

MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY



FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES DEPARTMENT OF Music and Musicology

An ethnography of the *hogwana* traditional marriage ceremony and *tjigubhu* dance and songs of the Bakalanga people of Sigangatsha Village in Matobo Matabeleland South Province of Zimbabwe

Submitted By
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Declaration

Dissertation Title:

An ethnography of the *hogwana* traditional marriage ceremony and *tjigubhu* dance and songs of the Bakalanga people of Sigangatsha Village in Matobo Matabeleland South Province of Zimbabwe

I Editor Ndlovu hereby declare that this research project is my original work. The project has not been submitted to any University. All the contributions of other scholars have been cited and acknowledged. The project is being submitted to Midlands State University for a BSc in Music and Musicology Degree.

Name of Student: Editor Ndlovu

Signature of student.....

Dedication

I would like to dedicate this study to my recently departed beloved mother Locadia Dube – Ndlovu and my beloved daughter Thandeka Lindokuhle Khanye. To my mother, my friend, my confidante, my rock and my advisor, May her soul rest in eternal peace and to my daughter; you mean the world to me. Thank you for challenging me, believing in me and for standing by my side during all the years when I was never there to celebrate your birthday with you. It was all for a good cause.

Abstract

The researcher presents an ethnographic study of the *hogwana* ceremony and *tjigubhu* dance and songs that are performed by the Bakalanga people of Sigangatsha village in Matabeleland South in Zimbabwe. There is limited literature based on the study hence the researcher developed the concept from a broader view by looking at African traditional ceremonies and music. She then narrowed down to the specific ceremony under discussion. Research questions were formulated in Chapter One and their answers sought during field work. In terms of Methodology, the researcher employed the qualitative approach which required her to embark on a field trip and engage in participant observation. Semi-structured interviews and participant observations were employed to generate data. To identify participants suitable for the research, both purposive and snowball sampling were used. Research findings revealed how valuable the *hogwana* ceremony is to the Bakalanga people. Up to date there are some families that upholds it. It is a ceremony that is meant to bring the two families together and the village at large. There are some preparations that precede the actual ceremony and they have been tabulated in the document. The researcher discovered that the frequency of the *hogwana* ceremony has deteriorated of late which is a cause of serious concern. As she carried out the study she found out that some of the causes could be the escalated drought in the region which has affected the harvests drastically and hence people no longer have grains. Modernisation has also played a part, youth of nowadays think that such ceremonies are old fashioned and outdated. Intermarriages and the use of grinding mills have been some of the aspects pointed out by informants. Therefore, having noted the decline the researcher felt compelled to carry out a study and provide information as a point of reference for future generations who will not live to witness such ceremonies. The dance and songs are still prevalent though mostly performed out of context.

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CHAPTER 1

1.0 Introduction

The research is an ethnographic study of the *hogwana* ceremony and *tjigubhu* dance as performed by the Bakalanga people of Sigangatsha village. The background clearly stipulates what motivated the researcher to carry out the study and the purpose of the study is indicated in the Statement of the Problem. Research questions were formulated to suggest the Methodology for the study. Descriptions and explanations of the potential value of the study are stated under the Significance of the study. The section for the Definition of Terms provides clarity and understanding to the reader so as the Limitations and De limitations.

1.1 Background

Bakalanga people are a minority community located in Matabeleland South Province of Zimbabwe. The majority of the Bakalanga stay in Bulilima District with some in Mangwe, Tsholotsho and Matobo Districts. Like most of the communities in Africa they are a highly spiritual tribe who believe in the Supreme God whom they call *Mwali* the creator of the universe. They also strongly believe in the involvement of *midzimu* (ancestors) as their mediators to God.

Bakalanga people are agriculturalists whose source of food is the crops that they plant. Among their crops, the most common are, *zembwe* (millet), *mapfunde* (sorghum), *lukwehha* (finger millet), *lundende* (a type of sorghum). These crops are favored because they are resistant to drought. Maize is not their staple food because of its inability to withstand drought. In addition, Bakalanga people take pride in pounding rather than taking their grain to the grinding mill. It is during this pounding activity that they gather the remaining smaller grain particles called *hogwana*. These are regarded as very important because whenever *nkwaha* (a son in law) visits, that *hogwana* has to be further pounded to prepare him *hadza* (thick porridge) which is eaten with chicken. This is a special meal for the son in law. Therefore, it is from these grain particles and their association with the son in law that the *hogwana* ceremony derived its name.

Hogwana is a traditional marriage ceremony which brings together the bride and groom families to join hands and also to inculcate a very strong foundation by demonstrating the chores and responsibilities expected of them. The ceremony is conducted in August and on rare occasions in December. Mahamba highlighted that they prefer conducting this ceremony in August because

they would have finished harvesting and they will be having plenty of *hogwana*. She added on to say that, because of job commitments, it becomes difficult for some family members to meet in August and hence December becomes a convenient month. During the ceremony music permeates through all the activities involved. The music performed during this ceremony is traditional and the common dance style performed is called *tjigubhu*. Some of the songs sung during this ceremony portray mockery themes between the two families whereas others include information that focuses on building the newly married couple.

The researcher being Nkalanga by origin grew up attending Hogwana ceremonies in the village of Sigangatsha which is situated in Matobo District under Chief Malaba in Matabeleland South Province of Zimbabwe. From her experience the researcher established that *hogwana* is an important ritual for the Bakalanga people because unites the family of the bride and that of the bridegroom. From her lived experiences, the researcher observed a decline in the frequency of the occurrence of this ceremony. There is a possibility that in the near future, this important ritual will disappear leaving no traces behind for the future generations. On the other hand the disappearance of the ritual may weaken the bond not only between the families of the bride and bridegroom but also between the bride and the bridegroom.

The writer has also observed that with the escalation of the death rate due to AIDS pandemic among other causes, the elders in the village who have the knowledge concerning such events and the music associated with them are passing away leaving young generation who have limited knowledge. This is a threat to sustenance of the *hogwana* of the Bakalanga people. Furthermore, the researcher realized that the advent of Christianity also contributed to the vulnerability of *hogwana* among the Bakalanga society. In addition, technology, education, rural to urban migration and industrialization as much as they are well appreciated have sown a cancerous seed among the youth of nowadays which makes them view such traditional activities as uncivilised, backward and primitive. Imply (1998) points out that all African countries with the exception of Liberia and Ethiopia have undergone a period of foreign domination which has brought the trapping of foreign culture affecting the cultural infrastructure of the African society. It is from these premises that the researcher was prompted to carry out an ethnographic study of *hogwana* ceremony of the Bakalanga people as a way of documenting the ceremony and *tjigubhu* music.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Bakalanga *hogwana* ceremony and *tjigubhu* songs have been outrageously affected by a number of factors like modernisation, education, migration, intermarriages, education, technology and many more. The study intends to examine, describe and analyse the proceedings of the *hogwana* ceremony and the *tjigubhu* songs that are sung during the ceremony as performed by the “Bakalanga” people of Zimbabwe particularly found in Sigangatsha village in Matobo District – Matabeleland South Province as a way of preservation the legacy. Thus the statement of the problem for this study is how can *hogwana* and *tjigubhu* music be preserved for future references by scholars and Bakalanga community?

1.3 Research Objectives

The objectives of the study will be to:

- Trace the history of the Bakalanga people.
- Establish the purpose of the *hogwana* ceremony in the Bakalanga culture.
- Investigate the procedures of how *hogwana* ceremony is conducted.
- Describe *tjigubhu* dance pattern, document and analyse some of *tjigubhu* songs that are sung during the ritual.
- Outline the role of *tjigubhu* songs in *hogwana* ceremony.

1.4 Research Questions

Traditional ceremonies form a people’s culture and are part of their way of life. In the quest to find all the details about the ceremony under study (*hogwana*) and the songs that are sung during the ceremony (*tjigubhu*), the following are the research questions for the study:

- Who are the Bakalanga people?
- How is the *Hogwana* ceremony conducted?
- What is the significance of conducting the *Hogwana* ceremony among the Bakalanga people?
- How is *Hogwana* related to *tjigubhu* dance?
- When is the ceremony usually conducted and why?
- Which songs and musical instruments are performed during *hogwana*?

1.5 Significance of the study

The researcher realised that the *hogwana* ceremony plays a significant role in the Bakalanga culture. It is a ceremony that identifies the Bakalanga clan and shows how much they value marriage. It also shows their input in their children's marriages and how they are willing to be role models. Therefore, the significance of this study is:

- It is one way of preserving the information concerning *hogwana*.
- The study will benefit the future generations who will access the ethnography of Bakalanga *hogwana* ceremony and their music.
- The study will also benefit Bakalanga children in that they will be proud of their culture and traditional ceremonies like *hogwana*.
- The study will be used as a point of reference by music scholars who intend to conduct ethnographic researches on different traditional ceremonies that are performed by Bakalanga.
- The target audience for this study are both the old and the young because the researcher is intending to provide facts and details that will be helpful to both the old and the young regardless of race, ethnicity and skin colour.
- Furthermore, the study might be a challenge to other music scholars and inspire them to carry further studies on the subject.
- The study will also benefit the Bakalanga in that it will document their culture thereby providing knowledge to some people who want to know about the Bakalanga traditional marriage ceremony.
- The study will add on to the existing knowledge base of some scholars who wrote about traditional ceremonies and the culture of Bakalanga people.
- It will also enlighten readers that there are some minute elements of cultures that might be considered as less important but having a great impact on those particular people.

1.5.1 Justification

The *hogwana* ceremony and *tjigubhu* songs are threatened in terms of extinction and distortion as discussed earlier on. This study seeks to put an effort to preserve the *hogwana* ceremony and

tjigubhu songs for the sake of the coming generation. The platforms for traditional ceremonies and dance performance have shifted due to the new social necessities. Education has become the cornerstone of today's life and hence parents are investing lots of money in educating their children. In that regard, children spend most of their time in schools, some have relocated to urban centres with their parents where the lifestyle is supposedly better than that in the village and that has led to the loss of the most treasured cultural traits. Colonization has also brought new a new dimension in the belief system which has led to people looking down at their original beliefs because of Christianity which regards traditional beliefs as sinful. Bakalanga people are not an exception and this has led to the young Bakalanga generation turning away from their traditional practices. There is no continuity in the passing on of traditions. The study would also provide literature through documentation. This will help in the acquisition of knowledge of the Bakalanga traditions. It will also promote understanding and appreciation of different ways of living. This study is also important because it will benefit some ethnomusicologists who would want to study on the subject later. Therefore it will contribute knowledge on the *hogwana* and *tjigubhu* songs and foster appreciation of the *hogwana* ceremony and start a debate on the preservation of cultural heritage. This allows the youths to experiment with various types of traditional elements in the creation of music. The study will also act as a view mirror to reveal how the past can influence the present and the future. It will help me gain knowledge on the proceedings of *tjigubhu* dance and songs. And by accessing such information the researcher can change

1.6 Definition of terms

In this section, the researcher provides terms which have been used in the study that are unusual and not understood. The following definitions are provided in order to ensure uniformity and understanding of these terms throughout the study all the terms that are not referenced were developed by the researcher and most of them are in Tjikalanga language.

Hogwana– Grain particles obtained after pounding. In this case it is also a marriage ceremony.

Tjigubhu – A traditional dance normally performed during the *hogwana* ceremony.

Mwali – A term used by Bakalanga to refer to God.

Midzimu - ancestors

Zembwe, mapfunde, tjimanga, lukwehha – millet, sorghum, maize and finger millet

Lundende- a type of sorghum well known for producing the best hogwana grains.

Nkwaha– son in law or groom

Nlongo– bride

Nlongwana – the young sister to the bride.

Ntswayilo, lukukwe, seme – traditional broom, reed mat and a basket

Hadza – thick porridge

Bakalanga – People who speak the Kalanga language

Tjiphothoho- a word used by Bakalanga to refer to the Ndebele language

Mukomoto- a term used by Bakalanga people in Botswana to refer to *Tjigubhu* dance.

Bukwe - engagement

Ndobolo- marriage

Mbira, hosho, maghavhu - traditional music instruments

Jikinya– A competition in Zimbabwean Primary Schools for different traditional dances.

Njela – malt

Matuli, misi – mortars and pestles

Nsetje – small grain particles, smaller than *hogwana*

Luselo – a round basket used for winnowing

Makalati – firewood for brewing beer

Nkunu and **bvumila** – trees for making makalati

Bhilima– a porridge like obtained after boiling a mixture of malt meal-meal

Mahewu – fermented thin porridge usually drunk by people instead of beer.

Nkombe and makambwa - traditional gourds

Stoep – a kind of a bench made from mud

Jeki- a metal container used for drinking beer.

Jali – a small blanket

Mazambia – a cloth usually wrapped around by the new bride

Babvana – daughters in law

Mvalasangwana, mpfula and nkoho – types of trees

Mahlwayi , pemba, numba – leg rattles, whistle and traditional drum

Kweba malebe – Elongating the labia minora for sexual pleasure purposes.

Nholo wemwizana – a practice which used to occur among the Bakalanga whereby a new bride was required to spend her first night with her father in law.

1.7 Limitations

The research was conducted around December and it should be noted that very few hogwana ceremonies occur during that time of the year. The Bakalanga people of Sigangatsha village normally conduct their Hogwana ceremonies in August. So instead of attending two functions as intended, the researcher ended up having a caption of only one which was taken by a relative. It was also an unfortunate situation that the only ceremony which was conducted coincided with a funeral. The researcher lost her mother and it became difficult to conduct some of the interviews. The ceremony was conducted on the day of the burial which became a difficult task for the researcher to attend and hence relied on a relative to go and get a few video clips. The researcher would have loved to interview the key people like the bride and groom on the day and also to take some photos to authenticate the document but unfortunately the situation was beyond her control. It is unavoidable that the shortcoming tempered with research results. This is because the person who assisted with shooting the video clips did not understand the essence of the study

as much as the researcher did and hence more valuable information was left out which could have contributed to the value of the study.

1.8 Delimitations

The study was carried out in Sigangatsha village in Matobo District. The researcher chose to work with a few individuals in order to capitalise on the short time she had to gather the data. Eight people were chosen however the researcher ended up interviewing only six of them the other two were not available for the interviews. The other informants identified through snowballing could not be reached because of various reasons like visitations, funerals and sicknesses. Financial constraints also limited the researcher to that number in order to cut down on travelling expenses. The researcher's geographical location also became a stumbling block because she stays in Botswana so she had to use the little time she had to gather as much data as possible. The selected people provided useful information that is relevant to the proceedings of the *hogwana* ceremony and Tjigubhu dance and songs. Being the researcher's village of origin made it possible to locate key informants because they are the people that the researcher is familiar with. The use of a phone to shoot the video instead of a video camera also had an impact on the outcome of the product. More could have been captured and used in the analysis.

1.9 Conclusion

This chapter aims to provide a framework of how the research will be conducted according to the laid down objectives. The statement of the problem has been stipulated and the motives that encouraged the researcher to embark on this research spelt out. Research questions that would be a guideline throughout the proceedings have also been supplied. In a nutshell, this chapter provides a skeleton of what will be discussed fully and in details as the research findings unfolds. The next chapter will be solely based on the review of literature which is aimed at revealing the information gap by other scholars whereas the *hogwana* ceremony and *tjigubhu* songs are concerned. The review of literature intends to explain the concepts that are closely linked to the research topic.

CHAPTER 2

2.0 Review of literature

2.1 Introduction

The intention of this chapter is to review literature related to the proceedings of the *hogwana* ceremony and the *tjigubhu* dance and songs. Unfortunately, literature on the subject under review is very limited. I have not come across scholars who have specifically written about the *hogwana* ceremony and the *tjigubhu* dance. The chapter covers literature on relevant issues such as the Bakalanga people, culture, traditional dances and traditional music in Zimbabwe and Africa at large.

2.2 Who are the Bakalanga people?

Bakalanga are a minority group found in Matabeleland South Province of Zimbabwe and the northern wing of Botswana. Research reveals that these Bakalanga both settled in Zimbabwe and those in Botswana are somehow related. The erection of borders in the early 20th century divided the Bakalanga community and separated them some becoming Batswana and others Southern Rhodesians. Their cultural practices, way of life, belief system and agronomy set up is the same. According to Msindo (2010:126), Bakalanga people have a strong sense of identity, they maintained ties through regular cross boarder family visits, trade, exchange and schooling and even long term migrations to the other side at different times. Norman et al (2000:60) add on to say that the history of the Bakalanga involved displacement by more powerful political regimes for example the Rozvi and Ndebele kingdoms. The Rozvi control over the Bakalanga was through the tributary system whereas the Ndebele power was imposed to people who were not connected to them linguistically, politically, economically and socially.

Msindo (2013) points out that, despite the Ndebele attempts to enforce their language on the *Bakalanga*, the *Bakalanga* had to learn it for political and commercial reasons; their own language *Tjikalanga* remained the lingua franca in their communities. He adds on to say that their weak political position made them to be more vulnerable and created the feeling of the “oppressed” other. The researcher agrees with the motion because they were not taught *Tjikalanga* at school. The media of communication and dominating language was *Tjiphothoho* -

Ndebele yet at home they switched to *Tjikalanga*. Adults would even keep quiet when a child addressed them in *Tjiphothoho* until they use *Tjikalanga*. That's how valuable their language was to them.

2.3 Hogwana and Tjigubhu dance defined

Bakalanga people are Agrarian in nature. They take pride in farming and rearing animals. One's wealth and respect by the community is derived from the size of their kraal and the produce from their fields. In that regard and also bearing in mind that Matabeleland South Province is in Region 5 and is well known for obtaining less rainfall annually maize is not an optional crop to grow there because of its failure to withstand drought. In place of maize, they plough *zembwe* and *mapfunde* (millet and sorghum) which are more resistant to drought. These are pounded to produce mealie meal. The little grains that remain after pounding are called *hogwana*. These grains are highly regarded in the *Bakalanga* community because when *nkwaha* (son in law) visits the in laws, they are served with *hadza* (thick porridge) made from further pounded *hogwana* grains. It is regarded as a taboo to serve a son in law a plate of *hadza* from maize meal. It is from these particles' name that the *Hogwana* ceremony earned its name because during the ceremony, those attending bring baskets of *hogwana* as their contribution. *Tjigubhu* on the other hand refers to both the songs and the dance that are performed during the *hogwana* ceremony ritual. According to Msindo *tjigubhu* also known as *mukomoto* is a traditional dance commonly performed during *bukwe* (engagement) and *ndobolo* (marriages) ceremonies. It is also used as a source of entertainment at beer drinking sessions and happy feasts. It employs three drums and leg rattles are used as rhythmic accompaniments for the dance. The lead dancer blows a whistle. There is no particular dress code for the dance.

2.4 The hogwana ceremony as a ritual

A ritual is defined by the Merriam Webster Online dictionary as, a ritual observance, specifically a system of rites a ceremonial act or series of acts regularly repeated in a set precise manner. On the other hand, the online dictionary further defines rituals as, an established or prescribed procedure for a religious or other rite conforming to religious rites which are sacred, customary ways of celebrating a religion or culture. According to Bell (1992), a ritual is viewed as a structural mechanism that reintegrates the two opposing dichotomies of thought and action which is equivalent to the belief and behaviour dichotomy. She further alluded that in an ever changing

society, ritual is the bridge between tradition and constant social change. In addition, Ayisi (1979:90) says that, “rituals are therefore the only means through which the profane world is brought into contact with the sacred.” From the above given definitions, it is clear that a ritual is a solemn practice conducted in a particular procedure depending on the culture of the community. Bell (1992) maintains the idea that a successful ritual is one with both cultural and sociological aspects working together. *Hogwana* as a ritual; embraces all the above mentioned aspects. It is conducted in a particular procedure which is acceptable in the culture of the Bakalanga people of Sigangatsha village. Stone (2008:55) had this to say about rituals:

“In many African communities, many occasions present opportunities to express joy. In some instances, the rituals and ceremonies associated with them require elaborate preparations. These rituals and ceremonies take different forms. In general, there is feasting, drinking, and merry making. *Hogwana* is a ceremony that brings joy to the community. The music and the dancing mark the peak of the occasion. Everyone takes part because in the African culture, music is communally owned; there are no spectators unlike in the Western culture. Merriam (1980:227) advocates that “songs contribute to the function of continuity and stability of culture”. She goes on to say that the dance produces a condition in which the unity, harmony, and concord of the community are at maximum and in which they are intensely felt by each member”. To sum up, the music in these rituals allows emotional expression, gives aesthetic pleasure and entertains the audience.

2.5 Importance of traditional ceremonies in the African context

Every society has its traditional ceremonies as part of their culture. Merriam Webster’s online dictionary describes traditional ceremonies as formal events that occur as a result of special occasion or to commemorate something or a special series of acts performed in an established or set manner according to tradition and culture. This definition brings forth the essence of traditional ceremonies in a society as something of great value which should be highly regarded and preserved dearly. In addition, Mumba (2007) in his interview, the former President of Zambia Levy Mwanawasa acknowledged that traditional ceremonies are an integral part of the oral traditions, folklore and culture of the nation passed from generation to generation. In this regard, it is clear that the word of mouth or oral tradition played an important part in passing on information from one generation to another, the writer therefore believes that things have to

change; our traditions have to be documented and preserved in order to benefit the generations to come.

Hogwana is a marriage ceremony, it must be noted that in African culture marriage is an integral stage of life that every individual is expected to embrace. Mbiti (1989:130) had this opinion about marriage:

- “for African people, marriage is the focus of existence, a point whereby all the members of a given community meet. He further defines marriage as a drama in which everyone becomes an actor, actress and not just a spectator. He further alludes that, marriage is a duty, a requirement from the corporate society and a rhythm of life in which everyone must participate. Otherwise he who does not participate in it is a curse to the community, he is not only abnormal but under human”.

From the above quotation, it is clear that marriage is very vital hence marriage ceremonies are of paramount importance whether traditional or modern. This fact was a catalyst that motivated the researcher to carry out the study. Every individual regardless of nationality or race is expected to marry or get married. Marriage is part of life and in most instances married people are highly respected compared to single people. In that regard according to Mbiti’s statement written above, those people who are not married are incomplete and they defile the society.

Having noted how important marriage and traditional ceremonies are, the researcher delved into sources of information to try and find out how much has been said and presented about the ‘*hogwana*’ ceremony. To her amazement, she discovered that very little information has been presented by researchers like Nyathi (2001), Msindo (2012), Nyathi (2001), discussed at length several ceremonies that are carried out among the Ndebele and Bakalanga societies but he never touched on the *Hogwana* ceremony

2.6 Importance of Zimbabwe traditional dances

Asante (2000) defines traditional dance as a dance that is performed at social functions by people with little or no professional training and is not designed for stage. Zimbabwe traditional dance is performed for different reasons because of the different ethnic groups. Likewise, in the Bakalanga culture, there are traditional dances. It should be noted that they are passed from one generation to another through word of mouth and they vary according to the ritual and ceremony being performed. Dance may be performed for entertainment, during many rituals including spirit possession, to re-create history or as a form of courting. These practices reinforce the belief that music is inseparable from African culture. According to Nketia (1974) most ritualistic dances are performed by elders and are performed on special occasions depending on the social event and those involved in it, for its customary to organize the music in relation to the different phases of community life or in terms of the needs of special situation. Thus *tjigubhu* dance uses gestures, and dance patterns to communicate personal feeling, human action and aspirations. Traditionally, *tjigubhu* dance was performed marriage related settings. Dance may be used as a form of identity and is used to bring the pride of Zimbabwean culture.

2.7 The nature of African traditional dances

The way in which music is organized resembles social divisions within a group. Although Stone (2008) does not focus on *tjigubhu* dance, she upholds that the majority of African societies are patriarchal and thus gender biased. She explains that music behaviour is associated with cultural concepts. Thus the way in which society is organized is translated in the music. Hence gender roles in African music ideas and performances are unevenly distributed. Though at times music opposes the broad cultural grain in which people on the cultural fringe become important when they play music for certain functions.

Music and dance are interconnected in most African societies. According to Blacking (1973) music and dance are foundations of African social life which cannot be categorized as two separate and distinct art forms. Stone (2000; 61) argues that the reciprocal relationship between music and dance inevitably creates a similar type of interdependence. Thus dance in African societies binds together components such as music, movement, props and costumes. Mahanda (2015) says that Zimbabwe traditional dance employ polyrhythm, which is usually completed by body articulation thus intensifying the entire dance. Several movements are made in one beat

with different parts of the body simultaneously responding. Asante (2000) is of the view that the movements are earth bound and are mostly accompanied by common instruments such as the *mbira*, drum, *hosho*, *magavhu*, and human voice. The C.D.U. (1995) asserts that costumes are very important in traditional dances. Mahanda (2015) says songs accompanying ritual dances are carefully selected and they usually contain life riddles and are more poetic.

Music reveals the beliefs, norms and values of the people. A very common feature of African music is call and response in which societies have managed to show how they depend on each other in throughout their lives. Shahriari and Miller (2012) say that the majority of African vocal performances involve group singing generally with a call and response organization in which a leader calls with a question and the group responds with the answer. *Tjigubhu* songs are not an exception; they employ the call and response manner. Call and response is generally used for emphasis because of its cyclic nature. In the dialogue the chorus usually stays the same while the leader improvise. Another common characteristic in African music is the use of poly rhythms. Asante (2000) says that African dance utilizes the concept of polyrhythm the simultaneous sounding of two or more independent rhythms and total body articulation thus intensifying the entire dance. Several movements are made in one beat with different parts of the body simultaneously responding. Because poly rhythms maintain the individual beat between the ever improvised patterns, they can induce trance after listening to them for a long period.

African music has traditionally been taught trough oral tradition as indicated by Nketia when he says:

“Public performances, in Africa therefore take place on occasion, that is, on occasions when members of a group or community come together for the employment of leisure, for recreational activities, or for performance of rite, ceremony, festival, or any other kind of collective activity, such as building bridges, clearing paths, going on a search party, or putting out fires- activities that, in industrial societies might be assigned to specialized agencies.” (1992; 121)

Music is therefore a communal event that is practiced or demonstrated through imitation or rather performed from memory. Through performance people can interact and share ideas, one’s presence at an event helps create bonds with others and qualifies them as a participant. There are no observers in African traditional music. One learns through participating or attending an event. People learn about their roles in society and give meaning to music depending on their needs.

This is a clear indication that there is an information gap that needs to be filled. When interviewed for the Mmegi newspaper, Mamo Basetse a renowned Botswana traditional dancer just mentioned that she has represented her Bakalanga tribe in *tjigubhu* dance but did not elaborate on what it is and when it is performed in context. Furthermore, Msindo (2012), discussed the ethnicity of Bakalanga and Ndebele societies but also did not discuss the *hogwana* ceremony. The researcher also noticed that *tjigubhu* dance has never featured in the Jikinya dance competitions; this might be because people do not have sufficient knowledge about it. This study will also give the researcher an opportunity to sell the dance. There is an information gap that has been left by other scholars about Bakalanga people, their culture, rituals, traditional dances and songs that the researcher intends to fill in. Reasonable information is found on the internet concerning other ceremonies that are carried out among the Bakalanga people but little has been said about the *hogwana* ceremony. Such studies are meant to provide information for other scholars and anyone interested. This is also an answer to the problem of lack of documentation.

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter has been an exploration of studies that have been conducted which are strongly related to the study. As explained prior, the literature based on the subject under discussion is very limited hence the researcher had to explore a variety of literature that is somehow related to the subject. The main focus was on the nature of African traditional ceremonies, culture and music. Common attributes such as call and response and the polyrhythmic nature of African music were discussed. This chapter also made an effort to define what *hogwana* in its literal sense is and to establish the relationship between *hogwana* and the ceremony. A bit of light was shed on what *tjigubhu* dance is and more insight will be captured in chapter four.

CHAPTER 3

3.0 Methodology

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the researcher will discuss the research methods that she employed in gathering data for this research study. The ethnographic approach was chosen mainly to provide detailed information concerning the *hogwana* ceremony and *tjigubhu* songs and dance. She also engaged in participant observation and interviews to further extract data from informants. This was done with the aid of interview and observation guides. Elderly and knowledgeable people were selected to be interviewed through purposive sampling. Snowball sampling was also used because as the researcher conducted the interviews more references came which resulted in her discarding some of the names that she had lined up initially. The people she was referred to were more knowledgeable about the ceremony and had the gist of the matter right at their fingertips. They also shared the sentiments that the beautiful culture of the Bakalanga people is slowly vanishing from the face of the earth and soon Bakalanga people will be dead because a nation without culture is dead as tabulated by the late first president of Botswana Sir Seretse Khama. Pictures, video recordings and field notes were also used to gather data and to capture images and information for data analysis.

3.2 Research Design

A research design refers to the outline, plan or strategy that is used to answer a research question (Johnson and Christensen 2004:275 cited in Maluleke (2013)). During this research, the researcher employed an ethnographic Qualitative Research Methodology in which empirical data was solicited from Bakalanga culture bearers located in Sigangatsha Village in Matobo Matabeleland South Province of Zimbabwe. This is because the data the researcher intended to gather has to do with feelings, emotions, beliefs and attitudes which cannot be quantified but can only be qualified. An ethnographic research is also concerned about the people's views, conceptions and perceptions. Geertz (1973) defines ethnography as, the study of social interactions, behaviour or way of life of a group of people through close observation, reading and

interpreting their lifestyle. To further elaborate, Spradely (1979) alludes that ethnography is concerned with understanding the norms and values of a society. To capture all these and to get first-hand information, it is therefore of paramount importance that the researcher should embark on a field trip and engage in participant observation. This research, as mentioned earlier on is ethnography and the phenomenology approach was employed in the collection of data. Geertz (1973) outlines that the qualitative / phenomenology research emphasizes on specificity rather than generalisation and takes into account the respondents' thoughts and how they perceive themselves. He further defines ethnography as the study of social interactions, behaviours or way of life of a group of people through close observation, reading and interpreting. In this regard, it is of paramount importance for the researcher to engage in field work in order to interact, relate and socialise with the people under study therefore capturing information desired when people are relaxed and in their natural sense.

To further elaborate, Spradely (1979) alludes that, ethnography is concerned with understanding the norms and values of a society. Bearing this in mind, it is impossible for one to capture all these from a distance, hence one has to be hands on in order to get first-hand information that is not misleading. Spradely further postulates that the information gathered should be reflective and should express reality as well as aesthetic impact. To achieve the above ethnography connotations, it became of paramount importance to identify the key informant who is well knowledgeable about the ceremony under discussion. This was an easy task for the researcher because she knew a certain lady who used to be very active during the *hogwana* ceremonies when the researcher was growing up. The researcher created rapport with the key informant in a way to find out more about the *hogwana* ceremony from her.

Ethnography as a Research Design will be incomplete without participant observation whereby the researcher will be actively involved with the community under study and participating in the ceremony being studied and getting to understand the proceedings in a detailed manner. Geertz (1973) further asserts that an ethnographer should generate understanding of culture through representation of an emic perspective – the inside point of view. This view gives insights, first-hand information and enables the researcher to give a detailed account of the proceedings because they would have witnessed which is a representation of pride for one's culture.

3.3 Location of Study

The study was conducted in Sigangatsha village in Matobo District. The researcher chose this geographical location because she was born and bred there. This area is located 164 kilometres south of Bulawayo between Plumtree and Gwanda. It is under the leadership of Chief Malaba with Sigangatsha as his headman.

The main language spoken in the village is *TjiKalanga*. However, as a result of intermarriages and also the fact that *TjiKalanga* is not taught in schools, most families also speak Ndebele (*tjiphothoho*). Elders still derive pride in their mother language which is *Tjikalanga*. There is greater unity among the villagers because almost everyone is related to each other. The author saw it relevant and fit to use this location because she is familiar with the villagers. Furthermore, because of the limited time that she has to carry out the study the location is more ideal. There is not enough time to break off the stranger value and also to start studying a new community. Rather the researcher opted for a community that she already knows. The information gathered will also be of great value to the community and their descendants. The map showing the village under study is provided on page 26.

3.4 Population and Sample

According to Johnson and Christensen (2004:197) sampling is, “the process of drawing a part from a population”. A population is the set of all elements, it refers to a large group to which the researcher wants to generalise the sample results. Population deals with a group of elements from which information is to be derived and is viewed as a large collection of individuals who have common binding characteristics. In the case of my research, the population involves 8 elderly people both male and female from Sigangatsha village who are knowledgeable about the *hogwana* ceremony and *tjigubhu* dance and songs. The researcher made a decision to draw up a smaller group for manageability purposes.

People that were used in this research were handpicked for the purposes of achieving goals and objectives. There was need to generate reliable data that was coming from the informants who have relevant and necessary experience in conducting the *hogwana* ceremony. Such people were in a position to give the necessary information of the proceedings of the ceremony. Ball (1990), postulates that purposive sampling is used in order to gain data from knowledgeable people. These are individuals who possess in depth knowledge about certain issues hence one has to be

discreet in making their choice and not just use anyone. The researcher could not just incorporate anyone from the village because that could be costly and time consuming.

3.5 Sampling and Sampling Procedure

This study made use of both purposive and snowballing sampling techniques. The main focus is to deal with knowledgeable people who will give relevant information. It is the researcher's view that as she interviews the people she handpicked from the village, they will lead her to more knowledgeable people to be interviewed hence the use of these sampling techniques.

3.5.1 Definition of purposive sampling

Patton (1990) defines purposive sampling as a sampling method in which a subset of a population is selected through identifying individuals who are relevant to the study and have similar characteristics which may include specialist knowledge of the research issue or willingness to participate in the research. In a nutshell, this technique includes people who are well informed and reliable resources, people with first-hand information.

3.5.2 Snowball sampling

During the data collection procedure, the researcher was referred to more knowledgeable people who eased her workload because they had more details pertaining the *hogwana* ceremony. These were elders from the village who are culture bearers who have the knowhow of the proceedings of the *hogwana* ceremony. BaMbeba (not her real name) referred me to an elderly lady called Mahamba who is a well-known active advisor on how to conduct this ceremony as well as the *tjigubhu* dancer. Information received from her was well regarded as vital because of her age and the role she has played in the society displaying utmost wisdom according to the first informant that the researcher approached.

3.6 Research Instruments

In order to ensure quality, reliable and credible data the researcher used three data collecting instruments. This allowed for triangulation of data. These are, semi structured interviews, video recording and participant observation. An interview guide was used in order to keep the interviews on track and to avoid losing focus. The interview allows for consideration of epistemological and ontological premises that lead to the generation of indigenous knowledge. According to Kvale (1996:4) an interview is “an exchange of views between two or more people

on a topic of mutual interest.” The interview is therefore a flexible tool for data collection enabling multi-sensory channels to be used; verbal cues, non-verbal cues and gestures. This means it has a potential to transfer pure information which is difficult to deduct if someone used a different method for example a questionnaire. The non-verbal cues employed by the interviewee can betray the innermost feelings. According to the presence of the interviewer has a strong influence on the nature and outcome of the responses. Some people tend to behave differently in front of the camera. However, this can also adversely affect the reliability of data because the interviewee may want to please the interviewer hence provide some false information.

The researcher also used the observation guide coupled with personal constructs drawn from an emic perspective. According to Marshall and Rossman [1995] cited Cohen et al (1995), observation refers to looking and noting systematically at people, events, behaviours, settings, artefacts, routines and so on. I will therefore visit and observe and participate in what will be happening at the *hogwana* ceremony. The researcher documented the proceedings of the ceremony, and the lyrics of the songs for analysis. The researcher’s personal experience and constructs also helped to generate knowledge and deduce meanings. Having employed these three instruments of data collection, the researcher was in a position to validate the claims as authentic and reliable. However, ethical considerations which go along with data collection in the field were adhered to. Research ethics are principles and guidelines that help the researcher to uphold certain values (Johnson and Christensen 2004 in Maluleke 2013). The respondents are subjects not objects so they should be valued as humans and they should stand to benefit from the research. It is therefore the researcher's uttermost wish to uphold all ethics deemed necessary.

3.6.1 Semi structured interviews

Open ended questions which are intended to probe the informants to give details were used to extract the data. According to Bernard (1988), defines semi structured questions as questions that are asked with the help of an interview guide that consists of questions and topics that need to be covered during the interview. These questions act as a guideline to avoid going astray and incorporating irrelevant information that has nothing to do with the *hogwana* ceremony and *tjigubhu* songs and dance. Semi structured interviews are conversant and flexible because

questions can be altered during the process depending on issues arising from the discussion and the informant's responses. The interviewer is at liberty to go with the flow of things and extract as much data as possible. The most ideal places to carry out these interviews are quiet and secluded ones with minimal interactions which can disrupt the proceedings. These areas should be within the participant's homestead because they are familiar with the surroundings and that will assist in making them to be relaxed and natural. Chikoko and Mhloyi (1995) asserted that open ended questions permit a free response of an individual.

3.6.2 Participant Observations

Apart from interviews, the researcher also employed a participant observation approach. Dewalt and Dewalt (2002) defined participant observation as the process of learning through exposure to, or involvement in day to day or routine activities of participants on the researcher setting. This way the researcher learnt to blend with community members and that in turn helped in making them to relax and behave natural. This set up allowed the researcher to interact with the community, break stranger value, and gain their self-confidence such that they will not withhold information from the researcher. It enables the informants to feel free around the researcher thereby allowing to be captured in their natural manner. Some people tend to act differently in front of the camera and even change their dressing and that has a negative impact on the outcome of the findings. Participant observation also helped strengthen the trust bond between the researcher and the informants because they tend to view them as one of them which in turn will make it difficult to withhold information,

Taking part also made the elders realise that even if the researcher is "learned" according to their standards, she still finds time to interact, mingle with her folks and is interested in finding out about her culture. They thought that the notion was outstanding since the current generation is not forthcoming and willing to be associated with such proceedings. The researcher observed the proceedings from the initial stages of beer brewing because a *hogwana* ceremony is incomplete without beer. It was quite heart-warming to watch how the community unite to prepare for such a ceremony. They come from all directions, each carrying a mortar and pounding stick during the wee hours of the day to pound baskets and baskets of *njela*.

3.6.3 Video recording

To respond to the quest to provide detailed, substantiated and authentic information encompassed with thick description, the researcher preferred to use a video camera. This was used to capture the proceedings of the ceremony together with the surrounding settings in order to tabulate and understand the order of events. The video recorder also enabled the researcher to collect as much data as possible to be analysed later on by others thereby reducing elements of bias and irrelevance. Still pictures were also captured in order to authenticate the data collected. Tape recording was also used during the interviews and field notes were also jotted down to keep details of the proceedings and to quote the informants verbatim. A video recorder was used to capture the dance pattern routines for *tjigubhu* dance.

3.7 Ethical issues

The Bakalanga people live in a society where life is guided by moral principles. Ethics are the correct rules of conduct that the researcher should abide by. Upon commencement of the study, the researcher visited the village Headman Mangisayi Ndlovu to seek for permission to conduct the study in his kingdom. The sole reason for conducting the study was laid down and explained that it is meant for academic purposes. Permission was granted though he highlighted that some people conduct researches for financial gains which they enjoy on their own leaving the village with no gains afterwards. It was not very difficult to convince the Headman because he is related to the researcher and is aware that the researcher is studying. He promised to help in the best way he could and also expressed his worries concerning the dying legacy of the Bakalanga people. The researcher also visited the participants who agreed to help me with information about the *hogwana* ceremony and *tjigubhu* dance. Permission was granted to take video recordings and pictures. Some informants were not comfortable to be taken pictures and videos and hence the researcher respected their wishes and rights to privacy.

3.8 Data presentation and analysis

The researcher used a qualitative approach in the presentation of data. This was done in order to present data as conveyed by the informants. Data collected was presented and analysed qualitatively. A thick description as propounded by Geertz (1973) was used to explain most of the events that occurs during the *hogwana* ceremony. Design (1989) says that thick description turns

history into experiences and presents detailed content and webs of social relationships that join people together. It is a way of presenting social events from different social institutions. Narration of events will also be employed in presenting data. Elliott (2010) says that narratives are oral or written communication that connects succession of events in a person's life. The stories are interpreted to understand events. They are used to construct meaning from text and images.

3.9 Conclusion

This chapter has given a framework in which the research will be carried out as stipulated by the objectives of the study. It has given the statement of the problem and provided the rationale of the problem by discussing issues that drove the offset of the research. Research questions have also been provided in order to help guide the progress of the research. The next chapter will be of literature review, it will explain concepts that fit the research topic.

CHAPTER 4

4.0 Data presentation and analysis

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and analyzes the data collected during the fieldwork in Sigangatsha Village South of Bulawayo Zimbabwe's second big city. As mentioned in chapter one, a narration of events will be given based on interviews and observations conducted. Events presented are from the visits made in Sigangatsha village. The researcher made an effort to describe and discuss the proceedings of the *Hogwana* ceremony and *tjigubhu* dance and songs which are part and parcel of the ceremony. The researcher also made an effort to establish and explain the relationship between *hogwana* and the marriage ceremony. The importance of *tjigubhu* songs and dance is also outlined.

4.2 Origin of the Bakalanga people

In order to get information about the origins of the Bakalanga people of Sigangatsha village, the researcher conducted interviews. Fortunate enough there were elderly people who had such information. When asked, one of the elderly informants said that the Bakalanga people in Sigangatsha village originated from different parts of Matabeleland and migrated to Sigangatsha village. As mentioned earlier on, the Bakalanga people of Sigangatsha village are agrarian in nature. She stated that the man's worth and status is determined by the size of their herd of cattle and their produce from the fields. They are hardworking and they rely mostly on farming and livestock rearing. The common animals they keep are: cattle, goats, sheep and donkeys.

She further elaborated that people who are currently staying in Sigangatsha village came from other parts of Matabeleland. Some came from Marinoha and others from Gubula about 30 and 40 kilometres respectively. The key elders who were the first to settle in Sigangatsha village are Ntshemane Ncube, Sigangatsha Ndlovu and Mbuya Ncube. Sigangatsha became their final destination because they were moving around looking for greener and fertile pastures for their livestock and fertile land for ploughing. According to the informant, when they first settled in Sigangatsha village in the mid-50s the place was rich with fertile soil and abundant water in the big rivers around the village – Semukwe, Shashani and Shashe which separates Zimbabwe and

Botswana. To them, settling in that village was a great achievement because their livestock multiplied and their harvests were great.

Below is the map of Zimbabwe which has been inserted to show the location of Sigangatsha Village.



Fig 4.1 Map of Zimbabwe showing the location of Sigangatsha extracted from the Atlas.

Sigangatsha Village is located at the bottom of the map of Zimbabwe between Mangwe South and Gwanda just close to the Botswana boarder. The major river which separates Zimbabwe and Botswana near Sigangatsha Village is Shashe. Though the informant highlighted that it used to be fertile, currently it is well known for receiving less rainfall compared to the rest of Zimbabwe. Hence they resort to planting drought resistant crops.

4.2.1 The relationship between Bakalanga and Vakaranga

According to various scholars consulted by the researcher, the Bakalanga and Vakaranga people from Masvingo are related. This evidence in the linguistic similarities between the two languages supplementing an 'l' with an 'r' suggests that they are somehow related. The subject stirred a lot of debate and several scholars dug deeper in order to find out more about the two communities, the Bakalanga and the Karanga. Nyathi (1999) argues that the Karanga and the Kalanga have a historical relationship and a common ancestry. He stated that they first settled in Mapungubwe near Shashe and Limpopo rivers. Nyathi further explains that they migrated from South Africa and settled at Great Zimbabwe between AD1200 and AD1500. When Great Zimbabwe collapsed they started another track to Khami ruins to establish another stone walled city. Professor Huffman in Ndlovu (2013) also reiterates that the Bakalanga are originally from Mapungubwe in South Africa which is considered the first Bakalanga State. He explained that Karanga is a dialect of Tjikalanga. He further alludes that they later moved to Great Zimbabwe and finally to Khami while others moved to Botswana.

According to Ndlovu in his article that appeared in the Chronicle Newspaper dated 27 November 2013 had this to say; “ common Karanga and Kalanga words that sound basically the same include body parts -“*mpimbila*” in Kalanga, (*mupambare* in Karanga and other Shona dialects, shin in English), “chibvi” (bvi in Karanga, knee in English), “ntumbu” (dumbu in Karanga and other Shona dialects). In addition to similarities language, there are many common totems between the people such as Hungwe, Moyo, Chuma, Zhou and so on. Both peoples also worshipped the same deity, *Mwari/ Mwali*. Mr Saul Gwakuba Ndlovu, a retired journalist once worked in the 1960s as a researcher in social anthropology among the Kalanga, argues that Karanga and Kalanga peoples are historically one group. He said Kalanga was spoken along Matloutsi River in Botswana to Gwilo (now Gweru). To the east of Gwilo, Karanga was the language. From the deliberations raised above, one can safely conclude that there is a relationship between the Bakalanga and the Karanga people. The similarities in language, their belief system and pilgrimage to Ngwali in Njelele reveals and supports the idea that they are one.

4.3 The Bakalanga's way of life

The researcher developed an interest in knowing and finding out how the Bakalanga people of Sigangatsha Village live. Further interviews were conducted to that effect and the following information was gathered: according to the conversation that she had with one unnamed informant, Bakalanga people are a highly spiritual community who believe in the supreme God they call *Mwali* as the creator of the universe. They strongly believe in the involvement of *midzimu* – ancestors as their mediators to God. She further mentioned that they embrace the idea that *midzimu* always revolve amongst them to guide, protect and care for them. According to the information provided by this elderly informant, Bakalanga people are also known for their constant communication with *Mwali / Ngwali* at the *Njelele* shrine which is their popular venue for pilgrimage and rain making ceremonies. Some of the rituals that the Bakalanga people perform include *wosana* and *mayile* which are rainmaking ceremonies *mazenge / humba* literally meaning lion, a ritual conducted by old women to appease the ancestors to heal the sick person. They also practice *amantshomane* ritual which is similar to *izangoma* in the Ndebele culture. The informant further outlined that there are several secular occasions among the Bakalanga people such as the *Hogwana* ceremony which is mainly focused on *bukwe* – engagement and *ndobolo* – marriage. The researcher will dwell much on the *Hogwana* ceremony because it is the main focus of the study.

4.4 The different meanings of Hogwana

The researcher was startled to learn that the name of this ritual *Hogwana* is derived from the name of grain particles and therefore felt compelled to find out more about the relationship between the two. Mahamba (not her real name) was thrilled to give an insight and shed some light onto the matter. When interviewed, she had this to say:

*“Hogwana dzolatidza kuti bukamo gwebanu babili gwendobolo gwakayengemala
ngobe hogwana dzowanika hule kokhwa kanjinji kakale dzobe dzisitjina kuba.
Bana bedu tobadhiya zwibhata pa bekula basilalamile zwinu zwisakabalizana.”*

Translation: *Hogwana* resembles the purity of the marriage ceremony. *Hogwana* grains are obtained after pounding several times which makes them to be very clean without any trace of the outer skin. We teach our children good manners and to abstain engaging in activities that are not within their age range.

From the information obtained during fieldwork, the researcher discovered that the marriage union among the Bakalanga people of Sigangatsha Village is associated with purity. This is an indication that it is a valuable union since their children are taught how to behave well from a tender age. From the data gathered abstinence is well upheld in the Bakalanga society of Sigangatsha village. And according to their belief, when a girl finally leaves their father's house to get married, they will still be a virgin and that symbolizes purity.

(Interview 30 December 2015 Puteho Ndlovu Homestead – Sigangatsha village)

4.4.1 How Hogwana grains are obtained and their value in the Bakalanga culture

The researcher felt compelled to dig deeper and find out what this special product, spoken so highly of called Hogwana is and how they get it from grains. Mahamba further explained that Bakalanga people of Sigangatsha village are highly dependent on their farm and animal products for food. They plough crops which are resistant to drought such as *lukwehha* – finger millet, *zembwe* – millet, *mapfunde* – sorghum, groundnuts, round nuts and maize to a lesser extent. Their staple food is *hadza* – thick porridge made from either *mapfunde* or *zembwe*. Finger millet is mainly used for beer brewing. She stated that they pound their grain using mortars and pestles in order to extract mealie meal. The grain and a bit of water are put in a mortar and pounded in order to remove the outer skin of the grain. The process is called *hobola*. Pounding continues until all the outer skin is removed. A *lusele* / *ukhomanis* is used to separate the grain from the outer skin debris. The pounding further continues to turn the grain into mealie meal. The procedure is not automatic that all the grain will turn into mealie meal; rather there are some grain particles that remain intact.

A *lusele* is used to winnow and separate big particles which are returned into the mortar for further pounding. Smaller particles – *nsetje* are placed in one basket and the mealie meal in another. When asked what purpose the *nsetje* serves, the informant explained that according to their tradition, when one is cooking *hadza*, after the water boils, *nsetje* is used to stir instead of the currently common mealie meal. Pounding continues until enough *nsetje* and mealie meal has been produced. Below is a picture illustrating a lady separating *nsetje* and mealie – meal during the pounding process.



Fig 4.2: A picture of a woman winnowing and separating smaller particles – nsetje and mealie meal.

The smaller particles and the mealie-meal are set aside and the bigger particles returned in the mortar for further pounding. The remnants of the bigger particles which at this moment will be cleaner without any traces of the outer skin are called *hogwana*. The informant explained that these are dried and packed in buckets and sacks because they keep accumulating after every pounding session. She further outlined that long before people opted for grinding meals they used to gather plenty of *hogwana* such that it will be kept in granaries. From the above explained process, it is quite clear that *hogwana* is obtained after a tedious task of pounding.

Mahamba outlined that these grain particles in their purest form are highly regarded as very important in the Bakalanga culture. Whenever *nkwaha* – son in law visits his wife's family, a reasonable amount of *hogwana* particles will be sprinkled with water – *dzonyayiwa*. This is done

to make them soft so that they can be easy to pound. They will be left for some time to soften up and then the whole pounding process will be repeated. She said that it is regarded a taboo for *nkwaha* to eat *hadza* from maize meal or ordinary *zembwe* or *mapfunde*. The *hadza* prepared from *hogwana* is eaten with chicken. It is from this treasured and sacred act that *hogwana* obtained its name. The informant had this to say about the marriage in relation to the pounding act:

“Ndobolo tjinu tjinolema kwazo, se khwa, notukutla kuti udzine uwane bwisa gwawunohaka. Ne nha wakajalo, unolema unoshingigwa kuti udzine uyibve”.

(Interview – Puteho Homestead – 31 December 2015 – Sigangatsha Village)

Translation: Marriage is a very complicated union. Just like pounding, you sweat in order to produce enough mealie-meal, same applies to marriage; one has to work hard in order for it to work out well.

The likening of marriage and the pounding process was an eye opener to the researcher. After witnessing the pounding procedure, it became clear that marriage is indeed not easy. Such attributes as hard work, patience, love, care and dedication should be exercised fully in order for its success. Just as in pounding, one has to work hard, love what they are doing, practice patience because mealie-meal is not produced instantly, be careful to separate the right size of particles and place them in the right place and persevere no matter how tedious the task is. Indeed the Bakalanga people are giving their children a good lesson to prepare them for the marriage challenges, teaching them not to give up but rather to focus on what they want to archive.

4.5 The set-up of Hogwana ceremony

Upon further questioning concerning the activities that are conducted prior the big day of the *hogwana* ceremony, Mr Sitsha (not his real name) explained that marriage is a highly respected union in the Bakalanga culture and elders advice the youth to respect and honour it. They perceive marriage as divine and deserving to be respected and prepared for. Like their counterparts the Bakaranga as stated by Maguraushe and Mukuhlani (2014) when they said, marriage has divine connotations and promiscuity can lead to misfortunes. When a Nkalanga

lady has become of age and has found a suitor, they visit their aunt to convey the news. This will be after undergoing courtship which is meant for the two to get to know each other. The aunt will sit the lady down and teach them about how she should conduct herself, how to take care of her husband and also about her bedroom role which in most cases is highly emphasised because they believe that the man had a family to cook for him and wash his clothes but he now needs someone to satisfy his sexual needs. The aunt will then give the lady *cansi* – a reed mat, *ntswayilo* – a traditional broom and *seme* – a basket because those three are a must have for *anlongo* – new bride in the Bakalanga culture. At the same time, the aspiring groom also will talk to his family through his uncle to prepare for the coming of bride (*nlongo*).

According to one of the respondents, there are two ways in which Bakalanga women normally get married. It's either the groom's family sends a go between to ask for the woman's hand in marriage (*piza bukwe*) or the lady will elope with the man at night. In the case of the go between asking for the girl's hand in marriage, the family discusses the matter and then the aunt accompanies the girl to her marital home. In case of eloping, a day will be set when the groom will come to the lady's family at night to pick her and take her to her in-law's place. Mahamba explained that long back, before beds became common; they used to sleep on the floor.

“Nsikana unonoyizela nebamwe semahhuba wose. Iye unobe eziba kutikunabezi baakalindila banohha bewowuntola busiku. Pana baswika, unonda nabo koga wakamela siya mari kusi kwensazamilo kutila kuti pa bazwadzi bowunhaka bekabona mari banogala bazibakuti wanda nenlume. Banokolindila unoha ewobabudza kuti hakilani ngeno kuti bazibe kwa ali”.

Translation: The lady would spread her blankets as usual and place some money under the pillow before she goes to her in-laws' place. The following morning the whole family will wake up to resume their usual chores; she will be nowhere to be seen. Upon visiting *ixhiba* – girl's room and finding money under the pillow elders will know what happened. They will wait patiently for the responsible people to come and introduce themselves.

At the man's place the following morning the lady will be made to sit on the mat she brought behind the door unexposed because she is not yet accepted into the family officially until her

family agrees. She is supposed to *pakatila / ukugaxa /* tying the necktie above the right shoulder across the chest and below the left arm) using her husband's neck tie. That is a sign that she is *anlongo* – newlywed. The man's family then meets to send a representative to the woman's family to say *hakilani ngeno / dingelani ngapha / tswagirai kuno* translated to say we are the ones with your child.

From the information provided by the informant, the researcher deduced that the Bakalanga people of Sigangatsha Village believe in following the proper channels to get married instead of the common “moving in” whereby girls will go and stay with the boyfriend without the approval of their parents. From the information gathered the woman's parents would request that their daughter be returned if they did not approve of the family she got married to. The involvement of family members also reveals how they value the input from family members. It shows their belief in the proverb that “It takes a community to raise a child”. The aspect of respect is revealed when the lady is hidden until the approval from her parents, also in covering her head with a head gear and tying a neck tie above her right shoulder and below her left arm..

Interview 31 December 2015 – Ntshemane Homestead – Sigangatsha Village

Mr Sitsha added on to say that the choice of the go between varies from family to family. Normally, an elderly person either a man or woman is sent to convey the message. With the current set up whereby men will be at work, a woman representative will be sent. The representative sits outside the homestead and waits to be invited in. In most cases they are ignored for a long time until the moment the in laws deem fit to meet them and hear what they have to say.

When they are finally let in, the messenger will convey the message that the girl who has gone missing is with such a family, if the lady's family agree with them, they pay the money called *lubonano* – for being allowed to convey their message.

*“Dombo latumiwa lokobwilila nenhandulo kuti bakanyi kwenkadzi
batjagala pasi banokotumila nu ewobabudza kuti babvumilanani?”*

*Pana bagala pasi, banokotumia labo dombo nelukwalo
gwakakwagwa zwinu zwabanohaka kunkwaha. Lukwalo
gokosengewa mutukwi, kuti gutulugwe, bakamela ruwela”.*

Translation: The go between sent by the man’s family will be told to return and tell the man’s family to wait as they sit down to discuss. After reaching a consensus, the woman’s family will send their own representative with a letter consisting of a list of items and charges that they want. The envelope will be tied on the *doek* / head gear and placed on the head. Money has to be paid in order for it to be read.

The above explanation reveals that the Bakalanga people do not believe in overnight things. They take their time, analyse matters before they reach an agreement. They prove to be proud people who do not want to deviate from their original culture of charging according to how they used to long back even in this day when people are capitalising on such events for monetary gains.

The respondent went on to explain the contents of the letter which He explained as uniform in the Bakalanga culture. The following are the charges that they normally ask for but the amount of money charges vary from one family to another depending on other aspects that they consider as important such as the girl’s age, education just to name a few.

- *Pfukila munzi* - Breaking into the home.

- *Isivulamlo* - Money for opening the mouth to talk to them.

- *Mari yozibwa / kangaziwe* - money for them to be known who they are.

- *Ndobolo* - bride price

After receiving the letter, the man’s family will meet and read the letter and gather what they have. The informant added on to say:

*“Pfukilamunzi, tjivulamlo ndakangaziwe kodangwa mari. Koga
malobolo kodangwa zwipfuwo. Banogozwa dana ngombe hanu,*

mbudzi hanu, nemwizi dzilihanu. Pehugwi kwezvipfuwo, nkwaha wakamela tenga tjigaxo nejali yamezwale, jazi nejeki yatezwale. Zwinu I zwezo zolesiwe zwina fodlo”.

Translation: Normally, for breaking into the home and starting a conversation, money is charged. As for the bride price, they prefer five cattle, five goats, and five sheep. On top of that, the groom should buy his mother in law a special cloth for tying around her shoulders as a sign of respect and a small blanket. For the father in law, he should buy a coat and a container for his father in law to use to drink beer (jeki). On top of all that, he should also send tobacco.

From the charges listed above, one can safely conclude that the farming nature of the Bakalanga people is revealed. They are more interested in livestock than money. At the present day they negotiate with the in laws to convert some of the charges to monetary value. But they still insist that at least two cows should be brought. The element of respect is brought up again judging by the clothing that they request the son in law to buy. Beer is significant in the Bakalanga culture hence the need for *jeki* - a container for the father in law to use to drink beer.

Interview – Puteho Homestead – 30 December 2015 – Sigangatsha Village.

The procedure still continues, after meeting as a family and gathering whatever they managed, the groom’s family will send their representative to go to their in laws to announce that they can now come and collect their dues. The family gathers, slaughters two goat or even a cow for this ceremony. The informant further clarified that the go between from the woman’s family normally arrives in the evening. The following morning, they meet to hand over what they have. *Pfukila munzi, isivulamlo, kangaziwe, fodlo, jeki, tjigaxo, jali* and *jazi* are a must to send at this stage. As for *malobolo*, the informant specified that in their culture they believe that bride price is paid for the children and since at this stage there will be no child, they will be lenient. As they hand over these items, the groom’s family will also provide a couple of sacks to be taken to the woman’s family together with two big goats.

In addition, the informant further elaborated that the number of sacks to be sent depends on how much they were charged. If the charges were steep, they also send many sacks. Those are the sacks that the bride's family has to fill up with *hogwana* and return to the man's place. The two goats are to be slaughtered on that day for the *hogwana* ceremony. The go between will take items back home together with the meat (half the goat) that is meant to be eaten as they give the feedback on how they went and also present what they got. The ball will now be on the bride's family, they have to decide on a date for the *hogwana* ceremony and let the groom's family know since they are supposed to send representatives to attend. Preparations for the big day will commence.

4.6 The researcher's experiences of the *hogwana* ceremony

According to a male informant who was willing to answer questions, women are the most active during the preparation for the *hogwana* ceremony. He stated that the ceremony is incomplete without beer. It should be noted that the *hogwana* ceremony is conducted at the woman's place first and then the sacks filled with *hogwana* are transported to the man's place.

4.6.1 The Traditional beer brewing procedure

The brewing of beer involves a number of steps and these were clearly articulated by one of the informants who explained the procedure as follows:

*“zwidlo zwonyayiwa muvula busiku gose. Tjimuka tjakhona zwokununugwa
Zwikadigwa mumasaka mungumba inodziya sekhitshi. Zwokoletjewa zwikamela.
Pana zwamela zwodangwa kuyi injela. Njela ndiyo inohingisiwa bhika
busukwa. Inohanganyiwa nebwisa gwe tjigayo. Kwazo busukwa
gobhikiwa ne mapfunde, lukwehha ne tjimanga.”*

Translation: Sorghum, *rapoko* and maize is soaked in water over night and drained the following day. They are left in a warm environment to start shooting. After a couple of days they are dried and pounded to make mealie meal which is used to brew beer. In most cases *rapoko*, maize and sorghum are used. The informant further explained that people from Sigangatsha village are united and they do their chores collectively as a village / one big family. When

pounding *njela*, they meet and do it together. Elderly people and babvana / daughters in law wake up at dawn to pound.

Beer brewing in the Bakalanga culture is a special component of their well being; hence it is treated as sacred. Certain procedures are followed during preparations, it is not done haphazardly. The choice of firewood and grains used confirms that. They also believe in communal work, the shared tasks between men and women are evident enough to prove that.

Interview – Sitsha Homestead – Sigangatsha Village - 01 January 2016

As explained above, pounding is done by women. Below is a picture of women pounding *njela* / malt.



Figure 4.3 A picture of women pounding *njela*

As the women and girls are busy pounding, men and boys assist with fetching water and firewood to be used to brew the beer. Special types of trees are used as firewood. These are *bvumila* and *nkunu / iminyela* in Ndebele and the firewood is called *makalati*. According to the informant, they use these particular trees because they burn fast.

An illustration of the traditional beer making process is shown below;

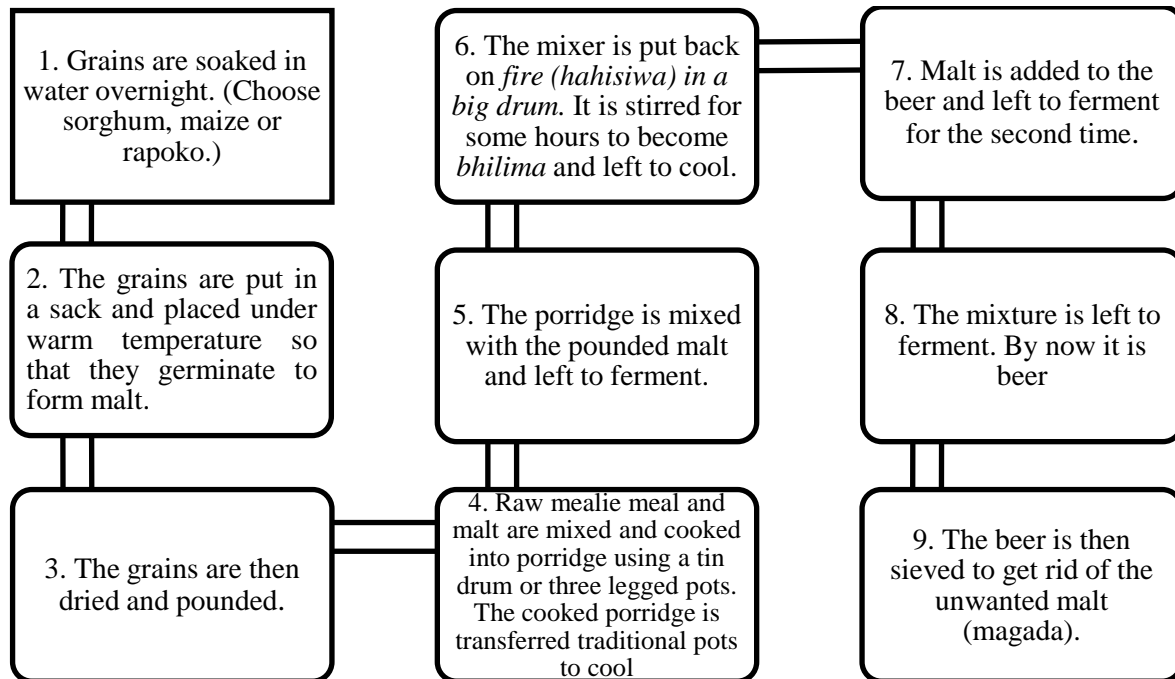


Figure 4.4: A summary illustrating the process of traditional beer brewing.

Beer brewing is done in stages. It is a process that has to be followed. Skipping a stage will have a negative impact on the end result. It is normally done within seven days hence the beer is sometimes called seven days. In the village, there are well known individuals who are in charge of brewing the beer. Their beer will be outstanding and “sweet”. People with such a talent are the ones chosen to perform the task.

4.6.2 Traditional clay pots used in traditional brew

Beer brewing in the Bakalanga Culture is done in traditional clay pots. Some are big enough to accommodate 20 litres of water or more. These are buried in a *stoep* and *bhilima* is mixed with malt in them. Burying them *in* the ground as illustrated makes them to be cool. That has an impact on the quality of beer that is produced compared the one where any other type of pot is used. A traditional gourd or *nkombe* is used to empty anything from these pots because anything metal damages them. *Ankombe* is shown in the picture below.



Figure 4.5 A picture of a woman using nkombe to fetch bhilima from a traditional clay pot which is half buried on a stoep.

4.6.3: The traditional gourds

The informant explained that long back they never used to drink beer and *mahewu* in metal and plastic containers like it is done nowadays. Plants were used, there was a particular plant which almost looked like a pumpkin which bore bigger fruits than pumpkins. Those were harvested, dried up properly and cut open neatly on top to remove the seeds. Water was filled in to soak them and remove the thick inner layer. After that they are cleaned and used to store and drink beer. These are called *makambwa* plural and *gambwa* singular. She explained that due to

drought, even if they plant them they no longer grow big as they used to hence they are no scarce to find. Below is a picture of these traditional gourds.



Figure 4.6 A picture of Makambwa /gourds - containers for drinking beer and mahewu

4.7 Proceedings for the day

BaMbeba (not her real name) asserted that when the beer has been brewed and all is set and ready for the big day, certain rituals have to be carried out. Initially when all the preparations are taking place, the lady will be requested to return to her family. She will spend some time with her aunts who are expected to advise her on how to conduct herself, satisfy her husband's needs and take care of her in laws. The evening prior the big day, close family members will take the bride and go out under a *nkoho* tree or a barren *mpfula* / marula tree *benotebula nkombe* (to

speak to the ancestors). Beer will be taken in a small *gambwa* / gourd and the *fodlo* / tobacco that came from the man's family as an offering to the ancestors to bless the new family and offer protection. Some utterances are said there as the clan names are recited as a way of inviting the ancestors to take part in the ceremony. Bozongwana (2000:24) alludes that, "Amadlozi must be told that she is leaving the home and the spirits must look after her. He goes on to say that, good luck, long life, fertility and prosperity are important and she can only get these priorities from the sleeping men beside the cattle kraal – her ancestors." She went on to elaborate that in some instances the bride's father offers a beast to be slaughtered. Even though, the two goats from the man's family are mandatory to be slaughtered. The following morning, relatives, neighbours and friends will pour in from all directions each carrying a basket of *hogwana* to pour into the sacks that were sent by the in laws.

BaMbeba further explained that there will be plenty of food prepared for this ceremony.

"Kobhikiwa kafu tjinjinji kutila kuti banu bakokewa basife nehala. Kobo kunakafu tjinonga busukwa, mahewu, tiye, tjinkwa, nyama yengombe, nyama yembudzi, yewuku, hadza nematshakada".

Translation: a lot of food is prepared for the *hogwana* ceremony. Such food as beef, samp, thick porridge, *mahewu*, tea, bread and goat meat will be in abundance.

It should be noted that *hogwana* is a traditional ritual and hence the menu that is prepared there is mostly traditional. However nowadays people now include modern dishes like salads, rice, drinks and dessert.

The informant highlighted that as the day proceeds and people have been fed, they will gather in a prepared place with the sacks in their midst. The family representatives will address the crowd; thank them for attending and for the support. Baskets will then be lifted up one after the other and the owner will stand up and sing and dance as they go to empty their basket into the sack. This is when the *tjigubhu* which is meant to describe both the dance that is danced during the *hogwana* ceremony and the songs sung takes its toll. The crowd takes part in the singing,

clapping, whistling and ululating. This is also an opportunity to see who has brought the most *hogwana*. People eat, drink and merry for the entire day. After the sacks have been filled up they are sown and kept safe. The remainders are a bonus for the bride's parents.

Further explanation by the informant revealed that the ceremony does not end there. A delegation is chosen from among the crowd. This delegation comprises of relatives, friends and neighbours, men, women, boys, and a couple of elderly people. The following day at dawn, the delegation will start off to go to the man's family. The main purpose is to engage in different chores. The informant had this to say quoted verbatim:

*“Bakalanga banu banozibwa nehinga. Kutjintolo kutjinangumba dzevu,
banomilika ndomthimba bakabeswika bedzula, bedzulula miha
nedzingumba. Bamwe benotheza wuni, betjilume betema wuni.
Bakabepaladzana bethama mihingo yakasiyana, bamwe betswayila nzi.
Bakadzana bakabepiwa saka lezwidlo kuti bahobole bakhwile botezwale
hadza labanodla. Nlongo nenkadzana uwe bakamela thama mihingo yose.
Wakamela kuti asenge sunga lewuni atulugwe nemari, pa atswayila
wakamela piwa mari kuti awolele malala. Pa kukhwiwa, wakamela latidzila
kwakwako kuti unozwagwa munzi kunogutiwa. Azomela akama esanu ayibvisa
duli lile. Pana ayibvisa unolamba ekhwa badzine bawuntolele nsi. Pa duli
likawa, unokhwa koga pehugwi kwalo unoma nebhatigwa nsi nepiwa mari.”*

Translation: In the information provided above, the informant was explaining the proceedings of the ceremony when they arrive at the in law's place. She said that Bakalanga people are well known for being hard working hence this is an opportunity for the *nlongo* to show off her talents. Long ago before people used cement to build houses, mud was used and during the ceremony, *nlongo* and delegates will be required to mend the walls and decorate them. As they will be doing that, men will go out to cut firewood and bring in scotch carts. Other women will be at home tying the firewood into bundles and packing the bundles around a tree. The other group will be pounding buckets of *zembwe* and preparing to cook for the in laws. The *nlongo* and her

nlongwana - accomplice are supposed to engage in all the activities and be given money by the husband's family. The most interesting part is the pounding. *Nlongo* is supposed to pound until the grain is ready and done without stopping. Even when the mortar falls, she continues to pound on top of it until they hold the pestle and give her some money. She is also supposed to carry a bundle of firewood until she is given some money. All the dirt that she sweeps and gathers some money should be placed on top for her to collect and throw away.

The cooperation aspect brought forth in the above discussion reveals that Bakalanga people of Sigangatsha Village are a united front. They also take pride in different cultural and traditional activities which reveal who they really are as a people.

When the informant was questioned as to why they involve money in everything, she explained that in their culture the *nlongo* was forbidden to use her mother in law's utensils. All the money gathered was meant to be used to purchase her pots, plates, cups and everything that she needed for the kitchen. The ceremony continues and after people have been served food, they all gather to be presented with their sacks of *hogwana* from their in laws. Singing and dancing continues and the man's family takes an opportunity to thank the in laws for such a gift. In the evening, the delegation from the woman's place start off to return home, the *nlongo* and *nlongwana* attempts to escape and go with their family. If they succeed, *nkwaha* has to pay his in laws because he would have proved to be irresponsible by failing to watch over his family. The informant further explained this as a very interesting episode between the two families because the man's family also assigns a crew to watch over *nlongo* so that she does not escape. Songs of mocking and belittling one another are sung at this moment but the occasion is just a happy one because no one feels offended. She also outlined that at this particular moment, there will be tears experienced when *nlongo* is left behind by her family. For a couple of days, she remains with *nlongwana* in most cases, her young sister. She helps her with the chores and help her settle in her new home after which she will return home.

An example of a mockery song which is sung in IsiNdebele language

Limthethe ekukhanyeni

Lamusa ebunyameni

Translation: You have taken her away from the light. Now you have placed her in darkness

The song is normally sung by the bride's family. Its lyrics clearly state that the bride's family is much better than the groom's family. They have taken her out of a good life into poverty and suffering.

4.8 Songs

Music plays an integral part during the proceedings of the *Hogwana* ceremony. It will be deemed incomplete without the involvement of the *Tjigubhu* dance and songs. They bring life to the occasion and make it colourful and memorable. Agawu (2003) postulates that, African music is communal and inviting; It draws in a range of consumers young and old, skilled and unskilled and allows for the spontaneous and authentic expression of emotions. This is a clear indication that African music is natural, humorous and meant to be enjoyed by all. To sum it up, the informant who was interviewed during fieldwork specified that the songs that are sung during the *Hogwana* ceremony are mainly for entertainment purposes. Some of the songs embrace mockery themes between the two families whereas others have social themes such as advices that are meant to build the new couple. Maguraushe and Mukuhlani (2014:48) advocated that, "songs play a huge role throughout the bride welcoming ceremony. They are not just part of the ceremony but the ceremony's essence which embeds the teaching, values, morals and *unhu*". This clearly shows that these songs are meant to teach and guide. The music is purely secular and mostly sung in call and response style. Nettl (1990) argues that folk music is closely associated with a people, nation or a culture. Therefore the folk music reflects the inner characteristics of the nation's culture including beliefs ideologies and philosophy. The music is communally owned and therefore is used during community functions. The songs are an expression of the thinking and perception of the people.

Bakalanga people are well known for singing in riddles. Some of their songs will be having ordinary words with deep hidden meanings. Some of the songs are sung in IsiNdebele. Nyathi (2012:45) pointed out that, "some of the Kalanga songs have been lyrics in the Ndebele language. Even then, the explicitness of the songs has been retained. Please let no man or woman say this is vulgarity or pornography; are we not a result of vulgarity anyway. Their songs on the surface may not look that very explicit..." This will be further explained in the analysis of the songs. It should be noted that *Tjigubhu* songs are mainly in call and response form. There is

always a lead and those who are responding. Clapping of hands is very important and it keeps the time for the dancers.

4.8.1 Lyrical Content Analysis of the songs

Tjigubhu songs are highly embraced in the *hogwana* ceremonies of the Bakalanga people of Sigangatsha Village. One of the songs that is sung during the *hogwana* ceremony is as follows. It should be noted that due to intermarriages and mixing of cultures some of the *tjigubhu* songs are now sung in IsiNdebele. The title of the song is *Delele langu*.

Song 1 – *Delele langu*

DELELE LANGU

Dele le langu lipa mo to

10

dele le_ la-ngu lipa-moto

Tjikalanga

English

Lead – *Delele langu lipamoto*..... My okra pot is on the fire.

Response – *Delele langu lipamoto* My pot of okra is on the fire

Lead– *Mundipeni soda ndibhike delele* Give me soda to cook my okra

Response– *Delele langu lipamoto* My pot of okra is on the fire

Lead *Moduba kerana bana bakalinga* You make a mistake of shaving each other when children are watching

Response *Delele langu lipamoto* My pot of okra is on the fire

Lead *Bemuka mangwana nayibo bekerana* Then they wake up tomorrow shaving each other.

Response *Delele langu lipamoto* My pot of okra is on the fire

Lead *Halala yelele*

Response *Delele langu lipamoto* My pot of okra is on the fire

Underlying meaning

According to the informant, the song is talking about a man's craving for engaging in sex. He is asking for some *muthiin* this case referred to as soda so that he can be strong and be able to satisfy his woman. He further gives advice to say couples should not make love in front of the children because they will also copy what they saw. The sexual act in this song is likened to shaving. If taken at face value one might misinterpret the song.

Song 2: *Sebevumelene* translated as "They have agreed"

Song text:

Lead: *Ayi baba*

Response: *Ayi ayi baba sebevumelene*

Lead: *savela sabon'imbatat'iphum'endlini kamalukazana*

Response: *Sebevumelene*

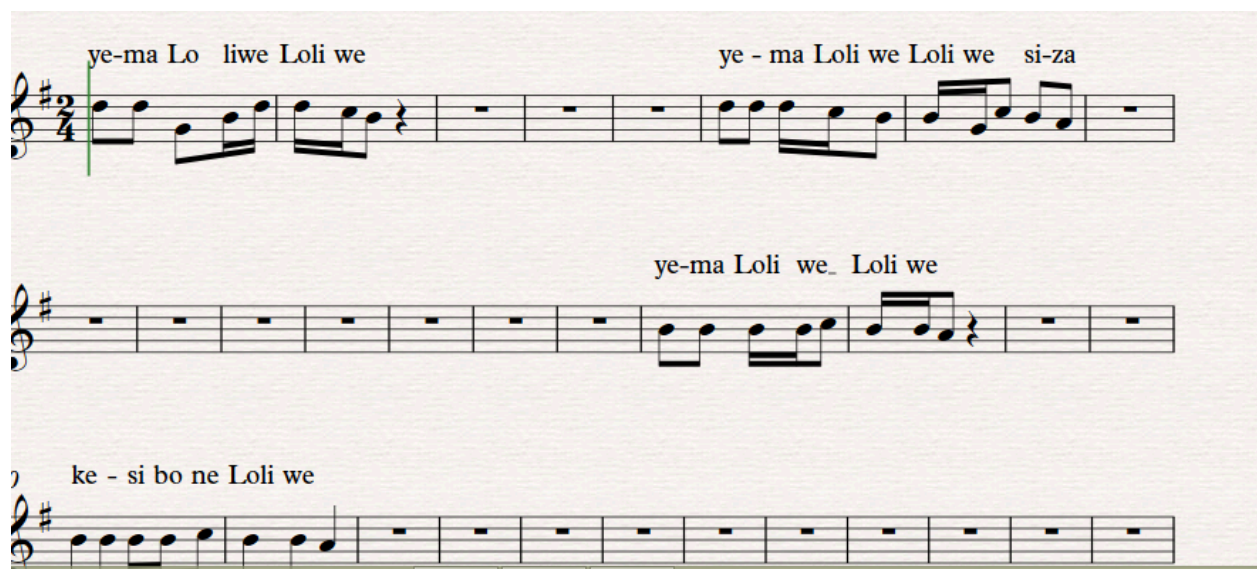
Literal translation

Oh father, they have agreed. We saw the foot prints for a man's sandals coming from the daughter in law's room

Underlying meaning

According to the respondent, this is a lamentation from the mother in law that the daughter in law is sleeping with her father in law. This is due to the controversial “*nholo wemwizana*” translated as ‘head of a lamb’. This is a practice that was once practiced in the Bakalanga culture long back. She further explained that in this practice it was a must that when a son got married, the new bride was supposed to first sleep with her father in law just for one night to “open a way for the son” as it was believed. The respondent was also not sure about the reason but suspected that it was a way of checking whether the bride was a virgin or not. It was meant to be a once off act between the father and daughter in law. She continued to say that in some instances, what was meant to last one night continued resulting in the mother in law competing with her daughter in law for her husband. Therefore, in the song above the mother in law is announcing what she is experiencing.

Song 3- *Loliwe*



The image shows a musical score for a song titled "Loliwe". The score is written on three staves of music, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The time signature is 2/4. The lyrics are written above the notes. The first staff has the lyrics "ye-ma Lo liwe Loli we" and "ye - ma Loli we Loli we si-za". The second staff has the lyrics "ye-ma Loli we_ Loli we". The third staff has the lyrics "ke - si bo ne Loli we". The music consists of a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some rests.

Lead: *Yemma Loliwe Loliwe*

Response: *Yemma Loliwe Loliwe*

Lead: *Yemma Loliwe sizake sibone*

Response: *Yemma Loliwe Loliwe*

Lead: *Yemma Loliwe Loliwe*

Response: *Yemma Loliwe Loliwe*

Lead: *Yemma Loliwe zana kondikona*

Response: *Yemma Loliwe Loliwe*

Lead: *Tati tiwobona pagele mwana*

Response: *Yemma Loliwe Loliwe*

Lead: *Kuti wakayenda kene wakakumba*

Response: *Yemma Loliwe Loliwe*

Literal translation

Loliwe loliwe, we shall see. *Loliwe loliwe*, I am failing to dance. We thought of coming to see where our child is staying. To check whether it is permanent or temporary. *Loliwe* is a name for someone.

Underlying meaning

This is one of the mockery songs showing how displeased the bride's family is concerning the family she is married into. They even go on to say we shall see whether this will last or not. That is a way of mocking and looking down upon the family in which their child is getting married into. To them, they always anticipate that their daughter will not stay long most probably because of the poverty in the family. To my surprise these songs are just sung even when the opposite is true: when the family the girl is marrying into is well off than hers. This showed that the message embodied in the songs is not considered very seriously during such functions. More

so the researcher learnt that there has never been some squabbles between the two families from the songs sung. The informant explained that the songs have been there for ages and people just sing them to enjoy themselves.

Song 4 – *Lapha kulendab’enzima translated “There is a huge issue here”*

Lead: *Lapha kulendab’enzima*

Response: *Woyee wole*

Lead: *KoNcube kulendab’enzima*

Response: *Woyee wole*

Lead: *Ngiyesab’ukuyibhoboza*

Response: *Woyee ngiyesab’ukuyibhoboza bhoboza*

Translation: Here there is a tough issue, I am scared to say it out

If the girl is married into the Ncube family they alternate and use Ncube. The implication will be that their daughter’s new family has a lot of issues that are difficult to explain.

Song 5 - *Emakhalangeni*

Lead: *Ngiphose ngazithela*

Response: *Aya*

Lead: *Ng’phose ngazithela*

Response: *Aya*

Lead; *Ng’phose ngazithela*

Response: *Aya ng’phose ngazithel’emakhalangeni*

Lead: *Budiri budiri*

Response: *Aya*

Lead: *Lamankomitshana*

Response: *Aya*

Lead: *Ndoda ayisiyiyakho*

Response: *Aya ng'phose ngazithel'emakhalangeni*

Literal translation

I almost made a mistake by falling for a Nkalanga. You are busy with cups and the husband is not yours.

Underlying meaning

According to the informant, a Ndebele woman fell in love with a Nkalanga man and discovered that he has his own Nkalanga woman. She is now lamenting to say she almost made a mistake of committing to the man. She would have wasted time making tea and cooking for his family yet the husband was not hers, he had his fellow Nkalanga to marry.

Below is a table which summarizes the musical aspects. It should be noted that there are three main groups under which traditional music can be classified. These are; traditional which is polyrhythmic, and hollow in sound quality, sacred which also employs the polyrhythmic aspect yet sonorous in sound quality. Lastly there is the secular which is mainly call and response. *Tjigubhu* songs fall under this class. The lyrics of the songs have nothing to do with spiritual involvement; rather they tackle day to day matters. They focused on offering advice, rebuking bad behaviour and encouraging the newlyweds to love and respect each other. Though some of the songs have mockery themes, no one takes them to heart instead they sing, dance and merry.

Cantometric Profile

Music	Sound Quality	Style	Rhythm	Instruments	Melody
Traditional	Hollow	Lead and	Contrapuntal	-Traditional	Polyphonic

		response		Drums -Whistle -Amahlwayi	
Sacred	Soronus	Solo	Polyphonic	-Marimba -Traditional drums	
Secular	Idiophonic	Duet	Polyphonic		
	Aerophonic	Call and Response		-Traditional drums -handshakers -whistle -Amahlwayi	

Table 4.1 – Cantometric profile of the song analysis

The most common elements in the *tjigubhu* music is that it is traditional, mostly call and response, uses traditional drums, whistle, amahlwayi and is polyrhythmic in nature.

4.9 The Dance

Every African society has traditional dances which use the human body as a tool to communicate nonverbal messages constructed through movement. However, the distinguishing factor is how these traditional dances are regarded by that particular society. In most African societies traditional dance is not only a spectacle but is an embodiment of movement that is manifested from an inner psyche and is externalized into a visually shared non-verbal communication form Spencer (1980). Encyclopedia Britannica (2008) states that the most basic motive of dance is the physical expression of inner emotion and that dance releases powerful feelings such as joy, impatience and anger. Spencer (1980:1) asserts that traditional dance has an elusive quality, which adapts and those who have known it all their lives find it easier to demonstrate than explain in so many words. In this research, traditional dance speaks for itself. It is a living embodied memory that has the power to transgress, transform, transport, transcend, and transmit, yet most of its intellectual property remains unsearched. In the context of this study traditional

dance refers to the cultural phenomenon that is visually, psychologically and physically communicated as a nonverbal message. The body is used as a tool to convey its messages through movements which have been passed down from generation to generation. It is fully appreciated in relationship with the people's traditions and culture. One can easily deduct a particular people's way of life through their dance.

Tjigubhu dance movements can be summarized as shown in the table below. It involves a quick movement of the feet which is rhythmically aligned with the instruments and the music. There is total involvement of the body parts in order for the dance to be fascinating and entertaining.

CHOREOMETRIC PROFILE

Body movement	Body Part	Music Articulated	Style	Purpose	Pattern
Forward	Head	Instruments	Individual	Ritual	Regular
Backward	Arms	Song	Pair	Secular	Systematic
Jumping	Legs	Melody	Group	Happiness	Varied
Bending	Waist			Devotion	Stamping
Sideways	Facial				Kicking

Table 4.2 The Choreometric profile for the dance

The *tjigubhu* dance choreography mainly focuses on the use of feet. It is a fast dance and in most cases people dance in pairs showing their virtuosity. Men usually dance *maskhukhu* or *ingquzu* to complement the women.

4.9.1 The Drums

The *tjigubhu* dance is incomplete without the drums. They keep the beat and mark the climax of the dance. According to one of the respondents Mr Ncube, who is well known for making drums, the drum is made from wood and cows hide. *Mpfula / marula* tree is the one used to construct a traditional drum. The drums are cone shaped and vary in sizes. The trunk is very light especially when dry. The trunk is cut from a huge tree. The tree is measured to suit the length size needed for the drum. The trunk width of the circumference is also measured. A nail is put at the center and the circumference is marked with a cinder. The trunk is then carefully carved from outside with a hammer and a chisel. The chipped space does not exceed the marked area. When the trunk is shaped into a cylinder, It is then chipped from the inside starting from the center. The trunk is curved into a cone like shape with a big hole inside. The trunk is then placed in a river for about three days. This is done to get rid of the sap that attracts wood weevils. The trunk is taken out of the water and dried. It is now ready for tightening the hide. Nails are carved from a *mvalasangwana* tree. Holes are perforated right round the drum. A wet cowhide is needed to cover the drum top. The hide is placed on one side of the drum which is the bigger side. It is then

fastened with the nail. One nail is placed on one side matching the hole. Another one is tightened on the opposite side with the hide well stretched across the trunk. The drum is fastened right round. The nails are also tightened with rope made from the hide. The hide is scraped with a broken bottle.



Fig 4.6: Picture showing three drums of different sizes.

Tuning of the drum is usually done by bringing the instrument out in the heat. The drum can also be brought near a fire. This is done to produce the desired sound. The drums are placed in between the legs while the players are sitting on a bench or stool. As they play them, they will be alternating producing a blend of tunes that are appealing to the ear.

4.9.2 Mahlwayi

Mahlwayi or leg rattles plays a pivotal role in the *tjigubhu* dance. Jones (1992:78) says that *Amahlwayi* are popular in the Ndebele culture, they are made from the cocoons of the caterpillars which feed on *mophane* trees. One respondent explained that, cocoons are dried and each filled

with pebbles, and a thread is sown through each one of them and they are tied around the dancer's legs. They make a sound which accentuates the dance and give clarity. The dancer's leg movements produce different rhythms which augment the dance. The picture is shown below:



Figure 4.7- A picture of Amahlwayi – leg rattles that are used during tjigubhu dance

4.9.3 A whistle - pemba

A whistle is also one of the three prominent instruments that are used during the *tjigubhu* dance. *Tjigubhu* without the whistle is incomplete according to the informant who declined to be named. It is normally played by the dancers and they change the rhythm as they dance. Originally, Bakalanga made the whistle from three river reeds of different sizes. A whistle makes use of vibrating air blown from the player's lungs into the instrument placed on the hollowed tongue (Nyathi and Chikomo 2012) Below is a picture of a whistle that is used during

tjigubhudance. They use a particular one, the old type and not the ones that are used during soccer and netball matches.



Figure 4.8.2 - A picture of a whistle – pemba used during tjigubhu dance.

4.10 Conclusion

This chapter was mainly focused on presenting the data that was gathered during a field trip at the designated area of study. Information was gathered through the use of interviews and participant observation as an effort to answer the Research Questions that were raised in Chapter one. *Hogwana* is a traditional marriage ceremony. Very little involvement of the ancestors is noted when the family asks for guidance. The *tjigubhu* dance performed during the ritual is secular and not meant to appease the spirits. *Tjigubhu* is also commonly performed in social gatherings and beer drinking arenas. The occurrence of this once treasured ceremony has decreased mainly due to modernization whereby people are now opting for white weddings. The drought pandemic is also another contributing factor because the harvests are decreasing every passing year. Grinding mills have also become popular in Sigangatsha and the youngsters no

longer want to pound because it is a tedious task. Intermarriages have also played a major role, people from other cultures with different back grounds have been incepted into the village and some do not value such rituals. Elderly people who have the knowhow on how to conduct this ritual are also dying and soon it will be long gone and forgotten. There is need for such cultural events to be preserved for future generations to come.

CHAPTER 5

5.0 Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to draw conclusions that were deducted from the research about the *hogwana* ceremony and the *tjigubhu* dance and songs which was carried out in Sigangatsha Village in Matabeleland South – Zimbabwe. After all enquiries were made and relevant people interviewed, one fact remained evident. The e frequency of the occurrence of the *hogwana* ceremony has deteriorated and it is a sad truth that the once treasured ceremony is now facing extinction. Data

was presented in the previous chapter, and hence this chapter seeks to provide the summary of the findings, recommendations and conclusions that were made after discussing and analyzing data.

5.2 Summary

As stated in the topic and elaborated in Chapter 1, the study was basically an ethnography of the *hogwana* ceremony and the *tjigubhu* dance and songs which are performed during the ceremony. The researcher's choice of the topic was anchored by the need to know what exactly the ceremony was all about, how it was conducted originally and its meaning in the Bakalanga culture. A couple of interviews that were carried out gave an insight and answers about the questions that the researcher had. The researcher also realized that *tjigubhu* dance and songs are now performed at beer drinking gatherings and any social gathering. She intended to find out its true contextual arena.

The research was conducted from a qualitative approach whereby people's feelings, norms, values and beliefs were respected. The informants in most cases were quoted verbatim in order to avoid misinterpretations. Since a qualitative approach was used, an ethnography which is the observation of and interaction with a person or a group being studied often for a long period of time either from emic or epic perspective. The choice of this research design required the researcher to engage in participant observation in order to get the real information because the qualitative research is more inclined on specificity rather than generalization. For the sampling methods, both the purposive and snowballing techniques were employed. Participants provided information out of will without being forced to. This made the researcher's task of gathering information very easy. In the beginning, she just had a few names of those perceived to be the key informants and as she interviewed them, more names of knowledgeable people in the subject came up.

Semi structured interviews were also used to probe the participants to open up and provide more details concerning the questions that arose during the discussions. The researcher did not stop there, and just rely on the information provided by the respondents. She was fortunate enough that there was a *hogwana* ceremony which took place during her visit hence she utilized the opportunity and made an effort to go and witness some of the proceedings. Being hands on helped to break the stranger value effect and made the people around to open up and give the

researcher some information. Since the researcher was gathering data from an emic perspective being a member of the community under study, she relied on recording the conversations in order not to miss out on the important details by assuming that she knows and also to avoid taking some information as irrelevant. Taking down of notes also helped and video clips helped to explain and illustrate what a simple explanation could not achieve.

The use of the interview guide helped to stay focused and to avoid straying from the gist of the matter. Some respondents were more interested in finding out how the researcher is doing in life since they had known her from birth. A bit of sternness was exercised in such instances in order to draw the participant's focus towards the issue at hand. Relating with elderly people was such a humbling experience for the researcher because they expressed themselves freely and with concern of their dying legacy.

5.3 Findings

Hogwana, a traditional marriage ceremony is highly regarded as important among the Bakalanga people of Sigangatsha village. According to the respondents, the ceremony is meant to thank the son in law for marrying their daughter the proper way and coming forth to introduce himself to be known by his in laws. *Hogwana* is also regarded as a way of introducing the new bride to the whole village because according to the Bakalanga culture, a woman does not only marry her husband but the entire clan. It is very common therefore in the Bakalanga culture to find a newly married bride staying in the village with her husband's family while he is in town at work.

Another informant also highlighted that, the whole proceedings of sending someone to go and ask for the girl's hand in marriage or to go and collect her at night can be done by the man's family in his absence as long as he has given them the green light to go ahead. This further explains how important the family is in the Bakalanga culture. The researcher also found out that marriage is viewed as a bond which ties the two families together and should never be broken. She learnt that in case of any misunderstanding between the bride and the groom, their parents will meet and try to solve the matter and restore the marriage as much as they can. In addition, the researcher discovered that the marriage union among the Bakalanga people and anyone who did not pass through this union is not given much respect in the community. From the interactions the researcher had with the participants, though some were shy to talk about the subject, the Bakalanga people are very particular about the way they raise their daughters. They

mentioned that they are taught about marriage expectations when they are still young. They are also prepared for marriage and satisfying their future husbands though at that moment it is not laid down clearly for them.

The researcher also noted the similarities in practices between the Bakalanga and the Karanga people from the document by Maguraushe and Mukuhlani (2014) especially in the pulling of the labia minora (*kweba malebe*). It is regarded as a must for every Nkalanga woman to elongate their labia minora because it is said that the quality of sex and the satisfaction depends on them. One of the informants mentioned that it used to be embarrassing for a newlywed to be discovered that they did not elongate their Labia minora. After finishing the *nlongo* duties which usually last a month the new bride will be given a goat to welcome her as a complete member of the family. If she had not elongated her labia minora, she would be given a goat without horns and everyone knew the meaning and that was a shameful experience. Another similarity is that the bride has no say in the proceedings of the ceremony. She is not even consulted about the *lobola* negotiations and the charges. She just sits like a visitor and is supposed to keep her head down all the time and to avoid eye contact. This is the time when her mannerisms are being checked, if she does not oblige you hear elders saying “*nlongo ana bunhu*” translated as – the bride is ill mannered.

The researcher further discovered that the *hogwana* ceremony is more than collecting the *hogwana* grains. Rather, from all the talks held to the songs and actions the ceremony has a lot of teachings, norms and values to impart to the new couple. The community will be expressing their expectations from the new couple and one of the most emphasized aspect is that they should bear many children.

5.4 Conclusions

The fact that *hogwana* performances have decreased and most people who have the knowhow are dying is a cause of concern. This segment seeks to lay down all the conclusions drawn from the study according to the information gathered in relation to the Research questions that were presented in Chapter 1.

From the literature consulted and the information gathered from the informants, Bakalanga people from Zimbabwe and those who are in Botswana are the same people. Their beliefs, way of life and rituals and spirituality lives are the same. Literature also revealed that Bakalanga

people and Vakaranga people from Masvingo belong to the same clan. According to scholars, the two tribes are originally from South Africa in a place called Mapungubwe near Shashe and Limpopo Rivers which is known as the first Kalanga state. Some scholars suggest that they were split in the 16th century by the civil war which resulted in them splitting from Venda. Professor Huffman stated in Nyathi and Chikomo (2012) echoes that Kalanga was the language of Mapungubwe kingdom and Karanga is its dialect. They further allude that when they dispersed from Mapungubwe, they first settled in Masvingo and after sometime moved to Khami and others to Botswana.

From the gathered data, *hogwana* ceremony is a marriage ceremony which is conducted for a bride upon getting married. It is meant to strengthen the relationship between the two families. *Hogwana* is conducted as a way of thanking the son-in-law and appreciating him for marrying their child. Then the bride's family gather and send him some food in this case *hogwana* which is highly regarded as very special. After all the introduction logistics are done between the two families and the charged amounts paid, the bride's family send *hogwana* to show their appreciation.

The gathered data clearly states that *hogwana* signifies purity hence the marriage ceremony among the Bakalanga is viewed as pure and divine. A girl is expected to remain pure and undefiled until the time they get married. A promiscuous girl who goes and stays with a man without the approval from her parents brings shame to her family according to their belief. Therefore conducting the *hogwana* is a respected procedure conducted in a respectful manner with the involvement of the ancestors who are believed in the Bakalanga culture to be the overseers. The involvement of the ancestors makes the ceremony to carry some weight and respect because it is their duty to safe guard and bless the union.

Tjigubhu refers to both the dance and songs that are performed during the *hogwana* ceremony. As advocated by Karolyi (1998:6) "music and dance are two closely related art forms as rhythm is one of the main elements of both. For this, in some African languages there are no separate words for music and dance. The two are seen to be indivisible. It should be noted that an African ritual is incomplete without music. To Africans, music is not performed by professionals, but by the whole community which is an element that makes it distinct. *Tjigubhu* is a dance for sacred occasions which makes it relevant for the *hogwana* ceremony.

The *hogwana* ceremony is usually conducted mostly in August and on rare occasions in December. According to the responses from the respondents; this because that is when people will be pounding a lot after harvesting. It should also be noted that in August there will be less activities, especially farming. People will be having grain for brewing beer and one informant explained that beer from fresh grains is 'sweet'. Another reason is that normally there is no rain fall in August and people make all the necessary arrangements without fear or worrying about the rain disturbing the proceedings.

Tjigubhu is the most common dance performed during *hogwana*. It is dominated by women and some men tend to incorporate *Ingquzu* to accompany the ladies as they dance. The songs are also called *tjigubhu* just like the dance. It is a fast dance which employs three musical instruments, the drums, whistle and *amahlwayi*. These are meant to maintain the rhythm and augment the sound. *Impembe* is normally blown by the virtuoso as they display their skills and expertise. The dancers normally do not use any props and there is no specific attire for the dance. The ones ululating from the crowd normally wave their wrapping cloths normally known as '*mazambia*'.

During the dance, people make a circle and the dancers will be in the center. There are some people who are well known for their dancing skills and special invitations are extended for them to attend because their presence has an input on the outcome of the performance for the day.

5.5 Recommendations

There is need to preserve *hogwana and tjigubhu dance and songs* that is dying out. Instead of focusing on the ritual aspect of *hogwana* ceremony, though the *tjigubhu* dance has been brought into the entertainment scene, the essence it carries has deteriorated and the songs have been manipulated in many ways. There is more that can be done to popularize the dance, it is now performed in beer gatherings such as *ndale* but with the recent drought which keeps worsening in Sigangatsha village the frequency of the *ndale* beer has also deteriorated. Other forums such political rallies, chief installation ceremonies and other social gatherings in the community can be a good forum for publicizing the dance. Culture is dynamic and people should therefore adapt to the demands of change. Eriksen (2001) says that cultures are the ever changing common meanings that are established and changed when people do something together. Culture can

therefore be a continuous dialogue that society should negotiate to meet new encounters with the environment they live in. This would help in the continuity of some of the traditional practices.

The Primary school syllabus presented a number of traditional dances to be performed in school but *tjigubhu* is not among them. The National Arts Councils alongside the Ministry Of Primary and Secondary education should ensure that the traditional dance competitions held in schools should incorporate *tjigubhu* dance. It has been noted with great worry that the dances listed in the music syllabus are just there but never taught. Therefore this is a challenge to graduates who have acquired the desired skills to teach effectively what is indicated in the syllabus instead of shelving some aspects. Including these minority dances in dance competitions will popularize them to the public though performed out of context. Indigenous people especially from the Bakalanga community should also meet and come up with ways of preserving their dying legacy. This can be a move to promote traditional dances that have been long identified and ignored. The government on the other hand should work towards building an archive meant to store historical records. Recordings, instruments as well as documents can be kept and accessed from such places.

The late first President of Botswana Sir Seretse Khama was well known for his statement that “*tshaba ee senang ngwawo ka moka ke tshaba ee latlhegileng*” translated as a nation without a culture is as good as lost. It is therefore mandatory for community leaders and elders to come up with ways of practicing and preserving *hogwana ceremony and tjigubhu dance and songs*. Another route which might of great help is for the elders to consult non-governmental organizations that work towards safeguarding traditional practices. This will help the dance to reach the ears of promoters of traditional dance festivals such as *Jikinya* dance festival or the *Chibuku Neshamwari* traditional dance competitions. The festivals reach a large audience since they are broadcasted on Zimbabwe Broadcasting Holdings. The media such as newspapers should also provide columns in their papers about different traditional dances even those for minority cultures. The television should also broadcast programmes for traditional dances such as *ugubhu lwami* for South Africa which features different traditional dances for different cultures. Documentaries by scholars on such dances can also be another way of popularizing them to the public. This calls for a united front from all stake holders and the nation at large; because when we are united we shall achieve our goal. If we leave things hanging the way they

are, our children are a lost generation which will bear another lost generation who have no idea about their roots.

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Appendix 1: Interview Guide

Instruments for data collection

1. Could you please explain to me what *Hogwana* is and how the ceremony got to be named after it?

.....
.....
.....

2. How is the ceremony related to marriage?

.....

.....
.....
(b) Give reasons for your answer:

(i)
.....
.....
.....

(ii)
.....
.....
.....

(iii).....
.....

3. Does the *hogwana* ceremony ritual involve the ancestors?

.....
.....
.....

4. What preparations are normally put in place for the ritual?.....

.....
.....
.....

5. What is your opinion about the relationship between hogwana and marriage?

.....
.....
.....
.....

6. Who makes the preparations and why is it so/ is there any specific reason?.....
.....
.....
.....

6. Of what importance is the *hogwana* ritual to newly married couples?.....
.....
.....

7. There is the general belief that every woman needs a man in her life. What do you think about that?
.....
.....

8. What kind of music is performed during the *hogwana* ritual?
.....
.....

9 What are the reasons for the choice of this specific dance and songs?.....
.....
.....

10. How is the dance performed and who performs what?
.....
.....
.....

10. Which songs are sung for this particular dance?

.....
.....

11. Why are songs given such a prominent role during the ceremony?

.....
.....
.....

(b) Is there any reason why such lyrics are used in these songs?

.....
.....
.....

11. From your experience, how do people perceive the messages in these songs?

.....
.....
.....

12 How does the society regard those who get married without necessarily going through the ritual?

.....
.....
.....

Is it a must for Bakalanga children to undergo this ritual and why?.....

.....
.....
.....

Appendix 2: Observation Guide

Listen to the songs sung during the ceremony and write down the title and the lyrics.

1. Observe the people participating during the ceremony and look for, among other things:
 - a) How the ceremony is organized and performed
 - b) How the men will be behaving as they sing
 - c) How the women behave as they sing
 - d) How the bride will be reacting to the lyrics of the songs of the songs which have mockery themes.

2. Take note of the meaning and implication of the lyrics and main themes of each song.

3. Observe carefully and note how traditional culture affects the brides.

4. Take note of the acts (mini drama) by the women participants and comment on:

a) The messages/themes they portray.

b) How they affect the bride's feelings.

c) How they reflect the beliefs of the community/society.

5. The following day after the ceremony, observe and note the washing/bathing, cleaning the yard, pounding, fetching firewood rituals. Comment on how they affirm the themes portrayed in the lyrics of the songs.

6. Observe on the use of some artefacts (mortar and pestle) and comment on how they affirm cultural beliefs, customs and ideologies.

7. Listen to speeches presented by the uncles and aunts. Comment on how they reinforce and consolidate the new home.

8. Take note of the events taking place and observe how deeply involved the participants are. Comment on why music is being used other than other elements of culture.

9. Observe the attire, props and gifts being given to the bride and the groom. State and explain values affirmed yet contradicted by some lyrics.

2. Listen carefully to the lyrics and make conclusions based on what has been read about;

a) The effects of the messages contained in the songs

The reasons for using the songs during the hogwana ceremony

What effect do you think the songs have on the newly married?

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What aspects of culture and tradition are reinforced by the lyrics of *tjigubhu* songs?

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