectiveness in the war against HIV as opposed to MMC.

Despite the debates launched about TMC and MMC as responsive procedures to the fight against HIV, the tenacity of most African countries in their advocacy for TMC has been profound. Mshana et al. (2011) pursued research on traditional male circumcision practices and their implications for the national programmes among the Kurya of North-eastern Tanzania. The Kurya ethnic group preferred TMC and considered it as a rite of passage from childhood to adulthood. The traditionalists are major supporters and organisers of the clan TMC processes. They believe that

TMC maintains the cultural practices and identity. They also consider it as an act of bravery and maleness in which they do not use anesthetics during the operation. The males who underwent clinical circumcision are despised and ridiculed by those who went for TMC. Quite like Sarvestani et al. (2012), Mshana et al. (2011), study was intended to enhance the traditionalists' debates and medical interveners' role regarding TMC and MMC.

In the review of related literature, it was noted that, in Lesotho, other parts of Africa as well as the African diaspora studies surrounding the institution of initiation are minimal. Issues such as the scourge of HIV/AIDS and statistics of the botched circumcision aroused the interest of many scholars and international organisations. Their focus is purely on the scientific aspect of the ritual rather than on the cultural and moral issues of the practice. Most anthropologists tend to ignore the moral and philosophical aspect of the ritual of initiation or circumcision. This study, therefore, seeks to bridge the gap and to discuss the performance of *mangae* as a pure oral art form, reflecting on the rendition of popular discourse that manifests itself within the contemporary studies. It aims to analyse the performance of *mangae* to find out what communicative devices it uses, its significance, the content that it embodies and the role that it performs.

2.4 Principal theory upon which the research project was be constructed

This section constructs theoretical debates on which the study is based. For its purposes and breadth, it adopts a two-pronged theoretical framework. The Narrative Paradigm and Hermeneutics theories were used to analyse the data for this study. The section gives out a brief outline of the two theories, one after the other. It also gives some details of their origin, their proponents and the dates of their introduction, why they were proposed, the theoretical debates they have ignited, their shortcomings, where they exist, how such shortcomings are bridged and how they were used in the study. The ensuing section expands on the Narrative Paradigm.

2.4.1 Narrative Paradigm

The narrative paradigm has massively become a subject of debate and of scholarly dialogue since it was developed. The proponent of the Narrative Paradigm is Walter Fisher. It was proposed in the 20th century emerging from a broader school of thought, namely the rhetoric and communication theory (West and Turner, 2006). Like the advent of most schools of thought, the narrative Paradigm received some rejections from some scholars (Miller, 2005). One of the objections to the theory was that it lacks consistency and it is flawed, with numerous internal contradictions (Warnick, 2009).

The Narrative Paradigm assumes that 'narrative' is principally the approach underlying perceptions about the human communication behaviour and its nature. It proposes that the narrative is borne in human communication and that it reveals important aspects of spatial and

temporal human experience and processes (Bamberg, 2009). It is not created in a vacuum, but it is cast or pre-cast through interaction between the storyteller and the consumers Earthy et al. (2008).

Narrative analysis is not interested in establishing whether stories are true or not. instead, it focuses on establishing the mechanics that people use to tell stories, accounts or narratives to interpret the world (Griffin, 2008). The narrative is seen as a ”social product to relate to specific social, historical and cultural location and a device through which people represent themselves and their world to themselves and to others” (Griffin, 2008). It further emphasises how stories are auxiliary mechanisms that sensitise people about the world or give a worldview or insights of their surroundings and how people perceive the stories. In general, it helps people to have a back-and-forth interpretation of the story itself as well as setting the strategies for navigating experience (Bamberg, 2009). The performance of *mangae* is considered as human communication where the singers share and sensitise the society about the shared perspectives and experiences of their lives. The recounting of the personal experiences within the composition of *mangae* is considered as the revelation of the singers' perception of their environment as well as of their folks. Thus, when *mangae* are sung, the nature and perceptions of human behaviour come to the fore. By using the Narrative Paradigm, the research is going to be able to study the stretch of the performance of *mangae* to navigate the degree with which they reflect on the shared knowledge, experiences and worldview of their society.

The narrative Paradigm emphasises that the recounting of stories reveals the person's knowledge of his location and how it navigates the experiences of their lives. The message embodied in the performance of *mangae* is the life stories of the performer and his people. The performance of *mangae* is considered as the true-life stories of the society within which performance is rendered. Considering the nature of the performance of *mangae,* there is a characteristically close relationship, in terms of the form and structure, with the other oral literature of the Basotho. When the initiates perform the *mangae*, they repeat similar *mangae* at various spatial and temporal displacements. This behaviour conforms to the allusions that the narrative is a telling and retelling of a story (Bamberg, 2009).

The narrative Paradigm was used to unfold how the initiates reflect on the spatial and temporal transposition of the world that surrounds them and its quest for navigating how the stories (social facts, truisms and fallacies) told navigate their experience and stories of their lives. Further, it reveals how such music discloses the singers' experience as well as of that of other people within their compositions. In the process, the performance of *mangae* (story) was studied in isolation to derive the meaning that they convey. The Narrative Paradigm was not only directly perceived as a relevant tool that resonates with the propositions of this research, but it was also perceived

as one that would permit the researcher's quest to validate the hypotheses and to derive his objectives. The section below elaborates on another theory of analysis, namely Hermeneutics.

2.4.2 Hermeneutics

The term **Hermeneutics** owes its origin from the Greek word ἑρμηνεύω (*hermēneuō*) which is translated into English words to **translate** and to **interpret** respectively (Palmer, 1969). The word *"hermēneuō*" originated from "ἑρμηνεύς (*hermeneus*) which translates to both the "translator" and the "interpreter" (Beekes, 2009). The term *hermeneia* (ἑρμηνεία) was initially applied on Aristotle's works in which it was used to establish the "relationships between language and logic" (Palmer, 1969)

Hermeneutics was introduced and incepted around the eighteenth and nineteen century by the German philosophers, Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834) and Wilhelm Dilthey (1833-1911) (Palmer, 1969). Friedrich Schleiermacher held the assumption that in order to decipher the texts, documents and religious practices, there must be a back and forth reference and interpretation between the text and the object in order to derive some meaning. It is against this background that Bleicher (2017) argues that hermeneutics is the theory of the interpretation of meaning. He says that there is always a meaningful aspect contained in human speech that warrants serious deductions, based on the point of discussion and the language used. Furthermore, Gadamer (2008) points out that hermeneutics "bridges the gap between the familiar world…and the strange meaning that resists assimilation into the horizons of our world." According to Gadamer (2008), there is always an embedded meaning, beyond what humans recognize, which would always require an interpretation in order to decipher it. As a result, Hermeneutics comes into play to unlock a certain component of understanding that could be ordinarily understood based on superficial statements. This study holds an assumption that the performance of *mangae* uses a specialized and inaccessible language requiring extensive interpretative clarifications. There is a need to always intently investigate the ordinary statements in order to navigate what other layers of meaning convey to the society. Gadamer (2008) further observes that language can remain incomprehensive in certain instances because of the context of delivery, hence there is a need to interpret in order to make it more intelligible to all.

Schleiermacher's sentiments were advanced and augmented by Wilhelm Dilthey, who argued that historical events as well as works of art are the meaningful embodiment of the subjective intention of social actors and authors. During the performance of *mangae* the singer stages as an actor who delves the aspirations of his society. He further acts as the representative and the mouthpiece of his people who relays the concerns of his society. By applying the hermeneutics as the theory of analysis in this study, the author was able to interpret the text/song through making back and forth interpretations between the subject and the text. This aided the

researcher to make an objective meaning and enquiry and hence uncover the layers of meaning embodied in the literary text during the performance of *mangae*.

Hermeneutics assumes that the task of social enquiry is to capture the original intention or meaning that motivates and informs social action. This presupposes that there is an original, intended meaning that is determinate of social behaviour and institutions. During the performance of *mangae* the social message is usually transmitted in an obscure manner. There are usually a few underlying meanings that are attached to the words that appear in the song. By using Hermeneutics in the analysis of the performance of *mangae*, the present researcher was able to interpret the songs in order to capture the original meaning and to determine what social reactions and behaviour it is intended to evoke. The proposition of Hermeneutics was mainly to unpack incomprehensive human commutation. In this study, Hermeneutics has been adopted and adapted to synthesize the performance of *mangae*. The performance of *mangae* is considered as communication in terms of the nature of performance and content delved. It is upon this recognition that Kobia (2017) notes: "Song is a genre of oral literature that is most powerful in terms of versatility and communicability… almost all aspects of the life of a person can be expressed through…." Likewise, the advent of the theory of Hermeneutics suggests that human communication is a major channel that makes reflections about peoples' ways of life. Language is seen not only as a means of communication but also as the means through which the society's aspirations and experiences are revealed. Hermeneutics is thus, going to be used in this study to navigate how human experiences and social relations are represented in the performance of *mangae*.

The composition and performance of *mangae* is neither created in the social vacuum nor does it originate in an abstract social context. Social circumstances that evolve around human existence shape up the subjects, themes and discourses of the performance of *mangae*. By using Hermeneutics as a theory of analysis in this study, one uncovered how far the performance of *mangae* reflects the shared experiences of the people and how it represents their concerns at the time of rendition. The researcher strived to reveal how far the languages and subjects of *mangae* tap from the people's way of life and how far it evolves around the historical horizon. Language and human communication reveal social realities and people's experiences within the societies they live in. The performance of *mangae* as a component of oral human production is understood to refer to the expressive conduct of collective artists making reflections to their social behaviour and experiences. Thus, language and social reality are intertwined.

The performance of *mangae* is literally modified speech. Bearing in mind this view, the present study intended to make interpretations and translations of how far the performance of *mangae* reflects the society's social context and history. As a result, Hermeneutics remained an auxiliary and relevant theory in this research as it aided the researcher to make pertinent translations and

interpretations of the performance of *mangae* in order to derive the meaning that they impart. It was used as a means of accumulating objective knowledge about the social and political world of the composers.

Generally, Hermeneutics serves as an interpretative and translational theory that makes a back-and-forth triangulation between the social reality and the linguistic-historical environment. It interprets and finds a correlation between a linguistic discourse and the historical experience that has influenced the composition. Hermeneutics was considered a relevant theory in the analysis, as it made triangulations and interpretations of the music trough making correlations between the language and the historical horizon.

Owing to the nature and scope of this research, both the Narrative Paradigm and Hermeneutics are considered as relevant theories of analysis that helped the researcher to obtain the reason behind the performance of *mangae*. In the outline of these theories, there is an observably close interaction and interplay between the two. This ensures that where one theory falls short, the other automatically fills the gap. Where there is an overlap, for instance, the theories were used concurrently to unpack complex excerpts derived from the performance of *mangae*. The close relationship that co-exists between the two theories was, for example, its pursuit to interact with the individuals, observation of their day-to-day spatial and temporal displacement, their quest for navigating how the stories told reflect their experience and the stories of their lives.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter dealt with the review of related literature and the theoretical framework. The review of the related literature comprised of the literature from Lesotho and Sub-Saharan Africa. It also covered the literature records dealing with both traditional male initiation and traditional male circumcision. A distinction between traditional male circumcision and traditional male initiation was also provided. Most of the literature dealing with the Sesotho cultural initiation viewed it in the light of traditional male circumcision which is commonly practiced in the Republic of South Africa, which is a cutting culture (Vincent, 2008). Focus was put more on revealing the secret undertakings of initiation. Furthermore, some studies showed a profound negativity towards *lebollo*. They considered it as a heathen practise. In the process of giving the culture of Basotho male initiation discerning labels, the moral, cultural and philosophical importance behind pursuing this custom were seriously ignored.

With regard to traditional male circumcision the review of related literature dealt mostly with the morbidity and mortality associated with the circumcision of boys particularly in the RSA as well as the intervention strategies that are necessary to ratify the situation. Issues such as the scourge of HIV/AIDS and statistics of the botched circumcision aroused the interest of many

scholars and international organisations. Their focus was purely on the scientific aspect of the ritual rather than on the cultural and moral issues of the practice.

Another aspect that this chapter covered was the principal theories upon which the research project was constructed. The study adapted a two-barreled theoretical framework namely: Narrative Paradigm and Hermeneutics. The outline of the theories reflected that there was close interaction and interplay between the two. As a result, where one theory fell short, the other automatically filled the gap. Where there was an overlap, the theories were used concurrently to unpack complex excerpts derived from the performance of *mangae*. The close relationship that co-exists between the two theories was, for example, its pursuit to interact with the individuals, observation of their day-to-day spatial and temporal displacement, their quest for navigating how the stories told reflect their experience and the stories of their lives.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter was dedicated to the presentation of the methods and methodologies used in the undertaking of this study. Major theoretical approaches of research pursuit were defined and an explanation of how they were applied in the study was given. Aspect such as the identification of the research site, the subjects and strategies used to select them were outlined. The methods and tools used for data collection, organisation and presentation and analysis procedures were also presented.

3.2 Qualitative research approach

This study made an in-depth content analysis of the performance of *mangae*. A qualitative research approach was employed for this study. Qualitative research approach uses words and open-ended questions and observations as opposed to the numbers and closed-ended questions. It further explores and tries to understand the meaning that people or society ascribe to a social or human problem. The research process involves emergent inquiries and actions. The required data is gathered from the participants' location while its analysis inductively builds from specific themes to the general ones and data is interpreted to deduce what it means (Creswell, 2009). The strength of the approach was that it helped the one to understand the social life and to discover the social reality which people attribute to their problems. The approach further allowed the researcher to make an analysis of the performance of *mangae* to trace how far they attributed the social reality within their environment. Generally, the author was able to deduce, interpret and navigate the embodied social role and significance of the performance of *mangae.*

Qualitative research studies people's natural environment and identifies how their behaviour and experiences are shaped by social, economic, cultural or physical factors and livelihoods (Hennik et al., 2010). Furthermore, qualitative content analysis accentuates a cohesive interpretation of written and spoken discourses and their specific environments. In this study the content of the performance of *mangae* was interpreted in order to uncover how far they revealed some realities of the singer's personal experiences and people's livelihoods within their specific locality. The discourses were investigated beyond merely counting them or deducing their objective content from texts. Their connotations, subject-matter and patterns that were noticeable or covert in certain transcripts were investigated. Through this analysis, the researcher comprehended the social reality in a subjective but scientific manner (Zhang and Wildemuth, 2005).

The qualitative research approach permitted the researcher to study the research subjects using open-ended interviews and participants' observation within their environment. The Basotho boy initiates were observed during the performance of *mangae* in the societies from which they came. The study of the communicative strategies, the significance, the content and the role of the performance of *mangae* was set to probe how the above-mentioned factors had informed the performance. Generally, this study adopted a qualificative research method which allowed the investigation of the performance of *mangae* by studying the performer's natural environment in order to reveal the performers' behaviour and experiences, as influenced by social, economic, cultural or physical factors and livelihoods.

3.3 Research Design

This research used narrative and ethnographic methods as the components of qualitative content analysis. An ethnographic study includes an in-depth interviewing and continual and rigorous participant observation over a certain time within a certain situation/environment (Jacob, 1987). It also attempts to capture the revelation of how people describe and structure their world (Fraenkel and Wallen, 1990). Ethnographic research is a rounded study that reflects on the daily experiences of the individuals through intensive participants' observation and systematic interviews (Creswell, 2009). In order to comprehensively understand how *mangae* were performed, there was a need for a rigorous participant observation during the performance over a certain period. In order to decipher the language, content, message and the role of the performance of *mangae* I listened to them several times until I transcribed them. Even after recording the songs, I repetitively and rigorously listened to the audios in order to fully comprehend what they communicated. During the interplay of skills and methods used to collect the data on the performance of *mangae,* I adapted the ethnographic approach as a qualitative research supplement.

Narrative research is a qualitative strategy through which the researcher studies the life of the individuals and asks one or more individuals to provide stories about their lives. This information is then often retold or restoried by the researcher into a narrative chronology (Creswell, 2009). Narrative research is a design through which the researcher investigates the life of the individuals and requests them to narrate the experiences and stories of their lives (Riessman, 2008). This information is then often retold or restoried by the performer into a narrative chronology. During the performance of *mangae*, the researcher studied them in order to see how far they reveal the stories of the lives and share the social experiences of the composers. Whereas peoples' lives were not directly studied in this research, the performance of *mangae,* as an indirect form of human communication embodies and exposes the shared stories of the performers. As a result, it was ideal to adopt narrative research to uncover how far the performance of *mangae* divulges the shared human experiences and how far they narrate issues relating to their lives.

Because of their close connection and relevance, ethnographic research and narrative research were used as qualitative research supplements to ascertain the strength of research study and to make it more intelligible. Ethnographic research, as shown earlier, targeted the lives of the individuals who were requested to narrate the stories of their lives whereas narrative research provided an in-depth and rigorous interviews and observations about these individuals' lives and experiences. The combination of ethnographic research and narrative research were preferred as the supplements to qualitative research method.

This research study used both interpretative and explanatory qualitative research analysis methods. The participants observation method and the qualitative research interview method, the use of the audio methods, recordings and data transcription were also used. The qualitative content analysis allowed raw data compression into sizable units for ease of interpretation. To gather the interpretations and inferential meanings of the cited chunks of excerpts, inductive reasoning was sought and to derive the inductive reasoning, the researcher intently examined and compared units of data excerpts. Inductive content analysis is the strategy through which the researcher studies the content/subject-matter in order to draw the inferences that they embody (Zhang and Wildemuth, 2005).

3.4 Sampling

In order to ascertain transparency and ethical conduct, prior arrangements were made to seek permission to conduct research from the relevant stakeholders. A participant information sheet as well as a formal consent and/or assent form for minors were produced. Through the help of the principal and area chiefs and initiation committees, the researcher identified the number of initiation places that were open in the targeted areas. This sketch had a direct bearing in the way in which the researcher selected his subjects and population.

In undertaking this study, the researcher used both simple random sampling and purposive sampling. Simple random sampling refers to the procedure through which the research subjects that are drawn from the identified population have the same chance of being included in the sample (Berg, 2004).

To select the required data appropriately, simple random sampling was used. The data for this study was gathered from the Northern, the Central and the Southern regions. The Northern region included Mokhotlong, Butha-Buthe, and Leribe; the Central region embraced Berea, Maseru, and Thaba-Tseka and the Southern region comprised Mafeteng, Mohale's Hoek, Quthing and Qacha's neck. The reason for breaking up the country into these divisions was that in each region, the initiation calendars fall around the same dates and the *mangae* styles are similar. This demarcation made data collection, organisation and analysis manageable. The focus groups

consisted of the boy initiates who had just reunited or reintegrated with the community to celebrate the initiation success in their different villages and families.

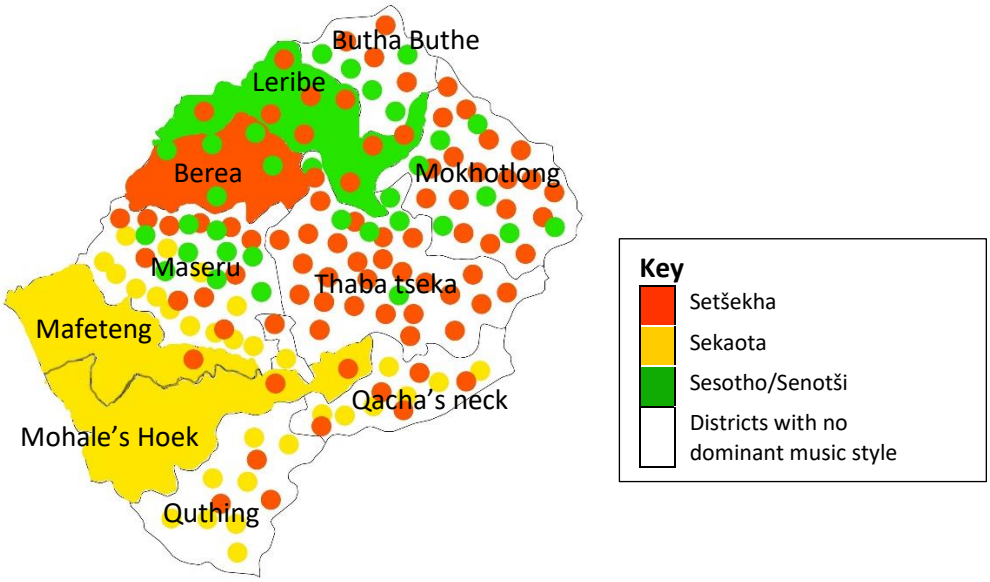


Figure 1: The map of Lesotho showing the distribution of the mangae styles across the country

Purposive sampling, on the other hand, is the procedure in which the researcher uses his/her special knowledge or expertise about some group to select the subjects which represented the population. Normally, purposive samples are selected after field surveys on some groups in order to ensure that certain types of individuals showing the anticipated characteristics are included in the study sample (Berg, 2004). The style in which the performance of *mangae* are sung across Lesotho differs drastically. However, the language used, and the content covered is almost identical. In most parts of Mokhotlong, Botha-Bothe, Berea and a vast area of Leribe, the name of the *mangae* style sung there is called Setšekha. Setšekha is the word that originates from Makhabane's (younger brother of Great King Moshoeshoe I) regiment called Matšekha. Letšekha was the initiation name given to Makhabane. Most people of the Berea district strongly venerate the Setšekha song style. It is the song style that has become greatly popular in several districts.

In Leribe there is also notorious *mangae* style called Sesotho that lately assumed the name Senotši. Senotši originates from the name of the village called Linotšing based at the foot of Tsikoane plateau. This is often the song style accorded to the *mangae* of *makoloane* of Tsikoane extending to the plateau of Leribe to Thaba-Phatšoa in Leribe. In most villages such as the ones found along the foothills of Molumong plateau in Hleoheng extending to Lihlabeng in Peka and to some parts of Berea district remains to be known as Sesotho.

There is also *mangae* style found in the southern district of Lesotho; Mafeteng, Mohale's hoek, Quthing and Qacha's neck and some parts of Maseru which is known as Sekaota. Lekaota was an

initiation name of one Mojela Letsie who build his home at Mafeteng. His regiment was therefore called Makaota. The same referent was adopted in naming the initiation music style of the initiates from Mafeteng and surrounding areas. The researcher targeted the Setšekha, Sesotho and Sekaota performance of *mangae* styles, based on his knowledge and expertise of the nature of the subjects and population. In this regard, selecting the relevant type of data that bear similar characteristics was successful.

The researcher further opted for the two sampling models in order to close the gap and for them to supplement each other where one falls short. There was a close give-and-take simulation that obtained when using both random and purposive sampling. Most of the required information was covered in totality where it was possible. Authentic conclusions have thus been drawn from the research sites because most of the subjects were represented in the collection and analysis of data.

The researcher recorded and analysed 85 *mangae* from 35 different initiation schools. The songs were recorded from the Northern region, the Central region, and the Southern region. The recordings showed 35 *mangae* from Setšekha, 30 from Sesotho/Senotši and 20 from Sekaota. During the data collection it was discovered that the populace of initiation schools was higher in the Northern region than in the other regions. Furthermore, Setšekha music style was discovered to be the most dominant variety in the whole country having traces in all the three regions. Sesotho song style was found to be the second most popular style in most places, particularly in the Northern and Central regions of the country. Sekaota is mostly used in the Southern region, where there seems to be fewer initiation places that revere this style.

Out of the selected 35 initiation places, 20 were in the Northern region, 5 from the Central region and 10 from the Southern region. Throughout the three regions, data was collected through the observation of the participants, note-taking as well as video and audio recordings from each selected site and research subject. The number of collected *mangae* per region was proportional to the number of the selected places visited in each region. The researcher collected 49 songs from the Northern region, 24 songs from the Southern region and 12 songs from the Central region. The selection of places was based on two major factors: accessibility and the size of the population. Therefore, the selected places were representative of all the other places.

Three songs were recorded from three performers in each of the selected initiation places in each region. However, only one song out of the three was considered for analysis. The choice of the song was made based on its relevance to the study. Before recording was made, the researcher and the research assistants first listened to the performance of *mangae* while making note of what data to consider. For example, the selected initiates of the age range of 18-45 years were considered for this study.

After identifying the songs that were required for the purpose of this study, the researcher then requested for the performance of the identified singers. After the relevant singer was identified, the researcher then recorded the songs while simultaneously taking notes. The initiates were accessed through the assistance of the initiation instructors during the recess, as the initiates were not allowed to engage with the public during the performance of *mangae*.

For the researcher to pick the relevant song out of the selected three songs, he listened to the songs repeatedly and ascertain that such a song falls within the objectives that the study had proposed. The researcher made a checklist based on the proposed objectives to determine and select the required data for his study. The checklist was used to verify the number and frequency of *mangae* collected based on the proposed objectives so that the songs are spread evenly across the objectives.

3.5 Data Collection

Data collection was aligned principally with the reason for choosing the subject in question, how it was carried out and analysed. Data for this study was collected from November 2018 to March 2019. This period was ideal because it was when most of the initiation places are undergoing the last phase of the custom namely: *ho tsoa* (reunion). During this phase, the graduating boy initiates commemorate the initiation success through the performance of *mangae*. As the result, the researcher sought the help of research assistants during data collection to cover up the spatial and the temporal discrepancies. Primary data was used in the undertaking of the task at hand. Here primary data refers to fresh or original recordings of the performance of *mangae* during the live performance and/or to the present data on record such as tape records, recorded CDs and DVDs, and videotapes available in the media houses (local radio stations), social media and individual community members.

A tape recorder and voice recorders, pen and paper were used as data collection tools. Data was collected from several initiation places on each day within one target area. In order to identify which songs were appropriate for analysis, the researcher studied the recorded data and made an adopted thematic coding strategy. Additionally, during the recording of the songs, the researcher and the research assistants simultaneously listened to the songs critically in order to mark out those that fell within the proposed objectives of this study.

Data collection was done through an extensive observation of the participants. This method of data collection is interactive. The researcher fully engaged with the participants through a full immersion within the environment of the research subjects. The researcher had access to the songs, observed and experienced he the information and activities of the participants firsthand (Mason, 2002). The research assistants intently observed *makoloane* in order to fully comprehend the nature, style and content of the performance of *mangae*.

3.6 Data organisation and presentation

The researcher listened to the audio recordings and observed the video recordings and then transcribed them on paper. For the songs to be sufficiently transcribed word for word, audios and videos were listened to for several times. The words contained in the songs were reduced into writing. Words, sentences and paragraphs were composed. Data from all the field notes was reduced to writing through assigning special numeric representations and codes. Audio, video data and notes taken during field work were arranged and organised differently. Video data was coded as VN (video notes) and the notes taken during the participants' observation were coded as ON (participants' observation notes) while the audio records were coded as AN (audio notes). The systematic data organisation, coding and indexing that was used helped in condensing the huge data into a manageable size. The indexed and coded data was further broken into specific themes. The researcher investigated the songs to identify the common and identical subject-matter from each of the chosen songs. For qualitative content analysis, it is logical that specific themes are set up to represent the units of data chunks for purposes as analysis rather than simply using textual linguistic segments (Zhang and Wildemuth, 2005).

3.7 Data analysis procedures

Portions of specimen were drawn from the transcribed data and analysed individually. Chapter headings and subheadings, informed by the main objective of the study, are provided in the study. Under each heading and subheading, some excerpt taken from the songs were cited, translated, interpreted and analysed qualitatively. For analysis, the research uncovered layers of meanings contained in each of the specimen given. In other cases where there were varied layers of meaning, the researcher used his inferences to uncover the latent message. For the researcher to have been able to decrypt and unpack the layers of meaning contained in the songs, he relied on his understanding of the music. The narrative Paradigm and Hermeneutics were used to analyse the songs. Throughout the analysis, the researcher was in pursuit of the reason behind the performance of *mangae* in the contemporary Lesotho. He further looked intently on how communication is rendered, the significance of the performance of *mangae*, its content and its role.

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter was dedicated to the presentation and description of the methods and methodologies used that were used in the undertaking of this study. Major theoretical approaches of research pursuit were defined and explanation of how they were applied in the study were given. Aspect such as identification of the research site, the subjects and strategies used to select them are outlined. The methods and tools used for data collection, organisation and presentation and analysis procedures were also presented.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ORAL PERFORMANCE OF *MANGAE* OF SESOTHO: THE STYLE, THE RATIONALE AND THE SOCIAL MEANING

4.1 Introduction

This section delineates the oral performance (c.f. 1.1.2) of *mangae*. It also establishes and discusses the rationale and the social meaning that it imparts to the society. In order to derive the rationale and the social meaning, an in-depth exploration of the communication (verbal and non-verbal) strategies (c.f. 1.5.1) was made.

The art of oral performance of *mangae* is an ancient entity. It is as prehistoric as the culture of initiation itself. It existed long before the Sesotho indigenous cultures were compressed into inanimate and quiet scripts. It has always been a lively and entertaining culture that embodied several accompanying gestures that added substance to voice. Like most, indigenous oral performances, it requires rigorous training, repetitive narrations and stern practice. For the performance of *mangae* to happen there must be a performer, performance and live audience. This section seeks to identify and elaborate on other elements of performance that are embodied in modern-day performance of *mangae*. Various aspects and techniques of communication are discussed to uncover how far they form the bases of intellectual human life. The present researcher considers the role of the artist, the actual performance and the audience. This chapter identifies three major aspects of performance that are delivered alongside the performance of *mangae* or at some sporadic sessions namely, the theatrical elements, the traditional dances and the games and popular (or modern-day) music and dance styles. In this study, such additives that accompany the performance of *mangae* are referred to as the elements of **performance-within-performance**.

4.2 The nature of oral performance of *mangae* songs

Like most oral art forms of the Basotho, the performance of *mangae* serves as a repository of indigenous knowledge base and value patterns of the society. The performance of *mangae* has preserved the shared ideologies of the community within it. They reveal and reflect the cultural etiquette of the people and communication of their concerns during the performance. This view is supported by Tšiu (2008:67) as follows:

> Since the Basotho were not as yet exposed to the culture of reading and writing, the composition of their *dithoko* served partly as a medium through which events of their history and heroism were preserved and transmitted to the next generations.

This quotation reveals that oral composition served as the archive of the history and knowledge of the society that practices it. Like most oral traditional performances, the performance of *mangae* is characteristically considered as total theatre. Schipper (1982) observes:

> Oral literature is always theatre, because the way in which the subject-matter is performed is essential aspect of art. Theatre and traditional oral literature always recreate the original work. Feelings, mimicry, gestures, intonation, the use of rhythms and pauses, variations in the emotions expressed, the immediate reactions of the actors towards the audience and vice versa: this is all part of the oral character of unwritten literature and is in fact inherent in the theatre. Oral literature does not exist without expression. The performance, the presentation, is a total event in which all those present take part, whether by narrating or making music, by clapping….

The performance of *mangae* is viewed in the light in which Schipper (1982) describes the oral literature. It reflects the singers' feelings through voice and gestulations. The interplay and variation of the voice to express the emotion is another level of theatrical artistry that is found in the performance of *mangae*. There are several symbolic elements of theatre found in most Sesotho oral performances, for examples folktales, the rainmaking ritual (*ho rapella pula*), children house game (*'mantloane*) and prayer for barren women (*ho rapella linyopa*.

In this study oral performance (c.f. 1.1.2) is taken to mean all aspects of human communication: voiced and non-voiced that are produced during the composition. It refers to the state in which all human bodily movements are integrated and fused in the performance of *mangae* to denote human communication/sentiments through music. Such mimed activities include dancing, games (traditional or modern) and other forms of bodily movements. Oral performance also relates to anything performed using the body, either through voice or actions done using the body (deportment, presentation, gestures, facial expression, style, diction, projection/vocal expressions, audience participation, dialoguing, communication, feedback etc.).

For any form of oral performance to be effective, it must have within it the performer (rendition/narrative style), the performance (live, active, real, non-mute, animate) and the audience (to encourage, persuade and to provide feedback). This notion is also attested to by Earthy et al. (2008:6) saying "stories can be viewed as a joint action involving three groups of peoples: the producers, the coaxes and the consumer." These features are important for the beautification of performance.

4.2.1 The performer

Words such as poet, singer, narrator, artist, composer and actor are used interchangeably in the study to refer to the performer, the key figure in the oral performance. The performer serves as the representative, the messenger, the mouthpiece or the conduit of thought of his society. He

has several prerogatives ahead of him, he entertains the community and serves as the spokesperson of the society who reiterates the aspirations and his people.

Being a member of the oral society, the performer has a clearer knowledge of the ambitions and challenges of his society. Because of this, performers have a profound acquisition of the manner and nature of oral compositions of his predecessors and reproduces the comparable behaviour during the performance of the indigenous oral compositions. During the performance, the artist composes songs whose subject matter addresses the issues that he has observed and that have affected his people. Thus, he transmits the concerns (turmoil, tribulations and elations) of the society through an oral performance. In the oral performance of *mangae*, the narrator's entitlement among other things is to register the cultural, social, political, economic, psychological, psychodynamic conditions that his society is faced with. In some situations, he appeals for the emancipation of his people from the claws of oppression exerted upon them by those in power.

During the initiation journey and to complete it, among other requirements, the initiates are intensively taught how to sing *mangae*. The *basuoe* teach the boys how to compose and sing *mangae*. However, in most instances, *mangae* are principally composed by *basuoe* for the initiates. The initiated men visit the lodge to assist with the composition of *mangae*. The initial stage of the first teachings of composition and rehearsal of *mangae* starts at *linakeling* and it is continued at *mophatong*. Various subjects perpetuated by the cultural, social, economic, political, psychological and psychodynamic situation of the composers' experiences usually form the themes of the performance of *mangae*.

During the performance of *mangae*, the performer is constituted by the lead singer and the group of backing voices/ backing vocalists. The principal performer, however, is the one who leads the song and sings while on his feet. He is backed by a group of other singers who are seated during composition. They make a blend, a unison, a harmony of voices and an interchange of voices during the singing. Therefore, what is defined as a "**performer**" in the performance of *mangae* is a group of all the initiates. However, each initiate serves as a lead-singer of his song during his performance and they keep alternating the sessions. There are also common instances where more than one boy initiate serves as the lead singer in the performance. The numbers may range from two to five boy initiates as leading vocalists during one session of performance.

Rather than voiced performance, the initiates also engage the use of non-verbal communication. The dress code of the boy initiates is unique and specific only to the cohort of the graduating boys. They also carry two sticks; one of them is a knobkerrie that the initiate raises in the air with one hand. The other is a straight one that is held on the side of the initiate. The picture in Figure

2 was taken from the *makoloane* of Mafeteng, Matholeng; it shows the performing posture, deportment and the costumes of the initiate during the performance of *mangae*.



Figure 2: Makoloane a Mafeteng, Matholeng

The lead-singer normally stands while the backing vocalists sit on the ground. A lead singer may sing one or a few *mangae* during a single session of performance. With respect to *makoloane* who sing Setšekha, two or more initiates rise and occupy the stage (the singing space or central position in the rendition of the song). The standing initiates alternate turns during the performance. Each of them performing *mangae* according to the instructions that he gets from *basuoe*. Still, while the central performer/s is still up, upon instruction, one of the initiates who is still seated, crouches (squats) a little above the rest and performs his piece. The sitting posture of *makoloane* differs with respect to their places of origin. For examples, *makoloane* from some parts of Central region and a vast area of the Southern region sit flat extending their legs forward (Fig. 5). *Makoloane* from most parts in the central area and principally from the Northern region bend their knees upwards. Figure 3, taken from *makoloane* of Sefateng, demonstrates the sitting method and the rising of three initiate at a time during the composition of the song.



Figure 3: Makoloane a Mapoteng, Sefateng

A picture revealing squatting performers



Figure 4: Picture of two squatting makoloane who are the main performers

Makoloane extending their legs forward:



Figure 5: Makoloane a Mafeteng Matholeng

The group of backing singers is normally broken into three voice groups. The front row sings the base line and the following lines thereof sing *tsoetse* (a female like voice) and *tšosi* (a scare-like voice). During the performance the lead singer is the one who suggests the words of the songs to the group. Depending on the type of *mangae* style, the backing voices would either repeat the exact words that the lead singer has suggested, particularly the bass line.

4.2.2 The performance

The performance of *mangae* like other oral performances is "not created in the social vacuum but are moulded by a social context and interactions between storyteller and audiences" (Earthy et al., 2008). What the above citation suggests is that for performance to be meaningful, it must happen before the audience. Performance in this section relates to all visible facets of communication including the voiced and gestural activities. All aspects accompanying the performance of *mangae* was considered in this study. But this section looks at the following features observable during the performance: dialoguing in either speech or song form, theatricalization, impersonation and dancing (traditional and modern-day styles) and any other gesticulations observable during the performance. The performance serves, in its entirety and right, as the voice or message of the people/society intended at communicating/delineating the concerns of the society. It is upon this observation that Tšiu (2008) thinks that chanting is done

in the presence of an audience for aesthetic purposes and for information sharing. Similarly, Zondi (2008:76) states:

> Whilst the primary role of performance is perceived to be entertainment it is also meant to confirm and teach social values and important philosophical concepts as guidelines to the realization of a full social and intellectual life. The completeness of an individual is experienced through others during a performance thus rendering performance a public rather than private affair; a phenomenon that has always been characteristic of traditional societies.

The performance of *mangae* in this study was analysed based on the views shared by (Zondi, 2008). We investigated the performance of *mangae* from their aesthetic values, their moral teachings and their role in society. Performance, in this study refers to the actual singing of the songs called *mangae*. Whereas the prime role of the initiates is normally to perform *mangae* to the community upon reunion, contemporarily the singers blend other pure performative antics within, alongside or intermittently during the performance of *mangae*. The technique of consolidating other independent performances such as theatre, tradition games and dances and modern-day dance styles is referred to as performance-within-performance in this study. The ensuing section elaborates on each *lengae* text to delineate on how it is rendered.

4.2.3 The *lengae* text

A complete version/text of *lengae* embraces several distinct but also coordinated, intersecting and overarching features that render it a complete composition. Such variables are *lithoko*, *lengae* and *lifela* (words that are sung concurrently or sporadically during the singing of *lengae*). *Lithoko* are delivered at the sporadic intervals when the song or *lengae* has ceased. While the rest of the initiates are silent, the *lekoloane* (the initiate) who is performing for the public chants some short statements called *lithoko*. Although they are called *lithoko*, the way in which they are recited differs from *lithoko* performed for chiefs and worriers, *litaola* (divining bones), for example. They are short but succinct statements and/phrases that communicate a certain message to the listeners.

Alternatively, *lengae* (initiates' song/music) is a composition of a song led by the performer (*ea ithokang*). It starts off with a deep-throated voice that is immediately succeeded with a chorus of backing voices. First, the deep throated voice (*kharu*) of those sitting in the first row takes over once the song has been fully suggested to the group. Afterwards, the rest of other voices such as baritone, *tšosi* and *tsoetse* also back up to form the harmony and well-defined cord. When a complete thought/message of the *lengae* has been sung, the performer leads with *sefela* (typical of the tune of *lifela tsa litsamaea-naha* le *liparola-thota*). In this case, rather than only showing competence and eloquence, the performer provides additional information to the whole text of *lengae*. This tune is voiced through recitation of *lifela* in the song that also comes intermittently. During their (*lifela*) recital, the chorus of voices sometimes keeps quiet while in others they run

concurrently with the solo leading voice. This is done to permit the performer to realize his intended communication notwithstanding providing an additional message in addition to that of *lengae*.

The various constituent parts make up a *lengae*. It is noteworthy that each of these elements come together to give not only the related texts but also a neatly consolidated composition and harmony. In these categories, each individual composition has its own content and message communicated to the public. The author looks at the *lengae* text in the light of the description given above. This is to say that what *lithoko*, *lengae* and *lifela* embody have been considered as the subject of the study in question. Apart from other textual features and qualities that may be contained in *mangae*, this study hobbles with the interrogation of the communicative strategies, the significance, the content and the role of the content embodied in the text of *mangae a makoloane*.

Superficially, the composition of *lengae* functionally serves as an entertainment entity. Several different compositional activities and entertaining antics have nowadays been blended within the presentation of *lengae*. Apparently, such a blend and consolidation of styles are brought in for aesthetics of the composition. In the performance of *mangae*, there is an intermingling of oral styles revealing the fossils of traditional deposits from the past and an addition of colonial and modern imports. The flexibility of the performance of *mangae* to borrow resources from the traditional art space and to import others from modern-day resources evoke various reactions and heighten the aesthetics of the performance of *mangae*. Therefore, in its apprenticeship, there are some ululations from women and girls and cheers from the initiated men and boys. Simultaneously, the initiated ridicule their uninitiated counterparts to make them feel useless, thereby consequently advocating their enrolment into the institution.

4.2.4 The audience

The performance of *mangae* is acted before an active audience. The audience listens and watches for performance, listens to specialised language, content and the message of the songs as well as the aesthetics of the performance. Thus, the audience is reckoned as the consumers of the performance. They have a direct involvement in the whole process of performance. Their presence gives the performer some energy to do better. The liveliness of performance lies on the reaction of the listeners or consumers of the rendition. There is a direct link and/or communication between the performer and his audience. As a result, the audience react by giving out instant feedback to the composer. The audience's feedback on the performance of *mangae* is illuminated through several reactions and emotions from the participants. In appreciation of the thrilling performance, the audience hands out gifts and presents to the singers, they clap, ululate and makes all forms of screams of joy. Generally, there is direct

dialogue between the performer and the consumers. And the performance in the various styles serves as the cord that links the two parties. The feedback encourages or coaches the performer to shine because of the acknowledgement that he receives form the audience. It is because of this nature of the live performance that Schipper (1982:11) argues that "oral literature does not exist without expression. The performance, the presentation, is a total event in which all those present take part, whether by narrating or making music, by clapping…." In addition, Tšiu (2008) notes that the audience is not an assemblage of inert consumers, but it consists of coaxes that become actively involved in the performance which renders it a participatory exercise. The subsequent section discusses the intersection that obtains between the performer, the actual performance of *mangae* and the audience.

4.3 Reflections of total theatrical elements in the performance of *mangae*: Pure dramatic forms

In the past, the performance of *mangae* entailed only singing and less of other performative actions. Recently, the performance of *mangae* has incorporated the elements deposited and imported from other resources at the disposal of the singers. This section is dedicated to the examination of the pure theatrical forms that are performed along with the performance of *mangae*. The performance of theatre during the performance of *mangae* must have had its major influence from the oral traditional theatre and modern-day television theatres.

4.3.1 Reflection of elements of drama in the performance of *mangae*

By nature of their rendition, the performance of *mangae* is characteristically total theatre. The performance of *mangae* is a non-static oral performance. The composers combine different skills to enliven their music. Such a mixture and consolidation of styles that are fused together during one piece of composition render the performance of *mangae* a status of theatre. The gesticulations and bodily movements accompanying the singing and other motion antics during the performance of *mangae* supplement the aesthetics of the music. In the past the performance of mangae engaged on minimal motion antics. However, the modern-day performance of *mangae* fuse on additive performances that are presented concurrently with the singing. That is, in today's performance of *mangae*, pure independent theatre sketches are performed. This section sets out to identify the traces of total theatre forms that accompany the performance of mangae. It focuses on some conspicuous elements of drama that are identifiable during the performance of *mangae*.

There is an interchange of live singing and dialogical performance during the performance of *mangae*. In the primeval times, the composition or performance of *mangae* did not incorporate pure dramatic elements that are reflected today when the performance of *mangae* has absolute theatrical elements incorporating most of the elements seen on television drama.

Some conspicuous aspects of theatre that are inborn in the performance of *mangae* are their performance before active audience, listeners or consumers, among others. There is also a vast array of elements that characterise drama and theatre observable in the performance of *mangae* without the performers' cognizance that they are actors. Such elements reflect aspects such as the literary elements and performance elements in the purest form of the performance of *lengae* alone. Today, apart from only pure singing of *lengae*, *makoloane* engage in the staged performance of the modern-day drama with all the characteristics that mark it as one. In this instance, the elements of drama such as the literary elements, the performance elements and the technical elements are revealed during the composition. These aspects, according to (Tšiu, 2008) render the context of performance of *mangae* as a "scene."

Because of the bodily movements, gestures, variations of voice and style during the rendition of oral traditions, it is literally considered as total theatre Schipper (1982) and Blackburn (1981). Another important notion that characterizes the performance of *mangae* as a total theatre is the presence of active audience during the performance. It is because of this notion that Earthy et al. (2008) and Zondi (2008) suggest that performance is the community's active which cannot be executed in a social vacuum. Whereas, the new trend of bringing in some independent performance antics during the singing of *mangae* is considered as performance-within-performance, this study concludes that the performance of *mangae* is characteristically total theatre.

4.3.2 Revelation of technical elements of theatre in the performance of *mangae*

Technical elements are any elements of theatre that are used to decorate the stage and those that are worn or used by actors to reveal their roles within the performance. These items range from small to large properties, actors' costumes etc. This section identifies such elements as revealed through the performance of pure theatre by *makoloane*. During the performance, *makoloane* sing the *lengae* whose subject, content, significance and role relate the whole staged play. The song can either be sung as a prologue to the theatre staging or when the actors exit the stage. For example, the songs titled "*ha re rapela novena* (when we pray through the novena), *heee*! *ba lahleha batho* (heee! People wondered about), *li sothile joo* (they have twisted jooo!), *ha re eeng kerekeng* (let us go to church); *ha ke sa sepela* (when I was wondering), *ke sa ea tempeleng ea ntate Mok'hoba* (I am visiting father Mok'hoba's temple), *he ho cheuoe maraba* (heee, they have set traps for us) etc." directly elevate the way to what *makoloane* perform on the stage. Overall, the leading or proceeding song unveils the subject matter of the staged performance. Figure 6 illustrates the technical elements that the *makoloane* of Tsikoane set during the performance of total theatre.



Figure 6: Presence of props, the congregation. The actors are dressed up with significant costume at the centre stage, the presence of the bishops, costumes worn by actors, water glass on the pulpit (the blood of the lamb)-props.

The introduction of additional material such as the props and wearing or specialised costume is a recent style in the performance of *mangae*. The posture and deportment of mangae in the past was that the performer would be handy with his blanket, a bucket containing ochre, two sticks and ornament hung on his neck or pinned to his blanket. However, with recent developments, the stage earmarked for the performance of *mangae* is transformed into a new world beyond what it was initially. This trend marks a pattern alteration in terms of the nature and manner of the performance of *mangae*. External and foreign influences such as television soaps and films seem to have drastically predisposed the traditional scope of the performance of *mangae*. The potential of performance *mangae* to incorporate foreign element during composition shows that they are dynamic by nature. Such dynamism keeps the performance of mangae up to date with other performed genres. It also helps for conformity, continuity and preservation of the ritual. The following section discusses the value of the technical elements during the performance of *mangae*.

4.3.3 The stage; scenery, props and costumes during the performance of *lengae*

The images above signify the art of stage dressing to prepare for the live performance. The *basuoe* act as stage directors and managers. Their role is to set the stage for the action to commence. The props such as the pulpit and the chair are brought to the centre stage. The stage is set well ahead of the performance so that when the actors ascend the stage, the stage scenery

is commensurate with the theme, context and setting. When the performers take to the stage, they sing the *lengae* detailing the theme of the performance. The performance of the song serves as the prologue to the action that is going to be staged. During the performance, the key actors who are the *makoloane* face the seated initiates and give some of the audience their backs. Thus, the other portion of the *makoloane* who have not moved to the centre stage, together with the rest of the people present, form the audience.

With the normal social context set out for the performance of *lengae*, a new sub-context is staged as an additive aesthesia. The stage is dressed such that it projects to what is going to transpire in that setting. The bringing on of a pulpit already signifies that either a court or church proceedings is going to take place. What makes the consumers able to predict what is proceeding is revealed in the leading *lengae* that accompanies the actors to the centre stage.

Whereas, on the one hand, the performance of the total drama is intended for the aesthetics of the culture, on the other it is intended to communicate a certain message to the consumers. Upon seeing the blend of these imported elements and in acknowledgement of the performance, the consumers provide positive feedback by ululating and handing out gifts and presents to the actors. Over and above the enactment of the setting for acting, the actors also present themselves with the costumes relevant to the whole process of performance.



Figure 7: Bishop giving the blood of the lamb to his congregation

4.3.4 Characters/actors and their costume during the performance of *mangae*

Figure 7 shows the presence of the characters on stage. The setting and the context are revealed as the church procession. When going to the stage, the two initiates leave the group of seated initiates and go forward to sing *lengae* thus (*makoloane* a Tsikoane):

Ha re eeng kerekeng.
Tempeleng koana
Lipesalema li phetluoe
Ke sechaba sa ntate
Ha re eeng kerekeng
Re eo rapela lentsoe la molimo

_____

Let us go to church
At the temple over there
The psalms have been opened
By the nation of the father
Let us go to church
We are going to praise the word of God

The lead-singers are seen on the stage wearing white capes (mozzettas) on their shoulders, on top of their initiation gear. The cape worn by the initiates is the one used by the renowned *posetola* (apostle) brethren in most Southern African churches. The *lengae* prefaces the theme that is going to be performed on stage. Additionally, all the actors who are the members of the congregation wear their specialised attire relevant to their roles on stage. The song that the actors sing when they enter the stage (*ha re eeng kerekeng*) unveils that they are going to stage a church service.

Subsequently, other supporting actors, such as the congregation and associate bishops come to stage with respect to the protocol of the day. The bishop and his associates also come to the stage as the last group of actors on the stage. The bishop's procession comes in when the initiates say: *"baruti ba rona ke bana ba fihla bona; bo-ntate Lesiamo.*" The song facilitates the actors' entrance and relates directly to what is taking place on the stage.

Observable from the picture above: is the presence of the congregation around the pulpit. The cohort of bishops has surrounded the pulpit wearing cassocks, wearing miter on their heads and holding silver rods in their hands. A glass of water (blood of Jesus) is placed on the pulpit. The bishop goes around his congregation allowing it to sip the "blood of Jesus" symbolizing the routine church service known as the Holy Communion.

Surprisingly, a female congregant also ascends the stage with the group of males during the staging of the play. When the performance of *mangae* goes on, women and uninitiated men are

barred from getting too close to the initiates. Margins are set where only the initiated men can reach up to. If, by mistake, a woman or an uninitiated man oversteps, s/he is seriously rebuked, insults are hurled towards them and sometimes they can be beaten for trespassing. However, with the setting of theatre on the platform, a new dichotomy of the women crossing the margins is observed. This behaviour marks a serious transformation in the manner with which the cultural undertakings were done. Such change of paradigm and blend has a direct bearing on the manner with which the promotion of the culture takes a new turn. The assemblage represents modern day transformation blended on the tradition of initiation as supplement to its aesthetics.

The visual composition of the stage dressing, the actors' presentation and the costumes worn by the actors and the movement and actions on the stage truly set it as total theatre. Further the characteristics of pure theatricalizing during the performance of *mangae* is reflected through dialogue. The relevance of the technical elements such as costumes and props in the action help to define the roles of the actors on stage. Additionally, they coincide directly with the theme that was elevated as the actors entered the stage. There is therefore, a direct and close relationship between the content of the song and the actions that are performed on stage.

Interesting also is how some actors present themselves on stage. One of the male congregants has put on a hat whereas he is portrayed as a church attendant. Both in the traditional and some Christian settings members of the congregation are barred from wearing hats. The *posetola* denomination and a few others consent to the wearing of hats during the service. A specialised headwear is permitted in the churches that allow it. In the picture above, a member of the church has put on his butters brim hat. This gesture totally defies the rule of logic anticipated by the church brethren.

In a Sesotho traditional setting, it is impolite for a man to wear a hat when entering a house. They are not supposed to wear one indoors, at *khotla* (traditional court) and even before the headman, the chief or the king. If the hat is not removed, it shows disrespect and disregard of the king. Men seen wearing a hat in such a setting are reckoned to have low morals and are harshly reprimanded by the traditional leaders.

Sesotho traditional initiation has been seriously under fierce attack from the westners who gave *lebollo* undesirable labels, humiliated it publicly and imposed various sanctions to those who held it with high regard Matobo et al. (2009). Because of this combat, the traditionalist who knew the value of *lebollo* protected it with jealousy care Laydevant (1978) and showed massive resistance against the white attackers. The stalwarts of the ritual rejected and hated everything that had to do with Christianity. They never succumbed to the dictates of Christianity. Even today a huge populace of Basotho men abhors anything else that has to do with Christianity. Even at funerals

church service men take to the corners and never listen to what the preachers are saying. They smoke and make a rowdy scenario.

The situation that is depicted on stage is reflective of the debacle that obtains between Christianity and the traditional initiation. The actor does not feel any urge, whatsoever, to succumb to the anticipated code of conduct within the traditional society and of christianity where no powers and/or laws compel him to put his hat off. It is a sheer reflection that, Christianity has no value and place in a traditional setting. Thus, the behaviour of the actor wearing the hat in church directly mirrors the politics of tradition and religion. The performance of *mangae* is a component of the whole ritual of initiation. Although there are stern rules to adhere to during their performance, the initiated men and the traditional leaders are not as strict as with other phases. To some degree, certain laws that govern the ritual are relaxed. The performance of *mangae* serves, on the other hand, to entertain the community and facade the private matters that are performed in seclusion. Because the actor who has worn a hat knows that the staged performance is for entertainment, he does not see any urge to adhere to the social norms of the society.

The same actor is seen puffing his cigarette during the staged church service. The church and Christianity seriously condemn drinking and smoking. Despite the actor's knowledge of the obligations of the church, when ascending the stage, he disobeys what is considered as a code of good conduct governing the church. This attitude reflects sheer disregard of the church by Basotho men, especially those who have been initiated.

4.3.5 Reflections of the behaviour of the singers during the performance of mangae: Performance elements

In most settings, during the performance of *mangae*, *basuoe* are seen continually rolling tobacco or dagga and puffing it along as they sing. They smoke in public and expose others to consequent health hazards thereof. Smoking dagga and tobacco in initiation is considered auxiliary in helping young men to develop deep voices. Deep voices are required for the singing of the bass line during the performance of *mangae*. It also reflects maturity, adulthood and manhood if the boy who went to initiation with a normal voice has grown so much that his voice is deep. It reflects him as a truly grown man. It is considered as commanding respect and velour. Men with soft and low-toned voices are not respected much in the Sesotho culture. Smoking before the initiates is considered as normal by *basuoe* during the performance of *mangae*. The initiates do not choke while *basuoe* smoke in front of them; this reflects resilience and hardiness that the young men have accrued during the initiation period. An initiated man is culturally considered to be strong.



Figure 8: Basuoe smoking roll-ups of dagga during the performance of lengae

After the closure or dispersal of the initiates to go back to their families, they often smoke publicly as a show-off, portrayal of maturity and a symbol of manhood. Even the boys who did not smoke or who hid when they smoked before being initiated start smoking freely in public immediately after initiation. To them, smoking is a gesture of prestige, status achievement, self-realization and personal identities of virility and growth. It is a show-off before *maqai* and girls and a reflection of transformation from childhood to adulthood. The act of smoking on stage correlates with the behaviour that the initiates display upon a successful completion of initiation by young men as a sign of the attainment of a new status.

Several cases of misconduct and law breaking by the new initiates have until recently troubled the nation. The smoking of dagga which seems rampant have caused those who went back to school to cause disciplinary problem. Although, the actor boastfully puffs his cigarette in the setting of a church as an image of the politics that hold between the church and the traditional culture, it also has detrimental outcomes to the young men. To show how boastful the initiated men are about the smoking of dagga, here is a song recorded from *makoloane* of Ha Mashapha:

Bata se mahlo a matala, merero e metšo
Ke momme semoko-moko sa dagga
Ha ke re kubure, ke re matekoane
Koma lia ntšotla, ke bola menahano
Ke theosa, ke phukasa, kea thaba Mapuka
Fako se khakhatha, thota ea korotla kiriatšoana
*Tang-tang ea marole a **bovu** makhofola*

_____

The lion has greenish eyes, the intentions are dark (evil)
I have held the thick roll of dagga in my mouth
I do not mean medicine, I mean dagga
The secret songs of initiation give me trouble, my brain rots
I go downhill, I maraud, and I am going to mount Mapuka
When the hailstorm falls intensively, the veld having been covered by thunderstorm
It's within extremely heavy dense and sweeping (blowing) red dust storm

The excerpt reveals the effects of smoking dagga on the smoker. The eyes become greenish. The greenness of the eyes relates to the red colour of the eyes, caused by nobbling the drug. Symbolically, the red eyes signal brutality and heartlessness in human beings. This shows that, a person who has smoked dagga is dangerous. This is further emphasized with the phrase: "the intentions are dark" (*bata se mahlo a matala, merero e metšo*). The red eyes are directly linked to the evil intentions that the smoker has after smoking. The darkness of mind insinuates that the smokers mind is filled with horrible and devilish wishes. Such wishes are mentioned in the excerpt that the smoker marauds and wonders all over the place irrespective of the unbearable weather conditions. It shows how much a person who has smoked dagga can put his life and those of others in danger. By singing the lines above, the performer boasts about the experiences that he attains after smoking dagga. He becomes brave and adventurous; he risks his life and all.

The initiation rite is one that makes men hardy and brave and fearless of anything. This is pure reflection of new self-realization and personal identities that they have attained while undergoing initiation. What is reflected in the lines above are obvious signs of insanity. Of course, in the real-life situation, many Basotho men who are dagga addicts have fallen victims of madness. Many them are found in the rehabilitation centres and in Mohlomi hospital, the country's mental hospital where people with mental derailment are treated. Amidst such known history, the singer however, boasts the effects of smoking dagga as fun.

One of the basic teachings of the initiation school is the code of good conduct. The initiates are taught how to maintain excellent morals before the society to ensure that they have grown. Furthermore, they are taught high level of respect, especially for the initiated adults. They are advised to be the leading examples in terms of good behaviour. They are further advised sternly on how they should conduct themselves in all spheres of life. The actor who was seen wearing the hat and smoking in church is the owner of the initiation place whom all initiates ascribe to and are highly indebted to. They are expected to replicate his good deeds as they interact with the society. They are susceptible and liable to imitate his deeds to the public as well.

The issue of substance abuse is a major challenge that the ritual of initiation is faced with recently. A great number of the initiated Basotho youth constantly use drugs and alcohol

excessively. This may have been anchored by the behaviour of the basuoe during the performance of *mangae*. The image in Figure 9 one mosuoe boastfully drinking alcohol during the performance of *mangae*. He even ensures that he appears in the camera during the recording.



Figure 9: Mosuoe seen at far back drinking liquor

The behaviour depicted in the image above, is highly spreadable and transferrable to those who are watching and those who idolize the same *mosuoe* and hence could promote drinking in public and serious abuse of alcohol. The *basuoe* and the new initiates have no public decency and morals with respect to the use of addictive substances. They promote the use of addictive substances to the public and the on-looking children. Although drinking and smoking in the Sesotho culture is expected to be done by adults, the new initiates become addicts because of habits of public drinking and dagga smoking demonstrated by *basuoe,* as is the case with most Basotho youth of 18 years of age. In Lesotho there is now a rampant use of substance abuse, where a vast majority of addicts are initiated men. A report by WHO (2004) reveals that around 2003, 78% of men were treated for the abuse of alcohol and that a large portion of them were younger than 30 years of age. While doing such things is a sign of self-realization and status achievement for the young initiates, this behaviour has negative societal impacts in the long run.

Of all the initiated men, the initiates have the highest regard and respect for *mosuoe* than other initiates. They try as much as possible to emulate his deeds in order to appease him. The have a strong allegiance towards him and hardly ever oppose his deeds. The following examples recorded from *makoloane* of Lenyakoane and Koma-koma respectively, relate how much the initiates are indebted to *basuoe*:

Example 1*: Makoloane* of Lenyakoane

Nthome morena, o nthome morena
Leha ho le thata
Thato ke tla phetha ea hao Ntate Manka

Hobane ke uena moporofeta oa kereke tsa loti

_____

Send me, send me my lord
No matter how tough it may be
I will fulfill your will father Manka
Because you the prophet of the church of the mountains

Example 2: Makoloane of Koma-koma

Hooo! Hoooieo! Lona banna ee!
Herota o ntšoelletse mathe lelemeng
…….

_____

Hooo! Hoooieo! You fellow men ee!
Herota has spat on my tongue
…….

These two excerpts show the initiates' loyalty to *basuoe* namely Manka and Herota respectively. In example 1, the initiate is prepared to sacrifice his life to take a burdensome task in order to mollify his hero and 'teacher', Manka. The initiate claims that no matter how hard the task is, he will take it (*leha ho le thata, thato ke tla phetha ea hao Ntate Manka*). He argues that Manka is the prophet of the Maloti range (*hobane ke uena moporofeta oa kereke tsa loti*). The prophet in biblical sense refers to a God-send person who teaches and proclaims his will. In modern-day Christian ways, church leaders who proclaim themselves as prophets keep budding day-in-day-out. They perform miracles, heal incurable diseases, make people wealthy and even claim to resurrect lives.

In the light of the boy initiates, Manka is referred to as the prophet of the churches of the Maloti ranges. *Loti* is also the cattle post in Lesotho. The cattle posts of the Basotho are in the mountain ranges of Lesotho. A mountain or a plateau is used for the erection of a *maphato*. Manka is therefore, referred to as the prophet of the Maloti ranges and/or the cattle post site. This refers directly to the initiation lodge set in the secluded areas. The initiation of the Basotho is a sacred and secret undertaking. Manka is referred to as the prophet of such a holy place. By calling him a prophet, he is seen in the light of the man who preaches, proclaims and fulfils the will of God. He is considered as the superior icon and hero by other initiates and the traditional leaders. He is the *mosuoe* who is year-in-year-out hired as *mosuoe* to teach a crop of new initiates. Therefore, because of his commitment to teach every year, he is referred to as a prophet of the churches of the mountains. Thus, the performer refers to the initiation lodge as a church.

This shows how much power the initiate thinks Manka has in all the mountains of Lesotho. The Maloti range mentioned in his *lengae* refers to *mophato*. By calling Manka "*moporofeta oa kereke tsa loti"*, the initiate suggests that Manka is the most superior *mosuoe* of all the *mephato* of

Lesotho. This statement reveals how much respect the initiate has over his *mosuoe*. In example 2, the initiate from Koma-Koma says that Herota has spat on his tongue. Although this statement has got some proverbial undertones, in the context of initiation, it has far deeper meaning than the proverbial one. In Sesotho, if one person has given the other one a gift of life, they are indebted to him. They say o *ntšoelletse tlhanyelo* (s/he has spat the seedling of life in me).

One of the main stages in *lebollo* is a sending-off ceremony (ho kena). During this phase a bull is slaughtered and the initiates are scarified and fortified using the meat from the bull (*ba lekisoa ka sephaka sa eona*) Ellenberger and MacGregor (1912), Guma (1965) and (1967), Sekese (1975), Laydevant (1978), Makhisa (1979), Lesitsi (1990), Matšela (1990), Moitse (1990), Wells (1994), Swanepoel (2011) and Phaila (ibid). A brave man spits on the meat that the boys eat. This is done so that they will resemble his ways. The use of the phrase *Herota o ntšoelletse mathe lelemeng* projects such realities of the initiation processes. A brave and renowned man spits on the meat that the boys eat Guma (1965:244). For the initiate to comfortably mention that Herota had spat into his mouth, he pledges his fidelity towards him. Seeing *mosuoe* showing off by drinking a quart of liquor, directly influences and ignites the spirit of adoration in the heart/mind of the initiates. This far, we observe serious influence of drugs and alcohol abuse being promoted during the ceremony of the rite of passage.

Contrary to these demonstrated influential deeds, *makoloane* sing songs that condemn substance abuse. Thus, we see virtue being preached and not practised by its practitioners. The recorded extracts from *makoloane* of Ha Makhobalo *lengae* that condemns the use of alcohol follows:

Sephooko 1*:*	*Hooo! tlohella khera*	Hooo! Stop drinking (strong alcohol)
Sephooko 2*:*	*Hooo! tlohella ho noa*	Hooo! Stop drinking
Bese*:*	*A k'u tlohelle khera*	Please stop taking intoxicating drink
Sephooko 1*:*	*Ak'u tlohelle khera*	
Sephooko 2*:*	*A k'u tlohelle ho noa*	
Bese*:*	*A k'u tlohelle khera*	
	Tlohella khera, khera e kotsi	
	E tla u bolaea, a k'u tlohelle khera	

_____

Please stop drinking (intoxicating drink)
Please stop your drinking habits
Refrain from intoxicating liquor, intoxicating drink is dangerous

Tšosi/tsoetse*:*

Ntate Shoalane, ntate Khoro le ntate Bolae, le ntate Makholi
Tlohella joala, tlohella khera
Ke lekile ho tlohella joala ka la maobane
Ho n'o le monate re inoeletse

_____

Father Shoalane, father Khoro and father Bolae and father Makholi
Stop taking alcohol, stop drinking (intoxicating drink)
I tried to stop from taking alcohol yesterday
It was exciting, we were drunk

Contrary from the behaviour of substance abuse reflected above, the song above signals the performer's awareness about the abuse of alcohol and consequent circumstances. Two initiates act as lead-singers, each singing his line and alternating all the way down the song. The initiates use synonymous expressions to tell their *basuoe* (namely: Shoalane, Khoro, Bolae and Makholi) to stop their drinking habits and/or habits of taking strong intoxicating drink. Although the words are directed to the identified *basuoe* in the song, it also applies to all alcohol addicts. The performer, as the mouthpiece of the nation and representative of his society, is conscious of the social circumstances that affect the society, echoes the reprimanding statement against substance abuse.

4.3.6 Technical elements portraying class distinction in the performance of *mangae*

There is also a reflection of class and prestige depicted through the use of costume, as depicted in Figure 10. The boy initiate's costume is not too revealing about his role on the stage. However, he has a chair to sit on. Secondly, he has worn the spectacles. *Makoloane* do no sit on chairs during the normal singing of *mangae*, instead they sit on bovine hide throughout the performance. The hide reflects the traditional way of the life of Basotho. It was principally as a mat and a bed to lie on. With the inception of items brought by modernisation, the chair is also used for one to sit on. It is a substitute for the traditional bovine hide. Symbolically, the use of the chair by the initiate signifies that the initiate is an elite who lives an exclusive and prestigious life. It also signifies transition from the old ways of life to the modern ones.



Figure 10: stage dressing; , props are on stage. An actor is arriving on stage dressed for his role; significantly, he wears glasses.

Wearing the glasses is a sign of status and show-off during the performance. It exclusively marks the initiate as a person in a position of power. Glasses mostly in the context of initiation are worn by approximately all initiates for ornamental purposes. Glasses form part of the package of gifts and presents handed to the graduates by their families. They are handed to them for décor, beautification and status presentation. In this context, the wearing glasses shifts from ordinary use to class identity. Some Basotho wear glasses to present class and reputation. The actor with glasses seated on the chair is addressed as *molungu* (the white person). The transcript that was recorded from *makoloane* of Pobeng reflects the class status between the elite and the down-trodden:

Lekoloane 1 and **Lekoloane 2**: Lumela ntate! Lumela ntate! Lumela ntate!

_____

Hello father, hello father, hello father.

Lekoloane 1: *He monna! Ha u tsebe sekhooa u mpe u bue le lekhooa lee? U oa bona ha re le lumelisa le itholetse*.

_____

He! Man. Don't you know English so that you speak with this white man? You can see that when we greet him, he keeps quiet.

Lekoloane 2: *He monna he! Le 'na ha ke tsebe sekhooa. Ha re 'ne re buoe ho tsoela pele. Ua bona khooa lena ke matala. Mohlomong ha le utloe litsebeng. Ke hore feela u le sebele o le joetse.*

_____

He! Man he! And me too I do not know English. Let us continue speaking. You can see that this is an old English man. Maybe he is deaf. All you need to do is to whisper into his ear and tell him.

Lekoloane 1: (*Le sisinya lekhooa*). *Molungu! Re tl'o batla mosebetsi. Re tl'o batla mosebetsi*.

_____

White man (master)! We have come to look for work.

Lekoloane 3: (*Molungu*/*Lekhooa*): Whaat?

Lekoloane 1: *Re tl'o batla mosebetsi*.

_____

We have come to look for work.

Lekoloane 3: Wha-a-at?

Lekoloane 1: *Re tl'o batla mosebetsi, molungu*.

_____

We have come to look for work, white man (master).

Lekoloane 3: What kind of people salute without greetings?

Lekoloane 1: (*Lea tšeha*): *Heeehe he! He monna ua utloa khooa lee le re re thotse mosebetsi*?

_____

(Laughing): Heeeehe he! He! Man, do you hear that this white man says we have found work?

Lekoloane 2: *He monna! Ke hore re tsamae re eo hlapa*.

_____

He! Man. Let us go and bathe.

Lekoloane 3: No! No! No! Not hore *mosebetsi o teng*. No job, no spaces at my company. Get out fast. Get out. *He banna! Le emets'eng moo? Ke ntse ke re le tsoe le tsamae mosebetsi ha o eo banna? Tsoang le tsamae!*

_____

No! No! No! Not that there is work. …. He! Men! What are waiting for? I am saying that you must get out and leave, there is no work men. Get out and go.

Lekoloane 2: *Ua bona uena monna! Ke u boleletse ka la maobane hore re eo batla mosebetsi. Uena oa mpolella hore u robetse. Bona hona joale tjena khooa lena le re le hirile ka la maobane. Ke u bolelletse ka re ha ho na khomo ea boroko. Ke hore feela re tsamae, ha ho na thuso monna.*

_____

You see now man! I told you yesterday that we must go look for work. And you told me that you were asleep. Now look! This white man (master) has hired yesterday. I told you that you cannot any prize from a bovine through sleep. Let's just leave; it is no use man.

When the dialogue begins as shown in the extract above, the actor on the chair is addressed as *ntate* (father). For example, in unison the two lead singers say "*Lumela ntate! Lumela ntate! Lumela ntate*!" Upon first introducing themselves and greeting the white man, the initiates call him *ntate* and not *molungu*. But when the initiates talk aside, they refer to him as *lekhooa* (white person). For example, they say: "*ha u tsebe sekhooa u mpe u bue le* ***lekhooa*** *lee?*" In other

instances, he is addressed as *molungu (Molungu! Re tl'o batla mosebetsi)*. To show his class, the white man ignores the two jobseekers when they address him in their own language and pretend to be deaf. They take yet another aside and devise ways which will facilitate communication that would elicit feedback as is revealed in this dialogue:

Lekoloane 1: *He monna! Ha u tsebe sekhooa u mpe u bue le lekhooa lee? Ua ha re le lumelisa le itholetse*.

Lekoloane 2: *He monna he! Le 'na ha ke tsebe sekhooa. Ha re 'ne re buoe ho tsoela pele. Ua bona khooa lena ke matala. Mohlomong ha le utloe litsebeng. Ke hore feela u le sebele o le joetse*.

The jobseekers prove a serious dilemma of a language barrier when seeking employment. They suspect that the white potential employer is keeping quiet either because he is a deaf or because of his age (*u oa bona khooa lena ke matala. Mohlomong ha le utloe litsebeng*). As a result, they devise a strategy of shouting into his ear so that they can get access to him. Their trick works and he finally responds to them. Unfortunately, he uses English to communicate to them. The white man intentionally keeps quiet when he is being greeted by the jobseekers. He pretends not to understand Sesotho, yet he engages in code-mixing and responds to some statements that they say in Sesotho. By showing this behaviour, the white man does not only mark class and racial gap but also reflects on how much he undermines the jobseekers and their language. His wearing of glasses symbolises class distinction between the down-trodden and the wealthy. Technical elements such as wearing of glasses and of sitting pompously on the chair have a direct correlation with the way events take place on the stage.

The ongoing dialogue between the two men who have come to seek employment and the actor wearing the glasses and seating on the chair relate to the power relations between the whites and the blacks. The actor is addressed as both *lekhooa* and *molungu* and the two men have come to seek employment from him. The white man is thus seen as powerful and endowed with ability to provide employment to the blacks. Even though he understands Sesotho, he does not respond. He pretends that he does not know Sesotho. This behaviour represents the harassment that the Basotho are faced with when they go to the Republic of South Africa (RSA) to look for jobs. The glasses represent the actors' role.

Differently, from the style depicted above, the exposition and the rising action are reflected in the dialogue with *makoloane* of Pobeng. To mark that they have travelled the land in search of the job, the initiates continue to greet the job provider as follows: *lumela ntate* (hello father). A serious controversy is elevated in this regard where the jobseekers are not able to converse in English. This reflects the handicaps that the uneducated Basotho are faced with when they go to look for employment in the neighbouring farms in RSA. The action reflects the two layers of the difficulty that the initiated men are faced with. Firstly, they have a challenge of proving their manhood by finding jobs. This is a prerogative of everyman. Secondly, the communication impairment poses another level of the challenge. Amidst these problems, the person whom the

men seek employment from ignores them and pretends not to understand Sesotho. This is reflected in this statement: "*U oa bona ha re le lumelisa le itholetse*" (you can see that when we greet him, he keeps quiet). This statement designates the treatment that the young Basotho men are faced with when they meet the white employers in the Republic of South Africa. Through the act of keeping quiet and later responding in through quote-switching the white man is considered to undermine and to disregard the Basotho jobseekers. The climax in this play is seen when the white man openly expels the two men from his place without any remorse and humanity. The men succumb to the expulsion and retreat sorrowfully. In conceding defeat, they wrap up with the closing song saying: "*li sothile joo! Li sothile*!"

The jobseekers admit failure and downfall and echo that they should retreat homewards, "*ha re khutle thaka tsaka"* (let us go back fellow men). The initiates sing in a dialogue form, each one sings his verses directed to his interlocutor. The song redirects its concern to the manhandling that Basotho are faced with when they are looking for employment. There are serious cases of deportation of the Basotho who seek employment in RSA. In most cases, the employers report to the immigration offices that there are illegal migrants and employees working in their surroundings and they are deported without being paid for what they have worked for. The employers take advantage of the Basotho and exploit them without any compensation for their personal gain because it is wrong for the Basotho to go to the RSA without the proper and required documents. However, this situation does not warrant the exploitation by employers. Overall, the song marks the awareness of the treatment that the white farmers, contractors and other employers impose on Basotho.

4.3.7 Reflections of literary elements in the action staged during the performance of *mangae*

The range of literary elements are observable in the play on the stage. There is a well-defined plot line and display of language techniques during the performance. Events within the performance are arranged in an orderly chronology. They have the beginning, the middle and the end. The beginning in other instances is led by the singing of *lengae*, while in other instances the preliminary stage starts off with a prologue. For example, the *makoloane* of Linotšing Ha Mokokoana start off with the leading song "*ha re eeng kerekeng; ke sa ea kerekeng ke e'o rapela"* (let us go to church; I am now going to church to pray).

Chorus: *Banna ee! Ha re eeng kerekeng ntate Mok'hoba*
Hoba re e'o saena tumelo
Ke sa ea ofising kerekeng ea ntate Mok'hoba
Re amohele ntate Mok'hoba
Sefela 1: *Baruti ba rona ke bana ba fihla bona; bo-ntate Lesiamo*
Re amohele ntate Mok'hoba
Sefela 2: *Mo-Bishopo oa rona ntate Mok'hoba bonang*
O e roetse katiba ea korone

Re amohele ntate Mok'hoba

_____

Let us go to church; I am now going to church to pray
Men, let us go to church, father Mok'hoba
Because we are going to sign faith
I am going to the office, the church of father Mok'hoba
Please welcome us father Mok'hoba

Sefela 1: *Let us welcome our preachers, here they come; father Lesiamo and others*
Please welcome us father Mok'hoba

Sefela 2: *Look at our Bishop, father Mok'hoba*
He is wearing a hat of a crown
Please welcome us father Mok'hoba

An example of a play performed by *makoloane* a Pobeng leads with one song titled: *Hee! Banna ee! Ba lahleha batho*.

Leading *lengae*:

Hee! Banna ee!
Ba lahleha batho
Re sa ea le lithota joo!
Rona re sa kutla litsela
Ha habo monna ke hohle

Sefela 1: *Hohle! Hohle kae le kae!*
Re sa tšelela ka mose maoatleng koana

Sefela 2: *Hohle! Hohle kae le kae!*
Ke utloa ba re lifeme lia hira koana Limpopo

_____

Hee men ee!
People are getting lost
We are going down the veld joo!
We are trotting the routes
The man's home is all over/everywhere

Sefela 1: All over! Everywhere all over
We are crossing to over seas

Sefela 2: All over! Everywhere all over
I hear that the factories are hiring (people) in Limpopo

Second *lengae* begins after drama piece:
Sephooko (Lekoloane 1 and 2, lekoloane 3 leaves to join the seated group):

Li sothile joo! Li sothile!
Ha ho na khomo ea boroko le 'na ke bone.
Ha ho na khomo sebeletsa pere
Ha re khutle thaka tsaka
Ha re khutle hle monna

_____

The have twisted joo! They have twisted!
There is no bovine upon sleep

Let us go back my siblings/age mates
Let us go back man

Lifela sung in a dialogue manner:

Sefela 1 dialogue:

Lekoloane 1:

Ha re khutle monna Keletso ee!
Re khutlele morao, re il'o roalla mathata.

_____

Let us go back Keletso man ee!
Go back to gather problems

Lekoloane 2:

Ua bolela monna Mokubisane ee!
Mohlomong re tla tla re nkile malebela.

_____

You are right Mokubisane man.
Perhaps, we will come back have gathered some advice.

Sefela 2 dialogue:

Lekoloane 1:

Ha re khutle monna Keletso ee! Re khutlele morao.
Mohlomong molimo o tla re thusa.

_____

Let us go back/return Keletso man! Let's return backwards.
Perhaps God will assist us.

Lekoloane 2: *U oa bolela monna Mokubisane ee!*
Mohlomong ka mohau oa molimo re tla pholoha.

_____

You are right, Mokubisane man.
Perhaps by God grace we will be saved.

In both excerpts, a set of initiates leave the group of other initiates to go to the main stage where the play is going to be performed. They sing a content-unveiling song. As they start singing, the stage directors prepare the stage. With the Linotšing initiates, when the leading song is performed, the actors too go to the backstage to get dressed for the roles that they are going to perform. They perform the *lengae* titled: *ha ke sa sepela,* borrowed from the renowned hymn "*ntate ha ke sa sepela,*" composed by S. Rolland, designated number 7 in the *Lifela tsa Sione* (the hymns of zion.) The subsequent song follows before the play starts. The song that starts the action on the stage says: "*tempeleng koana, lipesalema li phetluoe*." At this moment the bishop is standing near the pulpit reading the book of psalms. The two songs serve as the exposition of the play because their content introduces the listeners to what is going to take place on the stage. *Makoloane* of Pobeng divulge that they are wondering all over the world in search of the jobs because a man's home is everywhere (r*ona re sa kutla litsela, ha habo monna ke hohle*). They mention that they are going overseas to seek employment (*re sa tšelela ka mose maoatleng koana*). They also mention that they have heard that there are vacancies at Limpopo factories

(k*e utloa ba re lifeme lia hira koana Limpopo*). As they sing this song, the person whom they are going to seek employment from goes to the centre stage.

This song depicts some of the societal responsibilities that the initiates are required to perform upon the completion of the initiation process. They must fend for their families and to accumulate enough money to prepare for their marriages. They even go to distant places to look for employment. Because they have been prepared to face the hardships of life in the initiation, they suggest that *habo monna ke hohle* (a man's home is all over the space.)

When the Linotšing initiates finish the song, the bishop makes some preliminary remarks saying:
(*The church service and sermon begin. Moruti (the Bishop/pastor), who is mosuoe named Mok'hoba, starts the service*.)

Moruti (*opening remarks*)**:** *Kea leboha ho kopana ha phutheho ena. 'Me ke kopa ho ntate hore a be le phutheho ena ho fihlela pheletsong ea kereke. Ka hona ke tla rata hore sehlooho …, phutheho e ke e *nhlabolle ka 'mina thoko o re'ng "Jehova molimo*."

_____

I am thankful about the meeting of this congregation. And, I ask from our Father that he stays with this congregation until finish of church service. As such I would like to firstly ask the congregation to refresh me with this hymn: "Jehova God"

Phutheho (*sings the requested tune*)**:**

Jehova molimo oa Isiraele
Ho! Re thaba hakaakang
Ha re u khumamela
Ho! Kajeno re batho
Re tseba ho rapela
O re falalitse lefifing le letšo.

_____

Jehovah, God of Israel
Ho! How much we rejoice
When we bow down to you
Ho! In this time, we have become human beings
Because we now know how to pray
You have extradited us from the pitch-black darkness

Moruti: Haleluja!

Phutheho: Amen

Moruti (*preaches*)**:** *Bana ba ntate. Ke rata hore ho lona le haeba le ka tsamaea ka hare ho khohlo ea moriti oa lefu. Ka hare ho khohlo ea lefifi le letšo-letšo empa la Bonka-ntjana. Litsela li le litšehlo, li le meutloa, le tlalletsoe, le tšepe ho ntate. Le re: "morena u cheolle maraba, hlomolla meutloa re tsebe ho feta*."

_____

Children of father! I want to say to you that even if I can travel inside the dark gorge of death. Inside the gorge of pitch-black darkness like that of Bonka-ntjana. With thorny (full of morester)

roads, when they have spikes, and you are stranded, believe/have faith from the Father. And then say: "lord break the traps, root out the thorns/spikes for us to be able to pass."

A new *lengae* begins during the church service and the sermon thus:

Chorus: *He! Ho cheuoe! Ho cheuoe maraba*
He! Ho hlonngoe! Ho hlonngoe meutloa
Maraba cheolohang, re tsebe ho feta
Meutloa hlomolohang, e se ke ea re hlaba

_____

He! Traps have been setup! ….
He! Spikes/thorns have been pegged on the ground
Traps have been loosened up/ broken up
Thorns/spikes be uprooted and never pierce us

Sefela 1: *O-oe! O-oe! O-oe! Ooooeee!*
Ntho'e sehlajaneng koana e mpe ea tšabeha
Ho cheuoe maraba
Ho hlonngoe meutloa
Rona ka lentsoe la molimo re tla feta
Re tla re ka lebitso la ntate, le la mora le la moea o halalelang (ba etsa pontšo ea sefapano)

_____

The thing that is at small plateau is dangerous and horrendous
They have set up traps for us
They have pegged on the thorns/spikes/fern/prickles/barbs
By the word of God, we shall pass
We will say in the name of the father, the son and the Holy Spirit (miming the sign of the holy Trinity)

Sefela 2: *O-oe! O-oe! O-oe! Ooooeee!*
Rona re tšepile lentsoe la molimo
Lentsoe la molimo le matla ho feta sehlare
Sehlare lentsoeng la molimo ke lefeela la mafeela
O-oe! O-oe! O-oe! Ooooeee!

_____

We trust in the word of God
The word of god is more powerful than muti
The muti against the word of God is nothing/useless

Moruti (*takes over*)**:** *Molimo ntate ea matla 'ohle theolela letsoho le matla holim'a phutheho ea hao Ntate Mosala, 'm`e 'Masintjane. Lingaka tsa bona: ntate Sepheka, ntate Tšoanelo, ntate Rantsoti, ntate Retšelisitsoe, ntate Mofolo. Hobane ke uena oa leseli oa Rammoloki, Se-nesa-pula, Hlahla-macholo, u etse keleli ea matša a maholo. Ka oona o nchafatsa lichaba, li tsoang ho uena 'mopong. Ntate o re rapelle ho e moholo Jeri oa Leseli oa Rammoloki. Leseli!*

_____

Pastor*:* Almighty God; raise up your powerful hand upon your congregation; father Mosala, mother 'Masentjane. Their doctors; father Sepheka, father Tšoanelo, fathers Rantsoti, father Retšelisitsoe, father Mofolo. Because you are the one who lights people's paths, the one who protects people, the rainmaker, the one who chases the swindler, deceit, deceiver, can you make a droplet of big lakes. With it you renew the people, whom you have created (who come from

your creation). Please father, pray for us from the elderly one the bearer, the protector. Let there be light!

Phutheho (*in unison*)**:** Khanya!

Let the light shine

Moruti: *Ha re noeng mali a konyana* (o nka senoelo o pota phutheho o e fa mali a konyana).

_____

Let us drink the blood of the lamb (goes around to give his congregation the blood of the lamb)

End!

A totally different approach is performed by *makoloane* of Ha Chepheseli. Without engaging directly on a theatricalized dialogue, only *mosuoe* prefaces the acting with a monologue. The leading statement gives details of events that took place in the past that has led to the current state of events as shown in the extract below: theatre performed by *Makoloane* of Ha Chepheseli Title of *lengae*: *Ha ke le rapella novena* (When I pray novena)

Mosuoe gives a prologue:

> *He banna! Kea leboha, ntate Sekate oa Matebele. Masolomane ha a na puo, o thotse. Feela kea leboha haeba sechaba sena sa ntate Paseka se koano kaofela. Balakaletsi ba ne ba se lumele, ba ne ba sa lumele hore bana bana ba ntate Paseka ba ka khutla ba felletse. Ke bana. [O sheba ho makoloane a kapele, o a tšoara ka letsoho.] He banna ee! Banna ba eso, kea leboha. Masolomane ha a na puo, o thotse. Feela kheleke tsena, ke kopa le ke le li rapelle novena. Hona joale. Li rapelleng novena hona tjena.*
>
> _____
>
> He men! I thank you, father Sekate of the Matebele. Masolomane is speechless, he is quiet. But I am thankful that this nation of father Paseka is all here. People with bad desires never thought (did not want), they never believed that these children of father Paseka will all come back. Here they are. [turns backwards and shakes hands with the three kneeling initiates]. He! men ee! My fellow men, I am grateful. Masolomane is speechless, he is quiet. But as for these eloquent ones, I ask you to pray novena for you. Right now. Pray novena for them right now."

Lekoloane 4 (*le fetela kapele ho ea etsa novena- le rapela thapelo ea Sesotho*): *Molimo a k'u utloe rea rapela, molimo e mocha rapela oa khale. O re rapelle ho e moholo Jere, Mojari oa litšito tsa batho. Tlhahla-macholo, Senesa-pula. Nesa pula, u etse keleli. Keleling o nchafatsa lichaba teng. Li tsoang ho uena 'mopong. Li tlang ho boela ho uena meahong. Atla li tšoeu tsa Rammoloki, li tšoeu ke ho bopa masea, a matle libokothoana.*

_____

(The fourth initiate goes to the front to pray novena. He prays in a traditional Sesotho prayer). God hear us, we are praying, the newer god, pray to the all-time/ancient god. Pray for us to the major one, the bearer (Jere), the one who has carried on his shoulder people's sins. Tlhahla-macholo (chaser of swindlers), Senesa-pula (rainmaker). Make rain to fall and make running water. In the showers of rain is where you renew people at. Those who come from you in creation. Those who will return to you in your homestead. The hands of Rammoloki (one who saves/protects) are white, they are whitened by creating children, the beautiful one's new-borns.

Resumption of *lengae*:

Chorus: *Ha keeee!*
Ha ke rapela novena
Le tla cha lore

Oa nkomanya morena oa malingoana
O re ke bona le ikoalla lingakeng
Bacholoko, faha lia lahleha ke mokoloko
Khetla lia oa

_____

When I
When I pray novena
You will be entirely burnt
The chief of *malingoana* (vigil songs sung to celebrate the going of boy initiates into seclusion and upon reunion with the society) scolds me
He says, he sees us shutting ourselves inside doctors' huts
Mocholoko (a doctor in training particularly of the mathuela doctors) the newly ordained doctor's beads are getting lost in the lines
Khetla (shells used within the divining bones-meaning) Shells are dropping/falling

Sefela 1: *Oa nkomanya moren'a malingoana*
Ntate Masolomane o re ke ntse mok'hoba oa lipina

_____

The king/chief of malingoana scolds me
Father Masolomane says I must reveal the hidden gift (a gift hidden for a sangomas in training) of songs

Sefela 2:

Oa nkomanya moren'a malingoana
He ntate Lehlanya, ke kopa u nthuse ka mok'hoba.

_____

The king/chief of *malingoana* scolds me
He! Father Lehlanya, may you please help me with the hidden gift

The prologue that *mosuoe* gives is directed to the major incidents that have impacted negatively on the livelihood of the initiates while they were at the lodge. After succinctly relating the leading events, he re-addresses his curse to the perpetrators of the bad incantations cast on them and suggests that his initiates sing novena for them (*ke kopa le ke le li rapelle novena*). Novena in the light of many Basotho is a prayer that curses other people. Novena is assumed to have strong powers of making those who are cursed to suffer the consequences of their bad ways. In his prologue, *mosuoe* is grateful that all the initiates came alive whereas some people wanted to destroy them (*balakaletsi ba ne ba se lumele, ba ne ba sa lumele hore bana bana ba ntate Paseka ba ka khutla ba felletse*). He is boastful that despite all the challenges, all young men have come back sound and alive. To show his contentment, he even shakes hands with the surviours of the spells (*o a tšoara ka letsoho*).

Like *makoloane* of Linotšing, *mosuoe* orders one initiate to pray novena for those who had cast a bad spell on them. Instead of the *lekoloane* praying the novena, he uses the Sesotho traditional prayer:

> *Molimo a k'u utloe rea rapela, molimo e mocha rapela oa khale. O re rapelle ho e moholo Jere, Mojari oa litšito tsa batho. Tlhahla-macholo, Senesa-pula. Nesa pula, u*

etse keleli. Keleling o nchafatsa lichaba teng. Li tsoang ho uena 'mopong. Li tlang ho boela ho uena meahong. Atla li tšoeu tsa Rammoloki, li tšoeu ke ho bopa masea, a matle libokothoana.

Although the initiates and *mosuoe* feel the urge to use the Christian prayer to rescue them from their predicaments, he opts for the traditional one instead. Sesotho traditional prayer forms the basis of the key teachings in the initiation. It partially uses opaque vocabulary which is deeply rooted in the ritual of initiation. In most cases in the context of the Basotho, prayer is sought for when people are faced with some life challenges. Most Christian believers use an overly informative prayer when seeking help from their God. The Sesotho traditional prayer, however, is structured and pleads for similar items during its performance.

Differently from the style used by *makoloane* of Ha Chepheseli, in the theatre performance of *makoloane a Linotšing*, the bishop's words serve directly as an exposition/opening of the play. After the preliminary remarks, the bishop commands his congregation to sing the chorus namely "*Jehova molimo*" for him. The dialogue commences from that of the singing to the preliminary remarks by the bishop and participation by the congregation. The dialogue is maintained among all the members on stage. Even the people who have come to stage add to the number of the congregation of the initiates. They also participate as the supporting actors that have composed the corpus of the church.

The assemblage of other pastors that have surrounded the bishop sing along together. The words that are used in this song have been borrowed from the hymn titled *Jehova molimo* composed by E. Cassalis as number 7 found in *Lifela tsa Sione*. The order of events, as composed on the stage, follows the chronology used in some church services in Lesotho. This is seen as the rising action or inciting force going on during the performance. When the song stops, the bishop takes over and says: "*haleluja*!" and the congregants respond with an "*amen*."

There is also a direct participation and involvement of the supporting actors on stage. The use of the above dialogue marks the transition of the church service from one level to the next. The sequence of events, as portrayed in the dialogue, reveals the norms that are involved in the *posetola* churches. For example, the pastor may say "*haleluja*" or sometimes directly say "*e reng amen"* (all say 'amen'). The congregation responds "*amen*" without hesitation. The costumes worn by the main actors on stage communicate to the audience what kind of church is set before them.

During the action, the pastor uses the relevant liturgy throughout his service. He calls hymn *''mina thoko'*, he refers to his congregation as '*bana ba ntate*' and uses the words such as hallelujah and *morena* (Lord). He advises his congregation that when they are faced with huge

difficulties, "*le haeba le ka tsamaea ka ho khohlo ea moriti oa lefu...le tšepe ho ntate*." Although the action reveals a church setting, the bishop (*mosuoe*) indirectly reveals the difficult times that they met with at the lodge. He reveals that traps (*maraba*) have been laid on their journey of initiation. He refers to those hard times as *lefifi le letšo-letšo*. This means that the spirits of the dark have been cast over them not to succeed in their efforts of cultural preservation, conformity and continuity. This section of theatre is considered as the climax. It unfolds the most insurmountable moment that the initiates have had throughout their initiation journey.

One of the major and usual calamities that the ritual of initiation is faced with is sorcery. The *mophato* is perpetually attacked with witchcraft and thunderstorms. The medical abilities of the doctor who protects *basuoe* and *makoloane* are continuously challenged. The challenges come from other traditional doctors to prove that the one in charge is not good enough to be entrusted with the protection of the lives of the boys. The same *maraba*, *meutla*, *khohlo ea moriti oa lefu* and *lefifi le letšo-letšo* relate directly to the challenges such as sorcery attacks that the boys were faced with during the initiation.

In the context of initiation, the use of traditional medicine safeguards the welfare and protection of the boys. *Lithakisa* (a reed/peg) that have been smeared with traditional medicine) are pegged around the *mophato*, *qalo*, *khotla*. Every time, the initiates move along carrying *lithakhisa* that protect them from all evil. Amongst them, the prime initiate and the principal *mosuoe* are given *lenaka* (traditional medicine filled in the horn) or *khetsi* (knapsack containing traditional herbs and medicine for healing and/or divining bones) that the *mosuoe* will use once he discovers an omen of bad luck or spell of dark spirit around.

As a sign of passage from childhood to adulthood, the boy initiates give themselves names except for the first three to be incised. These are *Leisa* (the main one who has been incised as the lead boy) *Lentša* (the initiate that is incised as the second one) and *Khutlisi* (the initiate that is incised as the third one). Such names are the ones that they will use to refer to themselves and those that they use in the composition of their poetry.

Surprisingly, however, the *mangae* that are sung before the dialogues on the stage and after, relate directly to the Christian religion. The theatre and the songs communicate to us that during the hard times, the initiates sought protection from god. There is a serious tug of war that has been ongoing since the arrival of the Paris missionaries in Lesotho. The two cultures (traditional and Christianity) have antagonised each other over several practices. Christianity principally condemned any allegiance of the Basotho to their cultural and customary practices. The ritual of initiation has been one of those rituals that have had serious rejection by the church brethren. To discourage the Basotho from practising their customary practices, certain churches imposed

the laws that debarred them from their customs. Contrarily, the traditional leaders do not mock or discourage the loyalty of the Christians to their belief. Even if the initiate pursues the Christian way of life after the completion of his initiation, he is not sanctioned from attending the traditional customs.

Christianity is given priority over other religions in Lesotho. Even in the courts of law and in the house of parliament, when taking oath, people are ordered to place their palms on the bible when taking oath. During the political party campaigns, some leaders suggest that Christainity should be incorporated in the laws that govern the country. There is also one privately owned radio station that proposes that Christianity should be included in the constitution of the country. While there is this advocacy for Christianity by the multitudes, other religions are ignored. Since the arrival of Paris missionaries in Lesotho, several churches have kept on emerging. In most social platforms, even in traditional ceremonies, participants start with a Christian prayer. This has become the most common practise to many Basotho. Because of this attitude, there is seemingly a thin line of divide between the traditional customs and Christian practices. As a result, during the performance of *mangae*, the initiates no longer have any personal prejudices to perform any christian-ridden customs as they have drastically shaped the Sesotho society.

Traces of Christian customs are revealed during the performance of *mangae*. Christianity arbitrarily forms the culture of the Basotho. Because of this nature, the initiates either subconsciously or deliberately incorporate the Christian custom with the composition of *mangae*. Notably, during the theatre performance, the initiates sing the song:

Phutheho (*sings the requested tune*)**:**

Jehova molimo oa Iseraele
Ho! Re thaba hakaakang
Ha re u khumamela
Ho! Kajeno re batho
Re tseba ho rapela
O re falalitse lefifing le letšo.

_____

Jehovah, God of Israel
Ho! How much we rejoice
When we bow down to you
Ho! In this time, we have become human beings
Because we now know how to pray
You have extradited us from the pitch-black darkness

The excerpt has serious derogation to the ways of the Basotho. In the hymn, the cultural practices and the rituals of the Basotho are referred to as deafening darkness (*o re falalitse lefifing le letšo*). What the hymn suggests is that the through praying the God of Israel, the Basotho found peace and joy. It further suggests that, before they bowed down to the God of Israel, they were ideally

not in human state. However, through praying the God of Israel, they were converted into human beings. In the light of this hymn, anyone who does not bow to the god of Israel s is not seen as a person. Indulging in a Christian prayer and forsaking their traditional ways is a sign that they have been emancipated from the extremely dark ways of life. The song itself is condemnatory to the customs such as initiation. Customary practices such as initiation are considered as acts of backwardness and evil (*lefifi le letšo)*. Symbolically, anything referred to as dark or black represents evil. The hymn that is sung during the action is inconsistent with the customary practices and only supportive of the Christianity values.

While the church sermon and religion are being performed on stage, thus designating the impetus of the christian religion over traditional believes, the leading singers sing *lifela* where they show that traditional medicine has no power over religion. They say that when life gets tough, they believe that, in the name/word of god, they will thrive "*rona ka lentsoe la molimo re tla feta*." They go further to point out that the word of god is superior to the traditional medicine or herbs "*lentsoe la molimo le matla ho feta sehlare*." The traditional medicine is seen as worthless where the word of god reins "*sehlare lentsoeng la molimo ke lefeela la mafeela.*" The inclination of the Basotho towards Christainity has blind-folded them to the extent that they undermine the power of traditional medicine that has over the years kept the Basotho afloat of the evil ways.

The leading singers, *basuoe,* and the community at large know that initiation is only protected by the traditional doctor although they use a mixture of traditional herbs and Christian prayer. However, throughout the theatre performance and the song, Christian religion is given superiority over traditional medicinal powers. The initiates who have been protected by traditional medicine reveal that it is comparatively useless against the Christian prayer. They resort to prayer and Christian religion for them to be rescued from the dangers that threaten their lives.

In the past, for people to become professional and renowned traditional doctors they had to undergo rigorous training. However, due to the arrival of and interaction with the Nguni ethnic groups in Lesotho, the birth of *bothuela* came into the picture. *Bothuela* descends directly from bo-sangoma (a term used in Republic of South Africa to refer to a traditional medicine expert/doctor). Due to a hysterical/convulsive trembling and shivering dance style that they engage in when pursuing their healing and talking to the ancestors, Basotho called them *mathuela* (singular-*lethuela*) This dance style is said to originate from the Tugela river, known to Basotho as *Lethuela*. Some *mathuela* still visit the source of the Tugela River as a process of healing and anointment by the ancestors.

Most Lesotho traditional doctors are *mathuela*. They are identified by wearing beads threaded/strung on their heads and around the neck and feet and hands. Noteworthy also, is the combination of *boposetola* and *bothuela*. In Lesotho, mathuela use a mixture of the powers from both traditional medicine and the Christian prayers to heal people. They combine both the use of traditional diving skills and herbs and medicine and the Christian religion to heal and protect people against bad spells. It is, therefore, not surprising that upon failing to be protected by traditional powers against evil attacks the initiates resort to the Christian prayer. The *mosuoe* who is acting as the bishop, referred to as Mok'hoba is a traditional doctor himself. He is *lethuela* who uses both the traditional medicine and the Christian religion to beef up his healing power. Mok'hoba, who is himself a *lethuela* traditional doctor, seems to be inclines towards Christianity which he considers more powerful against sorcery. As the principal *mosuoe*, he reports to his people that he has used the Christian powers to combat that evil that was about to wreck them. The Western religion is thus, given superiority over the traditional beliefs.

The initiates' action on the stage shows a serious controversy. The play depicts Christianity around and within the context of the performance of *mangae*. The initiates are protected by powerful *manaka* and *lithakhisa* against witchcraft. However, in the spectacle of the Christian believers, the use of traditional ways of healing is heathenism. However, some of the actors participating in the congregation wear their hats and smoke dagga during the sermon.

In the closing prayer, the bishop asks God to protect the leaders of the initiation process, *ntate* Mosala and *'m`e'*Masintjane. He goes further to ask God to protect the doctors. He says "*lingaka tsa bona: ntate Sepheka, ntate Tšoanelo, ntate Rantsoti, ntate Retšelisitsoe, ntate Mofolo.*" The prayer reveals that the doctors were given the power by God to defeat the acts of sorcery that they were faced with. Within the same context of informative and spontaneous Christian prayer, the bishop suddenly switches to the Sesotho traditional prayer. With the Western religion and forces behind it, it condemns the Sesotho traditional prayer, labelling it heathen along with the other traditional believes of the nation. However, with respect to the culture of *bothuela*, it is permissible to use the referents to the Basotho *molimo* (Sesotho equivalent of God that has, over the years, been taken to be synonymous with God) and the biblical God within prayer statement. This is a direct reflection of the consolidation of the elements blended from both traditional art space and the Christian art space.

In the light of those who have faith in the culture of *bothuela*, the bishop's prayer acknowledges the coalescence between the two cultures that have historically been at loggerheads. The prayer serves as a denouement where those that have been going through serious strain relax from their ordeals and take breath from them. It is a healing and unravelling process where those who have been under siege see triumph. According to the singer, the knots have been untied–through

prayer (*rona ka lentsoe la molimo re tla feta re tla re ka lebitso la ntate le la mora le la moea o halalelang*). Through faith in God and prayer, the singer orders the set traps to be untied (m*araba cheolohang and meutloa hlomolohang*). As in most churches, the bishop concludes the services by performing the Holy Eucharist or the Holy Communion. He wraps up as follows:

Moruti: *Ha re noeng mali a konyana* (goes around to give his congregation the blood of the lamb).

Following the order of events, we note that the staged performance that is coupled with songs in between is pure theatre in terms of how the plot is organized. The repertoire choice is also reflective of the proceeding that take place during the church service in the Christian context. We also observe the mixing of the Christian prayer with the Sesotho traditional prayer within the action. This reflects a huge turn-around on the part of the culturist because the two institutions have been at rivalry. In the light of the traditionalist, traditional medicine and prayer as well as the Christian prayer and western medicine can be used alongside each other for the human good. The section below identifies and discusses the incorporation of the Sesotho traditional dances within the performance of *mangae*.

4.4 Reflections on the influences borrowed from Sesotho traditional music and dances in the performance of *mangae*

This section looks at some elements that are borrowed from the Sesotho traditional resources which are incorporated in the performance of *mangae*. They relate directly to the performance of oral Sesotho traditional dances and games. Whereas the performance of *mangae* is characteristically theatre, several pure oral traditional elements are brought in to enhance the aesthetics of the performance. Other oral indigenous resources are drawn from the traditional art archives to heighten the beauty of the performance. The subsection below discusses the traces of *mohobelo* dance incorporated in the performance of *mangae*.

4.4.1 Inclusion of *mohobelo* as an additive aesthesia during the performance of *mangae*

While performing *mangae*, the initiates may perform the *mohobelo* traditional dance. *Mohobelo* is a dance of the Basotho. It has a direct influence from the *mokorotlo* dance style. *Mokorotlo* is exclusively the song performed by the initiated men. With the development of the migrant labour system, Basotho men developed a dance style called *mohobelo* to whirl away time and to get rid of boredom in the lonesome compounds of the RSA mines. Below is the picture of *makoloane* performing the *mohobelo*-Leribe dance style.



Figure 11: reflecting Leribe mohobelo dance style

Leribe *mohobelo* is a renowned dance style that has been composed and developed by the Leribe citizens at the mining compounds of RSA. Leribe *mohobelo* is purely performed to entertain because it comprises pure dance patterns and excessive bodily movements. It is not as rhythmic and patterned as the Matsieng or SeMohlale (*mohobelo* dance moves that originated in Matsieng) dance style. The dancers swing their sticks to all sides in the Leribe *mohobelo* dance.

The performance of *mangae* has several functions. Some of the functions are superficial while others are latent. The most sonorous function of the performance of *mangae* is to entertain. After a long time of separation their families, upon reunion with them, the initiates perform *mangae* to entertain while at the same time they communicate a specific message. The primary mode of entertainment in the past was purely *mangae*. The boy initiates were required to stand upright and maintain a motionless position, they were not allowed to look side-ways but instead were supposed to fix their eyesight towards their knobkerries. Recently, there seems to be a consolidation of styles in order to enhance the performance that was otherwise not entertaining. Resources are brought in from the various facets of life and blended in to add to the beauty of the performance.

In the process of imparting the antics of the aesthetics to the audience, another latent feature of the performance, the message, also surfaces. The way the message is encoded to the audience is often opaque. It takes only a few old listeners to relate what the performance of *lengae* is about. However, the use of a well-chosen diction always calls for a positive feedback from the listeners through clapping, ululating, dancing around and blowing of whistles, for example. It is through eliciting the positive feedback that the performers can measure how successful their performance is.

In the message, there are several hard-social matters that the initiates refer to. These include the hardships of initiation, lamentations over the loss of a family member, political, cultural, economic or social issues. While conscious of the message that they are encoding to the audience, they do not want to be perceived as blatantly revealing the initiation secrets and trying time experienced at the initiation lodge. They try to bring other diverting issues into the music to conceal the painful realities.

While bearing entertainment in mind, dances such as *mohobelo* are blended within the singing to intensify the aesthetics of the performance. The initiates who entertain the listeners move to the front where they are visible to all people around and where they can freely dance without any infringement. Recently, there seems to be a colossal evolution with respect to the performance of *mangae*, they are totally shifting from motionless voiced singing to mobile and agile dancing accompanying the song. Thus, performance beyond the singing of the *lengae* forms part of the culture of initiation music in modern times. As a result, in almost all the subjects that were consulted during this research study, the performance-within-performance is characteristic of the *lengae* currently. Consolidation of various styles that serve the role of entertaining are brought in as a constituent of the performance of *mangae*. The picture in Figure 12, recorded from *makoloane* of Lenyakoane, exemplifies the *mohobelo* dance brought in to accompany the song.



Figure 12: Mohobelo dance

Figure 12 further demonstrates the *mohobelo* dance being performed for the audience in order to entertain the audience. The dress code of the boys is not permitting that much for the young men to do most of the dance. This dance on the one hand beautifies the performance and on the other it promotes and teaches the Sesotho traditional dance to the boys and the audience.

4.4.2 Demonstration of action between the singer and the monkey during the performance of *mangae*

Entertainment during the performance of *mangae* is also done through the exhibition of the games between man and animals. Most doctors or heads of initiation schools prefer to introduce the animal during the initiation period of the young men. Such animals may range from domestic to the wild ones. They are fortified with traditional medicine to protect the initiates throughout the span of the ritual. The animal becomes the companion of the boys wherever they go. In most cases, when the initiates are given food, such an animal tastes the before the initiates in order to detect whether there is poison. During the performance of mangae such animals are sometimes engaged to perform certain antics with the composer as a way of entertainment. Figure 12 demonstrates the performance that involved the initiate and the monkey.



Figure 13: Centre stage occupied to perform monkey antics

The initiate held an apple in his hand and was singing while taking the apple to the monkey. The monkey too seemed to be well-disciplined and understood the nature of the performance fully. The initiate was singing the following song while imitating the conjoint antics with the monkey:

> *Koete ke se ke itjella mentsokoane,*
> *Ke ntse ke itjella lioelioetla naheng, monakalali oa thabana Mahlanya,*
> *O ka u ja nka petsoha tlhabela*
>
> _____
> Me, the righteous I eat wild food
> I eat the wild food in the veld, wild food of mount Mahlanya
> If you eat it your heels (feet) will crack

The excerpt above, which was addressed to the monkey, exposes the singer's knowledge of the traditional food of the Basotho. To him, the apple that he is holding in his hand represents such food stuff. The initiate equates/likens himself to the monkey. Monkeys live in the wild and feed on the food they have identified as palatable and nutritious for their survival. In the past, Basotho identified several edible wild vegetables and lived on them. The food of the monkey falls in the same category of food stuff that the initiate says he lives on. He says he was eating that food while he was at mount Mahlanya. Mount Mahlanya was where their *mophato* was erected. He reflects on their eating habits while they were there. They lived on the wild food that they gathered from the mountain. In the experience of the Basotho, animals such as goats and monkeys are considered as healthy because they eat herbs that are nutritious. The monkeys in Lesotho are found mostly in the mountain ranges of Lesotho. Because the initiate completed his initiation process in the mountain, he considers himself hardy and cunning as a monkey.

By acting out this part before the audience, the initiate succeeds to strike a hilarious act. Remarkable too, monkeys are scarce in Lesotho, especially in the lowlands. They are also considered as wild and ferocious animals. The audience is seriously entertained to see the monkey before itself. Furthermore, seeing it being as tame and disciplined as the one the initiate is acting with gives the song more flavour. Rather than only concentrating only on the pure performance of *mangae*, the initiates also come in front of others to present additive performs to improve their aesthetics of their music. The following section discusses an inclusion of Sesotho traditional games during the performance of *mangae*.

4.4.3 A blend of traditional games during the performance of *mangae*

Most of the Sesotho traditional games are gradually getting extinct. Part of the negative factors for their plight was attributed to the modern-day education system which does not give them much preference when they design their curriculum. However, with the design of the integrated syllabus targeting at the promoting of multiple intelligence of learners (Curriculum and assessment Policy 2009) traditional games and dances are considered as part of the curriculum. The syllabus no longer views the traditional games and dances as recreation. It shifts from the ideology where the learners' intelligence was measured through cognitive aptitude to considering their practical aptitude as well. The integrated syllabus further encourages the upliftment of learners' entrepreneurial skills. As a result, there is a direct simulation from the contents of the initiation syllable as well as that of classroom education.

Another handicapping factor for the traditional decay towards traditional games is the media (social, view and print.) Basotho youth are no longer interested in the traditional games. They are more fascinated by social media and TV games. As a result, Basotho children neither play nor know how to play any of the traditional games. Sesotho traditional games are fused within the

performance of *mangae* to amplify their aesthetic effect. This strategy resuscitates the tradition that is almost extinct. In a way, the youth who listen to the performance of *mangae* are bound to learn about such games. Below is a picture mimicking how the game of *tšipho* is played.



Figure 14: Initiates jumping to simulating how the tradition game of tšipho is played

Tšipho is a boys' game that is played when they are looking after the animals in the veld. The demonstration of how *tšipho* is played goes along with the performance of *lengae* thus:

> *Ke bone ba tlola tšipho bashanyana,*
> *Ba tlola seqata-majoana,*
> *Ba ipapalla liketoana*.
>
> _____
>
> I have seen the boys jumping *tšipho* (bending down, touching with both hands down and jumping rhythmically, throwing the lower back high)
> They were jumping (dodging) *seqata-majoana* (herd boys' game of stone throwing game at one another)
> They were playing *liketoana* (knucklebones)

The image in Figure 14 demonstrate how *tšipho* is played. However, because of the context of performance and their attire, they are only imitating the *tšipho* games. The boys are required to bend forward, to be on all fours without kneeling (imitating movement of the frog). The lower back is elevated higher while the front one is positioned a bit lower. The player jumps with both hands and feet simultaneously throwing the hind higher than the front. Because the initiates would not perform according to the specification, they only simulate how the jumping is done. The initiates' attire is the basic handicapping element that does not permit the actual performance lest they embarrass themselves before the children, women and the uninitiated.

Tšipho is traditionally a boy's game that is used in order to ill-treat others and for recreation during a long day, looking after the animals. When the boys are looking after the animals in the veld, the leader commands them. If any boy makes the leader angry, he is put into the game of

tšipho as a punishment. Sometimes a passer-by boy is tasked to play *tšipho* as a punishment. In this situation, a stone is fastened on his waist so that when he jumps the stone hits his lower back. The same game is played by the boys as recreation. Incorporating the game of *tšipho* into the performance of *mangae* serves as a revival of the games of the Basotho that are facing extinction. The following section identifies and discusses other additional performances imported from popular music of the RSA.

4.5 Elements imported from modern games, music and dance styles

The composition of *mangae* is influenced by several resources, some of which are fossils inherited from the traditional art space while others are imported from modern art space (addressed at breadth in Chapters Five and Six. The structural and stylistic qualities that are found in modern-day performance of *mangae* are reflective of the borrowed resources. The subject-matter and the language techniques are borrowed and mixed with personal creations to make a consolidated composition.

Within the performance of *mangae*, there is a notable trace of words, phrases and simulations imported from the modern music dances and styles. The renowned *kwaito* and house music performed in the RSA seem to have a serious and direct influence on the composition and performance of *mangae*. The dance styles associated with such music also have a direct impact on the manner with which the performance of *mangae* is composed. This section addresses the traces of imported styles from the modern music dance styles. Figure 15 illustrates the dance style associated with the song "*o e batla ko mokokotlong*" performed by *mosuoe*.



Figure 15: Mosuoe demonstrates the dance for " o e batla ko mokokotlong"

The words of the song are as follows:

Ea fela ea chencha butterfly,
Ea chencha bana ba ntate Matsoso,
O e batla kae?
Ko mokokotlong bo!

_____

Truly, the butterfly changed
It changed, children of ntate Matsoso
Where do you want it?
At the back

As the song goes on, *mosuoe* stands up and makes some twists and turns alongside the singing of the song "*o e batla kae, ko mokokotlong bo.*" During the dance, *mosuoe* points towards his back with both his thumbs while going down a bit. These words are borrowed from the renowned song by **De Mogul SA - Oe Batla Kae** that created waves and storms and hit the shelves of the music records in RSA in 2017. This kind of blending and consolidation mark the performance of *mangae* as not only up to date but also a classy genre that keeps up with time. The merger of styles borrowed from other genres of oral performance characterise the contemporary oral performance of *mangae*. Such, consolidation of style does not only add beauty to the art but also serves as an enticing aspect during the performance of *mangae*. The profound dance style and bodily movements copied from other oral traditional forms blended along the performance of *mangae* have a great impact in terms of beauty and messages that it sends across to the listeners. Importantly, we realize the dynamism and evolution that the culture of the performance of

mangae has accrued to keep up to date. This shows the massive growth in the culture of initiation as well as its flexibility and responsiveness to the influence of modern genres.

The other group of initiates performs the following **lengae**: *re shapa Thuso Phala, rona rea ilibana bana ba Mathe (*Fig. 16*)*.



Figure 16: Demonstrating the Thuso Phala and ilibana dance

The song called *malwedhe* by **King Monada**, and its hysterical dance style "*idibala/ilibana*" (to have a convulsion and collapsing) became the most loved dance of the time. The followers of the artist and lovers of the music became hysterical and danced the *ilibana* style all over, throwing themselves on hard surfaces and the like. Normally, they would fall on their back to illustrate how the person who has seizures behaves/falls. As a way of reflecting their cognizance of the popular music styles and songs, in a single *lengae* song, the *makoloane* combine the two songs by **King Monada** (***malwedhe***) and by **Bizizi** (***Thuso Phala***). They perform both dances in one *lengae* song. As they go down to lie on their backs, they are imitating the **Thuso Phala** dance style (of bending the arm to the side of the body towards the ear and shaking it) simultaneously with *ilibana* style (of falling on their backs). The performance of the dance, runs concurrently with the verses of the song which says:

> *Re shapa Thuso Phala,*
> *Rona rea ilibala bana ba Mathe*
>
> _____
> We are dancing Thuso Phala style
> And we are having a convulsion, children of Mathe

Dancing is another observable art of performance that is threaded along with the voiced singing of the *lengae*. The composition or performance of *lengae* embodies several facets that mark it as performance. This is where the issue of "performance-within-performance" surfaces. *Lengae* is seen as a huge repository of oral culture that entails quite a few styles within itself. The performance of *lengae* is the genre which can foster the items/elements from the remote traditional art space as well as the importation of the elements from the continually budding cultures and sub-cultures that it interacts with.

Figure 17 reflects the integration of styles adopted from the cultures other than Sesotho.



Figure 17: Mosuoe dancing for "y-itjukutja" song

The picture above represents the image of *mosuoe* performing *itsokotsa* dance style invented by the group called **Uhuru** in their song titled ***Y-tjukutja***. Its words, as adapted in the *lengae,* include the phrase: "*rea itsokotsa, re utloa monate oa pina…*" Below are the words of the song that the *mosuoe* is performing for, as the performance of *lengae* goes on:

Re lebeletse kannete le ka tšepo
Mpesi o'a re thoholetsa bana ba Mokone ka 'mino oa rona
Rea itjokotja, re utloa monate oa pina…
Sechaba sa ntate se thabile moketeng oa sona
Rapelang ka thata ntate Manesa
E fihlile nako
Ke nako ea lithoko tsa molisa ea molemo, ntate Manesa

_____

We are waiting in hope
Mpesi keeps on encouraging/applauding us with our music

We are shaking our bodies and enjoy the melody of the song,
Our father's people are joyous in the celebration.
Keep on praying harder, father Manesa
The time has now come
This is the time of the good shepherd, father Manesa

When the lines are sung, *mosuoe* performs the "*y-itjokotja*" dance mimicry. He does this to symbolize what the phrase means and yet again to amuse the audience. *Mosuoe*, as the member of the society that he is performing for, knows what elements of beauty to add during his performance in order to heighten the appealing tenets of the music. The audience, in acknowledgement and appreciation of that beauty, raptures in cheers of voices/noises. The blend of oral performance and gestural association of a dance are deliberate. They are further, intended to impart a desired message and to evoke a positive reaction from the listeners. The most outstanding part with this illustration is where, throughout the performance, *mosuoe* is on his feet, acting out and making gestures and body movements that accompany the words of the song.

The artistic moves of *mosuoe* in a similar song are illustrated in Figure 18 where he is kneeling with one leg.



Figure 18: Mosuoe acting for the song and demonstrating what the song means

That gesture accompanies the phrase in the song that says: "*rapelang ka thata, ntate Manesa.*" Manesa is the name of the *mosuoe* who occupies the centre stage to demonstrate by means of gestures what the songs says. The song further says: *re utloa monate oa pina…, sechaba sa ntate se thabile moketeng oa sona*" to communicate the joy that obtains among the performers, the

performance and the audience. The chorus asserts that they are shaking because of the happy effects of the song. The singing is out-rightly referred to as 'the melodious one' by the performers. It is logical therefore that the song has a positive and strong aesthetic effect. Therefore, all the participants are full of joy because of the performance.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter identified and discussed pure oral art forms that are acted out during the performance of *mangae*. Rather than a pure vocal performance of *mangae*, this section investigated additional performative elements tapped from traditional music and dances, pure total theatre staging as well as elements borrowed from popular house music performed in RSA. Whereas the performance of *mangae* is considered as total theatre because of its rendition (and characteristics), style and structure, it has been found out that beyond the observable theatrical capacity that it is endowed with, it is able to reproduce a new trend of performance-within-performance. The performance of *mangae* in this section has been found to have tilted a little from erstwhile style of oral performance of *mangae* as total theatre and accrued a consolidation of styles blended all together to form a contemporary oral style of *mangae*. Culture is thus, seen to be flexible enough to generate performance-within- performance by staging independent, pure theatre within the performance of *mangae*.

During live performance of *mangae*, singing has been found to run concurrently with specialized dance moves (gestulations) to elaborate further on the message that is passed on to the audience as well as the artistic beauty of performance. Indigenous oral traditional performance is found to have a high level of dynamism that allows for other features to be incorporated within it. In terms of structure, style, content and the role that they serve, the performance of *mangae* is characteristically an educative and pleasurable tenet. Their structure is reflective of both indigenous and modern cultures of the people. The style has both the remnants of traditional fossils and modern imports which advance a new subculture that is representative of the Basotho nation. The content serves both to depict the composers' eloquence and to impart a specific message to the listeners.

The contemporary performance of *mangae* is seen to have the ability to constitute entertaining and yet modern themes within it. While one notices a component of performance-within-performance during the performance of *mangae*, the composers of *mangae* relate some aspects of people's life experiences and other social issues of life that they are engulfed in. The consolidation and borrowing of styles from other oral art forms amuse the listeners. It ascertains the continuity, preservation and conformity of the culture because several natives are lured to get initiated in the subsequent years. The performance of *mangae* requires the performer, the performance and the audience for them to fully realize the function of *mangae*.

CHAPTER FIVE

REFLECTIONS OF THE TRADITIONAL CULTURAL FOSSILS IN THE PERFORMANCE OF *MANGAE*: ORAL CULTURE, THEMATIC SCOPE AND ITS ROLE

5.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the content, language techniques, communicative strategies and the style of the performance of *mangae* that reflect the deposits of traditional cultural fossils of the Basotho. It also endeavours the identification of the cultural, social, political, economic, psychological, psychodynamic issues as well as the awareness of the indigenous knowledge systems that are echoed in the performance of *mangae*.

5.2 The tradition of initiation and the cultural meaning of a Mosotho man

The primary purpose of initiation is to prepare the boys to transit from boyhood to manhood. They are taught the values and responsibilities of a Mosotho man. An initiated man is expected to portray certain values and responsibilities in all aspects of life in order for him to be recognized and incepted as an adult within his society. He must demonstrate some responsibility and such accountability. He is expected to depict certain acts of heroism, a sense of community, cultural wealth, solidarity, eloquence etc. (Matšela, (1990), Wanyama and Egesah (2015). This section deliberates on some of the attributes of a Mosotho manhood projected through the performance of *mangae*.

5.2.1 Reproduction of heroic acts (imaginary self) in the performance of *mangae*

One of the teachings of initiation is heroism or bravery. The young men are drilled into becoming tough. It is a disgrace for an initiated man to be soft and not to resist or endure pain. They are not expected to cry irrespective of the situation that they are involved in. Initiation was initially a preparatory stage for the traditional army of the Basotho. They are taught not to be afraid of blood or death itself. They are taught the antics and tactics of warfare through *mokallo* (stick mock fighting). The training of the young men to be tough is still upheld, even in this modern-day when there is a military institution in Lesotho. When the initiates are undergoing the *ho qacha* phase, men go to the veld to engage in a stick mock fight. During this game, serious injuries are sustained. Sometimes permanent disabilities and fatalities do occur. These days the policemen are invited to oversee that murder crimes and any illegal acts do not occur during the *ho nyolla poho* (when the bull that boys are going to be scarified and fortified with is driven homewards) ceremony. Figure 19 illustrates the nature of the injuries sustained during the stick simulated fight.



Figure 19: A man having been hit with lebetlela on the head dripping some blood from the head



Figure 20: A man being hit with a stick on the head during the game

Figures 19 and 20 show the injuries that are sustained by those who have undergone the rite of initiation during the stick mock fight. Blood is dripping on the men's heads. In the light of the culture of initiation oozing of blood is an ordinary experience and a sign of true masculinity. It

reflects a characteristic of true masculinity and manhood of a traditional Mosotho man. The man who defeats or beat others during stick mock fight accrues more deference from other men. Because this is not war, the men carry on with their lives and there is no hatred or ploy for revenge. It is in the light of the cases such as these ones that *makoloane a Sefateng* composed a song that has the following words:

Ha o tšaba mali o cheche ntate
Heeela! Ha u tšaba mali o cheche, ntate Moholi ee
O chechele morao

_____

If you are afraid of blood retreat
Heeela! If you are afraid of blood retreat, father Moholi ee
Retreat backwards

The excerpt suggests that Moholi should not engage in a fight if he is afraid to bleed or dreads the sight of blood. He should retreat from the battlefield. Any man who eschews confrontation and battle with others is considered a coward. The song is directed to Moholi, the *mosuoe* that takes the boys through the initiation trial. Although the song is directed to Moholi, it despises all the cowardly acts of the Basotho men. If a man fears blood, he does not have any courage to defend his family against attackers. He cannot protect the king and the state. The composer of the song warns those who fear wounds to refrain from *mokallo*. The song depicts the singer as a courageous man who likes to fight and eschews oozing blood.

The following example, recorded from *makoloane* of Qhalasi further elaborate on the bravery of the initiated men:

Ke rata ha mali a rotha
Mali ha se letho batho ba Qhalasi
Ke batla mali a rothe, ho senyehe ho tsoela pele

_____

I want to see the blood spill
Blood is nothing, people of Qhalasi
I want the blood to spill more, so that the situation gets worse.

The extract expresses similar sentiments to the ones that were registered by *makoloane* of Sefateng. The composer says that he feels happy when he sees the blood spilling (*ke rata ha mali a rotha*). According to what the initiate says, seeing people get injured inspires him. He labels himself as the brave man who cannot shiver to see another man being knocked down with a stick. He is portrayed as the man who likes to fight and to injure others. Even if he gets injured in the war, he considers that as nothing (*mali ha se letho*). He has an understanding that if blood drops during the fight, it reflects true manhood. Because of his bravery, the composer wishes that more injuries and blood spill could be incurred during a mock fight so that the game gets more entertaining (*ke batla mali a rothe, ho senyehe ho tsoela pele*).

Apart from asserting the deeds of bravery, the initiates also exaggerate their new identities through relating to imaginary treacherous acts that they are endowed with. The following excerpts reveal the initiates' acumens about their callousness using statements that echo their imaginary heroism. Rather than showing their stern endurance, they depict themselves as brave, as in the following example:

***Makoloane* of Lipetu**:

Ke ne ke phela le litau le linkoe, ntate Kamele

_____

I was living with the lions and tigers, father Kamele

***Makoloane* of Sefateng**:

Ke phephetsa khang
Ke khotla nkoe mohlahla
……..
Feela 'na ke tsoetsoe ke tau le nkoe
Ke nyantse mali, ke noele mahloele
Pelo eaka e lula e le bohloko

_____

I provoke others to cause a quarrel
I poke the bristling hair (mane) of the leopard
…….
Of course, I was begotten by the lion and the tiger
I suckled blood and drank coagulated blood
My heart is always filled with pain (anger)

The two examples above reveal the initiates' bravery by staying with ferocious animals or even provoking them (*ke khotla nkoe mohlahla*). The composer recorded from *makoloane* of Sefateng says; "ke *phephetsa khang*" to expose his bravery, to start disputes or to start the fight. He is so brave that he even provokes ferocious animals such as a leopard (*ke khotla nkoe mohlahla*). To give himself a treacherous and imaginary image, the composer says that when the leopard is angry and has risen its mane, he provokes it further to force it to charge. Animals such as the lion and the tiger are predators that kill human beings for food. Regardless of their viciousness and the dread that humans have towards them, the composer from Lipetu suggests that he was living with the lions, the tigers and the camels (*ke ne ke phela le litau le linkoe, ntate Kamele*).

The composer recorded from *makoloane* of Sefateng further says that he was begotten by the lion and the tiger. This statement shows that he was born out of the most dangerous animals. As a result of his ancestry, it follows that he too is extremely dangerous. By attaching his lineage to the lion and the tiger, he extolls his temperament towards other men because he has the genes of the most dangerous animals. By labeling himself in this manner he gives himself a new identity that he has acquired through initiation. The birth that the composer refers to here is his manly exploit of being trained through initiation. Another statement of valorousness is borne in the

phrase "*ke nyantse mali, ke noele mahloele.*" For his survival and growth, the singer says that he sucked and drank coagulated blood from his parents. This statement is intended to portray the singer as the most heartless and dangerous person because instead of feeding on breast milk like other babies, he was raised on blood.

Whereas bravery and manly prowess are inscribed during the performance of *mangae* using well-selected terminology/referents, it however, has a direct bearing in the social behaviour on most initiated men. Because of the new referents and identities that the young men have acquired through initiation; they are involved in several social misconduct and crimes such as the theft of animals. Because they can resist and endure pain, they are the perpetrators of most illegal acts. Unlike *maqai* (the uninitiated) boys, the initiated men associate themselves with several astounding entities and valiant acts as a demonstration of the new identities that they have attained through initiation. *Maqai* are given the images discussed in the ensuing section.

5.2.2 Remarks about *boqai* resonated in the performance of *mangae*

The uninitiated are not considered as real men in the context of the initiated men and the population of Basotho in general. They are referred to through the discerning, degrading and demeaning terminology. They are called either (*lintja*) dogs or *bashemane* (small boys) and are said to stink. While bravery is a symbol of real manhood, *boqai* (state of being an uninitiated man) is seen in this light:

> *Hooo! Ka batla ke ithetsa ke sa bolle boo!*
> *Boshemane ntho e bohloko hakaalo*
>
> _____
>
> Hooo! I nearly deceived myself not to be initiated boo!
> It is painful is to be uninitiated (**makoloane of Lipetu**)

In the above excerpt, the artist feels content that he took a brave decision to be initiated. He is happy that he did not accede to *boqai*. He, therefore, sees no value in *boshemane* and hence applauds himself for his virile character of taking the bold decision to be initiated. He says one's own personal choice not to be initiated is sheer deceit because of lack of adequate knowledge (*boshemane ntho e bohloko hakaalo*). He praises himself for not being an anti-cultural citizen. He indirectly unveils the worth that he has attained and an envisionment that *lebollo* has unfolded to him as a Mosotho. After the teachings of initiation, he discovers how glorified he is. He goes further to point out that *boshemane*/ *boqai* is an awful decision. He is unswervingly mocking *maqai* for being ignorant about the price of initiation. He undermines the cowardly ways of *maqai* for not being initiated.

In the opinion of the initiated men, *maqai* have no value in the society. They cannot be entrusted with social responsibilities due to their fragile and soft nature. They cannot be trusted with top

secrets or any burdensome life duties because of their fragility. They are considered as defective to the extent that they can divulge private and personal issues to unintended recipients. Revealing the secrets of initiation is a crime that warrants brute punishment according to the traditional laws. It is on this kind of observation that one initiate recorded from *makoloane* of Qoqolosing sings:

> *Batho ke mamene-mene, ntate Matooane*
> *Hooo! Maisa-taba tsa batho tse qoquoeng khotla ke mang*
> *Heee! Mpontšeng eena a ka eme seemeng.*
>
> _____
> People are crooks, father Matooane
> Hooo! Who is the conveyor of the secrets that have been spoken by men at *khotla*?
> Heee! Please show him to me. I want him in the fighting circle

The above example denotes the serious feud that the initiate has against someone who has defaulted by divulging the secrets of initiation. He refers to them as *mamene-mene* (tricksters). In his view, they are two-faced people who pretend to respect initiation only to reveal the secrets to undesirable (*maisa-taba tsa batho tse qoquoeng khotla ke mang*). These are people who cannot be trusted under any circumstances. He further refers to them as *maisa-taba tsa batho* (untrustworthy people). Because of his fury, he wants to meet that person live (*mpontšeng eena a ka e me seemeng*). Thus, he says, 'identify him for me and take him to the fighting ring (*seemeng*)'. The use of the term *seemeng*, communicates an unwavering desire to fight him for being a blabbermouth. Any initiated man who discloses the secrets of initiation is called *mongala*. He disguises and shows fidelity and allegiance towards the laws governing the initiation. However, when he is away from other initiated men, he reveals the secrets. He lurks or leans in the corner to hear and see all the goings-on and later releases the secrets. This sentiment by the composer, perhaps, owes its origin from the scandalous social media attack on the ritual of initiation. Currently, there have been reports and concerns from the nation and the traditional leaders that *lebollo* is being attacked and shamed on social media platforms where the secrets of *lebollo are* revealed to the public irrespective of age, gender or whether the audience is initiated or not. Because of that, the artist registers his concern towards such immoral deed and wants to put that cultural dishonour to halt by dealing with the perpetrator to the pulp. The song above is geared towards condemning such wicked behaviour of the initiated men. The singer wants to find out who the perpetrator is and wants to silence him forever. Traditionally, the deeds of *mongala* (or *bongala*) and *boshemane* are seriously discouraged and despised. This is reflected where the *thoko* recorded from *makoloane* a Lipetu says:

> *Batho ba mona ba sehloho hakaakang*
> *Ba beile moshemane lerakong*
> *Moshemane ntja ngoan'abo phokojoe*
> *O hana sethole sa ntja se emere*
> *A sunye feisi, a kenye letsoho*
> *A tla le malinyane a le leshome*

A fihle a re hona ke nama re hlabetsoe

_____

Oh! How much the people of this area wicked
They have put the uninitiated man on the wall
The little boy, who is a dog, the family of a jackal
He can't wait when he sees a pregnant bitch
He inserts his fist and his hand
And comes out holding ten puppies
He then says, 'here is the meat that we have been offered'

The above text refers to the uninitiated man as *moshemane*, *ntja*, *phokojoe*. These are serious derogations. *Moshemane* is a little boy. Little boys are not family men; they do not have any value and social responsibilities. According to the singer, they are not recognized in the society, they do not have any sense of belonging and solidarity. This is the social significance that the initiation ritual attaches to *maqai*. They are highly discriminated and mocked and they are not given any duties in the society. Worse still, an uninitiated man is called *ntja ngoan'abo phokojoe* (loosely translating to dog a brother of a jackal). The implication of this phrase is that the manners of a *leqai* are like those of dogs. Dogs are known for their greed; they roam the streets and they are not edible. They are left to sleep outside and are considered bitchy and worthless. Bashemane are derogatively referred to as dogs because in the traditional context, an uninitiated man is considered to have a tail (*ba mehatla*).

The composer discriminates the uninitiated to the extent that he says *maqai*/*bashemane* are dissolute; when they see a pregnant dog, they insert their hands into its womb to draw the unborn puppies out *(o hana sethole sa ntja se emere, a sunye feisi, a kenye letsoho)*. Thereafter, the uninitiated man claims that the puppies are meat for consumption (*a tla le malinyane …a fihle a re hona ke nama re hlabetsoe*). Basotho do not eat dogs, however, in the song the uninitiated men are said to eat dog meat. Worse still, they are considered to be greedy to the extent that they pull the unborn puppies from the womb to eat them. This is highly derogatory. A *leqai* is depicted as the most stupid and insatiable person who eats puppies. He even pulls the puppies out by his hand before they are furrowed. The deeds of *leqai* in the spectacle of the initiated are weird and embarrassing. *Maqai* have no morals, they eat dogs and unborn puppies. This depiction reflects the worthlessness of *maqai* through the lenses of the initiated.

The referents and deeds about *maqai* undermine, despise or mock them. They also coach and coerce them to get initiated. Basotho do not eat dogs; they even have a proverb: *ke ntja ea selahloa le boea* (it is the dog that is thrown away with its fur). This shows that, unlike most animals, Basotho do not eat dogs or even see any value in their fur. This mockery is hurled towards *maqai.* It is a falsified and exaggerated statement that is intended to define *boqai* as an inhumane status of a man. It is a negative persuasion that makes men to feel obliged to get

initiated to avoid being ridiculed in the manner that the composer has done. A similar view that the initiated men have towards *maqai* has been recorded from *makoloane* of Qacha's Nek as follows:

Ke'ng hoo banna?
Ke moshemane
O batl'ang moo?
O tlile lithokong
Ha le mo mule ke'ng?
E'a shata ntja ena
Ngoan'a lejakane, ngoan'a molumeli
Eare ke re ho eena re eo bolla
A ikoaela ka libuka ka mahlong
Banna ba moo ke ba sehlooho hakaakang
Ba beile seputa sa moshemane holim'a lerako

_____

Fellow men, what is this?
It is an uninitiated boy
What does he want here?
He has come to listen to our music
Why don't you beat him?
This dog threatens to fight
The child of the Christian, of the believer
On the day I asked him that we should get initiated
He covered his face with books
Alas! How cruel are the men of this area
They have put the stinking uninitiated boy on the wall

Once more, the singer refers to an uninitiated man through discerning terms. The composer refers to him as a thing (*ke'ng hoo banna*) instead of saying *ke mang eo* (who is this person). To the singer does not consider *leqai* as a human being. He relegates the status of *moshemane,* an uninitiated man to that of things and not of people. He shows a dislike to the uninitiated and does not want him to listen to the music of the initiated me. He suggests that the uninitiated man should be beaten up (*ha le mo mule ke'ng*). In the opinion of the singer, *leqai* is a revulsion that he does not want to see or to be in the audience that has come to cheer the new initiates up. The discrimination towards *maqai* is further heightened when they are literally called dogs (*e'a shata ntja ena*). They are called *lintja* by the initiated.

The reason why the composer wants the uninitiated to be beaten up and chased away is that among the audience there are those who refused to be initiated with him. They were still attending school and did not want to drop out of it (*eare ke re ho eena re eo bolla, a ikoaela ka libuka ka mahlong*). The composer uses the stage to reveal his anger towards the uninitiated through the use insolent referents. The song portrays *maqai* negatively. They are undermined in all sectors of life; the community and girls do not recognise and respect them. The song is

intended to persuade those who are not initiated to be initiated. To the composer, initiation is a sign of valour and manhood.

Another act of bravery is reflected where boys choose to go on their own to join the others while they are in seclusion (*ho titmela*). *Mophato* is a place where even the initiated men fear to go to alone. It takes a bravery for men to visit the initiates while they are at the lodge. It is more fearsome for the uninitiated to go there. If the boys desire to become initiated, they demonstrate a high level of pride and courage. This courage is reflected in the following song by *makoloane* a Tsikoane:

Ha re eeng! Soalakahla
Ha re eeng hee! Hee! Ha re eeng! Hee!
Jonnana soalakahla
Ka fihla ho sa lutsoe
Ho sa le monate
Ntšoareleng Bataung haeba ke fositse
Ke khahluoe ke makhele, lipina tsa bo-ntate tsa malingoana
Ha e le bosiu soalakahla

_____

Let us go and pounce in!
Let us go! Hee! Let us go! Hee!
Jonnana! I pounced in.
I arrived when they were seated
When it was still very pleasant
Bataung forgive me, if I have wronged you
I was fascinated by makhele, the songs of the fathers of malingoana
During the night I pounced in.

In this example, the initiate reflects on his valorous deed of breaking his way into the group of initiates while at seclusion in pursuit of initiation. He demonstrates that when he arrived, the initiates were seated (*ka fihla ho lutsoe, ho sa le monate*). Despite his intrusion at the initiation lodge, the initiate knew that it was not right for him to go to initiation without prior arrangements with his family. He, therefore, seeks forgiveness from them (*ntšoareleng Bataung haeba ke fositse*). He had the courage to sneak away from home and to go for initiation. This is another level of courage that is discovered from the behaviour of the initiate. He disobeys his parents and goes to the initiation lodge. Upon his realization that he has offended them, he is appeasing them with his *lengae*, asking them to forgive him. He pleads for conciliation while simultaneously relaying his own personal stories on how he got initiated. He points out that he had to disrespect them because he was attracted to singing *makhele* (a variant of *lengae* commonly sung by *basuoe*), *mangae* and *malingoana*. During the performance of *mangae*, the singers give themselves name tags and expressions that portray them as extraordinarily horrifying and dangerous. The name tags and extraordinary expressions and deeds that are reflected in the section below. The uninitiated are ridiculed and addressed with discerning referents such as *ntja*,

moshemane and *leqai*. These perceptive referents are used, on the one hand, to ploy for the uninitiated to be initiated. On the other hand, they express the negativity of the initiated men towards *boqai*. Contrarily, the initiated label themselves with virtuous referents, the new identities that they have acquired through initiation, as reflected in the section below.

5.2.3 Delineation of imaginary self-righteousness in the performance of *mangae*.

The deeds of heroism are not only reflected through rough undertakings such as *mokallo* and heavy duty, but they are also reflected using the referents that give the initiates new identities. During the performance of *mangae*, the initiates indulge in the use of various labels to give the *basuoe*, the owners of the *mophato* and the headman new identities and intrepid referents. They use metaphors, exaggerated or euphemized phrases that define their mythical or mysterious actions. They paint dreadful imaginary traits of themselves. Thus, the initiates portray themselves as treacherous and ruthless. This section identifies and explains the name tags and expressions that the singers give to themselves to reflect on their new identities after being initiated. They use such referents to refer to their imaginary heroic deeds and new selves. They also use certain referents in some cases to identify *basuoe* or the owner of the *mophato*. After being initiated, the young men see complacency in themselves and they consider themselves as the heroes of an imaginary world. They refer to themselves as ferocious animals, hurricane, hail or anything reckoned as dangerous as way of marking their achievement and new identities. In some instances, they give narrations that are assumed heroic and dangerous to the imaginary rivals and to the world. For example, one initiate recorded from *makoloane* of Sefateng says:

Ke seqhaneha-pitsi ka mafifi, shoalane
E re bosiu bo e-sa ke efe bashanyana

_____

I am the one who rides the horse when it is dark, in the night
At dawn I hand it over to young boys

In the above example, the artist uses exaggerated expression to denote his treachery. He is so tough and skilled that he rides the horse at night and at sunset he hands the horse to the young boys to ride. Riding on a horse in the night is unsafe because the rider or the horse may fall because of darkness. For him to say that he rides the horse in the dark accords him the status of treachery. He is more adventurous and braver than the *maqai* that he calls *bashanyana*. This term is also denotative of other singers (*likheleke*) or subordinate initiates (those that got initiated after him.) It suggests that he is tough and has the courage to undertake burdensome tasks. In the ritual of the initiation, an initiated man is referred to as *ntate* (father) especially by those who got initiated later than he was, irrespective of the age difference. The following specimen recorded from *makoloane* of Khokhoba shows the expressive statements that delineate his treachery.

Na ba u joetsitse ke 'mampharume, ke phofu, ke nare

Ke lerumo le hlabang…
……
Ke lula ke e-ja mahata a batho
……
Khale ke e-ja litsoala tsa batho Nanabolela
……
Ke kere se sebe maqhamisa
Sakha ke e palame ke e fetoletse
Le tle le mpone ha ke motho ke satane

_____

Did they tell you that I am a rock lizard, I am an eland, and I am the buffalo?
I am the stabbing spear
……
I repeatedly eat human skulls
……
I have always been feeding on human placentas
I am a dangerous metal plier
I ride the blade of the saw facing up
You will see that I am not a human being, but I am Satan
……

The performer uses some unique techniques to demonstrate his bravery. He calls himself an eland and a buffalo in one verse "*na ba u joetsitse …, ke phofu, ke nare.*" By referring to himself as these wild animals, the initiate directly tells his fellow men that he is wild. Wildness here refers to danger and virility. He makes his listeners to dread him. If they disregard him, they will be in serious trouble.

He goes further to say that he is the stabbing spear "*ke lerumo le hlabang.*" In the past, Basotho warriors used spears to fight. Spears were also the main weapons that men protected themselves, their families and property with. The use of the phrase "*le hlabang*" (that stabs) reveals that he kills people. By referring to himself as the stabbing spear portrays the singer as a brave person who is not afraid to kill. He also reflects his cold-heartedness. He is courageous.

In order to show how dangerous he is, the initiate says that he feeds on human skulls and placentas "*ke lula ke e-ja mahata a batho"* and *"khale ke e-ja litsoala tsa batho.*" openly suggests that he feeds on human flesh which is not supposed to be eaten by other humans. It is a serious crime if one is found in possession of mutilated human parts. However, the initiate says that human flesh is his daily meal. This kind of representation portrays him as an outrageous and a heartless character. He paints an awful character of himself. This image is intended to scare other people from him. He even says that he mounts on the saw with its blade facing upwards. This expression characterises the composer as an outrageous character who resists the sharp spikes of the blade of the saw in his bottom (*sakha ke e palame ke e fetoletse*). These are the expression that reveal the acts of heroism of the initiated man. He ends up by saying, "*le tle le mpone ha ke*

motho, *ke Satane*" (you will realize that I am not human, I am Satan). Of course, the image that the artist is painting about himself, especially of eating human skulls and placenta and putting the blade of the saw facing upwards portray him as Satan. By giving himself these names and extolling the expressions as an initiated man, the initiates persuades the listeners to revere the culture of initiation as it has toughened him.

The use of imaginary and horrifying expression and names coaxes the young, uninitiated boys to be initiated. The parents also feel the urge to send their children to be initiated because of the influential expressions that the initiates use to give themselves the masculine identities of a Mosotho man. They indulge in the use of well-selected referents that mark them as unique and dangerous. They give themselves imaginary identities that label them as brave people. The new names and referents mark the images of fully-grown men who have successfully transited from childhood to adulthood. They mark themselves as fully-fledged citizens who can do extraordinary tasks. The extracts recorded from *makoloane* of Sefateng, give the referents such as:

Ke fate se sebe sefea-maeba
Hooo! ke fate se hlabang ka mahohle
Ke tšoana le noko, ke roetse marumo
Hooo! ke tšoana le tlali, ke ripitla feela

_____
I am a dangerous shrub celastrus buxifolius
Hooo! I am the tree that has ferns on all sides
I am like a porcupine, I am covered with spears
Hooo! I am like thunder, I thrash mercilessly

In the above excerpt, the performer calls himself a dangerous shrub that pierces from all sides (*ke fate se hlabang ka mahohle*). By this, he is warning other singers that he is treacherous so that they should neither meddle in his business nor go nearer to him. He also likens himself with the porcupine covered with quills that pierces into the skin of its predators (*ke tšoana le noko, ke roetse marumo*). This message is directed to the rival eloquent men. He warns them that his music pierces like sharp ferns and squills. He destines himself as the highest performer of *mangae*. He continues to liken himself to the striking thunder that kills mercilessly (*ke tšoana le tlali, ke ripitla feela*). His music is as fierce as a thunderstorm and could thrash his rivals mercilessly. What the referents signify: is that the performer is superior to other singers, his enemies in the music cycles. Because of the tough lessons that he learned through the initiation and his ability to sing well, he gives himself new names that reveal his new identity. Another way of eulogising on masculine dexterity is reflected in the excerpt recorded from *makoloane* a Khokhoba:

Ke qaati ea poho, ke qhala likoata
'Na ha ke s'o re linatla li fasoe
'Na ha ke s'o re ke hole le hae
……

Ke mollo o tukang Nanabolela
Ke turu ke thata
Ke 'mane oa marumo
……
Selemo ha se fela ke so bolae pelo eaka ha e khotsofale

_____

I am a bull's omasum, I disperse (impossible to bear with) other men
I have not asked that the strongest warriors be fastened
I do not care even when I am far away from home
I am a burning fire, Nanabolela
I am expensive, I am tough
……
When the year lapses without having killed a person, I do know feel happy

In the above excerpt, the initiate uses several referents that identify him as an outrageous person. He refers to himself as the omasum of the bull that causes repugnance when eaten by other men (*ke qaati ea poho ke qhala likoata*). In the context of Sesotho only the shepherds eat the *qaati*. Because the *qaati* of a bull is too fat, people may not finish eating it. This reflects the initiate as an inextricable person. To heighten the state of his revulsion, he says that he did not ask anyone to fasten the strong men (*ha ke so re linatla li fasoe*). This means that, he does not fear the strongest men. He has not asked anyone to stop the strong men from fighting him. He does not fear anyone, no matter how strong they are. He does not care that he is far from his place (*ha ke so re ke hole le hae*). This shows that he is obstinate. He does not shiver when war is impending. He is not a coward. He adds that he is a burning fire ("*ke mollo o tukang*"). Therefore, he has no fear for anyone. He can burn other people. He says he is expensive (*ke turu*), strong (*ke thata*) and he is the lighting caused by a striking spear (*ke … 'mane oa marumo*). Owing to his fearsome character trait that express his new identity, he says he does not feel appeased if the year ends before he kills someone (*selemo ha se fela ke so bolae pelo eaka ha e khotsofale*). These referents are intended to represent the new identity that he has acquired from being initiated. Most of the referents that he has used extol what is culturally considered as a Mosotho man. He gives himself outrageous characteristics and orders to express his superiority over other singers.

A similar style of expressing the virile nature of a Mosotho man is further upheld by *makoloane* of Ha Ntina thus:

Hooo! Ba ntse ba botsana, ba sa mpotse
Hooo! Ke Letuma, Ramatjeke, Rammopa-lithebe hoo!
Hooo! Ha ke sa le mahoe-hoe, ke lelakabe
Ke lebatama la mollo hlekhemane
Ke seholo se besoang ke Machankana naheng bo!

_____

Hooo! They are asking about me and yet they don't ask me
Hooo! I am Letuma, The early riser, The maker of shields hoo!

Hooo! I am not the announcer, I am the flame
I am the strong shining flame
I am an ant hill that has been burned by the Shanganas

The most interesting aspect that is reflected in the excerpt above is that the initiate refers to himself with the new name, Letuma (the notorious one). To mark a transition from boyhood to manhood, initiated men give themselves new names, guaranteeing a passage from childhood to adulthood. The names that the initiates give to themselves are intended to define who they are and what they would wish to be known for. The name is the one that the initiate uses in the composition of his poetry. He is **Letuma** because he deems himself as the notorious one. The state of notoriety alluded to in this regard is indicative of his highest level of eloquence over the other initiates.

He also calls himself the blazing flame, with intense heat (*ke lelakabe, ke lebatama la mollo hlekhemane.*) These referents identify the singer as notorious in terms of the heat that he has. One thing that was outstanding about the recording of this song was that the initiate was singing one of the most complicated songs called *makhele* that are sung principally by *basuoe*. Because of the eloquence which he displays, he reckons himself as a blazing fire, hence the name Letuma. He gives the narratives of imaginary representation of himself. He gives himself a totally new identity as an initiated man. He also makes a profound emphasis of self-worth and the fact that he is dangerous. This reference induces fear in those who listen to him. He delineates further on his social consciousness and expectation what the society requires of him after initiation. He portrays himself as the most virile character, particularly as opposed to *maqai*.

Overall, the performance of *mangae* is arbitrarily seen as a warfare or battle or competition with other artists. The performer of *lengae* presents his song as though he is flexing his power of eloquence between himself and other, imaginary, singers (*likheleke*). He recounts on the assumed envy and fear that other composers have towards his eloquent propensity Coplan (1986). They venture into the use of imaginary self-representations. They give themselves referents that give them the images of new identities that they had attained through initiation. The use of various forms of eulogies harvested from ferocious animals, the deadly weather conditions, the weapons (etc.) feature primarily in the definition of new the identities of the initiates. Their *basuoe,* the chiefs and the owner of the mophato are also given dreadful and formidable names.

The culture of initiation for Basotho men was a preparatory stage for the national military. As such, initiated men are obliged to represent themselves as worriers. For example, an initiated man had to show his potency and respect on how he identifies himself. He was obliged by the traditional legislature to portray a sense of community, to show solidarity with his fellow initiates and the citizens, to show productivity and to what degree he could be reproductive (Wanyama

and Egesah, 2015). He had to be strong, brave and skilled. He had to protect the king, his state and the families. The other important component that surfaces as the content of *mangae* is the significance of the cattle in the lives of the Basotho. The following section identifies *mangae* that refer to the bovine and unpacks what it communicates.

5.3 The Mosotho and the significance of the bovine

Throughout the history of the Basotho, the rearing of animals has been a cultural identity of the nation. The various cattle raids and attacks were rampant among the traditional leaders of Africa. They were made to conquer the rival and to take his state, to seize the women and cattle as well as for fame. The bovine has had several significances for the Basotho. It signifies material wealth, social price and the entrepreneurial needs of the nation, for instance. The ensuing sections identify the significance of the bovine in the rituals of initiation, marriage and death, as reproduced in the performance of *mangae*.

5.3.1 The significance of the bovine in the ritual of initiation

The bovine has an immense traditional significance in *lebollo*. On the Friday that the boys are send-off to seclusion (*lelingoana la ho kata macha*), a huge ceremony is held, and a bull is slaughtered. The meat from the bull is used to fortify, to scarify the initiates and as a sacrifice to the ancestors so that they protect the initiates from witchcraft and evil spirits throughout the initiation period. The meat is sprinkled with the traditional medicine and given to the boys to eat. Through this exercise, the boys are prepared for initiation and protection from the evil spirit. It is also an offering to the ancestors to look after the boys throughout the trying times of initiation (Guma, 1965; Moitse, 1990 and Wells 1994).

The teachings of initiation further revolve on the importance of the bovine. The young men are intensively taught how to revere cattle. The bovine in the life of a Mosotho serves several traditional roles. It is used in the ritual of initiation, as a dowry wealth, for burial rites, for agricultural purposes, for intrapreneurial uses, for milk, for meat etc. In the performance of *mangae*, the initiates regularly refer to several values of the bovine in the Basotho customs. The example recorded from *makoloane* of Sefateng clarifies the role and traditional significance of the bovine in the light of the initiates and the Basotho.

> *Khomo lumela ramalingoana*
> *Khomo ha e otloe mpeng e lusa*
>
> _____
>
> We salute you bovine the father of *malingoana*
> The cow is not supposed to be hit on the stomach when it is about to calf.

In the above example, the bovine is referred to as *ramalingoana* (father of the ceremony that is held for the boys on the Friday that they ascend the mountain). The bovine is called *ramalingoana*

because of its role as an offering for the ancestors, for fortification and for the scarification of the initiates. The ceremony would not have been complete without sacrificing the bovine for the purposes of initiation. As a result of its profound role, the initiate refers to it as the father of *malingoana*. Different singers have diverse ways of delineating the importance of the bovine in the ritual of initiation. The following excerpt by *makoloane* of Khanyane gives a punchier significance of the bovine in *lebollo:*

Banna khotla ba e binele malingoana
Le nama khotla e besoa ka moriana
Re phela tjena re phela nakong ea khomo
Re kopane tjena, re kopantsoe ke khomo banna!

_____

Men sing *malingoana khotla* for it
And the roasted meat is mixed with medicine at *khotla*
We live this way because of the bovine
We are united/related like this, because of the bovine, fellow men.

The second line of the extract explains how the meat from the bull is prepared during the ascending ceremony. It shows that the meat is sprinkled/smeared with medicine and roasted (*le nama khotla e besoa ka moriana*). Later a warrior gives it to the initiates to seize it from a spear and eat it (Guma, 1965 and Wells, 1994). During the ceremony, the initiated men sing *malingoana* in honour of the ceremony. Because of his knowledge and experience of the cultural undertakings of *lelingoana,* the initiate says "*banna khotla ba e binele malingoana*" (the men at *khotla,* sing *malingoana* for it).

During the performance of this ritual, men gather at *khotla* and sing *malingoana* when the scarification and fortification of the boys is undertaken. The initiated men sing praises and appeal to the ancestors to look after the boys. In the last verse, the initiate says "*re kopane tjena, re kopantsoe ke khomo*." In this instance he refers to the gathering of men at *khotla* and a crowd of relatives that have come during the ceremony to partake in reverence of the ritual and the sending-off of the boys. He says that they have gathered there because of the bovine. In line three, the singer says, "*re phela tjena, re phela nakong ea khomo*." This verse denotes that humans are alive because of the bovine. The phrase "*re phela tjena*" proves to the audience that the boys have lived and have thrived through life because of the bovine. They have been protected and are still alive because of the scarification that was performed on them with the bovine. He is referring to the bull that was sacrificed to the ancestors and for their fortification and scarification against the evils of the world.

One of the principal teachings of initiation revolves around the value of the bovine in the life of a Mosotho. The boys are intensively taught about its significance and are constantly reprimanded

to take care of it. Because of the teaching, and the sacred nature of initiation, *makoloane* of Mathokoane have this to say about the bovine:

Lineo tsa moea
Le 'na ke neuoe
Ke neuoe senna koana thaba Mathokoane
Bo-ntate ba ile ba ntaea ka khomo Basotho

_____

The spiritual gifts
I too am gifted
I have been given/bequeathed with manhood at Mt. Mathokoane
The fathers taught me about the bovine

The singer points out that he has been conferred with the spiritual gifts from initiation. He is referring to the sacred rites that are taught at the lodge. The performer opaquely refers to the secret undertakings and teachings of the bovine at the lodge. To him, the secrets and sacred lessons about the bovine are spiritual gifts. He points out that he has been converted into a man at mount Mathokoane, "*ke neuoe senna koana thaba Mathokoane*". This is the plateau where the initiates spent three months in seclusion being initiated into the principles of manhood. This is another gift that he boldly alludes to in his song. Beyond being given the lessons on manhood, he was given another gift, some lessons on the bovine "*bo-ntate ba ile ba ntaea ka khomo Basotho*." This excerpt reflects not only the contentment and indebtedness that the initiate has towards his teachers but also the value and significance of the bovine in the life of a Mosotho man. *Ho laea khomo* (to teach about the bovine) is one of the main teachings of initiation. The initiates are taught intensively about the parts of the bovine and how to chop it into pieces. As a result, the boys are perpetually assessed on the anatomy of the bovine. By so doing, they say *ba laoa khomo* (they are taught about the bovine). Rather than reflecting on the importance of the bovine to the ritual of initiation, the performance of *mangae* also relate its importance in matrimony.

5.3.2 The significance of the bovine as a bridal wealth

The value of the bovine is further celebrated in the manner below to designate how much it unifies varied nation. The song was recorded from *makoloane* of Khanyane as follows:

Khomo ke kopanya lichaba
Khomo! Khomo ee!
Khomo ke kopanya liboko
Khomo ha li le makhulong, li fula
Li ntse le foka machoba koana le koana
Li kopanya lichaba-chaba

Khomo ee!
Le bo-ntata rona ba ka be ba le sieo

Le bo ’m`a-rona ba ka be ba sa nyaloa
Hoja e se ka khomo
Khomo molimo o nko e metsi rapeleha
Sefela:
……
Khomo ha li kae batho re bangata
Khomo ha li batle lifeloa-peloana

_____

The cow unifies nations
Bovine! Bovine ee!
The is the connector of clans
When the cattle are the ranges and grazing
Waging their tails from side to side
They unite nations by nations (huge nations)

Bovine ee!
Even our fathers would not have been here (would not have been begotten)
Even our mothers would not have been married
If it were not because of the bovine
Bovine, the God with watery nose, hear our prayers
Sefela:
……
The cattle are not more than humans in number.
The cattle do not want short-tempered people

In the above example, the initiate declares that the bovine unites different nations and tribes “*khomo e kopanya lichaba* and *khomo e kopanya liboko*.” These statements refer to the unification of tribes and different clans through marriage. In the Sesotho tradition, the bovine plays a vital role as a bride price. The payment of dowry serves as a unifying factor among the nations and different tribes in Sesotho. The excerpt expounds on the importance of the bovine in marriage. The song further shows that if it were not because of the bovine, their fathers would not have been begotten (*le bo-ntat’a rona ba ka be ba le sieo*). The deeper meaning of this statement is that if cattle for lobola were not there, there would not have been any marriage because the bride price would not have been available

As a result, the begetting of children (fathers) would not have been possible. If the bovine used as a bride price had not been there, the nations would have gone extinct. The song, therefore, shows how significant the bovine is in procreation, growth and continuity of the nation. This is reflected in the verse where the singer says “*le bo-’m`a rona ba ka be ba sa nyaloa hoja e se ka khomo.*” Even today in Lesotho, the bovine is used to pay the bride price. What the song reveals is that, if there were no bovine there would not have been any bride price and the females would not be married. The song expounds on the significance of the bovine as the bride wealth to the Basotho.

Because of its importance, the initiate from *makoloane* of Sefateng advises that it is not right to hit a pregnant cow on the stomach (*khomo ha e otloe mpeng e lusa*). This discloses the love of the initiate towards the bovine. If a pregnant cow is hit on the belly, it will miscarry. Animal death directly affects the cultural wealth and causes a decline and stock decrease. At the same time, if the cow miscarries, the rite of initiation will be under a serious challenge as the initiates might eventually not have bovines to slaughter for the initiation rites. The boy initiate is thus, reflecting on the customary value of the bovine in respect of the initiation culture.

In the Sesotho culture, animals are loaned to those who do not have them. A culturally wealthy man loans animals to someone who does not have any. The person whom the animal is loaned to uses the animals as if they were his own, but he cannot sell them. He uses the cattle for ploughing and for milking. The tradition of loaning animals is such that on the second lactation, the person whom the loaned is given the calf to rear as his own. This serves as a poverty reduction strategy among the Basotho and affords Mosotho to have one or more animals in his kraal. The loaning deed of the Basotho is reflected in the singing of *lengae* recorded from *makoloane* a Linotšing Ha Mokokoana thus:

Khomo tsa tala li lahla balisa
'Na nka mpa ka khutlela Sesothong sa khale
Sesotho se re ha ke se na khomo nkalime
Ke khutla ke re khomo khutlela haeno u holile

_____

The fat cattle escape from the shepherds
I would rather revert to old Sesotho ways
Sesotho word says, if I do not have a bovine, borrow (loan) me
And later say go back to your home because you have grown

What the singer suggests in the above excerpt is that, he would rather revert to past Sesotho ways in which a person who did not have a bovine was given a loan. The song signifies the high regard with which the singer has for Sesotho communal ways as well as the value of the bovine in his life. He is also signifying the importance of the bovine in the life a Mosotho. The initiate is also cognizant of the fact that a loan is supposed to be returned later and uses the phrase "*ke khutla ke re khomo khutlela haeno u holile.*" When the loaned bovine has served its role and the person who had received the loan has thrived, he sees the importance of repaying the loaning. In the Sesotho culture, the person who has been loaned with a bovine has to return the bovine with at least one calf. The growth of the bovine referred to in the example refers to the ability of the cow to reproduce calves. In the process of loaning, it also happens that the owner of the loaned animal can come to ask it back while it is still valuable in the life of the person loaned. Being conscious of the undesirable laws governing the loan, the *makoloane* of Majaheng say:

Heee 'mala! Heleeele 'mala
Heee 'mala oa esele 'mala

Bohloko ba eona khomo ea lefisa
E ka re u e hama, u qamake koana le koana

Bohloko ba eona khomo ea lefisa
E ka re u e pana, mong'a eona a tlo e lata
Ha e'a tloha e le matšoao pelesa

_____

He! colour! Heleeele colour!
He! Colour of the donkey, colour!
The pain of the loaned bovine.
When it still spanned it, its owner might come to fetch it.
It did not leave without the marks the pack animal

He! colour! Heleeele colour!
He! Colour of the donkey colour!
The pain of the loaned bovine.
When still milking it, you must look at all directions because its owner might come to fetch it
It did not leave without the marks the pack animal

In the example above, the singer is reflecting on the unfortunate ways that befall people who have been loaned animals. Out of malice, the owner may fetch the animal when the person who has been loaned an animal does not expect him to. Sometimes the owner may fetch his animal because his own has died or because he doubts that his animal is adequately taken care of. Without any warning the person to whom the animal belongs may go to fetch it. It is in this view that the singer says "*bohloko ba eona khomo ea lefisa*." The singer shows that it is painful to have a loaned bovine. The pain is extreme when the owner snatches the loaned animal while the loaned still benefits from it. In this instance, the initiate points out that the owner seizes his cow while it is providing milk as the main source of food in the family (*e ka re u e hama, u qamake koana le koana*); (*e ka re u e pana, mong'a eona a tlo e lata*). Because of the unwritten loan agreement, the singer says *ha e'a tloha e le matšoao pelesa* (it has never had a formal loaning terms). To expound on lack of contractual terms, the composer further uses the phrase "'*mala oa eona*" (loosely translated to its colour). In the excerpt, *'mala* refers to the nature of the loaned bovine. It means the consequent factors that the one who has been loaned is faced with. The nature of the loaned animal is such that when one is still benefiting from it, its owner can take it back irrespective of the circumstances surrounding it. Despite the contractual hiccups relating to the loaned bovine, the song shows that it has a positive economic wealth in the life of a Mosotho. The section below reflects of the importance of the bovine in the tradition of the burial in the Sesotho culture.

5.3.3 The significance of the bovine in the ritual of death

In the composition of *mangae*, the initiate further relates to the importance of the bovine in the ritual of the burial of the Basotho. This role is reflected in the song recorded from *makoloane* of Qoqolosing as follows:

Monna ha a se na khomo bo
E ka re ha se monna
Mohl'a poloko ea hae o tla bolokoa ka'ng

_____

When the man does not have a bovine
He is not like a real man
And, during his burial, what shall we use?

Since time immemorial, the Basotho considered the bovine hide as the blanket that the deceased wore when he had passed away. As a result, slaughtering a bovine during the ritual of death has had a cultural significance in the lives of the Basotho throughout the years. In Sesotho when the bovine is slaughtered for ritual purposes, they say that they send him to his ancestors in the company of a bovine (*ba ea mo felehetsa*). Beyond slaughtering the bovine as an accompanying beast to his newly resting place, its meat is used as a feast for the funeral attendants and offering to the ancestors. Anyone who dies without having any bovine or enough money to buy one for his burial is disgraceful. One's burial is supposed to be honoured through giving one a blanket that s/he will use in the new world and life that he is going to lead. A Sesotho burial is considered as being decent if the bovine is sacrificed for the ritual purposes. Because of the importance of the bovine in the ritual of the burial, the composer poses the rhetorical question: "*mohl'a poloko ea hae o tla bolokoa ka'ng?*"

Rearing of animals, in particular cattle, "possess(es) a potent symbol of Sesotho identity and tradition" (Turkon, 2003). In the Sesotho culture, especially in the rural setting, a man is reckoned as a real man if he owns animals. During the performance of *mangae*, the attachment of manhood on livestock is reflected as follows "*monna ha a se na khomo bo, e ka re ha se monna.*"Animals do not only serve as the symbols of the social status or economic wealth in the life of a Mosotho but they also provide the entrepreneurial skills as well (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1992 and Ferguson, 1992a in Turkon, 2003). Cattle, for example, are used for *seahlolo* (sharing of the produce of a field) ploughing, they are used as a source of milk, for *lefisa* (loaning of animals), for burial and other ceremonies, for business etc. The song suggests that the value of being a man is mirrored through his herd of animals. The wealth of a traditional Mosotho man is measured through his livestock. The man who owns livestock is equivalent to the one who has a lot of money as he can sell them freely at any time to finance his needs. The song relates to the significance of the bovine in the life of a Mosotho as outlined above.

The songs suggest that if a man does not own cattle, he is a disgrace. His burial is going to be a shame because he is not going to have a blanket (*kobo*- bovine skin to wear while living in the new world). The skin of the animal is kept safely and is known as his/her blanket. If one does not have a bovine skin, he does not rest. He visits his/her in-laws through dreams signalling to them that s/he is cold. A ceremony is held, and the bovine is sacrificed. Its skin is well-looked-after, as it is the blanket for the dead. It is only upon performing this ritual that the dead person will no longer bother his relatives through the dreams which depicting that he feels cold.

With modernisation, instead of the skin of the bovine being tanned and reserved as the blanket for the dead, Basotho throw the bloody and wet skin on top of the coffin and bury it with the corpse. In the view of the Basotho, a bovine's skin is a blanket only if it has been processed (dried, scrubbed and hand tanned to make it supple enough to wrap the body). Because of the modern ways, the dead are reported in a few cases to have bothered relatives that they are cold because the blanket is wet or because it is too inflexible and hard to cover their bodies. In that case, another bovine is slaughtered, and its skin is processed into a blanket. The above song therefore makes a reflection on the value and/or significance of the bovine in the ritual and ceremony of the burial.

The skin of the bovine is also used as a blanket that the initiates wear throughout the initiation trial. This is another important role that the bovine has on the ritual of initiation. Because of this value, the initiates are required to herd the cattle immediately upon graduating from the lodge. This gesture symbolises the value and the relationship that the boys have been initiated into in relation to the bovine. Upon returning and receiving new identities, the initiates are bought new blankets in replacement of the animal skin. *Malom'a* (the maternal uncle) is the one who buys a new blanket for his nephew.

Generally, the bovine is of the greatest value in the lives of the Basotho and the initiates. During the performance of *mangae*, when the initiates are handed some gifts. *mosuoe* says "*kobo ke ena*, *e tsoa ho moloma'e*, *o mo hlobolisa mokhahla ka eona*, *o re a e apare ha a e-ea naheng*" (here is the blanket given by the uncle to remove the nephew's *mokhahla* (the tanned bovine skin). The initiate is required to wear it only when he is looking after the cattle. The bovine has, over the years, invariably proved to be an asset. The following section expounds on the insight of the Mosotho man and the bovine. It unfolds the relationship and the care that a Mosotho devotes to cattle.

5.3.4 Perceptions about the responsibilities of the Mosotho man towards the bovine

Because of several significances of the bovine in the life a Mosotho, Basotho men are responsible for cattle in ensuring that they are taken care of. This section discusses the value and significance of cattle, as reflected though the performance of *mangae*. During the performance of *mangae*, some songs were dedicated to the significance of the cow and mostly its importance. The initiates make lamentations about the cattle that have been impounded from *maboelelng*/*matobong* (reserved grazing land/rangelands). To show how determined the initiates are in taking care of the cattle, the initiate from Khanyane says:

Dialogue:

Initiate One: *He monna, Ntjaeshoele! Khomo tsa eso li tsoha li tlotse bosiuong bona ba tsatsing lena. Ha u s'u li bone?*

_____

He man Ntjaeshoele! This morning my father's cattle seem to have jumped the kraal. Have you not seen them?

Ntjaeshoele: *Khomo tsa eno? He monna! Khomo tsa heno li maphako haholo kea li tseba. Li tlameha li robetse li lapile. Ho tloha hona *kasheko, u ntše likhomo lephola, li robale li khotse ….*

_____

You mean your cattle? He man! I know that your cattle (your father's cattle) are extremely hollow. They must have slept on empty stomachs. From today, you must take them to the veld very early in the morning so that the sleep on full bellies.

The above dialogue reflects the views of the Mosotho man about the importance of taking care of the cattle. The first speaker is worried that when he wakes up, he finds out that his cattle have skipped the kraal and are roaming around. As a result, he is wandering about, looking for them. In his search, he meets Ntjaeshoele and asks him whether he has not seen them. Ntjaeshoele accuses his interlocutor of being a bad shepherd (*khomo tsa eno? Li tlameha li robetse li lapile*). He does not take good care of his cattle because they were taken to the kraal the previous night with empty bellies.

Because of the mismanagement that Ntjaeshoele has seen from the above-mentioned shepherd, he advises his interlocutor to take them to the grazing lands at dusk so that they have ample time to graze satisfactory (*ho tloha hona *kasheko, u ntše likhomo lephola, li robale li khotse*). The dialogue reveals the young men's awareness of the importance of looking after the animals passionately. On the one hand, the young men are advising the other to look for them if they have disappeared, it is incumbent on them to look for the animals. He is advised to take good care of the cattle by making sure that they graze to their satisfaction. This dialogue demonstrates the young men's passion and tenacity which they bestowed upon the animals.

A similar sentiment, with minor differences, is also communicated in the ensuing specimen by *makoloane* of Linotšing.

Khomo ena eso
'Mala oa eona
He! Ahe!
Ha se ea ka, ke ea ntate Mphaka khomo ena
Ea hore e kene tšimong ke lisitse
U e shebe mehato, u e shebe metsamao
Ha e hata, e hataka Sekoena
Khomo ena eso 'mala oa eona

Sefela: *Heeela! Lekoko la khomo*
Ua tseba hore khomo tsa tala li lahla balisa
Khomo ena e nqabantse le batho
Ke khale ke shapuoaka motho

_____

This bovine of my father (parents)
Its colour
He! Ahe!
It is not mine; it belongs to father Mphaka, this cow
The one that entered a crop field while I was herding it
Watch (see) its footprints, watch how it walks
When it steps, it steps like the Bakoena
This bovine of my parents
Its colour
Heleeele! The hide of the bovine
You know that in spring the cattle escape from the shepherds
This cow has caused enmity between me and other people
I have been beaten several times myself

The initiate starts by praising his father's bovine (*khomo ena eso*). He praises its colour (*'mala oa eona*). The colour of cattle has a huge significance in the lives of the owners. Cattle in Lesotho are normally named after their colour. A black and white cow is called *tšemeli* (butcherbird). The cow is called *tšemeli* because of its black and white colour which resembles that of the bird called *tšemeli*. The initiate as the member of the society who has seen his elders praise the animals imitate them by praising his cow.

The initiate further praises the movement of his cow. He asks other people to watch its footsteps and how it walks. To him the movement of the cow and its footprints are so appealing to the eye of the onlookers that the artist summons the audience to watch it *(u e shebe mehato, u e shebe metsamao, ha e hata, e hataka Sekoena)*. The initiate reveals his contentment in the manner with which the cow looks and walks. A well-fed animal is striking in the eyes of people. Its hide is shiny; when it moves it calls for the eye of the passerby to constantly look at it.

In the song, the initiate confesses that he has been punished several times because of the same cow (*khomo ena e nqabantse le batho, ke khale ke shapuoaka motho*). The reason being that he has, in most cases, taken the cow to graze on other people's crops (*ea hore e kene tšimong ke*

lisitse). This statement alludes to the mischievous ways (of the herdboys) of letting the cattle to sneak out at night to graze on other people's fields (crops) and on reserved rangelands. It is typical and common in Lesotho for the herdboys to let the animals graze on and destroy reserved rangelands and crops at night as a way of fattening them.

The care for cattle makes the herdboys destructive and to perform outrageous deeds as a way of looking after them. He reflects on his own personal experiences of perpetually being punished (*ke khale ke shapuoaka motho*) for his lawlessness and lack of respect for people's fields (*ea hore e kene tšimong ke lisitse*.) The song registers the passion and love that the Basotho men have towards cattle. In spring, Basotho shepherds compete about who is better than the others in fattening his cattle. As a result of this competition, they become mischievous and break the laws which have caused hatred on the part of those whose property has been destroyed (*khomo ena e nqabantse le batho*). It is upon this premise that they indulge in the use of the proverb "*khomo tsa tala li lahla balisa*." A fat animal is lively and performs frolics. Frolicking in animals marks satisfaction and health. *Lahla* in the excerpt means the frolicking of animals and setting the shepherds amiss. The sign of being astray from the shepherds is portrayed when they become ill-behaved and let the animals destroy reserved range lands and crops.

On several occasions there are perpetual fights between the herdboys and the guards over the range lands and sometimes between the herdboys and the field owners. When the cattle have been found in these places, the herdboy has the courage and bravery to fight in order to release them from the owners of the fields or from capture. Because the young men have been taught how to fight with sticks, they confront anybody in possession of their cattle to start a fight. This is portrayed in the following song by *makoloane* a Khanyane:

Ke tennoe ke bashanyana bana
Ache banna
Ke sa ea he! ke il'o baka ntoa
Nke ke be ka khutla ntoeng

Sefela 1: *Ke sa ea he jooo 'na ke sa ea*
Nke ke be ka tlohela likhomo tsa ntate li koaletsoe sekete

Sefela 2*:* *Ke sa ea he jooo 'na ke sa ea*
Akha fotsek ngoan'e motona ke petsoa-majoeng

_____

I am fed up with these little boys
Ache men
I am going then, I am going to cause war
I will not return from the battle site

Sefela 1: I am going, jo! I am going
I will never let my father's cattle be locked up at *sekete* (a place where animals that have been caught in the reserved range land or destroying people's crops are kept)
Sefela:
I am going jo I am going

Argh fotsek! The male child is the one to be thrown on rocky terrain

The initiate says that he is fed-up with the boys who have shut his cattle at the *sekete* (*ke tennoe ke bashanyana bana…Nke ke be ka tlohela likhomo tsa ntate li koaletsoe sekete*). To prove his valour he says that he cannot let the little boys (*bashanyana*) keep the animals for three days. The initiate declares that he is going to start a warfare in order to release his father's cattle (*ke sa ea he! ke il'o baka ntoa*). He vows that he will never run away from the battlefield over his cattle (n*ke ke be ka khutla ntoeng*). To the performer, going to fight over the impounded animals is a sign of bravery and manhood. He swears over his life that the animals are his prerogative that he can die for them. He uses the proverb *ngoan'e motona ke petsoa-majoeng* (the male child is the one to be thrown onto rocky a place). He portrays himself as brave and courageous. He shows that he is not afraid to die over his apprehended cattle. In Lesotho even today, there are serious fights yearly over the rangelands and fields. People are killed or get permanent injuries. The song is reflective of the onslaught that usually takes place over the cattle, the fields, the pastures and the owners. The initiate portrays his bravery to fight for his animals. He encourages other men to be brave enough to sacrifice their lives for their cattle. The initiate is, therefore, seen as devoting his unreserved love and responsibility over the cattle.

It is common for the new initiates to be at loggerheads with the guards of the rangelands and field owners. Upon graduating, the initiates are required to look after the cattle for a month or longer before they put off the loin dress that they wear and simultaneously wash off the red ochre (*ba hlatsoa*). In Lesotho, the new initiates are hired to look after the animals over a period of a year and they are paid with bovines. However, due to the rampant theft of the animals from Lesotho to the illegal auctions in the Republic of South Africa, the Basotho stock has been reduced drastically.

This has caused many new initiates to go to the Republic of South Africa to work on the farms looking after livestock. Some of them are hired by the small farmers to look after their cattle. One of their prime responsibilities is to fend for themselves and their families as adults. The relationship and care that the young Basotho men have for livestock is seen as being dangerous because sometimes they shed blood in their effort to protect the animals. In some instances, large sums of money are paid in compensation of the destruction that the young men have caused. Generally, cattle are valuable in the social life of the Basotho men. The following section analyses the themes of *mangae* that describe their awareness of the leadership, the state and knowledge of places.

5.4 Deference of the traditional and the political leaders

Leadership is one of the most respected customs in Lesotho. Traditional and political leaders are considered with a higher esteem than other citizens. During the performance of *mangae*,

makoloane reflect their cognisance of the leadership of the day. The song recorded from the *makoloane* of Majaheng demonstrates the relationship between the local headman and the initiate.

Heeela banna ee!
*Morena o *nrata, ha re palama*
Heeela banna ee!
Empa ha re khutla oa 'nyatsa
*He o *nhloile*
……..
Heeeela banna ee
Morena oaka o ntahlets'eng lefatšeng lena la mohlomola
Heeeela banna ee
Morena oaka o ntahlets'eng lefatšeng lena la mathata

_____

Heeela fellow men ee!
My chief likes me when we are on horseback
Heeela! Fellow men!
Surprisingly when we return, he despises me
He! He hates me
……..
Heeela! Fellow men!
Lord why have you forsaken me in this land of troubles
Heeela! Fellow men!
Lord why have you forsaken me in this world of difficulties.

The above example outlines the personal relationships between the headman and the composer who is not content with the way his chief treats him. He unveils the unjust treatment and the sour relationship that obtains between him and his chief. He points out that the chief likes and uses him only in pursuit of his selfish ends (*morena o *nrata, ha re palama*). After accomplishing his mission, the chief rejects and shows strong hatred towards the initiate *(empa ha re khutla o'a 'nyatsa*). The initiate discloses the sad truths that have wrecked his fellow men under the leadership of the chiefs. He is appealing to the chief to stop ill-treating his people selfishly. The singer feels rejected and forsaken by the lord and hence he makes an appeal to the lord to rescue him (*morena oaka o ntahlets'eng lefatšeng lena la mathata*). Because of the troubles and difficulties that the initiate is faced with, he calls upon the mercy of the lord to rescue him. The following excerpt reflects the esteem that *makoloane* of Tsokung relay about the former RSA President, Nelson Mandela.

Undishiyelani na?
Baba Nelson Mandela
E ne le letsoho le letona la Morena Jeso
O na loanela tokoloho
A loanela litokelo tsa rona
……..

Sefela 1: ……..
Hooo! O re siile har'a mathata
Ke re mathateng a lefatše lenana
Ba re ha a eo! Ha a eo mona
Ntat'a lona Mandela

Sefela 2: ……..
Heee! E ne le mohale oa bahale
E ne le mohale ka lefatše lena lohle
Mandela e ne le liba se mapholi
Lefatšeng mona , ha a eo! Ha a eo ea tšoanang le eena
……..

_____

Why do you leave me behind, Father Mandela?
He was the right hand of the Lord Jesus
He was a freedom fighter
He fought for people's rights
……..

Sefela 1: Hooo! He has left us in serious problems
I mean the troubles of this world
They are telling us that he is no more. He is not here
That father of yours Mandela

Sefela 2: Heee! He was a warrior among warriors
He was the warrior in the whole world
Mandela was the cool fountain of water
In the whole world there is no one like him
……..

The composer of this song expresses his knowledge of the one-time iconic leader, President Nelson Mandela. Unlike the singer in the previous extract, this composer expresses the importance of former President Mandela in people's lives in the whole world. Owing to his importance, he was the right-hand man of Jesus Christ (*e ne le letsoho le letona la Morena Jeso*). He continues to explain that President Nelson Mandela fought for people's emancipation as well as their rights (*o na loanela tokoloho* and *a loanela litokelo tsa rona*). He praises Mandela for being the rescuer of people from the oppression that was exerted by the whites upon the blacks.

Because of Mandela's value, he laments that Mandela has died living his people miserable (*o re siile har'a mathata …a lefatše lenana*). The death of President Nelson Mandela has left people in serious troubles. They will not survive now that Mandela is dead (*ba re ha a eo mona ntat'a lona Mandela*). While the composer feels vulnerable that President Mandela has died, there are those who feel relieved that he has passed away. Despite the circumstances, the composer still sees Mandela as a lifetime hero in the whole world (*e ne le mohale ka lefatše lena lohle*). He further explains that Mandela was an extraordinary leader who has no match in the whole world (*lefatšeng mona mona, ha a eo… ea tšoanang le eena*).

The composition of the above *lengae* reveals the singer's cognisance of iconic leaders such as Mandela for liberating people from apartheid and fighting for their rights. This exposes the composers of *mangae* as vigilant of the issues around people as well as the value and significance of political leaders in people's lives. This song is an encouragement to other African leaders to emulate the bravery that was portrayed by Nelson Mandela while leading the people. It further serves as an advice to the nation as a whole to esteem the leaders and to continuously praise them if they have added value to people's lives. It also serves as a dirge that is sung towards the passing away of Nelson Mandela. The singer further laments the passing away of President Nelson Mandela who was paramount to his people. The following section is dedicated to the themes that reflect the singers' lamentations about their loved ones.

5.5 Considerations of the themes lamenting the bereavement of their loved ones

One of the common themes in the performance of *mangae* is the lamentations over the loss of the loved one or family member over death. The following example that has been recorded from *makoloane* of Tsikoane unpacks the dirge that one singer performed.

Ha ho na taba
Haeba ke lefu le joalo
Ha ho na taba
Le jele 'mangoane 'Mamokete
Le ntate Phakoe mor'a Mahanetsa
Sefela 1: *Heeela! Lefu Ramasotle o pota ka kae?*
Kobo tsaka li feletse mahetleng
Lefu kannete ke utloa u ntena
Sefela 2*:* *Heeela Maliba-matšo ha habo Mafa Likate*
Le jele abuti Manti le ntate Presseee

_____

It does not matter
If that is how death is like
It does not matter
It has eaten my aunt, 'Mamokete
And, father Phakoe, son of Mahanetsa
Sefela 1: Heeela! Death, the tormenter, from which side do you come
My blankets are tattered over my shoulders
Death, I am truly disgusted with you
Sefela 2: Heeela! At Maliba-matšo at the place of Mafa Likate
It has eaten brother Manti and father Press

This excerpt expresses the singer's lamentation over the death of his relatives who have passed away within a short period of time. The singer points out that his four relatives have passed on, one after the other. Because of his loss, he shows that he has been left impoverished "*kobo tsaka li feletse mahetleng*." Because there was no one to buy him clothes, he talks directly to death and says "*lefu kannete ke utloa u ntena.*" Because of his despair due to the death of his relatives, he

tells death that he is greatly disgusted with it. He further calls it Ramasotle (one who mistreats others). This shows his profound anger over the loss of his relatives because of death. The singer lamenting his loss and comforts himself, his siblings and his relatives over the unfortunate instance of the loss of his relatives through death.

A similar view about the acts of death of human beings is expressed by *makoloane* of Tsikoane, Maebeng, as follows:

Hei hei
Haeba ke 'nete Morena Jeso o ile a shoa a tsoha mabitleng
'Na `m`e o sitoa ke'ng ho tsoha
Che! lefu le khopo
He lefu moleko o lieta ee
He o fihla hampe joang
O fihla o nka abuti Tumelo
Ha u khutla, o khutla e le li-four tsa khoeli ea leshome
O fihla o nka 'm`e oa Matšeliso
Hei! Hei!

Sefela 1*:* *Heeele!*
Tsenene ea lefu e lutse e ntlhaba
Lefu la 'm`e ha le nthobatse.
Mohla le matsatsi o lutse a le litorong

Sefela 2*:* *Heeele!*
Haele Liara ke bona eka le se le ahetse
La nka Nice ntat'a Tlalane
La khutla ka santhao le checha
La qetella ka ho nka Bafokeng, ntat'a Maliba

_____

If it is true that Lord Jesus died and rose from death
Why is it not possible for my mother to rise from death?
No! Death is merciless
He! Death, you are the devil wearing shoes ee!
He! You arrived unexpectedly
You have come to take my brother Tumelo
And you come later on the 4th of October
You have come and taken the mother of Matšeliso

Sefela 1: Heeele!
The sting of death keeps on piercing me
I am always insomniac due to my mother's death
Day-in-day-out my mother is in my dreams

Sefela 2: Heeele!
At Liara it seems like it has dwelled for ever
It took Nice, the father of Tlalane
It reversed
Finally, it took taking Bafokeng, the father of Maliba

As in the previous song, the composer is lamenting about several of his relatives who have passed away. The performer wishes that his mother could rise from the dead like Jesus (*haeba ke 'nete Morena Jeso o ile a shoa a tsoha mabitleng 'na `m`e o sitoa ke'ng ho tsoha*). He recounts his personal experiences about death. He points out that death keeps on hitting him (*tsenene ea lefu e lutse e ntlhaba*). The sting of death keeps on piercing him because his relatives continually die. But what haunts him most is the recurrent dreams that leave him sleepless (*lefu la 'm`e ha le nthobatse, mohl'a le matsatsi o lutse a le litorong*). However, because he sees his mother not rising from death, he expresses his skepticism about the resurrection of Jesus. He labels death as cruel (*che lefu o khopo*). The songs above are considered as pure narratives of the personal experiences about death that befell the singer. In the composition above, the singer is sorrowfully weeping over the passing away of his relatives. The following section discusses the themes that give the initiates' perceptions about the females.

5.6 The composers' perceptions about females in the performance of *mangae*

This section identifies and discusses the performance of *mangae* whose subjects and themes refer to the females. It examines the perceptions of the initiates about the females. One of the moral teachings of the initiation is to prepare young men for marriage, sexuality and reproduction. Based on this view, this section seeks to identify and to discuss the interpretations that the initiates have about women. It shows how women are portrayed in the singing of *mangae*. The following excerpt, recorded from *makoloane* a Lipetu, reflects the views of the initiate about the females.

……
He! Ngoananyana ke enoa ho thoe ke 'Mabatho booo!
O heleeeelele! Sephaqola se marama a chilikoe
Hooo! Nko e ka re ea thope ea tšomong
……

_____

He! Here is a little girl whom they refer to as 'Mabatho booo!
O Heleeele! The lanky one with round cheeks
Hooo! The nose is like that of the girls from folk narratives
……..
Hooo! E ka re a le sheba ka mahlonyana
Hooo! Mookoli oa khurumetsa sefahleho
Likoete tsa ikuna-kuna bohata
Hooo! Ntsoe la hae ha se ho hlabosa
Ntsoe le ka tsikinyetsa lichechefa
Hooo! batho ba tiee ba re ba utloa ngeloi le bina
……
Hooo! When she looks at you with her little eyes
Hooo! The rainbow covers her face
The gentlemen are surreptitiously restless
Hooo! How melodious is her voice!

Her voice tickles righteous men
Hooo! People would swear that they have heard an angel singing
……..
Hoo! Ntsetselane ea ngoanana ke mang?
Ke tšoantšitse ntsoe la Tšobotsi
Ngoananyana e motle semakatsi ee!
Ooo! Botle ba ngoan'enoa bo nesa pula
……..
Hoo! Who is the soft-spoken girl?
The voice I heard is like that of Tšobotsi
The strangely beautiful little girl ee!
Ooo! The beauty of this girl makes the rain to fall
……
Lithuthung tsa bolokobina ba Khubetsoana
Hooo! Bo-ntate ee! Ka re tjaka se ikakhe majoeng u motle
E re ke bitse mahipi a tl'o mo pepa
Hooo! Pilikochana tsa mahlo a bohale
Tšehalana e nko li mafamonyana
Hipisi li robakanya mahlaka
…….
_____
The roses of the block fields of Khubetsoana
Hooo! Dear fathers ee! I said the beautiful one; do not throw yourself on stones because you are stunning.
Let me call the hippie guys to carry you on their backs
Hooo! You have a round and sharp eyesight
You are the light one with wide open nostrils
Your hips break the maize stalk
…….
Hoo! Bo-ntate ee! Ke buoa ka ngonanyana Reabetsoe boo!
Reabetsoe enoa ke ngoanyana Konyana bo-ntate.
He thope e soothoana, moriri o motšo
Lintši e ka re ke mosili oa poto
Hooo! Mahlo machitjana, melomo liphara
Linko e ka re ke nalete ea mochini
Hooo! Meno a masoeu e ka re ke phophi ea lebese
Molala oa hae e ka re ke tora ea Tafita
Lifikara e ka re ke terone ea motse.
_____
Hooo! Fathers, I am talking about the small girl Reabetsoe boo!
This small girl, Reabetsoe, is the daughter of Kamele
The girl has a brownish skin and her hair is pitch black
The eyebrows are like the soot of the pot
Hooo! Her eyes are round, and her lips are thick
Her nose is like a needle of the machine
Hooo! Her teeth are as white as a droplet of milk
Her neck is like the tower of David
He stature is like the throne of the village

The lengthy *sefela* was recorded from *makoloane* a Lipetu when they were singing *lekhele* that was led by *mosuoe*. The extract expresses the outlook of the initiated towards women. Throughout the song, the *mosuoe* praises the features of the girls. He expresses the beauty and the picturesque of the young girls that he is praising. The *sefela* exposes the romantic hue that the singer has towards the girls because of their beauty. He appreciates beauty and suggests that women should be taken care of (*ka re tjaka se ikakhe majoeng o motle, e re ke bitse mahipi a tlo mo pepa*). He requests women not to walk clumsily on rugged surfaces because they will fall. They should walk carefully and on even surfaces. He says they must not walk on rocky places; he would rather call hippie guys to carry them on their backs. This sentiment is reflective of the care that the singer has towards women.

Furthermore, the performer expresses his admiration of beauty towards women. He praises the attractive bodily qualities of three girls, namely 'Mabatho, Tšobotsi and Reabetsoe. He romanticizes about the facial looks of the girls, ranging from the colour of the skin, the eyes, the nose, the lips and the teeth. He praises the cheeks of 'Mabatho and says they are round "s*ephaqola se marama a chilikoe.*" He seems to be strongly attracted by the stature of the girl. He refers to her as *sephaqola* in admiration of her height. According to the singer, 'Mabatho has small and supple eye, "e *ka re a le sheba ka mahlonyana*." In appreciation of the beauty of 'Mabatho, when she looks at people, her face is covered by a rainbow (*mookoli oa khukhumetsa sefahleho*). The mental picture that the description of 'Mabatho draws is that when being looked at, her beauty compares with the colours of the rainbow. Perhaps the way she rolls her eyes makes them seem like the rainbow as they change the colours.

In addition to her facial looks, 'Mabatho is portrayed as having an extremely melodious voice (*ntsoe la hae ha se ho hlabosa…le ka tsikinyetsa lichechefa*). The voice is melodious to the extent that when she speaks, young men feel like they are being tickled. They may even suspect that 'Mabatho is not a human being but an angel. He associates her voice to that of a singing angel (*…batho ba tiee ba re ba utloa ngeloi le bina*). This citation reflects the singer as the person who holds the highest esteem of girls. The singer is perceived as the person who appreciates beauty and admires females. To him females are the representative of extreme beauty. He shows similar sentiments about Tšobotsi and Reabetsoe, as discussed below.

To the composer, Tšobotsi is an outstandingly beautiful girl who leaves people surprised when they see her (*ngoananyana e motle semakatsi*). He even exaggerates that her beauty makes the rain to fall (*botle ba ngoan'enoa bo nesa pula*). Her eyes are expressed as round and sharp (*pilikochana tsa mahlo a bohale*). She is also light in complexion and has wide, flat open nose (*tšehalana e nko li mafamonyana*). The singer is also reflected as strongly attracted by the hips

of Tsobotsi. He sees them as attractive and thick to the extent that when she walks her hips rub against the items that she walks amongst (*hipisi li robakanya mahlaka*).

The composition of this song shows that the initiated men hold the highest appreciation and reverence of the females. When the composer sees women, he gets extremely attracted and sees them as the most beautiful creatures. Women are positively portrayed as the most attractive creatures who deserve to be treated courteously by males. The composer is seen as fantasizing about the beauty of the girls, ranging from their looks, stature and complexion. This delineation reveals the composer as the person who appreciates and loves women. As a result, he is romanticizing about women and hence indirectly asks them to appreciate his word and become attracted to him.

While on the one hand the composers of *mangae* admire the beauty and romanticizing about the features of women, on the other hand, he has the intentions to woo and to marry the girls. This is observed in the following song recorded from *makoloane* of Khokhoba ha Lebese.

Nka le lotha
Hoo! Ka re hoshe!
Ke khahluoe ke thope e ntle, setšoana
Seila-tsatsi oa tšomong
…….
_____
Let me puzzle
Hoo! Let me say hoshe (an ideophone used in Sesotho to call for an attention of the girl a boy wants to propose)
I am attracted to a darkish, beautiful girl
The one who eschews the sunshine, the one who is found in Sesotho folk narratives
…….

The excerpt reveals the singer's attraction towards girls. He openly says "*ke khahluoe ke thope e ntle, setšoana*." This statement echoes the initiate's assertion of his new identity and growth. Now that he has been initiated into the values of adulthood, he sees himself as the future husband and starts to show his affection towards women. He also reproduces the skills of wooing girls acquired from his education. He uses the exclamation "*hoshe!*" This is the ideophone used to lure girls towards boys for courtship. The attitude depicted by the composer also unveils that he does not have any consensual outlook for females. He sees them in the light of his own personal desire and not as equal human beings. Generally, the composer sees the females in terms of his sensual preference, matrimonial relationships and reproduction. The singer expresses his eagerness to start his own family and displays the teachings of sexual life and reproduction that have been taught about at the lodge.

In other instances, some singers echo the importance and worth of their female relatives in their lives. The ensuing specimen recorded from *makoloane* of Linotšing Maebeng exposes the value of female siblings to the composer.

Heeela! 'Malengolo ee!
Khaitseli eaka
Heeela! Tšepiso
Khaitseli eaka
Thopeng tse tšoana tsa makomose
Ha ke le bone mona
A ke le re'ng khaeeeee! Ke utloe monate
Ha ho molilietsane o fetang khaeeeee!
Ha ke utloa molilietsane kea hlanya
Heeela! 'Malengolo ee!

_____

My dear sister
Heeela! Tšepiso
You are darkish high-class girls
Why don't I see you here?
Please ululate so that I feel pleasured
There is no ululation that supersedes khaeeeee (the sound of Mosotho woman's ululation)
When I hear the ululation, I go mad

The excerpt above is directed to the sisters of the singer. Although her two sisters 'Malengolo and Tšepiso have come to commemorate the *mangae* festivity with him, he pretends that they are not there. He argues that their presence could be felt if they ululated when he sang. The composer as a Mosotho who has grown in the society where females play a vital role of cheering the singers during the performance of *mangae* seems content that because he has two sisters, they will cheer him when he sings. He boasts to other boys who do not have sisters to commemorate their initiation success. He calls upon his sisters to ululate as he sings "*a ke le re'ng khaeeeee*, *ke utloe monate*."

The participation of the audience during the performance of *mangae* is important because it gives the feedback that encourages the singers to marvel in the performance. Because of the value and impact of her sisters as his audience, the composer asks them to cheer him up with their ululation so that he gets excited (*ke utloe monate*). It is observed from the excerpt that there is a direct communication which involves the composer and the audience. He makes a direct call to his audience to take part during the performance. Of all his relatives, the singer sees value in his sisters as prospective lead-cheerers who would make his performance go to its heights. To denote that, the composer says that when he hears his sisters ululate, he goes mad (*ha ke utloa molilietsane kea hlanya*). The singer seems to have a strong connection with his sisters and knows their value and impact in his efforts. He even refers to them as the darkish

high-class girls. This shows the singer's strong admiration and confidence in his sisters. In the context of Sesotho, when the men fight, women often ululate to cheer them up. When the men hear the ululation, they fight with extreme force and never care whether they get killed or they kill their opponents. *Molilietsane* is a strong catalyst that women use to agitate the men, hence the expression "*ha ke utloa molilietsane kea hlanya.*"

The following extract recorded from *makoloane* of Khokhoba shows the diverse views of the initiates towards women.

Ha u le 'mabobe, 'mabotsoa, 'mabohale
U tlala-tlala le malapa a batho
Haeba u motho, u tla sotleha holim'a lefatše

Sefela: *Hooo! Banana ba mehleng ena*
Manyalong a bona
Ha ba sa mamella, ntate Manyao ee!

_____

If you are the mother of ugliness, the mother of laziness, the mother of ruthlessness (scolder)
And then you roam around all the families
If you are a human being, you will suffer on earth

Sefela: Hooo! Girls of these days
When they are married
They no longer bear with hardships of the marriage
They are no longer tolerant, father Manyao ee!

The song is directed to the sister in-law of the singer. The singer rebuffs her. The song reflects the wickedness of the woman. The composer is negative towards the woman; he refers to her as *'mabobe*, *'mabotsoa*, *'mabohale*. The three referents describe the woman as ugly, lazy and rude (aggressive) at the same time. These labels denote and portray the woman as worthless. Women are acknowledged in Sesotho because of her industriousness, reproductivity and calmness. The image of the woman referred to in the excerpt is contrary to the qualities of a good woman. An ugly woman is appreciated in the Sesotho culture if she is industrious and reproductive; she is valued by the society. Production and reproduction are top qualities that a woman must have for her to gain respect in society.

The songs condemn the habits of the woman who go from house to house in the village (*u tlala-tlala le malapa a batho*). Such habits are considered as negative in any woman. She expected to stay in her house and not roam around the village. In Sesotho, when the woman roams the village like the one referred to in the song, she is assumed to spread lies that cause trouble for people. The song is therefore, performed as an educative measure that warns young women not to emulate the habits of such a woman. She is likely to quit her marriage because of her undesirable behaviour. The *sefela* that is sung along the *lengae*, condemns the modern-day girls who no

longer endure the marriage hardships (*banana ba mehleng ena manyalong a bona ha ba sa mamella*). In Sesotho, a woman is not expected to quit the marriage (*mosali o ngalla motšeo*) regardless of the hardships and oppressions that she receives from her in-laws. A good woman withstands the hardships of her married life. The song, therefore, advises young girls to tolerate their marriage hardships.

The following extract portrays other negative characteristics of women. It is taken from *makoloane* a Sefateng:

> *Thisa le omana kamor'a ntlo ea ntate Sek'hoama*
> *Khaohana le thisa lena ntate Sek'hoama*
>
> _____
> The uninitiated woman is grumbling behind father Sek'hoama's house
> Ignore this uninitiated woman, ntate Sek'hoama

Men and women who are not initiated are a disgrace in society in the view of the initiates. Uninitiated men, as we have seen in the sections above, are derogatively referred to as *maqai*. They are belittled, insulted and referred to with several demeaning terms such as *lintja* (dogs), *b'a nkha* (they stink), *ba mehatla* (they have tails) and *ke bashemane* (are small boys). Uninitiated women are referred to as *mathisa* (the procrastinators), *banana* (small girls) and *b'a nkha*. During the performance of *mangae*, they are continually insulted and mocked. Some composers bring in the elements of mockery on *bothisa* (the state of being uninitiated women) and *boqai* (the state of being uninitiated men) as the topics of their songs. The song above, recorded from *makoloane* of Sefateng, expresses the sentiments of the initiate and the initiated community towards the uninitiated women.

The Sesotho culture requires women to be initiated, to be taught about the principles and responsibilities of adult women. Although the number of initiated women is not as high as that of men, uninitiated women are still mocked during the initiation ceremonies. Being uninitiated is immoral and un-cultural in the opinion of the initiated community. The song says: *thisa lena le omana kamor'a ntlo ea ntate Sekh'oama,* reveals that the uninitiated woman was spotted crumbling in the backyard of Sek'hoama's house. Sekh'oama was the principal *mosuoe* of *makoloane* of Sefateng. When Sek'hoama was at the lodge training the boys, an unknown woman was spotted bewitching Sek'hoama's house. The word *omana* means to scold. One of the prescriptions of the traditional muti is that the patient should direct the medicine towards the ills that it is supposed to tackle. In Sesotho, when the patients relay what the muti should do in order to heal them or even to return the bad omen, the phrase *ho omanya moriana* is used. the woman that was spotted behind Sek'hoama's house was seen murmuring some words to her *muti* as she was bewitching the house. When one speaks to the medicine, in Sesotho, they are said to scold them (*b'a li omanya*). Literally, this means to tell the evil spirits or herbs what they should do.

Mathisa are considered to be immoral because they have not been initiated into the moral principles and marriage responsibilities. As a result, the song portrays *lethisa* as a sorcerous person. She has been found murmuring some words to her *muti* in the backyard of Sek'hoama. The song goes further to warn Sek'hoama to ignore her (*khaohana le thisa lena ntate Sek'hoama*). It openly condemns sorcery and *bothisa*.

5.7 Opinions about the natural phenomena and climate change

This section identifies the themes, the subjects and the content that expose the singers' perceptions of the natural phenomena and climate change. It also discusses the observations of the Basotho about the natural disasters as well as their indigenous knowledge consciousness/base. The changing climatic conditions has had some detrimental effects in Lesotho as early as 2007. Around 2011, strong winds blew rooftops off, flash floods covered the land, hailstorms and unbearable weather conditions also wrecked the country. The resultant effects of these conditions have been damaged to infrastructure, crops, animals, injuries and loss of lives. The ensuing *lengae* recorded from *makoloane* of Khokhoba Ha Lebese reflects the negative impact of the natural phenomena on Lesotho.

Sa 'na sa na, sa 'na sa na, sa 'na sa na sefako sa linehella
Sefako se neleng monongoaha
Se potse erekisi masimong
Sa bolaea manku, le mapoli
Makhomo le batho
Makonyana le mapotsanyane
Phuthang mataoa le phuthe masea
Holiotsoana la meleko ke lena lea a tla
Sefela: *Heeela! Sefako se tsoang ka makhalo se hoba*
Se nyoloha Kubetu har'a motse

_____

The man-made (through evil ways/witchcraft) hail kept on falling
The hail that has fallen this year
It has thrashed the peas in the fields
It killed flocks of sheep and goats
Cattle and people
The lambs and the kids
Keep the drunkards and children away
There comes a devilish hurricane
Sefela: Heeela! There comes the hissing hail through the passes
It is coming up from the Kubetu village

The song recounts on the massive hailstorm that had an enormous destruction at Kubetu. In 2011. A heavy hailstorm was experienced by the residents of Kubetu in the Berea district. The storm was so strong that the rivers were overflowing. It swept off the bridge. The road that

connected Teyateyaneng to Maseru was swept away because the river kept on overflowing for weeks. Several places in Lesotho were seriously affected by the floods and most bridges were washed away. In Leribe, the graveyard was washed away, and the bones of the dead were washed into the nearby rivulet. Because of his awareness of the intolerable climatic conditions, the singer laments over the unfortunate incidents that befell the country.

The singer registers his concerns regarding the harsh weather conditions. He identifies several incidents of the damage that was experienced because of the storm. Crop fields, animals and people were weather beaten. To him, the hailstorm that hit the Kubetu village was not a natural disaster but a man-made one. He refers to the hailstorm as *sefako sa linehella* and *holiotsoana la meleko*. The phrase *sefako sa linehella* means that the hail was human induced. *Linehella* (sorcery) translates to the treacherous medicine that is used to send something evil to people. In the view of the singer, this hailstorm was sent to the village through sorcery. In addition, the composer calls the hailstorm *holiotsoana la meleko*. *Leholiotsoana* means a hurricane. *Moleko* (sng.) means temptation or witchcraft. The use of the words *linehella* and *leholiotsoana la meleko* reveal the indigenous knowledge consciousness that the Basotho could make rain and/or to stop it.

Basotho have a deep-grounded indigenous knowledge consciousness in relation to rainmaking and rain stopping. The initiate, as a member of the society who knows about rainmaking skills of the Basotho discloses that the disaster was an evil deed that was induced through wizardry. The song exposes two major issues here. Firstly, he is questioning the attacker about the bad spell that was cast upon the village of Kubetu. Secondly, he is questioning the traditional practitioners about their expertise. He is wondering why in the first place someone became so cruel as to cause that unwarranted damage; he quizzes the local doctors about their ignorance to let such a disaster befall them.

The instance of rainmaking in Sesotho is experienced when the boy initiates ascend to seclusion (*ha ba kena*) and descend to reunite with their families (*ha ba e-tsoa*). As a way of amusement and of expelling the uninitiated men and women from watching the initiates closely, their traditional doctors induce rain, hailstorms, thunderstorms or dust storms. In most cases, the *mophato* is continually under attack from other traditional doctors who are angry because they have neither been considered nor trusted to protect the boys. As a result, they challenge the doctor in charge with some negative weather conditions. This is done to prove that he is not strong enough to be entrusted with the boys' lives. During the initiation, the *mephato* are attacked through terrible human induced weather conditions on an annual basis. Because of his knowledge of the situation and the damage that the hailstorm has done to the Kubetu village, the composer considers the weather as a man-made attack on the village. Another song recorded from *makoloane* of Lipetu delves on the detrimental effects of climate change as follows:

Se khakhathane sefako
Sefako sa linehella sa otla batho
Sa o etsa mofere-ngope
Sa senya chai ka masimong
Sa senyetsa batho bokhabane

Banna ee! Fako se linaka sa otla batho
Bahlankana ee! Fako se linaka sa otla batho
Sa ba tabolela likobo
Ntate Mabaka thusetsa
Batho ba baleha

_____

The hail has continually fallen
The man-made hail (human induced hail throw witchcraft) hit people
It made a huge mess
It destroyed the yield from the fields
It destroyed people's smart wear/clothes

Dear fellow men! That hail with horns has beaten people
Dear young men! That hail with horns has beaten people
It tore off their blankets
Please help, father Mabaka
People are running away

The two songs that have been recorded at different places expose the shocking effects of the hailstorm in a similar manner. Quite similarly to *makoloane* a Khokhoba Ha Lebese, *makoloane* of Lipetu use identical register and tone when alluding to hailstorm effects. In both excepts, the songs reveal that the hailstorm has had detrimental effects on property, animals and people. They refer to the hailstorm as *sefako sa linehella* (the storm that came as a result of sorcery).

In Sesotho, the hail that is human-induced is believed to have horns (some protruding horn-like lumps). If the hail has the lumps, it is concluded that it has come through witchcraft. Because of this view, the composer registers his knowledge of the rainmaking abilities of the Basotho and says: *fako se linaka sa otla batho, sa ba tabolela likobo*. According to the singer, a natural hailstorm would not have any lumps. The song, therefore, reveals the rainmaking capabilities of the Basotho.

In the previous excerpt by *makoloane* of Khokhoba Ha Lebese, the singer says the hail came hissing through the passes (*sefako se tsoang ka makhalo se hoba*). If the hailstorm comes as a result of witchcraft, it is identified by the hissing sound that it makes and by the act of skipping some villages and going through the passes before hitting the Earth's surface. When hailstorm depicts this behaviour, it becomes obvious that it is man-induced. Because of the knowledge of the tendencies and weaknesses of his people, the initiate records the evil acts that they commit

to one another out of sorcery. He exposes his indigenous knowledge base about the ability of his people to make rain and to stop it. The hailstorm came hissing through the passes and flew over some villages because they were able to stop the hail (*ho thibela sefako*).

When the approaching hailstorm is recognised, the traditional doctors take out their pegs, smear them with medicine from the horns (*manaka*) and shake them in the air to combat the hailstorm attack. The researcher as part of the society that practices these customs has observed doctors attack one another or protecting themselves from induced weather outbreaks. If the doctor is powerful enough, the fields and villages that he is protecting cannot be weather beaten. However, the man-made weather condition does not hit the village and the fields that he has pegged for fortification. The songs, therefore, divulge the capabilities and magic of traditional medicine when doctors fight or attack each other with devastating induced weather conditions.

Another song that was recorded from *makoloane* of Tsokung also reflects the composer's consciousness about the hailstorms. Instead of the artist singling out the negative effects of hailstorms, he uses general statement which summarise the unusual detrimental incidents of hailstorms. He says: s*a na sefako, ntate Moroke* (the hail fell, father Moroke), s*a ba senyetsa liaparo* (it destroyed their clothes), *ke fumana hore ke limeche* (I found out that there was a disaster), *ke batlana le bophelo bo botle* (I am keen for good life). The words of the singer represent a prayer. The words "*ke batlana le bophelo bo botle*" reveal him as worried and troubled by the state of the weather conditions. All that he seeks is a relief from the excruciating conditions. In showing the effects of the situation, he says "*ke fumana hore ke limeche.*" In general, while aware of the bad effects of the weather conditions, which he says are *limeche* (disaster), he prays for good and happy life. He seeks the world that is free from unbearable and hazardous climatic conditions. The song recorded from *makoloane* a Tsokung says:

Sa na sefako ntate Moroke
Ho sa na
Sa ba senyetsa liaparo
Ke hlaha ka nq'ena
Ke pota ka nq'ena
Ke fumana hore ke limeche
Ke batlana le bophelo bo botle

_____

The hail fell father Moroke
Hooo! It fell
It destroyed (tore) their clothes
I looked from this side
I walked to that side
I found a disaster
I am keen (looking) for good life

As the mouthpiece and representative of his people the artist registers his concerns about the unfortunate incidents that befell the country. The songs reveal the singers as being aware of the climate change and its effect on people's lives. The singers unequivocally register their concerns regarding the effects of the changing weather conditions on human life. They are making a prayer for a good life. They want life that is free from detrimental weather conditions. At the same time, they show their worry about the habits if rainmaking and witchcraft cast over people by ill-willed witches. They plead to the perpetrators to desist from such acts. Similarly, they indirectly seek the means of intervention from other doctors to help with their rain stopping abilities. This exposes their strong belief in traditional medicine and their cognizance of the indigenous knowledge systems of the Basotho.

The impact of climate change has had unfavourable effects on the lives of the Basotho. The singers are principally reporting about the floods and the unbearable weather conditions, heavy rains and the floods that killed people and eroded the cemeteries. They report about the rivers that sweep people and cars and about the houses covered in water in recent years. For example, in 2011, there were two incidents where some vehicles were washed away by overflowing rivers that claimed people's lives. In April 2018, a hailstorm destroyed the summer crops, blew away the rooftops, injured some people and killed others. It also killed animals (Lesotho: Flash Update 01 – Hailstorms and flash floods, 2018). The performers of *mangae* seem to have a strong awareness of the social tribulations that they are faced with and register their concerns through songs.

Despite the challenges of modernity and christianity that have given negative labels to the indigenous knowledge awareness and transference, some Basotho constantly protect their families, fields and property through the help of traditional doctors. In some parts of Lesotho, children are fortified with medicine to protect them against thunderstorm in spring. The villages and the fields are pegged to protect them against hailstorms. The doctor is paid in kind, through grain to protect the village people with medical concoctions.

5.8 Conclusion

This chapter identified and analysed the themes of the performance of *mangae* that have been tapped from the traditional art space. Throughout the performance of *mangae*, it has been found out that several cultural themes and consciousness are brought into the composition. These include the themes relating to the traditional identity of a Mosotho man, perceptions about *boqai*, the significance of cattle, the respect for traditional and political leaders, the views about climatic conditions are found to reflective of social and natural conditions in the contemporary performance of *mangae*.

In the light of the events of the ritual of initiation, a Mosotho man must demonstrate his heroic deeds. He should neither be a coward who dreads blood nor be one who fears to be initiated. Several imaginary and treacherous names and expressions are used to describe the identity of a Mosotho man. *Boqai* is considered to be a cowardly and seriously abhorred choice. It is culturally condemned and rejected.

Another topical aspect found in the performance of *mangae* is the significance of cattle. The bovine has been found out to be pivotal in shaping the culture of a Mosotho. A Mosotho man according to the performance of *mangae* should own livestock. Cattle are important for burial ceremonies, for the payment of bride price, for economic and entrepreneurial purposed and for the ritual of initiation. Because of the value of the bovine in the cultural context, the initiates express profound care for it.

The topic relating to the deference of the traditional leaders and the natural phenomenon also surfaced as the themes of the performance of *mangae*. The initiates project the importance and the relationship to their traditional leaders. Despite their indebtedness and loyalty to their leaders, they are not honoured. Instead, they are perpetually ignored when the leader is having a momentous life. The content of *mangae* also projects keenness to the value of the political leaders. In the analysis, a profound respect and admiration of President Nelson Mandela is alluded to. The composers mourn his death and express their vulnerability since his death. Other dirges are made with respect to the relatives of the composers who have died.

The consciousness of climate change that hit Lesotho over the past year recurs as a subject of the performance of *mangae*. The initiates allude to its detrimental effects on infrastructure, agriculture and human beings. They also reflect their cognisance of the indigenous knowledge of the Basotho. They question the cruel behaviour of some doctors who harm the nation through induced hailstorms. They questioned the powers of other doctors to protect the society. Generally, the performance of *mangae* still taps from the traditional art space to from the topics of their songs. This gesture marks not only the preservation of the cultural mores but also the conformity and continuity by the nation.

CHAPTER SIX

REFLECTIONS OF MODERN IMPORTS IN THE PERFORMANCE OF *MANGAE*: CONTEMPORARY CULTURES, POPULAR DISCOURSE, THEMATIC SCOPE AND THEIR ROLE

6.1 Introduction

This chapter identifies and discusses the subjects, themes, discourses and style that have been imported from foreign cultures and languages to inform the contemporary performance of *mangae*. It seeks to identify and to discuss how the performance of *mangae* has been informed by the influence of modernity and foreign cultures. By foreign cultures or elements imported from other cultures, the study refers to the resources that have been directly or indirectly copied from elsewhere and fused into the Sesotho modern-day performance of *mangae*.

6.2 Creation of imaginary self-righteousness and heroic identities imported from foreign influences in the performance of *mangae*

The ritual of initiation was a preliminary stage that prepared young men to become the national military. They were required to respect the king, protect his state and their families. Cowardice was strongly ostracised in the Sesotho culture. The young men were trained to be hardy and to resist pain. Up to this day, the men are trained to be tough and strong. They are not expected to be afraid of blood or death. A cowardly man is called *lepsheha* (human soft stool) in Sesotho. Bravery in a man is not only a social status but it is also an identity of transition from boyhood to manhood.

Young men demonstrate the characteristics of bravery by engaging in stick mock fight. They give themselves treacherous names and referents in order to portray themselves as dangerous. They use exaggerated expressions to define what they can do or what they have done to other men. In the contemporary performance of *mangae* there seems to be various modern deposits that the initiates use to give themselves new identities. This section identifies and discusses the use of imported elements into the performance of *mangae*, it further elaborates on the significance and the role of such labels. The following except recorded from *makoloane* of Ha Ntina reveals the use of expressions borrowed from other cultures and languages.

……
Ke tšoana le tsunami, ke tla baka koluoa
……
_____
……
I am like tsunami, I cause disaster
……

The singer likens himself to *tsunam*i, the natural disaster of foreign origin that has never hit Lesotho. The singer seems to be aware of the disastrous deeds of *tsunami* and he likens himself to it. The singer seems to have heard about *tsunami* and how far it has claimed human life. He draws some resources from other cultures and languages to heighten his treachery.

Because of his awareness of the detrimental effects of *tsunami,* the initiate confidently says that he will cause some disasters. Like *tsunami*, he is going to crack the earth from beneath the sea. This shows that he is determined to outwit other singers. He considers his eloquence and aptitude to sing as *tsunami*. He warns other singers that he will wreck massive havoc towards those who compare themselves to him. He means that he is going to make a furtive move towards them in terms of composing the most melodious songs. He says that he will cause havoc (*ke tla baka koluoa*) to notify them that he is more renowned and popular in the performance of *mangae*.

The performance of *mangae* is contextually deemed as war by its composers. When the singers of *mangae* compose and perform their music, they have an intuitive opponent at the back of their minds, whom they are adamant to defeat. The singers' eloquence is considered a weapon that he uses to wreck the imaginary rival. In principle, by calling himself tsunami, the composer suggests that he can beat other singers in the performance of *mangae.* By associating himself with *tsunami*, he persuades the younger boys to be eager to get initiated so that they will also boast to others about their eloquence and notoriety in the performance of *mangae*. The initiates who rank in the top position in the composition of *mangae* are also recognized as the righteous ones. They are given the opportunity to lead the performance of *mokorotlo*.

The extract below was recorded from *makoloane* of Ha Ntina, the composer uses a mixture of terminology and expressions of foreign origin to describe his imaginary and amazing identities.

Ke tla rekoa ka litolara
*Hoba ke **turu**, ke **ponto**, ke **tolara**, ke theko e thata*
*Ke **facilitato**r ea lona banna ba likheleke*
Likheleke ha ke le bone kea bonesa
……..
*Hooo! ke **imitation,** Herota, ke hlaeletse*
……..
Hooo! Ke bona le rata ho haeka heshe
Le lelekisa riti sa sefofane
……..
Hooo! Ke Kaizer Chiefs ke shapa li-team hoo!
Hooo! Siphiwe Tshabalala le re le ka mo maka le le bo mang
Hooo! Lona le roetse lithenta
Hooo! A roetse k'hok'ho e meno a litšepe
Hooo! A ka u tlama liteki tsa khaoha
Hooo! Sole ea liteki e sale mobung

Hooo! Teki e ka itokolla marapo

_____

I will be exchanged for dollars
Because I am expensive, I am a pound, I cost too much
I am your facilitator, you eloquent men
In my eyes, he is not an eloquent man
……..
Hooo! I am the imitation (one to copy from) I am famous
……..
Hooo! I can see that you want to hitch a ride from the hearse
You are chasing the image of an aeroplane
……..
Hooo! I am Kaizer Chiefs, I beat other teams hoo!
Hooo! Who do you think that you can mark Siphiwe Tshabalala
Hooo! You are the tender shoes
Hooo! When he has worn a soccer boot with iron studs
Hooo! He could block and tear off your tender shoes
Hooo! And the sole of the tekkies will be left on the ground
Hooo! The laces of the tekkies could get loose

In the excerpt above, the initiate uses a few terms and expressions of foreign origin to label himself and to define his imaginary treacherous new self. He draws some resources from the modern-day information bank. He depicts himself as a visionary and an up to date person who is conscious of the topical issues that are present in the world today. He seems to be familiar with the world's exchange rate and the value of other currencies. Because of that knowledge, he says: *ke tla rekoa ka litolara, hoba ke turu, ke ponto, ke tolara, ke theko e thata* in comparison to other singers and *maqai*. He says he can be exchanged at the dollar rate because he is expensive and sells at a high cost. He further refers to himself as a pound. The labels that the singer uses reflect the singer as being conscious of the world's stock exchange rates. Of other currencies of the world, he chooses the most expensive ones to define his value. While money is what all people yearn for, the singer does not refer to using the local currencies to demonstrate his knowledge and the value of the dollar and pound as compared to the others.

Above this, he refers to himself as both the **facilitator** and an **imitation** to signify that he is the teacher of other singers and that other performers of *mangae* sing to emulate his style and eloquence. Instead of Sesotho referents and expressions to define himself, the composer has borrowed resources from other cultures and languages to describe his identities. Because he considers himself as both the facilitator and an imitation, he threatens that those who compare themselves to him are merely chasing the image of the flying aeroplane (*le lelekisa riti sa sefofane*). He compares them to someone hitching a ride from a hearse (*ke bona le rata ho haeka heshe*) to someone trying to catch the image of the flying plane. This is impossible. No one can either catch up with its speed or merge its pace. In a similar way, people do not bother to seek

a lift from a hearse. To him, those who take a chance to match his eloquence are like people hitching a ride from a hearse. A similar sentiment is reiterated by *makoloane* of Tsokung as follows:

> *Ke ambolanse koloi ea bafu*
> *Morao ho eona e nkile makese*
>
> _____
> I am the ambulance, a car for the dead
> It is carrying the coffins at the back

In this example, the composer calls himself an ambulance. He sees himself as an emergency vehicle or a rescue vehicle that transports critically ill patients to the hospitals. An ambulance, like a hearse, is not sought for a ride because of the nature of its services. The singer further sees himself as a hearse, he says the ambulance that he refers to himself, is carrying coffins at the back. To him, the ambulance and the hearse are the same thing. The repertoire choice is not important in his view. What is paramount is that he depicts himself as the deadliest person as opposed to his imaginary performers of *mangae*.

Because of the people's views towards the hearse, the ambulance and the coffin, the singers give themselves these dreadful referents as a way of constructing their new identities. The singers are represented as outrageous people. They give themselves exaggerated identities as compared to their opponents. Notably, in giving themselves new identities, the composers draw up from the resources imported from the modern lifestyles. This gesture depicts the performance of *mangae* as an up-to-date genre that evolves with time. The discourse of *mangae* is relevant to the modern-day lifestyle of the Basotho.

The initiate recorded from *makoloane* of Ha Ntina further expresses his knowledge and fanaticism of soccer (as a modern-day game). He discloses the team that he favours. Because singing, a soccer match and eloquence are similar to a battlefield or competition, he uses his knowledge of soccer to contrast himself to other singers, using expressions associated with soccer. Rather than drawing names, expressions and referents from the Sesotho traditional games, he draws them from a soccer game and gives himself identities based on his understanding of the game.

He starts off by calling himself Kaizer Chiefs (*ke Kaizer Chiefs ke shapa li-team*) and its former star player, Siphiwe Tshabalala (*Hooo! Siphiwe Tshabalala le re le ka mo maka le le bo mang*). Kaizer Chiefs is one of the most popular teams in RSA, with a history of many titles and trophies attached to its name. Because of its popularity, he associates himself with it to show his power. He ranks above other singer in terms of ability. He reckons himself as endowed with significant admiration. Because of his outstanding singing capability. He further considers himself a one-time star player Siphiwe Tshabalala, who scored a cracker goal in the 2010 World Cup Champions league that was held in RSA.

The composer further interrogates other singers who think that they can beat Siphiwe Tshabalala (*Siphiwe Tshabalala le re le ka mo maka le le bo-mang*?). To him, other singers are too weak to compete with him. Those who challenge him are considered as players wearing tender shoes while the opponents wear proper soccer boots with iron studs (*lona le roetse lithenta*, *a roetse k'hok'ho e meno a litšepe*). His music is as strong as a boot of iron studs. He continues to say that if they dare him, he is going to give them a rough tackle and tough marking that will tear off their shoes or untie themselves because of the impact of a rough tackle (*a ka u tlama liteki tsa khaoha*, s*ole ea liteki e sale mobung*, t*eki e ka itokolla marapo*).

In the instances above, the composer conveys his familiarity with the modern-day terminology, expressions and sports and as such draws from them to define his treachery. In the past, the composition of *mangae* used resources that were principally tapped from the archive of traditional art space. Presently, the contemporary performance of *mangae* has become flexible to draw, harness and fuse other elements imported from other cultures and languages. The following specimen that was drawn from *makoloane* of Koma-Koma has borrowed a few English words to express the uniqueness of the singer over others.

Ba thibeng! Bashanyana thibang
……..
Hooo! Ha re li bala, re li sizer, ba senya li-topic tsa rona
Hooo! Ba a re disturba
Taba tsa equator tsona
Ba re searcha
Ba rata li high position
……..

Sefela: *Hoo! Mopresitente oa rona, ntate Moholi*
Priest ea lona, ntate Gommorah
Hoo! Class teacher ea lona, ntate Herota
Ripoto tsa rona ke tsena li fihla
Ma-failera ke ana mona

_____

Please stop them. Stop the little boys.
……..
When we read and gauge (our singing), they disrupt and confuse our singing
They disturb us
Sefela:
Hooo! Our president is father Moholi
Our Priest is father Gommorah
Hoo! Our class teacher is father Herota
Our reports are here arriving
And the failed ones are here, arriving

The composer appeals to his community to advise the young boys who are trying to compete with him to desist (*Ba thibeng! Bashanyana thibang*). He feels seriously agitated that they attempt to replicate him. He views himself as the most renowned singer who scares others off

by adding English words to his song. Because of their inability to sing like him he says: *ha re li bala*, *re li saesa ba senya litopic tsa rona, ba re disturba*. To the composer, singing is equivalent to reading. He says that when they are busy composing their music (*re li saesa*), the non-eloquent singers confuse and disrupt their singing (*ba senya li-topic tsa rona*) by disturbing them (*ba a re disturba*). Because of his top skills in song composition, he accuses those who are less skilled of impingement.

Name-giving in initiation is one of the prime identities that the initiates use. When the composer sings *sefela*, he refers to his *basuoe* in the English status-identifying terminology. He calls them as *moporesitsnete* (the president), priest or class teacher in a sequence. The initiate seems to honour a certain protocol in terms of addressing his teachers. Instead of giving his *basuoe* Sesotho reference statuses, he uses the borrowed ones. This is because of their value in his life and that of the Basotho in relation to the preservation and continuity of the culture of initiation. The initiate further refers to other singers as the failed ones because he considers their music poor as compared to his (*ripoto tsa rona ke tsena li fihla, mafeilara ke ana mona*). He refers to his composition as *ripoto tsa rona* (our reports). He considers his music as being extraordinarily remarkable, as opposed to the one by other singers. The use of the borrowed expressions relates the ritual of initiation to the formal school classroom education and hence the language that he adopts. In a similar manner, the singer seems to have borrowed the resources found in modern-day lifestyle and uses them to express the heroic deeds of the initiated men.

The new name tags and words borrowed from other languages seemingly appear to be predominant in giving heroic deeds to the initiates, the composer, *basuoe* and the audience. The two examples given below and recorded from *makoloane* of Ha Ntina exemplify the special name tags given to the participants of the performance of *mangae*.

Example 1: *Li-manager, li-k'huochara li tšoere ka thata selemong sena* (**Ha Ntina**)

_____

The managers and the coaches are having a burdensome task this year

Example 2: *Lijaje le jaja joang haeka le jaja ka leeme, aparateiti*
Heee! Kheleke li qabane
Taba khang ea banna e lelemeng (**Ha Ntina**)

_____

Oh! Judges how dare you judge partially by showing apartheid
Heee! The eloquent ones are at loggerheads
The problem is the eloquent singing of the men

The two excerpts above have been recorded from two different but very skillful initiates who are particular about drawing the resources from the bank of modern-day lifestyle, other languages and cultures. The owners of the *mophato* and *basuoe* are referred to as the managers and coaches respectively. Instead of the singer using the resources from the Sesotho vocabulary, he

borrows the English terminology to refer to his leaders. This portrays the singer as a modern person, capable of using some referents from English to refer to the traditional leaders and teachers.

Example 2, recorded from *makoloane* of Ha Ntina, exposes the name tag that the initiate uses to refer to his audience. He refers to them as judges (*lijaje*). In fact, the listeners are the adjudicators in the process of performance. The audience's task is to listen, to compare and to contrast the songs and instantaneously give feedback on how much the performance has appealed to them. The audience is also vested with the freedom to spontaneously suggest whom they count as the best performer of *mangae,* as compared to his colleagues or initiates from a different *mophato*. In the piece above, the singer is suspicious that the audience, whom he refers to as the judges, is partial (*le jaja ka leeme*). The singer's knowledge of English and of the language used in the competition is reflected in his music. Because music is seen as war or competition in the context of the initiation, he draws from the bank of modern-day terminology and integrates it into his composition to enhance the aesthetic qualities of his performance. The next extract, recorded from *makoloane* of Linotšing Ha Mokokoana, reveals another level of aptitude concerning the borrowed expressions and terminology that enhance the artistry in the contemporary performance of *mangae*.

Banna eee! Ha reeng kerekeng, ntate Mok'hoba
Hobane re eo saena tumelo
Ke sa ea ofising kerekeng ea ntate Mok'hoba
Re amohele, ntate Mok'hoba

Sefela 1: *Baruti ba rona ke bana ba fihla, bona bo-ntate Lesiamo*
Re amohele, ntate Mok'hoba

Sefela 2: *Mobishopo oa rona, ntate Mok'hoba, bonang*
O e roetse katiba ea korone
Re amohele, ntate Mok'hoba

_____

Let us go to church
At the temple, over there
The psalms have been opened
By the nation of the father
Let us go to church
We are going to praise the word of God

In the example above, several foreign referents are used to refer to the organogram and setting of the initiation. The setting and diction are of the Christian liturgy. To the singer, initiation is equated directly to a church. The composer says: *ha re eeng kerekeng….* He suggests that the people who respect the custom must practise it in large numbers. There is culturally a serious onslaught between the custom of initiation and Christianity. Christians have a feeling that initiation is backward and heathenish. Whereas the initiation custom is seen as barbaric, the

initiate here reverences it as Christian and imports its liturgy in order to represent the initiation setting and organogram.

Despite the political controversies between the two cultures (Christian and traditional), the singer heralds the sacred nature that is characteristic of both customs. Thus, in his view, initiation and Christianity are equally sacred religions to their followers. The composition of *lengae* presented above considers and epitomizes *mophato* in the likely manner as a church. The *basuoe* are referred to as pastors (***baruti*** *ba rona ke bana ba fihla*) and bishops (***Mobishopo*** *oa rona ntate Mok'hoba*) by the composer. Like the organogram or church bureaucracy, the *basuoe* are identified in terms of the Christian worship liturgy. The church and *mophato* and the attendants are basically analogues in terms of the responsibilities and status in the eyes of the singer. Whereas in the above instance the principal *mosuoe* is referred to as a bishop, *makoloane* of Lenyakoane refer to their principal *mosuoe* as ***moporofeta*** *oa kereke tsa loti* (the prophet of the churches of the mountain). In the above example, the initiation lodge (*mophato*) is referred to as *ofising, kerekeng ea ntate Mok'hoba,* and in the current one it is referred to as *kereke tsa loti* (the churches of the mountains).

> *Thato ke tla phetha ea hao, ntate Manka*
> *Hobane ke uena moporofeta oa kereke tsa loti* (***makoloane*** **of Lenyakoane**)
>
> _____
> I will fulfill your wish, father Manka
> Because you are the prophet of the mountain churches

Fairly different, the song recorded from *makoloane* of Ha Mashapha displaces *mophato* from the context of the church. Even *mosuoe* is given a drastically different label from the church bureaucrats. The *mosuoe* is seen as a person of power and high status. The ensuing example illustrates:

> *Ke 'na Bushman Khehleke*
> *Moporesitente oa Kalahari Desert*
> *Thoteng tse telele mahoatateng* (***makoloane*** **of Ha Mashapha**)
>
> _____
> My name is Bushman Khehleke
> I am the president of the Kalahari Desert
> The vast area in the desert lands

The composer names *mophato* the Kalahari Desert. The geographical location of the Kalahari Desert covers some areas in Namibia, RSA and a vast area in Botswana. The deserts are known for aridity. In the likely manner, while the initiates are in seclusion at the *mophato*, they are deprived access to excessive use of drinking water to reinforce hardiness in them. Because of the comparable waterlessness of the two places (the desert and mophato), the composer labels *mophato* the Kalahari Desert. He refers to himself as the president of the desert, thus telling his

audience how robust he was at coping with thirst. The significance of this statement is that the composer was leading others in terms of coping strategies in a seriously water destitute situation.

The use of the name Bushman Khehleke, is the name that the composer coined to refer to himself. The strengths of composition of songs and indigenous poetry lies in the ability of the composers to coin expressions and vocabulary specific to themselves. The singers and poets are renowned and applauded for the uniqueness of expressions and vocabulary used. The same coinage has aesthetic purposes as they tickle the listeners. Another strong characteristic element of the composition of the oral traditional genres is their ability to relate to the vast array of events, subjects and topics within a single block of performance.

An expression of valour that the initiates have used to refer to themselves using a foreign language is found in the song recorded from *makoloane* of Tsokung as follows:

Ehlile kea chesa
Mocheso oaka o baloa le ka li-temperature (Tsokung)

_____

In fact, I am blazing hot
My heat is measured in temperatures

The singer defines himself as blazing hot and that his heat is gauged in temperatures. The temperature is a degree stating the physical measure of heat or cold, commonly used in science. This construction portrays the singer as being familiar with the scientific measurements and their units. What the singer suggests is that he can be measured by means of the gauging apparatus to detect his heat. The degree of heat or cold that the composer suggests can be gauged scientifically in relation to the singer's eloquence in the performance of *mangae*. When compared to other singers, he is greatly gifted with eloquence and cannot be compared with the imaginary singers. He considers himself hotter than the other artists in the performance of *mangae*. Because of his acquaintance with the modern-day education, particularly science, the composer resorts to the use of the language and terminology acquired from his knowledge of science to express his high level of eloquence.

In the song recorded from *makoloane* of Ha Ntina, the composer uses a few English expressions and terms to delineate his manly prowess. He marks himself as the most astounding and highly temperamental character, compared to his imaginary fellow singers as follows:

Ha ke ho tšabe ho fenetha motho
Hooo! Ke temptation moleko oa khale
……..
Hooo! Simple question ha ke e arabe
Hooo! Ke phetla mara-rang ke bala internet
Hooo! E-mail e fihlile ka la maobane

_____

I am not afraid of murdering a person
Hoo! I am a tempter, the devil of ages
……..
Hoo! I do not respond to simple questions
Hoo! I browse through modern technology and read the internet
Hooo! I received the e-mail yesterday

In the extract above, the composer calls himself temptation, *moleko oa khale*. By temptation, he refers to the one that got Adam and Eve into trouble in the bible. The words temptation and *moleko* are used in succession to emphasise that the singer is devilish. He indirectly refers to himself as Satan, according to the biblical interpretations. He is Satan to his fellow singers and the imaginary eloquent men. He seems to be conversant with the biblical stories, which say that Adam was tempted to eat the fruit through the influence of the devil. As a result, he sees himself in that image towards other singers.

In the subsequent verses, the singer echoes the word *sefela,* which defines his new identity and treachery towards others using his knowledge of English and modern-day technologies. To show how far advanced he is, he declares that he is so tough that he neither engages in cheap talk nor answers simple, silly and imprudent questions (*simple question ha ke e arabe*). Additionally, he wants to be asked thought-provoking questions that demand intensive research. If he is asked a question, he has the resources and research skills to browse the internet. The imaginary heightened research abilities mark him as an empirical researcher who gives informed and researched answers to the high order questions (*ke phetla mara-rang ke bala internet*).

The composer seems to be conversant with modern-day technologies and how resourceful they are in finding the solutions to the puzzles of life. He demonstrates his ability to use the internet and to find the answers for any tough assignment that he comes across. This is a new image that he depicts of himself after being initiated into the principles of adulthood. He shows that he is a fully-fledged human being who does not have any fear to face the challenges of the world. The use of a well-chosen diction in the song is intended to persuade the young boys to get initiated. The composer appears to have taken some resources from the modern-day wealth of knowledge to promote his masculine virility against others. Those who listen to his music and the expressive way in which he extols himself aspire to emulate him (when they grow up) by communicating through email as he does (e-*mail e fihlile ka la maobane*).

While in the above excerpt the composer straight forwardly says that he does not answer silly and simple questions, his classmate composes a song which says:

Li-simple question lia ntsoafisa
Ke lothile banna ba likheleke eee!
Eaba ba sitoa le ho nkaraba
Ke akhente ke tl'o le botsa lipotso (**Ha Ntina**)

_____
Being asked simple questions annoys me
I have puzzled the eloquent men eee!
And they failed to respond to me
I am an advocate, I am going to interrogate you

Slightly different from what the later composer said, the former one suggests that he feels angry when asked silly and simple questions. What the composer is insinuating is that, he does not like to be asked simple questions because he is not interested in answering them. Like his colleague, he seems to have gathered resources from English to delineate his new identity and uniqueness as compared to *maqai*. To him, the masculine virility that he has acquired through the initiation marks him as a grown man who does not engage in useless topics. He depicts himself as a highly level-minded individual who is vested with high order skills to respond to complicated questions.

The performance of *mangae* in the instances above is elevated to the status of sophistication and modernity. The ritual of initiation is thus, seen as acknowledging the impact and influence of modernity and places *mangae* within the framework of the contemporary literature that exploits all the resources at its disposal. This blend and consolidation of styles from other cultures promotes the growth, preservation and continuity of the ritual of initiation. On the one hand, the borrowing and importation of elements from other cultures and languages in the performance of *mangae* bridges the gap of disparity that obtains between the Basotho who consider themselves as elite and sophisticated. The importation of some elements from modern art space into the performance of *mangae* helps to merge the two cultures (the traditional and modern) into one entity. They form a new and unique way of the performance of *mangae*. This strategy is helpful in luring the sophisticated inhabitants of Lesotho to participate and promote the culture as it accommodates them in terms of the repertoire choice, style, content and the role that it performs in unifying the nation and elevating the culture. Apart from using the expressions and terminology imported from other languages to divulge their gallant nature, the initiates also borrow from other languages to reveal the successful completion of the ritual, as indicated in the following sections.

6.3 Revelations about the initiation success through use of foreign expressions

The sacred and secret undertakings and teachings of initiation are not public topical issues. The initiates only relate fallacious and distorted information to the uninitiated to coax them to get initiated. They deceive the uninitiated that they board aeroplanes to go and play soccer overseas and that they sleep in five-star hotels and eat all sorts of delicious food. Even in the performance of *mangae*, it is seldom that initiation truisms are revealed to the audience. When the initiates happen to relate any private matter about initiation, the message is deeply silhouetted, using a colourful language and distracting performance antics. It is relayed in an opaque manner so that

not many people can relate it to the secrecy of initiation. The following example illustrates an incident of initiation success by the composer of the *lengae,* recorded from *makoloane* of Mokema and conveyed in a foreign expression.

'Na ke pasitse ka linaleli
Ke pasitse ho bala le ho ngola
Class-teacher ea rona, ntate Lehlanya
Ka ipata phambile, ka ipata phambile
Jikelele, lefatše ka bophara (**Mokema**)

_____

I personally have passed with a distinction
I have passed how to read and write
Our class teacher is father Lehlanya
I want myself in front, I want myself in front
All over, around the globe

The singer remarks that he has passed excellently, in distinction at initiation (*'na ke pasitse ka linaleli*). Although the success rate and genius level of the initiate is a secret known by the initiated men, this verse represents the singer as an A-student. Either the singer was the topmost student in terms of acquisition of the subjects of initiation or was first in eloquence and performance of *mangae,* compared to his classmates. The subsequent verse directly shows that the initiate was excellent in both the syllabus and the performance of *mangae* delved as "*ke pasitse ho bala le ho ngola*." Because of his top capabilities in reading (ability to acquire and decipher the syllabus) and writing (ability to reproduce/regurgitate the taught subject matter), he is always number one (*ka ipata phambile*). The performer also reveals that he is top of all the initiates across the world (*ka ipata phambile, jikelele, lefatše ka bophara*). Without divulging the nitty critics of his scholarly penchant, the singer only says that he has passed how to read and write with a distinction (*ke pasitse ka linaleli, ke pasitse ho bala le ho ngola*). The subsequent specimen recorded from *makoloane* of Majaheng has more layers of deep-rooted meaning, yet they are composed ordinarily in common everyday expressions.

Thola u mamele
Re tla le hlola
Hoo! ka 'mino
Re tla le hlolela holimo ka linaleli
Lipheresente li le lekholo
Ho bontša tsebo ea rona 'minong

_____

Keep quiet and listen
We will defeat you
Hooo! With our music
We are going to defeat you in distinction
100% percent in total
In order to show our knowledge of music

The verse starts by summoning the audience to listen attentively (*thola u mamele*). This is a typical opening formula that is characteristic of the performance of indigenous oral poetry. The text calls the seemingly rowdy spectators to order. The performer immediately warns other singers that he will beat them in the music circles. He says that he is going to defeat them with distinctions (100%). The composition is underlined by the statement which reads: "*ho bontša tsebo ea rona 'minong*" (in demonstration of music aptitude). Instead of using the resources taken from the Sesotho language repository and setting, he relays his musical aptitude as if it were a school setting where people are rated in accordance with the 'formal education' grading system. This exposes the singer's knowledge and familiarity with the school setting. This is why he relates his performance at initiation to the school ratings. This style is foreign in the production of *mangae* and yet marks the present-day subjects of *mangae*. When the audience hears this style, language and content, it is amused and feels the urge to continue the culture through participation is the subsequent years. Besides delineating the heroic deeds and narratology of personal experiences through imported expressions from other languages and cultures, the performance of *mangae* further relates to language/discourses, content and plots accessible to the youth, as discussed in the section below.

6.4 Use of language, change of discourses, themes and plots accessible to the youth in the performance of *mangae*

This section makes reflections and discussions, based on the singers' potency to employ and use discourses, styles, themes and plots accessible and relevant to contemporary youth. It discusses how such fused foreign resources place the performance of *mangae* within the modern, fashionable and popular lifestyle. The performance of *mangae* has been found to reproduce and copy the oral traditional resources from the notorious house, hip hop and kwaito music. This music is mostly popular to the modern youth. Because of the popularity of the house, kwaito and hip-hop music, it has had a major influence on discourses, plots and themes in the performance of *mangae,* as discussed below. The performance of *mangae* has copied parts of the verses or complete songs and threaded them within the performance of *mangae*. Such strength is reflected in the song recorded from *makoloane* of Sefateng as follows:

Ha le na loka, ha le na loka
Phafa li lla
Hoshe! Hoshe!
Saka ba u bone ntate Phephela
Se ka bora moreki

_____

You won't succeed, you won't succeed
Whips are lashing
Hoshe! Hoshe!
Go down so that they see you father Phephela

Don't bore the buyer

Tsoetse 1: *Ho lla phafa*
Kuze Kose
Hoshe! Hoshe!
Roba letheka

_____

The whip is lashing
Keep on coming
Hoshe! Hoshe!
Twist your waist

Tsoetse 2: *He ba ea Orlando*
Hoshe! Hoshe!
Hlokoloza!
Hayi hlokoloza
Jika majika

_____

They are going to Orlando
Hoshe! Hoshe!
Stab!
Hayi stab
Dance and dance

Sefela: *I suggest, you don't know me solo kea bona*

_____

Sefela: I suggest, you don't know me, I can see

In the above excerpts, a melange of styles and songs collected from several notorious artists in RSA have been fused in the performance of a single *lengae*. The style of singing is that of the performance of *lengae.* Amidst that, the tune of the original song that is being reproduced is simulated. The contemporary performance of *mangae* places the music in the renowned popular music of the day that is highly followed by the youth. In the extract above, the song has borrowed several words, styles and discourse from the popular artist in RSA and blended them in the composition of *lengae*. The ability of the performance of *mangae* to strengthen its style, composition, language and aesthetic mood lies in its ability to take a conglomerate of elements from various resources and exploit them for its magnification.

The above *lengae* has borrowed the words and/or titles of the songs by DJ Monada - Ska Bhora Moreki- *Se ka bora moreki*, DJ Merlon - *Kuze Kose*, Ishmael - *roba letheka*, Monwa & Sun - *Via Orlando*- remixed by DJ Vetkuk vs Mahoota, Arthur - Hlokoloza, MI CASA- Jika and SABC1 dance competition - Jika Majika. The mixture of many song titles and many artists portrays the performance of *mangae* as having the capacity to remix the songs and form a contemporary sub-music. This labels the songs as a remix of the original songs listed above. Because of its ability to consolidate styles and remix them in a *lengae*, the performance of *mangae* benchmarks itself as the contemporary popular music that is largely acclaimed by the youth. It thus replicates *gqom*,

house and kwaito varieties and tunes of music within its composition. It portrays the composers of *mangae* as conscious about the notorious hits that have become popular genres to the youth.

Without the use of popular accompanying instruments, the performers make a harmony of vocal production, replicating the rhythm, tempo and rhythm of the original songs. This capability portrays *mangae* as a fully-fledged popular art that keeps up with time and innovations. Among the listeners of the performance of *mangae*, the youth is the prime target that the singers' pry for. When the music that forms part of their entertainment appears in the performance of *mangae* released in style and language accessible to them, the youth feel hypnotised and wish to join the initiation ritual in large numbers in the subsequent year. The performance of *mangae* keeps up with time and gives honour to the growth and development of the music genres of RSA.

A serious paradigm shift of styles and discourses and plots is spotted in the contemporary performance of *mangae*. Like most Sesotho oral indigenous performances, the *mangae* maintain, harness and relate to multiple subjects and themes in one slot of performance. The agglutinated styles and capabilities mark the music as one of the dynamic oral genres of Basotho. The culture keeps on growing and aligned to the latest modern developments while simultaneously promoting conformity, continuity and preservation. Culture is a dynamic continuum that keeps on growing from time to time. It has the potential to borrow resources from other cultures and to subsequently donate its own to them. There is a continuous give-and-take simulation from all forms of cultures that they interact with from the physical or social media spaces. The battered simulations are helpful in keeping up with the social developments and technologies and the cultural up-keep. In borrowing and importing some elements from other cultures and oral artefacts. The central theme is to express the culture and to promote it.

An example of the performance of *lengae* that has tapped resources and discourses from popular house, kwaito and *gqom* music recorded from *makoloane* of Ha Mashapha ensue thus:

Ea palamana mehlolo
Ngoan'enoa o e otla semonyama
O e otla semonyama
Hae! Hae! Hae!
Hem! Hem! Hem!

_____

Miracles are mounting
This child does it in the night
He hits it in the night
Hae! Hae! Hae!
Hem! Hem! Hem!

Omunye phezo komunye
Omunye phezo komunye, ntate Phephela

_____

One person is on top of the other
One person is on top of the other, father Phephela

Tsoetse 1: Ao! Turn around
Turn around
Up down

Tsoetse 2: He! Saka lepantsola
He! Saka lepantsola
Up down
He! Go down pantsola
He! Go down pantsola

Sefela 1: *Omunye phezo komunye*
Omunye phezo komunye ntate Phephela
Heleeele! Heleeele! Heleeele!
Heleeele! banna ba likheleke
Ke 'na Bushman Khehleke
Moporesitente oa Kalahari Desert
Thoteng tse telele mahoatateng

_____

One person is on top of another one
One person is on top of another one father Phephela
Heleeele! Heleeele! Heleeele!
Heleeele! Fellow eloquent men
I am Bushman Khehleke
The president of the Kalahari Desert
At the vast desert lands

Sefela 2: *Omunye phezo komunye*
Omunye phezo komunye ntate Phephela
Heleeele! Heleeele! Heleeele!
Heleeele banna ba likheleke
Ke mo advertiser ke advertiser litaba
Ke psychology ea dictionary
Ke roba A up to Z
A up to Z
To the left
To the right
Up down
Up down
Holimo le tlase ntate Phephela
Holimo le tlase ntate Phephela

_____

One person is on top of the other
One person is on top of the other, father Phephela
Heleeele! Heleeele! Heleeele!
Heleeele! Fellow eloquent men
I am the advertiser, I advertise news
I am a dictionary of psychology
I break (have definitions from) A up to Z

To the left
To the right
Up down
Up down
Up down father Phephela
Up down father Phephela

Like the song recorded from *makoloane* of Sefateng, the example above is a presentation of *lengae* that has borrowed some elements from the popular songs of the RSA artists. The singer has combined his personal inventory with the renowned song by Distruction Boyz (Omunye). The rendition of the verses of the song "*Omunye phezo komunye*" is identical in rhythm, tempo, style and humour with the original song. The only outstanding component is the musical accompaniments. Additionally, the composer has borrowed the words and phrases from the song by Blaklez Ft Cassper Nyovest (Saka Nyuka). When the song is performed, there is a mixture of voices (each singing its line) that are harmonised together into one chorus. The verse "*He! Saka lepantsola*" that has been informed by Blaklez song form part of the harmony of voice. Instead of the singer maintaining the whole song and its lines as they are, he brings in his improvisation by adding *lepantsola*. In the song, the singer asks *lepantsola* to dance. *Lepantsola* is a noun formed from the word *pantsula* which is a common dance performed in RSA and some neighbouring countries such as Lesotho. In the context of initiation, the uninitiated boys are sometimes called *mapantsula*. because they are considered aliens to their own cultures and advent of cultures of other nations.

The song is, therefore, directed to those who are repugnant of their culture to enjoy the music and dance to it. This directly portrays the performance of *mangae* as the music worth appreciating. It also serves as a way of enticement towards young boys into the culture. When the youth hear the consolidation of styles, they get attached to it and feel the urge to join in order to replicate their predecessors in subsequent years. Another song that has been integrated into the cited performance is that of DJ Merlon – (*Koze Kuse*). The incorporation of the song serves not only for the beauty of performance but also as a persuasion to the young uninitiated youth to like the music of *mangae* and hence join in huge numbers in subsequent years.

The primary target and prospective entrants into initiation annually is the young boys aged 17 years and above. The secondary targets are men of all ages who are not initiated and may feel tempted to conform to the culture or sometimes and often through spiritual calls. Persuasion, either negative or positive, is usually targeted at the youth. The above two excerpts are a positive persuasion from the singers to attract the young boys to be initiated. The singers realise their aim by using the language, the style, the subjects and the themes that are accessible to the youth. The consolidation and blending of styles make sense to the youth and they can follow the plot of the songs. Tapping into the fountain of modern-day popular music also places the performance

of *mangae* within the scope of contemporary oral literatures. Whereas the adults may not be able to follow the music, understand the content, relate with the style, for the youth it reflects their way of entertainment and socialisation.

As a result, the use of the elements borrowed from other non-cultural music is a ploy, renaissance and rebranding of the ritual of initiation and of the performance style. This amalgam of style has seen the rebirth of the culture that was otherwise under siege and faced with extinction from the attacks of non-natives and western forces. It frees the culture from the claws of dissolution from attacks on social media and Christian centres. Other forms are also used as the subjects in the performance of *mangae*. The following section identifies and discusses the reproduction of the languages other than Sesotho in the performance of *mangae*.

6.5 The reproduction of other languages mirrored in the performance of *mangae*

This section identifies the foreign discourses, styles and languages that are predominant in the performance of *mangae*. The following song recorded from *makoloane* of Khokhoba demonstrates a multiple use of languages within it. The chorus is sung in Sesotho but there are two dialogues in isiZulu and English respectively. The concurrent switching of the languages and styles triangulates within the performance.

.....

Lekoloane A: *Awe ntsizwa, ngufowethu. Ingaba abantwana bakuchelile ukuthi ngoLwesibini bengikhona?*

_____

Dear brother. I wonder whether your children told you that I was there on Tuesday.

Lekoloane B: *Ewe! Bangichelile wena mfowethu. Inkinga nje ukuthi bengigekho bengise George gorg ngiyo funana nomsebenzi. Awusho wena mfowethu, bewuthini?*

_____

Yes! They told me my brother. The fact is, I was not there. I went out to George Gorg in search of a job. And now tell me, what did you come to see me about?

Lekoloane A: *Kodwa awuthi ngukubuze ngempilo ngukucala? Ingabe impilo iright?*

_____

Why don't you allow me to greet first? Are you alright health wise?

Lekoloane B: *Hayi! Impilo isaziyela wena mfowethu? Kunjani kuwe?*

_____

Yes! I am well my brother. How are you?

Lekoloane A: *Hayi! Nami kumi isaziyela wena mfowethu. Uzwile nga lesfu laze ngaMachaelane wena mfowethu?*

_____

Yes! I am also well my brother. Have you heard about the passing away of Machaelane, my brother?

Lekoloane B: *Kancanyani ngizwile wena mfowethu. Awuke unqacisele, uthe kwenzakalani?*

_____

I have heard such rumours my brother. Can you explain please, what is happening?

Lekoloane A: *Sekuthi uMachaelane sekasishiyile wena mfowethu*.

_____

The issue is, Machaelane has passed away my brother.

Lekoloane B: *Awo! Indaba ezibuhlongu lezo mfowethu. Awusho, manje ukuthi indaba esiyenza njani lewo?*

_____

This is sad news my brother. And now, what can we do about that.

Lekoloane A: *Ukuthi sihambe nje siye nguNanabolela siyo mduduza ngale ndaba lemuwelele wena mfowethu*.

_____

I think it is best that we go and comfort Nanabolela about what has befallen him, my brother.

Lekoloane B: *Nje ngamanje wena mfowethu*.

_____

Let's go right away my brother.

Lekoloane A: *Ah! Asiye mfowethu*.

_____

Sure! Let's go brother.

English dialogue:

Lekoloane C: Dear God! Please bless this man who is standing in front of me. He has lost his brother in this poor world and I will always say "rest in peace, bro Machaelane". I give it to you.

Lekoloane D: .....

The month of shivering by the foreside we were clustered like a winter chicken. The enemy fell upon us *lacoster* at sunset aha!

Lekoloane E: I am who I am
The one who is the king of songs
We are not here for fun
But we are one thing
Joalo ka mathe le leleme (Like the tongue and the saliva)
Jah raster father

In the above excerpt, there is an interplay of languages and styles in the performance of lengae. The song starts off by relating the sad story of the death of Machaelane who is related to the *mosuoe* (Nanabolela). The chorus of voices alternates with dialogue while at same time the theme of the song is maintained. The dialogue also relates the unfortunate instance of the passing away of Machaelane (*Uzwile nga lesfu laze ngaMachaelane wena mfowethu?*). The song passes condolences to mosuoe and his relatives. It is also a lamentation about the passing of Machaelane. Once again, the performance of *mangae* benchmarks itself within modernisation by using the languages and styles from other cultures. This is a positive persuasion because the modern youth can associate and access the languages and styles used and be persuaded to

become initiated. The combination of the styles above portrays the flexibility and dynamism of the culture of initiation to successfully fuse other elements within it.

The same style is reflected by the performance of *lengae* recorded from *makoloane* of Lipetu. In the singing of the accompanying *lifela*, the composer switches among Sesotho, isiZulu and English languages. Differently from the previous song however, the content, style and the plot keep shifting from time to time. There is, however, cohesion in the manner with which a melange of themes is relayed. The composer is making a show-off to the listeners about their multilingual abilities. The composition is intended to entice those who listen to him to idolise the initiation.

Ntate Mandela, Undishiyelani?
Baba Mandela, Undishiyelani?

_____

Mister Mandela, why did you leave me?
Father Mandela why did you leave me?

Sefela*:*

Ke buoa ka mohale oa bahale
Motho ea ileng a re loanela tokoloho
Naheng ela ea Aforika
Hoo! Le moo a shoeleng ngoan'eo oa motho
O shoele a sia seboko metsing
Hooo! Shebang ka metsing ho a khahleha
……..

_____

I am referring to the hero of heroes
The man who fought for our freedom
In the country of Republic of South Africa
Hooo! Even where he has rested that son of man
When he died, he left some screams inside the water
Hooo! Watch through the water and see for yourselves
……
Ea khutla naha bo-ntateeee!
Hooo! Mandela liba se mapholi
Nka be ke re u stream water le soda water
Pure water ke metsi a lihlaba
……

_____

The state is coming back dear fathers
Hooo! Mandela is a cool fountain of water
I could refer to him as a stream water and soda water
The Lesotho highland water is pure water

Ke utloa ke rata ho buoa sekhooa

_____

I feel like I want to speak in English
Listen to me the people of this place which is called Ha Fako
What am I supposed to do and say? I am going to thank the living God

The Lord protected us from our enemies
The people were so no many wanted to *destroyed* us
The people who want to destroy us now are afraid and trembling like a tree shaken by wind
Greetes you the people of the God
If you are the traditional Basotho initiates, we are the people of God. If you are the people of God, each and everybody must respect us and advisable other because.

In the above excerpt, the composer relates to a few subjects in one performance slot. The chorus that is sung in isiZulu is a dirge where the composer asks President Nelson Mandela why he left them. The composer laments the death of Nelson Mandela who was a freedom fighter (*motho ea ileng a re loanela tokoloho*) and the one who was important to people's lives (*Mandela liba se mapholi*). The composer expresses his loss because of the death of Mandela. After this theme, the composer switches to explain that the initiates have been protected by God when there were attempts to destroy them. Similarly, he shows that the ritual of initiation is one that is protected by God because it belongs to him and the society should respect it along with its practitioners. The juggling of the initiate among the languages portrays the singer as a linguistically proficient man in English, Sesotho and isiZulu. To the audience, the code-switching and mixing in the performance of *mangae* ascertains that the performance can exploit all the available resources during the composition. The use of these languages and portrayal of sophistication is an enticement of Basotho of all statuses to become initiated.

Another example where isiZulu has been used as a language of the performance of *mangae* is recorded from *makoloane* of Khanyane as follows:

Thina siyahamba madoda
S'khumbule khaya
Teng tjako ayikho lapha ayikho
Ho betere 'na ke khethe ho tsamaea
Tempeleng ea ntate Maloro tjako ha e eo

_____

Us men, we are leaving.
We are heading homewards
Here, where we are it is inhabitable
We are better off gone
At father Maloro's temple, it is inhabitable

The above example makes a mixing of Sesotho, isiZulu and English languages in the performance of *lengae*. The composer relays that he is returning home because there is no peace at the lodge (*thina siyahamba madoda, s'khumbule khaya, teng tjako ayikho lapha ayikho*). The initiate is referring to the treatment that he got from Maloro while training in the lodge. Moloro was one *mosuoe* and a brother to the performer. The composer, therefore, is registering his concerns about the ruthless initiation period that his brother expended upon him (*teng tjako ayikho lapha ayikho*). Instead of lodging his complaint in Sesotho, the composer uses isiZulu. The language

choice, on the one hand, is intended to conceal the meaning to those who do not understand the language. The initiates are not required to reveal the secrets, such as the initiation hardships to the society no matter how criminal it was. Because of the discomfort that the composer has encountered, he even feels that is it better that he quits (*ho betere 'na ke khethe ho tsamaea*). The word "*betere*" is an English word **better** that has been borrowed into *Sesotho.* There is also a concurrent use of the Sesotho phrases alongside the isiZulu words in the constructions. The juxtaposition and mixture of languages signals the performer's versatility in language knowledge. The use of code-mixing gives the aesthetics of the music and a persuasion to the young boys into the ritual of initiation. The following section deals with the themes of the performance of *mangae* that make the reflections of Christianity.

6.6 Reflection of elements imported from Christianity in the performance of *mangae*

This section identifies and discusses the elements that have been imported from Christian religion and have been used as themes and subjects in the performance of *mangae*. The section identifies items such as the names, subjects, biblical stories, Christian hymns and words. These are imported into the performance of *mangae*. Furthermore, it endeavours to uncover the significance and the role of the use of Christian topics in the performance of *mangae*. It also establishes the way the use of the Christian liturgy and topics harmonises the difference that Christianity and traditional cultures have had over the years. It also elaborates on how far the incorporation of Christian stories is important in the validation, continuity and conformity to the ritual of initiation. The following excerpt is an example of incorporation of a hymn song from *Lifela tsa sione* number 110 in the performance of *lengae* recorded from *makoloane* of Linotšing:

Ha ke sa sepela
Hole le lehae laka
U nthute hore ho lokile
Ho lokile Morena kahohle

Sefela 1: *Seo ke leng sona morena ha u re ke se etse*
Le teng ke tla leboha
Ke re ho lokile

Sefela 2: *Heeela! Baholoane baka e se e le makholoa*
Le teng ke ntse ke re ho lokile

As I am walking
Far from my home
Teach me to say that it is well
It is well, Lord, in all respects

Sefela 1: Whatever you tell me to do, as I am lord
I will always thank you
I will say it is well

Sefela 2: Heeela! My brothers have forsaken home
Even then, I will always continue to say, it is well

The song does not reproduce the hymn word-by-word. Only a few lines have been copied from the hymn and combined with the ones that the composer has coined. This song is a prayer to God that whatever is happening to the singer, whichever situation he is surrounded by, he will always say let "God's will be fulfilled." In this case, the composer is praying to God about his brothers who have forsaken home long time ago (*heeela! Baholoane baka e se e le makholoa, le teng ke ntse ke re ho lokile*), and he comforts himself using the hymn.

The subsequent excerpts recorded from *makoloane* of Tsikoane give some insights of the composer's knowledge about the Garden of Eden and the sin of Adam as follows:

Tšimong ea Edene
Ea Edene
Atama le Efa ba o etsa mohlolo
Rapeng sa ka ho ho tala ho ea khahleha
Le se je perekisi la re ke linotši
Atama le Efa ba o roba molao
Re ka be re sa ipone likoli

Sefela 1: *Heee! Molimo oa buoa o re:*
He Atama oe! Efa oe! Le ho kae?
Chorus:
Che! Re ipatile morena

Sefela cont.: *Le ipatet'seng na*?

Chorus: *Che! Re ipona re le feela morena!*
Sephooko: Ke eona ntho e hlotseng e ntse e boleloa
Ho thoe bo-'m`e kannete le baloi

Sefela 2: *Heee! Molimo oa buoa o re:*
He Atama oe! Efa oe! Le ho kae?
Chorus:
Che! Re ipatile morena

Sefela cont.: *Le ipatet'seng na*?

Chorus: *Che! Re ipona re le feela morena!*
Sephooko:
Atama oa buoa o re morena
Mosali eo mphileng eena morena
Kannete o mphile lehlaku

_____

In the Garden of Eden
Of Eden
Adam and Eve made a miracle
My garden is greenish and good-looking
Do not say the fruit is honey
Adam and Eve broke the law
We would not be sinners

Sefela 1: Heee! God speaks and says:
He Adam oe! Eve oe! Where are you?

Chorus: Che! We have hidden ourselves lord
Sefela cont.: Why have you hidden yourselves?
Chorus: Che! It is because we are naked
Lead singer: Adam then said to the Lord:
The woman you have given to me lord
She gave me the leaf

The song is a reproduction of the stories of the sin of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden. The composer gives the details of what happened and the conversation that God had with Adam. The initiate further reveals the blame-game that was played after Adam disobeyed the order of God. The singer on the one hand, seems to be conscious of the biblical stories and hence enhances the teachings of why man was punished by the Lord. However, the same song exposes men's perception about women. Women are portrayed as disloyal people who put their husbands in danger or force them to break the will of the God. There seems to be a serious connection between Christianity and the ritual of initiation in the way the composition of *mangae* interweave the two cultures. The performance of *mangae* is seen as accommodative and promoting the Christian doctrine that detests the culture and labels it as heathen. This measure serves as a cry for reconciliation between the Christians and the traditionalists that the two cultures are complementary hence there is no need for discrimination. Beyond this, the performance of *mangae* also reflects some of the human folly in church as reflected in the song performed by *makoloane* of Khanyane Matebeleng below:

Menemene
Hooo! Lemenemene ke la'ng kahare ho kereke
Menemene
Sefela 1: *Heeela! Jakobo kannete u tla re u louoe*
Hoba khale ba u joetsa
Hore ha u e-ea sione u sie mamenemene
Sefela 2: *Heela rona ha re tla nyatsa kereke*
Moruti h'a sheba ka ho bo-ntate o buoa litaba tse bohloko
Ha a sheba ka ho bo-'m`e o buoa litaba tse monate

_____

Fraudsters/ unscrupulous people
Hooo! What is the fraudster doing in church
Fraudsters
Sefela 1: Heeela! Jakobo, you will think that you are bewitched
Because I have always been warning you
That when you go to Zion you must leave your unscrupulous manners behind
Sefela 2: Heeela! You know why we stopped going to church
It is because when the pastor looks in the direction of men, he utters unpleasant words
But when he looks in the direction of women, he uses pleasant words

The above example reveals the insights of the composer about the partiality of the pastors in church. It denotes and portrays the pastors as having irresistible affection towards women. It

depicts the pastors as marriage wreckers because they flirt with married women in church (*ha a sheba ka ho bo-'m`e o buoa litaba tse monate*). To the composer, the pastors are pretentious by nature and adulterous. To him, the church serves as a bait where women are enticed to join for the adulterous intentions of the pastors. He further indicates that men are always discredited and mocked in church (*moruti h'a sheba ha ho bo-ntate o buoa litaba tse bohloko*). To him the pastor desires to push the men away so that he will have undivided attention from the women whom he unequivocally expresses unreserved attraction for. This depicted behaviour is the one that has chased him away from the church. In most churches in Lesotho the populace of female congregants is more than that of the males. The singer therefore reveals the paranoid behaviour about their women as the one that drove them away. This song serves a corrective purpose towards the church leaders. It says that they must refrain from their adulterous acts while leading the churches. He makes an appeal for the lack of impartiality that they depict and calls for lack of prejudice from the church leaders. He demonstrates and reiterates his concerns about the way in which the leaders and the marshals of human spirituality exploit their power for their own personal and selfish gain. The performance of *mangae* also shows massive consciousness of modern-day technologies, especially the use of social media, telecommunications and information communication technologies. The subsequent section addresses the subjects, the themes and discourses that appear in the performance of *mangae*.

6.7 Impact of modern-day technologies/telecommunications (ICT)

This section discusses contemporary technological themes and topics that appear in the performance of *mangae*. The discussion is primarily targeting the singer's insights about the information communication discourses, its uses and their awareness of social media. The following excerpt recorded from *makoloane* of Ha Chepheseli and Ha Ntina illustrate.

> ……..
> *Ha ke chenchoe, kea ichencha*
> *Ke kompela ea lona likheleke* (***Makoloane* of Ha Chepheseli**)
> ……..
> _____
> I am not manually controlled, I am automatic
> I am your computer you fellow eloquent men
> ……..
> *Hooo! Simple question ha ke e arabe*
> *Hooo! Ke phetla mara-rang ke bala internet*
> *Hooo! E-mail e fihlile ka la maobane* (***Makoloane* of Ha Ntina**)
> _____
> ……..
> Hoo! I do not respond to simple questions
> Hoo! I browse through modern technology and read the internet
> Hooo! I received the e-mail yesterday

These two excerpts demonstrate the composers' consciousness of the modern-day use of computers. Whereas the prime aim of the initiates is to praise their manly dexterity and masculine personalities, in these extracts they reflect their familiarity with the contemporary technologies. Although the composers do not reveal their competence in using the computer, they are aware that it is one essential technology that people should familiarise themselves with. For example, the singer use phrases such as:

1. *ke kompela ea lona likheleke,*
2. *ke phetla mara-rang ke bala internet* and
3. e-*mail e fihlile ka la maobane*.

In the first example the singer tells his imaginary competitors that he is a computer. This shows that he is more advanced and sophisticated than others. In examples two and three, the performer reveals that he is conscious and able to use/access information communication technologies. He has the ability and skill to explore the internet to do his research and he also has the essential skills to use the e-mail technologies. The use of ICT as topics or subjects in the performance of *mangae*, places them (*mangae*) with the framework of modern technological revolutions. This reflects a massive turn-around and growth in the thematic scope of the performance of *mangae*. It does not only provide themes, discourses and plots that are accessible only to the youth, but it is also accessible to the adult population which uses modern-day communication technologies. This shows a high potential of the composition of *mangae* in incorporating the themes that are essential for change and development. It reflects the performance of *mangae* as an educator of modern-day technologies and the promoter of ICT. The following section deliberates on the reproduction of the initiates' consciousness about the practices of telecommunications and social media technologies.

6.8 Insights about the practices of telecommunications and social media technologies in the performance of *mangae*.

This section analyses the insights and the consciousness of the performers of *mangae* about the uses of telecommunications and social media. It uncovers the impact of such technologies on human life. It also exposes the views of these performers, the significance and the role which those themes play. The following excerpt recorded from *makoloane* of Tsikoane reflects on how women use mobile phones to redefine and represent themselves in modern-day courtship and love affairs, as reflected through the performance of *mangae*.

……
Khaaaale ke u ratile thope eee!
Ha e le li-founo tsona ha ke sa rata le ho buoa
Ke ne ke rekisoa tsena tse turang feela
Airtime ke e reka hoseng le mantsiboea
*Feela moratuoa oaka a sa *nfounele*

_____

I have been in love with you for a long-time dear girlfriend ee!
I don't want to comment about the cell phones
I was made to buy the most expensive ones
I bought her airtime every now and then
Nonetheless, my lover never phoned me

The above excerpt expresses the composer's protest towards the way women suck their money out. He shows that real love has now died, and only material value is what attaches women to men. He seems to be concerned about the behaviour of the modern girls. He exposes his awareness about the attitude of the girls who like leading prestigious life at the expense of men (*ke ne ke rekisoa tsena tse turang feela*). Among other things the composer was ordered to buy expensive phones and airtime (*airtime ke e reka hoseng le mantsiboea*). In the song, a pretentious girlfriend takes advantage of the naïve singer to attain expensive items from him. However, the same girl neither returns the favour to compliment the providing boyfriend nor reciprocates his good-willed gesture (*feela moratuoa oaka a sa *nfounele*). In the extract, the composer protests that he was made to buy an expensive mobile phone and to buy airtime from time to time. This is a direct protest towards women and an appeal to them to desist from being "gold diggers." The singer is making a loud cry and yearns for true love. He is also warning his fellow men about how devious and malicious women can be towards men. The song also appeals for behaviour change from the wicked girls to moral behaviour. The singer seems to be aware of moral decay that has hit the world today concerning modern day love issues. As a mouthpiece of his society, the singer calls for moral regeneration and attitude change from women. To him mobile phone technology and the love women have for them has accrued a serious radical moral degeneration. Because of his awareness of the social ills facing his nation, the artist warns his society about that decline of human behaviour and etiquette and hence appeals for restoration. The singer seems to be aware of the mobile phone technologies and their detrimental effects that impact on human life. Another example about the people's behaviour and the mobile phone that has been recorded from *makoloane* a Khokhoba follows:

Na e be re tla utloana
Na e be re tla utloana, moholoane
*Hooo! Na ha ke le *siko*
U phenya-phenya ntho tsaka
U thola li-SMS
Hooo! Tsaka ua li bala

Sefela: *Hooo! Tsoibila mpheng fono eo eaka ka moo*

_____

Do you really think we shall get along, my brother
Hoo! When I am not around
You fiddle with/snoop my phone
And find my messages
Hoo! You then read them

Hooo! Tsoibila bring my cell phone from in there

This excerpt reveals people's behaviour towards telecommunication technologies. The example exposes the invasion of privacy on the composer's phone by his brother. It is a complaint and a sweeping statement that invasion of people's privacy is not a good practice. He is not comfortable that he discovered that his brother snooped and fiddled with his phone in his absence and has seen his private information. Because of this, he is agitated and worried that his relationship with his brother has been negatively affected (…*ha ke le *siko, u phenya-phenya ntho tsa ka. U thola li-SMS…tsa ka ua li bala*). This is some advice to the rest of the world that it is not proper to snoop on another person's property. He is aware of the tension and feud that the phones have caused in the world today through invasion by others. He makes an appeal that this habit must be stopped. This shows that he is aware of people's entitlement to privacy and gives the warning that it must be respected. Marriages, relationships and families have become into serious tantrums due to phone snooping today. Lives have been lost where partners have found, through fiddling with other people's phones that their partners are cheating. Because of this observation, the initiate warns those who engage in that practice to refrain.

In conclusion, the author has observed that the performance of *mangae* is highly dynamic. It keeps evolving with time and industrialisation. He is the representatives of the nation in either validating the importance of developments and triviality. He exposes an insurmountable concern regarding the problem of moral degeneration that has overwhelmed people's lives recently. The performance of *mangae* seems to have the potential to strengthen the culture through exploiting the resources and cultures and redirecting them to empower his own culture. Among other things, modern day popular music seems to play a vital role in informing and influencing the composition of *mangae*. Such blending and fusing of elements from other cultures places the oral performance of *mangae* in the popular cultures of the day. The topics that are related to the biblical stories are also retold in the performance of *mangae* which seems to promote the Christian doctrine. Despite the politics of disparity and discrimination that Christianity has launched against black traditions, the performance of *mangae* seems not to have any negativity towards Christianity. The initiates see Christianity as the culture that is not directly antagonist to the Sesotho traditional believes.

6.9 Conclusion

This chapter identified and discussed the themes, discourses and styles that have been imported from modern day lifestyle technologies and foreign cultures that are found in the contemporary performance of *mangae*. The study found out that the contemporary performance of *mangae* borrows expressions and referents from other languages and cultures to delineate their new self-identities, self-righteousness, masculine virility and heroic identities. For example, the ritual of

initiation is equated to the modern-day classroom setting. The eloquence and aptitude of the initiates is measured in accordance with the 'formal school' grading, such 100% and a pass with distinction.

Furthermore, the study found out the performance of *mangae* uses language, popular discourse and themes accessible to youth. The modern-day popular music and dances styles and discourses are predominant in the contemporary performance of *mangae*. Foreign languages such as isiZulu and English are also reflected during the performance. Themes alluding to christian liturgy and biblical stories, cognisance of the impact of modern-day and social media technologies are also fused in the modern-day performance of *mangae*.

The aptitude of the performance of *mangae* to borrow foreign resources in their rendition ascertains that Basotho oral culture is one of the wealth of knowledge and the cultural heritage of the society. It proves to be one of the most flexible and dynamic culture that has the potential to fuse resources that it has come into contact with to strengthen the aesthetics of performance. Such a consolidation of styles serves to lure the youth and their families in the ritual of initiation as an assurance of its preservation, conformity and continuity.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE PERFORMANCE OF *MANGAE* AT THE CROSSROADS OF THE TWO CULTURES (TRADITIONAL AND MODERN): THE FORMATION OF POPULAR ART FORM

7.1 Introduction

Chapters Five and Six focused on the analysis of the reflections of the traditional cultural fossils and reflections of modern imports in the performance of *mangae* respectively. They show that the performance of *mangae* can tap from both the traditional cultural space and import elements from modern technologies, emergent lifestyles, social values and philosophies. This chapter establishes the interface between the two cultures and how they form a contemporary culture of the performance of *mangae*. It further discusses how the crossroads between the two cultures is shaped and how far it resembles the culture of the Basotho at the time of rendition.

Chapter Seven, therefore, investigates the contemporary performance of *mangae* that comes as a product of transferring some resources from ancient traditional resources and the importation of the elements from modern-day technologies and lifestyle. It investigates the adjustments in the content, communication and function of the performance of *mangae* that have come into being as a result of fusing the traditional and modern elements together. It also identifies the emergent socio-cultural trends that have shaped the performance of *mangae* and has thus represented the culture of the society at the time of performance. Furthermore, it investigates the potential and ability of the performance of *mangae* to synchronise and to strike a balance between the traditional archives and modern imports in terms of the communicative strategies, the significance, the content and the role that it imparts.

In grappling with the establishment of the interface between the two gulfs, this chapter establishes how far the interface marks the culture of the society today and uncovers the role that it plays in terms of the preservation, conformity and continuity of the culture. It further shows the extent to which the recent technologies and traditional fossils place the performance of *mangae* as the modern day popular oral literatures and popular culture of the Basotho. The basic recent thematic and stylistic developments in the performance of *mangae* are identified and discussed accordingly. The first section discusses the themes of the performance of *mangae* that have been drawn from industrialisation and its consequences on the lives of the Basotho.

7.2 Lesotho in the phase of industrialisation: observations, literature of commitment and protest

In order to up-keep with the developing world today, Lesotho has sought the means to engage foreign investment as a means of the economic growth of the country. The foreign owned textile and footwear industries presently provide jobs to thousands of unskilled labour in Lesotho

(Hlabana, 2007) and https://www.tralac.org/news/article/11501-lesotho-s-textiles-apparel-and-footwear-manufacturing-industry.html). Lesotho's cheap labour is perpetually exploited by employers on various occasions. The workers are subjected to long working hours and minimal take home wages throughout the tenure of their service. Because of the impact of industrialisation on Lesotho today, the boy initiates seem to introduce the topics relating to such circumstances. The song that has been recorded from *makoloane* of Ha Ntina and of Majaheng reveal this situation:

Makoloane of Ha Ntina

'Muso oa Lesotho o kentse merabe ka hare ho naha
He bona oa ea
Ba ja ee
Ba ja ntja
Le tsoa kae Makula ha le fihla Lesotho
Le chaka ka melao ea lona Machaena

_____

The government of Lesotho has brought different tribes into the country
Watch out, you will vanish
Alas! See what they eat
The eat a dog meat
Where do you come from, Indians, when you arrive in Lesotho
You have come into Lesotho with your own by-laws

Makoloane of Majaheng

Rea tsetsela
Re tsetselela khotso
Le tsoa kae Makula?
Le tsoa kae le machaena?
Hooo! Le haha lifeme
Le re tsekisa naha eabo rona
Hooo! Moshoeshoe ha a loana ka marumo
Hooo! Re llela Lekoa

Sefela: *Rea tsetsela*
Re tsetselela khotso
Le tsoa kae
Le tšoere likoakoa, le tšoere marumo
Ntoa e loana, e loana ka meqhaka ha e lale
Ha e lale hle
Hooo! Ha se ea marumo
Heee! Moshoeshoe ha a loana ka marumo
Re llela Lekoa

Tsoetse: *Rea tsetsela, re tsetselela khotso, khotso ha e rene*
Rea tsetsela, re tsetselela lefatse, khotso ha e rene
Mosisili ak'u buoe
Ak'u buoe le sechaba sa Basotho
Mak'hasenlara joale a lla
A llela naha, a llela Lekoa

_____

We are moaning
We are bemoaning for peace
Where do you come from Indians
And where do you come from Chinese
Hooo! You are building the factories
You are seizing our mother land
Hooo! When King Moshoeshoe 1 fights with spears
Hooo! We are grumbling for the Vaal river border

Sefela: We are moaning
We are moaning for peace
Where do you come from
You are armed with war axes and spears_
When there is war, cunningness must be used, it must cease
Please let us stop the war
Hooo! Let us not use spears
If King Moshoeshoe 1 fights with spears
We are grumbling for the Vaal river border

Tsoetse: We are bemoaning peace, let there be peace
We are bemoaning peace, let there be peace
Mosisili, please say something
Kindly address the Basotho nation
The local council leaders are whining too
They are bemoaning peace, they are crying for the Vaal river border

The two excerpts above are pure literature of protest and commitment. The singers as the conduit of thought and representatives of their community, lodge a complaint to those in power about the exploitation of their nation. Both singers pose a rhetorical question directed at the foreign industry owners (Makula and Machina) about where they come from.

Le tsoa kae makula ha le fihla Lesotho
*Le chaka ka melao ea lona machaena (***Ha Ntina***)*

The composers seem not to be happy about the presence of Makula (the Indians) and Machaena (the Chinese) in Lesotho. They throw the question to them, yet they know that they are not present during the performance. The question is directed to those in power to consider sending the Indians and the Chinese back. It is also directed at the Basotho to be cognizant of the negative impacts brought by the Indians and Chinese to Lesotho. The performer follows his question up by pointing out that the two groups have come to Lesotho with their own laws (*le chaka ka melao ea lona machaena*). This registers the singers' concern that, when the foreign industrial administrators come to Lesotho, they bring their own ways of life and social behaviour and have imposed them on the Basotho. To the singer, the Indians and the Chinese take Lesotho for granted. They undermine the laws that govern the nation. He appeals to those in power and the law enforcers to rise to the challenge of the state of lawlessness that Makula and Machaena are

taking advantages of. To him, the laws that govern Lesotho are compromised when facing Machaena and Makula. He argues that such leniency must be stopped, and everybody should be treated equally in the eyes of the law.

While the composer is not comfortable with the fact that Makula and Machaena undermine the legal systems of Lesotho and impose their own laws on the employees. He says that these foreigners eat dog meat (*ba ja ntja*). Basotho and most of the nations of the world do not eat dog meat. There is a Sesotho proverb that says, "*ke ntja selahloa-le-boea*" (the dog is thrown away with its fur). This shows that when a dog dies, no Mosotho benefits from it. Both its skin and carcass are thrown away. This proverb is contrary to the one made about a bovine "*bitla la khomo ke molomo*" (the grave of the bovine is the mouth). In Sesotho, when any edible animal is dead, the Basotho eat its meat, regardless of what induced its death. The singer, therefore, despises and mocks the foreign industrial investors that bring their own laws to Lesotho. They are wicked because they eat the meat of a dog. The big question to those in power is how they could allow wicked people who even eat dog meat the freedom to use their own ways of livelihood to Lesotho.

The composer from *makoloane* of Majaheng, argues that the Indians and the Chinese have built the factories and seized their country.

Hooo! Le haha lifeme
Le re tsekisa naha eabo rona

The seizure of the country according to the composer does not literally mean absolute snatching of the country. It means the state of capture through employing a huge populace of unskilled labour, thereby exploiting them through the low take-home wages. According to the initiate, the employees are kept in captivity by the foreign investors. *Lifeme* (factories) are to him seen as a detainment centre of the Basotho. In practice, factory workers are subjected to long working hours and a short time of break during service. The state of overworking the Basotho is virtually detainment in his opinion. The composer, therefore, demonstrates his concern towards the unjust treatment of his people that is perpetuated by the foreigners. He laments that Basotho are crying/grumbling for peace.

Rea tsetsela
Re tsetselela khotso

The peace that the composer is howling for is the emancipation of his fellow citizens from the foreigners. Since around June and August 2018, there had been a massive stand-still protest by textile workers over the wage increase and improved working conditions (Lesotho times August 18, 2018). The singer as the member of this society who is acquainted with the factory workers' situation in Lesotho, protests on their behalf to be emancipated from exploitation by foreign investors. The artist directs the question to foreign investors thus:

Le tsoa kae

Le tšoere likoakoa, le tšoere marumo
Ntoa e loana, e loana ka meqhaka ha e lale
Ha e lale hle
Ho! Ha se ea marumo

The singer metaphorises the unjust working conditions as heavy arming "*le tšoere likoakoa, le tšoere marumo.*" The unfavourable working conditions and the low wages are literally seen as war. The investors are considered armed with spears and war axes. Factory workers work long hours, given the short leave periods or (sick and maternity leaves) none. He says that the foreigners should extend their leave periods. They are charged with the no-work-no-pay policy or sometimes even expelled. In the view of the singer, such treatment is war, the employer and the employee are in the battlefield. The employees are 'fighting' for the livelihood of their households, the employer on the other hand is 'fighting' to get high production which yields good returns. Because of this clash of interests, the composer appeals that the war should cease (n*toa e loana, e loana ka meqhaka ha e lale*). In the opinion of the composer, physical war is not necessary. Instead people should engage in amicable ways of settling their differences. This view augurs well with the Sesotho adage: *U ka nketsang ha e ahe motse, motse ho aha oa morapeli, Thesele* (arrogance demolishes villages, but prayer strengthens the community). The composer seems to be conscious of the above-mentioned adage and thereby advises that the exploitative acts towards the factory workers are unacceptable and should come to an end. The artist thinks that violence would not emancipate the oppressed from their miseries. Similarly, the performer feels that the employers' ruthlessness towards their employees would not accord them everlasting control either.

The denial of a reasonable living wage and conducive working conditions are considered as a cunning way of fighting.

Rea tsetsela, re tsetselela khotso, khotso ha e rene
Rea tsetsela, re tsetselela lefatše, khotso ha e rene

Due to the factory workers mass protest and vandalism of property over the wage increase and improved working conditions, Lesotho was under serious unrest and economic decline. This was reported in Post newspaper dated 24th August 2018, as follows: "…howls of protests from factory owners who threatened to shut down their businesses after the increases." It is upon a similar observation that the composer directly says that they are crying for peace. The composer further calls to the former Prime Minister of Lesotho to intervene. He asks him as follows:

Mosisili ak'u buoe
Ak'u buoe le sechaba sa Basotho
Mak'hasenlara joale a lla
A llela naha, a llela Lekoa

Instead of perpetrating division and influencing riots, the composer requests the political leaders to normalize the situation. He voices his opinion to the former leader of the Lesotho government to address the matter, "*Mosisili ak'u buoe…le sechaba sa Basotho*." This shows a direct commitment of the composer about the state of unrest that has wrecked his society. He pleads for it to stop. Furthermore, the composer points out that the community council leaders are also worried about the poor conditions of the country, exacerbated by the fighting of the workers (*mak'hasenlara joale…a llela naha*).

The two excerpts by *makoloane* of Ha Ntina and Majaheng expose the singers' consciousness of the economic destitution of the nation. The afore-mentioned themes reflect the performance of *mangae* as endowed with the potential to secure the resources from some aspects of globalisation and their use as its topics during the performance. The songs further reflect the singers' awareness of the impact and injustices brought upon the Basotho by industrialization in Lesotho. The singers' plea is for the deliverance of Basotho from the conquest of the foreign investors. While cognizant of the unbearable working conditions of the nation, the composers appeal to those in power to intervene in order to bring peace. To the singers, the exploitation of the workers equates to the state capture and imposition of foreign laws in a sovereign state by the foreigners.

The singers indirectly appeal to those in power to take control by enforcing the national laws over the investors. They are not comfortable that the government is not fighting for the workers' rights. Additionally, the songs appeal to the foreign investors to desist from their tyrannical deeds in order to abide by and comply with the legislation of Lesotho. The artists plead for the emancipation of Basotho from exploitation by the employers. Political leaders, such as the former Prime Minister of Lesotho, Dr. Pakalitha Mosisili are directly begged to intervene by addressing the nation about the rampant vandalism of property as well as the perpetual undermining of the workers' rights.

While the singers register their concerns about the state of their people in the industrial sector of Lesotho, they overlook the issue of employment of the Basotho, poverty reduction and job opportunities that are brought about by industrialisation in Lesotho. This ignorance owes its origin to the social responsibility that the young men have been taught. They are supposed to be vigilant immediately after initiation. They are initiated into the principles of protecting the king, his state, animals, women and children. By pointing to the negative consequences and impacts of industrialization upon Basotho, the young men fulfill the role of fighting for their people from the attackers and oppressors. Apart from the commitment and protest shown against the oppressors over industrialization, the performance of *mangae* also address the issues of modern-day politics and governance of the country, as discussed in the section below.

7.3 Themes on the politics of Lesotho: abductions, killings and the fall of governments

Since the birth of the western forms of governance, Lesotho has never had any political rest. There has been serious political onslaught between Dr. Ntsu Mokhehe's BCP and Dr. Leabua Jonathan's BNP (Pherudi, 2018). In the early 1990s, upon the ascending of the BCP to power, there has only been a short-lived political stability (in the late 1990s). Since then, there has been a multiplication of political parties from time to time and governments have over-thrown each other. The situations have become dangerous. People have been abducted, slain and detained for political reasons while others have had to seek political asylum in the neighbouring RSA. The political situation of Lesotho has become the agenda of the whole world and a topical issue over the media and across the Basotho society. Because of the escalating political instability, the performance of *mangae* seems to have drawn the topics from bizarre situations in their composition. This is exemplified in the song recorded from the *makoloane* of Ha Ntina as follows:

……

_____

Ho joalo ha banna ba tsekisana likhetho
Ntsu Mokhehle a tseka le Leabuoa
Pakalitha a tseka le Tom Thabane

_____

It is always like that when men fight over politics
Ntsu Mokhehle fought with Leabuoa
Paklitha fought with Tom Thabane

In the excerpt above, the composer has drawn the information from the historical and political onslaught that transpired between the political gurus of Lesotho, Dr Ntsu Mokhehle and Dr. Leabuoa Jonathan. In the initial lines of the song, the composer says; "*kheleke tsa qabana, li tseka pina*" (the eloquent men fought over music). The performance of *mangae* is intrinsically war in the light of the composers. The singers compete over their level of eloquence. During the performance of *mangae*, the artists attack and despise their imaginary competitors. The same competition that is upheld among the singers is compared to the political feud that has bothered Lesotho over the years. The performer compares his musical war to the political war of Mokhehle and Leabuoa "*ho joalo ha banna ba tsekisana likhetho*." The composer recounts the serious political rivalry that occurred between Dr. Leabua Jonathan and Dr. Ntsu Mokhehle that led to the ousting of Ntsu Mokhehle into exile around 1974. The onslaught was so fierce that people were assaulted and killed following the political unrest. The same instability led to the formation of the groups called *Lebotho la Khotso* (peacekeepers) from Leabua's side and the other known as *Likhukhuni* (terrorist) from Mokhehle's side (Rosenberg and Weisfelder, 2013). The song, therefore, reflects on the historical political feud of the political leaders of Lesotho "*Ntsu Mokhehle a tseka le Leabuoa*."

The song further refers to the political debacle that is between the former Prime Minister Dr. Pakalitha Mosisili of Lesotho and founder of Democratic Congress (DC) on the one hand, and the current Prime Minister, Dr. Tomas Thabane. The political wraths within the LCD led to the defection of Dr. Tomas Thabane from the LCD to form the ABC in 2006. Since the split, there has been a serious political war between the leaders of the two parties. The ABC has had a constant growth since its formation in 2006. The growth saw Tom Thabane as the Prime Minister in 2012. Due to the rivalry from his coalition partners and from the opposition, he was in power only until 2015 when a vote of no confidence was passed on him.

In 2015, the Pakalitha Mosisili led LCD, rose to power with a seven-member political parties coalition. Unfortunately, the Mosisili government could not last long due to an in-party political instability and the influence from the opposition, led by Thabane. The Mosisili rise to power forced Thabane into the RSA where he sought asylum. In 2017, Thabane returned to Lesotho after a vote of no confidence was passed against Mosisili. As a result, Thabane succeeded and formed a four-party coalition government that rules the country now. Being conscious of the political onslaughts between Leabua and Mokhehle (*Ntsu Mokhehle a tseka le Leabuoa*) and between Mosisili and Thabane (*Pakalitha a tseka le Tom Thabane*), the composer recounts the shocking political situation of Lesotho over the recent years.

Thus, the performance of *mangae* is seen as the voice of the society about the cases evolving around politics in Lesotho and around the threats to life by the continually changing governments. The song is a registration of utter disappointment towards the political leaders of Lesotho. The singer indirectly calls for peace among the leaders of the country. He seems not to be content about the ever-changing governments within a short span of life. The misunderstandings that occurred between Mosisili and Thabane have led to the merciless killing of some citizens. The following section discusses the political instability brought about by the power-starved leaders of Lesotho that impacted negatively on human life. The song that was recorded from *makoloane* of Khanyane says:

Lesotho hoa loanoa
Lesotho mona heee! Heee! Ieoo!
Heee banna! Hoa loanoa. Re maketse
Sesole se qabana le sepolesa jonna oe!
Lithunya ha li supisana melomo
Hoa e-ba ho be ka khotla
Ho lutsoe.
Ho ntse ho supisanoa mabaka
Paramenteng

Sefela 1: *Heee! Ke bone khaleee!*
Ha ho thoe sepolesa se batla ho qala sesole
Ka re hona ke mohlolo

Chorus: *Hooo! Sea loana hoo!*

Heee le matona a loana hoo!
Sesole se qabana le sepolesa jonna oe!
Lithunya li supisana melomo
Hao ha e-ba ho be ka khotla
Ho lutsoe, ho ntse ho supisanoa mabaka

_____

In Lesotho there is war
Here in Lesotho hooo! Hooo! Ieoo!
My fellow men, there is war and we are worried
The military is fighting with the policemen
There is perpetual gun war confrontation
Matters have turned sour in the court sitting
When the matters are being discussed in Parliament

Sefela 1: Heee! I have long observed
When it was conspired that the police officers want to fight the military
I mentioned that, this was a nightmare

Chorus: Hooo! The nation is fighting
Heee! Even the ministers are fighting
The military is at war with the police officers
When there is gun war confrontation
Matter have turned sour in court
When people were seated to discuss the matters

The above excerpt refers to the political instability that overwhelmed Lesotho, particularly since 2012. There was a serious unrest in Lesotho where high-ranking government officials were issued with the letters of "show course why" while others were literally expelled from service. As a result of the continuous expulsion of the public and political servants, there was a serious disgruntle in parliament, especially from the opposition members, the coalition partners and the then Deputy Prime Minister, Mothejoa Metsing. It is upon this observation that the composer says:

Hoa e-ba ho be ka khotla
Ho lutsoe.
Ho ntse ho supisanoa mabaka
Paramenteng

Around this time, the Army Lieutenant General Tlali Kamoli blatantly defied Prime Minister Tom Thabane's order to vacate his office. The objection was adamantly supported by the coalition partner, the LCD. The then member of LCD and member of parliament who was also the government speaker and Minister of Communications, Science and Technology provided a contrary and insubordinate statement that Kamoli was still the LDF commander despite being ousted from office (Sunday Express: August 30, 2014). It is upon this background knowledge that the singer asserts that it was bad in parliamentary sitting (*hoa e-ba ho be ka khotla, ho lutsoe*). While he banished General Kamoli from office, Prime Minister Tom Thabane replaced him with Lieutenant Maaparankoe Mahao who, however, never occupied office. In the process, there erupted another instability and bad relations between the Lesotho Defence Force (LDF) and

Lesotho Mounted Police Service (LMPS). The commissioner of LMPS, Khothatso Tšooana and the commander of the LDF, Tlali Kamoli were on a neck-to-neck verbal war which seriously affected the security sector in Lesotho. On the Sunday Express August 30, 2014 Mochoboroane (the member of LCD and former minister of Communication and Technology), is quoted saying:

> The police have turned the Lesotho Mounted Police Service (LMPS) from being His Majesty King Letsie III's security institution into an ABC police service because the police were then taking orders from the ABC.

The statement, such as the one that was made by Mochoboroane and other parliamentarians, is what the composer labels as civil strife (*hooo! Sea loana hoo! Heee le matona a loana hoo!*). He points out that the nation is fighting (*hooo! Sea loana hoo!*). The initiate repeats the state of unrest that engulfed Lesotho around 2014, as a result of hunger for leadership. He further points out that even the ministers are fighting (*heee le matona a loana hoo!*). This refers to the verbal war that occurred among the cabinet ministers over the eviction of the public servants from office. Because of the instability within the security sectors of Lesotho, the then Deputy President (now President), Cyril Ramaphosa, of the Republic of South Africa was betrothed by SADC to mediate in order to normalize the situation (City Press September 16, 2014). His engagement was instituted after the 30th August 2014 attempted coup d'état and attacks at the police headquarters. On the issues of the LDF attacks on Police headquarters, the composer says:

> *Heee! Ke bone khaleee!*
> *Ha ho thoe sepolesa se batla ho qala sesole*
> *Ka re hona ke mohlolo*
> *…….*
> *Sesole se qabana le sepolesa jonna oe!*
> *Lithunya li supisana melomo*

In the above-cited verses, the composer expresses his desolate bewilderment about the bravery that the police vied to confront the army in war *"ha ho thoe sepolesa se batla ho qala sesole, ka re hona ke mohlolo*." The composer expresses his consciousness about the conflict between LDF and LMPS. To him, the LMPS is not strong and well equipped to fight the army. He, therefore, considers the thought of the police officers to fight the army as an impossible dream. On 30 August 2014 the LDF attacked the police offices and the headquarters, seized the weapons and even killed one sub-inspector, Mokheseng Ramahloko (News24 September 21, 2014). On the day of the attack, the army overpowered the police officers and conquered the police headquarters. This incident proves the composer's doubts that it would be a miracle if the police officers could overpower the army (*ka re hona ke mohlolo*).

On the day of the attack, gun shots were heard in Maseru and even for days after that. There were incessant shootings going on around the country over the police and sometimes the guards of high-ranking government officials. On 1 October 2014 there was an exchange of fire between the army and police officers at the home of the then government secretary Moahloli Mphaka (SA

News.gov.ac.za October 2nd, 2014). Once more, a security guard Mohau Qobete was killed by the army on 1 February 2015 (Sunday Express February 27th, 2018). This state of fatal shooting is what the composer refers to when he says, "s*esole se qabana le sepolesa jonna oe! Lithunya li supisana melomo*). The Lesotho's political unrest let to the assassinations of Lieutenant Maaparankoe Mahao in June 2015 and, later, of Lieutenant Khoantle Motšomotšo in 2017. The song that was recorded from *Makoloane* a Mokema reveals:

Lesotho le kile la ba tsietsing, Maaparankoe
Lesotho fatše la bo-ntat'a rona
Selemong sa kete tse peli le leshome le metso e mehlano
Sethunya sa khabola Mokema …
Sa e-ja motho, sa e-ja Maaparankoe Mahao
Sesole sa Lesotho se tšoere mathata
Bese: *Ea luma merathatha, thunya tsa khabola*
Tsa e-ja motho
Sa e-ja Maaparankoe Mahao
Hona ke bothata Lesotho ka bophara
Sesole sa Lesotho se tšoere mathata

_____

At one time Lesotho was in serious trouble, Maaparankoe
In Lesotho, our father land
In 2015
A sound of gunshots was heard in Mokema
The gun ate the person, it killed Maaparankoe Mahao
The military of Lesotho is in serious trouble
Gun shots persisted, sounds of gunshots were heard
The ate a person
The gnawed Maaparankoe Mahao
This is a national crisis
The military of Lesotho is in serious trouble

This song narrates the assassination of the commander of LDF, Maaparankoe Mahao in June 2015 (*selemong sa kete tse peli le metso e mehlano, sethunya sa khabola…, sa e-ja motho, sa e-ja Maaparankoe Mahao*). The composer laments the death of Lt. General Mahao as well as the instability within the army (*sesole sa Lesotho se tšoere mathata, hona ke bothata Lesotho ka bophara*). The singer does not only explain his concern about the military, but he is also concerned about the whole nation and assumes that it is in quandary. The following song that was also recorded from *makoloane* of Mokema further refers to the abduction and killing of the Police Constable, Mokalakale Khetheng, which was politically motivated.

Helang ha nyamela motho, mohlanka oa 'muso
Cheee! Koeeoko ea e-ja motho, sechaba ea se qeta
Chaba sa Rantšo
Ha etsoa phuputso
Ha etsoa patlisiso ka ntate Khetheng

Haeba re thusane…
Sechaba sa Basotho se oele ka liphatla

Sephooko: *Lepolesa, mothusi, motsoalle*
Helang hoa nyamela motho, mohlanka oa 'muso
Ha batloa selemo, likhoeli le beke, matsatsi a tšeletseng
Ha etsoa phuputso
Ha etsoa patlisiso ka ntate Khetheng
Ka baka lena ha fumanoa hore litaba li mosenekeng

_____

It happened that a person disappeared, he was a public servant
Cheee! The beast gnawed a person, it devoured all the nation
Oh! The Basotho
Investigations were made
Investigations were made about ntate Khetheng
Let us all help…
The Basotho nation is moaning
The police officer, the helper, the friend
It happened that a person disappeared, he was a public servant
Investigations went on over a year, months and weeks and six days
Investigations were made
Investigations were made about ntate Khetheng
Because of this, everything else was out of hand

In March 2016, Khetheng was arrested in connection with alleged arson of the Pitso house at Hlotse Leribe. Since his arrest, he was not seen for almost two years. His body was exhumed in 2017 (Lesotho Times August 17, 2017). The song above recounts the tragic killing of Khetheng. It took police investigators almost two years before Khetheng's body was exhumed (*helang hoa nyamela motho, mohlanka oa 'muso, ha batloa selemo, likhoeli le beke, matsatsi a tšeletseng*). The composer laments the tragic death of Khetheng that has shocked the nation. The song also exposes the singer's discontent about the disappearance of the government servant (*helang ha nyamela motho, mohlanka oa 'muso*). This verse expresses the singer's skepticism on how a police officer can disappear without any trace. It shows that the composer is doubtful and suspects that Khetheng's disappearance might be a premeditated initiative.

The above section reveals that the performance of *mangae* can use resources at its disposal as the topic in their composition. The shady and unstable political situation of Lesotho is being addressed in the performance of *mangae*. The singers condemn the abductions, the killings and ever overthrowing of those in power in Lesotho politics. As such, the music is seen as the literature of commitment and protest to those in power to cease their actions. The songs also make a historical record of the incidents that have engulfed Lesotho in the recent past.

The role of the songs is also to pass condolences to those who lost their beloved ones through the merciless killings and injuries brought about by unstable politics. The composers call for a

cease fire and brutal human killings in Lesotho. The death of Lieutenant Maaparankoe Mahao and Police Constable Mokalakale Khetheng were used as political party manifestos that let to the 2017 coalition government led by Prime Minister Motsoahae Thabane. Cognizant of this trend, the composers make an indirect appeal to those in power to stop exploiting the unfortunate incidences in pursuit of their selfish political gain. The songs also make an appeal for the exclusion of the security agencies in political party politics of Lesotho. Migrant Labour and employment issues are also used topics in the performance of *mangae*. The section below makes an analysis of the themes that address the issues surrounding the employment of the Basotho.

7.4 Cognizance of employment problems: Reflections on poverty, unemployment and the treatment of Basotho migrant labourers

As Harington et al. (2004) argue, the development of the mining system in RSA recruited employees from the neighbouring countries as early as the late 18th Century. Since that time, many able-bodied Basotho men have been migrant workers in the mining sector of RSA. Since the upsurge of migrant labour of employment system, there have been rampant strikes which have had adverse circumstances on human life. Observant of the dire circumstances and consequent results on the lives of the employees, the boy initiates draw resources from this situation and convert them to the themes of their performance. The song below, recorded from *makoloane* of Ha Makhobalo refers to the Marikana workers' strike and massacre (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v = sAXzs40WJ6A and Boëttger, 2015).

Makoloane of Ha Makhobalo

Bana ba batho ba shoa ka sehlooho
Ba sia bana e lihase, e le likhutsana
'Na ntho'e tjena ha ke so e bone
Hoooo! Ieo! Hooo sehloho se hlahileng Marikana koana
Sefela 2: *Holooolo! Holooolo! Hooo lengeloi le etsang la leholimong*
*Lefu ramasoetsa, o *nsoetsetsang holim'a lefatse*
Ka shoeloa ke beng ka hloka balai

_____

Some people died tragically
Their children were left as fatherless orphans
I have never experienced such a tragedy before
Hooo! Ieo! Hooo! What a tragedy has happened in Marakina!
Sefela 2: Hooloolo! Holoolo! Hooo ! Oh! What is the heavenly angel doing?
Oh! Death the wrecker, why do you torment me in this world
Alas! Our relatives were massacred and left with no one to advise us

The excerpt above refers to the tragic massacre of people at Marikana. The composer is explaining the events of August 2012 massacre of the miners at Lonmin Platinum mine in Marikana. The workers were protesting about the hike of the living wage and favourable working conditions (https://www.sahistory.org.za/:Marikana Massacre 16 August 2012). One of the

important issues that the singer relates to is that the minors were brutally killed in cold blood by the South African Police Services (SAPS) officers (*bana ba batho ba shoa ka sehlooho*). Reports and evidence from the documentaries about the massacre expose that the men were shot and killed without having done anything criminal or violent (https:// www.youtube.com/ watch?v= sAXzs40WJ6A and https://www.sahistory.org.za). The singer is lamenting about the merciless death of the protestors.

He goes further to point out that the slain protestors' children have been orphaned (*ba sia bana e lihase, e le likhutsana*). The composer uses the words *likhutsana* and *lihase* in his song to emphasise the pathetic situations that the slain men's children were left in. The words project the poor living conditions that the children will have to bear due to the killing of their fathers. The corpses of the killed protesters were a tragic occurrence to watch. The singer uses this tragic event to relate to the orphans' situation (*'na nthoe tjena ha ke so e bone…hooo sehloho se hlahileng Marikana koana*). The latter statement by the performer has two deep meanings. The first meaning refers to the impoverishment of the orphans due to the death of their fathers. The second layer of meaning refers to the horrific view of the corpses lying on the ground after being mercilessly massacred.

Because of the malicious massacre of the minors, the composer throws an open-ended question to "death" itself saying: "*lefu ramasoetsa, o *nsoetsetsang holim'a lefatše*?" The word *ramasoetsa* (one who willingly and intentionally causes others to lose something) is used in the song to refer to death. However, due to the singer's awareness of the events of August 2012, the composer refers to the suspect of the massacre as *ramasoetsa*. The SAPS officers who massacred the protestors are considered as having willingly killed the fathers of the children that the singer is comforting. The SAPS officers are in this song referred to as *bo-ramasoetsa* because they killed the protestors. In the context of the Basotho, the presence of the father has a cultural significance in the growth of children. He is the one who makes *lobola* negotiations and marriage arrangements for his children. He is the one who decides for his son to get initiated. It is in the light of this cultural significance that fathers are considered as *molai* (one who reprimands, gives orders, recommends, advises and enforces law/order/tradition). The performer dirges that *ka shoeloa ke beng ka hloka balai* (My master/lord died and left me without anyone to guide me). In this instance, the composer cries over the death of the men who were killed at Marikana.

The excerpts expose the singer's consciousness about the predicaments of Basotho migrant mine workers in RSA. He makes a public outcry about the treatment of the men and their murder. The composer reveals his consciousness about the poverty that had hit his society until men left to fend for their families in the mines. However, the mining sector has accrued another level of poverty as the men who are the breadwinners regularly die in the mines and their families regress

to poverty once more. The song further criticizes those in power for their failure to take control until people are injured and killed. The composer further mourns the tragic death of the men at Marikana. Similar sentiments about the welfare of the mine workers is further registered by *makoloane* of Khanyane as follows:

Impala e'a loana
Hoiee! Hooo! E'a loana ntoa!
Impala Hooo! Hooieoo! Hooo e'a loana ntoa
E loana ka marumo
Ke tsoa hole
Ke tšela Phooko ha e robaletse
Ke tsoa Impala koana Marikana
Ke batla bophelo

_____

There is war at Impala
Hoiee! Hooo! There is a serious war
At Impala hooo! Hooieo! Hooo! There is a serious war
It is the battle of spears
I come from far away
I crossed over Phooko-ha-e-robaletse
I come from Impala mine in Marikana
I was in search of livelihood

The song above makes and account of the mayhem that took place between the mineworkers and the SAPS officers at Marikana. Instead of using the correct name of the place where the strike and the massacre of the miners took place, the singer refers to it as Impala. Impala is one of the companies that mine platinum in Marikana. The singer overgeneralizes the spread of the strike even to Impala mine (*Impala e'a loana, hoiee! Hooo! E'a loana ntoa!*). The workers of the Impala mine did not engage in the strike. Using the name Impala in this song serves as an insincere praise geared towards mocking the cowardly behaviour depicted by other workers at the platinum mines. The issue of a living wage and improved working conditions are a concern for the miners in most parts of the Republic of South Africa. Instead of the Impala miners joining in the struggle, they betrayed their fellow workers by conceding to the low take home wage and poor working conditions. As a result of this, the singer indirectly condemns the sell-out behaviour of the Impala miners.

Additionally, the initiate reveals the kind of weapons that the protestors were armed with. For example, he says *Impala Hooo! Hooieoo! Hooo e'a loana ntoa, e loana ka marumo*. Evidence from the documentaries recorded from the incidents of Marikana workers protest has shown that the miners were in possession of weapons such as sticks, knobkieries, machetes, battleaxes and spears. The singer, therefore, makes the weapons of the protestors known to the public. Another important component that the singer reveals is the quest of the employees to seek ways of

livelihood (*ke tsoa Impala koana Marikana*, *ke batla bophelo*). The performer says that the men have come to Marikana in search of a livelihood. This message (*ke tsoa Impala…ke batla bophelo*) discloses the state or poverty that has overwhelmed Lesotho. Because of poverty, Basotho men go to the Republic of South Africa to seek employment.

Trends of Basotho migrant labour have changed a lot. As the mines have retrenched several Basotho mine workers and hired a small number of men, women go to the RSA to work as domestic workers. A vast majority of young Basotho men and women work on the farms in RSA (Crush et al. 2010). Because of employment and job creation stalemate in Lesotho, the rate of poverty is escalating each day. In order to combat poverty, many able-bodied Basotho go to the Republic of South Africa in search of jobs. It is upon this observation and premise that the singer says *ke tsoa hole…ke batla bophelo*. Besides the struggles that the Basotho migrant workers are faced with, they are fascinated to identify different places and hence brag about that knowledge in the performance of *mangae*. A glimpse of such skill is reflected in the song below that was recorded from *makoloane* of Ha Chepheseli.

Ka utloa ke rata ho sebetsa feme
Ka utloa ke rata ho chencha feme
Sosolo pel'a Belina, Zamdela
Heee! Ke rokile Lethabo
Ba re lala vuka
Sefela 1: *Lala vuka! Lala vuka*
Ntate Kheola, ngoan'a Bafokeng,
O re chomela tsa Sosolo li tuka hoseng le mantsiboea
Sefela 2: *Lala vuka! Lala vuka*
Ke re bonus ke e jelletse Fouriesburg, Mashaeng

_____

I aspire to work in the factory
I feel like changing the factory I am working at
Sasol nearer to Belina
Heee! I have praised Lethabo
They force us to work during the day and night
Sefela 1: *We work round the clock. We work round the clock*
Ntate Kheola child of the Bafokeng
He observes that the chimneys of Sasolburg fume day and night
Sefela 2: *We work round the clock. We work round the clock*
I confess that I spent the bonus pay ta Fourisburg, Mashaeng

The excerpt alludes to a mélange of items that reveal the singer's familiarity with the migrant labour movements of the Basotho into the RSA. The singer reveals his aspiration/desire to work in the factories (mines) in the Republic of South Africa. One of the top teachings of initiation is that the young men must fend for their families after their initiation. As a proof that the young men have grown and become responsible in their society, they must look for jobs elsewhere. It is because of the responsibilities endowed upon them that the composer says *ka utloa ke rata*

ho sebetsa feme (I aspire to work in the factory). Like his predecessors and fellow citizens, the composer is tempted to take responsibility by going out to RSA (Sasol) to seek employment in the factories.

He further reiterates, *ka utloa ke rata ho chencha feme* (I feel like changing to another factory). The surface meaning that the extract communicates is that the singer feels like he could change from the place where he is currently 'working.' At the time of the performance of this song, the composer is an initiate, just completing the initiation process. He has never worked anywhere before. The only thing that he is engaged in is singing. He knows that the community looks up to him as a grown-up. He seems not to be content with the state of unemployment that he is in. Because of this limitation, he wants to change that state (*ka utloa ke rata ho chencha feme*) and seek the means of livelihood somewhere else.

The singer's wish is to work at the factories in Sasol. He reveals his prior knowledge of the employment opportunities at the Sasol factories. The verse *ka utloa ke rata ho chencha feme*, *Sosolo pel'a Belina, Zamdela*, discloses that the performer has some knowledge of Sasol. This also exposes the singer knowledge of places. In the recitation of Sesotho indigenous poetry, the composer's ability to relate the places that he has travelled is one of fundamental skills of composition. In the song, the singer is boasting over others who have not travelled beyond the borders of Lesotho and learnt about the places and lifestyles of other people. As way of depicting his boastfulness, he borrows some phrases from IsiZulu and says: *ba re lala vuka* (they say there is no sleep round the clock).

In the past, the miners from different tribes and cultures were forced to speak *fanakalo* (a lingua franca that was used to facilitate communication in the mines between different tribes). Even today, some miners use it. When the miners went home, they would brag about the mining operations and speak in unique language. This made the young unemployed men to go to the mines too. By using this foreign language in the song, the singer boasts about his knowledge of the operations at the mines. He also relates to the Sasol chimneys that keep fuming with smoke all the time (*o re chomela tsa Sosolo li tuka hoseng le mantsiboea*).

Above all, the composer relates the sad stories where the miners would go to the RSA and leave their families behind because of the mistresses that they get while they are at work. While men came to the mines to sell their forte, women (from Lesotho and RSA) followed them to entertain them in exchange of money. As a result, families broke up and the scourge of diseases also spread drastically. It is because of this knowledge that the composer says: *ke re bonus ke e jelletse Fouriesburg, Mashaeng* (I confess that I spent the bonus payment at Fouriesburg, Mashaeng). This line exposes the impacts of migrant labour system and destruction of families. In support of their adulterous ways, the miners used the statement *busumane e laechela leoporo le haufi* (the

bushman loads the nearest hooper). The bushman is an underground loading machine that loads the hoopers in order to transport the smashed stones. The hooper is closely placed to the bushman and he loads only the proximate carts. The statement suggests that the man would only load the woman at his proximity with cash and forget his family. The singer, therefore, reflects on the unfortunate instances of men abandoning their families and being involved in love with the woman whom they met while in the mines. Other patterns of economic issues are the themes of the performance of *mangae*. The song that was recorded from *makoloane* of Khanyane says:

Ranta e oele
Shome le oele
'Na kea tsamaea
Hei! Hee! Hole!
Hole Amerika koana habo Mazulu
Ranta e oele le lipaki bo-ntate

_____

The rand has gone down
Rand has gone down
I am leaving
Hei! Heee! Far far away
In America at the home of the Zulus
The rand has gone down, you can affirm this, fathers

The extract above reveals the boy initiates' cognizance of the problem of economic recession. Without divulging any further details on economic recession, the composer registers his familiarity and awareness of the decline of monetary activities in the world. The composer seems to be aware of the economic challenges that affect his people. In particular, he reflects on the collapse of the rand and loti. Because of the effects of economic recession on human live, the composer even thinks of leaving his country (*shome le oele, 'na ke tsamaea*). The collapse of the currency escalates the prices of commodities and makes life too expensive. It is as a result of the stench of the prevalent poverty that the composer feels like forsaking his country to escape the situation. The following extract by *makoloane* of Lipetu relates the importance of the Lesotho Highlands Development Authority (LHDA) in the lives of the Basotho for economic purposes.

Because of its topography and plenty of water, Lesotho struck a highlands water sale deal with the RSA. *Makoloane* of Lipetu have tapped from the knowledge of the LHDA treaty and used it as the topic of their performance as shown below.

Lesotho Highland water project
Heee! Metsi a bohlokoa maloting thabeng
Hoba Lesotho mona re a bitsa khauta
Khauta ea metsi kholisa maqhekoana
Hooo! Basotho bana ba a hoebisetsa melata
Majaka-hole ka nq'ela ho Mohokare
Naheng ela ea Aforika
Melata ea khotsa bohloeki ba metsi a Lesotho

Ka re metsi a Lesotho a bohlokoa a re hloekisa
Hooo! A ka noesa lefatše le se na pula
Lishooareng koana batho ba itlhatsoa
Ho! metsi Lesotho a re etsetsa sebaneso
A fehla motlakase oa ka mona ka 'Muela

_____

Lesotho Highland Water project
Heee! The water has become beneficiary in the maloti mountains
Because in Lesotho we refer to it as white gold
The (white) gold pays old age pensions
Hooo! The Basotho are trading in water with the foreigners
People who reside far beyond the Mohokare border
In the country of the RSA
The foreigners remark about the cleanliness of Lesotho water
I affirm that the water in Lesotho is important because you use it to bath
Hooo! It can sprinkle the earth when there is no rain
People shower with it in the bathrooms
In Lesotho, water is used to generate electricity
Electricity is generated at 'Muela

The excerpt above relates to the issues of importance of the LHDA deal (*metsi a bohlokoa maloting thabeng*). In the spectacle of the composer water has got a huge economic value. In his eyes, LHDA is as evaluable as the gold mines in RSA. He uses the common adage that the Basotho have coined alongside the sale of water to the Republic of South Africa "*hoba Lesotho mona re a bitsa khauta*" (It is because in Lesotho, we call it gold). Because of the economic value that the Lesotho water has, the Basotho equate it to gold. While the RSA mines gold for its economic growth, Lesotho sells water. It has the same value and significance as the RSA gold.

Additionally, the composer attaches the improvement of people's livelihood through the sale of water. He says that through the water tariffs from the RSA the country pays the old age pension allowances "*khauta ea metsi kholisa maqhekoana*" (water is the gold that we pay old age pensions out of) Payments of old age monthly pensions improves their livelihood. The reason why water is called the white gold, is revealed by the singer thus: *Basotho bana ba a hoebisetsa melata*" (the Basotho trade with the foreigners with water). Additionally, the singer divulges that the RSA citizens live a luxurious life because of the Lesotho water as they bathe in ensuited showers in their homes (*metsi a Lesotho a bohlokoa a re hloekisa…lishaoareng koana batho ba itlhatsoa*). They also use the water for irrigation purposes (*a ka noesa lefatše le se na pula*). The LHDA project is also beneficial to the Basotho, because it generates electricity (*hooo metsi Lesotho a re etsetsa sebaneso…a fehla motlakase oa ka mona ka 'muela*).

Various positive values of water are reflected in the excerpts above. The domestic and economic importance of water is expressed in the performance of the song. The composer, however, seems

to be ignorant of the controversies accompanying the LHDA scheme. There is an ongoing public outcry that the project undermined the welfare of the Basotho. For example, although there is plenty of water in Lesotho, the country is seriously drought-ridden and there is scarcity or no house-hold water while plenty is sold to the RSA. Some people's lives have been negatively affected as they have no access to water, for example, people still are forced to walk long distances to fetch water. Sometimes they are forced drink dirty water. Although electricity is generated by the scheme, a vast populace of Lesotho still does not have access to electricity. The subsequent section reveals the singers' cognition of modern-day love affairs.

7.5 Insights about the culture of modern-day love affairs

In the remote past, parents were responsible for the arrangement of the marriage of their children. There were, however, ways of traditional courtship that the youngsters engaged in, in order to propose for marriage. In the ancient times, courtship was either elicited through traditional games played under the supervision of adults and some poetic romantic recitations. Since the interaction of the Basotho with the westerners, most of the traditional antics of marriage arrangement are now extinct. There are also instances where some Basotho abduct girls and force them into marriage. Despite the violation of the human rights and the protection of the girl child, such arrangements were, however successful in building families. The abduction of underage girls is still rampant in Lesotho, particularly in the mountainous regions and the foothills. The perpetrators of these deeds are consistently brought to book by law-enforcers in order to ascertain the protection of the human rights in Lesotho.

The modern-day love affair is hugely venerated by the youth around the globe. It is an open practice that children engage in it at the early stages of their lives. Some children commit suicide because of love and even fall pregnant at a tender age and drop out of schools. Despite the obvious consequent outcomes of modern-day love affairs, the youth never refrain from it. The following song, recorded from *makoloane* of Qhalasi has used modern day love affair as its content:

Ke se kile ka tsamaea tsela ea lerato
Ke tsamaea le ngoanana
Ke ne ke mo rata
Ka le leng la matsatsi o ile a mphoqa
Sala ka khotso motsoalle
Feela u tsebe hore bophelo ke lebili

_____

I have travelled the journey of love
I travelled with the girl that I loved
One of the good days she dumped me
Stay in peace dear friend
However, do not forget that live has ups and downs

The above extract reflects a heart-broken composer. He discloses that he was involved in a love affair (*ke se kile ka tsamaea tsela ea lerato*) with a girl. Unfortunately, the girl he was in love with dumped him and left him devasted *(ka le leng la matsatsi o ile a mphoqa*). Because of his love towards the girl, he discloses that he wept profusely when she left him (*keleli tsaka li ile tsa keleketla marameng aka*). Crying is seriously ostracized in initiation and generally in the life of a man in the Sesotho culture. There are even various Sesotho proverbs that delineate the characteristics of a Mosotho manhood. For example, *monna ha a lle ke nku* (a man is a sheep, he does not cry). When a man is hurting, he is not expected to cry.

In the composition above, the singer shares his worst love experiences and knowledge of the behaviour of the lovers. Whereas Sesotho culture condemns crying by males, modern day love affairs bring change in their behaviour. The singer's familiarity of the consequences of modern-day love affair has made him to use them as the theme of his music. On the one hand, the song advises boys and men that it is about time they changed their habit of hiding their anger and emotions. There is a common believe that crying is therapeutic and heals the one who is hurt in an instant. On the other, he divulges the pain that people come across when they are left by their lovers. He condemns girls for being the breakers of the boys' hearts and appeals for true love from them. To him, love should be a joyous moment. The following song that has been recorded from *makoloane* of Qhalasi reflects on the bliss of love that the composer experienced.

Le eme thokoana
Le baka mocheso
Le fane ka space
Hoban'eng lona, hobane
Ba re ke valentime tsatsi la baratani
O khema le linako Limeta
Ha u se na cheri, o eme thokoana
O baka mocheso, fana ka space

Sefela 1: *O khema le linako Limeta*
Valentime, tsatsi la baratani
Re tene thomeche, re hakana ka menoana

Sefela 2: *O khema le linako Limeta*
Lerato fotsek, ha ke sa ratana

_____

Step backwards a little
You are crowding us
We need some space
And why you?
Because I am valentines, the lover's day
Limeta is and up-to-date person
If you are single, step back
You suffocate us, give us some space
Limeta is an up-to-date person

Valentine, the lover's day
We wear matching/similar colours and walk hand in hand
Limeta is an up-to-date person

The above song reflects the blissful moments that the composer enjoyed with his lover. He discloses his knowledge of the Valentines' day celebration (*ba re ke *valentime tsatsi a baratani*). On the day he was celebrating Valentines' day, they had worn similar attire and walked hand in hand with his lover (*re tena thomeche, re hakana ka menoana*). While Valentines' day is celebrated by couples annually around the world, the celebrators have no intention whatsoever to show off. However, the composer shows that he is better than other people. To him celebrating Valentines' day is a matter of class and sophistication (*o khema le linako, Limeta*). About those who do not celebrate the day he mocks, *ha u se na cheri, o eme thokoana, o baka mocheso; fana ka space*. He ridicules those that who are not in love.

The composition above marks a total turn-around in the set-up of relationships in modern-day Lesotho. It shows that the youth advocates modern-day love affair practices, as opposed to the traditional ones. Importantly, it promotes respect for the girl child and women. He advises that women should not be viewed in terms of what they can give but as equal human being to all. Issues surrounding modern-day love affairs seem to feature as the topics of modern-day performance of *mangae,* promotes the care, love, protection and respect for the women and their rights. The song that was recorded from the *makoloane* of Tsikoane reveals an awful situation of modern-day relationships as follows:

Lerato la mok'hanthufa che lea ntena
Lona ke la joaleng
Eena o noa libiri
Eena o noa storm che lea ntena
Sefela 1*:* *Khaale ke u ratile thope eee!*
U nrekisa masale a turang
U nrekisa le libokate tse turang
U re ke u rekele terene Lesotho mona seporo ha se eo
Sefela 2*:* *Khale ke u ratile thope eee!*
Ntate o ile a bona hampe ka lerato
Ha lekhooa le jeoa hoteleng tse kholo bo-Sun City
Le jeoa velocity le Pajero

_____

Oh! The love of the sweetheart really annoys me
It was established at shebeen (shebeen kind of love)
She is drinker of beer
She drinks storm and it really sulks me
Sefela 1: I have loved you for a long-time girl
You force me buy you expensive earrings
You also force me to buy you expensive jeans
You also ask me to buy you a train and yet there is no railway in Lesotho

Sefela 2: I have loved you for a long-time girl
Father 'Mota has seen the worst about love episode
A whiteman was conned at top hotel, Sun City
He was swindled off his velocity and Pajero cars

The extract above reflects the artist's views about modern-day love affairs. He lambasts the immoral conduct of females towards men under the pretext of love. He says that he is fed-up with the girls who use malicious tricks to rob men off their money (…*che lea ntena*). He refers to the girls of this nature to as *mek'hanthufa* (side mistresses). A side mistress could also loosely be translated as a courtesan. Courtesans are known for transactional sensual association. The females referred to as *mek'hanthufa* in the song also commercialize sexual intercourse in exchange for material benefits. Currently, there is a budding generation and culture of commercialized love affairs and erotic interaction across the globe. Most people no longer engage in emotional or affectionate relationships.

This generation of females is informally known as *slay queens* or *gold diggers*. The word slay means a violent killing of an animal or a human being. The malicious intent of the modern-day females to extract cash from their falsified wealthy partners envisages them as slay. The term *queen* in this context refers to a female who is considered as the finest or most outstanding in a particular sphere or group. Queen could also denote an unpleasant or superior behaviour towards other people. The term slay queen, therefore, means any female who engages in vicious and domineering characteristics over men for material gain. These are cohorts of females who date, rich men irrespective of their marital status.

Gold diggers could be used either synonymously or interchangeably with *slay queens* to relate to females who prey on men for their capital. Gold is one of the world's most expensive minerals. Therefore, anybody who sources out gold from underground is sure to accrue excellent profits and become rich in an instant. Because of the girls' behaviour to dig men's wealth in order to lead lavish/ glamorous or eye-catching lifestyles they are considered as *gold diggers*. They fall for men principally for material advantage. They use immoral and malicious ways to attain money from men. The signature of the *gold diggers* and/or *slay queens* is procurement of expensive clothes, manicures, cellphones and glamorous lifestyles.

The excerpt above identifies the nature of the love affair that holds between himself and *mok'hanthufa*. He points out that he met the girl at the tavern (*lona ke la joaleng*). Another meaning is that, their main form of socialization and meeting place is the bar. By description, *mok'hanthufa* is a drunkard who milks the boyfriend cash to buy different kinds of liquor (*eena o noa libiri*, *eena o noa storm, che lea ntena*). The singer complains about his girlfriend. He is not content to be in a relationship with the girl who is a drunkard and who is spotted in pubs. Furthermore, he complains about his overspending on liquor.

Additionally, the artist grumbles about the expensive items that his lover forces him to procure for her. The demands of the lover are too high. In some instances, he asks the boyfriend to buy him expensive jewelry (*u nrekisa masale a turang*). The use of the causative **nrekisa* (*nthekisa*) reflects that the man procures the jewellery against his will. He has been coerced to purchase jewellery by the woman. This gesture labels *mok'hanthufa* as a malicious person and one who digs off the wealth from the man under false pretext of love. The artist seems to be aware of the ill-will that his lover has towards him. The demands of the mok'hanthufa are listless, in some instances he urges the man to procure expensive clothes for her (*u nrekisa le libokate tse turang*). The constant demands from the girlfriend are intended to suck every cent from the man's account, if that is possible. The act of maliciously and falsely cheating someone in order to take his money is human slain. *Mok'hanthufa* is keen to bankrupt her lover because of her incessant requirements. The artist condemns the behaviour of girls who do not have true love towards men and are after their wealth. This song is a plea towards those who are perpetrators of this behaviour and those who might be tempted to commercialize that love to quit from such practices and intentions.

The artist seems to be in a serious quandary as the gold digger makes unrealistic demands (*u re ke u rekele terene Lesotho mona seporo ha se eo*). The latter statement suggests that the girl sometimes urges the man to buy certain items that are irrelevant to a person's live. Her demands have gone way overboard. This statement shows that the target of the girl is to bankrupt the man while at the same time she wants to show off about her potential to procure and own miraculous items. This behaviour seems analogous to the habit of minors digging gold in order to accrue profits. It is also like human slain because the intention is to leave the man hopeless and poor. The singer criticizes these habits and appeals for true and genuine love from the perpetrators of this lifestyle. The girls who commit these habits are viewed as criminals by the composer.

The heartlessness and malicious nature of modern-day pretention lovers is heightened by this excerpt: …*lekhooa le jeoa…Sun City. Le jeoa velocity le Pajero* (the white man was coned off his two cars at Suncity hotel). In the initial lines of the excerpt, the composer presented himself as a scam victim of the trickster lover. In the extract above, he discloses the parallel deeds that were done to a white man at Suncity hotel. The depth of the heartless rip-off by the fake lover is the stealing of two cars from the white man under false pretense. The core of this excerpt is that men from different races and walks of life are victims of the unfortunate conduct of the untrue lovers. The singer raises the alarm to all men to be vigilant of the loveless nature of the current generation of girls and a public outcry to the perpetrators to discontinue their habits.

7.6 Conclusion

This chapter reported on the themes reflecting the performance of *mangae* at the crossroads of the two cultures (traditional and modern). It established the degree to which the contemporary performance of *mangae* has the potency to borrow some elements from ancient traditional art archives and to access others from modern-day technological and art space. This chapter shows some modification in terms of the research subjects, the themes, the topics, communication and the message of the performance of *mangae* at the interface of the traditional and modern-day cultures.

The performance of *mangae* demonstrates a serious flexibility and turn-around by incorporating the resources from two different art spaces. In the process, it successfully strikes a balance between the two cultures; it does not totally shed off all the traditional artistic qualities while at the same time it does not fully and exclusively rely on modern-day resources. The balance that the performance of *mangae* strikes between the traditional and modern-day culture marks it as the popular culture of the Basotho.

Thus, the contemporary performance of *mangae* uses popular discourse to place it within modern day popular culture of Basotho. It draws from the bank of traditional language as well as from the modern-day library and blend them to mark a contemporary art of the performance of *mangae*. This strength of the performance of *mangae* to fuse the two cultures together is important for the conservation, conformity and continuity of the culture. The topics that form the contemporary performance of *mangae* include industrialisation, modern politics, unemployment and social life of the contemporary Basotho.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

8.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the summary and conclusions of the research processes and the stages that were involved in this study. It further gives the summary of chapters, the implications of the results and the recommendations based on the findings by reflecting on the communication techniques (style of performance, mode of communication and languages techniques), the subjects, subject matter, themes and content of the performance of *mangae* as well as the significance and the role they perform in society. Lastly, it presents the implications of the results and recommendations of the study.

8.2 Summary of the chapters and the implications of the results

Chapter one has introduced the background information and the contextualisation of the study. It has further unpacked, unveiled and outlined the objectives of the study as well as stating the research problem. Of greater importance, the chapter made an overview of the culture of initiation as the rite of passage of the Basotho and its significance to the Basotho. The chapter further made a thorough delineation of the performance of *mangae* as the oral culture of the Basotho. It also outlined the motivation for the choice and undertaking of the research. Additionally, it defined and explained the distinction between traditional male initiation and traditional circumcision which are often mistakenly considered to be one entity. The chapter also outlined and defined the major phases of the Basotho traditional male circumcision.

Chapter two presented a review of the related literature, based on studies that were dedicated to either traditional male circumcision or traditional male initiation. The studies that were undertaken on Sesotho male initiation were found to have shown keen interest to expose the secrets of initiation to the outsiders. A few scholars have studied the oral aspect of *mangae* and uncovered the messages encoded in the songs. For example, Moitse (1990) and Wells (1994) analysed some specimen of *mangae;* their point of departure, as was the case with other studies dealt with sensitive issues of the ritual of initiation. The same sensitive issues were, however, not used to shape the analysis of the identified excerpts. Additionally, they analyzed the *mangae* based on tonic sol-fa representation.

Swanepoel (2011) was the first scholar to dedicate his study to the analysis of *mangae*. However, like some earlier scholars, he touched on the aspect of the secret ritual undertaking. Although his focus was on the significance of a *lengae*, he was also interested in the secret undertakings performed at *mophotong*. *Mophato* is a secluded place where private initiation matters are

handled. Because of the nature of initiation, it is expected that such private matters are handled with respect at all levels of life. The tradition of initiation goes with a sturdy secrecy. Most of the secret undertakings of initiation are performed in a secluded area. This is done to hide them away from the unintended audiences. Such matters that have been done in a private space are supposed to be treated with the respect that they deserve. In life, there are various matters that are done behind closed doors, for example, consensual relationships of human beings which are not divulged in public. It is rare for partners to make their erotic matters public unless they want to sound insensitive and indecent. Such practices are seldom pried against and never tampered with. They are kept secret. This study recommends that customary practices that are private must always be respected and kept concealed.

Cases of morbidity and mortality in RSA traditional male circumcision have accrued massive debates until now. Because of the rampant and yearly morbidity and mortality of the boys who undergo traditional male circumcision, various studies were undertaken to address the problem by scholars such as Douglas et al. (2016) . Both traditional leaders and government joined forces to mitigate the crisis. The literature read so far on this issue was not devoted to the indigenous oral compositions of *mangae*. Traditional male circumcision in RSA is a rite of passage for young men. Emphasis is on circumcision rather than initiation in most of the tribes that practice this ritual in RSA (Rathebe, 2018). Because young Basotho men are initiated in the context of Sesotho in order to introduce them to the principles of adulthood and responsibility, studies that were reviewed in RSA were considered because they share an identical component of introducing the young men to the values of adulthood. To the traditional leaders, circumcision is part of the preservation, conformity and continuation of the customs.

Chapter three was dedicated to the presentation and description of the methods and methodologies that were used in the undertaking of this study. Major theoretical approaches of research pursuit were defined and an explanation of how they were applied in the study were given. Aspect such as identification of the research site, the subjects and strategies used to select them were outlined. The methods and tools used for data collection, organisation and presentation and analysis procedures were also presented.

Chapter four identified and discussed pure oral art forms that are acted out during the performance of *mangae*. Rather than a pure vocal performance of *mangae*, this section investigated additional performative elements tapped from traditional music and dances, pure total theatre staging as well as elements borrowed from popular *gqom*, *kwaito* and house music performed in RSA. Whereas the performance of *mangae* is considered as total theatre because of its rendition (and characteristics), style and structure, it has been found out that beyond the observable theatrical capacity that it is endowed with, it is able to reproduce a new trend of performance-within-performance. The component of performance-within-performance

surfaced where within the performance of *mangae* other presentation elements such as dancing, theatre and several aesthetic elements were brought in. The performance of *mangae* in this section has been found to have tilted a little from the erstwhile style of oral performance of *mangae* as total theatre and accrued a consolidation of styles blended to form a contemporary oral style of *mangae*. Culture is thus, seen to be flexible enough to generate performance-within-performance by staging independent and pure theatre within the performance of *mangae*.

During live performance of *mangae*, singing has been found to run concurrently with specialized dance moves (gestulations) to elaborate further on the message that is passed on to the audience as well as providing the artistic beauty of performance. Indigenous oral traditional performance is found to have a high level of dynamism that allows for other features to be incorporated within it. In terms of structure, style, content and the role that they serve, the performance of *mangae* is characteristically an educative and pleasurable tenet. Their form, content and structure are reflective of both indigenous and modern cultures of the people. The style has both the remnants of traditional fossils and modern imports which advance a new subculture that is representative of the Basotho nation at the time of performance. The content serves both to depict the composers' eloquence and to impart a specific message to the listeners.

The contemporary performance of *mangae* is seen to have the ability to constitute entertaining and yet modern themes within it. While one noticed a component of performance-within-performance during the presentation of *mangae*, the composers of music related some aspects of people's life experiences and other social issues of life within them. The consolidation and borrowing of styles from other oral art forms amuse the listeners. It ascertains the continuity, preservation and conformity of the culture because several natives are lured to get initiated in the subsequent years. The performance of *mangae* requires the performer, the performance and the audience for them to fully realize their function.

The performance of *mangae* was found out to be total theatre in terms of how they were presented. The posture, deportment and the style of the performance of *mangae* essentially branded the performance of *mangae* as pure theatre. In their apprenticeship, the live audience were present and participated directly during the performance. The role of the audience was to encourage, to coach and to coax the performer during his performance. The audience's participation during the performance of *mangae* persuaded and inspired the composers to excel in their composition. The performance was done on a fixed and ear-marked stage. During the performance, the artists used various antics to heighten the aesthetics of their performances. Because of the compositional characteristics, the performance of *mangae* is considered as total theatre.

Apart from the elementary presentational features that marked the performance of *mangae* as total theatre, other independent rudiments were also brought in during the composition.

Alongside the performance of *mangae* elements such as traditional games, theatre sketches and popular music and dance style also featured. In some instances, there was a back and forth alteration of the singing and theatre. In others, the singing stopped totally, and only action took place. For example, in the theatre that was performed by *makoloane* of Tsikoane, the performers alternated singing with supplementary action. The themes and content of the songs and the theatre were identical. The singing and theatre were complimentary and enhanced the central theme of the alternating action.

During the staging of the traditional games such as *mohobelo*, the performance of the song and dance ran concurrently. While a group of backing vocals were stationary, a few initiates took to the centre stage to dance alongside the song. The tune of the songs that were sung resembled the *mohobelo* melodies. Whereas the spectators anticipated to hear the tunes of *mangae*, an innovative threshold digressing from the common patterns and style emerged. The addition of some elements from other pure art forms helped to strengthen the aesthetics of the performance of *mangae*. One of the prime purposes of the performance of *mangae* was to captivate the audience and to communicate a certain message to them. The audience in turn applauded the artist in appreciation of the additive flair in the performance of *mangae*. The purpose of the captivating antics serves to persuade the uninitiated boys and their families to send them to initiation when they have grown up. This strategy is essential in realizing the preservation, conformity and continuity of the ritual of initiation.

Theatre in the traditional context of the Basotho has been part of the oral traditions of the society. Sesotho folktales present, within themselves, the performance of theatre. Apart from folktales, there are theatricalized games such as child house game (the Wendy houses). By execution, the Wendy house game has three aspects of drama namely: technical, performance and literary aspects. Quite a few Sesotho oral performances are theatrical by nature. They seem to have reflective deposits on the performance of *mangae*. Recently, however, modernisation has brought with it a vast array of items that have drastically challenged and replaced several traditional games and performances. The wireless gadgets and/or entertainment systems and social media have had negative effects towards the plight of most traditional performances. During the performance of *mangae*, there is a reflection of a profound influence of television theatre and film action. During the rendition of *mangae*, pure theatre featured either as a complementary or independent entity that boosted the performance and communicated a certain thought to the listeners.

Furthermore, the modern popular music such as *gqom*, *kwaito* and house have also featured in the performance of *mangae*. The popular and renowned music tunes and their dance styles were incorporated within the songs. The composers of *mangae* have tapped from such oral performances, replicating the lines of the songs, tempo, style and rhythm. Notably, the dance

moves that were performed when the songs were performed were also blended in during the performance of *mangae*. Dances such as *Thuso Phala*, *rea ilibana* and *rea itsokotsa* were spotted during the performance of *mangae*. The said dance moves were performed concurrently with the songs. Whereas, the accompanying instruments present in the original songs were not played during the performance of *mangae,* the melody of the songs was maintained. By importing some elements from the identified songs, the performance of *mangae* was perceived as having the potential to accomplish song re-mixing. This behaviour, therefore, marks the performance of *mangae* not only as a contemporary music but also as a characteristic popular culture of the Basotho. Foreign oral deposits that feature during the performance of *mangae* served as flavourite additives and characterized *mangae* as the genre that is endowed with the ability to present the performance-within-performance.

Chapter five identified and analysed the themes of the performance of *mangae* that have been tapped from the traditional art space. Throughout the performance of *mangae*, it has been found out that several cultural themes and consciousness of the people's lives and experiences were brought into the composition. These included the themes relating to the traditional identity of a Mosotho man, perceptions about *boqai*, the significance of cattle, the respect for traditional and political leaders, the views about climatic conditions were found to be reflective of social and natural conditions in the contemporary performance of *mangae*.

In the light of the events of the ritual of initiation, a Mosotho man must demonstrate his heroic deeds. He should neither be a coward who dreads blood nor be one who fears to be initiated. Several imaginary and treacherous names and expressions are used to describe the identity of the initiated Basotho men during the performance of *mangae*. *Boqai* is regarded as a cowardly and seriously abhorred choice. It is culturally condemned and rejected. Several discerning referents and expressions are given to *maqai* (the uninitiated), for example, they were called *lintja* (dogs), they stink etc. in the songs.

Another topical aspect found in the performance of *mangae* is the significance of cattle. The bovine has been found out to be pivotal in shaping the culture of the Basotho. A Mosotho man according to the performance of *mangae* should own livestock. Cattle are important for burial ceremonies, for the payment of bride price, for economic and entrepreneurial purposed and for the ritual of initiation (Turkon, 2003). Because on the value of the bovine in the cultural context, the initiates expressed a profound care for them.

The topic relating to the deference of the traditional leaders and the natural phenomenon also surfaced as the themes of the performance of *mangae*. The initiates expressed a profound importance and relationship to their traditional leaders. On the contrary, despite their indebtedness and loyalty to their (singers') leaders, they were not complemented accordingly for their gesture. Instead, they are perpetually ignored when the leader is having a momentous life.

During the performance of mangae, the composers registered their protest and complaints towards their leaders. They also appealed to the perpetrators of such habits to desist from them. The content of *mangae* also projected keenness to the value of the political leaders. In the analysis, a profound respect and admiration of former President Nelson Mandela was alluded to. The composers mourned his death and expressed their vulnerability since his death. Other dirges were made with respect to the relatives of the composers who have died.

One of the prime areas that the ritual of initiation emphasises is the virile dexterity of a Mosotho man which is represented in various forms and ways during the performance of *mangae*. After being initiated, the initiates must demonstrate significant bravery. In the performance of *mangae,* the initiates presented themselves through the capability of executing heroic deeds. Throughout the performance, they indulged in the use of exaggerated identities of masculinity. The expectation is that the initiated men should show that they are grown-up men and that they are not little boys any longer. To prove their masculinity, they composed songs that alluded to their bravery on the battle fields. Among other things, they expressed that they do no dread bloodshed. They seriously frown upon *boqai* and *bokoala.* This is true of all Basotho men even today. The definition of a Mosotho man is found in the proverb that says: *monna ke nku ha a lle* (a man is a sheep; he is not supposed to cry). This is a character that an initiated man must always demonstrate. Crying is seriously scowled in the tradition of initiation. Duty allocation and societal responsibilities also change. The initiated men are required to show a commendable character change and mature conduct always.

Looking out for animals is one of the social responsibilities of the young men. Immediately upon graduation, they must spend at least one month continually looking after cattle daily. Even those who returned to school are required to look after animals over the weekends. In some cases, some young men seek employment to serve as shepherds where they are sometimes paid with cows, sheep or money. They are eager to own their own cattle as fully-grown men. With the money that they are paid, they look after themselves and support their families. This is one of the responsibilities that they must depict to show that they have truly grown up.

Through the performance of *mangae*, some songs expressed the composers' passion for animals. Some initiates composed the songs that reflected on the significance of the bovine in the life of a Mosotho. Among other things, the songs reflected the importance of the bovine in relation to the custom of initiation, intrapreneurial value, bridal wealth and the ritual of the burial of a Mosotho. Because of the cultural significance of the bovine, the composers also narrated the need for the Basotho to care and give protection to their animals. Animals are highly treasured either for social or for economic purposes.

The boys are also taught about the importance of respecting the leaders and to obey them. They must accede to the directives of the headman. They are also required to honour and respect the

older initiates. The graduates are required to respect those who got initiated before them. Traditional laws compel the fresh graduates to address the alumni as *bo-ntate* (fathers) while they are in turn addressed as *bana* (children). The initiates are mandated to show allegiance to their elders and if they default, they may be prosecuted and harshly disciplined through the traditional legislation governing the ritual.

The same level of discipline must be demonstrated even to community leaders such as chiefs and politicians. It is not surprising that throughout the performance of *mangae basuoe* are addressed as *bo-ntate* and that the initiates pay tribute to the headmen and political leaders. Political gurus and freedom fighters such as RSA's former President Nelson Mandela, the former Lesotho prime minister Dr. Pakalitha Mosisili, for example, were commended for their outstanding commitment to their people. The initiated composers have been inducted into respecting such icons. It is culturally moral to designate profound respect to all people in Sesotho. It is mandatory for an initiated man to lead by example to those who have not undergone the ritual.

Aspects such as the natural phenomenon and climate change have also surfaced as the themes of the performance of *mangae*. The singers of *mangae* reflected the cognizance of the current harsh climatic conditions. Since 2011, there have been drastic changes in the weather of Lesotho. Lesotho experiences drought that impacts negatively on agriculture and food security almost every year since 2011. Drought is accompanied by heavy rains and storms that often blows off house roof tops, overflows the rivers and wrecks the infrastructure. Conditions such as this one featured as the topics in the performance of *mangae*. To a lesser degree, the singers' awareness of the indigenous knowledge system is alluded to. The composers insinuated that such disastrous weather conditions were man-made rather than natural. They expressed concern about the malevolent deeds executed by some medical practitioners of Lesotho. Furthermore, they condemned the negligence of some practitioners to let the nation suffer while they could have counter-acted on the ordeal. The composers' sensitivity and knowledge of the rainmaking and stopping skills of the Basotho traditional doctors come to the fore in the composition of *mangae*. There are some songs which directly tapped from the Sesotho traditional archives. They do not mix them with resources imported from modernity and what are labelled as elite cultures. This gesture marks not only the preservation of the cultural mores but also the conformity and continuity by the nation.

Aspects such as elevating the manly prowess and exaggerating the masculine propensity also comprised examples imported from modern-day art space and technological libraries. The composers of *mangae* demonstrated top skill to use the labels and expressions that delineate the self-righteousness of the singers. Industrialisation and modernisation seem to have a strong influence in the performance of *mangae*. The response of the performance of *mangae* to the contemporary world is reproduced through importing English and IsiZulu expressions during the

singing. To eulogize the hardiness, manhood and his new identity, the singer import resources from exotic cultures.

Chapter six identified and discussed the themes, discourses and styles that have been imported from modern day lifestyle, technologies and foreign cultures that are found in the contemporary performance of *mangae*. The study found out that the contemporary performance of *mangae* borrows expressions and referents from other languages and cultures to delineate their new self-identities, self-righteousness, masculine virility and heroic identities. For example, the ritual of initiation is equated to the modern-day classroom setting. The eloquence and aptitude of the initiates is measured in accordance with the 'formal school' grading, such 100% and a pass with distinction.

Furthermore, the study found out the performance of *mangae* uses language, popular discourse and themes accessible to youth. The modern-day popular music and dances styles and discourses are predominant in the contemporary performance of *mangae*. Foreign languages such as isiZulu and English are also reflected during the performance. Themes alluding to christian liturgy and biblical stories, cognisance of the impact of modern-day and social media technologies are also fused in the modern-day performance of *mangae*.

The aptitude of the performance of *mangae* to borrow foreign resources in their rendition ascertains that Basotho oral culture is one of the wealth of knowledge and the cultural heritage of the society. It proves to be one of the most flexible and dynamic culture that has the potential to fuse resources that it has come into contact with to strengthen the aesthetics of performance. Such a consolidation of styles serves to lure the youth and their families in the ritual of initiation as an assurance of its preservation, conformity and continuity

A re-mix of music from the renowned popular songs from some RSA artists also characterises the contemporary performance of *mangae*. Within the composition of *mangae* a consolidation of styles and modern popular cultures served as the subject of the songs. The use of discourses accessible to the youth and modern-day Basotho characterises the performance of *mangae* as the popular culture of Basotho. The incorporation of popular music in the performance of *mangae* decoys the young boys to partake in the ritual of initiation when they grow up. Furthermore, the use of popular music in the performance of *mangae* reflects the flexibility and dynamism of the ritual to empower its production by harnessing exotic resources within their rendition.

Pure biblical stories and subjects were also found to characterise the performance of *mangae*. In most songs, the composers narrated biblical stories in the chronology that they are documented in the bible. In other instances, the singers of *mangae* only sung certain portions of the biblical events and Christian hymns. Because of the political debates that set the ritual of initiation and Christianity apart, it was anticipated that the composers of *mangae* would have

accrued serious grimacing attitudes towards any subject that dealt with Christian religion. Some churches in Lesotho condemn the ritual of initiation and hence discourage their members to participate in it. Despite such segregations and negativity of the Christian religion towards the Sesotho customs, the performance of *mangae* seems not to engage in such debates. Thus, the performance of *mangae* promotes the doctrine of God within its composition. Christianity is one of the cultures that are highly respected and revered by many Basotho. Even in traditional ceremonies, a prayer prefaces the goings-on in all contexts. To many Basotho, Christianity is considered as the culture of the people. The inclusion of biblical stories, hymns excerpts and topics either comes in a subconscious way to the performers of *mangae* or as a conscious act to preach the doctrine of God.

Another important element that features as the theme of the performance of *mangae* is modern-day technologies and wrath of the social media fraternity. Computer language and technologies were used as the subjects of the composition of *mangae*. The singers used resources influenced by the knowledge of the computer and mobile phones to delineate on the masculine dexterity or sometimes the detriment of such technologies on human life. For example, some singers used expressions such as *ke kompela ea lona likheleke* (I am your computer you eloquent men), *ke phetla mara-rang ke bala internet* (I browse the telecommunication networks to browse the internet) and *e-mail e fihlile ka la maobane* (I received an e-mail yesterday) to demonstrate their cognizance and versatility in modern technologies and ICT.

Additionally, the composers' perceptions about the social media and its contribution to the family disputes and separation surfaced as a subject of the performance of *mangae*. Some composers register their discomfort towards snooping other people's phones to access their private chats. One of the composers, warned his brother that his attitude will cause serious enmity between them. By doing this, the composer warns those who fiddle with other people's phones to desist from their acts. He warned those who like doing such deeds that cell phone conversations are private matters and must be treated as such. Furthermore, other singers complained about the exploitation that females expended on males over social media. One of the artists disclosed that he was exploited by his lover who forced him to buy her expensive cellphones and airtime, yet he never benefited from them. This is a direct protest by the artist to the females that they should stop their exploitative ways. The performance of *mangae* demonstrates three different dichotomies, first, there are songs that relate to purely traditional facets. Secondly, they relate to modern-day cultures and, lastly, some songs merge the traditional and modern aspects together.

Chapter seven reported on the themes reflecting the performance of *mangae* at the crossroads of the two cultures (traditional and modern). It established the degree to which the contemporary performance of *mangae* has the potency to borrow some elements from ancient

traditional art archives and to access others from modern-day technological and art space. This chapter showed some modification in terms of the research subjects, the themes, the topics, communication and the message of the performance of *mangae* at the interface of the traditional and modern-day cultures.

The performance of *mangae* demonstrated a serious flexibility and turn-around by incorporating the resources from two different art spaces. In the process, it successfully struck a balance between the two cultures; it did not totally shed off all the traditional artistic qualities while at the same time it did not fully and exclusively rely on modern-day resources. The balance that the performance of *mangae* struck between the traditional and modern-day culture marks it as the popular culture of the Basotho.

Thus, the contemporary performance of *mangae* uses popular discourse to place it within modern day popular culture of Basotho. It draws from the bank of traditional language as well as from the modern-day library and blend them to mark a contemporary art of the performance of *mangae*. This strength of the performance of *mangae* to fuse the two cultures together is important for the conservation, conformity and continuity of the culture. The topics that form the contemporary performance of *mangae* include industrialisation, modern politics, unemployment and social life of the contemporary Basotho.

There is an enormous turn-around in the performance of *mangae* that places *mangae* within the contemporary oral traditions. Modern-day *mangae* is characterized by use of themes, discourses and plots that have been borrowed and imported from the elite cultures and traditional ones. Whereas the performance of *mangae* is a historically indigenous oral tradition, it keeps evolving with time to keep up with the changing world. Characteristically, it falls within the popular cultures of the world today.

Within one slot of performance of *mangae*, the artists make a conglomerate of items transferred from the traditional archive of the Basotho as well as importing others from the resources brought by modernisation and industrialisation in people's lives. Themes, discourses and plots relating to industrialisation, politics, unemployment and modern-day love affairs appear as topics in the contemporary composition of *mangae*. The rise of factories and labour issues appear as themes in the performance of *mangae*. The initiates registered their commitment and protest to the factory owners over the workers' exploitation of the Basotho. They were worried that there was a state of serious lawlessness within the factories. The workers are exploited, over-worked, given low wages and denied adequate leave even when they were in dire need of it. The singers protest to those in power to take action to ratify the manipulation of the workers.

The unstable and insatiable politics of Lesotho were also used as the subjects in the performance of *mangae*. The composers registered their concerns about the country's instability caused by

the political situation of Lesotho. Horrifying and dreadful incidents of human abductions and malicious murders, the overthrowing of the governments, hate speeches and oblivious political songs were condemned in the performance of *mangae*. On the one hand, the composers of *mangae* appealed to the political party leaders and their leaders to discontinue such habits. On the other, the composers lamented the death of the slain and condemn such inhumane behaviour done by one Mosotho over the other. The politicians, according to the performers of *mangae*, do not respect human life. The composers of *mangae* expressed serious concern about blood shed that has overwhelmed the country as a result of Lesotho's dirty politics. It is on the bases of these observations that the composers of *mangae* made an open protest to the political leaders, to those in power and to the legislatures to intervene. According to the artist, the Lesotho politics have accrued a brute moral degeneration. As a result, they appeal for moral regeneration of the Basotho.

Upon completion of the initiation process, the boys are required to work in order to fend for their families and to work for the bride price. They go to the RSA in search of jobs because Lesotho cannot generate enough job opportunities for her citizens. Job search has also brought a new dichotomy whereupon retrenchment of the Basotho men and saturation of employment opportunities, able-bodied and young Basotho men and women are forced to serve as domestic workers or farm attendants in RSA. Issues such as the above predominantly appeared as the subjects of the contemporary performance of *mangae*. The migrant labour system and its impact on the lives of the Basotho was incorporated as the themes of the contemporary performance of *mangae*. The singers lamented and condemned the violent massacre of the Marikana miners when they protested for improved of working conditions and living wage hikes. The composers performed dirges for the bereaved and criticized the government and mine administrators for the unnecessary loss of the life of the workers.

Topics and themes relating modern day love affairs seem to characterize the contemporary performance of *mangae*. The celebration of valentines' day where lovers exchange gifts and presents and often wear red and white attire and dine together surfaced as the subjects in the performance of *mangae*. The singers also alluded to the prevalent trend through which females swindled males (rich) under the pretext of love. While the artists seemed to be content about having quality time with their lovers on valentines' day, they also attacked the behaviour in which females stole from men pretending to love them. The songs also served to advise males to be vigilant of the plundering behaviour of love tricksters. Events such as the valentines' day are celebrated annually by lovers. Because of the awareness of such celebrations, the composers alluded to them in their music. Practices such as fake love, where men are maliciously swindled of their property and wealth are rampant in the world today. Because of the singers' cognizance of such practice, they used such instances to improve their performance. By doing this, the artist expressed their discontent about the ethical decline of human beings as well as the plight of the

traditional love affair protocol and marriage arrangement. The singers, therefore, requests the females to desist from becoming slay queens or gold diggers.

Generally, the performance of *mangae* entails a mélange of the subjects in its presentation. Themes range from factual, concrete, abstract and imaginary ones that are borrowed from the traditional art library and others imported from modern day cultures. The consolidation of resources from traditional and modern art spaces place the performance of *mangae* not only as contemporary music but also as a popular culture of the Basotho. During the blend, the artists of *mangae* give a serious consideration to their communication strategies and the mode of composition of the songs. They choose the diction carefully. They engage in various methods of language use. In some instances, they use Sesotho archaic vocabulary and proverbial expressions. Plenty of discourses and styles have also been borrowed from other languages to delineate the new identities and exaggerated self-worth. They also engage in a specialized style of rendition. The melody, rhythm and mood of the songs keep on shifting from singer to singer. The use of these skills is reflective of the intellectual bases of the performer's life, of his peers, his society and their histories.

The use of specialized communicative strategies in the performance of *mangae* imparts various hidden meanings contained in the songs. Sensitive and hard social facts that are not intended to be spilled before everyone else are concealed using metaphoric expressions. Meaning concealment evokes unreserved attention and reaction from the participants. This strategy helps to make a solid connection between the performer and the audience. The opaqueness of language forces the audience to listen attentively in order to decipher the connotation of the songs. It also evokes positive reactions from those who understand the expressions and in turn applaud the performance in appreciation of the beauty of language use.

The use of specialized language and concealed meaning reveal several meanings embodied in the songs. Numerous themes are reflected in the performance of *mangae,* either directly or indirectly. This study finds that the themes such as the social, political, economic, philosophical and psychodynamic shape the performance of *mangae*. Language use, its implication and content communicate a specific message to the singers. In order to derive the meaning, each listener must dwell on his or her own understating in order to decrypt the communicated message. Out of one song, each individual present during the presentation can understand the message in his or her own way. The message of the performance of *mangae* is not a fixed entity that all individuals can interpret alike. The message of the performance of *mangae* was found to reprimand, to educate, to entertain, to praise, to appreciate and for the maintenance of social order and congress. Lastly, **chapter eight** which the last chapter provides the summary of chapters and implications of the results, the conclusions and recommendations based on the research.

8.3 Recommendations

The performance of *mangae* serves as the mouthpiece and conduit of thought of the society. It keeps the culture up to date by blending the traditional and modern events together in their recitation. It is also a bank and reserve of language and tradition for the Basotho. Because of the importance mentioned above, the study recommends that at least all Basotho men get initiated. Initiating all the male Basotho populace will help to guard against the culture that is under serious attack on social media platforms as well as revealing secrets to the outsiders. The study further recommends that all the traditional leaders and the poets should join forces to engage in the renaissance and maintenance of the of the Sesotho traditional practices. By doing this, I hope that all indigenous oral performances will re-sprout and thrive and become the most richest and renowned cultural heritage of the Basotho and Africa as a whole.

There has been a serious debacle between the tradition of initiation and christianity and its structures. Such mayhem saw several initiated Basotho men being rejected from schools and forcing unnecessary student dropout. Even today, there is still serious skepticism and negligence of the initiated men by schools and churches. On this scenario, I recommend that all schools and churches must do away with the segregation, excommunication of the brethren and the discrimination they have towards initiation (and initiated men) and accept the young men back to school on their return from initiation.

There is also a serious conflict between the initiation calendar and the school one. On this issue, I recommend that the school calendar is set such that it allows for the Basotho boys to get initiated and continue with school without clash. Furthermore, literature and evidence from social media platforms reveal that, there are some initiated Basotho who deliberately divulged the secrets of initiation to the outsiders. Until now, such offenses are dealt with in a traditional way. There is no legal procedure where perpetrators are taken to book legally. On this account, I recommend that the legislators and government set out laws that protect the tradition of initiation from attackers who reveal the secret information and/or clown about the culture.

Over the past years, Sesotho traditional practices have been under serious siege from the outsiders and westners. Furthermore, there is scanty output in relation to the tradition of initiation. Even early christian converts launched a fierce fight on Sesotho traditional practices by labelling them as pagan practices. The recommendations that this study makes is that the Africans and Basotho must start appreciating their cultural practices, promote them, and protect them from the outsiders. Additionally, I suggest that the Basotho and particularly the initiated community start to transcribe the Basotho male initiation music in bound book forms and sell them as means of generating income and countenance against the problem of unemployment that is prevalent in Lesotho.

Most of the literature that is available about aspects of traditional male initiation have been mostly undertaken by the outsiders (particularly westners). I recommend that the Basotho academics themselves start researching about the Sesotho traditional practices. I hope that by doing so, the denigration, distortions and shaming that has embarrassed the Basotho about their culture will be appropriated. All unnecessary information which most earlier scholars seemed to have interest on must be sternly protected by Basotho academics. It is incumbent upon the learned Basotho to take a stand to frown against the negativity which the westners have had over the traditions. The Basotho themselves must not allow outsiders and foreigners to view them as a fallow land for research and seeing the Basotho and Africans as research subjects.

I further recommend that all Basotho must view Sesotho traditions in the light of the importance they hold for their practitioners rather than giving them discerning and denigrating referents such as heathenism and pagan practices. Instead it must be considered as a cultural heritage that warrants preservation, protection and continuity from the citizens. As such, anthropologists, ethnographers, ethnomusicologist and literature students must do more research to uncover the moral and philosophical standing of traditional male initiation, its cultural significance in the lives of the Basotho and men.

To the natives, the ritual of initiation has a huge significance. The emphasis is on the Sesotho tradition of the initiation of the boys rather than circumcision. It has the moral and philosophical value to the Basotho who practice it. The boys of appropriate age are initiated in order to learn the ideologies of adulthood. Adult males are initiated on personal accord or for spiritual reasons. Aspects such as the performance of *mangae* come in to commemorate the initiation success and to entertain the community. Despite the moral and philosophical values that the ritual of initiation holds for the Basotho, I recommend that a serious curriculum review of the teachings of initiation to respond to the challenges of life today.

Spending six months in initiation is adequate to incorporate other subjects to the curriculum of initiation. Among other things, the initiates must be empowered on skills development in various areas of life. The initiates must be introduced to commercial agriculture so that they improve the food security of the Basotho. They must be taught about entrepreneurial skills to fight the challenge of unemployment. One of the basic skills that the boys are taught at initiation is crafting and skin tanning. It is important that such skills are introduced on a larger scale for the initiates to create employment for themselves. Other aspects that need to be included within the curriculum of initiation should include awareness on the scourge of incurable diseases, human trafficking, substance abuse, road accidents and climate change. Acquisition of these skills can improve people's livelihoods, improve food security and create employment.

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